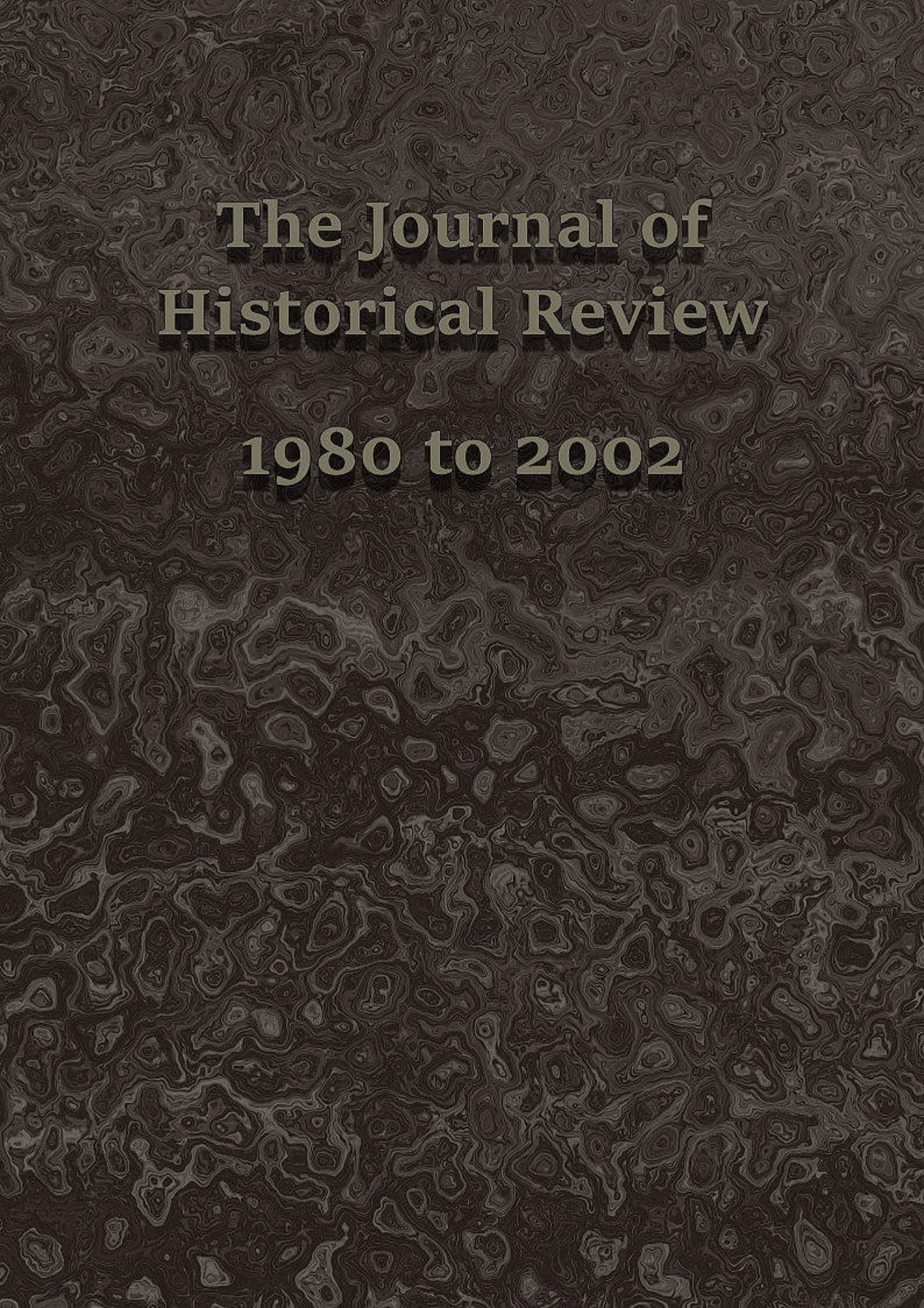


The background of the entire cover is a dark, intricate marbled paper pattern. It features a complex, swirling design of organic, cell-like shapes in various shades of brown, grey, and black, creating a rich, textured appearance.

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The International 'Holocaust' Controversy

By Dr. Arthur R. Butz

Some of you may be accustomed to hearing of me speak on the subject that I call "The Hoax of the Twentieth Century," the title of my book [\[1\]](#) on the legend of the physical extermination of millions of Jews, usually six million, by the Government of National Socialist Germany during the Second World War. On several occasions I have met with interested groups and given them what amounts to an oral synopsis of many of the arguments in my book.

Today I will cover different ground. I shall not concentrate on the Hoax itself but on the development of the international controversy surrounding the Hoax. I have several reasons for this choice of subject and probably the most obvious is the fact that this is after all an advanced group of well informed persons, many or most of whom are familiar with the relevant English language literature. I feel we should not repeat such literature, and Dr. Faurisson is here to show you some things about the Hoax you probably have not seen yet. Another subject only partially known to most here is the development of the international controversy. Indeed many of even the "well informed" Americans are not even aware that there has been a very loud international "Holocaust" controversy recently, because they are forced to get most of their information on world developments from the U.S. press, which sometimes gives readers the impression that Butz is the only author who has rejected or challenged central claims of the extermination legend.

There are important perspectives to be gained by viewing the controversy on an international scale. Permit me to say a few more words motivating the present focus on the controversy surrounding the Hoax rather than the Hoax itself.

A Simple Subject

One of my dilemmas is that, by writing a whole book on the Hoax, I may have suggested something that I did not wish to suggest, because there is an important point that I should perhaps have stressed. I wrote, but did not stress, that: [\[2\]](#)

There are many considerations supporting (my thesis) and some are so simple that they may surprise the reader even further. The simplest valid reason for being skeptical about the extermination claim is also the simplest conceivable reason; at the end of the war they were still there.

The dilemma I am delineating is that, by generating much verbiage on this subject, I may give some the impression that it is a complex one. Therefore let me state emphatically that the great verbiage is required not because the subject is complicated but because public opinion has become distorted by the media's generation of many times that verbiage, generated over several decades, with the consequence that unusual and elaborate therapy is required. However it is very

important that this select group not lose sight of the fact that the subject is quite simple, and that only a cultural illness has made the great efforts of the Revisionists necessary.

The elements in an effective expose of the Hoax are not many. The principal points are as follows.

The Jews were singled out for special persecution by Nazi Germany. Many were deprived of their property, conscripted for labor, or deported east during the war. The German documents do not speak of exterminations. The term “Final Solution” (*Endloesung*) meant the expulsion of the Jews from Europe, and the deportations to the east were a step toward that objective.

Documents published by the International Red Cross and the Vatican do not harmonize with the extermination claims, and the very well informed wartime Pope, Pius XII, is often castigated for not speaking up against exterminations of Jews.

Partially on account of general wartime conditions and partially as a consequence of the German measures against the Jews (e.g. crowding into ghettos), a large number of Jews perished, but nothing near six million.

Published population statistics are quite meaningless, mainly because almost all of the Jews involved in the problem were East European (e.g. two or three million Polish Jews), but also because in the U.S.A. there has been no reliable count — the census does not treat this and the concept “Jew” was not admitted into the official records when a very large number entered the U.S. after the war. To the extent that a significant number of Jews might seem to be missing from some region they occupied before the war, they can to the best of our knowledge be accounted for in terms of the massive and well known postwar movements of Jews to the U.S., Palestine and other lands, and also in terms of their simply remaining in the Soviet Union where the Germans had put them, according to the German documents.

The evidence for the extermination allegations depends crucially on trials, such as the Nuremberg trials, held before courts that were for political reasons constrained to accept the basic truth of such allegations. Thus to many relevant defendants it seemed that the only possible defense strategy was to deny not the exterminations but only their personal responsibility for them (e.g. Ernst Kaltenbrunner or Adolf Eichmann).

The horrible scenes we found in the German camps in 1945 were the result of the total collapse, in the context of the total collapse of German industry and transport, of all German countermeasures against diseases, mainly typhus, that had plagued all German camps throughout the war. These German countermeasures had included periodic showers for all inmates and also extensive and periodic use of insecticides, such as Zyklon B, for disinfection purposes.

Concentration camp inmates were an important source of labor for the hard-pressed wartime German economy, and the high death rate that prevailed in the camps throughout the war was considered “catastrophic” [3] by the Germans. As a result of the high death rate, about 350,000, or perhaps 400,000, inmates died in the German camps during the war, some minority of that number being Jews. [4]

There were crematoria in all of the camps for the disposal of the bodies of people who died there.

The camps in Germany are not even claimed to have been “extermination camps,” except in occasional publications of a frankly sensationalistic nature. The so-called “extermination camps,” such as Auschwitz, were all in Poland, and were captured by the Russians after having been

evacuated in an orderly fashion by the Germans. The Russians found no horrible scenes comparable to those we later found in Germany, and no evidence of exterminations.

The “gas chambers” are fictitious and the best the bearers of the legend can do to argue their existence is to advance the ludicrous claim that the Zyklon did double duty in exterminating Jews as well as lice, or to misrepresent a shower or even an ordinary room as a “gas chamber.” Another tactic is to confuse the concept of a “gas oven.” All crematorium ovens are “gas ovens.”

That is the basic structure of the Hoax.

Why a 'Hoax'?

At this point it is convenient to remark on the title I chose for my book. In the controversy, one of the things that jolted some, even some who were otherwise favorably impressed by the book, was my use of the term “Hoax” to describe the received legend. Some felt that, whatever the truth of the legend, the term was not adequate or appropriate to the situation. Such a trivializing concept, it was thought, should not be applied to a legend that lives on the vast scale of the “Holocaust” — it struck some as comparable to criticizing Handel’s Messiah as a “ditty.”

Let me assure you that the choice of “Hoax” was calculated, and that today I am even more convinced that it was a felicitous choice, for the reason that the thing really is trivial. The term “Hoax” suggests something cheap and crude, and that is precisely what I wish to suggest. A term such as “myth,” although correct and sometimes used by me, does not convey this important description of the nature of the evidence supporting the extermination claim.

The uncomfortable reaction to the term “Hoax” merely reflects the nature of the great popular delusion on this subject. At one time some of the people who are addressing you here, such as Dr. Faurisson and myself, shared not only the popular belief in the truth of the legend but also the popular impression that its truth was beyond question — “as established as the Great Pyramid,” as I wrote. However, at some point we undertook an investigation and discovered, remarkably quickly, that beneath the legend’s face of granite there stood feet of clay.

It is this focus on the feet of clay, that Revisionists have seen in the historical record, that creates a great psychological distance between the Revisionists and even many intelligent people, and sometimes causes the Revisionists to appear to be crusaders of some sort. Those who have not seen the feet of clay cannot have the degree of certainty that seems to accompany the Revisionists. I believe that perhaps this contrast between the apparent dignity of the received legend and the reality of its crude and contemptible foundations is the key point that must be developed in the psychological reorientation of people whom you wish to inform. Once such a psychological reorientation is accomplished, the rest is routine. The jolt that the word “Hoax” causes is a calculated initial step in this reorientation.

A Societal Problem

Another reason for the wish to focus on the controversy here is that it represents a distinct problem. That is, there is an historical problem, treated in my book, and there is also the problem of the societal status of the legend, the subject of my talk today. The former, the historical problem, is relatively simple in comparison to the latter, or perhaps I should say that I do not feel that I understand the societal status of the Hoax nearly as well as I understand the Hoax itself. However, a couple of obvious features can be safely noted. For one thing, it is a case of media-induced hysteria. For another, the political interests involved are not dead and gone, like those of World War 1,

but are as contemporary as tomorrow's headlines, for Israel is always in trouble, and will be in trouble as long as it exists as a Jewish state.

This situation has put historical scholarship into a dreadful situation, which can be seen more clearly if we consider the manner in which knowledge is almost always diffused in the "hard" sciences. There it is almost always the case that trained specialists, with appropriate credentials as professionals in the scientific area involved, make the initial revelations of new knowledge. These revelations are normally made first to colleagues and are formulated in the esoteric language of the specialty. Then, over some period of time, the new knowledge filters to general society, with the terms in which it is described undergoing in the process gradual simplification and popularization.

That is clearly not what has been happening in this "Holocaust" area. The non-specialist who has seen the feet of clay cannot get his most urgent and elementary questions answered by consulting the scholarly journals, for the simple reason that the societal and political conditions I have referred to have frightened the scholars away, and that is essentially the cultural illness I referred to earlier. It is not so much that the historians have had the wrong answers — they have not even confronted the questions, and the number of people outside of the historical profession, to whom that fact is painfully obvious, is at least literal myriads today. Imagine such a situation holding in physics.

Now one can understand the curiosity that so disturbs many people, that this is "a field completely dominated by non-historians," as I wrote. ^[5] Although the remark is no longer entirely true it is still largely the case that the people who have drawn the obvious conclusions from the feet of clay and have publicized their conclusions do not have backgrounds as historians — mine is in engineering. I am the first to concede that this is a sorry situation, but the situation would be even more sorry if nobody were asking questions about the so-called "Holocaust." We can and should take considerable comfort from the fact that we have retained the cultural vitality to carry on here despite the default of the historians.

Another facet of this is the fact that, the normal channels for the flow of knowledge having been blocked, leadership in disseminating the Revisionist view of the Final Solution has fallen to publications with special ideological orientations. For example the *Spotlight* in the U.S. and the *National Zeitung* in Germany are weekly newspapers that do not claim to be scholarly, but again we should take comfort from the fact that somebody has been beating the drum, for such widely read publications do nevertheless create pressures on the historians that make it more difficult for them to continue avoiding this subject.

They also serve to inform the general public, and here we should take note of the requirements of Historical Revisionism, because I may be misunderstood by some here, and it may appear from my remarks that I am claiming that ideally such matters should be confined to scholarly journals and that the general public should not be bothered with them. I intend no such meaning, but it is true that there must be a distinction between the matters treated by scholars and those treated in the popular press.

The general public does not have the faculties or temperaments to treat knowledge in the ways of the specialists, so one must be prepared to accept something else for such purposes, and here it is useful to distinguish between an intolerable and a tolerable popular outlook. It would for example be intolerable if the populace believed the world to be flat. However, I suppose that for almost all practical purposes a belief that it is spherical would be tolerable, and that a concern for the macro and micro deviations from sphericity can be left to the relevant specialists.

A comparable situation holds in this “Holocaust” area, and most of the publications that have been propagating the Revisionist viewpoint on the Six Million have been doing a reasonably good job, both in terms of informing their readerships, given the noted constraints imposed by them, and in terms of generating pressures on the historians who might prefer to avoid the subject.

Development of the Controversy

Before the early Seventies there was only a relatively minor amount of publicly expressed questioning of the Holocaust legend. The most significant literature was the work of the former Buchenwald inmate and French Resistance member Paul Rassinier, who died in 1967. However, in reflection of the fact that there existed little interest in the subject, English translations of the Rassinier books were not published until very recently, i.e. in the past four years.

Around 1972 or 1973 there was an international development, by its nature not noticed at the time, that remains fundamentally mysterious. What I am referring to is the fact that a number of people in several countries, virtually simultaneously and completely independently of each other (in fact each was not even aware of the existence of the others), resolved to question the received legend, in the manner that was appropriate to his own situation, and to publish his conclusions. Thies Christophersen’s booklet *Die Auschwitz Luege*, based on his recollections of his own stay near Auschwitz during the war, and with an introduction by Manfred Roeder, was published in Germany in 1973, and it was soon followed there by Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich’s short article in the monthly *Nation Europa*, also based on his recollections of his wartime assignment near Auschwitz. The year 1973 also saw the appearance in the U.S. of Dr. Austin J. App’s booklet *The Six Million Swindle*.

Richard Harwood’s booklet *Did Six Million Really Die?* was published in Britain in the Spring of 1974, and later in the same year there was the uproar at the Sorbonne over a letter by Dr. Robert Faurisson, so both were at work on this subject in 1973 if not earlier. My work commenced in 1972 and my book was published in Britain in the Spring of 1976 and in German translation a year later.

In this review I have not mentioned every relevant publication but no value judgments should be made purely from the inclusion or exclusion of anything from the list. The purpose here is not to offer a bibliography, or a critique, but to discuss the development of the controversy.

These developments of the early and mid-Seventies initiated reactions and a controversy that still shows no signs of subsiding, as I think you are aware. In Germany, Roeder was successfully prosecuted for his Introduction to the Christophersen booklet, [6] and Stäglich was punished with a five year, twenty percent reduction of his pension as a retired judge. [7] These acts of officially enforced censorship did not daunt any of these people. A new version of the Christophersen booklet was issued with an Introduction by Stäglich substituted for Roeder’s, and Stäglich has recently published his fine book *Der Auschwitz Mythos* through the Grabert-Verlag, and he has also co-published a shorter work with Udo Walendy. The so-called liberal establishment in Germany has been in a dither over this lone courageous man, and it has been openly asked in its press “is it really so difficult to get this old and neo-Nazi?” [8]

Events unfolded differently in Britain, indeed in such a manner as to clearly suggest that questioning of the holy Six Million was not much longer to be restricted to an underground of any sort. In an astonishing development, the now famous Harwood booklet was favorably reviewed, by the well known author Colin Wilson, in the November 1974 issue of the influential monthly

Books and Bookmen. A furious controversy, which lasted about six months, ensued in the “Letters” section of this magazine. I have elsewhere criticized the Harwood booklet and pointed out some serious errors in it. ^[9] However it also has its virtues, and has been effective in stimulating questions, cerebration and discussion of its formerly taboo subject. It was banned in South Africa in 1976, ^[10] and effectively banned in West Germany, in its German translation, in late 1978.

The Institute of Jewish Affairs in London published its quite vacuous article on my book in the November-December 1976 issue of its magazine *Patterns of Prejudice*. Around the same time there began at Northwestern University an uproar over my book that soon resulted in national and even international publicity. There was a long story in the *New York Times*, but the story misreported the title of the book as *Fabrication of a Hoax*. ^[11] I shall say a few more words about the fuss at Northwestern later.

In April 1977 I wrote to the magazine *Index on Censorship* (headquartered in London and affiliated with Amnesty International) to report to them the many acts of official censorship in this area, such as the events in Germany and South Africa. *Index* has assumed the responsibility of merely reporting instances of censorship, usually without further comment. They replied to me in May 1977 that they “will put the question of whether or not to take it up to our editorial board.” On my trip to Europe in the Summer of 1977 I visited their headquarters and was told the editorial board had not yet deliberated on the matter. I have heard no further word from them and I intend to write to them again soon to report new instances of censorship, which were not long in coming, for I was forbidden from speaking in Munich on 3 September 1977. ^[12]

Another development of 1977 was the commencement of the English language publishing operations of Ditlieb Felderer’s excellent group in Sweden. ^[13]

March 1978 brought the tragedy of the assassination of the French historian Francois Duprat, allegedly by an Auschwitz “remembrance commando,” for the offence of having denied the Six Million. ^[14]

Spring 1978 saw the U.S. airing of NBC’s eight hour *Holocaust* monstrosity, with all the preliminary and post hoopla. The inanities and hysterics were repeated in Britain later in 1978 and in several European countries early in 1979. In Germany the airing of *Holocaust* was perfectly timed to influence the Bundestag’s decision not to permit a statute of limitations to go into effect for “war crimes.” I criticized *Holocaust* elsewhere and I shall not waste words on it here. ^[15] I understand that it is to be shown again soon.

In the Summer of 1978 the [Noontide Press](#) edition of some of Rassinier’s writings appeared. ^[16] A year later Historical Review Press issued its English translation of Rassinier’s Eichmann book. ^[17]

Late 1978 brought a significant escalation of the controversy in all senses. In October the German publisher Propylen issued Prof. Hellmut Diwald’s massive *Geschichte der Deutschen* (History of the Germans). Propylen is an old firm, now owned by Axel Springer, which specializes in publishing books written by scholars but for an intelligent lay readership. On two pages Diwald said some things very much in harmony with things Revisionists of the “Final Solution” have said, and of course the clamor of the Establishment’s spokesmen was deafening. Golo Mann wrote that “these two pages ... are the most monstrous that I have had to read in a German book since 1945” ^[18] and the publisher responded to the clamor by stopping the sale of the first edition and substituting a new edition with the two offending pages hastily rewritten, in a style I am assured is not Diwald’s, in order to conform to the usual line. Axel Springer further promised publicly, in words I cannot imagine coming from a U.S. publisher under any circumstances, that this

was only the beginning of the rewriting of the book, and that by Fall 1979 the book would be “not recognizable.” [19]

The original two pages that Diwald had published were not particularly significant in themselves; relatively little was said. There are however two points of major significance to note. First, Diwald does not lack credentials as an historian. He is a history professor at the Friedrich-Alexander University in Erlangen and has been well known in the historical profession since taking his doctorate under the German-Jewish historian Hans-Joachim Schoeps more than two decades ago. Second, the fact of the panic rewriting of the two pages, as a result of public pressure, definitively establishes points that should be made when people ask such questions as “why do even the Germans concede the reality of the six million murders?” or “why do the historians concede them?” The market in ideas in this area is not a free one. Throughout the world, there are at least informal and unofficial barriers to free expression and discussion.

In some countries, especially in Germany, there are also formal and legally enforced barriers. That fact has already been noted here, but late 1978 saw the initiation in Germany of a great new wave of repression. In that country there exists the concept of “youth-menacing literature” (*jugendgefaehrdende Schriften*). It is something like the “X rating” concept in the U.S.A. except that its application is supervised by the government and not almost entirely restricted to pornography. In theory, the law is supposed to prevent only the availability of things to youth, but when non-pornographic matter goes on the list, the practical effect is to ban it, for the law specifies that listed literature may not be advertized or sold to private parties by mail. It can still be sold in bookstores, subject to certain restrictions, but with the exception of the Diwald book the literature that has been discussed here has never been stocked by regular bookstores in Germany anyway.

Late 1978 marked the beginning of an obviously systematic campaign in West Germany to put much of the literature I have told you about on the list of youth-menacing literature. The first was the German translation of the Harwood booklet, and the German translation of my book, entitled *Der Jahrhundertbetrug*, went onto the list in May 1979. [20] There is also a move against the Stäglich book which is too recent to discuss further here. Such developments in the official area in Germany, together with developments in the unofficial area, such as the Diwald affair, answer conclusively the question of why even the West Germans concede the reality of the “exterminations.” The system that we see there after the Second World War gives them no other choice.

Almost simultaneously with these events in Germany, things were happening in France. In late October 1978 *L'Express*, a magazine comparable to *Newsweek*, published an interview with Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, who had been commissioner for Jewish affairs in the Vichy government during the German occupation, and who has lived in Spain since the war. Darquier's generally unrepentant attitude, plus his claim that the only creatures gassed at Auschwitz had been lice, set off a French uproar virtually coincident with the one around Diwald on the other side of the Rhine. Most significantly for our interests, the spotlight then turned on Robert Faurisson, who was then teaching at the University of Lyon-2, and who had been almost forgotten since the relatively minor flap when he was at the Sorbonne in 1974. The disorders on the part of some of the students led to Faurisson's suspension from his teaching duties, a suspension that is still in effect, but another result of all this attention to Faurisson's supposedly outrageous views was that *Le Monde*, the French equivalent of the *New York Times*, saw itself obligated, much against its wishes, to give him space in which to express these views. It is true that *Le Monde* gave the other side much more space, but an important barrier had been broken, at least in France, and I am told that today there are a lot of questions being openly asked in that country whose expression would have been inconceivable only a year ago. [21]

As a consequence of the publicity in France, Faurisson was able to participate in a three hour debate on Italian-language Swiss TV on 17 April 1979. I am told that the program generated enormous interest, that most impartial observers thought Faurisson had won the debate, and that the whole thing was rebroadcast on 6 May. As a result of the TV debate, a long interview with Faurisson was published in the August issue of the Italian magazine *Storia Illustrata*; this interview is by far the most instructive material on the “Holocaust” subject to be published, to date, in an “Establishment” magazine or newspaper.

At the height of the Diwald and Faurisson controversies in Europe, another one broke out in Australia. John Bennett, a Melbourne civil liberties lawyer, had sent copies of my book to several Melbourne academics, together with a memo by him summarizing what seemed to him to be some of the principal arguments in support of the thesis of the book, and inviting critical comment (I understand that to date, despite the publicity there, almost no such comment has been forthcoming). Neither the memo nor anything else Bennett had written on the subject had been intended for publication, but one weekly newspaper got a copy of the memo somehow and published it, igniting a controversy that lasted several months. [22]

In these controversies the guardians of the legend have said very little of intellectual content. It has, with only rare exceptions, been all name-calling -“anti-semitic,” “neoNazi,” etc. So here are a few people who have lived well up to or into middle age without it ever having occurred to anybody to call them such things, and who are now so belatedly assaulted with these political cuss words just because they asked questions about the Six Million.

There was another important development early in 1979 and it came, oddly, from the CIA. Two photointerpreters released their study of some aerial reconnaissance photographs of Auschwitz that the U.S. made in 1944, when Auschwitz was of strategic interest as an oil target. Despite the publicity and even an historian’s claims that the photographs provided some sort of evidence of exterminations, there was no such evidence in the photographs. [23] What was to be found in the photographs was on crucial points exactly what was predicted in my book, where it was shown that such photographs must exist, although I had not seen them. [24]

Negative Reactions in Academics

I have suggested that the negative reactions to the revisionists of the “Final Solution” have been on the whole emotional, and I made no distinction between reactions of professional scholars and laymen. This was no oversight. I am sad to report that, to an extent that stunned me, the reactions of very many scholars have been what one might have expected from a hyperemotional Jewish grandmother. In the early stages of the public reactions to my book one Prof. Wolfe of New York University made a fool of himself by writing to the *New York Times* that Northwestern University should bring me up on charges of “academic incompetence” and “moral turpitude” for authoring and publishing the book whose title, he reported in his letter, was *Fabrication of a Hoax*. Clearly he had seen the *New York Times* story about the book, which reported an incorrect title, and he had not seen the book itself. [25]

That was an extreme case but it is still true that scholars who should know better have made a lot of noises while saying almost nothing of substance. In all of the professorial criticism of my book at Northwestern, the only point of historical weight that was raised against it, and that reached me, was that the published population statistics are in conflict with my claims. That fact is mentioned and discussed in the first chapter of my book.

The History Department at Northwestern supposedly undertook to sponsor a series of lectures entitled “Dimensions of the Holocaust,” but then in his introductory remarks the Chairman of the Department gave the show away by thanking the Hillel Foundation for rounding up the speakers for the affair. The University shortly later published the lectures in a booklet that is presumably still available.

There was another instructive development at Northwestern. There was published in the student newspaper a full page advertisement, sponsored by the Hillel Foundation and bearing a statement of “condemnation” signed by about half of the faculty. [26] There is no need to reproduce the text here. The statement mentioned “the murder of over eleven million people, among them six million Jews, by Nazi Germany,” and I think the most interesting feature of this is not the six million Jews but the five million or more others, who seem to have been added to the propaganda both rather recently and rather arbitrarily, although it is said that so-called “Nazihunter” Simon Wiesenthal has used the figure for some time. [27]

There is apparently some specific propaganda point served by the five million Gentiles. Wiesenthal claims that “one of the biggest mistakes made on the side of the Jews” has been to emphasize only the six million Jews and not the others, with the result that Jews “lost many friends.” I must confess that I do not see the point at all, but apparently it has been decided to toss the five million Gentiles into the propaganda on at least selected occasions.

To return to the statement of condemnation that was signed by so many faculty members at Northwestern, there is clearly something graver involved here than mere conformity to a doctrine or established myth, for it is a certainty that the vast majority of the signers had never heard of the five million *goyim* until they were confronted with the statement to sign. Their subscription was not therefore based on mere unquestioning acceptance of a familiar historical claim. It was based on considerations even more baleful to an academic environment. I will not explore the point further here, but it is easy to get the dismal impression that many would have signed almost anything related to the controversy, provided the Hillel Foundation wished it signed.

It is dismaying to report such behavior on the part of those to whom society has entrusted the custody of its affairs of the intellect. However there are at least some indications that it is being realized that a more serious treatment of my book, if only to attempt to discredit it, is required. It has recently been said that “Butz might succeed in delivering ammunition to more 'revisionists' of the Final Solution. Here lies the danger. Butz should be unmasked, not ignored.” [28]

Conclusions

You can see the gist of the conclusions I am going to draw from this account of the development of the controversy. What I have described to you has been a process whereby a thesis has emerged from the underground, to which it had been assigned both on account of political pressures and on account of its seeming implausibility (given the decades of propaganda), into the light of day where it is being discussed and argued in Establishment publications throughout the world. It is still a minority thesis, but the trend in favor of the Revisionists is obvious to anybody who is not willfully blind.

The revisionists of the Final Solution, a handful of lone individuals of very meager resources, have been successful far beyond their expectations — at least I did not expect things to unfold so rapidly — and this cannot be explained entirely in terms of the quality of their efforts. It can only be explained in terms of society’s being receptive to such views at this point in history. The de-

velopment that I have outlined here has now gone so far that I now believe it is almost irrelevant what I and my present Revisionist colleagues do, or what happens to us.

To see the reason for this one need only return to one of my earliest points: this is a simple subject. The almost universal delusions have existed not because of the complexities of the subject but because of political factors in Western society. A corollary of the simplicity of the Hoax is that it only need be questioned and discussed, in a context free of intimidation and hysteria, for the psychological reorientation spoken of earlier to be accomplished, the shattering of the delusions following in due course. That point has for all practical purposes been reached or soon will be reached.

I shall make an observation that may seem harsh. The revisionists of the “Holocaust” have been, to put it bluntly, victims of multifarious persecution. You know only a part of it — the part that appears in the newspapers, such as the book bannings in Germany or Faurisson’s suspension at the University of Lyon-2. The other part, the more personal part, is at most only hinted at in the newspapers, is generally not known to you, and we shall not bother you with details of such painful things, but let me assure you they exist. I therefore am fully cognizant that it is harsh of me to make this observation: we should greet the fact of the persecutions, for they are symptomatic of success, and even the victims should be as elated over them as is psychologically possible in the grim personal circumstances they are in.

Sometimes it is said that the revisionist Holocaust thesis is comparable to claiming that the world is flat, but note that nobody bothers the flat earth people. It is not rough to go up against the whole world with no chance of winning, but it is very rough to go up against it with some chance of winning. That is what the Revisionists of the Final Solution did, and that is the reason for the persecutions, but the persecutions are too late and in vain, for as I just noted it is almost irrelevant at this point what happens to today’s “Holocaust” revisionists. The present inertia of the controversy has the weight to bring down the Hoax even without their personal participation, and deliver these mendacious and pernicious yarns into the trash can of shattered hoaxes.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Noontide Press; PO Box 1248; Torrance, CA 90505; \$5.50 (hardcover \$9.50) or Historical Review Press; Chapel Ascote; Ladbroke; Southam, Warwickshire; England; £2.00.
2. [↗](#) *Hoax*, 10.
3. [↗](#) *Hoax*, 126.
4. [↗](#) The figure is for deaths of people who had been registered as camp inmates, in written records of which enough have survived to permit the estimate. The legend asserts that the “exterminated” millions were not entered in such records. See the report “The Number of Victims of the National Socialist Persecution,” available from the International Tracing Service; D-3548 Arolsen; West Germany. The remark should not be misinterpreted as a claim that the number of Jews who perished was some minority of 350,000. Many more died outside of the concentration camps, from diseases in ghettos, in occasional pogroms, and in other commonplace and uncommonplace ways. The number is not known.
5. [↗](#) *Hoax*, 215.
6. [↗](#) *Jewish Chronicle* (London weekly), (27 Feb 76), 3; *Patterns of Prejudice* (London bi-monthly), (Jan-Feb 77), 12.
7. [↗](#) *Nation Europa* (Coburg monthly), (Aug 75), 39.
8. [↗](#) *Die Zeit* (25 May 79), 5.

9. [↗](#) *Voice of German Americans* (New York monthly), (Mar 78).
 10. [↗](#) *Patterns of Prejudice* (Sep-Oct 77), 19.
 11. [↗](#) *NY Times* (28 Jan 77), A10.
 12. [↗](#) *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* (2 Sep 77), 13; (3-4 Sep 77), 13f.
 13. [↗](#) Bible Researcher; Marknadsvagen 289, 2 tr; S-183 Taby; Sweden.
 14. [↗](#) *Le Monde* (19-20 Mar 78), 24; (23 Mar 78), 7.
 15. [↗](#) *Spotlight* (Washington weekly), (8 May 78).
 16. [↗](#) *Debunking the Genocide Myth*; hardcover \$15.50. Address in note 1.
 17. [↗](#) *The Real Eichmann Trial*; £2.20. Address in note 1.
 18. [↗](#) *Der Spiegel* (4 Dec 78), 14f.
 19. [↗](#) *Der Spiegel* (9 Apr 79), 232ff; *National Zeitung* (Munich weekly), (16 Feb 79), 6.
 20. [↗](#) *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (16 Jun 79), 23; *NY Times* (22 May 79), A13.
 21. [↗](#) *Le Monde* (22 Nov 1978),42; (16 Dec 1978),12; (29 Dec 1978),8; (30 Dec 1978),8; (10 Jan 1979), 11; (16 Jan 1979), 13; (3 Feb 1979), 10; (21 Feb 1979),23; (8 Mar 1979),31.
 22. [↗](#) *National Times* (weekly), (10 Feb); (24 Feb); *The Age* (daily), (15 Feb); (16 Feb); (3 Mar); (15 Mar); (17 Mar); (22 Mar); (23 Mar); (24 Mar); (28 Mar); (6 Apr); (14 Apr); (8 May); *Nation Review* (weekly), (24 May); (31 May); (28 Jun); *Weekend Australian* (26-27 May). All 1979.
 23. [↗](#) *Washington Post* (23 Feb 1979), A1; *NY Times* (24 Feb 1979), 2; (6 Mar 1979), A16.
 24. [↗](#) *Hoax*, 150. The paper by photo interpreters Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier is entitled "The Holocaust Revisited: a Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex," and is available from the Public Affairs Office; Central Intelligence Agency; Washington, DC 20505.
 25. [↗](#) *NY Times* (4 Feb 1977), A22.
 26. [↗](#) *Daily Northwestern* (30 Mar 1977), 5.
 27. [↗](#) *Chicago Daily News* (12)13 Nov 1977); *Los Angeles Times* (6 May 1979), part 9, 4; *Los Angeles Times Calendar* (13 May 1979), 2; *NY Times* (28 May 1979), D7.
 28. [↗](#) *Vierteljahrshefte fuer Zeitgeschichte* (Apr 1979), 264.
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The Mechanics of Gassing

by Robert Faurisson

Among all those who make statements, speeches, or use sentences in which the expression “gas chamber” appears, how many of those people actually know what they are talking about? It has not taken me very long to realize that many people commit one of the most glaring errors. These people imagine a “gas chamber” as being similar to a mere bedroom under the door of which a household gas is released. These people forget that an execution by gas is by definition profoundly different from a simple suicidal or accidental asphyxiation. In the case of an execution, one must carefully avoid all risk of illness, poisoning, or death for the executioner and his crew. Such a risk is to be avoided before, during, and after the execution. The technical difficulties implied herein are considerable. I was most eager to know how domestic minks were gassed, how foxes were gassed in foxholes, and how in the United States a person who was sentenced to death was executed by gassing. I have found that, in the vast majority of cases, hydrocyanic acid was used for such purposes. This was precisely the same gas which the Germans used to fumigate their barracks. It was also with this gas that they allegedly killed groups of individuals as well as great masses of people. I have therefore studied this gas. I wanted to know its use in Germany and in France. I have reviewed ministerial documents governing the use of this highly toxic product. I had the good fortune of discovering some documents on Zyklon B and hydrocyanic acid which had been gathered by the Allies in the German industrial archives at Nuremberg.

Then, with greater scrutiny, I re-examined certain statements and confessions that had been made in German and Allied courts concerning the use of Zyklon B for putting prisoners to death, and I was shocked. And now, you in turn will also be shocked. I shall first offer you the statement or confession of Rudolf Höss. Then, I shall offer you the results of my research, purely physical, on hydrocyanic acid and Zyklon B. (Please bear in mind R. Höss was one of the three successive commanding officers at Auschwitz; all three of whom were detained and interrogated by the Allies. Only Höss left a confession, for which we are indebted to his Polish jailers.)

In this confession, the description of the actual gassing is remarkably short and vague. However, it is essential to realize that all those others who claim to have been present at this sort of an operation are also vague and brief and that their statements are full of contradictions on certain points. Rudolf Höss writes, “Half an hour after having released the gas, the door would be opened and the fan turned on. The bodies immediately began to be removed.”^{note} I call your attention to the word “immediately;” in German the word is *sofort*. Höss then adds that the crew in charge of handling and removing 2,000 bodies from the “gas chamber” and transporting them to the crematory ovens did so while “eating or smoking;” therefore, if I understand correctly, these duties were all performed without gas masks. Such a description runs counter to all common sense. It implies that it is possible to enter an area saturated with hydrocyanic acid without taking any precautionary measures in the bare-handed handling of 2,000 cyanided cadavers that were

still contaminated with the fatal gas. The hair (which was supposedly clipped after the operation) was undoubtedly impregnated with the gas. The mucous membranes would have been impregnated also. Air pockets between the bodies, which were supposedly heaped one on top of the other, would have been filled with the gas. What kind of super-powerful fan is able to instantly disperse so much gas drifting through the air and hidden in air pockets? Even if such a fan had existed, it would have been necessary to perform a test for the detection of any remaining hydrocyanic acid and to develop a procedure for informing the crew that the fan had actually fulfilled its function and that the room was safe. Now, it is abundantly clear from Höss' description that the fan in question must have been endowed with magical powers in order to be able to disperse all of the gas with such flawless performance so that there was no cause for concern or need for verification of the absence of the gas!

What mere common sense suggested is now confirmed by the technical documents concerning Zyklon B and its usage.^{note} In order to fumigate a building, the Germans were constrained by numerous precautionary measures: specially trained teams which were licensed only after an internship at a Zyklon B manufacturing plant; special materials including especially the “J” filters which, when used in gas masks, were capable of protecting an individual under the most rigorous toxic conditions; evacuations of all surrounding buildings; warnings posted in several languages and bearing a skull and cross-bones; a meticulous examination of the site to be fumigated in order to locate and seal any fissures or openings; the sealing of any chimneys or air shafts and the removal of keys from doors. The cans of Zyklon B were opened at the site itself. After the gas had apparently killed all the vermin, the most critical operation would begin: this was the ventilation of the site. Sentries were to be stationed at a certain distance from all doors and windows, their backs to the wind, in order to prevent the approach of all persons. The specially trained crew equipped with gas masks would then enter the building and unclog the chimneys and cracks, and open the windows. This operation completed, they had to go outside again, remove their masks and breathe freely for ten minutes. They had to put their masks on again to re-enter the building and perform the next step. Once all of this work was completed, it was still necessary to wait twenty hours. Actually, because Zyklon B was “difficult to ventilate, because it adheres strongly to surfaces,” the dispersion of the gas required a long natural ventilation. This was especially important when great volumes of the gas were employed, as in the case of a building containing more than one floor. (When Zyklon B was used in an autoclave with a total volume of only 10 cubic meters, ventilation, forced or artificial, was still necessary.) After twenty hours had elapsed, the crew would return with their masks on. They would then verify by means of a paper test (the paper would turn blue in the presence of hydrocyanic acid) as to whether or not the site was indeed again fit for human habitation. And so we see that a site that had been gassed was not safely accessible until a minimum of 21 hours had elapsed. As far as French legislation is concerned, the minimum is set at 24 hours.^{note}

It becomes, therefore, apparent that in the absence of a magical fan capable of instantly expelling a gas that is “difficult to ventilate, because it adheres strongly to surfaces,” the “human slaughterhouse” called a “gas chamber” would have been inaccessible for nearly a full day. Its walls, floors, ceiling would have retained portions of a gas which was highly poisonous to man. And what about the bodies? These cadavers could have been nothing less than saturated with the gas, just as the cushions, mattresses and blankets discussed in the same technical document on the use of Zyklon B would have been saturated also. These mattresses, etc., had to be taken out of doors to be aired and beaten for an hour under dry atmospheric conditions; and for two hours when the weather was humid. When this was accomplished, these items were then heaped together and beaten again if the paper test revealed any further presence of hydrocyanic acid.

Hydrocyanic acid is both inflammable and explosive. How could it then have been used in close proximity to the entrance of crematory ovens as it is the case, for example, in the “Old Krema” of Auschwitz I? How could one have entered the “gas chamber” while smoking?

I have not yet even touched upon the subject of the superabundance of technical and physical impossibilities which become apparent upon an actual examination of the site and the dimensions of the supposed “gas chambers” at Auschwitz and Auschwitz-Birkenau. Moreover, just as an inquisitive fact-finder at the Polish museum may discover, these chambers were in reality nothing more than “cold storage rooms” (mortuaries) and were typical of such rooms both in layout as well as size. The supposed “gas chamber” of Krema II at Birkenau, of which there remains only a ruin, was in fact a morgue, located below ground in order to protect it from heat and measuring 30 meters in length and 7 meters in width (two meters on either side for cadavers and 3 meters down the center to allow for the movement of wagons). The door, the passageways, the freight lift (which measured only 2.10 meters by 1.35 meters) that led to the crematory chamber were all of Lilliputian dimensions in comparison to the insinuations of Höss' account.^{note} According to Höss, the gas chamber could easily accommodate 2,000 standing victims, but had a capacity of 3,000. Can you imagine that? Three thousand people crammed into a space of 210 square meters. In other words, to make a comparison, 286 people standing in a room measuring 5 meters by 4 meters! Do not be deceived into believing that before their retreat the Germans blew up the “gas chambers” and crematory ovens to conceal any trace of their alleged crimes. If one wishes to obliterate all trace of an installation which would be intrinsically quite sophisticated, it must be scrupulously dismantled from top to bottom so that there remains not one shred of incriminating evidence. Destruction by means of demolition would have been ingenuous. If explosives had been employed, mere removal of the concrete blocks would still have left this or that telltale sign. As a matter of fact, Poles of the present day Auschwitz Museum have reconstructed the remains of some Kremas (meaning, in reality, reconstructions of crematories and a supposed “gas chamber”). However, all of the artifacts shown to tourists attest to the existence of crematory ovens rather than to anything else.^{note}

In the USA the first execution by gassing took place on 8 February 1924 in the prison of Carson City, Nevada. Two hours after the execution, poison traces were still to be found in the prison courtyard. Mr. Dickerson, warden of the prison, declared that as far as the condemned man was concerned, the method of execution was certainly the most humane so far used. But he added that he would reject this method in the future because of the danger to the witnesses.^{note}

The real gas chambers, such as those created in 1924 and developed by the Americans around 1936-1938, offer some idea of the inherent complexity of such a method of execution. The Americans, for one thing, only gas one prisoner at a time normally (some gas chambers exist, however, which are equipped with two seats for the execution of two brothers, for example). The prisoner is totally immobilized. He is poisoned by the hydrocyanic acid (actually by the dropping of sodium cyanide pellets into a container of sulfuric acid and distilled water, which results in release of hydrocyanic acid gas). Within approximately 40 seconds, the prisoner dozes off, and in a few minutes he dies. Apparently, the gas causes no discomfort. As in the case of Zyklon B, it is the dispersion of the gas that causes problems. Natural ventilation for 24 hours is not possible in this case. Obviously, the location of the site of execution precludes such ventilation without seriously endangering the guards as well as other prison inmates. What, then, is the best course of action with a gas that poses such difficult problems of ventilation? The solution is to transform the acidic vapors into a solid salt which can then be flushed out with water. For this purpose, ammonia vapors which are basic are used to react with the acid vapors to form the salt by chemical reaction. When the hydrocyanic acid has all but vanished, a warning signal would alert the attending physician and his aides who are located on the opposite side of a glass barrier. The warn-

ing signal is phenolphthalein. It is arranged in containers located at various places in the chamber and turns from pink to purple in the absence of hydrocyanic acid. Once the absence of the poison is indicated and once an arrangement of fans draws the ammonia fumes out through an exhaust vent, the physician and his assistants enter the chamber wearing gas masks. Rubber gloves are used to protect the hands. The doctor ruffles through the convict's hair so as to brush out any residual hydrocyanic acid. Only after a full hour has elapsed may a guard enter the chamber. The convict's body is then washed very carefully and the room is hosed down. The ammonia gas has by this time been expelled via a high chimney stack above the prison. Because of the danger to guards who are normally stationed in the prison watch towers, in some prisons the guards are required to leave their post during such an execution. I will just mention the other requirements for a completely air-tight gas chamber such as the need for sealed locks, "Herculite" glass barriers of considerable thickness (to resist implosion due to the partial vacuum inside the chamber), a vacuum system, mercury valves, etc.

A gassing is not an improvisation. If the Germans had decided to gas millions of people, a complete overhaul of some very formidable machinery would have been absolutely essential. A general order, instructions, studies, commands and plans would surely have been necessary also. Such items have never been found. Meetings of experts would have been necessary: of architects, chemists, doctors, and experts in a wide range of technical fields. Disbursements and allocations of funds would have been necessary. Had this occurred in a state such as the Third Reich, a wealth of evidence would surely have survived. We know, for example, down to the pfennig, the cost of the kennel at Auschwitz and of the bay trees which were ordered for the nurseries. Orders for projects would have been issued. Auschwitz and Birkenau would not have been camps where so much coming and going would have been allowed. In fact, it was because of all this to-ing and fro-ing, and in order to prevent any increase in escapes, that it was found necessary for registration numbers to be tattooed onto prisoners' arms. Civilian workers and engineers would not have been permitted to mingle with the inmates. Passes would not have been granted to Germans in the camp, and their family members would not have had visiting rights. Above all, the prisoners who had served their sentences would not have been released and permitted to return to their respective countries: that well guarded secret among historians was revealed to us several years ago in an article by Louis De Jong, Director of the Institute of World War II History of Amsterdam. Moreover, in the United States the recent publication of aerial photographs of Auschwitz deals a death blow to the extermination fable: even in the summer of 1944 at the height of the influx of Hungarian Jews, there is no indication of any human pyre or throng of prisoners near the Birkenau crematories (but an open gate and a landscaped area are clearly visible) and there is no suspicious smoke (although the chimneys of the crematories reportedly spewed forth smoke and flames continuously that were visible from a distance of several kilometers both day and night).

I will conclude with a comment on what I regard as the criterion of false evidence regarding the gas chambers. I have noticed that all of these statements, vague and inconsistent as they are, concur on at least one point: the crew responsible for removing the bodies from the "gas chamber" entered the site either "immediately" or a "few moments" after the deaths of the victims. I contend that this point alone constitutes the cornerstone of the false evidence, because this is a physical impossibility. If you encounter a person who believes in the existence of the "gas chambers," ask him how, in his opinion, the thousands of cadavers were removed to make room for the next batch.

Note: Due to the pressure of time, we regret that Dr. Faurisson's article is published here without footnotes or references. This was because Dr. Faurisson wishes both the references and their translation to be scrupulously accurate. The references and notes will be published at a later date.

Readers who wish to study the U.S. prison “Gas Chamber Procedure Check Sheet” should refer to *The Spotlight* newspaper (300 Independence Avenue., South-East, Washington, D.C. 20003) of 24 December 1979.

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Katyn Massacre — 'The Lost 10,000'

By Louis FitzGibbon

In his magnum opus, *Gulag Archipelago*, Solzhenitsyn says:

They took those who were too independent, too influential, too noteworthy; they took particularly many Poles from former Polish provinces. (It was then that ill — fated Katyn was filled up; and then too that in the northern camps they stockpiled fodder for the future army of Sikorski and Anders).

But 'Katyn' is a collective word used to embrace not only those 4,500 found in the forest of that name, but a further 10,000 murdered at the same time. These were the men imprisoned at Starobielsk Camp (about 4,000) and at Ostashkow Camp (about 6,000). It is customary to refer to them briefly as “the other 10,000 — whose whereabouts have remained a mystery.” But 10,000 murdered prisoners cannot be dismissed in so short a sentence. This figure represents perhaps the total population of a sizeable town, or if seen as an army advancing across the plain it would appear a mighty host indeed. One thing is certain: just as no word ever came from the 4,500 Poles in Kozielsk camp after May 1940, so too was nothing again heard after that date from the 4,000 in Starobielsk camp, nor from the 6,000 in Ostashkow camp. They could not just vanish, and their bodies must be somewhere. But where?

At this point it is interesting to note that when the Germans first uncovered the corpses in Katyn forest they gave out that they had found 11,000. They did this for propaganda purposes and later amended the figure to the true one of 4,254. However, the Soviets also used the figure of 11,000 when trying to pin Katyn on Hermann Göring at Nuremberg, but there was a far more cynical reason. After all the Soviets knew the true figure as they had carried out the massacre. But they quoted 11,000 at Nuremberg in an effort to smudge the truth and somehow 'lose' the victims from Starobielsk and Ostashkow. As most people now know the Soviet accusation about Katyn fell to the ground and it is a matter for international shame that the whole subject was dropped and no mention of Katyn appears in the final judgment of the Nuremberg trials. So in this strange way some 10,000 men were seemingly made to disappear as if they had never existed at all. It is for that reason that I have entitled this lecture: “The Lost 10,000.”

No Historical Review would be complete until every effort has been made to unravel this man — made mystery, compounded as it is by the cowardice of the international community in creating the “cover — up” which has banned the whole subject of Katyn from the pages of readily available records. But in the very name of humanity these lost men must be found; the manner of their passing must be recorded and proclaimed, and they must be given back their rightful places in the annals of time. To achieve this should be a solemn duty with any positive and sincere research body in the name of Truth as well as in the name of Compassion.

Now I have said that most of the prisoners from Kozielsk Camp were murdered in Katyn forest; in fact the number of corpses was 4,254 + 1 making 4,255. It is known that 245 were capriciously spared so that we arrive at the correct number originally imprisoned in that camp, which was 4,500. We must now consider the numbers spared from the other two camps, and they are as follows:

From Ostashkow Camp ... 124

From Starobielsk Camp ... 79

Thus, of the 6,500 originally imprisoned in Ostashkow Camp 6,376 were murdered, and of the 3,920 originally imprisoned in Starobielsk Camp, 3,841 were murdered. If we now add these last two totals of victims together we arrive at a figure of 10,217 — and that is the matter we are considering today.

10,217 Polish prisoners each individually shot in the back of the head by the Soviet NKVD in the Spring of 1940. Remember also that the Russian attack upon Poland of 17 September 1939 was all over by 28 September in that year, and recall that the Germans did not attack the Soviet Union until June of 1941. Spring 1940 was, therefore, 'peacetime' in Russia — and this makes the massacre all the more coldblooded and calculated. But it was, as we know, a deliberate attempt to cut off the flower of Poland by liquidating the leaders so as to leave the remainder of the population rudderless. Such an act is known by no other name than Genocide! In this case not only unpunished, but also unmentioned! We must now return to the two camps at Starobielsk and Ostashkow as being the last places known for certain in connection with the “lost 10,000.”

On 5 April 1940 the senior Polish officer at Starobielsk was a Major Niewiarowski and at 9:00 a.m. on that day the Soviet camp commander Lt. Colonel Boreshkov, with Kirshov, the political commissar, called on Niewiarowski and told him that the camp was being wound up and that on the same day the first batch of officer — prisoners numbering 195 was to leave.

“Where to?” asked Major Niewiarowski.

“Where ... ?” Boreshkov drawled his answer, “Home! To your own homes. You will be sent first to transit camps, and then to where you came from; to your wives.” Then he laughed. And from then on, transports were sent out daily after roll-calls in Block 20. The daily groups varied from 60 to 240 persons. One day while all this was going on a Lt. Mlynarski asked Boreshkov: “Why do you send us away in groups of 240 at the most? Having brought us all here in thousands, you could surely send us back the same way?”

“We can’t,” he replied. “The whole world is at war. We have to be ready too. We cannot spare the transport.”

On 26 April the transports were stopped until 2 May when again a certain number were sent off. There was another delay until 8, 11 and 12 May on which days the last transports left Starobielsk camp, and it had been noted that each daily group had been selected from many different prison blocks and never included groups of friends but in total comprised men unknown to each other. This was brought to the notice of the Camp Commander who always replied to the effect that it did not matter as all the prisoners would meet up again in the transit camps. It appears that on 25 April one group of 63 was herded into railway trucks and sent to Voroshilovgrad and from there to Kharkov, where the train was held up. One of the prisoners managed to poke his head through a gap in the door and speak to a railway worker who was tapping the wheels with a hammer.

“Comrade,” whispered the prisoner, “is this Kharkov?”

“Da — Yes, Kharkov. Prepare to leave the train. This is where all 'yours' are unloaded and sent further in vehicles.”

“Where to?” asked the prisoner.

The railway worker shrugged his shoulders, spat between the wheels and said no more.

Sometimes in history disjointed snippets of information drift in like flotsam, and one such is a report that when the Germans were later being driven back from the Kharkov area Russian shells were bursting north of the town. It is said that one barrage of exploding shells caused “corpses to fly in the air, as if from some burial ground.” There is no further corroboration to this item.

It is now time to turn to the camp at Ostashkow which was in a disused monastery in the middle of a lake, joined to the mainland by a bridge. From there too, after 4 April 1940, groups of prisoners were formed and similarly assured that they were being sent home. We have seen that 124 were capriciously spared of the total 6,500. Where did the rest go? Senior Constable of the Polish Police Forces, A. Woronecki, related a story of a conversation he had with one of the camp guards who, in exchange for a pinch of foul black Soviet tobacco, agreed to “let the secret out.”

“You will never see your comrades again ...”

“Why — where are they?”

“It isn’t true that they are sent home. Neither were they sent to labor camps.”

“Well, then ... what is the truth?”

The guard smoothed out a scrap of newspaper, inserted the tobacco, and rolled a cigarette. He inhaled the first puff and said:

“They have drowned them all ...”

Military Police Sergeant J.B. who was also a prisoner at Ostashkow, confirmed everything related by others — the prisoner transports always comprised groups of between 60 and 300 men. One day he wandered into the camp bakery where he was on friendly terms with Nikityn, the chief baker.

“Where are they sending us? Do you know?”

“Na sievier, braktu (To the north, my friend). They are sending you somewhere to the North,” answered Nikityn.

On 28 April 1940 this Sergeant was in a group of 300 leaving the camp. And they went northwards along the Leningrad line. At Bologoye, his truck with others was detached and sent off in the direction of Rhzev, while the remainder could be seen still standing at Bologoye..

So here, at least, are two place names: Kharkov and Bologoye. We are, perhaps, getting closer to the solution. It must now be recalled that after the German attack on Russia of 1941 the Soviets were rolled back almost to the gates of Moscow and, in desperation, sought everywhere and anyhow to find the means to halt the advances of the Wehrmacht. One such solution was to form an army from the 1½ million Poles they had fed into the Gulag Archipelago. This army, under the

command of General Anders, had come together as Poles dragged themselves across Siberia to join. They came from all parts of Russia — weary, suffering from dysentery and emaciated from their sufferings. But all were private soldiers; the officers were missing! General Anders set up a special office to try and trace these officers, and it was in that office that a list of the missing was compiled.

On 26 April 1943, a woman named Katarzyna Gaszicka, reported to the office. She was the wife of one of the missing officers, and she had this to say:

In June 1941, among a crowd of 4,000 men and women all deported from Poland, I was shipped over the White Sea. We were sailing from Arkangel to the estuary of the river Peczora. They were sending us for further slave labor and misery, and I was sitting on the deck of the barge. I felt a bitter yearning to be free, to return to Poland, and to see my husband again — I began to cry. This attracted the attention of a young Russian soldier who came over and asked me what was the matter, to which I replied:

“My fate. Is it also forbidden in your country to cry? I am crying also over my husband’s fate.”

“And who was he?”

“A Captain.”

The Bolshevik burst into scornful laughter.

“Your tears won’t help him anymore. All your officers were drowned here. In this very sea.” Then he cruelly told me that he himself had taken part in the convoy which had transported about 7,000 people, mostly Polish officers and members of the Polish police. They had been towed out in two barges which were later cut adrift and sunk. “All went straight to the bottom.” He went away, but another Russian, not a soldier but a barge crewman, came to me. He tried to say something comforting and ended:

“It is true what you have just heard. I also saw it with my own eyes. The barge crew was taken off into the towing ship. The barges had been pierced through. It was an awful sight. No one could have saved himself.”

This theory of the prisoners from Ostashkow being drowned in the White Sea is the one which most Poles know, and which many believe. The train route to the White Sea leads from Ostashkow through Bologoye. But it was also known that many thousands of Poles had been sent North, all to work as slave laborers on the new railway system, and they had not been officers. Indeed many of these private soldiers found their way back to join General Anders' Army.

Logically this theory of drowning in the White Sea does not stand up. The liquidation of the three camps at Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkow was centrally planned, and as we know, the inmates of Kozielsk were taken to the nearest conveniently secret place, and there shot — at Katyn. Further, evidence and commonsense points to the fact that it would be militarily better to take the prisoners by train to a railway station nearest to the place of execution and transport them thence by automobile or truck. To take many thousands of prisoners hundreds of miles to the White Sea was to risk escapes and the operation being witnessed by too many of the local population. However the transport of the prisoners from Starobielsk camp to Kharkov by train does fit in with the Katyn plan and thus there is reason to suppose that the Ostashkow prisoners

were dealt with in a similar way, meaning that they were taken by train to Bologoye and thence by diesel truck to some nearby wood for extermination.

This is as far as speculation amongst Poles of my acquaintance goes — 10,000 men buried; piles of corpses, one above another, compressed into a liquefying mass of putrefaction, just as at Katyn — but over twice as many. The mind is stunned at the thought of these two mass — burial places, probably alike in every way to the mass graves at Katyn. Men with bullet holes in the backs of their heads — some with their hands tied; some with sawdust stuffed into their mouths to prevent them crying out. A scene of horror and satanic purpose!

But there was another clue. On 14 May 1962 Congressman Derwinsky made a significant speech in the House of Representatives in which he tried to establish a special House Committee on Captive Nations and used as his main argument the Katyn case and the findings of the Select Committee of 1952. He referred to a resolution passed in 1949 by the National Council of the Polish Republic on the motion of the Polish Government — in — Exile. This resolution expressed gratification that the initiative for an independent investigation of the Katyn massacre had been undertaken in the United States, and expressed confidence that:

people with sufficient moral strength would be found in the free world, able to bear the burden of struggle for the truth and to wage this struggle victoriously.

He told Congress how the Soviets had refused to take part in the Select Committee of 1952 and quoted their Memorandum dated 29 February 1952:

The question of the Katyn crime had been investigated in 1944 by an official commission, and it was established that the Katyn case was the work of Hitlerite criminals, as was made public in the press on 26 January 1944. For 8 years the Government of the United States did not raise any objections to such conclusion of the Commission until recently.

Congressman Derwinsky went on to quote the words of Representative Madden who, in 1952, addressed a mass meeting of Poles in London and, *inter alia*, said:

Katyn is not only a Polish issue, but one that affects the conscience of the entire civilized world being at the same time a threat to this world.

Continuing his speech, Congressman Derwinsky then made a statement of great significance, albeit that it was somehow not singled out for special attention at the time. He referred to the publication in 1957 of a Secret Soviet document in a German weekly periodical. Giving the date of the document as 10 June 1940, it was said to contain details of how the three camps (Kozielsk, Starobielsk and Ostashkow) were wound up, and thus contained the solution to the mystery which has bothered so many, and which we are discussing today, namely the whereabouts of “the other 10,000” who were not found in the death — pits of Katyn.

In 1974 I was actively engaged, as Hon. Secretary, on the work of the Katyn Memorial Fund, and thus was once more contemplating the whole ghastly story. Not for the first time I was filled with a smoldering rage that no nation had forced this issue to the attention of an international tribunal, but instead had allowed the Katyn case to fade away or had participated in the vast cover-up which so many have been at pains to create. And again I found myself pondering the mystery of the “lost 10,000.” Somehow these men must be found — but how? And then I re-read Congressman Derwinsky’s speech of 1962 and suddenly the Secret Report of 10 June 1940 seemed to jump out of the page as if highlighted in heavy type. This Report must be found even if it was

published in 1957 — some 17 years previously. But again, how was this nebulous reference to be tracked down?

I made numerous enquiries amongst my many Polish friends, and although some had vaguely heard of the Report none could give a clue as to how it was to be traced, and certainly none had ever seen it. I was astonished to find that no one seemed to have even made any effort to trace this obviously most important document, relating as it appeared to over twice the number of victims as were found at Katyn.

Now all during the work of the Katyn Memorial Fund quiet encouragement had been offered by the German Embassy in London and on several occasions I was privileged to have conversations with Herr Karl Gunther von Hase, the Ambassador. He knew what the Soviet NKVD were like for he had been captured at Stalingrad after which he had spent five years in a Russian prisoner-of-war camp at Vologda, and he had said to me that if there was anything he could ever do to help he would be pleased to do so. At the time I overlooked this kind offer as I did not then see what he could do, but now his words came back to me with startling clarity. The Secret Soviet Report was published in a German weekly newspaper called *Sieben Tage* (Seven Days) and presumably a copy of it must exist somewhere in Germany. Who better to trace it than the German Ambassador? I approached him with my request immediately.

At first he was hesitant, but I pointed out that it had been the Germans who had discovered the mass graves of Katyn in 1943 so why not complete the exercise and discover the vital clue to “The Other 10,000.” He took the point and promised to make enquiries.

Time passed and I heard no more. I made a further enquiry and was told that *Sieben Tage* had been out of print for many years and, as a publication, was now defunct. Nevertheless, I was informed, investigations were going on for the methodical Germans felt sure that a copy of the relevant issue must be on file somewhere.

And then late in a December evening of that same 1974 the German Press attache telephoned me to say that a photocopy of the vital page was on his desk at that moment. I grabbed a taxi and drove straight to the German Embassy at 23 Belgrave Square. Like a man whose spade hits metal in a treasure hunt I felt a great thrill of expectation. And then, quite suddenly, I had the report in my hand. Was it authentic? Why was it that only this insignificant and now defunct weekly paper had published it?

I showed a copy to a friend who is the Communist Affairs correspondent of the British Daily Telegraph and after examining the photocopy report and the rubber stamps upon it, he pronounced that in his opinion it was genuine. The answer to the second question as to why it had not received greater publicity lay in the fact that in 1957 the war had been over only twelve years and the great mass of guilt piled upon the German nation still lay heavy and leaden upon all. Germans just did not want to hear any more about massacres, mass — graves, war crimes or even the war. Further mention of Katyn would inevitably bring down a hail of abuse based on the “Holocaust” story and thus it was best left alone. Such had been Allied propaganda that even some Germans thought they were responsible for Katyn and not the Soviets. In view of all this it seemed reasonable to suppose that this was the reason why the Report was never fully publicized nor followed up. But the Secret Soviet Report is probably one of the most significant documents in recent history and it should be re — printed a million times over. Copies should be sent to every international jurist and every responsible politician. It stands as a terrible indictment of a most horrendous crime committed in peace — time against defenseless prisoners — of — war as a gross act of Genocide and one of the darkest chapters of recent centuries.

Here, then, is the text of the Report:

Secret!

Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics.

People's Commissariat for
Internal Affairs.

Headquarters of the NKVD.
region of Minsk.
(Department)

10 June 1940

To: The Headquarters of
the NKVD Moscow.

Official Report

By Order of the Headquarters of the NKVD of February 12, 1940 the liquidation of the three Polish prisoner — of — war camps was carried out in the regions of the towns of Kozielsk, Ostaschkovo and Starobyelsk. The operation of liquidating the above three named camps was completed on 6 June of that year. Comrade Burjanoff, who had been seconded from the Central Office, was appointed to be in charge.

Under the above — mentioned Order the camp at Kozielsk was liquidated first of all by the security forces of the Minsk headquarters of the NKVD in the area of the city of Smolensk during the period between 1 March and 3 May of that year. As security forces, territorial troops, in part from the 190th Rifle Regiment, were employed.

The Second action under the above Order was carried out in the area of the town of Bologoye by the security forces of the Smolensk headquarters of the NKVD, and was also covered by troops of the 129th Rifle Regiment (Velike Luki); it was completed by 5 June of that year. The Charkow headquarters of the NKVD was entrusted with carrying out the third liquidation of the camp of Starobyelsk. It was carried out in the area of the Dergachi settlement with the assistance of security forces of the 68th Ukrainian Rifle Regiment of the territorial troops on 2 June. In this case the responsibility and leadership in this action was entrusted to the NKVD Colonel B. Kutschov.

A copy of this report is being sent simultaneously to the NKVD Generals Raichmann and Saburin for their attention.

The Organizational Head of the Office of
the NKVD, area of Minsk:

TARTAKOW.

Thus, if the report is authentic (and what reason is there to suppose it is not?) the riddle is solved.

4,254 Polish prisoners were shot at Katyn, 3,841 were shot at Dergacki, near Kharkov and 6,376 were shot near Bologoye, a total of 14,471 — and none of them have received an iota of justice nor has any man paid anything for this most dastardly crime!

At this time, in September 1979, we are nearly at the fortieth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Poland; an invasion which led to the deportation of 1½ million Poles eastwards from whom the cream was skimmed and brutally murdered. It seems an appropriate moment again to call for an international pronouncement on the Katyn massacre, for one thing is certain: the case will never die until that pronouncement is made and the perpetrators condemned. Neither will history be complete until those missing thousands are restored to their rightful place within it. It is a solemn duty to put this matter to rights. No one can bring back the dead but at least this awful chapter must no longer be covered up, as it has been to the eternal shame of human conscience. I call, therefore, for a fresh investigation in the forthcoming twelve months so that the year 1980, the fortieth anniversary of the Katyn Crime, may bear as fruit an awakening of public desire for Truth such as will lead to the missing judgment in this case. This call for justice should best come from a country which for so long has cherished Freedom and justice — the United States of America.

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The 'Holocaust' Put in Perspective

By Austin J. App

I am highly gratified — and I am sure all the other speakers are too — that the Institute for Historical Review had the inspiration and the courage to organize this 1979 Revisionist Convention. It is badly needed and long overdue.

Every major war is conducted on tidal waves of propaganda, fair and foul. World War II, because it involved almost the whole world, and because the victors insisted on Unconditional Surrender, and because their side included the two most vengeful and vindictive ideologies in the world, Bolshevism and Zionism, also was guilty of the most shameless and unscrupulous propaganda so far on record. In part because of the never-forget — never-forgive mentality, World War II Allied atrocity propaganda has not ebbed down but kept in high tide, as with the recent phony documentary the NBC-TV *Holocaust*.

Therefore Historical Revisionism is more important than after any other war: the more atrocity — and hate-mongering vitiate the terms of peace, as at Yalta and Potsdam, the more Revisionism is needed to heal the wounds. The Institute for Historical Review does a vital service both to historical scholarship and also to basic values.

Since 1946, when mostly from small back-page items in brave little publications, I soon was sickened by mountains of evidence of the bestialities of the victors, especially the Soviet-Russians. In anger I published *Ravishing the Women of Conquered Europe*. The subtitle was: "The Big Three Liberators at Work Having a Wonderful Time Raping and Debauching the Women of Germany, Austria and Hungary; Re-Educating Them to Become Good Christians." I followed this with *History's Most Terrifying Peace*. I got thousands and thousands of grateful letters. But I also discovered what hatred and recriminations historical truth provokes among the vindictive vipers in public affairs and in the press!

For me it feels good after thirteen years to see California again. In June 1966 I spoke at the San Diego Mann Jr. High School on "Police Brutality a Phony Cry." But even farther back, in 1923-24 I spent a year in San Francisco, which climaxed with my taking a national scholarship examination (at St. Mary's College). What I won was a Knights of Columbus four-year full Fellowship to the Catholic University of America, in D.C., a milestone in my career. Being here today unrolls the kaleidoscope of a lifetime before me.

It was a lifetime during which I was ever painfully conscious of the ugly lies about the world wars, which sabotaged the ideals expressed in the Fourteen Points and the Atlantic Charter. I am sorry to conclude that American foreign policy has never been consistently wise or fair; and, if anything, it is even now getting worse rather than better. General Douglas MacArthur in 1952 (*U.S. News*, 18 July 1952) said:

“Foreign policy has been as tragically in error as has domestic policy. We practically invited Soviet dominion over the free peoples of Eastern Europe ... permitting the advance of the Soviet forces to the West to plant the red flag of Communism on the ramparts of Berlin, Vienna and Prague, capitals of Western civilization.”

In a similar vein former President Herbert Hoover said,

The souls of one quarter of mankind have been seared by the violation of that American promise [namely, Wilson’s Fourteen Points and Roosevelt’s Atlantic Charter]. The ghosts of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter now wander amid the clanking chains of a thousand slave camps.

U.S. News, 18 July 1952)

The tragic fact is that America, far from having made the world safe for democracy and self-determination, got into and won the war by spreading so much hatred and atrocity propaganda about the Germans that at the end the leaders and the people wanted, not justice, but vengeance and reparations. They wanted kangaroo war crimes trials for the losers. In place of self-determination, the victors dismembered Germany and Austria, tore provinces away and totally robbed and expelled the inhabitants — twelve million of them — shipped her factories to Soviet Russia, instituted *ex post facto* laws and trials to hang Germans. While having from the beginning declared Allied war criminals, including Jews, untouchable, the Israelis and Bolsheviks have bludgeoned West Germany to keep persecuting so-called Nazis even to the present day. This June for the third time, under the leadership of Simon Wiesenthal, and in disregard of the democratic rights of the German people, the Bonn Parliament revoked for another spell of years the Statute of Limitations.

Recently President Carter said that American “causes were always just.” William F. Buckley (Star, 19 July 1979) commented that,

“There was very little justice in the Mexican war, in the Spanish-American war, or in the seizure of Vera Cruz... our intervention in Vietnam, rather than our failure to consummate our mission there, was the unjust thing.”

The unhappy mission of Revisionists will have to be to show that we got unjustly into both world wars against Germany, and, to our everlasting shame and sorrow, did probably more harm than any nation ever did before — in that the U.S., and only the U.S., had the means to lend-lease Soviet-Russia into Berlin — into the heart of Western Europe.

Anglo-American propaganda has managed to represent the Entente or the Allies as the “good guys” and the Germans and the Axis as the “bad guys.” This is to fool the people and foul up the peace. The intrinsic reason America intervened in European wars to destroy Germany was not ethics but power politics. When America saw that Germany was clearly the strongest nation in Europe, the U.S. began to side with the second — strongest there, Britain.

But the American people preferred neutrality. Therefore they had to be exposed to horrendous atrocity propaganda, such as that the Kaiser wanted to rule the world, that Germans cut the hands off Belgian babies, that submarine warfare made all Germans criminals. Even so, a third factor had to be mobilized to grease America’s entry into World War I. That factor was the Balfour Declaration.

Jews had for centuries been best treated by Germany and Austria and felt most congenial there, even to adopting Yiddish as their language. Consequently for the first two years of World War I American Jews were sympathetic to the Central Powers, and certainly against Czarist Russia. The British War Cabinet, in the face of German victories, decided to change the “very pro — German tendency among the wealthy American Jewish bankers and bond issuing houses” (See Conrad Grieb, *The Balfour Declaration*, N.Y., 1972, p. 3). The Zionist *quid pro quo* was for Britain to establish “a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine” and the Zionists to get America into the war on the side of Britain. The Balfour Declaration followed, dated 2 November 1917.

Perverting the American Jews from neutrality to intervention against the Central Powers had been pushed for a year or more — with success. What helped to make moralistic Wilson a rabid interventionist was the illicit affair he had had with a colleague’s wife, Mrs. Peck (remarried, Mrs. Hulburt). Her stepson needed \$40,000 to keep him out of jail. The stepmother asked President Wilson for the money, in exchange for which she would return to him the packet of love letters he had written her. When Wilson could not pay this amount, Samuel Untermyer rushed to the rescue: If President Wilson would appoint a Jew to the next vacancy on the Supreme Court, Untermyer would settle Mrs. Peck’s claim. Thus it happened that America was “blessed” with its first Jew on the Supreme Bench, and the interventionists on 18 January 1916 got a radical Zionist in a prestige position to help get America into World War 1.

On 2 April 1917, using as a pretext the sinking of the Sussex (which in fact had not been sunk), Wilson asked Congress on 2 April 1917, for a declaration of war against Germany. Dr. E.J. Dillon, in his *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference*, wrote, “Henceforth the world will be governed by the Anglo-Saxon peoples, who in turn are swayed by their Jewish elements” (See Grieb. *op. cit.*, p.7).

The Balfour Declaration sowed discord between the Germanic and the Jewish people, which in very fact led to World War II; to a Morgenthauistic and Bolshevik conclusion; to the expulsion by the Zionists of the Palestinians; and the sort of continuing friction which could bring about the Third World War. In this, all symptoms point to American’s being again involved, not on the side of justice and the Palestinians, but as in World War II on the side of the Jews. If Soviet Russia were then to help the Arabs, the lines for it would be drawn — with America once again, as in World War II, crusading on the wrong side.

During the Weimar Republic German Jews did not talk or act like patriotic Germans. They were nihilistic, they denigrated the Wehrmacht; Walter Mehring called the Stahlhelm dirt (Dreck), Kurt Tucholsky called German volunteers of 1914 victims of mass drunkenness, Arnold Zweig called the German people a nation of murderers and vote cattle. On my first visit to Germany in 1931 I was shocked by this Jewish pejorativeness. When during the Vietnam war I read the American press, the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* and most of the rest, I recalled the similarity.

When Hitler became Chancellor his Third Reich government was the victim of every possible worldwide resistance and smear. It was an indiscriminate opposition on the part of world Jewry, not only where Hitler was or might have been wrong, but also where he was obviously right, as when he demanded the self — determination for Austria, the Sudetenland, and Danzig which the victors in 1919 had denied. As early as 1933, before Hitler had harmed a single Jew, an International Jewish Boycott Conference, presided over by Samuel Untermyer, the same who had paid Wilson \$40,000 to appoint Brandeis Supreme Court justice in 1916, declared a crippling boycott on the Third Reich, while it was still in the throes of the inhuman reparations imposed at Versailles.

The boycott included not only the United States but some eight or more other countries. Simultaneously the anti — German propaganda of World War I was revived. And be it noted the International Jewish Boycott did not exempt the Jews of Germany from this hostile action. Nor did it keep it merely a Jewish action, but succeeded in pressuring the United States to cooperate with it: it imposed a general tariff against German goods as against the “most favored” status for all other nations, while International Financial interests tried to “call” sufficient German treasury notes to “break” Germany (see John Beaty, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, 1951, p. 63). The fact is that U.S. foreign policy from 1933 on was directed more to further Zionist interests rather than those of the U.S. or of the American people.

At Versailles the peace dictators had violated the right of self — determination of Austria, of the Sudeten Germans, and of the Corridor and Danzig. Germany had the right and the duty to champion this right for these people. Hitler did this, and was on the point of settling for a road through the Corridor and the return of Danzig, an ancient German city of 400,000.

What honest historians call the Unnecessary War broke out over this last injustice of Versailles, the worst and most costly war in history. Why did Poland refuse to negotiate? Because Britain guaranteed to go to war for Poland. Why did Britain give this foolish and tragic promise? Ambassador Joseph Kennedy, as related in the *Forrestal Diaries*, 27 Dec. 1945, reveals that the war broke out over Roosevelt’s catering to Zionist interests, not to America’s, nor even Britain’s. We read:

“Neither the French nor the British would have made Poland a cause of war if it had not been for the constant needling from Washington ... Chamberlain, he says, stated that America and the world Jews had forced England into war.”

Even worse, though the American people overwhelmingly wanted us to avoid the stupidity of intervention against Germany as in World War I, the same forces, Roosevelt and the Zionists, used every strategy to involve us. The insults and calumnies Zionist publicists hurled at Hitler, while the U.S. was still neutral, and before anyone had invented the atrocity story of the six million Jews “gassed”, might have provoked any sovereign nation to hit back. Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes wrote that there is

No greater paradox in history than a war in behalf of Poland on the basis of the Jewish issue. There were in Poland, in 1933, six times as many Jews as in Germany, and they were surely treated as badly as were German Jews under Hitler.

Blasting the Historical Blackout, p.35)

Nevertheless, before there was any mention of a so — called “Holocaust,” and while America was still neutral, American Zionists, with the approval of the media, produced the most mass genocidal book in history: Theodore N. Kaufman in *Germany Must Perish* (Argyle Press, Newark, 1941) literally urged the sterilization of 48,000,000 German men and women of child-bearing age, so that, he explained, Germanism will be extirpated in two generations.

Once, as Clare Booth Luce said, Roosevelt had lied America into the war by the back door — by provoking the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor — the same Rooseveltians and Zionists immediately started not only to propagandize for Unconditional Victory but for destroying Germany forever. The propaganda thrust was not for achieving a durable peace soon, but for permanent Unconditional Hatred. Among the most bestial peace plans in history ranks that of the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau Jr., assisted by a parcel of Zionists, chief of whom was Harry Dexter White, later exposed as a Communist spy. Morgenthau without a blush of shame for his

monumental atrocity wrote *Germany Is Our Problem* (Harper, NY, 1945). It describes the Morgenthau Plan for the pastoralization of Germany which Morgenthau presented to Roosevelt and Churchill at the Quebec Conference in 1944. Germany was to lose most of its territory, all of its manufacturing facilities, and live by farming but without machinery. The mines of the Ruhr were to be destroyed, its five million Germans deported — Morgenthau said he did not care how they would be taken care of. Even harsh peace advocates like Cordell Hull and H.L. Stimson had enough humanity left in them to be appalled. They protested that the plan would starve thirty million Germans to death. Yet Roosevelt and Churchill, who had so piously proclaimed the Atlantic Charter, approved this most murderous peace plan in history. During the last year of the war, with victory visible, Jewish publicists demanded a Morgenthau peace, did not urge what was 'good for Europe and America', but what ministered to the vindictiveness and eye — for — an — eyism of Zionists. Richard M. Bruckner wrote *Is Germany Incurable?* (Philadelphia, 1943); Dr. L.M. Birk, head, Director of Friends of Democracy, demanded that “Germany should be removed from the map;” and Louis Nizer in *What to Do with Germany*, published in 1944, urged that “150,000 German leaders should be tried and sentenced up to life.” In the meanwhile Stalin’s Jewish propaganda minister, Ilya Ehrenburg, inflamed the Bolshevik invaders of Germany to

Kill. In Germany, nothing is guiltless. Neither the living nor the yet unborn ... Ravish them (the German women) as booty. Kill, you gallant Red soldiers.

When Jewish publicists urged vengeance on the Germans, they served the vindictiveness of the Zionists and the barbarous expansionism of Soviet Russia, not the good of the West Europeans and Americans. Even Stalin, when peace was in sight, restrained Ehrenburg’s hate propaganda as a hindrance to making peace.

In past wars, when the enemy surrendered, the atrocity propaganda ebbed off. But after World War II this propaganda intensified after Unconditional Surrender. We ask why. For whose benefit? A few days after Surrender, Prof. Friedrich Grimm was interviewed by (who unknown to him) was Sefton Delmer, the British War Propaganda Chief, who boasted, “I am of the Central Office you talked about: Atrocity propaganda — and with it we won the total victory.” When Dr. Grimm said, “I know, and now you must stop it!” Sefton Delmer retorted:

No, now we shall start all the more! We shall continue this atrocity propaganda, we shall intensify it, until nobody shall accept a good word from Germans anymore, until all the sympathy you had in other countries shall be destroyed, and until the Germans themselves shall be so confused that they do not know anymore what they are doing!

Udo Walendy, *The Methods of Reeducation*, p. 8)

Here is revealed the strategy of infamy of the selfproclaimed crusaders for world peace and brotherhood. The deluge of atrocity propaganda against Germany during and after the war triggered history’s most terrifying peace, and left a legacy of injustices which the U.S. is morally bound to try to correct. The worst of these is the monumental expulsion of fourteen million Oder — Neisse and Sudeten Germans, killing nearly three million of them, raping many of their women, and now letting Soviet Russia, and Poland, and Czechoslovakia claim those ancient German lands.

Worse psychologically, and unique in history, is the reeducation and the monstrously clever creation of a German government that toadies to international, Zionist interests. Harry Elmer

Barnes, commenting on Prof. Hoggan's visit to West Germany in April — May, 1964, and his hasty reception by Bonn and the media, wrote,

The German situation in 1964 is a case of fantastic political masochism without parallel in human history. I know of no other instance in history where a people have almost frantically sought to cast the dark shadow of guilt upon themselves for a public crime they did not commit — exclusive responsibility for the second world war... in 1964, those who sought the truth about 1939 were being vilified and even exposed to prosecution as public criminals by the Bonn Government.

Unpublished manuscript, Malibu, Calif. 1 July 1964

What has limited true German autonomy; what has kept Washington and London from agitating to get the Wall out of Berlin and the Iron Curtain out of Central Europe; what has kept Washington from ever alluding to the human rights of the seventeen million Germans of the German Democratic Republic; what has, if you will, kept Washington from insisting that Rudolf Hess be freed from Spandau before another bushel of wheat be sold to Soviet Russia, is in the final analysis the Zionist and Communist agitation about the Third Reich's alleged extermination of Jews.

The simple truth is that U.S. Foreign Policy has since Roosevelt's Lend — Lease been essentially more in the interests of Israel than of America, or the good of mankind. Now and then someone lets the cat out of the bag. J. Bernard Hutton, in *Hess: the Last of the Third Reich's Imprisoned Leaders* (MacMillan, NY, 1970, p. 180), commented:

At Nuernberg, all the crimes of the Nazi leaders, and of the Allies, faded into insignificance beside this one shocking crime of racial persecution and annihilation. And this was what the Nuernberg Trial was about — it was for the crime against the Jews that the Nazi leaders were punished.

Here the stark and horrid truth of American Foreign Policy is expressed. Hutton, poor brain-washed fellow (like most other publicists), believed the legend of the six million. He writes, "Millions of Jews were rounded up ... driven to prepared killing centers where they were gassed ..."

Because the atrocity story that the Third Reich exterminated six million Jews has been the root cause of the most monstrous peace treaty in history, because it continues to blackmail billions of unjust reparations to the promoters of the atrocity story, and because it continues to generate hatred and lies and perjuries, it must have the top priority of Revisionism. A few courageous historians like Prof. Paul Rassinier, Dr. Arthur R. Butz, the Jewish Concentration Camp survivor Josef Burg (Munich) and Richard Harwood, Heinrich Haertl, lately Hellmut Diwald, in part David Irving, are beginning to give evidence that the story of the six million exterminated Jews is both the most enormous and the most brazen and unfounded lie in all of recorded history. Dr. Butz called his blockbusting breakthrough *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. After 239 pages of evidence he concluded flatly, "The Jews of Europe were not exterminated and there was no German attempt to exterminate them."

Since Dr. Butz wrote those fateful words, there has been such a frantic resurrection of the Holocaust as to resemble a death rattle. What intensified the frenzy was Dr. Butz's corollary that if the extermination was proven false; if the "unspeakable criminal acts" on which the Luxemburg Treaty justified the reparations to Israel and Jews are faked; then the reparations become invalidated. The Anti — Defamation League sponsored an issue of eleven million copies of *The Record: The Holocaust in History*, with the slogan, "The Crime we cannot neglect or forget." A

most monumental world — wide propaganda production was the T.V. Holocaust, a hybrid documentary soap opera, in which all the lies of the “Six Million” are regurgitated. The “saintly” Jewish participants are called Weiss (White), the wicked Germans are Schwarz (Black). Fact, fiction, and falsehood are so cleverly mixed that most viewers will carry away only the customary lies and perjuries about the German treatment of Jews.

In *Six Million Did Die* (Arthur Suzman and Denis Diamond, Johannesburg, 1978, 137 pages) announces that “the truth shall prevail,” and purposes to refute Richard Harwood’s *Did Six Million Really Die?*, which sent and continues to send shockwaves through the circles committed to the lie of the six million. Suzman and Diamond denounce Harwood for writing that Germany is paying reparations “calculated on six million dead;” then insist that the reparations represent valid “material claims ... unaffected by moral — historical claims” (p.53). They then quote Chancellor Adenauer (27 Sept. 1951) justifying the reparations in the Bundestag with the words, “unmentionable crimes were committed in the name of the German people, which call for moral and material compensation” (p.51). Obviously if the Third Reich treated Jews essentially no different from gypsies, or from Roosevelt’s treatment of the Japanese Americans, and much less badly than the Soviet — Poles — Czechs treated the Oder — Neisse and Sudeten Germans, then the reparations are totally uncalled for.

A few facts on the Luxemburg Agreement and how Germany became saddled with reparations to Israel and Jews all over the world of eighty million D-Marks, justifies Harwood’s contention that the Six Million accusation is “undoubtedly the most profitable atrocity allegation of all time.” In 1951, twenty-three Jewish organizations, in the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, demanded (1) funds for relief and rehabilitation of Jewish victims of Nazi persecution, (2) indemnification for injuries inflicted upon individual victims of Nazi persecutions.

On 21 March 1952, Bonn and Israel began to negotiate in the Hotel Oud Wassenen in The Hague. On 7 May 1952, the Israeli Foreign Minister, Moche Sharet, declared in the Knesset that if Bonn did not advance new guarantees and payments, Israel would end negotiations with international consequences that would produce a crisis in Germany. Nahum Goldman, head of World Zionism, warned Adenauer that if Germany did not pay up there would be “violent reaction of the whole world” expressing “deep sympathy with the martyrdom of the Jewish people during the Nazi period.” More impudently, the London *Jewish Chronicle* wrote blackmailingly, “The whole international weight of World Jewry will be mobilized against Germany, if Bonn’s offers of reparations remain unsatisfactory.” (Echoes of 1933?)

All the while Bonn had presented to Commissioner John McCloy the draft of what was to become the Grundvertrag — the Constitution — of West Germany. But McCloy kept delaying ratification. Adenauer wrote in his Memoirs,

It was clear to me that, if the negotiations with the Jews failed, the negotiations at the London Debt Conference would also run aground, because Jewish banking circles would exert an influence ... which should not be underestimated.

Thereupon Adenauer, abandoning “democracy” for the time being, went over the heads of his Ministers and of the German people, and committed himself and West Germany to pay Israel 3.45 billion D-Marks reparations; 80 million the first two years. Thereupon Commissioner McCloy, and France and Britain, on 26 May 1952, ratified the Constitution giving West Germany a limited sovereignty. Adenauer had had to agree “that they would not dispute any of the pronouncements of the Allies during and after World War II.” This included the Nuremberg pro-

nouncements, and the “acceptance of the legend of the 'extermination' of six million Jews” (Quoted from *The South African Observer*, July 1979).

Then after further negotiations about details, the Luxemburg Agreement was signed on 19 September 1952. Its first Whereas accuses Germans of “unspeakable criminal acts ... perpetrated against the Jewish people during the National Socialistic regime of terror” (*Six Million Did Die*, p. 53). This certainly founds the reparations to Jews and Israel on what came to be called the extermination of six million Jews.

From the beginning, the Federal Republic of Germany was a cleverly disguised and managed satellite “democracy” controlled by Washington (and London) for the prime benefit of Israel. Never were the German people given a chance to vote on these reparations. Nor were they ever asked to vote on whether they approved on continuing war crimes trial or whether they really wanted the Statute of Limitations honored (as in every other democratic country).

Adenauer’s first pledge of 3.45 billion D-Marks to Israel, in order to get McCloy to ratify the Constitution, was the Niagara Falls of reparations to Jews all over the world and to Israel, a state non — existent when the “Holocaust” was said to have occurred. This Luxemburg Agreement, under the umbrella of Washington, in the first twelve years provided Israel with the following commodities and services:

“West Germany built an entire merchant marine for Israel (including 59 ships and a drydock), repaired and rebuilt Israel’s telephone and telegraph network, constructed a copper plant, steel plant and five power plants in Israel, laid 280 kilometers of irrigation pipeline, laid new railroad tracks over most of the depleted railway system, for which it delivered 400 boxcars, passenger coaches and diesel locomotives. One Kibbutz received \$200,000.”

Instauration, August, 1978

This fairy — godmother bonanza to Israel was kept a deep dark secret from the German people, under the shadow of a peculiar Zionistic — Washingtonian democracy. It was also kept secret from the Arabs, who lost three wars against an attacking enemy equipped with the world’s best German war materiel. When the Arabs found out, it created a convulsion that destroyed Chancellor Erhard and ever since proved a millstone for the Christian Democratic Party — to the advantage of the socialistic and pro — Russian Social Democrats of Willy Brandt and Wehner and Bahr.

The enormity of German reparations to Israel has been kept as secret as possible from the German people and the world. One has to assume that the puppet Bonn government is ashamed to reveal that it has been and is distributing possibly a hundred billion D-Marks to Jews all over the world, to Israel, to Jewish institutions, and to sponsor pensions to every Jew — not who was “gassed” but who was allowed to leave Hitler’s Germany safely and with most of his property. All this while neither the victors nor Bonn have made any realistic attempt to help the fourteen million Oder-Neisse and Sudeten Germans get indemnities from the Communists. Bonn may also fear the end someday of German patience and an outburst of wrath.

Israel too is very secretive about the payments and pensions the Israelis got or are getting from Germany. Perhaps they too are ashamed. More probably, secretly conscious of the enormous blackmail most of these reparations represent, they fear that if the Western world became fully informed of the swindle, it would stop turning the other cheek and demand first of all the full truth, and secondly, justice for the Arabs. But here and there some Jewish writer boasts of the

goldmine the defamed and slandered Germans have been to them. Nahum Goldmann, in his book *The Jewish Paradox* (London, 1978), boasted that whereas at the Nuremberg Trials one Jewish organization suggested only the ridiculously small sum of twenty million marks of reparations, he managed to induce Germany to pay **eighty** million D-Marks (p.166-8). Goldmann boasts that without these German reparations Israel would hardly possess half of its "Infrastruktur": "All trains, all ships, all electrical works, as well as a major portion of industry is of German origin." Then he adds "this passes over entirely the individual pensions which are being paid to the survivors. At the present time Israel still collects annually hundreds of millions of dollars in German currency". And ingeniously and unscrupulously, even now, other wartime disadvantages to Jews are presented for claims. *The Washington Observer*, for example, on 15 December 1970, carried the following "Observation":

The Jewish World Federation of Nazi Victims is pressing another claim for payment from Germany. This time they want \$20 billion for lost wages for two million Jews who were allegedly forced by the Nazis to work in factories during the war.

And Jewish publicists never bother to try to reconcile the alleged gassing of six million with for example the employment of two million working and surviving in the factories!

Surely, the atrocity story of the extermination of six million Jews has been and still is the most profitable invention and swindle in world history. So organized and so supported by perjury is this "manna" from the German taxpayer that one might suspect virtually every Zionist in the world or someone in his family of being a beneficiary of a pension or an indemnity based on the lie of the six million.

The damage this lie of the six million has done is enormous. It ruined the peace; it inspired the awful injustices of the Yalta and Potsdam peace treaties. But a world that wants to lay claim to justice and decency must correct the wrongs of those treaties. The beginning must be made by establishing the truth about the policy of the Third Reich towards Jews.

In 1973, in my booklet, *The Six Million Swindle* (40 pages, Boniface Press, 8207 Flower Ave., Takoma Park, Md. 20012, 50 cents), I entitled one short section: "Eight Incontrovertible Assertions on the Six Million Swindle." Since then brave and scholarly studies have destroyed every foundation for the "Holocaust" and exposed the story of the six million "gassed" as an impudent lie. They have not invalidated, they have confirmed, my assertions. I conclude by quoting them:

First, the Third Reich wanted to get Jews to emigrate, not to liquidate them physically. Had they intended extermination, 500,000 concentration camp survivors would not now be in Israel to collect fancy indemnities from West Germany.

Second, absolutely no Jews were "gassed" in any concentration camps. There were crematoria for cremating corpses who had died from whatever cause, including especially also the victims of the genocidal Anglo — American air raids.

Third, the majority of Jews who died in pogroms and those who disappeared and are still unaccounted for fell afoul in territories controlled by the Soviet Russians, not in territories while under German control.

Fourth, most of the Jews alleged to have met their death at the hands of Germans were subversives, partisans, spies, and criminals, and also often victims of unfortunate but internationally legal reprisals. One reason for my denouncing the Nuremberg

prosecutors as lynchers is that they hanged Germans for actions they themselves adopted!

Fifth, if there were the slightest likelihood that the Nazis had in fact executed six million Jews, World Jewry would scream for subsidies with which to do research on the question, and Israel would throw its archives and files open to historians. They have not done so. On the contrary they have persecuted anyone who tries to investigate impartially and even call him an anti — Semite. This is really devastating evidence that the figure is a swindle.

Sixth, the Jews and the media who exploit this figure have never offered a shred of valid evidence for its truth. At most they misquote Hoettl, Höss, and Eichmann who spoke only casually of what they were in no position to know or to speak on reliably. Nor do the Jews themselves credit these witnesses as reliable even when they comment on what they could know, e.g., that the concentration camps were essentially work camps, not death camps!

Seventh, the burden of proof for the six million figure rests on the accusers, not the accused. This is a principle of all civilized law. Proving true guilt is easier than proving true innocence. It is hardly possible for a man accused of cheating on his wife to prove that he did not cheat on her. Therefore the accuser must prove his charge. This responsibility the Zionists and Bolsheviks have not accepted, and the browbeaten Germans have rather paid billions than to dare to demand proof!

Eighth, obvious evidence that the figure of six million has no scientific foundation is that Jewish scholars themselves present ridiculous discrepancies in their calculations. And honest ones, whom we recognize by the fact that their co-racialists smear — terrorize them, and even beat them up, invariably lower the six million estimate.

Those who throw around large round numbers, like six million gassed, four million in Auschwitz, two million by mobile units in Russia, let them come up with the proofs — the graves, the bones, the ashes. Six million corpses do not just disappear. They accuse, so they must prove. But in their default, it seems that it is up to us Revisionists to show that the figure of six million is a totally unsubstantiated, brazen lie. What slender means I have had at my disposal, including some ten trips to Europe, including Dachau, Arolsen, and many interviews, induce me to estimate the number of Jewish casualties under the Third Reich at 300,000 in round numbers. Until Jewish publicists come up with solid evidence to the contrary, which so far they have not even realistically tried to do, I will consider 300,000 casualties — some from executions, from reprisals, most of them (like Anne Frank) from diseases.

The Fake Photograph Problem

In my book *Faked Atrocities* (distributed by the Institute for Historical Review, By Udo Walendy \$5.00) I have described some of the ways in which the German nation is maligned through the use of forged atrocity photographs. My book deals comprehensively with this problem, and shows the following:

1. How many photos turn up with different captions to suit the circumstance. The caption can describe a totally different location, time, and circumstance to another caption on the same photo published elsewhere.
2. How many photos are altered; sometimes with no apparent reason; such as in regard to garments, hairstyles, facial expressions. These alterations throw severe doubt on the origin of the photo itself.
3. How many photos are impossible, in that the shadows are all wrong, or contradictory; or non-existent. Or that the physical anatomy of the persons portrayed is impossible, when compared with skeletons. These types of atrocity pictures are usually paintings or drawings.
4. How many atrocity pictures are of Communist origin.
5. How many pictures prove nothing at all. For example a picture of a pile of spectacles, or of false teeth, or of shaving brushes, could easily be taken in a spectacle factory, a false teeth factory, or a shaving brush factory.

In the examples I am today presenting, I wish to show some of the more blatant forgeries. Of course, there were other methods, besides forged photographs, used for brainwashing the German people after the war. For a survey of these, students should refer to my more recent booklet *The Methods of Re-Education* (also distributed by IHR, \$2.00).



Mauthausen

This was the caption given to this picture in R. Schnabel's *Macht*



Roll Call

This is the caption given to the same picture, but minus the pile of bodies, at the N,urnberg Trials. The photo-

Ohne Moral (Power Without Morals), Roederberg Publishing, Frankfurt, 1957, page 341.

graph appears twice; once in Vol. 30 page 421, and again in the French government's submissions as document F321.

It was also reproduced in a number of Communist booklets, such as *Der KZ-Staat* (The Concentration Camp State) by Heinz Kuehnerich, East Berlin, 1960, page 81; and in Vaclav Berdych's *Mauthausen*, Prague, 1959.

This photographic fraud is also commented upon by Richard Harwood in *Six Million Lost and Found* (previously *Did Six Million Really Die?*)



Thousands of Shoes of Murdered Prisoners at Auschwitz

The picture appeared with this caption in R. Schnabel's *Macht Ohne Moral* (Power Without Morals), Roederberg Publishing, Frankfurt, 1957, page 244.



This picture appeared with no caption at all in *The Lublin Extermination Camp*, by Constantin Simonow, Moscow, 1944, page 12.

One would wish that the Exterminationists would at least get their stories straight. Were the shoes found at Auschwitz or at Lublin? (Actually, it is also worth noting here that Lublin is the same thing as Majdanek or Majdanek, but is a hundred miles from Auschwitz-Birkenau.)

In both photographs one can see that the individual shoes in the foreground are identical, yet there are two different backgrounds. Also, there are no shadows in the picture, making it seem likely that it has been "touched up." One also wonders why it is that the ultra-efficient Nazis allowed their victims' shoes to be piled up without being tied in pairs. We are indebted to an Exterminationist-Survivor Eugen Kogon who told us in *Der SS Staat* (The SS State), 1st edition on page 132, or 5th edition on page 167, that there was a big sign in front of the gas-chamber undressing room telling the victims to fold their clothes neatly and tie their shoes in pairs!



The terror in the occupied areas had as first aim: the extermination of the Jewish population and the intimidation of all residents who did not subject themselves completely to the regime. The Gestapo brought women and children to be shot.

Caption in *Illustrierte Geschichte des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Illustrated History of WWII) by K. Zentner, page 490.

This same picture also appears in *Der Gelbe Stern* (The Yellow Star) by Gerhard Schoenberger, page 96 in both German and English editions (Corgi-Trans World 1969), with the caption **Mass Executions in Lijepaja, Latvia.**



A group of women before being shot. On the left of the picture is Purve Rosa, worker from the Kursa factory, and her mother next to her. Photograph from the chief of the Gestapo unit in Ljepaja, Hauptscharführer Karl Schrot, 15 December 1941.

Caption from *Verbrecherische Ziele — Verbrecherische Mittel*, published by the Marxist-Leninist Institute, Moscow, 1963, page 132.

Although on the face of it, this may seem to be the same picture, study for a moment the garments the women are wearing. Woman #2 in the German picture has an undershirt that comes up to her neck. Yet the same woman in the Soviet picture has a scoop-neck garment. Woman #3 has a V-neckline in the German picture, and a rounded neckline in the Soviet one! Woman #4 and Woman #1 have also had their necklines altered. One must also speculate on how it is that people can stand around so calmly in their underclothes in Latvia in the middle of December when temperatures are minus 40 degrees Centigrade!

But such is the standard of our popular media that they will recycle such trash as this with impunity. The Soviet photo later appeared in the popular *Stern* magazine, and its caption told that the scene was now White Ruthenia!



Concentration Camp guard, with victims, in Buchenwald.

This was the caption in *Der Spiegel* 10 October 1966 page 101. The same picture was also used on postcards with the slogan: **This War Criminal Has Not Been Found!** which were distributed by American Zionist organizations in the Spring of 1979. The cards were to be mailed to the German prime minister demanding an extension of the statute of limitations. The campaign was successful.

However, the picture is an obvious fake. The guard's uniform is all wrong. The side pockets beneath the belt are missing. The buttoned edge of the jacket does not run correctly from top to bottom. The pistol hangs on the wrong side. An "Unterscharführer" would not be allowed to wear officer's pants with boots.

Secondly, the lighting is all wrong. The "guard" and the two hanging victims cast no shadows, while the prone victim does.

Lastly, it would seem terribly inefficient of those wicked Nazis to choose such high trees to hang people from. Someone would have had to have gone to a lot of trouble to get the ropes high up into the crown of the tree. One also wonders whether it is anatomically possible for people hanging by their wrists like this to draw their legs up. Also, one cannot see the ropes; when I visited Dachau museum in January 1968 they had on display a life-size blow up of this same picture, and still no ropes were detectable. Either the victims are floating in mid-air, or someone forgot to draw them in!

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Auschwitz Notebook

Certain Impossibilities of the 'Gerstein Statement'

By Ditlieb Felderer

Throughout all these years, the Exterminationists have continued to peddle the claim that there was a definite attempt by National Socialist Germany to exterminate all Jews and so they proffer the “Gerstein Statement” in support of their theory which popularly has been dubbed the “Holocaust.” The “Gerstein Statement” was supposedly written by Kurt Gerstein, a person who was not in the least inhibited from making pretentious claims about himself and his technical know-how.

The Statement asserts that Gerstein had passed a “certified engineer’s examination” in 1931 and a “mining surveyor’s examination” in 1935. Gerstein’s “twin studies” were “technology and medicine” and with these proficiencies backing him up, it was not difficult for him, “with the help of two references written by... two Gestapo employees who had dealt with ... [his] case... to enter the Waffen SS.” Due to his “successes” he was “declared sincere and indispensable” (109:251-2; compare 142:253).

However, we are not impressed, for if we examine Gerstein’s technical skill, judging it by the “Gerstein Statement,” we wonder whether he would have passed an examination in elementary mathematics!

Let us here examine one example of Gerstein’s mathematical proficiency. According to the “Gerstein Statement,” Gerstein is supposed to have seen, while on a brief visit to Treblinka, 8 gas chambers and “whole mountains of clothes and underwear about 35-40 meters high” (109:254). Observe here, that he did not see one such high mountain of clothes, but “mountains” — just how many he does not state. We will now examine this matter about the 35-40 meters high clothes mountains more closely, basing our figures on a height of 40 meters (131.2 ft).

If we assume each storey of a house is 2.66m we gather some vision of how high 40 meters really is. That would mean that the heap of clothes would be as high as a 15-story building ($40 \div 2.66 = 15.04$).

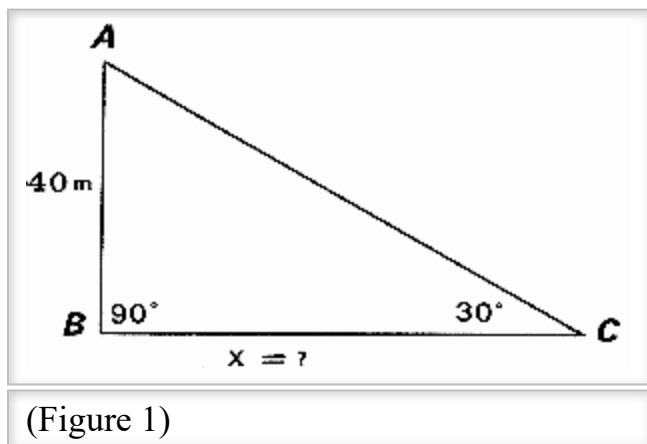
It should be apparent that no human being, even if he happens to be an Exterminationist, can throw clothes that high up, so that leads us to the question of how the clothes got to the top. We shall not examine here how such mountains of clothes could have got to Treblinka in the first place.

There is no record that the clothes were brought 40 meters up by means of high cranes; were thrown from airplanes; brought to the top by means of balloons, then parachuted; or blown up by

huge, powerful blowers. We must not forget that the Exterminationists keep reminding us that the Germans were highly technically skilled and they used their know-how in executing the Extermination Program. Judging from pictures from other places of the collecting of clothes and articles (10:205, page unnumbered; 23:64 opp.; 25:3640; 29:53) [1] we can only assume they were brought to the top by human hands. The only way we can see they were brought to the top was by people climbing up the huge mountains of clothes.

Let us now out of curiosity find out about the area that ONE such mountain of clothes may have taken at Treblinka. We know the height of the mountain of clothes: some 40 meters. Assuming the heap of clothes to be a right triangle (90°) what would the angle have been at the base? We feel that if we were to allow 30° at the base this would be too steep of a climb, and from what the Exterminationists claim — that the victims at Treblinka were half dead even before their arrival at the camp — a 30° angle seems out of the question. For even a person in good condition, a climb of 40 meters, with a 30° angle, would be quite a task and many a person would faint before even getting half way to the top. For the sake of the argument let us however start off with an angle of 30° and find out what measurements we would get.

First we must find out the measurement of the base in FIG.1 which we have represented with X.



Our object is now to find out the “tangent” or “tan” of the angle which we have assumed to be 30°.

Solution

tan 30°	=	.577
then X	=	40÷.577
X	=	69.32

The measurement of X=69.32m is only the radius. The diameter or total length would be 138.64 (2 × 69.32). If we take the mountain of clothes to be a square we get:

$$138.64 \times 138.64=138.64 = 19,221\text{m}^2$$

A mountain of clothes that size would thus take up an area of 19,221 square meters or almost 2 hectares.

Let us suppose that the clothes would be spread around at the base in a circle. Then the area of the circle at the base whose radius is 69.32m would be:

Area	=	$\pi \times r^2$
	=	3.1416×69.32^2
	=	4,805m ²

However, not only would it be difficult to climb up a mountain of clothes 40m high having an angle of 30°, but it would also be quite windy at the top and the wind would spread the clothes around. Besides, we wonder how such a mountain could be climbed in winter time. Gerstein claims it was “winter” while he was at Treblinka. [2] It is indeed a wonder that no Exterminationist has come up with the suggestion the slope was used for skiing down by the Germans, or to push victims down to their death, thus sparing them the gassing procedure. Think of all the Zyklon B they would have saved!

A 30° climb would be far too steep even under normal conditions. Let us therefore find out what the area in square meters would be if the angles were 20° or 10°.

Solution

$\tan 20^\circ$	=	.364
then X	=	$40 \div .364$
X	=	109.89m
The area is 109.89×2	=	219.78m
219.78×219.78	=	48,303m ²

The total area of such a mountain of clothes would be almost 5 hectares. Our next task is to find out the area of a 10°:

Solution

$\tan 10^\circ$	=	.176
then X	=	$40 \div .176$
X	=	227.27m
The area is 227.27×2	=	454.54m
$454.54m \times 454.54m$	=	206,607m ²

This mountain of clothes would have taken over 20 hectares. Now, where was this immense mountain of clothes located at Treblinka and what about the rest of the 40 m high mountains? What about the shoes? What about the belongings the prisoners took with them? What about the suitcases, examples of which are displayed at Auschwitz? If there were several mountains of clothes as high as 40 meters at Treblinka, how many other mountains of other articles would have been there? [2]

Although the Exterminationists orgy in throwing the “Gerstein Statement” into the faces of their opponents and doubters, they never want, for obvious reasons, to go into the details about their cherished proof, which makes one wonder just how much trust they really put on their most valuable “evidence.”

The interesting part comes, however, when we try to investigate how large the Treblinka camp was — that is, if there was a camp at the place. The very existence of a concentration camp at Treblinka hinges on mere hearsay and flimsy evidence. It is highly doubtful if there ever was a concentration camp at Treblinka. There are no reliable records available which show this, and even Exterminationists themselves inform us that the whereabouts of the camp could not be determined after the Soviets took over the place.

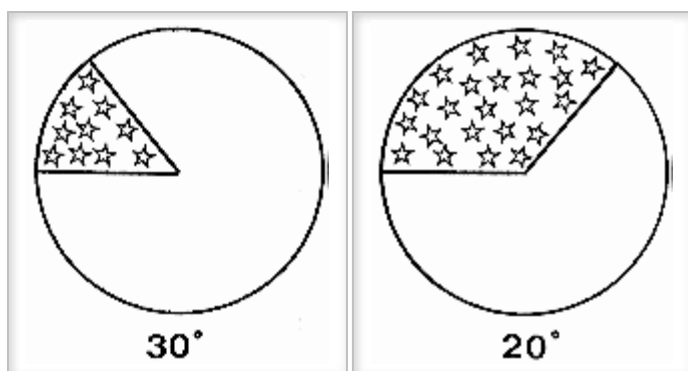
As years have passed, the Exterminationists have rigged up [3] various locations purporting to be the location of the camps. In an endeavor to uphold the Extermination theory they have apparently divided Treblinka into two camps, one for labor, the other for extermination. These places are then called Treblinka 1 and Treblinka 2. There is no agreement on which place is which and it all seems to hinge on who asks the question.

The place furthest away from the railroad tracks (one source claims it is located about 1.5 km away, see 1, vol. 15:1366), by some indicated as Treblinka 2, can be dismissed, that is, if any credence can be placed on the present site. Today the place has the foundation of what purports to be 8 barracks besides two other foundations, one of which was fairly well built and which has a basement. It is not certain however whether the foundations of the 8 barracks were built by the Germans or not. They may just as well, as in the case of Chelmno, have been put there by the “liberators” after the war.

It is apparent, however, that if there was a camp there, not even one such clothes mountain could have been accommodated at the place. The area is far too small and the presence of the 8 barracks and the other buildings exclude such a huge mountain. Besides, the site of the so-called “gas chambers” which were located near the mountains of clothes is supposed to have been near the railroad tracks, about 1.5 km away.

It must be admitted, however, that this place which is located nearer the railroad tracks looks even more suspicious than the former. From evidence we could gather at the location, there was no proof of such a place at this location. [4]

One (of several) official figures the Exterminationists have given us of the total area for the “death camp” is 13.5 hectares, or 135,000 square meters (33.4 acres). If the camp was in a square the measurements would thus have been $367.4\text{m} \times 367.4\text{m}$ ($\sqrt{135,000} = 367.4$ — see FIG. 3). It may be readily seen that the camp could hardly have contained even one such mountain of clothes even if we were to allow an angle of 30° . This camp is also supposed to have contained numerous buildings. A model of it is presented in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Vol. 15:1368) which is likely based on conjecture. It does illustrate the point, however, that the camp had numerous buildings. The mere presence of such a high mountain of clothes would have made it most difficult for the guards to keep an eye on the prisoners, besides, it would necessitate that a fence be built that was even higher than the mountain of clothes, for had the mountain of clothes been close to the fence (in the case of 10° angle it would of course go beyond it), the prisoners could have readily escaped over the fence unless it was higher than the clothes mountain. An angle of 10° would require that the fence surrounding the Treblinka camp would be over 34.3 meters. The whole notion of such a high fence is staggering, to say the least (see FIG. 3). To get the correct measurement of the entire fence, the length of the fence going above the base where the mountain of clothes is meeting, should be added to 34.3m.



The below circle graphs can be used to illustrate the total area which one such mountain of clothes would have taken of a camp having 13.5 hectares. An angle of 30° would require 14.2% of the circle.

If we take the 10° angle, the area for such a mountain of clothes would have extended the mountain beyond the camp, some 53 % or 194.7 meters and require a fence over 34.3 meters. The following graph will illustrate this point nicely if we assume the camp to be in the shape of a square.

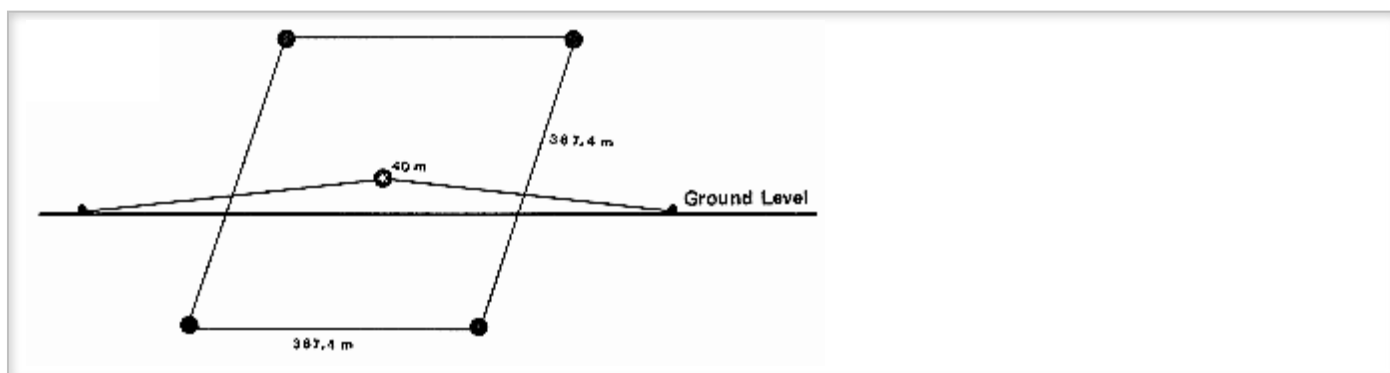


FIG. 5 is based on a measurement that the Treblinka “death camp” had an area of 13.5 hectares (367.4×367.4). With an angle of 10° the mountain of clothes would reach 53% beyond the area of the camp. The fence surrounding the camp would have to be over 34.3 meters.

Similar experiments with measurements can be made on the others camps where the sizes of the camps have been given. Admittedly these figures are for the most times taken out of a clear blue sky, such as in the cases of Treblinka and Sobibor, but the Exterminationists inform us that the methods of procedure and the killing of the victims resembled each other at such places as Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka.

It is claimed that Sobibor “had an area of 60 hectares” (12:84; 774.6×774.6 m, or 148.3 acres). This measurement, given to us by the Polish authorities, is a mystery of its own for when we investigated the area in 1978 we could not even determine if there was a camp there and what is shown to us today is a place having an area even less than that of Treblinka. Many of the trees at Sobibor were clearly older than the camp and while we were there they were cutting down the wood all around the place. Quite possibly the area which was cleared had been cleared of trees after the liberation, a method which has been used at such places as Chelmno. [5] The unsuspecting tourist learns nothing about this unless he is determined to make a thorough investigation of his own. As far as we know there never was an extermination or prison camp of any sort at Sobibor and what was there was likely nothing more than a small German military post. There is no evidence whatsoever of an extermination camp at Sobibor and a figure of about 100×100 me-

ters should be more than adequate for the present site in making the experiment. Even if the clothes mountain had an angle of 30 it would have reached beyond the “camp.”

The Exterminationist Leon Poliakov reports from the Jerusalem Tribunal in 1961 that the method of extermination at Belzec, as reported by Gerstein, “very much resembled the one at Treblinka” (142:411). We are told this also was true in the case of Sobibor, a place Gerstein had not “visited” nor did he “exactly” know where it was located, but which, according to him, had a daily death toll of 20,000 persons, some 5,000 less per day than at Treblinka. (109:252; 142:412).

Two Polish “authorities” maintain a death rate for Sobibor which almost equals the alleged figure for Treblinka, some 600,000 (7:248; 12:84). As we are on a guessing journey we may as well speculate that Sobibor also had mountains of clothes. Gerstein had been instructed that one of his duties was to “disinfect a very large quantity of clothing” (142:412).

At Belzec the victims were instructed to “Take all clothing off” (142:414). Likely also here there were mountains of clothes. One Polish authority tells us that this camp “occupied a relatively small area rectangular in shape with sides measuring 275 and 263 meters respectively” (12:81; 7.2 hectares or 17.8 acres). Anyone who has visited Belzec and examined it, recognizes at once how ridiculously small the “death camp” really is and it is a wonder why the Exterminationists would bring this place up in evidence as one of the most elaborate places for extermination ever invented by man.

At the time the Germans were running Belzec the area inside was “camouflaged with branches and young trees,” and at the center there was “a clump of trees” (12:81). When we examined the place in 1978, about half of it was forested. It would be interesting to know where even one mountain of clothes could be put in this camp.

In none of these alleged camps do mountains of clothes, 40 m high, fit in.

And here are some further observations. If we were to allow one set of underwear to each person, a liberal estimate counted on the basis of a 30 angle would be that one mountain of clothes 40m high would contain the underwear of at least 190 million people! The counting of one set of underwear per person cannot be considered to be too little as Exterminationists sometimes tell us the victims were put naked onto the trains, and if so, then the victims did not have any clothing with them on their arrival at the camps (compare 161:299; RH 17).

It should be evident from the above examples that no person with a sound mind can put any credence to such arrant nonsense as the Exterminationists are repeatedly dishing out to an uncritical public. The Extermination Theory should be placed where it really belongs: in the realms of fantasy. Viewed in this light the whole Theory will unfold as a fiction; a mental derangement foisted upon man on a mass scale in this era of “technology and enlightenment.”

Notes

1. ☺ It should be recognized that none of the pictures presented in these sources have any resemblance to such a high mountain of clothes. Some of the pictures are purported to have been taken at Auschwitz-Birkenau. But if the mountains of clothes at Treblinka, a camp which the Exterminationists consider to be a small camp, were 40m high, how high must not the mountains of clothes have been at Auschwitz and Birkenau?

2. ☞ Apparently Gerstein was so confused that he did not know that August was not “in winter.”
 3. ☞ A good example of a camp being rigged is Stutthof. In a major Polish Exterminationist authority, published in 1962, it states: “Owing to the fact that Stutthof had no gas chamber installations they [the victims] were generally liquidated by bringing them in the shortest possible time to a 'natural' death.” See 12:70. Today at Stutthof, however, they do show a gas chamber to the visitors. By comparing various photographs of this building it is apparent the building has been altered. Likely the “gas chamber” was rigged up in order to attract tourists. Concentration Camp tourism is now a valuable source of foreign exchange for Poland. There is now a Holiday Inn at Auschwitz, besides numerous smaller hotels and youth hostels.
 4. ☞ The area has obviously been cleared of trees. The ones still standing at or near the “Extermination” place are much older than the camp. We are also told the extermination camp was located beside the railroad track. This is not so, at least not today. The best we can say of this place is that the whole area looks suspicious.
 5. ☞ When we were at Chelmno in 1978 we talked to one of the men who had helped in cutting down the trees after the liberation. When we asked him if this cutting down of trees was not a deliberate attempt to fool the people, seeing books tell us this was an extermination camp, the man smiled, and said: “You know — in books everything can be written!” According to his wife, the only thing which was there at the time of the Soviets taking over the place were two barracks. The place was then cleared of trees by the “liberators,” foundations were set, all built to give a semblance of a former camp.
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The complete Bible Researcher bibliography contains nearly 200 Exterminationist and Revisionist references, and is available from the author.

Reviewer: Charles E. Weber

Title: German history from a new perspective)

Date: Spring 1980

Issue: Volume 1 number 1 Page 81

Book reviews

German history from a new perspective

- *Geschichte Der Deutschen*, by Prof. Hellmut Diwald. 766 pages 16½ × 24 cm with 837 illustrations (mostly in margins) and 25 maps. Copyright 1978 by Verlag Ullstein GmbH, Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Vienna: Propylaen Verlag. Price approximately \$28.

Reviewed by Charles E. Weber

Professor Hellmut Diwald's *Geschichte der Deutschen* (History of the Germans) represents a milestone in the area of illustrated general histories of the German nation published during the postwar period (1945 ff.).

A combination of three notable features makes this work innovative as far as the writing of history in the German Federal Republic is concerned: Its high quality black-and-white illustrations and maps, which quite effectively reinforce the value of the text, its rather remarkable retrogressive approach, which takes us back to the early tenth century, and above all its text, which is relatively free of the masochistic approach that Germans have had a tendency to take to their own history since 1945. Nevertheless, the book does not deny the problematic aspects of German history, including debilitating conflicts which Germans have had among themselves.

Innovative as the book might be (as far as publications produced in the German Federal Republic are concerned) it has an antecedent. On first examination of the book I was struck by some similarities it has to another book, published in 1944, when the Propylaen Verlag was located in Berlin. This book, Hans Hagemeyer's *Gestalt und Wandel des Reiches* (Form and Development of the Reich), was the last great pictorial history of Germany published before the overwhelming British, American and Soviet forces finally succeeded in crushing the military resistance of a Germany to which they accorded not even the minimum of mercy and whose desperate resistance was stimulated by the criminally irresponsible Morgenthau Plan initialed by Roosevelt in 1944. On closer examination I noted that a number of illustrations in Diwald's book were apparently prepared from the very same photographs used for Hagemeyer's book. Even some of the division titles are similar: *Die Salier*, *Die Sachsen* (p.733; *Die Zeit der Salier und Sachsen* in Hagemeyer); *Das Stauferreich* (p.703; *Die Zeit der Staufer* in Hagemeyer); etc.

I shall not dwell on the earlier phases of German history covered by Diwald, that is, from the early tenth century to the time of the approach of World War I. Suffice it to say that these phases of German history are treated in a stimulating, perceptive manner with an important reinforcement by the quality of illustrations for which the Propylaen Verlag has long been justly famous. Rather, I would prefer to concentrate on the more recent phases of German history including the two world wars and their aftermaths and the development of the three republics (Federal, "Ger-

man Democratic” and Austrian) from what remained of the territory of the Reich. Not only does Diwald devote well over one-third of his space to the period after 1900 or so, but this treatment has encountered loud protests from some quarters. According to a story which appeared in the *National-Zeitung* of 16 February 1979, the Berlin Jewish community was so badly disturbed by the publication of the book that it elicited from Axel Springer (with whom the Propylaen Verlag is associated) an apology and a promise to bring out a strongly modified and “improved” version of the work. In passing, we might note that Diwald devotes a rather small amount of space to the history of the Jews in German lands.

Even while concentrating our attention on the period after about 1900 (namely the section entitled *Das Zeitalter der grossen Kriege*, pp.21-288), it would scarcely be possible to do justice here to Diwald’s massive treatment of this period. In our brief space we can merely give a sampling of Diwald’s treatment of some important points.

To emphasize the watershed nature of the year 1945, Diwald commences his account with a description of Yalta, with its remote location and almost tropical climate, where three old men brought about a diabolically irresponsible division of the world in February 1945. The naive, illusion filled approach of the mortally sick Roosevelt to Stalin is described (pp. 21 ff.). The cynical inconsistency of Churchill, on the other hand, is exemplified by his famous remark of 30 July 1952, that (in view of the postwar Soviet policies) the wrong swine had been slaughtered, a mistake made in the course of a war which Britain had declared against Germany on 3 September 1939 and which had cost some 50,000,000 lives (p.116).

As to the spirit which currently prevails in the Federal Republic, Diwald characterizes its citizens as cautious, rather indifferent to intellectual and cultural matters and comparable to persons about to receive or already receiving a pension (pp. 122-123).

As to the doubtful legal basis of the sentences imposed by the Nuremberg Military Tribunal on 1 October 1946, Senator Taft of Ohio is quoted at length. Pope Pius XII is also quoted as expressing his reservations in 1953 about the validity of the trials. Diwald, in fact, devotes much attention to the faulty legal basis of these trials. In subsequent trials of alleged war criminals the Americans, according to official statements, executed more persons than Britain, France and the Soviet Union put together (pages 126-136).

With regard to the German invasion of Poland that began on 1 September 1939, Diwald points out that the Polish recalcitrance toward compromises proposed by Germany on German-Polish sources of tensions was strengthened by a British guarantee of support for the Poles given in the first half of March 1939 (p. 140). When Britain demanded that German forces be withdrawn from Poland within two hours under the threat of a declaration of war against Germany, Hitler was dumbfounded at the prospect of a war with Britain (p.145). In April of 1940 German forces were scarcely able to beat to the punch the British forces that had already been assembled for the invasion of Norway (pp. 147-148). Even after the outbreak of the war, Hitler repeatedly tried to come to terms with Britain but aid given by Roosevelt to Britain long before December 1941, prevented a compromise that would have lead to the ending of the tragic war between fraternal nations (p. 158).

Notwithstanding the hostility of National Socialism toward Jews, Diwald states flatly (p. 164) that not a single “extermination camp” ever existed in Germany. He also mentions the highly significant fact that on 28 December 1942, Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler gave the order that the number of deaths in the concentration camps was to be reduced at any price after a devastating typhus epidemic had broken out in Birkenau (p. 165). Diwald’s assertion would seem to be in

keeping with a statement published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* of 7 February 1979, by an Israeli citizen and former inmate of Auschwitz to the effect that she had never heard of gas chambers there until after her liberation.

Diwald notes the blame which Hitler directed against the Jews for the catastrophic plight of Germany in his will dated 29 April 1945, and mentions the well-known scapegoat theory (p.163). In my view, however, this theory is much too simplistic. After 1918 a great deal of hostility toward Jews was to be found not only in Germany but also Austria, Hungary, the Baltic republics, Poland and Rumania. Many middle-class Europeans perceived Communism and its almost boundless brutality as being a responsibility of the Jews who dominated the Soviet state, especially in its earlier years. Moreover, the highly disproportionate role of Jews in commercial, financial and monetary matters made them vulnerable to widespread blame in those lands where hyperinflations destroyed the assets of the middle classes and caused great embitterment in them. In fact, it is probably no coincidence that the most virulent hostility toward Jews in Europe was to be found precisely in those countries which had the worst hyperinflations, notably Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Free City of Danzig, Poland, Lithuania and Russia. Let us not forget that after 22 June 1941, advancing German armed forces were welcomed as liberators from the bitterly hated Communist government, especially in the Baltic states and the Ukraine, areas which had suffered in extreme measure from the brutality of the Communist leaders. In no event should the widespread European hostility toward Jews during the 1920s and 1930s be thought of as an exclusively German phenomenon, nor one based primarily on ecclesiastical traditions, Catholic or Lutheran. It was an essentially secular phenomenon.

There are some striking omissions in Diwald's treatment of World War II and its blood-soaked aftermaths. I find no reference whatsoever to the Morgenthau Plan, the diabolical scheme that was doubtless responsible for much useless spilling of blood and wasting of economic assets, both American and German. Although there is no mention of Operation Keelhaul as such, many details of the British betrayals of prisoners-of-war who had surrendered to them are given. The Serbs and Croations, for example, were handed over to Tito, who murdered unbelievably large numbers of them. The British were also responsible for shooting huge numbers of anti-Communist Cosacks who preferred death to being handed over to the Red Army (pp. 123-124). Three German armies left in the Bohemian and Moravian area at the end of the war with about 1.2 million soldiers were put into Soviet camps, where most of them died. Diwald also fails to mention the rather sizable numbers of men recruited in the Low Countries and Scandanavia who fought alongside the German forces in Russia. We tend to forget that almost all of Europe had joined in the crusade against Communism by 1942, a crusade that would doubtless have succeeded without American intervention.

In addition to the Soviet occupation of part of Finland, all of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and the eastern part of Rumania by the summer of 1940 (p. 154), Hitler's fear of a coalition of the United States with the Soviet Union, based on information about secret talks between the two powers, was one of the decisive factors which lead Hitler to give the order to invade Russia on 22 June 1941 (p. 157).

With regard to the prewar development of National Socialism, Diwald points out (p. 227) that movements similar to it were to be found in Turkey (under Kemal Ataturk); Italy (under Mussolini), Hungary, Yugoslavia and Poland. He could also have pointed out, however, that a number of parallels between National Socialism and Roosevelt's New Deal can be observed, especially with regard to monetary, economic and even artistic policies. Just compare the painting typical of the WPA projects with that which was encouraged by the National Socialists, both of which had a strong tendency to socialist realism.

Diwald devotes little attention to one of the most distinctive and significant aspects of National Socialism, namely the effort to use scientific medical information to improve the genetic quality of the German population. The best exposition of this effort of which I know is found in the book by Professor Otmar von Verschuer, M.D. (1896-1969), *Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene* (Principles of Eugenics), the second edition of which was published by the Georg Thieme Verlag in Leipzig in 1944. Professor von Verschuer, by the way, was a recognized authority in this area even before 1933.

Article 231 of the Versailles "Treaty" had forced Germany to admit responsibility for starting the First World War. Diwald (p. 248) points out that the Nuremberg trials of 1945-1946 were simply a variant procedure used against Germany to attain the same result. No doubt one of the causes of World War I was the outdistancing of Britain by Germany in the fields of industry and commerce (outlined by Diwald on pp. 268-270).

I could find only one factual error made by Diwald, namely the erroneous caption below the illustration on page 211, which mentions the "rapid decline of the German Rentenmark." The Rentenmark, however, was actually the unit which replaced the old Mark, which had become virtually worthless by the end of 1923.

Diwald's terminology in itself is noteworthy. He occasionally uses the word *bolschewistisch*, hardly a fashionable word today. In referring to what is officially called the "German Democratic Republic" Diwald frequently uses the term *Mitteldeutschland*, thus asserting that the lost territories east of the Oder-Neisse Line are also part of the German realm and historical tradition.

Although Diwald includes no footnotes or bibliography (a frustrating feature), this reviewer cannot escape the impression that the writings of Revisionistic historians in the English-speaking countries might well have encouraged him to have dared a rather fresh approach to German history with a nationalistic emphasis, an approach which would scarcely have been possible as little as five years ago in the Federal Republic, the universities of which are largely permeated with Marxist influences. Examples of such Revisionistic writings are those by Austin J. App (*A Straight Look at the Third Reich et al.*), John Beaty (*The Iron Curtain Over America*), Arthur R. Butz (*The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*), Benjamin Colby (*'Twas a Famous Victory*) and A. J. P. Taylor (*The Origins of the Second World War*).

Since 1945 the atmosphere in the occupation zones of Germany and subsequently in the Federal Republic (see Diwald's introduction, pp.15-16) has been such that historical writings that did not condemn German historical developments prior to 1945 and use history as a means of self effacement were not likely to be published. Indeed, it would seem that history in an unbalanced or even falsified form has frequently been used as an insidious weapon in a continued and unrelenting war against the German nation, useful as it might have been in pacifying the Germans to the extent of making them willing to bear the almost Carthaginian conditions imposed on them by the victors. In view of the most recent television series, versions of German history have even been used as a means of psychological demoralization and political manipulation against the majority ethnic components in other countries whose populations are primarily Caucasian. In view of these circumstances, Diwald's work is a significant contribution to German historical writing of the past three decades. It deserves a translation into English as soon as feasible because it could remove the blindfolds from the eyes of many people who would be willing to make impartial assessments of history.

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A Note From The Editor (Summer 1980)

The first issue of THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW reprinted the speeches given by various noted Revisionist thinkers at the first-ever Revisionist Convention, held at Northrop University in Los Angeles, over Labor Day weekend, 1979. Most of these speakers concentrated on the “Holocaust” and boldly demonstrated its fraudulent nature.

Reaction to the first issue has been very favorable. More and more academics are waking up to this; the greatest academic hoax since Piltdown Man. These academics are encouraged by the high caliber of research which has so far been published in this field. In our second issue, we again focus almost entirely on the “Holocaust.” This is partly because there is such a wealth of material badly in need of publication, but also because the issue is a topical, and indeed, a vital one. A Third World War looms ominously on the horizon, and it threatens to engulf the United States yet again. This time around, the theater of conflict appears to be the Middle East, and without a doubt the U.S. will be expected to pitch-in on the side of the Israel entity. One of the main “arguments” put forward for this alliance is that six million Jews were gassed and therefore we all owe it to them to make amends. The intellectual gymnastics of this “reasoning” will be obvious to any thinking person. But there will undoubtedly be many who will be taken in, even though the argument is a total non sequitur.

This is where Revisionism of the “Holocaust” comes in. If we are able to demonstrate effectively that six million Jews were not “gassed” but were simply a product of the Zionists' Machiavellian imaginations, then the entire war-mongering strategy will collapse **on its own terms**. This demonstrates the necessity of “Holocaust” Revisionism as a key to avoiding any immediate, Middle East warfare.

But on a longer term basis, we need to have Historical Revisionism over a whole range of 20th Century events, particularly the lead-in to world wars. For **it is only by understanding the real reasons and real nature of warfare, that we will be able to avoid future warfare.**

Therefore, as of the next issue, we will be devoting more of our space to non-“Holocaust” matters than we have done so far. We will cover as wide a range of 20th Century events as possible, in order to gain more insight and understanding of the real reasons behind them. We will still be publishing “Holocaust”-related articles, of course, but they will take up no more than 30 % of each issue. For one thing, there is just so much valuable and unpublished material on this subject; it would be unfair to ignore it. In particular, we will be publishing more articles by the Swedish researcher Ditlieb Felderer. His first-hand researches are astounding.

This broadening of our Revisionist outlook will also be reflected in our 1980 Revisionist Convention, to be held on the first weekend in August, at a different university campus in southern California. The list of speakers will be announced soon, and attendance application forms may be obtained from this office. I look forward to meeting you there.

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The 'Problem of the Gas Chambers'

by Robert Faurisson

The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence ...

Article 19 of the Statutes of the International Military Tribunal (in reality: the Inter-allied Military Tribunal) at Nuremberg

The Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge, but shall take judicial notice thereof ...

Article 21 of the Statutes

No one, not even those individuals who regard the Third Reich with nostalgia, denies the existence of concentration camps under Hitler. Everyone also recognizes that certain camps were equipped with crematory ovens: instead of being buried, the corpses were reduced to ashes. The repeated occurrence of epidemics made cremation necessary, especially for those who had died of typhus (see the photos of mass graves at Belsen et cetera). What is disputed by numerous French, British, American, and German authors is the existence of "extermination camps." This expression is used by historiographers to refer to those camps that were supposed to have been equipped with "gas chambers." Allegedly, these "gas chambers" were different from American gas chambers in that they were used to kill hundreds of men, women, and children at a time. Because the victims were chosen because of their race or religion, this is referred to as "genocide." The poison employed in this "genocide" is said to have been Zyklon B (a pesticide based upon prussic or hydrocyanic acid).

Those who contest the "genocide" claim and the existence of the "gas chambers" are called Revisionists. Their argument runs approximately as follows:

It suffices for both of these problems ("genocide" and "gas chambers") to apply the customary methods of historical criticism, to see that one is confronted here by two myths that are inseparable. The criminal intentions that are attributed to Hitler have never been proven. As far as the weapon for this crime is concerned, no one has actually seen it. Here one is confronted by an extraordinarily successful war and hate propaganda campaign. History is full of frauds of this kind, beginning with their religious fables of sorcery and witchcraft. What distinguishes our times from earlier epochs is the frightening power of the media and the propaganda ad nauseam which is made for what must be called "the hoax of the twentieth century." Let him beware who, after 30 years, gets the idea to expose this hoax. He will learn depending upon the situation through imprisonment, fines, assaults and insults. His career can be shattered or endangered. He will be denounced as a Nazi. Either his thesis will be ig-

nored, or else it will be distorted. No country will be more unrelentingly ruthless toward him than Germany. [1]

Today however, the silence is about to be broken about those men who have dared to write responsibly that Hitler's "gas chambers" (including those of Auschwitz and Majdanek) are only a historical lie. That is a great advance.

But what insults and distortions an Exterminationist historian such as Georges Wellers allowed himself when, more than ten years after Paul Rassinier's death, he decided to expose the minutest part of the arguments of this ex-inmate of a concentration camp who had had the courage to reveal the lie of the "gas chambers" in his writings!

The best way in which a historian may inform himself regarding the actual claims of the disciples of Paul Rassinier is to refer to the work of American professor Dr. Arthur R. Butz entitled *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. [2]

For my part, I take the liberty of making only a few observations specifically for serious research-oriented historians.

I call their attention to a paradox. Although the "gas chambers" are, in the view of the official historians, absolutely central to a picture of the Nazi concentration camp system (and furthermore, as proof for the totally perverse and devilish character of the German concentration camps in comparison to all previous and more recent concentration camps it ought to be meticulously shown how the Nazis proceeded to invent, construct, and operate these fearsome human slaughterhouses), one must be thoroughly astonished that in the impressive bibliography of the concentration camp literature there is not a single book, not a single brochure, not a single article, on the "gas chambers" themselves. One must not be misled by some very promising titles; rather one must ascertain the contents of these writings for oneself. I regard as "official historical writing" those publications which are written about the concentration camps by institutions or foundations that are partly or wholly financed from public funds, such as, for example, in France, the Comité d'Histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale (Committee for the History of the Second World War) and the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (Jewish Contemporary Documentation Center), and in Germany (Munich), the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History).

One must wait until page 541 of the thesis by Olga Wormser-Migot on the system of Nazi concentration camps, before one finds a passage about the "gas chambers." However, for the reader there are still three other surprises:

1. The passage in question covers only three pages.
2. It carries the title: "The Problem of the Gas Chambers."
3. The "problem" consists of trying to determine whether the "gas chambers" at Ravensbrück (Germany) and Mauthausen (Austria) really existed; the author comes to the conclusion that they did not exist; however she does not examine here the "problem" of the "gas chambers" of Auschwitz or any of the other camps, probably because in her mind they do not present a "problem." [on page 157 of her book she says that Auschwitz I had no gas chamber.]

At this point, the reader probably wants to know why an analysis that concludes that "gas chambers" did not exist in certain camps is suddenly discontinued as soon as, for example, Auschwitz is discussed. Why, on one hand, is the critical spirit awakened, and then, on the other hand, is it

allowed to collapse into lethargy? After all, as far as the “gas chamber” of Ravensbrück is concerned, we have many points of “evidence” and “undeniable eyewitness accounts,” beginning with repeated and extensive eyewitness accounts by Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier or Germaine Tillion.

It gets even better. Several years after the war, before both British and French tribunals, the camp officials of Ravensbrück (Suhren, Schwarzhuber and Treite) repeatedly confessed to the existence of a “gas chamber” in their camp. They even vaguely described its operation. Eventually, those who did not commit suicide were executed because of this alleged “gas chamber.” The same “confessions” were given prior to their deaths by Ziereis for Mauthausen (Austria) and by Kramer for Struthof-Natzweiler (Alsace).

Today, one can see the alleged “gas chamber” of Struthof-Natzweiler and in the same place one can also read the unbelievable “confession” of Kramer. This “gas chamber,” which is designated as an “historical monument,” is a complete fraud. The slightest amount of critical spirit will be sufficient to convince oneself that a gassing in this small room, without any sealing whatsoever, would have been a catastrophe for the executioner as well as for the people in the vicinity. In order to make this “gas chamber” (which is guaranteed to be “in its original condition”) believable, someone has gone so far as to clumsily knock a hole into the thin wall with a chisel, and thereby break four tiles. The hole was so arranged that Josef Kramer would have dumped through it the mysterious “salts” (about which he could give no further details and which, when mixed with a little water, killed within one minute!). How could salts and water make such a gas? How could Kramer have prevented the gas from coming back out the hole? How could he see his victims from a hole which would have let him see no more than half the room? How did he ventilate the room before opening the rudimentary door, made from rough-cut lumber? Perhaps one must ask the civil engineering firm in Saint-Michel sur-Meurthe (Vosges), which after the war altered the place which today is presented to visitors “in its original condition”?

Even long after the war, prelates, university professors, and some ordinary citizens gave eyewitness descriptions regarding the terrible reality of the “gas chambers” of Buchenwald and Dachau. With regard to Buchenwald, the “gas chamber” gradually disappeared from the minds of the people who had previously maintained that there was one in this camp.

Dachau

With regard to Dachau, the situation is different. After it had been firmly established for example by His Eminence Bishop Piguët, the bishop of Clermont-Ferrand that the “gas chamber” had been especially useful in gassing Polish priests, [3] eventually the following official explanation came to pass:

This gas chamber, whose construction had been started in 1942, was still not completed in 1945 when the camp was liberated. No one could have been gassed in it.

The little room, which visitors are told is a “gas chamber,” is in reality completely harmless and, while all sorts of construction plans are available for “Baracke X” (the crematorium and vicinity), one cannot determine upon what basis or technical explanation one can claim that this structure is an “unfinished gas chamber.”

Broszat

No official historical institute has done more than the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich to make the myth of the “gas chambers” believable. Since 1972 its director has been Dr. Martin Broszat. As a member of this Institute since 1955, Dr. Broszat became famous as a result of his (partial!) publication in 1958 of the confessions that Rudolf Höss (former Commandant of Auschwitz) is supposed to have written in a communist prison before he was hanged. However, on 19 August 1960, this historian had to tell his amazed countrymen that there had never been mass gassings in the entire Old Reich (Germany’s 1937 frontiers), but rather, only in a small number of selected places, especially in occupied Poland, including Auschwitz and Birkenau but not Majdanek. This startling news was given in a simple letter to the editor which was published in the weekly magazine *Die Zeit* (19 August 1960, page 16). The title was quite misleading and restrictive: *Keine Vergasung in Dachau* (No Gassing at Dachau) instead of *Keine Massenvergasung im Altreich* (No Mass Gassing in the Old Reich). [4] In order to support this contention, Dr. Broszat provided not the slightest piece of evidence. Today [1978], eighteen years after his letter, neither he nor any of his colleagues has provided the slightest explanation for this affirmation. It would be highly interesting to learn:

1. How does Dr. Broszat know that “gas chambers” in the Old Reich were frauds?
2. How does he know that the “gas chambers” in Poland are genuine?
3. Why do the “proofs,” the “certainties,” and the “eyewitness accounts” concerning the concentration camps in the west suddenly have no value, while the “proofs,” “certainties,” and “eyewitness accounts” concerning the camps in Poland Communist territory still remain true?

As if by some tacit agreement, not a single recognized historian has raised these questions. How often in the “history of history” has one relied upon the claims of a single historian? [5]

German Camps in Occupied Poland

Let us now examine the “gas chambers” in Poland.

For proof that the “gas chambers” in Belzec or Treblinka really existed, one is asked to rely essentially upon the statement of Kurt Gerstein. This document from a member of the SS, who allegedly committed suicide in 1945 in the prison of Cherche-Midi in Paris, abounds with so many absurdities that in the eyes of historians it has for a long time already been thoroughly discredited. [6] Furthermore, this statement has never been made public, not even in the documents of the Nuremberg tribunal, except in an unusable form (with truncations, falsifications, and rewritings). The actual document has never been available with its absurd appendices (French “draft” or the “supplements” in German).

Regarding Majdanek, a visit to the actual site is absolutely necessary. It is even more convincing than a visit to Struthof-Natzweiler, if that is possible. Over this question I will publish additional information.

With regard to Auschwitz and Birkenau, one must rely essentially on the “Memoirs” [7] of Rudolf Höss, which were prepared under the supervision of his Polish captors. At the actual site, one can only find a “reconstructed” room (Auschwitz I) and ruins (Auschwitz II or Birkenau).

An execution with gas has nothing to do with a suicidal or accidental suffocation. In the case of an execution, the executioner and his team must not be exposed to the slightest danger. For their executions, the Americans employ hydrocyanic acid in a sophisticated way, and that only in a

small, hermetically-sealed chamber. Afterwards, the gas is exhausted from the chamber and neutralized.

For this reason, one must ask how, for example in the case of Auschwitz II or Birkenau, one could bring 2,000 people into a room measuring 210 square meters in area, and then in this highly crowded situation throw in the very strong pesticide Zyklon B, and then immediately after the deaths of the victims let a work crew without any gas masks enter the room in order to take out the bodies which had been thoroughly saturated with cyanide.

Two documents [8] from the German industrial archives which were registered by the Americans at Nuremberg tell us that the Zyklon B had a strong tendency to adhere to surfaces and could not be removed from an ordinary room with a strong ventilator, but only by natural aeration for almost 24 hours. Additional documents may be found only at the site in the Auschwitz Museum archives, which were never described elsewhere, but which show that this room of 210 square meters, which is today in a dilapidated condition, was only a very simple mortuary, which (in order to protect it against heat) had been located underground, and which was provided with only a single door which served as both an entrance and an exit. [9]

Concerning the crematoria of Auschwitz, there is just as there is generally for the entire camp an overabundance of documents and invoices down to the last penny. However, concerning the “gas chambers” there is nothing: no contract for construction, not even a study, nor an order for materials, nor a plan, nor an invoice, nor even a photograph. In a hundred war crimes trials, nothing of the sort was ever produced.

Christophersen

“I was in Auschwitz and I can assure you that there was no 'gas chamber' there.” Only seldom does one hear defense witnesses with enough courage to pronounce this statement. They are persecuted in the courts. [10] Still today, everyone in Germany takes the risk that, if they give an eyewitness account in favor of Thies Christophersen (who wrote *The Auschwitz Lie*), they will be punished for “defaming the memory of the deceased.” [11]

Immediately after the war, the Germans, the International Red Cross and the Vatican (which was otherwise so expert as to whatever happened in Poland), as well as many others, declared in an embarrassed tone: “The 'gas chambers' we knew nothing about them!” Yes but I would put the question this way: “Can one know about things which did not even happen?”

There was not a single “gas chamber” in even one of the German concentration camps; that is the truth. The nonexistence of “gas chambers” should be regarded as welcome news; to hide this news in the future would be an injustice. Just as there is no attack upon a religion if one portrays “Fatima” as a fraud, the announcement that the “gas chambers” are an historical lie is no attack upon concentration camp survivors. One is merely doing one’s duty being truthful.

Conclusions

After 30 years of research, revisionist authors have reached the following conclusions:

1. The Hitler “gas chambers” never existed.
2. The “genocide” (or “attempted genocide”) of the Jews never took place. In other words: Hitler never gave an order nor permission that anyone should be killed because of his race or religion.

3. The alleged “gas chambers” and the alleged “genocide” are one and the same lie.
 4. This lie, which is largely of Zionist origin, has made an enormous political and financial fraud possible, whose principal beneficiary is the state of Israel.
 5. The principal victims of this fraud are the German people (but not the German rulers) and the entire Palestinian people.
 6. The enormous power of the official information services has, thus far, had the effect of ensuring the success of the lie and of censoring the freedom of expression of those who have denounced the lie.
 7. The participants in this lie know that its days are numbered. They distort the purpose and nature of the Revisionist research. They label as “resurgence of Nazism” or as “falsification of history” what is only a thoughtful and justified concern for historical truth.
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Supplement

Two publications and an official intervention by the author:

1. A letter to Historama, Paris, November 1975, page 10, on the expression “N.N.” Originally, these initials never meant Nacht und Nebel (Night and Fog), but Nomen nescio (Anonymous). In practice it meant that certain inmates would not be permitted to receive or send mail.
 2. Segments of a letter to Historia, Paris, August 1977, page 132: “The Imposture of Genocide.”
 3. On 29 January 1978 at the Colloque National de Lyon sur Eglises et Chrétiens de France dans la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale (National Convention in Lyon on Churches and Christians of France during the Second World War) an intervention concerning the imposture of the “gas chambers” (see Rivarol, Paris, 16 February 1978, page 5).
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Notes

1.  Regarding the great number of vicious and insulting articles, there is a study by Hermann Langbein which appeared in Le Monde Juif (The Jewish World), April/June 1975. The title is “Coup d'oeil sur la littérature néo-nazie,” (“A Glimpse at Neo-Nazi Literature”), pages 8-20. Hermann Langbein was an inmate in Auschwitz. He testified at countless trials. He holds an important position in the circles of former concentration camp inmates. One of his most recent works is entitled: Hommes et Femmes à Auschwitz (Men and Women of Auschwitz), Paris, Fayard, 1975, VIII-529 pages (Translated from Menschen in Auschwitz, Vienna, 1974.) Not one of the 30 chapters, not one of the 268 sections of this book is devoted to the “gas chambers”! Rather, one constantly sees expressions such as “selection for the gas chambers” etc. There is also a study by Georges Wellers which appeared in Le Monde Juif (op. cit.) April/June 1977. The title is “La 'Solution finale', de la question juive et la mythomanie néo-nazie” (“The “Final Solution” and Neo-Nazi Mythomania,”), pages 41-84. There is also a study by Ino Arndt and Wolfgang Scheffler in Viertelsjahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte (Quarterly Review for Contemporary History), which is a publication of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. The Institute’s director is currently Dr. Martin Broszat. This study was published in the issue of April 1976. The title is: “Organisierter Massenmord an Juden in NS-Vernichtungslagern” (Organized Mass-Murder of Jews in Nazi Extermination Camps), pages 105-135.

2. ☞ *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Newport Beach, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1979.
3. ☞ *Prison et Déportation* (Prison and Deportation). Paris: Spes; 1947; page 77.
4. ☞ Broszat's letter is reproduced in facsimile (with its English translation) in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May/June 1993, page 12.
5. ☞ The famed Simon Wiesenthal has also admitted that "there were no extermination camps on German soil" in a letter to the editor of *Books and Bookmen*, page 5, April 1975. Although he later wrote in a letter dated 12 May 1986 to Professor John George of Central State University in Edmond, Oklahoma, that he "could never have said such a thing," Wiesenthal reconfirmed his earlier statement in a letter to the editor published on page 14 of the European editor of *Stars and Stripes* dated 24 January 1993. This letter is reproduced in facsimile in *The Journal for Historical Review*, May/June 1993, page 10.
6. ☞ See the opinion expressed by the forensic pathologist as it is reported by the Exterminationist Pierre Joffroy in his book about Kurt Gerstein: *L'Espion de Dieu/La Passion de Kurt Gerstein* (The Spy of God/The Passion of Kurt Gerstein), Paris, Grasset, 1969, page 262.
7. ☞ *Kommandant in Auschwitz/Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen* (Commandant of Auschwitz/Autobiographical Memoirs) by Rudolf Höss, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1958, 184p; introduction and commentary by Dr. Martin Broszat. Concerning "gassing," see pages 126 and 166. The entry of the work crew into the "gas chamber" is supposed to happen "sofort" ("immediately") as it is written on page 166.
8. ☞ These two extensive documents which are of great importance were apparently not used at the trials of Gerhard Peters, former director of Degesch. They were registered as documents NI-9098 and NI-9912. They irrevocably reduce to nothing the "eyewitness testimony" of Höss regarding the "gas chambers."
9. ☞ Photographs Neg. 6228 and following.
10. ☞ Case of Wilhelm Stäglich, for example. See Stäglich in the *Index Nominum* of Butz's book (op. cit.).
11. ☞ *Die Auschwitz-Lüge* (The Auschwitz Lie), #23 of *Kritik* (2341 Kälberhagen, Post Mohrkirch, West Germany), 1974. This booklet was followed by *Der Auschwitz-Betrug/Das Echo auf die Auschwitz-Lüge* (The Auschwitz Fraud/The Echo of the Auschwitz Lie.).

Editor's note:

This is an expanded version of the original article.

Summer 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 2), page 115

In the Matter of Robert Faurisson

John Bennett

Statement on oath by John Tuson Bennett of 122 Canning Street, Carlton Melbourne Australia, barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of Victoria.

I, John Tuson Bennett of 122 Canning Street Carlton Melbourne make oath and say as follows:

1. I am a barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of Victoria and have been employed by the Attorney General's Department of the Government of Australia since 1968, and am currently working in the legal aid section of that Department.
2. I graduated in law with honors from the University of Melbourne in 1958 and graduated in arts with honors from the same University in 1966. I am the author of various publications such as *Freedom of Expression in Australia*, *The Handbook of Citizens Rights*, *Police Powers* and *Citizens Rights* and *Your Rights*. *Your Rights* has sold over 120,000 copies in Australia and is the standard reference work on human rights in Australia.
3. I have been the Secretary of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties since it was founded in 1966. The VCCL supports freedom of speech, freedom to conduct research, freedom to publish and freedom from arbitrary government actions; it investigates police misconduct, invasions of privacy and allegations of transgressions of citizens' rights, promotes law reform; and it takes steps to advise the public of their rights.
4. As a private citizen, I have exercised my own personal right to freedom of speech to conduct research and to publish my findings in various controversial areas of "history." In particular, I have conducted research into the treatment of Jews in Europe in WWII. I have come to the same conclusion as that reached by Professor A. Butz, Professor H. Barnes and Professor J. Martin in the United States of America, and by Associate Professor Robert Faurisson in France, that there was no plan in WWII to exterminate Jews and that there were no mass gassings. Professor Helmut Diwald has also raised serious questions about the Holocaust in his book *The History of the Germans*.
5. The question of the nature and extent of "The Holocaust" is freely debatable in the media in Australia, and it is not suggested that people such as myself are neo nazi or anti semitic, that we should be penalized in our jobs because of our views, or that we have committed "group libel." There is no law in Australia allowing people to sue for group libel, and I would regard any such law as a major threat to freedom of speech.
6. My findings challenging the nature of "The Holocaust" have been published in or referred to in the following parts of the Australian media.

A. In *The National Times* in an article dated 10 February 1979 and many subsequent letters. The National Times has a circulation of about 120,000 in Australia, which has a population of about 14 million. It is the major national weekly apart from The Bulletin.

B. In *The Age* in feature articles on 3 March 1979 and 28 March 1979, and in about 20 letters to the editor, The Age is Melbourne's major quality morning newspaper with a circulation of 200,000. A letter by me dated 15 March 1979 is attached.

C. In *Nation Review* a major left wing national weekly in many issues in 1979 including an article by me (dated 7 June 1979) which is attached.

D. In *The Bulletin* in a feature article dated 13 September 1979 and many subsequent letters some of which are attached. *The Bulletin* is a conservative weekly with a circulation of 90,000.

E. On the Australian Broadcasting Commission's TV program ABC2 *Nationwide* on 25 April 1979, on ABC radio PM on 29 October 1979 and on the Australia wide *Willesee* TV show on 9 November 1979.

A cassette tape of my comments on these shows is attached. The ABC is the Australian equivalent of the British Broadcasting Commission (the BBC).

F. In *The Melbourne Herald* in a letter dated the 25 October 1979 a copy of which is attached. The Herald is Melbourne's only afternoon daily and has a circulation of 460,000.

The above news items indicate that the "Holocaust" is a legitimate matter for debate in a society such as Australia which values its freedom of speech. Any attempts to suppress freedom of speech could lead to suppression of the truth.

Also in Australia, if there was any suggestion that a judicial officer was biased or had preconceptions in relation to the issues in any court case he would disqualify himself, on the basis that "justice must not only be done but must be seen to be done," which is a maxim of our legal system.

7. The above news items numbered A, B, C, D, E and F are attached hereto and marked with the letters "A" "B" "C" "D" "E" and "F."

8. The publication *Your Rights* referred to in paragraph 2 above is attached hereto and marked with the letter "G."

9. The Victorian Council for Civil Liberties of which I am secretary has endorsed my right as a private citizen to conduct personal research and publish my findings and has issued the following statement in support of Robert Faurisson's right to do likewise:-

"TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The Victorian Council for Civil Liberties believes that the treatment of Professor Robert Faurisson by the University of Lyon, by sections of the French media, and by some decisions of French courts is scandalous, and can be compared in some respects with the Dreyfus case in France.

The VCCL believes that the Civil Rights of Professor Faurisson have been infringed and in particular that his civil rights to conduct research, to have freedom of speech, and to have academic freedom have been infringed.

It is the right to anyone to conduct research and publish his findings on any subject including controversial areas of History such as the Holocaust, and attempts to harass, victimize and silence anyone conducting such research are incompatible with the principles of a free society.

The VCCL which was established in 1966 covers the second largest state or province in Australia, and has consistently been opposed to book censorship, censorship of ideas and suppression of information by the media, and has consistently supported the civil rights of individuals in relation to the State and other organizations such as the media and universities. John Bennett Secretary Victorian Council for Civil Liberties.”

10. I am prepared to attend court proceedings in France to give evidence on behalf of Robert Faurisson and to be cross examined on this, my affidavit. I believe that attempts to silence, victimize and harass Robert Faurisson are designed to prevent free debate on an important historical issue, and that the attempts are incompatible with the principles of a free society.

Sworn at Melbourne in the State of Victoria.

Before me A Commissioner of the Supreme Court in the State of Victoria for taking affidavits.

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The Corpse Factory

ARTHUR PONSONBY

A series of extracts will give the record of one of the most revolting lies invented during the First World War, the dissemination of which throughout not only Britain but the world was encouraged and connived at by both the Government and the press. It started in 1917, and was not finally disposed of till 1925.

(Most of the quotations given are from *The Times*. The references in the lower strata of the press, it will be remembered, were far more lurid.)

One of the United States consuls, on leaving Germany in February 1917, stated in Switzerland that the Germans were distilling glycerine from the bodies of their dead.

The Times 16 April 1917

Herr Karl Rosner, the Correspondent of the *Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger*, on the Western front ... published last Tuesday the first definite German admission concerning the way in which the Germans use dead bodies.

We pass through Everingcourt. There is a dull smell in the air as if lime were being burnt. We are passing the great Corpse Exploitation Establishment (Kadaververwertungsanstalt) of this Army Group. The fat that is won here is turned into lubricating oils, and everything else is ground down in the bone mill into a powder which is used for mixing with pig's food and as manure-nothing can be permitted to go to waste.

The Times 16 April 1917

There was a report in *The Times* of 17 April 1917 from *La Belgique* (Leyden), via *l'Indépendance Belge*, 10 April, giving a very long and detailed account of a Deutsche Abfallverwertungsgesellschaft factory near Coblenz, where train-loads of the stripped bodies of German soldiers, wired into bundles, arrive and are simmered down in cauldrons, the products being stearine and refined oil.

In *The Times* of 18 April 1917, there was a letter from C.E. Bunbury commenting and suggesting the use of the story for propaganda purposes, in neutral countries and the East, where it would be especially calculated to horrify Buddhists, Hindus, and Mohammedans. He suggested broadcasting by the Foreign Office, India Office, and Colonial Office; there were other letters to the same effect on 19 April.

In *The Times* of 20 April 1917, there was a story told by Sergeant B_____, of the Kents, that a prisoner had told him that the Germans boil down their dead for munitions and pig and poultry

food. "This fellow told me that Fritz calls his margarine 'corpse fat' because they suspect that's what it comes from."

The Times stated that it had received a number of letters "questioning the translation of the German word Kadaver, and suggesting that it is not used of human bodies. As to this, the best authorities are agreed that it is also used of the bodies of animals." Other letters were received confirming the story from Belgian and Dutch sources (later from Roumania).

There was an article in the *Lancet* discussing the "business aspect" (or rather the technical one) of the industry. An expression of horror appeared from the Chinese Minister in London, and also from the Maharajah of Bikanir, in *The Times* of 21 April 1917.

The Times of 23 April 1917, quotes a German statement that the report is "loathsome and ridiculous," and that Kadaver is never used of a human body. *The Times* produces dictionary quotations to show that it is. Also that both *Tierkörpermehl* and *Kadavermehl* appear in German official catalogs, the implication being that they must be something different.

In *The Times* of 24 April 1917, there was a letter, signed E.H. Parker, enclosing copy of the *North China Herald*, 3 March 1917, recounting an interview between the German Minister and the Chinese Premier in Pekin:

But the matter was clinched when Admiral von Hinke was dilating upon the ingenious methods by which German scientists were obtaining chemicals necessary for the manufacture of munitions. The admiral triumphantly stated that they were extracting glycerine out of their dead soldiers! From that moment onward the horrified Premier had no more use for Germany, and the business of persuading him to turn against her became comparatively easy.

The following questions in Parliament show the Government evading the issue, although they knew there was not a particle of authentic evidence for the report—a good instance of the official method of spreading falsehood.

Mr. Ronald McNeill asked the Prime Minister if he will take steps to make it known as widely as possible in Egypt, India, and the East generally, that the Germans use the dead bodies of their own soldiers and of their enemies when they obtain possession of them, as food for swine.

Mr. Dillon asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether his attention has been called to the reports widely circulated in this country that the German Government have set up factories for extracting fat from the bodies of soldiers killed in battle; whether these reports have been endorsed by many prominent men in this country, including Lord Curzon of Kedleston; whether the Government have any solid grounds for believing that these statements are well-founded; and if so, whether he will communicate the information at the disposal of the Government to the House.

Lord R. Cecil: With respect to this question and that standing in the name of the Hon. Member for East Mayo, the Government have no information at present beyond that contained in extracts from the German Press which have been published in the Press here. In view of other actions by German military authorities, there is nothing incredible in the present charge against them. His Majesty's Government have allowed the circulation of facts as they have appeared through the usual channels.

Mr, McNeill: Can the Right Hon. Gentleman answer whether the Government will take any steps to give wide publicity in the East to this story emanating from German sources?

Lord R. Cecil: I think at present it is not desirable to take any other steps than those that have been taken.

Mr. Dillon: May I ask whether we are to conclude from that answer that the Government have no solid evidence whatever in proof of the truth of this charge, and they have taken no steps to investigate it; And has their attention been turned to the fact that it is not only a gross scandal, but a very great evil to this country to allow the circulation of such statements, authorized by Ministers of the Crown, if they are, as I believe them to be, absolutely false?

Lord R. Cecil: The Hon. Member has, perhaps, information that we have not. I can only speak from statements that have been published in the Press. I have already told the House that we have no other information whatever. The information is the statement that has been published and that I have before me (quoting Times quotation from Lokalanzeiger). This statement has been published in the Press, and that is the whole of the information that I have.

Mr. Dillon: Has the Noble Lord's attention been drawn to the fact that there have been published in the Frankfurter Zeitung and other leading German newspapers descriptions of this whole process, in which the word Kadaver is used, and from which it is perfectly manifest that these factories are for the purpose of boiling down the dead bodies of horses and other animals which are lying on the battlefield-(an Hon. Member: "Human animals!") -and I ask the Right Hon. Gentleman whether the Government propose to take any steps to obtain authentic information whether this story that has been circulated is true or absolutely false. For the credit of human nature, he ought to.

Lord R. Cecil: It is not any part of the duties of the Government, nor is it possible for the Government, to institute inquiries as to what goes on in Germany. The Hon. Member is surely very unreasonable in making the suggestion, and as for his quotations from the Frankfurter Zeitung, I have not seen them, but I have seen statements made by the German Government after the publication of this, and I confess that I am not able to attach very great importance to any statements made by the German Government.

Mr. Dillon: I beg to ask the Right Hon. Gentleman whether, before a Minister of the Crown, a member of the War Cabinet, gives authorization to these rumors, he ought not to have obtained accurate information as to whether they are true or not.

Lord R. Cecil: I think any Minister of the Crown is entitled to comment on and refer to something which has been published in one of the leading papers of the country. He only purported to do that, and did not make himself responsible for the statement (an Hon. Member: "He did!"). I am informed that he did not. He said: "As has been stated in the papers."

Mr. Outhwaite: May I ask if the Noble Lord is aware that the circulation of these reports (interruption) has caused anxiety and misery to British people who have lost their sons on the battlefield, and who think that their bodies may be put to this pur-

pose, and does not that give a reason why he should try to find out the truth of what is happening in Germany?

House of Commons, 30 April 1917

In *The Times* of 3 May 1917, there were quotations from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* stating that the French Press is now treating the Kadaver story as a “misunderstanding.”

The Times of 17 May 1917 reported that Herr Zimmermann denied in the Reichstag that human bodies were used; and stated that the story appeared first in the French Press. In reply to a question in the House of Commons on 23 May, Mr. A. Chamberlain stated that the report would be “available to the public in India through the usual channels.”

A corpse factory cartoon appeared in *Punch*.

Kaiser (to 1917 recruit): And don’t forget that your Kaiser will find a use for you alive or dead. (At the enemy’s establishment for the utilization of corpses the dead bodies of German soldiers are treated chemically, the chief commercial products being lubricant oils and pig food.)

View of the corpse factory out of the window.

The story had a world-wide circulation and had considerable propaganda value in the East. Not till 1925 did the truth emerge.

A painful impression has been produced here by an unfortunate speech of Brigadier-General Charteris at the dinner of the National Arts Club, in which he professed to tell the true story of the war-time report that Germany was boiling down the bodies of her dead soldiers in order to get fats for munitions and fertilizers.

According to General Charteris, the story began as propaganda for China. By transposing the caption from one of two photographs found on German prisoners to the other he gave the impression that the Germans were making a dreadful use of their own dead soldiers. This photograph he sent to a Chinese newspaper in Shanghai. He told the familiar story of its later republication in England and of the discussion it created there. He told, too, how, when a question put in the House was referred to him, he answered it by saying that from what he knew of German mentality, he was prepared for anything.

Later, said General Charteris, in order to support the story, what purported to be the diary of a German soldier was forged in his office. It was planned to have this discovered on a dead German by a war correspondent with a passion for German diaries, but the plan was never carried out. The diary was now in the war museum in London.

The Times 22 October 1925. From *New York Correspondent*.

Some opinions of politicians may be given.

Lloyd George: The story came under my notice in various ways at the time. I did not believe it then; I do not believe it now. It was never adopted as part of the armory of the British Propaganda Department. It was, in fact, “turned down” by that department.

Mr. Masterman: We certainly did not accept the story as true, and I know nobody in official positions at the time who credited it. Nothing as suspect as this was made use of in our propaganda. Only such information as had been properly verified was circulated.

Mr. 1. Macpherson: I was at the War Office at the time. We had no reason to doubt the authenticity of the story when it came through. It was supported by the captured divisional orders of the German Army in France, and I have an impression it was also backed up by the Foreign Office on the strength of extracts from the German Press. We did not know that it had been invented by anybody, and had we known there was the slightest doubt about the truth of the story, it would not have been used in any way by us.

A New York correspondent describes how he rang General Charteris up, and inquired the truth of the report and suggested that, if untrue, he should take it up with the *New York Times*.

On this he protested vigorously that he could not think of challenging the report, as the mistakes were only of minor importance.

Daily News 5 November 1925

There was a *Times* article on the same subject quoting the *New York Times*' assertion of the truth of their version of the speech.

This paper makes the significant observation that in the course of his denial he offered no comment on his reported admission that he avoided telling the truth when questioned about the matter in the House of Commons, or on his own description of a scheme to support the Corpse Factory story by "planting" a forged diary in the clothing of a dead German prisoner—a proposal which he only abandoned lest the deception might be discovered.

Brigadier-General Charteris, who returned from America at the week-end, visited the War Office yesterday and had an interview with the Secretary of State for War (Sir Laming Worthington-Evans) concerning the reports of his speech on war propaganda in New York. It is understood that the War Office now regard the incident as closed and that no further inquiry is likely to be held.

General Charteris left for Scotland later in the day, and on arrival in Glasgow issued the following statement:

"On arrival in Scotland I was surprised to find that, in spite of the repudiation issued by me at New York through Reuter's agency, some public interest was still excited in the entirely incorrect report of my remarks at a private dinner in New York. I feel it necessary therefore to give again a categorical denial to the statement attributed to me. Certain suggestions and speculations as regards the origins of the Kadaver story, which have already been published in *These Eventful Years* (British Encyclopedia Press) and elsewhere, which I repeated, are, doubtless unintentionally, but nevertheless unfortunately, turned into definite statements of fact and attributed to me.

"Lest there should still be any doubt, let me say that I neither invented the Kadaver story nor did I alter the captions in any photographs, nor did I use faked material for propaganda purposes. The allegations that I did so are not only incorrect but absurd,

as propaganda was in no way under G.H.Q. France, where I had charge of the Intelligence Services. I should be as interested as the general public to know what was the true origin of the Kadaver story. G.H.Q. France only came in when a fictitious diary supporting the Kadaver story was submitted. When this diary was discovered to be fictitious, it was at once rejected.

“I have seen the Secretary of State this morning and have explained the whole circumstances to him, and have his authority to say that he is perfectly satisfied.”

The Times 4 November 1925

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy asked the Secretary of State for War if, in view of the feeling aroused in Germany by the recrudescence of the rumours of the so-called corpse conversion factory behind the German lines in the late war, he can give any information as to the source of the original rumour and the extent to which it was accepted by the War Office at the time.

Sir L. Worthington-Evans: At this distance of time I do not think that the source of the rumour can be traced with any certainty. The statement that the Germans had set up a factory for the conversion of dead bodies first appeared on 10 April 1917, in the *Lokalanzeiger*, published in Berlin, and in *l'Independance Belge* and *La Belgique*, two Belgian newspapers published in France and Holland. The statements were reproduced in the Press here, with the comment that it was the first German admission concerning the way in which the Germans used their dead bodies.

Questions were asked in the House of Commons on 30 April 1917, and the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs replied on behalf of the Government that he had then no information beyond that contained in the extract from the German Press. But shortly afterwards a German Army Order containing instructions for the delivery of dead bodies to the establishments described in the *Lokalanzeiger* was captured in France and forwarded to the War Office, who, after careful consideration, permitted it to be published.

The terms of this order were such that, taken in conjunction with the articles in the *Lokalanzeiger* and in the two Belgian papers and the previously existing rumours, it appeared to the War Office to afford corroborative evidence of the story. Evidence that the word *Kadaver* was used to mean human bodies, and not only carcasses of animals, was found in German dictionaries and anatomical and other works, and the

German assertion that the story was disposed of by reference to the meaning of the word *Kadaver* was not accepted. On the information before them at the time, the War Office appear to have seen no reason to disbelieve the truth of the story.

Lieut. -Commander Kenworthy: I am much obliged to the Right Hon. Gentleman for his very full answer. Does he not think it desirable now that the War Office should finally disavow the story and their present belief in it?

Sir L. Worthington-Evans: I cannot believe any public interest is served by further questions on this story. I have given the House the fullest information in my possession in the hope that the Hon. Members will be satisfied with what I have said. (Hon. Members: Hear, hear.)

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy: Does not the Right Hon. Gentleman think it desirable, even now, to finally admit the inaccuracy of the original story, in view of Locarno and other things?

Sir L. Worthington-Evans: It is not a question of whether it was accurate or inaccurate. What I was concerned with was the information upon which the War Office acted at the time. Of course, the fact that there has been no corroboration since necessarily alters the complexion of the case, but I was dealing with the information in the possession of the authorities at the time.

House of Commons, 24 November 1925

This was a continued attempt to avoid making a complete denial, and it was left to Sir Austen Chamberlain to nail the lie finally to the counter. In reply to Mr. Arthur Henderson on 2 December 1925, asking if he had any statement to make as to the *Kadaver* story, he said:

Yes, sir; my Right Hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War told the House last week how the story reached His Majesty's Government in 1917. The Chancellor of the German Reich has authorized me to say, on the authority of the German Government, that there was never any foundation for it. I need scarcely add that on behalf of His Majesty's Government I accept this denial, and I trust that this false report will not again be revived.

The painful impression made by this episode and similar propaganda efforts in America is well illustrated by an editorial in *Times-Dispatch*, of Richmond, U.S.A., on 6 December 1925.

Not the least of the horrors of modern warfare is the propaganda bureau, which is an important item in the military establishment of every nation. Neither is it the least of the many encouraging signs which each year add to the probability of eventual peace on earth. The famous Kadaver story, which aroused hatred against the German to the boiling-point in this and other Allied nations during the war, has been denounced as a lie in the British House of Commons. Months ago the world learned the details of how this lie was planned and broadcasted by the efficient officer in the British Intelligence Service. Now we are told that, imbued with the spirit of the Locarno pact, Sir Austen Chamberlain rose in the House, said that the German Chancellor had denied the truth of the story, and that the denial had been accepted by the British Government.

A few years ago the story of how the Kaiser was reducing human corpses to fat aroused the citizens of this and other enlightened nations to a fury of hatred. Normally sane men doubled their fists and rushed off to the nearest recruiting sergeant. Now they are being told, in effect, that they were dupes and fools; that their own officers deliberately goaded them to the desired boiling-point, using an infamous lie to arouse them, just as a grown bully whispers to one little boy that another little boy said he could lick him.

The encouraging sign found in this revolting admission of how modern war is waged is the natural inference that the modern man is not over-eager to throw himself at his brother's throat at the simple word of command. His passions must be played upon, so the propaganda bureau has taken its place as one of the chief weapons.

In the next war, the propaganda must be more subtle and clever than the best the World War produced. These frank admissions of wholesale lying on the part of trusted Governments in the last war will not soon be forgotten.

Summer 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 2), page 131

Human Soap

RICHARD HARWOOD & DITLIEB FELDERER

It is variously claimed by the Exterminationists that human corpses underwent melting by some rendering process whereby raw material for soap was made. The process, means, and distribution system, are all totally unknown.

Immediately after liberation, in Politiceni in Romania, the district rabbi ordered the collection of all bars of soap bearing the letters "RIF". After the recitation of the Kaddisch (the Jewish prayer for the dead) the bars of soap were then buried in the Jewish cemetery. News reports about the incident appeared in the local Polish press, which were later picked up in such "Holocaust" books as F.C. Weiskopf's *Elend und Grösse unserer Tage* (*The Misery & Greatness of Our Days*), 1950.

Also, an article in the *Paris Match* about Anne Frank, written by Pierre Joffroy, reports that

four bars of "Jewish soap" manufactured from corpses in the extermination camps and which, discovered in Germany, were wrapped in a shroud, in 1948, and piously buried according to the rites in a corner of Haifa cemetery in Israel.

Paris Match, No. 395, 3 November 1956, p. 93

The letters "RIF" actually stand for Reichsstelle für Industrielle Fettversorgung: the German government outlet which oversaw the production and distribution of soap and detergent products. These letters were twisted by- the Exterminationists to mean "Rein Jüdisches Fett" ("Pure Jewish Fat").

The Exterminationist Nachum Blumental from Tel Aviv writes that this soap was one of the most important display objects in Holocaust museums around the world. He reports that bars of such soap are exhibited at the Historical Institute of Warsaw, at the Kaznelson House of the Ghettofighters' Kibbutz in Israel, and at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York. He also writes that bits of "RIF" soap are to be found in the Keller des Grauens on Mount Zion in Jerusalem. (See *Übersetzung aus dem Hebräischen Deckblatt; Jiddische Kultur Monatsschrift des Jiddischen Kulturverbandes*, #21, June-July 1959, p. 1.)

A Mr. Yaakov Riz of 1453 Levick Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, operates his own "Holocaust" Museum out of his basement, under the auspices of what he calls the "Brotherhood to Prevent Genocide." He displays a jeweled soap dish inscribed "Soap Made of Jewish Bodies" complete with a fragment of soap which is claimed to be made of human fat. However, no forensic analysis has ever been made of the soap. Riz, who claims to have lost 83 of his relatives at Auschwitz, was captured by the Red Army in which he promptly enlisted. He was later court-martialed (offense unknown), but after serving time in a Gulag, was repatriated to Poland from

whence he emigrated to Israel to join the Zionist fight to take Palestine away from its inhabitants. He came to the United States in 1952 (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 21 April 1979).

Among the best known Exterminationist authors, Reitlinger omits any mention of human soap, while Hilberg (31: p. 624) doubts the authenticity of the claim. But he says that the effectiveness of the human soap “rumor” lay not in its truthfulness; for it was “probably not” true; but in its efficiency in transmitting to the world the brutality of the Nazis.

“Evidence” for the human soap claim was submitted at the IMT Nuremberg Trials by the Soviets. Butz reproduces a photograph of the Soviet cakes in his book (109: p. 201), which is in fact Nuremberg documentary exhibit number PS 3421-2, now lodged at the U.S. National Archives in Washington. Pellessier provides a picture of human soap along with some other specimens from a “macabre collection” at Buchenwald in his book (19: p. 64). The *Encyclopedia Judaica* has two photographs; one showing a room of the purported “soap factory”; the other one showing human bodies in a box (1, Vol. 13: pp. 761-2 “Poland”). The caption states: “A German soap factory near Danzig.”

The history of the allegation can be traced back to September 1942, when Rabbi Stephen Wise (1874-1949) announced that he had received a message from an official of the World Jewish Congress in Europe reporting on the manufacture of soap and artificial fertilizer from Jewish bodies. Naturally, the report was greeted at the time with a certain amount of skepticism, since the Americans and British had already encountered such an allegation during the First World War: an allegation which had turned out to be Allied propaganda. (See Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime*, IHR, 1980.)

So, later in the same month, Gerhart Riegner, a World Jewish Congress representative in Switzerland, came forward with new documents to “prove” the allegation. The documents, Riegner said, had been prepared by an officer (anonymous) connected to the German High Command and had reached him through intermediaries. This anonymous officer claimed that there were at least two factories in existence manufacturing soap, glue, and lubricants from Jewish corpses, and that it had been determined that each Jewish corpse was worth 50 Reichsmarks. I have yet to uncover any invoices or bookkeeping entries among the mountains of German documents to support this valuation.

One source alleges that Rabbi Stephen Wise “knew” about the “human soap” manufacture earlier than September 1942, but didn’t believe it, or didn’t want to believe it. The allegation had been made by an escapee from Belzitz(?) camp who reported it to Rabbi Michael Weissmandel, an ultra-Orthodox Jewish leader in Slovakia. Weissmandel communicated the report—which also included the first allegations of gassings—to representatives of the World Jewish Congress in Budapest, and in Switzerland. When the report was translated into English in New York, the part about “human soap” was omitted by Tartakover, the executive director.

Rabbi Weissmandel later emigrated to the United States, and set up an ultra-Orthodox seminary in New York State. He died in November 1957, but in 1960 his war memoirs were published posthumously in Hebrew as *Min Hamaitzar (From the Depths)* available for \$6.50 from Beis Hasefer Book Store, 169a Ross Street, Brooklyn, NY 11211.

An ardent follower of Weissmandel, Rabbi Moshe Shonfeld, uses many excerpts from the memoirs in his indictment of Zionism — which the Jewish zealots regard as blasphemy — entitled *The Holocaust Victims Accuse* (qv). Shonfeld reports that Weissmandel’s message to the American Jews was deliberately suppressed because, being Zionists, they were agreeable to having some aged and useless Jews martyred by the Nazis so that the young Jews could gain passage to

Palestine. He says that it was only when Rabbi Wise was actually presented with a bar of Jewish soap that he had to organize some kind of protest (Shonfeld, pp. 40-41).

This allegation is somewhat ironic, for Dr. Butz indicates in his book (109: p. 247) that Weissmandel was the likely initial source of the entire Holocaust myth, and that his training in Talmudic lore enabled him to draw on a rich and bizarre well of imagery. Butz cites Talmudic passages which describe how 4 billion (or in other sources, 40 million) Jews were slain by the Romans; how the tidal wave of Jewish blood carried boulders into the sea and stained the water for four miles out; how Jewish bodies were used as fence posts; how Jewish blood was used as fertilizer on Roman vineyards; and how Jewish children were rolled up in their Torah scroll and burned alive. In his book *The Six Million Reconsidered* (Noontide, 1979), William Grimstad deals even more effectively with the uncanny resemblance of modern-day “Holocaust” allegations with ancient Talmudic and Biblical anecdotes. On page 42, he shows a Talmudic illustration of the Fiery Statue of Molech, which he points out, bears a curious similarity to Auschwitzian “gas-ovens.”

But there is in the U.S. National Archives a document number 740.00116 EW/726, which appears to be “information” received in November 1942 from an anonymous Vatican source called “Mr. F.” It consists of a three-page description in French of events which were allegedly transpiring in Poland. Inter alia, the document reports:

Farms for the breeding of human beings are being organized to which women and girls are brought for the purpose of being made mothers of children who are then taken from them to be raised in Nazi establishments... Mass execution of Jews continues... They are killed by poison gas in chambers especially prepared for that purpose (often in railway cars) and by machine-gun fire, following which the dead and the dying are covered with earth ... Reports are being circulated to the effect that the Germans are making use of their corpses in plants manufacturing chemical products (soap making factories).

It would thus appear that the entire allegation is founded on anonymous reports and speculative hearsay. No one can come up with any locations, dates, or names. Of course, this has not prevented popular “historians” such as William L. Shirer from perpetuating the myth:

There was testimony at the Nuremberg Trials that the ashes were sometimes sold as fertilizer. One Danzig firm, according to a document offered by the Russian prosecution, constructed an electrically-heated tank for making soap out of human fat. Its “recipe” called for “12 pounds of human fat, 10 quarts of water, and 8 ounces to a pound of caustic soda ... all boiled for two or three days and then cooled. (4: p. 1264)

As “authority” Shirer states in his footnote 59: Nuremberg document “ND USSR-8, p. 197. Transcript” (4: p. 1518). I suppose he must mean the same “electrically-heated tank” which appears in the *Encyclopedia Judaica* described above. Unfortunately, the encyclopedia does not give a source for this illustration.

Let us pause for a moment and examine this Soviet soap recipe. We must assume, first of all, that quite a few corpses will be needed to obtain 12 pounds of fat, since we are told the Jews were just skin and bone anyway. But the Soviet idea of boiling “all” the ingredients together just does not coincide with established soap formulas. Norman Stark’s *Formula Book* calls for “a lot of rendered animal fat” and states that the water and caustic soda should be mixed with cold water (20: p. 63). Our Soviet “experts” must have missed some basics on soap-making, for Stark tells us that the caustic soda should not be boiled with the water as the mixture will heat up anyway by the chemical action of the lye. The tallow is then melted, and after proper adjustment of the

temperature, the lye solution is poured into the tallow and then stirred. This process would seem to make redundant the “electrically heated tank” shown in the encyclopedia. One also wonders about capacity.

Eight ounces of caustic soda for each pound of human fat must mean 96 ounces for this recipe. Most of the water, 10 quarts of it, would mix with the lye. I simply cannot understand how the ultra-efficient Germans, working with the mass extermination of millions of people (as they were supposed to), would have bothered with such a small “factory,” fussing around with eight ounces of this and ten quarts of that. Surely the “mills of death” could do better than this?

In the process of tracking down mentions of “human soap” I came across a modern Polish tract by Dr. Adolf Gawalewicz which stated that “soup was prepared from human flesh” (3: insert p. 7). Knowing how badly Polish translations are often made, I thought that the author perhaps meant “soap,” but a cross-reference to the French and German translations again shows “soup.” This would appear to be one of the even rarer allegations that the Germans encouraged cannibalism!

Many Exterminationist books make no mention at all of the “soap” story; even outlandish books such as *We Have Not Forgotten* (2 & 6) which covers every other conceivable German atrocity. The same is true of the numerous other “Holocaustiana” books which I have plowed through. Surely if there were such factories there would be ample evidence to write book after book, article after article, on this one subject.

Even the “authoritative” 7 volume report of the International Auschwitz Committee, written by the same Dr. Gawalewicz who wrote the Auschwitz guide-book (3) referred to above, makes only passing reference to “human soap.” The English edition of the work states:

Is that not some sort of exaggeration, some unintended injustice, in regard to those hundreds of thousands whose ashes were scattered by the wind-nobody knows where-whose bodies were dissolved to use the fat for soap; whose hair was used to make mattresses?

(Vol. 3, Part 1: p. 36)

(I suppose the translators have come adrift here again, for a “mattress” is a slender glass tube used in a laboratory. They probably mean “mattress”). This is the only mention of “soap” throughout this massive work, in spite of all those “hundreds of thousands.” Evidently something must be wrong.

Determined to get to the bottom of the “human soap” problem, I paid a visit to Danzig, and unsuccessfully tried to locate the site of the “human soap factory.” At the nearby Stutthof “extermination camp” I again sought evidence, but not one of the officials or guides there could help. Nor was there any evidence on display in among the numerous other examples of German “atrocities.”

I journeyed deeper into Poland to the museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau, and when I again found no evidence of “human soap” on display, I inquired of the officials if they might have a sample in their archives. I spoke with Mrs. Irena Stafanska, curator of the archives, and Mr. Franciszek Piper, one of the museum guides. Finally, Piper shook his shoulders, gave me a pleasant smile, and informed me embarrassingly that their own forensic examination of their “human soap” samples had proved it to be just ordinary soap. But what about the specimens of “human soap” which had been exhibited at Nuremberg? Where were they? Were they not at Auschwitz?

I was unable to penetrate the subject any further, as no one was enthusiastic about hearing any more about it. I continued my search through the exhibits, but still was unable to find any trace.

Undoubtedly the “human soap” World War Two version is just about as real as the World War One yarn about the wicked Huns turning the bodies of their dead soldiers into soap. At the end of WWI, a certain Virginia newspaper editorialized that in future wars “propaganda must be more subtle and clever.” (Ponsonby, pp. 102-113). But obviously the paper did not have a high circulation in Russia, for the Soviets did not heed their advice in the later conflagration.

It is certain that if the western public realized that almost all of these atrocity allegations emanated from the communist bloc, then they would receive about as much credence as contemporary communist propaganda about intervening in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and now Afghanistan to “rescue the inhabitants from foreign interference.” Americans especially know how communist interrogators can force bogus confessions out of prisoners through torture techniques. We have many examples from Korea and Vietnam. But the sorry fact is that these communist WWII allegations are underscored and recycled throughout the western media by ardent Zionists. It would seem that Zionists have such influence within the media that they can promote these communist lies almost without restriction. The only limit seems to be how gullible the general public really is.

After the showing of the “soap”-opera Holocaust on television, many Zionist leaders expressed worries that perhaps this might be going too far. The Chief Rabbi in London warned against “sanctifying the Holocaust” in the Jewish Chronicle (6 July 1979). Gitta Sereny writing in the New Statesman (2 November 1979) admitted that many “Holocaust survivor testimonies” are “partial or complete fakes” and that “Auschwitz, despite its emblematic name, was not primarily an extermination camp.”

With such admissions as these, one wonders how long it will be before the Exterminationists realize that they have overdone it a little bit, and begin to switch horses. I firmly predict that before very long the Exterminationists will announce that the “gas chambers” were all communist propaganda, and that the Six Million were in fact worked to death, not gassed to death. The paucity of evidence for the “gas chambers,” “human soap,” “lampshades,” et al. will necessitate that.

References

The numbers used refer to the Ditlieb Felderer’s Revisionist Bibliography of almost 200 Revisionist and Exterminationist titles, which is available direct from the author. Those titles mentioned in this text are as follows:

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4. William L. Shirer, *The Rise & Fall of the Third Reich*, Fawcett, 1968, 1599pp.
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19. Jean Pelissier, *Camps de Mort (Camps of Death)*, Paris, 1946.
20. Norman Stark, *The Formula Book*, Sheed & Ward, Kansas, 1976.
31. Raul Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, Quadrangle, 1967.
109. Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, IHR, 1979.

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Letter From Berlin

OTTO KANOLD WITH MARK WEBER

I first heard about your Revisionist Conference in a rather short, two page report in issue 3/79 of *Bauernschaft* (October 1979), published by my friend Thies Christophersen (D 2341 Mohrkirch). I saw a more complete report in the *South African Observer* (P.O. Box 2401, Pretoria, South Africa, November 1979, pp. 11-15) which I receive by airmail.

I have known several of the participants attending your meeting for some years now-some of them personally. Above all, I exchanged correspondence in the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s with the honorable Harry Elmer Barnes. He encouraged David L. Hoggan, the author of *Der Erzwungene Krieg*, a book which was immediately damned in Germany. Barnes also arranged for the translation of the work into German. We Germans above all owe thanks and respect to Prof. Barnes because over 50 years ago he made a very important contribution to subduing the first war guilt lie against the German Reich and people.

I own a German translation of his work, *Die Entstehung des Weltkrieges* (*The Origin of the World War*), published in 1928 by the Deutsche Verlagsanstalt (Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig). I was a school pupil when the victorious powers forced a signature to the dictated peace of Versailles by continuing the hunger blockade against Germany which claimed 100,000 German children as victims even after the armistice of 11 November 1918 and which extorted the German acknowledgement of guilt (Article 231) for the (first) world war. Of course, the Reich government and the entire German public had already undertaken a worldwide moral campaign against this war guilt lie.

Back then, all factions of our people were united in the urgent necessity of resisting or refuting the war guilt lie contained in Article 231 of the Versailles "treaty." With the active leadership of the Reich governments, regardless of political party, this resistance was conducted on a foundation of historical science. German and foreign historians worked together, and among the latter, Harry Elmer Barnes was the greatest and most important. The Reich government, back then, showed great honor to him, and, significantly, Kaiser Wilhelm II was proven innocent of the war guilt lie of the victorious powers, a personality very much opposite in ideology to the republican ("Weimar") government. On 18 September 1927, Reich president Paul von Hindenburg, a man who as General Field Marshal had been the liberator of East Prussia from Russian occupation in the battle of Tannenberg at the beginning of the first world war, ceremoniously denounced the Versailles war guilt lie before the entire world. Barnes had been the herald of that!

Since then, this denunciation has been proven a hundred times over as consistent with historical truth and has been internationally recognized.

We Germans have thus had (successful!) “experience” in fighting lies! But **how different** the situation is today. First of all, a “peace treaty” with Germany has still not been concluded. Instead, an armistice status still exists. For during and after the first world war, world “public opinion” has become a hundred times more “refined” and has assumed the most virulent form. The treaties with the western powers led to the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany and moved Prof. Theodor Eschenburg of the University of Tübingen (since retired) to declare that “the thesis of Germany’s exclusive guilt for the second world war is the foundation of every Bonn policy.” Thus, Bonn places an ideology based upon the thesis of “liberation” from National Socialism **above** the historical truth. What a contrast to “Weimar”!

“A double stitch holds better,” we say. To that lie has been added the lie about six million dead Jews, which appears to be the main theme of your conference.

The six million lie had been planned much longer ago than is realized by many of the most enthusiastic of those who

fight it. So also was the worldwide propaganda machine which today, particularly in Germany, cements the lie more and more. See the enclosed photocopy from *Gefesselte Justiz/Die Krankheit Unserer Zeit* (Chained justice — the Sickness of our Times), by Prof. Dr. Friedrich Grimm. He reports on a conversation with an enemy propagandist (who was probably Sefton Delmer). Everyone must take that to heart and take it into account if there is to be any successful defense against the second world war guilt lie and the six million lie.

The powers who lie have learned from their defeat in their attempt to falsify history after the first world war. Therefore, in response to their immeasurably sharper methods, equally **new** and equally effective **methods** for the **truth** must be found and applied.

I should mention that the “stages” upon which the efforts at resistance against the six million lie are to be played include the stifling and persecution, and so forth, of individual fighters for truth. The enclosed photocopy from *Die Welt* of 31 October 1979 reports what may be the latest effort: “In a fundamental decision, the Federal Supreme Court has defined the act which constitutes defamation: Whoever terms genocide fictitious...”

There must also be a way to fight judicially against the claim (which is apparently not explained in detail in the decision) that the documentation for the annihilation of millions of Jews is “overwhelming.” Admittedly, as a simple man of the people and, as mentioned before, a non-academician, I can’t advise as to the way to go about doing this.

In any case, we Germans will have to rely even more upon the efforts of non-German fighters for truth than was the case after 1918-19. Especially because they are not subject to the restrictions of German historians, their truths must not only be published, but must be made available to the widest possible circles in Germany using the methods and techniques which apply best to this people (which means paying attention to details such as book format, the best possible German translations, etc.).

One really underhanded method now being used is the well-known practice of placing otherwise irrefutable books on the “Index of writings dangerous to youth” which hold up historical truth against the claims of Bonn (and, of course, East Berlin as well). They know very well what the consequences of that are for the publishers. Those in Bonn also believe that this indexing of books is in harmony with Article 5 of our Basic Law (constitution) regarding freedom of expression!! (As an individual, I don’t know how to deal with this situation.) Nevertheless, please consider the following thoughts and the possibility of putting them into effect:

Over 450 years ago the Catholic Church placed the “Five Books on the Movements of Heavenly Bodies” written by the (German) astronomer Nicholas Copernicus on the Index of Prohibited Writings. (He let them be published only just before his death, but they have long since become the common heritage of all educated persons!) For 300 years this prohibition was maintained. And even when Keppler reconfirmed the Copernican thesis a century later, the Church continued to deny it for centuries! One may ask today, **was** it really **so** important for the Church to suppress the findings of Copernicus? It was, after all, only an (admittedly explicable) **mistake** maintained for centuries!! **Today**, however, known lies are maintained using an Index-namely those about million gassed Jews!

A change in technique for the worse: The war guilt lies of 1918-19 contrasted with those of 1945, **and** the search for truth **450 years ago** as contrasted with **today**!

But this is also evidence for the importance of using **new** methods to fight the lies! During the past 30 years, it should have been possible to constantly strengthen the resistance against the lies, but that shows that it must not take another 300 years before the liars capitulate!

Best regards
Otto Kanold

Summary of Attachment #1

(Photocopy of pp. 146-48 from *Politische Justiz* by Prof. Dr. Friedrich Grimm, first published in 1953.)

Prof. Grimm relates a conversation from 1945 with “an important representative of the other (Allied) side” who “introduced himself as a university professor of his country.” The two discussed the Allied atrocity propaganda against Germany, which the Allied professor admitted was not factual. The Allied professor said that the real atrocity propaganda campaign would begin now that the war was over and would be progressively intensified “until no one would ever again accept a good word about the Germans, until every last bit of sympathy which had been held in other countries would be completely destroyed, and until the Germans themselves would become so confused that they wouldn’t know any longer what they were doing.”

Summary of Attachment #2

(The article from *Die Welt* of 31 October 1979 contains extracts from the decision by the Federal Supreme Court (Bundesgerichtshof) regarding denials of the “Holocaust.”)

The court ruled that “Whoever denies the murder of Jews in the Third Reich defames every one of them. Such statements apply, first of all, to those persons born after 1945 who, as full Jews or part Jews, would have been persecuted in the Third Reich.” The court also ruled that statements denying the “Holocaust” are not protected under the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech because such statements are untrue. “The documentation about the annihilation of millions of Jews is overwhelming.”

The accused in this case put up a leaflet on a wall which called the “Holocaust” a “Zionist swindle.” The accused conceded that some millions of Jews may have been killed, but that the claims about six million murdered Jews are unfounded. The court declared that the action by the ac-

cused was defamatory, regardless of how many Jews died, because it “attacked the image of the human as a personality” in much the same way as was done in the “Third Reich.”

The court further ruled that, because of the Nuremberg (racial preservation) Laws which “robbed humans of their individuality ... a special relationship between Jews living in the Federal Republic (of Germany) and their fellow citizens has been created. Within this context the action (under review) is relevant today.”

The court further ruled that it must be “taken for granted” that “a special moral responsibility by all others exists” toward the Jews. This responsibility is a part of the dignity of every Jew, the court stated. “For the person so affected, this means the continuation of the discrimination against the group of human beings to which he/she belongs, and thus directly against his/her own person...”

“The attempt to justify, whitewash or deny these events (the “Holocaust”) also means disrespect for that (affected) person.”

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The Mendacity of Zion

Lewis Brandon ([David McCalden](#))

Professor Butz in his book has commented on the remarkable similarity between modern “Holocaust” lore and ancient Talmudic fantasies. On pp. 246-7 of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* he reports that the Talmud claims that the Romans slew 4 billion, “or as some say” 40 million, Jews. The blood of the Jewish victims was so great that it became a tidal wave, carrying boulders out to sea, and staining the water for four miles out. The bodies of the Jews were used as fence-posts, and their blood as fertilizer for the Roman vineyards. The Jewish children were wrapped up in their Torah scrolls and burned alive—all 64 million of them, or as some say, 150,000.

Some exterminationist authors have admitted that at least some aspects of the myth are untrue. In *The Final Solution* (Sphere, London, 1971) art-dealer Gerald Reitlinger comments on page 581:

A certain degree of reserve is necessary in handling all this material [documentary evidence], and particularly this applies to the last section [survivor narratives]. For instance, the evidence concerning the Polish death camps was mainly taken after the war by Polish State Commissions or by the Central Jewish Historical Commission of Poland. The hardy survivors who were examined were seldom educated men. Moreover, the Eastern European Jew is a natural rhetorician, speaking in flowery similes. When a witness said that the victims from the remote West reached the death camp in *Wagons-Lits* [Pullman cars], he probably meant that passenger coaches were used instead of box-cars. Sometimes the imagery transcends credibility, as when a gang of food smugglers in a ghetto are described as exceptionally tall men with pockets running the whole length of their bodies. Thus readers, who are by no means afflicted with race prejudice, but who find the details of the murder on the national scale too appalling to assimilate, are inclined to cry *Credat Judaeus Apella* and dismiss these narratives as fables. The witnesses, they will say, are Orientals, who use numerals as oratorical adjectives and whose very names are creations of fantasy; Sunschein and Zylberdukaten, Rotbalsam and Salamander.

In her extraordinarily candid book *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (Penguin, 1978), journalist Hannah Arendt reports on page 207 that at the Eichmann trial, the prosecution

had been under considerable pressure from Israeli survivors, who constitute about 20% of the present population of the country. They had flocked spontaneously to the trial authorities and also to Yad Vashem, which had been officially commissioned to prepare some of the documentary evidence, to offer themselves as witnesses. The worst cases of “strong imagination,” people who had “seen Eichmann at various places where he had never been,” were weeded out, but 564 “sufferings-of-the-jewish-people witnesses,” as the trial authorities called them, were finally put on the

stand, instead of some 15 or 20 “background witnesses,” as originally planned. 23 sessions, out of a total of 121, were entirely devoted to “background,” which meant that they had no apparent bearing upon the case.

(Eichmann, of course, was not allowed to present any live witnesses in his defense, since the Israeli government had threatened to arrest as a war criminal any German defense witness who set foot on Israeli soil. They also refused to allow witness subpoenas for two El Al officers who could give evidence about Eichmann’s abduction.) One wonders whether the prosecution did such a thorough job in “weeding out” those with “strong imaginations” for a few pages later Ms. Arendt describes how one witness who gave his name as “K-Zetnik” (“Jailbird” or “Camp In-mate”) started to venture into an excursion into the astrological aspects of the Holocaust. He testified that the astrological stars were “influencing our fate in the same way as the star of ashes at Auschwitz is there facing our planet; radiating toward our planet.” After allowing the witness to continue in this manner for some time, the presiding judge finally intervened to stop his ramblings, whereupon the witness fainted. According to Arendt, this man was also the author of several highbrowed books on Auschwitz which dealt with the camp brothels, homosexuality, and other human interest sagas (pp. 223-4). Another verbose witness was Abba Kovner, the Israeli poet, who “had not so much testified as addressed an audience.” When he was also interrupted by the judge in full flow, he upbraided the judge for daring to interfere with his artistry. Chassidic Jews claim that Kovner was not a partisan during the war, but a Nazi collaborator (see Shonfeld, *The Holocaust Victims Accuse*).

Even the witnesses who were supposed to give proper evidence turned out to be a waste of time. Ms. Arendt reveals on page 208 that

If Eichmann’s name was mentioned at all, it obviously was hearsay evidence, “rumors testified to,” hence without legal validity. The testimony of all witnesses who had “seen him with their own eyes” collapsed the moment a question was addressed to them.

The whole Eichmann affair is stereotypical of the ethics of Zionists. Not only was the trial rigged from beginning to end, but his initial abduction was an even more blatant example of bare-faced lying. When the Argentinian government protested to Israel about their agents violating Argentinian sovereignty by kidnapping Eichmann on their soil, the Israelis blatantly lied. They claimed that the Israeli government had no knowledge of Eichmann’s capture, since their Secret Service had not told them about it! They said that Eichmann had surrendered himself voluntarily, when recognized, and had given his agreement to come to Israel to stand trial. They even had the gall to include a “letter” signed by Eichmann where he stated that he wanted to be tried so that future generations would have a “correct” picture of WWII events. As Richard Harwood comments in *Nuremberg & Other War Crimes Trials* (IHR, \$2.50) p. 52

The Israeli statement was a pack of lies from beginning to end. Eichmann was not “approached by Jewish volunteers.” He was bundled into a car in the street by Israeli secret service agents (David Ben-Gurion, *Israel: A Personal History*). He did not go to Israel of his own free will-his family spent the whole night searching for him after his abrupt disappearance. As for his so-called “letter to the Argentinian Government” it just defeats description.

Hannah Arendt suggests that the letter was written in Jerusalem, not in Argentina. She describes how Eichmann was kept tied to a bed for eight days after his kidnapping (p. 241). Whatever the

location of its origination, Richard Harwood cynically comments that “Eichmann's confession' could not have been better written if the Israelis had written it themselves-as seems most likely.”

The lies churned out by the Israeli government surrounding the Eichmann abduction were very small beer compared to their behavior in 1967, when Israeli marines torpedoed and strafed an American intelligence ship, the USS Liberty. 34 Americans were killed in the raid, and the ship was so badly damaged it had to be scrapped. The attack was personally ordered by General Moshe Dayan, who did not want Israel's imperialist war plans to become documented by the American spy ship. There would be no telling where the information would end up. Dayan wanted Israel to appear to the world as the underdog, whereas in reality the Israelis were hatching expansionist plans for the invasion of Syria and the Sinai and Jordan.

The attack took place in broad daylight. The ship was reconnoitered 8 times for 6 hours before the attack by Israeli aircraft. The ship was flying a large and prominent American flag. Yet the Israelis had the nerve to pretend that the whole attack had been an accident. They claimed that they had mistaken the vessel for an Egyptian one. In his new book *Assault on the Liberty* (available from IHR at \$14), crewman James Ennes describes the astonishing denials and cover up. He produces CIA documents that prove that the Israelis knew what they were doing. He also proves how the Israeli excuses do not coincide with the facts. Yet, to this day, Israel maintains that the attack was an “error” and this outrageous calumny is meekly accepted by our so-called “representatives” in Washington.

Of course, this was the second time that Dayan had escaped by the skin of his teeth from being publicly exposed as a murderer of Americans. In 1955, a plot to bomb American libraries and theaters in Cairo was revealed. The bombers were Jewish Egyptians who had been trained in Israel by the Mossad. The intention of the plot was to blame the bombings on Egypt, and thus sour American-Egyptian relations. When the plan backfired, Pinhas Lavon, the Israeli Minister of Defense, was forced to resign. But he was only the “fall guy” for the plot's failure. The murder scheme had been drawn up by Moshe Dayan along with Shimon Peres and Brigadier Abraham Givli. They were able to blame Lavon only by framing him with a forged document. An internal Israeli investigation five years later showed that the document had been faked, and this revelation so rocked the country that it led to the resignation of the entire Ben-Gurion government in 1961. The “dirty tricks” of Dayan, both in hatching the murder plot in the first place, and then framing his colleague when found out, are described in the recently reprinted indictment of Zionism, *The Zionist Connection* by the distinguished Jewish scholar Alfred Lilienthal (available from IHR at \$21). Further details can be found in *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* by Moshe Menuhin (IHR \$13).

Lilienthal also deals with the SS *Patria* affair in 1940. The ship was full of illegal Jewish immigrants to Palestine, but was refused docking permission at Haifa harbor by the British. They ordered it out to sea again. Then on the night of 25 November, the ship blew up and 276 Jews were killed. At the time, these deaths were attributed to the British, but it was not until ten years later that the truth finally came out. David Flinker, Israeli correspondent of the New York *Morning Freiheit* reported on 27 November 1950 that the bombs had been planted by the Haganah, the Zionist terrorist organization. The idea was, yet again, to blame the deaths on the enemy and make the Zionists out to be the poor martyred ones. Fifteen months later, the SS *Struma* exploded in the Black Sea, killing 769 illegal Jewish immigrants. The Jewish Agency described it as an act of “mass-protest and masssuicide,” although it seems somewhat doubtful if all 769 victims were polled. The American newspapers once more laid the responsibility at the door of the British.

Even today, it seems that very little has changed. The Zionists are still up to their usual dirty tricks; trying to make themselves out to be the underdogs and the victims. Sandra Ross in *The Nation Wreckers* (available from IHR at \$3) describes how many of the outbreaks of swastika-daubing in Britain in the 1950s and '60s were the work of Communists and Zionists. Lilienthal also describes how Zionism thrives on “anti-Semitism.” *The New York Times* (16 September 1979) reports that a Jewish businessman was arrested for insurance fraud, after his own building burned down and swastikas and the slogan “Jews Get Out” were found painted on the walls. The *London Jewish Chronicle* (21 September 1979) reports an incident in Long Island, NY, where a large swastika was burned into the lawn of a Jewish family. Another Jew was later arrested for the offense.

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Letters To The '*New Statesman*' (which were never published)

MESSRS. BUTZ, FAURISSON, VERRALL

- The following letters were mailed to the editor of the *New Statesman*, 10 Great Turnstile, London WC1V 7HJ, Great Britain, following the publication of an article attacking Revisionism on 2 November 1979, by Gitta Sereny.

18 November 1979

Dear Sir:

In general Gitta Sereny's few substantive arguments (*NS*, 2 November) are answered in my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Here I wish to focus on one point that, in view of her remarks, can be profitably developed: supposed "confessions" of German officials, either at trials or in imprisonment after trials.

The key point is that the objective served by such statements should be presumed to be personal interest rather than historical truth. At a "trial" some specific thing is to be **tried**, i.e. the court is supposed to start by treating that thing as an open question.

The "extermination" allegation has never been at question in any practical sense in any of the relevant trials, and in some it has not been open to question in a formal legal sense. The question was always only personal responsibility in a context in which the extermination allegation was unquestionable. Thus the "confessions" of Germans, which in all cases sought to deny or mitigate personal responsibility, were merely the only defenses they could present in their circumstances.

This is not exactly "plea-bargaining", where there is negotiation between prosecution and defense, but it is related. All it amounts to is presenting a story that it was possible for the court to accept. The logical dilemma is inescapable once the defendant resolves to take the "trial" seriously. To deny the legend was not the way to stay out of jail.

Moreover it is not true, as Sereny implicitly asserts, that this logical dilemma no longer holds when the defendant is serving a life sentence. If he is seeking pardon or parole, he would not try to overturn what has already been decided in court; that is not the way pardon or parole works. For example, at the Frankfurt "Auschwitz trial" of 1963-1965, so monstrous were the supposed deeds of Robert Mulka that many thought his sentence to 14 years at hard labor unduly light. Then, in a denouement that would amaze all who have not studied this subject closely, Mulka was quietly released less than four months later. However, if Mulka had claimed in any plea (as he could have truthfully), either at his trial or afterwards, that there were no exterminations at Auschwitz and that he was in a position to know, then he would have served a full life sentence in the former case and the full fourteen years in the latter, if he lived that long.

It is not widely known, but there have been many such instances — the subject is hard to investigate[1]. In no instance would it have made any sense, in terms of immediate self interest, to deny the exterminations. That was not the way to get out of jail.

A related point is that it can be quite perilous, to put it mildly, for **any** German to question the Extermination legend. For example Dr. Wilhelm Stglich, who was stationed near Auschwitz in 1944 in an anti-aircraft unit, has published such opinion, and has been subjected to legally formulated persecution ever since.[2] Even I, an American, have been the victim of the official repression in Germany.[3] There is also the considerable extra-legal repression that e.g. caused Axel Springer, West German “press czar” and supposedly a powerful man, to withdraw the first edition of Hellmut Diwald’s *Geschichte der Deutschen*, as Sereny mentioned.

We do not need “confessions” or “trials” to determine that the bombings of Dresden and Hiroshima, or the reprisals at Lidice following Heydrich’s assassination, really took place.

Now, the extermination legend does not claim a few instances of homicide, but alleges events continental in geographical scope, of three years in temporal scope, and of several million in scope of victims. How ludicrous, then, is the position of the bearers of the legend, who in the last analysis will attempt to “prove” such events on the basis of “confessions” delivered under the fabric of hysteria, censorship, intimidation, persecution and blatant illegality that has been shrouding this subject for 35 years.

I have enclosed photocopies of the referenced documentation for your examination.

Sincerely
Dr. Arthur R. Butz

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1. *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, 2 September 1979, p. E2.
 2. *Die Zeit*, 25 May 1979, p. 5.
 3. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16 June 1979, p. 23.
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10 November 1979

Sir:

I am grateful for Gitta Sereny’s contribution to Holocaust Revisionism, since her article (NS 2 November) did what I originally insisted to Messrs Ainzstein and Wheen had to be done, namely confront and debate this issue. It is therefore enormously significant that Miss Sereny now concedes that gassings in Germany were “a myth,” that those who died in camps in Germany “were not exterminated,” that Auschwitz “was not primarily an extermination camp” (completely contradicting the Nurnberg judgment that it was “set aside for this main purpose”), that “mistakes have been made” which must be explained and corrected, and that some testimonies have been “partial or complete fakes.” This is real progress.

Essentially what Miss Sereny has been forced to do, under the impact of Revisionism, is to narrow down the alleged extermination program to only four camps at Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka; camps which no longer exist and for which documentary evidence of gassings is supplied only by the notorious Gerstein Statement. This document, which contradicts Miss Sereny’s own thesis by claiming that Auschwitz was the worst of the extermination camps, contains absurd and impossible nonsense such as that the Nazis gassed 25 million people and that

700-800 victims were crammed into gas chambers 25 meters square (in which case they would have died from suffocation first). It also describes a visit by Hitler to an extermination camp which even Reitlinger admits never took place.

This palpable fraud is the sole document attesting to gassings at the four camps mentioned by Miss Sereny, and presumably is also the source for her view that gas chamber exterminations at these camps “evolved” from the euthanasia program. Auschwitz, of course, would have to be excluded from this evolution, since the testimony of Hss (accepted as valid by Miss Sereny) gives a completely different account of the origin of the gassings. This curious break in the structure of the story does not appear to worry her.

Miss Sereny makes an unsuccessful effort to counter my claim that no order, invoice, plan or blueprint for a gas chamber exists. What I wanted was proof of construction. Is it not remarkable that, although there are thousands of documents relating to the construction of crematoria, including invoices accurate almost to the last Pfennig, one cannot find a single order for construction, or a plan or an invoice or a photograph of a gas chamber? Is it not amazing that we know nothing of these gas chambers, such prodigious weapons of murder, that testimony about them is so wildly contradictory, and that they have not been made the subject of the most scrupulous archaeological and scientific examination?

In the absence of such a document, Miss Sereny cites [NO-365](#). This is a typed draft of a letter, and it has a very suspicious history. It is apparently initialled by Dr. Wetzel, a member of Rosenberg’s Ministry. Wetzel is one of the many mysterious cases of minor officials whose initialled documents constituted trial evidence but who themselves became immune from prosecution. He was not arrested until 1961, but no trial ever materialized. He had lived undisturbed until that time because he had supplied Reitlinger with material which gave credence to the gas chamber thesis of his book *The Final Solution*. “In the opinion of the authorities Wetzel was indebted for his incognito, which lasted for years, to the British historian Gerald Reitlinger ...” (*Allgauer Anzeigblatt*, 18 August 1961). In other words, we doubtless have here another fabrication after the event, like the Gerstein Statement.

I was not impressed by Miss Sereny’s attempt to dismiss the academic standing of Revisionists by stressing that Faurisson is a professor of French literature, Butz a professor of engineering and that Diwald, though a historian, is a mediaevalist. May I point out that none of the so-called experts on the Holocaust are historians. Reitlinger is an art expert and Hilberg is a sociologist.

Finally, I would like to ask Miss Sereny, in what precise way does the “mountain of evidence” proving that gas chambers were operated in Poland differ from the mountain of evidence presented at military tribunals to prove that there had been gas chambers in camps in Germany where it is now admitted there had been none?

Yours faithfully
Richard Verrall

30 November 1979

Dear Sir:

re: “*The Men Who Whitewash Hitler*”, 2 November 1979

Noam Chomsky, the famous professor (of Jewish origin) at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is aware of the research work I do on what Revisionist Historians term “the gas chamber and genocide hoax.” He informed me that Gitta Sereny had mentioned my name in the above article, and stated that I had been referred to “in an extraordinarily unfair way.”

I have just read the article in question, and it is an insult to all those who — without political motivation — devote themselves to the discovery of historical truth, by means of routine historical research. It is a special insult and outrage to the memory of my fellow countryman Paul Rassinier, himself a former concentration camp inmate who died in 1967. Rassinier sacrificed his life to the service of truth, and to the denunciation of an enormous historical lie.

“There is no proof whatsoever that Nero set fire to Rome.” The historian who first said that did not want to “whitewash” Nero; he was only concerned with the truth. In the same way, we do not try to “whitewash” Hitler when we say that there is not the slightest proof that he ordered the “extermination” of the Jews; or even that such “extermination” took place. Certainly persecution existed; but there was no “extermination,” “genocide” or “Holocaust.”

Gitta Sereny is unable to offer a single item of evidence to the contrary. She does mention N, rn-berg document NO-365, but this “document” is not even signed, and is therefore worthless as evidence. She mentions the “Commissar Order”; but clearly she has not read the document, for the meaning of it is not what she thinks. She ought to take a look at NOKW-1076. She goes on to mention the “Aktion Reinhardt,” but again, this does not imply any mass killing; it merely refers to the confiscation of the property of deported Jews.

She quotes a letter published in *Die Zeit*, written by Professor Broszat. Again, one wonders if she read this letter, for it is dated 19 August 1960, not 1962. It appears on page 16. This letter states quite clearly that there were no mass killings in “gas chambers” either in Dachau or anywhere else in the former Reich. May I remind you that up until 1960 we were supposed to have thousands of proofs, confessions, and eye-witness evidence, that there were mass killings at Dachau, Ravensbrück, Buchenwald, and so on. Therefore, we now have to acknowledge that the authors of such confessions (Suhren, Schwarzhuber, Dr. Treite ...) must have been subjected to “persuasive questioning” on the part of their French, British, and American jailers. This should give food for thought, at least as far as the “confessions” are concerned.

Rudolf Hss (not to be confused with Rudolf Hess, still imprisoned in Spandau) was one of the three successive commandants of Auschwitz. He is the only one to have left confessions.” These “confessions” are preposterous in the extreme. Besides the Treblinka and Belzec camps, he has invented a third camp at Wolzek — a place which cannot be found on any map of Poland! Hss was handed over to the Polish authorities by the British. After a travesty of justice masquerading as a trial, he was hanged. But while he was awaiting death, his communist jailers allowed him write his “confessions” in the best traditions of the Moscow showtrials.

To explain away the contradictions and the absurdities of his earlier declarations to the British interrogators, the communists allowed him to recall that he had been tortured by the British Field Security Police “with riding-whip and alcohol” and then tortured some more by a British major, who was also a magistrate, at Minden-on-Weser. Hss signed his affidavit (PS-3868) for the British on 5 April 1946 — an affidavit written in American-English, which there is no evidence he could understand. Ten days later, Hss appeared as a witness before the International Military Tribunal at N, rnberg, and his “evidence” on Auschwitz astonished the entire world. In actual fact, this “evidence” was not uttered by Hss himself, but consisted of an American prosecutor

reading to him selected passages from his affidavit, and Hss blankly answering “Yes.” According to many people, Hss was in a state of “schizophrenic apathy.”

Regarding the tortures systematically inflicted on the German soldiers and officers by the Allies, one should read Sir Reginald Paget’s book *Manstein: His Campaign & His Trial* (Collins, 1951). On page 109 one finds that the (U.S.) Simpson Inquiry Commission “reported among other things that of the 139 cases they had investigated, 137 had had their testicles permanently destroyed by kicks received from the American War Crimes Investigating Team.”

But torture is not the only way history can be distorted. Many journalists and other writers simply pretend that the accused has made statements which they never in fact made! To give one example, the general public believes that Sergeant Franz Gustav Wagner has cynically declared at Sao Paulo: “At Sobibor we used to gas thousands of people, and this did not disturb me in the least: it was my job.” However, a paper, like *Le Monde*, which is sometimes well-informed, has revealed that in fact Wagner had declared he had never taken part in any assassination of Jews or any other inmate, but that he was only doing his job. As you see, some journalists have decided that “his job” was killing people.

The journalists who do not care about truth are simply following the lead of the judges and magistrates in every country (particularly Western Germany) who, for the past 35 years, have taken it upon themselves to judge “war criminals” (a phrase thought up by the victors to apply only to the vanquished). The Nurnberg International Tribunal itself has given us a model of this indifference to the truth. Here are some extracts from its statutes:

Article 19: “The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence (...)”

Article 21: “The Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge, but shall take judicial notice thereof (...)”

The Institute for Historical Review, PO Box 1306, Torrance, California 90505, USA, has offered a reward of \$50,000 to anyone who can bring definite proof that the Germans used “gas chambers” to kill Jews. Gitta Sereny might be interested.

Zyklon B is hydrocyanic acid; still used in France to disinfect ships. It adheres strongly to surfaces. To enter a place which has been disinfected with it, one has to wait nearly 24 hours for natural aeration (not ventilation). Now, here is my question: How could the members of the “Sonderkommando” enter the lethal “gas chamber” immediately after the death of the victims, and while eating and drinking; that is to say, if I understand correctly, without even a gas mask? How could they pull out with their bare hands the thousands of cyanided corpses drenched in an atmosphere of hydrocyanic acid? How could they cut hair, pull out teeth and so on, when in an American prison gas chamber there are 40 operations which need to be done (including partial neutralization of hydrocyanic acid by ammonia) before going into the cubicle with gas masks, rubber gloves, and apron, in order to carefully clean the corpse so that the doctor and his assistants should not be poisoned? If the Germans had not cared about the health of the “Sonderkommando” members, these men would have died on the spot, and so the “gas chamber” would never have received its next batches of victims.

The aerial photographs of Auschwitz recently published by the CIA show that everything is in complete contradiction with everything we have been told by the so-called eyewitnesses, about crowds of people waiting to be murdered, and the heavy smoke perpetually rising from the crematorium chimneys.

As for Sobibor and Treblinka, one should read Ms. Sereny's own book *Into That Darkness* (Andr  Deutsch, 1974). In 70 hours of talks with Franz Stangl, Ms. Sereny did not ask one question about the technicalities of the "gas chambers." What kind of gas? What mechanism for gassing? What chemical process? How many victims? How was it possible to enter right away? There is not even one shred of evidence, nor one item of proof, that even one "gas chamber" existed in either Sobibor or Treblinka. Ms. Sereny does not even give the real plans of the camps!

I am neither a former Nazi, nor a neo-Nazi. I hate fascism and any form of persecution. But because I have declared that the "gas chambers" and "genocide" are one and the same historical lie, I have been subjected to abuse, I have been assaulted, I cannot give lectures in my university (even though the behavior of my own students has been perfectly correct), I am prosecuted. My life has become most difficult, but it does have purpose, and I know that I shall go my own way. It is my duty.

Robert Faurisson

17 January 1980

Dear Sir:

I am writing to ask you why you have not published any of the letters you received from people whose views were deprecated and misrepresented in Gitta Sereny's quite lengthy article of 2 November 1979.

Intellectual honesty, as well as ordinary decency, requires that you grant such people a right of reply. Refusal to grant that right constitutes dishonorable, or more specifically cowardly, journalism.

Sincerely
Dr. Arthur R. Butz

24 January 1980

Dear Butz,

Letters from Verrall and other sympathizers of yours were not published by the *New Statesman* because in my opinion they — like you — have some time ago excluded themselves from the decencies of intellectual debate. It would make no more sense to enter the intellectual debate with you than it would have done to do so with Goebbels.

Yours sincerely,
Bruce Page
Editor
New Statesman

Winston Spencer Churchill: A Tribute

HARRY ELMER BARNES

No informed person could well deny that Winston S. Churchill was probably the most spectacular showman in the history of British politics, and he was surely one of Britain's greatmasters of patriotic and honorific rhetoric. But when we go beyond this into any phase of Churchill's career we enter debatable ground. Any careful study of his personality and career raises serious questions as to his personal and political integrity and the value of his public services to Great Britain.

His political career revealed no firm political principles or ideology. He shifted in his party affiliations from the Conservatives to the Liberals and back to the Conservatives. He praised Mussolini and Hitler lavishly after their totalitarian programs had been fully established and their operations were well known. He said that if he had been an Italian he would have been a Fascist, and as late as 1938 he stated that if England were ever in the same straits that Germany had been in 1933, he hoped that England would find "her Hitler." The eminent Anglo-American publicist, Francis Neilson, declared that Churchill's praise of Hitler was the most extreme tribute ever paid by a prominent Englishman to the head of a foreign state. When his "great and good friend" of former days, Mussolini, was murdered by Communist partisans and his corpse hung up head down in Milan, Churchill rushed in to a dinner party with the news, exclaiming: "Ah, the bloody beast is dead!" In World War II he declared that it was his great life purpose to destroy Hitler and National Socialism.

Churchill's shifts on Communism were equally fantastic. He had been one of the most bitter critics of Communism and its leaders, denouncing it as "foul baboonery," but during World War II he extolled Stalin as generously as he previously had Mussolini and Hitler, only to shift again as early as 1946 and demand a Cold War on Communism.

There is no convincing evidence whatever that Churchill ever proposed or supported any public measure with a primary interest in its probable effect on the welfare of Britain or humanity. He appeared to be exclusively concerned with its probable reaction on his own political career. In this he differed from Roosevelt. Even John T. Flynn admits that the latter, as a country squire, had a real sense of *noblesse oblige* and was interested in the well-being of the common people when helping them did not interfere with his own political ambitions. Churchill never revealed any sense of *noblesse oblige*. To him rank only demanded special privileges and rewards. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that he was the most vain person in the whole history of prominent public figures, a trait enduring until his death and after, when he had planned years or months in advance even the details of a pompous and dramatic public funeral.

Churchill was completely lacking in integrity with respect to his public career. He had no hesitation in uttering the most flagrant misstatements when this appeared necessary to him to promote his political ambitions or cover up his past mistakes. He did not turn aside from deceiving the British people on matters of great public import if this was required for his political self-protec-

tion. Perhaps the best of many examples was his report to the House of Commons after his return from the disastrous Yalta Conference, where he had witnessed Stalin's duplicity and mendacious greed, having already observed this at Tehran and in the atrocious violation of Stalin's promises in regard to the Soviet treatment of Poland. Churchill assured the House: "The impression I brought back from the Crimea is that Marshall Stalin and the other Soviet leaders wish to live in honorable friendship and democracy with the Western democracies. I feel that no government stands more on its obligations than the Russian Soviet Government."

It is well to remember that Churchill's great current reputation as a statesman rests entirely on events between April 1940 and July 1945. He was so thoroughly discredited as a politician by 1933 that both the Baldwin and Chamberlain governments considered that to have him in the Cabinet would be a detriment to Conservative prestige and prospects. When public issues returned again to domestic affairs in 1945, Churchill was resoundingly defeated in the General Election of that summer. As a wartime administrator he showed tremendous energy rather than organizing and directive genius. He was more distinguished for his pugnacity than for his statecraft, although there can be no doubt that he inspired the British to unite and continue the war against Hitler, but it may be questioned if unthinking resistance to Hitler after Dunkirk was the best policy for Britain. The most effective indictment of Churchill's wartime statecraft is that after gaining military victory he lost the peace to Soviet Russia.

There has been no greater fallacy than to regard Churchill as a military genius, although it is probable that no other important British leader has so loved war or worked harder to insure it when it seemed within the range of possibility. Churchill was responsible for the disastrous attempt to force the Dardanelles in 1915, which was Britain's most spectacular defeat in the World War I (except for the futile attempts to break through the German trenches). It has been said that it was a good plan if it had worked, but a truly good military plan must work out in practice and not merely be impressive on paper. Both Lord Fisher and Lord Kitchener warned against the project. Churchill was compelled to resign as responsible for the failure.

In regard to World War II both English and American experts have indicated that Churchill's interference in strategic decisions was often disastrous. General Albert C. Wedemeyer has pointed out that Churchill and Roosevelt really ran military operations like a pair of Indian chiefs conducting a scalping party, with little consideration of the ultimate military or political outcome. Churchill's constant demand to concentrate the Allied attack against the "soft underbelly of Europe"-a sort of return to the Dardanelles fantasy- was properly discredited by the impressive manner in which General Kesserling defended the Italian sector of the soft underbelly under the greatest handicaps, defeated in the end mainly by the treachery of Hitler and his SS underlings.

It is held even by restrained admirers of Churchill that we must at least give him credit for saving Britain. One might ask: saving Britain from whom and from what? Hitler was a worse bootlicker of Britain than the Kaiser and the cornerstone of his foreign policy was to achieve a permanent understanding with Britain. Even after Dunkirk, where he deliberately permitted the British to escape, he offered Britain a generous peace and told his generals that he would put the German Wehrmacht, air force and navy at the service of Britain to preserve the British Empire. Real statesmanship would have dictated Churchill's agreeing to a stalemate with Germany in June 1941, and letting Germany and Russia bleed each other white and thus remove the threat of dictatorship from either the Right or the Left. This was what wise Americans like Herbert Hoover, Robert A. Taft, and Harry S. Truman recommended at the time. But Churchill was just getting too much joy and thrill-"having too much fun," as Roosevelt put it-out of being an active war leader to consider for a moment retiring to the role of an observer, even if this was probably the only way to assure British safety and the preservation of the Empire. He condemned England to

four more years of costly and brutal warfare, failed to protect eastern and central Europe from Russia and Communism, and made inevitable the liquidation of the British Empire.

Churchill led in the denunciation of the alleged horrible atrocities and brutalities of the Nazis, but his record is surely no better. He rejected Hitler's proposal at the outset of the War to ban all bombardment of non-military objectives and launched this barbarous form of bombing on 11 May 1940, with an attack on the helpless university town of Freiburg. He announced that he would stop at no type or extent of brutality and terrorism to crush Hitler and he made good his word. He directed the terrible incendiary bombing of Hamburg, and was solely responsible for ordering the needless destruction of the beautiful city of Dresden, the most ruthless, despicable and indefensible major atrocity of World War II, in which the losses of life and property were far greater than in the case of the American bombing of either Hiroshima or Nagasaki. He approved and ordered the application of the Lindemann Plan for the saturation bombing of Germany which, for stark brutality in both conception and operation, matched any of the alleged Nazi "extermination" measures. This plan ordered concentration of British bombing on the homes of the poorer or working classes whose houses were huddled close together so that more innocent civilians could be killed per bomb that was dropped.

In his remarks at the funeral of Mr. Churchill, former President Dwight Eisenhower laid main stress on Churchill's achievements as a "friend of peace." It would be no exaggeration to say that this was not unlike J. Edgar Hoover paying a special tribute to Al Capone as a friend of law enforcement. Even his British admirers have conceded Churchill's lifelong and inordinate love of war. No other British public figure worked as hard to bring Britain into World War I as did Churchill. This has been admitted in the recent book, *Twelve Days*, by the English writer George Malcolm Thomson on the crisis of 1914. It is common knowledge that Churchill was the leader of the British war party from 1936 onward, having told General Robert E. Wood in that year that: "Germany is getting too strong; we must smash her." He not only cooperated with the war party in Britain but also worked closely with Bernard Baruch and the other powerful warminded Americans.

Perhaps the best summary appraisal of Churchill's personality comes from the distinguished British publicist, F.S. Oliver:

From his youth up Mr. Churchill has loved with all his heart, with all his mind, with all his soul, and with all his strength, three things: war, politics and himself. He has loved war for its dangers, he loves politics for the same reason, and himself he has always loved for the knowledge that his mind is dangerous -dangerous to his enemies, dangerous to his friends, dangerous to himself. I can think of no man I have ever met who would so quickly and so bitterly eat his heart out in Paradise.

The significance of Churchill's career for this and later generations was admirably summarized by the British journal, *The European*:

In terms of personal success there has been no career more fortunate than that of Winston Churchill. In terms of human suffering to millions of people and destruction to the noble edifice of mankind there has been no career more disastrous. In that sad paradox lies the tragedy of our time.

Auschwitz Notebook

More impossibilities of the 'Gerstein Statement'

Ditlieb Felderer

The so-called “Gerstein Statement” continues to be the main evidence for the “Holocaust.” The book *Holocaust* (New York, 1978) written by Gerald Green- on which the TV series of the same name was based-used the “Gerstein Statement” indirectly. The statement was also featured in evidence at both the Nuremberg Trials and the Jerusalem trial of Adolf Eichmann. Two different versions were used, which are reproduced in Paul Rassinier’s *Debunking the Genocide Myth* (142: pp. 410-423). The Nuremberg version is also reproduced in Professor Butz’s book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (109: pp. 251-258). Both these excellent authors deal with the mystery surrounding the identity and death of Kurt Gerstein, and the discrepancies between the various statements attributed to him. But here, let us instead concentrate our attention on some of the contents.

Amongst other things, Gerstein states that a train with 45 cars which had arrived at Belzec contained “6,700 persons; 1,450 of whom were already dead on their arrival.”

If so, each car must have held 148.9 persons on average ($6,700 / 45$); for simplicity’s sake let us say 150. As these 6,700 persons were prisoners, the number of guards and staff accompanying the train should be added, which would decrease the area per person even further; so much so, in fact, that one wonders if cramming people together like this would not be sufficient to kill all of them, thus saving the Germans the trouble of shipping them to the “death camps.”

Is it in fact possible to squeeze over 150 people into one railroad car? We should not forget that the prisoners often carried big bundles with them, and we are told that on occasions even furniture went along (compare 142: pp. 200-2 and pp. 360-6). In *Encyclopedia Judaica* under the heading “Belzec” a picture is presented which purports to show “Jews in Zamosc waiting for deportation to the Belzec extermination camp” (1, Vol. 4; p. 454). Observe here the bundles of belongings the Jews carry with them. At Treblinka, Gerstein claims there were mountains of clothes and underwear up to 40 meters high (see [my analysis](#) in *Journal Of Historical Review*, Spring 1980). A lot of wagons would have been needed just to transport all these belongings.

Gerstein is very confused. At first he claims that the Belzec “gas chambers” numbered “three garage-like rooms on each side, 4×5 meters large and 1.90 meters high.” That would make a total of 6 “gas chambers” each having an area of 20 square meters. Further on he suggests that there were only 4 “gas chambers” at Belzec and that the area of each chamber was “25 square meters” or “45 cubic meters.” Gerstein’s mathematical skill reaches its usual low grade, for it is obvious that if the chambers measured 4×5 meters, the area would not be 25 square meters, but 20. And the cubic capacity would have been 38 cubicmeters, not 45. Evenif thearea was “25 square meters” it still does not work out at “45 cubic meters” in capacity, but 47.5 (25×1.90).

What is even more amazing however, is the number of people who supposedly went into each chamber to be exterminated. A total of 700 to 800 people are supposed to have been placed in each chamber. The following table will illustrate what this literally means, using the wide range of figures for dimensions, which Gerstein uses throughout his “statement.” From this table, we can truly agree with Gerstein that the people were literally “crushed together” which in reality should have made the gassing by Diesel fumes entirely unnecessary. (See table below).

Number of people per chamber	Size of chamber in m ²	cm ² per person	Space per person in cm	Persons per sq. meter if formed into a square
750	20	266.7	16.33 × 16.33	37.5
750	25	333.3	18.26 × 18.26	30
800	20	250	15.81 × 15.81	40
800	25	312.5	17.68 × 17.68	31.9

As can be seen from this table, the number of persons allotted to one square meter ranges from 30 to 40 people; that is, if we could mold each person into a square, allowing no space in between. From a practical viewpoint, it would be quite a job to get even six standing grown-ups into one square meter. The problem is further exacerbated by the fact that the room was only 1.90 meters (6'3") high. Any tall person, especially any still wearing shoes, would have to stoop. Even though six people would be the limit in these circumstances, Gerstein's know-how managed to cram in up to 40 people per square meter. He does admit that it was rather crowded in the chamber, but this remark is certainly a real exercise in understatement! And these calculations are all figured on the basis of people being a regular shape, and with no allowance for space in between!

Another curious observation we make with the “Gerstein Statement” is his mentioning how he could observe the victims dying and know when they had died. He writes: “Many of the people, it is true, are dead at that point. One can see this through the little window when the electric lamp reveals, for a moment, the inside of the chamber.”

One wonders how it was that anything at all was visible through the “little window” considering so many people were crammed in there? All that would be visible would be somebody's back or chest squashed up against the window. The point about the electric light is so absurd that it makes the whole thing a complete nonsense.

Gerstein writes that “like stone statues, the dead are still standing, there having been no room to fall or bend over.” Obviously if any person was taller than 1.90m (6'3") he would have had to bend over or stoop in order to get in! it would indeed be curious to know how Gerstein (with a stop-watch in hand, take note) could have possibly known whether or not the victims were dead, seeing as he is telling us they were all still standing! There is no way that a central light could have been seen from the window, or anything at all except the skin of the person nearest the door!

Let us finally return to the 5,250 people who survived the train ride from Lvov (6,700 less 1,450 = 5,250). We note that Gerstein claims only (!) 750 people were put into each chamber; despite the fact that they could hold up to 800, according to his previous assertions. That would mean that 3,000 people (750 × 4) were put into each of the four chambers. But what then happened to the rest; some 2,250 people? If it was possible to crush 750 people into one chamber, then why not 1,313 people into each chamber (5,250-4 = 1,312.5)? If Gerstein is going to allege that the

chamber was crammed with 40 people per square meter, then 75-odd people per square meter should not present too much of a problem to such a magician, should it?

In spite of all the absurdities, impossibilities, erroneous and contradictory figures, the “Gerstein Statement” continues to maintain its supremacy in Exterminationist lore. Perhaps this is just as well, from a cynical Revisionist viewpoint, for few things could better illustrate the mythical nature of the “Holocaust” than this very item.

References

The numbers used refer to the author’s Revisionist Bibliography of almost 200 Revisionist and Exterminationist titles, which is available direct from the author. Those titles mentioned in this text are as follows:

1 *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem, 16 volumes, 1971/2.

109 Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, IHR, 1979.

142 Paul Rassinier, *Debunking the Genocide Myth*, IFIR, 1979.

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Nuremberg: A Nation On Trial

- *NUREMBERG: A NATION ON TRIAL*. Werner Maser, Scribners, 368 pp, hardback, available from IHR at \$18.00. ISBN: 0684-16252-0.

reviewed by Lewis Brandon ([David McCalden](#))

This new book is easily the best so far on the hideous aberration of justice known as the “Nuremberg War Crimes Trials.” The author is a well-known German historian; his biography of Hitler having been an international bestseller.

Many of the more repulsive aspects of Nuremberg which were brought to light in Richard Harwood’s *Nuremberg a Other War Crimes Trials* are underlined in this new book. This time, they are backed up with hard facts and figures, references and interviews. This book is the product of many years of painstaking research. To take just a few samples of Herr Maser’s revelations:

When the ashes of the hanged were taken to a small river to be dumped, each urn bore a fictitious Jewish name (p 12).

Hans Frank was beaten up by two colored GIs as soon as he was arrested (p47). So was Julius Streicher (p 51). who was whipped and forced to drink negro saliva.

The simultaneous interpretation system at the trial was supplied free of charge by IBM, and was often inaccurate (p 83).

Although the Trial Charter allowed defendants the right to represent themselves, Hess was not allowed to (p 73).

The defense were not allowed to have copies of many prosecution documents of evidence (p 97). Defense documents had to be sifted by the prosecution, before they could be submitted in court (p98). Many of their documents were confiscated or stolen.

Prosecution witnesses, such as Pohl, were beaten until they would give “correct” evidence (p 100). Many defense witnesses were not allowed to appear at all.

Affidavits were allowed on the prosecution side, with no opportunity for the defense to cross-examine the authors. The Tribunal announced that it would “take judicial note” of anything which had “probative value” (p 102).

Agreements to advise the defense of topics to be examined next day in court were dishonored and repudiated (p 106). Agreements to supply adequate copies and translations of documentary evidence were too (p 104).

President Roosevelt himself intervened to prevent the truth coming out about Katyn (p113).

The hangings of the ten condemned Germans was bungled. Ribbentrop took ten minutes to die (p253). Jodl took 18 minutes, and Keitel 24 (p255). Streicher groaned for a long time after dropping, Frick had severe wounds on his face and neck, through striking the edge of the trap (p255). A journalist who managed to persuade a newspaper to publish photographs of the bloodsmear faces was arrested. Only touched-up pictures were allowed to be distributed (p 255). But in a note, the author tells how the American hangmen at Landsberg did an even worse job. GIs standing underneath the gallows had to finish off the victims by stuffing cotton wool down their throats (p 255f).

The hangman, John C. Woods burned the ropes and hoods immediately after the executions, even though he had been offered \$2500 for them as souvenirs (p 327). He himself narrowly escaped death a few years later while testing an electric chair (p 254).

Contrary to Harwood, Maser states that the bodies were not cremated in the “gas ovens” at Dachau, but at a city mortuary in Munich, and their ashes dumped into a brook running at the bottom of the yard (p 13 and p 256). The remaining prisoners at Nuremberg were made to clean up the blood-spattered gallows (p256). The uncanny thing about this new book is that it originated in Germany. Anglo-American Revisionists have become so used to modern German historians running a mile from any criticism of the “Liberation” that many had almost given up hope altogether. But with the Diwald book last year, and now this magnificent work this year, the standard of historiography in the Bundesrepublik certainly seems to be improving.

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Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust

- *Report to the President: President's Commission on the Holocaust*. Elie Wiesel (Chairman), Suite 7233, 726 Jackson Place NW, Washington, DC 20503, 40pp, paperback. ISBN: not given.

reviewed by Lewis Brandon ([David McCalden](#))

Of the many dozens of Holocaust tracts examined by this reviewer, I thought I had become somewhat de-sensitized to the heavy ingredient of neurosis and paranoia which pervades all of them. But on reading Mr. Wiesel's report, I must admit to a profound feeling of astonishment and shock, that the author has not been locked up in a looney-bin a long time ago. Indeed, the author himself describes some of his psychological problems in his introduction:

Why then cling to unbearable memories that may for ever rob us of our sleep? Why not forget, turn the page, and proclaim: let it remain buried beneath the dark nightmares of our subconscious. Why not spare our children the weight of our collective burden and allow them to start their lives free of nocturnal obsessions and complexes free of Auschwitz and its shadows?

Naturally, Mr. Wiesel goes on to explain why both he and succeeding generations should inflict upon themselves this insomnia. According to Wiesel, the survivors'

willingness to share their knowledge, their pain, their anguish, even their agony, is motivated solely by their conviction that their survival was for a purpose. A survivor sees himself as a messenger and guardian of secrets entrusted by the dead.

A cynic might, of course, suggest that the real reason for continually shoving this lie down our throats has rather less to do with preserving epitaphs, and rather more to do with elevating modern-day Zionists above all criticism, on the spurious grounds that to criticize Zionism is to encourage another "Holocaust."

Wiesel pulls no punches in describing the "Holocaust" as an "Event" (original capitalization ... is he confusing it with the TV show of the same name?) which is "essentially Jewish." One wonders what ever happened to the five million "Others" which have been brought to the fore in Holocaust literature of late?

The Commission took nearly a year to complete its findings. It was composed of 34 members, including at least 24 Jews, some of whom claimed to themselves be "survivors." One member of the Commission was Bayard Rustin, a convicted Negro sex-pervert. The Commission travelled to eastern Europe and to Israel-they claim at their own personal expense-to examine other nations' Holocaust memorials.

They visited the site of Treblinka, which is “now wooded,” and saw the Polish communist authorities' memorial representing railroad ties, charred skeletons, and a shattered menorah. The standard of aesthetics brings to mind the phoney Soviet memorial at Khatyn, which is supposed to commemorate “war dead” but is in fact a deliberate ploy to draw people’s attention away from Katyn, several hundred miles away.

The Commission went on to Auschwitz “without doubt the most lethal of all extermination camps.” This will come as a surprise to Exterminationist scholars such as Gitta Sereny, who say that Auschwitz was not in the main an extermination camp. Later, in Warsaw, the Commission met with communist officials, and arranged for the purchase of communist war propaganda films.

The next stop was the USSR, where Commission members visited Babi Yar, in the suburbs of Kiev. Although “80,000 Jews” were killed there, the Soviet monument bore no reference to “Jews” and so “the Commission was alerted to the danger of historical falsification.” Indeed! Indeed!

On to the colony of Israel where most of the Commission members must have felt really at home. They visited various Holocaust museums, including the Yad Vashem Center; and Nes Ammim, a study center run by Dutch Christians and dedicated to “atonement for the Holocaust.”

Among the somewhat predictable recommendations of the Commission are that a Holocaust memorial and museum should be built and attached to the Smithsonian in Washington, DC. An Educational Foundation should be established to disseminate Holocaust propaganda to schools and colleges throughout the country. A “Committee on Conscience” to be composed of “distinguished moral leaders” should be established to advise the President on potential outbreaks of genocide anywhere in the world. (One wonders if the “distinguished moral leaders” would include in their brief Israeli atrocities against the Palestinians, Lebanese and Syrians?)

A Day of Remembrance should also be established at the end of April (which is already recognized in Israel) so that special church and synagogue services could be co-ordinated. Special liturgies and litanies have already been written, we are told.

In addition, the Commission urges the President to have the Genocide Convention passed (which would make anti-Semitism a crime); that Nazi “war criminals” be vigorously prosecuted; and that the United States interfere in foreign countries if they allow their Jewish cemeteries to sprout too many weeds.

As regards financing, the Commission suggests that Uncle Sam should start the ball rolling with one million dollars, and that the balance of the expenses should come from private subscriptions. This short report does indeed provide a fascinating insight into Exterminationist thinking. The author will use ten words where one would have done. Adjective and descriptions are in lists rather than in any concise form, and are drawn from the peculiar Holocaust lexicon from which all of the Exterminationist scholars seem to draw their vocabulary. Their argot is not one of historiography, nor of any science whatsoever, but one of morbid, paranoid neurosis.

... the merchant from Saloniki, the child from Lodz, the rabbi from Radzimin, the carpenter from Warsaw, and the scribe from Vilna ...

(One wonders whatever happened to the kosher-butcher from Cracow, the banker from Bremen, and the stockmarket-speculator from Stuttgart? Weren't they “rounded up” and put on the cattle trucks also?)

Terror-stricken families hiding in ghetto-cellars. Children running with priceless treasures: a potato or two, a crumb of bread ... Treblinka and Ponar, Auschwitz and Babi Yar, Majdanek and Belzec ... betrayal and torture, anxiety and loss, desperation and agony.

And, needless to say, the human devils of the “Holocaust kingdom” also committed the one crime which has been visited upon Jewish offspring with tedious repetition ever since the Romans rolled up Jewish schoolchildren (all 64 million of them, according to the Talmud) in their Torah scrolls and set fire to them:

... in order to cut expenses and save gas, cost-accountant considerations led to an order to place living children directly into the ovens, or throw them into open burning pits.

Revisionism also gets a look in, in this turgid nightmare world of “charred souls ... darkness ... flames of darkness ... fire ... ashes ... and torture” which one cannot decide bears closer resemblance to a Hieronymous Bosch painting or a Woody Allen movie:

Little did we know that, in our lifetime, books would appear in many languages offering so-called reproof that the Holocaust never occurred, that our parents, our friends did not die there. Little did we know that Jewish children would again be murdered, in cold blood by killers in Israel.

The final cost-accounting for the President’s Commission on the Holocaust has yet to be published. But whatever the final bill comes to, one cannot help wondering whether the money might not have been better spent on paying for an analyst for poor Mr. Wiesel. He certainly needs it.

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The Holocaust Victims Accuse

- *THE HOLOCAUST VICTIMS ACCUSE*, Rabbi Moshe Shonfeld, Bnei Yeshivos, 161 East Houston Street #10, New York, NY 10013, 124pp, paperback, \$3.00. ISBN: not given.

reviewed by Lewis Brandon ([David McCalden](#))

The sub-title of this book is “Documents and Testimony on Jewish War Criminals.” Its position on the “Holocaust” is a remarkable one. Rabbi Shonfeld belongs to an ultra-orthodox sect of Hassidic (or Chassidic) Jews who regard the state of Israel as a blasphemy. Their view is that Israel may only be founded when the Messiah comes, and, quite obviously, neither David Ben-Gurion, nor Golda Meir, nor Menachem Begin, are the Messiah. Throughout the text, “Israel” is written in quotation marks, in a style that echoes the habit of some Revisionist scholars who insist on writing “Jews” in quotes (since most modern-day Jews are not from Judea at all, but from Khazakhstan). From time to time, the author also refers to “Eretz Yisroel.” The text of the book consists of ten indictments against various wartime Zionist leaders, who in the author’s opinion, deliberately sacrificed their fellow Jews in the “Holocaust” so that the elite Jews could be granted passage to Palestine. He also condemns those loud-mouthed Zionists in the United States, who “stupidly antagonized the Nazi fuhrer ... by making speeches and blowing shofar in front of the German consulate ... and by calling for a boycott of German goods.” The author also apologizes for having to use the term “Holocaust” since it “has been turned into a Zionist battle-cry, which we abhor, but have been forced to use for identification purposes.”

The rabbi focuses on the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem, which was the first time Jewish collaboration with the Nazis was brought into the open. He condemns Romkowski, the leader of the Zionist movement in Lodz, who became a ruthless tyrant when the Nazis put him in charge of the ghetto. A postage stamp bearing his portrait, and an inscription in Yiddish, is shown on page 23. On page 19 there is a picture of the Jewish police in the Kovna ghetto, looking every bit as sinister as the Gestapo in their black uniforms.

The author quotes the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann, who at the 1937 Zionist Congress in London, stated that only the young Jews should go to Palestine. The aged and infirm would “have to accept their fate.” Henry Montor, of the United Jewish Appeal, said the same. He attacks the Holocaust folk-hero Abba Kovner, who sang his own praises so much on the witness stand at the Eichmann Trial that the judges had to intervene; much to Kovner’s chagrin. Contrary to the widely-held impression that Kovner was a courageous anti-Nazi partisan (and p set, to boot!) the author reveals that he was a collaborator, who handed over elderly Jews to the Nazis in order that youthful Jews-such as himself-could be granted passage to Palestine. He backs up his allegation with eye-witness evidence.

Weizmann again comes in for criticism regarding the Joel Brand affair. Brand was a Jew delegated by the Hungarian Zionists in collaboration with Eichmann to negotiate a trucks-for-Jews

deal with the Allies in 1944. Weizmann, apparently, refused to see Brand when he arrived in Tel Aviv, and Brand was then arrested by the British.

Dr. Rudolf Kastner is castigated for his role in the trucks-for-Jews deal. Eichmann dressed him up in an SS uniform to take him to Belsen so that he could identify his relatives and friends, and secure their seats on the single train that would be allowed to leave. The rabbi alleges that Kastner bribed Eichmann, and that Eichmann used this money to set up home in Argentina after the war. The starvation in the Jewish ghettos is blamed on American Zionists who picketed the depots from where food parcels were being mailed. Their placards demanded "Stop sending food to the lands of the Nazi enemy!" The author further condemns the Zionists in "Eretz Yisroel" for murdering 250 Jews on board the SS Patria in Haifa harbor in 1940. The idea was to blame this bombing atrocity on the British mandatory authorities.

Despite much fantasizing about the "Holocaust" this book represents an important chapter in the history of the relationship between the Nazis, the Zionists, and the Allies, which has never before been published. A 28 page review of the book is also available from a Mr. M. Qureshi at PO Box 319, Perry, OH 44081, entitled The Great American Holocaust by Zionism (price not known).

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Review

Less Than Slaves

- *LESS THAN SLAVES*, Benjamin B. Ferencz, Harvard University Press, 250ss, hardback. \$15.00. ISBN: 0-674-52525-6.

reviewed by Lewis Brandon ([David McCalden](#))

The author of this latest Exterminationist tome will already be familiar to those Revisionists who have read Richard Harwood's masterpiece of research *Nuremberg a Other War Crimes Trials* (available from IHR at \$2. 50). Dealing with the American Military Trial number 10 — the Krupp trial — Harwood reveals how Ferencz was one of those "American" prosecutors who stayed on in Germany long after the dust had settled at the Nuremberg Court of "Justice."

Ferencz's task was to secure financial compensation for individual Jews around the world who felt that they had suffered some financial loss at the hands of the Nazis. But this did not prevent him vigorously lobbying against proposed clemency for the many hundreds of German "war criminals" languishing in prison; in part due to Ferencz's efforts in court.

Ferencz's latest book is based on his unique knowledge and experience; first as a prosecutor in the Krupp case, and later as director of the negotiations to secure compensation for Jewish survivors of labor camps. The remarkable thing about this book is that, although it deals almost totally with the Mill of Death itself — Auschwitz — there is hardly any mention at all of "gas chambers" or "Zyklon B" or even an "extermination program." The only mentions are on page 15, where he quotes Nuremberg document [NO-365](#), which is an unsigned letter; pages 16-21, which rely on the notorious forgery, the Höss confessions; and on a very few other pages, where the reference to "extermination" is cursory and unreferenced.

According to the author, Jews not fit for work in the Krupp and other plants at Auschwitz would be packed off to nearby Birkenau (Brzezinka) for gassing. The camps of Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka and Chelmno (Kulmhof-an-der-Neer) were the only camps purely for extermination. He also mentions yet another camp called Jungfernhof, near Riga in Latvia, where Jews were shipped from as far away as Austria for extermination. However, he does not attempt to explain why they were sent over 1000 miles for gassing, when they passed en route perfectly functional extermination camps such as Birkenau, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka, which were all reportedly in full operation, gassing Jews night and day, and belching forth smoke and ashes.

The "revised" Exterminationist view of Ferencz tallies rather closely with that of Gitta Sereny's revision of Holocaust mythology in the *New Statesman* of 2 November 1979. They both place the exterminations at the four camps Chelmno, Sobibor, Treblinka and Belzec (although Ferencz adds Birkenau and the mysterious Latvian camp, Jungfernhop. Could it be that there is some col-

lusion at work here, whereby the Exterminationist high priests have got together to get their stories straight? Perhaps they realize that the game is up, as far as Auschwitz and the Old Reich camps are concerned, and now they are trying to salvage whatever they can from the rapidly crumbling Holocaust house of cards? They have sought refuge in the only possible corner, which is to maintain that the exterminations took place at camps which have now been obliterated without trace, and that the function of Auschwitz and the western camps was to work people to death.

Regrettably, even this position is somewhat untenable, since this very book is about all those thousands upon thousands of Jews who survived the very “horrific working conditions” which were supposed to destroy people through work! One of the most useful appendices in this very professionally laid out book is a list of claims paid to such survivors. As of the end of 1973, nearly 15,000 claimants from 42 different countries had been paid 52 million Deutschmarks. Perhaps the author’s acknowledged origins in Transylvania have something to do with this vampirical campaign.

Ferencz now runs a prestigious law office in New York City which specializes in International Law. His book has already been favorably reviewed in the Communist Daily World (19 December 1979) and in the New York Times Book Review (9 December 1979); in the latter case by the discredited “historian” Martin Gilbert.

Summer 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 2), page 181

Review

Nemesis at Potsdam

- *NEMESIS AT POTSDAM*, Alfred M. de Zayas, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 268pp, paperback, available from IHR at \$9.00. ISBN: 0-7 100-9410-9.

reviewed by Lewis Brandon ([David McCalden](#))

This is a new, revised edition of this book first published in 1977. In just three years, it has become a Revisionist classic. It tells the story of the expulsion of the Germans from the eastern territories and the role played by the Anglo-Americans in that atrocity.

Over 2 million Germans did not survive the rigors of their uprooting and forced expulsion, yet the event is hardly even known outside of Germany. The text is factual and referenced; unlike the hysteria and neurosis exhibited in so many “Holocaust” tracts.

There are 7 maps, and 62 illustrations, many of which ought to be reproduced and circulated to those gullible people still taken in by the “Six Million” myth. Plate 34 shows naked German children expelled from an orphanage in Danzig, looking every bit as emaciated as any inmate of Belsen. Plates 26, 27 and 30 show refugees being transported on open goods cars; forced to leave their homelands without any of their possessions whatsoever.

Detailed appendices show formerly-secret British documents which prove that the British knew how terrible the problem was, but refused to do anything about it, for fear of upsetting our “gal-lant” Soviet allies.

Summer 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 2), page 182.

Book review

The Holocaust

- *The Holocaust*, by Martin Gilbert, Hill & Wang, 19 Union Square West, New York, NY 10003, 59 pp, paperback, \$3.45, ISBN: 0-8090-1389-4.

According to its endorser, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, this book is a perfect and convincing rejoinder to the current perverse efforts on the part of certain hostile groups and individuals to deny the reality of the massive human tragedy inflicted with particular de monism against the Jewish people by the Nazis.

Just as Rabbi Tannenbaum would not win any prizes for precis work in an English usage class, neither would this book win any awards for accuracy. The author Martin Gilbert holds the prestigious position in England as of ficial biographer of Sir Winston Churchill. Perhaps that is why the modern public holds an extremely distorted picture of this drunken chameleon who is usually regarded as a genial, avuncular, Santa Claus?

Gilbert's Holocaust is riddled with errors and misrepresentations. On page 47 he shows a picture of American troops liberating Belsen. If he knew anything at all about the subject he purports to be an expert in, he would know that Belsen was liberated by the British. The photo he shows is of Dachau.

On page 17, he gives the figure of "more than 40,000 dead at Dachau." Yet, a Jewish survivor of Dachau wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* (6 January 1980) that only 31,951 perished during its entire 12 years of existence. At least we should be thankful for small mercies in that Gilbert does not attempt to resurrect the long-discredited canard that inmates were gassed at Dachau.

Although the book contains many meticulously drawn maps and diagrams (which are an extremely useful tool for any Revisionist scholar) nowhere in the book can we find any actual proof of gassings. We see people lined up, we are told, "for gassing." We see skulls and corpses, we are again told of the "gassed." But nowhere is there a photo of people being herded into, or standing in, a "gas chamber." We don't even get a picture of the alleged "gas chamber" which is today shown to visitors at the Auschwitz museum. Ironically, it falls to a fellow Exterminationist to have the final word in reviewing Mr. Gilbert's historical abilities. In a startling four-page article in the London New Statesman (2 November 1979) Ms. Gitta Sereny ("mother-confessor" of Franz Stangl) pans the otherwise "reputable historian." She tells how Gilbert has been taken in by survivor testimonies and films (!) which "were only partly true, or even were partly faked." She goes on to show how Gilbert was duped into making all kinds of incorrect assertions about Treblinka, because he believed the word of notorious hoaxsters such as Jean Francois Steiner and Martin Gray. Ms. Sereny even indicates that she herself was approached to help ghost write the Treblinka experiences of Gray, who "had manifestly never been" there.

Martin Gilbert was a graduate of, and is now a professor of history at, Oxford University. This book certainly says a lot about the standards of excellence throughout the British “Ivy League.”

The Journal of Historical Review

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Spring 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 1), page 5.

Book review

The Barnes Trilogy

- *The Barnes Trilogy*, by Harry Elmer Barnes, Institute for Historical Review, 144pp, paperback, \$4.00. ISBN: 0-911038-56-6.

This is a new reprint of three of Barnes' last pamphlets, where one can trace his development as a full-fledged, out-of-the closet, Historical Revisionist. Of course, this is not the first time these pamphlets have been published in a collection. In 1972 Arno Press (part of the New York Times group) published a collection of eight of his pamphlets including these same three. The Arno title *Selected Revisionist Pamphlets* (also available from IHR at \$15.00), has several shortcomings, which hopefully the new Barnes Trilogy will put to rights.

First, the IHR book is a much better value than the Arno edition, and can thus be distributed to a much wider audience. Second, the pamphlets are in chronological order in IHR's book, but not in Arno's. Third, IHR provides a detailed and factual introduction, by IHR Chief Lewis Brandon, which guides the reader through Barnes' work, drawing attention to important features. The reader of Arno is left to fend for himself. Finally, the IHR edition shows dates of publication, which Arno omits altogether.

In summary, it would seem that the shoestring Institute for Historical Review can teach a few publishing lessons to even the grandest of Madison Avenue outfits.

The Journal of Historical Review

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Summer 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 2), page 183.

Book review

American Manifest Destiny and the Holocausts

- *American Manifest Destiny and the Holocausts*, by Conrad Grieb (editor), Examiner Books, PO Box 783, New York City, NY 10022, 380pp, paperback, \$8.00. ISBN: not given.

This remarkable collection of documents represents an essential archive for any scholar wishing to investigate the other “Holocausts.” There are reprints from *The American Mercury*, *The Spotlight*, *Blasting the Historical Blackout*, *The New York Times*, *Congressional Record*, and many less well known organs. The materials are fully indexed and referenced.

Summer 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 2), page 184

Review

Dealing in Hate

- *DEALING IN HATE*, Dr. Michael F. Connors, Institute for Historical Review, 40pp, paperback, \$2.50. ISBN: 0-911038-55-8.

reviewed by Lewis Brandon ([David McCalden](#))

This new booklet is an excellent introduction for any student of black propaganda. The author argues that we have been deliberately manipulated into a “hate Germany” attitude, and led to believe that the Huns are much more prone to warfare than any other nation. He logs the outbreaks of warfare over the past century, and shows that Germany has committed far fewer acts of aggression than her European neighbors.

He examines the manipulation of public opinion through the invention of atrocity rumors and shows how some of the canards-such as the famous “soap factory” yarn-were actually recycled during WWII, even after they had been exposed after the end of WWI!

He concludes by giving a few examples of the hysterical, anti-German outbursts which have emanated from Zionist sources, and censures those authors such as Shirer who still continue in this neurotic vendetta.

Although the book was written and first published in 1962, it remains as fresh as ever in this new edition, with an eye-catching, graphic cover. One should go on from here and read *The First Casualty* by Phillip Knightly (\$14.50 from IHR) and *Falsehood in Wartime* by Arthur Ponsonby (IHR, \$4.00).

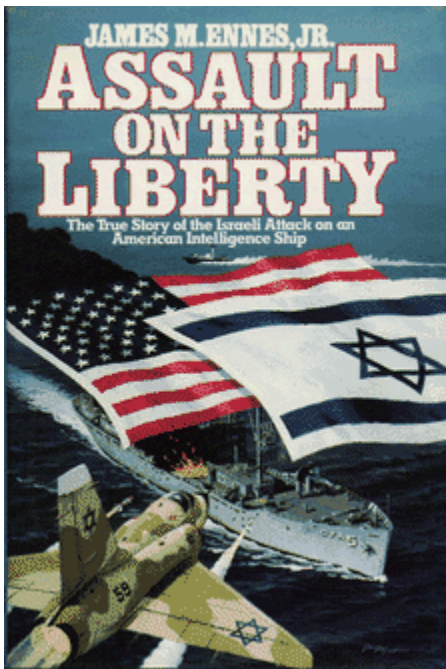
Summer 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 2), page 184

Review

Assault on the Liberty

- *ASSAULT ON THE LIBERTY*, James M. Ennes, Jr., Random House, 300pp, hardback. ISBN: 0394-50512-3.

reviewed by Lewis Brandon ([David McCalden](#))



Subtitled “The True Story of the Israeli Attack on an American Intelligence Ship,” this book must certainly carry much more clout than its predecessor: It was written by a crew member.

Ennes was a cryptological officer on board the [USS Liberty](#) when it was attacked and 34 of its crew killed by Israeli marines in 1967. Ennes was aghast that the whole affair should be hushed up and that the American government should meekly accept the Israelis' lies. He felt it his duty to his 34 murdered comrades that the truth should be told. Consequently, he set about the arduous task of interviewing dozens of officials, and collating hundreds of documents. Many times he was warned to drop the subject.

It was not until he finally left the service in 1978 that he could speak freely. This book is the result. It is packed with details and first-hand accounts. This book truly is “survivor testi-

mony “

There is such attention to detail here that it puts to shame the one previous work on this subject, *Conspiracy of Silence*, by journalist Anthony Pearson. Although Ennes does not mention the previous book by name, he does have a few scathing comments for those who speculate on fantastic, impossible devices which would intercept and scramble radio messages before re-transmitting them.

Summer 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 2), page 184

Review

Roosevelt, Churchill, and the World War Two Opposition

- *ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL and THE WORLD WAR TWO OPPOSITION*, George T. Eggleston, 256pp, hardback, available from IHR at \$14.00. ISBN: 0-8159-5311-9.

reviewed by Lewis Brandon ([David McCalden](#))

When the war clouds gathered over Europe in the late 1930's, George T. Eggleston, along with Col. Charles Lindbergh, John Marquand and others, was determined that we should not become involved in the second "War-to-end-all-Wars." He became editor-in-chief of a new magazine, Scribner's Commentator, dedicated to keeping America out. The fact that more than 80% of the American people were opposed to our entering the war helped make the publication an instant success. This success, and the growing influence of the America First movement generally, was not lost on Franklin D. Roosevelt and the others who were determined to involve the United States.

Roosevelt, Churchill, and The World War Two Opposition is the story of Eggleston's efforts to keep us out of the war and what happened to him as a result. "An amazing expose of harassment by the U.S. Government," writes DeWitt Wallace, founding editor of Reader's Digest. "The story needs to be told as an example of what has happened in the U.S.A. and what could happen again."

Fall 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 3), page 197

A Note from the Editor

Some readers may already know that we endeavored to get our message through to the educational institutions by mailing out sample copies of the first issue of THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW to the mailing list of the Organization of American Historians. We rented their list perfectly openly, and made a special promotional offer to the historians on the list if they would subscribe to THE JOURNAL.

The reaction startled even the staff here. We thought we had become somewhat desensitized to the behavior of the neurotic reactionaries who pose as historians in our colleges and universities, but the response to this mailing really left one speechless with amazement that our education system had become so sick. A selection of the responses is published here in our “Letters to the Editor” section, but these were just the ones which were printable. We have on file many others from “academics” throughout the land whose objectivity, open-mindedness, intelligence, and even grammar, would have a hard time surpassing that of a cantaloupe. As Dr. Jim Martin wrote to me on 5 May:

History probably is at its lowest point in national esteem as a respectable school subject on any level, and a decade ago I suggested in a letter to the editor of the National Observer (a weekly paper issued by the same publisher as the Wall Street journal) that history be abandoned as a school subject. I think you may have better luck amassing support from those outside “hire” education, as Charles A. Beard and Thorstein Veblen spelled it.

No sooner had Dr. Martin’s letter arrived on my desk than we had the “massed” media big-guns turned against us. On the same day-13 May 1980-two out of the three major television networks lambasted the Institute, and our newborn JOURNAL. On KNBC-TV (the Los Angeles NBC affiliate) Gideon Hausner the prosecutor at the Eichmann trial and now a member of the Israeli parliament, launched into a diatribe against the IHR, egged on by the interviewer Jess Marlow. Not to be up-staged by their network rivals, the CBS affiliate in the metropolis, KNXT-TV, broadcast a five minute hymn of hate against us, in a monolog by one Bill Stout. We were referred to as “anti-Semites,” “defenders of the Nazi record,” “disgusting,” “peddlers of filth,” and “sewage.”

I called up both stations the next day — my feelings sorely hurt by this unkindness — and insisted that the Institute be given the right to reply through allowing us equal time. Both stations refused. The CBS producer even claimed that the Stout tantrum was not “editorializing” but “news.”

So, if this is the kind of material that network television stations regard as “news” what kind of credence can we place on “news” reporting, “news” footage, “news” interviews? I wrote to the

Federal Communications Commission and asked that they investigate formal complaints against the two stations, and suspend their FCC licenses if they do not allow the right of reply.

One thing that Stout (any relation to Rex Stout of Writers' War Board fame?) did enlighten us on was the fact that it was the Anti-Defamation League which had informed him of our activities, and that they had already been on to the Organization of American Historians to demand their humble apologies. Needless to say, the OAH meekly obeyed their spiritual masters, and an apology to the membership and to the ADL and to World Jewry and to the little Jewish man in the dry-cleaners on the corner will be forthcoming in their next newsletter. Such is the power that an illegal organization (it flaunts the law by acting as an unregistered agency of a foreign government) can wield over what is supposed to be an independent, free-thinking, academic group of objectivists.

LEWIS BRANDON

Director: Institute for Historical Review

Editor: THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW

Spring 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 1), page 199

Letters to the Editor

25 April 1980

To Whom It May Concern:

I am returning this journal. I strongly object to the general thesis of the various articles.

I want to express my protest about these articles, and I ask that I be removed from your mailing list.

Sincerely Yours,

Dr. Sara Alpern
Assistant Professor
Texas A&M University
College of Liberal Arts
College Station, Texas 77843

5 May 1980

Dear Sirs:

I am returning this piece of scurrilous, polemical, anti-semitic material to you. I do not wish to have it grace my shelves.

Sincerely,

Betty M. Unterberger
Professor of History
Texas A&M University
College of Liberal Arts
College Station, Texas 77843

26 April 1980

Dear Sir:

I support the principle of Revisionist history, presented in a scholarly fashion-indeed, all historical writing is in some way Revisionist.

However, I find the form and content of your publication intellectually and morally repugnant. Please remove my name from your mailing list.

Sincerely,

Karen A. Stuart
121 West Seminary Avenue
Lutherville, Maryland 21093

23 April 1980

Dear Mr. Brandon:

I have received the first number of *The Journal of Historical Review*. Because you wrote in your accompanying letter that you “look[ed] forward to hearing from” me, I am taking this opportunity to convey my impression of your journal.

I have read the articles by Messrs. Butz and App. Mr. Butz believes that the myriad historians, memoirists, journalists, and others who have for the past thirty-five years belonged to the “exterminationist” school of Holocaust interpretation have been parties to a hoax, either because they have had something to gain, personally or ideologically, from the fraud or because “societal and political conditions” have frightened them away from the truth. Imagine the conspiratorial expertise required to perpetrate such a hoax on so many people, in so many places, over so long a time! The Elders of Zion have refined their techniques since the days of Henry Ford.

Lest you or Mr. Butz miss the sarcasm-as, from the nature of his article, I am afraid he might-let me assure you that as a historian Mr. Butz is beneath contempt. And Mr. App is beneath that. Neither will ever be taken seriously by respectable members of the profession. This being the United States of America and not nazi Germany, there is every reason to hope that even among the general public they and their confreres will not rise above crackpot status.

Sincerely,

David M. Gold
2252½ Summit Street
Columbus, Ohio 43202

25 April 1980

Dear Mr. Brandon:

I thank you for your letter of 17 April 1980, although I must ask you once again not to send me any of your literature. As well, I am troubled by your apparent lack of perceptivity.

You suggested that only historians were included among the contributors to the first number of your journal. They must then, one supposes, truly be amateurs for according to your own biographical information (pp88-90) you have published articles from a professor of electrical engineering, a professor of French literature, a professor of letters, an executive with a commercial company, a Ph.D. in English literature, and two publishing company executives. I am not so elitist as to suggest that such individuals cannot write good history, but these are hardly the creden-

tials one expects to find among serious, professional historians in a journal purporting to be dedicated to “historical review,” or of the sort that together can stand the test of credibility with an informed public.

As you noted, historians must be “objective and open to new ideas.” This does not, of course, mean that one has to accept the validity of these ideas. Rather, the true task of an historian is to study the factual evidence and make reasoned, analytical judgments based on the data. I am hardly “suppressing your analysis” by challenging your data and your conclusions, merely doing whatever I can to make sure that people unfortunate enough to receive the garbage you call history understand the distortions and perversities of your misguided attempts at historical analysis.

Finally, your suggestion that I resign my position due to my “betrayal” of historical objectivity is of the sort of ludicrousness and lack of sophistication which appears to be the standard of your operation. I certainly would not expect you to cease your efforts (although one can hope) simply because of my perception that what you do bears no resemblance whatsoever to serious historical research or writing. Resign, indeed. Despite the fact that my training as a professional historian is as yet incomplete and certainly imperfect I feel confident in stating that the history profession needs people like me to help protect it from people like you.

Sincerely,

Eric J. Vernon
Dept. of History
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

28 April 1980

Sir:

I am what your journal would call an “Exterminationist,” teaching courses on the literature of the Holocaust and from time to time giving talks at various places.

I am pleased that your group is now publishing a journal. From time to time students ask me why it is worthwhile to teach about an event which took place 35 years ago. Now, with the journal you have published, I can point out to them that it is taught or spoken about because there are those who still insist that it never took place. Forgive but don’t Forget.

Fred Lapides
University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport, Connecticut 06602

9 May 1980

Dear Mr. Brandon:

Congratulations on the first issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, which we received on our Charter Subscription.

The articles were scholarly, balanced and extremely informative and we look forward to your promised articles on the origins of the Second World War, the effects of which are still with us today. No doubt you will also be expanding your book review section and perhaps you will have a "Letters" section.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform your readers that not all Jews are political Zionists. Thirty years have passed since the Zionist state was established. Is it a coincidence that there has not been one single day of peace, nor is there much outlook for peace? The great Rabbis of past generations declared political Zionism would lead to the gravest catastrophe ever wrought upon the Jewish people. Eighty years ago Rabbi Shulem DovBer Schneerson wrote that Jews must oppose the concept of a state, for the Talmud foreswears the use of force or power to bring about the establishment of a state. Rabbi Schneerson's predictions have come true.

No less a crime is the abrogation by the Zionist state of the right to speak in the name of the Jewish people. The political Zionists cannot represent or speak in the name of the Jewish people.

With regard to peace, the authoritative Jewish position was declared by the late chief Rabbi of the Holy land, Rabbi Yosef Chaim Sonnenfeld as follows: "The Jews do not want to encroach upon the rest of the inhabitants of the Holy Land. The Jews do not want in any way, to take that which isn't theirs. And they certainly do not want to contest the rights of the other inhabitants to the places held by them. His successor Rabbi Yosef Tzvi Duschinsky stated before the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, 16 July 1947, to avoid further bloodshed and strife the United Nations should not help establish a state under the dominion of the Zionists.

Dr. Alfred Lilienthal and the late William Zukerman and also Martin Buber have fought a courageous, but seemingly hopeless battle against political Zionism. The Zionist propaganda machine is strongly entrenched and almost impossible to dislodge.

As a long-time libertarian and Revisionist I was shocked to learn that several so-called libertarian publications have refused to publish advertisements of the Institute of Historical Review. This is incomprehensible to me. The Holocaust debate is a key element in the uncritical support for Israel by the West, which has alienated 800 million Moslems, has contributed to a sixfold increase in oil prices and could lead to a world war. Don't these "libertarian" publications believe the works of Rassinier being brought to the attention of libertarians and discussed?

One thing that has not been much-discussed by Revisionists in the current 'world crisis' is the role of the international money ring in behind-the-scenes manipulations. It seems to us this is worth further study in your Journal.

Sincerely,

Bezalel Chaim
Associate Editor
Revisionist Press
P.O. Box 2009
Brooklyn, New York 11202

Fall 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 3), page 205

The Public Stake In Revisionism

by [Harry Elmer Barnes](#)

Every American citizen has much more at stake in understanding how and why the U.S. was drawn into World War II than in perusing the Warren Report, its supplementary volumes, and the controversial articles and books of the aftermath, or the annals of any isolated public crime, however dramatic.

However tragic and regrettable, the assassination of President Kennedy was a relatively simple crime as compared to perhaps the most lethal and complicated public crime of modern times, our entry into World War II. This resulted in the immediate loss of over thirty million lives, an ultimate cost of more than fifteen trillion dollars, incredible suffering, and a military-scientific-technological-industrial aftermath which may wipe out the human race; and the concomitant result: a conditioned outlook whereby millions favor war — exerted externally upon a foreign “enemy” and internally upon the taxpayers — as the means to insure peace.

Do we need more books to vindicate revisionism?

Although a formidable array of evidence has been amassed and offered by Revisionist scholars as to our involvement in World War II, this evidence has not been fully recognized or generally understood. Writing in 1965, Richard J. Whalen, author of the brilliant *The Founding Father*, stated: [\[1\]](#)

In the twentieth year after the end of World War II, we still do not have an unsparingly truthful, solidly authoritative account of how and why the United States was drawn into World War II. And it is becoming doubtful that we will ever have it.

The reasons are many: World War II was the liberals' war and they are understandably determined to uphold their version of its origins with all the formidable political and intellectual resources at their command. There is also our necessary preoccupation with the successor struggle now centered on Southeast Asia; with so much to comprehend here and now, a searching look backward at our tragic line of march seems almost a luxury we can ill afford. But most important of all, we are losing our hope of the truth about the central experience of our time simply because time is passing.

Research is a young man's occupation, particularly the kind of relentless inquiry required to uncover and piece together information that powerful vested interests wish to conceal. Unfortunately, those under forty who are researching and writing history for the next generation with rare exceptions have accepted the “explanation” of World War II provided by folklore and orthodox scholarship. The dissenters — the

Revisionist historians — have not been able to reach the generation that has come of age since the war; the latter are scarcely aware that another side of the story exists.

Twenty years after Versailles, the situation was entirely different. The tidal wave of disillusionment that swept through the West brought a flood of scholarly and popular books debunking the official history of the war. Revisionism became an integral part of the dominant liberalism of the period. But the younger journalists and historians who revolted against their elders following the first World War have, in the years since the last war, succeeded brilliantly in forestalling a like revolt against themselves. And so we have missed the debunking generation, and the question is whether we can somehow stimulate a ferocious curiosity in the next. The odds are heavily against it ...

The Revisionists ... must exert themselves to produce truly arresting and provocative studies within a framework geared to a new era and a new audience, works that will thrust deep into the public consciousness and at last wrench open a prematurely closed subject of paramount importance.

While agreeing, in general, with Mr. Whalen's informed and judicious appraisal of the Revisionist situation, I would bluntly, if amiably, question his assertion that in two decades after V-J Day "we still do not have an unsparingly truthful, solidly authoritative account of how and why the United States was drawn into World War II," unless he demands absolute perfection, which was not attained by any Revisionist book written after World War I. Since I am probably more familiar than any other person, living or dead, with the Revisionist literature on the causes of both world wars and our entry into them, I would say that we have actually been especially fortunate in the number and quality of the Revisionist books which have appeared on this subject since V-J Day — more and better books than were published on our entry into the first World War in the same period of time. Although we should always welcome new and possibly better books on the subject, we have no more pressing need of another comprehensive and readable book on the causes of American entry into the second World War than we have of another good biography of Joseph P. Kennedy, now that Mr. Whalen has supplied us with an absorbing and masterly treatment of this subject.

By 1948, we had Charles Austin Beard's two magisterial volumes on the causes of our entry into the war, carrying the story right down into Pearl Harbor and the comprehensive book by George Morgenstern on Pearl Harbor, which is surely the outstanding tour de force in the Revisionist literature of either world war and has not been discredited on any essential matters, despite the extensively subsidized, widely publicized, and lavishly praised efforts of Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison and Roberta Wohlstetter.

By 1950, we had William H. Chamberlin's *America's Second Crusade*, which matched for reliable information and brilliance of style Walter Millis' widely read *Road to War* that told the same story relative to our first crusade. In 1951, Frederic R. Sanborn's very able and scholarly book, *Design for War*, was published, but it was destined to become the most unfortunately ignored Revisionist book on our entry into the second World War, despite its impressive scholarship, its lucid style, and the distinction of the author. It did not get even a book note in the *American Historical Review*.

By 1953, we had two additional books which qualified even more impressively for supplying the lacuna regretted by Mr. Whalen, Charles Callan Tansill's *Back Door to War* (1952), and the book I edited on *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (1953).

Tansill's *America Goes to War* (1938) was the first exhaustively scholarly work on how we were drawn into the first World War, and this did not appear until two decades after the Armistice of 1918. It was praised in the *Yale Review* of June 1938, in the following lyrical fashion by no less than Professor Henry Steele Commager, a participant in the historical blackout on World War II Revisionism: "It is critical, searching, and judicious...a style that is always vigorous and sometimes brilliant. It is the most valuable contribution to the history of the prewar years in our literature, and one of the most notable achievements of historical scholarship of this generation."

In my opinion, *Back Door to War* is equally brilliant and reliable, and is an even more useful book in that it also provides an account of the causes of the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 almost as comprehensive as A. J. P. Taylor's *Origins of the Second World War*, and based on more thorough documentation. That the latter book brought so much consternation to American readers nearly a decade later, only underlines the manner in which Tansill's invaluable labors had been missed by the literate American public and brushed aside by the rank and file of professional historians.

The difference in the reception of Tansill's two books was almost entirely due to the change in the climate of historical and public opinion, an impressive example of historical "relativism." *America Goes to War* appeared at the moment of the maximum triumph of Revisionist literature on World War I; *Back Door* came out when the blackout against World War II Revisionism was already getting organized and solidified. The fact that *Back Door* had a relatively large sale for a book of its nature was due in part to an intensive and expensive promotional campaign but perhaps even more to the fact that historians and publicists had not fully realized the actual nature, force, and implications of World War II Revisionism until they had read the Tansill volume. Thereupon, they rallied to the colors that had been hoisted and waved by Admiral Morison and lesser lights in the historical profession, the historical blackout was intensified and congealed, and it has never let up since. Further academic use of *Back Door* was discouraged, and a considerable portion of a later edition was sold at remainder prices.

A book that probably qualified even more perfectly for filling the gap mentioned by Mr. Whalen was *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*. It is doubtful if there will ever be a better work written for this purpose. Subsequent research in this field gives no indication that any fundamental changes will be needed in the essential phases of the narrative, and the minor ones required will be more than offset by the reduced familiarity of future authors with the times, of which the authors of *Perpetual War* were highly intelligent, informed, and favored witnesses. Moreover, it combined and exploited the knowledge and ability of the leading American Revisionists of that day save for Beard, who had already passed away. The book was extremely well written throughout and rather more readable than most books of its nature and intent. Yet, despite vigorous promotional efforts, the book was a pathetic publishing flop. Not more than half of the modest first printing was sold, and the remainder were purchased by one of the richest Americans for fifty cents a copy to distribute to grass-roots fundamentalists!

Instructive of an increasingly popular trend in reviewing by anti-Revisionists, namely, the tendency to evade the facts well established by Revisionist writers, was the review of the book by Bernard C. Cohen of Princeton University in the *American Political Science Review*, December, 1954. Cohen led off his review with the statement: "This is an unpleasant book to read." This set the tone of the whole review, which failed to come to grips with the facts presented in the book.

The content and challenge of the Tansill book had pulled the blackout contingent together into speedy action by the time that *Perpetual War* reached the market, and by 1954 it was obvious that a book or even more books were not the main answer to public enlightenment on the causes and

results of our entry into the second World War. A number of other good books have appeared since that time, but this is not the place to provide a bibliography of World War II Revisionism. [2]

The essence of the matter is that the historical profession has rallied and fully exploited the suggestion of Samuel Flagg Bemis in 1947 that books like Morgenstern's, which place guilt on President Roosevelt, are "serious, unfortunate, deplorable." [3] Writing in the top collaborative American History series, "the New American Nation," edited by Commager and Richard B. Morris, Professor Foster Rhea Dulles could state that "there is no evidence whatsoever to support such charges," as those advanced by Beard, Morgenstern, Tansill, Admiral Theobald, et al, relative to Roosevelt's responsibility for the Pearl Harbor surprise, and Professor A. Russell Buchanan could write a two-volume history of the United States and the second World War in the same series as though there had been no World War II Revisionism.

There is no space here to recount the nature and operation of this historical blackout relative to World War II Revisionism. I dealt with this comprehensive and effective operation and the fate of most of the important Revisionist books down to 1953 in the first chapter of *Perpetual War*, and have since brought the story down to date in many articles, brochures, and reviews. [4]

The public is insulated from even readable revisionist books

The Revisionist books by Beard and Morgenstern were "loners" with which I had nothing to do except to welcome and commend them, and I first saw the Sanborn book in proofs and could do not more than to approve its publication and do what I could do to assist in its promotion, which was lamentably unsuccessful, despite the sound scholarship and great merit of the book.

The first book I arranged for was that of Mr. Chamberlin and it was designed to perform precisely the function that Mr. Whalen so eloquently pleads for in his final sentence. The author lived up very satisfactorily to our expectations. It would be difficult to envisage a book better designed to reach the literate public and induce them to reconsider the propaganda that led us into and through the second World War. If any book could "thrust deep into the public consciousness and wrench open a prematurely closed subject of paramount importance," America's Second Crusade should have done so, but even at this early date (1950) the blackout, stemming from wartime propaganda, was too rigid and well organized to permit this much-needed service.

Chamberlin's sound, reliable, and very readable volume sold less than ten thousand copies despite vigorous promotion, and six months after it appeared the publisher discovered that there was not a copy in the New York Public

Library or in any of its forty-five branches. It was ignored by most of the important periodicals, was smeared by most of the newspapers that reviewed it, and historians, students and faculty alike, were protected from it by the fact that it did not even rate a book note, to say nothing of a review, in the *American Historical Review*. It was quite apparent that the times were not ready for a book like Millis' best-selling *Road to War* on our entry into the first World War, and the American public is far less attuned to one now than fifteen years ago. Mr. Regnery has reissued the Chamberlin book in an unusually attractive and economical paperback, but there is no evidence after several years that it has pressed Candy, Fanny Hill, or *The Boston Strangler* in reader demand.

The experience with several other brief and highly readable books further confirmed the difficulty of gaining any marked public response to Revisionist literature, even with the aid of un-

usual publicity. A basic Revisionist book, *Popular Diplomacy and War*, by Sisley Huddleston, a world-famous journalist and publicist, one of the best writers of the era, and long popular with American liberal journals, had the benefit of two very adulatory lead editorials in issues of the *Saturday Evening Post*, 18 December 1964, and 8 January 1965, potentially calling the book to the attention of more than ten million readers, counting subscribers, newsstand purchasers, and their families and friends. The publisher of the Huddleston book told me that he could not attribute a sale of more than a hundred copies specifically to these supposedly awesome editorials.

Writing revisionist books for the record

The question therefore inevitably arose as to sensible procedure in planning further Revisionist books. It was evident that little general excitement could be stirred by them, even when clearly and brilliantly written, although there was greater need for such public concern with Revisionist material than back in the days of my *Genesis of the World War* (1926) and Hartley Grattan's *Why We Fought* (1930). If we could not interest, to say nothing of arousing and exciting

the public, we could at least write for the historical record, in the hope that Clio might ultimately escape from the embraces of what Captain Russell Grenfell has so colorfully called "the historical Gadarenes." It may be admitted that this writing for the record is a long shot, and that there is much to be said for Mr. Whalen's assertion that time may not be on the side of Revisionism. Yet, it is certain that if time will not serve World War II Revisionism, nothing is on its side. There is little prospect of any immediate triumph.

The foremost product thus far of Revisionist writing produced primarily for the record is James J. Martin's *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941* (1964). While the book is no literary Paul Revere, likely to arouse the countryside to the menace of the historical blackout, it is a monument of careful research and assembles massive and relevant documentation that could surely provide a vast amount of fuel for future firebrands, if any should arise to ride or write. Moreover, as Felix Morley put it, the book "is written with a wit and pleasant phrasing which all too seldom spice the stodgy puddings of extensive research."

The reaction to the Martin book amply demonstrated that the literate anti-Revisionist and non-Revisionist public was not yet ready even for history written for the record, and at the same time underlined the need for such material if there is to be any hope for the ultimate triumph of Revisionism.

Among the newspapers, the *New York Times* followed their pattern of many years, despite my personal appeal to the editor of the book review section to give the book adequate if critical attention. They gave it to Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and he did his usual artistic job on it, carefully evading the facts. He questioned only one specific fact, namely, whether the word "thusly" has lexicographical authenticity, and even on this matter Martin was right.

As was to be expected, the only favorable comments in important newspapers that came to my attention were in those that had favored our non-intervention before Pearl Harbor and had espoused Revisionism after the war. The *New York Daily News* praised it on 23 February 1965 in what was for them a long editorial, on the ground that it was needed as an effective rebuke to the liberals who had dominated

American public opinion far too long. The book was very compactly and effectively reviewed by William Henry Chamberlin in the *Chicago Tribune* on 4 April. He commended the key burden of the book, namely, that the liberals had emphasized, if not exaggerated, the threat of national so-

cialism and fascism to democratic institutions while neglecting the equal menace of communist ideology and methods. Walter Trohan praised the book in his Tribune column for its effective revelation of the ideals and methods of the liberal commentators. Unfortunately, this conservative and Revisionist approval did not encourage many of the over three million readers of the Daily News and Tribune to purchase the book and document their sentiments.

Among the journals, it would have been expected that the Nation and New Republic would give the Martin book extensive attention, if only to condemn it, since Martin had based much of his record of the liberal flip-flop from peace to war upon contributions to these two magazines. He had given his reasons for this procedure at the outset in complete and convincing manner. So far as I could detect, neither magazine gave the Martin book any notice, thus validating Chamberlin's conclusion that Martin "probably knows more about the New Republic and Nation during the pre-war decade than their present editors."

But Carey McWilliams, the present editor of the Nation, moved over to the lively liberal journal of Los Angeles, Frontier, to administer a lengthy smear under the fantastic title, "Mumbo Jumbo: the Fantasy World of the Far Right," although he knew, or should have known, that Martin was as critical of the far right fantasies as McWilliams, himself. He devoted the core of his criticism to pooh-poohing Martin's emphasis on the importance of the Nation and New Republic, although the reasons for Martin's doing so were indicated at length in the opening portion of the book. This was a distinction which these journals were only too proud to claim throughout the decade of the 1930's. He wound up with a concluding smear to the effect that the book had been produced in part as a result of a grant by a foundation known for its assistance to the writing of Revisionist books. He could hardly have expected it to be aided by the Rockefeller Foundation, which financed the colossal Langer and Gleason whitewash of Roosevelt's foreign policy during this period, or the Rand Corporation, which backed the Wohlstetter book.

Richard Whalen reviewed the book fairly in the National Review, although he was skeptical of writing mainly for the record and stressed, as was noted at the outset of this article, the need for a brief and clear account of how the United States got into the second World War. He fully recognized the research and scholarship involved in producing the book.

The best review typically expressing the reaction of interventionist liberals was that by Professor Paul F. Boller in the Southwest Quarterly, summer, 1965. He sought to read into Martin's book the assumption that the author held that fascism is to be preferred to communism, although Martin expressed no such opinion. He merely recounted the attitudes and opinions of the liberals who performed the flip-flop, which did indicate their apparent preference for communism, or at least their failure to be conscious of its threat to peace and the democratic way of life. But Boller did not write off the importance of Revisionism as a means of promoting peace, and he did give the book the extended consideration that its research and scholarship deserved. The review was about the best that could be expected from a wounded liberal ideologist.

Far the best review was that by the distinguished publicist and educator, Felix Morley, in the Modern Age, summer, 1965. Morley described what Martin actually wrote, indicated its import for understanding the past and dealing with the future of world affairs, analyzed the amazing liberal flip-flop and its importance in producing the rise of the war spirit, and intelligently evaluated the significance of the book. Recognizing the historical importance of a full treatment for the record, he also agreed with Whalen as to the need for a condensed version and urged the preparation of a paperback edition which would provide this and thus make possible a wide circulation of the book. Morley properly called attention to the danger that the cold warriors of today may be providing a flip-flop comparable to that of the liberals in the 1930's through the conservative

shifting from nonintervention into an increasing obsession with the dangers of communism, a point of view also stressed by Herbert C. Roseman in his excellent review of the Martin book in the Rampart Journal, summer, 1965.

From the standpoint of historical scholarship, the most disheartening episode connected with the publication of the Martin book was the manner in which the book was handled by the foremost historical journal in the country, the American Historical Review, January, 1966. Taking for granted the unremitting anti-Revisionist policy of the Review for virtually a quarter of a century, one would have expected an unfavorable review and could even have respected such consistency. But here was a book which actually constituted one of the most scholarly, informing, and impressive contributions to the history of political policy, journalistic methods, and international affairs made during the present century. It surely deserved at least a two-page review, however bitterly attacked, provided that substantial explanations were given for the criticism, as Professor Boiler did give. Instead, the book was handed over to Professor Robert H. Ferrell of Indiana University, well known as an inveterate anti-Revisionist. The book was given summary treatment, the quality of which is apparent from his appraisal of the book as “an impossible goulash” and a “scholarly disaster.” All this was in faithful accord with the traditional historical blackout. But the half-page “review” also indicated the growing acceptance of the Germanophobia of the historical smotherout by describing the National Socialist regime as “the most amoral government since the statistically clouded time of Genghis Khan.” At least, the treatment of the Martin book by Ferrell presented an instructive synthesis of the main items in the current equipment and techniques of anti-Revisionist historical opinion today; the historical blackout, the smother out, and making the test of acceptable historical prose whether it constitutes pleasant reading for approved historians and their brainwashed public.

The review also carried with it an ironical aftermath. Professor Martin wrote the editor a sprightly but courteous letter of protest about the Ferrell review, but received a reply which feigned shock, indicated that the letter was in bad taste, and implied that it could not be remotely considered for publication. It was not.

The allergy of most of the professional historians to the Martin book is easy to understand. By the time that the book appeared, the most generally accepted test of the worth and acceptability of a historical book of a controversial nature had become the question of whether or not it made pleasant reading to the historical guild. Since the latter was made up primarily of liberals who were war-minded in the late 1930's, or had been brainwashed later on, there is little doubt that the Martin book provided about the most unpleasant reading contained in any book published in this generation.

Some of us who went through this struggle against the war groups in the 1930's, such as Charles Austin Beard, Norman Thomas, Stuart Chase, General Charles Lindbergh, Edwin M. Borchard, John Chamberlain, John Flynn, Edmund Wilson, Sidney Hertzberg, Frank Hanighen, Jerome Frank, Quincy Howe, Hartley Grattan, Frank Chodorov, Oswald G. Viilard, Marquis W. Childs, Selden Rodman, Burton Roscoe, Fred Rodell, Maurice Hallgren, Hubert Herring, George R. Leighton, Ernest L. Mayer, Dorothy D. Bromley, and the like, have known the facts by personal experience. But not even participants can know the whole story unless they have read the Martin book, and every American has much at stake in reading and digesting it. To revert to the title of John Kenneth Turner's pioneer work on World War I, Shall It Be Again?, the issue of whether the unparalleled public crime of the latter half of the 1930's shall be repeated may well hold within itself the destiny of the human race.

The historical blackout is replaced by the historical smotherout

For revisionism to entice and instruct the newly matured generation, as suggested by Mr. Whalen, is, indeed, an exciting enterprise and might prove a very fruitful possibility to explore were it not for a crucial recent shift in the strategy of anti-Revisionism which seems to be rather generally unrecognized even by some of the veteran proponents of Revisionism, although they are virtually buried under evidence of the change by the material constantly presented by every communications agency in the country.

For some fifteen years after V-J Day, the opponents of World War II Revisionism were content to oppose Revisionist scholarship and publication by giving books the silent treatment, or smearing authors and books and belittling Revisionist scholarship. Despite such unfair procedure and the handicaps it imposed on World War II Revisionism, the Revisionists in time won the battle of factual demonstration hands down. Moreover, it was recognized that the traditional procedure of sniping, smearing, misrepresentation, and distortion in attacking traditional Revisionist works was becoming tedious, repetitive, frenetic, and often self-defeating in its fervor and misrepresentation, as was so well demonstrated by the review of the Martin book in the New York Times of 25 April 1965, by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Hence, it was gradually but effectively decided to jockey the techniques of the historical blackout around into such a pattern that all but the most courageous and defiant Revisionists could be “shut up” entirely and rapidly and their products could be made to appear essentially irrelevant.

It was the Eichmann trial of 1960 which furnished an unexpected but remarkably opportune moment and an effective springboard for stopping World War II Revisionism dead in its tracks. As the courageous Jewish publicist, Alfred Lilienthal, has shown in his lucid book, *The Other Side of the Coin* (pp 104-111), this trial revealed and demonstrated an almost adolescent gullibility and excitability on the part of Americans relative to German wartime crimes, real or alleged, and the equally apparent passionate determination of every type of American communication agency to exploit the opportunity for financial profit by placing every shred of both fact and rubbish connected with them before American readers, hourly and daily, for months, if not years, on end. Not even the sophisticated *Esquire* or *New Yorker* remained immune.

This revamped historical blackout, now become the historical “smotherout,” is based chiefly on the fundamental but unproved assumption that what Hitler and the National Socialists did in the years after Britain and the United States entered the war revealed that they were such vile, debased, brutal, and bloodthirsty gangsters that Great Britain had been under an overwhelmingly moral obligation to plan a war to exterminate them. Following up this contention it was asserted that the United States was compelled to enter this conflict to aid and abet the British crusade as a moral imperative that could not be evaded but was an unavoidable exercise in political, social, and cultural sanitation.

The fundamental error in this ex post facto historiography was pointed out by A.J.P. Taylor in his interview with Professor Eric Goldman in the autumn of 1965. But it is doubtful if one American in a million has ever heard or read this exchange. Even though he has never attempted to deny the fact that he is a persistent Germanophobe, the smotherout proved too much for Taylor to swallow, although he admitted his Germanophobia in the interview. As Taylor explained to Goldman:

You must remember that these gas chambers came very late. People often talk as though they were implicit in Hitler's policy from the beginning. They were, in fact, a reprisal against our British policy of indiscriminate bombing. Hitler said, again and again, “If you are just going to go out and rub out German women and children, I'll take care that all the — not only Jews — but people of many lower races are rubbed

out.” And when I consider that the great powers and governments ... the American government, the Soviet government, are now both cheerfully contemplating the obliteration of ten, twenty million people on the first day of war — you see gas chambers are nothing in comparison.

All alert and aware Revisionists should and always have expressed their deep regret and repugnance over whatever brutalities were actually committed by Hitler and his government, either before or after 1939, but they have also called attention to the demonstrable fact that the number of civilians exterminated by the Allies, before, during, and after the second World War, equaled, if it did not far exceed, those liquidated by the Germans, and the Allied liquidation program was often carried out by methods which were far more brutal and painful than whatever extermination actually took place in German gas ovens. [6]

These embarrassing facts are almost invariably suppressed in the same agencies of communication that are now incessantly portraying the allegedly unique abominations of the Germans. When pressed into a corner, which is a very rare opportunity indeed, the new smotherout vintage of anti-revisionists contend, or at least imply, that it is far worse to exterminate Jews, even at the ratio of two Gentiles to one Jew, than to liquidate Gentiles. For Revisionists to controvert this assertion in behalf of non-partisan and non-racial humanitarianism exposes them to the charge of anti-Semitism, which, in the present state of sharply conditioned and persistently inflamed public opinion, is deemed to be rather worse than parricide or necrophilia.

No substantial or credible Revisionist believes that two wrongs can make a right or that revelation of the actual Allied genocide will solve the problem of averting future wars. But the recognition that the wartime barbarism was shared would put the responsibility where it belongs, namely, on the war system which, as F. J. P. Veale demonstrated so forcibly in his *Advance to Barbarism*, is becoming ever more barbarous and lethal. In a nuclear age, war will, as Taylor pointed out, provide in the course of its normal operations more hideous destruction of human life than has ever been alleged in the wildest flights of imagination of the smotherout addicts. One giant hydrogen bomb dropped over a major urban center would be likely to obliterate at least six million lives, and in our eastern seaboard towns hundreds of thousands of the victims would be Jews.

This is where World War II Revisionism stands today. It was difficult enough when Revisionists were merely accused of bias, folly, incompetence, or all three. To be accused of anti-Semitism today is far more precarious than to be accused, or even proved, to be guilty of pro-communism.

Interestingly enough, an attempt is now seeming to be made to push this Germanophobia back into the causes of the first World War, if we may judge from a long article on “How We Entered World War I” in the *New York Times Magazine* of 5 March 1967, by the brilliant stylist and historical popularizer, Barbara W. Tuchman, granddaughter of Henry Morgenthau, whose fanciful “story” played so unfortunate a part in encouraging the war guilt clause of the Versailles Treaty and thus helped to bring on the second World War. She had followed in her grandfather’s steps by producing another fanciful story in her book, *The Zimmermann Telegram* (1958), which she has been unwise and audacious enough to reissue recently.

It was the *New York Times Current History Magazine* that requested me some forty-three years ago to summarize the historical facts which dissipated the myths of wartime propaganda about the first World War, of which Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story was a leading item and had been devastatingly exposed as a fraud by Professor Sidney B. Fay in the *American Historical Review* in 1920. My article was published in *Current History* in May, 1924, and first put World War I Re-

visionism before the literate American public in an effective manner. Whatever may have been the purpose of the New York Times in publishing this article by Mrs. Tuchman, it does raise the question of the reality of "progress" so far as the historical perspective of the Times is concerned.

This article has aroused much indignation on the part of even moderate or dormant Revisionists but it failed to excite me. In my opinion, Mrs. Tuchman is the type of writer who, given enough rope, will hang herself, and she has certainly been taking a lot of rope recently in writing about Wilson and Freud in the Atlantic (February 1967) with no evident technical knowledge about either, and even posing as an expert on historiography in the Saturday Review (25 February 1967) although expert historians like Klaus M. Epstein, A. J. P. Taylor, and David Marquand, in reviewing her much publicized *The Proud Tower*, have questioned her capacity to write history. In my long review of her book in *The Annals*, November 1966, I at least conceded her rare ability as a popularizer of social history.

More ominous is the announcement of a book by Alton Frye (*Nazi Germany in the American Hemisphere, 1933-1941*, Yale University Press), sponsored by the Rand Corporation which launched the much-publicized effort of Roberta Wohlstetter to blur out essential facts about Pearl Harbor. This book contends that, after all, Hitler did have designs on the United States and envisaged plans for invading and occupying this country — reminiscent of Roosevelt's canard about Hitler's timetable for penetration to Iowa which figured prominently in the interventionist propaganda prior to American entry into the war.

In my opinion we are in more danger from the prospect that to Germanophobia may now be added a revival of Japanophobia. This trend was latent in the anti-Revisionist writings on Pearl Harbor by Walter Millis, Herbert Feis, Langer and Gleason, Robert J. C. Butow, Samuel E. Morison, and Robert H. Ferrell in their defense of Roosevelt. But it has just now taken a more definite form in Ladislav Farago's *The Broken Seal: The Story of "Operation Magic" and the Pearl Harbor Disaster* (1967), in which the Japanese efforts to preserve peace by negotiation are presented as a hypocritical sham to cover up their actual determination on war and to gain time to prepare for it. A more extended enterprise in this same vein has been foreshadowed by Gordon W. Prange. We may be on our way to returning to Admiral Halsey's view of the Japanese as sub-human anthropoids.

It is quite true that if they could be exposed to the facts about the causes of the second World War and our entry on their merits, free from the all-encompassing and incessant barrage of Germanophobia, notably that against National Socialist Germany, this generation of his own age to which Mr. Whalen refers is actually highly vulnerable and receptive. This I have demonstrated to my own satisfaction through the response to my lectures before student groups in first-rate American universities and colleges, and in such articles as those I wrote in *Liberation* in the summers of 1958 and 1959, in the *New Individualist Review* in the spring of 1962, and in the *Rampart Journal*, spring, 1966, thus covering both the left and right of this new generation.

We can, however, hardly expect those persons who might be willing to learn, if they had a fair chance, to withstand the incessant bombardment by our communication agencies designed to demonstrate that we had a vital moral and self-protective duty to favor and enter a war fought to rid the world of a gang of barbarians more dissolute and bloodthirsty than anything since, or even before, Genghis Khan and Tamerlane.

This younger and brainwashed generation gets into contact with only scattered and tiny bits of even the traditional Revisionist material, and this at considerable intervals. But not a day goes by without one or more sensational articles in the daily papers about the exaggerated National So-

cialist savagery which required our entry into the war; the leading weekly and monthly journals, especially *Look* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, [7] never miss their quota of this lurid prose; the radio has it on the air daily; expensive moving pictures are devoted to it; not a week goes by without several inciting television programs revolving around this propaganda, and sensational books pour forth at frequent intervals. While reading some of the most repulsive examples of such smotherout Germanophobia, I noted in the newspapers and journals pictures of President Johnson apparently posing without a shudder as the host of the Ethiopian tyrant and genocidal virtuoso, Haile Selassie, who had previously been invited, or at least permitted, to appear in the funeral cortege of President Kennedy.

Lest the public get “fed up” and bored by repetition, the material handed out to them has to be made more unceasing, exaggerated, and inflammatory. There should be some limit to this but it certainly is not in sight, as yet, even though it far exceeds in frequency, volume, and ferocity anything handed out in wartime, when the public imagination was occupied in large part by following military operations.

There would appear to be no restraining memory of the backwash that followed when the mendacity and exaggerations of the Bryce Report on alleged German atrocities in the first World War were revealed by Arthur Ponsonby, J. M. Read, and others. The foremost authority on the subject has estimated that the number of Jews exterminated by the National Socialists, already reported by “authorities” cited by the smotherout for all the wartime German concentration camps, would amount to well over twenty-five millions. This does not include the upwards of a million allegedly killed by the German *Einsatzgruppe* when battling guerrilla warfare behind the lines. We are now being told (*New York Times*, 3 November 1966, and *Saturday Evening Post*, 25 February 1967) that the Austrians executed about as many Jews as the Germans. With not more than fifteen to eighteen million Jews in the world to start with in 1939, this is, indeed, a remarkable genocidal achievement, especially if one considers the logistical problems involved in its execution. The truth about German operations, if presented along with Allied brutalities, provides a sufficient indictment without any need for fantastic exaggerations which open the way for a devastating backwash, if and when the truth is presented in this or some future generation.

If a Revisionist work on the second World War were written with a combination of the scholarship of Sidney Fay and the persuasive stylistic genius of Millis and Chamberlin, the smotherout answer would be that the impressive facts of diplomatic history since 1930 which have been adduced and presented by Revisionists with conviction, force, and vigor are now only antiquated and irrelevant trivia. What is deemed important today is not whether Hitler started war in 1939, or whether Roosevelt was responsible for Pearl Harbor, but the number of prisoners who were allegedly done to death in the concentration camps operated by Germany during the war. These camps were first presented as those in Germany, such as Dachau, Belsen, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Dora, but it was demonstrated that there had been no systematic extermination in those camps. Attention was then moved on to Auschwitz, Treblinka, Belzec, Chelmno, Jonowska, Tarnow, Ravensbrück, Mauthausen, Brezeczna, and Birkenau, which does not exhaust the list that appears to have been extended as needed.

An attempt to make a competent, objective, and truthful investigation of the extermination question is now regarded as far more objectionable and deplorable than Professor Bemis viewed charging Roosevelt with war responsibility. It is surely the most precarious venture that an historian or demographer could undertake today; indeed, so “hot” and dangerous that only a lone French scholar, Paul Rassinier, has made any serious systematic effort to enter the field, although Taylor obviously recognizes the need for such work and hints as to where it would lead. But this vital matter would have to be handled resolutely and thoroughly in any future World War II Revi-

sionist book that could hope to refute the new approach and strategy of the blackout and smotherout contingents.

Even former ardent Revisionist writers now dodge this responsibility, some even embracing and embellishing the smotherout. The most conspicuous example is that of Eugene Davidson, who once had the courage to place in jeopardy his position as head of the Yale University Press by publishing Charles Austin Beard's two forthright Revisionist volumes. In his *Death and Life of Germany* (1959), Davidson defied Burke's warning against indicting a nation and proceeded to indict Germany since 1932 on the basis of the *Diary of Anne Frank* without even remotely suggesting any question about its complete authenticity. His recent *The Trial of the Germans: Nuremberg* (1966) is providing no end of aid and comfort to the smotherout contingent, as evident immediately by the ecstatic review of the book in *Newsweek*, 9 January 1967.

The Davidson book is devastatingly reviewed by A. J. P. Taylor in the *New York Review* for 23 February 1967. As Taylor puts it: "The hypocrisy of Nuremberg was revolting enough in 1945. It exceeds all bounds when it is maintained in 1967, over twenty years afterwards. Mr. Eugene Davidson has compiled at enormous length a biography of the accused at Nuremberg. Here they are, from gorgeous Göring down to insignificant Fritzsche, the radio commentator. The biographies are pretty sketchy, slapdash stuff hatred up in a flashy style and evidently assuming that any kind of rubbish is good enough for such scoundrels. It is really rather hard that the thing should be done so badly. After all these years, there are some things perhaps worth discussing." The remaining comment on Nuremberg by Taylor is perhaps the best brief appraisal that has ever been written of its combination of bias, hypocrisy, and legalized imbecility. Taylor had previously written in the *London Observer*: "It is strange that an English Judge should have been found to preside over the macabre farce of the Nuremberg Tribunal; and strange that English lawyers, including the present Lord Chancellor, should have pleaded before it."

The treatment of Davidson and Nuremberg by Taylor is part of his analysis of three books which represent the upper level of the smotherout literature, and what he has written about them probably required more courage and integrity than was needed to produce his *Origins of the Second World War*. It is the first overt attack made by any historian, currently highly esteemed, on the smotherout attitudes and methods, and it may be hoped that it has set a healthy precedent. It is an invaluable and equally indispensable sequel to his *Origins*. So long as the smotherout prevails, Taylor's conclusions in that book about responsibility for the outbreak of World War II will be passed off as irrelevant antiquarianism, no matter how accurate..

While the smotherout deluges us with exaggerated examples of National Socialist savagery, there is no comparable interest in, or even knowledge of, the actual Allied barbarities, such as the Churchill-Lindemann program of saturation bombing of civilians, especially the homes of the working class, which was as brutal, ruthless, and lethal as anything alleged against the Germans. As Liddell Hart and others have made clear, Hitler had honestly sought a ban on all bombing of civilians apart from the accepted rules of siege warfare. The German bombing of Coventry and London took place long after Hitler failed to get Britain to consent to a ban on civilian bombing. The incendiary bombing of Hamburg and Tokyo and the needless destruction of Dresden are never cogently and frankly placed over against the doings, real or alleged, at Auschwitz. The atomizing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, completely needless to secure Japanese surrender, are all but forgotten, save when occasionally defended by former-President Truman or made the basis of a romantic moving picture.

Little or no mention is now made of the fifteen million Germans who were expelled from their eastern provinces, the Sudeten area, and other regions, at least four millions of them perishing in

the process from butchery, starvation, and disease. This was the “final solution” for defeated Germans who fell into the hands of the victors and, interestingly enough, as Ragsinlet has made clear, it was identical with the “final solution” planned by Hitler and the national Socialists for the Jews, in the event that Germany won World War II. The smotherout legend represents the German plan as the extermination of all Jews that the Germans could lay their hands on. No authentic documents have been produced that support any such contention. The National Socialist “final solution” was a plan for the deportation of all Jews in their control at the end of the war, Madagascar being one place considered. Even if they had been victorious, the Germans could not have laid hands on more than half as many Jews as the number of Germans who were deported from their homelands.

The wholesale massacre of Polish officers and leaders at the Katyn Forest and elsewhere by the Russians, the exterminations and expulsions in the Baltic countries, and the rounding up of some millions of Russian soldiers and other anti-communist refugees in Germany after the war, to be turned back with Eisenhower’s consent to Stalin for execution or the even worse enslavement in Russian starvation labor camps, are conveniently overlooked. Nor is anything said about the fact a Yugoslav scholar, Mihajlo Mihajlov, has recently, on the basis of Russian documents, disclosed that at least twelve million Russians passed through Stalin’s concentration camps, with not more than half of them surviving. The intolerable Morgenthau Plan, approved by President Roosevelt, which envisaged the starvation of between twenty and thirty million Germans in the process of turning Germany back into an agricultural and pastoral nation, has now become no more than a subject for esoteric economic monographs. Only one adequate and accurate book of even this type, that by Nicholas Balabkins, *Germany Under Direct Controls* (1962), has so far appeared in English, and this has been unduly neglected or ignored.

Also overlooked today is the fact that virtually the entire Japanese population of the Pacific Coast were dragged out of their homes without provocation or the slightest need from the standpoint of our national security. The recent able and revealing book of Allan R. Bosworth, *American Concentration Camps* (1967), may redirect American and world attention to this scandalous episode, which was mainly the result of the brainstorm of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson.

The above are a few of the facts and considerations that would have to be presented with adequate thoroughness in any World War II Revisionist book which could hope to counter the current smotherout pattern of anti-Revisionism.

Another obstacle lies in the fact that, as a result of brainwashing and indoctrination for a quarter of a century, the American public is not only ignorant of the facts involved in the smotherout approach but has lost much of the traditional national self-respect and public pride that controlled its reactions after the first World War. It remains my well-reasoned conviction, based on unexcelled experience, that the general acceptance of Revisionism in the late 1920’s and the early 1930’s was due more to public resentment at the “Uncle Shylock” slurs from abroad and the reneging of our former Allies with respect to the payment of their war debts than to all the Revisionist writings of the era.

This once-powerful impulse, arising from national pride, apparently no longer operates in this country: the American public has by now become thoroughly immune to the “Yanks Go Home” and comparable ungrateful epithets of our former Allies, and to the hostility and ingratitude of those who have taken our more than a hundred billion dollars in foreign aid and other public largesse since 1945, to say nothing of the previous lavish wartime aid.

When the Revisionists, after the first World War, revealed how we had been lied to by gentlemen in British intelligence and propaganda work, such as Sir Gilbert Parker, there was a considerable backwash and much public indignation. When H. Montgomery Hyde published his book, *Room 3603*, not only revealing but boasting of how we had been kicked around by Sir William Stephenson (the "Quiet Canadian") and his British intelligence goons, even to the extent of trying to break up anti-interventionist meetings in this country in 1940-1941, there was hardly a ripple. The book attracted little attention, was usually commended when noticed at all, and received virtually no shocked condemnation.

When the conflict was over, the American public warmly supported the exposure of the anti-German propaganda of the first World War, such as the Bryce Report, by Mock and Larson and others, but there has been no public or historical demand for an equally honest and searching investigation of the far more sweeping and debatable propaganda relative to alleged German barbarism during the second World War. Even to suggest the desirability of any such project would place the sponsor in professional, if not personal jeopardy.

Nor do we get any assistance or encouragement from the masochistic West Germans who, if anything, in their own blackout distortions and smotherout exceed the indictment of wartime Germany by their former enemies. This is the result of the German self-flagellation and self-immolation, in sharp contrast to the ardently Revisionist proclivities of the Weimar Republic. Nevertheless, but perhaps fittingly, the West Germans get little credit even for this craven attitude. There are surely abundant reasons why all of us who lived through the barbarities of the second World War and its aftermath should be ashamed of being members of the human race but certainly there is no sound basis for any unique German shame or self-flagellation.

History relative to the second World War has now become a public propaganda enterprise rather than a historical problem. It has passed from the investigation of documents and other traditional historical evidence into a frenzied public debate over extermination archeology, comparative biology, clinical pathology, and genocidal ethics, in which only one side has any decent opportunity to present its arguments and evidence. This diversified and confused conglomeration of fancy, myth, mendacity, vindictiveness, and fraudulently unilateral vengeance surely provides no safeguard against the development, increasing imminence, and destructive potential of a nuclear holocaust.

About the only rays of light and hope on the horizon for the moment are by-products of the Vietnam War. For the first time in all American history, except for the Mexican War landgrab, the liberals are not the shock troops of the warmongers, and many are preponderantly "doves," notably the younger liberals or the "new left." This has encouraged many of them who, as a group, have been less subject to the World War II brainwashing, to look back over their shoulder at liberal bellicosity in the past and examine its validity more rationally. This has already made many of them skeptical about the impeccable soundness of interventionist propaganda and the historical blackout relative to the two world wars of this century. I have had more reasonably friendly and apparently honest inquiries about Revisionism in the last two years than in the previous twenty. This skeptical and inquiring attitude may grow; if so, it would have little patience with the assumptions, methods, and literature of the smotherout.

Even more promising and potentially helpful has been the growth of the "credibility gap" with reference to the Vietnam War, primarily the gap between what Charles Austin Beard once designated as "the appearances and the realities" of administration assertions and assurances about our official policies in entering, continuing, and escalating the war. This has especially impressed the liberal doves upon whom we must place our main hope in exposing and rebuffing the smother-

out. Nothing would so quickly dissolve the smotherout as to apply to its attitudes and contentions the skeptical implications of the credibility gap. The smotherout would be hopelessly vulnerable to even a moderate application of the credibility-gap approach; it could fall apart quickly and hopelessly. Hence, we may appropriately, if with no premature assurance, welcome the growth of the credibility gap now being nursed and nourished by the Vietnam War.

May it grow, prosper, and dispel the smotherout, but its lessons should not all be derived from the statements and actions of the Johnson administration. It should lead those amenable to fact and reason to turn back to the credibility gap in the pre-war protestations of Wilson and Roosevelt, the latter being the most voluminous and impressive of all, and to the credibility gap in Truman's assertions about the necessity of bombing the Japanese cities and entering the Korean War, which even General Bradley designated as "the wrong war, in the wrong place, and at the wrong time." The credibility gap in the position and protestations of the cold warrior "hawks," as pointed out by D. F. Fleming, John Lukacs, F. L. Schuman, David Horowitz, Murray N. Rothbard, James J. Martin, and others, is even more grotesque and fictitious than that of the Johnson administration relative to Vietnam, but fortunately, it does not as yet possess full official status and authority.

Hence, let us hail the credibility gap, whether derived from the doves, the hawks, the cold warriors, or the Johnson administration and its predecessors. Its application to the smotherout provides the only hope on the horizon today of making Revisionism effective in gaining access to public opinion and policy and thus working for permanent peace.

Notes

1. ☺ National Review, 20 April 1965, pp 335-336.
2. ☺ See Select Bibliography of Revisionist Books.
3. ☺ Journal of Modern History, March 1948, pp 55-59.
4. ☺ Especially in the Rampart Journal, Spring 1966.
5. Broadcast then over the Goldman "Open Mind" Program, WNBC-TV, and rebroadcast on the "World Topic" program on 2 January 1967.
6. ☺ (Of course, Barnes is confused here by the difference between a "gas chamber" and a "gas oven." Shortly after writing this article, he came to reject the entire Holocaust myth, not just part of it.)
7. ☺ Especially many entries in *Look*, the latest being 21 March 1967, and in the *Saturday Evening Post*, see 22 October 1965.

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Khatyn — Another Hoax

by [LouIs FitzGibbon](#)

History, even current history, is full of lies. But largely because these falsehoods appear in printed form they are believed by many many people, and it is for this reason that the Institute for Historical Review is so vital. One such hoax is that of Khatyn — as opposed to Katyn.

On 3 July 1974 the British newspaper Daily Telegraph published the following article:

CONFUSION ON KHATYN AND KATYN

President Nixon's visit to the memorial in the Byelorussian village of Khatyn has caused a mistaken impression that Russia has erected a memorial to the victims of the wartime massacre of Polish officers in the Katyn forest. In fact, Khatyn and Katyn are two entirely different places; Khatyn, in which the 'kh' is pronounced like the English 'h' is a small village some 30 miles to the north-east of Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia.

Katyn, which is pronounced as written, is a town about 15 miles west of Smolensk, a provincial city in Russia proper. Khatyn is about 160 miles west of Katyn.

When Stalin and Hitler divided up Poland at the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, some 240,000 Polish officers and men fell into Russian hands. After Hitler's invasion of Russia in June 1941, 15,000 were found to be missing and the Russians denied all knowledge of them.

Katyn fell into German hands in the late summer of 1941 and at the beginning of 1943 the German army discovered a mass grave of 4,443 Polish officers and men.

When the Polish Government-in-exile appealed for an international tribunal to determine how the Poles died Stalin broke off relations. After re-taking Katyn the Russians set up their own inquiry and said the Poles had been executed by the Germans.

Later researches by Polish and independent authorities in the west, as well as wartime Foreign Office documents, leave no doubt that the Poles were executed by the Soviet secret police, the NKVD.

The Russians have tried to erase Katyn from maps and history books. The reference to it in the 1953 edition of the Soviet Encyclopedia was dropped in the 1973 edition. No visitors are allowed to the area and no memorial has been erected.

It was not until 1969 that the Russians announced the unveiling of a “memorial complex” on the site of the village of Khatyn. It was one of 9,200 Byelorussian villages destroyed by the Germans, and one of 136 of which all the inhabitants were killed.

The Russians appear to have chosen Khatyn because of the similarity of its name to Katyn. They hoped in this way to obscure the fact they have erected no memorial to the victims of Katyn, which was no less a crime than the one committed at Khatyn.

Several things about this are interesting to note: President Nixon was taken by the Soviets to Khatyn at the very time the Katyn Memorial Fund was fighting the Church of England for permission to erect the Katyn Memorial in London. The President’s visit received wide publicity, the object so obviously being to occlude the issue and cause people to wonder, perhaps, why there was so much fuss in Britain to erect a memorial to the victims of Katyn when “one already existed in Russia.”

A look at Soviet maps is also revealing:

1954

A map in the Minsk region in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia does not show Khatyn at all.

1956

A map of the Smolensk region in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia shows Katyn

1969

A large atlas of the USSR shows neither Khatyn nor Katyn

1971

A map of the Minsk region in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia shows Khatyn but not Katyn.

Further reflection shows that in 1954, that is to say after the findings of the U.S. select committee (of 1952) had been made known, there is no sign of Khatyn, while even in 1956 Khatyn is not shown. By 1969 neither place finds any reference in the atlas, whereas by 1974 Katyn has been erased and Khatyn makes an appearance. It can therefore be supposed that whereas for two decades the Soviets overlooked Katyn, they have since “corrected” this by producing Khatyn and obliterating Katyn. It should be noted that in cyrillic script “K” is written in ordinary script as “K,” while “X” is the symbol of “kh” as we in the west read it.

It can only be that this extraordinary sleight-of-hand is a device to remove the real KATYN and substitute KHATYN in an attempt, albeit clumsy, yet further to distract and confuse the world as to the whereabouts of massive crimes committed by the Soviets and substitute another alleged crime to Nazi Germany.

Visitors to Russia are taken by the thousands to look at the “memorial complex” at Khatyn. There they can procure a well-produced booklet in six languages; the English version opens with these words:

It is the only one in the world, this mournful mound of black marble. And fire, crimson tongues of flames, is burning at the place where one more birch tree could grow, cheerfully rustling ... and may there never be more such graveyards on earth!

These pious words compare strangely with the current use of napalm and poison gas against simple Muslim tribesmen in Afghanistan!

In short. Khatyn is just an invention of the Soviets — like “détente” which fools so many people, but in which they wish to believe, for they fear the truth.

It may be appropriate here to refer to one of the Hadith (Sayings of the Prophet Mohamed) collected by Imam anNawawi (1233 to 1277) in which it is related:

Whosoever of you sees evil action, let him change it with his hand; and if he is not able to do so, then with his tongue; and if he is not able to do so, with his heart — and that is the weakest of faith.

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The Boer War Remembered

by [Mark Weber](#)

[Please see the revised and updated version of this article at: [The Boer War Remembered](#)]

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Review

Death From On High

- BOMBER COMMAND: THE MYTHS AND REALITY OF THE STRATEGIC BOMBING OFFENSIVE 1939-45 by Max Hastings. New York, The Dial Press/James Wade, 1979. 469 pp with Notes, Appendices, Illustrations, Bibliography, Index. ISBN: 0-8037-0154-X.

reviewed by Charles Lutton

One of the most controversial campaigns of the Second World War was the bombing offensive against Germany. British, and to a lesser extent American, air commanders believed that Germany could be defeated by bombing alone. Max Hastings, a distinguished British war correspondent, has written a masterful history of the British Bomber Command, based upon recently released official records, unpublished letters, diaries and manuscripts, and interviews of former aircrew, senior officers and government officials.

After the First World War, air power captured the imagination of military theorists, such as Giulio Douhet in Italy, Billy Mitchell in the United States, and Hugh Trenchard in Britain. Only the British, under the leadership of Trenchard, fully accepted the notion that there was virtually no limit to the independent use of bomber aircraft in future wars, which could be used to blast any any opponent into submission. From the outset of its existence, the Royal Air Force was fashioned to conduct strategic area terror bombing. ^[1]

A corollary of the Trenchard Bomber Doctrine was that defense was useless because, as Stanley Baldwin reminded Parliament in 1932, “the bomber will always get through.” Although the British devoted few funds to research and development for the RAF during the inter-war period, the government was shocked when the C-in-C of Bomber Command, Sir Edgar Ludlow-Hewitt, informed his superiors in July 1939 that their front-line bombers had been made obsolete by the development of monoplane fighters armed with cannons and machineguns. British bombers lacked speed, adequate defensive armament, bombs large enough to sufficiently damage targets, and navigation equipment to enable planes to locate targets hundreds of miles away. After the outbreak of hostilities it was discovered that British bombers tended to burn easily when attacked by enemy aircraft.

During the war the bomber offensive went through three phases. The first, from 1939 to early 1940, was characterized by ineffective attacks against military targets. Daylight sorties were found to be almost suicidal when intercepted by German fighters, while Bomber Command was incapable of locating targets at night. Hastings cites the experience of the 10th Bomber Squadron, based in Yorkshire, which mistook the Thames estuary for the Rhine and bombed an RAF station at Bassingbourn in Cambridgeshire, doing little damage. As the author explains,

“again and again at this period, Germany would be genuinely unaware that Bomber Command had been attempting to attack a specific target or even a specific region. There was merely a litter of explosives on farms, homes, lakes, forests and — occasionally — on factories and installations from end to end of the Reich.”

In June 1940, after the fall of France, the bomber offensive entered its second phase. Rejecting out of hand any suggestions for a negotiated peace settlement, Churchill felt there was little else to do besides bomb Germany. A year later, the Cabinet Secretary, D.M. Butt, presented a critique of the effectiveness of Bomber Command against targets in France and Germany. He reported that less than one-third of the attacks came within five miles of the aiming point and only ten per cent of the bombs fell within the target area. A.V. Hill, one of the founding fathers of British radar and a Member of Parliament, informed his colleagues that great resources were being squandered on Bomber Command and “the idea of bombing a well-defended enemy into submission or seriously affecting his morale — of even doing substantial damage to him — is an illusion. We know that most of the bombs we drop hit nothing of importance.”

Despite the fact that the Butt Report had clearly exposed the bankruptcy of Trenchard’s strategic bombing theory, in late 1941 the British decided to expand the bomber offensive by ordering attacks against urban areas in Germany, since the

RAF was incapable of hitting military targets with precision. The authors of the official British history, Sir Charles Webster and Dr. Noble Frankland, have argued that by late 1941 there were only two choices left to Churchill, area bombing or no bombing at all.

Hastings rejects that specious assertion and points out alternatives, a third choice being “to persist in the face of whatever difficulties, in attempting to hit precision targets” and a “fourth and more realistic alternative: faced by the fact that Britain’s bombers were incapable of a precision campaign, there was no compulsion upon the Government to authorize the huge bomber programme that was now to be undertaken. Aircraft could have been transferred to the Battle of the Atlantic and the Middle and Far East where they were so urgently needed, and many British strategists would have wholeheartedly defended the decision to move them... There were alternatives to the area campaign, albeit at great cost to the amour propre of the RAF.”

In any event, the bomber offensive entered its third phase. On 14 February 1942, the Air Ministry issued a directive authorizing unrestricted area bombing. Churchill’s repulsive scientific adviser, Lord Cherwell, provided the final rationalization for the campaign, by claiming that the “dehousing” of the German workers and their families would doubtlessly “break the spirit of the people.” The Chief of Air Staff, Sir Charles Portal, reminded his Deputy on 15 February, “Ref. the new bombing directive: I suppose it is clear that the aiming-points are to be built-up areas, not, for instance, the dockyards or aircraft factories ... This must be made quite clear if it is not already understood.” Sir Arthur Harris, a fanatical proponent of area bombing, was appointed the new head of Bomber Command.

The first target of the new phase was the old North German town of Lübeck. It was not a place of any military or industrial importance to the Germans and so was lightly defended. But Harris had been “searching for an area target that they could find, strike, and utterly destroy.” Lübeck was thus chosen, says Hastings, because “above all it was an old, closely-packed medieval town that would burn far better than the spacious avenues of any modern metropolis ...

Lübeck, then, did not attract attention because it was important, but became important because it could be burned.”

Aided by the new navigation device Gee, Bomber Command “browned” (the RAF euphemism for burning a town) Lübeck on 28 March 1942 and a month later gave the same treatment to another medieval town, Rostock. The bombers tried out what became the standard pattern for attacking a city: flares were dropped to mark the target, then 4,000 pound high-explosive “cookies” were used to blast open doors and windows, accompanied by incendiaries to create huge fires. Characteristically, whatever industry was located in Lübeck and Rostock was back at near full production within days, since factories were located on the outskirts of cities, or in the suburbs, far from the town centers, which were the aiming points of Bomber Command raids.

The author reminds his readers of the great public relations impact of many Bomber Command operations, such as the thousand-plane raids Harris launched, starting with the attack on Cologne on 30 May 1942. There was no military reason why over 1,000 RAF bombers had to be sent, but it did capture the imagination of the British public. As Hastings remarks, “the Prime Minister, with his great sense of theatre, was won over immediately. Only the Admiralty, in the midst of the Battle of the Atlantic, were exasperated by such gimmicky enterprises as they struggled to fight their convoys through.”

At the Casablanca Conference in January 1943, the Allies decided to delay the cross-Channel invasion of Western Europe until the Spring of 1944. Harris and General Carl Spaatz, commander of the 8th U.S. Army Air Force in Europe, believed they could defeat Germany without a land invasion by air attacks. [2] Bomber Command increased the tempo and destructive power of its attacks on German cities throughout 1943 and early 1944.

It was also at Casablanca where the Allies declared their policy of “Unconditional Surrender,” which nullified any effect bomber raids might have had in undermining German morale and bringing the war to an end. Britain’s flak defence chief, General Sir Frederick Pile, told B.H. Liddell Hart that,

“Winston is pinning all his faith to the bombing offensive now. The devastation it causes suits his temperament, and he would be disappointed at a less destructive ending to the war.” [3]

Bomber Command was not short of informed critics. Within policy circles the service departments and scientists attacked Harris’s operations on strategic and practical grounds. It has been estimated that one-third of Britain’s industrial capacity was committed to Bomber Command, along with the best of their high technology. Because of the vast resources consumed by Bomber Command, the British had to import vast quantities of war material (such as tanks, trucks, landing craft, etc.) from the United States. In human terms, 7,448 Bomber Command aircrew had died between September 1939 and February 1942. From the time Harris took charge of the expanded bombing operations until the end of the war, an additional 56,000 commissioned officers and NCOs lost their lives, more officers than the British lost during World War I.

Civilian opponents of Bomber Command comprised an articulate, though tiny, minority. One group, The Bombing Restriction Committee, distributed leaflets headlined “STOP BOMBING CIVILIANS.” George Bell, Bishop of Chichester, was probably denied elevation to the Archbishopric of Canterbury because of his opposition to area bombing. Hastings goes on to discuss the opposition by Britain’s leading military theorists, J.F.C. Fuller and B.H. Liddell Hart, but emphasizes that these distinguished critics had no impact upon policy. [4]

Hastings skillfully assembles a wide-range of material in his chapter examining conditions within Germany from 1940-1944. Like Burton Klein and Alan Milward, the author dispels the myth that Hitler had armed Germany to the teeth with a centrally-directed totalitarian economy. [5] Hitler had rearmed the Wehrmacht in breadth, not depth, and unlike the Allies, sought to em-

ploy the minimum possible resources to achieve a given objective. Germany did not begin full economic mobilization until 1943, and at the end of that year six million workers were still employed in consumer industries.

Because of the slack that existed in the German economy, Arms Minister Albert Speer was able to vastly increase military production, despite the mounting ferocity of bomber attacks in 1943 and 1944. "The morale of the German people remained unbroken to the end," Hastings points out, even though Bomber Command "destroyed centuries of construction and culture."

The author also provides a good analysis of the problems faced by German home defense forces. The Luftwaffe was commanded by the incompetent Hermann Göring and a coherent strategy to combat Allied bombing raids was never devised. Only a relatively modest portion of the Luftwaffe's resources were earmarked for night-fighters and home defense in general. Hitler did not authorize a freeze on costly bomber production and a concentration on fighters until June 1944. It is likely that even a slightly larger investment in home defense forces could have brought the bomber offensive to an abrupt halt by the end of 1943.

Bomber Command launched a massive series of assaults against the Ruhr, Hamburg, and Berlin during 1943 and early 1944. Thousands of acres were burned and hundreds of thousands of Germans were killed. The RAF lost over 4,100 bombers. Yet German arms production increased. Harris nevertheless claimed on 7 December 1943, that he could bring about a German collapse by 1 April 1944.

The first real breakthrough in the bomber offensive occurred in the Spring of 1944, when U.S. long-range Mustang fighters became available in large numbers. Mustangs escorted USAAF bombers on daylight raids against synthetic oil plants, the Achilles Heel of the German war economy. The cream of the Luftwaffe's experienced fighter pilots were lost in the war of attrition waged by the Americans. From June through August 1944, the total percentage of U.S. bombing efforts against oil targets never exceeded 17 per cent of their total bombs dropped, but the results were a catastrophe for the Germans. By the late summer of 1944, little fuel was available to power the thousands of tanks and planes (including jet fighters and bombers) Speer's factories were producing.

Harris had been forced to suspend his area attacks in April 1944 and Bomber Command had directed its efforts to providing tactical support for the invasion of France. In July, the British called for a renewed "all-out attack by every means at our disposal on German civilian morale." Attacks on oil plants were dismissed by Harris as "merely the latest in the long line of 'panacea targets' with which so many knaves and fools sought to divert him from the task of destroying Germany."

Spaatz ordered additional attacks on Germany's oil plants and transportation network in September 1944. Bomber Command stepped up its devastation of German cities. Hastings devotes a revealing chapter to describe the destruction of Darmstadt on the night of 11/12 September, which was typical of the sort of targets remaining to the British by that date. Darmstadt was another classic representative of German culture which produced less than two-tenths of one percent of Germany's total production and an infinitesimal amount of its war production. A minimum of ten per cent of Darmstadt's population died as a result of the firestorm that was created and a Russian POW camp was totally destroyed. Over-all, industries located in the area lost about two weeks production.

Between January and May 1945, Harris very reluctantly allowed 26 per cent of Bomber Command's attacks to be directed against Germany's remaining oil facilities, while he continued to

concentrate his resources on area bombing. On 13/14 February, Dresden was torched. Interestingly, this touched off the first general wave of negative reaction against area bombing. An Associated Press dispatch reported that the “Allied air chiefs” had begun “deliberate terror bombing of German population centers ...” General Marshall claimed, falsely, that Dresden had been bombed at the request of the Soviets. Churchill, who with Portal had ordered the attack, tried to cover his involvement and on 28 March 1945, drafted a memo to the Chiefs of Staff in which he criticized the destruction of Dresden and called “for more precise concentration upon military objectives, such as oil and communications behind the immediate battle-zone, rather than on mere acts of terror and wanton destruction, however impressive.” Hastings composes a remarkable portrait of Churchill and spares nothing in exposing the crucial role played in the terror bombing by that great mountebank.

Max Hastings' *Bomber Command* is an important contribution to our understanding of World War II. As he notes in his final chapter assessing the work of the strategic bomber offensive, the two positive achievements were made by the Americans: the defeat of the Luftwaffe by Mustang fighters, and the campaign to destroy Germany's synthetic oil industry. But, he concludes, “the cost of the bomber offensive in life, treasure and moral superiority over the enemy tragically outstripped the results that it achieved.”

Notes

1. ☺ For an overview contrasting the development of air power in Britain and Germany in the inter-war period, see Williamson Murray, “British and German Air Doctrine Between the Wars,” *Air University Review* (March-April 1980) pp 39-57.
2. ☺ On the American contribution to the bombing offensive in the European theater, see Thomas Coffey, *Decision Over Schweinfurt*, New York, McKay, 1977.
3. ☺ Britain's outstanding military theorists, Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller and Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart both recognized the futility of the “Unconditional Surrender” policy. See Liddell Hart, *The Second World War*, New York, Putnams, 1972, and Fuller, *The Conduct of War, 1789-1961*, New York, Minerva Press, 1961. Fuller pointed out that Churchill was at first enthusiastic about “unconditional surrender” but changed his mind and in a cable to his Foreign Secretary dated 9 August 1943 advised, “Merely harping on 'unconditional surrender' with no prospect of mercy... may well lead to no surrender at all,” Fuller, *The Conduct of War*, p 287.
4. ☺ For a useful discussion of the opposition to area bombing in Britain and the United States, see James J. Martin's essay, “The Bombing and Negotiated Peace Questions-in 1944,” *Revisionist Viewpoints*, Colorado Springs, Ralph Myles Publisher, 1971.
5. ☺ See Burton Klein, *Germany's Economic Preparations for War*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1959, and Alan Milward, *The German Economy at War*, London, London University, 1965. Hastings cites Milward, but not Klein's classic study.

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Auschwitz Notebook

Lids and openings

by Ditlieb Felderer

Let us now examine the various claims made about the “lids and openings” in the ceilings of the “gas chambers” and compare the allegations with the forensic reality, and with each other.

We notice first of all that here, as with other such matters, an evolutionary process is in progress. At first the allegations were vague and simple, and it was only later on that the descriptions became twisted and elaborated.

The earliest reference I can trace to lids is in Rudolf Höss' affidavit at Nurnberg of 5 April 1946, where he grunted his agreement to the following:

so when I set up the extermination building at Auschwitz, I used Zyklon B, which was crystallized Prussic Acid which we dropped into the death chamber from a small opening.

Note here that the very “architect of death” refers to Auschwitz (not Birkenau) and one small opening (not several). I will deal with these remarks in greater depth later. but just let me point out that today the Auschwitz “gas chamber” has not one hole in the ceiling, but several.

The next “testimony” we ought to examine is that of Kurt Gerstein, the sanitation officer who allegedly made several confessions about gassing before disappearing and/or killing himself, depending on which source one refers to. His “confessions” were introduced at the Nurnberg Trial, despite the fact that Gerstein himself could not be produced to attest to the authenticity of his affidavit, nor to be crossexamined. This gross infringement of normal jurisprudence and rules of evidence does not seem to bother the Exterminationist lobby, who delight in vaunting the Gerstein document as “proof” of gassings. Both the Revisionist Rassinier, and the Exterminationist Reitlinger are mistaken when they say that the Gerstein document was thrown out by the Niirnberg court. Butz reproduces it in his appendix A, and it is truly a wonder to behold. This “sanitation engineer” gives no description whatever of the actual mechanics of gassing operations.

Next, we turn back to Höss to see how he elaborated on his “small opening” in his supposed “autobiography” which was written in a Polish prison during the time of his own trial. The English version was translated by the Exterminationist Constantine FitzGibbon, the half-brother of the Revisionist Louis FitzGibbon.

Höss relates how the Auschwitz gas chamber was relocated from the basement of Block 11 to the mortuary of the crematorium adjacent to the hospital. (As Dr. Robert Faurisson points out, the so-called “Auschwitz gas chamber” is only a mortuary, with a few bits added to fool gullible

tourists.) The reason for the re-location, we are told, is because the whole of Block 11 had to be ventilated after a gassing. We are not told by Höss why the whole of the mortuary-crematorium-hospital complex did not have to ventilated after a gassing. Auschwitz guides claim that this was because there was mechanical ventilation at the new location, but there is no evidence of any such fixtures today.

Höss tells us now that “some holes had been pierced in the ceiling through which the gas could be discharged” (93: p 209). In other words, from the singular, small opening, we now have “some holes.”

Now, there are so many discrepancies between the various language editions of Höss’s “Autobiography” that we now have to refer to the German edition to get to the root of this next problem. On page 50 of the 1978 German edition, published by the Auschwitz Museum, Höss attempts to describe the gassing operation. He says “dann wurden die Tiiren schnell verschraubt” {“then the doors were quickly screwed tight”). It is not clear whether he is talking about Auschwitz or Birkenau at this point; there is only one door at each of the two Birkenau “gas chambers,” while that at Auschwitz proper does have several, plus one doorway to the crematoria with no door. {We are still trying to find out why the gasees did not just run out of this doorless doorway into the crematory and escape! Not to mention how come the gas did not just flow out and gas the crematory workers, or explode with the crematory heat!) None of the doors — either at Auschwitz or at Birkenau — exhibit facilities for “screwing tight.”

He goes on to describe the “Offnungen in die Decke” (“holes in the ceiling”) which were “mit einem Fallrohr verbunden” (“connected to a pipe/tube/shaft”) “dass das Gas bis den Boden fiel” (“which allowed the gas (sic) to fall to the floor”).

Here we have one of the few actual descriptions of the mechanics of the gassing operation. Needless to say, we could find no such tubes, pipes or shafts at any of the locations cited, nor any trace that such had been there.

Höss also tells us that the gas chambers were “furnished with showers and water pipes and gave a realistic impression of a bath house” (93, p 223). But again, none of the installations we have inspected have such dummy plumbing.

Höss’s allegation about the plumbing is echoed by Eugen Kogon in *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (58), but with the variation that the shower-heads issued forth with the gas. It is not quite clear whether or not he means that the showerheads also sometimes functioned as real showers.

From the dressing-rooms the way led directly to the “bath” where hydrocyanic gas was admitted through the shower heads and ventilator outlets as soon as the doors had been closed. (58; p 237)

We will deal with this question of fake shower-heads in a later article. Bishop Neuhäusler of Munich has even alleged that Dachau had fake shower-heads, even though all the Exterminationists agree that no gassings occurred at Dachau

According to the so-called Holocaust expert (and wealthy art-dealer) Gerald Reitlinger (91), the “super gas chambers of Auschwitz” had openings on the roof with “mushroom-like concrete objects” spaced “at regular intervals.” Inside there were “shafts” made of “sheetmetal” which looked like “columns” which were “perforated.” After unscrewing the mushrooms on the roof, the Germans would tip the “amethystblue crystals” down the shafts, and the gas “escaped from

the perforations in the sheetmetal.” Filip Mailer describes basically the same structure inside the gas chamber.

Yet our own thorough investigations at both Auschwitz and Birkenau have produced no such “perforated sheetmetal columns” nor any trace that there had ever been such objects there.

Another interesting problem which confronts us is that we are told that the whole process went on in secret, and that the gasees were tricked into the gas chambers. But it is evident both from the models on display at the Auschwitz Museum, and from the physical layout of Birkenau itself, that the people entering the dressing rooms would have caught in full view the frightening sight of men wearing gas masks and rubber boots emptying the Zyklon B into the openings on the roof, where the “mushroom-like lids” had to be “methodically unscrewed.”

The next “expert” we turn to is Edward Crankshaw (pseudonym?), who relates in Gestapo Instrument of Tyranny that:

Naked and shorn, the prisoners were marched to the gas-chambers. some of which were sunk in the ground, others on the same level as the crematoria which disposed of the corpses. It was all very clean and tidy. with a neat lawn all around, broken only by what might have been ventilation shafts, but which, in fact. were the orifices through which the blue crystals of Zyklon B were dropped into hollow columns of perforated sheet metal, which ran down to the floor of the chamber. There were douches in the ceiling to maintain the impression of a bath-house, but these were dummies. and there were no drainage channels in the floor. which was level and not sloped. it was through these perforated columns that the gas made its way into the chamber ... (5: p 200)

This excerpt opens up a whole new can of worms. If Crankshaw is correct that the hair was cut prior to the victims entering the gas chambers, then the Sonderkommando teams which processed the bodies afterward must have been shaving already bald heads! Furthermore, if the place had level floors with no drainage runnels (Martin Gray says the opposite in For Those I Loved) then it must have been nearly impossible to hose the place down. What about all the blood, vomit, excrement and menstrual fluid which many writers tell us was present after a gassing? How was this veritable cess pit cleaned out so that it looked “clean and tidy” and just like aspic and span “bath-house” in time for the next batch of victims?

Another “expert” in such matters is the American-Jewish newspaper reporter William L. Shirer who relates to us:

Up above where the well-groomed lawn and flower beds almost concealed the mushroom-shaped lids of vents that ran up from the hall of death, orderlies stood ready to drop into them the amethystblue crystals of hydro-cyanic acid, or Zyklon B ...

Moll ... would laugh, and the crystals would be poured through the openings, which were then sealed... but soon the inmates became aware that it was issuing from the perforations in the vents. It was then that they usually panicked, crowding away from the pipes and finally stampeding toward the huge metal door... (4: p 1263)

Here again, the fixtures just seem to crop up like... mushrooms, and disappear again, for there is no evidence today of mushrooms, perforated vents, pipes, or huge metal doors.

As for the official Auschwitz Museum line, they tell us that

We are able to reconstruct the process of extermination thoroughly, owing to the fact that the plans of the gas chambers and crematoria were saved from destruction, also thanks to the ruins of the buildings, used for exterminating and to the explanation proffered by ex-commandant Höss. (25: p 29)

This does not help us any at all, however, because the “ruins” and the surviving facilities contradict almost every single allegation at every stage. As for the “plans of gas chambers” these are not made available to the visitor at Auschwitz. They are exhibited, high up on a wall where one would need a ladder to examine them. Professor Faurisson did manage to obtain a copy, through impressing on one of the guards his gratitude, and found that he had been given a blueprint copy of... a mortuary!

The Auschwitz guide-book referred to also describes the same elusive door which was “screwed-up” and the gas being discharged through “special vents” (25: p 30).

In another Auschwitz Museum epic, AdoIf Gawalewicz relates:

In June 1941, the Camp Commandant Rudolf Höss was ordered by Himmler to undertake mass extermination of Jews, and instructed him to present within four weeks a detailed plan for building suitable installation ...

After the test already referred to as being carried out in September 1941 of Zyklon B gas as a means for killing, the next gassings were performed in the mother camp mortuary of crematorium No. 1, adapted for use as a gas chamber. At both ends were fitted gas-tight doors, and the Zyklon B was thrown in through openings in the ceiling ...

After the gas-tight doors were shut, the Zyklon B, giving off Prussic acid. was thrown in through openings in the ceiling. When some 15 to 20 minutes had elapsed, by which time victims in the gas chamber were suffocated, ventilators were turned on to clear the poisoned atmosphere ...

After the liberation, there were found in the camp stores several untouched boxes of Zyklon B and piles of tins which had contained the poison. Chemical experts reported the presence of Prussic acid in hair cut from women in the gas chambers, in zinc lids of the gas chamber ventilation holes, in metal hair pins and clasps. (3: insert pages 7-8)

It is questionable if A. Gawalewicz has ever been around his own museum. How can he speak about “gas-tight doors” at “both ends?” There are no such doors. At Auschwitz there is no door at all at one end; at the other end is a tacky wooden and glass door. At Birkenau there is only one door per chamber, hardly fitting the description of “both ends.” Neither at Auschwitz nor at Birkenau are there any “zinc lids of gas chamber ventilation holes” so we wonder how it is possible to find any traces of Zyklon B there.

The supposedly definitive seven volume report of the International Auschwitz Committee (21) likewise is very unhelpful. There is next to no description of the actual construction, method, and administration of the gas chambers. A mysterious Professor Jan Olbrycht does make a few cursory references to “the pouring in of the poison into the chambers” which makes it sound like the Zyklon B was a liquefied gas! Even more strange is the confession given by one Johann Paul Kremer (21: p 229). We are told that he originally made this report before an examining magis-

trate “Judge S.” who was representing the Extraordinary State Committee for the Investigation of the Crimes of the German Fascist Aggressors and their Allies, at the Supreme National Court in Cracow. The Kremer “confessions” are riddled with contradictions. He claims to be in Prague when he was also in Auschwitz. He claims to have administered at the gassings, but to have been nowhere near them. He claims that the victims were loaded onto trucks and taken to the “gassing huts,” and yet there were “gas chambers” right next to the railroad ramp. He claims that the Zyl-don B was thrown “through an opening in the side wall” of the gas chamber, whereas everyone else says it was dropped in through the roof. In any case, where is this side hole today?

Later in the same series we read another description of the gas chambers from a Dr. Antoni Kepinski of Cracow. Needless to say, his report presents a totally different description altogether. This time the victims know they are to be gassed (most writers say they had no idea; they had to be tricked); that the gas chamber was an “alleged bathroom” (whatever happened to Kremer’s “gassing huts” and why bother with camouflage if the victims knew anyway?); that a head wearing a gas mask could be seen through the opening in the ceiling (what about those metal shafts that went from ceiling to floor?) and so on and so on.

Let us now turn our attention to the actual forensic, tangible evidence at the camps today. Unfortunately, there is not a lot we can say about the alleged camps at Belzec, Chelmno, Sobibor and Treblinka. There is nothing there today except green fields, usually with a hideous “monument” of communist origin.

Dachau

At Dachau, there is a row of disinfection chambers which after the war were dubbed “gas chambers” but nobody today claims that they were other than disinfection chambers. A picture of one chamber is shown in Dr. Butz’s book (109), and also in Richard Harwood’s excellent Nurnberg book (130). The inscription on the metal door reads in German: “Caution! Gas! Mortal Danger! Do Not Open! Gassing times from 7.30 to 10.00.”

Another room is labelled “Brausebad” (“Showerbath”) above the door, and a modern sign beside it reads “This gas chamber whose construction had been started in 1943, was still not completed in 1945 when the camp was liberated. No one could have been gassed in it.” The room does appear to have shower-heads, although recent visitors have reported that these have been partially torn out of the ceiling by persons unknown.

Stutthof

Stutthof, near Danzig (not to be confused with Struthof-Natzweiler in France) has a “gas chamber” on partial display, and it does appear to have a single opening in the ceiling. However, any further analysis is not possible because both entrance doors are sealed off from visitors by coils of barbed wire. The mystery deepens even further when we read one of the Polish government guides *Genocide 1939-1945* , (12), which tells us on page 70 that “owing to the fact that Stutthof had no gas chambers installations (sic) they were generally liquidated by bringing them in the shortest possible time to a 'natural' death.” Stutthof does not feature prominently in the Exterminationists' litany.

Auschwitz I

If we stand on the roof of what is variously called the “gas chamber and crematorium 1” (25: inside front flap) and “the mortuary of crematorium I in Auschwitz” (same book; page 38), we can

see 8 projections with lids sticking out of the roof. Two of them, the larger ones on the right, do not actually belong to the “gas chamber/mortuary” but to the crematorium room next door. These appear to be little chimneys or vents, and do appear to be genuine ventilation ducts, to evacuate excess smoke or heat from the vicinity of the crematory ovens.

Two of the other six vents open into the “gas chamber/ mortuary” near the glass door at the far end. They are about 10 cm × 10 cm, and appear to be genuine ventilators again.

But the remaining four openings are a different case altogether. These four are claimed to be the openings through which the Zyklon B was introduced. Their lids are made of wood, with wooden handles also. There is no provision for screwing tight, and they are anything but airtight. Needless to say, there are no “sheet-metal perforated shafts” connected to them underneath. When one lifts one of the lids, one can see visitors walking around in the “gas chamber/ mortuary” down below. My conclusion is that these four holes were made later — and by a very clumsy craftsman — so as to make the structure conform, at least a little, to the legend.

Auschwitz II — Birkenau

There are two symmetrical structures at Birkenau which are variously termed “crematory/gas chamber 2 and 3.” There are ante-rooms called “dressing/undressing rooms” which are frequently transposed by the Exterminationist “experts” who cannot agree which room served which function. Some books (25, and 10) put the gas chamber in one room, and the un/dressing room in another. Yet the models on display outside “gas chamber 2” and at the main Auschwitz museum put the rooms the other way around!

In a later article we shall look at the confusion surrounding the “dressing room”/“undressing room” debate, but for now let us just note that in many photographs on display at Auschwitz and elsewhere, the “gassed” victims are fully dressed, which would seem to indicate that the Sonderkommandos put the clothes back on the corpses after gassing!

To those who have read survivor tales of sliding doors, hermetically-sealed lids, portholes, perforated columns, and so on, gas chambers 2 and 3 will come as something of a shock. The structures resemble a basement storage for potatoes more than anything else. There are no such paraphernalia there.

Obviously the hoaxers have paid token heed to the legend here, and have chiseled out two holes in the roof of gas chamber 2. But the larger hole is so rough and sloppy that the reinforced steel bars at the concrete are visibly trajecting, and the mortar has obviously been chiseled. The “lid” appears to be an old manhole cover which has been drafted into this new role.

Gas chamber 2 is not open to the public, so I had to take a great risk and climb down into the “gas chamber” through the chiseled opening in the roof. I found none of the apparatus described in the various testimonies. I took many extremely valuable flashlight pictures in there to prove the point.

At gas chamber 3 next door, there was no opening in the roof, and no other access, yet the two structures are “identical” we are told.

In later articles we shall look at more Exterminationist confusion surrounding the doors to the various structures.

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Reviews

Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers

- Filip Müller, Stein and Day, 180pp, hardback \$10.85. ISBN: 0-8128-2601-9.

In the German Mills of Death 1941-1945

- Petro Mirchuk, Vantage, 217pp, hardback, \$6.95. ISBN: 0-533-01908-7.

Playing for Time

- Fania Fenelon, Berkley, 289pp, paperback, \$2.50. ISBN: 0-425-04199-9.

Reviewed by Lewis Brandon ([David McCalden](#))

These three books are of interest to the modern revisionist for various reasons. They are all “survivor” testimony of Auschwitz, and thus descriptions and events can be compared for discrepancies or contradictions.

The Müller book has been quoted once or twice by Exterminationists in Australia, in their feeble attempts to contradict hard revisionist evidence. Mr. Mirchuk submitted his book in connection with a claim for the Institute for Historical Review’s \$50,000 reward for proof of gassings. Ms. Fenelon is, of course, at the center of a current controversy over whether or not the ardent anti-Zionist Vanessa Redgrave should be allowed to portray her in a forthcoming TV film of the same name.

Many people will be under the impression from “media hype” that Fenelon claims to have been part of the orchestra which supposedly conducted the inmates to the “gas chambers.” (Even though Gitta Sereny attempts to correct this in the *New Statesman* 2 November 1979, when she insists that the orchestra conducted the inmates to and from **work**.) But a study of her book will show that Ms. Fenelon had very little to do with the other inmates, and instead was in a fairly privileged position as a member of the orchestra which played for the German **staff**.

Her book contains all the usual neuroses found in much survivor testimony, including many scatological references, and claims to have encountered famous and infamous characters of the Holocaust pageant. Thus, one has only reached the first page of this historical narrative before she is telling us that

A trick I'd found to cool myself was to wash in my urine. Keeping myself clean was essential to me, and there is nothing unclean about urine. I could drink it if I was thirsty — and I had done so.

Perhaps Ms. Fenelon learned these mysterious sanitary properties of urine — previously totally unknown to modern science from her fellow survivor Kitty Hart. A TV program entitled *Kitty — Return to Auschwitz* was shown on British commercial television last November, and was later reviewed in the *Jewish Chronicle* 9 November 1979. Naturally, Kitty managed to survive only because she was assigned to labor, rather than gassed, which fate befell “thirty members” of her family. Her work was not without respite however, for while

she sunbathed on the grass, “the crematorium was in the background and I could see that people were being sent in one end and that there were ashes at the other end ten minutes later.”

Ms. Hart’s fascinating reportage also includes her claim that

I washed in my own urine.

One wonders if these weird scatological fantasies have any inspiration in Talmudic lore, for as William Grimstad shows in *The Six Million Reconsidered*, that particular tome is brim full of allusions to toiletry and sexual functions and dysfunctions.

Ms. Fenelon was deported from Drancy near Paris to Auschwitz quite late in the war, on 23 January 1944. She was given the number 74862, which was tattooed on her arm. However, a check with the Serge Klarsfeld re-publication of deportees’ manifests, does not show a Fenelon or a Goldstein (her real name) against this number.

Nowhere in her narrative does the reader find any description of gassings. In fact, the subject is introduced so matter-of-factly that it almost seems that the activity is and was very common knowledge. Throughout the entire book, the only references to extermination are the reported speech of Ms. Fenelon’s companions, or the subjective assumptions of the authoress herself. Thus, on pages 63 and 175 we get reports of gassing from an “Irene.” On pages 64, 79 and 213 we find complaints about the smell of burning flesh pervading the atmosphere (even above the smell of stale, urine-soaked clothes?). Pages 79 and 145 bring us descriptions of chimneys billowing thick, black soot. Yet another inmate “Flora” reports on page 197 that handbags were made out of tattooed human skin.

Some of her claims may well have a basis in fact, such as the existence of a sauna (p135), a psychiatric ward (p135 — but weren’t they all gassed right away as being unsuitable for work?), receiving parcels from outside (p 166), going swimming (p221), and the very existence of the orchestra itself.

Rather more on a par with her claims of gassing are her references to Allied bombing of Auschwitz “aimed at the crematoria” (p255), camping out with Anne Frank (p263) and playing a concert for Himmler who “invented the gas chambers” (p203).

All in all, it would appear that Ms. Fenelon’s ghost-writer Marcelle Routier may have used a dash too much of poetic license in writing Ms. Fenelon’s memoirs. All that reported speech about gassings cannot possibly be accurately recalled after 35 years; even if such rumors were being bandied around.

Another survivor who relies almost totally on hearsay in the camps is Petro Mirchuk, a Ukrainian now living in Philadelphia. His book *In the German Mills of Death 1941-1945* is published by a “vanity” press; in other words the author paid to have it published. Although Mirchuk claims to have been a member of the Ukrainian underground, he is not highly regarded among Ukrainian

exile groups in the United States. Many view him as an embarrassment, not least because he attempted to submit his book as “proof” of gassings, to claim the IHR’s \$50,000 reward.

In fact the book *proves* absolutely nothing. There are long descriptions of his various imprisonments under different regimes, and chapters dealing with his work day at the Auschwitz assignments. But references to gassing are scant and superficial.

The author relates that he arrived at Auschwitz in July 1942. He was assigned a number, which was imprinted on his clothing; not tattooed. He managed to survive having his head shaved, and taking a shower, without mishap, unlike those 6 million (or as some say “11 million”) others. He managed to survive encountering the dreaded Auschwitz orchestra, which played music in front of the kitchen as the prisoners marched past, not to the “gas chambers,” but to work. Mirchuk recalls how they were often sent outside the camp to work on construction projects, and agriculture. Chapter 6 is devoted to a description of Birkenau (or “Auschwitz II”) where Mirchuk admits he had never been. It was three miles away from his camp at Auschwitz I. However this does not prevent him providing a description of the gas chamber and the gassing operation:

They were taken by groups into a big room which looked exactly like a shower room, but when the room was filled with prisoners the doors were closed and the gas Cy-clon B was released through holes in the floor and ceiling. In about ten minutes all who were in the room would be dead. A special kommando called the sonderkommando, consisting of about eight hundred strong young Jewish prisoners selected from the Jewish transports, transferred the corpses from the gas chambers to the crematoria. (pp 60-61)

He goes on to describe the cremation of the corpses. Apparently there were four large crematoria always in operation, but as this was insufficient capacity, corpses had to be burned in the open. There would be a layer of corpses, then a layer of logs, then more corpses, until the piles were two storeys high (sic). The completed pyre was then doused in kerosene and set on fire. By the time the second pile was completed, the first would be burned out. Then the members of the sonderkommando would “clean up the few remaining bones and start a new pile.” Naturally, the wicked Germans wanted to save on their gas bills, so children under 12 were thrown into the fires alive, in a kind of National Socialist suttee, and “after a few minutes of the extremely high heat, there would remain only an ash where there had been a child.” Members of the sonderkommando teams were themselves gassed and replaced every three or four months, which will no doubt come as a surprise to Filip Muller, who claims to have spent “three years in the gas chambers” and lived to tell the tale.

Mirchuk’s description is so outlandish that one wonders at even a vanity press having the chutzpah to print this garbage. There is just no way that bodies could be burned so rapidly, and with just “a few remaining bones” or “ash” afterward. Any mortician or pathologist will confirm that the cremation of a single body in a modern crematory oven takes three to four hours, and there are so many bones left over that they have to be ground down in a bone mill, before being put in an urn. Any readers with a fireplace or wood stove will know that beef bones are one of the most difficult objects to incinerate.

Naturally, Mirchuk tells us, the Germans were so fiendish that they commanded the sonderkommandos to write letters home describing how they worked on a “disinfection process” and that the letters were always post-dated after their own gassing.

All of Mirchuk’s descriptions of extermination by gas, he admits are the hearsay of fellow internees who had visited Birkenau.

A different can of worms altogether is opened by Filip Müller with his *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*. He claims to have worked on the sonderkommando teams himself. Despite the claim of Mirchuk, and many others, that the teams were gassed and replaced every few months, “by a sheer stroke of luck he survived” (pxi). In fact he lived to testify at the Auschwitz Trial in Frankfurt in 1964, and to have his testimony published as one chapter of *The Death Factory*, by O. Kraus and E. Kulka. in 1966. His memoirs were also published in Czech in 1946.

In December 1979, Australian civil liberties attorney John Bennett wrote to Müller in care of his London publisher and received a reply dated 24 January 1980 in fractured German. Bennett had inquired how it was that Müller managed to survive so long against the allegedly incredible odds. Müller’s reply is reprinted here in full in English. The German original is available for inspection from John Bennett.

Mannheim
24 January 1980

Filip Müller
68 Mannheim 1
Ulmenweg 25
West Germany

Dear Mr. Bennett,

I have received your letter thru Routledge & Kegan of London. Your justified questions demonstrate that you are very familiar with the concentration camp literature which unfortunately does not always present correct testimonies. Many legends have been written about this tragic truth and a few falsehoods have crept into the writing of Dr. Nyiszli.

Now, my answers to your questions.

My time in the *Sonderkommando* (special unit) was divided into two phases: a) in Auschwitz I from May 1942, and b) in Auschwitz II-Birkenau from late Spring 1943 until 18 January 1945.

During the course of my stay at Auschwitz I there were never any selections (Selektionen). From May 1942 until December 1942, a group of about 200 men was simultaneously active in the Birkenau Sonderkommando. They were gassed in December 1942 in Auschwitz I. Afterwards, a new Sonderkommando was organized by the SS in about January 1943 in which 300 inmates had to work in Birkenau. From February 1944 until November 1944, four selections in all were carried out there. At the final selection, 30 inmates were chosen for Crematorium V. (Among them, the group of Dr. Nyiszli, myself and others.) At the same time, another 70 men were assigned to the so-called “Abbruchkommando” (demolition unit) which worked on dismantling the crematoria. The rest were sent on to Grossrosen. However, these men were killed at an unknown location. (On that subject, see pp161-162 of my book.) The claim that periodic selections were supposed to have been made of the *Sonderkommando* does not correspond to the facts. For example, during the course of the entire year 1943 no selections were carried out. The strength (size) of the *Sonderkommandos* was dependent on the number of transports which arrived, and was not bound to any time period. The further fate of the *Sonderkommandos* can be read on pp164, 166 and 167.

About 100 men from the *Sonderkommandos* survived the liberation. A few are living today in Israel (including, for example, the brothers Avrohom and Schlomo Dragon, Milten Bugi, Lemke and others). My friend Alter Feinzylberg, alias Jankowski, lives in Paris. He was in the crematorium in Auschwitz I after November 1942. And so forth. The many statements which allege that not a single inmate who was in a *Sonderkommando* remained alive are also only pure fiction.

The following factors were decisive as far as my own fate is concerned:

1. A strong will to live, with the goal of being an eyewitness to the crimes and not to capitulate in border-line situations.
2. To pass on information and documents to escaping inmates about the crimes and thus alert world attention. Altho this happened, the Allies unfortunately failed to draw the conclusions. See chapter V. (Alfred Wetzler, Walter Rosenberg-Vrba).
3. Thru the conspirative activities in preparation for a total revolt, flight to the partisans, and then to blowup the railway lines to Auschwitz and thereby bring the inferno to an end.
4. Fate.

This spiritual attitude which gave my life meaning there sometimes played the most important role at certain times. It strengthened my will and gave my life meaning. All these important moments are described in detail in the book.

I got to know Dr. Nyszli (sic) very well in early summer 1944. He had to work in the *Sonderkommando* with his colleagues, Prof. Gorog and others, as a pathologist for Dr. Mengele. He was an outstanding and optimistic man. In contrast, Prof. Gorog was a sensible person. He died in Mauthausen in 1945. I never saw Dr. Nyszli again after the war. He is supposed to have died in 1949-1950.

I am sure that my statements will give you an adequate overview on this subject. I remain, with friendly greetings,

s/F. Müller

P.S. Since I don't know English, I am writing in German. Hopefully you will find someone who can translate this for you.

Whether or not historians find "fate," "will-power" and "the Allies" as being sufficient reasons for survival at the very heart of the "Mill or Death" is up to them. If they do, they might likely also be firm believers in the aviation abilities of domesticated ruminants.

Müller's book does not waste any time in getting down to the subject matter. Already by page 11 we are "into the crematorium" where the author was assigned to taking corpses out of the gassing room, stripping them of their clothes, and burning them in the crematoria next door. This will come as a surprise to all those Exterminationists who have been telling us all along that the victims were stark naked in the gas chamber, having been tricked into believing that they were taking a shower. The rest of the narrative continues in the same vein.

I noticed there were some small greenish-blue crystals lying on the concrete floor at the back of the room. They were scattered beneath an opening in the ceiling. A large fan was installed up there, its blades humming as they revolved. (p13)

It is rather curious that there is no such giant fan exhibited today at Auschwitz. Nor is there a large hole in the ceiling where it might have been.

Now all six ovens were working. (p14)

The powers that be had allocated twenty minutes for the cremation of three corpses. (p16)

With three corpses going into each oven at intervals of twenty minutes, it was possible to cremate more than fifty-four in one hour. (p17)

This will come as a surprise to pathologists and morticians, who, even with modern crematoria, find that it takes three to four hours to burn just one body!

By page 24 the author is delegated to a special team which is taking the bodies by truck to a pit in the countryside where they are buried. Page 33 takes him back to the gas chamber, where he witnesses 600 naked Jews being gassed. On page 38 he again witnesses a gassing operation. The Jews are again tricked into taking their clothes off and trooping into the gassing room (no mention of numbers this time).

When the last one had crossed the threshold, two SS men slammed shut the heavy iron-studded door which was fitted with a rubber seal, and bolted it. (p38)

Again, none of this description is borne out by the present-day set-up at Auschwitz. MiRler also claims that the gas was tipped in through six holes in the ceiling, where two Germans with gas-masks had scrambled up onto the roof. Truck engines were started up to drown the sound of screams. Gassings were always carried out at night or at dawn.

Pages 44 and 45 are probably the most important in the entire book. In referring to the gas chamber of the crematorium, Müller advises that “we used to call it the mortuary.” And:

The crematorium ovens were also used for the dead of other camp areas. Each evening the corpses of those who had died in the camp hospital arrived on a trolley.

These two brief excerpts are probably the key to the whole conundrum. The “gas chamber” was still what it “used to be” — a mortuary. The crematoria were used to burn the remains of those who had died from disease at the hospital. Müller’s contradictory and bizarre descriptions are taken purely and simply from his imagination; or possibly from a ghost-writer’s imagination.

Undaunted, he continues in the same vein. According to the author, SS doctors often visited the crematorium to take bits of people away for experiments. They would feel the legs and thighs of the gasees while they were still alive, and then after they were dead they would cut bits off and drop the pieces into a bucket where the still warm flesh would jump around. (It sounds like Mr. Müller has been watching too many low-budget horror-movies; this part reads like an excerpt from Ship of Death.)

On the same page, Müller bumps into his father working on a new crematorium chimney. By the next page, Dad dies of typhus and Filip burns him in the crematorium: a true case of disappear-

ing up one's own chimney. Such is the scale of things in this nightmare world we have come to know as Holocaust.

However, Dad's workmanship could not have been too thorough, for on the next page we find that the firebricks have started to work loose again. Operations at this (Auschwitz I) "death workshop" ground to a halt, and while bigger and better facilities were being constructed at Auschwitz II (Birkenau), temporary facilities had to be rigged up. Two "whitewashed farmhouses with thatched roofs" were used, although the actual mechanics of the operation are not described. All we are told is that the bodies of the gasees were buried nearby. However, during the hot summer of 1942 the bodies started to swell up and ooze out of the ground. Naturally, Müller was one of those lucky ones to be allocated to the delightful job of digging up the bodies and burning them. Talk about favoritism!

By page 58, Müller gets transferred to Birkenau where their 15 ovens-working non-stop naturally-could cremate more than 3,000 corpses a day. Nearby was another crematorium with the same capacity, and 400 meters further on, the two smaller crematoria 4 and 5. Altogether, we are told, "it was now possible in the course of 24 hours to cremate up to 10,000 corpses."

The Birkenau gas chamber is described on page 60:

We werestanding in a large oblong room measuring about 250 square meters. Its unusually low ceiling and walls were whitewashed. Down the length of the room concrete pillars supported the ceiling. However, not all the pillars served this purpose: for there were others too. The Zyklon B gas crystals were inserted through hollow pillars made of sheet metal. They were perforated at regular intervals and inside them a spiral ran from top to bottom in order to ensure as even a distribution of the granular crystals as possible. Mounted on the ceiling was a large number of dummy showers made of metal. These were intended to delude the suspicious on entering the gas chamber into believing that they were in a shower room. A ventilating plant was installed in the wall; this was switched on immediately after each gassing to disperse the gas and thus expedite the removal of corpses.

Needless to say, none of these "perforated metal columns" are in evidence at Birkenau today. Nor is the "ventilating plant" in the wall.

The SS guards, of course, know no limits to their sadism and depravity. On page 80 they tie up a prisoner and push him into one of the, ovens, where he is burnt alive. How it is possible to **push** someone into a horizontal oven is not explained. On page 87 one of the female gasees attempts to distract the guards with a striptease show. During the mayhem, Müller gets locked in the gas chamber with the gasees, but miraculously is let out before the others are gassed. On page 141, the chief gasser Moll gets sexually turned on-as does his dog-with the killing of another beautiful young gasee.

The author is transferred once again, this time to work on the pits for burning excess corpses. By page 136, the burning is in full operation, with Müller's main job being to scoop up the run-off of human fat, and pour it over the pyre to keep the corpses well basted. It sounds like he is getting rather confused again; just a few pages previously he was telling us how the prisoners were all skin and bone.

The "ashes" (*sic*; no bones) were then dug out and carted away to be ground down into dust, and then buried in pits. Where these pits are located today — so that a forensic examination might take place — Müller doesn't say.

Events then move rapidly to a close, as Müller is evacuated from Auschwitz and marched to Austria, where he is liberated by the Americans.

Many of the descriptions, names and events in Müller's book have an uncanny familiar ring about them. Many seem to be direct plagiarism from earlier Holocaust testimony, overlain with a high-octane mixture of salacious sex, scatological grossness, sado-masochism, and *Twilight Zone* scenarios. No doubt one day David Wolper will want to make the book into a movie, *a la* Fania Fenelon, for such are the aggregate ingredients of cinematographical commercial success nowadays.

Spring 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 3), page 276.

Book review

Oradour: Village Of The Dead

- *Oradour: Village Of The Dead*, by Philip Beck, Leo Cooper Ltd., 196 Shaftsbury Avenue, London WC2; 88pp, hardback, t 5.25. ISBN: 0-85052-252-8.

Reviewed by Lewis Brandon

On reading this concise little book, one is struck by the tremendous contrast between descriptions of alleged German atrocities against Jews, and descriptions of alleged German atrocities against non-Jews. Most of the former are written by fellow Jews, often themselves “survivors” of the Holocaust, and their imagery usually draws on the same bizarre argot which is common to almost all Holocaust primers. Notions of sexual arousal and abuse; scatological functions and dysfunctions; theatrical Nazis in white gloves, silk shirts, and shiny boots; are all such recurrent themes in the “Holocaust” pageant that they have come to be an essential part of the script.

In Britain and America there are very few books written which deal with German treatment of non-Jews in the occupied territories. There are one or two which deal with the so-called “Malmédy Massacre” and with the killing of British escapees from German PoW camps, but by and large, the English-language literature on this area is rather meager.

This new book is only the second book in English to deal exclusively with the “Oradour Massacre” when 642 inhabitants of Oradour-sur-Glane were rounded up and murdered by a division of the Waffen-SS. The ruins of the village are today preserved as a monument to the atrocity, although without any of the commercialism of Auschwitz or Dachau. A new Oradour has been constructed a few miles away, even though the Germans offered to reconstruct the old (the offer was refused). The new village is a sterile and unimaginative place, with numbered streets.

The atrocity occurred on a sunny Saturday afternoon, 10 June 1944. In towns further away, there had been some Resistance activity, and consequent German reprisals. But in Oradour-sur-Glane everything was peaceful: one wouldn’t even know that a war was going on. At 2.15pm a convoy of a dozen Waffen-SS trucks pulled up in the village, and the soldiers jumped out and surrounded the entire village. A few citizens sensed that something was going to happen, and made off for the fields. But most thought that the Waffen-SS arrival was a military manoeuvre.

The entire population was assembled in the village square. At about three o’clock the women and children were separated from the men. The Germans accused the menfolk of storing arms and ammunition in the village. The men were then taken away in groups of between 30 and 70, and shoved into the six largest buildings in the village, including barns, garages, blacksmiths, etc. Of the 190 men thus incarcerated, only six got out alive. All the others were machine-gunned and then the buildings were set on fire. The women and children were locked up in the church. Two

German soldiers carried in a box of gas grenades and then ran out. The grenades exploded, and the smoke enveloped the entire church. During the ensuing mayhem, German soldiers burst in through the doors again and sprayed machine-gun fire into the crowds of people. When all appeared to be dead, they set fire to the church. The entire village was then burned, until very little remained except the charred ruins which stand there today. The massacre was carried out by a detachment of the third company of the 1st Battalion of the No. 4 Panzergrenadier Regiment ("Der Führer") of the Das Reich Division of the Waffen-SS. Most of the detachment which sacked Oradour were themselves Frenchmen, from Alsace and Lorraine. When Rommel was told of the Oradour massacre he said that the Division should be punished, and offered to preside over a court-martial. Why was Oradour sacked? The author provides a list of ten different possibilities, including the most well-known theory: that it was the wrong Oradour. The author feels that the massacre was a reprisal for the kidnapping and murder by the RÇsistance of the Major's friend Kampfe. If there was going to be a court-martial of the German officers, it was precluded by events. Many of the officers were killed in the closing stages of the war.

The men were eventually brought to trial at Bordeaux in 1953, 8/2 years after the massacre. Of the 21 accused, 14 were Alsatians (Frenchmen). Most were found guilty, with several death sentences. Meanwhile, the French government repealed the law on collective guilt, and declared an amnesty for war criminals. The Alsatians and the Germans were soon sent home as free men.

As Revisionists, we should welcome books like Philip Beck's detailed and objective appraisal. Our WWII Revisionism is not to rehabilitate National Socialism, but to rehabilitate truth. And the simple truth is that in wartime, atrocities are committed on all sides; the winning side and the losing side. There can be no doubt that the massacre at Oradour did take place, just like the Allied massacres at Dachau. The reason why so few people know about the Oradour massacre is not just because it is a political hot potato for the French (with Frenchmen being found guilty of massacring Frenchmen), but also because the atrocities against non-Jews have become almost totally obliterated by the shadow of the largely fictitious atrocities against the Jews. It is only by clearing away the fictitious atrocities that we can properly appreciate and appraise the real atrocities.

Fall 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 3), page 278.

Book review

Hitler vs. Roosevelt, The Undeclared Naval War

- *Hitler vs. Roosevelt, The Undeclared Naval War*, by Thomas A. Bailey and Paul B. Ryan, The Free Press (a division of Macmillan Publishing Co.), 303pp, Hardbound, \$12.95. ISBN: 02-901270-8.

Reviewed by J. Marcellus

Two apparently major reviews are found on the back jacket of this 1979 book; one by Edward L. Beach of *Run Silent, Run Deep* fame, the other by Frank Freidel, Professor of American History at Harvard. And as reviewed there, one would get the distinct impression he was soon to read all about how FDR “very nearly succeeded in keeping us out” (of the war) and how “the analysis of Roosevelt’s role is particularly instructive and should help destroy lingering stereotypes that he was engaging in subterfuge to get the nation into a full-scale war.”

Curiously conversely, however, in the preface, the authors make a note concerning themselves which reads in part,

The older author, an academic historian, viewed the scene at the time from the ivory tower detachment of Stanford University. He recalls reacting with anger to what appeared to be Roosevelt’s determined efforts to drag the nation into an all out shooting war.

Of course, this is the same Stanford University which houses the formidable Hoover Institute on War and Peace of which Professor Antony C. Sutton was an eminent member in good standing until the approaching third volume of his massive *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development*. Evidently, Sutton’s illuminating research findings about the making of an enemy were causing some discomfort in the Establishment echelons. And, not altogether surprising as we’ll see, we find the authors regularly drawing from newspaper journalist and amateur historian, William L. Shirer.

Your reviewer experienced a see-saw polemic throughout the work. On the one hand, FDR is a patriarchal conniver and manipulator, an oft-times shady dealer and big landlord, while, on the other hand, a freeworld saviour as

His major strategy, despite much deviousness in tactics, was to defend America by helping the British (and the Russians) survive Hitler’s over-whelming assault ...; (preface)

And just what of Hitler? Well, the authors struggle to hold it back, but they just have to let it out. So we find such academically moot appellations as “practitioner of the big lie” (p 47), “Hitler and his fellow gangsters” (p 73), “the Hitlerian menace,” the “notorious liar telling unpalatable

truths,” “madman,” and so forth appearing throughout. We expected to be treated to a fairly detailed analysis of FDR’s undeclared war-with the U-boats and cruisers and all in international waters, and of the secret deals with Churchill, lendlease, the non-intervention pact manipulations, etc.-and so we are. The whole mid-section of the book-in the reviewer’s opinion-does a fair and accurate job of narratively recounting the many playful and blunderous instances of Allied/Axis cat and mouse, spreading the evident responsibility with a discerning balance of historical Justice.

But wait, what we read here in the several opening and closing chapters is another historical escapade altogether, a telltale liberal sprinkling of that all-to-familiar “court historian” Pharisaism that manages to excuse, even applaud virtually every FDR move while condemning most anything that looks at all like noninterventionism. This is typically evidenced where the authors take a benighted look at the days just prior to the Japanese attack“The isolationist pack was in full cry ...” (p 236). Hopefully, early on, the reader will discover that Hitler Vs. Roosevelt is a seductive attempt at an outright apology for our great (day of infamy) thirtysecond chief executive.

Where the authors concede to the stranglingly impossible Versailles settlement and even allow Germany a little breathing room in its attempt to shake off the bonds of a captive nation status, Hitler gets billed once again as the principal warmonger who, if not stopped, will get the entire planet in his terrible grip. The Axis nations are alone responsible for the ravages of war. But FDR, like an endearing big brother who chats with his electorate by the fireside and inestimably values his “public opinion,” is very careful not to overtly break any of his promises to the people. And Charles A. Beard, an obviously important person who wholeheartedly disagrees with this estimation, is branded as one “of the more extreme postwar Revisionists” (p 235).

When we really get down to the woof and warp, we find the authors almost desperately clinging to the old superficially deduced agreement that even though FDR and his cronies admittedly needed that Japanese first strike, well they just had no idea that it would be the pearl of the Pacific. And further, that “The presentation of the final Japanese diplomatic response came only a few moments after (ital. ed.). Secretary Hull learned of the attack on Hawaii” — as if this were some sound justification for Kimmeler and Stout having been handcuffed beforehand, or their aircraft carriers unexplainedly dispersed, or the fateful dispatch being sent by the equivalent of commercial carrier pigeon. Or, as if that account were even remotely true.

The authors make no mention of the many documented Japanese peace overtures before Pearl Harbor. Nor will they present the evidence that would inform the reader of the ultimatums delivered by FDR to the Japanese (see “The Court Historians vs. Revisionism,” in The Barnes Trilogy, IHR, \$4.00), or treat in any amount of necessary detail the actual dramas occurring while FDR and his stateside commanders were biting their nails awaiting the attack. And conspicuously absent, of course, is the fact of their having known the approximate when and where some 15 hours beforehand. Your reviewer was sorely tempted here to cite the exhaustive Barnes, Martin, Theobald, Flynn and Dall-accounts which Messrs. Bailey and Ryan have conveniently failed to look at in depth or even acknowledge. Or the almost countless, detailed expositories that document a frightening insight into Roosevelt, the man and politician, as he saw to the systematic monetary and commercial rape of his nation, barely escaping from the impending collapse with the promise of global war and a world government to see to things afterwards. But you already know all that. But as far as Hitler vs. Roosevelt is concerned, it’s a mundane, convenient little history of mostly minor events. And while we might be just a little pleased at its sporadic acquiescence though antipathetic toward its intention to be an answer to Revisionism, we are at a total loss as to where to assign it its proper place except to that well-populated, yet vacuous expanse of middle-of-the-road literature appropriately referred to as the historical twilight zone.

Fall 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 3), page 282.

Book review

The Cruellest Night

- *The Cruellest Night*, by Christopher Dobson, John Miller & Ronald Payne; Little Brown, Boston, 224pp, hardback, available from IHR at \$11.00. ISBN: 0-316-18920-0.

Reviewed by Lewis Brandon

In the March 1980 issue of *Encounter*, a “neo-conservative” journal edited by “ex-Trotskyists” (see “Nuremberg and Other War Crimes Trials,” IHR No. 306, pp 10-11) an Australian academic lambastes John Bennett, the leading Revisionist in the Antipodes. Frank Knopfelmacher — in between slanderous slurs — mentions en passant that the “Holocaust” should not be questioned just as the sinking of the Titanic should not be questioned; for these constitute “indubitable historical fact.”

It is rather ironic that Mr. K. should pick on the Titanic as his pet Indubitable Historical Fact, for the above captioned book shows that that sinking was far from being the worst naval tragedy of all time, as many believers in Indubitable Historical Facts would maintain.

These three British journalists have stumbled across an atrocity which only those addicts of the Guinness Book of World Records have heard of: the torpedoing and sinking of the Wilhelm Gustloff German refugee ship by the Soviets, in the Baltic in 1945. At least 7,000 refugees lost their lives; nearly five times the number who died on the more glamorous Titanic.

The refugees were fleeing from the advancing hordes of the Red Army, which was already into East Prussia. In October 1944 the Soviets had taken the East Prussian town of Nemmersdorf, and had gone on a wild spree of rape, murder and plunder. Five days later, the Germans had managed to regroup their decimated forces, and retook the town after bitter street to street fighting.

Five days after the Russians occupied Nernmersdorf, General Friedrich Hossbach and his battered Fourth Army threw them out again. When his troops arrived in the village, hardly a single inhabitant remained alive.

Women had been nailed to barn doors and farm carts, tanks had crushed those who had tried to flee, children had been shot. (p 16)

It was with such horrific butchery fresh in their minds that almost the entire population of East Prussia fled to the nearest path of escape: the sea-port of Gdynia. They swarmed to the dockside to attempt to get on board the few ships which were available. Eventually, 8,000 people set sail on board the Gustloff, a pleasure cruise ship designed for 2,000. The next night, 31 January 1945, the ship was torpedoed by the Soviet submarine S13.

In the freezing water, only a handful of the survivors of the assault managed to stay alive. There were too few lifeboats, and swimmers had to be shot to stop them trying to climb aboard already overcrowded rafts. Rescue ships that came on the scene could not stop, for fear that they too would be torpedoed. A total of only 964 survivors were picked up out of the sea; but many of these later died of cold.

On 9 February 1945 the Soviets struck again, and sank the General Steuben. Of the 4,000 on board, only 300 survived. On 16 April 1945, the same fate befell the Goya. Of an estimated 7,000 people on board, only 183 were rescued.

In total, almost 18,000 Germans — mostly women, children, and wounded men — lost their lives in the space of just a few months. Who today even knows about this atrocity? This new book is professionally written by three Daily Telegraph (London) journalists. The journalistic style makes it easy to read, and its factual basis in records and survivor testimony make it a valuable historical aid. It is fortunate that the authors do not include the usual codicils about the “Holocaust” or limp excuses for the barbarous Soviet behavior. However there are one or two gratuitous references to Nazi brutality particularly in regard to the career of Gauleiter Erich Koch, whom the authors claim to have discovered still alive, albeit imprisoned, in Warsaw.

Fall 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 3), page 283.

Book reviews

Jews on Judaism

- *Memoirs of An Anti-Zionist Jew*, Rabbi Elmer Berger, Institute for Palestine Studies, 160pp, paperback, \$5.00 from IHR. ISBN: 0-911038-87-6
- *The Decadence Of Judaism In Our Time*, Moshe Menuhin, Institute for Palestine Studies, 590pp, hardback, \$13.00 from IHR. ISBN: 0-91 1038-88-4.

It is a sad commentary on the extent of control the media moguls have over us that very few people can even conceptualize the notion of an anti-Zionist Jew. Yet these two authors have been pumping away for these past 30 years, trying to enlighten not just their fellow Jews, but also the world at large, that Judaism does not equal Zionism. There have been very few like them. There was of course William Zukerman's Jewish Newsletter which did so much to expose corruption in Jewish and Zionist life, such as the kosher food tax racket, where ordinary consumers pay a levy on their groceries to keep unscrupulous rabbis and Zionists in pocket. Today we have the dedicated and persevering Alfred M. Lilienthal, with his magnum opus *The Zionist Connection* (\$21 from IHR), a book which every American must read. And there is also the religious opposition to Zionism among orthodox Chassidic Jews, based mostly in New York, who regard Israel as a blasphemy.

But these two authors have undoubtedly kept the torch burning, when many other anti-Zionist Jews preferred to keep mum, lest they suffer the economic and social consequences.

Berger has been anti-Zionist all his life, and prior to the establishment of the Israel entity, he regarded Zionism as an anomaly. During WWII he quickly realized how the Zionists in the United States were using the phenomenon of Nazism in Europe as a ploy to insist on the establishment of an Israel. And, when the Israel colony was finally established, he soon saw what a totalitarian regime it was, totally contrary to the philosophy of both Reform Judaism, and of American democracy. As a rabbi, he feared for the integrity of his religion, debased as it was by being artificially wedded to a brutal and authoritarian nationalist regime.

His book describes his adventures and campaigns from his first activities in 1942 through to the present day. His memoirs are an inspiring tale of tenacity and determination. He had to cope with "supporters" who turned traitor; with economic blackmail from Zionist moneybags; with political subversion from the government; and with clumsiness from Arab friends. His campaigns took him on tours of the Middle East also, and he met with dignitaries, and spoke at political meetings.

In the end, however, the inevitable happened. Instead of meeting Berger head-on in a public debate, the Zionists preferred to subvert his organization from within. They infiltrated their own people to the top, and pulled his chairmanship of the American Council for Judaism out from un-

der him. Berger tried to start up a new organization entitled American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, but the attempt fizzled out. Berger was still too much a gentleman to make any real headway. He was even naive enough to offer a forum to Zionists who were critical of Israel. It was really inevitable that he should fail.

A different animal altogether is the firebrand of Los Gatos, California, Moshe Menuhin, the 87 year old father of Yehudi Menuhin the Zionist and violinist. Menuhin senior was born in Russia and raised in Palestine, but emigrated to the United States in 1913. During the 1920s he gradually realized his own disenchantment with political Zionism, and its discrediting and degenerating effect on Judaism. As a religious Jew, he was conscientiously concerned about the fate of the Palestinians, whose country the Zionists intended to rob, and in so doing, blaspheming the name of Judaism.

This book was first published in 1965 by a New York “vanity” publisher, but it became so popular that the company refused to keep it in print. Whether this was for political reasons, or because they have a commercial vested interest in ensuring that all authors subsidize their own books, is debatable. This edition is a second impression, updated by the author, and published by the Institute for Palestine Studies, which has offices in Washington DC and Beirut, Lebanon.

The book is a melange of Zionist and Jewish history, starting with Biblical times. The first part deals with the historic relationship between Jews and Arabs, and their co-existence in the Middle East. He describes the chicanery of the British government in promising Palestine to the Arabs, in return for their insurrection against the Turks, and to the Jews, in return for economic cooperation. He provides pen-portraits of many of the characters-Zionists, Arabs, and westerners-who were involved in this danse macabre.

Part Two deals with the modern-day, and describes the intimate interface between the Israeli government, and the Jewish establishment in the United States. He gives some examples of the inherent corruption of the Israeli leaders, and their political gymnastics.

Part Three is a 1969 postscript to the book, and in it he describes reactions to the first edition, and comments on events which have happened on the Zionist scene in the meantime. He gives his version of the takeover of the American Council for Judaism, and the ousting of Elmer Berger.

Menuhin’s book is intensely personal, and full of much emotion and vitriolic condemnation of his fellow Jews. However, there is also much factual information in the book, although a lot of it is of a secondary nature. Still, there are so few anti-Zionist books in existence that even a compendium of secondary information is a valuable asset, so long as it is thoroughly indexed and referenced (which this is). Through his personal and literary enthusiasm, Menuhin has inspired many others to join the crusade, not least the distinguished (Gentile) economist Norman F. Dacey who has many kind words to say about Menuhin’s book in his as-yet unpublished-manuscript *The Golden Calf*.

Winter 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 4), page 292

A Note from the Editor

This issue, we are extremely pleased to welcome onto our Editorial Advisory Committee three very distinguished academics. Thomas Henry Irwin is a graduate of Western Kentucky University, and has taught at Ohio State University. He is now pursuing a law degree at University of Kentucky. Richard Verrall is a History graduate from University of London, and now edits the *New Nation* quarterly magazine (73 Great Eastern Street, London EC1) which has a special Revisionist feature each issue. Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich served his country at an anti-aircraft installation near Oswieçim (Auschwitz) in German-occupied Poland. After the war, he became a federal judge at Hamburg. However, due to his outspoken skepticism of the “Holocaust” notion — in particular regarding Auschwitz — he was retired early. He later had his pension reduced as a further inducement to remain silent. His recently published book *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (The Auschwitz Myth) has been confiscated by the West German authorities; stock, artwork and printing plates.

Our 1980 Revisionist Convention was held at Pomona College, Claremont, California, and was an even greater success than our first venture in 1979. 110 people attended, and heard speakers from all around the world debunk many Indisputable Historical Truths. A full report appeared in *The SPOTLIGHT* and the *National Educator*. The highlight of the Convention was the announcement of the results of the \$50,000 reward for proof of the Holocaust. There had not been a single claimant, so henceforth the reward would be divided into two. We will award \$25,000 to anyone who can prove the *The Diary of Anne Frank* is authentic, and \$25,000 to anyone who can prove — by forensic means preferably — that the Germans turned Jews into bars of soap. Claim forms are available from this office, though it is unfortunate that Otto Frank died before we could send him one. The papers which were presented at the 1980 Convention will be appearing in the next two issues of THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW. The 1981 Convention is provisionally scheduled for 20-23 November.

I am sorry to announce that the planned European Revisionist Tour for next summer has had to be indefinitely postponed, due to insufficient bookings. I would advise all those anxious to visit Poland to contact: Ditlieb Felderer, Marknadsvagen 289, S-183 34 Täby, Sweden. Mr. Felderer organizes minibus tours every summer where the itinerary is more flexible.

I note from my September issue of Response, the publication of the Los Angeles based Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies, that staff changes are under way. Efraim Zuroff, the Director, is to return to Israel where he will work for the U.S. Government's War Crimes Investigation office. However, it is unlikely that he will be investigating such Holocaust luminaries as Simon Wiesenthal, who was a collaborator with the Nazis, according to the Austrian (Jewish) Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. His place is to be taken in Los Angeles by Alex Grohman, who has been studying at the Yad Vashem Center and the Hebrew University in Israel. With such heavy traffic back and forth between Israel and southern California, one wonders how long it will be before the airlines start a shuttle service! Local readers will of course recall the run-in I had on

the air with Mr. Zuroff on a radio program earlier this year. Zuroff was also the most strident Zionist to call for the dismissal of Dr. Reinhard Buchner from the faculty of California State University, for the “crime” of disagreeing with the Zionist analysis of WW II history. In the latest issue of Response, Zuroff describes our JOURNAL as “slick-looking” and containing articles by “academicians.” (Could he be mixing up “academics” with the Soviet jargon?)

I note from a feature in the *Wall Street Journal* of 31 July 1980 that the LA center is financed entirely by the Belzberg brothers of Vancouver, Canada. Starting with a used furniture store in Calgary, the three brothers — Samuel, William and Hyman — now have holdings throughout North America valued at \$500 million (personal) and \$3 billion (corporate). The article reports: “The family fortune is one of the best kept secrets in Canada.”

Naturally, the Belzbergs like to keep control of their stockholdings, and the Wiesenthal Center is no exception. Samuel is Chairman of the Board of Trustees; William is also on the Board; and a Leslie (son?) is on the full-time staff of eleven — just to make sure that things are run in the family style (“shy but shrewd” according to the business paper). The three brothers and their wives are also “Wiesenthal Fellows,” along with other such upright pillars of society as Frank Sinatra. The Belzbergs also have enough cash left over from this philanthropy to finance the Dystonia Medical Foundation, also in Los Angeles. Dystonia is a rare neurological disease which afflicts only Jews. (Samuel Belzberg’s eldest daughter is a victim.)

Los Angeles is of course fortunate in having not one but two Holocaust Museums, within a mile or two of each other. One is in the aforementioned Wiesenthal Center, and the other is on the sixth floor of the Anti-Defamation League building. Could it perhaps be that there is some rivalry in the exterminationist camp, which prevents presenting a broad front?

The ADL — an illegal organization because it represents Israel and yet is not registered as a foreign agent à la Billy Carter — has been up to its usual tactics in policing American thought. They too wrote to California State University to demand action against our Dr. Buchner, but they were not so clumsy as Zuroff in demanding Buchner’s dismissal. They merely wanted him “censured.” The university refused to do any such thing.

However, The ADL were more successful with smaller fry. They were able to pressure the San Diego Opera Association into dropping its proposed visit to Oberammergau, despite the opera buffs’ original kiting of the Passion Play as “one of the most internationally celebrated events in the world.” After “representations” from the ADL, the President of the Association suddenly announced that he had not been “aware of the anti-Semitic content of the play,” and that the stopover would be cancelled. One wonders how a man can get to be President of an opera association without knowing the content of the various productions! I wonder if any Italian groups have been upset because the play depicts the Romans as being responsible for the Crucifixion also?

Another edict from the ADL to the federal government was immediately put into effect to stop U.S. army bases in West Germany from organizing visits to the play. One wonders how long it will be before the ADL insists that the New Testament is revised, on account of its content. The Passion Play is based on the Christian gospels.

The ADLers were also involved in demanding that the Organization of American Historians apologize for renting us their mailing-list, which they meekly did in their July Newsletter. At the Fall meeting of the OAH Executive, the secretary Prof. Richard S. Kirkendall reported that he was already feverishly at work with a rebuttal of THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW, Volume One, Number One, and he would present his critique to the Board and in the Newsletter.

Kirkendall's appraisal would be developed "by qualified historians, focus on the credentials of the contributors, and the use of evidence." One can only speculate as to the background of the "qualified historians" on Kirkendall's team. We can be sure of one thing at least: the historians will have been "qualified" by the ADL before pen is put to paper.

Readers may like to know that a critique of the first issue of THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW, has already appeared in The Jewish News of New Jersey, dated 4 September, 1980. The author is Rabbi Wallace Greene, who holds a Ph.D. in Jewish History from Yeshiva University, New York. The "rejoinder" goes on for six pages.

It is not thought likely that the ADL will be joining in on our postcard campaign for freedom of speech in West Germany. We were so impressed with the ADL/Wiesenthal Center postcard campaign to have the German Statute of Limitations extended that we decided to publish our own postcards. They are addressed to Chancellor Schmidt and politely but firmly request that West Germany stop seizing Revisionist books in that country, otherwise the Chancellor would be "called to the bar of world opinion to account for this" suppression of free speech. Samples are available free from this office; further supplies cost \$10 per 100 cards. The ADL is much too busy presenting its hilarious "Freedom of Press Award" to the porn king Hugh Hefner. (The award was followed by considerable complaints in the Jewish community. See *San Diego Jewish Press Heritage* 5 September 1980.) We can all be further assured of the ADL's commitment to democratic values by the recent appointment to the Los Angeles Police Commission of Max Greenberg, National Chairman of the ADL.

The broadcasting of the CBS dirge *Playing for Time* on 30 September proved to be the non-event of the year. A sloppy script, caricature characters, wooden acting, and a funeralspeed plot, combined to consign this 3-hour soporific monotony to the literary gas-ovens. When the dust settled, one cannot help wondering whether the producers did not deliberately pick Vanessa Redgrave as the leading lady in order to stir up controversy and draw attention to an otherwise tenth-rate product. About the only good that came out of this cinematographic semolina was that it showed the Zionists and Exterminationists in their true light. Demanding that Ms. Redgrave be fired for thought crimes, and publishing a list of advertisers in Peking — Gang-of-Four — style, can only draw the public's attention to the tyrannical nature of their rule over American life. As Alfred Lilienthal once said, there truly is a Zionist iron curtain over America.

This issue, we are especialy proud to publish the work of Howard F. Stein, an Associate Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Oklahoma. I first came across his work in *The Journal of Psychohistory* (\$18 p.a.; 2315 Broadway, New York, NY 10024), whose Fall 1978 issue was devoted to various articles on "Judaism as a Group Fantasy." Dr. Stein is himself of Jewish origin, and believes that 40 of his relatives died in Europe during World War Two. His focus is not so much on history as on meanings. He feels that it is wrong to label the Holocaust a "hoax" or "lie" because the people who are propagating it actually believe in it themselves. It is this phenomenon of self-deception which he addresses in his very fine article. As always, reader response to your editor is very much encouraged.

LEWIS BRANDON

Director: Institute for Historical Review

Editor: THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW

Letters to the Editor

11 September 1980

Dear Mr. Brandon,

As a reader of five to twenty-five books a year (almost none of which are to be found in public libraries), historical Revisionism is the brightest star on my horizon!

It is indeed sickening to see what comes out of our so-called “educational” system, and downright revolting to discover the reasons for such decay.

Of the six indignant letters to the editor printed in the Fall, 1980 *Journal*, four are typical of the reaction one can expect from brain-washed nincompoops. The other two aren’t any more enlightening, but I will comment as follows:

David Gold, you mention “expertise.” The Holocaust myth was not the product of expertise, but depended upon the ignorance and apathy of the people who fell for it. Any five-year-old can see through the asinine drivel known as “The Gerstein Statement.” And those fake photographs? Too crude to believe! Not to mention the “confessions.” Mr. Gold, you should know that the spirit of Henry Ford, Sr. lives on!

Mr. Lapidès, I hope you do let your poor, unfortunate students see The Journal of Historical Review! Perhaps that will provide the spark which will inspire them to search for the truth, which they will get precious little of at the University of Bridgeport or any other for that matter.

Mr. Brandon, you and the IHR are doing a wonderful job!

Sincerely,

Mason Armstrong
Clements, MD 20624

12 September 1980

Dear Mr. Brandon:

Several comments are in order regarding the Fall 1980 issue of THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW.

1. The sample letters published from various academics are tragic examples of the four decades of historical blackout and “smotherout” to which we have been subjected. Obviously Revisionists have a long way to go before this thick fog of ignorance is penetrated. Your reprinting of

Harry Elmer Barnes' "The Public Stake in Revisionism" is a welcome effort in setting forth the Revisionist approach as bona fide and historically valid and not as simply an exercise in pro-Nazi or anti-Semitic propaganda.

2. As you state in your review of *Oradour* by Philip Beck "Our WWII Revisionism is not to rehabilitate National Socialism, but to rehabilitate truth. And the simple truth is that in wartime, atrocities are committed on all sides; the winning side and the losing side."

3. The attempts to link Revisionism and anti-Semitism are deplorable. Obviously such historians and publicists as Harry Elmer Barnes, James J. Martin, Murray N. Rothbard, Frank Chodorov, Clyde R. Miller to list just a few representative names are not anti-Semitic or pro-Nazi.

4. The truth is tragic enough without any further embellishments. Jews perished in the typhus epidemics, families were separated, executions took place. There was a "holocaust." The question is, "What was the nature of the holocaust?" Not a day goes by without the announcement of a new publication, both fiction and non-fiction on the holocaust, in a sickening commercialization of a tragedy of history. Little effort is made to search for the real causes of war and how to prevent holocausts of the future, which lie in the radical alteration of the world economic system.

Sincerely,

Bezalel Chaim
The Revisionist Press
GPO Box 2009
Brooklyn, NY 11202

13 September 1980

Dear Sir:

As an erstwhile member of U.S. army intelligence of Majority ethnic descent, I applaud the efforts of the courageous authors who have contributed to *The Journal of Historical Review*. Most members of the Dispossessed Majority, as it has aptly been called, have all too long been content to let the propaganda myths of World War II go unchallenged; myths unscrupulously promulgated for purposes of political expediency with no regard for the real welfare of the Republic. The results of World War II continue to be very much with us in various forms and as burdens on the American taxpayers. The continued Communist domination of eastern Europe and the hostility of the Islamic nations toward us as a result of our unwavering support of the Zionist state in Palestine are examples of the terrible moral and economic burdens which Americans must bear as a result of what the myths helped to bring about. Late though the hour might be, it is still appropriate to reexamine the myths that caused and continue to cause us so much grief.

Sincerley yours,

Charles E. Weber, Ph.D.
Faculty of Letters
The University of Tulsa
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104

30 September 1980

Dear Mr. Brandon:

Thank you for a most interesting publication, THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW. The machinations of the international money manipulators and the role they play in history certainly needs to be exposed. My only disagreement with you is that you seem to feel these manipulators are solely Jewish, whereas I believe they belong to various groups.

Please spend more time exposing the fact that all governments are plutocracies and less time with prisoner-of-war camps. This may be of interest to a specialized group, but historical revision is too broad a subject to be narrowed in this fashion. If all money manipulators are not Jewish, then removing sympathy from the Jews by debunking the WWII genocide myth will not effectively oppose money manipulation. Please have more articles on economics, showing how these manipulations work.

Again, thank you for a very interesting publication.

Joe Baumhaft,
Oklahoma State University

17 July 1980

Dear Mr. Brandon,

Thank you for yours of 7 July, which I found fascinating, not least because of your references to heretic-burning at Salzburg, Lewes, and in Spain, and the mobs who persecuted Copernicus, Darwin, Galileo, da Vinci, and poor old Columbus.

I should have thought that you, above all others, would have realized by now that these myths are the result of a massive historical confidence trick designed to discredit true defenders of high civilization. The fires of the Inquisition were, in fact, folk festivals mainly given over the marshmallow-roasting. Some heretics, it is true, were injured during these revels, but only because they shared with moths a fatal fascination for light. As for Copernicus, Galileo, and da Vinci, they were all implicated in a massive chainletter swindle, considering which they got off fairly lightly. Columbus was actually a double agent for the Aztecs, and was the real origin of the raffish phrase 'Montezuma's revenge.' And Darwin was really a simian in disguise; his theory on the origins of species was thus merely an extended exercise in social climbing. Polite Englishmen of his day saw through this, but typically they did not mob him; rather he was excluded from the best clubs.

I have done much research on these and other evidences of the ages-old liberal-rationalist plot to discredit such exemplars of true humanity as Torquemada and judge Jeffreys, but I can't find anyone in the anti-intellectual liberal establishment to publish them. Perhaps you could point me in the way of finding some funds to subsidize publication of these essential findings?

Actually, I'm a product of the American educational system, so you had better add it to your list of fallen angels.

Yours sincerely,

Robert M. Bliss
University of Lancaster

England

October 1980

Dear Lewis:

A magazine which may be of interest to those who read German is *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Germany in Past and Present). Now in its 27th year, the attractive journal is published quarterly by the Grabert Verlag of Tübingen, the publisher of important works such as *Der Erzwungene Krieg* by David Hoggan, *Der Auschwitz Mythos* by Wilhelm Stglich, as well as the German editions of Yockey's *Imperium* and Rassinier's *The Drama of the European Jews*. The recent issues I have were sent to me by Dr. Stglich, a regular contributor who was forced into early retirement for writing several articles questioning the "holocaust" legend.

Wilfried von Oven, once personal press consultant to Dr. Goebbels and author of the gripping memoir *Finale Furioso*, serves as editor in chief of the (self-described) "journal for politics and cultural — and intellectual — history."

Each issue runs 32 to 40 pages and contains seven or eight major articles as well as several book reviews and a page of short news items. The format is similar to that of *Instauration*. Subscriptions from the United States cost DM 21 (about \$12.50) per year and may be ordered from: Grabert Verlag, Postfach 1629, D-7400 Tübingen 1, West Germany.

Among other well-written articles, the latest issue contains a critical piece by Wilhelm Stglich about the widely publicized Auschwitz aerial photos, and a review of a "Cholly Bilderberger" essay from *Instauration*.

The issue also contains an article by American historian David L. Hoggan on the background to Hitler's attack against Soviet Russia in 1941.

Hoggan's brilliant Harvard doctoral dissertation was considerably expanded to become *Der Erzwungene Krieg* (The Forced War). The book, now in its tenth edition, has earned a place as the standard work on the origins of the Second World War.

The Grabert Verlag has just announced the publication of a two-volume work by Dr. Hoggan entitled *Das Blinde Jahrhundert* (The Blind Century), the Californian's fourth major work. Volume one, released last October, is *Amerika — Das messianische Unheil* (America — The Messianic Calamity). The second part, *Europa — Die verlorene Weltmitte* (Europe — The Lost World Center) is expected to appear late next year.

Harry Elmer Barnes called the appearance of Hoggan's *Erzwungene Krieg* in 1961 "an epoch-making event in post-war historiography" which "destroyed for all time the fiction of Germany's exclusive responsibility for the outbreak of war in 1939. "

The appearance of important books by Hoggan, Arthur Butz, David Irving, A.J.P. Taylor, and others, has begun an inexorable process in revising the emotional and hate-filled "historiography" of the victors of 1945. Tremendous progress has been made recently in replacing the politically self-serving and highly tendentious writing of authors like William Shirer with something approximating the ever-elusive truth.

David Hoggan concludes his article for the last issue of *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* with an admonition that could have come from the pen of the great Leopold von Ranke himself:

“Prejudice and emotion have no place in the search for historical truth. That effort demands hard work involving concrete facts and source materials. The result of such research work must be able to absolutely speak for itself, free from political considerations of any kind.”

Mark Weber
Washington, DC

8 September 1980

Dear Mr. Brandon,

If your letter was a sample of the kind of thinking that goes into your work at the Institute for Historical Review, then I think that to call your journal a “rag” was elevating it too highly. Your letter of 25 August 1980 (*The Christian News*, 8 September 1980, page 13), is distorted and filled with errors.

I have nothing to lose in investigating history to find out the truth, and have no objection to your doing the same. What I object to is that you do not do this. You instead destroy history by publishing opinions that are clearly false and misunderstanding the past, and by becoming an apologist for the errors of Nazism.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States, 1933-1945, was not trying to get America into World War Two. He saw the rise of Nazism and the dangers it presaged, and understood that at some time this would lead the United States into war against Germany. But this might be prevented, if Hitler could be stopped, and Roosevelt did what he could to do just that. It is a complete misunderstanding of history to claim that Roosevelt’s desire to get us into war led to Japan’s attack on us at Pearl Harbor. Of course the Japanese insisted that we caused the war by forcing them to fight us. Of course, if we had given in to their urging, and let them go on as they wanted, they might not have gone to war against us at that time. Does our resistance make us the responsible party?

If the American people were dead against war, why did Congress support Roosevelt’s actions, support the draft (pre-war), and finally vote war by an immense majority? Why did those men get reelected?

What were Roosevelt’s “covert ... machinations”? I thought that his acts in the late 1930’s and early 1940’s were quite open. What did he do in secret? In what was he lying? You accused him of “mendacious machinations” but this is false rhetoric. Most of his activities were open and truthful, even if you happen to disagree with them, or with their results.

You seem to think the Neutrality Act forbade the President from keeping oil and metal from being shipped to Japan. Would you please cite the section of the law that forbade this?

Further, why should the President of the United States be required to allow sales of oil and metal to a country that is going to use these things against us?

What sort of political power to act for the good of the country would you allow to a President? What are the limits of action in foreign policy for any nation? Can you show that these activities by the United States were in fact aimed only at starting a war, and not at lesser goals? What purposes are proper for any foreign policy?

Would you allow the threat of war, by any power, to stop your country from the exercise of any economic policies short of war?

I think your point of view, and your idea of foreign policy, are stupid and self-contradictory. They are, I feel, caused only by your desire to make points against Roosevelt, and not upon the historical facts involved, nor upon any reasoned view of foreign policy and the constitutional limits of the American presidency.

HOW MANY DIED IN THE HOLOCAUST?

No one that I know has argued that all of the six million Jews who died in the Holocaust, nor the millions of others killed by the deliberate action of Germans and other Nazis, under the leadership of Hitler in World War II, were all killed in concentration camps. Many thousands were killed in Russia by extermination groups. Others were slaughtered in the midst of the Warsaw insurrection.

Your figure of 350,000 (inexplicably reduced to 35,000 by the typists of the *Christian News*), is most probably the list of those persons who died in these camps, and were identified. It excludes the "death camps," where millions died, and probably excludes those not personally identified. Do you claim that the Red Cross verified that only 350,000 persons in all in the whole of World War II [died] in the concentration camps of all kinds?

Even during World War II it was known that millions of Jews were being killed by the Germans. In December 1942 Rabbi Stephen Wise wrote to President Roosevelt to tell him of the mass massacres. Other sources of information verified this, but the news was so appalling that few could believe them, and they demanded more proof.

In August 1943 the *New York Times* reported on the organized murder by the Germans of 1.7 million persons, and the starvation deaths of 750,000 others. Others among Hitler's associates helped to reveal the truth, as in the work of SS Officer Gerstein and of those who brought the news to the Vatican.

But in the midst of war we could not bribe Hitler or negotiate with him, and it meant that we had few ways to deal with the terror Hitler had launched upon innocent civilians. Thus we could only look on in horror as the death camps murdered thousands of victims every month.

I have no objection to any attempt to verify the exact number of Jews and others who were killed by Hitler and the Germans in World War II. I know that we must estimate the numbers because some of the records of the German killers were lost but skillful reconstruction can help us to arrive at a good figure.

We are now dealing with deliberate killing. This excludes deaths by disease or starvation, or those who died fighting in or against the Germans under arms. Prisoners in concentration camps sometimes died because they were maltreated or given too little food, and their hearts gave out. We are even willing not to count them.

We include Jews burned to death in synagogues or asphyxiated in the panel vans or machine gunned to death beside trenches. We include those who were gassed in the death camps, or deprived of oxygen for the purpose of killing them. We include those human beings, babies to grandmothers, who were stripped nude and killed, and whose corpses were then examined to make sure their gold fillings were extracted.

We know of the many gold fillings and gold eyeglasses that poured into private Gestapo and SS accounts in Berlin, until they overflowed the warehouse room available for them. We know of the evidence given by some of the death merchants themselves, and of other witnesses.

We know some of the mechanics of the death camps, and how they were built. We have the estimates of the builders as to how much gas to use, and how to use it. We know some of the statistics here, and from them we can extrapolate as to the probable number killed.

I think six million is a credible figure. I would expect our best estimate to be between four and eight million Jews (by Hitler's idea of Judaism) killed, plus others dying in other circumstances.

I would be appalled at the idea Hitler killed one person simply for the "crime" of being born a Jew. Would you agree to condemn Hitler if we could show that his policies led to this one death, a deliberate execution of a person for being of a certain ethnic group, and that he approved of it? If not, why not?

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

The Anti-Defamation League is not illegal. Since you claimed it was, please tell me under what laws this group is cited as being illegal. If you can't, you should say so. At least, don't try to be silent about it. Tell me what laws it has broken and what political authority has outlawed it.

The ADL did not "terrorize" the Organization of American Historians. No reputable group of scholars would want to be associated with a group like yours, and to point out that you had secretly latched onto their mailing list appalled them. All the ADL had to do was point it out, and the Organization of American Historians dropped you like a ton of hot bricks.

The ADL is not the representatives [*sic*] of a foreign dictatorship. I will not argue about the state of the government of Israel ' but only note that the links between the ADL and Israel in no sense make it a representative of Israel. If so, it would be registered. Is it? Why not look for facts, and not make wild and unsupported accusations?

The ADL did not tell American academics what they can or cannot read. Most of them, as experts agreed, would have picked up your rag with a pair of tongs and dropped it into their wastebaskets. The ADL would not try to do this. The academics would not stand for it. It did not happen.

This was not academic terrorism, or terrorism of any kind. When your secret and covert machinations were exposed, decent people turned on you and rejected you. Of course they apologized to the ADL, for the error they had been engaged on, and promised not to do it again. Who wouldn't?

The freedom of dissent was not involved, and it was not impaired. If you, in your rage, want to dissent, go ahead. If you won't recognize the truth, we will be sorry for you. But your power to dissent, and to argue with the ADL, was not reduced one whit by this action.

There is not a single statement about the ADL in your whole letter that is not false, fallacious, and spurious. You are not only not objective, you are wide of the truth. If this is your standard, your efforts will only help to destroy truth. The best thing you could do would be to get out of the business you are in, and go back to school to learn simple logic, history, and an appreciation for the truth.

LUTHER ON THE JEWS

Luther did write a diatribe about the Jews called *The Jews and Their Lies*. It has not been suppressed. It is of little theological interest, and there is little sociological interest in Luther for items that are clearly the result of his evangelical drive, and the resistance of the Jews to becoming Christians. He was disturbed because they would not acknowledge that Jesus was the Christ, and used the same violent language he used against the Roman Catholics and the Baptists against them.

If you want to read this little treatise, you can find scholarly editions of it. But please do not use Luther, or St. Paul for that matter, as authority for a position on the Jews, unless you read also some of the other matter they wrote on theology. While neither Paul nor Luther was an apologist for the Jews, or for the ADL, they would be appalled by your own views. They verge, it seems to me, on anti-semitism, and this, for a Christian, would be a terrible criticism.

HISTORICAL STUDY SHOULD LEAD TO TRUTH

In this letter there is little that is true. Your opinions are biased and false. Your knowledge of definite situations in the past is limited. Your view of foreign political administration is lamentably meager. You are not equipped for what you are doing.

Couldn't you find another trade?

You don't seem equipped for history. If you are the director, what sort of material do you put out? If you edit the magazine, how can anyone expect to find anything of value in it?

Yours in Christ Jesus our Lord

Pastor John Holte Hagen
Box 97
Nerstrand, Mn 55053

The Journal of Historical Review

[Volume 1 Index](#) [Main Index](#)

The Holocaust and The Myth of the Past as History

by [Howard F. Stein](#)

[Please see the revised version of this article at [The Holocaust and The Myth of the Past as History](#)]

The Faurisson Affair

Dr. Arthur R. Butz

- VÉRITÉ HISTORIQUE OU VÉRITÉ POLITIQUE? by Serge Thion. 347pp, La Vieille Taupe, Paris, 1980. Distributed by Labyrinthe, 22 rue Rambuteau, 75003 Paris.

In October 1978 *l'Express*, a French weekly comparable to Newsweek, published an interview with Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, who had been commissioner for Jewish affairs in the Vichy Government during the German occupation, and who has lived in Spain since the war. Darquier's generally unrepentant attitude, plus his claim that the only creatures gassed at Auschwitz had been lice, set off an uproar with two foci, first, the allegedly outrageous, irresponsible and perhaps even illegal character of the act of publishing such an interview and, second, the regrettable fact that Darquier's Spanish exile made it impossible to "get" him.

Under such circumstances it was inevitable that the fury of the professionally enlightened would turn on Dr. Robert Faurisson for it was known, although almost forgotten, that he held similar views on the "gas chambers" and he was, moreover, situated on French soil and possibly "gettable." Thus against a background of shrieking publicists, a mob of thugs, mostly Jews posing as students, descended on the University of Lyon-2, where Faurisson is Associate Professor of French Literature (with a specialty in criticism of texts and documents), and on account of its disorders the University suspended Faurisson from his teaching duties.

The campaign against Faurisson was not however without its positive aspects for as a result of all the public attention paid to his allegedly wicked views, *Le Monde*, the French equivalent of the *NY Times*, felt itself obliged — much against its wishes — to give Faurisson a bit of space in which to express his views. Although it gave the other side much more space, an important barrier had been broken and it appears to this reviewer that the France-based defenders of the received "extermination" legend have not bothered to try to conceal their panic. This is shown not only by the explicit expressions of panic in, e.g., the periodical *Le Monde Juif*, but also in the fact that they, acting through their "LICA" (League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism), brought suit against Faurisson for "damages" on account of "falsification of history," a litigation that is still active at this writing.

Faurisson's relations with his University have also not yet been satisfactorily resolved. Although he still formally holds his position there, since Fall 1979 he has in fact been assigned to a correspondence school in Paris for duties clearly beneath his qualifications.

Serge Thion's book consists principally of a thorough exposition of this affair, but we are also treated to some discussion of earlier public controversies that surrounded Faurisson, of which the earliest did not concern Jews or World War II at all. It was in 1961 that he published his booklet *A-t-on lu Rimbaud?* (*Has anybody **read** Rimbaud?*) The booklet demonstrated erotic interpretations, where none had been seen before, of the French poet's "Voyelles." The ensuing controversy was carried out in the major French literary periodicals. A measure of the reception given

to Faurisson's thesis can be gained from the fact that as a consequence the major French publisher Hachette deleted "Voyelles" from its school textbook line. The booklet was reissued in 1962 and 1971, with the addition of a summary of reactions to the original booklet. In 1972 Faurisson published a long book presenting novel interpretations of Lautréamont, entitled *At-on lu Lautréamont?* Nothing in all of this prefigured his later public involvement with the "Holocaust," but in retrospect a certain common ground is clear, for the Holocaust literature merely has to be read, rather than gazed at in a semi-stupor, in order to be exposed for what it is. Faurisson could have, but unfortunately has not, entitled part of the book under review as *A-t-on lu "le journal d'Anne Frank"*?

Although Faurisson had maintained an interest in the "Holocaust" subject ever since reading Rassinier around 1960, his public role as a Revisionist commenced only in 1974. In April he sent letters to several dozen known "historians and specialists," in each case asking "do the Hitlerian gas chambers seem to you to have been a myth or a reality?" and briefly giving reasons for legitimate doubts regarding their reality. It was not known to Faurisson at the time that one of the addressees, Dr. Kubovy, Director of the Jewish Documentation Center in Tel-Aviv, was deceased. However the letter to Kubovy reached an Israeli newspaper, which commented on it, was then picked up by a Jewish weekly in France, and agitated some faculty members at the Censier branch of the Sorbonne (where Faurisson was then teaching) to the extent that they took it up with the University President, who then took the matter to the University Senate, which declared as a consequence that

The President has been confronted, by colleagues, with the appearance in the weekly *Tribune juive* of an article signed by Mr. Faurisson, which contains inadmissible doubts concerning the existence of the Nazi concentration camps. Now this article was written on the letterhead of our University (Censier branch). As a consequence the President requests that the Senate invite him to address, in its name, a total disavowal of the allegations of our colleague to the newspaper in question. The Senate approves this undertaking unanimously.

This reaction of a supposedly responsible University Senate was a harbinger of the controversies to come. A letter by Faurisson, not intended for publication, and reported second hand, became "an article signed by Mr. Faurisson." Mere questions concerning the existence of the gas chambers became a denial ("doubts," then "allegations") of the existence of the camps. People who had never investigated the subject declared Faurisson's doubts "inadmissible." Faurisson was not invited to present any defense in the course of the Senate's deliberations. The stupidity (to employ the most charitable description) involved was even exceeded two years later by the President of the University of Lyon-2 who, to Faurisson's request for an explanation why promotion was being denied to him, replied that Faurisson, "by his own admission," had never published anything in his life! Since Faurisson's writings on Rimbaud had rocked the French literary establishment, any person with a healthy desire to savor the intellectually outlandish would be most eager to learn the nature of the evidence that led the President to such a bizarre declaration. It was this. Reacting to claims that he was a "Nazi," Faurisson had on 12 December 1975 addressed a letter to the President pointing out inter alia that he had never published anything that could support such a classification. By lifting this remark out of context, the "evidence" of Faurisson's barren intellectual output was produced!

The second furor over Faurisson as Revisionist came in the Fall of 1978 in the circumstances already mentioned. It attained a critical point with the appearance in *Le Monde* (29 December 1978) of a short article by him. The significance of this development may be appreciated if it is noted that, although *Le Monde* had on 17-18 July 1977 published a long attack on the Harwood

booklet, and although all canons of journalistic ethics decreed that *Le Monde* must therefore open its columns to controversy on the subject, Faurisson's repeated efforts to get into print there were frustrated. I also wrote a letter to *Le Monde* when I was in Paris in late July 1977; it was not published.

To appreciate some developments of early 1979 it is necessary to go back in time somewhat to a seemingly irrelevant episode. In May 1968 Paris was the scene of uproarious "student" demonstrations that achieved worldwide publicity. The specific issues involved are of no interest here. Suffice it to say that the demonstrators' cause, in the context of the time, was of a "leftist" nature and that the issues were substantial enough to arouse much controversy and division into various camps. As intellectuals, especially the leftist type, are often wont to hang around bookshops where people of compatible inclinations are apt to be found, there existed a group associated with the bookshop La Vieille Taupe (The Old Mole); it is referred to here as the "Guillaume group," after Pierre Guillaume, the proprietor of the bookshop. The group first became prominent for its support of the demonstrators, and includes Serge Thion, author of the volume under review, and Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, brother of "Danny-the-Red," the leader of the demonstrations.

The Guillaume group maintained both its cohesion and its prominence in the years after 1968. The members published frequent articles in the daily newspaper *Libération*, and La Vieille Taupe has evolved into a publishing house.

Unknown to Faurisson, Pierre Guillaume had also, on account of reading Rassinier, maintained an interest in the "Holocaust" legend. Hence when the controversy arose in late 1978, with-Faurisson an obvious victim of hysteria, the Guillaume group had good reasons to support him. However the ground was quite strange for the members of the group, and more often associated with the Right than with the Left. On the other hand they knew Faurisson by reputation as a man of benevolent character and keen intellect, whose views could not be trifled with.

The key development in shattering any remaining reticence of the Guillaume group seems to have been a two page piece of foolishness that appeared in *Le Monde* on 21 February 1979, an article affirming the extermination legend, signed by 34 historians.

Now, there are certainly circumstances where it is appropriate that a great number of people sign some public statement. An example is the short statement (reproduced in Thion's book), in support of Faurisson's right to research the legend and condemning the campaign against him, that was signed by a great diversity of people, including the anti-Zionist author Alfred Lilienthal, the MIT linguist Noam Chomsky, the Melbourne civil liberties lawyer John Bennett, and myself. In such an instance significance is to be found not primarily in the text involved, but in the number and stature of the people who subscribe to it. However a lengthy purported historical argumentation, whose text is represented as conveying enlightenment on some subject, is something else; it should not require the signatures of any but those who wrote it. One wonders why 34 signers were provided for the *Le Monde* article. I can offer only one hypothesis for the logic involved, best expressed by simile: if it is found that one broadsword is not adequate to eliminate the annoying fly that has gotten into the room, then perhaps 34 broadswords will do the job.

If the 34 signers had caused the discerning reader to anticipate stupidity in the text, the expectation was confirmed. With all the enlightening effect of Pope Pius IX announcing the Syllabus of Errors, the 34 historians announced that

It is not necessary to wonder how, technically, such mass murder was possible. It was technically possible because it took place. That is the compulsory poirrit of departure

for all historical inquiry on this subject. It is fitting for us to simply repeat this truth; there is not and cannot be any debate on the existence of the gas chambers.

Such blazing stupidity (denounced as “absurd logic” by Cohn-Bendit) was probably, for the Guillaume group, a final conviction of the import of Faurisson’s position. Guillaume appeared with Faurisson on Italian language Swiss TV, and La Vieille Taupe issued new editions of Rassinier’s *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* and *Ulysse Trahi par les Siens*; both had last been issued in 1961 by a different publisher.

There followed the volume under review, of which half consists of Thion’s summary of the controversies that have surrounded Faurisson, with an emphasis on the major one that started in late 1978. The second half consists of contributions by Faurisson, of which the most interesting is his study of the *Diary of Anne Frank*.

A few words outlining the received Anne Frank legend are in order. She was born to a family of German Jews on 12 June 1929. In 1933 the family moved to the Netherlands and Otto Frank, Anne’s father, took a business position in Amsterdam. The Germans occupied the Netherlands in 1940. Early in 1941 Otto Frank allegedly started to move the family belongings, piece by piece, to a location not disclosed to the rest of the family, although they were informed that the process was for the purpose of enabling them to “disappear” at the right time. The disappearance supposedly took place on 9 July 1942.

The hiding place is said to have been the Amsterdam building (263 Prinsengracht) in which Otto Frank’s business was quartered. On the first or ground floor there was a combination store-warehouse. On what we would call the second floor there were offices, used by business associates of Frank who were privy to his project. The hiding place consisted of the rear portions of the third and fourth floors; access to the hiding place was through a door, disguised as a cupboard, on the third floor. Here the Franks allegedly lived for over two years, with supplies being brought by trusted friends. Anne had supposedly started keeping a diary about a month before the move to the hiding place, and continued to keep it after the move. On 4 August 1944, the hiding place having been discovered, the Franks were deported to concentration camps. The diary is said to have been overlooked by the police who searched the quarters and picked up later by friends. Anne is said to have died in the typhus epidemic that raged at Belsen shortly before the end of the war.

Otto Frank survived and returned to Amsterdam via Odessa and Marseilles. The *Diary* was allegedly returned to him by the friends, and was published in Dutch in 1947. Translations soon followed; an English translation was published in 1952.

It is important to understand what is, and what is not, contested in the Anne Frank legend. That Jews were being deported from the Netherlands, and consequently had a motivation for eluding the Germans, is not contested. Faurisson states his impressions:

... this Anne Frank really existed; she was a small young girl without great character, without strong personality, without scholarly precocity (even the contrary), and nobody suspected her of writing talent; this unfortunate child knew the horrors of war; she was arrested by the Germans ... ; her mother died in the Birkenau infirmary on 6 January 1945; her sister and she were, around October 1944, transferred to the Bergen-Belsen camp; Margot died of typhus; then Anne, in turn, alone in the world, also died of typhus, in March 1945.

...the Franks and, perhaps, other Jews effectively lived in the rear of 263 Prinsengracht. But they lived there quite differently than the Diary relates. For example, without doubt they lived a discreet life, but not as in a prison. They were able to live there like many other Jews who sought cover either in the city or in the country. They sought to achieve “cover without being covert.” Their venture was woefully commonplace.

... truth obliges me to declare that the Diary of Anne Frank is but a simple literary hoax.

What are contested, therefore, are both the authenticity of the *Diary* and the authenticity of the life alleged for the two years in question. The “extermination” and “gas chamber” legends are not involved in any direct sense; such involvement is at best indirect in that the continued credence in the *Diary* depends on the same political and social factors which support the extermination legend.

It is useful to remark here that the widely circulated claim, that Meyer Levin authored the *Diary*, is false and based on misinterpretation of the fact that Levin was involved in propagating the Anne Frank legend in the English language, particularly in adaptation for the stage, and sued Otto Frank in this connection. However Levin never claimed to have anything to do with the original Dutch publication and it is virtually certain that he did not.

Readers interested in the *Diary* are probably already aware of Ditlieb Felderer’s *Anne Frank’s Diary: a Hoax* (IHR, 1980), and perhaps have already learned that the West German Bundeskriminalamt, having been permitted by Otto Frank a brief examination, under significant handicaps, of the supposed original manuscript, in 1980 in the town hall of a Swiss village, reported back to the relevant West German court inter alia that certain supposedly original notations were made with a ball point pen that was not on the market until 1951.

The 1951 date does not rule out publication in Dutch in 1947 for, as Faurisson notes, the texts of the various translations do not agree with each other and with the original anyway. Faurisson’s study is roughly divisible into five phases: the internal criticism of the *Diary*, inspection of the Amsterdam building involved, interview with Otto Frank, examination of related literature, and interviews with related people. Of these five the first will probably interest the typically situated reader most, because the points involved can be easily confirmed. The emphasis in Faurisson’s internal criticism is on the clear impossibility of maintaining the secrecy of the hiding place under the conditions described. According to the *Diary* many people not privy to the secret, and who cannot be trusted, enter the building continually. These include the charwoman, the men working in the storewarehouse on the ground floor, and visitors to the offices directly below the living quarters. The people in adjoining and neighboring buildings are likewise not to be trusted. Consequently the clandestines must take codeine tablets to avoid coughing, “have to whisper on ordinary days,” and must avoid using the toilet when visitors are downstairs. That such a game could be played successfully for two years is incredible and at certain points the *Diary* gives details that make the whole thing preposterous, since we also learn e.g. that the vacuum cleaner was used in the middle of the day without objections from the other clandestines, and that “the radio ... goes on early in the morning and is listened to at all hours of the day, until nine, ten, and often eleven o’clock in the evening.” we are also told that ownership of the building changed in February 1943, but that the new owner was **permanently** diverted from inspection of the living quarters, by one of Otto Frank’s business associates, on the plea that the latter had forgotten the key!

Like an historical Sherlock Holmes asking the unexpected simple questions, Faurisson immerses himself and the reader in all this and lays bare the squalid hoax ("supercherie"). The Franks are presented as installing makeshift curtains shortly after arrival, so that the neighbors do not "see something going on." Faurisson asks, "Now, is not the installation of curtains, in windows which did not have any until then, the best way of signalling one's arrival? Is this not particularly the case if these curtains are made up of **different** pieces?" More basically, "If one has an entire year to choose a hiding place., does one choose his **office**? Does one take his family there? And a **colleague**? And this colleague's family? Does one choose thus a place full of 'enemies' where the police and the Germans would come automatically to look for you if they find you no longer at home?"

The Institute for Historical Review is to be thanked for its soon to be released English translation of Faurisson's "Anne Frank" analysis. I should like to make a couple of recommendations to those who intend to read it. The analysis is presented on the assumption that the reader has read the *Diary*; a good part would be incomprehensible to those who have not.

The *Diary* should be read beforehand and in the course of the reading that which I consider the most obvious point of incredibility should be noted. Whoever wrote it had, and also intended it for the postwar reader with, a basically political and historical interest in what happened to the Jews. The Diary is not a diary, and it is not the work of a fourteen year old girl. Only the fact that strong evidence of this appears on virtually every page makes it difficult to select specific illustrations. In the entry for 9 July 1942, we read a very detailed description of the four story building involved. The description is supplemented by, and makes frequent reference to, a rather professionally drawn floor plan that is identical in various translations; I would consider the inclusion of the floor plan in a diary incredible even if it were the sort of thing a young girl might have drawn. More conclusively, the entries for the days **prior** to the family's supposed move to a hiding place, at a time when a thirteen year old girl could not possibly have had any inkling of experiences worth recording for posterity, are clearly written for the postwar book reader, e.g. the entry for 20 June 1942 presents a short history of the Frank family and a short summary of the anti-Jewish measures that followed the German occupation of the Netherlands.

There are a number of other Faurisson contributions to this volume. There is the corrected and annotated French translation of the Faurisson interview that appeared in the August 1979 issue of the important Italian monthly *Storia Illustrata*; this will soon be issued in English translation by the IHR. There are some highly interesting photos, relating to "gas chambers," that Faurisson acquired in visits to Auschwitz, as well as a short treatment of the gas chamber of the penitentiary in Baltimore, which makes clear that the gassing of only one person, not to mention the legend's hordes of thousands at a time, is a technically intricate process that cannot be effectively and insouciantly handled with improvisations involving commonplace resources intended and designed for other purposes. There are also short looks at miscellaneous other matters.

I shall close on the subject of "how many?" Faurisson (p197) is in accord with me (*Hoax*, pp237,239) in declaring that the number of Jews who perished

could be of the order of a million but, more likely, several hundred thousands if one does not count combattant Jews in Allied military uniforms. I insist on the fact that on my part this is a matter of an estimate lacking a properly scientific character ...

However he further states, after some intervening remarks that should have been more extended and more lucid,

that, if computers are used here, one could without doubt quickly know the real number of deaths. The deportees were recorded in numerous connections. They left numerous traces.

Faurisson gives the impression that he believes that an accurate estimate, of the number of civilian Jews who perished, is practically achievable; this impression is reinforced by material appearing on pp324f.

Since I am not in accord with such a view, I discussed this matter with Faurisson and learned that he had not been sufficiently clear on this point. What he means is that it would be possible to make an estimate for a restricted class, namely, those Jews who were noted, in written German records, as having died. This class excludes many Jewish deaths that should be considered relevant, e.g. deaths from epidemics in ghettos or occasional pogroms, particularly in the East during the period of German retreats.

Many of the demographic questions we would like to answer are not answerable in the foreseeable future, even with the aid of computers. There is a saying among computer users: "garbage in, garbage out." What it means for the sorts of demographic problems of interest here is that, without a data base of adequate scope, accuracy and structure, no useful results can be obtained from a computer, regardless of the sophistication of the analytical and statistical methods employed. I have discussed the principal difficulties in obtaining an adequate data base (*Hoax*, pp13-17, 222-240). There is little that could be usefully added here except perhaps an indication of how futile even some sophistication, substantially funded, could be. A study of available records may, for example, show that it would not be prohibitively difficult to determine how many Goldsteins and Kaplans there have been in the U.S.A. at various times. These are distinctly East European Jewish names. It may also be found possible to determine the frequency of occurrence of such names among pre-war East European Jews. Perhaps some more analysis would seem to indicate a method of determining numbers of East European Jews who immigrated to the U.S. at various periods, but the whole project would be rendered futile, especially for the postwar period of central interest, by two considerations. First, Jews have always been frequent name changers; this frequency was greatly amplified in the postwar period. Second, a great deal of this name changing was not done formally in the U.S. courts, but informally and even illegally prior to the formal involvement with the U.S.A. For example we know that a great many Jews were given quite irregular and illegal South American passports, with the very active encouragement of the U.S. Government and other agencies that were attempting to help Jews during the war. This does not exhaust the irregularities that Jews resorted to in this period. The consequences are unmanageable demographic problems.

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Vinnytsia — The Katyn Of Ukraine

A Report by an Eyewitness

by M. Seleshko

Toward the end of February, 1944, when I was marking time in a German prison in Potsdam, I was transferred to cell number 20, already occupied by several other prisoners. After a brief acquaintance I learned that one of these was a Ukrainian from the vicinity of Vinnytsia. We came to know each other closely and he told me his life history. At that time he was twenty-three years of age, born and bred in Soviet Ukraine. He had been educated by the Communist party and had been a Communist in the full meaning of the word. Communist ideals were his ideals. He fought on the German/Soviet front. After his capture by the Germans, he was forced into anti-aircraft artillery work for the Germans in Berlin. Because of negligence in line of duty he was thrown into jail. There our paths met.

I kept asking him questions about life under the Soviets. He formerly belonged to a civilian border patrol unit. Being a Comsomol, he took his duties seriously and helped track down many foreign intelligence agents who were trying to slip across the border into the Soviet Union. There were others, young Soviet patriots like himself, in the villages and districts.

He told me of the steps taken by the Soviets in Ukraine as a preparation for war. In the Communist party at least as early as 1937 it was felt that war against Germany was imminent. Confidential instructions to members of the party and the Comsomol stressed this eventuality. These instructions ordered that the Soviet hinterland in Ukraine be purged of enemies of the people. By the words “enemies of the people” were meant not only all those people who worked actively against the Soviet regime, but also those who were believed to be inclined to hostility toward the government including those whose complete devotion to the regime had not been clearly manifested.

A purge of enemies of the population of the Soviet border regions was commenced. Herein lies the story of the Ukrainian tragedy in Vinnytsia, which was revealed to the world in 1943. (Vinnytsia is a Ukrainian city, which was, prior to 1939, approximately 100 miles from the eastern border of Poland.)

My young companion is now a Ukrainian patriot, and much about him must not be made public. Everything he said supplemented my own knowledge of the Vinnytsia tragedy and helped to complete the picture I had formed of it during my experiences in Vinnytsia.

In the summer of 1943 I was living in Berlin under the close supervision of the Gestapo as a suspected foreigner, an unreliable alien and a Polish citizen. On July 2, 1943, during the noon hour, I was called to the telephone by what the Germans called the Ukrainian Confidence Service. This

was a German government agency which registered all Ukrainians in Germany and tried to win their support for German purposes among the Ukrainians.

The chief of this agency informed me that in the near future a special committee for the investigation of mass murders in Ukraine would depart to do its work on the spot. He also told me that I had been appointed interpreter for this committee because of my knowledge of German, Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish, and in addition because I knew how to type in both German and Ukrainian. He suggested that I accept this position voluntarily and at the same time emphasized that, should I refuse, I would be drafted for it on the basis of a certain mobilization regulation.

I had no choice. I asked for several hours to consider the proposal. I immediately got in touch with my friends, among them Dr. Oleh Kandyba-Olzhych, the Ukrainian poet, who was living illegally at that time in Berlin. We agreed that it would be best for me to go with the commission, even though its destination was not known. And I had not asked, for in Germany during the war it did not pay to be overly inquisitive.

After two hours I called the confidence service and announced my willingness to accompany the commission as a translator-interpreter, I was instructed to await further instructions via telephone. About 5 p.m. of the same day the headquarters of the criminal police telephoned. I was ordered to appear at their address and to report to an official named Denerlein. I went.

Denerlein, a friendly man of rather advanced age, immediately introduced me to several officials in his department, and said that we would depart for Ukraine immediately. After brief interviews I was given appropriate military travelling documents and allowed to return home.

The criminal police department was swarming with uniformed police, some of them wearing an arm-band marked SD, which meant that these officials were from the special political section Sicherheits-dienst. By piecing together various bits of conversation I deduced that our group was going to the front lines. Among the members of the commission were Raeder, Krupke, and Groner, all three commissars of the criminal police. State-councilor Klass, the chairman of the commission, was already at the place where the commission was supposed to function.

We set out July 4, 1943, by way of Warsaw, Lublin, Kovel and Shepetivka. Before our departure I was given a pistol as a preparation for any eventuality. We were unmolested in Warsaw, although at that time the battle in the Jewish ghetto was going on but beyond that city our route was through a region controlled by Ukrainian insurgents (UPA).

Immediately outside of Warsaw we passed long trains that had been blown up. In the town of Kovel in the Ukrainian province of Volyn we had to transfer to another train. Precautionary measures for defense against partisans were taken and, ridiculously enough, I was ordered to hold my pistol in my hand in ready position for firing against the machine-guns and mines of the guerillas. We were not attacked, however, for the insurgents shot up with machine guns the dummy tank train that had been purposely sent ahead of us and we experienced nothing beyond fear. At the railway station in Shepetivka, however, we met action on a somewhat broader scale. After our train, loaded with German soldiers, pulled in at the railway station, the Ukrainians destroyed all of the four rail lines leading into Shepetivka and we could not continue the journey. We managed to reach Vinnytsia without any losses, around 11 o'clock at night. We were driven in police automobiles to No. 5 Mazepa street. Under the Bolsheviks this had been named Dzherzhinsky street and the building had housed the regional headquarters of the NKVD.

Excavations in Vinnytsia

In Vinnytsia I was informed about the purpose of the commission by one of its members, a photographer, who arrived in the city at some earlier date. With the aid of the civilian population mass graves had been discovered, in which thousands of corpses had been buried. These graves were to be opened and the commission was to establish whom the NKVD had murdered. The commission lived and worked in the former headquarters of the NKVD, the place from which the mass-murder was directed. It included among its members German specialists in criminal investigation.

The exhumations in Vinnytsia began on May 25, 1943, and were carried on in three places. The population was of the opinion that there were around 20,000 victims in the war years. In addition to our commission two other bodies — a legal and medical commission — took part in the investigations.

Our committee unpacked its equipment, set up its office and on July 7, after lunch set out in automobiles for the scene of the exhumations — a garden along the Lityn highway, which leads from Vinnytsia to Lviv by way of Lityn.

From the conversation of the police, who were housed in the same barrack that we were, I had gained a more or less adequate picture of what had taken place. The first sight of the corpses horrified me, as did the stench that came from them. It was a hot summer day and it was necessary to steel one's nerves in order to live through the horrible experience. I had been a soldier in the Ukrainian army during the First World War and had seen many men killed in battle, but what I had then seen can in no way be compared with what I witnessed in that park.

A huge mass of people were milling among the trees in the garden. Everything was permeated with the heat of summer and the horrible stench of corpses. Here and there workers were digging up the earth. From it with the use of ropes they pulled out human corpses, some of them whole, others in pieces. They laid them carefully out on the grass. At first it seemed to me that there were thousands of them, but later I counted them and there were but 700 lying on the grass. Everybody present had a serious expression. The local inhabitants examined the exhumed corpses, and scrutinized the remnants of clothing. From the graves workers threw out bits of cloth and placed them in separate piles. The wet clothes were spread on the grass to dry. The dry clothes were searched for papers and other belongings. Everything was taken out, and registered; the documents found were read, when possible, and recorded; those not legible were preserved. Now and then for one group or another burst out the agonizing, hysterical cry of a woman, or the groan of a man, which resembled the terror of death. A woman recognized the clothes of her loved ones, or a man those of a member of his family. All of them, it was later ascertained, had been sure that their relative were somewhere in exile in Siberia, perhaps, or in the Far East, in the North, somewhere. Now they learned how the Soviet government had fooled them, for their loved ones lay in Ukrainian soil, in Vinnytsia, murdered by the NKVD. The government had met all questions with the reply that all in exile were deprived of the right of communicating with their families.

After the first shock had lessened, and I had become accustomed to the sweet, unpleasant stench, I took a greater interest in the investigations. The digging was done by common criminals from the local prison under the guard of German police. Alcohol was frequently given to the workers so that they might be able to stand the stench. Men and women, clothed and unclothed, were dug up. Men with their hands tied behind their backs. Here and there heads that had been beaten in; sometimes the nape showed signs of bullet-wounds. Black corpses, mummified corpses, corpses yellow-black with cadaverous wax. They had been in the earth a long time, for the most part deformed by the pressure of the soil above. Member of the commission, old criminologists who had

seen many a crime, affirmed that never before had they seen anything so ghastly. In an area close to the graves doctors made immediate autopsies and tried to ascertain the cause of death. The horror of Vinnytsia I shall never forget and it is doubtful whether ever a Dante would be able to portray the agony that had taken place.

Our next point was the Gorky Park of Culture and Rest, named in honor of the Russian poet. Here the scene was no better than the previous one. A lesser number of corpses was unearthed, for the most of the digging was done in the garden along the highway. The bodies of mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers had been buried under the earth and over it a board had been placed for the young people to dance and amuse themselves, unaware that their relatives' corpses were lying underneath! The names of those Communists responsible for such diabolical measures are known and it is hoped that their evil memory will not pass into history forgotten.

the picture was the same in the graveyard opposite the park. Beside the regular graves as well as under the stones of the original graves were found mass-victims of the NKVD.

The Commission at work

The committee worked industriously. Witnesses of the horrible tragedy were questioned, the place of the criminal executions determined, and the time as well. Documents found either alone or on the corpses were analyzed, nothing was overlooked; German thoroughness, often approaching absurdity, as it seemed to me, was employed. I was not acquainted with the techniques of criminologists, the clues they put together in order to arrive at the facts, and often what to me appeared beyond dispute they accepted with reservations and searched for unimpeachable evidence. The hours of work were from 10 to 16 each day. I was used as an interpreter between the local inhabitants and the German specialists. Thousands of people volunteered to act as witnesses for the commission. They volunteered in spite of the fact that Bolshevik agents made many threats of revenge, and insisted that the Germans had killed these people and were now seeking to place the blame on the NKVD. This twist interested me and I paid special attention in order to ascertain its veracity. Insofar as I am concerned there is no doubt that the unearthed corpses in Vinnytsia were the first victims of the Bolsheviks, murdered in what was in fact a preparation for war.

I cannot describe the entire work of the commission, all that it ascertained and concluded. I imagine that its findings have been recorded in detail and are available somewhere. As a Ukrainian in civilian attire it was easy for me to get around, for I felt that I was at home, on native Ukrainian soil. The Germans, of course, did not enjoy such a confidence in Vinnytsia, for they had come as conquerors. A complete history of the entire tragedy will one day be written by historians. I was forbidden from doing anything on my own and was able to maintain official contact with my friends only through the German military post office, which was scrutinized by the Gestapo. I made no personal notes. Instead, another opportunity presented itself: through the kindness of one of the members of the commission I was able to send personal letters to Ukrainian friends in Berlin. He gave the letters to a pilot assigned to regular duty between Berlin and Vinnytsia. I recorded as much as I could in the form of private letters, and the material arrived in the hands of my friends without accident. On the basis of these letters I am able to reveal the impression I had of the tragedy in Vinnytsia.

Some special incidents of the tragedy in Vinnytsia

A few incidents will illustrate the tragedy.

The wife of a priest named Biletsky from the vicinity of Vinnytsia recognized the garments of her husband lying on a mound. She cleaned the garment and a patch was revealed. As proof that she spoke the truth she departed for her village, and returned to the commission a few days later with other bits of the material used for patching. The committee examined the material and agreed that the patch on the priest's coat came from the same material. This was proof that her husband had been shot and buried in Vinnytsia, but the NKVD had informed her that her husband was in exile without the right of communicating with his family.

Hanna Hodovanets, a Ukrainian peasant woman, recognized her husband's coat as they unearthed it from a mass-grave. She told the police about her husband's arrest. He had been arrested because he had not reported at work on a certain holiday. She had done everything possible to find out what had happened to him, and one day in 1938 she received a card from Moscow, from the procurator's office and signed by none other than Audrey Vyshinsky, with the news that her husband had been freed from prison in March, 1938. However, her husband had never returned home and she felt that something was wrong. Her feelings became a sad reality when she recognized her husband's coat.

Another Ukrainian woman, Olkhivska by name, sat for hours on the hills of dirt as the corpses were lifted from the graves. At one grave she gave vent to cries of anguish. She had just recognized her husband, who had been arrested by the NKVD, by a broken small finger as well as by his clothes. And she too told a story that ended in a mass-grave.

There were similar examples by the hundreds, while thousands of others found no clues whereby they might identify their loved ones. I talked with them, recorded their tragedies, shared their suffering. The commission studied the methods of Soviet interrogation and trial, torture and execution, prison and exile. It interviewed thousands of witnesses, went through a mass of varied documents, and examined the belongings of witnesses.

The following incident suggests that justice may yet triumph in this world. A note was found in the coat of the exhumed corpse of a heroic Christian. It was wet, as was the corpse, but was carefully dried. The I set to work to decipher it. With the aid of several local Ukrainians we put together the story. The paper was of ordinary stock, white in color, used on local school tablets. In crude handwriting was penciled: "I ... beg the person that finds this note to pass on to my wife, Zina ... from the village ... region of ... that I was denounced to the NKVD by the following ..." And here were the names and addresses of seven persons. The note continued: "They bore witness against me before the NKVD and spoke falsehoods. I have been sentenced to death and in a short time will be shot. God knows that I am innocent. Let God forgive their transgression; I have forgiven them."

We refused to believe what we had read. To expect such magnanimity from a simple peasant in the moment of death was too much to believe. But the fact stirred everybody. We informed those in charge of the investigation, and later it was found that it was all true. Two of the persons named in the note had died in the meantime, two were officers in the Red Army, and three were available in the neighborhood, peacefully going about their business, since no one knew that they were secret assistants of the NKVD. During my presences in Vinnytsia they were not arrested. The Germans, however, recorded all the secret helpers of the NKVD. Some of them managed to obtain administrative posts during the occupation, and often announced themselves as of German origin. The Germans were aware of this manoeuver and were preparing a surprise move called "lightning-action," blitzaktion. I was later informed that this "lightning action" had been executed before the Germans abandoned Vinnytsia.

Hulevych, Skrepek, and many other Ukrainians testified how the NKVD transported the corpses to the burial points. They stated that the bodies were transported from NKVD headquarters at No. 5 Dzherzhinsky street, that at night they saw and heard the trucks in action and that in the morning on they way to work they saw the blood that had dripped from the trucks and that they saw NKVD underlings covering up the signs of their work at the site of the mass graves. There were also witnesses who testified that from trees they observed what was happening behind the high walls of the NKVD compound and that graves were dug and corpses buried. It was a fact well circulated in the city that two Ukrainians, who had dared to peer through the board fence despite the prohibition, had disappeared never to be seen again. It was also common talk that a boy, who had tried to climb the fence in order to steal some apples, disappeared without a trace after the NKVD guards caught him in the act.

How the NKVD operates

I talked with those people in Vinnytsia who first divulged the information about the mass murders, on the basis of which excavation was begun by the Germans. The commission found a woman who had worked in the NKVD headquarters for fifteen years. She was superannuated, and not in command of all her mental faculties, but the memory of what had transpired long before she retained as though it had happened yesterday. When the Bolsheviks retired before the German advance, she remained in Vinnytsia by frustrating efforts made by the government to evacuate her. Her revelations, although chronologically vague, were valuable in that they described Soviet methods of investigation and punishment. Former prisoners of the NKVD gave corroborative testimony.

One such former prisoner, named Dashchin, who had been in exile in the Kolyma region, told of an incident in a gold-mining camp. The camp contained 7,000 prisoners from all parts of the Soviet Union, and upon completion of the work there it was evident that the means of transportation to another locality were not available. The prisoners were too weak from malnutrition to go elsewhere on foot, for the nearest work-camp was thousands of kilometers distant. The problem was solved very simply. The prisoners were driven to a cliff that had been mined, and were blown into oblivion. Dashchin was one of the few that miraculously survived the explosion. Somehow he managed to trek across Siberia and return to Ukraine.

The NKVD usually made arrests at night, searching the houses and later writing a protocol on the case. The Commission found very many of these protocols both with the corpses and in a separate grave where only documents were buried. All arrested were accused of being “enemies of the people.” Some had refused to renounce their religion, others had opposed the collectivization of their private property, still others had spoken dangerous words against Communism. Some had been victims of denunciations or revenge others had failed to appear at work during a religious holiday, while many had changed their place of work without the permission of the NKVD. Many witnesses questioned by the committee were unable to explain why their relatives had been arrested. Their inquiries addressed to the NKVD or the judge simply evoked the stereotyped reply, “enemies of the people exiled for a long period of time without the right of communication with their relatives.” Women appealed to Stalin and other leaders of the Soviet state, but the reaction was the same. I saw and read many cards carrying that message. Among the items found in the graves were remnants of priestly garments, religious books, and correspondence of the murdered with the authorities of the state and the police. Items discovered were put on display — photographs, letters, postage stamps, and crosses — and many residents identified their dead relatives by them.

A religious group in the region of Ulaniv deserves special mention. Called the sect of St. Michael, nineteen of its members were arrested by the NKVD and some of them were identified in the graves. They were recognized because it was their custom to wear a white cross sewn to their clothes. Garments with this cross were found in the graves, sometimes alone and at times still about the corpse. Many members of this sect visited the excavations and recognized their co-religionists.

Statistics of the tragedy

From May 1943 to October 1943, 9,432 corpses were found in three places of excavation. There were 91 graves with corpses, and three with only clothes or documents. Forty-nine graves had from one to 100 corpses, 33 from 100 to 200 corpses, and nine from 200 to 284 corpses. One hundred and sixty-nine corpses were of women, 120 of advanced age, according to the findings of the medical commission. Forty-nine women were of young or middle age. The corpses of females of advanced age were clothed, whereas those of the younger years were naked. This seemed to bear out the rumors common among the local population that the young women arrested by the NKVD were subjected to sexual brutalities prior to their execution. One pregnant woman was found who had actually given birth to a child in the grave. Most of the corpses were of people from 30 to 40 years of age. Most had died from bullets from a special gun. Some of the victims had been hit by two bullets, others had but one bullet hole, while still other had received as many as four. Evidences of skull fracture by means of an instrument, apparently the butt of a rifle, was found in 391 cases. The stronger men had their arms and legs bound. Cases of shooting in the forehead as well as the back of their head were recorded.

Of the total of 9,432 corpses 679 were identified, 468 by their garments, 202 by documents, and 2 by body marks. From the point of view of occupation the identified included 279 peasants, 119 workers, 92 officials, and 189 members of the intelligentsia. nationally the identified were broken down into 490 Ukrainians, 28 Poles, and 161 uncertain, although the names of the last group suggested almost all the nationalities of the USSR and some from Europe as well.

These basic statistics speak for themselves. Only one place, the garden, was thoroughly examined, for the park and the cemetery were only partially investigated. It is not excluded that many more bodies had been buried in these places. Other localities, which according to the reports of the local population, were also scenes of mass murder by the NKVD were not inspected. It was ascertained that other Ukrainian cities that had been regional and district headquarters of the NKVD had also experienced mass executions. Efforts were made to verify the rumors circulating among the population regarding mass graves. Kiev, Odessa, Zhytomir, Berdychiv, Haisyn, Dnipropetrovsk, Krasnodar in the Kuban region, and other places were supposed to be investigated, but chaotic conditions in Ukraine frustrated such endeavors. It is known, however, very definitely that in Krasnodar, where the Kuban cossacks fought stubbornly against the Bolsheviks in an effort to win independence, the NKVD employed a special machine which ground up the bodies of those shot and oftentimes still living persons as if they were meat and automatically dumped this mass of flesh into the Kuban river. This brutality was affirmed by eyewitnesses who reported various phases of the slaughter.

My companion in the German prison in Potsdam told me that in 1937 instructions were given both to the Communist party and the Comsomol to cleanse the border districts of Ukraine of "enemies of the people." This purge was carried out. The revelations of this former Comsomol both agreed with and supplemented the findings obtained by the committee of investigation.

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Palestine: Liberty and Justice

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III

For thirty years the conflict raging in the Middle East between Arabs and Israelis has been viewed on tribal partisan grounds. You were either pro-Israel or anti-Israel, and in the latter case, anti-Israel was assumed to be a thin camouflage for “anti-Semitic.” With the onset of the 1970s and thanks to the “New” Left, one could be “pro-Arab” rather than just anti-Israel, but the tribalism was expanded, not reduced. Now it was the Arab/Marxist/anti-imperialist tribe against the Israeli/capitalist/Western Democracy camp. Then came the Energy “Crisis” and the division was further muddled by petro-plutocrats lining up with Arabs who were clearly not Marxist and not terribly anti-imperialist.

In other issues of international importance, from World War II to Vietnam, there was a sense of morality: to which side in a foreign conflict belonged justice? For which side did you cheer in expectation of increased liberty? Not so in Palestine; it was and largely still is assumed we are talking about raw survival: if Israel loses, the Jews will be exterminated (again?); if Israel wins, it might be generous and dole a little *noblesse oblige* to the losing Arabs. Heads they win, tails they win.

There has been a third view of “plague on both your houses,” but few of any ideology or intellect or religious commitment have attempted to assess the Palestinian Question (however posed) in terms of maximizing justice. The defenders of Israel will cry “aggressor” at surrounding Arab states rattling their sabres at the Israeli state, but revert to amoral technical discussion when Israeli border expansion or internal treatment of non-Jews comes up.

To find the fourth position of evaluation of historical causation of the present Palestinian situation combined with a determination not to increase the injustice by intervention, one has to look beyond the Left/Right, Zionist/anti-Semitic speeches. As early as the late 1960s, Murray N. Rothbard called exactly for that in his publication *Libertarian Forum* at the very beginning of the modern libertarian movement.

Revisionism on the World Wars, Korea, and Vietnam, was integral to libertarianism from its inception; a 1960s' Rarnpart journal of Robert LeFevre's devoted to Revisionism and spotlighting James J. Martin became a treasured classic to the thousands of students who poured into the movement in 1969 and subsequent years. But since those few libertarians who had not come from the pro-Israel conservative Right had come from the equally pro-Israel Liberal Left (Ayn “Rand,” a source of many proto-libertarians, is and was strongly proIsrael), Rothbard's staunchly Revisionist views on Palestine clapped like a thunderbolt across still-infant libertarian consciousness. For a decade, Rothbard and Martin, and the most radical libertarian Revisionists they inspired — Roy Childs, Leonard Liggio, Joseph Castrovinci and Ron Hamowy — battled to win

primacy for the Revisionist-isolationist view over the limited-government, Whig-imperialist view of the exconservative apologists (most prominently John Hospers and his coterie).

Bit by bit the Revisionists prevailed on World War II, the Cold War, the Progressive era, and perhaps most easily, Southeast Asia. The Middle East issue was the hardest to win — and by that token the most important victory. Ten years after Rothbard's thunderbolt, the ex-Randist Society for Individual Liberty (SIL) published the first hesitant editorials in their *Individual Liberty* calling for isolationist anti-war activism against U.S. policy in the Middle East based on a tentative Revisionist historical outlook. Finally, Roy Childs, who had ascended to the editorship of *Libertarian Review* after its takeover by Koch's foundation, the crucial bridge and centrist publication between the Libertarian Left and Right, published Bill Birmingham's exhaustive review of Edward W. Said's *The Question of Palestine*. Victory!

The radical Revisionists have prevailed. Consider Birmingham's rhetoric (p40):

The problem, I think, is that the thinking of anti-Palestinian libertarians suffers from a common defect that manifests itself in their view of foreign affairs. The people who think the

Palestinians "want to drive the Jews into the sea" are generally those who believed — and perhaps still believe — that the U.S. was "defending freedom" in Vietnam or Iran. In all these cases, the facts about the oppressed people in question were and are easy to find, but they were ignored or denied -mainly, in my opinion, because of an unwillingness to believe that these non-Western people could have genuine grievances that libertarians could support. The sometimes reactionary and obtuse letters *LR* has received in response to its articles on Iran and the Middle East seem prime examples of this.

The Question of Palestine is especially valuable to libertarians because it deals not so much with facts about Palestine (though it includes them in abundance) as with attitudes: the kind of attitudes libertarians have to shuck off if they are ever to effectively relate to the people of the Third World. I would like to see American libertarians, for example, demand the U.S. end its support for Israel — not because it is a drain on the Treasury, or because it could embroil us in war, although those are perfectly good reasons, but because it enables Israel to murder and oppress the Palestinian people. I would like to see American libertarians put aside their conservatism, and their xenophobia, and their terror of being somehow contaminated by "leftist" issues and learn to say, with the Egyptian student demonstrators of the early seventies: **We are all Palestinians.**

The corner has been turned. Where the Liberal establishment and the social-democrat Left abandoned moral philosophy to defend Israeli imperialism and Euro-American support with a mixture of unsubstantiated guilt over the German "Holocaust" and pragmatic defense of "Western interests" (i.e. corporate Liberal-owned petroleum interests), the Libertarians moved in with their individual rights absolutism.

Among the States in the world, Palestine won a 142-7 vote in the United Nations, with the entire Common Market abstaining, establishing the right of Palestinians to territory from Israel — Palestinian land, from which they were thrown off by the Israeli State.

With the world's States and multi-national corporations abandoning the pro-Israeli position, only the American State shores up the Israeli régime. Internally in Israel, the opposition party is mov-

ing toward more compromise even as the governing hard-line coalition disintegrates. And now, in the United States, support for Palestinian liberation moves into ascendancy, and the libertarian movement is the bellwether.

The Old Right remnant of the anti-World War II struggle, the New Left remnants of national liberation struggles of the 1960s, and the pro-Arab special interests are now joined by radical libertarians, the more moderate respectable libertarians (such as LP presidential candidate Ed Clark) and next the border-line libertarian sympathizers of the civil-liberties reform Liberals and free-enterprise conservatives.

There remains a residue of fear from the guilt-by-association tactics of pro-Israel interventionists, strong enough to motivate Editor Childs to prevent the reprinting of Birmingham's article in this JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW. (But take heart, *Libertarian Review* is now running only three years behind *New Libertarian* which freely runs ads for IHR.) Notwithstanding, the historical review is worth historiographical review, and one can always refer to the original: "The Revolution That Will Be," Bill Birmingham, p36, *Libertarian Review*, June 1980, Volume 9, No. 6, \$1.50, from 1620 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, Ca 94111.

What Birmingham states, with quotes backing him from Said's book and other sources, is that an indigenous population of Arabs, self-aware as Palestinians (*Filastin Arabiyah*, p38), were held in thrall by the Ottoman Empire, then the British who turned the territory over to the Zionist movement after extensive terrorism by such groups as *Irgun Zvai Leumi* (led by Meachem Begin and Geula Cohen, the latter being the source of the Knesset resolution making Jerusalem Israel's capital). Arabs were slaughtered, their homes burned, and the rest driven off without recompense as deliberate policy. Thus was the Israeli State founded — as all others were — by murder, conquest, and pillage.

Birmingham documents the overt, deep, anti-Arab racism of early Zionists such as Chaim Weizmann (later president of Israel), quotes pro-genocidal passages from the diaries of Zionist leaders, and blatant expressions by those leaders of expropriation — not liberation — of Palestinian territory. He has a devastating quote that Said dug up from Moshe Dayan: (p 37):

We came to this country which was already populated by Arabs and we are establishing a Hebrew, that is a Jewish state there. In considerable areas of the country (the total area was about 6 percent — ES) we bought the lands from the Arabs (or more properly, from their feudal overlords — BB), Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You do not know even know the names of these Arab villages, and I do not blame you, **because these geography books no longer exist**; not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either. Nahalal (Dayan's own village) arose in the place of Mahalul, Gevat — in the place of Jibra, (Kibbutz) Sarid — in the place of Haneifs and Kefar Yehosua — in the place of Tell Shaman. **There is not one place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population.** (Emphasis added.)

To a libertarian, the use of "socialism" to rationalize statist oppression is particularly telling. Birmingham unerringly mines Said for this nugget:

Another pillar of Zionism was the "conquest of labor," also known as "Jewish socialism." This was a systematic boycott of the Arab economy, and especially of Arab laborers. There is nothing wrong with voluntary boycotts, but there was nothing voluntary about the conquest of labor. "We stood guard at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there," confesses David Hacohen, former head of the Jewish

trade union *Histradrut*. His minions would also “pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes,” and even “attack Jewish housewives in the market and smash the Arab eggs they bought.”

And Birmingham does not neglect the “holocaust” in Israel — of Palestinians, atrocities such as the massacre of 250 men, women and children of Deir Yassin. “Out of about 950,000 Arabs who had lived in what became the new, enlarged Israel, some 780,000 were refugees, giving the new state a solid Jewish majority and all their abandoned property, to which the Israeli government promptly helped itself. It was as President Chaim Weizman put it, “a miraculous simplification of our tasks.”

The Arabs remaining in Palestine were segregated and treated like Blacks in South Africa. Arab books, such as Sabri Jiryi’s *The Arabs In Israel*, were suppressed and the author deported. Children’s books treating Arabs like Julius Streicher’s books treated Jews, were supported and spread.

If there is any flaw in Birmingham’s review, it is perhaps in discussing the Palestine Liberation Organization, a nascent State and thus potentially oppressive. Nonetheless, a good deal of the popular description of the PLO as terrorists without popular support belongs with Belgian-baby eating propaganda and worthy of a lot of solid Revisionist exposé.

Birmingham feels there’s still a ways to go:

Unfortunately there are too many libertarians, even though they claim to be the keepers of the classical liberal tradition, who seem quite willing to support the Palestinian cause, or even to acknowledge its justice. True, it is extremely unpopular, and the truth about it well concealed, but obstacles don’t stop libertarians from taking equally unpopular and hard to prove positions on a score of domestic issues. Besides, as Dr. Said points out, most of the facts about Palestine and Zionism are readily available; the problem is to connect them, “and see them not as they are hidden, but as they are ignored or denied.”

p. 40

But with his review, and the signal of a major victory for justice and liberty in the minds of libertarian intellectuals — and American intellectuals in general — success for Palestinian Revisionism — and Palestinian liberation — is that much closer.

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Nationalism, Racism and Early British Socialism

RICHARD LAWSON

Modern socialists would be highly embarrassed to learn of the nationalist and racist attitudes displayed by many early British socialists.

Prominent among these was Robert Blatchford, editor of a newspaper entitled *The Clarion*, and author of *Merrie England* (1893) and *Britain for the British* (1902). (A facsimile reproduction of *Merrie England* was issued in 1976 by the journeyman Press, from which the following quotations are taken).

Bob Blatchford advocated a form of non-Marxian socialism which he supported by an appeal to ethics and common sense. His ideas relating to communal kitchens and the like are rather quaint by modern standards of affluence and privacy, but it must be remembered that when Blatchford was writing in the 1890s large sections of the British working-class were condemned to grinding poverty and degradation.

It is obvious from Blatchford's writings that his military training had conditioned him to attempt to apply the solutions of war to the problems of peace. A parallel between a military society and a socialist one has been drawn before, and Blatchford's approach was to be echoed by the nationalist movements which blossomed all over Europe in the 1920s and 30s.

What concerns us here, however, is Blatchford's obvious patriotism, his awareness of the biological realities of life, and-as modern socialists would term it-his "racial prejudice." Blatchford was, for example, an enthusiastic advocate of British naval supremacy and a bitter opponent of the IRA rising at Easter 1916. In order to give a proper impression of Blatchford's ideas, however, we can do no better than turn to his vision of *Merrie England*.

Unlike modern socialists who preach the Marxist concept of absolute economic determinism to the exclusion of all other factors, Blatchford accepted that: "Men are made what they are by two forces: heredity and environment," and continued: "Your intellect and character are at birth what your forefathers made them" (p32).

He also accepted innate differences in national character, praising the British people for being "intelligent, industrious, strong, and famous for their perseverance, their inventiveness and resource" (p2).

While Marxian socialists have an entirely materialistic world outlook, Blatchford specifically attacked laissez-faire capitalism for its materialism:

"Your Manchester School treat all social and industrial problems from the standpoint of mere animal subsistence. They do not seem to think that you have any mind. With them it is a question of

bread and cheese and be thankful” (p4).

Unlike most modern socialists Blatchford was an advocate of economic nationalism:

The present national ideal is to become “The Workshop of the World.” That is to say, the British people are to manufacture goods for sale to foreign countries, and in return for those goods are to get more money than they could obtain by developing the resources of their own country for their own use.

My ideal is that each individual should seek his advantage in co-operation with his fellows, and that the people should make the best of their own country before attempting to trade with other peoples (pp2-3).

Blatchford’s advocacy of economic nationalism was carried over into the agricultural field. In the following passage Blatchford addresses himself to Mr. Smith, an imaginary reader:

But don’t you see, Mr. Smith, that if we lose our power to feed ourselves we destroy the advantages of our insular position? Don’t you see that if we destroy our agriculture we destroy our independence at a blow, and become a defenceless nation? Don’t you see that the people who depend on foreigners for their food are at the mercy of any ambitious statesman who chooses to make war upon them? (p14).

Unlike modern socialists with their open and subterranean connections to cosmopolitan financiers, Blatchford railed against finance capitalism and characterized the Jew as his favorite example of a usurer who lends money for public works:

Suppose a rich Jew has lent a million to the Government at 3 per cent. He draws every year L30,000 in interest. Who pays it? It is raised by taxation. Who pays the taxes? They are all paid either by the workers or by those who get their money from the workers. And the Jew gets his interest for ever. That is to say, that after he has drawn back all his million in interest the Government goes on paying him out of your earnings, my hardheaded friend, E30,000 a year as long as any one is left to claim it. Probably the million was wasted in some foolish work, or wicked war; but because a minister in 1812 was a knave or a fool, British industry is taxed to the tune of C30,000 a year, world without end, amen.

And the worst of it is that the money the Jew lent was not earned by him, but by the ancestors of the very people who are now paying his descendants interest for the loan of it (p2g).

In at least one reprinted version of *Merrie England* which the writer of this article has seen, the word “Jew” was replaced by “rich man.” This is just one small example of the wholesale suppression of the facts about the nationalist and racist attitudes of early British socialists.

Writing in *The Clarion* Blatchford expressed concern over the influx of “poor unshorn and unsavory children of the Ghetto” into Britain. He said that the number of Jewish aliens in East London was alarming “and their increase appalling. “ The paper also declared that their habits were “unclean,” and that “their presence is often a menace and an injury to the English working classes.” (Quoted by Edmund Silberner in “British Socialism and the Jews,” *Historia Judaica*, XIV 1952, pp40-41).

Blatchford's economic nationalism was to some extent shared by Pete Curran, the Gas Workers' representative in the Independent Labour Party, though it is important to grasp that the socialists were split over their attitude to the Empire. While some followed Joe Chamberlain in viewing the Empire as a vital asset, others saw it as a drain on British resources. Perhaps both views had an element of truth in them, but it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss this question. What interests us here is that both views were essentially patriotic. Speaking at a Socialist Congress in 1900 Pete Curran stated:

Great efforts are now being made in England to convince the Trade Unionists that the Colonial policy is in their interests, for it creates new markets and thereby increases the possibility of work and raises wages. But the English Trade Unionists are not to be caught with those fine words; they answer: so long as there are children in England who go hungry to school, so long as there are workers who wander about in rags and die in wretchedness, the English workers have no interest in exporting to the Colonies the goods they produce. And if the "Jingoes" rejoiced in the fact England has become a great country on which the sun never sets, then I say that in England there are thousands of homes on which the sun has never risen.

The reference to "Jingoes" is related to the Boer War which brought the question of Imperialism to a head, splitting the socialist ranks. While some supported the war out of patriotism, others attacked it as the work of shady financiers. The Fabian Society objected (in George Bernard Shaw's phrase) to "stray little states lying about in the way of great powers," while Bruce Glasier of the Independent Labour Party complained in his diary about the whipping up of war hysteria: "All our civilization seems to fall away ... Alas, the people seem to have gone back. *The Daily Mail* and the other great Capitalist and Jewish ... papers have excited madness among them ..." (The views of H. M. Hyndman and his Social-Democratic Federation are covered later in this article).

Before she was married Beatrice Webb had spent a few weeks in the East End of London as a working girl and investigator of sweated labor. As a result of this research she drew a number of conclusions about the Jews which were published in 1888 in *The Nineteenth Century* magazine.

She stated that "the love of profit as distinct from other forms of money-earning is the strongest impelling motive of the Jewish race," and that they were deficient in "social morality."

In a treatise entitled *Industrial Democracy* written by Beatrice and her husband, they refer to the Jews in England as "a constant influence for degradation."

George Bernard Shaw, meanwhile, characterized the Jews as "the real enemy, the invader from the East, the Druze, the ruffian, the oriental parasite, in a word the Jew" (*Morning Post* 13 December 1925).

In his book *The Outline of History* (1920) H. G. Wells stated: "The Jews looked for a special saviour, a messiah, who was to redeem mankind by the agreeable process of restoring the fabulous glories of David and Solomon, and bringing the whole world at last under the benevolent but firm Jewish heel."

In *Is Race Conflict Unavoidable?* (1924) he wrote:

...the natural thought forms, and dispositions and instinctive reactions of Northern Europeans and Jews, Negroes and Whites, Indians and Chinese, vary subtly and profoundly, you can no more ignore differences of race than differences of sex. They are

things greatly intensified and supplemented by differences of tradition, training and conditions, but when all such modifications are eliminated, essential differences remain.

Of all the early socialists with nationalist and racist leanings, one of the most genuinely patriotic was the selfconfessed but highly enigmatic Marxist, H. M. Hyndman (1842-1921). Hyndman, whose family was of Ulster Scots origin, was originally a “Tory Radical.” As a young man he was sympathetic to the Italian nationalist struggle, the Risorgimento, and became interested in greater unification between Britain, Australia and Canada. He may have been influenced in this by his Cambridge contemporary, Charles Dilke, whose *Greater Britain* was published in 1868.

Hyndman gradually took a greater and greater interest in socialism, however, and in January 1881 he wrote an article in *The Nineteenth Century* magazine entitled “The Dawn of a Revolutionary Epoch.” This made some interesting revelations on the role of Jews both in the “Establishment” and in revolutionary movements:

The influence of the Jews at the present time is more noticeable than ever ... They are at the head of European capitalists ... In politics many Jews are in the front rank. The press in more than one European capital is almost wholly in their hands. The Rothschilds are but the leading name among a whole series of capitalists ... But while on one hand the Jews are thus beyond dispute the leaders of the plutocracy of Europe ... another section of the same race form the leaders of that revolutionary propaganda which is making way against that very capitalist class represented by their own fellow Jews. Jews-more than any other men-have held forth against those who make their living not by producing value but by trading on the differences of value; they at this moment are acting as the leaders in the revolutionary movement which I have endeavored to trace. Surely we have here a very strange phenomenon ... Those, therefore, who are accustomed to look upon all Jews as essentially practical and conservative, as certain, too, to enlist on the side of the prevailing social system, will be obliged to reconsider their conclusions. But the whole subject of the bad and good effects of Jewish influence on European social conditions is worthy of a more thorough investigation than can be undertaken here. Enough, that in the period we are approaching not the slightest influence on the side of revolution will be that of the Jew.

Later in the same year Hyndman founded the Democratic Federation, which changed its name to the Social-Democratic Federation in 1884, to the Social-Democratic Party in 1907, and effectively became the British Socialist Party in 1911.

Throughout the rest of his political career Hyndman considered himself to be a Marxist, though Marx was jealously contemptuous of him and Engels hostile. It was perhaps the crowning irony of Hyndman’s life that he should have continued to describe himself as a disciple of a Jew, when his attitude to the Jews as a group became less and less ambiguous and more and more openly critical.

Hyndman condemned the Jameson raid as a “piratical expedition” bankrolled by “the most loathsome set of Jew capitalists and Christian financiers.” (*H. M. Hyndman and British Socialism* by Chushichi Tsuzuki, Oxford University Press, 1961, p126).

When the Boer War finally broke out he described it as “the Jews’ War” and as an “abominable war on behalf of German Jew mineowners and other international interlopers.” At a London meeting

in 1900 he spoke so forcefully of the “Jewish International” that a motion of censure was tabled for the forthcoming party conference (*Ibid.* p128).

Hyndman was disturbed by the election to the Federation’s executive in 1900 of Theodore Rothstein, a Jewish emigré from Russia. It was Rothstein and Zelda Kahan, who was also of Russian-Jewish origin, who led the opposition to Hyndman’s growing mistrust of German ambitions and the support given to them by German-Jewish socialists.

In a private letter dated 9 May 1905 Hyndman complained that: “ ... among certain cliques it is as inadmissible to criticize the Germans in Socialism as it is to point out that Jews have their drawbacks” (*Ibid.* p199).

The struggle with Rothstein had a strange sequel for during the subsequent Great War Hyndman got hold of a list of Foreign Office employees which included Rothstein’s name: “What was my amazement and horror,” wrote Hyndman, “to find among them the name of Th. Rothstein, a Russian-German Jew, who has been working here for years in and out of the Socialist movement ... for and on behalf of Germany” (*Ibid.* p244).

In the pre-War period the Labor Party in the House of Commons opposed British rearmament, but Hyndman advocated it particularly with regard to the navy. He accused the Labor Party of wanting only “a sham defense” which was “worse than no defense at all” (*Ibid.* p210). Kahan and Rothstein naturally agitated against him.

In the 3 September 1910 issue of his paper *Justice*, Hyndman wrote of:

... the right and duty of this nationality to maintain its independence, even under capitalism ... There is, no mistake about that. If this is to be a jingo, then I am a jingo; if this is to be a bourgeois, then I am a bourgeois, if this is to be an opponent of organized Socialist opinion, then I am an opponent of organized Socialist opinion.

It is obvious from the above passage that Hyndman, although a self-proclaimed “Marxist,” was first and foremost a patriot, and only secondly a socialist; while his “internationalism” stopped short of internationalism!

In 1911 the transformation of the SDP into the BSP with added elements who had left the Independent Labour Party, gave Zelda Kahan and her supporters a majority on the new executive in favor of disarmament. Hyndman threatened to resign while one of his supporters, Victor Fisher, actually did so, denouncing Kahan and “comrades alien in blood and race” (*Ibid.* p213).

In Ireland, meanwhile, the Ulster Loyalists were arming to resist Irish Home Rule, and Hyndman welcomed “the bold front shown by the Ulstermen” (*Ibid.* p189). Events there were soon overshadowed by the European conflict, however.

When the First World War broke out Hyndman drafted a manifesto declaring that Britain had no interest in the quarrel, but once Britain was itself at war Hyndman came out strongly in support of his own country. His hold on the party weakened, however, when a member of the executive who supported the war volunteered for military service, and was replaced by an internationalist, J. Fineberg, another Russian Jew. This was deplored by Hyndman’s supporters who attacked “the pro-German attitude of several Russo-Jewish refugees” (*Ibid.* p225).

Victor Fisher who had earlier been reconciled with the BSP repudiated it entirely as being dominated by the internationalist and thus unpatriotic outlook of exiles. In April 1915 Fisher formed a

Socialist National Defense Committee which included Blatchford and H. G. Wells. It advanced the cause of "Britain for the British," an echo of Blatchford's 1902 pamphlet, and attacked the anti-War "pseudoSocialists" who were "aliens by birth, blood or sentiment" (*Ibid.* p233). This committee later became the British Workers' National League and later still the National Democratic Party.

Hyndman, meanwhile, split away from the BSP in April 1916, and soon after formed the National Socialist Party. Amongst its leading personalities was the patriotic Adolphe Smith, who collaborated with the authoress Nesta Webster in her once famous exposés of that peculiar alliance between capitalism, bolshevism and German imperialism.

Hyndman was sympathetic to Kerensky and the social revolutionaries who wanted to pursue the war, but bitterly opposed to the bolsheviks. He later denounced Lenin as "a communist Ivan the Terrible," and described the bolshevik regime as "autocratic, cruel and butcherly to the last degree" (*Ibid.* p239). He supported Allied intervention against the bolsheviks, provided support was given only to those who opposed both bolshevism and czarism.

In May 1917 Hyndman attacked Karl Marx's grandson, Jean Longuet, the leading pacifist in the French Socialist Party. Hyndman concluded: "Of late the Jewish blood in him had been manifesting itself chiefly in love for intrigue" (*Ibid.* p244).

When peace came the NSP advocated that Hyndman should act as a British representative at the Peace Conference, a suggestion which was supported by the conservative *Morning Post* which, incidentally, did a great deal to expose the real nature of bolshevism. The paper praised him as "a sound Patriot-an Englishman who does not allow his socialism or his democratic passion to produce antinationalism," (*Morning Post*, 28 November 1918).

It need hardly be pointed out that the conservative *Morning Post* and the socialist H. M. Hyndman are both far removed from their modern counterparts today.

Hyndman was to have little role to play in the post-War world, and he died after a short illness in November 1921. In March 1922 a Hyndman Memorial Committee was set up whose members included Bernard Shaw and Wickham Steed, editor of *The Times*. The position of Wickham Steed was somewhat analogous to that of the *Morning Post*. In his memoirs, *Through Thirty Years* (Heinemann, 1924), Steed suggested that President Wilson's demand for recognition of bolshevik Russia at the Peace Conference was motivated by "Jacob Schiff, Warburg and other international financiers who wished above all to bolster the Jewish bolshevists to secure a field for German and Jewish exploitation of Russia."

What Hyndman shared in common with both the *Morning Post* and Wickham Steed was a common ethnic loyalty which transcended their political differences. It was in essence a mirror image of that opposing ethnic thread which joined international finance and bolshevism, and it was to foreshadow the development of the new political patterns of the 1920s and 30s.

In retrospect the First World War, like the Second was a cataclysmic tragedy which all true patriots have come to deplore. At the time, though, support for the war was the mark of a patriot, and it is in that light that the attitude of these pro-war socialist pioneers must be seen.

The obvious patriotism and candid racialism of these early socialists is in marked contrast to the attitudes and views held by socialists today. The triumph of internationalism and the change from an open-minded and well-meaning approach to a mindless religious fanaticism is a reflection of the changing genetic complexion of socialism's own advocates.

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Auschwitz Notebook

Doors and Portholes

DITLIEB FELDERER

As I illustrated with my slide presentation at the 1980 Revisionist Convention at Pomona College, Claremont, California, one of the most blatant examples of Holocaust forgery is in the access to the “gas chambers.”

Auschwitz I

At Auschwitz I there are no less than five doors or doorways giving access to the “gas chamber.” There are double doors (Le with a small lobby) at each end of the room, and one doorway off to the inside, which leads into the crematory area. However, this latter doorway **has no door** and shows no sign of ever having borne one. This alone would seem to rule out the possibility of the room being used to gas people. Either the people would have escaped through the (doorless) doorway, or the gas would have flowed out the same way and either gassed the crematory workers and/or exploded with the heat.

At the end facing the gallows (where Rudolf Höss met his end after “confessing” to all kinds of atrocities at Auschwitz) the outside door is rather strange. It is made of light masonite board and tin-plate, and the locking or barring mechanism is on the inside. This would seem to indicate that the gasees locked **themselves** in. The door is so flimsy that a child could knock a fist through it. The porthole in the door (whose glass was broken when we visited) gives a very fine view, not of the interior of the room, but of the lobby wall about one meter away from the door. In no way could this door be described as “hermetically-sealed.”

Likewise, the inner door of this lobby is incredibly flimsy. The doorhandle and lock look as if they came out of a Polish farmhouse. This door is made entirely of wood.

We guessed that these two doors had been added or altered after the war, and our discussions with the camp staff in 1979 confirmed this.

Standing inside the room, we can see another door at the far end. The doorposts are made of wood, and the door itself is made of wood and glass. The handle and lock are so weak that they keep falling apart. The door opens inwards, into the “gas chamber.” When we asked Mr. T. Szymanski, the (now retired) curator, how it was that the gasees did not just smash the window in this door and escape, he advised us that he had never investigated this door so he could not give us a definite answer!

The outside door at this far end is a definite fake. It is made of masonite, unlike the other three doors, it opens outwards, and has a round porthole. We **know** that this door has been altered three times by referring to various Auschwitz guide books over the years. The first door appeared in *Oswiecim* (10, p197) and seems to be the original 1946 door. There are nine horizontal wooden slats in this original door, and no porthole. The second door appears in *We Have Not Forgotten* (6, p88), which was published in 1961. This door had an iron bar added to the upper part of the door, plus a **square** porthole.

Birkenau (Auschwitz II)

Confusion reigns here again. A model of Birkenau which is on display at Auschwitz a couple of miles away transposes many of the rooms. Un/dressing rooms become the gas chamber, and vice versa. Likewise, the book *Oswiecim* (10, p200) blatantly makes the transposition. Unfortunately, it is not possible to totally check these allegations forensically, since the Germans are supposed to have blown up the business part of all the Birkenau gas chambers shortly before the camp was evacuated in 1945. The four installations are numbered 2 through 5 (with 1 being the number given to the gas chamber/ crematorium at nearby Auschwitz proper). The entire building of Crematory 4 has disappeared except for the foundations. Crematory 5, its “mirror image” next to it, has also been damaged somewhat. Crematories 2 and 3 are partly destroyed, but there still remain a couple of buildings which I was able to explore inside. My report was published in the previous issue of THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW.

An exhibit on display in front of Crematory 2 shows a plan of the alleged building, with a text in Polish, English, French and Russian (but not German). The English text reads:

CREMATORIUM II, ACTIVE [*sic*] SINCE
SPRING 1943, WITH GAS CHAMBER AND OVENS
TO BURN CORPSES IN. IN ORDER TO
CAMOUFLAGE THE CRIMES PERPETRATED
THERE THE TERRAIN OF THE CREMATORIUM
WAS SCREENED WITH POPLARS.

COMMENT:

1. UNDRESSING ROOM
2. GAS CHAMBER WHERE CIRCA 2000 PEOPLE WERE KILLED SIMULTANEOUSLY.
3. ELECTRIC LIFT FOR TRANSPORTING BODIES FROM GAS CHAMBER TO THE HALL WITH OVENS.
4. ROOM WHERE HAIR WAS CUT AND GOLD CAPPED TEETH EXTRACTED.
5. HALL WITH CREMATING OVENS.
6. OVEN IN WHICH PERSONAL DOCUMENTS OF THE KILLED WERE BURNED.

The plan on this display often transposes the rooms in contradiction to the model over at Auschwitz I. There is no trace whatsoever of any furnaces, chimneys, sliding doors, screw lids, perforated sheetmetal columns, electric lifts, or any other Holocaust props. The original German construction plans are kept under lock and key, so there is no way of knowing for sure if these were ordinary crematoria, or whether they were air-raid shelters or potato storage bunkers. My guess is that they were indeed ordinary crematoria, and that they were dismantled and then partly demolished by the Soviet liberators.

The only one of these four structures which has walls still standing is Crematory 2. The Exterminationists allege that the victims would descend a few steps into the un/dressing room and then

they would be gassed next door and burned. However, the “gas chamber” section does not have a door! The gasees would appear to have been spirited through brick and concrete walls. Such are the magickal possibilities in the Holocaust pantomime.

Majdanek

At the Majdanek “gas chamber” we find two sturdy metal doors, each resting on three hinges, fastened onto the metal frame. Both doors have a porthole. There is a bluish color around the door frame, which we shall discuss further below. By comparing pictures of this structure in 76, p48 and 88, p30 it is quite evident that the building has been altered. In both these pictures the roof above the doors is missing.

When we visited Majdanek (Lublin) we discovered that the bluish color around the doorposts had been artificially applied. We discovered this by examining the total area of blue coloration. We found that not only were the walls of the “gas chamber” colored blue, but so too were the legs of a modem signpost adjacent to the doorway. We took a scraping of this coloring for forensic examination in Sweden.

Stutthof

It is important to bear in mind that we cannot in the least depend on the present appearance of Stutthof’s “gas chamber.” It may be that the entire building has been erected post-war, but in any case we do have definite evidence of alteration at least. There are two main sources for this:

First we have the 1960 photo in the book *We Have Not Forgotten* (2, pp108-109). This is quite different from the 1969 picture of the same “gas chamber” in *Stutthof Guide Informateur* (72, p68). The brickwork is entirely different from one book to the other; and what is more, both are different again from the present day structure. Over the years, the doors have been made more and more heavy, in an effort to create some “gas chamber” window-dressing. There are no portholes.

Paradoxically, the Polish government’s book [12] tells us on page 70 that “Stutthof had no gas chambers.”

Dachau

Despite recurrent claims in the popular newspapers, not even the Exterminationists maintain that anyone was gassed at Dachau. The guru of Exterminationist adherents, Simon Wiesenthal, wrote to *Books & Bookmen* (April 1975) to state that there were no extermination camps on German soil. Martin Broszat, enigmatic head of the IHR’s look-alike in Munich, the Institute for Contemporary History, wrote to *Die Zeit* on 26 August 1960 to say the same thing.

The installations on display at Dachau today are quite obviously fumigation closets for clothing. A photo appears in both Butz’s definitive opus (109) and in Richard Harwood’s marvelously readable *Nuremberg Trials* (130). The inscription on the door about “Gassing Times...” and “Deadly Danger!” would seem to so obviously disprove the extermination function that one wonders at any of the American liberators ever being taken in — even taking into account the Americans’ renowned lack of linguistic ability.

Needless to say, fumigation closets do not need peepholes or “screw-tight mushroom lids” on the roof, and the “liberated” West Germans have not shown the same “poetic license” that their Pol-

ish counterparts have, in adding little bits here and there to “help educate backward people” about the “gas chambers.”

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Book review

The Secret Betrayal

- *The Secret Betrayal*, Nikolai Tolstoy, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978, 503pp, hardback, available from IHR at \$16.00. ISBN: 0-684-15635-0.

Reviewed by Charles Lutton

From 1943 until early 1947 Western countries, led by Britain and the United States, returned nearly two and a half million prisoners of war and refugees to the Soviet Union, regardless of their individual wishes. Additional thousands of old emigres (people who had fled Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution and the Civil War) were also forcibly sent to the USSR, along with other people of Russian descent who had never lived within the borders of Russia.

The forced repatriation of Russians at the end of World War II has been dealt with in several books that appeared before Count Tolstoy's book was published in Britain in 1977 under the title of *Victims of Yalta*. One of the first studies of this grim episode was Peter Huxley-Blythe's *The East Came West* (The Caxton Printers, 1964). The late Julius Epstein, of the Hoover Institution, twice went to court in an effort to dislodge records relating to this topic. His findings appeared in 1973 with the publication of *Operation Keelhaul: The Story of Forced Repatriation from 1944 to the Present* (Devin-Adair). A year later Nicholas Bethell's *The Last Secret: Forcible Repatriation to Russia 1944-7* (Basic Books, 1974) was published in Britain and the United States. *The Secret Betrayal* is the most complete account of forced repatriation to appear thus far. Between 1971 and 1978 pertinent government records were declassified and the book has a firm foundation in British archival records, as well as a wealth of information gained by interviews and correspondence with policy-makers, military officers who conducted repatriation operations, and a few of the victims who managed to survive the ordeal. This is a thoroughly documented account of the British role in repatriation.

With the invasion of Western Europe in June 1944, thousands of Russian prisoners fell into the hands of the Allies. Many were forced laborers who had been working on the Atlantic Wall for the Todt Organization. Others were simply refugees. However, the Western Allies were surprised to discover that thousands had willingly joined the Wehrmacht. Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov asserted in May 1944 that the number of Russians serving in the German armed forces was "insignificant." Actually, approximately one million of Stalin's subjects had joined the other side.

By late June the British Foreign Office decided to repatriate all Russian POWs, callously disregarding the consequences of such a policy (early in the war Stalin had made it clear that any Soviet citizens who were even temporarily out of Communist control would be regarded as traitors. Official Orders threatened "deserters" and POWs with draconian measures). On 24 June 1944, Patrick Dean, the Assistant Legal Adviser of the Foreign Office, declared: "In due course all

those with whom the Soviet authorities desire to deal must ... be handed over to them, and we are not concerned with the fact that they may be shot or otherwise more harshly dealt with than they might be under English law.”

The War Office held a different view. Britain’s SOE (Special Operations Executive, an organization created in November 1940 to encourage, direct, and supply resistance groups in countries occupied by the Axis) had distributed leaflets to Russians in the German armed forces promising that Russians surrendering to the Allies could receive political asylum if they wished. Despite stiff protests, the military was unable to prevail upon the Foreign Office to reverse its unilateral decision to return all Russians to Soviet authorities. British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden, who, Tolstoy reports, “was responsible for initiating the whole policy,” first reached agreement with the Soviets on repatriation at the Moscow Conference in October 1944. The United States joined with Britain and the Soviet Union in reaffirming the program of repatriating Russians at the Yalta Conference. However, nothing in the agreement on POWs referred to the return of Soviet citizens who were unwilling to go back to the USSR. Nor did it provide that those who had never been citizens of the USSR should be delivered to Stalin.

During the summer of 1944 the British began to ship thousands of Russians from POW and refugee camps to the USSR. When informed of their destination, many of the prisoners committed suicide. The Foreign Office did what it could to suppress news of the suicides because, warned Patrick Dean, “these suicides might possibly cause political trouble [in Britain].”

British officers who delivered prisoners to Soviet ports, such as Murmansk and Odessa, witnessed NKVD execution squads murder Russians as they left ship. Responding to a plea that mercy be shown to those who did not wish to return to the Soviet Union, Eden wrote that the “provisions of the Crimean Agreement” had to be upheld, for “we cannot afford to be sentimental.”

By the time the war in Europe ended in May 1945, over two million Russians had surrendered to British and American forces. Soviet Repatriation Commissions were established throughout Western Europe, staffed by agents of the NKVD and SMERSH. In some instances, the Soviet officials intimated that Stalin had proclaimed a total amnesty. Large numbers of Russians who had been POWs or slave laborers welcomed the opportunity to return to their homes and loved ones and they willfully went back to the Soviet Union. Thousands of others, however, had an idea of what the consequences would be if they fell into the hands of Stalin’s agents. Some claimed the protection of the Geneva Convention regarding prisoners of war. Others hoped to be resettled in a non-Communist part of the world.

The British resorted to various ruses in an effort to repatriate anti-Communist elements as easily as possible. For example, at the close of the war, around 50,000 Cossacks were in British-controlled parts of Austria. Along with about 100,000 Georgians, various Cossack tribes had fought with the Germans against the Soviets and, with their families, retreated westward as the Third Reich collapsed. When repatriating the members of the 15th Cossack Cavalry Corps, the British deceived them by telling them that they would first be sent to Italy and ultimately to Canada. In other instances it was necessary to set troops upon the unarmed men, women, children, forcing them into trucks or railroad cars. As they were being rounded up, many displayed documents proving that they were citizens of France, Italy, Yugoslavia, or registered stateless with Nansen passports issued by the League of Nations.

Chapter eleven, entitled “An Unsolved Mystery,” attempts to unravel one of the most appalling incidents in the repatriation story, the handing over to Stalin of long-time opponents of the Soviet

regime who technically were exempt from repatriation because of the fact that they had never been Soviet citizens. The agreed upon definition of a "Soviet citizen" was "a person born or resident within the pre 1 September 1939 boundaries of Russia (who had not acquired another nationality — or a Nanssen passport, which would render the subject Stateless) ..." By this definition thousands who had fled Russia during the Civil War and who found themselves under British control at the end of the Second World War should not have been sent to the USSR. Among the thousands delivered to Stalin was 76 year old Czarist General Peter Krasnov; Andrei Shkuro, a cavalry leader who had fought for the Czar and had been decorated by the British in the First World War and who fought with the German 1st Cossack Cavalry Division in the Second World War; and Sultan Kelech Ghirey, leader of the Caucasians. British officers informed these men that they were requested to attend a meeting with Field Marshal Alexander. They boarded trucks and were then turned over to Soviet authorities in Austria. As Tolstoy relates: "Even the Soviet authorities who received them were astonished that the British should have included these people in the consignment. At Judenberg (the delivery point in Austria) the Red Army General Dolmatov asked in surprise why the old emigres had been handed over: to his knowledge the Soviet authorities had never demanded them. NKVD interrogators were frankly incredulous." Most of the older emigres had fought as Allies of the British in the First World War. On 12 January 1947, Generals Krasnov and Shkuro, along with the German commander of the 15th Cossack Cavalry Division, General Helmuth von Pannwitz, were executed, after having spent nineteen months in the infamous Lubianka Prison. Most of the other Cossack and German officers of the Cossack units were also executed. "In this way," the author explains, "the British Government had in essence sentenced to death without trial German officers who had been received by them as prisoners of war."

Brigadier Geoffrey Musson, who delivered these Cossacks to the Soviets, told the author that he received oral orders from his superiors compelling him to return all the Cossacks under his control, regardless of their actual nationality. Some documents relating to this particular incident remain classified and other have "mysteriously disappeared." Tolstoy is confident that "the handover of Krasnov and Shkuro in particular, and the officers at Lienz in general, was no blunder committed by some hard-pressed staff officer in a moment of stress, but a carefully planned operation ... The motive presumably was to co-operate with Soviet forces in Austria."

Military officers ordered to enforce repatriation were often surprised at the alarm expressed by the refugees when they learned that they were to be shipped eastward. Lt. Michael Bayley related how Russian peasants who had been working as slave laborers on German farms begged to be allowed to stay in Germany. The perplexed British officer was told by members of the Polish Armored Division that "of course the Russian peasants were better off in Germany — why couldn't we let well enough alone." Another officer explained that he and his fellow officers believed the Cossacks' fears to be groundless. British wartime propaganda had portrayed the USSR as being "a kind of utopian socialist state ... and that they would behave compassionately towards these people whom we were deputed to send back." Throughout the war there had been a blackout of news unfavorable to the Soviet system, thus it was hardly surprising that the military men detailed to enforce repatriation felt that the USSR was governed by the Four Freedoms, and that Russian refugees consequently had little to fear from their own government.

Protests against the repatriation policy were being raised by the summer of 1945. The Commander of the 2nd Polish Corps, General Anders, complained that the Soviets were trying to kidnap Polish citizens. On 5 July 1945, the Vatican sent a plea to the British Foreign Office and the U.S. State Department that thousands of Ukrainians in the West should not be sent back. John Galsworthy of the Foreign Office minuted: "We do not wish to attract attention to this aspect of

the Agreement which is, of course, in opposition to our traditional attitude towards political refugees ... “

Other objections were raised by Allied occupation commanders. In Italy, Field Marshal Alexander finally told a Soviet Repatriation Mission under General Basilov that he would not be allowed to bully unwilling Ukrainians into returning to Russia. General Eisenhower likewise viewed with distaste the use of force against helpless Russian refugees and POWs. He placed a temporary freeze on repatriation operations and asked his superiors in Washington for a definite ruling on the issue. Field Marshal Montgomery followed suit and in the Fall of 1945 ordered that force no longer be used for the repatriation of Soviet nationals. The American and British governments thus assumed the onus for continuing the repatriation policy. Galsworthy of the Foreign Office wrote, “We made up our minds long ago that we could not try to save Russians from their Government, however much we might wish to do so on purely humanitarian grounds.”

Apologists for the forced repatriation policy have claimed, without evidence, that “Stalin might have contemplated holding liberated British prisoners hostage.” Why then were hundreds of thousands of Russians forcibly repatriated after all the British and American prisoners liberated by the Red Army in eastern Germany were returned to the West? Tolstoy believed that the Allied diplomats wanted to continue to co-operate with the Soviets in building a new post-war world order. “Suggestions that the Soviet Union could represent a potential threat, however ably presented, were ridiculed ... Foreign Office officials held that Stalin’s intentions towards the West were beneficent, and that to work in cooperation with him was ... essential to British interests. The fate of the Russians whose return they enforced was an unfortunate but unavoidable sacrifice to the greater aim.” Nikolai Tolstoy has proven that the British were guilty of flouting the principles of British law and the Geneva Convention. The one shortcoming of the book is Tolstoy’s lack of emphasis on the role played by the United States government in the repatriation policy. Despite this flaw, Tolstoy has written a book which sheds considerable new light on one of the most tragic episodes of the twentieth century.

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Book review

The Crime of Moscow In Vynnytsia

- *The Crime of Moscow In Vynnytsia*, Introduction by John F. Stewart, Preface by Lewis Brandon, Institute for Historical Review, 1980, 48 pp. paperback, \$3.00 from IHR. ISBN: 0-911038-90-6.

Reviewed by Lewis Brandon

In 1943 the German occupation authorities in Ukraine discovered the bodies of 9,439 victims of the Soviet NKVD. The victims were all Ukrainian dissidents, who had been rounded up by the Soviets during 1937-39; before the German invasion. The Germans discovered their bodies under an orchard, under a children's playground, and in a park.

The Germans brought together an International Commission of forensic experts from eleven different European countries; Allied, Axis and neutral. The forensic experts examined the bodies, and found as follows:

- All male corpses had their hands tied behind their back, and had been shot in the back of the head.
- 60 corpses had also been bludgeoned, indicating that the original gunshot had not killed them outright.
- Three female corpses were nude, and did not have their hands tied, indicating probable sexual interference.
- The clothing on the victims indicated that they were all working class or peasants.
- One victim, at least, had soil in his stomach, indicating that he had been buried alive.

In an uncanny re-enactment of the German discovery of the Katyn Forest murders of 14,500 Poles, the Germans had to hastily rebury the bodies and retreat before advanced Red armies. As with the Katyn affair, the Bulgarian member of the International Commission was captured by the Soviets. However, in this case the Bulgarian did not renege on his testimony; he was executed. Neither did the Soviets try to pin the blame for the Ukrainian deaths on the Germans; there was no way that even the double-talking Communists could have construed such a lie.

In the end, the entire affair was covered over, along with the corpses themselves. It was not until 1951 that a brave group of Ukrainian expatriates and sympathizers in the West published this 48-page booklet exposing the atrocity for all to witness. But even this brave voice crying in the desolate wilderness would have faded away, had it not been for the efforts of the Institute for Historical Review. Thanks are due to the Vynnytsia Remembrance Committee, headed by Dr. Jaroslaw Sawka, for their encouragement and guidance in the bringing about of this much-needed production.

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Book Review

Genocide In The Holy Land

- *Genocide In The Holy Land*, Rabbi Moshe Schonfeld, Neturei Karta of the U.S.A., PO Box 2143, Brooklyn, NY 11202, 570pp, paperback \$8.00.

Reviewed by Bezalel Chaim

Genocide in the Holy Land by Rabbi Moshe Schonfeld is a worthy sequel to the same author's *The Holocaust Victims Accuse*. Rabbi Schonfeld presents a documented account of the destruction by the Zionists of Middle Eastern and North African Jewry. Although the book focuses on the plight of Yemenite Jews there is also considerable material on the uprooting of the Jews of Iraq, Iran and Algeria. Rabbi Schonfeld relates a sorry tale of kidnapping, murder and religious persecution and the book is a damning indictment of the "secular Socialist" Zionist state. Although many readers may not accept Rabbi Schonfeld's dogmatic Jewish Orthodox biases nonetheless this book is essential reading for those wishing to gain knowledge of what really took place in the "bastion of democracy," Israel.

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Book review

The Fascist Ego: A Political Biography Of Robert Brasillach

- *The Fascist Ego: A Political Biography Of Robert Brasillach*, William R. Tucker, University of California Press, 341 pp. hardback \$22.95. ISBN: 0-520-027108

Reviewed by Bezalel Chaim

Robert Brasillach, one of the most promising literary critics, novelists, poets and journalists of the thirties, was condemned in a French courtroom of collaboration with the Germans and was executed in 1945, despite pleas for clemency to DeGaulle by such notables as Albert Camus, Francois Mauriac, Jean Cocteau, Colette, Gabriel Marcel, Jacques Rueff, Paul Valery, Georges Duhamel, Arthur Honegger, Jean-Louis Barrault, Paul Claudel, and others. The author, a member of the Department of Government, Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas, sees in Brasillach's involvement with fascism "a form of anarchic individualism or right-wing anarchism ... and far from being a form of social or moral conservatism, Brasillach's fascism was inspired by an anti-modernism that placed the creative individual's sensibilities and his ego at the center of things. Brasillach's fear that the individualist prerogatives of the creative elite would be submerged in the industrialized and rationalized society that loomed on the horizon was important as a basis for his thoughts and actions." Professor Tucker's attempt to link anarchism and fascism is not very successful but his book is an indispensable source for an understanding of Fascist ideology. Ultimately, like most academics, Professor Tucker is trapped by the "lock-step" reflexes of the last forty years but the issues he raises in the book are well-worth discussing.

Winter 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 4), page 378.

Book review

The Other Holocaust: Many Circles of Hell

- *The Other Holocaust: Many Circles Of Hell*, by Bohdan Wytwycky, Novak, 1980, 918 F Street NW #410, Washington, DC 20004, 96pp, paperback. ISBN: 9991651950.

Reviewed by Lewis Brandon

The inevitable has happened. Exterminationist circles are viciously divided as to “whose Holocaust is it anyway?” This Ukrainian author has sought to hitch a ride on the Holocaust gravy-train, by addressing the issue of the 9-10 million (or as some say, 5 million) “Others” who perished along with the magical six million Jews. The reaction has been polarized. Rabbi Seymour Siegel of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America says that “There is a brotherhood of suffering. Dr. Wytwycky’s work helps create that brotherhood.” Professor Jacob Neusner of Brown University enthuses: “I certainly endorse this document, which is objective and factual, and which deserves the widest circulation.” Michael Berenbaum, Head Holocauster at the President’s Commission on the Holocaust (see book review on pages 174-177 of our Summer 1980 issue) is not so sure as to the ideologically correct line to take. He agrees that “Wytwycky has begun a critically important task” but that he has some “philosophical and methodological reservations” about the book. The main reservation he has is that he would have liked “to have seen his keen intellect probe the critical and unavoidable question of the collaboration with the Nazis of the other victims of their oppression in murdering Jews, sharing with their enemy the most central goal — the extermination of the Jewish people.” Such is the paranoid world of the professional Exterminationist that he identifies the non-Jewish exterminatees as exterminators.

Indeed, Berenbaum’s Holocaust Commission, under the guruship of survivor extraordinaire Elie Wiesel, has exhibited a considerable amount of anxiety on this vexed question. (Maybe these were the “nocturnal obessions and complexes” that Wiesel refers to in his revealing introduction to his Report?) The commission gnashed its collective teeth over whether or not all those “Others” should be included in any Holocaust memorializing. They lurched this way and that way, endeavoring to placate all those “Others” who sought to elevate themselves to the same pinnacle of aloofness from criticism which is enjoyed by the Tiny Remnant of Jewish survivors. (Not least among these “Others” was, of course, the unsavory collection of Negro child-molesters and renegade Poles who had been co-opted onto the Commission as “window dressing” to make it appear that it was not a totally Jewish operation.)

The slightest move by the Commission to memorialize the “Others” brought down condemnation and rebuke from the lofty towers of Jewish academia. The most vitriolic attack on this Holocaust universalizing came from Prof. Yehuda Bauer, writing in the Chicago Sentinel of May 1980 and the Australian Jewish News of 18 April 1980:

In this [President Carter's] most disturbing statement, the Holocaust is re-defined to include the sum total of all the atrocities committed by the Nazis ... The Holocaust in this view is no longer a unique historical event ... but a hold-all term for “the inhumanity of man to man,” and similar generalizations. Not only were the six million Jews murdered by their enemies; they now stand in danger of having their unique martyrdom obliterated by their friends.

Jews ... were killed for the crime of being born. Their destruction was a sacral act. Even the method of their murder after 1941 — gassing — was different: only a few thousand gypsies and a smaller number of Soviet prisoners of war shared the fate of millions of Jews. The place of the Jews in the Nazi world was unique, and was related to the unique history of the Jewish people and their historical relationship to the non-Jewish world.

The fact that a U.S. administration must necessarily be under political pressure from the many groups that make up the American nation who now, paradoxically, appear to envy the Jews “their” Holocaust, is tragic, or infuriating, or sad.

Bauer’s essay was also quoted at length in the Baltimore News American of 11 May 1980, by Gary Rosenblatt, editor of the Baltimore Jewish Times. Rosenblatt anguished over the construction of Baltimore’s own Holocaust Memorial at the Inner Harbor, worrying whether or not it should refer to “Others.” He noted that many Baltimore Jewish groups felt that a universalized inscription would be “watered down” and “trivialized” if it were to include all who died. Such, it seems, is the arrogance of the Tiny Remnant, that the alleged deaths of 9-10 million people (or as some say, 5 million) are “trivia” compared to the alleged deaths of six million (or as Raul Hilberg says, 5.4 million; or as Gerald Reitlinger says, 4.6 million) just because they do not happen to be of the Jewish faith!

Happily for Bohdan Wytwycky, such conflicts between “unique, sacral acts” on the one hand, and “trivial, universalized” grab bags of in humanitarianism on the other, are transmitted at an altitude far above his helotic sandbox.

It is virtually impossible to provide a critique of the content of his book, because it presents so very little information. Most of the text is editorializing and unreferenced ad hominem arguments. The few references there are, are hilarious in their feeble attempt to appear academic. Not only are we referred to the communist-written faked confessions of Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz; the publishers cannot even get his first name right! (He is referred to as Karl instead of Rudolf.)

Later, on page 49, we are referred to the memoirs of a Pole who “miraculously survived” for four years at various camps, despite “the average life expectancy” being “about three weeks.”

Probably the most telling paragraph in the entire book is on page 52, where the author cites as a source (apparently the only one) for his “10 million” victims, not the German Einsatzgruppen records, not the German concentration camp records, not even Polish or Soviet communist historians, but ... the New York Saturday Evening Post, 27 January 1945! Perhaps Mr. Wytwycky would have been better off peddling his manuscript on Madison Avenue; it would have been much more suited there than among the ivyed cloisters of our seats of learning.

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A note from the editor

This issue, we are again privileged to welcome new names onto our distinguished Editorial Advisory Committee. Percy L. Greaves Jr. graduated in Business from Syracuse University in 1929, and studied Economics at Columbia University in New York City. He later worked as Financial Editor of the (now merged) *U.S. News*. In 1980, he ran as a Presidential candidate for the American Party. Dr. Charles E. Weber teaches in the Faculty of Letters at the University of Tulsa in Oklahoma. He authored a fine book review which appeared in our first issue. Dr. Weber has repeatedly come under fire from the illegal Anti-Defamation League but writes to us in his letter of acceptance: "My ordeal, instigated by the ADL, while not to be taken lightly, has had a tendency to stiffen my resistance."

Of course, we do not envy the ADL their current predicament. After 66 years of policing the thoughts of America, and peddling lie after lie ("the Nazi slaughter of 17 million human beings" according to their "10 Priorities" pamphlet) the Anti-Defamatory pigeons are now coming home to roost on number 823 United Nations Plaza with some unsanitary results!

Not only are the Zionist Thought Police having to deal with stubborn academics such as those temerarious members of our Editorial Advisory Committee, who value truth more than career advancement, but the ADL are now having to deal with a train of events among their own community which few could have anticipated.

On the one hand, there are those brave individuals among the Jewish community who can see the writing on the wall. Moshe Menuhin and Rabbi Elmer Berger (whose memoirs we sell at \$13 and \$5 respectively) laid the groundwork for the current campaigns by Jews to rescue their kinfolk from the clutches of unscrupulous, power-mad Zionists. Dr. Alfred Lilienthal believes that when the American people finally realize how they have been conned for so long, they may direct their anger not just at the Zionists responsible for the trickery, but against all Jews. Bezalel Chaim of the Revisionist Press in Brooklyn believes that Zionism is anti-Jewish, since the traditions of Jewry are for a libertarian life-style, not vicious, statist, repression and imperialism. Outspoken Orthodox leaders such as Rabbi Moshe Hirsch of the Neturei Karta sect maintain that Zionism is unreligious, and in fact a blasphemy. Jewish thinkers such as Noam Chomsky of MIT and Dr. Howard Stein of the University of Oklahoma (whose feature on the Psychohistory of the Holocaust we published last time) believe that we have a duty to pursue the truth, no matter what the consequences. With such courageous fighters for truth inside the Jewish community itself we should all take hope that the Zionists have not had everything their own way. And with more and more Jews realizing and decrying the dangers of Zionist superimposition on Jewry, let us also hope that Dr. Lilienthal's fears of a host community backlash against all Jews (once the Zionists' game is widely discovered) will not be realized.

A much greater problem for the Zionist internal gestapo at the moment is the phenomenon of naive zealots letting the cat out of the bag. Our old friend Yaakov Riz, who has in his basement

Holocaust museum a bar of Jewish soap which stubbornly refuses to be forensically examined (see our Summer 1980 issue, page 131) wrote in the *Jewish Press* of 5 September 1980 that Jews should use as much trickery as possible in peddling Holocaust lies. He gave an example from the Talmud where the angels Michael and Gabriel tricked God into drowning an entire army (or as some might say, a platoon?) of Egyptians. They did this by showing God a dead Jewish child and an Egyptian brick (or as some might say, a dead typhus victim and an empty can of Zyklon B?) Such open advocacy of mendacity cannot be other than an embarrassment to the ADL's slick Exterminationist propaganda machine.

Likewise, the zealots of the so-called Jewish Defense League must have caused a few gulps at UN Plaza. On the last day of November two dozen JDL "militants" paraded their scrawny physiques outside the Orange County home of Dr. Reinhard Buchner, here in Southern California. Among other slogans, they chanted: "Who do we want? Buchner! How do we want him? Dead!" Their niceties were reported in the next day's Los Angeles Herald Examiner, and followed up by some editorial condemnation from the normally Judaeophile paper.

One of the most insightful revelations was published in Chicago, in the aftermath of Moshe Dayan's remarks on Israeli TV that the quality of America's armed forces was low because the ranks were filled with "Blacks who have low intelligence and low education" and that Israel's survival could depend on U.S. military intervention. He went on to advocate a renewed draft to "ensure that fresh blood and better brains" go into the U.S. forces. One of the most distinguished columnists on the Chicago Sun-Times, Mike Royko, responded (26 November 1980) that Dayan's remarks were racist, insulting, and downright arrogant. As if that was not bold enough in itself, Royko also spent eleven paragraphs describing what happens to any columnist who dares utter the mildest criticism of the Israeli junta. He wrote that "if there's anything as certain as sunrise, it's that a writer who dares criticize Israel's government policies will be accused of being anti-Semitic." He went on to describe how critics are subjected to letter-writing campaigns, and Israeli government demands for "meetings" with the writer and/or his bosses. He pointed out how American newspaper criticism of the Israeli government is much milder than in Israeli newspapers, but that the "hypersensitivity" of Jewish-American organizations means that "Most commentators think very carefully before they set out to write something about Israel. Nobody wants to be bombarded with the ugly charge of anti-Semitism."

Here we have an example of Zionist arrogance not only letting the cat out of the bag-that Zionists don't think that Blacks are just like us except for the color of their skin; that Zionists don't believe in the freedom of individuals not to be drafted into military slavery; that Zionists don't think that the U.S. shouldn't interfere in countries overseas-but we also have here an example of the Gentile backlash against such brazen presumptuousness. Of course it may be that Mr. Royko spent his eleven paragraphs discussing Zionist hypersensitivity to criticism in order to head off just such responses, or at least to head off a carpeting from the local Israeli consul. (In fact, Mr. Royko's audacious column will be one of the principal items in the file which the ADL have already opened on him, and if the file starts to grow even a little bit too bulky, he will have to seek employment elsewhere.)

The real significance of the Royko column is that it shows just what kind of thing happens when foolhardy Zionist zealots let their mouths run away with them, especially if there are media present. If Mr. Royko can see through Zionist trickery and arrogance where intervention is concerned, there is no telling what will happen when some Zionist loudmouth lets slip the truth about the "Holocaust."

LEWIS BRANDON

Director: Institute for Historical Review

Editor: The Journal of Historical Review

Spring 1981 (Vol. 2, No. 1), page 7-9.

Letters to the Editor

8 October 1980

Dear Mr. Branton: *[sic]*

Thank you for writing in response to *People Weekly's* 25 August issue article on Samuel Pissar. We are glad to have the opportunity to respond to your comments.

Mr. Pissar's assertion regarding the existence of a gas chamber compound at Auschwitz is supported by reputable sources too numerous to list. The New York Times on 24 February 1979 published a photograph of the extermination unit at Auschwitz taken from a WWII aerial reconnaissance film. In this photograph, a gas chamber was fully visible. In addition, testimony at the War Crimes Trials of 1964 from survivors of the Holocaust verified that there were indeed gas chambers at Auschwitz. While you disagree with this evidence — along with scores of books written on the subject — we trust that the foregoing has stated our point of view.

Sincerely yours,

Maureen Fulton
People Weekly
Rockefeller Center
New York, NY 10020

31 October 1980

Dear Mr. Lewis: *(sic!)*

Please remove my name from your mailing list as per requirements of the U.S. Postal Law.

I have close personal friends who were interred (*sic!*) in concentration camps in Europe during the second World War; and I have an uncle who "liberated" the first such camp in Europe who has photographs and documentation as to their existence.

Denying truth and reality will not make it go away. And to do so to profit from those who are mentally and socially malformed is reprehensible.

Any so-called "academic" which supports your mythology probably also believes in flying saucers, astrology, Superman, aryan superiority and that man is civilized; and they have no right to call themselves educated men.

I feel quite certain that your backing comes from foreign governments and organizations and wonder whether you have registered as a lobby organization with the Justice Department. Your concepts are alien to all that the United States of America stands for in this troubled world of ours.

With no respect,

Dr. Marvin R. Bensman
Professor Department of Theatre and Communication Arts
Memphis State University
Memphis, TN 38152

6 November 1980

Sirs:

Your advertisements are really quite funny. Keep them coming because I really need the comic relief.

Why don't you offer special discounts on swastika armbands and the like?

Sincerely,

James K. Ash
Director Japan Program & Cooperative Education Department
Fort Lewis College
Durango, CO 81301

4 November 1980

Gentlemen:

After a careful review of your publications, I find that I am distressed at their perspective and content.

Please be good enough to remove my name from your mailing list.

Sincerely,

Dr. Peter O'Keefe
Associate Professor
Department of History
Marist College
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601

30 October 1980

Dear Sir/Madame:

This is to inform you that I find your literature offensive, and would be most appreciative if you would remove my name from your mailing list immediately.

Thank You.

R.J. DiCenzo
Asst. Prof.: History East Asian Studies
Department of History
Oberlin College
Oberlin, OH 44074

Spring 1981 (Vol. 2, No. 1), page 12

The Holocaust Debate

John Bennett

Since I was a speaker at the convention here in this city of Los Angeles last year, it seems to me very little has changed in America since that time. You seem to be still living in a “1984” situation where important public issues can’t be debated in the media. Perhaps you need some guarantee of freedom of speech and freedom of press in your Constitution? Ah, you have it don’t you? Well, it doesn’t seem to be working very effectively!

You might think of Australia just as a place where kangaroos hop down the main streets, that it is a bit of a quarry for raw materials, and a place where you can plant your military bases so we can become a nuclear target. But, we also seem to be a country where there is a fair amount of freedom of speech on important issues and in particular a very important issue-the Holocaust.

One reason that I’ve become involved in the worldwide debate about the Holocaust, is that it is, as Zionist Jews say, “Israel’s number one propaganda weapon,” and the feelings of guilt inculcated in Western society about the Holocaust led to uncritical support of Israel which in turn could lead to world war, and has already contributed to a sevenfold increase in oil prices. So, obviously, the Holocaust is an important issue. It is not a relatively trivial question such as why the ship the *Lusitania* was sunk in 1916 or why particular incidents happened in the First or the Second World War.

The suppression of truth about the Holocaust could more or less directly contribute significantly to a real Holocaust, a world war in which many people, including Australians and Americans-in particular White people-would suffer grievously. As a matter of some interest: why in a country such as America where most people can say anything they like (the laws of obscenity here being what they are) and do practically anything they like, the one thing Americans can’t do is to publicly challenge the Holocaust, or the “Holy Cause,” as it perhaps may be more accurately described. When I was over here last time in America, I sent a letter to eighty important newspapers here in the U.S. and to most of your television networks. There was only one paper that published that letter and it was [The Spotlight](#). It was, I thought, a fairly good letter relating in essence to the survival of the human species in the terms I have already indicated; the possibility of a world war due to mass mind-manipulation especially in relation to the Holocaust. Although we don’t have a Constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech in Australia, we do in fact seem to have a greater degree of freedom of speech than you do in America. However, the very wide-ranging debate about the Holocaust in Australia may be very largely due to the fact that I to a large extent initiated it and I have a reputation of being somebody who defends freedom of speech, and it became very difficult for people trying to shut me up to say that I was a neo-Nazi or an anti-Semite or a pathological case, etc.

In Australia the Holocaust has been debated on three of our four nationwide television stations. It has been widely debated in important papers such as the Melbourne Age and important (by Australian standards) weeklies and monthlies. To draw some American comparison; if you could get a debate going on the NBC, the ABC and the CBS, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, and Mr. William Buckley's magazine, the *National Review*, you would then have something like the debate that has happened in Australia. Of course, as I have indicated by my reference to the eighty letters that I sent when I was over here the last time and only one being published, it is very difficult to get this important issue discussed in the media and perhaps other issues as well; which of course leads directly to the issue, or the question, as to who controls the media in the United States. Just looking at the credits of the appalling TV programs and appalling films we usually get in Australia from America, it is to me quite obvious who controls very significant parts of the media here in America. The people who control the media here are of course Zionist Jews, and anti-Zionist Jews such as Alfred Lilienthal and other very courageous people have all sorts of difficulties in getting their views ventilated.

I think that in fact there are many more anti-Zionist Jews than is apparent on the face of it, because Jews, like Gentiles, have been brainwashed into accepting a certain view of history, and they, like Gentiles, find it very difficult to buck peer group pressure, think for themselves, and ignore verbal threats to themselves, and don't worry about their job prospects. There are some Jews in Australia, and some in America, who are prepared to look into the question of the Holocaust, and it is really just a question of starting to ask the right questions. Because if you don't ask the right questions or if you don't ask any relevant questions, you can't get any answers or you certainly can't get the right answers. You've just got to ask questions such as "Why do we have so much propaganda about the Holocaust?" "Why do Americans know that six million Jews died in the Second World War, but don't know how many Americans died?" "Why do we get so much propaganda from Hollywood about Jewish suffering and so little information about the suffering of other peoples?" Of course, Jews did suffer during the Second World War, Germans suffered during the Second World War. Just about everybody suffers in war. If there is to be another world war arising from suppression of truth about the Holocaust and arising from Israel, of course that will be a real Holocaust, a massive holocaust in which all people -Australians, Germans, Americans-will suffer.

Of course, I am from Australia: which is virtually a colony of America, and America is virtually a colony of Israel, so we don't particularly wish to be on the receiving end of a war arising from censorship in America and arising from the gutlessness of (especially) American academics and indeed academics everywhere, to discuss this issue. Anybody who's had very much to do with trying to get a debate going in relation to the Holocaust- (and there is a Mr. Smith here who put out a little magazine called Smith's Journal who would perhaps know what I am talking about) - would know that there are all sorts of stratagems and mechanisms to try to silence debate. One of the most effective stratagems is just what could be called, I suppose, the silent treatment-not to have any debate at all. But there is a great responsibility lying upon historians in this issue.

The first thing I did as a fairly logical lawyer when I first read the Butz book (*The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, IHR, \$10.00; paperback, \$6.00) I thought to myself as I reeled about (because it rather upsets the mind to think that one could be conned for so long on such a basic historic issue)-the first thing I did was to post off copies of Butz to historians around Australia asking for their comments. Some of them wrote back saying I was a neo-Nazi and an anti-Semite, that sort of thing. Others might have made a few perfunctory points, which I answered. I then answered their answer and then there was silence and I would write more letters saying "Would you care to elaborate on this, etc." So I think the main reason that there isn't a debate on the Holocaust is that if there is a debate, if there were free trade in ideas on this issue, there would be no doubt as to

what the truth is. The truth is set out more or less in the Butz thesis or the Faurisson thesis. But it is impossible to have freedom of speech and then free debate and arrive at the truth where you have people persecuted, where you have people becoming perhaps unnecessarily afraid, where you have a controlled media preventing a free discussion of these issues.

I said before that the problem is not so much that the wrong answers are being given, but that the right questions are not being asked. Because you only have to start asking questions such as “Why *Zyklon B* was used?” “Why were there concentration camps?” “Why was Auschwitz there?” “Why was it established? I I I ‘What industrial functions took place at Auschwitz?’” “Were the Germans short of labor in 1944?” “Was it logistically feasible to move so many people say from Hungary to Auschwitz in 1944?” Just ask a series of questions and the answers are quite obvious, I think, from even a fairly perfunctory reading of the available data. If you keep on asking the right questions, you will eventually get the right answers.

I’ve ceased asking questions about the Holocaust because I find it rather boring. I would find it equally boring had the Germans won the war and had the Germans a great deal of control over the media here; if I was facing Holocaust films twice a week about the bombing of German cities. That was to my mind about the closest thing to a genocide policy in the Second World War, but we hear very, very little about that in the media. I think it was the type of war where total victory led not to total falsehood (because there is a great deal of truth in the Jewish version of the Holocaust legend, as Butz points out) but, also to a significant degree of lies in relation to the Holocaust.

Normally, of course, people such as myself wouldn’t bother looking into the Holocaust, wouldn’t bother getting into some of the sort of trouble I got into in Australia, were it not for the fact that it is, as Zionist Jews say, “Israel’s number one propaganda weapon” and Israel and its policies could quite easily lead to a world war.

I’m not religious myself and it is a bit hard for me to understand what motivates religious people. But in Australia, where we have a huge amount of desert, it would strike me as being extremely strange if a group of fanatics tried to get control of a few square miles of desert because of some book written a long time ago saying that they were entitled to it. But, unfortunately, this little bit of desert called the West Bank is important to them; Jerusalem is important to them. Unfortunately, it is also important to the Muslims and the Arabs, and perhaps unfortunately the Arabs control a great deal of the world’s oil. And unfortunately for most of us who drive motor vehicles, as we have to pay the price. And indeed, Dr. Lilienthal wrote a book, *What Price Israel?* and indeed what a price we are paying. And I think it was Dr. Lilienthal, and other anti-Zionist Jews, who pointed out a very long time ago that trying to plant a Western type colony in a Muslim world would inevitably lead to the sort of trouble that it has led to.

When I was over here last time in America, it was my first trip overseas because I don’t believe people learn very much from travel; I only came because I thought it was an important issue. I stressed the importance of trying to overcome the censorship problem of which you have so much more here in America than we have in Australia, by action by individuals, and I am a great believer that individuals can do a great deal—quite apart from what groups might do. Individuals can send out fliers to the media, as I did when I was here last time. They can donate various books to libraries, they can write letters to newspapers. I know it is very disheartening if you write off ten letters to newspapers and none of them are published. People tend to give up. But I think it is very important just to be dogged and persistent on an issue which could lead—fairly directly or indirectly—to world war.

I have been Secretary of the Council for Civil Liberties in Victoria for fourteen years and I know that your view of civil liberties is perhaps colored by the ACLU, which consists mainly of trendy left liberal do-gooders, I suppose, who tend to believe in freedom of speech for the causes that they espouse but not otherwise; whereas I personally believe in freedom of speech for everybody unless there is a clear and direct threat to public order or national security. I've tried to encourage freedom of speech in Australia on the issue of the Holocaust, and I've perhaps attracted less flak in Australia and I've had greater access to the media because my bona fides are not in doubt and I have developed a reputation for defending people's freedom of speech. In fact, about ten years ago I defended the right of several self-styled Nazis in Australia for freedom of speech, believing then that they were associated with a movement that had led to the deliberate killing of six million Jews. I suppose like so many other people, I was so conditioned not to ask questions that if anybody queried any aspect of the Holocaust, I would tend to believe that the person must be a Nazi, that he must be the sort of person who would gas Jews-sort of a rather ridiculous Catch-22 situation.

If you say that there was no plan of genocide in the Second World War and there were no mass gassings, people tend to say "Oh you're a Nazi or a neo-Nazi, you're the sort of person who believes that there should be a plan of genocide and there should be mass gassing." There is so much illogicality in this area that I, as a lawyer, am amazed and as I've indicated, I try to indulge in some sort of debate with Australian academics and I've never come across so many desperate attempts to obscure the issues, ignore the issues, and refuse to indulge in dialogue. I think the reason is fairly obvious, that it is, as a Zionist Jew in Australia said in relation to the Holocaust, "It is Israel's number one propaganda weapon" and they are not going to lose it very easily or gracefully.

Unfortunately from the point of view of Jews, the main or one significant group of victims of the Holocaust mythology are Jews themselves because it is used to buttress the state of Israel which doesn't give Jews security and never will. It just leads to insecurity for all people and all countries because of the prospect of a world war arising from Israel's seemingly, to me, a non-religious person, mad policies of trying to grab a bit of desert because a book some time ago said that they should be able to have control of it. They can have the entire Australian desert, if they like, and build their kibbutzes or whatever there.

So, I think one should bear in mind that Jews are as conditioned as non-Jews on this issue and perhaps there will only be a free discussion in America on the issue when people such as Alfred Lilienthal and perhaps Mr. Rothbard, and other Revisionist Jews, can have access to the media and make their views known.

Well, as I have indicated, I have had a fairly easy time of it in Australia, but as you know all Australians do is lie on beaches and laconically talk and talk with a drawl and keep their lips together so the blow flies won't get in-that's why we have our accent, you see. So I have had a fairly easy time of it in Australia by comparison. But in other countries -and this is one reason why it's so difficult to get to the truth on this subject-there's the prospect of say group libel for people such as professor Faurisson in France, there's the prospect of jail and social ostracism in West Germany, and there's the prospect in England of being socially ostracized and losing a job and being called a Nazi or an anti-Semite or whatever. It is fairly easy to shut people up. A lot of people who go around saying "Oh yes, I believe in freedom of speech and I agree with Voltaire, even if I disagree with what you say I will defend to the death your right to say it." When the chips are down, there are not too many people who go along with Voltaire. It is a pity really that the ACLU in America hasn't, for instance, criticized the so-called Libertarian journals here for refusing to

take advertisements for the Butz book. It is a pity that the ACLU hasn't drawn attention to the suppression of the Palestinian case in the American media.

I really don't wish to sound too anti-America, I understand one should try to be pleasant in countries which one visits. I poked fun at Los Angeles in most of the speech which I gave at the convention last year. I suppose I shouldn't do likewise here, even though it's such a delightfully easy city to poke fun at; so I won't do that.

But if people in America who put themselves forward as defenders of freedom of speech actually got out and did something about the suppression of ideas and the degree of political censorship in America, perhaps America could be more objective in relation to Israel and less likely to be seen as Israel's colony.

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Raphael Lemkin and the Invention of 'Genocide'

Dr. JAMES J. MARTIN

Late in November 1944, midway during what the bible of the publishing industry, Publishers Weekly, prominently promoted as “Jewish Book Month” (10 November-10 December), Columbia University Press was credited with quietly releasing, without prestigious fanfare, a large (712pp) volume titled *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. Authored by a nearly total unknown in the U.S.A., one Raphael Lemkin, it has in reality become one of the most fateful works in the history of political thought in the 20th century.

Identified some months later as a refugee Polish Jew, a lawyer and a holder of a European Law doctorate, it took a while before the credentials of the author and the significance of his work began to sink in. In addition, the publication auspices of the work went unnoticed by nearly all, but they were ominous: *Axis Rule* was directly sponsored by the Division of International Law Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, staffed with some of the most prestigious and implacable exponents of global war with Germany, long before it came about. Late in 1944 it was taking a leading position in the manufacture of postwar plans and schemes for rigging a world in harmony with and contributory to the interests of its prestigious sponsoring forces.

Though a succession of reviewers of his book turned cartwheels in parading a non-stop collection of superlatives over its alleged virtues, a vociferous accolade which continued for the better part of two years, Lemkin remained a mystery man for the most part, and it was some time later before self-revealed details enabled anyone to know even the most elementary facts about who he was and where he came from. But in a succession of magazine articles he published after his book came out, the various editors disclosed that for a recent immigrant into the country, Lemkin had risen fast and traveled far. First identified as a former member of the International Office for the Unification of Criminal Law, a front for the old League of Nations, it was not long before more revealing material surfaced about his more recent employment.

Though he had arrived in the U.S. just a few months before American formal belligerency in the war in December 1941, he had vaulted upward with celerity for a refugee immigrant who presumably was not fluent in English, to judge from his publication record. By the time the book was published, over a year after it was completed, he had already served as the “head consultant” to the Foreign Economic Administration of the Roosevelt War machine, an agency mainly concerned with assignment and future ownership of the confiscated assets of the enemy. He also held jobs as an advisor to the Bureau of Economic Warfare and the War Department. Sandwiched in among these was a stint as a “foreign affairs” advisor to the State Department. Then came an appointment as lecturer before the School of Military Government at Charlottesville, Virginia, helping to train the men who were to become the administrators of conquered Germany in the

time to come. Other prestigious appointments lay ahead, but these were his primary involvements during the time he was at work on his book.

There is no way of knowing whether the views credited to him were exclusively his own, or whether he was the mouthpiece through which the dominant forces behind the wartime establishment and the coming direction and control of much of Western Europe were announcing their positions. If this were true, his pedigree made some sense, as well as his lightning-like appearance and the swift dissemination of what he had to say in print. The combination was a sophisticated product which was aimed to hit the national community in one well-synchronized joint disquisition.

From information which was disseminated after his major successes in the United Nations, we know something about Raphael Lemkin's origins and background. He was born on 24 June 1901 near the town of Bezwodene in eastern Poland, which was part of Imperial Russia in that time. Neither Lemkin nor his tireless public relations people ever said much about his youth or what he did in the tumultuous years of Russia's participation in World War One, the era of violence and chaos marking the collapse of the Romanov dynasty and the creation of Bolshevism. It appears that he was studying abroad during some of the time, in three countries, and was credited with having earned law doctorates at the Universities of Heidelberg, and of Lemberg, in his native Poland. Though Lemkin declared that his father was just a farmer, there seemed to be steady funds for expensive education abroad.

His first employment was as Secretary to the Court of Appeals in Warsaw, rising rapidly to become Public Prosecutor in that city in 1925. Lemkin in the 1950s claimed to have represented Poland at international conferences in several Western countries, becoming involved in Polish League of Nations activities, and in 1929 served as Secretary to the Commission of the Laws of the Polish Republic. In this capacity he represented Poland in the Fifth International Conference for the Unification of Criminal Law, held in Madrid in 1933. It was here that he is supposed to have made his first proposal, entreating the League to draw up a treaty to ban "mass slaughter." When one examines the documents involving his original presentations to the Legal Council of the League, however, they do not contain that language. Instead we find a document proposing the outlawing of "acts of barbarism and vandalism," and a study of "terrorism," which are quite removed from something as incendiary as "mass slaughter."

Lemkin separated from Polish State service, and, presumably, from all other related labors connected with the League of Nations, in 1935, returning to private law practice in Warsaw. In 1938 he was the editor of a 725-page book published in Krakow, titled *Prawo karne skarbowe*. This tome dealt almost exclusively with Polish internal revenue laws and tax evasion in that country (probably an aggravated matter as a consequence of the behavior of all its many unhappy minorities, fully a third of the population in the Polish state which emerged after 1919, thanks in large part to President Woodrow Wilson of the U.S.A. and his ineffable advisor on Polish affairs, Harvard's Robert H. Lord). In 1939, Lemkin was especially busy. He got out, in an unlikely collaboration with Malcolm McDermott, a member of the North Carolina Bar, and also a faculty member of the Duke University Law School, a 95-page translation into English, titled *Polish Penal Code of 1932*, and the Law of Minor Offenses, issued simultaneously in the U.S.A. and England. The importance of this relationship will be described shortly.

Still another, and somewhat more substantial, work by Lemkin was published in 1939, this one in France, titled *La Règlementation des Paiements internationaux*, a 422-page work devoted to a problem of increasing importance in the disorderly financial world of the 1930s, and presumably of particular concern to the growing flow of emigres and refugees interested in getting their

money out of one national state and into another, while presumably crossing the frontiers of one or more national states in doing so. It was Lemkin's major interest now, one to which he returned repeatedly thereafter.

Lemkin never discussed publicly or officially what he was doing during the Polish-German diplomatic crisis of the late summer of 1939, and the subsequent state of war. But a decade later he told a New York Times interviewer that he joined the civilian guerilla underground, after the Polish armed forces had ceased to fight, and the country occupied *in toto* by German and Russian armies, and fought, presumably only against the Germans, for six more months. Thus the proper international lawyer became a violator of the very first article of the Hague Agreements of 1899 and 1907 with respect to lawful civilian participation in war, and if captured might have been subject to summary execution as a *franc-tireur*. Smuggled out of Poland via Lithuania to the Baltic and thenceforth to Sweden in 1940, Lemkin, instead of being interned as a belligerent in a neutral land, promptly resumed his academic career in law in Stockholm. In 1941 his lectures, presumably based on his book published in Paris in 1939, were issued in book form in Swedish, titled *Valutareglering och Clearing*.

At about this time Lemkin's famous migration to the U.S.A. took place, details of which were never publicized. The presumption is that he was spirited out of Sweden across the length of the Soviet Union to the American West Coast, and thence across the U.S.A. to the confines of Duke University, where he had already made contacts through his previous collaboration with Prof. McDermott. And shortly after arrival, Lemkin was installed as a Professor in the Duke Law School. A few days later, Lemkin was recruited to make a major address before the American Bar Association at their annual meeting, this one in Indianapolis, 29 September-3 October 1941, where his topic was "The Legal Framework of Totalitarian Control Over Foreign Economies." Disregarding that he confused "totalitarian" with "authoritarian," it revealed the persistence of his specialty in his public work. His branching out into the creation of new law was just around the corner, however.

By this time, Lemkin was already at work on his magnum opus, which was to be published as *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. At least he must have begun the collection of the laws, decrees, emergency proclamations, order and other kinds of regulations issued in the occupied areas of Europe by Germany and its allies. Not many of these were hard to find. Published sources on the Continent contained most of them, and routinely went to law libraries all over the world, so there was nothing especially arcane about the subject material. What was original about the project was Lemkin's effort to divine how Axis-occupied Europe was organized and administered while using only legal and quasi-legal source material on which to base his entire work. Nothing in his book was a result of his personal witnessing of their operation or enforcement, nor did he cite anyone else who had. Furthermore, though much of what he presented as "evidence" for operational reality was emergency policy innovation, he assumed in every case that such policy was carried out to the letter of its legal description and remained in force. Nowhere did he entertain the possibility that much of this may not have endured except for a few weeks or months, and might have been replaced, repealed, abandoned, modified drastically one way or another, unenforced, defied successfully, allowed to sit as mere formality, or any of several other possibilities.

This compendium of the above material accounts for twothirds of the bulk of Lemkin's book, roughly the last 400 pages, arranged by country alphabetically and chronologically. How much of it he did cannot be established. Since he acknowledged the help of some 35 persons, and two of them were specifically designated as being responsible for the English style of the book, all of this is grounds for suspecting that his name was a cover for the work of a high-powered committee. Further emphasizing the likelihood of collaboration was the foreword to the book, written by

George A. Finch, the director of the International Law Section of the parent Carnegie Foundation, a functionary of the organization for nearly 25 years. The lameness of his endorsement is not easy to describe; one can only wish that it were readily available for general consultation.

It is not possible to examine *Axis Rule* within the limits of this presentation insofar as its purported thesis is concerned, namely, as a study of the organization and administration of those areas of Europe occupied by the armed forces of Germany and its allies, 1939-44. Though Lemkin's introduction is dated 15 November 1943, the content of the book stops somewhat earlier than that. Nearly 70 percent of the documents concern only the years 1940-41, and only parts of those. There is little dealing with 1942, and the brief entries for 1943, which are virtually useless, are confined entirely to footnotes, mainly attached to the front part of the book, the 264 pages ostensibly written by Lemkin himself. Thus, the book tells us virtually nothing about German-occupied Europe after early 1942.

The principal task here is not an analysis of the main thesis of the book but a concentration upon a single aspect of it, in reality just a small fraction of the whole, but in terms of effect and consequence many times more fateful than the remaining pages of the volume combined. Because it is in this book that the invented word "genocide" is first used, and the outlines of the invented crime of the same name are first plotted out. The ominous portent of both has inspired a vast literature and an alarming volume of talk and political maneuvering in the last thirty years, with plenty more projected to come, since "genocide" has long been construed an international crime.

A preliminary examination of the 400 pages of legal documentation gathered at the end of Lemkin's *Axis Rule* reveals that nearly three-quarters of it is culled from sources published in the years 1940-1941 alone. A close reading of the material confirms that the subject matter of the total collection is 80 percent concerned with money, property, exchange rates, conditions of employment, labor rules and compensation, transfers of ownership, international exchange rates and their control, and many related matter-offact regulations of the dullest and most prosaic sort, accompanied by similar stipulations regarding citizenship and mobility, in Axis-occupied countries.

However, scattered through this maze of of legal verbiage are a few sections, comprising *only three percent of the total*, which bear the sub-section heading, "genocide legislation." Reading these carefully is a revelation; an insight into what a sophisticated, complex and subtle offense Raphael Lemkin was originally engaged in fabricating. Nothing involved came within a light year of the vulgar rhetorical metaphor that "genocide" has degenerated to over the last 30 years. Perhaps it would be instructive to summarize this slim catalog, which will at the same time demonstrate what a feeble foundation lay under Lemkin's ambitious but sprawling new "crime." It will also reveal what a comically small bag of substance he was able to muster after this immense diligence in turning over the mountain of Axis legal baggage he and his tireless helpers were able to assemble. (A doctor who invents a new disease is called a "quack." There is no equivalent term for a lawyer who invents a new crime.) Lemkin's essay in legal alchemy was quite remarkable: a casual effort to persuade people to believe that someone else's *local legislation* was an *international felony* simultaneously.

Before going into Raphael Lemkin's confused attempts to define what he called "genocide," it is appropriate to summarize the Axis laws he selected out and identified as "genocide legislation." The first of these (*Axis Rule*, pp399-402), consists of the first, second and sixth orders designated as "66 measures against Jews" issued by the German Chief of Military Administration in Occupied France on 27 September and 18 October 1940 and 7 February 1942. The first called for the registration of all Jews living in Occupied France and forbade those who had fled elsewhere from coming back. It also required that all profit-making businesses owned by Jews in Occupied

France to be designated as such. The second was an expansion of the first insofar as it dealt with the subject of required registration of Jewish-owned businesses. The sixth established an 8pm to 6am curfew for Jews, as well as a prohibition against Jews moving from their residences as of 7 February 1942 to some other location. Violations of these orders involved fines and imprisonment if violators were detected and convicted.

The second “genocide” law (*Axis Rule*, pp440-443), was an order of 6 August 1940 by the German Chief of Civil Administration in Luxembourg, which stipulated that the official language of the country insofar as it was used in the judicial and educational systems, as well as official publications of all kinds, was to be German; this was spelled out in another order of 14 September 1940. In this same “genocide” section was an order of 31 January 1941 requiring Luxembourg nationals and aliens alike to adopt a Germanic first name, while “recommending” that they Germanicize their family name as well if it was not already a Germanic one. The final item in this section was a decree of January 1941 requiring the registration in Luxembourg of all persons engaged in the enterprises of painting, architecture, design and drawing, music, literature and the theater, on pain of being forbidden to work in these fields should they be detected failing to register.

The third listing of a “genocide law” (*Axis Rule*, p504), a peculiar one, was an order signed by Adolf Hitler himself, and bearing also the signatures of General Keitel and Hitler’s deputy, Lammer, on 28 July 1942, which provided for a wide scale of economic benefits which would accrue to Norwegian and Dutch women nationals who became the mothers of children fathered by German occupation soldiers. Such subsidies, according to the language of the order, were intended to “remove any disadvantage from the mothers,” while “promoting the development of the children.”

Lemkin’s fourth category of “genocide legislation” (*Axis Rule*, pp552-555), was along the lines of the one described immediately above, signed by the Governor General of occupied Poland, Hans Frank, making it possible for a person of German origin but not possessing German nationality, residing in Poland, to obtain a certificate which would document his German origin. This was accompanied by another order signed by Frank on 10 March 1942 establishing a grant of child subsidy to families of Germans resident in the Polish Government General, a large area of southern Poland occupied by German armies. To qualify for the small subsidy the family had to have at least three minor children already.

The fifth section of “genocide legislation” (*Axis Rule*, pp 625-627), were three laws put into effect in the new state of Croatia, separated from Yugoslavia, signed by its chief of state, Dr. Ante Pavelic. One nullified any legal business transaction between Jews, or between Jews and non-Jews, made within two months of the proclamation of the independence of the State of Croatia, if its total value exceeded 100,000 dinars, unless it had previously been approved by the Croatian Minister of Justice. The second prohibited the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in Croatia, and the third prohibited Croatian nationality except for persons of “Aryan origin” and who furthermore had not participated in activities hostile to the establishment of the “independent state of Croatia.”

As afterthoughts, Lemkin threw in other “genocide legislation” sections related to his text, which preceded the ponderous collection of laws, and which had been gathered before the text was written. One (*Axis Rule*, p601), was an order signed by the German commander in occupied Serbia of 22 December 1941, which established the death penalty for anyone apprehended sheltering Jews or hiding them, but mentioning no penalties whatever applying to the Jews themselves. Almost all of this order applied to Jewish property, not to their persons, calling for the registration

of all such property, as well as contracts involving the purchase of, or barter for, Jewish assets on the part of non-Jews. The earlier part of the order seemed to be directed against the concealment of Jews returned as guerilla fighters, which hardly was uncommon.

And bringing up the tail end of this curious assemblage of “genocidal” legislation, as designated by Lemkin, was another which was not so identified in the appendix of laws, but referred to briefly in his text (*Axis Rule*, p249). This was a declaration by Lemkin that Jews in Serbia had been further disadvantaged by genocidal measures which deprived Jews of making a livelihood by specifically forbidding them to practice “professions.” Lemkin’s accompanying reference was to page 596 of the documents, which turned out to be an order signed by “The Military Commander in Serbia,” dated 21 May 1941, which stated: “Jews and gypsies or persons married to Jews or gypsies shall not be admitted to the operation” of “cabarets, vaudeville houses and similar places of entertainment.”

Upon contemplating this miniscule assemblage of ad hoc actions, common to military occupiers under differing circumstances for dozens of centuries in the past, one wonders how Lemkin was able to conjure up the dramatic definitions he was to loose upon the world of his new crime. What he found to support it of a legal nature rightly inspires hilarity, though it might be considered characteristic of what a pettifogger might dredge up in turning over the lesser debris of history. Now we may proceed to his general definitions of genocide,” keeping all the foregoing in mind.

The first one is the elucidation in his preface to his book:

The practice of extermination of nations and ethnic groups as carried out by the invaders is called by the author (Lemkin) “genocide,” a term derived from the Greek word *genos* (tribe, race) and the Latin *cide* (by way of analogy see homicide (sic), fratricide...

Ignoring that there was no analogy whatever between a *specific* crime such as homicide (Lemkin misspelled the word) or fratricide and a spongy, vague and opaque alleged offense such as he was inventing and attempting to promote, we may be led to wonder how he was able to conclude, from the pedestriai collection of regulations he cited in his evidence, such a dramatic conclusion as that of *extermination* of entire ethnic groups and “nations.” (From later contexts Lemkin apparently meant by “nation” about the same thing: an entity within a national state or community of some recognizable ethnic composition.) The assumption here is that by *extermination* he really meant what he was saying, instead of indulging in some talmudic flight of rhetorical exaggerated literary effect. If he were talking about facts instead of trying out an imaginative metaphor, he had presented absolutely nothing in evidence to document such a policy as extermination of anyone, anywhere.

To compound the confusion, however, Lemkin on page 78 of *Axis Rule* in his short chapter titled “Genocide,” introduced another definition. “By ‘genocide’ we mean the destruction of a nation or ethnic group,” which he clarified in this manner: “Genocide has two phases: one, the destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor.” His final elaboration on this was as follows: “Dena-, tionalization was the word used in the past to describe the destruction of a national pattern.”

It is obvious that these definitions are contradictory. Since the first, “extermination,” taken in its dictionary definition to mean “to destroy utterly” (*Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, 5th ed., 1948, p354), has a finality about it which should recommend itself to the most sophisticated practitioner of barratry, there does not seem to be anything left to be concerned with. But Lemkin’s

second definition some 80 pages later clearly indicated “genocide” to be a *process* by which something was being transformed into something else, a group losing its “national pattern” and taking on that of its “oppressor.” So what Lemkin was talking about in definition No. 2 was not “destruction” in a physical sense of the killing of everyone, or even anyone, only the imposition upon a “group” of a totally different cultural identity; in other words, *assimilation*. This was obviously a vast distance from *extermination* (actually, Lemkin had at his disposal an even stronger word, *extirpation*, which not only meant total and utter destruction, but the *intentional and planned* rooting out in a violent manner of something. Since Lemkin was to make it the first condition for something to be “genocide” that it had to be the *planned, deliberate, intentional* action destructive to a “national, racial, ethnical or religious” group, “extirpation” should have been his word.) And Lemkin added still another contradiction to his collection: after his efforts to create the impression elsewhere that “genocide” was a new “crime,” he had to go and spoil it by a flat admission that it was the ancient practice of “denationalization” dressed out in a fright wig.

Though Lemkin went on to expand upon his second definition of “genocide,” with a brief discourse concerning the various areas of a social system where impositions were being placed on “groups” which furthered their “genocide,” it was plain from at least three areas in his book that the whole concept of “genocide” insofar as he had brought it together in 1943 was exceedingly thin, and was not a part of his original plan when he began *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*.

Only once in his book did he admit that by “group” as he used it he meant only *minority* groups. His recipe included no brief for the protection of a putative majority anywhere; as a consequence of the way he approached the subject philosophically and psychologically, he was unable to conceive of a situation where a majority group might be the one in grave danger of disappearance.

Since only three percent of his entire work was devoted to the subject of “genocide,” it was obvious that it was a very subdued matter for his concern originally, if not nearly incidental to his purpose in writing the book. Secondly, his chapter dealing with the legal position of Europe’s Jews was only three pages long, and 80 percent of those three pages were devoted to various property considerations. And in the third place, when we come to the portion of his book entitled “Proposals for Redress,” nearly all of that concerned his suggestions for the creation after the war of several complicated levels of “restitution courts,” which would be devoted almost entirely to the job of restoring the material *status quo ante bellum*, if not going back all the way to 1933. His recommendations at this stage involved no “war criminal” charges, no suggestions for legal processes leading to execution or long penitentiary sentences for anyone, despite naming an occasional person in an invidious manner.

In view of his decision to include, in what is almost totally a dull treatise confined to a multitude of economic changes brought about in Axis-occupied Europe, his sensational “genocide” issue, one may wonder why there is so little time spent on it in such a large book; about in the three-pound class. Since the idea is so meagerly spelled out to begin with, and since there is so little about it, one must conclude that it was an after-thought when placed against the main topic of Axis organization and administration of Occupied Europe. Since this subject is so sketchily developed as well, and includes nothing on it for about the last half of the war, one may also wonder whether the book has much value in any context.

It becomes apparent then that the idea needed a great deal more work. Therefore the expansion of the entire imaginative enterprise is found far more significant in a series of articles Lemkin wrote between 1945 and 1948 for periodicals ranging from the *American Journal of International Law*, *American Scholar* and the *United Nations Bulletin*, to the *Nation*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*; along with frequent column-and-a-half-long letters to the editor of the *New York Times*.

During those three years, the big liberal-minority newspapers of the world made his new word famous.

The most curious aspect of his original efforts in fabricating “genocide” in *Axis Rule* concerns the few lines he entered therein on the subject of alleged mass slaughter of European Jews. His long legal section included not the faintest reference to any kind of law, decree, order, promulgation or whatever providing for putting to death anyone for any reason, unless it was as a result of prosecution and conviction for a violation of a plainly stipulated offense somewhere. Therefore—what was his justification of evidence for introducing the allegation at all? Here we run into a barrier. Although his book does not contain a word referring to anything he ever witnessed personally, the mass murder charge is even more remotely located from evidence. And if the “genocide” idea was an afterthought within the context of the entire book, then the mass murder allegation was itself an afterthought within the imaginative “genocide” confection. The subject is discussed very briefly in his text, the reference being the self-serving propaganda *White and Black Books* published under the auspices of the Polish government-in-exile in 1942, lodged in London. And it is brought up for consideration again in footnote references, where the sources referred to are the famous declaration of the wartime (allied) United Nations at Christmas time, 1942, published shortly after New Year’s Day of 1943, and two small books issued by the even more self-serving Institute for Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress, also in 1943. It is significant that these two books were published under the aegis of one Zorach Warhaftig, another Jewish lawyer from Warsaw, but also a fierce Zionist, who disappeared from Poland in 1939, surfacing in New York in 1943 as deputy director of this Institute for Jewish Affairs, a post he held until 1947. Feverishly active in the post-May 1945 effort to get as many as possible of Europe’s displaced-person Jews to Palestine, Warhaftig subsequently followed them there. Becoming a signer of the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel in 1948, as well as a member of the executive council of the World Jewish Congress, Warhaftig from 1951-1965 was Deputy Minister of Religion in various Israeli governments. The two books issued under Warhaftig’s direction, *Hitler’s Ten Year War on the Jews*, and *Starvation Over Europe; Made in Germany*, were actually written by Boris Shub, whose father David authored a famous biography of Lemkin, wrote for the Social Democrat *New Leader* and was the chief editorial writer of New York City’s *Jewish Daily Forward*, but are mentioned in Lemkin’s book almost as additions to the corrected page proofs, so little do they have to do with his ongoing narrative.

With this in mind, one may ponder how Raphael Lemkin got the reputation for being the first to allege that National Socialist Germany and its allies had massacred this or that many million Jews. This has been declared as fact in a variety of volumes, and there are mistakes related to Lemkin’s book repeated in several places. It is plain that he was far from the first to make this charge, and derived all he pretended to know about it from previously published sources. In this department he even trailed badly the charge made in the London *Jewish Chronicle* as far back as 11 December 1942 that 2 000 000 Jews had already been put to death on the Continent of Europe. And this source in turn was well behind others made prior to that date. Even the figures Lemkin repeated from the books published by the Institute for Jewish Affairs, some time later, were smaller than these, as well as several others.

It is possible that Lemkin, after realizing what a pallid and colorless account was emerging from his diligently assembled but essentially unsubstantial legal construct, decided that it needed fanciful decoration to instill some drama into it. Hence the addition of the sensational mass murder allegations, despite their brevity and obscure placement. There appear to have been limitations on his imagination and his poetic resources, however. He did not employ any word resembling “holocaust” in his elaborations either in *Axis Rule* or his prolific serial publications efforts later on, despite his attraction to Greek-root word origins. Since the dictionaries specifically defined

“holocaust” as wholesale destruction of life by fire, something the Germans and Japanese were actually undergoing as a result of Allied strategic bombing, it might have been construed as improper to appropriate that word in his decision to go along with Zionist propaganda of the hour in alleging Jewish annihilation.

Perhaps this pretentious but essentially weak and insubstantial sortie into the thicket of sensational propaganda claims of vast loss of life sustained by European Jewry is an index to his entire labor from then on until the enshrinement of “genocide” as an international crime, and the creation of a global agreement to make its suppression or punishment an extension of international law.

Raphael Lemkin’s vigorous and ceaseless propagandizing of the representation in the new United Nations after 1945, until it agreed to consider “genocide” as a possible candidate for fleshing out, the incredible amount of time and energy spent in a committee of the United Nations expanding the definition of “genocide” for two years, and eventual adoption by the General Assembly on 9 December 1948, is a long and involved narrative. just as long and exhausting is the story of the continuing drive to bring about its ratification by sufficient member States of the UN to make the Genocide Convention actual international law. This was achieved in January 1951 when some 20 States, representing about 3 percent of the world’s population, made it all possible. This number had been attained by October 1950, and the Convention became automatically in force 90 days later.

The next scene of the drama was the incredible effort made to secure ratification of the Genocide Convention by the United States Senate, a drive in which Lemkin suffered his first but disastrous defeat. His campaign never recovered from this rejection. Though the number of ratifying states worldwide now approximates 80, the U.S.A. still is numbered among the non-ratifiers, and the chances of this course being abandoned diminish with each passing year.

So the world is left clutching a husk, an unenforced and unenforceable piece of synthetic minority international law, in reality a tasteless reminder and remnant of World War Two in the form of an ugly neologism, but evidence that, with vast labor and proper publicity, something can still be made out of almost nothing.

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The Big Lie Technique in the Sandbox

LEWIS BRANDON

One of today's pet Indisputable Historical Truths is that the German Chancellor Adolf Hitler advocated the "Big Lie Technique" to discredit and confuse one's political opponents. However, a close look at the German leader's writings displays a somewhat different approach. On pages 134, and 173 of *Mein Kampf* (My Stuggle) (Hurst & Blackett edition, 1942; reprint available from Angriff Press, PO Box 2726, Hollywood, CA 90028, \$10) Hitler echoes the German philosopher Schopenhauer and alleges that it is the Jews who are "The Great Master of Lies." At no point does he advocate the "Big Lie Technique" himself. On the contrary, he criticizes the Jews for allegedly adopting the technique themselves. It is ironic that Hitler himself fell posthumous victim to this tactic.

Hitler is not the only one to have suffered in this way. Even living historians are misrepresented. So too are history books and leading reference works. Let us now examine some recent examples.

Reference Books

The 1975 edition of the *Guinness Book of World Records* by the McWhirter twins (Bantam, New York, 1975) made the following reference under "Crime & Punishment" (p391):

NAZI GERMANY. At the SS extermination camp known as Auschwitz-Birkenau (Oswiecim-Brezinka), near Oswiecim, in southern Poland, where a minimum of 900,000 people (Soviet estimate is 4,000,000) were exterminated from 14 June 1940 to 29 January 1945, the greatest number killed in a day was 6000... The former French Deputy, Professor Paul Rassinier, a Buchenwald survivor and holder of the *Medaille de la Résistance*, published evidence in 1964 to the effect that the total Jewish death count could have not exceeded 1,200,000, as opposed to the widely accepted figure of 6,000,000.

In succeeding editions the reference to Rassinier was omitted. I wrote to Norris McWhirter (his brother was assassinated by the Irish Republican Army terrorist gang) at Guinness Superlatives Ltd., 2 Cecil Court, Enfield, Middlesex EN2 6DJ, England, and inquired why this had been done. On 28 April 1980 he replied that it was because "the estimates that we attributed to Rassinier are simply not accepted by those who also discount the Soviet estimates. If you care to advise me of the names of authoritative agencies which do still accept the Rassinier estimate I shall be pleased to renew contact with them." I forwarded to McWhirter the names and universities of several leading Revisionist academics, but so far not one of them has heard from him.

Historians

British historian David Irving has also fallen victim to this tactic of re-writing history. In the introduction to *Hitler's War* (Viking, 1977; available from IHR at \$19.00) Irving relates how the German edition of the book was censored by the German publishing house, Ullstein. He describes:

The same Berlin company also published my book shortly after, under the title *Hitler & Seine Feldherren*; their chief editor found many of my arguments distasteful, even dangerous, and without informing me, suppressed or even reversed them: in their printed text Hitler had not told Himmler there was to be “no liquidation” of the Jews (on 30 November 1941); he had told him not to use the word “liquidate” publicly in connection with their extermination program. Thus history is falsified! (My suggestion that they publish Himmler’s note as a facsimile had been ignored.) I prohibited further printing of the book, two days after its appearance in Germany. To explain their actions, the Berlin publishers argued that my manuscript expressed some views that were “an affront to established historical opinion” in their country.

p xvii

Irving’s reference to an “extermination program” is part of his pragmatic effort to continue to have his books published by Madison Avenue by sailing a very tight tack between truth and commercial acceptability. It is thought unlikely by many observers that Irving should be taken in by such a canard as the “six million.”

Just in passing, it is interesting to read Irving’s assessment of the “memoirs” or “diaries” of many of the Third Reich *dramatis personae*. Many of them are fiction, he shows.

In October 1978, the German publisher Propyläen Verlag issued Professor Hellmut Diwald’s massive *Geschichte der Deutschen (History of the Germans)*. Diwald is a history professor at the Friedrich-Alexander University in Erlangen and has been well known in the German historical profession since taking his doctorate under the German-Jewish historian Hans-Joachim Schoeps more than 20 years ago. However, Diwald’s credentials were not enough to authenticate some mild skepticism he expressed about the “Holocaust” on two pages of the 766 page book (164 and 165). A cacaphony of protest was yodelled from the political and publishing minarets throughout the Fatherland, and the publisher (part of the Axel Springer combine) quickly agreed to make amends. The sale of the first edition was stopped, and remaining copies withdrawn. A new edition was substituted, with the two offending pages hastily rewritten in order to conform to the “correct” line. This was only the beginning of the re-writing of the book: Springer announced that by Fall 1979 the book would be “not recognizable” (*Der Spiegel*, 4 December 1978).

Popular Books

Non-academic books are also subject to re-writes. In 1971 the Berkley Publishing Corporation of New York (a subsidiary of Putnam's) was to publish a book entitled *Lansky* by Hank Messick. Naively assuming that what was good for Jews is good for Gentiles, the publishers designed the cover and promotional advertisements with a slogan translated from an earlier book review in Hebrew in Ha'aretz, an Israeli newspaper.

Unfortunately, the translation read: “Jews control Crime in the United States.” The ad appeared only once in the *New York Times* before the balloon went up. The Zionist Anti-Defamation League immediately contacted the publishers to “first appeal to reason” according to the *ADL Bulletin* for October 1971. When this “appeal to reason” did not bring about a positive response,

the ADL adopted different tactics, and presto, the slogan on both the offending advertisement and on the book's cover, became: The Mob Runs America and Lansky Runs the Mob."

Newspapers

Newspapers are also subject to Zionist "revisionism." In the *New York Times* of 22 February 1948 a feature on the Jewish *putsch* in Palestine gave a population figure of 15 to 18 million Jews in the world. This figure would, of course, make the "Six Million" a demographic nonsense, as there were 15 million Jews in the world in 1940. Immediately, the Zionist lobby "appealed to the reason" of the publishers, and four days later, the following codicil was published:

Last Sunday's article incorrectly estimated the Jewish population of the world at 15 million to 18 million. No census has been conducted since the war, and estimates are only approximate, but most authorities agree that Hitler's wholesale massacres of Jews during the war reduced the Jewish population to perhaps 12 million today.

Sensing that something was rotten in the state of publishing, the ardent anti-Zionist Jew Benjamin Freedman investigated the case in 1959. In his newsletter *Common Sense* of 1 May 1959 he described how he had been allowed to visit the Times offices "through the courtesy of Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger" (at that time somewhat of an anti-Zionist Jew) in order to examine the reference file on the original article. He claimed to have met with the Military Editor, Hanson Baldwin, who showed him "the results of the(ir) searching investigations."

Eight years later, a Zionist writer, Morris Kominsky, investigated Freedman's investigation. Baldwin this time claimed that he had never met Freedman, as far as he could remember, and that the original figures were simply lifted from the 1948 edition of the *World Almanac*. The affair is discussed at length in Kominsky's book *The Hoaxers*, Brandon Press (no relation!), Boston, 1970.

Voices

Even voices can be faked. Many people have felt their pulses quicken as they listened to the famous speech of Sir Winston Churchill imploring the British population to "fight on the beaches, etc." Churchill made the speech in the House of Commons, but as broadcasting from the Houses of Parliament was not permitted, the speech would have to be presented over again for the BBC radio listeners. Since matters of state were more pressing, an actor was engaged to read the speech instead. His name was Norman Shelley, and he had already established a minor reputation as a Churchill imitator. The Prime Minister approved of the fakery, and even complimented Shelley on his accuracy. "Very nice," Churchill reportedly said, "he's even got my teeth right," referring to the rattling of his dentures.

The fakery remained a secret for 39 years until Shelley told of his role during an interview with the *London Daily Mail*. Shelley died on 22 August 1980, and his obituary in the *Los Angeles Times* of 25 August was the first time that American readers were presented with this astonishing story.

Magazines

Earlier this year, the leading Zionist organization in Great Britain, The Board of Deputies of British Jews, issued a protest at an article in *History Today*, a leading part-work monthly. The January 1980 issue contained a feature entitled "A Nazi Travels to Palestine" describing interface

between the Nazi Government and the Zionists in Palestine during the war. The article was written by a Jew, Dr. Jacob Boas, but explored a seam of history which the Board felt was better left un-exploited. Another Jewish historian, Dr. Geoffrey Alderman, leaped to Boas' defense, and issued a statement:

The action taken by the Board in relation to the article is, in my view, another reflection of a dangerous anti-intellectualism which pervades the Anglo-Jewish establishment and which is marked by a refusal to face realities or to have cherished beliefs questioned dispassionately: the belief in this case being, I suppose, that Jews and Nazis could not possibly have ever had anything in common. I have read the article and, as a Jew, a Zionist, and, may I add, a professional historian, I do not take exception to it at all. As for the protests being made by the Board about the way in which the article was advertised, this is really too petty to require further comment.

Jewish Chronicle, 4 January 1980

Professor Alderman himself came under fire from the Deputies in 1978 for revealing in a letter to the London Times that some Jews voted for the National Front. He was “severely condemned” by the Deputies for “publicly revealing” sensitive findings. However, he still retains his part-time post as a member of the Research Committee of the Board of Deputies.

Photos

The area of photography is worth a whole book in itself.

As Udo Walendy shows in his *Faked Atrocities* (IHR, \$5.00) many “atrocities” pictures have been forged or arbitrarily captioned. The Institute for Historical Review is currently compiling a dossier of pictures which are recycled throughout many Exterminationist books with a different description as caption each time. These findings will be published later. But for now, what better description of the uses of fake photography could we have but that put forward by Exterminationist Lucy Dawidowicz in her article “Visualizing the Warsaw Ghetto: Nazi Images of the Jews, Refiltered by the BBC” which was published in *SHOAH: A Review of Holocaust Studies and Commemorations*, University of Bridgeport, CT 06602:

Nowadays we live in an era of photomania, where photographs are regarded as the magic key to unlock the doors of the past, which only the most effortful study of history had previously been able to open. Nowadays people regard pictures as the essence of truth, forgetting that, like written documents, the camera falsifies objective reality because it creates its own illusion of reality. Too often pictures have been made to serve the uses of propaganda. Selective photography, posed or staged subject matter, technical tricks of the trade which bring into existence nonexistent subjects—these are the standard ways the camera is made to lie. Too often the camera serves ends that contribute neither to the truth of art nor to the truth of history.

sic!

Toys

The Zionists' thought control even extends into the kindergarten. A two-year campaign by the American Jewish Congress has resulted in the deletion of war toys bearing swastikas by American toy manufacturers. Revell of Venice, CA and Lindberg of Skokie, IL were the first to “sus-

pend the manufacture of swastika-emblazoned toys” and the largest manufacturer, Mattel of Hawthorne, CA, were soon to follow. The AJC’s Director, Julius Schatz, gloated:

We consider the Mattel action to be a major victory in our effort to discourage the production of toy tanks, planes, ships, and other military objects carrying the symbol of destruction of *six* million Jews and millions of others. Mattel’s announcement vindicates our stance... No badge or symbol in human history is as foul a reminder of bestiality as the swastika. Yet these insignia of blood lust, of human skin made into lampshades, of millions of men and women and children slaughtered like cattle, are emblazoned on toys that are sold by the million to American children... it is also a matter of safeguarding young and vulnerable children from the taint of war toys with swastikas, playing war games that *will* simulate the Nazi war machine.

Thus, at a stroke, Toytown history is re-written, with the deletion of one of the most essential aspects of any playroom or sandbox battle scenario: The Bad Guys. Mr Schatz has not only ensured that impressionable American youngsters will be unable to re-enact the Nirlsburg Rallies, with flypasts of squadrons of swastika-emblazoned Stukas and Messerschmidts, nor indeed the Munich putsch, with “the insignia of blood lust” flaunted on the sides of Nazi *Personenwagen*, but he has also determined that The Good Guys in the battle scenes will be fighting with ... Other Good Guys!

Presumably the ADL and other Zionists adopt this patronizing attitude to us adults as well. It would appear by all evidence that they regard us intellectually as children in a sandbox who need to be protected from things that might influence our impressionable, vulnerable, little brains. It remains to be seen, how much longer American academics are prepared to tolerate this situation. As a consortium of Civil Liberties organizations pontificated in an *amicus curiae* suit filed against the School Board of Warsaw, IN recently:

The public school should be a vibrant, free market of ideas. Indeed, if the “right to read and be exposed to controversial thoughts” cannot flourish anywhere in the school house, the prospects are bleak that it *will* ever flourish anywhere in society.

sic, sic, and sic again!

Unfortunately, this high-minded idea does not appeal to our old friend Yaakov Riz, whose basement Holocaust Museum we mentioned on page 132 of our Summer 1980 issue. Mr. Riz wrote to the Jewish Press on 5 September 1980 to point out how “the Talmud teaches us how to use Visual Propaganda.” He quotes a passage from the Talmud where the Angels Gabriel and Michael tricked God into drowning the wicked Egyptians by showing him an Egyptian brick and a dead Jewish child. Riz vigorously advocates using the same trickery to combat the wicked “Arabs, Nazis and Communists” who otherwise are “winning their filthy hate campaign against Israel and American Jewry.” One wonders what Talmudic trickery Riz and his cohorts have used already?

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The Japanese Camps in California

by Mark Weber

In the months following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, many expected an immediate attack against the West Coast. Fear gripped the country and a wave of hysterical antipathy against the Japanese engulfed the Pacific Coast.

The FBI quickly began rounding up any and all “suspicious” Japanese for internment. None was ever charged with any crime. Almost all were simply Japanese community leaders, Buddhist or Shinto priests, newspaper editors, language or Judo instructors, or labor organizers. The Japanese community leadership was liquidated in one quick operation.

Men were taken away without notice. Most families knew nothing about why their men had suddenly disappeared, to where they were taken, or when they would be released. Some arrestees were soon let free, but most were secretly shipped to internment camps around the country. Some families learned what had happened to their men only several years later. The action also included the freezing of bank accounts, seizure of contraband, drastic limitation on travel, curfew and other severely restrictive measures. But this FBI operation merely set the stage for the mass evacuation to come.

In February 1942, Lt. Gen. John L. DeWitt, Commanding General of the Western Defense Command, requested authorization from Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson to evacuate “Japanese and other subversive persons” from the West Coast area. On 19 February, President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066 authorizing the Secretary of War or any military commander to establish “military areas” and to exclude from them “any or all persons. A month later, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9102 establishing the War Relocation Authority, which eventually operated the internment camps. Roosevelt named Milton Eisenhower, brother of the future president, to head the WRA.

Without a murmur of dissent, the Congress quickly affirmed Executive Order 9066 with the passage of Public Law 77-503.

Beginning in March, the Army organized the evacuation of some 77 000 U.S. citizens of Japanese origin (“Nisei”) and 43 000 mostly older Japanese citizens (“Issei”) from California and parts of Washington, Oregon and Arizona.

Posters appeared the length of the West Coast ordering the Japanese to evacuation points. “Instructions to all persons of JAPANESE ancestry,” read the bold headline on a typical poster. The text read: “All Japanese persons, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above designated areas by 12:00 o'clock noon Tuesday, April 7, 1942.” The evacuees were told to report for internment with bedrolls and only as much baggage as could be carried by hand. (A postwar

survey showed that 80 percent of the privately stored goods belonging to the interned Japanese were “rifled, stolen or sold during absence.”)

The 23,000 Japanese living on the West Coast of Canada, three-fourths of whom were Canadian citizens, were also rounded up. They were not permitted back into British Columbia until March 1949, seven years after the evacuation and three and a half years after the end of the war.

The State Department told the Latin American countries to round up their Japanese. The United States paid for the cost of the hemispheric evacuation. Over 2000 Japanese were shipped from more than a dozen Latin American countries to detention camps in the United States. Most were sent by Peru, which wanted to permanently eliminate all Japanese and refused to allow reentry of those held in the U.S. after the end of the war.

Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay set up their own internment camp programs. To their credit, Argentina and Chile did not break diplomatic relations with the Axis until late in the war, and only then under tremendous U.S. pressure. As a result, their Japanese were not rounded up. The rationale for the West Coast evacuation was “military necessity.” But that claim was inconsistent with the fact that the Japanese living on Hawaii were not subject to mass incarceration. Hawaii was in far greater danger of invasion than the West Coast. The population of Hawaii was 38 percent Japanese, as compared to only about one percent in California. All except a small percentage of the Hawaiian Japanese remained free to keep the important island economy functioning.

The evacuation, ostensibly to protect against possible sabotage and espionage, moreover included babies, orphans, adopted children, and the infirm or bedridden elderly. Children of mixed blood, even from orphanages, were included if they had any Japanese ancestry at all. Colonel Karl Bendetsen, who directly administered the program, declared: “I am determined that if they have one drop of Japanese blood in them, they must go to camp.”

It should be noted that throughout the war, members of the Communist Party actively worked to promote the interests of a foreign power and an international organization committed to the overthrow of the constitutional government of the United States. But the Communists in America were not only not restricted, they were openly encouraged and supported.

The U.S. government told Americans that our detention centers had nothing in common with the horrible concentration camps established by the enemy in Europe. The Army public relations agency continually referred to the centers as “resettlement camps” and “havens of refuge.” The State Department denied that the centers were concentration camps, “but are on the contrary areas where communities are being established in which the Japanese may organize their social and economic life in safety and security under the protection of the central authorities of the United States.” In a public relations piece which appeared in the September 1942 issue of Harper's, a military official writing under a false name told Americans that “In the long run the Japanese will probably profit by this painful and distressing experience.”

A total of 120,000 were ultimately detained in the ten permanent mass detention camps built by the government. Were these internment centers really concentration camps? Chief Judge William Denman of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals described the Tule Lake camp this way:

The barbed-wire stockade surrounding the 18 000 people there was like that of the prison camps of the Germans. There were the same turrets for the soldiers and the same machine guns for those who might attempt to climb the high wiring

The buildings were covered with tarred paper over green and shrinking shiplap-this for the low winter temperatures of the high elevation of Tule Lake No federal penitentiary so treats its adult prisoners. Here were the children and babies as well.

To reach the unheated latrines, which were in the center of the blocks of fourteen buildings, meant leaving the residential shacks and walking through the rain and snow- again a lower than penitentiary treatment, even disregarding the sick and the children.

So also was the crowding of the 18 000 people in the one storey shacks In the cells of a federal penitentiary there is no such crowding. (Weglyn, p156)

The Army used six tanks and a battalion of military police (899 men and 31 officers) to guard the Japanese at Tule Lake, California. Several camps had electrically charged fencing, which made little sense since all the camps were invariably located in deserts or other remote and desolate areas. Every camp had searchlights which played over the living quarters at night.

Dozens of inmates were shot and wounded. Eight were killed by guards. Japanese were sometimes brutally beaten and seriously injured without reason. At Tule Lake, guards beat inmates with baseball bats.

When Japanese organized a protest demonstration at Manzanar camp in California, soldiers threw tear gas grenades on the crowd and fired into it. One inmate was killed instantly and another died later. Nine were injured.

Some Japanese committed suicide out of despair and many more died prematurely due to harsh conditions.

Three generations often lived in a single bare room, 20 by 24 feet. which comprised a "family apartment." Sometimes two or three families were crowded into a single such room. The only fixture was a hanging light bulb, except for whatever furniture the inmates could construct for themselves. In some assembly areas, families were assigned to rudely converted horse stables where the stench became oppressive in the summer heat.

All incoming and outgoing mail was censored. All internal communications were strictly controlled. The Japanese language was banned at public meetings and Japanese religious services were suppressed.

The inmates were forced to salute the flag, sing patriotic songs, and declare their allegiance to "one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

One of the most significant aspects of this act of racist repression is the fact the it was not the work of a clique of fascists and right-wing militarists, who according to liberal dogma are invariably behind such deeds. Rather, it was advocated, justified and administered by men well known for their support of liberalism and democracy.

Given the almost universal condemnation of the Japanese internment program today, it is hard to realize just how solid support was for it at the time. The vast operation, as one writer points out, was "initiated by the generals, advised, ordered and supervised by the civilian heads of the War Department, authorized by the President, implemented by Congress, approved by the Supreme Court, and supported by the people." (Ten Broek, p325)

The first public call to intern the Japanese seems to have been made at the beginning of January 1942 by John B. Hughes, a prominent radio commentator of the Mutual Broadcasting Company. Shortly thereafter, Henry McLemore, syndicated columnist of the Hearst newspapers told his readers:

I am for immediate removal of every Japanese on the West Coast to a point deep in the interior. I don't mean a nice part of the interior either. Herd 'em up, pack 'em off and give 'em the inside room in the badlands. Let 'em be pinched, hurt, hungry and dead up against it ...

Personally, I hate the Japanese. And that goes for all of them. (Ten Broek, p75)

Popular movie actor Leo Carillo telegraphed his Congressman:

Why wait until (the Japanese) pull something before we act ... Let's get them off the coast and into the interior ... May I urge you in behalf of the safety of the people of California to start action at once. (Ten Broek, p77)

In February a delegation of West Coast Congressmen sent a letter to the President calling for the "immediate evacuation of all persons of Japanese lineage ... aliens and citizens alike" from the Pacific coast.

Speaking to southern California on a Lincoln's birthday radio broadcast, Fletcher Bowron, reform Mayor of Los Angeles, denounced the "sickly sentimentality" of those who worried about injustices to the Japanese living in the United States. He told his radio audience that if Abraham Lincoln were alive, he would round up "the people born on American soil who have secret loyalty to the Japanese Emperor."

"There isn't a shadow of a doubt," Bowron told his listeners, "but that Lincoln, the mild-mannered man whose memory we regard with almost saint-like reverence, would make short work of rounding up the Japanese and putting them where they could do no harm."

Walter Lippmann, probably the country's most influential liberal columnist, strongly supported mass evacuation in a February syndicated piece entitled "The Fifth Column on the Coast." Conservative counterpart Westbrook Pegler followed suit a few days later.

Only a week after Pearl Harbor, Mississippi Congressman John Rankin told the House of Representatives:

I'm for catching every Japanese in America, Alaska and Hawaii now and putting them in concentration camps and shipping them back to Asia as soon as possible ... This is a race war, as far as the Pacific side of the conflict is concerned ... The White man's civilization has come into conflict with Japanese barbarism ... One of them must be destroyed ... Damn them! Let's get rid of them now! (Ten Broek, p87)

Another member of Congress proposed mandatory sterilization of the Japanese.

All of these statements were quite in keeping with popular sentiment. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, Japanese were excluded from various labor unions. Between 8 December and 31 March, anti-Japanese rage resulted in 36 cases of vigilantism, including seven murders. And a March 1942 national public opinion poll showed 93 percent in favor of evacuating alien Japanese.

While 59 percent wanted to evacuate U.S. citizens of Japanese origin, only 25 percent disapproved.

A great deal was made of the fact that immigrants born in Japan, but living for decades in the United States (the Issei), had not become U.S. citizens-proof of their continued loyalty to the Emperor. But no mention was made of the fact that long-standing American law forbade them from taking out U.S. citizenship — a ban that was not lifted until 1952!

Since the war, the myth has been that powerful racist anti-Japanese groups engineered the evacuation to remove their economic competitors. But the truth is something quite different. While many White small-businessmen urged evacuation, big business interests did not. More importantly, the Japanese were evacuated at a moment when the country was willing to support whatever measures the Federal government authorized in the name of winning the war.

The fact is that the Japanese were sent to concentration camps not by a group of West Coast racists seeking economic advantage, but by a popular and powerful government run by democratic liberals. At the top of the list of those responsible for not only authorizing the program, but also for keeping it in operation was President Franklin Roosevelt.

Before the President promulgated Executive Order 9066, Attorney General Francis Biddle told Roosevelt that security interests did not justify evacuating the Japanese. The Attorney General's office also determined that the proposed evacuation would be a violation of the Constitution.

The dean of American Revisionist historians, Prof. James J. Martin, called the incarceration program “a breach of the Bill of Rights on a scale so large as to beggar the sum total of all such violations from the beginning of the United States down to that time.” (Weglyn, p67)

Roosevelt authorized, supported and maintained an action which he knew to be racist and blatantly unconstitutional. But this was only one more sterling example of the gross hypocrisy which characterized his entire regime.

The man responsible for implementing the evacuation, Lt. Gen. DeWitt, declared:

In the war in which we are now engaged, racial affinities are not severed by migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become “Americanized,” the racial strains are undiluted ... It therefore follows that along the vital Pacific Coast over 112 000 potential enemies of Japanese extraction are at large today. (Ten Broek, pp4, 110, 337 n.6)

Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson was more succinct: “Their racial characteristics are such that we cannot understand or trust even the citizen Japanese.”

Another man, well known for his liberal outlook, who helped implement the evacuation and internment was Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy. For four years he served as War Department liaison with the War Relocation Authority, the agency which ran the camps. After the war, McCloy was named High Commissioner for Germany. As the highest civilian allied occupation official, McCloy worked to impose democratic rule on the defeated German people.

Chief of the civilian staff of the Western Defense Command and liaison between the WDC and the Justice Department was Tom Clark, who later became an Attorney General and a liberal Supreme Court Justice. In 1966 Clark admitted: “I have made a lot of mistakes in my life, but

there are two that I acknowledge publicly, One is my part in the evacuation of Japanese from California in 1942 and the other is the Nuremberg trials.” Abe Fortas was another liberal destined for the Supreme Court who joined in the campaign to intern the Japanese.

Perhaps the most surprising advocate of evacuation was Earl Warren. Considering his later career as a vociferous liberal, it is at least ironic that, more than any other person, Warren led the popular sentiment to uproot and incarcerate the Japanese. As Attorney General of California, Warren cultivated popular racist feeling in an apparent effort to further his political career. He was an outstanding member of the xenophobia “Native Sons of the Golden West,” an organization dedicated to keeping California “as it has always been and God Himself intended it shall always be the White Man’s Paradise.” The “Native Sons” worked “to save California from the yellow-Jap peaceful invaders and their White-Jap co-conspirators.”

In February 1942, Warren testified before a special Congressional committee on the Japanese question. He would be running for Governor of the state that year, and would be elected. Warren testified, falsely, that the Japanese had “infiltrated themselves into every strategic spot in our coastal and valley counties.” In one of the most amazing feats of logic ever performed by a lawyer, Warren next claimed that the very fact that no Japanese had so far committed any disloyal act was proof that they intended to do so in the future!

Later, when the government began to release Japanese whose loyalty was above suspicion, Governor Warren protested that every citizen so released had to be kept out of California as a potential saboteur.

Earl Warren played to popular racism to further his political career. Later, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, he presided over the consummately liberal “Warren Court” which ushered in an era of racial “equality” and unprecedented racial chaos following the 1954 Brown decision.

After the Japanese had been evacuated, very few wanted them back. Newspaper columnist Elsie Robinson threatened to “cut the throat” of any evacuee who dared return. U.S. Representative Clair Engle of California declared: “We don’t want those Japs back in California and the more we can get rid of the better.” A poll conducted by a Los Angeles newspaper in late 1943 showed that Californians would vote ten to one against letting citizens of Japanese origin ever return to normal life from the camps.

In the six months following the end of the evacuation program there were some 30 attacks by West Coast people against returning inmates. Near Fresno and other places, night riders shot into the homes of newly returned families Anti-Japanese organizations sprang up in the Northwest and in California.

Opposition to evacuation was virtually non-existent. J Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, strongly protested against the program. The man whom liberals vilified as the personification of reaction and incipient American Fascism believed that the evacuation hysteria was “based primarily upon public political pressure rather than upon factual data.” The FBI, he said, was fully capable of handling the small number of suspects then under surveillance. (Weglyn, p284, n.6)

Liberal California Governor Culbert L. Olson, Warren’s predecessor, had a special reason for opposing the program. He proposed instead keeping adult Japanese men in state-run work camps in inland rural areas to harvest crops. If the Japanese were removed from harvest work, Culbert feared that “inundation of the state by Blacks and Chicanos would be unavoidable” (Weglyn, p94)

Perhaps the only honest personality in this whole story was Norman Thomas, the American socialist leader. He was at least non-hypocritical, if not actually heroic. Thomas had been an outspoken and effective leader in the movement to keep America out of the Second World War. He was the only personality of national stature to vehemently oppose the evacuation program. Thomas denounced the policy of the American Civil Liberties Union, which he had cofounded. The ACLU decided that the evacuation fell within the proper limits of the President's power. "What is perhaps as ominous as the evacuation of the Japanese," Thomas retorted, "is the general acceptance of this procedure by those who are proud to call themselves liberals."

This rare "honest liberal" was dismayed at the general toleration of the program. "In an experience of nearly three decades," Thomas wrote,

I have never found it harder to arouse the American public on any important issue than on this. Men and women who know nothing of the facts (except possibly the rose-colored version which appears in the public press) hotly deny that there are concentration camps. Apparently that is a term to be used only if the guards speak German and carry a whip as well as a rifle. (Weglyn, pp111-12)

The Supreme Court ruled on three cases relating to the evacuation program. In *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* (1943) the high court unanimously upheld a conviction for violating a curfew directed against a population group distinguished solely by racial-national ancestry.

The case of *Korematsu v. U.S.* (1944) involved a Nisei (U.S. citizen) who refused to submit to evacuation. Chief Justice Hugo Black, speaking for the majority of six, upheld the validity of the program. Ignoring the constitutional guarantees of due process and equal protection of the law, the Court decided that one group of citizens may be singled out, uprooted from their homes, and sent to camps for several years without trial based solely on ancestry.

Finally, at the end of 1944, in the case of *Ex Parte Endo*, the Court ruled unanimously that the government had no right to detain admittedly loyal U.S. citizens indefinitely. This decision ended the entire program. Within 48 hours of the ruling, the government announced that, apart from a few suspicious individuals, the Japanese were free to return home.

Comparisons have often been made between the Second World War concentration camps in America with those in Germany, although Topaz, Poston, and Gila River have never become as well known as Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen and Dachau. Starvation and disease epidemics never ravaged the camps in this country as they did in Germany.

In America, economic and social life remained basically intact throughout the war. The great cities here were spared annihilation under showers of bombs. No hordes of foreign invaders poured across the American frontiers. The U.S. government could run its concentration camps on a virtual peace-time basis.

The German situation was completely different. In the final months of the war, Germany was waging a losing struggle for naked existence. The social-economic system collapsed completely in the face of total military defeat. The horrendous scenes photographed in the German camps by the Allied conquerors and distributed as propaganda around the world resulted from the starvation and disease that reigned unchecked throughout Europe as a consequence of the military catastrophe.

At the Nuremberg show trials, the German defendants compared the evacuation of the Jews of Europe and the deportation of the West Coast Japanese. In both cases, the programs were al-

legedly based upon “military necessity.” The Nuremberg defendants cited the Korematsu and Hirabayashi decisions. The latter Supreme Court decision was specifically based “upon the recognition of facts and circumstances which indicate that a group of one national extraction may menace the safety more than others ...”

Actually, the Germans had far greater cause to intern the Jews of Europe than the Americans did to incarcerate the West Coast Japanese. The Japanese were sent to camps solely on suspicion of what they might do. Not a single Japanese had committed an act of espionage or sabotage. But many thousands of Jews throughout Europe had committed countless acts of murder, destruction, sabotage, arson and theft before the Germans began their general evacuation.

The Germans, moreover, had greater legal justification for their policy. The great majority of the Japanese internees were U.S. citizens and legally entitled to equal protection under the law. The Jews of Germany had not been full citizens for several years before the war began. Elsewhere in Europe, the Jews were evacuated from militarily occupied territories or by countries allied with Germany.

The post-war mass media has spent years hammering away at the “guilt” of the German people for generally doing nothing while the Jews were being evacuated to the East. How does the German experience compare with the American record of popular enthusiasm for evacuating the West Coast Japanese?

Since the war, the Germans have paid over tens of billions of dollars in restitution to Jewish organizations, the state of Israel and to individual Jews around the world for “those who suffered in mind and body, or had been deprived unjustly of their freedom.” **But no American concentration camp inmate has ever received a penny for hardship, humiliation or income lost during the years of internment.**

That did not stop the United States government from recently insisting that the East Germans must pay restitution to Jews who were and are not even American citizens. The U.S. government designated a private American Jewish organization to “negotiate” with the German Democratic Republic for payments to Jews living around the world.

The German defendants at Nuremberg were declared guilty of “crimes against humanity” for, among other things, victimizing members of a group on the basis of ancestry. What responsibility did the countries, including the United States, which set up the International Military Tribunal have in upholding that principle in their own territories? Why have no Americans ever been called to account for committing the same “crimes” for which Germans were put to death in Nuremberg?

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Note: Although this statement was true at the time this article was written, it is no longer true now. As Michael P. Stein ([\[email protected\]](#)) points out, "... former Rep. Norm Mineta of California, himself an internee, succeeded in winning passage of a bill to grant an apology and \$20,000 in compensation to internees ..."

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The European Volunteer Movement in World War II

RICHARD LANDWEHR

They called themselves the “assault generation” and they had largely been born in the years during and after World War I. Coming from every nation of Europe, they had risen up against the twin hydra of communism and big capitalism and banded together under one flag for a common cause. Fully a million of them joined the German Army in World War II, nearly half of them with the *Waffen-SS*. And it was in the *Waffen-SS*, the elite fighting force of Germany, where the idea of a united, anti-communist Europe became fully developed.

It was also in the *Waffen-SS* where a new society emerged from among the “front fighters” of thirty different nations. It was a society that had been forged in the sacrifice, sweat and blood of the battlefield and that propagated the concept of “one new race,” the European race, wherein language and national differences counted for little, while the culture of each nation was taken for granted as a common heritage. Many countries sent more volunteers into the *Waffen-SS* than they could raise for their own national armies, so something truly phenomenal was taking place.

The *Waffen-SS* itself was something unusually special. It had started out as a small-sized personal bodyguard for Adolf Hitler but had gradually expanded into a full-scale military force under the guidance of a number of disgruntled former army officers who saw the *Waffen-SS* as a chance to break out from the conservative mold that the German Army had become mired in. The *Waffen-SS* was designed from the start to be a highly mobile assault force whose soldiers were well versed in the art of handling modern, close-combat weapons. The training regimen therefore resembled that given to special commandos in other countries, but it pre-dated U.S. and British commando training by nearly a decade.

The soldiers of the *Waffen-SS* were also the first to utilize the camouflage battle dress that was to later become so common. But in one field, that of internal personnel organization, the *Waffen-SS* has yet to be imitated much less surpassed. The *Waffen-SS* was probably the most “democratic” armed force in modern times. Rigid formality and class structure between officers and other ranks was strictly forbidden. An officer held down his position only because he had proven himself a better soldier than his men, not because of any rank in society, family connections or superior academic education. In sports-one of the vital cogs in the *Waffen-SS* training programs -officers and men competed as equals in an atmosphere that sponsored team work and mutual respect and reliance. Non-German volunteers of whatever nationality were not regarded as inferiors; they were judged on their ability and performance as soldiers.

The idea to actively recruit foreign nationals into the *Waffen-SS* came shortly after the outcome of the Polish Campaign of 1939, when SS units were being formed and enlarged and it was noticed that a great many men (usually of German extraction) from foreign countries were volunteering for service. The fact that *Waffen-SS* recruitment among Germans was restricted by the

Wehrmacht, made these "out country" volunteers all the more desirable. Since Western Europe contained many sympathizers and admirers of Germany and its National Socialist government, the SS decided to create three new regiments ("Nordland," "Westland" "Nordwest") for Dutch, Flemish, Danish and Norwegian volunteers in the spring of 1940. There was at this time, little in the way of a cohesive, Pan-European ideal to follow, but thousands of recruits turned up anyway, primarily out of disgust for the performances of their respective socialist/pacifist governments.

For many there was additional incentive. In Belgium, Holland and France, scores of populist and right-wing political figures had been arrested, incarcerated and beaten, and shot-out-of-hand. The most famous single incident occurred in Abbeville, France in May 1940, when French police lined up 22 leading Belgian right-wing leaders and executed them in a public park shortly before the arrival of the Germans. It was certainly a "war crime"-one of the first in fact to be committed and documented in World War II — but try to find it in a history text book! The establishment historians have shied away from any discussion of this event. Following this massacre, many of the followers of the victims flocked to join the new volunteer regiments of the *Waffen-SS*.

The war with the Soviet Union, commencing in June 1941, brought a new direction to the effort to attract European volunteers in what can be called "The Legionary Movement."

The Legionary Movement

The "Legionary Movement" was an attempt to attract qualified military personnel from various countries who otherwise would not have considered engagement with the German Armed Forces, by appealing to their national pride and anti-communist convictions. The *Waffen-SS* undertook the task of forming Legions from "Germanic" countries, while the Wehrmacht, or German Army proper, was given responsibility over Latin and Slavic Legions. The national Legions proved to be a success, but for a number of reasons -primarily "cost efficiency," redundancy with *Waffen-SS* elements and size factor-were not worth perpetuating in the same format. The primary West European Legions were as follows:

Volunteer Legion Norwegen: This was an 1150 man reinforced battalion that served with distinction on the Leningrad Front and around Lake Ilmen. It later served as the nucleus of the 23rd SS Regiment "Norge." On the home front it was supported by numerous political figures and celebrities including the famous opera singer Kirsten Flagstad and Nobel-Prize winning author, Knut Hamsun. Hamsun was an honorary member of the Legion and actually wore a Legion uniform. His son served with the Legion and the *Waffen-SS* and was decorated with the Iron Cross, second class.

Volunteer Legion Flandern: This was initially a 900 man battalion later increased to 1116 men that served around Lake Ilmen under the 2nd SS Brigade and at times with the 4th SS Police Division and the Spanish "Blue" Division. It acquitted itself splendidly, obtaining mention in the *Wehrmacht* war bulletin among other honors. Its supreme moment came in March 1943 when it recovered a lost regimental frontline sector from the Soviets in a bold attack and held onto the regained positions for a week against all odds. By the end of the engagement the "Legion Flandern" had been reduced to a net strength of 45 men! Equal numbers of Flemings served with the 5th SS Division "Wiking" and the Volunteer Regiment "Nordwest." Eventually these contingents were merged with new recruits to form the Storm Brigade "Langemarck."

Volunteer Legion Niederlande: This was a 2600 man regiment and component of the 2nd SS Brigade on the Leningrad front. "Niederlande" swiftly obtained a reputation for valor and achievement. In June 1942, Legionnaires succeeded in capturing the commander of the 11th So-

viet Army and 3500 of his soldiers. One enlisted man, Sturmman Gerardus Mooyman became the first West European volunteer to receive the Knight's Cross decoration after singlehandedly destroying 14 Soviet tanks in one day in February 1943. The Legion later formed the basis for the "Nederland" Brigade and division.

Freikorps Danmark: This was an 1164 man reinforced battalion that served with considerable distinction in the Demyansk Pocket alongside the 3rd SS Division "Totenkopf." For a time it was led by the swashbuckling Christian Frederick von Schalburg, a Ukrainian-Danish count who met a soldier's death in the frontlines. The "Freikorps" was authorized and fully supported by the government of Denmark. After the war, members of the "Freikorps Danmark" were prosecuted as "traitors" with the Danish government evading responsibility by saying that the volunteers should have known that the government was merely "acting under duress" when it set up the "Freikorps" and signed the Anti-Comintern pact. Later the "Freikorps" formed the nucleus of the 24th SS Regiment "Danmark."

Finnish Volunteer Battalion of the Waffen-SS: This was a 1000 man unit that served as a component part of the "Nordland" Regiment of the SS "Wiking" Division. Its greatest moment came in October 1942, when the Finns were able to seize Hill 711 near Malgobek in the south Caucasus in a daring frontal assault. Other German units had repeatedly tried to do the same thing but had failed. The Finns served in the *Waffen-SS* at the discretion of their government, which in June 1943 thought it would be more discreet to transfer the Battalion from the *Waffen-SS* to the Finnish Army.

The principal Wehrmacht Legions were the following:

The French Volunteer Legion Against Communism: It served as the 638th Regiment with the 7th German Infantry Division, participated in the drive on Moscow and fought well whenever it was deployed. It was largely transferred into the *Waffen-SS* in 1944.

Legion Wallonie: This was organized as a mountain-infantry battalion. It was formed by the SS from the Frenchspeaking Belgians (Walloons) and was taken over by the Wehrmacht in late 1941 so as not to offend the "Germanic" Flemings already serving in the *Waffen-SS*. It fought exceptionally well in the campaign through the Caucasus Mountains alongside the SS Division "Wiking." It contained many former Belgian Army Officers and the famous political leader Leon Degrelle, who exhibited a flare for death-defying heroics. It was finally re-transferred back into the *Waffen-SS* in June 1943 at Degrelle's request and was reformed as an assault brigade.

Croatian Legion: This was a regiment that fought on the southern part of the eastern front with considerable valor and was totally annihilated in Stalingrad. It was later replaced by three full-scale divisions.

Spanish Legion: This was the independent 250th Infantry Division of the "Spanish Blue" Division that fought with incredible heroism on the Lake Ilmen Front. After it was withdrawn from the eastern front in August 1943 by Franco, survivors carried on in a Spanish SS Legion that fought until the end of the war.

Per Sorensen: Portrait of a Legionary

The 27 year old Danish Army Lieutenant Per Sorensen (formerly Adjutant of the Viborg Battalion) was the ideal model of what the Germans were looking for when they launched the Legionary Movement. On 1 July 1941, Sorensen volunteered for service with the "Freikorps Dan-

mark” motivated by anti-communist feelings and a vague sort of National Socialist attitude. In the autumn months he attended the *Waffen-SS* Officer School at Bad Toelz and in the spring of 1942, rejoined the “Freikorps” as commander of the 1st Company.

During the summer months he led his company in the tough back-and-forth fighting that raged in the relief corridor to the Demyansk Pocket. After several engagements, 1st Company had been reduced from over 200 men to only 40. They had to hold a long stretch of front against strong communist forces. On the afternoon of 16 July 1942, Sorensen telephoned “Freikorp's” HQ that he didn’t know whether his troops could survive another strong attack but they would stay in position no matter what. That night a Red Army infantry battalion attacked with tank support. The communists were soon in 1st Company’s trenches. From sundown to midnight hand-to-hand fighting raged for possession of the positions. Then suddenly it was all over with the Russians either dead or driven out. Thanks to Sorensen’s leadership, 1st Company held.

In the years to come, whether in White Russia or Estonia, Latvia or Pomerania, the troops under Sorensen’s command would always do the job. Before every action, the tall, slender Dane would make a personal reconnaissance of the terrain and during the fighting he was always at the hottest spots with a machine-pistol dangling from his neck.

To his soldiers, Sorensen had the uncanny habit of attracting the enemy. They passed around the phrase: “Wherever Sorensen is -the Russians will come!” And they usually were right. For his endless solicitude and patience, he received the nickname “På Sorensen” from his men. Time and time again, Sorensen provided the special qualities so vital in a leader. In January 1944, he took over an en-

trapped battalion near Vitino in northern Russia and literally led it to safety by staying at the point of the column on a journey through thick, snow shrouded forests.

After commanding battalions and battlegroups, Sorensen received command of the 24th SS Regiment “Danmark” just to the east of Berlin in April 1945. Finally, the Regiment was reduced to trying to defend a street-car station in the heart of Berlin. While climbing a telephone pole to try and survey the terrain, *Sturmbannführer* (Major) Sorensen was picked off by an enemy sniper. On the next day, in the midst of the desperate, last battle for the German capital, Sorensen was given a military funeral in the Ploetzensee cemetery by Germans and Danes from the “Nordland” Division.

With shells detonating all around, the body of Sorensen was taken to the cemetery in an armored troop carrier. Over the open grave, *Sturmscharführer* (Sgt.) Hermann gave a brief eulogy:

We are standing here by the graveside to take our last departure from a courageous Danish comrade, the foremost officer and leader of the Regiment “Danmark”: Per Sorensen! I must, even in this hour give the thanks of my people for you and your many Danish comrades who have stood so loyally beside us. I would like to express from my heart: may you find peace at last in our bleeding city!

As Hermann spoke, the coffin (constructed from ammunition crates by “Nordland” engineers) was lowered into the grave. Two of the Danish officers attending struggled to contain their emotions. Hermann led a last salute and the eight man honor guard fired three salvos over the grave. A woman flak helper tossed flowers into the grave, and each of the Danish and German soldiers attending passed by throwing in a handful of earth. As the great city shook under rumbling artillery fire and great clouds of smoke obscured the sky, the haunting strains of “I had a Comrade” echoed over Sorensen’s grave as the funeral reached its conclusion. The tragic symbolism was

complete and fitting: in the very heart of Europe, on its last battlefield, a prototypical representative of the European Volunteer Movement had met his end.

The European Movement takes Shape

In 1943, the European Volunteer Movement which had been individually developing in the Legions and the *Waffen-SS* was finally amalgamated and consecrated within the ranks of the *Waffen-SS*. The spiritual citadel of the “Movement” now became the SS Officers' School at Bad Toelz in Bavaria, which in 1943 established its first “class” (or “inspection”) exclusively for West European Volunteers. Previously the volunteers had received no specialized treatment but were treated like Germans. Now all of that changed and a sense of European unity with respect for all nationalities and cultures was openly fostered. Within the next two years, *SS-JS* Toelz would produce more than 1000 highly motivated European officers from 12 different countries exclusive of Germany.

Bad Toelz was considered the premier officers' training school in World War II and in addition to a thorough training program that featured live ammunition in most field exercises, it offered well-rounded athletic, cultural and educational opportunities. The great opera, musical and theatrical troops of central Europe made frequent visits while the athletic facilities were unsurpassed in Europe. Twelve different coaches, each one either an Olympic or world class champion in his field, supervised a vast sports program that even included golf and tennis. In the academic arena, freedom of speech was not only permitted but encouraged and the writings of such disparate souls as Marx, Hitler, Jefferson and Churchill were openly discussed and debated.

What Bad Toelz produced was literally a “Renaissance man” who was also a top-notch military officer. In early 1945, the staff and students were mobilized into the newly authorized 38th SS Division “Nibelungen,” and one of the great ironies of the war took place: a mostly German division was officered by non-German Europeans (the officer cadets) instead of the other way around. Once in action against the Americans in southern Bavaria, the Scandinavians, Lowlanders and Frenchmen found themselves opposing an enemy whom they thought could only have existed on the Eastern Front. Like all of the *Waffen-SS* units to serve in the west in 1945, “Nibelungen” was soon victimized by numerous “war crimes.” Entire companies and battalions were bludgeoned and shot to death after going into U.S. captivity. To date this grisly story has only been revealed in bits and pieces and has-naturally enough-been largely suppressed by the Allied side. However, it is interesting to note that some former members of the *Waffen-SS* consider it likely that more of their comrades were killed in American captivity than on the battlefield itself!

1944-45: A European Army at War

The year 1944 opened with the Flemish SS Storm Brigade “Langemarck” fighting a savage retrograde action near Zhitomir in southern Ukraine. Simultaneously the Scandinavian “Nordland” Division and Dutch “Nederland” Brigade were desperately trying to stem a massive Red Army offensive in the Leningrad sector, and the European “Wiking” Division and Belgian Brigade “Wallonien” were going into the “sack” west of Cherkassy. The breakout from the Cherkassy Pocket on the southern Eastern Front was a true epic of heroism: a sacrificial struggle that bound troops of different nationalities firmly together. In the post-war years the survivors have held annual remembrance meetings so that to this day “Cherkassy” remains a living symbol of the European Voluntary Movement.

The spring of 1944 saw the three Baltic SS Divisions fighting with steadfast courage on the eastern boundaries of their countries. In Lithuania, the nucleus for a new SS Division began taking

shape under the guidance of former Lithuanian Army generals, but the country was overrun by the communists before the project could be brought to fruition. Against the Anzio beachhead in Italy, the first combat ready Italian SS battalion grimly held its ground against all American breakout attempts. All over Europe, manpower was being voluntarily mobilized into the *Waffen-SS* to participate in what many people saw as the forthcoming, decisive struggle for the freedom of the continent.

The summer of 1944 saw the “battle of the European SS” on the Narva Front in Estonia. Here, nationals from Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Flanders, Holland and Estonia shared the trenches and fought shoulder-to-shoulder to throw the Bolsheviks back off “Orphanage Hill” and “Grenadier Hill.” Leon Degrelle personally led a battalion from his “Wallonien” Division in a brilliant defensive action near Tartu on the west shore of Lake Peipus. Near Brody in Ukraine, the 14th Ukrainian SS Division fought a life-or-death battle to escape from a Soviet encirclement; only about one-fourth of the Division survived the fighting, but they had acquitted themselves well.

As the year went on, more and more foreign volunteer divisions were formed. This meant that flexible leadership was needed to handle the different cultural distinctions and surprisingly, the *Waffen-SS* was equal to the task. Although organized religion was kept separate from the *Waffen-SS*, volunteers from devout Catholic, Moslem, Greek Catholic and Orthodox countries were given total freedom to practice their religions with their own clergy. For morale purposes, ethnic cultural activities were actively encouraged. It was quite a contrast to the way some minority groups were treated in the Allied armies at the time.

Some of the foreign SS divisions composed of Russian and Moslem volunteers had to be disbanded, since the time and personnel needed to develop these units were lacking. By the autumn of 1944 the *Waffen-SS* European volunteer tally sheet contained the following elements: 2 Dutch brigades, 2 Belgian brigades, 1 French brigade and 1 Italian brigade, (all being transformed into divisions), 2 Croat Moslem divisions, 1 Albanian Moslem division, 2 Hungarian divisions with 2 more in the works that never panned out, 2 Scandinavian/German divisions, 2 Latvian divisions, 1 Estonian division, 2 Russian divisions (both of which would later be transferred to the Vlasov Liberation Army), 1 Ukrainian division, 1 Italian/German division, 1 Hungarian/German division, 1 Balkan/German division, 1 Serbian division, numerous ethnic brigades from the Soviet Union, and small detachments of Spaniards, Britons, Greeks, Romanians, Bulgarians, Arabs and Indians. The foreign SS units were all suitably supplied with national badges, insignia and unit distinctions. And while there were many volunteers from such neutral countries as Ireland, Sweden and Switzerland they could not be openly designated as such so as not to offend their respective governments.

On the Eastern Front, the war raged with unending intensity. In White Russia, part of the French SS Storm Brigade fighting with the 18th Hungarian/German SS Division “Horst Wessel,” sacrificed itself completely in hard defensive action, losing two-thirds of its personnel in the process. In Estonia, a regiment of Estonian soldiers who had been serving in the Finnish Army returned home to fight for their country. They were reformed into a battalion of the 20th Estonian SS Division and in desperate combat on the Latvian frontier, were virtually annihilated. With grim determination the Latvian 15th and 19th SS Divisions fought the communists for every square foot of their homeland, while in the Carpathian Mountains, the Ukrainian Volunteer Division was re-assembled.

In Slovenia and Hungary, the brave Moslems of the 13th SS Division “Handschar” performed well against both Tito’s partisans and the Red Army, but in France the 30th White Russian SS Di-

vision had virtually collapsed while in action against the Americans and French Maquis. These soldiers had only wished to fight the communists and saw no point in what they were doing in the west.

This was not the case in regard to both the 29th Italian SS Division and the 34th Dutch SS Division "Landstorm Nederland." The Italian SS troops fought both the Americans and the rear area communist partisans, and they distinguished themselves as perhaps the best troops that Italy produced during the war. "Landstorm Nederland" first battled the British at Arnhem as part of a hurriedly organized self-defense brigade, but during the winter of 1944-45 it was enlarged into a full-scale 12 000 man infantry division. In the spring of 1945, the almost exclusively Dutch "LN" SS Division gave the British and Canadians fits as they tried with little success to advance into northwest Holland. None of the Allies could figure out why so many Dutchmen chose to join the "Landstorm" Division, so to avoid embarrassment, the story of this unit has been largely suppressed ever since. For the Dutch volunteers, there was no motivation problem. The Allies had joined with the Bolsheviks against not only their homeland but what they perceived to be European civilization as well. Like their fellow countrymen on the Eastern Front, the men of "Landstorm Nederland" fought with a dedicated resolve.

The Belgian and French SS Divisions were brought up to strength in the fall of 1944 from among the many refugees that had fled to Germany plus veterans of the war with Russia. In Holland, volunteers flocked to the *Waffen-SS* recruiting offices like never before and not because they had to. It didn't take a clairvoyant to see that Germany was virtually finished, but still the European volunteers rushed to join the battle.

The establishment historians have never been able to understand this phenomenon, perhaps because it involved an abstract concept alien to most of them: conscience. There was a great desire for many people, who had until this point sat out the war, to finally be "true to themselves"; to make the ultimate sacrifice out of loyalty to their beliefs, their homelands and their fellow countrymen who had already done so much. This was Europe's moment of crisis and many young men made the decision to leap into the crucible. It was a manifestation of spiritual honesty.

The *Waffen-SS* also managed to project a certain natural attractiveness. Littlejohn, in his book *The Patriotic Traitors* (p123), described the pull of the *Waffen-SS* as follows: "The Runic Flag evoked a heroic pagan spirit, a swaggering defiant attitude to life equally contemptuous of bourgeois timidity and of communist anarchy." The far-sighted Leon Degrelle, who had almost obtained political power in prewar Belgium also saw a powerful attraction and purpose in the *Waffen-SS*. In his words: "True elites are formed at the front ... the young leaders are born there ... the emblem of the SS shows Europe where political and social truth is to be found ... We are preparing the political cadres of the post-war world in the Great Seminary of the Front Line." A good many volunteers agreed with him.

The end of 1944 saw Leon Degrelle's 28th SS Division "Wallonien" moving into that part of Belgium that had been retaken in the Ardennes offensive, where it received a hearty welcome and new recruits! But the curtain was rising on the last act on the Eastern Front, and in the weeks ahead most of the European volunteer forces would be in action there. In Kurland, Western Latvia three SS divisions-lith "Nordland," 23rd "Nederland" and 19th Letvian-were caught up in an unequal life-or-death struggle in January 1945. A few extracts from the history of the 49th Dutch SS Regiment "De Ruyter" gave the flavor of the action: (From the series of articles titled "Soldiers of Europe: The *III. SS Panzer Korps*" in *Siegrunen Magazine*)

After a surging, back-and-forth struggle, the south bastion of Ozoli Hill fell irretrievably to the Russians. The over-powered First Co./SS Rgt. "De Ruyter" fell back to the west. *Untersturmführer* Schluifelder, the commander, was badly wounded and shot himself rather than fall into enemy hands.

The Red Army infantry was storming forward. Guided entirely by radio reports, *Obersturmführer* Behler directed the heavy weapons fire of his Dutch gunners at the center of the enemy onslaught. But by mid-day, Behler's positions were entirely surrounded by the enemy. In bloody, close combat, *Obersturmführer* Behler and a few of his men managed to break out to the west.

In the same battle area, Danish *Obersturmführer* Johannes Hellmer's company from Second Battalion/"De Ruyter," was fighting for its life ... Using his own initiative, Kanonier Jenschke, a private, led a small battle group to a successful breakout. Jenschke's rank insignia had been obscured by his camouflage jacket so the men that he had been ordering about were unaware that they outranked him!

During these two days of heavy fighting all of the companies in the main battle line were fully extended. There was nothing to fall back on ... only 7 men could be spared to defend the whole town of Kaleti ... This, the defensive struggle of SS Division "Nederland" was the most heroic battle that I have ever lived through. Everyone, stayed in position to the finish. The attack came right up to the barrels of our artillery pieces. The firing pits were the main battle line. But although we were weakened and dispersed, we had acquitted ourselves with honor. (This extract from the war diary of *Untersturmführer* Horstmann.)

By the end of the fighting, the SS Regiment "De Ruyter" with a nominal strength of 2000 men had been reduced to 80 combatants! The Regiment was rebuilt on the run and thrown into action again on the Pomeranian Front less than two weeks later. For the first time "De Ruyter" received a Third Battalion, this being composed of Dutch and German war reporters whose jobs had become rather superfluous given recent military reversals.

Remaining in Latvia was the 19th Latvian SS Division, which time and again had proved itself the mainstay of bitter defensive fighting and had received several mentions in the *Wehrmacht* war bulletins. The Latvian volunteers received more decorations than any other non-German group in the *Waffen-SS*, including the award of 13 Knight's Crosses; a good indication of their contributions on the battlefield. In Poland and Silesia, the Hungarian and Estonian SS Divisions were temporarily able to stop the enemy onslaught, even though the commander of the 26th SS Division, "Hungaria," *Oberführer* Zoltan von Pisky had been killed in action at Jarotschin.

As the Eastern Front was pushed slowly westwards, bits and pieces of the 27th Flemish SS Division "Langemarck" were rushed to the Oder River line from various training camps. Here they served alongside their co-national rivals, the Walloons, in a spirit of unbridled comradeship. First Battalion of the 66th SS Regiment/Division "Langemarck" picked up the nickname "leaping tiger" for the way its soldiers threw themselves into battle. But even more amazing was the fact that the battalion was composed mostly of teenagers from the Flemish Hitler Youth who had volunteered for service in the *Waffen-SS* after their country had been overrun by the Allies. If there was one drawback to service in this battalion it was that the regimental quartermaster stubbornly saw that the young troopers received a special ration of *Schokolade* and *Bonbons* instead of the schnapps and cigarettes passed out to the older soldiers!

With a good sense of historical irony, the Eastern Front slowly bent and folded itself around the German capital city of Berlin, throwing a good many of the foreign volunteers into the battle for the city. Regiments of the 15th Latvian SS Division, battered beyond belief, had naively decided to throw in their lot with the western allies against the communists (which proved to be an unfortunate decision for many of the officers who were forcibly repatriated to the death camps), and made a complete circuit of Berlin travelling in no-man's land all the time, until they saw a chance to make it to the American lines. The Division's reconnaissance battalion went out a little too far on a scout mission and wound up being impressed into the defense of the city.

To the north of Berlin, 500 survivors of the 33rd French SS Division "Charlemagne" which had been decimated in the defense of Pomerania, actually volunteered to go to the defense of the German capital, even though the Divisional commander had absolved them from any more service obligations. In the week of the epic battle that followed, these Frenchmen constituted the core of defense in the city center, displaying courage and fortitude on a scale seldom seen. When the fighting was over, only a few dozen would still be alive and four of their number would be decorated with Knight's Cross. One could call their mission a "beau geste," but the French soldiers saw it as a moral obligation-another abstract concept the establishment scholars choke on. The following is a description of these soldiers from the article "Defeat in the Ruins: France's Last Battle for Europe," by Gustav Juergens (*Siegrunen*, June 1980):

By this time, the warriors of the "Charlemagne" Division didn't even look like human beings any more. Their eyes were burning and their faces skull-like and covered in dirt and mortar dust. Supplies only came in negligible amounts, the most telling being the lack of water. The young SS men moved like robots through the hell of Berlin. The future was the farthest thing from anyone's mind. The only motivating idea that burned in their consciousness and kept them from collapsing was their flaming desire to come to grips with the Bolsheviks! They had to throw hand grenades, destroy tanks, and hold out against the Reds. That was their only reason for living and for dying.

The SS Divisions "Wallonien," "Nederland" and "Nordland" after spearheading the last successful offensive on the Vistula sector to relieve the trapped garrisons at Arneswalde, had been driven inexorably westward. "Nederland" was split into two segments, one being trapped and destroyed in the Halbe Pocket to the south of Berlin and the other retreating to the north of Berlin. Much of the "Nordland" Division, including the staff elements, wound up in Berlin itself.

At Prenzlau, due north of Berlin, the Flemish "Langemarck" Division led by the "leaping tigers" of its Hitler Youth battalion, made the last relief attack against the communist encirclement on 25 April 1945. In violent, savage fighting "Langemarck" was burnt to a cinder along with the "Wallonien" Division and parts of "Charlemagne" and "Nordland"; the survivors were forced to fall back towards the Elbe River. In Silesia, the 20th Estonian SS Division was surrounded and forced to surrender to the Soviets; beginning what for most, would be a long, final journey to the Gulags. On the Austrian frontier, the Ukrainian, Moslem and Cossack SS formations fought with skill and valor before retreating to the west. Most of the Moslems and Cossacks would later be forcibly repatriated to their deaths at the hands of the Yugoslav and Soviet communists; the Ukrainians escaped this real "holocaust" by posing as pre-war Polish citizens.

Going with the Cossacks of 15th SS Army Corps to the Gulags, was their beloved commander, Gen. Lt. Helmuth von Pannwitz, the first foreign national ever to be freely elected Ataman of the Cossack tribes. He chose to share the fate of his men although he could have gone into comfortable Allied internment. In 1947, von Pannwitz, along with the Cossack leaders of the 15th SS

Corps, was hanged in Moscow as a “war criminal”; the Cossack soldiers and about one-half million others of their nationality were physically exterminated with the assistance of the United States and Great Britain.

In Italy, after putting up a brave fight, the 29th Italian SS Division surrendered either to the Americans or to the Red partisans and almost to a man, the Italian SS men were put to death. Between 20 000-30 000 of these volunteers were therefore killed outright in captivity. In Yugoslavia another great nightmare unfolded. 10 000 Moslem volunteers from the 13th SS Division “*Handschar*” were exterminated in a mass execution and their bodies stuffed in an abandoned mine shaft. Many of the soldiers of the 7th SS Mountain Division “*Prinz Eugen*,” recruited from Yugoslav Germans, met a similar fate. In Kurland, Latvia, where a small German Army Group had courageously held out against vastly superior enemy forces until the end of the war, 14 000 members of the 19th Latvian SS Division marched into captivity and oblivion—they were never heard from again.

In Berlin, members of the Spanish SS Legion attempted to breakout of the city wearing pilfered Red Army uniforms; none made it. Those caught by the communists were shot as spies and those intercepted by the Germans were shot as turncoats. When General Krebs went to surrender the Berlin garrison early on the morning of 1 May 1945, he took with him the Latvian *Waffen-Obersturmführer* (1st Lt.) Nielsands as an interpreter. After performing his duty, Nielsands returned to the command of his 80 man company from the 15th SS Recce Battalion. For the Latvians there would be no surrender—they asked for no quarter from the Soviets and they gave none themselves. In the ruins of the Air Ministry building the Latvian SS troops made their last stand. In hand-to-hand combat they fought to the death.

A few of the volunteers trapped in Berlin actually escaped. The Danish *Obersturmführer* Birkedahl-Hansen, suffering from jaundice, led some men from Regiment “*Danmark*” successfully out of the city through Spandau to the northwest. They made their way to the seaport of Warnemünde and took a row boat back to Denmark, thus escaping a long trek to Siberia.

The end of the war saw most of the European volunteers frantically trying to make it to the western Allied lines. Surrender, though, only marked the beginning of their problems. The “democratic” governments of the “liberated” countries were determined to enact a painful vengeance. In each country some of the more prominent volunteers were run through quick “judicial” proceedings and executed, with the others being stripped of their civil rights and sentenced to prison terms of varying lengths. Those that wound up in Soviet hands were either: 1) extradited to their home countries for criminal proceedings or 2) simply shipped to forced labor camps with the Germans. Those that survived up to a decade or so of this treatment were eventually sent home.

The final tally sheet for the European Volunteer Movement ran roughly as follows: (*Waffen-SS* only)

Western Europe: 162,000 volunteers, ranging from about 55,000 in Holland to 80 from Liechtenstein. Out of this total about 50,000 were killed or missing. Included in this figure would be 16,000 Dutchmen and 11,500 Belgians.

Baltic States and Soviet Nationalities: About 250,000 soldiers. Casualties and post-war losses through forced repatriation and execution were enormous.

Balkan and Slavs: About 100,000. Considerable losses. Ethnic Germans not from Germany: About 300,000.

Germans from the Reich: 400,000. For the Germans and ethnic Germans, losses in killed and missing were about one-third.

In some countries like Holland, the “volunteer” problem was so great, that censorship was imposed, that in most cases remains in place to this day. The Dutch were particularly brutal in treating their military “collaborators”; incarcerating many for long terms in concentration camps that followed the German models faithfully. Many volunteers in the Netherlands subsequently rose to prominence in the political and business fields, but because of their “background” remained vulnerable to a form of blackmail that has seen some of them (including parliamentary leaders) sent into distant oblivion.

Treatment of returning volunteers was equally harsh in other countries. Belgium executed many both legally and illegally while keeping a majority of their “military collaborators” locked up in concentration camps run in the German style. In France, some of the more prominent officers were executed, while the rank-and-file of the “Charlemagne” Division was given the option of doing time in Indo-China with the Foreign Legion. Joining them were numerous Hungarian and German SS men who had wound up in French captivity.

Norway locked up its volunteers in stone fortresses and kept them on near starvation rations for between 4 and 8 years. The Norwegian volunteers had sealed their fate when they had offended a “hanging judge” who had offered them modified clemency for admissions of guilt. The judge was spat upon and pelted with rubbish by the incarcerated soldiers so he threw the book at them. Denmark, which produced a multitude of volunteers (nearly 15 000 including the cream of the Danish officer corps), was relatively lenient to most of their soldiers-only the more prominent ones had to suffer for long. One ex-commander of the “Freikorps Danmark” was executed (a decision officially condemned by the Danish Parliament 30 years later), and the Danish Major-General Kryssing, who had commanded a multi-national ad hoc division on the Eastern Front, was kept in prison 5 years and deprived of his civil rights.

When the volunteers were mentioned at all after the war, it was always in a very derogatory manner; they were usually referred to as criminals and mercenaries. The Dutch went so far as to hire a psychiatrist to buttress this theory. He interviewed 400 volunteers and later propounded the thesis that these men had not served out of any moral commitment but had “sold their souls” for material inducements and adventure. This has been pretty much the establishment line ever since although it is never mentioned that the volunteers interviewed (constituting one-half of one percent of the total number of Danish military collaborators), were quite willing to say anything to secure release from their concentration camp.

If one looks at the rigorous screening process that the Germans applied to their foreign volunteers the myth of their being “criminals” and “mercenaries” is pretty well exploded. The basic criteria for acceptance in the *Waffen-SS* revolved around the applicant’s physical fitness, mental attitude and past record. Anyone with a criminal record

was simply not accepted, although some did slip through. Utilizing these standards, the *Waffen-SS* accepted only 3000 recruits out of about 12,000 who flooded the recruiting offices of the original Dutch Legion. And out of this 3000 another 400 would be culled out during training for either harboring a criminal past or an incompatible political attitude. Similarly we can look at the Ukrainian volunteers and see that out of 81 999 initial applicants only 29 124 were finally accepted after screening!

If there is any judgment that can be made from this it is that the men who got into the *Waffen-SS* usually represented the best human material that their respective countries had to offer. There is

no way to categorize them individually since they came from all different classes and backgrounds sharing only one common denominator: a love of their country and continent.

It is fair to say that the European volunteers left a mark on the battlefields of the Eastern Front far out of proportion to their actual numbers, and this paper would not be complete if it did not include a sampling of their achievements.

In the Linden Hills east of the Oder River, *Obersturmführer* Capelle's company of Walloon volunteers was in its death struggle. Enemy tanks were swarming all over — many had been knocked out but all of the *Panzerfäuste* were now exhausted. At this point, Capelle radioed to "Wallonien" Division headquarters that he was going to try and breakout and link-up with the Division. But escape for the company was no longer possible. Walloon volunteers were crushed to death by tanks running over their foxholes. The badly wounded fired their weapons until their last breath.

Finally all that was left was the company command post. In a heroic stand, the Belgian SS men fought it out until the end. The severely wounded were humanely put out of their misery. The survivors fought on with rifle butts and service revolvers. Incredibly, the command post resisted for the whole day. As it was finally overwhelmed in the early evening, *Obersturmführer* Capelle went down firing his pistol. Two wounded Walloons reached the German lines during the night to tell of this last battle.

On the next day, 27 February 1945, a supplement to the daily *Wehrmacht* war bulletin was read over the German radio: "In Pomerania a battle-group from the SS Volunteers Grenadier Division 'Wallonien' under the leadership of *SS-Obersturmführer* Capelle was deployed for flank for flank protection. Displaying exemplary steadfastness and fanatical battle spirit, it was destroyed (in action)." Capelle was recommended for the posthumous award of the Knight's Cross but documentation for the decoration was lost in the chaos of the war's end.

* * *

On the morning of 26 January 1944 a Soviet tank force broke into the town of Gubanizy. The Dutch volunteer Caspar Sporck drove his self-propelled gun right into their midst and began shooting them up right and left, eventually claiming 11 kills. Later, during the last hours of the German retreat to the Narva bridgehead on 31 January 1944, Sporck stayed back alone with his armored vehicle and patrolled far to the east of the main battle lines, seeking out enemy tanks and vehicles and providing protection for stragglers. At dusk, with the enemy close behind, Sporck's assault gun was the last vehicle to cross into the German lines. For his initiative and valor, Casper Sporck was later awarded the Knight's Cross.

* * *

On 12 June 1944 at the "Sunshine" outpost to the southeast of the Narva bridgehead, the Danish NCO Egon Christophersen literally saved the main front, when with a small assault troop he counterattacked German trenches that had been seized by the Russians and regained them in hand-to-hand combat. Christophersen and his men then defended the positions against all attackers, enabling the broken German lines to reconsolidate and hold. Christophersen was awarded the Knight's Cross.

* * *

At the Vepskula bridgehead on the west bank of the Narva River in February 1944, the bedraggled German forces were unable to eliminate a dangerous Soviet inroad. Fresh Estonian assault troops were brought in. For a time they too were pinned down. Then the young Estonian Sergeant Haralt Nugiseks led a leap-frog attack that broke through the communist lines. In vicious close combat the enemy trenches were cleared all the way to the river's edge. Nugiseks was awarded the Knight's Cross.

* * *

In August 1943 on the Wolchov Front, the Latvian Sergeant Zanis Butkus led a storm troop into the enemy lines and proceeded to capture a string of communist bunkers without loss. He returned to the German lines with many prisoners and much booty. Butkus was given an officer's commission on the spot. Later, after taking part in 59 close combat engagements, Butkus was awarded the Knight's Cross.

* * *

In July 1944, on the north side of "Orphanage Hill" on the Narva Front, the Flemish NCO Remi Schyrnen singlehandedly knocked out more than a dozen enemy tanks while wounded and cutoff from his unit. In a 48 hour period he turned back — all by himself — several Soviet tank attacks that would have encircled the Flemish and Estonian volunteer battalions fighting nearby. He even scored a lucky "double kill" when one shot from his anti-tank gun penetrated through two tanks advancing side-by-side. Incredibly, in January 1944, Schyrnen had pulled off a similar feat to save the "Langemarck" Brigade near Zhitomir. Schyrnen was awarded the Knight's Cross.

* * *

Strong Soviet tank forces were attacking along the road south of Dorpat in eastern Estonia in August 1944 with the intention of severing the entire Estonian Front. The only things blocking their way were three anti-tank guns from the "Wallonien" Division under the direct command of the Walloon Lieutenant Leon Gillis. Gillis positioned his guns directly in the road and flung back attack after attack. In furious fighting that raged all day, the anti-tank guns were destroyed and most of the Walloons wounded. The whole front hinged on Gillis' next move. He chose to attack. The Walloon volunteers knocked out three more tanks with hand grenades and drove back the rest. The enemy was unable to advance. Leon Gillis was awarded the Knight's Cross.

* * *

In February 1945, the communists were closing in on the military training camp at Neuhammer in Silesia. The Hungarian Captain, Georg Hermandy in command of the emergency battalion of the 26th SS Division "Hungaria" led his unit in a valiant counterattack to prevent a breakthrough. Even after being badly wounded, Hermandy insisted upon staying in the front lines and directed a successful defensive battle that saved the Neuhammer sector. After the fighting, the *Wehrmacht* Colonel in charge of the area visited the Hungarian SS positions, took off his own Knight's Cross and draped it around the neck of Hermandy. WaffenHauptsturmführer George Hermandy was subsequently killed on 23 March 1945 leading his men in yet another counterattack.

* * *

The last bridgehead on the east bank of the Oder River in March 1945 was held by the 1. Battalion/SS Regiment Division "Wallonien," led by the Walloon Major Henri Derriks. Derriks, or "Der Boss" as he was known to his men, deployed his two tanks and his companies of infantry-

men with cool decisiveness, enabling the last German soldiers and refugees to make their way to safety. Finally, with the communists closing in from three sides, Derriks calmly pulled back his forces step-by-step and got them safely across the river, destroying the last bridge behind them. It was nothing new for “Der Boss,” he had earlier commanded the last group of “Wallonien” soldiers to fight their way out of the Cherkassy encirclement in south Ukraine. Later, Derriks led the last assault of the “Wallonien” Division on the Eastern Front. Among his many decorations for bravery, *Sturmbannführer* Henri Derricks received the German Cross in Gold.

* * *

And there were many, many more European heroes, most of whom would not have their deeds recorded at all but would instead find a final resting place in an unmarked grave somewhere in the “East.” We cannot begin to do justice to them in this paper, but we can hopefully, lift part of the veil that has hidden their exploits for so long a time.

The Reckoning

We are now at the point where it can be asked, what does this discussion of the European Volunteer Movement prove? I think that it has at least validated the following statement by Beadle and Hartmann in their book, *The Waffen-SS: Its Divisional Insignia*: (p4)

By 1945, the *Waffen-SS* had proved by its combat success that European people could exist together, but as long as they recognized and accepted the national differences between one another. It had been in the *Waffen-SS* that, for the first time, Dutch had been commanded by Germans and Germans by Belgians. It was this idealism, dearly bought on the roads of Russia and later in its slave labor camps, that created an outstanding spirit of comradeship and combatant ability among all members, regardless of nationality or rank.

Beadle and Hartmann also made one other trenchant statement that I hope is born out in this essay: (p4)

The greatest triumph of the *Waffen-SS* though, was not on the field of battle. It was in its policy of recruiting non-German volunteers, not as hired mercenaries, but as cofighters for a European ideal.

After a generation of slander, vilification and falsehood concerning the European volunteers, the first rays of light are beginning to shine through. Slowly, but surely, their story is being told. As for the soldiers themselves, many are of the belief that they were ahead of their time, both militarily and philosophically, and that their legacy is yet to be fulfilled.

For myself, perhaps the most incisive observation was made by the former *Waffen-SS* Colonel Jochen Peiper in a letter to his comrades while he was being held in American confinement under sentence of death: “Don’t forget that it was in the ranks of the SS that the first European died ...”

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Buchenwald and After

LEONHARD FRIEDRICH

In 1942 I was served with a warrant for my arrest by the Gestapo. The warrant alleged that I was “corrupting the unity of the German people during wartime.”

I appealed against this warrant of arrest but heard absolutely nothing more about it. On 5 October I arrived in Buchenwald after having spent two nights in a prison in Halle. In Halle there was very great overcrowding and incredibly bad food. There too, as in all prisons in which I had been, there were plenty of vermin.

At Buchenwald

Our reception in Buchenwald was not exactly welcoming. First, our personal data and possessions were taken and the experience with the SS man was not exactly pleasant. Then to the so-called bath house of the camp where we had to completely undress, leave our clothes in a heap, and take a bath. From there we were delivered into the hands of the barbers who shaved the hair completely off the head and all parts of our bodies. After a medical examination, we were passed to another department where vests and pants, trousers, jackets and caps were thrown at us. Stockings and socks did not exist, but we were given wooden clogs which soon made our feet raw with blisters. We stood up in the zebra striped uniform “pyjamas” and could hardly recognize ourselves or our mates. We were then given numbers and colors for identification. There were several different kinds—red for political prisoners, green for habitual criminals, black for those regarded as asocial, pink for homosexuals, violet for Jehovah’s Witnesses and, of course, the yellow “Star of David” for the Jews.

We were then taken to a barracks in which all contact with other inmates of the camp was prevented. We were not only Political prisoners but all kinds of thieves and criminals. There were 42 different nationalities in Buchenwald. At the time of my committal, the concentration camp was not very big, about 8 000 to 10 000 prisoners, whereas later the population increased to 47 000. During the first few days we were allocated all kinds of unskilled work and eventually I came to a work team which was doing some ground levelling in Weimar where some factories were being built. Apart from the dreadful pain in my feet as a result of the wooden clogs I had to wear, I also had great trouble with my hands which were not used to working with a pick and shovel. I was then transferred to the penal group—something I still don’t understand. These people were accommodated in special barracks separate from the rest of the camp. The treatment in these barracks was for the most part meted out by prisoners which defies any description. It was not only the SS who made most trouble for me, but rather some of the old lags who were in command. When one had the chance to discover something about their past, one could really understand that they were the sort of people from whom society should be protected. Later still I came to work in the stone quarry company which was building one of the crematoria of the concentration camp.

Every now and then I found people who were well intentioned towards me, but the condition of my health deteriorated steadily. I had no particular complaint, it was mainly weakness probably due to lack of food. I had no news from home, and was not allowed to write. It was, therefore, a great joy when, at the end of November, an inquiry came from Mary addressed to the commander of the camp. To begin with they were angry and shouted at me asking why I had not written home and when I explained I had not been allowed to, I was ordered to send off a letter that very night. To my great joy a new directive had been issued to the effect that prisoners were allowed to receive parcels of food and essential clothing from their homes. I wrote this to Mary and said that I could do with some boots and other things, and from that time onwards my health improved. While I was in Buchenwald Mary sent me a parcel every week, to the contents of which many kind friends contributed. I can say today with a clear conscience that it is to them that I owe thanks that I am still alive. I could hardly have survived the suffering and brutal treatment had it not been for this material support and the thoughts and prayers of so many who remembered me.

Winter

In the meantime, I was transferred to a different work team-the so-called sewerage and drainage squad. In this team we had to carry out all the drainage operations-that is to say, digging and closing ditches carrying heavy drain pipes and everything that went with it. I generally worked with bandaged hands because I was not very fit to do this work, but somehow I managed it despite great exhaustion. While working out of doors we were particularly exposed to all sorts of harassment by the SS men. They came and went and took the least opportunity to report us and subject us to beatings. During the first winter we had very thin coats which did not afford much protection. As soon as the sky was a little brighter we were ordered to take the coats off and we had to work in the freezing cold. Our day began in the morning at 4:30 and then we were given half a litre of coffee or the so-called morning soup which consisted of boiled bran. An hour later we had to stand for a roll call then the various columns marched to work.

About the tortures and ill treatment meted out to people I will say very little because this is now well known. I can only say that I personally experienced quite a bit of it but in the end by divine providence I was spared the worst.

In Buchenwald the prisoners had to carry out any work, clearing forests, constructing complete huts and factories. Any work between these operations, such as road construction, drainage, electrical engineering, was carried out by prisoners who eventually worked in the completed factories.

In June 1943 I was put in a works store and eventually became in charge of it. Now I had a chance of achieving a certain personal independence -that is during the working hours of the day. There was a lot of unpleasantness now and then, but I did however manage to cope with it. In the concentration camp itself conditions deteriorated increasingly as so many prisoners came to Buchenwald, especially in the last winter, when the big camps in the East had to be cleared. In November, December and January they arrived in open coal trucks in which they had travelled from six to fourteen weeks. I cannot talk about the misery I have seen. Food was scanty, warm clothes were non-existent and travelling for weeks in an open railway truck without any sanitary arrangements-it is not surprising that many died. The camps were overcrowded so that in spite of all safety measures taken, the prisoners suffered from all sorts of illnesses and the death rate rose alarmingly. Added to this were the many atrocities to which we were subjected at the so-called roll calls. We had often to stand for hours till the result was correct or if anyone was missing till it had been established who it was or until he had been found. These roll calls cost many lives as

no consideration was taken whether it was snowing or raining. There is much I could say about this, especially about what happened towards the end. Most of those who came from the camps in the East were again removed in March 1945, this time on foot since the railways were no longer running. Those who couldn't walk any more, or stepped aside, were shot en route. The corpses were left lying in the ditches. In this manner the population of the camp decreased to about 21,000 by the time the allied troops arrived.

Liberation

The camp of Buchenwald was to be gassed and blown up. The orders for this were given by SS Brigade Tirlwanger, but by good fortune the Americans arrived more quickly than was expected. It was with peculiar feelings that I watched the arrival of the "enemy" who had come to liberate us. We started breathing again, and once more realized that we were human beings. The food which in that year had been particularly wretched, became very good since all the stores left behind by the SS had been given to the camp. After a further five weeks during which I assisted American officers in the Commission for releasing the prisoners. I arrived home in Pyrmont on Whit Sunday.

I must praise the Jehovah's Witnesses who, in spite of ridicule and persecution, held in the most wonderful way firmly to their beliefs. I am today of the opinion that we in Germany could only have come to such a state because the religious strength and the inner life of individuals were allowed to deteriorate. We will always find that the men and women who frankly confess their belief in their God without hesitation will be given the inner strength, even in these times, to hope for a better future.

As I left the camp it became perfectly clear to me that I had two great duties,, namely not to forget the 51 000 dead left in Buchenwald, and secondly to help show to the world that the German people are not what the Nazis and criminals made them appear to be.

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'Holocaust' Pharmacology vs. Scientific Pharmacology

- THE DEATH CAMP TREBLINKA: A DOCUMENTARY, edited by Alexander Donat, Holocaust Library, New York, 320pp, hardback, \$9.95, ISBN: 0-89604-009-7

Horst Kehl

This book is presented as a documentary, and indeed is catalogued as such in the Library of Congress Index. The editor has authored only ten pages of the text, the rest is a collection of testimonies from survivors, collated and chronicled by one Rachel Auerbach, who was never in the camp herself.

Careful analysis of the testimony of the six eye-witnesses reveals numerous contradictions and impossibilities. Perhaps an overactive imagination on the part of the ghostwriter is responsible. Or perhaps it is the eye-witnesses themselves who are prone to slight exaggerations; Gerald Reitlinger, the noted Exterminationist, cautions against taking too literally the testimony of eastern European Jews (*The Final Solution*, Sphere, London, p581). One of the more obvious exaggerations is the allegation by one eye-witness, Samuel Willenberg, that he saw a nude girl leap over a 3 meter (9 feet) high barbed wire fence in order to escape the gas chambers. Let us now look at some of the less obvious canards.

One of the key issues concerning Treblinka is of course the duration of its existence, and number of people who passed through its facilities. According to the Commandant of the camp, Dr. Irmfried Eberl, the camp was opened on 7 July 1942, and closed on 2 August 1943 after a revolt broke out and the camp was burned to the ground.

However, according to the chronicler Rachel Auerbach, there were mass executions going on at Treblinka from 23 July 1942 through the middle of September 1943. This would seem to indicate that there were gassings going on at Treblinka six weeks after the camp and gas chambers had been burned to the ground!

Since the camp was only in operation for 400 days (give or take six weeks) there would have had to be a very busy daily throughput of exterminatees to attain the very high estimates of total victims. These total estimates range from as low as 700,000 to as high as 1,200,000 (ppg, 14, 25, 52). There are even contradictions within one witness's own testimony. On page 52 we are told that 20,000 corpses were processed daily by the gas chambers, but on the following page he says that only 6 000 were killed each day. Another witness does the same thing: on page 159 we are told that 10,000-12,000 were gassed each day, and then on page 164 it becomes 30,000.

Clearly there are some rather major incongruities with respect to the daily death toll, and the capacities of the extermination facilities. The reader can take almost any figure he pleases. But still one has to bear in mind that the camp was only in existence for just over a year.

The *modus operandi* of the gassing itself is likewise somewhat contradictory. On page 12 it is reported that a motor was used to gas victims with its exhaust fumes, and this is further amplified on page 49 when the motor becomes the engine of a captured Russian tank. Page 157 advises us that this method took nearly one hour to kill the victims. Various other methods are bandied around including “hot steam” (p130), “chlorine asphyxiation” (p24), but alack and alas, our old friend Zyklon B does not get a look in. It seems that the fiendish human devils of the Holocaust kingdom had not gotten their act sufficiently together to order the same method of extermination at each of the myriad mills of death.

The size and capacity of the gas chambers is described in some detail. Eye-witness Jankiel Wiernik states on page 158 that the gas chambers were 5×5 meters, which is 25 square meters (250 square feet). Into this chamber 450-500 persons were crowded. Simple arithmetic tells the reader that each person therefore had only one half square foot each, or 6 inches by 6 inches. Is this practically possible? Try it and see.

Later, 10 additional chambers were added (p161) to the original 3 (p157). These new gas chambers were 7×7 meters each, or 49 square meters (500 square feet). While these new super gas chambers were much roomier than before, 1,000-1,200 people were crowded into these. The height of these new chambers is given as 1.9 meters, which is less than 6 feet. Presumably the victims were either all short people, or they were asked to stoop!

The total capacity of the entire 13 gas chambers can now be calculated. 10 chambers times an average of 1100 equals 11,000; the 3 smaller chambers held 500 each, which is 1,500; making a grand total per complete gassing operation of 12,500 victims. One should compare this with the reported figures on pages 52, 53, 159 and 164.

What happened to the bodies? Again, we enter a quagmire of impossibilities. At first, all the corpses (12,500 a day?) were buried in large ditches in the camp (pp86, 90, 92 and 105). But as the entire camp was only 15 hectares (p70) which is about 37 acres, one would soon use up all the available ditches. A map on pages 318-319 shows that much of the land was taken up with the camp buildings and workshops, leaving only about 3 hectares (7 acres) for such mass burials.

The authors try to get around this problem by telling us that after April 1943 the bodies were burned, and not buried. One eye-witness speculates that this was because the Germans had just discovered the mass-graves of Poles murdered by Soviets at Katyn, and they didn't want the same thing to happen to them (p169). But here too we are presented with a number of contradictory statements.

On page 171 we are told about pyres in winter, but we are obliged to ask, which winter, since the burning began in April 1943 and ended in September the same year. Likewise, a bizarre story on pages 190-199 relates how new arrivals saw the funeral pyres and revolted. They were all shot and next morning their bodies were covered with snow. Although the weather in eastern Europe does leave a lot to be desired, we were not aware that snow was a common feature in April — September.

The cremations allow the eye-witnesses' imaginations to really run riot. On page 38 we are told that human blood makes first class combustion material. This will come as a surprise to us physicians who have been believing all along that blood is 70% water! On the same page we are told that young bodies burn better than old ones, which also seem strange when we consider that younger bodies contain more water than their elders. Continuing on the same page, we are startled to learn that “Men don't burn without women.” The “explanation” for this is that the fat of women is used as kindling and to maintain the fires. On page 32 we are informed that pans

would be placed beneath the grilles to catch the fat as it ran off, for use in -wouldn't we know — soap making. Leaving aside the fact that we were told on page 13 that the victims were all skin and bone, we wonder what wondrous pathological discovery was made by the angels of death at Treblinka, which enable them to determine these qualities of female tissue which were previously -and since-totally unknown to modern science.

The burnings were carried out in two ways, it seems. bodies were stacked up on grates or grilles of old railroad tracks (p170) 100-150 meters along (300-450 feet). These grates could hold 3,000 bodies at a time, and 10,000-12,000 bodies were burned each day. Other burnings took place in ditches, though how oxygen was supplied to the combustion in such a ditch is not explained (pp92, 105, 156). Page 170 informs us that the bodies were doused with gasoline, but surely this would only result in charring, not burning, due to the flash characteristics of gasoline combustion. (Could it be that all that female fat acted as some sort of catalyst perhaps?)

Although Treblinka is classified as a death camp, some rather lively things seem to have gone on there. If the sole function of the camp was to process living humans into ashes / fat / soap / etc. it seems rather odd that a zoo was maintained (pp47, 318), Jewish services were conducted (p63), children lived there (p64), black market activities went on (p124), gold dollars and fine liquor were traded (p50), there were cigarette rations (p176), there was a radio listening post and underground camp newspaper. One eyewitness reports that some victims arrived in express trains, complete with dining cars (p64)!

Later on, we are given an example of the brutality of the guards, when an incident is described where a guard tore a child in half and the child's naked feet still stood standing: frozen to the ground (p163).

It is this kind of lurid imagination which gives the lie to the entire thesis. If it is impossible to tear a child in half; if it is impossible to burn bodies in ditches; if it is impossible to cram people into half a square foot each; if it is impossible to use women as kindling and scoop up buckets of human fat; if it is impossible to leap over a 9 feet high fence; just what other parts of this saga are true?

The authors display their extremism and inattention to consistency when they place Treblinka as a "death camp" just as "Dachau, Buchenwald, Belsen" and others (p54). If the editors at "Holocaust Library" had done their homework properly they would know that the official Exterminationist line is that there were no gassings in the German camps at all; "only in the Polish camps." Martin Broszat (head of the Holocaust Institute in Munich) says so in *Die Zeit* of 26 August 1960. Simon Wiesenthal says so in *Books & Bookmen* of April 1975. Gitta Sereny says so in the *New Statesman* of 2 November 1979. Maybe the "Holocaust Librarians" know something that they don't!

Letters to the Editor

20 January 1981

Dear Lewis:

I was quite fascinated by Dr. Howard Stein's article on Psychohistory in your Winter 1980 issue. There are two extremely valuable books devoted to this subject: A Psychohistory of Zionism by Jay Gonen (which Stein refers to) and The Israeli Women by Lesley Hazleton. Both books are reviewed in the excellent "Zionism is not Judaism" issue (December 1978) of The Campaigner (304 West 58th Street, New York, NY 10019; \$2). (This issue is also significant in that the Editorial of this issue says that the "Six Million" is a lie; page 2).

Hazleton points out that the Hebrew language is brim full of sexual-political fantasies. Gever, the Hebrew word for "man" also means rooster or cock. The word for "weapon" is *zayin*, which also means penis. The phrase for Israel's armed forces can therefore be translated as "roosters equipped with penises." The Hebrew verb "to take up arms" also means "to have sexual intercourse."

The Israeli intelligence service, the Mossad, and the Israeli military use as their code-instructions certain phrases from the Kabbala, the 15th/16th Century book of Jewish Magick. Soldiers are mobilized for war exercises with such phrases as "The Elders' Council ... "... Study of the Torah" and "Product of the Soil," Ashkenazim (Khazar) Jews from Eastern Europe take up adopted Hebrew names in Israel, but almost always using words with virility connotations, such as "antagonist," "strength ... "... towering," "lightning," "bear" and "lion."

Hazleton notes an incestuous overtone in Zionist philosophizing. She quotes a *kibbutz* leader Meir Yaari, who openly referred to the sexual nature of the *kibbutzniks'* zeal. The land they tilled, he said, was their bride, and they themselves "the bridegroom who abandons himself in his bride's bosom ... thus we abandon ourselves to the motherly womb of the sanctifying earth."

Hazleton also refers to the Old Testament writings of Isaiah and Ezekiel. "As a mystical idea, the return to Zion afforded the bond of a future but never-to-be-achieved-in-our-lifetime Redemption. It was imagined, as Isaiah indicates, in terms of the return of son to mother in sexual union."

Then, citing the prophet Ezekiel's characterization of "non-Jewish" sovereignty over Jerusalem as tantamount to acts of "multiple harlotry" Hazelton writes:

The sons were to mount Zion in the role of rescuer and sexual claimant, the young groom returning to claim his bride; the son his mother. The result of the intercourse between son and mother would be the rebirth of the son himself, who would give

new life to his mother by saving her from the iniquities of suffering under foreign rule, and restore her innocence and light as mother and life-giver.

It would indeed be interesting to gather evidence of a possible relationship between and among the following attitudes among Jews:

SEXUAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL	POLITICAL-HISTORICAL
Oedipus Complex	Zealous Zionism
Incest	“Aliya” ("Return to Zion")
Sado-Masochism	“Holocaust” atrocities; sex-shop Nazism
Anal Complex	Scatalogical references throughout “Holocaust” memoirs
Homosexuality	Ritual circumcision (hatred of an inadequate penis); Israeli suppression of women’s rights; rejection of menstruating wife; not counting woman’s evidence in court or presence in synagogue quorum
Paranoia	Imagined “anti-Semitism”; wanting to be “Holocausted”
Megalomania	War Zionism; Zionist suppression of Free Speech on the “Holocaust”; Zionist manipulation of U.S. politicians and media

Without a doubt there is a rich seam of psychohistorical ore to be mined in this area. Dr. Stein has dug up a fine nugget. Who will have the courage to start strip-mining?

Revisionistically

Sandra Ross
London, England

Sir:

The central point of Dr. Howard F. Stein’s article, “The Holocaust and the Myth of the Past as History,” is, I believe, wholly valid. World Jewry does indeed have a psychic need to believe in the “holocaust” and for that reason, no amount of published empirical research or logical argument will ever shake that belief among the commonality of Jews although some sophisticated Jewish academics and intellectuals (Dr. Stein himself, for example) are at least uneasy with it. It is very similar to the desperate emotional and psychological need of Blacks not to deal with the theories of Jensen, Shockley, Shuey, et al], in a rational or objective way.

But we should not overlook the added element in the perpetuation of the holocaust myth which is stressed by Richard Harwood among others. There is a tremendous enhancement of political power for Jewry in the United States and Western Europe and of virtually unlimited financial gain for Israel in the myth. This factor operates both on the conscious and the unconscious level.

Beyond this, Dr. Stein’s enthusiasm for psycho-history needs to be looked at with some degree of cool objectivity and scepticism. Good historians have always been aware of the psychological — often Freudian- determinants in history. Alexander the Great is only one of the most obvious ex-

amples of this: there. is, and can be, almost no dispute about the oedipal factors there. But there is some danger of psycho-history degenerating into a mere fad-or at best a kind of monolithic theory of history which explains all the past. Oddly enough, that particular way of thinking has long seemed to me very characteristic of the intellectual Jew: Marx's economic determinism, Freud's libido, Einstein's Unified Field theory-even Judaic monotheism. Psycho-history has only recently been given a name and it is the latest arrival in the field. Jews might respond by arguing that racialists fall into the same trap and sometimes there is truth in such allegations. Personally, I believe that race is probably the most important single factor in history and I rejoice in the new insights of Sociobiology but, since racial instincts can be perverted and corrupted and become a source of guilt and impotence, it is clear that other factors also play a part.

Sincerely yours,
Wayland D. Smith, Ph.D.
Los Angeles, California
29 December 1980

Summer 1981 (Vol. 2, No. 2), page 103

Confessions of SS Men who were at Auschwitz

by Robert Faurisson

Some SS men have confessed that there were some “gas chambers” at Auschwitz or at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The three most important confessions are those of Rudolf Höss, of Pery Broad and, finally, of Professor Doctor Johann Paul Kremer. For a long time the Exterminationists have especially counted on the first of these confessions: that of Rudolf Höss, which appeared under the title *The Commandant of Auschwitz*. I noticed, on the occasion of a recent historical debate in France, that the Exterminationists seem less sure of the value of this strange testimony. On the other hand, the testimony of Johann Paul Kremer has been very useful to them. Personally, I think that the argument furnished by Kremer is in fact, from their point of view, a more valuable weapon than the absurd confession of Rudolf Höss. I must say that first the British and then the Poles made Höss speak in such a way that it is easy to destroy his testimony by simply comparing *The Commandant of Auschwitz* with his numerous previous statements, among which I particularly recommend that of 14 March 1946 (documents NO-1210 and D-749).

I will limit myself therefore to studying what the Exterminationists themselves today seem to consider as the best of their weapons in respect to the existence and the use at Auschwitz of homicidal “gas chambers.” If I add this adjective “homicidal,” it is because there are, as you know, non-homicidal gas chambers which it is impossible to use to kill men as it is said that the Germans did. All of the armies of the world have some buildings, hastily equipped, for training their recruits in the wearing of gas masks. In France, these buildings bear the name *chambre à gaz* (gas chamber); in Germany, they are called *Gaskammer* or *Gasraum* (gas chamber or gas room). There are also gas chambers for the disinfecting of clothes, for treating fruit, and the like.

I will therefore speak to you at some length of the testimony of Johann Paul Kremer. You will see how, at first sight, it is troubling, and then how, if you analyze it with a little care, it constitutes a terrible fiasco for the Exterminationists. I prize the Kremer case very much. It shows the fragility of the proofs that people offer to us, to what extent they allow themselves to be easily deceived by appearances, how much the official historians have misused the texts and how it is necessary to work if you wish, in the study of texts, to distinguish between the true and the false, between the real meaning and the misinterpretation. This is what is called text and document criticism. It happens that it is my professional specialty. I am therefore going to inflict upon you, to my great regret, a course in “text and document criticism.” I ask you to pardon me for the strictness of the demonstration that I am going to try to carry out in front of you.

Before entering into the heart of the subject, I would like to share with you two remarks. The first comes to us from Dr. Butz. I remember that, in a letter of 18 November 1979 addressed to a British weekly (*New Statesman*) about a long article by Gitta Sereny (2 November 1979) he made the observation that it is quite strange to base a historical thesis such as that of the formidable massacres of millions of human beings on confessions. That claim is still harder to defend

when you know that those confessions came from persons who had been conquered and that the ones who obtained those confessions were the conquerors.

My second remark is to recall that, in the case of Ravensbrück where people now know that there never was any “gassing,” the British and French courts obtained confessions which were particularly detailed on the alleged “gassings.” People speak to us about the three principal confessions of Auschwitz, but they no longer speak to us at all about the three principal confessions of Ravensbrück: that of the camp commandant, Suhren; that of his adjutant, Schwarzhuber; and that of the camp physician, Dr. Treite. Do you know the size of that “gas chamber” that never existed? Answer: nine meters by four and one-half meters. Do you know where it was located? Answer: five meters away from the two crematory ovens. Do you know how many persons were gassed there? Of what nationality? On what precise dates? Do you wish to know on whose orders all of that was done, from the top to the bottom of the German military and political hierarchy? Are you interested in learning how they used a “gas capsule” (sic)? You will find the answers to these questions and to many others while reading, for example, the historian Germaine Tillion. That French woman had been interned at Ravensbrück. After returning to France, she became an official specialist in the history of the deportation. She worked at that same famous CNRS (National Center for Scientific Research) in Paris where Léon Poliakov also worked. Germaine Tillion enjoys in France, for reasons of which I am unaware, considerable moral credit. Her honesty is a sort of established fact. Nevertheless, several years after the war, she went before the courts to overwhelm the persons responsible for Ravensbrück with her stories about the “gas chambers.” Even more than her book about that camp (Ravensbrück. Paris: Le Seuil; 1973 reprinting; 284 pages), one must read her “Reflections on the Study of the Deportation” (“Réflexions sur l'étude de la déportation,” in the *Revue d'Histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale*, July to September 1954, pages 3-38).

Germaine Tillion begins by making some remarks regarding false testimony about the deportation. She says that she has “known of numerous mentally damaged persons, half-crooks, half-fools, exploiting an imaginary deportation.” She adds that she had known of other persons who were “authentic deportees, whose sick minds had striven to go even beyond the monstrous things that they had seen or about which people had spoken to them and which had reached them.” She wrote further: “There were even some publishers to print certain of these fabrications, and some more or less official compilations to use them, but these publishers and editors absolutely cannot be excused, since the most elementary inquiry would have been sufficient for them to expose the deception.”

While recalling those lines which already date from 26 years ago, we realize that the publishers and the editors of that kind have only increased in number and that the Martin Grays and the Filip Müllers still have a good future before them. Two of the three persons who confessed at Ravensbrück were executed, and Dr. Treite committed suicide. What is horrible is that without this lie about the “gas chambers” they would perhaps have saved their lives. In regard to Suhren, Germaine Tillion wrote, on page 16, that he began by displaying a “stubborn bad faith” in the course of his two trials (one at Hamburg, by the British, and one at Rastatt, by the French); she adds this terrible sentence: “But, without that gas chamber created by him, on his own initiative, two months before the collapse, he could perhaps have saved his life.” In note 2 on page 17, she wrote in regard to Schwarzhuber, who confessed immediately, these still more terrible lines, each word of which I ask you to ponder:

According to the English investigators, from the first moment he had coolly faced his position, he judged himself lost and either to have peace (and the small privileges to which the prisoners who do not deceive the examining magistrates have a right), or

else due to lassitude, indifference or to quite another reason, he took his course and held to it, without regard for himself or for his accomplices. He was not a brute (like Binder or Pflaum); he had an intelligent expression, the appearance and behavior of a psychologically normal man.

Let us leave Ravensbrück and the confession of Schwarzhuber for Auschwitz and the confession of Kremer, the other SS man who had “an intelligent expression” as well as “the appearance and the behavior of a psychologically normal man.” To begin with, let us look at some extracts from his private diary written during his short stay at Auschwitz, and then at the explanations that he gave to those extracts, after the war, to his Polish jailers, explanations that he held to later on in 1960 at his trial which took place at Münster (Westphalia) and at the trial of the Auschwitz guards, in 1964, at Frankfurt-on-Main. The name of Professor Doctor Kremer should not be confused with that of Josef Kramer. The latter had high positions successively at the camp of Struthof-Natzweiler (Alsace), then at Auschwitz-Birkenau, and finally at Bergen-Belsen. In his case also there were various confessions. All are interesting to study. On the alleged homicidal “gas chamber” at Struthof, I would like to point out that the French did not wring out of him, as I until recently still believed, only a single confession but, as I have recently discovered, two totally absurd and wonderfully contradictory confessions. Of the one people sometimes speak, while the other was carefully kept hidden. I will some day speak about it, as well as about the two reports of the French Military Courts on that “gas chamber” at Struthof: the one, really childish, which concludes on the existence of “gassings;” and another one, which has disappeared from the archives of the military courts, which reaches the opposite conclusion: this report, dated 1 December 1945, was done by the eminent toxicologist, Professor René Fabre.

Extracts from Kremer's diary

Because Kremer is a central figure in supporting the homicidal “gassings,” the official historians have dealt with his diary at some length, although each presents it slightly differently. One of the best examples of this is the entry for 2 September 1942:

This morning, at three o'clock, I was present for the first time at a *Sonderaktion*. Compared to that, Dante's Inferno appears to be a comedy. It is not without reason that Auschwitz is called extermination camp.

[Georges Wellers' version in *Le Monde*, 29 December 1978, page 8; the author explains beforehand that a *Sonderaktion* is a “selection for the gas chamber.”]

At three o'clock in the morning, I was present for the first time at a “special action” (thus did they refer to the selection and murder in the gas chambers). In comparison with the Inferno of Dante that seemed to me almost a comedy. It is not without reason that they call Auschwitz an extermination camp.

[Serge Klarsfeld's version in *Le Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France* (Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France), 1978, page 245; the author has obviously reproduced page 48 of a book (not dated) published in Poland by the International Auschwitz Committee under the title *KL Auschwitz: Arbeit Macht Frei* (Concentration Camp Auschwitz: Work Makes You Free), 96 pages.]

This morning at three o'clock, I was present for the first time at a “special action.” In comparison, Dante's Inferno appeared to me a comedy. It is not for nothing that Auschwitz is called an extermination camp.

[Léon Poliakov's version in *Auschwitz*, Collection Archives Gallimard/Julliard, 1973, page 40.]

For this first extract, I have cited three versions. For the following extracts I will content myself with citing a single version: the official version of the State Museum of Oswiecim (Auschwitz), such as it appeared in *Auschwitz vu par les SS* (Auschwitz Seen by the SS), French translation, 1974. I will confine myself intentionally only to what the official historians have the habit of citing in their works and only to what, in the eyes of the authorities of the State Museum of Auschwitz, would tend to prove that Dr. Kremer had participated in the “gassings” of human beings.

5 September 1942: This noon was present at a special action in the women’s camp (“Moslems”) — the most horrible of all horrors. Hauptscharführer Thilo, military surgeon, was right saying today to me we were located here in “anus mundi” [anus of the world]. In the evening at about 8 p.m. another special action from Holland. Men compete to take part in such actions as they get additional rations then — 1/5 litre vodka, 5 cigarettes, 100 grammes of sausage and bread. Today and tomorrow (Sunday) on duty.

On the next day, Dr. Kremer said that he had had an excellent lunch. On numerous occasions, his diary contains similar remarks about food. Historians often cite these remarks to show the cynicism of the doctor; they say that the atrocities of the “gas chambers” do not hurt his appetite. Dr. Kremer mentions a special action of Sunday, 6 September at 8 o'clock in the evening, then on the evening of 9 September, then on the morning of 10 September, then in the night of the 23rd and on that of the 30th. He writes then:

7 October 1942: Present at the 9th special action (new arrivals and women “Moslems”) [...]

12 October 1942: [...] was present at night at another special action from Holland (1600 persons).

Horrible scene in front of the last bunker! This was the 10th special action.

18 October 1942: In wet and cold weather was on this Sunday morning present at the 11th special action (from Holland). Terrible scenes when 3 women begged to have their bare lives spared.

8 November 1942: This night took part in 2 special actions in rainy and murky weather (12th and 13th) [...] Another special action in the afternoon, the 14th so far, in which I had participated [...]

Dr. Kremer is wrong in his counting. He has forgotten that on 5 September there had been not one but two special actions, which made a total of 15 special actions for his stay at Auschwitz. This stay listed for 81 days, of which only 76 were on duty (because of a five-day leave).

The notes in the Polish edition say that the dates of these special actions coincide with the dates of the arrival of the convoys of deportees.

Kremer’s “spontaneous” confessions to the Polish court

Here is what one can read in *KL Auschwitz seen by the SS*, page 214, note 50:

In the official record of the interrogatory of 18 August 1947, Cracow, Kremer stated as follows: “On 2 September 1942, at 3 a.m. I was already assigned to take part in the

action of gassing people. These mass murders took place in small cottages situated outside the Birkenau camp in a wood. These cottages were called 'bunkers' (*Bunker*) in the SS men's slang. All SS surgeons, on duty in the camp, took turns to participate in the gassings, which were called 'Sonderaktion.' My part as surgeon at the gassing consisted in remaining in readiness near the bunker. I was brought there in a car. I sat in front with the driver and an SS hospital orderly (*SDG*) sat in the back of the car with an oxygen apparatus to revive SS men, employed in the gassing, in case any of them should succumb to the poisonous fumes. When the transport with people, who are destined for gassing, arrived at the railway ramp the SS officers selected from among the arrivals persons fit to work and the rest — old people, all children, women with children in arms and other persons not deemed fit to work — were loaded upon lorries and driven to the gas chambers. I used to follow behind the last transport till we reached the bunker [Faurisson note: the word is in the singular]. Here people were first driven to barracks where female victims are undressed and then went naked to the gas chambers. Very often no incidents occurred, as the SS men kept people quiet, maintaining that they were to bathe and be deloused. After driving all of them to the gas chamber the door was closed and an SS man in a gas mask threw the contents of a Cyklon tin through an opening in the side wall. Shouting and screaming of the victims could be heard through that opening and it was clear that they fought for their lives [*Lebenskampf*]. These shouts were heard for a very short time. I should say for some minutes but I am unable to give the exact span of time.”

On page 215 of *KL Auschwitz seen by the SS*, note 51 gives another extract from the same interrogation transcript. Here is how Dr. Kremer is supposed to have explained his entry on 5 September 1942 about the “Moslem” women and the anus mundi:

Particularly unpleasant had been the action of gassing emaciated women from the women's camp. Such individuals were generally called “Musselmänner” (“Moslems”). I remember taking part in the gassing of such women in daylight. I am unable to state how numerous that group had been. When I came to the bunker [Faurisson note: “bunker” is in the singular] they sat clothed on the ground. As the clothes were in fact worn-out camp clothes, they were not let into the barracks but undressed in the open. I could deduce from the behavior of these women that they realized what was awaiting them. They begged the SS men to be allowed to live, they wept, but all of them were driven to the gas chamber and gassed. Being an anatomist I had seen many horrors, had to do with corpses, but what I then saw was not to be compared with anything seen ever before. It was under the influence of these impressions that I had noted in my diary, under the date of 5 September 1942: “The most horrible of all horrors. Hauptsturmführer Thilo was right saying today to me that we were located here in 'anus mundi.'” I had used this expression because I could not imagine anything more sickening and more horrible.

On the date of 12 October 1942, Dr. Kremer had mentioned a special action concerning 1600 persons who had come from the Netherlands: in the margin next to that mention he had written the name of Hössler, who at that time was one of the SS men responsible for the camp at Birkenau. Here is how Dr. Kremer is supposed to have explained that last entry of 12 October (see page 224, note 77):

In connection with the gassing action, described by me in my diary under the date 12 October 1942, I have to explain that circa 1,600 Dutchmen were then gassed. This is an approximate number which I had put down after hearing it mentioned by others.

This action was conducted by SS officer Hössler. I remember how he had tried to drive the whole group into one bunker. He was successful except for one man whom it was not by any means possible to squeeze inside the bunker. This man was killed by Hössler with a pistol shot. I therefore wrote in my diary about horrible scenes in front of the last bunker and I mentioned Hössler's name in connection with this incident.

For his entry of 18 October 1942, Dr. Kremer is supposed to have furnished the following explanation (see page 226, note 83):

During the special action, described by me in my diary under the date 18 October 1942, three women from Holland refused to enter the gas chamber and begged for their lives. They were young and healthy women, but their begging was of no avail. The SS men taking part in the action, shot them on the spot.

Kremer's claims at his trial in Münster in 1960

The University of Amsterdam in 1977 published its 17th volume of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Justice and the Nazi Crimes). There we find the text of the decision rendered against Dr. Kremer on 29 November 1960. On pages 19 and 20, the court sought to describe the operation of "gassing" as well as the part that the accused was supposed to have taken personally in that operation. The court speaks of a single "gas chamber." It is a question of a farm near the Birkenau camp made up of several separate parts. An SS medical orderly went up on the roof and dumped some Zyklon through some specially fitted shafts (*durch Einwurfschächte*). He wore a gas mask. The doors of the "gas chamber" were all air tight. From outside they heard the victims cry out. And the court continued:

When no more sign of life was shown, the defendant was taken back to his lodging by the Health Service car. The gas chambers were opened a short moment afterwards. (Faurisson note: I ask that you note well that the opening was made A SHORT MOMENT AFTER the death of the victims). The bodies were removed by some prisoners and were destroyed by cremation. During the events described above (Faurisson note: The court here alludes to his description of the arrival of the victims, their disrobing, etc.) the accused was seated in the Health Service car, which was stopped in the immediate vicinity of the gas chambers. Whether he had left his car and whether he had taken an active part in the murderous action could not be proved. The accused kept himself however in the car, in accordance with the mission that had been given to him, prepared for a case where something would happen to the SS man certified by the Health Service who was handling the Zyklon B poison; he would bring him immediate help with the oxygen inhalator. He [the accused] had himself admitted that in all good faith. But that accident in reality never happened.

Kremer's claims at the Frankfurt trial in 1964

On June 1964, Dr. Kremer, then 80 years old, appeared at the bar of the court in Frankfurt as a witness for the prosecution against the former Auschwitz guards. In order to know exactly what he said on that day, we are reduced to pages 72-73 of Hermann Langbein's book *Der Auschwitz Prozess: Eine Dokumentation* (The Auschwitz Trial: A Documentation. Vienna: Europäische Verlagsanstalt; 1965. 1027 pages). What is unfortunate is that Hermann Langbein is the Secretary of the International Concentration Camp Committee and that his works all show a biased and partisan spirit. The book by Bernd Naumann says almost nothing on the deposition of Dr. Kremer

(*Auschwitz*. Frankfurt: Athenäum Verlag; 1965. 552 pages). Therefore, here is how, according to Hermann Langbein, the deposition of Dr. Kremer went on the question of the “gas chambers”; I am reproducing the text in its entirety:

Judge: Where did the gassings take place?

Kremer: Some old farms had been transformed into a bunker (Faurisson note: the German text indeed gives the singular: *Alte Bauernhäuser waren als Bunker ausgebaut*) and provided with a sliding door for secure closing. Upstairs was located a dormer window. The people were brought in undressed. They entered quietly; only some of them balked; they were taken aside and shot. The gas was released by an SS soldier. For that he went up on a ladder.

Judge: And there were some special rewards for those who participated in such an action?

Kremer: Yes, that was the custom; a little schnaps and some cigarettes. They all wanted them. They allotted the goods. I myself also received such goods — this was quite automatic.

Representative of Co-Plaintiff Ormond: You wrote in your diary that the SS soldiers strove with each other for service on the ramp [for the arrival of the convoys].

Kremer: That is humanly quite understandable. This was war was it not, and the cigarettes and schnaps were rare. When someone was eager for cigarettes ... They collected the goods and then they took themselves to the canteen with their bottles.

The testimony of Dr. Kremer on the “gassings” at Auschwitz is limited to these few questions and answers. Here, in conclusion, is the commentary of Langbein:

The man who described the process of gassing with these bland and indifferent words is the former university professor Dr. Johann Paul Kremer of Münster. He had already been condemned in Poland and Germany for his participation in mass murders. At Frankfurt he left the witness stand smiling softly.

Another view of the diary extracts

I note first that these extracts contain neither the word “gassing” nor the expression “gas chamber.”

This diary of Dr. Kremer was a private diary. The doctor expressed himself freely there. He frankly expressed his horror of the camp. He does not mince words. He compares what he sees to a vision from Dante. One can therefore conclude that, if he had seen those virtual human slaughterhouses which the “gas chambers” would have been, he would have mentioned that absolute horror. Wouldn’t Dr. Kremer, as a scientist, at least have noted some precise physical details about these slaughterhouses which, in the history of science, would have been an amazing invention?

But let us begin at the beginning. Did Dr. Kremer in fact write what they say that he wrote? The answer to that question is no, absolutely not. His text has been gravely distorted. This is even the work of a forger. As an example I am going to reproduce the text in the version given by Georges Wellers but I am going to insert words that he has omitted, and I am going to insert in place of

Sonderaktion and extermination, which are misinterpretations, the two words that fit; these corrections appear in italics. Therefore, here is the text translated from the original German (see document NO-3408 in the National Archives):

2 September 1942: This morning, at 3 o'clock, I was present *OUTSIDE* for the first time at a *SPECIAL ACTION*. Compared to that, Dante's Inferno appears *TO ME ALMOST LIKE* a comedy. It is not without reason that Auschwitz is called *THE* camp of *THE ANNIHILATION*!

Every text must be scrupulously respected, especially when the text is supposed to serve as the basis for a shocking demonstration and for a terrible accusation. The concealing of the word "outside" is very serious. Why, after having given us the indication of the time, has the indication of the place been concealed? The German text says: *Draussen*. Dr. Kremer was not in a closed place as a gas chamber would have been. He was "outside," "on the outside." Without doubt that detail is not very clear, and perhaps it meant "out of the camp itself," but one must not conceal that possibility.

For *Sonderaktion*, Wellers has kept the German word; in appearance, this is evidence of scrupulousness and care; in reality, it is a clever trick. As a matter of fact, this word, at least for a French reader, has a sound that is disturbing, Germanic, barbaric, and can only conceal horrible things. But there is even more: just before citing that entry by Dr. Kremer, Wellers, in his article in *Le Monde*, wrote: "[Kremer] had participated in the selection for the gas chambers (*Sonderaktion*)." In other words, Wellers imposes on his reader the following lie: in his diary, Dr. Kremer said in so many words: "this morning at 3 o'clock I was present at a selection for the gas chambers."

We see very well now that it was nothing of the kind. Dr. Kremer was contented to speak of a "special action." What is one to understand by that expression? To some people such as me who doubt the existence of the homicidal "gas chambers" it is absurd to answer, as does Wellers, by positing their existence at once as an accepted fact. Suppose that someone does not believe in the existence of flying saucers. To such a person one could not retort that those saucers exist because, in such and such a report by the police, it is written: "A witness declares that he saw something special in the sky" — "Some witnesses noted in the sky some unusual phenomena." Therefore, for the time being, the only honest — if not very clear — translation of *Sonderaktion* could only be "special action." I will later come back to the probable meaning of this word about which, for the moment, we have no right to speculate.

Dr. Kremer did not write next: "Compared to that, Dante's Inferno appears to be a comedy, but: "Compared to that, Dante's Inferno appears to me almost like a comedy." Here, the concealing of three German words by Wellers is perhaps not very important, but it contributes in its modest way to doing violence to the meaning of the text, always with the view to producing the same effect. Dr. Kremer has not transformed an impression that was personal to him into an impression common to a whole human group. In some sense, he did not state: "Dante's Inferno appears here to everyone around me like a comedy;" if he had stated that, one could suppose that he was present at an unquestionably Dantesque scene. In reality, he contented himself with a confidence of a personal kind and in effect, he wrote: "Dante's Inferno here appears to me, who has just arrived (that impression is personal to me, yet others can perhaps share it) almost like a comedy." In other words, the scene is certainly horrible for this doctor who has just arrived for the first time in his life in a concentration camp, but all the same not to the point of decreeing that Dante's Inferno is obviously a comedy to everybody in comparison with this scene.

But there is something much more serious that Georges Wellers has done to the Kremer text. Kremer did not say that Auschwitz was “called an extermination camp,” which, in the original German, would have been *genannt Vernichtungslager*. In reality, we read in the original German:

| *genannt das Lager der Vernichtung* (called THE camp of THE annihilation).

If Wellers had respected the presence of the two articles and if he had given to *Vernichtung* the meaning of “extermination” which is indispensable to his exterminationist thesis, he would have gotten the following phrase: “It is not without reason that Auschwitz is called the camp of the extermination.” Thus constructed, the phrase sounds bizarre both in German and in French. That is a sign that a word of the text undoubtedly has been badly translated. That word, as will be seen later on, is *Vernichtung*. The context will reveal to us that that word is not to be translated as “extermination” (a meaning that it can very well have in other contexts) but by “annihilation.”

There is here no extermination, murder, assassination, killing, nor massacre; there are not the results of an act, an action, or a will; there is nothing here about a “camp where they exterminate,” there is here no “extermination camp” (an expression invented by the victors, some years after 1942, to designate camps allegedly endowed with “gas chambers”). What there is here in reality is an annihilation: men and women are reduced to wasting away; they are annihilated, reduced to nothing by the epidemics and notably by that illness whose name “typhus” (from the Greek typhos) signifies precisely: torpor, stupor, a kind of lethargy, a rapid destruction of the faculties, sometimes up to the point of death. Auschwitz is not “an extermination camp” (an anachronistic expression, and we know that anachronism is one of the most reliable signs of the presence of a falsehood) but the camp, yes, indeed, the camp par excellence of general annihilation. Without doubt, just as the moment of taking his post at Auschwitz, this newcomer, Dr. Kremer, had heard his colleagues say: “You know, this camp, they call it the camp of annihilation. Look out for typhus! You yourself also take the risk of contracting it and dying from it.”

And, at the end of his entry for 2 September 1942, Dr. Kremer puts an exclamation point. That point indicates the doctor’s emotion. If one conceals it, as does Wellers, the phrase takes on another tone: one would perhaps believe that the doctor is cruel and cynical. One would perhaps believe that Dr. Kremer coldly thought: “The Auschwitz camp is called an ‘extermination camp.’ So it is. It is indeed. Let us take things as they are.” In reality, he is overwhelmed.

Due to lack of time, I cannot devote myself to the criticism of the texts given by Léon Poliakov, by Serge Klarsfeld, by the authorities of the State Museum of Oswiecim, by the official translation of document NO-3408, etc. I would only like to point out an especially serious fact. It concerns the German courts. The court at Münster that tried Dr. Kremer in 1960 quite simply skipped over the word *Draussen* when it reproduced the entry of 2 September 1942. It piled up other serious dishonesties. Here is an example of them: to overpower Dr. Kremer, the tribunal appealed to the “Calendar of Events at Auschwitz” as it was drawn up by the Communist authorities in Poland. It is already strange that a court in the western world thus shows confidence in a document drawn up by Stalinists. But there is more. The courts have established that, for most of the convoys that arrived in the camp, the Polish in their “Calendar” indicated with extraordinary precision the number of persons “gassed.” Since we know that, according to the Exterminationist standard literature the people “gassed” were not counted, an honest man could only be astonished to read in this “Calendar” that, from the time when Dr. Kremer was at Auschwitz, they had, on such and such a day, “gassed” 981 persons and, on another day, 1,594 other persons. Also, the court at Münster cynically used a subterfuge. It reproduced in its text numerous citations of the “Calendar” and made it clear that it was a question of this “Calendar,” but each time that the “Calendar” uses the word *vergast* (gassed), the court itself substituted for that clumsy word the

word *umgebracht* (killed). Thus the reader of the judgment at Münster is deceived. Whoever might find it suspect that they can talk to him about “981 gassed” or about “1,594 gassed”, easily lets them talk to him about “981 killed” or about “1,594 killed.”

Finally, two remarks about the entries other than that of 2 September:

1. The expression *anus mundi* would not be appropriate, it seems to me, to scenes of “gassings” but rather to a repugnant and nauseating scene of groups of people fallen prey to disgusting diseases, to dysentery, etc.
2. When Dr. Kremer says that he was present at a special action in rainy, cold weather or in grey and rainy autumn weather, it is probable that those actions took place outside in the open air, and not in a gas chamber.

The truth of the texts: epidemics at Auschwitz

It is sufficient to read the diary with a minimum of good faith in order to see the evidence. I will summarize the complementary information that this diary gives us. Dr. Kremer came to Auschwitz to replace a sick doctor there. Typhus had ravaged not only the camp, but also the German-Polish city of Auschwitz. Not only the internees were stricken, but also the German troops. There was typhus, malaria, dysentery, tropical heat, innumerable flies, and dust. The water was dangerous to drink. Diarrhea and vomiting made the atmosphere stink. The scene of people reduced to nothing by typhus was demoralizing. In that hell, Dr. Kremer himself contracted what he called “the sickness of Auschwitz.” However, he underwent several vaccinations, at first against exanthematic typhus, then against abdominal typhus (a name which, in itself, would explain very well the term *anus mundi*). The principal bearer of typhus is the louse. On 1 September 1942, he wrote: “In the afternoon was present at the gassing of a block with Zyklon B against lice.” Zyklon B is stabilized hydrocyanic acid. That product is still used today throughout the entire world. Many documents prove to us that the disinfection operation was delicate and could demand the presence of a doctor to bring help, should the occasion arise, to certified personnel charged with carrying out the gassing of a barrack and, 21 hours after the beginning of the airing out of such a barrack, testing for the disappearance of the hydrocyanic acid before permitting people to return to live in their barracks. On 10 October 1942, the situation was so serious that, for everyone, there was a quarantine of the camp. The wife of the Obersturmführer or Sturmbannführer Cäsar died of typhus. All of the city of Auschwitz was in bed, etc. It is sufficient to refer to the text of the diary. For more details of that epidemic of the year 1942, one can also consult the calendar of the *Hefte von Auschwitz* (year 1942). In the *Anthology of the International Auschwitz Committee*, Volume I, second part, page 196 (in the French edition), we read that the SS physician Dr. Popiersch, head doctor of the garrison and of the camp, had died of typhus on 24 April 1942 (four months before the arrival of Dr. Kremer). In Volume II, first part, published also in 1969, we read on page 129 and in note 14 on page 209 that the Polish physician Dr. Marian Ciepielowski of Warsaw also died of typhus while caring for the Soviet prisoners of war.

The work of Dr. Kremer at Auschwitz seems to have been principally to devote himself to laboratory research, to dissections, to anatomical studies. But it was also necessary for him to be present at some corporal punishments and some executions. He was not present at the very arrival of the convoys, but, once the division between those fit for work and those not fit for work had been made, he arrived, in a car with driver, from his hotel room in Auschwitz (room 26 at the Train Station Hotel). What took place then? Did he lead people to some “gas chambers” or to disinfection? Let us see below what they claim that he said first in 1947 to the Polish communists; secondly, in 1960 to the court at Münster; and thirdly, in 1964 to the court at Frankfurt.

The truth of the texts: no “gassing”

We recall that, in his diary, on the date of 12 October 1942, Dr. Kremer wrote:

[...] Was present at night at another special action from Holland (1600 persons). Horrible scene in front of the last bunker! This was the 10th special action.

In the same manner, on 18 October he wrote:

In wet and cold weather was on this Sunday morning present at the 11th special action (from Holland). Terrible scenes when 3 women begged to have their bare lives spared.

These two texts are easy to interpret. The “last bunker” could only be the bunker of barracks 11; it was located at the end of the camp of Auschwitz (the original camp) and not at Birkenau or near Birkenau which is 3 km away. The executions took place in what they called the courtyard of block 11. It is there that is located the “black wall.” It happened usually that persons condemned to death were transported into a concentration camp to be executed there. Such was probably the case with the three women who came from the Netherlands. I suppose that it would be easy to find their names and the motives for their condemnation either in the archives at Auschwitz or in those of the Historical Institute in Amsterdam. In either case, these three women were shot.

The Polish have been terribly embarrassed by this reference to the “last bunker.” By a sleight of hand they have converted this bunker which is in the singular into ... peasant farms allegedly transformed into “gas chambers” and located near Birkenau. And there the absurdities pile up. What is the doctor supposed to have done? NOTHING. He remained seated in his car, at a distance. And what did he see of a “gassing” of human beings? NOTHING. What can he tell us about what took place after the alleged “gassing”? NOTHING, since he left by car with his driver (and the medical orderly?). He is not able to talk either about the installation, nor about the process of putting to death, nor about the personnel employed in this putting to death, nor of the precautions taken to enter into an incredibly dangerous place. It is not Dr. Kremer who will tell us how some men would be able to enter into this terrible place “A SHORT MOMENT” after the alleged victims finished crying out. It is not he who will be able to let us know by what secret means they were able to pull out some thousands of bodies saturated with cyanide lying amidst vapors of hydrocyanic acid, and all that done with bare hands (although that acid poisons by contact with the skin), without gas masks (although this gas is overwhelming), while eating and smoking (although this gas is inflammable and explosive). It is Rudolf Höss, in his spontaneous confessions to the same Polish court, who recounted all of those astonishing things. Let’s be decent about this. Let us suppose that the members of the *Sonderkommando* (Special Detachment) nevertheless did possess some gas masks, provided with the particularly strong filter, the J filter, against hydrocyanic acid. I am afraid that we are no further ahead. I have in fact here, in front of me, a text from a technical manual of the American army, translated from the text of an American manual dating from 1943 (The *Gas Mask*, technical manual No. 3-205, War Department, Washington, 9 October 1941, a manual prepared under the direction of the Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service, U.S. Printing Office, 1941, 144 pages.) Here is what is written on page 55 (the most important words appear in CAPITALS):

It should also be remembered that a man may be overcome by the absorption of hydrocyanic gas through the skin; a concentration of 2 percent hydrocyanic acid gas being sufficient to thus overcome a man in about 10 minutes. Therefore, even if one

wears a gas mask, exposure to concentrations of hydrocyanic gas of 1 percent by volume or greater should be made only in case of necessity and then for a period no longer than 1 minute at a time. In general, places containing this gas should be well ventilated with fresh air before the wearer of the mask enters, thus reducing the concentration of hydrocyanic gas to low fractional percentages.

The spontaneous confessions of Dr. Kremer with those closures “provided with a sliding door for secure closing” make us laugh. The total airtightness demanded by a homicidal gas chamber using hydrocyanic acid would be impossible to achieve with a sliding door. But how could Dr. Kremer, who had never left his car, describe that door as if he had seen it? And the SS man who released the gas — how did he do it? Did he release “the contents of a box of Zyklon through an opening in the wall” (version of the confession of 1947)? Or “by some shafts (Einwurfsschächte)” (version of 1960)? Or indeed through a “dormer window” that he reached “above” while going up “by a ladder” (version of 1964)? Everything in these confessions is empty and vague. One can simply deduce from them with certainty two things which are quite probable:

1. Dr. Kremer convoyed some people who were led into some barracks in order to undress (and without doubt they next went to disinfection or to the showers);
2. Dr. Kremer was present at some gassings of buildings or of barracks for their disinfection by Zyklon B.

It was while helping himself by the combining of these two real experiences that he constructed for his accusers or his accusers constructed for him the poor and absurd account of the “gas chambers.” A very characteristic point of the false testimonies regarding the homicidal “gassings” is the following: the accused says that he was at a certain distance from the place of the crime; the most that one can find is a defendant who said that he had been forced to release the *Zyklon* through a hole in the roof of the “gas chamber” or even one who “had helped push” the victims into the “gas chamber.” That ought to remind us of the unfortunates who in the Middle Ages were accused of having met the devil on such and such a day, at such and such an hour, in such and such a place. They would have been able to deny it fiercely. They would have been able to go so far as to say: “You know very well that I could not have met with the devil for one excellent reason, which is that the devil does not exist.” The unfortunates would have condemned themselves by such responses. They had only one way out: to play the game of their accusers, to admit that the devil was there without doubt, but ... at the top of the hill, while they themselves, located below, heard the horrible noise (sobs, groans, cries, racket) made by the victims of the devil. It is shameful that in the middle of the 20th century there are found so many judges and also so many lawyers who will admit as evidence the bewildering confessions of so many accused persons without having ever had the least curiosity to ask them what they had really seen, seen with their own eyes, without posing to them some technical questions, without going on to some comparisons between the most obviously contradictory explanations. Unfortunately I must say in their defense that even some intelligent technicians and even some wellinformed chemists imagine that almost any small place can easily be transformed into a homicidal “gas chamber.” None of those people has had the chance to visit an American gas chamber. They would understand the enormity of their error. The first Americans who thought about executing a condemned man by gas also imagined that it would be easy. It was when they tried to actually do it that they understood that they risked gassing not only the condemned man but also the governor and the employees of the penitentiary. They needed many years to perfect a nearly reliable gas chamber.

As to the “special actions” of Dr. Kremer, they are easy to understand. It is simply a question of what, in the vocabulary of the French Army, is called by the pompous name of “*missions extraordinaires*.” I believe that the American equivalent is “special assignment.” A “special assignment”

does not imply necessarily that there is a moving of the person. It is a question of a sudden assignment which comes to break the habitual unfolding of his duties. Dr. Kremer, for example, worked especially in the laboratory but, from time to time, he was required for extra work: reception of a convoy to be led to disinfection, sorting out the contagious or the sick in the hospital, etc. It is thus that as a good military man and as an orderly man he noted in his diary each of those tasks which were, probably, each time worth a supplementary allowance to him, as to the SS volunteers who cleaned the railroad cars at the arrival of each convoy. In any case, if Auschwitz appeared to him like a hell, it was not at all because of frightful crimes like the executions of crowds of human beings in the enclosures allegedly turned into “gas chambers,” but because of the typhus, malaria, dysentery, the infernal heat, the flies, the lice, the dust. One can determine that by a slightly attentive reading of the very text of his diary. That is what I, for my part, did first. And then, one day, I fell by chance upon the proof, the material proof, that such was indeed the correct interpretation.

8. TEXTUAL CONFIRMATION OF THE CORRECTNESS OF THE REVISIONIST INTERPRETATION OF THE DIARY OF DR. KREMER

On page 42 of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* we learn that in the trial at Münster, in 1960, Dr. Kremer had had someone appear as a witness for his defense. That witness was a woman whose name began with Glä. (German law authorizes that, in a public document, certain names may be revealed only in abridged form.) That name was very probably that of Miss Glaser, the daughter of Dr. Kremer’s housekeeper; one about whom he speaks on several occasions in his diary. The witness brought to the court some post cards and some letters that the doctor had sent to her at the time of his stay in Auschwitz. The witness said that the doctor “had not been in agreement with what took place at Auschwitz” and that he had hurried to leave the camp. Miss Glä[ser] then put into evidence a letter of 21 October 1942 that Dr. Kremer had sent to her. The content of it is of extreme importance, which apparently eluded the tribunal. It proves that, when Dr. Kremer spoke of the Auschwitz camp as a hell, it was indeed as I have said, because of the typhus and the other epidemics. Here are the very words used by the doctor in his letter:

I don’t really know for certain, but I expect, however, that I’ll be able to be in Münster before 1 December, and thus finally turn my back on this hell of Auschwitz where, in addition to the typhoid, and so on, typhus has once again broken out strongly...

Here is therefore that “Dante’s Inferno” from the entry of 2 September 1942! Professor of Medicine Johann Paul Kremer had seen the horrors of a formidable epidemic at Auschwitz wiping out internees and guards; he had not seen monstrous “gassing” operations, exterminating crowds of human beings.

9. THE HUMAN CHARACTER OF DR. KREMER

In considering his life and reading his diary, we perceive that Dr. Kremer was absolutely not a brute, or a fanatic or a cynical human being. He was human, too human; he was a free spirit but perhaps without great courage. He had quickly become a sort of “old boy” attached above all to his profession. In the first pages of Volume XVII of *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* his biography is sketched out. Johann Paul Kremer was born in 1883 near Cologne of a father who, after having been a miller, became a peasant. He did his advanced studies at the Universities of Heidelberg, Strasbourg and Berlin. He obtained a doctorate in philosophy and a doctorate in medicine. He worked in succession at the Charité Hospital in Berlin, at the hospital of Berlin-Neukölln, at the surgical clinic of the University of Bonn, at the anatomical institute of the same university; fi-

nally, he became a deputy lecturer at the University of Münster; he gave courses there up until 1945 (when he was 62 years old). Those courses dealt with the doctrine of heredity, sports medicine, X-rays, and especially anatomy. In 1932, at the age of 48, he joined the National-Socialist Party. In 1936, at the age of 52, he was made *SS-Sturmmann* (soldier of the first class). In 1941, at the age of 57, he was promoted to *Untersturmführer* (second lieutenant) in the *Waffen-SS*. He served his active duty. He was in the service only at the time of university vacations. In 1942 he spent two months at Dachau as a doctor attached to the SS hospital; he had not contact with the camp of the internees. In 1941, at the age of 57, he published a paper on heredity which seems to have brought him some worries in regard to the official authorities. In August of 1942, he was serving at the SS hospital in Prague when, suddenly, he received an assignment for Auschwitz to replace a doctor who had fallen ill there. He stayed at Auschwitz from 30 August to 18 November 1942, and then he resumed his activity at the anatomical institute of the city of Münster. He was 58 years old. He served as the president of the Discipline Commission of North Westphalia of the Union of National Socialist Doctors. In 1943, he was named Lieutenant in the reserves of the *Waffen-SS*. Here is how he was judged:

Calm personality, correct; sure of himself, energetic; above the average in general culture; excellent understanding of his specialty. Lengthy education as surgeon and anatomist; since 1936, deputy lecturer at the University of Münster.

On 12 August 1945, he was arrested at his home in Münster by the British occupying forces (the “automatic arrest” of former SS men). They seized his diary at his home. He was interned at Neuengamme, then turned over to the Poles. He was imprisoned at Stettin, then in succession in fourteen Polish prisons, then finally in the prison at Cracow. The preliminary investigation of the case was carried out by the famous judge Jan Sehn, the same one to whom we owe the interrogations of Rudolf Höss and the confession, “spontaneous” no doubt, of Rudolf Höss. In 1947, at the age of nearly 64 years, he was freed for good conduct, because of his advanced age and since he was ill. He returned to his home, at Münster. He was arrested on the order of the German court, then freed on bail. At the time he was receiving a pension of DM 70 per week. He had married in 1920, at the age of 37, but he was separated from his wife at the end of two months since she suffered from schizophrenia. He had not been able to obtain a divorce until twenty years later, in 1942. Dr. Kremer did not have any children. A housekeeper took care of him. Unless I am mistaken, he was never at the front nor did he ever fire a shot, except, without doubt, in training. He kept his diary beginning at the age of 15½. I have not read the part of his diary prior to the Second World War. On 29 November 1960 Dr. Kremer, age 76, was condemned to ten years in prison but those ten years were considered as purged. In consideration of his advanced age, his civil rights were only cancelled for five years. He was condemned to pay the court costs, he was deprived of his responsibility as course attaché, deprived of his title of professor and deprived, I believe, of his two doctorates. On 4 June 1964 he came to the witness stand in the “Frankfurt Trial” to testify against the “Auschwitz guards.” I doubt that this old man of 80 years thus came spontaneously to make charges against his compatriots in the hysterical atmosphere of this famous witch trial. His “spontaneous confessions” to the Polish communists were thus, to the end of his existence, to cling to his skin like the tunic of Nessus. It was thus that beginning in 1945 the existence of this professor had become a drama. Here therefore is a man who had devoted his life to relieving the sufferings of his fellow men: the drama of a war lost and then he was made officially a sort of monster who had, it seemed, suddenly devoted two and one-half months of his life to gigantic massacres of human beings according to a truly Satanical industrial method.

The diary of Dr. Kremer is dull in style (at least that part that I have read) but when one considers what was the destiny of that diary and of its author, one cannot prevent oneself from thinking of it as a work which, very much more than some highly valued historical or literary testimonies, is

profoundly upsetting. I think often of that old man. I think sometimes also of his tormentors. I do not know what became of Dr. Kremer. If he were still alive today, he would be 97 years old. I hope that one day a student will write a biography of this man and that to do so he will visit the city of Münster (Westphalia) where there certainly still live some people who knew-permit me to return to him his titles -Professor Doctor Johann Paul Kremer.

Dr. Kremer certainly did not have National Socialist convictions. On 13 January 1943 he wrote in his diary: "There is no Aryan, Negroid, Mongoloid or Jewish science, only a true or a false one." On the same date, he furthermore wrote this:

[...] I had never even dreamed there existed anything like "a gagged science." By such manoeuvres, science has received a mortal blow and has been banished from the -country! The situation in Germany today is not any better than in the times when Galileo had been forced to recant and when science had been threatened by tortures and the stake. Where, for Heaven's sake, is that situation going to lead us to in the twentieth century!!! I could almost feel ashamed to be a German. And so shall I have to end my days as the victim of science and the fanatic of truth.

In reality, he was to end his days as the victim of the political lie and as a poor man obliged to lie.

At the date of 1 March 1943, we read in his diary:

Went today to shoemaker Greysmühl to be registered and saw there a leaflet sent him from Kattowitz by the Socialist Party of Germany. The leaflet informed that we had already liquidated 2 million Jews, by shooting or gassing.

The Exterminationist historians do not use the argument that this passage of the diary seems to furnish them. On reflection, that is understandable. Every one knows well that a thousand rumors of German atrocities circulated during the war. The socialist opposition made use of them, as did all of the opponents of Hitler. In this type of tract one says anything and everything. That is the rule for that type of work. Dr. Kremer made no commentary on that pamphlet. Perhaps he believed in what the author of the tract stated. It is even probable since he took the trouble to note it. That is precisely what is interesting about this incident. Dr. Kremer must certainly not have been a very good Nazi, or otherwise his shoemaker would not have run the risk of making him read a secret pamphlet, and especially a pamphlet "which had been addressed to him." This last detail indeed proves that Dr. Kremer did not fear to confide to his diary very delicate information.

On 26 July 1945, or about two and one half months after the German surrender, Dr. Kremer witnessed the distress of his fellow countrymen. That distress wrung from him nearly the same words as did the horrors of Auschwitz. I present in *italic* type those words in the quotation that follows:

The *weather* is still *very hot and dry*. The corn ripens before its time, *gnats are pestering us more and more*, the foreigners* are still greatly worrying the *starving, needy and homeless inhabitants*. People are *crowded into goods trains like cattle* pushed hither and thither, while at night they try to find shelter in the *stench of dirty and verminous bunkers*. *Quite indescribable* is the fate of these poor refugees, driven into uncertainty by *death, hunger and despair*.

*(The Polish authorities here have altered the original German text, which spoke not of "foreigners" but of "Russians, Poles and Italians.")

The fact that immediately after this passage Dr. Kremer spoke about the gathering of berries does not mean that he was insensitive to the suffering of his fellow countrymen. Anyone who keeps a diary passes in this way, without transition, from the serious to the trifling. After the death of a person dear to him, Goethe noted something to the effect: “Death of Christiane!! I slept well. I feel better.” And this “better” referred to health — his own health — which up until then had given him some concern. As to Kafka, I believe that I recall that on that day he had gone to the swimming pool. I am not sure of these quotations and I propose to verify them one day.

10. FORCED CONFESSIONS

We all know that forced confessions are common coinage, especially in time of war. The GIs in Korea, as in Vietnam, did not fail to confess “spontaneously” to the worst absurdities. People often believe that “spontaneous confessions” are a speciality of the Communist world. That ignores the fact that the French, British and Americans made great use of torture towards, for example, the conquered of the last war. As regards what the French did, I have carried out an investigation of an almost surgical precision on the summary executions in a whole small region of France at the time of the Liberation in 1944. It is absolutely impossible to have my manuscript published, given the scandal that it would cause and that would have repercussions, I can tell you, right up to the Presidency of the Republic, which is opposed (imagine it!) to the exhumation of people who were executed by units of the Maquis. Those people were sometimes tortured. But experience has also taught me that it is necessary to distrust some tales of physical torture. There are some perverted persons who take a real pleasure in inventing all sorts of stories of that kind. In *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, on pages 188-192, Dr. Butz presents a profound and suggestive analysis of forced confessions and torture. His brilliant intelligence, not to say his genius, dictates to him sometimes, as you well know, observations of such great pertinence that one is astonished and is ashamed not to have made them oneself. Here is an example of that, dealing with physical torture; it is not lacking in humor:

Finally we should observe that almost none of us, certainly not this author, has ever experienced torture at the hands of professionals bent on a specific goal, and thus we might suspect, to put it quite directly, that we simply do not know what we are talking about when we discuss the possibilities of torture. (page 192)

It is, I think, easy to obtain forced confessions from a man whom one holds at his mercy. Physical torture is not absolutely necessary. I mean to say that it is not absolutely necessary to strike the victim. It is sufficient sometimes to shout and to threaten. A seclusion and a prolonged isolation, as was the case with Aldo Moro, can create a feeling of panic and lead to a sort of madness. One will be prepared to sign any kind of declaration in order to get out of there. If an officer refuses a confession, he can be threatened with losing his men, and vice versa. They will threaten him with losing his wife and his children. I am sure that all physical or mental resistance can be wiped out by very simple means. For example, they will offer a prisoner conditions of lodging worthy of a decent hotel and will give him as much as he wishes to eat, but ... they will give him nothing to drink. Or indeed he will have enough to eat and to drink, but they will light his cell day and night with such power (see the example of Nuremberg) that he will no longer be able to sleep. Very quickly he will become a human rag prepared to mutter any kind of confession.

One fearful effect of torture is to bring the victim closer to his torturer. The panting victim detaches himself in thought from those whom he ought to love in order to attach himself to the one whom he ought to fear and hate. He no longer wishes to have anything in common with those whose ideas he shares: he comes to hate those ideas and those people because those ideas, finally, have cost him too much suffering and those people-his friends-appear to him as a living re-

proach. To the contrary, there is everything to expect from the torturer. He is in possession of power, which always, in spite of everything, enjoys a certain prestige. The gods are on his side. It is he who possesses the solution to all your sufferings. The torturer is going to propose to you this solution when, if he wished, he could kill you on the spot or torture you without respite. That torturer, who proposes that you sign a simple sheet of paper on which some words are written, he is good. How can you resist him when you feel yourself to be so weak and so alone? That torturer becomes irresistible when, in place of demanding from you a confession that is precise and totally contrary to the truth, he proposes to you a sort of compromise: a vague confession based on a partial truth. In 1963-1965, at the Frankfurt trial, the judge of the tribunal had as his first concern not the truth, since he thought that the truth had already been completely found, but the measuring of THE DEGREE OF REPENTANCE of each of the accused! On page 512 of the book by Hermann Langbein, cited above, we see the judge show his preoccupation with discerning to what degree the accused Pery Broad had a feeling of Evil: he declared in all candor: "You see, an awareness of wrong doing plays a large part in this proceeding." How many times must the German defendants have heard that remark from the mouths of their jailers, their investigating magistrates, and especially from their lawyers! After that, how would an intelligent and sensible man like Pery Broad refuse to tell the stupid story about an anonymous SS man whom he is supposed to have noticed one day, from a distance, in the process of releasing a mysterious liquid through the opening of the ceiling of ... the "gas chamber" of Auschwitz (the original camp)? Pery Broad probably knew that no one would come to ask him, among other questions:

But how could you know that that was the ceiling of a "gas chamber" and not of a morgue? Did you enter into the place? If you did, can you tell us how it was arranged? Is it not mad on the part of the Germans to have placed a "gas chamber" just under the windows of that SS hospital and under the windows of the administrative building where you found yourself on that day? The evacuation of vapor from the hydrocyanic gas would therefore have been directed toward the SS men of the hospital or the SS men of the administration? Isn't that so?

Such are the questions that the tribunal did not ask Pery Broad.

It would be inhuman to reproach Pery Broad, Dr. Kremer, Rudolf Höss, and some SS men again for their absurd forced confessions. One must be astonished at the laughable number of those confessions when one thinks of the hundreds of SS men from the concentration camps who were imprisoned by the Allies. Among all those who were hanged or shot or who committed suicide, how many left confessions? A handful regarding the subject of the alleged "gas chambers." In regard to other subjects, perhaps there are more numerous confessions. I am led to believe that the Polish and the Soviets must have obtained a crowd of confessions; the SS men had to charge each other as all the men of the same lost-cause were more or less obliged to do. If there were very few confessions from the SS men concerning the "gas chambers," it was not thanks to the courage of the SS men-since, once again, it seems to me that no one can truly resist a torturer who is something of a psychologist -but quite simply because, on this subject, their torturers did not know very well what to make them state precisely. Not having any material reality on which to construct their lies about the "gas chambers" -those slaughterhouses which in fact never existed-the torturers were reduced to inventing some poor things and some stereotypes that they attributed to people like Rudolf Höss, Pery Broad and Johann Paul Kremer.

11. A PRACTICAL CONCLUSION

In conclusion, if, in your presence, an Exterminationist should base his thesis about the reality of the "gas chambers" of Auschwitz or of any other camp on the argument of some confessions,

here, in my opinion, is the conduct to follow:

1. Ask if he will first enumerate those confessions one by one;
2. Ask him to point out the confession which, in his opinion, is the most convincing;
3. Agree to read that one confession in the language (accessible for you) and in the form that, again, your questioner will freely choose;
4. Compare the supposedly original text of that confession with the text that your questioner will have furnished to you;
5. Decipher that text line by line and word by word, without making it say either more or less than it does say; note carefully what the author of the confession alleges that he personally saw, heard or did; a traditional trick of the German courts has consisted, as was the case for the judgment of Johann Paul Kremer at Münster in 1960, in slipping a weak confession that the accused made into a very long presentation about “gassing” in such a way that the reader believes that the whole report comes from the accused; the reader imagines that the accused made a detailed report of the events; it is nothing of the kind; it is necessary to “scour” from the text all of the contributions of the judge in order to make the judgment that the testimony is nearly as inconsistent as it is brief and vague.
6. See if the confession stands up, if it is coherent, if it does not break any law of physics or of elementary chemistry; be very materialistic, as if you had to study a miracle from Lourdes; try to see the places where the action is said to have taken place; see what remains of it; some ruins can be very instructive; seek out the plans of the places or of the buildings;
7. See, possibly, if the text of the confession is in the handwriting of the man who confessed; see if this text is in his mother tongue or in another language; the Allies usually made the Germans sign texts drawn up in French (Josef Kramer) or in English (Rudolf Höss) and they added in all peace of conscience that they guaranteed that this text had been translated to the accused in his own language, very faithfully (and that besides in the absence of any lawyer);
8. Seek to know who obtained that confession, when and how; ask yourself the question: upon whom did the man who confessed depend for drinking, for eating and for sleeping?

I do not think that I need to add other recommendations (for example, as to the material or documentary authenticity of the text to be studied). You understood that I am setting out a method of investigation that is elementary and not at all original. It is a routine method that one would apply automatically if it were a question of ordinary criminal matters which are exceptional by their supposed nature, very far from redoubling prudence and making appeal to a proven method, they display an incredible lightness. The good method always consists when it is a question of an inquest, of an analysis or of whatever work, of “beginning with the beginning.” In fact, experience has taught me that often nothing is more difficult and less spontaneous than “to begin with the beginning.” It is only after some years of research on the “gas chambers” and after having pronounced those words “gas chambers” perhaps several thousands of times that one fine day I woke up with the following question: “But in fact, what indeed can those words signify? To what material reality can they indeed relate?” To ask those questions was to very quickly find in them an answer. That answer you know: it is that the homicidal “gas chambers” of the Germans were only born in sick minds. It is time that the entire world wakes up and realizes this. Germany, in particular, ought to wake up from this frightful nightmare. It is time that a truthful history of the Second World War be written.

NOTES

I reproduce here the text of the entry of 2 September 1942 (Diary of Johann Paul Kremer) after the photocopy of the original as it is found in the National Archives in Washington (Doc. #NO-3408). Some Exterminationist works reproduce the photograph of this entry among other entries from the diary. But the reader has little chance to go about deciphering each word of the German handwriting of Dr. Kremer. He will be inclined to have confidence in the printed reproduction that they will propose to him, for example, in the margin; that is the case with *KL Auschwitz, Arbeit Macht Frei*, edited by the International Auschwitz Committee, 96 pages (not dated). On page 48 there appears a photograph of a manuscript page of the diary on which are found three entries relating to five dates (1 through 5 September 1942). In the margin, you discover the alleged printed reproduction of the single entry of 2 September. That reproduction appears in French, English and German. In French and English the text is outrageously distorted. In German, it was very difficult to distort the text in a similar way since the photocopy of the manuscript is available to the reader. But we must have unlimited confidence that the Exterminationists will falsify texts that embarrass them. The International Auschwitz Committee has found a solution thanks to a typographical trick. After the word *Sonderaktion* the authors of the book have printed in the same typeface the following parenthesis, as if it were from Dr. Kremer: "*So wurde die Selektion und das Vergasen genannt*" ("Thus did they refer to selection and gassing"). Either the reader, as is highly probable, will not notice the difference between the manuscript text and the printed text and then will believe it to be a confidence imparted by Dr. Kremer, which will appear to him to be all the more normal since, according to an Exterminationist myth, the Nazis spent their time inventing a coded language in order to cover up their crimes; or else the reader will see the difference between the texts and then the authors will plead a simple and innocent typographical error. Serge Klarsfeld, as I said above, has used this fallacious page in his *Memorial of the Deportation of the Jews from France*. It is thus that historical tricks are spread and perpetuated. Here is the original manuscript text in its authentic form:

Zum 1. Male draussen um 3 Uhr früh bei einer Sonderaktion zugegen. Im Vergleich hierzu erscheint mir das Dante' sche Inferno fast wie eine Komödie. Umsonst wird Auschwitz nicht das Lager der Vernichtung genannt!

Finally, here is the text of the passage from the letter of 21 October 1942 addressed to Miss Gla[ser]:

[...]Definitiven Bescheid habe ich allerdings noch nicht erwarte jedoch, dass ich vor dem 1. Dezember wieder in Münster sein kann and so endgültig dieser Hölle Auschwitz den Rücken gekehrt habe, wo ausser Fleck usw. sich nunmehr auch der Typhus mächtig bemerkbar macht...

I reproduce the text with its errors in punctuation and spelling.

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The Civil War Concentration Camps

by [Mark Weber](#)

No aspect of the American Civil War left behind a greater legacy of bitterness and acrimony than the treatment of prisoners of war. “Andersonville” still conjures up images of horror unmatched in American History. And although Northern partisans still invoke the infamous Southern camp to defame the Confederacy, the Union had its share of equally horrific camps. Prison camps on both sides produced scenes of wretched, disease-ridden and emaciated prisoners as repulsive as any to come out of the Second World War.

Partisans in both the North and the South produced wildly exaggerated novels, reminiscences of prisoners, journalistic accounts and even official government reports which charged the enemy with wanton criminal policies of murderous intent. It took several decades for Revisionist historians to separate fact from propagandistic fancy and deliberate distortion from misunderstanding. Even today the bitter legacy of hate lingers on in widespread but often grossly distorted accounts from this tragic chapter of American history.

Neither side deliberately set out to maltreat prisoners. Arrangements were made hurriedly to deal with unexpected masses of men. As neither side expected the war to last long, these measures were only makeshifts undertaken with minimum expenditure. Management was bad on both sides, but worse in the South owing to poorer, more decentralized organization and more meager resources. Thus, prisoners held by the Union were somewhat better off.

In the first phase of the war, 1861-1862, the relatively small numbers of prisoners taken by both sides were well treated. Both sides agreed to a prisoner exchange arrangement which operated during the latter half of 1862. Under the cartel, captives remaining after the exchanges were paroled. But the agreement broke down, in part because of Northern refusal to recognize the Confederate authorities as anything other than “rebels,” and in part over the Negro question.

“In a war of this kind, words are things. If we must address Davis as president of the Confederacy, we cannot exchange and the prisoners should not wish it,” declared the influential Harper’s Weekly.

Following the promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation on New Year’s Day, 1863, the North began enlisting former slaves into the Federal army. Confederate President Jefferson Davis declared that “all Negro slaves captured in arms” and their White officers should be delivered over to the South to be dealt with according to law. That could mean rigorous prosecution under strict laws relating to Negro insurrections.

Still, special exchanges on a reduced scale continued, but from 1863 onwards, both sides were holding large numbers of prisoners.

On 17 April 1864, General Grant ordered that no more Confederate prisoners were to be paroled or exchanged until there were released a sufficient number of Union officers and men to equal the parolees at Vicksburg and Port Hudson and unless the Confederate authorities would agree to make no distinction whatsoever between White and Negro prisoners.

On 10 August, the Confederate government offered to exchange officer for officer and man for man, accompanying the proposal with a statement on conditions at Andersonville. This offer induced General Grant to reveal his real reason for refusing any further exchanges. "Every man we hold, when released on parole or otherwise," Grant reported to Washington, "becomes an active soldier against us at once either directly or indirectly. If we commence a system of exchange which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the whole South is exterminated. If we hold those caught they amount to no more than dead men. At this particular time to release all rebel prisoners North would insure Sherman's defeat and would compromise our safety here." (Rhodes, pp499-500)

In October, Lee proposed to Grant another man-to-man exchange of prisoners. Grant asked whether Lee would turn over Negro troops "the same as White soldiers?" When Lee declared that "Negroes belonging to our citizens are not considered subjects of exchange," the negotiations completely broke down.

After the cessation of prisoner exchanges under the cartel, the camps of the South became crowded and the growing poverty of the Confederacy resulted in excessive suffering in the Southern stockades. Reports about these conditions in the Northern press created the belief that the ill treatment was part of a deliberate policy. The inevitable war hatred made such a belief readily credible.

After the war, Confederate partisans laid responsibility for camp conditions (on both sides) at the feet of the Federal authorities. They pointed to the Northern cancellation of the parole and exchange cartel which put a heavy and unexpected strain on the Southern prisoner program. They also condemned the North for its deliberate cut in rations for Confederate prisoners as a reaction to reports of bad conditions in the Southern camps.

The best known of all the Civil War camps today is Andersonville. Officially designated Camp Sumter, the prison stockade was located in south-central Georgia, about 20 miles from Plains. More than 45,000 Union soldiers were confined there between February 1864, when the first prisoners arrived, and April 1865, when it was captured. Of these, 12,912 died, about 28 percent of the total, and were buried on the camp grounds, now a National Cemetery. (Baker, p10)

Andersonville was a prison for enlisted soldiers. After the first few months, officers were confined at Macon. The camp was originally designed to hold 10 000 men, but by late June that number had jumped to 26 000. By August the 26½ acre camp was holding over 32,000 soldiers. Overcrowding continued to remain a serious problem. Guards kept watch from sentry boxes and shot any prisoner who crossed a wooden railing called the "deadline." A strip of ground between the "deadline" and the palisades was called the "deadrun."

The Confederates lacked necessary tools for adequate housing. Some of the early prisoners were able to construct a few rude huts of scrap wood. Many more sought shelter in dilapidated tents. Others dug holes in the ground for protection, but hundreds had no shelter of any kind against the pouring rain, southern heat and winter cold.

No clothing was provided, and many prisoners who were transferred to Andersonville from other camps were dressed only in rags. Even decent clothing deteriorated quickly, and some prisoners

had virtually nothing to wear.

The prisoners received the same daily ration as the guards: one and one-fourth pound of corn meal and either one pound of beef or one-third pound of bacon. The meager diet was only occasionally supplemented with beans, rice, peas or molasses. Northern soldiers were unused to this ration. But Southern troopers had fought long and hard on the usual fare of “hog and hominy.”

A stream flowed through the treeless stockade, dividing it roughly in half. It quickly became polluted with waste, creating a horrible stench over the whole camp.

Almost 30 percent of the prisoners confined to Andersonville during the camp’s 13 month existence died there. Most succumbed to dysentery, gangrene, diarrhea and scurvy. The Confederates lacked adequate facilities, personnel and medical supplies to arrest the diseases. An average of more than 900 prisoners died each month. The poorly-equipped and -staffed camp hospital was woefully inadequate to deal with the wretched conditions. Confederate surgeon Joseph Jones called Andersonville “a giant mass of human misery.”

Thieves and murderers among the prisoners stole food and clothing from their comrades. The most notorious were part of a large, organized group called the “Andersonville Raiders” which held sway within the stockade for nearly four months. Robberies and murders were daily occurrences until six of the ringleaders were caught and hanged. Other members of the Raiders were forced to run a gauntlet of club-wielding prisoners.

The camp guard force consisted of four regiments of the Georgia militia, generally made up of undisciplined older men and untrained young men. Efforts by the camp commander to replace them with more seasoned soldiers remained futile since every able-bodied man was needed to meet Gen. Sherman’s troops advancing toward Atlanta.

Prisoners on both sides were held in some 150 prison camps. And while Andersonville is the best remembered, several others equalled or even surpassed the Georgia camp in squalor and deadliness.

Some 12,000 Union soldiers were confined at Richmond in several centers, the worst of which was Belle Isle, a lowlying island on the James River. Less than half of the 6,000 prisoners could seek shelter in tents; most slept on the ground without clothing or blankets. Many had no pants, shirts or shoes, and went without fuel or soap. At least ten men died a day in vermin-ridden conditions of inexpressible filthiness. The entire surface of the island compound became saturated with putrid waste matter. Hospitals for the prisoners in Richmond quickly became overcrowded and many died on Belle Isle without ever having seen a doctor.

Rations were meager indeed. Christmas Day, 1863, saw the prisoners without rations of any kind. The daily ration of a pound of bread and a half-pound of beef was steadily reduced. Bread gave way to cornbread of unsifted meal. One small sweet potato replaced the meat. For the last two weeks of captivity the entire daily ration consisted of three-fourths of a pound of cornbread.

The Confederate diet was hardly better. A Confederate official declared that the prisoners in Richmond were given the same rations as the Southern troops and that if the food was inadequate, it was due to the destructive warfare being waged by the North. Confederate soldiers in Richmond went without meat by January 1864. Severe shortages in the Southern capital brought astronomical food prices and bread riots.

The camps at Salisbury, North Carolina, and elsewhere reproduced the worst features of Andersonville on a smaller scale. A lack of water at Salisbury brought conditions of filth and unbearable stench. The daily ration there for both prisoner and guard was soup and twenty ounces of bread without meat or sorghum. Many internees lacked clothing or shelter and “muggers” among the prisoners robbed their comrades. The disease rate soared. From October 1864 to February 1865, 3,479 prisoners died out of the 10,321 confined there, or over one third of the total. (Hesseltine, 1964, p170)

Conditions in the North were little better. One of the worst of the Union camps was Ft. Delaware, located on an island about 14 miles south of Wilmington. The filth and vermin in the damp fortress prison encouraged a high death rate. Most of the 2436 Confederate prisoners who died in what some called “The Andersonville of the North” succumbed to scurvy and dysentery.

Another infamous Union camp was Rock Island, located on an island in the Mississippi River between Davenport, Iowa, and Rock Island, Illinois. A report in the New York Daily News of 3 January 1865 stated that the Confederate prisoners were reduced to eating dogs and rats, and that many were virtually naked and without adequate protection against the chilling winter cold. Recalcitrant prisoners were subject to a variety of imaginative punishments, including hanging by thumbs.

A total of 12,409 men were confined to Rock Island prison during its 20 month existence. Of these, 730 were transferred to other stations, 3,876 were exchanged, 41 successfully escaped, 5,581 were paroled home, and some 4,000 enlisted in Federal units slated for Western duty, and 1,960 died in captivity. (Hesseltine, 1972, p58)

By far the most horrendous Northern camp was Elmira, located in New York a few miles from the Pennsylvania line. Some 9000 prisoners were confined to a camp meant to hold only 5,000.

Two observation towers were erected right outside the prison walls. For 15 cents, spectators could watch the wretched prisoners within the compound. When winter struck Elmira in late 1864, prisoners lacking blankets and clad in rags collapsed in droves from exposure. By early December, half-naked men stood ankle-deep in snow to answer the morning roll call.

A one-acre lagoon of stagnant water within the 30-acre stockade served as a latrine and garbage dump, giving rise to disease. Scurvy and diarrhea took many lives. By November 1864, pneumonia had reached plague proportions. An epidemic of smallpox broke out a month later and remained an ever-present killer.

Repeated requests for badly needed medicines were ignored by officials in Washington. The pathetically equipped hospital lacked beds, equipment and personnel. By late December 1864, at least 70 men were lying on bare hospital floors and another 200 diseased and dying men lay in the regular prison quarters, contaminating their healthier comrades.

Non-cooperative prisoners were punished in a variety of ways. Some were confined to the “sweat box” in which the occupant stood immobile and received no ventilation, food or water for the duration of the punishment period. Other men were gagged or hung by their thumbs. Because no prisoner received his regular rations while serving a sentence, punishment meant virtual starvation.

One prison commander would often visit the camp at midnight in freezing weather to have the men called out for “roll call.”

In February 1865, the camp held 8996 prisoners, of whom 1398 were sick and 426 died. In March an average of 16 prisoners were dying each day. Of a total of 12 123 soldiers imprisoned at Elmira during its one year existence, 2963 died, or about 25 percent. The monthly death rate, however, topped the one at Andersonville. (Hesseltine, 1972, p96)

In addition to camps for captured soldiers, the North also established concentration camps for civilian populations considered hostile to the Federal government. Union General Thomas Ewing issued his infamous Order Number 11 in August 1863, whereby large numbers of civilians in Missouri were relocated into what were called “posts.”

In *Plain Speaking*, “an Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman,” the former President tells what happened:

Everybody, almost the entire population of Jackson County and Vernon and Cass and Bates counties, all of them were depopulated, and the people had to stay in posts.

They called them posts, but what they were, they were concentration camps. And most of the people were moved in such a hurry that they had to leave all their goods and their chattels in their houses. Then the Federal soldiers came in and took everything that was left and set fire to the houses.

That didn’t go down very well with the people in these parts; putting people in concentration camps in particular didn’t. (pp 78-79)

President Truman’s grandmother loaded what belongings she could into an oxcart and, with six of her children, among them the President’s mother, made the journey to a “post” in Kansas City. Martha Ellen Truman vividly remembered that trek until she died at the age of 94.

Perhaps the most relevant aspect of this whole chapter for our generation is not the existence of the camps or even the wretched conditions there, but rather the enormous prison propaganda campaign complete with charges that the camps were really killing centers designed to exterminate the inmates. That war psychosis campaign during and following the Civil War is strikingly reminiscent of the one which grew out of the Second World War.

Journalists, preachers and politicians on both sides portrayed the enemy as fiends who relished in diabolical atrocities. Imaginative prisoners had neither the will nor the ability to make objective judgments about what was going on around them. They often greatly exaggerated conditions and claimed that their suffering was part of a monstrous conspiracy.

As the war progressed, the prisons of the South became crowded and Confederate poverty and organizational disruption resulted in excessive suffering. Reports about these conditions in the North encouraged the belief that the suffering was part of a deliberate design.

The worst cases of the sick prisoners from Belle Isle who were still able to travel were sent North. The ghastly and emaciated condition of these survivors confirmed the already widespread impression that all prisoners held by the South were being slowly killed off.

Northern polemicists declared that the Union had been too cool to these barbarities and demands for retaliation grew.

In anticipation of retaliatory measures, a Northern General ordered “special treatment similar to that which the rebels extend to Union prisoners in Richmond prisons” for a captured Confederate

General. (Hesseltine, 1964, p186). This Civil War rendition of Sonderbehandlung never achieved the sinister notoriety of its Second World War counterpart.

“Retaliation,” stated the New York Times, “is a terrible thing, but the miseries and pains and the slowly wasting life of our brethren and friends in those horrible prisons is a worse thing.” (Hesseltine, 1964, p194). The result of the campaign was that prisoners in Northern prisons were forced to suffer needlessly in retaliation for alleged Southern cruelty.

Lieutenant Colonel William H. Hoffman, the Federal Commissary General of Prisons, ordered a preliminary 20 percent reduction of rations in the Union camps. He then ordered increased guard forces in preparation for further ration cuts. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton approved another order by Hoffman to further sharply reduce food, fuel, shelter and clothing of prisoners to levels which Union propagandists claimed were equal to those prevailing in the South. Much of the death and suffering in the Northern prisons was a direct result of this action.

Only a sharply increased guard force was able to contain the serious danger of rioting at Camp Morton when the new rations went into effect.

Inspired by the stated policy of retaliation, some camp commanders vindictively took it upon themselves to impose even more suffering on the prisoners in their control.

Congress gave official sanction to the propaganda campaign. The House Committee on the Conduct of the War investigated the condition of prisoners in the Confederate camps. Secretary of War Stanton told the Committee that “the enormity of the crime committed by the rebels toward our prisoners is not known or realized by our people, and cannot but fill with horror the civilized world when the facts are fully revealed. There appears to have been a deliberate system of savage and barbarous treatment the result of which will be that few, if any, of the prisoners that have been in their hands during the past winter will ever again be in a condition to render any service or even to enjoy life.” (Hesseltine, 1964, p196)

The House Committee published Report No. 67, which included eight pictures of naked or partly naked prisoners released from Belle Isle in the worst state of emaciation and utter despondency. The official report declared that the evidence proved a fixed determination by the Confederates to kill the Union soldiers who fell into their hands.

Several months later, the United States Sanitary Commission (a forerunner of the American Red Cross) published its own Narrative of the Privations and Sufferings of the United States Officers and Soldiers while Prisoners of War in the Hands of the Rebel Authorities. Complete with colored pictures of sick released prisoners, the Narrative contained all of the atrocity tales told up to that time, and then some. It falsely contended that prisoners were stripped of their clothing and robbed of their money upon capture, and that naked bodies were heaped into piles awaiting burial to be eaten by hogs, dogs and rats. Not surprisingly, the official Narrative concluded that the suffering and death was the result of “a predetermined plan, originating somewhere in the rebel counsels, for destroying and disabling the soldiers of their enemy, who had honorably surrendered in the field.” (Hesseltine, 1964, p199). By contrast, conditions for prisoners in the Union camps were described in glowing terms of comfort and abundance.

The Union hailed the account as a truthful portrayal of conditions. *Harper's Weekly* predicted that it would help the Federal cause not only at home but in Europe as well.

Both of these official reports gave an aura of authenticity to the wild propaganda campaign that was sweeping the North. They helped legitimize Federal measures which resulted in preventable

suffering and death in the Northern camps. And they helped to justify the harsh and vengeful occupation policy of “reconstruction” imposed by the North at the end of the war.

Federal newspapers blamed the social-political system of the Confederacy for the horrors of the Southern camps. Reports of wretched conditions in the camps confirmed the view that the Confederate system was incurably evil and had to be unconditionally destroyed.

“We’ve not heard as much lately as formerly of the maltreatment of prisoners in Richmond,” wrote the *New York Times*, “but it has not abated. Nay, their diabolism will never abate as long as it is in their power to exercise its The slaveholder is born to tyranny and reared to cruelty.” (Hesseltine, 1964, p 195). Another paper declared that “only slavery could so harden a man,” ignoring the fact that owning slaves was still legal in some Union states, and that Washington and Jefferson had been slaveholders!

The *New York Times* went a step further to malign even the personal character of the Southerner: “The Southern character is infinitely boastful, vainglorious, full of dash, without endurance, treacherous, cunning, timid, and revengeful.”

The propaganda campaign did not die at all with the end of the war. In fact, accounts of conditions in the southern prison camps became even more exaggerated. In 1869, the House of Representatives issued another official publication on the *Treatment of Prisoners of War by the Rebel Authorities*. This House Report No. 85 amplified the distortions contained in the 1864 House Report and the Sanitary Commission Narrative.

The new *Report* stated:

The opinion of the committee carefully and deliberately formed (is) that the neglect and refusal of the rebel authorities to provide sufficient and proper rations was the result of a premeditated system and scheme of the confederate authorities to reduce our ranks by starvation, and that they were not forced to these deprivations from accident or necessity. (Rhodes, pp 503-504)

Former prisoners kept on turning out personalized and rabidly polemical accounts of camp conditions which found ready readerships. Many of those who published “personal memoirs” of their experiences rewrote copiously from the official Federal government “documentary” reports. But many dubious readers were impressed by the volume of camp literature. The years 1862-66 saw 54 books and articles published describing the experiences of prisoners in the South. Of these, 28 appeared in the years 1865 and 1866. Twenty more appeared in 1867-70. (Hesseltine, 1964, pp247, 252)

The author of *Prisoner of War*, a typical example of the genre, wrote: “I send out this book trusting that whatever influence it may exercise will aid in bringing the guilty leaders of Treason to just punishment for their enormous crimes against humanity.”

The polemical post-war writers faced something of a problem with figures in trying to prove that the South had killed off prisoners as part of a deliberate extermination policy. The number of Union prisoners who died was not large enough to substantiate the claim. So the myth-makers either ignored the numbers completely, or came up with new figures of their own. One writer claimed, for example, that no record remains of the many prisoners who “were pursued through fen and forest by bloodhounds and demons and their mangled corpses left to the carrion birds.”

Republican party politicians waved the “bloody shirt” of Southern atrocity stories to keep themselves in power. But the most regrettable effect of the post-war propaganda campaign was to exacerbate the horrors of Reconstruction in the occupied South.

The high point in the atrocity campaign came with the farcical show trial and execution of Henry Wirz, the commandant of Andersonville. Next to the assassination of President Lincoln, the Andersonville story was the most effective propaganda weapon in the arsenal of those who wanted to deal harshly with the defeated South.

During the war, the Northern press described Wirz as a “monster” and a “beast” and portrayed him as a vicious sadist. He was nothing of the kind, but because he spoke with a foreign accent and was the officer with whom the prisoners had the most contact, he bore the brunt of blame for conditions in the camp.

Henry Wirz was born in Zurich, Switzerland, and emigrated to the United States in 1849. He worked as a weaver in Massachusetts and as a doctor’s assistant in Kentucky before moving to a plantation in Louisiana. He joined the Confederate army when war broke out and was severely wounded at the Battle of Seven Pines. After recovering he was promoted to Captain and assigned as commandant of Andersonville in March 1864.

Wild rumors about Wirz made their way within the stockade. What one prisoner suspected was told to the next as fact. In the imagination of the inmates, Wirz became the cruel and inhuman author of all their sufferings.

After his arrest, Wirz was taken to Washington where a military commission charged him with “conspiring” with Confederate President Davis, General Robert E. Lee and others to “impair and injure the health and destroy the lives of large numbers of Federal prisoners.” All of this was allegedly done “in furtherance of his evil design.” The commission further charged Wirz with several specific acts of murder “in violation of the laws and customs of war.”

While Wirz was sometimes gruff and ill-natured, the prosecutor could not prove that he ever murdered a single prisoner. Neither the judge-advocate who drew up the thirteen specifications nor any of the witnesses called by the government were able to name any of the alleged victims. To substantiate the conspiracy charge, the prosecution cited an order by Confederate General Winder which instructed an artillery battery to open fire upon the Andersonville camp. The order was a forgery. Other “documents” cited to prove a conspiracy were equally baseless.

The Northern press couldn’t find words strident enough to characterize the defendant: “the Andersonville savage,” “the inhuman wretch,” “the infamous captain,” “the barbarian,” “the most bloodthirsty monster which this or any other age has produced.”

Actually, Wirz was merely an unfortunate victim of circumstance—a target of unrestrained hysteria. Confederate officers sent to inspect the camp during the war were unanimous in their praise of Wirz’s energy and diligence. His commanding General praised his performance. An inspector from Richmond declared that he was firm and rigid in discipline but kind to the prisoners. Wirz tried repeatedly to provide adequate shelter, food and medical supplies, but governmental red tape, local opposition, and the rapidly deteriorating economy of the beleaguered South frustrated his efforts.

Held in the vengeful climate that followed the Lincoln assassination, the trial was used to boost the post-war campaign to new heights of hysteria. The *New York Times* commented on the Wirz case in vindictive and emotional prose that could almost have been written in the late 1940s:

The assassins of the president disposed of, the Government will next take in hand the ruffians who tortured to death thousands of Union prisoners. The laws of civilized warfare must be vindicated; and some expiation must be exacted for the most infernal crime of the century. In respect to Captain Werz (sic), for instance it may be shown that he went into his business of wholesale murder on express instructions by superior authority. It is manifest that this maltreatment must have proceeded from some general design upon the part of the rebel Government. The persons detailed for the charge of the military prisons in the "Confederacy" were men whose natural disposition especially qualified them for a brutal and base business.

The influential paper demanded full punishment for "every rebel official who has been concerned, directly or indirectly, in the torturing and murdering of our prisoners. Of all rebel crimes, that was the most devilish, the least capable of extenuation or pardon." (Hesseltine, 1964, pp237-38)

A Federal official sent to Andersonville recommended that the camp be taken over by the government and maintained as a permanent reminder of Confederate horror. (Shades of Dachau!) The New York Times agreed: "The thing most needed since the prostration of the rebellion is to make it (Andersonville) odious and famous." Another leading Union paper stated that the South must be made to "face" the horrors of Andersonville. It advised the Federal government to publish the most self-incriminating documents in the Confederate archives and declared that "loyal men should strive to keep alive the infamy of the rebellion." (Hesseltine, 1964, p239). For added justification and propaganda effect, the Federal government issued a lengthy publication, *The Trial of Henry Wirz*, which gave a veneer of legitimacy to the trial and execution.

The commissioners were grossly unfair in their conduct of the trial. Wirz' defense attorneys despaired of fair treatment for their client and quit in frustration. They returned to represent Wirz only after the friendless defendant begged their help in utter despair. Despite the pathetic lack of evidence, the commission found Wirz guilty and sentenced him to death. He was hanged in Washington on 10 November 1865.

In the wake of the publicity surrounding the trial, former prisoners founded the "Andersonville Survivors Association" and the "National Ex-Prisoners of War Association" to lobby Congress for disability pension legislation. The "Survivors" claimed that the mere fact of having spent the summer of 1864 at Andersonville should be adequate evidence of permanent disability.

Many aspects of the Wirz trial are strikingly similar to the "war crimes" trials following the Second World War. Both followed intense propaganda campaigns to which the government contributed authoritative but spurious "documentation." Both were concerned only with the "crimes" of the defeated power. Both were used to indict the socialpolitical system of the losing side. Both called upon self-serving witnesses who had motives of their own for testifying. Both trials alleged an elaborate "conspiracy" of murderous intent. Both used phoney "documents" to substantiate their case.

It took several decades before intense vindictiveness gave way to a modicum of reconciliation. Truth-seeking historical accounts slowly replaced the bitterly partisan diatribes. Revisionist historians eventually discredited the many phoney "documents," "memoirs," and "true accounts" about the Civil War prison camps.

There is, of course, no doubt that prisoners on both sides suffered and died, often under regrettable conditions. But neither side deliberately killed prisoners. Prisoners on both sides were al-

ways well treated at the front. It was behind the lines where bad management, especially in the South, resulted in so much death and suffering.

The same factors which contributed to military defeat also made it virtually impossible for the Confederacy to operate an efficient prisoner-of-war system. Southern industrial output was inadequate for logistical support of the armed forces, with the result that prison camps were extremely primitive in construction and maintenance. For various reasons, the military leadership was never able to properly clothe and feed Confederate soldiers, much less enemy prisoners of war. And finally, the Southern rail and water transportation system was so crippled during the final two years of the war that movement of supplies, especially to peripheral points like Andersonville, frequently became impossible.

Exact figures on the number of prisoners held on both sides and a precise comparison of the mortality rates on each side are impossible to obtain. After the war, Confederate and Federal partisans each cited statistics to prove that the death and suffering had been greater in the enemy camps. Former Confederate President Davis and former Vice President Alexander Stephens cited rather dubious figures to support their claim that the mortality rate in the Northern prisons was twelve percent, as compared to less than nine percent for the South.

The best and most reliable estimate available seems to be the one provided by Adjutant General F.C. Ainsworth in 1903 to the eminent historian James F. Rhodes. The Chief of the Record and Pension Office stated that the best information obtainable from both Union and Confederate records showed that the North held 214 865 Southern soldiers, of whom 25 976 died in captivity, while the South held 193 743 Union men, of whom 30 218 died in captivity. Rhodes concluded that slightly over 12 percent of the prisoners held by the Union perished, while 15.5 percent died in Southern camps. But Rhodes felt that given the superior hospitals medicines, and abundance of food, mortality in the Northern prisons should have been lower.

“All things considered,” Rhodes concluded, “the statistics show no reason why the North should reproach the South. If we add to one side of the account the refusal to exchange the prisoners and the greater resources, and to the other the distress of the Confederacy, the balance struck will not be far from even. Certain it is that no deliberate intention existed either in Richmond or Washington to inflict suffering on captives more than inevitably accompanied their confinement.” (Rhodes, p508)

In the Civil War, as in the Second World War, the victorious side hysterically distorted the actual conditions in the camps of the enemy to brand the defeated adversary as intrinsically evil and to justify a harsh and vindictive occupation policy. All the suffering and death in the camps of the side that lost the war was ascribed to a deliberate policy on the part of an inherently atrocious power. The victorious powers demanded “unconditional surrender” and arrested the defeated government leaders as “criminals.”

After both wars, Revisionist historians who worked to set the record straight were denounced for trying to “rehabilitate” a discredited and abominable social order. The social-political system of the side that lost each war was deemed not merely different, but morally depraved. The defeated side was judged ethically in terms of its readiness to atone for past sins and embrace the social system of the conquerors.

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Allied War Crimes Trials

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On 14 November 1945, the proceedings of the International Military Tribunal at Nürnberg (Nuremberg) were opened. The twenty-four accused, whose number was later reduced to twenty-two by disease and death, among the top officials of the National Socialist Party, the top leadership of the armed forces and of the state administration of the defeated German state, were confronted with three classes of accusations:

1. Crimes against peace;
2. War crimes in a more restricted sense, e.g., violations of the laws and customs of war;
3. Crimes against humanity.

Nine months later, twelve of the defendants were indeed condemned to death on the basis of two or more of the charges, three were set free, and the remainder was sentenced to prison terms of varying duration. ^[1]

Controversy was aroused among jurists and the general public alike, above all in regard to the validity and treatment of points (1) and (3).

On 3 May 1946, the proceedings of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East were opened at Tokyo. The twenty-eight accused, whose number was later reduced to twenty-five by death and insanity, among the top officials of the administration and the armed forces of the state of Japan, were confronted with the charges of having committed crimes against peace and war crimes (violations of the laws and customs of war); there were no accusations of crimes against humanity. One year and a half later, seven of them were indeed hanged, and sixteen sentenced to lifetime imprisonment on fifty-five counts. ^[2]

The prehistory of the Tokyo Trials was somewhat different from those at Nürnberg. The principles and methods for the latter were laid down, at first provisionally, at a meeting between representatives of Britain, the U.S.A. and the USSR in October 1943 at Moscow and with greater clarity during a conference in June 1945, between delegates of the three first-named states and those of France. In Moscow, two kinds of classifications were established: (1) those officers and men who had committed, or carried out, atrocities in a particular country would be sent back to that country to be tried; (2) in the case of major war criminals whose offense had no particular geographic location, they would be "... punished by the joint decisions of the Governments of the Allies." ^[3] The purpose of the London meeting in 1945 was to provide a systematic procedure and a code of law for the subsequent Nürnberg process. ^[4] The accomplishments of the London conference, and some of the problems arising from it, will be treated in greater detail below.

The International Military Tribunal in Tokyo, on the other hand, was first contemplated at the Cairo Conference of 1 December 1943. Further references concerning the trial of alleged Japanese war criminals were made in the Declaration of Potsdam of 26 July 1945, and in the Instrument of Surrender of 2 September 1945. On 19 January 1946, General McArthur, as Supreme Commander of the Allied forces in the Far East, established the Tribunal for the trial of offenses similar to those charged against the accused at Nürnberg, with the exception of “crimes against humanity.” [5]

In addition to these major legal processes, “war crimes trials” were also conducted against individual enemy officials and commanders, and against subordinate organizations, both in the Orient and in Europe, by individual victor powers. The proceedings against General Yamashita, the trials in the four zones of Germany conducted according to Law Number 10 of the Allied Control Council, and the twelve “lower” Nürnberg trials of 1947 and 1948, are commonly included in discussions of the war crimes trials. [6]

For the epoch-making International Military Tribunal at Nürnberg, which lasted for nine months, members of the Tribunal were selected from among the four large victor nations: Britain, France, the U.S.A., and the USSR. On the side of the prosecution, the Main Prosecutor for the U.S. was Justice Robert H. Jackson (who was also Chief of Counsel); for Britain, State Attorney General Sir Hartley Shawcross; for France, Francois de Menthon, Auguste Champetier de Ribes; [7] for the USSR, General R.A. Rudenko. On the side of the Tribunal sat Mr. Francis Biddle, member for the U.S., and his alternate, judge John J. Parker; M. le Professeur Donnedieu de Vabres, member for France, and his alternate, M. le Conseiller Falco; Major-General I.T. Nikitchenko, member for the USSR, and his alternate, Lieutenant-Colonel L.T. Volchkov; and, finally, Sir Geoffrey Lawrence (now Lord Oaksey), member for the United Kingdom, and his alternate, Sir William Norman Birkett (now Lord Justice). Sir Geoffrey was elected Chairman of this panel of jurists. [8]

The mechanical aspect of the proceedings was impressive by itself. The trial was conducted in four languages, involved the calling of thirty-three witnesses in open court for the Prosecution, sixty-one for the Defense, a further 143 for the Defense via written answers, and some thousands of others giving evidence by affidavit for Defense and Prosecution. [9]

The judgment of the Court was delivered on 30 September and 1 October 1946. Of the twenty-one defendants personally present (Martin Bormann was unavoidably detained) three were acquitted: Franz von Papen, Chancellor of the Weimar Republic in 1933, before the takeover of Hitler Ambassador to Turkey afterwards, and imprisoned by Hitler in the closing months of the war as untrustworthy; [10] Hans Fritzsche, National Socialist radio propagandist; and Hjalmar Schacht, erstwhile Director of the German Reichs-Bank, internationally esteemed financial expert, and, together with Papen, supporter of the “strongman” Hitler in the waning days of the Weimar Republic, similarly subject to change of mind, and similarly imprisoned. [11] Three defendants received life sentences: Rudolf Hess, once Second-in-Command to Hitler and best known for his “Peace flight” to Britain (1941); Walter Funk, National Socialist economic organizer and Erich Raeder, Grand Admiral of the former German Fleet and advocate of a stronger surface fleet before 1939, cautioning against military involvement with Britain. [12] Four received jail sentences of ten to twenty years: Baldur von Schirach, National Socialist youth leader; Albert Speer, expert Organizer of armaments production (although once an architect by trade); Constantin von Neurath, Foreign Minister before 1938 and Reichsprotektor of Bohemia Moravia prior to 1942; and Karl Dönitz, capable submarine admiral and head of the German Reich in its last days in 1945. [13] The remaining twelve accused were condemned to death, among them the top leaders of the National Socialist party-and-state machine: Hermann Wilhelm Göring,

Joachim von Ribbentrop, Wilhelm Keitel,, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Hans Frank, Wilhelm Frick, Alfred Rosenberg, Julius Streicher, Fritz Sauckel, Alfred Jodl, Arthur Seyss-Inquart and Martin Bormann. In addition, the following groups and organizations were declared criminal: the SS and SD (*Schutzstaffel, Sicherheitsdienst* — Himmler's private army and security police); the SA (*Sturmabteilung* — the storm troopers powerful during the dusk of the Weimar Republic, under their leader Roehm, who was liquidated by Hitler in 1934); the *Gestapo* (*Geheime Staatspolizei* — the secret police under the wing of the SS and Himmler); and the Leadership Corps of the National Socialist Party. The Reich Cabinet and the General Staff and High Command of the German Armed Forces (OKH and OKW — *Oberkommando des Heeres, Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*) were, as corporate entities, acquitted of the charge of criminality. ^[14] Treading in the footsteps of the International Military Tribunal at Nürnberg with regard to the three points of accusation, and especially in harmony with the principle of personal responsibility for “criminal” orders established there, the war crimes trials which were held against German leaders of subordinate level were conducted by so-called victor powers in many European countries, including the four individual occupying powers acting within their segments of Germany.

Aside from the obviously biased and political proceedings in Communist-occupied Europe, ^[15] two of the Western powers acted on the strength of the Allied Control Council Law Number 10 (mentioned above) which authorized the four Zone Commanders to set up tribunals for the punishment of war crimes, crimes against peace and crimes against humanity. The British occupation authorities, the Government of which had shown mixed feelings about the extent of the categories of offenses punishable under the Nürnberg Charter, did not follow Law Number 10, but heeded the Royal Warrant of 14 June 1945, which instituted prosecution of “violations of the laws and usages of war” only. In addition to the trials held by occupation authorities, a number of persons were also charged before German courts with crimes committed against German nationals or stateless persons. ^[16] Furthermore, the Allies, among them especially the U.S., created special Denazification Courts-which were later handed over to the Germans-to carry out the task of “cleansing” the mass of small-time fellow-travellers. In the American Zone, 3.6 million out of 16 million adults were thus processed and filed in an elaborate classification and penalty scheme. ^[17]

In the British Zone, military tribunals tried 937 persons, acquitted 260, and sentenced 230 to death. In the U.S. Zone, 177 persons were tried by military tribunals, 24 were sentenced to death, 35 acquitted. In the small French Zone, military courts tried 2,107 people, condemned 104 to death, acquitted 404, and gave 1,235 shorter prison terms. ^[18]

In Western Europe, military trials were also conducted by the Netherlands (35), Norway (11), Canada (5), and Greece (1). Additionally, the three big Western powers tried German defendants in countries where the latter had held official positions. Thus, Generals von Mackensen, Maelzer and Kesselring were tried in Rome and Venice, respectively, by British authorities, while General Dostler was subjected to a similar process by the United States in Rome. ^[19] In addition, twelve subsequent Nürnberg trials were carried out from January 1947 to October 1948. In these, a motley and highly divergent collection of defendants was tried; many sentenced to death or to long prison terms. These “lower” Nürnberg proceedings were conducted by the United States Government against the following groups: (1) the Concentration Camp Medical Case, (2) the Milch Case against Air Field Marshal Milch, a deputy of Göring, (3) the Justice Case against a number of high-ranking judges of the Third Reich, (4) the SS Case against some surviving leaders of the SS, (5) the Flick Case against this steel magnate and five associated industrialists, (6) the Farben Case against twenty-four officials of the Interessen-Gemeinschaft Farben chemical trust, (7) the Hostages Case against army officers charged with violating the customs of war; let it be briefly noted here that some of these twelve generals, among them Speidel, Lanz, and Foertsch, had ac-

tively conspired against Hitler and vainly tried to get in touch with Allied leaders since 1942/43 [20], (8) the RUSHA Case against National Socialist “Race Administrators,” (9) the Einsatzgruppen Case against leaders of anti-partisan commandoes, (10) the Krupp Case against this industrial leader and eleven of his collaborators, (11) the Ministries Case against chief administrators in the war economy and the foreign office, (12) the High Command Case against fourteen high-ranking generals of the Army and Air Force. [21]

The main trial of alleged Japanese war criminals, corresponding in scope to the Nürnberg case for the European theater, was the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, convened in Tokyo on 3 May 1946, and concluded on 11 November 1948, or some two years later than its European counterpart. Eleven states furnished judges and prosecutors: Britain, China, France, the U.S.A., the USSR, Canada, Australia, India, New Zealand, the Netherlands and the Philippines. In distinction to the Nürnberg trials, where all defense counsels were Germans, a mixed team of both Japanese and American attorneys managed the defense. Also in distinction to the Nürnberg proceedings, the defendants were accused of but two classes of offenses, crimes against peace and war crimes. There were no charges of membership in criminal organizations and of crimes against humanity, except where they bore directly upon war crimes. Out of the twenty-five surviving defendants, one received a prison term of seven years (Ambassador Shigemitsu), one a term of twenty years (Ambassador and Imperial Foreign Minister Togo); sixteen were sentenced to life imprisonment, and seven were condemned to die. [22] The accused given life sentences were: Araki, Imperial War Minister; Hashimoto; Hata; Hiranuma, Prime Minister; Hoshino, President of the Economic Planning Board; Kaya, former Finance Minister; Kido; Education Minister; Koiso, Prime Minister; Minami,

War Minister; Oka; Oshima, Ambassador; Sato; Shimada, Navy Minister; Shiratori, Ambassador; Suzuki, President of the Economic Planning Board (a post also held by Hoshino); Umezu, Minister Without Portfolio. The seven who were hanged were: Dohihara; Hirota, Prime Minister; Itagaki, War Minister; Kimura; Matsui; Muto; and Hideki Tojo, Chief of the Army General Staff and Prime Minister. [23]

Aside from the military trials held by Australia (numbering 275) and China (numbering two), Britain and the United States conducted further proceedings. Thus, the U.S. heard 317 cases in Japan, 11 in China, 97 in the Philippines, 25 in the Pacific Islands, for a total of 3,095 defendants tried, 448 acquitted, 689 condemned to death. [24] Perhaps the most famous of these cases (or, most infamous, according to one’s interpretation of justice) was the trial of the able General Yamashita, conqueror of Malaya and Singapore against an enemy vastly superior in numbers, and later, commander of the Japanese Army in the Philippines. Sentenced to death, his case was appealed to the ultimate pinnacle of the U.S. Supreme Court which upheld the conviction. [25]

The Japanese “democratization” counterpart to the German Denazification was also numerically impressive, involving the examination of millions of questionnaires; it seems to have been more efficient, as “only” some 200,000 persons of formerly higher status were purged from public life. [26] SCAP, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, however, had other deep-going reforms in store for the Japanese, including the renunciation of divinity by the Emperor (the revering of whom was enshrined in the official state religion, Shinto), and the democratization of the Meiji Constitution of 1889 in harmony with the principles of the Potsdam Declaration. Wisely, SCAP, General McArthur and his advisors retained the office of Constitutional Emperor, making him the titular “... symbol of the State and of the unity of the People ...” [27] Again, the scope of this paper prohibits further unravelling of this fascinating theme.

In sum, one may safely say that millions of people in the occupied countries of Europe and the Far East were directly or indirectly affected by the war crimes trials conducted by the Western Allies. In conjunction with the lost war, the numerous and multilayered judicial proceedings against members of the former Axis Governments — and, by extension, against the peoples ruled by them — radically uprooted social and political patterns which, in certain instances, had stood the test of centuries, or of millenia. Purists may argue that the suffering of the defeated (as well as of some of the victors) was brought on by the aggressive and brutal conduct of their leaders, and that the victors only strove to re-impose order and justice on “the world.” One may ask that, if all was well with the world before the so-defined aggressions started, why did they start at all; and, if all was not well, why did the wise victors-to-be not change it for the better, or, failing in this, refrain from bandying about “idealistic” statements purporting to show that they could? In other words, the preconditions and the conduct of the war crimes trials were not based on traditional legal foundations, but were tainted with uncertainty and “politics.” The rest of this paper will be occupied with tracing the rationalizations of the Allied judges and with laying bare a few crucial weak points in the plaidoyers of the Allied persecution. Viewed positively, the content of the paper will center about the struggle carried on against legal uncertainty and the exigencies of a war-ridden world by those Allied jurists who desired to arrive at new, more comprehensive, and less challengeable, principles of international law—a struggle against themselves, so to speak. We shall try to examine the actions of the Western powers at the trials by the guiding light of these questions: (1) how did they justify their police and judicial proceedings? (2) did their procedures accord with their professed substantive principles, and could these principles claim to be extensions of existing international usage and law? (3) possibly, could the failures alleged of the trials be said to spring from failures and contradictions in the *Grundnormen* (to paraphrase Hans Kelsen) of Western Civilization, of the Western Powers, or of their principal leaders? The questions have been raised, but they cannot with finality be laid to rest within the confines of this paper.

With emphasis on the actions of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, such orientation will necessitate locating the foundations of the war trials, outlining a history of attempts at humanizing warfare, including the drawing of inferences from the development of international relations between the wars, and touching on the main criticism of the trials. These, showing errors of omission and commission, as it were, of the Western Allies, will be treated in separate sections—errors worthy of high rank on any perennial list of war crimes — yes, deeds unpunished, unmitigated, but glorified, as having contributed to the annals of civilization and “progress.” [28]

(to be continued)

Notes

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2. ☞ John Alan Appleman, of the Illinois Bar, *Military Tribunals and International Crimes*, Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Publishers, 1954, pp. 237-238.
3. ☞ Maugham, op. cit., p. 25.
4. ☞ Charles G. Fenwick, *Cases on International Law*, Chicago, Callaghan and Company, Second Edition 1951, p. 839.
5. ☞ Ibid., pp. 839-855; Appleman, op. cit., pp. 238-243.
6. ☞ Ibid., pp. 139-235; Fenwick, op, cit., p. 839; Georg Schwarzenberger, *The Frontiers of International Law*, London, Stearns and Sons, Limited, 1962, pp. 256-273; Frank Reel, *The*

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7. ☞ *Das Urteil von Nürnberg 1955*. Munich, Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1962, p. 10.
8. ☞ Maugham, op. cit., p. 50.
9. ☞ Ibid., p. 51; *Das Urteil*, op. cit., pp. 9-11.
10. ☞ Hans Erich Stier, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Berlin-Darmstadt-Wien, Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft, 1958, pp. 951-953.
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13. ☞ Stier, op. cit., pp. 968, 973.
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15. ☞ Wolfgang Leonhard, *Die Revolution entlasst ihre Kinder*, Köln-Berlin, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, 1956, pp. 310-322. Also: Margarete Buber-Neumann, *Als Gefangene bei Stalin und Hitler*, Munich, Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag, 1962.
16. ☞ Silvieu Craciunas, *The Lost Footsteps*, New York, Berkeley Publishing Corporation, 1963.
17. ☞ Maugham, op. cit., pp. 21-24. Arnold J. Heidenheimer, *The Governments of Germany*, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1961, fourth printing 1964, pp. 53-54.
18. ☞ Maugham, op. cit., p.23.
19. ☞ Appleman, op. cit., pp.269-289.
20. ☞ "The Minister in Sweden (Johnson) to the Secretary of State," Stockholm, 3 January 1944. "Memorandum by Brigadier General John Magruder, Deputy Director of Intelligence Service, to Mr. Fletcher Warren, Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State (Berle)," 17 May 1944. "Text of a Telegram Dated December 2 5th, Sent by Mr. Eden to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Moscow and Washington." All of these reprinted documents are contained in: *Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers 1944*. Washington, the United States Government Printing Office, 1959, pp. 485-525.
21. ☞ Appleman, op. cit., pp. 139-233.
22. ☞ Ibid., p. IX, pp. 237-238.
23. ☞ Theodore McNelly, *The Contemporary Government of Japan*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963, pp. 33-34.
24. ☞ Appleman, op. cit., p. 267.
25. ☞ Reel, op. cit., pp. 246-250. John Deane Potter, *The Life and Death of a Japanese General*, New York, Signet Book, 1962, pp. 41-94, 153-177.
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The Malmédy Massacre and Trial

Ray Merriam

In 1977, I received a newspaper clipping from a reader of my own publication, *The Military Journal*. The clipping contained an interview with Paul Martin, a survivor of the so-called “Malmédy Massacre,” and had apparently been published on the previous anniversary of the incident.

Martin’s comments are quite interesting. It is readily apparent that he has no grudge against the men of Peiper’s unit for what they did, and he states: “They were just doing their job. Besides, we did the same later on. I talked to men in the hospital who said we killed unarmed prisoners of war.”

However, based on what I had read about the “massacre” previously, some points made by Martin and the interviewer did not seem quite correct. This led to my re-reading just about everything I had on the subject (which, at the time, was limited to other historians’ published accounts). I not only discovered some points where the interview did not seem factual, but also that the other accounts could not agree on certain important points. Thus, I added some editorial notes in several places when I published the interview in early 1979.

A number of people wrote in to comment on this interview. Though I did not feel my editorial notes were especially controversial, since they were based entirely on fairly standard works, I did expect to receive some mail from irate readers.

However, out of over a dozen letters and brief comments made by readers concerning the Martin interview, only three, surprisingly, questioned my editorial comments. Two were strictly emotional outbursts. The third, however, was considerably less emotional and attempted to refute my comments by utilizing two sources I had not consulted.

The publication of that letter, and rebuttals to it by Mr. Landwehr and myself, produced additional responses, largely favorable to our point of view. The publication of the Martin interview and the subsequent debate in the letters column of my journal, led to Mr. Brandon of the Institute for Historical Review inviting me to this convention to speak on the subject of the “massacre,” the trial and its aftermath.

However, in the short time I had available (about four months), I was unable to acquire all the material that one should really examine in order to discuss this subject sufficiently. Certain items, of prime importance to any serious research of the “massacre,” have been difficult to locate. Perhaps the most important of these, the published record of the Malmédy Massacre investigation conducted by a Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services of the U.S. Senate, had been most elusive for me. Numerous unsuccessful attempts to acquire this book through my local li-

brary led me to various used book dealers in an attempt to purchase a copy. Finally, just one week ago, a book dealer located a copy which I have purchased; naturally, a few days later the library informed me they had the same material! Unfortunately, acquiring this work only a few days before the convention would not allow me time to even fully read its over 1600 pages, let alone use it in the preparation of this paper.

Some material did not arrive until the last moment and there is still a considerable amount of material I am still trying to locate. Thus, I am presenting today only some of the important points concerning the incident, the trial and its aftermath. My research will continue beyond this and I will provide the Institute for Historical Review with articles based on my continuing research. At some appropriate point in the future, after I am satisfied with my research efforts, I will produce a book covering the entire subject.

The unit commanded by 29-year-old Lieutenant Colonel Joachim Peiper consisted basically of his First SS Panzer Regiment, a battalion plus an additional company of panzergrenadiers, two companies of motorized combat engineers, an anti-aircraft company, a few King Tiger tanks of the 501st Heavy Tank Battalion, and a company of Luftwaffe paratroopers. Such composite formations were known as *kampfgruppen*, or battle groups, and were formed to perform a specific task. The task of *Kampfgruppe Peiper*, as the spearhead of the 1st SS Panzer Division, and, indeed, the 6th Panzer Army, was to reach the Meuse River with all possible speed.

Eventually, the route they actually travelled would take them through Honsfeld, Bullingen, Baugnez, Ligneauville, Stavelot, Trois Ponts, La Gleize, and Stoumont, with elements of his command going to Petit Thier, Wanne, Lutrebois, and Cheneux. In each of these towns, and at times on the roads between them, it is alleged that men from Peiper's command killed various numbers of unarmed American soldiers as they were surrendering, or after they were captured. Additional numbers of dead civilians have been largely attributed to Peiper's men also.

The exact count of the dead, American military and civilian, has never been conclusively established. At the trial, the prosecution declared they would prove the murder of from 538 to 749 prisoners of war and over 90 Belgian civilians (and they suggested that the number was probably even higher.) It appears that the figures finally settled on were 350 American soldiers and 111 civilians.

And of these, it is not certain how many may have actually been justifiably killed: some Americans may not have totally surrendered to their captors; some may have attempted to delay or impede the progress of Peiper's troops, or made outright sabotage attempts; some may not have surrendered all their weapons; others may have been slow to obey commands or even totally disobeyed them. There was the possibility of accidental shootings as well.

Yet, one cannot deny the fact that at least some American prisoners had been killed under highly suspect circumstances, if not murdered outright.

The matter of civilian deaths along Peiper's route of advance is even more clouded. Many were, indeed, killed, but it could not always be clearly established by whom and under what circumstances. In house-to-house fighting it was a common tactic to toss grenades into buildings first and then rush in with weapons firing.

Accidental deaths of civilians caught in battle zones was the rule rather than the exception. One woman, carrying her baby, was killed while running from house to house, trying to escape the battle; it was not determined which side fired the fatal shots, but it was most certainly accidental.

In one instance, a Belgian killed a wounded German soldier with an ax, and was promptly shot by Peiper's men.

Evidence given at the trial, however, did indicate that some civilians were killed without justification by Peiper's troops.

Claims that Belgian guerrilla fighters were active throughout the area were proven truthful. One defendant told how an officer instructed him to shoot a Belgian, the officer claiming the Belgian was a guerrilla fighter.

The mere thought of the presence of guerrillas, who would be virtually indistinguishable from the rest of the population, would obviously make any soldier trigger-happy around civilians in a combat zone. Some defendants, including Peiper, claimed to have seen civilians firing on German troops.

But in some cases, the claim by the prosecution of the killing of civilians and military personnel by Peiper's troops could not be proven or was effectively disproven.

The prosecution claimed at least nine civilians were murdered by Peiper's men in Bullingen. One of the defense lawyers made a brief investigative trip to Bullingen. He brought back an affidavit from the village mayor and registrar, whose task it was to keep track of the citizenry (and not a very hard task in a small community of about 300), which stated only two citizens had died since 16 December 1944: one of natural causes, in 1946, the other by shrapnel from American artillery fire (the latter claim was supported by an affidavit from the husband of the woman who was killed). Still, it was possible that transient civilians might have been killed in Bullingen by Peiper's men.

The prosecution, on the basis of a number of sworn statements, alleged that as many as 311 American prisoners had been killed in La Gleize. Hal McCown, ultimately the defense's star witness, was a major at the time of the Offensive and spent several days as Peiper's prisoner in La Gleize. He maintained that during that time he had not seen a single dead American prisoner. The prosecution pointed out that McCown had not seen all parts of the village.

The defense was, however, able to offer several affidavits by La Gleize residents who had been present during the Germans' stay there. None had seen any American prisoners shot, nor the dead bodies from any alleged shootings, nor had they even heard of any such incidents.

These were followed by testimony from German witnesses who supported the observations of McCown and the civilians. But, as in other instances during the trial, the Belgians' testimony in favor of the defendants was highly effective, since they had no stake in the outcome of the case. Indeed, they would tend to be hostile towards the defendants if anything.

The defense was often able to counter the prosecution's allegations, though not always successfully. Part of the problem was in trying to defend 74 men at once. Although all were accused of the same basic crime, each played a different part in it. Separate charges, though not always specific, were brought against each, however, the U.S. Military Government had determined they be tried en masse for the sake of "efficiency."

The first review of the trial was performed by Maximilian Koessler, a civilian attorney of the War Crimes Branch of the Judge Advocate General's Department. Koessler believed the mass trial, and especially the use of numbered placards worn around the defendants' necks as a means

of identification, made it difficult for the judges to distinguish one prisoner from another. The result was that evidence of guilt against some would tend to be damaging to all.

The defense did request that two separate trials be held: one for those accused of having issued illegal orders, and another for those accused of having carried them out. This request was denied by the court, in the first of many instances where the court would favor the prosecution, even when the defense was clearly in the right.

The bench assembled for the trial consisted of eight men. The presiding officer was Brigadier General Josiah T. Dalbey. The crucial position of law member was filled by Colonel Abraham H. Rosenfeld; it was his duty to interpret applicable law and determine procedure. (Rosenfeld had recently acted for the prosecution in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp case and thus one has to suspect his objectivity in the Malmédy case.) Line officers, all colonels, made up the rest of the bench.

Chief defense counsel was Colonel Willis M. Everett, Jr. Everett had only just arrived overseas and was actually horrified by his assignment. He accepted it with reluctance, due partly to the awareness of his own professional inadequacies (having had virtually no courtroom experience previously), but primarily for the repugnance he felt for the ostensible crimes of his clients.

After the trial, his continuing efforts for the Malmédy defendants was due to his belief that justice had not been properly served.

Six Army attorneys were designated assistant defense counsel; of these, only one, Lieutenant Colonel Granger G. Sutton, had had extensive courtroom experience.

A civilian member of the defense staff, Herbert J. Strong, born and raised in Germany, was a Jew and refugee from Nazi Germany. Being fluent in German, he was an invaluable member of the defense staff. Later, during the Senate hearings on the trial, Strong criticized the Army's conduct of the investigation and trial. He also believed, that while some of the defendants were guilty, it had not been proven beyond a reasonable doubt. And his testimony could not be easily brushed off as pro-Nazism or anti-Semitism.

The defendants were also allowed to engage native German counsel, and some did so, but their value was limited due to the ever-present language problem and their unfamiliarity with American legal procedure.

The original investigation team assigned to the case included Captain Dwight Fanton, a graduate of Yale Law School, Captain Raphael Shumacker, First Lieutenant William R. Perl, and two civilian Army employees, Morris Elowitz and Harry Thon. Perl, Thon, Elowitz, Shumacker, and another investigator, Joseph Kirschbaum, were accused, during the trial, of having used physical and psychological duress in order to extract sworn statements from the defendants. The use of mock trials and threats was admitted by the investigators, but all manner of physical abuse was denied.

The following allegations were made by defendant Hendel:

... on 4 April 1946 I was led from my cell under a black hood, was put into a cell facing the door and was then beaten in the abdomen and face until I fell to the ground. When a moment later the hood was taken off, Lieutenant Perl and Mr. Thon stood before me. During the subsequent interrogation, I was also beaten several times. No notice was taken of my request to have the interrogation postponed since I was not in

condition for it at that time. The facts described happened before my interrogation. During the interrogation, promises were made to me but since I did not know anything and today still do not know anything of an order, all sorts of threats were made to me and since things were immaterial to me and I wanted to avoid further beatings. etc.. I wrote down everything that was dictated to me.

Many additional allegations were made by defendants, all in the same vein.

Later, the Senate investigation would show that at least some of these allegations of physical brutality, denied by the interrogators at the trial, were founded in evidence.

The prosecution team for the trial included interrogators Pert, Thon, Elowitz, Kirschbaum and Shumacker, plus First Lieutenant Robert E. Byrne and Lieutenant Colonels Homer B. Crawford and Burton F. Ellis. Ellis became chief prosecutor. The guards at the prison where the interrogations took place were not under the control of the war crimes team. They also, for a time, included Polish refugees who harbored considerable resentment towards Germans-and especially SS men. Some defendants specifically mention physical abuse by these guards as they were being led between their cells and the interrogation rooms and while waiting in halls, all the time wearing black hoods over their heads. (The hoods were claimed to be necessary to keep the prisoners from recognizing each other and to prevent them from speaking to fellow soldiers.) Kicking, punching, beating about the arms, and pushing prisoners down stairs, in addition to verbal abuse, was conducted frequently, much to the amusement of the perpetrators.

After the trial, Everett attempted to get the Supreme Court to hear the appeal of the Malmédy Case defendants. In May 1948 the Court's decision not to hear the appeal prompted the Secretary of the Army, Kenneth C. Royall, to order a stay of execution of the sentences pending further investigation.

This decision by Royall prompted at least some persons who had been close to the case to comment. A letter from James R. Rosenfeld, father of one of the American soldiers alleged to have been shot by Peiper's men at the Baugnez crossroads, to Senator Irving M. Ives, was in protest to Royall's decision. It stated in part:

It appears that the defense attorney for the Germans, Colonel Everett. does not ask that the sentences be set aside because of their innocence but solely because of the weird procedure allegedly used by the American prosecutors in seeking confessions.

I am altogether in favor of accused German soldiers being ably defended to the last ditch. However, I am certain that they received a fair trial and due justice rendered in their sentences. But in view of the fact that the act for which they were convicted was such an outrageous atrocity, I feel that the War Department would be indulging in mock sentimentality were their sentences to be remitted because of overly shrewd legal tactics or the invoking of minor technicalities of the law.

I would therefore appreciate anything that you can properly do in behalf of the memory of my son and those other American soldiers so cold-bloodedly massacred to the end that just law and not legal technicalities shall prevail.

One of the survivors, Virgil P. Lary, also protested, writing directly to Royall. He stated:

I was the only officer to survive this ordeal and I am now in a retired status due to disability received at that time. I mention this as I feel that it is necessary for you to

know that I am competent to discuss this case. It was my pleasure to return to Dachau and to testify with other survivors.

Before the Malmédy Case was heard we spent three months in Europe awaiting the trial to begin. During this period I personally observed the techniques and methods used by the War Crime Teams in obtaining confessions ... only the fairest methods were used in the interrogations. No group of Army personnel have ever, in my opinion, conducted their investigation more thoroughly or efficiently. Any criticism from an individual that did not have an opportunity to observe this work is unfair, unkind to the parents, wives and children of those American men and is not based on truth. I am certain that you will quickly find that what I say here is correct when you conduct your investigation.

If you so desire I would be happy to present a true, unquestionable picture to you or your investigating group.

However, a letter from Fiske H. Ventres to Royall, provides a different view:

... at Bremen, Germany, I was billeted with a member of the War Crimes Commission who had just resigned his post because of the methods employed by “Americans” to gain confessions and convictions. According to him confessions were the sole evidence against the accused and no methods were too brutal to employ in gaining the confessions. One defendant was beaten to death because of his refusal to sign a confession and as a lesson to his other unwilling fellow defendants. To prove his point the resigned agent produced from his trunk the blood-caked hood he, himself, had removed from the head of the murdered German.

From one end of Europe to the other, people are quite aware of the true character of these so-called trials, from Nuremberg to the Bulge. They know full well the identity of those conducting the proceedings and, I might add, a great many Europeans are more than a little suspicious that what is being done is more in the interest of another nation than to the United States.

The first two letters characterize the general mood of the country towards the trial and its defendants. Not until the Senate investigation did that mood begin to change. After the investigation, things quieted down. But then in 1956, after Dietrich had been released from prison and Peiper's release was imminent, the call for vengeance was renewed.

Articles in magazines and newspapers retold the story of the atrocities and the trial-too often glossing over, or totally ignoring, the irregularities in the interrogations and trial. And it made little difference that the facts in these articles were often grossly inaccurate.

One article in particular, written by Emile C. Schurmacher and published in the May 1956 issue of a sensationalistic pulp magazine called *Real Adventure*, was titled, “Who Turned the Killers Loose?” Schurmacher's account of the incident reads more like fiction; the majority of his errors could have been corrected had he examined the trial records.

Peiper was, of course, released despite the outcry from “concerned citizens” and most of the veterans organizations. In 1964 he moved to France where he made a comfortable living as a translator. But in 1976 a sensational article on Peiper appeared in a French communist newspaper. A two-week campaign of threats and harassment followed, during which time Peiper was preparing to leave France, and on the night of 14/15 July, he was killed in a fire-bomb attack on his house.

A CIA agent in Bern, Switzerland, claimed to have unmasked Peiper and put the information of his whereabouts in the hands of his killers. Yet Peiper's residence was not a real secret. A group calling themselves the "Avengers" (supposedly composed of former members of the French resistance) claimed responsibility for Peiper's death. But it is believed that Israel's Mossad was actually responsible; they were operating in France at the time against Palestinians; they were the only ones with the motivation and means to kill him, and Simon Wiesenthal had also suddenly started up a campaign against Peiper.

There are still, however, many unanswered, and even unasked, questions:

- Why are the statements and testimony of a handful of the survivors continuously repeated as evidence of a massacre?
- What about the statements made by the other survivors?
- In the initial attack on the American column at the Baugnez crossroads, some GIs were wounded. Descriptions of the attack indicate that the column was fired on by all manner of tank cannon, mortars, machine gun and small arms fire. Photos clearly show the destroyed, burned-out, and bullet-and-shrapnel-riddled vehicles of the column. It would seem highly unlikely that no one would be killed in such a battle. Were any Americans killed in the battle, prior to the alleged massacre? If so, how many — and are they included in the number of dead alleged to have been murdered by Peiper's men?
- What was the "new information" Everett wired Peiper he was on his way over with? (Everett died before he could make the trip.) The big question seems to be whether or not an order existed that prisoners were to be shot. No proof of a written order has ever been found. Many of the defendants claimed orders to such effect were given by their superiors, prior to and during the Offensive.
- The prosecution's claim that such an order had been given by Hitler or at least some higher authority above Dietrich could not be conclusively proven, although some comments made by Dietrich and others to their subordinates could be interpreted in different ways. If such an order was given by any higher authority above Peiper, why was his unit the only one to carry them out? If the order originated with Peiper, why did they kill only some prisoners and not others?
- U.S. troops not only brutalized and killed German prisoners on their own — before, during and after the Battle of the Bulge — but orders to that effect had been given. An order issued on 21 December 1944 by Headquarters of the U.S. 328th Infantry Regiment stated: "No SS troops or paratroops will be taken prisoner, and will be shot on sight." Isn't just the issuance of such an order a war crime? Weren't some of the Malmédy Case defendants being accused of the exact same crime? How many German bodies littered the battlefields who had been the victims of American and Allied war crimes? Where is their justice?

And there are many more questions that need to be asked. More importantly, they need to be answered, although many will probably never be satisfactorily answered. For those who desire to do some further reading on this subject, I can recommend James J. Weingartner's *Crossroads of Death: The Story of the Malmédy Massacre and Trial*, published last year by the University of California Press. This work, above all others that I have examined to date, is the most complete and, perhaps, the most objective account, but it is still far from the final word on the subject.

Another account which I have been informed is somewhat objective is Charles Whiting's *Massacre at Malmédy*, originally published in 1971 by Stein and Day. Some groups thought the book too objective and apparently forced the publisher to stop selling it; copies of that edition have proven hard to find. However, earlier this year Stein and Day's new catalog included a listing of

this title in a paperback edition. At the trial Everett concluded his closing summary with a quote from Tom Paine:

He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression, for if he violates this duty, he establishes a precedent which will reach himself.

And finally, a personal interview with Peiper had been arranged for Weingartner. Unfortunately, Peiper's untimely death occurred before the interview took place. Ultimately, Weingartner concludes his book with: "In some sense, Peiper was one more victim of the crossroads of death. May he be the last."

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Fire In The Reichstag

PETER WAINWRIGHT

By the early 1930s, the situation in Germany was becoming highly explosive. A third of the workers were unemployed, and democracy was on the verge of collapse. The Communists saw in this their best opportunity to seize power since their abortive revolution in 1918. A revolution was clearly in the offing, but despite the support of a few million voters and the Soviet Union, power seemed to be slipping from the Marxist grip.

The German people were turning to a new kind of socialism — National Socialism — and even some of the Communists were looking to Adolf Hitler for their salvation.

The Red response to this situation was one of extreme violence. One notable victim was the 21-year old poet and voluntary social worker Horst Wessel, who was murdered in 1930 after writing a stirring marching song for his Brown Shirt comrades. Two years later, as the General Election of July 1932 loomed nearer, the Reds abandoned all pretence of debate and discussion. Bloody terror became the order of the day.

In the six week period before the election there were more than 450 political riots in Prussia alone. In July, 38 Nazis and 30 Communists were killed. But the Red Terror failed. In the election, the Nazis more than doubled their number of seats in the Reichstag, and became the largest party; and in January 1933 President Hindenburg bowed to the inevitable and asked Adolf Hitler to lead a coalition government. The general election in the March of that year resulted in a clear victory for the Nazis and their nationalist allies.

Red fury now knew no bounds. In the campaign of violence and illegality that followed, the Union of Red Fighters openly called on their followers to disarm the SA and SS, while a few days later an official Communist publication, Red Sailor, urged: “Workers to the Barricades: forward to victory: fresh bullets in your guns: draw the pin of the hand grenades.” A bloody revolution seemed imminent. A signal for its commencement was anxiously awaited, and it appeared to come on 27 February when the Reichstag building in Berlin was set on fire.

A Dutch communist, Van der Lubbe, was arrested near the scene, and subsequently he and four other suspects, including Torgler, the leader of the communist group in the Reichstag, were put on trial. The official report of the provisional inquiry showed that the Red group had had “a remarkable number of party meetings in the Reichstag of late, without any reason which could be traced.” At Liebknechthaus (the Communist HQ named after a leader of the abortive 1918 revolution), the authorities found lists of a large number of people who were to have been killed or arrested.

Van der Lubbe admitted that he had fired the building and that it was meant to be a signal for revolution. But, he claimed, contrary to expert testimony at the trial, that he had destroyed the building single handed. He stuck to his story, but elsewhere the Reds were spreading the lie that the fire had been started by the Nazis themselves, and that Van der Lubbe was a degenerate half-wit and homosexual prostitute planted on the scene as a “fall guy.”

Just two days after the fire the *Daily Worker* (forerunner of the *Morning Star*) official organ of the British Communist Party, carried the banner headline “Nazis burn down the German parliament,” and then went on to state that the “Fascists” had accused the Communist Party of having done it “without a shred of evidence.”

Thus was born one of the great myths of modern history that the Nazis set fire to their own Parliament to provide an excuse for curbing the activities of the Communists. It might be said that some plausibility was given to the myth by the action of President Hindenburg (who was not a Nazi) on the day after the fire.

Fearing that another Communist revolution had started, he declared martial law and suppressed Marxist propaganda in Prussia. More substance was provided for the myth when the old Weimar Constitution was changed by the passing of the Enabling Act, which has been falsely represented as giving dictatorial powers to Hitler.

The act had nothing to do with the Reichstag fire, but was a necessary part of the Government’s program for overcoming the grave social and economic crisis in Germany. Nonetheless, such actions provided hooks on which the anti-Nazi media and politicians could hang their multi-colored coat of lies and misrepresentation which came to be seriously accepted as authentic history.

The trial of Van der Lubbe and the other suspects should have dispelled any suspicion of Nazi guilt. It was a scrupulously fair trial which resulted in the acquittal of all the defendants except Van der Lubbe himself.

Anti-Nazi propagandists, however, were far from being dismayed. They turned their attention on a Brown Book of alleged evidence compiled by communist exiles, and a farcical “counter-trial” which they staged in London which, not surprisingly, found the Nazis guilty.

According to the *Brown Book*, a group of Nazis entered the Reichstag via a tunnel which was connected to the residence of Herman Göring, President of the Reichstag. They were supposed to have gained entry at 8.40pm, set the building on fire and then left, after pushing the half-wit Van der Lubbe into the building just after 9 pm. The police arrived on the scene at 9.22pm. Evidence was given at the “counter-trial” by witnesses, purporting to be Nazis seeking repentance, that they were led by a Brown Shirt named Heines. It was ascertained later that Heines was making a speech elsewhere at the time of the fire.

Another confession was supposedly made by Karl Ernst, then chief of the Brown Shirts in Berlin. Apart from the fact that this confession did not turn up until after Ernst’s death, it slipped up on one vital point. As with the other “confessions,” it alleged that the Nazi arsonists were in the Reichstag from 8.40 pm until 9.30 pm. But at 8.45 pm, a postman entered the building to collect the mail, and left again at 8.55 pm without seeing anything out of the ordinary or noticing the smell of gasoline or other fire raising substances.

The full truth is not yet known, but sound basic facts — certainly more than enough to discredit allegations of Nazi responsibility were brought to light in Britain by the liberal historian Profes-

sor A. J. P. Taylor, who admits that he had accepted the myth unquestioningly “without looking at the evidence.”

Later, however, writing on “Who burnt the Reichstag” in the August 1960 issue of the specialist magazine *History Today*, Taylor, working largely on evidence provided by Fritz Tobias, an anti-Nazi German civil servant, and which had been published earlier in *Der Spiegel*, points out that the Nazis made no attempt to manufacture evidence against the Communists -which seems a strange omission if, as alleged, the whole affair was staged to justify the suppression of the Communists.

As for the counter-trial, one of the witnesses there was “muffled to the eyes” according to Taylor, who wryly adds: “This was a wise precaution: he was in fact a well-known communist and unmistakably Jewish.”

When considering the facts, it seems incredible that the myth of Nazi responsibility for firing the Reichstag could ever have been accepted at all. Yet it was, and by reputable historians such as Alan Bullock, author of *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, and Anthony Sutton, author of *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*. One wonders what other mythical versions of historical incidents have been accepted by historians and others “without looking at the evidence.”

Summer 1981 (Vol. 2, No. 2), page 181

Zionism and American Jews

ALFRED M. LILIENTHAL

It had been a nasty, rainy night when an elderly, affluent Hartford couple made their way from their home to a meeting. As their car slowly turned left at the entrance to the Jewish Community Center, another automobile raced out of the fog and rammed into them. My cousin, whose countless civil and philanthropic deeds had endeared her to the community, was dead before she could reach the hospital; her husband seriously injured.

Ever since the appearance of my Readers' Digest article, in which I crossed swords with Zionist Organization chieftain, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, my relatives in Hartford had looked upon me as a plain and simple nut, if not a traitor. Former close family ties had deteriorated to a point of near-total ostracism. Nevertheless, blood is thicker than water, and I rushed to Connecticut for the last rites of a wonderful woman, and was among the 800 to pay Sunday morning tribute to her in a packed synagogue-the very one from which, in the presence of many family members, I had been excoriated by the rabbi during the High Holy Days services thirty years earlier for daring to speak out publicly against Zionism.

Having flown up from Washington, I spent the night at the home of other cousins from whom my iconoclastic views had separated me even before the Digest piece appeared.

Cousin Bern and I stayed up reminiscing late into the night, and, of course, the Middle East crisis came into our conversation. "You know, I have never been a Zionist," he said. "But something had to be done to provide a home for Jewish refugees. That is why I have always supported the State of Israel, given substantially to the UJA, and even headed the Hartford drive." This reasoning, so typical of thousands of other Jews, has been responsible for the Zionist takeover of the American Jewish community-lock, stock and barrel.

My rejoinder, I feared, fell on ears as deaf as those I had encountered in my continual efforts to open doors to reasoning and to banish emotionalism. Americans of Jewish faith cannot visualize the extent to which their rabbis and secular leadership, operating through Organized Jewry, have totally deceived them into confusing humanitarianism with nation-building, religion and nationalism. A home could have been found in 1947 for the 285 000 survivors of Hitler's concentration camps without ever establishing a state; just as today security for the Jews of Israel can be obtained without the continued expansionism wrought by the West Bank settlements policy or the ruthless repression of the rights of the Palestinian people.

But only an ever-larger state will appease the hungry ambitions of Zionist leaders. Privately they have incessantly declared that they have no interest in refugees, only in creating a sovereign state. In their atheism and agnosticism, they have manifested even less concern for Judaism, the religious faith. Adroitly exploiting Nazi genocide, their propaganda has used the Holocaust to ex-

tract a blank check from Zionist and non-Zionist co-religionists which enabled them in 1948 to bet the future of American Judaism on the roulette of power politics.

Speaking unqualifiedly in the name of all Jews, Zionist acumen made certain that the politicians remained hypnotized more than ever by the “Jewish vote.” All they had to do was to remind both political parties that their eloquent support of Israel was a prerequisite for their conquest of pivotal election states.

When so much is at stake in the Middle East, inevitably the question must arise: How has the Zionist will been imposed on the American people? Far from all Jews believed in the concept of the Jewish state, and the Jews themselves constituted but a very small minority of the American population, less than three percent. Is it possible that Americans have been so apathetic that six million can manipulate 230 million?

But there are many compelling reasons why population figures are of little relevance to the Zionist success story. Mahatma Gandhi once remarked: “Numbers are not critical to any struggle. Strength and purpose are.” This strength, matched by wealth and position, can be summed up in one word: power. The Zionists have been able to muster fantastic muscle at the right moment and at the right place, or instill the fear that it might be used.

The triumph of Zionism would never have been Possible without the 20th century’s Holy Trinity: Hitler, the supine politicians and the compliant media. By labeling those who opposed the course upon which Israeli leadership intractably committed their new state as “anti-Semitic,” they crushed budding dissent. Without understanding the underlying reasons, the Jewish rank and file could point to the large number of prominent Christian supporters of the state and boast: “Just as it is not necessary to be Jewish to love Levy’s rye bread, so one need not be Jewish to be a Zionist.” Everyone loves a winner. What little organized opposition there was to Zionism totally collapsed with Israel’s stirring victory in the June 1967 six-day war. The anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism all but vanished, and thereafter, even non-Zionists were not ashamed to be counted in Zionists ranks, as Commentary editor Norman Podhertz so loudly proclaimed in “Now, Instant Zionism.”

A principal reason for the remarkable political success achieved by the Jewish connection and the Zionist connectors lies deep in the American political system. Our system of representative government has been profoundly affected by the growing influence and affluence of minority pressure groups, whose strength invariably increases as presidential elections approach. This makes it virtually impossible to formulate foreign policy in the American national interest. The Electoral College system has greatly fortified the position of the national lobbies established by ethnic, religious and other minority pressure groups-the Jewish-Zionist-Israel lobby in particular.

Under this anachronistic system, state votes go as a unit to the candidate winning a plurality of the vote, which endows a well-organized lobby with tremendous bargaining power. And the Jewish connection has been augmented by the Jewish location: seventy-six percent of American Jewry is concentrated in sixteen cities of six states -California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and Florida-with 181 electoral votes. It only takes 270 electoral votes to elect the next President of the United States.

This explains why the politicians have been mesmerized by fear of the “Jewish vote” in a hotly contested state. The inordinate Israelist influence over the White House, the Congress and other elected officials, stems from this ability to pander bloc votes, as well as to fill the campaign coffers of both parties with timely contributions. The individual Jew who might not go along with

Zionist ideology or Jewish nationalism is too cowardly to speak out and take the usurpers of his voice to task; and so the peddling goes forward.

Few Jews appreciate the methodology employed by the powerful Zionist lobby in Washington to keep the politicians in line. It's not exactly pretty, and even in the declining morality of our day, I am certain that many would be revolted by what is done in their name to help the Middle East's "bastion of democracy."

This lobby, fully integrated within our national elective process, has become intrinsic to the warp and woof of the U.S. political system for the past thirty-two years. Show me a man who is running for President, and I will show you invariably a politician who will not dare offend this potent lobby. Show me a legislator in either branch of the congress, and I will show you an office holder who invariably bows to this powerful pressure group. Whereas other pressure groups may have to comb the congressional offices, arguing the merits of certain proposals in order to gain the necessary affirmative votes, the Israeli lobby channels information to its many allies in Congress, rounds up scores of assured votes when they are needed, and has the pleasant task of urging well-intentioned, overly eager members not to wander off with their own competing legislation in support of Israel.

During the height of the 1973 war, a thirty-six hour phone blitz by I.L. Kenen, the head of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC, the Israeli lobby), resulted, on 18 October, in the immediate introduction of legislation in both houses to transfer "Phantom aircraft and other equipment in the quantities needed by Israel to repel aggressors in the amount of \$2.2 billion." A massive campaign prefaced the passage of this military aid bill, and an attempt to strip \$500 million from the legislation was defeated when Kenen fired off ninety-five telegrams to House Appropriations and Foreign Affairs Committee members.

When the influential chairman of the latter committee, Clement J. Zablocki, sought across-the-board reductions in military exports to Middle East countries, including Israel, he found himself forced to bow to Zionist pressure. The "Israel-Firsters" and AIPAC moved to block him from assuming the chairmanship of the committee in the 95th Congress. Only after a bitter, behind the scenes, conference was an amicable arrangement worked out. The Congressman has not since opposed any of Israel's lofty ambitions on Capitol Hill.

Surprisingly, it was the *New York Times* itself, usually the staunchest supporter of Zionist and Israeli goals, which exposed and analyzed frankly the activities of this most powerful of pressure groups in an August 1975 article. As a demonstration of an allegedly new, U.S. impartiality, President Ford had agreed to sell Jordan the improved Hawk missiles with the NAS systems worth some \$256 million. But the lobby went immediately to work. A secret communication about the proposed sale, based on a classified Defense Department document, sent by the White House to members of the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs Committees, was leaked to AIPAC by Zionist aides of New Jersey Senator Clifford P. Case and New York Representative Jonathan B. Bingham. Immediately, the lobby mobilized its organization in 197 major and 200 smaller cities across the country, warning of the dangers to Israel. In a two-page memorandum and letter describing the scope and nature of the proposed sale, the lobby concluded that it was capable of "providing cover for offensive operations against Israel."

The communities were called upon to act at once and to apply forceful pressure. Within twenty-four hours of the memorandum's distribution, congressmen were besieged with phone calls, telegrams and mailgrams from constituents urging them to oppose the Hawk sale to Jordan.

Despite the threat that Jordan's King Hussein might turn elsewhere, even to the Soviet Union, the legislators stuck by their guns, and the matter was tabled. An unidentified Democratic Senator was quoted in the Times as saying that he would only talk without attribution about the Israeli lobby "because they can deliver votes and they control a lot of campaign contributions. That's why I cannot go on the record or I'd be dead."

"It's the strongest lobby," the Senator added. "It doesn't dilute its strength by lobbying on other issues — a lot of members resent it, but they don't feel they can do anything about it. That lobby wants to do Congress' thinking on Israel — they don't want any independent judgments."

Demands on the Justice Department to investigate how a classified White House document had been transmitted to an agent of the State of Israel were ignored. The lobby was too strong.

Spade work on the Hill has been carried out by a group of dedicated, key young staff people. Michael Kraft from Senator Case's office; Stephen Bryen of the Middle East subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Scott Cohen, Senator Charles Percy's aide; Richard Perle of Senator Henry Jackson's staff; Richard D. Siegel from Pennsylvania Senator Richard Schweiker's office; Mel Grossman, an aide to Florida's Edward J. Gurney; Edward A. "Pete" Lakeland, Jacob Javits' aide; Daniel L. Spiegel from Senator Muriel Humphrey's office; Mel Levine, an aide to California's John V. Tunney; Jay Berman from Birch Bayh's office; and Kenneth Davis, an assistant to Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania when he was Minority Leader.

According to Stephan D. Isaacs in his book *Jews and American Politics*, this group has worked "quietly, drafting legislation and other materials and mounting 'backfires' to ensure support of appropriate legislation advancing Israel's many causes" while Senators Jackson, Javits, Ribicoff and others worked "out front" to garner support among fellow Senators.

It was this effort that was responsible for the passage of the Jackson-Vanick amendment to the 1972 U.S. trade agreement with the Soviet Union, the first nail placed in the coffin of détente. Pleas of President Ford—who had earlier expressed sympathy for the plight of Soviet Jewry in a "State of the World" address—to reject this amendment as inimical to American interests and relations with the Soviet Union were to no avail. Jackson, the lobby's stalwart champion on the issue of Soviet Jewry, insisted on encumbering the agreement, mutually advantageous to the U.S. and the Soviet Union, with the amendment guaranteeing an annual emigration of a set number of Soviet Jews. Whether détente is good or not for the U.S. is debatable, but to link this issue with the question of Soviet Jewry is a wholly untenable position.

The one senator who, over many years, consistently refused to bow to Zionist pressures and who defied the Israeli lobby was Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright. He incurred Zionist wrath when he stated on "Face the Nation" in 1973 that: "The Israelis control the policy of the Congress and the Senate ... Somewhere around 80% of the Senate of the U.S. is completely in support of Israel-of anything Israel wants..."

Jews in Arkansas blasted the Senator: "Fulbright's rival in the May 1974 Democratic primary, Governor Dale Bumpers boasted:

I could have bought central Arkansas with the offers of money from the Jewish community ... The offer of assistance came from people in New York and California who had raised a lot of money in the Jewish community for political purposes.

To the great satisfaction of the lobby, this flow of money helped defeat Senator Fulbright and return him to private life. But this victory in the long run may turn out to be only a Pyrrhic one for

American Jews.

In a memorable speech on the floor of the Senate, Mr Fulbright had placed “the whipsawing of foreign policy by certain minority groups to the detriment of the national interest” in its broader, historical perspective:

Mr. President, this nation has welcomed millions of immigrants from abroad. In the 19th century we were called the melting pot, and we were proud of that description. It meant that there came to this land people of diverse creeds, colors and races. These immigrants became good Americans, and their ethnic or religious origins were of secondary importance. But in recent years we have seen the rise of organizations dedicated apparently, not to America, but to foreign states and groups. The conduct of foreign policy for America has been seriously compromised in this development. We can survive this development, Mr. President, only if our political institutions-and the Senate in particular- retain their objectivity and their independence so that they can serve all Americans.

But as long as legislative staff members kept their Jewishness uppermost in mind, vital objectivity could never be accomplished.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, likewise, has done its share in “converting” congressmen at critical moments. Opposition to sending the deadly C-3 concussion bombs to the Zionist state immediately brought overt suggestions from the ADL that opponents were secretly anti-Semitic. “That’s the perverse force they strike at in the hearts of members up here,” one Capitol Hill aide was quoted as saying. “If you're in opposition to anything Israel wants, you get a big white paintbrush that says you're anti-Semitic.”

The story behind legislative chicanery in behalf of Israel scarcely ever surfaces, and when it does, it is summarily dismissed as anti-Semitic propaganda. But one day, predicted a senior U.S. diplomat, according to *Newsweek* magazine, there will be a congressional investigation into how we lost the Middle East that will make the great China debate seem trivial. It is sad to contemplate how many innocent American Jews may suffer for the actions of their self-appointed spokesmen. The undue influence registered by a small minority on behalf of a foreign state will indeed not look pretty.

In the light of day, the link between the thirteen-year Israeli occupation of Holy Jerusalem and the course taken by the Islamic revolution in Iran will be more than clear. The unholy alliance forged between Iran and Israel, supported by pressure on successive presidents, together with the Henry Kissinger-Nelson Rockefeller initiative, during the midst of the hostage crisis, in bringing the Shah to the U.S., will one day become common knowledge. More people, to use the 1948 words of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* at the time of Israel’s establishment, will complain about “the shameful junking of international interests to regain Jewish votes.” The silencing of criticism of Israeli policy by a veritable world *Who’s Who*, ranging from philosopher William Ernest Hocking, Father Daniel Berrigan and Dorothy Thompson to Dag Hammarskjold, Bruno Kreisky and Charles de Gaulle, will in the long run prove to have been a real tragedy for all Americans.

Can the Jewish community in the United States be brought to its senses before total disaster overtakes it? Can the process, once described by the editor of the *Jewish Newsletter* William Zuckerman as “Campaign Judaism,” by which this community has “almost consciously emptied itself of all higher aspirations and spiritual needs and has willingly limited itself to the role of financial milk cow for others” be brought to an end? It will indeed be difficult to tear Jewish lead-

ers and their wives from the massive Israeli Bond and UJA drives, from Hadassah teas, and gaudy banquets, and garish publicity, all masked as philanthropic functions.

Professor of Organic Chemistry at the Hebrew University, Israel Shahak, himself a survivor of Bergen-Belsen, maintains that undeviating devotion to the State of Israel by Israeli and American Jews is “both immoral and against the mainstream of Jewish tradition and is nothing but Jewish apostasy.”

Dr. Shahak added:

Jews used to believe, and say it three times a day, that a Jew should be devoted to God, and God alone. A small minority still believe it. But it seems to me that the majority of my people has left God and substituted an idol in its place, exactly as happened when they were devoted to the golden calf in the desert and gave away their gold to make it. The name of this modern idol is the State of Israel.

It will be no simple task to detach Jews from such idolatrous worship. The blatant expansionism and racism, defiantly displayed by Prime Minister Begin did not awaken American Jews. They are unable to discern that the gravest danger to peace stems not so much from geographic expansionism, in the guise of security, or from the seizure of land belonging to Palestinian Arabs for centuries, but from ideological expansionism which views Palestine as belonging exclusively to the Jewish people as inchoate citizens of the state established in their name. It is extremely doubtful whether any successor to Menachem Begin, be he Shimon Peres or Ezer Weizman, will dare to attempt to cast Israel out of its Zionist mold or that there will be a Jewish American revolt.

The myth-makers have been too powerful in weaving their web. Hebrew, Israelite, Judean, Judaism and the Jewish people have been accepted as one, suggesting historic continuity. In fact they were different people in different historical times with varying ways of life who continually intermarried with indigenous Amorites, Canaanites, Midianites, Phoenicians and other Semitic ancestors of the present-day Arabs. It is too often forgotten that Judaism was a tremendous proselytizing force throughout the world before, and even after, the coming of Jesus. In *The Thirteenth Tribe*, Arthur Koestler, supported overwhelmingly by such anthropologists as Ripley, Weissenberg, Hertz, Boas, Mead and Fishberg, proves that the vast majority of today's Jews are descendants of the Khazars of South Russia. They converted to Judaism in 70 A.D. at the time of the dispersion of the small, original Judaic Palestinian population by Roman Emperors Vespasian and Titus. The Ben-Gurions, the Golda Meirs, and Begins, who have clamored to go back “home,” probably never had antecedents in that part of the world.

The American Jew has permitted the Zionist quest for roots in Palestine to lead him into the most dangerous shoals. The abnormal, unique relationship, which he has allowed to be carried out in his name, between Jews in the United States and Israel, has forged an “Israel-First” policy which is an underlying factor in the continuing tensions besetting the Middle East and the Islamic world. U.S. security interests have become endangered; an energy crisis has been thrust into every American home. The enmity towards the United States, incurred in the Arab-Muslim world, has eroded the measureless reservoir of goodwill stemming from the many educational and eleemosynary institutions founded by Americans.

In a world which has never needed spiritual faith more than during this present threat to civilization, universal Judaism has itself become gravely imperiled. For what is left of its universal, ethical precepts without the ethos of righteousness? In the ruthless takeover of Palestine, in driving out the indigenous population, the Israelis have violated tenets deeply imbedded in the preach-

ments of the Prophets. And sadly, American Jews have compounded the felony with racist attitudes towards Palestinians, in particular the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

What is both sad and equally ironic, is that in permitting themselves to be traumatized by a refuted racial myth, the Jews of America have allowed Hitler to triumph. In doling out incarceration and death while sweeping through conquered Europe, the FiAhrer undid the laws of emancipation and the process of integration for which so many Jews had so-long struggled, when he decreed: "You are not a German, you are a Jew-You are not a Frenchman, you are a Jew-You are not a Belgian, you are a Jew." Yet these are the identical words Zionist leaders intone as they meticulously promote the emigration to the Holy Land of Jews from around the globe, plotting their exodus from lands in which they have lived happily for centuries. Moshe Dayan succinctly expressed it in the New York Times magazine: "I am a Jew before I am an Israeli."

Rarely has the deceit of so few been so widely practiced to the detriment of so many, as in the formulation and implementation of American Middle East policy. But normal, friendly relations with all peoples of the region may still be restored. If the PLO is recognized by the U.S. and obstacles to the creation of a Palestinian state are removed, Arab and Jew, Muslim and Hebrew, in an atmosphere of justice, may still renew their millennial peaceful co-existence side by side. But there is no place for Zionism.

Such a happy goal is not illusory. It may be achieved when Jewish Americans find the courage to stand up as individuals and throw off the yoke of Organized Jewry. It is imperative-by word and, more importantly, by deed-for every Jew in the United States to articulate this credo openly and loudly: "Judaism is not Zionism — Zionism is not Judaism — anti-Zionism is not anti-Semitism. Israel's flag is, in no way, mine."

A Note from the Editor

Well, what does one say on assuming the editorship of *The Journal of Historical Review*? “Hello,” I suppose.

I know these are some pretty big boots to fill, especially with the violent cross-fire and all. But the fruits of revisionism, in my view, are just too valuable to take lightly.

We can certainly use a more honest history; leading perhaps to a more cause-and-effect-aware citizenry. These can make for a far more sane and responsible leadership.

Sound decisions are not made with false, unscrutinized data.

And only the slavemaster prospers where but a single view is heard.

But should a blasphemy be uttered to challenge that view, the fellow who dared utter it is threatened with sacking. They say nasty things about him in the papers and glare at his associates hoping that they don’t become similarly obsessed.

Revisionists go into the teeth today of the heaviest slavery of all-the slavery of thought.

In the arena of what is “acceptable,” lies are often bought with cowardice. Fear of facing the truth takes the sting out of responsibility, sweeping the consequent penalties under the rug — for a time.

But with the better part of the world now under the influence of powerful interests who debase laws and slant texts, we're all headed for the concentration camp.

Harry Elmer Barnes thought that one way out was to “bring history into accord with the facts.” We agree. And so in pursuit of this worthy aim, allow me to introduce you to Drs. Reinhard K. Buchner and Wilhelm Stlighch.

Dr. Buchner is trained in physics and engineering and is therefore well qualified to estimate what was physically impossible: The cremation of “millions.”

Dr. Stäglich specializes in jurisprudence and served as a judge in West Germany, that is, until he began publicizing his contention that prejudice and coercion in the pursuit of justice produce lies and injustice. He *knows* the truth about those on-going “war-crimes” trials and I'm sure you'll find his presentation enlightening.

So welcome, and good reading!

Fall 1981 (Vol. 2, No. 3), page 197

Unanswered Correspondence

[LEWIS BRANDON](#) & Arthur R. Butz

Christopher Hitchens
New Statesman
10 Great Turnstile
London WC1V 7HJ England

Dear Christopher Hitchens:

26 August 1980

If the *New Statesman* is not “part of Israel’s media chorus” (NS 20 June 1980) then why is it that your paper refused to print letters from three distinguished revisionist academics, after they were slandered in your tractate last November?

Your distinguished editor felt that the views of these academics, i.e. anti-Zionist and skeptical of the “Holocaust” group-fantasy, removed them from the arena of debate. The Press Council is now deliberating on Page’s curious views on freedom of dissent.

I really would appreciate your reactions, Chris, for it seems to me that there is one part of the Zionist apparatus which seeks to neutralize debate by touching tangentially on the more sensitive issues, and then skating away again before they can be thoroughly gone into. At a stroke, the Zionists can claim to be “covering all aspects in free debate” but yet simultaneously squelching any aspects of that debate which go outside their parameters.

Hope to hear from you.

Sincerely,
Lewis Brandon

Letters to the Editor
West Palm Beach Post
P.O. Drawer T
West Palm Beach, FL 33405

15 September 1980

Dear Sir:

In your issue of 15 August you describe Lili Meir as finding her Auschwitz photo album at Auschwitz.

In your issue of 27 August you describe her as finding the album at Dora-Nordhausen.

In your 15 August issue you describe Auschwitz being liberated by noisy, musical Allied troops. (Auschwitz was liberated by Soviet troops.)

In your 27 August issue you describe Dora-Nordhausen being liberated by singing American troops.

The entire feature represents a kind of Holocaust Hoax in miniature. Contradictions from one day to the next; distortions and lies day in and day out.

Sincerely,
Lewis Brandon

Letters to the Editor
HomeNews
New Brunswick, NJ 08903

15 September 1980

Gentlemen:

In an article on Holocaust Studies (30 August 1980) a caption to a photograph of Dachau reads:

| ...*the camp's elaborate system of gas chambers and crematoria.*

I would be very interested in finding out what your evidence is for this allegation. Most Holocaust commentators today acknowledge that none of the camps in Germany proper had "gas chambers." Simon Wiesenthal in *Books & Bookmen* (April 1975) writes that:

| "*there were no extermination camps on German soil...*"

Dr. Martin Broszat writes in *Die Zeit* (26 August 1960):

| "*No Gassings at Dachau.*"

None of the major Exterminationist authors such as Hilberg, Reitlinger or Dawidowicz maintain such a position as your paper.

Perhaps your contributor should step forward and present his startling new evidence for examination?

Sincerely,
Lewis Brandon

The History Teacher
California State University
Long Beach, CA 90840

28 October 1980

Dear Sir:

I have just read Mr. Mork's article on "Teaching the Hitler Period" in your August issue, which mentioned our Revisionist works on the "Holocaust."

Inter alia, Mr. Mork decrees: "In my judgment, these volumes have no place on the shelves of an undergraduate library."

He later alleges that Revisionist works on the "Holocaust" are "anti-Semitic" and similar to *The Protocols* and *Mein Kampf*.

Since all our publications are fully referenced — the Butz book contains 14 pages of sources — it would seem that it is per se anti-Semitic to challenge the veracity of Holocaust "history." I wonder how then Mr. Mork would treat those Jewish writers who challenge the authenticity? How does he regard Gitta Sereny, who wrote in the *New Statesman* of 2 November 1979 that:

"Auschwitz, despite its emblematic name, was not primarily an extermination camp for Jews and is not the central case through which to study extermination policy."

How does he regard Simon Wiesenthal who wrote in *Books & Bookmen* of April 1975:

"there were no extermination camps on German soil..."

Both of these statements revise the previously accepted versions of the Holocaust legend. Are only revisions of detail allowed, and not of the substance?

In any case, who on earth is this pompous Mr. Mork to dictate what can and cannot have a place on library shelves? Maybe "in his judgment" the Butz book has no place, but maybe in someone else's all points of view should be represented.

A host of educational civil liberties organizations recently filed an amicus curiae in Warsaw, Indiana, to prevent the school board from censoring library shelves. They said:

"The public school should be a vibrant, free market of ideas. If the right to read and be exposed to controversial ideas cannot flourish in the school house, the prospects are bleak that it will ever flourish anywhere in society."

Obviously, Mr. Mork would not agree with such highminded sentiment. He prefers to engage in book-burning in case his students start to question his own "Indisputable Historical Truths" about the "Holocaust" notion.

Sincerely
Lewis Brandon

Letters Department
Panorama
P.O. Box 950
Wayne, PA 19087

10 November 1980

Gentlemen:

I am amazed at the candor with which William L. Shirer writes about World War Two TV movies. ("The Nazis are Coming! The Nazis are Coming!" November 1980).

He actually describes the Nazis as "bad guys" and the Americans as "good guys" in the same two-dimensional cardboard-cutout style which has been the curse of televisual drama since its inception. In his hysterical, paranoid urge to stereotype the dramatis personae he lurches into terminology which would be laughable if it were in any other context: "fascination with evil", "evil genius", "monsters," "barbarism," "band of ruffians," etc. etc.

Why is it that viewers can be allowed to see all sides; all points of view; all outlooks, on every war in history, with the exception of one: the Second World War? Why do we still maintain that this was the one war ever fought that had "bad guys" on one side and "good guys" on the other? "Monsters" and "Saints"? "Evil" and "Good"? "Guys in Black Hats" and "Guys in White Hats"? Is this the sum total of television's educational ability? Has TV become so jejune that it has to perpetually deal in pigeon-holed people?

Shirer's scant attention to facts also omens badly for us. We are now told that the Nazis killed "six million Jews and six million Slavs." We are told that Hitler had "only one close friend, Ernst Roehm." I am afraid that Mr. Shirer has allowed his poetic license to run away with his historical accuracy.

Where, in any of these movies, is there ever any attention given to the facts? In dealing with the "Anne Frank remake, why does Mr. Shirer not tell us that the German courts have now decided that the "Diary" is a fake, as reported in the New York Post 9 October 1980? In dealing with the "exterminations" why does he not tell us that a host of academic and forensic experts such as Dr. Arthur Butz (Northwestern University), Dr. Robert Faurisson (University of Lyon), John Bennett (Victoria Civil Liberties Council, Australia), have all declared that the "gas chambers" are a fiction? Why does he not tell us that even "Holocaust" experts such as Gitta Sereny admit that "Auschwitz was not an extermination center" (*New Statesman* 2 November 1979)?

I must admit to some satisfaction that the younger generation at least are not being taken in by this historical cartooning. Our youngsters often are more adept than we think, in differentiating between romper-room play-acting ("bad guys vs. good guys") and reality (man vs. man).

Sincerely,
Lewis Brandon

Letters to the Editor
Detroit Free Press
Detroit, MI 48231

12 November 1980

Gentlemen:

Your Question & Answer column of a November 1980 regarding the "Avenue of the Righteous" in Israel ignores certain fundamental points.

First, the Anne Frank case is not as it appears in her alleged "Diary." The "Diary" was written-probably by her father-after the war. A recent German court case, reported in the *New York Post* of 9 October 1980, found that parts of the manuscript were written in ball-point pen-the ink of which was not available until 1951!

Second, the "Holocaust" did not involve the extermination of the Jews in gas chambers. Numerous academics, such as Dr. Arthur Butz of Northwestern University near Chicago, have found that the "gas chambers" are fictitious

After the war, it was claimed that all the camps had "gas chambers" but then in 1960 they claimed that the camps in Germany-proper did not, but only the camps in German-occupied Poland did. How long will it be before the authorities admit that there is as little proof for extermination chambers in Poland as there had been prior to 1960 for the German camps?

Thirdly, will the Israeli "Avenue of the Righteous" be allowed trees for those who do not meet with the current Zionist regime's approval as "righteous"? Will they plant a tree for Adolf Eichmann, who was a staunch Zionist, and negotiated the re-settlement of Hungarian Jews in Palestine during the war? Will they plant a tree for all the Palestinian women and children who were butchered by Menachein Begin's gang of cut-throats at Deir Yassin in 1948?

Lastly, is it morally correct for a gang of murderers and crooks (the Israeli government) to take onto themselves the right to allocate "righteousness" to the rest of the world? The present Israeli nation must be unique in the world today, as it is the only sovereign state to be administered by a government containing at least three known assassins-the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Agriculture Minister, to say nothing of the rest of the gang of crooks in the Knesset, such as Flatto-Sharom, wanted in France on a billion dollar fraud rap. Now he has the nerve to try to send gangs of assassins into France-the country he defrauded-to murder French citizens who happen to fall into disfavor with the Knesset!

These are some questions your "Question and Answer" column somehow avoided not just answering, but even asking.

Sincerely,
Lewis Brandon

Judith F. Krug
American Library Association
50 East Huron Street
Chicago, IL. 60611

12 November 1980

Dear Ms. Krug:

I am writing to enlist your support in our efforts to exercise our rights to free speech under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution. I read an article in today's *Los Angeles Times* which indicated that your organization readily supports such causes.

We are the publishers of a number of books which present a controversial analysis of the so-called "Holocaust." Our authors present an argument that no Jews were gassed in gas chambers

as part of a Nazi extermination program. These authors are university professors, and other distinguished academics.

We have suffered suppression and censorship because this view of the “Holocaust” is not in accord with that of mainstream opinion. Several attempts have been made, not just to prevent us from airing this point of view, but to actually victimize those who endorse our point of view. Let me give some examples.

Dr. Reinhard Buchner is a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of our quarterly JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW. He teaches physics and astronomy at California State University, Long Beach. When his name first appeared on our masthead, several organizations lobbied Cal. State to have him fired from his position, or at least censured. These organizations were the Anti-Defamation League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies, both based in Los Angeles. In the August 1980 issue of *The History Teacher*, published by the Cal. State History Department, a Professor Gordon R. Mork states that: “These (Revisionist) volumes have no place on the shelves of an undergraduate library.”

The Organization of American Historians is headquartered on the campus of Indiana University. Earlier this year we rented their mailing-list to send promotional material to their members. Again, the Anti-Defamation League stepped in, and pressured the OAH into *apologizing* to them for allowing us to rent the list, and presenting a non-ADLauthorized viewpoint to their membership! The OAH have now refused to rent us their list again, and stated that the original rental was “an error.”

Pomona College, Claremont, California was the venue of our 1980 Revisionist Convention, where Revisionist academics came from all over the world to exchange views and hear speakers. After the conference, I understand that the Anti-Defamation League again lobbied the college against us, and on 11 August 1980 the President of the college wrote to me to tell me that in view of “the character of (our) literature and the nature of (our) program ... Pomona College will not be able to offer (us) the use of its facilities in the future.”

These are just three examples out of many which I could describe. There are many other cases of discrimination against us and our academics. Many of them involve victimization and career undermining.

I would be most interested to have your response, and hope that the American Library Association can publicly defend our rights in this matter.

Sincerely,
Lewis Brandon

The Secretary
Board of Education
Pasadena, CA 91101

11 December 1980

Gentlemen:

I note that the Pasadena Board of Education is contemplating introducing “Holocaust Studies” in the English curriculum. One of the titles mentioned was the *Diary of Anne Frank*.

I would like to draw to your attention the fact that the “Diary” has been declared a fake by many eminent historians and academics such as David Irving, Alfred M. Lilienthal, Arthur R. Butz, Robert Faurisson and John Bennett. A court case in West Germany found that parts of the diary had been written (in the same handwriting as the rest of the text) in ballpoint pen—the ink of which wasn’t available until 1951; six years after Anne is supposed to have died of disease. I suggest you examine the articles on this finding in the *New York Post* (9 October), *Der Spiegel* (6 October), *Christian Science Monitor* (14 November) and *The Spotlight* (1 December). For some reason, this startling news was determined to be of no interest to the readers of the *LA Times*, *Newsweek* and *Time*.

If the board does decide to introduce “Holocaust Studies” of some kind, I do hope that you will be objective enough to include books which dispute that the gas chambers ever existed. More and more academics around the world are beginning to challenge the Establishment’s view of history in the same way that Copernicus, Galileo and Darwin challenged scientific orthodoxy in times gone by. Will the Board have the courage to allow your students to appraise such titles as *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, *Six Million Lost & Found*, *Anne Frank’s Diary: A Hoax*, and *Debunking the Genocide Myth*? All of these titles are published by ourselves, and we would be pleased to forward review copies to the Board gratis. In the meantime, I have enclosed some descriptive literature.

In a recent court case in Indiana, concerning book-banning, the National Council of Teachers in English told the court:

The public school should be a vibrant, free market of ideas. Indeed, if the “right to read and be exposed to controversial thoughts” cannot flourish in the school house, the prospects are bleak that it will ever flourish anywhere in society.

I am sure the Pasadena Board of Education would wholeheartedly endorse this principled statement, and that we will be hearing from you in the very near future.

Sincerely,
Lewis Brandon

Letters to the Editor
Commentary
165 E. 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

12 December 1980

Dear Mr. Podhoretz:

I trust you will allow as much space in your professionally-produced magazine for us to reply to Lucy Dawidowicz’s allegations as you did for the responses to “The Boys on the Beach.” Ms. D. dealt at some length with THE JOUR — NAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW, which I have the privilege to edit, and the Historical Revisionist movement in general, which I help to promote.

I regret that it has been some time since I last read a more evasive and ad hominem article. This article was a discredit to the historical profession and to the normally high standards of objectivity displayed in your columns. With almost every sentence, Ms. D. manages to slip in some slur, or some subjective judgment:

Taylor does not write a book, but a “mischievous” book. Barnes does not have a viewpoint, but is “possessed by the idea.” He does not do a thorough study, but uses up “rabid energy.” His writings are not history, but “obsessions,” and are “shrill, irresponsible, irrational” and “polemical.” His consistency and sincerity are worthless, it seems, for he is a “calcified isolationist.” Dr. James J. Martin does not write history but “oddball history.” John Bennett is not impressed by the factuality of Butz’s writings, he is “converted” by its “unhinging effect.” Warren B. Morris Jr. does not write a thesis, he writes “an undistinguished dissertation on a minor 19th century German diplomat.” Faurisson does not put forward a viewpoint, he suffers from “monomania.” THE JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW is not a learned journal, but “a potpourri of anti-Semitic propaganda camouflaged to look like a learned journal.”

Are these descriptions really those of an objective, impartial, historian or are they the subjective outrage of a totem worshipper who has just heard a blasphemous remark?

Ms. D. does not do the one thing that distinguishes correct historical research from mere historical journalism: firsthand investigation. Her writing is full of factual errors transposed from other “exposes” and journalistic accounts. Thus she claims that the first Revisionist Convention was held at “*Northrup College*” when she means Northrop University. This error first appeared in a tabloid newspaper and has been recycled in almost every “expose” on Revisionism so far-so much for the correctness of the Exterminationist historians!

Secondly, Ms. D. makes a glaring research *faux-pas* when she mixes up the Revisionist Press of Brooklyn-a Jewish libertarian publishing house, with The Revisionist Press of New Jersey-a German-American Revisionist imprimatur.

These are just two of the more glaring errors in this “historical” piece. But Ms. D’s main shortcoming is in the fact that nowhere does she address the arguments of the Revisionists at all!

Dr. Butz has made the point that little if any of the Nuremberg Trials evidence would be admitted to a U.S. criminal court-most of it was hearsay, affidavits from dead people, documents with no proof of source, testimony under duress, etc. etc. The court itself was run by rules that would never be tolerated in this country: the defendants were not allowed to represent themselves, and the defense counsel were not permitted proper access to prosecution evidence. Nowhere does Ms. D. address this.

Dr. Faurisson has made several very succinct and very telling points:

1. Immediately after the war it was widely held that the camps in Germany as well as the camps in Poland had gas chambers. Germans were hanged for gassing inmates at several German camps, for there was “evidence, testimony, and confessions” to prove this. Since 1960, all the Exterminationists have agreed that there were no gassings in the German camps; just in the Polish camps. Now, asks Dr. Faurisson, what is the substantial difference between the evidence, testimony and confessions regarding gassings at the German camps (now admitted as bogus) and the evidence, testimony and confessions regarding gassings at the Polish camps (still maintained as genuine). How is it that Anglo-American evidence can be dismissed as false, and yet Communist Polish and Communist Soviet evidence can still be retained as genuine?
2. Secondly, Dr. Faurisson asks how could the “confessions” of the Commandant of Auschwitz Rudolf Höss be genuine if they fly in the face of science? Höss talks about the *sonderkommandos* entering the gas chamber immediately after the gassing operation while

smoking and eating. This is a scientific impossibility, since the *sonderkommandos* would have been themselves asphyxiated, and their cigarettes would have caused an explosion!

I have searched in vain in Ms. D's article for any addressing of these crucial points.

Nor have I found any reference to the reward of \$50,000, which we announced at our 1979 Revisionist Convention, for proof that even one Jew was gassed to death in a Nazi gas chamber as part of an extermination program. Nor have I found any reference to the most significant writings of Ms. D's contemporary, Gitta Sereny, who wrote in the *New Statesman* of 2 November 1979 that Auschwitz was not in the main an extermination center, and that many Holocaust memoirs are faked.

I regret that Ms. Dawidowicz comes across in her essay as yet another of those tedious individuals who are unable to handle facts which do not co-ordinate with her preconceived notions. She would have done well as a cheer-leader among the crowds who abused Leonard da Vinci, Copernicus, Charles Darwin, and Christopher Columbus himself. She would have done especially well as one of the chief Inquisitors of the Spanish Inquisition, or one of Cromwell's head witchfinders, or one of the Pope's heretic-burners. Her sarcasm about the failure of universities or institutions to censure, fire or otherwise punish Revisionists, smacks of the Dark Ages.

Ms. D. even flies off on a tangent of fantasizing, where she imagines that [Liberty Lobby](#) is financing the Institute for Historical Review, and that "alas" Jews were not gassed. In our Winter 1980 issue Dr. Howard Stein, a noted authority on group-fantasizing and its role in psychohistory, presents a fascinating insight into this particular neurotic dysfunction. But I suppose Ms. Dawidowicz would dismiss the views of Dr. Stein as being "self-hate"? Perhaps she could correct me if I am wrong.

The most disturbing aspect of all in Ms. D's polemic is her refusal to debate the facts. She quotes with approval the collective view of some French historians, who tautologically insist that it was possible for the Holocaust to happen because it did happen. She stridently recounts her outrage at a naive radio producer who asked her to debate with Dr. Faurisson. It is indeed with relief that I turn to the writings of Dr. Chomsky and Dr. Stein, who maintain the highest of academic values. Dr. Stein wrote to me earlier this year to point out that the importance of historical Revisionism is "attested by the very controversy which it stirs. This is so even if you are wrong in your conclusions." Voltaire would have been proud to have witnessed such objectivity.

Sincerely,
Lewis Brandon

Editor
Commentary
165 E. 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

16 December 1980

Dear Sirs:

Commentary maintains relatively high standards for a mass circulation magazine and Lucy Dawidowicz is a competent historian in the purely technical sense. Therefore it was perhaps singular to read her article in your December issue, for there is little there apart from the name-calling. It

is ludicrous to try to characterize “holocaust” revisionism as a “neo-Nazi” phenomenon merely because the label can be argued to apply in a few cases. That the label does not characterize is clear even from many of the names that Dawidowicz herself brings up.

To address a point of greater personal concern, I was mildly amused to see Dawidowicz mention, with obvious approval (indeed she is a contributor), the booklet *Dimensions of the Holocaust*, which I suppose is still available from Northwestern University Press. The booklet is the

published form of four lectures given at Northwestern in 1977 “by three Jews and a philo-Semite,” as she put it. The lectures have played a role their organizers never imagined. Some who read my book (*The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*), but were at first in no position to pass judgment on it, noted in the lectures the emptiness of the alleged scholarly opposition to my thesis that developed at Northwestern, and drew appropriate conclusions. By all means, one should read the booklet.

Ironically, I can recommend another publication -Prof. Dawidowicz’s own *The War Against the Jews*, whose main original contribution is a reconstruction of Jewish life in Poland under the Nazi persecution. Try as one may, her picture of this life cannot be reconciled with any notion of the simultaneous existence of a program of complete physical extermination of the very same people on the very same territory.

I do not know why Jewish spokesmen do not realize that the worst they can do is attempt to discourage inquiry. There are many examples of this behavior but here I shall cite only an incident that Dawidowicz mentions. Last spring the Organization of American Historians routinely rented its mailing list to the new Institute for Historical Review (with which I am associated); the IHR then sent gratis copies of the premier issue of its JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL REVIEW to the members of the OAH. The ADL (which has the near unanimous support of the Jewish community) protested this use of the OAH mailing list and the OAH apologized. Dawidowicz clearly supports the protest, which was in accord with an evident policy of attempting to stifle critical examination of the received legend. There is no other valid interpretation of the protest. The chief consequence is the introduction of a quite avoidable inflammatory element into the controversy, for there are no doubt many members of the OAH who (in contrast to some of the OAH’s leaders) do not feel, and would be offended by any suggestion, that they need the ADL’s intellectual guardianship.

Sincerely,
Arthur R. Butz
Evanston, Il.

Letters to the Editor
New York Times
229 W43 Street
New York City, NY 10036

7 January 1981

Dear Sir:

I have noted your article by Richard Eder regarding Professor Robert Faurisson in France, and Professor Noam Chomsky at Harvard.

It is incorrect in a number of respects.

First, Prof. Faurisson does not hold “no particular prominence on the French intellectual or academic scene.” In 1961 he published *A-t-on lu Rimbaud?* [*Has Anybody read Rimbaud?*] which gave a unique and fascinating insight into that French poet’s *Voyelles*. This was followed in 1972 with *A-t-on lu Lautreamont?* and in 1976 by *La Cie des Chimeres et Autres Chimeres de Nerval*. All of these were received with much critical acclaim in France.

Secondly, Dr. Faurisson’s case was in no way “weakened” by his arguments. His arguments are based on concrete reality. There is no way that millions of persons could have been gassed in the facility presently on display at Auschwitz, in the manner described in Höss’s confessions. This is a physical impossibility, and Dr. Faurisson challenges anyone to forensically prove otherwise. Secondly, he draws attention to the fact that Germans were hanged after the war for “gassing” people at camps where it is now universally admitted that there were no “gas chambers.” Why is it, he asks, that we discount the Allied investigations, evidence, trials, confessions, etc. for the German camps; and yet we still maintain as valid the Soviet and Polish communist investigations, evidence, trials and confessions? Why is it that all of the “evidence” for gassings is testimony—why is there not one shred of documentary or forensic proof? How much more concrete can one get? If these “witnesses” are so sure, why have they not stepped forward to claim our \$50,000 reward?

The attitude of the French “intellectuals” is best illustrated by their joint advertisement in *Le Monde* where they stated: “It was not necessary to wonder how, technically, such mass murder was possible. It was technically possible because it took place.” Such a tautology would not have been out of place at the infamous “Monkey Trial” when it was stated that Evolution could not have been so because the Bible said so. Truly, French intellectual life is in need of counsel from such thinkers as Dr. Chomsky.

Sincerely,
Lewis Brandon

Letters to the Editor
Pittsburgh Press
P.O. Box 566
Pittsburgh, PA 15230

27 January 1981

Dear Sir:

I noted with distress the article of January 18th regarding the proposed “Pittsburgh Holocaust Studies Center.”

The “Holocaust” has long ago been discredited by such internationally known historians as Dr. Arthur Butz of Northwestern University, Chicago and Dr. Robert Faurisson of the University of Lyon-2 in France.

Immediately after the war it was claimed that all the camps: those in Germany-proper and in German-occupied Poland had “gas chambers.” But in the early 1960s the Holocaust propagandists revised their theories to say that the camps in Germany-proper did not have “gas chambers” — only the camps in German-occupied Poland had such facilities.

The Revisionist historians ask:

What is the difference in quality between (a) the evidence, testimony, confessions and trials which “proved” the gassings at the Allied-occupied German camps; and (b) the evidence, testimony, confessions and trials which 6. proved” the gassings at the Communist-occupied Polish camps? Why do we still believe Communist atrocity tales, and discount Allied atrocity tales?

Simon Wiesenthal himself admitted that the German “gas chambers” were fakes when he wrote to Books & Bookmen (April 1975) that: “There were no extermination camps on German soil.”

Another Holocaust historian, Gitta Sereny, has now begun to discount even Auschwitz; “Auschwitz, despite its emblematic name, was not primarily an extermination camp for Jews.” (Original emphasis).

One wonders how long it will be before the “extermination centers” having been moved further and further East by the Exterminationists, will be relocated on the outskirts of Kiev?

Sincerely,
Lewis Brandon

Mr. Norman Podhoretz
Editor
Commentary
165 E. 56
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Podhoretz:

First of all I should like to preface my remarks by saying how much I have enjoyed reading *Commentary* over the years initially under the able editorship of Elliot Cohen (who tragically committed suicide) and then under your very astute leadership as editor.

The subject of this letter is Mrs. Lucy S. Dawidowicz' December 1980 article in *Commentary*, “Lies About the Holocaust” which is a malicious smear of historical Revisionism; in particular the work of Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes and Dr. James J. Martin.

An examination of the 1000 page-volume *Crusader* published as a testimonial to Dr. Barnes in 1968 bears little resemblance to the “paranoid” portrayed in the *Commentary* article. Edited by Arthur Goddard of the New York High School of Printing, this remarkable volume presents exacting appraisals of Barnes' career by such historians as Merle Curti, Harold U. Faulkner, Stanton L. Davis, William L. Neumann and Henry M. Adams; sociologists: George A. Lundberg, Richard Dewey, Frank H. Hankins, Ray H. Abrams and Read Bain, criminologist: Jeremiah P. Shalloo; anthropologist: Leslie White; eminent publicist, Joseph Wood Krutch; and educator, Clyde R. Miller, winner of a special award from the National Conference of Christians & Jews. In addition this volume includes a 50-page bibliographic survey of Barnes' writings, which is to say the least, extremely impressive. For a portrait of 'the real Barnes' I would advise the readers of *Commentary* to study this volume.

The career of Dr. James J. Martin is equally important in its way as that of Harry Elmer Barnes. Mrs. Dawidowicz' characterization of Dr. Martin's *Men Against the State* as 44 oddball” is a very strange comment. Dr. Paul Avrich, the formidable historian of anarchism at Queens College, City

University of New York, has a quite different opinion of *Men Against the State* which first appeared in 1953 and has been published in three editions since then and has received about fifty highly positive reviews world-wide. Dr. Martin is also a three-time contributor to the *Dictionary of American Biography* with his excellent articles on anarchists Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Benjamin R. Tucker. The two books of essays Dr. Martin has compiled from his articles *Revisionist Viewpoints* and *The Saga of Hog Island* are classics of revisionist scholarship as are his re-editions of eminent American anarchists.

It is difficult to write a critique of Mrs. Dawidowicz' mishmash of an essay but some points bear emphasis.

1. Revisionists are not neo-Nazis. A checklist of Revisionist publicists finds Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Anarchists, Atheists, Catholics, Pacifists with Far Right and Far Left and everything in-between represented. The neoNazi smear does not hold water.
2. Mrs. Dawidowicz' statement in March Commentary that "notable isolationists headed by Charles Beard himself never admitted Barnes to their company" is completely without foundation. Where does Mrs. Dawidowicz do her research?
3. Mr. Willis Carto's pedigree has nothing to do with revisionist historical writing. It must stand or fall on its own merits. Whether or not Mr. Carto is an anti-Semite does not answer the question of the "gas chambers" or the "planned extermination of Jewry." Mrs. Dawidowicz does not attempt to refute the basic arguments of Butz, Rassinier, Faurisson et al.
4. If Mr. Willis Carto in his support of Revisionist scholars helps us prevent a Third World War then he is a benefactor of humanity, anti-Semite or not. "Each man has a right to have his ideas examined one at a time."
5. This writer — contrary to Mrs. Dawidowicz' assertions — finds no evidence whatsoever of anti-Semitism in the writings of Butz and Faurisson. They are both extremely careful scholars and restrained in their opinions.
6. I would like to know which "fascist" books Ralph Myles has published as Mrs. Dawidowicz' alleges. I can't find any on their list.
7. According to Mrs. Dawidowicz, Harry Elmer Barnes guided Dr. David Leslie Hoggan to "Nazi apologetics." If Mrs. Dawidowicz had done the most elementary research she would have found that far from guiding Hoggan into "Nazi apologetics," just the opposite was true!
8. Dr. Warren B. Morris' *Revisionist Historians and German War Guilt* does not as Mrs. Dawidowicz alleges "give legitimacy" to the Revisionists. Like any other historical work it must stand or fall on its merits. It cannot "give legitimacy" to what is already a legitimate subject of inquiry. There are no dead issues in scientific inquiry and scholarship as pointed out by Dr. Noam Chomsky and Dr. Howard F. Stein.
9. Revisionist Press (of Brooklyn), not New Jersey, is antifascist, libertarian (one of our heroes is Jewish anarchist David Edelstadt) and for communication between all cultures and all peoples of the world-this, for the record. We have suffered ourselves in the Tragedy of Europe (1939-1945) through loss of relatives, separation of families and need no lessons from people *making a living* writing about the holocaust. We do not believe the Jews are a Chosen People and neither are the Germans. They are both victims of history and economics.
10. Harry Elmer Barnes did not translate Rassinier's book into English.
11. The article attributed to Harry Elmer Barnes in the Appendix to *Myth of the Six Million* is not authentic. It was erroneously attributed to Barnes.

12. Harry Elmer Barnes was not a fanatical Roosevelt hater. In the thirties he generally supported the New Deal.
13. I agree with Mrs. Dawidowicz' that we should await Dr. Martin's publication of his book on genocide with anxiety. Excerpts published in *The Journal of Historical Review* make it apparent that it will be a formidable work and Establishment mythologists should take heed.
14. Mrs. Dawidowicz is careful not to reveal Rassinier's pacifist activities and his subsequent arrest by the Gestapo. Why? However she is very quick to label him an anti-Semite, also not revealing his efforts at rescuing Jews. Why? Are these the activities of a rabid anti-Semite?

In conclusion I would like to commend Commentary's publication of Robert Alter's article on "holocaustomania" — Hollywood style. It's a step in the right direction!

Shalom,
Bezalel Chaim

P.S. It is interesting to note the advertisement in December 1980 Commentary for the Frank Chodorov book *Fugitive Essays*. Frank Chodorov was a strong supporter of both Dr. Barnes and Dr. Martin in their work and also a member of the Justice for Tyler Kent Committee! Did Mrs. Dawidowicz approve of this ad, Mr. Podhoretz?

Fall 1981 (Vol. 2, No. 3), page 219

The Problem of Cremator Hours and Incineration Time

REINHARD K. BUCHNER

Part I

1. Formulation of the Problem

David Irving ^[1] after finding fault with too much of the documentary evidence as accepted and perpetuated by contemporary historians asserted once more: “To historians is granted a talent that even gods are denied: To alter what has already happened” (page *xi*). (Later he discovered that “re-educated” West German publishers had acquired that talent too; page *xvii*). However as much as history cannot be comprehended and understood on a rational basis only, there are also rational elements inseparably knitted into history which even historians cannot alter — though they try.

Throughout history technology has not only provided means but has also dictated limits. These technological limitations are absolute, and if historical conclusions can be based on them they therefore become absolute too. For example “Wartime Diaries” written in ink cannot be genuine if the particular ink came on the market in 1951. ^[2] The Holocaust involves a number of technical problems. R. Faurisson ^[3] has investigated the use of Zyklon B-as claimed in the extermination theory, and found that most-if not all-of the reported evidence, taken for granted by today’s historians, must be dismissed on grounds of the technical properties of the insecticide (page 103). Another subject of a technical nature is the disposal of the alleged millions of corpses after the prisoners were supposedly gassed.

The problem is not a new one. Recently A.R. Butz ^[4] for example has examined the issue to some extent (pages 117-118). However most earlier comments on cremation have dealt only with particular aspects of the total problem. Therefore an attempt is made here to apply the rationale of cremation technology to the whole complex of the Holocaust theory on the best numerical basis available today. The reader, however, must be forewarned not to expect a complete solution, but rather another contribution to that end. This is for the simple reason that 36 years after WWII neither accurate nor reliable data are available.

The technical problem is basically a simple one. If victims were gassed and cremated, cremation facilities must have dealt with the proclaimed 6 million corpses. If one can calculate the total number of theoretically possible cremations on a technological basis and in accordance with the relevant historical data, one simultaneously has found the maximum number of theoretically possible dead.

For the present, the calculation shall be restricted to cremations in “Extermination Camps” and to cremations in cremators only. The result will justify such an approach. The term “Extermination

Camp” as understood here refers to “Death Camps” and “Killing Centers” as listed by R. Hilberg [5] (pages 572 and 573).

2. A Simple Calculation in 1946

To emphasize that this technical problem has existed openly all the time -but is simply pretended to not exist by historians and Holocaust theory promoters-the picture as it presented itself as early as 1946 is first reproduced here.

The mathematical part is simple. If one knows the total number of “cremator hours” (that is, the sum of all existing cremators multiplied by their individual time of operation in hours) and the incineration time per corpse, one can calculate the theoretically possible maximum number of cremations. It is convenient to write the relevant correlation in the form of a simple equation:

$$N = \frac{C \times T}{I} \quad [1]$$

N = Number of possible cremations

C = Numbers of Cremators

T = Time of operation in hours

I = Incineration time for single charge cremation (one corpse) in hours

The term “cremator” as used here refers to a single furnace. That section of the cremator in which the actual cremation takes place is termed “muffle.” Consequently, structural units with-for example-3 muffles are counted here as three cremators. If the unit was operated for one hour it will contribute 3 “cremator hours” to the calculation.

In 1946 the reported numbers of dead in camps varied greatly. I remember that 6, 8, 9, 12 and even 40 million appeared in the news. During extensive talks with people operating crematoria I found that 4-6 hours represented an “approximate average incineration time” per cremation in coal fired cremators. [6] In calculations, therefore, 5 hours were used at that time. It must be pointed out that it is difficult to arrive at an average time since the incineration of corpses depends very much on size and condition of the corpse. However, it should be realized too that in 1946 in the above mentioned crematoria after 5 hours incineration, larger bones were still not reduced and were left inside the cremator for further incineration during subsequent cremations. This led to accumulation, and the cremators were periodically cleared and remainders buried at the cemetery. The question how long it “would” take to incinerate until “only ashes” would remain could not be answered. But guesses run from 18-20 hours and longer.

Having no other relevant information in 1946 I proceeded to calculate the theoretical number of cremators necessary to incinerate 6 million corpses during an “assumed” operational time of 5 years (roughly the full duration of WWII). Equation (1) can be easily rewritten for that purpose:

$$N = \frac{N \times I}{T} \quad [2]$$

Since the calculation is based on hours, T must be given in hours.

5 years × 365 days × 24 hours = 43,800 hours

Inserting the numerical values into [2] one obtains:

$$C = \frac{6,000,000 \times 5}{43,800}$$

or

$$C = 684.9$$

This was a sobering result in 1946. It meant that even the lowest number (6,000,000) which was in the news required 685 cremators to operate continuously (24 hours a day!) over a five year period. Checking on incineration time with the mortuaries again did not change anything. Those men would shrug their shoulders or laugh. Their responses must be seen against the background of the political climate of the time which Allied occupational policies under the heading of “re-education” had generated. For the more general impressions of a contemporary American observer see [7]. Probably, most Germans did at that time disregard the 6 million digit as propaganda (at least in private). Although it was clear that a figure of 685 cremators was too high to be acceptable, an actual number was simply not known. For reasons which are no longer relevant I finally “assumed” in 1946 that 100 cremators would be probably a more realistic figure. Inserting this figure in equation (1) one obtains the theoretical maximum number of possible cremations:

$$N = \frac{100 \times 43,800}{5}$$

or

$$N = 876,000$$

This result was even more stunning than the first one. Considering further that a 100% duty cycle (24 hours per day continuously) was technically unlikely (if not impossible) I also “assumed” that a 50% duty cycle (12 hours per day continuously over five years) was a more probable mode of operation. This cuts the first N in half (438,000 instead of 876, 000). In addition-and again in lieu of actual information-it “seemed reasonable in 1946 to assume” only 2.5 years (instead of 5 years) of total operational time. This produced again a lower but also a most “probable” N, namely 219,000, as compared to the media’s minimum number of 6, 000,000! While the figure 219,000 was founded on too many “assumptions” and therefore was historically meaningless, the calculation did demonstrate in general that there are technological elements involved in the Holocaust theory which can be made subject to rational scrutiny, with rationally convincing results.

Beyond that, and of immediate historical relevance, the simple calculation in 1946 also demonstrated that even with uncertainties in the assumptions by factors between 2 and 4, the calculation would not yield anything close to the 6 million digit. This is why the three different numbers for N have been explicitly calculated here once again. Again, no more importance should be assigned to particular numbers derived from the 1946 calculations. However a compilation of all assumptions used in the calculation shall be given here:

1. All corpses have been cremated in cremators
2. Incineration time was 5 hours per corpse
3. Cremators were single charged (one corpse)

4. 100 cremators were operated
5. Operational time equally for all cremators was assumed to be a) 5 years b) 2.5 years
6. Duty cycle of all cremators was assumed to be
 1. 100% (24 hours per day)
 2. 50% (12 hours per day)

This resulted in:

1. A theoretically possible maximum of 876,000 cremations (5 years 24 hours per day)
2. A theoretically possible minimum of 219,000 cremations (2.5 years 12 hours per day)

Since WWII no professional historian has produced a comprehensive and critical investigation—including at least some technological feasibility study-of the Holocaust syndrome. “Opaque” organizations like the ADL, the JDL etc. display their “capacity to interfere” immediately and freely at the very first sign of a more scrutinizing approach to the Holocaust theory. The academic climate which has developed throughout the universities of the western world is, as a result, syndromatical too: Holocaust must be taken for a “fact” which must be proven — a posteriori — by “proper” interpretation of documents or what is presented as such by Holocaust theory promoters. The academic syndrome lies with the inversion of the intellectual process.

3. A New Attempt in 1981

As a result we do not even know with certainty how many cremators have existed in Auschwitz I or II. We do not know their operational time, and the severest discrepancy is found on incineration times. “Reports” range from little more than 1 minute to more than 1 hour.

In Table I the best obtainable data for today are compiled. To circumvent for the moment the problem of incineration time in the table, at first only cremator hours are calculated. The data are taken mostly from three Jewish sources: G. Reitlinger, [8] R. Hilberg, [5] and F. Müller [9] with some exceptions where more recent information from Communist sources was available. The data also comprise, according to the sources, maximum numbers for those camps which R. Hilberg lists as “Extermination Camps.” That is to say in all cases numbers have been chosen so that the calculation produces maximum numbers of cremator hours. Actual numerical values were certainly lower.

The first impression is astonishing again. Counting Auschwitz I and II as one camp, only two of the “Extermination Camps” had crematoria. The total maximum number of cremator hours obtainable from the sources add up to 861,120 for 100% duty cycle (24 hours per day) and 430,560 for 50% duty cycle (12 hours per day).

As before, if one divides the cremator hours by the incineration time, the number of cremations can be computed. Still, however, a realistic incineration time must be determined. In Table II figures are calculated for one hour as well as for two hours of incineration time.

Table I — Cremator Hours

Camp	Time of operation	Months	Hours	Cremators [C]	Cremator hours [T] [C]
Auschwitz I	June 1940 to June 1943	37	26,640	6	159,840

Auschwitz II (Birkenau)	March 1943 to Oct. 1944	20	14,400	46	662,400
Majdanek (Lublin)	Nov. 1943 to July 1944	9	6,480	6	38,880
Belzec	—	—	—	none	—
Sobibor	—	—	—	none	—
Treblinka	—	—	—	none	—
Kulmhof	—	—	—	none	—
Total					861,120
*Time of operation includes only such time where cremators were operated. 1 month is calculated with 30 days. Data and sources are discussed in appendix I					

Table II — Possible Cremations

Duty Cycle	Incineration time [I]	
	1 hour	2 hours
100%	861,120	430,560
50%	430,560	215,280

The numbers displayed in Table II represent then the respective theoretically possible numbers of cremations. The maximum is-of course-861,120 for 100% duty cycle and 1 hour incineration time and the minimum computes to 215,280 for 50% duty cycle and 2 hours incineration time. At least on technical grounds 100% duty cycle operation over prolonged periods must be excluded. One hour incineration time is too short for wartime technology. It is shorter than the incineration time which is obtained today with automated gas fired cremators. (This can be verified with any mortuary). The calculations -based on 1 hour incineration time and 100% duty cycle-have been included to provide a numerical range rather than to insist on a pragmatic figure. However this is a concession to the lack of reliable data and not to technical reason.

Being reasonably familiar with other aspects of the Holocaust theory and the associated documentation, I personally believe that the minimum number in Table 11 (215,280) is indeed the “most probable” N which can be derived from the calculation. However, without more accurate data I wish to refrain from proposing any particular figure, leaving this question open at this time. I also do not intend to deny that cremation in open pits, etc. may have taken place at times or locations where cremator capacity was insufficient or absent. However, the obligation to derive actual numbers from the technical feasibility aspect of that process and the available information I must leave to professional historians who support such claims. The little I have to say is found in the appendix.

That leaves one, then, at present, with several hundred thousand theoretically possible cremations in cremators. Considering higher death rates in camps under wartime conditions, diseases, and executions, there is indeed not much left to support the Holocaust theory. During 36 years of post-wartime not a single discovery of a mass-grave with millions and not even one with a hundred thousand corpses in or near camps has been reported and numerically evaluated. For that reason I conclude that: Until professional historians deliver proof -beyond the shadow of a doubtthat-and technologically how-at least some 5.5 million people (more than 90% of 6 million)

have been exterminated and made to disappear without trace and without the use of cremators, the 6 million digit must be considered for reason of lack of cremator capacity a hoax too.

Historians, political scientists and educators in general should finally discontinue the practice of conveying to their students “knowledge” for which they have never seen hard proof.

The time where purely “oral history” should have been superseded by the sober results of painstakingly critical research executed by formally trained historians has long passed. The political responsibility which professional history has loaded upon itself can hardly be overestimated. If in a nuclear holocaust hundreds of millions and possibly billions of people should die or suffer irreparable genetic damage, professional history and political science can take any partial credit they dare to assume.

Part II

Appendix

1. Origin of Cremator Numbers and Operation Times for Cremators as Listed in Table I.

Here the data in Table I are justified. With “justification” nothing more is indicated than overall agreement with claims found in the Holocaust theory. No validation of the data can be derived from their use in this study. As a matter of fact, I consider cremator numbers and particularly their operational times in Table I too large. Personally I am not even convinced that crematoria IV and V in Auschwitz II did in fact exist. But nevertheless they have been included in the calculation in accord with the Holocaust theory.

Auschwitz I

The number of cremators in Auschwitz I is apparently unknown. R. Hilberg [5] and G. Reitlinger [8] do not elaborate on the subject. The L. Dawidowicz [10] presentation of the Holocaust theory does not relate useful technological information. In explaining the “final solution” the authoress simply states: “... and employed the best available technological means” (page xxiii).

A.R. Butz [4] comes to the conclusion that Auschwitz I had 4 cremators which is probably correct (page 115). F. Müller [9] however claims “6 ovens” (page 16). Table I therefore lists 6 cremators. The difference between 4 and 6 cremators results into some 50,000 additional cremator hours.

The time of operation (of cremators) is another problem in Auschwitz I. G. Reitlinger [8] states: “The camp was open for business on 14 January 1940” (page 110). W. Stäglich [11] reports an official letter from the Auschwitz museum dated 29 November 1977 in which it is stated that the crematorium in Auschwitz I operated up to July 1943 (page 75). Since Communist sources can be expected to deliver maximum Holocaust data for reasons of propaganda, and in lieu of more accurate information, operational time is listed in Table I from June 1940 to June 1943.

However, even F. Müller [9] reports technical failures and states “Therefore in autumn of 1942 operations had to be restricted” (page 49). And the Soviet War Crimes Commission states that the crematorium in Auschwitz I was operational over 24 months (W. Stäglich [11] page 188). If this is correct then the figure of 159,840 cremator hours in Table I is by more than 50,000 too large.

Auschwitz II

The number of cremators in Auschwitz II is listed in Table I with 46 simply because the Auschwitz museum in its letter to W. Stäglich claims that figure (page 75).

The start of the operation of the cremators was taken to be March 1943. At that time some cremators probably became operational. G. Reitlinger [8] states specifically that: “In fact crematorium No. 2 was not ready 'til March 13th. On June 13th it was still the only crematorium of the 4 which was actually working and the carpentry work was incomplete. On November 6th, 1943 an order for young trees to form a green belt between the crematoria and the camp only mentions Nos. 1 and 2. The working of all four crematoria was not put to test 'til May 1944 when the massive transport arrived from Hungary” (page 159).

G. Reitlinger [8] also states that selection for gas chambers in Auschwitz ended in October 1944 (page 493). R. Hilberg [5] quotes a letter from the “Zentralbauleitung” (central construction management) that: “The whole unit was due to be completed on 20 February 1943” (566). R. Hilberg [5] seems to agree that in October 1944 exterminations generally came to an end but does not state a specific date (see the various statements on pages 630, 631 and 632). The time used in Table I includes the time from March 1943 to October 1944 and was assumed for all crematoria (II, III, IV and V). This is clearly an overestimate but it frees the calculation from denouncement on the basis of “optimistic data.” (Using G. Reitlinger’s data would reduce the 662,400 cremator hours for Auschwitz II in Table I at least by some 130,000.)

Majdanek

G. Reitlinger [8] reports that the “impressive Majdanek crematorium” was only completed in autumn 1943 (page 316). Werth ^[12] states: “... before it had officially become, on 3 November 1943 an extermination camp” (page 898) and tells that “the Russians discovered Majdanek on 23 July 1944” (page 890). He also describes six furnaces (page 893). Again, in lieu of better data, the above time interval from November 1943 to July 1944 (9 months) and 6 cremators have been listed in Table I. There is some ambiguity in the selection of the month of November. For example, if cremators had been operational 2 months earlier, some 9,000 cremator hours would have to be added. However, it must also be noted that on pictures of the Majdanek crematorium only 5 cremators can be counted. See for example G. Schoenberger ^[13] (page 60).

Belzek, Sobibor, Kulmhof, Treblinka

Belzek and Sobibor had no cremators (R. Hilberg [5] page 629). On the same page Hilberg suspects — quoting the “Jewish Black Book Committee” — that Kulmhof may “have acquired a crematorium” at the end. No other information is known to me and therefore no cremators are listed for Kulmhof.

For Treblinka no crematorium is claimed. G. Reitlinger [8] reports “pyres” in Treblinka (page 152). A.R. Butz, [4] D. Felderer ^[14] and W. Stäglich [11] have discussed information about crematoria in considerably more detail. For a more accurate discussion the reader is therefore referred to these authors. It was, however, my deliberate intention to base the data not on — however justified — Revisionist findings, but on those Jewish and Communist sources which have made Holocaust theory presentation their business. Still, since the sources in many cases widely disagree, some compromises became unavoidable.

2. The Technology of Cremation

Reducing a corpse by cremation means decomposition of tissue and bones by heat. Contrary to popular beliefs a corpse does not “burn” because there is not enough combustible matter involved. While tissue will carbonize and burn off producing some heat, most of the heat — for the thermal (and chemical) decomposition of the corpses — must be supplied from external sources of energy. Cremators are generally designed and constructed to process one corpse. No evidence exists that cremators as used in WWII camps were designed differently. The fuel during WWII was principally either coal or coke, but occasionally wood may have been used. Since combustion of fuel requires air (oxygen), some provision for either natural draft (convection) or forced air feed (compressors) must be included into the design of the cremator. All 6 units in Dachau [15] for example have provisions for convective draft. The four cremators seen at Auschwitz I today are apparently of a very similar design. However they were built after WWII (D. Felderer [11], W. Stäglich [16] page 137). In Auschwitz II it is said that compressors were installed. For example F. Miller [9] tells of “fans” (page 94 and elsewhere). Independent of the method of air supply all cremators have certain basic similarities.

Since the incineration is not an energy producing but mainly an energy-absorbing process, the thermal energy is produced in a “generator.” This can be — as in Dachau — simple “fire box” with doors for charging coal, and openings with simple valves to control the convective draft. In more sophisticated installations with compressors, generators for gasification of the primary fuel may be employed. A.R. Butz [4] has pointed this out in connection with the Holocaust terminology (“Gasoven” etc, see pages 120 and 121). From the generator the hot exhaust gas is then ducted along the corpse in an oblong muffle with flat walls and bottom but a semi-cylindrical ceiling. The corpse rests on bridges across the muffle, spaced about 12 — 18 inches apart. Ashes and remainders fall into the lower section of the muffle and are removed periodically. Usually the coal-burning generator and the actual incineration chamber — the muffle — are separated. Only the hot gas resulting from the combustion of fuel heats the muffle and the corpse. The corpse however is not consumed (in its majority at least) by flames or by the hot gas directly, but by radiation from the muffle walls.

This is an important technological factor which must be understood. The physical mechanism is as follows: The hot gas from the generator passes through the muffle, and transfers its heat to all absorbing surfaces. This heat transfer is not strictly a thermodynamic process. That is to say the amount of heat transferred does not depend only on the temperature difference between gas and wall but upon a gas-dynamic turbulence in the boundary layer between gas and wall. To be brief: In cremators the “roughness” of the fire brick lining will enhance the heat transfer to the walls as long as the velocity of the gas does not become too slow. Since the wall surface area of the muffle is much larger than the surface area of the corpse, much of the heat is transferred to the walls and not to the corpse. Also, time plays an important role in the transfer process. It may sound convincing at first for even a technical mind that one could raise the input temperature of the gas coming from the generator in order to transport more heat per unit time into the muffle and thus achieve shorter incineration times. However, the exit temperature of the gas on leaving the muffle must be low enough so as not to burn out the ductwork and chimney. In short, again: the throughput velocity of the hot gas inside of the muffle must be slow to permit enough time for the heat transfer to be completed to such a degree that the exit temperature of the gas drops to a sufficiently low value. The practical parameter which is available to the designer is the cross-section of the muffle. The larger this cross-section can be made, the lower the gas velocity will be and the more time for heat transfer will be available. But if the muffle cross-section is made very large, another problem arises. In order to transfer a maximum of heat, all gas must be brought in contact with the walls long enough. This can only be achieved by continuous mixing of the gas

within the muffle. But this again requires a minimum throughput speed. The designer therefore must establish a number of conditions simultaneously: For a given input temperature of the gas he needs a certain muffle size with enough wall area to absorb the heat, and a muffle volume which produces a low enough throughput speed, yet still generates enough turbulence to facilitate heat transfer and mixing of the gas. The latter conditions limit the muffle volume which must take the space occupied by the corpse — or the several corpses (!) — into account. And finally, the designer must still achieve a low enough exit temperature. These parameters dictate-for a given temperature-the input velocity of the gas and thus the total heat transport per unit time from the generator to the muffle. This determines the incineration time. The small muffle size as observed on cremators installed in WWII camps indicates that the muffles were optimized for single charge cremation without coffin.

Until now it has been demonstrated how heat is transported from the generator to the muffle and transferred mainly to the muffle walls. If this process would continue, the muffle walls would become hotter and hotter and the cremator would burn out. However, cooling occurs automatically by radiation. The thermal energy which the walls have absorbed is radiated back from the walls over a wide range of wavelengths, including visible light. However, the main wavelengths fall into the spectral range of infra-red and radiative heat. In exactly the same way as visible light propagates along straight lines, heat and infra-red radiation do too. Both light and heat are electromagnetic radiation. Radiation from the wall of the muffle may strike the corpse and may be absorbed. It also may strike another section of the wall and be absorbed or reflected. This “bouncing” of the radiation continues until the radiation is finally absorbed by the corpse. In this process the temperature difference between wall and corpse plays an important role. While dense and opaque materials-wall and corpse, in the present case-absorb radiation readily, gas by comparison does not (or only to a minor degree). The hot gas transfers and radiates more heat to the walls than it can re-absorb. This is one reason why gas can enter the muffle at high temperature and leave the muffle at a lower temperature. The curved ceiling of the muffle mentioned earlier serves as a cylindrical mirror concentrating the radiation on the corpse.

Finally there is a last step in the total flow of thermal energy to the corpse which must still be understood. The radiation absorbed by the corpse is for the most part used up in chemical reactions and in evaporative processes during the decomposition. In short, the corpse represents a heat sink rather than a heat source. This is the main reason why originally hot gas can leave the muffle at a lower temperature. If the corpse would “burn” it would produce additional heat and would raise the temperature of the gas above the input temperature. Statements like: “The corpses were burning so fiercely that they were consumed by their own heat” (F. Müller [9] page 138) originate from technical misconceptions.

With this, a crude — but for the present purpose sufficient — model of the incineration process in coal or coke operated cremators has been presented. (Radiation from the gas has been neglected. But without detailed technical information, heat transfer and radiation cannot be compared.) By contrast the combustion of the fuel in modern gas-fired cremators takes place inside of the muffle itself. Since they are designed to accept a coffin, their wall area is quite large and the forced air from the compressors mixes the gas inside the muffle very effectively. In addition, the burners are usually directed toward the corpse. Furthermore, the ashes from the coffin are soon blown away from the corpse by the forced-air feed. Incineration times thus achieved are therefore much shorter than those with otherwise comparable coal-fired units.

3. Multiple Charge

With the above in mind, one can also immediately understand why multiple charge — 2 or 3 corpses stacked together as claimed in the Holocaust theory (see for example F. Müller [9] page 17) — will not produce shorter incineration times. First, several corpses packed together will offer a considerably smaller surface per corpse for heat transfer from the gas or absorption of radiation from the walls than 3 corpses separately exposed to the same muffle wall area. That amounts to less heat absorption per corpse and per unit time. But in addition, the muffle volume through which the gas must pass would become smaller. There is less time for the gas to transfer heat to walls and corpses. If the cremator is operated at the same throughput velocity, gas will simply be rushed through the muffle faster, and exit at higher temperature, which means less heat per unit time is available for incineration. In order to protect smoke ducts and chimney, the total throughput of hot gas would have to be lowered — decreasing the primary heat transport per unit time to the muffle.

Considering the physical size of the muffles in Dachau, it must be judged that three corpses could not be loaded into those muffles even when they were cold. W. Stäglich [11] quotes Kautsky (a former prisoner) stating that the aperture of the ovens (in Auschwitz I) permitted only one, or at the most two, corpses to be charged (page 158). In actual operation it would be extremely difficult to charge these muffles with even two corpses. In any case two corpses would have covered up a considerable portion of the wall area, restricting the heat transfer from the gas to those portions of the wall and forcing a reduction of the throughput velocity. This is equivalent to a longer incineration time.

Careful comparison of the size of bricks in pictures reveals that the muffles in crematoria II and III in Auschwitz II were certainly not larger than those in the new crematorium in Dachau (pictures are found for example in A.R. Butz [4] page 157 and 213).

I have observed only single charge incineration of corpses and in coffins. But I will spare the reader my well-founded speculation (and description thereof) how several corpses in one muffle would “fuse” together prolonging the incineration time even further for that reason.

I conclude this part by stating: Technologically it is an illusion that charging cremators as found in WWII camps with more than the charge for which they were designed (one corpse) would shorten the incineration time per corpse. Such a mode of operation would, quite to the contrary, prolong the total incineration time. Even when considering very emaciated corpses (for example during typhus epidemics) my personal estimate would be that no gain in incineration time would occur. But other complicated factors, concerning the state of tissue (dehydration etc.) enter the estimate. For these reasons the calculations have been based on single charge cremation.

4. Incineration Time

In 1946 the incineration time in coal-fired cremators was about 4 to 6 hours. [6] The variation is caused by different physical sizes of the corpses but also by the condition of the tissue. Tougher or firmer tissue requires a longer incineration time. For this reason heart and lungs for example decompose slower during cremation. The coal-fired cremators in 1946 were technologically comparable with those in Dachau. Therefore it must be concluded that the cremators in WWII camps could not have produced a shorter incineration time, except for one major difference: In camps, the corpses were cremated without coffins (therefore the much smaller muffles). Morticians maintain that a coffin does delay the cremation of the corpse even though the wood burns fiercely at first and raises the muffle temperature considerably. But the coffin (and later its ash) also shield the corpse during that time from the radiation of the walls. Taking this into consideration a shorter incineration time in WWII camps can be expected. Morticians have suggested to

me that factors up to ½ could perhaps result. That could reduce 1946 incineration times to about 2-3 hours for the camp cremators which were especially designed for cremations without coffins.

One could fill a book with direct or indirect statements concerning incineration times from Holocaust theory presentations. A few examples however shall suffice here. F. Müller [9] states that in Auschwitz I the cremators were charged with 3 corpses simultaneously and that the total incineration time was 20 minutes (page 17). In 1979 in Dachau exactly the same set of numbers was stated to me by one of today's camp officials who, however, had not been in the camp himself during WWII. [15] As a matter of fact the "20 minutes and three corpses combination" is found quite commonly in the Holocaust theory. By comparison, W. Stäglich [11] quotes from the WRB (War Refugee Board) report about 1.5 hours (page 234). This appears strangely close to more realistic incineration times. The *Los Angeles Times* [17] reporting on a visit to Auschwitz II by "Members of the U.S. Presidential Commission on the Holocaust" declares: "They also toured the crematoria which could and did dispose up to 60,000 bodies a day." Since the Los Angeles Times report specifically states "crematoria" one can calculate the incineration time per corpse. Equation (1) solved for incineration time becomes:

$$I = \frac{C \times T}{N} \quad [3]$$

Because each day has 24 hours one obtains:

$$I = \frac{46 \times 24}{60,000}$$

or

$$I = 0.0184 \text{ hours} = 1.1 \text{ minutes (!)}$$

This would be the incineration time for single charge. With triple charge — according to the Holocaust theory — 3.3 minutes would be available for the cremation of three corpses.

Nothing reflects the state of affairs in Holocaust matters better than the fact that a leading newspaper can offer such figures to the public without being contradicted.

A look at incineration times today generates an astonishingly different set of data. In 1974 in Dortmund a cremation took 2.5 hours in a gas operated cremator (H. Roth [18] page 106). A mortuary in Los Angeles advised me 1978 by phone of "two hours or a little less." Their cremator was operated on gas. From a personal letter I learned that in 1951 in Indianapolis a cremation took 2.5 hours. The cremator was gas fired. W. Stäglich [11] quoting 3 sources (including H. Roth above) finds that 1.5 to 2 hours are realistic incineration times today. In January 1981 CBS presented a discussion during their "60 Minutes" dealing with cremation today. 2.5 hours incineration time was indicated for modern cremators. One could go on only to find an average for today's incineration time in the neighborhood of 2 hours for gas fired cremators.

In 1979 I was permitted to observe two cremations in Darmstadt, West Germany. The cremator was gas-fired and utilized several electrical compressors for forced-air feed (as practically all of today's gas operated cremators do). It was the same crematorium I had visited in 1946. Nobody knew anymore how long a cremation took back then but the 4 to 6 hours for coal-fired cremators appeared acceptable to today's crews. Their modern cremator was fully automated (temperature,

time, cycling of the directional burner sets etc.) and was pre-programmed for 1 hour in the first incineration stage. After that period a timer would be set by the crew for additional incineration time if and as needed. When the remainders of the corpse had fallen to the bottom of the muffle they were mechanically transferred to a second muffle-below the main muffle-to be exposed to heat for two more hours while the next two cremations, one after the other, were taking place in the main muffle. After three hours the final remainders from the first cremation-ash and bone fragments-were removed from the lowest section of the cremator and processed through a bone mill to render them fit for the urn. When a hydraulic lift (similar to a forklift) positioned the coffin into that cremator in Darmstadt all the burners were shut down and yet it took only perhaps 10 seconds before the coffin was engulfed in a fury of flames. A steel hood with an electric ex-hauster above the steel door was needed to protect the operator of the lift from injury from the flames shooting out of the cremator. It was a vivid demonstration of the role which radiation plays during cremation. When the lift was withdrawn on its rails and the large steel doors had been closed, the temperature rose for about 10 minutes from the burning of the coffin to about one and one half times of the operational temperature. After that time the main muffle cooled down and the automatic temperature control took over.

Two hours were used in the calculations because all discussions with morticians have established that this value for camp conditions during WWII must have been an average incineration time. One hour is, on the basis of technological information, certainly too short and it appears even impossible that the cremators in Dachau could actually have reduced a corpse to the necessary degree in two hours. Their simple fire-box type generator could not have transferred the required amount of heat during that period.

Incineration times as claimed in the Holocaust theory are thus contradicted by actual incineration times in modern cremators of today, to a remarkable extent. This has been reported. In addition, practically all of today’s information refers to gas fired cremators which achieve for technical reasons shorter incineration times than coal-fired units.

Within the frame of a technological investigation, incineration times for WWII cremators shorter than those which can be achieved today must be absolutely rejected.

5. Some Necessary Comments.

In the book *Commandant of Auschwitz* [19] cremation capacities for Auschwitz II are discussed which can be used to calculate incineration times (page 181). The two smaller crematoria (Nos. IV and V) had — according to the book — 16 cremators and could dispose of 3000 corpses daily.

Equation (3) yields the incineration time:

I =

16 × 24

3000

[3]

or

I = 0.13 hours = 7.68 minutes

The larger crematoria (Nos. II and III) had — according to the book again — 30 cremators and could cremate 4000 **corpses** in “less than 24 hours.” Since it is unknown how much “less than 24 hours” is, 24 hours will be used for the calculation.

One obtains:

I =	30×24	[3]
	4000	

or $I = 0.18$ hours = 10.8 minutes

While it is immediately apparent that the alleged Höss statements fall in well with the pertinent Holocaust theory claims, they nevertheless contribute nothing to dissolve the discrepancy between those claims and today's incineration times.

In stark contrast to what R. Höss supposedly had written, stands the testimony given by Richard Baer — the last commandant of Auschwitz (1944 — 1945). E. Aretz [20] reports on pages 58 and 59 some of what is known. Here are some essentials: Baer had been arrested in October 1960. At that time he declared that no gas chambers had existed in Auschwitz. He believed- on that basis — that he must be found innocent. However, he died a mysterious death at the age of 51 in perfectly good health on 17 June 1963 in prison. The post mortem revealed that poison could not be excluded as cause of death. However a man believing in his own innocence has no reason to commit suicide. And a former Auschwitz commandant would (at least in 1960) hardly have even contemplated convincing a West German court (with the Zionist Bauer as Attorney General of Hesse) that there were no gas chambers in Auschwitz in operation unless this was his rock-solid knowledge. Their former commandant's sudden death must have served as an impressive message to the rest of the defendants. There only remains to be reported that the first Auschwitz trial could finally start immediately after Baer had died and his name and testimony were never mentioned in the proceedings of the court — or in the Holocaust theory. W. Stäglich [11] who is well qualified as former judge to evaluate court matters, was, in 1976, refused access to the court's proceedings (which he had sought while writing his book on Auschwitz) on the grounds that the protective interests of those involved in the court proceeding had priority over Dr. Stäglich's private interests in a scientific evaluation of the proceedings (page 374). This is quite an interesting statement (from the Hessian Minister of justice) since during the actual Auschwitz trial "those involved" in the proceedings were apparently much less protected. For some detail the reader is referred to H. Laternser [21] who was the defense lawyer for Richard Baer and others. He never came to defend his client but he spoke out on the general witness situation at the first Auschwitz trial.

P. Rassinier [22] discusses in more detail the statements which R. Höss allegedly made (page 235 to 243), but P. Rassinier also quotes the "Kasztner Report" according to which the gas chambers in Auschwitz II for 8 — 9 months (the autumn 1943 to May 1944) were out of order. P. Rassinier draws this conclusion: "It remains to be established how many persons more than 107,000 could have been incinerated from February 1943 to October 1944 ..." (page 241). The figure of 107,000 refers to the Höss [19] statement (page 177) concerning cremations in pits.

Today world-wide lobbied pressure to prosecute so-called "Nazi-war-criminals" prevents very effectively all those from speaking out who have knowledge about the camps and know the answer to one of history's most important questions. One must wonder whether this is not the actual motivation behind this pressure "to prosecute." The Holocaust theory has many faces.

6. Cremation in Pits

There are various claims in the Holocaust theory that huge amounts of corpses have been cremated without cremators on pyres and in pits. To clear up this Holocaust theory created problem would be quite another task.

However some general comments are possible. G. Reitlinger reports that: “Apparently the furnaces were superseded altogether after August 1944 because compared with the burning pits they were considered uneconomical” (page 160). R. Höss [19] states that: “During the summer of 1942 the bodies were still being placed in the mass-graves. Toward the end of the summer however, we started to burn them; at first on wood pyres bearing some 2000 corpses and later in pits together with bodies previously buried” (page 177). In other words the alleged efficiency of burning in pits was supposedly well known before the new crematoria in Auschwitz II were built. Nevertheless they were built — and with great difficulties due to war conditions — only to find out that burning in open pits was more efficient-which is exactly what allegedly had been known before.

In open fires, larger amounts and-especially partly decomposed corpses from earlier graves-can be cremated. The authorities in German towns had to resort to this process during WWII after Allied fire bombings. Photographs exist, for example, of cremations on pyres in Dresden. [23] Unfortunately reports are too scarce and not detailed enough that technical conclusions could be drawn. In any case, in this type of operation, cremation is incomplete and large amounts of bones and incompletely cremated organic materials would have remained. I am not aware of any thorough investigation including a numerical analysis in or near WWII extermination camps. And personally I do not believe -provided there is factual evidence of residue from large scale cremations in pits at all-that at the present day, numerical results could be derived. At least any evaluation would have to involve the actual moving and sifting of thousands of tons (if not more) of soil, lest the result of such an investigation must be mistrusted before it has ever been obtained. Impartiality of those conducting the excavation would present today an almost insoluble problem. As to the reports which do exist, the burden of the missing proof lies with those who relate them. A brief discussion of one report will demonstrate the nature of the claims. F. Müller [9] for example refers frequently to the burning in pits. Even after discounting such way-out allegations such as the claim that “human fat” was collected at the bottom of the pits, the remainder of the report cannot be given credence either.

On page 130 the author reports that: “The pits were 40 to 50 meters long, about 8 meters wide and 2 meters deep.” on page 137 the procedure of setting up a cremation in these pits is described: “Then the bearers laid about 100 corpses face up in four long rows on top of the fuel.” If one allows 0.5 meters (19.7 inches) in width for each corpse the described procedure (100 corpses in one row) would fill the pit completely lengthwise with no space left at the ends. Accepting 70” as an average human height one obtains for the four rows 7.1 meters width which would leave less than 0.5 meters on each side of the pit. Considering further that wood was placed between the 3 layers, each of 400 corpses, those pits would have been full to the brim and no cremation is conceivable at all. F. Müller tries to explain that this difficulty was overcome by pouring oil and wood alcohol (plus “human fat” again) on the corpses (page 136). However these liquid fuels would have evaporated in the hot pit immediately and burnt off on the surface of the pit that is, on top of the corpses-since nowhere else did oxygen have access to the fuel vapors. But F. Müller goes on to report: “The process of incineration took five to six hours” (page 138). Cremation in pits-not on pyres-could have had only one purpose: To provide for convenient burial of the remainders by filling the pit in with soil after the cremation. F. Müller [9] however insists that the remainders were removed each time and the pits re-used (page 139). All one can say about this type of report is-that it cannot have happened that way.

In Katyn during 1943 the corpses of some 4143 Polish officers were exhumed. [24] The mass-graves which R. Höss [19] allegedly has reported supposedly contained 107,000 corpses (page 177). This is the equivalent of almost 26 Katyns — with no proof except for the questionable Höss document written, at least in part, in pencil while under Communist imprisonment. And the original (like in the “Anne Frank case”) is practically unaccessible even today, presuming that an “original” did in fact ever exist and provided that what is kept so secret in the Auschwitz museum today is not a forgery [22](page 27).

In Part I of this study it has been demonstrated that — of the alleged 6 million — at least some 5.5 million would have had to be cremated in pits. Even dismissing any realistic incineration time in pits it must be pointed out again that large amounts of bones must have resulted from such an enterprise. Considering the 5.5 million evenly distributed over R. Hilberg’s six “Killing Centers” one would have to find remains of more than 916,000 corpses in each camp (a numerical equivalent of 221 Katyns for each camp). Even R. Hilberg [5] claims such a number only for Auschwitz (page 572). But while claims exist, tacit proof in the form of excavations and numerical evaluations is absent, for even 10% of the claims — 36 years after WWII. Today this most fantastic part of the Holocaust theory must either be totally rejected for lack of proof or must be fanatically believed which requires no proof.

7. Some Other Technical Points

A 50% duty cycle has been considered “most probable” for the purpose of the calculations. For the actual work time of crews another 3 — 4 hours of preheating time and probably another hour for cleaning (de-slagging) would have to be added. This would amount to 16 to 17 hours of worktime per day. All calculations based on a 100% duty cycle are at least for technological reasons unrealistic.

Disposal of corpses by cremation in WWII camps in itself clearly does not represent proof of atrocity but was rather a necessity especially during epidemics. Cremation is an effective way to decompose infectious organic material. This however does not require complete cremation. If one speculates a lesser degree of cremation in WWII camps (to decrease incineration time) large amounts of bones must have accumulated and their disposal would have created a problem by itself. However, personally, I do not believe that today numerical results from bone contents of soil in camps -provided there are any to speak of-could still be derived.

This brings up the question of fuel and ashes. It is at best difficult to estimate the consumption of coal or coke for cremators whose technical design is not known at least in some detail. But if one assumes 100 kg (220 lb) of coal per corpse (which may be insufficient) even 250,000 cremations would have required 25,000 tons. There are no storage or processing facilities known for larger amounts of fuel. One would expect at least railway tracks to have been extended directly up to the cremators. There were none. [25] There are not even simple mechanical unloading facilities (ramps or chutes for example) known either. Distributed over 20 months in Auschwitz II, 25,000 tons would have required more than 41 tons of manual handling of coal per day. If one considers R. Hilberg's [5] “one million” dead in Auschwitz (page 572) 167 tons per day would have had to be moved. And Pope Paul II’s announcement of 4 million victims in Auschwitz [26] would have required the manual handling of no less than 667 tons per day.

The disposal of ashes presents another problem. Dumping sites of ashes must exist near crematoria. However, here too, a numerical evaluation has probably become impossible by now.

8. Critique and Limitations of the Method

In scientific work — and Holocaust theory is not one — results are usually given within error ranges. A speed for example might be given as 50 mph $\pm$ 5 mph. The meaning is that the actual speed may be either 55 or 45 mph or any value in between those limits. Sometimes however there are reasons to conclude that a particular number is the “most probable” one. In the above example that could be, for example, 47 mph — if there is reason to justify this number it would be termed the “most probable” speed.

In the interpretation of the results of this investigation most probable numbers have been derived-with statements of reason. For example Table II (Part I) gives a “theoretically possible maximum of cremations” and a “theoretically possible minimum of cremations” (861,120 and 215,280). As explained above, the actual number can be either one of these figures or any number within this range. In the text, however, the lowest number (215,280) is stated to be the “most probable” number. This was based on the

fact that a 50% duty cycle is “much more” probable than a 100% duty cycle and 2 hours incineration time “much more” probable than 1 hour incineration time, both for technical reasons. While the range of figures is absolute within the conditions on which the calculation is based, the most probable number is not. If, for example, proof should be produced that 75% duty cycle and 1.5 hours incineration time are “more probable” then the “most probable” number of theoretically possible cremations would have to be calculated on that basis.

This difference, however, would not alter the fact that more than 5.5 million corpses must have “disappeared” without cremation in cremators — according to the Holocaust theory.

While the technological approach demonstrated in this investigation cannot produce an “exact” figure, it does not suffer from other uncertainties as much as, for example, statistics. However statistics can be accurate, too, if based upon secure and certain data.

For example the “Sonderstandesamt Arolson” (Special Registrar’s Office Arolson West Germany) states in a letter ^[27] 271,304 DOCUMENTED fatalities for 13 WWII concentration camps. Another 93,069 are listed in the letter as documented by other Registrars' Offices. The figure given for Auschwitz is 52,389 fatalities. These 364,373 fatalities represent then an “absolute minimum” number. The actual figure cannot be lower but could be higher. But even if one doubles the above figure the result remains below one million.

This demonstrates again that for more than 5.5 million of the 6 million claim no documentation exists — except by inference in “Holocaust Theory.”

Thirty-six years after WWII this discrepancy is not acceptable any longer. Neither is the defamation against the German people. The failure of historians to secure data in due time can today only be overcome by methods which are based on data which cannot be altered. The technical properties of Zyklon B are such data. Cremator hours and incineration times are others.

Part III

Conclusion

An attempt has been presented to apply technological aspects of cremation to the numerical claims in the Holocaust theory. It has been demonstrated that even when accepting the rawest of data from the Holocaust theory the disposal of millions of corpses in available cremators was impossible. It is inconceivable that more than 90% of the legendary 6 million could have been dis-

posed of in open pits etc. without leaving extensive traces; none of which have been demonstrated to exist and evaluated numerically within the vicinity of WWII camps. Testimony from camp personnel-other than prisoners-is effectively suppressed by continued persecution of former camp personnel.

Therefore rational- technological -criteria must be applied to the historical problems which Holocaust theory has created. The maximum data which have been purposely accepted from the Holocaust theory for this investigation concern the number of cremators and their operational times. Other parameters, especially incineration time and multiple charge, have been investigated with results which make related Holocaust theory claims unacceptable. Therefore they have been dismissed.

When, in the future, those parameters accepted here from the Holocaust theory will be adjusted to already available and still to come information, I predict that the total 66 most probable" death toll from all causes for Auschwitz (for example) will drop to or below 100,000 dead.

As to the prospective results of investigations of pit areas in the future I expect no surprises. While smaller pits may have been operated, any pit area where millions or even a hundred thousand corpses had been cremated would have been found a long time ago and its numerical evaluation propagandized to the world in great detail.

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14. [U](#) Ditlieb Felderer, *Revisionist History*, see for example RH Nr. 166 and RH Nr. 167
15. [U](#) During summer 1979 the author visited Dachau with special interest in the crematoria. (As a side result it was found that no ductwork appears to exist from the four cremators in the new crematorium to the chimney.) Also no compressors were installed in Dachau during WWII. Fuel was coke.

16. ☞ Ditleb Felderer reports in RH. 167 that Czech and Piper-both officials at the Auschwitz camp today-stated that the 4 ovens at the crematorium I (Auschwitz I) were built in 1946 or 1947.
17. ☞ *Los Angeles Times*, Thursday 2 August 1979, Part I, page 11
18. ☞ Heinz Roth, *Öder makaberste Betrug aller Zeiten*, Druck + Verlag 581, Witten (West Germany) 1974
19. ☞ Rudolf Höss (?), *Commandant of Auschwitz*, Popular Library, 1960
20. ☞ Emil Aretz, *Hexen Einmal Eins Einer Lüge*, Franz von Bebenburg (West Germany) 1979
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22. ☞ Paul Rassinier, *Debunking the Genocide Myth*, Institute for Historical Review, 1978
23. ☞ David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden*, Ballantine Books, 1968. See picture section between pages 160 and 161
24. ☞ Louis Fitz Gibbon, *Katyn*, (see appendix 6) The [Noontide Press](#), 1979
25. ☞ The plan of Birkenau (Auschwitz II) is reproduced in (4) page 229. There were no railway tracks at crematoria IV and V. There is only the end of the switching yard between crematoria II and III. Aerial photographs in *Life* (Vol. 2, Nr. 4 April 1979, page 12) show however clearly that tracks were not extended to the crematoria and no special unloading facilities existed.
26. ☞ Deutsche Presse-Agentur (German Press-Agency), reproduced in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Saturday 9 June 1979 Nr. 132, page 5.
27. ☞ Copy of letter dated 11 May 1979 is in the author's possession.

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West German Justice and So-Called National Socialist Violent Crimes

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When I speak of so-called National Socialist (hereinafter: NS) crimes of violence, this correctly indicates my conviction that the legend of the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question” is a fiction. This is not the place to present a detail-by-detail rebuttal of this myth; others have already done so most adequately. In any case, as a jurist I do not in any way feel beholden to deliver a conclusive refutation of an allegation which has yet to be proved in the first place. The historians have from time to time admitted as much, and refer the skeptic not to any forensic or tangible evidence of exterminations by gas, but to the results of countless NS criminal trials before the West German courts [1] The efficacy of this tactic on public opinion should not be underestimated. Today, many people are under the impression that the exterminations have been historically “proved” because the war criminal trials “proved” them by verdicts of guilt. As I will show, this was exactly the purpose of the trials right from the beginning.

Before describing in detail the activities of the German judicial system, we must examine the ways in which the war crimes trials were brought about, and will continue to be brought about.

One of the greatest stumbling-blocks to continued NS trials was the German Criminal Code’s Statute of Limitations. When the War Crimes Investigation Office first opened its doors at Ludwigsburg on 1 December 1958, one of their first discoveries was that the prosecution of murder was subject to a 20-year Statute of Limitations. Hence, trials of alleged war-time murders could not take place after the spring of 1965 at the latest.

This problem caused considerable sleepless nights among the German politicians in Bonn, anxious to placate “World” (i.e. Zionist) opinion and prove what dedicated Nazi-hunters they were; German constitutional rights notwithstanding. On 13 April 1965 the *Bundestag* (Parliament) performed its legislative and judicial conjuring trick with a new law “governing the computation of deadlines” [2] of the Statute of Limitations. From now on, the Statute of Limitations would not be computed from the date of the actual crime itself, but from the arbitrary date of 1 January 1950! Thus, at a stroke, the deadline for trials was moved forward to 31 December 1969 — giving the inquisitors an extra four years to round up their victims. The politicians’ “rationale” for this sleight-of-hand was the bald statement that no German prosecutions could take place during 1945-1949 (on account of the Allied occupation, and suspension of civil government) so therefore the clock should not start running until civil government had been restored. [3] No mention was made of the fact that witnesses’ mental clocks were still running at the regular speed during these four years, and their potential testimony getting so much more rusty and unreliable!

Nor was any weight given to the argument that, far from being safe from prosecution, “war criminals” were being ruthlessly pursued up and down Germany during these four years, during the Allied reign of terror. With the aid of ex post facto laws, the Allies tried and sentenced 50,000-

60, 000 Germans for alleged crimes against humanity. In 806 cases, the Anglo-American tribunals handed down death sentences, 486 of which were carried out. [4] We will never know how many “trials” and executions took place in the Soviet zone of occupation.

And, despite the lack of a national government, there were indeed indigenous German trials, specially set up under the Allies' infamous Control Council Law No. 10. [5]

All this does not lack a certain irony, for one of the Allies' main accusations against the Nationalist Socialist regime was that a number of *ex post facto* laws had been introduced during the period of the Third Reich! *Quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi!* This allegation that prosecution had been “suspended” until 31 December 1949 was, therefore, nothing but a hypocritical and transparent trick.

According to Article 69, paragraph 1 of the Penal Code (StGB), the Statute of Limitations was in any case considered to be interrupted if the case could not be commenced. The fact that the legislature expressly determined the same thing for a certain time-span shows clearly enough that this was done only to manipulate the rule of law. The Federal Constitutional Court later upheld the constitutionality of the *Bundestag*'s trickery. [6]

By the time 1969 came around, it was found that many “war criminals” were still at large. This time the *Bundestag* decided to drop the sleight-of-hand approach, and go for the blatant, bull-at-the-gate tactic. The Statute of Limitations was extended from 20 years to 30 years with a “law governing the amendment of the criminal law.” [7] This extension conveniently ignored Article 103, paragraph 2 of the German Basic Law [8] which states that a criminal act cannot be punished unless the culpability has been determined before the act was committed! In 1979, when this enabling act was also due to expire, it too was extended, again at the behest of international Zionist organizations. The Israeli ambassador to West Germany sat on the public gallery of the *Bundestag* during the debate to “monitor” the voting.

Needless to say, all of these *ex post facto* laws only applied to German alleged criminals. No Allied soldiers were ever put on trial for the legion of atrocities committed against the German people during and after the war. In addition, the German courts are forbidden from trying war criminals of Allied armies by Part 1, Article 3 of the so-called *Überleitungsvertrag* [9] (Convention of the Rights and Duties of Foreign Forces in West Germany). This doublestandard exemption for war criminals of the winning side is an obvious violation of the principle of equality before the law. It is also a violation of any standard of civil rights.

We have noted that the German courts really only got going against “war criminals” in 1958. The Head of the Ludwigsburg Central Office for Prosecution of NS Criminals, Adalbert Rückerl, emphasizes in his book *NS Trials* that there had earlier been little enthusiasm for such trials, and it was only after the 1958 trial at Ulm of some *Einsatzgruppen* members that public opinion finally realized “what kind of serious crimes had not been prosecuted up until then.” (The trial resulted in 10 defendants receiving long terms of imprisonment for allegedly having participated in the alleged “murder of several thousand Jews in the area of the German-Lithuanian border.”) According to Rückerl's analysis, after this initial trial, the judiciary “then reacted without further delay.” [10]

This pat explanation is, however, somewhat unconvincing. The German people had had many years of lurid atrocity stories from the Allied show-trials, and far from making them more enthusiastic for even more trials, the German people were starting to become even more cynical and skeptical. It was around the same time that the swindle of the Dachau “gas chamber” first came to light, [11] and even Dr. Martin Broszat, the head of the Institute for Contemporary History in

Munich, was obliged to admit that no gassings had taken place at Dachau or any other camp in the former Reich. ^[12] These admissions overnight rendered valueless the testimony, confessions, documents and proofs of gassing at the myriad of trials relating to “gassings” in the camps in Germany-proper. What, the German people asked themselves, is the difference in value between the testimonies, confessions, documents and proofs-of-gassing in the camps in Germany (now admitted bogus) and the testimonies, confessions, documents and proofs-of-gassing in the camps in Poland (still claimed to be genuine)?

The real reason, in my opinion, for the stepping-up of the German NS trials was that the myth-makers had to do something to stop the imminent collapse of their painstakingly constructed edifice. What could be more useful for this purpose than the authority of the German courts? It is significant to note that the then General Public Prosecutor of the Hesse state, Fritz Bauer, frankly described the NS trials as an “exemplary aspect of the re-education of the German people” that had been under discussion ever since 1945. ^[13] The Jewish writer J.G. Burg put this even more bluntly. He wrote, with reference to these trials:

They serve, above all, the purpose of engraining in the German people a consciousness of collective guilt, so that its sons and daughters would be born already burdened with the German “Original Sin.” ^[14]

This also explains why whole groups of youngsters are continually conducted through the public galleries of NS show trials. As Herman Langbein, General Secretary of the Vienna Auschwitz Committee, and main-spring of the first Auschwitz Trial at Frankfurt, remarked smugly:

It is also the fact that the trials are being watched day by day by classes of school-children and other groups in the courtroom, which shows us that the importance of the trials in terms of contemporary history has been perfectly understood. ^[15]

One could quote many more examples like this to underline the real purpose of the NS trials. One can only conclude that the impetus for the stepping-up on NS trials was not — as Rückerl maintains — the judiciary “reacting” to the horrors of the first case, but a reaction to the enormous pressures from political quarters, which were in turn exposed to even greater pressures from international — in particular, Jewish — circles. It is common knowledge that the World Jewish Congress has lobbied for continued NS trials, and has even “provided” many of the necessary “witnesses.” ^[16]

No less remarkable is the way the government went about making these new witch-hunts as effective as possible. Rückerl has the following to say on the subject:

Knowing that the Code of Criminal Procedure (which was binding on the local courts) constituted an obstacle for a thorough prosecution of these crimes, the Conference of the State Ministers and Senators of justice decided in the Fall of 1958 to create a Central Office of the State Departments of Justice for the prosecution of NS crimes. ^[17]

One might read this quote a second time to better understand the significance of this decision. Here was a case where a special public prosecuting authority was created which had no legal basis whatsoever in the German Criminal Code. It was, nevertheless, invested with substantially greater power than the correctly-constituted criminal prosecuting authorities. This incident is a typical example of the contempt for the constitution, and the very law itself, on the part of those who have been assigned the role of “guardians of the law.”

In the first years of its existence, the Central Office for the Prosecution of NS Crimes, headquartered in Ludwigsburg, was staffed by 7-10 public prosecutors — too few in Rückerl's opinion. In April 1965, the Conference of Justice Ministers increased the prosecuting staff to 45-50. In addition to this, as many as 250 further prosecutors were engaged outside the Central Office. On top of this, there must be roughly 200 investigators working in special teams. [18] Small wonder that the number of normal criminal prosecutions was steadily decreasing during these years!

If the Central Office must be described as standing on very shaky constitutional ground, its activities were even more so! Their special Prosecutor's Office proceeds in its investigations quite differently from normal prosecutions. Rückerl describes it thus:

Our people then set to work exploring the factual circumstances which had been drawn to our attention by the statement of a witness, a document, a quotation from a book, or which was common knowledge, but yet had not been prosecuted, as far as we could tell.

This resulted in a situation where large parts of the wartime occupied territories were subjected to a network of preliminary investigations. A number of heretofore undiscovered matters came to light in this way. [19]

And Rückerl's assistant, Chief Public Prosecutor Manfred Blank added:

In pursuance of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Public Prosecutor must, firstly, intervene in cases where a criminal offense has been committed in his district — or where he receives information to the effect that an accused is present in his district. [20]

In other words, "crimes" were investigated when there was no evidence at all, and the only way to facilitate such an investigation was simply to override all existing rules and regulations governing criminal investigation procedures.

Thus, all investigations of NS cases were not just carried out by an office not even provided for in our law, but also in deviation from the normal methods of preliminary investigation. One cannot accept that this deviation was necessary for the "rule of law to stand its test" as Rückerl puts it so poetically. [21] On the contrary, the deviation was one of the greatest floutings of the rule of law ever conceivable!

In practical terms, the preliminary investigations are obliged-in the absence of any solid facts- to concentrate initially on the literature of the IMT (International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg). Additionally, there has developed a close liaison between the Central Office and numerous foreign contacts, particularly those in Israel and the Eastern Bloc, who generally help out with "documents." Of particularly "valuable assistance" are "the publications of the Jewish Historical Institute at Warsaw, and the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem" according to Chief Public Prosecutor Manfred Blank. [22]

One of the best-known foreign contacts of the Central Office is the notorious Simon Wiesenthal, who has been proved to have given false evidence on at least one occasion, concerning indemnification. J.G. Burg describes him as the "spark-plug of the Ludwigsburg Central Office." [23] This may be a slight exaggeration, but it is quite a remarkable statement all the same: Burg himself is Jewish. Wiesenthal has boasted during a TV program that "German public prosecutors and judges had often written letters to him" asking for assistance. [24]

Various “survivors” organizations at home and abroad also have decisive influence on the course of these investigations. For example, the International Auschwitz Committee in Vienna, represented by its General Secretary Hermann Langbein, took a decisive role in the preliminary proceedings of the first Auschwitz Trial at Frankfurt, and later on at the trial proper. In his book, *The Auschwitz Trial*, Langbein later treated his readers to a self-aggrandizing eulogy regarding his part in the proceedings. Among other things, he quotes in full a back-slapping letter from a Chief Public Prosecutor by the name of Wolf, in which the writer expressed “gratitude and recognition ... for the active and valuable assistance.” [25]

It follows from all of the above that the basis for the preliminary proceedings and investigations was at best highly dubious, especially as it was almost exclusively provided by those persons who had personal, political, and financial interests in promoting the anti-German atrocity lies. Rückerl refers to it as the “special knowledge in terms of contemporary history” on the part of the Central Office staff in Ludwigsburg which reflects such interests. [26]

Along with this research into “hitherto unknown crimes” a hunt for the hitherto unknown “criminals” (i.e. former SS members, policemen, camp guards, and *Einsatzgruppen* members) was carried out. Even though modern police hunts are so inept that known terrorists are often detected only by accident, in the case of former SS members the country was scoured from top to bottom in this fanatical man-hunt. These people, considered to be criminals right from the start, were generally taken into close custody at once “pending investigation” and this lasted, in many cases, 5 years and longer. One can only guess at what treatment these unfortunate men and women were subjected to after their arrests. It is common knowledge that many of them did not survive imprisonment; for example, the former commandant of Auschwitz, Richard Baer. His death in custody received very little publicity—quite the opposite from other such cases. Many prisoners committed suicide. Sometimes, such as at the Sobibor Trial, it was those accused who had refused to confess who “passed away.” The Jewish writer J.G. Burg comments as follows:

We hear time and time again of cases where prisoners accused of war crimes have passed away “of their own free will.” It is quite obvious that there is something extremely fishy about all of this. [27]

I do not want to be misunderstood. I am not saying necessarily that the prisoners were or are subjected to illegal treatment. But the circumstances of their “legal” treatment — particularly the prolonged remand in custody — may well be so debilitating that it completely destroys the prisoner’s will. This seems to happen more readily to people of humble birth and simple education, and most of the victims of this persecution did come from such a background.

One important part in all NS trials is the role of witnesses. Indeed, they are indispensable, for as Rückerl himself admits, the “documents” may “be used only as ... background material.” [28] However, the techniques adopted by the Public Prosecutor’s Office in obtaining suitable statements from witnesses in NS cases are almost unbelievable. Here again the procedure used is totally different from normal preliminary investigations and judicial inquiries. Only recently, during the Majdanek Trial (which is still in progress), a case of witness-coaching was discovered in which either the Central Office in Ludwigsburg or the Public Prosecutor’s Office must have been involved in some way. [29] This case was rightfully described as a scandal, and provoked a wide reaction among the general public. Needless to say, the people responsible for this trial failed to suffer any recognizable consequences from the scandal. This is, however, not at all surprising, for it appears that it is general practice in NS trials that the (potential) witnesses should be “helped” in preparing their proposed testimony. Laternser has proved this already, in regard to the first really big concentration camp trial: the Auschwitz Trial at Frankfurt. [30]

We know that even the public prosecutors responsible for the judicial inquiries are developing some leanings in this direction because of a document which recently came to light. It is certainly not unique in its contents and nature. It is a letter originating from the North-Rhine/Westphalia Central Office of NS Concentration Camp Crimes, and sent to the Office of the Chief Prosecutor in Cologne. It is signed by a Public Prosecutor called Dr. Gierlich. The document, comprising 156 pages, bears the file number 24 AR 1/62 (Z) and was sent confidentially to all the witnesses of the Sachsenhausen Trial. It contains: a 12 page letter of the aforementioned Public Prosecutor to the addressee; 84 pages of biographical and personal particulars of 577 former camp staff; [31] and a comprehensive appendix of 497 photos of SS men at the Sachsenhausen camp. [32]

To underline the spirit in which the investigatory inquiries were conducted, let me quote a little from the Gierlich letter. The letter begins with some very definite information:

Dear Sir:

In consultation with the Sachsenhausen Committee of West Germany, I am conducting a comprehensive collective criminal trial based on the activities of the SS personnel employed in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Insofar as investigations have not been carried out against them in the past, you would greatly oblige me by complying with the enclosed summons and by giving me some information on your experiences as regards the subject-matter of this letter.

The reference to the “consultation with the Sachsenhausen Committee” shows where the Public Prosecutor’s “knowledge” originates from; this knowledge being intended to induce the witness to sympathy toward “the subject matter of this letter,” of course. Now, if one bears in mind that the overwhelming proportion of detainees in concentration camps were convicted criminals, [33] and if one therefore assumes that the concentration camp “survivor” committees were and are manned likewise, then it should not be too way out to speak of a collaboration between German public prosecutors and criminals! It certainly happens in real criminal cases that the investigators find their confidential sources and witnesses among criminals and ex-convicts. But there is a world of difference between the two approaches. In the latter case, the criminal informants are kept at arm’s length, and their information treated with some skepticism on account of its origins. In NS investigations, the criminals practically become part of the investigating team themselves!

Now let us read on with Dr. Gierlich’s letter:

Perhaps you might be one of those concentration camp survivors who are very reluctant to give evidence, either because you do not wish to be reminded of those cruel events, or because you do not see the point of prosecuting such crimes after this long period of time? Nevertheless, if I urgently ask you for your support, then I am doing it because I am of the conviction that it must be possible-with the combined efforts of the survivors — to at least partially expose the terrible bloody deeds perpetrated at Sachsenhausen (and which could not be exposed until now) and to bring to justice the murderers and murderers' assistants who are living in our midst unrecognized.

It is quite obvious the Chief Prosecutor considers the atrocities, which he himself says he is supposed to expose, as already established facts. There then follows an eloquent apology for the fact that the proceedings had had to wait until 1962. Quite out of place, the recipients of the letter are given a run-down on the investigation work carried out so far:

After evaluating all the Sachsenhausen-related trials so far, plus the list of war criminals compiled by the survivors, plus the published survivor narratives, it was possible

to compile a dossier on the whereabouts of many of the former SS men who were employed at the camp or were otherwise related to it in some way. These can only be a small fraction of the former guards, it is true, but they should — at any rate — include those persons who have committed crimes. Furthermore, we have compiled a dossier of witnesses which contains the names of former inmates (for all periods of the camp's operation), plus the names of those involved in almost all the block- and major-workcrews. In addition to all of this, the Sachsenhausen Survivors Committee is available to provide expert counsel in cases of doubt. It would seem, therefore, that a comprehensive final exposition of criminal offenses committed in the camp is very likely to be crowned with success, even after such a length of time, provided that the former prisoners, such as yourself, do not fail to give me their assistance.

Later on in the Gierlich letter, the potential witness is given “aides memoires” which bear little or no resemblance to the facts, nor indeed to any concept of unbiased investigatory conduct to which the Office of Public Prosecutor is legally bound. Such an outrageous procedure would be unthinkable in a normal criminal investigation of judicial inquiry.

A further unusual aspect of these NS investigations is the indiscriminate circulation of a large variety of names and photographs -with subjective commentaries or captions to make it easier for the “witnesses” to “recognize” the “criminals.” Furthermore, the “survivors” are also given descriptions of the alleged “mass crimes” perpetrated in the Sachsenhausen camp. The following are excerpts from the same Gierlich letter:

I. Massacres, for example:

1. Murders when the first larger convoys of Jews arrived in the camp in 1938

Murders of conscientious objectors to military service, predominantly Jehovah's Witnesses, early in the war. (Information concerning the murder of the Jehovah's Witness August Dieckmann, who was shot dead on 15 September 1939 on the parade ground ...) ...

5. Execution of 33 Poles on 9 November 1940.

6. Execution of Russian PoWs in the Fall of 1941; shot in the neck, in the special execution contraption in the area of the industrial yard. Who helped erect this neck-shooting contraption? Who was seen in charge of the convoys heading for these neck-shooting installations?...

9. Gassing of prisoners. Who installed the facilities?

10. Shooting of 27 prisoners from Block 58 on 10 November 1944...

13. Selection of prisoners unable to work.

14. Medical experiments and tests with poisoned ammunition on prisoners ...

II. Other Crimes:...

2. Who killed prisoners

- at the brick factory
- in the garden

- in the penal company
- in the Jewish blocks?
- 4. Who gave the orders or commands; who supervised; in cases where losses of life occurred, e.g.
- so-called “sports activities”
- so-called “standing”?...

7. Which doctors refused to give medical treatment to sick patients, who subsequently died?

8. Who consciously ordered sick patients to hard labor? Which prisoners died as a result of this severe treatment?

As can be seen, there is hardly any atrocity lie which has been left out. Even the gas chambers were included in this list, in spite of data given to the contrary by the Institute for Contemporary History in 1960. Dr. Gierlich was obviously not up-to-date with his information when he wrote this letter. In any case, the survivor addressed by the letter was called upon to make a choice (if necessary after consultation with the Survivors Committee!) as to which “crime” he intended to make a statement about, and whom he wanted to accuse of the crime. Presumably this was to avoid a duplication of effort, with all the witnesses wanting to steal the show by testifying only about the most monstrous atrocity and accusing only the most monster-like defendant.

As if this was not outrageous enough, on page 10 of the letter the recipient is even encouraged to report about “M treatment” in the camp, even though this category of crime-unlike more serious offenses-has long come under the Statute of Limitations. The reason for this suggestion was that “this may perhaps give some indication as to the frame of mind of the respective person during a killing that took place at some other time.” And, since there is also a possibility that “by mentioning other circumstances, the ill treatment could be construed as attempted murder.” What a wonderful tip for the potential witness, and a suggestion not to be shy in mentioning even the smallest detail! Needless to say, a charge of “ill treatment” manipulated into “attempted murder” would no longer exempt the defendant from prosecution under the Statute of Limitations.

As if in faint acknowledgement of the outlandish bias of all of this, the letter writer slips in a codicil to at least put on an appearance of fairness. He states that for reasons of objectivity it is required to also mention “such circumstances that speak in favor of members of the SS forces.” But, as we have already seen this is only a matter of form, in view of Article 160, Paragraph 2 StPO (Code of Criminal Procedure). This article states that the Public Prosecutor is obliged to inquire not only into those facts whereby a person can be charged, but also into those facts whereby he could be discharged, or could contribute to a person’s acquittal. However, the remainder of this strange letter does not indicate any efforts at all in this direction. The “crimes” mentioned therein are described as already firmly established. The SS men named therein-with photos attached-are referred to without elaboration as “the culprits.” No attention whatever is given to the concept of an accused being innocent until found guilty. In this case, the “trial” is only to decide a question of *how much* guilt each accused should be attributed with.

The final sentence of the letter is one of the most important:

May I ask of you, however, not to mention anything about this letter to any of the SS people whose address you may know, as they are completely unaware of my investigations.

It is quite obvious that the secret inquisition is celebrating a merry little dance here. It is not until the “crime” has been plucked out of thin air and given form (through the adequate securing and briefing of “witnesses”) that the accused is even informed of the investigation. By this time, normally, he has had it. If he does not confess at once he is taken into “close custody pending investigation,” with all that that entails. It reminds one of the medieval witch trials, where the witch was thrown into the duck pond. If she drowned, she must have been innocent. If she survived, it was obviously only through witchcraft, so she was hanged or burned anyway.

It should again be emphasized that this document is certainly not the only one of its kind. One can be certain that the investigations were pursued by this or a similar method in all NS trials.

If the intention was indeed to make use of the NS trials as an aid in “Re-education” — as General Prosecutor Bauer openly admitted — then it was necessary to create the complementary judicial framework as well. This purpose could not have been achieved if every defendant had been tried under normal criminal court procedures. The background of “contemporary history” to which the investigators of these trials attached the greatest value could hardly be demonstrated in individual criminal procedures. It was for this reason that mammoth trials were organized for every single concentration camp, with the trial name corresponding to the camp name.

This was, of course, not at all possible without manipulating the jurisdiction of the courts to a certain extent. The principle laid down in constitutional law that nobody may be diverted from his court of legal jurisdiction [34] was — to put it mildly — interpreted rather generously in this process. In legal principle, there were various courts exercising jurisdiction over most of the NS defendants; namely, either the court of their place of residence (Article 8 StPO), or the court of the place of their arrest (Article 9 StPO). [35] However, for reasons of convenience the Criminal Code also specifies a location based on personal or factual considerations (Art. 13 in conjunction with Art. 3), the requirements of which cannot be explained in detail here. One thing is certain, however: there is no way that the staged NS trials were expedient from a legalistic standpoint—the equitable administering of justice. Indeed, as the well-known lawyer Laternser said in regard to the Auschwitz Trial, which lasted two years with 20 defendants: [36]

It is impossible for a jury of 3 professional- and 6 lay-judges to deliberate on evidence submitted over 20 months, then decide on the verdict with the necessary conscientiousness, and then deliver the sentence, with the essential proper care and attention. What the Prosecutors and the courts are submitting to the jurors for judgment exceeds human abilities. The court was in a hopeless situation, and with it justice was also ... in immense danger .

Is it reasonable to expect the judges to base their judgment and sentence (which may well be catastrophic for the defendant) on their recollection of the detailed evidence of 350 witnesses, the first of whom had been heard 18 months beforehand? Apart from the most dramatic cases, it is very unlikely that the court would even remember the names of individual witnesses, never mind the important details of his or her testimony, or whether or not the testimony carried any legal weight. How on earth could it be possible to adjudge the credibility of a witness 18 months after hearing him? In such a situation justice—and with it every single defendant—will be in the greatest peril.

Laternser’s remarks about the Auschwitz Trial are undoubtedly applicable to any other criminal trial of such a magnitude. It is obvious that his remarks apply equally to the Majdanek Trial, which has now been running for over 5 years. What Laternser did not see, or did not say, was that

justice is the lowest priority in NS cases, including the Auschwitz case. The accused, in trials of this kind, are in reality only tailor's dummies serving a higher purpose.

Without examining the case files we cannot say for certain how the shifting of jurisdiction in NS trials actually came about. Presumably in many cases the proceedings were instituted in accordance with Article 13a. This article states that the Federal Court may determine the competent court in cases where a competent court does not exist or is unspecified under the criminal Code. It was on the basis of this Article that the Frankfurt Landgericht (State Court) was declared competent. [37] And there are quite a number of indicators to show that this was no coincidence. [38] Perhaps it was also no coincidence that the arch-Zionist Fritz Bauer was resident in Frankfurt at that time.

But on the other hand, it is debatable whether or not Article 13a was applicable in this case, because all the defendants had a place of residence within West Germany, so therefore the competent court ought to be determined as the court administering over their place of residence. It appears that this provision of the Criminal Code was deliberately twisted for different reasons. For example, we learn from Rückerl himself that at the suggestion of the Central Office, the *Bundesanwalt* succeeded in having the Federal Court determine Düsseldorf as the venue for the Sobibor Trial, in accordance with Article 13a. [39] This decision effectively interrupted the Statute of Limitations, and so the survival of this enormous trial was ensured. However, neither of these actions corresponded to the meaning and intention of Article 13a.

Since we hear from the horse's mouth itself, the NS trials are part of a re-education program (Bauer and many others have said so, both explicitly and implicitly [40]) I have no hesitation in describing these trials as "show trials." The most essential prerequisite for a show trial is a political objective of some kind. The idea is to intimidate the population or influence "public opinion" in some manner. [41] In other words, the objectives in an NS trial have little or nothing to do with the pursuit of justice which is the objective in a normal criminal trial. These show trials are not at all unique to totalitarian countries. The Western Allies demonstrated that with their "war criminal trials" in occupied Germany just after the war. This proves that "democrats" are just as prone to show trials as communists.

It is most certainly a political objective to attempt to reeducate the German public, so that they have a "correct" conception of the history of the Third Reich era, which intention has been openly admitted. We can find admissions of this political intention in the various candid remarks of the Prosecutors and persecutors themselves, for example in Martin Broszat's foreword to Rückerl's book *NS Extermination Camps Reflected in the German Criminal Trials*. And in the case of the Auschwitz Trial, we have to thank the attorney Laternser for reporting many of the candid admissions of the Prosecution in his book *The Other Side of the Auschwitz Trial*.

Whether or not a criminal trial can be turned into a show trial depends on the judges who preside over the trials. In a normal criminal trial the judges are expected to be free of all prejudices, both critical and factual. It is further expected that all evidence be heard impartially and that it should cover only relevant matters. Finally, it must also be expected that the president conducts himself correctly and ensures that the atmosphere of the trial is free from duress.

It is in the nature of show trials that all or most of these requirements are disregarded. The trial materials available to us in regard to the Auschwitz Trial at Frankfurt, [42] the Belzec Trial, the Sobibor Trial, the Chelmno Trial, and the two Treblinka Trials [43] are sufficient evidence to prove that these were conducted as show trials. For all the other trials, the materials are not available, but there is no reason to believe that these trials were run any differently.

The fact that the Auschwitz Trial was a typical show trial cannot be characterized better than to quote the words of the principal defense counsel, Dr. Laternser. He states: [44]

In the larger international criminal proceedings in which I took an active part, there was never at any time — not even before the IMT at Nuremberg — such a tense atmosphere as at the Auschwitz Trial. Those other trials were all carried out much more matter-of-factly, even though they took place shortly after the end of the war.

Nowhere could a more shattering indictment of the trials be found, for the victors' justice of the Allied war crimes trials has been condemned not just in Germany, but throughout the World, as a mere show trial.

An equally scathing condemnation of the trials was made only a few days after the opening of the Auschwitz case in Frankfurt, when a Swiss newspaper commented that the presiding judge “was obviously the best public prosecutor in the courtroom.” [45]

It is axiomatic that historical truths quite simply cannot be uncovered in such an atmosphere.

Anyone taking the trouble to monitor only one day's hearing of the current Majdanek Trial in Düsseldorf cannot fail to agree that nothing at all has changed since 1965. But of course, a cynic would ask what can be expected of judges who make themselves available for trials of this sort?

This atmosphere of bias can only but have an undermining influence on the quality of evidence; the core of the trial itself. This bias is grounded on the basic position that the extermination of the Jews is an “undebatable fact.” It even appears that not only are the public prosecutors and judges falling victim to this prejudice, but unfortunately so too are most of the defense counsel. One can only speculate as to what circumstances brought this about. It is probable that the blame lies with the “re-education program” which lasted several decades, and which was uniformly conducted by the mass media. However, the allegations contained in the writs of indictment are in most cases so absolutely absurd that any sober-minded legal person would have smelled a rat right away. Therefore one cannot help but conclude that the ready acceptance of this “Holocaust” legend was largely based on pragmatism. Perhaps these people were afraid for their jobs, and this fear made them so uncritical of the court's preconceptions that it shed severe doubt on their common sense.

In spite of the prejudice throughout every phase of the trials — noticeable even on the judges' bench — the courts act in all NS trials as if the only thing to be decided is the question of the extermination of the Jews; but this is only a smokescreen. The handling of the evidence shows that no other conclusion regarding the “extermination” is allowable. Such arbitrary rules for the acceptance of evidence are, it appears, allowable under Article 261 of the Criminal Code, which provides for the judges determining evidence acceptability, not the Code itself. But where the NS trial courts do violate the rules is in regard to Article 244, paragraph 2, which states that the hearing of evidence is to be extended ex officio to all facts and all items of evidence which might have “importance for the verdict.” Conversely, evidence which is totally irrelevant to the trial in question, but which props up the overall “extermination” legend is admitted into evidence willy nilly.

All of this becomes particularly clear when looking at testimony given by “experts.” Experts act as assistants to the judge. Their purpose is to convey to the judge any factual knowledge which he does not have himself. This knowledge usually involves technical or medical problems.

However, in the NS trials most of the “experts” gave evidence mostly on matters of contemporary history, far exceeding the forensic and pathological guidance which might have been needed, and most definitely not contributing anything of relevance to the actual charges against the actual defendants. For example, at the Auschwitz Trial at Frankfurt, “experts” from the IHR’s mirror-image in Munich, the Institute for Contemporary History, gave their opinions on subjects like: “The SS as an Instrument of Power,” “The Kommissar Order and the Mass Executions of Soviet PoWs,” “The Development of Nazi Concentration Camps,” “Nazi Policies Toward Poland,” and “The Extermination of Jews in the Third Reich.” [46] All of these experts’ opinions had little or nothing to do with Auschwitz. The central question of the alleged existence of “gas chambers” was touched on only in the last “Opinion” cited. Even then, the subject was skated over with just a couple of sentences quoted from the bogus “confessions” of Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Hss. There was simply no expert opinion at all submitted on important technical questions, such as the application and effects of Zyklon B, the technical requirements and combustion time necessary for the cremation of corpses in a crematorium, and many other such matters. In view of the often fantastic allegations made by witnesses, a responsible court should have gone into such questions methodically and in detail.

In regard to this handling of expert opinion, Laternser the defense counsel quite rightly speaks of “experts’ opinions in a vacuum” and of the “lack of relevance of expert opinion in regard to the actual charges.” [47] It is obvious that these “expert opinions” were only part of the theatrical show. They were a kind of crash-course in contemporary history-from the “correct” angle of course-laid on for the benefit of the public, press, and perhaps also for the participants in the trial.

In other NS trials the procedure was identical. This can be seen by referring to Rückerl’s latest book *NS Extermination Camps Reflected in the German Criminal Trials*. The author quite candidly admits that the “historical summary” included in the judgment (!) at the Sobibor Trial in Hagen, given on 20 December 1966, was “largely identical ... in all essential points” with that of other courts adjudicating NS trials. [48] It is quite obvious that the same “experts” were called up again and again to give their “opinions.” Even more disturbingly, the experts often incestuously base their “knowledge” and “opinions” on “expert opinion” submitted at previous NS trials. [49]

In normal trials, a forensic expedition to the scene of the crime would yield great results. But in the case of the NS trials, trips to the former camps are organized purely for showmanship. The camps are, of course, no longer in their original condition. Laternser makes the following rather reserved comments in regard to the former Auschwitz concentration camp: [50]

Twenty years after the event, an inspection of the locality throws up many contradictions. After such a long time the natural changes alone create an entirely different scene. Furthermore, these sites have now been at least partially turned into museums. The establishment of a museum necessitates extensive reconditioning work as well as *tendentious elaborations*

Inspection tours of this kind simply cannot be relevant as evidence. No doubt the taxpayer’s money is wasted here, but in view of the costs associated with these anachronistic and needless trials, this is apparently of little concern.

Concerning documentary evidence submitted in the trials, many things can be pointed out. Very often the documents do not prove what they are claimed to prove; they refer to some totally different matters. Those documents which do give specific, relevant information — such as the Gerstein report, the Pery Broad report, or the Cracow report of Hss — are obviously fabricated. In spite of the impossibilities, internal contradictions, and flaws of these published accounts, no

court has yet deemed it necessary to insist on the presentation of the original manuscripts, and to have their authenticity checked by qualified and independent experts. On the contrary, the courts put great store by such publications, and explicitly exclude any proper examination of the originals: [51]

The established facts of the case are based on ... the documents that were read out in court and quoted in excerpts. These had been submitted to the court in the form of photostats or published copies, and their conformity with the originals is not doubted in any way.

Evidently, the courts were not allowed to harbor any doubts about the extermination of the Jews, either. judges must hang up their common sense in the cloakroom before presiding over courtroom NS trials.

This sorry state of affairs also pertains to witness testimony. Anyone with any legal experience knows that witnesses are generally the most unreliable evidence one can exhibit. For this reason, their testimony must be checked with particular care; in particular those statements which are based on hearsay. Incredibly, as Laternser reports, [52] the President of the Auschwitz Trial openly declared during the first stage of the trial that “a high importance must be attached to hearsay evidence, exactly because such a long time elapsed since the event.”

With such an attitude displayed by the judges, it is not surprising that many witnesses in the NS trials spoke nonsense, while the court swallowed every word. Or rather, they pretended that everything was believable, even though they knew in their hearts it was not. When justifying the Auschwitz sentences the judges pointed out: [53]

The court has available to pass a verdict almost none of the Criteria which are available in a normal murder trial. We cannot obtain a detailed picture of the actual events at the time of the murder. The dead bodies of the victims are absent. Post mortem records made by the experts regarding the time and cause of death do not exist. Nor are there any traces of the murder weapon, or forensic links to the murderers. Only in rare cases has it been Possible to check the statements of witnesses to see if they hold up to physical corroboration.

These words speak for themselves. It is not news, but nevertheless it is worth noting, that there are no traces of gas chambers at Auschwitz at all (although this term was vaguely and euphemistically circumscribed by the Frankfurt court with the term “murder weapon”). The facility at Auschwitz now on display to visitors from all over the world corresponds roughly to the “gas chamber” swindle that was staged by American Jews immediately after the war, at Dachau.

The justification goes on:

Therefore, the only checking the court could do was in regard to the credibility and truthfulness of the witnesses ... and in certain cases the court has not accepted witness testimony where it was apparent that egomania or some other reason caused the witness to tell a cock and bull story.

Would that it were so, and if we were not in possession of two professional and comprehensive accounts of the Auschwitz trial, we might even have to accept this. But on examining the two opposing books on the trial, we find that there was hardly a careful scrutiny made of the witnesses' claims. Two examples will illustrate.

The first is a statement made by the former SS judge (but a “good” Reconstructed German!) Dr. Konrad Morgen, who maintained a legal practice in Frankfurt after the war. He reported to the court about his visit to the “extermination camp Birkenau” as follows: [54]

In the giant crematorium, everything was spic and span. There was not a thing to indicate that only one night before, thousands of people had been gassed and burned. Nothing was left of these people; not even a grain of dust on the oven fixtures.

Leaving aside for the moment that in those days (1944) according to other “credible” witnesses, and even “official” reports, the “gassings and burnings” took place night and day without interruption, the question arises as to what made Morgen think things like that had happened the night before? Naturally, the court did not ask questions of that kind. One might give credit to Morgen for his imagination, but not for his veracity! By the way, when he was interrogated as a witness before the IMT tribunal, Morgen had located the fantastic “gas chamber” at the industrial area of Monowitz, which was 6 to 8 kilometers away from Birkenau. [55] It is quite possible that the Frankfurt judges were unaware of this detail, but it would have been their duty to inform themselves of Morgen’s earlier statements before giving his testimony any credence at all.

A further example of the gullibility of the Auschwitz Trial judges were the statements of the particularly garrulous Czech witness, Filip Müller. [56] He reported, among other things, that the “Chief of the Crematorium, Moll” had “thrown a child into the boiling fat of dead bodies which had collected in the trenches around the burning-pit... “ He was talking about a pit in which dead bodies were incinerated and was allegedly situated next to one of Birkenau’s four crematoria, and is occasionally mentioned in Auschwitzian literature. Presumably, this “witness” had encountered this physically impossible nonsense in some of the Auschwitziana. He even elaborated to make it into a duplex:

The Pits measuring 40 meters in length, 6-8 meters in width, and 1½ meters in depth, had depressions at their ends, into which the human fat flowed. The prisoners had to baste the bodies in this fat so that they burned better.

It is incredible that experienced judges give credit to these obvious lies instead of discontinuing at once any hearing of such “eye-witness” accounts. Even worse, the court actually referred to this liar’s statements on various occasions when justifying a sentence, particularly those of Stark, Dr. Lucas and Dr. Frank. [57] After all this, who can have any confidence at all in the court’s assurances that the veracity of the witnesses had been “checked with particular care”? One is left to remain in wonderment about the statements of those “witnesses” who were not considered credible!

Let us now take a brief look at the results achieved by the NS trials. We can assess whether or not the holding of the trials furthered the great insight into contemporary history which they were supposed to have done at the outset. First, let us look at the statement of the jury at the Sobibor Trial, at Hagen, dated 20 December 1966. The statement concerns the “walk-in extermination” programs which were supposed to be identical at each of the three camps affiliated to the “Action Reinhard” (actually a complete misuse of this term which only refers to the rules for disposal and storage of internees' belongings):

Under the pretense that they were to be “re-settled” the Jews were shipped in railroad convoys ... directly to the railroad sidings inside the camp perimeter. Under the further deception that the new arrivals had to disrobe and take a shower, they were herded, batch by batch, naked, into gas chambers camouflaged to look like shower baths. Once inside the shower baths, the doors were locked by key, and they were

killed by the exhaust gases of a combustion engine outside. The gases were conducted through a specially installed piping system into the individual gas chambers. After about 20 to 30 minutes, the dead bodies were taken out of the gas chambers by a Jewish work party. Their body orifices were searched for hidden jewelry and gold teeth were broken out. Subsequently, the bodies were initially stacked in large prepared pits, and later burned directly in large fires over iron grids. [58]

This description is, of course, nothing but the recycling of one of the oldest atrocity tales which was being circulated in the camps during the war, as Rassinier has so effectively proven. [59] Shortly after the war, there was hardly a camp where the “shower-baths” were not supposed to be for 46 gassing” prisoners. We are unable to tell from Rückerl’s synopsis of the judgment how it was that the court arrived at its “knowledge” of the facts. But we can have some idea of their attention to detail when we note that they concluded that the “Zyklon B” had been conducted into the “gas chamber” from “gas bottles!” [60] (Zyklon was, of course, supplied from the factory in tin cans, in solid form.) [61] Furthermore, the technical possibilities and practical problems involved in this supposed method of killing could only be addressed by a forensic or pathological expert-but none was ever called.

The alleged six “gas chambers “ of Belzec had dimensions of 4 × 5 meters each, according to the judgment handed down at Munich after the Belzec Trial which lasted only four days (from 18 to 21 January 1965). In these six chambers, about 1500 people could be killed in one gassing, apparently. [62] The judges obviously did not bother to check this calculation, for if they had, they would have discovered that each gas chamber would have had to accommodate 250 people at one time, or 12-13 people per square meter! [63]

Reading all this, one wonders if the judges still have their brains turned on when they repeat unquestioningly, and in their judgments, the outlandish testimony of such “witnesses, “ A typical example is to be found in the judgment after the Auschwitz Trial. [64] On page 99 we find that:

in the case of Crematorias I through IV ... the rooms where people took their clothes off, and the rooms for gassing were underground, and the furnaces were above ground.

On the following page the court goes on to assert that in the case of Crematorias III and IV the Zyklon B “was thrown in through a small side window.” How this can be done in a room that is situated underground remains a secret known only to the court!

This contradiction is obviously generated by the diverse descriptions proffered by the different “eye-witnesses” at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Some say the alleged “gas chambers” were wholly underground. Some say that they were wholly above ground. And some say that they were half and half. Everyone is invited to make his or her own choice. The court just picked a cross-section of testimony “descriptions” out of a hat, patched them together, and passed sentence.

In conclusion, a few words should be said concerning the attitude of the defendants in these NS trials. It has been said that “not a single defendant has ever denied the extermination of the Jews” [65]. Rückerl even goes on to claim that in addition, every single one of the accused had admitted their “participation in the killing of Jewish men, women and children on an industrial scale” and that the defendants independently “provided descriptions of the functioning of the extermination apparatus in every detail.” [66] Whether or not the first allegation is correct, I do not know; but for reasons to be explained I consider this possible. Rückerl’s second contention, however, is incorrect. This allegation was not backed up with proof at all.

In actual fact, during the main Auschwitz Trial, not one of the 20 defendants described “the functioning of the extermination apparatus in every detail.” The overwhelming majority of the defendants, including the two adjutants of the camp commandant, had “only heard about these things.” Three of the accused pretended, it is true, that they were present during individual “gassings,” but these “witnesses” were unable to furnish any details of the procedure used.

Rückertl’s treatment of a very few statements made by the defendants were not made during the trial itself, but several years beforehand. They are not the statements of an accused person. Rückertl claims that he introduced and evaluated only that material from the preliminary arraignment hearings which was either “not disputed or was legally established” at the main trial later. [67] But this does not change anything at all. For example, Rückertl quotes a statement of defendant Oberhauser, which was made more than two years before the main trial [68] and which can no longer be verified. At the main trial, Oberhauser refused to make any statement at all on the matter [69] and thus he neither contested the evidence nor did he acknowledge it as correct. As for the facts being in the end “legally established by the court” this carries no weight at all—we have already seen what nonsense was “established” by the court presiding over the Belzec Trial.

Moreover, it is passing strange that a legal beagle like Rückertl should endeavor to support the Extermination myth with the (real or alleged) confessions of defendants. Every criminal lawyer knows that there have been numerous cases throughout criminal history where it turned out that innocent people had confessed to crimes. If Rückertl’s argument is correct, then it could be asserted with similar certainty that witches did indeed exist, for the “facts” were described in thousands of witch trials, where the accused would independently “confess” and “describe in every detail” their “crimes.” By no means all of these confessions came about through torture, either; many were voluntary. [70]

However, the question does remain as to why so many of the accused accepted the general thesis of the “Extermination of the Jews” while disputing only their personal participation in it — the “cog in the machine” defense strategy. The explanation lies in the circumstances where these defendants were kept in close custody “pending investigation” for many years, and perhaps subjected to brainwashing. Finally, after the opening of the trial proper, they found themselves confronted with clearly prejudiced judges, submerged in an hysterical environment, and had to adapt as far as possible to the unchangeable conditions. Anyone would have done the same, especially if he knew himself to be deserted by everyone, including his former comrades. Indeed, as Rückertl himself points out, this “I only obeyed orders” strategy was adopted by almost all the defendants, and provided at least a chance for a milder punishment or even acquittal. [71] To have disputed the *sine qua non* of the Holocaust mythology would have almost certainly enraged the court at the defendant’s lack of humility, respect, and reverence for the dead.

But even the “cog” strategy was not without pitfalls, for the courts generally proceed from an assumption that the “orders” to bring about the accused’s participation in the Jew-killing were illegal in the first place, and therefore ought not to have been obeyed. In addition, the courts also rejected the argument that, the accused might be at risk himself for failing to obey an order, as laid down in Articles 52 or 54 of the St GB (Criminal Code). The only benefit to the accused with this strategy is possible mitigation of sentence if it can be shown that the defendant actually took the trouble to ponder the legality of his orders before (“mistakenly”) deciding they were legal, and in the second case it must be shown that the accused at least tried to extricate himself from the “Catch 22” situation where it was his life, or the victim’s.

In other words, the defendants had the choice of either denying the “Extermination” and being certain of severe punishment, or acknowledging the “reality” of the “Extermination” — which

the court had pre-determined anyway — and then claiming some excuse or other, and thus at least having a chance of a milder sentence.

In such a situation, any realistic defense counsel would surely have advised his client to take the route of least risk of punishment. And who would reproach these hapless victims of modern witch-burning, who like anyone else, were more concerned with their heads than with historical truth?

These latter considerations illustrate particularly well that the NS trials hinder rather than help in the search for truth about the camps. The only way the truth can ever come out would be if there was declared an amnesty for all alleged “war crimes.” But this is not going to come about; no one in authority is the least bit interested in finding out the truth.

There is only one really relevant truism to come out of the NS trials: the trials are truth positive that our age — just like the Medieval Ages — is still not free of blind faith in dogma, and persecution mania for those who dare to dissent!

Notes

1. ☞ That becomes especially clear in the case of the article by the staff of the Munich Institute of Contemporary History entitled “Organisierter Massenmord an Juden in nationalsozialistischen Vernichtungslagern”, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 1976, no. 2, 105ff, almost simultaneously published as Beilage B 19/76 of the weekly *Das Parlament*. See also the Foreword by Broszat in Rückerl (1977).
2. ☞ *Bundesgesetzblatt I* (1965), 315.
3. ☞ The period of the statute of limitations was thereby conveniently extended retroactively. The measure was therefore also highly controversial in the *Bundestag*. See the *Bundestagsprotokolle* IV/170, 8516ff and IV/175.8759ff.
4. ☞ Rückerl (1971), 19.
5. ☞ *Bundestagsdrucksache* IV/3124, 17ff.
6. ☞ *Entscheidungen des Bundesverfassungsgerichts*, vol. 25, 269ff.
7. ☞ Ninth Strafrechtsänderungsgesetz of 4 August 1969, *Bundesgesetzblatt I* (1969), 1065. Also *Bundestagsprotokolle* V/243, 13554ff.
8. ☞ See also Lwe-Rosenberg, Intr., Ch. 12, margin nos. 79-90.
9. ☞ Treaty for the settlement of outstanding questions of the war and the occupation, in the version of the announcement of 30 March 1955, *Bundesgesetzblatt II* (1955), 405ff.
10. ☞ Rückerl (1971), 13-21.
11. ☞ Also extensively Kern, 233ff.
12. ☞ *Die Zeit* (19 Aug 1960). See also Butz, 47.
13. ☞ Schrenck-Notzing, 274.
14. ☞ Burg, 28.
15. ☞ Langbein, vol. 1, 49.
16. ☞ *Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung* (16 Dec 1977). Also *Deutsche National-Zeitung* (30 Dec 1977). 3. Burg speaks of “Zion’s Rule” and claims exertion of influence of the Jewish B’nai B’rith (see especially pp55ff), which amounts to the same thing.
17. ☞ Rückerl (1971), 21.
18. ☞ Rückerl (1971), 21, 23.

19. ↪ R ckerl (1971), 25.
20. ↪ R ckerl (1971), 44, 46.
21. ↪ R ckerl (1977), 20.
22. ↪ See above all R ckerl (1971), 25-29, 43-46, 53-58. Also R ckerl (1977), 42ff.
23. ↪ Burg, 109.
24. ↪ Channel 2 (3 Mar 1978, 9:20 PM).
25. ↪ Langbein, vol. 1, 22ff, 31ff.
26. ↪ R ckerl (1971), 25n.
27. ↪ Burg, 122.
28. ↪ R ckerl (1971), 29.
29. ↪ *Unabh ngige Nachrichten* (1977, no. 7), 9f.
30. ↪ Laternser, 85ff, 151ff, 349ff.
31. ↪ Among them the name of Mussolini-rescuer Otto Skorzeny, who never belonged to the camp guards: no. 405 of Appendix III.
32. ↪ Nos. 316 and 317 are photos of Skorzeny.
33. ↪ Austrian historian Dr. Scheidl speaks of more than 80% as criminals. Scheidl, vol. 3, 32f.
34. ↪ *Grundgesetz*, Art. 101, per. 1.
35. ↪ The location of the act comes into question as a venue only for domestic acts. *Strafprozessordnung*, Art. 7.
36. ↪ Laternser, 12f.
37. ↪ See Naumann, 13, who surely speaks, obviously erroneously, of Art. 13a of the *Gerichtsverfassungsgesetz*. This long suspended determination concerns however justices of the peace in the American occupation zone.
38. ↪ Langbein, vol. 1, 30f.
39. ↪ R ckerl (1977), 45f.
40. ↪ R ckerl (1977), 19ff, Naumann, 7, speaks of the “social pedagogical significance” of the Auschwitz trial.
41. ↪ *Der Grosse Brockhaus* (1956), vol. 10, 332; also *Brockhaus Enzyklopedie*, vol. 16, 582.
42. ↪ The books by Langbein, Laternser, and Naumann.
43. ↪ R ckerl (1977).
44. ↪ Laternser, 28f.
45. ↪ Cited by Laternser, 33, who unfortunately does not give the name or the date of the newspaper in question.
46. ↪ Laternser, 83f; Broszat.
47. ↪ Laternser, 82.
48. ↪ R ckerl (1977), 879 90ff.
49. ↪ See my study “Historiker oder Propagandisten?”, published as no. 2 of the series *Zur Aussprache*, Deutscher Arbeitskreis Witten, 5810 Witten, Postfach 1706.
50. ↪ Laternser, 48ff, 411.
51. ↪ From the judgment of the Bonn court of 30 March 1963 in the so-called Chelmino trial. See R ckerl (1977), 293f.
52. ↪ Laternser, 29.
53. ↪ The judgment is thus far unpublished. A copy was available to me for a few days during my disciplinary hearing.
54. ↪ As quoted by Langbein, vol. 1, 144. See also Naumann, 112.

55. ☞ *IMT*, vol. 20, 532ff, 550f.
56. ☞ For the following see Langbein, vol. 1, 89 and Naumann, 183f.
57. ☞ *Urteilsgründe*, 116, 254, 472. See also Langbein, vol. 2, 884f, 889, 893.
58. ☞ As quoted by Rückerl (1977), 107f.
59. ☞ Rassinier (1978), 90.
60. ☞ Rückerl (1977), 106.
61. ☞ NI-9912 (directions for the use of Zyklon for disinfection); copy in the author's files.
62. ☞ Rückerl (1977), 133.
63. ☞ Rückerl (1977), 203f, Rückerl (1971), 48.
64. ☞ The judgment is thus far unpublished. A copy was available to me for a few days during my disciplinary hearing.
65. ☞ Publisher's Preface to Rückerl (1977).
66. ☞ Rückerl (1977), 25.
67. ☞ Rückerl (1977), 32.
68. ☞ Rückerl (1977), 136f.
69. ☞ Rückerl (1977), 83.
70. ☞ Soldan-Heppe; *Damals* (1977, no. 5), 459ff.
71. ☞ Judgment excerpt in Rückerl (1977), 314ff.

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The Enigma of Lawrence

Desmond Hansen

T. E. Lawrence was born in North Wales on 15 August 1888. He was the illegitimate son of Sir Thomas Chapman, an Anglo-Irish baronet. His mother was Scottish. He became a legend in his own time as Lawrence of Arabia—a brilliant active life which ended in a motorcycle “accident” when he was only 46. Many famous people attended his funeral: statesmen, writers, politicians. Winston Churchill wept and called him “one of the greatest beings of our time.” Lawrence is buried in a simple grave at Moreton in Dorset, which together with his cottage at Clouds Hill nearby has become a shrine to his admirers and all people dedicated to the ideals of British and Arab nationalism.

When told of the tragic death of T. E. Lawrence, Sheikh Hamoudi of Aleppo exclaimed in his grief: “It is as if I had lost a son. Tell them in England what I say. Of manhood, the man; in freedom free; a mind without equal; I can see no flaw in him.”

Lawrence was indeed a very great man, a great thinker and a great military leader and strategist. He planned, organized and led a national rebellion of the Arab peoples and gave them the first opportunity in 400 years to become an important Middle Eastern power. But for Zionism he would have succeeded in his plan. Unfortunately his work was betrayed by Anglo-French and Zionist interests over which neither he nor the liberated Arabs were powerful enough to prevail. As Lawrence himself put it, the opponents of Arab nationalism had bigger guns, that was all.

When war broke out in 1914, Lawrence was 26. He was fluent in Arabic, he had a deep knowledge of Arab tribalism and knew Arabia better than any soldier living. He was drafted into Military Intelligence with the rank of Captain. Several highly independent intelligence operations were given to him. One task was to make a personal approach to the Turkish Commander, Khahil Pasha with a bribe of 1 million pounds to allow Major General Townsend’s besieged force of 12,000 British soldiers at Kut who were starving, to go free. The offer failed and the survivors had to surrender.

The historic role Lawrence was to play as leader of the Arab revolt did not emerge until January 1916 when he became attached to the Arab Bureau in Cairo. By then, spurred on by British suggestions, the Arabs had attempted a revolt against their Turkish overlords by attacking the fortified city of Medina. Sir Henry McMahon, Kitchener, and others in Cairo conceived the idea of harnessing the forces of Arab guerillas to help defeat Turkey. Acting on initiative, promises were made to the Moslem Arabs of independence if they united and fought alongside the Christian British forces under the direction of British officers. The British Government endorsed the agreement and Lawrence accepted the task of planning and organizing the campaign under the nominal sovereignty of Feisal, Prince of Mecca.

In his epic work on the Arab revolt, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, Lawrence describes his personal feelings and attitudes; especially his bitterness when his success was undone by the governments of the victorious powers. For, Lawrence knew by November 1917, that all the Arab efforts and his own were to be betrayed. The aims of the Balfour declaration and the Sykes-Picot plan were to create a Jewish state in Palestine and partition the rest of Arabia between British and French colonial interests-which meant Rothschild interests. Although the full implications may not have dawned on Lawrence, the mere fact that the French were to get Syria was bad enough; hence his bitterness; but also his self-mortifying determination to entrench the Arabs in Damascus ahead of Allenby and the British Imperial forces at all costs to try to sabotage the conspiracy.

Lawrence at the head of the Arab armies had captured Damascus and installed a provisional Arab government with himself as head, deputizing for King Feisal. Three days later he left Damascus having established a semblance of order over which Feisal could stake his claim. The objective was an Arab State with Damascus as the capital. But soon this was overthrown by the French with considerable bloodshed. France was determined to stick by the Picot demands and annex the whole of Syria and this was done with force which the Arabs were unable to resist. Feisal, having been robbed and deposed of his kingdom in Syria was fobbed-off with Iraq and Lawrence was called back in 1921 to inspire and guide this make-shift policy. So after 400 years of Turkish rule, the Arabs were once again a force to be reckoned with in the modern world, though very much below the power and strength which Lawrence had intended for them.

After his efforts in the Colonial Office in 1921-22, working alongside Winston Churchill, he tendered his resignation once Feisal had been enthroned in Iraq. As a measure of recognition (and to attempt to placate the bitterness he held toward the allies) the British Government offered Lawrence the position of Viceroy of India. He turned it down; and as a measure of his disdain enlisted in the ranks of the Royal Air Force under the name of Ross. He was discovered while working at the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough and discharged. After all, he had been a full Colonel in 1918. He enlisted again, this time in the Tank Corps-adopting the name of Shaw. In 1925, he succeeded in getting transferred back to the RAF. But he was never given any rank beyond Leading Aircraftsman. Usually, it is said that this was due to Lawrence's lack of ambition. But the truth is, he was kept down. After all, he had committed the unpardonable offense of spurning the Establishment.

Lawrence moved in a wide circle of influential people, many of whom were associated with the Round Table and other quasi-political groups. During the early thirties, he became friendly with Lord and Lady Astor and the so-called "Cliveden Set," Geoffrey Dawson, editor of *The Times* was a life-long friend and sponsored Lawrence's fellowship of All Souls College, Oxford in 1919-20 in order to write about the Arab Revolt. Dawson, Lionel Curtis, the Mosleys and the Astors were all supporters of the idea of a central European bulwark against Soviet Communism, in the shape of National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy. Equally they were anxious to curtail French military expansionism, especially where this was likely to affect British possessions in the Middle East. To all this, Lawrence was a subscriber, though for security reasons while he was in the RAF he would have had to lie low, being a signatory to the Official Secrets Act. Also, his friendship with people like George Bernard Shaw the Socialist and Henry Williamson the Black-shirt would have been viewed with great suspicion by the authorities. Just exactly what was said or planned at some of these private meetings at which Lawrence was present may never be known.

What is known however is that Lawrence had been under some pressure from Henry Williamson and others to meet the leaders of National Socialist Germany including Hitler.

“The new age must begin ...Hitler and Lawrence must meet...” wrote Henry Williamson. Lawrence had been out of uniform for barely a month when press reporters besieged his cottage, Clouds Hill, Dorset. When was he going to see Hitler? Was he prepared to become a dictator of England? He avoided these awkward questions by leaving his abode and touring the West Country, but not before the press had physically attacked his cottage, throwing rocks at the roof and smashing the tiles. Lawrence had to use his fists on one man. Then the police brought in day and night protection.

On 13 May 1935, he wheeled out his massive Brough Superior motorcycle for the last time and rode down to Bovington camp to send a telegram in reply to a letter received that morning from Henry Williamson, proposing the vital meeting with Adolf Hitler. The telegram of agreement was dispatched and then on the way back the accident happened. He was just 200 yards from the cottage. At least four witnesses saw it: two delivery boys on bicycles, an army corporal walking in the field by the road and the occupants of a black van heading toward Lawrence. After the crash the black van raced off down the road and the corporal ran over to the injured man who lay on the road with his face covered in blood. Almost immediately an army truck came along and Lawrence was put inside and taken to the camp hospital where a top security guard was imposed. Special “D” notices were put on all newspapers and the War Office took charge of all communications. Police from Special Branch sat by the bedside and guarded the door. No visitors were allowed. The cottage was raided and “turned over,” many books and private papers were confiscated. Army intelligence interrogated the two boys for several hours. The corporal was instructed not to mention the van as being involved in the accident. Six days later Lawrence died and two days later an inquest was held under top security which lasted only two hours. The boys denied ever seeing a black van which contradicted the statement by the army corporal who was the principal witness. But no attempts were made to trace the vehicle and the jury gave a verdict of “accidental death.” He was buried that same afternoon.

The following year, 1936, saw the banning of political parades in uniform and the forced abdication of King Edward, another patriot who like Lawrence had to be disposed of by the war-mongers who were determined to destroy both Germany and Britain in another European war. And they succeeded.

On Lawrence’s gravestone is carved these words: “The hour is coming and now is when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God and they that hear shall live.”

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In Memoriam: Mabel Elsabe Narjes

A great fighter for historical truth, Mabel Elsabe Narjes, has passed on. Fluent in English and French, as well as a master stylist in her native German, she produced many superbly well-crafted and lucid translations of important historical works into German.

Frau Narjes was responsible for the translation of Prof. David Hoggan's masterwork, *Der Erzwungene Krieg*. The 900-page study unleashed a great debate in Germany about the origins of the Second World War and is still the standard work on the war guilt question. She also translated Benjamin Colby's *'Twas a Famous Victory* and portions of Dr. Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* into German. Not long before her death, she translated *The Spotlight* newspaper reprint of "The Great Holocaust Debate" and was able to witness its enthusiastic reception in Germany.

She worked closely with many of the great historical pioneers of her age. She had the honor of introducing two of them — Paul Rassinier, a good friend, and the great American historian Harry Elmer Barnes — to each other personally in Europe.

She attended the 1980 convention of the Institute for Historical Review where she received well-deserved recognition of her years of devoted work. All those who met Frau Narjes were impressed by her sharp intellect and extraordinary spirit.

Following the catastrophic defeat of her nation in 1945, many embittered Germans passively tolerated the flood of lies and calumnies which characterized the historical "re-education" campaign imposed by the victorious powers. But not Mabel Narjes. From the early 1950s until her death in September, just before her 67th birthday, she remained a fanatic fighter against the falsifiers and manipulators of history. Linguistically at home in the three great languages of the continent, her work was a living expression of loyalty to both her native Germany and to European culture.

Mabel Narjes is dead. But she will live on in the hearts of those who honor her memory and in her inspired work among lovers of historical truth everywhere.

— *Mark Weber*

September 12, 1981

The Journal of Historical Review

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A Note from the Editor

Placing his career and personal safety on the line, Dr. Robert Faurisson of France has pursued the forbidden facts whose time have come.

His research has been brought to light in the U.S., of course, via *The Journal of Historical Review*. In Europe, though, his views are gaining broader notoriety as a result of a series of recent court judgments aimed at stopping him, his work, and any other Frenchman who might become similarly curious about the “gas chambers,” “six-million,” and associated documentary incredibilities.

Professor Faurisson was “summoned to court” for uttering the unthinkable; where the careful, objective scrutiny of his facts — the basis of his so-called “injurious views” — was strictly prohibited.

Nor was the more fundamental issue of freedom of expression considered. just frenzy in the courtroom-lynch mentality.

His “crime” was to have revealed some answers, unconfutable by an element which found it far easier to debase law in order to silence him. Thus similar now to Germany and inchoate elsewhere, criticism of exterminationist theory or related phenomena, in France, is compounded into the capital transgression of the age. justice and “Holocaust” would seem to make strange bedfellows, but that is precisely the size of it.

This issue is dedicated to a courageous Robert Faurisson who now has no choice but to fight to regain what have been plundered from him: his rights to observe and evaluate, to have a view, to speak and write over the views of others, and to act. His two articles herein contain much of the data with which he is so intimate, and to which his adversaries attached criminal significance, then hurled back at him with an almost unprecedented vengeance.

In pursuit of the responsibility to clarify the historical record- and for which we owe him an indescribable debt of gratitude-Dr. Faurisson has come up against a monomaniacal will-to-believe; that overwhelming compulsion to assign actuality to events which are only said to have happened during the last great war, as well as allegedly similarly down through the ages.

Who are the persecutors here? Indeed, do the tracks of history tell a far different story than the one so vehemently promoted and unqualifiedly received? In any case, there is reason to be concerned. For in the search and dissemination of what new discoveries can be made, the booby-trap in law is a mighty effective deterrent.

Correspondence

2 February 1981

Dear Editor:

Having read Dr. Stein's article in the last (winter) issue of *The JHR*, I felt compelled to inform you, that, although the article was informative, I do hope that *The Journal's* trend will not be in that direction. One apology is quite sufficient, for to continue in that direction will mean to apologize the entire period of World War II into history.

I don't want the events of World War II apologized or psychoanalyzed into history! In your supplement to the journal, you state that future issues will cover the work of "psycho-historians and anti-statist libertarians." Does this mean that I will be reading more about fantasy's relationship to reality, penis envy ("Germany's virility," a "feminized" France), and all of the rest of that good Freudian stuff? Does this mean that I get to read how communism, capitalism, fascism, naziism, and all other ism's are the same? Please, if I want to read *Commentary* or *The American Spectator*, I'll buy one!

The Journal of Historical Review has found its niche in the publishing world; that is, to reconstruct past events (principally of World War II), so that the reader can arm himself with the greatest of literary weapons-truth!

Dr. Stein doesn't give the reader the whole truth. He passes over events without explaining *why* they occurred. Example: the Jewish expulsion from Spain during the Christian *reconquista* from the Moors was presaged by the known collaboration between Jews and Moors; the uprising of the Ukrainian peasants in 1648, led by Bogdan Chmielnicki, was induced by their exploiters-the ruling class Poles and the Jews. Chmielnicki's famous outcry was: "Remember the insults of the Poles and the Jews, their favorite stewards and agents!" Under Hitler, national socialism's ascribed enemy was communism; and since most Jews were partial towards communism, and therefore opponents of the Nazis, most of them, as well as the communists, were interned in concentration camps.

Ezio M. Maiolini
Oakland, CA.

11 February 1981

Dear Mr. Brandon:

Dr. Howard F. Stein's courageous article "The Holocaust, and the Myth of the Past as History" (winter 1981) is by far the most significant exposition of this subject ever written by a Jewish so-

cial scientist and should be must reading for every American; Jew or Gentile. If read in conjunction with Dr. Stein's "American Judaism, Israel and the New Ethnicity" and "The Binding of the Son: Psychoanalytic Reflections on the Symbiosis of Anti-Semitism and Anti-Gentifism" the whole tragic history of Jewish-Gentile relations is devastatingly illuminated.

Over two decades ago, in a remarkable series of historical novels (1943-1960) Vardis Fisher, using the methods of psychohistory, delineated the damaging effects inherent in the Judaeo-Christian mythology. Dr. Stein's work is a further elucidation of Fisher's 12-volume *Testament of Man* series.

Most Revisionist historians and publicists would reject the strictly "psychohistorical" approach because in their general theory the psychohistorians maintain that it is not the external facts-called economics, politics, and the like-and the social mores in general, which must be treated and perhaps revolutionized, but it is man himself and his familial relationships which must be treated. But these psychoneurotic drives are merely *effects* and *symptoms* of a disordered society, as most Revisionists steeped in the tradition of Lawrence Dennis, C.H. Douglas and Laurance Labadie realize. The chief exceptions to this would be the so-called exponents of Austrian "free market" economics which, in reality is only partially free. It is interesting that Harry Elmer Barnes was most sympathetic to the ideas of C.H. Douglas.

Notwithstanding the above reservations on the psychohistorical approach (several volumes could be written on the subject) Professor Stein has completely demolished the Holocaust mythology. It remains for us to dot the "i"s and cross the "t"s.

Sincerely,

Bezalel Chaim
Revisionist Press
GPO Box 2009
Brooklyn, NY 11202

13 April 1981

Dear Lewis:

I am pleased to respond to the letters by Sandra Ross and Wayland D. Smith published in Vol. 2, Nol 2 of *The JHR*. They illustrate, it seems to me, two distinct attitudes and genres in the current "re-vision" of the Holocaust and Jewish history. The first, exemplified by Smith, is that of 11 expos6." Ross succinctly summarizes contributions by Gonen and Hazleton, then proposes an intriguing schematic-one whose universal human developmental and psychodynamic themes every tribe, nation, and group must deal with in its political-historical activities and evolution. Smith seems to be starting out with a premise for which he seeks substantiation. Monolithic theory-building and ideological thinking that underlies it ought not be construed as peculiarly Jewish (although, lamentable, given the unbridled latitude of the imagination, one can construe anything as he desires it). Rather, such reified systems of thought that impose themselves projectively upon the world, only then to be "confirmed" spuriously by perception, takes us to the heart of culture itself, primitive and "modern." Smith misplaces the ancestry of psychohistory; in its excesses, psychohistory, like all forms of intellectualism, is profoundly human, not reductionistically Jewish. "Seek what ye wish to find" is the unacknowledged "first commandment" of the human search far security. One might respond to Smith's observation about the faddishness of psychohistory with a simplistic *tu quoque* about sociobiology. But that would miss altogether the

important point that how we use our theories, and to what out-of-awareness ends, determines whether that activity is science or ideology. Precisely because we are often committed to a particular model by which we organize our thinking, we are given to criticize another's epistemology as faddish while giving obeisance to our own which we mistake for absolute truth (a statement which I stringently apply to myself!). I frankly worry about the zeal with which much current revision of Judaism and the Holocaust is undertaken. It is though the party-fine taboo on re-examining Jewish history and the Holocaust is now being broken with a desire to discredit, even condemn, previous scholarship and Jews who are the subject of this scholarship. I would urge all my colleagues to examine their motives for the research they choose as stringently as they analyze their data for we are, everywhere and always, part of our data. We need to ask ourselves: "Why do I need to disprove this particular myth (and not some other)?" Perhaps not so oddly, a hypertrophied fascination with Jews-or with any group-reveals much about the investigator, and thereby distorts the findings. What I find lacking in much current behavioral science (not Revisionism alone) is an identification with, an empathy for, the group being interpreted: explanation is not the same as blame. And it is the former which I have attempted in my JHR paper. I heartily commend to the reader three additional works: two papers on Judaism and psychohistory, by Jay Gonen, in the Fall 1978 and Winter 1970 issues of *The Journal of Psychohistory*; and a recent book by Jacob Neusner, *Stranger at Home: 'The Holocaust,' Zionism, and American Judaism* (University of Chicago Press).

I offer these comments in the spirit of continuing dialogue, and thank Sandra Ross and Wayland D. Smith for their comments.

Sincerely,

Howard F. Stein, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
University of Oklahoma

4 September 1980

Dear Lewis:

All I can say is "What is this?" in regards to your book review of *Oradour: Village of the Dead* by Philip Beck (Fall 1980 issue, page 276). Ach, you of all people should swallow such a thing? I thought you were the driving force behind the "Historical Revisionism" movement in North America!

I have done considerable reading from all angles on "Oradour" and Philip Beck's book sounds like the standard French diatribe on the subject. Many of the events he mentioned could not and did not happen as outlined.

Working from mostly German eye-witness accounts and reports (totally ignored by the other side), and from *Kameraden bis zum Ende* (the Regimental history of "Der Führer" by Otto Weidinger) I compiled a correct account of "Oradour" which appeared in the September 1980 issue of *Siegrunen* (\$7.50/year; Box 70, Mt. Reuben Road, Glendale, OR 97442).

Weidinger assumed command of "Der Führer" soon after Oradour, and also happens to be a vigorous supporter of *Siegrunen*.

The rest of the Fall 1980 issue was great; the letters section happily confirming my own hostility against modern “academics.” Let me say that I whole-heartedly concur with the sentiment in your last sentence of your “Oradour” review, but you sure as heck won’t realize it through Beck’s book!

Sincerely,

Richard Landwehr
Glendale, OR

19 February 1981

Dear Mr. Brandon:

Having read Herr Landwehr’s article on Oradour in *Siegrunen* I think I am justified in commenting on it as well as on his letter.

The article contains a number of fantastic falsehoods which must surely throw considerable doubt on the whole SS version of the massacre. For example, it is obvious that, unlike me, the writer has never visited the ruins, otherwise he would have seen the bullet-pocked ruins of the garages and barns in which the men were shot and would not repeat the lie that they were “taken into a nearby farm field and shot.”

His story of the exploding houses and above all the events in the church must be regarded as purely and wickedly imaginative. He writes in the article: “... a tremendous blast literally tore off the top of the church and engulfed the building in a wall of flame. The church attic had also been used for (munitions) storage ...”

I suggest he reads my book and then goes to Oradour to get the record straight. I have examined the interior and exterior of the church and could find no evidence of a big explosion. There is however evidence of the grenades and bullets used by the SS to finish off the women and children. The “attic” must be the one containing the bells in the tower. If there had been an explosion there they would have come down intact. In fact, the tower became a chimney for the pyre created by the SS to burn the dead and dying women and children and the bells came down in a mass of molten metal which can still be seen at the base of the tower inside the church. The church burned easily because of the large area of woodwork in the roof.

Herr Landwehr implies that the women and children were sitting on a mass of explosives — a likely addition to the decorations which had been put up for the First Communion to be celebrated the next day! And if he really believes that these innocent people died solely because the folly of storing munitions in the church, he must dismiss the story of the sole survivor who jumped from a window after her daughter had been shot beside her. Perhaps he would say the Marguerite Rouffanche fired five bullets into her own back as she ran towards the presbytery garden?

In the same vein, he would refute the stories of the five men who escaped from the executions in the Laudy barn and should claim that Dr. Jens Kruuse, a Dane who meticulously interviewed the survivors of the massacre in and around the village for his book *Madness at Oradour* had written one long falsehood.

If he goes to Oradour, Herr Landwehr will see that the ruins are of buildings gutted by fire and weathered by the passing of nearly 40 years. But even if one allows that there may have been munitions for the Resistance in one or two houses (which I don't) would that justify the murdering of 642 people?

I believe (as I say in my book) that the massacre was sparked off by the capture of Helmut Kampfe, the close friend of Dickmann (Diekmann?) who was responsible for the massacre. Dickmann was, I believe, told by someone-perhaps a French collaborator- that Kampfe was being held captive in Oradour and the massacre was his mad act of vengeance. There is no doubt that he was mentally unbalanced and, as Landwehr points out in his article, was accused by his CO of "sullyng the Regimental name forever with his war crime." Small wonder that he is said to have subsequently committed suicide by going into battle without a helmet!

Philip Beck
Worcestershire, England

May 5, 1981

Dear Lewis:

Your supplement to *The Journal of Historical Review* Volume 2 Number 2 was a pleasant surprise in contrast to your previous newsletter.

I am very glad to hear that the *Institute* finally seems to be making headway through the jungle of disinformation and persistent lies. Similar events are taking place in France and England, but to my knowledge the jungle is still almost impenetrable in this country.

The supporters of the holocaust myth are still misusing legal institutions to smother the historical truth. The sentences that are being passed all over the country are simply scandalous.

It is amusing to hear that a mass murderer like Begin has been cheeky enough to accuse Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in public of being an unconverted Nazi. He said Schmidt was "arrogant" and "greedy." And this was said about a representative of the Establishment in this country who has not only done his best to keep the holocaust myth alive, but who has been co-responsible for giving enormous sums away to Israel for "reparations." However, I feel it serves these Bonn puppets just right to be kicked in the pants like this by a man who continues to keep his hands open for more and more money.

May I remind you in this connection of the fact that our fellow-countrymen on the other side of the Iron Curtain have not yet paid a darned nickel to the Israelis for "reparation" and they are very unlikely to do so in the future.

The enclosed article was rounded up on my request by Fritz Berg of Fort Lee N.J. Although it was published as early as July, 1943, it certainly has not lost its historical or even actual value. Rudolf Hess has now turned 87 years of age, and on 10 May 1981 he "celebrated" his 40th anniversary of lonesome captivity.

What is most interesting about this article is the background of the Hess flight to Scotland on 10 May 1941.

If the writer of the story is right-and I have no doubt he is-then it becomes quite obvious why this personal messenger of Hitler's is very unlikely to be released before closing his eyes forever.

it would perhaps be worth while to look a little bit deeper into this matter, especially as mention was made in the article about further "secrets" that could not be revealed at the time.

It has now been revealed that the photostat copies of the files on the Hess flight are available in the National Archives in Washington. The British government has, however, ruled that these files continue to be kept under lock and key until 2017, i.e. not 30, as usual, but 60 years after the Nuremberg trials when this matter was dealt with.

I happened to be in British captivity myself in 1947, when the defendants in Nuremberg were given a chance to speak up for their own defense. I heard Hess speak on the radio and part of what he said is still very vivid in my mind. I remember the radio spokesman saying that, in all, Hess spoke as long as twenty-one hours! However, back in Germany later on and speaking to a great many people, nobody seems to remember having heard the same broadcast report in those days. All my countrymen can remember are fragments of sentences of that speech.

It is quite obvious therefore that this 21-hour defense speech is also being kept under lock and key until nobody of the present generation is alive anymore.

This shows how bad the conscience of a man like Churchill must have been. It also shows how desperately Hitler attempted to put an end to this "phoney war" of Churchill's.

Maybe the writer of the said article is still alive today and perhaps he is now ready to reveal the sources of his information. At any rate, I do feel that this article is worth while to be re-printed as a historical document by the IHR, what do you think about this idea?

I have learned of a man by the name of *Tyler Kent* who played a role as a go-between between Churchill and Roosevelt during the early years of the war. It is quite possible that he can also divulge a few more details about the Hess mission.

The short article enclosed herewith tells the story about one of the dirty tricks the war monger Churchill had up his sleeve: the use of Poisonous gas on German cities on a large scale! 500,000 of these lethal bombs were already ordered by Churchill.

With very best wishes,

Hans v.d. Heide

Letters to the Editor
Daily Forty-Niner
California State University,
Long Beach, CA.

15 May 1981

I would like to respond to your 14 May 1981 article, "JDL Leader Assails Holocaust Denouncer."

Irv Rubin, the JDL's leader, can't understand why the University is "allowing this character (Professor Buchner) to teach at Cal State Long Beach."

One who recognizes the nature and purpose of such qualifications as Dr. Buchner has, as well as his proven ability to teach university level science courses, might respond in reference to Mr. Rubin himself by asking "why is the university allowing this character (Rubin) to speak at Cal State Long Beach"?

Are such freedoms of thought and speech retained only by those who do not hold such trained-for posts as Dr. Buchner?

If the University acknowledges Dr. Buchner's right to his personal views, who would twist this to presume rather arrogantly that the university is endorsing those views?

What business does Mr. Rubin have on campus anyway? Is he a teacher, a student? My tax dollars support that school on the basis that it trains students. What are Mr. Rubin's credentials?

Mr. Rubin says that the Institute for Historical Review is "dedicated to the physical extermination of the Jewish people." Rubin is a heldfaced liar and an extremely dangerous one at that. Or perhaps he has a will-to-believe such delusions of self-importance.

No amount of his really looking into what we are actually doing would affect his viewpoint one iota. He thrives on anti-Semitism. He eats it for breakfast. He tries with every ounce of his waking strength to produce it where it does not otherwise exist.

Dr. Alfred Lilienthal, Jewish author of *The Zionist Connection*, who has himself been attacked by the JDL writes; "... the JDL, despite an occasional rap on the knuckles, has been permitted to break the laws, shoot at the innocent, deface property, and attack with impunity."

And to justify this, Mr. Rubin and his ilk manufacture a "cause" to eradicate what they themselves are, in fact, creating.

Dr. Buchner, the IHR, and those who agree with our right to investigate, discover and disseminate are not the ones making the threats. It is Rubin who is making the threats.

He claims that the dissemination of our views is "like going into a theater and yelling, 'Fire.'" Now just who is yelling 'Fire'?

Mr. Rubin says we're all Nazis. That's an unfounded and pernicious smear, and again, Mr. Rubin is a liar.

When we say that millions of Jews were not killed or exterminated by the Nazis, our intent is not to lend any credibility to the Nazi regime. We publish our views because we find them to be true and we're in the business of righting the historical record. That's all.

Look at Mr. Rubin's police record if you will, and that of his associate Mordecai Levy. Listen to the antagonism and hatred in his voice and the voice of his "contingent." He is not mad because the Holocaust is being subjected to some sincere Revisionist inspection. He is simply mad.

Sincerely,

J. Marcellus
Institute for Historical Review

10 July 1981

Dear Sirs,

As Chief of Security and Field Co-ordination for Displaced Persons, in West Germany, I interviewed many of all races, especially the Jews who came out of the Warsaw and Vienna Ghettos, and without exception, they all expressed a fear, if not a terror, of the "Jewish Committee" within the respective ghettos. There was no expression of fear of the German military or authorities outside the respective ghettos.

When I was more or less in charge of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I had as an advisor Ruth Eisler, who was going under the name of Ruth Fisher. She was head of the Communist party in Germany, and led the Communist members of the *Reichstag*. Prior to the *Reichstag* fire, she had defected to the Trotsky camp and was tried during the Stalin purge trials of 1936-38, and convicted in absentia of crimes against the state (treason) and was sentenced to be executed. The person assigned this murder was none other than her brother, Gerhardt Eisler, who was the top NKVD agent in the United States during and after the war (WWII), using the names of Hanbergers and Mr. Brown. As Brown he attended a meeting of the *Daily Worker*, and discharged Hathaway, the editor, for alcoholism. He replaced Hathaway with Budenz. The person attending that paper's board meeting, had never seen Brown before that day, and as far as I know never put two and two together. When Budenz eventually defected, he was in my custody (minimal) for several weeks, and he was able to identify Eisler as Brown.

Recently, the major news services carried a release stating that a German court had found the Communist charged with setting the *Reichstag* Fire, innocent. Whereupon, I contacted both services and gave my story. Both services refused to carry my release.

When I uncovered Ruth Fisher (Eisler), she became my unofficial advisor, and one day I asked her: "Who set the fire?" She turned on me, actually calling me stupid, etc., and then said in substance: "We planned the fire, executed its planning, it back-fired, and, as a result, Hitler was given good reason to eliminate the eighty-one Communists in the Reichstag, thereby gaining full control of that body, which in turn gave him the powers he needed to gain absolute control of Germany."

Cordially,

George McDavit
Phoenix, Arizona

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The Burning of Saint Malo

PHILIP BECK

In August 1944 the historic walled city of Saint Malo, the brightest jewel of the Emerald Coast of Brittany, France, was almost totally destroyed by fire. This should not have happened.

If the attacking U.S. forces had not believed a false report that there were thousands of Germans within the city it might have been saved. They ignored the advice of two citizens who got to their lines and insisted that there were less than 100 Germans — the members of two anti-aircraft units — in the city, together with hundreds of civilians who could not get out because the Germans had closed the gates.

A ring of U.S. mortars showered incendiary shells on the magnificent granite houses, which contained much fine panelling and oak staircases as well as antique furniture and porcelain; zealously guarded by successive generations. Thirty thousand valuable books and manuscripts were lost in the burning of the library and the paper ashes were blown miles out to sea. Of the 865 buildings within the walls only 182 remained standing and all were damaged to some degree.

Churchill, in his *History of the Second World War*, said two armored and three infantry divisions were detached by Patton from the American assault forces in Normandy to clear the Brittany peninsula. The Germans, he said, “were pressed into their defensive perimeters of Saint Malo, Brest, Lorient and Saint Nazaire.”

“Here,” he added, “they could be penned and left to wither, thus saving the unnecessary losses which immediate assaults would have required.”

This “leaving to wither” hardly happened at Saint Malo. Martin Blumenson in his book *Breakout and Pursuit* said few of the Americans who set out to take Saint Malo thought it would be a difficult task. But it wasn’t long before the 8th Corps, and particularly the 83rd Ohio Division under General Macon, realized they had “a nasty job ahead of them.”

The Germans' main defense was concentrated in five strongpoints built by the Todt Organization: to the west of the city, the La Cite fort, a vast subterranean complex carved out of a peninsula between the Rance estuary and the Bay of Saint Servan; in the Bay of Saint Malo, two fortified islands, Cezembre and the Grand Bey; and to the east, the Montaigne Saint Joseph and the La Varde fort, natural geographical features fortified with concrete, which were the first stubborn pockets of resistance encountered by the U.S. forces coming from that direction.

The garrison commander, Colonel Andreas von Aulock, a European representative of General Motors before the war, directed operations from the underground complex. The two AA sites within the city were operated by the Luftwaffe. One, on the walls of the castle at the eastern end, was commanded by Lieutenant Franz Kuster, a pre-war lawyer who subsequently became a

judge in West Germany, and the other, in a little public garden facing the sea, was run by an Austrian sergeant.

To this day, a proportion of the citizens of Saint Malo believe the Germans deliberately burnt the city as an act of spite when they realized they were defeated. But all the evidence is against this.

There were many eye-witnesses to the shower of incendiaries launched by the Americans from the east, south and west of the city and the remains of a large number of these missiles were subsequently found in the ruins and identified by experts. There was no evidence of any German incendiary device having been used. In any case, it would have been illogical for Von Aulock, who certainly wasn't a fanatic, to try to burn out the city when he knew the AA units were still there. Besides, he had on the whole been attentive to the safety of the people. He had urged them on several occasions to leave the city, warning them of the horror of street fighting such as he had witnessed at Stalingrad. But a large proportion had preferred to stay because they felt they would be safer in the vast deep cellars created by Saint Malo's famed corsairs for storing their booty, than in the open country which might be transformed into a battlefield. They also feared that their houses might be looted of their valuables if left empty. Von Aulock decreed that any of his men caught looting would be shot, as would any NCO or officer who neglected his duty in this respect. Looting did take place, but the culprits were mainly civilians.

The Germans did, however, cause considerable damage in other respects. On 6 August, a minesweeper in the harbor shelled the cathedral spire which fell, causing extensive damage to the fabric. The excuse was that the spire was being used as an observation post by "terrorists." Von Aulock was furious and told Commander Breithaup, of the 12th minesweeper flotilla that the act "hardly covered the German navy with glory."

The harbor installations, including the massive lockgates, were blown up by the Germans on 7 August, and a number of vessels were scuttled there, thus ensuring that the port could not be used by the Allies.

Another German act was the rounding up of all the men between 16 and 60 in the city for internment at the Fort National, an historic fort on an islet near the castle, only accessible at low tide. This was Von Aulock's revenge for a skirmish which took place in the city on the night of 5-6 August. He was told that "terrorists" had fired on Germans. The French said it was a fight between German soldiers and mutinous sailors; there had been a marked slackening of discipline in the navy.

Unfortunately the fort was in the line of fire between the Americans coming from the east and the fortified island known as Le Grand Bey and inevitably a shell eventually fell in the midst of the several hundred hostages killing or mortally wounding 18.

The old city itself suffered from the exchange of fire between the Americans and the big guns in the underground fort. Many buildings were hit by shells as well as bombs dropped by aircraft.

However, if the damage had been restricted to shells and bombs, most of the city would have been spared. It was the concentrated attack with incendiary mortar shells which destroyed most buildings.

The Americans' belief in the presence of a large number of Germans within the city was fortified by two incidents. On 10 August, two jeeps carrying four Americans and five Frenchmen tried to enter the city by the main gate. The party was under the mistaken impression that it had been lib-

erated. They came under a hail of machinegun fire. An American officer and two of the French were killed and the others taken prisoner.

The following day a truck carrying clothing and ammunition for the Resistance also tried to get in. The two occupants were captured and the vehicle was burnt.

These attacks were the work of the Luftwaffe men on the AA sites but the Americans watching about 500 yards away could well have thought in the confusion of the incidents that the defenders were a much larger force.

However, it is hard to understand why they were scornful of the news brought by the two French emissaries from the city. Yves Burgot and Jean Vergniaud were sent from the castle where they had been sheltering to ask for morphia for the wounded Americans and Germans. They were received coolly by an officer who asked how many Germans remained in the city. They told him there were less than a hundred but he would not accept this and the shelling and burning continued.

A truce was arranged on 13 August to allow the people to get out of the city. By this time a large part of it was either in flames or had been destroyed. The firemen could do little to prevent the spread of the fires as the Americans had severed the water main.

The Americans attacked with tanks on 14 August and, to their undoubted surprise, found the burning city almost empty.

The underground fortress continued to fight until August 17 when Von Aulock surrendered. He was subsequently accused of "the barbaric act of burning the corsairs' city," but after an examination of the ruins including the remains of incendiary shells and the questioning of witnesses, he was vindicated.

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Letter to 'The Nation'

PAUL RASSINIER

1 October 1962

Dear Editor:

I would like to make a few comments about the book review by Ernest Zaugg (*The Nation*, 14 July 1962) dealing with my three books about the German concentration camps, the responsibility for World War II and the Eichmann trial (*The Lie of Ulysses*, *Ulysses Betrayed by his Fellows*, and *The Real Eichmann Trial*).

Genocide

Until Eichmann's arrest it was a sacred dogma of journalists to believe there were orders to exterminate the Jews issued by the top Nazis of the Third Reich. Nobody has ever produced such an order, but this has not prevented the theory that such orders were given from being stubbornly maintained. Then came the Eichmann trial. It was deemed necessary to prove that he was responsible for the exterminations and had acted without orders. Hence, finally, the lack of evidence of such orders from the top Nazis was admitted. Dr. Kubovy, Director of the Tel Aviv Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, wrote (*La Terre Retrouvée*, 15 December 1960):

No document signed by Hitler, Himmler or Heydrich exists which speaks of the extermination of the Jews. The word "Extermination" does not appear in Göring's letter to Heydrich about the final solution of the Jewish problem.

This is what I have been saying since 1948. It disposes of the theory of "deliberate genocide" in which Mr. Zaugg seems to believe.

Methods of Genocide

The official thesis is that 6 million Jews were exterminated, without orders naturally, as is now admitted. To exterminate such a number an extraordinary method was needed-to wit, gas chambers.

In this matter European public opinion has changed greatly since the first Nuremberg trials (1945-6). After a lecture tour I made in Germany covering a dozen cities, the Institute for Contemporary History (Institut für Zeitgeschichte) of Muenchen, a democratic institute, of course, was obliged on 19 August 1962 to state officially that "there were no gas chambers in any of the concentration camps in the territory called by the Nazis 'Greater Germany,' "none in Dachau, none in Bergen Belsen, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück, etc. One concludes that the witnesses in the

13 Nuremberg trials and in the Eichmann trial who stated under oath that there were gas chambers in these camps were no more than vulgar false witnesses.

Mr. Zaugg accuses me of whitewashing the Nazis and giving aid and comfort to the neo-Nazis. My answer to this charge is that the best way to give aid and comfort to the neo-Nazis, if such there be, is to accuse the Germans of crimes which were never committed. It is astonishing that after 17 years of false accusations more damage has not been done in this respect.

Auschwitz

The question of the Auschwitz gas chambers has not been fully cleared up. They are the only ones which are still a problem. Thanks, in part, to my research we know the following:

a) On 8 April 1942 the economic section of the RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) ordered from Topf and Sons, Erfurt, crematoriums (not gas chambers) equipped with showers (Badeanstalten) and morgues (Leichenkeller). These showerbaths and morgues have been presented to the world as gas chambers. The official version is that these gas chambers were destroyed by the Germans on 17 October 1944 and rebuilt by the Russians after the war-just as the “gas chambers” of Dachau were built after the war by the Americans. Now scholars are wondering whether the Russian-built gas chambers of Auschwitz are not perhaps “Potemkin villages,” as are those built by the Americans in Dachau.

b) All witnesses at Nuremberg were agreed that these installations at Auschwitz which became “gas chambers” were constructed “in the heart of winter 1942-3,” which means at the earliest the end of January or the beginning of February.

c) If these installations were gas chambers, they were at least not used as such “from autumn 1943 to May 1944” (Kastner Report, which, when printed by Kindler in Germany, was edited to suppress this passage). The only question that now remains is whether they were used as gas chambers from February until autumn, 1943, and after May, 1944.

We hope this will be cleared up in the trial of Richard Baer, camp commander at Auschwitz from 10 November 1943 to 25 January 1944. It is very doubtful that the gas chambers were used in the Baer period, which is perhaps the reason that since his arrest in October, 1960, his trial has been postponed five times. He was to be tried last November, but now the trial has again been postponed until spring! When and if this trial takes place the matter of the Auschwitz “gas chambers” will, we hope, be definitely cleared up.

There are only eleven doubtful months in which perhaps people were gassed in Auschwitz. How many people could have been gassed in these eleven months, if any were gassed?

The Six Million

It has been accepted as gospel truth that the Nazis murdered six million Jews. First question: where did they find these six million Jews, since the prewar Jewish statistics (Arthur Ruppin) prove without doubt that in the territories occupied by Hitler there never were six million Jews.

Furthermore, a booklet published July, 1961, by the Institute for Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress, page 18, states that 900,000 of the six million “perished” in Auschwitz. Second question: where did the other 5.1 million “perish”? Not in the gas chambers of “Greater Ger-

many,” since the official Institute for Contemporary History of Muenchen has stated that they never existed.

Perhaps at Chelmno, Belzec, Majdanek, Sobibor or Treblinka, all situated in Poland? The only document which speaks of gas chambers in these camps is the Gerstein document. It states there were “gas chambers of 25 square meters in which 750 to 800 persons were exterminated at one time.” Gerstein, however, according to the official version, hanged himself in his prison in Paris on 4 July 1945. The document he allegedly wrote was so obviously phony that it was rejected as evidence at Nuremberg on 30 January 1946, and not permitted to be read before the court.

Jewish statistics of the prewar period, compared with those of after the war, show that the number of Jews who died during the war in the camps or elsewhere was about 1 million, a large enough figure. To explain it, it is not necessary to resort either to “deliberate genocide” or to “gas chambers,” since anyone who has experienced the concentration camps knows that conditions there were bad enough to account for a large number of deaths. Many were killed in the guerrilla warfare on the Eastern front and in the saturation bombings.

Everything else which Mr. Zaugg says against my books shows that his imagination is without limits and that he has great talents, not for historical investigations, but for “Wild West” tales. This is a general weakness of American journalists. They do not realize that public opinion in Europe has evolved since 1945 as more and more light has been cast on wartime events. Most of the exaggerations about the concentration camps, the neo-Nazis and the revival of German militarism are fabrications invented by the manipulators of Bolshevism to isolate Germany from its neighbors and prevent the birth of the great nation, Europe.

By believing these legends the American press played the game of the Reds and helped lead the Slavs to the gates of Hamburg — the Slavs whom Charlemagne threw back to the banks of the Vistula 1,100 years ago. Do these irresponsible publicists want the Cossack horses drinking from the Rhine and the Russian tanks parading in the Sahara? If so, they have but to continue to support the “historical verities” of the Communists.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Paul Rassinier
Professor Emeritus

* This letter was never published by *The Nation*.

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The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to be Physically Inconceivable

Dr. ROBERT FAURISSON

Zyklon B is a hydrocyanic acid that is given off by evaporation.

It is used for the disinfection of ships, silos and dwellings as well as for the destruction of pests.

It is still manufactured today in Frankfurt-on-Main. It is sold in Western Europe, in Eastern Europe, in the United States and nearly everywhere in the world.

Hydrocyanic gas is highly poisonous and very dangerous. One milligram per kilogram of body weight is sufficient to kill a man. In a closed place it will poison a man in several seconds and will kill him in several minutes. A man can lose consciousness and die by absorbing the gas through the skin.

This gas sticks to surfaces. It sticks not only to the skin and to the mucous membranes to the point of penetrating them, but it also sticks to wood, to plaster, to paint, and to cement, and it penetrates them. In an ordinary place where these materials are encountered, the gas cannot be ventilated after use; it is necessary to be contented with a natural airing-out process, which lasts nearly 24 hours.

Only specialized personnel, having gone through a period of instruction and having been awarded a diploma, can use this product or gas. They must wear gas masks with special filtering cartridges for hydrocyanic acid.

The preparations necessary for the gassing of a place, for example a dwelling place, are long and meticulous, especially in order to obtain a good air-tightness.

The granules of *Zyklon* from which the hydrocyanic gas is released are not thrown at random, are not scattered by chance. This would be too dangerous later on. It is necessary to assure a calculated distribution. The granules are set down on display napkins.

When the gas is thought to have ended its destructive work, it is necessary that specialized personnel enter the place in order to open everything that would permit a natural airing-out. This is the most critical moment. The airing-out presents the greatest danger for participants as well as for non-participants. It is therefore necessary to proceed with it with special prudence and always while wearing gas masks. As a rule it is necessary to air out the place in such a way as to be able to reach the open air as soon as possible and in such a way that the gas will be evacuated from a side where every risk for non-participants is excluded.

The airing-out lasts at least twenty hours.

At the end of twenty hours, the specialized personnel come back into the place, while still wearing their masks. If it is possible, they raise the temperature of the place to 15 degrees centigrade. They leave, returning at the end of an hour, still with their masks, in order to go on to a test for the disappearance of the gas. If the test is favorable, the place is declared to be accessible without wearing a gas mask. But, if it is a question of a dwelling place, people will not be able to sleep in the place for the first night and the windows ought still to remain open during that first night. Mattresses, bed rolls and cushions must be beaten or shaken for at least an hour because they are impregnated with gas.

This gas is inflammable and explosive; there must not be any naked flame in the vicinity and, most definitely, it is necessary not to smoke.

In a more general way, in order to enter a place where there is some hydrocyanic gas, it is necessary always to wear a gas mask with a particularly strong filter cartridge; two cases then present themselves: — either the masked man will be exposed to concentrations lower than 1 percent in volume of hydrocyanic gas; — or he will be exposed to concentrations equal to or higher than 1 percent.

In the first case, he will be able to devote himself to some light work; for example, he will be able to open windows that are easy to open, but on condition that after each step he goes outside in order to remove his mask there and to breathe the open air for at least ten minutes. In the second case, the exposure of the man to those concentrations must be tolerated only in case of necessity and for a period of time not to exceed one minute.

This gas can be used in pressurized fumigation chambers. It is used in the United States for the execution of a person condemned to death in the gas chamber. One must see one of these chambers and be acquainted with the process of their use in order to realize the extent to which it is difficult and dangerous to use hydrocyanic gas in order to kill a single man.

During the First World War, combat gasses had been used, but with very many disappointments and with nearly as much danger for one's own troops as for the enemy, so true is it that gas is the least controllable of all weapons. Many suicidal or accidental poisonings are there to prove it. But since the end of the war some Americans who wished for a more humane method of putting condemned prisoners to death, believed that nothing would be at the same time more humane and easier than to use a powerful gas to put the man to sleep until death would result. It was when they wanted to put their idea into practice that they realized the difficulties. The first execution of a condemned man by hydrocyanic gas took place in the penitentiary at Carson City in 1924; it narrowly missed turning into a catastrophe for the entourage. It was necessary to wait until 1936/1938 in order to obtain more reliable gas chambers. But even today, this method of execution remains critical for the executioners and for the entourage.

The small cockpit called a gas chamber is made entirely of glass and steel in order to avoid having the gas stick too much to the surfaces or penetrate them. The glass and steel are very thick for various technical reasons and especially in order that a vacuum can be created in the cockpit with a view to assuring it a good air-tightness; but a vacuum thus created brings some risks of implosion. The construction is thus very strong.

Once the condemned person is killed by the emission of the gas the real difficulties begin. It is in effect necessary to enter into a place which, for the moment, is full of deadly gas and it is necessary there to handle a corpse impregnated with that gas.

The gas is not evacuated toward a chimney in the direction of the air outside; this would be too dangerous. In fact, it is driven back in the direction of a mixer where it is neutralized by a chemical base (ammonia). The acid thus gives way to a salt which will be washed away with a great deal of water. Nevertheless, the place still remains dangerous for a long time, as does the corpse. For the doctor and his aides who will have to enter the place and drag out the body, some precautions remain necessary. They will wait until a warning product (phenolphthaline) signals them that the deadly gas has been neutralized, at least for the most part. They will wear masks with special filtering cartridges. They will be wearing gloves and rubber aprons. They will wash the corpse very carefully with a jet, particularly in the mouth and in all of the folds of the body.

Beforehand, the simple preparation of the gas chamber for an execution will have required two days of work for two specialized men. The machinery is relatively important.

To use hydrocyanic gas to kill only one man is thus much more complicated and dangerous than one would generally imagine.

One must not confuse the complicated gas chambers which the use of this dangerous gas demands, with the rudimentary buildings that all the armies in the world use to train recruits in the wearing of gas masks with ordinary filter cartridges. These places are also called gas chambers. The gas used is relatively not very poisonous and is ventilated easily; the air-tightness of such buildings is quite relative.

When one knows all this, one is quite surprised at reading the testimonies or confessions about the use that the Germans are supposed to have made of *Zyklon B* to execute not one man at a time but hundreds or thousands of human beings at a time. The most complete of those testimonies or confessions is that of the first of three successive commandants of Auschwitz: Rudolf Höss (whose name must not be confused with that of Rudolf Hess, the prisoner of Spandau). Rudolf Höss is supposed to have drawn up for his jailers and for his communist judges a confession whose text is supposed to have been reproduced in 1958, or eleven years later, in its original language by Dr. Martin Broszat, a member of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. That confession is known to the general public under the title *Commandant of Auschwitz*. First on page 166, then on page 126 of the German edition of the book one learns this:

...A half hour after having released the gas (i.e. *Zyklon B*), they would open the door (of the gas chamber where there are several thousands of victims) and would start the apparatus for airing it out. They would begin immediately to take out the bodies.

He goes on to say that this tremendous job of taking out thousands of bodies, from which they removed the gold teeth or cut the hair, was carried out by resigned and indifferent people who during all that time did not cease to smoke and to eat.

That description is surprising. If those people smoked and ate, they were not even wearing gas masks. How could they smoke in a place with vapors from an inflammable and explosive gas? How could all of that be done near the doors of the crematory ovens in which they were burning thousands of bodies? How could they enter into a gas chamber still full of gas to handle those bodies that were full of gas, and that immediately after the opening of the door? How could they devote themselves to such a gigantic job for some hours when specialists, equipped with masks, can only remain in such an atmosphere for several minutes and on condition that they only devote themselves to efforts that do not go beyond the effort required to open windows that are easy to open? How could they, with bare hands, extract teeth and cut hair when one knows that, in an American gas chamber, the first concern of the doctor who enters into the cockpit with mask involves tousling the hair of the corpse with his rubber-gloved hands in order to expel from

it the molecules of hydrocyanic gas which have remained in the hair of that corpse in spite of all of the precautions taken? Who are these beings endowed with supernatural powers? From what world do these tremendous creatures come? Do they belong to our world which is ruled by inflexible, known laws of the physicist, the doctor, the chemist, the toxicologist? Or do they indeed belong to the world of the imagination where all those laws, even the law of gravity, are overcome by magic or disappear by enchantment?

If Rudolf Höss still lived, we would be able to pose these questions to him. Unfortunately, after his confession to the communists he was hanged. It remains for us therefore to pose these questions to other persons who have borne witness before the courts and who say they have seen these “gas chambers” functioning. No court has yet posed questions of this type, for example, to a Dov Paisikovic or to a Filip Müller. Fortunately, what the judges have not done, an American historical institute did on 3 September 1979 at Los Angeles. The Institute for Historical Review (PO Box 1306, Torrance, California, 90505) has even promised a reward of \$50,000.00. But, for nearly a year, no candidate has made himself known, not even Filip Müller, who lives in West Germany (68 Mannheim, Hochofenstrasse 31). His book, recently published in German, in English and in American and in French does not bring any element of an answer to the questions posed. In truth, furthermore, it accumulates still more mysteries and the affair becomes inextricable.

Sources

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On the testimony attributed to Rudolf Höss, see: *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen, eingeleitet und kommentiert von Martin Broszat, 1958, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt.

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Additional

I keep at the disposal of every witness or of every court a study which ends with the following question: “What proof is there demonstrating the existence of 'gassing' at Auschwitz which did not already demonstrate the existence of 'gassing' at Dachau?”

We know today that there was never any “gassing” at Dachau, but for many years they presented a host of proofs and testimonies thanks to which they claimed to demonstrate the reality of those

“gassings.” It seemed to me to be a good idea to refer back to the proofs and testimonies proving that there had been some “gassings” at Ravensbrück where we likewise know that there were none. My conclusion is the following: between on the one hand the documents about Dachau (or about Ravensbrück) and, on the other hand, the documents about Auschwitz, there is no difference in quality, but only in quantity. On those first “gas chambers” or on the first “gassings,” they have made up stories only during some 15 years, while on the others they have made up stories for 35 years. In one case as in the other we are not lacking either official documents or details to the nearest centimeter.

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The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?

Questions by Antonio Pitamitz To Robert Faurisson (*Storia Illustrata*, August 1979)

Translated by Vivian Bird

Expanded, reviewed, and corrected by Dr. Robert Faurisson

QUESTION 1: Monsieur Faurisson, for some time now in France — and not only in France — you have found yourself at the center of a bitter controversy resulting from certain things which you have asserted on the subject of what is still one of the most somber pages in the history of the Second World War. We refer to the extermination of the Jews on the part of the Nazis. In particular, one of your assertions appears as dogmatic as it is incredible. Is it true that you deny that the gas chambers ever existed?

ANSWER 1:

I assert, in fact, that these famous alleged homicidal “gas chambers” are nothing but a tall story of wartime. This invention of wartime propaganda is comparable to the widespread legends of the First World War about “Teutonic barbarism.” The Germans were then already accused (in the First World War) of completely imaginary crimes; of Belgian children with hands cut off; crucified Canadians; corpses turned into soap. [1] The Germans, I suppose, said similar things about the French.

German concentration camps did really exist but the whole world knows that they were not original or unique to the Germans. Crematorium ovens have also existed in certain of these camps, but incineration is no more offensive or criminal than burial. The crematorium ovens even constitute progress from the sanitary point of view where there was a risk of epidemics. Typhus ravaged the whole of wartime Europe. The majority of corpses which are shown to us in photos are clearly the corpses of typhus victims. These photos illustrate the fact that the internees-and sometimes the guards-died of typhus. They prove nothing other than this. To exploit the fact that the Germans at times used crematorium ovens is not very honest. In asserting this one counts on the repulsion or feeling of unease and disquiet felt by people accustomed to burial and not to incineration. Imagine an oceanic population accustomed to burning its dead. Tell such a people that you bury your own and you will appear a kind of savage. Perhaps they would even suspect that in Europe persons “more or less alive” are placed in the earth! One displays one’s complete dishonesty when in the same way, one presents as homicidal “gas chambers” the fumigation chambers (autoclaves) which were in reality used for the disinfecting of garments by gas. This never clearly formulated accusation has now been almost totally abandoned, but in certain museums or in certain books we are still confronted with a photo of one of these autoclaves, sited at Dachau, with an American soldier in front, about to decipher the time-table for gassings. [2]

Another form of gassing really existed in the German camps: this is the fumigation of buildings by gas to exterminate vermin. For this purpose the renowned Zyklon B was used, around which a

fantastic legend has been built up. Zyklon B, whose license goes back to 1922, [3] is still used today, notably for the disinfecting of furniture, of barracks, of silos, of ships, but also for the destruction of fox burrows or of pests of all kinds. [4] It is very dangerous to handle for, as the letter “B” indicates, it is “Blausauere” (“blue” acid or prussic acid or hydrocyanic acid). In passing, it is worth noting that the Soviets, misunderstanding the significance of this letter, accused the Germans of having killed deportees with Zyklon A and with Zyklon B! [5]

But let us turn to the alleged homicidal “gas chambers.” Until, the year 1960 I still believed in the reality of these human abattoirs where, using industrial methods, the Germans would have killed internees in industrial quantities.

Then I learned that certain authors regarded the reality of these “gas chambers” as contestable; among them Paul Rassinier, who had been deported to Buchenwald and then to Dora. These authors ended up by forming a group of historians describing themselves as Revisionists. I studied their arguments. Of course, I also studied the arguments of the official historians. The latter believed in the reality of extermination in the “gas chambers.” They are, if one wishes to so describe them, the “Exterminationists.” [6] For many years I minutely examined the arguments of one and another. I went to Auschwitz, to Majdanek, and to Struthof. I have searched, in vain, for a single person capable of telling me: “I have been interned in such a camp and I have seen there, with my own eyes, a building which was undoubtedly a gas chamber.” I have read many books and documents. For many years, I have studied the archives of the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (CDJC) at Paris. Obviously, I took a special interest in the so-called “war crimes” cases.

I have devoted very special attention to what has been presented to me as being “admissions” on the part of the SS or of Germans generally. I am not going to enumerate for you here the names of all the specialists whom I have consulted. Strangely enough, it only took a few minutes of conversation before these “specialists” in question would declare to me: “Now, you must know, I am not a specialist on gas chambers. “ And an even more curious thing: there does not exist to this day any book, nor even any article from the Exterminationist school on the subject of the “gas chambers.” I know that perhaps certain titles can be quoted to me, but these titles are deceptive. [7] In reality, in the formidable mountain of writings devoted to the German camps, there exists nothing which concerns their *sine qua non*: the “gas chambers!” No Exterminationist has written on the “gas chambers.” The most one can say is that Georges Wellers, of the CDJC, attempted to address this subject in an attempt to plead for partial acceptance of the veracity of the Gerstein document, about the Belzec [8] “gas chambers.”

On the other hand, the Revisionists have written quite a lot about the “gas chambers” to say that their existence was dubious, or to affirm frankly that their existence was impossible. My personal opinion is joined to the latter. The existence of the “gas chambers” is *completely* impossible. My reasons are primarily those which the Revisionists have accumulated in their publications. Next, there are those proofs which I have discovered myself.

I have thought it necessary to start at the beginning. You know that in general it takes a long time to perceive that one actually ought to have begun at the beginning. I realized that all of us would talk of the “gas chambers” as if we knew the sense of these words.

Among all those who make statements, speeches or use sentences in which the expression “gas chamber” appears, how many of those people actually know what they are talking about? It has not taken me very long to realize that many people commit one of the most glaring errors. These people imagine a “gas chamber” as being similar to a mere bedroom under the door of which a

household gas is released. These people forget that an execution by gas is by definition profoundly different from a simple suicidal or accidental asphyxiation. In the case of an execution, one must carefully avoid all risk of illness, poisoning or death for the executioner and his crew. Such a risk is to be avoided before, during and after the execution. The technical difficulties implied herein are considerable. I was most anxious to know how domestic minks were gassed, how foxes were gassed in foxholes, and how in the U.S. a person who was sentenced to death was executed by gassing. I have found that, in the vast majority of cases, hydrocyanic acid was used for such purposes. This was precisely the same gas which the Germans used to fumigate their barracks. It was also with this gas that they allegedly killed groups of individuals as well as great masses of people. I have therefore studied this gas. I wanted to know its use in Germany and in France. I have reviewed ministerial documents governing the use of this highly toxic product. I had the good fortune of discovering some documents on Zyklon B and hydrocyanic acid which had been gathered by the Allies in the German industrial archives at Nuremberg.

Then, with greater scrutiny I re-examined certain statements and confessions which had been made in German and Allied courts concerning the use of Zyklon B for putting prisoners to death, and I was shocked. And now, you in turn will also be shocked. I will first read to you the statement or confession of Rudolf Höss. Then, I will tell you the results of my research, purely physical, on hydrocyanic acid and Zyklon B. (Please bear in mind R. Höss was one of the three successive commanding officers at Auschwitz; all three of whom were detained and interrogated by the Allies. Only Höss left a confession, for which we are indebted to his Polish jailers. [9])

In this confession, the description of the actual gassing is remarkably short and vague. However, it is essential to realize that all those others who claim to have been present at this sort of an operation are also vague and brief and that their statements are full of contradictions on certain points. Rudolf Höss writes, "Half an hour after having released the gas, the door would be opened and the fan turned on. The bodies immediately began to be removed." [10] I call your attention to the word "immediately"; in German the word is *sofort*. Höss then adds that the crew in charge of handling and removing 2,000 bodies from the "gas chamber" and transporting them to the crematory ovens did so while "eating or smoking"; therefore, if I understand correctly, these duties were all performed without gas masks. Such a description runs counter to all common sense. It implies that it is possible to enter an area saturated with hydrocyanic acid without taking any precautionary measures in the barehanded handling of 2,000 cyanided cadavers which were probably still contaminated with the fatal gas. The hair (which was supposedly clipped after the operation) was undoubtedly impregnated with the gas. The mucous membranes would have been impregnated also. Air pockets between the bodies which were supposedly heaped one on top of the other would have been filled with the gas. What kind of superpowerful fan is able to instantly disperse so much gas drifting through the air and hidden in air pockets? Even if such a fan had existed, it would have been necessary to perform a test for the detection of any remaining hydrocyanic acid and to develop a procedure for informing the crew that the fan had actually fulfilled its function and that the room was safe. Now, it is abundantly clear from Höss' description that the fan in question must have been endowed with magical powers in order to be able to disperse all of the gas with such flawless performance so that there was no cause for concern or need for verification of the absence of the gas!

What mere common sense suggested is now confirmed by the technical documents concerning Zyklon B and its usage. [11] In order to fumigate a barrack, the Germans were constrained by numerous precautionary measures: specially trained teams which were licensed only after an internship at a Zyklon B manufacturing plant; special materials including especially the "J" filters which when used in gas masks were capable of protecting an individual under the most rigorous toxic conditions; evacuations of all surrounding barracks; warnings posted in several languages

and bearing a skull and cross-bones; a meticulous examination of the site to be fumigated in order to locate and seal any fissures or openings; the sealing of any chimneys or airshafts and the removal of keys from doors. The cans of Zyklon B were opened at the site itself. After the gas had apparently killed all the vermin, the most critical operation would begin: this was the ventilation of the site. Sentries were to be stationed at a certain distance from all doors and windows, their backs to the wind, in order to prevent the approach of all persons. The specially trained crew equipped with gas masks would then enter the building and unclog the chimneys and cracks, and open the windows. This operation completed, they had to go outside again, remove their masks and breathe freely for ten minutes. They had to put their masks on again to re-enter the building and perform the next step. Once all of this work was completed, it was still necessary to wait TWENTY hours. Actually, because Zyklon B was “difficult to ventilate, since it adheres strongly to surfaces,” the dispersion of the gas required a long natural ventilation. This was especially important when great volumes of the gas were employed as in the case of a barrack containing more than one floor. (When Zyklon B was used in an autoclave with a total volume of only 10 cubic meters, ventilation (forced or artificially) was still necessary.) After twenty hours had elapsed, the crew would return with their masks on. They would then verify by means of a paper test (the paper would turn blue in the presence of hydrocyanic acid) as to whether or not the site was indeed again fit for human habitation. And so we see that a site which had been gassed was not safely accessible until a minimum of 21 hours had elapsed. As far as French legislation is concerned, the minimum is set at 24 hours. ^[12]

It becomes, therefore, apparent that in the absence of a magical fan capable of instantly expelling a gas that is “difficult to ventilate, since it adheres strongly to surfaces,” the “human slaughterhouse” called a “gas chamber” would have been inaccessible for nearly a full day. Its walls, floors, ceiling would have retained portions of a gas which was highly poisonous to man. And what about the bodies? These cadavers could have been nothing less than saturated with the gas, just as the cushions, mattresses and blankets discussed in the same technical document on the use of Zyklon B would have been saturated also. These mattresses, etc., had to be taken out of doors to be aired and beaten for an hour under dry atmospheric conditions and for two hours when the weather was humid. When this was accomplished, these items were then heaped together and beaten again if the paper test revealed any further presence of hydrocyanic acid.

Hydrocyanic acid is both inflammable and explosive. How could it then have been used in close proximity to the entrance of crematory ovens? How could one have entered the “gas chamber” while smoking?

I have not yet even touched upon the subject of the superabundance of technical and physical impossibilities which become apparent upon an actual examination of the site and the dimensions of the supposed “gas chambers” at Auschwitz and Auschwitz-Birkenau. Moreover, just as an inquisitive fact-finder of the Polish museum may discover, these chambers were in reality nothing more than “cold storage rooms” (mortuaries) and were typical of such rooms both in lay-out as well as size. The supposed “gas chamber” of Krema II at Birkenau, of which there remains only a ruin, was in fact a morgue, located below ground in order to protect it from heat and measuring 30 meters in length and 7 meters down the center to allow for the movement of wagons). The door, the passageways, the freight lift (which measured only 2.10 meters by 1.35 meters) which led to the crematory chamber were all of Lilliputian dimensions in comparison to the insinuations of Höss’s account. ^[13] According to Höss, the gas chamber could easily accommodate 2,000 standing victims, but had a capacity of 3,000. Can you imagine that? Three thousand people crammed into a space of 210 square meters. In other words, to make a comparison, 286 people standing in a room measuring 5 meters by 4 meters! Do not be deceived into believing that before their retreat the Germans blew up the “gas chambers” and crematory ovens to conceal any

trace of their alleged crimes. If one wishes to obliterate all trace of an installation which would be intrinsically quite sophisticated, it must be scrupulously dismantled from top to bottom so that there remains not one shred of incriminating evidence. Destruction by means of demolition would have been ingenuous. If explosives had been employed, mere removal of the concrete blocks would still have left this or that telltale sign. As a matter of fact, Poles of the present day Auschwitz museum have reconstructed the remains of some “Kremas” (meaning, in reality, reconstructions of crematoria and supposed “gas chambers”). However, all of the artefacts shown to tourists attest to the existence of crematory ovens rather than to anything else. [14] If it was the Germans who dynamited those installations (as an army often does in retreat) it was precisely because those installations concealed nothing suspicious. In Majdanek, on the other hand, they left intact installations which were dubbed “gas chambers” after the war.

In the U.S.A. the first execution by gassing took place on 8 February 1924 in the prison of Carson City, Nevada. Two hours after the execution, poison traces were still to be found in the grounds of the prison. Mr. Dickerson, warden of the prison, declared that as far as the condemned man was concerned, the method of execution was certainly the most humane so far used. But he added that he would reject this method in the future because of the danger to the witnesses. [15] Recently, on 22 October 1979, Jesse Bishop was executed by gas at the same prison.

The real gas chambers, such as those created in 1924 and developed by the Americans around 1936-1938 offer some idea of the inherent complexity of such a method of execution. [16] The Americans, for one thing, only gas one prisoner at a time normally (some gas chambers exist, however, which are equipped with two seats for the execution of two brothers, for example). The prisoner is totally immobilized. He is poisoned by the hydrocyanic acid (actually by the dropping of sodium cyanide pellets into a container of sulfuric acid and distilled water which results in release of hydrocyanic acid gas). Within approximately 40 seconds, the prisoner dozes off, and in a few minutes he dies. Apparently, the gas causes no discomfort. As in the case of Zyklon B, it is the dispersion of the gas which causes problems. Natural ventilation for 24 hours is not possible in this case. Obviously, the location of the site of execution precludes such ventilation without seriously endangering the guards as well as other prison inmates. What, then, is the best course of action with a gas which poses such difficult problems of ventilation? The solution is to transform the acidic vapors into a solid salt which can then be flushed out with water. For this purpose, ammonia vapors which are basic are used to react with the acid vapors to form the salt by chemical reaction. When the hydrocyanic acid has all but vanished, a warning signal would alert the attending physician and his aides who are located on the opposite side of a glass barrier. The warning signal is phenolphthalein. It is arranged in containers located at various places in the chamber and turns from pink to purple in the absence of hydrocyanic acid. Once the absence of the poison is indicated and once an arrangement of fans draws the ammonia fumes out through an exhaust vent, the physician and his assistants enter the chamber wearing gas masks. Rubber gloves are used to protect the hands. The doctor ruffles through the convict's hair so as to brush out any residual hydrocyanic acid. Only after a full hour has elapsed since the death, can the doctor and his assistants enter the chamber. The convict's body is washed very carefully and the room is hosed down. The ammonia gas has by this time been expelled via a high chimney stack above the prison. Because of the danger to guards who are normally stationed in the prison watch towers, in some prisons the guards are required to leave their post during such an execution. I will just mention the other requirements for a completely air-tight gas chamber such as the need for locks, “Herculite” glass barriers of considerable thickness (because of the risk of implosion since a vacuum has to be made) a vacuum system, mercury valves, etc.

A gassing is not an improvisation. If the Germans had decided to gas millions of people, a complete overhaul of some very formidable machinery would have been absolutely essential. A gen-

eral order, instructions, studies, commands and plans would surely have been necessary also. Such items have never been found. Meetings of experts would have been necessary: of architects, chemists, doctors, and experts in a wide range of technical fields. Disbursements and allocations of funds would have been necessary. Had this occurred in a state such as the Third Reich, a wealth of evidence would surely have survived. We know, for example, down to the pfennig the cost of the kennel at Auschwitz and of the bay trees which were ordered for the nurseries. Orders for projects would have been issued. Auschwitz and Birkenau would not have been camps where so much coming and going would have been allowed. In fact, it was because of all this to-ing and fro-ing, and in order to prevent any increase in escapes, that it was found necessary for registration numbers to be tattooed onto prisoners' arms. [17] Civilian workers and engineers would not have been permitted to mingle with the inmates. Passes would not have been granted to Germans in the camp, and their family members would not have had visiting rights. Above all, the prisoners who had served their sentences would not have been released and permitted to return to their respective countries: that well guarded secret among historians was revealed to us several years ago in an article by Louis De Jong, Director of the Institute of World War II History of Amsterdam. [18]

Moreover, in the United States the recent publication of aerial photographs of Auschwitz deals a death blow to the extermination fable: even in the summer of 1944 at the height of the influx of Hungarian Jews, there is no indication of any human pyre or throng of prisoners near the crematorium (but an open gate and a landscaped area are clearly visible) and there is no suspicious smoke (although the smoke stacks of the crematoria reportedly spewed forth flames continuously that were visible from a distance of several kilometers both day and night). [19]

I will conclude with a comment on what I regard as the criterion of false evidence regarding the gas chambers. I have noticed that all of these statements, vague and inconsistent as they are, concur on at least one point: the crew responsible for removing the bodies from the "gas chambers" entered the site either "immediately" or a "few moments" after the deaths of the victims. I contend that this point alone constitutes the cornerstone of the false evidence, because this is a physical impossibility. If you encounter a person who believes in the existence of the "gas chambers," ask him how, in his opinion, the thousands of cadavers were removed to make room for the next batch.

QUESTION 2: How can you assert this, after all that has been said and written during the past 35 years? After all that the survivors of the camps have recounted? After the cases brought against war criminals? After Nuremberg? Upon what proofs and upon what documents do you base your assertions?

ANSWER 2:

Many historical errors have lasted more than 35 years. What certain "survivors" have recounted does indeed constitute evidence, but it is evidence among others. Testimony evidence alone is not proof. In particular, the "evidence" presented at the "war crimes" trials ought to be examined with special caution. Unless I am mistaken, not a sole witness in 35 years has ever been prosecuted for perjury; a fact which amounts to giving a watertight guarantee to everyone desirous of providing evidence of "war crimes." Furthermore, this also explains the fact that earlier tribunals have "established" the existence of "gas chambers" in parts of Germany where it has now been finally and firmly established that there were none (for example, throughout the entire territory of the Old Reich).

The judgments pronounced at Nuremberg have only a relative value. The vanquished were judged by their victors. There was not the least possibility of appeal. Articles 19 and 21 of the Statutes of this political tribunal cynically gave it the right of not having to have solid proof, they even validated hearsay evidence. [20] All the other trials for “war crimes” have, as a result, been inspired by the legislation at Nuremberg. The trials of witches and sorcerers through the centuries used to proceed in such a manner.

There have existed, at least at first glance, “proofs” and “witnesses” of gassing at Oranienburg, at Buchenwald, at Bergen-Belsen, at Dachau, at Ravensbrück, and at Mauthausen. Professors, priests, Catholics, Jews, Communists, have all attested to the existence of “gas chambers” in these camps, and of their use for killing internees. To take only one example: Mgr. Piguet, Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, has written that Polish priests have passed through the “gas chambers” of Dachau. [21] But since 1960 it has been officially recognized that no one was ever gassed at Dachau. [22]

But even more outrageous: there have been many cases where those in charge in certain camps have confessed to the

existence and the functioning of homicidal “gas chambers” where it has since been revealed by investigation that none ever existed. As far as Ravensbrück is concerned, the commandant of the camp (Suhren), his deputy (Schwarzhuber), and the camp doctor (Dr. Treite), have all admitted to the existence of a “gas chamber” and have even described, in a vague fashion, its operation. [23] They were executed or they committed suicide.

The same scenario existed for the commandant Ziereis at Mauthausen who, in 1945, on his death bed, is reported to have also made such confessions. [24]

One should not immediately assume that the admissions of the Ravensbrück administrators were extorted from them by the Russians or by the Poles. It was actually the judicial apparatus of Britain and of France which obtained these confessions. An even more disturbing factor is that the “confessions” were extracted several years after the war’s end. The necessary pressure continued to be applied to such unfortunates right up until as late as 1950, when a man like Schwarzhuber collaborated with his interrogators, or his judges, or his bench magistrates.

No serious historian pretends any longer that people were gassed in any camp anywhere in the Old Reich. Today, allegations are only made about certain camps situated in Poland. 19 August 1960 constituted an important date in the history of the myth of the “gas chambers.” On this day, the newspaper *Die Zeit* published a letter which was entitled “No gassing at Dachau.” [25] From the content of the letter, a better title would have been “No gassing anywhere in the Old Reich”; (Germany with its 1937 frontiers.) This letter emanated from Dr. Martin Broszat, director since 1972 of the Institute of Contemporary History at Munich. This Dr. Broszat is a convinced anti-Nazi. He belongs to the group of Exterminationist historians. He believes in the authenticity of the “confessions” of Rudolf Hoss, which he published in 1958 (but with serious cuts of the text in the passages where Hoss had exaggerated “a little too much”-probably obeying the suggestions of his Polish jailers. [26] In brief, Dr. Broszat admitted on 19 August 1960 that gassing had never existed in the whole of the Old Reich. He added, using a confused expression, that there had been gassing “above all”(?) at some chosen points in Poland, for instance Auschwitz. [27]

All the official historians, as far as I know, have concluded by agreeing with Dr. Broszat. I deplore the fact that Dr. Broszat has contented himself with only a letter. A scientific paper was necessary, and detailed explanations were indispensable. It was necessary to explain to us why the proof, the evidence, and the confessions-all of which were considered unimpeachable up to

that point-had suddenly lost all of their value. We are still waiting for the explanations of Dr. Broszat after nearly 20 years. [28] They would be valuable to us in determining if the proof, the evidence, and the confessions which we possess on the gassings at Auschwitz or Treblinka [29] are more valuable than the proof, evidence, and confessions which we possess on the faked gassings of Buchenwald or of Ravensbrück. In the meantime, it is extremely curious that the evidence collected (mainly) by the French, British and American tribunals should suddenly lose all its value in this way, while the evidence collected by the Polish and Soviet tribunals should preserve its value on the same subject!

In 1968, it was the turn of the “gas chamber” at Mauthausen (in Austria) to be declared mythical by an Exterminationist historian: Olga Wormser-Migot, in her thesis on The Nazi Concentration Camp System, in particular the section titled “The problem of the gas chambers.” [30] Let us retain this heading; for according to the admissions of the Exterminationist historians themselves, there does exist a “PROBLEM of the gas chambers!”

In regard to the false confessions, I one day asked the Exterminationist historian Joseph Billig (attached to the CDJC) how he could, for his part, explain them. Here is his reply: They were, so he said, “psychotic phenomena!” For my part, I have an explanation to offer about these alleged “psychotic phenomena” as well as about the “schizoid apathy” of Höss on the day of his depositions before the Nuremberg Tribunal. Höss had been tortured by his British jailers. [31] He had been “interrogated with a riding whip and primed with alcohol.” Likewise at the Dachau Trial, the Americans-as revealed in particular by the Van Roden Commission of inquiry-had abominably tortured other German accused. [32]

But torture more often than not is useless. The procedures of intimidation are numerous. The massive universal condemnation which was brought to bear on the accused Nazis still retains its potency today. When “Anathema resounds with a religious unanimity as dignified as in the great mediaeval communions” there is nothing one can do against it, especially if the lawyers come into play, and impress upon the defendants that concessions are necessary. I well remember my own hatred of the Germans during the war, and just after its end. It was an incandescent hatred which I believed was voluntary. But with the passing of time, I perceived that it was not in fact mine but had been breathed into me. My hatred stemmed from the British radio, from the propaganda of Hollywood, and from the Stalinist press. I myself would have been merciless toward any German who should have told me that he had been a guard at some camp, and that he had not seen any of the massacres which the entire world talked about. If I had been his judge, then I would have considered it my duty to force him to “confess.”

For 35 years this scenario involving German defendants has been comparable to that against witches and sorcerers of the Middle Ages. Let us consider for a moment the incredible courage which would be needed for one of these accused witches to dare to say to her tribunal: “The best proof that I have not had dealings with the Devil is simply that the Devil does not exist.” Most of the time, those so-called witches could not believe the facts they were blamed for, but they would go along with, or pretend to go along with, their accusing-judges' belief in the Devil. (Accusing-judges during the French Revolution were at one and the same time judge and prosecutor.) In the same way, Dr. Dürrfeld, who had been an engineer at Auschwitz, initially told his judges that he personally had never suspected the existence of “gas chambers” in the camp; then later, joining the fashionable belief, he declared to the tribunal his indignation at “this brand of infamy for the German people.” [33]

The witch would use deceit with her judges, just as the Germans, even today during the “Majdanek” trial in Düsseldorf, deceive their judges too. For example, the witch might admit that the

Devil had been there on such and such a day, but that he was at the top of a hill while she herself had remained at the foot of the hill. Likewise, a German defendant endeavors to demonstrate that he himself had nothing to do with the “gas chambers.” Sometimes, he even goes so far as to say that he assisted in pushing people into the “gas chamber” or even that he was ordered to pour a product through a trap in the ceiling under threat of execution if he disobeyed. [34] Thus, he often gives the impression of sidestepping the issue. His accusers think: “Here again is one who seeks to get out of his predicament. They are extraordinary, these Germans! They almost never saw or heard anything!” The truth, however, is that they neither saw nor knew anything concerning what it was wished they should say in the matter of gassing. [35] Any reproach should be directed at the accusers, not at the defendants who are caught up in the only defense strategy left open to them. The lawyers have a grave responsibility for the adoption of this strategy. I do not speak of those lawyers who, like nearly everyone, believe that the “gas chambers” existed. I speak of those who know or suspect that they are confronted with an enormous lie. They prefer not to raise this question, either in their own interests or in their clients' interests. Eichmann's lawyer did not believe in the existence of the “gas chambers” but that did not prevent him from deliberately avoiding opening this can of worms at the trial in Jerusalem. [36] One cannot reproach him for this. I understand that the statute of this tribunal allowed for the dismissal of the defense lawyer if he should present any argument which fitted the term “intolerable” or a term approximating this.

An old resort of lawyers, a resort necessitated on occasion by the needs of the defense, is to plead the seeming truth rather than the actual truth. The truth is sometimes too difficult to gain acceptance into the judges' minds. One has to be contented with pragmatism. An example admirably demonstrates this. It is recounted by Maître Albert Naud, the lawyer representing Lucien Léger, whom the entire French press regarded as the perpetrator of an abominable crime. Lucien Léger protested his innocence. He chose Maître Naud as his lawyer. The lawyer went to see him in prison. He said to him: “Léger, be serious! If you want me to be your lawyer, we are going to plead guilty.” A bargain was struck. Léger saved his head. Some years later, Maître Naud became convinced that Léger was innocent. He developed an enormous complex because he had forced Léger to plead guilty. He summoned all of his powers to obtain a retrial. [37] Too late. Naud died. And Léger, if he is innocent, will probably pay until the end of his days for the abominable attitude of the press and the blindness of his lawyer.

A tribunal has no capacity for determining historical truth. Even historians have very often the utmost trouble in distinguishing the factual truth on a point of history. The independence of the judges is necessarily very relative. Judges read newspapers just like everyone else. They keep informed, at least in part, through the radio or television. Reviews and books present to them, as to all of us, “documents” or “photographs” of Nazi atrocities. Unless they are especially skilled in the critical appraisal of this kind of document or photos, they tend to fall into the more blatant traps of the media-orchestrated propaganda. Simultaneously, the judges are concerned to bring about respect for public order, public morality, certain norms, usages and beliefs, even, of public life. All of this, without counting the anxiety of ever seeing their name vilified in the press, can only be conducive to judgments in matters of “war crimes” which the historian himself is not obliged to accept as his own.

Justice has been itself judged. At no time during this kind of trial has justice considered asking for an expert's report about the weapon of the crime. When they are suspected of being instruments of a crime, items such as a knife, a rope, or a revolver, are all subject to expert forensic appraisal. Yet, those objects have nothing mysterious about them. But in the case of the “gas chambers” there has not been a single forensic appraisal in 35 years! There is certainly talk of an appraisal supposedly made by the Soviets, but in every case the text of it seems to have remained secret.

For one and a half years, at the Frankfurt trial of 1963-65, a German tribunal conducted the affair called “the Auschwitz guards trial,” without ordering any expert forensic appraisal of the actual device used for the crime. The same happened at the Majdanek trial at Düsseldorf and, just after the war, for the Struthof trial in France. This absence of forensic expertise is even less excusable when one considers that not one judge, not one prosecutor, not one lawyer, possessed any experience on the nature and the functioning of these extraordinary “human abattoirs.” At Struthof and Majdanek these “chambers” are, however, still represented as being an original fixture: therefore it would suffice to examine the “instrument of the crime” on the spot.

At Auschwitz things are less clear. At the principal camp (Auschwitz I) tourists are led to believe that the “gas chamber” is authentic, but when the museum authorities are pressed with questions, they beat a retreat and talk of a “replica” (which is nothing other than downright deceit, easily proved as such from certain archive documents). At the Birkenau annex (Auschwitz II) one is only shown the ruins of the “gas chambers.” But even there forensic examination is perfectly possible. To an archaeologist even a few meager indices sometimes suffice in order to reveal the nature and the purpose of an encampment inhabited for several centuries. To give you some idea of the complacent attitude taken by the lawyers at the trial in Frankfurt, even to the extent of agreeing with the accusations in *advance*(!), I would tell you that one of these lawyers even had his photograph taken by the press in the process of lifting a trapdoor (sic!) of the pretended “gas chamber” at the principal camp at Auschwitz. [38] Ten years after the trial I asked this lawyer what had caused him to consider the building in question a “gas chamber.” His written reply was more than evasive. It resembled the reply which has been made to me by the authorities of the Dachau Museum. I asked the Dachau people in writing upon what documents did they base their confirmation that a certain piece of camp equipment was an unfinished “gas chamber.” In effect, I was surprised to learn that it could be determined that an unfinished structure was destined to become, once completed, a thing which no one had ever seen in his life. One day I will publish my correspondence with these authorities as well as with the officials of the International Dachau Committee at Brussels.

You ask me upon what proofs and upon what documents I base my declaration that the “gas chambers” never existed. I believe that I have already largely replied to this question. I would add that a good part of these proofs and documents are those of the accusers. [39] It suffices to re-read through the texts of the prosecution in order to perceive that the accusation bordered on the opposite of the result which it wanted to establish. The basic texts are the 42 volumes of the International Military Tribunal (IMT), the 15 volumes of the Nuremberg Military Tribunal (NMT), the 19 volumes published by the University of Amsterdam, the stenographic transcripts of the Eichmann trial, various verbal proceedings relating to interrogations, the works of Hilberg, of Reitlinger, of Adler, of Langbein, of Olga Wormser-Migot, the *Encyclopedia judaica*, the *Memoir* by Klarsfeld (very interesting for the list of fake gassings), the publications of different institutes. I have, above all, worked a great deal at the CDJC of Paris. But I was hounded at the beginning of 1978, on the initiative, in particular, of Georges Wellers, because it was known at what conclusions I had already arrived in regard to the “gas chambers” and “genocide.” The CDJC is a semi-public body. It receives public money. Nonetheless, it arrogates to itself the right to hound those who do not think as it requires. And it says so!

QUESTION 3: You have gone so far as to deny any deliberate intention on the part of Hitler to exterminate the Jews. And lastly, in the course of a debate on Swiss-Italian television, you have said: “Hitler never had a single person killed because they were Jewish.” What exactly do you mean to say with this phrase?

ANSWER 3:

I say exactly this: "Hitler never ordered nor admitted that anyone should be killed on account of his race or his religion."

This phrase is perhaps shocking to certain people, but I truly believe it. Hitler was anti-Jewish and racist. His racism was, moreover, not opposed to fostering admiration for the Arabs and Hindus. He was hostile to colonialism. On 7 February 1945 he declared to his entourage: "The Whites have carried to these (colonial) people the worst that they could carry: the plagues of the world: materialism, fanaticism, alcoholism, and syphilis. Moreover, since what these people possessed on their own was superior to anything we could give them, they have remained themselves... The sole result of the activity of the colonizers is: they have everywhere aroused hatred." [40]

Hitler became hostile to the Jews rather late. Before saying and repeating that the Jews are "the grand masters of the lie" [41] he had been rather favorable toward them. He writes in *Mein Kampf*. "They were persecuted (on account of their beliefs) as I believed, often making my dislike of unfavorable assertions about them almost reach the point of repugnance."

Personally, I know Hitler rather poorly, and he interests me no more than Napoleon Bonaparte. If he raved, then I do not see why we ourselves should rave about him. Let us make efforts to speak of Hitler with the same *sang-froid* with which one used to speak of Amenophis Akhenaton. Between Hitler and the Jews there was an inexpiable war. It is evident that each holds the other responsible for this conflict. In the person of Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Jewish Congress (and future president of the state of Israel), the international Jewish community declared war on Germany on 5 September 1933. [42] Hitherto, as early as 1934, the hostility of the international Jewish community had been manifested by the exigencies of the economic boycott against Nazi Germany. [43] Obviously it had been motivated by retaliation against the measures taken by Hitler against the German Jews. This deadly chain of events, on the part of both sides, was to lead to the world war. Hitler said: "The Jews and the Allies wish for our annihilation, but it is they who will be destroyed," while the Allies and the Jews said: "Hitler and the Nazis and their allies wish for our destruction, but it is they who will be destroyed." The two hostile camps during the whole course of the war thus intoxicated themselves in belligerent and fanatical proclamations. The enemy became a beast to be slaughtered. Think, in the same fashion, of the words of the Marseillaise: "Qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons!" ("Let our soil be drenched by their impure blood!")

Moreover, the Allies waged a pitiless war against the Nazis, and 35 years after the war's end, still pursue a kind of "Nazi hunt." But in the same way as the Allies never actually decreed that a civilian National Socialist, whether he be a man, woman or child, should be killed solely on a basis of their National Socialism, in the same way it must also be said that Hitler — in spite of all the antipathy he had toward the Jews — never decreed that all Jews, or even one Jew, should be killed on the sole and unique basis of their Jewishness. Although, in the case of reprisals against "partisans" or "terrorists" when the Germans selected their hostages for execution, it was better to be neither a Jew, nor a Communist, nor a common-law criminal, but in that particular case it was a familiar aspect of hostage-taking (to kill the more expendable hostages) just as had been practiced everywhere throughout the ages.

Hitler had a proportion of the European Jews interned, but in no way does internment mean "extermination." There has been neither "genocide" nor "Holocaust." Every concentration camp is a pitiful sight, and a horror, irrespective of whether it is a German, Russian, British, French, American, Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese or Cuban camp. There are of course degrees in this pity or this horror, and it is certain that in times of war, of famine, of epidemics, a concentration camp

becomes even more horrible. But nothing in the case which concerns us here permits us to say that there were deliberate camps of extermination, i.e. camps where people would have been placed to be killed.

The Exterminationists pretend that in the summer of 1941, Hitler gave the order to exterminate the Jews. But no one has ever seen this order. On the other hand, there exist neither specific conversations of Hitler nor measures taken by his armies, which imply that such an order could not have been given. On 24 July 1942, in a restricted gathering, Hitler recalled that the Jews had declared war on him through the intermediary of Chaim Weizmann, and said that after the war he would close the towns to the Jews, one after the other. His precise words were: "... if the Jewish dregs did not decamp and if they do not emigrate to Madagascar or to some other national Jewish homeland." [44] For my own part, I would like to know just how one can reconcile this talk in a circle of confidants with any "definitive order of extermination" supposedly given one year previously (summer 1941).

Even in July 1944, on the eastern front where the German soldiers were engaged in a ferocious war against the partisans (Jews or non-Jews, Russians or Communists, Ukrainians, etc.) the army gave the most draconian orders that no German soldier should participate in any excesses against the civilian population, Jews included. Otherwise, they would be court-martialled [45]. Such excesses were to be absolutely suppressed. Hitler called for a merciless struggle in the fight, especially against the partisans, including, if it were necessary, against women and children mingling with the partisans or who were apparent accomplices of the partisans. He had evidently not rejected the practice of taking hostages (neither had the Allies, of course). But he did not go beyond that measure. The day our media decide to break with certain taboos and devote to the war crimes of the Allies even one thousandth of the time which they devote to the war crimes of the vanquished, on that day there will be astonishment among the naive public. The "crimes" of Hitler will then take on their correct proportions in a proper historical perspective. There is indeed little talk about Dresden and Katyn. But I say that Dresden and Katyn are small matters when compared to the deportations the Allies inflicted on the German minorities in the eastern territories. It is true that officially it was not a matter of "deportations" but of ... "displacement" (e.g. "displaced persons"). And I wonder if the champions of all the "war criminals" have not been the British with their delivery to the Soviets of their Russian internees? [46]

QUESTION 4: What is your conception and what is your definition of genocide?

ANSWER 4:

I describe "genocide" as the act of killing a man on account of his race. Hitler no more committed "genocide" than Napoleon, Stalin, Churchill or Mao. Roosevelt interned American citizens of Japanese extraction in concentration camps. That was not "genocide."

Hitler treated the civilian Jews as the representatives of a belligerent enemy minority. It is regrettably common to treat this type of civilian as dangerous, or potentially dangerous. In fact, with good war logic, Hitler would have been lead to intern all the Jews who had fallen into his hands. He is very far from having done this, and without doubt this was not on account of any humanitarian motives, but for reasons of practicality. In certain parts of Europe he made his enemies wear a distinctive sign: the Star of David (beginning September 1941 in Germany, and June 1942 in the northern zone of France). The wearers of the star were not free to move about, except during certain hours. They were like prisoners of war on supervised parole. Hitler preoccupied himself perhaps less with the Jewish question than with ensuring the security of the German soldier.

The average German trooper would have been incapable of distinguishing Jews from non-Jews. The Star of David identified them.

The Jews were suspected of passing information (many of them spoke German), of engaging in espionage, of trafficking in arms, of terrorism, and of black-marketeering. It was necessary to avoid all contact between the Jew and the German soldier. For example, on the Paris metro Jews wearing the Star of David were only allowed to ride in the last of the five cars, and a German soldier himself had no right to enter this car. [47] I am not a specialist on these questions but I believe that this kind of measure was dictated by reasons of military security as much as by reasons of deliberate humiliation. In places where there were large concentrations of Jews it was virtually impossible to keep them under surveillance (except through the intermediary of the Jewish ghetto police), and the Germans feared an insurrection similar to that which took place in the Warsaw ghetto, where a strategically dangerous uprising took place in April 1943. With stupefaction, the Germans discovered then that the Jews had constructed 700 blockhouses. [48] They suppressed the insurrection and transferred the survivors to transit camps, work camps, and concentration camps. The Jews experienced tragedy there.

I know that it is sometimes argued that children of 6 to 15 years of age could not constitute a danger, and should not have been subjected to the restrictive measures. But to convince us of the contrary there exist today sufficient accounts and memoirs by Jews telling us of their childhood when they committed all sorts of illicit activities or resistance to the Germans.

It is necessary to distinguish between what is real and what is fantasy in the representation which is made that the Jews allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep. Did the non-Jews resist as much as it is said? Did the Jews resist as little as it is said? The factor which increases the problem is that too many of our judgments are based on a false premise: that of the “genocide” against the Jews. Obviously, if this “genocide” had existed, then one would perhaps regard the Jews as cowards; this is apparently the reproach which young Israelis make against their fathers. But if, as the Revisionists claim, “genocide” is nothing other than a legend, then the reproach of cowardice no longer has a foundation.

QUESTION 5: If there had not been a deliberate intention on the part of Hitler to carry out genocide, then why Auschwitz, Treblinka, Belzec and the other extermination camps? They existed; they have been a reality. Not only Jews have been imprisoned and died there, but also “politicals,” gypsies, Slaves, homosexuals; that is to say, all those “deviants” whom Nazi racism condemned. Why were these camps organized? To what ultimate purpose?

ANSWER 5:

A camp can only be qualified as an “extermination” camp if people are exterminated there. It is so true, that, according to the nomenclature created by the official historians, only those camps where (it is pretended) there existed “gas chambers” can be termed “extermination” camps. These camps have never existed. The horrible epidemic of typhus at Bergen-Belsen did not transform this camp (for a great part without barbed-wire) into an extermination camp. Those dead are not the result of a crime except the crime of war itself, and of human folly. The Allies share with the Germans a grave responsibility for the frightful chaos in which Europe, its towns, its refugee camps, and its internee camps, were found at the end of the war. The Allies have distributed a large number of photographs showing the mass graves of Bergen-Belsen. However, thousands of the internees died of typhus after the entry of the British into Bergen-Belsen. At the time the British did not succeed any more than the Germans before them, in ending this terrible epidemic. Would it have been more honest to treat the British as criminals?

The first Nazi concentration camps were conceived for internment and for re-education (sic!) of the political opponents to Hitler. Propaganda asserted that these camps, open to numerous visits, constituted an advance on prisons where common-law criminals stagnated. Jews were interned there only in so far as they were Communists, Social Democrats, etc. The Jews were placed in the concentration camps only during the war, above all from 1942 onward. Those Jews who had been interned in 1938 as a reprisal for the assassination of von Rath by a Jew had been for the most part set free after only a few months.

Before the war, Hitler had attempted-with a certain amount of success-to promote the exodus of the Jews. The idea was the creation of a Jewish national homeland outside Europe. The “Madagascar project” was conceived as a Jewish homeland under German protection. [49] The initial plans provided, as a matter of priority, drainage works, banking systems, etc. But the war prevented the realization of this project. [50] It would have required too many ships. Little Germany-from the aspect of the map of the world-was engaged with Japan and a few allies in a formidable struggle against giants. The principal concern for Germany was to win the war. A secondary aim was to find a solution to the Jewish problem, a definitive solution; a “final” solution, a “total” solution, to a problem which, in a certain manner, was as old as the Jewish people themselves. [51] This provisional solution, because of the war, was largely going to consist of “driving back toward the East” the Jews in the camps.

Auschwitz was first and foremost a very important complex in Upper Silesia composed of three main camps and 39 sub-camps scattered over the whole of one region. The mining, industrial, agricultural operations, and the researches there, were considerable: coal mines (some with French capital), petro-chemicals, armaments, explosives, synthetics, artificial rubber, cattle-breeding, fish farms, etc. At Auschwitz there were free laborers as well as interneers, and prisoners condemned to life imprisonment as well as prisoners interned for a shorter time. In Auschwitz-II or Birkenau camp, there was the distressing spectacle of numerous persons unskilled for any work and stagnating on the spot. Among them were the gypsies, who with few exceptions were not put to work. Numerous gypsy children were born at Auschwitz. [52] It seems that only the nomadic gypsies were interned. This does not seem to have been done for racial reasons, but on account of their nomadism and possible “delinquency.” I recall that in France even the Resistance had come to regard the gypsies with suspicion, and had suspected them of espionage, of collecting secret information, and of black market activities. [53] It would be interesting to determine how many gypsy troupes continued to wander around Europe during the war.

As for the homosexuals — classified as delinquents — they were, like many other “delinquents,” removed from prison or sent directly to the camps to work there. German legislation, like much other legislation of that epoch, repressed homosexuality. As for the Slavs, those of them who were in the camps were not there because they were Slavs, but as political interneers, prisoners of war, etc., as well as other Europeans. At Auschwitz there were even British PoWs, taken prisoner at Tobruk.

The essential pre-occupation of the Germans at the end of 1942 was to put to work all these interneers (with the exception of those unable to work, and, it seems, the gypsies) to win the war. At Auschwitz there even existed courses of professional training for the young from 12 to 15 years old, in masonry, for example. [54] The Germans responsible for the deportation of foreigners to the camps insisted upon obtaining the largest possible number of those “capable of work.” The foreign governments, for their part, insisted that families should not be separated and that the old and the children should join the convoys. Neither the Jews nor anyone else had any knowledge whatever of leaving for an “extermination” camp, if one is to believe testimonies such as those of Georges Wellers in *L'Etoile Jaune à Pheure de Vichy*. [55] They had good reason. This “massacre”

was happily nothing but a propaganda invention of the war. Besides, it is difficult to conceive that Germany, dramatically short of locomotives, of wagons, of coal, of qualified personnel, and of soldiers, could have laid on such a system of convoys to the “abattoirs.” These convoys, I recall, seemed to have had a priority even over the convoys of war materiel. [56] Production, above all, skilled production was what pre-occupied the Germans more than anything in this matter.

QUESTION 6: You have specialized in the literary criticism of texts and documents, but you have made this particular problem your preferred terrain of historical research. Why? What do you wish to say when you continue to assert that there has been a conspiracy of silence concerning the problem of the gas chambers and the extermination of the Jews? Why should a conspiracy of silence exist, and organized by whom?

ANSWER 6:

For me, the critical appraisal of texts and documents aims at establishing the degree of authenticity and veracity of what one reads. One searches therein to distinguish between the true and the false, sense and nonsense, and so on. I suppose that this awareness was destined to guide me to the detection of certain historical fakes, and in particular, to the detection of what in a few years would appear to every historian as a monumental forgery.

The result of the conspiracy of silence surrounding the Revisionist works is that these works are for the most part '6samizdat' ("underground literature"). [57] In regard to the authors who do succeed in breaking the wall of silence, they are treated as Nazis, which in turn ostracises them to an intellectual ghetto. The procedures utilized against the non-conformist historians or individuals range from pure criminality to judicial prosecutions, without forgetting the disgusting conduct of the police. All sorts of lobbies are active in attempting to establish a dominant atmosphere or terror. I am aware of that personally. I can no longer teach at the university. My life has become difficult. I am up against enormous power-blocs. Some young people support me. The light will eventually shine through. Some Jews are on my side; they themselves wish to denounce deception and persecution.

I believe rather less in conspiracies and rather more in the force of conformity. The victors of the last war needed to make us believe in the intrinsic evil of the vanquished. Soviets and Westerners, whatever their differences, had found common ground of agreement there. Hollywood and the apparatus of Stalinist propaganda have conjugated their efforts. What a fracas of propaganda! The principal beneficiaries of the operation have been the state of Israel and international Zionism. The principal victims have been the German people — but not its leaders — and the Palestinian people as a whole. But today there is dissension in the air. Zionists and Poles already present us with a divergent version of Auschwitz.

QUESTION 7: You dispute a very large part of the methods which the official historians have applied in this historical research. In your opinion, this chapter in 20th Century history has not been written in the right way. Why, then? And why would those historians have done so?

ANSWER 7:

The official historians have been lacking in their obligations. They have not observed in this matter the routine methods of historical criticism. They have followed the general current, i.e. that which is sponsored by the media. They have allowed themselves to be absorbed by the system. An official historian such as Professor Hellmut Diwald saw the terrible vexation confronting him when he risked simply writing a phrase saying that “genocide” in spite of the abundant literature

dedicated to it, is an affair which in essentials “is not yet well elucidated.” Under the pressure of the German Jewish organizations, the second edition of his *History of the Germans* was issued as “re-cast and improved” (sic!) where it was necessary. The courage of Paul Rassinier consisted in having precisely applied the routine methods of historical criticism. In a way he has said to his accusers: “Show me your proof.” “Does your document offer guarantees of authenticity?” “Are you sure that this expression, that this phrase, has in fact the meaning which you attribute?” “Where do your figures come from?” “How have you reached these statistics?” “Where does the caption of this photo come from?” “Who says to me that this old woman and this child in this picture are really 'on the road to the gas chambers'?” “Does this pile of shoes signify that people were gassed in this camp or that many of those detained there were in fact employed in making shoes?” “Where is the manuscript of this extraordinary testimony which ought to have only one form and which is published in many, contradictory forms, even by one and the same historian?” And so on, and so on.

Paul Rassinier, modest professor of history and geography, has given a remarkable lesson of clairvoyance and of probity to his eminent colleagues of the university. A genuine revolutionary, a genuine member of the Resistance, a genuine deportee, this man loved the truth in the manner it is necessary to love it: fiercely and above anything else. He has denounced what he calls “the lie of Ulysses.” Ulysses, as we know, experienced a hundred trials during exile but, returning home, he recounted a thousand. We know that man finds it difficult not to make up yarns. He is often fond of stories of hunting, fishing, love, and wealth. But above all he is fascinated by stories of atrocities.

The American author Arthur R. Butz has written a book on *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. This book provokes disarray among the Exterminationists. The demonstration is unavoidable. The German edition has been placed on the list of “works dangerous to young people,” and steps are now being taken to have it banned altogether in West Germany. [58] The German Wilhelm Stäglich has published *Der Auschwitz Mythos (The Auschwitz Myth)*. The Swedish group Jewish Information has published *Auschwitz Exit*. A Jew has written Revisionist works: J. G. Burg in Germany. In very recent times, the extreme left review *La Guerre Sociale* (The Class War) has published a study entitled “From exploitation in the camps to the exploitation of the camps”. [59] In Britain, in the United States, in Germany (in this particular country the persecution of Revisionists is merciless), in Australia, in Belgium, in Spain, in France, almost in every part of the world, voices are raised demanding that this absurd war propaganda be finally renounced.

I even know — although I cannot give here their names — of official historians who have awakened from this nightmare. Perhaps they wish to decide to renounce the delights which the Revisionist historian David Irving calls “incest among historians.” This figurative expression illustrates the practice which consists of delighting in reassessing what other historians have affirmed and of not reviving the subject except by subtle outbidding. It is instructive to participate in a congress of historians dealing with Nazism. What strange communion in respect of a taboo! Misfortune to those who wish to disturb the expiatory ceremony by the expression of a non-official theme: derision and censure. [60]

QUESTION 8: Are you an anti-Semite? What is your assessment of Nazism?

ANSWER 8:

I am not anti-Semitic. One must avoid imagining anti-Semites everywhere. Those Jews who denounce the imposture of “genocide” are like Catholics who say Fatima is an imposture (where thousands of witnesses are supposed to have seen the sun dance). The truth, or its research, can-

not be anti-Semitic. In fact Nazism was the dictatorship of a Führer. It died with the Führer on 30 April 1945. My enemy is vanquished. Do not count on me to spit upon his corpse. As long as I am a man, I will not accept that the German people should be defamed by attributing to them crimes which are without precedent in human history. And above all, I will not accept that the German people are so thoroughly “reeducated” that they are the first to believe in these crimes, and deprecate themselves even more than their leaders require of them. In my capacity as an historian, I merely state that Adenauer, Brandt and Schmidt repeat the lessons they have learned from the conquerors of the West, while their homologs in East Germany repeat the lessons taught them by their conquerors from the East. It is realpolitik, I suppose.

QUESTION 9: You deny also that the number of victims-six million-is credible. But even if the number of victims had been less, does this change anything in the fact that there was genocide? And would the number of victims matter, in fact?

ANSWER 9:

The six million is equivalent to a population of a country like Switzerland. No one at the Nuremberg Trial had the tiniest scrap of evidence capable of backing up such a figure. It was on the morning of 14 December 1945 that the American prosecutor Walsh attempted to insinuate the acceptance of this figure by means of presenting an affidavit by witness Wilhelm Höttl. That very afternoon he was forced to beat a retreat by the intervention of the lawyer Kauffmann, who decisively demanded the appearance of this witness so that he could be cross-examined in regard to this figure. The sad fact is that the press and the historians have retained this figure as if the tribunal had totally believed it. [61]

My estimation is as follows: First, the number of Jews exterminated by the Nazis (or: “victims of genocide”) is happily equivalent to zero. Second, the number of Europeans killed by acts of war (often by atrocious acts of war) could be in the order of 40 millions; among them the proportion of European Jews could be somewhere in the order of one million, but more likely, several hundred thousands if one does not count those Jews fighting in the uniforms of military allies — I insist on the fact that, as far as I am concerned, it is an estimate without proper scientific character. Moreover, I have good enough reason to think that the figure of the dead at Auschwitz (Jews and non-Jews) amounts to around 50,000 and not to 4 million, as has been pretended for a long time. (This was before the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich decided to content themselves with one million as the accepted figure.)

As to the number of dead in all the concentration camps from 1933 to 1945, I think that it ought to be 200,000 or, at the most, 360,000. One day I will cite my sources, but today I assert that, if one employs computers, one can without doubt quickly establish the real number of dead. The deportees were indexed in files by many authorities. They left behind much evidence.

QUESTION 10: Do you realize that you can contribute this toward a “rehabilitation” of Nazism?

ANSWER 10:

Is it rehabilitating Nero if it is said that we do not possess any proof that he set Rome on fire? What one must concern oneself with rehabilitating or re-establishing is the truth! (Or at least, whenever it is possible.) The historian ought not to preoccupy himself with how Peter or Paul is going to react. What is important for me is to make my contribution to a truthful history of the Second World War. If an old Nazi happened to say to me that the pretended “gas chambers” and the pretended “genocide” of the Jews constitute one and the same unique historical lie, I would

agree with him as much as if he had told me that two and two make four. I would not go further, and I would leave him to his political ideas.

Neo-Nazism is to a large extent an invention of the media who even sell a kind of Hollywood sex-shop Nazism. This is also the case with the imaginary “Odessa File” or the Nazi colonies in South America. Or the fairy-tale re-appearances of Hitler or Bormann. A lot of money is made through these inventions. In Germany, I believe that those whom their political adversaries classify as “Neo-Nazi” form 0.7 percent of the electorate. We live in a fantasmagoria, in a sort of Nazism without Nazis. About this subject, I would refer to the pertinent analyses of Gilbert Comte which appeared in *Le Monde* 29 and 30 May 1979. Since nothing happens by accident in this world, it is plain that an examination of this “media hype” reveals a complex play of interests, passions, and conflicts, all on a planetary scale. The state of Israel has a vital interest in the maintenance of this fantasmagoria, which contributed so much to its creation in 1948. Even a state such as the French republic has an interest in masking the reality of all of this, thanks to upholding in everyone’s mind a vigilance against the worst enemy who ever existed: the well-known vile beast of Nazism, a beast which died 35 years ago and against which it is permitted to let off steam. Consequently you have those perpetual expiatory ceremonies, those condemnations to eternal flames, this necessity of vengeance, of chastisement, of denunciation without any limit of time, of place, or of person.

QUESTION 11: Don’t you think that to treat the problem of Jewish genocide in such a manner is a way to discredit the memories upon which the widespread conviction is principally based that anti-Semitism is the worst of all the racism practiced in the course of the 20th Century? Memories which are discredited in fact serve nothing.

ANSWER 11:

Anti-Semitism is not the worst kind of racism, but a good way of making us believe that it is, is to convince us that “genocide” was practiced against the Jews. However, the Zionists have gone too far. They should have listened to those who counselled against the principle of “financial reparations” imposed on Germany in the name, particularly, of “genocide.” Unfortunately, Ben Gurion for the state of Israel and Nahum Goldmann, acting at the same time for Israel and the Diaspora, wished to draw a gigantic financial profit from the whole affair. Adenauer was a party to it. That gives the imposture of “genocide” an even more outrageous coloration. Read the stupefying interview of Nahum Goldmann which appeared in number 624 of *Nouvel Observateur* (25-29 October 1976). [62] One has rarely seen a man so elated and happy at having succeeded in a splendid financial-political operation.

QUESTION 12: In the course of your dispute with all those who contest this thesis, you have also asserted that a good part of what the public knows is only a legend and that this legend has been rendered possible thanks to the indiscriminate use of the mass media. What exactly do you wish to say by this?

ANSWER 12:

This point is grave and fascinating. The responsibility of the media in all of this is overwhelming. For 35 years, on five continents, this legend of “genocide” and “gas chambers” has been presented to us as a truth. Countless millions of people have been abused in this way. It makes one dizzy. What a lesson for those who believe in the quality of diverse and contradictory information! It has needed the heroic struggle of some individuals, of some non-conformist spirits in order to make a rupture in “official” truth. I could write a long study on the methods used by the French newspapers and television in order to stifle information. The courts help them in this, and

also the public authorities as a whole. journalists are afraid that in the near future a data bank of information will be installed. This information would result in a classification of news items, which they would scarcely have means to control. But I have some advice for them. If they wish to know what a risk they are running of being deceived, let them look to the past, and-for some of them at their own past. If they wish to know how lies may look in the future, let them study the way in which the most remarkable lie of all time has been jealously guarded. When Louis XIV lied, his lies scarcely reached beyond a few provinces. Today, lies can take on veritable Hollywoodian dimensions. A “docudrama” like Holocaust is the crowning of an edifice. It was not conceivable in the years which followed the war, and which were indeed full of hatred. It has needed thirty years of intoxication. A drug as strong as Holocaust cannot be administered except to patients already long impregnated with other drugs of the same kind and which automatically require even more virulent drugs. But the overdose has produced some salutary effects through the spectacle of our addiction. Some sane reactions have been noticed. I am thinking in particular of the quite remarkable reactions by the “liberated Jew” Michel Rachline in an issue of *Le Figaro* (3 March 1979).

The non-existence of the “gas chambers” and of “genocide” is good news. Man, although still capable of many horrors, did not bring about these. And even better: millions of men who have been presented to us as accomplices of a monstrous crime or as cowards or as liars have been in fact decent individuals. I have already said that the Jews accused by their children of being driven like sheep into the abattoirs by the Germans do not in fact merit the accusation. I would add that the defendants at Nuremberg and at a thousand other trials were actually telling the truth when they declared to their accusing judges that they did not know of these terrifying massacres. The Vatican and the Red Cross told the truth when they humbly confessed the same ignorance. The Americans, the British, the Swiss, the Swedes, and all those peoples or governments whom the extremist Jews accused of “having done nothing” no longer have any need to show sinful repentance. The most unfortunate result of this gigantic imposture has been, and will still remain for some time to come, the bad conscience which the extremist Jews created among the western peoples, and in particular among the German people. Above all, I do not wish to give the impression that I am in the least making an apology for Nazism. I would even argue that I am capable of presenting a caustically critical analysis of this type of ideology. But I shall not present this analysis so long as the Exterminationists continue to wear us to death with this fake Nazism which continues to be denounced by the majority of official historians. These people, in attacking a Nazism which never existed, give the impression that they are incapable of attacking the reality of Nazism. They make me think of those people who imagine evil as a Devil with his tenter-hooks, his pales, and his ovens. In reality, evil, as we well know, is inherent in the life-styles which man has created. So long as we take on mythical forms of evil, genuine evil will continue to be fighting fit. Our society is disconcerted. The medieval Devil has been re-invented right in the middle of the Twentieth Century. People are combating an imaginary enemy. They have better to do. An effort at analysis is necessary. We should open our eyes and recognize what the mass media have made us into. We should unmask that which lobbies, powers and governments seek to mask everywhere.

Notes

1.  This absurd legend (consult an anatomist, a chemist, any kind of specialist about it) has been revived but without any great success, in the course of the Second World War. Gitta Sereny makes mention of it in her book *Into That Darkness: From Mercy Killing to Mass Murder*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1974, 380pp. She says in a footnote of page 141 “The universally accepted story that the corpses were used to make soap and fertilizer is finally

refuted by the generally very reliable Ludwigsburg Central Authority for Investigation into Nazi Crimes.” She adds: “The authority has found after considerable research that only one experiment was made, with 'a few corpses from a concentration camp. When it proved impractical, the idea was apparently abandoned.' “ The authority she talks about is “die Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung NS-Verbrechen.” It operates at Ludwigsburg under the direction of Adalbert Rückerl, a convinced Exterminationist. It would be interesting to get proof of “that only one experiment.” Most of the time, when a big lie is revealed, the liars or their sympathizers say that there was only a mistake, and they then put forward to us a little lie. I suppose that “that only one experiment” could be one of these little lies.

In *The Journal of Historical Review* of Summer 1980, Ditlieb Felderer makes some interesting remarks about “human soap.” He says: “Immediately after liberation, in Polticieni, a Romanian town, the district rabbi ordered all soaps to be collected which had the letters RIF written on them. With much weeping and wailing, while the rabbi muttered his Kadisch prayer, the soaps were then buried in a cemetery. The news report about this incident was later published in the Polish press, and was picked up in books such as F. C. Weiskopf’s *Elend und Grösse unserer Tage*, 1950. The letters RIF actually stand for “Reichsstelle für Industrielle Fettsversorgung,” a German Government outlet which oversaw the production of soap and detergent products. These letters were, however, twisted by the Exterminationists to mean 'Pure Jewish Fat' (*Rein Jüdisches Fett*).” The article was previously printed in *Auschwitz Exit*, which is obtainable from Ditlieb Felderer, Marknadsvägen 289, S-I 83, 34 Taby, Sweden.

If one must believe Pierre Joffroy, “bars of Jewish soap” are today found buried in the Jewish cemetery at Haifa, Israel. Pierre Joffroy, in an article about Anne Frank, stated:

these four bars of “Jewish soap” manufactured from corpses in the extermination camps and which, discovered in Germany, were wrapped in a shroud, in 1948, and piously buried according to the rites in a corner of a Haifa cemetery (Israel).

Paris-Match, No. 395, 3 November 1956, p. 93.

In 1943, representatives of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (founded in Moscow in 1942) toured the United States in order to raise political, and above all material, aid from the U.S.A. for the USSR. The two month trip raised more than two million dollars. Big meetings were held in many American cities. “At each of the meetings, (Salomon) Mikhoels showed the public a bar of soap made out of Jewish flesh, and taken from a concentration camp.” (“A chacune des réunions qui se tenaient, Mikhoels [qui était un prodigieux acteur] montrait au public une savonnette faite avec de la chair humaine juive et ramenée d'un camp de concentration”; Gérard Israel, *Jid/Les Juifs en URSS*, Paris, Editions Spéciale, (Jean-Claude Lattès), 1971, p. 203). I acknowledge Mark Weber, from Arlington, Virginia, for presenting me with this information.

2.  Study this U.S. Army photo which has been spread all over the world and which Arthur R. Butz reproduces on page 191 of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Institute for Historical Review, 1979.
3.  “ (...) für die Degesch vom 20. Juni ab vom Reichspatentamt patentiert.” (*Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, Amsterdam, University Press, vol. XIU (1975), p. 137).
4.  “Un gaz contre les renards” (“A gas against foxes”), *Le Quotidien de Paris*, 2 September 1977. See also a review devoted to hunting: *Le Saint-Hubert*, April 1979, pp. 180-181,

“Methodes de réduction de la population vulpine” (“Methods of reducing the fox population”).

5.  I cannot actually provide definitive proof of what I put forward here. I have discovered this point in the archives of the CDJC in Paris, where I have been refused admittance since January 1978, on account of my historical findings.
6.  This expression seems to have been created by the Swedish research group based at Täby and headed by Ditlieb Felderer. See note 1 on their work and on the lie of Auschwitz entitled Auschwitz Exit.
7.  Among deceptive titles one can cite that of Pierre Serge Choumoff, *Les Chambres à gaz de Mauthausen* (The Gas Chambers of Mauthausen), Amicale des Déportés et Familles de Disparus du Camp de Concentration de Mauthausen (Association of Mauthausen Victims), 31 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris 5e, 1971, 96 pp.
8.  Georges Wellers, “La 'Solution Finale de la Question Juive' et la mythomanie n6o-nazie” (“The 'Final Solution' of the Jewish Question and the neo-Nazi Mythomania”), *Le Monde Juif*, No. 86 April-June 1977, pp. 41-84. Translated into English, this article carries the title, “Reply to the Neo-Nazi Falsification of Historical Facts Concerning the Holocaust”; it is reproduced on pages 105162 of a work published in 1978 by the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation of New York, with the title: *The Holocaust and the Neo-Nazi Mythomania*, XVIII-215 pp.
9.  The camp at Auschwitz had three successive commandants: Rüdolf Höss, Arthur Liebehenschel and Richard Baer. The first had been interrogated by the British, and then by the Poles, who executed him. The second was executed by the Poles. The third died suddenly in prison when the famous “Auschwitz Trial” at Frankfurt (1963-65) was in preparation. On their own, the Poles seem to have interrogated and passed judgment on 617 persons (Nazis or allies of the Nazis) in connection with the question of Auschwitz. This figure is given by Hermann Langbein on page 993 of *Der Auschwitz Prozess (The Auschwitz Trial)*, Europa Verlag, Vienna, 1965, 2 vols. On their part, the French, the British, and the Americans have often interrogated or passed judgment on former Auschwitz guards. It is surprising that there has emanated such a derisory amount of information on the pretended massacres in “gas chambers” from such an enormous number of interrogations and trials. To my knowledge there has been no mention of “admissions,” or even of any kind of information, on the part of Liebehenschel or Baer on the “gas chambers.” The true “Gas Chambers Trial” of Auschwitz has been-one can never repeat it enough-that of the architects Walter Dejaco and Fritz Ertl at Vienna (Austria) in 1972. This trial, launched by Simon Wiesenthal and presented as a sensational affair, very quickly became a fiasco for the prosecution. The two men having been charged with having “constructed and repaired gas chambers and crematorium ovens at Auschwitz-Birkenau,” revealed, I suppose, as established technicians, that even if they had constructed or had had constructed the crematoria ovens, they most certainly had not designed plans of “gas chambers” but only for the morgues which flanked these crematoria ovens. The two architects were acquitted.
10.  *Kommandant in Auschwitz / Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen (Commandant of Auschwitz / Autobiographical Notes)* by Rudolf Höss, introduction and commentary by Martin Broszat, 1958, Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart. It is on page 166 of this book, in the part of the confession which Höss had drawn up in November 1946, where the following passage is found: “Eine halbe Stunde nach den Einwurf des Gasses wurde die Tür geöffnet und die Entlüftungsanlage eingeschaltet. Es wurde sofort mit dem Herausziehen der Leichen begonnen.” (“Half an hour after the gas had been thrown in, the door was opened and the ventilating apparatus switched on. The removal of the bodies was begun immediately.”) And it is on page 126 of the book, in the excerpt dated February 1947, that it is said that the squad charged with the responsibility of removing the corpses from the “gas chambers” did this labor “mit einer stumpfer Gleichmütigkeit” (“with a gloomy indifference”) as if it were a

matter of some kind of everyday chore ("als wenn es irgend etwas Alltägliches wäre"). Höss is supposed to have added: "Beim Leichenschleppen assen sie oder rauchten." That is to say: "While pulling out [the cadavers] they used to eat or smoke." For Höss, moreover, they would not cease eating. They would eat when pulling the cadavers out of the chambers, when extracting the gold teeth, when cutting off the hair, when dragging them toward the furnaces or pits. Höss even adds this outrageous remark: "At the pits they used to keep the fire going. They would pour accumulated molten fat over the new cadavers, and they would poke around in the mountains of burning bodies to create a flue."

Höss does not reveal to us how the fat managed not to be burnt itself (corpses cannot be spit-roasted as if they were chickens, but they are reduced to bones and ashes in heaps piled up on the ground or in the form of pyres). He does not tell us how the men could approach these formidable pyres to collect the streams of fat (!), neither does he tell us how they could get close enough to poke around in these mountains of bodies to effect a flue. The absurdity of this "pouring accumulated fat" ("das Übergiessen des angesammelten Fettes") is moreover so evident that the French translator of the book presented by Martin Broszat has quite discreetly omitted to translate those five German words (Rudolf Höss, *Le Commandant d'Auschwitz parle* (*The Commandant of Auschwitz Speaks*), translated from German to French by Constantin de Grunwald, Paris, Julliard, 1959, printing of 15 March 1970, p. 212. Filip Müller has written *Sonderbehandlung*, translated as *Eyewitness Auschwitz / Three Years in the Gas Chambers*, New York, Stein & Day, 1979, XIV-180 pp. From page 132 to 142 he accumulates the most astonishing stories about boiling human fat running like water, collecting pans for the fat, sizzling fat scooped out with buckets on a long curved rod and poured all over the pit, the SS guard Moll flinging live babies into the boiling human fat, and so on.

11.  For the various trials generally called "Nuremberg Trials" the Americans have perused many technical documents concerning Zyklon B. If they had read these documents carefully, and if they had-as I did myself- continued further research in certain technical tomes in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC, they would have become aware of the incredible number of technical impossibilities contained in the German "gas chamber" evidence. One day I will devote a study to four specific documents which, in my opinion, completely destroy the legend of the "gas chambers." Those four documents are: first, two documents recorded by the Americans for the Nuremberg Trials, and then, two technical studies signed by Gerhard Peters; all of which one may consult at the Washington Library of Congress. I recall that Gerhard Peters was, during the war, the temporary director of the firm DEGESCH (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Schädlingbekämpfung: German Company for Pest Control) which controlled in particular the distribution of Zyklon B. After the war, Gerhard Peters was to be brought before the courts many times by his own compatriots. He said he had never heard during the war about any homicidal use of Zyklon B.

Nuremberg documents (documents with the prefix NI, which means Nuremberg, Industrialists):

1. NI-9098, recorded only on 25 July 1947: a brochure entitled *Acht Vorträge aus dem Arbeitsgebiet der DEGESCH* (*Eight lectures on aspects of DEGESCH's Field of Operation*) and printed in 1942 for private usage. At the end of this brochure, page 47, there appears a descriptive table on each of the eight gases distributed by the firm. At point number 7 of the description one reads for Zyklon B: "Lüftbarkeit: wegen starken Haftvermögens des Gases an Oberflächen erschwert und langwierig." ("Ventilation Properties: complicated and long to ventilate since the gas adheres strongly to surfaces.")
2. NI-9912, recorded only on 21 August 1947: a public notice entitled *Richtlinien für die Anwendung von Blausäure (Zyklon) zur Ungezieferverteilung (Entwesung)* (*Direct-*

tives for the use of Prussic Acid (Zyklon) for the Destruction of Vermin (Disinfestation).). This document is of capital importance. Better than any other it shows at what point the handling of Zyklon B can only be done by trained personnel. The time required for the product to destroy vermin ranges from 6 hours in hot times, to 32 hours during cold periods. The normal duration is 16 hours. This long duration is explained undoubtedly by the composition of Zyklon. Zyklon is prussic acid, or hydrocyanic acid, absorbed by a support of diatomite. The gas is released slowly because of the nature of its support. This slowness is such that one cannot understand how on earth the Germans could have chosen a gas such as Zyklon in order to liquidate masses of human beings. It would have been easier for them to have utilized hydrocyanic acid in its liquid form. They had at their disposal significant quantities of this acid in the laboratories of the IG-Farben plant at Auschwitz, where they tried to make synthetic rubber. It is from document NI-9912 that I draw the information concerning the employment of Zyklon B for the fumigation of a barracks, the duration of aeration (at least 21 hours), et cetera.

Documents at the Library of Congress. These concern two technical studies written by Gerhard Peters and both were published in *Sammlung Chemischer & Chemisch-technischer Vorträge*, the first in 1933 in Neue Folge, Heft 20, and the other in Neue Folge, Heft 47a in 1942, (review edited by Ferdinand Enke at Stuttgart). Here are the titles, followed by the Library of Congress reference:

1. "Blausäure zur Schädlingsbekämpfung" (QD1, S2, n.f., hft.20, 1933), 75pp.
2. "Die hochwirksamen Gase und Dämpfe in der Schädlingsbekämpfung" (QD1, S2, n.f., hft.47a, 1942), 143pp. It should be said in passing that it is admirable that this review which was published during the war in Germany should have arrived safely also during the war at the Library of Congress in Washington! The 1942 issue bears the Washington registration date of ... 1 April 1944!
12. 🟢 French regulations concerning the use of hydrocyanic acid are as strict as the German. See the decree 50-1290 of 18 October 1950 from the Ministry of Public Health, Paris.
13. 🟢 The plan which allows us to give these dimensions to the nearest centimeter is found in the archives of the State Museum of Oswiecim (Auschwitz). The reference number of this photo of the plan is Neg. 519. The plans of the "Kremas" (crematoria) IV and V are even more interesting than those of Kremas II and III. They prove, in effect, that the three structures abusively described as "gas chambers" were in fact inoffensive premises, complete with ordinary doors and windows. The sole means for the SS to "throw in the Zyklon" into these places "from the exterior" would have been the following scenario: The SS would have had to have requested their victims-piled up in hundreds or thousands in a space of only 2 36m² -to open the windows for them to "throw in the Zyklon" after which the victims would carefully close the windows again, and abstain from smashing the window panes, until death ensued.⁷⁸ It is perfectly easy to understand why the Polish Communist authorities are so reluctant to display these plans; they prefer to rely on the Ht5ss "confessions" with no supporting topographical data.
14. 🟢 These interesting remains of the crematoria can be seen behind a large glass in the back room which, in the exhibition block No. 24, is devoted to the Kremas.
15. 🟢 These details of the first execution by toxic gas were published in the Belgian *Le Soir* of 9 February 1974, under the rubric "50 Years Ago": a reprint of an article from the 9 February 1924 edition of the same paper.
16. 🟢 The summary which I give here of an execution by hydrocyanic acid is inspired by an inquiry which an American lawyer kindly conducted for me on six penitentiaries and on a

firm manufacturing gas chambers. The penitentiaries are as follows: San Quentin, California; Jefferson City, Missouri; Santa Fe, New Mexico; Raleigh, North Carolina; Baltimore, Maryland; and Florence, Arizona. The firm is Eaton Metal Products Company of Denver, Colorado. It is obvious that there are variations in the method from one penitentiary to another. I have personally obtained authorization to visit one of these gas chambers. The "Gas Chamber Procedure Sheet" reveals that the simple preparation of the chamber for an execution demands two days' work for two employees, occupying eight hours work per day each. Once the chamber is ready, the operation itself goes through 47 stages. This procedure sheet comes nowhere near describing the complications of each of the 47 tasks. Let us take as an example: "Empty Chamber (Body Removed)." In actuality, these words signify the following: the doctor and his two assistants must, after waiting the stipulated time, enter the room wearing gas masks, rubber aprons and rubber gloves; the doctor must tousle the hair of the dead man to expel the molecules of hydrocyanic acid which may have remained there; the two assistants must carefully wash the body with a hose; they must in particular wash the mouth and all the other apertures of the body; they must not forget to carefully wash the bend of the elbows and the bend of the knees. just a glance at one of these small gas chambers, constructed in order to kill a single condemned man, renders ridiculous those premises of stone wood, and plaster which are represented as being former German "gas chambers." If the American gas chambers are made exclusively of steel and glass, then it is for reasons of good sense and for reasons more specifically technical. The first reason is that the acid has a tendency to adhere to the surface and even to penetrate certain materials, so therefore it is necessary to avoid such materials. The second reason is that, when the ventilators empty the chamber of air, there is a risk of implosion, so therefore the structure has remarkably thick walls of steel and glass. The very heavy steel door can only be closed with a handwheel.

17. [↗](#) The Polish Communists themselves recognize that the tattooing had as its aim the hindering of flight, and the facilitating of identifying captured escapees. See: *Contribution à l'histoire du KL-Auschwitz*, Musée d'Etat d'Auschwitz, 1968, p16 and p99.
18. [↗](#) Louis De Jong, *Vierteljahrshäfte für Zeitgeschichte*, Munich, 1969, Heft 1, ppl-16: "Die Niederlande und Auschwitz" (The Netherlands & Auschwitz ...). Sensitive to the delicate nature of these kinds of revelations, the director of the review, H. Rothfels, explains in a foreword the reason why he has consented to publish this study. The reason is that Louis De Jong, not being a German, could not possibly be suspected of being an apologist for National Socialism; on the contrary, as director of an official institute like that in Amsterdam, he had given all desirable pledges of his seriousness. This preface gives some idea of the situation in which German historians find themselves. There are certain truths which they cannot utter without being suspected of being apologists for Nazism. It is also important to note that Mr. Louis De Jong is even less suspect because he is of Jewish origin.
19. [↗](#) These aerial photographs have been revealed to the general public by Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirer in a pamphlet entitled *The Holocaust Revisited*. Central Intelligence Agency, Department of Commerce, National Technical Information Service, Washington, DC, ST 79-10001, 19pp. The booklet is somewhat curious in that it was researched in the authors' free time, not during CIA time, and this is the reason why the authors cannot enter into any correspondence regarding the contents! The two authors offer an interesting example of blindness. They attempt at all costs to adapt the photographic reality with what they believe to have been the reality of Auschwitz, according to three Exterminationist works. There is a spectacular contradiction between the photos and the commentaries which they attach.
20. [↗](#) Article 19 of the Statute of the International Military Tribunal states: "The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence [...]." Article 21 states: "The Tribunal shall

not require proof of facts of common knowledge but shall take judicial notice thereof [...].
“

21. [↗](#) *Prison et déportation*, Paris, Spes, 1947, p77.
22. [↗](#) The pretended “gas chamber” of Dachau today bears the following inscription worded in five languages (German, English, French, Italian, Russian):
GASKAMMER getarnt als “Brausebad” — *war nicht in Betrieb*
GAS CHAMBER disguised as a “shower room” — *never used*
CHAMBRE A GAZ “chambre de douche” camouflée — *ne fut jamais utilisée*
I have asked Frau Barbara Distel, director of the Dachau Museum, and Dr. Guerisse, president of the International Committee of Dachau, headquartered at Brussels, what induced them to describe an incomplete premises as a “gas chamber”; because one wonders how it is possible to know that an unfinished building is due to become, once achieved, something no one has ever seen in his life! Equally, I wished to ascertain if expert technical, scientific, forensic, or legal opinions were consulted about these premises. On this second point the reply was in the negative. On the first point I received no reply at all. Does not every visitor to Dachau have the right to have clarification there and then? Has not every German the right to demand proof from his accusers, in support of their terrible accusation? For it is indeed a terrible accusation to suggest that such and such a person had constructed an abominable instrument with the intention of killing human beings in a sort of human abattoir.
23. [↗](#) See “Réflexions sur l'étude de la déportation” (Reflections on the Study of Deportation) by Germaine Tillion, in the special issue entitled “Le Système concentrationnaire allemand 1940-1944” (“The German Concentration Camp System 1940-1944”) of the *Revue d'Histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale (Review of WWII History)* of July 1954. Consult pages 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 26, and especially note 2 of page 17, note 2 of page 18 and note 1 of page 20.
24. [↗](#) Document of Nuremberg “Paris/Storey” PS-3870: declaration under oath of policeman Hans Marsalek. According to the policeman, the conditions under which Zierys had admitted the existence and functioning of a “gas chamber” at Mauthausen ought to be reflected upon. The “interrogation” was in fact a pure and simple torture session which lasted from six to eight hours until Zierys gave up the ghost. The policeman himself stated that he had conducted the interrogation of the commandant for six to eight hours during the night of 22/23 May 1945. He said that Franz Zierys was gravely wounded; that three bullets had passed through his body and that he knew he was going to die. Today in the museum of Mauthausen one can see a photo taken by flash and which shows Zierys still alive, while seated near him an internee listens to his words. There are other people in the photo at the bedside of the dying man: possibly General Seibel, commander of the 11th American armored division; and the former doctor of the internees, the deportee Dr. Koszeinski, were there, as the policeman affirmed. That a divisional general and a professional doctor have admitted participating in this torture session reflects greatly on the mentality of those who prized having a “Nazi” in their hands: a “Nazi” is not a man, but a sort of malevolent beast. One can be sure that all the commandants of all the camps were thus regarded. Therefore, the “admissions” which they made or are said to have made are not astonishing. Most of these “admissions” are “Depositions Under Oath” or “Statements” written in English, signed by an Allied officer, who adds: “I hereby certify that I have accurately translated this deposition from English into German to the said deponent [here the name of the German interrogatee is inserted] and that he [the German] fully agrees the contents thereof.” See document D-746(a), D-749(b), etc.
25. [↗](#) “Keine Vergasung in Dachau” (“No Gassing in Dachau”), letter by Dr. Martin Broszat, *Die Zeit*, 19 August 1960, p16 (in the German edition). In the U.S.A. edition: 26 August 1960, p14.

26. ☑ See the words, which I quote above, in my note 10. Dr. Martin Broszat explains in note 1 of page 167 why he does not give the continuation of Höss's text. He says that, in this sequence, Höss delivers to us "completely confused data," ("völlig abwegige Angaben") that he passes off information "which definitely could not be taken seriously" ("müssen these Mitteilungen als gänzlich unzuverlässig gelten"). Dr. Broszat gives an example of one of these aberrations, but he is careful to choose one of the least distorted of them. Fifteen years after the publication of his book, the Poles, in their turn, gave what it is convenient to call the text of Höss's confessions. And it is here that, for once, one perceives that the "aberrations" were multiplied under the pen of Höss. In order to get some idea, one must refer to the following work: *KL-Auschwitz in den Augen der SS (Auschwitz Concentration Camp As Seen By the SS)* Auschwitz Museum, Cracow, 1973, pp135-136. Dr. Broszat has been disqualified in the eyes of all serious historians by his publishing the "Höss Confessions." With just a little attention and honesty, Broszat ought to have concluded that this "confession" is a mass of absurdities and aberrations, which can only have been dictated to Höss by his Polish Stalinist jailers.
27. ☑ The expression employed by Dr. Broszat is "above all" ("vor allem"). This rather embarrassed expression seems to me to have been used because Broszat did not wish to make pronouncements on the authenticity or otherwise of the "gas chambers" which are neither in Poland nor in the Old Reich, i.e. Mauthausen in Austria, and Struthof in Alsace.
28. ☑ In an all too familiar fashion with this subject matter, Dr. Broszat looked perhaps as if he attempted to back-pedal on his original courageous statement of 19 August 1960. He has written, or has had written by his Institute staff, letters or articles where he appears on the surface to retract his *Die Zeit* statement. In reality, in studying the texts closely, one gets the impression that Dr. Broszat is merely paying lip service to any retraction, and is still sticking to what he wrote in 1960. See the following texts:
1. Reply of Frau Dr. S. Noller on 26 October 1967 to *Paris-Match* journalist Pierre Joffroy. This reply is published in part in the book by Pierre Serge Choumoff (pp. 73-74) which I mentioned in note 7.
 2. Preface by Dr. Broszat to a study by Frau Dr. Ino Arndt and Dr. Wolfgang Scheffler which appeared in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* April 1976 and entitled: "Organisierter Massenmord an Juden in NS-Vernichtungslagern" ("Organized Mass Murder of Jews in Nazi Extermination Camps"), pp. 105-135; preface: pp. 105-112).
 3. Reply of Frau Dr. Ino Arndt on 25 November 1977 to Professor Egon G. L. Rieder. This reply was published by MUT-Verlag, January 1979. (Address: 3901 Asendorf, West Germany).
29. ☑ On Treblinka, as well as on Belzec, Sobibor and Chelmno, see *NS-Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse (Nazi Extermination Camps Reflected in German Courts)*, by Adalbert Rückerl, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, original edition 1977. Adalbert Rückerl and the Exterminationists are not lucky with Treblinka. They say that in Treblinka there were "gas chambers." Many books give some details about them. As a matter of fact, all those people forget the Nuremberg document PS-3311: according to this "Certificate" of 5 December 1945, the mass killing was done by suffocation in steam-filled chambers!
30. ☑ *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi (1933-1945) (The Nazi Concentration Camp System (1933-1945))*, thesis, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1968, pp. 541-544.
31. ☑ Höss had been tortured. It is from the Poles themselves that we know this. They authorized him to say this in his confession. There might have been several motives for this authorization on the part of instructing judge Jan Sehn. As Höss indulged in praises of the kindness of his jailers at Cracow, it may well be that Sehn wished to give us the idea that, if Höss had previously come out with absurdities because of his torture by the British, then on

this occasion, in Cracow prison, he was expressing himself with complete freedom. In his “ingenuousness” in admitting everything they wanted to his British torturers, Höss had gone so far as to speak of the “extermination camp” of “Wolzek near to Lublin.” However, Wolzek never existed, neither near to Lublin nor anywhere in Poland. Höss, however, cited this mythical camp in document NO-1210 of 14 March 1946, then in document PS-3868 of 5 April 1946, and also in document NI-034 of 20 May 1946. Out of terrible embarrassment, an attempt has been made to pretend that Belzec is this “Wolzec camp,” which is in itself absurd, since in document PS-3868 Höss precisely states that there were “three other extermination camps in the General Government: Belzek (sic), Treblinka, and Wolzek” (“drei weitere Vernichtungslager in Generalgouvernement: Belzek, Treblinka und Wolzek”). This absurd solution (“Wolzek is Belzec”!) has been imposed by the “Bible” of the Exterminationists' research: *The Holocaust / The Nuremberg Evidence* (Part One: Documents) edited by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and at the YIVO Institute in New York, 1976 (see p. 544). A solution even less acceptable has been proposed by the attorney Adalbert Rückerl in note 5 of pages 37/38 of the work which I quote above in my note 29. This lawyer has no qualms about saying that Wolzek is in reality ... Sobibor! It would be endless work to quote all the aberrations contained in the papers that the British military justice made Höss sign. To take only one other example here, Höss said that there was situated at Treblinka an installation for gassing by “gasmobiles” (mobile gas-trucks, or gas-vans) which he later sited at Chelmno! The British made him say “Treblinka” (NO-1210 & PS-3868) whereas the Poles made him say “Culmhof” (NO-4498B). However, the distance as the crowflies is nearly 250km between Treblinka, which is to the east of Warsaw, and Kulmhof (or Culmhof or Chelmno-on-Ner), which is to the north-west of Warsaw. Therefore, Jan Sehn authorized his prisoner to enlighten us at the manner in which he had been treated before enjoying the comforts of Cracow prison. The British seriously mishandled him, Höss says, even up to the point where he was forced to sign a statement, the contents of which he did not understand. He begins by writing this in his confession to the Poles at Cracow: “Es würde mir übel zugesetzt durch die Field-Security-Police” (“I was ill-treated by the Field Security Police”). And then he adds: “Unter schlagenden Beweisen kam meine erste Vernehmung zustande. Was in dem Protokoll drin steht, weiss ich nicht, obwohl ich es unterschrieben habe. Doch Alkohol und Peitsche waren auch für mich zuviel.” (“My first interrogation took place under duress. I do not know what was recorded in the statement, even though I signed it. Because, alcohol and the whip were too much, even for me.”) Höss adds that, after being transferred some days later to Minden-on-Weser to the main interrogation center in the British zone, he was subjected to even more brutal treatment on the part of the British attorney; a major. (“Dort wurde mir noch mehr zugesetzt durch den 1. englischen Staatsanwalt; einem Major.”) He said that the regime of the prison corresponded to the attitude of the Major. For three weeks he was not allowed to wash or shave. For three weeks he was kept in handcuffs. After transfer to Nuremberg, his stay under house arrest had the effect upon him of a stay in a sanitarium; an ideal stay in comparison with what he had experienced. But the interrogations, conducted exclusively by Jews, were terrible, not from a physical, but from a psychological aspect. His interrogators left him in no doubt as to the fate which awaited him, namely in eastern Europe. After his transfer to Poland, he experienced anew more terrible trials, but suddenly the attorney appeared and henceforth Höss was treated with surprisingly kind attention (“anständig und entgegenkommend.”) All these details can be found on pages 143-147 of *Kommandant in Auschwitz* (see my note 10 above). What Höss has not mentioned is the result of these physical and spiritual tortures undergone before his delivery to the Poles. On 5 April 1946, ten days before his appearance at the Nuremberg trial, a stupefying affidavit had been extorted from him, which he had signed even though it was not in his mother tongue, but in ... ENGLISH! It is document PS-3868. Before the Tribunal, on 15 April 1946, American attorney Amen read out the text of the affidavit, in front of Höss.

The declarations regarding Auschwitz made a sensation. As for Höss himself, he impressed everyone by his “apathy” (sic). His responses were for the most part restricted to a “yes” when Colonel Amen asked him if everything that he had read was accurate. This “apathy” was described by the observers as “schizoid” or an approximation thereof. These observers — all of them antipathetic to Höss — could not imagine how much the adjective “schizoid,” which in the mind was insulting, was in fact accurate and reflected a terrible reality, for Höss was in a dual condition; he was “two men at one time,” slandered, stupefied, divided into two or nearly so: “schizoid” is an accurate adjective as one could find to describe a man tortured physically and psychologically, and who, as he said in his confession, himself wondered why on earth he had been brought before this formidable tribunal. It is necessary to read the text of the dialog between Colonel Amen and the witness Höss dated 25 April 1946, in volume XI p. 425ff of the main trial at Nuremberg (IMT). References are to the French edition.

32.  Concerning the tortures systematically inflicted by the Americans on their German prisoners, one would do well to refer to the book by A.R. Butz (*The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*) in the passages concerning justice Gordon Simpson or judge Charles F. Wennersturm. I also recommend one of the finest books ever written in favor of the rights of man: *Manstein, His Campaign and his Trial* (London, Collins, 1951) by Sir Reginald Paget, and endowed with an outstanding preface by Lord Hankey. On page 109 the author mentions that the American Simpson/Van Roden/Laurenzen commission of inquiry had reported “among other things, that of the 139 cases they had investigated, 137 (German soldiers and officers) had had their testicles permanently destroyed by kicks received from the American War Crimes Investigation team.”
33.  Dr. Engineer Dürrfeld was the temporary director of the Buna factory at Auschwitz. In document NI-034 Höss was attributed with saying that Dr. Dürrfeld was aware of the gassing of human beings at Birkenau and that he had spoken of it to his colleagues. However in document NI-11046, Dr. Dürrfeld replied: “It is a sorry fact that I heard of (these gassings) first through the radio and through the newspaper reports. I must say that it is a brand of infamy for the German people, that I must say.” See also document NI-9542 for Otto Ambros or document NI-11631 for Kurt Rosenbaum. These men confirmed that they had never known anything about the “gassings” despite the fact that they were well placed in order to know everything which took place at Auschwitz. Inmates also had the courage to write that they had never seen any “gas chambers” at Auschwitz or Birkenau, although they were located close to the place where these “chambers” were supposed to be. This is the case for Benedikt Kautsky, the Austrian Social Democrat, of Jewish origin. He lived in various concentration camps, as well as Auschwitz, for nearly seven years. His mother died at Birkenau on 8 December 1944 at the age of 80. In *Teufel und Verdammte (Devil and Damned)* Vienna, Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung (Vienna People’s Press), 1948, he writes, (p316), that he has not personally seen those “gas chambers” in the camp. However, this admission does not prevent him from later providing a kind of description of that which he had never seen! He does that on the word of those who “have seen.”
34.  I make allusion here to certain of the defendants at the Frankfurt Trial (1963-1965); a trial which Hermann Langbein purports to give an account of in his *Der Auschwitz Prozess*, a book which I previously cited in note 9. Franz Hofmann would have employed the expression “assisting to push”; but curiously he employed the plural: “we have [...] pushed together” (“haben wir [.] mitgeschoben”) (p. 241). Hans Stark is supposed to have helped a hospital attendant to discharge gas through an aperture in the roof of the “gas chamber”; but Stark is confused, very vague, and the president of the court gives the impression before all of making Stark recite a text (p. 439).

35. ☑ One ought to devote the greatest possible attention to volume 42 which is the last of the volumes of the documents of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. This volume opens with the very long document (153 pages) PS-862. It is a summary presented by the British colonel Airey Neave (who was eventually himself murdered in 1979 by the Irish Republican Army). Neave had been charged with summarizing a host of investigations carried out in Allied prisoner of war camps. He states what is also reported in the document "Politische Leiter 54" (p. 348): the 26,674 former political directors interrogated have declared that it was only after the capitulation in May 1945 that they first heard of the extermination of the Jews in the camps termed (by the Allies) "extermination camps." ("Sie von einer Vernichtung von Juden in sog. Vernichtungslagern erst nach der Kapitulation in Mai 1945 Kenntnis erhielten.")
36. ☑ In private correspondence, Dr. Robert Servatius, who was a defense lawyer at the Nuremberg IMT (1945-1946) and who defended Adolf Eichmann at the "Trial in Jerusalem" (1961), has written to me of "the persons pretended to have been gassed" ("der in Auschwitz angeblich vergasteten Personen") in his letter dated 21 June 1974 and of "the pretended gassing" ("der behaupteten Vergasung") in his letter dated 22 February 1975. This world-famous lawyer summarizes in one succinct phrase the reason why German defense counsel take great care not to raise the question of the "gas chambers" before a tribunal: it seems, he says, "that for the defense, the problem of the existence of the gas chambers faded into the background, compared with the question of the participation of their clients in the pretended gassing." ("Anachenend[??? Webmaster] ist die Frage der Existenz von Gaskammern für die Verteidiger zurückgetreten gegenüber der Frage der Beteiligung ihrer Mandanten an der behaupteten Vergasung.") It cannot be put better. In response to one of my questions about Eichmann, the lawyer specified that Eichmann had declared (to whom? the response is not clear on this point) that he had never seen a gas chamber and that he had never been told about any. (Letter of 22 February 1975.) The stenograph transcripts of the trial (which can be consulted in several languages at the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in Paris) prove that Eichmann had apparently known nothing about these "gas chambers" except what he had read of them in prison in Höss's "confession" (see the session of 19 April 1961, pages JI-MJ to 02-RM).
37. ☑ It was on French television that M. Albert Naud, visibly moved, made this impromptu declaration (Channel 2, "L'huile sur le feu" ("Oil on the Fire") broadcast by Philippe Bouvard, October 1976).
38. ☑ This complacent lawyer was Anton Reiners of Frankfurt am Main.
39. ☑ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1961 & 1967; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, 2nd edition, London, Vallentine-Mitchell, 1968; H. G. Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, Tübingen, Mohr (Siebeck), 1974; Hermann Langbein, *Menschen in Auschwitz*, Vienna, Europa Verlag, 1974; Olga Wormser-Migot, *Le Système concentrationnaire nazie (1933-1945)*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1968; Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la déportation des Juifs de France*, Klarsfeld Foundation, BP 137-16, 75763 Paris Cedex 16, 1978.
40. ☑ Extract from what the Germans call the "Bormann Diaries" ("Bormann Vermercke"). The final part of these "Bormann Diaries" has been published in France under the title of *Le Testament politique de Hitler (The Political Testament of Hitler)*, French version and preface by Francois Genoud, Paris, Arthème Fayard, 1959, pp. 71-72.
41. ☑ "Dass sie deshalb [wegen ihrer Konfession] verfolgt worden waren, wie ich glaubte, liess manchmal meine Abneigung gegenüber ungünstigen Äusserungen über sie fast zum Abscheu werden" (*Mein Kampf (My Struggle)*, Munich, NSDAP, 1942, p. 55). "Die grossen Meister der Lüge" ("The great masters of the lie"): these are Schopenhauer's words, revived by Hitler (p. 253 of *Mein Kampf*, *ibid.*).

42. ☞ Declaration published in the *Jewish Chronicle*, London, of 8 September 1939, pl.
43. ☞ *Daily Express*, London, 24 March 1933, pl.
44. ☞ “Nach Beendigung des Krieges werde er [Hitler] sich rigoros auf den Standpunkt stellen, dass er Stadt für Stadt zusammenschlage, wenn nicht die Drecksjuden rauskämen und nach Madagaskar oder einem sonstigen jüdischen Nationalstaat abwanderten.” (“After the ending of the war, he [Hitler] would rigorously adopt the standpoint that he would demolish town after town, if the Jewish dregs did not decamp and emigrate to Madagascar or to some other national Jewish homeland.”) See Henry Picker, *Hitlers Tischgespräche in Führerhauptquartier (Hitler's Table Talk at the Führer's HQ)*, published by Percy Henry Schramm (...), Stuttgart, 1963, p. 471.
45. ☞ Texts and facts abound which prove that the German authorities forbade and punished these excesses, even when Jews were the victims. I will quote only one text and two facts. This text is of General von Roques dated 29 July 1944, on the Russian front (document NOKW-1620). As to facts, they are reported in document NOKW-501. Here is the first fact: in the spring of 1944, at Budapest, a lieutenant killed a Jewess who wished to denounce him for having stolen some of her property, along with some of his men. A German military tribunal condemned the officer to death and he was executed, while several of his men and NCOs were condemned to long terms in prison. Here is the second fact: near to Rostov, USSR, two soldiers were condemned to death by a German military tribunal (and executed?) for having killed the only Jewish inhabitant of a village. One finds these examples and many other facts of the same genre in the 42nd and final volume of the IMT Nuremberg transcripts. Unfortunately, this volume is ignored by just about everyone. It is particularly ignored by the judiciary who permit the invoking of “what happened at Nuremberg” but do not, however, pay sufficient attention to re-reading the actual documentation produced by the CONQUERORS passing judgment on the VANQUISHED. The historian can allow this superficiality even less when he realizes that these same conquerors have committed two very grave injustices: 1. They were the ones who sorted the captured German documents, without allowing any access by the defense; 2. They have selected out of this and other selections when they published the 42 volumes, without including some of the documentary evidence deposited by the defense. It is vitally important to realize that even today — 35 years after the war — the Allies still maintain in secret an impressive quantity of German documents, out of which they have already selected those items which, in their eyes, could show Germany in a bad light. Imagine the mountain of “war crimes” which could be adjudicated with such procedures by an “International Military Tribunal” if it was the CONQUERED being able to judge their CONQUERORS! But to return to the question of “excesses” or of “war crimes,” I would suggest that the German army, and in particular the Waffen-SS, were certainly very tough both in combat and in the ‘4mopping-up’ operations against the partisans, but they showed themselves to be in a certain way much less threatening toward civilian non-combatants than other armies. In principle, the more disciplined and controlled an army is, the less the civilian population ought to fear excesses of all kinds. Using this rule of thumb, it would follow that bands of partisans -whatever sympathy can be felt for their cause-are nearly always more of a threat to the civilians.
46. ☞ This was described as “Operation Keelhaul.” See Julius Epstein, *Operation Keelhaul*, Devin-Adair, 1973; Nikolai Tolstoy, *The Secret Betrayal 1944-1947*, Scribners, 1977; Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, IHR, 1979, pp248-249. The term “keel-haul” speaks for itself; this English verb signifies “inflicting the punishment of hauling the victim from one side to the other of a ship, by causing him to pass under the keel.”
47. ☞ I must mention that during the same period, and without any military necessity, our American and South African allies rigorously applied segregation against Blacks (which was denounced sometimes in the French “collaborationist” newspapers).

48.  Speech made at Posen on 6 October 1943, published on page 169 of *Discours secrets de Heinrich Himmler*, Paris Gallimard, 1978. This is the French translation of “secret” talks from 1933-1945, together with other speeches. The German edition: *Geheimreden 1933 bis 1945 und andere Ansprachen*, Propylaen Propylaen Verlag, 1974. This work should be approached with caution, particularly its French edition.
49.  The text of the “Madagascar Projekt” is little known. It can however be found at the CDJC in Paris. It bears number 172 of the Israeli police (General Headquarters, 6th bureau). it seems that this document was only brought to light in 1961 on the occasion of the Eichmann Trial. It is composed of a letter from Theodor Dannecker, dated 15 August 1940, addressed to Legation Secretary Rademacher, and of the report itself which seems to be, moreover, a draft unsigned and undated. The reference number at the CDJC is DXII-172.
50.  See the letter of reference of Rademacher to ambassador Bielfeld dated 10 February 1942 (document NG-5770).
51.  “Total Solution” (“Gesamtlösung”) and “Final Solution” (“Endlösung”) are the two interchangeable terms employed by Göring in his famous letter of 31 July 1941 addressed to Reinhard Heydrich. The Exterminationists have expatiated interminably upon this very short letter (document PS-710) and, in particular, upon these two words used by Göring. They have all the more speculated on this text since they have — at least for some of them — cynically cut short the first half of his first phrase where a clear and neat explanation is provided of the sense which Göring wished to give to these words. These words in fact imply EMIGRATION or EVACUATION (“Auswanderung oder Evakuierung”). Gerald Reitlinger indulges himself in quoting in full the little letter except for the beginning of it where the reader finds three suspension points instead of “Auswanderung oder Evakuierung”! The reader of Reitlinger thus sees that the beginning of the phrase is missing and he therefore believes that there is certainly nothing important about the absent fragment! It is indeed difficult to act more dishonestly than Reitlinger (see Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endlösung (The Final Solution)*, translated from English into German by J. W. Brugel, 4th edition revised and corrected, Berlin, Colloquium Verlag, 1961, p92). One will find the text, unmutilated, on page 12 of the remarkable work by Wilhelm Stäglich: *Der Auschwitz Mythos / Legende oder Wirklichkeit (The Auschwitz Myth / Legend or Truth)*, Tübingen, Grabert Verlag, 1979. Wilhelm Stäglich is this former judge at Hamburg who has suffered incessant persecution since 1973 because of his Revisionist convictions.
52.  Mention is made of these births in the “Kalendarium” of *Hefte von Auschwitz (Pages of Auschwitz)*, edited by the State Museum at Oswiecim (Auschwitz), in particular in volumes 7 and 8. The Germans maintained a register of all births, including Jews. They kept a record of everything. Every surgical operation, for example, was noted, with the name of the inmate, his registration number, the object and the result of the operation (in Latin), the date, and the signature of the surgeon. At the crematoria, the extraction of a tooth from a corpse was made the object of an incident report (“Meldung”). This last point, on its own, renders absurd the legend of largescale massacres with extraction of teeth on a quasi-industrial scale.
53.  I have personally made a thorough inquiry regarding the summary executions carried out by the Resistance in a small region of France. I was surprised to find that the gypsy community has paid a heavy tribute in dead: not as a result of deeds by the Germans, but by the Resistance. This inquiry cannot actually be published in France.
54.  On the existence of a vocational school for masons, see for example the evidence of Franz Hofmann in Hermann Langbein’s work *Der Auschwitz Prozess*, p. 236. Concerning the team of apprentices (“Lehrlings-Kommandos”) see the evidence of detainee Curt Posener in document NI-9808.

55. ☞ Georges Wellers, *l'Etoile jaune à l'heure de Vichy / De Drancy à Auschwitz*, (*The Yellow Star under the Vichy Era / From Drancy [Transit Camp] to Auschwitz*), Paris, Fayard 1973, pp. V, 4, 5, 7.
56. ☞ The distance from Drancy (near Paris) to Auschwitz (1,250km) was covered, in general, in two days.
57. ☞ I can only refer here to the cases of Maurice Bardèche, Paul Rassinier, Manfred Roeder, Thies Christophersen, Wilhelm Stäglich, J.G. Burg (a Jew), Hellmut Diwald, Udo Walendy, Arthur R. Butz, and to my own case. No persecution is overlooked: imprisonment, physical violence, fines, arson, careers destroyed, incredibly unjust legal decisions, pure lies, enforced exile. Not one association defending freedom of expression, not one single group of writers, has raised the least protest at the stupefying proceedings of the Springer group in regard to either David Irving or to the university professor Hellmut Diwald. In this field of persecution, Germany is incontestably to the fore. France occupies second place, and South Africa is not far behind.
58. ☞ This decision dates from 17 May 1979 (Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften ("X-ratings Board") decision No. 2765). The expert selected was the attorney Adalbert Rückerl (the man who said that when one reads "Wolzek" one must understand "Sobibor"; see my footnote 31). The latter was both a judge and judged, since he was devoted his life and certain of his works to defending a thesis (that of Exterminationism) which Dr. Butz considers, like myself, to be erroneous. The text of the judgment is 55 pages long. Within a few years this text may well emerge as a monument to historical inconsistency. The president of the tribunal was Rudolf Stefen. Professor Konrad Jentsch represented Art ("Kunst"); the writer Bernhard Ohsam Literature; Gunther Roland the teachers ("Lehrerschaft"); the prelate Dir. Dr. Hermann the Church; etc.
59. ☞ *La Guerre Sociale (Class War)*, No. 3, June 1979, pp. 9-31; BP 88, 75623 Paris Cedex 13. In charge of publication: J. Benhamou.
60. ☞ This was my case on 29 January 1978 at the national discussion on "Churches and Christians in France during WWII."
61. ☞ Among the 42 volumes of the (truncated) accounts of the IMT at Nuremberg, see vol. III, pp. 574-575 of the French edition, and read document PS-2738 (affidavit of Wilhelm Höttl).
62. ☞ Pages 120-122, 125, 128, 136, 141, 149, 157, under the title of "Nahum Goldmann: au nom d'Israël" ("Nahum Goldmann: in the name of Israel"). Nahum Goldmann says that those colossal reparations "constituted an extraordinary innovation in the matter of international rights." They were not in accordance with the German constitution. He dictated his conditions to Adenauer in 1950. He obtained DM 80 billion; that is 10 to 14 times more than the sum he first expected. He says, "Without the German reparations (...) the state of Israel would not have the half of its present infrastructure (1978); every train in Israel is German, the ships are German, as well as electricity, a big part of industry ... without mentioning the individual pensions paid to the survivors (...). In certain years, the amount of the money that Israel received from Germany would exceed the total amount of money collected from international Jewry- multiplying it by two or three times." The young German taxpayer of 1979, who has no responsibility in the war of 1939-1945, pays of course his share.

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Review

The Miracle of Dunkirk Reconsidered

CHARLES LUTTON

- *Dunkirk: The Patriotic Myth* by Nicholas Harmon. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980. 271 pp. with appendices, maps, photographs, annotated bibliography, index. \$12.95 ISBN: 0-671-25389-1

Forty one years ago nearly 340,000 British and French troops were evacuated from the besieged port of Dunkirk. At the time the event was portrayed by the British government and press as a kind of victory. The “Spirit of Dunkirk” became a powerful instrument to help sustain morale at home and rally support abroad. Though a number of perceptive military analysts arrived at a more sophisticated understanding of Dunkirk years ago, the war-time version of the event is still repeated, not only in popular literature, but in college texts as well. ^[1]

Nicholas Harmon, a British journalist and broadcaster, has written a noteworthy study of the Dunkirk episode that goes well beyond previous accounts. In preparing his major revision of Dunkirk, the author consulted Cabinet papers, war diaries, and other newly released documents that had been kept secret for over thirty years under Britain’s Official Secrets Act. Harmon had anticipated retelling the familiar story in modern form. But, in light of the previously unavailable records, he found that “as I proceeded the simple truths began to slide away.”

Reviewing events from the German invasion of Western Europe on 10 May 1940 to the decision of the British government to withdraw its forces from the continent, Harmon discovered that the long-held assertion that Britain was let down by her French and Belgian allies is a myth. Although the Allies outnumbered their German opponents, including a superiority in tanks, ^[2] Hitler’s generals employed innovative tactics to subdue their more numerous enemies. On 22 May, Churchill’s Cabinet decided to retire the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) from France. Anthony Eden formally ordered the commander of the BEF, General Lord Gort, to deceive his Allies about the British Army’s intention to retreat. Churchill contributed to the deception by reassuring French Premier Reynaud that Britain was firmly committed to victory. Even as the British prepared to evacuate, they tried to convince the Belgians to continue to fight. The Belgians did remain on the field of battle for an additional five days, which delayed the advance of German Army Group B toward Dunkirk. As the author points out, “Far from being betrayed by their Allies, the British military commanders in France and Belgium practiced on them a methodical deception which enabled the British to get away with their rear defended.”

Harmon’s research disclosed that the British were responsible for crimes against both German soldiers and Allied civilians. Some British troops were supplied with dumdum bullets-lethal missiles expressly banned by the Geneva Convention on the rules of war. London issued directives

to take no prisoners except when they specifically needed captive Germans for interrogation. For this reason British Tommies feared being captured because “they supposed that the enemy’s orders would be the same as their own.” On 27 May, ninety prisoners of the Norfolk Regiment were killed by members of the SS Totendopf Division and on 28 May over eighty men of the Warwickshire Regiment were executed by troops of the SS Adolf Hitler Regiment. These acts were committed in retaliation for the massacre of large numbers of men of the SS Totenkopf Division who had surrendered to the British.

French and Belgian civilians fared little better than the Germans at the hands of their British confederates. Looting was common and “stealing from civilians soon became official policy.” British military authorities executed without trial, civilians suspected of disloyalty. In one instance, reports Harmon, the Grenadier Guards shot seventeen suspected “fifth columnists” at Helchin. The perpetrators of these war crimes were apparently not disciplined or placed on trial, as were German soldiers later charged with similar acts.

The evacuation from Dunkirk, codenamed “Operation Dynamo,” commenced on 26 May. It was originally hoped that up to 45,000 men might be rescued. The actual total came to 338,000 men.

Lord Gort was instructed not to inform his French and Belgian colleagues that the evacuation was beginning. South-east of Dunkirk the British withdrew their units, leaving seven French divisions alone to face the advancing Germans. The French fought on until their ammunition was exhausted and managed, like the Belgians, to tie down German forces that would otherwise have been available to assault the perimeter of Dunkirk.

As British and French troops retired toward Dunkirk, Admiral Sir B.H. Ramsay organized the sea lift to England. After the French government protested, a written order was issued commanding that French troops be embarked in equal numbers with the British. In practice this was not carried out. Harmon records that when Frenchmen tried to board boats on the beach, Royal Navy shore parties organized squads of soldiers with fixed bayonets to keep them back. On at least one occasion a British platoon fired on French troops attempting to embark. Only after practically all the British had escaped were efforts made to evacuate the remaining French soldiers. But when the port surrendered to the Germans on 3 June, over 40,000 French soldiers were captured.

Perhaps the most memorable aspect of the evacuation was the role played by civilians in their small boats. Harmon explains that this is just part of the myth. The British public was not informed that an evacuation was underway until 6pm on 31 May. A Small Vessels Pool, based on Sheerness, did assemble a large number of small civilian craft. But most of them were useless for evacuation work. Only on the last two days of the withdrawal did civilian volunteers play a role in rescuing an additional 26,500 men from the beaches. Their contribution, notes the author, “was gallant and distinguished; but it was not significant in terms of numbers rescued.”

Harmon re-examined the on-going controversy concerning Hitler’s order of 24 May, halting for two days the German advance in the direction of Dunkirk. After the war some German officers claimed that they were “shocked” when they received the order to stop their tanks at the river Aa, which permitted the French to establish a defensive line on the west side of Dunkirk. At the time, however, Panzer General Heinz Guderian visited his leading units on the approaches to Dunkirk and concluded that General Von Rundstedt had been right to order a halt and that further tank attacks across the wet land (which had been reclaimed from the sea) would have involved a useless sacrifice of some of his best troops. In his post-war memoirs and discussions with Sir Basil Liddell Hart, Guderian tried to blame Hitler for the suspension of the advance. From his discussions with Guderian and other German generals, Liddell Hart concluded that Hitler permitted the

British Army to escape on purpose, hoping that this generous act would facilitate the conclusion of peace with Britain. [3]

A number of years ago it became clear that the order to stop the advance of the German Panzer units had been expected for some time. General Von Rundstedt finally issued that order on 24 May which Hitler simply confirmed. [4] The troops were allowed to rest and local repairs were carried out on the armored vehicles. When the offensive resumed on 26 May the German priorities had shifted and the focus of the attack was Paris and the heartland of the country where a large body of French troops remained. Dunkirk was regarded as a sideshow. German Air Force units were assigned to bombard Dunkirk, but the weather there was generally unsuitable for flying and during the nine days of the evacuation the Luftwaffe interfered with it only two-and-a-half days-27 May the afternoon of 29 May and on 1 June. [5]

While the author has written a solid re-appraisal of Dunkirk, he is less trustworthy when he wanders from his topic. For instance, early in his narrative Harmon repeats the old fable that pre-war German re-armament “was the motor of the country’s economic recovery in the 1930’s.” Later on, he states that “in conspiracy with the German dictatorship, the Soviet dictatorship swallowed up Finland” (sic). A good editor should have caught this error.

Nicholas Harmon’s study shows that an event which has long been celebrated as one of the greatest triumphs in British history, was, in fact, a major defeat. The evacuation of a third of a million men was a unique achievement, but a military catastrophe nonetheless. In de-mythologizing Dunkirk, he has made a contribution to our understanding of the Second World War.

Notes

1. ☺ In 1948 the outstanding British military theorist and historian, Major General J.F.C. Fuller, exploded the Dunkirk myth in his book, *The Second World War: A Strategic and Tactical History* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce). Yet years later, University of Illinois professor David Sumner wrote, “At the port of Dunkirk, all sorts of civilian crafts mobilized by the British government- fishing boats, yachts, tug boats-braved the bombs and strafing runs of the Luftwaffe to rescue 200,000 British and 140,000 French troops.” *A History of Europe in the Twentieth Century* (The Dorsey Press, 1973) p234.
2. ☺ One of the most enduring legends of the war is belief that the German armies of 1939-41 were highly mechanized. In 1940 the Germans deployed only ten armored (Panzer) divisions out of 135 assembled for the Western offensive. The Anglo-French forces not only possessed more tanks than the Germans, but a higher percentage of their tanks were medium and heavy models. Most of the tanks used by the Germans in 1940 were obsolescent light Mark Is and IIs, augmented by several hundred Czech light tanks.
3. ☺ This thesis first appeared in B.H. Liddell Hart’s 1948 book, *The German Generals Talk* (British title: *The Other Side of the Hill*). The volume has recently been reprinted in paperback by William Morrow & Co. Years later he modified his views on this matter, remarking that Hitler’s “decision was woven of several threads.” He said that General Blumentritt, Rundstedt’s ex-Chief-of-Staff, had told him that “the ‘halt’ had been called for more than military reasons, and that it was part of a political scheme to make peace easier to reach. If the BEF had been captured at Dunkirk, the British might have felt that their honor had suffered a stain which they must wipe out. By letting it escape Hitler hoped to conciliate them.” B.H. Liddell Hart, *History of the Second World War* (G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1970) pp74-5, 77, 80-3.

4. ☐ Maj. Gen. J.F.C. Fuller, in his concise and perceptive review of the military questions involved, pointed out that Rundstedt first ordered Hoth's and Kleist's Panzer Groups to temporarily halt on the evening of 23 May. "In the circumstances this was a sound decision. The German armored divisions needed rest and an overhaul... The truth is, that the whole area was one vast tank obstacle, and that Hitler, who had a better understanding of the capability of tanks than most of his generals, considered their use in the Dunkirk area would be an 'incredible blun der'... The evacuation was a phenomenal success, as so many British retreats have been... The causes of the success were outside German control." Fuller, *A Military History of the Western World, Vol. III: From the Seven Days Battle, 1862, to the Battle of Leyte Gulf, 1944* (Minerva Press, 1967) pp. 400-404. Another British observer, Alistair Horne, has written: "Three myths can be usefully dispatched... Thirdly, the fault for the 'Halt Order' cannot be placed solely at Hitler's door. Since the war, German generaldom has been committed for various reasons, which include both selfpreservation and professional pride, to blaming every war-time error and crime upon Hitler... But if anyone was primarily to blame, both on the evidence of the episode itself and of his past performance during the campaign, it was Rundstedt... He was an outstanding battle commander, but as a strategist he showed himself throughout to be almost as preconditioned by the experiences of the First World War as his French counterparts. On 24 May, it was the shock of what the British had done (in their brief offensive at Arras on 21 May) coupled with his ineradicable fears of what the French still could do, which principally decided Rundstedt, and, through him persuaded Hitler, to halt the Panzers." Horne, *To Lose A Battle: France 1940* (pb. ad. pp. 602-03. Penguin Books, 1979, \$5.95, ISBN: 0-14-00-50426).
5. ☐ Cajus Bakker, *The Luftwaffe War Diaries*, pb. ad. pp. 62-175. Translated by Frank Ziegler (Ballantine Books, 1980, \$3.95. ISBN: 0-34528799-1). This book was first published in Germany in 1964. Though far from definitive, it remains the best history available of the German air force in World War II.

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Bombs on Britain

Dr. Andreas R. WESSERLE

16 March 1981

PBS Television
“The Blitz”

Sirs:

Rarely have I come across a television broadcast more vicious in intent and more warped in execution than your recent “Blitz on Britain.” As a survivor of the mass air raid executed against my native city of Prague, Bohemia, on the Christian Holy Day of Palm Sunday, 1945, by the Anglo-American strategic bomber force — a raid that maimed or murdered thousands a few seconds before the conclusion of the Second World War — I say this:

1. There can be no comparison between the brutality of the Anglo-American bomber offensive, on one hand, and the minimality of the German-Italian efforts, on the other.

As the commander of the British strategic air offensive, Air Marshal Sir Arthur Harris shows in his *Bomber Offensive* (Macmillan, New York, 1947) 23 German cities had more than 60 percent of their built-up area destroyed; 46 had half of it destroyed. 31 communities had more than 500 acres obliterated: Berlin, 6427 acres; Hamburg, 6200 acres; Duesseldorf, 2003; Cologne (through air attack), 1994. By contrast, the three favorite targets of the Luftwaffe: London, Plymouth and Coventry, had 600 acres, 400, and just over 100 acres destroyed.

2. Anglo-American strategic bombers, according to official sources of the West German government in 1962, dropped 2,690,000 metric tons of bombs on Continental Europe; 1,350,000 tons were dropped on Germany within its 1937 boundaries; 180,000 tons on Austria and the Balkans; 590,000 tons on France; 370,000 tons on Italy; and 200,000 tons on miscellaneous targets such as Bohemia, Slovakia and Poland. By contrast, Germany dropped a total of 74,172 tons of bombs as well as V-1 and V-2 rockets and “buzz bombs” on Britain — five percent of what the Anglo-Saxons rained down on Germany.

The Federal German Government has established the minimum count — not an estimate — of 635,000 German civilians were killed in France, Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere.

3. Both Germany and Britain initiated air raids on naval and military targets as of 3 September 1939. However, when the British attacks on port installations in Northern Germany ended in disaster, with a devastating majority of bombers downed — the Battle of the German Bight — Britain switched over to less costly night air raids on civilian targets such as Berlin and the Ruhr

industrial region. By contrast, Germany replied in kind only in the winter months of 1940/41, a year later.

Observers indubitably British, such as the late Labour Minister Crossman, the scientist and writer C.P. Snow, and the Earl of Birkenhead, have demonstrated that it was not Germany but Britain that, after May, 1940, unleashed an official policy of unrestricted and unlimited raids on civilian populations under its new Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, and his science advisor, Dr. Lindemann. Professor Lindemann, the later Viscount Cherwell, coolly calculated that, by using a force of 10,000 heavy bombers to attack and destroy the 58 largest German cities, one-third of the population of Germany would be “de-housed.” The assumption, of course, also was that out of those 25-27 million homeless at least ten percent — 2.5 to 3 million people — would be killed. On this score alone, Winston Churchill and his advisors deserve to rank among the maddest mass murderers in history. In fact, as West German records show, 131 German towns were hit by heavy strategic raids. Only the courage of the Luftwaffe pilots, the effectiveness of the air defense network and the strength of the fire fighting organization worked together to prevent a bloodbath to the extent envisioned by the Prime Minister.

4. Blood baths did occur when conditions were right.

When the Anglo-American bombing policy reached its first grand climax in a raid on Hamburg that stretched over several days and nights in July, 1943, a minimum of 40,000 to 50,000 civilians burned to death.

With the defensive power of the Reich worn down in the second half of 1944 and in 1945, the Anglo-Saxons indulged in ever more massive extermination raids against Europe. Communities of little or no military value, even if attacked previously, were now pulverized, preferably under conditions of the utmost horror. Christian holy days, and dates and sites of famous art festivals were select occasions for raids. Many of the most beautiful cities of Europe and the world were systematically pounded into nothingness, often during the last weeks of the war, among them: Wuerzburg, Hildesheim, Darmstadt, Kassel, Nuremberg, Braunschweig. Little Pforzheim in south-west Germany had 17,000 people killed. Dresden, one of the great art centers and in 1945 a refuge for perhaps a million civilians, was decimated with the loss of at least 100,000 souls. Europe from Monte Cassino to Luebeck and Rostock on the Baltic, from Caen and Lisieux in France to Pilsen, Prague, Bruenn, Budapest and Bucharest reeled under the barbaric blows of the bombers.

5. Nor did the extermination raids stop with Europe.

Cigar-chomping General Curtis LeMay demonstrated in the Far East that record kills could be achieved without resort to atomic weapons. By applying the lessons learned in Europe to the wooden architecture of the Asian mainland and Japan he raised “fire storms” which surpassed even those of Hamburg, Pforzheim and Dresden-Mass raids by superheavy B-29 bombers against Osaka, Nagoya, Kobe and particularly, Tokyo-Yokohama, resulted in a minimum harvest of 125,000 to 150,000 kills per raid. More than 1.2 million Japanese civilians were killed through bombing. Millions of others fell victim to it, from Mukden, Manchuria, to Rangoon, Burma.

It goes without saying that LeMay and his colleagues could not have carried out their campaigns of mass annihilation without the backing of the highest political leaders in the land. In fact, the United States Government had placed orders for the immediate development of four-engined, superheavy, very-long-range bombers (the XB 15, the B-17, the XB 19, the B-24 and the B-29) starting in 1934.

Thus, the Roosevelt Administration had begun to lay plans for offensive, strategic, global war back in 1933, the year of its inception. With the later exception of Britain, none of the other “large” powers followed suit: neither France, Italy and Germany, nor Soviet Russia and Japan the latter with extensive holdings in the Pacific.

These are sobering facts. PBS, with its record of fine programming, has much to lose if it insists on presenting biassed reports such as “Blitz on Britain” or “UXB.” If you care to tap the unplumbed depths of sentimentality, envy and hatred, start a comic strip. In the meantime, we'll change channels.

Give poor Alistair Cooke, who has been mightily discomfited of late, a much-needed respite.

Sincerely,
Dr. A. R. Wesserle

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A Note From The Editor

The issue you now hold in your hands marks the beginning of our third year of continuous on-time publication of *The Journal of Historical Review* — an accomplishment of no small magnitude considering the incessant and sundry counter-efforts of the forcefully disagreeable.

You may notice that many of the pages herein have been set in a slightly smaller type and have a bit more depth. These improvements were incorporated with the distinct aim of bringing our readers an increased amount of reading without having to sacrifice to the higher costs associated with printing and mailing a heavier book.

But the sheer amount of quality Revisionist material available has been growing steadily of late, motivating us to make even further expansion plans for *The Journal*.

So, beginning with the next issue (Summer 1982), subscribers will be receiving a new 128-page quarterly rather than the usual 96-pages.

Additionally, we'll be setting the type sufficiently large to be comfortably read, but somewhat smaller than earlier issues.

Together, these changes will amount to about twice the material per issue, but with an accompanying subscription rate increase to only \$30 per year. As we expand *The Journal* format, incorporating more articles, costs necessarily increase typesetting, printing, mailing, fees, etc. But this is the price that must be paid to facilitate the publication of much more of the important Revisionist material and, at the same time, cover our costs, thereby ensuring the continued financial viability of both *The Journal* and the IHR.

Of course, the *IHR Newsletter* — as a more topical update and supplement to *The Journal* — will still be mailed regularly to our subscribers at no additional charge. So, you won't be paying more for less, but a little more for proportionately much more.

Now, to this issue. We have a self-published Barnes piece that has not appeared in any previous IHR publications; a revealing and analogous look at conscription by Dr. Jim Martin; a, concise survey of the uses of history by the IHR's founder, Willis Carto; and two articles — one by Mark Weber — that make for an essential understanding of one of the more ominous aspects of the \$17 million lawsuit against the IHR.

We also have plenty of appropriate correspondence and numerous book reviews.

And, as always, your comments and suggestions are encouraged.

Correspondence

Comments on the Last Issue

Dr. Howard Stein's letter of the 13th April (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981) honors him and (pace Signor Maiolini) adds to the intellectual caliber of the great debate. To Stein's "tu quoque" in regard to sociobiology and in defense of psychohistory, I must ruefully concede (to change the language employed) "touché." I am very willing also to concede his charge that the re-examination of the holocaust myth is by no means without ulterior motives.

It seems to me that there are two problems involved. The first is the historical piety of seeking, as far as is ever possible when dealing with the intangible past, objective truth. The second is an attempt to deal with the enormously destructive effect of this particular myth upon our culture, civilization, society and politics. There can be, I think, little doubt that the uncritical acceptance of the holocaust myth as a kind of "holy writ" has been of immense financial and political profit to Israel. But that is the least important of its effects. It has inhibited and distorted all studies of race; it has inhibited any rational discussion of the increasingly urgent question of eugenics; it has paralyzed the implementation of a rational foreign policy by the United States and its client kingdoms; and it has perpetuated an unjust and unhealthy teutonophobia in the general public. In sum, it has distorted and, indeed, poisoned, the corporate mind of Western Civilization.

Professor Stein advocates empathy. I entirely agree. As any competent actor knows, there can be no valid understanding of a character (and, by extension, of a people) without that imaginative leap "inside" that character. But empathy is not synonymous with sympathy or advocacy. But again I must honor Dr. Stein. Neither scientists nor historians can be detached automata without ties and loyalties. History "wie es eigentlich gewesen" is a noble but impossible aim. Nevertheless we must seek the truth as far as is humanly possible. It must be acutely painful and require great integrity and courage for Dr. Stein to question in any degree the holocaust myth.

History is inevitably replete with myths. No historical statement beyond the crude basic level of dates and names is, or ever can be, the whole and absolute truth. But some myths are far more dangerous than others. And that is my answer to Dr. Stein's question: "Why do I need to disprove this particular myth and not some other?"

On a different matter, I must say that I found Dr. Wesserle's article, "Bombs on Britain" somewhat irritating. Churchill was a megalomaniacal monster. His involvement in the dirty business of the *Lusitania*, his deliberate and skillfull promotion of a war psychosis in Britain in the 1930s (in the service of his own insatiable ambition), his commitment (for the same reason) to "unconditional surrender," which resulted in the destruction of that British empire of whose perpetuation he so often claimed to be the dedicated champion; the plans to use gas and, even more horrible, anthrax bombs on Germany-all these things are indictment enough. But for Dr. Wesserle to complain that the AngloAmerican air forces dropped more bombs on Germany than the Germans did on Britain is to divert from the essential point; Germany simply lacked the capacity to do things on the same scale. I have nothing but sympathy for Germany. I think she was treated in 1919

with appalling injustice and cruelty; that Hitler's aims of reversing the Carthaginian verdict of Versailles were wholly reasonable and just; that the Second World War was suicidal insanity and that the declaration of war on Germany by Britain and France in 1939 was monstrously criminal. But after all that has been admitted, it is still ridiculous to suggest that war, once it is in progress, should be restricted to a sporting balance of forces between the belligerents.

Wayland D. Smith, Ph.D.

REVISIONISM À LA FREUD?

I've just completed reading the new issue of *The Journal for Historical Review* (Winter 1981). You've put together a really great issue. Devastating. Faurisson, Wesserle, Lutton — all great!

I was interested to read Ezio M. Maiolini's rather anxious letter on Dr. Stein. I know any "Freudian" connotations drives some of your readers up the wall! But we can learn from the neo-Freudians as well as the libertarians. I'm not a Freudian myself but there's some important stuff being written by the psychohistorians that we can't ignore. By the way, if Ezio would read some of Dr. Stein's other material he'd discover that Howard does make mention of the situation in 17th Century Ukraine! On the other hand, I agree that some of the psychohistorian's ruminations about a "feminized France," etc. turn me off!

Bezalel Chaim
The Revisionist Press

DITTO?

We thank you for printing the letter by Ezio M. Maiolini in your Winter 1981 issue. We, "don't want the events, of World War II apologized or psychoanalyzed into history," either!

We will add to his comments about Commentary or The American Spectator that, speaking for ourselves, we do not subscribe to these because they are the itype of publications that they are. We do subscribe to *The Journal* because of its historical value!

Mr. Maiolini's letter makes some good points!

Mr. & Mrs. L.E. Wicks

MORE ON 'ORADOUR'

Thank you for your letter of 23 November. I should learn my lesson by now and wait at least a few days before responding to something that irritates me. I won't be so intemperate this time and will try and give an overview of the German side of the "Oradour" story as well as respond to Mr. Beck (see *The JHR*, Winter 1981).

Actually, I was very happy to read Mr. Lutton's "The Miracle of Dunkirk Reconsidered" book review, as it helped fill in the pieces for some research that I have been working on for years. Unfortunately I didn't encounter this piece until after having already written you!

I am enclosing a clipping that you may have already seen from a Sunday newspaper magazine supplement titled Parade, which is rather notorious for its propaganda pieces. I assume this little piece is probably based on Mr. Beck's work. The line about the SS departing the town singing and playing accordions is so ludicrous that it defies all credibility!

At any rate, I have more than enough information on hand to I hope effectively refute some of Mr. Beck's contentions. I am enclosing also for your benefit a photocopy of my article on "Oradour" that appeared in Siegrunen #21. Mr. Beck did not really address himself to the most important points made therein. It is also fairly apparent that Mr. Beck is probably totally ignorant of the German point-of-view. I would have assumed that in writing his book he would have at least consulted the writings left behind by German "survivors" of the "Oradour" incident. The fact that he probably didn't makes it a little difficult for me to take his work seriously!

Here then are the most important points of the "Oradour" story from the German side:

1. 9 June 1944: Obersturmführer Gerlach, ordnance officer of the 2nd SS Assault Gun detachment/"Das Reich" Division is ambushed by French partisans and taken into a town for interrogation. The signpost to the town reads: Oradour-sur-Glane. The town is filled with signs of partisan activity. Gerlach is sentenced to death and escapes execution only after his driver obstructs the executioner giving Gerlach the chance to flee. His testimony is given later in the day to both the commander of the "Der Führer" Regiment and its "Oradour" Battalion (Sturmbannführer Diekmann). Thus prior to the massacre there is strong evidence of partisan-terrorist activity and collusion in Oradour itself. This was recorded in the divisional Tagebuch for 9 June 1944.
2. During the night of 9/10 June, Sturmbannführer Kaempfe was captured and then murdered by French partisans. He commanded the 3rd Battalion/"Der Führer." Even though he had already been killed partisan representatives sent a ransom demand to the "Der Führer" command post on the morning of 10 June. Two local Frenchmen also brought information that an important German officer was being held by the partisans in the town of Oradour. Sturmbannführer Adolf Kiekmann, a close friend of Kaempfe decided to follow up on this information with two platoons from 3rd Company/1st Battalion/Regiment "Der Führer."
3. Diekmann and his task force reached the outskirts of Oradour-sur-Glane by the early afternoon of 10 June. A rear area German medical dressing station was encountered en route. It had been severely fire damaged. Inside were found the shackled and chained bodies of German wounded and medics who had been burned alive inside of the building by the partisans. At this point Diekmann's duty became clear: according to the "Sperrle Decree," any act of terror committed against German forces behind the frontlines had to be met with an immediate punitive response. The town of Oradour, which had already been implicated twice, by Ostuf. Gerlach and the French informers, was now going to feel a reprisal action no matter what.
4. Diekmann's command entered Oradour and rounded up the citizenry. The Mayor was questioned as to the extent of partisan activities in the area and the whereabouts of Stubaf. Kaempfe. He professed ignorance. At this point one platoon was told to search the houses. Nearly every building which they entered yielded up a supply of illicit weapons! On this question the survivors of the platoon are adamant.
5. By now there was no longer any question about the links between the villagers and the partisans. The Mayor was sent out of the north end of the town with instructions to bring back Stubaf. Kaempfe alive within 30 minutes. If he failed to do so the men in the village would be shot. Naturally he failed to return. According to the soldiers the village men were marched out into a nearby field after a half-hour had passed and shot. Stubaf. Diekmann

then ordered the destruction of the village. The women and children were to be held in the church, which was the only building ordered to be spared!

6. The SS troops-a majority of whom were French citizens due to their Alsatian birth-began igniting the houses. There was no thought that the fire would get out of control. The church was specifically not to be set afire; the women and children were there both for their safety and so as not to interfere with the operations. No one had any idea that hidden partisan ammunition caches would quickly take the fire out of control, yet this was what happened.
7. The soldiers had to protect themselves from the hail of zig-zagging bullets that came out of the burning buildings. There were also numerous explosions caused by grenades or high explosives that had also been secreted. All surviving soldiers are clear on one point; the church attic or belfry burst into flames from possibly a stray mortar round (not of German manufacture!). This in turn touched off a munitions cache hidden in the top of the church which spelled the end of the 500 women and children inside of the building. All of the defendants at the post-war "Oradour" trial testified to this point independently. Nothing could be done to provide assistance, the inferno killed everyone in a matter of a few minutes at best.
8. Had the church been intended for use as a place of execution it is inconceivable that the men of the village would not have been placed in there as well. But such was not the case! The atrocity writers have never been able to explain this oversight on the part of the super-efficient Germans.
9. All personnel involved in this incident were filled with horror and disbelief. Accounts of the SS departing from Oradour singing and playing accordions are ludicrous. Stubaf. Diekmann, somewhat in a state of shock reported all of the details to the "Der Führer" commander, who was also horrified by the loss of the women and children. He referred the matter on to the Divisional commander who chose to postpone any investigation until after "Das Reich's" critical combat mission in Normandy was fulfilled. Stubaf. Diekmann accepted full personal responsibility for the tragedy and vowed to die on the battlefield to restore the honor of the regiment. To this end he refused any further to wear a steel helmet in combat and he died a short time later from a shell splinter in the head.
10. In December 1953 the Vice-chairman of the French communist party openly admitted that Oradour-sur-Glane was used as a regional headquarters and armory for a communist partisan band during the war.
11. While Oradour's fate was a tragic incident of war, the blame for what happened must be shared by all sides-it was by no means an exclusive German "war crime," there is enough evidence to demonstrate that by now!

As for Mr. Beck's specific points in his letter to the Winter 1981 *Journal*.

1. Mr. Beck found evidence of the use of bullets and grenades inside of the church, which is interesting because bullets and grenades composed the better part of the stored partisan armaments!
2. As for Madame Rouffanche, she most certainly would have been shot if she had tried to make a run for it so there is no contesting this point!
3. As for shooting the men in barns and other buildings this is possible, but the surviving soldiers do not remember doing this. Incidentally, the village of Oradour was back in partisan hands for the two days following the incidents and a number of "embellishments" were thought to have been made during this period. The most interesting being that some of the bodies were relocated to the oven of the town bakery. An effort was made to indict the SS men for having stuffed some people alive in the ovens- but this was later proved to have happened after the fact and after the SS were out of the area! It is therefore within the

realms of possibility that the partisans may have relocated some of the bodies of the executed men.

4. For the record, Stubaf. Diekmann's two platoons at Oradour did not have any explosives, flame-throwers or heavy weapons with them, although post-war atrocity writers have since bestowed these items upon them. That the damage to the town came from more than just "fire" seems self-evident from the photographs and indeed from Mr. Beck's personal testimony. The probability that much of the extensive damage was caused by stored partisan munitions is quite likely given all of the evidence and testimony.
5. I cannot even imagine how Mr. Beck could write an entire book on Oradour and not even seem to know how to spell the name of the gentleman who took upon himself the full blame for the incident, Stubaf. Adolf Diekmann. To call him mentally unbalanced is somewhat of a slander.

Diekmann's decision to sacrifice himself was an act of personal honor and not madness!

I happen to personally believe that the German side of the "Oradour" story is, by and large, the correct one. The SS men may have been many things, but they were not liars or criminals. and they had a "code of honor" to live up to. In contrast the partisans in France and elsewhere, were often recruited from the criminal underworld or the indigenous communist movement and carried out a campaign of unscrupulous terrorism that defies any moral standards whatsoever!

What is probably most irritating about Mr. Beck's book and the massive "Nazi-atrocity" publishing industry, is that they are able to promote one side of a story as "holy writ" while totally ignoring the other side of the picture. Of course this is perhaps the reason for the existence of the *Journal of Historical Review*.

Thank you for letting me make the above points. At least it will give some people a different perspective on the situation.

Richard Landwehr

COMMENTS ON THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS

I thank you very much for the winter issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. As usual, I found the book captivating to the point of being able to complete the entire work in a matter of hours.

The two articles by Dr. Faurisson on the "Gas chambers" rated right up there with Dr. Buchner's thesis on "The Problem of Cremator Hours" (*The JHR*, Fall 1981). I am amazed beyond description at Mr. Faurisson's forensic abilities in destroying with seeming ease the entire holocaust edifice of the past 36 years. I sincerely hope the good doctor will win his appeal against the French courts who seem to be caught in the same time warp as their German counterparts!

I am absolutely sickened at the turn of events in your case with Mr. Mermelstein and Cox. What a lame "defense" to fall back on! Judicial notice of what? Survivor testimony? The question should be raised "gassed with what substance?" "Gassed in what facilities?"

I am confident, however, of Mark Weber's abilities in preparing a devastating thesis for the IHR in this case. However concerned as I am about the future of IHR and intellectual freedom I must ask if you have considered presenting before the "court" (kangaroo) the four revealing documents concerning the use of Zyklon B as cited by Dr. Faurisson in his thesis "The Gas Chambers; Truth or Lie?" They are Nuremberg Documents;

1. NI-9098- Degesch's field of operations; eight lectures on aspects of.
2. NI-9912- Directives for the use of prussic acid (Zyklon) *For the Destruction of Vermin!*

Two technical studies by Gerhard Peters: (contained in the Library of Congress.)

1. "Blausäure zur Schädlingsbekämpfung"(QD1, S2, N.F. HFT. 20 1933) 75pp
2. "Die Hochwirksamen Gase und Dämpfe in der Schädlingsbekämpfung" (QD1, S2, N.F., HFT. 47A, 1942) 143pp

These works in themselves should be sufficient to destroy Mr. Cox and Mermelstein's vile attempts at stifling genuine inquiry into an area of "managed history." As I see it Mr. Mermelstein is attempting to continue (1) The falsification of history, (2) Attempting to circumvent the Constitution's Bill of Rights under the provision of a person's right to dissent, (3) Defamation of character in accusing the Germans of murder while offering no evidence as to the alleged murder weapon i.e. ("gas chambers"). It would be proper in this circumstance for the Steuben Society to prepare legal action against Mr. Mermelstein for defamation of character.

Please keep me informed of progress regarding legal action and of Mr. Faurisson's success with the French inquisitors. Please find enclosed two years subscription remittal.

Theodore G. Sterner, Jr.

MONUMENT-BUILDING FOR FUN and PROFIT

Just a few remarks about "Remembering the 'Holocaust'" on page 5 of newsletter of Sept. How about:

1. An Armenian Memorial Park of 1915 to commemorate the butchery of more than two million Armenians by the Turks.
2. A Famine Memorial Park to commemorate the mass starvation deaths of millions of Irish by their British masters in the 1850s.
3. A Russian Patriot Memorial Park to commemorate the 70 million plus Russian Christians who have been slaughtered by the Mongols who styled themselves "Russian" bolsheviks, since 1917.
4. A Wounded Knee Memorial Park for all the Sioux.
5. A Mee Lai Memorial Park.
6. A Japanese-American Internment Memorial Park.

Surely Americans of Armenian, Irish, Russian, Sioux, Vietnamese and Japanese ancestry have a right to have their history memorialized by a 27 acre section of some Denver park by the city since there are certainly Americans of such descent living in and paying taxes to the Denver government.

The reason that these "survivors" in the U.S. always get their largesse is simply because they scream and shout so much and all the rest of us simply stay silent and apathetic.

H.R. MacDonough, M.D.

ZIONISM's VESTED INTEREST

Enclosed are two letters to the editor of the Los Angeles Times which are almost identical. Also, the local talkshow hostess was delighted to tell the audience about Johnson's ruling. She reluctantly let me make a few points before she cut me off.

The article "Holocaust Given Legal Recognition" (*Los Angeles Times* 10 Oct) raises several important questions:

Is it now illegal — punishable by fine, imprisonment, or both — to doubt the reality of the "Holocaust"?

Given the fact that there has been considerable evolution, mutation, and contradiction in the "Holocaust" story, what is the "legal" version?

In recent years we've witnessed the judiciary extending their purview beyond mere interpretation of law. It has played a major role in determining public- especially social-policy. Is the precedent now set for judicial involvement in all questions of history? Are we moving toward total thought control?

I should like to recall for the benefit of the academic and legal folks that judge Johnson based his decision on: "Any number of sources. Many books. Sources of reasonably undisputed accuracy." When requested to name these or produce them he impatiently refused to do so. Traditionally, judges rule on the admissibility of evidence; judge Johnson seems to have developed a disdain for it.

I'm sure you've thought about this, but what would happen if Johnson ruled the other way? Could we trashcan the Nuremberg Trials? Would the billions in German "reparations" have to be paid back? Would the wrongfully accused and convicted immigrant American citizens be exonerated, repatriated and recompensed? How about all the perjury convictions (for Rabbis, too)? Rascals and thugs like Wiesenthal, Mermelstein, etc., etc., would be exposed for what they are. I believe if the judge had even refused to rule (if he couldn't give a fair ruling-it would take real character), it would have been the end of Zionism. I sure hope there will be an appeal.

Paul G. Smith

MAKING IT ALL SIMPLER

I read your Fall, 1981 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

The article on "Cremator Hours and Incineration Time" was quite fascinating, as was the one by Stäglich on West German Justice.

However, and I submit this in all kindness, is it not probable that such arguments could be presented with less words?

I suggest that many readers would simply give up because of many statements, all arriving at the same conclusion, repeated over and over.

Other patriots have pointed out the inability of our younger generation to read because of the deliberately created chaos called "our educational system." I think they are right. It also follows that writing for purposes of informing the public should be directed at the intelligent American

who has less ability to understand words than his grandfather had instead of being directed to the IQ genius in the top 1/10th of 1 % of the population.

I realize you feel your arguments should be presented in a “scholarly” fashion. However, “scholarly” arguments reach a microscopic proportion of the population today.

Pastor Sheldon Emry

MORAL SUPPORT

I have read your publications on the Holocaust debate and agree to the fullest extent with the experts' findings of facts on this subject.

It pains me as a German-American to see the effect today of this monumental falsification of history on relations between the U.S. and Germany and also in our own relations as naturalized citizens with the Jewish portion of the U.S. population. I believe that never in the history of all mankind has such an infamous and calculated monstrosity of whole-sale falsification of history been perpetrated on such a scale. It is equally sad for me to see that there seems no end to this.

I should like to compliment the authors of your articles for their efforts and at the same time commend them all for their courage in the face of an overwhelmingly hostile press, public and academic community. It takes true courage to stand up and be counted in the light of such odds.

Hermann A. Gerke

WE'RE BLUSHING

Since “The Donation of Constantine” has a force ever been so badly outnumbered, or faced so ruthless a foe, or fought for such lofty goals? Much more is at stake here than mere academic truth. The consequences of stifling the truth are nothing less than the world’s economy in tatters, nuclear disaster hovering on all sides, and the rudderless West turning in circles.

Yours is surely the bravest, loneliest, most perilous fight imaginable in these times ... and the most important. Have no illusions: the wider you pry open the shutters, the greater your personal peril. The loss of your livelihoods and even of your lives may serve as tragic proof that the Institute is beginning to make a difference. I salute you for braving death itself so that the truth may live.

My enclosed book order is a poor token of my heartfelt respect and encouragement for your work. As circumstances permit, I will follow this with more tangible help and support. In the meanwhile, please accept token orders and mere words for the debt of thanks that the West owes you.

Dr. R. H. Fischer

National Broadcasting Company, Inc.
NBC Morning Show Editor

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10020 16

December 1981

Yesterday morning a Phil Donahue segment was broadcast with his guests Mel Mermelstein and William Cox.

We take serious issue with what both Messrs. Mermelstein and Cox asserted as true.

Erroneous statements were made that we're sure gave the majority of your viewers a drastically distorted and even false picture of the work of our institute, any affiliations it may or may not have, and the nature of the controversy surrounding the lawsuit (*Mermelstein vs. IHR et al*) and the Holocaust in general.

We would like an opportunity to respond to the claims made by these two gentlemen.

Mr. Donahue had a copy of Dr. A.R. Butz' book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* which he presented and on which he based some of his questions to his guests. The Institute for Historical Review is the publisher of that book in the U.S.A. and we insist that your viewers were given a false impression as to the nature, purpose and scope of the book by the answers to Mr. Donahue's questions.

Therefore, Dr. Butz and I would like the opportunity to present our positions with respect to the statements made by Messrs. Mermelstein. and Cox on an equal-time basis, on the same program with Mr. Donahue.

I trust you will consider this request in pursuit of a balanced presentation of all significant views on an issue at controversy.

J. Marcellus,
Director
Institute for Historical Review

Errata

Due to an unexpected hospitalization a number of errors, mainly in the indexing of references, appeared in "The Problem of Cremator Hours and Incineration Time" (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 2, #3, Fall 1981). I wish to apologize to the reader and submit herewith a list of corrections. Text and calculations remain unaffected by these corrections. (Online version has been corrected.)

Dr. Reinhard K. Buchner
Westminster, CA 14 September 1981

Corrections

p219, ref. 3 (page 103) should read (page 23); p229, ref. 13 (page 60) should read (page 152); p230, ref. (D. Felderer 11, W. Stäglich 16) should read (D. Felderer 16, W. Stäglich 11); p237, ref. 11 (... incineration times today.) add (page 75); p238, ref. 19 (page 181) should read (page 214); p240, ref. 19 (page 177) should read (page 210); p241, ref. 19 (page 177) should read (page

210); p242, ref. 22 (page 27) should read (page 236); p248, 20) Emil Aretz ... 1979 should read 1970; p228, The quote taken from Reitlinger 8 "The camp was open for business on 14 January 1940" (page 110) should read "... on 14 June 1940" (page 110).

Belated but grateful acknowledgement is hereby extended to League Review, 9/11 Kensington High St., London W8 5NP, for the following articles:

"Fire in the Reichstag," by Peter Wainwright (*The JHR*, Summer 1981). "The Enigma of Lawrence," by Desmond Hansen (*The JHR*, Fall 1981).

Spring 1982 (Vol. 3, No. 1), page 15

Peacetime Registration for Conscription — Forty Years Ago

DR. JAMES J. MARTIN

On 16 October 1940 male residents of the United States between the ages of 18 and 35 registered nation-wide for possible induction into the armed services of the country. It was the first machinery for the introduction of peacetime conscription in the country's history, being the operational consequence of an act of Congress signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt a month earlier. It represented one of the visible results of a five-month attack on the sensibilities of the American public conducted by one of the best-financed and most thoroughly organized propaganda machines the land had ever known. It grew directly out of a wave of hysteria which swept the Eastern seaboard, in particular, following the disastrous fortunes of the French and British war parties in the military campaigns in the spring of 1940, when a hundred thousand German specialists overcame a massive Franco-British (largely conscript) army in a few weeks of May and June.

The German invasion of Poland early in September 1939 was followed by declarations of war on Germany by Britain and France, formally launching the Second World War. The swift termination of the Polish campaign was followed by several attempts to negotiate a peace, all of which were rejected by Britain and France (though there was little belligerent action taking place during these late months of 1939 and early months of 1940). But late March and early April 1940 indicated that the war was about to be spread the rest of the way across the Atlantic seaboard of Western Europe. As this began to happen, followed by new Anglo-French setbacks among their small buffer state allies, concern for the survival of the 1919-39 status quo began to grow in the U.S.A. among the Eastern financial and industrial-commercial circles long entwined with their counterparts in Britain and France. The muscle, brains and money of the American North Atlantic Francophile and Anglophile traditionalists were not long in being mobilized a second time in support for this dying old order in Western Europe. Several programs began to enlist support, including drives for the supply of goods, money, military and naval hardware, and related matters. This was the short range aspect. The eventual supply of armed men was a more long range one, and the impulse to introduce conscription, originally announced as intended for service in the Western Hemisphere only, was the form in which this was expressed.

On 4 April 1940 the symbol of the British war party, Winston Churchill, assumed direction over what was euphemistically described as Britain's "defense program." Five days later the Germans frustrated a British effort to spread the war by pre-emptively occupying Denmark and Norway, and the effect in America was the unloosing of a surge of confused perturbation. The beneficiaries of the corrupt system installed in 1919 clearly saw that it would never survive without massive American support.

On 29 April 1940 there occurred a famous "secret" meeting in the offices of Lawyer Frederic R. Coudert, British legal advisor in the U.S.A. between 1915 and 1920. Among those attending were Thomas W. Lamont, probably the most influential alumnus of Harvard College, and a part-

ner in the banking house of J.P. Morgan and Co., the firm which had the lion's share of the American investment in British victory in the war of 1917-1918. Also there were Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University and a ferocious warrior Anglophile, Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State under President Herbert Hoover (Republican) and soon to be Secretary of War under Roosevelt (Democrat), as well as Lewis Douglas, former Budget Director under the latter. In this prestigious and affluent company there was plotted out a number of dramatic and far-ranging changes in the United States' relations with the countries at war in western Europe, as well as momentous alterations in the way of life at home. (This famous secret meeting was leaked very soon, and was the subject of wide commentary at that time; probably the most succinct account and what it portended was by Sen. D. Worth Clark, "The Men Behind Our War Scare," *Scribners' Commentator*, August 1940.)

The Harvard establishment serving as the advance attack in gearing American public opinion for war and conscription had hardly begun. On 17-19 May 1940 the Associated Harvard Clubs met in New York City, presided over by Lamont. Here, 34 members of the Class of 1917 drafted a subtly-worded letter addressed to the — current Harvard class by way of the undergraduate newspaper, the *Crimson*, unbraiding the young men for their "lack of moral responsibility" in refusing to go along with the war drive. A similar blast came from Archibald MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress. MacLeish, an anti-war activist *par excellence* in 1935, and Robert Sherwood, the writer of a famous pacifist play, *Idiot's Delight*, in 1936, had become belligerent literary warriors by now, effecting a stunning pirouette *à deux* in enlisting in the brigades of the Administration's typewriter hussars.

Two days later (21 May 1940) the Harvard Alumni Bulletin printed in support of the hawkish contingent a letter which had appeared in the *New York Times* three days earlier, written by Grenville Clark, an opulent New York attorney and member of the Harvard Corporation, which contained a similar program to that which had originated in the famed 29 April hush-hush meeting. Clark, among other things, advocated a drafted army of 3,000,000 men. He reiterated this call in several subsequent public speeches, and in one which he delivered prior to that time, at a dinner in New York City on 8 May.

Continued student skepticism of the fright talk and suggestions that the U.S.A. was about to be invaded by German armies after finishing off France and Britain, drew other attacks. On Harvard Class Day, 18 June 1940, a Boston bond-broker denounced what he termed the "cowardice" of the undergraduates. And two days after that, James B. Conant, president of Harvard and an enthusiastic warrior as well (he was to become High Commissioner of occupied Germany about five years later), expressed deep regret over what he viewed as America's "creeping paralysis of our loyalties," by which he meant, presumably, to Britain's war party. Conant's was one of a number of general attacks on the alleged "moral" weakness of the nation's young men, in which Lamont voiced agreement. But nothing was said about "morality" when it came to Lamont's friend and fellow Harvard alumnus, Richard Whitney, of the New York Stock Exchange, who had just previously been convicted and sent to prison.

On 7 June 1940 the lead *New York Times* editorial came out for immediate conscription. It was obvious Pres. Roosevelt and his aides were for it, but Congress, especially the House, did not favor action that fast. However, two weeks later (20 June) the conscription bill was introduced in the Senate. The first draft, which contemporaries such as Paul Mallon insisted had much of the handiwork of Grenville Clark and Julius Ochs Adler of the *New York Times* in it, originally called for registering all men between the ages of 18 and 65 (some forty-two million), and paying those who were to be selected from this number (an expected 7,000,000) the princely pay of \$5 a month while in service. Grenville Clark, who functioned prominently in the Paramount Pictures

Corporation reorganization, had just presented a bill for \$957,000 for his services (see Thurman Arnold, *The Folklore of Capitalism*) a sum equivalent to several millions of dollars in 1981 purchasing power.*

In actuality, military service from this immense number does not seem to have been the desired goal of Roosevelt, despite the vociferous championing from Clark and Adler, as well as a large contingent of others such as Conant, Lamont, Stimson, W.J. "Wild Bill" Donovan (who was to be the first chief of the ancestor of the CIA, the Office of Strategic Services, or OSS), and others in the club reflected in *Who's Who* and the *Social Register* urging the adoption of this mobilization of cannon fodder for the support of Britain's war Tories. Roosevelt had in mind a universal service bill, a kind of majestic combination of all his projected agencies for mobilizing all the youth of both sexes into one or two years of "national service." He got instead the Burke-Wadsworth Bill.

The drive to install conscription, though highly desired by the Roosevelt regime, was a bi-partisan one, as was the resistance to it. The U.S.A. all through the late 1930s really developed a war party and an anti-war party, both of which crossed over all ideological lines. A left-to-right spectrum grew on both sides of the struggle. An example is seen in the conscription bill itself, jointly sponsored by an anti-New Deal Democrat in the Senate, Edward R. Burke of Nebraska, defeated in the primaries and therefore not a candidate for re-election in the coming 1940 election, and a conservative Republican in the House of Representatives, James W. Wadsworth, from upstate New York, a long-time outspoken supporter of conscription since 1919. That such a pair could be found to put their names to a measure in support of the Administration's plans for the American future tells us much about the nature of the "two party system."

But contemporaries observing the affair pointed out that neither man had much of anything to do with the bill itself. The widely syndicated columnist Paul Mallon 7 Aug 1940 pointed out that the actual bill was a product of the Military Training Camps Association of New York, consisting of businessmen, attorneys and reserve officers, and showed the construction efforts of several persons, including Grenville Clark, Adler, the general manager of the *New York Times*, Col Donovan, Conant, and attorney Elihu Root, Jr., son of a former Republican Secretary of State. The bill contained among other things a 200-word sentence, a masterpiece of legalistic confused botchery, but which provided for the prosecution of "anyone who in any manner shall knowingly fail or neglect to perform any duty required of him or in the execution of this act." While violation of the conscription act of 1917 was just a misdemeanor, violation of this new one was a felony, to be punished upon conviction by a possible five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. So, despite Roosevelt's hope to obtain a law which could be used to turn the armed forces into a gigantic welfare agency, he was being proffered a ferocious scheme to facilitate a level of militarism in the land utterly beyond comparison with any ever seen in the country previously.

On 25 July 1940 the bill was reported out of committee, and on the 31st, debate began in the Senate. At once, those Senators traditionally associated with the Populist-Progressive tradition took to the floor in bitter opposition, crossing the party lines in generous numbers. Based mainly in the Midwest and High Plains states, they had substantial support from many other areas, stretching from West Virginia to Washington state and California, aided by Administration adversaries among the Republicans who were not notably identified with this Populist-Progressive background. Particularly resistant to this draft bill were Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, George Norris of Nebraska, Rush Holt of West Virginia, Ernest Lundeen and Gerald P. Nye of the Dakotas, Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota, Arthur Capper of Kansas, Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, Edwin Johnson of Colorado, Hiram Johnson of California, and Homer Bone of Washington. But a substantial number of others were to ally themselves in the ensuing weeks of debate, and a roll

call of all would occupy a lot of space: Walsh, Maloney, Tydings, Tobey, Lodge, Bridges, Reynolds, Danaher, Gillette of Iowa, Ashurst of Arizona, McCarran of Nevada, Frazier, Downey, Barbour, Overton, Townsend, to be joined by such powerful figures in the Republican conservative fold as Robert A. Taft of Ohio and Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, both of whom were as bitterly opposed to the draft bill as Wheeler and Norris. In the House there were also formidable adversaries, including such as Hamilton Fish, Lewis Ludlow, Martin Dies, Joseph Martin of Massachusetts, and William Lemke, a stalwart of Midwest Populist farm loyalties and a particularly feared personality by the growing band of totalitarian liberals.

Wheeler was probably the most vigorous of the enemies of this bill, and earned himself the deep and unforgiving hostility of the Administration. His opposition began within days after the Burke-Wadsworth bill was introduced, well before debate began. Said Sen. Wheeler on 25 June 1940, speaking of the panic propaganda which accompanied its introduction: "I don't believe in any emergency. The only emergency is that conjured up in the minds of a few people who want to see us go to war and send our youth to Asia and Europe."

The list of the nationally-prominent people in opposition to the conscription bill is a very lengthy one, and grew during the Senate hearings in August. The Administration's supporters included a bi-partisan core of supporters of conscription with pedigrees extending back for 25 years, many of them not from Roosevelt's own party. The journalistic lineup nationally was about 50-50, and probably was typified by the likes of Walter Lippmann among the pros and H.L. Mencken representing the antis. (Lippmann in the previous World War had enthusiastically recommended the draft to President Woodrow Wilson also, though a recent biographer points out that after its establishment as law in 1917, Lippmann was one of the very first to seek exemption from it.) Mencken in his 4 August 1940 piece in the *Baltimore Sun*, "Quick Step to War," thought many New Dealers were losing their enthusiasm of the spring and early summer for conscription, but that it had now become part of the offensive aimed at electing FDR for the third time, also upcoming. Nevertheless, enormous pressure was being put on people everywhere to go along with the effort to sell it. Pro-draft elements scared many from signing anti-conscription petitions, and the attitude among so many college faculties was so fiercely pro-conscription that most of their young male students grew inhibited and passive. *Time* magazine bellowed all through the hearings as though the bill had already been passed, and the rigged *Fortune* and Gallup polls showed increasing numbers favoring it. But some Senators, like Wheeler and Vandenberg, reported receiving many thousands of letters opposing the draft in July and August 1940. And the senatorial speeches against the Burke-Wadsworth bill got hotter. Wheeler on 10 August wanted the Administration to submit the question to a popular referendum: "If the proponents of conscription feel it is necessary to have the draft to save our democracy," Wheeler mocked their rhetoric, "they ought to be willing to submit the question to the people." But Wheeler knew full well Roosevelt did not dare to do that. He fully remembered two years before when the referendum proposed by Rep. Lewis Ludlow, which would have required a favorable national referendum before a war declaration, had been narrowly defeated by the application of incredible political pressure.

Others in the Senate added similar opposition. Walsh on 20 Aug insisted, "until voluntary enlistments on a fair basis had been tried, and there is evidence of a real need, I am not disposed to embrace, in peace time, the power of the government to conscript." Hiram Johnson, who probably represented best on the Pacific Coast the anti-militarist strain in the Populist-Progressive impulse, denounced the draft bill as "a menace to our liberties," and others publicized the recently-republicized attack on the conscription drive of 125 years earlier, by Daniel Webster, in Charles A. Beard's recently-published *Rise of American Civilization*.

Sobered, the Senate Military Affairs Committee whittled down some of the dimensions of the proposed bill, especially in the age brackets contemplated for registration, as well as some of the language it contained. But Roosevelt importuned prestigious Army and Navy officers to testify against dependence on voluntary enlistment and in favor of conscription, including his compliant Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall. And Marshall's new superior, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, probably earned first place in the hysteria steeplechase in August 1940 when he claimed the country was in grave danger of invasion by the German armies while stubbornly holding out for conscription of "the whole manpower of the United States from 18 to 64." But early in August the Senate committee in its seventh draft of the bill sharply cut the total number of possible registrerees. Roosevelt himself was extremely wary about making a public statement in support of conscription, knowing what political dynamite it was, though he did issue a mild endorsement of "selective training" 2 August. The bill was supposed to be reported for a vote on 5 August. It was delayed until the 9th, and then it was announced that more hearings would be held instead. On the 14th, the Senate was considered to be about equally divided on the bill's merits, after a 3-hour speech the previous day by Sen. Wheeler, in which he once more applied a satirical approach to the pro-draft propagandists, remarking that if conscription was the "democratic" way, then Stalinist Russia and Hitlerite Germany were the great exemplars of "democracy," in view of their conscription programs. Sen. Taft also continued his vigorous vocal opposition.

Part of the reason for the Senate's wariness on the Burke-Wadsworth bill was the knowledge that the big labor union federations, the AFL and CIO, as well as the railroad brotherhoods, were against it, as well as the farmers' unions, and many millions of religiously-affiliated, especially among the Catholics and the Baptists. The misleading aspect of the pro-draft propaganda was the attitude reflected in about half the newspapers, and the two main public opinion polls, which neglected to tell the U.S. public that the French, with 6,000,000 conscripts under arms in the spring of this very year, had been defeated in a few weeks by a small collection of about a hundred thousand German military specialists. But big ideas of national regimentation were loose, partially documented favorably by two Dartmouth College professors, Harold J. Tobin and Percy W. Bidwell, in their just-published book *Mobilizing Civilian America*, issued by the Council on Foreign Relations; the pro-universal service people did not wish to be distracted by adverse facts.

At the end of August, the Senate by only two votes defeated the Maloney amendment, which would have put off the draft act consideration until 1941, but a similar amendment proposed by Hamilton Fish passed in the House by 30 votes on 5 September. Eventually a compromise amendment was agreed upon, limiting the service of those conscripted under this bill to one year, and confining the period of service to the Western Hemisphere, and to U.S. possessions and territories which might be elsewhere.

Senator Edwin C. Johnson, on the floor of the Senate on 27 August, remarked that the Burke-Wadsworth bill was "an excellent device for procuring 'cannon fodder' " which expanded in a different dimension on his previous denunciation of the draft as "political militarism", "American democracy's enemy No. 1 " (see A.A. Ekirch, Jr., *The Civilian and the Military*, 1955, repr. 1972). But the bitter fight in the Congress ended a few days later, with the House voting 233-124 and the Senate 47-25 for the much-amended and changed Selective Service bill. Undoubtedly a sizeable number of these people voted against the wishes of a plurality of their constituents at home in doing so.

Roosevelt signed the bill on 16 September and a month later there began the first peacetime registration of the country's men between the ages of 21 and 35, a far more restricted range than the ancient warriors like Secretary of War Stimson preferred and advocated. Those who registered,

as skeptical and incredulous at the false alarms of imminent national peril and the hyperthyroid hysteria of the Administration's mouthpieces as they were to be 40 years later, did in the main comply, but entirely without enthusiasm. The Boston *Herald* on 16 October 1940 burbled over the registration as a "triumph of deliberate democratic procedure," and praised the "far-sighted Grenville Clark of New York" as the author of the conscription law. "The response of free men," oozed Time; but in view of the fierce penalties for defying the draft act, compliance was anything but.

Somewhat more bogus was Congress' prompt gesture of "conscripting industry," a hasty action intended to tax the "windfall profits" (where have we heard that line recently?) of the many armament manufacturers and the allied firms making products going into the gigantic "defense" effort. This was especially denounced by Sens. La Follette and Vandenberg. But it was a sop thrown to the parents of the coming draftees, seeking to comfort them that their sons would not be bearing the burden of '6defense" alone.

Despite the feverish and hectic promotional hectoring of the likes of Secretary of War Stimson, for example, aided by others of the same class of exponents for conscription for past decades (Stimson was a strenuous advocate of it dating back to 1916), the operational aspect got started with all the speed of one wading through a pool of partially frozen molasses. There simply did not exist the training facilities for a large conscript army, and the arms available even to practice at soldiering were pathetic in quality and quantity. *Life* magazine for 9 December 1940 observed that the first draft call brought about the summoning of only 18,700 men, hardly the myriads the hysterical proponents believed we needed six months before.

Furthermore, the failure of the re-elected Roosevelt after November 1940 to embroil the country any deeper in the European or the Pacific War led to a long season of plodding and stumbling on the home front, much of it communicated to the conscript army, which looked forward to the termination of their year of service. Panic again swept the interventionist fold, and a new drive to extend the draft built up in the summer of 1941. The most visible of those arguing for this was the Chief of Staff, Gen. Marshall, who appeared over and over again to testify before Congress on the need to keep the draftees beyond the original stipulated period of service. The mood in the army camps grew tense, and threats of a mass desertion proliferated. The ominous acronym OHIO (Over the Hill in October) began to appear chalked on barracks walls, and a serious crisis was in full bloom by the time a galled and pressure-wracked House of Representatives voted, on 12 August 1941, by the majestic majority of just one, 203-202, to extend the period of service. There were 182 Democrats and 21 Republicans who voted for, 65 Democrats, 133 Republicans and 4 others voting against.

There is no doubt this close vote had a very sobering effect on the Administration, which frankly conceded several days before the final vote that they had a good chance of losing. But again it was pulled off by the same little group of Eastern power-brokers who had instigated the changes in the two American neutrality laws, started the campaign to elect Wendell Willkie (whose foreign policy was indistinguishable from Roosevelt's) and set up the two major committees which worked to get the U.S.A. involved in the European war. And Stimson was the symbolic figure of the whole campaign. (Senators Nye and Hiram Johnson had vociferously opposed the replacement of Secretary of War Harry Woodring With Stimson in July, and all August had charged the draft would become a real menace to American liberties with Stimson's arrival to this fateful post in the War Department.)

Roosevelt signed the draft extension bill on 18 August 1941, fully aware of the grave and dramatic split which had occurred in the country. But ten weeks later it was all washed out by the

fortuitous attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese on 7 December 1941, an event which was known in a variety of ways to be coming, even though it became a rigid Administration position that it was utterly unexpected, posing as innocents set upon in a treacherous fashion. (There has long been a large literature which punches scores of big holes in this posture.) The attack on Hawaii was undoubtedly the most incredible windfall that ever befell any political regime in U.S. history, far exceeding the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter in 1861 or the preludes to U.S. involvement in war in 1898 and 1917 as an assist in propelling onward a war-bound administration.

The immoderate administration of conscription was the primary cause of grave manpower and material shortage in the U.S. wartime economy, every draftee removed from the labor force being accompanied by two other men diverted into war instead of domestic production to keep him supplied. Some 14,000,000 ended up inducted into military and naval service, 1941-1945, 6,000,000 of whom never left continental United States, while many of the total drafted never were trained for what they were expected to do. The armed forces could have got along with half of this 14,000,000 total, thus in reality adding some 22,000,000 to the constructive economic labor force (7 million plus another 15 million whose work in war-related enterprises was a direct consequence of this bloated conscription program.) But war and the entire grandiose conscription epic brought to an end a previously insoluble unemployment problem, and the lesson was not lost on subsequent administrations, which have off and on used the American armed forces as a glorified social welfare agency.

Conscription also accompanied a season of wars and American military expansion all around the world involving many scores of bases whose staffing took the issue off the agenda in the U.S.A. for over a generation. Suspended for a brief interlude recently, the subject is making a strong attempt to return to its decades of institutionalized status between the '40s and the '70s. But it will need a far more persuasive promotion than it has recently been getting to insure anything of that nature. Whatever may be the state of world tensions, the events of the last dozen years in particular do not provide a very compelling backdrop for a new appeal to submit to universal selective service in the United States.

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Declaration of Mark Edward Weber

Introduction

On October 9, 1981, California Superior Court Judge Thomas. T. Johnson, took “judicial notice” of the fact that “Jews were gassed to death at Auschwitz concentration Camp in Poland during the summer of 1944.” Johnson’s ruling was made in response to a Motion for “Judicial Notice” that had been made by plaintiff Mel Mermelstein in his law suit against the Institute for Historical Review. [1] Normally, parties to a legal dispute are permitted to introduce factual evidence to support their respective claims within the guidelines of evidentiary rules, which in California have been codified by the State legislature as the California Evidence Code. However, in order to avoid wasting the time of the court in proving the “obvious,” the doctrine of the “judicial notice” has been developed whereby certain matters can be assumed to be factually true by the court and, thus, do not have to be proven through the introduction of evidence. In other words, where judicial notice is taken, no evidence needs to be introduced to prove the existence of the fact in question. [2]

In California, the doctrine of “permissive” judicial notice is set forth in Evidence Code §452 which states that:

“Judicial notice may be taken of the following matters...:

“(h) Facts and propositions that are not reasonably subject to dispute and are capable of immediate and accurate determination by resort to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy.”

As the language of Evidence Code §452(h) suggests, a fact may be judicially noticed only if it is not reasonably subject to dispute, and is capable of immediate and accurate verification by resorting to an authority of indisputable accuracy.

In an attempt to convince Judge Johnson that the contention of Mr. Mermelstein that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz is both “disputable” and is not subject to “immediate verification” by resorting to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy, the IHR asked Mark Edward Weber, an author and historical researcher, to summarize, in the form of a declaration, the historical controversy that surrounds the alleged Jewish genocide during World War II. That declaration, which was filed in the Superior Court for consideration by Judge Johnson, is reproduced below. In spite of the efforts of Mr. Weber, Judge Johnson granted Mermelstein’s motion; he was persuaded to do so, not because of any of the material which Mr. Mermelstein had submitted in support of his position, but rather due to certain unspecified “sources of reasonably indisputable fact.” When asked by Richard Fusilier, the attorney representing the IHR, to name those sources, Johnson refused to do so and merely said, “Any number of sources. Many books. Sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy.” This refusal of Judge Johnson to specify the source of the information upon

which he based his ruling is, of itself, an abuse of judicial discretion. According to Evidence Code §455, if a judge resorts to any source of information that has not been received in open court in connection with the taking of judicial notice of any matter, that judge must, before he may take judicial notice, make such information and its source a part of the record in the action and must afford each party a reasonable opportunity to dispute such information.

A reading of Mr. Weber's declaration clearly demonstrates that the genocide claims of Mr. Mermelstein are hardly "indisputable" and are certainly not subject to "immediate and accurate verification" by resort to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy. As a consequence, those facts cannot be judicially noticed. [3] In view of this conclusion, one is justified in wondering exactly what evidence influenced Judge Johnson and persuaded him to rule as he did. Mr. Fusilier speculated that his ruling was a "political" decision that had no evidentiary basis. If so, Judge Johnson's ruling is a chilling reminder of George Orwell's novel, 1984, where history is constantly rewritten to satisfy contemporary political demands. After all, here is a judge who has put historical truth into the "memory hole" and has established new history by judicial fiat.

The Publisher

Declaration of Mark Edward Weber

My name is Mark Weber. I was born in Portland, Oregon, and now reside in the Washington, D.C., area where I work as a Writer, historical researcher and translator. I studied at Portland State University, the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, the University of Munich, and Indiana University. During the two and a half years I lived and studied in Germany, I became very familiar with the German language. In 1976, I graduated with high honors with a B.A. from Portland State University. I received a Master's degree in Central European history in 1977 from Indiana University, where I also served as an instructor.

My special field of competence is modern European history. For the past two and a half years I have been deeply involved in a careful study of the history of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War, and I am currently working on a book on this subject.

I was asked to carefully examine the material submitted by the attorney for Mr. Melvin Mermelstein in support of plaintiff's request that the court take judicial notice of the contention that Jews were killed by gassing at Auschwitz during the Second World War. On the basis of a careful examination of this material, and on the basis of my-own specialized study of the history of the Jews during the Second World War, I firmly believe that sufficient grounds do not exist to have the court take judicial notice of the contention that Jews were killed by gassing at Auschwitz.

Counsel for plaintiff attempts, by presenting an extensive collection of material taken from published sources and unpublished statements by individuals, to convince the court that the proposition that Jews were killed by gassing at Auschwitz during the Second World War is an obvious historical fact worthy of judicial notice.

A proposition cannot be proven merely by assembling an extensive collection of material in its support. The character of the evidence is decisive, not its magnitude. The evidence must be reliable, self-consistent and accurate.

For example, numerous affidavits and statements from "eye witnesses," as well as extensive published material from books could be presented in support of the proposition that "flying saucers"

piloted by alien beings from other planets have landed on earth, and that humans have communicated and traveled with the aliens. But such evidence, while very extensive, would not be sufficient to have a court take judicial notice of the existence of “flying saucers.”

Judicial notice may be taken of a proposition that is so universally known that it cannot reasonably be the subject of dispute. (Evid. Code Sec. 451 (h).)

Various scholars who have carefully examined the matter have concluded that no Jews were ever gassed at Auschwitz. As I will show, the evidence for gasings submitted by plaintiff in support of its proposition is unreliable, contradictory and, in some cases, demonstrably false. The contention that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz may reasonably be considered subject to dispute.

The argument over whether Jews were gassed at Auschwitz may have political implications. But the debate among scholars over this question is not political. That is, all political views are represented on both sides of the controversy. It is completely incorrect to characterize all those who dispute the gassing claims as “neo-Nazis.”

In 1948, the French history teacher Paul Rassinier published the first of his six books challenging the standard view of the “holocaust.” He was a pacifist and a socialist who was arrested by the Gestapo in German-occupied France for helping to smuggle Jews into neutral Switzerland. Rassinier was incarcerated for almost two years at the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Dora. After the war, he was elected to the French National Assembly and decorated for his resistance activities.

Another noted “revisionist” was the eminent American historian, Harry Elmer Barnes, a man who detested political collectivism of any kind. In France today, the most active and vocal challengers of the orthodox view of the “holocaust” are affiliated with a Marxist-libertarian literary group.

The argument about whether Jews were gassed at Auschwitz transcends political affiliations. In America as well as Europe, respected scholars have taken reasoned exception to the standard version of “holocaust” history. This is not unusual. Historians frequently disagree sharply among themselves about aspects of history. Widely accepted historical “facts” often later turn out to be rather less than that.

Down through the ages, official bodies making pronouncements about “historical facts” have forced scholars holding unorthodox views to recant.

In 1543, Nicholas Copernicus published his famous work which declared that the earth revolved around the sun. The Catholic Church suppressed the work for centuries because it contradicted the official view that the earth is the center of the universe. In 1633, Galileo was jailed after being forced by the Inquisition to abjure his declaration that the sun is the center of the planetary system. In 1925, John T. Scopes was fined by a court in Tennessee for teaching the Darwinian theory of evolution in a public school because it conflicted with the Biblical version of the origin of life. Today, in the Soviet Union, Poland, and other countries subordinate to the USSR, it is forbidden to state publicly that thousands of Polish officers were murdered by Soviet officials at Katyn in 1940.

Many countries, notably the communist states, oblige historians to conform to an official version of history. In our country, we have a long tradition of freedom of intellectual expression based on the notion that truth does not require judicial or official protection from challengers. Indeed, we Americans are proud of the fact that we tolerate and encourage diverse alternative and even con-

troversial interpretations of history. To have a court take judicial notice of the disputed contention that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz would be an irresponsible violation of our tradition of intellectual freedom

Not just the “gas chamber” issue, but the whole question of what actually happened to the Jews of Europe during the Second World War is the subject of growing controversy and dispute. In Germany, that debate became more intense following the appearance in 1978 of a massive 768-page work entitled *Geschichte der Deutschen* (History of the Germans), published by the prestigious Propyläen publishing house.

The author, Dr. Helmut Diwald, had already made a name for himself as an eminent and highly respected senior professor of history at the University of Erlangen. His earlier works had been praised as well-written products of solid, scholastic workmanship. The fact that a man of Dr. Diwald’s stature would challenge the standard version of “holocaust” historiography is especially significant.

The section of his book headed “The Final Solution” is worth quoting at length. (pp 164-165 of the first edition.):

Ever since the charge was made that the SS attempted to physically annihilate the Jews of Europe, under orders from Hitler and as directed by Himmler and the Reich Security Main Office, the problem of “Auschwitz” has been completely blacked out. Since the capitulation in 1945, “Auschwitz” has also served as the main vehicle in a campaign to reduce the German people to complete moral degradation.

... Countless works have been published and claims made since 1945 which cannot be proven and which cynically add to the infamy. The most horrible events of modern times have been exploited through the use of distortions, deceptions and exaggerations for the purpose of totally disqualifying a people.

Thus, the victorious Allies claimed the existence of “extermination camps” of which there was not a single one in Germany. For years visitors to the Dachau concentration camp were shown “gas chambers” where as many as 25,000 Jews were allegedly killed daily by the SS. Actually, the rooms displayed were dummy chambers which the U.S. military had forced imprisoned SS men to build after the capitulation. A similar case involved the notorious Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where 50,000 inmates were supposedly murdered. Actually, about 7,000 inmates died during the period when the camp existed, from 1943 to 1945. Most of them died in the last months of the war as a result of disease and malnutrition — consequences of the bombings which had completely disrupted normal deliveries of medical supplies and food. The British commander who took control of the camp after the capitulation testified that crimes on a large scale had not taken place at Bergen-Belsen.

The deportation of the Jews took place as part of a general forced-labor program for the war industry. After the beginning of the war against Russia, the German war economy grew from month to month and reached a high point in mid-1942. All those who could work at all were inducted, including the Jews. In accordance with their special status, they were subject to especially inhumane treatment. The enormous program for their deportation by railway from all the occupied territories for use in Eastern munitions factories and work camps was justified by the military importance of their tasks and received top priority, even ahead of army transport.

Auschwitz, an old industrial town on the upper Silesian plateau, developed into a major wartime production center. The chemical industry quickly became far more important than the older zinc rolling mills and grinding works. The most significant aspect was the production of artificial rubber and petroleum from coal. On 16 February 1942, all concentration camps were incorporated into the war economy and munitions industry and accordingly came under the organizational authority of the SS Main Office for Economic Administration and its chief, General Otto Pohl.

The various camps were classified according to their importance to the war economy. Birkenau, a part of the Auschwitz complex, served as the camp for those inmates who were declared unsuited for work. Consequently, the camp had the highest death rate. On 26 July 1942, a devastating typhus epidemic broke out in Birkenau. As many as 20,000 died within three months.

That is why an especially large number of crematoria for burning the bodies were built in Birkenau. Reports of the high death rate there moved Himmler to issue an order on 28 December 1942 “to reduce the number of deaths in the concentration camps at all costs.”

During the war Jewish emigration was no longer possible and the expression “total solution” or “final solution” was coined to refer to the policy whereby all Jews were to be segregated from the German population, removed from central Europe, evacuated to the East, and relocated in new ghettos. This plan was outlined by Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Reich Security Main Office on 24 June 1940. The central questions about what actually happened in the subsequent years still remain unclear despite all of the literature. “Auschwitz” is the German stigma of this century.

At the famous Nuremberg trials of the “International Military Tribunal” (IMT), impressive evidence was presented for the existence and operation of gas chambers at the concentration camps of Dachau and Ravensbrueck. A lengthy U.S. government report was accepted as IMT document L-1 59 (also known as 222-USA) which described how inmates at the Dachau camp were killed by gassing. (Document L-1 59 can be found in the International Military Tribunal “Blue Series”, Vol. XXXVII, pp605-626.)

Mme. Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, a French communist, testified at the Nuremberg trials about the killing of inmates in gas chambers at the Ravensbrueck concentration camp. (This “eyewitness” testimony can be found in the IMT “Blue Series,” Vol. VI, pp22s225.) These are only two examples of many others that could be cited of legally binding “eyewitness” and “official” evidence for the existence and operation of gas chambers in Germany that helped convict and hang German defendants at the Nuremberg trials.

Simon Wiesenthal, the famous “Nazi hunter” admitted in a letter to the respected British periodical Books and Bookmen (April 1975, p5) that “there were no extermination camps on German soil...” Martin Broszat, Director of the Institute for History in Munich, stated in a letter to the German weekly newspaper Die zeit (19 August 1960, pl6) that there had never been any gassings anywhere in the “old Reich,” that is, Germany in its boundaries of 1937. The statements from these two men are cited here because each of them was called upon by plaintiff to provide written statements in this case. (Plaintiff Attachments Nos. 1 and 5). Similar statements could be produced from others whose sympathies are likewise entirely with the plaintiff. These admissions are important because they discredit the many “testimonies” of “eyewitnesses” which were cited for many years to “prove” that concentration camp inmates were killed in gas chambers at vari-

ous camps in Germany proper, such as Dachau, Ravensbrueck, Buchenwald, Neuengamme, Oranienburg, and others.

For obvious reasons, the statements quoted above by Broszat and Wiesenthal have not been made widely known. That's because evidence for the existence of lethal gas chambers at Auschwitz is no more substantial than the evidence for gas chambers at camps where even Broszat, Wiesenthal and others now admit there were none. In the case of Auschwitz, as well as in the cases of Dachau, Ravensbrueck, and so forth, the evidence that Jews were killed by gassing consists almost exclusively of "testimony" from "eyewitnesses." How is it that we are now expected to dismiss the "proofs" of gassings at camps in Germany proper as invalid while continuing to accept equally dubious "proofs" for gassings at Auschwitz?

An objective person would be justified in dismissing the claim for gassings at Auschwitz because they are just as baseless as those for camps where we now know that no gassings took place. Clearly, the claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz may reasonably be considered subject to dispute. A court would even be justified in stating that the claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz is questionable and dubious.

Attachment No. 5 submitted by the plaintiff consists of pages from the book *KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS*. From the section of the book taken from the diary of Johann Paul Kremer ("Diary of Kremer") plaintiff has submitted only a single sheet consisting of pages 212 and 213. On these two pages, there is only a single entry from Dr. Kremer's diary which could at all even be construed as referring to killings. That is the four line entry of 2 September 1942.

The entry, as submitted by the plaintiff, reads as follows:

Was present for first time at a special action at 3 a.m. By comparison Dante's *Inferno* seems almost a comedy. Auschwitz is justly called an extermination camp.

As written in the original German, the entry reads:

Zum 1. Male draussen urn 3 Uhr frueh bei einer Sonderaktion zugegen. Im Vergleich hierzu erscheint mir das Dante'sche *Inferno* fast wie eine Komoedie. Umsonst wird Auschwitz nicht das Lager der Vernichtung genannt!

The correct translation of this entry should thus be:

This morning, at 3 o'clock, I was present outside for the first time at a special action. Compared to that, Dante's *Inferno* appears to me almost like a comedy. It is not without reason that Auschwitz is called the camp of the annihilation.

The original text is mistranslated and presented in such a way as to distort its original meaning. Dr. Kremer is not referring here to killing people by gassing. He is referring to an emergency assignment he was called to make in his capacity as a medical doctor to treat victims of disease. This becomes clear to anyone who carefully examines and studies the original diary. A detailed analysis is not possible here. However, the following quotation from a letter written by Dr. Kremer on 21 October 1942 to a Miss Glaser shows that when Kremer refers to Auschwitz as an *inferno* or a "hell" he means that the outbreak of disease has created hellish conditions on the camp:

I don't really know for certain, but I expect, however, that I'll be able to be in Muenster before 1 December, and thus finally turn my back on this hell of Auschwitz

where, in addition to the typhoid, and so on, typhus has once again broken out strongly...

The plaintiff submits testimony by Rudolf Höss, a former Auschwitz commandant, as evidence for gassings at Auschwitz. (KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS, “Autobiography of Höss,” pp132-136, Plaintiff Attachment No. 5). This testimony is probably the single most important piece of evidence for gassings at Auschwitz. It is widely quoted or cited in secondary historical books on the subject.

Actually, statements by Höss are notoriously unreliable. A good example is the Höss affidavit of 5 April 1946 (Nuremberg document [3868-PS](#)). Höss claims that three million persons died at Auschwitz, an absurd figure that no responsible historian accepts today. He claims that mass executions by gassing began in the summer of 1941, another absolutely absurd statement. He claims that, besides Auschwitz, “Belzec,” “Treblinka,” and “Wolzek” were extermination camps. Actually, no camp named “Wolzek” ever existed.

In his book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (pp100-124), Dr. Arthur Butz examines the Höss affidavit of 5 April 1946 in great detail and carefully evaluates the testimony of Höss, including the famous “Autobiography” in its relation to the gassing allegations. These pages are appended to this statement as Attachment No. 9.

The “Autobiography” cited by plaintiff was supposedly written while Höss was a prisoner in communist-ruled Poland shortly before his execution. There is no way of determining the genuineness of the “Autobiography” although communist practice should compel any objective person to view the memoir with extreme skepticism.

A careful examination of the material submitted by plaintiff reveals serious contradictions in the details of plaintiff’s claim. Consider, for example, these contradictory descriptions of the condition of the bodies of Auschwitz gassing victims immediately following the opening of the gas chamber doors.

From the “Autobiography of Höss” in *KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS*, page 134 (Plaintiff Attachment No. 5):

The door was opened half an hour after the induction of the gas, and the ventilation switched on. Work was immediately begun on removing the corpses. There was no noticeable change in the bodies and no sign of convulsions or discoloration. Only after the bodies had been lying for some time, that is to say after several hours, did the usual death stains appear in the places where they had lain. Soiling through the opening of the bowels was also rare. There were no signs of wounding of any kind. The faces showed no distortion.

From *Auschwitz: Nazi Extermination Camp*, published in 1978 by Interpress, Warsaw, p114. (Plaintiff Attachment No. 9):

Most of the corpses were found near the door through which the victims had tried to escape from the spreading gas. The corpses, which covered the entire floor of the chamber, had their knees half-bent, and were often cloven together. The bodies were smeared with excrement, vomit and blood. The skin assumed a pink hue.

Attachment No. 7 submitted by plaintiff is likewise unreliable and inaccurate. This attachment consists of pages copied from the book *The Crime and Punishment of I.G. Farben* by Joseph

Borkin. On page 126, for example, it is alleged that human fat from the corpses of Jews killed at Auschwitz was made into soap by the Germans.

The story that the Germans used Jewish corpses to make soap has been widely circulated. It was officially accepted at the Nuremberg trials where many “documents” and “testimonies” were introduced to substantiate the allegation. What was all this “evidence” really worth? Although many Jewish survivors and writers still propagate the soap story, no responsible historian accepts the allegation today.

Alarmed at the growing skepticism about the “holocaust,” a Jewish historian recently warned about the dangers in repeating “holocaust” stories that have long since been proven to be lies. Deborah Lipstadt, a teacher of modern Jewish history at the University of California at Los Angeles stated in a letter to the Los Angeles Times of 16 May 1981:

The fact is that the Nazis never used the bodies of Jews, or for that matter anyone else, for the production of soap. The soap rumor was prevalent both during and after the war. It may have had its origin in the cadaver factory atrocity story that came out of World War I... The soap rumor was thoroughly investigated after the war and proved to be untrue.

Actually, Deborah Lipstadt is not quite accurate. The soap rumor has never been “thoroughly investigated.” To the contrary, the story was widely circulated as part of the official “historical verdict” of the Nuremberg trials. Once again, the “evidence” for gassing at Auschwitz is just as reliable as the “evidence” for the baseless allegation that the Germans used Jewish bodies to manufacture soap.

Plaintiff’s submission of published material which repeats the soap story casts doubt on the reliability of the rest of the material submitted.

The plaintiff submits, as Attachment No.11, many pages reproduced from *Le Memorial de la Deportation des Juifs de France* (The Memorial of the Deportation of the Jews of France) a book by Serge Klarsfeld published in Paris in 1978.

Of the pages submitted, 87 consist of lists of Jews deported from France to Eastern Europe during the Second World War. These pages list the deportees alphabetically by family name, first name, date of birth and place of birth. The impression is given that all of the many thousands of persons listed were killed according to a German policy of extermination. This impression is not accurate. The book merely provides a listing of Jews deported from France, not of Jews who died at Auschwitz or anywhere else during the Second World War.

A particularly prominent example will suffice to prove this. On page 519 of the Memorial, the following person is listed: Simone Jacob was one of 500 Jews — male and female — in rail convoy number 17 which left Drancy, France, on 13 April 1944.

To find out what happened to the deportees, one next consults the *Hefte von Auschwitz*, published by the State Museum of Auschwitz. As a Polish government institution, the State Museum of Auschwitz (Panstwowe Muzeum Oswiecim) is controlled by the Polish communist party. The plaintiff apparently has considerable confidence in this institution as a reliable authority. It published three of the books from which pages were submitted to the court by the plaintiff. [Auschwitz 1940-1945, Plaintiff Attachment No. 3; KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS, Plaintiff Attachment No. 5; and, KZ Auschwitz: Reminiscences of an SS Man, Plaintiff Attachment No.10)

According to the Hefte von Auschwitz (Nr. 7, 1964, p.88), the 165 men of the convoy were admitted to the Auschwitz camp as inmates and given registration numbers. All the others, including Simone Jacob, were allegedly gassed on 16 April 1944, the day of the convoy's arrival at the camp.

Today, Simone Jacob is well known by her married name of Simone Veil. The former French Minister of Health is now President of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. Thus, according to documentation considered reliable by the plaintiff, Simone Jacob (Veil) was another Jewish victim of the Auschwitz gas chambers. But she is very much alive today. One may ask: If the German policy was to exterminate Jews Deported from France, why wasn't 18-year-old Simon Jacob killed at Auschwitz?

The entire listing of Jews deported from France as given in the Memorial submitted by plaintiff in no way constitutes evidence of plaintiff's claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. The fact that Simone Veil is alive today is another indication of the unreliability of the evidence submitted by plaintiff to support his claim. The Memorial submitted by plaintiff is not merely irrelevant to this case, it serves to discredit his argument and lend support to the notion that plaintiff's claim may reasonably be considered the subject of dispute.

The plaintiff submits as Attachment No. 12 a notarized statement dated 4 May 1981 by Simon Wiesenthal. For some 25 years, Wiesenthal has managed the "Jewish Documentation Center" in Vienna. He is well known as a "Nazi hunter" because he has been instrumental in bringing many persons to trial for allegedly committing crimes against Jews during the Second World War. Although Wiesenthal is not a historian, one would expect that a man of his reputation would be reliable and accurate in stating facts for a court case dealing with the subject to which he has dedicated his life. Such, however, is not the case.

The statement by Simon Wiesenthal submitted by the plaintiff is confused, distorted and factually incorrect. The final paragraph of the statement reads:

In a South African newspaper they maintained that Hitler didn't know about the killing of Jews and therefore it could not be reality. The Federation of Jewish Committees brought this matter before the court. Albert Speer, a former friend of Hitler and minister of his government made a statement for the court in Johannesburg. He declared under oath that Hitler often spoke about the murdering of Jews and that as far as he had known gasifications of Jews took place. Speer is a witness of Hitler's close environment. The trial against the newspaper had been won with the help of this testimony.

This is a complete distortion of fact.

In June 1976, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (not the "Federation of Jewish Communities") began legal action to have a booklet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die?* effectively banned. (Not something from "a South African newspaper.") The South African government acted favorably and declared the booklet "undesirable" which had the effect of prohibiting its further dissemination.

In preparation for a hearing before the South African Publications Appeal Board, the Jewish Board of Deputies obtained an affidavit dated 15 June 1977 from Albert Speer, former confidant of Adolf Hitler and wartime Reich Minister of Armaments. Contrary to what Wiesenthal states, it is not true that Speer "declared under oath that Hitler often spoke about the murdering of Jews

and that as far as he knows gasifications of Jews took place.” In point of fact, Speer repeatedly maintained that he never had any first hand knowledge of any policy to kill the Jews of Europe.

Shortly after his recent death, the Jewish Journal (Brooklyn, N.Y. 11 September 1981, p4) noted in an obituary that Speer “always maintained that he did not know of the death camps in which six million Jews died.” He also stated on many occasions that he never heard Hitler speak about any such plan or program. In a letter dated 6 May 1977 to Mr. Denis Diamond, Executive Director of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Speer stated specifically that “... I would give something for being able to state clearly that Hitler had ordered the killing of the Jews in my presence. Neither am I in the position to testify to the exact number of killed Jews.”

Furthermore, in his memoirs, published in English under the title *Inside the Third Reich*, Speer nowhere states that he knew anything of any mass killing of Jews during the Second World War. This is particularly remarkable because Speer was in an excellent position to have known about such a policy if one had existed.

The inaccuracy and confusion of Simon Wiesenthal’s statement of 4 May 1981 is unfortunately all too typical of so much of the “evidence” for the alleged gassing of Jews during the Second World War. The Wiesenthal statement submitted by the plaintiff is demonstrably incorrect and false. It is itself evidence that plaintiff’s claim of gasings at Auschwitz may reasonably be considered the subject of dispute and hence not suitable for judicial notice.

Despite the highly favorable image in the mass media, Simon Wiesenthal has proven himself unreliable even as a “Nazi hunter.” A lengthy article copyrighted by the American Bar Association and published in the Washington Post (Sunday, 10 May 1981, ppB5, B8) revealed that Wiesenthal took part in a witch-hunt against Frank Walus, a man falsely accused of helping the Germans murder Jews during the Second World War. The Walus case demonstrated not only the recklessness of Simon Wiesenthal but the general unreliability of the eyewitness “testimony” which constitutes the bulk of the “Holocaust” evidence.

The following is from the Washington Post article, entitled “The Nazi Who Never Was: How a witchhunt by judge, press and investigators branded an innocent man a war criminal”:

In January 1977, the United States government accused a Chicagoan named Frank Walus of having committed atrocities in Poland during World War II.

In the following four years, this retired factory worker went into debt in order to raise more than \$60,000 to defend himself. He sat in a courtroom while 11 Jewish survivors of the Nazi occupation of Poland testified that they saw him murder children, an old woman, a young woman, a hunchback and others...

Overwhelming evidence shows that Walus was not a Nazi war criminal, that he was not even in Poland during World War II.

... In an atmosphere of hatred and loathing verging on hysteria, the government persecuted an innocent man.

In 1974, Simon Wiesenthal, the famous “Nazi hunter” of Vienna, denounced Walus as “a Pole in Chicago who performed duties with the Gestapo in the ghettos of Czestochowa and Kielce and handed over a number of Jews to the Gestapo.”

Wiesenthal did not say on what basis he made this denunciation. He says that Michael Alper was not his source, but he will not name anyone else. Did he check on his source before he accused Walus? There is no evidence of it. No documents ever have been produced against Walus, and all of the witnesses against him were found after 1974.

The Chicago weekly newspaper Reader (23 January 1981) also reported on the case in a very extensive article headlined: "The Persecution of Frank Walus: To Catch a Nazi: The U.S. government wanted a war criminal. So, with the help of Simon Wiesenthal, the Israeli police, the local press and Judge Julius Hoffman, they invented one."

The article stated (pages 19 and 30):

.. It is logical to assume that the "reports" received by Wiesenthal (against Walus) actually were rumors and that the rumors, though they may not have come directly from Alper, were started by Alper after Walus threw him out of the house in 1973.

In other words, Simon Wiesenthal had no evidence against Walus. He denounced him anyway.

While (Judge) Hoffman had the Walus case under advisement, Holocaust aired on television. During the same period, in April 1978, Simon Wiesenthal came to Chicago, where he gave interviews taking credit for the Walus case. "How Nazi-Hunter Helped Find Walus," was the Sun-Times headline on a story by Bob Olmstead. Wiesenthal told Sun-Times writer Abe Peck that he "has never had a case of mistaken identity." "I know there are thousands of people who wait for my mistake," he said.

Plaintiff submitted a copy of an article from the Los Angeles Times of 24 February 1979 ("Aerial Photos of Auschwitz Camp," pp1, 6) with two accompanying aerial photos of portions of the Auschwitz camp complex. (Plaintiff Attachment No. 21).

The most detailed presentation of the photos is available in a 19-page booklet published by the Central Intelligence Agency and prepared by two CIA employees, Dino A. Brugiono and Robert. G. Poirier. (The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex. ST 79-10001. Published in Washington, D.C. in 1979.)

The article submitted by the plaintiff does not reveal that all of the descriptive labels on the photos, including those which identify certain buildings as "gas chambers," were added to the photos more than thirty years after the end of the war by the CIA employees. The identification of buildings as "gas chambers" was not done on the basis of any evidence to be found in the photos themselves. Nothing in the photos gives any indication whatsoever that the buildings described as "gas chambers" were really such. Rather, the "identification" was made solely on the basis of post-war "evidence" or "testimony" of dubious reliability.

The aerial photos actually serve to discredit plaintiff's claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. On these dates, Allied aircraft took aerial photos of the Auschwitz complex during the period when mass killing in the gas chambers was allegedly happening: 4 April, 26 July, 25 August, and 13 September, 1944,. And yet on none of the photos taken on random dates during this period can one find the slightest trace of evidence for a mass killing program. There are no large crowds of Jews destined for destruction, no smoke and flame billowing from the crematoria which were supposedly operating continuously, nor even the slightest trace of corpses and/or ashes. All of

these should have been visible had any significant number of Jews been gassed and disposed of at Auschwitz. The CIA employees who first examined and presented these photos were admittedly somewhat disturbed about this fact. "Although survivors recalled that smoke and flame emanated continually from the crematoria chimneys and was visible for miles, the photography we examined gave no positive proof of this." (p11)

The aerial photos cast serious doubt on the claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz because what they reveal is so completely inconsistent with the "evidence" usually offered for the existence of an alleged gassing extermination process.

In conclusion, the material submitted by attorney for the plaintiff in support of the contention that Jews were killed by gassing at Auschwitz during the Second World War is unreliable, contradictory and, in some cases, demonstrably false. It is not compelling evidence. Indeed, the very evidence submitted by plaintiff casts doubt on the contention that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. The aerial photos taken during 1944 and mentioned earlier are especially significant in this regard. Furthermore, the arguments and evidence brought forward by those who disagree with the contention that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz are reasonable and worthy of consideration. The contention that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz may reasonably be the subject of dispute.

I have appended to this statement nine attachments of material copied from various published sources.

Attachments

1. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 198t, pp5-22, "The International 'Holocaust' Controversy" by Dr. Arthur R. Butz: pp23-30, "The Mechanics of Gassing" by Prof. Robert Faurisson.
2. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Summer 1980. pp103-114, "The 'Problem of the Gas Chambers'" by Prof. Robert Faurisson: pp115-119: "In the Matter of Robert Faurisson" by John Bennett.
3. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Winter 1980, pp323-334, "The Faurisson Affair" by Dr. Arthur Butz.
4. The "Problem of the 'Gas Chambers'" or "The Rumor of Auschwitz" by Prof. Robert Faurisson. Translation of various statements by Prof. Faurisson which appeared originally in the Paris daily newspaper *Le Monde*.
5. *Six Million Lost and Found*, by "Richard Harwood" (pseudonym), published in Britain (complete text).
6. *Auschwitz: A Personal Account*, by Thies Christophersen, Published in the United States in 1979.
7. *Vérité historique ou vérité politique*, (Historical Truth or Political Truth), by Serge Thion (and Robert Faurisson) Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1980, pp25-36, An essay by Serge Thion on the historical development of the Auschwitz and "holocaust" legends: pp310-322, Analysis of photographs from Auschwitz, with explanations: p328, Auschwitz "gassing victim" Simone Veil is alive.
8. *Memoire en Defense* (Memoir in Defense Against Those Who Accuse Me of Falsifying History — The Gas Chamber Question), by Robert Faurisson (with preface by Noam Chomsky), Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980. ppl47-167: Documentation on the "material impossibility of the Auschwitz 'gas chambers'."

9. *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, by Arthur R. Butz, Torrance Calif, The [Noontide Press](#). 1979, pp100-124, Examination of an affidavit of Rudolf Höss.

Notes to the Introduction

1.☺ Mermelstein vs. Institute for Historical Review, et al. No. C35642, Superior Court of California, in and for the County of Los Angeles.

2.☺ Generally, judicial notice is taken of technical matters such as, for example, the temperature at which water boils or the life expectancy of an individual based upon standard actuarial tables.

3.☺ The California Supreme Court in *Communist Party v. Peek* (1942), 20 Cal.2d 536, a leading case on the subject of the applicability of judicial notice, said, quoting from the earlier case of *Varcoe v. Lee*, 180 Cal. 344, that “if there were any possibility of dispute' the Act cannot be judicially noticed; and ... 'if there is doubt whatever as the fact itself ... evidence should be required.” (Pages 546-547)

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Facts, allegations, and judicial notice

- Submitted to the California Superior Court in the Case, Mermelstein vs. IHR et al., by
COUNSEL FOR DEFENDANTS

Introduction

The defendants in the above-entitled cause respectfully submit the following Points and Authorities, and the appended Declaration of Mark Edward Weber, in opposition to the Plaintiff's Request that Court take Judicial Notice of the fact that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz.

Argument

The question whether Jews were gassed at Auschwitz is not susceptible to judicial notice.

Judicial notice may not be taken of any matter unless authorized or required by law. Deering's Annotated Evidence Code, Section 450. This is true even though, to the judge, the fact may appear to be indisputable. *Varcoe v. Lee*, 180 C. 338, 181 P. 223 (Cal. 1919).

The California Evidence Code sets forth certain matters which must be or may be, judicially noticed. Section 451 (f) mandates judicial notice of facts and propositions of generalized knowledge that are so universally known that they cannot reasonably be the subject of dispute. Section 452 (h) permits judicial notice of facts and propositions that are not reasonably subject to dispute and are capable of immediate and accurate determination by resort to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy.

It is commonly understood that judicial notice is not to be used to resolve the disputed issues of a case, but rather is a way of avoiding time-wasting and expense in the proof of matters which are so obvious and indisputable as to necessitate no proof. That the moon was full on a certain date, or that in California the sun is always higher in the sky at noon than at dawn, or that Napoleon Bonaparte once ruled France. Are facts that fall in that category. But the hazards of judicial notice are illustrated by the ease with which judges might at one time have taken judicial notice (to the great detriment of pioneering searchers for truth) that the earth is flat, that the earth does not orbit the sun, that the application of leeches is the best cure for fever, that humanity has existed for only a few thousand years, or that witches commonly cause the failure of crops and the drying of cows. Examples of this kind demonstrate that a debated issue, though most of the population stand on one side and only a tiny minority on the other, should not be resolved by judicial notice. This is particularly true where the treacherous shoals of "that huge Mississippi of falsehood called history" (Matthew Arnold) are concerned.

The alleged historical event which the plaintiff asks this Court to take judicial notice of is at this time heatedly disputed by a number of researchers. Those researchers substantiate their argument

with objective evidence, as is amply shown in the Declaration of Mark Edward Weber annexed hereto. For example, although the plaintiff and some other inmates present at Auschwitz-Birkenau during the summer of 1944 state that the crematoria belched smoke and flames day and night during that period, Allied aerial photographs taken on various days during the same period show nothing issuing from those chimneys at any time.

In the deposition of Melvin Mermelstein, taken on May 27, 1981, the plaintiff states that he saw at Birkenau four chimneys spewing red flames (page 34); that he saw members of his family go into “gas chamber No. 5,” where they were gassed and cremated (page 37); that he was 40 or 50 feet from the entrance to “the gas chambers” that his relatives entered (page 46); that gas chamber No. 5 was underground (page 47); and that there was one chimney on gas chamber No. 5 (pages 47 and 116). The plaintiff’s claims are contradicted by a report (The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex by Central Intelligence Agency Photoanalysts, Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier) published in 1979 after the CIA turned over to the National Archives aerial reconnaissance photographs taken of Auschwitz-Birkenau between April 4, 1944 and January 14, 1945. (It should be noted that Brugioni and Poirier make the assumption, in no way warranted by the photographs they are analyzing, that gas chambers existed at Auschwitz-Birkenau; those who deny that there were any gas chambers maintain that the facilities in question were crematoria.)

On page 12 of The Holocaust Revisited, beneath a photograph of facilities 4 and 5, the author states:

The imagery acquired on 13 September 1944 provides a unique view of Gas Chambers and Crematoria IV and V (Photo 7). Located among the trees of the “Birch Wood,” *these facilities could not be seen by surviving prisoners in the camp. They were of a different design than Gas Chambers I and II; they had two rather than one chimney each, and were built totally above the ground rather than having underground sections.* (Emphasis added.)

The photographs reproduced in the CIA report show all four of the Birkenau crematoria (i.e. numbers 2 through 5) to be surrounded by fencing and landscaping which would have made it impossible for anyone outside the enclosed areas to watch people inside, as the plaintiff claims that he did for some two hours at dawn on May 22, 1944.

Such discrepancies between objective evidence and the plaintiff’s claims should alone be sufficient to prevent the taking of judicial notice of the claim.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau rose to prominence by demonstrating in a great debate in Paris (1744) That the “falsifying of history had done more to retard than to advance human welfare.” (Jennings Wise). All societies whether by design or error have their historical myths and misconceptions. The plaintiff is part of a movement to institutionalize and transform into sacrosanct dogma a version of history which a growing number of other people sincerely and seriously dispute. When the photo-analysts Brugioni and Poinier wrote about “gas chambers” it was because they accepted the popular version of history which the plaintiff wishes to perpetuate and were no doubt unaware that there was another side to the story. It was not because the aerial photographs themselves gave evidence of people being exterminated in gas chambers. On the contrary, during the days when the extermination process was supposed to be at its height, the pictures show no people at all in the vicinity of the “gas chambers,” no lines of people on the neatly landscaped grounds of those chimneyed facilities, and never any smoke or flame issuing from those chimneys (four chimneys at Birkenau accordingly to the plaintiff, six according to photographic evi-

dence). The only lines of people are in other parts of the camps-the registration area, for example. The original analysts of the same photographs during World War Two did not see gas chambers or an extermination camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau for the simple reason that the photographs themselves, viewed with an unbiased eye, give not even a hint of such terrible things. Viewed with an objective eye today, the same photographs are outstanding evidence that Auschwitz-Birkenau was not — contrary to the plaintiff's contention — a death factory, belching flames day and night as it consumed millions of victims.

The defendants respectfully submit that the plaintiff is attempting to enlist the authority and prestige of this Court for the illegitimate purpose of placing its imprimatur on a version of past events which is currently under heavy and well-supported attack. To make the matter worse, the assertions on which the plaintiff asks the Court to take judicial notice are irrelevant to all imaginably viable issues of this lawsuit. (Defendants do not admit there are any issues which would stand in the way of a summary judgment in their favor.)

The doctrine of judicial notice was adopted as a judicial shortcut to avoid necessity for the formal introduction of evidence in certain cases where there is no real need for such evidence. Before a court will take judicial notice of any fact, however, that fact must be a matter of common and general knowledge well-established and authoritatively settled, not doubtful or uncertain. *Communist Party of the United States of America v. Peek*, 20 C. 2d 536, 546 (Superior Court of Los Angeles County, 1942)

In *Communist Party v. Peek* the issue was whether the court should take judicial notice of the assertion that the Communist Party advocates force and violence. The court refused to take judicial notice, pointing with approval to the Washington supreme court's refusal to take judicial notice of the same "fact for the reason that the litigants denied it." 20 C. 2d 547, citing *State v. Reeves*, 106 P. 2d 729. The Superior Court of Los Angeles strongly implied that the denial of an alleged fact by a party to a lawsuit was alone sufficient to persuade a court not to take judicial notice of the alleged fact. 20 C. 2d 548.

In further support of its holding the court said at 546-547:

As was pointed out in *Varcoe v. Lee*, 180 Cal. 338, 344 (181 Pac. 223), "if there were any possibility of dispute" the fact cannot be judicially noticed; and again (p. 345): "It is truly said that the power of judicial notice is as to matters claimed to be matters of general knowledge one to be used with caution. If there is any doubt whatever either as to the fact itself or as to its being a matter of common knowledge evidence should be required."

In *Weitzenkorn v. Lesser*, 40 C. 2d 778, 256 P. 2d 947 (Cal. 1953), a case cited by the plaintiff, the court quoted some of the same statements set forth above, and went on to refuse to take judicial notice "of the contents of published books in deciding whether Weitzenkorn's claim of originality has merit." 40 C 2d at 787.

Another case cited in the plaintiff's argument is *Galloway v. Moreno*, 183 C.A. 2d 804, 7 Cal. Rptr. 349 (1960). There it was also concluded that the court could not take judicial notice as requested by one of the parties. Two cases summarized by the plaintiff, *Frankel's Estate*, 92 N.Y. Supp. 2d 30 (1949), and *Siusis' Estate*, 95 N.Y. Supp. 2d 48 (1950), both involved the determination that certain Europeans who had been missing since the wartime period of the 1940's could be presumed dead. It does not appear in either case that the taking of judicial notice was contested. The matters of which judicial notice was taken in those estate cases were not the same as the allegation of which the plaintiff asks this Court to take judicial notice. Besides, what may be a

proper subject of judicial notice at a particular time or at a particular place may not be so at a different time or different place. *Varcoe v. Lee*, supra.

The plaintiff's request for the taking of judicial notice should be denied because it concerns a subject which is uncertain and disputable. Perhaps in no area of human knowledge are uncertainty and the need for correction more certain than in history.

"What is history but a fable agreed upon?" Napoleon Bonaparte, Sayings.

"History, a distillation of rumour..." Carlyle, *The French Revolution*.

"A fair-minded man, when reading history, is occupied almost entirely with refuting it." Voltaire, *Essai sur Me moeurs*.

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Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace

Harry Elmer Barnes

During the last forty years or so, Revisionism has become a fighting term. To so-called Revisionists, it implies an honest search for historical truth and the discrediting of misleading myths that are a barrier to peace and goodwill among nations. In the minds of anti-Revisionists, the term savors of malice, vindictiveness, and an unholy desire to smear the saviors of mankind.

Actually, Revisionism means nothing more or less than the effort to correct the historical record in the light of a more complete collection of historical facts, a more calm political atmosphere, and a more objective attitude. It has been going on ever since Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) exposed the forged "Donation of Constantine," which was a cornerstone of the papal claim to secular power, and he later called attention to the unreliable methods of Livy in dealing with early Roman history. Indeed, the Revisionist impulse long antedated Valla, and it has been developing ever since that time. It had been employed in American history long before the term came into rather general use following the first World War.

Revisionism has been most frequently and effectively applied to correcting the historical record relative to wars, because truth is always the first war casualty, the emotional disturbances and distortions in historical writing are greatest in wartime, and both the need and the material for correcting historical myths are most evident in connection with wars.

Revisionism was applied to the American Revolution many years ago. Beginning with the writings of men like George Louis Beer, it was shown that the British commercial policy toward the Colonies was not as harsh and lawless as it had been portrayed by George Bancroft and others among the early ultra-patriotic historians. Others demonstrated that the British measures imposed on the colonies after the close of the French and Indian War were in general accord with the British constitutional system. Finally, Clarence W. Alvord made it clear that Britain was more concerned with the destiny of the Mississippi Valley than she was with such disturbances as those connected with the Stamp Act, the Boston Massacre and the Boston Tea Party.

The War of 1812 was similarly subjected to Revisionist correction. Henry Adams revealed that Timothy Pickering and the extreme anti-war Federalists played a decisive role in encouraging the British to continue their oppressive commercial policies that aided the American "warhawks" in leading this country into war. They misrepresented Jefferson's commercial and naval policies to an almost treasonable extent. More recently, Irving Brant, in his notable biography of Madison, has shown that Madison was not actually pushed into war against his personal convictions by Clay, Calhoun, and the "warhawks," but made the decision for war on the basis of his own beliefs.

The Mexican War has been specifically treated by Revisionists. For a long time, historians who sought to correct the wartime passions of 1846 criticized Polk and the war group as rather conscienceless war-mongers, impelled by political ambition, who pounced without justification upon a helpless little country. Then, in 1919, along came Justin H. Smith, who, in his *The War With Mexico*, showed that there had been plenty of arrogance, defiance and provocation on the part of Santa Ana and the Mexicans.

'The Wrong War'

While the term Revisionism has been little used in connection with the process, the causes of the Civil War (War between the States) have been a field for far more extensive Revisionist research and restatement than the causes of either World War. This was made clear in the remarkable summary of Revisionist studies of the coming of the Civil War by Professor Howard K. Beale in 1946. The outcome of these scholarly efforts demonstrated that the Civil War, like General Bradley's description of the Korean War, was "the wrong war, in the wrong place at the wrong time." Hotheads on both sides brought on the war, while judicious restraint might easily have averted the catastrophe. Professor William A. Dunning and his seminar students at Columbia University rigorously applied Revisionism to the aftermath of the Civil War and vindictive reconstruction measures piloted through Congress by Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens. Their verdict was popularized in Claude Bowers' book on The Tragic Era.

Revisionist historians soon tackled the propaganda concerning the Spanish-American War which had been fomented by Hearst and Pulitzer and exploited by the war camp among the Republicans of 1898. James Ford Rhodes showed how McKinley, with the full Spanish concessions to his demands in his pocket, concealed the Spanish capitulation. from Congress and demanded war. Further research has revealed that there is no conclusive evidence whatever that the Spanish sank the battleship Maine and has shown that Theodore Roosevelt quite illegally started the war by an unauthorized order to Admiral Dewey to attack the Spanish fleet at Manila while Secretary Long was out of his office. Julius H. Pratt and others have exposed the irresponsible war-mongering of the "war hawks" of 1898, such as Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge and Albert J. Beveridge, and indicated the primary responsibility of Admiral Mahan for the expansionist philosophy upon which this rise of American imperialism was based.

Hence, long before the Austrian Archduke was assassinated by Serbian plotters on 28 June 1914, Revisionism had a long and impressive history and had been brought into use on all the important wars in which the United States had been engaged. Applied abroad to the FrancoPrussian War, it clearly proved that the initiative lay with France rather than Bismarck and the Prussians. But it was the first World War which brought the term "Revisionism" into general use. This was because many wished to use the historical studies of the causes of the War as the basis for a revision of the Treaty of Versailles, which had been based on a complete acceptance of the theory of sole German-Austrian responsibility for the outbreak of the European War in early August, 1914.

By that time, the new methods of communication, mass journalism, and greater mastery of propaganda techniques enabled the combatants to whip up popular opinion and mass hatred as never before in the history of warfare. Jonathan French Scott's *Five Weeks* revealed how the press stirred up violent hatreds in July, 1914. The intensity of feeling in the United States has recently been recalled in an impressive manner in H.C. Peterson's *Opponents of War, 1917-1918*. As C. Hartley Grattan, the present writer, and others, have pointed out, the historians scrambled on the propaganda bandwagon with great alacrity and vehemence. It was almost universally believed that Germany was entirely responsible not only for the outbreak of war in 1914 but also for American entry in April, 1917. Anyone who publicly doubted this popular dogma was in danger

of the tar bucket, and Eugene Debs was imprisoned by the man who had proclaimed the War to be one to make the world safe for democracy. Debs' crime was a statement that the War had an economic basis, precisely what Wilson himself declared in a speech on 5 September 1919.

There is no space here to go into the scope and nature of Revisionist studies on the causes of the first World War. We can only illustrate the situation by citing a few of the outstanding myths and indicating the manner in which they were disposed of by Revisionists.

Crown Council Myth

The most damaging allegation brought against Germany was that the Kaiser called together a Crown Council of the leading German government officials, ambassadors, and financiers on 5 July 1914, revealed to them that he was about to throw Europe into war, and told them to get ready for the conflict. The financiers demanded two weeks delay so as to be able to call in loans and sell securities. The Kaiser acceded to this demand, and left the next day on a well-publicized vacation cruise. This was designed to lull England, France and Russia into a false sense of security while Germany and Austria-Hungary secretly got ready to leap upon an unprepared and unsuspecting Europe. The first complete statement of this charge appeared in *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, which was ghost written by a leading American journalist, Burton J. Hendrick.

Professor Sidney B. Fay, the leading American Revisionist dealing with the outbreak of war in 1914, proved from the available documents that this Crown Council legend was a complete myth. Some of the persons alleged to have been at the Council meeting were not in Berlin at the time. The Kaiser's actual attitude on July 5th was completely at variance with that portrayed in the legend, and there was no such financial action as was implied. But it was a long time before it was revealed how Mr. Morgenthau got this story. It was known that he was an honorable man, and not even the most severe critics of the myth charged that he had deliberately concocted and disseminated a lie.

Many years later, Paul Schwarz, who was the personal secretary to the German Ambassador in Constantinople, Baron Hans von Wangenheim, revealed the facts. Von Wangenheim had a mistress in Berlin and, in the early days of the crisis of 1914, she demanded that he return at once to Berlin to settle some critical matters with her. He complied and, to conceal from his wife the real reason for his making the trip, he told her that the Kaiser had suddenly summoned him to Berlin. On his return, he told his wife about the fanciful Crown Council, that he had dreamed up. Shortly after this with his wife by his side, von Wangenheim met Morgenthau, then the American Ambassador at Constantinople, at a diplomatic reception. Morgenthau had heard about von Wangenheim's trip to Berlin and pressed him as to what had happened. Under the circumstances, von Wangenheim could only repeat the myth he had told his wife. To what extent liquor may have lessened his restraint and how much Morgenthau and Hendrick elaborated on what von Wangenheim actually told Morgenthau are not known and probably never will be.

This fantastic tale, created out of whole cloth, both indicates the need for Revisionism and demonstrates how momentous and tragic events may hang on the most palpable fabrications. Since Morgenthau's book did not appear until 1918, his tale about the fictitious Crown Council had a great influence upon Allied propaganda against Germany at the end of the War. It was used in Lloyd George's campaign of 1918 advocating the hanging of the Kaiser and by the more vindictive makers of the Treaty of Versailles. It is quite possible that otherwise the latter would never have been able to write the war-guilt clause into the Treaty. Since historians are agreed that it was the Treaty of Versailles which prepared the way for the second World War, the hare-brained von Wangenheim. alibi of July, 1914, may have had some direct relation to the sacrifice

of millions of lives and astronomical expenditures of money in the wars since 1939, with the possibility that the ultimate consequences may be the extermination of much of the human race through nuclear warfare.

Another item which was used to inflame opinion against the Germans was their invasion of Belgium. The Allied propaganda presented this as the main reason for the entry of England into the War and the final proof of the charge that the Germans had no regard for international law or the rights of small nations. Revisionist scholars proved that the British and French had for some time been considering the invasion of Belgium in the event of a European war, and that English officers had travelled over Belgium carefully surveying the terrain against this contingency. Further, the Germans offered to respect the neutrality of Belgium in return for British neutrality in the War. Finally, John Burns, one of the two members of the British Cabinet who resigned when Britain made the decision for war in 1914, told me personally in the summer of 1927 that the Cabinet decision for war had been made before a word had been said about the Belgian issue. The following year, the Memorandum on Resignation of the famed John Morley, the other Cabinet member who resigned in 1914 as a protest against the war policy, fully confirmed Burns' account of the matter.

Atrocity Tales

A third leading allegation which produced violent feelings against the Germans in the first World War was the charge that they had committed unique and brutal atrocities against civilians, especially in Belgium -mutilating children, women and the helpless, generally. They were said to have utilized the bodies of dead German and Allied soldiers to make fertilizers and soap, and otherwise to have behaved like degraded beasts. The distinguished British publicist, Lord James Bryce, was induced to lend his name to the authentication of these atrocity reports. After the War, a large number of books riddled these atrocity tales, notably Sir Arthur Ponsonby's *Falsehood in Wartime*, and J.M. Read's *Atrocity Propaganda*. The first World War was no picnic, but no informed scholar today believes that any considerable part of the alleged atrocities actually took place, or that the Germans were any more guilty of atrocious conduct than the other participants in the War.

Scholars and publicists who had been condemned to silence during the War soon sought to clear their consciences and set the record straight after the close of hostilities. Indeed Francis Neilson anticipated many basic Revisionist conclusions in his *How Diplomats Make War*, which was published in 1915 and may be regarded as the first important Revisionist book on the causes of the first World War. Lord Loreburn's *How the War Came*, a scathing indictment of the English diplomats, came out at the same time that the Treaty of Versailles was drafted.

The first American scholar thoroughly to challenge the wartime propaganda was Professor Sidney B. Fay of Smith College who brought out a series of three striking articles in the *American Historical Review*, beginning in July, 1920. These first aroused my interest in the facts. During the War, I had accepted the propaganda; indeed, had unwittingly written some of it. While I wrote some reviews and short articles dealing with the actual causes of the first World War between 1921 and 1924, I first got thoroughly involved in the Revisionist struggle when Herbert Croly of the *New Republic* induced me in March, 1924, to review at length the book of Professor Charles Downer Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*. This aroused so much controversy that George W. Ochsosakes, editor of the *New York Times Current History Magazine*, urged me to set forth a summary of Revisionist conclusions at the time in the issue of May, 1924. This really launched the Revisionist battle in the United States.

Even the largest publishing houses and the best periodicals eagerly sought Revisionist material for publication. Professor Fay's *Origins of the World War*, J.S. Ewart's *Roots and Causes of the Wars*, and my *Genesis of the World War* were the leading Revisionist books in 1914 by American authors published in the United States. American Revisionists found allies in Europe: Georges Demartial, Alfred Fabre-Luce, and others, in France; Friedrich Stieve, Maximilian Montgelas, Alfred von Wegerer, Hermann Lutz, and others, in Germany; and G.P. Gooch, Raymond Beazley, and G. Lowes Dickinson, in England. Turning from the causes of war in Europe in 1914, other scholars, notable Charles C. Tansill, Walter Millis, and C. Hartley Grattan, told the truth about the entry of the United States into the War. Mauritz Hallgren produced the definitive indictment of American interventionist diplomacy from Wilson to Roosevelt in his *A Tragic Fallacy*.

At the outset, Revisionist writing was rather precarious. Professor Fay was not in peril, personally, for he wrote in a scholarly journal which the public missed or ignored. But when I began to deal with the subject in media read by at least the upper intellectual level of the "men on the street," it was a different matter. I recall giving a lecture in Trenton, New Jersey, in the early days of Revisionism and being bodily threatened by fanatics who were present. They were cowed and discouraged by the chairman of the evening, who happened to be a much respected former-Governor of New Jersey. Even in the autumn of 1924, a rather scholarly audience in Amherst, Massachusetts, became somewhat agitated and was only calmed down when Ray Stannard Baker expressed general agreement with my remarks.

Gradually, the temper of the country changed, but at first it was caused more by resentment against our former allies than by the impact of Revisionist writings. It was the "Uncle Shylock" talk of 1924-27 which turned the trick. This indication of implied Allied ingratitude for American aid in the War made the public willing to read and accept the truth relative to the causes, conduct, merits, and results of the first World War. Moreover, with the passage of time, the intense emotions of wartime had an opportunity to cool off. By the mid-1930's, when Walter Millis's *Road to War* appeared, it was welcomed by a great mass of American readers and was one of the most successful books of the decade. Revisionism had finally won out.

Interestingly enough, as a phase of the violent anti-Revisionism after 1945, there has set in a determined effort on the part of some historians and journalists to discredit the Revisionist scholarship of 1920-1939 and return to the myths of 1914-1920. This trend is devastatingly challenged and refuted by the eminent expert on World War I Revisionism, Hermann Lutz, in his book on German-French Unity (1957), which takes account of the most recent materials in the field.

Genesis of the Term

As we have already explained briefly, the historical scholarship that sought to produce the truth relative to the causes of the first World War came to be known as Revisionism. This was because the Treaty of Versailles had been directly based on the thesis of unique and sole German-Austrian responsibility for the coming of the war in 1914. By the mid-1920's, scholars had established the fact that Russia, France and Serbia were more responsible than Germany and Austria. Hence, from the, standpoint of both logic and factual material, the Treaty should have been revised in accordance with the newly revealed truth. Nothing of the sort took place, and in 1933 Hitler appeared on the scene to carry out the revision of Versailles by force, with the result that another and more devastating world war broke out in 1939.

Since Revisionism, whatever its services to the cause of historical truth, failed to avert the second World War, many have regarded the effort to seek the truth about the responsibility for war as futile in any practical sense. But any such verdict is not conclusive. Had not the general political

and economic situation in Europe, from 1920 onward, been such as overwhelmingly to encourage emotions and restrain reason, there is every probability that the Revisionist verdict on 1914 would have led to changes in the Versailles *Diktat* that would have preserved peace. In the United States, less disturbed by emotional cross-currents, Revisionism exerted an impressive influence, all of which worked for peace. It was partly responsible for increasing the restraint imposed on France at the time of the Ruhr invasion for the mitigation of the harsh reparations system, for the Nye investigation of the armament industry and its nefarious ramifications, and for our neutrality legislation.

The fact that, despite many months of the most vigorous and irresponsible propaganda for our intervention in the second World War, over eighty per cent of the American people were in favor of refraining from intervention on the very eve of Pearl Harbor proves that the impact of Revisionism on the the American public mind had been deep, abiding and salutary. If President Roosevelt had not been able to incite the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbor, the Revisionist campaign of the late 1920's might have saved the United States from the tragedies of the early 1940's and what may be the greater calamities which grew out of our intervention in the second World War and still lie ahead of us.

The Role of the Mass Media

Long before the second World War broke out at the beginning of September, 1939, it was evident that, ~ when it came, it would present an even more dramatic and formidable Revisionist problem at its close than did the first World War. The stage was all set for a much greater volume and variety of distorting hatreds than in the years before 1914, and the capacity to whip up passion and disseminate myths had notably increased in the interval. Many technical advances in journalism, larger newspaper staffs, especially of foreign "experts," and greater emphasis on foreign affairs, all made it certain that the press would play a far more effective role in swaying the masses than in 1914-18. Indeed, even in 1914, as Jonathan F. Scott and Oron J. Hale have made clear, the press was perhaps as potent a cause of the War as the folly of the heads of states and their diplomats. It was bound to exert an even more powerful and malevolent influence in 1939 and thereafter.

The techniques of propaganda had been enormously improved and were well-nigh completely removed from any moral restraint. The propagandists in 1939 and thereafter had at their disposal not only what had been learned relative to lying to the public during the first World War but also the impressive advances made in the techniques of public deceit for both civilian and military purposes after 1918. A leading English intelligence officer Sidney Rogerson, even wrote a book, published in 1938, in which he told his fellow-Englishmen how to handle Americans in the case of a second World War, warning them that they could not just use over again the methods which Sir Gilbert Parker and others had so successfully employed from 1914-1918 to beguile the American public. He suggested the new myths and strategy which would be needed. They began to be applied during the next year.

There was a far greater backlog of bitter hatreds for the propagandists to play upon by 1939. However much the Kaiser was lampooned and reviled during the war, he had been rather highly regarded before July, 1914. In 1913, at the time of the 25th anniversary of his accession to the throne, such leading Americans as Theodore Roosevelt, Nicholas Murray Butler and former-President Taft praised the Kaiser lavishly. Butler contended that if he had been born in the United States he would have been put in the White House without the formality of an election, and Taft stated that the Kaiser has been the greatest single force for peace in the whole world during his entire reign. There were no such sentiments of affection and admiration held in reserve for Hitler

and Mussolini in 1939. Butler had, indeed, called Mussolini the greatest statesman of the twentieth century, but this was in the 1920's. British propaganda against El Duce during the Ethiopian foray had put an end to most American admiration of him. The hatred built up against Hitler in the democracies by 1939 already exceeded that massed against any other figure in modern history. American and British conservatives hated Stalin and the Communists, and they were later linked with Germany and Hitler after the Russo-German Pact of August, 1939. This hatred of the Russians was fanned to a whiter flame when they invaded eastern Poland in the autumn of 1939 and Finland during the following winter. Racial differences and the color bogey made it easy to hate the Japanese and, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the real facts about which were 'not to be known until after the War, the hatred of the Japanese went so far that even leading American naval officers like Admiral Halsey could refer to the Japanese as literally subhuman anthropoids.

Against this background it was obvious that hatreds could thrive "without stint or limit," to use Mr. Wilson's phrase, and that lies could arise and luxuriate with abandon and without any effort to check on the facts, if there were any. Every leading country set up its official agency to carry on public deception for the duration and supported it lavishly with almost unlimited funds. It was more than evident that there would be a super-human task for Revisionism to wrestle with once hostilities had ended.

After the first World War, the Russians took the first important steps in launching Revisionism. The Communists wished to discredit the Tsarist regime and saddle it with responsibility for the first World War, so they published the voluminous documents containing the secret Franco-Russian agreements from 1892 to 1914. These, together with supplementary French materials, did prove that France, Russia and Serbia were mainly responsible for the outbreak of war in 1914. The Russian documents were followed by the publication of the archives in other countries, and I have already indicated that many important Revisionist books appeared in European countries.

Following the second World War, the overwhelming majority of Revisionist writings have been produced in the United States. There was no Tsar for the Russians to blame in 1945. Stalin desired to preserve intact the legend that he had been surprised and betrayed by Hitler in the Nazi attack of June 22, 1941. England was watching her Empire disintegrate, and the British leaders were aware of the primary responsibility of Britain for the outbreak of war in 1939; hence, every effort was made to discourage Revisionist writing in England. France was torn with hatreds far worse than those of the French Revolution, and over 100,000 Frenchmen were butchered either directly or quasi-legally during the "liberation." Only the famous journalist, Sisley Huddleston, an expatriate Englishman resident in France, the distinguished publicist, Alfred Fabre-Luce, and the implacable Jacques Benoist-Mechin, produced anything that savored of Revisionism in France. Germany and Italy, under the heels of conquerors for years, were in no position to launch Revisionist studies. Even when these countries were freed, the hatred of Hitler and Mussolini which had survived the war discouraged Revisionist work. Only Hans Grimm and Ernst von Salomon produced anything resembling Revisionism in Germany, and their works were not devoted to diplomatic history. The only book which has appeared in Germany that can literally be regarded as a Revisionist volume is the recent work of Fritz Hesse, *Hitler and the English*. This amplifies the already known fact that Hitler lost the war primarily because of his Anglomania and his unwillingness to use his full military power against the English when victory was possible. In Italy, the eminent scholar and diplomatic historian, Luigi Villari, wrote an able book on the foreign policy of Mussolini, which is one of the substantial products of post-World War II Revisionism, but he had to get the book published in the United States. The same was true of his book on the "liberation" of Italy after 1943.

Historical Blackout

In the United States, Revisionism got off to an early start and flourished relatively, so far as the production of substantial books was concerned. This relative profusion of Revisionist literature was, however, far surpassed by the almost insuperable obstacles that were met in trying to get such literature known to the public and read by it. In other words, an unprecedented volume of Revisionist books was accompanied by an even more formidable “historical blackout” that has thus far concealed such material from the reading public.

The reasons for the relatively greater productivity of Revisionism in the United States after 1945 are not difficult to discover. There had been over four years of debate about the European and world situation between President Roosevelt’s Chicago Bridge Speech of October, 1937, and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Most of the men who produced Revisionist books after 1945 had taken part in this great debate, had gathered materials on the issues, and were well aware of the realities and of the lies told by the Interventionists. They were eager to come forth with books to sustain their old position as soon as the end of hostilities made this possible. Pearl Harbor had only silenced them for the duration. Further, the United States had been untouched by the ravages of war, it was in good economic condition at V-J Day, and it had not lost any colonial possessions. Four years of vigorous debate before Pearl Harbor and nearly four years of passionate lying and hating after that date had at least slightly exhausted the American capacity for hatred for the time being, as compared with the existing situation in Europe and Asia. There was at least a slight and brief breathing spell until hatreds were revived when Truman launched the Cold War in March, 1947.

Some Revisionist Books

We have space to mention only the outstanding Revisionist products in the United States. John T. Flynn’s *As We Go Marching* was published in 1944, his pioneer brochures on Pearl Harbor in 1944 and 1945, and his *The Roosevelt Myth* in 1948. George Morgenstern’s *Pearl Harbor* appeared in 1947; Charles Austin Beard’s two volumes on Roosevelt’s foreign policy were brought out in 1946 and 1948; and Helen Mears’ *Mirror for Americans: Japan*, came out in 1948. William Henry Chamberlin’s *America’s Second Crusade* was published in 1950; Frederic R. Sanborn’s *Design for War* came off the presses in 1951; Carles C. Tansill’s *Back Door to War* made its appearance in 1952; the Symposium, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, which I edited, presents the best anthology of Revisionist conclusions on the second World War, came out in the summer of 1953; and Richard N. Current’s *Secretary Stimson* was published in 1954. Admiral R.A. Theobald’s *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* appeared in 1954; Rene A. Wormser’s *The Myth of the Good and Bad Nations* came out in the same year; Admiral H.E. Kimmel’s *Admiral Kimmel’s Story*, was published in 1955; Bryton Barron’s *Inside the State Department* was brought out in 1956; and Elizabeth C. Brown’s *The Enemy at His Back* was published in 1957.

In addition to these books by American Revisionists, there was an impressive list of volumes by Europeans who had to escape the even more stringent historical blackout at home and secure respectable publication in the United States. Such were Sisley Huddleston’s books on *Popular Diplomacy and War*, and *France: the Tragic Years*; the trenchant criticisms of the war-crimes trials by Lord Hankey and Montgomery Belgium; the remarkable book of F.J.P. Veale, *Advance to Barbarism*, which criticized both the barbarous saturation bombing of civilians and the war-crimes trials; Russell Grenfell’s devastating exposure of Germanophobia in his *Unconditional Hatred*; Emrys Hughes’ brilliant biographical study of *Winston Churchill*; and Dr. Villari’s volumes on Mussolini’s foreign policy and the Allied liberation of Italy. There were a number of other books on the periphery of literal Revisionism, of which Freda Utley’s *High Cost of Vengeance*, dealing with the Allied folly and barbarism in Germany after V-E Day, is representative and one of the more notable. Along with it might be mentioned such books as Andy Rooney

and Bud Hutton's *Conqueror's Peace*, Marshall Knappen's *And Call It Peace*, Milton Mayer's *They Thought They Were Free*, and Harold Zink's *American Military Government in Germany*.

What We Now Know

Not only have there been many more formidable Revisionist volumes published in the United States since 1945 than in the comparable period after 1918, but the facts revealed by this recent Revisionist research have been far more sensational than those produced by Revisionist scholars after the first World War. From 1937 onward Stalin had worked as hard for a war of attrition and mutual destruction between the capitalistic Nazi, Fascist and democratic countries as Sazonov and Izvolski did in 1914 to start a Franco-RussianEnglish war against Germany and Austria. Hitler, far from precipitately launching an aggressive war against Poland on the heels of brutal and unreasonable demands, made a far greater effort to avert war during the August, 1939, crisis than the Kaiser did during the crisis of July, 1914. And Hitler's demands on Poland were the most reasonable ones he made on any foreign country during his whole regime. They were far more conciliatory than Stresemann and the Weimar Republic would even consider. Poland was far more unreasonable and intransigent in 1938-39 than Serbia had been in 1914. Mussolini sought to dissuade Hitler from going to war in 1939 and made repeated efforts to summon peace conferences after the War began. Far from wantonly sticking "a dagger in the back of France" in June, 1940, he was virtually forced into the War by unneutral acts of economic strangulation on the part of Britian. France was loath to go to war in 1939, and only extreme pressure by the British Foreign Office prodded Bonnet and Daladier into reluctantly acceding to the bellicose British policy on September 2-3, 1939.

Whereas, in 1914, British responsibility for the first World War was chiefly that of weakness and duplicity on the part of Sir Edward Grey-more a negative than a positive responsibility -the British were almost solely responsible for the outbreak of both the German-Polish and the European Wars in early September, 1939. Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Minister, and Sir Howard Kennard, the British Ambassador in Warsaw, were even more responsible for the European War of 1939 than Sazonov, Izvolski, and Poincare were for that of 1914. Chamberlain's speech before Parliament on the night of September 2, 1939, was as mendacious a misrepresentation of the German position as had been Sir Edward Grey's address to Parliament on August 3, 1914.

The Case Against Roosevelt

As for American entry into the second World War, the case against President Roosevelt is far more impressive and damaging than that against Woodrow Wilson, who maintained at least some formal semblance of neutrality for a time after August, 1914. Roosevelt "lied the United States into war." He went as far as he dared in illegal efforts, such as convoying vessels carrying munitions, to provoke Germany and Italy to make war on the United States. Failing in this, he turned to a successful attempt to enter the War through the back door of Japan. He rejected repeated and sincere Japanese proposals that even Hull admitted protected all the vital interests of the United States in the Far East, by his economic strangulation in the summer of 1941 forced the Japanese into an attack on Pearl Harbor, took steps to prevent the Pearl Harbor Commanders, General Short and Admiral Kimmel, from having their own decoding facilities to detect a Japanese attack, kept Short and Kimmel from receiving the decoded Japanese intercepts that Washington picked up and indicated that war might come at any moment, and ordered General Marshall and Admiral Stark not to send any warning to Short and Kimmel before noon on December 7th, when Roosevelt knew that any warning sent would be too late to avert the Japanese attack at 1:00 P.M., Washington time.

Roosevelt also had a major responsibility, both direct and indirect, for the outbreak of war in Europe. He began to exert pressure on France to stand up to Hitler as early as the German reoccupation of the Rhineland in March, 1936, months before he was making his strongly isolationist speeches in the campaign of 1936. This pressure on France, and also England, continued right down to the coming of the War in September, 1939. It gained volume and momentum after the Quarantine Speech of October, 1937. As the crisis approached between Munich and the outbreak of war, Roosevelt pressed the Poles to stand firm against any demands by Germany, and urged the English and French to back up the Poles unflinchingly. From captured Polish and French archives, the Germans collected no less than five volumes of material consisting almost exclusively of Roosevelt's bellicose pressure on European countries, mainly France and Poland. The Allies later seized them. Only a small portion has ever been published, most notably some seized by the Germans in Poland in 1939 and published as the *German White Paper*. It is highly probable that the material covering Roosevelt's pressure on England might amount to more than five volumes. There is no certainty whatever that England would have gone to war in September, 1939, had it not been for Roosevelt's encouragement and his assurances that, in the event of war, the United States would enter on the side of Britain just as soon as he could swing American public opinion around to support intervention. Yet, when the crisis became acute after August 23, 1939, Roosevelt sent several messages for the record urging that war be avoided through negotiations.

Despite this voluminous Revisionist literature which appeared since 1945 and its sensational content, there is still virtually no public knowledge of Revisionist facts some thirteen years after VE Day. The "man on the street" is just as prone to accept Roosevelt's "Day of Infamy" legend today as he was on December 8, 1941. A member of the state historical department of a leading eastern state recently wrote me that he had never heard of any Revisionist movement relative to the second World War until he read my article in the Spring, 1958, issue of *Modern Age*. By 1928, most literate Americans had a passable knowledge of the facts about the coming of war in 1914 and the American entry in 1917. What are the reasons for the strange contrast in the progress of realistic knowledge after 1918 and after 1945, so our examination of the reasons for the blockage of knowledge may be limited to the United States.

A main reason why Revisionism has made little headway since 1945 in attracting public attention in the United States is that the country never really had time to cool off after the War. We have pointed out above that the situation was not as acute here after 1945 as in Europe and Japan, but it was far more tense than it was in the United States in the 1920's. Even as early as the Congressional campaign and election of 1918, there was a rift in the wartime political monolith. By the campaign of 1920, disillusionment with the war had set in and a trend toward isolation from European quarrels had begun to assert itself. The United States refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles or to enter the League of Nations. There was a cooling off period for about twenty years after 1918. As late as 1941, the overwhelming majority of the American people wished to remain aloof from the European War, and Roosevelt had great difficulty in forcing through a peacetime draft law and in getting any repeal of the neutrality legislation.

Nothing like this happened following 1945. By March, 1946, Winston Churchill was proclaiming the Cold War in his speech at Fulton, Missouri, delivered with the benediction of President Truman, and a year later Truman actually launched the Cold War. This led, in 1950, to the outbreak of a hot war in Korea. The Orwellian technique of basing political tenure and bogus economic prosperity on cold and phony warfare had taken over by 1950, to enjoy an indefinite domination over the public mind. A hot war spontaneously provides plenty of genuine, even if dangerous and misguided, emotion, but a cold war has to be built up by propaganda and mythology and sustained on synthetic excitement which is provided by planned propaganda. The tortures of "1984,"

as administered by the “Ministry of Love,” have not as yet proved necessary in the United States. The American public proved more susceptible to simple brainwashing through propaganda than Orwell could imagine, although he was himself a veteran propagandist on the BBC. Orwellian doublethinking has enabled the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations to formulate and enforce mutually contradictory policies, and the “crimestop” technique of the Orwellian semantic system prevents the public, and many of its leaders, from thinking through any program or proclamation. A policy of perpetual war for perpetual peace does not appear unreasonable or illogical to the American public. Thus far, the propaganda carried on by our “Ministry of Truth,” with the almost unanimous aid of our press, has been sufficient to maintain popular support of the Cold War.

It is obvious that such a brainwashed and excited public is not likely to concern itself seriously with facts and writings that are designed to discredit warfare and furnish a solid basis for substantial peace. It should be about like expecting desert sheiks to concentrate on books devoted to water polo or outboard motorboat racing. The public mind has become all but impenetrable on such matters. In the mid-1920's, for the Allies to deride Uncle Sam as “Uncle Shylock” relative to a paltry 12 billion dollars of war debts made Americans so angry that they were willing to listen to Revisionist conclusions. In the mid-1950's, even such flagrantly offensive and ungrateful gestures as “Yanks Go Home,” after the United States had poured tens of thousands of lives and over 65 billion dollars of foreign aid appropriations and the public appeared to approve. Congressmen like John Taber, who for years had sought to kill as many appropriations as possible which were devoted to the effort to create a better life here at home, proclaimed that foreign aid was so important that it transcended the considerations of restraint, thrift and economy which they had so long demanded of appropriations to be used within our own borders.

The Fearful Fifties

Another explanation of the antipathy or indifference of the public to Revisionism since 1945 is to be found in the sharply contrasting intellectual atmosphere of the 1920's and of the period since 1945. Conditions in the 1920's and early 1930's were the most conducive to independent and fearless thought of any decade in modern American history. This was the period of Mencken and Nathan, of the height of the popularity of H.G. Wells. It was an era when James Harvey Robinson's *Mind in the Making* could become a best seller and Thorstein Veblen was the most respected American economist. Since 1945, we have run into a period of intellectual conformity unmatched since the supreme power and unity of the Catholic Church at the height of the Middle Ages. Between the pressures exerted by the Orwellian cold-war system and those which are equally powerful in the civilian or commercial world, intellectual individuality and independence have all but disappeared. In this era of *Nineteen Eighty-four*, “The Organization Man,” “The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit,” the “Hidden Persuaders,” and “Madison Avenue,” even the average American college graduate is no more inclined to independent thinking than was a Catholic peasant during the papacy of Innocent III.

Another reason for the unprecedented resistance of Revisionism after the second World War is the fact that the liberals and radicals, who became the shocktroops and spearhead of Revisionism in the 1920's, have since 1945 been overwhelmingly the chief opponents of any acceptance of Revisionist facts and conclusions. They were the leaders of the war party in Britain, France and the United States for months or years before 1939 and 1941, and they have never recanted. Although most of the prominent liberals heartily supported Wilson's war after 1917, they were completely disillusioned by the “Peace” Treaty and led the Revisionist parade after 1919. Especially notable were Herbert Croly and his editorial associates on the New Republic. They re-

canted, but plenty. Oswald Garrison Villard and most of his associates on the Nation did not need to recant, for they had never supported American intervention in 1917 with any enthusiasm.

'The Facts Be Damned'

A leading reason why the liberals and radicals have been unable to revise their pre-war views and attitudes is that their hatred of Hitler and Mussolini has been just too great to permit them to accept any facts, however well established, that might to any degree diminish the guilt with which these men were charged from 1939 onward — or from 1935, for that matter. In such a case, “facts can be damned.” There was no comparable pre-war hatred of Stalin on their part for them to have to live down. The hatred of Hitler has been especially bitter among some minority groups that were notably enthusiastic about the Revisionism that followed the first World War.

Indeed, the aversion to setting down any historical facts that might present the diplomacy of Hitler and Mussolini in any more favorable light than that of wartime appears to have extended to most Revisionists of today, even to those of a conservative temperament. After the first World War, most of the Revisionist historical writing was on the European background of August, 1914. There were only three important Revisionist books written on the American entry into the War—those by Tansill, Grattan and Millis, while there were a score or more on the European situation published in Europe and the United States. The first definitive book on American entry, Tansill’s *America Goes to War*, did not appear until 1938, ten years after Fay’s *Origins of the World War*.

After the second World War, all of the Revisionist books written by American authors have dealt chiefly with American entry into the War. There has not been a Revisionist book or a substantial Revisionist article which sets forth the truth about 1939. The nearest approach is the able and informed treatment of the European background in Tansill’s classic *Back Door to War*, but this book is devoted primarily to the American entry into the War. Either aversion to even the slightest mitigation of the wartime indictment of Hitler and Mussolini, or fear of the results, appears to have prevented even Revisionists in both the United States and Europe from having systematically tackled the crisis of 1939 in nearly twenty years after the events.

In the light of the fact that, earlier in this article, I have summarized the Revisionist conclusions about responsibility for the outbreak of the wars in 1939, it may legitimately be asked how I know about such matters if no definitive book has yet been published on this subject. All that I have stated is sustained by Professor Tansill’s *Back Door to War*. But there has also recently been completed a detailed treatment of the 1939 crisis by a superbly equipped scholar. This book will rank with the monumental work of Professor Fay on 1914. I have read this manuscript with great care and thoroughness. As a work of scholarship, it was approved by the most illustrious history department in the world today. The remaining problem is one of publication.

The anti-interventionist groups of 1937 and thereafter, like America First, were primarily conservative and for the most part welcomed the early Revisionist publications. But they soon fell in line with the Cold War because of the business advantages in industry, trade and finance which an extravagant armament program provided. Thereafter, they feared or refused to give any open support, financial or otherwise, to a scholarly movement which undermined the cold-war assumptions as thoroughly as it did the interventionist mythology of 1939-1941. Hence, Revisionism since 1947 has not only been unpopular or ignored but also poverty-stricken. On the other hand, the rich foundations have given lavish aid to the writing of anti-Revisionist books. About \$150,000 was given to aid the publication of the Langer and Gleason volumes, the most impressive effort to whitewash the diplomatic record of Roosevelt and Churchill.

Other factors have led to the almost incredible obstruction of Revisionism since 1945. The excessive "security" policies and measures which have been adopted under the cold-war system have greatly increased fear and timidity on the part of public officials, scholars and general public. Since Revisionism logically challenged the whole fabric of American public policy since Pearl Harbor, it was precarious to espouse it. It has become dangerous to work for peace except through war. The press, naturally, prefers the emotion-provoking frame of reference of a Cold War to the prosaic scholarship of Revisionism. In the 1920's, the press was congenial to Revisionism because it buttressed our prevailing public policies relative to reparations, war debts, isolationism, disarmament, neutrality and the like. Today, Revisionism challenges the honesty, intelligence, and integrity of our basic foreign policies by its devastating revelation of the disastrous results of our martial world-meddling since 1937.

Especially important is the difficulty in having Revisionist books published under auspices likely to arouse public interest and knowledge and in getting them presented to the reading public honestly and effectively. There have only been two publishers, and these relatively small ones, which have consistently published Revisionist books: the Henry Regnery Company in Chicago; and the Devin-Adair Company in New York City. Only five other small publishers have produced a Revisionist book—one book only in each of these cases save for the Yale University Press, which brought out both of Beard's volumes because the director was a close friend and great admirer of Beard. University presses have found it precarious to indulge in Revisionist publication; W.T.Couch, the able head of the University of Chicago Press, was dismissed primarily because he published so peripheral a Revisionist volume as A. Frank Reel's admirable book, *The Case of General Yamashita*.

Not one large commercial publisher in the United States has brought out a single substantial and literal Revisionist book since Pearl Harbor. This stands out in sharp contrast to the attitude of publishers toward Revisionist volumes in the 1920's and early 1930's. The largest publishers were then very eager to get such books. Professor Fay's classic work was published by the Macmillan Company, and the monumental two-volume work of John S. Ewart by Doran. Alfred Knopf published my *Genesis* and a veritable library of Revisionist books in the 1920's, but in 1953 he refused even to consider such a mild and restrained Revisionist book as Professor Current's scholarly study of the public career of Secretary Henry L. Stimson.

There are a number of obvious reasons why the big publishers shy away from Revisionist books today. In the first place, they are American citizens and, for reasons already discussed, like most of their fellow Americans, they dislike giving up their pre-war and war-time convictions, emotions, hatreds and prejudices; most of them just do not like Revisionists and Revisionism. Further, knowing that Revisionism is publicly unpopular, they realize that Revisionist books are not likely to sell well; hence, Revisionist publication is relatively poor business. Moreover, those publishers who may privately espouse Revisionism and would like to see some Revisionist books published, even if they had to do it with slight profit or even a small loss, just cannot consider a Revisionist book on its own merits or by itself alone. They have to take into account its possible effect on the general publishing trade and the book-buying public. The loss that they could sustain through merely publishing a Revisionist volume might be nothing as compared to what they would lose by the unfortunate impression such publication might make or from the retaliation which might follow.

Fear of the Book Clubs

They are especially alarmed at the possible retaliation at the hands of the various book clubs, since all the powerful ones are tightly controlled by those groups and interests most hostile to

Revisionism today. William Henry Chamberlin's *America's Second Crusade* is the one Revisionist treatment of the second World War which is admirable suited for popular sale and reading. It is precisely comparable to Walter Millis' *Road to War* on our entry into the first World War. The Millis book was a Book-of-the-Club selection and sold by the hundreds of thousands. The head of one of the largest publishing houses in the world knew and liked Chamberlin, admired his book, and personally would have liked to publish it. But he held, quite understandably, that he did not feel that he could do so in the light of his responsibilities to his stockholders. As he put it, if he published the Chamberlin book, his company probably would not get another Book-of-the-Month-Club adoption in a decade. The Chamberlin book was published by Henry Regnery.

A comparison of its fate with that of the Millis *Road to War* is instructive. Macy's, in New York City, ordered fifty copies of the Chamberlin book and returned forty as 61 unsold." If it could have been handled on its merits, surely five or six thousand copies would have been sold. A year after the date of publication, there was still not a copy of the book in the New York Public Library or any of its branches. Revisionist books are virtually boycotted, so far as sales to the general run of public libraries are concerned. The woman who exerts a greater influence upon library book orders than any other person in the United States is violently anti-Revisionist. She sees to it that Revisionist books are either ignored or smeared in her advice to librarians seeking guidance as to purchases.

Even when Revisionist books get into stores, clerks frequently refuse to display them and, in some cases, even lie about their availability. In the book department of America's outstanding store, a woman sought to purchase a copy of the most widely read Revisionist book. The clerk told her decisively that the supply was exhausted and no copies were available. The customer suspected that she was lying and was able to get the head of the store to make an investigation. It was found that over fifty copies were hidden under the counter and that the clerk knew that this was the case. The head of the store was so outraged that he ordered the book department to make a special display of the hitherto concealed book.

The leading magazines are just as reluctant to publish Revisionist articles as the great commercial publishers are to publish any Revisionist books. This is also is complete contrast to the situation in the 1920's when the editors of the better periodicals were eager to get authoritative articles by leading Revisionism in the 1920's and early 1930's were solicited by the editors. So far as I know this was true of other Revisionist writers. But not a substantial Revisionist article has been printed in a popular and powerful American periodical since Pearl Harbor. The reasons for editorial allergy to Revisionist articles are the same as those that affect the heads of the large commercial publishing houses relative to Revisionist books.

Incredible as it may seem, not only publishers but even printers have sought to suppress Revisionist material. When I presented a restrained brochure, based on extensive research and designed to set forth the basic facts about the military and political career of Marshal Petain, to a printing firm in New York City, the printers refused to put the material into type unless it was approved by the censorship department of one of the most powerful and vehemently anti-Revisionist minority groups in the country. Whereupon, I took the copy to a leading upstate New York printing firm which was not accessible to this form of pressure. The episode reminded one of the pre-publication censorship which existed back in the days of Copernicus.

Fate of the Reviews

The handicaps imposed on Revisionist books are not limited to the difficulties of publication and distribution. When these books are published they have usually been ignored, obscured or

smear. They have rarely been given decent notice or honest reviews, even if the opinion of the reviewer might be unfavorable. As one of the leading blackout organizations has advised its agents, it is preferable to ignore a book entirely if one wishes to assure killing its distribution and influence. Even a viciously unfair review will at least call attention to the volume and may arouse some curiosity and interest. To ignore it completely will do more than anything else to consign it to oblivion. Under the editorship of Guy Stanton Ford, it was the announced policy of the *American Historical Review* not to review "controversial" volumes, but, upon careful examination, it turned out that "controversial" meant "Revisionist." The most controversial anti-Revisionist books in the field were given good position and reviews as long as those usually accorded to books of comparable importance.

When Revisionist books are actually listed and reviewed, they are usually given an obscure position, often in the book notes. This was the case with Dr. Luigi Villari's book on *Italian Foreign Policy under Mussolini*. Although it was a book of major importance in diplomatic history—the only authoritative volume which had appeared on the subject and the author was the most distinguished living authority in the field, the book was consigned to the book note section of the *American Historical Review*, and outrageously smeared. It should be pointed out, in fairness, that since Dr. Boyd C. Shafer succeeded Dr. Ford as editor, Revisionist books have been given a somewhat more decent treatment in the *American Historical Review*. Space limitations do not permit me to cite here in detail the fate of the leading Revisionist books at the hands of scholarly periodicals, and the book review sections of leading periodicals, and the newspapers. I have gone into this matter at length in the first chapter of *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*.

The essence of the situation is that no matter how many Revisionist books are produced, how high their quality, or how sensational their revelations, they will have no effect on the American public until this public learns of the existence, nature and importance of Revisionist literature. That they have not been able to do so as yet is obvious, and the obstacles that have thus far proved effective have not been reduced to any noticeable extent. It is for this reason that honest historians and publicists will welcome the apparent desire of the editors of *Liberation* to open its columns to a discussion of Revisionism and to the revelation of its import for the public welfare of the country. It is the first step which has been taken in this direction in a liberal magazine since Pearl Harbor.

Favoritism

Thus far I have dealt almost exclusively with the private or non-official efforts to obscure the truth relative to the causes and results of the second World War. The official censorship has been as unrelenting and in many ways more shocking. Those who publish official documents do not have to be restrained by considerations of profit and loss. More than a decade ago, Charles Austin Beard, blasted the procedure of the State Department in its tendency to permit historians favorable to the official foreign policy to use the public documents rather freely, while denying such access to anybody suspected of Revisionist sympathies. This led to some momentary relaxation of censorship, and it was fortunate that Professor Tansill was able to carry on much of his research at this time. But soon the censorship and restrictions returned full force.

The Republicans promised drastic reform of this abuse when they came into power in 1953, but they failed to implement these assurances and, under Secretary Dulles, the scandal grew to, far greater proportions than under Democratic auspices. The same historical advisor, Dr. G. Bernard Noble, was continued in the service and actually promoted to be Director of the Historical Division of the State Department. He was a Democrat, a Rhodes scholar, and known to be one of the

most frenzied advocates of our intervention in the second World War among all American social scientists and an implacable enemy of Revisionism.

In May, 1953, the State Department promised that all records of the international conferences during the second World War would be ready for publication within a year and that all other documents on the period since 1939 would be speedily published.

Nothing was done until the spring of 1955, when the documents on the Yalta Conference were finally published. It was evident, and soon proved, that these had been garbled and censored in flagrant fashion. Two able members of the historical staff of the Department, Dr. Bryton Barron and Dr. Donald Dozer, protested against this suppression and garbling of documents. Noble forced Barron into premature retirement without pay and discharged Dozer. The latter was reinstated by the Civil Service Commission, but Noble was able to get him discharged a second time-and this time permanently. Barron had been assigned to compile the material bearing on the Yalta Conference, and Dozer that on the Cairo-Teheran Conferences. Only one other publication has since been produced, some incomplete documents on 1939. This appeared during the last year and was also censored and garbled.

In the meantime, some 37 volumes dealing with our foreign policy since 1939 were collected and made ready for publication. But nothing was sent to the printer and, in the spring of 1958, the State Department blandly announced that it did not propose to publish any of these volumes in the predictable future. It gave as the reason the assertion that publication might possibly offend some persons among our NATO allies. To give this amazing procedure some semblance of historical authority, the State Department had appointed a hand-picked committee in 1957 to advise the Department on publication. The personnel of the committee, which did not contain one Revisionist historian, assured that the right advice would be turned in. The chairman was none other than Professor Dexter Perkins, admittedly a jolly and affable historical politician, but also one of the half-dozen outstanding and unrelenting opponents of Revisionist scholarship in this country. The committee dutifully reported that publication of any of the 37 volumes lying on the shelves awaiting the government printers would not be politically expedient.

When Dr. Barron appeared before a Senatorial committee to protest against the censorship and delays, he was allowed only eleven minutes to testify, although witnesses supporting the official censorship were allowed ample time. As one of the abler editorial writers in the country commented, quite correctly: "Such a record of concealment and duplicity is unparalleled. Its only counterpart is the 'memory hole' in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, where an authoritarian regime of the future was depicted as disposing of all documents and facts that failed to fit into the current party line." All this is hardly consistent with the assumed role of the United States as the leader of the "Free Nations" or with our bitter condemnation of the Russians for censoring their official documents.

There are, of course, some vital official documents dealing with the onset of the second World War that the Government has never even dreamed of publishing at any time and are so full of dynamite that not even historians engaged in whitewashing the official record are allowed to use them. Such are the so-called "Kent Documents," namely, the nearly 2000 secret messages illegally exchanged in the American code between Churchill and Roosevelt from September, 1939, onward. Churchill, himself, has frankly told us that these documents contain most of the really vital facts about the collaboration between him and Roosevelt in their joint efforts to bring the United States into the War. When the most impressive historical effort to whitewash the Roosevelt-Churchill record was about to be undertaken, Churchill threatened the principal author with a court suit if he made use of these "Kent Documents."

The suppression of documents relative to responsibility for the second World War extends, of course, far beyond all Anglo-American activities and relations. When the Communists and Socialists in Russia, Germany and Austria published their archives following 1918 in order to discredit the old imperial regimes, this forced the British and French ultimately to do the same. Eventually, scholars had virtually all the factual material at their disposal.

Nothing like this has been possible after the second World War. The victorious Allied Powers, chiefly Britain and the United States, captured the German and Italian archives, except for some of the more vital Italian materials which the Italian Communists destroyed, with Allied connivance, when they captured and murdered Mussolini. Today, Germany and Italy could not publish all their documents even if they wished to do so, for they do not possess them. Some have been returned to Italy, and the Germans have been promised theirs. But one may be sure that any material which seriously reflects on the United States and Britain will not be included. Publication thus far has been limited to what the American and British authorities have seen fit to release, and there is no evidence that it has been any more fully and honestly presented than the documents on the Yalta Conference. Nor can the Germans and Italians be expected to publish anything likely to modify the wartime indictment of Hitler and Mussolini. Unlike the Weimar Republic, the Adenauer Government is vigorously opposed to Revisionist scholarship and publication. The same is true of the Italian Government.

The main import of all this official censorship is that the Revisionist verdict relative to responsibility for the second World War is far less drastic than it will be if and when all the documents are available. If the documents now suppressed in such abundance and with such thoroughness would lessen the already severe indictment of the wartime leaders, elementary logic and strategy support the assumption that they would have been published long before the present moment in order to modify or eliminate the severe judgments already set forth in existing Revisionist volumes.

One paradox should be noted relative to the status and results of Revisionism after the two World Wars. After the first World War, the Revisionist verdict as to the responsibility for the war was very generally accepted by scholars and intelligent public leaders, but little was done about it in the way of revising the European post-war system that had been based on the lies and propaganda of wartime. If the logical steps had been taken to revise the post-war treaties while the German Republic was in existence, it is unlikely that Hitler would ever have risen to power in Germany, that there would ever have been any second World War, or that any Cold War would have come on its heels. After the second World War, while the facts brought forth by Revisionism as to the responsibility for the War have been ignored, indeed, are virtually unknown to the public among the victorious Allies, there has been an almost complete revision of public policy toward our former enemies. Both Germany and Japan have been almost forcibly rearmed and given extensive material aid so that they can now function as allies against our former ally, Soviet Russia. One can imagine the outcry if, say in 1925, we had insisted that Germany and Austria must re-arm to the hilt and we had expressed our determination to enable them to do so.

Any such situation as has taken place since 1945 could only be possible in an era of Orwellian double-thinking and "crimestop." We spent about 400 billion dollars to destroy Germany and Japan and, after their destruction, we have poured in more billions to restore their military power. If it were conceivable that we could fight a third world war without exterminating all the participants, we might envisage a situation where, after destroying Russia, we proceeded to give her billions to rebuild her fighting power to defend us against China and India.

One lesson that revisionism might teach us is that we should learn from it public attitudes which could protect us against repeated folly and tragedy. The eminent philosopher, John Dewey, told a friend of mine that if he had not been so wrong in his attitude toward the first World War (as exemplified by his *German Philosophy and Politics*), he might have succumbed to the propaganda that led us into the Second World War. But publics appear to profit less by experience than pragmatic philosophers. They seem to vindicate Hegel's classic observation that the only lesson that history teaches us is that we learn nothing from history. In an age of hydrogen bombs, intercontinental guided missiles, terrifyingly lethal chemical and bacterial warfare, and pushbutton military technology, we shall have to do better than the publics of Hegel's time if we are to have any prospect of survival or of attaining such a degree of peace, security, and well-being as would justify survival. But the American public can hardly learn any lesson from Revisionism if it does not even know that it exists, to say nothing of its content and implications.

Unless and until we can break through the historical blackout, now supported even by public policy, and enable the peoples of the world to know the facts concerning international relations during the last quarter of a century, there can be no real hope for the peace, security and prosperity which the present triumphs of science and technology could make possible. The well-being of the human race, if not its very survival, is very literally dependent on the triumph of revisionism.

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Book review

The Holocaust and the Historians

- *The Holocaust and the Historians*, by Lucy S. Dawidowicz, Harvard University Press, 187pp, \$15.00, ISBN 0-674-40566-8.

reviewed by Bezalel Chaim

“What, in sanctifying the Holocaust, do Jews not want to know about that grim era?” (Quoted from “The Holocaust, and the Myth of the Past as History,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter, 1980, Dr. Howard F. Stein)

Mrs. Lucy S. Dawidowicz' *The Holocaust and the Historians* is remarkable more for what it does not say than for the actual content of this meager book. In a recent review in the *The New York Times*, John Leonard characterized Mrs. Dawidowicz' work “confused.” Confused it is — and evasive.

Except for a brief footnote on Arthur R. Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, which Mrs. Dawidowicz calls an “overtly anti-Semitic work,” there is no mention of the significant writings of Faurisson, Rassinier and Felderer. Instead, Mrs. Dawidowicz refers readers to her tacky *Commentary* article, “Lies About the Holocaust,” again smearing Revisionist historians as “neo-Nazi.”

In spite of the fact that we are almost literally *bombarded* night and day, week after week in the newspapers and mass media with various aspects of the Holocaust myth, Mrs. Dawidowicz is fearful that the history of the alleged six million murdered Jews will be obliterated from the face of the earth. And in order to sanctify this supposed unique aspect of suffering, Mrs. Dawidowicz makes a supreme effort to downplay the horrors of Hiroshima, Dresden and Vietnam. It is as if to say “Our suffering has more meaning than yours,” as Dr. Howard F. Stein states in his courageous *Journal of Historical Review* article cited above.

Mrs. Dawidowicz uses the opportunity given her in this book to jump on the “anti-Hannah Arendt” bandwagon. Hannah Arendt, probably the most brilliant of Jewish essayists, had the effrontery to infuriate the Jewish establishment by her critical comments on the role of the *Judenräte* and such people as the Rothschilds in the undoing of their people. The Ghetto bureaucrats and “court bankers,” according to Hannah Arendt, profited from the governments, misguided the Jewish masses and were the actual agents of anti-Semitism!

The student wishing to find some information on the origins of the wars of this century will find this book of little value. Indeed the destruction of the culture of Ashkenazic Jewry was a great

tragedy, but one can find few clues as to how this might have been averted in Mrs. Dawidowicz' work.

What is missing in *The Holocaust and the Historians* are the First and Second acts. The barrage of anti-German propaganda in the thirties and the battle for a negotiated peace in 1944 are two subjects that would bear further investigation by our historians. A negotiated peace in 1944 would surely have saved many Jewish (and other) lives! Reading history through the Third act is well for Mrs. Dawidowicz but it obviously will not do for those of us who wish to avoid future wars and future "holocausts."

Mrs. Dawidowicz makes much of the writings of Fritz Fisher in an effort to bolster her theory of the "continuity" of German history and the idea of "Germany As the Aggressor Throughout the Ages." It is remarkable that such nonsense can still be taken seriously. Fischer's thesis has been demolished elsewhere but the corpse of "unique German culpability" still has not been interred.

In criticizing Mrs. Dawidowicz' latest work this reviewer would like to point out a defect of both Revisionist and anti-Revisionist writing. To a point we should attempt to make a more accurate location of who the "good-guys" and "bad-guys" were in, the historical process. But most Revisionists and anti-Revisionists understand nothing whatever what the *forces* are which cause different people or "historical personages" to act the way they do. Only a few think in this frame of reference. Proudhon once said, "Not to the man, legislator, or prince do we look for the meaning of his acts, but to the acts themselves," implying that the actors in any historical event did not understand what motivated them, except from an extremely shortrange view. They had little or no comprehension whatever of the larger evolutionary course of events. In this respect more intense study by Revisionists of the American and European individualist anarchists (or libertarian socialists) and the writings of some of the psychohistorians-Howard F. Stein, Henry Ebel, George Kren, and David R. Beisel would be very useful in addition to the writings of Lawrence Dennis and C.H. Douglas.

The Holocaust and the Historians however has some "tidbits" which unintentionally substantiate Revisionist interpretations. In a revealing footnote Mrs. Dawidowicz states:

"Many thousands of oral histories by survivors recounting their experiences exist in libraries and archives around the world. Their quality and usefulness vary significantly according to the informant's memory, grasp of events, insights, and of course accuracy. Also important in determining the quality of the account is the interviewer's ability to pursue lines of inquiry that elicit information that has been subconsciously or deliberately suppressed or that supplements an already accumulated body of information on a given subject or place. The longer the time elapsed, the less likely that the informant has retained freshness of recollection or can offer new information. The transcribed testimonies I have examined have been full of errors in dates, names of participants, and places, and there are evident misunderstandings of the events themselves. To the unwary researcher, some of the accounts can be more hazard than help."

It is encouraging to know that at long last many intellectuals of Jewish origin (such as John-Gabriel Cohn Bendit, Claude Karnooh, Jacob Assous) are beginning to recognize the real nature of the Holocaust- "that Nazism is indeed the bogeyman used by the liberal democracies to obtain the submission of their populations."

Mrs. Dawidowicz' book comes after a year of unremitting attack and smear of The Institute for Historical Review, [Liberty Lobby](#), [The Spotlight](#), beginning with Mrs. Dawidowicz' own article

in *Commentary*, continuing with Paul Berman's vicious diatribe in *Village Voice* (N.Y.), and articles in *Los Angeles Magazine* and *New Republic* (Mark Hosenball). These hatchet jobs completely fail to come to grips with the substance of the Revisionist argument. The alleged "racism," "anti-Semitism" of all "Willis Carto-associated" publications and organizations is repeatedly used to stifle all revisionist argument, and indeed an attempt is being made now to smear the Serge Thion-libertarian socialist group in France with the same "anti-Semitic" brush. It may very well be that general acceptance of Revisionist interpretations will have to wait until the year 2050. If so, the lessons will be very costly. The prime noodles of civilization created the appropriate conditions for Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler and later, a veritable mass of petty dictators (of both Fascist and Socialist Communist variety) in the 1946-1981 period.

While America grovels under the yoke of Volcker and the infamous Federal Reserve System, a vast military-industrial complex, organized crime, cowardly and venal politicians, and the disintegration of safety and public order in our cities we are still preoccupied with the fantasies of "internationalism," notwithstanding the complete and utter failure of liberal-conservative policy since 1917, a policy in which a small, entrenched financial elite has made tremendous gains at the expense of the many. Mrs. Dawidowicz' latest opus is just one more "brief for the Establishment."

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Book review

By Blood and Fire

- *By Blood and Fire*, by Thurston Clarke, G.P.Putnam's Sons, Ilb, \$12.95.

reviewed by W. R. Silberstein

In these days of erotic fiction and strange “documentaries” on the market, it is rewarding to read an excellent non-fiction book on a little known subject that hasn't been widely documented.

By Blood and Fire is virtually a scenario of one of the most contemptible acts of unmitigated murder by terrorism of the Twentieth Century; the deliberate bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, 22 July 1946.

Author Thurston Clarke, who's other literary credits are *The Last Caravan* and *Dirty Money*, has done a masterful job in research of a painful subject that places the blame for this horrible terrorist attack on the present Prime Minister of Israel, Menahem Begin.

At just past noon on 22 July 1946, six members of Begin's *Irgun zvai leumi* crept into the basement entrance of the King David Hotel, placed seven steel milk churns filled with gelignite and TNT in the popular Regency Bar and blew up the entire south wing of the hotel, killing 91 British civil servants, Arabs and Jews and wounding 46.

The reasoning behind such an act is as strange as the acts of terrorism committed by Jews and Arabs in Palestine today. What these murders accomplish seems to be a mute question. Any mention of this bombing attack to Prime Minister Begin today brings on stoney silence accompanied by a statement, “they were given a warning beforehand.”

Much of the value of this book lies in the chronology; the time table of events by these “soldiers” of the terrorist Irgun, and goes into detail how Begin, the commander-in-chief of the Irgun, disregarded the pleas of the Haganah and the powerful “X Committee” and even Dr. Chaim Weizmann the chief Zionist of the entire Israeli movement, not to engage in an act of terrorism against the British “caretakers” of Palestine.

The six story King David Hotel in Jerusalem was one of the most popular meeting places in the city. The British administrative offices were in the south wing of the hotel and those employed were innocent British civil servants including 17 Jews, all of whom were murdered in the tremendous blast.

It is difficult to understand the rationale of such an act, except to remember that the Arabs outnumbered the Jews over the years and it is still an enigma as to “whom does Palestine belong to?”

Because of all the Arab and Jewish unrest in 1939 when thousands of Jews “emigrated” to Israel, the caretaker Government of Great Britain issued a *White Paper* stating that “no more than 75,000 Jews would be allowed to immigrate into Palestine in the coming 5 years.” This declaration was as unpopular to the resident Arabs as the invading Jews, and brought about terrorism toward the British from Jew and Arab alike.

Following Hitler’s passage of the law allowing German nationals to repurchase their commercial and residential property at the same price they were forced to sell to wealthy Jews after World War I, the German Jews were stripped of their financial power and left Germany in droves to immigrate into Palestine against the wishes of the British Government.

Thurston Clarke walks a tightrope depicting the objectives of both Arabs and Jews as well as British interests. He takes no sides and makes use of documented evidence and eye witness accounts of the bombing.

Excellent photographs, maps and diagrams are included in the book, available in selected bookstores and in many public libraries.

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Book review

Czechoslovakia's Role in Soviet Strategy

- *Czechoslovakia's Role in Soviet Strategy*, by Josef Kalvoda, University Press of America, Pb, 382pp, \$9.75.

reviewed by W. K. F. Schuldes

The author, a professional historian, was born in Czechoslovakia in 1923, left the CSR in 1948, has been living in the USA since 1951 and presently teaches at St. Joseph's College in West Hartford, Conn.

Prof. Kalvoda has given us a meticulous and scholarly account of the Soviet takeover of Czechoslovakia. Kalvoda plowed through piles of notes, documents and books mainly of Czech, but also of Russian, Austrian and German origin. The 82 pages of bibliography are extremely valuable.

The author begins in 1914, when Czech and Slovak contingents of the Austrian army at the Russian front shot their Austrian officers and defected to the Russian enemy. In the same year, Thomas G. Masaryk, later president of Czechoslovakia, made his first contact with British authorities, seeking support in his drive for Czech independence. The British Government preferred an independent Czech state to one attached to the Russian empire. Three years later, the British sent Masaryk to Russia to organize a Czech Legion there from 250,000 Czech and Slovak defectors in that country. Masaryk immediately asserted himself as Commander-in-Chief of a 50,000 man legion which he put under French command, a purely theoretical arrangement, since the Legion never arrived on the Western front.

The history of this Czech Legion is described in detail. One is astonished to learn, that in May 1918, Leon Trotzky, following higher orders, tried to incorporate these Czecho-Slovaks into the Red army and assorted labor groups. Some American and British leaders wished that these men could have helped them in their effort to defeat the Bolsheviks, but Masaryk held stubbornly to his policy of neutrality toward the Bolsheviks and even suggested that the Allies recognize the Red regime. Thus, Masaryk was one of the first politicians to bolster Bolshevism.

Eduard Benesh, portrayed by Kalvoda as a liar, cheater, and weak character, was another self-appointed politician who played a leading role in bringing the CSR into the Bolshevik fold: a "quartermaster of Communism in Central Europe." Or as chancellor Smutny called him: "The greatest Machiavelli of our time." (It is known, for example, that Benesh during the negotiations for the 1919 Treaty of St. Germain presented a forged map, which minimized the German population to be incorporated into the new CSR from 3.5 Million inhabitants to 1.2 Million.)

Benesh was cold-shouldered by the other Czech exiles, but with Russian help, managed to assert himself as their leader and while in Washington in May 1943, he assured F.D. Roosevelt of Soviet harmlessness and trustworthiness. When planning for the postwar Czechoslovakia, Benesh, in agreement with British and American authorities, originally intended to make concessions in favor of Germany. It was Stalin, who, in Dec. 1943, told him that he wanted Germany completely weakened and suggested that Sudeten Germans (as well as Hungarians) be evicted from the CSR. As Benesh put it later: "The transfer of the German property will be the beginning of a great social transformation."

Kalvoda's descriptions and analysis are excellent. He shows that Benesh was the main grave-digger of an independent Czechoslovakia. Yet, in his final conclusion he fails to emphasize the full implications which the expulsion of 3.5 Million Sudeten Germans had on the country: namely the permanent protection by "Big Brother" against any possible "justice seeking" by Sudeten Germans that might occur in the future.

Furthermore, I cannot agree with Kalvoda's assertions that Czechslovakia between 1918-38 had a "strong democratic tradition." Aside from the fact that the Sudeten German, Hungarian, Polish, and Ukrainian minorities were completely outmaneuvered in the Czech parliament, incidents like the machine-gunning of peaceful demonstrators in Troppau and Kaaden on 4 March 1919, which left 54 dead and 107 wounded, were a far cry from "democratic traditions!"

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Book Review

Defeat in the East: Russia Conquers — January to May 1945

- *Defeat in the East: Russia Conquers — January to May 1945*, by Jürgen Thorwald, edited and translated by Fred Wieck, Bantam Books, Pb, 292pp with maps and drawings, \$2.50, ISBN 0-553-13469-8.

reviewed by Charles Lutton

Most of the actual fighting during the Second World War took place on the Eastern Front between the Soviet Union and Germany and her allies. The last stages of the war in the East are vividly described by the German journalist and historian, Juergen Thorwald. In *Defeat in the East*, Thorwald traces the military debacle of the Third Reich and shows what happened to the civilian population wherever the Red Army conquered.

The author participated in the rescue of refugees in eastern Germany and interviewed civilian and military survivors of the final collapse. On the basis of his own experience and interviews, as well as documentation available in the immediate post-war period, Thorwald was able to reconstruct a story that is still little known in the West. The book at hand is a translation based on a two-volume German work of more than seven hundred and fifty pages. It first appeared in an English language edition in 1951, under the title *Flight in Winter*, published by Pantheon Books, and has recently been reprinted as one of the titles in the popular Bantam War Books Series.

At the beginning of June 1944, Axis troops still controlled much Russian territory. Later that month, two hundred twenty-five Soviet infantry and armored divisions smashed through German Army Group Center, comprised of forty understrength divisions. On 23 August 1944, Romania left the Axis and the Red Army drove on into Hungary. People of German descent caught in the Russian steamroller were tortured, murdered, or deported. Refugees streamed into Austria.

By late fall, General Heinz Guderian, Chief of the German Army General Staff, managed to scrape together fourteen divisions of reserves for deployment against the Russians. They were instead frittered away in Hitler's fruitless December offensive in the Ardennes. When the new Russian drive commenced during the second week of January 1945, the German front lines disintegrated.

In almost every German settlement, village, or town where the Red Army advanced, the Russian troops engaged in an orgy of rape, murder, looting, and deportation. Women over seventy and girls under twelve were gang-raped, drafted for forced labor, and the healthier ones frequently rounded up, packed into cattlecars and transported to Russia. For over three years, the Communist propagandist Ilya Ehrenburg had promised Red Army troops the German women as their booty. Soviet officers often read to their soldiers Ehrenburg's enjoinder to: "Kill, Red Army men,

Kill! No fascist is innocent, be he alive, be he as yet unborn. Kill!” As one eyewitness to the events reported, “It seemed as though the devil himself had come to Silesia. The 'Mongol barbarism of the Asiatic plains' had come not in a propaganda phrase but in the flesh. From January into April there raged a seemingly planless regime of looting, rape, and murder. Every German was fair game, all German property booty.”

But the wholesale acts of atrocity committed against the German civilian populations of Eastern Europe were not planless. Instead, they were part of a preconceived plan designed to drive out all Germans and annex areas to the Soviet Union and pro-Soviet Poland. When the British and Americans bombed the defenseless Saxon capital of Dresden on 13-14 February 1945, killing thousands of the civilians who had sought refuge there, it appeared to be a further implementation of an Allied plan. During the December Ardennes offensive, the Germans captured enemy documents concerning Operation “Eclipse,” codename of the notorious design inspired by U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, which called for the destruction of the German nation following the allied victory.

Although the Soviets and their Western Allies had complete control of the air and held vast superiority in ground forces, the Germans tenaciously fought on. Boys of twelve and over from the Hitler Youth were given hasty lessons in the use of rifles, machineguns, or Panzerfausts; (a bazooka-like anti-tank weapon), and sent to the shrinking front lines, often joining the elderly men of the Volksturm (People’s Militia). German military commanders continued to offer resistance in the East wherever such action served to cover the escape of the refugees. As they retreated, the Germans tried, with varying success, to surrender to British and American forces.

Thorwald discusses efforts by members of Hitler’s entourage to negotiate with the West in order to end the fighting against the Anglo-Americans and concentrate their remaining resources on resisting the Russians. Following Hitler’s suicide, his successor, Admiral Karl Dönitz, issued a proclamation which summarized his goal, “My first task is to save the German people from destruction by the Bolshevik enemy. Fighting continues only to serve this one purpose. Only so far as this purpose is being opposed by the Americans and the English, only so far will we have to defend ourselves against them also.”

Dönitz attempted to bring about a partial surrender on the Western Front, but the Allied Supreme Commander, General Eisenhower, demanded unconditional surrender to all the Allies simultaneously. Having no alternative, the Dönitz government capitulated in early May.

For many in Eastern Europe, VE Day did not end their suffering. The author recounts the fate of the Germans living in Czechoslovakia who were tortured and often murdered until the last of them fled the country. Germans were not the only ones victimized: Russian POWs, some of them members of General Vlassov’s Army and Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, were arrested as henchmen of Hitler and turned over to the Soviets.

Juergen Thorwald has drawn attention to a topic that has been played down in the post-war years. *Defeat in the East* should be read in company with Alfred de Zayas’ *Nemesis at Potsdam* and Nikolai Tolstov’s *The Secret Betrayal*, which describe in detail the post-war torments suffered by Germans and Russians at the hands of the victors. Anyone perusing these important volumes will no longer be convinced the Nazis had a monopoly on “war crimes.”

Reviewing this period of history, Harry Elmer Barnes observed that, “Even if one were to accept the most extreme and exaggerated indictment of Hitler and the national socialists for their activities after 1939 made by anybody fit to remain outside a mental hospital, it is almost alarmingly easy to demonstrate that the atrocities of the Allies in the same period were more numerous as to

victims and were carried out for the most part by methods more brutal and painful than alleged extermination in gas ovens.”

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Review

Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Re-appraisal

- *Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Re-appraisal*, edited by H. K. Thompson, Jr. and Henry Strutz, preface by Justice William L. Hart, Amber Publishing (available from the IHR), Hb, 230pp heavily illustrated \$11.00, ISBN 0-916788-01-6.

reviewed by T. D. Hendry

This exceptionally comprehensive book was dedicated to Admiral Karl Dönitz, “a naval officer of unexcelled ability and unequalled courage who, in his nation’s darkest hour, offered his person and sacrificed his future to save the lives of many thousands of people.”

The editors, in their introduction, talk about the purpose of the book being “a sampling of updated qualified opinion on the Nuremberg and related 'war crimes trials' of Axis personnel conducted by the Allies after WW II, with emphasis on the trial of Dönitz.”

Dan V. Gallery, Rear Admiral, U.S.N (Ret.), in his prologue, refers to the International Military Tribunal (IMT) as “a kangaroo court ... with men whose hands were bloody sitting on the judges seats.”

In this book are excerpts from pp 215-219 of *Profiles of Courage* by Pres. John F. Kennedy who lauds the October, 1946 position taken by Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, who was disturbed by the war crimes trials of Axis leaders. Kennedy asserts “the Nuremberg trials were at no time before the Congress for consideration ... not an issue in the campaign ... but Bob Taft spoke out. Quotes Taft: 'About this whole judgment there is the spirit of vengeance, and vengeance is seldom justice. In these trials we have accepted the Russian idea of the purpose of trials — government policy and not justice — with little relation to Anglo-Saxon heritage. By clothing policy in the forms of legal procedure, we may discredit the whole idea of justice in Europe for years to come ... ' Kennedy reasserts what the Ohio Senator insisted: Nuremberg 'was a blot on American Constitutional history and a serious departure from our Anglo-Saxon heritage of fair and equal treatment ... ’”

The book itself comprises 194 pages, with signed statements from approximately 380 world leaders, spokesmen, and people of prominence-many of them military- condemning the trials as a “travesty of justice”, “violation of international law,” “hypocritical,” “unjust”, “unfair”, “contemptible”, “a step backward in international law” according to judge Learned Hand.

Distinguished contributors include: Vice Adm. W. L. Ainsworth, Rear Admirals C. Alexandris and J. E. Arnold; Hon. J. H. Ball; Prof. H. E. Barnes; Hon. S. Draden and U. L. Burdick; Taylor Caldwell, W.H. Chamberlin; Lady E.M. Chetwynd; Prof. Kenneth Colgrove; P. A. del Valle, Lt.

Gen; Justice William O. Douglas; T.S. Eliot, Brig. Gen. B. Fellers; J.H. Gipson of Caxton Printers; Prof. W.E. Hocking; Adm. H. E. Kimmel; Hon. W. Langer and J. B. Lee; Adolph Menjou; Vice Adm. A.E. Montgomery; Flt. Adm. C. W. Nimitz; Adm. Sir H. A. Packer; Adm. J. W. Reeves; Brig. Gen. A. Skeen; Lt. Gen. G. E. Stratemeyer; Prof. C. C. Tansill; Hon. F. J. P. Veale; Rear Adm. J. Wainwright; Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer; Hon. Burton K. Wheeler-among many other distinguished contributors.

This is a truly intriguing and revealing work which sets the record straight on some of the most bizarre judicial proceedings of the Twentieth Century. What is most painfully evident from this distinguished volume is not only that Dönitz and many, many others committed no crimes, but those who passed verdicts on them at Nuremberg did. This is a book not only for students of military and naval history, but for all who are interested in seeking justice and an understanding of how it can be dangerously perverted to serve the interests of the savagely vengeful.

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Book review

Not to the Swift: The Old Isolationists in the Cold War Era

- *Not to the Swift: The Old Isolationists in the Cold War Era*, by Justus D. Doenecke, Bucknell University Press, Hardback, \$17.50, ISBN 0-8387-1940-6.

reviewed by Bezalel Chaim

Justus D. Doenecke's book is a veritable gold-mine of information for the serious scholar of Revisionist historiography. Although lacking the minute detail of a similar work, James J. Martin's *American Liberalism and World Politics*, it nevertheless will prove a fruitful source for future scholars delving into the immediate post-World War II period.

The views of Lawrence Dennis, Harry Elmer Barnes, John T. Flynn, Charles Callan Tansill, Charles A. Lindbergh, Norman Thomas, Frank Chodorov, Henry Regnery, William Henry Chamberlin, Frank Hanighen, and several dozen others are examined as to their attitude toward world events in the 1945-1960 period.

Although obviously sympathetic to the views of say, Lawrence Dennis-since Doenecke is an 'academic' historian (of the "He said it; not I" school- lip-service must be paid to anti-McCarthyism and there is a rather gratuitous anti-McCarthyism thrown in. McCarthy's escapades were after all, small time "stuff" compared to the exploits of Roosevelt and his "liberal" entourage.

In his acknowledgments Dr. Doenecke neatly juggles the names of James J. Martin and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., two very disparate figures, but the Professor perhaps should be forgiven his tightrope-walking. He has produced an eminently readable account of some of the most interesting American historians and publicists of the last fifty years.

A Note From The Editor

With the recent (second) fire-bombing of the IHR offices, one could say that this — our first 128 page *Journal of Historical Review* — has been launched with a real bang!

Our gain is substantial and lasting. That of the “Jewish Defenders” was but a moment of typical destructive glee.

How invidious the minds must be that perpetrate or even sympathize with these juvenile, frantic acts of cowardly violence. Are they capable of perceiving the damage they're doing to their very own *causus belli*? Or is that their unannounced intention?

When revisionists wreak havoc on the opposition, we at least take the civilized route of open debate. That, in fact, is one of the more regenerative qualities of the literature we make available. Typically, though, this approach carries little weight with the unsocial-minded who can only screech in turbulent protest, slander, and toss explosives in the night.

But bombs don't obliterate truth. They only serve to ignite the quest for it. Threats and public demonstrations of victimitis won't frighten or emote the facts away. Smears and calculated mendacity can't negate the inescapable conclusions of honest researchers.

No, their truculence isn't working so well. The simple and total media blackout of years ago was a far more effective device. And we say this even at the risk of having the suggestion taken seriously. But it's too late to revert, we think, and we might just have open warfare on our hands, no doubt to make history safe for democracy.

But in the meantime we have a new and greater *Journal of Historical Review* to introduce.

Dr. Robert Faurisson is with us again. We think you'll find the long-awaited translation of his extensive work on the Anne Frank Diary as potent as it is pure joy to read.

Complimenting that are several of the papers delivered at the IHR's annual conference last November: Dr. Weber offers his insights into the benefits accruing to the non-Jewish propagators of the extermination thesis; Dr. Andronescu writes on the pumped-up Holocaust statistics attributed to his native Romania; Dr. Larson gives us some very interesting background on the Dead Sea Scrolls; and Sam Konkin looks at the war to come in El Salvador.

Let us know what you think.

Correspondence

MIRACLE AT MAJDANEK?

The Majdanek “gas chambers” are no longer a mystery. Finally, after 3 talks with the Majdanek director, Mr. Edward Dziadosz, and the custos, Madam Henryka Telesz, it has at last been admitted that the “gas chambers” are not authentic. They were built and set in order after the war.

Dziadosz informed us that the “gas chambers” were erected after the war on the basis of witnesses' accounts. Who these witnesses are he has never told us and most likely never will. When we spoke to him for the first time in 1978 he could not give us even one person in Poland who had witnessed the gassings, so we can just imagine what kind of “witnesses” his “witnesses” really are.

While we were at Majdanek this year, we went into one of the “gas chambers” to study them closely and take additional detailed photographs. The area is closed off, but as before, we managed to sneak in. It so happened that while we were inside the “gas chambers,” the custos, Madam Telesz, came strutting along with a West German group she was “guiding.” Attentively, we listened to her telling her “true” story. We had to press our bodies tightly against the wall, lest the people and the custos herself would notice us as they were gazing into the “gas chamber.” This “gas chamber” by the way is one of the two with the holes on the ceiling where it is claimed Zyklon B was discharged. Not a word was mentioned by Telesz that this building had been altered after the war but she made it out as if everything was authentic. She even went so far as to fool the tourists into believing that inside this particular “gas chamber,” people were also shot, and that the bullet holes from these events were clearly visible on the wall. Why such shootings did not also take place in the other “gas chambers,” only she herself and her fellow Exterminationists would know. Evidently these holes were also made by the Majdanek, Hollywood stage artists and, of course, all based on some mysterious “witnesses.”

During an animated discussion in the summer of 1981 between myself, Mr. Edward Dziadosz and the custos Madam Henryka Telesz, a rather interesting thing happened which illustrates the point nicely how our rivals are using tress as evidence for extermination. Being unable to give us any proof of deliberate extermination at Majdanek, Madam Telesz, who was visibly shaken, retorted that the evidence for deliberate extermination was clearly proven by the fact the the Germans had planted trees. For my own sake, I just could not catch her reasoning, for if the planting of trees gave clear evidence of extermination, then anything can prove extermination. At any rate, I asked her: “Do you mean that the Germans planted trees here at Majdanek to cover up all the traces of their crimes?” “No, no, but at those other places,” Telesz said. “What places?” I asked her. Unable to give me an answer and as she, by this time, was thoroughly confused, I decided to help her. “Perhaps you mean such places as Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka?” “Yes, yes,” she nodded back to me. I then told her straight in her face: “Dear Madam, we have made tests of those tress and they are no older than 20 years, and using your logic that would mean it was the Poles who did the exterminating, in that, I assume, it must have been the Poles

who planted those trees. Or are you suggesting that these camps were first liberated in the 1960's?" In the voice of an utterly defeated person she managed to reply: "NO-well," and by this time she probably wished she had never brought up the matter about the final, clear evidence, those trees which by some strange fate constitute the absolute proof of mass extermination.

Ditlieb Felderer

Taby, Sweden

COMMENTS ON LAST ISSUE

With respect to *The Journal*, issue for Spring, 1982, Mr. Richard Landwehr's detailed letter is excellent. One wishes the same could be said for the most recent letter of Dr. Wayland D. Smith. For one so easily irritated, as is Dr. Smith, how surprising is his contented purr on the subject of "psycho-history." Except for its ostentatious jargon, there is nothing new in this latest "discipline." Everything in Dr. Stein's original article (Winter, 1980) can be fully explained by common sense and without resorting to the unhealthy and convoluted obsession with sex.

Dr. Stein and Dr. Smith both stress the importance of empathy in understanding. Empathy, in fact, is of little or no consequence. Understanding requires like-mindedness, not empathy. Like-mindedness means that the alien mind is not present, whereas empathy (often indistinguishable from sentimentality) implies sympathy for what is foreign. History shows us again and again that two peoples cannot understand each other: they are essentially, ineradicably, alien to each other. And this is generally true even if they are of the same race. How many Englishmen, even those who admire things German, have ever understood the German, entered into his spirit, and become one with him? Not even Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who married Wagner's younger daughter, spoke and wrote perfect German, lived and died in Germany, could do that. Listen to how an English or a Jewish musician plays German music, and the listener will understand that empathy is a trivial factor. A German musician's instinctive feeling for the music of his people constitutes an understanding in which empathy and intellectual comprehension play no role.

As for the source, of Dr. Smith's irritation — namely Dr. Andreas, Wesserle's letter (Winter, 1981) — it is impossible to understand his annoyance. Dr. Wesserle stresses (and rightly so) the incomparably more destructive nature of Allied bombing. In the context of his letter — and outside that context, as well! — his point is perfectly apt. Dr. Smith's observation that Germany lacked the resources to answer in kind is not germane. It was never part of Germany's strategy to commit such atrocities. Had it been, Germany would have manufactured the necessary bombers before the war. As it was, in fact, Germany's intention to remain at peace, while redressing the vicious wrongs of the Versailles Treaty, her ornaments generally were scanty.

Ronald Klett

Greendale, Wis.

WHY CREMATE?

It is claimed that the Nazis used cremation- a very inefficient method for disposing of millions of corpses-for the purpose of causing the bodies to vanish without a trace, thus destroying evidence of the genocide crime.

Most people, not being familiar with the cremation process, assume that cremation reduces a corpse completely to ashes. This is not the case. I have been informed by an undertaker that cremation reduces the soft tissues to ash but not the bones. The bones must then be ground up in a machine built for the purpose. The “ashes” of a cremated corpse consist mostly of ground bone, some pieces being “as long as one-half inch.”

It would not make sense to cremate millions of corpses and then bury the bones in mass graves. One would simply bury the corpses, as the corpses would take up little more space, especially if emaciated, than the bones alone.

Therefore, if the Nazis had murdered and cremated millions of Jews, they must have ground the bones and there would exist today vast deposits of bone in areas where the camps were located.

Barbara B. Clarke
San Diego, Calif.

JUDICIAL BAMBOOZLE

I read with some amazement in your publication that “judicial notice” had been taken that “Jews were gassed to death at Auschwitz concentration Camp in Poland during the summer of 1944.” I fear that such a “judicial notice” opens up what we common folk call “a can of worms.”

To begin, what is a Jew? No one seems to really know. A race? A religion? Judeans? Khazars? I believe a court in Israel declared that a Jew was a person born of a Jewish mother. But would that also apply if a Jewish woman were raped and impregnated by a Japanese or Negro?

Was Karl Marx a Jew? It is my recollection that he was a member of the Lutheran Church and wrote various anti-Jewish articles. What about Trotsky? A Communist and Atheist and also a Jew? What about the so-called “secret Jews” the Marranos. Are they Jews in fact?

“Gassed to death?” Perhaps by accident. Or murdered by other Jews. Or murdered by Poles or Russians. Or by SS men in violation of SS regulations. “Gassed to death” can mean anything. And how many? “Jews” could mean only two.

“Auschwitz concentration Camp?” Was Auschwitz really a “concentration Camp?” Was it not an industrial complex? Now this is nit-picking but when “judicial notice” is taken, that “judicial notice” must be carefully, even tediously, examined.

That Auschwitz was in Poland seems pretty safe, but, again, to nit-pick, was Auschwitz not actually in the so-called “General Government” which had been set up by the German Occupation authorities?

Why refer specifically to the “summer of 1944?” This seems to indicate that something special happened during that summer. Were Jews only “gassed to death” during the summer of 1944? If so, were they gassed during the entire summer? If only two Jews were involved then one day would have been enough. And the “judicial notice” gives us no reason to think that more than two were involved. If thousands or millions were involved, why does the “judicial notice” not say so?

Suppose we knew nothing about Auschwitz other than the information provided by the “judicial notice.” If that were true, we might well think that the Jews involved were criminals executed by

the Polish government. We would have no reason to think that the German government was involved in any way. What conclusions would we draw if told that “Jews were gassed to death at Sacramento, California?” We might well think the reference was to criminals executed by the State in that era when California used cyanide to remove unwanted members of society. We certainly would not think the German government or the Mexican government or the Chinese government was involved in the affair.

It would not help even if the “judicial notice” charged the German government and specifically the SS with having Jews “gassed to death.” We would have to have a copy of the order to do the gassing. And by whom were our two Jews dispatched? SS men in general could not have done the gassing, it would have to be a particular individual or group of individuals. Or maybe it was done by Himmler personally. We do not know because the “judicial notice” does not tell us anything at all about the circumstances.

Well, I think I have beat this dead horse long enough. I did want you to know that your publication stirred up my thinking and so put down these idle thoughts. Do not take “judicial notice” of them. They are too confused and too lacking in concrete data. If you take “judicial notice” of something make sure you are on firm ground. “Judicial, notice” that the Earth goes around the Sun seems safe enough. But to take “judicial notice” that water runs down hill might be less sure. I seem to remember that the famous “Believe or Not” man, Robert Ripley, found a river somewhere that ran uphill.

Best Wishes in your work. We must be free to question any event in history, and ready to change our minds if new information comes along.

W.E. Dudley
Las Vegas, Nev.

SEEDS OF WAR

As regards the Zionist provocation of Hitler & whether I subscribe to that viewpoint — I do believe that the ugly seeds of World War II were laid in the anti-Hitler barrage of 1933 & 1934. There were anti-Jewish incidents to be sure but nothing like the stuff put out by irresponsible journalists and people like Samuel Untermyer. Another case of making “political mountains out of racial molehills.” You can see the same process at work in the current “Timmerman affair.”

Bezalel Chaim
Brooklyn, New York

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***Cui Bono?* An American Veteran's Views on Non-Jewish Toleration and Propagation of the Extermination Thesis**

Dr. CHARLES E. WEBER

- Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference.

According to Cicero, L. Cassius Lohnginus Ravilla, who was Consul of the Roman Republic in 127 B.C., admonished judges involved in criminal trials to investigate the question to whose advantage a criminal act might have been committed. His famous question, which has had an influence on western juridical practice ever since, consisted of only two words: “*Cui bono?*”

It is my intention in this paper to pose this question in order to understand the motivations of several non-Jewish groups whose members frequently not only tolerate but actually propagate a patently questionable historical thesis. Both material and psychological motivations are to be examined here.

Jewish, and especially Zionist, exploitation and continued propagation of the “Holocaust” material have rather obvious economic and psychological motivations which have been described by a number of authors, ^[1] but the strange, if not apparently masochistic, toleration and even propagation of the material by non-Jewish groups have not been sufficiently summarized and discussed.

The evidence against the claim that some six million Jews were deliberately killed (largely by lethal gas) on a massive scale in labor and relocation camps as a result of a general extermination policy on the part of Germany and its wartime allies, has long been available to anyone who was objective and interested enough to examine even the simplest of demographic data available in readily accessible reference works. As early as 1951, for example, Col. John Beaty pointed out the demographic evidence against the claim in his important little book, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, pp. 134 ff. In more recent years such brilliant analyses of the extermination thesis as those by Prof. Arthur R. Butz and Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich have merited the attention of those who objectively seek the truth in this area.

The most obvious group which we must consider are the Germans themselves. Before considering their present sentiments and especially those of their governments with regard to the extermination thesis, we must first undertake a cursory analysis of the sentiments which prevailed in German lands during 1933 and later, along with the conditions which caused them.

In 1945, Germany and those who had held leading positions in the National Socialist government during 1933 to 1945 were at the mercy of victorious and very vindictive powers. Indeed, they were even dependent on the victors for vital food supplies. In the wake of a terrible military defeat with staggering costs in blood, territory and treasure, former members of the National So-

cialist German Workers' Party also faced considerable hostility from the rest of the German population, [2] although a mere ten years before 1945 the National Socialist movement had been enjoying a great popularity as a result of its notable successes during the first years after its accession to power in early 1933. [3]

One measure of this popularity was the Saar plebiscite of 13 January 1935, in which about 90% of the Saar population voted to return to Germany and only about 8.8% to continue under the League of Nations. Not only did National Socialism enjoy considerable popularity in Germany itself, but at least a fair measure of admiration and approval in non-German lands. An indication of this sentiment can be seen in the Olympic games held in Berlin in 1936. In contrast to the massive boycott of the Olympic games held in the USSR in 1980, there was certainly no massive boycott of the games in 1936. Perhaps the most important tolerant reaction to National Socialism abroad was to be found in the attitude of the vast majority of Americans to it. They wanted no formal involvement in a war against Germany in spite of powerful and influential interests which wanted such an involvement. [4] From the present vantage, there is certainly no reason to doubt the results of many private polls which showed that about 5/6ths of the American population wanted no formal part of the war raging in Europe and that this sentiment persisted rather constantly right down to 7 December 1941 in spite of the massive unemployment which still existed in the United States, even throughout the years 1940 and 1941, and in spite of the powerful forces which favored formal entry into the war against Germany, a land comparable in area to the State of Texas.

During the years 1940 and following, many individuals in the occupied lands voluntarily helped the German cause. Some of them were quite distinguished persons, such as the famous Norwegian author Knut Hamsun (1859-1952), who had won the Nobel Prize in 1920. The military figures, Marshal Petain and Admiral Horthy, to mention only two examples, also cooperated with National Socialist Germany.

Notwithstanding the popularity of National Socialism which existed during the years before the tide started to turn against the German armed forces in 1942-3, we are now confronted with German governments which not only tolerate the extermination thesis and "Holocaust" material but actively persecute those who dare to question them. [5] To understand this seemingly paradoxical phenomenon, we must understand the present position of these governments and their historical background. Both the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, its Communist counterpart in central Germany, are states which developed from the military occupation zones that existed during 1945-1949. (The eastern quarter of the area of the Reich as it existed in 1937 was incorporated into Poland and the USSR.) Within strict limitations and directives, Germans were gradually permitted ever greater authority to govern themselves and finally the two republics were founded in 1949. Even if these two states enjoy a nominal sovereignty today, they remain essentially creations of the occupying powers: The United States, Britain and France in the case of western Germany and the USSR in the case of central Germany. Somewhat parallel developments took place on a much smaller scale in Austria, which was not accorded full sovereignty until 1955, and then only with many stipulations by the victors. Austria, for example, had to promise never to join Germany again.

Many German politicians of the present generation founded and furthered their careers while disavowing National Socialism or any connections which they might have had with it (e.g., Willy Brandt). Having thus committed themselves, they are hardly in a position to be receptive or even just tolerant to historical revisionism, no matter what its merits or validity.

All three of the present German republics are faced with delicate problems with regard to the approval of other nations, for economic reasons, if nothing else. Since about 1870 Germany has been incapable of growing sufficient food for its population, which was expanding especially rapidly between about 1870 and 1941. Germany was therefore forced to export or starve, a circumstance which has brought it into conflict with other European nations that must also compete for overseas markets. This problem became even more acute after the large territorial losses of 1918 and 1945.¹ I recall vividly a plea for mercy made to me shortly after the war by a former National Socialist in Internment Camp No. 75 in Kornwestheim, north of Stuttgart. He pointed out that people of his nation had not had enough to eat for 30 years.

As a result of the overwhelming propaganda deluge of World War II against National Socialist Germany, the present German republics have been forced to disavow all that the Germany of 1933-1945 represented. It has generally been the policy of the three German republics to represent the German government in power during 1933-1945 (or 1938 to 1945 in the case of Austria) as an illegal usurpation and a gross discontinuity in German history. Officially, western Germany in particular has had a tendency to glorify the Weimar Republic and to consider itself the legal successor of the Weimar Republic (whose flag and motto it has readopted), even though there are important differences between the Weimar Republic and the Bundesrepublik.

The German Democratic Republic, on the other hand, represents itself as an innovation, namely the first German government of peasants and workers.

Perhaps the chief immediate reason why the Bundesrepublik has made a great ostentation of prosecuting former National Socialists is that it has thus sought to counter a collective guilt thesis which would have been disadvantageous to the German nation as a whole.

So strong has been the reaction against the defeated National Socialist government that in a number of ways the Bundesrepublik seems to go out of its way to pursue policies which are the mirror opposite of the policies prevalent in 1933 and following years even if such policies endanger the economic, social and ethnic fabric of Germany. One notable example is the toleration of the massive assimilation (economic, if not also cultural and biological) into the German population of foreign industrial workers who are markedly different culturally from Germans, notably those from Turkey and Yugoslavia. The present very low birthrate in Germany could very well be a result of destruction of a wholesome and constructive national pride.

Both in general and in particular with regard to the extermination thesis, the policies of the Bundesrepublik must be assessed on the basis of a psychological reaction to the crushing military defeat of its predecessor government, the circumstances of the creation of the Bundesrepublik and the economic realities which the Bundesrepublik faces, both internally and externally.

Turning now from the attitudes toward the "Holocaust" material which prevail in the three present German republics that evolved in part of the former territories of the Reich, let us now examine the toleration and exploitation of the "Holocaust" material in the case of groups outside Germany.

Since the United States became the leading and most effective adversary of Germany during the course of World War II, let us consider first of all the relationship of non-Jewish groups in the United States to the "Holocaust" material.

In 1945 the tremendous damage which had been inflicted on the German population and such outstanding monuments of European civilization as Nuremberg and Dresden were there to be seen by all, including the millions of young American men who served in the American occupa-

tion forces. Many American soldiers were inclined to be sympathetic to the German population, particularly the men from the former Confederate states, whose not-all-too-remote ancestors had also known a tough enemy occupation after defeat in a war also fought largely over racial issues.

On the other hand, I know a fellow veteran of World War II who still boasts of his exploits in that tragic conflict. He is a Germanophobe and claims to have been present at the capture of Dachau, conditions at which he likes to describe with considerable exaggeration. He still proudly shows a propaganda book put out by his division just after the war. Such a man has an obvious vested psychological interest in continuing his beliefs in the flood of Germanophobic propaganda in which he has joyfully bathed during the past 35 years. As Friedrich Nietzsche observed in his *Also sprach Zarathustra* with ironic accuracy: "Der gute Krieg ist es, der jede Sache heiligt." (It is the good war which hallows every cause.)

The higher officers carrying out the occupation policies on the basis of orders and directives from Washington were concerned about the sympathy toward the German population which was present in many of the lower-ranking officers and enlisted men, who typically had much closer contact with a broad spectrum of the German population. Allegations of atrocities committed by the Germans were a most welcome aid in inhibiting this sympathy on the part of American military personnel, as well as subduing psychologically the German population, which was receiving rationed food supplies hardly above the starvation level. I recall a motion picture widely shown in German civilian theaters (around 1946, I think) concerning conditions in German labor and relocation camps. The German title was *Die Todesmühlen (Mills of Death)*.

On a broader scale than the immediate problems of the military occupation was the sacrifice of time, blood and treasure which the American people had had to make to defeat an enemy which had been involved in a titanic struggle against communism, which many farsighted Americans had perceived as a far more dangerous enemy than National Socialist Germany. Before December 1941, bitter political battles had been fought over the question of intervention, and some time after the hostilities were over no less a figure than Senator Taft of Ohio had the wisdom, decency and courage to question the legal basis of the Nuremberg trials.

The Democratic Party, which had its men in the presidential office from 1933 to 1953 and, thus bore the essential responsibility for the conduct of the war and the postwar relationship with the USSR, welcomed any means of rationalization and justification of its conduct during this period. Democrats further welcomed any means to discredit their former adversaries on the intervention question and to counterbalance the emerging recognition on the part of many Americans that some dismal and unjust mistakes had been made in the conduct of the war, which were now beginning to pose such serious problems as the blockade of Berlin and the communist domination of eastern Europe. It is still common in certain circles to refer to the emerging recognition of the mistakes which had been committed and the wrath of the broad masses of the American people resultant from the recognition of them as "McCarthyism." In reality, what we subsume under the term "McCarthyism" was the quite understandable anger at the Roosevelt and Truman administrations for their naive, if not criminally irresponsible, furthering of communist aims. Many opponents of "McCarthyism" continue to look to the "Holocaust" material as a political weapon and rationalization of the behavior of the Democratic Party.

Even today, over three decades after the end of World War II, it is strange to observe the composition of the supine audiences at the "Holocaust" seminars sponsored in many cities of the United States by Jewish organizations, often on university campuses. Much of the audience consists of non-Jews who feel a necessity to seek the approval of Jews and perhaps, in some cases, still feel a necessity of rationalizing the conduct of the war by the Democratic Party. As a result of heavy

Jewish influence in the American news media, especially in television, typical American political figures would not dare to question the “Holocaust” material, although many of them are doubtless aware of the reasons for doubting its validity. So effective and persistent has been the propagation of the “Holocaust” material that few adult Americans are not aware of the claim that six million Jews were murdered in German relocation and labor camps during World War II, but it is doubtful that even 1% of the American population would be able to explain the term “Operation Keelhaul,” even though it refers to one of the most disgraceful and unfortunate episodes in American history. Even if only about 3% of the American population is Jewish, that component has a political influence completely out of proportion to its numbers. The “Holocaust” material is deeply woven into the very fabric of American political life.

Let us now turn briefly to England, which undertook the grave step of declaring war on Germany on 3 September 1939 and thus staked its very existence on the defeat of Germany. There can be little doubt today that this step was hardly occasioned by an idealistic concern for the continued existence of the Polish state, a nationalistic dictatorship hardly milder and less hostile to its large Jewish population than Germany. A fortnight after the German invasion of Danzig and western Poland had begun, the USSR launched its occupation of eastern Poland against some resistance. However, England and its somewhat less eager companion-in-arms, France, hardly made a whimper of protest, let alone a declaration of war, against the second invader of Poland. [6]

The English problems with the occupation of Germany during 1945 and the years after, had a vague similarity to those of the United States in some respects, but we must also bear in mind that England had been a long-time competitor of Germany for overseas markets. Now England was in a position which enabled her to play a major role in keeping German goods out of the international trade channels of the world, at least for a few years. Paralysis of German industrial production could be maintained by such monetary policies that England helped to impose as the continued, forced circulation of the old Reichsmark notes, which was not ended until June, 1948. Many of the important factories in the British Zone were dismantled and sent to Russia, as grotesque as that might seem today. England had strong economic motivations for the psychological discrediting of its old commercial and industrial rival, and these were certainly not frustrated by the continuing inundation of the bitter hate propaganda against a prostrate Germany, including, of course, the “Holocaust” material.

England was also most heavily involved in the almost Carthaginian destruction of German cities during the long period after the declaration of the unconditional surrender policy to the end of the war, a period of about 2½ years. [7] Although a great deal of publicity has been given to the bomb damage which England suffered during World War II (e.g., Coventry), this damage was only a very small fraction of what Germany suffered. [8] If the English had any self-recriminations for the destruction of German cities and the genuinely holocaustal killing of hundreds of thousands of civilians in the process, what could have been better for assuaging their consciences than the “Holocaust” material?

Let us finally consider a group of states which have exploited the “Holocaust” material in a most energetic manner: the USSR and its satrapal governments in eastern Europe. As we shall see, the communist lands have had compelling reasons to continue to propagate the “Holocaust” material.

At first, however, we are confronted with the question as to what extent we are dealing with a non-Jewish group in this case. There can be little doubt that in its earlier years the government of the USSR was a government largely dominated by Jews. There is even a considerable body of literature on this question and even Winston Churchill, the shrewd political opportunist par excellence, expressed his observations of the largely Jewish composition of the early Soviet govern-

ment in 1920. [9] The middle classes of western Europe were well aware of the ethnic reality of communism and the brutality of communism in practice. This circumstance, perhaps more than any other of a number of factors, caused the hostility to Jews that prevailed in so many lands west of the Soviet Union during the period between the two world wars. Even in their own backyard, the ephemeral government of Bela Kun (1919) made its quite negative impression on the middle classes in western European countries.

Be that as it may, let us now consider motivations which the USSR and its postwar satrapies have had for emphasizing the “Holocaust” and similar material in their post-1945 propaganda.

The behavior of the USSR externally during recent decades has struck fear into the hearts of decent, successful people throughout the world. Before the German invasion of Russia in June, 1941 the USSR had taken by force or threats of force large areas of eastern Europe, a fact which is now not commonly recalled. Going from north to south, we first consider the war which the USSR waged in Finland. The Finns fought back bravely during the war in the winter of 1939-1940 and gained the sympathy of the world, but were finally forced to give in and make painful territorial concessions. The USSR annexed the three Baltic republics, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the middle of 1940, the eastern part of Poland in September 1939 and an important part of eastern Rumania in 1940. The treatment of the populations in these lands, especially the Baltic states with their German minorities, was undoubtedly an important factor in Hitler’s decision to invade Russia, in addition to the frightening Soviet buildup of arms, particularly its tank strength, which was essentially an attack asset. [10]

In spite of the gross numerical superiority in terms of national population and numbers of tanks which the USSR had at the outset of the war between the Soviet Union and Germany, German forces were able to penetrate so far into Russia (beyond the Baltic states and Poland) that its two major cities, St.

etersburg (communist name: Leningrad) and Moscow, were threatened within a few months. To the south, much of the agriculturally important Ukraine was occupied. Undoubtedly this catastrophe for the communists was due in large measure to the hatred of the brutal regime under which massive tyranny, famines, industrial stagnation and oppression of minorities had occurred. It had to become clear to the Soviet leaders what inherent weaknesses their regime had and how close they were to defeat, in spite of the fact that the war was inherently a David-Goliath contest. By early 1943 the tide of battle began to turn as a result, due to a considerable extent to moral and material support from abroad, notably from the United States.

The spring of 1945 saw the final defeat of the numerically far inferior German forces and by 1948 the new Soviet empire was in control of nearly half of the Europe (excluding Scandinavia) which had existed west of the Soviet borders in 1938, including almost exactly half of Germany as it existed in its 1937 borders. During June 1948 to May 1949 the whole world was astonished and sobered by the affrontiveness shown by the new Soviet empire in its blockade of Berlin. By 1949 the world was also terrorized by the knowledge that the masters of this empire now had atomic bombs at their disposal, having been aided by a number of spies in this area, nearly all of whom were of Jewish origin and two of whom were executed for their treason in 1953, after a long judicial process.

As a result of a number of factors, but especially as a result of the gullibility, ignorance of foreign affairs, and even treason on the part of members of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, the Soviet Union had been lifted from the depths to a position of great power and security. However, in spite of a sophisticated apparatus for the suppression of the populations in the occupied

countries and satrapies, massive deportations and the like, a number of revolutionary movements developed against the oppressors, which culminated in the very important Hungarian Revolution of 1956, which had tremendous psychological and political repercussions even in defeat.

Skillful and energetic propaganda efforts on the part of the Soviet rulers have undoubtedly been a big factor in the upward climb of the Soviet Union, which started from a nadir of its fortunes in 1943. The “Holocaust” material has proved to be especially valuable to the Soviet Union for a number of objectives. It has not been without design that memorials relating to the “Holocaust” claims are to be found in many places throughout the Soviet empire and that the sites of former relocation and labor camps in which large numbers of Jews were interned during the last years of the war have been preserved and altered in such a way as to make the “Holocaust” claims seem plausible, at least to the superficial viewer. Even postage stamps issued by the satrapies over a long period keep up the publicity of the “Holocaust.”

An essential objective of this propaganda effort is the demonstration that in spite of the obvious and continued oppressiveness of the Soviet empire, a German victory would have meant a worse life. The “Holocaust” material thus plays an essential role in the pacification of the many nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet empire, including a number of lands which fought as sovereign states on the side of Germany during its titanic struggle against Communism during 1941-1945: Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Slovakia. The material is continually used as a justification to the outside world for the retention of eastern Europe in the Soviet empire. A further advantage to the Soviet empire from stressing the “Holocaust” material, lies in its appeal to the Jewish minorities in various “lands, especially in the United States.

The “Holocaust” material has proved to be a useful supplement in a number of other Soviet propaganda efforts, including the Nuremberg “trials” and the obliterating by contrast of the awareness of many crimes of the Soviet Union against other nations, such as the Katyn massacres. [\[11\]](#)

By way of contrast, the massive sufferings on the part of non-Jews remain little known and virtually unmentioned in the popular and school history books of the United States. We need only think of the starvation of Ukrainian peasants in the early 1930s, the massive deportations of populations from the Baltic states and the staggering numbers of deaths of Germans during their expulsion from the eastern German areas of 1945-1946. It is estimated that some 2,000,000 Germans died or were murdered during these expulsion [\[12\]](#)

Obvious though the usefulness of the “Holocaust” material to Zionists may be, its continuous exploitation by various non-Jewish groups in various lands for various reasons is of a continuing importance that has heretofore not been generally realized. As corrosive, divisive and destructive as the “Holocaust” material and extermination thesis are, we must certainly not consider Jews exclusively responsible for their continued propagation.

(1)



(2)



(3)



(4)



(5)



(6)



(7)



(8)



In Communist lands even postage stamps are used in the continuing propaganda campaign against a government which passed out of existence decades ago.

1. *German Democratic Republic*, September 12, 1959. On the Ravensbrück memorial.
2. *German Democratic Republic*, April, 1961. On the Sachsenhausen national monument, the inscription on the label means: "In the Sachsenhausen concentration camp 100,000 citizens of many nations were murdered by Fascists. In honor of the dead and for the admonishment and commitment of the living the national admonitory and commemorative structure at Sachsenhausen was erected." (Note: In Communist lands the word Fascist is used in place of national socialist.)
3. *German Democratic Republic*, August, 1963. Treblinka Memorial.
4. *German Democratic Republic*, 1980. Majdanek Memorial.
5. *Poland*, July, 1956. Warsaw Ghetto Monument.
6. *Poland*, Oct., 1967. Stutthof Monument.
7. *Czechoslovakia*, May, 1967. Pinkas Synagogue Memorial. Menorah and fist of camps: Terez'n (Theresienstadt), Belzec, Osvetim (Auschwitz), Gliwice (Gleiwitz), Buchenwald, Majdanek, Riga, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück.
8. *Czechoslovakia*, Feb., 1972. Lidice Memorial, dates 1942 and 1972.

Notes

1. ☞ The huge payments of "reparations" by the German Federal Republic to the Zionist state in Palestine (which did not even exist before 1948) were made on the basis of the Luxembourg agreement of 10 September 1952. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1970 edition, Vol. 2, page 88. For a discussion of the psychological motivations, see H. Stein, vol. 1, no. 4., pp. 309-322 of *The Journal of Historical Review*.
2. ☞ The author of this paper lived in Germany during 1945-1948 and was involved in the so-called "denazification" activities of the United States military forces, of which he was a member. He was thus in a position to hear a variety of views on the war.
3. ☞ The reasons for the general popularity of the National Socialist government in Germany and to some extent even beyond the German borders are too complex to describe in detail here. Suffice it to say that the main reasons were probably the reduction of the rate of unemployment from that of the final years of the Weimar Republic and the restoration of a measure of national self-respect after the humiliations resulting from the Versailles Treaty. John Kenneth Galbraith, an economist dear to the hearts of "liberals" in many lands, characterizes the results of National Socialist economic policies as a "signal accomplishment." (*Money*, Bantam edition of September, 1976, pp. 174-5.)
4. ☞ Again, there were factors involved here which are far too complex to analyze within the scope of this paper.
5. ☞ For documentation of such persecution, see *Der moderne Index*, published by the Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung, Vlotho on the Weser, June 1980 (Historische Tatsache Nr. 7).
6. ☞ I recall broadcasts by the Deutschlandsender during the early years of the war. At the sign-off before the playing of the national anthem and the Horst-Wessel-Lied this message was repeated nightly: "England hat den Krieg erklärt, Deutschland siegt, wird ihn beenden." (England declared the war; Germany is winning and will end it.)

7. ☑ For an excellent summary of this involvement, see the book review by Charles Lutton, "Death from On High," in *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. I, no 3, pp. 247-254.
8. ☑ For the tremendous difference in the tonnage of bombs dropped, see James J. Martin's, *The Saga of Hog Island*, Colorado Springs, 1977, pages 53 and 85. (Available from the IHR \$4.50) I remember translating a report in 1947 or 1948 by Professor Percy Schramm of G...ttingen on the German civilian deaths from bombing, which he estimated at 800,000 as I recall. This would seem to be about twelve times the number of civilians killed in England by German bombing.
9. ☑ Anthony Sutton approaches this matter in a rather reserved, almost apologetic manner in his important *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1974), pp. 185 ff. There are also a number of books and booklets from what might be called the Underground Press which discuss this matter in more explicit terms, of which the following are only a sample:
Louis Marshalko, *The World Conquerors*, Christian Book Club, 1968
Frank L. Britton, *Behind Communism*, no date or place.
Quotes! Quotes!! Quotes!!!, Los Angeles, no date.
10. ☑ At the outbreak of hostilities the Soviet Union had 20,000 tanks, some five times the number Germany could put in the field in Russia. P. Knightley, *The First Casualty* (1975), pp. 146 and 153. (available from the IHR, Hb \$14.50, Pb \$7.00)
11. ☑ The Katyn massacres of captured Polish officers and the "Holocaust" material are, of course, essentially different topics, but Roosevelt's highhanded efforts to suppress the knowledge of Soviet guilt in the massacres are instructive. (See Louis FitzGibbon, *Katyn*, The [Noontide Press](#), Torrance, 1979, pp. 183-4.) It seems to me that one of the most striking and readily verifiable disproofs of the extermination thesis is the contrast between the German behavior after their discovery of the mass graves at Katyn in 1943 and the behavior of the Communists after their capture of the Auschwitz terrain of 27 January 1945. The Germans not only thought that they had nothing to hide, but invited international organizations, foreign forensic experts, foreign journalists and even some Allied prisoners of war to witness the gruesome evidence of the massacre which had obviously been carried out by their communist enemies. The German exploitation of the Katyn evidence should have been not only a propaganda victory for Germany, but also a stern admonishment to the United States and other allies of the USSR as to the nature of their ally. If 'proofs of the extermination thesis would have been present at Auschwitz and other camps captured by the Soviets, they could easily have attained an even greater propaganda victory by doing just what the Germans had done in 1943, rather than just the opposite. Moreover, they had every incentive for striving for such a victory had the evidence actually been present.
12. ☑ *Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 1, no 2, p 181, where *Nemesis at Potsdam* by Alfred M. de Zayas (1977) is reviewed. For a statistical breakdown of the deaths and populations involved in the expulsions, see page XXV of this book.

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Whatever Happened to the Dead Sea Scrolls?

Dr. MARTIN A. LARSON

- Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference.

After listening to so many magnificent talks on Revisionism, I wonder whether my subject has any real relevance. But it does deal with an historical distortion and cover-up of the first magnitude and I hope you will find it interesting and constructive.

I was brought up in a very religious family, but at an early age I had begun to question some of the teachings that were given to me in my boyhood. And I remember how I questioned the minister of our church when I was reading for confirmation at the age of fifteen concerning some of the atrocities committed by the Jews after they left Egypt, under the leadership of Moses, and according to the story of the Old Testament, invaded Palestine, attacked the inhabitants there, took their property, and drove them from their homes with the help of their God, Jehovah. My interest in religion continued unabated over the years. And thus it was that when I wrote my Ph.D. thesis at the University of Michigan, it dealt with Milton's theology — particularly his Trinitarian concept — and I published a book on the subject in 1927. But then for many years I had no opportunity to study religion or, in fact, anything else. But soon after the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered in 1947, I retired from active business and could then devote myself to study. I therefore plunged into research of the Scrolls, and in due course, published a book on the subject called the *Essene Heritage*. And so, the authors of the Scrolls, the Essenes, their writings and their impact on history has been a subject of consuming interest to me for many years.

The Origin and Development of the Cult

Let us first summarize some of the known facts concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls and their authors, the religious organization known as the Essenes (they were also called The Holy Ones, the Poor Men, the Sons of Light, etc.) and who existed in Judaea and the nearby desert from about 192 B.C. to the date of their extinction and destruction in 69 or 70 A.D., when the Roman armies marched through Palestine and finally destroyed Jerusalem. This cult is probably unique as an historical phenomenon; throughout its existence, it was opposed to the Jewish authorities; although it accepted the Scriptures which constitute the Old Testament, it revised, rewrote, or completely reinterpreted them. Also, what is even more significant than important, they gradually absorbed various elements from other sources, such as Zoroastrianism and Pythagoreanism. As a result, they prepared an entire corpus of original scripture which was not only a definite departure from official Judaism, but in basic contradiction to, and a repudiation of, this system of doctrine and ritual.

At the beginning, the cult was simply a reaction against the Hellenizing of Jewish life under Greek domination, but shortly thereafter, it split into two well-defined factions, one of which de-

veloped into later Essenism and the other into the Pharasaic movement which produced the Rabbinical priesthood, who, to this day, constitute the official spokesmen for Judaism. By 143 B.C., as we learn from Josephus, three distinct groups had been fully developed in the Jewish population: they were the Essenes, the Pharisees, and the Sadducees, of whom the last represented the wealthy, upper-class Jews, who had embraced Epicureanism as their philosophy.

In 134 B.C., Hyrcanus, the only surviving son of Judas Maccabaeus, became king of an independent Israeli nation and ruled until the year 104. In the next year, Alexander Jannaeus assumed the throne and ruled until 78, after which his widow, Helene, or Salome Alexandra, served as Queen Regent until the year 76, when her two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, after taking over, fought each other in a bloody internecine conflict for the possession of power, until the year 64, when Pompey the Roman general invaded Palestine and reduced the Jewish nation into a Roman province under puppet rulers and procurators, who continued until the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

Original Cultic Scriptures

During the period from 192 to 60 B.C., the Essenes produced a great corpus of literature under the inspiration of leaders known from generation to generation as The Teacher of Righteousness, he was also called the Holy Great One, and was given other titles signifying revelatory powers as direct conduits of messages from the Supreme God of the Universe, who, by the way was something quite different from Jehovah, the tribal god of the Jews. Extremely interesting is the fact that two very important documents — *The Book of Enoch* and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* — were well known among the early Christians and accepted by them as sacred literature of their own. Scholars had no suspicion that these, although widely used in later periods, were produced by the Essenes until the scrolls were discovered near the Dead Sea in 1947. Since hundreds of fragments of these documents were found in the caves, it became obvious that they were among the very important scriptures composed and used by the Essenes themselves.

Persecution and Separation

Whatever else we may consider as firmly established, it is certain that under the reign of Hyrcanus, who was affiliated with the Pharisees previous to 104 B.C., there was persistent persecution of the Essenes, partly because of doctrinal deviations but perhaps even more because of their condemnations of the Jewish authorities, who frequently invaded neighboring territories and forced people there to accept Judaism and circumcision on pain of persecution and even of death. Thus it was that about 104 B.C., as we learn from Josephus, the Essenes became an esoteric mystery-cult with its own communes, its own code of laws, discipline, and organization, which included a total withdrawal and separation from all public activity. As a result, it became the depository of total religious commitment, living in expectation of the day, not very far in the future, when an all-powerful divine personage would appear, send all their Jewish persecutors into everlasting torture in hellish dungeons under the surface of the earth, and establish the kingdom of the saints, (the Sons of Light) with its capital in Jerusalem.

Under Alexander Jannaeus, who ruled from 103-78 B.C., this hostility and persecution intensified. The Essene documents written during this period are filled with the fiercest denunciations of the Jewish priests and authorities, who not only raided the communes of the Holy Ones and decimated their membership, but were also guilty of constant acts of aggression against their innocent and unoffending neighbors. I know of no other literature replete with comparable condemnations of acts of violence committed without provocation. The documents in our possession which contain this material are *The Habakkuk Commentary*, Parts IV and V of the *Book of*

Enoch, and various statements found in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the original portions of which were composed while Hyracanus was king.

This situation seems to have continued under Queen-Regent Alexandra and her two sons between 78 and 64, when the independent Jewish state was suddenly terminated by the interposition of Roman authority. It is interesting to note that Herod the Great, the puppet Roman ruler of Israel from 39 to 4 B.C., was an Idumaeen who had converted to Judaism and was therefore known as a half-Jew.

At all events, it is certain that the tension between the Essenes and the government was, if anything, more fierce under Jannaeus than it had ever been before. As we have noted, they became a secret brotherhood in 104 in order to avoid total extermination; in spite of this, however, their persecution continued; with their members under solemn vows of secrecy, their organization survived and, in time grew, especially under the comparatively mild regimen which followed the conquest of Judaea by Pompey in 64.

The Execution of the Rabbis

Josephus relates that Jannaeus, who had at first espoused the Pharisees, later went over to the Sadducees; and when the former were accused of conspiring with the Syrians to subvert the government, Jannaeus had 800 leading rabbis crucified at one time; and, as they hung on their "trees" or crosses, he had his soldiers cut the throats of their wives and children as he himself feasted at a great banquet with his concubines and his favorites. This had been doubted by many until the fact was confirmed by the publication of a Dead Sea Scroll fragment which related precisely the same facts.

The Execution and Deification of the Teacher

The climactic event in Essene history occurred in 70 or 69 B.C. Although all the details of this will probably be known only if more Scrolls are published, certain facts are known. At that time, the Teacher of Righteousness- that is, the Essene leader- went boldly into Jerusalem and there, in the very temple itself, he proclaimed and condemned the lawless corruption and aggressions of the priests and authorities who ruled in Israel. He was therefore seized and executed, by what means is not certain, but some scholars believe that he was crucified.

Shortly thereafter, the persuasion developed among his followers- until it became actual dogma- that he was the Most High God of the Universe Himself who had appeared for a time as a man among men; that he died a sacrificial death for the redemption of sinners; that he had risen from the grave on the third day; that he had returned to his throne in heaven; and that, before the end of the then-existing generation, he would send a representative to the earth. This representative would in due course be invested with unlimited power and would terminate the present dispensation, conduct the last judgment, and establish the communal kingdom of the saints on earth, who would then come into possession of all the property of the wicked, who would, thereafter, suffer infinite and eternal agonies in hell.

The Essene Revelations Completed

Except for a few original documents written after 69 B.C., and the final interpolations added to *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* at the same time, the cult seems at this point to have considered its corpus of literature and revelation complete. The members studied their scriptures in the various communes scattered about Palestine. Those destined for a special type of leader-

ship were sent to the headquarters at Qumram near the Dead Sea, where they multiplied their holy writings in a scriptorium, where members underwent ritual baptisms daily, and where, dressed in white robes, they partook of sacramental meals in an upper chamber every day.

The Secret Esoteric Order

From Josephus, who was a neophyte in the Order for three years, the world has always known a good deal about the Essenes. When an individual joined, he sold everything he owned and turned the proceeds over to the curator of the Order, who kept this in a separate fund for three years, when it was returned to the applicant if he did not qualify for membership. If he did qualify, his property was intermingled irrevocably with that of the Order, and he was admitted to the commune, but still not permitted to partake of the sacramental bread and wine, nor was he yet taught all its mysteries until the end of five years, when, if he satisfied the leaders as to his truth and reliability, he was finally admitted to full membership. Josephus states that if a member was expelled for some serious infraction of discipline, he simply lay down in the desert and died of starvation, since he could not eat any other kind of food.

Between 60 B.C. and 69 A.D., the communes, which increased to 4,000 male members, continued with little alteration, while awaiting the coming of the Redeemer. However, as the Romans subjugated Galilee on their southward march toward Jerusalem, they came across various Essene communes and, suspecting the cultists of being a secret and conspiratorial society planning the overthrow of Roman rule, members were tortured under interrogation to reveal their secret doctrines. However, as Josephus tells us, they died, smiling, rather than violate their sacred oaths to never, no never, reveal their beliefs to anyone, no matter what the provocation might be.

Secreting the Scrolls

Then an extraordinary event occurred. As the Romans approached the Dead Sea headquarters at Qumram, the Essenes placed their sacred writings in hundreds of earthen jars, sealed them carefully, and secreted them in various caves located in the rugged terrain. We believe that they expected to return in the not-too-distant future to resume their long-practiced way of life. But, of course, they never did.

Was Jesus an Essene?

The existence of the Essene cult had always been known from the extensive references to, and descriptions of, them in Josephus, Pliny, and Philo Judaeus. Interestingly enough, Thomas De Quincey, a famous English essayist, declared about 1825, that there never was a separate Essene organization; that the so-called Essenes were simply Christians gone underground; that otherwise we would have to accept the blasphemous conclusion that there were two independent, yet almost identical, revelations at the same time and in the same place.

There are scholars who believe that Jesus had been a full-fledged member of the Order; that he was persuaded that He was the personage foretold in their scriptures who would be empowered to establish the Kingdom of Righteousness, and that, therefore, he broke his vow of secrecy and preached the doctrines of the Order in the highways and the byways of Galilee. Some scholars are also convinced that not only John the Baptist but also the original core of men who established Christianity had been members of the Order. Some believe in addition that when their communes and headquarters were destroyed by the Romans, many of the Essenes became an integral and decisive element in the formation of the Christian movement. There was, in particular,

one segment known as the Ebionites, or the Poor Men, who recreated in detail in their own literature, the doctrines, teachings, and discipline of the Essene communities. Actually, the three Synoptic Gospels, and especially Luke, are studded with statements in complete harmony with the cultic teachings, as is the so-called Sermon on the Mount, found in Matthew. The more we study the Dead Sea Scrolls and the early canonical Christian

Scriptures, the more striking are the parallels which become evident. We have already noted that two important Essene documents were widely accepted by the early Christian converts as genuine scriptures of their own. Perhaps these converts had previously been Essenes.

The Great Discovery

In 1947, an event of world-shaking significance occurred. An Arab shepherd-boy, following a stray goat, entered an aperture on the side of a cliff and stumbled into a cave where the Essenes had secreted a number of jars containing scrolls. However, few of these were intact; most had been broken, and their contents scattered about the floor, much of the material torn into shreds. Obviously, the caves had been invaded, perhaps several times, with damage which cannot easily be assessed. However, after the Arabs had recovered two virtually complete manuscripts of Isaiah, a copy of the Manual of Discipline, The Thanksgiving Psalms, The Habakkuk Commentary, the Damascus Document, and the War scroll, they sold these to a group in New York; and, in a short time, they were made available to the world in translations by Millar Burrows, Dupont-Sommer, Gaza Vermes, and Theodore Gaster.

Many More Scrolls Discovered

Then began an archeological search without parallel in religious history. One expedition after another went to the Dead Sea area in search of more scrolls. One team was headed by Millar Burrows, who states in his *Dead Sea Scrolls* that material sufficient to fill three large volumes was found in a single cave, cave four in which two-thirds was original Essene scripture and the remainder consisted of Jewish canonical books. After these were placed in the Jordanian Museum in Jerusalem, an international team of eight scholars were selected to collect, piece together, and prepare for publication this incomparable treasure of source-material; of these, four were Roman Catholics; three had Protestant affiliations; and only one, John Marco Allegro, was without personal religious commitment. Without much delay, Allegro translated and published everything committed to him, including the delicate *Copper Scroll*, which listed precious metals and jewels worth millions of dollars secreted somewhere in the desert-where they still remain. However, he published also the material which tells the story of how Jannaeus crucified the rabbis; and after he declared in an interview that the Teacher of Righteousness may have been crucified in 70 or 69 B.C., by the Jewish authorities, he was thereafter denied all access to the Scrolls and was not even permitted to visit the Jordanian Museum in which they were kept. He complained bitterly that after years of delay not one line of the Scrolls, in addition to his, were translated and published; and this in spite of the fact that no less than 400 separate documents had been pieced together by 1965 and could just as easily have been given to the world, as were the four or five published shortly after the -original discovery.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs contained a great many passages which had always been considered of Christian origin because they depict a personage in many respects similar to, or almost identical with, the character and mission attributed to Jesus in the New Testament. However, with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, this theory became untenable as fragments of the *Testaments* written nearly a century before the emergence of Christianity were found scattered about the caves which contained the very statements which had always been believed to be

Christian interpolations. When I learned about these, I wrote to the curator of the Jordanian Museum offering to fly there if I would be permitted to photograph a piece of parchment from the *Testament of Levi*. He replied that if I came, I would not even be permitted to *look* at it, much less take a picture of it.

The Six-Day War of 1967

And so, even though year after year had slipped by without any additional publication of Scroll material, I continued to hope that someday it would become available. But then, as you know, a catastrophic event occurred in 1967 — the Six-Day War, (as it is called) in which the Israelis seized all of Jerusalem, including the Jordanian Museum and its contents.

The Fate of the Scrolls

Over the years, until his death, I corresponded with Millar Burrows, who had written a sympathetic review of my book, *The Essene Heritage*, published in 1967. He refused to admit that there was any attempt to delay or prevent the publication of the Scrolls. Once he even declared that the Oxford Press was on the verge of releasing a large volume of this material; but the publishers stated to me in a letter that they had no such project under consideration.

Thus, year after year, I kept prodding Burrows on the subject, and his replies became more and more evasive until they ceased altogether.

One question continued to occupy my interest: what had become of the scrolls? Why were none of them published for so many years? Sometimes I wondered whether they would survive or ever be made available to the public. However, we should note that even in the custody of the Jordanians, they were held in the strictest secrecy—and why? I could only surmise that extreme pressure had been exerted by both Christian and Jewish sources: -from the former, because it would not be beneficial to them should it be established that this faith grew out of a Jewish cult and was, therefore, not an original revelation; nor would the Israelis wish the Scrolls released, since they were filled with fierce denunciations of Jewish religious leaders and civil authorities.

It is my considered opinion and my sad conclusion that the Dead Sea Scrolls will never be given to the world unless basic changes occur: first, they must be removed from the custody of the Israeli government and, second, we must establish an intellectual climate in the western world in which scholars and ministers can discuss religious subjects without fear of reprisals, in the form of lost prestige, removal from lucrative positions, loss, of salaries or other sanctions which can be enforced against anyone who dares to interfere with the emoluments or the powers of those who are most powerful and influential in society.

I think it is as simple as that. And at the back of my mind lingers a gnawing fear that instead of being translated and published, the leather or parchment on which the Scrolls are inscribed, may be physically destroyed or become undecipherable before anything is done to release them. And it is highly significant that for several years there has been little or no discussion anywhere concerning the Scrolls. It seems that by ignoring the whole subject, its significance will die in the public consciousness.

The Museum in Jerusalem

From various friends who have recently returned from tours of the Middle East, I have learned a number of significant details. There is now in Jerusalem an onion-top-shaped building, designed

to resemble the earthen jars in which the Scrolls were placed in 69 A.D.; most of the structure is underground and resembles a tunnel. This building is called the Shrine of the Book, and tourists are told that it houses not only the Dead Sea Scrolls, but also other documents found at the fortress of Massada and still others related to the revolt of Bar Kokhba which occurred in 135 A.D. A 24-foot Scroll of Isaiah is on open display. I have been told that documents said to be original Scrolls are to be seen under extremely thick glass covers. I have been told also that in case of an emergency such as an attack, all the cases containing the manuscripts could be lowered into an impregnable underground vault.

However, so far as I have been able to learn, no one is permitted to make an examination of these scrolls, touch them, or photograph them. No one, to whom I have talked, has the faintest idea of what is actually in the museum. And certainly, not one word of the Essene material has been published in the fourteen years that have elapsed since the Six-Day War.

Whether the Scrolls are there or in condition to be examined, I certainly do not know, nor have I been able to obtain any information on this score.

The Future of the Scrolls

What, if anything, the future holds in store in this field beyond what is now occurring, remains of course to be seen. I can think of no possible valid reason why the Scrolls have been withheld now for nearly thirty years. If they could not be prepared for publication in that length of time, would a century or two centuries be enough? It seems to me that unless we can rescue them from their present custody and also achieve a new and different intellectual world climate, there is little hope that anyone now living will ever see any translation of these scrolls.

I consider what has happened and is continuing to occur in the matter of the Scrolls the greatest cover-up of important historical material that has occurred in modern history. The enemies are the special interests and a fierce bigotry that can only continue to persist by ignoring one of the most important questions that have ever faced world-scholarship. I do not expect to see any new developments during my lifetime, and it is one of the great disappointments of my career as a scholar and writer.

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El Salvador: The War to Come

SAMUEL EDWARD KONKIN III

- Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference.

Introduction

News and its interpretation changes daily, if not hourly, but the lead story on the front page of the November 6 *New York Times* should have brought chills to Revisionists, whatever their historical period preference:

“Haig says U.S. Aid to Salvador junta Must Be Increased” and subheaded: “He Indicates That Officials Are Studying Ways to Combat Arms Flow to Guerrillas.”

The byline was held by long-time Times reporter, Hedrick Smith. The content was no less frightening than the headline. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig (whom Murray Rothbard refers to as the sane, restrained wing of the Reagan Administration on foreign policy, [\[1\]](#) said in an interview:

... that he was not ruling out actions outside El Salvador but related to that country’s guerrilla war. And indirectly, Mr. Haig confirmed the substance of a report in The New York Times today disclosing that he had asked the Defense Department to examine measures for a possible blockade of Nicaragua, or actions around Cuba, including naval exercises, a show of air power, a quarantine or even stronger action, all aimed at curbing the arms flow toward El Salvador. [\[2\]](#)

Further on, Hendrick reports:

Administration officials have disclosed that beginning in June but accelerating recently, Mr. Haig and Robert MacFarlane, the State Department counselor, were pressing the Defense Department to develop contingency options for action against Nicaragua and Cuba.

One option raised was a blockade of Nicaragua, which Mr. Haig has called a transfer point for arms to El Salvador. Among the requested options of possible action toward Cuba, officials said, were a large naval exercise, a show of air power, a quarantine on the shipment of arms to Cuba, a general blockade as part of an act of war and an invasion by American and possible Latin American forces.

Contingency plans, as A.J.P. Taylor has shown us concerning Germany, [\[3\]](#) are not necessarily acts of war or even threatening in themselves. However, these have followed a long period of the

American State's saber-rattling on El Salvador and many take them seriously. For example, the *Los Angeles Times* editorialized, with a most appropriate heading, "El Salvador: The Spreading Crisis;" that:

U.S. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. has been rattling his sabers this week over El Salvador. Although occasional posturing is routine in international diplomacy, Haig's statements are worrisome when seen in the context of other recent events that could affect the crisis. [4] Snapping one's mind right back to the early days of the Vietnam conflict, the State Department now considers the civil war in El Salvador to be a stalemate. [5]

The countries involved in the wider region certainly take it seriously. Guatemala held recent talks with El Salvador's junta to coordinate military action, says the editorial, adding further:

This kind of activity, and the menacing words from Haig, have not gone unnoticed in Cuba and Nicaragua. Fidel Castro has denied reports that Cuban troops may be fighting alongside the Salvadoran insurgents. He also ordered his island's defense forces to stand at full alert, in anticipation of some overt move against his regime by the United States.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinistas also claim that they are prepared to repulse an expected invasion, in this case by supporters of late dictator Anastasio Somoza. If it comes through Honduran territory, they warn that the resulting war will spread throughout Central America. [6]

The Times concludes wimpishly:

So it is to be hoped that an escalation of the Salvadoran conflict is not necessary. If more troops must be sent in, it would be preferable that they come not only from military regimes like Guatemala and Argentina. Democracies like Venezuela and Colombia also have a stake in the outcome of El Salvador's civil war, and they should be urged to help the Duarte government itself. [7]

Even as I penned these words, *The Los Angeles Times* reported, "Reagan, Venezuela to 'Stand Together'." Lest we dismiss that as diplomatic rhetoric, the article states, "The two leaders agreed that the U.S. attempt to achieve peace in El Salvador through elections is the correct course, the official said. Reagan 'indicated emphatically that we reject both the right and left extremists and that our path is the democratic middle path' in El Salvador, the official said. [8]

One could interpret Reagan's actions as fulfilling the Cold War Liberals' conditions for support of American intervention. Or perhaps the Liberal media were rationalizing and putting their best face on. The real questions are "does this mean war?", "can it be stopped?" and "what can we do about it?"

There is another important question to be answered first. Can revisionist history predict war?

Future Revisionism

To a large extent, the question of war prediction is of recent vintage. In the past, States were run by explicit ruling classes who weighed the gains and losses of going to war with other States and did so when it was in their interest or unavoidable. With the rise of democracy, majorities had to be swayed.

Statism can be used to redistribute wealth from few to many and can easily win votes for that. War, the health of the State as Randolph Bourne had it, never benefits the many. A majority can be convinced to support a war only if they're convinced they have no choice. That is, the majority must feel threatened and that they would lose more if they eschewed warfare.

Whatever the situation for small countries surrounded by big, rapacious States, the United States and Great Britain have never really been threatened with invasion and conquest. Germany and Russia, both of whom were devastatingly invaded twice this century, have far more grounds for fearing attack. Yet the British and American States have been involved in nearly all major conflicts of this century. One historical school has it that the British-American Imperialist Axis has been fighting one long war since 1914 with cold and hot periods.

The British were frankly imperialist at the turn of the century. By 1945 the constant warfare had devastated their economy and culture and their empire was gone. Yet they had “won” all their wars.

Small wonder that American Republicans warned against the United States becoming an empire from William Graham Sumner's *The Conquest of the United States by Spain* to Garet Garrett's *The Rise of Empire*.

The world was sick of war in 1919. Better educated masses with longer memory retention and majoritarian power, at least in extremis, became impervious to Statist blandishments for war. Those countries which could not vote out war overthrew their States and toppled their ruling classes. Bolsheviks took power with peace as the first plank in their platform; fascists seized power to withdraw their nations from the web of entanglements of the international bankers and their sponsored imperialism. In both cases, the hopes of the masses were deluded and then destroyed, but the impetus was there.

In this atmosphere, the Revisionist school of history flourished. Revising the court historians' establishment view of events, they sought original documents and reasons behind reasons given. They sought to explain war, how it happened and why, and later they investigated everything from the causes of the Depression to those of the American Constitution; again, always challenging the State's collegiate brothel of academic prostitutes.

Why?

Two reasons present themselves. First, the Revisionist Historians pursued Truth wherever it may lie, whatever the cost, whoever was hurt or discredited. Still, such an academic exercise would be quite sterile if it did not affect future choice of action. And, indeed, the Revisionists perceived the same conditions arising in 1938 that arose in 1912. They *predicted* war and they strove to prevent it.

To see the future would fix it indelibly. What will happen could not be changed. To *predict* the future is to extrapolate present conditions — causes- along the most probable lines of passage-effects. Such predictability, “if this goes on, that will happen” is the basis of science. Thus, History *qua* academic discipline has sought scientific validity by exhibiting sufficient understanding to predict the historical consequences of human actions. And Revisionists seek the same scientific basis.

Harry Elmer Barnes and Charles Beard saw the coming of World War II, opposed it, and were ready for immediate post-war Revisionist accounts. Though Revisionism was set back badly by the weak post-war reaction to the New Deal war misrepresentation so that Korea soon followed,

Korea provided the renewal of disillusionment with statism that revived a new Revisionist wave ready for Vietnam.

The American Imperialists had picked up the fallen banner of Imperium from the collapsing British one in World War II. The U.S. and Britain traded places as senior and junior partner. By 1945 the American Empire effectively ruled the entire planet in coalition or alliance.

But the Churchill-Truman axis, consciously or unconsciously, realized the necessity of the threat of a foreign enemy to maintain the power of the State, the action of its citizen-victims. “Iron Curtain” speeches were made, the former staunch ally in Moscow was menaced, Stalin reacted with appropriate paranoia, and the world grouped around two imperial metropolises.

Only after the Fair Deal imperialists provoked the Cold War did Eastern Europe get converted into buffer states for the Russian Bolsheviks. China became the major Soviet ally in 1949 and they both moved to take Korea, an appendage to Soviet Asia and China’s Manchuria. Half was already Soviet-bloc.

The United States could not win in Korea, and if it could, it dare not. If Douglas MacArthur had nuked Peiking and Moscow, the U.S. would have to invent another enemy. The failure of the American statists to fight for unconditional victory-a la Third Reich-left a frustrated populace and fertile grounds for Revisionism.

Revisionists warned of Vietnam, but the sheer length of the drawn-out struggle allowed a strong Revisionist movement to grow during the war itself, a first for Revisionists. The legacy of Vietnam is that the Revisionists are stronger and more accepted than anytime since 1919.

And now we, the Revisionists of 1982, are called upon to prove our value to our supporters, the consumers of our products. If we’re so smart and our theories are right-what’s going to happen next?

Imperialism On The Wax

There are certain premises needed to fulfill this demand. Each one requires a book on its own, or at least a paper as long as this one. Fortunately, they are not new and can be found already put forward and defended in the works of Revisionist giants, such as Barnes, James J. Martin, A. J. P. Taylor, Gabriel Kolko, William Appleman Williams, Murray Rothbard, G. William Domhoff, Leonard Liggio and R. A. Childs.

The first premise is that Washington and New York are the centers-is one center, really-of a political-economic empire, based on the American State, but controlling many of the other States in the world to different degrees and in different manners. This empire has a ruling elite who run the empire for their own benefit, that of their corporate holdings, and that of their friends, allies and relatives-that is, of this *class*. This is our second premise.

Our third premise is that the world is largely divided between this Empire — I call it American, though it has nothing to do with an Iowa farmer, a California fruit trucker or a New Orleans shopkeeper — and a smaller, weaker Empire centered in Moscow.

There are few neutrals — Switzerland and Finland are about it, maybe Costa Rica — though there is a lot of shifting back and forth on the borders. One side-switcher could also be considered a tertiary empire itself, and if China was that strong — which it is not — the great predictive Revisionist George Orwell would have 1984 right on the button. (He was close anyway.)

A fourth premise is that these Empires fight “brush-fire wars” in the marginal, borderline-countries for several reasons: retain control or gain control; protect existing investments or open new ones; make diplomatic gambits to affect general configuration of power in neighboring States for strategic purposes; and ultimately, to win popular support at home for a large war machine.

A fifth premise is that the natives of these countries on the Imperial borders have little preference for which Imperial Legion will rule them and would rather be left alone by both sides.

Finally, a premise should be added that “Left” and “Right,” Socialism, Communism, Fascism, Conservatism, Democracy, Populism and so on, have little to do with the alliances of internal political groups with external imperialist groups. Conservatives like Charles De Gaulle were a thorn in the American Imperium; China’s Communists urge the American Empire to even-greater anti-Sovietism. *Everyone* who opposes American hegemony is linked with Communism; *everyone* who opposes the Soviet hegemony is linked with the American State Capitalism.

With this seemingly long but actually highly abbreviated background, we may commence a Revisionist analysis of our present time, and, hopefully, the immediate future.

On the whole, Soviet Imperialism is a recent phenomenon and considerably overstated in hawkish American circles. Antony Sutton has made a fairly moderate case that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was almost completely financed and armed by Western plutocrats—a position once held only by the “fever swamps” of the far right. Libertarian economics indicates that the closer a State comes to pure State Communism, the closer its economy will be to chaos.

Here I may refer to my upcoming book, *Counter-Economics*, Ch. 3, on the large Counter-Economy which actually maintains the Soviet society. Though the USSR spends considerably more on sophisticated armament than anyone but the American State, how well the technology would work in a land where right and left shoes often don’t match or simply can’t be found in the official economy, is open to serious question.

Moreover, the history of direct Soviet intervention is a string of sordid disasters. Finland fought the USSR to a standstill in 1939 and most Russian conquests afterward were the result of first German and then Anglo-American assaults on the Western frontiers of the concerned states. The Soviet conquest of its eastern satellites was the conquest of a vacuum, the Russians being the only ones in the area heavily rearmed by the U.S. lend-lease.

The Soviets never intervened directly in China, Korea or Vietnam. Their moves into Hungary and Czechoslovakia were simply restoring control in already occupied land, and today they are fighting a losing battle to hold their historic puppet in Afghanistan and are hesitant to attack heretical Poland and its turn to syndicalism.

The USSR has only two real pieces on the international chessboard to play: a paper nuclear force which has some deterrence to nuclear usage by the American Empire and the ability and willingness to supply all levels of military equipment—though limited in economic capacity to do so—to forces opposing the U.S. Empire. To many countries around the globe, the Soviets and Americans are interchangeable and one buys or refuses goods from either—like choosing between Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola.

Even in indirect imperialism the USSR has been hopelessly outclassed by the American imperialists. For all the Bircher talk of the globe turning Red, in reality, the Russian Empire has contracted in terms of client states since the 1960s. Ethiopia and Mozambique were minor gains, An-

gola is still contested, and Egypt and Somalia were minor losses. Vietnam was a fairly good gain but more than offset by the loss of China. Laos and Cambodia are contested

While the majority of governments profess some form of socialism, they are pro-American social democrats. The Socialist International, which supports Nicaragua and one wing of the Salvadoran rebels, for example, is simply lined up with one faction of the American Imperial Ruling Class against the other. [9]

There are currently three areas of hot conflict for the American Imperialists, and it is in these areas that the war will most likely break out-just as the Balkans were “hot” in 1912, Central Europe “hot” in 1938 and Korea and Vietnam were festering sores with escalating battles in 1950 and 1961.

Let me first eliminate some unlikely possibilities. The American statists will not intervene in Poland or anywhere in Central Europe; that area is granted to the Soviet sphere of control. The same is true of Afghanistan, though they would draw the line at Iran and Pakistan. But the USSR has not moved into those unstable situations, largely because it's bogged down in Afghanistan.

It is also unlikely that war will break out in Korea again, because China has switched sides and controls Kim Il Sung. Southern Africa is headed for further negotiated settlements along the Rhodesian precedent, though whether SWAPO or Turnhalle will come out on top is open, but it probably matters as little as Rhodesia. Remember, Mugabe is tied to China and hence ultimately serves the American Empire.

The rest of Africa may see net U.S. gains; the American imperialists are on the side of the national liberators in Angola, Eritrea and Ogaden for a change. North Africa is another matter.

South America looks condemned to military juntas with occasional fascist dictatorships (such as Peronism), except for the democratic north of Colombia and Venezuela. Guyana, for example, could not go further left without Brazil crushing it and probably excusing an annexation. The Caribbean is currently volatile, but really little problem for the U.S Marines and fleet to control.

The three hot spots for a future war, induced by both current instability and elimination of alternatives, are South-East Asia, the Middle East, and Central America.

South-East Asia is on the back burner now, but Cambodia is still hotly contested and China is itching to hit Vietnam again. Thailand is threatened by Vietnam but has the ASEAN pact behind it. The interlocking treaties here make 1914 look simple and there will be another war here soon. My humble revisionist opinion is that it won't be there sooner than the other hot spots, and even if it boils over, China can deal with it directly... unless the American Imperialists are bogged down elsewhere and the Russian Imperialists have settled Afghanistan and Poland. In that event, all bets are off and the U.S. will have to intervene to keep the Russians off the Chinese.

The next hotter spot is the Middle East. Iran is unstable, but Afghanistan has the USSR bogged down. Israel is probably not going to directly drag the U.S. into a war right away. The Trilateralist higher circles. of America's power elite have clearly indicated their preference for Saudi Arabia as their top client state, and Israel has to swallow it. However, Israel could widen a lot more likely possibility of war, if not start its own.

The media attack on Muammar Qaddafi of Libya is stronger than anything since Idi Amin, yet Idi Amin was attacked for his internal policies. Qaddafi is blamed for everything from the IRA to

Basque separatists to Maltese obstreperousness to airline hijackers. He supposedly has designs on the Sudan-which is no great prize -and Chad- which is a dead loss.

The recent U.S attack on Libyan airplanes over Libyan territory is reminiscent of the Reuben James incident of 1941 except that the U.S. did not sacrifice their planes, but Qaddafi's.

Qaddafi is called a madman by the American Establishment press; that, of course, is a prelude to an attack. If a State is run by a madman, it cannot be trusted and the few little restraints of inter-state morality can be cast aside. War becomes justified.

Remember, the Kaiser was mad, Hitler was mad, Kim was mad, but Ho Chi Minh wasn't and look what it cost the U.S. in support. Actually, Qaddafi's Green Socialism is a mixed enterprisecommunal economy supported by oil royalties. His stated intention is to abolish the Libyan government in his lifetime, and though he will sell out or die first, he's certainly the most libertarian statist rhetorically around, more than Ronald Reagan. But perhaps Reagan is only slightly less mad.

What the U.S. Imperialists dislike is that Qaddafi spends his State's money backing all sorts of wild cards in the world scene, such as the RAF, Brigade Rosse, IRA, -ETA, and Japanese Red Army. The Soviets hate them equally, though they will sell military supplies to Libya rather than have the Yanks get the trade, or the French. The Soviet Imperialists also hope for a windfall gain which would fall in their lap if the U.S. attacked Libya and drove Qaddafi into accepting direct client status from Russia in desperation. Naturally, all political groups which are controlled neither by Washington and Moscow are terrorists. That is, they terrify the Politburo and the Trilateral Commission.

The Trilaterals were about to strike recently when Qaddafi pulled a master coup. By pulling out of Chad immediately upon the request of the very premier who invited him in, he stymied the invasion threat to his own country. Libya has cooled off, but may heat up again. Even then, Egypt can handle the invasion as a stand-in for U.S. troops, as long as the rest of Arabia stays out. In that situation, Israel could spark off a widened war and plunge the entire Eastern Mediterranean into the real holocaust.

(Events after the Conference change little in the analysis. Reagan's paranoid assassination fantasy was issued to counter Libya's withdrawal move and generally fell flat as no evidence was offered.)

Since the speaker immediately following is representing the Palestine Arab Delegation, I'll let him deal with the Palestinian factor and spend much more time on the situation there.

The hottest spot is Central America. Things may change but the Washington-New York Trilateral Empire wants a war for domestic as well as external reasons, and it looks like El Salvador is the center of that war-to-be.

El Salvador. The Lies Begin

Before we forget, this is a paper of Revisionist History. What we're going to revise, hopefully as fast as the Court Historians can spit it out, is the torrent of lies and distortions about the civil war in El Salvador. One way to predict a war is to see when the Imperial States are most distorting a situation and misrepresenting the sides.

According to the American statisticians, El Salvador is run by a junta of Christian Democrats and various moderate military people opposing the reactionary landowners, fascist police and military, and Communist and deluded left-socialists. The Left and Right are killing each other and Jose Napoleon Duarte, President of the junta, is trying to keep down the terrorism and hold honest elections to settle the matter. Alas, the Nicaraguans are sending Cuban arms and money to the Salvadoran guerrillas which they undoubtedly got from Moscow. The massacres taking place are due to Duarte's difficulty in taking control, but with increased American assistance, order will be restored and his land reform can be consummated and eliminate the history of inequities.

None of the above is true.

Let us begin with the most crucial issue for justifying American intervention in El Salvador, the prior intervention of Sandinista Nicaragua and the Soviet proxy, Cuba.

When the State Department released its report on El Salvador on February 23, it also released 100 copies of a 1½-inch thick packet of documents to support the Reagan Administration's decision to increase military aid to the Salvadoran government. The meat of the documents' original raw intelligence consists of 47 pages of handwritten jottings, memoranda and minutes of meetings, culled from confiscated guerrilla files.

[10]

Supposedly those documents were to show that socialist and communist countries were supporting the opposition to the junta, and with material, not just the usual rhetoric of solidarity.

But these very same documents-in addition to other intelligence reports available to the Reagan Administration that were not included in the White Paper-provide conclusions that fall far short of the Administration's portrayal of El Salvador as an arena of U.S.-Soviet confrontation.

The White Paper charges that 800 tons of arms were promised, and 200 tons were delivered, to the insurgents by the time of the (January) offensive. The captured documents, however, indicate that far lesser quantities were promised or in shipment, and only about 10 tons ever actually crossed the border.

Battlefield evidence gathered since January, including the statements of a captured Nicaraguan soldier-turned-informer, reveals that the guerrillas were forced to depend on relatively antiquated rifles and other weapons purchased on the international black market.

In contrast to the Reagan administration's interpretation that the Soviet Union masterminded the arms traffic, the documents reveal that the guerrillas' Communist Party representative encountered a cool reception in Moscow, and was deeply concerned that Soviet "indecisiveness" might jeopardize any promise of arms made by other socialist countries. [11]

So where did the State department come up with the 800 and 200 tons figures?

The highest figure mentioned anywhere in the documents is in a hand-written letter, dated Nov. 1, from a certain 'Vladimir,' who was identified by the State Department as the guerrilla's logistics coordinator in Nicaragua. He wrote that 150 tons of arms had arrived in Cuba, and that "This week" there would be a total of 300 to 400 tons destined for the guerrillas-but that plans to smuggle -109 tons" into El Salvador in

November were “almost impossible,” Another document, the minutes of a guerrilla General Staff meeting in late September, reported only four of 130 tons of arms in storage had been smuggled into El Salvador. ^[12]

The rest of this quoted source is rich in instant revisionism, but let me just hit a couple of high points.

Neither official battlefield reports nor journalists on the scene have reported large quantities of weapons captured from guerrillas.

Other sources of intelligence that tended to contradict the picture of huge arms shipments were available to Reagan analysts, but were not included in the packet of documents.

And, finally,

The key document in Reagan’s case that the Soviet Union is the mastermind behind the insurgency, is a report of Salvadoran Communist Party chief Shafik Handal’s tour of Vietnam, Ethiopia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany and the Soviet Union last June and July. It is the only piece of evidence that actually mentions the Soviet Union, with the exception of a passing reference in another document to a “Sov.” being present at a meeting in Mexico City with socialist diplomats. According to the White Paper, Handal left Moscow “with assurances that the Soviets agreed in principle to transport Vietnamese arms.”

The supporting document, however, reports that Handal “exposed his unhappiness with the denial of a meeting at the proper level and the non-resolution of the request for help.” A few weeks later, according to the document, the Soviets granted his request to give military training to 30 (presumably Salvadoran) youths studying in Moscow, but ignored his request to ship the Vietnamese arms. The document concluded, “The campaniero (Handal) expressed his concern that the Soviets’ indecisiveness could affect not only the help they might give but also (prejudice) the willingness to cooperate of the other parties of the European Socialist camp...” There, in mid-sentence, the document provided by the State Department ends. ^[13]

What little foreign support the Salvadoran opposition gets is a few dollars they spend in the black market. This justifies the U.S. sending the junta “\$35 million in military aid this year and studying requests for over \$200 million in economic assistance”? ^[14] In fact, the only major foreign intervention in El Salvador is the American State’s, that of the Trilateral Imperialists. The countries in the area saw it that way on March 11:

...the key governments in Latin America-Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina-have responded to United States charges that the Soviet bloc is supplying weapons to the Salvadoran guerrillas with warnings against deeper United States military involvement in El Salvador. And with rare unanimity they have called for a negotiated solution to the simmering civil war.

“I don’t see why it is any more legitimate for the United States to arm the junta than for the guerrillas to get weapons from whatever they can,” a Mexican official noted! ... Mexico’s President, Jose Lopez Portillo, noted last month: “The crisis that has its temporary epicenter in the Salvadoran conflict has become a spiral that threatens to involve all the states in the area. For this reason, it is necessary to avoid the interna-

tionalization of the crisis through a combined policy that has the objective of rigorously preserving the principles of self-determination and non-intervention.”

Mexico and Venezuela, in particular, seem worried that further militarization of the Salvadoran conflict might polarize the entire isthmus, heightening the domestic crises in Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua and prompting regional governments to meddle openly in each others' affairs. [15]

So we see there is no Red intervention requiring an American response to balance the scales, or whatever, and the attitude of all the other States in the area is isolationist or non-interventionist, if you prefer. Most of these states are pro-American and some are right-wing dictatorships. The only imperialism in the area is American.

What about the manace of an internal Red takeover? Anti-interventionists may support a policy of self-determination in other countries, but if a few million dollars and a few advisors could tip the balance and save El Salvador from becoming another Cuba-or even Nicaragua-why bother being worked up to oppose it?

Space and time limitations prevent me from fully diagnosing the internal situation of El Salvador. Let me recommend “El Salvador: The Myth of Progressive Reform” by Roy A. Childs in the June 1981 issue of *Libertarian Review*. The land reform fiasco of Duarte is spelled out in pages of gory detail. Let me give you one irresistible tidbit.

Within days of the original land decree 153, the military swept through El Salvador, invaded farms, and told the peasants that land reform was an accomplished fact. They were to regard the land as theirs, elect their own leadership and, for the first time in their lives, farm land which was their own property. The peasants, who had heretofore been forbidden to organize, were now ordered to organize. But they did manage to elect leaders, and the Army then came back and shot those elected. Eyewitness reports indicate that several times soldiers poured back onto the farms within days after the elections, took away the leaders, and machine-gunned them. More than two hundred peasant leaders are reported to have been killed that way. [16]

This is the moderate, benevolent, Centrist government which is to save the Salvadorans from the horrible fate of communism and deserves the blood and treasure of the American people?

Way back in 1972, a ticket of Duarte for president and Guillermo Ungo, leader of the Social Democrats, won an election, against candidates of two major power blocs, the military and the landed oligarchy-the infamous 14 families. The military's candidate, Colonel Arturo Molina, promptly overthrew the government. In 1977, Molin was ousted by the oligarch's man, General Humberto Romero. On 18 October, 1979, the U.S. backed a coup by reformist military officers-one of three coups being planned-and ousted Romero. The junta brought in the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats in a joint civilian-military junta.

The Social Democrats quit and today Ungo, Duarte's former running mate, heads the Democratic Revolutionary Front.

By mid-February, following a denunciation by the extreme rightist D'Abuisson, armed men broke into the home of the Christian Democratic Solicitor-General of the second junta and machine-gunned him to death. The entire left wing of the Christian Democrats withdrew in protest. Remaining in place as the last fig leaf of the “center” was the right Christian Democrat, Jose Napoleon Duarte. [17]

The oligarchs and military oppose Duarte and freely murder opponents in massacres, including the assassination of Archbishop Romero, the Catholic leader of El Salvador. The left, the Faribundo Marti Liberation Front, oppose the government in armed combat and counter-terror. The moderate left and center, in the DRF, oppose Duarte. No one is left to prop up Duarte except the American interventionists.

Sound like Vietnam after Diem's death? You bet. After two years of direct U.S. intervention, we hear the Secretary of State demand massive additional aid, proxy troops, and, maybe, just maybe, direct U.S. military intervention, against not only El Salvador guerrillas, but widening the war to engulf Central America.

I rest my case for The Coming War as being in El Salvador. You may recall that Ronald Reagan welched on his promise to abolish draft registration in this country. To a Revisionist audience I hardly need say more, except to look to your aware conscience and take appropriate action.

The War Keeps Coming: Update

Updates, or follow-ups, are undoubtedly rare in historical publications. And authors taking a flyer at prophecy and prediction are usually loath to re-examine their claims for verification later. This revisionist author welcomes the opportunity offered by The Journal of Historical Review's editor to observe, six months after my announcement of it last November at the 1981 IHR Revisionist Conference, to see how "The War To Come" is coming along.

Actually, my thesis was formulated over a year ago at a small libertarian meeting: the United States government, or at least powerful elements in the American States, treads a path that leads to War — at least of the nature and involvement (of the citizenry) of the Vietnam War. The basis for my prediction was the science, or at least proto-science, of Revisionist History. In a nutshell, if revisionism tells us what led to a war (what it's most often used for and for which he have the most data), then, scientifically speaking, it should tell us what leads to war. A science, once the rules are discovered, must be predictive to be conclusive.

Nearly six months later, in early November of 1981, the article was written and presented to the Third Annual Revisionist History Conference sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review. The additional six months more than doubled my references (many of which were footnoted in the article) and doubled my confidence in the predictions. Since then another six months have passed and the predictions. Since then another six April of 1982, we stand on the brink of a full-scale Viet-Nam War right where I pointed.

True, various leftists and rightists and other libertarians have viewed the situation in Central America with alarm and cries of potential conflict. Many of them have seen wars everywhere, though, such as in Angola and Zimbabwe and various Middle Eastern sites, none of which came off. If one predicts wars everywhere, one will eventually be correct. Today, even many establishment newspapers and other media see a war horizon... but they also see various signs of backing away or some sort of "victory" before any get going in earnest. What all the above have in common is wish-fulfillment: both the positive one of seeing the American-centered Empire enmeshed and humiliated again, and the negative one of warning the U.S. off before it gets enmeshed and humiliated.

None of the above are scientific. Nor is Revisionist History — the collection of knowledge, facts and interpretations of facts — consulted save selectively and for partisan purpose. Most importantly, except for the Marxists perhaps, no one else is really offering a scientific claim for the

prediction of events among States and within States. And those Marxists who try to proceed scientifically simply end up as one school of revisionism, which is not to denigrate the contributions of such as C. Wright Mills, Gabriel Kolko, and William Appleman Williams to revisionism.

In “El Salvador: The War To Come” a combination of premises from compilation of past revisionist work with modern data, mostly in the form of fairly accessible press clippings, led to the following conclusions. First, the nature of States, at least in recent history, and their reactions to internal economic crises, leads the revisionist to see a War seen as solution to these internal problems. Second, the class nature of the States — for whom the State acts to benefit — leads us to certain conclusions as to where the War will happen and even when to an extent. Third, the actions of States so far in relation to other States (diplomacy and military maneuvers) follow a predictable trend and after a certain point approach inevitability of conflict. These premises were spelled out in specific for the context of 1981 and the actual world was observed.

By a rapid process of elimination, the most likely scenarios were selected. Third most likely was Cambodia, and, indeed, since that prediction Vietnam heated up- their attack on the Khmer Rouge to end that threat. Hanoi not only failed to finish off the Indochina struggle but pushed the Chinese-backed Reds closer than ever to a coalition with the U.S.-backed Khmer Serei and neutralist Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The theatre is *still* on the back-burner relative to the Middle East and Central America, but continues to heat up.

When Libya was first predicted as the site of the second most likely theatre for War with the American State, we had only got as far as the American shooting down of Libyan planes over Libyan-claimed waters. A revisionist scenario akin to the provoking of the Japanese to commit Pearl Harbor was seen. By the time the original article was submitted to *The Journal for Historical Review* for publication, President Ronald Reagan had imagined Qaddafi-unleashed assassins stalking the U.S. to slay him.

Imagined? On 10 March 1982, neutralist, non-interventionist (or Isolationist, as we die-hards like to call it) Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria welcomed Muammar Qaddafi to Vienna and replied to the questions of his parliamentary opposition and the Austrian press, as reported by the *Los Angeles Times*, (11 March, page 9):

Kreisky responded that recent U.S. charges that (Qaddafi) sent “hit squads” to the United States were groundless propaganda and that there was no reason to keep the Libyan leader from accepting an invitation extended by Austria long ago. “There is absolutely no evidence for charges that Qaddafi is the so-called father of terrorism,” Kreisky said.

Within a day, in fact reported in that very same day’s edition of the *Los Angeles Times*, the U.S. responded to this revelation by announcing discovery of a new plot by Libya, to blow up a club in Sudan where Americans, especially women and children, hung out, and banning Libyan oil. U.S. material to Libya, save food or medicine, was banned without a special licence. And President Reagan upped the lie denied by Kreisky, claiming that Qaddafi’s perfidies “includes the training of 5,000 terrorists a year who are then sent on missions 'from Ireland to the Philippines.'”

From the Reuben James (Libyan aircraft) sinking to the insulting of ambassadors (calling Qaddafi a madman), lying about Japanese alliances and military objectives (same for Libya), freezing of assets and blocking of trade (banning of Libyan oil and exports. to Libya), we await only some sort of Pearl Harbor to complete the revisionist scenario to War in the Middle East. So far, Qaddafi seems less willing to play kamikaze.

Even so, Libya and the rest of the Middle East seems more like a diversion, or a “spare war in the pocket” for Reagan and the Administration should the prime target not take off in Central America. They seem to have little reason to fear. The \$35 million in military aid for 1981 has already jumped over a hundred million and “non-military” aid is several times that. The U.S. advisors who were sent last year have since been reported to be carrying arms and even using them on guerrillas of the Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMNL).

One of the contentions of the original paper presented was that the U.S. would engulf the whole of Central America in a war which began with an attempt to suppress the Salvadoran rebels. Sure enough, Guatemala and Honduras were provoked into having elections, and Guatemala promptly went through two coups while the war against their guerrillas continued. Meanwhile, Nicaragua armed itself, though nowhere near as much as claimed by the U.S. nor with anywhere near the support from Cuba and the USSR claimed (see The Lies Begin section of the last paper). For example, in a response that they had lengthened airstrips for Soviet-built MiG fighters, Sandinista spokesman (then visiting the U.S.), Jaime Wheelock, said there are no Soviet MiGs in Nicaragua and that “we don’t expect to have any.” (Same edition of the *Los Angeles Times* cited.) Furthermore,

Wheelock repeated charges made previously by the Sandinista government that the United States, in conjunction with the rightist regimes of Argentina and Chile, is undertaking a covert operation to achieve the economic, political and military destabilization of Nicaragua ... Asked Wednesday about reports of such a covert operation, Haig said it would be “inappropriate for me to comment...”

One would not have to bend Central America around too much to put El Salvador in South Vietnam’s place, Nicaragua in North Vietnam’s, perhaps Guatemala for Laos and Honduras for Cambodia.

The most recent event at the time of the writing of this update is the Salvadoran election. For an ostensibly democratic country as the United States, an election is paramount to proving that the Trilateralist Empire is really backing the good guys. In Vietnam, an election without the National Liberation Front simply led to coups and further internal chaos. How about the El Salvador election of 28 March 1982?

Of course, it’s too early to tell too much. the New York Times of Tuesday, 30 March claimed the U.S. was jubilant and the FMNL demoralized because “900,000 of the estimated 1.3 million eligible voters had turned out, a figure greatly exceeded expectations...” Actually, only the previous week 800,000 were predicted and the newspapers were careful to point out then that there were three million Salvadorans of voting age. That is, less than a third of El Salvador chose to engage in ballots.

But that’s not the worst problem. Only 40% voted for President Jose Napoleon Duarte’s Christian Democrats, with 60% of the seats of the constituent assembly going to five rightist parties. 28% went to Roberto d’Aubuisson of the National Republican Alliance or ARENA, which had never run before this election. ARENA is as close to a fascist party as can exist today without Benito Mussolini leading it. As the *New York Times* put it:

The Christian Democrats had hoped to appeal to voters with their economic changes — the redistribution of land and the nationalization of banks and the export of basic commodities. However, Mr. d’Aubuisson ran an unexpectedly strong race on calls to wipe out the guerrillas in three months and to reverse the land redistribution. He

pledged to rid the country of “Communists,” a group in which he included the Christian Democrats.

In short, the U.S. is about to lose control of their chosen government to a nationalist, if not anti-American, rightist coalition, one which shall certainly have no support among American liberals. Remember all the problems Lyndon Johnson had with Nguyen Cao Ky.

Of course, the Trilateral Imperialists will attempt to buy off some of the smaller parties or, should that fail, force in Duarte or other Christian Democrats anyway. Remember that the coup which brought Duarte in was against precisely the same landedoligarchy-backed type leader as d'Aubuisson is, and that National Conciliation Party is now angrily backing ARENA in revenge.

I concluded “El Salvador: The War To Come” with “No one is left to prop up Duarte — except the American interventionists” and “Sounds like Vietnam after Diem’s death? You bet.” You bet still. I also noted that Reagan welched on his promise to abolish draft registration. He still has. The economy is worse and the U.S. is deeper than ever in El Salvadoran politics and military operations.

Six months from now, should predictive revisionism hold scientifically, I cannot imagine any alternative to an update save to describe the Ongoing War.

Notes

1. [↗](#) The Smart Set, October 1981, page 4.
2. [↗](#) The New York Times, November 6, 1981, page one, as titled in text.
3. [↗](#) Ibid., page 4.
4. [↗](#) L.A. Times, Part II, page 6, November 13, 1981.
5. [↗](#) Ibid.
6. [↗](#) Ibid.
7. [↗](#) Ibid.
8. [↗](#) Los Angeles Times, November 18, 1981, Part I, page 6.
9. [↗](#) See, for example, the Yankee and Cowboy War by Carl Oglesby for a crude picture of internal U.S. power elite Divisions.
10. [↗](#) “White Paper or Blank Paper?” by John Dinges, Los Angeles Times, Tuesday, March 17, 1981, Part II, page 7.
11. [↗](#) Ibid.
12. [↗](#) Ibid.
13. [↗](#) Ibid.
14. [↗](#) “The Salvador Strategy” by Alan Riding, New York Times, Wednesday, March 11, 1981, page 2.
15. [↗](#) Ibid.
16. [↗](#) Source as quoted in text, pages 32-33.
17. [↗](#) “El Salvador, Reagan’s War” by Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway, The Village Voice, March 4-10, 1981, page 10.

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Is *The Diary of Anne Frank* genuine?

by Robert Faurisson

Is The Diary of Anne Frank genuine? For two years that question was included in the official syllabus “Text and Document Criticism,” a seminar reserved for degreed students in their fourth year. The conclusion of my studies and research is that The Diary of Anne Frank is a fraud.

In order to study the question posed and to find an answer to it, I have carried out the following investigations:

1. Internal criticism: the very text of the Diary (in Dutch) contains a number of unlikely or inconceivable facts.
2. A study of the premises in Amsterdam: on the one hand, the physical impossibilities and, on the other hand, the explanations made up by Anne Frank’s father severely compromise him.
3. Interview of the principal witness: Mr. Otto Frank.
4. Bibliographical examination: some curious silences and revelations.
5. A return to Amsterdam for a new investigation: the witnesses turn out to be unfavorable to Mr. Frank; the probable truth.
6. The “betrayers” and the person who arrested the Franks: why has Mr. Frank wished to assure them such anonymity?
7. Comparison between the Dutch and German texts: attempting to make too much of it, Mr. Frank has given himself away; he has signed a literary fraud.

Internal criticism

The first step in the investigation is to determine if the text is consistent within itself. The Diary contains an extraordinary number of inconsistencies.

Let us take the example of the noises. Those in hiding, we are told, must not make the least sound. This is so much so that, if they cough, they quickly take codeine. The “enemies” could hear them. The walls are that “thin” (25 March 1943). Those “enemies” are very numerous: Lewin, who “knows the whole building well” (1 October 1942), the men from the store, the customers, the deliverymen, the agent, the cleaning woman, the night watchman Slagter, the plumbers, the “health service,” the accountant, the police who conduct their searches of the premises, the neighbors both near and far, the owner, etc. It is therefore unlikely and inconceivable that Mrs. Van Daan had the habit of using the vacuum cleaner each day at 12:30 pm (5 August 1943). The vacuum cleaners of that era were, moreover, particularly noisy. I ask: “How is that conceivable?” My question is not purely formal. It is not rhetorical. Its purpose is not to show astonishment. My question is a question. It is necessary to respond to it. That question could be followed with forty other questions concerning noises. It is necessary to explain, for ex-

ample, the use of an alarm clock (4 August 1943). It is necessary to explain the noisy carpentry work: the removal of a wooden step, the transformation of a door into a swinging cupboard (21 August 1942), the making of a wooden candlestick (7 December 1942). Peter splits wood in the attic in front of the open window (23 February 1944). It involved building with the wood from the attic “a few little cupboards and other odds and ends” (11 July 1942). It even involved constructing in the attic “a little compartment” for working (13 July 1943). There is a nearly constant noise from the radio, from the slammed doors, from the “resounding peal” (6 December 1943), the arguments, the shouts, the yelling, a “noise that was enough to awaken the dead.” (9 November 1942). “A great din and disturbance followed I was doubled up with laughter” (10 May 1944). The episode reported on 2 September 1942 is irreconcilable with the necessity of being silent and cautious. There we see those in hiding at dinner. They chatter and laugh. Suddenly, a piercing whistle is heard. And they hear the voice of Peter who shouts through the stove pipe that he will certainly not come down. Mr. Van Daan gets up, his napkin falls and, his face flushed, he shouts: “I’ve had enough of this.” He goes up to the attic and there, resistance and the stamping of feet. The episode reported on 10 December 1942 is of the same kind. There we see Mrs. Van Daan being looked after by the dentist Dussel. The latter touches a bad tooth with his probe. Mrs. Van Daan then lets out “incoherent cries of pain.” She tries to pull the little probe away. The dentist looks at the scene, his hands on his hips. The onlookers all “roared with laughter.” Anne, instead of showing the least distress in the face of these cries or this mad laughter, declares: “It was rotten of us, because I for one am quite sure that I should have screamed even louder.”

The remarks that I am making here in regard to noises I could repeat in regard to all of the realities of physical and mental life. The Diary even presents the peculiarity that not one aspect of the life that is lived there avoids being either unlikely, incoherent, or absurd. At the time of their arrival in their hiding place, the Franks install some curtains to hide their presence. But, to install curtains at windows which did not have them up until then, is that not the best means of drawing attention to one’s arrival? Is that not particularly the case if those curtains are made of pieces of “all different shapes, quality and pattern” (11 July 1942)? In order not to betray their presence, the Franks burn their refuse. But in doing this they call attention to their presence by the smoke that escapes from the roof of a building that is supposed to be uninhabited! They make a fire for the first time on 30 October 1942, although they arrived in that place on 6 July. One asks oneself what they could have done with their refuse for the 116 days of the summer. I recall, on the other hand, that the deliveries of food are enormous. In normal conditions, the persons in hiding and their guests each day consume eight breakfasts, eight to twelve lunches and eight dinners. In nine passages of the book they allude to bad or mediocre or insufficient food. Otherwise the food is abundant and “delicious.” Mr. Van Daan “takes a lot of everything” and Dussel takes “enormous helpings” of food (9 August 1943). On the spot they make wet and dry sausages, strawberry jam, and preserves in jars. Brandy or alcohol, cognac, wines, and cigarettes do not seem to be lacking either. Coffee is so common that one does not understand why the author, enumerating (23 July 1943) what each would wish to do on the day when they would be able to leave that hiding place, says that Mrs. Frank’s fondest wish would be to have a cup of coffee. On the other hand, on 3 February 1944 — during the terrible winter of '43/'44 — here is the inventory of the supplies available for those in hiding alone, to the exclusion of any cohabiting friend or “enemy:” 60 pounds of corn, nearly 60 pounds of beans and 10 pounds of peas, 50 cans of vegetables, 10 cans of fish, 40 cans of milk, 10 kilos of powdered milk, 3 bottles of salad oil, 4 preserving jars of butter, 4 jars of meat, 2 bottles of strawberries, 2 bottles of raspberries, 20 bottles of tomatoes, 10 pounds of rolled oats, and 8 pounds of rice. There enter, at other moments, some sacks of vegetables each weighing 25 kilos, or again a sack of 19 pounds of green peas (8 July 1944). The deliveries are made by a “nice greengrocer,” and always “during the lunch hour” (11 April 1944). This is hard to believe. In a city described elsewhere as starving, how could a greengrocer leave his store, in broad daylight, with such loads to go to deliver them to a house located in a busy neigh-

borhood? How could this greengrocer, in his own neighborhood (he was “at the corner”), avoid meeting his normal customers for whom, in that time of scarcity, he ought normally to be a person to be sought out and begged for favors? There are many other mysteries in regard to other merchandise and the manner in which it reaches the hiding place. For holidays, and for the birthdays of the persons in hiding, the gifts are plentiful: carnations, peonies, narcissuses, hyacinths, flower pots, cakes, books, sweets, cigarette lighters, jewels, shaving necessities, roulette games, etc. I would draw attention to a real feat achieved by Elli. She finds the means of offering some grapes on 23 July 1943. I repeat: some grapes, in Amsterdam, on 23 July. They even tell us the price: 5 florins per kilo.

The invention of the “swinging cupboard” is an absurdity. In fact, the part of the house which is supposed to have protected the persons in hiding existed well before their arrival. Therefore, to install a cupboard is to point out, if not someone’s presence, at least a change in that part of the property. That transformation of the premises — accompanied by the noise of the carpentry work — could not have escaped the notice of the “enemies” and, in particular, of the cleaning woman. And this pretended “subterfuge,” intended to mislead the police in case of a search, is indeed likely, to the contrary, to put them on their guard. (“a lot of houses are being searched for hidden bicycles,” says Anne on 21 August 1942, and it is for that reason that the entrance door of the hiding place had been thus hidden.) The police, not finding any entrance door to the building which serves as a hiding place would have been surprised by this oddity and would have quickly discovered that someone had wanted to fool them, because they would find themselves before a residential building without an entrance!

Improbabilities, incoherencies, and absurdities abound likewise in regard to the following points: the windows (open and closing), the electricity (on and off), the coal (appropriated from the common pile without the “enemies” realizing it), the openings and closings of the curtains or the camouflage, the use of the water and of the toilet, the means of doing the cooking, the movements of the cats, the moving from the front-house to the annex (and vice-versa), the behavior of the night watchman, etc. The long letter of 11 April 1944 is particularly absurd. It reports a case of burglary. Let it be said in passing that the police are there portrayed to us as stopping in front of the “swinging cupboard,” in the middle of the night, under the electric light, in search of the burglars who committed the housebreaking. They rattle the “swinging cupboard.” These police, accompanied by the night watchman, do not notice anything and do not seek to enter the annex! As Anne says: “God truly protected us “

On 27 February 1943, they tell us that the new owner has fortunately not insisted on visiting the annex. Koophuis told him that he did not have the key with him, and that the new owner, although accompanied by an architect, did not examine his new acquisition either on that day or on any other day.

When one has a whole year to choose a hiding place (see 5 July 1942), does one choose his office? Does one bring his family there? And a colleague? And the colleague’s family? Do you choose a place full of “enemies” where the police and the Germans would come automatically to search for you if they do not find you at your home? Those Germans, it is true, are not very inquisitive. On 5 July 1942 (a Sunday) father Frank (unless it is Margot?!) received a summons from the SS (see the letter of 8 July 1942). That summons would not have any follow-up. Margot, sought by the SS, makes her way to the hiding place by bicycle, and on 6 June, when, according to the first of two letters dated 20 June, the Jews had had their bicycles confiscated for some time.

In order to dispute the authenticity of the story, one could call upon arguments of a psychological, literary, or historical nature. I will refrain from that here. I will simply remark that the physical absurdities are so serious and numerous that they must have an effect on the psychological, literary, and historical levels.

One ought not to attribute to the imagination of the author or to the richness of her personality some things that are, in reality, inconceivable. The inconceivable is "that of which the mind cannot form any likeness because the terms which designate it involve an impossibility or a contradiction": for example, a squared circle. The one who says that he has seen one squared circle, ten squared circles, one hundred squared circles does not give evidence either of a fertile imagination or of a rich personality. For, in fact, what he says means exactly nothing. He proves his poverty of imagination. That is all. The absurdities of the Diary are those of a poor imagination that develops outside of a lived experience. They are worthy of a poor novel or of a poor lie. Every personality, however poor it may be, contains what it is proper to call psychological, mental, or moral contradictions. I will refrain from demonstrating here that Anne's personality contains nothing like that. Her personality is invented and is as hard to believe as the experience that the Diary is supposed to relate. From a historical point of view, I would not be surprised if a study of the Dutch newspapers, the English radio and Dutch radio from June 1942 to August 1944 would prove fraud on the part of the real author of the diary. On 9 October 1942, Anne speaks already of Jews "being gassed" (Dutch text: "Vergassing")!

A study of the premises

Whoever has just read the Diary can normally only be shocked on seeing the "Anne Frank House" for the first time. He discovers a "glass house" which is visible and observable from all sides and accessible on its four sides. He discovers also that the plan of the house — as it is reproduced in the book through the good offices of Otto Frank — constitutes a distortion of reality. Otto Frank had taken care not to draw the ground floor and had taken care not to tell us that the small courtyard separating the front house from the annex was only 12 feet 2 inches (3.7 meters) wide. He had especially taken care not to point out to us that this same small courtyard is common to the "Anne Frank House" (263 Prinsengracht) and to the house located to the right when you look at the façade (265 Prinsengracht). Thanks to a whole series of windows and window-doors, the people of 263 and those of 265 lived and moved about under the eyes and under the noses (cooking odors!) of their respective neighbors. The two houses are really only one. Besides, the museum today connects the two houses. Furthermore, the annex had its own entrance thanks to a door leading, from the rear, to a garden. This garden is common to 263 Prinsengracht and to the people opposite, living at 190 Keizersgracht. (When one is in the museum one very distinctly sees those people at 190 and many other addresses on Keizersgracht.) From this side (the garden side) and from the other side (the canal side) I counted two hundred windows of old houses from which people had a view of the "Anne Frank House." Even the residents of 261 Prinsengracht could have access to 263 by the roofs. It is foolish to let yourself believe in the least possibility of a really secret life in those premises. I say that while taking into account, of course, the changes made to the premises since the war. While pointing out the view on the garden, I asked ten successive visitors how Anne Frank could have lived there hidden with her family for twenty-five months. After a moment of surprise (for the visitors to the museum generally live in a sort of state of hypnosis), each of the ten successive visitors realized, in a few seconds, that it was totally impossible. The reactions were varied; with some, dismay; with others, an outburst of laughter ("My God!"). One visitor, no doubt offended, said to me: "Don't you think that it is better to leave the people to their dreams?" No one supported the thesis of the Diary in spite of some rather pitiful explanations furnished by the prospectus or by the inscriptions in the museum.

The explanations are the following:

1. The “enemies” finding themselves in one of the rooms of the front house believed that the windows which look out on the small courtyard look directly on the garden; they were unaware therefore even of the existence of an annex; and if they were unaware of that, it is because the windows were hidden by black paper, to assure the conservation of the spices stored there;
2. As regards the Germans, they had never thought of the existence of an annex, “especially as this type of building was quite unknown to them”;
3. The smoke from the stove “did not draw their attention because at that time the part (where they were located) served as a laboratory for the small factory, where a stove likewise must have burned every day.”

The first two of these three explanations come from a 36-page booklet, without title and without date, printed by Koersen, Amsterdam. The last comes from the four-page prospectus that is available at the entrance to the museum. The content of these two publications has received the endorsement of Mr. Otto Frank. But in all three cases these explanations have not the least value. The annex was visible and obvious from a hundred aspects from the ground floor (forbidden to visitors), from the garden, from the connecting corridors on four levels, from the two windows of the office on the courtyard, from the neighboring houses. Certain of the “enemies” even had to visit there to go to the toilet because there was nothing for that in the front house. The ground floor of the rear house even admitted some customers of the business. As to the “small factory” which is supposed to have existed “in that period,” in the very heart of that residential and commercial neighborhood, it is supposed to have remained for at least two years without emitting smoke, and then, suddenly, on 30 October 1942 it is supposed to have begun again to emit the smoke. And what smoke! Day and night! In winter as in summer, in sweltering heat or not. In the view of everyone (and, in particular, of “enemies” such as Lewin who had formerly had his chemical laboratory there), the “small factory” would have started up again! But why did Mr. Frank strain his wits to find that explanation, when, in other respects, the annex is already described as a sort of ghost-house?

In conclusion on this point, I would say that, if I am not mistaken in denying any value in these “explanations,” we have the right to assert:

1. Some facts that are very important to Mr. Otto Frank remain without explanation;
2. Mr. Otto Frank is capable of making up stories, even stupid and mediocre stories, exactly like the ones I have pointed out in my critical reading of the Diary. I ask that my reader remember this conclusion. He will see below what answer Mr. Frank personally made to me, in the presence of his wife.

For the photographic documentation concerning the “Anne Frank House,” see Appendix 1.

Interview with Otto Frank

I had made it known to Mr. Otto Frank that with my students I was preparing a study of the Diary. I had made it clear that my specialty was the criticism of texts and documents and that I needed an extended interview. Mr. Frank granted me that interview with eagerness, and it was thus that I was received at his residence in Birsfelden, a suburb of Basel, first on 24 March 1977, from 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., then from 3:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. and, finally, the next day, from 9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.. Actually, on the next day the meeting place had been arranged to be in a bank in Basel. Mr. Frank was intent upon taking out of a safe deposit box, in my presence, what

he called the manuscripts of his daughter. Our interview was therefore carried out on that day in part at the bank, in part on the road back toward Birsfelden and, in part, once more, at Mr. Frank's residence. All the interviews that took place at his residence were in the presence of his wife (his second wife, since the first died after being deported, from typhus it seems, as did Margot and Anne). After the first minute of our interview, I declared point blank to Mr. and Mrs. Frank that I had some doubts about the authenticity of the Diary. Mr. Frank did not show any surprise. He declared himself to be ready to furnish me all of the information I would want. I was struck, during those two days, by the extreme amiability of Mr. Frank. In spite of his age — 88 years — he never used the excuse of his weariness in order to shorten our interview. In the Diary, he is described as a man full of charm (see 2 March 1944). He inspires confidence. He knows how to anticipate your unexpressed desires. He adapts himself remarkably to situations. He willingly adopts an argument based on emotion. He speaks very much of tolerance and of understanding. I only once saw him lose his temper and show himself to be uncompromising and violent; that was in regard to the Zionist cause, which must seem sacred to him. It was in that manner that he declared to me that he no longer even sets foot on the soil of France because, in his opinion, France is no longer interested in anything except Arab oil and doesn't care about Israel. On only three points did Mr. Frank fail in his promise to answer my questions. It is interesting to know that those three points were the following:

1. the address of Elli, in the Netherlands;
2. the means of rediscovering the trail of the store employee called V.M. in the book (I know that he is probably named Van Maaren);
3. the means of rediscovering the Austrian Karl Silberbauer who had arrested the persons in hiding on 4 August 1944.

In regard to Elli, Mr. Frank declared to me that she was very ill and that, because she was "not very intelligent," she could not be of any help to me. As to the other two witnesses, they had had enough trouble without my going to pester them with some questions that would remind them of an unhappy past. To compensate for that, Mr. Frank recommended that I get in touch with Kraler (by his real name, Kugler), settled in Canada, and with Miep and her husband, still living in Amsterdam.

In regard to the Diary itself, Mr. Frank declared to me that the basis of it was authentic. The events related were true. It was Anne, and Anne alone who had written the manuscripts of that Diary. Like every literary author, Anne perhaps had some tendencies either to exaggeration or to imaginative changes, but all within ordinary and acceptable limits, without letting the truth or the facts suffer from it. Anne's manuscripts form an important whole. What Mr. Frank had presented to the publishers was not the text of these manuscripts, the purely original text, but a text that he in person had typewritten: a "tapuscript." He had been obliged to transform the various manuscripts in this way to a single "tapuscript" for various reasons. First, the manuscripts presented some repetitions. Then, they contained some indiscretions. Then, there were passages without any interest. Finally, there were some omissions! Mr. Frank, noticing my surprise, gave me the following example (a no doubt harmless example, but are there not more serious ones that he hid from me?): Anne very much liked her uncles but in her Diary she had neglected to mention them among the persons that she cherished; therefore, Mr. Frank repaired that "omission" by mentioning those uncles in the "tapuscript." Mr. Frank said that he had changed some dates! He had likewise changed the names of the characters. It was Anne herself, it seems, who had no doubt thought of changing the names. She had envisaged the possibility of publication. Mr. Frank had discovered, on a piece of paper, the list of the real names with their equivalent false names. Anne is supposed to have thought of calling the Franks by the name of Robin. Mr. Frank had cut out of the manuscripts certain indications of the prices of things. More important, finding him-

self, at least for certain periods, in possession of two different versions of the text, it had been necessary for him to “combine” (the word is his) two texts into one single text. Summarizing all those transformations, Mr. Frank finally declared to me: “That was a difficult task. I did that task according to my conscience.”

The manuscripts that Mr. Frank presented to me as being those of his daughter form an impressive whole. I did not have the time to look at them closely. I trusted in the description of them that was given to me and I will summarize them in the following way:

1. The first date mentioned is that of 12 June 1942; the last is that of 1 August 1944 (three days before their arrest);
2. The period from 12 June 1942 to 5 December of the same year (but that date does not correspond to any printed letter); we have at our disposal a small notebook with a linen cover, with a red, white and brown plaid design (the “Scotch notebook”);
3. The period from 6 December 1942 to 21 December 1943; we do not possess any special notebook (but see below, the loose leaf sheets). This notebook is supposed to have been lost;
4. The period from 2 December 1942 to 17 April 1944, then for the period from that same date of 17 April (!) to the last letter (1 August 1944); two black-bound notebooks, covered with brown paper.

To those three notebooks and to the missing notebook is added a collection of 338 loose leaf sheets for the period 20 June 1942 to 29 March 1944. Mr. Frank said that those sheets constitute a resumption and a reshaping, by Anne herself, of letters which are contained, in an original form, in the above-mentioned notebooks: the “Scotch notebook,” the missing notebook, and the first of the two black notebooks.

Up to this point the total of what Anne is supposed to have written during her twenty-five months of hiding is therefore in five volumes. To that total it is appropriate to add the collection of the Stories. These stories are supposed to have been made up by Anne. The text is presented as a perfect copy. The copy can only involve, to begin with, a work of editing from a rough draft; Anne therefore must have done a lot a scribbling!

I have no competence in the matter of handwriting analysis and therefore I cannot express an opinion on that matter. I can only give here my impressions. My impressions were that the “Scotch notebook” contained some photos, pictures and drawings as well as a variety of very juvenile writing styles, the confusion and fantasy of which appeared authentic. It would be necessary to look closely at the handwriting of the texts which were used by Mr. Frank in order to form the basis of the Diary. The other notebooks and the whole of the 338 loose leaf sheets are in what I would call an adult handwriting. As regards the manuscript of the Stories, it very much surprised me. One would say that it was the work of an experienced accountant and not the work of a 14-year-old child. The table of contents is presented as a list of the Stories with the date of composition, the title and the page number for each piece!

Mr. Frank had a high opinion of the conclusions of the two expert reports called for, about 1960, by the prosecution in Lübeck in order to examine the case of a teacher (Lothar Stielau) who, in 1959, had expressed some doubts about the authenticity of the Diary (Case 2js 19/59, VU 10/59). Mr. Frank had registered a complaint against that teacher. The handwriting report had been entrusted to Mrs. Minna Becker. Mrs. Annemarie Hübner had been charged with attesting whether the texts printed in Dutch and German were faithful to the texts of the manuscript. The two expert reports, submitted as evidence in 1961, turned out to be favorable to Mr. Frank.

But, on the other hand, what Mr. Frank did not reveal to me — and what I had to learn after my visit, and from a German source — is that the prosecutor in Lübeck had decided to get a third expert report. Why a third expert report? And on what point, given that, according to all appearances, the whole field possible for investigation had been explored by the handwriting expert and by Mrs. Hübner? The answer to these questions is the following: the prosecutor thought that an expert report of the kind done by Mrs. Hübner risked declaring that Lothar Stielau was right about the facts. In view of the first analyses, it was going to be impossible to declare that the Diary was dokumentarisch echt (documentarily genuine) (!). Perhaps they could have it declared literarisch echt (literarily genuine) (!). The novelist Friedrich Sieburg was going to be charged with answering that odd question.

Of those three expert reports, only that of Mrs. Hübner would have really been of interest to me. On 20 January 1978, a letter from Mrs. Hübner let me hope that I would obtain a copy of her expert report. A short time afterward, when Mrs. Hübner did not respond to my letters, I had a German friend telephone her. She made it known to him that “the question was very delicate, given that a trial on the question of the Diary was presently under way in Frankfurt.” She added that she had gotten in touch with Mr. Frank. According to the few elements that I possess of the content of that expert’s report, it is supposed to have noted a large number of facts that were interesting from the point of view of the comparison of the texts (manuscripts, “tapuscript,” Dutch text, German text). Mrs. Hübner is supposed to have mentioned there some very numerous “omissions” (Auslassungen), “additions” (Zusätze), and “interpolations” (Interpolationen). She is supposed to have spoken of the text “adapted” for the necessities of publication (überarbeitet). Furthermore, she is supposed to have gone so far as to name some persons who supposedly gave their “collaboration” (Zusammenarbeit) to Mr. Frank in his editing of the “tapuscript.” Those persons are supposed to have collaborated in the drawing up of the German text, in place of contenting herself with the role of translator.

In spite of those facts that she herself pointed out, Mrs. Hübner is supposed to have concluded on the authenticity of the Diary (Dutch printed text and German printed text). She is therefore supposed to have expressed the following opinion: “Those facts are not important.” Now that opinion can only be her personal view. There is the whole question: Who assures us that quite another judgment could not be brought forth on the facts pointed out by the expert? And besides, to begin with, has the expert shown impartiality and a really scientific spirit in naming the facts as she has named them? What she has called, for example, “interpolations” (a word with a scientific appearance and an ambiguous significance) would others not call them “retouchings,” “alterations,” “insertions” (words no doubt more exact, and more precise)? In the same fashion, words such as “additions” and especially “omissions” are neutral in appearance but, in reality, they hide some confused realities: an “addition” or an “omission” can be honest or dishonest; they can change nothing important in a text or they can, to the contrary, alter it profoundly. In the particular case that interests us here, those two words have a frankly benign appearance!

In any case it is impossible to consider those three expert opinions (Becker, Hübner, and Sieburg) as conclusive, because they had not been examined by a court. In fact, for some reasons of which I am unaware, Mr. Frank was to withdraw his complaint against Lothar Stielau. If my information is correct, Stielau agreed to pay 1,000 Marks of the 15,712 Marks of the cost of the proceedings begun. I suppose that Mr. Frank paid to the court of Lübeck those 1,000 Marks and that he had added to that sum 14,712 Marks for his own part. I recall that Mr. Frank told me that Lothar Stielau had, moreover, agreed to present him with his written apology. Lothar Stielau had lost his job as a teacher at the same time. Mr. Frank did not speak to me about Heinrich Buddeberg, Lothar Stielau’s co-defendant. Perhaps Buddeberg himself also had to turn over 1,000 Marks and to present his apologies.

I linger here on these matters of expert opinions only because in our interview Mr. Frank had himself lingered there, while not mentioning certain important facts (for example, the existence of a third expert opinion), and while presenting to me the two expert opinions as conclusive. The matter of the manuscripts did not interest me very much either. I knew that I would not have the time to examine them closely. What interested me most of all was to know how Mr. Frank would have explained to me the “unexplainable quantity of unlikely or inconceivable facts” that I had called attention to in reading the Diary. After all, what does it matter that some manuscripts, even declared authentic by some experts, contain this type of facts, if those facts could not have existed? But Mr. Frank was to show himself to be incapable of furnishing me with the least explanation. In my opinion he was expecting to see the authenticity of the Diary questioned by the usual arguments, of the psychological, literary, or historical order. He did not expect arguments of internal criticism bearing on the realities of material life: the realities which, as one knows, are stubborn. In a moment of confusion, Mr. Frank moreover declared to me: “But I had never thought about those material matters!”

Before coming to some precise examples of that confession, I owe it to the truth to say that on two occasions Mr. Frank gave me good answers and those were in regard to two episodes that I have not mentioned up to now, precisely because they were to find an explanation. The first episode was incomprehensible to me because of a small omission from the French translation (I did not possess at that time the Dutch text). The second episode was incomprehensible to me because of an error that figures in all the printed texts of the Diary. Where, on the date of 8 July 1944, it is a question of the male greengrocer, the manuscript gives: “la marchande de légumes” (the female greengrocer). And that is fortunate, for a careful reader of the book knows very well that the greengrocer in question could not have delivered to those in hiding “19 pounds of green peas” (!) on 8 July 1944 for the good reason that he had been arrested 45 days before by the Germans for one of the most serious of reasons (he had had two Jews at his home). That act had set him “on the edge of an abyss” (25 May 1944). One has a hard time understanding how a greengrocer leaps from “the abyss” in order to thus deliver to some other Jews such a quantity of compromising merchandise. To tell the truth, one does not understand very much better the wife of that unfortunate man, but the fact is there, the text of the manuscript is not absurd like that of the Dutch, French, German, and English printings. The writer of the manuscript had been more careful. It remains that the error of the printed texts was perhaps not an error, but indeed a deliberate and unfortunate correction of the manuscript. We read, in fact, in the printed Dutch text: van der groenteboer om de hoek, 19 pond (cries Margot); and Anne answers; Dat is aarding van hem. In other words, Margot and Anne used the masculine on two occasions; “from the (male) greengrocer on the corner 19 pounds,” Anne’s answer: “That’s nice of him.” For my part, I would draw two other conclusions from that episode:

1. Internal criticism bearing on the coherence of a text allows us to detect some anomalies which are revealed to be true anomalies;
2. A reader of the Diary, having come to that episode of 8 July 1944, would be right to declare absurd a book in which the hero (“the nice greengrocer on the corner”) leaps back out of the depths of the abyss as one would rise up from the dead.

That greengrocer, Mr. Frank told me, was named Van der Hoeven. Deported for having harbored Jews at his home, he came back from deportation. At the time of the commemorative ceremonies, he had come back to appear at the side of Mr. Frank. I asked Mr. Frank if, after the war, some people from the neighborhood had declared to him: “We suspected the presence of people in hiding at 263 Prinsengracht.” Mr. Frank clearly answered me that no one had suspected their presence, including the men of the store, including Lewin, also including Van der Hoeven. The latter supposedly helped them without knowing it!

In spite of my repeated questions on this point, Mr. Frank was not able to tell me what his neighbors at No. 261 sold or made. He did not remember that there had been in his own house, at No. 263, a housekeeper described in the book as a possible “enemy.” He ended by answering me that she was “very, very old” and that she only came very rarely, perhaps once a week. I said to him that she must have been astonished to suddenly see the installation of the “swinging cupboard” on the landing of the second floor. He answered no, given that the housekeeper never came there. That answer was to provoke for the first time a kind of dispute between Mr. Frank and his wife, who was present at our interview. Beforehand, in fact, I had taken the precaution of having Mr. Frank make it clear to me that those in hiding had never done any housekeeping outside of cleaning a part of the annex. The logical conclusion of Mr. Frank’s two statements therefore became: “For twenty-five months, no one had done any cleaning of the landing on the second floor.” In the face of that improbability, Mrs. Frank suddenly broke in to say to her husband: “Nonsense! No cleaning on that landing! In a factory! But there would have been dust this high!” What Mrs. Frank could have added is that the landing was supposed to have served as a passageway for the people in hiding in their comings and goings between the annex and the front house. The trail of their goings and comings would have been obvious in the midst of so much accumulated dust, even without taking into account the dust from the coal brought from downstairs. In fact, Mr. Frank could not have told the truth when he spoke in this way about a kind of phantom housekeeper for a house so vast and so dirty.

On several occasions, at the beginning of our interview, Mr. Frank thus attempted to supply some explanations which, finally, did not explain anything at all and which led him, to the contrary, into some impasses. I must say here that the presence of his wife was to prove to be especially useful. Mrs. Frank, who was very well acquainted with the Diary, obviously believed up to then in the authenticity of the Diary as well as in the sincerity of her husband. Her surprise was only more striking in the face of the terrible quality of Mr. Frank’s answers to my questions. For myself, I retain a painful memory of what I would call certain “realizations” by Mrs. Frank. I do not at all wish to say that Mrs. Frank today takes her husband for a liar. But I claim that Mrs. Frank was strongly conscious, at the time of our interview, of the anomalies and of the serious absurdities of the whole story of Anne Frank. Hearing the “explanations” of her husband, she came to use toward him some phrases of the following kind:

“Nonsense!”

“What you are saying is unbelievable!”

“A vacuum cleaner! That is unbelievable! I had never noticed it!”

“But you were really foolhardy!”

“That was really foolhardy!”

The most interesting remark that Mrs. Frank made was the following: “I am sure that the people (of the neighborhood) knew that you were there.” For my part, I would say rather: “I am sure that the people of the neighborhood would have seen, heard, and smelled the presence of the persons in hiding, if there were indeed some persons hidden in that house for twenty-five months.”

I would take one other example of Mr. Frank’s explanations. According to him, the people who worked in the front house could not see the main part of the annex because of the “masking paper on the window panes.” This statement, which is found in the brochure of the “museum,” was repeated to me by Mr. Frank in the presence of his wife. Without pausing at that statement, I went on to another subject: that of the consumption of electricity. I made the remark that the con-

sumption of electricity in the house must have been considerable. Because Mr. Frank was surprised by my remark, I stated it precisely: "That consumption must have been considerable because the electric light was on all day in the office on the courtyard and in the store on the courtyard in the front house." Mr. Frank then said to me: "How is that? The electric light is not necessary in broad daylight!" I indicated to him how those rooms could not receive daylight, knowing that the windows had some "masking paper" on them. Mr. Frank then answered me that those rooms were not so very dark: a disconcerting answer which found itself in contradiction with the statement of the booklet written by Mr. Frank: "Spices must be kept in the dark " (page 27 of the 36 page booklet mentioned above on page 82). Mr. Frank then dared to add that, all the same, what one saw through those windows on the courtyard was only a wall. He specified, contrary to all evidence, that one did not see that it was the wall of a house! That detail contradicted the following passage of the same prospectus: "therefore, although you saw windows, you could not see through them, and everyone took it for granted that they overlooked the garden" (ibidem). I asked if those masked windows were nevertheless sometimes open, if only for airing out the office where they received visitors, if only in the summer, on swelteringly hot days. Mrs. Frank agreed with me on that and remarked that those windows must all the same have been open sometimes. Silence from Mr. Frank.

The list of the noises left Mr. Frank, and especially Mrs. Frank, perplexed. As regards the vacuum cleaner, Mr. Frank was startled and declared to me: "But there could not have been a vacuum cleaner there." Then, in the face of my assurance that there had been one, he began to stammer. He told me that, if indeed there had been a vacuum cleaner, they must have run it in the evening, when the employees (the "enemies") had left the front house, after work. I objected that the noise of a vacuum cleaner of that era would have been so much better heard by the neighbors (the walls were "thin," 25 March 1943) as it would have occurred in empty rooms or close to empty rooms. I revealed to him that, in any case, Mrs. Van Daan, for her part, was supposed to have used that vacuum cleaner every day, regularly, at about 12:30 pm (the window probably being open). Silence from Mr. Frank, while Mrs. Frank was visibly moved. The same silence for the alarm clock, with the sometimes untimely alarm (4 August 1943). The same silence for the removal of the ashes, especially on swelteringly hot days. The same silence about the borrowing, by the persons in hiding, from the supply of coal (a rare commodity) common to the whole house. Even silence about the question of the bicycles used after their confiscation and after the prohibition of their use by Jews.

A number of questions therefore remained without answers or even at first gave rise to some explanations by which Mr. Frank worsened his case. Then Mr. Frank had, as it were, a windfall: a magic formula. That formula was the following: "Mr. Faurisson, you are theoretically and scientifically right. I agree with you 100 percent What you pointed out to me was, in fact, impossible. But, in practice, it was nevertheless in that way that things happened." I pointed out to Mr. Frank that his statement troubled me. I told him that it was almost as if he agreed with me that a door could not be at the same time open and closed and as if, in spite of that, he stated that he had seen such a door. I pointed out to him, in another connection, that the words "scientifically" and "theoretically" and "in practice" were unnecessary and introduced a distinction devoid of meaning because, in any case, "theoretically," "scientifically," and "in practice" a door at the same time open and closed quite simply cannot exist. I added that I would prefer to each particular question an appropriate response or, if need be, no answer at all.

Near the beginning of our interview, Mr. Frank had made, in the friendliest way in the world, a major concession, a concession announced by me above on page 83. As I began to make him understand that I found absurd the explanations that he had furnished in his prospectuses, both regarding the ignorance of the Germans about the architecture typical of Dutch houses and about

the presence of smoke constantly above the roof of the annex (the “little factory”), he wanted to admit right away, without any insistence on my part, that it was a question there of pure inventions on his part. Without using, it is true, the word “inventions,” he declared to me, in substance: “You are quite right. In the explanations that are given to visitors, it is necessary to simplify. That is not so serious. It is necessary to make that agreeable to visitors. This is not the scientific way of doing things. One is not always able to be scientific.”

That confidential remark enlightens us on what I believe to be a character trait of Mr. Frank: Mr. Frank has the sense of what pleases the public and he seeks to adapt himself to it, free to take liberties with the truth. Mr. Frank is not a man to give himself a headache. He knows that the general public is satisfied with little. The general public seeks a sort of comfort, a sort of dream, a sort of easy world where it will be brought exactly the kind of emotion that confirms it in its habits of feeling, seeing, and reasoning. That smoke above the roof could disturb the general public? What does it matter? Let’s make up an explanation not necessarily probable, but simple and, if it is necessary, simple and crude. Perfection is reached if that fabrication confirms some accepted ideas or habitual feelings: for example, it is very probable that for those who love Anne Frank and who come to visit her house, the Germans are brutes and beasts; well, they will find a confirmation of that in Mr. Frank’s explanations: the Germans went so far as to be unaware of the architecture typical of the houses in Amsterdam. In a general way, Mr. Frank appeared to me, on more than one occasion, as a man devoid of finesse (but not of cunning) for whom a literary work is, in relation to reality, a form of lying contrivance, a domain where one takes liberties with the truth, a thing which “is not so serious” and which allows for writing almost anything.

I asked Mr. Frank what explanations he could furnish me on the two points where he agreed that he had said nothing serious to the visitors. He could not answer me. I questioned him about the layout of the premises. I had noted some anomalies in the plan of the house, such as it is reproduced — by Mr. Frank — in all the editions of the Diary. Those anomalies had been confirmed for me by my visit to the museum (taking account of the changes made in the premises in order to make it into a museum). It was then that once again Mr. Frank went on to be led, in the face of the physical evidence, to make some new and important concessions to me, especially, as is going to be seen in regard to the “swinging cupboard.” He began by admitting that the diagram of the plan ought not to have concealed from the reader that the small courtyard which separates the front house from the annex was common to No. 263 (the Frank house) and to No. 265 (the house of their neighbors and “enemies”). It seems bizarre that, in the Diary, there was not the slightest allusion to the fact, which, for the persons in hiding, was of extreme importance. Mr. Frank then acknowledged that the diagram of the place let people believe that on the third floor the flat roof was not accessible; but that roof was accessible by a door from the annex and it could very well have offered to the police or to the “enemies” an easy way of access into the very heart of the premises inhabited by the persons in hiding. Finally and especially, Mr. Frank conceded to me that the “swinging cupboard” did not make any sense. He recognized that his ruse could not, in any case, have prevented a search of the annex, seeing that that annex was accessible in other ways, and especially in the most natural way — the entrance door leading out to the garden. That entrance, it is true, does not appear on the schema because the schema does not contain any drawing of the whole ground floor. As to the museum visitors, they do not have access to this same ground floor. That famous “swinging cupboard” thus became a particularly strange invention of “the persons in hiding.” One must, in fact, think here that the making of that “swinging cupboard” was a dangerous job. The destruction of the stair steps, the assembling of that false cupboard, the change of a passageway into an apparent dead end, all that could only give warning to the “enemies.” All that had of course been suggested by Kraler and carried out by Vossen (21 August 1942)!

The more that my interview went on, the more the embarrassment of Mr. Frank became visible. But his amiability did not fail; quite the contrary. At the end, Mr. Frank went on to use a sentimental argument, apparently clever and in a good natured tone. That argument was the following: "Yes, I agree with you, we were a little imprudent. Certain things were a little dangerous, it is necessary to recognize that. Besides, it is perhaps the reason why we were finally arrested. But do not believe, Mr. Faurisson, that the people were suspicious at that point." That curious argumentation went on to suggest to Mr. Frank sentences such as: "The people were decent!" or even: "The Dutch were good!," or even, on two occasions: "The people were good!"

These sentences have only one inconvenience: they render absurd all of the "precautions" pointed out in the book. To a certain extent, they even rob the book of its meaning. The book recounts, as a matter of fact, the tragic adventure of eight persons hunted down, forced to hide, to bury themselves alive for twenty-five months in the midst of a ferociously hostile world. In those "days in the tomb" only some select few people knew of their existence and brought them help. One could say that in resorting to his last arguments, Mr. Frank tried with one hand to fill in the cracks in a work which, with the other hand, he was dismantling.

On the evening of our first day of interviews, Mr. Frank handed to me his own copy, in French, of the book by Ernst Schnabel: *Spur eines Kindes* (French title: *Sur les traces d'Anne Frank*; English title: *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*). He told me that I would perhaps find in that book some answers to certain of my questions. The pages of that copy were not cut. It should be mentioned that Mr. Frank speaks and understands French, but he reads it with a little difficulty. (I should make it clear here that all our interviews took place in English, a language that Mr. Frank has mastered perfectly.) I had not yet read that book, because the strict observance of the methods proper to pure internal criticism obliges one to read nothing about a work so long as one has not yet personally gotten a clear idea of that work. During the night that preceded our second interview, I glanced through the book. Among a dozen points that acted to confirm to me that the Diary was a fable (in spite of the fact that Schnabel made many efforts to persuade us of the contrary), I call attention to an amazing passage on page 151 of the French text. That passage concerned Mr. Vossen, the man who, it seemed, had devoted himself, as carpenter, to making the "swinging cupboard" intended to conceal the persons in hiding (Diary, 21 August 1942). "Good old Vossen" was supposed to work at 263 Prinsengracht. He kept the persons in hiding up-to-date on everything that took place in the store. But illness had forced him to retire to his home, where his daughter Elli joined him after her own work hours. On 15 June 1943, Anne spoke about him as a precious friend. But, if one believes a remark of Elli reported by Schnabel, good old Vossen was unaware of the existence of the Franks at 263 Prinsengracht! Elli recounts, in fact, that on 4 August 1944, when she returned to her residence, she informed her father of the arrest of the Franks. The French text of Schnabel says: "I was seated at the side of the bed and I had told him everything. My father very much liked Mr. Frank, whom he had known for a long time. He was not aware that the Franks had not left for Switzerland, as was claimed, but had hidden themselves on the Prinsengracht." But what is incomprehensible is that Vossen could have believed in that rumor. For nearly a year he had seen the Franks at Prinsengracht, he had spoken with them, he had helped them and he had become their friend. Then, when because of his bad health he had left his job on the Prinsengracht, his daughter Elli was able to keep him up to date on the doings of his friends, the Franks.

Mr. Frank was not able to explain to me that passage from Schnabel's book. Rushing to the German and the English texts of the same work, he made a surprising discovery: the whole passage where Elli spoke with her father did indeed appear in those texts, but, lacking the sentence beginning with: "He was not aware " and ending with: " the Prinsengracht." In the French text, Elli continued: *Il ne dit rien. Il restait couché en silence.* For comparison, here is the German text:

Ich setze mich zu ihm ans Bett und habe ihm alles gesagt. Er hing sehr an Herrn Frank, denn er kannte ihn lange [passage missing]. Gesagt hat er nichts. Er hat nur dagelegen. (Anne Frank/Ein Bericht von Ernst Schnabel, *Spur eines Kindes*, Fischer Bucherei, 1958, 168 pages, page 115.)

And here is the English text:

I sat down beside his bed and told him everything. He was deeply attached to Mr. Frank, who he had known a long time [passage missing]. He said nothing. (Anne Frank: *A Portrait in Courage*, Ernst Schnabel, Translated from the German by Richard and Clara Winston. New York: Harbrace Paperback Library, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc.; 1958; 181 pages; page 132.)

After returning to France, it was easy for me to clear up this mystery: from many other points in the French text it became evident that there had existed two original German versions. The first version of Schnabel must have been sent in “tapuscript” to the French publishing house of Albin Michel so that from it there could be prepared a translation into French, without losing time. Thereupon Schnabel or, very probably, Mr. Frank, had gone on to do a revision of its text. He had then left out the problematical sentence about Vossen. Then Fischer published that corrected version. But in France they had done the job in double quick time and the book had already left the presses. It was too late to correct it. I note moreover a bibliographical curiosity: my copy of *Sur les traces d'Anne Frank* (translated from the German by Marthe Metzger, Editions Albin Michel, 1958, 205 pages) bears a reference to “18th thousand” and its date for the completion of printing was in February 1958. But the first thousand of the original German edition was in March 1958. The translation therefore did indeed appear before the original.

It remains, of course, to know why Ernst Schnabel or Mr. Frank had believed it proper to proceed with that amazing correction. The fact remains that Mr. Frank showed his confusion once more in the face of this further anomaly. We took leave of each other in the most painful of atmospheres, where each token friendliness that Mr. Frank showed me embarrassed me a little more. Shortly after my return to France, I wrote to Mr. Frank to thank him for his hospitality and to ask him Elli's address. He answered me pleasantly while asking me to send him the French copy of Schnabel's book, and without speaking to me about Elli. I sent his copy back to him while again asking him for the address. No answer this time. I telephoned him at Birsfelden. He responded to me that he would not give me that address, and especially now that I had sent to Kraler (Kugler) an “idiotic” letter. I will come back to that letter.

Bibliographical examination

The previously mentioned book by Schnabel (*Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*) has some curious omissions, while the long article, unsigned, that *Der Spiegel* (1 April 1959, pages 51-55) devoted to the diary, in the wake of the Stielau case, brings us some curious revelations. The title of that article is eloquent: “Anne Frank. Was Schrieb das Kind?” (“Anne Frank. What did the Child Write?”)

Ernst Schnabel openly defended Anne Frank and Otto Frank. His book is relatively rich on all that precedes and on all that follows the twenty-five months of their life at Prinsengracht. On the other hand, it is very poor concerning those twenty-five months. One would say that the direct witnesses (Miep, Elli, Kraler, Koophuis, Henk) have nothing to say on that very important period. Why do they remain silent in that way? Why have they said only some commonplace things like: “When we had our plate of soup upstairs with them at noon “ (page 114)1 or: “We always

had lunch together “ (page 117)? Not one concrete detail, not one description, not one anecdote is there that by its preciseness would give the impression that the persons in hiding and their faithful friends regularly ate together this way at noon. Everything appears in a kind of fog. But those witnesses were questioned only thirteen years, at the most, after the arrest of the Franks, and certain of them such as Elli, Miep and Henk, were still young. I am not talking about numerous other persons whom Schnabel wrongly calls “witnesses” but who, in fact, had never known or even met the Franks. This is the case, for example, with the famous “greengrocer” (Gemüsemann). “He did not know the Franks at all” (page 82). In a general way, the impression that I derived from reading Schnabel’s book is the following: this Anne Frank had really existed; she had been a little girl without great character, without strong personality, without scholarly precociousness (to the contrary even), and no one suspected her of having an aptitude for writing; that unfortunate child knew the horrors of war; she had been arrested by the Germans; she had been interned, then deported; she passed through the camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau; she had been separated from her father; her mother died in the hospital at Birkenau on 6 January 1945; in approximately October of 1944 she and her sister were transferred to the camp at Bergen-Belsen; Margot died of typhus; then, in her turn, Anne, alone in the world, was also to die of typhus in March of 1945. These are some points about which the witnesses did not hesitate to talk. But with all of them one senses mistrust in the presence of the legendary Anne, who was capable of taking up the pen as we have been told, capable of keeping that diary and writing those stories, and writing “the beginning of a novel,” etc. Schnabel himself writes a very revealing sentence when he declares: “My witnesses had a good deal to say about Anne as a person; they took account of the legend only with great reticence, or by tacitly ignoring it. Although they did not take issue with it by so much as a word, I had the impression that they were checking themselves. All of them read Anne’s diary; they did not mention it (pages 4-5).” That last sentence is important “All of them had read Anne’s diary; they did not mention it.” Even Kraler, who sent a long letter to Schnabel from Toronto, did not make mention either of the Diary or of Anne’s other writings (page 87). Kraler is the only direct witness to tell an anecdote or two about Anne; but, in a very curious way, he places these anecdotes in the period of time when the Franks still lived in their apartment on Merwedeplein, before their “disappearance” (“before they went into hiding,” page 87). It is only in the corrected edition that the second anecdote is placed at Prinsengracht, even “when they were in the secret annex” (page 88). The witnesses did not wish that their names be published. The two most important witnesses (the “probable betrayer” and the Austrian policeman) were neither questioned nor even sought out. Schnabel attempts on several occasions to explain that curious failure (pages 8, 139, and all of the end of chapter ten). He goes so far as to present a sort of defense of the arresting officer! One person nevertheless does mention the Diary, but that is to draw attention to a point in it which seems bizarre to her concerning the Montessori school of which she was the director (page 40). Schnabel himself treats the Diary strangely. How to explain, indeed, the cutting that he does when he cites a passage such as that of his page 123? Quoting a long passage from the letter of 11 April 1944 in which Anne tells about the police raid in the wake of the burglary, he leaves out the sentence in which Anne gives the main reason for her distress; that reason was that the police, it appeared, went so far as to give the “swinging cupboard” some loud blows. (“This, and when the police rattled the cupboard door, were my worst moments.”) Wouldn’t Schnabel have thought, like any sensible man, that that passage is absurd? In any case, he tells us that he visited 263 Prinsengracht before its transformation into a museum. He did not see any “swinging cupboard” there. He writes: “The cupboard that was built against the door to disguise it has been pulled down. Nothing is left but the twisted hinges hanging beside the door.” (page 74) He did not find any trace of a special camouflage, but only, in Anne’s room, a yellowed piece of curtain “A tattered, yellowed remnant of curtain still hangs at the window.” (page 75). Mr. Frank, it seems, marked in pencil on the wall paper, near one door, the successive heights of his daughters. Today, at the museum, the visitors can see an impeccable square of wall paper, placed under glass, where they notice the perfectly preserved pencil marks which

appear to have been drawn the same day. They tell us that these pencil marks indicated the heights of Mr. Frank's children. When I saw Mr. Frank at Birsfelden, I asked him if it was not a question there of a "reconstruction." He assured me all that was authentic. But this is difficult to believe. Schnabel himself had simply seen, as a mark, an "A 42" which he interpreted thus: "Anne 1942." What is strange is that the "authentic" paper in the museum does not bear anything such as that Schnabel said that he had seen, only that mark and that the others had been destroyed or torn off ("the other marks have been stripped off" [ibidem].) Might Mr. Frank have made himself guilty here of a trick (ein Trick), such as that which he had suggested to Henk and to Miep for the photocopy of their passport?

A very interesting point about Anne's story concerns the manuscripts. I regret to say that I find very unlikely the account of the discovery of those many scripts, then their passing on to Mr. Frank by his secretary Miep. The police supposedly scattered the floor with all sorts of papers. Among those papers, Miep and Elli supposedly gathered up a "Scotch notebook" (ein rot kariertes Buch; a red plaid book) and many other writings in which they are supposed to have recognized Anne's writing. They supposedly did not read anything. They are supposed to have put all these papers aside in the large office. Then, those papers supposedly were handed over to Mr. Frank at the time of his return from Poland (pages 179-181.) That account does not agree at all with the account of the arrest. The arrest was made slowly, methodically, correctly, exactly like the search. The testimonies are unanimous on that point (see chapter nine). After the arrest, the police came back to the premises on several occasions; they especially interrogated Miep. The police wished to know if the Franks were in contact with other persons in hiding. The Diary, such as we know it, would have revealed, at first glance, a great deal of information valuable to the police, and would have been terribly compromising for Miep, Elli, and for all the friends of the persons in hiding. The police could have disregarded the "Scotch notebook" if, in its original condition, it consisted, as I think, only of some drawings, some photographs or notes of a harmless nature. But it would appear unlikely that they would have left there several notebooks and several hundreds of scattered pages, on which the handwriting was, at least in appearance, that of an adult. On the part of Elli and Miep, it would have been madness to gather together and to keep, especially in the office, such a mass of compromising documents. It would appear that they knew that Anne kept a diary. In a diary one is supposed to tell what happens from day to day. Consequently, Anne risked mentioning Miep and Elli in them.

Regarding the book by Schnabel, Mr. Frank made a surprising revelation to me. He told me that that book, although translated into several languages, had not been translated into Dutch! The reason for the exception was that the principal witnesses living in the Netherlands said that, because of modesty as well as because of a concern for their peace and quiet, they wished that people not talk about them. In reality, Mr. Frank was mistaken or else he was deceiving me. An investigation conducted in Amsterdam at first led me to believe that Schnabel's book had not been translated into Dutch. Even the Contact publishing house replied or had several libraries or several private individuals reply that that book did not exist. I discovered then that, in a showcase at the "Anne Frank House" museum, the book by Schnabel was shown as having been translated into Dutch and published in 1970 (twelve years after its publication in Germany, in France and in the United States!) under the title of: Haar laatste Levensmaanden (Her Last Months). The book unfortunately was not to be found. I got the same responses from the libraries and from the Contact publishing house. As a result of my insistence, Contact finally replied to me that there remained with them only one archive copy. With some difficulty I got permission to consult it, and then to get a photocopy of pages 263 to 304. For, in reality, the work in question contained only an extract from Schnabel's book, reduced to 35 pages, and placed as an appendix to the text of the Diary. The comparative study of *Spur eines Kindes* and of its "translation" into Dutch is of the greatest interest. Of the book by Schnabel, the Dutch can only read the five last chapters (out

of thirteen chapters in all). Moreover, three of those five chapters have undergone cuts of all sorts. Certain of those cuts are marked by ellipses. Others are not marked at all. The chapters thus cut up are Chapters Nine, Ten and Thirteen — which is to say those that concern, on the one hand, the arrest and its direct results (in the Netherlands) and, on the other hand, the history of the manuscripts. When it is no longer a question of those subjects, when it is a question of the camps (which is the case in Chapters Eleven and Twelve), the original text by Schnabel is respected. Examined closely, those cuts seem to have been introduced to remove the somewhat precise details which appear in the testimonies of Koophuis, Miep, Henk, and Elli. For example, it lacks, without anything to indicate to us the existence of a cut, the essential passage where Elli tells how she told her father about the arrest of the Franks (the 13 lines of page 115 of *Spur* are completely absent from page 272 of *Haar Laatste Levensmaanden*). It is odd that the only nation for whom they have thus reserved a censored version of the life of Anne Frank is precisely that one where the adventure of Anne Frank took place. Can you imagine some revelations about Joan of Arc that would be made to all sorts of foreign nations, but would be forbidden in some way to the French people? Such a way of acting is understandable only when the editors fear that, in the country of origin, the “revelations” would have rather quickly appeared suspect. That explanation given by Mr. Frank hardly holds. Because Koophuis, Miep, Henk, and Elli find themselves named anyhow (moreover by some complete or partial pseudonyms), and because Schnabel has them make such and such remarks, one does not see how the cuts introduced into those remarks can soothe the sensitive modesty of their authors or assure them more tranquility in their life in Amsterdam. I would believe rather that the preparation of the Dutch translation gave rise to some very long and arduous bargaining among all the interested parties or, at least, between Mr. Frank and some of them, but, as the years passed, they became more cautious and more sparing with details than in their original “testimonies.”

The above-mentioned articles from *Der Spiegel* brings us, as I have said, some curious revelations. As a matter of principle I distrust journalists. They work too quickly. Here it is obvious that the journalist carried out a thorough investigation. The issue was too burning and too sensitive to be treated lightly. The conclusion of the long article could indeed be the following: While suspecting the Diary of being a forgery, Lothar Stielau perhaps proved nothing, but all the same he “ran into a really tricky problem — the problem of the genesis of the publishing of the book” (auf ein tatsächlich heikles Problem gestossen — das Problem der Entstehung der Buchausgabe, page 51). And it is revealed that we are very far from the text of the original manuscripts when we read in Dutch, in German, and in whatever language, the book entitled *The Diary of Anne Frank*. Supposing for a moment that the manuscripts are authentic, it is necessary to be aware that as a matter of fact what we read under that title, for example in Dutch (that is to say in the supposedly original language), is only the result of a whole series of operations of reorganizing and rewriting, participated in especially by Mr. Frank and some close friends, among whom were (for the Dutch text) Mr. And Mrs. Cauvern and (for the German text) Anneliese Schütz, whose pupil Anne had been.

Between the original form of the book (the manuscripts) and its printed form (the Dutch edition from Contact in 1947), the text has known at least five forms in succession.

1. between the end of May 1945 and October 1945, Mr. Frank had drawn up a sort of copy (Abschrift) from the manuscripts, in part alone, in part with the help of his secretary Isa Cauvern (the wife of Albert Cauvern, a friend of Mr. Frank; before the war, the Cauverns had welcomed the Frank children to their home for vacations).
2. from October 1945 to January 1946, Mr. Frank and Isa Cauvern worked together on a new version of the copy, a typed version (Neufassung der Abschrift/Maschinengeschriebene Zweitfassung).

3. at an unspecified date (the end of the winter of 1945-1946), that second version (typed) was submitted to Albert Cauvern; insofar as he was a radio man — an announcer with the “De Vara” radio network in Hilversum — he knew about rewriting manuscripts. According to his own words, he began by “tolerably changing” that version; he drew up his own text as a “man of experience” (Albert Cauvern stellt heute nicht in Abrede, dass er jene maschinengeschriebene Zweitfassung mit kundiger Hand redigiert hat: “Am Anfang habe ich ziemlich viel geändert,” page 52.) A detail that is surprising for a diary: he does not fear to regroup under a single date some letters written on different dates; on a second occasion he limited himself to correcting the punctuation as well as mistakes of phrasing and grammar; all those changes and corrections were carried out on the typed text; Albert Cauvern never saw the original manuscripts.
4. from the changes and corrections, Mr. Frank drew up what one can call the third typed text in the spring of 1946; he submitted the result to “three prominent experts” (drei prominente Gutachter, page 53), while letting them believe that it was a question of the complete reproduction of a manuscript, with the very understandable exception of some personal points of order; then, those three persons having apparently given their guarantee to the text, Mr. Frank went on to offer it to several publishing houses in Amsterdam which refused it; turning then, in all probability, to one of those three persons, Mrs. Anna Romein-Verschoor. He got the latter’s husband, Mr. Jan Romein, Professor of History of the Netherlands at the University of Amsterdam, to write in the daily newspaper *Het Parool* a famous article which began with these words: “There has by chance fallen into my hands a diary (etc.)”. Because the article was very laudatory, a modest Amsterdam publishing house (Contact) asked to publish that diary.
5. with the agreement once concluded or in the process of being concluded, Mr. Frank went to find several “spiritual counselors” (mehrere geistliche Ratgeber), one of whom was Pastor Buskes; he granted them full authority to censor the text (raumte ihnen freiwillig Zensoren-Befugnisse ein, pages 53-54). And that censorship was carried out.

But the oddities do not end there. The German text of the Diary forms the subject of interesting remarks on the part of the journalist from *Der Spiegel*. He writes: “One curiosity of the ‘Anne Frank literature’ is the translation work of Anneliese Schütz, of which Schnabel said: ‘I would wish that all translations were so faithful,’ but whose text very often diverges from the Dutch original” (page 54). In fact, as I will show below (“Comparing the Dutch and German texts” on page 100), the journalist is quite lenient in his criticism when he says that the German text diverges very often from what he calls the original (that is to say, without doubt, from the original printed by the Dutch). The printed German text does not have the right to be called a translation from the printed Dutch: it constitutes, properly speaking, another book by itself. But let us pass over this point. We will return to it.

Anneliese Schütz, a great friend of the Franks, like them a Jewish German refugee in the Netherlands, and Anne’s teacher, therefore prepared a text, in German, of the diary of her former pupil. She settled down to that work for Anne’s grandmother! The latter, very aged, did not in fact read Dutch. She therefore needed a translation into German, the Franks’ mother tongue. Anneliese Schütz composed her “translation” “in the perspective of the grandmother” (aus der Grossmutter-Perspektive, page 55). She took some amazing liberties. Where, according to her recollections, Anne had expressed herself better, she made her express herself better! The grandmother had the right to that! die Grossmutter habe ein Recht darauf, mehr zu erfahren — vor allem dort, “wo Anne nach meiner Erinnerung etwas besseres gesagt hatte” (ibidem). Let it be said in passing that Anneliese Schütz is never mentioned by Anne Frank in the Diary. Are we to understand that she had lived close to Anne or that she had met her during the twenty-five months when she hid at the Prinsengracht? To the “perspective of the grandmother,” which dictated certain “obliga-

tions,” there was added what one can call the “commercial perspective” which dictated other obligations. As a matter of fact, when the time came to publish the Diary in Germany, Anneliese Schütz inserted some new alterations. Let us take an example that she herself mentions. The manuscript, they say, included the following sentence: “no greater hostility in the world than between the Germans and the Jews” (ibidem). Anneliese Schütz declared to the journalist of *Der Spiegel*: “I always told myself that a book, destined to be sold in Germany, cannot contain an expression insulting to the Germans” (ibidem). For my part, I would say that that argumentation at one and the same time of the commercial, sentimental, and political order is understandable when coming from a woman of Berlin Jewish origin, who had been a militant before the war in a suffragette movement and who had had to leave her own country for political reasons, but otherwise that argumentation is all the less acceptable because the “insulting” remarks have been and continue to be spread in the millions of copies of the Diary sold throughout the world in languages other than German. And I am not speaking here from the simple point of view of respect for the truth.

One does not have the impression that Mr. Frank’s “collaborators” in the publishing of the diary were especially pleased with their work, nor that they were especially delighted about the fuss made about that Diary. Let us take those collaborators one by one: about Isa Cauvern, we can say nothing, except that she committed suicide by throwing herself out of her window in June of 1946. Mr. Frank had just signed or was going to sign his contract for publication with Contact. The motive for that suicide is not known to us and it is at present impossible to establish a tie of some kind between that suicide and the affair of the Diary. As regards the person who wrote the preface, Anna Romein-Verschoor, she was to declare to *Der Spiegel* in 1959: “I was not at all suspicious enough” (*Ich bin wohl nicht misstrauisch genug gewesen*). Her husband had been no more suspicious. Albert Cauvern had not been able to obtain from Mr. Frank the return of the typed text on which he had worked. He had asked for that text “in memory of my wife” who died in 1946. Mr. Frank had not sent the text in question. Kurt Baschwitz, a friend of Mr. Frank, was one of the “three eminent persons” (the two others being Mr. and Mrs. Romein). In 1959, he was to plead for an “agreement” between Mr. Frank and Lothar Stielau. He recommended, on the other hand, a complete publication of the text of the manuscripts to resolve the problem. To know what the text was in reality, that solution would have been, as a matter of fact, that most suitable. Anneliese Schütz, for her part, was to show her disapproval both of the “Anne Frank Myth” and of the attitude of Mr. Frank with regard to Lothar Stielau. She was in favor of a policy of silence: the least fuss possible about Anne Frank and her diary. She went so far as to disapprove of Mr. Frank and Ernst Schnabel for *Spur eines Kindes*: what need was there for that book? As regards to Stielau, if he had made the remark for which Mr. Frank criticized him for, latter had only to act as if he did not hear it. That “sharp” (*scharff*) (ibidem) reaction by Anneliese Schütz was all the more peculiar because this woman presented herself as the “translator” of the diary into German and because Ernst Schnabel had — but perhaps she did not know it — pushed kindness so far as to have declared with regard to that improbable “translation”: *Ich wünschte, alle Übersetzungen waren so getreu* (page 54) (“I would wish that all translations were so faithful”).

Return to Amsterdam

The internal criticism of the Diary had led me to think that the Diary was a “cock and bull story,” a novel, a lie. The subsequent investigations had only served to reinforce that judgment. But, if I indeed saw where the lie was, I did not see as well where the truth was. I saw indeed that the Frank family could not have lived for twenty-five months at 263 Prinsengracht in the way they claimed. But how had they lived in reality? Where? With whom? And finally, was it indeed at 263 Prinsengracht that they had been arrested?

Without any illusions about the answer that he would give me, I posed those questions to Kraler (by his real name, Kugler) in a letter that I sent to him in Canada. I asked him likewise if Anne appeared to him to have been the author of the Diary and how he could explain to me why Vossen (by his real name, Voskuyl) had believed that the Franks were somewhere other than at 263 Prinsengracht, and even in Switzerland, to be precise. His response was discourteous. He sent my letter and his response to Mr. Frank. It is that letter which Mr. Frank called “idiotic” during a telephone conversation. It is, I suppose, that response which, one year later, earned Kraler a prize of \$10,000.00 from an institution for having “protected Anne Frank and her family during the war, in Amsterdam” (see the *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 6 June 1978, page 13). Disregarding its discourtesy, the response from Kraler was not lacking in interest for me. Kraler responded to me that Vossen’s suggestion concerning the presence of the Franks in Switzerland “was made to protect the family which was in hiding” (letter of 14 April 1977). He added, in regard to Anne, “there have been other greatly gifted young people, even younger than Anne.” I found that the first point of this answer was precise but incomprehensible if one recalls that Vossen had, according to his own daughter, the personal feeling that the Franks were in Switzerland. As to the second point of the answer, its stereotyped character was striking coming from a man whose only difficulty ought to have been in choosing among several precise and convincing answers. Kraler, as a matter of fact, was supposed to have lived for 25 months in almost daily contact with that Anne Frank whose “diary” was an open secret, it seems, for those who knew her.

Listening to Elli on 30 November 1977, then to Miep and Henk on 2 December 1977, I was struck right away with the impression that these three persons had not at all lived for 25 months in contact with the Franks and with the other persons in hiding in the manner in which this is presented to us in the Diary. On the other hand, I became convinced that Miep and Elli had at least been present at 263 Prinsengracht on 4 August 1944, at the time of the police raid. It is difficult for me to account otherwise for the insistence with which Elli and Miep avoided my questions on the 25 months, while coming back over and over again to the day of 4 August 1944. Elli, of whom I had much difficulty in finding any trace, expected neither my visit, nor the type of detailed questions I was going to put to her. Miep and Henk were expecting my visit and knew that I had seen Mr. Frank. My questions were brief, limited in number, and, with certain exceptions, I did not point out to my witnesses either their mutual contradictions or their contradictions with the Diary. Elli, full of good will, seemed to me to have a good memory of the war years and of the minor events of her daily life in those days (she was 23 years old in 1944). But, in regard to those twenty-five months, her answers to my questions were for the most part: “I do not know I do not recall I cannot explain to you “ “The coal storage place? It was in the Van Daans' room.” “The ashes? I suppose that the men took them down.” “The night watchman Slagter? I have never heard him spoken of; after the war, we had a secretary who had that name.” “Lewin? I never had anything to do with him.” “The 'swinging cupboard'? You are right, it was useless, but it was a camouflage for strangers.” I asked Elli to describe to me first the front house, then the annex. For the front house, she was able to give me some details; it is true that she worked there. For the annex, her answer was interesting. She declared to me that she had, all in all, spent only one night there, and that before the arrival of the eight clandestines! She added that she did not remember the premises, because she had been very nervous. But, in the Diary, Elli is supposed to have come to take almost all of her mid-day meals with the people in hiding (see 5 August 1943: Elli arrives regularly at 12:45 pm; 20 August 1943: she arrives regularly at 5:30 pm as a messenger of freedom; 2 March 1944: she does the dishes with the two families' mothers). In conclusion, I asked Elli to recall for me any detail of family life, any anecdote which does not appear in the book. She showed herself to be totally incapable of doing that.

Miep and Henk were likewise incapable of furnishing me with the least detail on the life of the people in hiding. The most important sentence of their testimony was the following: “We did not

know exactly how they lived.” And in addition: “We were only in the annex for one weekend; we slept in the future room of Anne and Dussel.” “How did the persons in hiding keep them selves warm? Perhaps with gas.” “The coal storage place was downstairs in the store.” “There was no vacuum cleaner.” “The greengrocer did not bring anything to Prinsengracht.” “The 'swinging cupboard' had been constructed well before the arrival of the Franks” (!) “I myself, Miep, I brought the vegetables, while Elli brought the milk.” “I myself, Henk, worked elsewhere than in the business, but every day I came to have lunch in the office of the girls and I came to speak to them for 15 or 20 minutes.” (This point, among others, is in total contradiction with the Diary, where it is said that Henk, Miep and Elli took their lunch in the annex, with the people in hiding. See 5 August 1943.) During our entire interview, Miep gave me the impression of being almost in agony. Her gaze avoided me. When I finally let her speak to me about 4 August 1944, her attitude suddenly changed completely. It was with obvious pleasure that she began to call to mind, with a great abundance of details, the arrival of the police and its results. I noted, however, a striking disproportion in the details of the account. Those details were numerous, vivid, and obviously truthful when Miep was calling to mind what had personally happened to her with the Austrian arresting officer, Silberbauer, either that day or on the following days. But, when it was a question of the Franks and of their companions in misfortune, the details became scanty and unclear. Thus it was that Miep had seen nothing of the arrest of the persons in hiding. She had not seen them leave. She had not seen them climb into the police vehicle, because that vehicle, which she had seen through the window of her office, “was too near the wall of the house.” From a distance from the other side of the canal, Henk had seen the police vehicle, but without being able to recognize the people who were entering or leaving. In regard to the manuscripts, Miep repeated to me the account that she had given to Schnabel. She told me also that Mr. Frank, after returning to the Netherlands at the end of May of 1945, lived for seven years under their roof. It was only toward the end of June or the beginning of July of 1945 that she had returned the manuscripts to him.

In the wake of those two interviews my judgment became the following: These three persons must have, on the whole, told me the truth about their own lives. It is probably true that they had not been familiar with, so to speak, the annex. It is certainly true that, in the front house, life unfolded approximately as they had recounted it to me (mid-day meal taken together in the office of the secretaries; the men of the store eating in the store; small food errands made in the neighborhood, etc.). It is certainly true that a police raid took place on 4 August 1944 and that Miep had had business on that day and on the following days with a Karl Silberbauer. It is probable, on the other hand, that those three persons maintained some relations with the Frank family. In that case, why did they so obviously feel reticent to speak about it? Let us suppose, as a matter of fact, that the Franks and some other persons in hiding had really lived for 25 months in proximity to those three persons. In that case, why such a silence?

The answer to these questions could be the following: the Franks and, perhaps, some other Jews did actually live in the annex of 263 Prinsengracht. But they lived there quite differently than the Diary relates. For example, they lived a life there that was no doubt cautious, but not like in a prison. They were able to live there as did so many other Jews who hid themselves either in the city, or in the countryside. They “hid themselves without hiding.” Their adventure was sadly commonplace. It did not have that fantastic, absurd, and obviously deceitful character that Mr. Frank had wanted to pass off as being realistic, authentic, and true to life. After the war, just as the friends of Mr. Frank were prepared to testify on his behalf, so were they hesitant to guarantee the narrative of the Diary. Just as much as they were able to offer themselves as guarantors of the real sufferings of Mr. Frank and of his family, so did it seem difficult for them to bear witness, in addition, to imaginary sufferings. Kraler, Koophuis, Miep, Elli, and Henk showed their friendship to Mr. Frank; they publicly showed their sympathy for him as for a man full of charm and, at

the same time, overwhelmed with misfortunes. Perhaps they felt flattered to be presented in the press as his companions in his days of misfortune. Perhaps certain among them accepted the idea that, when a man has suffered, he has the moral right to exaggerate somewhat the story of his sufferings. In the eyes of certain of them, the main point could have been that Mr. Frank and his family had had to suffer cruelly at the hands of the Germans; in that case the “details” of those sufferings mattered little. But kindness has its limits. Mr. Frank found only one person to guarantee his account of the existence of the Diary. That person was his former secretary and friend: Miep Van Santen (by her real name, Miep Gies). Still the testimony of Miep is strangely hesitant. Her testimony comes back to saying that after the arrest of the Franks, she had gathered up from the floor of a room of the annex a diary, an account book, some notebooks and a certain number of loose leaf sheets. For her it was a matter of objects belonging to Anne Frank. Miep only gave that testimony in an official form thirty years after the events, on 5 June 1974, in the office of Mr. Antoun Jacob Dragt, a notary in Amsterdam. Miep added that she had made the discovery with Elli. But, on the same day, in the presence of the same notary, the latter declared that she remembered having been there when those things had been discovered but she did no more remember exactly how they had been discovered. The restraint is important and it must not have pleased Mr. Frank.

Schnabel wrote (see above, page 91) that all the “witnesses” he had questioned — including, consequently, Miep, Elli, Henk, and Koophuis — had behaved as if they had to protect themselves against the legend of Anne Frank. He added that if they all had read the Diary, they nevertheless did not mention it. That last sentence means obviously that, in each interview with a witness, it was Schnabel himself who had to take the initiative in speaking of the Diary. We know that his book had not been published in the Netherlands, except in a shortened and censored form: it is in the Netherlands that the principal “witnesses” are located. For its part, the article from *Der Spiegel* (see above, page 95) proves that others of Mr. Frank’s “Witnesses” have ended up having the same negative reactions. The foundations of the myth of Anne Frank — a myth that rests on the truth and authenticity of the Diary — have not been strengthened with time: they have crumbled.

Who betrayed the Franks?

The “betrayers” and the person who arrested the Franks: why has Mr. Frank wanted to assure them anonymity?

Since 1944, Mr. Frank and his friends knew that their alleged “betrayers” were named Van Maaren and the person who arrested them was named Silberbauer. Van Maaren was one of the employees in their store. Silberbauer was a non-commissioned officer of the Security Service (SD) in Amsterdam. In the Diary, as well as in the previously mentioned book by Schnabel, Van Maaren is called V.M. As regards Silberbauer, he is called Silberthaler in Schnabel’s book. It seems that, at the time of the Liberation, Van Maaren had some trouble with the law in his country. His guilt could not be proved, Mr. Frank told me. “V.M. had had enough troubles like that and he should be left alone.” Schnabel had not wanted to obtain the testimony of V.M. nor had he wanted to obtain that of the arresting officer.

In 1963, the world press suddenly echoed with a startling news story: Simon Wiesenthal had just rediscovered the person who arrested the Franks. He was Karl Silberbauer, a police official in Vienna. Wiesenthal had not informed Mr. Frank about his research. The latter, questioned by journalists, declared that he had known for nearly twenty years the name of the person who arrested him. He added that that entire affair was unfortunate and that Silberbauer had only done his duty in arresting him. Miep, for her part, declared that, if she had used the pseudonym of Silberthaler

to designate the arresting officer, that was only at the request of Mr. Frank; the latter had pointed out that there could, as a matter of fact, be some other persons bearing the name of Silberbauer to whom, consequently, some harm could be done: (De Heer Frank) had mij verzocht de naam Silberthaler te noemen, omdat er misschien nog meer mensen Silberbauer heetten en die zouden wij dan in diskrediet brengen (Volkskrant, 21 November 1963).

There was a kind of struggle between Simon Wiesenthal and Mr. Frank. It was the latter who in a way got the best of it. As a matter of fact, Karl Silberbauer was, at the end of eleven months, reinstated in the Viennese police. A disciplinary commission, sitting behind closed doors (as is the custom), released him. The judgment in the appeal commission (Oberdisziplinarkommission) was likewise favorable to Silberbauer, as were also conclusions of a commission of inquiry of the Ministry of the Interior. Silberbauer had indeed arrested the Franks at 263 Prinsengracht, but his participation in "War crimes against the Jews or members of the Resistance" could not be proved. In June of 1978, I obtained an interview with Simon Wiesenthal in his office in Vienna. In regard to that affair, he declared to me that Mr. Frank was "crazy." In his opinion, Mr. Frank, in his concern to maintain a cult (that of his daughter), meant to spare the former Nazis, while he, Simon Wiesenthal, had only one concern: that of seeing justice done. Simon Wiesenthal did not know the real name of the store employee V.M. There again Mr. Frank had done what was necessary: the Royal Institute of Documentation (for the Second World War), directed by his friend Louis De Jong, responded, if we are to believe an Amsterdam newspaper (Trouw, 22 November 1963), that that name would not be given to Mr. Wiesenthal, even if he asked for it: deze naam zou men zelfs aan Mr. Wiesenthal niet doorgeven, wanneer deze daarom zou verzoeken.

The authorities in Vienna were not able to authorize me to consult the records of the commissions of inquiry. As to Karl Silberbauer, he died in 1972. My inquiry was therefore limited to the analysis of some Dutch, German, and French newspapers from 1963 and 1964 and to the interviewing of a witness whom I believe to be well informed, honest, and possessed of a good memory. That witness begged us, my companion and myself, not to reveal his name. I have promised to say nothing about his name. I will keep my promise only half-way. The importance of his testimony is such that it seemed impossible to me to pass over it in silence. The name of that witness and his address as well as the name of my companion and his address are put down in a sealed envelope.

Here is, to begin with, what I would call: "The testimony of Karl Silberbauer, collected by a Dutch journalist of the Hague Post and translated into German by a Jewish German journalist of the Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland (6 December 1963, page 10)." Silberbauer recounts that at the time (4 August 1944) he had received a telephone call from an unknown person who had revealed to him that some Jews remained hidden in an office on Prinsengracht: "I then alerted eight Dutchmen of the Security Service (SD) and went with them to Prinsengracht. I saw that one of my Dutch companions tried to speak to an employee but the latter made a gesture with his thumb toward the upstairs." Silberbauer described how he entered the place where the Jews kept themselves hidden: "The people ran in all directions and packed their suitcases. One man then came toward me and presented himself as being Otto Frank. He had been, he said, a reserve officer in the German Army. To my question about the length of time that they had been in hiding, Frank had answered: 'Twenty-five months.' Seeing that I did not want to believe him, Silberbauer continued, he took the hand of a young girl who stood at his side. That must have been Anne. He placed the child against the side post of a door, which bore some marks in various places. I spoke again to Frank: 'What a pretty girl you have there!'" Silberbauer said then that he had only very much later made the connection between that arrest and what the newspapers said about the Frank family. After the war, his reading of the Diary surprised him very much. He especially did not understand how Anne could have known that the Jews were

gassed: "We were all unaware," Silberbauer explained, "of what awaited the Jews. I especially do not understand how Anne in her diary could assert that the Jews were gassed." In the opinion of Silberbauer, nothing would have happened to the Franks if they had not kept themselves hidden.

That exclusive interview with Silberbauer constitutes a very faithful summary, I think, of the remarks attributed by the journalists to the person who arrested the Frank family. The testimony that I announced above (page 99) confirms in general the content of the interview, with the exception that the episode of the raised thumb would be a sheer fabrication. Silberbauer supposedly noted nothing of the kind, for the good reason that he is supposed to have made his way immediately toward the annex. He did nothing but take the corridor and the stairway, without any detour toward the offices or the stores. And it is there that the testimony in question furnishes us with an important element. One will have noticed that, in his interview, the policeman does not state precisely how he had access to the place where those in hiding kept themselves. He does not mention the existence of a "swinging cupboard" (ein drehbares Regal). But my witness is quite positive: Silberbauer had never encountered anything of the kind, but a heavy wooden door like one finds at the entrance, for example, of a storehouse. The exact word was ein Holzverschlag. The policeman had simply knocked at the door and it had been opened to him. A third point of this testimony is, if possible, still more important. Karl Silberbauer said and repeated that he did not believe in the authenticity of the famous Diary, because, according to him, there had never been on the site anything that would resemble the manuscripts that Miep claimed to have found scattered about the floor one week after 4 August 1944. The policeman had the professional habit of carrying out arrests and searches since before the war. Such a pile of documents would not have escaped his notice. (Let us add here that eight men accompanied him and that the entire operation had been conducted slowly and correctly and then the policeman, after having entrusted the key to the premises to V.M. or to another employee, had returned to the premises on three occasions.) Silberbauer, the witness asserts, had the habit of saying that Miep had not, in reality, played a great role in that whole story (whence comes the fact that they had not even arrested her). Afterwards, Miep had tried to give herself some importance, notably with that episode of the miraculous discovery of the manuscripts.

The same witness declared to me, in the presence of my companion, that Silberbauer in 1963-1964 had drawn up an account, for the courts, of the arrest of the Franks and that those details might appear, in that account. A second witness certainly could have given me very valuable testimony on the statements of Silberbauer, but that second witness preferred to say nothing.

Comparing the Dutch and German texts

I have two texts in front of me. The first is in Dutch (D), while the second is in German (G). The publishers tell me that D is the original text, while G is the translation of that original text. I do not have a priori any reason to challenge their word. But scientific rigor, as well as common sense and experience, teach that it is necessary to receive the statements of publishers with caution. It happens, as a matter of fact, that there can be error or deceit on their part. A book is a piece of merchandise like any other. The label can be deceiving about the content. As a consequence, I will set aside here the labels that are proposed to me or that are imposed upon me. I will speak neither about the "original version in Dutch," nor about the "translation into German." I will temporarily suspend all judgment. I will grant a precise name to those two books only with reservations. For the moment, I will give them a name which is, at the same time, equal and neutral. I will therefore speak of "texts."

I am going to describe the text D and the text G that I have before me. I am going to begin with text D, but I could, just as well, begin with text G. I insist on this last point. The order of succession that I have chosen here ought not to imply any succession in time, nor any relationship of filiation of the father/son kind between D and G.

My text D is presented in this manner: Anne Frank / Het Achterhuis / Dagboekbrieven / 14 Juni 1942-1 Augustus 1944/1977. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Contact; Eerste druk 1947 / Vijfenvijftigste druk 1977. The author's text begins on page 22 with the photographic reproduction of a sort of dedication signed: "Anne Frank, 12 Juni 1942." On page 23 appears the first of the 169 entries which make up this "diary" to which they have given the title The Annex. The book has 273 pages. The last page of the text is page 269. I estimate the length of the text itself at about 72,500 Dutch words. I have not compared the text of that 55th edition with the text of the first edition. At the time of my investigation in Amsterdam, I received assurances from Messrs. Fred Batten and Christian Blom that no change had been made in the successive editions. Those two persons were employed by the Contact publishing house and they were involved, along with Mr. P. De Neve (deceased), in the original acceptance of the typed manuscript that Mr. Frank had deposited with an interpreter by the name of Mr. Kahn. It is this Mr. Kahn who was, in 1957, to serve as the companion and interpreter for Ernst Schnabel, when the latter came to see Elli in Amsterdam.

My text G is presented in this manner: Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank / 12 Juni 1942-1 August 1944/1977. Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag / No. 77 / Ungekürzte Ausgabe/43. Auflage 1293000-1332000 / Aus dem Holländischen übertragen von Anneliese Schütz / Holländische Original-Ausgabe, Het Achterhuis. Amsterdam: Contact. After the dedication page, the first of the entries appears on page 9. There are 175 entries. The last entry ends on page 201. I estimate the length of the text at about 77,000 German words. The book has 203 pages. This paperback was first published in March 1955. Fischer obtained the Lizenzausgabe (distribution license) from the Lambert-Schneider publishing house, in Heidelberg.

I call attention to a first troubling fact. Text D has 169 entries while text G, which is presented as the translation of text D, has 175 entries.

I call attention to a second troubling fact. I set out in search of the extra entries of text G. It is not six entries that I discover (175 minus 169 equals 6), but seven entries. The explanation is the following: text G does not have the entry of 6 December 1943 from text D.

I point out a third troubling fact. Because the Dutch language and the German language are very close to each other, the translated text ought not to be appreciably longer than the text that is being translated. But, even if I disregard the number of words that make up the seven entries in question, I am very far from reaching a difference of approximately 4,500 (G 77,000 minus D 72,500 equals 4,500). Therefore, text G even when it has some entries in common with text D, has them under another form. Here are the figures:

[table omitted]

Referring to Table 1, we see that if text G had the same number of entries as text D, the discrepancy in the word count would be approximately 4,500 minus 2,930, or 1,570 words.² In reality, as will be seen later on, this number represents only a small part of the surplus of words that text G has. But, meanwhile, in order not to seem too attached to the calculations, I am going to give some precise examples involving approximately 550 words.

Among the entries that texts D and G apparently have in common, here are some entries (among many others) where text G has some extra fragments, that is to say some fragments with which

the Dutch reader was never acquainted:

[table omitted]

Among the entries that texts D and G apparently have in common, here are some entries (among many others) where text G is missing some fragments, that is to say some fragments with which the German reader was never acquainted:

[table omitted]

One remarkable fact is that the fragments that are missing are very numerous and very short. For example, the letter of 20 August 1943 is cut by 19 words in text G, and those 19 words are distributed in the following manner:

$$3 + 1 + 4 + 4 + 7 = 19$$

I call attention to a fourth troubling fact. That fact is independent of the quantities that are extra or lacking. This fact is that some fragments of entries move somehow. For example, the entire next-to-the-last paragraph of text D of Donderdag, 27 April 1944 is found in the last paragraph of text G of Dienstag, 25 April 1944. On the 7th of January 1944, the last paragraph of text D becomes, in text G, the sixth paragraph before the end. On 27 April 1944, the next-to-the-last paragraph of text D becomes, in text G, the last paragraph of the entry of 25 April 1944.

I call attention to a fifth troubling fact. It is not a question, this time, of additions, of subtractions, of transferrals, but of alterations that are the sign of inconsistencies. I mean to say this: suppose that I leave aside all the features by which texts D and G differ so obviously from one another, and suppose that I turn now toward what I would call “the remainder” (a “remainder” which, according to the publishers, ought to make up “the common stock,” “the identical part”), I am surprised to find out that, from one end to the other of these two books, except with the rarest exceptions, this “remainder” is very far from being identical. As is going to be seen by the examples that follow, these inconsistencies cannot be attributed to a clumsy or whimsical translation. The same entry of 10 March 1943 gives, for text D, Bij kaarslicht (by candlelight) and, for text G, Bei Tage (By daylight); een nacht (one night) for Eines Tages (one day); Verdwenen de dieven (the robbers disappeared) for schwieg der Lärm (the noise became quiet). On 13 January 1943, Anne said that she rejoiced at the prospect of buying after the war nieuwe kleren en schoenen (some new clothes and shoes); that is in text D, because in text G she speaks of neue Kleider und Bücher (of new clothes and books). On 18 May 1943, Mrs. Van Daan is als door Mouschi gebeten (as if bitten by Mouschi [the cat]); that is in text D, because in text G she is wie von einer Tarantel gestochen (as if stung by a tarantula). Depending on whether one consults D or G, a man is a “fascist” or a Riese (giant) (20 October 1942). Some “red beans and some white beans” (bruine en witte bonen) become “white beans” (weisse Bohnen) (12 March 1943). Some sandals for 6.5 florins become some sandals without indication of price (ibidem), while “five hostages” (een stuk of 5 gijzelaars) has become “a certain number of these hostages” (eine Anzahl dieser Geiseln), and that in the same entry of 9 October 1942 where “the Germans” (Duitsers) are no more than “these Germans” (diese Deutschen) who are very specifically the Nazis (see above, page 95). On 17 November 1942, Dussel meets the Franks and the Van Daans in their hiding-place. Text D says that “Miep helped him to take off his overcoat” (Miep liet hem zijn jas uitdoen); learning that the Franks are there, “he nearly fainted from surprise” and, says Anne, he remained “silent” “as if he wanted first a little time, a moment, to read the truth on our faces” (viel hij haast flauw van verbazing sprakeloos alsof hij eerst even goed de waarheid van onze gezichten wilde lezen); but text G says of Dussel that he “had to take off his overcoat” and describes his astonishment in this way: “he could not understand he was not able to believe his

eyes” (Er musste den Mantel ausziehen kannte er es nicht fassen und wollte seinen Augen nicht trauen). A person who suffered from an eye problem and who “bathed it with camomile tea” (bette het met kamillen-the) becomes a person who “made himself some compresses” (machte Umschläge) (10 December 1942). Where “Papa” alone is waiting (Pim verwacht) it is “we” all who are waiting (Wir erwarten) (27 February 1943). Where the two cats receive their names of Moffi and Tommi, according to whether they appear boche (German) or angliche (English), “just as in politics” (Net als in de politiek), text G says that they were named “according to their spiritual dispositions” (Ihren Anlagen gemäss) (12 March 1943). On 26 March 1943, some people who “were quite awake” (waren veel wakken) “were in an endless fear” (schreckten immer wieder auf), “a piece of flannel” (een lap flanel) becomes a “mattress cover” (Matratzenschoner) (1 May 1943). “To go on strike” (staken) “in many areas” (in viele gebieden) becomes: “sabotage is committed on all sides” (an allen Ecken und Enden sabotiert wird) (ibidem). A “folding bed” (harmonicabed) is encountered as a “loungechair” (Liegestuhl) (21 August 1942). The following sentence: “The gunfire no longer did anything to us, our fear had gone away” (Het kanonvuur deerde ons niet meer, onze angst was weggevaad) becomes: “and the situation, for today, was saved” (und die Situation war für heute gerettet) (18 May 1943).

I had noted these few examples in inconsistencies in the course of a simple sample that did not go beyond the 54th entry of text D (18 May 1943). I decided then to initiate a much more rigorous sample, bearing on the eleven entries going from 19 July to 29 September 1943 (entries 60 to 73). To the inconsistencies, I decided to add the additions and the subtractions. The result was such that the simple enumeration of the differences noted would require several typewritten pages. I am not able to do that here. I will content myself with only a few examples here, avoiding the most striking ones because, unfortunately, the most striking are also the longest ones to cite.

- Entry of 19 July 1943 “parents killed” (dode ouders) becomes “parents” (Eltern);
- Entry of 23 July 1943: G has, in addition, at least 49 words plus 3 words;
- Entry of 26 July 1943: G has, in addition, four plus four words and is lacking two words: over Italie;
- Entry of 29 July 1943: G has twenty words missing and “twenty years” (twintig jaar) becomes “twenty-five years” (25 Jahren);
- Entry of 3 August 1943: this letter of 210 words in text G is completely missing in text D;
- Entry of 4 August 1943: D gives “couch” and G “loungechair.” In D a flea “floats” (drijft) in the wash water, “only in warm months or weeks” (allen in de hete maanden of weken), while for G that flea must “lose his life” (sein Leben lassen) there, without any other detail concerning weather. D gives: “to use some cotton [soaked] in hydrogen peroxide (that serves to bleach her black moustache fuzz)” (waterstofwatjes hanteren [dient om zwarte snorharen te bleken]), while G gives simply: “and other little toiletry secrets”) (und andere kleine Toilettengeheimniss). The comparison of “like a brook falling from a mountain” (als een beekje van een berg) becomes “like a brook on the boulders” (wie ein Bächlein über die Kiesel). Some “irregular French verbs”: this is what Anne thinks of in text D (aan Franse onregelmatische wekworden), but, in text G, this can only be about irregular Dutch verbs, it seems, because she says that she “dreams” (träume ich) of “irregular verbs” (von unregelmässigen Verben). Text G contents itself with: “Rrrrrring, upstairs [sounds the Van Daans] alarm” (Krrrrrrrr, oben der Wecker), while D gives: “Rrrring the little alarm [sounds], which at each hour of the day (when it is wanted or sometimes also without being wanted can raise its little voice.” (Trrr het wekkertje, dat op elk uur van de dag [als men er naar vraagt of soms ook sonder dat] zijn stemmetje kan verheffen);
- Entry of 5 August 1943: all of it is a description of the usual meal, from 1:15 pm to 1:45 pm, and of the things that follow, and there are important differences; besides, what is an-

nounced, by D, as “The great share-out” is announced by G as “small lunch” (De grote uitdeling/Kleiner Lunch). I underline the adjectives; the possible, but not certain, irony of D has disappeared in G. Of the three “couches” in D, there only remains one “couch” in G;

- Entry of 7 August 1943: this letter constitutes quite an interesting puzzle. A very long letter, it begins, in text G, with nine lines introducing a story of 74 lines entitled Kaatje as well as another story of 99 lines entitled Katrientje. This entry is completely absent from D. The Dutch, for their part, know of these stories only by way of a separate book entitled Stories, in which there appear, besides, some other “unedited stories” of Anne Frank;
- Entry of 9 August 1943: among many other curious things there are “some horn-rimmed glasses” (een hoornen bril) which become “some dark horn-rimmed glasses” (eine dunkle Hornbrille) in text G;
- Entry of 10 August 1943: the “war material” of D becomes the “guns” (Kanonen) of G. The sentence concerning the bell in the Westertoren is entirely different. And, especially, G has an episode of 140 words that does not appear in D. Anne, who has received some new shoes, tells there about a series of misadventures that had happened to her on that same day: she had pricked her right thumb with a large needle; she had bumped her head against the door of the cupboard; because of the noise caused, she received a “scolding” (Ruffel); she was not able to soothe her forehead because it was necessary not to turn on the water; she had a large bruise over her right eye; she had stubbed her toe on the vacuum cleaner; her foot became infected, it is all swollen. Result: Anne cannot put on her pretty new shoes. (You will have noticed here the presence of a vacuum cleaner in a place where silence would have had to be necessary constantly);
- Entry of 18 August 1943: among nine differences, we see some “beans” (bonen) turn into “green peas” (Erbsen);
- Entry of 20 August 1943: I will mention only one example of a difference; it concerns the bread; the narrative is appreciably different, and for text D, this bread is located in two successive places: at first the steel cupboard of the office looking out on the street (in the front house), then, the kitchen cupboard of the annex (stalen kast, Voorkantoor/Keukenkast), while G only mentions the first location, without being precise about the second; the unfortunate thing is that the first location mentioned by D is a simple cupboard located in the office looking out on the courtyard: the office of Kraler, and not that of Koophuis (“the bread, which is put in Kraler’s room for us every day”)! (About the respective offices of Kraler and of Koophuis, see the entry of 9 July 1942.) There is here a serious material contradiction between the two texts, with changes of words, of sentences, etc.;
- Entry of 23 August 1943: among other curious things, “to read or to study” (lesen of leren) becomes “to read or to write” (lesen oder schreiben), “Dickens and the dictionary” (Dickens en het woordenboek) becomes only “Dickens”, some “bolsters” (peluwen) turn into “eiderdown pillows” (Plumeaus) (in Dutch, “eider-down pillows” would be said as eiderdons or dekbed);
- Entry of 10 September 1943: among five differences, I notice that the broadcast, so eagerly awaited each day, from Radio Oranje (the Voice of Holland from overseas) begins at 8:15 pm for D and at 8:00 pm for G;
- Entry of 16 September 1943: “ten valerianes” (tien valeriaantjes) become “ten of the small white pills” (zehn von den kleinen weissen Pillen). “A long face and a drooping mouth” (een uitgestreken gezicht en neerhangende mond) became “a tight-lipped mouth with worry lines” (einen zusammengekniffenen Mund und Sorgenfalten). The winter compared to a fearful obstacle, a “biting winter” which is there like a “heavy block of stone” (het grote rotsblok, dat winter heet), is no more than a simple winter (dem Winter). An “overcoat” (jas) becomes “hat and cane” (Hut und Stock). A sentence of 24 words, claiming to describe a picturesque scene, finds itself reduced to five German words. On the other hand, six Dutch words become 13 German words with a very different meaning;

- Entry of 29 September 1943: “a grumbling father” (een mopperenden vader) becomes “the father who is not in agreement with her choice” (den Vater, der nicht mit ihrer Wahl einverstanden ist). “Energetically” (energiek) becomes ganz kalt und ruhig (in a quite cold and quiet manner), etc.

I think that it is useless to pursue such an enumeration. It is not exaggerated to say that the first entry of the collection gives us the tone of the whole. In that short letter, the Dutch learn that, for her birthday, Anne received “a little plant” (een plantje). The Germans have the privilege of learning that that plant was “a cactus” (eine Kaktee). In return, the Dutch knew that Anne received “two peony branches,” while the Germans must content themselves with knowing that there were “some peony branches” (einige Zweige Pfingstrosen). The Dutch have the right to the following sentence: “such were, that morning, the children of Flora who sat on my table” (dat waren die ochtend de kinderen van Flora, die op mijn tafel stonden). In the German text, the table has disappeared, as well as “the children of Flora” (a curious, hackneyed phrase from the pen of a child of thirteen; one would have expected it rather from an adult seeking laboriously and artlessly to “decorate” his style). The Germans simply have the right to: “These were the first flowers offered by way of greetings” (Das waren die ersten Blumengrüsse). The Dutch learn that Anne, on that day, will offer to her teachers and to her classmates “some butter cakes” (boterkoekjes). The Germans have the right to some “candy” (Bonbons). The “chocolate,” present for the Dutch, will disappear for the Germans. More surprising: a book that Anne will be able to buy for herself with the money that has just been given to her on that Sunday 14 June 1942, becomes, in the German text, a book that she has already bought for herself (zodat ik me kan kopen/habe ich mir gekauft).

On the other hand, the last entry of the collection is identical in the two texts. That confirms for us, if there were need for it, that the German translator — if one must speak about “translation” — was quite capable of respecting the Dutch text. But it is too evident now that one cannot speak of translation, nor even of “adaptation.” Is it to translate, is it to “adapt” to put day for night (10 March 1943)? Books for shoes (13 January 1943)? Candy for butter cakes (14 June 1942)? Giant for fascist (20 October 1942)? Is “candles” translated by “day” and “cats” by “tarantula”? “To float” by “to die”? “Large” by “small” (4 August 1943)? Only magicians can change an overcoat into a hat and a cane. With Mrs. Anneliese Schütz and Mr. Frank, the table disappears (14 June 1942) and the stairway steals away (the Dutch entry of 16 September 1943 mentions a very peculiar stairway, which would have led directly to the persons in hiding: die direct naar boven leidt). The bread storage place changes its location. What is behind is encountered again in front (Kraler’s office). Numbers appear and disappear. Hours change. Faces change. Events multiply or disappear. Beings as well as things are subject to eclipses and to sudden changes. Anne, one could say, emerges from her tomb in order to come to lengthen one of her narratives or to shorten it; sometimes she writes another or even reduces it to nothingness.

Ten years after her death, Anne’s text continues to change. In 1955, the Fischer publishing house publishes her Diary. as a pocket-book under a “discreetly” reworked form. The reader could especially compare the following entries:

- 9 July 1942: Hineingekommen gemalt war (25 words) replaced by: Neben gemalt war (41 words). The appearance of a door!
- 11 July 1942: bange replaced by besorgt;
- 21 September 1942: gerügt replaced by gescholten and drei Westen changing itself into drei Wolljacken;
- 27 September 1942: mit Margot bin ich nicht mehr so intim becomes: mit Margot verstehe mich nicht sehr gut;

- 28 September 1942: bestürzt replaced by erschüttert;
- 7 November 1942: ohne den Hergang zu kennen becomes: ohne zu wissen, worum es ging and Er ist mein Ideal becomes: Er ist mein leuchtendes Vorbild. That last change of the text is not lacking in flavor, if one knows that it is a question here of Anne's father. Mr. Frank is no longer an "ideal" for his daughter, but "a shining model"! Another change: 'und das Ärgste ist becomes: und am schlimmsten ist;
- 7 August 1943: I pointed out above (see page 104) this very long letter that contains two stories. I suppose that these stories existed in the manuscript which had been reserved for them and that they had been wrongly inserted into the Diary. In that case, one asks oneself who wrote the nine lines of introduction, where Anne asks her correspondent especially if she believes that her stories are going to please children.

These last changes were made from one German text to another German text. They could therefore not have the excuse of a clumsy or whimsical translation. They prove that the Diary's author — the term that I ordinarily use for the person responsible for the text that I am reading — was still alive in 1955. In the same way, in discovering the German text of 1950 (Lambert-Schneider edition), I discovered that the author of the Diary (an especially prolific author) was still alive in 1950. That author could not have been Anne Frank, who, as we know, died in 1945.

In any comparisons of the texts, I have followed the official chronological order. I have shown how the text printed in Dutch (1947) clashed with the first printed German text (1950), which, in its turn, underwent some strange metamorphosis in the second printed German text (1955). But, scientifically speaking, nothing proves that the chronological order of publication reflects the chronological order of composition. For example, there could have been some manuscript in German which preceded the putting together of the Dutch manuscripts. It could be that the model or the "first edition" outline had been written in German. It could be that afterwards that model or that outline, after having given birth to a text translated into Dutch, had also given birth to an entirely rewritten German text. It could be that, for several years, some very different texts had thus lived in symbiosis. That phenomenon is called the phenomenon of contamination. It is nevertheless clear that Mr. Frank cannot make that argument about the contamination of the texts, because there exists, according to him, one single text: that of the Dutch manuscripts. For certain periods of the twenty-five months at the Prinsengracht, it is possible that the different manuscripts of the Diary offer us some variant readings; still, those variant readings could not provide us with the innumerable absurdities and inconsistencies that we have seen. For other periods, such as that of an entire year (from 6 December 1942 to 21 December 1943), when, according to Mr. Frank's own admission, we have at our disposal only one version, there ought not to exist the slightest variant reading, not the slightest disagreement between text D and text G. It is for that reason that I chose from that period the largest number of my examples of inconsistencies.

I have noticed, in my samplings, neither more nor fewer inconsistencies for that period than for the other periods. In a uniform way, text D presents us an Anne Frank who has, if not the traits, at least fits the stereotype of the young adolescent, while text G offers us the stereotype of the adolescent already near, in certain respects, to being a mature woman. There are, in text G, some passages that are incompatible with the corresponding passages of text D, and even formally incompatible with the entire substance of all of text D. There we reach the height of the intolerable in the manipulation of texts. Here is, for example, the letter of 5 January 1944. Anne confesses that before her time in hiding, that is to say, before the age of thirteen, she had happened, while spending the night at the home of a girlfriend, to feel the need to kiss her: "I had a strong desire to kiss her, and I did do so" (een sterke behoefte had haar te zoenen en dat ik dat ook gedaan her). In text G there appears a girl of thirteen who is appreciably more knowing. Here, Anne

asked her comrade for a night if, as a token of their friendship, they could feel each others breasts. But the comrade refused. And Anne, who appears to have practice in the matter, adds: "I still found it pleasant to kiss her and I did it" (fragte ich sie, ob wir als Beweis unserer Freundschaft uns gegenseitig die Brüste befühlen wollten, aber sie weigerte sich. Ich fand es immer sch...n, sie zu küssen, und habe es auch getan). On the sexual feelings of Anne, I recommend likewise the comparative reading of texts D and G for 7 January 1944.

It is astonishing that the Dutch reader had been deprived of so many revelations reserved by Mr. Frank and Anneliese Schütz for Anne's grandmother, who was so "aged" (see above, page 95). What of the revelations again in text G on musical tastes or on musical knowledge that the Dutch did not have the right to know (for what reason, after all?)! Text G of the letter of 9 June 1944 reserves for us the sole rights to a dissertation of 200 words on the life of Liszt (treated, by a very feminist Anne, as a "petticoat chaser"/Schürzenjäger), of Beethoven, Wagner, Chopin, Rossini, Mendelssohn. Many other names are mentioned: Hector Berlioz, Victor Hugo, Honoré de Balzac. The entry of 20 February 1944 (220 words) is absent from text D. It contains however some elements of very great importance from many points of view. Dussel has the habit of whistling *das Violin-Konzert von Beethoven*; the use of time on Sundays is revealed to us; it must be recognized that one point, at least, about that use of time is more than troubling: Mr. Frank in overalls, on his knees, brushing the carpet with such enthusiasm that the entire room is filled with clouds of dust (Vater liegt im Overall auf den Knien und bürstet den Teppich mit solchem Elan, dass das ganze Zimmer in Staubwolken gehüllt ist). In addition to the noise that such an operation would cause in a place where even at night, when the neighbors are not there, it is necessary not to cough, it is obvious that the scene is described by someone who could not have seen it: a carpet is never brushed in that way on the floor of a room, in the very place where it became dusty. In the entry of 3 November 1943, a fragment of 120 words, which is missing in text D, reveals to us another case of the carpet being brushed each evening by Anne in the *Ofenluft* (the air from the stove), and that because the vacuum cleaner (der Staubsauger) ist kaputt (that famous vacuum cleaner which, according to Mr. Frank, could not have existed; see above, page 88). Concerning Anne's knowledge or ideas on the subject of historical or political events, one will make some discoveries in the entries of 6 June, 13 June and 27 June 1944. On Peter's character one will find some revelations in the entry of 11 May 1944. That entry of 400 words does not exist in text D. But nevertheless, in text D, we find a letter at that date of 11 May; however, the corresponding text is dated, in text G, on 12 May! Peter defies his mother while calling her "the old lady" (Komm mit, Alte!). Nothing like the Peter of text D!

It would be interesting to subject each of the principal characters of text D and of text G to analysis by psychologists or psychiatrists. Anne, in particular, would appear under some profoundly contradictory character traits. But this is purely hypothetical. I think that in fact those analysts would see that Anne has no more real consistency than a total invention of unrelated facets. The few so-called descriptions of Anne that I have been able to find have especially convinced me that their authors have read the Diary very superficially. It is true that the dullness of their descriptions could be explained by the dullness of the subject described. One stereotype calls for another, as one lie calls for another.

The language and the style of text D strive to be characteristic of a young adolescent, innocent and awkward. The language and the style of text G strive to be characteristic of an adolescent already close, in certain respects, to being a woman. That is evident simply from the parts of the texts that I have mentioned — parts that I did not choose, however, with a view to studying the language and the style of the two Anne Franks.

Mr. Frank has indulged in some storytelling. That is easily established when one sees how he has transformed the printed German text of 1950 (Lambert-Schneider) in order to make from it the text printed by Fischer (1955). It was on that occasion, in particular, that he made his daughter Anne say that her father is her “ideal” (1950 version); then, after thinking it over, that he is her “shining model” (1955 version). This inclination for storytelling did not come to Mr. Frank all at once. He had, we are told by one of Anne’s former teachers, the harmless idiosyncrasy of composing stories and poems with his daughter (“Sometimes she told me stories and poems which she had made up together with him,” Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage, page 41). That happened about 1940. Anne was eleven years old and her father was 51. In 1942, Mr. Frank, a former banker in Frankfurt and a former merchant and businessman in Amsterdam, took a forced retirement at the age of 53. I do not think that his inclination for writing had disappeared then during his long days of inactivity. In any case, the Diary hardly gives us any information about what Mr. Frank did with his days. But what does it matter! Mr. Frank is a storyteller who has given himself away. The drama of storytellers is that they add more to their stories. They never stop re-touching, reworking, cutting out, correcting. By doing this they end up incurring the distrust of certain people. And it is child’s play for those people to prove the storytelling. It is very easy to confound Mr. Frank. It is sufficient to have at hand text D and one of the two different versions of text G. It is enough to remind him that he had declared in writing to the Dutch: “I guarantee to you that here, on such and such a date, Anne wrote: day or shoes or butter cakes or fascist or large,” while to the Germans he has gone on to declare in writing regarding the same places and the same dates: “I guarantee to you that Anne wrote: night or books or candy or giant or small.” If Mr. Frank told the truth in the first case, he told a story in the second case. And vice-versa. He has told a story either here, or there. Or again — and this is the most probable — he has made up the story here and there. In any case, one could never claim that Mr. Frank, in this affair of the Diary, is a man who has told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

The Diary cannot be in any way authentic. Consultation with allegedly authentic manuscripts is unnecessary. As a matter of fact, no manuscript in the world could certify that Anne Frank succeeded in the miraculous feat of writing two words at the same time and — what is more — two words with incompatible meanings, and — even more — two complete texts at the same time, which are most of the time totally contradictory. It is well understood that every printed text can have a critical apparatus with its variant readings, its explanatory notes, its indications of the existence of possible interpolations, etc. But I have already said (see above, page 106) that where one has at one’s disposal only one manuscript, there are no longer any possible variant readings (barring specific cases: difficulties in deciphering a word, errors in preceding editions, etc.). And when one has at one’s disposal several manuscripts (two, at the most, for certain periods of the Diary; perhaps three in some very limited cases), it is sufficient to eliminate those periods and those cases in order to confine oneself strictly to the periods and to the cases where it is necessary to be contented with a single manuscript (here, the period from 6 December 1942 to 21 December 1943).

To the hypothesis, henceforth inconceivable, according to which there would exist an authentic manuscript, I say that none of the printed texts can claim to reproduce the text of the manuscript. The following table establishes, in fact, that the Fischer edition of 1955 comes in the eighth position in the order of succession of the varying forms of the Diary. To understand this table, refer especially to the discussion starting on page 93.

('Official') Chronological table of successive forms of the text of the Diary

1. The manuscript of Anne Frank;
2. Copy by Otto Frank, then by Otto Frank and Isa Cauvern;

3. New version of the copy by Otto Frank and Isa Cauvern;
4. New-new version of the copy by Albert Cauvern;
5. New-new-new version by Otto Frank;
6. New-new-new-new version by Otto Frank and the "Censors";
7. Contact edition (1947);
8. Lambert Schneider edition (1950), radically different from the preceding one, and even incompatible with it;
9. Fischer edition (1955) taking up again the preceding one in a "discreetly" (?) reworked and retouched form.

One could, of course, claim that 5 was perhaps only a very faithful copy of 4. The same for 7 in relation to 6. That would be to suppose that Mr. Frank, who reworked this text constantly, had suddenly refrained from doing it at the moment of recopying text 4 without any witness, and at the moment of the probable correction of the printer's proofs for 7. Personally, I maintain these nine stages as a minimum to which it is necessary indeed to add one, two or three "copies" for text 8.

The only interest in a study of the manuscripts allegedly by Anne Frank would be to bring to light some elements still more crushing for Mr. Frank: for example, some letters or fragments of letters that have never been published (the reasons for nonpublication should be inquired into closely, without trusting in the reasons given by Mr. Frank, which always have a very suspicious sentimental coloring); for example also, some very changeable names for Anne's "correspondents" (the idea of showing her always addressing herself to the same "dear Kitty" seems to be a belated idea), etc.

The reasoning which would consist of claiming that in the Diary there would exist nevertheless a basis of truth would be a reasoning without value. First, because it would be necessary to know that truth or to be able to distinguish it in the jumble of the obvious fictions; the lie is, most often, only the art of adapting the truth. Then, because a work of the mind (as, for example, the editing of a "diary") is not defined by a basis, but by a unity of forms: the forms of a written expression, the forms which an individual has given to it once and for all, for better or for worse.

The reasoning which would consist of saying that there have only been some hundreds of changes between such and such form of the Diary is fallacious. The word "changes" is too vague. It allows, according to the taste of each person, all sorts of condemnations or, especially, all sorts of excuses. Furthermore, a change can involve, as we have seen, a single word or a text of 1,600 words!

For my part, I have called attention to several hundreds of changes, only between the Dutch text and either of the two texts — which differ from each other — that have been published in Germany. I call those changes: additions, subtractions, transferences, and alterations (by substitutions of one word for another, of one group of words for another — these words and these groups of words being incompatible with each other, even if indeed, by the rarest exception, the meaning could be maintained). The whole of these changes must affect approximately 25,000 [3] words of the Fischer text which itself must be 77,000 words (that is, in any case, the number which I take for a base).

The French translation of *Het Achterhuis* can be called a "translation" in spite of the absence of one of the 169 entries of the Dutch Contact edition and notwithstanding indeed some weaknesses and also some bizarre things which lead one to think that there still could be some troublesome

discoveries to be made. (Journal de Anne Frank, Het Achterhuis, translated from the Dutch by T. Caren and Suzanne Lombard, Calmann-Levy, 1950, printed 5 January 1974, 320 pages.) The Lambert Schneider edition cannot in any event be presented as a translation. As to the Fischer edition, it cannot call itself a reproduction of the Lambert Schneider edition, nor a translation of Het Achterhuis.

That impressive ensemble of additions, subtractions, transferences, alterations; those fictions of Mr. Frank; those dishonesties of the editors; those interventions of outsiders, friends of Mr. Frank, the existence of two such different books presented as one and the same Diary of Anne Frank — all these reveal a work which cannot, in any way, retain the prestige attached to an authentic testimony. The inconsistencies of the various texts are of all kinds. They concern the language and the style, the length and the form of the pieces that make up the Diary, the number and the kind of anecdotes reported, the description of the premises, the mention of material realities, the dialogues, the ideas exchanged, the tastes expressed; they concern the very personalities of the principal characters, to begin with the personality of Anne Frank, a personality which gives the impression of living in a world of pure fiction.

While offering himself as personal guarantor of the authenticity of this work, which is only fiction, Mr. Frank, who has besides obviously intervened at all stages of the genesis of the book, has signed what it is appropriate to call a literary fraud. The Diary of Anne Frank is to be placed on the already crowded shelf of false memoirs. Our post-war period has been fertile in works or writings of this kind. Among those false, apocryphal, or suspicious works (either entirely, or by insertions of foreign elements) one can mention: the various “testimonies” of Rudolf H...ss, Kurt Gerstein, Miklos Nyiszli, Emmanuel Ringelblum, the memoirs of Eva Braun, Adolf Eichmann, Walter Schellenberg, but also the document entitled: “Prayer of John XXIII for the Jews.” One must mention especially the false diaries fabricated by the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and denounced by the French historian Michel Borwicz, of Polish Jewish origin; among those diaries could appear that of one Therese Heschel, age thirteen.[4]

I would take care not to forget that one of the most celebrated forgeries was fabricated against the Jews: the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. I ask that people not misunderstand the direction that I have given to my research on the authenticity of the *Diary of Anne Frank*. Even if my personal conviction is that the work comes from Mr. Frank; even if I think that at the rate of two letters per day, three months would have been enough for him to prepare the first version of his clumsy fiction; even if I think that he did not believe that his work would know such an immense success (which, at the same time, would risk causing its terrible faults to become evident); even if I think that one can then find many extenuating circumstances for him; even if I have the conviction that he did not at all seek to make up a vast hoax, but that he found himself dragged along by circumstances to guarantee all the extraordinarily brilliant results of a humble and banal undertaking — in spite of all that, the truth obliges me to say that *The Diary of Anne Frank* is only a simple literary fraud.

French editor's postscript (1980)

The report that you have just read was not destined for publication. In the mind of Professor Faurisson, it only constituted one piece, among others, of a work that he intended to devote to *The Diary of Anne Frank*.

We publish it today — in spite of the reticence of its author who, for his part, would have hoped for a more extended publication including some elements which are still being worked on because the French press and the foreign press have created an uproar about the professor's opinion

on the *Diary of Anne Frank*. The public itself may feel the need to judge these pieces. We have thus wished to put the essential part of these pieces at its disposal. You can thus make for yourself your own judgments on Faurisson's methods of work and on the results to which they had led him by August of 1978.

This report, in the exact form [5] (see next page) under which we publish it, already has an official existence. It was in August of 1978 that it was sent, in its German version, to the lawyer Jürgen Rieger to be presented as evidence at a court in Hamburg. Mr. Rieger was and still remains today the defender of Ernst Remer, subjected to a trial for having publicly expressed his doubts on the authenticity of the Diary.

The court, after having heard the parties and having begun to examine the basis of the litigation, decided, to everyone's surprise, to adjourn any new session *sine die*.

According to the usual scenario, from the time the trial opened the press dictated to the court the conduct to follow. The Social Democratic Party of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt went into the front lines of the battle and in a long open letter vigorously took a position in favor of Mr. Frank. For this political party, the cause was judged in advance, and the authenticity of the Diary had been proved a long time ago.

The court in question, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Rieger to start the trial once more, has never rendered its judgment. The German press deplored the fact that Mr. Otto Frank still had to wait for "justice to be done." Still, this refusal to judge constitutes progress. In a similar case, Professor Faurisson had drawn up a five-page report summarizing his research and his conclusions about the "gas chambers." That statement was signed and the signature was notarized. The professor had gone so far as to cite the text of the Journal officiel of the French Republic establishing that a legalization of signature in France was valid in West Germany. A waste of effort: in the reasons presented for the condemnation, the Court decreed that "Faurisson" was only a pseudonym. For the same reason it refused the testimony of the American professor Arthur R. Butz. Justice is equal for all, subject to the *exceptio diabolica*.

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Romanians and the Holocaust

Dr. SERBAN C. ANDRONESCU

- Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference.

In the last decade, various stories appeared in books and newspapers relating to the Holocaust in Romania. The authors of these stories pretended that Romanians killed almost half a million Jews in WW II; they arrived at this figure in an awkward manner.

Firstly, long before this campaign, in 1957, two scholars, one Romanian and the other Jew, met together and published a paper on this subject in Rome, Italy, in which the figure was 15,000, but not of Jews exterminated by the Romanians; it related to the Jewish casualties in Romania, which makes a big difference. The title of the paper was Regional Development of the Jewish Population in Romania and the authors were Dr. Sabin Manuila, formerly General Director of the Institute for Statistics of Romania and Dr. W. Filderman, formerly President of the Jewish Community of Romania. In other words, one was a high level specialist in the very field of statistics and census, the other was the head of the minority that pretends today the above stated extermination. Furthermore, both authors had qualifications beyond the level stated above. Manuila was a Corresponding Member of the Romanian Academy of Sciences and a Fellow of the International Institute of Statistics. Filderman was a Rabbi, former Member of the Romanian Parliament, and President of the "Joint Distribution Committee" for Romania. In other words, both were intellectuals of a higher standard and knowledgeable, by their professions, in the development of the population in Romania. However, despite their scholarship, the figure set after their research work (15,000), was fully stretched in Jewish favor. I shall call this figure Stage I of denigration. They listed the largest figure mentioned in the statistical reports they made use of; for instance, if two reports came from the same village, one informing of 10 casualties and the other of 15, the researchers listed the largest figure, 15. Therefore, the real number of Jews who died in Romania in the war was between 10,000 and 15,000. Anyhow, after the publication of that paper, the two parties were more or less content with that figure, then they forgot about those tragic events, went back to their usual work, and the situation remained calm during almost 20 years.

Then, suddenly, in the mid 70s, the figure rose abruptly to Stage II of denigration: 250,000 killings. Before long it rose again to Stage III: 300,000 killings, and arrived lately to Stage IV: 450,000 Jews killed by Romanians in WW II!

It should be stressed that these new figures have been published by Zionists alone, without any contribution or investigation underwritten by the Romanians. While the documentation for Stage I is available to any researcher and can be checked for accuracy at any time, the figures relating to Stages II, III, and IV, had been set up without any official documentation. If some new evidence to support a figure other than 15,000 had been found somewhere, this new evidence would have been published in some official journal under the aegis of both parties, but nothing of this

kind was published by an authorized or specialized organization. In other words, it seems that the authors of the last three stages of denigration have changed the number of the dead by simply crossing out one figure and replacing it with another. According to this method, even the last figure of 450,000 can be changed at any time.

As a former Romanian, I was shocked when I first became aware of the second stage of denigration. This was in the 70's and since then I have looked for whatever proofs they might have gotten. I found nothing but memories of old people, recollections of tragic war events, and declarations made in general terms which, under no circumstances, could be considered as documents in support of such a grave and precise accusation as the one charging the Romanians with the killing of 450,000 Jews.

My secretary was in touch with Dr. Jean Ancel of Yad Vashem Archives. Mr. Ancel became a doctor with a dissertation on this very subject, *The Romanian Jewry*, in which he ranges himself in the Stage III of denigration. The university which conferred to him a doctoral degree for such a dissertation was the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. My secretary sent Dr. Ancel three letters asking for an abstract of his dissertation. and also for any available proof in support of his version of the events. The letters were sent to no avail. Dr. Ancel answered only one letter saying that his figures are only approximate. However, Dr. Ancel is one of the specialists in the field of Romanian Jewry who can understand the importance of a proof when making such a grave statement. He refused to give any proof of his statements.

I With the others who are much under Ancel's level of education, it is useless to start any discussion because they become excited after the first question. In general, they consider that they and they alone possess the truth. Whatever view does not conform to their views is by definition a lie, immoral, anti-Semite, racist, and neo-Nazi. When these people write about those events, their writings are so full of vague and general statements that it is almost impossible for the concerned reader not to suspect them of posing as victims.

Here is an example. Ms. Juliana Geran Pilon is a Jew born in Romania. She wrote a book, *Notes from the Other Side of the Night*, (South Bend, IN.: Regnery Gateway, 1979) in which she states (page 125) that "nearly 300,000 Jews had been killed in Romania before the Germans even got there!" When the Germans got there, Ms. Pilon says further, they killed 150,000 more. Now, in order to understand the absurdity of such an allegation I should bring back to mind what happened in Romania in 1940, the year when the Germans came.

In recalling the history of those days I will use some data from a book written by an outstanding Zionist scholar, Professor Lucy Dawidowicz of Yeshiva University, NY. In her book, *The War Against Jews*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975) Ms. Dawidowicz declares that there were 750,000 Jews. in pre-war Romania, of which 300,000 lived in Bessarabia and 150,000 in Northern Transylvania. These two provinces Bessarabia and Northern Transylvania, had been lost by Romania in August 1940 under the pro-Jewish regime of King Carol II, when organized killing of Jews was impossible. The loss of the national territory put a shameful end to the corrupt regime of King Carol who was obliged to abdicate. He was chased from Romania together with his Jewish lover, Ms. Magda Wolf-Lupescu, his mentor and counselor. In September 1940, King Carol's pro-Jewish regime was replaced with the nationalist regime of General Antonescu. and in November 1940 the German troops entered Romania. This is the period referred to by Ms. Pilon when she writes that Romanians and Germans killed altogether 450,000 Jews. This could only happen under Antonescu, not, of course, under Carol.

Now, by simple subtraction, if we deduct 450,000 (300,000 Jews of Bessarabia plus 150,000 of Northern Transylvania) from the total Jewish population of about 750,00, we can see that nationalist Romania (i.e. Romania from 1940 to the end of the war, 1944) had only 300,000 Jews. It was therefore impossible for the Germans and Romanians to kill 450,000 Jews out of 300,000.

But there is more than that in Ms. Pilon's story.

First, let's see how Romanians could kill 300,000 Jews before the Germans even got there, as Ms. Pilon proclaims. Under King Carol it was impossible to organize any action against the Jews simply because they were at the control of the administration through Ms. Magda Wolf-Lupescu, the king's lover. She had complete dominion over the king because of some unique sexual peculiarities, the description of which would be unfit for this report. In fact, she was the uncrowned queen of Romania and nothing could take place in that country without her permission. In proof of this fact was the wild crushing of a Christian and nationalist movement (the Iron Guard) in 1938, when several thousand youngsters and students had been killed without trial or judicial procedures simply because they rose against the Jewish influence, the corruption, the decay, and the abuses perpetrated in those days in that country. The mass murder of Jews would have only been possible under the nationalist regime of General Antonescu which took over in Romania in September 1940. According to Ms. Pilon, the Romanians killed 300,000 Jews "before the Germans even got there," i.e. between September 1940 (advent of the nationalist regime) and November 1940 (German troops enter Romania), that is, in two months. Now, could this be possible? Can one kill 300,000 people and then evaporate the corpses? Of course, not. One has to put the corpses somewhere. One has to dig a grave for them and a grave of this size cannot remain hidden forever. No grave of this size or smaller has yet been discovered in Romania. There are hundreds of Jewish cemeteries in Romania, but all are standard cemeteries, the people buried there died of natural or accidental death.

In contrast, there are thousands of cemeteries of Romanian war heroes. There is even an American hero cemetery near Bucharest, on the same spot with a British hero cemetery. There are thousands of such graves all over Europe, from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Mediterranean, and from the Atlantic Ocean to Stalingrad. In Poland, it is impossible to cross one single district without coming upon a cemetery of Polish heroes. There are cemeteries of Jews, too, and even monuments. There are no such monuments or mausoleums for Jews in Romania, although Romania is the only communist country that has diplomatic relations with Israel. Moreover, Romania depends on the pro-Zionist votes of many American senators to get the Most Favored Nation clause. It would have been very easy for those influential American senators to cause President Ceausescu to erect a Jewish monument in Romania. However, neither American senators, nor Israelis have asked thus far for the erection of such a monument. The rationale? The Jews died in Romania because of various casualties inherent to any war, but not because of atrocities.

When 15,000 Polish officers and soldiers were killed at Katyn, the killers dug a huge grave and put the corpses there. If you went there at the time when the place was open for the public you could see the material proofs of what happened. You could see bones and skeletons and pieces of Polish uniforms and shoes and letters and photographs (damaged by the humidity of the soil) which were found in the pockets of the uniforms and even the bullets used in those killings. It had been impossible to hide 15,000 corpses; it had not been a matter of 15,000 matches or 15,000 pebbles; it had been a matter of 15,000 human bodies whose traces remain year after year after year. How could Romanians kill 300,000 Jews without leaving a trace? How could they hide almost half a million corpses, 30 times more than those of Katyn? Who can believe that Rabbi Dr. W. Filderman, the leader of Romanian Jews in WW II, was so indifferent as to leave unexplored a mass murder of such proportion if the least suspicion ever existed? He was far from

being indifferent. He simply never even considered the possibility of a mass murder of Jews in Romania and therefore, being an honest Romanian Jew, signed a paper in which he put the largest number of dead at 15,000.

But let's analyze the second part of Ms. Pilon's assertion, that the Germans killed 150,000 Jews after they entered Romania. This again was impossible simply because at the end of the war the number of the Jews was as high as at the beginning of the war, i.e. in round figures about 300,000. This figure included the natural increase of the Jewish population during the war and of course did not comprise the dead from war casualties and those who emigrated clandestinely.

There were still two possibilities of killing Romanian Jews, one in Bessarabia (occupied by the Soviet Union) and the other in Northern Transylvania (occupied by the Hungarians). Neither one actually happened.

When the Romanian Troops entered Bessarabia in 1941 and reconquered that territory, very few Jews were found there. The majority had been either evacuated by the Soviets or had left by themselves in fear of reprisals. Many Jews had a criminal attitude toward the Romanians in retreat in 1940 when Bessarabia was ceded to Russia; they had gathered in armed bands and killed or disarmed many Romanian soldiers who had orders to retire without shooting. Therefore, in 1941, when the Romanians reconquered that territory, the Jews had already left in fear of reprisals.

As for the Jews of Northern Transylvania (occupied by Hungary) they had been put in camps by the Hungarians and very few returned after the war.

From the 300,000 Jews who were still in Romania after the war, about 130,000 emigrated to Israel (see the *Statistical Bulletin of Israel*, vol. 3, 1952-53) and about 140,000 to Western Europe and USA. There are still between 35,000 and 50,000 Jews in Romania today.

This is what remains, after analysis, of Ms. Pilon's imaginary charges. She is, however, considered a scholar in the U.S.A. and an expert in interpreting historical events. She has been recently promoted to the post of Assistant to Mr. Burton Pines, the Director of the United Nations Assessment Project, sponsored by the Heritage Foundation of Washington, DC. The purpose of this project is to condemn the United Nations Organization. When this organization was dominated by the Zionists, it was a good organization; but today, after the expulsion of Israel from the U.N.'s International Labor Organization and the condemnation of Israel for her attitude toward Arabs, U.N.O. is a bad organization and should be dissolved.

The suspicion of mass murders in Romania never existed before the 70's. All the humbug started in the 70's with articles in newspapers and books charging Romanians with the extermination of the Romanian Jewish population, but it was too late in the 70's, 30 years after the end of the war, to organize extermination camps in Romania in proof of mass murders. First, there appeared various attacks in small newspapers charging Romania with the killing of 250,000 Jews. Nobody protested. And then a big article was published by the New York Post, a newspaper of large circulation. A map was distributed by the Anti-Defamation League and the number of the alleged killings rose instantly to 300,000. The article and the map were given out in millions of copies. The map was published on the front page of a pamphlet and showed Europe and her different countries, each one with the amount of Jewish victims. Printed over Germany the accusation figure was 210,000. Over Romania, the figure was 300,000. Always on that map only the Jews were shown as victims. The text accompanying the map read clearly: 6,000,000 Jewish victims in total. No other victims.

However, if one took the time to add up the figures printed on that map, they would have arrived at a total of less than 6,000,000. It was therefore necessary to find somewhere another 150,000 victims to match the total of six million. The missing amount of victims was attributed to Romania. So there appeared the Stage IV of denigration, charging Romania with the killing of 450,000 Jews.

Another newspaper of large circulation, the *Spectator* of London, published the new figure in 1979. *L'Express* of Paris, a magazine of even larger circulation, published the same figure. This was because all these major newspapers of the United States, England and France were independent and arrived at the same precise conclusion, 450,000 victims, by mere coincidence.

Meanwhile, a spurious campaign against the Romanian Bishop of the U.S.A., Valerian D. Trifa, began with much noise and excitement and was conducted by Representative Elizabeth Holtzman, a Democrat of Brooklyn. Howard Blum, who was at that time on the staff of the pro-Zionist newspapers *Village Voice* and *New York Times*, edited a book aggressively titled *Wanted: In Search of Nazis in America*, charging Romania with the same figure. Many radio and TV programs were aired at about the same time whose slogan was more or less the same: Romanians murdered 450,000 Jews.

Now, you are entitled to ask-why this sudden campaign against Romania after 30 years of silence? The missing 150,000 from the worldwide publicized figure of 6 million did not justify such a virulent campaign. There must have been some other reason, perhaps monetary. This possibility deserves some attention.

Since the inauguration of the state of Israel in 1948, the German tax-payer has contributed to the welfare of Israel with an expiatory payment of about two billion dollars annually. In the last 30 years, the German contribution has amounted to over 60 billion dollars. During this same period the American taxpayer has contributed with friendly loans and endowments to Israel of a similar or bigger amount. Now, after 30 years of payments to Israel, expiatory or friendly, of about 4 billion dollars yearly, the taxpayer may get suspicious — mainly when we Americans cannot find funds for stringent national or local needs. In New York, for instance, the subway is a mess; the westside highway is closed because of its many potholes; public schools are a mockery because there are no funds to invest in education, and thousands of New-Yorkers are living in incredible conditions because the rent in New York is so high. However, there are always some billions to be sent to Israel for various purposes. But if the American taxpayer becomes aware of these many expenditures abroad, he may ask them to be stopped. It is therefore necessary for the Zionists to find new sources of incoming dollars or at least to preserve the existing ones. A denigration campaign against all European countries could very well serve this purpose; thus Romania was included in the campaign. One never can tell just how and when this inclusion has become fruitful.

It is true that many Jews were killed in Romania in the war; but also many Romanians, and Americans, and Germans, and Russians were killed in Romania at that time, as well as many other peoples. As we all know, what characterizes a war is cruelty and killing; killing not only by weapons, but by diseases too; by hunger, or simply by accidents. Soldiers and civilians, women and children, elders and youngsters, are killed in any war for many, many reasons, good or bad. Would it be fair if I made the chronicle of the war and complained of the tragic fate of one group only?

Let me put things another way. I saw piles of corpses in that war. I saw a street full of corpses; various parts of bodies were spread over that street after a bombardment- feet, heads, hands and

blood. I remember a pile of broken feet and arms on a sidewalk, a horrible pile. Who could tell what part belonged to whom in that pile? Who could tell what foot was Jewish, what arm Romanian, and what part of a body German? Nobody. But it would be an impiety to proclaim today that all those killed on that street were all Romanians and complain of the tragic fate of Romanians only.

Moreover, if I recall those times, what difference does it make whether 10,000 Russians were killed in an airstrike in Kiev, a city of Ukraine, or 10,000 Jews were killed in Transnistria because of typhus or hunger? What is the difference between 100,000 Germans killed at Stalingrad because of the freezing winter and hunger and 1,000 Russian Jews hanged in Odessa as guerillas? What difference is there between several hundreds of thousands of Romanian soldiers killed in Russia in the war and several thousands of Jews killed in Iasi, a city of Romania, because they shot to death Romanian soldiers? War is a madness in itself because the intelligent people of both sides cannot find other ways to settle their disputes. However, when the war and its horrors arrive at an end, a peace treaty is signed, debts are paid, borders are changed, and then we forget about it. Otherwise we would never finish a war. Not so with the Zionists. After 30 years they start another war—a war of words, and libels, and revenge, implying the Jews were the sole victims of the last war.

The social life in prewar Romania under the pro-Jewish regime of King Carol was much like the social life in this country, almost the same decay. Pornography, adultery, blasphemy and all kinds of wicked attacks against Christianity were flourishing all over Romania. It happened that the two most influential newspapers, *Adevărul* and *Dimineata*, were under Jewish management and were the advocates of communism, the agents of demoralization among the youth, and the most powerful fighters against nationalism. Many Jews were law-abiding citizens, but it happened that the mistress of the king was a beautiful but vicious Jewish woman, Magda Wolf-Lupescu. Many political killings were perpetrated in Romania because of her bad influence upon the king. Of course, she never signed the actual order to kill, but the fact was that all nationalist activities and mainly those directed against the social decay, against the literature of filth, and against the strong Jewish influence in politics were prohibited and even punished. A youth movement against atheists, pornographers, and corrupt politicians emerged (called the Iron Guard) and it wanted to defend national values against the intruders and the agents of deception. In fact, the Iron Guard was fighting against all the agents of decay, whoever they might be. Many Jews were decent citizens and contributed to the advancement of culture, but some were the agents of decay; so, those students who fought against the latter were believed to fight against all Jews and the press ostracized them.

Some students who belonged to the Iron Guard in Iasi decided to build a student home, a Christian house for themselves, apart from the atheist student homes which existed at that time in Iasi. Well, the police of Iasi received the order to stop the building and all the Zionist newspapers began a vicious campaign against the Christian students. The charge was the same as today in this country: “they wanted to destroy the pluralism of Romania, they threatened to kill those who disagreed with their authoritarian position, they wanted to deny values in the name of Christianity, they were racists and assumed the right to divide the country in the name of patriotism.”

In the opinion of many at that time, the Christian students had the same right to build their Christian house as the other students to have profane homes. However, the government was of another opinion. The government decided the students did not have that right and the chief of the police was sent on the spot to stop the building and disperse the students. Many students were harassed, some were arrested and some were summoned to court for the crime of trying to build a Christian home.

It was like today in this country: if some youngsters adhere to a Christian movement, they are considered sick, they must be deprogrammed and bills are sent to the legislators to curb them. Prayer is outlawed from schools and replaced with sex education. Christmas carols are considered disturbing by certain minorities. In contrast, the use of drugs, pornography and incest, sodomy and atheism, are presented by the influential mass media as acceptable standards of our culture, and all deceiving movements are free to spread in universities. Why? Because a depraved youth can be easily maneuvered. Depraved students today mean depraved leaders tomorrow; thus, a better opportunity for those who pull the strings today to take over tomorrow.

The same situation was in Romania and the agents who provoked that vicious situation in prewar Romania were the same as here. The students who wanted to stop the decay in Romania were sent to Court, the walls of their homes demolished, their families harassed-the newspapers cursed them. Many of those innocent students were barred from universities, sent to jail and their lives were spoiled forever. Years later, when the pro-Jewish regime of King Carol was replaced with a nationalist one, the students took revenge on those who spoiled their lives and killed them.

I do not approve of their actions even if I understand why they lost their heads and killed. My religion and theirs does not approve any murder, even if it is done in revenge. Were the students guilty of the killings? Of course, they were; but, at the same time, those who persecuted them were guilty as well.

However, the chroniclers of those events speak of the guilt of the students only, making the reader believe the persecutors were not guilty, and the same events take place in almost the same way in our days as half a century ago in Romania. There is nonsense in concealing the real meaning of the social movements and prevent people from drawing conclusions. History repeats itself whether we like it or not. This is in essence a very broad description of some thousand killings perpetrated in Romania in 1940-41. Other killings were due to other causes.

I was a high school student at that time. My father was a lawyer, and in 1941 he had to go to Iasi for some legal affairs. He took me with him to show me the city. It was a city of — portance in Romanian history and a visit there was considereo. part of a boy's education. It was soon after the beginning of the hostilities between Romania and communist Russia. We took a room at a hotel in Iasi. I remember very well that on the street facing the window of our room there marched long columns of soldiers, carts with horses, trucks with military equipment going to the war front. The street was narrow and the columns very long. It was soon after sunset. My father and I were preparing for dinner when suddenly we heard explosions down in the street. We went cautiously to the window and looked outside. We saw people in the building across the street shooting at the soldiers; some others were throwing grenades from the roof. It was a crazy act in those days and what happened then was hell. An officer ordered the march to stop and the soldiers to surround the block. In a short while, the whole block was in flames and under the fire of submachine guns. Then the march resumed and continued through midnight. We learned that those who fired at the soldiers from the other building were Romanian Jews acting as communist guerillas. Several hundred people were killed that evening, Romanian soldiers as well as Jewish guerillas, together with innocent people who lived in that block. Who was guilty of those killings? We were at war and there was no time to sit down and decide who was and who was not guilty.

Something similar happened a few months ago, in July 1981, when Israeli planes killed 300 people in Beirut; among those killed were a few PLO guerrillas, but the majority were civilians. Similar things happened several times in Iasi in those days of war when the Romanian Jews decided not to allow the Romanian army to go against their beloved Soviet Union. They were Romanian citizens, but many were communist first and then Romanian.

When my father finished his work in Iasi, we tried to go back to Bucharest, but we couldn't because the railway station had been bombed. In that bombing many people were killed, Romanians as well as Jews. Should I say that the pilot who dropped the bombs was anti-Semitic because he killed some Jews?

We stayed in Iasi several days until the station was fixed. During our sojourn there we learned of some other events. Jewish groups had organized underground communist cell **structures**, accumulated weapons and ammunition, fought as guerillas, and attacked the army of their country, Romania. They fought against the Romanian army not only in Iasi, but in many other cities. If reprisals were initiated against them, were the Romanians guilty?

A quarter of the city of Iasi was Jewish and the Jews lived in an area called "the Ghetto." They installed red electric bulbs in the chimneys of their houses, thus signaling to Russian planes when the blackout was on. From the street, the red light of the **bulbs** was invisible, but it was perfectly visible from above. So, when Soviet planes came at night, they knew where the city was and what area of the city to bomb. The Ghetto was never bombed, a miraculous thing until the police discovered the trick. Reprisals against the Jews were carried out again, and the question again arises: were the Romanian police guilty of the reprisals?

Dr. W. Filderman mentions in his Memoirs a letter dated 18 September 1940 (a few weeks after the nationalist regime took over in Bucharest) from General Antonescu in which the chief of state wrote: "... be assured, Mr. Filderman, (...) that, if your co-religionists will not sabotage openly Or furtively my regime on political or economic grounds, the Jewish population will have nothing to suffer (...). But the Jews-and I call your attention seriously to this matter without threatening you-the Jews must give up the methods they've used thus far (because this was the way of the former regime) of keeping down our economy, sapping our national identity, and exploiting our poverty."

It was a dialogue between the chief of state and the president of the Jewish communities soon after the inauguration of the nationalist regime in which the chief of state expressed his willingness to help the Jews, under the circumstances, and asked the Jews to hold back from any acts of sabotage and diversion in order to avoid restrictive measures against them. However, the instructions to sabotage, spy, and divert came from far above Dr. Filderman's sphere: moreover, not all the Jews who populated Romania at that time were under Dr. Filderman's authority. The confrontation in World War II was of such a high level that the lives of some thousands of Jews and Romanians did not count. As a consequence, the Jews spied and the administration deported them to Transnistria. There were no hospitals there, food was scarce, the cities were in ruins, and many Jews who had been deported there died of different diseases and perhaps of hunger, much like today's Arabs who are chased into the desert from Palestine. The Russians who lived in Transnistria had the same fate, but I cannot confirm that they died because of Romanian anti-Russianism. Food and medicine were scarce everywhere in those days. Tens of thousands of Germans died at Stalingrad because of hunger and frost. In Bucharest we had no food, no gas, no medicine, and the casualties were numerous. All minorities as well as Romanians themselves suffered heavy casualties. We all took the situation as it was and buried the dead, even the Jews. However, after several decades, only the Jews recollect those events and complain to the world for their sufferings.

General Antonescu not only maintained a dialogue with the Jewish community, he even dismissed his Secretary of Cults, who closed some synagogues. This fact is also mentioned in Dr. Filderman's Memoirs. However, General Antonescu was labeled an anti-Semite and executed after the war.

Many feel happy to label Romanians as anti-Semites. Ms. Nicolette Frank, for instance, a Swiss newspaperwoman who was born in Romania as Nicolette Apotecker, edited a book in French, in 1977, *La Roumanie dans l'engrenage* (Romania in the Gearing). To the ordinary libel against her former country, Ms. Frank adds another which has the double advantage of striking at Romanians as well as at Christianity: she says that the Romanian Orthodox Church is the ferment of nationalism and anti-Semitism in Romania. However, she has the decency to mention something true: Adolph Eichman complained at one time of his difficulties in Romania because of General Antonescu's independent policies. Acting upon their own lines is indeed characteristic of Romanians and explains why their alliances have always been limited to needs. Hitler's Germany was very powerful in WW II. However, General Antonescu did not accept German interference in Romanian affairs. Today the Zionists are very powerful too, but few Romanians can accept their libel. One of these libels is that Romanians imitated Hitler's policies. In fact, Romanians curbed Jewish activities during the war not to imitate German policies, but because the Jews were more communist than Romanian at a time when Romania was at war with the Soviet Union.

To curb the Jews, Romania did the same thing that the United States did against her Japanese: she put them in camps. While in camps, the Jews had to work. In winter, they had to shovel the snow off of the streets. Sometimes they were sent to clean buildings or to remove debris. At night, they went home and stayed with their families until the next day. Our bread, meat butter and coffee were rationed. The Jews had no ration cards, so they organized their own food system using the free and black markets. They had to pay higher prices for food, it was true, but it was to their advantage: it was better to live that way than to die on the war front. They thus saved their fives at a time when hundreds of thousands of Romanians lost their lives in Russia.

As I mentioned before, I was a high school boy at the beginning of the war. One day, the boulevard in front of my school was full of Jews who shoveled the snow away. It was cold and they had slight means of warming themselves. Many shops on that boulevard were closed and those which were open were almost empty of food. But soon some wives and girls came over with thermos flasks of hot coffee, tea and snacks and nobody prevented them from distributing the food among the workers. They stopped their work, ate and drank, and then began their work again. When I finished my school that day and went home, there were no Jews on that boulevard; they went home, too. This was a so-called labor camp for Jews that I saw with my own eyes.

There were probably other camps where the work was harsher, but the Zionists speak today about the latter only, and never about the former. This is why their complaints appear doubtful to the concerned reader. If they were sincere, they would mention all aspects of their tribulations, good or bad, not only those which can be bargained for dollars.

From the Editor

THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY last year of the Pearl Harbor disaster saw the publication within a short span of time of no less than three substantial books all claiming to shed important new light on the subject. Only one of them really did — John Toland's *Infamy*. Percy L. Greaves, Jr. — an authority who knows probably more than any other alive what really brought on the attack and subsequent cover-up of the facts — [reviews in this issue the three books](#), lending his expertise to the resolution of a controversy in which revisionism has clearly emerged the winner.

It appears the “Faurisson Affair” is still not over, at least according to Arthur R. Butz. In this issue [Dr. Butz reviews two relatively new French publications](#) that appraise Professor Faurisson's past and possibly future trials from a refreshing perspective: in support for the man who dared announce publicly that “The alleged gassings and the alleged Jewish genocide are only one and the same historical lie ... “

Next we have Dr. James J. Martin's [amicable tribute](#) to the most widely read and ultimately valuable revisionist historian this century has known: Charles Austin Beard.

Golda Meier once remarked in response to a direct question: “What Palestinians?” And others of her peculiar frame of mind still strive for total obfuscation despite the fact that many thousands *fewer* Palestinians are alive today than were three months ago. Issah Nakhleh, a long time Palestinian diplomat, [gives us the advantage of his years of experience with Palestine](#), its indigenous peoples and the roots of the current holocaust being leveled against them.

The name of the late Senator from Georgia, Tom Watson, has been sullied by just about every scrap of slanderous garbage the ubiquitous “Anti”-Defamation League has been able to sling since his death in 1922. Thus “The Sage of Hickory Hill” has become immensely interesting. Thomas Henry Irwin has spent years studying the Watson phenomenon, and [here reveals some of the essence of a man](#) whose political and cultural designs consistently included two of the more elusive qualities of popular statecraft: Honesty and Wisdom.

A now almost forgotten article appeared in a 1943 issue of *The American Mercury* which shed considerable light on the [historic Rudolf Hess peace flight](#). Mark Weber re-introduces that article here, pointing out a few salient features which perhaps earmarked it as unfit for public consumption once the post-war historical blackout was ordained and fully operative.

Finally, please join us in welcoming a new member to our Editorial Advisory Committee: George Ashley. Dr. Ashley, a history instructor in the Los Angeles public schools, reaped a whirlwind of local Zionist abuse last May when he answered a student's query by stating his conviction that “Accounts of Jewish deaths during the Holocaust are greatly exaggerated.”

Correspondence

THE HOLOCAUST AND ITS RELIGIOUS ROOTS

It was good to read Dr. Charles Weber's article "The Six Million Thesis — Cui Bono?" in the Summer 1982 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. Dr. Weber's article does well to point out some of the concrete, practical reasons for the propagation and perpetuation of the holocaust myth. Among these is the financial motive, the billions bilked from West Germany as "reparations," the billions raised from world Jewry as sympathy money, as a "moral obligation." Dr. Weber may be right in his contention that East-block countries join in perpetuating the myth because they wish to remind their oppressed populations that things might have been worse if the Nazis had won. I believe, however, that from the perspective of, and in the jargon of, the "socialist" countries, the West, i.e., the old Western Allies, now represent the "evils" of Fascism-Nazism. In the light of the long and deep-rooted anti-Semitic traditions of many Eastern European peoples, e.g. the Poles, the Russians, etc., it is unlikely that those peoples identify with the Jews. During World War II, German military authorities often had to intervene to protect Jews from the local population. It seems more plausible that East-block propaganda efforts are less geared toward building sympathy for the Jews as such, than to illustrating to what monstrous depths capitalist-Fascist-Nazism can descend, a "Nazi" imperialism which still threatens their countries.

Besides these tangible, concrete reasons, holocaustism and its ceaseless propagation also have religious roots. War, pestilence, famine, and death as personified in the Grim Reaper appealed to the Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque imagination. A common theme in music, painting, and literature was the Dance of Death, or *Totentanz*. Of course the sick fantasies of Jewish writers (and they are numerous, if not dominant) are engaged in elaborating new and more sensational aspects of holocaustism. Because such a steady diet of it has been prepared over the years, and because this death-diet continues to be served up relentlessly, it is not surprising that some non-Jewish imaginations have taken up holocaustism, which is essentially a nauseating, Jewish-directed updating and restaging of the old Dance of Death theme. Some non-Jewish authors have found it engaging or profitable to join in the Jewish-led Dance of Death. The real cost of the holocaust is the psychic damage inflicted on humanity, including the Jews themselves, by the sick fantasies of those who get their kicks from perpetuating the six million myth. Many Jews resent their holocaust, for them *the* holocaust, being up-staged by talk of Hiroshima or any impending nuclear holocaust (perhaps one that might result from that continuing struggle as to who shall own that "Holy" Land).

One consolation for the thoughtful non-Jew when exposed to the constant flood of pathological holocaust Dance of Death fantasies, including those dressed up as "semi-documentaries," is to remember that the Hindu deity Shiva, known as Lord of the Dance, cyclically swings back and forth between creation and destruction, between life and death. Right now the Jews are calling the cacophonous tune, giving the negative beat to a contemporary Dance of Death. But sooner than the Jews know it, the cyclic pendulum may swing back to a healthier, more positive and life-oriented attitude. Instead of peddling psychoses and sickness, writers and the media may again take

up more invigorating, life-directed themes. Perhaps because harsh post-war economic realities did not permit it, perhaps because the media were supervised and censored by the Allies (and the Jews), Germans had neither the leisure nor the luxury of indulging in *their own* Dance of Death around the staggering destruction and appalling loss of life caused by the Allied armies and aerial bombardments. Instead the Germans picked up the pieces of a destruction which was very real and tangible, not faked and phony, and got on with the business of life. Other peoples would do well to emulate that example.

Another factor in the perpetuation of holocaustism is the profound religious and psychological need of Jews and Judaism to perpetuate their persecutions. Such tales are integrally woven into the texture and fabric of Jewish scripture and ritual. Any cursory (or lengthy) reading of the Old Testament will reveal that it is a record of the Jewish tribal God, Jehovah, constantly smiting and striking down the enemies of his chosen people.

In large measure, the Jewish religion is simply a record of the triumph of the children of Israel over their enemies. Triumphs, such as the one commemorated in the Feast of Passover, were achieved with the help of their tribal god. Egyptians visited by unspeakable plagues and afflictions, Haman in Persia hung on the gallows he destined for the Jews — the message is always the same. Millions of Germans groveling in the ruins, and millions of Germans and others displaced and uprooted at the end of World War II are, to the Jews, merely modern counterparts of the Egyptians of old. Although it sometimes serves the Jewish imagination to resurrect Hitler in the jungles of South America, in the Sahara, the Antarctic, or even in outer space, Hitler — dead in his gutted bunker — is, for the Jew, merely a modern Haman, another anti-Semite who tried to destroy the Jews but was himself destroyed. On the feast of Purim, Jews make a great din in the synagogue, loudly rattling and shouting when Haman's name is mentioned. They call it "making a *megillah*." Continuing holocaustism, in all its forms, (the written and spoken word, museums, monuments, study programs, etc.) may be said to be diverse forms and degrees of "*making a megillah*", with Hitler substituted for Haman. The Wailing Wall mentality, i.e. the necessity to lament loudly, publicly, stridently, is part of the essence of Judaism. Wailing about persecution and the subsequent brazen revelling in the triumph over it, are basic Jewish characteristics. Before the alleged "holocaust," the Jews were an international entity. They have since retained this identity and added a national identity the state called "Israel," a state which does much public holocaust wailing, and also exults openly in its repeated military triumphs, despite the hostility of much of the world, as expressed in numerous U.N. resolutions which Israel ignores.

For the Jews, their solidarity and superiority are sealed and confirmed by triumph over enemies. This persecution, and the triumph over it, is essential to Jewish identity. Jewish leaders make no attempt to conceal their fear of assimilation. Ben-Gurion, and many rabbis, have pointed out that the great enemy of Judaism in America is not the pogrom, but the country club, i.e. the social acceptance and possible absorption of the Jews by their host population. Although Christianity, like Islam, may correctly be said to be a sect of Judaism, and Catholicism and Protestantism may be said to be sub-sects of that sect, most professional Jews are terrified of intermarriage with Gentiles. Even though neither the Jewish nor the Gentile partner may practice any religion in earnest, it is usually the Gentile partner who converts to Judaism, because the Jewish neurosis insists on preserving its existence as a chosen, elite group, surrounded by a horde of less favored individuals, to whom Jews are superior in every respect but numbers. To cement Jewish religious and ethnic identity, persecution and the triumph over it are essential. Therefore, many Jews today point out the necessity to kill 10, 20, or even 100 hostile, persecuting Arabs for every Jew killed.

This institutionalizing and ritualizing of persecution and triumph over it has, of course, been extended to the 20th century "holocaust." In synagogue vestibules today one is greeted by a *Yad*

Vashem memorial, a kind of elaborate candelabrum commemorating the 6 million. It is the first and last thing a Jew sees when entering or leaving the synagogue. This contraption, this candelabrum, is of course a contemporary fabrication. But it has become as much an emblem of Judaism as the menorah, the symbolic candelabrum emblematic of the Hanukah holiday, which Jews style "The Feast of Lights." It might more appropriately be called the "Feast of Darkness," since it commemorates Jehovah's miraculous intervention on behalf of his people against Hellenist Greeks, to enable the Jews to retain their identity, their religion, i.e. the racial and religious psychosis called Judaism. It would truly have been a Feast of Lights if those Hellenist Greeks had won. Had they, the light of classical Greek civilization might not have been extinguished for so many centuries by the Jewish infection which spread to non-Jews, producing the Christian outgrowth still with us today.

Even Communist rulers have learned that the religious impulse in man is ineradicable, however brilliant the light of reason brought to bear on it. One of the more noble endeavors of Nazi Germany was the attempt to provide Germans with a workable religious alternative to that form of Judaism known as Christianity. Celtic, Germanic, Romanic, Slavic, and other peoples who abandoned their own religious identity for Christianity would do well to turn again to the more nature-oriented religion of their ancestors. Unfortunately, their own religious traditions were disturbed, interrupted, vitiated, diluted, destroyed or partially absorbed by Christianity. just as the "sacrifice of the Mass" may be said to be an improvement on the animal and human sacrifices which preceded it, the still living but much vitiated traditions of pre-Christianity should be taken up again, refined, ennobled, elaborated, and developed. Many of the world's illusions and ills might thus be alleviated. Even that so-called "Holy" Land might become truly holy, if Judaism and its two daughters, Christianity and Islam, were given up in favor of older, pantheistic religions which existed in the area before the naissance of that unholy trio of related religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In Ireland, Celts often still join battle in the name of two sub-sects of a sect of Judaism. One solution for Ireland's problems would be to abandon both the Catholic and Protestant form of Jewish-derived Christianity and to return to a restructured, re-created form of earliest Celtic religions.

In Europe, Christianity moved into the power vacuum created by the collapse of the Roman Empire. Diocesan boundaries followed exactly the prior Roman administrative lines. Subsequently, many non-Christian or "pagan" peoples, such as the Saxons, were forcibly converted. Other tribes left for Iceland to escape forced Christianization, although they, too, were eventually converted. The best minds of Europe, however, minds like Goethe's and Victor Hugo's, freed themselves from the shackles of Christianity, while retaining a profoundly religious attitude (an amalgam of their own making) toward life. Religious expression, especially when organized, has often been irrational. Yet the religious spirit innate in man need not conflict with scientific inquiry. In fact, the scientific investigation along with the artistic creation, is religion, real religion. Perhaps the reason Christianity today needs a Bernstein to write its music and a Chagall to do its artwork is because it is an alien, assumed religion for many peoples who have lost their own indigenous religion.

Holocaustism, like Christianity and Islam, is a product of Judaism. When more people realize this, there will be hope for liberation from holocaustism. and other religion-related evils.

George F. Corners II
New York City

Friends here in Milwaukee have been attempting to buy old reference books on the used market, the purpose being that they wish to help found a school library (private) in Necedah, Wisconsin.

As they go about from used bookstore to used bookstore, they find encyclopedia sets older than the 1960s with entire volumes missing: each time the same volumes—those dealing with the subject of Jews or Khazars. At these same bookstores they say that one cannot find an almanac old enough to deal with the Jewish population figures which might help shed light on the “Holocaust” allegation.

When they answer an advertisement in the local papers for used books of a historical or informational nature, they find that two or three young persons have already contacted the seller, and have literally made an offer which the seller was not able to refuse.

A month or so ago, on a local radio talk show, I made an argument against the “Holocaust” allegations using the figures from the 1938 World Almanac and the February 22, 1948 edition of the New York Times, among other materials. These friends of ours told me that the Zionists were out the very next day trying to sweep up any old editions of the World Almanac still about in the used bookstores.

Donald V. Clerkin
Milwaukee, Wis.

The Question of the Deaths of Rumanian Jews

An Exchange of Correspondence Between Mark Weber and Dr. Serban Andronescu

Dear Dr. Andronescu,	8 May 1982
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I am very grateful for your letter of 15 January 1982. Please pardon this tardy reply.

As you suggested, I found the journal *Genus* in the Library of Congress which contained the report by Dr. Sabin Manuila and Dr. W. Filderman, “Regional development of the Jewish population in Romania.” (*Genus* [Rome] Vol. XIII, Nos. 1-4 1957. pp. 153-165. LC# HB 881 G4 1957.) I put off writing to you until I had obtained a copy of the article and had a chance to study it carefully.

During your presentation at the 1981 Institute for Historical Review Conference (published in *The JHR*, Summer 1982), you stated that the Manuila/Filderman report gave a figure of only 15,000 as the total number of Rumanian Jews who perished during the Second World War. This figure is actually only of Jews in the truncated Rumanian state and does not include the Jews of northern Transylvania (which was ceded to Hungary 1940-1945) or of the territory ceded 1940-1941 to the USSR (including Bessarabia). According to Manuila/Filderman, the total “decrease in the number of Jews” includes not only the 15,000 you mentioned, but 90,295 for northern Transylvania and 103,919 for the Soviet territories (including Bessarabia). The total number of Jewish losses for Rumania in its pre-1940 borders, according to Manuila/Filderman, is 209,214.

It is this figure, and not that of 15,000, which must be compared with the figures of Jewish “holocaust” victims for Rumania which are claimed by Jewish historians today.

In 1946, the American Jewish Congress estimated the number of Jewish victims for Rumania (pre-1940 borders) at 425,000. That same year, the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry Re-

garding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine gave an estimate of 530,000, likewise for the pre-1940 border Rumania. Gerald Rietlinger in *The Final Solution* gives an estimate of 200,000 to 220,000 Jewish victims. Raul Hilberg in *The Destruction of the European Jews* estimates 270,000. In her book *The War Against the Jews*, Lucy Dawidowicz estimates 300,000. Of these various widely circulated “establishment” estimates, Reitlinger’s is closest to that of Manuila/Filderman.

But this kind of comparison can be very misleading because several very important qualifications must be made to the figure of 209,214 given by Manuila/Filderman. This estimate is only for “decrease in the number of Jews” and includes not only Jews who were killed, but also those who simply died and, more importantly, those who emigrated or simply remained “missing.” Although Manuila/Filderman do not discuss it, “missing” Jews would most likely also include those who hastily had themselves baptized in order to avoid classification as Jews. (This was possible under Rumanian policy.) Hilberg (p.494) quotes a reliable German newspaper which reported in 1942 that 40,000 Jews in Bessarabia (one in every five) had “converted” to avoid deportation to Transnistria. More significantly, Filderman reports that no less than 100,000 Jews in the temporarily-Soviet territories (including Bessarabia) were evacuated or withdrew into the interior of the Soviet Union before the area was retaken by Rumanian-German forces in 1941. Manuila/Filderman report that 100,000 among their 209,214 estimate of “decrease in the number of Jews.” Taking that into account, this reduces the number of Rumanian Jews who were killed or died to a maximum of 109,214.

But even this figure is too high. Manuila/Filderman claim that of an estimated 148,295 Jews who were living in northern Transylvania, 137,125 were “deported to Germany, to forced labor camps, with the exception of 14,000. There returned to Rumania a total of 44,000, which were found in various camps there (sic) at the end of the war. Hence there were altogether 58,000 survivors, and the rest of 90,295 “perished.” At another point, though, Manuila/Filderman admit that the figure of 90,295 is really for “decrease by deaths and migration.” That is, it includes Jews from northern Transylvania who survived the war and emigrated to Palestine, the United States, western Europe and so forth.

Even if we were to accept a rather high figure of approximately 100,000 as the maximum number of Rumanian Jews who perished, based on the Manuila/Filderman estimates, we still do not know how many of that number died unavoidably due to wartime conditions and how many were killed for whatever reasons.

Although certainly more reliable than most estimates of this kind, I believe that the Manuila/Filderman figures exaggerate Rumanian Jewish losses and must still be viewed with caution. For example, I believe that their estimate of 137,125 for the number of Jews deported from northern Transylvania to the German Reich is probably too high.

The important point, though, is that the Manuila/Filderman report proves that all of the standard estimates for the number of Rumanian Jewish “holocaust victims” are grossly irresponsible exaggerations. Even if we were to accept a figure of 100,000 deaths, which would be high according to the Manuila/Filderman report, this would still be anywhere from one-half to less than one-fifth of the number claimed by establishment Jewish historians.

I was impressed with the lengthy article you wrote for the publication “Romanian Communion.” Thank you for sending it. As you point out, it is important to remember that what Lucy Dawidowicz calls “The War Against the Jews” ultimately ended in a victory for the self-chosen people.

It so happens that a former university colleague of mine now works for Radio Free Europe in Munich. He also commented on the important role played by the Jews at RFE.

I certainly look forward to meeting and talking with you again. There are a number of topics I'd like to discuss.

Best regards,
Mark Weber
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Weber:	15 May 1982
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I have your letter of 8 May and am very surprised by what you write about the "Romanian" Jews. You are an important contributor to revisionist publications and it is important that you have an accurate view of what you call "Romanian" Jewry. I support revisionist activities too, and receive some of the publications. However, if I noticed in one of these publications such a view as that expressed in your letter, I would protest that view.

We — academic researchers — must differentiate between the Romanian administration over Romanian territories and the alien administration (Soviet, Hungarian, Bulgarian) over the same territories. I am referring here to the northern half of Transylvania, to Bessarabia and to the southern part of Dobrudja, all territories which were (and, in part, still are) under an alien administration. What you call "Romanian" Jewry became Hungarian Jewry, Soviet Jewry and Bulgarian Jewry as soon as these territories became Hungarian, Soviet, or Bulgarian in 1940. You should know that the Jews usually change their residence from one country to another. Their only true allegiance is to Israel.

Moreover, under no circumstances can you honestly make the Romanian administration responsible for what happened to the Jews who remained in those ceded territories. To make myself clear, here is an example. Take a Jew who was born in Oradea in 1920, under Romanian administration. He became a "Hungarian" Jew between 1940 and 1945 when Oradea was under Hungarian rule. Then he emigrated to France. If something happened to him in France, would you make the Hungarian or Romanian administrations responsible for what happened to him under the French rule? Of course not. This is a principle of International law and not of one's opinion. According to the same legal principle, if he committed a crime in France and then he fled to Hungary or Romania he cannot be punished for that crime by the Hungarian or Romanian laws: he must be extradited to France. You cannot even list him as a Romanian Jew because there is no law in Romania (as there is in the USA) to grant somebody Romanian citizenship on the basis of his birth only.

For your complete information I will tell you a true story. There lived in Oradea (a city of Transylvania) a very rich Jewish hotel-keeper who, like the majority of Jews, remained in Oradea after 1940. When the Hungarian regent, Admiral Horthy, triumphantly entered Oradea and took possession of that territory, the hotel-keeper decorated at his own expense the large avenue of the city, on which the admiral pompously paraded riding a beautiful silvery mare. Four years later, in June 1944, when the Hungarian police booked him for deportation, he vainly protested, invoking his loyalty to Hungary; he was taken from Oradea together with other Jews and never came back.

The Romanian administration of Bucharest was unable to care for those who remained in those territories, whether Romanians, Jews, or others. As a matter of fact, more Romanians than Jews died in those territories because of various acts of war, but nobody speaks about them today. We,

with our Christian background, prefer to forget about such ugly things. Many more Romanians were deported from Bessarabia by the Soviets and many Russians and Ukrainians; were brought in instead so as to give the impression that Bessarabia was not Romania. The same thing happened to the German population of Poland, mainly to those Germans who lived in Pomerania, around Danzig, but again nobody speaks about them today.

Sincerely,
Dr. Serban Andronescu
New York City

Dear Dr. Andronescu,	24 May 1982
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Thank you for your letter of 15 May.

I'm very sorry that I did not make myself more clear in my letter to you of 8 May. It seems that the main misunderstanding is due to my use of the term "Rumanian Jews" to refer to Jews from within the pre-1940 Rumanian borders. Like Manuila and Filderman, as well as most other historians, I write "Rumanian Jews" simply as a term of convenience.

You state that only Jews under Rumanian administration should be counted as "Rumanian Jews." I understand your point of view. However, it is not unreasonable (for purposes of statistical comparison) to count as "Rumanian Jews" all Jews in pre-1940 Rumania, in much the same way that Jews in West Prussia, Upper Silesia, and so forth, are almost always counted today as "Polish Jews" even though these territories were integral parts of the German Reich during the Second World War. Should the Jews who lived in Warsaw during the Second World War be counted today as "Polish Jews" or "German Jews," considering the fact that the Polish state had ceased to exist and Warsaw was in a territory legally regarded as a "Nebenland" of the German Reich? Should Jews living in the Sudetenland during the war be counted today as "Czechoslovakian Jews" or "German Jews"?

Just as it is not unreasonable to count Jews in Upper Silesia as "Polish Jews" because the territory was part of Poland before and after the war, so also is it not unreasonable to count Jews in northern Transylvania as "Rumanian Jews" because the territory was likewise part of Rumania before and after the war.

Contrary to what you imply in your letter of 15 May, at no point in my letter of 8 May did I ever "make the Romanian administration responsible for what happened to the Jews who remained in those ceded territories." Indeed, I made a careful distinction between "the truncated Rumanian state" and pre-1940 Rumania. I specifically pointed out that northern Transylvania, for example, was administered by Hungary between 1940 and 1945 during the time when many Jews from the area were deported to Germany. Obviously, neither the Rumanian government nor the Rumanian administration. Please realize that I am less concerned with attributing "responsibility" for Jewish losses than in determining the extent of Jewish deaths during the war in all of pre-1940 Rumania (including those territories not under Rumanian administration).

During your presentation at the IHR conference, you stated that the indeed reputable survey by Manuila and Filderman had estimated the number of "Jews who died in Rumania during the war" at only 15,000. When I first heard a tape recording of that statement, I was immediately rather suspicious. It was hard for me to believe that a reputable estimate could be so much lower than those we see today.

Actually, the Manuila/Filderman report estimated “Jewish losses” for the territory of 1939 Rumania at 209,214 of which two percent (15,000) are attributed to the Rumanian administration. The 15,000 figure which you cited cannot be compared with the estimates of Dawidowicz and other Jewish historians because theirs are for Jews in a much larger geographical area. The comparisons of estimates you made at the IHR conference is almost completely meaningless because the estimates you compare are for quite different territories and groups of Jews.

Also contrary to what you stated, the various Jewish estimates of “Rumanian Jews” who died during the war are not Jews “killed by the Rumanians,” but rather of Jews from the territory of pre-1940 Rumania who perished, at whoever’s hands and in whatever circumstances.

You also stated that “... after the publication of this (Manuila/ Filderman) paper ... nobody spoke about that matter for almost twenty years, when suddenly ... the figure (of 15,000) rose abruptly to what I would call stage two (250,000) ...” Actually, the estimates at Rumanian Jewish losses did not increase steadily following the publication of the Manuila/Filderman report in 1957. The highest estimate of Rumanian Jewish losses (pre-1940 borders) that I have seen is 530,000. This estimate was made by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine in April 1946, that is, eleven years, before the publication of the Manuila/Filderman report.

I believe that your unhappiness with my letter of 8 May is based on a misunderstanding. Please believe me when I stress that I completely share your concern for historical truth and objectivity. That’s why I’ve gone to the effort of writing to you about this matter. We all have a responsibility to keep modern historiography from being reduced to a form of mass media public relations. I hope very much that you will not remain upset with me over this matter, and, indeed, that we can work together for the common goal, of historical truth.

Sincerely,
Mark Weber

FRANK COMMENTS

I was a subscriber to *The Journal* almost from its inception, but let my subscription lapse after a year in protest at what I considered a good idea fouled up in its execution. I refer specifically to the “bad name” given *The Journal* — and the cause of historical revisionism in general — by the (I will be frank) amateurishness and ineptness of the then-editor, who I believe operated under a pseudonym.

With each issue I received during that first year of publication, I fairly cringed upon reading the “A Note from the Editor” section, which he seemed to delight in using as a forum for self-aggrandizement. Was he a columnist for a public secondary school newspaper, or the editor of a historical journal that was striving for academic recognition?

It was embarrassing, I recall, to show these journals to people whom I hoped to influence, only to have them chuckle.

And so I resolved to have no more to do with *The Journal*. But after a year of not knowing what was going on, I chanced recently to come across copies of both the Spring and Summer 1982 issues, and I must say I was pleased indeed. I like the new format, the larger size, and most importantly, the more restrained scholarly tone. It will help out a lot in winning over to our cause more

new people, and in finally allowing those leaning toward us already to be more readily able to identify publicly with you without the embarrassment of having to associate their names with the polemicisms of your former editor.

So please again accept my order for a subscription!

Rederick Botha

Johannesburg, S. Africa

Charles A. Beard: A Tribute

Dr. JAMES J. MARTIN

- Presented at the 1981 Revisionist Conference.

I

Charles A. Beard was born on 27 November 1874 in Knightstown, Indiana, a small farming community about 35 miles east of Indianapolis. He was the son of a prosperous farmer, and a member of a family in which the intelligent discussion of public affairs was a tradition. When only eighteen years old, Beard's father bought and presented to him the town newspaper, the weekly Knightstown Sun, which he and his brother ran for the next four years. Following this experience, Beard enrolled in DePauw College (now University), in Greencastle, about 35 to 40 miles southwest of Indianapolis, an environment similar to the one Beard had been born in. Though Beard was for 50 years identified with sophisticated urban settings as a university professor and public figure here and abroad, and was to be a familiar presence in the nation's capital, his ties were always strong with the rural, agricultural world. It was no accident that he spent the last decades of his life as the resident on and proprietor of a working dairy farm in the small western Connecticut town of New Milford.

Beard graduated from DePauw in 1898, and thereafter for a few years divided his time between graduate study at Columbia University in New York and special study at Oxford in England, where he spent about two years. ^[1] It was while he was still in England that Beard's first book, a study of the Industrial Revolution, was published in 1901, a work which was to be reprinted at least ten times during his career.

In 1904 Beard obtained his doctor of philosophy degree from Columbia, and then began his short but spectacular career as a university professor. He virtually founded the school of politics at Columbia in 1907, though 'political science' had been a term associated with a collection of subjects taught more or less in unison there since 1880. Shortly thereafter he began his long association with various forces and elements interested in the reform of local government, the introduction of serious technical study of its problems through scientific public administration. It was a career with many highlights, -and worldwide recognition, including positions with the National Municipal League, a long string of publications on local government and a formidable textbook, *American Government and Politics*. First published by Macmillan in 1910, this book went into ten editions in his lifetime, and its revision in 1948 was one of his last literary endeavors. Probably the highlights of this side of Beard's career was his invitation to Japan for two years after the disastrous earthquake which destroyed much of Tokyo in 1923, where he contributed significantly to a major reorganization of that city's local structure and government, and his election to the Presidency of the American Political Science Association in 1926. Beard was elected President of the American Historical Association in 1933, the only person ever to hold both these posts.

Beard as a teacher gained a reputation few have ever been able to match in such a short time. Testimonials to his electric personality and ability to galvanize student participation in the joint task of learning are amazing, and memorials from those who were part of the relationship, some even thirty and forty years later, are remarkable. [2] Though he had been teaching just over four years, when it was learned that the dean of Columbia College was about to retire, in 1909, the campus paper polled the student body as to their suggestion for replacement, and Beard was the overwhelming choice. But it was unlikely he was interested in the post.

If Charles A. Beard was making quiet but influential headway in the general field of practical political labors beyond the campus, perhaps this was a sideshow to the furor he was to create nationally and even internationally with the publication of his sensational book *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, in 1913. Beard was not the first student of the impact of material considerations as an influence in the construction of the American Constitution in 1787-89. But his particular structuring of the argument drew forth a sulphurous attack, and a continuing disparagement which really has never subsided. Thirty-five years later there were still scholars trying to denature the impact of Beard's book, though studies of American history textbooks indicated that his approach had been incorporated in a resounding majority of them a quarter of a century later.

The effort to tag Beard as some kind of Marxist was especially malevolent, equivalent to the ugly smears he was to reap when he blossomed as the nation's most effective critic of the foreign policy intrigues of Franklin D. Roosevelt a generation later. But Beard Was no variety of Marxist whatever. As he reiterated over the years, his view was solidly positioned on the Federalist Papers, James Madison's famous discourse on the unevenness of possessions as a source of political faction, as well as being quite in the tradition based on the mid-nineteenth century American historian Richard Hildreth, [3] whose works had been part of an exposure while at DePauw, and undoubtedly due to the influence of one of Beard's favorite teachers (and one-time Union Army officer), Prof. James R. Weaver. Furthermore, as the quarrel grew over the years after 1913, Beard was to re-emphasize that the title of his book began with the article An, not The, and was intended for sober thought and consideration as an important and previously sidetracked influence in the drawing together of the American Constitution. It was Beard's first encounter with the venom which is generated when a challenge is issued to the institutionally-entrenched representing an official Establishment.

The controversy over the book on the Constitution was still going on, and Beard was at work on two other books shortly to be published, when the World War broke out in midsummer, 1914. His views on the war are quite complex, and, though he subsequently endorsed the American decision to become involved, nearly three years later (which he subsequently deplored), in the early period of American neutrality he advanced no strong position. However, this was not the stance of the President of Columbia, Nicholas Murray Butler. Butler, one of the standouts of a generation of university heads who firmly believed that the chiefs of the nation's educational institutions had a responsibility to provide intellectual as well as other leadership, had strong views on most things. On the war which continued to widen until it involved most of the world's major States, he was no exception. A vociferous Francophile then and for over a generation later, Butler became especially testy over the sentiments of his faculty when such were known or suspected to lag in zeal and intensity for the Allied cause when compared to his.

It was out of this conviction that there eventuated the celebrated incident resulting in Butler's dismissal from the Columbia faculty of J. McKeen Cattell, H.W.L. Dana and then Leon Fraser, largely on a guilt-by-association basis, for known incidental company-keeping with persons considered lukewarm in their attitudes toward the moral superiority of President's long-favored side.

It was the incident which led to Beard's resignation from Columbia ^[4] and the academic world. to which he returned for only brief moments in the following thirty years. ^[5]

By the time this happened, the U.S.A. was involved in the war, and Beard was an outspoken supporter of involvement. His repudiation of the anti-war sentiments of Dana, Cattell and Fraser was a matter of record. But when they were dismissed by Butler, Beard's indignation swelled, and at the end of a few months of fierce controversy over the firings, Beard submitted on 8 October 1917 a letter of resignation from Columbia which is to this day one of the great documents in support of academic freedom in its best sense. (Strangely enough, in the case of Fraser, it had been Butler who had proposed his employment in the first place, in Beard's own department. Beard opposed his hiring, but after he had been employed, Beard was dead set against his firing. Aggravated by what happened to Dana and Cattell, the dismissal of Fraser was the last straw, so to speak. The subsequent eminence of the careers of Dana and Cattell has drawn much comment over the years but few followed that of Fraser. In the mid-thirties he was chairman of the board and president of the Bank of International Settlements and in 1937 became president of the First National Bank of New York ^[6] One might be led to comment that Butler's talent for dismissing the competent was demonstrable.)

It has been advanced by various commentators on Beard's career that walking away from an influential and well-paid professorial post such as that he held at Columbia was an act of more than ordinary courage, since it left him with the problem of support for a wife and two children. But it turned out to be no catastrophe, as one unacquainted with the scope of Beard's diligence and imagination might conjecture. He was already engaged in a joint labor with William C. Bagley, which bloomed as a textbook destined for nation-wide acceptance and use.

Macmillan published *A History of the American People* in 1918, not long after the resolution of the confrontation at Columbia. In its various editions, one adapted for use by the American Army Educational Commission, another for the California public school system (over 600,000 copies here alone), and a third tailored to the lower school and junior high school co-authored with Bagley published in 1920 and 1922 sold in excess of 600,000 more copies. In this time, after separating from Columbia, Beard was feverishly involved in his labors in behalf of various institutions working professionally to improve and reform American local government, and the climax of his activities in the early 1920s was his invitation for the two-year stay in Japan, and shortly after that his election to the presidency of the American Political Science Association.

Beard's unsurpassed skill at condensation, generalization and synthesis suited well a writing career which involved joint work with some forty other writers. His two works with Harry Elmer Barnes's favorite teacher at Columbia, James Harvey Robinson, *History of Europe: Our Own Times* and *Outlines of European History* (this also including a second co-worker, the famed Orientologist, James H. Breasted), sold in excess of a million copies. But perhaps Beard's greatest triumph and claim to permanent fame as a historian was a result of a pair of joint works with his wife, Mary Ritter Beard, a formidable writer of history in her own right. The first 2-volume work, *The Rise of American Civilization*, appeared in the spring of 1927. Its influence is incalculable, and those who have borrowed from it or who have cited from it or made other use of it surely are a vast number. The sequel, also in 2 volumes, *America in Mid-Passage*, appeared on the eve of World War Two. It is instructive to note that these ponderous tomes (the four volumes in their original hardcover editions weighed in excess of ten pounds) were written not for the Academy and the professoriat but for the general reader. Their adoption as Book of the Month club selections in their time testifies in part to that. In fact, it can be advanced that Beard was the last historian of top repute in this land to write for the general public, and for not once patronizing it and deliberately writing down to it.

Beard's books in his lifetime may have sold in excess of 12,000,000 copies. [7] Inadequate information on the many translations (some editions were in Braille) and publications abroad (editions of various titles appeared in Britain, Germany, Brazil, Japan, Austria, Switzerland, Mexico and elsewhere) make the determination of a precise figure difficult, but editions subsequent to Beard's demise have been quite inadequately accounted for as well (an updated edition of the widely hailed wartime *Basic History of the United States* [1944] was released as late as 1960.) The total over the more than 80 years since the publication of his first work in 1901 may exceed fifteen million, worldwide, while, when it comes to total readership in that span of time, using estimates and techniques adopted by total readership surveys conducted to determine total magazine readership by *N. W. Ayer and Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*; one is not likely to be far off the mark in concluding Charles A. Beard's readers, of one work or another, to be in the seventy-five million range.

But in assessing these awesome statistics and projecting others in the absence of hard evidence on the basis of the known total situation we should pay attention to something even more important: the substance of Beard's historical writing in terms of quality, its impact, and its enduring significance. Particularly apropos in this context is the closing paragraph in the essay on Beard as a historian by Professor Howard K. Beale, the editor of the symposium and mini-festschrift in Beard's honor published in 1951:

Yet it is not the quantity but the quality of Beard's writing that gives it importance. His *Industrial Revolution* was one of the first books on that important phenomenon. His and Robinson's writings on European history, in which Beard was responsible for most of the economic element, pioneered in "the new history" that emphasized social and economic forces and ideas. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, his *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, and his *Economic Basis of Politics* profoundly affected American historiography. The first of these and his last two books on foreign policy have excited more controversy and more denunciation than any other history of the half century. His *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, parts of *The Rise of American Civilization*, *The Idea of National Interest*, and *The Open Door at Home* rank among the small number of great American books that deal with the history of ideas. His and Mary Beard's *America in Midpassage* is a great example of a successful synthesis, which is overshadowed by the even better *Rise of American Civilization*, one of the most highly praised books of the century and probably the most successful large-scale synthesis in American historical writing.

[8]

Beard the master synthesist did not entirely obscure Beard the student of special studies. The scope of his understanding of the latter may be discerned by the wide range of books he reviewed. One of these special areas was the field of revisionist studies dealing with the origins of the World War and the circumstances attending America's involvement. Though a supporter of Wilson and involvement at the start, like several others, Beard soon repudiated his enthusiasm and joined the critics and revisionists, even though he made no special studies himself. His acceptance of the revisionist diplomatic studies, which repudiated the German war guilt thesis, the basis for the Versailles settlement of 1919-21, was rapid. He enthusiastically reviewed the works of Barnes and Sidney B. Fay in this area in the late '20s, and summarized its upshot in a remarkable paragraph in the 1927 *Rise of American Civilization*, published in April. Following a searing quotation from Sir Philip Gibbs' *Now It Can Be Told*, Beard added the following: [9]

To the confessions of once-muzzled journalists were added more impressive documents. When Russian, German and Austrian archives were torn open by revolution,

the secret negotiations, conversations, agreements, and treaties by which the Entente Powers had planned to break Germany and divide the spoils of war, according to the ancient rules, were exposed to the public gaze. In all its naked horror the sordid and grimy diplomacy which had precipitated the bloody conflict was revealed; and by way of supplement memoirs, papers, treaties, and articles on the back-ground of the war began to flow from the presses. Though cautious editors long ignored the researches of scholars, though aged club men and embattled women continued to fight the war along canonical lines, the task of keeping alive the old reverie was far beyond their powers.

In fact, Beard was of the view that “the spell of the war to end war (he did not enclose these last five words in quotes) was shattered” “by the spring of 1920.” Most Americans in the academic world started disavowing their one-time high zeal for it all. The deflation of the academic participation in the war auxiliary was carried out with especial conviction in H.L. Mencken’s new journal, *The American Mercury*, and Beard was a contributor to the very first volume in 1924. But there probably were few American historians who had labored so hard in promoting “Mr. Wilson’s war” who had the nerve to read the famous estimate of their work in Mencken’s journal later on, by C. Hartley Grattan, titled “The Historians Cut Loose.” (*The American Mercury*, August, 1927.)

II

The closing years of the 1920s, the national troubles signaled by the stock market collapse in October, 1929 (though several somewhat lower “lows” were to be experienced down into 1932) and the era of general malaise of the early 1930s found Beard as busy writing as ever, updating older books and turning out a stream of articles for various journals of both scholarly and general interest. It was the time when he began to show the first indications of a serious and sustained interest in American foreign policy as such, as opposed to attention to this field submerged in general accounts and sweeping narratives which tried to take the entire scope of affairs into consideration.

It can be advanced that his concentration on foreign policy and foreign affairs is traceable mainly from works produced in the early 1930s, especially two slim volumes published in 1934 and obviously put together before that, *The Idea of National Interest* and *The Open Door at Home*. One may argue that the World War had been a personal catastrophe for him, and sobered rumination on its consequences colored several of his writings in the decade after it ended. He demonstrably was aware of the changed season in American thinking after 1890 and thereabouts, with the emergence of a variety of American imperial ^[10] thinking as best exemplified by Alfred Thayer Mahan, Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge and Albert J. Beveridge, whom he was to characterize in 1939 as “four of the most powerful agitators that ever afflicted any nation.” Beard even had flashes of presentiment as to where the inexorable American expansion into the world was taking its people, as when, shortly after returning from Japan, he wrote a speculative piece published in *The Nation* in March, 1925 on what he saw as the coming war with Japan might accrue to the U.S.A. ^[11] His repeated articles during the 1920s on the continuous pressure for the creation of an ever larger Navy and the relation of this to sustained global expansion is another side of his picture of the world and America’s increased presence in it. But it was not until the coming of the New Deal that we find him taking the time to write a book length work on the substance of foreign politics.

Like an immense swath of Americans of all persuasions, Beard initially looked with favor on the Roosevelt New Deal, especially that part of its program (divided by some into “the Three Rs,” relief, recovery, and reform) which constituted the effort to emerge from the economic slump,

“recovery” (in actuality a global disaster, and as traceable to the profound planetary dislocations caused by the war of 1914-1918 as to any of the technical aberrations so prized by economist analysts.) Beard even subscribed to the idea of “national planning” of a sort, but more in harmony by far with ideas one can discern in plenitude in the pages of the *Harvard Business Review* and the publications of the University of Pennsylvania’s Wharton School than those current among the likes of Bolshevik and related collectivists. (A perusal of the top rank, business school theorists in their writing between 1917 and 1932 reveals the firm outlines of the “mixed economy” and “government-in-partnership-with-business” views which evolved into working models well before anyone got around to blaming it all on John Maynard Keynes.)

Few persons of prominence in the land were as generous as Beard in affording the New Deal a chance to succeed. He wavered back and forth between an eagerness to believe it could succeed in bringing about national economic recovery and a kind of hardheaded realization, which probably stemmed from his own canny business sense, that it could not. And if it did not, then what? Right away he sensed the likelihood that a very attractive alternative scheme would be to try to solve the nation’s dolors by dissolving them into a much bigger pool of such: the world’s. As early as the winter of 1934-35 we find Beard making a remarkable speculation in this direction, published in the February, 1935 issue of *Scribner’s Magazine* (“National Politics and War,” pp.65-70): “Confronted by the difficulties of a deepening domestic crisis and by the comparative ease of a foreign war, what will President Roosevelt do? judging by the history of American politicians, he will choose the latter.” FDR’s discovery of sin abroad in the early fall of 1937 after the horrendous return of depression collapse that summer seemed to be an almost eerie following-out of a course already planned, and previously divulged, by Beard. One can see in Beard’s piece in *Scribner’s* in 1935 the germ of the much more expanded version of this thesis in his 1939 book, *Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels*.

Beard’s own ideas of a desirable policy were expressed in *The Open Door at Home*, after he had explored the slippery abstraction called “national interest” from all angles, demonstrating sufficiently that it masked the interests of individuals and small groups far more often than reflecting a true general hope or concern. At the core of his own views for national procedure was the belief that autonomy, whether or not desirable, was surely possible. Since 95% of the country’s commerce was internal or domestic, policy should be based on this reality, and foreign trade effectively muffled. To satisfy the need for the remainder that presumably could not be locally produced, Beard suggested the stepping up of research into substitutes. His system eventually graduated into what was described as ‘continentalism,’ and extended more or less to incorporate the Western Hemisphere. It was a program of reduced aspirations which he called “national self-restraint,” eminently more attainable, he asserted, than the possibility of restraining fifty other countries in an international convention, or having to go to war with one or more of them. Beard found in the incessant and interminable search for foreign commerce one of the steady producers of the instigations of international armed conflict. But hanging like a pall over much of his work in the 1933-39 period, as reflected especially in his foreign policy and public affairs books and articles, was the recurring thought that sooner or later the United States was going to be carried into another war. One of his least successful volumes, *The Devil Theory of War*, published in 1936 (Vanguard), incorporated in its subtitle, *An Inquiry into the Nature of History and the Possibility of Keeping Out of War*, perhaps the substance of what all his furious production during those times was about.

Though the year 1936 did not reveal any serious concern with world affairs or edging in the direction of involvement somewhere in some state of belligerency on the part of Roosevelt’s regime, there being many opportunities for such in that year of world upheaval, it probably was reason for dubiety on the part of someone once-burnt, twice-shy as Beard. But all one heard from

the White House were sweet cooings about the beauties of peace, in FDR's speech at Chautauqua, N.Y., on 14 August of that year, and his famous disparagement of a national economy based on armament production in his address in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on December 1. Beard's hesitancy might have been based on a number of doubts and circumstances, the most important of which might have been the knowledge that the federal government had gone over the billion dollar mark for the first time in American history, in the area of annual military appropriations, in peacetime, in 1936.

The following year however things began to take shape in the direction of the apparition Beard had been seeing since the 1920's. Roosevelt's staggering, near-total victory at the polls in November 1936, creating the illusion of an unheard-of 'mandate' and blank check to do about anything, foundered on two unexpected eventualities: the rejection by Congress of his plan to pack the Supreme Court with six more judges who might look more kindly on the constitutionality of New Deal legislation, and the horrendous economic collapse in the summer of 1937, with unemployment totals and stock market lows exceeding what had prevailed before the New Dealers succeeded to power.

The stage was set for the remarkable turnaround on world affairs to be taken by Roosevelt. On 5 October 1937 came the famous speech in Chicago urging the "peace-loving nations" to "quarantine the aggressors," accompanied by a spirited plug for the idea of "collective security," which unfortunately had also been a major stratagem urged by Stalinist Russia and the Comintern. It came as no surprise that though the speech in general appalled Americans so that Cordell Hull and other New Deal luminaries later admitted to being much frightened by the adverse public reaction, it did receive a most vociferous reception by American Communists and especially their nominal leader, Earl Browder. The anti-interventionist (at that time) liberal weekly *New Republic*, long an outlet for Beard's quite hostile views on the things Roosevelt now was advocating, created a literary 'debate' between Browder and Beard on the subject at hand. It was the occasion for one of Beard's most effective demonstrations in behalf of anti-interventionism and deflation of the enthusiasms of Roosevelt, and Browder. It was published in the *New Republic* for 2 February 1938. ^[12]

From this point on it can be determined with accuracy that Beard had become a fighter, not just a writer, on the foreign policy-foreign affairs front. Through 1938 into the early months of 1939, as crisis replaced crisis in European diplomatic confrontations, he saw taking shape here the firm foundations of a war party, deep in influence, prestige and resources, across all political attitudes from millionaires to Stalinists, with Roosevelt its symbol and organizational rallying point. And, as Beard had long expected and predicted, the emphasis in the conduct of public affairs had steadily shifted to concentration on evil in distant places instead of preoccupation with effecting social and economic salvation at home.

The substance of all of Beard's lecturing and writing on this political revolution in-the-making was incorporated into one searing statement, a masterpiece published by Harper ^[13] a few days before the Hitler-Stalin pact and the outbreak of the German-Polish war in the late summer of 1939, titled *Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels*. The title referred to the famed discourse in the fourth act of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, in which the dying king advised his son to "busy" the "giddy minds" of his subjects "with foreign quarrels" in the event of dire straits befalling his kingdom in domestic matters. It fit in beautifully with Beard's suspicions of the direction matters would take, from a time when the New Dealers and their President never even mentioned the subject of 'foreign affairs.' It sold into the generous six figures, and its message, Beard's editor at Harper's, George Leighton, said, "was more than intellectuals and crusaders among Roosevelt's followers could endure."

It was expectable that those who salivated for involvement in war someplace would heap malevolent vituperation on Beard generously. His lengthy and unnerving assault from this new perspective forced these self-styled would-be saviors of 'civilization' and 'Western culture' to assume a defensive posture, and elicited a sustained rhetoric devoted to absolving themselves of any such deviousness. As for Beard, the more intense became the assaults on him as a consequence of publishing *Giddy Minds*, the more resolute and unbending he became. [14]

If Beard had not completely estranged himself from that portion of his former liberal admirers-now-turned-intellectual-warriors by his publication of *Giddy Minds*, then he surely finished the process by his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in opposition to the Lend-Lease Bill before Congress of 4 February 1941. Another string of “measures short of war” by which the Administration became a *de facto*, if not *de jure*, belligerent, it eventually passed, but not before Beard had at least penetrated its hide with a stinging commentary. Beard objected to the Title of the Bill, “An Act to Promote the Defense of the United States,” and declared that, in view of its incredibly loose-worded structure, it be retitled, suggesting a sardonic alternate: [15]

All provisions of law and the Constitution to the contrary, notwithstanding, an Act to place all the wealth and all the men and women in the United States at the free disposal of the President, to permit him to transfer or carry goods to any foreign government he may be pleased to designate, anywhere in the world, to authorize him to wage undeclared wars for anybody, anywhere in the world, until the affairs of the world are ordered to suit his policies, and for any other purpose he may have in mind now or at any time in the future, which may be remotely related to the contingencies contemplated in the title of this Act.

Beard and the anti-interventionists lost the battle over Lend-Lease; it became public law in March. Thereafter came a continuing series of other Presidential moves and maneuvers calculated to enhance the chances of involvement in the war but under circumstances which were exploited to try to convince the unwarlike populace that the initiative had been taken by the putative enemy. It may be that the U.S. might never have got into the war that way, or possibly by actions which would have been profoundly unwanted, because of their political implications and possibilities. (It was conceded in the summer of 1938 by Lord Halifax that war was “a very uncertain remedy” for the situation taking place worldwide; by that same time three years later this kind of sober sentiment had virtually vanished.)

A good case can be advanced that the anti-involvement elements fought Roosevelt and the interventionists to a standstill down to the end of the fall of 1941. Then came the irretrievable event of December 7. Pearl Harbor washed the entire question from the agenda. It was a grievous tactical error for the anti-interventionists to run from the scene in precipitate disarray and to remain silent for the duration of the war. It gave the Administration the opportunity to conduct a global war with a book of blank checks, unimpeded by criticism and with an opportunity to make as many blunders and mistakes as they might, with little if any accountability, and eventually to conclude the fighting on the basis of settlements so bad that the effects were still being experienced almost forty years later. But, run they did, and with them went most of the tradition of what might be termed a “loyal opposition.” The resulting near-totalitarian liberal war machine was hailed by its directors as 'unity.'

Beard joined the underground too, so to speak, though he was hardly silent. Several projects occupied his time. Included was the work producing a 1,450-page revision of his 1910 political science text, and time to dwell on the Federalist Papers, almost a ritual with him; he was known to re-read them every year. During the war he took time out to produce one of the better editions, ti-

tled *The Enduring Federalist*, not published until 1948. But the two memorable achievements of the war years were a lengthy, almost speculative and ruminative exploration of the American political phenomenon, titled *The Republic: Conversations on Fundamentals*, (1943) which sold more than four million copies, and the remarkable single-volume condensation of his previous works with his wife, issued in 1944 as *A Basic History of the United States*, which sold about 650,000 copies in the ensuing five years.

Though Beard spent the war prodigiously involved in several memorable literary projects, it was known that he was also industriously collecting materials for an extensive labor on the approach of the war and also the war itself. The first installment was published less than a year after hostilities ceased. In the late summer of 1946 came *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940*, which bore the sub-title, A Study in Responsibilities. It accrued some grudging and uneasy reviews [16] from the spokesmen for the New American Order now taking shape in its preliminary organization of the portions of the world not already conceded to the Stalinists or about to be conceded to the Maoists.

Beard's inexorable procedure of demonstrating the actions of the profoundly domestically-oriented Democratic Party, its eschewing of all involvements in the League of Nations, collective security and other internationalist ploys, as well as devotion to an unswerving policy of neutrality in foreign affairs, troubled the readers committed to the New Dispensation. They perhaps suspected where the next blow would strike, and thus were able to prepare themselves psychologically for it, so that when it was upon them they were able to direct upon Beard a ferocious flamethrower of criticism and personal denunciation far beyond what greeted him on the occasion of the publication of *American Foreign Policy* in 1946.

However, the interval between the two Beard books was punctuated by the appearance, in January, 1947, of the literary temblor on the question of American involvement in World War II by George Morgenstern, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*, in the opinion of many, including this writer, still the best book published on the subject. And Beard was intimately involved in it. Perhaps the torrent of invective loosed on Beard the following year after his second book was published was in part due to the vociferous praise he accorded Morgenstern's volume, which was prominently displayed later on in the promotion of the book. In his Acknowledgments, Morgenstern stated, "The author wishes to express his gratitude to Charles A. Beard for a scholarly appraisal of this work." [17] And Beard had done so in no stinting manner: [18]

Having scrutinized the more than ten thousand pages of sworn testimony and official papers bearing on this disaster before I read the proof sheets of Mr. Morgenstern's book I can say out of some knowledge of the subject that his volume is a powerful work based on primary and irreducible facts in the case, carefully gathered and buttressed by exact citations of the sources. For his own inferences and conclusions, he gives documentary contexts. This method and procedure. I feel sure, will make Mr. Morgenstern's book a permanent contribution to the quest for an understanding of the tragedy of Pearl Harbor.

It was an acclamation at least equaling that accorded the book by retired Admiral Harry E. Yarnell in his review in the *Far Eastern Survey*.

Though barely half or so of Beard's age, Morgenstern was no tyro in writing. [19] But it was his first book. The main case against him however was that he was a writer for Col. Robert R. McCormick's *Chicago Tribune*. And the Tribune along with the Patterson papers in New York and Washington had been the principal burrs in the hide of the Roosevelt liberal camp since before

the war. They had taken the initiative in focusing attention on every nuance of the Pearl Harbor story surfacing in bits and pieces all during the war. So it was incumbent upon all terminal liberals to scoff at anything coming from the *Tribune* stable being taken seriously, not only in their view lacking merit, integrity and competence, but now surely intended merely to slander their dead Leader's memory. That one as revered as Beard would leap at the first opportunity to hail Morgenthau's work as a landmark and a candidate for serious attention for a long time to come was more than they could stand. From that point on it was Beard who drew the majority of the poisoned arrows, and the volume only increased after his *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War*, 1941 was published in the spring of 1948. The books were not competitors but in reality complementary, since they took on the problem from quite different vantage points. Morgenthau was mainly concerned with a meticulous turning over of the evidence relating to the Pearl Harbor attack preliminaries as revealed by various investigations of the event, while Beard was more concerned with broad political aspects of the growing assumption of government personally and the bypassing of various constitutional limitations by the President in the year and a half ending in the Hawaii attack? [20]

Perhaps it was easier for the academic and political Establishment to ignore Morgenthau than Beard. The eminence and the near-half century presence of the latter simply could not be conjured away, no matter how venomous and malicious the *ad hominem* attack became. Perhaps the most succinct comment on the impact of Beard's book came from Dr. Louis Morton, Chief of the Pacific Section of the United States Army Office of Military History. Writing in the U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings* for April, 1955, Dr. Morton conceded:

With the publication in 1948 of his (Charles A. Beard's) *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War*, revisionism reached the status of a mature historical interpretation of events that no serious student of prewar policy could ignore.

When the symposium *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* [21] was published late in 1953 the foundation stones for Pearl Harbor revisionism were in place, amply supported by Professor Charles Callan Tansill's *Back Door to War* (1952).

Beard not only infuriated the influential supporters of Roosevelt by his insistence that the continuous deception by the President in making his steady moves toward war while endlessly talking about his peacefulness (few were allowed to forget his pre-election promise in 1940 never to send Americans off to a war outside U.S. borders) was in essentials, as Leighton described it, "completely to undermine constitutional government and set the stage for a Caesar" (Beard's famed peroration on pp. 582-584 of his *Epilogue to President Roosevelt* is required reading in this context.) He had opened up another sore while writing his book with a famed article in the *Saturday Evening Post* for October 4, 1947, "Who's to Write the History of the War?," in which he revealed that the Rockefeller Foundation, working with its alter ego, the Council on Foreign Relations, had provided \$139,000 for the latter to spend in underwriting an official-line history of how the war had come about, in an effort to defeat at the start the same kind of "debunking" historical campaign which had immediately followed the end of World War I. Beard complained of inaccessibility of various documents, which he was sure would be fully available to anyone doing an Establishment version of the wartime past, convinced that these would be sat on as 'classified' for a generation or more. Coming to Beard's side in an even more vociferous exposure of these newest developments was the columnist George Sokolsky, in a remarkable story published nationally a week later (11 October). [22]

So it was understandable that the following February, two months before the publication of *President Roosevelt*, when the National Institute of Arts and Letters awarded Beard their gold medal

for the best historical work published in the preceding decade, that his erstwhile liberal admirers would reach the end of their tolerance. The highlight of their protest was the resignation in rage from the Institute by one of its most influential members, Lewis Mumford, accompanied by abuse of Beard so extreme that it led to a memorable chiding to Mumford from Harry Elmer Barnes in a 1½ column letter to the editors of the *Chicago Tribune*, published 11 February 1948. But the attack on Beard had barely begun. With the publication of *President Roosevelt* two months later, in April, the denunciation of Beard became a veritable industry, and the most eminent of the Roosevelt academic defenders were recruited to contribute to the character assassination. Probably the most outrageous was that of Harvard's Samuel Eliot Morison, Roosevelt's handpicked choice to write a history of American naval operations in World War II, and even elevated to the rank of Admiral in recognition of his labors. [23] But the outline of the total campaign aimed at Beard is substantial, extensively documented in the later editions of Barnes's booklet *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout* (especially 6th thru. 9th).

Probably Charles A. Beard's last public act was his appearance in Washington once more, this time testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee on April 3, 1948, presenting testimony against the adoption of universal military training.

Beard had suffered from an ailment known as aplastic anemia and on August 2 entered the hospital in New Haven, Conn., for treatment. His death occurred on 1 September 1949, in his 74th year. [24]

After all the trendy faddish conceptions and misconceptions about him are assessed, discounted and dismissed, it is quite possible that Beard's editor at *Harper's*, George Leighton, had estimated him most accurately. To Leighton, the irreducible Beard remained what he had always been: a "hardnut Indiana populist" with "humanitarian tendencies." To others Charles A. Beard in his lifetime was the quintessential and ultimate irritant and annoyance to the puffed-up gasbag mandarins of the Establishment, in the words of his former student and vast admirer, Sokolsky, "one of those tough fighters who goes after a fact with all the excitement of a big game hunter," and who "abhorred the lie, the bluff, the fake and the trick." His energy, diligence and imagination made a memorable impact on all fortunate enough to know him. For the others there is the legacy of his immense literary production, examples of which are so widely dispersed even in these days that it is unlikely he will fade from memory for a long time to come.

Notes

1. ☺ Beard actually spent three years in Britain. His first year was followed by a return to the U.S.A. Then he came back to study at Oxford for two years.
2. ☺ See especially Arthur W. McMahon, "Charles Beard, the Teacher, in Howard K. Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal* (University of Kentucky Press, 1951), pp. 213-230.
3. ☺ Hildreth, a graduate of Harvard in 1826, produced a six-volume work published 3 volumes at a time in 1849 and 1851, which carried the story from the Columbian expeditions to the Missouri Compromise. There is a fair estimate of Hildreth in Michael Kraus, *The Writing of American History* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), pp. 129-135. Hildreth's opening statement in the first volume of *The History of the United States, 1497-1789* read: Of centennial sermons and Forth-of-july orations, whether professedly such or in the guise of history, there are more than enough. It is due to our fathers and ourselves, it is due to truth and philosophy, to present for once, on the historic stage, the founders of our American nation unbedaubed with patriotic rouge, wrapped up in no fine-spun cloaks of excuses and apology ... often rude, hard, narrow, superstitious and mistaken, but always earnest,

downright, manly and sincere.

The result of their labors is eulogy enough; their best apology is to tell their story exactly as it was.

4. ☐ Technically, the dismissed teachers were separated from the Columbia faculty by the Trustees of Columbia, and Beard addressed his condemnation of the action to them and centered his denunciation on them, suggesting that what was wrong with higher education in the land was due to a similar class of persons in charge everywhere. When the following year Thorstein Veblen published his *The Higher Learning in America*, which especially took to task such university presidents as Butler and Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford, Beard reviewed the book favorably and used the satiric phrase “hire learning,” which quickly established its currency and was still to be heard many decades later.
5. ☐ Strangely enough, Beard returned to Columbia for a semester as visiting professor of government in 1939, with World War II already underway and Butler still president of Columbia. Beard also received an LLD degree from Columbia in 1944. His only extended teaching in his long exile was a year at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore in 1940-1941.
6. ☐ On Fraser, see Beale’s editorial note to the essay by George Counts, “Charles Beard, the Public Man,” in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p. 224.
7. ☐ See tentative compilation of the sale of Beard’s books in Beale, ad., *Charles A. Beard*, pp. 310-312.
8. ☐ Beale, “Beard’s Historical Writings,” in Beale, ed., *Charles A. Beard*, p.263.
9. ☐ Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (2 vols., Macmillan, 1927), Vol. II, p. 673. This was rephrased but with no change whatever in substance in *A Basic History of the United States* (Doubleday, Doran, 1944), covering over half of page 442.
10. ☐ Beard’s most succinct definition of what he meant by the word ‘imperialism’ is the following: “employment of the engines of government and diplomacy to acquire territories, protectorates, and/or spheres of influence occupied usually by other races or peoples, and to promote industrial, trade, and investment opportunities in competition with other imperialist powers or on occasion in collaboration with them where there is mutuality of interests or perils.” Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940* (Yale University Press, 1946), p. 11 3n.
11. ☐ Beard, “War with Japan: What Shall We Get Out of It?,” *The Nation*, Vol. CXX (March 25, 1925), pp. 311-313.
12. ☐ The Beard-Browder “debate” is discussed by this writer in *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941* (2 vols., Devin-Adair, 1964), Vol. II, pp. 876-880.
13. ☐ Subtitled *An Estimate of American Foreign Policy*, this was published by Macmillan, but it was the abridged version, in *Harper’s Magazine* for September, 1939, published on August 20, which reached by far the most readers.
14. ☐ Porter Sargent, the authority on American private schools, was also a testy and effective critic of American public affairs, in a succession of hardhitting books. When he started a newsletter in May, 1939 Beard became one of his earliest and most enthusiastic readers. Sargent was a great admirer of Beard’s historical work, quoted from it liberally, and occasionally printed excerpts from communications he received from Beard during the tenure of the newsletter. Sargent’s output down through March, 1941 was collected and published, with extensive commentary, in 1941 under the title *Getting U.S. Into War*. It is one of the primary sources for anyone interested in the facts and opinion which circulated in this country during the 1939-41 days, in the area of international affairs.
15. ☐ Leighton, “Beard and Foreign Policy,” in Beale, ad., *Charles A. Beard*, P. 182, reproduced from the published Hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 77

Cong., I Sess., pp. 307-313.

16. ☞ See especially the quite lengthy estimates in review by Crane Brinton of Harvard in the *New York Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review*, Sec. VII p. 3, September 1, 1946, and by R.M. MacIver of Columbia in the *New York Times Book Review*, p. 3, August 18, 1946, which was decorated by an ugly insinuating cartoon.
17. ☞ Morgenstern, *Pearl Harbor* (Devin-Adair, 1947), p. xiv.
18. ☞ Comment by Beard on back of the jacket of the original edition, also printed separately on promotional material advertising the second printing.
19. ☞ Morgenstern was a Chicago native and graduate of the University of Chicago in 1930. During the War, he had served as a Captain in the U.S. Marine Corps, based at Headquarters, directing the corps of Marine combat correspondents. He became a member of the *Chicago Tribune* editorial staff in 1939, returning after the war and ultimately rising to become Editor of the Editorial page.
20. ☞ Beard's long quotations from documents, speeches made in Congress, and his meticulous coverage of the substance of the published reports and documents growing out the Congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack make the book especially useful.
21. ☞ "Perpetual war for perpetual peace" was an expression coined by Beard, to describe satirically the apparent objective of the world 'liberators' in fashioning their peculiar "post-war world," in which the United Nations Organization was presumed to be put into business largely to conduct military operations against any power "threatening the peace." Barnes was especially taken by the remark and chose it for the title of the symposium published late in 1953 by Caxton. (None of the major publishers would touch a revisionist book, even those by Beard, which were done by a university press. Five years after Beard's death it was almost impossible to find anyone who would issue a book with a revisionist thesis.) *Perpetual War* was also dedicated to Beard.
22. ☞ As things turned out, what the Rockefeller Foundation and the Council on Foreign Affairs were backing was a more rigidly Establishment tome than either Beard or Sokolsky ever dreamed. Issued in two volumes as *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-1940* (1952) and *The Undeclared War, 1940-1941* (1953) by Harper, with the slogan proudly displayed on the title page, "Published for the Council on Foreign Relations," the authors were Professors William L. Langer of Harvard and S. Everett Gleason of Amherst. What few knew then or later was that both authors had prestigious jobs during the war in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), probably the most overrated intelligence organization since the Napoleonic Wars, and later also had equally important posts, in its postwar successor, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in the case of Langer, (assistant director) while Gleason, at publication time, was Deputy Executive Secretary of the National Security Council. An indispensable commentary on the first of the Langer-Gleason volumes is the first 19 pages of Harry Elmer Barnes's privately-printed brochure, *The Court Historians Versus Revisionism* (1952).
23. ☞ Morison's attack on Beard and his second book in the August, 1948 *Atlantic Monthly* had a two-part title, the second reading, "History Through a Beard." When he later chose to include this review in a book of essays he was reproached for including this utterly tasteless pun on Beard's name by the editor of the *American Historical Review*, Guy Stanton Ford. Contemporaneous with this ugly attack on Beard was a poisonous whispering campaign that he was senile, deaf, and unaware of what was going on any longer. But Beard wore a modern hearing aid, and could match anyone for acumen in the world of history and public affairs. Barnes did a masterful job of combating what he called the "senility smear" of Beard, but traces could be detected about the land for some time thereafter. Morison (1887-

1976) lived 16 years longer than Beard, writing almost to the end of his 89 years. But the liberal Establishment launched no venomous gossip about him being 'senile.'

24. ☺ Though Beard had hardly become the favorite person of the editors of the *New York Times* in the last 15 years of his life, they did display residual decency by devoting well over a column and a half to an obituary of the deceased historical luminary on September 2, which was remarkably restrained in areas where abuse might have been expected. A full column editorial obituary was devoted to Beard in the *Chicago Tribune* for September 4, in which several remarks attributed to him in quotations must have been in correspondence to Morgenthau. It was in this account that Beard told of working on a third book, presumably from the period after 1941. He was quoted as saying "My study is advancing rapidly," and declaring, "It makes my last book seem like a Sunday School sermon." Nothing of the manuscript of this work has ever been described or published.

The counterattack on Beard by Roosevelt's partisans in Academe was not confined entirely to hostility to his books in review, and faded ground after his death, which seemed to encourage bravery in some circles. By 1950 a large book prepared as a refutation of Beard was published by Prof. Basil Rauch of Columbia, titled *Roosevelt from Munich to Pearl Harbor*. Barnes dealt with its major shortcomings in one of his brochures, *Rauch on Roosevelt* (1952), though most of the professoriat followed Rauch. One who did not was the tough old Dakotan, Fred A. Shannon, professor of economic history at the University of Illinois. A Pulitzer prize winner earlier for his book on the organization and administration of the Union Army and a future president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (now known as the Organization of American Historians) Shannon in his bibliographical recommendations in his *America's Economic Growth* (3rd. ed., Macmillan, 1951), p. 914, read:

The most scholarly and satisfactory story of the diplomatic background of America's entry into the (Second World) war is Charles A. Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940* (New Haven, 1946) and *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941* (New Haven, 1948). An inadequate and unconvincing rebuttal of Beard is Basil Rauch, *Roosevelt from Munich to Pearl Harbor* (New York, 1950).

Memorandum to the President

ISSAH NAKHLEH

A 13 March 1981 introductory letter and memorandum to President Ronald Reagan, submitted by the U.S. representative of The Arab Higher Committee for Palestine.

Dear Mr. President:

I have always admired you, Mr. President, as a nationalist who is determined to restore the United States to its position of respect and leadership of the Free World in the battle against international communism.

I am one of those numerous Palestinian nationalists who oppose communism and who believe that the greatest danger to human values is the Soviet empire. As you know, that empire is composed of thirteen republics, one hundred nationalities, dominates as colonies nine nations totaling one hundred million people in Central and Eastern Europe, has ninety communist parties throughout the world, and is determined to encourage revolution in every country so as to overthrow governments and make them satellites of the Soviet Union.

Only America can effectively meet the communist challenge, but first you must restore the United States to the rule of law in international affairs, to respect for the rights of peoples to self-determination and freedom and for promoting human rights throughout the world. Anything less will not give this great freedom-loving nation the necessary credibility with the many non-communist nations.

Unfortunately, there is already great disappointment relative to your declarations regarding the Palestinians and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Your attitude is one-sided in favor of Israel. I fully understand your situation because, throughout your adult life, you have had numerous Jewish friends, many of whom are Zionists, and it is apparent you have been exposed to only one side of this dispute. You probably have never had an Arab or Palestinian friend, nor an adequate chance to meet a Palestinian or an Arab to explain to you the Palestinian and Arab point of view.

Accordingly, I respectfully submit to you, Mr. President, the enclosed Memorandum with the hope that you will kindly acquaint yourself with the Palestinian viewpoint.

Mr. President, the American Revolution was one of the first revolutions in the modern world which established by its Declaration of Independence “that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

The United States was the first country since 1919 to champion the right of self-determination of peoples.

The United States signed at least twenty treaties and declarations which accepted the following principles of international law:

The Conference of American States reiterates, as a fundamental principle of the Public Law of America, that the occupation or acquisition of territory or any other modification or territorial or boundary arrangement obtained through conquest by force or by non-specific means shall not be valid or have legal effect. The pledge of non-recognition of situations arising from the foregoing conditions is an obligation which cannot be avoided either unilaterally or collectively

By promoting and establishing the United Nations, the United States has accepted the principles of the Charter, which outlawed war and conquest, promoted the right of self-determination of peoples and prescribed the rule of law in international affairs.

By promoting and adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United States has pledged to promote the universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In addition to all the above, the United States as a nation observes a high moral standard and cherishes the maintenance of peace, stability and the rule of law in international affairs.

The only way the United States can deserve to be a leader of the Free World is when it adheres to the above-mentioned principles.

Unfortunately, Mr. President, the United States has violated every one of the above-mentioned principles when it chose to aid and abet the European and American Zionist Jews to occupy the ancestral homeland of the Palestinians and reduce the Palestinians to a refugee nation in exile.

I am sure, Mr. President, when you know the complete facts, you will uphold justice and support the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people. You will uphold their right to live as free people in their ancestral homeland, the restoration to them of their properties and homes, and uphold their dignity and inalienable civil, political, religious and human rights.

It will be the greatest of all your achievements, Mr. President, as leader of this great Christian nation, to restore Palestine to its sacred status as a shrine of peace and justice, where Muslims, Christians and Jews can live as fellow citizens in the democratic Holy Land State with no army, no navy, no air force-a land for pilgrimage, devotion and spiritual inspiration for all mankind.

- Issah Nakhleh

Who Are The Palestinians?

In order to cover up their crime of Genocide against the Palestinians, the Zionists brainwashed the American people about the Palestinians. They portrayed them as the aggressors, terrorists, murderers, fanatic anti-Semite Muslims, who want to throw the Jews into the sea or commit holocaust against Jews. Many Americans do not know that the Palestinians are the victims of aggression and Genocide. They do not know that the Palestinians were expelled from their ancestral homes, lands and properties, and reduced to a refugee nation. *They do not know that twenty percent of the Palestinians are Christians who suffered the same fate as their Muslim fellow-citizens.* They do not know that the overwhelming majority of the Palestinians, whether Christians or Muslims, are very religious, God-fearing, peaceful people. Most of them are farmers, laborers, professionals and shopkeepers, whose only wish is to live peacefully in their ancestral homeland.

The Palestinians are descendants of all the races which lived and fought or conquered Palestine since time immemorial, namely, the Canaanites, the Moabites, the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs and the Ottomans.

The Palestinians of today are about 4,500,000. Twenty percent of them are Christians (Orthodox, Catholics and Protestants), and eighty percent are Muslims. The Palestinian Christians are descendants of the first Christians who adopted Christianity at the hands of the Apostles. Since the seventh century A.D., Arab language and culture dominated Palestine, and this is why they call themselves Palestinian Arabs.

1,700,000 Palestinians live as refugees in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Libya. 700,000 live as citizens of Jordan, 700,000 live in Israel as second-class citizens and 1,300,000 live in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and 100,000 live as immigrants in the Americas.

Due to Zionist control of the mass media in the United States, the Palestinians have been smeared as terrorists. The Palestinians are one of the most educated people in the Arab world. There are more professors, lawyers, physicians, dentists, engineers and teachers per capita among the Palestinians than in many other nations of the developing world.

The Palestinians Were Recognized As A Provisionally Independent Nation

When World War I broke out, the Palestinians were living under Ottoman rule with representatives in the Ottoman Parliament at Constantinople. Palestinian leaders joined other leaders from Lebanon, Syria and Iraq in fighting for national independence and freedom from Ottoman rule. Palestinians, as other Arab peoples, joined the Allied Powers with the hope of realizing their independence and freedom.

According to Article XXII of the League of Nations Covenant, the Palestinians were recognized “as a provisionally independent nation, subject to rendering of administrative assistance and advice by a Mandatory until they were able to stand alone.”

Great Britain was supposed to obtain a Mandate in 1920 to lead the Palestinians to self-determination and independence. Instead, Great Britain ruled Palestine as a Crown Colony for the benefit of the Jews of the world, because of the Balfour Declaration.

What Is The Balfour Declaration?

The Balfour Declaration was a letter issued on November 2, 1917, sent by Britain’s Secretary of State, James Arthur Balfour, to Lord Rothschild, in which he stated: “His Majesty’s Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national Jewish home for the Jewish People... It is being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”

Great Britain had no connection whatsoever with Palestine in 1917, so why should the British Government promise the Jews of the world a Jewish national home in Palestine? The answer was given by Samuel Landman of London, who was Secretary of the World Zionist organization from 1917-1922. Landman disclosed the facts in an official pamphlet, “Great Britain, the Jews and Palestine,” published by the New Zionist Press, London, 1936.

He stated how the World Zionist Organization in 1916 entered into a secret agreement with the British War Cabinet, by the terms of which Great Britain promised Palestine to the Zionists as payment for using Zionist pressure in the United States to railroad the United States into World War I as Great Britain's ally.

Mr. Landman states on page 4:

The only way...to induce the American President to come into the War was to secure the co-operation of Zionist Jews by promising them Palestine, and thus enlist and mobilize the hitherto unsuspectedly powerful forces of Zionist Jews in America and elsewhere in favour of the Allies on a quid pro quo contract basis.

The 1939 White Paper

For 21 years, Great Britain denied the Palestinians their right to self-determination and independence, but finally issued the White Paper of May 1939, in which it stated, *inter alia*, the following:

1. The Proposal of partition recommended by the Royal Commission, namely the establishment of self-supporting independent Arab and Jewish states within Palestine, has been found to be impracticable.
2. His Majesty's Government now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish state. They would indeed regard it as contrary to their obligations to the Arabs under the Mandate, as well as to the assurances which have been given to the Arab people in the past, that the *Arab population of Palestine should be made the subjects of a Jewish state against their will*.
3. The independent State should be one in which Arabs and Jews share in government in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of each community are safe-guarded. The establishment of the independent State will be preceded by a transitional period throughout which His Majesty's Government will retain responsibility for the government of the country.

The Zionists in Palestine rejected the British White Paper, and revolted against the British administration of Palestine. From 1939 to 1947 the three Zionist terrorist gangs (the Haganah, the Irgun, and the Stern) carried out the most dastardly crimes and massacres against the civilian Arab population, as well as against officials of the British government. Many of the political and military leaders in Israel today were members of one of these three Zionist terrorist gangs. Menachem Begin was the leader of the worst of the gangs, namely, the Irgun, which committed thousands of crimes. The most notable and well-remembered of Irgun's dastardly deeds was the blowing up of the King David Hotel on July 23, 1947, when 91 persons were killed and 45 were injured. Another particularly notable crime was the massacre of Deir Yassin ordered by Menachem Begin, when 300 men, women and children were massacred and their bodies dumped into wells or mass graves.

Yitzhak Shamir was leader of the Stern Gang, which committed murders and massacres. It assassinated Lord Moyne in Cairo and the United Nations mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte in Jerusalem. Moshe Dayan, Yigal Yadin, Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Rabin, Ezer Weizmann and Ariel Sharon were members of the Haganah gang, which committed mass murders and expulsions of the Palestinians.

How The Palestinians Were Made A Refugee Nation In Exile

In 1947, the British Government submitted the Palestine problem to the United Nations General Assembly, requesting that steps be taken to determine the future government of Palestine. At that time, there were in Palestine 1,350,000 Muslim and Christian Palestinians, who were indigenous or born in Palestine and 650,000 Jews, out of whom 200,000 were born in Palestine and 450,000 who were immigrants and mostly illegal immigrants.

On the 29th of November, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly, by 33 votes in favor, 13 opposed, and 10 abstentions, adopted a resolution partitioning Palestine with a total area of 10,435 square miles, of which 272 square miles are water — into three areas:

1. An Arab State comprising 4,476 square miles, or 42.88%;
2. A Jewish State, comprising 4,893 square miles, or 56.47%;
3. An International regime for the City of Jerusalem comprising 68 square miles, or 0.65%.

When the implementation of the Partition Plan appeared to be impossible without the use of force, the United States took the lead in the Security Council, which passed a resolution calling for a special session of the United Nations General Assembly to consider further the question of the future government of Palestine. In the meantime, the United States promoted the idea of establishing a temporary United Nations trusteeship for Palestine. President Truman issued a statement on March 25, 1948, in which he said:

This country vigorously supported the plan for partition with Economic Union recommended by UNSCOP and by GA. We have explored every possibility consistent with basic principles of Charter for giving effect to that solution. Unfortunately, it has become clear that the partition plan cannot be carried out at this time by peaceful means. We could not undertake to impose this solution on the people of Palestine by use of American troops, both on Charter grounds and as a matter of national policy.

During the war between the Palestinians and the Jews in Palestine after November 1947, the three Zionist terrorist gangs committed many massacres against the civilian Arab population. The most notable was the Massacre at Deir Yassin, a suburb of Jerusalem. Under the direct orders and supervision of Menachem Begin, 80% of the population of Deir Yassin, 300 men, women and children, were massacred. Begin's terrorists then herded the rest of the Arab population into trucks, and paraded them in Jerusalem to create panic amongst the Arab population. In this book, *The Revolt*, Menachem Begin admits that the objective of that massacre was to drive the Arab civilian population out of the Jewish state.

The Arab states of Syria, Egypt and Transjordan responded to the appeals of the Palestinians to send their armed forces to protect the Palestinians. Unfortunately, due to British influence on some Arab governments, the Arab war effort was sabotaged and the Jews remained in occupation of about 80% of Palestine. When the Armistice Agreements were signed between the illegal Zionist regime, called "Israel," and Egypt, Lebanon, Transjordan and Syria, the Zionist regime remained in occupation of 7,847 square miles. That was 78.47% of the area of Palestine. The Palestinians remained in control of 2,153 square miles-21.53% of the area. Transjordan unilaterally annexed the West Bank, and Egypt remained in control of the Gaza Strip.

The above indisputable facts prove that so-called "Israel" was established by genocide, by war crimes and crimes against humanity. Using invasion and conquest, European alien Jews violated not only the national integrity of Palestine, but also the human, civil, political and proprietary rights of the indigenous Muslim and Christian population of Palestine. The Palestinians were deprived of their rights to live in dignity and freedom as a people in their ancestral homeland, and

were reduced to the status of an exiled nation, living in the misery of refugee camps. They were left looking for the day when they could return to their homes, properties and holy places, which they cherish more than life itself.

No people in the world today are subjected to the Naziracist criminal methods of humiliation, persecution, intimidation, oppression, exile, imprisonment, detention, robbery, murder and annihilation except the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. The Palestinians live in a concentration camp style. Palestinian families are being uprooted from their lands, rendered homeless, and Jewish colonies are established on these lands. Over 5,000 Palestinian young men and women are in prisons and camps, tortured and humiliated by Nazi-Zionist methods. Palestinian leaders are being exiled, tortured and humiliated. Palestinian men and women are being daily attacked or murdered by Jewish hooligans; university students are arrested, beaten, detained and universities closed down. Muslim holy places are being desecrated. Harem Sydna Ibrahim Alkhalil in Hebron has been turned into a synagogue. Excavations are being carried out under the Dome of the Rock, one of the holiest places of Islam, as a prelude to claiming the site for rebuilding the Jewish Temple.

Jerusalem Arab inhabitants are being forced to leave the Holy City. Arab lands in and around Jerusalem and in many parts of the West Bank are being usurped to build apartment buildings for Jews in order to complete the Judaization of the Holy City. The facist Zionist leaders are doing everything to complete the annexation and Judaization of the West Bank and Ga'za. In February 1981, the Likud authorities and the zealots of Gush Emunim intensified their activities in usurping a great part of Palestinian lands in the West Bank and the establishment of more Jewish settlements with U.S. tax-free funds supplied by the Jewish Agency.

The Palestine Liberation Organization Is Not A Terrorist Organization

Mr. President, you made several statements during the election campaign and one statement after your inauguration describing the Palestine Liberation Organization as a terrorist organization. With all due respect, these statements are the result of slanted misinformation from Israeli and Zionist-Jewish sources. The official position of the United States regarding the PLO was established by Henry Kissinger in 1975, in a Memorandum of Agreement with Israel, which states: "The United States will not recognize or negotiate with the PLO so long as the PLO does not recognize Israel's right to exist and does not accept the Security Council's Resolutions 242 and 338."

This statement means that in order for the United States Government to negotiate with or recognize the PLO, the PLO must first recognize the Zionist conquest and occupation of 80% of Palestine, thereby legitimizing the illegal usurpation of the Palestine homeland and dropping all claims by Palestinians to their homes, lands, properties, their right to return to their homeland, and to live in freedom and dignity. For what? In order that the United States representatives talk to PLO representatives. This new brand of United States diplomacy is immoral, unjust, and violates all principles of international law. It is typical of the crooked deals concocted by Dr. Henry Kissinger in connivance with Israel.

Dr. Kissinger is a Zionist agent and has dubious connections with international communism. By tying the hands of the United States, in agreements with Israel, Dr. Kissinger was not serving the best interests of the United States but only the interests of his Jewish nation.

The PLO is a Palestinian nationalist organization, composed of engineers, physicians, professors, teachers, businessmen and farmers. It is elected by the 450 members of the Palestine National

Assembly, which is the Palestinian Parliament-in Exile. The Palestine Liberation Organization represents the Palestine, Liberation movement, which is determined to free the Palestinians ancestral homeland from the military occupation of European and American Zionist Jews. The goal of the Palestine liberation movement is the restoration of the national and religious rights of the Palestine people to live in dignity and freedom in their ancestral homeland.

Right Of Palestinians To Resist Conquest And Occupation Of Their Homeland And Usurpation Of Their Rights

The people of Palestine are legally entitled to use force in self-defense, to liberate their country from Jewish occupation and subjugation. No one can deny the right of Palestinians presently living in exile, or under Jewish domination, to join the Palestine

resistance movement and participate in the liberation of Palestine. The principles of international law, and the principles of the United Nations Charter outlawed war, outlawed conquest and outlawed military occupations. Aggressive war has become a war crime, and therefore, resistance movements by the people of occupied territories against the aggressors are justified. A resistance movement is fully justified as a struggle by a people for self-preservation.

The resistance movements in the Soviet Union, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Malaya and Burma during the Second World War set the pattern for subjugated nations in their struggle for liberation from the yoke of foreign aggressors. During World War II, all the governments of the "United Nations" gave assistance and encouragement to resistance movements against the Axis aggressors.

The resolutions of the General Assembly in recent years support the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestine people for national liberation. By its resolution 2160 (XXI) of November 30, 1966, the General Assembly recognized "that peoples subjected to colonial oppression are entitled to seek and receive all support in their struggle which is in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter." In paragraph B of that resolution, the General Assembly re-affirmed the following: "(B) Any forcible action, direct or indirect, which deprives peoples under foreign domination of their right to self-determination and freedom and independence, and of their right to determine freely their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development, constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Accordingly, the use of force to deprive peoples of their national identity, as prohibited by the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States, and the Protection of Their Independence Sovereignty contained in General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX), constitutes a violation of their inalienable rights and of the principle of non-intervention."

Again, by its resolution 2440 (XXIII) of December 19, 1968, the General Assembly re-affirmed "its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle by the opponents of apartheid to realize their human rights and fundamental freedoms." By its resolution 2446 (XXIII) of the same date, the General Assembly confirmed "the views of the International Conference on Human Rights, held at Teheran, which recognized and vigorously supported the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples and patriotic liberation movements in Southern Africa and in colonial territories, in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions. " The United States voted in support of these resolutions.

Therefore, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as representative of the Palestine National Resistance Movement, is recognized as legitimate by international law.

It must be stated here, that under the order of the Palestine Liberation Organization, there are 50,000 Palestinian Freedom Fighters, who are Palestinian men and women born and raised in refugee camps. These young Palestinians are willing to sacrifice their lives in the cause of liberating their homeland, from which their parents were exiled. They are yearning for the day when they will return to the homes and lands of their parents in Palestine.

These men and women and leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization are not terrorists. They are freedom fighters like the patriots of the American Revolution. The Zionist propagandists keep reminding United States public opinion about Jewish women and children who lost their lives when Palestinian guerrillas took a school as a hostage in the settlement of Ma'alot. The Zionists hide the fact that the loss of life was the result of the storming of the building by Jewish armed forces who were mainly responsible for the tragedy which followed.

If the United States Government and politicians brand these incidents as terrorism, why do they not brand as terrorism the massacres of Palestinian and Lebanese women and children, who have been burnt by napalm and destroyed by fragmentation bombs dropped on them by Israelis, using United States airplanes in southern Lebanon? Over 100 such Israeli raids have been conducted since 1967 alone, and over 3,000 Palestinian and Lebanese men, women and children were murdered! Are Palestinian and Lebanese women and children human? Or, are only Jewish women and children human?

If the United States Administration and politicians want to be fair and evenhanded, they must brand Israeli political and military leaders as terrorists and war criminals. They invaded Palestine, occupied 80% of that country, expelled and exiled in 1948 more than 1,000,000 Palestinians and robbed them of their homes, properties and all their worldly belongings, and forced them to live in degradation and exile.

Messrs. Menachem Begin, Yitzhak Shamir, Ariel Sharon, Moshe Dayan, Ezer Weizmann, Yigal Yadeen, Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, and all the other political and military leaders of Israel are terrorists and war criminals. They were members of the three Zionist terrorist organizations, the Haganah, the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang, which committed terrorism and massacres against the British forces and the Palestinians from 1939 to 1948, such as the Deir Yassin massacre, and the blowing up of the King David Hotel and killing Palestinian men and women.

After the establishment of the so-called State of Israel, Zionist leaders used the armed forces to commit massacres against Palestinian villages throughout the country.

During the 1967 June war, Zionist leaders committed massacres, war crimes, and crimes against humanity against the Palestinian civilians in the occupied areas. The leaders of the Labor Government and the Likud Government sent American airplanes to bomb refugee camps and villages in Lebanon and killed thousands of Palestinian men, women and children.

Americans also became victims of Israeli war crimes when, in June 1967, Israeli airplanes bombed the *U.S.S. Liberty* which, at the same time, was being torpedoed by the Israeli navy. Forty-two Americans were killed, and 155 Americans were injured. The attack on the *U.S.S. Liberty* was premeditated with the object of preventing it from monitoring Israeli communications, which proved that Israel was the aggressor and started the 1967 war against Egypt.

Even today, Zionist leaders are continuing to commit war crimes and crimes against humanity in the occupied areas. They have turned the West Bank and Gaza into a concentration camp similar to what the Nazis did in Europe.

Zionist leaders in occupied Palestine are the terrorists. They are the War Criminals, and yet the United States treats them with respect and recognition, while they call the Palestine freedom fighters terrorists.

Lies Spread About The PLO

One of the biggest lies spread by Zionist propagandists to deceive and brainwash American politicians is that the Palestine Liberation Organization collaborates with the Soviet Union, and They say the PLO is financed and armed by the Soviet Union, and any Palestine state that may be established in the West Bank and Gaza will become a Soviet satellite.

These are Zionist fabrications and are made with the object of inciting hostility in the United States against the Palestinians. Not one single ruble is given by the Soviet Union to the Palestine Liberation Organization. The weapons used by the Palestine freedom fighters are either from European origin or Soviet origin. The Soviet weapons were bought by some Arab states, which delivered them to the Palestine Liberation Organization. The reason why Palestinians do not use American weapons is that the United States refuses to sell them these weapons, and Arab countries, buying American weapons, do not deliver these weapons to the Palestinians. If the United States is willing to sell weapons to the Palestinians they will be very glad to buy them at a high price, and not as military assistance-like that given to the Israeli invaders annually at the cost of \$2,000,000,000 to the American taxpayer.

Another lie spread by Zionist propagandists is that the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinians want to throw the Jews into the sea. According to Zionist logic, European and American Jews have the right to occupy Palestine, expel the Palestinians, and reduce them to a refugee nation, scattered throughout the Middle East, rob them of all their lands, homes and possessions, and the Palestinians have no right, even to return home or resist the invaders. Can the Zionists prove that a Palestinian expelled one Jew from his home? It is the Zionists who threw one million Palestinians into the desert in 1948, expelled many Palestinians after 1967, and now are endeavoring to Judaize the West Bank and Gaza and drive the 1,300,000 Palestinians out of these occupied territories.

What the Palestinians want is not to drive the Jews into the sea, but to return home and live in peace, dignity and freedom in their ancestral homeland. The Palestine Liberation Organization declared its plan for the establishment of a secular Palestine state, where Palestinians of the Muslim, Christian and Jewish faiths can live as fellow citizens, without any discrimination on the ground of race or religion.

The Majority Of Palestinians Are Religious — Against Communism

The overwhelming majority of the Palestinians — Muslims, Christians and Jews — are very religious and devout people, who take pride in the fact that their homeland is a Holy Land, every part of which was sanctified and blessed by all the prophets from Abraham to Jesus and Mohammed.

The Palestinians aspire to live as free people in a holy, democratic state, which will have no army, no navy or airforce. They aspire to restore their Holy Land to its status before Zionist occupation and desecration. The Holy Land must become again the land of serenity, peace, pilgrimage and worship. It is a negation of its sanctity, indeed it is a sacrilege to keep the Holy Land as an armed Zionist camp, with the ugly weapons of destruction bent on massacres, atrocities and war crimes.

The overwhelming majority of Palestinians are against atheism and communism as a philosophy or a way of life, and shall never allow their democratic state of the Holy Land to become a satellite of the Soviet Union of the United States or any other state.

Israel Is A Colonial, Racist, Military Regime Of Apartheid

It is often stated that Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East. What a farce of statement, to call such a racist regime a democracy, a regime established by genocide, a regime practicing discrimination against Oriental Jews and apartheid against the 700,000 Arabs, the indigenous population of the country, who chose to cling to their land, and who are living as second-class citizens with every type of persecution and oppression, known only in the annals of the Middle Ages! Even their children, who left the country to study abroad, are not permitted to come back, and if they go back to visit their families, they are subjected to such harassment as to force them to leave their country.

What kind of a democracy is this, which daily expels Palestinians and confiscates their homes and lands? What kind of democracy is this which is a state for Jews and only orthodox Jews? Reformed Jews are also discriminated against in this so-called democracy.

Israel is racist because it is built on Talmudic principles which consider Jews as a superrace above all races and peoples. It is reactionary and racist because it maintains that "Israel" is a state for Jews only in accordance with the definition of Halacha, that is, strict Jewish Law. A Jew is defined as a person born of a Jewish mother or who was converted to Judaism in accordance with the strict Halacha rules. Consequently, there is no place for a Christian or a Muslim or a Hindu or a Buddhist or of any other religion.

"Israel is a testament to the inability of men to live together," wrote Look Magazine Senior Editor Robert Moskin, in an article entitled, "Prejudice in Israel," in Look Magazine of October 5, 1965.

The Council of the Sephardic Community of Jerusalem in 1965 published a booklet entitled "Danger: Jewish Racism," in which it explained the plight of the Oriental Jews in "Israel" and the discrimination and persecution they are subjected to by the European Ashkenazi Jews. It stated: "The oriental Jews are Victims of racial attitudes, Ashkenazi non-democracy, cultural genocide, discrimination in education, and appalling living conditions."

The orthodox Jews are the dominant sect in Israel. They persecute Reform and Conservative Jews. Reform and Conservative Jews are not permitted to have synagogues, or pray in public places in "Israel."

The political, legal, religious and social system in the "Jewish State" is based on racial and religious prejudice, discrimination and fanaticism. The "Jewish State" was created for a special class of Jews, namely the Ashkenazi Orthodox Jews.

Jewish fanaticism, prejudice and discrimination against Christians and Muslims stems from the teaching of the Talmud, which abhors Christianity and Islam. Christianity and Islam recognize the Old Testament and consider Bible prophets as their prophets and teach tolerance and neighborly treatment toward the Jews. The Talmud teaches Jew superiority and exclusivity. It teaches the theory of the "Jew-master-race." The "Jew-master-race" theory as practiced in Israel dictates that a pure "Jew race" of the Orthodox Jew sect must reign supreme in the "Jewish State" with-

out being interfered with or defiled by the presence of the Gay (i.e., idolators or non-Jews), and without importing Reform and Conservative Judaism to “Israel.”

Zionist racism in occupied Palestine is more extreme than Nazi racism. In Nazi Germany, marriage between Jews and non-Jews was not favored. In the Zionist regime in Palestine, such marriage is prohibited by law. Even marriage between Jews is prevented if the rabbis consider one of the parties is not allowed to marry.

In Nazi Germany, no Jew was prevented from owning or leasing property from a German. In racist occupied Palestine, no Jew may sell or lease a property to a Palestinian or Muslim or Christian.

Palestinians are expelled from their homes, robbed of their properties, persecuted, segregated, and treated as second-class citizens. The following crimes and violations of human rights are committed by Israel against the Palestinians:

1. Collective and area punishment;
2. Deportation and expulsion;
3. Ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees;
4. Ill-treatment of civilians;
5. Destruction and demolition of houses and building;
6. Confiscation and expropriation of property;
7. Looting and pillage.

Some brainwashed United States politicians under the influence of Zionists usually state, “Israel is a state which shares with us the same values of morality and democracy.” It is a degradation to the high moral Christian values of the United States to be compared to the fanatic Talmudic principles applied by the colonial, racist, military regime of apartheid which is ruled by terrorists and war criminals.

Israel Is A Financial Liability

The United States Administration is endeavoring to cut the United States budget to save billions of dollars from Social Security, medical aid and assistance to the poor. Instead of cutting these billions of dollars necessary for United States citizens, it would be more appropriate if the United States administration cut the \$7,000,000,000 which it is giving to Israel every year, either through government, military, economic and food aid, or through tax exemptions to Zionist-Jewish agencies which are collecting tax-free, tax-deductible funds and transferring them to Israel, to assist the Israeli government in perpetuating its occupation of the lands of the Palestinians.

If the United States will immediately stop giving Israel \$7 billion every year, it will not be obliged to make the following cuts in the budget, which was prepared by President Reagan:

- \$1.5 billion in child nutrition;
- \$1.2. billion in medical aid;
- \$1.2 billion in extended unemployment benefits;
- \$1.1 billion in social security minimum payments;
- \$803 million in student aid;
- \$550 million in disability insurance;
- \$172 million in cuts for arts and humanities;

- \$43 million in public broadcasting budget;
- \$238 million for youth conservation corps;
- \$220 million for vocational education
- \$7.026 billions

Which is better for the U.S., to finance its social, educational and humanitarian services for its citizens, or to give military and economic assistance to war criminals, to assist them in perpetuating their crimes against the Palestinian people?

Senator Adlai Stevenson stated last year in a speech in the Senate that 71% of United States foreign aid is given to Israel and Egypt, to the detriment of the best interests of the United States. This demonstrates how Israel is a great financial liability to the United States, which is endangering the best interests and national security of the United States in other areas of the world. Instead of giving Israel and Egypt 71 % of its foreign aid, the United States should allocate funds for Latin America and for Asia and Africa, which is being infiltrated by communist agents, to tear them away from the United States and the free world.

Israel is living, and completely dependent on U.S. economic assistance and on funds contributed by Jews from ten other countries. Its high foreign and internal debts make it a bankrupt regime. The high rate of inflation and unemployment, high taxation, the wave of immorality and crime, the corruption in the government and the armed services make this regime an unlivable state. The uncertainty about the future resulted in a high rate of migration. There are at least 500,000 Israelis who fled the country to New York and California. Soviet Jewish immigrants, subsidized by \$15 million annually, refuse to go to Israel. So what is the justification for the U.S. squandering \$30,000,000,000 of official aid and more than \$30,000,000,000 from tax-exempt contributions to build a military racist regime after reducing the Palestinians to a refugee nation.

U.S. Has No Moral Commitment To Israel

It is often said that the United States has a moral commitment to the existence, survival and security of Israel. What kind of a moral commitment could there be for a state established by genocide, by expelling the indigenous population, robbing them of their homes and properties, and by establishing a fanatic, racist regime, which is worse than the apartheid regime in South Africa?

The United States has done all in its power-by word and by deed-to encourage the liquidation of colonialism, imperialism, and the subjugation and exploitation of the right of self-determination of peoples. The United States played a very important role in the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In view of these principles cherished by the United States, how could the United States consider it its moral obligation for the survival of a regime of aggression by European & American Jews, who invaded Palestine, violated the territorial integrity of the country, occupied over 80% of Palestine, expelled over one million of its indigenous population, and, at present, occupies the rest of Palestine and wants to dictate its terms to determine the destiny of the population of the other 20%.

How can this great Christian nation aid and abet the Zionist world criminals to desecrate the Holy Land, turn it into an armed camp?

The Israel-Zionist Watergate

The foundation of the United States Government was shaken, the country experienced a political tremor, a president resigned, and many top government officials were sent to jail because of the scandal of Watergate. All these problems resulted from a simple “breaking-in” to the offices of the National Democratic Party, and an alleged cover-up by the President and his assistants of the said crime.

Israeli agents and Zionist Jews commit in the United States the most heinous crimes, defraud the Treasury of the United States with billions of dollars, and violate many United States laws. The FBI, the CIA and other United States intelligence agencies, the White House and many members of Congress, are all aware of these crimes against the national security of the United States, and yet no one dares to institute serious investigations or take steps to end these crimes and punish the perpetrators. This is, indeed, an Israeli-Zionist Watergate, more serious and catastrophic than the original American Watergate.

What are the elements of the Israeli-Zionist Watergate?

(1) Israeli agents stole 8,000 lbs. of weapon-grade uranium between 1957-1965 through the Nuclear Material and Equipment Corporation (NUMEC), formed by Zalman Shapiro. NUMEC agreed to serve as a “technical consultant, training and procurement agency” for Israel. It formed ISORAD, a subsidiary company half owned by the Israeli government. Through these two companies and Mr. Shapiro, Israeli agents were able to steal and smuggle out of the United States about 8,000 lbs. uranium, which enabled Israel to produce about 14 atomic bombs.

All investigations carried out by The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the CIA, the FBI and other government agencies proved the crime of Israeli agents. The facts were sent to President Lyndon B. Johnson, who ordered the cover-up of these crimes. All subsequent United States administrations were in possession of the facts, but nobody dared open this can of worms because politicians are afraid of Zionist revenge.

(2) Over thirty Zionist and Jewish political organizations obtained by fraud and deceit exemptions from income taxes and the deduction of contributions made to them from taxable income. They have been collecting for the last thirty years over \$100,000,000 every year. They spend these fabulous amounts of tax-free, tax-deductible contributions for the following political purposes:

1. For the control of the United States media of mass communications;
2. For brainwashing the American people;
3. For influencing United States elections;
4. For influencing the United States administration and Congress;
5. For threatening and blackmailing or economically and socially destroying any American citizen who dares criticize Israel;
6. For a lobby in Washington for legislation to further the interests of Israel.

The following is a partial list of these organizations which defraud the Treasury of the United States:

B'nai B'rith, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Conference of Presidents of Major American-Jewish Organizations, the Jewish Labor Committee, the National Conference of Soviet Jewry, the World Jewish Congress, the American Zionist Federation, the World Zionist Organization of America, the Zionist Organization of America.

The Internal Revenue Code entitles “Charitable Organizations” to such exemptions. “Charitable Organizations” are defined as religious and educational organizations, etc. Not one of the Zionist-Jewish organizations which obtained such exemptions is either religious or educational. They are nothing but political, using the fabulous amounts of contributions to dominate the political life of the United States and dictate American policy towards Israel.

(3) The United Jewish Appeal and the Israeli Bonds Organization: These two organizations were formed to collect funds for the State of Israel. The United Jewish Appeal collects every year between \$300,000,000 and \$500,000,000, and transfers the funds to the United Israel Appeal which, in turn, transfers these funds to the Jewish Agency Incorporated, American Section, (known also as the World Zionist Organization, American Section), which, in turn, transfers the money to the Jewish Agency, Israeli Section. The Land Settlement Department in the World Zionist Organization in Jerusalem plans and finances most of the Jewish settlements which were established in the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, which are considered illegal under international law, according to many resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and the United Nations General Assembly, and even according to the declarations of the successive United States administrations since 1967. American tax-free, tax-deductible funds, which are collected for supposedly charitable purposes, are being used by Jews to rob the Palestinians of their lands, necessary for their livelihood, to establish Jewish settlements, and deprive the Palestinians of their livelihood.

The Israel Bond organization is collecting hundreds of millions of dollars in the United States in order to help and subsidize the illegal work of the Israeli government. According to legal technicalities worked out by the lawyers of this organization, all contributions to these bonds are deducted from United States income tax, thereby defrauding the Treasury of the United States. These facts are well known to many members of Congress; why, then, is no investigation made in Congress to expose this fraud? American Christian political organizations would never be able to get away with defrauding the Treasury of the United States in such a manner.

(4) Over 350 Zionist and Jewish organizations obtained tax exemptions and permits for deducting contributions to them from taxable income. They transmit the collected funds to organizations and institutions in Israel, amongst which are political parties, religious schools, the Israeli National Funds (which usurps Palestinian lands), labor organizations, etc. It is estimated that over \$500,000,000 are collected every year by these organizations.

United States citizens of Irish and Italian origin number more than 20 and 10 times respectively of Jewish citizens. They do not collect tax-free, tax-deductible funds to be transmitted to Ireland and Italy. If all different nationalities or religious minorities in the United States were allowed to defraud the United States Treasury in the manner in which it is being defrauded by the Zionist-Jewish minority, the United States would become bankrupt. How come only Jewish and Zionist organizations are able to get away with these illegalities and frauds? Who is responsible for this cover-up?

(5) The United States has given Israel the sum of \$24.5 billion in economic and military aid from 1949-1980, and \$3.4 billion in 1980. It gave Israel the most sophisticated military equipment in the United States arsenal. Israel used these weapons to launch wars of aggression against the Arab countries in 1967 and against Lebanon in 1978. Not one week passes without Israel sending American airplanes to kill men, women and children in southern Lebanon. Using United States weapons, supplied by military aid in such a manner, is a violation of United States laws. The United States successive administrations never enforced these laws against Israel and did nothing more than lodge a friendly reminder to Israeli authorities.

(6) The Mossad — the Israeli intelligence agency — is carrying out illegal and subversive activities against the Arab embassies in Washington, and the Arab missions to the United Nations. It engaged in stealing and smuggling 8,000 lbs. of weapon-grade uranium. It collects secret information and steals technological secrets from United States companies. The United States intelligence agencies, the FBI, the White House, and some leading members of Congress are all aware of the Mossad activities in the United States, and nobody dares to investigate its activities.

The above crimes and cover-up are only a few of many of the crimes committed by Israel and Israeli agents in the United States. The cover-up by the successive United States administrations and members of Congress of these crimes is the greatest scandal in the history of the United States.

(7) There are in the United States over 50 Zionist and Jewish organizations which have branches and agents all over the United States, working for the State of Israel, for Israeli political parties, collecting money for Israel and pressuring the United States Administration and Congress under the instructions of the Israeli government and its Embassy in Washington. Each and all of these organizations, branches, and members are engaged in activities covered by the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and therefore they are under the legal obligation to register as foreign agents.

It will suffice to mention only a few of these organizations: the Presidents Conference (an organization consisting of presidents of 23 Zionist political organizations), the American-Israeli Public Relations Committee, the American Zionist Council, the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, the Jewish Agency for Israel, the American Jewish Committee, the World Jewish Congress, the Labor Zionist Organization of America, the United Jewish Appeal and the Zionist Organization of America.

Thousands of organizations carrying on activities in the United States on behalf of foreign principals are registered as foreign agents; only these Zionist and Jewish organizations consider themselves above the law, and they do not register. The Justice Department and the FBI are well aware of these facts and yet nobody dares to force these organizations and their members to register as foreign agents.

Israel Is Not A Fulfillment Of Prophecy

In order to justify their occupation of the homeland of the Palestinians, the Zionists brainwashed many people in the United States with many myths and fallacies. One of these myths is that Israel is the fulfillment of prophecy. It is deplorable that some Christian fundamentalists and missionaries, either because of self-interest, corruption, or Bible misinterpretation- propagate and promote this fallacy. The most notorious of these missionaries are Billy Graham and Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority, who knowingly perjure their souls in promoting this false teaching.

The Zionists claim that Jews are the Chosen People and God is repatriating his Chosen People to their Promised Land. Their interpretation of the Bible ignores the coming of Jesus Christ, and that these promises were fulfilled with the return of the Jews from Babylonian captivity. The Talmudist interpretation of the Old Testament ignores the New Testament and the Christian doctrine. The Talmudists claim that Biblical promises were given to Abraham and his seed, and that they are heirs to that promise. This, statement ignores the fact that -the Arabs are also the seed of Abraham. Moreover, it ignores the interpretation of St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians. In chapter 3, verse 14, St. Paul states: "That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith." In verse 16, St. Paul states: "Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to

seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ.” St. Paul sums up the subject in verses 26-29, as follows: “For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, the heirs according to the promise.”

It must be stated here that the Palestinians- Christians and Muslims- adore Jesus Christ. Jesus and His Mother are mentioned in many Suras of the Koran with great veneration. This is in contrast to Talmudist Jews, who are returning to “The Promised Land,” who spout against Jesus and His venerated mother the worst calumnies.

Israel Is Not A Strategic Asset For The United States

Many American politicians are brainwashed by Zionist propagandists into thinking and stating “Israel is a strategic asset.” A well-informed United States politician, who once was a member of the Cabinet and played many important roles in government, commented on this matter as follows: “I always think to myself, what will happen if I awake one morning and learn that Israel does not exist any more, due to a great earthquake? I do not think that this will matter to me or to anyone in the United States. But what will happen if I awake one morning and I learn that Saudi Arabia has disappeared from the earth? I shall be, and every American will be extremely shaken, because the whole Western economy and Western civilization will be destroyed overnight.” This statement in its simplicity demonstrates that it is the Arab world and not Israel which is the strategic asset for the United States.

The fallacy that Israel is a strategic asset has been promoted by certain retired United States officers who were, and are still, working for the Israeli lobby. They spread the lie that Israel is a strategic asset against Soviet ambitions to dominate the Middle East. Yet, it is the existence of an illegal and expansionist Israel that permits Soviet gains in the region.

The claim that Israel has “the best army in the world” is a piece of psychological war propaganda spread by the Zionists and their agents to prevent the Arabs from carrying out their military struggle against Israel. Let us examine the facts.

During the war between the Palestinians and the Zionist armed forces in 1947-48, the Palestinians won every battle against the Zionist armed forces, and they were in control of most of the country, in spite of the fact that Palestinians were ill-armed and ill-equipped. *It was due to the military assistance of British forces and to the air-lifting of Soviet weapons to Tel Aviv by Czechoslovakia in 1948 that Zionist forces were able to commit massacres against Palestinians, drive over 1,000,000 Palestinians from their homes, and occupy 80% of Palestine.*

In 1956, it was British and French armed forces which aided and abetted Israeli forces to occupy the Sinai Peninsula.

In 1967, Egypt was not prepared for war. President Gamul Abdul Nasser moved his forces as a propaganda ploy to pressure President Lyndon B. Johnson to renew the economic aid agreement with Egypt. The Zionists pressured President Johnson to refuse to renew the economic aid to Egypt in order to arouse Gamul Abdul Nasser. The Zionists were predicting the steps which Abdul Nasser would take as a bluff and were preparing to launch their attack to crush Egypt's military power before the Egyptians perfected their training on the use of Soviet weapons. At the same time, the Zionists were executing their plan of expansion, to occupy the West Bank and Gaza and other parts of the Arab world, in accordance with the Zionist colonial program. Israel

was planning its attack while Abdul Nasser was being lulled into slumber by American and Soviet intelligence agencies, each one for its own motives

The proof that Egypt was not prepared or preparing for war is the fact that, in the evening of June 4, 1967, a party was held for the airforce graduates in Anshas (former Farouk palace and gardens), where practically every important officer in the Egyptian airforce and all its commanders were present in that party until the early hours of the morning of June 5, when the Israelis attacked at 4 a.m. According to unimpeachable evidence in our possession, Egyptian agents of the Israeli intelligence were able to put LSD in the drinks and coffee served to most important officers and top command of the Egyptian airforce. When Israeli airplanes struck at 4 a.m. on the morning of June 5, most of the Egyptian airforce officers were asleep and incapacitated by LSD.

We have also unimpeachable evidence that the Israeli airplanes dropped LSD-25, a nerve gas, on Egyptian forces in Sinai and on Egyptian military airports, and were able to incapacitate the Egyptian armed forces. These facts prove that the Israeli armed forces won the 1967 war by deception, conspiracy, and using the LSD-25 nerve gas. This does not make the Israeli army "the best in the world."

During the first stage of the 1973 war, Israeli armed forces in the Sinai and the Golan Heights were defeated, and Israel would have been completely defeated had it not been for the United States' intervention due to the efforts of the Zionist fanatic, Dr. Henry Kissinger, who was instrumental in airlifting to Israel most of the military equipment and ammunition.

In a memorandum prepared by Dr. Kissinger about a meeting he had with Jewish leaders in the Hotel Pierre, New York on June 15, 1975, Dr. Kissinger reveals the following:

- The United States *saved Israel from collapse* at the end of the first week (of the 1973 war) by our arms supply.
- What was our strategy in 1973? *First, we sought to break the Arab united front.* Also we wanted to ensure that the Europeans and Japanese did not get involved in the diplomacy; and of course we wanted to keep the Soviets out of the diplomatic arena. *Finally, we sought a situation which would enable Israel to deal separately with each of its neighbors.*
- What we wanted was the most massive Arab defeat possible so that it would be clear to the Arabs that they would get nowhere with dependence on the Soviets.
- We maintain that Israel is nothing but a paper tiger. This military reputation, as having the best army in the world, is nothing but a piece of psychological warfare propaganda. It is true that the United States supplied Israel with large arsenals of ultra-modern military weapons, but this does not make Israel invincible. It is also true that the Israeli airforce has the most modern American bombers and fighters, equipped with the most sophisticated electronic weapon systems and countermeasures. This makes Israel more effective against the inferior Syrian, Egyptian- and Jordanian bombers and fighters, with no sophisticated electronic weapon systems. Both the Soviet Union and the United States deny Arab countries the most modern airplanes and weapon systems. These facts do not credit the Israeli airforce with excellence per se, because the battle is not between equals and is only between a small cannon and a missile.

The production of atomic weapons by Israel was not the result of its technology. The French built the atomic reactor in Dimona in 1956 in exchange for Israel's giving the French government the secrets of the atomic bomb, stolen by American Jewish scientists and delivered to David Ben-Gurion. Shimon Peres, as envoy of Ben-Gurion, played an important role in the secret negotiations with France.

From 1957-1965, Israeli agents stole from United States atomic plants 8,000 lbs. of weapon-grade uranium. Israeli agents hijacked a ship in Europe with a great load of enriched uranium. These facts prove that Israel became a member of the atomic club, not because of its advanced technology, but because of stealing, smuggling and piracy.

The technological base of Israel is built by European and American Jews who steal technological secrets from the United States and Europe and give them gratis to their co-religionists in Israel.

What do the Zionist propagandists and U.S. politicians mean by stating that "Israel is a strategic asset"? Do American politicians who promote this fallacy really believe that Israel will be able to assist the United States in defeating the Soviet Union in the Middle East? Or do they plan to use Israel in wars against the Arab states? Or do they intend to execute the conspiracy advocated by Zionist writers in the United States and promoted by Zionist propagandists on radio and television to launch a war and occupy the Arab oilfields in order to solve the energy crises? If United States politicians dare to implement any of these reckless Zionist plans (promoted by Israel and its agents), they will be destroying American interests in the Middle East and leading the western world into a catastrophe. The only beneficiary of such foolish, reckless acts will be the Soviet Union.

We maintain that Israel is not an asset. It is nothing but a strategic liability. If United States Middle East policy continues to be dictated by Israel, the United States one day will be forced to choose between Israel on the one hand and the Arab and Muslim world on the other. The result for the United States is very obvious.

The Palestinians are not deceived or taken in by the psychological warfare propaganda that the "Israeli army is the best in the world." The Palestinian freedom fighters, with inferior weapons, met the Israeli army in Jordan in 1969-70, and in southern Lebanon in 1978, and inflicted on that "invincible and best army in the world" great defeats in many battles, when the Israeli army withdrew frantically, carrying with it hundreds of its casualties.

The Palestinians are determined one day to enter into decisive battle with that "invincible army" when they are able to obtain at least similar weapons.

Israelis believe that having 14 or 15 atomic weapons is a guarantee of their security. This is the reason for their bombastic arrogance and defiance, but it is a short-sighted and a catastrophic attitude.

Some Arab states and even the Palestinians may soon be in possession of nuclear weapons. It would take only one atomic bomb to destroy Israel, but it would take more than 100 atomic bombs to destroy the Arab world. By foolishly introducing atomic weapons in the Middle East by thievery, smuggling and piracy, the Israelis are only dooming themselves and not the Arab countries.

The United States Cannot Afford To Ignore The Resolutions Adopted In The Third Summit Conference

The third Islamic Summit Conference was held in Holy Mecca, Saudi Arabia, on the 25-28 January, 1981, under the motto: The Session of Palestine and Holy Jerusalem. The Conference was attended by the heads of 38 Muslim states and their assistants, and adopted, *inter alia*, the following important resolutions:

1. Holy Jerusalem: The program of basic action to confront the Zionist enemy: the commitment to the liberation of Arab Jerusalem to make it the capital of the Palestinian state and the call on all states of the world to respect the UN resolutions against dealings with the Israeli occupation authorities, which would give those authorities an excuse to say that such dealings were an implied recognition or an acceptance of the *fait accompli* which they imposed by declaring Jerusalem a united capital of “the Zionist entity.”

The conference decided to use all economic potentials and natural resources 'of the Islamic states to weaken the Israeli economy and halt the financial, economic and political backing which Israel is obtaining, and to work to change the international political stances in favor of the Palestinian people and to back the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

2. The question of Palestine and the Middle East: the conference decided to consider the question of Palestine as the core of the problem of the Middle East and number one issue of the Islamic nation. It affirms the commitment to liberate all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, to refuse to accept any situation that would encroach on the Arab sovereignty of the holy city of Jerusalem and not to allow any Arab or Islamic side to resort alone to solve the Palestinian question and the issues of the occupied Arab territories.

It affirmed that just peace in the Middle East region cannot possibly be established except on the basis of Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the Palestinian people, including their right to return, to self-determination and to the establishment of their independent state on the land of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO.

It decided to continue resisting the Camp David agreement and to consider Security Council Resolution 242 as inconsistent with the Palestinian and the Arab rights and as not forming a suitable basis for solving the Middle East crisis and the question of Palestine.

It decided that the Islamic states will be committed to the use of all their military, political, and economic potentials and natural resources, including oil, as an effective means to back the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation and in order to confront the states which back the Zionist entity *militarily, economically and politically*. It called on the EEC states to fulfill their undertakings not to put into effect their economic bilateral and collective agreements with Israel on the occupied Palestinian Arab territories.

The Conference also adopted the Mecca Declaration, which Stated:

Realizing that Muslims are, in the world of today, being subjected to many injustices and surrounded by various threats due to a logic of force and aggression, and to an intensification of the use of violence in international relations; and knowing that Islam permits to those who believe in it and to others only right and justice, and offers to those who do not fight us in our religion who do not drive us out from our homes and do not violate our sanctities only piety and fairness; and as Islam does not believe in complacency toward the unrighteous and in acceptance of injustice and oppression, we reaffirm in the face of Zionist aggression that has usurped the land of Palestine and the other occupied territories our determination to counter this aggression, its schemes and practices with a comprehensive resistance. We also reject and denounce the policies which make this aggression possible and which extend to it political and economic aid, manpower and military aid.

We also reject any initiative that does not adopt the Palestinian option, which consists in a just settlement to the Palestinian question based on the reestablishment of the unquestionable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to return, to self-determination and to set up an independent Palestinian state on its national territory, under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative.

We also reject any attempt to put pressure on us or on any other state of the world in order to accept a *fait accompli* and a capitulation to unjust solutions.

We assert our determination to confront aggression and pressures by all means and to make preparations for a jihad for the liberation of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the sanctities and for the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people which have been asserted by the international legality and by the UN resolutions connected with the question of Palestine.

We consider the provocations committed against the Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem and the transgressions on the Islamic and Christian sanctities in occupied Palestine and on the religious and inalienable national rights of the people of Palestine and the continuation of transgression represented in the decisions to annex Jerusalem and to usurp it from its lawful owners as grave reasons that prompt us to adopt a firm stand to reject this transgression and to condemn those who support it and to stand in the face of everyone who condones it or recognizes it.

Therefore we pledge a jihad with the means we possess for the liberation of Jerusalem and to make this liberation, the principle Islamic issue, the responsibility of this generation of our nation, so that, with God's help, Jerusalem will be liberated together with the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and returned to their lawful owners.

We wish to draw the United States' attention to the following paragraph of the Resolution of the Islamic Summit Conference:

It decided that the Islamic states will be committed to the use of all their military, political, and economic potentials and natural resources, including oil, as an effective means to back the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation in order to *confront* the states which back the Zionist entity *militarily, economically and politically*. It called on the EEC states to fulfill their undertakings not to put into effect their economic bilateral and collective agreements with Israel on the occupied Palestinian Arab territories.

Should the United States continue the one-sided policy dictated by the Israeli-Zionist lobby, it would find itself in confrontation with the Arab world and the Muslim world, both of which are under the obligation to use their military, political and economic potential and national resources, including oil, to *confront* the states which back up the Zionist state *militarily, economically and politically*, and that means the United States of America.

In using their economic resources and potentials as a weapon, the Arab and Muslim states will be taking a page from the United States book. They will be following the United States' example which used and is using its military, political, economic potential and natural resources as instruments of its foreign policy. For instance:

- U.S. grain embargo against the Soviet Union;
- U.S. economic boycott of Cuba;
- U.S. has consistently used the policy of supplying arms, either by sales or grants, as means of furthering its national security;
- U.S. refused to sell arms to a state on the ground that the human rights record of that state did not meet White House or State Department standards, or that a state's politics are not enough in agreement with American positions. (Of course, Israel has always been excluded from these restrictions.);
- Turkey suffered an American arms embargo for three years because of its action in Cyprus;
- Placing restrictions on the use of the Hawk missiles by Jordan, and refusing to sell Jordan certain weapons because Jordan does not support the Camp David Agreement;
- Argentina was suspended from U.S. military sales in 1978 because of U.S. opposition to its Human Rights Policy;
- Guatemala, El Salvador, Somoza's Nicaragua, and now revolutionary Nicaragua Were denied U.S. weapons;
- Both Uruguay and Chile have been denied even basic police weapons;
- U.S. pressured France and West Germany for supplying Brazil with nuclear equipment and technology;
- U.S. has pressured France to prevent her from supplying Iraq or Pakistan with nuclear equipment or technology;
- U.S. reduced economic and military aid to Pakistan to prevent that country from developing its nuclear capability;
- U.S. denied delivering to Libya the C-130 transport planes which were bought and paid for because Libya supports the Palestinians and other liberation movements;
- U.S. influenced the Export-Import Bank and the World Bank to reduce or deny funds to countries in political disagreement with the U.S.;
- The entire concept of most favored nation treatment is to reward those countries favorable to the U.S.A. or to influence them to do or not to do certain things.

Should the Arab and Muslim states apply United States standards of policy and precedents against the United States because of its support for Israel, they may adopt a resolution to implement the resolutions of the Islamic Conference and may tell the United States as follows:

We call upon the United States to stop helping Israel economically, militarily and politically, thereby aiding and abetting Israel in its illegal occupation of Arab lands and the usurpation of the homeland and rights of the Palestine people, and we call upon the United States to cooperate in the United Nations to pressure Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and to resolve the Palestine problem according to the principles of international law and justice.

Should the United States refuse to cooperate in finding a permanent and just solution for the Palestine problem and the Middle East problem, the Arab and Muslim states shall do the following:

- Reduce their joint production of oil by 10,000,000 bbls/day;
- Stop supporting the United States dollar and cease buying U.S. Treasury bonds;
- Impose an oil embargo against the United States;
- Declare an economic boycott of the United States by ceasing to buy any United States equipment and products, and to cancel all contracts with the United States companies.

What shall the United States do if it were to be confronted in such a manner by the Arab and Muslim states? Will it declare war on the Arab and Islamic states? Would it use Israeli armed forces (as many Zionist leaders urge on American politicians in private) to occupy the Arab oil-fields? Would the United States carry out such reckless, mad plans? or would the United States act as a responsible, honorable leader of the Free World and protect its best interests and national security by taking the following course:

- End its isolation with Israel in the United Nations;
- Uphold the principles of international law, morality and justice, and stop supporting the illegal and immoral Zionist conquest and occupation of the homeland of the Palestinians;
- Declare its evenhandedness and stop all sales of arms and the giving of economic aid to Israel, Jordan, Syria and Egypt, the belligerent opponents in the Middle East;
- join hands with the 110 United Nations members which support the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people to solve the Palestine problem in accordance with international law and justice, the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Should the United States take the latter course, it will win the friendship, support and alliance of the Arab and Muslim world and it will serve the best interests and national security of the United States. By adopting such a position, the United States will restore itself to the position of respect and leadership of the Free World and the United Nations instead of being isolated in the United Nations with Israel. Furthermore, the United States will win the support of the overwhelming number of United Nations members against Soviet subversion, expansion and aggression, in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The United States will then win the economic cooperation of the Arab world and Muslim world, which may lead to the solution of the key economic problems of the Western world.

More importantly, however, the United States will be restored to its traditional position as the champion of self-determination thereby making America a true leader of the Free World in the battle against the international communist conspiracy.

How Can The United States Assist In Establishing A Just And Permanent Peace In The Middle East?

The key to peace in the Middle East is in the hands of the United States, which must act justly in accordance with its legal and moral obligations under international law, the United Nations Charter and the principles it has always cherished and adopted in its foreign policy, namely, upholding the following:

- The principle of self-determination of peoples;
- That the occupation or acquisition of territory obtained through conquest by force of non-pacific means shall not be valid or have any legal effect. The pledge of non-recognition of situations arising from the forgoing conditions is an obligation which cannot be avoided, either unilaterally or collectively;
- That no people have any right to commit genocide against other people, expel them from their homeland, rob them of their homes, properties and all their worldly belongings and violate their inalienable rights;
- Promotion and respect for human rights.

A Plan For Peace

1. The United States should issue a statement under the title DECLARATION OF PEACE FOR THE MIDDLE PEACE, stating the following:

- That it is important for the well-being, safety and future of the peoples of the Middle East to put an end to all belligerent acts and wars and establish permanent peace based on justice and the right of self-determination of peoples and respect for the inalienable rights and human rights of all the peoples in the area;
- That peace in the Middle East will serve the best interests of not only the peoples of the area but of all freedom-loving peoples throughout the world, and will serve the cause of international peace and security as prescribed by the United Nations Charter;
- As a first step towards peace, the United States shall follow an even-handed policy in the Middle East, based on the following principles:
- Complete neutrality;
- Suspension of all military sales and military shipments for 36 months to the belligerent states in the Middle East, namely, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon;
- Suspension of all economic aid to the above-named countries for the same period of 36 months, except for humanitarian causes.

2. The United States should consult with the other four permanent members of, the Security Council and request a Special Session to implement a Middle East peace plan on the following lines:

- The Security Council must obtain a declaration from Israel, Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon undertaking to stop all military and paramilitary actions or threats of such actions against each other for a period of 36 months;
- The Security Council should follow the precedent adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly in 1957 by calling upon Israel to unconditionally withdraw all its armed forces from all the areas it occupied in 1967, namely, the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza.
- This action by the Security Council is in conformity with what President Eisenhower laid down as the rule of law in such a situation. He stated in his speech in 1957 the following: "Israel seeks something more. It insists on firm guarantees as a condition of withdrawing its forces of invasion. This raises a question of principle. Should a nation which attacks and occupies foreign territory be allowed to impose conditions on its own withdrawal? If the United Nations once admits that international disputes can be settled by using force, then we will have destroyed the very foundation of the organization and our best hope of establishing a world order."
- This declaration of international law by the President of the United States in 1957 makes the Camp David Agreement between Israel and Egypt null and void. President Carter imposed that agreement on Egypt by undue influence in violation of the sovereignty of Egypt. Egypt was forced to submit to conditions which violate its traditions, its principles, its best interests and its sovereignty, and allowed Israel to continue the occupation of some parts of Sinai until 1982. All these conditions are null and void, and therefore Israel must immediately and completely withdraw from the territory of Egypt;
- Immediately after Israel withdraws its forces to the borders of June 4, 1967, the Security Council shall appoint a commission composed of six members of the Security Council and the Holy See to be named THE PALESTINE PEACE COMMISSION, and entrusted with the task of finding a solution to the Palestine problem within six months;

The Palestine Peace Commission shall ascertain the wishes of the Palestinian Jews and Palestinian Arabs about the following matters:

Can the Palestinian Arabs and Palestinian Jews live together in the Holy Land state which shall be:

A unitary state?; or

A state of federal cantons, as in Switzerland?

How can Palestine be made again the Holy Land of Peace, open for the pilgrimage of peoples of all faiths?

How can the Palestine refugees return home and take possession of their homes and properties in Palestine?

How can Muslims, Jews and Christians live peacefully as fellow citizens in the Holy Land state, with dignity, with human rights and with freedom for all?

Whether the Holy Land state and Jordan should enter into a federation or a confederation?

After the Palestine Peace Commission submits its report and recommendations to the Security Council, and a solution is approved, it must be enforced by the force of world public opinion and through the powers entrusted to the United Nations Security Council.

This is the only road to a permanent, just and workable peace in Palestine and the Middle East. All attempts to perpetuate the present situation established by war and conquest and injustice will only lead to more wars and bloodshed. All proposals to confirm the *fait accompli* of Israeli occupation of any part of the Arab territories, provide security guarantees for the Israeli occupiers, and postpone a just solution of the Palestine problem in all its aspects will only postpone the decisive bloody battle between Jews and Arabs, which may lead to a nuclear holocaust.

No solution can be just or permanent if it fails to redress the injustice committed against the Palestinians. Palestine Arabs and Palestine Jews must live as fellow citizens in a Holy Land of peace which should become “a beacon light” for all the civilized world.

The Inside Story of the Hess Flight

ANONYMOUS

On 10 May 1941, Rudolf Hess made his daring flight from Germany to Britain in a vain bid to stop the tragic conflict between two nations he admired and loved. When Hitler's Deputy parachuted to earth from a Messerschmitt fighter over south Scotland, Germany and Britain had already been at war with each other for twenty months.

It is well known that Hess made this unprecedented move to impress on Britain's war leaders just how earnestly Germany desired peace. But even after the passage of forty years, much about the famous episode remains shrouded in mystery. The biggest question is whether Hitler knew in advance about the flight. Did he even order Hess on this mission of peace, as some insist? We cannot be sure if Hess would reveal the truth if he could. His ardent loyalty to Hitler might keep him from telling the whole story even if he were able. The truth may not be known until the secret British government documents on the matter are one day finally removed from the closed archives and made available to the world in uncensored form.

Still, there is strong evidence that Hess risked his life for peace under orders from Adolf Hitler himself. In its issue of May 1943, the American Mercury published "The Inside Story of the Hess Flight," a remarkable article which self-assuredly reported that the flight was personally directed by Hitler and completely expected by the British.

In 1943 the American Mercury was a popular, highly successful and very "establishment" monthly. It was quite different from the iconoclastic journal that H. L. Mencken had founded and edited many years before.

Although the article on the Hess flight appeared anonymously, the magazine's editors vouched for its accuracy: "The writer, a highly reputable observer, is known to us and we publish this article with full faith in its sources." The Reader's Digest published a condensed version of the piece in its July 1943 issue and likewise declared it accurate: "According to Allan A. Michie, The Reader's Digest's London correspondent, this account of the Hess flight corresponds to the version accepted by well-informed journalists in Britain."

Written in the midst of war, the author's bellicose joy at the failure of the Hess peace venture may appear regrettable and even contemptible today. Still, the information it contains (if correct) puts both Germany and Britain in a very different light than the one originally intended by the author. Because of it

s unquestionable historical importance, this article deserves serious consideration today.

— Mark Weber

Why Rudolf Hess took the sky road to Scotland has never been revealed officially, principally because two leaders of Allied strategy, Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, believed at the time that no useful purpose could be served by the telling. Hess was consigned to the limbo of hush-hush and all attempts to probe the craziest episode of the war were resolutely suppressed.

Today, two years after, many Englishmen and a few Americans know exactly why Hess came to England, and most of those in possession of the true story feel that it should now be told. For one thing, it would place before critics of Anglo-American policy towards Soviet Russia the vital and silencing fact that at a difficult moment, when he might have withdrawn his country from the war at Russia's expense, Churchill pledged Britain to continue fighting as a full ally of the newest victim of Nazi duplicity. There would have been some semblance of poetic justice to such a withdrawal—was it not Stalin who set the war in motion by signing a friendship pact with Hitler in 1939? But the British Prime Minister never even considered such action.

A few details are still unclear—only British Intelligence and several top-flight officials, know them; a few facts must still be kept dark for reasons of policy. But the essential story can be safely, and usefully, told. It makes one of the most fascinating tales of superintrigue in the annals of international relations. It adds up to a supreme British coup that must have shattered the pride of the Nazis in their diplomacy and their Secret Service. In that domain, it is fair to say, the Hess incident is a defeat equivalent to Stalingrad in the military domain.

Rudolf Hess did not “escape” from Germany. He came as a winged messenger of peace, and no Parsifal in shining armor was ever more rigorously and loyally consecrated to his mission. He came not only with Adolf Hitler's blessing, but upon Hitler's explicit orders. Far from being a surprise, the arrival of Hess was expected by a limited number of Britishers, the outlines of his mission were known in advance, and the Nazi leader actually had an RAF escort in the final stage of his air journey.

On the basis of reliable information since obtained from German sources and from indications given by Hess himself, it is possible to reconstruct the situation in Berlin that led to the mad Hess undertaking.

By the beginning of 1941 Hitler, in disregard of the advice of some of his generals, had decided that he could no longer put off his “holy war” against Russia. The attempt to knock out the Western democracies before turning to the East had failed. The alternative was an understanding with Great Britain which would leave Germany free to concentrate everything against Russia—a return, in some measure, to the basis of co-operation set up in Munich. Whatever Chamberlain and Daladier may have thought, the Germans had interpreted the Munich deal as a *carte blanche* for Nazi domination of Eastern Europe. The Allied guarantees to Poland and Rumania thereafter and their declaration of war, were indignantly denounced in Berlin as a democratic double-cross.

Hitler put out a tentative feeler in January 1941 in the form of an inquiry regarding the British attitude towards possible direct negotiations. It was not directed to the British Government but to a

group of influential Britishers, among them the Duke of Hamilton, who belonged to the since discredited Anglo-German Fellowship Association. An internationally known diplomat served as courier. In the course of time a reply arrived in Berlin expressing limited interest and asking for more information. Tediously, cautiously, without either side quite revealing its hand, a plan was developed. When the German proposal of negotiations on neutral soil was rejected, Berlin countered with an offer to send a delegate to England. After all, had not Chamberlain flown to Germany?

A delegate was selected—Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, Gauleiter of all Germans abroad. Handsome, South African-born, Cambridge educated Willi Bohle was actually a British subject, though his passport was considerably out of date, and he seemed ideally suited for the mission. Several important foreign journalists in Berlin were let in on the secret that Bohle was being groomed for a very big and mysterious job abroad, and the story was planted in Turkish and South American papers to test British reaction. When weeks passed and the British press did not pick up the story, thus indicating an indifference to Bohle, Berlin became worried.

It was then that the Führer came through with one of his “geniale” ideas. Bohle was not the right man, he said. He did not have the national stature to impress the British. A really big Nazi would have to go, one whose name was inseparably linked with Hitler himself and whose presence could not possibly fail to command attention. He must be one, said Hitler, who would represent the “goodness” of the German race, one whose sincerity was unquestionable. What is more, he must be able to speak officially for the German Government and to give binding commitments on the behalf of the Führer. Providence, Hitler pointed out, had given Germany just the man—Walter Richard Rudolf Hess, Nazi Number Three, who in addition to fulfilling the other qualifications had grown up in the English quarter of Alexandria, spoke fluent English and “understood the British mind.”

After Hitler transmitted his supreme and final offer—to send his own Deputy and closest friend directly to England—there was a long delay in replying. Possibly the imperturbable British required some time to recover from their astonishment. But finally Adolf’s intuition was justified — an acceptance of the proposal came through, details were arranged, and on May 10 Hess flew into the twilight.

Four months of intricate negotiations had preceded the flight. The Germans had pushed their proposal in the name of peace and Nordic friendship. Their British “friends” were co-operative without being too eager or too optimistic — there was no use overlooking the difficulties. As was only natural, progress was made slowly; there were ups and downs in the fortunes of the enterprise.

II

The one thing the Germans did not know was that they were negotiating with agents of the British Secret Service using the names — and the handwriting — of the Duke of Hamilton and other gentry of the Anglo-German Fellowship Association! The fact is that the initial communication, in January, brought personally by an eminent diplomat, never reached its destination, having been intercepted by the Secret Service. From then on the correspondence was handled entirely by astute British agents. Replies designed to whet the German appetite, replies encouraging the supposition that Britain was seeking a way out of its military difficulties, were sent to Berlin. The hook was carefully baited that caught the third largest fish in the Nazi lake.

It was perhaps his perverted love of Wagnerian contrast that led Hitler to choose the night of his Deputy's fateful flight for unloading five hundred tons of noisy death on London.

That night the subterranean plotting room of the RAF Fighter Command was static with !activity. The heaviest Nazi bomber force ever sent to Britain was pounding the capital, and new waves of planes were crossing the coast every fifteen minutes. When a report from an outlying radiolocation station on the Scottish coast announced the approach of an unidentified plane, the receiving operator at Fighter Command checked it off as "one of ours" and promptly forgot it. On the tail of the first report came a second: the plane had failed to identify itself properly and its speed indicated that it was a fighter. Methodically, as one immune to surprises, the operator sent his flash to the plotting room and a hostile plane was pinpointed far up on the eastern coast of Scotland with an arrow to indicate that it was moving west.

By now inland stations were also picking up the mystery plane, obviously a fighter from its speed, although Scotland was far beyond the normal cruising range of any fighter. Consulted, the commanding officer at Fighter Command reacted in a manner that Fighter Command personnel still discuss with varying degrees of puzzlement. "For God's sake," he is reported to have shouted, "*Tell them not to shoot him down!*" In a matter of seconds a fighter station in Scotland received a flash and two Hurricanes took off to trail the mystery plane with orders to force it down *but under no conditions to shoot at it*. While the small red arrows on the plotting table crept across Scotland, high officers at Fighter Command watched with absorbed interest. Near the tiny village of Paisley, almost on the west coast, they stopped. "Made it," the commanding officer is reported to have grunted. "Thank God, he's down!"

In Lanarkshire, Scotland, David McLean, a farmer, watched a figure parachute into his field, and by the time the man had disentangled himself from the shrouds of his parachute, Farmer McLean was standing over him with a pitchfork. "Are ye a Nazi enemy, or are ye one o' ours?" he asked. "Not Nazi enemy; British friend," the man replied with some difficulty because he had wrenched his ankle and was in extreme pain. Helped into the farmer's kitchen, he announced that his name was Alfred Horn and that he had come to see the Duke of Hamilton, laird of the great Dungavel estate ten miles away. The man talked freely, and to local Home Guardsmen Jack Paterson and Robert Gibson, who had arrived in the meantime, he admitted that he had come from Germany and was hunting the private aerodrome on Hamilton's estate when his fuel gave out and he had to bail out. "My name is Alfred Horn," he repeated frequently as though seeking recognition. "Please tell the Duke of Hamilton I have arrived."

With their instinctive distrust of aristocracy, the canny Scots became suspicious of the whole situation, and the parachutist was bundled off to the local Home Guard headquarters, where an excited, argumentative crowd soon gathered. Meanwhile, a kind of official reception committee composed of Military Intelligence officers and Secret Service agents was waiting at the private aerodrome on the Hamilton estate. The forced landing ten miles from the prearranged rendezvous was the only hitch in the plan. It was the hitch, presumably, which broke to the whole world sensational news which otherwise might have been kept on ice for a while if not for the duration.

When the "reception committee" heard of the accident and finally found their visitor, he was being guarded by over a dozen defiant Home Guardsmen who were determined not to relinquish him. It took lengthy assurances that the man would remain safe in their custody, plus the arrival of Army reinforcements under instructions to co-operate with the "committee," to persuade the Guardsmen to give up their prisoner.

Still declaring that his name was Alfred Horn, Hess was placed in a military motorcar and driven to Maryhill Barracks near Glasgow. There he changed his story. "I have come to save humanity," he said. "I am Rudolf Hess." And he indicated that his visit was being expected by influential Englishmen — a statement that was truer than he as yet suspected. His identity checked, Hess was taken to a military hospital to have his ankle treated, and with a Scots Guardsman on duty outside his door, spent his first night in the British Isles.

In the village of Paisley and many other parts of the Highlands, Scotsmen divided into factions—Scots nationalists and British loyalists, royalists and socialists—and throughout that night and for several days broke heads and knuckles over the issue of the German who came to Scotland. The loyalists and socialists suspected that either the Scots nationalists or royalists had been guilty of some treasonable skullduggery.

Hess passed a good night, and when his nurse brought breakfast on a tray the next morning at 8 a.m. he reminded her that on the continent one breakfasted later. She left the tray and departed, while he went back to sleep. When she returned at nine for the tray, the breakfast had not been touched, so she removed it, with the result that Hess spent his first morning in Britain without breakfast. Thereafter he breakfasted at eight.

Hitler's friend and deputy had come prepared for an indirect approach to the British Government through the Anglo-German Fellowship Association, to which a surprising number of prominent Britons adhered before the war. The actual approach, as planned by Winston Churchill, was exceedingly direct. Ivone Kirkpatrick, an astute super-spy in World War I and Councillor at the Berlin Embassy during the intervening years, flew to Scotland to receive the Hess plan for direct transmission to the British Government. Even Hitler could have asked no greater co-operation. Despite the absence of the Duke of Hamilton, Hess at this stage was still convinced that he was dealing with the Fellowship intermediaries.

It was to Kirkpatrick that the Nazi first poured out the details of Hitler's armistice and peace proposals. He was enthusiastic and voluble — the stenographic report filled many notebooks. And he was most optimistic, since he was fully convinced that Britain was licked, knew it, and must therefore welcome the Führer's generous offer of amity. His tone throughout was that of a munificent enemy offering a reprieve to a foe whose doom was otherwise sealed.

III

The terms of Hitler's peace proposal have been discussed up and down England not only in well-informed political circles but in pubs, bomb shelters and Pall Mall clubs. It was too elaborate a secret to be kept. Cabinet members presumably told their friends in Parliament and the MP's told their club colleagues and the news percolated down. The filter of time, plus such cross-checking as is possible on a subject that is officially taboo, enables the writer to give the general outline, withholding details.

Hitler offered total cessation of the war in the West. Germany would evacuate all of France except Alsace and Lorraine, which would remain German. It would evacuate Holland and Belgium, retaining Luxembourg. It would evacuate Norway and Denmark. In short, Hitler offered to withdraw from Western Europe, except for the two French provinces and Luxembourg [Luxembourg was never a French province, but an independent state of ethnically German origin], in return for which Great Britain would agree to assume an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards Germany as it unfolded its plans in Eastern Europe. In addition, the Führer was ready to withdraw from Yugoslavia and Greece. German troops would be evacuated from the Mediterranean generally

and Hitler would use his good offices to arrange a settlement of the Mediterranean conflict between Britain and Italy. No belligerent or neutral country would be entitled to demand reparations from any other country, he specified.

The proposal contained many other points, including plans for plebiscites and population exchanges where these might be necessitated by shifts in population that has resulted from the military action in Western Europe and the Balkans. But the versions circulating in authoritative circles all agree on the basic points outlined above.

In a prepared preamble, Hess explained the importance of Hitler's Eastern mission "to save humanity," and indicated how perfectly the whole arrangement would work out for Britain and France, not only from the ideological and security angles but also commercially. Germany, he pointed out, would take the full production of the Allied war industries until they could be converted to a peacetime basis, thus preventing economic depression. As Hess and his Führer saw it, England and France would become, in effect, the arsenals of free capitalism against Asiatic communism. The actual slaying of the Bolshevik dragon Hitler reserved for Germany alone, so that by this act he could convince a doubting world of his benevolent intentions. Hess gave no information on the military plans for Eastern Europe and would not be drawn out on that point, since it was a problem for Germany alone.

For two days Hitler's emissary unfolded his proposals and Churchill's amanuensis made notes. Hess was certain his plan would be accepted; it is characteristic of German thinking that it never foresees the possibility of another point of view. He emphasized that his Leader would not quibble over details — Britain could practically write its own peace terms. Hitler was only eager, as a humanitarian, to stop the "senseless war" with a brother nation and thus incidentally guarantee supplies and safeguard his rear while fighting in the East.

With the prepared plan and the emissary's annotations in his notebooks, Kirkpatrick went to 10 Downing Street. The plan was communicated to Washington for an opinion, and the President, of course, confirmed the Prime Minister's decision. The answer would be a flat "No," but the two statesmen are reported to have agreed that open discussion of such a sensational offer would be undesirable at that time. They decided that the insanity explanation fed to the German people would also suffice for the rest of the world. Unlike the Germans and some Americans, no single Britisher believed a word of that story. Both London and Washington made repeated efforts to warn Russia of the coming German blows. The Russian leaders would not believe it-or pretended not to believe it-and certain Soviet diplomats insisted that the warnings were democratic "tricks". until the actual invasion took place.

Hess was not told of Churchill's decision and was permitted to assume that his proposals were under ardent discussion. At the hospital he rested easily and talked freely with his doctor, nurses and guards. He was tolerant and friendly until his doctor one morning made a typical British comment on Adolf Hitler, Hess thereupon staged a scene and remained surly and sulking for a week. When he was able to walk, he was flown to London, where he talked to Lord Beaverbrook, Alfred Duff Cooper and other government leaders. But Churchill refused his repeated requests for a meeting.

Only after he had talked himself out and could provide no further useful information, was Hess informed that his plan had been entirely rejected and that Britain was already Russia's any. By that time he was aware, too, that the negotiations which preceded his flight had short-circuited the Fellowship crowd — neither Hamilton nor any of the others had known anything about the Hess visit until all of England knew it. Hess's shock and dismay resulted in a minor nervous

breakdown, so that for a while the Nazi lie about his insanity came near being true. The news of the sinking of the Bismarck shook Hess so that he wept for an entire day.

Hess demanded that he be sent back to Germany, because, having come as an emissary, he was entitled to safe return. The British Government reasoned differently — after all, he came as an emissary to private individuals, not to the Government directly — and he became a special prisoner of war. He spends his existence in the manor house of a large English estate, with considerable freedom of movement on the well guarded grounds. His appetite is reported to be good. He spends most of his time reading German classics and perfecting his English. A book-dealer in London recently wrote to several of his customers who had purchased German books from him, inquiring whether they would care to resell them to another client: the client's name was given as Walter R. R. Hess.

This was not the first time England reduced a German stronghold by audacious Secret Service work. It was reported unofficially in Berlin that the Graf Spee was scuttled on orders sent over Admiral Raeder's signature by the cloak-and-dagger experts in the British Secret Service. Whether there is any truth to that or not, there is no doubt that when the whole story can be told the achievements of that Secret Service will astound the world. And the Hess episode is certain to stand out with a glory all its own among them.

Thomas E. Watson Revisited

THOMAS HENRY IRWIN

Tom Watson made his debut in politics on 6 August 1880 at the age of twenty-three. The speech Watson delivered to the Democratic nominating convention at Atlanta on that date split the ranks of the party and provided Georgians with a choice of two gubernatorial candidates for the first time since the Civil War. Watson opposed the re-nomination of Alfred H. Colquitt who, together with Joseph E. Brown and General John B. Gordon, made up the “Bourbon Triumvirate.” They dominated Georgia politics between 1872 and 1890 as the representatives of industrial capitalism. The press and the financial interests of the state launched a vigorous campaign in Colquitt’s defense. The forces of agrarian unrest that Watson verbally cited, met with resounding defeat.

Henry W. Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, was the major apologist for monopoly capitalism and corporate power. Watson was one of the few men willing to speak out against the oppressive system that Grady so enthusiastically advocated:

We are told in the splendid phraseology of silver-tongued orators from the city, that our country is absolutely smothered under the plenteous flow of milk and honey of another Canaan ... There is no romance in having landed property excluded from the banks, and in having twenty-five per cent upon money; no romance in being fleeced by a fifty per cent tariff, no romance in seeing other classes and other properties exempted from taxation, and realizing fabulous dividends upon their investments, when the lands are taxed to their uttermost dollar and farming has paid no dividend since the war.

In 1882 Watson was elected to the Georgia Legislature from his home county of McDuffie. He struggled unsuccessfully to curb the abuses of the powerful railroad corporations. A bill subjecting railroads to county property taxes was voted down after U.S. Senator Brown offered to provide the legislators with round-trip train fares to the Louisville Exposition. Watson resigned his seat and returned to the practice of law before his term expired. Watson declared:

In the tremendous oppressiveness of the System, the chief factor of cruelty, greed, corruption and robbery is the Corporation ... These Corporations are the Feudal Barons of this Century. Their Directors live in lordly Palaces and Castles, Their Yachts are on the sea; their Parlor Cars on the rails. They spread feasts that would feed a starving factory town ... The markets of the world have been clutched by the throat (in violation of Law) And the price of every commodity taken away from competition and given to the Trust. Small dealers everywhere, in everything, exist at the pleasure of the large dealer. The individual sinks before the Corporation. The man goes down under the blows of the “Ring.” Money: — combined the Court, the Church, the Legislature, the Editorial Room, the State, the School, the Home!

The Farmers' Alliance began recruiting in Georgia during March, 1887; Within three years it had grown to a membership of over 1,000. The Alliance sought to organize the farmer against the forces of exploitation which had driven him into virtual peonage. Watson noted that “while every avocation has its advocates and champions in positions of power and importance, the farmer is practically unrepresented. The entire drift of legislation has been and is yet, continuously and persistently against him.” He was one of the first politicians to join with the Alliance in resisting the depredations of ruling cliques like the Bourbon Triumvirate.

Watson established his reputation as a reformer during the summer of 1868. He writes:

A trust had been formed in St. Louis to control the price of jute bagging, the necessary cover of the cotton bale. Day after day the price was pushed up, as we have seen done in so many other cases ... Heartily in sympathy with the producers, I at once wrote the call for the mass-meeting; and on the appointed day, the building was packed with excited humanity.

He urged the farmers to take independent action in the form of a boycott: “It is useless to ask Congress to help us, just as it was folly for our forefathers to ask for relief from the tea tax; and as they revolted ... so should we ... The Standard of Revolt is up. Let us keep it up and speed it on.” In 1889 the farmers' boycott forced the jute trust to come to terms.

Watson declared himself a candidate for the House of Representatives in the 1890 election. He ran on the St. Louis platform adopted by the Alliance the previous December, which demanded “the abolition of National Banks,” “the free and unlimited coinage of Silver,” “the passage of laws prohibiting the alien ownership of Land,” “that taxation, National or State, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another,” “Economy ... in the expenditures of the Government,” and “that the Government shall own and operate the means of Transportation and Communication.” The last plank was viewed as the only way to limit the rapine of the railroads.

George T. Barnes, who made his career as a vassal of the Bourbon financial lords, was the incumbent. The Augusta Chronicle and other representatives of the “kept press” attempted to thwart Watson’s efforts by claiming, “There is really no issue between Mr. Barnes and Mr. Watson except that Mr. Barnes is in and Mr. Watson wishes to be.” The situation was, however, soon to be reversed in accordance with Watson’s adage that “the new wine of reform is not to be placed in the old bottles of ring politicians.”

Watson wrote: “The politicians laughed at you; but when your opponent came home from Washington to meet you in debate before the mass-meetings throughout the district, lo! the people were with you, and your triumph at the polls was unprecedented in your state.” The Alliance candidates met with statewide victory.

In May 1891, the organizational framework for the Alliance’s political wing, the People’s Party, was laid. Often called the Populist Party, it gave the common man a voice in politics. Then, Watson writes, “the Farmers' Alliance held a great national convention at Indianapolis and instructed those men who had been elected by Alliance votes to stand firm for the principles, regardless of the dictation of party caucus.” A referendum demonstrated that Watson’s district supported him in his intention to abide by the Indianapolis resolution.

Henry Grady sought “to bring peace between the agricultural and commercial interests of the state.” His *Constitution* trumpeted, “The Farmers' Alliance is the Democratic party.” Such rejoicing was, of course, insincere. The Bourbons were only trying to lure the newly elected Alliance

representatives into collusion with the “Old Regime” and turn them against their constituents. Leonidas F. Livingston, President of the State Alliance and one of the six Georgia Congressmen sent to Washington on the wave of the farmers' revolt, was the most prominent defector.

Watson recalled: “Your political party, which in convention after convention had adopted your platform, suddenly changed front and denounced those principles. What were you to do? You decided that *principles* were dearer than *party*, and you stood by your principles.” Shortly after Congress convened in December 1891, he refused to support the Democratic candidate for Speaker, and instead caucused with a group of Midwestern Alliance Congressmen. They nominated Watson for Speaker. His weekly *People's Party Paper*, launched during the fall of 1891, declared, “so was formed the first distinctive political body known as the People's Party.” Livingston had joined the Democratic caucus.

While serving in Congress, Watson attempted to secure homestead land loans as a way of benefiting the independent farmer and increasing the middle class. He contended that:

Any system which increases the Moneyed Class where there is an money and no work, debauches Society. Any system which increases the class where there is all work and no money debauches and endangers Society. Any system that will add to the great Middle Class where there is reasonable work and fair reward, secures to Society the best results of which humanity is capable.

A bill to create an income tax was proposed in Congress by Watson. Though he thought that such a tax would relieve the middle class of its oppressive tax burden, it was turned to the exact opposite use when later adopted. “Now who is left to pay the Federal taxes?,” he asked. “*The plain people, unorganized, unprotected, absolutely helpless.* They are bled on the one hand by the Federal government and by the Privileged Classes on the other.” He observed, “How much more bitterly must these burdens be resented when the citizens who pay such taxes are aware of the fact that those who are making profits are exempted from tax.” The Federal Government, according to Watson, was “The most extravagant Government the world ever saw, and getting more so every year.” Protesting that “taxes are unequally distributed, and prodigally spent,” he added, “it is a cruelty to the negro, as well as an injustice to the whites, to tax the latter to give 'higher education' to the former.”

Maintaining that “Under Tariff Systems a tax is laid upon every article the laborer uses and the proceeds put into the pocket of his employer,” Watson proposed removing the custom duties from a number of materials used in farming. “In other words,” he wrote, “*these high duties on foreign goods have for their real purpose the devilish plundering of the common people by the trusts.* They hold us up, all along the line, and we are forced to pay what they charge.” Watson did not oppose all tariffs, but felt they were being abused in the interest of monopoly capitalists.

Only one of Watson's Populist legislative proposals was ratified by Congress. According to his biographer, William W. Brewton, by this proposal “he did more constructive good to the class he represented than all his colleagues from Georgia in the 52nd Congress, with all those that have succeeded them, combined, have done.” On 17 February 1893, Watson proposed an appropriation “for experimental free delivery in absolutely rural communities ... amongst the farmers, in those neighborhoods where they do not get their mail more than once every two weeks, and where those deserving people have settled in communities one hundred years old and do not receive a newspaper that is not two weeks behind the times.” Brewton writes that “there has never been an appropriaton made which yielded so great a return in general benefit to the nation as that

for rural free delivery.” Later, with the addition of parcel post, rural families could shop by mail. Large mail-order houses developed that catered to the needs of farmers.

In 1916, Watson reflected on his refusal to attend a caucus with the Democrats:

A similar course was pursued by Senator Robert L. La Follette, three years ago, and the logic of his position was universally admitted ... But in my case it was different. A storm of abuse broke over my head, and I was held up to scorn, ridicule, hatred — called a Traitor, and accused of selling out to the Republicans.

While Watson was fighting for the people during his first session in Congress, the Establishment politicians were fighting Watson. When he returned to Georgia in 1892 to seek re-election, his congressional district had been gerrymandered to include two new counties. Watson christened his campaign a contest between “Democracy and Plutocracy,” and ran as a Populist. General Gordon, a member of the Bourbon Triumvirate that Watson had opposed since his first days in politics, described him as “base,” “false,” “cowardly,” and a “self-important little fly.” Perhaps gadfly, in the Socratic sense, would have been a more apt designation.

Governor William J. Northern, a pawn of Eastern financial interests, was heard to say that, “Watson ought' to be killed and it ought to have been done long ago.” An assassination attempt occurred while Watson was delivering a speech in a rural county. He later surveyed the election’s outcome: “The counties voted for me as before; but, in the City of Augusta, votes were repeated, by gangs of hired negroes, until there were 18,000 votes in the boxes, when the whole list of voters numbered only 12,000. In this fraudulent way, I was driven out of Congress.”

By the 1894 Congressional campaign, Grover Cleveland’s reactionary financial policies and the Panic of 1893 had fanned the flames of agrarian rebellion. Watson charged that “The bankers opposed silver, and, for the purpose of having the law providing its issue repealed, they precipitated the panic.” The “Alliance Democrats,” like Livingston, had helped elect Cleveland President.

C. Vann Woodward, another Watson biographer, relates that his attempt to win back his seat “was not so much a campaign as a crusade, for the people did not listen so much as participate. The contemporary accounts of the enthusiasm evoked by the speeches of Watson border on the incredible.” But enthusiasm could not triumph over what Woodward describes as “wholesale repeating, bribery, ballot-box stuffing, voting of minors, and intimidation.” Bourbon tactics had been so blatantly unfair that a new election was held; but the same corrupt practices once again prevailed. Watson relates: “Three times I renewed the struggle; three times the same methods were used against me; and then I quit — broken in purse, in energy, in spirit, and almost in mind.”

All of the Cleveland administration’s groveling devotion to corporate and banking interests could not save it from another sort of insolvency — that of the political kind. Cleveland was not re-nominated for a second term. Instead, the 1896 Democratic National Convention chose William Jennings Bryan in an attempt to subvert the People’s Party and turn the tide of Populism to its own advantage. The Vice-Presidential candidate, Arthur Sewall, was proof that the Democrats had adopted only the rhetoric of reform. The president of both a bank and trust, he was known for his exploitative labor policies.

The People’s Party held its Convention in July. Senator Sam K. Jones, Chairman of the Democratic National Convention, attended in hope of persuading the Populists to nominate the Democratic ticket. Watson cautioned that “the party had proven its insincerity, and you will get nothing at its hands nor will your principles.” Jones made representations to the Populist leaders that if

they would endorse a Bryan-Watson candidacy, the Democrats would drop Sewell and do the same. The Populists did their part, but a few days after the Convention Jones wrote: “Mr. Sewall will, of course, remain on the ticket, and Mr. Watson can do what he likes.”

Though Bryan was unable to free the nation from a “cross of gold,” his campaign nailed the People’s Party to one of silver. He virtually ignored the Populist principles verbalized in the 1889 St. Louis platform. Recognizing the propaganda value of simplistic appeals for free silver, he held this measure out as a cure for the country’s ills.

Watson alerted the Populists to Bryan’s silver demagoguery, writing that “certain wire-pullers in Washington were scheming to side-track the People’s Party by having it surrender an of its platform excepting the Free Silver Plank.” He proposed free silver as a remedy for the artificially high dollar, created by a corner on the gold market. However, he knew that any metal, including silver, could be similarly misused when given an inherent value.

Watson wrote: “To say that a Government promise or pledge is without value unless redeemed in Gold or Silver is a vicious heresy.” Pointing out that “money is a mere product of agreement, convention, law,” Watson attacked the “money-changers who use the coin fetish to hypnotize and plunder the nations of the earth.” He added, “This tyranny of the banker is world-wide ... He first chains the nations to the word 'coin;' — then he gets his grip on the supply of 'coin;' — thus he holds the chain which fetters the globe.”

Seeking to end the dominance of money over government, Watson proclaimed that “We stand for the principle that the government should create the money and distribute it.” He warned that “in abdicating in favor of six thousand national bankers the *sovereign power of creating money*, the government has surrendered a power infinitely more precious than that of regulating foreign commerce.”

Watson maintained that:

There can never be too much Money in circulation as long as each dollar afloat is the result of that much produce. There will never be enough Money afloat as long as Commodities suffer because there is no Money to effect their ready exchange. A Currency System should be flexible; that is, the supply should increase as the demand increases and diminish as the demand ceases.

Such flexibility, he thought, would ensure stable prices.

“To smash the Money Trust, whose monstrous rapacity preys on every Nation,” Watson counseled that

it is but necessary that the state shall assert its inherent power to create its own currency. A dollar, whether in metal or paper, should be inscribed, “This Dollar.” That declaration, and the law which makes a dollar a legal tender for debts, are sufficient ... Absolutely nothing more is necessary to make that currency as good and as strong as the Government which creates it.

Although the Populists had been betrayed, Watson did his best to gain support for his party’s ticket. He campaigned throughout the West, even in Bryan’s home state of Nebraska; this brought Bryan his only victory there during his three unsuccessful bids for the Presidency. Yet Bryan refused to associate himself with Watson, and never joined him on the speaker’s platform. Theodore Roosevelt commented, “Mr. Watson really ought to be the first man on the ticket, with

Mr. Bryan second; for he is much the superior in boldness, in thorough-going acceptance of his principles according to their logical conclusions, and in sincerity of faith.”

Looking back, Watson wrote that:

the Democrats lost the race because they violated the St. Louis compact ... Had the Democratic leaders furnished ... ever so small portion of the “rising above party,” Bryan would have been elected. But they thought they could swallow us in the West, and crush us in the South, and they sacrificed Bryan in the effort to destroy Populism. They destroyed Populism as an organization.

Politically, Watson was ruined: He writes,

Then you shut the world out of your life; buried yourself to an but the very few; called around you the companionship of Great Authors ... And then ... you reached out for your pen and wrote. Ah, how your heart did forget its own troubles, in that work!

During 1889 his two-volume work, *The Story of France*, appeared. *The New York Evening Journal* called it “the best history ever written by an American.” Watson published a biography of Napoleon in 1902, and one of Jefferson in 1903. The historical novel *Bethany: A Story of the Old South* appeared in 1904. That same year Watson was offered the editorship of William Randolph Hearst’s *Morning American* on the condition that he move to New York. He chose to remain at Hickory Hill, his estate in Thomson, Georgia.

From Hickory Hill he embarked on a journalistic career that brought his political philosophy to the attention of the South and the entire nation. He founded the monthly *Watson’s Magazine* in 1905, which was supplemented by the *Weekly Jeffersonian* in 1906. These publications were in the vanguard of the fight for Jeffersonian democracy. Watson contended that “all the upholders of class rule go back to Hamilton; all the upholders of a government of the people, by and for the people, get their creed, so far as this Republic is concerned, from Jefferson.”

The March 1906 issue of *Watson’s Magazine* thundered, “The Wall Street Railroad Kings rule and rob our state, and they do it by means of the men who control the machinery of the Democratic party. Hoke Smith is leading a great revolt against this Wall Street domination, and he is doing it superbly. He is going to win, because the people know he is right.” With these words Watson renewed the struggle against Georgia’s aristocracy, which he had begun in 1882, by supporting a county railroad tax. Hoke Smith, an anti-corporation lawyer, was his standard-bearer in the 1906 gubernatorial contest. Together they wrote a Democratic platform that included many Populist demands. An article by Herbert Quick in *The Reader* described it as “the most radical platform ever adopted, with perhaps one exception, by a state convention of either of the two great parties of these times.” Watson dubbed Smith’s opponent, Clark Howell, “the Corporation Candidate for Governor.”

Regarding the constitutional amendment to disfranchise blacks that he and Smith proposed, Watson wrote, “The people of Georgia are hell-bent on smashing that Wall Street ring which rules and robs our state. *They are determined to put White Supremacy INTO LAW, so that they shall never again be vexed or intimidated by the scare of Negro domination.*” He noted that “In Georgia they do not dare to disfranchise him, because the men who control the Democratic machine in Georgia know that a majority of whites are against them. They need the negro to beat us with.”

We have studied this problem from all points of view,” Watson reasoned,

and our matured conviction is that the only salvation for the negro in America is the acceptance, in good faith, of his legal rights as the full measure of what is due him. The sooner he abandons his attempt to share political power and privileges with the whites, the better for him ... We made civilization; the negro never made this, or any other. He has degraded every governmental system that he has been allowed to influence. As a duty to our forefathers, to ourselves, and our posterity, we must see to it that the negro makes no Haitian hell of the United States.

Smith was elected Governor by an overwhelming majority. The Bourbon dynasty had come to an end. Under Watson's guidance, Smith increased the railroad commission in size and importance. A special State's Attorney was appointed to prosecute corporations that violated its rulings. The small businessman and the farmer were no longer subjected to exorbitant freight charges and other unfair practices. Steps were taken to end corporate bribes. Quick placed Smith "second only to La Follette, if second to any, as a trustbusting governor." The *Independent* ran an article entitled "Georgia's Example to the Nation."

Between 1906 and 1917 Watson was the dominant force in Georgia politics. By rallying his Populist followers behind him, he was able to exercise a decisive influence on many election campaigns. Most successful gubernatorial candidates began their quest for office by seeking endorsement from the "Sage of Hickory Hill," as he, was now called. Some were undone when they deviated from the Populist principles Watson was pledged to.

Since Watson was not himself a candidate for office, he was able to devote much time to his journalistic and literary efforts. In his two periodicals, often referred to as the *Jeffersonians*, he continued to espouse the tenets of the Populist creed. Historical works still flowed from his pen. Sketches from Roman History, written from an agrarian perspective instead of the usual imperial one, appeared in 1908. *History of Southern Oratory* was published in 1909. A study of the battle of Waterloo followed in 1910. In 1912 came his biography of Jackson.

Watson's political philosophy was based on a commitment to popular democracy and individual rights; on this basis he defended the states against the encroachments of the Federal Government. He warned: "The national character of the Federal Government becomes more pronounced, from year to year, and the federated idea grows more shadowy and feeble." He observed that "the Constitution was never even voted on 'by the people of the United States.' It was voted on by each state, acting separately, in conventions and legislatures." He criticized men who were "lacking in faith in the people, and wanted the strongest possible concentration of power in the Federal Government." "The irony of fate has willed," wrote Watson, "that these tremendous advances in *centralization* have been made, mostly, at the instance of fanatical 'reformers,' who didn't care two buttons about the ultimate consequences to our mixed system of government."

Watson told a group of supporters:

Under our present system of Government, through the representative, it is practically impossible for you to keep up with what is going on. The newspapers won't always tell you the truth ... To a large extent, our daily papers, especially, are controlled by corporate interests, who want legislation in their favor at your expense. There are some things you cannot get a chance to say in these newspapers. When they have got something especially unjust to put through, that is the very thing that is put through on the sly, and you will learn about it when it is too late.

Watson proposed the system of initiative, referendum, and recall as a remedy for legislative abuses. He reminded his listeners, "You exercise self-government through the men you choose to

represent you. *They are not free agents.* They are not at liberty to follow their own personal inclinations, and give way to their personal prejudices.” Regarding the initiative, he said, “Send around a petition, demanding the passage of this, that and the other law, and see who will sign it. When that petition is signed by a representative percentage of the people, then it ought to be made the duty of the legislature to put that law upon its passage.” While discussing the referendum, he told his audience: “The legislature, the town council, the Congress, whenever it passes any kind of law, ought to refer it back to you, and ask you, Do you approve of this? You are the man who has got to obey it, and you are ... the man who will have to pay these salaries and these taxes and conform to these regulations.” Explaining the recall, he said, “You vote a judge in office, why shouldn’t you have the right to vote him out of office, if you find he isn’t the man you thought he was? Why keep him two years or four years? ... The same with Congressmen, Senators, Governors.”

Watson opposed “Our American judicial Oligarchy,” writing that:

The construction given to the general welfare clause, and the elastic quality of the Implied powers (in the Constitution), have enabled the Government to adopt almost any sort of law the old lawyers on the Supreme Bench consider desirable. In the last resort, therefore, our laws depend upon the will of nine men chosen from one profession. These nine Supreme Legislators are usually the graduates of corporation law offices, foisted upon the people by partisan Presidents.

Federal judges, who were corporation lawyers before they became judges, are halting the sovereign States, reducing them to the station of mere private trespassers, and retaining them, by ever-ready injunction, from the exercise of governmental powers. Insolent corporations and usurping judiciary are moving step by step to a situation which a free people cannot endure.

Watson vigorously defended Populism against socialism in the *Jeffersonians*. He pointed out that “no Socialist experiment ever succeeded.” “In spite of all the terrible abuses which prevail in Europe and America,” he wrote, “*the non-capitalistic nations are the backward nations* ... Turkey, India and China cannot be called the victims of Capitalism; but we wouldn’t exchange places and conditions with them. Capitalism itself, is enormously advantageous, when Special Privilege is driven out.”

Concerning collective ownership, he wrote: “and it is because I have been a laborer, know the feelings of a laborer, and always expect to keep in touch and sympathy with the real laborer, that I stand so stoutly for the doctrine that the best reward and highest honor Labor can attain is the ownership and enjoyment of what it produces.” He contrasted the Populist and socialist views of property: “The Jeffersonian Democrat says, ‘*Destroy Special Privilege*; make the laws conform to the rule of Equal Rights to all, and you will put it in the power of every industrious man to own his home.’ The Socialist says, ‘Let Society own the homes, and let Society move the man about, from house to house, according to the pleasure of Society.’”

To the advocates of “Marxist democracy,” Watson replied that where Socialism prevails ... they propose to give their men such a power over the lives and the labor of their fellow men as was never before proposed in the annals of the human race.” Regarding socialist demands for reform, he argued: “The Discontent is warranted, but the remedy would substitute one slavery for another.” “It can be shown,” Watson wrote, “that all abuses at which the Socialist justly rails, — *grow out of violations of the principles of our system.* The true remedy therefore is to vigorously assert those principles.”

Watson's mocking reply to egalitarianism was, "Even human nature is going to lose its meanness, for Socialism is going to make Man after its *own image, to replace the Man that God made." Watson appraised human nature more realistically, writing that "No matter how equal material conditions might be made today by legislation, the inherent inequality in the capacities of men, physically, mentally, spiritually, would evolve differences tomorrow. There is no such thing as equality among men, and no law will ever give it to them"

Watson's remarks about socialism and immigration apply well to today's invading Third World legions:

When a few million immigrants who haven't been here long enough to get the foreign twist out of their tongues, go to parading the streets, carrying the Red Flag ... it is not a theory that makes them do it. No theory could convince the intelligence of these newly-arrived foreigners that they have any natural right to a share in the wealth they find here. They are governed by their passions, not their reason. It is cupidity that controls them, not altruism. They care no more about the fine-spun theories of Karl Marx than Alaric and Attila cared for the Justinian Code or the Nicene Creed.

Watson knew that the international banking establishment was as much a threat to American liberties as socialism. "Take the Rothschild family for an example," he wrote.

Theirs is a typical case. Study it a moment. A small Jewish dealer and money-lender in Frankfurt is chosen by a rascally ruler of one of the German States as a go-between in a villainous transaction whereby the little German ruler sells his subjects into military service to the King of England. These soldiers, who were bought, are known to history as the Hessians, and they fought against us in the Revolution. This was the beginning of the Rothschild fortune, the transaction having been very profitable to the Rothschild who managed it.

He continued,

By the time Napoleon was overthrown at Waterloo, the Rothschild family had become so rich and strong that it spread over the European world. One member of the family took England, another France, another Austria, another Belgium, the parent house remaining in Germany, and to this day the Rothschild family is the dominant financial influence of the European world. In other words, by the power of money and the power of usury, they were able to make a partition of Europe and they are more truly the rulers of nations than are the Habsburgs, the Hollenzollerns, the Romanoffs or any other one dynasty which wields the sceptre.

The Sage of Hickory Hill fought the tyranny of international bankers with the Jeffersonian creed:

We Jeffersonians stand for the doctrine that the world's stock of wealth and of opportunity belongs to all mankind — to be won or lost on the basis of merit or demerit ... The holder of wealth has no right to legislate his fortune out of the reach of the risks and changes of legitimate business. He has no right to legislate his wealth into a mortgage upon the revenue of the government and the annual produce of all labor. He has no right to legislate special favors to himself, whereby enormous accumulations are held together, not by force of energy, industry and superior ability, but by reason of the special privileges and exemptions created by law.

In 1914, at the outbreak of World War I, Tom Watson took up the most important struggle of his political career. He did battle with the forces of internationalism and militarism that were to plunge our country into war and threaten its sovereignty afterwards with the League of Nations. Woodrow Wilson led these forces in an attempt to subjugate and plunder the American people.

Wilson was re-elected on the slogan, "He kept us out of War." Watson commented, "*What war? Where did we have a chance to get in one? What did he do to keep us 'out'? ... We had no cause to go in.*" During the election campaign Wilson had advocated military preparedness as the best guarantee of peace. Watson saw that Wilson's "preparedness" was only a guise for militarism and denounced, "the insane notion that belligerence of attitude and conduct *lead to peace.*" He wrote that "*big armaments, instead of insuring PEACE, insure WAR.*"

"Is it worth while to remind our public servants in Washington," Watson asked, "that this Constitution does not authorize or contemplate any other kind of war, except one for self-defense?" He scouted Wilson's "Hun" propaganda and advised nonintervention:

It is absurd to say we are menaced by German danger. Germany cannot send troops here ... The Law of Nations and our own common sense, tell us that what England, France, and Germany do to each other is none of our business. It is not cause for us to send a million of our boys, to sacrifice their lives, so far from home.

Exposing what he termed Wilson's "sham neutrality," Watson said, "If we have loaned money to England and France to help make war, we have not been neutral. We are still doing it-the liberty Bonds prove it. J.P. Morgan cleaned up ninety million dollars as part of his share." He identified the real forces behind the interventionists: "The world must be made safe for democracy," said our sweetly sincere President; what he meant was, that the huge investment, which our Blood-Gorged Capitalists made in French, Italian, Russian and English paper, must be made safe. *Where Morgan's money went, your boys must go, ELSE MORGAN WILL LOSE HIS MONEY.*"

On 18 August 1917 Watson brought a test case before Federal Court, challenging the constitutionality of Wilson's Conscription Act. In his "Speech Against the Conscription Act," delivered during June of that year, he asked, "How does the Conscription Law, rushed upon the people by Congress, in April, 1917, accord with the time-honored principles of Magna Charta, as embodied in the Bill of Rights of every State, and as crystalized in the Constitution of the United States?" A candidate for Congress in Iowa was sentenced to ten years in the Federal Penitentiary for publishing and distributing excerpts from Watson's address.

It seemed strange to Watson that a President so concerned with saving democracy abroad should pass the oppressive Espionage and Sedition Acts at home. He said, "On the pretext of waging war against Prussianism. in Europe, the purpose of Prussianizing this country has been avowed in Congress, with brutal frankness, by a spokesman of the administration." He feared that the Republic would be "*transformed into a German military camp.*" "Already," he warned, "the Executive branch of Government has swallowed the Legislative, and the President has demanded -and secured more personal power than any Kaiser ever possessed."

Watson had scheduled an interstate convention. in Macon, Georgia to discuss "the recent unconstitutional and revolutionary acts of Congress." If interference by the federal authorities and threats of military violence forced him to call it off. At the end of August, the *Jeffersonians* were banned under the Espionage Act and Watson's prediction of "prodigious sacrifices of treasure and blood" was soon to come true.

Personal tragedy was mingled with public ruin when Watson's remaining daughter died a week after the *Jeffersonians* were banned. Another daughter had been lost during infancy. During the U.S. war effort, reference was made to the "seditious utterances" and "un-American writings" Watson had brought forth in his "disloyal, incendiary publications." His health worsened and he moved to Florida to seek relief. John Duram Watson, his last surviving child, was seized with convulsions and died there during a visit. Watson reflected: "Perhaps, you had come to realize that you were one of those men with whom Fortune deals grudgingly, one of those whom Hope deceives and Success laughs at; one of those who always has wind-and wave against him, and who never by any sort of chance finds himself in league with luck."

Yet Watson would not give up. He returned to Georgia and renewed his fight against Wilson's policies. Soon after the Armistice he began publication of a new-weekly paper, the *Columbia Sentinel*. Because he was still under a governmental ban, he had to post his newspaper from a neighboring town. Watson spoke from experience when he wrote:

Not always is it easy to know the right,-very often is the road rough. Human praise can be won by shorter routes. Honor and riches are not always its rewards. Pleasanter days and calmer nights can be yours, if you float smoothly down the tide of policy, - steering deftly by the rules of the expedient.

During 1918, the Sage of Hickory Hill watched Senator Thomas W. Hardwick go down to defeat in his re-election campaign because of his opposition to the League of Nations. His challenger, who favored the League, had received Wilson's personal support. Watson was one of the League's greatest foes. Pointing out that George Washington "was a nationalist and not an internationalist; an American and not a cosmopolitan," he said,

Let us stand by the wisdom of the farewell address. Let us stand by the words of wisdom. Let us be content with the prosperity which has been ours under the historic, purely American policies. Let us not embark at this late day, into European intrigue, dynastic quarrels, disputes between emperors and Kings, aristocracies and autocracies, involving our country in things which we do not understand and which we need not try to understand. Why should we? Let Europe and Japan tend to their own affairs, and let us attend to ours.

Intending to avenge Hardwick's loss, Watson announced his candidacy for the Senate in 1920. His enemies laughed that he had been "shelved so long he was dusty." The old Populist ran against two of the most powerful politicians in the state, Senator Hoke Smith, the incumbent, and Governor Hugh M. Dorsey. Smith had deserted the Populist principles that he had espoused during his days as a reform governor; having worked with Wilson in the Senate, he now refused to take a firm stand against the President's pet project, the League of Nations. Dorsey ran as an outspoken advocate of the League.

Watson traversed the state three times in an automobile, though suffering from asthma and bronchitis. Only one state newspaper, Hearst's *Atlanta Georgian and Sunday American*, gave him his support. Even the American Legion opposed him, And yet the people of Georgia were tired of war and internationalism. At one point during the campaign a crowd of 20,000 besieged an auditorium Watson was to speak at in Atlanta. By 5 o'clock in the afternoon the building contained 10,000 people, and the fire department announced that the rest would have to be turned away. Watson's supporters waited three hours to hear him speak, filling not only the seats but the floor, the aisles, even parts of the stage.

Watson made clear his complete rejection of the League of Nations:

In the league, the great charter is engulfed, the sovereignty of the people disappears, and a universal monarchy is at last established. The council of the league will absorb within itself judicial power, legislative power, and executive power. It will be a supreme court of the world, a supreme legislature of the world, a supreme executive of the world. It will evolve its own army, its own treasury, its, own system of finance, its own civil service. It will have in its hands both the purse and the sword, and nowhere on earth will there be a power to veto its measures or resist its usurpations.

It pretends to assimilate the yellow race, the brown race, the black race, and the white race. It pretends to harmonize democracy with imperialism, the Kings with the republics. It pretends to reconcile the Buddhist with the Confucianist, the Mohammedan with the Christian ... It pretends to expect international melody out of 33 discordant national notes.

If the real purpose is to create an international guaranty and collection agency for the great bankers and bondholders of indebted nations, then the League will be a success.

The President (Wilson) admits that we will lose our independence in the league. Therefore he himself admits that he went to France and surrendered the very thing that our soldier boys fought and died to maintain ... What he has done is immensely more than equivalent to the destruction of the documents which contain the Declaration and of the Farewell Address. He has signed away independence itself, he has signed away the Americanism of the Farewell Address; he has surrendered what our forefathers gained under the shadow of a European crown.

The Treaty of Versailles also met with Watson's unyielding opposition. He asked, "What sort of peace was imposed upon the German people, whom Wilson said he 'loved'?" He pointed out that such treaties "will naturally arouse jealousy. Germany will not always be prostrate. Sixty-odd million people can not be kept down." He scoffed at those who claimed, because of a treaty, "that a millenium of brotherly love will ensue; that there will be no future wars, although humanity remains unchanged." He could not understand how "experienced men of affairs, like the President of the United States, could believe for one minute that you can make any kind of agreement, signed up in any sort of way, which will banish war."

Watson won the senatorial contest. The popular vote he received was almost twice that of his opponents combined. His biographer (Brewton) describes the outcome as "the most signal victory ever recorded in Georgia politics." Hardwick had renewed his struggle against the League by entering the gubernatorial race, and was elected Governor.

The great Populist leader had been vindicated. After thirty years he was back in Washington. The Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations were never ratified, in part due to Watson's efforts. In the Senate he continued his struggle against internationalism by opposing the Four-Powers Treaty, which linked America with the imperialist interests of Europe. He cautioned that "the Republic can not be the partner of an imperialism, without a reaction coming from the imperialism affecting the democratic institutions and ideals in this country."

Watson fought the financial tyranny of the Federal Reserve Board, just as he had earlier done battle with the National Bank. Referring to a dangerous drop in farm prices, he charged that the Board had "destroyed the money, decreased the circulation, and brought on the panic which they called deflation." He asked President Harding to remove the five members of the Board and appoint others, contending that they were bankers in the service of Wall Street interests.

Senator Watson was tormented by chronic attacks of asthma during his term in the Sixty-Seventh Congress. His health compelled him to abandon the Washington hotel life and take up residence in Chevy Chase, Maryland. At one point he required the constant attention of a nurse for eight weeks. Despite such difficulties, he did his best to attend to his senatorial duties.

On 17 September 1922 Watson suffered a painful asthma attack and the doctor insisted that he remain in bed for a week. However, he was determined to attend the closing of the second session of Congress on the twenty-second; there, he spoke out for a group of striking Pennsylvania coal miners who had recently been evicted from their homes. With his efforts in their behalf, Tom Watson had fought his last battle. He suffered a severe attack of asthma and bronchitis on the night of the twenty-fifth, and died the next morning — at the age of sixty-six. On September 28th 10,000 people attended his funeral at Hickory Hill.

The Sage of Hickory Hill still excites enmity from the foes of democracy and adherents to imperialism. A recent work sponsored by the Zionist Anti-[sic]Defamation League alleges that “Tom Watson wrote one of the dirtiest chapters of bigotry in the South.”

Though twenty-nine speeches were given in his honor when Congress held memorial services during 1923, Senator Watson himself wrote the words that best serve as his epitaph:

Let the tide ebb — it must be so; let the daylight fade, it must be so — but this much any poor mortal can do, and should do: Hold aloft, to the very last, the banner of your creed; fight for it as long as you can stand; and when you go down, let it be possible for you to say to those who love you: Lay a sword on my coffin; for I, also, was a soldier in the great struggle for humanity.

A Short Watson Bibliography

There are two biographies of Tom Watson: *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel*, by C. Vann Woodward, and *The Life of Thomas E. Watson*, by William W. Brewton. Both biographers give their subject a sympathetic treatment. Besides the historical works mentioned in the text, Watson wrote numerous books and pamphlets on political questions. *The People's Party Campaign Book* and the *Political and Economic Handbook* are systematic expositions of his political philosophy. *The Life and Speeches of Thomas E. Watson* contains his most famous pieces of oratory. *Sketches: Historical, Literary, Biographical, Economic, Etc.* and *Prose Miscellanies* are anthologies of articles from the *Jeffersonians*. Marxism and related creeds are subjected to a populist analysis in *Socialists and Socialism*. *Mr. Watson's Editorials on the War Issues* is a collection of his writings in opposition to World War I.

Three Assessments of the Infamy of December 7, 1941

PERCY L. GREAVES, Jr.

- **AT DAWN WE SLEPT: THE UNTOLD STORY OF PEARL HARBOR** by Gordon W. Prange, in collaboration with Donald M. Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillon, McGraw Hill, 889pp, \$22.95.
- **THE PACIFIC WAR**, by John Costello, Rawson Wade, 742pp, \$24.00.
- **INFAMY**, by John Toland, Doubleday, 366pp, \$17.95.

The Pearl Harbor disaster marks much more than the worst naval, military and diplomatic defeats in American history. It represents the culmination of a half century movement to discard the philosophy of our Founding Fathers—a philosophy that had attracted millions of immigrants to our shores in their pursuit of personal prosperity in the land of the free and of limited government. Pearl Harbor, and its aftermath, dropped a curtain over the economic failures of the New Deal policies of ever-increasing political spending and a politically controlled economy in an attempt to solve the government-created problems of inflation and mass unemployment. It also launched the full flowering of a new form of imperialism, whereby it is assumed that the President of the United States is not only the chief policeman of the world, but also the chief dispenser of largess at home and abroad.

It has long been this reviewer's contention that the true story of Pearl Harbor is too complex, interwoven and unbelievable to be presented in a single volume. Nevertheless, three brave men have recently attempted to do so. Their books all read well. An uninformed reader of any one might well think that book very informative. The reader of all three is more likely to be confused than enlightened.

The Prange book is a full-fledged one-sided defense of the position to which the Roosevelt adulators have been driven by the revelations of facts long hidden from the public. Oddly, the authors of its Introduction hope "it raises more questions than it provides answers." This it does. The Costello book is the work of a truth-seeking Englishman with a bias that it was our duty to save England and the world from the scourge of Hitler. Much of the book's "significant new evidence," ^[1] though it may be interesting and informative to many, can be found buried in material made public in 1945 and 1946. The Toland book is a far from complete story. However, it is the one that provides us with the most new, valuable and interesting information on what contributed to this highly important disaster and the attempts made to cover up the truth. Its many contributions will have to be taken into consideration by all future historians of this event.

At Dawn We Slept

Prange died in May 1980, so two of his former students — Donald L. Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillon — have edited his massive manuscript into its published form. They claim he tried "to be as objective as humanly possible." ^[2] Possibly so, if one accepts the "new imperialism" as a basis

for weighing what he found. However, if one accepts the constitutional concepts of our Founding Fathers, it becomes difficult to believe that “Washington had very little practical option.” [3] Even if one accepts the “new imperialism” philosophy that the problems of the Far East were the problems of the United States in general and our President in particular, Prange, like many others, completely ignores the fact that the basic controversy in that area was between the expansionist policies of the communist-minded Soviet Union and the largely western-oriented Japan in need of raw materials and markets for her finished goods.

Prange is silent on the Soviet attempts to disrupt Japan’s commercial and industrial developments on the mainland. Yet, it was the “commies” and the lack of local government protection that created “incidents” which led to Japan’s questionable military operations on the mainland. President Roosevelt sided with a weak Chinese government which could not control the terroristic devastations of either the “war lords” or the “commie” trouble makers, much less maintain peace in the market place. Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) severed our trade treaty with Japan in the summer of 1940. He, thus, consciously or unconsciously, took the side of the Soviet Union in the Far East squabble. After Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, FDR considered the Soviets our allies and provided them Lend-Lease aid. At the same time meaningful negotiations with the Japanese ceased, as FDR drew an even tighter noose around Japan’s economic neck. Prange’s objectivism consists in believing Roosevelt had no choice and that while he may have made some small human errors in details, his overall policies were heroic. He does, on occasion, admit there were some peace-minded people in Japan, but the war-minded military expansionists won out. That this may have been the result of FDR’s personal anti-Japanese policies is not one of Prange’s positions.

When it gets to the investigations, we learn that “Stimson’s suggestion” of Supreme Court justice Owen J. Roberts “was a good choice to direct the investigation” [4] that cleared FDR, Stimson, Marshall et al of any responsibilities, while placing full blame on the Hawaiian commanders, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and General Walter C. Short. Prange neglects to state that Roberts had been an interventionist advocate before Pearl Harbor. He, Prange, tells us the Hart Inquiry produced “valuable material,” [5] but he fails to cite any, preferring the later, refreshed testimony that attempts to refute the earlier evidence. Forced to admit that under oath neither General George Catlett Marshall nor Admiral Harold R. Stark could recall the most important days and events in their lives, he takes refuge in “witnesses like Stark and Marshall who frankly admit that they do not know or remember everything can be more credible than those who testify in assured detail to matters of which they have no direct knowledge.” [6] That should take care of those who knew of and acted on the receipt of the still missing “winds execute” message that indicated war with the United States and Britain. When Senator Homer Ferguson’s vigorous questioning of Marshall during the Congressional investigation placed a number of damaging facts in the record, we read that he “kept Marshall on the stand for an incredible nine and a half hours. His first session ... covered a potpourri of subjects which we need not examine.” [7]

While he does admit the War and Navy Departments failed to send vital information they had to the Pearl Harbor commanders, it would take another book of 800 pages to balance, correct and refute the one-sided presentation of the book’s selected “facts” and deductions. However, as one the book calls a “gifted, convinced revisionist,” [8] this reviewer must comment on the final section of the book that ends with this sentence:

But in a thorough search of more than thirty years, including all publications released up to May 1, 1981 we have not discovered one document or one word of sworn testimony that substantiates the revisionist position on Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor. [9]

The section starts off by admitting that some of the conclusions of “the more reasonable revisionists” are “arguable.” [10] Then he tells us:

According to Beard, the President was a warmonger who deceived the American people, violated his antiwar campaign pledge of 1940, and maneuvered the Japanese into firing the first shot. [11]

Part of his rebuttal reads:

Percy L. Greaves, Jr., too, conceded, “Washington did not know, or at least no evidence has been adduced that Washington knew, precisely, that the attack would fall on Pearl Harbor although they (sic) had good reason to expect that it might.” [12]

That has been my position since 1946 and still is. However, Prange neglects three now well established facts: (1) That FDR was reelected in 1940 with the help of public promises that we were not going to fight in any foreign wars, while he was secretly promising aid to the British once the election was won; (2) That FDR precipitated the attack with an ill-considered ultimatum he knew Japan could not accept; and (3) That FDR told his War Cabinet on 25 November 1941, that an attack could be expected as soon as next Monday. Unfortunately, FDR’s attention was on the Japanese convoys moving south toward Thailand and Malaya. His chief worry in late 1941 was whether Congress and the country would back him up in keeping his secret unconstitutional promises to Britain that we would join the war if the Japanese, as they drove for the vitally needed oil we would not let them buy, passed us by and, attacked only British or Dutch territory.

Prange claims that when William Henry Chamberlin states the Japanese task force was “under the command of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto,” he made “a mistake ... the sort of factual error that casts doubt upon a (sic) historian’s credibility.” [13] Actually, the task force was operating under the orders of Admiral Yamamoto, who sent the final attack orders from his headquarters in Japan. That was a little one. Now for a big one:

Greaves asserted, “Early in 1941 administration officials reached a secret agreement with British and Dutch officials, which committed us to go to war against Japan if Japanese forces crossed a certain line.” It so happened that representatives of the U.S. and British Army and Navy staffs held discussions in Washington from January 29 to March 27, 1941. These discussions culminated in a secret military agreement (ABC-1 of March 1941). Roosevelt did not approve ABC-1 ... Doubtless this is the “secret agreement” to which Greaves referred. However, both Marshall and Stark withheld approval because, among other reasons, ABC contained “political matters” and the proposals set forth did not constitute “a practical operating plan.” These plans and discussions did not commit the United States politically to go to war with Japan, Germany, or both; they outlined the military strategy to be followed if the country joined the conflict. [14]

While only Congress can constitutionally declare war, this “secret agreement” by “administration officials” did commit “us to go to war against Japan if Japanese forces crossed a certain line.” A statement signed by the Secretary of the joint Board was introduced into the hearings, stating that the President had “familiarized himself” with the agreement, but “he would not approve the report at this time.” [15]

Unfortunately, the original copy, signed by the “administration officials” could not be located. However, on 3 April 1941, Stark sent each of the Commanders in Chief of the three United States fleets “two copies of the Report (Short title ABC-1).” His official letter stated:

This Report has been approved by the Chief of Staff of the Army and by myself and, at an appropriate time is expected to receive the approval of the President ... The basic idea of the United States-British plan is that the United States will draw forces from the Pacific Fleet to reinforce the Atlantic Fleet, and that the British will, if necessary, transfer naval forces to the Far East to attempt to hold the Japanese north of the Malay Barrier ... The question of our entry into the war now seems to be *when* and not *whether*. [16]

This 3 April letter, just quoted, was distributed to the Congressional Committee members as part of Exhibit #106. However, the printed record omitted it from that exhibit. Perhaps it was because of Stark's next letter to Kimmel, dated 4 April, which said:

Yesterday, I sent an official letter to you ... Spent over three hours with him [the President] day before yesterday and another hour yesterday. My official letter on the staff conversations had some thoughts in it as a result of that Conference. I may tell you and Hart and King, in the strictest confidence and I mean by that nobody but you and Hart and King, that I read to the President the official secret letter which I mailed you three yesterday and received his general assent to it... I am also enclosing a memorandum, which I regard as vitally secret and which I trust you will burn as soon as you have read it, covering the President's talk with Ghormley and me yesterday. [17]

Admiral Robert Lee Ghormley was the Navy's representative to the British government.

Stark's Chief of War Plans, Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, testified before the Hart Inquiry:

WPL-46; Rainbow 5, it was known as. That war plan was a joint plan between the Army and the Navy. It had its basis in an international agreement with the British Army, Navy and Air Force ... It was a worldwide agreement ... On the conclusion of that agreement with the British, the WTL-46 was prepared after a great many talks with the Army and was approved by the joint Board, the Secretaries of War and Navy, and by the President. The Navy issued their form of that war plan in May of 1941. [18]

He also testified that:

In May of 1941, decision was reached jointly with the British Government to occupy the Azores. The force which was withdrawn from the Pacific at that time ... That project was abandoned and the occupation of Iceland by American troops was substituted. [19]

Stark's Assistant Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Royal E. Ingersoll later told the Hart Inquiry:

The transfer of ships from the Pacific to the Atlantic was in accordance with WPL46, which, in turn, was based on the U.S.-British conversations which culminated in the plan known as "ABC-1." [20]

The Navy Court of Inquiry asked Stark, "Who approved the joint Army and Navy Basic War Plan Rainbow 5?" He replied, "It was approved by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the President. [21]

When Stark appeared before the Congressional Committee, his distributed statement read, “Based on the understandings arrived at in ABC-1, the Army and the Navy developed a joint Basic War Plan known as Rainbow No. 5, which was approved by the Secretaries of War and the Navy and by the President.” In reading his statement, he said he had crossed out the words “and by the President” because he was told to do so when he submitted the statement to the Navy Department the day before. His reason for doing so, which this reviewer heard him state, has been omitted from the printed record. [22]

General L.T. Gerow, Chief of Army War Plans, told the Roberts Commission, “the joint Army and Navy Basic War Plan-Rainbow No. 5 was approved by the President, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy in May 1941.” [23]

In a Joint Memorandum for the President dated 5 November 1941, Marshall and Stark concluded:

The basic military policies and strategy agreed to in the United States-British Staff conversations remain sound ... Military action against Japan should be undertaken only in one or more of the following contingencies:

- (1) A direct act of war by Japanese armed forces against the territory or mandated territory of the United States, the British Commonwealth, or the Netherlands East Indies;
- (2) The movement of Japanese forces into Thailand to the west of 1000 East or south of 10 North; or into Portuguese Timor, New Caledonia, or the Loyalty Islands. [24]

The SECRET Rainbow 5 states under “PHASE 1 — Initial tasks — Japan not in the war... Protect the territory and communications of the associated powers.” [25] The Associated Powers were understood to be the United States, Netherlands East Indies and the British Commonwealth, including Australia, New Zealand and India.

The reader can make his or her own decision as to whether or not there was a “secret agreement” in force in the spring of 1941, and whether “both Marshall and Stark withheld approval.”

Revisionists, being human, have made mistakes. Carried away emotionally by the blatant cover up propaganda of the “court historians,” they have on occasion let some of their deductions exceed the provable facts. This reviewer has opposed such claims and has constantly maintained that, as incomplete as the record is, the known facts prove that FDR deceived the American public and that his aides lied time and time again in an effort to cover up the truth. General Sherman Miles admitted in an affidavit that he was ordered by Marshall to commit perjury by refusing to tell the full truth. [26]

So much for the Prange effort, which certainly “raises more questions than it provides answers.” [27]

The Pacific War

John Costello’s book is an unfortunate one. He is an Englishman, too young to have any mature recollections of the times and conditions existing in Asia and this country in the years and crucial months preceding the Pearl Harbor disaster. Unlike Prange, he was unable to know, observe or interview any of the major participants. He was thus dependent on the written records he had time to examine in the short time he devoted to the subject. Although he knew of the joint Con-

gressional Committee hearings, which he mistakenly refers to as the Senate hearings, his lack of familiarity with the contents of the some 44 volumes that were part of its record leaves much to be desired. On the subject of Pearl Harbor, he is an amateur, competing in the big leagues.

As most histories are written from the viewpoint of the victors, Costello, who matured in the post World War II era, has read only the generally accepted establishment view that it was right and proper for the United States to interfere in the Far East quarrels — quarrels that President Hoover, along with most Americans of his era and before, felt were matters about which the United States would not go to war. This new form of noblesse oblige imperialism is probably easier for an Englishman to accept than for a traditional American. Costello not only accepts it, but agrees with the pre-Pearl Harbor Roosevelt position that Japan was guilty of one-sided “aggression in China,” [28] and that “Japan was progressing toward a totalitarian Fascist state.” [29]

He gives little thought to the possibility that it was Communist infiltration from Siberia that was the underlying cause behind most of the early incidents that led to the Japanese military expedition. It may have been all right in 1901 for Japan to join with the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Russia in protecting her nationals in China. But somehow or other Japan was no longer entitled to protect her nationals or her commercial and industrial interests when what passed for the Chinese government could not maintain law and order. The trouble makers were never the “commies.” It was “the Japanese, who engineered 'incidents'.” [30] So economic measures to strangle Japan were desirable even though they led inevitably to a war to restrain Japan and make Asia safe for communist exploitation.

For the serious student, the book is a horror. Costello’s editors certainly let him down. The author apparently felt that only quotations needed to be documented. Consequently, many important statements are unsupported. Much worse is the fact that the documentation is all too often in error. Quotations are occasionally mangled or so edited as to modify the meaning of a longer quotation. Some of the documentation errors are to the wrong pages. Others are to the wrong books. Some are ludicrous, as references to pages 440 and 944 in a book that has only 266 pages. Too many are to an “op.cit.” many pages away; at least one is to a book not included in a rather skimpy bibliography for this subject. [31]

The book states that a Navy witness, who tried to send an alert to Pearl Harbor, “testified, the War Plans Division had I so amended the dispatch as to make it worthless’.” [32] The record does not show that the witness ever made such a statement. The page cited indicates the witness took the drafted message to the Chief of War Plans who “made a number of corrections in it, striking out all except the information parts of it, more or less.” The witness was told, “If you want to send it, you either send it the way I corrected it, or take it back to Wilkinson [his superior] and we win argue about it.” [33] The revised draft was left with Wilkinson, but never sent. A reading of the full testimony of the witness’s two appearances fails to reveal the words Costello places in quotation marks.

The Japanese Honolulu to Tokyo 6 December message ended, “the heavy cruisers and airplane carriers have all left. It appears that no air reconnaissance is being conducted by the fleet air arm.” [34] This appears in the book as, “ALL CARRIERS AND HEAVY CRUISERS ARE AT SEA. NO SPECIAL REPORTS ON THE FLEET OAHU IS QUIET ... “ [35] Why the author should take such liberties is hard to understand.

He was also unaware of why there was a delay in translating this “bomb plot” series. The message cited was read after the attack, but earlier ones were read in Washington before the attack after receipt from Hawaii by airmail. Airmail was only twice a week then. Contrary to Costello’s

belief, Hawaii could have read the series promptly if Washington had alerted them. However, the Hawaii code experts had been ordered to devote all their energies to breaking the Japanese Naval code. So such messages in the minor consular code were forwarded to Washington for decoding. None of this vital information was ever sent to Hawaii. There are countless factual errors of differing importance, but not the kind a careful historian would permit to appear in print. We read on one page about "the fall of Paris on July 18." On the next page, we read, "on June 21, the day before Germany and France signed their armistice." [36] Paris fell on 22 June.

The book reads: "Konoye on November 11 proclaimed 'a new order in East Asia' to save China from her traditional fate as the 'victim of the imperialistic ambitions of the occidental powers'." [37] For his source he cites another book. Actually, the date of Konoye's radio speech was eight days earlier, 3 November, 1938. The translation in the official U.S. State Department volume does not include the words in the inner quotes. It does state:

The Chiang Kai-shek administration has practically been reduced to a mere local regime ... What Japan sincerely desires is the development and not the ruin of China. It is China's cooperation and not conquest that Japan sincerely desires. Japan desires to build up a stabilized Far East by cooperating with the Chinese people who have awakened to the need of self-determination as an Oriental race ... It goes without saying that Japan will not exclude cooperation of foreign Powers. Neither she intends to damage the legitimate rights of the third Powers in China ... The world knows that Japan is earnestly determined to fight it out with communism. What the Comintern intends to do is bolshevisation of the Far East and disturbance of world peace. Japan expects to suppress in a drastic manner the sources of the evils of bolshevisation and their subversive activities. [38]

One may legitimately doubt the sincerity of any diplomat, but that is no reason to misrepresent and misquote his actual words. On page 90 we read that Hitler invaded the Soviet Union on "July 22, 1941." on the next page we read, "The day before Operation Barbarosa ... June 21." That was plain carelessness. But what about his crediting Lieutenant Commander A. D. Kramer with Captain L. F. Safford's office, [39] or having Kimmel "sent out in February 1941," [40] when he went out with the Fleet almost a year earlier and merely assumed the top command on 1 February? Costello confuses the "winds code" and "winds execute" messages, [41] as well as FDR's full Cabinet and War Cabinet, [42] which included the Secretaries of War, Navy and State, along with the Chief of Staff and Chief of Naval Operations. He has FDR making a statement to his wife, Eleanor, that his source states was made to a judge in his wife's presence. [43] It was about FDR's face-saving message sent early in the evening of 6 December to the Japanese Emperor. [44] This was after he knew Japan's reply was in-a reply that he had known since 22 November meant "things are automatically going to happen" [45] and which, when he saw 13 of its 14 parts, caused him to say, "This means war." [46]

Costello even has Marshall out horseback riding when his 7 December duty officer, in a statement written on 8 June 1942, stated Marshall "arrived at the office at about 10:00 o'clock or shortly thereafter and had a series of conferences with staff officers from G-2 and the War Plans Division." [47]

Costello is totally confused about the controversial message of 27 November to General Short signed "Marshall." Actually, Marshall was out of town that day and had nothing to do with it. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, whom Costello calls Secretary of the Navy on page 83 and Secretary. of War on page 85, sent that message, which was primarily a copy of the one sent to General Douglas MacArthur in the Philippine Islands. The messages said, "You are directed to

undertake such reconnaissance and other measures as you deem necessary.” Generals Short and MacArthur were both ordered to “report measures taken.” [48] Stimson was unfamiliar with the situation in Hawaii. Both Marshall and Short knew, if Stimson did not, that there were no Army planes available in Hawaii for long distance reconnaissance. Most of Hawaii’s B-17s had been sent on to the Philippines.

Costello, like many others, is bothered by the sudden 26 November decision to jettison the proposed United States “*modus vivendi*” as an answer to a Japanese proposed “*modus vivendi*.” It was designed to gain a delay of three months on the decision for war. While China objected furiously, it had been approved by the War Cabinet and the governments of Britain, Netherlands and Australia. On 26 November, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau called on FDR as he received his breakfast in bed. Costello tells us: “Plainly Roosevelt had just received some news which had shaken him because ‘He had not touched his coffee’.” [49] From this non sequitur, he jumps to the conclusion “that whatever war warning the President received on the morning of November 26th, it almost certainly came from Churchill.” He then reasons the alleged war warning must have come “through an entirely confidential channel ... the likely source and channel is to be found in the account of William Stephenson,” the British agent in New York whose duty was to get the United States into the war with FDR’s secret help. He believes the “go-between” was FDR’s son, James. [50]

While Costello states “there are no indications in the published accounts,” he presumes “there is good reason” to believe that 11 still sealed” papers “must cast doubt on Stimson’s account as well as the official version of why the United States so dramatically and unexpectedly reversed its policy toward Japan on the morning of November 26, 1941 ... That some war warning was received in the White House that day was certainly believed by Admiral Kimmel ... he certainly tried to establish the existence of such a warning.” As justification for this, he cites a question “Kimmel asked Stark” during the Navy Court of Inquiry. Actually, Kimmel asked the question during a cross examination of Admiral R. E. Schuirmann, the Navy’s liaison with the State Department. Kimmel asked, “Do you recall whether on or about 26 November you received information from the Office of Naval Intelligence that they had specific evidence of Japan’s intention to wage war against both Britain and the United States?” [51] Schuirmann refused to answer, claiming “his privilege against revealing state secrets.” The judge Advocate sustained the objection as “beyond the scope of direct examination.” [52]

Kimmel asked a series of questions “to ascertain the specific information which he was being denied.” [53] They all referred to intercepts of Japanese messages which were still classified “Top Secret.” Schuirmann refused to answer any of the questions Kimmel asked and the Court upheld Schuirmann’s objections. What Costello did not know was that these questions were based on a statement Captain L. F. Safford had prepared from memory, when the intercepts were missing from the files, for his testimony before the Hart Inquiry. [54] He was undoubtedly recalling a Hanoi-Tokyo Purple intercept translated on 26 November that said:

(Strictly Secret)

We are advised by the military that we are to have a reply from the United States on the 25th. If this is true, no doubt the Cabinet will make a decision between peace and war within the next day or so ... Should, however, the negotiations not end in a success, since practically all preparations for the campaign have been completed, our forces shall be able to move within the day.” [55]

Another fact Costello did not seem to know was why Morgenthau was calling on FDR before breakfast on 26 November. Chiang Kai-shek was not the only one opposed to the “*modus vivendi*.” The communists were also active opponents. Chiang’s American adviser was no other than Owen Lattimore. Lattimore sent a key cable to Lauchlin Currie, Administrative Assistant to FDR, which said in part:

You should urgently advise the President of the Generalissimo’s strong reaction. I have never seen him really agitated before ... Any “*modus vivendi*” ... would be disastrous to Chinese belief in America ... The Generalissimo has deep confidence in the President’s fidelity to his consistent policy but I must warn you that even the Generalissimo questions his ability to hold the situation together if the Chinese national trust in America is undermined. [56]

Apparently Lattimore was also helpful with the cables that bombarded many top Administration officials as well as one that caused Churchill to send FDR a cable received at 6 a.m. 26 November stating:

It is for you to handle this business and we certainly do not want an additional war. There is only one point that disquiets us. What about Chiang Kai Shek? Is he not having a very thin diet? Our anxiety is about China. If they collapse our joint dangers would enormously increase. We are sure that the regard of the United States for the Chinese cause will govern your action. We feel that the Japanese are most unsure of themselves. [57]

Morgenthau was one of the recipients of the loud cries from Chungking on 25 November. The first thing on the morning of the 26th, the Chinese Ambassador called on Morgenthau’s aide, Harry Dexter White, at the Treasury. White went to Morgenthau who left immediately for the White House to persuade FDR to receive the Chinese Ambassador and oppose the “*modus vivendi*”. [58] FDR did so and Hull was ordered to send an ultimatum everyone knew Japan could not accept.

Congressional committees have found that Lattimore, Currie and White were closely tied in with Communist interests in Washington. Regarding Costello’s speculation that there was another message from Churchill, it should be mentioned that the “neutral” FDR established the first “hot-line” telephone with Churchill in May 1940. [59] While this “confidential channel” undoubtedly explains why some FDR replies to Churchill requests were not in the files, it is extremely doubtful that FDR was shaken by a “war warning” phone call from Churchill on 26 November.

Costello writes much of “new evidence.” He states “no detailed plan of the Pearl Harbor Attack ... survived the Japanese destruction program at the end of the war.” [60] Actually, on 29 November 1945, MacArthur sent the Congressional Committee a copy of the plan and it was printed in 1946 as Exhibit No. 8-B. [61] Costello was intrigued to find “in the recently declassified records, an almost complete translation of Yamamoto’s first operation order ... : COMBINED FLEET TOP SECRET OPERATION ORDER 1.” [62] This was part of the Committee’s Exhibit No. 8-D.

Costello informs us, “It is now possible to conclude, with some certainty, that it was not Stimson’s report that proved crucial. That ‘missing’ document has been recovered from the recently declassified Confidential File of the Secretary of War.” [63] Bravo! That “missing” document was printed in 1946 as Exhibit No. 98 of the Congressional Hearings. [64]

Costello shows his evident distaste for “isolationists,” “the isolationist press,” “isolationist pressures,” “the isolationist-inspired,” “the ‘professional pacifists’” as well as for his finding that an “isolation-dominated Capitol Hill” passed the Neutrality Act “to keep the United States in strict

international purdah." [65] Nevertheless, he does realize that FDR and Churchill, off Argentina in August 1941, secretly agreed to pursue parallel action against Japan and publicly signed the Atlantic Charter. "This proclaimed Anglo-Saxon unity to uphold Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, but in spite of great press fanfares it was to leave unmoved the 75 percent of Americans who still opposed going to war against Germany." [66]

Despite the many shortcomings, the book does contain a number of statements with which more Americans should be made familiar. He tells us that "the Soviet Union sent arms to Mao Tse-Tung's guerrilla army" in China and forced Japan to choose either to accept a "stalemate or commit more forces to a military campaign to subdue the rest of China." [67] In commenting on the "American isolationists" and their imagined machinations with the Axis, he informs us that "British undercover agents, with the unofficial blessing of the White House, were operating along with the FBI to expose such conspiracies at the risk of violating American constitutional rights." [68]

He concludes that "the two '*modus vivendi*' positions were not irreconcilably apart. Significantly, the United States appeared ready to buy three more months of peace in the Pacific with a limited relaxation of the embargo and some encouragement on the Chinese to negotiate with Japan." [69] He also quotes Churchill's "November 23, 1941 minute to Anthony Eden" in which he said, "I should feel pleased if I read that an American-Japanese agreement had been made by which we were able to be no worse off three months hence in the Far East than we are now." [70]

He also reminds us that our veteran Ambassador to Japan warned FDR that the imposition of embargoes "could lead to open conflict." He even states that both FDR and Hull "had been repeatedly warned by Ambassador Joseph Grew that Japan was being pushed into a diplomatic impasse from which war was the only exit." [71]

While we can disagree that his "new evidence" adds much, some of his conclusions are certainly acceptable deductions from the known facts. For example:

There is every indication that a month before the attack on Pearl Harbor, it was the United States that had decided to bring about the rupture of discussions and was about to prepare for the worst. There is now evidence for believing that President Roosevelt was not only expecting war but possibly knew exactly when it would break out. Clues ... on both sides of the Atlantic ... suggest that after the third week in November 1941 the British and American governments had not only decided that war with Japan was inevitable-but they knew the attack would hit Malaya and the Philippines. [72]

According to a confidential British Foreign Office report 'the President and Mr. Hull were ... fully conscious of what they were doing.'... Whether such an accommodation [the *modus vivendi*] would have worked out in practice is less important than the fact that it was the United States which decided to abandon the *modus vivendi* — thereby making a Pacific war inevitable ... In the light of subsequent events, this decision proved to have been one of the most momentous in America's history. [73]

To which we say, "Amen."

Infamy

The Toland book is a delight to read as well as the most informative of the three. He has pursued a number of previously unexplored leads with numerous interviews and a wide reading of pertinent sources. As a result, he has uncovered or confirmed much that is helpful in putting the complex Pearl Harbor jigsaw puzzle together. The book is not perfect or all inclusive, but it is probably the best volume on the subject to date.

While the book deals primarily with the attempted cover ups after the war, he does weave in many of the little-known important events and decisions that led up to the attack. Unfortunately, he does not develop fully the significance of his two major contributions — the Tyler Kent affair and the Stahlman letter.

His story of the Tyler Kent affair is the most revealing that this reviewer has seen in print. This case of the May 1940 British arrest and detainment, for the duration of the war, of an American code clerk with diplomatic privileges is one of the blackest marks on the record of the Roosevelt Administration. While Kent undoubtedly violated American law and regulations, there was no valid reason for the British to detain him. The waiver of his immunity certainly had to have the highest approval. If he had been expelled from England and tried by an American court, it would certainly have changed the course of history. Toland does not go into this aspect. However, if Kent had revealed the contents of the damaging FDR-Winston Churchill documents to Burton K. Wheeler of the U.S. Senate, rather than Captain A. H. M. Ramsey, of the British Parliament, this reviewer doubts that FDR would have obtained the 1940 Democratic Party nomination, much less a third term election. Without Roosevelt in the White House, it is difficult to imagine Pearl Harbor.

A few pages before the book's end, buried at the end of a paragraph, we read:

One of Knox's close friends, James G. Stahlman, wrote Admiral Kemp Tolley in 1973 that Knox told him that he, Stimson, Marshall, Stark and Harry Hopkins had spent most of the night of December 6 at the White House with the President: All were waiting for what they knew was coming: an attack on Pearl Harbor. [74]

Toland continues, "The incredulities continued," but makes no further comment on this astounding bit of information. Mr. Stahlman was not just a close friend of Knox. He was a well known publisher and a man of substance — a veteran of World War I and the President of the American Newspaper Publishers Association 1937-39 who served in Washington during World War II as a Captain in the U.S. Naval Reserve. His letter is prime evidence. While we can agree that these men were expecting some kind of an attack, there is still no documented evidence that they were thinking of Pearl Harbor. All available records indicate their attention was on the Japanese convoys going south. This is confirmed by Knox's spontaneous "My God, this can't be true! This must mean the Philippines," when informed of the attack. [75] The chief concern was whether we would be included in the attack and, if not, whether Congress and the country would endorse their secret desires, if not promise, to join in the defense of British and Dutch territory.

Think what this Stahlman letter means. It is certainly further proof that the testimonies of Stimson, Marshall and Stark are worthless. They could not recall. It also helps explain why so many of their underlings changed their earlier sworn testimony in order to conform with the desires of their superiors. We should no longer be surprised at the great lengths other "responsible" persons went to suppress the truth. After all, the record shows that Marshall ordered one of his aides to commit perjury before the Army Pearl Harbor Board. If one, were there not others? [76]

Toland does provide a large number of instances in which efforts were made to twist or suppress the truth. He adds much to the story of Marshall's successful attempt to keep Thomas Dewey

from mentioning in the 1944 Presidential campaign the pre-Pearl Harbor reading of Japanese codes. This was probably justified, as we were reading all Berlin-Tokyo diplomatic messages sent in the same system. However, few of the other attempts could be justified, particularly after the end of the war.

While there has been prior mention of the case of Chief Warrant Officer Ralph T. Briggs, Toland deserves great credit for breaking the full story. In doing so, he should end at last all doubt about the receipt of Tokyo's "winds execute" message. Tokyo set up a "winds code" on 19 November. It was a false weather message designed to inform Japan's consular and diplomatic representatives on the outbreak of war after they had destroyed their code books and machines. The code destruction orders went out on 1 and 2 December. So both Japanese and American radio stations were monitoring all weather broadcasts for the key words. Early testimony indicated that several persons

had seen the "execute" of the "winds code" message and a number of others testified they had been informed of its reception. The cover-up forces then tried to dispel the idea that this clear warning of war, or at least of the breaking of relations, with

Britain and the United States, was ever received.' This had three purposes: (1) It would water down or divert attention from the clear warnings that war was imminent after our 26 November ultimatum to Japan; (2) It would help excuse the failure to send more information to the Pearl Harbor commanders; and (3) It would cast doubt on the testimony of those few witnesses who were trying to tell the truth.

Toland informs us of some of the methods used to suppress the truth. Secretary Knox had promised Kimmel permission to have an aide search the files for pertinent documents. [77] One day the Acting Navy Secretary, Admiral Ernest J. King, allowed Kimmel's legal aide, retired Navy Captain Robert A. Lavender, to do so. He "extracted some forty-three messages, messages typical of what he thought should have gone to Kimmel." As he looked at these messages, he "became nauseated," and could not eat that evening while he was informing Kimmel's other attorneys of their contents. [78]

The following day Marshall's deputy telephoned the director of Naval Communications to vigorously protest Lavender's visit to the secret files. Orders, he said, forbade such an inspection. When the director said he had received no such orders, the deputy hastily explained he merely meant that orders should forbid such inspection.

Even though the messages had been segregated and authenticated, the copies were not delivered to Lavender but kept in the custody of Naval Communications ... [79]

Marshall also set up two Carter Clarke investigations to scotch growing rumors that he wanted suppressed. Under such interrogation, officers denied they had ever made the statements that others had quoted them as saying about the handling and rumored destruction of "secret" documents. Toland tells us how many of the pertinent documents were finally gotten into the record. This story alone is worth much more than the price of the book. The next tactic was for the Secretaries of War and the Navy to send "identical bills to the Chairmen of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees prohibiting disclosure of any coded matter." With only one hearing "in camera" the bill was rushed through the Senate and sent to the House. [80] If passed into law, it would have destroyed any chance that the American public would ever learn the truth about Pearl Harbor. Toland tells us how this was prevented.

After telling us how the Navy Court of Inquiry and Army Pearl Harbor Board reversed the Roberts Report findings, that made Kimmel and Short the scapegoats, placing a major share of the blame on Marshall and Stark, Toland tells us how these reports were first suppressed. Then, both the Army and Navy set up separate further investigations to discredit the official findings of Admirals and Generals. Prior witnesses were shown the testimony favorable to the cover up and attempts were made to persuade them to change their earlier testimony. Some did, even though one had given his first testimony based on a statement composed by two Marshall aides within a week after Pearl Harbor. Others were persuaded they must have confused a false “winds execute” message with the real one.

There had been a number of private meetings at which witnesses were worked on. One key Navy witness, confined to the psychopathic ward at Bethesda Naval Hospital, was released for a meeting at Stark’s home. He changed his original testimony and received a medical discharge right after the Congressional Committee issued its reports. Another Navy officer admitted he changed his “winds execute” testimony “because, up until... about 2 months ago, I thought the entire thing in that Wind message was authentic ... On talking to some of the officers who had gone into it ... they said it had been found out later that that was a false broadcast ... but it was news to me at that time.” [81]

While Toland has made available much valuable material which every informed American should know, the first printing does have a number of errors. Most of them are minor and should be corrected in later printings.

He states that Stimson’s persistent hatred and fear of Japan began “while he was Hoover’s Secretary of State, with the Japanese conquest of Manchuria in 1932.” [82] He should have traced it back to when Stimson was the Governor General of the Philippines from 1927 to 1929. In fact, it was this “hatred and fear” that led him to accept the Secretary of State position in preference to that of the Attorney General, thus leaving that position open for William D. Mitchell, the Congressional Committee’s first Counsel, who resigned when he failed to railroad the Committee’s Pearl Harbor hearings to an early conclusion.

The book tells us that Marshall’s 7 December 1941 secretary, Colonel Walter Bedell Smith, as a Lieutenant General and Eisenhower’s Chief of Staff, “flatly denied Colonel Sadtler’s claim that he had asked Smith and Gerow on December 5 to authorize him to send Hawaii a warning.” [83] Actually, Smith fell back on the standard Marshall-Stark “do not recall” answer. He signed and swore to an affidavit which stated, “I do not recall Colonel Sadtler’s coming to me as he has stated.” In the same affidavit he swore, “To the best of my recollection ... if the intercepted radio message referred to by Colonel Bratton was delivered” to him on the night of 6 December 1941 as Bratton first testified, “it would have been delivered to the Chief of Staff in accordance with our usual procedure.” [84] Note how craftily he does not actually deny the testimonies of his fellow officers who remained Colonels throughout the war.

Writing about the “*modus vivendi*” requested by Marshall and Stark, seeking a three months’ delay in the breakdown of negotiations with Japan and which had been approved on 25 November by the War Cabinet as well as the British, Dutch and Australian governments, the book states: “Later in the day [the 25th] a cable for Roosevelt arrived from Churchill.” [85] Actually this key cable left London at 12:55 a.m., London time, on the 26th and reached Washington at 6 a.m. [86]

Where Toland tells us “the President ordered Stimson to send out ‘the final alert,’” [87] Stimson’s diary states, “I suggested and he approved.” Where the book states that on 28 November “Stim-

son took the offensive. Strike the Japanese force as it went by — *without warning!*" [88] the diary entry reads:

It further became a consensus of views that rather than strike at the Force as it went by without any warning ... the only thing for us to do was to address it a warning that if it reached a certain place, or a certain line, or a certain point, we should have to fight." [89]

The book includes Knox among those who "felt obliged to join in the cover-up and make scapegoats of two innocent men, Kimmel and Short." [90] Actually, Knox died on 28 April 1944, before the Navy Court of Inquiry. Before his death, he did grant Kimmel permission to search the Navy files. It was Marshall and Knox's successor, James Forrestal, who shut that door. Safford told this reviewer that he felt that if Knox had lived, he would have let the truth come out. We shall never know.

Toland tell us how President Harry S. Truman released the reports of the Navy Court of Inquiry and the Army Pearl Harbor Board shortly after V-J Day. [91] He fails to note that these were only the SECRET reports and did not include the TOP SECRET reports which dealt with the testimony concerning the all-important decoded Japanese intercepts the cover-up boys tried so hard to keep secret. These were released some time later after a considerable controversy.

A rather odd change crept into the Toland book between the manuscript and the printed pages. The book has Marshall "vacationing in Florida with his wife" on 27 November 1941, the day that Stimson drafted a key message over Marshall's signature for MacArthur with a duplicate to Short with the added phrase "these measures should be carried out so as not to alarm civil population or disclose intent." [92] This was also the date of the important joint Marshall-Stark memorandum to the President pleading for more time. Available records indicate Marshall left for Army maneuvers on the 26th and was back in his office on the morning of the 28th. If Toland has uncovered new information, it would have been helpful if he had provided the source.

Toland does establish that Kimmel and Short were not the scapegoats the Administration tried to paint them. He also tells of some of the calumny and sleepless nights these men had to suffer as some called them murderers while a number suggested they shoot themselves. The lives of these dedicated, innocent officers were a literal hell on earth for years as they had to suffer in silence. They were great Americans and Kimmel certainly proved himself a great fighter.

There was one real hero in all this infamy. It was my good friend, Laurence Frye Safford. He, too, suffered the torments of hell as he stuck to telling the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. After all these years, it is good to see a book that presents his story fairly. If it had not been for him, the cover-up boys would have buried the truth where it never could be found. It was he who provided Kimmel with the ammunition to fight. It was he who located and replaced many of the vital intercepts the cover-up boys thought had all been destroyed. It was also he on whom so much shame, ridicule and harassment was heaped. He sacrificed his own career, but he refused to sacrifice that of Briggs, whose superiors ordered him not to disclose the truth about the "winds execute" message which Toland's INFAMY now reveals.

Toland concludes that "a number of reports to Washington indicated" to Roosevelt that the Japanese carriers were "heading eastward to Hawaii." [93] His evidence is tenuous. For years there were rumors, reports, novels, war games and speculations that Japan would start a war against the United States with a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor or our fleet, wherever it was. These were bandied about in the U.S. Navy as elsewhere. No doubt they continued right up to 7 December 1941. They were so numerous and conjectural that they were unfortunately put aside, though

they should not have been, when all the concrete intelligence pointed to a southern Japanese attack force that might, or might not, sail into the Philippines.

The Japanese carriers were under orders to maintain radio silence. They would have been foolish to disobey those orders. Japanese sources have confirmed their silence. Seaman First Class Z and the Lurline radio operators may have heard the “noise” of the brief orders sent the carriers from Japan, but they could not have detected carriers moving in radio silence. There were last minute attempts to alert Washington from both the Netherlands East Indies and Australia. But so far as the record reveals, these all dealt with Japan’s southern movements. The Japanese were most secretive about the Pearl Harbor attack plans and had no reason to disclose them to their representatives in Southeast Asia. In any case, there is no hard evidence that any of these reports actually got to the President.

Perhaps some information did. However, all the massive evidence from many, many sources indicates that the attention of FDR and his top advisers was on the Japanese convoys moving south. This long-time student of the Pearl Harbor story has long maintained that there is no need to go beyond established evidence. When one does, it provides an attractive target for the opponents of truth-seeking revisionists. Such speculative claims have hurt the revisionist movement in the past. The treatment given this great book by the WASHINGTON POST is an example of the damage such claims can do. There is a temptation to concentrate on the one questionable claim and thus neglect the many well-documented facts being published in such detail for the first time by such a talented and experienced author.

Washington had plenty of evidence that the United States was going to be attacked. The “winds execute” in conjunction with the Purple and “bomb plot” intercepts and the places where Japanese codes were being destroyed were clear evidence. As to knowledge the attack was to be on Pearl Harbor, this revisionist historian still holds his 1952 position quoted by Prange:

Percy L. Greaves, Jr., too, conceded, “Washington did not know, or at least no evidence has been adduced that Washington knew, precisely, that the attack would fall on Pearl Harbor although they (sic) had good reason to expect that it might. [94]

Despite his many damning discoveries and disclosures, Toland is timid about blaming FDR, the man at the helm whose policies and decisions, as well as those of his personally-selected aides, led to the Pearl Harbor disaster. He concludes: “There were no heroes or villains on either side... The villain was the times.” [95]

Nevertheless, Toland deserves great credit for his efforts. In his pursuit of the truth, he has not been hesitant about changing positions he took in his earlier books. This is the sign of a true scholar. He has made a priceless contribution to the annals of American history. This book should be required reading, not only for every student of government and history, but also for every American who wants to be informed on the shenanigans that cost the loss of so many innocent lives and hid the economic failures of the New Deal policies which are the main cause of our current economic dilemma of inflation, mass unemployment and capital consumption.

Compared with Pearl Harbor, Watergate was a tempest in a teapot. Compared with Prange, Costello and the court historians, Toland is a giant among modern historians.

Notes

Abbrevia- tions	Full Titles
Cong. Hrgs.	<i>Hearings of Joint Congressional Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack</i> , U.S.Govt. Printing Office, 1945/46.
Costello	<i>The Pacific War</i> , by John Costello, Rawson Wade, 1981.
Lash	<i>Roosevelt and Churchill, 1939-1941</i> , by Joseph P. Lash, W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1976.
Prange	<i>At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor</i> , by Gordon W. Prange, McGraw Hill, 1981.
Perpet. War	<i>Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace</i> , Harry Elmer Barnes, ed. Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1953. Chapter by Percy L. Greaves, Jr., "The Pearl Harbor Investigations."
Sen. Jud.	<i>U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, The Harry Dexter White Papers</i> , U.S.Govt. Printing Office, 1956.
Toland	<i>Infamy</i> , by John Toland, Doubleday, 1982.
U.S. For. Rel./J.	<i>United States Foreign Relations, Japan (1931-1941)</i> , U.S.Govt. Printing Office, 1943.
U.S.N. Pro.	<i>United States Naval Institute, Proceedings</i> , Annapolis, Md.

Footnote/Source/Page

1. [↗](#) Costello, x
2. [↗](#) Prange, ix
3. [↗](#) Prange, xii
4. [↗](#) Prange, 592
5. [↗](#) Prange, 618
6. [↗](#) Prange, 629
7. [↗](#) Prange, 688
8. [↗](#) Prange, 725
9. [↗](#) Prange, 850
10. [↗](#) Prange, 839
11. [↗](#) Prange, 839/40
12. [↗](#) Prange, 840
13. [↗](#) Prange, 840
14. [↗](#) Prange, 845/46
15. [↗](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 3-995
16. [↗](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 33-1357
17. [↗](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 16-2160/61
18. [↗](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 26-264
19. [↗](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 26-266
20. [↗](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 26-460
21. [↗](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 32-70
22. [↗](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 5-2102
23. [↗](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 24-2160

24. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 33-1239
25. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 37-846&850
26. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 35-101
27. [↪](#) Prange, xiii
28. [↪](#) Costello, 4
29. [↪](#) Costello, 51
30. [↪](#) Costello, 62
31. [↪](#) Costello, 704 (p.606n)
32. [↪](#) Costello, 646
33. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 8-3388
34. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 12-270
35. [↪](#) Costello, 126
36. [↪](#) CosteHo, 68/69
37. [↪](#) Costello, 61
38. [↪](#) U.S. For. Rel./J. Vol. 1-479/480
39. [↪](#) Costello, 86
40. [↪](#) Costello, 87
41. [↪](#) Costello, 645 et al
42. [↪](#) Coste a, 119
43. [↪](#) Costello, 124 & Lash, 486
44. [↪](#) Toland, 301
45. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 12-165
46. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 10-4662
47. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1411
48. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1328/29
49. [↪](#) Costello, 629
50. [↪](#) Costello, 633
51. [↪](#) Costello, 633/34
52. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 33-732
53. [↪](#) Costello, 634
54. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 26-390
55. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 12-174
56. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1160
57. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1300
58. [↪](#) Sen.jud.2733
59. [↪](#) U.S.N. Pro. Dec. 1969-67
60. [↪](#) Costello, 635
61. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 13-415
62. [↪](#) Costello, 635 & Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 13-425
63. [↪](#) Costello, 630
64. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 16-2014
65. [↪](#) Costello, 49/51 passim
66. [↪](#) Costello, 96

67. [↪](#) Costello, 60/61
68. [↪](#) Costello, 615
69. [↪](#) Costello, 623
70. [↪](#) Costello, 625
71. [↪](#) Costello, 94&627
72. [↪](#) Costello, 615/16
73. [↪](#) Costello, 627/28
74. [↪](#) Toland, 320
75. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 3-3829
76. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 35401
77. [↪](#) Toland, 81
78. [↪](#) Toland, 82
79. [↪](#) Toland, 82
80. [↪](#) Toland, 133/34
81. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 4-2035
82. [↪](#) Toland, 26
83. [↪](#) Toland, 141
84. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 35-91
85. [↪](#) Toland, 267
86. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1300
87. [↪](#) Toland, 274
88. [↪](#) Toland, 277
89. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 11-5436
90. [↪](#) Toland, 323
91. [↪](#) Toland, 145
92. [↪](#) Cong. Hrgs. Vol. 14-1328/29
93. [↪](#) Toland, 316
94. [↪](#) Prange 840 & Perpet. War, 425
95. [↪](#) Toland, 276

Reviews

The Faurisson Affair — II

- MEMOIRE EN DEFENSE, by Robert Faurisson, 275 pp, Preface by Noam. Chomsky, La Vieille Taupe; B.P. 9805; 75224 Paris Cedex 05, 1980, FF65.
- INTOLERABLE INTOLERANCE, by Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Eric Delcroix, Claude Karnoouh, Vincent Monteff, and Jean-Louis Tristani, 206 pp, Editions de la Différence, Paris, 1981, FF42.

Reviewed by Arthur R. Butz

This review of the two cited books is a continuation of my account of Robert Faurisson's struggles in France; it is assumed that the reader is acquainted with my review (in vol. 1, no. 4 of this journal) of Serge Thion's *Vérité Historique ou Vérité Politique*?

When I was writing the *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I encountered the name of a certain Dr. Kremer, a German physician who had been posted to the Auschwitz concentration camp in the summer and fall of 1942, and who had made certain entries in his diary that put Auschwitz in a terrible, even horrible light, e.g. "we are at anus mundi." A limited examination of the Kremer matter indicated to me that what he was implicitly referring to, assuming the diary authentic, was the typhus epidemic that devastated the camp at that time (*Hoax*, 58, 125ffl. Moreover the leading bearers of the "extermination" legend had not attributed great significance to this diary so I paid little more attention to Dr. Kremer (this Johann Paul Kremer must not be confused with the Tibère Kremer associated with the Nyiszli book).

When the Faurisson affair erupted in the pages of *Le Monde* in late 1978, therefore, I was surprised to see the opposition, principally Georges Wellers of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Paris, emphasize in its arguments the supposed implications of the Kremer diary. Some reflection revealed the reasons for this emphasis.

Above all, one must recognize the peculiar status of any true diary as an historical source. It is not written for publication, or even for the eyes of any but the author and perhaps (as is sometimes the case with prominent people involved in events known to be the objects of future scrutiny) a not unfriendly student who has taken the trouble to acquaint himself, as far as possible, with the context in which the diary entries were made. Consequently, diaries are particularly likely sources of sentences lifted out of context if they become involved in heated public controversy. For one thing, such lifting out of context may easily be quite innocent, for the reason that the participants in the controversy are removed from the circumstances in which the diary was authored. What is worse, the observers of the controversy are remote not only from the circumstances of the diary, but typically from the diary itself. Such facts make it especially difficult to set aright, in a manner convincing to the observers, the contextual meanings of disputed passages.

For such reasons Wellers was able to make a certain impact with his comments on the Kremer diary (*Le Monde*, 29 December 1978), while Faurisson, when given an amount of space in *Le Monde* (16 January 1979) typical of an article in a daily newspaper, could not under the circumstances give the diary the exposition that the controversy required.

It is well worth mentioning that Faurisson is a professional and specialist precisely in a discipline most relevant to such tasks; his field is “criticism of texts and documents.” Among all those whose views have been prominently aired on any side in the “Holocaust” controversy, Faurisson is to my knowledge the only such specialist.

The reader should not assume that the Weller’s misquotes from the Kremer diary were “innocent.” We read in his cited article the following alleged quotation from the Kremer diary:

This morning, at 3 o'clock, I attended a special action for the first time. Compared to that, Dante’s *Inferno* seems a comedy. It is not without reason that Auschwitz is called an extermination camp.

Among many other things Faurisson had to point out that Wellers had deleted the word “outside” in what should have been “outside at 3’oclock,” which would have made the action in question difficult to imagine as a gassing. In addition, there was a recoloring of meaning in the term “extermination camp,” which gave the impression that Kremer had written “*Vernichtungslager*,” a word which, contrary to the widely held view, did not exist among the Germans during World War II. What Kremer wrote was “*das Lager der Vernichtung*,” i.e. the camp of the annihilation, a term that takes on a clear significance only when the diary is understood in context.

Despite the points that Faurisson scored, there were puzzles outstanding in connection with the diary. When Faurisson’s litigations arose in 1979 the diary became a point of contention. No longer subject to *Le Monde*’s space constraints, Faurisson drew up his superb analysis of the Kremer diary, for use in court, and this analysis constitutes the principal component of *Mémoire en Défense* (in legal context, “*mémoire*” is close in meaning to our “brief”). After many pages of analysis of the diary (which says nothing of gassings) Faurisson shows that the horrors Kremer was referring to were indeed essentially those produced by the typhus epidemic, and that if there had been gassings then Kremer would have explicitly written so in the diary, as Kremer was sufficiently sure of privacy to commit several anti-Nazi remarks to his diary (that Kremer testified in support of the propagandists’ interpretation of his own diary, before a postwar German court committed *a priori* to that interpretation, scarcely requires explanation here).

Faurisson turns in his usual concise but thorough performance in this book and the only comment I might make on it, that may seem negative, is that the matters treated are nearly the ultimate in esoterica and are likely to interest only active investigators in this historical area (apart from those of Faurisson’s enemies who sniff all over his writings looking for things that might be somehow used against him).

The extraordinarily intense nature of Faurisson’s contributions to this volume stand in contrast to the routine, indeed “banal,” nature of the preface. However, since this preface was authored by Noam Chomsky, the famous M.I.T. linguist, it was the feature that brought even international publicity to the book (e.g. *N.Y. Times*, 1 January 1981).

It will be recalled that in 1979 Chomsky signed a petition in support of Faurisson’s right to research the “Holocaust” subject and to publish his conclusions (the statement is reproduced in Thion’s book).

In the U.S. journal *Nation* (28 February 1981) Chomsky explained the circumstances which led to the appearance of his preface in the book. Thion had later asked Chomsky to make a more elaborate statement in support of Faurisson's rights as a scholar. Chomsky complied, telling Thion "to use it as he wished." Thion chose to offer it to Pierre Guillaume, Faurisson's publisher, for inclusion in the book. Chomsky was later persuaded by a French correspondent that "in France ... (Chomsky's) defense of Faurisson's right to express his views would be interpreted as support for them," and so he attempted to stop the appearance of his statement in the book, but it was too late.

The gist of Chomsky's preface is that the right of free expression should not be limited to those ideas of which one approves and, of course, it is precisely in the defense of the right to express socially unpopular ideas that any principle of free expression draws its vitality. It is not unusual for professors to expound thus; they do so very often. What is unusual is that a professor, and a very prominent one at that, should feel obliged to direct such remarks to "intellectuals" rather than college freshmen. Chomsky saw the irony of the situation at the very outset of his essay by declaring that the "remarks that follow are so banal that I think I must ask reasonable people ... to excuse me."

The Chomsky preface is almost entirely focused on the issues of academic freedom and civil liberties that are involved in the Faurisson affair. He strays slightly away from such concerns in expressing his opinion that Faurisson is a "relatively apolitical liberal," but nowhere does he endorse any of Faurisson's theses pertaining to "exterminations" and "gas chambers." In the ensuing controversy Chomsky went further and vigorously subscribed to the received "Holocaust" legend. For example, he had lively and even acrimonious encounters with Gitta Sereny in the British *New Statesman* (17 July, 14 August & 11 September 1981) and with W.D. Rubinstein in the Australian *Quadrant* (October 1981 & April 1982).

Sereny and Rubinstein, whatever their protests to the contrary, placed themselves squarely on the sides of both officially enforced censorship and informally enforced ignorance (in 1979 Rubinstein was writing letters to Australian libraries urging them not to make my book available). Chomsky, by contrast, placed himself almost as squarely on the side of the "free market in ideas." I am not forgetting that when I remark, as I must, that Sereny and Rubinstein, despite the poverty of their thought and the hypocrisy of their arguments, scored some points in these encounters that should be noted. For one thing, Chomsky's last minute attempt to withdraw the permission he had given Thion leaves a bad taste. He is not ten years old. As Sereny remarked, "Surely Mr. Chomsky is not telling us that when he ... consented to write this opinion ... that it didn't occur to him that Serge Thion — who has written a whole book upholding Faurisson's arguments, published by Pierre Guillaume — would use a document of such publicity value for M. Faurisson's benefit?"

For another and far more serious thing Rubinstein, following Nadine Fresco (*Dissent*, Fall 1981), takes Chomsky to task for the apparent contradiction between his libertarian position regarding Faurisson and his decade earlier (*Social Policy*, May/June 1972) position regarding Harvard psychologist Richard Herrnstein's article "I.Q." (*Atlantic*, September 1971). In the latter part of an otherwise carefully reasoned critique of Herrnstein, Chomsky lost his bearings, if not his marbles:

... the question of the validity and scientific status of a particular point of view is, of course, logically independent from the question of its social function; each is a legitimate topic of inquiry, and the latter becomes of particular interest when the point of view in question is revealed to be seriously deficient on empirical or logical grounds.

... (The scientist) is responsible for the effects of what he does, insofar as they can be clearly foreseen. If the likely consequences of his “scientific work” (can be used as a justification for class and caste hierarchies), he has the responsibility to take this likelihood into account. This would be true even if the work had real scientific merit—more so, in fact, in this case.

Similarly imagine a psychologist in Hitler’s Germany who thought he could show that Jews had a genetically determined tendency toward usury ... or a drive toward antisocial conspiracy and domination, and so on. If he were criticized for even undertaking these studies, could he merely respond that “a neutral commentator ... would have to say that the case is simply not settled” and that the “fundamental issue” is “whether inquiry shall (again) be shut off because someone thinks society is best left in ignorance?” I think not. Rather I think that such a response would have been met with justifiable contempt. At best he could claim that he is faced with a conflict of values. On the one hand, there is the alleged scientific importance of determining whether, in fact, Jews have a genetically determined tendency toward usury and domination (as might conceivably be the case). On the other, there is the likelihood that even opening this question and regarding it as a subject for scientific inquiry would provide ammunition for Goebbels and Rosenberg and their henchmen. Were this hypothetical psychologist to disregard the likely social consequences of his research (or even his undertaking of research) under existing social conditions, he would fully deserve the contempt of decent people. Of course, scientific curiosity should be encouraged (though fallacious argument and investigation of silly questions should not), but it is not an absolute value.

Chomsky is not specific either on the method by which his hypothetical scientists can “take ... into account” the social consequences of their work or on what should happen to them if they don’t, apart from his vague reference to “contempt.” After a reasonably close examination of his article I can think of no other method to accomplish the former, in a manner seemingly acceptable to Chomsky, but to not publish the work, “even if the work had real scientific merit.” As for the latter, it is difficult to believe that as a practical matter the penalty for the unwelcome “curiosity” would stop at “contempt” if Chomsky’s principle is accepted. If Chomsky rejects such interpretations of his writings, he nevertheless must take responsibility for advancing a theory which would naturally be understood thus. As proof witness Rubinstein, who wants to hold Chomsky to such interpretations regarding Faurisson, on the grounds that Faurisson’s theories have, to Rubinstein’s mind, socially undesirable implications.

It should not be necessary to take the space here to describe the shambles, or perhaps madhouse, that scholarship becomes if the scholar must answer to influential colleagues regarding the supposed “social function” of his conclusions or even questions. I suspect that Chomsky, especially in the aftermath of his involvement in the Faurisson affair, would mitigate or, better, repudiate his earlier position. Among the many points that could be made to Chomsky is one that he, with his respect for strict logic, would have to concede. Namely, the statement that certain investigations should not be undertaken because they might benefit the racists (or communists, or Republicans, or vegetarians), is itself a statement that could be used for the benefit of racists (or communists, Republicans, or vegetarians). It can even be used rather more effectively, for propaganda purposes, than “work ... of real scientific merit,” since it relieves the racist (communist, Republican, vegetarian) of the need to prove anything, when he can validly argue that the scientists are intentionally stacking the deck against his side.

It was earlier noted that Faurisson has had a group of French supporters, more or less leftist, almost from the beginning of his “affair.” Some of them wrote articles attempting to explain the nature and degree of their support, and what further thoughts have come to them as a result. All of course support his right to research the subject and publish his revisionist conclusions, but all also state concurrence with his theses only to degrees. These articles were put together by Pierre Guillaume, not in his capacity as owner of the publishing house La Vieille Taupe, but as editor of the series “Le Puits et le Pendule” (whose members have been published both by Editions de la Différence and by the larger house J.E. Hallier/Albin Michel), and published as a book under the title *Intolérable Intolérance*.

Readers acquainted with recent history and controversies win, with only one exception, find that these essays deal with generally familiar matters. The exception is the contribution of lawyer Eric Delcroix, which requires some acquaintance with the French legal system.

Cohn-Bendit, self described “Jew of the extreme left,” seems most astonished at his present position, as he used to use, against the revisionists, “all the responses that are made to (him) today.” Worse, today he is strange bedfellow to “people of the right, even fascist types ... and this situation is to (him) *insupportable*.” However he holds up under the pressure — and realizes past sins: “I helped myself to democratic principles for my right of expression and found all sorts of good arguments to justify the prohibition of other ideas.” In the Faurisson affair he has seen particularly impressive demonstrations of the fact that formal prohibition is not the only form of effective censorship, and that there is also the form that buries issues by declining to meet them directly and instead attacks the supposed motivations and consequences associated with a given thesis. Despite all this, he still considers himself “a convinced ‘*exterminationist*,’” but not a believer in the gas chambers; he compares Hitlees anti-Jewish policy to past Indian policies in the U.S.A., Armenian policies in Turkey, and Tatar policies of Stalin.

I should remark, parenthetically, that the word “exterminationist” means, in this context, “one who believes in the extermination of the Jews at the hands of the Germans during WW II.” Sometimes it more narrowly designates a prominent promoter of the extermination legend, e.g. Hilberg, Dawidowicz, Wiesenthal, or Poliakov. It is a strange term, but it seems to have caught on.

Monteil’s essay is a refutation of the judgment against Faurisson of 8 July 1981 (translations of passages from some of these judgments appeared in *Patterns of Prejudice*, October 1981). The court, after recognizing that it has “neither the quality nor the competence to judge history (and has) not been charged by law with a mission to decide how this or that episode of national or world history must be represented,” proceeded to do just that, e.g. “Faurisson has fixed his attention, in an almost exclusive fashion, on one of the means of extermination of which the reality has been established since the end of WW II and the discovery of the concentration camp system.” Monteil raises more or less routine points against such doublethink and then indicates imminent agreement with Faurisson:

Until 1978 I believed in the general existence (or pretty much so) of the gas chambers in the camps, while having reservations on the unverifiable and surely excessive number of Jewish victims of the “Holocaust”. It suffices to cite my book (unlocatable, by reason of the obstruction of the “Hachette octopus” which “strangled” Guy Authier, my publisher) — *Dossier secret sur Israël: le terrorisme* (Paris, March 1978) -to see what my position was then. But since then I have read and met Robert Faurisson: his earnestness and his good faith have convinced me, even if certain judgments appear disputable to me, that it is justifiably urgent to discuss them

calmly, in place of heaping onto an honest and courageous investigator the anathema reserved to heretics!

Tristani, a social scientist at the Sorbonne, with degrees in theology and philosophy, finds a striking religious character in the whole affair. Such an idea should not be new to a student of this subject. Indeed, I have discussed (*Hoax*, 188f) the remarkable parallels between the “war crimes trials” and the witchcraft trials of centuries ago, and found those parallels far more convincing than parallels that could be drawn between the war crimes trials and earlier narrowly politically motivated trials. However Tristani’s point of departure is different:

The Holocaust, which represents one of the most popular themes of contemporary Judaism, thus falls into a long tradition. It is bound up with what it would be necessary to call the “invention of Israel,” of the Israel of today. The Hitlerian genocide perpetrated in the gas chambers, the Exodus and the creation of the Israeli state, do they not attain in effect the lofty meaning which the servitude in Egypt, the Exodus, and the installation in the Promised Land once had?

Tristani finds fault with the revisionists for apparently ignoring such matters:

Would not the “frivolity” reproached to Faurisson consist rather in having underestimated the importance of this religious function which the accounts of the gas chambers and the genocide have acquired? Moreover the same question holds for Serge Thion because, from the anthropological point of view where it becomes indispensable to place oneself to understand this affair, the primary alternative is not between historical truth and political truth but between historical and religious truth.

To this I must comment that such a criticism of Faurisson holds at best only in relation to his published writings. He and I have long been generally aware of the relationships that Tristani calls attention to. We discussed the matter at length in 1980 when he was in the U.S.A. His attitude on the subject was far from frivolous, as he saw this secularized religious hysteria as bringing the whole world down on him. I can say that my failure, and perhaps also Faurisson’s failure, to expound publicly on such matters is based on certain personal limitations, self or otherwise imposed, on the sorts of things considered manageable in terms of investigation and public discourse. I am happy to see that there are now authors, such as Tristani, who wish to tread this ground, as it is as interesting as it is treacherous, and I look forward to further developments.

The longest and, I would say, most representative essay in this book is Karnoouh's. Its major function is to interpret the “Holocaust” controversy from a point of view that is both leftist and friendly to Faurisson. Following the strange leftist practice of describing the millennial assertive, repressive and exploitive strivings of states as somehow partaking especially of the spirit of the recent, short lived and relatively benign (in comparison to its contemporaries) Mussolini movement, Karnoouh finds that

present day fascism has taken other faces, under the American tutelage; it has invaded the Third World (as witness) Somoza’s Nicaragua, Stroessner’s Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Indonesia ... western Europe no longer needs concentration camps on its territories; it has displaced them elsewhere, where the reproduction of capital is facilitated with the aid of slave labor ... and Israel hardly deprives itself of this facility ...

For Karnoouh Israel fits into such a world very comfortably since “Zionism is also a national and socialist European ideology”, i.e. it was developed in Europe contemporaneously with the other

nationalist, socialist and racist ideologies that we are acquainted with by direct experience, and it grew to political consequence in the same epoch. Thus

The slow and irresistible displacement of Israel toward the American camp is also quite comprehensible if account is taken of the power ... of the American Jewish community. And, without wishing to establish too simplistic a comparison, it is not insignificant (that) the Jewish state seems to play the role of custodian watching over the Mideast for the sake of American Imperialism.

Now the visibility of such relationships could put Israel and the Diaspora Jews into a defensive position perilous enough to cause the latter to entertain serious questions on the wisdom of supporting the Zionist enterprise. In Karnoouh's view, the "Holocaust" provides the necessary binding:

... The nation-state has always had need of these simplified representations of history ... in order to turn popular and collective emotions to its profit.

Only a religious or mythical version of the deportation and massacre of the Jews, the "Holocaust," can assume this role because it simplifies history and transforms the contradictions and quite complex political, ideological and economic conflicts into a Manichean saga which expresses the eternal struggle between Good and Evil, the "Goy" and the Jew, the German and the Jew, the Arab and the Jew.

This sort of formulation must be expected from a leftist source but, in any case, there is much truth in it. Among the many reservations I have, it is worthwhile to mention two particularly important ones. First, Israel does not represent or guard American interests in the Mideast. The relationship is the reverse and to the American disadvantage. For another thing, I believe it is misleading to view the basic role of the "Holocaust" propaganda in terms of its effect on Jews. While the propaganda doubtless has the unifying effect among Jews that Karnoouh notes, it is paraded loudly and massively before predominantly gentile audiences, and its function should be considered in this light. Indeed the especially massive propaganda of approximately the past five years is not a response to any weakening of links between Israel and the Diaspora. If I may risk a charge of immodesty, it seems to me that it is a response to the revisionists.

Karnoouh seems to get some things backward when they relate directly to Jews, and that brings us to the secondary role of his essay. Karnoouh is of Jewish ancestry, but does not consider himself Jewish. However even that view, when expressed in his writing, reveals the existence of a "Jewish question."

Can I today define myself in all sincerity as a Jew? Delicate question, (and to) the defense lawyer who asked it I answered: "For the anti-semites and racists, I am a Jew, for other men I am simply a man who belongs to the French culture." This affirmation earned me the hatred of not only the xenophobic spectators but also that of certain of my friends, among the most tolerant, who considered the sentiment a betrayal on my part. In a few seconds, I had become a renegade who abandoned his own in the moment of "the danger." But does one have the right to associate me with an identity which does not relate to my experience and which, consequently, is more or less exterior to my consciousness?

This view is both refreshingly rational and disturbingly paradoxical for, after all, Karnoouh has now given us a long and carefully considered essay in which his Jewish background is certainly not "exterior to (his) consciousness." How does one resolve the apparent cohabitation of reason and paradox in Karnoouh's views? If there is a way, many would be very interested to learn it,

for we are here confronted not with a mere transient “problem” but with the quite subsistent and indeed robust “Jewish question.” This cannot be a revelation to Pierre Guillaume and Editions de la Différence for they have issued, almost simultaneously, a new printing of Bernard Lazare’s 1894 classic, *L’Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes*.

In summary, *Intolérable Intolérance* is an uneven book. It ranges from the trite, through the engaging, to the provocative. It is nevertheless a very important book, despite or even because of the nature of its shortcomings, and we must thank the authors and publishers for making it available. Its importance derives not only from new insights that it offers, but also from its posing of challenging questions in an arborescence of social relations in which thought has been in a state of suspension and controversy in a state of evasion for several decades at least. As its points of departure are not esoteric historical questions but current controversies, it is just the sort of book that can set into operation critical faculties that have been accumulating dust and even rust in this period of “suspension” of thought. It is hoped that an English translation will appear.

I should add a note on the availability, to the U.S. reader, of the books reviewed here. *Intolérable Intolérance* can be obtained through any established dealer in foreign books, via his special order. *Mémoire en Défense*, however, should be ordered directly from La Vieille Taupe in Paris. That is also the case for Thion’s *Vérité Historique ou Vérité Politique?*, as the distributor mentioned in my earlier review of that book is no longer handling it.

I close with a partial report on Faurisson’s litigations. The most serious dangers that his enemies raised for him were based on a statement he made in an interview on French TV on 17 December 1980:

The historical he has permitted a gigantic political-financial swindle, whose principal beneficiaries are the state of Israel and international Zionism, and whose principal victims are the German people, but not their leaders, and the whole of the Palestinian people.

For this he was charged with defamation of the Jewish people (group libel) and incitement to racial hatred. Found guilty of both, he was ordered to pay damages and fines totaling 21,000 francs, given a three month prison sentence (suspended) and, most important, ordered to pay for the reproduction of the judgment in four publications and over national TV (*Le Monde*, 5-6 July 1981). The last requirement involved a sum of about half a million dollars and was well beyond his means. The situation looked particularly ominous as there is no law of personal bankruptcy in France (only a business can go bankrupt there).

His appeal against this ruling, announced 23 June 1982, brought success for him on this most grave part of the judgment, and his conviction for incitement to racial hatred was overturned. However the charge of defamation of the Jewish people was sustained, as were the fines, damages, and suspended prison sentence (*Le Monde*, 26 June 1982).

Faurisson’s supporters breathed a sigh of relief over the important successful part of the appeal outcome. That which has been left standing is nevertheless a moral and intellectual outrage. In an age in which virtually all sectors of public opinion have proclaimed their devotion to “freedom” with the persistence of an absent minded devout who has lost count of his Hail Marys, a professor is being punished for announcing the politically unpopular conclusions of his research. This observation would hold even if Faurisson had been victorious in the first instances in all his trials. The professional and international yappers for “freedom,” whom we hear so often, have with only scattered and isolated exceptions either pretended that they never heard of Faurisson, or

found rationalizations to excuse his persecution. This fact is almost not worth mentioning, because the hypocrisy referred to is all too familiar.

Faurisson's trials are not concluded.

The Journal of Historical Review

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From the Editor

We're pleased to present in this issue three of the papers delivered at the IHR's 1982 Chicago Revisionist Conference.

We begin with Dr. Wesslerle's "[Yalta: Fact or Fate?](#)" which presents a concise characterization of the man we sent to Yalta and an analysis of what he did for his country there when not posing for photographs with Winnie and Uncle Joe.

Next, Dr. Butz takes a [fresh look at the evolved Holocaust controversy](#), assessing its place in the context and perspective of higher history.

Leon Degrelle diverted a grim fate by escaping to Spain in the final days of the Eastern Front's collapse. Picking up the pieces and rebuilding his life, today he is alive, successful and eager to tell his side on the issues of the war, the Waffen SS and NS Germany. [The article you will read here](#) is a translation of the videotaped interview General Degrelle gave at his home in Spain recently and which was presented at the Chicago conference in September.

Ranjan Borra heads the Reference Library on India at the Library of Congress and has long been a student of Subhas Bose and his role in India's liberation movement. We're pleased to include [Mr. Borra's paper in this issue](#) — presented at the IHR's 1980 Revisionist Conference — and apologize for the tardiness of its appearance in print.

George Orwell observed: "Some people go around smelling after anti-Semitism all the time." It would appear to be true and rather increasingly so since Orwell's day. In this issue L.A. Rollins reviews Ernest Volkman's "[A Legacy of Hate](#)," the cult of anti-anti-Semitism's latest prognosis of that chronic disease which is only today beginning to be fully misunderstood.

Correspondence

MORE ON THE ROMANIAN JEWS

In the last (Fall 1982) Journal of Historical Review, we ran in these columns a correspondence which attempted to clarify the losses of Romanian Jews during the war. We failed to include in that correspondence a final letter/circular by Dr. Andronescu without which the research data would appear to be inconclusive. Here now is Dr. Andronescu's final reply to those who disputed his claims as published originally in "Romanians and the Holocaust," in the Summer 1982 Journal. —Ed.

In my lecture at the 1981 Revisionist Convention I stated that the real number of Jews who died in Romania in WW II had been estimated at 15,000. In Mr. Weber's opinion I was wrong because, he said, the real number was 209,214. Both figures are mentioned in a study authored by two scholars, Dr. Manuila and Dr. Filderman (one Romanian and one Jewish) and published in Rome, Italy in 1957. It is the only study underwritten by the two parties involved in the events that took place in Romania during the war, the Jews and the Romanians. All the other reports on the same situation, showing figures ranging from 200,000 to 500,000 are underwritten by the Jews alone and are therefore partial. It is therefore important to have an accurate understanding of the Manuila/Filderman paper, the only authoritative document in the field.

The document contains among judicious remarks and conclusions a confusing sentence-and this particular confusing sentence has been chosen by Mr. Weber to construe his theory. I will reproduce here two paragraphs of the Manuila/Filderman paper relating to the two figures mentioned above; it is my belief that the concerned reader understands easily which one is true and which one is misleading.

1. (page 7 of the Manuila/Filderman paper): "The losses incurred as a direct result of the war have been estimated at 15,000 souls by the Jewish organizations of Romania under the leadership of Dr. Filderman. This figure includes the loss of some 3,000 lives suffered during the brief administration of the Iron Guard, and 3,000-4,000 (exact number not known) victims of the military reprisals at Iasi. It also includes the losses suffered by the population deported to Transnistria ... Dr- Filderman gives the total of deaths on Romanian territory or during the deportation as close to 15,000."
2. (pages 11 and 12 of same paper): "For the territories of Romania as they were in 1939, Jewish losses (deaths and missing) are estimated at a total of 209,214."

Of both statements, Mark Weber likes the second one and reproves me for adopting the first. I have adopted it because it is clear and explicit, whereas the second is confusing. The year used in the second statement, 1939, misleads the reader and creates a false understanding of the whole situation however true it seems to be. Here is why.

Whatever happened to the Jews living in Romania did not occur in 1939 but during a period of four years immediately following 1940 when the population in Romania was much smaller than in 1939. It also occurred on a Romanian territory which was much smaller than in 1939. Before 1940 and after 1944 nothing unusual happened to Jews living in Romania and therefore any discussion relating to the "Holocaust" but referring to a period other than 1940-1944 is false; it is a substitution of premises made with the purpose of arriving at a wrong conclusion, even though the figures used in such a substitution are true. Such substitution of premises is characteristic of the confusing manner of expression used sometimes by the stipendiary mass media to give the reader a doctored image of the reality based however on real data. In logic, it is called "fallacy of ambiguity." Mark Weber fell prey to this kind of fallacy and adopted the figure 209,214 instead of 15,000.

In fact, nothing wrong happened to Jews living in Romania in 1939 or before that year. It is therefore nonsensical to discuss the Jewish losses for the territories of Romania as they were in 1939. I repeat, whatever happened to the "Romanian" Jews occurred only after 1939, in a period from 1940 to 1944, when the situation of Romania was quite different of the situation of 1939. In 1940, the Romanian territory and population (Jewish population included) decreased considerably when sizable parts of Romania were occupied by Hungarians, Soviets, and Bulgarians. As a result, about 400,000 Jews who could be called "Romanian" in 1939 and lived in the occupied Romanian territories changed their allegiance and automatically became "Hungarian," "Soviet," or "Bulgarian" Jews. From 1940 on, these Jews shared the fate of their Hungarian, Soviet or Bulgarian coreligionists and were counted as such. Only those Jews who remained in nationalist Romania of 1940-1944 could legally be called "Romanian." Their number was about 350,000. These must be the people referred to as "Romanian" Jews in various reports on the so called Holocaust. The other were included in whatever happened to "Hungarian", "Soviet," or "Bulgarian" Jews. To include the latter in the number of the former would be tantamount to artificially doubling their number by counting them once as "Romanian" and then once again as "Hungarian ... Soviet," or "Bulgarian". This point of view had been observed by the two parties who drew up the document of 1957 and especially the paragraph quoted by me under 1. on the previous page. It was not a matter of preference or opinion, it was a matter of arithmetic.

Another misleading interpretation of the same situation appears when we consider some of the "Hungarian" Jews "Romanian" because Northern Transylvania came back to Romania after the war. We should be aware that this change of administration happened only after the war and, again, whatever happened to "Hungarian" Jews during the war should not be included in whatever happened to "Romanian" Jews during the same period of time, otherwise we artificially double the number of the same people.

On the other hand, many Jews of Northern Transylvania who lived through the war have always considered themselves "Hungarian" and I don't see any reason to call them "Romanian" now. It is not correct to put all Jews of Transylvania in the same category and consider them altogether "Romanian." I will illustrate this situation with an example taken from my personal research experience.

As the author of a book about American Romanians (published in 1976), I sent thousands of questionnaires to Americans who were not only of Romanian descent, but also to many who were of Hungarian, Jewish or Russian descent but who once lived or were born in Romania (either before or after 1939). Some of them accepted to be listed in my book as Americans of Romanian descent, some others refused, and some did not even bother to answer my questionnaire. In this context it is instrumental to know the reasons of those who refused. They stated clearly their rea-

sons: although born and educated in Romania, they did not consider themselves associated with Romanian culture or traditions.

The same view should be applied to the Jews who lived in Bessarabia and Bucovina in 1939 and became “Soviet” in 1940. These people remained “Soviet” all the way after 1940 even though Romania re-occupied those territories for a short while during the war. I don’t see any reason to call them “Romanian” today and count them with the Jews who died in Romania. The situation is the same for the “Bulgarian” Jews who were once “Romanian.”

Serban C. Andronesco
New York City

THE WATSON PHENOMENON

It was good to read Thomas Henry Irwin’s excellent article on Tom Watson in the Fall 1982 issue of *The Journal*.

It is ironic that Watson was the first important native White Southern leader to treat the Negro’s aspirations with any degree of seriousness. Watson regarded Blacks as an integral part of Southern society. Senator Watson urged all to unite against the financial oligarchs, recognizing the money power as the real enemy of all races. Would that we could heed his message today!

Bezalel Chaim
Brooklyn, NY

MIDDLE EAST REVISIONISM

I was especially pleased to see the “Memorandum to the President” in the Fall 1982 *Journal*. As a long time student of the Middle East conflict, I can assure you that this is fertile ground, long neglected by the historical revisionists in the western world with few exceptions. And yet this is a centuries’ old conflict which is presently costing Americans billions of dollars each year, not to speak of the untold sufferings of hundreds of thousands of people directly affected by the Zionist interlopers. I am thus certain that the “Memorandum” piece won’t be your last publication concerning this conflict because it is so intrinsically connected with other conflicts such as both world wars, major topics of revisionists.

Pitman Buck, Jr.
Texas City, Texas

Yalta: Fact or Fate? A Brief Characterization

DR. A. R. WESSERLE

- Presented at the IHR's 1982 Revisionist Conference.

President François Mitterand of France, in a message at the start of 1982, rightly and roundly condemned the Conference of Yalta. France, excluded from the *tete-a-tete* of the Big Three World Conquerors on 4-12 February 1945, thus once again has challenged the Western nations not to recognize the judgments and the boundaries there agreed upon — particularly in Eastern Europe — as inexorable fate. Facts make fate the world over and prejudices and hatreds that had been draped with the mantle of sacred truths in 1945 will no longer be so recognized two generations later.

America has a tendency either to worship or to damn her chiefs of state. The vainglorious emotions presently associated with the centenary of Franklin D. Roosevelt's birth- and that not just in the United States-might be used easily to gloss over some of the most glaring errors committed by this man and his advisors at Yalta, and before at Teheran, and handed down to his successor, Truman at the Conference of Potsdam.

Tellingly, today's Soviet press speaks of FDR in glowing terms. The spring, 1982, issues of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* applaud his sense of vision, first, in recognizing the USSR diplomatically but, above all, in his wartime relationship to the rulers of the Kremlin which laid the foundations for "international stability and security." President Reagan's foreign policy, on the other hand, is excoriated as the very antithesis of Roosevelt's "rationality."

No wonder. FDR and his most intimate advisors made sweeping global concessions to the Soviet totalitarians which drastically altered the face of the earth and substantially impeded the work of his successors. Briefly, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's presence at Yalta had consequences in the Far East, the Mid East, central and western Europe and, of course, in the world at large.

PART I

In exchange for a vague promise to enter the war against Japan two or three months after the end of the European war-a promise kept only on 8 August 1945, after the first atomic bomb already had been dropped — Stalin's "sphere of influence," via the Manchurian railways, was extended to northern and southern Manchuria including the commercial harbor of Dairen and the naval base of Port Arthur, his "status quo" domination over Outer Mongolia was acknowledged, and he was allowed to annex outright the Kuril Islands and southern Sakhalin which had been Japanese since 1875 and 1905. Thus, with Roosevelt's encouragement, Stalin continued his policy of imperialist Red expansion in the footsteps of the Tsars. The results of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 which once had given rise to the Russian revolts of the same year and, ultimately, to the Revolutions of 1917, were expunged. In a move that should seem particularly ironic to Ameri-

cans, Franklin Roosevelt destroyed the outcome of the Treaty of Portsmouth of 1905, arranged through the good offices of his cousin, President Theodore Roosevelt, and celebrated by a front-page cartoon in the Harper's Weekly of 24 June of that year which shows a solemn President urging a glowering Tsar and a proud Mikado to "Let us Have Peace." [1]

Note that, true to ancient imperial tradition, the legally constituted Government of China, engaged in a life-and-death struggle, was not apprised of those generous gifts of its sovereignty and its territory to a powerful neighbor until too late. The following weighty conversation between Roosevelt and Stalin- otherwise attended only by Molotov, Harriman and two translators- held toward 4 p.m. of Saturday, 10 February 1945, decides the fate of the largest nation on earth:

Roosevelt: " ... Naturally, our agreement about Port Arthur and the railroads needs China's approval. Would you like to inform T.V. Soong (the Foreign and Prime Minister of China) ... ? Or should I treat the matter with Chiang-Kai-Shek?"

Stalin: "It would be better if you approached him."

Roosevelt: "Good... I'll send an officer to Chungking (China's wartime capital)." [2]

Without success Harriman tried to persuade the President to have at least Port Arthur declared a free port under international supervision. At the Conference of Cairo, in November, 1943, FDR had promised Chiang-Kai-Shek the complete return of *Manchukuo* or Manchuria to China.

In East Asia, therefore, Yalta opened the door to Soviet expansion and to the 'communization' of heavily industrial, formerly Japanese-dominated Manchuria, of northern China and Mongolia and, ultimately, of most of that huge continent north and east of Iran, India, Burma and Thailand. Without FDR America's costly land wars in Korea and Indochina would have been less inevitable.

In the Middle East, Churchill and Roosevelt had permitted the USSR to occupy the former Tsarist Sphere of Influence in the north of Iran which included the volatile regions and provinces of Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, Gilan, Mazanderan, Gorgan and Khorasan. Britain swallowed the rest. These developments took place on and after 25 August 1941, while the ink was not yet dry on the paper of the Atlantic Charter in which Roosevelt and Churchill had proclaimed the inviolability of the independence, the territories and the boundaries of nations.

In the meantime, from 1941 to 1945, the Soviet Union increased her pressure on Turkey and Iraq, nations which were similar to Iran in that they were neutral but traditionally had been in the crossfire of British, Russian and French power interests. Soviet plans included territorial and economic concessions such as the "leasing" or the donation of the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to the USSR and the handing over of the eastern provinces of Turkey-again a direct continuation of Tsarist Imperialism.

At Yalta, on 10 February, after 6 p.m., the seventh plenary session yields this result concerning Turkey:

Stalin: " ... According to the Convention of Montreux (1936-the author) the Turks have the right to close the Straits not only in case of war, but also when, in their opinion, the danger of war exists. I demand an immediate revision of the convention ... It is an intolerable situation that Turkey can throttle Russia at any time. "

Roosevelt: “I understand you completely! I hate it when nations erect barriers between each other. Look at the 3000 mile long boundary between Canada and the United States: no fort and no soldier stand on the entire border. Besides, it is ... understandable that the USSR wishes to have an ice-free port in the west” (underlined by author).

Churchill: “I am also in agreement, under the condition that the independence and the integrity of Turkey are guaranteed.” [3]

After some discussion the Soviet request wins the day. At Yalta as in the long run, Britain proved unable to resist Stalin in the face of American amity toward the Soviets and it was not until 1946-47 that President Truman saw his way toward containment in the Near East.

In toto, it may be stated with but slight hyperbole that the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1980, her threat to Turkey and the eastern Mediterranean, her designs on the Persian Gulf, on Arabia and on East Africa, and her power dominance over most of Asia north and east of a line from Baghdad to Bombay to Bangkok, were made much easier by Yalta, as well as by Teheran and Potsdam.

PART II

In Europe, the conclusions of the Yalta Conference concerning the division of Germany west of the Oder River into zones administered by an Allied Control Council were kept rigidly, months later, by the Americans and the British. It should never be forgotten that the heart of Europe, vital to the survival of all the continent, East or West, had been occupied by the forces of the West first and then abandoned to the depredations of the Red Army. This heartland included western and southern Bohemia with the large industrial city of Pilsen, the German state of Thuringia, heavily industrial Saxony up to the Elbe River, parts of Brandenburg-Prussia and of the Baltic coastal state of Mecklenburg.

Despite the urgings of the United States' General Patton, of Winston Churchill—who had “seen the light” about Soviet power far too late—and of General Montgomery, American politicians still under the spell of Yalta expressly declined, from March to May, 1945, to take Berlin and Prague while it was still possible. Patton’s forces were grounded by administrative fiat in Bohemia a few miles west of Prague even though a jeep, or jeeps, full of American G-I’s toured Prague and were celebrated by the populace. Had Prague been occupied by America, the frightful atrocities visited by Czech mobs on their German compatriots—compatriots of 800 to 1000 years—would have been avoided. Had Pilsen, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Wismar been kept, and had Berlin and Prague been taken by America and Britain—steps which would have required few sacrifices in 1945—all of European and world history since then would have differed fundamentally from today’s sorry “reality.”

The charge, sometimes disputed, that in 1944 and early 1945 Churchill and Roosevelt abandoned the Polish Government-in-Exile in London to Stalin’s designs by ceding eastern Poland to him while throwing to the Poles, in compensation, the territories of eastern Germany, is justified. When the Polish premier-in-exile, Stanislas Mikolajczyk, visited Roosevelt in June 1944, the latter explained to him that “Stalin is no imperialist ... (He) is very deft, ... has a sense of humor.” [4]

In illustration of this humor Roosevelt related “Uncle Joe’s” toast, at the Conference of Teheran, to the “death of at least 50,000 German officers” to which Churchill had reacted angrily and

which he, FDR, then sought to improve by toasting to the death of "... at least 49,500 German officers in battle." [5] Prime Minister Mikolajczyk and his ambassador, Ciechanowski, apparently failed to be amused as they were reminded of the fate of 20,000 Polish officers "liquidated" by Stalin, some of them thrown into mass graves in the woods near Katyn.

Caught between the Kremlin's devices and the aspirations of his nation, Mikolajczyk resigned in November, 1944. His successor Arciszewski — a socialist and a fighter in the Polish underground until July 1944 — was equally unwilling to impart his blessings to an act of national catastrophe. On 3 February 1945, Arciszewski sent Roosevelt a telegram the text of which, in excerpts, is worth remembering:

I trust that you will not take part in any decision which endangers Poland's legitimate rights or her independence and that, in regard to Poland, you will not recognize any *faits accomplis* ... If the European peace is to endure it must rest upon the principles of justice, of respect for the law, of good-neighborly relations and of trust, in the lives of peoples...

The so-called Provisional Government in Lublin has declared openly that it will treat all soldiers of the Inner-Polish Army and of the Polish Underground Movement as traitors. Mass arrests and deportations already have taken place ... [6]

The White House gave Ambassador Ciechanowski the cold shoulder. He succeeded but once in grabbing hold of Roosevelt's intimus, Harry Hopkins: "What could be more important than laying the cornerstone, now, for the future cooperation of united nations on the basis of American principles and the Four Basic Freedoms?" In a fit of laughter Hopkins replied, "We also have to think of the 1948 elections!"

Premier Arciszewski, his government, and his nation were sacrificed to the communist-dominated "Lublin Government" formed under Stalin's aegis.

Thus, Yalta, its antecedents and its consequences can in fact be blamed for the futility of the periodic uprisings in Soviet-occupied Central Europe: for the uprising in the Soviet Zone of Germany, 17-19 June 1953; for the revolts in Poland in the spring of 1956, in 1970 and in 1981/82; for the Hungarian Revolution of 1956; for the Spring and the Fall of Prague, 1968. Without Yalta these fateful bloodbaths, this oppression of the spirit of entire, great nations would not have taken place. Without Yalta they would have been unnecessary.

PART III

National catastrophe on a cataclysmic scale befell the people of Germany, her old men, women and children.

Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam laid the foundation for the most abhorrent "ethnocide" in history: the expulsion of twenty million (20 million) Germans and Hungarians from their age-old national homelands in central and eastern Europe, and the attendant destruction of many of them: in the Soviet Union; the Baltic states; Poland proper; the lands of eastern Germany; Czecho-Slovakia; Transylvania and the Carpathians; Rumania and Yugo-Slavia.

In brief, by the end of 1950, 7.95 million Germans from the east had experienced an "orderly transfer" to the three western zones (the Federal Republic of Germany), 4.4 million to the Soviet Zone, and over 300,000 to Austria. By 1952 the number of German expellees in West Germany had risen to ten million, with an additional 2.2 million political refugees-not expellees—from the

Soviet Zone of Germany by August 1953—a problem of stark survival and of absorption into a war-shattered country of a magnitude unparalleled anywhere.

More than three million men, women and children from the German areas of east-central and eastern Europe perished or are listed as “missing” in the desolate wastes of the Soviet Union. Mass expulsions of Germans had been contemplated since 1848 and, with growing vehemence, since 1866 by the Pan-Slav theorists of Prague and Moscow and, since about the turn of the century, by Western ideologues such as the British geopolitician and Chairman of the Imperial Shipping Committee, Halford Mackinder. The storms of outraged indignation which swept Britain when Germany rose to the rank of naval power were stoked carefully by the press lords of Fleet Street. The jingoist outcries in which such papers as the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Telegraph* and the periodical *Vanity Fair* indulged paralleled the more weighty sentiments expressed by dynamic personalities such as First Sea Lord (after 1904) Admiral Sir John Fisher and his superior of later days, First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill. If opinions be permitted, it seems quite clear that these mass media campaigns were rooted in the same persons-or the same circles and in similar policies at the time both of the First and the Second World Wars.

Several cruel “population transfers” were effected at the end of the First War which, apparently, further whetted the radical appetites of Eduard Benes, at various times League of Nations delegate, Foreign Minister and President of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, a sinister figure behind aspects of the Yalta and the Potsdam Conferences.

Still, Yalta stands and falls on its own demerits.

No wonder the Right Hon. Mr. Boothby declared in the House of Commons on 10 October 1945:

Nobody realizes more clearly than I do that the high aspirations expressed in the Atlantic Charter have long ago gone by the board, but few can have thought, even a year ago, that we were fighting this war in order to turn Central and Eastern Europe into a desert containing a decimated population. [8]

JCS 1067 (joint Chiefs of Staff directive number 1067) almost managed to convert all of western Germany and much of western Europe into a wasteland also. This document, issued in April, 1945, was entitled “Directive to Commander in Chief of United States Forces of Occupation Regarding the Military Government of Germany” and specified:

... 4.b. Germany will not be occupied for the purpose of Liberation but as a defeated enemy nation ... You will strongly discourage fraternization with the German officials and population ...

5.a... Controls upon the German economy may be imposed ... as they may be essential to protect the safety and meet the needs of the occupying forces and assure the production and maintenance of goods and services required to prevent starvation or such disease and unrest as would endanger these forces ...

b ... Thus it should be brought home to the German people that the responsibility ... for any breakdowns in those controls will rest with themselves and German authorities ...

16... You will take no steps (a) looking toward the economic rehabilitation of Germany, or (b) designed to maintain or strengthen the German economy ... [9]

Under the conditions of utter chaos then prevailing in Germany JCS 1067, if put into effect according to the letter of the law, would have rung the death knell both for tens of millions of people in West Germany and, probably, for the reconstruction of the highly interdependent economies of all of Western Europe, as well. The probable consequences might have been anarchy and revolt in the entire region-and a welcome opportunity for communism to step into the void.

Who had drawn up this remarkable paper? In 1944, three United States Government agencies had composed competing versions looking toward a putative reconstruction of Germany: (1) the Department of State under Secretary of State Hull; (2) the War Department under-the Republican- Secretary Stimson and his able and intelligent Assistant Secretary, McCloy; and (3) the Treasury Department. What seems to have been true of other eras of the twentieth century U.S. history also proved true in this case; the State Department was too weak to make its more statesmanlike version prevail, the War Department was interested mainly in planning for a non-political, military, occupation and it was the Treasury-with Roosevelt's support-that won the day and the year and the war. The name of the Secretary of the Treasury was Henry Morgenthau. His closest assistant was the communist, Harry Dexter White.

Lest we jump to unnecessary conclusions I should emphasize that the Morgenthau-White Plans - Morgenthau's variation was more severe than White's-in their destructiveness echoed the counsel of British Conservative Vansittart whose roots, in turn, were firmly implanted in the mass media hate campaigns that preceded and accompanied the conduct of the First World War on the British side.

Rebus sic stantibus it was not until 15 July 1947, that JCS 1067 was superseded by JCS 1779 and its more statesmanlike terms:

While continuing restraints ... our Military Government (will take) measures which will bring about the establishment of stable political and economic conditions in Germany and which will enable Germany to make a maximum contribution to European recovery ...

... 5. It is an objective of the United States Government that there should arise in Germany as rapidly as possible a form of political organization and a manner of political life which, resting on a substantial basis of economic well being, will lead to tranquillity within Germany and will contribute to the spirit of peace among nations ... ^[10]

On 20 July 1948, the Western Allies and Dr. Erhardt carried out the Currency Reform, a monumental first step toward economic and political reconstruction. From 26 June 1948, to 29 July 1949, the Soviets blockaded Berlin and the West replied with the Air Lift. On 4 April 1949, the United States and her Western Allies established NATO. After nine months of deliberation the new constitution, the German Basic Law, was ratified on 23 May, 1949. The first elections to the Parliament at Bonn followed in August. Dr. Adenauer, the Catholic former mayor of Cologne, was the first Federal Chancellor of Germany.

Conclusion

Tentative characterization of Roosevelt's wartime diplomacy. Briefly, very briefly, the surest conclusion concerning FDR's conduct of foreign relations is that this scion of the East Coast Upper Caste was neither a communist nor a socialist, appearances to the contrary. Neither was he a real-

ist- self-proclaimed or otherwise-nor an idealist who strove to master the concrete demands of life, in the mold of President Woodrow Wilson. No. Quite simply, he was a power politician whose talents in juggling and besting the competing interest groups of this country proved insufficient to wrest a lasting peace from the jaws of victory abroad. He, and his most intimate advisors, had little inkling of what an intelligent policy of prudent self-interest meant for his country and for himself. He had hedged himself in with a rigid ideologism which distorted his perceptions and his policies. He sought escape from ideological rigidity in the arms of an equally rigid, starry-eyed, aura of overblown “plans” on a cosmic scale. Placed face-to-face with a serious global situation as the leader of the strongest country on earth he proved delinquent to America, a disaster to the world.

Three examples: At Yalta, on Saturday, 10 February, Harry Hopkins slips Roosevelt this incomprehensible note (on the matter of exacting reparations worth 20 billion gold dollars from Germany): “Mr. President, the Russians have given in so much at this conference that I don’t think we should let them down. Let the British disagree if they want to...” [11] Roosevelt gives in.

His intransigence on the “unconditional surrender” formula at the Conference of Casablanca, and later, met with the feigned opposition of Churchill and, initially, even of Stalin who reasoned that it would prolong the war by provoking desperate resistance among the peoples of the Axis Powers, particularly the Germans and the Japanese. His reply to this opposition, and to similar objections from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and his comment on the State Department memoranda that the German Army and the German people were ready-in 1943-44-to make peace “over the heads of the Nazi Government” took the following form:

Washington, 1 April 1944... I have spoken with Admiral Leahy ... The trouble is that the reasoning of the memorandum presupposes a reconstituting of a German state which would give active cooperation apparently at once to peace in Europe. A somewhat long study and personal experience in and out of Germany (Mhe author) leads me to believe that German philosophy cannot be changed by decree, law or military order. The change in German philosophy must be evolutionary and may take two generations ... [12]

On his return from the Quebec Conference, Roosevelt calls Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York to the White House for a friendly chat, on 2 September 1943:

The division (of the world) will be simple ... The Far East goes to China. The Pacific to the United States. Africa and Europe will be divided between Russia and Great Britain ... I hope the Russian intervention in Europe won’t be too rough ... (It is to be expected that Germany, Austria, Hungary, Croatia and other countries will receive Communist-dominated governments) But what can we do about it? ... Hopefully, due to the influence of the Europeans, the Russians will become less barbaric in the next ten to twenty years ... France might escape communism if it gets a government a la Leon Blum ... [13]

On FDR’s ideas about which other European countries might be saved from communism, he intended to allow popular elections in: “France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Greece. Not ... Czecho-Slovakia.” [14] No mention of Denmark and Sweden, nor of Turkey. Not a glimmering of comprehension of the conditions which the realization of his facile dreams would impose upon the entire world and this, his own, country.

As for Yalta, its precedents and its consequences still are very much with us today. They promise to remain so for some time to come.

Notes

1. ↵ *Harper's Weekly, Journal of Civilization*, Volume XLIX; Saturday, 24 June 1905
2. ↵ Arthur Conte, *Die Teilung der Welt*. Jalta 1945, Munchen, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1967, p. 300
French original: *Yalta ou le partage du monde*
3. ↵ Conte, op. cit., p. 304
4. ↵ Conte, op. cit., p. 70
5. ↵ Ibid.
6. ↵ Conte, op. cit., p. 75
7. Ibid.
8. ↵ Wenzel Jaksch, *Europe's Road to Potsdam*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1963, p. 405
9. ↵ *Germany, 1947-1949*, "1945 Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Forces of Occupation" (JCS 1067), Washington, D.C., 1950, pp. 23-27
10. ↵ *Germany*, op. cit., p. 34, "1947 Directive to the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Forces of Occupation" (JCS 1779)
11. ↵ Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, Volume 2: "From Pearl Harbor to Victory," New York, Bantam Books, p. 503
12. ↵ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, Diplomatic Papers 1944, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1959, p. 484: "Consideration of the Application of 'Unconditional Surrender' Terms to Germany; Unofficial Peace Feelers from Germany," 17 December 1943; P. 499: "The Ambassador in Spain (Hayes) to the Secretary of State," 7 February 1944; pp. 501-502: "Memorandum by the President to the joint Chiefs of Staff, 1 April 1944."
13. ↵ Conte, op. cit., pp. 94-95
14. ↵ Ibid.

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Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy

Arthur R. Butz

- Presented at the IHR's 1982 Revisionist Conference.

Introduction

When in the discussion of some subject we criticize somebody because “he can’t see the forest for the trees,” we refer to a special sort of intellectual failing. We do not mean that the object of our criticism is incompetent or that his views on the subject of interest are erroneous or irrelevant. His views may, on the contrary, be buttressed by investigations of depth and power that would be a credit to any intellect. We mean that he is so focused on details that he fails to see the subject in proper and larger context, especially from the higher perspective which, if adopted and pursued, would solve many of the problems that excited general curiosity in the subject in the first place.

When I first addressed an IHR conference three years ago I explicitly made reference to this problem by pointing out that on p. 10 of the *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I had mentioned the consideration that, if appreciated adequately, would have made much of my study superfluous:

The simplest valid reason for being skeptical about the extermination claim is also the simplest conceivable reason; at the end of the war they were still there.

Through all of the controversy on the “Holocaust” my thoughts have continually returned to this point. That so much controversy could have raged, with only rare occurrences of this observation, raises questions that are worth exploring.

On the one hand my making of the above and similar general historical observations in my book shows that I did not myopically see only the trees and not the forest. On the other hand in some parts of the book my focus may seem to be on obscure details and to suggest myopia. This bifocalism is the topic of this paper. For one thing, I want to develop the “forest” side of the subject further, i.e. I want to place the “Holocaust” subject more firmly in the context of the higher history of the twentieth century. On the other hand, I want to consider the fact that so much of the investigation that has been conducted in recent years, certainly including my own, has presupposed and sought to satisfy myopic demands. I will argue, partly from historical analogy, that as a practical matter this great emphasis on detail seems justified and even necessary in the times we are in, but that it is important, even to avoid getting tripped up on points of detail, that we keep the larger context in mind.

Gitta Sereny

Gitta Sereny's article in the *New Statesman* of 2 November 1979 furnishes a useful illustration. She attempted to encounter my arguments in only one respect. In the course of writing *Into That Darkness* she had interviewed, in a German prison, Franz Stangl, former commandant of Treblinka (a facility in central Poland that served as a transit camp for deportations of Warsaw Jews). She wrote:

I talked with Stangl for weeks in prison; I talked to others who worked under him, and to their families. I talked to people who, otherwise uninvolved, witnessed these events in Poland. And I talked to a few of those very few who survived.

Butz claims in his Hoax that those (hundreds) who admitted taking part in extermination were doing so as plea-bargaining, in order to get lighter sentences. But those I talked to had been tried. Many had served their sentences, and none of them had anything to gain-except shame-by what they told me. Stangl himself wanted only to talk, and them to die. And Stangl is dead. But if ... Butz ... were really interested in the truth, Stangl's wife, and many other witnesses are still able to testify.

Although the point is not of major importance, I note that Sereny has misleadingly reported Stangl's hopes during her interview. According to her *Into That Darkness* Stangl was awaiting the decision on his appeal against a life sentence, so he presumably wanted to get out of jail before he died.

Anybody who has taken even a brief look at the details of the Treblinka legend (e.g. the claim that the exhausts of captured Russian tanks and trucks were used in the "gassings") would understand that history was not being served by Sereny's remarks on her interviews with Stangl. However I am afraid that in the typical case such healthy skepticism might be accompanied by some myopia in offering an explanation for Sereny's account. The most obvious myopic reaction would be to say or suggest that Sereny was lying, that Stangl never said anything like what she has attributed to him. Other possibilities might be to suggest that such remarks by Stangl were produced by bribery or torture. That such reactions quite miss the mark is easily seen by first considering the context, rather than the content, of Stangl's remarks. He was by then an old man. He had heard the tales of what was supposed to have happened at Treblinka for twenty five years. Of course he privately scoffed at them at first. Then he got accustomed to living in a culture in which such tales were never publicly challenged. He may (as sometimes happens in such circumstances) have started to believe them himself, or perhaps he privately cultivated his knowledge that the tales were almost pure invention. It is most unlikely that we shall ever know, but we do know that in his confrontation with the journalist Sereny, the hapless old man could scarcely have reasoned that he could help himself by denying the legend as it applies to Treblinka. I am confident that Stangl told Sereny something like she reports. Of course Stangl sought to excuse himself personally, but what possible self-serving reason could he have found for telling Sereny that the "gassings" are a myth?

Accordingly I wrote in my letter of reply to the *New Statesman*, which was not published there but was published in this journal: [\[1\]](#)

The key point is that the objective served by such statements should be presumed to be personal interest rather than historical truth. At a "trial" some specific thing is to be tried, i.e. the court is supposed to start by treating that thing as an open question.

The "extermination" allegation has never been a-i question in any practical sense in any of the relevant trials, and in some it has not been open to question in a formal legal sense. The question was always only personal responsibility in a context in which

the extermination allegation was unquestionable. Thus the “confessions” of Germans, which in all cases sought to deny or mitigate personal responsibility, were merely the only defenses they could present in their circumstances.

This is not exactly “plea-bargaining,” where there is negotiation between prosecution and defense, but it is related. All it amounts to is presenting a story that it was possible for the court to accept. The logical dilemma is inescapable once the defendant resolves to take the “trial” seriously. To deny the legend was not the way to stay out of jail.

Moreover it is not true, as Sereny implicitly asserts, that this logical dilemma no longer holds when the defendant is serving a life sentence. If he is seeking pardon or parole, he would not try to overturn what has already been decided in court; that is not the way pardon or parole works. For example, at the Frankfurt “Auschwitz trial” of 1963-1965, so monstrous were the supposed deeds of Robert Mulka that many thought his sentence to 14 years at hard labor unduly light. Then, in a denouement that would amaze all who have not studied this subject closely, Mulka was quietly released less than four months later. However, if Mulka had claimed in any plea (as he could have truthfully), either at his trial or afterwards, that there were no exterminations at Auschwitz and that he was in a position to know, then he would have served a full life sentence in the former case and the full fourteen years in the latter, if he lived that long.

It is not widely known, but there have been many such instances -the subject is hard to investigate. ^[2] In no instance would it have made any sense, in terms of immediate self interest, to deny the exterminations. That was not the way to get out of jail.

If one accepts, as the terms of the debate, the purely defensive attitude of responding to the specific points made by the other side, then I still believe this to be the correct way to answer Sereny. I was satisfied as I wrote those lines but, in the course of so doing, the madness of the immediate context struck me. It was 1979, not 1942, and Sereny was trying to explain to readers of the New Statesman, via her account of a lone old man’s remarks, that they should believe the “extermination” tales. Continuing the letter, then, I wrote:

We do not need “confessions” or “trials” to determine that the bombings of Dresden and Hiroshima, or the reprisals at Lidice following Heydrich’s assassination, really took place. Now, the extermination legend does not claim a few instances of homicide, but alleges events continental in geographical scope, of three years in temporal scope, and of several million in scope of victims. How ludicrous, then, is the position of the bearers of the legend, who in the last analysis will attempt to “prove” such events on the basis of “confessions” delivered under the fabric of hysteria, censorship, intimidation, persecution and blatant illegality that has been shrouding this subject for 35 years.

To put it another way, Sereny in her 1979 article was arguing the reality of the colossal events alleged by reporting what a tired old man recently told her in prison. One might as well argue that the gypsies burned down New York City in 1950, on the basis of confessions of gypsies who were living there at the time. Of course Sereny would argue that I am seizing on only one remark of hers and making it appear to be her whole argument. However, while I concede that she has a great deal more to say on this subject, the basic observation still stands. She was taking a great deal of space in a prominent journal in presenting arguments that in 1979 were wildly incom-

mensurate with the allegation in question. If the Jews of Europe really had been exterminated, such arguments would not be offered.

When I saw Robert Faurisson in 1980 he congratulated me on this point, i.e. for pointing out that we do not need “trials” in order to believe in real historical events (Hiroshima, Lidice, etc.), and said he wished he had thought of it. I knew how he felt for, at about the time of Sereny’s article a man I had never heard of before telephoned me and raised a point I wished I had thought of, namely, why didn’t those Jewish bodies outside the Axis sphere, who had so much to say about “extermination” and “murder,” undertake to warn the Jews under Hitler what supposedly lay in store for them in the German resettlement programs? In all accounts we are told that the Jews packed up for the deportations and entered camps later without imagining that they were to be killed. This feature of the legend is of course necessary for it is well known that violent resistance to the deportations was very rare (I implicitly touched this point on p. 109 of Hoax, but nowhere nearly as strong as I should have).

The general lesson suggested by these two incidents is the subject of this paper. We see that what was involved in both incidents was temporary myopia, not merely of the bearers of the received legend, but more importantly of the revisionists, who were so busy analyzing the trees that it took some fortuitous prodding to make them notice some important features of the forest. This is not a failing of individuals. It is a consequence of the historical circumstances in which we find ourselves. I shall try to describe those circumstances and show how we should handle them today. This is done partly by presenting my approximation of posterity’s outlook on these matters, and partly by offering several suggestions on the conduct of practical controversy.

The Donation Of Constantine

The “Donation of Constantine” is the most famous forgery in European history. It first appeared somewhere around the year 800. It is a document allegedly in the “hands” (sic) of Emperor Constantine 1 (288?-337), which recounts the long standing and false legend of Constantine’s conversion and baptism by Pope Sylvester I. Its principal feature is its grant to the Pope of temporal authority over “the city of Rome and all the provinces, places and states of Italy, and the western regions.” It also decrees that the Pope “shall have the supremacy as well over the four principal (holy) sees, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople,” and makes various additional specific grants. To make it clear that the Donation is in earnest, the document then has Constantine declare his intention to transfer his own capital to “the province of Byzantia (where) a city should be built in our name ... for where the primate of priests and the head of the Christian religion is established by the Heavenly Emperor, it is not right that an earthly Emperor shall have authority there.”

What is of the greatest interest here is that the authenticity of this document was rarely questioned before the fifteenth century, despite the facts that (1) according to legends and histories widely available throughout the Middle Ages and to the document itself, the city that Constantine founded on the ancient site of Byzantium, and which was later called “Constantinople,” had not yet been founded, much less made the site of a principal holy see and (2) more conclusively, and in analogy with our “they were still there” observation on the “Holocaust,” according to records and histories available throughout the Middle Ages, imperial rule continued in Italy during the times of Constantine, Sylvester, and their immediate successors.

It was certainly not lack of interest or relevance that explains the long failure to see the Donation as a fraud. Much of the political life of the Middle Ages revolved around the controversy over the relative power of Pope and Holy Roman (i.e. German) Emperor, and able intellects partici-

pated in circumstances in which the Donation was considered one of the arguments on the side of the Pope. Even Dante (1265-1321), an outspoken enemy of papal temporal power, touched on the Donation in his *Inferno* only to deplore Constantine's granting of it:

O Constantine, what great evil had as its mother
Not your conversion, but that dowry
Which the first rich father got from you!

Thus a wildly ahistoric forgery, approximately in the class of a letter bearing the alleged signature of George Washington, granting the Methodist Episcopal Church "authority to rule over Washington, D.C. and subject territories of North America," went almost unchallenged throughout centuries of relevant controversy.

The first challenges were typically silly, off the mark, tendentious, or circumlocutory, and often, with Dante, challenged only the desirability of the Donation and not its historicity. In the middle of the twelfth century the reform movement of Arnold of Brescia attacked the whole legend of Sylvester and the Donation by arguing that Constantine was already a Christian when he met Sylvester. Among the anti-papal Ghibellines of Germany there arose around 1200 the legend that, when Constantine made the Donation, the angels cried audibly "Alas, alas, this day has poison been dropped into the Church of God." The partisans of the Pope retorted that, sure, the weeping was heard, but it was just the Devil in disguise, trying to deceive us. Others argued that the Donation was not valid because Constantine was tainted with Arian heresy, or because the consent of the people had not been obtained, or because the grant was supposed to apply only to Constantine's reign. Others turned the Donation into a back handed blow at the papacy by arguing that it showed papal primacy to be derived not from God, but from the Emperor. Indeed the last argument became, until the middle of the fifteenth century, a standard attitude toward the Donation on the part of anti-papal spokesmen. Around 1200 two writers had pointed to the fact of the continuity of imperial rule in Italy after the alleged Donation, but their presentations were circumlocutory and did not reveal their personal conclusions on the matter, and they had no evident influence on future controversy.

What should have been a conclusive critique of the Donation came in 1433, not from an anti-papal source, but from somebody we might characterize as a liberal reformer within the Church. Cusanus, Deacon of St. Florinus of Coblenz, presented for the use of the Council of Basle a critique of the Donation which emphasized the overwhelming historical evidence against any transfer of sovereignty from Emperor to Pope in or just after the time of Sylvester and Constantine.

Cusanus' *De concordantia catholica* had little direct impact, partly because of its dry and dispassionate tone, and partly because it was eclipsed by the 1440 treatise of Lorenzo Valla, *De falso credita et ementita Constantini*. It is Valla's name that is most closely associated with the overthrow of the hoax, partly because his own considerable talents were supplemented by Cusanus' work, partly because of the oratorical and passionate nature of his treatise, and partly because the quickly succeeding developments of printing and the Reformation movement gave the treatise a massive distribution in various translations.

Valla's basic approach was to subject the Donation to criticism from every perspective that was available to him. For example he starts by trying to look at the matter from the perspective of Constantine, "a man who through thirst for dominion had waged war against nations, and attacking friends and relatives in civil strife had taken the government from them," who then allegedly would "set about giving to another out of pure generosity the city of Rome, his fatherland, the head of the world, the queen of states ... betaking himself thence to an humble little town,

Byzantium.” After reading only a few pages of Valla the Donation seems incredible, but the treatise runs to about 80 pages in English translation and is a classic case of “overkill.” Valla supported Cusanus' argument, that the alleged transfer of sovereignty had not taken place, with the evidence of the Roman coins of the period, which were issued in the names of Emperors, not Popes. Valla analyzed the language and vocabulary of the Donation document, and showed they could not have represented the sort of Latin used by Constantine. Such methods were novel for the times.

Valla was not a disinterested scholar. At the time he wrote the treatise he was employed as secretary to Alfonso of Aragon, who was contesting the rule of Naples with the Pope. Valla left his reader in no doubt of his view that temporal power of the Pope is bad and ought to be abolished. Nevertheless Valla's treatise is a landmark in the rise of historical criticism, and I believe it can profitably be studied today by those engaged in “debunking the genocide myth.”

Although somebody was burned at the stake in Strassburg in 1458 for denying the Donation, Valla's thesis was at first quite well received among educated people, although the treatise remained in manuscript. By 1500 it seemed the legend was finished; the relative quiescence of fundamental controversy on the character of the papacy was probably helpful. However the development of the Reformation movement, and the wide use of Valla's treatise as a weapon against the papacy, had the ironic effect of reviving the defense of the legend. On the one hand Martin Luther declared in 1537 that Valla's treatise had convinced him that the Pope was the embodiment of the Antichrist. On the other hand Steuchus, librarian of the Vatican, produced in 1547 a rather able attack on Valla's treatise, which was put on the Index shortly later. The process of overthrowing the legend could only be considered completed around 1600 when the great Catholic historian Baronius declared that the falsity of the Donation had been proved.

This short sketch begs at least two fundamental questions. First, we have observed that the fraudulence of the Donation seems obvious, on the grounds that the transfer of sovereignty alleged did not in fact take place. Why then did it take so long to expose it?

I believe that the reason is fundamentally that it would have been impolitic, earlier than the Renaissance, to have drawn the obvious conclusions about the Donation. Important political and economic interests are difficult to oppose with mere observations, regardless of how factual and relevant. The two explanations that come most readily to mind, for the overthrowing of the legend at the time it was done, are, first, that the Renaissance introduced a new higher level of scholarship to Europe and, second, that the Reformation assisted anti-papal developments. I believe this interpretation is valid provided it is not thereby implied that the Middle Ages did not have the intellectual acumen to see through the fraud. The political developments of the post-medieval period were decisive in making it safe and even opportune to see the obvious.

We can elaborate on this basically political explanation by noting the old problem; we see the trees, not the forest, unless we make unusual efforts to do otherwise. To see the obvious, it must first be presented somehow. What people heard in the Donation controversy were the claims of Popes to temporal authority, references to the relevant document, and all sorts of arguments from quarters hostile to the Pope. Roman history, while known to a good extent, was not normally ably presented. For this perhaps amazing omission there are simple explanations. For one thing the Popes represented the entrenched position and called the tune on what was to be discussed; they could hardly be expected to encourage examination on historical grounds. For another thing spokesmen against the Donation, on account of their dissident position, had to address familiar subjects in order to accomplish the practical objective of being heard. Moreover as they typically represented political or religious interests rather than historical studies, they often did not know

the relevant history anyway. On the other hand the professional scholars were largely dependent on ecclesiastic authorities for their livelihoods. Thus the field was suitable for a reign of politically founded stupidity.

To ask a second fundamental question, if the fraudulence of the Donation should have been obvious to the unintimidated and inquiring intellect, and if political developments weakened and even removed the intimidation, then why was a lengthy treatise such as Valla's necessary to overthrow it?

The question as posed is loaded, mainly in the sense of presupposing cause and effect relationships. We cannot separate causes and effects in complex events which saw (a) the shattering of the power of the papacy in the Reformation and (b) the overthrowing of one of the impostures which supported that power and (c) the wide circulation of a book exposing that imposture.

At best we can ask what role Valla's treatise played in these events and a good conjecture can be made on the basis of the contents of the treatise, which were far more extensive, and far more detailed, than what was required to prove the thesis. It contained intellectual material of such quantity and diversity that the spread of its influence was all but irresistible. Old coin buffs got something to talk about; the specialists in Latin grammar and language were invited into the controversy; the historians of Rome saw something for them, ditto the historians of the Church. In short, articulate tongues were set wagging against a background of colossal political development.

In my Convention paper three years ago I stressed that extra-academic controversy should not be underrated as a means of nudging the scholars along on controversial subjects. That is to say, and here I am speaking from direct experience as a member of academe, the typical attitude toward "hot" subjects, on the part of the basically honest but all-too-human scholar, is evasion. To be sure there is a small minority, the hirelings of the profiteers of the reigning thesis, who consciously lie and obfuscate. Eventually there is a small minority that assaults the entrenched position, and whose dissident utterances have the temporary effect of allying a larger minority with the conscious liars, in denunciation of the heretics. However the typical honest scholar, who tries to maintain self respect while paying his bills, evades the hot issue.

This evasion is made difficult or impossible if diverse members of the populace abound with challenging questions. If the popular expression goes far enough, it can transform itself from a factor making evasion impossible, into a factor making heresy relatively safe. Thus do not underestimate popularization of hot subjects as a means of nudging or even propelling those who ought to handle them.

The main points I want to make in this section are as follows. Simple and decisive arguments against the Donation of Constantine which, it seems to us, should have been obvious to the Middle Ages, were smothered by the politics of the times. Valla's treatise, going into far more detail than seems necessary to our historical sense, played a crucial practical role in bringing down the legend of the Donation, but this process was inseparably linked to political developments favorable to Valla's thesis and its unintimidated consideration.

The Analogies

The analogies to our own "Holocaust" legend may seem almost too obvious to belabor. The academics of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance who would not see the simple stand in painful

and embarrassing analogy to academics of today. However it is worthwhile to expand on a few points.

We have seen that the legend of the Donation was overthrown in a period of political development highly unfavorable to the papacy, and this suggests another obvious analogy and expectation: that the Holocaust legend will be overthrown in this period of political development highly unfavorable to Zionism. This anticipated confluence is above all inevitable and inescapable, but it is useful to note its dangerous aspects. It will introduce dangerous pressures, political and intellectual, into the revisionist camp.

For example as this is written the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has made Menachem Begin the most unpopular man, and Israel the most unpopular state, in the world. It can plausibly be argued that the invasion has been brutally negligent of the welfare of innocent Lebanese civilians who have died in shocking numbers or suffered the privations attendant to the Israeli attempt to destroy the PLO forces. It can plausibly be argued that Americans have been dopes or dupes for giving Israel almost everything it wanted in the past. However I have read, even in publications friendly to revisionism, ^[3] that the Israeli policy amounts to “genocide,” which it does not, either in intent or (thus far) in effect, at least not in my understanding of the meaning of the word, which is somewhat close to “extermination.” While such ill conceived cussing may be the norm for the popular press, it is upsetting to see revisionist oriented circles do it for they, above all, should be able to make the distinctions among the various inhumanities that are necessary to keep the historical record straight.

A recognition of real danger comes with the understanding that such confusion of issues may have an explanation in terms of politics as well as in terms of normal human inexactitude. In the coming years there will be strong pressures on many, including revisionists, to be “for” the Arabs as distinct from fair to them. The pressure will arise partly from the fact that it will be precisely the Middle East developments that will create opportunities for the revisionists to be heard. Thus the revisionists will have to walk a tightrope, on the one hand resisting dangerous pressures, on the other hand exploiting such openings, as political developments may make, for the expression of legitimate historical observations. We should dearly love to consider the Hoax in an ivory tower, but it is not going to happen that way.

As history never repeats itself, the Donation-Holocaust analogy does not hold on all salient points. However there is another important point of similarity worth noting, namely, the excessive attention to detail in both Valla’s treatise and in contemporary revisionist investigations: overkill in both cases. The people of the Renaissance would not observe that the alleged transfer of sovereignty did not take place, and let go at that, and we will not observe that the Jews were still there, and let it go at that. Apparently we must pursue the subject into areas of detail that may seem fantastic to posterity. For example we are not satisfied that the Zyklon, allegedly used in the “gassings,” was an insecticide; we need to exhaustively analyze the technical aspects of the claim.

This preoccupation with detail is both desirable and necessary. That it is desirable has been suggested in the discussion of the Donation. A preoccupation with detail entails a great diversity and quantity of thought on the legend which, even if it might seem myopic to posterity will, indeed has, set tongues wagging in the practical and urgent present to the extent that those formally charged with such concerns will no longer be able to avoid them. Indeed that this point “has” been reached is essentially admitted by Raul Hilberg, author of *The Destruction of the European Jews*, in a recent interview in a French weekly: ^[4]

I will say that, in a certain manner, Faurisson and others, without having wished it, have done us a service. They have raised questions which have had as effect to engage the historians in new research. They have forced the gathering of more information, the re-examination of documents, and going further into the understanding of what happened.

That our preoccupation with detail is also necessary in the present circumstances follows from the propaganda strategy of the promoters and defenders of the established legend. one aspect of that strategy is to evade the real and simple question of whether or not the Jews of Europe were in fact physically exterminated by the Germans, and concentrate instead on the superficially similar and (provided enough confusion is generated) speciously equivalent question of whether or not “gas chambers” were operated by the Germans.

This is one basic trick of the hoaxers (there are others I shall mention) and too many of the revisionist camp or bent fall for it. To anticipate any misunderstanding on the point, let me give my assurance that I hold the answers to both questions to be “no”; there was no extermination program and there were no gas chambers. However the former is the real bone of contention and the latter is of only subsidiary importance to the Holocaust revisionist school as I understand its implicit tenets. For example, if it turned out that, one day in 1942, ten adult male Jews were marched into Hitler’s headquarters in East Prussia, placed in Hitler’s shower (with suitable hasty mechanical modifications) and there gassed before the approving eyes of the Führer, I would have many reasons, historical and technical, for being astonished, but I would not be forced to change or withdraw any major conclusion on the “Extermination” matter. The discovery would rock the revisionists for whom Hitler is of central interest, e.g. David Irving, but that is irrelevant.

By various tricks, e.g. focusing on certain types of testimonies or discussing “Zyklon” out of context, the defenders of the legend are often able to arrange the quiet substitution, in public controversy, of the “gas chamber” question for the “extermination” question, not because they confuse the two, but because by so doing they are able to take advantage of certain routine reservations that apply to nearly every historical subject.

For example until a short time ago, if I were asked if the Japanese had gassed prisoners during World War II, I would have answered that I was unaware of any such gassings. Now I have very recently read a credible report that they gassed 404 “human guinea pigs” in connection with “research on biological warfare.” [5] However I continue to be certain that the Japanese did not “exterminate” any populations.

As another example, I am certain that during World War II the Allied powers did not exterminate any significant portion of the Eskimo population, and I am also confident that no individual communities of Eskimos were gassed by them, but note that I am “certain” in the former case and only “confident” in the latter. The difference arises from the fact that, while one can show that there was no extermination program for Eskimos (e.g. no significant absences were noted after the war), one cannot show that no Eskimos were gassed. Of course, one can cite the lack of an evident motivation for gassing Eskimos, the lack of subsequent charges of Eskimo gassings, etc., and one can be “confident” no communities of Eskimos were gassed (of course individual Eskimos might have been gassed for specific offenses in California). However one must e.g. allow the possibility that some isolated Eskimo community, perhaps posing a security menace to some highly secret Allied military operation, was gassed in great secrecy. This is just routine historical reserve, applying to all phases of history, whose potential relevance to every historical subject is so taken for granted that it is rarely mentioned.

We can prove that the Eskimos were not exterminated, but we cannot prove that no communities of Eskimos were gassed. Likewise, and at the risk of giving the opposition words which can be lifted out of context and used dishonestly, I can prove that there was no German program of physical extermination of the Jews, but I cannot prove that no Jews were gassed, although after living long with the evidence I am confident that no Jews were gassed.

If one examines closely the arguments that are offered when the tact is to argue that Jews were gassed, it is clear that the allegation is of the “isolated Eskimo community” sort. In place of geographical isolation, there is substituted the claim of administrative isolation, i.e. that no written records were kept of the design of the gas chambers or of their construction, or of the gassings themselves, that in order to conceal the deeds the bodies were burned and not a trace was left, and that in order to keep the number of witnesses to a minimum Jewish work parties were used in the operations, these Jews later being killed also. Why such secrecy should have been considered necessary or relevant, given rallies in Madison Square Garden against the alleged slaughter, official Allied and Presidential declarations in condemnation, etc., [6] is never explained, as few will ask such questions. The important thing is that the whole thing can then be “proved” via declarations of a few “witnesses,” upheld in court, and then used to support a preposterous allegation of a very different and even incommensurate sort, namely, the physical extermination of the Jews of Europe.

It is a cheap trick. It relies on a massive dropping of context and shift of perspective, wherein the rubes are not expected to follow the simple shell game. Unfortunately it has been successful, and this is why a preoccupation with detail, on the part of revisionists, is necessary as well as desirable. The bearers of the legend do not want to confront the “extermination” allegation directly, as easily available information makes it clear the Jews were not exterminated. However, no easily available information makes clear what happened at every location in eastern Europe during the war, especially in view of the political character of the postwar exploitation of documents, and this is where the hoaxers go to work. They offer to fill in such gaps, usually not via written records, but via alleged reconstruction on the basis of their “trials.” As they represent the entrenched position, they effectively call the tune on what is to be debated, and that is why the revisionists, in the minority of instances in which their opponents engage them in superficially scholarly debate, will find themselves confronted with details assembled for mendacious ends. The hoaxers dare not focus on the real question, as it is too simple.

Context And Perspective

While the present interest in detail is desirable from the revisionist point of view, it is also necessary because the defenders of the legend have decided that, for the sake of their contrary purposes, a focus on detail can also be desirable, when there is to be anything like a debate. This odd harmony of the two camps is of course superficial.

That the focus on detail contains dangers for the revisionists is seen by noting that the defenders of the legend take this tact because they have thereby substituted more malleable questions for the real one. Specifically, they trick their audiences into losing context and perspective. What Stangl said to Sereny in jail cannot be understood without the perspective gained by noting Stangl’s hapless position in the postwar world, particularly in postwar Germany, which has a political system imposed by the foreign conquerors who made possible the establishment of the legend in the first place. The claim, that the lack of ordinary historical evidence for “exterminations” is explained by a German policy of utmost secrecy, cannot be easily demolished except via some observation on the historical context of the alleged episode, such as made above. Therefore

while it is fine to focus on detail in these times, we risk losing battles, if not the war, if we forget the historical context and lose perspective.

Context and perspective constitute the theme of this paper, but it was necessary to discuss at length the nature of the need.

Posterity will see this “Holocaust,” this curious imposture that enthralled us for two or three decades, as a transient phenomenon involving what will appear to be utterly audacious distortions of the historical record, which we should have seen more easily than we did, as the relevant episodes will seem to have simpler interpretations than we see or at any rate emphasize. While of course we cannot see things as posterity will, we can at least attempt to see the subject from a higher perspective. This will not only help our future reputation, but will also help us avoid getting tripped up on details in current controversy.

We can start by asking just what will draw posterity’s attention as extraordinary. It will not be “exterminations” of Jews, as there were none. It will also not be the German program of expulsion of the Jews. There will of course be some interest in that program, just as today there is interest on the part of the historians in all sorts of past episodes. However that German program was in its essentials far from unique, the Jews having been expelled from the Jerusalem area in the second century and from Spain in the fifteenth, to mention only the most famous two of many expulsions. The German program may seem deplorable, but it will not seem extraordinary.

What will seem unique is the establishment in Western society of the “Holocaust” legend, its exploitation past the point of sanity, its challenge from unconventional quarters a few decades later, and its subsequent overthrow. One implication of this, perhaps for the revisionists at once instructive and deflating, is that the revisionists will themselves be objects of historical scrutiny, i.e. we are part of the historical process that posterity will see, not merely its pioneering investigators.

I believe they will see us that way mainly because of our tendency, explanations for which have already been given, of getting entangled in details while bypassing or downplaying the observations that, it will seem, should have been both obvious and conclusive.

A specific illustration. In order for something to be “obvious” it ought to be figuratively before our very noses. Let us look at two of the recently published and widely discussed books in support of the extermination legend, namely *Auschwitz and the Allies* by Martin Gilbert (biographer of Winston Churchill) and *The Terrible Secret* by Walter Laqueur (Director of the Institute of Contemporary History, London, and editor of the *Journal of Contemporary History*). The two books look at the subject from similar perspectives and cover much of the same ground.

At the end of his long and copiously annotated study, Gilbert writes: [\[7\]](#)

Between May 1942 and June 1944, almost none of the messages reaching the west had referred to Auschwitz as the destination of Jewish deportees, or as a killing centre. Nor had the name of Auschwitz made any impression on those who were building up what they believed to be an increasingly comprehensive picture of the fate of the Jews.

On the other hand early in his shorter but also copiously annotated study Laqueur explains that mass exterminations at Auschwitz could not have been concealed, noting that Auschwitz was “a veritable archipelago,” that “Auschwitz inmates ... were, in fact, dispersed all over Silesia, and ... met with thousands of people,” that “hundreds of civilian employees ... worked at

Auschwitz,” and that “journalists travelled in the General Government and were bound to hear,” etc. [8]

I have no quarrel with such observations, as I made them myself, on the basis of essentially the same considerations. [9] Now the reader of Gilbert, Laqueur, and Butz can make a very simple determination. He is being told that (a) in the period May 1942 to June 1944, those interested in such matters had no information of mass exterminations at Auschwitz and (b) mass exterminations at Auschwitz could not have been concealed from the world for any significant length of time. Since he is hearing the same story from both sides then, by a process of inference necessary to those who want to form an opinion but do not have the time or means to become historians, he should assume both claims true. There was no information of mass exterminations at Auschwitz during the relevant period, and mass exterminations at Auschwitz would not have been kept secret. Therefore, there were no mass exterminations at Auschwitz.

The conclusion is inescapable and requires only elementary logic. It is comparable to the syllogism: “I see no elephant in my basement; an elephant could not be concealed from sight in my basement; therefore, there is no elephant in my basement.”

Logic tells us that this observation should be conclusive, and yet I know that in controversies to come it will often be lost sight of. It is a good example of a point on which we shall puzzle posterity for our myopia, since it will wonder why it was so seldom raised in a heated controversy. It is not the sole example of its type. The literature of the defenders of the legend is overflowing with concessions that will make posterity wonder how the legend ever could have been believed in the first place, and why a revisionist literature was necessary at all. Let us be specific.

The principal actors in the historical episode are the governments of the various powers at war, Jewish organizations operating in Allied and neutral countries, Jewish organizations operating openly under the German occupation, clandestine resistance organizations in German-occupied Europe, Jewish or otherwise, the Catholic Church (on account of its twin attributes of ubiquity and centralization), and the International Red Cross.

Prominent among the Jewish organizations were the JDC (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee), closely associated with the American Jewish Committee, the “political organization of the non-Zionist elite of American Jewry. [10] The JDC was primary in extending material assistance to Jews. In Europe an important representative was Joseph J. Schwartz in Lisbon. [11]

More important from our point of view was Saly Mayer, the sometimes unofficial but always principal representative of the JDC in Switzerland. Mayer was in constant contact with the JDC in Lisbon and New York, and also with Jews in occupied Europe, eastern and western. [12]

Also prominent among the Jewish organizations were the JA (Jewish Agency), the unofficial Israeli government of the time, whose guiding light was Chaim Weizmann, and which was represented in Geneva by Richard Lichtheim and Abraham Silbershein. Zionism was also represented by the WJC (World Jewish Congress), whose guiding lights were Nahum Goldman and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and whose principal representative in Switzerland was Gerhart Riegner. The Swiss representatives of these and other Jewish organizations were in constant contact with both Jews of occupied Europe and with Jewish and other representatives in the Allied countries. For example, postal and telephone communications between Jews in occupied countries and those in neutral countries such as Switzerland and Turkey were easily established. [13]

As made abundantly clear by many books in addition to my own (e.g. Gilbert’s book), it is from the WJC, supplemented by the JA, the Polish exile government in London, and occasionally

more obscure groups, that the early extermination propaganda emanated.

Here are eight simple observations, all drawn from the literature of the defenders of the legend (sometimes via the intermediary of my book), which establish the non-historicity of the “Holocaust” or, more precisely, a program of mass physical extermination of Europe’s Jews.

The postwar claims had their origin in the wartime extermination claims. However the differences between the two are such that it is implied that the wartime claims were not based on fact

There are two principal sorts of differences between the wartime and postwar claims. First, much of what was claimed during the war was dropped afterwards, only a fraction being retained. Second, the centerpiece of the postwar claims, Auschwitz, was not claimed at all until the very end of the relevant period.

Both observations were made in Chapter 3 of my book, and the second was made above, and both are confirmed by more recent publications. The first is shown by listing specific examples, and those given in Hoax can be supplemented with some taken from the recent literature, particularly the Gilbert book, which gives numerous such examples. [14]

To discuss a specific example, it is well to focus on one Jan Karski, a non-Jewish member of the Polish resistance, who is said to have been sent from Poland by the underground, in November 1942, to report to the Polish exile government in London. His report described Polish Jews being sent to Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor in railway cars packed with “lime and chlorine sprinkled with water.” On the trip half die from suffocation, poisonous fumes, and lack of food and water. These are burned. The remainder are put to death by firing squads, in “lethal gas chambers” and, at Belzec, in an “electrocuting station”; this remainder was buried. This report was widely publicized and circulated. [15]

Of course the present story is that almost all the Jews were killed in gas chambers, their bodies later being burned. Also there is nothing about Auschwitz as an extermination camp in this report of the Polish underground which, in this instance, cannot be accused of ignoring the plight of the Jews.

Karski published his story in 1944 as a silly book, *Story of a Secret State*, which sold well. At present he is a Professor of Government at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. Although the wild disagreement between his wartime tall tales and the postwar tall tales is not novel to a student of this subject, I thought it useful to select Karski for mention because in recent years, in the deluge of “Holocaust” propaganda, he has been rediscovered and feted as something of a hero. He wrote a new and sanitized version of his story in 1979, no doubt for the benefit of those of his friends embarrassed by his book. [16] Then in 1981 he was a participant in a conference held at the State Department and sponsored by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council whose chairman, author Elie Wiesel, “organized the event in part to build a bulwark against a rising tide of revisionist history.” I have no evidence that anybody at the conference sought to get Karski to explain the discrepancies between his and today’s received accounts of “exterminations.” [17]

I am sometimes asked why I ignore Elie Wiesel, so here I shall give him one paragraph. I ignore him because, unlike authors I usually discuss, he is frankly a novelist and there is next to nothing in his declarations that could be considered historical argument. Even his allegedly autobiographical *Night* is too histrionic to be entertained as a purported primary source. This does not mean

that there is absolutely nothing to be gained from noticing him. That a novelist was chosen to be Director of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, a plum for which there must have been a lot of behind the scenes jostling, is tremendously revealing of the forces at work today. As for a short judgment of Wiesel's various writings on the "Holocaust," I think it is fair to characterize them as reaching the heights that most of us can reach only with the help of the sorts of magic potions that are made out of gin and vermouth and comparable ingredients; Wiesel does not need such help. [18]

To return to the point, namely, "that the wartime claims were not based on fact," the logic goes as follows. The defenders of the legend could explain the retention of only a fraction of the wartime reports only by claiming that wartime exigencies made corroboration of information impracticable and that as a consequence many inaccurate stories were passed along for public consumption. The result was a set of reports which, although originally inspired by fact, exaggerated the real situation. However such an explanation cannot be reconciled with the fact of the absence of Auschwitz from the extermination claims. The Auschwitz aspect would be consistent with the proffered explanation only if some story exaggerated in relation to the postwar claims had been presented during the war, e.g. exterminations of Jews by means in addition to gas chambers. The logic thus leads to the conclusion that the wartime claims were not inspired by fact.

Both the wartime records and behavior of the Jews in occupied Europe show that they had no information of an extermination program

That resistance to deportation was rare, and that Jews went to the various camps with no suspicion that they were to be killed, has been well known for many years and recently published material has only reinforced this observation. However its implications are usually not appreciated. Note that the observation holds for the Jewish leadership in the various occupied countries as well as for the general Jewish population.

To give some examples, late in 1942 Slovakian Jewish leaders, negotiating with the Germans, took seriously the Germans' offers to cease deportations of Slovakian Jews from Auschwitz. In the French Jewish records "we find a wealth of documentation that tends to deny" exterminations. French Jewish leaders saw "Auschwitz as a place of work" and in November 1944 (after the Germans had been driven out of France) were thinking, in regard to the deportees, mainly of reuniting families. We are told that "Jews in Holland never really knew what was going on in Poland" and that the records of the Amsterdam Jewish Council of 22 January 1943 show that the possibility of "extermination" was not even being entertained as an explanation for the breaking up of families. Jewish leaders in Rome were unaware of any extermination program and feared deportations only in connection with such things as "the rigors of winter and the fragile health of many deportees." Under such conditions it is not at all surprising that there was only one derailment of an Auschwitz deportation train engineered by Jewish/resistance activities (in Belgium). [19]

To focus on a man who should certainly have been well informed, Rabbi Leo Baeck, "venerated head of German Jewry," showed via a letter he wrote in November 1942 that he had no suspicion that Jewish deportees were being killed, and by his own postwar admission told no other Jews of "exterminations" during his stay at Theresienstadt, from which there were many deportations. [20]

By the spring of 1944, right after the German occupation of Hungary, the Hungarian Jewish leaders had heard the extermination claims, including (finally) the Auschwitz claims. However they "gave no publicity whatsoever to" such claims. "Not urgent warnings to their fellow Jews to re-

sist deportation, but secret negotiations with the SS aimed at averting deportation altogether, had become the avenue of hope chosen by the Hungarian Zionist leaders." [21]

As for Poland, there was a famous rebellion of the Warsaw ghetto in April 1943. However this came only after almost all the Jews of Warsaw had been deported east. The claim is that "by March 1943 the destruction of Polish Jewry was almost complete." During the period that they were supposedly being destroyed there was no significant resistance to deportations. [22]

Moreover Jewish record keeping in Poland was diligent and extensive, so that "many posthumous records have come down to us." Yet there is an "absence of vital subjects from the records." [23]

Thus the Jews were not cognizant of an extermination program in the only senses that would be convincing, in the senses of resisting deportations or at least recording the "Holocaust" in their confidential records.

Jewish bodies outside occupied Europe, such as the JDC, the WJC, the JA and others did not act as though they believed their own claims of 'extermination'

There are quite a few senses in which this is the case but the most important relates directly to the point discussed above. The Jews who, we are told, boarded deportation trains with no inkling that they were to be killed, were as was noted above in close contact with Jewish bodies outside occupied Europe. Indeed many of the records that show their ignorance of an extermination program are among their communications with their Jews outside Europe. Yet the Jews outside Europe did not undertake to impress on those inside what the deportations were allegedly all about, if one were to believe the remarks they were making for the consumption of others. Otherwise the alleged ignorance would not have existed.

This is enough to prove the point but it is useful to give some good examples of the real behavior of the Jewish bodies outside Europe during their supposed "Holocaust."

Chaim Weizmann used the extermination claims when he thought them useful. However in May 1943 Weizmann complained to Churchill's secretariat that if "an Allied press release reporting the fact that Jewish scientists were among those involved in the Allied scientific war effort ... were repeated, the Germans would carry out further anti-Jewish reprisals." [24] Just what reprisals could be graver than physical extermination of all is not apparent.

It was noted above that the legend claims that by March 1943 almost all Polish Jews had been killed. However throughout the alleged period of killing, and even into 1944, Jewish relief organizations in the west sent food parcels to Jews in Poland, particularly through the JUS (Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle or Jewish Aid Office), with the permission and cooperation of the German authorities. Money was also sent to Jewish organizations in Poland through the London Polish exile government, again with the permission of the German authorities. [25]

By 1944 Poland had become a battlefield. Accordingly on 14 March 1944 the WJC reminded the British, as Soviet forces were approaching Lvov, that there were "still a considerable number of Jews" in the Lvov area, and we should issue "a fresh and emphatic warning to the Germans" and also speed up the work of rescuing Jews from Nazi occupied territory (obviously to proceed to Palestine, as the WJC made clear by its wartime statements). [26] In the opinion of the WJC, the murdered Jews were still there.

Jewish newspapers in the west, while occasionally publishing massacre claims, clearly thought the claims exaggerated greatly and tended to contradict themselves in their statements. For example the allegedly well informed leftist Jewish “Bund,” in its publication *The Ghetto Speaks* for October 1943, spoke of the “struggle linking the Polish and Jewish masses.” In their opinion, too, the murdered Jews were still there. However even apart from such specific incidents, it is admitted that even after the Allied declaration of 17 December 1942, the first official claim of “extermination,” “there was no forceful, unequivocal response by American Jewry, including the JDC.” As a rule, “the Jews themselves did not really press very hard for rescue, and their propaganda for Palestine often seemed stronger than their concern for immediate steps to save their brethren.” [27]

The historical record thus shows that, apart from their occasional public claims of “extermination,” the Jewish bodies outside occupied Europe conducted themselves as if there were no exterminations, as is most clearly shown by their failure to undertake to warn the European Jews, and by the nature of their real efforts (e.g. in connection with Palestine).

Allied governments and their officials did not act as though they believed the extermination claims, and their intelligence services never produced any information corroborative of the claims

In connection with the actions of Allied governments and their officials we can say that (a) the declarations of the governments, in relation to “extermination,” were inconsistent, equivocal, and unconvincingly timed, (b) no concrete measures were taken to interfere with deportations of Jews or with whatever was happening in the camps and c) incidents involving leading officials show that they did not believe the claims.

Among relevant declarations of governments, perhaps the best known is the Allied declaration of 17 December 1942; this was unequivocally worded although very much lacking in specific details. However it seems unconvincingly timed. According to the legend exterminations outside Russia are supposed to have been in progress for almost a year. Moreover this date also marked the first unequivocal Soviet charge of “extermination,” although such a program was allegedly in operation there since June 1941. This makes the belated Soviet statement particularly incredible, as “there is every reason to assume that the Soviet authorities were from the beginning well informed about all important events in the occupied (Soviet) territories.” [28]

On the other hand the Allied “War Crimes Declaration” of 1 November 1943, condemning German atrocities, failed to mention Jews. During the drafting of the declaration, the British Foreign Office had deleted references to “gas chambers because the evidence was untrustworthy.” [29]

In connection with Auschwitz, there was on 10 October 1944 a broadcast from London and Washington charging the Germans with “*plans* (for the) mass execution of the people in the concentration camps” Auschwitz and Birkenau (my emphasis). The German Telegraph Service replied immediately that “these reports are false from beginning to end.” [30] The first high level Auschwitz claim by the Allies that resembled the legend of today came in late November 1944, after the claimed termination of the “exterminations,” in the form of the publication of the document I have called the “WRB Report” (as it was published by the War Refugee Board). [31] The Russians captured Auschwitz on 27 January 1945 and did not open it for inspection, even after curiosity was expressed, and even after the sensational publicity given to the captures of Belsen and Buchenwald gave the Soviets a motive to chime in. Instead the Russians merely declared in late April 1945 that 4,000,000 had been killed at Auschwitz, and on 7 May 1945 issued a more detailed “report.” [32]

That the Allies undertook no concrete measure to warn the Jews in Europe or to interfere with the deportation or whatever was happening in the German camps is well known. This is most strikingly illustrated by the brief and mostly confidential controversy over bombing Auschwitz for the purpose of stopping exterminations there. Chaim Weizmann had proposed such measures in the summer of 1944 (somewhat half-heartedly, it appears). The strong impression gained is that the British and Americans, while pretending to consider Weizmann's proposal seriously, were just engaged in verbal games. For example on 7 July 1944 Anthony Eden asked the Air Ministry to respond on the feasibility of the proposal. A response to Weizmann took a while; on 1 September 1944 Richard Law of the Foreign Office wrote Weizmann "that in view of the very great technical difficulties involved, we have no option but to refrain from pursuing the proposal in present circumstances." This was despite the fact that at the time Weizmann's proposals were allegedly being considered, the air forces were planning the bombing of Auschwitz as one of many oil targets, and bombed Auschwitz on 20 August 1944 and several times thereafter on those grounds. The obvious suggestion is that the Auschwitz claims were not taken seriously, and the suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the supposedly crucial "information" of what became the "WRB Report" was received in London and Washington in July 1944 but simply filed away by both Governments "until resurrected three and half months later." [33]

Incidents involving leading officials, which show that they did not believe the claims, are numerous. The "close association between the Jewish community and the Roosevelt Administration" is well known. In September 1942 this [34]

Administration was reluctant to accept the reports of murder centers and discounted the idea of an organized attempt to liquidate the Jews. Roosevelt explained the deportations to Frankfurter; the deported Jews were simply being employed on the Soviet frontier to build fortifications.

It should be assumed that Roosevelt based his remarks to Justice Frankfurter on information provided by his intelligence services. Frankfurter must have been convinced, for when Jan Karski (above) later reached Washington to tell his tales, Frankfurter told Karski "that he could not believe him." [35]

When the Auschwitz claims reached Washington, involved officials at the State Department privately commented that "Stuff like this has been coming from Bern ever since 1942 ... Don't forget, this is a Jew telling about the Jews ... This is just a campaign by that Jew Morgenthau and his Jewish assistants." [36]

In Britain we find a comparable situation. In September 1942 Churchill spoke in Commons condemning "the mass deportation of Jews from France, with the pitiful horrors attendant upon the calculated and final scattering of families." He said nothing about "extermination." In the Foreign Office the extermination claims were generally not believed, and in the Colonial Office one official called them "Jewish Agency sob-stuff." [37]

In November 1942 Edward Benes, exiled President of Czechoslovakia in London, who was well informed on events in his homeland, wrote to the WJC that the claims coming from Riegner in Switzerland were false and that the Germans had no plans to exterminate the Jews. [38] The Swiss Government considered the Allied Declaration of 17 December 1942 "foreign rumor propaganda of the worst type." [39]

Of great importance to our subject is what Allied intelligence had to say on these matters. After quite a few years of living with the literature of this subject, I have not encountered an instance of corroboration of "extermination" by any wartime intelligence source. What we have from in-

telligence sources militates strongly against the legend. For example on 27 August 1943 “William Cavendish-Bentinck, Chairman of the joint Intelligence Committee (Britain), whose task it was to evaluate the truth or falsehood of all such reports from Nazi Europe,” declared confidentially that the stories being circulated “tend to exaggerate German atrocities in order to stoke us up.” [40]

A U.S. counterpart, John Beaty, one of the two editors of the daily secret “G-2 Report,” which was issued each noon to give persons in high places the world picture as it existed four hours earlier, ridiculed the six million legend in a book published in the Fifties. [41]

The only really important data that we have from an intelligence source are the Auschwitz aerial reconnaissance photographs that were published by two CIA photo-interpreters in 1979. Many of the photographs examined were taken in the spring of 1944 when, according to the legend, about 10,000 Hungarian Jews entered the camp every day to be killed. Since it must be conceded that the crematoria at Auschwitz did not have such a massive capacity, the legend claims that “corpses were burned day and night” out-of-doors. [42] No evidence of this is to be found in the photographs and the photo-interpreters remark that even the crematoria chimneys appear inactive. [43]

Thus the Allies also did not take the extermination claims seriously enough to give them more than occasional lip service.

The Vatican did not believe the extermination claims

It is agreed that the far-flung nature of the operations of the Catholic Church guaranteed that the Vatican would have known what was happening to the Jews. [44] Nevertheless no unequivocal condemnation of exterminations of Jews ever came from the Vatican even after the Germans had been driven out of Rome or even after Germany’s defeat. This is despite strong pressures put on the Vatican, by the Allies, to issue such a declaration.

There was an equivocal statement in the Pope’s Christmas message of 1942, but it was issued only after the British had strongly suggested that the issuance of such a statement might help to dissuade the Allies from bombing Rome. However the Pope made it clear to the Allies, even as his declaration was issued, that he did not believe the stories: “he felt that there had been some exaggeration for the purposes of propaganda.” [45]

That Vatican spokesmen of today support the legend in their public statements is irrelevant to the historical point.

The actions and reports of the International Red Cross [IRC] do not harmonize with the extermination claims

As with the Vatican, the statements of IRC spokesmen of today do support the legend, but that is irrelevant to the historical point. Also, general editorial remarks in books of documents published by the IRC right after the war do harmonize with the legend. However, all the historian should be interested in are the actual content of the reports and activities of the IRC during the war.

That the actions and reports of the IRC do not harmonize with the legend was discussed at length in my book and it seems pointless to repeat the material here. [46] A couple more points I noticed recently are worth mentioning.

On 14 April 1943, the IRC made it clear that it considered Auschwitz a labor camp for deportees, to whom parcels could be sent. [47]

There were two highly publicized visits of the IRC to Theresienstadt, the Jewish settlement in Czechoslovakia. The IRC reports were relatively favorable in both cases. What is seldom noted is that the IRC delegate in the second visit in the spring of 1945 was George Dunant, who described Theresienstadt “as an experiment by certain leaders of the Reich, who were apparently less hostile to the Jews than those responsible for the racial policy of the German Government.” Since Dunant was guided around Theresienstadt by Adolf Eichmann, he must have known that Theresienstadt was an operation of Himmler’s SS. Dunant, moreover, was evidently in close contact with Jewish representatives. For example early in 1945 he went to Bratislava, partly at the urging of Saly Mayer, in order to supply hiding Jews with funds. [48]

The German documents speak not of extermination, but basically of a program of expulsion and resettlement in the east. There is nothing about 'gas chambers' in the concentration camp or other German records

That the German documents do not speak of extermination is well known. For example, there exists no written order of Hitler to kill the Jews. [49] The documents speak of the “Final Solution” as the ultimate expulsion of all Jews from Europe and of a wartime process of resettling Jews in the occupied east. [50]

The defenders of the legend of course claim that the Germans merely exercised commonplace circumspection and evasion regarding what they committed to writing. This excuse fails on the grounds that such attempts at concealment would make sense only in regard to something it was possible to conceal. It would have been obvious that the physical extermination of Europe’s Jews, whatever the outcome of the war, would not have remained secret. Indeed for reasons discussed above it would have become widely known while it was happening. Even if we hypothesize incredible stupidity of the Germans on this point, we surely must grant that they were aware of the atrocity claims being made in the Allied countries and would have seen that documentary masquerade was of no avail..

There is also nothing about “gas chambers,” in the sense of the legend, in the German documents. What the legend does at this point is produce the insecticide Zyklon B or other fumigation means, show us pictures of quite ordinary looking showers (alleging extraordinary concealed features), make references to the use of exhausts of diesel engines (apparently unconscious that the exhaust of a diesel is mainly carbon dioxide, not carbon monoxide), or play games with the concept of a “gas oven” (crematoria ovens, like most kitchen ovens, are “gas ovens” and the crematoria in the German camps were no exception).

All of this is so idiotic as to be torturing to discuss further. There is also no record of the design and construction of gas chambers. On the basis of my engineering experiences, it seems quite out of the question to suppress all normal historical records of engineering projects of the scope that could have produced the great “gas chambers.” Documents must not only be produced, but also distributed to the great number of individuals charged with specific details; there is no other way to achieve coordination. Even if major documents are closely controlled (as is supposed to happen with “classified” material in the USA) the various individuals would later be able, one way or another, to supply details that, taken together, would cohere credibly. We do not have such coherence with the “Holocaust.” Indeed we have incoherence at not one but two levels. On one level we have the mutual incoherence, in relation to “gas chambers,” of the authentic records dealing with crematoria and disinfection measures. On another level this attempt on the part of

the hoaxers to supply specific technical details does not cohere with the feature of the legend according to which the “gas chambers” were improvised in a slapdash fashion by local, non-technical German personnel. [51]

It is of interest that two of Heinrich Himmler’s closest aides, SS Generals Gottlob Berger and Karl Wolff, both testified that they had known nothing of an extermination program during the war. It is of greater interest that toward the end of the war Himmler told a representative of the WJC that [52]

In order to put a stop to the epidemics, we were forced to burn the bodies of incalculable numbers of people who had been destroyed by disease. We were therefore forced to build crematoria, and on this account they are knotting a noose for us.

Are we to believe that the essential agreement between this attempt at self exculpation on the part of Himmler, on the one hand, and on the other hand the picture formed by the documents that Himmler’s enemies assembled in the three year period after his death, was either accidental or arranged by Himmler through superhuman diligence and prescience? Are we to believe likewise of the essential agreement between the German documents on Jewish policy, and the real wartime behavior of Germany’s enemies?

The German resistance to Hitler, including the substantial part that was lodged in German military intelligence, was not cognizant in any way of a program of exterminating Jews

Part of the German resistance was of course opposed to the Hitler regime for reasons related to its anti-Jewish stance. Moreover the Abwehr, German military intelligence, was headed until 1944 by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, a conscious traitor. Next in command in the Abwehr was Hans Oster, who handled financial and administrative matters and kept the central list of agents. Both Oster and one of his subordinates, Hans von Dohnanyi, an “Aryanized” part Jew, made it their “business to deal with an kinds of operations unconnected with their immediate tasks.” Among these operations were involvement in the anti-Hitler opposition and illegal assistance to various Jews. Both were executed for participation in the abortive coup of 20 July 1944. [53]

In the various accounts of the activities of the anti-Hitler resistance in Germany, for example *The German Opposition to Hitler* by Hans Rothfels, there is no evidence that this opposition was in any way cognizant of a program of exterminating the Jews or passed any such information on to the Allies. If there had been knowledge of such a program, it is a certainty that the information would have been passed on since the anti-Hitler opposition was in contact with the Allies and attempted, without success, to get promises of some sort of Allied support in the event they succeeded in removing Hitler. [54]

Even if we grant the possibility that some Germans involved in the anti-Hitler opposition could have been ignorant of a program of physical extermination of the Jews, even if one had existed, are we to believe this possible of high officials of the Abwehr?

This concludes the discussion of the “eight simple observations ... which establish the non-historicity of ... a program of mass physical extermination of Europe’s Jews.” The allegation fails every relevant historical test, and entails a level of audacity or “chutzpah” that would have staggered the imagination before the war. It is demanded that we believe that these “events continental in geographical scope, of three years in temporal scope, and of several million in scope of victims,” all transpired without one relevant party being cognizant of them. It is like telling me that,

while I saw no elephant when I looked in my basement, he was there anyway. Also while I was sitting in my living room I did not notice that the elephant managed to come upstairs and romp about a while, relevant stairways, door openings, and floors having suddenly miraculously become compatible with such activities. Then the elephant dashed outside into a busy mid-day shopping district, and then walked several miles back to the zoo, but nobody noticed.

Rassinier said somewhere, in connection with the extermination claim, “this is not serious.” I am not in accord with that evaluation. This is mad. However that is not the point of this discussion. The point is that these observations can be considered to lie “figuratively before our very noses” because most have been made in books published recently, not by revisionists, but by the defenders of the legend, and the minority that were not made can be readily inferred from those books anyway. On account of the “Holocaustomania” of the past several years, their existence and general contents have been widely publicized. Perhaps these books have not served up the observations as succinctly and forthrightly as I have, but they have served them up. It would therefore be a case of myopia, of a sort posterity will find it hard to understand if, while pursuing “Holocaust” controversy, we allow ourselves to get so wrapped up with the little details that the defenders of the legend will raise that we allow ourselves to be diverted from taking into account the extraordinarily simple historical observations which really settle beyond doubt any question of the existence of a program of physical extermination of the Jews of Europe.

Concluding Remarks

In controversies to come the partisans of the received legend will try mightily to confuse and complicate the subject with all the tricks that we can anticipate and perhaps then some. We have the precedent of the Donation controversy showing that simple observations that establish the wildly ahistorical nature of a reigning legend can get smothered. Thus my most important advice to those who enter the controversy is that they not lose sight of the fact that the real bone of contention, the extermination allegation, has been laid to rest beyond peradventure by ordinary historical analysis.

It follows that the basic tactic of the defenders of the legend, in controversies to come, will be to attempt to make claims that cannot be tested by the normal method of placing them as hypotheses in appropriate historical context and seeing if they cohere. That this process is under way can be seen from the remarkable New Statesman article of Gitta Sereny that is discussed above. She makes it clear that she would rather discuss places like Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka rather than Auschwitz.

There are good reasons for this. Sereny puts it this way: “Auschwitz ... combined enormous labour installations and nearby facilities for extermination. Auschwitz, because so many people survived it, has added most to our knowledge, but also most of our confusion as between the two types of camps.”

There is a valid distinction here. Auschwitz was a huge, multifaceted operation, while the other alleged extermination camps were obscure facilities that functioned only for short times for the virtually exclusive purpose of serving as transit camps for Jews. Thus we have a great deal of information about Auschwitz but much less about the others. For example there probably do not exist relevant aerial reconnaissance photographs of the others, nor were there any western prisoners of war at the others, nor were hundreds of ordinary civilians employed at the others, nor did inmates at the others come into contact with diverse people over a large territory, nor was there apparently any IRC cognizance of the others, nor were there nearly as many transports of west European Jews to the others (there were transports of Dutch Jews to Sobibor).

The consequence is that it is much easier to disprove the legend as it applies to Auschwitz than as it applies to the others, when we for the sake of discussion forego the general historical arguments against “extermination.” That is really why the defenders of the legend would rather discuss Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka. There is much less directly contradicting their supposed “evidence,” which consists mainly of postwar testimony. That postwar testimony was mostly given before German courts and under the present legal and political conditions in Germany, revisionists cannot examine it anyway. [55] That is neat.

However the defenders of the legend are in an impossible position here. They cannot concede Auschwitz without conceding the whole issue, for the reason that there is no sort of evidence they offer for the others that is not also offered for Auschwitz. If the “confession” of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss is fanciful, [56] then who will believe the “confession” of Treblinka commandant Franz Stangl? If the Auschwitz accounts of Rudolf Vrba and Miklos Nyiszli are not credible, and their books sick jokes, then who will believe the equally sick Treblinka accounts of Jankiel Wiernik and other obscure people? [57] If the Nuremberg and postwar German trials have not established the truth about Auschwitz, then who will believe that they have established the truth about Treblinka? If the large numbers of Jews admittedly sent to Auschwitz were not killed there, then who will believe that the large numbers of Jews sent to Treblinka were killed at that camp? My advice, then, to those who would engage in controversy is to not permit the defenders of the legend to get away with ignoring Auschwitz. The fact is that it is very easy to bring down the legend as it applies to Auschwitz and Auschwitz in turn, on account of the nature of the evidence involved, brings down the rest of the legend with it.

There is another type of argument resorted to by the defenders of the legend. It was very recently offered by Hilberg in the remarkable interview referred to above, which I recommend to those who want to get a good idea of the contemporary line:[4]

... the critics (i.e. the revisionists) do not account for a quite simple fact: what then became of the people who were deported? The deportation was not a secret event. It was announced. Several million people were displaced to definite places. Where are those people? They are not hidden in China!

It may seem incredible, at a time when scarcely a day goes by that the press does not discover some hitherto obscure Jew who was deported from his home but survived, at a time when events in the Middle East cannot fail to remind people of the great Jewish exodus from Europe after the war (and even during it), and at a time when the revisionist literature is recalling the various ways Jews were moved around during and after the war, [58] that Hilberg would say such a thing. There seems to be no difficulty in accounting for the Jews. A reader’s first impulse might be to assume that Hilberg has been misquoted.

However while he does not elaborate on the point, I can think of two interpretations of Hilberg’s remarks. He has an argument here, but as usual its plausibility is only illusory and depends on myopia and a loss of context and perspective.

What Hilberg probably has in mind is the fact that, while there is available a great deal of documentation that proves that Jews were deported to the camps in Poland, such as Auschwitz, Treblinka, etc., there is not available comparable documentation that proves that they proceeded on through those camps to points further east. At least, I have not seen such German records. I would be astonished to see them today. Admitted that the legend was thrown together in a sloppy fashion, mainly because some continuity with wartime propaganda was desired, it is nevertheless the case that the people who came into control of the German documents after the war, and who

put selections of them into evidence at the Nuremberg trials, were not operating under such handicaps. They could suppress very effectively.

One must certainly note who “the people who came into control of the German documents” were. There are many ways to make it clear by historical-political argument or by specific example. My favorite among the latter is that the David Marcus who was prominent in making the U.S. occupation policy in Germany during and immediately after the war, and who headed the War Crimes Branch in Washington in 1946-1947, was the same David Marcus who commanded the Jewish forces in Palestine in the first (1948) war with the Arabs. One could go on. [59]

Hilberg’s point would have some weight if we were talking about virgin historical records but, what he is in effect saying (if I interpret him correctly) is that we should trust the architects of the Nuremberg trials, which presupposes more than he is trying to prove (I presume he would want to argue only that these architects were right in this instance). The attempt to drop context at this point stands logic on its head. All that is being noted is that the hoaxers have not handed over the materials that directly expose their hoax.

Hilberg might argue that such wholesale suppression is not possible and that traces of deportation of Jews further east would be left. That is true; moreover, there are such traces and scraps. If this is indeed Hilberg’s point, then he ought to answer the following question. Where are the German records that deal with the deportations to and administration of the settlement (not concentration camp) near Riga that is described in Jeanette Wolf’s article in Boehm’s book? I do not know. I am not saying that they will never turn up, but I know that they were not available to those who looked for such things at the Nuremberg trials. [60]

There is a second possible interpretation of Hilberg’s remark. While little weight can be given to postwar Jewish population figures claimed for eastern Europe, it must be conceded that the number of Jews in postwar Poland is only some fraction of the very large number (perhaps 3 million) that lived in prewar Poland (not quite the same territory). This is not because we must believe population figures that are offered. It is because Poland, unlike the Soviet Union, is not a large country and such large communities of Jews would certainly have been noticed if they were still there.

Thus, if one drops all historical context the argument seems simple. They are not in this territory we today call Poland; therefore they were killed. To those familiar with fairly commonplace history the conclusion is as much a non sequitur as would be the observation that since there were many millions of Germans and ethnic Germans living east of the Oder-Neisse before the war, and today almost none, then they were all killed. In fact the period was one of massive population movements, and the Jews were no exception. The Soviets deported many into the interior of the Soviet Union and in the period after the war the Polish Jews pouring into west Germany to proceed on to the U.S.A., Palestine — and other destinations became a widely publicized problem. [61]

I have little more advice at this time on prosecuting “Holocaust” controversy, and I cannot anticipate every trick. I cannot even promise that the Sereny and Hilberg expositions discussed here will be representative of what the reader might encounter as argument in support of the legend. Even today one runs into the argument that the American and British troops who captured Belsen, Buchenwald and Dachau “saw it with their own eyes.” They saw dead bodies, and it has been relatively easily available knowledge since 1945 that the deaths were due to the privations entailed in Germany’s collapse, but the reigning confusion is so great that we still hear the argument anyway. All I can add is that one should keep current with the revisionist literature and the

more important pieces of literature in support of the legend and, in controversy, be mindful above all of preserving historical context and perspective and not getting trapped with myopic historical vision.

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- Hans Rothfels, *The German Opposition to Hitler*, Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1962.
- Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness*, McGraw-Hill, NY, 1974.
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Notes

1. ♪ *Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 2, no. 2, Summer 1980, 153ff. The “Dr.” before my signature was added by the editor. I never sign that way.
2. ♪ *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (2 Sep 79), E2.
3. ♪ e.g. *The Spotlight* (26 Jul 82), 10f.
4. ♪ *Le Nouvel Observateur* (3-9 Jul 82), 70+.
5. ♪ *Chicago Tribune* (5 Aug 82), section 1, 5.
6. ♪ e.g. Butz, 75-86, 146f.
7. ♪ Gilbert, 340.
8. ♪ Laqueur, 22-25.
9. ♪ Butz, 87f, 92ff.
10. ♪ Bauer, 21f.
11. ♪ Bauer, Ch. 8.

12. ↵ Bauer, Ch. 9, 246, 264, 272, 274, 333, 366f, 371f.
13. ↵ Laqueur, 4, 170f, 188.
14. ↵ Gilbert, 31, 39f, 44, 170.
15. ↵ Gilbert, 93ff-, Laqueur, 231.
16. ↵ Laqueur, Appendix 5.
17. ↵ *Washington Post* (28 Oct 81), A1; *Los Angeles Times* (29 Oct 81), pt. 1, 20.
18. ↵ See e.g. his contribution to the booklet *Dimensions of the Holocaust*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1977. This is the published version of a lecture Wiesel gave at Northwestern in the spring of 1977. An alternative is his article in the London *Jewish Chronicle* (4 Nov 77).
19. ↵ Bauer, 264, 2719 274, 371; Gilbert, 121; Butz, 290.
20. ↵ Bauer, 56, 58; Butz, 109.
21. ↵ Gilbert, 204f.
22. ↵ Bauer, 325fff, Gilbert, 121.
23. ↵ Dawidowicz (1975), *xvii*; (1981), 125.
24. ↵ Gilbert, 143.
25. ↵ Bauer, 329-334.
26. ↵ Gilbert, 181.
27. ↵ Laqueur, 183-186; Bauer, 188-193, 403.
28. ↵ Butz, 77, 202; Laqueur, 68-72.
29. ↵ Laqueur, 121.
30. ↵ Gilbert, 325.
31. ↵ Butz, 89.
32. ↵ Gilbert, 337f.
33. ↵ Gilbert, 267-273, 2909 299-311, 341.
34. ↵ Feingold, 9, 170; Laqueur, 94.
35. ↵ Laqueur,3.
36. ↵ DuBois, 184, 188; Butz, 67.
37. ↵ Gilbert, 68, 95f, 99.
38. ↵ Laqueur, 162ff.
39. ↵ Bauer, 229.
40. ↵ Laqueur, 83, 86; Gilbert, 150.
41. ↵ *Iron Curtain Over America*, available from IHR.
42. ↵ Butz, 149f, Gilbert, 231f.
43. ↵ Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier, "The Holocaust Revisited: a Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex," presumably still available from the Public Affairs Office; Central Intelligence Agency; Washington, DC 20505.
44. ↵ Laqueur, 55-58.
45. ↵ Butz, Appendix E; Gilbert, 104f.
46. ↵ Butz, 76, 133-145.
47. ↵ Gilbert, 129.
48. ↵ Bauer, 430f.
49. ↵ Laqueur, 152.
50. ↵ e.g. Butz, 205-212.

51. ☞ Butz, 101-108, 116, 120ff.
52. ☞ Butz, 194, 240; Laqueur, 18.
53. ☞ Laqueur, Appendix 1. The cases of the politician-journalist Lemmer and the economist Sommer, who are said to have passed information about exterminations to Swiss contacts, are of dubious import. Lemmer was not associated with the Abwehr and, as Laqueur notes, there is nothing in his autobiography about passing on information about extermination. Sommer was an army liason officer between the General Staff and the Abwehr and also travelled to Switzerland in connection with trade relations. One can infer from Gilbert, pp. 56ff, that Sommer's association with a summer 1942 report that "camps are being prepared where all the Jews of Europe and a great part of the Russian prisoners-of-war will be exterminated by gas" has been claimed not by Sommer, who died in 1965, but by two Jewish intermediaries. It is also worth noting that neither Lemmer nor Sommer appear to have been seriously involved with the anti-Hitler opposition; both survived the war.
54. ☞ Rothfels, 125-151.
55. ☞ Under German law the records of a trial are not open to the public, Exceptions are granted to those who are somehow involved personally in the case or to those considered to have a scholarly interest in aspects of the trial. Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, retired German judge and author of *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, was denied permission to consult trials testimonies. See his pp. 371fff. Dr. Robert Faurisson interprets remarks, made in a letter by justice Ministry official Dr. Hans de With to *Die Realschule* (Oct 81), as suggesting that if Faurisson sets foot in West Germany he will be arrested and sent back to France.
56. ☞ Butz, Ch. 4. For the final solution of the Höss confession question, see Faurisson's discussions in *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Summer 1980), 103+; vol. 2, no. 4 (Winter 1981), 311+, 319+.
57. ☞ Donat.
58. ☞ Butz, Ch. 7.
59. ☞ Butz, 20-30.
60. ☞ Butz, 219f.
61. ☞ Butz, 14-17, 217-239.

Subhas Chandra Bose, The Indian National Army, and The War of India's Liberation

RANJAN BORRA

India's Army of Liberation in the West

The arrival of Subhas Chandra Bose in Germany in 1941 (during the turbulent period of World War II) and his anti-British activities in that country in co-operation with the German government, culminated in the formation of an Indian legion. This marks perhaps the most significant event in the annals of India's fight for independence. This event not only can be regarded as a historical link-up with what Bose himself chose to describe as "The Great Revolution of 1857," and which (in his words) "has been incorrectly called by English historians 'the Sepoy Mutiny,' but which is regarded by the Indian people as the First War of Independence." ^[1] It also represents the historical fact that, by that time persuasive methods conducted through a non-violent struggle under the leadership of Gandhi, had failed. An armed assault on the citadel of the British Empire in India was the only alternative left to deliver the country from bondage. While other leaders of the Indian National Congress fell short of realizing this fact and thus betrayed a lack of pragmatic approach to the turn of world events that provided India with a golden opportunity to strike at the British by a force of arms, Bose rose to the needs of the hour and was quick to seize that opportunity.

While Bose's compatriots in India remained totally wedded to an ideological creed (non-violence), which at that time could only serve the British and postpone the advent of independence, and while their ideological interpretations of the new revolutionary regimes in Europe—again largely influenced by British propaganda—prevented them from even harboring any thought of seeking their alliance and co-operation in the struggle against a common enemy, Subhas Chandra Bose alone had the courage to take the great plunge, thus risking his own life and reputation, solely in the interest and cause of his country. In January 1941, while under both house arrest, and strict British surveillance, he escaped. After an arduous trek through the rugged terrains of several countries, with an Italian passport under the assumed name of Orlando Mazzota — (in which he was aided by underground revolutionaries and foreign diplomatic agents) — Bose appeared in Berlin, via Moscow, on 28 March 1941.

Bose was welcome in Germany, although the news of his arrival there was kept a secret for some time for political reasons. The German Foreign Office, which was assigned the primary responsibility of dealing with Bose and taking care of him, had been well informed of the background and political status of the Indian leader through its pre-war Consulate-General at Calcutta and also by its representative in Kabul. Bose himself, naturally some what impatient for getting into action soon after his arrival in Berlin, submitted a memorandum to the German government on 9 April 1941 which outlined a plan for co-operation between the Axis powers and India. Among other things, it called for the setting up of a "Free India Government" in Europe, preferably in Berlin; establishment of a Free India broadcasting station calling upon the Indian people to assert

their independence and rise up in revolt against the British authorities; underground work in Afghanistan (Kabul) involving independent tribal territories lying between Afghanistan and India and within India itself for fostering and aiding the revolution; provision of finances by Germany in the form of a loan to the Free India government-in-exile; and deployment of German military contingents to smash the British army in India. In a supplementary memorandum bearing the same date, Bose requested that an early pronouncement be made regarding the freedom of India and the Arab countries. [2] It is significant to note that the memorandum did not mention the need for formation of an Indian legion. Evidently the idea of recruiting the Indian prisoners of war for the purpose of establishing a nucleus of an Indian national army did not occur to him during his early days in Berlin.

At that time the German government was in the process of formulating its own plan for dealing with Subhas Chandra Bose in the best possible manner. The Foreign Office felt itself inadequate to discharge this awesome responsibility without referring the whole matter to Hitler. While this issue was being considered at the highest level of the government, Bose's own requests as set forth in the submitted memorandum, made it far too complicated and involved to be resolved at an early date. There was a long wait for Bose, during which period he often tended to become frustrated. Nevertheless, through several sympathetic officers of the Foreign Office, he continued to press his requests and put forth new ideas.

Finally, after months of waiting and many moments of disappointment often bordering on despair for Bose, Germany agreed to give him unconditional and all-out help. The two immediate results of this decision were the establishment of a Free India Center and inauguration of a Free India Radio, both beginning their operations in November 1941. These two organizations played vital and significant roles in projecting Bose's increasing activities in Germany, but a detailed account of their operation lies outside the purview of this paper. It should suffice to say that the German government put at Bose's disposal adequate funds to run these two organizations, and he was allowed complete freedom to run them the way he liked at his own discretion.

In its first official meeting on 2 November 1941, the Free India Center adopted four historical resolutions that would serve as guidelines for the entire movement in subsequent months and years in Europe and Asia. First, Jai Hind or Victory to India, would be the official form of salutation; secondly, Nobel laureate poet Rabindranath Tagore's famous patriotic song Jana Gana Mana was to be the national anthem for the free India Bose was fighting for; thirdly, in a multi-lingual state like India, the most widely-spoken language, Hindustani, was to be the national language; and fourthly, Subhas Chandra Bose would hereafter be known and addressed as Netaji, the Indian equivalent of the "leader" or the "Führer." In November 1941, Azad Hind Radio (or the Free India Radio) opened its program with an announcing speech by Netaji himself, which, in fact, was a disclosure of his identity that had been kept officially secret for so long. The radio programs were broadcast in several Indian languages on a regular basis.

During this long period of "hibernation," the period between Netaji's arrival in Berlin and the beginning of operations of the two organizations, it can be reasonably assumed that the idea of forming an Indian legion that could be developed into an Indian Army of Liberation in the West, crossed Bose's mind. He might even have discussed this matter with his colleagues-the Indian compatriots in Germany who had joined him-as to how best to implement the idea. However, as mentioned earlier, his first memorandum submitted to the German Government did not include any such plan. According to N.G. Ganpuley, who was his associate in Berlin,

Netaji himself, when he left India, could not have, by any stretch of imagination, thought of forming a national army unit outside the country, and therefore he had no

definite plans chalked out for its realization. Even while in Berlin, he could not think of it during the first few months of his stay there. [3]

When and how, therefore, did he come to conceive such a plan? Mr. Ganpuley relates an interesting episode in this regard. To quote again from his book:

It was all due to a brain wave of Netaji which started working by a simple incident. He read one day about some half a dozen Indian prisoners-of-war who were brought to Berlin by the Radio Department to listen to the BBC and other stations which sent out their programmes in Hindustani. He saw them there going about, not as free Indians, but as prisoners-of-war. They were brought to the Radio Office every day to listen to and translate the Hindustani programmes, and were sent back to their quarters escorted by a sentry ... After he had a talk with them about war, about their captivity and their present life, his active mind started working... He pondered over it for some time and decided to form a small national military unit ... No sooner was this decision taken by him ... he started negotiating with that section of the German Foreign Office with which he was in constant touch. He put before them his plans for training Indian youths from the prisoners' camps for a national militia. [4]

Although somewhat skeptical and hesitant at the beginning, the German response to the plans was encouraging. It was a time psychologically well-chosen by Netaji. The allied forces had been defeated on the Continent, and the Wehrmacht was marching ahead successfully in the Soviet Union. It was also a historical coincidence that a large number of British Indian prisoners-of-war, captured during Rommel's blitzkrieg in North Africa, lay in German hands. Netaji's first idea was to form small parachute parties to spread propaganda in, and transmit intelligence from, the North-West Frontier in India. The reaction of some selected prisoners who were brought to Berlin from the camp of Lamsdorf in Germany and Cyrenaica was so encouraging that he asked for all Indian prisoners held in North Africa to be brought over to Germany at once. The Germans complied with this request, and the prisoners began to be concentrated at Annaburg camp near Dresden. The recruitment efforts, however, at the onset met with some opposition from the prisoners, who evidently had misgivings about Netaji's intentions and motivations. In this regard Hugh Toye writes:

When Bose himself visited the camp in December there was still marked hostility. His speech was interrupted, and much of what he had to say went unheard. But private interviews were more encouraging; the men's questions showed interest-what rank would they receive? What credit would be given for Indian Army seniority? How would the Legionary stand in relation to the German soldier? Bose refused to bargain, and some who might have been influential recruits were turned away. On the other hand, many of the men paid him homage as a distinguished Indian, several professed themselves ready to join the Legion unconditionally. [5]

Netaji sought and got agreement from the Germans that the Wehrmacht would train the Indians in the strictest military discipline, and they were to be trained in all branches of infantry in using weapons and motorized units the same way a German formation is trained; the Indian legionaries were not to be mixed up with any of the German formations; that they were not to be sent to any front other than in India for fighting against the British, but would be allowed to fight in self defense at any other place if surprised by any enemy formation; that in all other respects the Legion members would enjoy the same facilities and amenities regarding pay, clothing, food, leave, etc., as a German unit. By December 1941 all arrangements were complete and the next important task was to persuade men to come forward and form the nucleus. It appeared that the POWs

needed to be convinced that there were civilian Indian youth as well, studying, well placed in life and responsible to their families at home, who were ready to give up everything to join the Legion. Ten of the forty young Indians then residing in Berlin, came forward. They were quickly joined by five POWs who were already in Berlin in connection with the German radio propaganda, and the first group of fifteen people was thus formed.

On 25 December 1941 a meeting of Indian residents in Berlin was called in the office of the Free India Center, to give a send-off to the first fifteen who were to leave the following day for Frankenburg, the first training camp and headquarters for the Legion. The brief ceremony was simple and solemn. Netaji blessed the Legion, the first of its kind in the history of the struggle for Indian independence. He christened it Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army). The Indian Army of Liberation in the West thus had a humble and modest birth.

The strength of the Legion grew steadily, as the task of recruitment continued unabated. Once trained to a certain level and discipline, the members of the first batch were assigned the additional responsibility of visiting the Annaberg camp and aiding in the recruitment process. While the Legion was sent to Frankenburg in Saxony, another group was taken to Meseritz in Brandenburg to be trained in tactical warfare. Abid Hasan and N.G. Swamy, the two original recruiters whom Netaji had sent to the Annaberg camp in 1941, had become de-facto foundermembers of the Legion at Frankenburg and the irregular Company at Meseritz respectively. At Meseritz, the Indians were placed under the command of Hauptmarm Harbig, whose first object was to make them forget that they had been prisoners.

There were Tajiks, Uzbeks and Persians as well under training for operational roles similar to that envisaged for the Indians. In due course the trainees went on to tactical operational training, such as wireless operating, demolitions and riding, and also undertook special mountain and parachute courses. According to Toye, "Morale, discipline and Indo-German relations were excellent, the German officers first-rate." [6]

Netaji visited the camps from time to time and watched progress of the trainees. Since he himself was inclined toward military training and discipline, he followed the German training methods with great interest. It is understood that while in Germany Netaji himself underwent the rigors of such training, although authoritative documents on this subject are yet to be located by this writer. While in India, he was a member of the University Training Corps at school and commanded the volunteers at an annual session of the Indian National Congress, but he never had a formal military education prior to his arrival in Germany in 1941. As Joyce Lebra writes: "Though Bose was without any previous military experience, he got his training and discipline German-style, along with the soldiers of the Indian Legion." [7] To him, formation of a legion was more positive, more nationalistic and more gratifying than mere radio propaganda. Unlike his ex-compatriots in the Indian National Congress, including Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, he would rather seek confrontation with the British-with an army-than to work out a compromise with them on a conference table, on the issue of India's freedom. A firm believer in discipline and organization, nothing perhaps could be more satisfying to him than to see his men being trained by the German Command, with officers of the highest calibre. In four months, the number of trainees rose to three hundred. In another six months a further three hundred were added. By December 1942, exactly a year after the recruitment of the Legion was inaugurated, it attained the strength of four battalions. At the beginning of 1943 the Legion would be 2000 strong, well on its way up to the culminating point of 3500 men. But let us step back to early 1942, almost a year after Netaji's arrival in Berlin.

After the inauguration of the Free India Center, Free India Radio, and the sending of the first fifteen legionaries to the Frankenburg training camp, Netaji's activities in Germany began in full swing. His presence in Germany was not yet officially admitted—he was still being referred to as Signor Orlando Mazzota or His Excellency Mazzota—but he began to be known to more and more people in Berlin. Josef Goebbels wrote in his diary on 1 March:

We have succeeded in prevailing upon the Indian nationalist leader, Bose, to issue an imposing declaration of war against England. It will be published most prominently in the German press and commented upon. In that way we shall now begin our official fight on behalf of India, even though we don't as yet admit it openly. [8]

On 14 March, he remarked of Bose, "He is an excellent worker." [9] The fall of Singapore was a signal for Netaji to broadcast his first official speech over the Free India Radio, repeating his vow to fight British imperialism until the end. This he followed with a declaration of war against England, although at that stage such a pronouncement could only be symbolic. Netaji had not yet obtained an Axis declaration in support of the freedom of India that he pressed for in the supplement of his first memorandum to the German government. That government was of the opinion that the time was not ripe yet for such a declaration and unless a pronouncement of this nature could be supported by military action, it would not be of much value.

Meanwhile, Japan proposed a tripartite declaration on India. Encouraged by this, Bose met Mussolini in Rome on 5 May, and persuaded him to obtain such a declaration in favor of Indian independence. Mussolini telegraphed the Germans, proposing proceeding at once with the declaration. To back his new proposal Mussolini told the Germans that he had urged Bose to set up a "counter-government" and to appear more conspicuously. The German reaction, which still remained guarded, is recorded by Dr. Goebbels in his diary on 11 May:

We don't like this idea very much, since we do not think the time has yet come for such a political manoeuvre. It does appear though that the Japanese are very eager for some such step. However, emigre governments must not live too long in a vacuum. Unless they have some actuality to support them, they only exist in the realm of theory. [10]

Netaji apparently was of the opinion that a tripartite declaration on Indian independence, followed up by a government-in-exile, would give some credibility to his declaration of war on England, push over the brink the imminent revolution in India, and legitimize the Indian legion. However, Hitler held a different view. During an interview at the Führer's field headquarters on 29 May, he told Netaji that a well-equipped army of a few thousand could control millions of unarmed revolutionaries, and there could be no political change in India until an external power knocked at her door. Germany could not yet do this. To convince Netaji, he took him to a wall map, pointed to the German positions in Russia and to India. The immense distances were yet to be bridged before such a declaration could be made. The world would consider it premature, even coming from him, at this stage. Hitler was perhaps being realistic, but nevertheless it must have come as some sort of disappointment for Netaji.

In July 1942, the Germans suggested that a contingent of the Irregular Company be sent for front-line propaganda against Indian troops at El Alamein; but Rommel, who did not like battlefields turned into proving grounds for Foreign Office ideas, opposed the move. However, at the Lehrregiment manoeuvres in September, and on field exercises in October, the Indian performance won high praise. By January 1943, it was realized that maintenance of the irregulars as a separate entity was not of much practical use, and the ninety Indian men, (excepting four under

N.G. Swamy who were being trained for work within Indiaj were absorbed into the Legion. Since the supply of recruits from the Annaburg camp was fast being depleted, it was decided to hasten the shipment of prisoners of war from Italy.

According to an agreement between Italy and Germany, all Indian POWs were to be sent directly to Germany without being held in Italian camps. But, in the meanwhile, an unforeseen impediment stood in the way. A long-time Indian resident in Rome, Iqbal Shedai, formed an Indian unit under the Italians, and began broadcasting from Rome with the aid of a few Indian prisoners. It is understood that he had conferred with Netaji a few times, but obviously had no intention of co-operating with him. From radio broadcasting, he advanced into forming an Indian military unit, although it was in clear violation of the Italo-German agreement. The unit was named the Centro Militare India, but existed only from April to November 1942. During its bried period of existence, however, Shedai succeeded in diverting several hundred volunteers to Italian camps, who would normally have gone to Germany. In November the unit was three hundred and fifty strong, having been trained by Italian officers. On 9 November, after the Allied landing in North Africa, it was learnt that the men were being sent to fight in Libya, contrary to Shedai's promises. When they refused to go and mutinied, Shedai refused to intervene. Consequently, the Centro Militare India was disbanded. It was never revived, and thus a barrier that stood in Netaji's way toward recruitment was removed.

In August 1942, the Legion was moved to Koenigsbrueck, a large military training center in Saxony. This had been a regular training ground for the German infantry and motorized units for decades. Here the first contingents paraded before Netaji's eyes in October, and the growth was rapid. However, the rapid expansion of the Legion also posed the problem of finances. Hitherto, payment to soldiers was being made from the monthly grants to the Free India Center and its office. As the number of Legionaries grew, that source became insufficient. For this problem there could be but one solution: direct payment to the Legion b~ the Germans. This would mean hereafter that the Legionaries would receive promotions and precedence as soldiers of national socialist Germany, and would become, in fact, a regiment of the German army, while retaining its separate name and distinction. This was agreed upon between Netaji and the German government, necessitating the taking of a formal oath of loyalty to Adolph Hitler on the part of the Legionaries. Describing the ceremony, Hugh Toye writes:

Five hundred Legionaries were assembled. Their German commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Krappe, addressed them, and the oath was administered by German officers to six men at a time. All was done with solemnity, the soldiers touching their officer's sword as they spoke the German words: 'I swear by God this holy oath, that I will obey the leader of the German State and people, Adolph Hitler, as commander of the German Armed Forces, in the fight for freedom of India, in which fight the leader is Subhas Chandra Bose, and that as a brave soldier, I am willing to lay down my life for this oath.' Bose presented to the Legion its standard, a tricolor in the green, white and saffron of the Indian National Congress, superimposed with the figure of a springing tiger in place of the Congress spinning wheel. "Our names," he said, "will be written in gold letters in the history of free India; every martyr in this holy war will have a monument there." It was a brave, colorful show, and for Bose, a moment of pride and emotion. "I shall lead the army," he said, "when we march to India together." The Legionaries looked well in their new uniforms, the silken banner gleaming in their midst; their drill did them credit. [11]

What was Netaji's plan for leading this army to India? When the Germans launched out beyond Stalingrad into Central Asia, the Indian irregulars, trained at Messeritz, would accompany their

Tajik and Uzbek counterparts along with the German Troops. After Uzbekistan and Afghanistan were reached the Indian Company would leap ahead of the German advance to disrupt the British-Indian defenses in northwestern India. Netaji spoke of dropping parachute brigades, calling on the Indian peasantry to assist them. Through radio he issued warnings to British Indian soldiers and police to the effect that unless they assisted the liberation forces they would one day have to answer to the free Indian government for their criminal support of the British. The effect of the Indian army of liberation marching into India along with the German forces would be such that the entire British Indian Army morale would collapse, coinciding with a revolutionary uprising against the British. The Legion would then be the nucleus of an expanding army of free India. Netaji's plan, largely dependent on German Military successes in the Soviet Union, undoubtedly had a setback when the Wehrmacht was halted at Stalingrad. After the German retreat from that city, the plan for marching into India from the West had to be abandoned. The tide of war was turning swiftly, calling for devising new strategies on the part of Netaji.

While the German army's second thrust into Russia encountered an unexpected counter-offensive at Stalingrad and thus was forced to turn back, in another part of the world the forces of another Axis partner were forging ahead, nearer and nearer to India. Japan was achieving spectacular successes in the Far East and was ready to welcome Netaji as the leader of millions of Indians who lived in the countries of East and Southeast Asia. To Netaji, the Japanese attitude was extremely encouraging. Tolo, the Prime Minister, had issued statements in the Diet about Indian freedom early in 1942, and by March there was a Japanese proposal for a tripartite declaration on India. A small band of Indian National Army legionnaires had already been in existence in the Southeast under Japanese patronage, although a few of its leaders, including Mohan Singh, had fallen out with the Japanese. Netaji would have no difficulty in reorganizing and expanding this organization. He would get the active support of millions of overseas Indians, and the many thousands of British Indian prisoners-of-war would provide him a greater opportunity for recruitment, and for thus organizing a formidable army of liberation that could immediately be deployed in forward positions as the Imperial Japanese Army kept on advancing through the steaming jungles of the Malayan peninsula and Burma. During his meeting with Hitler on 29 May, the Führer had also suggested that in view of the prevalent world situation, Netaji should shift the center of his activities from Germany to the Far East.

Netaji could look back at his two years work in Germany with a sense of pride and accomplishment. Broadcasting, publications and propaganda were all extended. Azad Hind Radio had extended programs in several languages, and reports indicated that they were being listened to with interest in target areas; Azad Hind, a bilingual journal, was being published regularly. There were other papers for the Legion besides; the Free India Center had attained an acknowledged status in Germany. It was treated as a foreign mission, entitling its members to a higher scale of rations, and exemption from some of the Aliens' regulations. Netaji himself was given a good villa, a car and special rations for entertainment purposes. His personal allowance amounted to about eight hundred pounds a month. The monthly grant for the Free India Center rose from 1,200 pounds in 1941 to 3,200 pounds in 1944. All these Netaji stipulated as a loan from the German government, to be returned after India gained independence with the Axis assistance. However, the turn of events now demanded his presence in a different theater-of-war.

What would happen to the Legion in Netaji's absence? It was now 3,500 strong, well trained and equipped, ready for action. Netaji consulted with his aides in Berlin. A.C.N. Nambiar, an Indian journalist who had been in Europe for some eighteen years prior to Netaji's arrival in Germany, was his right-hand man. While preparing for his journey to the Asian theater-of-war, Netaji passed on to Nambiar his policy and instructions. As Hugh Toye writes:

There were plans for new branches of the Free India Center, for broadcasting, for Indians to study German police methods, and for the training of Indian seamen and air-men. As for the legion, it must be used actively as soon as possible, the German officers and NCOs must be quickly replaced by Indians, there must be no communalism. Legionaries were to be trained on all the most modern German equipment, including heavy artillery and tanks; Bose would send further instructions as opportunity offered. [12]

A few words must be added regarding the Indo-German cooperation and comradeship during the critical days of World War II when the Legion was formed. None could describe it better than Adalbert Seifriz, who was a German Officer in the training camp of the Legionaries. He writes,

Agreeing to the proposal of Bose was a magnificent concession and consideration shown to the great personality of Bose by the German Government in those critical times when all German efforts were concentrated on the war ... The mutual understanding and respect between Indians and Germans and the increasing contact between them in the interest of the common task made it possible for the Indian Legion to sustain and keep up discipline right up to the German capitulation in 1945. During the period of training and even afterwards the comradeship between Indians and Germans could not be destroyed ... A meeting with Subhas Bose was a special event for the German training staff.-We spent many evenings with him, discussing the future of India. He lives in the minds of the training staff members as an idealistic and fighting personality, never sparing himself in the service of his people and his country ... The most rewarding fact was the real comradeship which grew between Indians and Germans, which proved true in dangerous hours, and exists still today in numerous cases. The Indian Legion was a precious instrument in strengthening and consolidating Indo-German friendship. [13]

A report of Hitler's visit to the Indian Legion headquarters in Dresden was given by Shantaram Vishnu Samanta (one of the Legionaries) during a press interview in India, after his release from an internment camp. According to his statement, Hitler addressed the soldiers of the Legion after Netaji had left for East Asia. He spoke in German and his speech was translated into Hindustani by an interpreter. He said:

You are fortunate having been born in a country of glorious cultural traditions and a colossal manpower. I am impressed by the burning passion with which you and your Netaji seek to liberate your country from foreign domination. Your Netaji's status is even greater than mine. While I am the leader of eighty million Germans, he is the leader of 400 million Indians. In all respects he is a greater leader and a greater general than myself. I salute him, and Germany salutes him. It is the duty of all Indians to accept him as their führer and obey him implicitly. I have no doubt that if you do this, his guidance will lead India very soon to freedom.

A statement by another soldier of the Indian Legion, who remains anonymous, has a somewhat different version. It stated that both Netaji and Hitler took a joint salute of the Indian Legion and a German infantry. In addition to comments cited earlier, Hitler was reported to have made these remarks as well:

German civilians, soldiers and free Indians! I take this opportunity to welcome your acting Führer, Herr Subhas Chandra Bose. He has come here to guide all those free Indians who love their country and are determined to free it from foreign yoke. It is

too much for me to dare to give you any instructions or advice because you are sons of a free country, and you would naturally like to obey implicitly the accredited leader of your own land. [14]

However, reports of Hitler's visit and address to the Indian Legionaries are not confirmed from any other source.

Netaji would be leaving Germany on 8 February 1943. On 26 January, "Independence Day for India," there was a great party in Berlin where hundreds of guests drank his health. On 28 January, which was set aside for observance as the "Legion Day" in honor of the Indian Legion, he addressed the Legion for the last time. It is believed that his departure was kept secret from his army. So, there were no visible emotions among the men; no gesture of a farewell. The impression Netaji was leaving at the Free India Center, was that he was going on a prolonged tour. So there were no signs of any anxiety. Except for a few top-ranking German officers and his closest aides, hardly anybody was aware that within a week-and-a-half he would be embarking on the most perilous journey ever undertaken by man; a submarine voyage through mine-infested waters to the other side of the world. In his absence, Nambiar settled down in his job as his successor and soon gained respect of the Legionaries.

Two months after Netaji's departure, as a result of discussion between the German Army Command and the Free India Center, it was decided to transfer the Legion from Koenigsbrueck to a coastal region in Holland, to involve it in a practical coastal defense training. It was also in accordance with Netaji's Wishes. He had often expressed a desire to give his troops, whenever possible, some training in coastal defense. After the first battalion was given a hearty send-off, an untoward incident happened within the legion; two companies of the second battalion refused to move. It was soon found out that there were three main reasons for staging this minor rebellion. Some Legionaries were unhappy that they were not promoted, but their names had to be put on the waiting list; some simply did not want to leave Koenigsbrueck; some were influenced by a rumor that Netaji had abandoned them and had gone off leaving them entirely in German hands, who were now going to use them in the Western Front, instead of sending them to the East to fight for India's liberation. However, the rebellion was soon quelled after a team of NCOs visited the officials of the Free India Center in Berlin and obtained clarification regarding the rebel Legionaries' grievances. The team went back to the camp and assured the men that they were not being sent to fight a war but were there purely for practical training purposes according to Netaji's wishes; that the promotions were not being passed up, they would follow in due course; and that Netaji had not abandoned them, and they would be informed about his whereabouts and plans as soon as possible. In pursuance of military discipline, the ringleaders of this act of insubordination were sent to prison camps for a specified period.

The Legion was stationed in the coastal areas of Holland for five months. Afterwards, there was a decision to move it to the coastal area of Bordeaux in France from the mouth of the Girond, opposite the fortification of Foyan to the Bay of Arcachon. The Legion was taking charge here. The stay in France was utilized to give the Legionaries a thorough training in the weaponry required for the defense of the Atlantic Wall. In the spring of 1944, the first batch of twelve Indians were promoted to officers. Field Marshal Rommel, who took charge of the Atlantic Wall, once visited the area where the Indian contingent was located. Ganpulay writes:

... after having seen the work carried out by the Indians,, he exclaimed: "I am pleasantly surprised to find that in spite of very little training in coastal defense, the work done here is fairly satisfactory." While departing, he said to the Indian soldiers: "I am

glad to see you have done good work; I wish you and your leader all the good luck!"
[15]

In the spring of 1944, one company of the Legion was sent to North Italy at the request of some officers who were seeking an opportunity to confront the British forces. After the Normandy invasion by the Allied forces in June 1944, the military situation in Europe began to deteriorate. It eventually became so critical that the German High Command decided to order the Indian Legion to return to Germany. So after about ten months of stay in the coastal region of Lacanau in France, the Indian Legion started its road back. It is to be understood at this point that with the landing of the Allied troops in France and their gradual advance through the French countryside, the French Maquis (underground) guerillas had become very active, and along with the German troops they made the Legionaries as well the target of their attacks. After travelling a certain distance, the first battalion of the Legion was temporarily located in the area of Mansle near Poitiers, while the second and the third battalion were stationed in Angouleme and Poitiers respectively. After a rest for ten days in this region, during which period they had to ward off sporadic attacks by the French underground, the Legionaries took to the road once again. In this long march back to Germany, the Legion demonstrated exemplary courage and fortitude, and underwent rigors and hardships of battlefield with equanimity. At this time, British propaganda was directed to these men which was full of empty promises; some material was dropped from the air, while agents infiltrated into the ranks to persuade the men to desert. The propaganda promised the would-be deserters reinstatement in the British Indian army with full retroactive pay and pension, but the British hypocrisy was once again manifest in the fact that a few of the soldiers who had fallen victim to this bait were shot later by the French publicly in a market place in Poitiers without any trial, along with some German prisoners-of-war.

In following the saga of the Indian Army of Liberation in the West, one has to remember that its fate was indissolubly linked with that of the Axis powers in Europe, especially Germany. The overpowering of the new revolutionary regimes of Europe by forces representing an alliance of capitalism and Marxism was an international tragedy which engulfed the Indian Legion in Europe as well. During its retreat into Germany, it encountered the enemy forces on several occasions and fought rearguard action with British and French forces, displaying exemplary bravery. The German military training had converted the regiment not only into a highly disciplined body, but a hard-core fighting unit as well. It is indeed a historical irony that this superb force could not be utilized for the purpose and way its creator and leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, had dreamt of. Nevertheless, the 950th Indian Regiment, as the Legion was officially designated, left its footprints in the battlefields of France and Germany, as their many other gallant comrades of the German Army.

In the fall of 1944 until Christmas, the Indian Legion spent its time in the quiet villages of southern Germany. Between Christmas and the New Year 1945, the unit was ordered to move into the military camp at the garrison town of Heuberg. In the spring of 1945 the Allied forces crossed the Rhine. The Russians entered the East German provinces murdering and plundering cities, townships and villages. Heavy bomber formations began destroying German cities. Transport systems became completely disorganized and paralyzed. The end was near, and there was no point in remaining in the barracks. The Legion, therefore, left its winter quarters at Heuberg in March 1945, and headed for the Alpine passes. By that time all communications with the Free India Center in Berlin had been cut off. The Legion commanders took decisions independently. The Legion had already reached the Alpine regions east of Bodensee. However, with the surrender of the German forces on 7 May, all hopes also ended for the Free India Army. While attempting to cross over to Switzerland, the legionaries were overwhelmed by American and French units and were made prisoners. Those who fell into the hands of the French had to suffer very cruel treatment. Several

were shot, while others died in prison camps in miserable conditions. The rest were eventually handed over to the British.

Although thus swept into the maelstrom of the Axis disintegration in Europe, Netaji's army of liberation in the west had carved for itself a niche in history; for, indeed, it was a nucleus which would eventually precipitate a much larger fighting force elsewhere. Inspired by its leader, that force would march into India to set in motion a process that would eventually deliver the country from an alien bondage. One, therefore, must not regard the saga of the Indian National Army in Europe as an isolated event that ended tragically. While its dream of crossing the Caucasus along with its allies, the German Armed Forces, and entering India from the Northwest, did not materialize in reality, its extension and successor, India's army of liberation in the east, did enter the country from the opposite direction, thus fulfilling the cherished dream of Netaji and his soldiers. Not only that, as we shall see subsequently, but that army made the mightiest contribution toward finally ending an imperialist rule in India.

During his interview with Netaji, Hitler had suggested to him that since it would take at least another one or two years before Germany could gain direct influence in India, and while Japan's influence, in view of its spectacular successes in Southeast Asia, could come in a few months, Bose should negotiate with the Japanese. The Führer warned Bose against an air journey which could compel him to a forced landing in British territory. He thought Bose was too important a personality to let his life be endangered by such an experiment. Hitler suggested that he could place a German submarine at his disposal which would take him to Bangkok on a journey around the Cape of Good Hope. [16] However, despite Hitler's suggestions, it is believed that the German Foreign Office showed some reluctance in the matter of Netaji's leaving Germany and going to Japan. Col. Yamamoto Bin, Japanese military attache in Berlin (and a good personal friend of Netaji) along with the Japanese ambassador Lieutenant-General Oshima Hiroshi, had met Netaji as early as October 1941 when the latter expressed hopes for enlisting Japanese aid in his plan for wresting Indian independence. This was the beginning of a series of such meetings.

After the entry of Japan in World War II in December, Netaji was more eager to go as soon as possible to East Asia and fight beside Japan for India's liberation. He reportedly urged Oshima to use his good offices to secure his passage to Asia. It was about at this point that both Oshima and Yamamoto encountered a feeling of reluctance in the matter on the part of the German Foreign Office. They had the feeling that Germany was not willing to let Japan lead India to independence. Bose was already a useful ally as an Indian patriot, and his propaganda broadcasts were effective in both India and Britain. The Indian Legion was already having a psychological impact in India and worrying the Allies. For these reasons, "they were guarding Bose like a tiger cub." [17]

In the meantime, Ambassador Oshima had also met with Hitler and explained Bose's plan to him. According to Japanese records,

The Führer readily agreed with Oshima that it was better for Bose to shift his activities to Southeast Asia now that his country's (Japan's) armies had overrun the area. The second problem was whether Bose would get enough support in Tokyo for his activities. On this, Oshima had contacted Tokyo many times but had not received any firm answer. Finally, Tokyo replied to Oshima that in principle it had no objection to Bose's visit to Japan. The third problem was to provide Bose with a safe means of transport to Japan. Communication between Germany and Japan was impossible during those days. Passage by boat was ruled out; and it was decided to use a plane belonging to the Lufthansa Company to airlift Bose from Germany to Japan via the So-

viet Union. Tojo (Japanese Prime Minister) objected to this on the grounds that this would amount to a breach of trust with the Soviet Union. An attempt was made by both Yamamoto and Bose to get an Italian plane, but this also did not work. Finally the choice fell on a submarine. Germany agreed to carry Bose up to a certain unknown point in the east and asked that a Japanese submarine be pressed into service thence forward. After a series of exchanges with his government, Oshima finally obtained Tokyo's approval of the plan and communicated it to Bose. [18]

Alexander Werth writes:

An interesting anecdote related to this historic journey may perhaps be mentioned here. Shortly before Bose's departure the Japanese Naval Command raised objections because of an internal Japanese regulation not permitting civilians to travel on a warship in wartime. When Adam von Trott (of the German Foreign Office) received this message by cable from the German Ambassador in Tokyo, he sent the following reply: "Subhas Chandra Bose is by no means a private person, but Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Liberation Army." Thus the bureaucratic interference was overcome. [19]

On 8 February 1943, accompanied by Keppler, Nambiar and Werth, Netaji arrived at the port of Kiel where a German submarine under the command of Werner Musenberg was waiting for him. His would-be sole companion on this perilous voyage, Abid Hasan had travelled separately to Kiel in a special compartment without knowing his destination. Only after commencement of the journey was he to be informed of the itinerary. Netaji was leaving behind his chosen 3,500 soldiers of the Indian Legion, the 950th regiment of the German Army, specially trained and equipped for the task of liberating an India held in bondage by the British. We have already followed the history and fate of the Legion. Now let us turn to the East.

Indian National Army of Liberation in the East

On 15 February 1942, Singapore fell to the Japanese army advancing southward from the Malayan peninsula. Two days later, in an impressive ceremony held at Farrar Park in the heart of the town, Indian troops were handed over to the Japanese as prisoners-of-war by their commanding officer, Colonel Hunt.

Major Fujiwara took them over on behalf of the victorious Japanese, and then announced that he was handing them over to Captain Mohan Singh of the Indian contingents, who should be obeyed by them as their Supreme Commander. Mohan Singh then spoke to the Indian POWs, expressing his intention of raising an Indian national army out of them to fight for India's freedom. He held a preliminary discussion with some prominent Indians in Malay and Burma in a meeting in Singapore on 9 and 10 March, which was attended by Rashbehari Bose, a veteran Indian revolutionary exile living in Japan for the last quarter of a century. Bose then called a conference in Tokyo, which was held 28-30 March. The delegates representing several East and Southeast Asian countries present at the conference, decided to form the Indian Independence League to organize an Indian independence movement in East Asia. Bose was recognized as head of the organization. The conference further resolved that "military action against the British in India will be taken only by the INA and under Indian command, together with such military, naval and air co-operation and assistance as may be requested from the Japanese by the Council of Action" and further, "after the liberation of India, the framing of the future constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India." [20] On 15 June 1942, a conference opened in Bangkok with over a hundred delegates of the IIL attending from all over Asia. By the close of

the nine-day conference a resolution was unanimously adopted setting forth the policies of the independence movement in East Asia. The IIL, was proclaimed the organization to work for India's freedom; the Indian National Army was declared the military arm of the movement with Mohan Singh as the Commander-in-chief and Rashbehari Bose was elected president of the Council of Action. It was further decided that Singapore would be the headquarters of the IIL. Netaji had stated in a message to the conference that his personal experience had convinced him that Japan, Italy and Germany were sworn enemies of British imperialism; yet, independence could come only through the efforts of Indians themselves. India's freedom would mean the rout of British imperialism. The Indian National Army was officially inaugurated in September 1942.

Unfortunately, at this point a distrust began to grow within the Indian group against Rashbehari Bose's leadership. Some thought that having been long associated with Japan, he gave precedence to the Japanese interests over Indian interests. According to Japanese records:

Some even thought that he was just the protege of the Japanese, and that the latter was exploiting Indians for their own ends. Such resentment finally resulted in a revolt of a group of leaders headed by Captain Mohan Singh within the INA in November 1942. As a consequence, Mohan Singh and his associate, Colonel Gill were both arrested by the Japanese and the Indian Army was disbanded. However, in 1943 a new Indian Army was organized, put under the command of Lt. Col. Bhonsle, who held this post until the final dissolution of the army. [21]

Describing the revived INA. Joyce Lebra writes:

On 15 February 1943, the INA was reorganized and former ranks and badges revived. The Director of the Military Bureau, Lieutenant-Colonel Bhonsle, was clearly placed under the authority of the IIL to avoid any repetition of IIL-INA rivalry. Under Bhonsle was Lt. Col. Shah Nawaz Khan as Chief of General Staff-, Major P.K. Sahgal as Military Secretary; Major Habibur Rahman as commandant of the Officers' Training School; and Lt. Col. A.C. Chatterji, and later Major A.D. Jahangir, as head of enlightenment and culture. Apart from this policy-forming body was the Army itself, under the command of Lt. Col. M.Z. Kiani. This was the organization which held the INA together until the arrival of Subhas Chandra Bose from Berlin, six months later. [22]

In February, the Japanese military officer Iwakuro had called a meeting of about three hundred officers of the INA at Bidadri camp in Singapore and spoke to them about the advisability of joining the army, but with no effect. According to Ghosh, "Later on, in a 'Heart to heart talk' with some officers, it emerged that a large number of officers and men would be willing to continue in the INA on the express condition that Netaji would be coming to Singapore." [23]

The story of Netaji's exploits in Germany and the history of the Indian Legion was known to Indian revolutionaries of the IIL in East Asia for some time now, and they awaited his arrival eagerly. As the first INA wavered, faltered and was finally disbanded, and as its successor merely continued to exist, the need for Netaji's leadership began to be felt more keenly. Mohan Singh had mentioned his name to General Fujiwara as early as 1941. In all conferences the need of his guidance had been emphasized by the delegates.

While Netaji and Abid Hasan continued to push toward the East making a wide sweep out into the Atlantic, by pre-arrangement, a Japanese submarine left Penang Island on 20 April for the tip of Africa, under strict orders not to attack or risk detection. The two submarines had a rendezvous four hundred miles south-southwest of Madagascar on 26 April. After sighting each other and

confirming their identity, the submarines waited for a day for the sea to become calm. Then on 28 April, in what was known to be the only known submarine-to-submarine transfer of passengers (in the annals of World War II) in an area dominated by the enemy's air and naval strength, Netaji and Abid Hasan were transhipped into the Japanese submarine via a rubber raft. Travelling across the ocean, the Japanese 1-29 reached Sabang on 6 May, 1943. It was an isolated offshore islet north of Sumatra. There, Netaji was welcomed by Colonel Yamamoto, who was the head of the Hikari Kikan, the Japanese-Indian liaison group. From Sabang, Netaji and Yamamoto left for Tokyo by plane, stopping en route at Penang, Manila, Saigon and Taiwan. The plane landed in Tokyo on 16 May. All throughout his submarine voyage from Germany and for about a month after his arrival in Tokyo, Netaji's identity and presence was kept a secret. He was supposed to be a Japanese VIP named Matsuda. Although he remained incognito during the first few weeks in Japan, Netaji did not waste any time by just waiting. From 17 May onwards, he met Japanese Army and Navy Chiefs-of-Staff, Navy Minister and Foreign Minister in rapid succession. However, he had to wait for nearly three weeks before Japanese Prime Minister Tojo granted him an interview. But Tojo was so impressed with Netaji's personality that he offered to meet him again after four days. Two days later, on 16 June, Netaji was invited to visit the Diet (the Japanese Parliament) where Tojo surprised him with his historic declaration on India:

We are indignant about the fact that India is still under the ruthless suppression of Britain and are in full sympathy with her desperate struggle for independence. We are determined to extend every possible assistance to the cause of India's independence. It is our belief that the day is not far off when India will enjoy freedom and prosperity after winning independence. [24]

It was not until 18 June that Tokyo Radio announced Netaji's arrival. The news was reported in the Tokyo press the following day. At this announcement, the atmosphere was electrified overnight. The Axis press and radio stressed the significance of the event. The INA and the Indian independence movement suddenly assumed far greater importance in the eyes of all. On 19 June, Netaji held a press conference. This was followed by two broadcasts to publicize further his presence in East Asia, and during the course of these he unfolded his plan of action. As Ghosh describes, Bose's plan stood for the co-ordination of the nationalist forces within India and abroad to make it a gigantic movement powerful enough to overthrow the British rulers of India. The assumption on which Bose seemed to have based his grand scheme was that the internal conditions in India were ripe for a revolt. The no-cooperation movement must turn into an active revolt. [25]

And to quote Netaji's own words during the press conference: "Civil disobedience must develop into armed struggle. And only when the Indian people have received the baptism of fire on a large scale would they be qualified to achieve freedom." [26] Netaji then embarked upon a series of meetings, press conferences, radio broadcasts and lectures in order to explain his immediate task to the people concerned, and the world.

Accompanied by Rashbehari Bose, Netaji arrived at Singapore from Tokyo on 27 June. He was given a tumultuous welcome by the resident Indians and was profusely 'garlanded' wherever he went. His speeches kept the listeners spellbound. By now, a legend had grown around him, and its magic infected his audiences. Addressing representatives of the Indian communities in East Asia on 4 July he said:

Not content with a civil disobedience campaign, Indian people are now morally prepared to employ other means for achieving their liberation. The time has therefore come to pass on to the next stage of our campaign. All organizations whether inside

India or outside, must now transform themselves into a disciplined fighting organization under one leadership. The aim and purpose of this organization should be to take up arms against British imperialism when the time is ripe and signal is given. [27]

At a public meeting where Netaji spoke these words, Rashbehari Bose formally handed over to Subhas Chandra Bose the leadership of the IIA, and command of the INA. The hall was packed to capacity. In his last speech as leader of the movement Rashbehari Bose said:

Friends! This is one of the happiest moments in my life. I have brought you one of the most outstanding personalities of our great Motherland to participate in our campaign. In your presence today, I resign my office as president of the Indian Independence League in East Asia. From now on, Subhas Chandra Bose is your president, your leader in the fight for India's independence, and I am confident that under his leadership, you will march on to battle and to victory. [28]

In that meeting Netaji announced his plan to organize a Provisional Government of Free India.

It will be the task of this provisional government to lead the Indian Revolution to its successful conclusion ... The Provisional Government will have to prepare the Indian people, inside and outside India, for an armed struggle which will be the culmination of all our national efforts since 1883. We have a grim fight ahead of us. In this final march to freedom, you will have to face danger, thirst, privation, forced marches-and death. Only when you pass this test will freedom be yours. [29]

The next day, on 5 July, Netaji took over the command of the Indian National Army, now christened Azad Hind Fauj (Free India Army). Tojo arrived from Manila in time to review the parade of troops standing alongside with Bose. Addressing the soldiers, Netaji said:

Throughout my public career, I have always felt that, though India is otherwise ripe for independence in every way, she has lacked one thing, namely, an army of liberation. George Washington of America could fight and win freedom, because he had his army. Garibaldi could liberate Italy because he had his armed volunteers behind him. It is your privilege and honor to be the first to come forward and organize India's national army. By doing so you have removed the last obstacle in our path to freedom... When France declared war on Germany in 1939 and the campaign began, there was but one cry which rose from the lips of German soldiers- "To Paris! To Paris!" When the brave soldiers of Nippon set out on their march in December 1941, there was but one cry which rose from their lips-"To Singapore! To Singapore!" Comrades! My soldiers! Let your battle-cry be-"To Delhi! To Delhi!" How many of us will individually survive this war of freedom, I do not know. But I do know this, that we shall ultimately win and our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory parade on another graveyard of the British Empire-Lal Kila or the Red Fortress of ancient Delhi. [30]

On 27 July, Netaji left Singapore for a 17-day tour of the East Asian and Southeast Asian countries. The prime objective of this tour was to enlist moral and monetary support for his movement from other countries, as well as the resident Indian communities. He was given a rousing reception in Rangoon, where he attended the Burmese independence on 1 August; from Rangoon Netaji went to Bangkok and met Thai Prime Minister Pilbulsongram. He won the moral support of Thailand and tumultuous ovation from the Indian community. He then flew to Saigon and addressed Indians there. Returning to Singapore for a brief rest, he flew to Penang to address a rally of 15,000 Indians. Everywhere, he held his audience spellbound for hours with his superb ora-

tory, and at the conclusion of his speech the people raced to reach the platform and pile up all they had before him—a total of two million dollars. This scene was repeated over and over in towns and cities all over Southeast Asia, when Netaji stood before thousands of people like a prophet, addressing them for the cause of India's freedom. Merchants, traders, businessmen and women came forward everywhere and donated their wealth and ornaments in abundance, to enable their leader to fulfill his mission. In his plan for total mobilization, Netaji had outlined a grandiose scheme for an army of three million men. However, the immediate target was set at 50,000. The Major part of this number would be from the Indian POWs and the rest from civilian volunteers. According to Bose's plan there would be three divisions from thirty thousand regulars and another unit of twenty thousand mainly from civilian volunteers. The Japanese authorities informed Netaji at that time that it could provide arms for thirty thousand men only. However, by 1945, it was authoritatively known that the actual strength of the INA rose to not less than 45,000 men. After completing the task of reorganizing the Indian Independence League and launching preparations for revolutionizing the army, and after conducting a successful campaign to mobilize the support of the Indian communities throughout Southeast Asia—a phase which lasted from July to October—Netaji turned toward formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). This had to be done before the army could be sent for action in the battlefield. This government was officially proclaimed in Singapore at a mass rally on 21 October 1943 where Netaji was unanimously elected as the Head of the State and The Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army. While taking the oath he said:

In the name of God, I take this sacred oath that to liberate India and the three hundred eighty million of my countrymen, L Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue the sacred war of freedom till the last breath of my life. I shall remain always a servant of India, and to look after the welfare of three hundred eighty million of Indian brothers and sisters shall be for me my highest duty. Even after winning freedom, I will always be prepared to shed even the last drop of my blood for the preservation of India's freedom. [31]

The Provisional Government of Free India had five Ministers with Netaji as the Head of the State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and advisers representing the Indian communities in East Asia. The first momentous decision which the new government took was its declaration of war on Britain and the United States, which was decided on the night of 22-23 October. Toye writes: "The Cabinet had not been unanimous about the inclusion of the U.S.A. Bose had shown impatience and displeasure—there was never any question then or later of his absolute authority: the Cabinet had no responsibility and could only tender advice.,, [32] Recognition of the Provisional Government came quickly from nine countries—the Axis powers and their allies. They were: Japan, Burma, Croatia, Germany, the Philippines, Nanking China, Manchuto, Italy and Siam (Thailand), but for some unknown reasons, Vichy France withheld its recognition. The Japanese Army promised all-out support for the provisional government.

Toward the end of October, Netaji flew to Tokyo again to meet Tojo and to attend the greater East Asia Conference. Since India technically did not fall within this sphere, he attended as an observer. He made an impressive speech at the conference, stressing the creation of a new Asia where all vestiges of colonialism and imperialism would be eliminated. The Japanese navy had captured the Andaman and Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal during the early months of war. As a result of Netaji's requests, Prime Minister Tojo announced at the conference that Japan had decided to place the two islands under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government of Free India, thereby giving it its first sovereignty over a territory. The ceremonial transfer took place in December, and Netaji named Lieutenant-Colonel Loganathan, an officer in the Medical Services, as the chief commissioner in charge of the civil administration of the islands. Soon thereafter,

preparations began for sending the army to the front and moving the provisional government headquarters to Rangoon, in Burma. In the meantime, Netaji announced the formation of a women's brigade within the INA, and named it "Rani of Jhansi Regiment," after the celebrated queen of Jhansi, Laxmibai, who had led her soldiers against the British in an uprising during the First War of Independence in 1857. Coincidentally, another Laxmi, Lieutenant-Col. Laxmi, was placed in charge of this regiment by Netaji. In November it was agreed between Netaji and the Japanese military headquarters, that the INA first division and the civil and military headquarters would move to Burma in January 1944.

The Imphal Campaign

The Imphal Campaign, including the battle of Kohima — the first major town to be captured by the INA inside India — will perhaps go down as one of the most daring and disastrous campaigns in the annals of world military history. General Mutaguchi, commander of the Japanese forces in North Burma since 1943, had been convinced that Imphal should be attacked. The objects of such an offensive were to forestall any invasion of Burma in 1944 and to establish the Japanese defenses on the frontier mountains. The idea would be first to overwhelm the British in Arakan, involving all their reserves in battle for Chittagong and the gateway to eastern Bengal. Then, by April, Kohima and Imphal could be conquered at leisure, without danger of their being reinforced. The monsoon, beginning in May, would postpone operations, and after the rains were over, in the absence of a new British defense posture east of the river Brahmaputra, the entire Assam and East Bengal would lie open to the Indian National Army and the Japanese.

Imphal, the capital of the state of Manipur, lay on a flat, nearly treeless plateau just inside the Indian border. Its elevation was about 3,000 feet, surrounded on all sides by impassable mountains. The mountain range in the east with 2,000-4,000 foot peaks above the plateau stretches some five hundred miles. To the West and South are the Chin hills of the Arakan range, a formidable stretch of inhospitable terrain. The jungle surrounding this basin is hostile to human habitation. The northern access to the plain from India and Assam lay through Dimapur and the steep Kohima Road. From Dimapur, a single track railway swept through Assam and Bengal and was an important military objective to both armies. For the INA the importance of the Imphal campaign was that it was the only major battle in which it would participate with the object of achieving freedom for India. As Salto and Hayashida writes:

The Imphal Operation was the final offensive of the East Asia War, mounted by three Burma-based Japanese divisions, and one INA division. The campaign lasted from 15 March to 9 July 1944. The operation has often been compared to the operation Wacht am Rhein or the Battle of the Bulge, which was the final all-out drive launched by Germany towards Ardennes on the Western Front, from December 1944 to January 1945. Both operations almost succeeded and both are termed "gambles" by historians today. If the German push towards Ardennes was Wacht am Rhein, the Japanese-Indian thrust against Imphal might be called "Wacht am Chindwin" although the official Japanese code-name for the action was most prosaic: Operation "U". [33]

River Chindwin lay across the Indo-Burmese border, and its crossing from the east by an army would signal an invasion of India.

Execution orders for Operation U became operative on 7 January 1944, coinciding with completion of the shifting of the Provisional Government headquarters in Rangoon. In the evening of the same day, Lt. General Masakazu Kawabe, commanding the overall Burma headquarters, held a welcome party in honor of Netaji and his staff officers. Netaji spoke, and concluded his speech

with these words. "My only prayer to the Almighty at this moment is that we may be given the earliest opportunity to pay for our freedom with our own blood.", [34] One INA Division, named after Netaji as Subhas Regiment, was readied for action at the front with the Japanese. Toye writes.

... He spent the whole days... with the Subhas Regiment, reviewing, watching it at exercises and on parade, talking to its officers, exerting his magic on it in a way that he had not attempted before. These were his comrades, the men by whose means he would uphold the rights and honour of India. Everything depended on their achievement in battle; they must absorb all his feelings of confidence, feel the whole of his personal force. On 3 February he bade them farewell: "Blood is calling for blood. Arise! We have no time to lose. Take up your arms. There in front of you is the road our pioneers have built. We shall march along that road. We shall carve our way through enemy's ranks, or, if God wills, we shall die a martyr's death. And in our last sleep we shall kiss the road which will bring our Army to Delhi. The road to Delhi is the road to Freedom. On to Delhi!" [35]

Mutaguchi set 15 March as the D-day for the beginning of the Imphal campaign. The deployment of well over 120,000 troops along the Chindwin river, a front of some 200 kilometers, went on smoothly and undetected by British spies planted in the area. In the meantime, Netaji received some good news. The Arakan offensive, launched on 4 February, had cut off the 7th Indian Division of the British Army in Mayu valley. Contributing to this success was the reconnaissance and subversion of an Indian outpost position by Major Misra, the INA Commander in Arakan. At the same time, he received messages from the underground network working inside India under his direction, whose selected trained spies had been sent by submarine. On D-day, Mutaguchi assembled the war correspondents at his headquarters in central Burma and declared: "I am firmly convinced that my three divisions will reduce Imphal in one month. In order that they can march fast, they carry the lightest possible equipment and food enough for three weeks. Ali, they will get everything from the British supplies and dumps. Boys! See you again in Imphal at the celebration of the Emperor's birthday on 29 April." [36]

The Japanese-Indian offensive took the British by complete surprise. The Japanese and INA troops literally galloped through mountains and jungles routing the enemy on the way. Prior to the Imphal offensive, an INA detachment under Colonel Saligal had created a breach through the British lines in the Arakan sector. Now the INA's deployment was extended to the Imphal sector. As the INA under Netaji's command set foot on the Indian soil, the main Japanese force also defeated the obstinate resistance of the enemy on 22 March, broke through the India-Burma border, and advanced from the north and west to encircle Imphal. The initial success of the INA at the Arakan front generated much enthusiasm. In a Special Order of the Day, Netaji referred to the "Glorious and brilliant actions of the brave forces of the Azad Hind Fauj." [37]

On 8 April, Japanese Imperial Headquarters issued a communique which said: "Japanese troops, fighting side by side with the Indian National Army, captured Kohima early on 6 April. [38] A jubilant Netaji at this time started talking with the Japanese about the administration of the liberated and soon-to-be-liberated territories in India. In response to a call by Netaji, Prime Minister Tojo made an announcement clarifying that all areas of India occupied as a result of Japanese advance would be placed under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government. This was followed by Netaji's announcement that he was appointing the Finance Minister of his cabinet, Major-General A.C. Chatterjee, as the governor of the newly liberated areas. Netaji described the march of the INA into India as the event of the century. He had also just declared the Legion in Europe to be part of the INA and had appointed Nambiar to be a Minister in the Provisional Government;

his Chief Commissioner had been installed in the Andamans, his first heroes from the Arakan front had been decorated, and the, INA troops had raised the national standard of free India in Kohima; and now, the fall of Imphal seemed very near.

Did the Imphal Campaign come almost two years too late? What would have happened if Netaji had arrived in East Asia a year earlier? by the end of 1942, the Axis had scored successes everywhere.

Rommel was in Egypt, the German invasion of Russia had gone smoothly, Nationalist China was on her knees, and India and Australia were expecting a Japanese invasion. Prospects for the Allies were dark in the Pacific and the Rising Sun was at its zenith from Japan to the Bay of Bengal ... Britain was unable to dispute with the Japanese Navy, and there were not enough British and Indian troops in India to assure its defense. Even air protection was inadequate ... Japanese forces had not pursued retreating British troops beyond the Chindwin river in Burma in May 1942, allegedly because "an invasion was likely to arouse ill-feelings amongst the Indian masses." ... So the Japanese remained east of the Chindwin river, leaving British Indian forces to build up their strength in the Imphal plain. [39]

But above all, in that moment of a golden opportunity, the towering leadership of Netaji, a provisional government, and an Indian national army worthy of its name — all these were non-existent in East Asia. Japan by itself simply lacked the motivation for extending war into India, let alone think of its independence. The fact remains, however, that the Imphal campaign was indeed first conceived in 1942, right after the conquest of Burma. According to the official history of the British Armed Forces in the Second World War,

Soon after the completion of the Japanese conquest of Burma in June 1942, a certain Lt. Col. Hayashi had advocated an attack on Imphal. He considered that the Japanese should strike against India without giving time to the defenders to recuperate from their disastrous retreat, and Imphal's capture would rob them of the best base for launching a counter-offensive against Burma ... 18th division argued that the jungles of Burma were impassable for large bodies of operational troops and that any attack on Indian territory would provoke anti-Japanese feelings in India. About December 1942, therefore, the plan was abandoned. [40]

Lieutenant-General Kuroda Shigetoku, Southern Army Chief of Staff, stated later that if the operation had been carried out in 1942 when first conceived, rather than in 1944, it would have succeeded. According to Lebra, "General Tojo stated in the spring of 1945 that he regretted Japan had missed the opportunity in 1942." [41]

As the INA and the Japanese forces continued to lay siege on Imphal, the Allied air superiority gained strength and the enemy was preparing for counterattack. Shah Nawaz, commanding two battalions of the Subhas Regiment in the Chin Hills, told of the hardships his men were suffering as a result of disease and of supply and transport difficulties. However, owing to communication problems, the news of difficulties his men were undergoing at the front did not reach Netaji in detail. While there was a stalemate in the front and the offensive came to a halt, there were meetings and jubilations at Rangoon where Netaji collected money and donations in other forms for the conduct of his campaign. He offered to send additional INA regiments to the Front and more troops were despatched. For about a month Operation U went according to plan. Enemy forces were successfully encircled in the Imphal area. Suddenly, in the middle of April, the military balance began to shift against Japan and the INA. Wingate's airborne unit had already been attack-

ing from air over Burma supply routes. British forces were being supplied by airlift into the besieged Imphal, and reinforcements began to flow in. British forces were being sent to Kohima to the north by both rail and air. Japan had no matching air power to strike back at enemy air operations. By the end of April the battle strength of Japanese and INA divisions was decreased forty percent. Time for success by surprise attack had already passed and gradually the offensive turned into a defensive battle. The monsoon that followed, brought the ultimate disaster. As roads became impassable, all supply routes were cut off. Muddy streams flooded roads and valleys, and rivers swelled to sweep away tanks and ammunition. In the wake of the monsoon, disease became rampant. Cholera, malaria, dysentery, beriberi and jungle sores began to take their toll. The INA and the Japanese started living on rations consisting of rice mixed with jungle grass. The 33rd Division had fought desperately for forty days without being able to penetrate the British lines at Imphal. And now that vast amounts of military supplies were reaching the beleaguered garrison at Imphal, there was virtually no hope for a renewed offensive. On 8 July, on the recommendation of top-ranking Generals including Kawabe and Mutaguchi, Prime Minister Tajo issued the order to halt the operation.

The story of retreat from Imphal is one of the greatest tragedies of World War II. It is a story of misery, hunger and death. Japanese and INA troops, bottled up in the Kawab valley between the Chin Hills in the west and the Chindwin river in the west, began their long trek back through jungles and mountains, headed by division commanders and guards in jeeps and horses. Officers, supply, communication and medical units followed. Behind them marched thousands of stragglers: rain-soaked, emaciated with fever and malnutrition. Soon, corpses began accumulating along the trek, and they had to be left unburied. Of the 220,000 Japanese troops who began the Imphal Campaign, only 130,000 survived, and of these only 70,000 remained at the front to retreat. INA casualties were over fifty percent. It was a disaster equal in magnitude to Dunkirk and Stalingrad. Lebra writes:

When Bose heard the order to retreat he was stunned. He drew himself up and said to Kawabe in ringing tones: "Though the Japanese Army has given up the operation, we will continue it. We will not repent even if the advance of our revolutionary army to attain independence of our homeland is completely defeated. Increase in casualties, cessation of supplies, and famine are not reasons enough to stop marching. Even if the whole army becomes only spirit we will not stop advancing toward our homeland. This is the spirit of our revolutionary army." In an article in *Azad Hind* on 6 November 1944, after the retreat from Imphal, Bose was reported to have "reiterated his firm conviction that final victory in this war would belong to Japan and Germany ... that a new phase of war was approaching in which the initiative would again lie in the hands of the Japanese." [42]

Each Japanese commander gave his own analysis of the causes of the failure of Operation U, like the problem of the chain of command, lack of air power, on dispersal rather than concentration of forces. However, Netaji thought it was timing, with respect to the monsoon. He felt that the only chance to take Imphal was before the rains came, and most strategists agreed on this point. From the historic perspective, however, Fujiwara perhaps was the most correct. According to him, the Imphal disaster could have been avoided had the operation been undertaken a year earlier, at a time when the British power in the region was weak. The delay in launching the Imphal offensive was no doubt due to Netaji's late arrival from Europe to East Asia. The Imphal campaign should have been undertaken at a time when the Axis victories had reached their zenith and the Allied forces were on retreat everywhere.

During the last three months of 1944, Japanese forces had withdrawn to the banks of the Irrawaddy in Burma, where they intended to make a stand. Netaji enthusiastically offered the reorganized INA First Division, when the Japanese 15th division was ordered to oppose the British. Subsequently, the 2nd Division was also readied for action. In February 1945, the INA held some positions in the region of Mandalay in Burma, giving battle to the advancing enemy. This was the second campaign of Netaji's army, and it held out tenaciously at Nyaungu for some time. However, allied troops later crossed the Irrawaddy at several points and the Japanese and INA units were surrounded. There were some desertions. Despite unique examples of heroism and Netaji's presence in the battlefields, risking his own life in the face of enemy attacks, the second campaign of the INA (which was purely a defensive one) finally had to give way to the gradual reconquest of Burma by the British.

The end of this campaign was followed by a chain of events that included the final Japanese defeat, an alleged plane crash in Formosa in which Netaji reportedly perished, the surrender of the INA to the allied forces and the trial of their leaders at the Red Fort in Delhi, staged by the British. However, all these fateful events, occurring during the final phase of World War II and its aftermath, should be considered parts of an altogether different episode relating to Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army. In the present episode we have examined the historical tasks fulfilled by Netaji and his army in Europe and Asia during World War II, and their significance. In recognition of Netaji's historically significant role as a war leader, Guy Wint pays him a rare tribute with these words: "He played ... an extraordinarily decisive part. By accident, and by seizing an exceptional opportunity, he was able to cut a figure which made him outstanding among the comparatively small number of men who influenced the course of the war by their individual qualities." [43]

The Myth of "Freedom through Non-violence under Gandhi's Leadership"

Modern historians in India are taking a second look at the way the country's freedom was achieved, and in that process are demolishing a number of theories, assumptions and myths preached by the "court historians." However, in order to grasp the magnitude of the issue, with its many ramifications, it is essential to understand first the concept of freedom as envisaged by Netaji — the ideal which motivated him to wrest it from the hands of the British by the force of arms. In his entire political career, Subhas Chandra Bose was guided by two cardinal principles in his quest for his country's emancipation: that there could be no compromise with alien colonialists on the issue, and that on no account would the country be partitioned. The Indian geographical unity was to be maintained at all costs.

As we have already seen, the unfortunate turn of events during World War II prevented Netaji's dream of his victorious march to Delhi at the head of his Indian National Army from becoming a reality. In his and his army's absence in a post-war India, politicians under the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru did exactly what Netaji never wanted: they negotiated and compromised with the British on the issue of freedom, and in their haste to get into power, agreed to a formula of partitioning India presented to them by the British. The transfer of power was followed by two more developments that were alien to Netaji's philosophy and his blueprint for a free India: introduction of a parliamentary democratic system by Nehru and his decision to keep India in the British Commonwealth of Nations. It was a truncated freedom, achieved over the bloodbath of millions who had perished in fratricidal religious rioting during the process of partition, as the erstwhile India emerged on the world map as the two nations of India and Pakistan. Even so, the fragmented freedom that fell as India's share after the British had skillfully played their age-old game of divide and rule came not as a result of Gandhi's civil disobedience and non-violent movement as the court historians would have us believe; nor was it due to persistent negotiations

by Nehru and other Indian National Congress leaders on the conference table, which the British found so easy to keep stalling. The British finally quit when they began to feel the foundations of loyalty being shaken among the British Indian soldiers-the mainstay of the colonial power-as a result of the INA exploits that became known to the world after the cessation of hostilities in East Asia.

Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, the eminent Indian historian who passed away recently, and who by virtue of his challenges to several historical myths can rightly be called the Dean of new historians in India, observed in his book *Three Phases of India's Struggle for Freedom*:

There is, however, no basis for the claim that the Civil Disobedience Movement directly led to independence. The campaigns of Gandhi ... came to an ignoble end about fourteen years before India achieved independence ... During the First World War the Indian revolutionaries sought to take advantage of German help in the shape of war materials to free the country by armed revolt. But the attempt did not succeed. During the Second World War Subhas Bose followed the same method and created the INA. In spite of brilliant planning and initial success, the violent campaigns of Subhas Bose failed ... The Battles for India's freedom were also being fought against Britain, though indirectly, by Hitler in Europe and Japan in Asia. None of these scored direct success, but few would deny that it was the cumulative effect of all the three that brought freedom to India. In particular, the revelations made by the INA trial, and the reaction it produced in India, made it quite plain to the British, already exhausted by the war, that they could no longer depend upon the loyalty of the sepoys for maintaining their authority in India. This had probably the greatest influence upon their final decision to quit India. [44]

Despite Japan's defeat and the consequent withering away of the Indian National Army on the India-Burma front, both Subhas Chandra Bose and his INA became household names throughout the country as the returning soldiers were sought to be prosecuted by the British. By then, the Congress leadership under Gandhi and Nehru had pre-empted itself, and the year 1945 seemed relatively calm and uneventful. However, Netaji and his legend worked up a movement all over the country which even a Gandhi could never produce. Echoing this mass upsurge Michael Edwards wrote in his *Last Years of British India*:

The Government of India had hoped, by prosecuting members of the INA, to reinforce the morale of the Indian army. It succeeded only in creating unease, in making the soldiers feel slightly ashamed that they themselves had supported the British. If Bose and his men had been on the right side-and all India now confirmed that they were-then Indians in the Indian army must have been on the wrong side. It slowly dawned upon the Government of India that the backbone of the British rule, the Indian army, might now no longer be trustworthy. The ghost of Subhas Bose, like Hamlet's father, walked the battlements of the Red Fort (where the INA soldiers were being tried), and his suddenly amplified figure overawed the conference that was to lead to independence. [45]

Apart from revisionist historians, it was none other than Lord Clement Atlee himself, the British Prime Minister responsible for conceding independence to India, who gave a shattering blow to the myth sought to be perpetuated by court historians, that Gandhi and his movement had led the country to freedom. Chief justice P.B. Chakrabarty of Calcutta High Court, who had also served as the acting Governor of West Bengal in India, disclosed the following in a letter addressed to the publisher of Dr. R.C. Majumdar's book *A History of Bengal*. The Chief Justice wrote:

You have fulfilled a noble task by persuading Dr. Majumdar to write this history of Bengal and publishing it ... In the preface of the book Dr. Majumdar has written that he could not accept the thesis that Indian independence was brought about solely, or predominantly by the non-violent civil disobedience movement of Gandhi. When I was the acting Governor, Lord Atlee, who had given us independence by withdrawing the British rule from India, spent two days in the Governor's palace at Calcutta during his tour of India. At that time I had a prolonged discussion with him regarding the real factors that had led the British to quit India. My direct question to him was that since Gandhi's "Quit India" movement had tapered off quite some time ago and in 1947 no such new compelling situation had arisen that would necessitate a hasty British departure, why did they have to leave? In his reply Atlee cited several reasons, the principal among them being the erosion of loyalty to the British Crown among the Indian army and navy personnel as a result of the military activities of Netaji. Toward the end of our discussion I asked Atlee what was the extent of Gandhi's influence upon the British decision to quit India. Hearing this question, Atlee's lips became twisted in a sarcastic smile as he slowly chewed out the word, "m-i-n-i-m-a-l!" [46]

When the new version of the history of the Twentieth Century India, and especially the episode of the country's unique struggle for independence comes to be written, it will no doubt single out but one person who made the most significant and outstanding contribution among all his compatriots toward the emancipation of his motherland from the shackles of an alien bondage. During World War II this man strode across two continents like a colossus, and the footsteps of his army of liberation reverberated through the forests and plains of Europe and the jungles and mountains of Asia. His armed assaults shook the very foundations of the British Empire. His name was Subhas Chandra Bose.

Notes

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Epic: The Story of the Waffen SS

LEON DEGRELLE

Introduction

You are about to hear Leon Degrelle, who before the Second World War was Europe's youngest political leader and the founder of the Rexist Party of Belgium. During that cataclysmic confrontation he was one of the greatest heroes on the Eastern Front. Of Leon Degrelle Hitler said: "If I should have a son I would like him to be like Leon."

As a statesman and a soldier he has known very closely Hitler, Mussolini, Churchill, Franco, Laval, Marshal Petain and all the European leaders during the enormous ideological and military clash that was World War Two. Alone among them, he has survived, remaining the number one witness of that historical period.

The life of Leon Degrelle began in 1906 in Bouillon, a small town in the Belgian Ardennes. His family was of French origin.

He studied at the University of Louvain, where he acquired a doctorate in law. He was -and is -also interested in other academic disciplines, such as political science, art, archeology and Tomistic philosophy.

As a student his natural gift of leadership became apparent. By the time he reached twenty he had already published five books and operated his own weekly newspaper. Out of his deep Christian conviction he joined Belgium's Catholic Action Movement and became one of its leaders.

But his passion has always been people.

He wanted to win the crowds, particularly the Marxist ones. He wanted them to share his ideals of social and spiritual change for society. He wanted to lift people up; to forge for them a stable, efficient and responsible state, a state backed by the good sense of people and for the sole benefit of the people.

He addressed more than 2,000 meetings, always controversial. His books and newspaper were read everywhere because they always dealt with the real issues. Although not yet twenty-five, people listened to him avidly.

In a few short years he had won over a large part of the population. On the twenty-fourth of May 1936 his Rexist Party won against the established parties a smashing electoral victory: Thirty-four house and senate seats.

The Europe of 1936 was still split into little countries, jealous of their pasts and closed to any contact with their neighbors.

Leon Degrelle saw further. In his student days he had traveled across Latin America, the United States and Canada. He had visited North Africa, the Middle East and of course all of the European countries. He felt that Europe had a unique destiny and must unite.

Mussolini invited him to Rome. Churchill saw him in London and Hitler received him in Berlin.

Putting his political life on the line, he made desperate efforts to stop the railroading of Europe into another war. But old rivalries, petty hatreds and suspicion between the French and the German, were cleverly exploited. The established parties and the Communist Party worked on the same side: for war. For the Kremlin it was a unique opportunity to communize Europe after it had been bled white.

Thus, war started. First in Poland, then in Western Europe in 1940. This was to become the Second World War in 1941.

Soon the flag of the Swastika flew from the North Pole to the shores of Greece to the border of Spain.

But the European civil war between England and Germany continued. And the rulers of Communism got ready to move in and pick up the pieces.

But Hitler beat them to it and invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. For Europe it was to be heads or tails; Hitlers wins or Stalin wins.

It was then that from every country in Europe thousands of young men made up their minds that the destiny of their native country was at stake. They would volunteer their lives to fight communism and create a united Europe.

In all, they would grow to be more than 600,000 non-German Europeans fighting on the Eastern Front. They would bring scores of divisions to the Waffen SS.

The Waffen SS were ideological and military shock troops of Europe. The Germans, numbering 400,000, were actually in the minority.

The one million-strong Waffen SS represented the first truly European army to ever exist.

After the war each unit of this army was to provide their people with a political structure free of the petty nationalism of the past. All the SS fought the same struggle. All shared the same world view. All became comrades in arms.

The most important political and military phenomenon of World War Two is also the least known: the phenomenon of the Waffen SS.

Leon Degrelle is one of the most famous Waffen SS soldiers. After joining as a private he earned all stripes from corporal to general for exceptional bravery in combat. He engaged in seventy-five hand-to-hand combat actions. He was wounded on numerous occasions. He was the recipient of the highest honors: The Ritterkreuz, the

Oak-Leaves, the Gold German Cross and numerous other decorations for outstanding valor under enemy fire. One of the last to fight on the Eastern Front, Leon Degrelle escaped unconditional surrender by flying some 1500 miles across Europe toward Spain. He managed to survive constant fire all along the way and crash landed on the beach of San Sebastian in Spain, critically wounded.

Against all odds he survived. Slowly he managed to re-build a new life in exile for himself and his family.

For Degrelle philosophy and politics cannot exist without historical knowledge. For him beauty enhances people and people cannot improve their lives without it.

This philosophy is reflected in everything he does. In his Spanish home art blends gracefully with history.

The work of Leon Degrelle has always been epic and poetic. As he walks in the environment of his home one feels the greatness of Rome with its marbles, its bronzes, its translucent glass; one feels the elegant Arabian architecture, the gravity of the Gothic form and the sumptuousness of Renaissance and Baroque art. One feels the glory of his flags.

In this atmosphere of beauty and greatness, the last and most important living witness of World War Two awaits you, Ladies and Gentlemen: General Leon Degrelle.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am asked to talk to you about the great unknown of World War Two: the Waffen SS.

It is somewhat amazing that the organization which was both political and military and which during World War Two united more than one million fighting volunteers, should still be officially ignored.

Why?

Why is it that the official record still virtually ignores this extraordinary army of volunteers? An army which was at the vortex of the most gigantic struggle, affecting the entire world.

The answer may well be found in the fact that the most striking feature of the Waffen SS was that it was composed of volunteers from some thirty different countries.

What cause gathered them and why did they volunteer their lives?

Was it a German phenomenon?

At the beginning, yes.

Initially, the Waffen SS amounted to less than two hundred members. It grew consistently until 1940 when it evolved into a second phase: the Germanic Waffen SS. In addition to Germans from Germany, northwestern Europeans and descendants of Germans from all across Europe enlisted.

Then, in 1941 during the great clash with the Soviet Union, rose the European Waffen SS. Young men from the most distant countries fought together on the Russian front.

No one knew anything about the Waffen SS for most of the years preceding the war. The Germans themselves took some time to recognize the distinctiveness of the Waffen SS.

Hitler rose to the chancellorship democratically, winning at the ballot box. He ran electoral campaigns like any other politician. He addressed meetings, advertised on billboards, his message attracted capacity audiences. More and more people liked what he had to say and more and more people voted members of his party into congress. Hitler did not come to power by force but was duly elected by the people and duly installed as Chancellor by the President of Germany, General von Hindenburg. His government was legitimate and democratic. In fact, only two of his followers were included in the Cabinet.

Later he succeeded always through the electoral process in increasing his majority. When some elections gave him up to 90% of the vote, Hitler earned every vote on his own merit.

During his campaigns Hitler faced formidable enemies: the power establishment who had no qualms whatsoever in tampering with the electoral process. He had to face the Weimar establishment and its well-financed left-wing and liberal parties and highly organized bloc of six million Communist Party members. Only the most fearless and relentless struggle to convince people to vote for him, enabled Hitler to obtain a democratic majority.

In those days the Waffen SS was not even a factor. There was, of course, the SA with some three million men. They were rank and file members of the National Socialist Workers Party but certainly not an army.

Their main function was to protect party candidates from Communist violence. And the violence was murderous indeed: more than five hundred National Socialists were murdered by the communists. Thousands were grievously injured.

The SA was a volunteer, non-government organization and as soon as Hitler rose to power he could no longer avail himself of its help.

He had to work within the system he was elected to serve.

He came in a state of disadvantage. He had to contend with an entrenched bureaucracy appointed by the old regime. In fact, when the war started in 1939, 70% of German bureaucrats had been appointed by the old regime and did not belong to Hitler's party. Hitler could not count on the support of the Church hierarchy. Both big business and the Communist Party were totally hostile to his programs. On top of all this, extreme poverty existed and six million workers were unemployed. No country in Europe had ever known so many people to be out of work.

So here is a man quite isolated. The three million SA party members are not in the government. They vote and help win the elections but they cannot supplant the entrenched bureaucracy in the government posts. The SA also was unable to exert influence on the army, because the top brass, fearful of competition, was hostile to the SA.

This hostility reached such a point that Hitler was faced with a wrenching dilemma. What to do with the millions of followers who helped him to power? He could not abandon them.

The army was a highly organized power structure. Although only numbering 100,000 as dictated by the Treaty of Versailles it exerted great influence in the affairs of state. The President of Germany was Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The army was a privileged caste. Almost all the officers belonged to the upper classes of society.

It was impossible for Hitler to take on the powerful army frontally. Hitler was elected democratically and he could not do what Stalin did: to have firing squads execute the entire military establishment. Stalin killed thirty thousand high ranking officers. That was Stalin's way to make room for his own trusted commissars.

Such drastic methods could not occur in Germany and unlike Stalin, Hitler was surrounded by international enemies.

His election had provoked international rage. He had gone to the voters directly without the intermediary of the establishment parties. His party platform included an appeal for racial purity in Germany as well as a return of power to the people. Such tenets so infuriated world Jewry that in 1933 it officially declared war on Germany.

Contrary to what one is told Hitler had limited power and was quite alone. How this man ever survived these early years defy comprehension. Only the fact that Hitler was an exceptional genius explains his survival against all odds. Abroad and at home Hitler had to bend over backwards just to demonstrate his good will.

But despite all his efforts Hitler was gradually being driven into a corner. The feud between the SA and the army was coming to a head. His old comrade, Ernst Roehm, Chief of the SA wanted to follow Stalin's example and physically eliminate the army brass. The showdown resulted in the death of Roehm, either by suicide or murder, and many of his assistants, with the army picking up the pieces and putting the SA back in its place.

At this time the only SS to be found in Germany were in Chancellor Hitler's personal guard: one hundred eighty men in all. They were young men of exceptional qualities but without any political role. Their duties consisted of guarding the Chancellory and presenting arms to visiting dignitaries.

It was from this miniscule group of 180 men that a few years later would spring an army of a million soldiers. An army of unprecedented valor extending its call throughout Europe.

After Hitler was compelled to acknowledge the superiority of the army he realized that the brass would never support his revolutionary social programs. It was an army of aristocrats.

Hitler was a man of the people, a man who succeeded in wiping out unemployment, a feat unsurpassed to this day. Within two years he gave work to six million Germans and got rid of rampant poverty. In five years the German worker doubled his income without inflation. Hundreds of thousands of beautiful homes were built for workers at a minimal cost. Each home had a garden to grow flowers and vegetables. All the factories were provided with sport fields, swimming pools and attractive and decent workshops.

For the first time paid vacations were created. The communists and capitalists had never offered paid vacations; this was Hitler's creation. He organized the famous "strength through joy" programs which meant that workers could, at affordable prices, board passenger ships and visit any part of the world.

All these social improvements did not please the establishment. Big business tycoons and international bankers were worried. But Hitler stood up to them. Business can make profits but only if people are paid decently and are allowed to live and work in dignity. People, not profits, come first.

This was only one of Hitler's reforms. He initiated hundreds of others. He literally rebuilt Germany. In a few years more than five thousand miles of freeways were built. For the worker the affordable Volkswagen was created. Any worker could get this car on a payment of five marks a week. It was unprecedented in Europe. Thanks to the freeways the worker for the first time could visit any part of Germany whenever they liked. The same programs applied to the farmers and middle class.

Hitler realized that if his social reforms were to proceed free of sabotage he needed a powerful lever, a lever that commanded respect.

Hitler still did not confront the army but skillfully started to build up the SS. He desperately needed the SS because above all Hitler was a political man; to him war was the last resort. His aim was to convince people, to obtain their loyalty, particularly the younger generation. He knew that the establishment-minded brass would oppose him at every turn.

And he was right. Through the high ranking officers the establishment plotted the overthrow of the democratically elected Hitler government. Known as the Munich Plot, the conspirators were detected in time. That was in 1938.

On 20 July 1944, Hitler almost lost his life when aristocratic officers planted a time bomb underneath his desk.

In order not to alert the army Hitler enlarged the SS into a force responsible for law and order. There was of course a German police force but there again Hitler was unsure of their loyalty. The 150,000 police were appointed by the Weimar regime. Hitler needed the SS not only to detect plots but mostly to protect his reforms. As his initial *Leibstandarte* unit of 180 grew, other regiments were found such as the *Deutschland* and the *Germania*.

The army brass did everything to prevent SS recruitment. Hitler bypassed the obstacles by having the interior minister and not the war ministry do the recruiting.

The army countered by discouraging the recruitment of men between the ages of 18 and 45. On the ground of national defense, privates were ordered to serve four years, non-commissioned officers twelve and officers twenty-five years.

Such orders, it was thought, would stop SS recruitment dead in its tracks. The reverse happened. Thousands of young men rushed to apply, despite the lengthy service, more than could be accepted.

The young felt the SS was the only armed force which represented their own ideas.

The new formations of young SS captivated public imagination. Clad in smart black uniforms the SS attracted more and more young men.

It took two years from 1933 to 1935 and a constant battle of wits with the army to raise a force of 8,000 SS.

At the time the name Waffen SS did not even exist. It was not until 1940, after the French campaign, that the SS will be officially named "Waffen SS." In 1935 they were called just SS. However, 8,000 SS did not go far in a country of 80 million people. And Hitler had yet to devise another way to get around the army. He created the *Totenkopf* guard corps. They were really SS in disguise but their official function was to guard the concentration camps.

What were these concentration camps?

They were just work camps where intractable communists were put to work. They were well treated because it was thought they would be converted sooner or later to patriotism. There were two concentration camps with a total of three thousand men. Three thousand out of a total of six million card-carrying members of the Communist Party. That represents one per two thousand. Right until the war there were fewer than ten thousand inmates.

So the *Totenkopf* ploy produced four regiments. At the right moment they will join the SS. The *Totenkopf* kept a low profile through an elaborate system of recruiting reserves in order to keep its strength inconspicuous.

At the beginning of the war the *Totenkopf* numbered 40,000 men. They will be sent to 163 separate units. Meanwhile the initial *Leibstandarte* regiment reached 2800 and a fourth regiment was formed in Vienna at the time of the Anschluss.

The young men who joined the SS were trained like no other army in the world. Military and academic instruction were intensive, but it was the physical training that was the most rigorous. They practice sports with excellence. Each of them would have performed with distinction at the Olympic games. The extraordinary physical endurance of the SS on the Russian front, which so amazed the world, was due to this intensive training.

There was also the ideological training. They were taught why they were fighting, what kind of Germany was being resurrected before their very eyes. They were shown how Germany was being morally united through class reconciliation and physically united through the return of the lost German homelands. They were made aware of their kinship with all the other Germans living in foreign lands, in Poland, Russia, the Sudetenland and other parts of Europe. They were taught that all Germans represented an ethnic unity.

Young SS were educated in two military academies, one in Bad Toelz the other in Braunschweig. These academies were totally different from the grim barracks of the past. Combining aesthetics with the latest technology they were located in the middle of hundreds of acres of beautiful country.

Hitler was opposed to any war, particularly in Western Europe. He did not even conceive that the SS could participate in such a war. Above all the SS was a political force. Hitler regarded Western countries as individual cultures which could be federated but certainly not conquered. He felt a conflict within the West would be a no-win civil war.

Hitler's conception of Europe then was far ahead of his neighbors. The mentality of 1914-1918, when small countries fought other small countries over bits of real estate, still prevailed in the Europe of 1939. Not so in the case of the Soviet Union where internationalism replaced nationalism. The communists never aimed at serving the interests of Russia. Communism does not limit itself to acquire chunks of territories but aims at total world domination.

This is a dramatically new factor. This policy of world conquest is still being carried out today whether in Vietnam, Afganistan, Africa or Poland. At the time it was an entirely new concept. Alone among all the leaders of the world Hitler saw this concept as an equal threat to all nations.

Hitler recalled vividly the havoc the communists unleashed in Germany at the end of World War One. Particularly in Berlin and Bavaria the Communists under foreign orders organized a state within a state and almost took over. For Hitler, everything pointed East. The threat was Communism.

Apart from his lack of interest in subjugating Western Europe, Hitler was well aware he could not wage war on two fronts.

At this point instead of letting Hitler fight Communism the Allies made the fateful decision to attack Hitler.

The so-called Western Democracies allied themselves with the Soviet Union for the purpose of encircling and destroying the democratic government of Germany.

The Treaty of Versailles had already amputated Germany from all sides. It was designed to keep Germany in a state of permanent economic collapse and military impotence. The Allies had ratified a string of treaties with Belgium, the newly created Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and Rumania to pressure Germany from all sides.

Now in the summer of 1939 the governments of Britain and France were secretly negotiating a full military alliance with the Soviet Union. The talks were held in Moscow and the minutes were signed by Marshal Zhukov.

I have these minutes in my possession. They are stupefying. One can read a report guaranteeing Britain and France of Soviet participation against Germany. Upon ratification the Soviet Union was to provide the Anglo-French forces with the Soviet support of 5500 combat planes immediately plus the back up of the entire Soviet air force. Between 9,000 to 10,000 tanks would also be made available. In return, the Soviet Union demanded the Baltic states and free access to Poland. The plan called for an early joint attack.

Germany was still minimally armed at that stage. The French negotiators realized that the 10,000 Soviet tanks would soon destroy the 2000 German tanks but did not see that they would be unlikely. to Stop at the French border. Likewise the British government was quite prepared to let the Soviets take over Europe.

Facing total encirclement Hitler decided once more to make his own peace with one or the other side of the Soviet-British partnership.

He turned to the British and French governments and requested formal peace talks. His quest for peace was answered by an outpouring of insults and denunciations. The international press went on an orgy of hate against Hitler unprecedented in history. It is mind-boggling to re-read these newspapers today.

When Hitler made similar peace overtures to Moscow he was surprised to find the Soviets eager to sign a peace treaty with Germany. In fact, Stalin did not sign a peace treaty for the purpose of peace. He signed to let Europe destroy itself in a war of attrition while giving him the time he needed to build up his military strength.

Stalin's real intent is revealed in the minutes of the Soviet High Command, also in my possession. Stalin states his intent to come into the war the moment Hitler and the Western powers have annihilated each other. Stalin had great interest in marking time and letting others fight first. I have read his military plans and I have seen how they were achieved. By 1941 Stalin's ten thousand tanks had increased to 17,999, the next year they would have been 32,000, ten times more than Germany's. The air force would also have been 10 to 1 in Stalin's favor.

The very week Stalin signed the peace treaty with Hitler he gave orders to build 96 air fields on the Western Soviet border, 180 were planned for the following year. His strategy was constant: "The more the Western powers fight it out the weaker they will be. The longer I wait the stronger I get." It was under these appalling circumstances that World War Two started. A war which was offered to the Soviets on a silver platter.

Aware of Stalin's preparations Hitler knew he would have to face communism sooner rather than later. And to fight communism he had to rely on totally loyal men, men who would fight for an ideology against another ideology. It had always been Hitler's policy to oppose the ideology of class war with an ideology of class cooperation.

Hitler had observed that Marxist class war had not brought prosperity to the Russian people. Russian workers were poorly clothed, as they are now, badly housed, badly fed. Goods are always in short supply and to this day, housing in Moscow is as nightmarish as it was before the war. For Hitler the failure of class war made class cooperation the only just alternative. To make it work Hitler saw to it that one class would not be allowed to abuse the other.

It is a fact that the newly rich classes emerging from the industrial revolution had enormously abused their privileges and it was for this reason that the National Socialists were socialists.

National Socialism was a popular movement in the truest sense. The great majority of National Socialists were blue collars. 70% of the Hitler Youth were children of blue collar workers. Hitler won the elections because the great mass of workers were solidly behind him. One often wonders why six million communists who had voted against Hitler, turned their back on Communism after Hitler had been elected in 1933. There is only one reason: they witnessed and experienced the benefits of class cooperation. Some say they were forced to change; it is not true. Like other loyal Germans they fought four years on the Russian Front with distinction.

The workers never abandoned Hitler, but the upper classes did. Hitler spelled out his formula of class cooperation as the answer to communism with these words: "Class cooperation means that capitalists will never again treat the workers as mere economic components. Money is but one part of our economic life, the workers are more than machines to whom one throws a pay packet every week. The real wealth of Germany is its workers."

Hitler replaced gold with work as the foundation of his economy. National Socialism was the exact opposite of Communism. Extraordinary achievements, followed Hitler's election.

We always hear about Hitler and the camps, Hitler and the Jews, but we never hear about his immense social work. If so much hatred was generated against Hitler by the international bankers and the servile press it was because of his social work. It is obvious that a genuine popular movement like National Socialism was going to collide with the selfish interest of high finance. Hitler made clear that the control of money did not convey the right of rapacious exploitation of an entire country because there are also people living in the country, millions of them, and these people have the right to live with dignity and without want. What Hitler said and practiced had won

over the German youth. It was this social revolution that the SS felt compelled to spread throughout Germany and defend with their lives if need be.

The 1939 war in Western Europe defied all reason. It was a civil war among those who should have been united. It was a monstrous stupidity.

The young SS were trained to lead the new National Socialist revolution. In five or ten years they were to replace all those who had been put in office by the former regime.

But at the beginning of the war it was not possible for these young men to stay home. Like the other young men in the country they had to defend their country and they had to defend it better than the others.

The war turned the SS from a home political force to a national army fighting abroad and then to a supranational army.

We are now at the beginning of the war in Poland with its far reaching consequences. Could the war have been avoided? Emphatically yes! Even after it had moved into Poland.

The Danzig conflict was inconsequential. The Treaty of Versailles had separated the German city of Danzig from Germany and given it to Poland against the wish of its citizens.

This action was so outrageous that it had been condemned all over the world. A large section of Germany was sliced through the middle. To go from Western Prussia to Eastern Prussia one had to travel in a sealed train through Polish territory. The citizens of Danzig had voted 99% to have their city returned to Germany. Their right of self-determination had been consistently ignored.

However, the war in Poland started for reasons other than Danzig's self-determination or even Poland's.

Poland just a few months before had attacked Czechoslovakia at the same time Hitler had returned the Sudetenland to Germany. The Poles were ready to work with Hitler. If Poland turned against Germany it is because the British government did everything in its power to poison German-Polish relations.

Why?

Much has to do with a longstanding inferiority complex British rulers have felt towards Europe. This complex has manifested itself in the British Establishment's obsession in keeping Europe weak through wars and dissension.

At the time the British Empire controlled 500 million human beings outside of Europe but somehow it was more preoccupied with its traditional hobby: sowing dissension in Europe. This policy of never allowing the emergence of a strong European country has been the British Establishment's modus operandi for centuries.

Whether it was Charles the Fifth of Spain, Louis the Fourteenth or Napoleon of France or William the Second of Germany, the British Establishment never tolerated any unifying power in Europe. Germany never wanted to meddle in British affairs. However, the British Establishment always made it a point to meddle in European affairs, particularly in Central Europe and the Balkans.

Hitler's entry into Prague brought the British running to the fray. Prague and Bohemia had been part of Germany for centuries and always within the German sphere of influence. British meddling in this area was totally unjustified.

For Germany the Prague regime represented a grave threat. Benes, Stalin's servile Czech satrap, had been ordered by his Kremlin masters to open his borders to the Communist armies at a moment's notice. Prague was to be the Soviet springboard to Germany.

For Hitler, Prague was a watchtower to central Europe and an advance post to delay a Soviet invasion. There were also Prague's historical economic links with Germany. Germany has always had economic links with Central Europe. Rumania, the Balkans, Bulgaria, Hungary and Yugoslavia have had longstanding complimentary economies with Germany which have functioned to this day.

Hitler's European economic policy was based on common sense and realism. And it was Hitler's emerging Central European Common Market rather than concern for Czech freedom that the British Establishment could not tolerate.

Yet English people felt great admiration for Hitler. I remember when Lloyd George addressed the German press outside Hitler's home, where he had just been a guest. He stated: "You can thank God you have such a wonderful man as your leader!" Lloyd George, the enemy of Germany during World War One, said that!

King Edward the Eighth of England who had just abdicated and was now the Duke of Windsor also came to see Hitler at his Berchtesgaden home, accompanied by his wife, who incidentally had been used to force his abdication. When they returned the Duke sent a wire to Hitler. It read: "What a wonderful day we have spent with your Excellency. Unforgettable!" The Duke reflected what many English people knew, remarking on: "how well off the German workers were." The Duke was telling the truth. The German worker earned twice as much, without inflation, as he did before Hitler and consequently his standard of living was high.

Even Churchill, the most fanatic German-hater of them all, had in 1938, a year before the war, sent a letter to Hitler in which he wrote: "If ever Great Britain was plunged into a disaster comparable to the one that afflicted Germany in 1918 I would ask God that He should send us a man with the strength and the character of your Excellency."

The *London Times* reported this extraordinary statement.

Friend or foe, all acknowledge that Hitler was a man of exceptional genius. His achievements were the envy of the world. In five short years he rebuilt a bankrupt nation burdened with millions of unemployed into the strongest economic power in Europe. It was so strong that the small country that was Germany was able to withstand a war against the whole world for six years.

Churchill acknowledged that no one in the world could match such a feat. He stated just before the war: "there is no doubt we can work out a peace formula with Hitler." But Churchill received other instructions. The Establishment, fearful that Hitler's successes in Germany could spread to other countries, was determined to destroy him. It created hatred against Germany across Europe by stirring old grievances. It also exploited the envy some Europeans felt toward Germany.

The Germans' high birth rate had made Germany the most populous country in Western Europe. In science and technology Germany was ahead of both France and Britain. Hitler had built Ger-

many into an economic powerhouse. That was Hitler's crime and the British Establishment opted to destroy Hitler and Germany by any means.

The British manipulated the Polish government against Germany. The Poles themselves were more than willing to live in peace with the Germans. Instead, the unfortunate Poles were railroaded into war by the British. One must not forget that one and a half million Germans lived in Poland at the time, at great benefit to the Polish economy. Apart from economic ties with Germany, the Poles saw a chance that with Germany's help they would be able to recover their Polish territories from the Soviet Union, territories they had tried to recover in vain since 1919.

In January 1939 Hitler had proposed to Beck, the Polish leader, a compromise to solve the Danzig issue: The Danzigers' vote to return to Germany would be honored and Poland would continue to have free port access and facilities, guaranteed by treaty.

The prevailing notion of the day that every country must have a sea port really does not make sense. Switzerland, Hungary and other countries with no sea ports manage quite well. Hitler's proposals were based on the principles of self-determination and reciprocity. Even Churchill admitted that such a solution could dispose of the Danzig problem. This admission, however, did not prevent him to send an ultimatum to Germany: withdrawal from Poland or war. The world has recently seen what happened when Israel invaded Lebanon. Heavily populated cities like Tyre and Sidon were destroyed and so was West Beirut. Everybody called for Israel's withdrawal but no one declared war on Israel when it refused to budge.

With a little patience a peaceful solution would have been found Danzig. Instead, the international press unleashed a massive campaign of outright lies and distortions against Hitler. His proposals were willfully misrepresented by a relentless press onslaught.

Of all the crimes of World War Two, one never hears about the wholesale massacres that occurred in Poland just before the war. I have detailed reports in my files documenting the mass slaughter of defenseless Germans in Poland.

Thousands of German men, women and children were massacred in the most horrendous fashion by Press-enraged mobs. The photographs of these massacres are too sickening to look at! Hitler decided to halt the slaughter and he rushed to the rescue.

The Polish campaign showed Hitler to be a military genius. History had already started to recognize this most startling of Hitler's characteristics: his rare military genius. All the successful military campaigns of the Third Reich were thought out and directed by Hitler personally, not the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Hitler inspired a number of generals who became his most able executives in later campaigns.

In regard to the Polish campaign the General Staff had planned an offensive along the Baltic coastline in order to take Danzig, a plan logistically doomed to failure. Instead, Hitler invented the Blitzkrieg or lightning war and in no time captured Warsaw. The Waffen SS appeared on the Polish Front and its performance amazed the world.

The second campaign in France was also swift and humane. The British-French forces had rushed to Holland and Belgium to check the German advance, but they were outwitted and outflanked in Sedan. It was all over in a matter of days.

The story goes that Hitler had nothing to do with this operation; that it was all the work of General von Manstein. That is entirely false. Marshall von Manstein had indeed conceived the idea

but when he submitted it to the joint Chiefs of Staff he was reprimanded, demoted and retired to Dresden. The General Staff had not brought this particular incident to Hitler's attention. On his own, Hitler ran a campaign along the same lines and routed the British-French forces. It was not until March 1940 that von Manstein came into contact with Hitler.

Hitler also planned the Balkan and Russian campaigns. On the rare occasions where Hitler allowed the General Staff to have their way, such as in Kursk, the battle was lost.

In the 1939 Polish campaign Hitler did not rely on military textbook theories devised fifty years ago, as advocated by the General Staff, but on his own plan of swift, pincer-like encirclement. In eight days the Polish war was won and over in spite of the fact that Poland is as large as France.

The eight day campaign saw three SS regiments in action: The *Leibstandarte*, the *Deutschland* and the *Germania*. There was also an SS motorbike battalion, a corps of engineers and a transmission unit. In all it was a comprehensive but small force of 25,000 men.

Sepp Dietrich and his *Leibstandarte* alone had, after bolting out of Silesia, split Poland in half within days. With less than 3,000 men he had defeated a Polish force of 15,000 and taken 10,000 prisoners. Such victories were not achieved without loss.

It is hard to imagine that from a total of one million SS, 352,000 were killed in action with 50,000 more missing. It is a grim figure! Four hundred thousand of the finest young men in Europe! Without hesitation they sacrificed themselves for their beliefs. They knew they had to give an example. They were the first on the front line as a way to defend their country and their ideals.

In victory or defeat the Waffen SS always sought to be the best representatives of their people.

The SS was a democratic expression of power: people gathering of their own free will.

The consent of the ballot box is not only this; there is consent of the heart and the mind of men. In action, the Waffen SS made a plebiscite: that the German people should be proud of them, should give them their respect and their love. Such high motivation made the volunteers of the Waffen SS the best fighters in the world.

The SS had proved themselves in action. They were not empty talking politicians, but they gave their lives, the first to go and fight in an extraordinary spurt of comradeship. This comradeship was one of the most distinctive characteristics of the SS: the SS leader was the comrade of the others.

It was on the front lines that the results of the SS physical training could really be noticed. An SS officer had the same rigorous training as the soldiers. Those officers and privates competed in the same sports events, and only the best man won, regardless of rank. This created a real brotherhood which literally energized the entire Waffen SS. Only the teamwork of free men, bonded by a higher ideal could unite Europe. Look at the Common Market of today. It is a failure. There is no unifying ideal. Everything is based on haggling over the price of tomatoes, steel, coal, or booze. Fruitful unions are based on something a little higher than that.

The relationship of equality and mutual respect between soldiers and officers was always present. Half of all division commanders were killed in action. Half! There is not an army in the world where this happened. The SS officer always led his troops to battle. I was engaged in seventy-five hand-to-hand combats because as an SS officer I had to be the first to meet the enemy. SS soldiers were not sent to slaughter by behind-the-line officers, they followed their officers with

passionate loyalty. Every SS commander knew and taught all his men, and often received unexpected answers.

After breaking out of Tcherkassy's siege I talked with all my soldiers one-by-one, there were thousands at the time. For two weeks every day from dawn to dusk, I asked them questions, and heard their replies. Sometimes it happens that some soldiers who brag a little, receive medals, while others — heroes — who keep quiet, miss out. I talked to all of them because I wanted to know first-hand what happened, and what they had done. To be just I had to know the truth.

It was on this occasion that two of my soldiers suddenly pulled their identity cards from the Belgian Resistance Movement. They had been sent to kill me. At the front line, it is very simple to shoot someone in the back. But the extraordinary SS team spirit had won them over. SS officers could expect loyalty of their men by their example.

The life expectancy of an SS officer at the front was three months. In Estonia I received ten new young officers from Bad Toelz academy one Monday; by Thursday, one was left and he was wounded.

In the conventional armies, officers talked at the men, from superior to inferior, and seldom as brothers in combat and brothers in ideology.

Thus, by 1939, the Waffen SS had earned general admiration and respect. This gave Hitler the opportunity to call for an increase in their numbers. Instead of regiments, there would be three divisions.

Again, the Army brass laid down draconian recruiting conditions: SS could only join for not less than four years of combat duty. The brass felt no one would take such a risk. Again, they guessed wrong. In the month of February 1940 alone, 49,000 joined the SS. From 25,000 in September 1939 there would be 150,000 in May 1940.

Thus, from 180 to 8,000 to 25,000 to 150,000 and eventually one million men, all this against all odds.

Hitler had no interest whatever in getting involved with the war in France, a war forced on him.

The 150,000 SS had to serve under the Army, and they were given the most dangerous and difficult missions. Despite the fact that they were provided with inferior hand-arms and equipment. They had no tanks. In 1940 the *Leibstandarte* was provided with a few scouting tanks. The SS were given wheels and that's all. But with trucks, motorbikes and varied limited means they were able to perform amazing feats.

The *Leibstandarte* and *Der Führer* regiments were sent to Holland under the Leadership of Sepp Dietrich. They had to cross Dutch waterways. The Luftwaffe had dropped parachutists to hold the bridges 120 miles deep in Dutch territory, and it was vital for the SS to reach these bridges with the greatest speed.

The *Leibstandarte* would realize an unprecedented feat in ten days: to advance 120 miles in one day. It was unheard of at the time, and the world was staggered. At that rate German troops would reach Spain in one week. In one day the SS had crossed all the Dutch canals on flimsy rubber rafts-. Here again, SS losses were heavy. But, thanks to their heroism and speed, the German Army reached Rotterdam in three days. The parachutists all risked being wiped out had the SS not accomplished their lightning-thrust.

In Belgium, the SS regiment *Der Führer* faced head on the French Army, which after falling in the Sedan trap, had rushed toward Breda, Holland. There, one would see for the first time a small motivated army route a large national army. It took one SS regiment and a number of German troops to throw the whole French Army off balance and drive it back from Breda to Antwerp, Belgium and Northern France.

The *Leibstandarte* and *Der Führer* regiments jointly advanced on the large Zealand Islands, between the Escaut and Rhine rivers. In a few days they would be under control.

In no time the *Leibstandarte* had then crossed Belgium and Northern France. The second major battle of SS regiments occurs in concert with the Army tank division. The SS, still with their tanks, are under the command of General Rommel and General Guderian. They spearhead a thrust toward the North Sea.

Sepp Dietrich and his troops have now crossed the French canals, but are pinned down by the enemy in a mud field, and just manage to avoid extermination. But despite the loss of many soldiers, officers and one battalion commander, all killed in action, the Germans reach Dunkirk.

Hitler is very proud of them.

The following week, Hitler deploys them along the Somme River, from which they will pour out across France. There again, the SS will prove itself to be the best fighting force in the world. Sepp Dietrich and the 2nd Division of the SS, *Totenkopf*, advance so far so fast they they even lose contact with the rest of the Army for three days.

They found themselves in Lyon, France, a city they had to leave after the French-German peace treaty.

Sepp Dietrich and a handful of SS on trucks had achieved the impossible.

Der Führer SS division spearheaded the Maginot Line breakthrough. Everyone had said the Line was impenetrable. The war in France was over. Hitler had the three SS divisions march through Paris. Berlin honored the heroes also. But the Army was so jealous that it would not cite a single SS for valor or bravery. It was Hitler himself who in front of the German congress solemnly paid tribute to the heroism of the SS. It was on this occasion that Hitler officially recognized the name of the Waffen SS.

But it was more than just a name-change. The Waffen SS became Germanic, as volunteers were accepted from all Germanic countries. The SS had found out by themselves that the people of Western Europe were closely related to them: the Norwegians, the Danes, the Dutch, the Flemish — all belonged to the same Germanic family. These Germanic people were themselves very much impressed by the SS, and so, by the way, were the French.

The people of Western Europe had marvelled at this extraordinary German force with a style unlike any others: if two SS scouts would reach town ahead of everybody else, on motorbikes, before presenting themselves to the local authorities they would first clean themselves up so as to be of impeccable appearance. The people could not help but be impressed.

The admiration felt by young Europeans of Germanic stock for the SS was very natural. Thousands of young men from Norway, Denmark, Flanders, and Holland were awed with surprise and admiration. They felt irresistably drawn to the SS. It was not Europe, but their own Germanic race that so deeply stirred their souls. They identified with the victorious Germans. To them,

Hitler was the most exceptional man ever seen. Hitler understood them, and had the remarkable idea to open the doors of the SS to them. It was quite risky. No one had ever thought of this before. Prior to Hitler, German imperialism consisted only of peddling goods to other countries, without any thought of creating an ideology called “community” — a common ideal with its neighbors.

Suddenly, instead of peddling and haggling, here was a man who offered a glorious ideal: an enthralling social justice, for which they all had yearned in vain, for years. A broad New Order, instead of the formless cosmopolitanism of the pre-war so-called “democracies.” The response to Hitler’s offer was overwhelming. Legions from Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Flanders were formed. Thousands of young men now wore the SS uniform. Hitler created specifically for them the famous *Viking* division. One destined to become one of the most formidable divisions of the Waffen SS.

The Army was still doing everything to stop men from joining the SS in Germany, and acted as though the SS did not exist. Against this background of obstructionism at home, it was normal and understandable that the SS would welcome men from outside Germany.

The Germans living abroad provided a rich source of volunteers. As there are millions of German-Americans, there are millions of Germans in all parts of Europe—in Hungary, in Rumania, in Russia. There was even a Soviet Republic of the Volga Germans. These were the descendants of Germans who had emigrated two centuries before. Other Europeans, like the French Huguenots, who went to Prussia, also shared this type of emigration with the Germans. So, Europe was dotted with German settlements. The victories of the Third Reich had made them proud of belonging to the German family. Hitler welcomed them home. He saw them, first, as a source of elite SS men, and also as an important factor in unifying all Germans ideologically.

Here again, the enthusiastic response was amazing. 300,000 volunteers of German ancestry would join, from all over Europe. 54,000 from Rumania alone. In the context of that era, these were remarkable figures. There were numerous problems to overcome. For instance, most of the Germanic volunteers no longer spoke German. Their families had settled in foreign lands for 200 years or so. In Spain, for instance, I can see the children of my legionaries being assimilated with the Spaniards — and their grandchildren no longer speak French. The Germans follow the same pattern. When the German volunteers first arrived at the SS, they spoke many different languages, had different ways and different needs.

How to find officers who could speak all these languages? How to coordinate such a disparate lot? The mastery of these problems was the miracle of the Waffen SS assimilation program. This homecoming of the separated “tribes” was seen by the Waffen SS as the foundation for real European unity. The 300,000 Germanic volunteers were welcomed by the SS as brothers, and they reciprocated by being as dedicated, loyal and heroic as the German SS.

Within the year, everything had changed for the Waffen SS. The barracks were full, the academies were full. The strictest admission standards and requirements equally applied for the Germanic volunteers. They had to be the best in every way, both physically and mentally. They had to be the best of the Germanic race.

German racialism has been deliberately distorted. It never was an anti-“other race” racialism. It was a pro-German racialism. It was concerned with making the German race strong and healthy in every way. Hitler was not interested in having millions of degenerates, if it was in his power not to have them. Today one finds rampant alcohol and drug addiction everywhere. Hitler cared that the German families be healthy, cared that they raise healthy children for the renewal of a

healthy nation. German racialism meant re-discovering the creative values of their own race, re-discovering their culture. It was a search for excellence, a noble idea. National Socialist racialism was not against the other races, it was for its own race. It aimed at defending and improving its race, and wished that all other races did the same for themselves.

That was demonstrated when the Waffen SS enlarged its ranks to include 60,000 Islamic SS. The Waffen SS respected their way of life, their customs, and their religious beliefs. Each Islamic SS battalion had an imam, each company had a mullah. It was our common wish that their qualities found their highest expression. This was our racialism. I was present when each of my Islamic comrades received a personal gift from Hitler during the new year. It was a pendant with a small Koran. Hitler was honoring them with this small symbolic gift. He was honoring them with what was the most important aspect of their lives and their history. National Socialist racialism was loyal to the German race and totally respected all other races.

At this point, one hears: "What about the anti-Jewish racism?" One can answer: "What about Jewish anti-Gentilism?"

It has been the misfortune of the Jewish race that never could they get on with any other race. It is an unusual historical fact and phenomenon. When one studies the history-and I say this without any passion- of the Jewish people, their evolution across the centuries, one observes that always, at all times, and at all places, they were hated. They were hated in ancient Egypt, they were hated in ancient Greece, they were hated in Roman times to such a degree that 3,000 of them were deported to Sardine. It was the first Jewish deportation. They were hated in Spain, in France, in England (they were banned from England for centuries), and in Germany. The conscientious Jewish author Lazare wrote a very interesting book on Anti-Semitism, where he asked himself: "We Jews should ask ourselves a question: why are we always hated everywhere? It is not because of our persecutors, all of different times and places. It is because there is something within us that is very unlikeable." What is unlikeable is that the Jews have always wanted to live as a privileged class divinely-chosen and beyond scrutiny. This attitude has made them unlikeable everywhere. The Jewish race is therefore a unique case. Hitler had no intention of destroying it. He wanted the Jews to find their own identity in their own environment, but not to the detriment of others. The fight-if we can call it that-of National Socialism against the Jews was purely limited to one objective: that the Jews leave Germany in peace. It was planned to give them a country of their own, outside Germany. Madagascar was contemplated, but the plans were dropped when the United States entered the war. In the meanwhile, Hitler thought of letting the Jews live in their own traditional ghettos. They would have their own organizations, they would run their own affairs and live the way they wanted to live. They had their own police, their own tramways, their own flag, their own factories which, incidentally, were built by the German government. As far as other races were concerned, they were all welcomed in Germany as guests, but not as privileged occupants.

In one year the Waffen SS had gathered a large number of Germanic people from Northern Europe and hundreds of thousands of Germans from outside Germany, the Volksdeutsche, or Germanic SS. It was then that the conflict between Communism and National Socialism burst into the open. The conflict had always existed. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had clearly set out his objective: "to eliminate the world threat of Communism," and incidentally claim some land in Eastern Europe! This eastward expansionism created much outrage: How could the Germans claim land in Russia? To this one can answer: How could the Americans claim Indian land from the Atlantic to the Pacific? How could France claim Southern Flanders and Rousillon from Spain? And what of Britain, and what of so many other countries who have claimed, conquered and settled in other territories? Somehow at the time it was all right for all these countries to settle foreign lands but

it was not for Germany. Personally, I have always vigorously defended the Russians, and I finally did succeed in convincing Hitler that Germans had to live with Russians as partners not as conquerors. Before achieving this partnership, there was first the matter of wiping out Communism. During the Soviet-German Pact, Hitler was trying to gain time but the Soviets were intensifying their acts of aggression from Estonia to Bukovina. I now read extracts from Soviet documents. They are most revealing. Let's read from Marshal Voroshilov himself:

We now have the time to prepare ourselves to be the executioner of the capitalist world while it is agonizing. We must, however, be cautious. The Germans must not have any inkling that we are preparing to stab them in the back while they are busy fighting the French. Otherwise, they could change their general plan, and attack us.

In the same record, Marshal Choupenkov wrote: "The coexistence between Hitler's Germany and the Soviet Union is only temporary. We will not make it last very long." Marshal Timoshenko, for his part, did not want to be so hasty: "Let us not forget that our war material from our Siberian factories will not be delivered until Fall." This was written at the beginning of 1941, and the material was only to be delivered in the Fall. The war industry Commissariat Report stated: We will not be in full production until 1942. Marshal Zhukov made this extraordinary admission: "Hitler is in a hurry to invade us; he has good reasons for it."

Indeed, Hitler had good reasons to invade Russia in a hurry because he realized he would be wiped out if he did not. Zhukov added: "We need a few more months to rectify many of our defects before the end of 1941. We need 18 months to complete the modernization of our forces."

The orders are quite precise. At the fourth session of the Supreme Soviet in 1939, it is decreed that Army officers will serve three years and the soldiers will serve four years, and the Navy personnel, five years. All these decisions were made less than a month after the Soviets signed the peace treaty with Germany.

Thus the Soviets, pledged to peace, were frantically preparing for war. More than 2,500 new concrete fortifications were built between 1939 and 1940. 160 divisions were made combat-ready. 60 tank divisions were on full alert. The Germans only had 10 panzer tank divisions. In 1941, the Soviets had 17,000 tanks, and by 1942 they had 32,000. They had 92,578 pieces of artillery. And their 17,545 combat planes in 1940 outnumbered the German air force.

It is easy to understand that with such war preparations going on, Hitler was left with only one option: Invade the Soviet Union immediately, or face annihilation.

Hitler's Russian campaign was the "last chance" campaign. Hitler did not go into Russia with any great optimism. He told me later on: "When I entered Russia, I was like a man facing a shut door. I knew I had to crash through it, but without knowing what was behind it." Hitler was right. He knew the Soviets were strong, but above all he knew they were going to be a lot stronger. 1941 was the only time Hitler had some respite. The British had not succeeded yet in expanding the war. Hitler, who never wanted the war with Britain, still tried for peace. He invited me to spend a week at his home. He wanted to discuss the whole situation and hear what I had to say about it. He spoke very simply and clearly. The atmosphere was informal and relaxed. He made you feel at home because he really enjoyed being hospitable. He buttered pieces of toast in a leisurely fashion, and passed them around, and although he did not drink he went to get a bottle of champagne after each meal because he knew I enjoyed a glass at the end of it. All without fuss and with genuine friendliness. It was part of his genius that he was also a man of simple ways without the slightest affection and a man of great humility. We talked about England. I asked him bluntly: "Why on earth didn't you finish the British off in Dunkirk? Everyone knew you could

have wiped them out.” He answered: “Yes, I withheld my troops and let the British escape back to England. The humiliation of such a defeat would have made it difficult to try for peace with them afterwards.”

At the same time, Hitler told me he did not want to dispel the Soviet belief that he was going to invade England. He mentioned that he even had small Anglo-German dictionaries distributed to his troops in Poland. The Soviet spies there duly reported to the Kremlin that Germany’s presence in Poland was a bluff and that they were about to leave for the British Isles.

On 22 June 1941, it was Russia and not England that Germany invaded. The initial victories were swift but costly. I lived the epic struggle of the Russian Front. It was a tragic epic; it was also martyrdom. The endless thousands of miles of the Russian steppes were overwhelming. We had to reach the Caucasus by foot, always under extreme conditions. In the summer we often walked knee-deep in mud, and in winter there were below-zero freezing temperatures. But for a matter of a few days Hitler would have won the war in Russia in 1941. Before the battle of Moscow, Hitler had succeeded in defeating the Soviet Army, and taking considerable numbers of prisoners.

General Guderian’s tank division, which had all by itself encircled more than a million Soviet troops near Kiev, had reached Moscow right up to the city’s tramway lines. It was then that suddenly an unbelievable freeze happened: 40, 42, 50 degrees celsius below zero! This meant that not only were men freezing, but the equipment was also freezing, on the spot. No tanks could move. Yesterday’s mud had frozen to a solid block of ice, half a meter high, icing up the tank treads.

In 24 hours all of our tactical options had been reversed. It was at that time that masses of Siberian troops brought back from the Russian Far East were thrown against the Germans. These few fateful days of ice that made the difference between victory and defeat, Hitler owed to the Italian campaign in Greece during the fall of 1940.

Mussolini was envious of Hitler’s successes. It was a deep and silent jealousy. I was a friend of Mussolini, I knew him well. He was a remarkable man, but Europe was not of great concern to him. He did not like to be a spectator, watching Hitler winning everywhere. He felt compelled to do something himself, fast. Impulsively, he launched a senseless offensive against Greece.

His troops were immediately defeated. But it gave the British the excuse to invade Greece, which up till now had been uninvolved in the war. From Greece the British could bomb the Rumanian oil wells, which were vital to Germany’s war effort. Greece could also be used to cut off the German troops on their way to Russia. Hitler was forced to quash the threat preemptively. He had to waste five weeks in the Balkans. His victories there were an incredible logistical achievement, but they delayed the start of the Russian campaign for five critical weeks.

If Hitler had been able to start the campaign in time, as it was planned, he would have entered Moscow five weeks before, in the sun of early fall, when the earth was still dry. The war would have been over, and the Soviet Union would have been a thing of the past. The combination of the sudden freeze and the arrival of fresh Siberian troops spread panic among some of the old Army generals. They wanted to retreat to 200 miles from Moscow. It is hard to imagine such inane strategy! The freeze affected Russia equally, from West to East, and to retreat 200 miles in the open steppes would only make things worse. I was commanding my troops in the Ukraine at the time and it was 42 degrees centigrade below zero.

Such a retreat meant abandoning all the heavy artillery, including assault tanks and panzers that were stuck in the ice. It also meant exposing half a million men to heavy Soviet sniping. In fact,

it meant condemning them to certain death. One need only recall Napoleon's retreat in October. He reached the Berzina River in November, and by December 6th all the French troops had left Russia. It was cold enough, but it was not a winter campaign.

Can you just imagine in 1941 half a million Germans fighting howling snowstorms, cut off from supplies, attacked from all sides by tens of thousands of Cossaks? I have faced charging Cossaks, and only the utmost superior firepower will stop them. In order to counter such an insane retreat, Hitler had to fire more than 30 generals within a few days.

It was then that he called on the Waffen SS to fill in the gap and boost morale. Immediately the SS held fast on the Moscow front. Right through the war the Waffen SS never retreated. They would rather die than retreat. One cannot forget the figures. During the 1941 winter, the Waffen SS lost 43,000 men in front of Moscow. The regiment *Der Führer* fought almost literally to the last man. Only 35 men survived out of the entire regiment. The *Der Führer* men stood fast and no Soviet troops got through. They had to try to bypass the SS in the snow. This is how famous Russian General Vlasov was captured by the *Totenkopf* SS division. Without their heroism, Germany would have been annihilated by December 1941.

Hitler would never forget it: he gauged the willpower that the Waffen SS had displayed in front of Moscow. They had shown character and guts. And that is what Hitler admired most of all: guts. For him, it was not enough to have intelligent or clever associates. These people can often fall to pieces, as we will see during the following winter at the battle of Stalingrad with General Paulus.

Hitler knew that only sheer energy and guts, the refusal to surrender, the will to hang tough against all odds, would win the war.

The blizzards of the Russian steppes had shown how the best army in the world, the German Army, with thousands of highly trained officers and millions of highly disciplined men, was just not enough. Hitler realized they would be beaten, that something else was needed, and that only the unshakable faith in a high ideal could overcome the situation. The Waffen SS had this ideal, and Hitler used them from now on at full capacity.

From all parts of Europe volunteers rushed to help their German brothers. It was then that was born the third great Waffen SS. First there was the German, then the Germanic, and now there was the European Waffen SS. 125,000 would then volunteer to save Western Culture and Civilization. The volunteers joined with full knowledge that the SS incurred the highest death tolls. More than 250,000 out of one million would die in action. For them, the Waffen SS was, despite all the deaths, the birth of Europe. Napoleon said in St. Helena: "There will be no Europe until a leader arises."

The young European volunteers have observed two things: first, that Hitler was the only leader who was capable of building Europe and secondly that Hitler, and Hitler alone could defeat the world threat of Communism.

For the European SS the Europe of petty jealousies, jingoism, border disputes, economic rivalries was of no interest. it was too petty and demeaning; that Europe was no longer valid for them. At the same time the European SS, as much as they admired Hitler and the German people, did not want to become Germans. They were men of their own people and Europe was the gathering of the various people of Europe. European unity was to be achieved through harmony, not domination of one over the others.

I discussed these issues at length with both Hitler and Himmler. Hitler like all men of genius had outgrown the national stage. Napoleon was first a Corsican, then a Frenchman, then a European and then a singularly universal man. Likewise Hitler had been an Austrian, then a German, then a greater German, then Germanic, then he had seen and grasped the magnitude of building Europe.

After the defeat of Communism the Waffen SS had a solemn duty to gather all their efforts and strength to build a united Europe, and there was no question that non-German Europe should be dominated by Germany.

Before joining the Waffen SS we had known very difficult conflicts. We had gone to the Eastern front first as adjunct units to the German army but during the battle of Stalingrad we had seen that Europe was critically endangered. Great common effort was imperative. One night I had an 8 hour debate with Hitler and Himmler on the status of non-German Europeans within the new Europe.

For the present we expected to be treated as equals fighting for a common cause. Hitler understood fully and from then on we had our own flag, our own officers, our own language, our own religion. We had total equal status.

I was the first one to have Catholic padres in the Waffen SS. Later padres of all demoninations were available to all those who wanted them. The Islamic SS division had their own mullahs and the French even had a bishop! We were satisfied that with Hitler, Europeans would be federated as equals. We felt that the best way to deserve our place as equals was in this critical hour to defend Europe equally well as our German comrades.

What mattered above all for Hitler was courage. He created a new chivalry. Those who earn the order of the *Ritterkreuz*, meaning the cross of the knights, were indeed the new knights. They earned this nobility of courage. Each of our units going home after the war would be the force that would protect the peoples' rights in our respective countries. All the SS understood that European unity meant the whole of Europe, even Russia.

There had been a great lack of knowledge among many Germans regarding the Russians. Many believed that the Russians were all Communists while in fact, Russian representation in the Communist hierarchy was less than insignificant. They also believed that the Russians were diametrically opposite from the Europeans. Yet they have similar familial structures, they have an old civilization, deep religious faith and traditions which are not unlike those of other European countries.

The European SS saw the new Europe in the form of three great components; central Europe as the power house of Europe, western Europe as the cultural heart of Europe and eastern Europe as the potential of Europe. Thus the Europe the SS envisioned was alive and real. Its six hundred million inhabitants would live from the North Sea to Vladivostok. It was in this span of 8,000 miles that Europe could achieve its destiny. A space for young people to start new lives. This Europe would be the beacon of the world. A remarkable racial ensemble. An ancient civilization, a spiritual force and the most advanced technological and scientific complex. The SS prepared for the high destiny of Europe.

Compare these aims, these ideals with the "Allies." The Roosevelts, the Churchills sold Europe out in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. They cravenly capitulated to the Soviets. They delivered half of the European continent to Communist slavery. They let the rest of Europe disintegrate morally, without any ideal to sustain it. The SS knew what they wanted: the Europe of ideals was salvation for all.

This faith in higher ideals inspired four hundred thousand German SS, three hundred thousand *Volksdeutsche* or Germanic SS and three hundred thousand other European SS. Volunteers all, one million builders of Europe.

The ranks of the SS grew proportionately with the growth of the war in Russia. The nearer Germany was to defeat the more volunteers arrived at the front. This was phenomenal; eight days before the final defeat I saw hundreds of young men join the SS on the front. Right to the end they knew they had to do the impossible to stop the enemy.

So from the one hundred and eighty-men strong *Leibstandarte* in 1933 to the SS regiments before 1939, to the three regiments in Poland, to the three divisions in France, to the six divisions at the beginning of the Russian war, to the 38 divisions in 1944, the Waffen SS reached 50 divisions in 1945. The more SS died, the more others rushed to replace them. They had faith and stood firm to the extreme limit, The exact reverse happened in January 1943 at Stalingrad. The defeat there was decided by a man without courage. He was not capable of facing danger with determination, of saying unequivocally: I will not surrender, I will stand fast until I win. He was morally and physically gutless and he lost.

A year later the SS Viking and the SS Wallonia divisions were encircled in the same way at Cherkassy. With the disaster of Stalingrad fresh in the minds of our soldiers they could have been subject to demoralization. On top of it I was laid down with a deep sidewound and 102 degree temperature. As general in command of the SS Wallonia forces I knew that all this was not conducive to high morale. I got up and for 17 days I led charge after charge to break the blockade, engaged in numerous hand-to-hand combats, was wounded four times but never stopped fighting. All my men did just as much and more. The siege was broken by sheer SS guts and spirit.

After Stalingrad, when many thought that all was lost, when the Soviet forces poured across the Ukraine, the Waffen SS stopped the Soviets dead in their tracks. They re-took Charkov and inflicted a severe defeat on the Soviet army. This was a pattern; the SS would over and over turn reverses into victories.

The same fearless energy was also present in Normandy. Gen. Patton called them “the proud SS divisions.”

The SS was the backbone of resistance in Normandy. Eisenhower observed “the SS fought as usual to the last man.”

If the Waffen SS had not existed, Europe would have been overrun entirely by the Soviets by 1944. They would have reached Paris long before the Americans. The Waffen SS heroism stopped the Soviet juggernaut at Moscow, Cherkov, Cherkassy, and Tarnopol. The Soviets lost more than 12 months. Without SS resistance the Soviets would have been in Normandy before Eisenhower. The people showed deep gratitude to the young men who sacrificed their lives. Not since the great religious orders of the middle ages had there been such selfless idealism and heroism. In this century of materialism, the SS stand out as a shining light of spirituality.

I have no doubt whatever that the sacrifices and incredible feats of the Waffen SS will have their own epic poets like Schiller. Greatness in adversity is the distinction of the SS.

The curtain of silence fell on the Waffen SS after the war but now more and more young people somehow know of its existence, of its achievements. The fame is growing and the young demand to know more. In one hundred years almost everything will be forgotten but the greatness and the heroism of the Waffen SS will be remembered. It is the reward of an epic.

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Review

A Legacy of Hate: Anti-Semitism in America

- by Ernest Volkman, Franklin Watts, 358pp, \$16.95, ISBN 0-531-09863X.

reviewed by L. A. Rollins

“Some people go around smelling after anti-Semitism all the time,” wrote George Orwell in a letter to a friend. Orwell then opined that, “More rubbish is written about this subject than any other I can think of.” Ernest Volkman is a “prize-winning journalist” who has dedicated himself to proving the aptness of Orwell’s remarks. For some time, he has gone around smelling after anti-Semitism, and he has written a load of rubbish about it.

This load of rubbish, titled *A Legacy of Hate: Anti-Semitism in America*, purports to be “a study of the more modern forms of anti-Semitism in this country, the one place in the world where this ancient disease should not have happened, and where it should not be happening.” But what it is, primarily, is an exercise in fear-mongering, an attempt to conjure up the spectre of calamity for American Jews as a possible consequence of a supposed new outbreak of anti-Semitism. And, secondarily, the book is an exercise in smear-mongering, in which numerous individuals, groups, movements and institutions are tarred with Volkman’s mile-wide brush of anti-Semitism.

Volkman’s main theme, not exactly an original one, is that “there is a new anti-Semitism afoot.” But this “new anti-Semitism” is a strange beast. As Volkman puts it, “There are expressions of anti-Semitism, but paradoxically, they are not expressed out of hatred, but because of something even more hateful: simple ignorance.” But, as Volkman *also* says,

Anti-Semitism, then, is hatred of the Jews as a people. It should be distinguished from anti-Jewish feelings. People who do not like Jews for one reason or another are not necessarily anti-Semites; there is no compelling reason for Jews to be universally liked, any more than Americans, Chinese, Catholics or Buddhists are to be universally liked. Voltaire, that great humanist, plainly did not like Jews (he regarded them as odd and superstitious), but took pains to note that he thought burning Jews at the stake was uncalled for. Anti-Semites, however, progress over that critical step beyond dislike to pathology, hating Jews for being Jews. (p10)

If anti-Semitism is “hatred of the Jews as a people,” then there can be no “expressions of anti-Semitism” that “are not expressed out of hatred.” Thus, Volkman’s “new anti-Semitism” is not anti-Semitism at all. Volkman attempts to pass his self-contradiction off as a “paradox.” Rather, it is an example of his inability, or unwillingness, to think straight. (He has a similar problem with getting his facts straight, but more on that anon.)

As I’ve said, Volkman’s main theme is the rise of a “new anti-Semitism.” There are two varieties of this “new anti-Semitism: “indifferent anti-Semitism” and “casual anti-Semitism”. The first of

these is the subject of a chapter titled “A Callous Indifference.” Volkman probably took this title from a phrase used in a 1974 book titled, coincidentally, *The New Anti-Semitism*, an opus perpetrated by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, who Alfred Lilienthal has aptly dubbed the high priests of the “Anti-Defamation” League’s cult of anti-anti-Semitism. Here is the context in which Forster and Epstein used the phrase:

This book represents an attempt to survey the American domestic and world scenes and properly identify the current sources, modes and extent of anti-Jewish behavior. The task will involve, necessarily, some re-defining of traditional notions of anti-Semitism and serious reorientation of long-held convictions about the nature of its sources. But more important, we propose to examine as well behavior that can only be properly defined as an insensitivity to these problems rather than anti-Semitic either by the definitions that have existed or by new and more inclusive descriptions. It includes, often, a callous indifference to Jewish concerns expressed by respectable institutions and persons here and abroad-people who would be shocked to think themselves, or have others think them, anti-Semites. (p5)

Forster and Epstein did not go so far as to include “a callous indifference to Jewish concerns” within their new (and improved?) definition of “anti-Semitism.” But, in a case of the student surpassing the teacher, Volkman has done just that. With Volkman, “a callous indifference to Jewish concerns” becomes one of the two varieties of “the new anti-Semitism.” This is progress indeed. I can hardly wait for the day to arrive when this ever-expanding concept of “anti-Semitism” will have come to encompass everything under the sun.

In the meantime, Volkman has sniffed out numerous instances of “a callous indifference.” The Reagan administration, it seems, was guilty of “a callous indifference” in nominating Warren Richardson to the post of assistant secretary for legislation of the Department of Health and Human Services, because Richardson, from 1969 to 1973, had been general counsel and chief lobbyist for [Liberty Lobby](#), “one of the more notorious anti-Semitic organizations in the country.” Volkman rhetorically asks, “[H]ow was it possible for an administration to nominate for a high-ranking domestic policy post, a man who at the very least had served an avowedly anti-Semitic organization?” But, elsewhere in the book, he mentions [Liberty Lobby](#)’s “recent assertion that it is 'not anti-Semitic, only anti-Zionist.'” Thus, [Liberty Lobby](#) is not an avowedly anti-Semitic organization, and Volkman knows it.

In any case, it was Richardson who was nominated, not the [Liberty Lobby](#). And, even assuming the [Liberty Lobby](#) is anti-Semitic, that does not necessarily mean that Richardson is anti-Semitic (unless, of course, one believes in guilt by association), and Volkman’s evidence of Richardson’s alleged anti-Semitism is tenuous at best. It consists of two items: (1) an article by Richardson critical of American Middle East policy which concluded, “[Liberty Lobby](#) will not tag along with the cowards who would rather countenance another national disaster than brave the screams of the pro-Zionist 'free press' in America,” and (2) a joint interview Richardson gave with Curtis Dall, then head of the Liberty Lobby, in 1970, during which Richardson referred to “the international money order.” But, if this is enough to convict a man of anti-Semitism, then my name is Isadore Lipschitz. The article on Middle East policy, even assuming Richardson wrote the above-quoted conclusion, which he denies, is evidence only of anti-Zionism, not anti-Semitism. Volkman treats anti-Zionism as a manifestation of “the new anti-Semitism,” but, as I’ve already pointed out, “the new anti-Semitism” is not anti-Semitism. As for Richardson’s reference to “the international money order,” taken out of context it is not proof of much of anything (what did Richardson say about “the international money order?”), let alone proof of anti-Semitism. Volkman claims that the phrase is “an old right-wing code word for Jews, by which is meant 'interna-

tional Jewish money.' “ Of course, one can convict a person of anything by putting the necessary incriminating words in their mouth. But Robert Anton Wilson, in an interview given to Conspiracy Digest and reprinted in his book *The Illuminati Papers*, makes some relevant comments about a similar matter:

... it has been impossible to talk about bankers' conspiracies since the 1930s without most of your audience thinking you are a Nazi or, or least, an anti-Semite. This is what is called a conditioned association, or uncritical inference, and, however illogical it is, it is very widespread. I've been attacking the bankers since about 1962, and I never stop getting mail from two groups of idiots: Jewish idiots who think I'm secretly an anti-Semite, and are angry at me for it; and anti-Semitic idiots who also think I'm a secret anti-Semite, and are glad to welcome me to their loathsome club.

I don't know if Volkman is a Jewish idiot, but he is, in any case, an anti-anti-Semitic idiot.

Most of Volkman's examples of “callous indifference” are episodes in which the U.S. government has failed to act as a running dog lackey of the Zionist State of Israel. He is willing to go to ridiculous lengths to condemn the Carter administration for insufficient zeal in defending Israel. During the Carter administration, says Volkman, “the Americans sat on their hands while a series of events took place that should have aroused the strongest U.S. protest.” Such as? One such “incident took place at the June 1980 meeting of the Organization of African Unity, when Israel was referred to in the group's official documents merely as 'the Zionist entity.'” Oh, dear! How horrendous! But, pray tell, why should the U.S. government jump up and down, pull out its hair and scream “No! No! No!” because some other governments refer to Israel as “the Zionist entity?”

According to Volkman, the second variety of “the new anti-Semitism” is what he calls “casual anti-Semitism.” Let's see how he derives this pseudo-concept. He begins by noting that the results of recent public opinion surveys suggest that anti-Semitism is declining. But, he asks,

if anti-Semitism is supposedly disappearing, why are there so many instances of open expression of anti-Semitism? Because it is what we might call casual anti-Semitism, a new form that is most often expressed by people who claim no animosity toward Jews. For the most part they're telling the truth; whether they are making such statements in the name of “truth” or “objectivity” or “realism” or “historical fact,” they very seldom have malicious intent. (pp82-83)

Thus spake Volkman. But, irony of ironies, Volkman's own words can be quoted to question the meaningfulness of this pseudo-concept of “casual anti-Semitism.” In a chapter on the history of anti-Semitism in America, Volkman reports that historian Oscar Handlin “went so far as to claim that anti-Semitism in this country did not really begin until the early part of this century, and that any anti-Semitic incidents before then were 'without malicious intent' (whatever that means).” But, if, as Volkman is snidely suggesting, it is meaningless for Handlin to write about anti-Semitic incidents “without malicious intent,” then it is likewise meaningless for Volkman to write about expressions of anti-Semitism by people who “very seldom have malicious intent.” Nevertheless, Volkman devotes an entire chapter of this book to doing just that.

Volkman says that “casual anti-Semitism is expressed out of ignorance or because there is simply no awareness that such a statement might be considered in the least anti-Semitic.” So “casual anti-Semitism” is, in some cases, expressed out of ignorance. But Volkman's prime example of “casual anti-Semitism” is revisionism regarding “the Holocaust,” a subject about which his own ignorance is such that, he is obviously incompetent to judge anyone else's knowledgeability about the subject. As for Volkman's statement that “casual anti-Semitism” is sometimes ex-

pressed “because there is simply no awareness that such a statement might be considered in the least anti-Semitic,” this seems to imply that it is “casual anti-Semitism” to make any statement that “might be considered” anti-Semitic. But, with anti-anti-Semitic bloodhounds like Volkman on the prowl, any statement that is in the least critical of Israel, Zionism, Organized Jewry, the American Jewish Lobby, “Holocaust” historiography, individual Jews, etc., might be considered anti-Semitic whether or not it really is. In effect, Volkman is saying: Keep your mouth shut. Don’t you dare criticize Israel, Zionism, Organized Jewry, the American Jewish Lobby, “Holocaust” historiography, individuals Jews, etc., or he’ll accuse you of “casual anti-Semitism.” What Volkman is trying to pull is a variation of what the late novelist-philosopher Ayn Rand called “The Argument from Intimidation,” which, as she explained,

is not an argument, but a means of forestalling debate and extorting an opponent’s agreement with one’s undiscussed notions. It is a method of by-passing logic by means of psychological pressure.

... the psychological pressure method consists of threatening to impeach an opponent’s character by means of his argument, thus impeaching the argument without debate.

The essential characteristic of the Argument from Intimidation is its appeal to moral self-doubt and its reliance on the fear, guilt or ignorance of the victim. It is used in the form of an ultimatum demanding that the victim renounce a given idea without discussion, under threat of being considered morally unworthy. The pattern is always: “Only those who are evil (dishonest, heartless, insensitive, ignorant, etc.) can hold such an idea.”

In Volkman’s case, the “Argument from Intimidation” takes this form: Only those who are anti-Semitic, at least, “casually” so, can hold such an idea. Rand observed that, “The Argument from Intimidation is a confession of intellectual impotence.” Volkman’s performance confirms that.

As I’ve said, Volkman’s primary example of “casual anti-Semitism” is “Holocaust Revisionism,” or, as he puts it, “the disturbing attempt to disprove one of the touchstones of modern Jewry, the Holocaust.” True to the method of “the Argument from Intimidation,” Volkman makes no attempt to come to grips with and rebut the arguments of the “Holocaust Revisionists.” Instead, he labels (libels?) “Holocaust Revisionism” as “casual anti-Semitism” and then presents an incredibly distorted, error-ridden version of the history of “Holocaust Revisionism,” throwing in some choice invective along the way (“insanity,” “hopelessly muddleheaded,” “this poison ... evil works,” etc.).

According to Volkman, Paul Rassinier “had been imprisoned at Buchenwald, an experience which somehow led him to conclude that no atrocities went on in Nazi concentration camps, and if any Jews were killed, they were murdered by Jewish Kapos (camp trustees).” But, in fact, Rassinier, who was imprisoned at Buchenwald, never asserted that no atrocities went on in the Nazi concentration camps. And if one consults Lucy Dawidowicz’s “Lies About the Holocaust,” Commentary, December, 1980, which is Volkman’s source of information about Rassinier, one finds a rather different, and more accurate, characterization of what Rassinier concluded. As Dawidowicz puts it, Rassinier concluded that “the atrocities committed in the Nazi camps had been greatly exaggerated by the survivors.” Volkman has somehow managed to get the facts wrong, even though his source got them right. This is a prize-winning journalist? In any case, Volkman is also wrong in claiming Rassinier concluded that “if any Jews were killed, they were

murdered by Jewish *Kapos* (camp trustees).” This is, in fact, a distortion of something Rassinier wrote about Buchenwald. (See *Debunking the Genocide Myth*, p127.)

The S.S. no longer had any need to hit men, since those to whom they delegated their power did the hitting better; nor to steal, since their minions stole better and the benefits were the same; nor to kill slowly to make order respected, because others did that for them, and order in the camp was all the more perfect for it.

As you can see, Rassinier did not specify Jewish prisoners or Jewish *Kapos*. Volkman, has once again managed to get the facts wrong. But this time he did so by accurately repeating an inaccurate statement by Lucy Dawidowicz.

According to Volkman, Arthur Butz, in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, “included what he considered to be incontrovertible evidence that all the Jews who were supposed to have died [during “the Holocaust”] were in fact still alive, carefully hidden from view.” That Butz did not assert this can be verified by consulting page 239 of his book, where he states that, “The Jews of Europe suffered during the war by being deported to the East, by having had much of their property confiscated and, more importantly, by suffering cruelly in the circumstances surrounding Germany’s defeat. They may even have lost a million dead.” This is another instance in which Volkman got his facts wrong by parroting Lucy Dawidowicz. Of course, he might have avoided this error if he had taken the trouble to read the Butz book rather than relying on a second-hand description from a biased, hostile source. But no-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o! Not *this* prize-winning journalist.

Not *this* self-righteous hypocrite, who even has the *chutzpah* to condemn Northwestern University for defending Butz’s academic freedom, because — now get this — “it did not seem to occur to Northwestern that equally cherished standards of academia were being trampled in the process, including truth, research and facts.” “Truth, research and facts?” Let’s examine some further evidences of Volkman’s concern for “truth, research and facts.”

According to Volkman, “Anne Frank died in the Nazi gas chambers for the crime of being Jewish... “ But Ernst Schnabel, who researched the fate of Anne Frank for his book, *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*, found that she and her family were deported to Auschwitz, from which she and her sister were transferred to Belsen, where they both died of typhus. Schnabel’s findings about Anne Frank’s fate are summarized in the commonlyavailable paperback editions of what purports to be her diary. Volkman says that the diary “remains one of the great documents of humanity.” But has he actually read it?

Concluding a plea for more extensive treatment of Jewish history, and especially “the Holocaust,” in high-school and college textbooks, in order to eradicate the “appalling ignorance” about such matters, Volkman invokes “the memory of the famous historian Simon Dubnow [sic] who, as the Nazis took him from the Riga ghetto in 1941 to be gassed at Buchenwald, called out: ‘Brothers! Write down everything you see and hear. Keep a record of it all!’ “

Volkman cites *The Holocaust and the Historians* by Lucy Dawidowicz as his source of information about Dubnow. But here is Dawidowicz’s version of this incident:

In December 1941, when the German police entered the Riga Ghetto to round up the old and sick Jews, Simon Dubnow, the venerable Jewish historian, was said to have called out as he was being taken away: “Brothers, write down everything you see and hear. Keep a record of it all. (p125)

Notice that Volkman took the liberty of adding two exclamation points to the Dubnow quotation. Notice also that in Dawidowicz's version Dubnow "was said to have called out," but in Volkman's version Dubnow "called out." But, most importantly, notice that Dawidowicz said nothing about Dubnow being taken "to be gassed at Buchenwald." So why, then, does Volkman say Dubnow was taken "to be gassed at Buchenwald," *where there never was a gas chamber*? The explanation undoubtedly lies in Volkman's dedication to "truth, research and facts."

Volkman's dedication to "truth, research and facts" also shows up in his handling of a speech made by Charles Lindbergh on 11 September 1941, in which Lindbergh, an opponent of American intervention in the war in Europe, said, "The three most important groups who have been pressing this country toward war are the British, the Jewish, and the Roosevelt administration." Volkman responds that "many influential Jews were in fact isolationists," even though Volkman's source, *The Warhawks*, by Mark Lincoln Chadwin, concedes that "many influential Jews were interventionists." (Italics in original.) Volkman is so concerned about "truth, research and facts," that he substitutes the word "isolationists" for "interventionists" to create a non-fact with which to rebut Lindbergh.

Volkman's concern for "truth, research and facts" is manifest throughout *A Legacy of Hate*, and there are many examples of that concern that I will not mention specifically. Suffice it to say that Volkman's dedication to "truth, research and facts" is such that one should never take his word for anything.

In his search for anti-Semitism, Volkman covers a lot of ground, and the list of those he indicts on this charge is a long one. The culprits include: George Ball (the advocate of a tougher U.S. policy with respect to Israel and critic of the American Jewish lobby who, interestingly enough, works for the investment banking house of Lehman Brothers, Kuhn Loeb), Paul McCloskey, James Abourezk, both *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, the Hilton hotel chain, the *Sixty Minutes* television program, David Irving, Truman Capote, Vanessa Redgrave, Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, Jerry Falwell, the National Council of Churches, Daniel Berrigan, Mobil Oil and hold onto your hats-the Anne Frank Foundation!

Volkman discusses anti-Zionism in a chapter titled "Anti-Zionism: The Easy Disguise." Here he dogmatically spouts the Zionist line and makes unsubstantiated, inaccurate generalizations about anti-Zionism and anti-Zionists. According to Volkman, "a reading of the vast literature produced by anti-Zionists is persuasive that anti-Zionism is certainly motivated by anti-Semitism, and there is not much point in trying to claim (as many do) that anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are two very different things." But if Volkman has actually read "the vast literature produced by anti-Zionists," then I'll eat my yarmulka. None of this literature, is included in Volkman's bibliography and there is nothing in his text to indicate any familiarity with it. If Volkman had read the anti-Zionist literature, he might have known that the anti-Zionists include Alfred Lilienthal, Moshe Menuhin, Rabbi Elmer Berger, Murray Rothbard, Rabbi Moshe Schonfeld, and Uri Avneri, and he might have thought twice about equating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism (while vehemently denouncing those who equate Zionism with racism).

At one point, Volkman writes that "it is possible to tell the history of Judaism by simply reciting one long dirge of anti-Semitism." Possible, yes. But, truthful? To tell the history of Judaism as one long dirge of anti-Semitism is to practice what Salo W. Baron called the "lachrymose" presentation of Jewish history. In this version, Jewish history is a history of suffering, persecution and martyrdom at the hands of hate-ridden Gentiles. Or, in other words, the Jew is the eternal victim, and, furthermore, never a victimizer. Of course, there are problems with this view. On the one hand, it has to ignore or minimize the various "Golden Ages" that Jews have enjoyed during

their history, for example, their five-century-long “Golden Age” in Moslem-ruled Spain. On the other hand, it has to ignore or minimize such things as the Hebrew conquest of Canaan, the forced conversion to Judaism of the Idumeans under John Hyrcanus, Jewish persecution of the early Christians (considered blasphemers for deifying a man), the prominent role of Jews in the slave trade during the early Middle Ages, etc. In line with this one-sided, lachrymose view of Jewish history, Volkman blithely dismisses the victimization of Palestinian Arabs at the hands of Zionist/Israeli Jews. “However much anyone wants to believe that the Palestinians' plight is cause for some concern, it obviously bears no resemblance to the very real plights of the Cambodian refugees, the Vietnamese boat people, the Soviet Jews and the many victims of the torture chambers of Latin America.” Thus, while the Soviet Jews' plight is a very real plight, the plight of the Palestinians is no cause for concern. How's that for bias and insensitivity?

And this is not the only manifestation of Volkman's one-sided view of Jewish-Gentile relations. Another is Volkman's abrupt dismissal of the claim that “classical Jewish texts were violently anti-Christian” as a manifestation of “anti-Semitism” while he himself claims that classical Christian texts are anti-Semitic. Is Volkman's reference to “the scriptural anti-Semitism” of Gospel accounts of the trial of Jesus a manifestation of anti-Christian prejudice? If not, then why is the claim that classical Jewish texts were violently anti-Christian necessarily a manifestation of anti-Semitism? I suggest that Volkman open up Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (which he lists in his bibliography) and read the preface to Part One, “Anti-Semitism.” There he can find Arendt writing that

it was Jewish historiography, with its strong polemical and apologetic bias, that undertook to trace the record of Jew-hatred in Christian history while it was left to the anti-Semites to trace an intellectually not too dissimilar record from ancient Jewish authorities. When this Jewish tradition of an often violent antagonism to Christians and Gentiles came to light, “the general Jewish public was not only outraged but genuinely astonished,” so well had its spokesmen, succeeded in convincing themselves and everybody else of the non-fact that Jewish separateness was due exclusively to Gentile hostility and lack of enlightenment.

In short, classical Jewish texts (some of them anyway) were violently anti-Christian, just as some classical Christian texts were anti-Jewish.

Volkman seems almost oblivious to the reality that anti-Semitism is but one side of a coin, the other side of which is anti-Gentilism. But let him consider the following statement, made by a George Mysels of Hollywood in a letter printed in *The Los Angeles Herald Examiner* of 4 January 1982: “I am not lighting a candle for the Polish people because nobody ever lit candles for the millions of Jews who have been murdered by the Poles since Polish history began.” Millions of Jews murdered by the Poles? How's that for a “blood libel”? That Mr. Mysels is not simply anti-Polish, but anti-Gentile, is confirmed by a letter printed in the same newspaper the very next day in which he wrote that, “The only friends of Jews are other Jews and a number of apparent Gentiles who are aware of the existence of a least one Jew in their lineage.” And let Volkman consider this item from *The Los Angeles Times* of Monday, 11 October 1982:

TEL AVIV (AP)-Police investigating the fire that destroyed Jerusalem's Baptist church have detained two suspects, Israel radio said Sunday.

The radio said the suspects are Jews, one of them a foreigner. There was no immediate police comment on the radio report.

One can't help but wonder if this church-burning was the work of Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach ("Thus") movement. It was a member of Kahane's movement who was recently convicted of plotting to blow up the Dome of the Rock shrine, the mosque at Islam's third holiest site. And it was the Kach movement which, according to *The Los Angeles Times* of 25 October 1982, printed a poster "describing the massacre of Palestinians in Beirut as divine retribution for the past murders of Jews" and saying, " 'What we ourselves should have done was done by others.' " Contrary to the image Volkman seeks to create, hatred in Gentile-Jewish relations is not a one-way street; it travels in both directions.

A Legacy of Hate is an awesomely bad book. Amusingly enough, one of Volkman's mentors, Lucy Dawidowicz, in the October, 1982 *Commentary*, calls it "a shoddy book" which "tries to exploit the ripple of anti-Semitic incidents by sounding a general alarm in a chapter called, of all things, 'Kristallnacht.' " And, says Dawidowicz, "Stretching evidence is only one of this book's flaws." True. It has lots of other flaws, including factual inaccuracies, unsupported assertions, incoherent arguments, specious reasoning, and internal contradictions. Shoddy indeed. But, then, what do you expect from a prize-winning journalist?

\$50,000 Reward!

Offered by the Institute for Historical Review

You are being grossly misinformed today on a vital historical issue — an issue which, because of the threatened repercussions, is almost impossible to challenge.

It has literally been made into a sacred issue; the dogma of the age. Implanted in your psyche by a resolute media blitz of incredible proportions, either you accept it as given in all its myriad allegations or you keep your doubts to yourself.

You can publicly argue, refute or ridicule anything else you wish — anything at all. But you must take extreme care not to openly question what has been thrust upon you as “the most awesome, unspeakable event in history” — an event alleged to have occurred over 35 years ago and because of which the western world should forever debase itself in shameful regret: The “Holocaust”.

What exactly are we talking about here — this “Holocaust?” What’s the anatomy of it? Why is every attempt to delve into its true nature met with such raging counter-attack? Why does one literally take one’s own life into one’s hands by simply pointing out that the “Holocaust” allegations just *do not* fit the facts?

Clobbering the Public with 'History'

At the bottom of this “Holocaust” issue are situated three essential arguments supposedly supported by “irrefutable” historical evidence. They are as follows:

1. the contention that “six million Jews” were put to death by the Nazis during World War II,
2. that these deaths were part of a carefully contrived and deliberately executed plan to exterminate European Jewry, and
3. that this alleged extermination was made possible largely by the use of poison “gas chambers.”

The average American might just be moved to accept these allegations without question, for he is confronted with them day after day. They jump out at him from his daily newspaper, from the shelves of his bookstore, from movie screens, television and magazines.

Every day more and more “survivors” are warning us of the “death camps.” Nazi “war criminals” are forever it seems being, hunted down and prosecuted. Protesters are filmed screaming “Six Million Never Again!”. The emotional impact is almost overwhelming.

Hollywood movie stars who've never even read a book on the subject are engaged to reassure us it's all just like they say. Holocaust museums and institutes are erected the world over, often with

taxpayers money, to make sure we “Never Forget” and never question.

But there are some whose curiosity and devotion to the truth cannot be drowned-out by this veritable rip-tide of “Holocaustomania.”

Getting the Facts in Hand

There is Dr. Robert Faurisson, for example, who, after years of applying his university training in text and document criticism to this very issue proclaimed, “The alleged gassing and the alleged Jewish genocide are only, one and the same historic lie which has permitted a gigantic political-financial swindle.”

Professor Paul Rassinier, a man arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 because of his French Resistance activities, who was interned in Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps and who later wrote *Debunking the Genocide Myth*, declared after years of independent research that the “Holocaust” allegations represented “The greatest fraud of all time.”

There is Dr. A. R. Butz who embarked in 1971 on a meticulous search for evidence of the claims that took him all the way to Europe in 1973. He had carefully sifted through thousands of documents including those of the famous Nuremberg Trials. He had calmly studied all the arguments of the major extermination theorists, researching the same sources they had used. Then, with the facts in hand, Dr. Butz, in 1976, published the most comprehensive study to date on the “Holocaust,” titled simply, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.

These are but a few of the men who have been confronted by a suspicious-sounding story and decided to look deeper; they simply refused to accept what on the face of it seemed absurd to them.

The Institute's Original Reward

The Institute for Historical Review (IHR) was founded in 1978 so that the work of these and other revisionist researchers would not go unnoticed.

Well aware of the evidence on both sides of the issue, the IHR, in 1979, announced a \$50,000 reward for *proof* of gassings. The offer expired with no serious claimants but was re-opened to an Auschwitz internee who had publicly called those associated with the IHR, “bigots.” He, of course, had never witnessed a “gassing.” His “proof” consisted of some museum artifacts along with his own testimony and those of persons who were either dead or their whereabouts unknown.

The IHR was interested in proof of gassings. This claimant was interested in suing the IHR for \$17 million, which he did, claiming “injurious denial of established fact.”

But still, no one came forward with proof of gassings. True, the court, under intense pressure, did take “judicial notice” of gassings at Auschwitz, but what did that prove? The court refused to cite *any* sources it claimed to have used in arriving at its unprecedented decree, obviously never even having considered the numerous and readily available revisionist sources.

The New Reward Offer

To illustrate that the matter of the “gas chambers” is still unsettled, a new reward offer was carefully considered and discussed, and on 1 April 1982 the IHR announced its new offer to pay

“\$50,000 to anyone who can prove that gas chambers for the purpose of killing human beings existed at or in Auschwitz Concentration Camp during World War II.”

In conjunction with this reward offer, the sum of \$50,000 will be deposited in a trust account in a commercial financial institution. The details of the claim procedure are spelled out in the Official Claim Form available from the IHR for a stamped, self-addressed envelope. All reward claims and IHR action on them will be of public record and available for inspection by the press and qualified researchers.

This is *not* a publicity gimmick. We're dead serious. This reward offer represents our answer to the unconscionable emotionalism surrounding the entire issue of the “Holocaust.” Our purpose here is to force an airing of the facts, because until this is done, the decent people of I this nation will continue to be victimized by possibly the most viciously indelible propaganda campaign this world has ever known.

Holocaust Myths Affect You

We view the distinguishing allegations of the “Holocaust” to be not only false and misleading, but eminently dangerous to the United States and her future.

As responsible historical researchers and publishers, we believe Americans have a right to be made aware of the pitted fabric of the “Holocaust” story, how and why it has been purposely proliferated and who suffers by it.

How does such a campaign of fabrication affect you as a citizen, a taxpayer, a thinker? Consider the billions upon billions of your tax dollars given annually to prop up the state of Israel, a state controlled by a certifiably irrational leadership that threatens to plunge the Middle East and possibly the entire world into a new war.

Why should Americans spend better than one-third of their total foreign aid giveaway budget on Israel? Answer: the “Holocaust.” Should American military might-your sons and daughters-stand ready to be used as cannon fodder, backing Israel in whatever move it decides to justify? Of course! Why? Well, remember the “Holocaust!”

Maybe you are of German descent. How does this ongoing “Holocaust” war affect you as one who sees the nation of his citizenship as well as the nation of his ancestry bend in total acquiescence to the accusations and outright demands of a group whose sole interest is Israel? — their actions, reactions and justifications all predicated in one way or another on the “six million” — the “genocide.”

Consider how such a massively financed propaganda campaign as the “Holocaust” could and *has* caused tremendous injustices and malignments between nations.

Look at the cold logic behind it — those thrusting this “Holocaust” guilt upon the West with such frantic intolerance of any opposition have thereby shielded themselves from any fundamental criticism.

This indeed is Israel’s #1 propaganda weapon. Israel can do *no* wrong for she alone suffered the “Holocaust”.

And we are supposed to stand in stupefied awe at the proclamations of prominent religious figures who tell us “God will only be good to America so long as America is good to Israel!”

To Kill the Truth

During the past 4 years the IHR has been stripping the covers of distortion and emotionalism from the realities of World War II. But as we continued to publish, the research, informing Americans of the other side of the story; as we exposed the “extermination” and “gas chambers” claims as the dismally crude yarns they are, elevating the issues to a level of broad perception—that’s when the walls began to come down around us.

We have been slandered continuously by the press, smeared with every imaginable name, repeatedly threatened with death, demonstrated against violently, bombed, assaulted and hit with a \$17 million lawsuit. We’ve confronted everything — everything except an honest debate. *Doesn’t that tell you something? They are simply refusing to answer the facts, trying instead to crush us by sheer force and violence.*

We hold that people have an inherent right to look, evaluate and verify for themselves. Some disagree on this point — they want you to unquestionably believe just what you are told.

Don’t you think it’s about time you, *for yourself*, took a good, hard look at the other side?

If, like a growing number of Americans, you are becoming just a little suspicious of this whole “Holocaust” canard; if you are tired of being told that Israel is sacred, and of paying for it; if you have entertained any doubts about the “six million,” the “gas chambers” or the alleged planned extermination; or if you’re just curious about the Revisionist view on these issues, then you had better right- now subscribe to *The Journal of Historical Review*, the pioneering Revisionist quarterly published by the IHR.

A Source of Vital Information

The Journal is the only forum for consistently high quality, original material on the “Holocaust” and other historical controversies. In every 128 page issue you’ll read some of the most myth-shattering articles available anywhere, written by the researchers and scholars from around the world who are revising “accepted” history in the light of new or previously suppressed information.

The Journal of Historical Review, a fiercely independent publication that has been mailed to subscribers continuously on-time for 3 years, and the *IHR Newsletter*, an 8 times per year topical update on events of interest to Revisionist minds everywhere — both subscriptions are yours for the regular subscription price of *The Journal* alone — \$30. And what’s more is that your subscription to *The Journal* also entitles you to a 5% discount on any of the more than 100 books and cassette tapes offered by the IHR.

Subscribe now and the first issue you receive will be the one containing the major lectures delivered at the IHR’s Third Annual Revisionist Conference held in Los Angeles last November. It’s a powerful issue that will also include Dr. Robert Faurisson’s in depth, illustrated analysis of the *Anne Frank Diary*.

The IHR and *The Journal of Historical Review* are on the forefront of the new history in action — a history that refuses to be blindly agreeable or ignored. Isn’t it about time you took a good look for yourself?

This flyer was issued by the Institute for Historical Review in 1982. It is being electronically reproduced here for historical purpose only. The offers described in it do not apply! For details refer to:

- Weber, Mark. "Declaration of Mark Edward Weber." Spring, 1982; vol. 03 no. 1: p. 31.
- "Facts, allegations, and judicial notice." Spring, 1982; vol. 03 no. 1: p. 47.
- Theodore O'Keefe, "Best Witness': Mel Mermelstein, Auschwitz, and the IHR." January/February, 1994; vol. 14 no. 1: p. 25.

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A Note from the Editor (Vol. 4 no. 1)

Keith Stimely

Human history is more than the history of politics, but it can never be less. Politics *pervades*, and any sphere of human activity or thought (including the record of it), at any time, is invariably colored — sometimes controlled — by the impulses of politics in the realm of thought or action, or both. Men make politics — which is simply *power-activity*, a constant in all life — and when they do they may or may not have a body of thought and belief, an ideological program, in mind. They may seek power merely for its own sake, perhaps holding and proclaiming an ideology only as a prop and justification for the grabbing and wielding of naked power, perhaps not even bothering with this. For years the fascism of Mussolini was subject in mainline Western scholarship to this interpretation: Mussolini had no ideology, he was merely a luster after power, there was never any such thing as a true “ ideology of fascism, “ merely late and unconvincing attempts to formulate an ethos to give some sort of intellectual and philosophical credence to the crude holding of power by the regime. This interpretation held fairly fast until the early 1960s, when a University of Rome scholar named Renzo De Felice began to publish his work on Mussolini (still incomplete in 1983 after six volumes), which granted the Duce more powers and sensitivity of mind than he had theretofore been commonly accorded, and in particular explored his intellectual roots in marxism and the revolutionary syndicalist tradition. In thus “revising” Italian fascist ideology, granting it a certain historical and intellectual legitimacy and developmental continuity, De Felice touched off a raging debate in his country among scholars and the lay public alike; the shout “neo-fascist” rang through the air, as always happens when someone departs from the communist (and liberal and democratic) line on this subject. The debate has hardly subsided since it began and indeed has seen intensification in this, the 100th anniversary year of Mussolini’s birth.

In America, De Felice has had his counterparts in the scholars A. James Gregor and Anthony James Joes, both of whom have followed much of De Felice’s line of exploration but have taken him one step further. Not only recognizing the actual success and supreme potential of fascism in uniting the two most dynamic impulses — nationalism and socialism — of our age of “mass society,” they have postulated a “universal” fascism, seeing in the Third World marxist regimes of today much that is, in fact, “national-socialist” or fascist. (De Felice himself, it should be noted, holds like Ernst Nolte to a quite more precise definition of fascism, strictly limiting it in place and time to Western Europe between the wars.)

The variations in the work of De Felice, Gregor, and Joes, but more especially the vast differences between their revisionist views as a whole and what remains the established “line” on the subject, have clearly opened up a whole new way of thinking about a political ideology that shook our century — and whose day may not be over. We are pleased to add to the contemporary discussion by presenting as our lead article this issue James Whisker’s “[Italian Fascism: An Interpretation](#).” Whisker traces the four successive “phases” of ideological fascism in Italy, from Alfred Rocco’s first attempts at constructing a unified theory out of the jumble of ideas that had

influenced Mussolini and his party, to Giovanni Gentile's final construct, during Italy's wartime collapse, of a deeply philosophical and romantic "pure" fascism. Whisker points out the influence throughout the whole process of the thought of Georges Sorel in the transmutation of marxian-socialist "rationalist" ideas into the anti-rational, mythical ethos of fascism with its elevation of "feeling" over thought.

Whisker also deals in illuminating fashion with the issues of the fascist corporate state and its claim to bridging the gap between workers and management, labor and capital; fascist relations with the Vatican (noting the similarity of fascist social goals with those being expressed by the Church at the same time); foreign policy and its role as the *unhinger* of the internal fascist consensus; and the genuine differences between Italian fascism and German national socialism.

In all, it is an excellent interdisciplinary introduction to a historical and political phenomenon that bears study and has seen a wave of revisionary interest in recent years. Combined with our other articles in this issue — on topics as diverse as European demographics, the origins of the Middle East imbroglio, Roosevelt and post-Roosevelt foreign policy, and a peculiar social-psychological phenomenon relating to the "Holocaust" — as well as a fine selection of reviews relating to World War II, it tends credence, we hope, to our journal's aim of representing a truly interdisciplinary approach to re-thinking the history of our century.

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Italian Fascism: An Interpretation

James B. Whisker

When the Grand Council of Fascism on 25 July 1943 removed Benito Mussolini from his position as head of government, fascism ended in Italy. Its ending was as surprising as its beginning, when, on 28 October 1922, some 300,000 Blackshirts under Mussolini's command seized the Italian state. The events between those dates can be chronicled. The explanation of what had transpired is much more elusive. Fascism was touted by Mussolini as a unique combination of thought and action, yet fascism was still seeking an ideology after the Second World War was over.

The roots of fascism are many and complex. [1] The fascist leadership, notably Mussolini, admitted the multi-faceted influences of liberalism, marxism, syndicalism, *risorgimento*, socialism, catholicism and nationalism on their ideology. [2] Their speeches and writings were replete with quotations from Schopenhauer, Hegel, [3] Sorel, Saint-Simon, Pareto, Mosca, Mazzini and a hundred other writers. They admitted fascism was a unique blending of all of these and much more, yet they were never able to wholly explain it to their own satisfactions.

Italian fascism was the first application of what would become a generic ideology encompassing, or allegedly encompassing, movements of the political right in every nation of Western Europe, the United States, the British Commonwealth nations and even Japan. [4] It was believed by Italian leaders to be highly exportable, yet it carried strong Italian nationalistic overtones. It was essentially non-racist, yet in Italy it preached the gospel of the coming Italian race of overmen.

Italian fascism had at least four principal phases. Until 1925, it was political action seeking an ideology. Mussolini had himself been variously a socialist, a pacifist, an internationalist, a war hawk, an anarchist, a statist, and, most of all, a pragmatist. [5] When he sought an ideology he found none to satisfy him. When he came to power after the 1922 March on Rome he found himself in charge of the state but without a guiding and inspirational system of thought. The first phase lasted until the first fascist state was founded in 1925.

From 1925 until 1938 the first fascist state operated. Its primary theoretician was Alfredo Rocco. [6] As he conceived it, the state was to be a strong, modern nation-state, accepting both the ideas of capitalism in the socio-economic sphere and a syndicalist state which brought about a forced union of labor and capital. Rocco encouraged the tendency of the fascist-sponsored capitalism to form monopolies and cartels because he believed that this increased productivity and thus encouraged the growth of state powers. The new elites of modern society-labor unions, industrialists, party bureaucracy and civil servants-were to be placed under the authoritarian control of the state. Indeed, the state became the single value to which all other values, including the fascist party itself, were to be subordinated.

Rocco conceived of creating direct channels of communication between the masses and the party hierarchy. He demanded that a hierarchical arrangement of capitalism be created, one in which the masses would be supportive of the regime because the regime would guarantee them full employment and higher wages. The party would provide the mechanism for mass communication with the leaders of the state. The combination of workers, industrialists and the omnipresent party representatives would ensure full and peaceful cooperation which would benefit all while strengthening the power of the Italian state.

In this second period of fascism, the Italian electorate still played a major role. The 400 candidates for the legislature had to be approved by the voters. The workers played a larger role in the selection of their representatives and the people at large had some role in the nomination of the 400 candidates for the legislature. [7]

In the third phase of fascism, Mussolini had come under the spell of Adolf Hitler and his national socialist state. He was increasingly influenced by the anti-Semitic wing of the fascist party led by Farinacci and Preziosi. From 1938 until he was relieved of command by the Grand Fascist Council in 1943 Mussolini became the victim of his own propaganda efforts. He dreamed of wars of conquest, wars that were far and away beyond the industrial capacity of the state to sustain. He involved the state in wars of colonial conquest, perhaps the last of the great imperialistic wars of Europe. [8]

In 1938 a change was made in the Italian government which separated the people from the decision-making process entirely. The list of parliamentary candidates was no longer offered to the masses for their approval. Mussolini merely emulated Hitler by creating the totalitarian state while removing basic democracy. [9]

During the final years of the second phase of fascism [10] Alfredo Rocco had fallen into disfavor as had the quadrumvir Balbo, [11] the party leader Starace, the syndicalist thinker Rossoni and former party secretary Giuriati. Mario Palmieri [12] had a brief career as party theoretician and Mussolini [13] had attempted himself to create a theory of fascism. Generally, the third period of fascism had produced neither the prescriptions for an ideology Rocco had offered earlier nor the descriptions of fascist procedures that marked the attempts to explain fascist doctrine in the later stages of the second fascist period.

After Mussolini's fall from power and his heroic rescue by German paratroopers, a proto-fascist state with Mussolini nominally at its head was created under the watchful protection of nazi troops. Precious little time remained to develop a theory. Mussolini was wholly preoccupied with staying alive and with dealing with his protectors. Valuable time was spent in dealing with the traitors within the party who had fired the Duce in 1943. A show trial and subsequent executions of these traitors took place. Mussolini's son-in-law Count Ciano was among those executed.

Giovanni Gentile had been among those competing with Rocco for Mussolini's favor in earlier periods of fascism. He had held positions of minor consequence in the fascist state, culminating in his ministership of education. Now, with the Italian fascist state crumbling around him, and without a direct charge from Mussolini, Gentile created the last Italian fascist theory. [14] Properly enough, it was more philosophical than the earlier attempts at creating an ideology were.

Gentile's theory had its descriptive moments, but, in the large, he offered a wholly philosophical oversight into pure fascism. It had little in the way of a call to arms. It was not the usual post facto justification for what had transpired. It was a highly exportable theory of the state set against a fascist state background.

Each man is unique because of his own individual experiences. He forms other associations which become unique because of the collective group experiences; these group experiences, in turn, bear on the individual. The highest association an individual can form is with all his fellows in the state mechanism. The state is the ultimate association and it has its own collective experiences which mark it different from all other states which have existed, do exist or can exist. The state, like all other human associations, profits from both its own collective experiences as a state and the individual experiences of its component parts, that is, both the individuals and the subservient associations which are merged into the organic state. The state, the individual and all human associations thus have life, conscience, and will to achieve. The uniqueness of the state experiences then bend back upon each and every citizen who fully cooperates within the state to enrich these lives and add to their individual memories and experiences.

The state is thus given a real, organic life. It is necessarily supreme. All that is, within the state, is brought to fulfillment in the state. Nothing that is, within the state, can be permitted to exist beyond the reaches of the state. Nothing that is, within the state, can be permitted to go against the state. The state is the culmination of all human endeavors. It is the final resting place of all that man has created. The state knows, sees, participates in, profits by all that man does. Man is because the state is. Man lives because he has the state wherein to live. Without the state man is nothing, can become nothing.

It is thus the natural destiny of man to be linked with the state. The corporate state gives man the schema wherewith to associate himself with other men. The corporate state provides the forum for discussion of problems. It is the conduit with which man communicates with the natural leaders of the state. It is also the pipeline which the state uses in communicating with individual men or corporations or groups of men who are employed in industries. Without the corporate framework man could not associate with the state. He would be separated from the state and from his fellow men. He would be isolated and devoured by the nameless and uncontrolled masses who would be without form, substance or discipline.

By the time Gentile had completed his *Genesis and Structure of Society* fascism was dead as an ideology. The proto-fascist states such as Spain, Argentina and Portugal were, at best, minimally interested in having a philosophy of fascism articulated for the use of the leaders. The final stage of fascism is, thus, largely an artificial construct of political scientists and historians. Mussolini apparently was even unaware of Gentile's work and Gentile could hardly have been expected to have been especially interested in the German occupation government nominally headed by Mussolini.

Fascism operated as a reasonably efficient statist system with admitted strong totalitarian overtones until it became interested in wars of colonial conquest. It had come to power because of the decaying social, economic and political conditions of post-World War I Italy. It had brought order out of chaos. Indeed, order was its strong selling point when, after a series of crippling strikes sponsored by the socialists, it had managed when the liberal democratic state could not manage. Fascism bragged of its accomplishments in areas such as making trains run on time and draining swamps. With agencies not unlike those found in the American New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt, it tried to use state power to combat the economic catastrophes of the great depression. ^[15]

The great irony of fascism is that it taught that the highest form of the state is found in the nation at war. No matter how great the state may be in normal times it takes on even greater dimensions, greater self-fulfillment, greater attributes as a result of a national war. Of these national wars, the most significant in the life of the nation was the war of imperialistic conquest. A state for fascism grows or it dies. A vibrant and dynamic state is constantly seeking new areas of conquest. It

seeks to grow at the expense of those states which are dying, hence contracting, and it grows at the expense of those states which have never matured and become great nations. Wars are the duty of the truly modern, organic state. [16]

Where fascism had grown, even flourished, in peacetime, it faltered in war. While it is true that the Italian state had grave problems in trying to support the war machinery when engaged against the Western Allies, it is equally true that Italy had grave problems even against backward, non-industrial powers before the beginnings of the Second World War. Only with the greatest difficulties had Italy defeated Ethiopia and Albania. Its ill-fated expeditions against Greece were saved from defeat only by the ultimate, but reluctant, involvement of the German war machine. Of course, later, Hitler was pulled into North Africa in an attempt to aid the failing Italian armies of his ally, Mussolini.

The interest of Mussolini in re-establishing the Roman Empire, or at least a portion of it, illustrates the point made above that, after a decade and a half of propaganda directed at the masses, Mussolini and much of his sub-leaders had become themselves victims of fascist propaganda. Had he not sought colonial expansion, Mussolini might have ruled indefinitely. European leaders made little attempt to discredit Italian fascism. As late as the mid-1930s, most European leaders seemed to have supported the fascist state as merely an expression of rightist political reaction to socialism and bolshevism. The Communist International did not really begin to see fascism as a competing ideology until its Sixth Congress in 1928. [17] Still, it was to the Comintern mostly a reactionary state which defended big business while offering nationalistic slogans to the workers. When it failed to control the workers by propaganda it was, as a typical reactionary capitalist political form, willing to use force, murder, terrorism and coercion to work its will.

Fascism shared with bolshevism a common Marxian heritage. [18] Both were formally rooted in socialist tradition, both scientific and utopian. [19] Several modern analysts have suggested that Mussolini was at heart a Marxist. It was largely an academic dispute on how Marx was to be read and interpreted that kept Marxists and fascists apart ideologically. It was a question of whose Marxism one accepted as true belief that separated fascism from bolshevism. Fascism accepted, in the large, the unorthodox renderings of Marxism as transmuted by Georges Sorel whereas Lenin accepted his own and other Russian interpretations of Marxism.

Sorel [20] added to Marxism a belief in myth. Social phenomena were to be studied through an image of irrational force, and not pragmatically as Marx had stated. Sorel had found Marx to be impractical in terms of solving the problems of the workers. Rather than concluding that a broad and sweeping revolution to destroy the old capitalist state and create a new communist state was necessary. Sorel concluded that rational and planned activity was useless in the face of irrational nature. He had fathomed natural and irrational forces that could be understood and assailed only by mythical means. The dissatisfaction of the proletariat was essentially irrational and emotional. The solution to the problems had then to be irrational and mythical, harnessing irrational and mythical nature. Once fathomed by the working class, or at least by their leaders, this irrational nature could unleash such mythical forces as the world had never seen before. The emotional needs and drive of the workers could only be directed by myth.

For Sorel the force which accompanies a drive by a people is always and necessarily accompanied by violence. Irrational power, the consequence of working with irrational nature, is especially violent. One then must accept violence as a fact of life, a necessary condition of mankind moving and changing and achieving. It is in effect the price one must pay for progress. But unless the violence is understood it can be as destructive to the mover as to the intended object of the violence.

Marx had offered rational explanations for reality as Sorel saw it. But rational explanations imply the existence of rational problems. Indeed, the problems of the proletariat were natural, hence, for Sorel, irrational, hence, mythical. Thus Marxism had failed and would continue to fail as an explanation of reality because it sought only rational reasons, rational means and rational explanations. Sorel's philosophy was essentially a philosophy of myth, irrational and natural. It would succeed because it was irrational and offered man a belief and not a logic.

Political solutions, in the normal sense of politics, were worse than useless; they were misleading. Offer instead, Sorel taught, new beliefs, new myths to men. Ask them to believe, not to reason and the solution to the proletarian dilemmas were at hand. [21]

The proletarian problem was, first, a professional, not a political, problem. The frustrations of the proletariat were professional in nature. Professional problems implied professional remedies, including strikes and trade unionism. Action must be violent professional activity to be most effective. One must have or develop faith in the natural, irrational but professional capabilities of the proletarian class. One must follow the basic worker impulses to action. These impulses will be mythical visions of the better world, but not blueprints designed to lay out in specific terms the design of the new city. The road to the new city would clearly be dotted with incidents of physical violence. One must be prepared for such violence or its occurrences will shock and delay.

As with every problem there is a solution. Cooperation within a state sponsored framework will provide an answer. This came about through an unusual, Italian conception of Hegel's dialectic. [22] In the writings of Italian Hegellans, the conflicting and mutually exclusive thesis and antithesis do not disappear completely as they do in Hegel's pure dialectic. Rather, in the synthesis, formed by the clash of thesis with antithesis, the individual elements of both thesis and antithesis are still evident. While the synthesis may indeed be a higher and better idea than its progenitors, the thesis and the antithesis, it still shows separately each of its sires. Thus, in Italian Hegelian philosophy it is possible to see labor and management, that is, proletariat and bourgeoisie, existing together, although diametrically opposed to one another, in the synthesis. [23]

The practical application of this doctrine is seen in syndicalism. [24] Within the syndicate one finds both labor and management. They are joined there by the fascist representative, that is, the representative of the omnipresent state mechanism. In the co-joining of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie one has a new synthesis, the others being respectively the thesis and the antithesis. The new synthesis is the syndicate and it has recognizably within it the heretofore diametrically opposed classes of the workers and management. Hegel's law of "negation of the negation" [25] wherein the worst or most negative elements of each of the dialectically opposed thesis and antithesis cross one another out is at work. The most negative, the most mutually exclusive, the most hostile elements of management and labor are negated. Under the beneficent eye of the fascist representatives this frozen dialectic, this syndicate, operates to the good of state, labor and management.

With the introduction of the syndicate would also be created what French utopian writer Saint-Simon [26] called a national-industrious class, what Sorel called a producer class. Within the group were all those who were productively engaged in bettering the state. It was, in turn, opposed by those indolent souls who contributed nothing to the well-being of the state, what Saint-Simon called the anti-national class.

Sorel did not trust the workers and the industrialists to come up with such a cooperative arrangement on their own. Indeed, even after the syndical arrangement was fixed one might reasonably expect neither would wholeheartedly support it or work within it. This then was the reason for

the fascist party. It would be given the coercive power by Mussolini not only to control the syndicalist structure but to force creation of it in the beginning. Without the use of force, violence if necessary, syndicalism could neither be created nor maintained.

One can see in the willingness to use state coercive power to achieve an end the, general will philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In his *Social Contract* [27] he had spoken of a general will, that is, of a set of values which had to be created and then authoritatively allocated for the masses, even if they did not consent to such allocation. There was a general will, that which represented the greatest good for the masses, a distillate remaining from the individual wills of all men after their own petty desires had crossed one another out. This was really a political program that carried with it quality of moral necessity. It had to be enacted, once recognized, for the good of all men in the state. Where men could not or did not recognize what was in their own best interests the state was obliged, in order to justify its existence, to step in and guarantee that the provisions of the general will be carried into execution.

The fascist state then could justify its actions both in creating syndicalism and in enforcing compliance with its requirements under good, liberal Rousseauist philosophy. Creating a general will and carrying it into execution is correct liberal philosophy.

The general will of course could be expressed in natural, irrational terms in order to make that compatible with Sorel. The fascist party was able to sustain its claim to legitimacy by assuming a guardianship over the contents of the general will. The myth, in turn, was legitimate because it was recognized, sustained and articulated by the fascist party. The myth became whatever the fascist party saw it being at any given time. It was ultimately enforced by legitimized violence and the power of the totalitarian state mechanism.

In fascism there was a reciprocity established with the producer class. Production, full employment, wages, prices, distribution and the like were guaranteed by the state. In turn, both management and labor gave up the right to have strikes, lockouts, and disorders which would interrupt the production processes. Since they could not legally act independently, they would only act together, not as capital and labor, but as the producer class. Outside fascism such a class was not held to be possible. [28]

Since only fascism could provide the essential union of workers and management into the producer class, it was logical that the state should have a monopoly of power. Power and coercion go hand in glove for Sorel. Fascist theoreticians had no reason to change this when they were required to articulate an ideology of fascism. No rival power was to be permitted. The state's monopoly on power and coercion effectively translated to a monopoly for the fascist party since no other party was permitted. This exclusiveness is also based on an obvious logic. The fascist party had conceived the fascist state. One could not think of a "corporate state" or a "syndicalist state" without thinking of the fascist party. Fascism was inseparable from corporativism or syndicalism. If one removed the one concept, he necessarily removed the others. The fascist party, not the state, was the guardian of the fascist ideals, especially including syndicalism and the corporate organization of the state. The orthodoxy of syndicalist ideas was safeguarded in the fascist party. Hence, the highest value in the fascist state was syndicalism-corporativism. All force must be available to ensure its purity and its continued existence. The fascist party then is able to exercise in the name of ideological orthodoxy the state's power.

The fascist party had a special mission to the world as well as to the Italian people in keeping the ideology orthodox. Initially, fascism was conceived as an Italian movement, the natural byproduct and the logical culmination of the emerging Italian nationalism and its cultural *risorgimento*.

[29] Little thought was given to its potential exportability. By the middle of the 1930s Mussolini had come to the conclusion that fascism represented the new dynamic driving force that would conquer the world and take the place of the faded liberalism of the nineteenth century.

Giuseppe Mazzini, [30] philosopher, revolutionary, soldier-of-fortune, patriot and nationalist leader of the nineteenth century had sought in vain a set of Italian principles wherewith Italy could re-establish her intellectual leadership and philosophical pre-eminence in Europe. One or two great ideas, ideas that would motivate mankind to abandon the false premises of French liberalism, that was all Mazzini wanted. His own search for ideas or revolutionary zeal failed. Nonetheless, he was quite convinced that the rebirth of Italian philosophy and culture, the *risorgimento*, would indeed be ultimately productive to the extent the Italy would once again be the birthplace of some new idea wherewith the world would become enticed away from liberalism.

When the nineteenth century ended without producing such an awe-inspiring idea many Italian patriots were heartbroken, but the dream was not vacated. After Italy's catastrophic betrayal at Versailles, after so many promises made and broken by England and France, after her dreams of territorial acquisitions had been betrayed, after so much loss of life, the dream seemed lost forever. But with the post-war rise of fascism some few fascist supporters saw the fulfillment of Mazzini's dream. Fascism was to be the single inspiration point for the Italian nationalistic dream of cultural and spiritual leadership. All that remained was to export the idea, the idea that was to supplant liberalism, to others civilized nations.

By the time of the great depression, other fascist movements had arisen in Europe. Even in Southern and Eastern Europe fascist movements and parties had been founded. [31] The rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany was the culmination of Mazzini's idea. Germany, a mighty culture producing nation had seemingly accepted an Italian idea. England was on the brink of discovering fascism with Oswald Mosley [32] a mighty leader at the helm.

It soon appeared that the fascisms that grew up in the remainder of Europe bore only little similarity to that of Italy, excepting notably Mosley's British party. Germany's Nazism was based not on Italian ideals but on German myths, on racism grounded in a Nordic-Aryan race. The movements in Eastern Europe remained mystical-religious movements for the most part, excepting anti-Semitic ideals accepted especially in Poland [33] and Romania. [34] These movements were decidedly anti-foreign and extremely nationalistic. They had little interest in the syndicalist-corporativist state that lay at the heart of Italian fascism. They shared common features more of national socialism than of Italian fascism, although each was based in the nationalist sentiments and frustrations of the particular nationality involved.

Fascist movements in general had certain distinguishing features. [35] They opposed parliamentary governments as being impotent to handle such worldwide crises as the great depression of 1929. They distrusted the *laissez-faire* economic system of capitalism as associated with the French liberal philosophy of the nineteenth century, for the system had collapsed in 1929. They preferred authoritarian governments which they felt alone were powerful enough to deal with crises without failing. They looked for collective social security against the social atomism of the liberal society. Liberal value systems grounded in utilitarian and value-relativism had failed to provide basic morality for society.

In seeking collectivist alternatives to the socially disintegrating systems of liberal philosophy, fascist movements rushed toward the deification of the state. They reacted collectively to problems of society and the state. Fascism was thus able to attract followers by offering class solidarity against individual isolationism. The groups found, discovered or fabricated common ethnic

heritages and found the enemy within to be those who did not share these characteristics. The community was sewn together with the fabric of tradition, custom, language, religion and culture. Those not possessing these group characteristics were different, hence evil, the cause of the problems of state.

The fascist movements exhibited essentially lower-middle class values. They viewed the upper strata of society as being run by those who shared other, often foreign, values. They found that the values that the upper classes created were foreign, non-traditional, liberal-value relative, and removed from their kind. Where foreigners made up a goodly portion of the upper strata, or where natives were socialized to foreign, internationalistic or non-traditional value systems, the lower and lower-middle class groups were treated as merely tributary classes in their own nation.

Fascist movements as nationalistically oriented parties were most distrustful of international communism. The short-lived Bela Kun regime in Hungary had, through its excesses, put real fear in the hearts of many. Fascism often became a convenient stopover point for militant anti-communists. Communism was often associated with Judaism because many of the communist leaders were Jews. Thus, traditional Christian anti-Semitism was combined in fascism with political anti-Semitism in anti-communist crusades.

Fascism often offered elitist movements which spun off the ordinary fascist parties and which were dedicated strongly or exclusively to fundamentalist religion. Such movements lost virtually all ties with the real world of politics and spent their time and effort on frequently quite bizarre religious practices. The tie here is most clear in Roumania and in Hungary, but such elitist fascist religious organizations were known to exist on the fringes of most fascist movements.

Many fascist movements looked fondly backwards to a former period of alleged accomplishment. The members had liked simpler times with less demanding schedules and ideals. Fascism often became a kind of telescope through which one could look behind him and enjoy the blessings of medieval society. The prospects of a highly industrialized society frightened many fascists, especially in Central Europe. Fascism there often offered a lower class rejection of the fragmentation of society brought about by modernization of industry. A kind of emotional revivalism was presented against archaic medieval backgrounds, with primitive displays of symbols being offered almost as a rejection of anything modern.

Against this varied background Italian fascism stood out as a nearly unique movement. It had no special longing for the past, for its leaders pointed the way to modernity as the desired road to be traveled. Italy's future greatness was indeed predicated upon past greatness, but the future offered a mission quite different than that performed by Rome. The only similarity was to be found in the fact that in both the case of Rome and in the case of fascism, Italy was predestined to lead other nations.

While it would have been more than possible for Italy to have spent much time and effort on the past, it had no inordinate preoccupation with past glories. To be certain, the symbol of the *fascies* had Roman roots, but the doctrine that stood behind Mussolini's fascism was thoroughly modern. Mussolini gloried in past cultural and artistic accomplishments, with Italy's role as creator of art types, but he sought futuristic fascist art as the way of the future.

Anti-Semitism was virtually unknown in fascist Italy, at least before the Second World War. Italy as a nation before fascism was one of the least anti-Semitic nations of Europe. It had little racial prejudice of any type. In the third phase of fascism there was some anti-Semitic literature associated with the regime, but that was never incorporated into the ideology in the way racism became a part of Nazism or many of the East European fascist movements. While there was ample reason

why anti-foreign sentiments might have developed, given Italy's long occupation by a variety of foreign powers and her late achievement of nationhood, this did not become an important integral part of the ideology.

Religion did become an important consideration in Italian fascism, but, again, in a way unlike other fascisms. The Roman Catholic church was dominant in Italy. Mussolini reached an important accord with the papacy, ending a struggle that had gone on since Italian reunification. After that the conservative papacy, seeing in fascism a bulwark against communism, transferred its loyalty from aristocratic conservatism to fascism. Mussolini had no plans for a fascist religion as did many of Nazi Germany's leaders. He was generally content to accept the recognition of the papacy and had no good reason to break the generally quiet accord.

Fascist found in several papal encyclicals apparent justification and support for fascist doctrines. The denunciation of liberalism in *Rerum Novarum* (1891) seemed to justify subsequent fascist doctrine. Pope Leo XIII [36] and Pope Pius XI [37] had both denounced communism, [38] and, generally, socialism, while praising the interventionist state and capitalism. They had called, especially Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), for control over the unions and moral responsibility in the application of economic laws and principles. The call by Pius XI for worker-employer confederations seemed to justify the corporate state. The call for rebuilding society along the lines of harmonizing social-producers classes again seemed directed at the syndicalist organization of fascism. Superfluous income could be redirected by the state. The intervention on behalf of the very poor according to principles of charity but by the state and not just by individuals again seemed tailor made for fascism's practices. With socialism proscribed by papal decree fascism offered one viable alternative for the proletariat to the liberal state which had failed it.

The great enemy of Italian fascism was liberalism. There would, of course, have been no fascism without liberalism, but nonetheless fascism found in liberalism the antithesis of the needs of the working class. It was nineteenth century *laissez-faire* liberalism that was objected to, not the contemporary interventionist liberalism. Since liberalism had originated in France there was a certain measure of Italian national pride involved in the out of hand rejection. Still, there were other, far graver errors associated with liberalism that caused the fascist state to regard it so bitterly. Virtually every evil modern society was associated with it.

Liberalism offered no place for the individual who wished to join with his fellow men in fraternal association. Liberalism was atomistic, meaning that it isolated men from one another, forbidding cooperation and association. Liberalism placed man higher than the state so that the state ultimately was subordinate to the individual. It denied the organic nature and structure of the state.

Liberalism supported democracy. It was thought that a liberal democracy was inherently the most unstable form of government that man could create. The Italian flirtation with democracy had been short and it had been a very unfortunate experience. The majority of Italians were not enfranchised; among those who were there existed, for the formative years, a papal prohibition on political participation owing to the fact that the papacy was most displeased at the seizure of papal lands and other properties during the unification. Democracy had been blamed for all the failures of the infant republic. It had never served the agrarian interests of the Southern rural poor. It had become the seat of state capitalism, serving large industry and corporate monopoly. It had failed to accomplish tangible results in the first world war, even after the machinations of secret diplomacy. And it had collapsed during the workers strikes in the immediate post-war period, opening the door for the march on Rome and the institution of fascism.

Liberal democracy was seen as an anachronism, an unfortunate vestige of a past epoch. It was impotent to deal with crises of the modern world. It was made up of many political parties, none of which could serve the worker, each of which could argue endlessly over trivial matters without ever reconciling even the pettiest matters. It functioned satisfactorily so long as there was nothing to be done and so long as the state was not involved in crisis. Once crisis came the leaders crawled away and the parliament failed. Such was the political legacy of liberalism.

Liberalism not only fragmented society into isolated individuals, it encouraged the fragmentation of industry into bourgeois and proletariat. Rather than seeking closer cooperation between classes in society it acted as a separating agent. The Marxian analysis of the two classes is nothing more than natural observation of the consequences of liberalism. Marx had thought it necessary to wholly reconstruct society after the liberal state. That was because he was a victim of liberal ideology. Outside a liberal state a reconstruction of society was possible without undergoing a Marxian revolution. Thus, Marx was himself entrapped by the same liberal society he chose to try to overthrow. Marxism was a product of liberalism, as was any doctrine which taught the class struggle as culminating in revolution.

Liberalism was universalist whereas fascism was nationalistic. The various worldwide movements such as the League of Nations were the stepchild of liberalism as were pacifist movements. The spirit of nationalism would be freed only when the liberal state was destroyed.

Liberalism encouraged monopoly and international cartels. While fascism was monopolistic itself, it found the same practice in liberalism to be quite objectionable. The laissez-faire economy of liberalism produced only monopoly while bringing about none of the benefits consequent to fascist monopolies.

The romantic spirit that was part and parcel of liberalism had its counterpart in fascism. Indeed, the romanticism of such writers as Rousseau found much in the way of fulfillment in fascism. Still, fascism criticized the romantic spirit as being too rational, not mythical enough.

Perhaps the most objectionable feature of liberalism, in fascist terms, was its value relativism. While fascism entertained some elements of value relativism, it preached, by and large, value absolutism. In many areas of ethics this meant a return to Roman Catholic teachings. In other areas the state merely granted values authoritatively by virtue of its supremacy. In any case the pragmatic or utilitarian values of especially English liberalism were rejected. An idea in the fascist state was absolute today, yesterday and tomorrow. Truth was not an event that happened to an idea; it was a necessary part of that idea. There is a paradox here, for fascism was the value of the twentieth century -having superseded liberalism, the value of the nineteenth century. Hence, the value of ideologies came to them in their own epoch and not in another epoch, certainly a relativist concept.

Fascism sought to create an idea that would be as lasting and as influential in its own time as liberalism was in its time. First and foremost it wished to achieve the quality Mazzini had posited of any system: it must necessarily represent the unity of thought and action. Action without some sort of doctrine was useless; and, conversely, doctrine alone without consequent action was useless. The thought need not be too specific. A general idea, some sort of dream of the future, some picture of the new and better world had to precede action. After the action commenced, a goodly portion of the thought could be made up along the way. Better to begin action before the ideology is completed than miss the opportunity for action.

Mussolini expanded that idea of creating while practicing to include the individual and the nation. The nation need not exist before nationalist fascism begins to forge the state. Indeed, he

thought of the state as most generally preceding the creating of a nation. The state could, on its anvil, forge the people of that state into precisely what it wished them to become.

The contrast with Nazism is obvious. Only with satisfactory materials could a nation be built, according to Nazi ideology. Inferior races could never be forged into anything worthwhile, no matter how great the effort. The national spirit in Nazism exists within the people, albeit latently. Nazism can only reawaken that spirit; it could not create it. Only Nordics could ever realize the Nazi racist dream. [39]

In fascism there is no suggestion of either recruitment of suitable subjects or of the exclusion of unsuitable ones. The fascist state could take people as they were given to it and then make them over according to the desires of the power elite. While there might still be within the population those who dreamed the Roman dream and could identify with the Roman spirit of the past, it was far more important what they should become rather than what they were at the time of fascist ascension to power.

Since nothing eluded the fascist state its power must necessarily extend to the creation of a superior race. It was the ideology, the doctrine of fascism, that would make of the race a people fit to control a substantial share of the earth. The vitality of the race would be shown by its works and deeds rather than by its genetic purity and its physical characteristics. A manufactured nation would enjoy power and prestige; one that had not been properly articulated could not enjoy the fruits of expansionism. If the state has done its job properly its race will show an aggressive foreign policy. Its art, drama, music and literature will show an ideologically motivated vitality that can be appreciated only if observed.

The people inhabiting a given geographical area are a nation after they have been motivated and inspired by the ideological fascist state. Their nationhood is then not a natural but an artificial construct, one superimposed on them from above by a charismatic leader and his fascist party. Thus the state is fully empowered to educate its people, to offer them propaganda, to indoctrinate them fully, and to persuade them by force if necessary. It is charged with maintaining ideological purity and with spreading that orthodoxy. This is the civilizing mission of the state.

The state must provide enriching experiences for its members. Inasmuch as each individual is unique he must be fulfilled by offering him opportunities to develop his unique nature. The state must make him subservient to the state, its party and its leaders, but it must also enrich his life. While in the final analysis the individual lives to serve the state, it is equally important that the fully socialized citizen be given as many opportunities as he can utilize. Without individualizing experiences as offered by the state there would be no meaningful way for the individual to be differentiated from all other persons in the state. The uniqueness of the fascist state is to no small extent dependent upon the gathering in of the unique and individualizing experiences of its various members.

By offering him help in self-fulfillment, the state has helped to create the individual. By indoctrinating him with the ideology with which to approach outside phenomena, it has made him in its own image. For the fascist, the state has the obligation, while performing its social, political, and economic functions, to create the individual person. It must teach him the values established authoritatively by the state. It must strengthen the virtues of man. It must provide him with a world view. It must teach him to reject such alien values as move him from the state. He and every other individual must be inside the state, not against it nor outside it. He and all other persons make up the living body of the organic state.

The state is properly viewed as a real organic being. ^[40] It is not only like any other organic being; it is a living organism. It has a life all its own. It undergoes various experiences, including happiness, sorrow, joy, melancholy, ecstasy and the like. It is born out of the ideas of men and their courage in culminating the act of creation. It matures to adulthood. It can become ill and it can die. All other beings living within the state help to comprise it. Some parts die and others are born to replenish the needs of the state. The state can show courage, especially in an aggressive foreign policy; it can also show cowardice in the face of its enemies. Since the state is primary its life is far and away more important than the lives of the individuals who are its component parts. Like individuals it can create art, drama, poetry, music and literature as a national characteristic.

There is a spirit, a motivating factor, placed in the state much like the soul is for man. One can really speak of the "Italian national spirit" as being something actual, real and existing. Take away the spirit and the body public dies. Give the state a healthy spirit and its accomplishments can be almost without limits.

The organic analogy offered by fascism is very important because it tells something of the individual's role in the state. Ideally, the individual cannot consider himself independent of his fascist state. He is completely immersed in his state. It would be unthinkable, inconceivable to be outside the state. When an individual posits his existence, he is positing the existence of his state simultaneously. The fascist state offers the only possible existence for him. The individual without the state would not exist. The individual and his fascist state are inseparable.

Fascist ideology articulates the reason for the individual's being. It is his source of legitimacy. It is his home, his patria, his source of thoughts and ideas. An anti-state thought is impossible.

When his state accomplishes something he is proud. When his state suffers so does each individual. Creations of the state give the individual national pride which is itself inseparable from pride in self. The state's ideology is his own. He accepts no other state or ideology. The fascist party is legitimate because it is interconnected with the state. It guards the ideology and offers an orthodoxy which makes the individual orthodox.

The party is supreme and allows no competition. As the bearer of the ideological orthodoxy ^[41] it has an historical mission. It cannot tolerate public factionalism or party disputes. It cannot legitimately allow power to pass out of its hands, say, to the army or the bureaucracy. The fascist party is the sole agent of secular redemption; it is the guardian of the future and the protector of the past. It thus has an unquestioned right to an absolute monopoly of power. The party monopoly of power is not a part of fascist ideology, but it is the most important inference from it.

Since the fascist state remained Roman Catholic and did not attempt to eradicate organized religion it did not create a rival religion. To be certain, as a carryover from the days of the reunification there was some anti-clericalism, but its effect was negligible on the ideology. Therefore, the fascist party's role as the agent of secular redemption and secular salvation was not nearly so important as it was in Nazism. The emphasis on a perfect society was less than that of Nazism. It wished to produce the good society, but disdained the possibilities of the perfect society. The inordinate emphasis on the perfect society was one of the fallacies of communism. There was no teleology in fascism as there was in Nazism and communism.

Fascism did propound a theory of a nearly infallible leader. The cult of the personality was as well developed in Italy as it was in Germany. The word *Duce* was roughly the equivalent of *Führer*. It was this charismatic figure who had created the fascist movement and who was destined to lead it to the final victory. He was the choice of the deity, the man of destiny. Through his personal intervention history had been changed and given a new direction. His movement

was one of the great accomplishments of mankind. In Italy this rhetoric failed to find deep roots, for *Il Duce* was fired by his own Grand Fascist Council when his movement collapsed along with the Italian army on the field of battle.

As long as the leader remained in power he spoke with a single voice of authority for his nation. Fascism never conceived of an oligarchy or a democracy governing. It is rather pointless to speculate about what the death of Mussolini might have brought, provided fascism lived after him, for every fascist movement has risen and fallen with its single leader. Surely another leader would have risen to the position of *Il Duce*. Fascism required that the party be led by a single individual who could, by sheer force of will, decide all disputes and right all wrongs. Only a single individual was considered to be the rightful spokesperson for an entire nation; no combination of individuals could accomplish this. Where fascist movements have not come to power they usually die with their charismatic leader. Where a fascist movement might outlive its leader because he has brought the movement to power is just a matter of guesswork.

Fascism, as noted above, accepted the idea of violence as a political tool; indeed, it was one of the most useful tools available to those seeking political power and those already possessed of political power. We also noted that fascism rejected the idea of the class struggle that would culminate in revolution. The doctrine of violence and the idea of revolution require additional qualification and explanation.

Mussolini rejected the notion of the warfare between opposing classes. Following Gaetano Mosca, [42] he did not reject the possibility of warfare between segments of classes, as between, say, socialist workers and fascist workers, or between socialist workers and reactionary strike-breakers hired by industrial management. These portions of classes were less guided by ideological considerations than by a natural, irrational, and generally incomprehensible determinism. Most frequently portions of classes would clash because they were seeking identical goals through identical means than because they were conscious of differences between them.

The determinism of Marxism was found in the class struggle whereas Mosca [43] and Mussolini found it to be unrelated to any social struggle. Whatever struggles there may be in society were determined beyond the powers of man to change or alter. Men became the pawns of deterministic fate. In the long run, the politicized portions of all classes struggled with one another in a predetermined manner for control over the rest of the men in that state. Hence, fascists could expect, as one political element or fragment of the classes in Italy, to have to meet socialists, anarchists and communists, these being other politicized fragments of the various classes, in open combat. Violence was thus fully justified, indeed, determined, long ago and by powers beyond the pale of men to control.

This leads us to the ideas of Roberto Michels. [44] Michels formulated a hypothesis known as the Iron Law of Oligarchy. [45] He believed that there would necessarily and inevitably be competition among elites for political control of all states. Political leadership is then recognizable only in small groups, fragments of society, never in larger organizations. Leadership is always in the hands of the few who compete with other small groups for control. Stated simply, society requires organization; organization requires leadership; and leadership is inevitably oligarchic. To Mussolini, this meant that Mosca's politicized fragments of society were nothing more than oligarchic groups who were competing for power. The socialists, the anarchists, the communists and the fascists were all oligarchies. The competition was necessarily accompanied by violence. The most prepared and the most violent would win. The fascists had to be ever vigilant because no victory was final. The competing fragments of society were always waiting in the wings, ready to rotate power to themselves. Hence, another of Michels laws comes into play. Because of

the threat to the oligarchy in power from other potential rivals the ruling elite becomes obsessed with the maintenance of power rather than the application of programs.

If the proposition that action and thought should always go together was to have meaning the fascist party had to both maintain power and develop programs. Without power, programs were useless. Without doctrine, the maintenance of power was nothing but an exercise in futility. Mussolini theorized that the threat of an opposition party ready to seize power would stimulate fascism to increasingly superior acts on behalf of the state and its people. Without the agitation of a bit of sand inside its shell the oyster does not produce a pearl and its value is naught.

Violence is necessarily produced by an irrational act, but, then, fascism was an irrational ideology. It was not an ideology of violence, but it was a doctrine that found violence useful. The violence was to be directed at its enemies. Both fascists and their enemies were predetermined to use violence or fail.

The revolution, since it involved only competing elites, was superimposed on society from above. Fascism rejected completely the Marxist doctrine of whole class struggles as we saw above following Mosca. Thus the idea of a mass revolution, a popular revolution involving the masses of men rising up spontaneously from below, this was unthinkable in fascism. All revolutions were elitist and involved only small fragments of all classes. By many standards, these titanic struggles could not be called revolutions since they presume the seizure of the state by the few, classically called *coups d'etat*. The bulk of the fighting would be done in the underworld of society, much like two giant sea monsters fighting in the depths who only occasionally surface enough to show us that a struggle is going on.

Fascism never claimed that it would necessarily win all such struggles the way communism claimed inevitable and final victory. The determining features of nature offer only determined struggle, not determined outcome. No fascist victory was necessarily final. While fascist states could cause by their own efforts final victory, they could as well by errors of omission and commission cause the battle to be lost.

Since no victory was final, violence would never disappear in the state. Violence was the means to come to power and it was the means of most successfully maintaining power. Violence was seen to harden the individual. Life after fascism was not to be the proverbial bed of roses. Fascism promised neither a millenium nor utopia.

The heart and soul of fascism was the corporative state. Its great concern was the syndicalist organization of industry through the worker-management cooperatives. This was and remains its most exportable element. Mosley recognized this in Great Britain. Few other fascists have seen this fact. The racist fascism of contemporary fascism is more kindred to Nazism than to fascism, and even it has generally lacked the basic understanding of Nordic *volk* and Aryan racism.

Notes

1.  For a good general treatment of the roots of fascist thought see, J.L. Radel, *Roots of Totalitarianism*, New York, 1975. See also, John H. Hallowell, *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought*, New York, 1950, pp. 521-617; S.J. Woolf (ed.) *European Fascism*, New York, 1968, especially Hugh Trevor-Roper's "Phenomenon of Fascism"; also Eugen Weber, *Varieties of Fascism*, Princeton, 1964, and M. Halperin, *Mussolini and Italian Fascism*, Princeton, 1964.

2. ☞ More than any other ideology, fascism openly acknowledged its roots. Mussolini's speeches are flavored with quotations from intellectual giants of the nineteenth century. Such quotations are not footnoted, but no real effort was made to conceal the sources either.
3. ☞ Hegel's influence on Italian philosophy is often understated. Few if any Italian writers openly expressed their indebtedness to Hegel, but Gentile was especially influenced by Hegelian concepts.
4. ☞ See the Report to the Grand Council of Fascism included herein.
5. ☞ See Radel, op. cit., pp. 78ff.
6. ☞ See Alfredo Rocco, "The Political Doctrine of Fascism" in 223 *International Conciliation*, 1926.
7. ☞ See the flow chart provided in Radel, op. cit., p. 92.
8. ☞ See S.J. Woolf, "Italy" in Woolf (ed.), op. cit., p. 60.
9. ☞ See flow chart in Radel, op. cit., p. 93.
10. ☞ See Woolf, op. cit., p. 58.
11. ☞ There were four *quadrumvirs*, leaders, along with Mussolini, of the March on Rome. They were elected for life to the Grand Fascist Council.
12. ☞ Mario Palmieri, *The Philosophy of Fascism*, Chicago, 1936.
13. ☞ See Benito Mussolini, "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism" in 306 *International Conciliation*, 1935; see also his *Fascism: Doctrine and Institutions*, Rome, 1935.
14. ☞ On Gentile we have his own *Genesis and Structure of Society* (trans. H.S. Harris, Urbana, 1960), and Harris' book, *The Social Philosophy of Giovanni Gentile*, Urbana, 1960.
15. ☞ These are the facts of fascist accomplishment admitted even by its severest critics.
16. ☞ This is a constant theme of Mussolini's speeches from the early 1930s on.
17. ☞ See Hallowell, op. cit., pp. 592-93, Sabine, op. cit., pp. 863-64 and Woolf, op. cit., p. 41.
18. ☞ See especially Radel, op. cit., pp. 66f.
19. ☞ The influence of "pre-scientific" thinkers is greater than one might imagine for we are victims of Marx's criticism of them as being unscientific. Many were quite influential in regard to the development of European doctrines including fascism. Note Desjacques, Babeuf, Blanqui, Proudhon, Saint-Simon, Fourier and others.
20. ☞ Georges Sorel (1847-1922) authored *Le Proces du Socrate*, 1889; *La ruine du monde antique*, 1890; *L'avenir socialiste des syndicats*, 1900; *Saggi di critica del marxismo*, 1903; *L'illusion du progress*, 1909; and *Reflections on Violence*, (trans. T.E. Huhn, New York, 1914), this latter being of greatest concern to us.
21. ☞ See J.P. Mayer, *Political Thought in France from Sieyes to Sorel*, London, 1943, and Hallowell, op. cit., pp. 458-63.
22. ☞ The "Italian" conception of Hegel really begins with Benedetto Croce (1866-1952). Croce was a major philosopher of international reputation. Mussolini would have liked to have had Croce write a theory of fascism, but Croce refused to have anything to do with the fascist state. Nonetheless, Mussolini allowed Croce to continue his liberal-democratic writing without interference. Unlike many other Italian intellectuals, Croce was neither harassed nor forced to emigrate. See Croce's obviously Hegelian philosophy in his *Philosophy of the Spirit*, 1917, or in his *Aesthetics*, 1902.
23. ☞ See Croce's *Philosophy of the Spirit and his History: Its Theory and Practice*, (trans. Ainstre; New York, 1921).
24. ☞ See William N. Loucks, *Comparative Economic Systems*, New York, 1952, and H.A. Steiner, *Government in Fascist Italy*, London, 1938, for good explanations of the corporate state.

25. [↗](#) See Sabine, op. cit., pp. 638-47; see the explanation of the dialectic in G.R.G. Mure, *An Introduction to Hegel*, Oxford, 1940; or W.T. Stace *The Philosophy of Hegel*, London, 1924, especially IV, part 2.
26. [↗](#) See Radel, op. cit., pp. 47ff. Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) wrote *Reorganization of Europe*, 1814; *The Industrial System*, 1821; *Catechism of Industrials*, 1824; and *The New Christianity*, 1825.
27. [↗](#) See Rousseau's *Social Contract*, especially Book II, parts i and iv.
28. [↗](#) See the Fascist Labor Charter, included in this book.
29. [↗](#) See Derek Beales. *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, London, 1971, and A. Gramsci, *Il Risorgimento*, Turin, 1949.
30. [↗](#) Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) is covered well in Radel, op. cit., pp. 38ff. Radel attributes the fascist idea of the unity of thought and action to Mazzini. He attaches great importance to Mazzini as a necessary forerunner of fascist doctrine.
31. [↗](#) See Woolf, op. cit., for a good general treatment of various European fascisms. The essays in his book include treatments of Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Poland, Finland, Norway, Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal. See also Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber (eds.) *The European Right: A Historical Profile*, Berkeley, 1964.
32. [↗](#) See Colin Cross, *The Fascists in Britain*, London, 1961. Mosley's principal work is *The Greater Britain*, London, 1932.
33. [↗](#) See S. Andreski's "Poland" in Woolf, op. cit., pp. 167-83.
34. [↗](#) See Z. Barbu's "Rumania" in Ibid., pp. 146-66.
35. [↗](#) See H.R. Trevor-Roper, "The Phenomenon of Fascism" in Ibid., pp. 18-38. See also Christopher Seton-Watson, "Fascism in Contemporary Europe" in Ibid., pp. 337-353. See also Eugen Weber, *Varieties of Fascism*, Princeton, 1964, and Ernst Nolte, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche*, Munich, 1963.
36. [↗](#) Leo XIII, "The Condition of Labor," usually cited by its Latin title, "*Rerum Novarum*" issued 15 May 1891. A convenient English language source is Gerald C. Treacy and William J. Gibbons (ed.) *Seven Great Encyclicals*, Paulist fathers, 1963.
37. [↗](#) Pius XI, "Reconstruction of the Social Order" more commonly known by its Latin title, "*Quadregismo Anno*", issued 15 May 1931, included in Treacy and Gibbons, op. cit.
38. [↗](#) Atheistic communism was again rejected by the Church in stronger language in an encyclical issue by Pius XI, "On Atheistic Communism" known by the Latin title, "*Divini Redemptoris*", issued 19 March 1937, included in Treacy and Gibbons, op. cit.
39. [↗](#) This is one of the principal topics of Alfred Rosenberg, *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, Munich, 1935. See also the English language commentary on Rosenberg, A.R. Chandler, *Rosenberg's Nazi Myth*, Ithaca, New York, 1945.
40. [↗](#) There is an obvious comparison with Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), *Leviathan*, wherein Hobbes writes on the third type of body, the body politic, the highest and most complex body, the state. Hobbes developed a substantial analogy between a human body and the state.
41. [↗](#) It is important to understand that within all ideological party doctrines the role of the party as the carrier of legitimacy is vital to the existence of the party. This was true in Nazism. It is emphasized to the extreme by all branches of the communist party.
42. [↗](#) Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) wrote *Sulla teorica dei governi e sul governo parlamentare*, 1884; *Elements of Political Science*, 1896, which was revised several times and is known in English as *The Ruling Class*, New York, 1939, and *Storia delle dottrine politiche*, 1932.
43. [↗](#) See James H. Meisel, *Pareto and Mosca*, Englewood Cliffs, 1965, and his *Myth of the Ruling Class*, Ann Arbor, 1962. See also a discussion of Pareto and Mosca and their respec-

tive relations to fascism in Radel, op. cit., pp. 66ff.

44. ☞ Roberto Michels wrote *Political Parties*, 1915, which developed the Iron Law of Oligarchy, his thesis being that leadership is always oligarchical and that such oligarchies cannot be prevented by any device, including constitutional limitations.
45. ☞ See Chester C. Maxey, "Iron Law of Oligarchy" in Joseph Dunner (ed.) *The Dictionary of Political Science*, New York, 1964, p. 270.

The Holocaust As Sacred Cow

L. A. ROLLINS

There's been a lot of ... people walkin' around my ranch lately, talkin' about some hollow-cast. What's a hollow-cast? Is it like a spin-cast or a dry-cast? They don't look like fishin' types, and there ain't no water here anyhow.

Letter to National Lampoon

Men become civilized, not in proportion to their willingness to believe, but in proportion to their readiness to doubt.

H.L. Mencken

That one man or ten thousand or ten million men find a dogma acceptable does not argue for its soundness.

David Starr Jordan

Dogma demands authority, rather than intelligent thought, as the source of opinion; it requires persecution of heretics and hostility to unbelievers; it asks of its disciples that they should inhibit natural kindness in favor of systematic hatred.

Bertrand Russell

Everybody knows about the Holocaust. In barest essentials, the Nazi State, on Adolf Hitler's orders, planned and attempted to kill all European Jews, and succeeded in killing six million of them, mainly in gas chambers in such death camps as Auschwitz and Treblinka. Everybody knows this.

A few years ago, I got into a discussion with the brother of a friend of mine. He had recently returned from Israel, where he had been living for a few years. (He is not Jewish, but had gone to Israel with his Israeli-Jewish wife.) Eventually we ended up debating the merits of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and, in the course of that debate, he brought up the six million Jews who, so the familiar story goes, were killed by the Nazis. Since a few years before this I had become a skeptic regarding the Holocaust in general and the six million Jewish victims in particular, I asked him if he was sure that the Nazis had killed six million Jews. He then told me of a visit he had made to Yad Vashem, the state of Israel's official memorial to the "martyrs and heroes" of the Holocaust. He told me that he had seen the names of the victims of the Nazis. I asked if he had counted the names. Of course, he had not, but he informed me that he didn't need to count the names to know that there were six million of them.

This fellow's remarkable ability to determine the number of names at Yad Vashem without counting becomes even more remarkable if one knows that, in fact, Yad Vashem has thus far managed to collect only about three million names of supposed Jewish victims of the Nazis. According to Los Angeles Times staff writer Dial Torgerson in a 25 October 1980 story from Jerusalem: "In the somber Hall of Names at Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, are the names of nearly 3 million Jews who died in the Nazi death camps of the 1930s and '40s." Yet, despite this, my friend's brother somehow "knew" that he had seen six million names of Jewish victims at Yad Vashem! This fellow's will-to-believe in the Six Million murdered Jews was so strong that he imagined a non-fact (the six million names at Yad Vashem) to give support to his belief. Such are the absurdities of which a true believer is capable.

But this is by no means a unique case of dogmatism. For many people, the six million figure is not a fact, although they call it that; rather it is an article of faith, believed in not because of compelling evidence in its support, but because of compelling psychological reasons. For such people, the six million figure is a Sacred Truth, not to be doubted and, if necessary, to be defended with dogmatism, mysticism, illogic, fantasy or even downright lies. (Such pious frauds, or holy lies, have a venerable pedigree, going back to the early Christians who attributed their writings to other persons better known and more revered than themselves, to the pre-Christian Jewish writers who forged pro4ewish versions of the *Sybilline Oracles*, and to even earlier true believers.)

In April of 1982, controversy swirled about a Los Angeles teacher, George Ashley, who had reportedly told a class of Jewish students that the number of Jewish deaths in the Holocaust had been greatly exaggerated, that, perhaps, one million had died, rather than the familiar six million. Among the responses to the news reports of Ashley's heresy was a letter published in the *Los Angeles Times* signed by one Joseph Rosenfeld, which proclaimed: "All reputable scholars have accepted the 6 million figure-a figure reached painfully and painstakingly by pouring over countless lists of concentration camp victims, family histories, body counts, and every conceivable heartbreaking method available to social scientists and historians."

But Rosenfeld's story of how the six million figure was arrived at is pure fantasy. In fact, as early as 1943, two years before the end of the Holocaust, the narrator of Ben Hecht's propaganda play *We Will Never Die*, was already claiming that two million Jews had been killed and that four million more would die by the end of the war. Thus, the six million figure was never more than a very rough estimate of Jewish deaths. How could it have been anything more, given that, as Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel wrote in their 1967 book, *The Incomparable Crime*, "No figures have been published giving the numbers of Jews left alive in the Soviet Union; the estimate differ widely, and lie between 1.6 and 2.6 million." Of course, the number of Jews killed in the Soviet Union is a correlative of the number of Jews left alive. The more Jews that were killed, the fewer that would have been left alive. The less that were killed, the more that would have been left alive. If the estimates of the numbers of Jews left alive in the Soviet Union differ by as much as one million, then, by implication, the estimates of the numbers of Jews killed in the Soviet Union must also differ by as much as one million. And so I repeat: Rosenfeld's story of how the six million figure was "painfully and painstakingly" arrived at is pure fantasy. It is akin to, though not nearly as entertaining as, Alice's adventures in wonderland.

Rosenfeld's assertion that all reputable historians have accepted the six million figure smacks of a tautology. If he defines "reputable historians" to mean "historians who have accepted the six million figure," then what he says is, by definition, true, but also trivial because there is no reason why anyone else should accept such an obviously loaded definition. On the other hand, if he does not define his terms in a loaded manner, then he has the problem of explaining how French-Jewish historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet, in an essay devoted primarily to criticizing revisionism re-

garding the Holocaust, could say that “nothing must be considered sacred. The figure of the six million Jews exterminated, which originated at Nuremberg [not true, as I've already pointed out] has nothing sacred or definitive about it, and many historians arrived at a somewhat lower figure.”

Among the historians who have arrived at lower figures are two prominent Jewish Holocaust historians (Holocaustorians), Raul Hilberg and Gerald Reitlinger, both firm believers in Nazi genocide and the gas chambers. Hilberg estimated that about 5.1 million European Jews died during World War II, while Reitlinger estimated between 4.2 and 4.6 million dead. An appendix to Nora Levin's *The Holocaust* (pages 715-718) gives the estimates of Hilberg and Reitlinger as well as the more conventional estimates of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine (5,721,500) and of Jacob Lestchinsky (5,957,000). As Levin explains:

Reitlinger's considerably lower estimates are traceable largely to what he calls “highly conjectural estimates” of losses in territory presently controlled by the Soviet Union and losses in Romania. He has also pointed to the “widely differing estimates of the Jewish populations of Russia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and the Balkans” before the war.

One wonders if Rosenfeld would dismiss Hilberg and Reitlinger as disreputable. If so, then it would only be fair to dismiss Rosenfeld as an incorrigible dogmatist.

In any case, Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal, “the avenging angel of the Holocaust,” has his own fantasy about the six million figure. In the wake of a brief but favorable commentary by British author Colin Wilson on a booklet titled *Did Six Million Really Die?*, Wiesenthal wrote a letter, published in the April 1975 issue of *books and bookmen*. According to Wiesenthal: “Scientific researchers and historians in various countries reached the conclusion, based on German documents, that the figure of exterminated Jews was between five million eight hundred thousand and six million two hundred thousand. They agreed to a round figure of six million.”

I think I've already given enough information about the widely divergent estimates of Jewish deaths to show that this is just another fairy story. The only question is: does Wiesenthal himself actually believe it?

Another letter published in the *Los Angeles Times* concerning the aforementioned Ashley affair was signed by one Robert Glasser, self-identified as “the Anti-Defamation League's staff person handling the case of George Ashley ...” Glasser insisted that “the question regarding this instructor is not ... one of academic freedom. It is simply a fact that 6 million Jews were killed in the Holocaust, and any attempt to teach otherwise is akin to teaching that 1 plus 1 equals 3.” But, as I've already demonstrated, the six million figure is not a fact; it is, at best, an estimate, an estimate disputed even by some prominent Jewish Holocaustorians. If Glasser is not simply a tale-spinner, his assertion can best be explained as a result of ignorance and dogmatism, which so frequently go hand-in-hand. As Montaigne said, “Nothing is so firmly believed as that which we least know.”

In any case, Robert Glasser is not the only ADLer in L.A. given to making dogmatic assertions about the six million figure. *The Los Angeles Times* of 3 May, 1981 quoted ADL attorney David Lehrer's comment on the claim that the Holocaust is a myth: “It's a historical fact and we're not going to debate it. Are there any reputable historians who deny that 6 million Jews were killed in the Holocaust?”

Yes, Mr. Lehrer, there are “reputable” historians, i.e., Jewish Holocaustorians, who deny that six million Jews were killed in the Holocaust. But, in any case, if the Holocaust is a historical fact, rather than an article of faith, why is Lehrer unwilling to debate it? Is it not because, as Learned Hand said, “All discussion, all debate, all dissidence tends to question, and in consequence to upset existing convictions”? Apparently, Lehrer cannot tolerate the thought that existing convictions about the Holocaust might be upset by open discussion and debate, and so he simply refuses to debate.

My point that the six million figure is sacred to many people is explicitly confirmed by the oath sworn by attendees of the World Gathering of Holocaust Survivors in June of 1981: “We vow we shall never let the sacred memory of our perished 6 million be scorned or erased.” But the belief in the six million figure is only one of the tenets comprising what might be called the Holocaust Creed. And, though some may not regard the six million figure as sacred, they may nevertheless consider other tenets of the Holocaust Creed to be sacred and unquestionable.

For example, Eugene Wetzler, a Jewish Marxist, has written an essay largely devoted to attacking Noam Chomsky, the libertarian socialist and MIT linguist, because of his defense of the civil liberties of French Holocaust revisionist Robert Faurisson. Wetzler writes:

The often quoted figure of 6,000,000 may be an underestimate. It was the figure given by the Allied Tribunal at Nuremberg. Studies of objective facts that tend to lower or raise the figure are acceptable ... None of this brings into question the fact that genocide was indeed committed.

For Wetzler, to raise or lower the six million figure is acceptable, but to bring into question “the fact” of genocide is not. Thus, for Wetzler, “the fact” of genocide is a Sacred Truth, not to be doubted or questioned.

But I propose to question this Sacred Truth of genocide. Did the Nazi State attempt to kill all European Jews? Consider this passage from Goebbels’ diary of 27 March 1942, which is sometimes cited as evidence of Goebbels’ supposed knowledge of a program to exterminate all Jews:

Beginning with Lublin, the Jews in the General Government [German-occupied central Poland] are now being evacuated eastward. The procedure is a pretty barbaric one and not to be described here more definitely. Not much will remain of the Jews. On the whole it can be said that about 60 per cent of them will have to be liquidated whereas only about 40 per cent can be used for forced labor.

Assuming the authenticity of the passage, and assuming that “liquidated” meant “killed,” then Goebbels was projecting the killing of about 60 per cent of the Jews, with the others to be used for forced labor. While such an interpretation does give support to a charge of mass murder committed by certain Nazis, it does not support a charge of genocide, of total extermination.

Now consider the postwar confessions of Rudolph Höss, commandant of Auschwitz. Höss repeatedly said that in June of 1941 he received from Himmler an order for the total extermination of European Jewry. There are, however, a number of oddities in Höss’ confessions, including his reference to an “extermination camp” named “Wolzek,” which nobody else on Planet Earth ever heard of. Also, the confessions Höss made as a prisoner of the British and at Nuremberg differ in some respects from the confessions he later made as a prisoner of the Polish Communists. For example, in his later confessions he reduced his estimate of the number of Jews killed at Auschwitz from about 2½ million to about 1¼ million. And he modified his story about the extermination order he said he received from Himmler. While he still claimed to have received such

an order, he also claimed that Himmler had soon modified the order to exempt from extermination Jews capable of war work. As Höss put it:

Originally all the Jews transported to Auschwitz on the authority of Eichmann's office were, in accordance with orders of the Reichsführer SS, to be destroyed without exception. This also applied to the Jews from Upper Silesia, but on the arrival of the first transports of German Jews, the order was given that all those who were able-bodied, whether men or women, were to be segregated and employed in war work. This happened before the construction of the women's camp, since the need for a women's camp in Auschwitz only arose as a result of this order. (Commandant of Auschwitz, Popular Library, pp. 178-179.)

Putting it more succinctly, Höss wrote that, "When the Reichsführer SS modified his original Extermination Order of 1941, by which all Jews without exception were to be destroyed, and ordered instead that those capable of work were to be separated from the rest and employed in the armaments industry, Auschwitz became a Jewish camp." (Op. cit., p122.)

Whatever one may think of Höss' confessions, it is a fact, acknowledged by nearly all Holocaustorians, that many Jews were used by the Nazis for forced labor. So, if there was an extermination program, it is hard to see how it could have been a program for total extermination, for genocide. Thus, Eugene Wetzler's unquestionable "fact" of genocide is questionable indeed.

Of course, dogmatism comes as easily to a Marxist intellectual like Wetzler as swimming does to a fish. But consider the way in which 34 French historians responded to the heresies of Holocaust revisionist Robert Faurisson. These historians signed a declaration, published in *Le Monde* on 21 February 1979, which concluded thusly:

Every one is free to interpret a phenomenon like the Hitlerite genocide according to his own philosophy. Everyone is free to compare it with other enterprises of murder committed earlier, at the same time, later. Everyone is free to offer such or such kind of explanation; everyone is free, to the limit, to imagine or to dream that these monstrous deeds did not take place. Unfortunately they did take place and no one can deny their existence without committing an outrage on the truth. It is not necessary to ask how technically such mass murder was possible. It was technically possible, seeing that it took place. That is the required point of departure of every historical inquiry on this subject. This truth it behooves us to remember in simple terms: there is not and there cannot be a debate about the existence of the gas chambers.

But who, other than two-legged sheep, would take seriously such a dogmatic declaration? For all I know, there may have been gas chambers used for the mass murder of Jews in some of the Nazi camps. But I refuse to believe in such gas chambers merely because some gang of would-be intellectual dictators tries to lay down the law. As the late novelist-philosopher Ayn Rand once said, speaking through John Galt, the hero of her novel, *Atlas Shrugged*, "Independence is the recognition of the fact that yours is the responsibility of judgment and nothing can help you escape it—that no substitute can do your thinking, as no pinchhitter can live your life—that the vilest form of self-abasement and self-destruction is the subordination of your mind to the mind of another, the acceptance of an authority over your brain, the acceptance of his assertions as facts, his say-so as truth, his edicts as middle-man between your consciousness and your existence."

The insistence of 34 French historians that the mass murder of Jews in gas chambers was technically possible because "it took place" is reminiscent of the argument of Joseph Glanvill in *Solucismus Triumphatus* (1681): "Matters of fact well proved ought not to be denied, because we

cannot conceive how they can be performed. Nor is it a reasonable method of inference, first to presume the thing impossible, and thence to conclude that the fact cannot be proved.” What were the “matters of fact well proved” that Glanvill thought should not be denied? They were the well proved “facts” of existence of witches and witchcraft. It should be pointed out, however, that, unlike those who denied the existence of witches and witchcraft because, as Glanvill said, they “presumed” it to be impossible, Robert Faurisson does not simply presume the Nazi gas chambers to have been impossible. Rather, he presents arguments based on allegedly factual information about the properties of Zyklon B, the gas allegedly used for mass murder at Auschwitz. For example, in “The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to be Physically Inconceivable,” (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981), Faurisson writes that, “This gas is inflammable and explosive; there must not be any naked flame in the vicinity and, most definitely, it is necessary not to smoke.” He then cites the testimony of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss that immediately after opening the door of a gas chamber, following the gassing, prisoners would begin to remove the corpses, smoking and eating as they worked. Faurisson asks:

How could they smoke in a place with vapors from an inflammable and explosive gas? How could all of that be done near the doors of the crematory ovens in which they were burning thousands of bodies? The gas chambers were allegedly housed in the same buildings as the crematory ovens. Who are these beings endowed with supernatural powers? From what world do these tremendous creatures come? Do they belong to our world which is ruled by inflexible, known laws of the physicist, the doctor, the chemist, the toxicologist? Or do they indeed belong to the world of the imagination where all those laws, even the law of gravity, are overcome by magic or disappear by enchantment?

Assuming that Faurisson is right about the inflammability and explosiveness of Zyklon B, he has raised some pertinent (and impertinent) questions about the physical possibility of the notorious Nazi gas chambers, questions which deserve to be answered by those who maintain that those gas chambers really existed. But, rather than answer Faurisson’s questions, 34 French historians dogmatically insist that the alleged mass murder with Zyklon B was possible because “it took place.” Such dogmatism regarding the gas chambers is the intellectual equivalent of the dogmatism of Catholic historians who insist that it was possible for the sun to plunge toward the earth above Fatima because “it took place,” as attested by thousands of eyewitnesses. As some People believe in the Holy Ghost, others believe in the Holocaust.

However, Lucy Dawidowicz, one of the leading Jewish Holocaustorians, actually approves of the French historians’ dogmatic declaration, which, she says, “could well serve as a guide to American historians.” Dawidowicz would undoubtedly be pleased, therefore, to know that some American academics have reacted to Holocaust revisionism with the same degree of open-mindedness as was displayed by the astronomers who refused to look through Galileo’s telescope but nevertheless “knew” that he could not possibly have discovered any new heavenly bodies with it. One of the reactions to newspaper reports about Holocaust revisionist Arthur Butz and his book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, was a letter to the *New York Times* by one Professor Wolfe of New York University. Wolfe said that Northwestern University, where Butz teaches electrical engineering and computer sciences, should bring him up on charges of “academic incompetence” and “moral turpitude” for having written a book whose title he gave as *Fabrication of a Hoax*. Wolfe had seen the *New York Times* story which reported this incorrect title, but he had not seen the book itself. Noam Chomsky has written that, “No rational person will condemn a book, however outlandish its conclusions may seem, without at least reading it carefully; in this case, checking the documentation offered, and so on.” But Professor Wolfe is not a rational person, at least, not in relation to Holocaust revisionism.

Another true believer who was moved to comment on “the Faurisson affair” was a Michael Blankfort of Los Angeles, perhaps the same Michael Blankfort who was a playwright, novelist, and screenwriter, and who, in an interview given shortly before his death in July 1982, spoke of a visit he made to Israel in 1948 which resulted in “the onset of a devotion to Israel that is without parallel in my life.” In a letter published in *The Nation*, Blankfort wrote, “Anyone who claims the Holocaust never happened is insane. Why shouldn’t a university fire a crazy teacher who might harm his students with his criminal delusions?” Coincidentally, iconoclastic psychiatrist Thomas Szasz, in *The Manufacture of Madness*, mentioned a doctor of the Sorborme who wrote in 1609 that the witches' sabbat was an objective fact, disbelieved only by those of unsound mind. The parallel is obvious, and ominous.

Blankfort’s dogmatic assertion that anyone who says the Holocaust never happened is insane, is an example of one of the most common ploys of Holocaust dogmatists, a fallacy Ayn Rand identified as “the Argument from Intimidation,” which, as she explained,

... is not an argument, but a means of forestalling debate and extorting an opponent’s agreement with one’s undiscussed notions. It is a method of by-passing logic by means of psychological pressure.

... the psychological pressure method consists of threatening to impeach an opponent’s character by means of his argument, thus impeaching the argument without debate.

The essential characteristic of the Argument from Intimidation is its appeal to moral self-doubt and its reliance on the fear, guilt or ignorance of the victim. It is used in the form of an ultimatum demanding that the victim renounce a given idea without discussion, under threat of being considered morally unworthy. The pattern is always: “Only those who are evil (dishonest, heartless, insensitive, ignorant, etc.) can hold such an idea.

In Blankfort’s case, “the Argument from Intimidation” took the form: Only those who are insane can hold such an idea, i.e., the idea that the Holocaust never happened. But, as Rand said, “The Argument from Intimidation is a confession of intellectual impotence.”

Another true believer is my very own Congressman, Representative Henry A. Waxman. In a column published in *The B'nai B'rith Messenger* of Los Angeles, Waxman waxed abusive:

To be realistic, we must note that the recognition of the horrors of the Holocaust in civilized circles has been sharply answered by an incredible repudiation of the Holocaust by those who would destroy us. How perverse, how deranged and utterly sick are the people behind the “debunking of the Holocaust?”

Who are these people who offer prizes to anyone who can prove a single Jew died in the concentration camps?

It appears that Waxman does not even know what he’s talking about. The Institute for Historical Review has offered a reward of \$50,000 to the first person to prove to its satisfaction, in accord with American legal standards, that Jews were gassed to death at Auschwitz, but no one has offered prizes “to anyone who can prove that a single Jew died in the concentration camps.” In any case, Waxman’s response to Holocaust revisionism is simply a variation of “the Argument from Intimidation”: Only the perverse, the deranged or the utterly sick can engage in debunking the Holocaust. Another confession of intellectual impotence.

One more variation of “the Argument from Intimidation” was employed by British writer Alan “The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner” Sillitoe in a letter published in books and bookmen, April 1975. Responding to Colin Wilson’s aforementioned favorable comments on *Did Six Million Really Die?*, Sillitoe declared: “To disbelieve that an act of colossal and monstrous injustice has been committed is an act of injustice in itself.” In other words: Only the unjust can disbelieve the Holocaust. Yet another confession of intellectual impotence. Some true believers, however, are not content merely to censure Holocaust heretics; they want to censor them as well. For example, Professor Franklin H. Littell of the religious studies department at Temple University, who is a member of the U.S. Council on the Holocaust, warned participants in a Jerusalem symposium on anti-Semitism that the damage being done by revisionists (*what* damage?) should be taken seriously. According to *The Jerusalem Post* International Edition, 19-25 October 1980, Littell announced, “You can’t ‘discuss’ the truth of the Holocaust. That’s distortion of free speech,” and was applauded when he declared, “The U.S. should emulate West Germany, which outlaws such public exercises. We now have to deal with a minimum of violence; later, we’ll have to fight them in the streets.” Thus, in true Orwellian fashion, Littell declares: Censorship is free speech. But, as Ayn Rand wrote in her book, *For the New Intellectual*:

Let no man posture as an advocate of freedom if he claims the right to establish his version of a good society where individual dissenters are to be suppressed by means of physical force. Let no man posture as an intellectual if he proposes to elevate a thug into the position of final authority over the intellect.

No advocate of reason can claim the right to force his ideas on others. No advocate of the free mind can claim the right to force the minds of others. No rational society, no co-operation, no agreement, no understanding, no discussion are possible among men who propose to substitute guns for rational persuasion.

Since Littell proposes precisely to substitute guns for rational persuasion, no discussion of the truth of the Holocaust is possible *with him*. So I have only one thing to say to Littell: just try and stop me from discussing the truth of the Holocaust! Wendell Phillips once said: “If there is anything in the universe that can’t stand discussion, let it crack.” And I say: If the Sacred Truth of the Holocaust can’t stand discussion, let it crack.

Another confirmation of my point about the sacredness of the Holocaust for true believers can be found in what I call the canonization of the survivors. With rare exceptions, such as Roman Polanski, Holocaust survivors are seen as Semitic saints. Instead of halos over their heads, though, concentration camp numbers tattooed on their arms serve as the insignia of their sainthood. This canonization of survivors is reflected in their immunity from criticism, or even skepticism, by the minions of the mass media of communications. How often have you seen or read any mass-medium journalist doubting or disputing the word of a Holocaust survivor? Rarely, if ever, I’ll wager.

Yet another manifestation of the sacredness of the Holocaust is revealed in the headline of a *Los Angeles Times* story about the increasing numbers of people visiting the site of the Dachau concentration camp. The headline: “Record Number Visit Shrine to Nazi Victims.” Thus, Dachau is a shrine, one of many, to which the pious make pilgrimages. But, if, for so many people, the Holocaust is a sacred cow, a matter of blind faith, the question is: Why? I think that Jewish psychohistorian Howard F. Stein has given at least part of the answer in “The Holocaust and the Myth of the Past as History,” (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1980):

... why, for Jews, the Holocaust? What, in sanctifying the Holocaust, do Jews not want to know about that grim era? Whatever be the “facts” of the Holocaust, it is experienced as a necessity, as part of a recurrent historic pattern. Reality must be made to conform to fantasy. Whatever did happen in the Holocaust must be made to conform to the group-fantasy of what ought to have happened. For the Jews, the term “Holocaust” does not simply denote a single catastrophic era in history, but is a grim metaphor for *the meaning of Jewish history*.

... the “reality” of the Holocaust is inextricably part of the myth in which it is woven — and for which myth it serves as further confirmatory evidence for the timeless Jewish theme that the world is in conspiracy to annihilate them, one way or another, at least eventually.

Jean-Louis Tristani, one of the contributors to the book *Intolerable Intolerance*, gives an analysis which I think complements that of Howard Stein:

The Holocaust, which represents one of the most popular themes of contemporary Judaism, thus falls into a long tradition. It is bound up with what it would be necessary to call the “invention of Israel,” of the Israel of today. The Hitlerian genocide perpetrated in the gas chambers, the Exodus and the creation of the Israeli state, do they not attain in effect the lofty meaning which the servitude in Egypt, the Exodus, and the installation in the Promised Land once had?

Judaic scholar Jacob Neusner, in his book, *Stranger at Home*, treats the Holocaust as part of a myth of “Holocaust and redemption.”

The myth is that “the Holocaust” is a unique event, which, despite its “uniqueness,” teaches compelling lessons about why Jews must be Jewish, and, in consequence of that fact, do certain things known in advance (which have nothing to do with the extermination of European Jewry). The redemptive part of the myth maintains that the State of Israel is the “guarantee” that “the Holocaust” will not happen again, that it is that State and its achievements which give meaning and significance, even fulfillment, to “the Holocaust.”

... so if you want to know why be Jewish, you have to remember that (1) the gentiles wiped out the Jews of Europe, so are not to be trusted, let alone joined; (2) if there had been “Israel,” meaning the State of Israel, there would have been no “Holocaust”; and so (3) for the sake of your personal safety, you have to “support Israel.”

If we synthesize these three analyses, we get the following conclusions: (1) the Holocaust is a metaphor for the meaning of Jewish history, that is, that the world is in conspiracy to annihilate the Jews; (2) the Holocaust is part of a myth, comparable to earlier Jewish myths, encompassing the Holocaust, the Exodus and the Rebirth of the State of Israel; and (3) this myth explains to Jews why they must support the State of Israel.

Thus, it is not surprising to find Alfred Lilienthal reporting, in *The Zionist Connection*:

To ingrain the State of Israel more deeply into the Jewish consciousness, the International Association of Conservative Rabbis incorporated the events of the last 2,000 years in prayer. The death of the six million as well as the establishment of Israel, the June war, and the reunification of Jerusalem was all woven into the revised liturgy.

One Holocaust prayer can be found in Bernard Martin's *Prayer in Judaism*. It is "An elegy for the Six Million" by David Polish. (Polish, incidentally, makes use of numerous variations on the mythic theme that the fat of murdered Jews was used by the Nazis to make soap.)

As Howard Stein says, the Holocaust — the alleged Nazi extermination of European Jewry — is a metaphor for the meaning of Jewish history. The question is: is it anything more than a metaphor? In his book *Heresies*, Thomas Szasz says, "Most of the heresies in the book ... pertain to matters where language is used in two ways, literally and metaphorically: where the true believer speaks metaphorically but claims that he asserts literal truths; and where heresy may consist in no more than insisting that a metaphorical truth may be a literal falsehood." Szasz, however, believes that the metaphor of the Holocaust expresses a literal truth, so let me be the one to commit the heresy of insisting that the metaphorical truth of the Holocaust may be a literal falsehood.

Who Are the Palestinians?

SAMI HADAWI

Since Mr. Hadawi's paper was prepared for the IHR's 1982 Chicago conference, much of a one-sided and devastating nature has transpired in the Middle East.

Particularly, the world witnessed with mounting horror the massive invasion of Lebanon carried out by Israeli "Defense" Forces allegedly in response to one of their own being slain elsewhere.

But the public information trough was soon thereafter filled with so much illogic, obfuscation and anxiety over the increase in anti-Israeli sentiment that the final question pouring forth from the majority of Op/Ed pages across the land came as no surprise: Was the invasion justifiable?

As usual, few stirrings of consideration of the deeper question were to be found-the deeper question that refuses to go away despite the column miles of anguished, argumentative waste offered in its stead for the past 30 years: What are these "Israelis" doing in the first place on lands belonging to a people who have lived there for countless generations; what Palestinian counter-terror would not be justifiable in order to simply regain what has been expropriated from them?

Zionism both here and abroad appeared outraged when the reports of the slaughter of thousands of defenseless refugees were made known the world over-outraged not particularly at the massacres themselves, but at the fact that they were being talked about with fingers pointing in the direction of Jerusalem.

So in a last-ditch effort to stave off the mounting criticism, they held a court of inquiry and politically hung (but still we're not sure) a few of their own-a turn of events, incidentally, tailor-made to make all that came before off-handedly appear "legitimate," thus further clouding the deeper question by focusing attention elsewhere.

To reiterate, it was the immigrant Zionists from Eastern Europe who ganged up on the Palestinian Arabs and threw them off their own lands. And yet it is these very usurpers who most loudly screech about the "PLO terrorists," who remonstrate that if but a single one is abroad in Lebanon (or any nearby Arab nation?) the entire region must be put to the torch.

This is not only the "logic" of the insane, but, to boot, it adds considerably morechutzpah to the big lie. Who, now, can keep track of what really has been going on in the area, and why?

With better than \$251 billion in various forms of direct assistance from our elected since 1948, Americans have been committed to nurse-maiding what has turned out to be the most uncontrollable step-child since the Workers' Paradise idea gained a Wall Street following.

In 1970 about 1% of the total U.S. foreign aid budget wound up in Israel's pocket. In 1971 Israel knocked on Congress's door for 7.4% and it was verily opened unto them. In 1974 "the only democracy in a sea of Arab tyranny" wanted 28% of our foreign aid budget and got it — a figure that jumped to nearly 35% in 1976. These figures do not even include America's indirect subsidies such as tax-free Israeli bond sales here, tax-exempt donations and bribe money to Egypt. The figure will probably top \$10 billion in fiscal 1984-but no George F. Will or Geraldo Rivera will dare highlight these facts in juxtaposition to the growing financial crunch said to be besetting our own economy.

In early March 1983 at a meeting of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, pro-Israeli chairman Rep. Lee Hamilton (D.-Ind.) questioned what the political [read: media] impact would be of a proposed decrease in direct U.S. aid to the nation that, with somebody else's money, made somebody else's desert bloom.

Speaking to Niholas Veliotos, assistant Secretary of State, Hamilton asked "What kind of signal do you think would be sent to Israel in the event Congress would agree to the ... decrease (in) assistance to Israel?"

When the assistant Secretary of State replied that assistance to Israel was already quite substantial, Hamilton countered that the Israeli economy had weakened, making a decrease in aid difficult to justify. (!)

Veliotos then remarked that he didn't think that was particularly relevant, whereupon Rep. Hamilton emphatically rejoined: "In due course you'll find that it's relevant."

That, in a nutshell, is the essence of the problem. The whole contemporary Middle East mess, its basic nature and the reason for its continuance, can be traced back to the U.S.A. Only the tremendous economic leverage extending from these shores could hope to "pacify" an Arab region which has suffered such continual betrayal and has witnessed with amazingly calm resolve, given the situation, the unabating hypocrisy and black propaganda.

Historically, it has been the Palestinian Arabs who have worked for peace, and for what is rightful theirs.

It is the "Holocaust" Establishment, and all who urge it on with dollars and favorable editorials, which is the real Middle East problem. The excuse for the Israelis to seize more real estate does not have to amount to much-most anything will do. This excuse is that the only way the Arab "threat" can be eliminated is by eliminating all non-subservient, proximate Arabs.

With this said, let us start at the beginning with Mr. Hadawi's brief on the development of the conflict-a history written by one who has spent the greater part of his life in Palestinian diplomatic service. Mr. Hadawi's thesis may not be entirely free of passion, but it certainly deserves a hearing because of the justice of its cause, the scarcity

of opportunities to present the case for that cause, and the overwhelming indications that the conflict will continue for years and even decades to come until the suppressed side of the story is understood broadly and something resembling justice and reason prevails.

J. Marcellus

To many Americans the expression “Palestinian” is synonymous with either a refugee or a terrorist. The first receives philanthropic sympathy like all other refugees of the world; the second outright condemnation. Few attempt to find out the background of either. Let me explain:

Responsibility of the creation of the Palestine refugee problem rests primarily with the Christian Church. Influenced by Zionist arguments that the Jews as the “Chosen People” enjoyed special favor and interest of an omnipotent deity and that Palestine was their “Promised Land,” many of the church leaders used their frocks and the pulpit to misinterpret Holy Scriptures into the belief that in supporting the realization of the dreams and goals of political Zionism of establishing a state in Palestine and ingathering the Jews of the world into it, they would be pleasing God and bringing closer the Second Coming of the Messiah. They made no attempt to explain, or even to comprehend, the difference between Judaism as a religion and Zionism as a political movement which was deliberately and maliciously using Judaism and Christianity to achieve its political aims in Palestine. Thus the Holy Land and its Moslem and Christian indigenous inhabitants, who claim descent from the earliest people of the country, were crucified on the cross of political intrigue and personal greed with the Christian Church acting as the Judas Escariot of the 20th century. What the Christian Church began in the early 1900s, the Western politician accomplished in 1948 to make the crime against humanity complete.

After the creation of the state of Israel and the expulsion and dispossession of the Moslem and Christian inhabitants of the country, Christian church leaders began to doubt that the newly established “physical Israel” that they so unwisely helped to create was the “Israel of God” which is ordained in Holy Scriptures. They realized that their blind support of political Zionism was ill-advised and, strictly speaking, had nothing to do with the Bible; while Israel’s treatment of the Palestinians brought home to them the enormity of the sin that was being committed against humanity. Consequently, certain American Christian leaders made demands on the U.S. President to terminate all military aid to Israel which continues to act as judge, jury, and executioner in its own cause without regard to human decency, equity and justice.

The exposure of the true character of Zionism and the aggressive nature of Israel and the resultant change in attitude of the Christian Church, were a setback which the Zionists and Israelis had not contemplated. For succor they turned their attention to evangelical Christians and found support among some who were willing to sell their soul to the devil for thirty pieces of silver. Dangling fame and the dollar before their eyes with free trips to the Holy Land, the honor of being photographed with Israeli leaders, as well as adequate financial means to maintain a comfortable way of life for themselves, the misguided and corrupt among them have turned Christianity into a lucrative business with Christ serving as the product and they the beneficiaries. They take out television and radio time for their Sunday so-called “Crusade for Christ,” and conduct tours of the Holy Land under the guise of visiting holy sites but the real purpose behind these is to influence Christians in favor of Israel. For example, if their faith was what they claim it to be, where is their Christian charity and conscience on what has been going on in Lebanon? Not a word of sympathy, not a word of condemnation, not even a prayer for the bereaved, the murdered men, women, and children, the maimed and those buried under the rubble of their own homes!

In 1975 the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution which determined that “Zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination.” [1] This placed it on the same level with the “apartheid” policy of South Africa. The U.S. Government, faithful to the proddings of the Jewish Lobby, condemned the Resolution without taking into account the actual character of Zionism as declared in its principles of a state for Jews only. The Neturei Karta, a community of pious orthodox Jews, described Israel as a state “conceived in atheism, based on materialism, nurtured by anti-Semitism, led by Marxism, ruled by chauvinism, and trusting in militarism.” [2] For anyone to support such a racist destructive movement is to court disaster!

With regard to the Palestinians and terrorism, the Jewish Lobby in the United States has succeeded through intrigue, intimidation, economic power, and corruption in influencing the U.S. media of information and politicians to label the Palestinians as terrorists without attempting to understand the nature and reasons for their so-called terrorism. There are two basic categories of terrorism that can be defined, namely:

1. There is the violent act done to destroy or disrupt an oppressive or tyrannical institution which has violated the legitimate rights and offended the fundamental values of a society or people; and
2. There is the act of an institution or body against a society or people which tends to force or enforce its will and achieve thereby the surrender of principles and rights maintained by the society or people being acted against.

Under the first category fall such cases as the operations of the resistance movement in France during World War II. The Allies described their members as “freedom fighters” and supported them morally, militarily, and financially. The Occupying Power, on the other hand, called them “terrorists, saboteurs, murderers” and tried to exterminate them by any means at their disposal because their activities were intended to destroy their potential and military strength and re-establish freedom and human dignity. Although this type of action might terrorize the ruling and military institution, it cannot be conceived as a depraved “terrorism” in the true sense of the word. For all its negative attributes the world has seen fit to exonerate it as a struggle for human freedom, liberty, and dignity, and to endow it with almost religious sanction. Included in this category are the Palestinians who are fighting to regain possession of their usurped homeland, confiscated homes, and plundered property. In this category also fall the peoples of Africa who fought and those who are still fighting for their freedom, liberty, and independence.

The second category comprises such cases as the unique case of Palestine. There the Zionist movement, after enjoying for thirty years British patronage and protection for its programs to achieve political control over the country, turned against its erstwhile patron when the latter began to show signs of vacillation. One must be careful not to confuse the image of the French underground pitting itself against an army of occupation, or even PLO operations, and the illegal underground subversive organizations, the Hagana, the Irgun Zvei Leumi, and the Stern Gang, striking off the restraining fetters of their sponsor-turned-disciplinarian. When the time was right and the demoralized British were committed to abandon their mandate, the Zionist momentum was smoothly channeled into achieving what they had expected the British to achieve for them, namely, the seizure of Palestine, the demographic purgation of Palestine’s Moslem and Christian inhabitants, and the declaration of the all-Jewish state of Israel, contrary to the provisions and spirit of the U.N. Charter, the U.N. Resolution of Partition, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and every principle of international law, justice and equity. Thus the Zionist movement’s successful so-called “resistance” against the British mandatory government cannot be described as a liberation movement against colonialism, but was more in the nature of a “palace coup” carried out by one colonialist against another. Recalling the situation in those days, author Arthur

Koestler said of the present Israeli leadership that as Zionists they “preached resistance but denied indignantly acting against the law; they alternately tolerated, fought against or engaged in terrorism, according to the opportunity of the moment, but all the time carefully maintained the fiction of being guardians of civil virtue.” [3] Correspondent David Hirst, on the other hand, referring to the present situation reported: “After the creation of the state of Israel, classical terrorism gave way to the outwardly more respectable terrorism designed to cow and subjugate the Palestinians and the Arab sympathizers.” He condemned “an Israel which was built on terrorism and continues to glorify its terrorists to this day.” [4]

Commenting on U.S. policy in this respect, White House Correspondent Robert Pierpont accused the Government of having

lost its sense of fair play and justice, and seems to be operating on a double standard. This double standard is present even when it comes to terror and murder. For so long Americans have become used to thinking of the Israelis as the “good guys” and the Arabs as the “bad guys” that many react emotionally along the lines of previous prejudices. [5]

Never in the modern history of mankind have human rights been so grossly violated as in the case of the Palestinian people and naked aggression so strongly and generously supported morally, politically, economically, and militarily, as in the case of Israel, by a nation which professes to be the champion of human dignity, liberty, and freedom.

It should be understood that the Palestinians are human too, made up of flesh and blood and have feelings like other human beings. They too love their country, regard their homes as their castles and, like people in the West, are willing to sacrifice all in defense of the same fundamental rights and principles for which peoples of the West fought two world wars and now enjoy and take for granted. The fact that the Palestinians have been denied similar rights and principles for the past thirty-four years should disturb the conscience of those who truly believe in equality for all peoples, human dignity, and the right to be free and secure in one’s own homeland. The Palestinians believe in these principles and will go to any length of sacrifice to attain their objective whatever the cost.

To understand the issues involved in the Palestine Problem one must begin with three basic questions, namely, who are the Palestinians, what are their rights and grievances, and why are these rights denied. Unless these questions are amply recognized and equitably dealt with, man’s inhumanity to man will continue unabated until it explodes into greater and wider conflagration. Today there is a madman loose in the Middle East aided and abetted by a gang of criminals including such people as Ariel Sharon and Yithak Shamir of pre-Israel Stern Gang fame who will stop at nothing to reach their objective of a “Greater Israel.” The invasion of Lebanon and the cruelty of the invader have produced surprises that the Israel which emerged is not the Israel contemplated when it was born. The impotence of the world to stop the genocide of men, women, and children, and the indiscriminate bombing and shelling of Beirut encouraged Menachem Begin to arrogantly tell his benefactors in moral, political, economic, and military support that “a Jew will not bow to anybody except God” and that Israel today does not need the help of anybody. It is the duty of all peace-loving peoples to ensure that this madman and his gang do not by their irresponsible actions gradually embroil the world in a nuclear tragedy. While it is not too late, time is running out.

Before I deal with the three questions I have posed, I would like to present certain background information relative to Israeli thinking:

When it was suggested to the late Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir that Israel would be wise to agree to return occupied territories to their Arab owners as a gesture of goodwill and compromise in return for peace with its Arab neighbors, she replied: "How can we return occupied territories? There is nobody to return them to." [6] On another occasion she said: "There is no such thing as a Palestinian ... It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestine people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." [7]

The late Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol was no less emphatic in his denials and distortions. In an interview with Israeli newspaper *Davar*, he declared:

What are the Palestinians? When I came here (to Palestine) there were only 250,000 non-Jews, mainly Arabs and bedouins. It was desert-more than underdeveloped. Nothing. It was only after we made the desert bloom and populated it that they became interested in taking it from us. [8]

Such denials and distortions of facts are not only preposterous but are also an insult to the intelligence of man. When I read of them, I could not help but wonder if both ex-prime ministers were in their right mind. At the same time I pinched myself to find out if I, as a Palestinian, really existed. I can assure the Israelis and their friends that the Palestinians do exist and that nothing said or done will ever make me and the other over four million Palestinians scattered throughout the world to "go away" as former U.S. President Jimmy Carter once hoped the Palestinians would do. The Palestinians are here to stay and to multiply until justice triumphs and right overcomes wrong. The world has experienced grave injustices and great crimes but in the end the rule of law and order has prevailed. The Palestinians believe that through their own endeavour and determination they are not going to be an exception.

The Zionists endeavoured during the early period of their movement to make the world believe that "Palestine was a country without a people and that the Jews were a people without a country." Given the opportunity, they said, they would be able to make the desert bloom and bring prosperity to the few nomad bedouins who roamed the countryside.

The facts about the number of the Arab population and the extent of the productivity of the land have been grossly distorted. According to the Palestine Government statistics, the total population of Palestine in 1918 was 700,000 persons. Of these 570,000 were Moslems, 70,000 were Christians, and 56,000 were Jews; [9] with the Jews owning less than 3% of the total land area. According to a study carried out by the British authorities soon after the occupation of the country, the estimated Jewish population between the years 1882 and 1922 was placed at a figure of 24,000 in 1882, rose to 85,000 in 1914, dropped to 56,000 during the war years of 1916-1918, and according to a government census rose in 1922 to 83,794 persons. [10] By the year 1948 when the British mandate over Palestine came to an end, the population of the country stood at 1,415,000 Arabs (including 35,000 "others"), and 700,000 Jews who not formed one-third of the total population. [11] Jewish ownership of land increased from about 3% to about 6%, still an infinitesimal figure.

For Levi Eshkol to claim that the so-called "non-Jews" were only 250,000 souls and that the Jews had made the desert bloom is misleading. The 3% of Jewish owned land fell within the fer-

tile lands of the coastal and other plains. They could therefore not have been in a position to make the desert bloom because the desert was not under their control. Even today with Israeli control over all the lands of Palestine the desert lands are still desert except for patches here and there where soil exists. The Israeli allegation of development consists chiefly of confiscated Arab orange groves which made the “Jaffa orange” famous, centuries-old olive trees and fruit orchards, and first class cultivable land for all of which they now claim unearned credit and pride!

Given the financial support the Israelis received from the U.S. Government and world Jewry during the period 1948 to date, estimated to exceed fifty billion dollars, is it any wonder that extensive developments could have taken place in Israeli-occupied territory? With such colossal amounts of aid, it is possible to make even the vast deserts of Africa bloom! Incidentally, a visit to the Arab Gulf states show what money can do in the way of development; but if Israeli developments with free U.S. dollar contributions were to be compared with what the penniless Palestinian refugees were able to do on their own in Jordan, for example, the contrast would be enormous.

In regard to the fertility of the soil and production, foreign travellers visiting Palestine have described the country as it existed before the Jewish immigration, in glowing terms. One visitor of the 18th century said Palestine was “a land that flowed with milk and honey; in the midst as it were of the habitable world, and under a temperate clime; adorned with beautiful mountains and luxurious valleys; the rocks producing excellent waters; and no part empty of delight or profit.” Such reports persist in profusion through the 18th and 19th centuries, not only in travellers' accounts but, by the end of the 19th century, in scientific reports published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. ^[12]

To go farther back in time, perhaps it would be in order to solicit the help of the Holy Bible that describes Palestine as a land flowing with milk and honey and the fact that when Joshua sent his scouts ahead of the Israelites they returned carrying huge bunches of grapes which clearly proved that the country was inhabited, that its lands were fertile, and that its production was abundant. If that were the case in these ancient times, surely the situation could not have deteriorated to such an extent that it needed Jewish skills and endeavors to revive the land!

Whether Palestine was a land flowing with milk and honey or a desolate desert is beside the point. The fact remains that the country in whatever form it is belongs to its indigenous inhabitants and should not be taken away from them merely because the new-comers are in a better position to develop the land. If such Zionist logic were to be accepted in the world today there would be utter chaos.

The Zionists were aware all the time that Palestine was fully occupied and about its agriculture productivity potentials. In claiming otherwise, they hoped to raise the minimum of objections to their schemes of removal of the Arab inhabitants from their ancestral homeland and the seizure of their lands. In 1895 Theodor Herzl noted in his diaries that something will have to be done about the Palestinians. He wrote:

We should try to spirit the penniless Arab population across the borders by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own country. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly. ^[13]

Other diabolical intentions towards the Palestinians came to light in later years. In 1921 Dr. Eder, a member of the Zionist Commission in Jerusalem, told the British court of enquiry appointed to investigate the causes of the first riots to break out between Arabs and Jews that “There can be only one national home in Palestine, and that a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between the Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish preponderance as soon as the numbers of the (Jewish) race are sufficiently increased.” He then asked that only Jews should be allowed to bear arms. [14]

A later disclosure of Zionist plans of expulsion and dispossession of the Moslem and Christian inhabitants was reported by General Patrick Hurley, Personal Representative of U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt. He wrote in 1943:

The Zionist Organization in Palestine has committed itself to an enlarged program which would include (1) a sovereign Jewish state which would embrace Palestine and probably eventually Trans-Jordan; (2) an eventual transfer of the Arab population from Palestine to Iraq; and (3) Jewish leadership for the whole Middle East in the fields of economic development and control. [15]

Zionist plans were partly realized in the 1948 and 1967 wars of aggression, and a third attempt at expansion is now in progress in southern Lebanon.

The history of Palestine and the Palestinian people is being deliberately obscured and distorted by the Zionist/Israeli propaganda machine. Palestine was traditionally a wholly Arab country until the arrival of the Zionists after World War I. The name Palestine, it should be remembered, was derived from the word “Philista” which was the land of the biblical Philistines who occupied the southern coastal area in the 12th century B.C. and remained there even after the Israelites had invaded the land. An examination of human remains by anthropologists revealed that 50,000 years ago the inhabitants of the country were of mixed racial stock. From the 4th millennium B.C. until 900 B.C., the predominant indigenous stock were the Canaanites. [16]

The Zionist claim to Palestine is based on pure fiction and would not have been taken seriously in this modern age but for Jewish political and economic influences and pressures over the Christian Church and Western politicians. The claim is based mainly on two premises, namely, on ancient biblical promises of 4,000 years ago, and on Israelite (or Hebrew) historical connection.

In the case of the first, the “Divine Promise” said to have been given by God to Abraham, if it were to be taken seriously in the 20th century, was not made to the Jews but to the “seed of Abraham” which includes the Arabs who are the descendants of Abraham through his son Ishmael who was born and circumcised before Isaac was even conceived. Furthermore, the Jews of Ashkenazi extraction are descendants of the Khazars, a people of Turkish stock, who occupied an area between the Black and Caspian Seas, a territory now a part of the Soviet Union. The Khazars, originally pagans, had in 740 A.D. embraced Judaism and their descendants, while they may profess the Jewish faith today, cannot claim to be of the “seed of Abraham” and “heirs according to the Promise.” The ancestors of those Jews who today immigrate to Palestine from Europe and the Americas and claim Palestine and beyond as their ancestral homeland, came not from Jordan but from the Volga, not from Canaan but from the Caucasus, and that genetically, they are more closely related to the Hun and Magyar than to the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Besides, religion does not confer heritage or property rights on people! (For a full understanding of the Khazar origin of Ashkenazi Jews, see The 13th Tribe, by Arthur Koestler.)

As regards the second claim that the Israelites were in previous occupation of the land, this occupation started with an invasion under Joshua in 1100 B.C. and lasted to 585 B.C. when the Israelites were driven into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar. That occupation was limited to the hill regions, and at no time covered the entire country. It was short-lived, unstable, intermittent, long extinct, based on nothing better than the right of conquest and subject to the condition that there should have been national affinity between the Hebrews of 4,000 years ago and the Russian, Polish, American, and European Jew of today. If this transitory occupation can give the Zionists an historic right to the country, then it may be argued that the Arabs, who occupied Spain continuously for 800 years could claim that country today, while the Italians could claim the British Isles and the Red Indians could demand withdrawal from the Americas of all those who settled in the Western hemisphere and now call themselves Americans, Canadians, and Latin Americans!

To consider the three questions posed at the beginning of this statement, namely, who are the Palestinians, what are their rights, and why are these rights denied, I would explain:

(1) The present Palestinians are not, as is popularly believed, exclusively the descendants of the Islamic desert conquerors of 1300 years ago. They are, in fact, mainly the descendants of the original inhabitants, namely, the Philistines from whom the name "Palestine" is derived, the Canaanites, the Jebusites, etc. They were there when the early Hebrews invaded the land under Joshua, survived the Israelite occupation, retained possession of a large part of the country throughout the Israelite period, and remained in the land after the Hebrew dispersion to be intermingled with the Arabs of the 8th century, then with the Crusaders in the 11th century, and continued the occupation of the land in their new Arabized form until the political Zionist immigration began in the 20th century.

(2) As regards Palestinian rights, the only real title that any people has to its country comes from birth and long and uninterrupted possession. It is these that give the British their right to the British Isles, the French their right to France, and the Americans their right to the United States. This is a criterion which the common acceptance of mankind has set up as a universal principle. It is recognized as the basis of the integrity and security of nations, and no just international order can be established in the world today on any other foundation. It was only in Palestine that this principle was abused.

If such a formula can apply to a new country like America with only 450 years of history, how much sounder in comparison is the right of the Palestinian Arabs to their country which dates back to the dawn of history? This right is claimed today and will continue to be claimed until it is realized.

What is apparently unknown in the Western world is that part of the Arab character is attachment to the soil where one's ancestors had lived and are buried. Their removal creates in them a spiritual emptiness which no amount of material compensation can satisfy. Although those fighting today for the liberation of Palestine were born after 1948, they are unwilling to accept the ouster of their parents from the land of their ancestors and are ready to lay down their lives in defense of what they believe is their heritage. The PLO is not made up of matter; it is an

ideology, an idea, a symbol, that cannot be defeated or erased until justice returns to the Holy Land.

(3) With regard to the third and last question why Palestinian rights continue to be denied, it is because the Israelis, with the moral and political support of the U.S. Government, refuse to comply with U.N. resolutions on Palestine and abide by their obligations under the various international instruments that they signed willingly but defy with arrogance. In 1948 the U.N. General

Assembly called upon the Israelis to allow the refugees to return to their homes and to pay compensation to those who do not wish to return and for loss of or damage to property. ^[17] This resolution was affirmed and reaffirmed annually but Israeli noncompliance continued with impunity. Other Israeli defiances are in respect of the following provisions:

1. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948): Article 13 provides that “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.”
2. *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966) reaffirmed the fundamental rights of people and, in 1976 the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution which, in Article 12, stated: “Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own ... (and) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country.”
3. *The U.N. Commission on Human Rights*, emphatically and solemnly declared that “Everyone is entitled, without distinction of any kind ... to return to his country; No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality ... as a means of divesting him of the right to return to his country; no one shall be denied the right to return to his own country on the ground that he has no passport or other travel document.” ^[18]

The Israelis argue that since the Palestinians left the country they have forfeited their right of return. But the principles quoted above do not place any restriction or conditions on the right of return whatever the circumstances. Furthermore, the United Nations resolution admitting the state of Israel into membership of the World Organization was on the understanding that the Israelis were ready to comply with the provisions of U.N. resolutions of 1947 (on territory) and 1948 (on repatriation and compensation). ^[19]

Before I conclude I would like to comment on the Second Camp David Accord dealing with a comprehensive settlement of the Palestine Problem. The Accord provides for so-called “autonomy” -not for self-determination- for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. Menachem Begin made it clear on more than one occasion that autonomy, according to Israeli definition, means that the local population will be allowed to run their own internal affairs under Israeli supervision but will have no jurisdiction over the land which shall remain the responsibility of the Israeli Government.

Apart from this absurd interpretation, the Accord makes three other very important omissions, namely, it ignores all resolutions of the United Nations on Palestine since 1948; it makes no mention of the status of Jerusalem; and it puts aside the question of the future of the majority of the Palestinians who now live outside the West Bank and Gaza. For these and other reasons the Camp David Accord is regarded to have been still-born, and its resurrection is as close to realization as “the entry of Satan into Heaven,” to quote an Arabic expression.

Because of Zionist control over the mass media of information in the West few people are aware that the Camp David Accord was rejected and strongly opposed by the majority of the world community of nations. Due to its importance I will quote in some detail the provisions of U.N. Resolution No. 34/65B of 29 November 1979:

The General Assembly, recalling and reaffirming the declaration contained in paragraph 4 of its resolution 33/28A of 7 December 1978, that the validity of agreements purporting to solve the problem of Palestine requires that they be within the framework of the United Nations and its Charter and its resolutions on the basis of the full attainment and exercise of the inalienable rights of the

Palestinian people, including the right of return and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, and with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization,

1. Notes with concern that the Camp David Accords have been concluded outside the framework of the United Nations and without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people;
2. Rejects those provisions of the Accords which ignore, infringe upon, violate, or deny the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right of return, the right of self-determination, and the right to national independence and sovereignty in Palestine, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and which envisage and condone continued Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967;
3. Strongly condemns all partial agreements and separate treaties which constitute a flagrant violation of the rights of the Palestinian people, the principles of the Charter, and the resolutions adopted in the various international forums on the Palestinian issue;
4. Declares that the Camp David Accords and other agreements have no validity in so far as they purport to determine the future of the Palestinian people and of the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

In a subsequent resolution No. 35/169D dated 15 December 1980, the General Assembly reaffirmed its rejection, expressed strong opposition to the Camp David Accords, and declared that no State has the right to undertake any actions, measures, or negotiations that could affect the future of the Palestinian people, its inalienable rights, and the occupied Palestinian territories without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization on an equal footing, in accordance with the relevant U.N. resolutions, and rejects all such, actions, measures and negotiations.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the indiscriminate bombings and shellings, the cold-blooded murder, maiming, burning, and burying under the rubble of innocent men, women, and children, the wanton devastation of Beirut, and the murder and torture of young men in the hurriedly established concentration camps in southern Lebanon under the pretext that these young men were either PLO guerrillas or sympathizers, and claiming that all this is being done in defense of border security and peace in the Middle East, have left the conscience of the world stunned by the magnitude and cruelty of the Israeli action.

But what is more pathetic and distressing is the fact that whereas the U.S. Government would apply sanctions against the Soviet Union and urges other Western nations to follow suit because of the political situation in Poland, it opposes sanctions against Israel for its invasion and genocide in Lebanon, and has gone so far as to veto resolutions of the U.N. Security Council calling upon the Israelis to stop the aggression and withdraw from Lebanese territory.

All this leads to the conclusion that the Israeli invasion was arranged if not with the connivance at least with the full knowledge of President Reagan and Alexander Haig. It is American planes which are flying over Lebanon; it is American bombs of every description including those prohibited by international agreements which are being dropped on Beirut; it is American tanks, guns and ammunition which are being used against the Lebanese capital; and it is American money which is paying for the entire operation. To claim that the U.S. Government can do nothing to stop the holocaust, is an insult to the intelligence of man.

The mere removal of the PLO from Beirut will not solve the issue. On the contrary it has complicated the matter further. While the Israelis may now feel free to dig in themselves in southern Lebanon up to the Litani River, annex the West Bank and Gaza, and thereby realize part of their dream of "Greater Israel," the Palestinians are not likely to give up and resign their fate to remaining refugees in other peoples' lands. It is too early to comment on what is likely to happen.

It is now more urgent than ever that Menachem Begin and his gang of criminals should be outmaneuvered by the world community of nations by following up the withdrawal of the PLO from Lebanon with immediate and determined steps for a political settlement of the entire Palestine Problem on a just and equitable basis.

It is my personal considered opinion that the U.S. Government which holds the purse strings of the Israeli state and provides it with the needed weapons to carry out its aggression against the Arabs, is the only power in the world that can bring about an amicable and just settlement between Arab and Jew. After what has happened in Lebanon, it is no longer advisable to delay or procrastinate. Immediate steps must be taken first to stop the bloodshed and destruction in Lebanon to be followed by complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces, and then to follow up by taking the following measures:

1. Recognition of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people wherever they may be;
2. Arrange for the immediate withdrawal of Israel from the West Bank and Gaza and the dismantling of the Jewish settlements established since 1967;
3. Hand over authority in the West Bank and Gaza to the United Nations with the objective of assisting the Palestinians to gradually take over and administer their own affairs;
4. The United Nations to arrange for the transfer of those Palestinians who are willing and are now living in refugee camps in Lebanon and are in receipt of UNRWA rations to new locations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and to assist them to get established on a permanent basis;
5. Arrange for a conference between the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and the Israeli authorities, attended by representatives of the Arab governments concerned and the United States to settle the position of the Palestinians who originated from the territory now known as Israel either by repatriation or compensation;
6. An international tribunal should then be established to assess Palestinian losses and damages since 1948, using as a guide the settlement concluded between West Germany and the Jews whereby the latter have been accorded reparations in the total sum of 85.3 billion German Marks of which, ironically, the state of Israel received by March 1966 3.5 billion German Marks (equivalent to \$862 million at the then rate of exchange) as its share in the settlement.

Once these steps are taken and completed and the Israelis are made to recognize and hopefully discard the racist expansionist character of Zionism which has done the Jews more harm than good in their relations with the Arabs during the last thirty-four years, there is no reason why the peace of pre-Balfour Declaration days between Arab and Jew should not return once again to the Holy Land.

Notes

1.  U.N. Resolution 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975.

2. ☞ *From Principles and Definitions and Judaism and Zionism*, by the Neturei Karta, P.O. Box 2143, Brooklyn, N.Y., 11202.
3. ☞ Koestler, Arthur, *Promise and Fulfillment*, p. 139.
4. ☞ Hirst, David, *The Daily Star*, Beirut, 13 October 1972.
5. ☞ *Christian Science Monitor*, 8 March 1973.
6. ☞ Golda Meir, 8 March 1969.
7. ☞ Golda Meir, 15 June 1969. 8. 9.
8. ☞ *Davar*, January 1969.
9. ☞ Hadawi, Sami, *Bitter Harvest*, Caravan Books, New York, 1979, p. 43.
10. ☞ *A Survey of Palestine 1945-1946*, Vol. I, p. 144.
11. ☞ Hadawi, Sami, *Palestine: Loss of a Heritage*, The Naylor Co., San Antonio, 1963, p. 131.
12. ☞ Said, Edward, *The Question of Palestine*, Times Books, New York, 1980, p. 11.
13. ☞ Herzl, Theodor, *Complete Diaries*, The Herzl Press, New York, 1960, p. 88.
14. ☞ Ziff, William, *The Rape of Palestine*, Longans, Greens & Co., New York, 1938, p. 171.
15. ☞ *Foreign Relations of the United States: Near East & Africa*, Washington D.C., 1960, pp. 776-777.
16. ☞ Lilienthal, Alfred, *The Zionist Connection*, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1978, p. 149.
17. ☞ U.N. Resolution 194 (111) of 11 December 1948.
18. ☞ U.N. Publication 1978, pp. 6-7.
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How Many Jews Were Eliminated by the Nazis?

A Preliminary Survey Of The Question

Frank H. Hankins

This study is part of the history of World War Two revisionism. It was written by Prof. Frank H. Hankins in 1958 at the suggestion of Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes, Hankins's friend and colleague from Smith College days in the 1920s. Barnes — spurred to investigating the “Six Million” thesis as part of his revisionist program by his own long-held doubts and particularly by James J. Martin's seminal letter to him of July 13, 1955 — could have found no better qualified scholar than Hankins to work on this project. Besides being a renowned sociologist and historian (at one time president of the American Sociological Society and editor of the *American Sociological Review*), Hankins was an expert demographer with a world-wide reputation. He was a fellow and president (1945) of the American Population Association, a member of the American committee of the International Population Union, the National Committee for Planned Parenthood, the editorial board of *Birth Control Review*, and the Association for Research in Human Heredity. He was the author of *Adolphe Quetelet as Statistician*, *The Racial Basis of Civilization* (a liberal book of 1928 attacking the Nordic supremacist sentiments then in vogue), *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, and a contributor to many other books, including *Biology in Human Affairs*, *Contemporary Social Theory*, and *History and Prospects of the Social Sciences*.

Hankins thus brought to the study of Jewish population movements in the mid-twentieth century an expertise sorely needed in a field noted — then and now — for the inherent malleability of its base-data, the extreme ease with which that data might be obtained or interpreted in entirely different ways by different persons, professional or amateur, who would wish to have any advance-conclusion “confirmed.” No twentieth century subject within the study of population movements has seen more varied conclusions arrived at, nor more varied ways of arriving at those conclusions, than the subject of what happened to the Jews of Europe during World War Two. Hankins's effort was an attempt to review and explore this situation, approaching it objectively as a demographer, minus the standard starting-assumption that, six million (or more) Jews having perished, therefore any analysis of the problem must fit the data to this assumption rather than the other way around. It was a testament to the times in which he wrote that Hankins could not, because of this approach, affix in all wisdom his name to his study, and that it has remained unpublished — circulating only in photocopied manuscript form among a limited number of interested students — until now.

It is an early study, based on documentation available at the time. The mighty increase in source material and published analyses since then has not alleviated the basic problems inherent in any such study, problems which Prof. Hankins explicates at

the outset. The whole essay may indeed be viewed as no more — nor less — than “a statement of a problem.” It is certainly not intended to be a “final word” — viz. its subtitle. The author was concerned with, first, showing how conjectural in 1958 was any approach to the problem of determining how many Jews were “missing” by the end of the war and, second, demonstrating the factors that would have to be considered in finding the answer to another problem, namely, that of determining how many Jews whatever their number “missing” — actually died, and of these how many died as a result of deliberate Nazi extermination (as opposed to a host of other causes). Hankins was the first demographer to raise seriously these issues in a way which tended to cast doubt on the commonly-cited demographic bases of the “Six Million (exterminated)” thesis.

Though his private correspondence with Barnes of the period shows that Hankins was extremely skeptical of the entire “Six Million” story — the story of a deliberate extermination program, of “gas chambers” in “death camps,” and so forth — he deliberately refrained from couching his essay in terms of a general debate on that whole question. Rather he restricted himself purely to a study of the possible numbers involved, a critique of previous explanations and methods of arriving at conclusions. Hence the particular question-form in which the title of the essay is given.

Note should be taken of one item Hankins brings up which is, in fact, outdated. At one point in the essay he states that “Those who have led in the charge that the Nazis did exterminate 4-7 million Jews do not allege that the large-scale extermination plan was formulated until after the Casablanca Conference of January, 1943, which launched the Unconditional Surrender formula for ending the War ... But even those who support the extermination charges do not contend that the machinery for such extermination was well established before the late autumn of 1943.” Hankins was referring to standard sources which in 1958 alleged just this. Since then, of course, the recognized mainstream “line” of the “Holocaust” school as it has developed is that an extermination plan was decided on in 1941-42 (cf. Göring’s directive to Heydrich of 31 July 1941 and the Wannsee Conference of 20 January 1942), with the first “actions” as part of this plan occurring later in 1942. But Hankins’s citation of the earlier line was merely an aside, reflecting the established notion of the time, and does not affect his general conclusions.

The appearance after so many years of “How Many Jews Were Eliminated by the Nazis?” is especially noteworthy in view of the publication by the IHR in June 1983 of *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* by Walter N. Sanning, with an Introduction by Dr. Arthur R. Butz. Sanning’s book is the result of years of intensive study utilizing the latest in technological research methods. It was actually written, its figures compiled and cross-checked, on a computer. It will be, in a word, the definitive study of the demographics of the Jewish population of Europe during World War Two, rendering all other studies of the particular question “Whatever happened to the ‘Six Million’?” obsolete or superfluous. Its conclusions will not comfort the “Holocaust” Establishment. It is fitting that the publication of what promises to be the “final word” for years to come on this subject from the revisionist point of view should be immediately preceded by the publication at last of Frank Hankins’s first foreshadowing of that word.

Introductory Considerations

The usual estimates, generally based on Jewish figures or charges, range from about 4 million to 6 or even a possible 7 million. Every estimate is, however, little more than an informed guess. The extensive variations in estimates show that all include a wide margin of probable error. The more one studies the matter, the clearer it becomes that the larger the estimate the greater the probable error. In most of these there is the tacit but gratuitous assumption that any decrease in the numbers of Jews in a given area after 1939, some allowance being made for the shiftings of territories from one jurisdiction to another, gives an approximation to the number of Jews deliberately eliminated. Such decreases, however, actually included large numbers who escaped by various routes and devices. Large numbers were lost behind the Iron Curtain; thousands died from the same conditions that caused the abnormal increase in the wartime mortality of the civilian populations of all central Europe. There would seem to be no reasonable way to give the Jews special exemption from the general hardships of wartime, especially in occupied areas. Indeed, they were probably worse for the Jews. The correct estimate of those who perished because of Nazi persecution should only include: (1) those who were slaughtered by shootings, gas chambers and other violence, and (2) those who died of hardships during the numerous forced deportations, or in the concentration camps because of excessive labor, starvation or disease, which they would probably have escaped had they remained in the usual civilian status.

Some Difficulties in Getting Reliable Figures

The most obvious and troublesome difficulty is the scarcity of census materials. In some areas, the last prewar census was made in 1930, 1931, or 1933. For areas of special Jewish concentration there were: for Poland, a census, 9 December 1931 and an "official estimate," 1 January 1939; for Russia, a census in 1926, and January 1939, but neither included a question as to religion; for Rumania, a census of December 1930 and an "official estimate" of December 1938; also a "census" in April 1941; and for Hungary, a census of 31 December 1930 and an "official estimate" of December 1938. To these may be added the immediate postwar census of Poland of February 1946 which, like most of the other population countings of the immediate postwar years, was largely only a sampling and an estimate computation. This was made inevitable by the vast movements of population still going on to the end of 1946, and even later.

The result is that one finds very considerable differences among the estimates of the numbers of Jews in various areas in the critical year 1939. It should be recalled that, from 1939 on, there was an unprecedented upheaval of populations, both Jewish and Gentile, throughout central Europe, first ahead of the German armies as they swept eastward after September 1939, and especially after 22 June 1941, and then behind the Russian forces as they swept westward, beginning in 1943. As the Germans went east, large numbers followed, especially from Germany; as the Russians went west, large numbers sought to return to former homesteads. In these moving hordes of all nationalities, including Jews, large numbers died from the hardships of war; other millions of several nationalities, including Jews, were deported; still other millions throughout the area were killed in civilian bombings, or died in the armed forces. During this whole period, the records of births and deaths were incomplete and otherwise defective.

It should be obvious that this situation makes all estimates of the numbers, both of total populations and especially of the numbers of Jews, at the best only informed guesses. It opens the way for tendentious calculations. A perusal of the literature shows that the large unknowns led to much carelessness in the use of figures. The same author, in a number of cases, gives different figures for the same item on different pages, as though a variation by some thousands could not add anything to the errors already involved. Every calculation has to have what the U.S. Bureau

of the Census workers call a “residual” item, or a figure to strike a reasonable balance between the very probable numbers with which you start. For example, in 1939, the probable changes due to “normal” births and deaths, the probable number dying from various abnormal causes, and the probable number still surviving. This residual figure opens the way for all sorts of manipulations.

Thus, the Bureau of the Census (The Population of Poland, pp29 and 31) says, after noting that it is impossible to strike a true balance for the Polish changes, 1939-1945: “(Even after July, 1945) millions of displaced persons milled about... Across these currents of voluntary migration moved other millions permanently expelled from their homes etc.” and (p31) “War losses could have been anywhere from 2 million to 7 million persons. Either of the extreme figures seems unlikely, but the exact war losses cannot be determined precisely.” (For same quote, see page 187.)

These are some of the problems which face even the most honest and competent persons who seek to obtain reliable figures about the number of the Jews in Europe in 1939, the number who perished in some way during the war, how they perished, how many that remain unaccounted for really perished, and how many may now be living behind the Iron Curtain, in Israel, in the United States, and elsewhere. It is obvious that all these uncertainties which confront honest and objective students of the subject also provide almost unlimited opportunities for those who wish to juggle the figures, whether they seek to minimize or exaggerate the number of Jews who perished during the war.

Some Avenues of Escape for the Jews

Several studies make passing reference to the numerous Jews who escaped the Nazi round-ups by: (a) being secreted by non-Jewish friends; (b) using false identification papers; and (c) baptism into a Christian religious community. Those under (a) were probably not very numerous because the Nazi penalty was death for the entire family of the “good Samaritan.” Some find the numbers under (b) and (c) running into the thousands or tens of thousands. In census taking the individual classifies himself as of a certain nationality. This somewhat ambiguous term covers such alternatives as race, country of birth, country of residence, and country of citizenship. Jews could thus classify themselves as of Jewish or of some other nationality, according to their background, physical traits or language proficiency. Those born in Poland, but speaking German fluently and living in Germany, could classify themselves as Jewish, Polish or German, the latter on occasion requiring a new set of identification papers. A Jew born in Germany, living in Poland, and speaking Polish, had similar choices. This old method of escaping the harsher aspects of anti-Semitism seems to have been widely practiced by Jews under the pressure of the Nazis and the intense hostility in Poland and elsewhere, especially after 1933.

Some illustrations: The U.S. Census Bureau report on Poland, with reference to an additional 900,000 Poles unaccounted for in their calculations, says (p78) that “these may have been non-Poles reclassified as Poles and thus lost to their previous category.” There is no way of knowing how many of these were Jews, but they certainly had the strongest motivation to use this avenue of escape, and it is difficult to conceive of any other racial or nationality group that would thus shift their classification on a large scale. This same authority in its study of Czechoslovakia notes (p26 and Ftnt. p14) that the last prewar census of 1930 reported 354,000 Jews by religion but only 110,000 by nationality. Jacoby (pp308 and 310) gives comparable figures but with a larger difference. In this case, the small number classed as Jews by nationality was due to the large number classing themselves as German by nationality. Jews in the Soviet Satellite states (pp239-240) that “thousands of Jews in Poland went through the occupation masquerading as Poles”; at the war’s end some 20,000 Jews were estimated still to possess forged identification papers.

The number of Jews reported as Jews by religion is rather uniformly greater than the number so reported by nationality. This is partly due to the Jewish custom of reporting as Jews all members of the Jewish community, regardless of their religious orthodoxy. It is partly due to the associated fact that Hebraism is not a universal type of religion but is closely identified with the Jews as a racial or genetically related group. However, special wartime conditions made conversion to some branch of Christianity a logical avenue of escape from surrounding hostilities. For example: The Hungarian Statistical Review for 1944 estimated that the number of Christians of Jewish origin in Greater Hungary was about 100,000. (See *Jews in the Soviet Satellites*, ppl84-5.) Kulischer notes (p199) that the number of Jews in Austria declined from 222,000 in 1923 to 180,000 in 1938, and adds that this was due in part to change of religion.

These avenues of escape may account for a considerable part of the reduction in the number of Jews reported as still in Europe. Official Jewish statistics, which are almost the only ones now available for postwar calculations, are likely to reflect the numbers living in organized communities or congregations. Many of these, as stable groups, were disorganized by various causes, and the members scattered more or less widely. If they have adopted a protective coloring (classification), they may not reappear until another day. Other statistics are based on the numbers of "professing" Jews, and these would at any time be only a part of the total number. It does not seem likely that we shall have clear guides to the number of "escapees" for a long time to come.

These are samples of what was a general practice which must have been widely utilized from 1933 onward. The hunted cannot be blamed for seeking out all avenues of escape.

Some thousands of Jews were killed in the fighting forces of the various nations, notably Poland and Russia. Just how many is conjectural. *Jews in the Soviet Satellites* (p242) says that thousands of young Jewish males were drafted into the Russian army and labor battalions. Also (p229), some 250,000 to 300,000 Jews were sent by the Russians to forced labor camps and settlements in northern and Asiatic Russia in the early 1940's. And again (p226), 68,000 Jewish officers and enlisted men were in the Polish army. Lestschinsky (p9) estimates that 200,000 Jewish soldiers in the Red armies fell during the war. Also "About half a million Jews died in the Asiatic provinces where twice that number were deported after evacuation from previous Polish and Rumanian regions as well as from the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Russia." It is to be noted that some of the computations class all missing Jews as "killed" or "murdered" (notably Frumkin), making no allowance for those who died either in the fighting forces, or in air raids, or as a result of the increased hardships and special mortality of wartime.

Many Jews were either evacuated, as by the Russians, to safer areas, or migrated to refugee territory such as Switzerland, England, Turkey, Palestine, the United States and elsewhere. The numbers are uncertain, but that they were very large is evident from the scant data available. Hitler's *Ten-Year War on the Jews* (p300) says: "Some 1,800,000 have been evacuated into the interior of the Soviet Union." This figure for the period immediately following the outbreak of the war with Russia becomes only 1,200,000 five pages later in the summary table but no explanation for the change is given. *Jews in the Soviet Satellites* (pl82) found in 1945 no less than 21,000 refugees, mostly from Germany, in the ghetto of Japanese Shanghai. It also notes (pl83) that Spain and Portugal harbor about 8,000 refugees; (pl83) 163,423 Jews entered the U.S., 1933-42; (ppl83 and 190) there are 27,000 refugees in Switzerland, mostly from France and Italy; (ppl90-1) 6,000 Jewish refugees are in Sweden, mainly Danish; 150,000 Rumanian Jews were living in Transnistria, behind the Dniester. The numbers migrating to Great Britain 1938-45 are placed at 300,000 with a similar number migrating to Palestine between 1933 and 1947. It should not be overlooked that even those who migrated from 1933 to 1939 might appear among the "losses," since most calculations necessarily begin with censuses dating from the early 1930s.

Kulischer’s Europe on the Move (p192) notes that migration from Germany, Austria and Bohemia-Moravia amounted to 370,000 from 1933 to 1939-40. Of these, 200,000 went overseas and 50,000 to Switzerland, Great Britain and Scandinavia, 85,000 to France and the Low Countries, 10,000 elsewhere in western and southern Europe and only 25,000 eastward. Among them, about 250,000 were thus removed from Nazi reach. Elsewhere, the same author (p260) adds that, with the German advance eastward, the Russian “officials and a large proportion of the Jews were evacuated” (along with factories and factory workers). He estimates the total thus evacuated at 12,000,000 including more than 1,500,000 transferred or deported from former eastern Poland, the Baltic countries, northern Bukovina and Bessarabia.

Since these were thus moved “to save them from German atrocities,” it would not seem unreasonable to consider at least 2 million of them to have been Jews. Kulischer, however, considers the number to have been only about 1.2 millions. Of the millions of Jews uprooted by the war, he finds (p264) that only “about 1.5 million escaped Nazi rule, some 300,000 by emigration overseas and to the neutral countries, and the remainder through evacuation to interior USSR.” The figure here is crucial to any estimate of what happened to the 3.1 million Jews estimated for pre-war Poland and the probable even larger number that lived in the Soviet Union. As the quote above from the Census Bureau study of Poland indicates, the “probable error” of estimates relating to the Polish population is colossal. An additional million Jews behind the Iron Curtain alters the picture for all Europe.

We can add to the above “Avenues of Escape” three areas of difficulty and probable sources of error in the estimates.

Excess Mortality and Decreased Fertility

While the total population of Europe outside Russia remained almost the same in 1945 that it had been in 1939, the total excess of births over deaths almost exactly balancing the losses due to war, this was almost entirely due to the rise in fertility among the countries of western Europe. The opposite situation obtained in central Europe, the scene of the main war depredations. Here, there was an “excess mortality” above what would have occurred in peace times. There was no way for the Jews here to escape the usual hazards of war, such as deaths from air raids and other military attacks on the towns and cities. Nor could they escape the reduction in vitality and, hence, of resistance to usual diseases, due to the increased hardships which affected all other elements in the civilian populations. Their infant mortality also went up along with that of their fellow citizens.

Now, curious as it may seem, this “excess mortality” item is usually given separate computation for Jews and non-Jews. For the Jews it is quite unfairly added to the numbers “killed” or “murdered.” Thus, Frumkin’s summary table (p173) for “Total Europe” outside the 1939 Soviet Union (that is, including the Poles and Jews of the Ceded Polish Territory but excluding N. Bukovina, Bessarabia and part of Carpathia) gives the following figures:

Table 1: European War Losses

Source	Number
Military	5,824,000
Civilian excluding Jews	4,922,000
Jews killed	4,371,000
Total losses	15,117,000

It should be obvious that, among the Jews “killed” are listed all those who suffered from the increased mortality which they shared on an enlarged scale with other civilians. Since this figure gives the total reduction in the Jewish population of this area, it obviously includes also those Jews who should be listed under all the above items as well as the one that follows. The Jewish population, because it was so largely concentrated in the heart of the eastern war zone would, along with the rest of the population there, have suffered its proportionate diminution of numbers even if they had been treated exactly like all others. The “excess mortality” cannot be charged to Nazi “murders.” Frumkin thus, quite dishonestly, lists all Jews lost or unaccounted for during the war as “killed,” implying that they were deliberately exterminated by the Nazis, which is nonsense. More may have perished in other ways than lost their lives in all Nazi camps. And in the camps more may have died from exposure, disease, lack of medical care, and starvation than from deliberate extermination.

The importance of this item can be shown from Frumkin’s figures for Poland. He starts with a total population, including only the Poles and Jews in the Ceded Territory, of 28,400,000 of whom 3,500,000 are Jews. He estimates the civilians other than Jews who died from “excess mortality” at 2,500,000; and Jews “killed” at 3,400,000. If one subtracts the original number of Jews from the original total, he gets 24,900,000 among whom there were 2,500,000 deaths from the extra hazards of wartimes. That equals 10 percent of the original population. The same proportion for the Jews would have been 350,000. These, to be sure, died, but they were not “killed” in Frumkin’s meaning.

In much the same category, mention should be made of the reduced fertility (i.e. births) of the Jewish population as a result of the forced migrations, under-nourishment, and other hardships and deprivations they experienced. This item is of secondary import; but one cannot list among the “killed” those who were never born. This reduced fertility naturally lessened the numbers surviving after 6 years of harassment, but all reductions in the numbers of Jews become “killed” in some of the calculations. Numbers that might have been were not there at the end of the upheaval; they were “missing” and “lost.” But all of them were not “killed” by the Nazis or anybody else.

Numerous and Extensive Population Shifts during the War

A supreme difficulty with all estimates arises from the repeated shiftings of populations and territories. A major illustration is the division of Poland in 1939. The main question here is not the number of Jews in the Polish territory ceded to Russia in 1939, although even here differences need not be neglected, but what happened to the Jews in the Ceded Territory. Some estimate that they were all caught in the Nazi net by the eastward advance of the German forces after 22 June 1941. Others estimate that from 1.2 to 1.8 million of Polish and other central European Jews migrated, were evacuated by the Russians, or were forcefully deported by them to areas behind the Russian lines. Moreover, the number of German, Polish and Czech Jews who had moved east ahead of the Germans on their first advance in September, 1939, is unknown, but guesses are made.

An equally striking case is supplied by Rumania.* Parts of this country, estimated to have 900,000 Jews in 1939, were shifted back and forth between Russia and Rumania; other sections went to Hungary and back; still others to Bulgaria and back; the Germans controlled different parts for different periods. With every shift of political control there were varying shifts of populations, including Jews. At the same time, the Jews in self-defense were migrating in different directions and escaping their Jewishness by every device known. It is little wonder that the Rumanian figures, whatever they are, should be suspect. The Rumanian census of 1930, the last before

the war, found a Jewish population of 756,930. This is the figure used by Sylvain (Jews in the Soviet Satellites, Table 1, p493) as the prewar population, instead of the number 900,000 which is found in most other references as the 1939 number. (In this table, incidentally, he gives the figure for Bukovina as 93,101, but this becomes 102,900 three pages later.) It is now necessary to keep track of the shifts of land and people. Bessarabia, previously part of Rumania, went to Russia in 1940, back to Rumania, 1941-44, and to Russia again in 1944. Much the same changes apply to Bukovina. Transylvania was divided, the southern portion going to Bulgaria in 1940 and returning after the war. Sylvain gives the combined areas of Bessarabia, all Bukovina and all of Transylvania a Jewish population of 381,562 for the prewar era in Table I, but (pp516-7) this figure becomes 457,000, excluding S. Bukovina, from whom there were only 100,000 survivors.

[* Footnote: After finishing the manuscript I find in my notes that Frumkin (p170) puts the “Jews killed” for the postwar area at 160,000. The “killed” for him, as already noted, includes all missing or lacking by his estimates. He admits that this figure “is substantially adjusted” (see his p12 footnote), that is, “represents a rough estimate with a wide margin of error.” Elsewhere (p131) he estimates those “killed” in Bessarabia, Bukovina and S. Dobrudja at 230,000, also subject to “adjustment.” For a good sample of the necessity of really juggling with figures in order to arrive at any estimate for such areas as Rumania see this author’s study, op. cit., pp129-134.]

There are other glaring question marks which one must put alongside his text. In Table VII, giving the Jewish population of Rumania for the present area (excluding S. Dobrudja, N. Bukovina and Bessarabia), he computed 478,042 in 1930; 466,128 in 1941 — the year of a census; and 300,000 in 1944. By 1947 their number in this “Rump Rumania” had risen to 428,000. He then allows 28,000 as the probable number of returnees from German and Hungarian camps, N. Bukovina, Bessarabia and Transnistria. Then comes this remarkable statement: “Thus around 100,000 persons out of this population... represent in fact what remained of the 457,000 Jews of Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania.” (*Italics in original.*) Since the territories mentioned were excluded from Table VII, I cannot understand how he can conclude from it the numbers of Jews missing therefrom. Perhaps I do not understand his manipulations of the data.

In any case, it is interesting to note that the numbers given in Table VII for the present territory were much the same in 1930, 1941, 1942 and 1947. The difference between the first and last is about 50,000. This figure makes no allowance for the natural increase of numbers, but on the other hand neither does it make any allowance for the excess mortality of civilians, the thousands who are said to have fled to Turkey, the 150,000 noted above as having taken refuge behind the Dniester. As for the 381,562 Jews reported in the prewar census in Table I (not the 457,000 derived by some mysterious process) they were under German-Rumanian control from 1941 to 1944, when they once more slipped behind the Iron Curtain. What happened to them is as much an enigma as what happened elsewhere along the borders of the War Zone. The above examples are designed to show how the lack of reliable census materials makes it necessary for the computer to continually conjecture the numbers here and there, now and then. If he is inclined to over-estimate the missing in repeated guesses, he may end up with a compounding of exaggerations.

I see I have overlooked some other sources of possible error. First: the computers make different allowances for the number of deportees who died in the process of deportation, never less than 25%, usually 50% and in some cases as high as 80% or more. Since there were no actual counts in such cases, these estimates must be charged with a large probable error.

Secondly: the vast upheaval, with its migrations, deportations and evacuations, made some duplication in the count of those “lost” or “killed” quite easy. The evacuees behind the Iron Curtain,

e.g., are considered among the latter, unless they returned, at least in large part. Those sent to the camps of Poland by the Germans could easily be counted as among the “losses” of the countries from which deported and charged again among those killed in Poland. That this is done in some instances seems indicated by the fact that out of the estimated original Polish Jewish population of 3.1 million in 1939, somewhat more than that are usually estimated to have been killed there.

Examples of Varying Estimates

1. How Many Jews Were There In Europe In 1939?

Because this is the basic figure from which any over-all estimate must start, variations in it are of primary significance. The following represent the estimates of the American Jewish Committee as given in the World Almanacs in various years:

Table 2: Jews in Europe 1933-1939

Year of Publication	Year of Statistics	Numbers	Numbers given under World Religions
1939	1933	9,494,363	9,494,363
1941	1939	8,939,608	not given
1945	1939?	9,372,666	8,939,608
1949	1939	9,739,200	not given
1949	1947	3,920,100	not given

One is bound to wonder at the reduction of nearly 555,000 between 1933 and 1939. Even more striking is the increase for the year 1939 in comparing the World Almanac issues of 1941 and 1949. This amounts to almost 800,000 (8,939,608 in the 1941 issue, and 9,739,200 in the 1949 issue). It is easy to see that this makes the loss much greater than if the numbers given in 1941 for the year 1939 were used as the basis of computation.

We may note a similar elevation of the base in the same organization’s estimates of Jews in the World:

Table 3: Jews in the World 1933-1939

Year of Publication	Year of Statistics	Numbers
1939	1933	15,319,459
1941	1939	15,748,091
1945	1939	15,688,259
1949	1939	16,643,120

Here is an increase in the figure for 1939 of almost 955,000 as given in the 1949 issue. How account for such a huge elevation of the world total? Were more Jews discovered? Was a more careful count made? Or was it seen by that time that a larger base from which to compute the war losses would serve a useful purpose?

2. How Many Jews Were Eliminated In Europe By The War?

This is the leading question and one now impossible to answer with any assurance. However, it is pertinent to take a look at the variations in the estimates of various investigators.

A. Some Figures For Poland

1. Bureau of the Census, (page 2) — “War losses in postwar boundaries amounted to approximately 4 million persons, of whom 2 million were Jews executed by the Nazis.” (See p3 above for quotation from pages 31 and 187.)
2. Frumkin, (page 119) — for approximately the same territory, 2.3 million.
3. Gottschalk and Duker, (page 11) — Poland, the Baltic States, Soviet White Russia and the Ukraine, “the greatest areas of Jewish concentration in Europe, became a vast death-chamber for about 5 million Jews.”
4. Frumkin, (p119) — for Poland’s Ceded (to Russia) Territory, with a prewar Jewish population of 1.2 million, the number of “killed” is estimated at 1.1 million. For all prewar Poland he thus computes a loss of 3.4 million.
5. Frumkin, (p182) — having estimated (p173) the Jews killed outside the Russian areas at 4,371,000, comments that, if the Ceded Territory is added “the total number of Jews murdered by the Germans amounted to some 5 million.” (Note that this would give only about 700,000 for the Ceded Territory, although the figure quoted just above is 1.1 million.)

B. Europe As A Whole

6. Frumkin, (p182) — following the above quote, goes on to say: “if the USSR territory occupied by the Germans during the war were likewise taken into account, the figure might easily be between 6 and 7 million.” (This of course excludes the USSR territory behind the Russian lines.) As a comment on the reliability of Frumkin’s methods and figures, the competent and objective Belgian statistician Maurice-Pierre Herremans estimated that only 25,000 of the prewar Jewish population of Belgium were “missing” from all causes at the end of the war, while Frumkin states that 27,000 of them were “killed,” mostly by the Nazis.
7. Kulischer, (p279) — puts the number of Jews “exterminated” at 5.5 million. [footnote: “... nearly 3 million were nationals or residents of European countries and territories lying now outside the Soviet Union.” (See No. 5 above)]
8. Institute of Jewish Affairs, (World Almanac, 1952, p240) — estimates that 71% of Jews in Europe at the start of the war were lost, of whom 5.7 million were killed and 200,000 lost in battle. (This would give the 1939 Jewish population of Europe as 8,450,000.)

There are many other estimates made by Jews or based on Jewish figures, but most of these are either copied from statements of the Institute of Jewish Affairs or the World Jewish Congress or, like Fay’s statement in Current History of 6 million, round numbers loosely used without any investigation of the facts and reflecting the prevailing mood of the day. To quote them adds nothing to the picture.

9. As a commentary on the above estimates, most of them by Jewish writers, and nearly all based on Jewish figures, one may well point out that Gerald Reitlinger, in his SS: Alibi of a Nation (1956), a large and heavily documented work, estimated that the number of Jews actually delib-

erately exterminated by the Nazis in their death camps, euthanasia camps, gas chambers, and the like, was far less than 500,000. Reitlinger writes as a strong critic of the Nazis, so he is not seeking to defend or exonerate them.

General Conclusions

The foregoing pages should have made it clear that the answer to our title question is, for the time being, unanswerable in terms that satisfy any scientific standards. There are so many loopholes amid so few relatively sound figures that the calculator can set his own figure in advance and arrive there by estimates and guesses, all of which can be given a certain plausibility. Even the best studies, therefore, are little more than crazy quilts of conjectures made somewhat more substantial than a tissue of lies by scattered bits of fact.

Frumkin, former statistician for the United Nations, has made the most ambitious effort to estimate the numbers of Jews missing ("killed" in his findings). He starts with a 1930-33 census, estimates the number attained in 1939 through an excess of births over deaths, and thus gets a base figure for the prewar year. He then estimates the changes due to "normal" births and deaths to 1945, the changes resulting from changes in territory, the war losses and the gains and losses for given areas due to population shifts, and thus gets an "adjusted" population for each area for 1945. He frequently notes that his figures are "elevated" or "represent an upper limit" but has the scientific honesty at least to indicate that most of them are "slightly" or "substantially" adjusted. He thus lends himself to the charge of piling Ossa on Pelion by adding one high estimate to one and then another and another.

His conclusions are severely criticized by the Bureau of the Census study of the Polish figures, mainly on the grounds that (1) they make no allowance in the case of the Jews for the excess mortality of all civilian populations in the war areas, and (2) no account is taken of the highly problematical number of Jews who left Poland and elsewhere in central and western Europe, and are still behind the Iron Curtain.

To show how one may manipulate the figures, taking only those that someone considers quite authentic or reasonably so, look at the following: [footnote: Caution: Do not take this table too seriously as it is intended merely to show the possibilities of manipulating data, every item of which seems within reason. Omitting items 7 and 8 gives a total killed of about 4 million.]

Table 4: Manipulating figures for Jewish wartime casualties

1. Jews in Europe, including USSR and Turkey, 1939	8,940,000
2. Jews in the remainder of Asia	771,000
Total in Europe and Asia, 1939	9,711,000
3. Jews in Europe, including USSR and Turkey, 1946	3,920,000
Subtotal	5,791,000
4. Jews in the remainder of Asia, 1946	917,000
Subtotal	4,874,000
5. Migrants to areas outside Europe and Asia	.300.000
Subtotal	4,574,000
6. Number dying in military forces, Poland and USSR	274,000

Subtotal	4,300,000
7. Probable underestimate of USSR areas	1,000,000
Subtotal	3,300,000
8. Possible underestimate for remainder of Asia	300,000
Total loss to Jews in Europe and Asia	3,000,000
9. Excess wartime mortality, like others	300,000
10. Killed by excess wartime persecution	2,700,000

The first four of the above figures are taken from estimates of the American Jewish Committee. The probable underestimate for the USSR and Turkey derives from the statement of the Bureau of the Census study of Poland (p189) that possibly as many as 2 million more Polish refugees were there than Frumkin allows for. Since the racial Poles would be far more likely to return to their own country than the Jews-Poles by residence — anti-Semitism being very strong in Poland after the war — it is quite likely that most of the underestimate would be composed of Jews.

Here is another possibility: Kulischer, as noted above (Europe on the Move, page 279) puts the total Jews exterminated at 5.5 million, of whom “nearly 3 million” lived in Europe outside the present USSR territories. His total allows 2.5 million for the Soviet Union and is thus highly conjectural. Schwartz, whose study is the only extensive one of the USSR, computes the Jewish “losses” there as follows:

Table 5: Jewish wartime losses (Schwartz)

Region	Prewar	Loss
White Russia	375,000	300,000
Ukraine	1,533,000	900,000
RSFSR	250,000 to 275,000	100,000
	Total loss	1,300,000

[Table footnote: Exclusive of 133,000 who died in the Russian armies, a figure which Lestschinsky puts at 200,000.]

Since this “loss” includes deaths from all causes and this was the area of greatest population upheaval and civilian hardship, it is reasonable to allow 300,000 for all items of “excess mortality” from causes suffered by all residents. That would leave a net loss due to Nazi persecution of 1 million.

If we add this to Kulischer’s “nearly 3 million” we get a total for all Europe and all the Soviet Union of nearly 4 million or 1.5 million less than Kulischer’s total. [footnote: Caution: This estimate may be too large or too small because the estimates of Schwartz for losses in Soviet territory are conjectural. and a much larger margin of error attaches to Kulischer's. However, the 4 million estimate is likely to be far closer to the actual figure than the 5, 6 or 7 million of some studies. And, of course, 4 million may be grotesquely in excess of the actuality, since most of the figures which have to be used are those of Jewish students of the problem or are based on figures given out by Jews and Jewish organizations.

The writer cannot claim in these pages to have done more than scratch the surface of the question. It is for the statistician a most frustrating problem, because of the numerous pitfalls. My aim has not been to seek a more decisive estimate than those made by others, who may have spent many months and consulted thousands of original documents. Rather it has been to show the transparently conjectural nature of the current estimates and to point out some of the probable sources of error, which are mainly lack of adequate and up-to-date population statistics, the manufacture of statistics where they are actually lacking, the manipulation and juggling of such statistics (both reliable and manufactured) as are used, to exaggerate the number of Jews in Europe and the world in 1939 and decrease the number known in 1945, and the general absence of students or studies that have no political, racial or religious axe to grind and are really seeking facts to promote truth and serve scientific purposes.

Many interesting aspects have been neglected. For example, Reitlinger in several passages notes the conflicts between Himmler, who was commissioned to find a “final solution” to the Jewish problem, and Göring who wanted Jewish workers for his munitions factories. On one occasion, Hitler himself intervened for a like reason, and Himmler then bragged of the large numbers preserved for such purposes. There are numerous cases authentically reported of Jews who were led to believe that they were headed for extermination camps but actually turned up at factories or in labor camps.

Another aspect to be considered is the large increase in numbers of Jews in Israel. That increase was about 400,000 from 1933 to 15 May 1948, when independent statehood was achieved. From then to February 1954 the population rose from 650,000 to 1,675,000. This and other items suggest that, during the immediate postwar years, a million or more Jews may have been among the displaced persons scattered all over the Eurasian map. As time passes, more of these come to statistical counting. At least, the vast increase in Israel has not been accompanied by concurrent diminutions in the settled populations elsewhere. The Jews can keep close account of their numbers where there are settled communities but even they could not keep a close count during the recent Diaspora following 1939 and 1945.

Another point to be considered is that, even if it could be proved that vast numbers of Jews died in the Nazi concentration, euthanasia, and death camps, it would not follow that all, or possibly even a majority of these, were deliberately exterminated by the Nazis. There was a huge death rate in all of these camps due to disease. In one camp, at least, there was a serious typhus epidemic. Lack of drugs and medical treatment, coupled with general low vitality and lowered physical resistance to disease, made the death rate abnormally high. Many died from exposure, and others from hard labor. Starvation was common, especially toward the end of the war, when supplies ran low even for soldiers and civilians. It is useful to reflect that it is generally estimated that at least five million expellees from East Prussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and eastern Germany perished mainly after the war was over, and it is generally conceded that relatively few of these were deliberately murdered. They died in large part from the horrible exposure and starvation during the process of expulsion. The Jews who moved back and forth during the war, either voluntarily or by forceful evacuation, before and following the movement of the armies, were subjected to just as harsh conditions as the expellees, in some cases to even worse situations. Until it is disproved by better Jewish and other studies than are currently available, one may express some confidence in Reitlinger’s estimate that the number of Jews deliberately exterminated by the Nazis was considerably less than 500,000.

The soundest basis for scepticism regarding any such figure as 6 or even 4 million Jews exterminated by Hitler and the Nazis is that contributed by logistics rather than statistics. As you have seen, the latter are inadequate, manufactured, garbled, and consciously manipulated to establish a

thesis and figure assumed in advance. Logistics is a well-established science, knows no political, racial or religious bias, and in this case relies upon a vast body of materials accumulated during the Second World War. Evidence in this field is as copious and precise for the years between 1939 and 1945 as it is sparse and fugitive for population changes and shifts during the same period.

Students of logistics who have given some attention to the charge that the Nazis, however evil-minded and however much they wished to do so, actually exterminated 4 to 7 million Jews in less than two years during a desperate two-front war which turned against Hitler at the very moment he is alleged to have set up his extermination program, contend that it would have been utterly impossible for them to have achieved anything like such a result. It would have required so much more effort and manpower and would have brought such confusion and added strain to the already overtaxed transportation facilities that the Nazis could not have waged even a reduced one-front conflict.

Those who have led in the charge that the Nazis did exterminate 4-7 million Jews do not allege that the large-scale extermination plan was formulated until after the Casablanca Conference of January, 1943, which launched the Unconditional Surrender formula for ending the war. Hitler realized the implied threat to him, blamed the Jews for the decision, and may have decided on more drastic treatment of them at this time. But even those who support the extermination charges do not contend that the machinery for such extermination was well established before the late autumn of 1943.

By 1944, Allied bombing in the West and Russian victories in the East rendered the German situation much more desperate and placed ever greater strains on German war material, plant, manpower, and transportation. Hitler could not have diverted enough effort to the extermination of the Jews between November 1943, and May 1945, to have disposed of 6 million Jews without producing a virtual collapse of his whole war effort. Some students of logistics contend that such a breakdown would have resulted from the actual extermination of 3 million or considerably less. Further, as the tide turned against the Nazis, the Jews became ever more essential to the German war effort, and it would have placed a strain on even Hitler's folly to have wasted their urgently needed services in behalf of extermination based on hatred.

Other considerations to be taken into account are such things as the paucity of authentic evidence as to the nature and extent of the Nazi extermination facilities and operations. A number of the sources are obvious forgeries. The testimony of many of the Germans at Nuremberg and other trials was extracted after the most cruel and atrocious tortures. Some of these "witnesses," knowing that they were going to be hanged in any event, boasted of what they very possibly never did at all but at the moment wished they had done, or they boasted to inflate their own egos. The total of such boasts amounts to far more than all the Jews in the world in 1939. One such German "witness" boasted that the Nazis had exterminated 40 million Jews! The charges about vast Nazi extermination operations came very late, most of them after the war. The first statement of the claim that the Nazis exterminated 6 million Jews was made in the New Jewish Frontier in January, 1945.

The most competent Jewish account of Hitler's treatment of the Jews does not even mention the wholesale extermination program. Another leading Jewish historian of the subject even contends that Hitler deliberately forbade any extensive extermination of Jews in the latter part of the war, when it appeared that he was likely to lose the war, lest any such actions bring ruthless retaliation on the German people. The 6 million theme was picked up by President Truman early in his first administration, without anything but hearsay on his part, and has been so frequently repeated

during the last decade that it is used almost automatically by journalists who have never made the slightest study of the subject. It has now become commonplace in journalistic lore.

It is quite possible that more thorough studies of population statistics, more evidence from actual witnesses, historical study of the origins and dissemination of the extermination charges, checking of the charges with what is actually known, and demonstration of deliberate fakery and falsehood, in other words, such techniques as Lord Ponsonby and J.M. Read applied to the atrocity myths of the First World War, may reduce the allegation of massive Nazi extermination of Jews to the same level of morbid imagination and irresponsible, if deliberate, mendacity that the alleged Belgian atrocities were reduced to in the years following 1918. Surely, the authenticity of the Nazi extermination program has never been vouched for by any person of the prestige and reputation for integrity enjoyed by James Bryce in 1915. Of course, no realistic and informed student of the Second World War doubts the actuality of incredibly inhumane atrocities during the conflict, atrocities on both sides carried out against Jews and Gentiles alike, especially in the guerrilla and partisan warfare behind the lines of battle. As one competent authority has well described the situation, the fictitious atrocities of the First World War became the actual atrocities of the Second.

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Review

A Memoir of Globaloney, Orwellianism and Dead Sea Fruit

JAMES J. MARTIN

- PERPETUAL WAR FOR PERPETUAL PEACE: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT AND ITS AFTERMATH. Edited by Harry Elmer Barnes, with the collaboration of William Henry Chamberlin, Percy L. Greaves, Jr., George A. Lundberg, George Morgenstern, William L. Neumann, Frederic R. Sanborn, and Charles Callan Tansill. Second, expanded edition, Torrance, California: Institute for Historical Review, 1982. Xvi+ 723 pp., \$11.00 paperbound, ISBN 0-939484-01-3

I first saw *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* in the form of long galley sheets draped over the back of a chair in the study of Harry Elmer Barnes's spread, "Stonewood," overlooking Lake Otsego, a few miles above Cooperstown, N.Y. A few months later in the fall of 1953 it was published by Caxton Printers of Caldwell, Idaho. To say that it caused delight among revisionists and consternation and outrage among Establishmentarians is a most subdued relation. When Professor Bernard C. Cohen of Princeton University started his review of *Perpetual War* in the *American Political Science Review* with the sentence, "This is an unpleasant book to read," he uttered about the most neutral words regarding the book that one might have read in the estimates made by the official defenders of the Roosevelt faith in those turbulent days 30 years ago. The majority of reviews were notable for their incensed and abusive tone, making the long-observed mistake of confusing generalized snarling with criticism.

That it has taken thirty years for it to reappear, in this new Institute for Historical Review edition, is a commentary on a number of things taking place in our land. One thing can be said of its current form: it at last is in the shape it was intended to be initially by its editor Barnes, with the addition of an originally suppressed chapter by him, about which more later. However, the wide distribution of the original edition, its many reviews and its inclusion in so many bibliographies over the last generation call not for a conventional review but for an assessment of the history of the three decades which have elapsed since the original edition, while calling attention to its contents for the benefit Of a generation just now making its first acquaintance with this basic foundation work of revisionism as it developed, historically, in this country.

Like subsequent verses of well known songs, not many even of those well acquainted with this book recall or remember its subtitle: *A Critical Examination of the Foreign Policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and its Aftermath*. That is the subject of the book, undertaken by its editor, Barnes, who wrote three of its chapters, assisted by Charles Callan Tansill, who wrote two, and six others participating in the symposium, who produced the remaining six. I often regret that political and other circumstances prevailing prevented it from being a two-volume set. Though its inspiration and supplier of its main title, Charles A. Beard, had died five years earlier, there were about the land sufficient members of the revisionist fold to have made a companion volume equally significant; the additional contributions of, say, John T. Flynn, C. Hartley Grattan, George Hartmann, Clyde R. Miller, William B. Hesseltine (I wonder what ever happened to Bill's work on Cordell Hull?), Fred A. Shannon (a

chapter by him on the imbecilities of the wartime economy would have been a hilarious interlude in this somber tale), Francis Neilson and Harry Paxton Howard, would have induced utter disintegration among the brigade of critics who found the one book simply unbearable. But it was not to be, even if some of this latter contingent did get in their say in other works.

In looking back on this book across the 30 years between editions, it is necessary to pay attention to the kind of world existing when it was put together. The various authors worked on the essays in *Perpetual War* mostly between 1951 and early 1953, a time of immense agony in the U.S.A. It was the time of the doleful Korean war, the shooting stage of which ended a bare three months prior to publication. It was a time when the high hysteria and megalomania of World War Two “victory” finally rubbed off, and the boasting and posturing of 1945-50 finally was eclipsed by the reality of another war undertaken under circumstances quite removed from those which eventuated after December 7, 1941. It was not a case of jumping into someone else’s war with the guidelines all drawn and the odds already determined. It was not the nice comfortable adventure in comradeship with an overwhelming coalition of world power and people and with resources so stacked in their favor that the wonder was that any war at all lasted more than a year. (Americans rarely undertook any campaign in the Pacific, for example, without manpower superiority of 3-1 or 4-1, against an antagonist with hardly any raw material resources and virtually no sources of energy.)

The Korean conflict was something else, begun from scratch in June, 1950 under the auspices of the United Nations, the then five-year-old mutual insurance company put together in imitation of the defunct League of Nations created in 1919-21, but with important new designated functions which seemed to commit it in perpetuity to sending its armed bands a la the scalping parties of 1941-45 to put down political sin wherever it might surface in the world. It was this looming function emerging out of the organizing sessions of 1945-48 which had induced Beard to remark about the UNO’s goal apparently being the guaranteeing of perpetual peace by fighting perpetual wars to achieve it, an absurd juxtaposition that appealed to Barnes’s sense of humor as well as seeming to be quite an accurate analysis of the situation, leading to its adoption as the title of the symposium.

The Korean war was no joke, and anyone who saw combat in this ugly, dreary, repelling struggle can tell you. But it was a complicated conflict, probably the earliest Orwellian skirmish, fought on several levels, but with little visibility for most of them. It undoubtedly had far more tangible results on the home front, quite as Orwellian wars are fought to achieve, but not all of these were expectable or desirable. A backlash caused by Americans finding out that they were almost the only ones involved in the “United Nations” war against the massed Communists of the eastern extremities of Asia where China, Korea, Manchuria and Siberia came together, accelerated an anti-Communist ferreting-out program which grievously disturbed the in-place totalitarian liberal Establishment responsible for getting the country involved in it. The war in Asia, appearing more doleful by the month in that it appeared to promise an everlasting slogging across the immense reaches of East Asia in pursuit of an objective lost right at the start, provoked massive unhappiness with the state of politics on every level.

The domestic search for Communists in places high and low alike was intimately related to this absence of military success the stacked scene of World War Two had encouraged all to expect all the time. Another consequence of this rattled state of the public mind was the encouragement of study about how these sorry situations had come to pass, and one of the beneficiaries of this psychic condition was revisionism. Overwhelmed in the first few years of national euphoria after “victory” in 1945, when few wanted to hear anything but “positive” things about the latest Great Crusade, revisionism made a sharp gain in these days of national dolors in the early '50s, and one of its emanations was this book, as Americans began to taste the Dead Sea fruit of “victory,” and some of the consequences of emerging as the monitor of planetary political behavior, and did not like the flavor one bit.

So it was in the decade of the '50s that the majority of the most influential revisionist books were to appear, powered by these same pressures and owing much of the reason for their birth and modest success to a climate of opinion more ready to listen to the obscured and suppressed reasons for this doleful state of affairs in the body politic, international and domestic. That the struggling and troubled New Order of things was immensely unsure of itself in this decade also contributed to the growth of an audience for the revisionist critics.

To be sure, the country had not got over its addiction to the fierce drug of world-saving. The “fix” of 1917-18 had gone into remission during the subsequent two decades, only to return with even stronger symptoms after 1937 and heightened in 1939. But the participation in the lethal posse from 1941-45 had really strengthened the dependence on the hallucinatory impact of the newest essaying-forth, ridding the planet of new ideological sin under Mr. Roosevelt at a cost, among other items, of several hundred thousand American lives and a quintupling of the national debt. The prospect that this might be exceeded and go on forever starting with the era of Mr. Truman had a depressing impact on this zeal for world political purity, though the spectacle of what a war can do to erase unemployment and blot up the nation’s energies was not entirely lost among even those who deplored other consequences. The half-hearted pursuit of “victory” in Korea, the first of the Orwellian wars, contrasted sharply with the all-out “total victory” effort of 1942-45. Its agonized serpentine crawl across the early 1950s had a domestic counterpart which gravely upset the lot running it however, and the campaign against all varieties of Communists and their transmission belts on the home front, viewed with such horror from the perspective of 30 years later, was thought quite proper and harmonious, when it happened, by a percentage of the community which truly frightened totalitarian liberalism.

A measure of this fright was indicated in a booklet being worked on at the same time *Perpetual War* was nearing production, published by Barnes under the title *The Chickens of the Interventionist Liberals Have Come Home to Roost: The Bitter Fruits of Globaloney*. In a letter accompanying a pre-publication copy of what we were to refer to for years as “The Chickens,” Barnes acknowledged my assistance by declaring, “I would dearly love to share the title page of this with you, but it would do you far more harm than good,” a reference to his belief that I had a future in the academic world. I believe it is a good barometer for measuring the ideological climate of the land a generation ago, as well as assessing the state of impact of the early revisionism.

When the restrained and cautious Establishment historian Dr. Louis Morton admitted in the U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings* two years later that World War Two revisionism was an authentic force to conjure with, perhaps the apogee had been reached in the U.S.A. By that time a potent list of volumes was on the record, including those by Beard, Morgenstern, F.R. Sanborn, Chamberlin, Tansill and Francis Neilson, formidably buttressed by a succession of works by Britons, especially Russell Grenfell’s *Unconditional Hatred*, the best-seller among revisionist books of the '50s; F.J.P. Veale’s *Advance to Barbarism*; Montgomery Belgion’s *Victors’ justice*; Victor Gollancz’s two remarkable books on the nightmare the Western “victors” had made out of Germany in the first 4 years of “peace”; Freda Utley’s *The High Cost of Vengeance*, and the two remarkable books cutting Churchill down to size by Neilson and Emrys Hughes. (Over the years this early sobered assessment of Churchill the great war leader has gone into obscurity while those who warmed up to the confrontation with Stalin and his successors tended to ignore what had happened to Britain and chose to refurbish and re-sell Churchill, simply replacing Germany with the Soviet Union in rephrasing his famous declamatory hokum in the bombastic period of 1938-43, the latter year being the one when Sir Winston first began to indicate he had some political sense. In 1976 Solzhenitsyn remarked that as of that date Britain was about as important or influential in the world as Romania or Uganda. Another Churchill and Britain will have the political importance of Easter Island.)

The mention of Churchill recalls other worldwide political facts of life at the time of the publication of *Perpetual War*. The throaty blather of “war aims” during the recently concluded planetary war had

become much muted by now, and a plaintive whining tempered the continuous outflow of “gee, what a great job we did” wartime histories and memoirs from the lands of the “victors.” Other than doubling the area of the world under Communism there was not much to point toward in the area of achievements except the kangaroo court convictions and killing of limited numbers of enemy leaders, which in fact set a very ominous precedent for the future in that it guaranteed future wars, if fought to the same kind of conclusion as that of 1941-45, might well be fought with unprecedented ferocity and savagery, whatever it might take to avoid defeat and subsequent hanging or shooting as “war criminals.” (Now, contrary to 1939, when no legal code in the world included a category specifically designated as “war crimes,” there were all kinds of them, especially as stipulated in the long, tedious compilations of new “law” in the four Geneva Conventions signed on 12 August 1949, so many parts of which have been violated, or ignored so many times in the 130 wars fought since 1949 that collected together as a single statement the infractions of these four Conventions might exceed in wordage the original Conventions themselves.)

In the area of irretrievably lost war goals of the “victors” however was a most palpable physical one, the immense colonial empires of the British, French, Dutch and others; even the United States targeted the Philippine Islands for “independence.” And China had come under the dominance of Maoist Communism less than a year before the Korean conflict, thus completing the bankruptcy of about all the “Western Allies” had told their populaces the war was being fought for. India was already adrift even before the Communist investment of China, and the prize Dutch and French real estate of Indonesia and Indo-China were departing or about to.

One might argue that in the case of the Philippines, the U.S.A. was about to experience getting out from under an impossible burden, though it had not begun that way. Pearl Buck had remarked in a pre-war issue of *Asia* magazine that in the early years of the century after America acquired the Philippines, part of the aspirations expressed by some hinged around a standing envy of Singapore, conditioned by the belief that a rival and competitor could be built in the Philippines. But what had been put together in some 40 years was another British West Indies instead, than which there was no worse slum.

In the case of the European powers the losses sustained in East Asia were catastrophic, and they were shortly to be expelled from Western Asia and most of Africa as well. The ear-splitting bellowing about the “One World” during the conflict ending in 1945 had declined to a whisper by the early '50s, and no one helped anyone as the colonial plantations of Asia and Africa went into local or “native” receivership. Few were so indecent as to suggest that the scuttle was a direct consequence of the total debility, exhaustion and indigence which their great “victory” had demanded. But the French did put up a fight for Algeria and for Indo-China (Vietnam), a pair of excruciating affairs during which they howled as though their fingernails were being pulled out, but to no avail. These were two more of the Dead Sea fruit harvested from “victory.”

It had been grand good fun financing and arming an immense civilian guerrilla war against the Germans, 1941-45, all in contravention of the very first article of the Hague Convention of 29 July 1899, and the Annex to this Convention, also signed at The Hague on 18 October 1907. Now, when the “victors” began to experience the very same thing in Asia and Africa, it did not seem anywhere near as pleasant. Even the U.S.A. were to get their share, first against the Hukbalahap Communists in the Philippines, and then for an extended period of time in their ill-fated years in Vietnam, when for a time it looked as though the administrations of three successive Presidents were determined to succeed in the re-colonization of Southeast Asia where the French had failed so miserably. (It now appears that thanks to enlightened new “international law,” future wars will increasingly be fought around and through civilian populations, the massive removal of such populations now being construed a “war crime.”)

It is quite possible, it is true, to put a constructive emphasis on the American replacement of France in the fighting in Southeast Asia. Given U.S. military success and a lot of Japanese economic help, South Vietnam might easily have become another South Korea, a prodigious volcanic industrial beehive, contributing to the pouring of more billions of dollars' worth of manufactured goods upon Europe and America, to increase further American unemployment, resentment and social disorder. Of such things does "victory" often consist.

A further case in point, while dealing with possible consequences of unanticipated results which come about from myopic "statesmanship" and gravely aggravated atrophy in the capability to look ahead, is the remarkable series of articles in the London *Daily Mail* in the last week of November 1982. A near high in hysteria is reached therein as the paper's Far East reporter, after several weeks in Japan and the other "four dragons" of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, witnessing what this Asian production is doing to Britain, the one-time "workshop of the world," suggests that if anyone in the United Kingdom looks forward to having a job of any kind by the year 2000, then they had better busy themselves in "finding another planet" at their earliest convenience. When the reporter contemplated what would happen in the field of cost and price cutting and competition should mainland China ever chuck their preposterous Communism and join the free enterprise system of the "free world," he could only summon a profound shudder.

The republication of a 30-year-old book does not call for reviews. They are already part of the record and can be consulted. The purpose of republication, mainly to make the book available to those not born or too young to profit from its information and analyses at the time of original issue, calls for some effort on the part of these new readers in recapitulating the events between the two editions. In this way some rough measure of assessing the validity of the original authors' approach, mustering of facts and conclusions can be made, an effort the readers in 1953 and the years immediately following did not have to make, since they had lived and were still living through the actual times themselves.

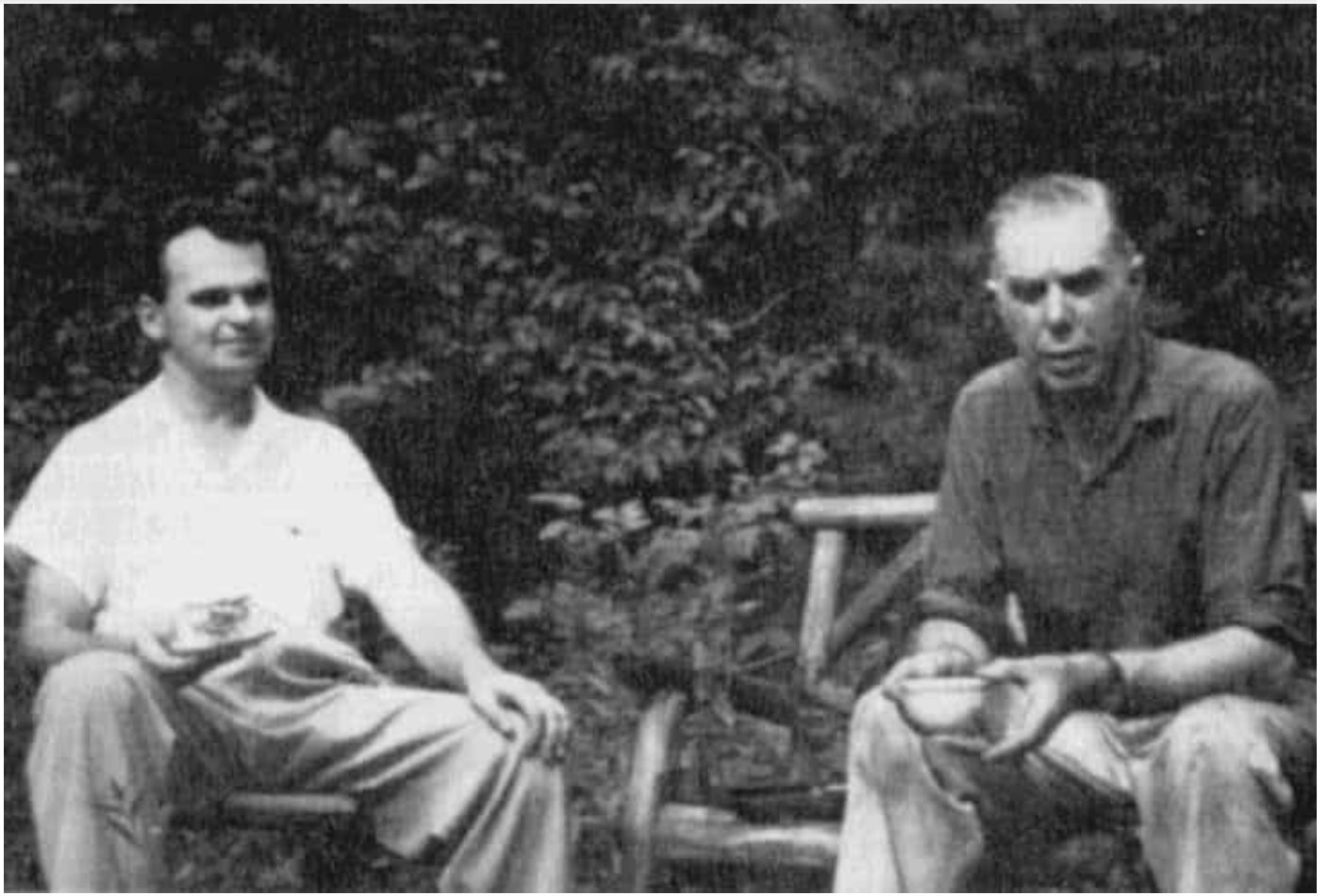
This brings up the aspect of the book related to the British novelist George Orwell and his influence on the thinking of Barnes, especially. The latter's chapter analyzing the early 1950s in terms of Orwell's nightmare vision of world politics laid out in his novel 1984 deserves special attention, since it was omitted from the 1953 edition and made available to readers old and young alike just recently. This however presents a problem ruminated upon by the hero of Orwell's tale, Winston Smith, reproduced as an epi-paragraph gracing the first page of Barnes's Chapter 10. With the passage of sufficient time and given systematic suppression or distortion of the past, it often becomes impossible to estimate the present because there is no reliable standard or picture of previous times against which to measure it. And the problem is not one just facing any given generation in such a place as the Soviet Union or any other Communist land, where constant tailoring of the past to conform to current policy is commonplace and procedurally expectable. What Orwell calls the "Memory Hole" is present *everywhere*; how diligently and comprehensively it is used to dispose of the inconvenient past is what separates one state from another, and there are none which are not involved in practical applications of it. Today efforts are made to blot out memory of things that happened just a few months or even weeks ago, let alone decades or generations past. Those in charge of the present are always in a position of asserting that things never were better, and given the assistance of sufficient camp-followers specializing in the past, can always come up with a version of what took place to provide the necessary comforting support. It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New Order. It is for this reason that the essays of William Henry Chamberlin and George Lundberg should also be paid special attention. Neglected 30 years ago, the passage of three decades gives these sober treatments a significance they could not have had in 1953, since we were still too close to it all.

Eventually, the new Establishment steadied and began to assert itself in the euphoric years of the Eisenhower presidency, particularly 1954-60, laying the groundwork for the perfection of an essentially one-party State in regard to foreign policy in the last two decades. The concomitant derailing of

revisionism is an integral aspect of this enlarging monolith, despite the recurrence of new crises and in recent years the growth of signs that the whole enterprise is in trouble, globally. But by and large the essential phoniness of the conflict we tend to call the Cold War, generically, can be buttressed with sufficient evidence to make the Orwellian analysis still essentially sound. And one must remember that the central idea in his book was the use of foreign policy to control domestic populations, thus requiring that world conflict be confined to sporadic and very localized encounters, easily terminated if necessary, employed as much as possible to entrench further the entrenched, while simulating endless confrontation. The utter failure to support anti-Soviet uprisings in “East” Germany (read: *Central* Germany, the East having disappeared behind the western frontier of Poland, after Stalin cut himself in on the eastern 45% of 1939 Poland at Potsdam), Czechoslovakia and Hungary in the 1950s puzzled many in view of the stentorian generalized anti-Communism of regimes both Democratic and Republican in this country. There may have been some connection between this action and the famous wire from Mr. Eisenhower’s Secretary of State to Marshal Tito, the “independent” Red dictator of Yugoslavia in November, 1956 which announced that the U.S. did not favor the establishment of antiSoviet regimes on the borders of the Soviet Union. But we can not get into the strange relationship between the “West” and the “East” these last 38 years at this point without grievously overrunning the space originally allocated to a commentary on a book and its times.

Perpetual War is a work which few settle down to reading at a simple sitting. Its diversity appeals rather to absorption of single chapters and reflection on the implications of their relationships as one goes along. Barnes’s opening gun on the total situation, laying the foundation for the persisting confrontation between the Revisionists and the Establishment, will often be as much as some can deal with in one dose; it is a masterpiece, the result of much re-writing and concentration via several editions of his privately-published brochure, *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout*, an early edition of which came my way in the summer of 1948, initiating our first correspondence.

The separate diplomatic history chapters by the late Professors Tansill and Neumann and the Oxford-trained international law scholar and subsequent judge, F.R. Sanborn, have aroused no refutation, but much sputtering and choking on the part of angered paladins of Rooseveltian innocence in foreign affairs, annoyed at this attention to his steady movement toward war while uttering little but the formalized political patter of “peace.” The chapters dealing with the Pearl Harbor tragedy stand to this day as capable of little improvement despite all that has come upon the record in the 30 years since they were published. George Morgenstern’s is an admirable appendix to his 1947 book *Pearl Harbor*, a volume which should never have been allowed to go out of print. As for the analysis of the nine investigations of Pearl Harbor by Percy Greaves, it is still the only thing of its kind and of inestimable value and utility. If one wants to see in outline the recent book *Infamy* by John Toland a generation before it was published, one just has to read Greaves’s essay carefully. Reference has already been made to the balance-sheet contributors by Lundberg and Chamberlin. They and the concluding chapters by Barnes may excite someone some day to carry their story forward across the thirty years separating them then from us today. The final result may be well nigh unendurable. It is a landmark occasion and a publishing event to see *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* back again. It is indeed most pleasurable for me to say, “Welcome back!”



**James J. Martin (left) with Harry Elmer Barnes in the back yard
of Barnes's hunting camp, Redfield, New York, 8 August 1954.**

Reviews

The Terrible Secret: Suppression of the Truth About Hitler's 'Final Solution'

- by Walter Laqueur, Little, Brown and Company, 262pp, \$12.95, ISBN 0-316-51474-8

Auschwitz and the Allies

- by Martin Gilbert, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 368pp, \$15.95, ISBN 0-03-059284-4

Reviewed by L. A. Rollins

According to a German proverb recorded for posterity by H.L. Mencken, “It takes a great many shovelfuls to bury the truth.” Walter Laqueur, “a distinguished professor of history,” whose book *The Terrible Secret* is subtitled “Suppression of the Truth about Hitler’s 'Final Solution'”, might find this proverb apt. But, ironically, the question that arises from a critical examination of Laqueur’s book is whether, in regard to the burying of the truth about “Hitler’s 'Final Solution',” it is an exposé or an example. Did Laqueur produce this book with a typewriter, or with a shovel?

As I've said, Laqueur’s book is subtitled “Suppression of the Truth about Hitler’s 'Final Solution'”, which immediately begs the question: what is the truth about “Hitler’s 'Final Solution'”? In this book, which purports to be a study of when “the information” about “the Final Solution” became “known,” Laqueur reveals himself to be a rather dogmatic exponent of the conventional wisdom about “the Final Solution,” to wit, that on Hitler’s orders, the Nazi regime during World War Two embarked upon a program aimed at killing all the Jews of Nazi-dominated Europe, and succeeded in killing millions (5 or 6 million the figures most often claimed) by shooting and by gassing, mainly the latter.

For example, Laqueur, in line with the conventional wisdom, asserts (p. 11) that Hitler gave orders to Himmler and Heydrich for the extermination of all European Jews soon after he signed the Barbarossa Directive in December 1940. But how Laqueur “knows” this is his (terrible?) secret. He cites no corroborating documentation or testimony; he cites no source of any sort in support of his claim.

This scholarly sin could be forgiven if Laqueur were stating a well-known and indisputable fact. But, in fact, even the exponents of the conventional wisdom cannot agree on when Hitler is supposed to have given his supposed extermination order. According to Helmut Krausnick (*Anatomy of the SS State*, Walker and Company, 1968, p60), “It cannot have been later than March 1941, when [Hitler] openly declared his intention of having the political commissars of the Red Army shot, that he issued his secret decree-which never appeared in writing though it was mentioned verbally on several occasions-that the Jews should be eliminated.” But according to Raul Hilberg (*The Destruction of the European Jews*, Harper Colophon, 1979, p177):

... we are dealing with two of Hitler's decisions. One order was given in the spring of 1941, during the planning of the invasion of the USSR; it provided that small units of the SS and Police be dispatched to Soviet territory, where they were to move from town to town to kill all Jewish inhabitants on the spot. This method may be called the "mobile killing operations." Shortly after the mobile operations had begun [in June 1941] in the occupied Soviet territories, Hitler handed down his second order. That decision doomed the rest of European Jewry.

Thus, Hilberg does not agree with Krausnick, and Laqueur does not agree with either of them about *when* Hitler is supposed to have ordered the extermination of all European Jews. In such a situation, Laqueur's unsupported, dogmatic assertions are worthless, and leave unanswered the question of whether or not Hitler ever actually gave such an order.

Laqueur virtually concedes that Hitler never gave a *written* order for the extermination of European Jewry, but then tries to save the day for the conventional wisdom. He says (p196) that

witnesses claimed to have seen the order, but it is doubtful whether there ever was a written order. This has given rise to endless speculation and inspired a whole "revisionist" literature-quite needlessly, because Hitler, whatever his other vices, was not a bureaucrat. He was not in the habit of giving written orders on all occasions: there were no written orders for the murderous "purge" of June 1934, for the killing of gypsies, the so-called euthanasia action (T-4) and on other such occasions.

But first, *how* does Laqueur know that Hitler ordered the killing of gypsies? Second, regarding the Blood Purge of 1934, David Irving points out (*The War Path*, Viking, 1978, p39) that Hitler did give a written order to Sepp Dietrich, in the form of a list of seven names of men to be executed. That 82 people were killed resulted, according to Irving, from the exceeding of Hitler's orders, mainly by Himmler and Göring. And, third, Hitler's written order for the T-4 "euthanasia" program is well-known. Gitta Sereny, journalist and devotee of the conventional wisdom about "the Final Solution," quotes it as follows:

Reichsleiter Bouhler and Dr. Brandt are charged with the responsibility for expanding the authority of physicians who are to be designated by name, to the end that patients who are considered incurable in the best available human judgment after critical evaluation of their condition can be granted mercy-killing. (Into That Darkness, McGraw-Hill, 1974, p63.)

Say, Professor Laqueur, just what are you doing with that shovel in your hand? Digging for the truth about "Hitler's 'Final Solution' "? Or *burying* it?

In any case, Laqueur tells his readers (p30) that on 25 October 1941, in a conversation between Hitler, Himmler and Heydrich, rumours among the population about the destruction of the Jews had already been mentioned. ('Public rumours attribute to us a plan to exterminate the Jews.')

But what he doesn't tell his readers is that it was Hitler who was speaking and that this reference to rumors about an extermination plan was made in the following context:

From the rostrum of the Reichstag I prophesied to Jewry that, in the event of war's proving inevitable, the Jew would disappear from Europe. That race of criminals has on its conscience the two million dead of the first World War, and now already hundreds of thousands more. Let nobody tell me that all the same we can't park them in the marshy parts of Russia! Who's worrying about our troops? It's not a bad idea, by the way, that public rumour attributes to us a plan to exterminate the Jews. Terror is a

salutary thing. (*Hitler's Secret Conversations 1941-1944*, Signet, 1961, pp108-109. See also David Irving, *Hitler's War*, Viking, 1977, p331.)

If, as Laqueur asserts, Hitler in December 1940 gave Himmler and Heydrich orders to exterminate all European Jews, then why was he making statements implying that his policy was to “park them in the marshy parts of Russia” in a conversation with none other than Himmler and Heydrich almost a year later? Hmmmmm? That is the question that Laqueur seeks to avoid answering by quoting Hitler out of context. Considering how good he is at burying things, perhaps Laqueur should give some thought to a career as a grave digger.

In the meantime, “distinguished professor of history” Walter Laqueur makes many “factual” assertions about what “could have been known” about “the extermination of the Jews” at various times. Almost invariably, these assertions, like his claim regarding a Hitler order for genocide, are unsupported by the citation of any source. But even when he does cite a source, his interpretations can be misleading.

For example, regarding what “could have been known” by 1 January 1943, Laqueur writes (p14) that, “According to an official SS report, 2.5 million Jews had been 'deported' by the end of 1942 and were no longer alive.” A footnote reveals that the SS report in question is the report of the statistician Korherr, submitted to Himmler on 23 March 1943. But it was not according to the Korherr report that those 2.5 million deported Jews were no longer alive at the end of 1942. Rather, it is according to Laqueur that they were no longer alive then. And, by equating deportation with killing, Laqueur is exaggerating the number of Jews killed by the Nazis by the end of 1942. As Laqueur knows, some of those deportees were not only still alive at the end of 1942, but managed to survive to bear witness to “the truth” later on. For example, Vrba (nee Rosenberg) and Wetzler, whose escape from Auschwitz in 1944 Laqueur mentions, were among the Slovakian Jews deported during 1942 who, according to Laqueur’s interpretation of the Korherr report, were all dead by the end of that year!

The Terrible Secret is supposed to be a study of when “the truth” about “the extermination of the Jews” became “known” in various quarters. But Laqueur is determined to demonstrate, by fair means or foul, that “knowledge” of “the truth” was widespread by the end of 1942. To that end he has gathered together a motley collection of wartime rumors (some travelling through diplomatic channels), “reports” of Resistance groups, accounts of self-proclaimed eyewitnesses, newspaper articles, radio broadcasts, letters, diaries, etc., as well as way too many postwar recollections, unsupported assertions, specious inferences and unproven assumptions.

* * * * *

Auschwitz and the Allies, by Martin Gilbert, a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and the official Churchill biographer since 1968, covers some of the same ground as *The Terrible Secret*, from a similar point of view. The book purports to be “an account of the facts of the extermination as they filtered out of Nazidominated Europe, and the Allied reaction to these facts ...” But regarding the matter of the Allied reaction to “the facts,” Gilbert is concerned not just with the question of belief or disbelief, as Laqueur, but also with what was done, or not done, to save the lives of European Jews. There are other differences in the scopes of these two volumes. Laqueur has focussed mainly on the period July 1941-December 1942, while Gilbert carries his account through to early 1945. Gilbert is only concerned with when the Allies, especially Britain and the U.S., “learned” about “Hitler’s mass murder,” while Laqueur also poses this question in relation to Germany and her allies, the neutral European nations, and the Jews, both inside and outside of

the Nazi-ruled Europe. Finally, Gilbert gives special attention to the story of one particular “extermination camp,” Auschwitz.

Like Laqueur, Gilbert repeatedly makes “factual” statements about what was “really” happening to European Jews during the war. And Gilbert is not much better than Laqueur at citing supporting sources for these statements. For example, after alleging a Nazi plan for millions of Jews “using the most efficient and modern methods,” Gilbert writes (pi 8) that “The first step in carrying out this new plan was taken on 8 December 1941, when several hundred Jews from small Polish towns were taken to a wood outside the village of Chelmno, and gassed in a specially designed building.- It’s bad enough that this unsupported assertion is contradicted by the conventional wisdom about Chelmno, according to which Jews were gassed there in specially designed motor vehicles of some sort, not in a specially designed building, but, what’s worse, it’s contradicted by the official Churchill biographer himself! On page 40, Gilbert quotes a “report” sent to London in May 1942 by the underground Jewish Socialist Bund of Poland. Regarding the gassing of the Jews at Chelmno, the “report” said: “ ‘A special automobile (a gas chamber) was used.’ “ And, comments Gilbert, ~ “... the details given in the Bund Report were precise, and, as we now know, accurate.” So, why did Gilbert contradict it on page 18? Who knows? It seems that the mind of the official Churchill biographer, like God, works in mysterious ways, its wonders of scholarship to perform.

It also seems that the official Churchill biographer does not know the meaning of the word “eyewitness,” which my dictionary defines thusly: “One who has seen something happen and can give testimony about it.” Chapter 10 of *Auschwitz and the Allies*, titled “Eyewitness,” is concerned primarily with a group of Palestinian Jews (women, children and a few elderly men, according to Laqueur) who, in an exchange for German internees, had reached “the Holy Land” from Europe on 16 November 1942. Writes Gilbert (p88),

All had been eye-witnesses to Nazi brutality. Each one had horrific tales to tell of deportation, brutality, or mass murder.

Among the facts reported were “Harrowing details recounted by eyewitnesses of people thrown into flames, specially constructed crematorium, locked up in poison gas chambers, and other forms of torture.” (Gilbert is quoting Moshe Shertok’s summary of these “eyewitness” accounts.)

But later in the chapter (p92) we find out that “what the eyewitnesses did report ... was ‘all sorts of rumours’ which told ‘of large concrete buildings on the Russian-Pofish border where people are killed by gas and burned.’ “ Thus, on this crucial point in these “eyewitness” reports, the “eyewitnesses” were not eyewitnesses at all. They had not seen anything; they had merely heard some things, some rumors.

Laqueur also discusses the stories of this group of Palestinian Jewish repatriates, since it was their “evidence” which supposedly convinced the leaders of Palestinian Jewry of the “reality” of a program to exterminate all European Jews. Laqueur, at least, does not call these people “eyewitnesses”; he merely calls them “witnesses.” But he seems to take their “evidence” just as seriously as Gilbert. He writes (p191):

So often before, simple-minded (and even not so simple-minded) people had simply repeated rumours, often baseless in character. But the new arrivals could not be so easily dismissed: among them was a scientific researcher at the Hebrew University, two members of Kibbutz Degania B-members of the Palestinian elite-a Zionist leader

of long standing from Piotrkow and other such witnesses. ("People on whose judgment and discernment one could rely," E. Dobkin was later to say.)

But was there really such a big difference between these people and earlier repatriates who "simply repeated rumours, often baseless in character"? Laqueur himself tells us that "what emerged from these accounts was firstly that a German government commission had been set up earlier that summer (Sander- or Vernichtungskommission) under a certain commissar Feu or Foy to destroy Polish Jewry. (This information was, in fact, wrong or at least inaccurate ...)" (pigi) Apparently, these people "on whose judgment and discernment one could rely" were simply repeating a baseless rumor. Furthermore, as I've already pointed out, on the crucial question of the fate of Jewish deportees, these "witnesses" reported "all sorts of rumors" about '61 large concrete buildings on the Russian-Polish border where people are killed by gas and burned." Laqueur says (p192) that these rumors "were apparently correct," presumably meaning that they appeared to be correct to those to whom they were repeated in Palestine in November of 1942. But what was there about these rumors that made them appear more correct than any of the other rumors circulating about the fate of Jewish deportees? According to Vladka Meed (*On Both Sides of the Wall*, Holocaust Library, p43), "One rumor" regarding the deportees from Warsaw "was that they had been dispatched to the city of Smolensk, close to the Russo-German front, to dig trenches." And, in addition to the rumors about gassing, there were rumors about mass extermination by various other methods, including rumors about killing by live burial, rumors about thousands of Jews being run over by heavy motor lorries, rumors about throwing Jews into lime kilns, rumors about mass electrocutions at Belzec and Auschwitz, rumors about killing people with air pressure at Auschwitz, and rumors about mass executions by hot steam chambers of Treblinka. (The *Black Book of Polish Jewry*, published in 1943, contains an "Official Report submitted to the Polish Government," which includes "the report of an eyewitness" describing in detail the steam chambers of Treblinka. See pages 141-147. This was asserted to be "irrefutable proof of the atrocious horror wielded over their victims by the Germans.") So, why, in November 1942, were the rumors about gassing "apparently correct"? Laqueur does not explain this, though he does give a possible explanation of why rumors about mass extermination (not necessarily by gassing) may have appeared correct. He says of the deportees (p192) that "... there was not news from them, no letters, no personal regards conveyed." But there were letters, and Laqueur knows that. According to Vladka Meed (op. cit., p31), "Some letters from deportees were received in the [Warsaw] ghetto which gave credence to the German assurances that those forced to leave had been given employment elsewhere." And Laqueur himself writes (p153) that,

When ... the Slovak leaders, slightly perturbed, mentioned to the Germans the "fantastic rumours" about the fate of the evacuated Jews, pretending they had no idea about what was happening to them in Poland, Eichmann referred to more than one thousand letters and postcards which had been received in Slovakia from evacuated Jews within the previous two months.

Laqueur also mentions letters received from deportees in other countries, although he usually emphasizes that the number of letters received was small in relation to the number of deportees. In any case, letters were received from some deportees. So if the rumors about the mass extermination of the deportees "were apparently correct" because of the claim that there were no letters from them, then the rumors about mass extermination "were apparently correct" because of what Laqueur knows to be a falsehood! Ironical, isn't it, that people could have learned "the truth" about "the Final Solution" by means of such falsehoods? Immediately following his mistitled chapter "Eyewitness," Martin Gilbert discusses the case of another "eyewitness," further demonstrating his incompetence as a historian. Gilbert writes (p93):

On November 25, at the very moment when the half-million Jews in Palestine were learning of the mass murder of their fellow Jews in Europe, yet another report had reached the Jewish leadership in London. This new report described “the liquidation” of the Warsaw ghetto, and the gassings at Belzec. It had been brought from Poland to the Polish Government-in-Exile in London by an eyewitness, Jan Karski, a non-Jew.

A naive reader would most likely conclude from this passage that Jan Karski, the non-Jew, was an eyewitness to “the gassings at Belzec.” But, strangely enough, in the course of detailing the contents of “Karski’s report,” Gilbert says (p94), “There followed an account of the different methods of ‘mass extermination’: execution by firing squads, electrocution, and ‘lethal gas-chambers’, and the report continued with an account of the ‘electro cutting station’ at Belzec camp...” Here is that account:

Transports of “settlers” arrive at a siding, on the spot where the execution is to take place. The camp is policed by Ukrainians. The victims are ordered to strip naked — to have a bath, ostensibly — and are then led to a barrack with a metal plate for floor. The door is then locked, electric current passes through the victims and their death is almost instantaneous. The bodies are loaded on to waggons and taken to a mass grave some distance from the camp.

The question that all this raises is this: did the “eye-witness, Jan Karski,” see “the gassings at Belzec,” or did he see the operation of the “electrocuting station” at Belzec? Or did he, perhaps, see both? Gilbert sees no need to clear up the confusion he has created and moves on to other things. But, according to Karski’s account of his experience at Belzec (Chapter 30, *The Story of a Secret State*, Houghton Mifflin, 1944), he saw *neither*!

Karski, a Polish diplomat before the war, and a Lieutenant of the Mounted Artillery in 1939, was a member of the Polish underground. He engaged in some “black propaganda” operations, such as the printing and posting of fake German decrees, as well as serving as a courier for the underground. According to his book, Karski had a meeting with two leaders of the Jewish underground, one a Zionist and the other a member of the Bund, who, so he says, arranged for him to visit the Warsaw ghetto and then to infiltrate “the Jewish death camp” near Belzec disguised as an Estonian camp guard. Here is Walter Laqueur’s synopsis of what Karski said he saw at Belzec (p231):

There he saw “bedlam”-the ground littered with weakened bodies, hundreds of Jews packed into railway cars covered with a layer of quicklime. The cars were closed and moved outside the camp; after some time they were opened, the corpses were burned and the cars returned to the camp to fetch new cargo.

Actually, Karski did not claim to have seen where the train went or what happened to the Jews inside the railway cars after they left the camp. In his book, he wrote (p350): “As I listened to the dwindling outcries from the train, I thought of the destination toward which it was speeding. My informants had minutely described the journey.” His informants were the Jewish underground leaders who had arranged his visit to Belzec, in particular “the Bund leader.” According to Karski (p339), “The Bund leader had never been in it [i.e., “the Jewish death camp” near Belzec] but he had the most detailed information in [sic] its operations.” Thus, Karski was told by “the Bund leader” (it was Leon Feiner) that, after leaving Belzec,

The train would travel about eighty miles and finally come to a halt in an empty, barren field. Then nothing at all would happen. The train would stand stock still, pa-

tiently waiting while death penetrated into every corner of its interior. This would take from two to four days. (p350)

Thus, what Karski saw at the Belzec “death camp” was Jews being herded into railroad cars which then left the “death camp.”

Nowhere in his book did Karski mention gassings or electrocution. So why does Gilbert say (p93) that Karski’s report “described ... the gassings at Belzec” and (p94) that it included “an account of the 'electrocution station' at Belzec camp? It may be of interest to know that the “account of the 'electrocuting station' at Belzec camp,” which Gilbert attributes to Karski, can be found on page 131 of the 1943 publication, *The Black Book of Polish Jewry* (Jacob Apenszlak, ed.), where it is quoted as part of a 15 November 1942 “report” of Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart, a member of the Polish National Council in London. In fact, other parts of what Gilbert calls “Karski’s report” can be found in *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, all attributed to sources other than Karski.

Ironically, *The Black Book of the Polish Jewry* also contains two descriptions of the Belzec camp, both of them obviously based on Karski’s account, though each of them contradicts Karski’s book regarding some details, as well as contradicting each other. (See pp135-138 and 329-332.) One of these accounts of Belzec, after “reporting” the killing of Jews by their being left in railway cars “from two to eight days,” then asserts that, “Because there are not enough cars to kill the Jews in this relatively inexpensive manner many of them are taken to nearby Belzec where they are murdered by poison gasses or by the application of electric currents.” It would be very interesting to know who actually wrote this statement. Was it Karski, who did not see fit to mention either gassing or electrocution in his own 1944 book? Or was it somebody else, who took Karski’s report and, for propaganda purposes, interpolated these references to gassing and electrocution? In any case, Karski, now a Professor in the Department of Government at Georgetown University, has not answered my inquiries about these matters.

Laqueur, unlike Gilbert, gives a fairly accurate account of Karski’s observations at Belzec, observations which, at the very least, raise questions about the conventional wisdom that Jews were killed by gassing at Belzec. But Laqueur tries to save the day for conventional wisdom thusly:

Karski says that he learned only in later years that Belzec was not a transit but a death camp and that most of the victims were killed in gas chambers. He had not actually seen the gas chambers during his visit, apparently because these were walled in and could be approached only with a special permit. (p231)

But if Karski “learned only in later years that Belzec was not a transit but a death camp and that most of the victims were killed in gas chambers,” then why did he, in his 1944 book, refer to the camp as “the Jewish death camp” while saying nary a word about gassing? As I've already pointed out, Karski’s story about the Jews who were shipped out of the Belzec camp being left in railway cars until they died was based on what he was told by Jewish Bund leader Leon Feiner, who supposedly “had the most detailed information” about the operations of the Belzec camp. But if Feiner “had the most detailed information” about Belzec and if “most of the victims were killed in gas chambers,” then wouldn’t Feiner have known about that? And, if so, then wouldn’t he have told Karski about that too? In any case, Laqueur suggests that Karski “had not actually seen the gas chambers during his visit, apparently because these were walled in and could be approached only with a special permit ... Apparently” the gas chambers were walled in, eh? Apparently, Laqueur has conjured up an ad hoc hypothesis, based on no actual evidence, in an attempt to reconcile Karski’s story with the conventional wisdom about gas chambers at Belzec. But one

could read Karski's story and conclude that "apparently" Jews were not gassed at Belzec. Martin Gilbert laments (p170) that:

As 1943 came to an end, and 1944 began, the stories of German atrocities were still not fully believed. One of those concerned by this fact was a Hungarian Jewish refugee, Arthur Koestler, then working as a journalist and lecturer in Britain. "At present," he wrote in an article which was published in the New York Times Magazine in January 1944, "we have the mania of trying to tell you about the killing, by hot steam, mass-electrocution and live burial, of the total Jewish population of Europe."

Koestler's own "emotion and bitterness" arose, he wrote, because he had in his desk in front of him photographs of the killings, photographs which had been smuggled out of Poland. "People died to smuggle them out," he commented, and added caustically, "They thought it worth while."

But if Koestler had "photographs of the killings," then, pray ten, Mr. Gilbert, were they photographs of the killings by hot steam, or of the killings by mass-electrocution, or the killings by live burial? Hmmmmmm? I think it is significant that what Koestler actually wrote was this: "I have photographs before me on the desk while I am writing this, and this accounts for my emotion and bitterness." (See "On Disbelieving Atrocities," reprinted in *The Yogi and the Commissar*; Macmillan, 1945, p8g.) Koestler did not say that he had photographs "of the killings." He did not say what he had photographs of. He just said he had photographs. Quite possibly, Koestler wanted his readers to assume, as Gilbert has assumed, that he had photographs "of the killings," but, if that was the case, wouldn't he have made that point quite explicit in order to make his appeal for belief in German atrocities that much more persuasive?

In any case, on the two pages preceding his account of Koestler's article (pp168-169), Gilbert discusses "the second Soviet trial of German war criminals, at Kharkov," by means of which, he says, "[f]urther evidence of the scale of the slaughter of Warsaw Jewry reached the Allies and western Jewry ..."

During the Kharkov trial a twenty-four-year-old SS Lieutenant, Hans Ritz, was questioned about the use of gas vans in Kharkov. On first hearing the words "gas van" mentioned in Kharkov, Ritz told the prosecutor, "I remember the vehicle from my stay in Warsaw, when I witnessed the evacuation in it of the unreliable sections of the Warsaw population." While in Warsaw, Ritz added, "I got to know that part of the Warsaw population was evacuated by railway and another part were loaded into the 'gas vans' and exterminated."

Hans Ritz also gave evidence of the mass shooting, in sand pits and stone quarries, of tens of thousands of people in the Soviet cities of Krasnodar, Vitebsk and Taganrog. During the shooting of some three hundred people at a village near Kharkov, Ritz recalled, a woman, trying to save her child, "covered it with her body. But this did not help her, because the bullet went through her and the child."

Although Gilbert seems to take all of Ritz' "confessions" quite seriously, it is interesting to note that Ritz "confessed" to a crime that none of the other postwar exponents of the conventional wisdom have ever accused the Germans of, that is, the killing of Warsaw residents in gas vans. Ironically, a likely explanation of Ritz' "confessions" is suggested by our old friend, Arthur Koestler, in this passage from "Soviet Myth and Reality," in *The Yogi and the Commissar*:

The method of gross over-simplifications in Soviet home-propaganda led to the tradition that the accused in a political trial must confess lustily and voluntarily his alleged crimes; and once this tradition became established there was no going back. Hence the curious phenomenon that during the Kharkov trial of German war-criminals in December, 1943, the accused German officers and N.C.O.'s were made to behave like characters from Dostoevsky. One of them at the trial told of his own accord how during a mass-execution of Russians he took a tommy gun from a soldier and shot a mother with a child in her arms. For the foreign observer the Kharkov trial (which was filmed and publicly shown in London) gave the same impression of unreality as the Moscow trials, the accused reciting their parts in stilted phrases which they had obviously learned by heart, sometimes taking the wrong cue from the State-Prosecutor and then coming back to the same part again. There is no doubt that the Germans committed bestialities in Russia which surpass the imagination of the Western mind; but that those particular Germans committed those crimes was proved by no other evidence than their own confession. (p143)

That the official Churchill biographer should take the "confessions" of the Kharkov trial seriously merely demonstrates his gross credulity. No doubt he would also take seriously the "confession" referred to in the following:

... the last culprit burned at Paris for heresy suffered in 1663, when a certain Simon Morin, a native of Aumale in Normandy, was sent to the stake. Morin preached that he was Christ Incarnate, that to him all power had been given by God, and that his followers, those who possessed the true light, were incapable of sinning. These Illuminati practiced the most infamous debaucheries under the pretext of religious assemblies, and it was shown that Morin was insatiable in his lusts and corruptions. A wealthy widow, named Malherbe, who had joined the sect, confessed the usual catalogue of filth and folly. She had had sexual connexion with the Devil, had attended the Sabbath, banqueted with demons, entertained imps and familiars. The Parliament ordered her to be branded with the *fleur-de-lys* and banished from the city. (Montague Summers, *The Geography of Witchcraft*, Citadel, p430.)

The "confessions" of a Soviet show trial are about as credible as the "confessions" of a "witch" trial. That the official Churchill biographer takes such "confessions" seriously is further evidence of his incompetence as a historian. But, perhaps, he can find work with Walter Laqueur, as an assistant grave digger. Gilbert devotes much attention to the story of Auschwitz escapees Vrba and Wetzler, and their "report" on Auschwitz-Birkenau. According to Gilbert (p236), "The Vrba-Wetzler Report, although based entirely on the power of two men's memories, was remarkably accurate in its details." But what were those details? Gilbert does not quote any substantial portion of the "report" itself, but he does quote (pp262-264) a good chunk of an 8-page summary of "the report" that reached the British Foreign Office on 4 July 1944. Here are the details concerning the crematoria of Birkenau:

At the end of February, 1943, four new crematoria were built, two large and two small, in the camp of Birkenau itself. The crematorium contains a large hall, a gas chamber and a furnace. People are assembled in the hall which holds 2,000 and gives the impression of a swimming-bath. They have to undress and are given a piece of soap and a towel as if they were going to the baths. Then they are crowded into the gas chamber which is hermetically sealed.

Several SS men in gas-masks then pour into the gas chamber through three openings in the ceiling a preparation of the poison gas megacyklon, which is made in Hamburg. At the end of three minutes all the persons are dead. The dead bodies are then taken away in carts to the furnace to be burnt. The furnace has nine chambers, each of them with four openings. Each opening will take three bodies at once. They are completely burnt after 1½ hours. Thus each crematorium can burn 1,500 bodies daily.

The question that naturally arises (though, naturally, not in the mind of the official Churchill biographer) is: how did Vrba and Wetzler “know” all this? According to a deposition made by Vrba for submission at the Eichmann trial, Vrba’s source of information was Filip Müller, “who worked in the Gas Chamber Department.” (See *I Cannot Forgive*, Rudolph Vrba and Alan Bestic, Bantam, 1964, p270.) In his own book, *Eyewitness Auschwitz* (Stein and Day, 1979), Filip Müller expounds (expands?) upon his role as informant to Vrba and Wetzler (pp121-122). However, Müller’s “descriptions” of the Birkenau crematoria do not jibe very well with those Gilbert quotes from the summary of the Vrba-Wetzler “report.” For one thing, the Vrba-Wetzler summary says the four new crematoria at Birkenau were built at the end of February 1943, while Müller (p51) says they were ready by mid-July 1943.” According to the Vrba-Wetzler summary, several SS men would pour a preparation of the poison gas” into the gas chamber. But, according to Müller (p81), only “two SS men took the so-called disinfectants, several canisters of Zyklon B and poured their contents into the openings of the gas chamber.” An apparently minor discrepancy is the Vrba-Wetzler summary’s identification of the poison gas as “megacyklon,” while Müller identifies it as Zyklon B. However, this discrepancy becomes more significant in the light of Müller’s claim (p122) that he gave Vrba and Wetzler “one of those labels which were stuck on the tins containing Zyklon B poison gas.” If Müller is telling the truth, how did Vrba and Wetzler manage to get the name wrong? In any case, another discrepancy is that the Vrba-Wetzler summary says, regarding the gassings, that at the end of three minutes everyone was dead, while Müller says (p116) that it usually took more than ten minutes before everybody was dead. The Vrba-Wetzler summary says the furnace of the crematorium had nine chambers, each with four openings, while Müller (p59) says that one of the larger crematoria had only five ovens, each with only three combustion chambers. The Vrba-Wetzler summary says the bodies were “completely completely burnt after 1½ hours,” while Müller (p17) says that corpses went into each oven at intervals of twenty minutes.” The Vrba-Wetzler summary calculated that each crematorium could burn 1,500 bodies daily, while Müller says of one of the larger crematoria (p59) that “Its fifteen ovens, working non-stop, could cremate more than 3,000 corpses daily.” Clearly, the “facts” about Auschwitz are rather malleable, somewhat like Silly Putty. But despite the fact that, on the crucial matter of the crematoria, most of the details of the Vrba-Wetzler “report” are contradicted by none other than Filip Müller, Vrba and Wetzler’s source of information about the crematoria, the official Churchill biographer calls the “report” of Vrba and Wetzler “remarkably accurate in its details,” demonstrating thereby his own remarkable will-to-believe.

In his introduction, Gilbert tells the reader that he has “set out the barest facts of the principal deportations, murders and gassings as they happened...” To give one example out of many, Gilbert asserts (p169) that “On December 20 [1943] ... a train-load of 849 Jews reached Auschwitz from Paris; more than five hundred were taken away to be gassed.” Gilbert makes this sort of assertion again and again throughout the book. Apparently his source for the “the barest facts” (at least regarding Auschwitz) is Danuta Czech. In a footnote on page 264, he says that “The principal features of the Vrba-Wetzler report, the arrival of deportation trains at Auschwitz between March 1942 and April 1944, the gassing of the majority of the deportees, and the numbers gassed, are fully borne out by the facts and figures in Danuta Czech’s, ‘Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau,’ published in *Hefte von Auschwitz...*”

But how reliable are Danuta Czech's "facts and figures"? One indication of their reliability is given in this passage from Pierre Vidal-Naguet's "A Paper Eichmann?" in the April 1981 issue of *democracy*:

[Robert] Faurisson has triumphantly published a photograph of Simone Veil, the current president of the European Parliament, who, although she was reported to be gassed, is alive and well. The mechanism of this mistake is extremely simple, and the information that Faurisson gives ... makes it easy to understand. According to the Polish historian Danuta Czech, the original camp calendar for April 1944 establishes the fact that convoy number 71, which came from Drancy, near Paris, on April 16 was handled in the following manner: 165 men were registered, and the rest of the convoy were gassed (*Hefte von Auschwitz* no.7, p.88). The camp archives, which were incomplete, no longer included the names of women who had been registered. This mistake was corrected by Serge Klarsfeld, in his [*Le*] *Memorial [de la deportation des juifs de France]*: "The Auschwitz calendar gives no names of women who were selected [for labor], but this is misleading, since 70 women survivors of this convoy were counted in 1945. There were also 35 male survivors." (p83)

Was Danuta Czech's "mistake" about convoy 71 from France just a fluke? That it was not is suggested by the one case in which I have been able to compare Czech's "facts and figures," as parroted by Gilbert, with the testimony of a survivor of the convoy in question. According to Gilbert (p210):

On May 21 [1944] the railway sidings, gas chambers and crematoria at Birkenau were more active than they had ever been before. For on that day three trains arrived from Hungary, two from Holland, and one from Belgium... From the three Hungarian trains, only eleven men and six women were sent to the barracks, and more than 12,000 gassed. This was the largest number to be gassed in a single day in the history of Auschwitz up to that moment. But it was a number that was now to be repeated day after day.

But, praise Yahweh, who should have been on one of the trains that arrived at Auschwitz from Hungary on 21 May 1944? None other than our litigious old friend, Mel Mermelstein! (See Mermelstein's *By Bread Alone*, p276.) And, according to Mermelstein's account of his arrival at Auschwitz, "hundreds of men" (p115) from the train he arrived in, including himself, his father, his brother and four acquaintances named Lajas, Tibi, Brain and Joey, were selected for labor and sent to the barracks. (He says nothing about how many women were selected for labor, since, according to his account, the men and women were separated before the selections for labor were made.) Mel Mermelstein says that hundreds of men were selected for labor from just one of the three Hungarian trains, yet Gilbert says that only eleven men from all three Hungarian trains were sent to the barracks and that all the rest were gassed. A bit of a discrepancy, eh, Mr. Gilbert? Perhaps, Pierre Vidal-Naguet will be so kind as to explain how Danuta Czech and, thereby, Martin Gilbert made this "mistake." In any case, in Gilbert's usage, "the barest facts" turn out to mean something other than the naked truth. One might even suspect that Gilbert's "barest facts" are really the baldest fictions.

The question of what was done, or not done, to save the lives of European Jews is a major theme of Auschwitz and the Allies. I'm not going to discuss the matter in any detail. However, I want to make one observation. Apparently, none of the people who, in Gilbert's account, were so concerned about saving European Jews ever suggested that this end might have been achieved by trying to bring the war to a more rapid conclusion through a negotiated peace, as opposed to pro-

longing the war by insisting on Germany's "unconditional surrender." Apparently, saving the lives of European Jews was of less importance than destroying Nazi Germany. "Victory at all costs" was the ruling idea, and one of the costs, it so happened, was the death of many European Jews as a direct or indirect consequence of the war.

The Terrible Secret and *Auschwitz and the Allies*, despite all their flaws, are each, to some extent, interesting and informative. Each contains some new material on the various rumors, "reports," etc. that were circulating during World War Two about the fate of European Jewry. They also contain some new information about the skepticism with which those rumors, "reports, 99 etc. were received, at least initially, by various parties, including Jews. And there are tidbits of new information about other matters as well. But, each of these books, taken as a whole, is a mish-mash of information and misinformation, of fact and fiction, of truth and falsehood. Readers of either book would be well advised to take its author's assertions about "the Final Solution" with not just a grain, but more like a pillar, of salt.

Review

Witness to the Holocaust

- *Witness to the Holocaust*, by Azriel Eisenberg, The Pilgrim Press, 649pp, \$17.95, ISBN 0-8298-0432-3

reviewed by L. A. Rollins

Witness to the Holocaust is a collection of “eyewitness accounts of a brutal period in history,” compiled and edited by Dr. Azriel Eisenberg, “a leading Jewish scholar,” who has provided introductions to each of the 27 chapters and to many of the selections contained therein. As psychohistorian Howard Stein has written, “Between 1933 and 1945 some awesomely terrible things took place in Europe — *to everyone*. It is, however, another matter to view the entire sordid era through the eyes of a single group — the Jew — and to accept this interpretation as the only valid one.” But that is pretty much what *Witness to the Holocaust* does; it views the entire Nazi era almost exclusively through the eyes of a single group — the Jews — and accepts this Judeo-centric interpretation as the only valid one.

Eisenberg’s Judeocentrism comes out, for example, in his dogmatic proclamation (p5) that “The Holocaust was unique.” Of course, in a trivial sense, the Holocaust was unique, for, as Harry Elmer Barnes once wrote, “Every historical situation is essentially unique, never again to be repeated in its entirety.” But Eisenberg’s proclamation is supposed to be a *significant* truth. So in what significant sense was the Holocaust unique? According to Eisenberg (p2), “... it was the Jews that were singled out for *total* destruction.” But, as readers of this journal know, this assertion is, at best, debatable. And Eisenberg makes no attempt whatever to prove this at-best-debatable assertion. But even if the Jews were slated for total destruction by the Third Reich, that doesn’t necessarily make the Holocaust unique. According to the Old Testament, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites were all marked out for total destruction by the Lord God of Israel. “And so Joshua defeated the whole land, the hill country and the Negeb, and the lowland and the slopes, and their kings. He left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded.” (Joshua 10:40). Furthermore, Eisenberg himself contradicts his claim that the Jews were singled out for total destruction. In the very next paragraph after the one in which he makes that claim, he turns around and says:

One people that shared the fate of the Jews were the Gypsies. They, too, had been persecuted through the ages, and like the Jews, the Gypsies were isolated and liquidated, country by country... When the bloodbath was over, only pitiful remnants were left alive... Except for the few survivors, a whole people, unique in its lifestyle, language, culture, and art, was wiped off the face of the earth. There are no memorials to their dead or commemorations of their tragedy. The death of the Gypsy nation was more than physical; it was total oblivion. (p2)

Thus Eisenberg contradicts Eisenberg. The implication, of course, is that the Holocaust, the alleged extermination of the Jews, was not unique. Nevertheless, three pages later, Eisenberg is insisting, “The Holocaust was unique.”

Why the doublethink? Why this insistence on the uniqueness of the Holocaust? Well, as Eric Hoffer observed in *The Passionate State of Mind*:

Monotheism — the adherence to a one and only God, truth, cause, leader, nation and so on — is usually the end result of a search for pride. It was the craving to be a one and only people which impelled the ancient Hebrews to invent a one and only God whose one and only people they were to be.

Whenever we proclaim the uniqueness of a religion, a truth, a leader, a nation, a race, a party or a holy cause [or a holocaust — L.A.R.], we are also proclaiming our own uniqueness.

Azriel Eisenberg and all the other Jews who proclaim the uniqueness of the Holocaust are also proclaiming their own uniqueness. What is the nature of this uniqueness? As Howard Stein puts it, “To Jews, the Holocaust ... interweaves two elements of the doctrine of Choseness: (a) election as moral superiority, and (b) election to suffer.” In fact, we find both of these elements of the doctrine of Choseness explicitly affirmed in one of Eisenberg’s selections. In “The Time Was Midnight,” Zionist Rabbi Joachim Prinz reminisces about his life in Nazi Germany during the 1930s:

I told them from the pulpit, in every sermon, that to be a Jew is to be beautiful, great, noble, and that we had every right to feel superior... There are times when people who have been degraded and humiliated have to say that in reality they are “beautiful.” Sometimes I exaggerated. But it was planned exaggeration. I spoke about the Jewish face, the beauty of the Jew as a human being; I spoke about the Jewish contribution to civilization and that the world could not really exist without us, and that Christianity and Islam were indebted to us. All of this was designed not merely to reject the Nazi propaganda, but to replace it with a sense of superiority- moral, cultural, religious and human.

... I spoke about hammer and anvil, and the hammer had to be rejected and detested. It hurt to be the anvil, but it was morally superior. I often preached about “pity the prosecutor,” and how superior are the people who are subjected to persecution, how much pride there is in suffering because we believe that in the end hammers and persecutors will be discarded while we shall continue to live. (pp92-93)

As Holocaustomania goes, Eisenberg’s case is extreme. We are told that he “has devoted much of his life to a study of the Holocaust.” And, apparently, he wants every other Jew to do likewise. He says (pi), “... we must study the Holocaust; the deaths of six million Jews have charged us to live, to learn, to remember, and to tell the world.” And, he says (p4), “We should be furious with our peers who are apathetic and to whom this catastrophe is irrelevant to their daily lives.” In other words, to be a good Jew, and to avoid Eisenberg’s fury, one must be as obsessed with the Holocaust as he is. Now that’s Holocaustomania!

Although Eisenberg wants Jews to study the Holocaust, he wants them to study it in approximately the manner in which Catholics study the catechism. He actually has the nerve to tell his readers (pp4-5), “This is not just another book on a heartrending chapter of modern history; it is a scroll of agony and heroism. As such, it must be studied with awe and reverence.” And, he de-

clares (p5), “The *Shoah* [a Hebrew term which is used interchangeably with “Holocaust”] cannot be intellectualized.” In other words, Eisenberg is telling his readers: Don’t think; don’t question; don’t criticize. Just *feel* and *believe*.

I wonder if Eisenberg has ever read Ayn Rand’s novel, *The Fountainhead*. Here is Ellsworth Toohey, the villain of the novel, explaining his methods of achieving power over others:

“If you get caught at some point and somebody tells you that your doctrine doesn’t make sense-you’re ready for him. You tell him that there’s something above sense. That here he must not try to think, he must feel. He must believe. Suspend reason and you play it deuces wild. Anything goes in any manner you wish whenever you need it. You’ve got him. Can you rule a thinking man? We don’t want any thinking men.” (p638, Signet, 25th anniversary edition)

When Eisenberg tells his readers the Holocaust cannot be intellectualized (viewed intellectually), that is his way to suspend reason and play it deuces wild. And play it deuces wild he does. I’ve already shown how he asserts the uniqueness of the Holocaust while making other claims contradicting this assertion. But when it comes to the fate of German Jews under Nazism, Eisenberg goes hog wild playing it deuces wild. According to Eisenberg (p70), “Between 1933 and 1938, 300,000 Jews emigrated [from Germany], 40,000 died, and 160,000 were murdered.” This is ridiculous inasmuch as there were about 500,000 German Jews in 1933 so that Eisenberg’s statistics imply the gross falsehood that there were no Jews left in Germany as of 1939. In fact, Eisenberg’s ridiculous statistics are contradicted by those that were published in 1943 by the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress and which are reprinted by Eisenberg on page 115. The IJA cited a June 1933 census (not including the Saar) showing 499,682 German Jews and a May 1939 unpublished census showing 235,000 Jews remaining in Germany. These figures indicate a decline in the German Jewish population of almost 300,000, Eisenberg’s figure for the number who had emigrated from Germany during roughly the same period. But while the IJA said 235,000 Jews remained in Germany in May 1939, Eisenberg says 200,000 had died or been murdered between 1933 and 1938. This is confusing enough, but Eisenberg achieves total confusion when, on page 605, he informs us that in the early 1950s the Bonn government agreed that “Germany must pay a billion dollars to cover the expenses of integrating the surviving half-million German Jews into Israeli society...” Come again? The surviving half-million German Jews? In other words, *all* the Jews of Germany survived both the Third Reich and the Second World War! Presumably, the 200,000 who died or were murdered between 1933 and 1938 had all been resurrected in time to collect reparations from the West German government beginning in the '50s. Quite a miracle! But, of course, in the magical, mystical kingdom of the Holocaust, “anything goes in any manner you wish when ever you need it.”

One of the reasons Eisenberg advances for studying the Holocaust is that “We must be prepared to challenge the prevarications and downright falsifications expressed in books, movies, and plays by dodgers of guilt.” But what about the prevarications and downright falsifications expressed by mongers of guilt-for example, Eisenberg? On the page preceding his claptrap about challenging prevarications and falsifications, he himself expresses the following flaming falsehoods: “As the Nazi armies overran Europe, Jews were immediately hunted down, transported, and liquidated. The whole Nazi war machine, even when overtaxed and facing certain defeat, was bent on destroying them.” (p2) But the “Nazi” armies invaded Western Poland in 1939 and Norway, Northern France and the Low Countries in 1940. Since the alleged extermination of Jews did not begin until mid-1941 (Eisenberg, for reasons known only to Eisenberg, says on page 134 that “the mass deportations to the death factories began ... at the end of 1942”), the Jews of Western Poland, Norway, Northern France and the Low countries were not “immediately

hunted down, transported, and liquidated.” And, if “the whole Nazi war machine ... was bent on destroying” the Jews, then who the hell was fighting against the Allied war machines? This is a “leading Jewish scholar?” This is a misleading Jewish scholar.

On page 40, in an excerpt from Friedrich Percyval Reck-Malleczewen’s *Diary of a Man in Despair*, there is this bit of gossip about Hitler from 1936: “[Hitler] has taken to spending his nights in his private projection room, where his poor projectionists have to show sex films for him, night after night.” Aha! Hitler the voyeur! But if one consults the Collier Books edition of Reck-Malleczewen’s *Diary*, one finds this on page 26: “ ... he has taken to spending his nights in his private projection room, where his poor projectionists have to show six films for him, night after night.” So the actual gossip, itself almost certainly exaggerated, was that Hitler watched six films, not sex films, every night. Admittedly, this particular falsification might have occurred accidentally. Nevertheless, there it is waiting to mislead any devout Holocaustomaniac reading Eisenberg’s book with the necessary “awe and reverence.”

Another falsification concerning Hitler can be found on page 33, where Eisenberg asserts: “Hitler glorified the 'big lie.' In his book, *Mein Kampf*, he wrote, 'The [people] more readily fall victims to the big lie than the small lie.'” (Bracketed insertion by Eisenberg.) That Hitler did not glorify the big lie can be seen quite clearly if one reads his remarks on the subject in their full context:

It required the whole bottomless falsehood of the Jews and their Marxist fighting organization to lay the blame for the collapse on that very man who alone, with super-human energy and will power, tried to prevent the catastrophe he foresaw and save the nation from its time of deepest humiliation and disgrace. By branding Ludendorff as guilty for the loss of the World War, they took the weapon of moral right from the one dangerous accuser who could have risen against the traitors to the fatherland. In this they proceeded on the sound principle that the magnitude of a lie always contains a certain factor of credibility, since the great masses of the people in the very bottom of their hearts tend to be corrupted rather than consciously and purposely evil, and that, therefore, in view of the primitive simplicity of their minds, they more easily fall victim to a big lie than to a little one, since they themselves lie in little things, but would be ashamed of lies that were too big. Such a falsehood will never enter their heads, and they will not be able to believe in the possibility of such monstrous effrontery and infamous misrepresentation in others; yes, even when enlightened on the subject, they will long doubt and waver, and continue to accept at least one of these causes as true. Therefore, something of even the most insolent lie will always remain and stick- a fact which all the great lie-virtuosi and lying-clubs in this world know only too well and also make the most treacherous use of.

The foremost connoisseurs of this truth regarding the possibilities in the use of falsehood and slander have always been the Jews; for after all, their whole existence is based on one single great lie, to wit, that they are a religious community while actually they are a race-and what a race! One of the greatest minds of humanity [Schopenhauer] has nailed them forever as such in an eternally correct phrase of fundamental truth: he called them “the great masters of the lie.” And anyone who does not recognize this or does not want to believe it will never in this world be able to help the truth to victory. (*Mein Kampf*, Sentry edition, pp231-232.)

“Monstrous effrontery?” “Infamous misrepresentation?” Not exactly *glorification* of the big lie. The irony is positively exquisite. Hitler accused “the Jews” of being the foremost practitioners of the big lie. So how does Azriel Eisenberg respond? *With a big lie*, to wit, that Hitler “*glorified*”

the big lie. How's that for *chutzpah*? (For the record, I want to point out that Hitler did not pretend to be a paragon of veracity; he did defend deception in political propaganda. See, for example, *Mein Kampf*, Sentry edition, p182.)

On page 133, Eisenberg informs us:

The SS used the famine [in Warsaw] as a fiendish trap to ensnare more Jews for extermination. Thus in Warsaw, in July 1942, they posted a notice that those “who will present themselves for selection for resettlement will receive three kilograms of bread and one kilogram of marmalade.” Hungry and desperate Jews flocked to the railroad station, where they were packed into deportation trains without food. Why feed people who were soon to die?

Ah, the “fiendish deviousness” of the Nazis! But wait. Here is how Warsaw ghetto survivor Vladka Meed describes the Nazis' “diabolic tactics,” in *On Both Sides of the Wall* (p44): “Hunger drove famished Jews to the bread line, where each received his three kilograms of bread-before being pushed into the waiting railroad cars.” And here is what Alexander Donat says, in *The Death Camp Treblinka* (p13): “Despite some initial apprehensions, most of the Jews of Warsaw really believed that this was no more than a bona fide resettlement. This belief was enhanced by the fact that at one point every Jew who volunteered for 'resettlement' received three kilograms of bread and one kilogram of marmalade.” Eisenberg asks, “Why feed people who were soon to die?” But, since the Nazis *did* feed the volunteers for resettlement (according to Meed, Donat and others), Eisenberg's question actually suggests the possibility that those people were not soon to die. What do you have to say about that, Dr. Eisenberg?

In any case, Eisenberg's distorted account of Auschwitz includes the following (p216): “It is estimated that the ovens 'processed' as many as seven million people.” Oh, really? Seven million? But, pray tell, Dr. Eisenberg, estimated by whom? Even the official Soviet estimate, the largest that I recall seeing previously, was “only” four million. I suspect that what Eisenberg has done is to calculate 10,000 killed and cremated daily for almost two years, from early 1943 to late 1944, the period during which the four large crematoria of Birkenau were in use. The figure of 10,000 killed and cremated daily is commonly given as the peak figure for Auschwitz, supposedly reached during the period of the Hungarian deportations in the spring and summer of 1944. But apparently Eisenberg has taken this peak figure and turned it into the norm for the entire period during which the crematoria were operating. Thereby he exaggerates the alreadyexaggerated death toll for Auschwitz. Good work, Dr. Eisenberg. But why settle for seven million victims at Auschwitz? Why not estimate eight million, nine million, ten million, or even 100 million? After all, those who read your book with the appropriate awe and reverence will surely swallow everything you serve up.*

But perhaps Eisenberg does think there are limits to what his readers will swallow. Perhaps that is why his edited version of the Gerstein statement omits Gerstein's claim that 25 million people were killed by gassing. (While Eisenberg normally indicates his editorial omissions with the customary ellipses, he does not indicate this particular omission from the Gerstein statement with an ellipsis.)

In any case, it is interesting to note that Gerstein's purported eyewitness account of the gassing of Jews at Belzec is the only such eyewitness account of the gassing of Jews to be found in Eisenberg's 649-page tome. So how reliable is this account? Paul Rassinier wrote (*Debunking the Genocide Myth*, pp269-270): “If it is not true that the gas chambers at Belzec, Treblinka, and Sobibor could asphyxiate between 15,000 and 25,000 persons a day; if it is not true that a gas

chamber 25 meters square could hold 700 to 800 persons; if it is not true that a train with 45 cars could transport 6,700 persons; and if it is not true that Hitler was at Belzec on 15 August 1942, I ask what does it contain that is true since it contains nothing else?" Before concluding that it contains nothing that is true, revisionists should consider the deposition of Dr. Wilhelm Pfannenstiel who, according to both the Gerstein statement and his own deposition, accompanied Gerstein on his fateful visit to Belzec. In his deposition of 6 June 1950, Pfannenstiel claims to have witnessed a gassing of Jews at Belzec. Here is his description of it:

... a shipment of Jews-men, women, and some children-arrived ... They were ordered to strip completely and to hand over their possessions. They were informed that they were to be incorporated into a working process and must be deloused to prevent epidemics. They would also have to inhale something.

After the women's hair had been cut off, the whole shipment of people was taken to a building containing six rooms. On that occasion, to my knowledge, only four were used. After these people had been shut up in the rooms, the exhaust gas from the engine was piped in. Gerstein stated that it took about eighteen minutes before quiet was restored inside. While the Jews were being taken in, the rooms were fit up with electric light and everything passed off peacefully. But when the lights were turned off, loud cries burst out inside, which then gradually died away. As soon as everything was quiet again, the doors in the outside wells were opened, the corpses were brought out, and, after being searched for gold teeth, they were stacked in a trench. Here, too, the work was done by Jews. No doctor was present. I noticed nothing special about the corpses, except that some of them showed a bluish puffiness about the face. But this is not surprising since they had died of asphyxiation. (See Saul Friedlander, *Kurt Gerstein: The Ambiguity of Good*, pp117-118.)

Interestingly enough, Pfannenstiel went on to comment on the Gerstein statement. "I know that Dr. Gerstein gives an entirely different description of this gassing scene. That version is false. It is full of exaggerations." (The reader is referred to Friedlander's book, pages 119-120, for Pfannenstiel's entire criticism of the Gerstein statement.)

Thus, Pfannenstiel pretty much agreed with the revisionists about the Gerstein statement, but, nevertheless, claimed to have witnessed a gassing of Jews at Belzec. Thus far, revisionists have been content to attack the extremely dubious Gerstein statement, and have not seen fit to even mention the Pfannenstiel deposition, which appears to be somewhat more credible. (I presume that Arthur Butz, for example, knows about the Pfannenstiel deposition, since his bibliography in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* includes Friedlander's book on Gerstein.)

For his own rather different reasons, Eisenberg includes a lengthy excerpt from the Gerstein statement in his book, but not a single syllable from the Pfannenstiel deposition. This despite his pious asseveration that he has "endeavored to include the latest significant data which appeared before this book went to press."

The Pfannenstiel deposition was made over 30 years ago, and the well-known Friedlander book, which quotes it, was published in 1969, but apparently Eisenberg still doesn't know about it. That's what I call keeping up with the latest developments.

(The question of the reality of gassing at Belzec is complicated by the testimony of another self-proclaimed eyewitness, Jan Karski, a wartime member of the Polish resistance who claimed to have infiltrated Belzec, disguised as a camp guard, in early October of 1942, not quite two months after the supposed visit by Gerstein and Pfannenstiel. Although Karski's supposed infil-

tration of Belzec was supposedly organized by leaders of Jewish resistance groups precisely in order for Karski to observe and then bear witness to the supposed extermination of the Jews, Karski did not report seeing any gas chambers or gassings of Jews. Karski said he saw Jews being herded into railroad cars which then left Belzec. Karski claimed that the Jews were killed by leaving them in the railroad cars until they died of suffocation, starvation or whatever, but he did not claim to have seen this. And what he did claim to have seen is consistent with the revisionist claim that Belzec was a transit camp for Jews being sent “to the East,” not an extermination camp. Eisenberg includes an excerpt from Karski’s 1944 book, *The Story of a Secret State*, but it is Karski’s description of the Warsaw ghetto, not his account of Belzec.)

In a chapter entitled, “Grim End and Judgment Day,” Eisenberg tries to paint a pretty picture of various “war crimes” trials. Regarding the Eichmann trial, he tells us (p575):

... Argentina complained that Israel had violated its sovereignty by abducting Eichmann from Buenos Aires. Others challenged Israel’s right to try Eichmann. The trial, however, was meticulously fair. Eichmann was represented by the defense counsel of his choice, all the normal judicial procedures were maintained, and the world press was constantly in attendance.

So the Eichmann trial “was meticulously fair.” But here’s a second opinion on the Eichmann trial, from Lenny Bruce:

Eichmann really figured, you know, “The Jews-most liberal people in the world-they’ll give me a fair shake.” Fair? Certainly. “Rabbi” means lawyer. He’ll get the best trial in the world, Eichmann. Ha! they were shaving his legs while he was giving his appeal! That’s the last bit of insanity, man. (*The Essential Lenny Bruce*, Ballantine, p35.)

In a more serious vein, consider some of Hannah Arendt’s revelations in *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. On page 3 (Viking Compass edition), she says it is among the minor mysteries of the new State of Israel that, with its high percentage of German-born people, it was unable to find an adequate translator into the only language the accused and his counsel could understand.” On page 7, Arendt reports that in Israel “rabbinical law rules the personal status of Jewish citizens, with the result that no Jew can

marry a non-Jew ...” Then she goes on to comment:

Whatever the reason, there was something breathtaking in the naivete with which the prosecution denounced the infamous Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which had prohibited intermarriage and sexual intercourse between the Jews and Germans. The better informed among the correspondents were well aware of the irony, but they did not mention it in their reports. This, they figured, was not the time to tell the Jews what was wrong with the laws and institutions of their own country. (pp7-8)

So, even if, as Eisenberg says, “the world press was constantly in attendance” at the trial, it may have done nothing to guarantee fairness for Eichmann. In any case, according to Arendt (p8), “The journalists remained faithful for not much more than two weeks, after which the audience changed drastically.” On page 220, Arendt reports:

The story [of the Final Solution] was confirmed by sworn and unsworn statements usually given by witnesses and defendants in previous trials and frequently by per-

sons who were no longer alive. (All this, as well as a certain amount of hearsay testimony, was admitted as evidence ...)

So much for Eisenberg's claim that "all the normal judicial procedures were maintained." On page 221, Arendt says,

It quickly turned out that Israel was the only country in the world where defense witnesses could not be heard [since they were threatened with prosecution under the Nazis and Nazi Collaborators Law], and where certain witnesses for the prosecution, those who had given affidavits in previous trials, could not be cross-examined by the defense. And this was all the more serious as the accused and his lawyer were indeed not "in a position to obtain their own defense documents."

Despite all this, Eisenberg has the gall to assert that the Eichmann trial "was meticulously fair." As Lenny Bruce said, "Ha!" Eisenberg's tedious tome does contain a few tidbits of interesting information. For example, there is an account (pp551-553) of a Purim celebration in a Displaced Persons camp in 1946. This account mentions a poster which announced: (" 'At 6:30 p.m. a public burning of Mein Kampf will take place in the Square." Eisenberg does not denounce this book-burning as "a medieval spectacle," his characterization of the Nazis' public burning of books written by "Jews, Christian liberals, and humanitarians" on 10 May 1933. As he says on page 628, "We must guard the freedom of the press and must protect the basic rights of all; at the same time, we must make sure that freedom is not turned to license and used against us."

Another interesting tidbit, necessitating a revision of revisionism, is an excerpt from Salo W. Baron's 1961 book, *A Historian's Notebook: European Jewry Before and After Hitler* (pp498-500). What is of interest is Baron's statement (p498) that "According to the survey prepared by the Central Jewish Committee in Poland on August 15, 1945, there were altogether 73,955 Jews left in that country including some 13,000 serving in the Polish army and 5,446 recorded in 10 camps in Germany and Austria." This is of interest because it tends to confirm something I was told by a correspondent some years back, to wit, that Paul Rassinier was wrong in asserting that "... Mr. Shalom [sic] Baron, brandishing his title of Professor of Jewish History at Columbia University, claimed on April 4, 1961, before the Jerusalem Tribunal, that 700,000 of them [Polish Jews] were still living in 1945 when the country was liberated by Russian troops..." (Debunking the Genocide Myth, p219.) Since Rassinier, on the supposed authority of Baron, employs this figure of 700,000 Jews in postwar Poland in his demographic study in "The Drama of the European Jews," that demographic study must be revised. If this 700,000 figure is discarded as spurious, then the highest Jewish estimate, mentioned by Rassinier, of Jews surviving in Poland is the estimate of 500,000 which Rassinier attributed to the World Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation. (In his demographic study, Rassinier restricted himself to using statistics from Jewish sources.) Therefore, Rassinier's calculations of the total number of Jewish survivors must be revised downward by 200,000. And his calculations of the total number of Jewish deaths must be revised upward by the same amount.

Because of space limitations, there are a number of aspects of *Witness to the Holocaust*, such as its strong pro-Zionist bias and its anti-assimilationist conclusion, which I shall not discuss.

Over 2,000 years ago, Cicero insisted that, "The first law is that the historian shall never dare to set down what is false; the second, that he shall never dare to conceal the truth; the third that there shall be no suspicion in his work of either favoritism or prejudice." If Cicero's "laws" for the writing of history were enforced by my enemy, the State, then Azriel Eisenberg, misleading Jewish educator, would be in jeopardy of the maximum penalty. *Witness to the Holocaust* is, in

several senses, including the literal one, a heavy book. As a work of history, however, it makes a good doorstep.

Reviews

Failure at Nuremberg: An Analysis of the Trial, Evidence, and Verdict

- Institute for Historical Review (pb reprint) 42pp, \$2.50, ISBN 0-939484-04-8.

Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace

- by Ilse Hess and Rudolf Hess, translated from the German by Meyrick Booth, Ph.D. and edited by George Pile with a Foreword by Air-Commodore G. S. Oddie, D.F.C., A.F.C. (Royal Air Force). Institute for Historical Review (pb reprint) 151pp, \$5.00, ISBN 0-939484-02-1.

Reviewed by Wayland D. Smith, Ph.D

The republication in inexpensive editions of these two books is a fine contribution to the dawning understanding of the monstrous perversion of law and justice that the victors of World War II inflicted upon their defeated enemies. More specifically, one should say: upon the Germans and, to a very much smaller degree, upon the Japanese. As for the Italians, despite the seizure of Ethiopia and Albania and the attack upon an already collapsing France (recalling Rossevelt's "the hand that held the daggah has struck it into the back of its neighbah") there were for them no analogous "trials." Eugene Davidson (*The Trial of the Germans*) explains this anomaly with what must be the understatement of all time. "The kind of war the Italians fought," he writes, "left the Allied nations with a sense of security in regard to future Italian military power."

Failure at Nuremberg and *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace* were both originally published in England shortly after the war. The former appeared in 1947 and was published by the British People's Party; the latter was published in hardback in London in 1954 by the Briton's Publishing Company. Both books had become rare collector's items until their republication currently by the IHR. The title of the smaller book, *Failure*, as well as the most graphic and evocative cover-illustration by Mark S. Winn, defines the contents well enough. The message of *Prisoner* is perhaps not so immediately obvious. It is the translation of a book which the gallant and loyal Frau Ilse Hess compiled from the letters written to her by her husband, Rudolf Hess, during the years of his imprisonment in England following his epochal peacemaking mission, from the prison at Nuremberg and from Spandau prison up to 1951 -a period comprising the first ten years of his, now, 42 years of incarceration. There are 23 photographs (eleven pages) in the Hess book, many of which are exclusive to this edition. Some are formal photographs of historical moments but others reveal, as do many of Hess' letters, a warm-hearted, loving family man and a devoted husband and father. These latter qualities have never been denied in him even by his most virulent enemies. Nor have I been able to detect in the correspondence any signs or symptoms of the alleged mental instability we have heard so much about. There are also letters from Frau Hess to her husband which are, as might be any letters from a wife with the ability to express her feelings, compounded of news of personal matters, expressions of love and anxious concern, and

during the proceedings at Nuremberg and the immediately subsequent period, with practical matters of Hess' defense and his attorney's wish to appeal against the sentence. As to that, Hess strenuously objected to any appeal and to his wife he wrote:

I have just sent the following letter to Dr. Seidl (Hess' attorney): "The commandant has informed me that you have sent in a petition for mercy on my behalf to the International Control Committee. Hereby I put it on record that this took place without my knowledge and against my desire. I regard the handing in of such a petition as an act devoid of dignity." (Nuremberg: 13 October 1946).

To this Frau Hess replied:

Your clear and unmistakable reply to Dr. Seidl has really troubled us! It is true that we, too, were more than horrified about the version published in the Press of his petition for mercy on your behalf, which did not appear to fit in with the pattern of your conduct. In fact these petitions in general-as was obvious from the beginning-were quite pointless since they had no chance of success and they have been unfavorably regarded.

Frau Hess goes on to explain that in fact what Dr. Seidl had submitted was not a petition for mercy but a statement of evidence to the effect that the penalty (of life imprisonment) on the two out of four charges upon which Hess had been condemned was excessive beyond all reason and itself "constituted a flagrant and grievous breach of the law." With this reply, Hess indicated he was satisfied and that Seidl had acted properly. The interchange is somewhat difficult to understand today when it has become so obvious to all but the willfully blind that no "law" or legal precedent was anywhere within a thousand miles of the kangaroo courts of victors' vengeance at Nuremberg and elsewhere. Even that enigma, Winston Churchill, his sense of honor and integrity long since buried under the corpulent accretion of boundless egotism and ruthless ambition, seems to have felt a twinge of shame at the fate of Rudolf Hess. Perhaps war-mongering Winnie who worked so hard to get the war he knew would be his only possible road back to power and who, while proclaiming his commitment to the preservation of the British empire, did more than any other human being recklessly to destroy it, perhaps, I say, he will get a day's remission each century from Hell for this: "Reflecting upon the whole of this story, I am glad not to be responsible for the way in which Hess has been and is being treated ... He came to us of his own free will, and so, without authority, had something of the quality of an envoy."

It is my guess that Churchill really meant what he wrote. It is a lot less certain that the pious protests-or proposals-made in recent years by the British, French and American authorities that this man-now 89 years old-should be released from Spandau where he is the lone prisoner remaining and which have been vetoed by the Soviets-are sincere. Honor and humanity would seem to outweigh any breach of diplomatic agreements made in an era of fanatical vengefulness, yet when I personally suggested to one of foreign departments of the three Western powers that Hess should be simply released willy-nilly the next time the guards at Spandau were theirs, I was told that this was impossible because it would constitute a violation of international agreements. Crocodile tears cost nothing. Apparently honor and mercy are too expensive, however. Sheer barbarism aside, it is a lot easier to understand why the Soviet Union is determined that Hess die, silent and confined.

Rudolf Hess was born in Alexandria, Egypt on 26 April 1894 where his father was in business. Alexandria was already a great seat of British naval power and Hess, as a child, developed a life-long affection and admiration for the British, whom he regarded as a kindred Germanic people.

That particular sentiment is one which has been shared by many Germans, and at one time, before they became the victims of an irresponsible Press, not a few British. The only three German emperors during the life of the Second Reich felt that kinship and affection as well as, sometimes, frustration and incomprehension that it was so largely unrequited after 1870. This was true of Hitler and to some extent of Bismarck. For a study of the one-sided love affair and the disaster which British unresponsiveness finally made inevitable, I refer the reader to Dr. Peter Peel's excellent book, *British Public Opinion and the Wars of German Unification*, which is available from the IHR. The point is that Hess viewed with horror the prospect, and the eventual realization, of a fratricidal bloodbath between the two great Germanic nations. Hitler shared these views although the impression persists that with Hitler Realpolitik considerations predominated over Gefühlspolitik — or sentimental — considerations whereas with Hess the balance was probably in the other direction.

Hess attended a German school in Alexandria from the ages of six to twelve. Thereafter, he was sent to a Lutheran school in Bad Godesberg. In World War I, he served in the same regiment as Hitler—the 16th Bavarian—although the two never met until after the war. Later in the war, Hess transferred to the Imperial Air Force as an officer pilot. After demobilization, he attended the University of Munich where he became a close friend of the Famous Dr. Karl Haushofer whose lectures on geopolitics he attended. He remained friends with the Haushofer family for many years, even after “Nuremberg.” Hess, like Haushofer, was convinced that a healthy Germany needed “*Lebensraum*” which could only be gained to the East. That “wicked” word may be more tolerable to Americans if I point out that it is only “Manifest Destiny,” German-style. In any case, France has subscribed to the same sentiment, continuously ingesting German lands to her east since 1552. It is the prime imperative of all healthy organisms to expand their breeding grounds and this is always necessarily at the expense of some other organisms. Otiose and satiated powers attempt to sit pat on agreed limits—and soon find only that that is the beginning of degeneration and contraction.

Hess was a participant in the attempted Putsch in November, 1923. He had joined the Nationalist Socialist German Workers Party in June, 1920 as its 16th member (Hitler was its seventh). Hess escaped arrest when Hitler was seized but voluntarily returned to serve eighteen months in Landsberg prison where he became Hitler's unofficial private secretary and assisted in the first commitment to paper of *Mein Kampf*. In 1933 Hitler, now Führer and Reichskanzler, made Hess *Stellvertreter*, or Deputy Führer, and Minister Without Portfolio. It is probably fair enough to say that Hess worshipped the Führer—as did untold myriads of lesser men—and Hitler certainly regarded Hess with great trust and affection, customarily addressing him, as with only a very few others, as “Du.” No one who has seen Leni Riefenstahl's great film *Triumph des Willens* will ever forget the segment in which Hess introduces Hitler to the exuberant audience with these words: “Der Partei ist Hitler. Hitler, aber, ist Deutschland wie Deutschland Hitler ist! Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil!”

At Nuremberg, Hess was convicted of conspiracy to wage war and of crimes against peace. Even in the madness of those days there was no way in which he could have been found guilty of the other charges—war crimes and crimes against humanity. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. Nevertheless, the Russian member of the judicial tribunal, General Nikitchenko, dissented and instead demanded the death penalty for Hess.

On 5 May 1941, Stalin made two speeches at a Kremlin banquet given for a large graduating class of staff officers. Apparently the party soon evolved into a rather wild, drunken orgy and some very indiscreet remarks were bandied about including those by Stalin himself. Most of the important members of the Politburo were present as well as several high-ranking service officers.

What was said was passed on to Germany by agents and was known in the Wilhelmstrasse within hours. The details were further confirmed at a later date during the interrogation of two Russian generals and a major who were questioned separately when captured by the Germans and whose reports were almost identical as to the facts. Stalin had boasted that the non-aggression pact he had made with Ribbentrop in August 1939 was “just camouflage.” Now that Russia had acquired all the territory possible by diplomatic means (by which he would have meant the eastern half of Poland, Finno-Karelia, Bessarabia, Ruthenia and Northern Bukovina, as well as the three Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), it was time to ready the Russian people for aggressive war. Only by war could more territory be gained. Russian armament production was so satisfactory that a war against Germany could begin any time within the next two months.

Hess flew to Britain on 10 May-five days after the Kremlin bash. Until historians have open access to British papers concerning the epic flight to Scotland and what actually passed between Hess and his interlocutors in Britain, we cannot prove that Hess came to Britain to expose these Russian plans or to attempt to effect an active alliance of the sort Hitler had always wanted between Germany and the British Empire. Some of the peace proposals are now public knowledge but much is still “classified.” In such circumstances, intelligent speculation is not only admissible but desirable. At all events, as we know all too well today and to the loss of the whole White world, Hess' mission failed and his proposals were never seriously entertained. Years of propaganda had successfully incensed the British public against National Socialist Germany and it was far too late to reverse the course-or so it seemed. Besides, such a reversal would have ended the vainglorious career of Winston Churchill, whose insatiable ambition it was to be a great war-leader and whose mistaken conviction it was that he was a gifted strategist. And so the last chance was muffed. The sun has set forever on the British empire. Half of Europe is under the heel of the USSR. The United States and every country of northern and western Europe is being swamped with the brown, black and yellow masses of the Third World. What is left of the once proud Aryans is a race of guilt-ridden, apologetic, spineless helots of Israel lacking the will not only to expand and increase its breeding grounds, but even to defend its own national borders against aggressive alien invaders. *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace* is thus important as a record of its eponymous hero's thoughts and feelings and as an affirmation against his slanderers that his ideas were sane-saner than almost anyone else's in the context of the European civil war.

As a footnote, it is interesting to note that Air Commodore Oddie who wrote the foreword was one of those hundreds of gallant servicemen who had fought with great distinction in World War I and received many decorations but who, only because they opposed the war with Germany, not because of any crime they had committed, were imprisoned without charge or trial under the infamous “Regulation 18b” throughout most of the Second World War. Admiral Sir Barry Domville was another such, and Sir Oswald Mosley and his wife. Another was the ex-Coldstream Guards officer and member of parliament, Captain A.H.M. Ramsay. There were nearly two thousand less well known. The powers that made and wanted World War II-not only men like Churchill and Roosevelt but those far more ancient, sinister and powerful forces behind them-were determined to allow not the least expression of opposition to their malevolent plans.

Something remains to be said about *Failure at Nuremberg*. It is a very small, very lucid and readable book-a mere 42 pages. It is therefore the ideal introduction to a new understanding of the true nature of recent history for the hitherto innocent and uninitiated. As such, I recommend that those who can afford to do so buy a number of copies for distribution to those whose tenebrous condition should be illuminated. Publishing *Failure* in Britain in 1947 was undoubtedly an act of courage and a gesture of honora beau geste, in fact. Beyond that, I cannot praise too highly the succinct form in which it explains and condemns the whole chicanery and hypocritical cant of “Nuremberg.” Finally, one should always remember that there were a few gallant souls who, of-

ten at the cost of their careers, openly condemned the Nuremberg “trials” (sometimes referred to as “Trial by Jewry”). Outstanding among those sturdy figures who defied the sadistic zeitgeist were men such as Senator Robert Taft in the United States and in England the Dean of St. Pauls, the Very Reverend William Inge. And I cannot do better than conclude this review by quoting some words of noted authoress Taylor Caldwell which appear on the back cover of *Failure*:

I have been boiling mad for years over the “war crimes trials,” which I think were despicable and contemptible and smack more of ancient Rome’s barbarism than of a so-called civilized country. Our country’s hands are not free of blood and crime, in spite of our vaunted “democracy” and “noble aspirations,” etc., etc., ad nauseum.

... It is outrageous that a man serving his country in all honesty and patriotism should be considered a “criminal” by a country which has its own share of criminals, and not honest and patriotic ones, either...

Review

Feuerzeichen: Die 'Reichskristallnacht,' Anstifter und Brandstifter — Opfer und Nutzniesser

- (FIRE SIGN: “REICH CRYSTAL NIGHT”, INCITERS AND INCENDIARIES, VICTIMS AND BENEFICIARIES), by Ingrid Weckert, Grabert Verlag, Tübingen, 1981, 281pp with appendix, annotated bibliography, index, clothbound, 29.80 DM, ISBN 3-87847-052-5.

Reviewed by [Mark Weber](#)

No single event so drastically changed relations between Germans and Jews in modern times than the so-called “Night of Broken Glass” or *Reichskristallnacht*. On the night of 9-10 November 1938, Jewish homes, businesses and synagogues across Germany were attacked by inflamed mobs. Fire consumed many buildings. Several dozen Jews (the exact number is still unclear) lost their lives in the tumult. Ever since, countless films, books, articles and so forth have sought to impress the horror of the “Crystal Night” into the minds of millions. It is cited ad nauseum as a major milestone in the German program to exterminate the Jews of Europe.

In *Feuerzeichen* (Fire Sign), Ingrid Weckert tackles this crucial chapter of contemporary history with sobriety, critical objectivity, and careful attention to detail. Her analysis is a welcome relief from the usually maudlin and highly tendentious treatments all too common in books dealing with modern Jewish history. Furthermore, this fascinating book never fails to keep the reader’s attention. It is easy to understand why the first printing sold out within a few months.

A few days before the Crystal Night, a young Polish Jew named Herschel Grynszpan visited the German embassy in Paris, pulled out a pistol, and shot a Legation Secretary named Ernst vom Rath. Doctors were unable to save the mortally wounded young official. His death on the afternoon of 9 November 1938 could not have come on a more fateful day. All Germany was observing the “Memorial Day for the Fallen of the Movement,” probably the most auspicious National Socialist anniversary. (On that day in 1923, 14 followers of the fledgling movement fell before the fire of government soldiers during an ill-fated attempt to overthrow the Weimar regime by force.)

What happened next is unclear. And despite all the words in recent decades, the most important question about the Crystal Night remains unanswered: Who was responsible?

The standard story is that Joseph Goebbels, the Reich Propaganda Minister, incited or ordered the assembled party leaders in Munich to organize a pogrom-like campaign of violence and destruction against the Jews in revenge for Grynszpan’s murder of vom Rath. Anyway, that’s the story.

Some facts about the Crystal Night are beyond dispute. It is clear, for example, that some party leaders and stormtroopers did take part in the mob action. It is likewise a fact that when Hitler learned about the outbreak of violence, he immediately ordered an end to the lawlessness. An urgent telex message to an party district leaders was followed by a letter repeating the directive.

Frau Weckert shows that, contrary to the standard version, Dr. Goebbels could not have initiated or incited the Crystal Night. He in any case lacked the authority to secretly “order” a pogrom. When he learned the next morning about the extent of the lawlessness, Dr. Gobbels was outraged. He quickly issued a strongly worded official statement which called upon the population to immediately refrain from further actions or demonstrations of any kind against the Jews.

Who benefited from the Crystal Night? Certainly not the National Socialist government or the German nation. Hitler complained bitterly in private: “It is terrible. They have destroyed everything for me like elephants in a china shop-and much worse. I had the great hope that I was about to come to an understanding with France. And now that!” The exclusive beneficiaries were those powerful Jewish organizations headquartered in New York, Paris and London which had proclaimed a state of war between Germany and international Jewry shortly after Hitler assumed power in early 1933. The Crystal Night brought a worldwide wave of intense anti-German atrocity propaganda, much of it completely untrue or wildly exaggerated. At one stroke, German prestige was dealt a crippling blow. The damage to relations with America was especially severe. President Roosevelt recalled the U.S. Ambassador from Berlin and left only a Charge d’Affaires at the post.

At a time when Jewish leaders were loudly calling for a “holy war” of destruction against Germany, Hitler’s government was working for the peaceful emigration of the Jews from the Reich. Consistent with the Zionist view that the Jews of the world constitute a distinct nation all their own, the National Socialist government actively aided the Zionist movement. In fact, the Jewish Agency for Palestine (the “shadow government” of the future Zionist state) had a treaty with Germany known as the Haavara Agreement to expedite the settlement of Jews to Palestine. This little-known treaty remained in force from 1933 until the outbreak of war in 1939.

Frau Weckert’s greatest achievement is probably her careful but devastating analysis of what passes today for “history writing.” She exposes the superficiality, sloppiness and plain dishonesty of various prominent contemporary writers who have made names for themselves as specialists in modern Jewish history. She demonstrates that several key Crystal Night “documents” presented at the Nuremberg trial by the Allies to incriminate the German leaders are undoubtedly forgeries. This charge, with its staggering implications, dare not be made lightly. Frau Weckert has opened the door on a subject that deserves much more detailed attention. My own research at the National Archives confirms her observation that the originals of many widely cited Nuremberg trial “documents” are now “unavailable” and seem to have disappeared completely-if they ever existed at all.

This book is not and cannot yet be the final word about the Crystal Night. Many questions unavoidably remain unanswered. Frau Weckert herself never fully answers the most important question of all: Who organized the Crystal Night? But the evidence she presents points to the shadowy but important role played by the Paris-based “International League Against Anti-Semitism” (SICA) in the events leading up to the fateful night.

A word about the author: Ingrid Weckert was a teenager in war-ravished Berlin when the Second World War came to an end. She left the occupied German capital to study Catholic theology in Switzerland. Living and working in Israel for a time enabled her to deepen her understanding of

the character and nature of the Jewish people. She speaks Hebrew and English fluently. A librarian by profession, she now lives in Munich.

This book is a valuable contribution to contemporary historiography. I hope that an English-language version will become available soon and that Frau Weckert will be producing other works as good as this one. *Feuerzeichen* is essential reading for anyone interested in this particular subject. But more than that, it deserves careful consideration by anyone who wants to understand the true origins of the world we have inherited.

A Note From The Editor (Vol. 4 no. 2)

Keith Stimely

Few discussions of the specific topic “Roosevelt and the Origins of World War II” pay much attention to events before 1 September 1939. At most some preliminary words are uttered about the development of Roosevelt’s thoughts and policy in the 1930s: his increasing concern, once the New Deal became firmly ensconced and especially after he was re-elected in 1936, with events in Europe and Asia as crisis followed crisis; his worries about the rise of “the dictatorships” (non-Soviet variety only); his somewhat hesitant public switch beginning in 1937 away from neutrality of sentiment and toward a more activist consideration of America’s role in the world; his efforts thereafter to “educate” a rather unreceptive American public into appreciating this role and its possible future consequences. If Roosevelt’s difficult position in the late 1930s of trying to push along public opinion on international affairs faster than it wanted to go could be termed, as one pro-Roosevelt historian has put it, “leadership in isolation,” then the events in Europe leading toward war could be described, in the standard view, as “crisis in isolation” — from America; the war just happened, a European affair which Roosevelt could not appreciably influence, though he had certainly seen it coming, doing his best to warn both his own people and European leaders.

It remains the case that for most historians, thus for their students and the history-reading public at large, the real story and starting point of the origins of the war relative to Roosevelt must be that of America’s involvement in the war: how this country got in *once the conflict in Europe began*. This story, actually three stories — of the 1939-41 “Battle against Isolation” within; of the “undeclared war” of navies on the Atlantic as Roosevelt did his best to evade neutrality and help out England (and, after June 1941, Russia) even to the point of intervening militarily to frustrate German attempts at interception, and of the deterioration of Japanese-American relations in the Pacific leading to Pearl Harbor — has received a considerable amount of treatment from both mainstream and revisionist historians. So too has the more generalized story of German-American and Japanese-American relations in the decade preceding 1941. But, with a few exceptions, it is just toward 1941 — precisely, 7 December and 11 December 1941 — that such studies aim, including those claimed specifically to be about Roosevelt’s role in the *origins of World War II*. This — the full-fledged, declared shooting war for America — is the war that is meant. With what started in Europe two years earlier, and the prelude to it, there was — so the consensus goes — not much, if any, real Roosevelt involvement. It is not an issue.

So the dearth of treatment has made it seem. In fact, the issue of President Roosevelt’s active part in the origins and partial responsibility for the outbreak of European war in 1939 is very real, very much alive, and very interesting. And it is not new, though it has been suppressed. Several early post-war studies — the exceptions mentioned above — written mostly in the decade after 1945 and either singular essays or parts of larger works, focused on just this question. That these were exclusively revisionist in nature says something about the nature of the issue. It has not been one that mainstream, pro-Roosevelt, historians are too enthused about. For them, there is ei-

ther no story here — or one they would not feel comfortable telling. Since the appearance of the early revisionist efforts, which slipped easily and not accidentally into obscurity, this subject has been ignored and allowed to disappear into the murky backwaters of a forgotten branch of the stream of history.

We hope to begin remedying this situation with this, the first “theme” issue of The JHR. The subjects of the three essays presented here have long deserved careful consideration. It is hoped that they will help to stimulate more interest and new research in this particular topic. It is certain that their importance cannot be ignored by honest and curious historiography.

Mark Weber in “[President Roosevelt’s Campaign To Incite War in Europe](#)” explores the meaning and historical importance of Polish diplomatic documents which were captured by the Germans in Warsaw, selections from which were published in the German press, in a *White Book* and in other official or semi-official editions. These documents, which bear heavily on the roles of Roosevelt and his ambassador-at-large William C. Bullitt in encouraging strident Anglo-French-Polish defiance of Germany’s program for a peaceful revision of the unfair Versailles territorial/ethnological provisions, are of the utmost importance in understanding what Roosevelt was thinking, doing and trying to do in Europe in the prelude to war. What emerges is a Roosevelt who was no innocent bystander merely sending private, occasionally public, messages of concern to European leaders from time to time, all in the quest for peace. Instead the documents make clear the picture of a Roosevelt actively meddling in European affairs at every turn, promising, cajoling, threatening — all toward the vigorous promotion of an anti-German front, ultimately toward war. Though well known and readily available, the documents have been ignored, downplayed, or rejected by all mainstream historians, largely on account of their published origination as a German propagandistic “colored book.” Denounced by American officials immediately upon release as inauthentic — forgeries concocted by the Germans — most historians have not seen fit to question the official denials and look for themselves, with the aid of much relevant evidence made available since the war, into the matter of their authenticity. It is the signal contribution of Mark Weber that he has uncovered and here marshals for the first time all the evidence which points toward the documents being, in fact, authentic; in his words, the question is now “beyond doubt.” He goes beyond merely demonstrating this, presenting lengthy selections from the documents newly translated by himself (including some parts never before translated into English), and fitting their significance in to the overall context of Roosevelt’s policy. The conclusions presented in this well-rounded and pathbreaking essay are clearly ones that historians of Roosevelt foreign policy will not be able to ignore.

In “[President Roosevelt and the Origins of the 1939 War](#),” excerpted from *Der erzwungene Krieg* by David L. Hoggan, we present for the first time in English the pertinent conclusions reached in what after 22 years remains the most thorough — and most radically revisionist — volume ever published on the general subject of the war’s origins. Dr. Hoggan’s treatment of Roosevelt in the book is incidental to his main theme, which is German-Polish and Anglo-German relations and how and why these led to war in 1939; his explication of Roosevelt’s role in the crucial years 1938-39 nevertheless constitutes the most formidable (and formidably documented) narrative presentation on the subject ever to appear. It is an excellent companion piece to Charles C. Tansill’s early essay “The United States and the Road to War in Europe” (which appeared in Harry Elmer Barnes’s anthology *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*), heretofore the standard treatment in English. Dr. Hoggan’s treatment, with its in-depth emphasis on the last year before war, and its use of many sources not available to Tansill, effectively expands upon and updates the earlier work. It is our regret that space considerations prevent publication here of the extensive footnotes. These will, however, appear in the complete published edition of *Der erzwungene Krieg* as *The Forced War*, forthcoming from the Institute for Historical Review. Should any monograph

reprint of Dr. Hoggan's article be produced and if the reception justifies it the entire contents of this issue will be published in an expanded book format — the notes for the article will also of course appear therein.

The Weber and Hoggan essays deal with Roosevelt and secret origins of European war, 1938-39; the third essay here deals with Roosevelt's secret *interventions* in European war, 1940. Until recently these have not been well-known — though they have been hinted at, sometimes luridly, ever since the *New York Times* published in June 1940 a terse announcement from the American embassy in London to the effect that an employee of the embassy had been arrested and detained by the British on the grounds of (British) national security. Tyler Catwood Kent, code-clerk, was caught with approximately 1,500 documents in his possession which had been copied or abstracted from highly secret communications passing through the embassy. A fervent anti-interventionist, Kent became convinced by what he saw coming across his desk that President Roosevelt was lying to the American people about commitments to Britain and other commitments relative to the war. He determined to collect the evidence — which included communications between Roosevelt and Winston Churchill (at a time when Churchill was merely First Lord of the Admiralty) — so that it could be presented to certain anti-interventionist senators and expose Roosevelt's secret operations to the light of day. As more details became public, the "Kent Case" became a *cause celebre* among certain anti-Roosevelt publicists and historians. Kent himself was released and returned to America in 1945. Once the facts of the "Case" were well-established with the passing of wartime secrecy, attention focused on the contents of the "Kent Documents" which had been seized from him at the time of his arrest. Not until 1972 were they released, an event which prompted a number of historical monographs on the subject (see the bibliography on p. 203). Not until 1983 has [Tyler Kent himself written his own account](#) of what he saw, what he did, why he did it, what happened to him, and what he thinks about it all in retrospect. His essay was written especially for *The JHR*. Mark Weber provides a concise introduction, highlighting the most important revelations contained in the documents, which he examined at the National Archives.

President Roosevelt's Campaign To Incite War in Europe: The Secret Polish Documents

MARK WEBER

Major ceremonies were held in 1982 to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. With the exceptions of Washington and Lincoln, he was glorified and eulogized as no other president in American history. Even conservative President Ronald Reagan joined the chorus of applause. In early 1983, newspapers and television networks remembered the fiftieth anniversary of Roosevelt's inauguration with numerous laudatory tributes.

And yet, with each passing year more and more new evidence comes to light which contradicts the glowing image of Roosevelt portrayed by the mass media and politicians.

Much has already been written about Roosevelt's campaign of deception and outright lies in getting the United States to intervene in the Second World War prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Roosevelt's aid to Britain and the Soviet Union in violation of American neutrality and international law, his acts of war against Germany in the Atlantic in an effort to provoke a German declaration of war against the United States, his authorization of a vast "dirty tricks" campaign against U.S. citizens by British intelligence agents in violation of the Constitution, and his provocations and ultimatums against Japan which brought on the attack against Pearl Harbor — all this is extensively documented and reasonably well known. ^[1]

Not so well known is the story of Roosevelt's enormous responsibility for the outbreak of the Second World War itself. This essay focuses on Roosevelt's secret campaign to provoke war in Europe prior to the outbreak of hostilities in September 1939. It deals particularly with his efforts to pressure Britain, France and Poland into war against Germany in 1938 and 1939.

Franklin Roosevelt not only criminally involved America in a war which had already engulfed Europe. He bears a grave responsibility before history for the outbreak of the most destructive war of all time.

This paper relies heavily on a little-known collection of secret Polish documents which fell into German hands when Warsaw was captured in September 1939. These documents clearly establish Roosevelt's crucial role in bringing on the Second World War. They also reveal the forces behind the President which pushed for war.

While a few historians have quoted sentences and even paragraphs from these documents, their importance has not been fully appreciated. There are three reasons for this, I believe. First, for many years their authenticity was not indisputably established. Second, a complete collection of the documents has not been available in English. And third, the translation of those documents which has been available in English until now is deficient and unacceptably bad.

When the Germans took Warsaw in late September 1939, they seized a mass of documents from the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In a letter of 8 April 1983, Dr. Karl Otto Braun of Munich informed me that the documents were captured by an SS brigade led by Freiherr von Kuensberg, whom Braun knew personally. In a surprise attack, the brigade captured the center of Warsaw ahead of the regular German army. Von Kuensberg told Braun that his men took control of the Polish Foreign Ministry just as Ministry officials were in the process of burning incriminating documents. Dr. Braun was an official of the German Foreign Office between 1938 and 1945.

The German Foreign Office chose Hans Adolf von Moltke, formerly the Reich's Ambassador in Warsaw, to head a special Archive Commission to examine the collection and sort out those documents which might be suitable for publication. At the end of March 1940, 16 of these were published in book form under the title *Polnische Dokumente zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges* ["Polish Documents on the Pre-History of the War"]. The Foreign Office edition was subtitled "German White Book No. 3." The book was immediately published in various foreign language editions in Berlin and some other European capitals. An American edition was published in New York by Howell, Soskin and Company as *The German White Paper*. Historian C. Hartley Grattan contributed a remarkably cautious and reserved foreword. [2]

The translation of the documents for the U.S. *White Paper* edition was inexcusably bad. Whole sentences and parts of sentences were missing and portions were grossly mistranslated. H. Keith Thompson explained to me why this was so during a conversation on 22 March 1983 and in a letter of 13 May 1983. A poor first draft English-language translation had been prepared in Berlin and sent to America. It was given to George Sylvester Viereck, a prominent pro-German American publicist and literary advisor to the German Library of Information in New York City. Thompson knew Viereck intimately and served as his chief aide and re-writer. Viereck had hurriedly redrafted the translation from Berlin into more readable prose but without any opportunity of comparing it to the original Polish text (which he could not read in any case) or even the official German-language version. In making stylistic changes for the sake of readability, the meaning of the original documents was thereby inadvertently distorted.

The matter was also discussed at a small dinner for Lawrence Dennis hosted by Thompson at Viereck's apartment in the Hotel Belleclaire in New York City in 1956. Viereck explained that he had been a highly paid literary consultant to the German government, responsible for the propaganda effect of publications, and could not be concerned with the translation groundwork normally done by clerks. Even the most careful translation of complicated documents is apt to distort the original meaning, and literary editing is certain to do so, Viereck said. Thompson agreed with that view.

In preparing the English-language text for this essay, I have carefully examined the official German translation and various other translations, and compared them with facsimiles of the original Polish documents.

Media Sensation

The German government considered the captured Polish documents to be of tremendous importance. On Friday, 29 March, the Reich Ministry of Propaganda confidentially informed the daily press of the reason for releasing the documents:

These extraordinary documents, which may be published beginning with the first edition on Saturday, will create a first-class political sensation, since they in fact prove the degree of America's responsibility for the outbreak of the present war. America's

responsibility must not, of course, be stressed in commentaries; the documents must be left to speak for themselves, and they speak clearly enough.

The Ministry of Propaganda specifically asks that sufficient space be reserved for the publication of these documents, which is of supreme importance to the Reich and the German people.

We inform you in confidence that the purpose of publishing these documents is to strengthen the American isolationists and to place Roosevelt in an untenable position, especially in view of the fact that he is standing for re-election. It is however not at all necessary for us to point Roosevelt's responsibility; his enemies in America will take care of that. [3]

The German Foreign Office made the documents public on Friday, 29 March 1940. In Berlin, journalists from around the world, including the United States, were given facsimile copies of the original Polish documents and translations in German. Journalists were permitted to examine the original documents themselves, along with an enormous pile of other documents from the Polish Foreign Ministry.

The release of the documents was an international media sensation. American newspapers gave the story large front page headline coverage and published lengthy excerpts from the documents. But the impact was much less than the German government had hoped for.

Leading U.S. government officials wasted no time in vehemently denouncing the documents as not authentic. Secretary of State Cordell Hull stated: "I may say most emphatically that neither I nor any of my associates in the Department of State have ever heard of any such conversations as those alleged, nor do we give them the slightest credence. The statements alleged have not represented in any way at any time the thought or the policy of the American government." William Bullitt, the U.S. Ambassador to Paris who was particularly incriminated by the documents, announced: "I have never made to anyone the statements attributed to me." And Count Jerzy Potocki, the Polish Ambassador in Washington whose confidential reports to Warsaw were the most revealing, declared: "I deny the allegations attributed to my reports. I never had any conversations with Ambassador Bullitt on America's participation in war." [4]

These categorical public denials by the highest officials had the effect of almost completely undercutting the anticipated impact of the documents. It must be remembered that this was several decades before the experiences of the Vietnam war and Watergate had taught another generation of Americans to be highly skeptical of such official denials. In 1940, the vast majority of the American people trusted their political leaders to tell them the truth.

After all, *if* the documents made public to the world by the German government were in fact authentic and genuine, it would mean that the great leader of the American democracy was a man who lied to his own people and broke his own country's laws, while the German government told the truth. To accept that would be quite a lot to expect of any nation, but especially of the trusting American public.

Comment from Capitol Hill generally echoed the official government view. Senator Key Pittman, the Democratic Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, called the documents "unmitigated falsehood designed to create dissension in the United States." Senator Claude Pepper, Democrat of Florida, declared: "It's German propaganda and shouldn't affect our policies in the least." Only a few were not impressed with the official denials. Representative Hamilton Fish of New York, the ranking Republican member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, called for a

Congressional investigation and declared in a radio address: "If these charges were true, it would constitute a treasonable act. If President Roosevelt has entered into secret understandings or commitments with foreign governments to involve us in war, he should be impeached." [5]

American newspapers stressed the high-level denials in reporting the release of the documents. The New York Times headline read: U.S. BRANDS AS FALSE NAZI DOCUMENTS CHARGING WE FOSTERED WAR IN EUROPE AND PROMISED TO JOIN ALLIES IF NEEDED. The Baltimore Sun headlined: NAZI DOCUMENTS LAYING WAR BLAME ON U.S. ARE ASSAILED IN WASHINGTON. [6]

Although the book of Polish documents was labeled "first series," no further volumes ever appeared. From time to time the German government would make public additional documents from the Polish archives. These were published in book form in 1943 along with numerous other documents captured by the Germans from the French Foreign Ministry and other European archives, under the title *Roosevelts Weg in den Krieg: Geheimdokumente zur Kriegspolitik des Praesidenten der Vereinigten Staaten* ["Roosevelt's Way Into War: Secret Documents on the War Policy of the President of the United States"]. [7]

A very important unanswered question is: Where are the original Polish documents today? Unless they were destroyed in the conflagration of the war, they presumably fell into either American or Soviet hands in 1945. In view of recent U.S. government policy on secret archival material, it is very unlikely that they would still be secret today if they had been acquired by the United States. My guess is that if they were not destroyed, they are now either in Moscow or at the East German Central State Archives in Potsdam.

It is particularly important to keep in mind that these secret reports were written by top level Polish ambassadors, that is, by men who though not at all friendly to Germany nonetheless understood the realities of European Politics *far better than those who made policy in the United States*.

For example, the Polish ambassadors realized that behind all their rhetoric about democracy and human rights, and expressions of love for the United States, the Jews who agitated for war against Germany were actually doing nothing other than ruthlessly furthering their own purely sectarian interests. Many centuries of experience in living closely with the Jews had made the Poles far more aware than most nationalities of the special character of this people.

The Poles viewed the Munich Settlement of 1938 very differently than did Roosevelt and his circle. The President bitterly attacked the Munich agreement, which gave self-determination to the three and a half million Germans of Czechoslovakia and settled a major European crisis, as a shameful and humiliating capitulation to German blackmail. Although wary of German might, the Polish government supported the Munich agreement, in part because a small Polish territory which had been a part of Czechoslovakia against the wishes of its inhabitants was united with Poland as a result of the Settlement.

The Polish envoys held the makers of American foreign policy in something approaching contempt. President Roosevelt was considered a master political artist who knew how to mold American public opinion, but very little about the true state of affairs in Europe. As Poland's Ambassador to Washington emphasized in his reports to Warsaw, Roosevelt pushed America into war in order to distract attention from his failures as President in domestic policy.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into the complexities of German-Polish relations between 1933 and 1939 and the reasons for the German attack against Poland at dawn on the first

day of September 1939. However, it should be noted that Poland had refused to even negotiate over self-determination for the German city of Danzig and the ethnic German minority in the so-called Polish Corridor. Hitler felt compelled to resort to arms when he did in response to a growing Polish campaign of terror and dispossession against the one and a half million ethnic Germans under Polish rule. In my view, if ever a military action was justified, it was the German campaign against Poland in 1939.

Poland's headstrong refusal to negotiate was made possible because of a fateful blank check guarantee of military backing from Britain — a pledge that ultimately proved completely worthless to the hapless Poles. Considering the lightning swiftness of the victorious German campaign, it is difficult to realize today that the Polish government did not at all fear war with Germany. Poland's leaders foolishly believed that German might was only an illusion. They were convinced that their troops would occupy Berlin itself within a few weeks and add further German territories to an enlarged Polish state. It is also important to keep in mind that the purely localized conflict between Germany and Poland was only transformed into a Europe-wide conflagration by the British and French declarations of war against Germany.

After the war the Allied-appointed judges at the International Military Tribunal staged at Nuremberg refused to admit the Polish documents as evidence for the German defense. Had these pieces of evidence been admitted, the Nuremberg undertaking might have been less a victors' show trial and more a genuinely impartial court of international justice.

Authenticity Beyond Doubt

There is now absolutely no question that the documents from the Polish Foreign Ministry in Warsaw made public by the German government are genuine and authentic.

Charles C. Tansill, professor of American diplomatic history at Georgetown University, considered them genuine. "... I had a long conversation with M. Lipsky, the Polish ambassador in Berlin in the prewar years, and he assured me that the documents in the *German White Paper* are authentic," he wrote. [8] Historian and sociologist Harry Elmer Barnes confirmed this assessment: "Both Professor Tansill and myself have independently established the thorough authenticity of these documents." [9] In *America's Second Crusade*, William H. Chamberlain reported: "I have been privately informed by an extremely reliable source that Potocki, now residing in South America, confirmed the accuracy of the documents, so far as he was concerned." [10]

More importantly, Edward Raczynski, the Polish Ambassador in London from 1934 to 1945, confirmed the authenticity of the documents in his diary, which was published in 1963 under the title *In Allied London*. In his entry for 20 June 1940, he wrote:

The Germans published in April a White Book containing documents from the archives of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consisting of reports from Potocki in Washington, Lukasiewicz in Paris and myself. I do not know where they found them, since we were told that the archives had been destroyed. The documents are certainly genuine, and the facsimiles show that for the most part the Germans got hold of originals and not merely copies.

In this 'First Series' of documents I found three reports from this Embassy, two by myself and the third signed by me but written by Balinski. I read them with some apprehension, but they contained nothing liable to compromise myself or the Embassy or to impair relations with our British hosts. [11]

In 1970 their authenticity was reconfirmed with the publication of *Diplomat in Paris 1936-1939*. This important work consists of the official papers and memoirs of Juliusz Lukasiewicz, the former Polish Ambassador to Paris who authored several of the secret diplomatic reports made public by the German government. The collection was edited by Wacław Jędrzejewicz, a former Polish diplomat and cabinet member, and later Professor Emeritus of Wellesley and Ripon colleges. Professor Jędrzejewicz considered the documents made public by the Germans absolutely genuine. He quoted extensively from several of them.

Mr. Tyler G. Kent has also vouched for the authenticity of the documents. He states that while working at the U.S. embassy in London in 1939 and 1940, he saw copies of U.S. diplomatic messages in the files which corresponded to the Polish documents and which confirmed their accuracy.

Two Key Diplomats

Two American diplomats who played especially crucial roles in the European crisis of 1938-1939 are mentioned often in the Polish documents. The first of these was William C. Bullitt. Although his official position was U.S. Ambassador to France, he was in reality much more than that. He was Roosevelt's "super envoy" and personal deputy in Europe.

Like Roosevelt, Bullitt "rose from the rich." He was born into an important Philadelphia banking family, one of the city's wealthiest. His mother's grandfather, Jonathan Horwitz, was a German Jew who had come to the United States from Berlin. ^[12] In 1919 Bullitt was an assistant to President Wilson at the Versailles peace conference. That same year, Wilson and British Prime Minister Lloyd George sent him to Russia to meet with Lenin and determine if the new Bolshevik government deserved recognition by the Allies. Bullitt met with Lenin and other top Soviet leaders and upon his return urged recognition of the new regime. But he had a falling-out with Wilson and left diplomatic service. In 1923 he married Louise Bryant Reed, the widow of American Communist leader John Reed. In Europe Bullitt collaborated with Sigmund Freud on a psycho-analytical biography of Wilson. When Roosevelt became President in 1933, he brought Bullitt back into diplomatic life. ^[13]

In November 1933, Roosevelt sent Bullitt to Moscow as the first U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union. His initial enthusiasm for the Soviet system gave way to a deep distrust of Stalin and Communism. In 1936 the President transferred him to Paris. He served there as Roosevelt's key European diplomat until 1940 when Churchill's assumption of leadership in Britain and the defeat of France made his special role superfluous.

In the Spring of 1938, all U.S. envoys in Europe were subordinated to Bullitt by an internal directive of the State Department. ^[14] As the European situation worsened in 1939, Roosevelt often spoke with his man in Paris by telephone, sometimes daily, frequently giving him precisely detailed and ultra-confidential instructions on how to conduct America's foreign policy. Not even Secretary of State Cordell Hull was privy to many of the letters and communications between Bullitt and Roosevelt.

In France, the *New York Times* noted, Bullitt "was acclaimed there as 'the Champagne Ambassador' on account of the lavishness of his parties, but he was far more than the envoy to Paris: He was President Roosevelt's intimate adviser on European affairs, with telephone access to the President at any hour." ^[15]

Bullitt and Roosevelt were fond of each other and saw eye to eye on foreign policy issues. Both were aristocrats and thorough internationalists who shared definite views on how to remake the world and a conviction that they were destined to bring about that grand reorganization.

“Between these teammates,” the Saturday Evening Post reported in March 1939,

there is a close, hearty friendship and a strong temperamental affinity. The President is known to rely upon Bullitt’s judgment so heavily that the ambassador’s mailed and cabled reports from abroad are supplemented several times a week by a chat by transatlantic telephone. In addition, Bullitt returns to the United States several times each year to take part in White House councils, to the displeasure of the State Department, which considers him a prima donna.

In the whole roster of the State Department the President could not have found an adviser who would have been so responsive to his own champagne personality as Bullitt. Both men, born patricians, have the same basic enthusiasm for remolding society ... [16]

In Europe, Bullitt spoke with the voice and the authority of President Roosevelt himself.

The second most important American diplomat in Europe was Joseph P. Kennedy, Roosevelt’s Ambassador at the Court of St. James. Like Bullitt he was a wealthy banker. But this Boston Catholic of Irish ancestry was otherwise a very different sort of man. Roosevelt sent Kennedy, an important Democratic party figure and father of a future President, to Britain for purely political reasons. Roosevelt disliked and distrusted Kennedy, and this sentiment grew as Kennedy opposed the President’s war policies more and more vehemently. Moreover, Kennedy despised his counterpart in Paris. In a letter to his wife, he wrote: “I talk to Bullitt occasionally. He is more rattlebrained than ever. His judgment is pathetic and I am afraid of his influence on F.D.R. because they think alike on many things.” [17]

The Documents

Here now are extensive excerpts from the Polish documents themselves. They are given in chronological order. They are remarkably lucid for diplomatic reports and speak eloquently for themselves.

* * * * *

On 9 February 1938, the Polish Ambassador in Washington, Count Jerzy Potocki, reported to the Foreign Minister in Warsaw on the Jewish role in making American foreign policy:

The pressure of the Jews on President Roosevelt and on the State Department is becoming ever more powerful ...

... The Jews are right now the leaders in creating a war psychosis which would plunge the entire world into war and bring about general catastrophe. This mood is becoming more and more apparent.

in their definition of democratic states, the Jews have also created real chaos: they have mixed together the idea of democracy and communism and have above all raised the banner of burning hatred against Nazism.

This hatred has become a frenzy. It is propagated everywhere and by every means: in theaters, in the cinema, and in the press. The Germans are portrayed as a nation living under the arrogance of Hitler which wants to conquer the whole world and drown all of humanity in an ocean of blood.

In conversations with Jewish press representatives I have repeatedly come up against the inexorable and convinced view that war is inevitable. This international Jewry exploits every means of propaganda to oppose any tendency towards any kind of consolidation and understanding between nations. In this way, the conviction is growing steadily but surely in public opinion here that the Germans and their satellites, in the form of fascism, are enemies who must be subdued by the 'democratic world.'

On 21 November 1938, Ambassador Potocki sent a report to Warsaw which discussed in some detail a conversation between himself and Bullitt, who happened to be back in Washington:

The day before yesterday I had a long conversation with Ambassador Bullitt, who is here on vacation. He began by remarking that friendly relations existed between himself and [Polish] Ambassador Lukasiewicz in Paris, whose company he greatly enjoyed.

Since Bullitt regularly informs President Roosevelt about the international situation in Europe, and particularly about Russia, great attention is given to his reports by President Roosevelt and the State Department. Bullitt speaks energetically and interestingly. Nonetheless, his reaction to events in Europe resembles the view of a journalist more than that of a politician ...

About Germany and Chancellor Hitler he spoke with great vehemence and strong hatred. He said that only force, and ultimately a war would put an end to the insane future German expansionism.

To my question asking how he visualized this coming war, he replied that above all the United States, France and England must rearm tremendously in order to be in a position to oppose German power.

Only then, when the moment is ripe, declared Bullitt further, will one be ready for the final decision. I asked him in what way a conflict could arise, since Germany would probably not attack England and France first. I simply could not see the connecting point in this whole combination.

Bullitt replied that the democratic countries absolutely needed another two years until they were fully armed. In the meantime, Germany would probably have advanced with its expansion in an easterly direction. It would be the wish of the democratic countries that armed conflict would break out there, in the East between the German Reich and Russia. As the Soviet Union's potential strength is not yet known, it might happen that Germany would have moved too far away from its base, and would be condemned to wage a long and weakening war. Only then would the democratic countries attack Germany, Bullitt declared, and force her to capitulate.

In reply to my question whether the United States would take part in such a war, he said, 'Undoubtedly yes, but only after Great Britain and France had let loose first!' Feeling in the United States was no intense against Nazism and Hitlerism, that a psy-

chosis already prevails today among Americans similar to that before America's declaration of war against Germany in 1917.

Bullitt did not give the impression of being very well informed about the situation in Eastern Europe, and he conversed in a rather superficial way.

Ambassador Potocki's report from Washington of 9 January 1939 dealt in large part with President Roosevelt's annual address to Congress:

President Roosevelt acts on the assumption that the dictatorial governments, above all Germany and Japan, only understand a policy of force. Therefore he has decided to react to any future blows by matching them. This has been demonstrated by the most recent measures of the United States.

The American public is subject to an ever more alarmifig propaganda which is under Jewish influence and continuously conjures up the specter of the danger of war. Because of this the Americans have strongly altered their views on foreign policy problems, in comparison with last year.

Of all the documents in this collection, the most revealing is probably the secret report by Ambassador Potocki of 12 January 1939 which dealt with the domestic situation in the United States. This report is given here in full:

The feeling now prevailing in the United States is marked by a growing hatred of Fascism and, above all, of Chancellor Hitler and everything connected with Nazism. Propaganda is mostly in the hands of the Jews who control almost 100 percent radio, film, daily and periodical press. Although this propaganda is extremely coarse and presents Germany as black as possible-above all religious persecution and concentration camps are exploited-this propaganda is nevertheless extremely effective since the public here is completely ignorant and knows nothing of the situation in Europe.

Right now most Americans regard Chancellor Hitler and Nazism as the greatest evil and greatest danger threatening the world. The situation here provides an excellent platform for public speakers of all kinds, for emigrants from Germany and Czechoslovakia who don't spare any words to incite the public here with every kind of slander. They praise American liberty which they contrast with the totalitarian states.

It is interesting to note that in this extremely well-planned campaign which is conducted above all against National Socialism, Soviet Russia is almost completely excluded. If mentioned at all, it is only in a friendly manner and things are presented in such a way as if Soviet Russia were working with the bloc of democratic states. Thanks to the clever propaganda the sympathy of the American public is completely on the side of Red Spain.

Besides this propaganda, a war psychosis is being artificially created. The American people are told that peace in Europe is hanging only by a thread and that war is unavoidable. At the same time the American people are unequivocally told that in case of a world war, America must also take an active part in order to defend the slogans of freedom and democracy in the world.

President Roosevelt was the first to express hatred against Fascism. In doing so he was serving a double purpose: First, he wanted to divert the attention of the American

people from domestic political problems, especially the problem of the struggle between capital and labor. Second, by creating a war psychosis and by spreading rumors about danger threatening Europe, he wanted to get the American people to accept an enormous armament program which exceeds the defense requirements of the United States.

Regarding the first point, it must be said that the internal situation on the labor market is steadily growing worse. The unemployed today already number twelve million. Federal and state expenditures are increasing daily. Only the huge sums, running into billions, which the treasury expends for emergency labor projects, are keeping a certain amount of peace in the country. Thus far there have only been the usual strikes and local unrest. But how long this kind of government aid can be kept up cannot be predicted. The excitement and indignation of public opinion, and the serious conflict between private enterprises and enormous trusts on the one hand, and with labor on the other, have made many enemies for Roosevelt and are causing him many sleepless nights.

As to point two, I can only say that President Roosevelt, as a clever political player and an expert of the American mentality, speedily steered public attention away from the domestic situation to fasten it on foreign policy. The way to achieve this was simple. One needed, on the one hand, to conjure up a war menace hanging over the world because of Chancellor Hitler, and, on the other hand, to create a specter by babbling about an attack of the totalitarian states against the United States. The Munich pact came to President Roosevelt as a godsend. He portrayed it as a capitulation of France and England to bellicose German militarism. As people say here: Hitler compelled Chamberlain at pistol-point. Hence, France and England had no choice and had to conclude a shameful peace.

The prevalent hatred against everything which is in any way connected with German Nazism is further kindled by the brutal policy against the Jews in Germany and by the 6migr6 problem. In this action, various Jewish intellectuals participated: for instance, Bernard Baruch; the Governor of New York State, Lehman; the newly appointed judge of the Supreme Court, Felix Frankfurter; Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau; and others who are personal friends of President Roosevelt. They want the President to become the champion of human rights, freedom of religion and speech, and the man who in the future will punish trouble-makers. These groups of people who occupy the highest positions in the American government and want to pose as representatives of 'true Americanism' and 'defenders of democracy' are, in the last analysis, connected by unbreakable ties with international Jewry.

For this Jewish international, which above all is concerned with the interests of its race, to portray the President of the United States as the 'idealist' champion on human rights was a very clever move. In this manner they have created a dangerous hotbed for hatred and hostility in this hemisphere and divided the world into two hostile camps. The entire issue is worked out in a masterly manner. Roosevelt has been given the foundation for activating American foreign policy, and simultaneously has been procuring enormous military stocks for the coming war, for which the Jews are striving very consciously. With regard to domestic policy, it is very convenient to divert public attention from anti-Semitism, which is constantly growing in the United States, by talking about the necessity of defending religion and individual liberty against the onslaught of Fascism.

On 16 January 1939, Polish Ambassador Potocki reported to the Warsaw Foreign Ministry on another lengthy conversation he had with Roosevelt's personal envoy, William Bullitt:

The day before yesterday, I had a longer discussion with Ambassador Bullitt in the Embassy where he called on me. Bullitt leaves on the 21st of this month for Paris, from where he has been absent for almost three months. He is sailing with a whole 'trunk' full of instructions, conversations, and directives from President Roosevelt, the State Department and Senators who belong to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In talking with Bullitt I had the impression that he had received from President Roosevelt a very precise definition of the attitude taken by the United States towards the present European crisis. He will present this material at the Quai d'Orsay [the French Foreign Ministry] and will make use of it in discussions with European statesmen. The contents of these directives, as Bullitt explained them to me in the course of a conversation lasting half an hour, were:

1. The vitalizing of foreign policy under the leadership of President Roosevelt, who severely and unambiguously condemns totalitarian countries.
2. United States preparations for war on sea, land and air will be carried out at an accelerated pace and will consume the colossal sum of 1.25 billion dollars.
3. It is the decided opinion of the President that France and Britain must put an end to any sort of compromise with the totalitarian countries. They must not get into any discussions aiming at any kind of territorial changes.
4. They have the moral assurance that the United States will abandon the policy of isolation and be prepared to intervene actively on the side of Britain and France in case of war. America is ready to place its whole wealth of money and raw materials at their disposal.

The Polish Ambassador to Paris, Juliusz (Jules) Lukasiewicz, sent a top secret report to the Foreign Ministry in Warsaw at the beginning of February 1939 which outlined U.S. policy towards Europe as explained to him by William Bullitt:

A week ago, the Ambassador of the United States, William Bullitt returned to Paris after a three months' leave in America. Meanwhile, I have had two conversations with him which enable me to inform you of his views regarding the European situation and to give a survey of Washington's policy.

The international situation is regarded by official circles as extremely serious and in constant danger of armed conflict. Those in authority are of the opinion that if war should break out between Britain and France on the one hand, and Germany and Italy on the other, and should Britain and France be defeated, the Germans would endanger the real interests of the United States on the American continent. For this reason, one can foresee right from the beginning the participation of the United States in the war on the side of France and Britain, naturally some time after the outbreak of the war. As Ambassador Bullitt expressed it: 'Should war break out we shall certainly not take part in it at the beginning, but we shall finish it.'

On 7 March 1939, Ambassador Potocki sent a remarkably lucid and perceptive report on Roosevelt's foreign policy to his government in Warsaw. This document was first made public when

leading German newspapers published it in German translation, along with a facsimile reproduction of the first page of the Polish original, in their editions of 28 October 1940. The main National Socialist party newspaper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, published the Ambassador's report with this observation:

The document itself needs no commentary. We do not know, and it does not concern us, whether the internal American situation as reported by the Polish diplomat is correct in every detail. That must be decided by the American people alone. But in the interest of historical truth it is important for us to show that the warmongering activities of American diplomacy, especially in Europe, are once again revealed and proven by this document. It still remains a secret just who, and for what motives, have driven American diplomacy to this course. In any case, the results have been disastrous for both Europe and America. Europe was plunged into war and America has brought upon itself the hostility of great nations which normally have no differences with the American people and, indeed, have not been in conflict but have lived for generations as friends and want to remain so.

This report was not one of the Polish documents which was released in March 1940 and published as part of the "German White Book No. 3" (or the *German White Paper*). However, it was published in 1943 as part of the collection entitled "Roosevelt's Way Into War." As far as I can determine, this English translation is the first that has ever appeared. Ambassador Potocki's secret report of 7 March 1939 is here given in full:

The foreign policy of the United States right now concerns not only the government, but the entire American public as well. The most important elements are the public statements of President Roosevelt. In almost every public speech he refers more or less explicitly to the necessity of activating foreign policy against the chaos of views and ideologies in Europe. These statements are picked up by the press and then cleverly filtered into the minds of average Americans in such a way as to strengthen their already formed opinions. The same theme is constantly repeated, namely, the danger of war in Europe and saving the democracies from inundation by enemy fascism. In all of these public statements there is normally only a single theme, that is, the danger from Nazism and Nazi Germany to world peace.

As a result of these speeches, the public is called upon to support rearmament and the spending of enormous sums for the navy and the air force. The unmistakable idea behind this is that in case of an armed conflict the United States cannot stay out but must take an active part in the maneuvers. As a result of the effective speeches of President Roosevelt, which are supported by the press, the American public is today being conscientiously manipulated to hate everything that smacks of totalitarianism and fascism. But it is interesting that the USSR is not included in all this. The American public considers Russia more in the camp of the democratic states. This was also the case during the Spanish civil war when the so-called Loyalists were regarded as defenders of the democratic idea.

The State Department operates without attracting a great deal of attention, although it is known that Secretary of State [Cordell] Hull and President Roosevelt swear allegiance to the same ideas. However, Hull shows more reserve than Roosevelt, and he loves to make a distinction between Nazism and Chancellor Hitler on the one hand, and the German people on the other. He considers this form of dictatorial government a temporary "necessary evil." In contrast, the State Department is unbelievably inter-

ested in the USSR and its internal situation and openly worries itself over its weaknesses and decline. The main reason for United States interest in the Russians is the situation in the Far East. The current government would be glad to see the Red Army emerge as the victor in a conflict with Japan. That's why the sympathies of the government are clearly on the side of China, which recently received considerable financial aid amounting to 25 million dollars.

Eager attention is given to all information from the diplomatic posts as well as to the special emissaries of the President who serve as Ambassadors of the United States. The President frequently calls his representatives from abroad to Washington for personal exchanges of views and to give them special information and instructions. The arrival of the envoys and ambassadors is always shrouded in secrecy and very little surfaces in the press about the results of their visits. The State Department also takes care to avoid giving out any kind of information about the course of these interviews. The practical way in which the President makes foreign policy is most effective. He gives personal instructions to his representatives abroad, most of whom are his personal friends. In this way the United States is led down a dangerous path in world politics with the explicit intention of abandoning the comfortable policy of isolation. The President regards the foreign policy of his country as a means of satisfying his own personal ambition. He listens carefully and happily to his echo in the other capitals of the world. In domestic as well as in foreign policy, the Congress of the United States is the only object that stands in the way of the President and his government in carrying out his decisions quickly and ambitiously. One hundred and fifty years ago, the Constitution of the United States gave the highest prerogatives to the American parliament which may criticize or reject the law of the White House.

The foreign policy of President Roosevelt has recently been the subject of intense discussion in the lower house and in the Senate, and this has caused excitement. The so-called Isolationists, of whom there are many in both houses, have come out strongly against the President. The representatives and senators were especially upset over the remarks by the President, which were published in the press, in which he said that the borders of the United States lie on the Rhine. But President Roosevelt is a superb political player and understands completely the power of the American parliament. He has his own people there, and he knows how to withdraw from an uncomfortable situation at the right moment.

Very intelligently and cleverly he ties together the question of foreign policy with the issues of American rearmament. He particularly stresses the necessity of spending enormous sums in order to maintain a defensive peace. He says specifically that the United States is not arming in order to intervene or to go to the aid of England or France in case of war, but rather because of the need to show strength and military preparedness in case of an armed conflict in Europe. In his view this conflict is becoming ever more acute and is completely unavoidable.

Since the issue is presented this way, the houses of Congress have no cause to object. To the contrary, the houses accepted an armament program of more than one billion dollars. (The normal budget is 550 million, the emergency 552 million dollars.) However, under the cloak of a rearmament policy, President Roosevelt continues to push forward his foreign policy, which unofficially shows the world that in case of war the United States will come out on the side of the democratic states with all military and financial power.

In conclusion it can be said that the technical and moral preparation of the American people for participation in a war-if one should break out in Europe-is preceding rapidly. It appears that the United States will come to the aid of France and Great Britain with all its resources right from the beginning. However, I know the American public and the representatives and senators who all have the final word, and I am of the opinion that the possibility that America will enter war as in 1917 is not great. That's because the majority of states in the mid-West and West, where the rural element predominates, want to avoid involvement in European disputes at all costs. They remember the declaration of the Versailles Treaty and the well-known phrase that the war was to save the world for democracy. Neither the Versailles Treaty nor that slogan have reconciled the United States to that war. For millions there remains only a bitter aftertaste because of unpaid billions which the European states still owe America.

Juliusz Lukasiewicz, Poland's Ambassador to France, reported to Warsaw on 29 March 1939 about further conversations with U.S. envoy Bullitt in Paris. Lukasiewicz discussed Roosevelt's efforts to get both Poland and Britain to adopt a totally uncompromising policy towards Germany, even in the face of strong sentiment for peace. The report concludes with these words:

... I consider it my duty to inform you of all the aforesaid because I believe that collaboration with Ambassador Bullitt in such difficult and complicated times may prove useful to us. In any case it is absolutely certain that he agrees entirely with our point of view and is prepared for the most extensive friendly collaboration possible.

In order to strengthen the efforts of the American Ambassador in London [Joseph Kennedy], I called the attention of Ambassador Bullitt to the fact that it is not impossible that the British may treat the efforts of the United States with well-concealed contempt. He answered that I am probably right, but that nevertheless the United States has at its disposal the means to really bring pressure on England. He would be giving serious consideration to mobilizing these means.

The Polish Ambassador in London, Count Edward Raczyński, reported to Warsaw on 29 March 1939 on the continuing European crisis and on a conversation he had with Ambassador Joseph Kennedy, his American counterpart. Kennedy's remarks to Raczyński confirmed Bullitt's reputation in diplomatic circles as an indiscreet big mouth:

I asked Mr. Kennedy point blank about the conference which he is supposed to have had recently with [British Prime Minister] Mr. Chamberlain concerning Poland. Kennedy was surprised and declared categorically that a conversation of such special significance never took place. At the same time, and thereby contradicting his own assertion to a certain extent, Kennedy expressed displeasure and surprise that his colleagues in Paris and Warsaw [William Bullitt and Anthony Biddle] 'who are not, as himself, in a position to get a clear picture of conditions in England' should talk so openly about this conversation.

Mr. Kennedy-who made me understand that his views were based on a series of conversations with the most important authorities here-declared that he was convinced that should Poland decide in favor of armed resistance against Germany, especially with regard to Danzig, it would draw England in its wake.

This concludes the excerpts from the Polish reports.

The Path To War

While the Polish documents alone are conclusive proof of Roosevelt's treacherous campaign to bring about world war, it is fortunate for posterity that a substantial body of irrefutable complementary evidence exists which confirms the conspiracy recorded in the dispatches to Warsaw.

The secret policy was confirmed after the war with the release of a confidential diplomatic report by the British Ambassador to Washington, Sir Ronald Lindsay. During his three years of service in Washington, the veteran diplomat had developed little regard for America's leaders. He considered Roosevelt an amiable and impressionable lightweight, and warned the British Foreign Office that it should not tell William Bullitt anything beyond what it wouldn't mind reading later in an American newspaper. ^[18]

On 19 September 1938 — that is, a year before the outbreak of war in Europe — Roosevelt called Lindsay to a very secret meeting at the White House. At the beginning of their long conversation, according to Lindsay's confidential dispatch to London, Roosevelt "emphasized the necessity of absolute secrecy. Nobody must know I had seen him and he himself would tell nobody of the interview. I gathered not even the State Department." The two discussed some secondary matters before Roosevelt got to the main point of the conference. "This is the very secret part of his communication and it must not be known to anyone that he has even breathed a suggestion." The President told the Ambassador that if news of the conversation was ever made public, it could mean his impeachment. And no wonder. What Roosevelt proposed was a cynically brazen but harebrained scheme to violate the U.S. Constitution and dupe the American people.

The President said that if Britain and France "would find themselves forced to war" against Germany, the United States would ultimately also join. But this would require some clever maneuvering. Britain and France should impose a total blockade against Germany without actually declaring war and force other states (including neutrals) to abide by it. This would certainly provoke some kind of German military response, but it would also free Britain and France from having to actually declare war. For propaganda purposes, the "blockade must be based on loftiest humanitarian grounds and on the desire to wage hostilities with minimum of suffering and the least possible loss of life and property, and yet bring the enemy to his knees." Roosevelt conceded that this would involve aerial bombardment, but "bombing from the air was not the method of hostilities which caused really great loss of life."

The important point was to "call it defensive measures or anything plausible but avoid actual declaration of war." That way, Roosevelt believed he could talk the American people into supporting war against Germany, including shipments of weapons to Britain and France, by insisting that the United States was still technically neutral in a non-declared conflict. "This method of conducting war by blockade would in his [Roosevelt's] opinion meet with approval of the United States if its humanitarian purpose were strongly emphasized," Lindsay reported. ^[19]

The American Ambassador to Italy, William Phillips, admitted in his postwar memoirs that the Roosevelt administration was already committed to going to war on the side of Britain and France in late 1938. "On this and many other occasions," Phillips wrote, "I would like to have told him [Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister] frankly that in the event of a European war, the United States would undoubtedly be involved on the side of the Allies. But in view of my official position, I could not properly make such a statement without instructions from Washington, and these I never received." ^[20]

Carl J. Burckhardt, the League of Nations High Commissioner to Danzig, reported in his postwar memoirs on a remarkable conversation held at the end of 1938 with Anthony Drexel Biddle, the American Ambassador to Poland. Biddle was a rich banker with close ties to the Morgan financial empire. A thoroughgoing internationalist, he was an ideological colleague of President Roosevelt and a good friend of William Bullitt. Burckhardt, a Swiss professor, served as High Commissioner between 1937 and 1939.

Nine months before the outbreak of armed conflict, on 2 December 1938, Biddle told Burckhardt

with remarkable satisfaction that the Poles were ready to wage war over Danzig. They would counter the motorized strength of the German army with agile maneuverability. 'In April,' he [Biddle] declared, 'a new crisis would break out. Not since the torpedoing of the Lusitania [in 1915] had such a religious hatred against Germany reigned in America as today! Chamberlain and Daladier [the moderate British and French leaders] would be blown away by public opinion. This was a holy war!,' [21]

The fateful British pledge to Poland of 31 March 1939 to go to war against Germany in case of a Polish-German conflict would not have been made without strong pressure from the White House.

On 14 March 1939, Slovakia declared itself an independent republic, thereby dissolving the state known as Czechoslovakia. That same day, Czechoslovak President Emil Hacha signed a formal agreement with Hitler establishing a German protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia, the Czech portion of the federation. The British government initially accepted the new situation, but then Roosevelt intervened.

In their nationally syndicated column of 14 April 1939, the usually very well informed Washington journalists Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen reported that on 16 March 1939 Roosevelt had "sent a virtual ultimatum to Chamberlain" demanding that henceforth the British government strongly oppose Germany. According to Pearson and Allen, who completely supported Roosevelt's move, "the President warned that Britain could expect no more support, moral or material through the sale of airplanes, if the Munich policy continued." [22] Chamberlain gave in and the next day, 17 March, ended Britain's policy of cooperation with Germany in a speech at Birmingham bitterly denouncing Hitler. Two weeks later the British government formally pledged itself to war in case of German-Polish hostilities.

Bullitt's response to the creation of the German protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia was to telephone Roosevelt and, in an "almost hysterical" voice, urge him to make a dramatic denunciation of Germany and immediately ask Congress to repeal the Neutrality Act. [23]

In a confidential telegram to Washington dated 9 April 1939, Bullitt reported from Paris on another conversation with Ambassador Lukasiewicz. He had told the Polish envoy that although U.S. law prohibited direct financial aid to Poland, it might be possible to circumvent its provisions. The Roosevelt administration might be able to supply war planes to Poland indirectly through Britain. "The Polish Ambassador asked me if it might not be possible for Poland to obtain financial help and aeroplanes from the United States. I replied that I believed the Johnson Act would forbid any loans from the United States to Poland but added that it might be possible for England to purchase planes for cash in the United States and turn them over to Poland." [24]

On 25 April 1939, four months before the outbreak of war, Bullitt called American newspaper columnist Karl von Wiegand, chief European correspondent of the International News Service, to the U.S. embassy in Paris and told him: "War in Europe has been decided upon. Poland has the

assurance of the support of Britain and France, and will yield to no demands from Germany. America will be in the war soon after Britain and France enter it." [25]

In a lengthy secret conversation at Hyde Park on 28 May 1939, Roosevelt assured the former President of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Edvard Benes, that America would actively intervene on the side of Britain and France in the anticipated European war. [26]

In June 1939, Roosevelt secretly proposed to the British that the United States should establish "a patrol over the waters of the Western Atlantic with a view to denying them to the German Navy in the event of war." The British Foreign Office record of this offer noted that "although the proposal was vague and woolly and open to certain objections, we assented informally as the patrol was to be operated in our interests." [27]

Many years after the war, Georges Bonnet, the French Foreign Minister in 1939, confirmed Bullitt's role as Roosevelt's deputy in pushing his country into war. In a letter to Hamilton Fish dated 26 March 1971, Bonnet wrote: "One thing is certain is that Bullitt in 1939 did everything he could to make France enter the war." [28] An important confirmation of the crucial role of Roosevelt and the Jews in pushing Britain into war comes from the diary of James V. Forrestal, the first U.S. Secretary of Defense. In his entry for 27 December 1945, he wrote:

Played golf today with [former Ambassador] Joe Kennedy. I asked him about his conversations with Roosevelt and [British Prime Minister] Neville Chamberlain from 1938 on. He said Chamberlain's position in 1938 was that England had nothing with which to fight and that she could not risk going to war with Hitler. Kennedy's view: That Hitler would have fought Russia without any later conflict with England if it had not been for [William] Bullitt's urging on Roosevelt in the summer of 1939 that the Germans must be faced down about Poland; neither the French nor the British would have made Poland a cause of war if it had not been for the constant needling from Washington. Bullitt, he said, kept telling Roosevelt that the Germans wouldn't fight; Kennedy that they would, and that they would overrun Europe. Chamberlain, he says, stated that America and the world Jews had forced England into the war. In his telephone conversations with Roosevelt in the summer of 1939, the President kept telling him to put some iron up Chamberlain's backside. [29]

When Ambassador Potocki was back in Warsaw on leave from his post in Washington, he spoke with Count Jan Szembek, the Polish Foreign Ministry Under-Secretary, about the growing danger of war. In his diary entry of 6 July 1939, Szembek recorded Potocki's astonishment at the calm mood in Poland. In comparison with the war psychosis that had gripped the West, Poland seemed like a rest home.

"In the West," the Ambassador told Szembek, "there are all kinds of elements openly pushing for war: the Jews, the super-capitalists, the arms dealers. Today they are all ready for a great business, because they have found a place which can be set on fire: Danzig; and a nation that is ready to fight: Poland. They want to do business on our backs. They are indifferent to the destruction of our country. Indeed, since everything will have to be rebuilt later on, they can profit from that as well." [30]

On 24 August 1939, just a week before the outbreak of hostilities, Chamberlain's closest advisor, Sir Horace Wilson, went to Ambassador Kennedy with an urgent appeal from the British Prime Minister for President Roosevelt. Regretting that Britain had unequivocally obligated itself in March to Poland in case of war, Chamberlain now turned in despair to Roosevelt as a last hope for peace. He wanted the American President to "put pressure on the Poles" to change course at

this late hour and open negotiations with Germany. By telephone Kennedy told the State Department that the British “felt that they could not, given their obligations, do anything of this sort but that we could.” Presented with this extraordinary opportunity to possibly save the peace of Europe, Roosevelt rejected Chamberlain’s desperate plea out of hand. At that, Kennedy reported, the Prime Minister lost all hope. “The futility of it all,” Chamberlain had told Kennedy, “is the thing that is frightful. After all, we cannot save the Poles. We can merely carry on a war of revenge that will mean the destruction of all Europe.” [31]

Roosevelt liked to present himself to the American people and the world as a man of peace. To a considerable degree, that is still his image today. But Roosevelt cynically rejected genuine opportunities to act for peace when they were presented.

In 1938 he refused even to answer requests by French Foreign Minister Bonnet on 8 and 12 September to consider arbitrating the Czech-German dispute. [32] And a year later, after the outbreak of war, a melancholy Ambassador Kennedy beseeched Roosevelt to act boldly for peace. “It seems to me that this situation may crystallize to a point where the President can be the savior of the world,” Kennedy cabled on 11 September from London. “The British government as such certainly cannot accept any agreement with Hitler, but there may be a point when the President himself may work out plans for world peace. Now this opportunity may never arise, but as a fairly practical fellow all my life, I believe that it is entirely conceivable that the President can get himself in a spot where he can save the world ...”

But Roosevelt rejected out of hand this chance to save the peace of Europe. To a close political crony, he called Kennedy’s plea “the silliest message to me that I have ever received.” He complained to Henry Morgenthau that his London Ambassador was nothing but a pain in the neck: “Joe has been an appeaser and will always be an appeaser ... If Germany and Italy made a good peace offer tomorrow, Joe would start working on the King and his friend the Queen and from there on down to get everybody to accept it.” [33]

Infuriated at Kennedy’s stubborn efforts to restore peace in Europe or at least limit the conflict that had broken out, Roosevelt instructed his Ambassador with a “personal” and “strictly confidential” telegram on 11 September 1939 that any American peace effort was totally out of the question. The Roosevelt government, it declared, “sees no opportunity nor occasion for any peace move to be initiated by the President of the United States. The people [sic] of the United States would not support any move for peace initiated by this Government that would consolidate or make possible a survival of a regime of force and aggression.” [34]

Hamilton Fish Warns The Nation

In the months before armed conflict broke out in Europe, perhaps the most vigorous and prophetic American voice of warning against President Roosevelt’s campaign to incite war was that of Hamilton Fish, a leading Republican congressman from New York. In a series of hard-hitting radio speeches, Fish rallied considerable public opinion against Roosevelt’s deceptive war policy. Here are only a few excerpts from some of those addresses. [35]

On 6 January 1939, Fish told a nationwide radio audience:

The inflammatory and provocative message of the President to Congress and the world [given two days before] has unnecessarily alarmed the American people and created, together with a barrage of propaganda emanating from high New Deal offi-

cials, a war hysteria, dangerous to the peace of America and the world. The only logical conclusion to such speeches is another war fought overseas by American soldiers.

All the totalitarian nations referred to by President Roosevelt ... haven't the faintest thought of making war on us or invading Latin America.

I do not propose to mince words on such an issue, affecting the life, liberty and happiness of our people. The time has come to call a halt to the warmongers of the New Deal, backed by war profiteers, Communists, and hysterical internationalists, who want us to quarantine the world with American blood and money.

He [Roosevelt] evidently desires to whip up a frenzy of hate and war psychosis as a red herring to take the minds of our people off their own unsolved domestic problems. He visualizes hobgoblins and creates in the public mind a fear of foreign invasions that exists only in his own imagination.

On 5 March, Fish spoke to the country over the Columbia radio network:

The people of France and Great Britain want peace but our warmongers are constantly inciting them to disregard the Munich Pact and resort to the arbitrament of arms. If only we would stop meddling in foreign lands the old nations of Europe would compose their own quarrels by arbitration and the processes of peace, but apparently we won't let them.

Fish addressed the listeners of the National Broadcasting Company network on 5 April with these words:

The youth of America are again being prepared for another blood bath in Europe in order to make the world safe for democracy.

If Hitler and the Nazi government regain Memel or Danzig, taken away from Germany by the Versailles Treaty, and where the population is 90 percent German, why is it necessary to issue threats and denunciations and incite our people to war? I would not sacrifice the life of one American soldier for a half dozen Memels or Danzigs. We repudiated the Versailles Treaty because it was based on greed and hatred, and as long as its inequalities and injustices exist there are bound to be wars of liberation.

The sooner certain provisions of the Versailles Treaty are scrapped the better for the peace of the world.

I believe that if the areas that are distinctly German in population are restored to Germany, except Alsace-Lorraine and the Tyrol, there will be no war in western Europe. There may be a war between the Nazis and the Communists, but if there is that is not our war or that of Great Britain or France or any of the democracies.

New Deal spokesmen have stirred up war hysteria into a veritable frenzy. The New Deal propaganda machine is working overtime to prepare the minds of our people for war, who are already suffering from a bad case of war jitters.

President Roosevelt is the number one warmonger in America, and is largely responsible for the fear that pervades the Nation which has given the stock market and the

American people a bad case of the jitters.

I accuse the administration of instigating war propaganda and hysteria to cover up the failure and collapse of the New Deal policies, with 12 million unemployed and business confidence destroyed.

I believe we have far more to fear from our enemies from within than we have from without. All the Communists are united in urging us to go to war against Germany and Japan for the benefit of Soviet Russia.

Great Britain still expects every American to do her duty, by preserving the British Empire and her colonies. The war profiteers, munitions makers and international bankers are all set up for our participation in a new world war.

On 21 April, Fish again spoke to the country over nationwide radio:

It is the duty of all those Americans who desire to keep out of foreign entanglements and the rotten mess and war madness of Europe and Asia to openly expose the war hysteria and propaganda that is impelling us to armed conflict.

What we need in America is a stop war crusade, before we are forced into a foreign war by internationalists and interventionists at Washington, who seem to be more interested in solving world problems rather than our own.

In his radio address of 26 May, Fish stated:

He [Roosevelt] should remember that the Congress has the sole power to declare war and formulate the foreign policies of the United States. The President has no such constitutional power. He is merely the official organ to carry out the policies determined by the Congress.

Without knowing even who the combatants will be, we are informed almost daily by the internationalists and interventionists in America that we must participate in the next world war.

On 8 July 1939, Fish declared over the National Broadcasting Company radio network:

If we must go to war, let it be in defense of America, but not in defense of the munitions makers, war profiteers, Communists, to cover up the failures of the New Deal, or to provide an alibi for a third term.

It is well for all nations to know that we do not propose to go to war over Danzig, power politics, foreign colonies, or the imperialistic wars of Europe or anywhere in the world.

Powers Behind The President

President Roosevelt could have done little to incite war in Europe without help from powerful allies. Behind him stood the self-serving international financial and Jewish interests bent on the destruction of Germany. The principal organization which drummed up public support for U.S. involvement in the European war prior to the Pearl Harbor attack was the cleverly named “Com-

mittee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.” President Roosevelt himself initiated its founding, and top administration officials consulted frequently with Committee leaders. [36]

Although headed for a time by an elderly small-town Kansas newspaper publisher, William Allen White, the Committee was actually organized by powerful financial interests which stood to profit tremendously from loans to embattled Britain and from shrewd investments in giant war industries in the United States.

At the end of 1940, West Virginia Senator Rush D. Holt issued a detailed examination of the Committee which exposed the base interests behind the idealistic-sounding slogans:

The Committee has powerful connections with banks, insurance companies, financial investing firms, and industrial concerns. These in turn exert influence on college presidents and professors, as well as on newspapers, radio and other means of communication. One of the powerful influences used by the group is the '400' and social set. The story is a sordid picture of betrayal of public interest.

The powerful J.P. Morgan interest with its holdings in the British Empire helped plan the organization and donated its first expense money.

Some of the important figures active in the Committee were revealed by Holt: Frederic R. Coudert, a paid war propagandist for the British government in the U.S. during the First World War; Robert S. Allen of the Pearson and Allen syndicated column; Henry R. Luce, the influential publisher of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* magazines; Fiorella LaGuardia, the fiery half-Jewish Mayor of New York City; Herbert Lehman, the Jewish Governor of New York with important financial holdings in war industries; and Frank Altschul, an officer in the Jewish investment firm of Lazard Freres with extensive holdings in munitions and military supply companies.

If the Committee succeeded in getting the U.S. into war, Holt warned, “American boys will spill their blood for profiteers, politicians and 'paytriots.' If war comes, on the hands of the sponsors of the White Committee will be blood-the blood of Americans killed in a needless war.” [37]

In March 1941 a list of most of the Committee’s financial backers was made public. It revealed the nature of the forces eager to bring America into the European war. Powerful international banking interests were well represented. J.P. Morgan, John W. Morgan, Thomas W. Lamont and others of the great Morgan banking house were listed. Other important names from the New York financial world included Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Felix M. and James F. Warburg, and J. Malcolm Forbes. Chicago department store owner and publisher Marshall Field was a contributor, as was William Averill Harriman, the railroad and investment millionaire who later served as Roosevelt’s ambassador in Moscow.

Of course, Jewish names made up a substantial portion of the long list. Hollywood film czar Samuel Goldwyn of Goldwyn Studios was there, along with David Dubinsky, the head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The William S. Paley Foundation, which had been set up by the head of the giant Columbia Broadcasting System, contributed to the Committee. The name of Mrs. Herbert H. Lehman, wife of the New York Governor, was also on the list. [38]

Without an understanding of his intimate ties to organized Jewry, Roosevelt’s policies make little sense. As Jewish historian Lucy Dawidowicz noted: “Roosevelt himself brought into his immediate circle more Jews than any other President before or after him. Felix Frankfurter, Bernard M. Baruch and Henry Morgenthau were his close advisers. Benjamin V. Cohen, Samuel Rosenman

and David K. Niles were his friends and trusted aides." [39] This is perhaps not so remarkable in light of Roosevelt's reportedly one-eighth Jewish ancestry. [40]

In his diary entry of 1 May 1941, Charles A. Lindbergh, the American aviator hero and peace leader, nailed the coalition that was pushing the United States into war:

The pressure for war is high and mounting. The people are opposed to it, but the Administration seems to have 'the bit in its teeth' and [is] hell-bent on its way to war. Most of the Jewish interests in the country are behind war, and they control a huge part of our press and radio and most of our motion pictures. There are also the 'intellectuals,' and the 'Anglophiles,' and the British agents who are allowed free rein, the international financial interests, and many others. [41]

Joseph Kennedy shared Lindbergh's apprehensions about Jewish power. Before the outbreak of war he privately expressed concerns about "the Jews who dominate our press" and world Jewry in general, which he considered a threat to peace and prosperity. Shortly after the beginning of hostilities, Kennedy lamented "the growing Jewish influence in the press and in Washington demanding continuance of the war" [42]

Betrayal, Failure, Delusion

Roosevelt's efforts to get Poland, Britain and France into war against Germany succeeded all too well. The result was untold death and misery and destruction. When the fighting began, as Roosevelt had intended and planned, the Polish and French leaders expected the American president to at least make good on his assurances of backing in case of war. But Roosevelt had not reckoned on the depth of peace sentiment of the vast majority of Americans. So, in addition to deceiving his own people, Roosevelt also let down those in Europe to whom he had promised support.

Seldom in American history were the people as united in their views as they were in late 1939 about staying out of war in Europe. When hostilities began in September 1939, the Gallup poll showed 94 percent of the American people against involvement in war. That figure rose to 96.5 percent in December before it began to decline slowly to about 80 percent in the Fall of 1941. (Today, there is hardly an issue that even 60 or 70 percent of the people agree upon.) [43]

Roosevelt was, of course, quite aware of the intensity of popular feeling on this issue. That is why he lied repeatedly to the American people about his love of peace and his determination to keep the U.S. out of war, while simultaneously doing everything in his power to plunge Europe and America into war.

In a major 1940 re-election campaign speech, Roosevelt responded to the growing fears of millions of Americans who suspected that their President had secretly pledged United States support to Britain in its war against Germany. These well-founded suspicions were based in part on the publication in March of the captured Polish documents. The speech of 23 October 1940 was broadcast from Philadelphia to the nation on network radio. In the most emphatic language possible, Roosevelt categorically denied that he had

pledged in some way the participation of the United States in some foreign war. I give to you and to the people of this country this most solemn assurance: There is no secret Treaty, no secret understanding in any shape or form, direct or indirect, with

any Government or any other nation in any part of the world, to involve this nation in any war or for any other purpose. [44]

We now know, of course, that this pious declaration was just another one of Roosevelt's many brazen, bald-faced lies to the American people.

Roosevelt's policies were more than just dishonest—they were criminal. The Constitution of the United States grants authority only to the Congress to make war and peace. And Congress had passed several major laws to specifically insure U.S. neutrality in case of war in Europe. Roosevelt continually violated his oath as President to uphold the Constitution. If his secret policies had been known, the public demand for his impeachment would very probably have been unstoppable.

The Watergate episode has made many Americans deeply conscious of the fact that their presidents can act criminally. That affair forced Richard Nixon to resign his presidency, and he is still widely regarded as a criminal. No schools are named after him and his name will never receive the respect that normally goes to every American president. But Nixon's crimes pale into insignificance when compared to those of Franklin Roosevelt. What were Nixon's lies compared to those of Roosevelt? What is a burglary cover-up compared to an illegal and secret campaign to bring about a major war?

Those who defend Roosevelt's record argue that he lied to the American people for their own good — that he broke the law for lofty principles. His deceit is considered permissible because the cause was noble, while similar deception by presidents Johnson and Nixon, to name two, is not. This is, of course, a hypocritical double standard. And the argument doesn't speak very well for the democratic system. It implies that the people are too dumb to understand their own best interests. It further suggests that the best form of government is a kind of benevolent liberal-democratic dictatorship.

Roosevelt's hatred for Hitler was deep, vehement, passionate — almost personal. This was due in no small part to an abiding envy and jealousy rooted in the great contrast between the two men, not only in their personal characters but also in their records as national leaders.

Superficially, the public fives of Roosevelt and Hitler were astonishingly similar. Both assumed the leadership of their respective countries at the beginning of 1933. They both faced the enormous challenge of mass unemployment during a catastrophic worldwide economic depression. Each became a powerful leader in a vast military alliance during the most destructive war in history. Both men died while still in office within a few weeks of each other in April 1945, just before the end of the Second World War in Europe. But the enormous contrasts in the lives of these two men are even more remarkable.

Roosevelt was born into one of the wealthiest families in America. His was a life utterly free of material worry. He took part in the First World War from an office in Washington as UnderSecretary of the Navy. Hitler, on the other hand, was born into a modest provincial family. As a young man he worked as an impoverished manual laborer. He served in the First World War as a front line soldier in the hell of the Western battleground. He was wounded many times and decorated for bravery.

In spite of his charming manner and soothing rhetoric, Roosevelt proved unable to master the great challenges facing America. Even after four years of his presidency, millions remained unemployed, undernourished and poorly housed in a vast land richly endowed with all the resources for incomparable prosperity. The New Deal was plagued with bitter strikes and bloody

clashes between labor and capital. Roosevelt did nothing to solve the country's deep, festering racial problems which erupted repeatedly in riots and armed conflict. The story was very different in Germany. Hitler rallied his people behind a radical program that transformed Germany within a few years from an economically ruined land on the edge of civil war into Europe's powerhouse. Germany underwent a social, cultural and economic rebirth without parallel in history. The contrast between the personalities of Roosevelt and Hitler was simultaneously a contrast between two diametrically different social-political systems and ideologies.

And yet, it would be incorrect to characterize Roosevelt as merely a cynical politician and front man for powerful alien interests. Certainly he did not regard himself as an evil man. He sincerely believed that he was doing the right and noble thing in pressuring Britain and France into war against Germany. Like Wilson before him, and others since, Roosevelt felt himself uniquely qualified and called upon by destiny to reshape the world according to his vision of an egalitarian, universalist democracy. He was convinced, as so many American leaders have been, that the world could be saved from itself by remodeling it after the United States.

Presidents like Wilson and Roosevelt view the world not as a complex of different nations, races and cultures which must mutually respect each others' separate collective identities in order to live together in peace, but rather according to a selfrighteous missionary perspective that divides the globe into morally good and evil countries. In that scheme of things, America is the providentially permanent leader of the forces of righteousness. Luckily, this view just happens to correspond to the economic and political interests of those who wield power in the United States.

President Roosevelt's War

In April 1941, Senator Gerald Nye of North Dakota prophetically predicted that one day the Second World War would be remembered as Roosevelt's war. "If we are ever involved in this war, it will be called by future historians by only one title, 'the President's War,' because every step of his since his Chicago quarantine speech [of 5 October 1937] has been toward war. ^[45]

The great American historian, Harry Elmer Barnes, believed that war could probably have been prevented in 1939 if it had not been for Roosevelt's meddling. "Indeed, there is fairly conclusive evidence that, but for Mr. Roosevelt's pressure on Britain, France and Poland, and his commitments to them before September 1939, especially to Britain, and the irresponsible antics of his agent provocateur, William C. Bullitt, there would probably have been no world war in 1939, or, perhaps, for many years thereafter." ^[46] In *Revisionism: A Key to Peace*, Barnes wrote:

President Roosevelt had a major responsibility, both direct and indirect, for the outbreak of war in Europe. He began to exert pressure on France to stand up to Hitler as early as the German reoccupation of the Rhineland in March 1936, months before he was making his strongly isolationist speeches in the campaign of 1936. This pressure on France, and also England, continued right down to the coming of the war in September 1939. It gained volume and momentum after the quarantine speech of October 1937. As the crisis approached between Munich and the outbreak of war, Roosevelt pressed the Poles to stand firm against any demands by Germany, and urged the English and French to back up the Poles unflinchingly.

There is grave doubt that England would have gone to war in September 1939 had it not been for Roosevelt's encouragement and his assurances that, in the event of war, the United States would enter on the side of Britain just as soon as he could swing American public opinion around to support intervention.

Roosevelt had abandoned all semblance of neutrality, even before war broke out in 1939, and moved as speedily as was safe and feasible in the face of anti-interventionist American public opinion to involve this country in the European conflict. [47]

One of the most perceptive verdicts on Franklin Roosevelt's place in history came from the pen of the great Swedish explorer and author, Sven Hedin. During the war he wrote:

The question of the way it came to a new world war is not only to be explained because of the foundation laid by the peace treaties of 1919, or in the suppression of Germany and her allies after the First World War, or in the continuation of the ancient policies of Great Britain and France. The decisive push came from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Roosevelt speaks of democracy and destroys it incessantly. He slanders as undemocratic and un-American those who admonish him in the name of peace and the preservation of the American way of life. He has made democracy into a caricature rather than a model. He talks about freedom of speech and silences those who don't hold his opinion.

He talks about freedom of religion and makes an alliance with Bolshevism.

He talks about freedom from want, but cannot provide ten million of his own people with work, bread or shelter. He talks about freedom from the fear of war while working for war, not only for his own people but for the world, by inciting his country against the Axis powers when it might have united with them, and he thereby drove millions to their deaths.

This war will go down in history as the war of President Roosevelt. [48]

Officially orchestrated praise for Roosevelt as a great man of peace cannot conceal forever his crucial role in pushing Europe into war in 1939.

* * * * *

It is now more than forty years since the events described here took place. For many they are an irrelevant part of a best-forgotten past. But the story of how Franklin Roosevelt engineered war in Europe is very pertinent — particularly for Americans today. The lessons of the past have never been more important than in this nuclear age. For unless at least an aware minority understands how and why wars are made, we will remain powerless to restrain the warmongers of our own era.

Notes

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2.  Saul Friedlander, *Prelude to Downfall: Hitler and the United States 1939-1941* (New York: Knopf, 1967), pp. 73-77; U.S., Congress, House, *Special Committee on Investigation of Un-American Activities in the United States*, 1940, Appendix, Part II, pp. 1054-1059.
3.  Friedlander, pp. 75-76.
4.  *New York Times*, 30 March 1940, p. 1.
5.  *Ibid.*, p. 4, and 31 March 1940, p. 1.
6.  *New York Times*, 30 March 1940, p. 1. *Baltimore Sun*, 30 March 1940, p. 1.
7.  A French-language edition was published in 1944 under the title *Comment Roosevelt est Entre en Guerre*.
8.  Tansill, "The United States and the Road to War in Europe," in Harry Elmer Barnes (ed.), *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1953; reprint eds., New York: Greenwood, 1969 and Torrance, Calif.: Institute for Historical Review [supplemented], 1982), p. 184 (note 292). Tansill also quoted from several of the documents in his *Back Door to War*, pp. 450-51.
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10.  Chamberlin, p. 60.
11.  Edward Raczynski, *In Allied London* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963), p. 51.
12.  Orville H. Bullitt (ad.), *For the President: Personal and Secret* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972), p. xlv [biographical foreword]. See also *Time*, 26 October 1936, p. 24.
13.  *Current Biography 1940*, ed. Maxine Block (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1940), p. 122 ff.
14.  Gisleher Wirsing, *Der masslose Kontinent: Roosevelts Kampf um die Weltherrschaft* (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1942), p. 224.
15.  Bullitt obituary in *New York Times*, 16 February 1967, p. 44.
16.  Jack Alexander, "He Rose From the Rich," *Saturday Evening Post*, 11 March 1939, p. 6. (Also see continuation in issue of 18 March 1939.) Bullitt's public views on the European scene and what should be America's attitude toward it can be found in his *Report to the American People* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin [Cambridge: Riverside Press], 1940), the text of a speech he delivered, with the President's blessing, under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society in Independence Hall in Philadelphia shortly after the fall of France. For sheer, hyperventilated stridency and emotionalist hysterics, this anti-German polemic could hardly be topped, even given the similar propensities of many other interventionists in government and the press in those days.
17.  Michael R. Beschloss, *Kennedy and Roosevelt* (New York: Norton, 1980), pp. 203-04.
18.  Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy 1932-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 31. See also pp. 164-65.
19.  Dispatch No. 349 of 20 September 1938 by Sir. R. Lindsay, *Documents on British Foreign Policy* (ed. Ernest L. Woodward), Third series, Vol. VII (London, 1954), pp. 627-29. See also: Joseph P. Lash, *Roosevelt and Churchill 1939-1941* (New York: Norton, 1976), pp. 25-27; Dallek, pp. 164-65; Arnold A. Offner, *America and the Origins of World War II* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), p. 61.
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21.  Carl Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission 1937-1939* (Munich: Callwey, 1960), p. 225.

22. [↗](#) Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, "Washington Daily Merry-Go-Round," *Washington Times-Herald*, 14 April 1939, p. 16. A facsimile reprint of this column appears in Conrad Grieb (ed.), *American Manifest Destiny and The Holocausts* (New York: Examiner Books, 1979), pp. 132-33. See also: Wirsing, pp. 238-41.
23. [↗](#) Jay P. Moffat, *The Moffat Papers 1919-1943* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 232.
24. [↗](#) U.S., Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States* (Diplomatic Papers), 1939, General, Vol. I (Washington: 1956), p. 122.
25. [↗](#) "Von Wiegand Says-," *Chicago Herald-American*, 8 October 1944, p. 2.
26. [↗](#) Edvard Benes, *Memoirs of Dr. Eduard Benes* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1954), pp. 79-80.
27. [↗](#) Lash, p. 64.
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29. [↗](#) James V. Forrestal (eds. Walter Millis and E.S. Duffield), *The Forrestal Diaries* (New York: Viking, 1951), pp. 121-22. I have been privately informed by a colleague who has examined the original manuscript of the Forrestal diaries that many very critical references to the Jews were deleted from the published version.
30. [↗](#) Jan Szembek, *Journal 1933-1939* (Paris: Plan, 1952), pp. 475-76.
31. [↗](#) David E. Koskoff, *Joseph P. Kennedy: A Life and Times* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 207; Moffat, p. 253; A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1961; 2nd ed. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Premier [paperback], 1965), p. 262; U.S., Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1939, General, Vol. I (Washington: 1956), p. 355.
32. [↗](#) Dallek, p. 164.
33. [↗](#) Beschloss, pp. 190-91; Lash, p. 75; Koskoff, pp. 212-13.
34. [↗](#) Hull to Kennedy (No. 905), U.S., Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1939, General, Vol. I (Washington: 1956), p. 424.
35. [↗](#) The radio addresses of Hamilton Fish quoted here were published in the Congressional Record Appendix (Washington) as follows: (6 January 1939) Vol. 84, Part 11, pp. 52-53; (5 March 1939) same, pp. 846-47; (5 April 1939) Vol. 84, Part 12, pp. 1342-43; (21 April 1939) same, pp. 1642-43; (26 May 1939) Vol. 84, Part 13, pp. 2288-89; (8 July 1939) same, pp. 3127-28.
36. [↗](#) Wayne S. Cole, *Charles A. Lindbergh and the Battle Against American Intervention in World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), pp. 128, 136-39.
37. [↗](#) *Congressional Record Appendix* (Washington: 1941), (30 December 1940) Vol. 86, Part 18, pp. 7019-25. See also: Appendix, Vol. 86, Part 17, pp. 5808-14.
38. [↗](#) *New York Times*, 11 March 1941, p. 10.
39. [↗](#) Lucy Dawidowicz, "American Jews and the Holocaust," *The New York Times Magazine*, 18 April 1982, p. 102.
40. [↗](#) "FDR 'had a Jewish great-grandmother'" *Jewish Chronicle* (London), 5 February 1982, p. 3.
41. [↗](#) Charles A. Lindbergh, *The Wartime Journals of Charles A. Lindbergh* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), p. 481.
42. [↗](#) Koskoff, pp. 282, 212. The role of the American press in fomenting hatred against Germany between 1933 and 1939 is a subject that deserves much more detailed treatment. Charles Tansill provides some useful information on this in *Back Door to War*. The essay by

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43.  An excellent essay relating and contrasting American public opinion measurements to Roosevelt’s foreign policy moves in 1939-41 is Harry Elmer Barnes, *Was Roosevelt Pushed Into War By Popular Demand in 1941?* (N.p.: privately printed, 1951). It is reprinted in Barnes, *Selected Revisionist Pamphlets*.
44.  Lash, p. 240.
45.  *New York Times*, 27 April 1941, p. 19.
46.  Harry Elmer Barnes, *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout*, 2nd ed. (N.p.: privately published, ca. 1948), p. 12. See also the 9th, final revised and enlarged edition (N.p.: privately published, ca. 1954), p. 34; this booklet is reprinted in Barnes, *Selected Revisionist Pamphlets*.
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48.  Sven Hedin, *Amerika im Kampf der Kontinente* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1943), p. 54.

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The Roosevelt Legacy and The Kent Case

Introduction by Mark Weber

In May 1940, a 29-year-old American code clerk at the U.S. embassy in London was arrested by British authorities in his apartment. Tyler Kent was charged with having violated the British Official Secrets Act. “For a purpose prejudicial to the safety and interests of the state,” the charge stated, Kent had “obtained a document which might be directly or indirectly useful to an enemy.” He was sentenced to seven years in prison, but was released and returned to the United States after serving five.

Between June 1940 and December 1945, the Kent case was the subject of numerous American newspaper articles. Most were sensational or highly speculative, since reliable information was hard to come by. (At the time, the British press was strictly censored.) Many Americans wanted to know how a foreign government could secretly arrest and put on trial a U.S. citizen who held diplomatic immunity. Congressmen and newspapers speculated as to what the code clerk really knew about rumored secret arrangements between President Roosevelt and British leader Winston Churchill. Many wondered if Kent had been jailed to keep him from talking. But preoccupation with the war and official government statements satisfied the curiosity of all but a handful. When Kent returned to the United States in 1945 from British imprisonment, almost all interest in the case had evaporated in the general euphoria of Allied military victory. For many years the Kent story was virtually forgotten.

The passage of time and a more sober awareness of how American presidents operate have encouraged new interest in the case. Dramatic revelations of illegal Presidential actions that emerged from the Vietnam war and the Watergate affair shocked Americans into a bitter realization that their Chief Executive could lie and break the law. In recent years the Kent case has been the subject of several scholarly and semi-scholarly articles. Highly acclaimed author John Toland devoted several pages to the affair in his 1982 revisionist book on Pearl Harbor, *Infamy*. In December 1982 the British television program “Newsnight” examined the Kent case. The broadcast included excerpts from an interview with Kent filmed near his Texas home. Several books about the Kent story are reportedly in preparation. All this testifies to a healthy, growing readiness to critically re-examine President Roosevelt’s fateful path into the Second World War.

Tyler Gatewood Kent was born on 24 March 1911 in Nowchwang (Yingkow), northern China, where his father, William P. Kent, was serving as the American Consul. The family had strong roots in Virginia. Kent’s English forebears settled there in 1644. President John Tyler was a distant relative. A grandfather was Speaker of the Virginia Assembly and lieutenant governor.

Tyler Kent attended St. Alban's School in Washington, D.C., and received his higher education at Princeton (AB, 1931), George Washington University, the Paris Sorbonne, and the University of Madrid. From an early age he showed a remarkable aptitude for languages. Eventually he learned numerous ancient and modern languages. Like his father, Kent chose a career in the State Department foreign service.

His first assignment was to the American embassy in Moscow. From 1934 to 1939, Kent learned first-hand in the Soviet capital about life under Communism. His fluent command of the Russian language helped young Kent to know the Russian people and the realities of Soviet life much more intimately than most diplomats. He developed an intense hatred for the Soviet system and for those who had foisted this monstrous tyranny on Russia.

Like many Americans, Kent was appalled at Roosevelt's support for Stalin's cruel and despotic regime. Kent's personal experience and careful study convinced him that Communism represented a mortal danger to the world, and to the West in particular. President Roosevelt, though, considered the Soviet system a rougher but more progressive version of his own New Deal, both motivated by the same lofty humanistic ideals.

From Moscow Kent was transferred to the U.S. embassy in London. From October 1939 until that fateful 20th day of May, 1940, he served as a code clerk. This was an especially important position there because all diplomatic dispatches from American missions across Europe to Washington were routed through the London embassy's code room.

When Kent began work, war had already broken out in Europe. U.S. law and overwhelming public sentiment seemed to insure that America would avoid entanglement in the conflict. But from his special vantage point in London, Kent quickly learned that President Roosevelt was doing everything in his power to subvert the law and deceive the people in order to get America into war.

Kent decided to make copies or summaries of diplomatic dispatches documenting Roosevelt's secret policies and somehow bring them to the attention of sympathetic congressmen and senators. And so he took the course that led to his untimely arrest, briefly made him something of a celebrity, and cost him five years in prison. As he puts it, he got "tangled up in history." In fact he came very close to changing its course.

As code clerk, Kent intercepted hundreds of diplomatic dispatches between the embassies in Europe and the State Department in Washington. He made verbatim copies of most of the messages and paraphrased summaries of the rest. The most important and incriminating of these was the top secret correspondence between Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, which began with a letter from the President dated 11 September 1939.

Until 11 May 1940, Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty (or head of the British navy). Thus, the exchange of communications between him and Roosevelt until that date was highly irregular because it took place behind the back of the head of the British government, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. Officially, heads of state communicate only with their counterpart heads of state, and any communications otherwise are understood to be for the ultimate attention of the counterpart head of

state. In the case of the Roosevelt-Churchill correspondence before 11 May 1940, not only was that exchange designed to be kept secret from Prime Minister Chamberlain, it was indeed something of a conspiracy against him. Churchill wanted to supplant Chamberlain, and Roosevelt himself desired this end. For this reason the exchange was kept especially secret. Until he became Prime Minister himself, Churchill signed his messages to Roosevelt simply, "Naval Person."

The public revelation of the mere existence of a secret Churchill-Roosevelt exchange behind Chamberlain's back would have been highly embarrassing to both correspondents. But if Kent had somehow succeeded in making the contents of the exchange known to the American public, there would have been loud demands for Roosevelt's impeachment.

Kent intercepted and made a complete copy of Churchill's message to Roosevelt of 25 December 1939 (Telegram 2720) in which Churchill informed the President that British warships would continue to violate American sovereignty to seize German ships within the U.S. three mile maritime territorial zone. However, in order to keep these violations secret, Churchill promised that the seizures would take place out of view from the American shore. "We cannot refrain from stopping enemy ships outside international three-mile limit when these may well be supply ships for U-boats or surface raiders, but instructions have been given only to arrest or fire upon them out of sight of United States shores."

In his message to Roosevelt of 28 February 1940 (Telegram 490), which was also intercepted and copied out by Kent, Churchill wrote that the British would continue to seize and censor U.S. mail from American and other neutral ships on their way to Europe. "All our experience shows that the examination of mails is essential to efficient control," Churchill told Roosevelt. This was, of course, a blatant violation of American neutrality and international law. There was considerable astonishment in the United States when the full extent of Roosevelt's connivance in the illegal British seizure and censorship of American mail to Europe became known many years after the war. If this message intercepted by Kent had been made public in 1940 or 1941, there would have been a first-rate scandal.

In the secret correspondence between Churchill and Roosevelt intercepted by Kent, the two leaders conspired to insure that the United States government would secretly tolerate British violations of American territorial sovereignty and restrictions on neutral American shipping. The two men wanted to avoid any embarrassing incidents that would provoke public indignation in America over the illegal British actions. They also worked out procedures for joint British-American naval reporting of the location of German surface raiders and submarines which violated at least the spirit if not the letter of United States neutrality.

The fact that Kent's diplomatic immunity was waived by the U.S. government so that British authorities could throw him into prison is itself proof that the Roosevelt administration was neutral in name only. If Kent had been discovered intercepting dispatches at the American embassy in Berlin, it is inconceivable that the U.S. government would have waived his immunity so that German authorities could imprison him. To the contrary, the Roosevelt administration would have done everything it could to protect him from any possible prosecution and imprisonment by the German government.

In response to a growing clamor in the press and among the public about a possible official government cover-up in the Kent case, the State Department issued a lengthy public statement on 2 September 1944. The cleverly worded document implied, without ever actually making the charge, that Kent had been a German spy. The State Department in effect admitted, however, that it had put British interests ahead of American interests and law in the case. Kent's trial had been held in secret, the statement said, "because of the harmful effects to British counter-espionage efforts which were to be anticipated if certain of the evidence became public." Even more revealing was the official admission that Kent's extraordinary treatment was because "The interest of Great Britain in such a case, at a time when it was fighting for its existence, was therefore preeminent." At a time, it must be remembered, when the United States was publicly and legally neutral in the conflict between Britain and Germany, the State Department considered British, and not American, interests in the Kent case to be "preeminent."

In 1939 and 1940, the vast majority of the American people wanted to avoid involvement in the European war. They felt that U.S. participation in the First World War had been a catastrophic error and wanted to insure that the mistake would not be repeated. The Congress was likewise committed to a policy of firm neutrality and had passed the Johnson and Neutrality Acts to make sure that America kept out of war in Europe.

The President is constitutionally charged with the duty to execute the will of the American people as expressed through the Congress. The Constitution reserves the power to make war and peace exclusively to Congress. But with brazen contempt for the will of the people, the law and the constitution, President Roosevelt conspired with a small circle of confidants to incite war in Europe and bring the United States into the conflict. He broke his oath to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Over the years, numerous lies have been invented and spread about Tyler Kent. The most slanderous is that he was a traitor to the United States and a spy for Germany. In fact, Kent was a genuine patriot who put the welfare of his nation above his own personal happiness and security. He was never charged with violating any American law. Kent acted on the traditional principle that for United States government officials, American interests (and not those of Britain or any other country) come first. He was sacrificed to foreign interests by his own government.

In London Tyler Kent faced a painful dilemma: What should a government official do when he discovers that his boss, the President of the United States, is breaking the law? Kent felt a greater loyalty to his nation and its laws than to President Roosevelt. His sense of honor moved him to collect documentary evidence of Roosevelt's treacherous crimes and try to bring it before the American people. Kent paid for his "crime" with five years in prison and a tarnished reputation for the rest of his life, while Franklin Roosevelt, who violated the Constitution and numerous laws, was re-elected President and praised as a hero.

If Tyler Kent had somehow succeeded in making public his collection of intercepted documentary evidence, he would have unleashed an enormous public outcry for President Roosevelt's removal from office. At the very least he would have temporarily halted Roosevelt's campaign to get America into war. Roosevelt might well have

been so discredited that Wendell Willkie would have defeated him in the 1940 presidential election. It is difficult to say whether the Kent disclosures would have been enough to bring about Roosevelt's impeachment. Certainly the documents provide proof of criminal activity sufficient to warrant removal from office. Congress would have been virtually compelled to begin at least preliminary impeachment proceedings. This much can be said with certainty: disclosure of the Kent documents would have dealt a powerful blow to Roosevelt's prestige and credibility. Tyler Kent might then have significantly altered the course of American and world history.

Tyler Kent

There are those who would have us believe that to dust off the mildewed pages of history is an exercise in futility. Those especially believe this who consider the events of forty years ago "ancient history." Many such persons are motivated by a wish to conceal from the rest of us the relatively recent events which have created the world as it is today. There can be no question that the events which led to World War II, and that war itself, have shaped the lives of all of us alive now. In the United States, the political figure who looms largest on the scene as creator, through this war, of the world we live in today is of course Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

During his unprecedented 12 years as President, he was the arbiter of the fates of the hapless millions of his fellow citizens. Roosevelt became President at the beginning of a severe depression which found millions of Americans without work or the means of subsistence. Banks failed and factories shut their gates. Roosevelt inaugurated what he touted as a "New Deal." It consisted mainly of trying to solve the economic woes of the nation with make-work projects financed out of the public treasury. From previous administrations he had inherited a sound monetary system and virtually no national debt. He could therefore launch with impunity a policy of "spend and elect" as a permanent feature of his administration.

Unfortunately, this deficit-financed, government-sponsored program did not solve the problem of the Great Depression. As late as 1939, there was still 17% unemployment. I am wholly convinced that Roosevelt understood perfectly well that his stopgap measures were not going to achieve any lasting solutions to the economic problems of the nation and so, from the earliest days, covertly, and sometimes overtly, began laying the groundwork for a much more cynical approach. He knew that for the United States, protected as it was by two vast oceans, a nice, bloody and expensive war with foreigners doing most of the fighting and dying would be just the thing for the economy. This would seem to be the reason for the fact that all during the 1930s Roosevelt secretly aided and abetted the forces in Europe which were preparing for a war against National Socialist Germany. Such a war suited his domestic scenario perfectly. He had been elected by a coalition of Big Labor, the "Solid South" and the enormously powerful Jewish minority. All three elements saw in a war the answer to their prayers. Labor would have jobs as the factories hummed with armament production. The poorly educated, and thus somewhat gullible, common folk of the South were easily persuaded by their senators and congressmen that a war-oriented economy would mean high prices for cotton and hogs and other primary products. As for the Jews, they had already declared war on Hitler at the infamous meeting of World Jewry in Amsterdam in 1933. They with their control of the press, radio and the movie industry in the United States (there was as yet no television to add to their arsenal of propaganda) were avidly awaiting the opportunity to drag the United States into a war of unholy vengeance. Roosevelt was their willing lackey.

In 1936 Congress, reflecting the wishes and sentiments of the electorate, had enacted stringent neutrality laws which prevented the President from advancing his plans to embroil the United States lawfully in a European war. But Roosevelt believed himself to be above mere laws. The Gods had decreed his path and he had a divine mission to right the world's "wrongs" whatever might be the cost. Like most self-appointed "crusaders," he made a fool of himself and at the same time he jeopardized the whole future of his country and the world.

Plots have a way of coming most unexpectedly to light. And so it almost was with Roosevelt's illegal plot to embroil this country in a foreign war. In 1940, an obscure cypher clerk at the American Embassy in London came across documents which, in his judgment and that of many reputable historians subsequently, proved conclusively that Roosevelt both directly and through his agents was engaged in activities designed to foment a war and eventually to compel American participation in it.

I was that cypher clerk.

I was born in 1911, the son of a member of the United States Foreign Service who was stationed in China at that time. After returning to the United States, I pursued my advanced education at Princeton and then in various European universities. In 1933, I joined the staff of the new American Embassy in Moscow which had just been established as a result of the establishment of diplomatic relations with Bolshevik Russia by President Roosevelt. I already had some knowledge of the Russian language and as I have always been blessed with a natural aptitude for languages my tour of duty in Russia enabled me to become quite fluent very rapidly. I took the opportunity to meet and mingle with the ordinary Russian citizens in Moscow and learned first hand the beastly nature of Bolshevism, realizing what it would mean if this oriental barbarism were to spread further. My awareness grew also of the worldwide ideology of the *soi-disant* "liberals," who gushed over what they called the "new civilization" of the Soviet Union. I began to see, dimly, the power of Jewish propaganda in the United States which harped constantly on the alleged brutalities of the new National Socialist regime in Germany while simultaneously completely ignoring the far worse brutalities in the USSR. Yet the latter had antedated the Nazi regime by more than a decade. The reasons for this distorted and lop-sided picture soon became clear. In Germany, the burden of state action was falling upon Jews whereas in the Soviet Union, the secret police (NKVD) was almost entirely in Jewish hands until the very late 1930s. The administration of the *gulags* ("labor camps" which were virtually extermination camps) was wholly Jewish and thus the Jews could wreak their vengeance on their age-old adversaries among the Russian people.

The Jews in America and their "liberal" allies soon took up the hue and cry for the destruction of Germany — which, of course, implied the strengthening of the Soviet Union as a future ally. Roosevelt naively believed that he could control Stalin as long as he gave him everything he wanted. He was encouraged in this opinion by such "learned" Kremlinologists as George Kennan, Charles Bohlen and Joseph E. Davies. These pundits actually learned nothing of Soviet aims and policies while in Russia. Their pronouncements were simply the expression of liberal ideology as developed in American universities. For example: the much touted Kennan doctrine of "containment" proclaimed by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in 1948 so far from "containing" the Soviet Union or Communism, resulted in the spread of the latter over 40% of the planet and the establishment of a Soviet bastion in Cuba — a mere 90 miles from our shores. Not until 1948 did it appear that the United States government had any real comprehension of what Soviet Communist aggression would mean for the world and for civilization. With all due modesty, I believe I have the right to claim that I did understand the realities at least ten years earlier than the recognized Kremlin "experts."

I arrived in London in September of 1939 to assume duties at the United States embassy there. My duties included access to sensitive documents dealing with matters of policy. Almost immediately, I became aware that the clandestine activities of the Roosevelt administration were at variance with the public statements of its spokesmen. This included Roosevelt himself and the lesser figures around him. The Neutrality Acts passed by Congress were being cynically flouted. It seemed to me at the time that it was my inescapable duty to try to inform the right persons in the United States of what was going on. It should always be borne in mind that at this time there was no unanimity either in Congress or among the general public with regard to either passive or active participation of the United States in a European conflict. Opinion polls had, in fact, shown a huge majority-83% -opposed to such involvements. On the other hand, Jewish opinion was violently hostile to Germany and great use was made of their control of the media to whip up pro-war sentiments. It seemed hard to understand why the desires of an alleged 3% of the population should prevail over those of 83%.

As a corollary to his war policy, it was quite obviously necessary for Roosevelt to develop a system of alliances and coalitions against the Third Reich since no single Power could successfully challenge the German military. Aside from Roosevelt's collaboration with British agents in Washington, the President had two henchmen in Europe whose function it was to make sure that war would be declared against Germany. These were William C. Bullitt in Paris and Anthony Drexel Biddle in Warsaw. Bullitt had been ambassador in Moscow and had originally gone there full of enthusiasm for the "new civilization." That was in 1934. By 1936 he left, much disillusioned by what he had seen and by the way he had been treated. Bullitt was the quintessential Anglo-American-Fabian-Liberal. He was the wealthy playboy scion of a Philadelphia banking family who early in life took up "liberal" causes. As early as 1919, he was strongly urging Woodrow Wilson to extend recognition to the new Soviet regime lest "some more radical regime might take over." Whomever he had in mind as "more radical" than Lenin and Trotsky and company, he did not identify. Bullitt was not a Communist but he married Louise Bryant, a Communist newspaperwoman and the widow of the Communist John Reed. As is widely known, John Reed's remains are buried in the Kremlin wall in grateful appreciation of his services to the infant Communist regime in Russia. It is not my intent to impute to a husband all the views of his wife but in the case of William Bullitt and Louise Bryant, it would seem that birds of a feather do indeed flock together.

Bullitt, from his vantage point in Paris, became one of the most virulent anti-German war-mongers in the Anglo-American camp. Possibly his partly Jewish ancestry (Hurwitz) blinded him from recognizing where the true interests of America lay. He was intelligent enough, if somewhat lacking in judgment. He should have known that the only winner in a war which eliminated Germany as a military power would be Soviet Russia. No doubt it was difficult for a lifetime Fabian to admit that he had been wholly wrong about the "new civilization."

The "Potocki Papers," the gist of which I learned in London, clearly and accurately reflected the views of both Bullitt and Biddle: *British interests first, American interests last*. (Subsequent American Presidents would seem to have learned nothing from the lessons of World War II. Ronald Reagan demonstrated in 1982 that British interests take precedence over those of his own country when he sided with the British in the Falklands-Malvinas dispute, choosing to destroy whatever good relations this country had with Latin America for the sake of British prestige.)

Only the passage of time and the unfolding of history can definitively settle matters of historical dispute. Sufficient time has elapsed — some 45 years — since the formulation of Roosevelt's disastrous pre-war and wartime policies so that any impartial observer of the contemporary world scene could now evaluate for himself the concrete results of those policies in terms of the spe-

cific interests of the United States. America has gained no advantage whatsoever from “winning” World War II. Thus the war must be considered a net loss — a failure. The very virulence of the “crusade against evil” propaganda which still today fills the air waves and the press is witness to the fact that there really is nothing else to say when assessing the effects of the war. The security of this continent was not enhanced. American trade advantages were ephemeral and transient. Only the Jews profited insofar as they gained their revenge on Nazi Germany as well as spreading Soviet Communism over 40% of the world, not to mention moving great numbers of European Jews into Palestine.

How odd it is that the statesmen of the Western world did not appear to grasp the truth that a defeated and crushed Germany would mean the emergence of Soviet Russia as a major military power inimical to our interests. But so it has come to pass. The modern United States is unable to implement the Monroe Doctrine which had, for more than a century, protected the Americas from European aggression and alien ideologies. We must swallow the bitter pill of Dr. Castro, the Soviets' proconsul. in the Western hemisphere, and stand impotently by as Communist regimes wax and flourish in Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central America. My “crime” was in foreseeing some of this when I was a cypher clerk in the American embassy in London, and in trying to do something to forestall it.

Much of the vicious slander that has been directed against me over the years has centered around the allegation of “disloyalty.” The Department of State’s press release of 2 September 1944 hammers away at this. Yet to *whom* and to *what* was my loyalty due? It was claimed that I owed loyalty to Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy and to President Roosevelt. Under most circumstances I would agree. But a government employee takes an oath to “support the laws and Constitution of the United States against all enemies, both foreign and domestic.” (My italics.) Events have now proven that as regards the damage done to the interests of this country no foreign enemy could have done more than Roosevelt. He was the greatest “domestic enemy” and no subordinate owed him any loyalty whatsoever in the *furtherance of his illegal activities*. No court of law has convicted Franklin Delano Roosevelt but the court of history will do so in time. This is the essence of the “Tyler Kent incident” and the justification for my actions in London in 1939 and 1940.

No one — least of all myself — is ever going to claim that the 20th of May, 1940, will go down in history on a par in importance with Roosevelt’s “date that will live in infamy.” But the former date may well be of interest to those who entertain some respect for constitutional and international law. It was on the morning of that date — 10 a.m. if my memory serves me accurately — that the government of the United States took a rather drastic step when it permitted — and in fact cooperated in allowing — the British police to arrest and incarcerate a member of the staff of the American embassy in London, a person who was the bearer of a diplomatic passport and officially protected by the provisions of “diplomatic immunity.” In so doing, the government of the United States set an unusual precedent the nature of which we shall examine below. It would be an error to claim that the arrest and imprisonment of embassy officials had never previously occurred in history, but the incidence of such cases is very rare indeed.

This particular day in May was rare for another reason. In a city noted for many things but certainly not for the delights of its climate, this happened to be a quite beautiful day. I was not fated to enjoy it. At 10 a.m. I was startled to hear the smashing of wood and the snapping of locks as a burly goon squad from Scotland Yard, accompanied by an officer of British Military Intelligence and an official of the American embassy, burst into my apartment. My visitors could most certainly have arrived in a more conventional manner and I would certainly have admitted them had they simply knocked and requested admission in the normal polite manner. But they evidently preferred the dramatic smashing of doors. Looking back on it all now, I have become convinced

that such tactics were and are used by the police precisely in order to surprise and intimidate. If the wretched object of all this is not only cowed and overawed but is also, perhaps, in his pyjamas, so much the better for the police.

Why then, one must ask, would the United States government have been a party to this very rare kind of violation of all the normal rules and conventions governing diplomatic personnel? Surely the circumstances which gave rise to such an act must themselves have been quite extraordinarily wicked or dangerous. And why, after 42 years, have the circumstances not been brought out into the clear daylight? Above all: why have I waited so long to present the facts to the American public?

The answer is that there is a right time and a wrong time for everything. November 1945, the time when I finally returned to the United States after a period of incarceration in England which lasted the entire duration of the war, was certainly not the right time. This country was in a state of euphoria occasioned by its “victory” over the dastardly enemy. Any attempt to point out that the “victory” just achieved might turn out to be Pyrrhic and more costly to the general welfare than any other event in American history would not only have fallen on deaf ears, but might well have led to the actual physical lynching of anyone expressing such a view. It certainly did entail the moral and psychological lynching of a number of people by the vicious, alien-controlled press and electronic media. No, 1945 was not the time. Certain friends of mine and my family made it possible for me to travel about the country and take a sounding of the mood of the people. I found them, in the main, totally unreceptive to any criticism of Franklin the Great, of America’s participation in the war or of the methods used to involve us in that conflict. So it was then; today, things have changed somewhat. There are facts which can no longer be successfully covered up even by the most virulent propaganda of the alien-controlled media. Even the least politically-minded citizens are beginning to ask why, today, after our greatest war and greatest final victory, we are faced with the greatest threat to our national security we have ever known. Someone is responsible; after all, it was Roosevelt himself who said, “Things don’t just happen; they are planned that way.” Well then, who planned what and why? Who planned to turn over 40% of the world to Bolshevism? Who planned to set up the Bolshevik’s advanced bases only ninety miles from our coasts? And if the answer is that no one “planned” these things then the only alternative explanation is that someone committed the most colossal political errors in our history. Is it wrong to try now to assess the blame? Some would call it mere muckraking and inappropriate in such critical times as we now face. But there are enormous vested interests in preserving the Roosevelt myth. For starters, there is the entire Democratic party. There was a time when they invoked the ghost of Thomas Jefferson as their patron saint. Since the 1930s, Roosevelt has largely taken Jefferson’s place. To cast doubts on Roosevelt’s sagacity and good judgment is, for some, like doubting the existence of God. Then there are the veterans with their huge organizations. Is it to be supposed that they would take kindly to being told that they were “suckered in” or “taken for a ride,” or that the war they fought was ultimately disastrous for their country? As for organized American Jewry, its interests lay entirely in seeing Germany destroyed regardless of the long-term interests of the America in which the Jews hang their shingles.

Let it be posed that there are only two reasons for a State to mobilize its people into armed forces to fight another State: 1) the acquisition of booty in the form of territory or other forms of wealth and 2) to defend the nation from external threats. The “booty” theory is irrelevant in modern times, especially as Roosevelt repeatedly renounced during the war any American claims upon the territory of the enemy. (That, he would relinquish to his partner Joseph Stalin.) In innumerable public statements, Roosevelt argued that this country was compelled to take part in the war, either as a belligerent or as “the arsenal of democracy” supplying war materials (illegal under domestic and international law), in order to “guarantee the security of this country in the future.”

His constant theme was that if Britain were defeated, the immense Royal Navy would fall into German hands. Germany would then be able to invade South America and would do so. A fake map was circulated which purported to show the areas of South America to be taken over by the Nazis. The map was later revealed as a clever forgery by British intelligence which Roosevelt had knowingly cooperated in disseminating in order to frighten the American public. We know this from British sources; the whole matter is very clearly set forth in the biography of William Stephenson, the principal British agent in the United States engaged in bringing about American participation in the shooting war. Slowly, we are beginning to learn more and more about the intimate cooperation between Britain and the United States in the pre-war epoch. The purpose was allegedly to improve the security of the United States. Thus even though Roosevelt's activities have been shown subsequently to have been illegal, the justification was and is offered that he acted in the overriding national interest.

We return to that Spring day in London, the 20th of May 1940, and the interruption of the Scotland Yard goon squad into my apartment. They were accompanied by one Franklin Gowen, a Second Secretary at the American embassy of whom more anon. Questions were put to me as to whom I knew and what I did. I gave non-committal answers. While this interrogation was going on, other of the officers were looking into a clothes closet in which they quickly discovered a leather suitcase full of American embassy documents. It has been alleged that there were 1500. I do not know. I never counted them. I was only interested in the contents. I was then whisked away to the embassy in a police car and brought before Ambassador Joseph Kennedy with whom I had a short but acrimonious interview. I could well understand his anger but I believed myself to have been presented with a moral dilemma. On the one hand I wished before it was too late to lay the evidence before the America First Committee and certain non-interventionist Senators. On the other hand, it would be quite useless to me — an unknown person with no political “clout” — to have returned to the United States expecting hard-boiled politicians to give any credence to my story unless I had positive documentation of my charges. I knew that taking documents from the embassy was, under all normal circumstances, a most reprehensible action. On the other hand I did not begin to do so until I had become convinced beyond any further possibility of doubt that Roosevelt and his diplomatic agents were going to embroil us in a war against the wishes of a vast majority of the American people whose opinions on that score had been made very plain in numerous opinion polls in the months just prior to the war and during the “phony war” period. Even the liberal-interventionists admit the accuracy of these polls; what they most vociferously deny is that President Roosevelt deliberately tried to circumvent public opinion. I knew different. From my vantage point in the embassy, I was able to see the dispatches from there to the State Department and to and from other embassies around Europe. From every place the picture was the same: war and intervention. “I hate war,” said Roosevelt, but he was planning it. On 3 September 1939, just after the outbreak of war in Europe, Roosevelt said in a radio address: “We seek to keep war from our own fireside by keeping war from coming to the Americas... This nation will remain a neutral nation.” At the same time, William C. Bullitt, United States ambassador to France and one of the principal implementers and architects of Roosevelt's interventionist policy, was bringing the strongest pressure to bear on the French prime minister, Edouard Daladier and on his foreign minister, Georges Bonnet, to reject out-of-hand a last minute proposal by Benito Mussolini to organize another summit meeting of European heads of state to head off the impending war. Bullitt — fully in concurrence with Roosevelt — wanted the war to begin, the sooner the better. Any concession to peace-making efforts would only raise the unwelcome possibility that the war could be staved off. Accordingly, Bullitt resisted any such efforts with all his powers of persuasion. In this he was aided greatly by Jules Lukasiewicz, the Polish ambassador, whose country had just been invaded and who was demanding French-and therefore also British- intervention. Bullitt and Lukasiewicz between them were able to dissuade

the Daladier government from accepting Mussolini's initiative and thus ensured the outbreak of a major European war right on schedule.

At this point it is useful to mention that the Potocki papers which the Germans discovered in the Polish foreign office and which shed considerable light on other interventionist activities of Bullitt, are all quite genuine; *their substance was reflected in dispatches which passed through the London embassy and were read by me in plain English*. But when they were discovered and published by the Germans they were all declared by Roosevelt and the State Department to be impudent forgeries. Today, most reputable historians, though minimizing their importance, recognize that they are quite genuine. Their significance, however, is much better appreciated when they are studied in conjunction with other documents bearing on the American foreign policy of that period. Of especial interest are the conversations which Biddle, America's ambassador to Poland, had with the Polish foreign minister, Colonel Beck, and General Rydz-Smigly, head of the Polish army, during the Summer of 1939. The conversations were duly reported to the State Department.

It must be remembered that until the Germans demonstrated the efficacy of the blitzkrieg, all of the Allies and the United States as well believed that the coming war would be one of attrition and trench warfare. The Poles were expected to hold out for weeks or even months. And so we find Biddle assuring the Polish authorities that American military assistance would be forthcoming just as soon as Roosevelt could put the concept over on Congress. This was rather cold comfort for the Poles but they had, perforce, to put as good a face on it as possible and accept whatever crumbs fell their way.

Shortly after these interviews between Biddle and the high-ranking Poles, President Roosevelt had the sublime hypocrisy to address a letter to President Moscicki of Poland offering to mediate the dispute with Germany. So the picture is thus: on the one hand the American ambassador is urging the Poles to fight and promising military assistance if they do; on the other hand Roosevelt is offering himself as a mediator, olive branch in hand. Take your choice. It should be remembered that much of the warmongering engaged in by Roosevelt's diplomatic agents in the late 1930s, particularly in France and Poland, was in the form of verbal exhortations and promises of aid and support of all kinds, including direct military intervention. Every head of state in Europe, and especially in England, recognized perfectly well that if the United States were to become sufficiently involved in an economic and political sense, military intervention would inevitably follow soon thereafter. Much of the American activity was never committed to paper in the exact manner in which it transpired. Thus, to the chagrin of historians, it will never appear in the National Archives as available "hard facts." Bullitt in France and Biddle in Poland did not commit to paper blunt promises of almost immediate military aid in the event of war but such was the gist of their private conversations. The record of them is to be found in the Potocki papers. But that is not the only source. There are records and memoirs of persons active at that time and memoranda which, though subsequently destroyed, passed among various embassies and remained in the memories of those who had seen them. Nor were all the details always officially and duly dated and numbered and sent to the State Department whence they could only with the greatest difficulty have been abstracted and destroyed. There is also the fact that much diplomacy is carried on at diplomatic receptions. One ambassador buttonholes another and behind a potted palm with a glass of champagne in one hand and a cigarette in the other, the two settle the fate of the world without the knowledge of the politicians or the public which elects them. Such contacts and negotiations might be reported by, say, Ambassador Bullitt directly to the White House by means of a scrambled telephone or in private letters which never pass through the records of the State Department. Such will clearly never appear in the National Archives. In these circumstances it may be asked how I could ever have had much knowledge of the schemings and plot-

tings. Well, it happened that the London embassy served as a sort of unofficial clearing house for most of the diplomatic activities of the United States, at least in the European theater. Thus there was much flotsam and jetsam floating around in the form of memoranda and inter-departmental communications. Conversations were often overheard and they afforded insights into attitudes and activities which were a legitimate part of diplomacy but which ordinarily could only be gleaned from personal memoirs and seldom found their way into official records. Many memoranda were circulated to a few foreign service officers with instructions to read and then destroy.

Would it be reasonable to expect that a written record exists of the commitment to provide military aid which Roosevelt gave to Neville Chamberlain prior to the latter's announcement to Parliament in March 1939, that Britain and France would provide military assistance to Poland if she were attacked? Such a commitment was in fact given by Roosevelt to the British ambassador in Washington and a telephonic confirmation was sent to Ambassador Kennedy in London. Next, a memorandum to this effect was circulated among some of the higher ranking foreign service officers and there the matter ended. Subsequent correspondence is quite clear on this point: there would have been no Franco-British guarantee to Poland and no World War II without the previous American commitment. Chamberlain and Daladier were fully aware of the limitations placed on the President by the Constitution with respect to the use of the armed forces, but such were the powers of persuasion of the ambassadors Biddle and Bullitt that the Polish and French governments were convinced Roosevelt could do whatever he wished. The British end of it was taken care of in Washington in direct communications between Roosevelt and the British ambassador.

The exclusive reliance on archival material is the essential weakness in the position taken by two historians who have written on the "Kent case." Warren Kimball and Bruce Bartlett in the fall 1981 issue of *Diplomatic History* wrote an account which purports to deal with the pre-war commitments of Roosevelt to Churchill. *Pre-war*, in this case, relates to the entry of the United States into World War II, not the beginning of hostilities in September 1939. These two academicians have poked around in the National Archives and looked at the Roosevelt-Churchill exchange of cables which have so far been published, and have come to the conclusion that there is nothing much there worth making a fuss over. But who has been making a fuss? Not I. This is the first time I have made any public statement on the subject. I do so now because the dire consequences of Roosevelt's "errors of judgment" (if indeed they were "errors" and not deliberate policies) are now so obvious that even egg-head academics like Kimball and Bartlett can no longer ignore their realities.

For far too long academics have been hypnotized by the Churchill-Roosevelt correspondence and have ignored everything else in the diplomatic correspondence between the United States and foreign countries during this time-period. They have ignored, too, statements by quite prominent persons who were privy to the facts. *The Forrestal Diaries* was published several years ago and the editors, Walter Millis and E.S. Duffield, were at liberty to edit out or to keep in anything they wished. No one would have been any the wiser had they omitted to include the direct quotation of a remark made by Neville Chamberlain to Joseph Kennedy to the effect that "America and the world Jews" had forced Britain into the war. This of course is a very accurate statement but it is not to be found in the numbered telegrams and dispatches from the London embassy to Washington. The record is most probably in the private papers of Joseph Kennedy and it is unlikely that these will see the light of day until such time as politicians and historians no longer fear to tell the truth because of the menaces of the Jewish Anti-Defamation League. In the meantime I am making use of the incident to illustrate my contention that not all accurate history is to be located in government files and archives. To aver that it is so is to declare that governments do not lie- at least that democratic governments do not. The fact is, while they may possibly lie less often, and

certainly less crudely, than the Bolsheviks, they nevertheless lie when it suits them to do so. One has only to consider the case of the Potocki papers mentioned earlier. The White House and the State Department declared them to be forgeries. Today, all reputable historians recognize them to be genuine.

What do Kimball and Bartlett know about the British plans to invade Norway or about the manner in which the United States government encouraged these plans on the grounds that something had to be done to raise the morale of allied troops in garrisons whose unrelieved idleness might eventually lead to insubordination and even mutiny? The “phony war” had been on for over half a year. The British plan was to draw out the German fleet for battle. Churchill and others believed that the best way to do this would be to challenge the Germans in an open competition to invade Norway. Churchill was typical of that breed of wartime leaders who always fight the previous war. He had a fanatical and absolute conviction that the British fleet could solve one of Britain’s problems if only the Germans could be induced to come out and give battle. He was to be proven wrong in this as in so much else.

The plan connived between Britain and the United States was for the British to make overt and easily detectable plans for the invasion of Norway. The United States diplomatic service would assist in spreading the news all over Europe in such a way that the Germans could not possibly fail to learn about it. The Germans did take the bait and organized their own expedition to take Norway before the British could get there. There was a naval engagement in the Skagerrak, the body of water which separates Denmark from Norway, and a number of warships of Germany’s rather small navy were sunk. But not enough to prevent the troopships from landing their contingents and taking over the country while meeting very little resistance.

The United States’ role in this British ploy was certainly not consistent with neutrality either under domestic or international legal definition. But Roosevelt had already told the American public that they were not required to be “neutral in thought.” So perhaps the diplomatic service was authorized to be one jump ahead of the public and to be un-neutral in deed as well. I do not know of any actual written instructions on record. By this, I mean direct instructions from the State Department. I personally saw, however, some of the numerous memoranda sent out from the London embassy to various heads of missions around Europe. These gave very specific instructions to make known as widely as possible, without arousing suspicion, the British plan to invade Norway. Some of the envoys “not in the know” actually queried these instructions as they could not understand why they were required to make public supposedly secret British military plans. I do not know how their doubts were resolved but the scheme did work. Perhaps in addition the scrambled telephone from the White House was used to tell the ambassadors what to do. The professors will probably ignore this little item as being “undocumented” since they have a naive confidence in what the State Department says as “fact,” and their blind reliance on the National Archives is tantamount to saying “We only publish what the State Department says we can.” But then one wonders why they have gone beyond the department’s press release of 2 September 1944 which purports to be the last word on the “Kent Case,” although it is actually a hodge-podge of innuendo, smears and lies. It is the sort of thing that is made to order for the Anti-Defamation League. It could have been composed by one of their agents “planted” in the State Department. For example: it alleged that I had come to the attention of the British because of my acquaintance with Anna Wolkoff, a refugee from Bolshevik Russia. According to the police, this woman had a channel of communication with Germany of which she was making use. The implication was clear: I was supposed to be transmitting information to Germany through Wolkoff. At the time that the State Department issued the press release referred to above, it already had at its disposal a copy of the transcript of my trial which had been held in 1940. In that transcript the Director of Public Prosecutions stated: “Kent did not have any knowledge of the transmission (of

a certain document) nor does the prosecution contend that he acted in concert with his co-defendant, Anna Wolkoff, in this matter.” But even when possessed of this information, the State Department still disseminated the innuendo that I had contacts with Germany and some vaguely defined “confederates” who were attempting to communicate with Germany, with which Britain was then at war. But the British prosecuted me only for having in my possession “documents which might be useful to an enemy”-not for transmitting them knowingly to any foreign power. This, of course, did not prevent the American “free” press from printing banner headlines about me such as “He Helped The Nazis.” In this connection, I have in my possession the sworn testimony of a certain Nathan Perlmutter, dated 6 November 1963, taken as a deposition in a libel suit filed by me against the Miami Herald and the St. Petersburg (Florida) *Times*. Perlmutter had taken to the two newspapers some material which the Anti-Defamation League had about me, and was instrumental in having the Miami *Herald* print a defamatory article which occasioned the libel suit. Incidentally, Perlmutter did such a good job that he is now National Director of the Anti-Defamation League at its headquarters in New York. At the time I had dealings with him, he was head of the Florida chapter of that organization.

Professors Kimball and Bartlett in their article on the “Kent Case” have argued that, as regards the question of Roosevelt’s role as a warmongering conspirator, there was “nothing in it.” I would reply that Roosevelt was probably the most shameless liar ever to occupy the White House and that his lies have done what is probably irreparable harm to this nation. Curiously enough, those who were on the spot at that time in London-namely, British Military Intelligence, Scotland Yard, and others-held an opinion different from Kimball and Bartlett’s. Otherwise, there would never have been a “Kent Case” at all.

On 8 June 1940, a couple of weeks after my arrest, Ambassador Kennedy informed the State Department by cable that:

The appropriate authorities inform me that investigation of the case in which Kent is involved is being carried out with great care and has involved an enormous amount of labor. A final decision as to whether Kent is to be prosecuted may be expected within the next ten days at the latest.

On 11 June these same British authorities informed Kennedy that:

Those who have investigated the matter say that these papers disclose the existence of a traitorous and dangerous conspiracy to assist the enemy. The persons concerned as defendants are Miss Wolkoff, Capt. Archibald Ramsay, M.P., his wife Mrs. Ramsay, Mrs. Christbel Nicholson (wife of an admiral) and Mr. Tyler G. Kent. All except the last named are British subjects. It is of the greatest importance, if indeed not essential, to the presentation of this case that a representative of the United States Embassy should attend the trial to give certain formal evidence.

The following significant words are something to which the two professors might usefully give attention before concluding that the “Kent Case” is a non-story.

It is appreciated that neither the State Department nor the Foreign Office would be prepared to contemplate at the present time the public discussion of the documents in question. It is thought, however, that some documents could be selected from the whole which, while sufficiently proving the case against the defendants, could properly be produced in court.

But if Kimball and Bartlett are correct, why all the secrecy? Why was the consent of Prime Minister Winston Churchill required before the proceedings could be initiated? As Kennedy informed

the State Department on 6 July 1940: “The British prosecutors further inform [Kennedy] that the proposed defendants take the view that they are safe from trial and punishment because neither of the governments concerned dare have these matters discussed in public.”

What was it that they dared not discuss in public? That is really the crux of the case. The real reason why I was tried and sentenced to a prison term in England and not tried in the United States is clear from the following statement of the British authorities, made to Joseph Kennedy: “The documents in question would certainly be produced only behind locked doors in a cleared court. Not only would the press be ordered not to publish their contents. No press man would be present.”

There you have it in a nutshell. The British, like the Bolsheviks, still have secret trials — a relic from medieval times when an absolute monarch was able to dispose of his enemies on the quiet without any public outcry being possible, since the facts would not be known until it was too late to do anything about it. In 1776, the thirteen colonies revolted against Britain precisely to do away with such Star Chamber proceedings as well as much else repulsive in the form of British government. Nonetheless, the United States government in the year 1940 was very glad to make use of Britain’s Star Chamber practices against one of its own citizens — for reasons of “cover-up” and secrecy.

In September 1944, in response to a certain interest in my case which had been aroused in Congress and led to questions being addressed to the Secretary of State concerning my imprisonment, the State Department issued a lengthy press release which purported to be the final word on the subject. I shall quote that part which deals with the reasons for turning me over to the British for a secret trial, since that action is prohibited by the 6th Amendment to the Constitution. The 6th Amendment requires that a criminal trial be “speedy and public.” My trial was neither. This is what the State Department had to say: “The interest of Great Britain was pre-eminent ... and all the evidence, witnesses, et cetera, were available to the British Courts.” The true reasons were set forth in messages to and from the embassy and the State Department during the weeks following my arrest. I have already indicated what they were. So dense, in fact, were the clouds of secrecy around my case (in the “pre-eminent interest of Great Britain”) that when the New York Times applied to see the transcript of the stenographic notes of the trial they were informed by the London embassy in these terms:

The British Government is unable to give its consent in writing for an inspection by the New York Times of a copy of the transcript in our possession or in the possession of any other. It would require an Act of Parliament and not even the Home Secretary could waive the restriction.

Such an elaborate web of secrecy cast over an incident by the government principally involved and whose “interests are preeminent,” (Great Britain) has a tendency in the long run to defeat its purposes because it piques the curiosity of historians to get at the facts. The case must be recognized as truly extreme when even the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, had to give his consent before the trial could proceed, and the records could not be made public without an Act of Parliament.

And now I should like to discuss the case of Franklin Gowen, Second Secretary of the American Embassy in London. I call him a Knight of the Table Round, for he demonstrated such devotion to the British-above and beyond the call of duty-that if the British did not reward him with (at least) a knighthood then they were remiss in their duty to one of their best agents in the United States foreign service. I have already mentioned that he accompanied the police whey they broke

into my flat and arrested me. He was later to appear in court and give testimony against me which he did with enthusiasm and evident glee. On the day of my arrest, Gowan undertook to impersonate me and accept any telephone calls which were made to me at the Embassy. He would then pass on the names and addresses of the callers to the British police, more specifically to Sir Norman Kendall, head of Scotland Yard. Sir Norman said to Ambassador Kennedy:

In cases of this kind we cannot take anything for granted. To ascertain who were Kent's friends and their friends, where they met and what they did, is of the utmost importance. We can't thank Ambassador Kennedy enough for his invaluable help in this case.

On the same day, Galahad-Gowan undertook what must rate as one of the most bizarre activities in the history of the United States Foreign Service. During the afternoon he intercepted a phone call from a certain person who asked that I come to Number "X," Chesham Street. Gowan immediately recruited a Scotland Yard police detective and they both went to the address given. There, in the darkness of the blackout, he was handed a note by an unknown person which asked that Kent go to a certain restaurant to meet some people. Gowan gave the note to the police and then, later that night, returned to the Chesham Street address "to keep watch on the house itself" and to report the numbers of the license plates of any cars that might stop there.

Before the interception of the note, Gowan had taken off his overcoat and lent it to the policeman so that it would cover his uniform and thus not alarm the person being talked to. Here we have the extraordinary spectacle of an American Foreign Service officer working with the British police and even providing one of them with a disguise in order to entrap British subjects. Gowan had long since done all that could be required of him in the matter of my arrest. Now he was extending his sleuthing to the possible arrest of Britons whom he did not know and with whom he had no connection whatsoever. Although the foregoing is mainly of anecdotal interest, it does serve to illustrate how closely Americans and British officials worked together before America entered the war, and to what extent they were willing to ignore legality in such cooperation. I am quite sure the Foreign Service regulations do not include a requirement that an officer of that service do the dirty work of the police of a foreign country with regard to the citizens of that country.

It must have been Sir Galahad-Gowan's "finest hour." This paunchy, balding non-entity of a Second Secretary savored it to the last drop and no doubt regales his grandchildren with the account of how he, single-handedly, broke up a dangerous spying in London during the war. This alleged spy-ring to which I was supposed to have belonged was headed by Captain Archibald Ramsay, a Member of Parliament. Ramsay was subsequently described by the very prosecutor himself, Solicitor General Sir William Jowitt, as an honorable man who would not knowingly do anything to harm his country. That did not prevent Ramsay being interned for a long period during the war although never convicted of any offense. These facts are public knowledge, yet they did not stop the *New York Times* from printing and circulating in the United States and in England libelous statements to the effect that I gave Ramsay certain vital defense information which Ramsay then took to the German embassy in Dublin for transmission to Germany. Ramsay sued the *New York Times* for libel as he was easily able to prove that he had never left Britain during the period alleged, much less visited any German embassy in Dublin or anywhere else. He won the suit. Both the *New York Times* and the author of the article, a certain Raymond Daniels, were shown up as liars.

By the time the Ramsay suit came to trial, I had already been languishing in a cell in the almost medieval Wandsworth prison in London, I had gone on a hunger strike and was at that time in the

prison infirmary. One morning, I was informed that some lawyers wished to see me. Supposing them to be my own, I agreed to see them. It turned out that they represented the London offices of the *New York Times* and they wanted my help in defending the newspaper against Ramsay's suit. They showed me the defamatory article and I saw immediately that it was a tissue of lies. I promptly told them to get out-which they did. Later, I learned that the article had been inspired by a Colonel William Donovan. Donovan was later appointed head of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) at the behest of Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy. Knox was one of those turncoats from the Republican Party who had leaped on the Roosevelt bandwagon. I was, of course, deprived of civil rights as a convicted person and could not sue on my own behalf, but the *New York Times* studiously avoided commenting on the "Kent Case" thereafter.

One thing that the embassy correspondence made abundantly clear was the truly desperate situation of the British after the Norwegian fiasco and on the eve of their tremendous defeat at Dunkirk whence the entire British army fled for their lives, leaving their weapons in the hands of the enemy. The British knew where they stood and told Roosevelt all about it. They knew that without direct military participation by America, they were finished in the war. All the pompous talk about "give us the tools and we'll finish the job" was pure Churchillian bluff and the British knew it. But it provided Roosevelt with the propaganda weapon which enabled him to induce Congress to pass the "Lend-Lease" bill making the United States, in contravention of international law and our neutrality statutes, the "Arsenal of Democracy." After the Norwegian fiasco, Winston Churchill became prime minister. This he did primarily because he could boast of his American connections and was able to convince those hidden powers behind the scenes that he was the best bet to get America into the war. Embassy correspondence left no room for doubt that after Dunkirk the policy of the British was to hang on by the skin of their teeth until Roosevelt could get America into the war. He did his best in the Atlantic but Hitler declined to take the bait. The British had, perforce, to wait until Roosevelt could get us in by the back door at Pearl Harbor. On several occasions we find Churchill threatening Roosevelt with the prospect of British surrender or, at least, some compromise with the Germans unless America came to the rescue and soon. These messages are in sharp contrast to the public image of Churchill in his jump suit, cigar cocked in one corner of his mouth, prating that "We shall never surrender. We shall fight them on the beaches. We shall fight them in the streets," etc. All that was for the public morale and we must all admit that Churchill was a fine actor. Perhaps he took lessons from Vic Oliver, his Jewish son-in-law who was a vaudeville comic.

The British had not forgotten the role played by the sinking of the *Lusitania* in getting the United States into the earlier war. We now know the real story from British sources. A well-researched book entitled *The Lusitania* published in England a few years ago proved that the ship with its American passengers was *deliberately* sent to its doom by the British authorities. They knew positively that a German submarine was lying in wait for the liner off the south coast of Ireland, and purposely failed to inform the *Lusitania's* captain. The hulk of the *Lusitania* lies in comparatively shallow water and divers have examined it. Its holds have been shown to have been filled with contraband of war and its decks equipped with defensive weapons. This made it a warship and a legitimate target for the German submarine. Knowing the psychological effect that the sinking of the *Lusitania* had on public opinion in the United States and how the loss of American lives helped so greatly in gaining support for intervention, the British lost no time in contriving a similar incident very early in World War II. This was the sinking of the liner *Athenia* on 4 September 1939 when the war was only twenty-four hours old. Some thirty American lives were lost. However, the anti-war sentiment was so strong this time that the ploy failed in its object. The public more or less shrugged off the incident, saying in effect: "Stay out of the war zones if you don't want to get hurt."

Now some very mysterious correspondence came to my notice at that time. It was from the office of the Naval Attache, a Captain Kirk. By close questioning, Captain Kirk had been able to ferret out of the British an admission that the *Athenia* might have been sunk on their own orders. Not that it was sunk by a torpedo from a British submarine. Rather, it was done by one of the two Polish submarines which escaped from the Germans and had come to England where they were under the command of the British Admiralty. It is true that a German U-Boat commander was forced by torture and intimidation to confess at the Nuremberg trials that he sank the *Athenia*. But such a confession is as credible as all the other confessions extorted by similar means.

By now it should be obvious to the reader that the screen of secrecy which surrounded my case was for a long time virtually impenetrable. Were the "Kent documents" of a vital military nature? Did they involve information about troops or armaments? The answer is provided by the words of the judge, Mr. Justice Tucker. Judge Tucker, in passing sentence, said: "I am taking into consideration that the documents in question did not involve any military matters." But if not military matters, then what? Obviously, there remained only political matters. And these were then so sensitive that the British told Kennedy that there could be no public discussion of the documents in question. What then was their nature, which could justify my trial and imprisonment? The United States was not at war at that time. The people of this country were overwhelmingly in favor of neutrality. This, in fact, was the great frustration which Roosevelt had to suffer. He had been a rabid Anglophile all his life. As early as 1915, when he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he expressed great anxiety in his personal correspondence lest he should commit some un-neutral act. His more limited authority at that time compelled him to put a tight rein on his natural sympathies which were entirely pro-British. This is the key to understanding the diplomatic activity of the United States in the immediate pre-war period-this, and a certain mental disease which had become endemic in the English-speaking world. I shall call this disease "Fabianism." Its symptoms are a total inability to assess correctly the true nature of Marxism and the aims, purposes and methods of Marxist countries, which at that time meant the Soviet Union.

The Fabian Society was founded in England in 1884 principally by Sidney and Beatrice Webb and George Bernard Shaw. It was a group of intellectuals whose declared purpose was to correct the evils of British industrial society such as child labor, slave wages for women and very bad living conditions for workers in general: all very worthy aims. But these high-minded reformers all lost their senses when the Russian Revolution occurred in 1917. They made utter fools of themselves by holding up before the world this bloody, Jewish-inspired and -led regime as an example for all humanity. It was the characteristic failure of the intellectuals everywhere and in most fields, but especially in the socio-political. Intellectuals rely on the printed word and disparage common-sense conclusions based on direct observation of the facts.

The Webbs authored a ponderous tome entitled *Soviet Russia: A New Civilization*. For all the time it took putting it together, it was worse than useless as a guide to understanding Bolshevik Russia. The Webbs amassed millions of words from official Soviet reports, from the laws and the 1936 Constitution ("the most democratic in the world") and presented this to the public as the definitive account of modern Russia. Anyone who, like myself, had resided even for short time in the "Workers' Paradise" knew perfectly well that laws and constitutions meant absolutely nothing there as far as protecting human rights was concerned. That nation was-and is-ruled by a power elite which is outside and above the law much as its predecessor the Tsarist regime was. They do whatever they wish without the least regard for what the law might say. Yet even now, when the truth about Russia is widely known throughout the world, thanks to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and others, there are many academics in this country who still teach the Marxist line to the young and vulnerable. Harvard University is a hotbed of such teaching. Did Roosevelt become enamoured of Fabianism at Harvard? After all, he said to Congressman Martin Dies:

There is nothing wrong with Communists in this country. Several of the best friends I have are Communists. I do not regard the Communists as any present or future threat to our country. In fact I look upon Russia as our strongest ally in the years to come.

He said the same thing to Cardinal Spellman, as recorded in the prelate's biography. This unadulterated Fabianism is the key to Roosevelt's mentality and explains his mishandling of our foreign relations. It also explains his legacy with which we are now burdened.

Americans are a pragmatic people, or so they like to regard themselves. That is to say, they prefer to look at the world with a practical eye rather than through the colored glasses of ideology. Most readers will know something about the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). It is a sort of extra-governmental, semi-secret organization having on its membership list many leaders in the fields of education, finance, communications, politics, etc. Its purpose is to formulate policy and then pass that on to the government for implementation. To this end, it is able to place many of its members in high offices in various departments of government. What better source for an authoritative statement on America's attitude to the European war of 1939, then, than the CFR? This is what the CFR had to say:

The German strategical objective in this war is the destruction of the power of the British Navy. To maintain communications with Dominions, to insure the food supply, and to save herself from becoming literally a third-rate power, Britain must maintain the supremacy of that fleet. No compromise between these alternatives is possible. For the British Commonwealth of Nations this war is a matter of life or death ... It is an important fact, however, that in protecting its own interests it [the British Navy] has simultaneously served to protect American interests too...

The existence of Nazi Germany, with its power, its ambition and its momentum is the fundamental factor in the foreign relations of the United States. Against it the defenses of this country must be expanded; against it diplomacy must be turned; against it friends must be won and kept. And against the possibility of its success on the continent of Europe the unity of the United States must be re-established.

These words were written in 1938 and 1939. It could not be put more plainly. These peace-time statements were not made by some two-bit journalist. They came from the government behind the government; from the people who plan and (albeit in slightly veiled language) call for war and make it happen. Come what may, says the CFR, a German victory cannot be tolerated. First of all diplomacy must be used against Germany, which is what I saw happening. Surely, the drastic action of the authorities in the "Kent Case" is a little more comprehensible in the light of these CFR statements. But even now, after 43 years, the veil of secrecy has not been entirely stripped away. What element of national security needed such drastic protection? No doubt nothing but the personal reputations of some of the protagonists.

I have spoken heretofore of the legacy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In fact, he left several. There is the legacy of Keynesian inflationary economic philosophy-a long subject which merits a separate study. I am concerned here with the legacy of foreign policy and its conduct, and in that field I can claim some small but special knowledge.

Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939. The ostensible reason was to honor a pledge made to Poland; the real reasons were to preserve a precarious balance of power in Europe and the dominance of the British Navy in the Atlantic. This navy, according to the CFR, was also protecting America. The CFR stated publicly in 1939 that "Nazi Germany could not under any circumstances be allowed to win in Europe." As a part of this CFR guarantee to

not allow the Nazis to win, Roosevelt thought up the Lend-Lease program which had been the subject of discussion between Roosevelt and Churchill in their private correspondence for many months. Roosevelt kept stressing that he needed time to overcome the objections of Congress, and Churchill was insisting that unless something were done soon, Britain would be forced to her knees. How Roosevelt got away with the transfer of fifty destroyers to the British fleet is one of the great mysteries of the period. But he did. And this was his most overt and un-neutral interventionist action in the prewar period. It, too, had been discussed for months between himself and Churchill. Various subterfuges were suggested by one or the other and had to be rejected as impractical. All the time, the emphasis was on how to circumvent Congress and the neutrality laws. Eventually, Congress was successfully browbeaten or cajoled into agreeing to Lend-Lease, which meant giving away billions of dollars worth of American wealth. The destroyer deal, however, was done without the participation of Congress at all and the government of laws went out the window.

Before this, the slow work of diplomacy had been pursued for months, even years, lining up coalitions by promises of aid which was not forthcoming in time to be of any use to those to whom it had been promised, namely Poland, France and Britain.

Nobody in a position of authority in this country expected the rapid and early military defeats of France and England. Dunkirk changed the whole picture. The United States government had been expecting a nice, leisurely trench war of attrition with the British fleet gradually blockading Germany to death. Hence Lend-Lease and the destroyers deal. These were the tools with which the British were going to "finish the job" according to Churchill. But the loss of the British army at Dunkirk really threw the Anglo-American ranks into a panic. The unbelievable had happened. Germany had won the war in Europe -something the CFR said must never be allowed to happen.

Within a few days after the British debacle at Dunkirk I was arrested; I stayed in jail until November 1945. The impression was given that I and my friends were in some measure responsible for the collapse at Dunkirk. In retrospect, it now seems as if the drastic action taken against me, Captain Ramsay and several others might well have been for propaganda purposes as much as anything else. The British had suffered one of the worst military defeats in their history and their troops were straggling back across the Channel without as much as a rifle. Under such circumstances it is good for home-front morale to attribute disasters to the activities of a fifth column. Ramsay, myself and the others seemed to the British to constitute some sort of "fifth column." The stolid British can become hysterical at times and at this point they did so with good reason. Later, as the hysteria died down, Captain Ramsay was released from detention although I was incarcerated to the bitter end-and beyond. The Solicitor General who prosecuted Ramsay said (as already quoted) that Ramsay was an honorable man who would never willingly have done anything which might harm his country. Since Captain Ramsay was my principal contact in London in the 1940s, an impartial observer might reasonably suppose that my motives were also honorable.

Some people have asked the quite legitimate question: Why, if my motive was to keep the United States out of the war, did I show the documents to British subjects? The answer is simple and straightforward. Ramsay and the members of his Right Club all knew that the principal warmongers in Britain were the Churchill-Eden-Duff Cooper-Vansittart gang, and it was our joint intention in our amateurish way to undermine Churchill's position in Parliament by making use of some of the American documents I had in my possession. This, it was hoped, could be done through the assistance of Captain Ramsay who was, after all, a Member of Parliament. We all understood that the Western democracies could not emerge from this war as genuine winners. The only real winner would be Bolshevik Russia. The British Empire would be no more and England

would sink to the level of a third class power-as it has. I also felt sure that the threat to the security of the United States would be magnified a hundredfold. Curiously, our great leader Roosevelt did not understand this. But a lowly employee of the Foreign Service did; like Cassandra, he prophesied never to be believed. Americans are supposed to prefer hard facts to theories. Here is a hard fact. In 1939, the United States defense budget stood at slightly over one billion dollars. The 1983 budget calls for expenditures for defense amounting to 221.1 billion dollars. If we halve the last figure to allow for inflation we still have expenditures one hundred times greater today than before World War II. Since it is to be assumed that the United States does not now plan to launch a major war of aggression against any power, this 221 billion dollar sum is to defend ourselves against attack by the only plausible external enemy-Soviet Russia. By demanding the total destruction of Germany and "unconditional surrender," Roosevelt established Soviet Russia as a world power without any counter-balance on the vast Eurasian heartland. But he had said that he saw nothing wrong with Communists or Communism and that Russia was our natural ally. Was it deliberate or was it only a colossal error of judgment? Most people would feel that a man who occupies the White House is not entitled to make mistakes on such a grand scale nor to play fast and loose with his nation's security. Lesser mortals can plead ignorance but the President has information on the world situation pouring into his office twenty-four hours a day. He cannot legitimately plead that he didn't know, that nobody told him.

How then did my friends and I know, in the tumultuous months of 1940? History, not I, will answer that.

Today, the ruling circles in this country recognize that none of the touted war aims were achieved. Hence they are not discussed. Instead there is a constant harping on the moral triumphs allegedly achieved. Hence the incessant ravings about the supposed Nazi atrocities, about the Belsen and Dachau, the Buchenwalds and Auschwitzes- above all, the "Holocaust." These are all deliberate diversions-red herrings dragged across the trail to obfuscate the facts of life. And those facts are that this country is in constant mortal danger from the overwhelming power of Soviet Russia. This is the Frankenstein monster created by Roosevelt and loosed upon the world. We live with this Roosevelt legacy each and every day. A Soviet base ninety miles from our shores is only one of the negative strategic incursions we have to deal with. Any possible moral basis for World War II was completely destroyed when Americans allied themselves with Soviet Russia, of which it may well be said that there has never been a viler regime in modern history. If the existence of concentration camps within a country is a sound basis for waging war against that country, then we should have been at war with Soviet Russia since about 1922, and with Britain since the turn of the century for it was the British who first employed them during the Boer War, interning thousands of civilians, many of them women and children who died in large numbers due to the unsanitary conditions within the camps.

The hoax of the twentieth century, as the title of Dr. Butz's book on the "Holocaust" goes, is the smoke-screen to conceal the utter failure to achieve the professed war aims of Roosevelt, Churchill and the CFR. Now the Zionist Establishment will continue to have a free hand to commit genocide in the Near East and smear any person in this country who dares to dispute the orthodoxy or point out the real results of World War II. And the Establishment is so besmirched with the responsibility of failure that it needs the Jewish publicists and news media to destroy anyone who has the temerity to ask awkward questions. The horrid prospect looms of having to say: "Maybe we were wrong." A further prospect then looms: "Maybe Hitler was right." But such confessions buttered no parsnips in the harsh judgments of the post-war world. They were not accepted as excuses at Nuremberg under the new ex-post-facto "law" worked out by the United States and their Soviet allies. The new basic law of nations requires only one clause, very simply: "It pays to be on the winning side."

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President Roosevelt and The Origins of the 1939 War

DAVID L. HOGGAN

Editor's Note

*This article is excerpted from David L. Hoggan's book *The Forced War: The Origins and Originators of World War II*. The complete book was published in hardcover by the Institute for Historical Review in December 1983. Professor Hoggan's treatment of the Roosevelt/American role in his book is not limited to one section, but runs rather through the course of the narrative as that role develops. Here we have culled the pertinent sections, providing a running commentary (italicized) which fills in the chronological gaps and gives the essential background, as presented by the author, of European events against which Roosevelt moved. The treatment of President Roosevelt in *The Forced War* begins in earnest in the year 1938, and that is where this article takes up the story. Crucial both to Professor Hoggan's portrayal of Roosevelt and his general thesis as to war responsibility is his assertion that in October 1938, after the Munich conference, personal control of British foreign policy passed from Prime Minister Chamberlain to his Foreign Minister, Lord Halifax, who thereupon waged an unrelenting campaign to force a war with Germany.*

The Secret War Aspirations of President Roosevelt

The attitude of President Roosevelt and his entourage was perhaps more extreme than that of the British leaders, but at least the American President was restrained by constitutional checks, public opinion, and Congressional legislation from inflicting his policy on Europe during the period before World War II. A petulant outburst from Assistant Secretary F. B. Sayre, of the American State Department, to British Ambassador Sir Ronald Lindsay on September 9, 1938, during difficult negotiations for an Anglo-American trade treaty, illustrated the psychosis which afflicted American leaders and diplomats. Sayre later recalled: "I went on to say that at such a time, when war was threatening and Germany was pounding at our gates, it seemed to me tragic that we had not been able to reach and sign an agreement." To imagine Germany pounding on the gates of the United States in 1938 is like confusing *Alice in Wonderland* with the *Bible*.

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., telephoned Paris on March 14, 1938, to inform the French that the United States would support and cooperate with a Socialist measure of the Blum Popular Front Government to control, and, if necessary, to freeze foreign exchange in France. This would have been a drastic measure contrary to the international system of arbitrage and to the prevailing international financial policy of the United States. Morgenthau was eager to see Leon Blum retain the premiership in the hope that he would plunge France into conflict with Hitler. He had no compunctions about taking this step without informing either the United States Congress or American business leaders. Leon Blum, the Socialist, did not dare to go that far, and his Government fell because of an inadequate fiscal policy.

The German leaders correctly believed that the unrestrained anti-German press in the United States was profoundly influencing both public and private American attitudes toward Germany. Goebbels told United States Ambassador Hugh Wilson on March 22, 1938, that he expected criticism, and "indeed, it was inconceivable to him that writers in America should be sympathetic with present-day Germany because of the complete contrast of method by which the (German) Government was acting." On the other hand, he objected to libel and slander and to the deliberate stirring up of hatred. Wilson confided that it was not the German form of government which was at issue, but that "the most crucial thing that stood between any betterment of our Press relationship was the Jewish question." Ribbentrop was able to challenge Wilson on April 30, 1938, to find one single item in the German press which contained a personal criticism of President Roosevelt. He also intimated that the situation could be otherwise.

In early 1938, Jewish doctors and dentists were still participating in the German state compulsory insurance program (Ortskranken-kassen), which guaranteed them a sufficient number of patients. Wilson relayed information to Secretary of State Hull that, in 1938, 10% of the practicing lawyers in Germany were Jews, although the Jews constituted less than 1 % of the population. Nevertheless, the American State Department continued to bombard Germany with exaggerated protests on the Jewish question throughout 1938, although Wilson suggested to Hull on May 10, 1938, that these protests, which were not duplicated by other nations, did more harm than good. The United States took exception to a German law of March 30, 1938, which removed the Jewish church from its position as one of the established churches of Germany. This meant that German public tax receipts would go no longer to the Jewish church, although German citizens would continue to pay taxes for the Protestant and Catholic churches. The situation established by this new law in Germany was in conformity with current English practice, where public tax revenue went to the Anglican Church, but the Jewish churches received nothing.

On March 14, 1938, Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles complained to Polish Ambassador Jerzy Potocki about the German treatment of the Jews and praised Poland for her "policy of tolerance." Potocki, who knew that current Polish measures against the Jews were more severe than those in Germany, replied with dignity that "the Jewish problem in Poland was a very real problem." It is evident that the Jewish question was primarily a pretext of American policy to disguise the fact that American leaders were spoiling for a dispute with Germany on any terms. In September 1938 President Roosevelt had a bad cold, and he complained that he "wanted to kill Hitler and amputate the nose."

Perhaps frustration and knowledge of the domestic obstacles confronting his own policy increased President Roosevelt's fury. Jules Henry, the French Charge d'Affaires, reported to Paris on November 7, 1937, that President Roosevelt was interested in overthrowing Hitler, but that the majority of the American people did not share his views. French Ambassador Saint-Quentin reported on June 11, 1938, that President Roosevelt suddenly blurted out during an interview that "the Germans understand only force," and then clenched his fist like a boxer spoiling for a fight. He noted that the President was fond of saying that if "France went down, the United States would go down." Apparently this proposition was supposed to contain some self-evident legalistic-moralistic truth which required no demonstration.

Ambassador Saint-Quentin noted that the relations between President Roosevelt and William C. Bullitt, were especially close. This was understandable, because Bullitt was a warmonger. Bullitt was currently serving as United States Ambassador to France, but he was Ambassador-at-large to all the countries of Europe, and he was accustomed to transmit orders from Roosevelt to American Ambassador Kennedy in London or American Ambassador Biddle in Warsaw. Bullitt had a profound knowledge of Europe. He was well aware that the British did not intend to fight in

1938, and that the French would not fight without British support. He improved his contacts and bided his time during the period of the Austrian and Czech crises. He prepared for his role in 1939 as the Roosevelt Ambassador par excellence. He could accomplish little in either year, because the whole world knew that the President he was serving did not have the backing of the American people for his foreign policy.

In the wake of the peaceful settlement of the Sudeten-German problem in Czechoslovakia at the Munich conference, and after a German-backed Czech-Polish agreement on the transfer of ethnic Polish territory (Teschen) to Poland, Polish Ambassador to Germany Lipski meets with German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop at Berlin in November 1938, to discuss the Danzig and Corridor questions. Little is accomplished, as Lipski carries out Polish Foreign Minister Beck's instructions not to engage in realistic discussion. But, bearing in mind Hitler's recent generous proposal of a German guarantee of Poland's Western border (provided that the Danzig question, with the question of free and sovereign German access to Danzig across the Corridor, is settled), Lipski ostensibly leaves room for a possible agreement on German road and railway access across the Corridor.

Potocki Reports from America

Lipski returned to Poland on November 22, 1938, to discuss the Danzig situation. His assurance to Ribbentrop about the superhighways and the railways had been a mere ruse designed to appease the Germans. The Polish leaders agreed that no concessions would be made to Germany either at Danzig or in the Corridor transit question. The affable manner of Ribbentrop, despite the adamant Polish stand on Danzig, impressed the Polish leaders. Beck speculated that Danzig might not be the issue after all which would produce a conflict between Germany and Poland. He suggested that Hitler might be allowing Ribbentrop unusual liberty in the Danzig question to see what he could accomplish. Lipski's attitude was similar to Beck's. His latest conversation with Ribbentrop had caused him to modify his earlier opinion that Germany would never retreat at Danzig. He suggested that the injury done to German relations with the United States by the anti-Jewish policy might affect German policy toward Poland.

Lipski tended to exaggerate the effects on German foreign relations of the demonstrations against the Jews in Germany on November 10, 1938. He predicted that a Franco-German declaration of friendship, which had been discussed by Hitler and the French leaders since the preceding month, would never be signed because of the negative French reaction to the anti-Jewish demonstrations. This prediction proved to be false, and Ribbentrop signed the declaration at Paris on December 6, 1938.

Lipski and the other Polish diplomats were influenced in their judgment of this question at the moment by a report which had been telegraphed by Count Jerzy Potocki from Washington, D.C., on November 21, 1938. The Polish Ambassador was informed by William C. Bullitt, the American Ambassador to France who was visiting in the United States, that President Roosevelt was determined to bring America into the next European war. Bullitt explained to Potocki at great length that he enjoyed the special confidence of President Roosevelt. Bullitt predicted that a long war would soon break out in Europe, and "of Germany and her Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, he spoke with extreme vehemence and with bitter hatred." He suggested that the war might last six years, and he advocated that it should be fought to a point where Germany could never recover.

Potocki did not share the enthusiasm of Bullitt and Roosevelt for war and destruction. He asked how such a war might arise, since it seemed exceedingly unlikely that Germany would attack Great Britain or France. Bullitt suggested that a war might break out between Germany and some

other Power, and that the Western Powers would intervene in such a war. Bullitt considered an eventual Soviet-German war inevitable, and he predicted that Germany, after an enervating war in Russia, would capitulate to the Western Powers. He assured Potocki that the United States would participate in this war, if Great Britain and France made the first move. Bullitt inquired about Polish policy, and Potocki replied that Poland would fight rather than permit Germany to tamper with her western frontier. Bullitt, who was strongly proPolish, declared it was his conviction that it would be possible to rely on Poland to stand firmly against Germany.

Potocki incorrectly attributed the belligerent American attitude solely to Jewish influence. He failed to realize that President Roosevelt and his entourage considered World War I to have been a great adventure, and that they were bitter about those Americans who continued to adopt a cynical attitude toward American militarism after President Roosevelt's quarantine speech in 1937. President Roosevelt had been one of the few advocating permanent peacetime military conscription in the United States during the complacent 1920's. Such factors were more than sufficient to prompt Roosevelt to adopt an aggressive attitude toward Germany. He had no strong pro-Jewish feelings; he jokingly said at the 1945 Yalta Conference that he would like to give the Arabian leader, Ibn Saud, five million American Jews. The Jewish issue was mainly a convenient pretext to justify official American hostility toward Germany, and to exploit the typical American sympathy for the under-dog in any situation.

Potocki overestimated the Jewish question because of his own intense prejudices against the Jews, which were shared by the entire Polish leadership. He was highly critical of the American Jews. He believed that Jewish influence on American culture and public opinion, which he regarded as unquestionably preponderant, was producing a rapid decline of intellectual standards in the United States. He reported to Warsaw again and again that American public opinion was merely the product of Jewish machinations.

Though the unresolved issues between Germany and Poland over Danzig and the Corridor begin to come to the fore, in early 1939 the problem of Czechoslovakia — the rump, polyglot state created at Versailles, comprising many central European ethnic populations — continues to dominate European affairs. Hitler backs the aspirations for independence from the Czechs of the Slovaks, the largest minority within the artificial Czech state.

Roosevelt Propagandized by Halifax

Halifax continued to maintain a detached attitude toward the Czech problem, and he secretly circulated rumors both at home and abroad which presented the foreign policy of Hitler in the worst possible light. Hitler would have been condemned by Halifax for anything he did in Czechoslovakia. Had he decided to throw German weight behind the Czechs in an effort to maintain Czech rule over the Slovaks, he would have been denounced for converting the Czech state into a German puppet regime. His decision to support the Slovaks could be denounced as a sinister plot to disrupt the Czecho-Slovak state which the Munich Powers had failed to protect with their guarantee.

The situation is illustrated by the message which Halifax dispatched to President Roosevelt on January 24, 1939. Halifax claimed to have received "a large number of reports from various reliable sources which throw a most disquieting light on Hitler's mood and intentions." He repeated the tactic he had used with Kennedy about Hitler's allegedly fierce hatred of Great Britain. Halifax believed that Hitler had guessed that Great Britain was "the chief obstacle now to the fulfillment of his further ambitions." It was not really necessary for Hitler to do more than read the record of what Halifax and Chamberlain had said at Rome to recognize that Great Britain was

the chief threat to Germany, but it was untrue to suggest that Hitler had modified his goal of Anglo-German cooperation in peace and friendship.

Halifax developed his theme with increasing warmth. He claimed that Hitler had recently planned to establish an independent Ukraine, and that he intended to destroy the Western Powers in a surprise attack before he moved into the East. Not only British intelligence but “highly placed Germans who are anxious to prevent this crime” had furnished evidence of this evil conspiracy. This was a lamentable distortion of what German opposition figures, such as Theo Kordt and Carl Goerdeler, had actually confided to the British during recent months. None of them had suggested that Hitler had the remotest intention of attacking either Great Britain or France.

Roosevelt was informed by Halifax that Hitler might seek to push Italy into war in the Mediterranean to find an excuse to fight. This was the strategy which Halifax himself hoped to adopt by pushing Poland into war with Germany. Halifax added that Hitler planned to invade Holland, and to offer the Dutch East Indies to Japan. He suggested to Roosevelt that Hitler would present an ultimatum to Great Britain, if he could not use Italy as a pawn to provoke a war. Halifax added casually that the British leaders expected a surprise German attack from the air before the ultimatum arrived. He assured Roosevelt that this surprise attack might occur at any time. He claimed that the Germans were mobilizing for this effort at the very moment he was preparing his report.

The British Foreign Secretary reckoned that Roosevelt might have some doubt about these provocative and mendacious claims. He hastened to top one falsehood with another by claiming that an “economic and financial crisis was facing Germany” which would compel the allegedly bankrupt Germans to adopt these desperate measures. He added with false modesty that some of this “may sound fanciful and even fantastic and His Majesty’s Government have no wish to be alarmist.”

Halifax feared that he had not yet made his point. He returned to the charge and emphasized “Hitler’s mental condition, his insensate rage against Great Britain and his megalomania.” He warned Roosevelt that the German underground movement was impotent, and that there would be no revolt in Germany during the initial phase of World War II. He confided that Great Britain was greatly increasing her armament program, and he believed that it was his duty to enlighten Roosevelt about Hitler’s alleged intentions and attitudes “in view of the relations of confidence which exist between our two Governments and the degree to which we have exchanged information hitherto.” Halifax claimed that Chamberlain was contemplating a public warning to Germany prior to Hitler’s annual Reichstag speech on January 30, 1939. This was untrue, but Halifax hoped to goad Roosevelt into making another alarmist and bellicose speech. He suggested that Roosevelt should address a public warning to Germany without delay.

Anthony Eden had been sent to the United States by Halifax, in December 1938, to spread rumors about sinister German plans, and Roosevelt had responded with a provocative and insulting warning to Germany in his message to Congress on January 4, 1939. Halifax hoped that a second performance of this kind would be useful in preparing the basis for the war propaganda with which he hoped to deluge the British public. He did not achieve the desired response to this specific proposal. Secretary of State Hull explained, in what a British diplomat at Washington, D.C., jokingly described as “his most oracular style,” that the Administration was blocked in such efforts at the moment by hostile American public opinion. Halifax was comforted on January 27, 1939, when he was informed officially that “the United States Government had for some time been basing their policy upon the possibility of just such a situation arising as was foreshadowed in your telegram.” This was another way of saying that the New Deal, which had shot the bolt of

its reforms in a futile effort to end the American depression, was counting on the outbreak of a European war.

Halifax learned on January 30, 1939, that leading American “experts” disagreed with a few of the details of his analysis of the Dutch situation. They expected Hitler to mobilize his forces along the Dutch frontier and to demand the surrender of large portions of the Dutch East Indies without firing a shot. The ostensible purpose of this Rooseveltian fantasy would be to “humiliate Great Britain” and to “bribe Japan.” This dispatch was not sent on April Fool’s Day, and it was intended seriously. It enabled Halifax to see that he had pitched his message accurately to the political perspective of Roosevelt, Hull, and their advisers. Anyone in their entourage who did not declare that Hitler was hopelessly insane was virtually ostracized. Roosevelt hoped to have a long discussion with Joseph Stalin at Teheran in 1943 about the alleged insanity of Adolf Hitler. He was disappointed when Stalin abruptly ended this phase of the conversation with the blunt comment that Hitler was not insane. It was like telling the naked Emperor that he was wearing no clothes. It was evident to Stalin that Roosevelt was a clever and unscrupulous politician who lacked the qualities of the statesman.

On January 4, 1939, President Roosevelt tells Congress that U.S. neutrality policy must be re-examined. The next day, Beck and Hitler converse at Berchtesgaden. Hitler stresses German-Polish cooperation, pointing to that of the previous year over the Czechoslovakian crisis (and noting that he would have preferred a settlement in which only Poland, Germany, and Hungary-the countries with ethnic interests within Czechoslovakia -would have participated, rather than the Great Power convocation at Munich). Though quite cordial, the conversations are unproductive in terms of concrete progress toward resolution of the Danzig and Corridor problems. But Hitler at least makes clear his attitude that Danzig would return to Germany sooner or later. Beck hides his strong private aversion to this idea behind a friendly, if reserved, mask. He does reassure Hitler of a dependable (that is: suspicious) Polish attitude toward Russia. Privately, Beck is less interested in preventing a short-range setback or even defeat for Poland than in promoting the ruin of both Germany and Russia. His attitude reflects a Polish mystique arising from World War I: a defeat of Russia by Germany, and of Germany by the Western Powers, would permit a Great Poland to emerge from the ashes of a momentary new Polish defeat.

The Poles Regard America

The Poles also attached great importance to the role of the United States. They knew that American intervention had been decisive in World War 1. They knew that the American President, Franklin Roosevelt, was an ardent interventionist. Roosevelt differed markedly from his predecessor, Herbert Hoover, after whom many streets were named in Poland in gratitude for his post-World War I relief program. Hoover had been favorably impressed by a conversation with Adolf Hitler on March 8, 1938, and he was a leader in the struggle against current American interventionism. The Poles knew that Hoover, who was wrongly accused of being the father of the American economic depression, that began in 1929, had little influence on American policy in 1938. They knew that President Roosevelt was eager to involve the United States in the struggles of distant states in Europe and Asia. American opponents of Roosevelt who opposed his foreign policy were disdainfully labeled isolationists.

The Poles did not trouble themselves about the reasons for President Roosevelt’s interventionism. They were too realistic to assume that he necessarily had any legitimate reasons. They were content to accept the convenient explanation of Count Jerzy Potocki, the Polish Ambassador to the United States. Potocki claimed that President Roosevelt’s foreign policy was the product of Jewish influence. This was untrue, but there was little interest in Poland for an elaborate analysis

of American policy. The surveys sent by the Polish Foreign Office to missions abroad rarely mentioned the American scene. The Poles recognized the importance of the American position, but they were content to leave the problem of promoting American intervention in Europe to their British friends.

Beck discussed the European situation after his return to Warsaw with American Ambassador Anthony Biddle. Biddle reported to the American State Department on January 10, 1939, that Beck was not enthusiastic about his recent trip to Germany. The most he was willing to say about his conversation with Hitler was that it had been “fairly satisfactory,” and that Hitler had promised him that there would be no “surprises.” Beck confided to Biddle that Hitler was disappointed about President Roosevelt’s address to Congress on January 4, 1939, which had been bitterly hostile toward Germany. Biddle noted that Beck was complacent about Anglo-French relations and concerned about current Polish relations with France. Biddle reported that “Beck emphasized that Poland and France must meet at an early date to clarify their joint and respective positions vis-a-vis Germany. They were now both in the same boat and must face realities.” It was evident from the general nature of Beck’s remarks that the official Polish attitude was incompatible with the successful negotiation of an agreement with Germany.

American Ambassador Bullitt in Paris reported on January 30, 1939, that he discussed recent German-Polish negotiations with Juliusz Lukasiewicz, the Polish Ambassador. Lukasiewicz admitted that Danzig and the Corridor transit problems had been discussed. He informed Bullitt that Beck had warned Hitler that Poland might act in Ruthenia. Bullitt also discussed general German policy with Lukasiewicz, French Foreign Minister Bonnet, and British Ambassador Sir Eric Phipps. The three men agreed that Hitler would not deliberately make war on any country in 1939. These views were an interesting contrast to the alarmist reports which Halifax had sent to President Roosevelt a few days earlier.

American Charge d’Affaires Gilbert reported from Berlin on February 3rd that Hitler’s basic policy in the East was friendship with Poland. It seemed certain to Gilbert that Beck would be willing to allow the return of Danzig to Germany in exchange for a 25-year Pact, and for a German guarantee of the Polish Corridor. Gilbert noted that official German circles were quite open in announcing that the reunion of Memel with East Prussia was planned for the Spring of 1939. The Germans believed that the Lithuanians, British, and French would agree to this development without any ill-feeling.

On March 14, 1939, the artificial Czech state disintegrates. The Slovakian parliament proclaims its independence. Hungarian troops enter the Ruthenian region to protect and embrace the ethnic Hungarian population there. The Czechoslovakian president, Emil Hacha, requests an immediate meeting with Hitler. On March 15th, Hacha signs an agreement with Hitler establishing the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia on the former Czech territory. German troops move in that day, and Germany accepts the protection of Slovakian independence. Britain initially accepts the new situation, reasoning that her guarantee of Czechoslovakia given after Munich is rendered invalid by the internal collapse of the Czech state. But on March 17th, Chamberlain — egged on by Halifax and Roosevelt — announces a stunning reversal of British policy: the end of the peace policy ("appeasement") with Germany. From now on Britain will strenuously oppose, even to the point of war, any further territorial moves by Hitler, no matter how justified.

America and the British Policy Reversal

William C. Bullitt, the leading American diplomat in Europe, was pleased by the reversal of British policy in March 1939. He knew that President Roosevelt would welcome any British pre-

text for a war in Europe. Ambassador Bullitt sent a jubilant report from Paris on March 17, 1939, in which he triumphantly concluded that there was no longer any possibility for a peaceful diplomatic settlement of European differences.

Halifax welcomed the enthusiastic support for a change in British policy which he received from the American Government after March 15, 1939. The collapse of Czecho-Slovakia produced a greater immediate outburst of hostility toward Germany in Washington, D.C., than in any other capital of the world. German Charge d'Affaires Thomsen reported to Berlin that a violent press campaign against Germany had been launched throughout the United States. There was much resentment in American New Deal circles when Sir John Simon delivered a speech in the British House of Commons on March 16, 1939, in support of Chamberlain's conciliatory message on the previous day. The Simon speech produced a vigorous American protest in London on March 17, 1939. Halifax replied by promising President Roosevelt that the British leaders were "going to start educating public opinion as best they can to the need of action." This is a different picture from the one presented by Gilbert and Gott [in their book *The Appeasers*] to the effect that "for most men the answer was simple" after the events at Prague on March 15, 1939. Roosevelt warned Halifax that there would be "an increase of anti-British sentiment in the United States" unless Great Britain hastened to adopt an outspokenly anti-German policy.

Roosevelt requested Halifax to withdraw the British Ambassador from Germany permanently. Halifax replied that he was not prepared to go quite that far. British opinion was less ignorant than American opinion about the requirements of diplomacy, and Halifax feared that a rude shock would be produced if the British copied the American practice of permanently withdrawing ambassadors for no adequate reasons. He promised that he would instruct Henderson to return to England for consultation, and he promised that he would prevent the return of the British Ambassador to Germany for a considerable time. He also promised that Chamberlain would deliver a challenging speech in Birmingham on the evening of March 17, 1939, which would herald a complete change in British policy. He assured Roosevelt that Great Britain was prepared at last to intervene actively in the affairs of Central Europe.

Halifax requested President Roosevelt to join Great Britain in showing "the extent to which the moral sense of civilization was outraged by the present rulers of Germany." He knew that this lofty formulation of the issue would appeal to the American President. Roosevelt was satisfied with the response from Halifax. He promised the British Foreign Secretary that he would undermine the American neutrality legislation, which had been adopted by the American Congress, with New Deal approval, in response to pressure from American public opinion. Halifax also received the promise that American Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau would take vigorous new steps in his policy of financial and economic discrimination against Germany. Halifax was greatly encouraged by the support he received from President Roosevelt for his war policy.

Polish Foreign Minister Beck received an assurance from Juliusz Lukasiewicz and William Bullitt on March 19, 1939, that President Roosevelt was prepared to do everything possible to promote a war between the Anglo-French front and Germany. Bullitt admitted that he was still suspicious about British intentions, and he feared that the British might be tempted to compose their differences with Germany at some later date. He promised that any such deviation from a British war policy would encounter energetic resistance from President Roosevelt. Bullitt had received word from Premier Daladier that the British were proposing an Anglo-French territorial guarantee to Rumania, and the American diplomat welcomed this plan.

Bullitt informed the Poles that he knew Germany hoped to acquire Danzig, and that he was counting on Polish willingness to go to war over the Danzig question. He urged Lukasiewicz to

present demands to the West for supplies and other military assistance. Lukasiewicz told Bullitt that Poland would need all the help the West could possibly offer in the event of war. Bullitt said that he hoped Poland could obtain military supplies from the Soviet Union, but Lukasiewicz displayed no enthusiasm for this possibility. He warned Bullitt that it was too early to predict what Position Russia would take in a German-Polish dispute. Bullitt recognized from this remark that Lukasiewicz was assuming that Soviet policy toward Poland would be hostile. It was equally clear that Bullitt recognized the military hopelessness of the Polish position, if the Soviet Union did not aid Poland in a conflict with Germany.

Halifax attempts to create a broad anti-German front by proposing an alliance to include Britain, France, Poland, and the Soviet Union. But the Poles are as distrustful of the Soviets as they are of the Germans, preferring to maintain a maximum independence of Soviet influence and protection from possible future Soviet moves. Nevertheless they continue in a bellicose anti-German attitude-though Germany is the only nation that could possibly offer them realistic protection from the Soviets.

Poland Rejects Halifax's Soviet Alliance Plan

Halifax discussed his alliance project with American Ambassador Kennedy on March 22, 1939, and he complained at great length about the negative attitude of Beck toward an alliance front to include both Poland and the Soviet Union. He intimated that he was resolved to continue his anti-Germany policy, and that hostilities in Europe might be expected fairly soon. He was convinced that the British Navy was more than adequate to cope with German naval forces. He urged Kennedy to request President Roosevelt to concentrate the American fleet at Pearl Harbor, as an appropriate gesture to protect Australia and Singapore from a possible Japanese attack, after the outbreak of war in Europe. Halifax admitted at last that the story of a German threat to Rumania could not be substantiated, but he assured Kennedy that [Rumanian Ambassador] Tilea's statements at London had served a useful purpose.

The moderate attitude of Hitler produced no effect on Beck on the eve of Lipski's return to Berlin. Beck told American Ambassador Biddle an outrageous falsehood about Hitler's policy toward Poland on March 25, 1939, which was a fitting prelude to his later public distortions about German policy. Beck claimed that Hitler had demanded the settlement of the Danzig question by Easter, which was only a few days away. In fact, Hitler had never set a time limit on the duration of his negotiation with Poland. Biddle reported with satisfaction on March 26, 1939, in a terse telegram: "Poland today on war footing having achieved same swiftly but quietly."

It was difficult under these circumstances for Ribbentrop to maintain the impression that peaceful negotiations between Germany and Poland were in progress. The German Foreign Office was receiving a large number of reports from friendly foreign diplomats that the British were making all possible preparations for war against Germany, and it seemed certain at Berlin that Halifax would seek to exploit the bellicose Polish attitude. American Minister Joseph E. Davies reported to Washington, D.C., from Brussels on March 30, 1939, that in Belgium the Chamberlain speech at Birmingham was regarded as a disaster which had reversed the favorable prospects for peace in Europe.

French Ambassador Leon Noel reported to Paris that he had attended a diplomatic dinner on the evening of March 27, 1939, at which Beck, Count Michel Lubinski, and the Polish Chief of Staff, General Stachiewicz, were present. Noel complained that the Polish leaders deliberately avoided any reference to the obviously unsatisfactory recent negotiations with Germany, and that they appeared to be distracted and preoccupied with private problems. Beck was also vague in

his conversations with American Ambassador Anthony Biddle, but he told Biddle on the evening of March 28th that the Polish partial mobilization was “a firm answer to certain suggestions made by Berlin.”

Lukasiewicz informed Beck from Paris that he was continuing to collaborate closely with American Ambassador Bullitt. Lukasiewicz was repeatedly informed by Bullitt of the conversations between the British leaders and American Ambassador Kennedy at London. It was obvious to Lukasiewicz that Bullitt continued to distrust the British. The American Ambassador assured him that the United States would be able to exert sufficient pressure to produce a British mobilization at the peak of the next crisis. Lukasiewicz also suspected that part of this distrust reflected a childish desire on the part of Bullitt to exaggerate the importance of his own role on the European scene.

Polish Ambassador Edward Raczyński reported on March 29, 1939, that the principal fear in Great Britain seemed to be that a German-Polish agreement would be reached despite the Polish partial mobilization. The British were arguing that such an agreement would be especially dangerous because it might lead to the rapid disintegration of Soviet Russia. The Polish Ambassador had learned that American Ambassador Kennedy was personally distressed by the war policy of the British leaders, and by the support for this policy which came from President Roosevelt. Raczyński warned Beck that Kennedy appeared to be privately somewhat out of step with Bullitt in Paris and Anthony Biddle in Warsaw, but that otherwise he was reluctantly carrying out his instructions from President Roosevelt to warn the British that their failure to act would produce dire consequences. Raczyński added that he received repeated requests from the British to reassure them that Poland would not accept the German annexation of Danzig. The Polish diplomat noted that it was difficult to convince the British that Poland was really willing to go to war over the Danzig issue.

American Ambassador Bullitt did what he could to support the Polish position at Paris. Lukasiewicz informed Bullitt on March 24, 1939, that Poland would reject the pro-Soviet alliance plan and press for a bilateral alliance with Great Britain. Bullitt assured Lukasiewicz that the British would agree to such an alliance. The Polish Ambassador admitted that he did not trust the British, and he asserted that the cynical English leaders were quite capable of leading Poland into an untenable position and deserting her. He knew that Bullitt shared this attitude to some extent. Lukasiewicz reminded Bullitt of British participation in the partition of Czechoslovakia in 1938. He feared that Great Britain would offer to support Poland, and then insist on Polish concessions to Germany. He knew that until recently the British leaders had favored Polish concessions to Germany, and he was not certain that there had been a complete change in their attitude.

Bullitt used many arguments to reassure the Polish Ambassador. He declared that he was in complete agreement with every aspect of Beck's stand in the alliance question, and he regarded the creation of a solid Anglo-French-Polish front without the Soviet Union as the best thing which could possibly happen. He claimed that Halifax was not very serious about his Four Power Pact offer, and that it was mainly a gesture to increase British prestige and to appease the French. He said that the British leaders hoped that there would be a war between Germany and Russia, but that they were not eager to make commitments to the Soviet Union.

Bullitt told Lukasiewicz on March 25, 1939, that he had instructed American Ambassador Kennedy at London to tell Chamberlain that the United States was in full sympathy with the Polish position in the alliance question. Bullitt contacted Kennedy again on March 26th. Kennedy was instructed to tell Chamberlain that the United States hoped that Great Britain would go to war with Germany if the Danzig dispute produced an explosion between Germany and Poland.

Bullitt told the Polish Ambassador that he was confident that the British response to these suggestions would be favorable. Halifax, of course, was not displeased to know that he had unconditional official American support for his war policy. Lukasiewicz told Bullitt on March 26, 1939, that Lipski would reject the German proposals at Berlin the same day. He praised Bullitt as “an industrious friend who at many complicated points resolved our situation intensively and profitably.”

On March 22nd, Germany and Lithuania reach an agreement for the return to Germany of the ethnic German Memel district. The next day, Poland orders a partial mobilization. It follows in the last week of March with a boycott campaign against ethnic German businesses, and a declaration that any German-caused change in the international ("Free City") status of Danzig will be regarded as an act of war. Acts of violence against ethnic Germans in Poland increase. Britain announces a doubling in size of the home army. On March 30th, several days before the planned visit of Beck to London, Halifax decides to give a “blank check” guarantee to Poland, supporting it in the event of any action which the Polish government considers a threat to its independence. Chamberlain is to announce the guarantee in the House of Commons on March 31st.

The British Guarantee and America

Halifax had made an epochal decision, and he was impatient to bring his new policy into the open. He decided not to wait until the arrival of Beck in London on April 3, 1939, before assuming a public British commitment to Poland. He wired [British Ambassador to Poland] Kennard on March 30, 1939, that a guarantee to Poland would be announced in the British Parliament on the following day. He added that this guarantee would be binding without commitments from the Polish side. He attempted to place the responsibility for his extraordinary impatience on President Roosevelt. He informed Kennard with a touch of ironical humor that the American Embassy had bombarded him with assertions that Ribbentrop was urging Hitler to invade Poland before the British assumed any commitment. This was a transparent pretext to rationalize a rash policy. It was true that Bullitt at Paris was for immediate British action, but the American diplomats at Berlin hoped that Great Britain would adopt a policy of caution and restraint. American Charge d'Affaires Geist suggested from Berlin that it would be wise for Great Britain to avoid placing obstructions before German eastward expansion. No one could have been more emphatic in deploping a hasty British guarantee to Poland.

Halifax carefully avoided giving the impression that he believed the alleged story about Ribbentrop's aggressive intentions. He did repeat the old argument that President Roosevelt and the United States of America would become hostile to Great Britain if she did not go to war against Germany. The constant reiteration of this theme by Bullitt at Paris was undoubtedly useful to Halifax. It also enabled him to shift part of the responsibility for his various moves to the United States, although in reality President Roosevelt was unable to play an active role in Europe at this stage. The official position of the United States was governed by neutrality legislation from the 1935-1937 period, and it is impossible, regardless of the attitude of Roosevelt, to saddle the United States with the responsibility for the moves which Halifax made. The decision of Halifax to confer an advance guarantee wiped out the hopes of Hitler that personal negotiations between Halifax and Beck would end in disagreement. The friction between the two men was a very real thing when Beck came to London, and it is possible that their negotiation would have ended in failure had it not been for the previous British guarantee.

Beck arrives in London on April 3rd. He accepts the British guarantee, and offers a reciprocal promise of Polish intervention on the side of Britain in the event of war between Britain and Germany. But Halifax wants more: a wide-ranging Polish commitment to go to war with Germany if

Germany attacks Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, or Denmark. Beck balks at this request for what amounts to “permanent intervention,” as at renewed suggestions for a pro-Soviet alliance against Germany. The British leaders suggest that Beck transform the Polish-Rumanian alliance (an anti-Soviet pact in effect) into an anti-German pact. Beck refuses to ignore the dangers from the Soviet Union to Poland and her neighbors' Eastern borders, and rejects this proposal.

The British Propagandize Beck

The British leaders did not like Beck's response. They wished him to think exclusively in terms of destroying Germany, and to forget other considerations. In other words, they wished his thinking to be more similar to that of President Roosevelt in the United States. They began to employ the same propaganda methods on Beck which they used with Roosevelt. They began to suggest a number of hypothetical situations with their usual formula of saying “this may sound fantastic, but” what would you do in such and such a case. Beck put a stop to this by declaring bluntly that “it was against the tradition of the Polish Government to express definite opinions about third countries without directly consulting them.”

Chamberlain switched from hypothetical fantasies to rumors, and he declared that he had heard Germany was planning a sudden invasion of Hungary. Beck did not like this English style of rumor-mongering. He was convinced that this assertion of alleged German designs against Hungary was entirely false. He wished that the British leaders would desist from their efforts to alarm him in this way. He assured the British leaders with studied emphasis that he was entirely convinced Germany was not planning any political action outside her present frontiers except at Danzig. This was an effective method of reminding them that Poland was indispensable to their plan of launching a British preventive war against Germany.

Theo Kordt of the German Embassy in London was able to telegraph information to Berlin on April 5, 1939, about the principal topics which had been discussed between Beck and the British leaders. Chamberlain admitted in the House of Commons on the following day that there had been no attempt to limit what might constitute a threat to Polish independence. The final word on this matter was left entirely to the Poles. Beck admitted to American Ambassador Kennedy before he left London that the British leaders had complained about the allegedly uncooperative Polish attitude. He also claimed that he had been able to diminish this dissatisfaction somewhat in the last conversations. Beck referred cleverly to his “old friend America” and his “new friend Britain.” He confided to Kennedy that he was “more than happy” to have the British blank check. He assured the American Ambassador that he did “not want to be the direct cause of plunging the world into war.” This was encouraging, but Beck deprived the statement of any real meaning by admitting that he had no concrete plan to preserve the peace. Indeed, it may be safely assumed that Beck's statement to Kennedy was entirely for the record.

Kennedy talked with Halifax on April 6th. The British Foreign Secretary admitted that Beck was definitely opposed to a RussoPolish understanding. Halifax believed that he deserved a vacation after the work of the past three weeks. He told Kennedy that Chamberlain was leaving for Scotland on the evening of April 6th, and that he was going home to Yorkshire the following morning. The Poles had their blank check, and a separate British approach to Russia would be the next step. The general European situation was discussed, and Halifax privately admitted to Kennedy that neither Hitler nor Mussolini wanted war.

Roosevelt's Policy and Beck

Bullitt was delighted at the opportunity to greet Beck on his return from England to the continent. He knew that this privilege resulted from the fact that he “was a strong admirer of the policy of Minister Beck” and enjoyed “friendly relations” with him. Bullitt discussed Roosevelt’s policy with Beck at some length. He claimed that he and Roosevelt were much dissatisfied with both English and American public opinion at this point. Beck expressed mild surprise at this remark as far as England was concerned, and he indicated that he was satisfied with the atmosphere which he had encountered in England. He was quite unperturbed that a formal Anglo-Polish alliance had not been negotiated, and he observed with satisfied irony that it would require much delicacy and discretion on the part of Chamberlain to handle the guarantee agreement other than by the standards of a normal alliance. Beck did not believe that the British Prime Minister possessed either delicacy or discretion. Beck observed, with a knowing smile to his listeners, that Chamberlain had said he was glad Poland had come instantly to an agreement with England. This amused Beck, because Poland had been waiting over a considerable period for the English offer of an agreement.

Beck admitted that Halifax had sought to entangle him with obligations to Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and Switzerland, but he did not attach serious importance to this fact. He was more interested in speculating about the German response to his visit to England and to his acceptance of the British guarantee. He declared that the alliance with England (*sojusz z Anglia*) had dealt a real blow to Hitler’s plans for a German-Polish agreement. He believed that British approval of Polish aspirations at Danzig had buttressed the Polish cause there as never before. A main topic of speculation was whether Hitler would respond to the British guarantee by denouncing the 1934 Pact with Poland.

Bullitt took his leave from Beck at Lille and returned to Paris. He sent an exuberant report to Washington, D.C., at 11:00 p.m. on April 7, 1939. He informed Roosevelt and Hull that Beck was immensely pleased by recent developments in England, and that the degree of understanding which had been achieved was quite adequate to fill Polish needs. Beck had said that he knew that Hitler would be furious. Bullitt also added with obvious satisfaction that Beck had described Ribbentrop as a “dangerous imbecile.”

Poland's Use of the British Guarantee

It was likely that the Poles would seek to provoke Germany into attacking them. Unlike Germany, they could not expect to achieve any of their objectives in a major war through their own efforts. Their hope of ultimate victory rested with distant foreign powers. The Polish leaders were far more enthusiastic about a German-Polish war than Hitler ever was, but considerations of high policy suggested the wisdom of a role which was at least passive in appearance.

Poland was counting on the support of Halifax for the realization of her program at the expense of both Germany and Russia. It was conceivable that Halifax could lead Great Britain into a war which began with a surprise Polish invasion of Germany, but the Polish leaders knew that France and the United States were also of decisive importance to British policy. The Poles knew that Halifax would never support Poland unless he could drag France into war. This policy was dictated by the simple fact that Halifax did not believe Great Britain could win a war against Germany without the participation of France. The Poles also knew that it would be difficult for President Roosevelt to arouse the American people against Germany unless it was possible to maintain that Poland was the innocent victim of German aggression.

Polish provocation of Germany after March 31, 1939, was frequent and extreme, and Hitler soon had more than a sufficient justification to go to war with Poland on the basis of traditional prac-

tices among the nations. Nevertheless, Hitler could not justify German action, unless he believed that he was prepared to meet the consequences. He hoped to avoid war with Great Britain, and he knew that he would run a grave risk of an AngloGerman war if he invaded Poland. It was for this reason that German-Polish relations became progressively worse over a long period before they produced a conflict. Hitler, who was usually very prompt and decisive in conducting German policy, showed considerable indecision before he finally decided to act, and to face the consequences. He did not abandon his hope for a negotiated settlement with Poland until he realized that the outlook for such a settlement was completely hopeless.

French Foreign Minister Bonnet is not as enthused as his allies the British over the guarantee to Poland. Learning that Marshal Smigly-Rydz, the commander-in-chief of Poland's armed forces, expressed delight at the guarantee, he fears Polish cockiness and foolhardiness now that Britain, dragging along France, stands unconditionally behind Poland whatever Poland does. Bonnet continues to desire a Western/Polish accommodation with the Soviets, fearing that a Western guarantee alone will not be enough to stop any Hitler moves for Danzig and the Corridor. All this is communicated to the Polish ambassador at Paris, Lukasiewicz. Marshal Smigly-Rydz proclaims with satisfaction to assembled Polish diplomats that an immediate war with Germany is quite possible, and that such a war would mean the end of Germany.

Bullitt, the French, and the Americans

Lukasiewicz was less sanguine than Smigly-Rydz about the position of the Western Powers following the British guarantee. He discussed the situation with American Ambassador Bullitt on April 9, 1939. He said that he hoped France would attack Germany from Belgium in the event of war, but he was pessimistic about the future course of French policy. Bullitt and Lukasiewicz also discussed their recent meeting with Beck. The American Ambassador told Lukasiewicz that he had given President Roosevelt extensive information about Beck's analysis of the situation. Beck had claimed that basically Hitler was a timid Austrian who might be expected to avoid a war against determined and strong opponents. He said that "it should be obvious now to Hitler that threats to Poland would get Germany nowhere." These exuberant remarks seemed less convincing to Lukasiewicz after his conversation on the previous day with Bonnet.

Bullitt was dissatisfied with the attitude of the French leaders, and he was inclined to blame what he considered the unwarranted complacency of American public opinion. He complained to President Roosevelt in a report on April 10, 1939, that the American public was not aware of the alleged direct threat to the United States from Germany, Italy, and Japan. He hoped that Roosevelt could do something to arouse the American people. His complaint was the decisive factor in persuading President Roosevelt to deliver sensational and insulting public notes to Mussolini and Hitler on April 15, 1939, after the Anglo-French guarantees to Rumania and Greece. Bullitt complained that [French Premiere] Daladier was unresponsive to the attempt of Lukasiewicz to secure the same blank check from France which had been presented to Poland by England. Kennedy reported to Roosevelt from London on April 11, 1939, that Halifax was still pretending to entertain an idealistic hope for peace. Kennedy naturally supposed that it might be worthwhile for the British Foreign Secretary to announce to the world that peace was still possible, but Halifax claimed that to do so would convince everyone that he was "burying his head in the sand." These remarks illustrate the method by which Halifax sought to convince people that he was merely the prisoner of larger events.

The Roosevelt Telegrams to Hitler and Mussolini

President Roosevelt was doing everything in his power to increase alarmist sentiment in the United States. He announced at Warm Springs, Georgia, on April 9th that he might not return for his annual autumn health cure, because it was quite possible that the United States and the European countries would be involved with the problems of a major European war by that time. Fortunately, much of the reaction to this statement in the United States was extremely hostile, and many foreign observers concluded that this was merely an expression of wishful thinking on the part of the American president.

The British expected some lively developments at Danzig after their guarantee to the Poles. They did not realize that Hitler had ordered the Danzig authorities to go to extreme lengths in seeking to conciliate the Poles. British Ambassador Kennard heard on April 12, 1939, that Lipski had returned to Warsaw from Berlin. He suspected that this might indicate some new developments of major importance in the Danzig question. He asked Beck for the latest news about Danzig, but he was told that nothing had changed.

The quiet at Danzig began to annoy Kennard. He called at the Polish Foreign Office ten days later to insist that Great Britain was "entitled" to receive information about any new steps at Danzig. He noted that the Germans were blaming Great Britain for the deadlock at Danzig, and he claimed that the British were "somewhat anxious" about the situation. Kennard was told once again that there was nothing to report. The Germans had requested the return of Danzig and a transit corridor to East Prussia. The Polish diplomats believed that the Germans expected Lipski to appear some day with "proposals of a detailed nature." Kennard was not told whether or not such proposals would actually be presented to the Germans by Poland.

The evasive vagueness at the Polish Foreign Office irritated Kennard. He complained to Halifax, and he noted with malicious satisfaction that there were objections to Beck in Polish financial circles. It was known in Poland that Beck had said nothing about British economic assistance during his visit to London. He had proudly emphasized Poland's alleged preparedness and strength. The Polish financiers regarded this as an unpardonable and expensive blunder.

Beck was waiting impatiently for Hitler's response to Polish acceptance of the British guarantee. He wondered if Hitler would abrogate the 1934 Pact, which Poland had violated by accepting the guarantee. He did not realize that Hitler had no intention of increasing Poland's sense of self-importance by devoting a special public message to this matter. Hitler knew that the repudiation of the Pact would be a step of major importance which could scarcely be confined to an official communique and a few reports in the newspapers. This problem was unexpectedly resolved for Hitler by President Roosevelt. The American President responded to Bullitt's suggestion for an important move to influence American public opinion by committing a colossal diplomatic blunder, which played directly into Hitler's hands.

Roosevelt disclosed to the American public on April 14, 1939, the contents of telegrams to Mussolini and Hitler which were received in Rome and Berlin on the following day. Roosevelt sought to create the impression that Germany and Italy were exclusively responsible for every threat to European peace. He presented himself as an unselfish peacemaker, who had expended much thought and energy to devise a plan to remove the danger of war. This peace plan required Germany and Italy to declare that they would abstain from war under any and all circumstances for ten to twenty-five years, and to conclude nonaggression pacts with a large number of states, of which several had no independent existence other than in the imagination of the American President.

The Roosevelt message met with a vigorous response in the German press. The German journalists wondered if the United States would agree not to attack Haiti or Santo Domingo within the next twenty-five years. Joseph Goebbels addressed three questions to the American public on April 17, 1939. He wondered if they recognized that Roosevelt was similar to Woodrow Wilson in his desire to promote a permanent policy of American intervention throughout the world. He asked if the American people recognized that Roosevelt's recent message was a new maneuver to destroy the American neutrality laws, rather than to promote world peace. He inquired if they realized that Roosevelt had advocated a common American front with Bolshevism since his Chicago Quarantine speech in October 1937. The German press announced on April 17th that Hitler would answer President Roosevelt for the German people in a speech to the German Reichstag on April 28, 1939. This step had been agreed upon by Hitler and Ribbentrop in a special conference on the previous day.

Hitler was presented with an opportunity to deal with the Poles as a secondary factor in a general situation. He planned to devote the greater part of his message on the Pact with Poland to a careful criticism of the American President and to a criticism of English policy. He also intended to abrogate the 1935 Anglo-German naval treaty. Hitler ordered the German press to abstain from criticizing the Poles during the period before he delivered his speech.

Marshal Göring was on a visit to Italy from April 14th until April 16, 1939. He had instructions from Hitler to discuss the total context of Italo-German relations. Ribbentrop was somewhat uneasy about the Göring official mission at this crucial stage when he was seeking to promote an Italo-German alliance. He was relieved to learn later that the Göring mission was completely successful.

Göring discussed the Roosevelt telegrams with Mussolini and Ciano on April 16, 1939. He told Mussolini that it was difficult to avoid the impression that the American President was mentally ill. Mussolini criticized the factual text of the telegrams. It was ridiculous to request Germany and Italy to conclude non-aggression pacts with Palestine and Syria, which were British and French mandates rather than independent states. Mussolini was interested in improving Anglo-Italian relations, and he elected to react publicly to the American challenge in a minor key. A brief initial expression of indignation was followed by Mussolini's speech at Rome on April 29, 1939. The Italian leader merely denounced the alarmists who sought to disturb international relations, and he emphasized that Italy was peacefully preparing for the International Exposition in Rome scheduled for 1942. The privilege of delivering a detailed reply to the American President was left entirely to Hitler.

The difficult situation between Germany and Poland was a touchy subject in the conversations between Göring and the Italian leaders. Göring did not attempt to minimize the seriousness of the situation, and he complained that "England had deviated from her old line ... (and) now obliged herself in advance to render support (to Poland, Rumania, and Greece), and that under conditions which could be determined by the other partner." Mussolini declared that in the existing dangerous situation it was important for the Axis Powers to revert to passive policies for an indefinite period. This seemed to be the only way to cope with the warlike attitude of the British Government. Göring hoped that it would be possible to settle German differences with Poland by peaceful negotiation, and he predicted that Roosevelt would have little chance for re-election in 1940 if the basic European situation remained unchanged. He admitted that an increase in provocative Polish measures against Germany might force German action against Poland. It was evident that the problem of Poland had become the problem of Europe at this hour.

Ribbentrop was encouraged by the Göring visit to press for a separate Italo-German alliance. The first official discussion of such an alliance took place in May 1938, when Hitler visited Italy. The original plan was to extend the anti-Comintern Pact into an alliance by including the Japanese. It became increasingly evident as time went on that the Japanese were unwilling to proceed this far. The Japanese feared that such an alliance might involve them in difficulties with Great Britain at a time when they were seriously committed in China. The German and Italian attempts to mediate between Japan and Nationalist China in 1938 were unsuccessful. Ribbentrop telephoned a last special appeal to the Japanese for an alliance on April 26, 1939, by way of German Ambassador Ott in Tokio. The reply to this appeal was negative as expected, and Ribbentrop proceeded to concentrate his efforts on a separate Pact with the Italians. He knew that this was a difficult project, because many Italians doubted the wisdom of an alliance connection with Germany. He also knew that the Italian leaders might seek to impose reservations which would deprive the alliance of its full effect.

The Roosevelt message of April 15, 1939, was helpful to Ribbentrop in improving German contacts with a number of countries. Ribbentrop also had the satisfaction of knowing that the British were not pleased by the crudeness of the Roosevelt telegrams. Sir George Ogilvie-Forbes, the British Charge d'Affaires in Berlin, declared quite candidly at the German Foreign Office on April 17, 1939, that the British regarded Roosevelt's messages as "a clumsy piece of diplomacy." Bullitt at Paris attempted to appease Roosevelt by placing the unsavory situation in a positive light. He claimed that Daladier had been "encouraged" by the latest move of the American President.

Ribbentrop dispatched instructions on April 17, 1939, to the German envoys in the countries named by President Roosevelt, with the exceptions of Great Britain and France and their possessions, and Poland and Russia. The envoys were to inquire if these countries believed themselves threatened, and if their Governments had authorized President Roosevelt's plan. The German Government knew that they would receive negative answers to both questions, but in coping with Roosevelt they required explicit confirmation of these assumptions.

The British were actively pursuing their policy against Germany in the period of the Roosevelt messages. Polish Ambassador Potworowski reported to Beck from Stockholm on April 15, 1939, that the British were putting pressure on Sweden to join them in blockading Germany during a future war. The Swedes resented the British attempt to dictate their policy, but it was evident to Beck that England was preparing her future blockade of Germany with single-minded energy. Halifax was employing sphinxlike silence as a weapon against his critics in the British House of Commons. He ignored charges that Poland and Rumania would never permit Soviet troops to operate on their territory, and that the guarantees extended to those countries rendered impossible a treaty with Russia. Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs Rab Butler refused to reply to a direct question on April 18, 1939, about the role of Danzig in the British guarantee to Poland. Only one speaker in the House of Commons contended that Poland and Rumania alone had sufficient troops to cope successfully with the Germans. The House as a whole found it quite impossible to accept such a contention.

Hitler's Reply to Roosevelt of April 28, 1939

British Ambassador Henderson appeared rather pessimistic when he called at the German Foreign Office on April 27, 1939. He had returned to Berlin the previous day, after having been compelled to remain forty days in England at the insistence of Halifax, who had waited until April 20, 1939, before announcing in the House of Lords that Henderson would soon return to Germany. Henderson admitted to [German State Secretary] Weizsaecker that he had suffered a

great loss of prestige at the British Foreign Office. The reaction there toward the reports he had sent home before the March 1939 Czech crisis was distinctly negative. He complained that the task of defending recent German policy had been rendered difficult by Hitler's various earlier statements that he did not intend to seize purely Czech-populated territory. This situation was not changed by Hitler's willingness to negotiate about the current situation at Prague, because the British Government was unwilling to do so. Weizsaecker complained about the British guarantee to Poland, and he declared that it was "the means most calculated to encourage Polish subordinate authorities in their oppression of Germans there. Consequently it did not prevent, but on the contrary, provoked incidents in that country." Henderson submitted a formal statement about the British announcement of April 26, 1939, that peacetime military conscription had been established in Great Britain. The French leaders had requested the British to take this step as early as April 1938, and the German leaders had recognized for some time that the British were planning to introduce formal conscription to supplement the 1938 National Service Act. Weizsaecker told Henderson that the British note would receive formal acknowledgement, but that nothing would be done before Hitler's speech on the following day. He told Henderson that the text of Hitler's speech had gone to press. The printed text of the speech was delivered to the Diplomatic Corps in Berlin before Hitler addressed the Reichstag.

Hitler had received considerable American advice for the preparation of his speech. Some of this had reached him by way of the American press, and the rest by means of private communication to the German Embassy in Washington, D.C. The German Government was especially grateful for the suggestion of General Hugh Johnson, who had administered the National Recovery Act for President Roosevelt. Hitler had received through Hans Thomsen, the German Charge d'Affaires in Washington, D.C., the detailed suggestions of General Johnson on April 24, 1939. Hans Dieckhoff, the last German Ambassador to the United States, had also made a number of suggestions. Dieckhoff worked at the German Foreign Office in Berlin after his permanent return from the United States in November 1938. He made no secret, in his conversations with the Diplomatic Corps in Berlin, about his fear of American intervention in the event of a new European war, and he expressed this concern in his suggestions to Hitler on April 25, 1939. He was convinced that President Roosevelt intended to invade Europe with powerful American forces in the course of any future war, and he added: "I do not believe that there are elements in the USA which have courage enough or are strong enough to prevent this." Hitler was impressed by this warning, but he continued to hope for American neutrality in any possible future European conflict.

The German Foreign Office on April 27, 1939, completed the preparation of notes to be delivered at noon on April 28th in London and Warsaw. The notes announced German abrogation of the 1934 non-aggression Pact with Poland and of the 1935 Anglo-German Naval Pact. The note to the Poles, which contained a review of recent German-Polish difficulties, was more than twice the length of the note to London.

Kennard surveyed the Polish scene for Halifax on April 26, 1939. He claimed that Poland might have fought Germany without British support, but he assured Halifax that the Poles after they received the British guarantee believed it was "absolutely fundamental" to fight Germany. The German note announcing the abrogation of the 1934 Pact with Poland was delivered at Warsaw early on the morning of April 28, 1939. Beck's immediate reaction was one of unbridled scorn. He noted that the Germans still envisaged the possibility of negotiation with Poland. He declared to his subordinates that Hitler was seeking to solve his problems by diplomacy, and he vowed that he would not permit Poland to be imposed upon in this way. Beck had anticipated Hitler's address on April 28th by persuading the Polish military authorities to declare a state of alert and danger of war for the Polish Navy based at Gdynia.

French Ambassador Coulondre at Berlin discussed the situation with Lipski. The French Ambassador complained that the European scene was very confused, and that this was due in no small measure to the fact that the British in their diplomacy rushed abruptly from one extreme to another. Lipski described in detail the German offer for a settlement which Poland had rejected. Coulondre and Lipski agreed that the German offer was remarkably generous. Coulondre hoped to discover the true motive for Polish policy, but the Polish Ambassador merely mentioned that it was the avowed purpose of the Polish leaders never to be dependent on either Moscow or Berlin.

The day of Hitler's greatest oratorical performance had arrived. The German Reichstag assembled on the morning of April 28, 1939, under the presidency of Marshal Hermann Göring. It received a good-humored speech from Hitler, which American Charge d'Affaires Geist described as his "lighter vein of oratory." The Reichstag reciprocated this mood, and Geist noted that many of Hitler's remarks were received with "malicious laughter." The laughter seemed malicious to Geist because it was at the expense of the American President.

Hitler carefully left the door of negotiation open toward both Great Britain and Poland. He made it clear that he intended to remain moderate in his future negotiations with these two states. He began his remarks by referring briefly to Roosevelt's telegram. He explained the German disillusionment in council diplomacy, which was the inevitable heritage of the deceitful mistreatment of Germany at Versailles. He had a formula which enabled Germany to participate in all negotiations with renewed confidence. The formula was a healthy determination to protect German national security. Hitler admitted that he did not believe Germany ever should negotiate again when she was helpless.

He analyzed and explained many of his principal domestic and foreign policies from 1933 until the German occupation of Prague in March 1939. He treated the prelude to the occupation of Prague at great length. He pointed out that deviations from the Munich conference program began at an early date. The Czechs and Hungarians in October 1938 appealed solely to Germany and Italy to mediate in their dispute, although at Munich it had been decided that mediation was the obligation of the Four Powers.

Hitler placed special emphasis in the latter part of his speech on the failure of the United States to emerge from the world economic depression under Rooseveltian leadership. He announced that Germany was responding to Roosevelt's initiative of April 15, 1939, by proceeding to conclude non-aggression pacts with a number of neighboring states. But he ridiculed the idea of non-aggression pacts with states on different continents, or with so-called states which actually did not enjoy independence. Ridicule was Hitler's chief weapon, next to facts and statistics, in his reply to Roosevelt. He had been genuinely amused by Roosevelt's telegram, and he succeeded in avoiding the impression that he was personally angry with the American President. Hitler made it appear that Roosevelt's constant efforts to provoke him had been mere slaps at the water of the vast Atlantic ocean which separated the two countries.

The German Chancellor paid glowing compliments to the British Empire, and he stressed his desire for permanent Anglo-German friendship. He revealed that he had decided with reluctance to abrogate the Anglo-German Naval Pact. He suggested that British resentment toward recent German foreign policy successes might have prompted the British leaders to select Poland as an obstacle to place against Germany.

Hitler devoted less than a tenth of his speech to Poland. He explained that he respected Polish maritime interests, and that this had prompted him to proceed with extreme moderation in the Corridor question. He praised Marshal Pilsudski for his desire to improve German-Polish rela-

tions. Hitler explained that in 1934 the two states had renounced war as an instrument of national policy in their relations. This was in accord with the terms of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928. The pact had recognized one significant exception to this declaration on behalf of Poland. The Poles were allowed to maintain military obligations to France which were directed exclusively against Germany.

Hitler mentioned the many important questions which had not been settled either by the 1934 Pact or by his own efforts for a more comprehensive German-Polish agreement. He described in detail all the points of his offer for a general settlement with Poland. He declared that the Polish counter-proposals offered no basis for an agreement. They envisaged no change in the existing unsatisfactory situation with the exception of the suggestion to replace League authority at Danzig with a German-Polish guarantee. The German Chancellor regretted Poland's decision to call up troops against Germany, and to reject the German offer. He deplored Polish acceptance of the British guarantee. He announced that Germany was no longer willing to offer her October 1938 proposals as the basis for a settlement of differences with Poland. He explained that he was abrogating the 1934 Pact with Poland, which he had offered to extend for twenty-five years, because the Poles had violated it by accepting the British guarantee. He remarked that no non-aggression pact could survive a unilateral departure from its provisions by one of the contracting parties.

Hitler declared that the abrogation of the Pact did not mean that Germany would refuse to assume new contractual obligations toward Poland. He insisted that, on the contrary, "I can but welcome such an idea, provided, of course, that there arrangements are based, on an absolutely clear obligation binding both parties in equal measure." Hitler avoided treating the Polish issue as the climax of his remarks. The principal theme throughout the speech was his reply to President Roosevelt, which he sub-divided into twenty-one principal points. He created the impression that such momentous decisions as the repudiation of important pacts with Great Britain and Poland were an anticlimax compared to his debate with the American President.

The immediate reaction to Hitler's speech in Poland was hostile, although French Ambassador Noel observed that Hitler was pressing for negotiations rather than closing the door. The Polish Government announced that Beck soon would reply to Hitler in the Polish Sejm. *Polski Zbrojna* (The Polish Army) described Hitler's abrogation of the 1934 Pact as a tactical blunder. One Polish editor claimed that Hitler's speech gave the Polish press a moral basis to attack Germany without restraint. Wild rumors accompanied Hitler's announcement of his proposals to Poland. It was claimed in Warsaw that the Germans had demanded a superhighway corridor through Polish West Prussia over fifteen miles in width instead of the actual 5/8 mile. The *Gazeta Polska* claimed that Poland would have to go further in Danzig than she had done in the past. One million Polish soldiers under arms by the beginning of summer was considered a minimum necessity. The *Dziennik Narodowy* (National Daily), a National Democratic paper, asked whether or not Danzig really wished to return to the Reich. It was suggested that possibly a handful of Nazis in the Free City were making all the noise. A rumor circulated that Poland had decided to establish a protectorate in Danzig based on the model of Bohemia-Moravia. The *Kurjer Warszawski* (Warsaw Courier) expressed the general sentiment that Hitler would not ask anything of Poland if he were really a generous person.

This time the German press retaliated. Joseph Goebbels had received permission to unshackle the press after the Reichstag speech. It was hoped that the German press, and an aroused German public opinion, would be effective weapons in inducing the Poles to negotiate under the less friendly circumstances which prevailed after the British guarantee. Goebbels himself began the campaign in *Der Angriff* (The Assault) with a commentary on the Polish press, entitled: "Do they

know what they are doing?" The article was studded with citations, and its main thesis was that irresponsible Polish journalists were violating the precepts of Pilsudski. Hans Fritzsche, who was one of Goebbels' chief assistants in the newspaper campaign, later recalled that "each larger German newspaper had for quite some time an abundance of material on complaints of the Germans in Poland without the editors having had a chance to use this material." When the restrictions were removed, "their material now came forth with a bound."

American Ambassador Bullitt at Paris refrained from reporting the reactions of Daladier and Bonnet to Hitler's speech, but he claimed that Secretary-General Alexis Leger at the French Foreign Office had denounced Hitler's oratory in sharp terms. The German Embassy in Paris reported on April 29, 1939, that the moderate tone of Hitler's speech had produced a reassuring effect on the French leaders. Charge d'Affaires Theo Kordt also reported from London that Hitler's speech had produced a conciliatory effect in England. American Ambassador Biddle at Warsaw submitted a report to Washington, D.C., on April 28, 1939, which contained a tortuous attempt to square the circle in the face of Hitler's logic, and to support the Polish stand against Germany. German Charge d'Affaires Thomsen reported the American press reaction to Hitler's speech on April 29, 1939. He expressed his personal fear that the Western countries would make an irresistible effort to produce a new World War out of the Danzig-Corridor problem. President Roosevelt read the English translation of Hitler's speech on April 28, 1939. Hitler's ridicule threw Roosevelt into a violent rage and produced undying hatred of Hitler personally. This personal factor was added to the other motives which prompted Roosevelt to desire the destruction of Germany. Roosevelt had been doing everything possible to promote war in Europe before Hitler's speech. Now his personal hatred of Hitler might cause him to make some mistake even more foolish than the telegrams of April 15, 1939, to Hitler and Mussolini. He did not have the support of the American public for his war policy, and it was possible that a few more blunders might lead to the total failure of his policy.

Throughout the late Spring and into the Summer of 1939, relations between Poland and Germany worsen, as Beck-with the reassurance of the British guarantee behind him-remains adamant in not negotiating with Germany over the Danzig and Corridor questions. Militarist and expansionist sentiment runs high in Poland; prominent Polish newspapers print maps claiming that large slices of German territory in fact belong to Poland ethnically and historically. Incidents of terror against the German minority in Poland increase. German schools in Poland are closed on a large scale. Germany appeals to Poland to stop the wave of terror and violence within its borders, to no avail.

Potocki Urges a Change in Polish Policy

The Germans were forced to conclude that attempts to arouse sympathy for the German minority in the West or to exert indirect pressure on Poland were ineffective. The only alternatives were direct intervention or passive acquiescence in the final elimination of the German minority. There were many indications that hostility toward Germany was increasing simultaneously in Great Britain and the United States. Charge d'Affaires Thomsen sent word from Washington, D.C., on May 17, 1939, that President Roosevelt had told the Senate Military Affairs Committee that it would be a very good thing if both Hitler and Mussolini were assassinated. The situation in France was less unpromising. Ambassador Welczeck reported on May 20th that French Foreign Minister Bonnet had assured him on the previous day that he maintained his firm belief in the advantages of Franco-German cooperation. Bonnet declared that he was not folding his hands in his lap, and that he was working actively on a plan to preserve the peace. Official circles in the United States and Great Britain were more or less in step with Polish fanaticism, whereas France was obviously reluctant to go along with it.

Beck was faced at this time with several pleas from Polish diplomats for an understanding with Germany. Polish Ambassador Jerzy Potocki, who was on leave from the United States, discussed the situation with Beck at the Polish Foreign Office on July 6, 1939. He told Beck that he had returned to Poland with the express purpose of proposing a change in Polish policy. He complained that the United States and England were suffering from a severe war psychosis. There had been wild rumors on the ship which brought him to Europe that the Germans had occupied Danzig. He insisted that the Jews, the leading capitalists, and the armament manufacturers of the West were united in a solid front for war. They were delighted to find their pretext in the Danzig issue and in Poland's defiant attitude. Potocki added that the most repulsive factor was their complete and cold indifference to the destruction of Poland.

Potocki insisted that the Poles were merely negro slaves in the opinion of the Western profiteers. They were expected to work without receiving anything in return. He sought to appeal to Beck's vanity by claiming that the Polish Foreign Minister was the only man they feared in Poland. He argued that the United States, despite Roosevelt's fever for intervention in Europe, were actually concentrating their own imperialist drive on Latin America. He assured Beck that it would be sheer illusion to expect the United States to intervene in Europe on behalf of Poland. Potocki was forced to conclude that his eloquent arguments produced no effect on the Polish Foreign Minister.

Polish Ambassador Sokolnicki at Ankara supported Potocki in this effort. He was a close friend of Jan Szembek, and it was evident to Potocki and Sokolnicki that Szembek would accept their position if he were Polish Foreign Minister. It seemed likely, too, that Pilsudski would have rejected the Beck policy had he been alive. Sokolnicki confided to German Ambassador Papen at Ankara on July 14, 1939, that he would like to see a negotiated settlement between Germany and Poland before the Jews and the Free Masons had convinced the world that a catastrophic conflict was inevitable. The Polish diplomat added that he would be pleased to see the Anglo-Soviet alliance negotiations end in failure as soon as possible.

The American diplomats in Europe continued to oppose peace and urge war. Bullitt was disgusted with the failure of Bonnet to encourage Poland with a blank check at Danzig. He continued to warn Roosevelt that the French Foreign Minister was working for peace. Bullitt was delighted at times to find that Bonnet was pessimistic about the chances for peace. He reported with satisfaction on June 28, 1939, that Bonnet could see no way out for Hitler other than war. Biddle at Warsaw gave uncritical support to Polish policy at Danzig. He claimed in a report on July 12, 1939, that Viktor Boettcher, the unofficial Danzig foreign minister and a close personal friend of [League High Commissioner at Danzig] Burckhardt, had become openly aggressive and was no longer a "repressed imperialist." Biddle failed to explain why a man who desired the reunion of his native city with his native country, according to the wishes of the vast majority of both parties, was an imperialist.

By the beginning of August, tensions between Germany and Poland are at the boiling point. The anti-German incidents have continued unabated. Thousands of ethnic German refugees flee Poland and are sheltered by Germany. Marshal Smigly-Rydz is more bellicose than ever. The Polish government engages in provocations and takes economic reprisals at Danzig. On August 4th, a Polish ultimatum is presented to the Danzig Senate, notifying it that the frontiers of Danzig will be closed to the importation of all foreign food products unless the Danzig government promises that it will not interfere with the activities of Polish customs inspectors. Since the Danzig populace depends in the main on food from the outside to survive, this is a formidable threat. Germany is outraged.

Roosevelt Responds to the Crisis of Early August

American Ambassador Bullitt at Paris informed President Roosevelt on August 3, 1939, that Beck was predicting that an intense and decisive phase of the crisis between Germany and Poland might occur before August 15, 1939. President Roosevelt knew that Poland was obviously to blame for the crisis which began at Danzig on August 4th, and he was alarmed at the prospect that the American public might learn the truth about the situation. This could be a decisive factor in discouraging his program for American military intervention in Europe. He instructed Under-Secretary Sumner Welles on August 11, 1939, to order American Ambassador Biddle to advise the Poles about this problem. President Roosevelt urged the Poles to be more clever in making it appear that German moves were responsible for any inevitable explosion at Danzig.

The response of Beck to American intervention was not encouraging. Biddle reported to President Roosevelt, at midnight on August 11th, that the Polish Government had decided that there could be absolutely no concessions to Germany. Beck was obviously unwilling to engage in a series of elaborate but empty maneuvers which might have been useful in deceiving the American public. Beck wished the American President to know that he was content at the moment to have full British support for his policy. Beck showed Biddle a report from Polish Ambassador Raczynski at London on August 13, 1939. The report contained the explicit approval of Halifax for recent Polish measures at Danzig.

Since March Halifax has been courting Russia for an AngloFrench-Soviet alliance, if not with Poland then without her (though her at least passive acquiescence to any arrangement would have to be obtained). The British and French missions to Moscow proceed into August, but the negotiations bog down especially on the question of Poland's role. The British and French give their OK to the possible movement of Soviet troops through Poland in a "protector" role in the case of German-Polish war. But Poland absolutely refuses any such deal. It is clear that time is running out, especially as Stalin -distrustful, with reason, of the Western Powers, and having given a series of diplomatic "hints" for months previous -begins to eye Hitler favorably, and vice-versa. Stalin would like to see a war of attrition between Germany and the West without his involvement, so that he could move in and pick up the pieces after the combattants had bled themselves dry. Hitler would like to have his hands freed in the East, after a defeat of Poland, by an accomodation with Stalin. Ideally, he hopes that such an accomodation will shock the Western Powers into thinking twice about their apparent plans for what would then amount to a one-front Western war with Germany. In this way Hitler hopes to prevent a general European war.

Roosevelt and the Attempt at an Anglo-French-Soviet Alliance

American Ambassador Bullitt at Paris was not enthusiastic about the Anglo-French attempt to conclude an alliance with the Soviet Union. He was inclined to agree with the hostile Polish attitude toward Russia. Bullitt had been American Ambassador at Moscow from 1933 to 1936, and he had few illusions about the Soviet Union. He suggested in his final report from Moscow on April 20, 1936, that the Russian standard of living was possibly lower than that of any other country in the world. He reported that the Bulgarian Comintern leader, Dimitrov, had admitted that Soviet popular front and collective security tactics were aimed at undermining the foreign capitalist systems. He insisted that relations of sincere friendship between the Soviet Union and the United States were an impossibility. He admitted that a conflict between Germany and France would expose Europe to the danger of Communist domination. He believed that it was worth taking this risk in order to destroy Germany, but he was fully aware of the danger involved.

President Roosevelt was aware that economic and social conditions in Germany were far superior to those in the Soviet Union. Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, who succeeded Bullitt at Moscow, reported to Roosevelt on April 1, 1938, that the terror in Russia was “a horrifying fact.” Davies also complained about the gigantic Soviet expenditures on armaments, and he reported that about 25% of the total Soviet national income in 1937 was spent on defense, compared to 10% in Germany. Davies reported that Stalin, in a letter to Pravda on February 14, 1938, had confirmed his intention to spread the Communist system throughout the world. Stalin promised that the Soviet Government would work with foreign Communists to achieve this goal. He concluded his letter by stating: “I wish very much ... that there were no longer on earth such unpleasant things as a capitalistic environment, the danger of a military attack, the danger of the restoration of capitalism, and so on.” Davies mentioned that General Ernst Koestring, the veteran German military attache in the Soviet Union, continued to hold a high opinion of the Red Army despite the gigantic purges of 1937 in the Russian military services. Davies concluded that the Soviet Union could best be described as “a terrible tyranny.” The presentation of these reports did not prompt President Roosevelt to withdraw the statement he had made in his major address at Chicago on October 6, 1937, that the Soviet Union was one of the peace-loving nations of the world. Roosevelt was fully aware of the danger from Communism, but he believed that this consideration was unimportant compared to his preferred objective of destroying National Socialist Germany.

Premier Daladier of France would have been furious had he known that Kennard was sabotaging British pressure on Poland with the argument that American sensibilities had to be taken into account. He told American Ambassador Bullitt at Paris on August 18th that he was shocked and angered by the “violence” with which Lukasiewicz and Beck had rejected Soviet aid to Poland. Daladier claimed that it would be easy to internationalize Soviet aid to the Poles by sending two French and one British divisions to Poland by way of Russia. Daladier repeated to Bullitt three times with increasing emphasis that he would not send a single French peasant to give his life for Poland if the Poles rejected Russian aid.

Bullitt was alarmed by this revelation of what he considered a violently anti-Polish reaction on the part of Daladier. He had applied pressure for months on Daladier and Alexis Leger, the Secretary-General at the French Foreign Office, in the hope that they would distance themselves from the peace policy of Georges Bonnet and repudiate that policy. He had visited London in May 1939 to coordinate his strategy with the efforts of Sir Robert Vansittart. The Diplomatic Adviser to His Majesty’s Government considered relations with France to be his own special province, and he hoped to support the Halifax war policy by securing French participation in any war against Germany. Vansittart assured Bullitt that Alexis Leger was his “intimate friend,” and that Leger could be relied upon to support the efforts of Halifax and Roosevelt to involve France in war with Germany.

Bullitt, Vansittart, and Leger feared that Sir Eric Phipps, the British Ambassador to France and brother-in-law of Vansittart, shared the negative attitude of Prime Minister Chamberlain toward an alliance between the Western Powers and Russia. Bullitt had begun to dislike Bonnet, and he reported to President Roosevelt without any regard for accuracy: “in point of fact both Bonnet and Sir Eric Phipps were opposed to bringing the Soviet Union into close cooperation with France and England.” Bullitt also feared that Prime Minister Chamberlain might attempt to challenge the policy of Halifax and restore his own control over the conduct of British policy. American Ambassador Kennedy had reported from London on July 20, 1939, that Chamberlain was “sick and disgusted with Russians.” The British Prime Minister believed that Hitler would welcome any tangible opportunity for a peaceful settlement. Chamberlain knew that Hitler was not

bluffing and that he might gamble on a war, but he told Kennedy that Hitler “is highly intelligent and therefore would not be prepared to wage a world war.”

President Roosevelt had intervened directly in the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers on August 4, 1939. Lawrence Steinhardt, who had succeeded Davies as American Ambassador to Russia, was instructed by confidential letter to tell Molotov that the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union were identical in promoting the defeat of Italy and Germany in a European war. President Roosevelt urged the Soviet Union to conclude a military alliance with Great Britain and France, and he intimated that the United States would ultimately join this coalition of Powers. The American Ambassador was informed that President Roosevelt had told Soviet Ambassador Konstantin Umansky, before the latter departed for Russia on leave, that the United States hoped to achieve a position of solidarity with the Soviet Union against Germany and Italy.

The Russians were pleased with the Roosevelt message because it strengthened their position in negotiations with both the Western Powers and Germany, and the support of Roosevelt made it easier for them to gain consent for their ambitious program of expansion in Finland, Poland, Rumania, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The Russians had no desire to conceal from the foreign Powers the contents of the confidential Roosevelt message. The news of the message appeared in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* at Berlin on August 11, 1939, and its contents were published by the *Ilustrowany Kurjer* at Krakow on August 13, 1939. Steinhardt knew that Umansky had been informed of the contents of the Roosevelt message before leaving the United States. The letter with the message was sent by way of Bullitt at Paris, and Steinhardt did not receive it until August 15, 1939. He concluded that Molotov had instructed Umansky to reveal the contents of the letter before it reached Russia, and that Molotov had proceeded to permit the news of the letter to reach the foreign Powers before he had actually received it himself.

Steinhardt presented the Roosevelt letter to Molotov on August 16, 1939 and the two diplomats proceeded to discuss its contents. Roosevelt, in writing the letter, had hoped to influence Russian policy in favor of the Western Powers, but it is not surprising that he failed completely in this effort, and that Molotov used the message for his own purposes. Molotov told Steinhardt that the British and French military missions had come to Russia to discuss military collaboration in terms which the Soviet Foreign Commissar characterized as “vague generalities.” Molotov added that these missions were unable to contend with the specific points which Russia had raised.

Steinhardt reported to President Roosevelt on August 16th that he was personally convinced that the Soviet Union would seek to avoid participation in the early phase of a European conflict. This annoyed President Roosevelt, who seemingly would have led the United States into a European conflict on the first day of war had American public opinion and the American Congress permitted such a policy. The American President was perturbed to learn, a few days later, that Alexis Leger at the French Foreign Office was not the unconditional advocate of war-at-any-price which Bullitt had claimed. Leger revealed his opinion that it would be exceedingly unwise for Great Britain and France to attack Germany without military support from the Soviet Union. This seemed to indicate that there would be virtually no support for a war policy in France if the negotiations at Moscow failed. Roosevelt also learned that Premier Daladier was continuing to denounce the “criminal folly” of the Poles. President Roosevelt knew that Halifax would abandon his project for war against Germany if he was unable to gain the military support of either the Soviet Union or France. The possibility that the peace might be saved was perturbing to the American President who hoped to utilize a European war to achieve his dream for the perpetuation of his tenure and the increase of his personal prestige and glory.

By August 11th, even as negotiations with the British and French are still in progress, Stalin decides to exercise the option with Germany. A definite indication is sent to Berlin the next day. Russian Foreign Minister Molotov and German Ambassador Schulenberg engage in preliminary talks. With the final failure of the British and French missions, the way is open for a German-Soviet agreement. On August 23rd, after the settling of a commercial treaty, Ribbentrop flies to Moscow; that night a German-Soviet nonaggression pact is signed and announced to the world. It is a desperate, quickly-snatched triumph for Hitler, whose satisfaction at his position is marred only by the knowledge that Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, had backed Italy down and out of the "united front" with Germany in the face of an evident Anglo-French determination to go to war over Danzig.

The German-Soviet Pact

Hitler hoped to recover the diplomatic initiative through his Kremlin pact of August 23, 1939. The effort launched by Halifax on March 17, 1939, to build a formidable British alliance front in Eastern Europe had failed. Hitler also hoped that Great Britain and France would react to this situation by withdrawing their support from Poland. He knew that his pact with Russia placed him in a strong position to resume negotiations with the Western Powers. His recent success was too sensational to permit new negotiation efforts to be readily confused with weakness. The British Government gave Hitler an excellent opening for his new diplomatic campaign by commissioning Chamberlain to write to him. The British leaders, of course, did not intend to embark on major negotiations, but Hitler had other plans. The presentation of the Chamberlain letter by Henderson on August 23, 1939, was the signal for a major German diplomatic offensive in Great Britain.

The situation would have been relatively simple for Hitler by August 23, 1939, had it not been for the unpardonable indiscretion of Ciano and the incredible conduct of General Gamelin. The statement of Ciano on August 18th that Italy would not support Germany cushioned Halifax from the impact of the German treaty with Russia, and it gave General Gamelin an excuse to rationalize the unfavorable French military situation, which had been created by the Russian agreement with Germany. The action of Ciano was especially unwarranted because the Italian Foreign Minister knew that Hitler hoped to create the maximum effect of surprise with his Russian pact. Ciano knew that his own pledge to the British would greatly reduce the impact of Hitler's diplomacy. It was easy to argue in London that the position of Hitler would be insecure if the Italians refused to be loyal to their engagements with him. Italian loyalty to Hitler and a clear decision from France against war on behalf of the Poles would surely have pulled the teeth from the Halifax campaign to launch a preventive war against Germany. The absence of these contingencies made it exceedingly difficult for Hitler to capitalize on his Russian success in negotiations with the British leaders. He was not fully aware of this situation on August 23rd. He knew nothing of the Italian pledge to the British on August 18th, or of the crucial debate in the meeting of the French Defense Council. He failed to appreciate the adamant determination of Halifax for war. He knew that British Ambassador Henderson was opposed to war, and he hoped that the views of the British diplomat at Berlin were shared to some extent by his master at London. Hitler was more optimistic than the facts warranted, but this was mainly because he was not fully aware of the existing situation.

The Russians too were unduly optimistic about their prospects on August 23, 1939. They overestimated the military power of France, and they expected a hopeless military stalemate on the Franco-German front reminiscent of World War 1. Stalin hoped to expand his position in Eastern Europe, and to intervene militarily against Germany in the latter phase of a European war, when both Germany and the Western Powers were exhausted. There was one notably great difference

in the attitudes of Stalin and Hitler. The Soviet Dictator, like Halifax and Roosevelt, was hoping for the outbreak of a general European war. Hitler considered that a European war would be a great evil, and he was anxious to prevent it. It is ironical to anticipate that the leaders of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States ultimately joined together in true Orwellian fashion, at Nuremberg in 1945-1946, to condemn the German leaders for deliberately seeking, as "aggressors," to destroy the peace of the world.

In July, Hitler had launched a private program for peace at the suggestion of Reichsmarshall Göring. Göring's friend Birger Dahlerus, a Swedish engineer with many contacts in both Britain and Germany, arranged unofficial meetings throughout July and August between Germans and British supporters of the Chamberlain government. Other private contacts between the Germans and the British developed. Potentially good news about the attitude of influential Britons-their desire to see peace between Britain and Germany maintained-came from these conferences, including a report stating that William S. Ropp, who had been selected to head the British Air Ministry intelligence service division for Germany in wartime, claimed that there was lively opposition to war with Germany in the British Air Ministry. Ropp had further suggested that a British-French declaration of war on Germany need not be taken seriously, because it would be possible to conclude peace after the completion of the Polish phase of hostilities. Göring, ever suspicious, suspects the Ropp remarks may be a British ploy, designed to lure Hitler into gambling in Poland. But Alfred Rosenberg, head of the Foreign Policy office of the National Socialist Party, believes the sentiments may well be genuine and accurate. His report on the matter is forwarded to the German Foreign Office and to Hitler.

Hitler Hopes for Peace — Despite Roosevelt

The German Foreign Office also received a confidential report on August 16, 1939, from Paul Legrenier, a French journalist who was sincerely friendly toward Germany. Legrenier insisted that Great Britain and France would not go to war against Germany in a conflict between Germany and Poland arising from trouble at Danzig. He was basing his report on the determination of French Foreign Minister Bonnet not to fight for Polish interests at Danzig, and on the obvious fact that Great Britain would not attack Germany without French support. Joseph Barnes, the Berlin correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*, estimated to the German diplomats on the same day that there was still at least a 50-50 chance that Great Britain and France would not attack Germany. Barnes added that he was basing his estimate on the assumption that Germany would make a great effort to avoid needless provocation of Great Britain and France. The reports of Ropp, Legrenier, and Barnes were received by Hitler on August 16, 1939, before the announcement of the Russo-German Pact. Hitler was convinced that the conclusion of the Pact with Russia would increase the chances for peace. It is not astonishing under these circumstances that he was more optimistic than Göring or Mussolini about the possibilities of avoiding an Anglo-German war.

The German Foreign Office was under no illusion about the official policy of President Roosevelt in the current crisis. They knew that his policy was based on the twin assumptions that there should and would be a general European war. There was also reason to believe that some of the American diplomats in Berlin did not share this attitude. British Ambassador Henderson informed the Germans that American Charge d'Affaires Kirk was constantly prodding him to insist that Great Britain would fight rather than retreat, but there was ample evidence that Kirk hoped a show of British firmness would prompt Hitler to make new proposals for a settlement. The Germans also knew that Kirk had severely reprimanded Louis P. Lochner, the American journalist, for questioning the determination of Germany to go to war. Lochner was following the tactics of the Polish journalists by claiming that Hitler was bluffing, because he knew that these tactics

would encourage German defiance and make war more likely. It was obvious that Kirk would not have intervened with Lochner on his own initiative had he personally favored war, and the German diplomats were pleased to learn that Kirk had denounced his warmongering.

The Roosevelt Messages to Germany and Poland

President Roosevelt sent insincere peace messages to Germany and Poland at 9:00 P.m. on August 24, 1939. He ignored in his message to Germany the rebuff he had received from Hitler's speech to the Reichstag on April 28th by claiming that "to the message which I sent you last April I have received no reply." He proposed a settlement between Germany and Poland by direct negotiation, arbitration, or mediation. He was treading on difficult ground, because Poland, whom he favored, rather than Germany, whom he opposed, blocked the resumption of negotiations. The messages from President Roosevelt forced President Moscicki of Poland to pay lip service to negotiation, although the Polish Government did not desire to resume contact with the Germans. The reply of President Moscicki was a definite pledge to President Roosevelt that Poland would negotiate, although the Poles actually had no intention of doing so.

President Roosevelt informed Hitler that "it is understood, of course, that upon resort to any one of the alternatives I suggest, each nation will agree to accord complete respect to the independence and territorial integrity of the other." President Roosevelt imagined that this arrangement would preclude in advance any tangible Polish concessions to Germany, but its terms were entirely consistent with the Hitler offer of October 1938 which the Poles had rejected. The original German proposals were actually based upon the respect of the independence and territorial integrity of Poland. This had not prevented the Poles from rejecting them and from ordering the partial mobilization of the Polish armed forces against Germany. Hitler had revealed to the world the inaccuracies and fallacies in the Roosevelt proposals of April 15, 1939, to Germany and Italy, but President Roosevelt rarely accepted criticism. He blandly concluded his message to Hitler with the statement that the United States was prepared to contribute to peace "in the form set forth in my messages of April 14 (advance release of the messages to the American press on that date)." The Roosevelt messages to Germany and Poland were made public at Washington, D.C., at 10:00 p.m. on August 24, 1939. The message to Hitler was not submitted to the German Foreign Office by American Charge d'Affaires Kirk until 9:00 a.m. on August 25th. Hitler decided to defer his reply to President Roosevelt for several days. He was intent, because of the importance of German-American relations, upon preparing a carefully cogent and courteous exposition of the German position for the benefit of the American President.

German Ambassador Mackensen had a satisfactory conversation with Mussolini about the Russo-German treaty early on August 25, 1939. The Italian leader warmly assured Mackensen that he approved of this Pact, and he recalled that he had suggested this himself the previous Spring. Mussolini told Mackensen that he was whole-heartedly in accord with Germany's position in the Polish question. The Italian leader described the worsening of German-Polish relations as "so acute that an armed conflict can no longer be avoided." He was convinced that the Polish mentality was "no longer responsive to reasonable suggestions, no matter from which side they might come."

Mackensen was immensely impressed by the attitude displayed by Mussolini in the absence of Ciano or [Italian Ambassador to Germany] Attolico. Mussolini claimed that the Poles should have responded to Hitler's original offer by accepting the German annexation of Danzig as an indication that they were sincere in their desire to come to a general agreement with Germany. Mussolini was convinced that "a general conference might have followed" which would have "assured European peace for fifteen to twenty years, as is desired by all." The attitude of the Ital-

ian leader on the morning of August 25th was everything which Hitler could have desired, and the German leader concluded that it would be possible to rely on Mussolini's full support. He expected a favorable statement from Italy later in the day in response to the earlier initiative of Ribbentrop.

Mussolini and Ciano had renewed their discussion about a general peace conference with [British Ambassador to Italy] Sir Percy Loraine after the announcement of the Russo-German pact. Loraine reported to Halifax on August 23rd that Mussolini wanted peace, and that he would like to mediate in the German-Polish dispute. Mussolini assured Loraine that Hitler would not accept the terms of a general settlement unless they included the German annexation of Danzig. Loraine reported that the Italians were concentrating on an attempt to gain a British concession on this one decisive point. Loraine informed Halifax that both Mussolini and Ciano were convinced that a successful diplomatic conference was the only hope for a solution of the current difficulties.

American Ambassador William C. Bullitt was advising both Halifax and the French leaders to maintain their military missions in Moscow, and to continue their efforts to detach Italy from Germany. Halifax recognized that the situation in Russia was untenable by this time. The Anglo-French teams had no choice other than to leave Russia empty-handed. Molotov granted an audience to French Ambassador Naggiar on August 25th, immediately after the British and French military men departed from the Russian capital. The Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs took pleasure in announcing to the West that the Poles were exclusively responsible for the failure of Anglo-French negotiations with the Russians for a mutual assistance pact. This announcement confirmed suspicions which French Foreign Minister Bonnet had entertained for many days, and he was inclined for this reason to accept the Russian explanation at face value. Bonnet continued to be furious with the Poles. They had allowed Lipski to engage in an inconclusive conversation with Marshal Göring the previous day, but they had haughtily rejected his suggestion for Franco-Polish consultation on Danzig. The French Foreign Minister was resolved to retaliate by seizing the first opportunity of releasing France from her military obligations to Poland.

Halifax was no longer concerned about Russia, and he did not share the desire of Bonnet to repress Polish excesses at Danzig. He was primarily interested in creating the impression everywhere in the world that the Russo-German pact had not caused him to reconsider his policy toward Germany. Halifax dispatched uniform instructions to British diplomatic missions in all countries on August 24th. He urged them to accept the superhuman task of correcting the impression that the pact had been a blow to the "peace front" headed by England and France. He also claimed that the pact "had produced no effect" on the British Cabinet. He exhorted his diplomats that the British course was straight ahead under the slogan of "preventing the domination of Europe by Germany." Halifax did not explain how a revived German nation of eighty million German citizens could fail to be the leading continental power. After all, it had been said after 1871 that the Germany of Bismarck, with her forty million inhabitants, dominated Europe. The policy of Halifax was calculated to destroy Germany rather than to permit that normal growth and development which for centuries had been considered the natural right of every nation. It was a policy which led to the destruction of a friendly Germany and to the domination of Europe by a hostile Union pledged to overthrow the capitalist system in Great Britain.

Percy Loraine in Rome exposed himself to ridicule in an effort to meet the diplomatic requirements of Halifax. He informed Ciano on August 24 that the Russo-German pact had given him "the first hearty laugh he had had for some weeks." The same man had previously informed the Italian leaders that a pact of mutual assistance with Russia was a necessary feature of the British program. The Italians could be pardoned for suspecting that his "hearty laugh" closely resembled an hysterical scream, because they had never heard him laugh. Loraine soon learned that Halifax

was under heavy pressure at home on August 24th to modify the uncompromising British stand at Danzig. The British Foreign Secretary confided to Loraine, despite his earlier circular instructions, that Great Britain might ultimately consider the return of Danzig to Germany as part of an international settlement. Loraine was bewildered by this information, and he wondered if Halifax intended after all to encourage Mussolini to take the initiative for a conference, which again might resolve British difficulties. There had been no similar suggestion from Halifax during the entire period from the British guarantee to Poland of March 31 st to the conclusion of the Russo-German pact. Unfortunately, the momentary weakening of Halifax's rigid stand at Danzig was of short duration, and he soon concluded that he could maintain his original position against the mounting opposition at home. Gilbert and Gott, in *The Appeasers*, attempt to present this incident as a sustained effort on the part of Halifax to come to terms with Germany at Danzig. Unfortunately, this was not the case.

The Polish Pledge to Roosevelt

President Roosevelt received the text of President Moscicki's message on August 25, 1939, and forwarded it to Hitler. Roosevelt emphasized to Hitler that he had a binding promise from Moscicki that Poland would engage in direct negotiations with Germany. The American President added that "all the world prays that Germany, too, will accept." Hitler knew that the message from President Roosevelt was merely a propaganda gesture to discredit Germany, and he was sufficiently shrewd to recognize that a promise made by Poland to the United States was not worth the paper on which it was written. The Poles knew that Roosevelt would support any Polish move to increase the prospect of conflict with Germany and that the American President would not react unfavorably if they refused to honor a pledge to negotiate with Germany. Hitler also knew this, and hence he concentrated on his effort to convince the British that the Poles should negotiate rather than seek to exploit the meaningless Polish response to President Roosevelt.

Beck assured American Ambassador Biddle shortly before midnight on August 25, 1939, that war between Germany and Poland was inevitable. He claimed that Poland had an adequate legal basis for a declaration of war against Germany, in case the Germans failed to take the initiative against Poland within the next few days. Beck denied that there was any truth in the Bielitz massacre, which had been confirmed by neutral sources. He claimed instead that a Polish soldier had been killed by the Germans on August 16, 1939, and that the Germans had proceeded to cut open the stomach of the corpse and to conceal in it the skull of a baby. This story was widely repeated by Polish spokesmen in the days and years which followed, although no attempt was ever made to document the incident. They failed to realize that this type of savagery was based upon certain primitive voodoo-like superstitions in Eastern Europe which were not shared by the Germans. It would have been an unique historical event had modern Poland elected to base a declaration of war on this fantastic charge. American Ambassador Biddle was much impressed by the aggressive attitude of Beck. He predicted to President Roosevelt that Poland would present a series of *ultimata* to Germany if Hitler backed down in the Danzig dispute.

Beck was impressed by a public German announcement on August 25, 1939, that the Tannenberg and Nuremberg conclaves had been cancelled. The cancellation announcement, and the impressive number of incidents between the Germans and Poles on the following day, convinced the Polish Foreign Minister that a German attack would come at any moment. He did not conclude until August 27th that Hitler, after all, had taken no decisive military measures. French Ambassador Noel claimed that Beck was a very sick man at this time. The French diplomat charged that he was suffering from aggravated fatigue, tuberculosis, and an excessive addiction to stimulants. The Polish Foreign Minister ultimately died of tuberculosis in Rumania in 1944, after the

British authorities had denied him permission to come to England. The French Ambassador, who detested Beck, delighted in conveying the impression that the Polish Foreign Minister was both morally and physically decadent.

German troops at the Slovak-Polish frontier had begun their advance on the morning of August 26, 1939, before countermanding orders reached them, and they crossed into Poland at Jablonka Pass. Fortunately, the Poles were not holding a position there, and an engagement was avoided when the Germans speedily retreated a considerable distance across the frontier and into Slovakia. The Poles engaged German patrols in nearly a dozen skirmishes in the Dzialdowo region directly north of Warsaw and across the East Prussian frontier. The engagements ended when the German units were suddenly withdrawn. It was significant that these serious incidents occurred on two of the most crucial sectors of the German operational plan. A massacre of minority Germans in the Lodz area and constant violations of the German frontier from the Polish side tended to deflect attention from these incidents. A Polish warship on August 26, 1939, fired at a German civilian transport airplane on which State Secretary Wilhelm Stuckardt of the Ministry of Interior was returning from Danzig. Stuckardt and the Danzig leaders had discussed the legal problems involved in the projected return of Danzig to the Reich.

Hitler's reversal of military orders naturally created perplexity in the German Army. One of the German Generals was dispatched to the Wilhelmstrasse on the night of August 25, 1939, to inquire indignantly why the soldiers had been sent out if it was intended to settle differences with Poland by diplomatic means. The German Foreign Office had no ready answer with which to meet this embarrassing question.

In Berlin, British Ambassador Henderson, a sincere advocate of a British-German understanding who privately sympathizes with Germany in the Polish question, works tirelessly for peace in the difficult position of having to officially represent Halifax's war policy. He tries to persuade Halifax of the reality of the German minority's sufferings in Poland. He stresses that unless Poland finally negotiates with Germany there will undoubtedly be war. He remarks that from the beginning "the Poles were utterly foolish and unwise. "

Roosevelt Hopes for War and Strives to Coordinate Policy

Phipps reported from Paris that Bullitt had received new instructions from President Roosevelt designed to facilitate a closer coordination of British and American policy against Germany. The American President suggested that everything possible should be done by propaganda to bring down the German regime in revolutionary chaos. Roosevelt believed that wireless propaganda should be broadcast to Germany around the clock. He expected that it would produce a great effect to argue in advance that Hitler would be solely responsible for any war. He hoped that the pacific desires of the German people might be exploited to undermine the loyalty of Germans toward their government after the outbreak of war.

Henderson continued to do what he could at Berlin to preserve peace. He contacted Polish Ambassador Lipski again on August 25th and urged him to discuss the problem of the German minority in Poland with the German Government. Henderson reported to Halifax that Italian Ambassador Attolico was horrified at the prospect of war. Attolico had declared with indignation that warmongers such as Anthony Eden should be hanged. Henderson avoided criticizing Attolico's statement about Eden in any way. Eden, to be sure, had worked with Churchill to sabotage appeasement, but the chief role in the scuttling of the appeasement policy had been played by Halifax, the man to whom Henderson addressed his report.

Sir Ronald Lindsay the British Ambassador to the United States, addressed a series of final reports to Halifax prior to his return to England and his replacement by Lord Lothian. Lindsay indicated that Roosevelt was delighted at the prospect of a new World War. The American President had damaged his prospects in May 1939 with his unsuccessful attempt to pull the teeth from the American neutrality laws, but he assured Lindsay that he would succeed in emasculating this legislation after the outbreak of war. He admitted that he would be forced to delay a new effort to do so “until war broke out.” The American President also promised that he would not actually abide by the neutrality laws if he was compelled to invoke them. He would frustrate the purpose of the laws by delaying a proclamation of neutrality for at least five days after the outbreak of war. He would see that war material in the interim was rushed to the British in Canada in enormous quantities. Lindsay reported with his usual excessive moderation that there “was every indication in his language that the American authorities would be anxious to cheat in favor of His Majesty’s Government.”

Roosevelt also promised Lindsay that he would delay German ships under false pretenses in a feigned search for arms, so that they could be easily seized by the British under circumstances which would be arranged with exactitude between the American and British authorities. The British Ambassador was personally perturbed that the President of one of the important countries could be gay and joyful about a tragedy which seemed so destructive of the hopes of all mankind. He reported that Roosevelt “spoke in a tone of almost impish glee and though I may be wrong the whole business gave me the impression of resembling a school-boy prank.” It was an American and world tragedy to have at this important juncture a President whose emotions and ideas could be rated by a friendly Ambassador as childish.

Halifax was inclined to regard the attitude of the American President as a product of one of the most successful British efforts in colonial propaganda. The American President, who was an enthusiastic militarist, had accepted the idea of World War II as his best escape from the economic depression in the United States. The British Foreign Secretary had studied the fantastic Lochner report about the alleged remarks of Hitler to his military men on the Obersalzberg on August 22nd. He wired Lorraine in Rome on August 26th that recent information from Berlin indicated that Hitler had some kind of Polish partition in mind. His purpose was to convey to Mussolini the idea that the German leader was too extreme in his plans, at the expense of the Poles, to be amenable to a reasonable settlement of GermanPolish difficulties. Halifax hoped in this way to discourage Mussolini’s ideas for a diplomatic conference.

Thomsen's View of Roosevelt

State Secretary Weizsaecker had invited American Charge d’Affaires Kirk to call at the German Foreign Office on the evening of August 26th. Weizsaecker conveyed Hitler’s acknowledgment of the two recent messages from President Roosevelt, and Kirk expressed his pleasure at this act of courtesy. Weizsaecker advised Kirk that it would be more timely to present warnings in Warsaw than at Berlin. German Charge d’Affaires Thomsen reminded Hitler on August 28th that Roosevelt would do everything he could to encompass the downfall of Germany. He predicted that Roosevelt would employ ruthless tactics to force active American participation in a European war despite opposition from American public opinion. Thomsen was convinced that American raw materials and machines would be made available to Great Britain and France immediately after the outbreak of war, and that this measure would be popular because it would aid in overcoming the extensive unemployment. Thomsen concluded that the existing American neutrality legislation would be either abrogated or circumvented.

On August 25th, the British guarantee to Poland becomes a formal military alliance. Hitler appeals to Britain and France not to make a German-Polish dispute the cause of general European war. He offers a remarkable alliance to Britain in which German troops would guarantee the British empire around the world. The offer is brushed aside. Henderson continues his attempt to save the situation at Berlin; he urges Lipski to enter into discussions with the Germans, to no avail. Henderson's exertions are joined by those of Dahlerus, by now communicating directly between Hitler and Chamberlain and Halifax. France strongly urges Poland to negotiate with Germany. Britain does not. Poland calls up more reservists to active service. On August 29th, Hitler presents a moderate 16-point basis for direct negotiations with Poland. Poland does not respond. Beck refuses to go to Berlin to take part in discussions. On August 31st, Lipski, minus plenipotentiary powers, meets with Hitler but refuses to consider one final German proposal.

Chamberlain and Halifax

No one in the position of the British Ambassador could be blamed for desisting from further efforts to prevent war, but Henderson never stopped trying. It is this fact, combined with his unquestionable British patriotism and his determination to stand by his own country through thick and thin, regardless of the dreadful blunders of the British leaders, that make his mission to Berlin a study in courage. He tried every possible tactic to persuade Chamberlain to express his own views, and to encourage the British Prime Minister to resume leadership at the British Foreign Office before it was too late. He made a special effort to convince the British leaders that he had always been firm with Hitler, and he recalled that he had bombarded Hitler with arguments and answers in the conversation of August 28th, which had apparently turned out very favorably for Great Britain.

Halifax continued to advise Chamberlain to ignore the complaints of Henderson and others about the attitude and policies of Poland. He received a very useful letter from Count Raczynski on August 30th. The Polish Government in this letter solemnly swore that no persecution of the German minority was taking place in Poland. The American journalist, W.L. White, later recalled that there was no doubt among well-informed persons by this time that horrible atrocities were being inflicted every day on the Germans of Poland. The pledge from Raczynski had about as much validity as the civil liberties guaranteed by the 1936 constitution of the Soviet Union.

Chamberlain complained to American Ambassador Kennedy after the outbreak of World War II "that America and the world Jews had forced England into the war." Kennedy himself was convinced that "neither the French nor the British would have made Poland a cause of war if it had not been for the constant needling from Washington." Kennedy in 1939 was subjected to constant pressure from the American Ambassador at Paris, and he placed primary emphasis on "Bullitt's urging on Roosevelt in the summer of 1939 that the Germans must be faced down about Poland." Kennedy was instructed by President Roosevelt on the telephone "to put some iron up Chamberlain's backside," a gratuitous instruction because Chamberlain had abdicated control over British policy to Lord Halifax in October 1938. Kennedy, Bullitt, and Roosevelt never succeeded in understanding this situation. They were neither well-informed, nor astute about discovering facts for themselves, and Halifax never chose to confide in them. The subsequent sting of conscience which caused Chamberlain to complain to Kennedy about America and the Jews was an attempt to shift the blame rather than a full confession. He was merely saying in different words that he and his friends might have found the courage to challenge Halifax had not the latter enjoyed the support of President Roosevelt. This was undoubtedly a defensive rationalization, because none of them ever displayed the slightest inclination to oppose Halifax. Furthermore, Halifax had decided upon a policy of war with Germany long before the German occupation of Prague, and before Roosevelt attempted to exert any considerable bellicose pressure on the British leaders. Hal-

ifax had stirred Roosevelt against the Germans before Hitler went to Prague, rather than the other way around. Roosevelt was a novice in international affairs compared to Halifax, and it was inconceivable that he could exert a decisive influence on the British Foreign Secretary.

Halifax had considered an Anglo-German war inevitable ever since 1936, and he never wavered in his campaign to destroy Germany, from October 1938, when he assumed personal control over British policy, to the outbreak of World War II in September 1939. He was more than a match for Chamberlain, the Unitarian business leader from the Midlands, or for any of his soft-spoken friends. He had refrained from wresting control over foreign policy from Chamberlain until the British leader returned from Munich to face the hostile critics within his own Conservative Party. He had never seriously criticized Chamberlain's conduct of policy until he was in a position to dominate it himself. Halifax would have been amused to hear Winston Churchill telling his friends in August 1939 that he feared the British Government "would run out over Poland." This was the wrong way to put it. Halifax was primarily worried by the possibility that France would run out over Poland. This was the only event which would prompt him to abandon his own policy of war against Germany.

On the morning of September 1st, German troops attack Poland. Hitler announces the invasion before the Reichstag, stating that the brutal suppression of the ethnic German minority and the lack of freedom and self-determination for Danzig necessitated military action. Mussolini makes last-minute pleas for a grand peace conference dealing with all causes of European conflict, to meet on September 5th, on the precondition that Danzig is returned to Germany in advance. Hitler and, initially, France, are agreeable. Britain is not, and goads France into joining with Britain in insisting on a precondition that fighting must stop in Poland. The conference plan fails. On the night of September 2nd, British ministers led by Halifax virtually demand of Chamberlain that an ultimatum be issued to Germany. It is presented the next morning, demanding not only that the fighting cease but that all German troops withdraw from Poland. With the expiration of the ultimatum at 11 a.m., Britain declares war on Germany. A French ultimatum follows, somewhat reluctantly. With its expiration at 5 p.m., France declares war on Germany. World War II begins.

Halifax and Roosevelt

It was clever of Halifax to claim that further intimate Anglo-German conversations would displease President Roosevelt. Chamberlain had been severely criticized for failing to respond favorably to an impractical proposal from Roosevelt, in January 1938, for a grandiose diplomatic conference, which would not only have failed to commit the United States to the British imperialistic program, but undoubtedly would have weakened the effort of Chamberlain to increase British influence in Italy. Lord Lothian had succeeded Sir Ronald Lindsay as British Ambassador to the United States. Lothian, like Henderson at Berlin, favored a peaceful understanding with Germany, but he was a disciplined diplomat who subordinated his own personal views to the requirements of Halifax's war policy. The new British Ambassador was destined to play a more active role behind the scenes of American politics than any previous British diplomat. Lothian confirmed Lindsay's judgment that there was "nothing neutral" about Roosevelt's attitude. The American President insisted that "the most serious danger from the standpoint of American public opinion would be if it formed the conclusion that Herr Hitler was entangling the British Government in negotiations leading to pressure on Poland by England and France to abandon vital interests." It was obvious to Lothian that Roosevelt wanted war in Europe.

The American President knew that a diplomatic settlement of the European crisis would extinguish his own plans for American military aggression in Europe. Lord Lothian assured Halifax

that the partisanship of Roosevelt extended to the minute details. Roosevelt intended to urge the belligerents at the outbreak of the expected war not to bombard civilians, because he hoped in this way to protect Warsaw, one of the Allied capitals. Lothian knew that Roosevelt would never object to a later effort by Great Britain to massacre the civilian population of Germany by means of mass bombing attacks. Roosevelt confided to Lothian that his primary objective at the moment was to evade American neutrality legislation after the outbreak of war. He was intent on renewing the struggle in the American Congress to remove the legal embargo on war material. He promised that he would refuse to admit from the very start of hostilities that aluminum sheets for airplanes were “aeroplane parts” or that airplane engine blocks had anything to do with airplanes.

Lothian confirmed the report of his predecessor that Roosevelt was delighted at the prospect of a new World War. This warlike attitude of Roosevelt was exploited by Halifax in adducing artificial arguments for closing the door on further negotiations with Hitler. There was actually no reason to fear that President Roosevelt would be in a position to cause trouble for Great Britain in the event of a negotiated settlement in Europe. The American President did not have the support of Congress or public opinion for his aggressive foreign policy, and he was nearing the end of his final presidential term, final according to the sacrosanct political tradition established by George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. It was obvious that he would need a crisis of the greatest dimensions, such as a big war in Europe, to campaign successfully for further terms of office. It would have been easy for the British Government to improve relations with a more conciliatory successor had war been averted and had Roosevelt been defeated in the American election of 1940.

For space reasons the 98 footnotes with which Professor Hoggan supports his case in this article are omitted from this issue of The JHR. They appear in the German edition of The Forced War (Der erzwungene Krieg: Die Ursachen und Urheber des 2. Weltkriegs [Tuebingen: Grabert Verlag]), the latest (12th) revised edition of which contains some substantial supplementations, and of course appear in the English edition.

A Note From The Editor

Keith Stimely

One of the first, most predictable reactions to be counted on by revisionist historians of World War II and of National Socialist Germany as they regale the uninitiated with their views is: “But what about the *trials* — Nuremberg, and the others? Have they not left a record of ample proof of German crime and barbarity — thus vindicating the Allied struggle as a moral one that had to be waged?”

The trials of the Germans have indeed left quite a record. And though real historians and historical thinkers (there remained a few even after the intellectual straightjacket descended on the West for the duration) have always expressed the most extreme skepticism at, even contempt for, the idea that the true history of an epoch can be established by the evidence generated in politically motivated, rigged and farcical show-trials of the conquered by those who had beaten them down and had to keep them down, nevertheless it would be wrong to dismiss the historical value of such trials out of hand. Above all these trials did indeed generate *evidence* — of whatever kind and quality. And the historian *is* interested in *any* evidence. For him nothing is out of bounds. Unlike the judge or jury in a legal proceeding, he cannot be foresworn or constrained to totally dismiss or ignore any point of evidence because it was not obtained by-the-book-properly, because the source is tainted or compromised, or even because it might have been manufactured out of whole cloth. The rules of evidence in matters of justice do vary — sometimes they reflect a traditional and independent legality which stands with scrupulously blind eye, sometimes they reflect nothing but politics and dominance in blatant disregard of any real legality. (In a political trial the judges may even operate on the effectual premise that to be ignored is any evidence *not* tainted, coerced, or invented.) In any case rules of evidence for courts are different from rules of evidence for historians. A court wishes to determine guilt or innocence; a historian may or may not care about this, but if he does he is not so limited as a court — any court — in considering what evidences and factors are relevant. And he may be looking for a “whole truth” beyond the bounds of an indictment. Ultimately, he should want to know “what happened,” not just “who is guilty.” In answering the one it is sometimes possible to answer the other; not always. There are causes for everything, but there is not always “guilt.” The historian looks beyond the lawyer and judge — and sometimes he looks at them. It can be a searching look, especially when the *any* and *all* that he must get his hands on in order to find out “what happened” includes unsubstantiated, coerced, doctored, or otherwise specious evidence from the records of political trials. This evidence will indeed be considered, but perhaps in a different light than that which its generators intended. Yes, even the kind of trial justice that hops and punches can be useful to the historian; reaching into its pouch he might withdraw many interesting things. He might do what no lawyer can do: judge the judges. Time and *the record* allow this to happen.

Unfortunate and despicable as were the trials of the Germans from the standpoints of traditional Western justice and humanity, their records and their verdicts nonetheless do help us to determine the history of an epoch. But this is true in spite of, not because of, the bold and foolish announce-

ments by their conveners that a large part of the purpose of the trials was to establish a *historical*, not just legal, verdict — and one meant to stand for all time. By looking carefully at the verdicts of these trials and at the evidence used to secure them, we gain at the very least an idea of the temper and methods of the times. Far more important, we can also draw a critical eye on the very issues the trials were meant to “settle.” Have they been settled? In our lead article this issue we look at one case.

William B. Lindsey’s [examination of the trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch](#) is a milestone in revisionism as it relates to war crimes trials. Whereas cases in the famous IMT and NMT trials at Nuremberg have received abundant attention, the lesser-known series of British Military Tribunals which were convened with summary haste right after the war have not been so well plumbed. Because in many cases these were trials of technical specialists, not political or military figures, historians might have hesitated to delve into areas that would require technical competence in their details. Especially so revisionist historians, who have always believed in getting down to *detail*. It is no surprise, then, that the first critical study of the great Zyklon B trial — “evidence” from which has been and is one of the prime props of the devolved “Holocaust” legend — should be made by a professional chemist. Dr. Lindsey’s sympathy with his erstwhile colleague is manifest and unapologetic. The story he tells is of a man doing his job, perfecting his science in all innocence and being caught up in the massive wave of hatred and sheer lunacy that swept over Europe after World War II. Dr. Tesch paid with his life the price the victors demanded for the sanctification of their atrocity propaganda. Reading this account of his conviction before the bar of Allied “justice,” one will perhaps understand why the revisionist may, in answer to that eternal question of the uninformed: “What about the *trials*?,” smile while rolling up his sleeves, and say:

“The *trials*? I’m really glad you asked that question. You’re absolutely right about their importance. Let’s do take a *good look* at those trials ...

Author: Lindsay, William

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Zyklon B, Auschwitz, and Bruno Tesch

by William B. Lindsey

We still have judgment here, that we but teach Bloody instructions, which being taught return To plague th' inventor. This even handed justice Commends th' ingredience of our poison'd chalice To our own lips.

Shakespeare, Macbeth

The Prelude to 'Justice'

Toward the end of World War II, the designated legal representatives of the United Nations, ^[1] meeting in London with Lord Wright, Chairman of the United Nations War Crimes Commission, established the London Agreements to implement earlier agreements by the United Nations at Yalta and other war conferences, and to finally concretize numerous threats and warnings made by the United Nations to the Axis nations during the course of the war. Their intention was to impeach, prosecute, and punish the vanquished Germans and Japanese for crimes newly defined and delineated by the victors themselves, and to do this with tribunals created by them for that single purpose.

The most atrocious crime of which the Germans were accused by the victors was that they had planned to kill all of the Jews of Europe; of the six million they allegedly succeeded in killing, four million were allegedly killed in gas chambers constructed for that purpose at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

To place these United Nations tribunals in their proper perspective, it is necessary to appreciate the attitude and temper of the United Nations allies toward Germany before and during these trials. Beginning at least as early as 1940, Germany's enemies — who later, on 2 January 1942, were to take the collective name of the "United Nations" — subjected their citizenry to an incessant bombardment of dire, doleful predictions and frightful allegations of the most horrible atrocities allegedly committed or about to be committed by Germany. But a few of the many separate sources of these allegations were: Dr. Nahum Goldman, the Polish Government-in-exile, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi J. H. Herz, U.S. Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles, former Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinoff, the British Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. H. Wickham Steed (A British journalist who was active in anti-German propaganda during World War I and prior to World War II), and the U.S. War Refugee Board, organized and fully supported by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Although presenting no concrete evidence and identifying no "eyewitnesses" (allegedly for reasons of wartime security), these charges were, as were the similar charges in World War I, generally accepted by Germany's enemies as valid — with the largely

implied pledge that the ultimate proof of these allegations would be presented at the end of the war.

As the end of the war approached, almost every news release seemed to support these early accusations. With the discoveries made near the end of the war by the advancing United Nations armies of the heaps of corpses at Bergen-Belsen, Dachau, Buchenwald, Nordhausen, etc. — corpses, incidentally, predominantly Gentile, [2] and caused by disease, hunger, etc. — the self-righteous indignation of Germany's conquerors mounted to rage. The German government itself, now headed by Grand Admiral Dönitz, was equally appalled and vowed to see justice done. Dönitz's Flensburg regime was aghast that after the fiasco of Allied accusations against Germany in World War I and the necessity of their subsequent refutation and withdrawal under fire after the war, charges of a similar type would again be brought seriously and again believed by the same enemies only thirty years later, this time as before without thorough prior investigation.

Viewing themselves quite early in the war, however, as avenging angels and anointed crusaders, expurgating and exterminating murderers and blasphemers, the United Nations conquerors thereupon reconsecrated themselves, as they had already sworn they would do, to fast and merciless punishment for anyone they deemed associated even remotely with these apparent crimes. Many United Nations protagonists, the older ones perhaps still smarting from their rebuff and rejection as a result of their false World War I charges, were certain in their own minds that this time Germany was obviously guilty of all allegations as charged — certain without even bothering to wait for the promised proof of these allegations. In their haste, the only questions they were concerned with were when and how far the victors should go in meting out the “new” justice. The London Agreements obviously had not solved all the problems. Stalin was suggesting, as he had been for some time, the summary killing of 50,000 German “war criminals,” and the Americans were to learn later that Roosevelt had, at the 1943 Teheran conference, failed to take any umbrage whatever at this proposal. Missouri Representative Marion T. Bennett, in Europe with other U.S. Congressmen at General Eisenhower's special invitation, probably expressed the general, although not unanimous, feeling by saying: “I left Buchenwald convinced that every German must be killed.” Joseph Pulitzer of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch advocated killing 1,500,000 “Nazis.” Equally ominous for those Germans left alive (out of a nation originally comprising 80 million) was the announcement that four to six million of them faced trial by the United Nations as “war criminals” — presumably under the newly decreed ex post facto fiats of the United Nations London Agreements.

On 14 May 1945, the last legitimate German government was completely dismantled by Germany's new masters and its members arrested pending trial and execution or imprisonment. The last possible source of even a whimper of protest against any abuse of Germans was thus adroitly silenced forever. The Allies had been cheated of their German “hanging bee” in 1918, but now as the “United Nations” they were determined to be neither cheated nor thwarted. Thus was the stage craftily set in Germany for a series of trials by unique military or “international” tribunals, artfully conceived, contrived and convened by the victors for the sole purpose of trying and punishing only the vanquished Germans, at the victors' pleasure, for “Crimes Against Humanity” and such other “crimes” recently enunciated or to be later unilaterally enunciated by the rationalizing, legalizing apologists of the victorious United Nations.

Dr. Bruno Tesch and his business manager-proxy (“Prokurist”) Karl Weinbacher, who had never been members of the German government or the German armed forces, were two of the first unfortunate Germans to become enmeshed in this newly-woven web of United Nations “new international justice.” [3] It was their lot to be accused by the United Nations Occupation Authorities of having recommended the use of, and knowingly supplied, the poisonous Zyklon B for the pur-

pose of killing the 4-4½ million Jews allegedly gassed at Auschwitz-Birkenau. This paper will discuss the official transcript of the British Military Tribunal which tried them and condemned them to death by hanging.

Of the numerous tribunals established by the United Nations for their multifaceted motives, the first Nuremberg Tribunal — the International Military Tribunal or IMT (also known as the Trial of Major War Criminals or TMWC), which was constituted to try the famous “first string” National Socialists — occupied center stage as intended, often eclipsing the events of other tribunals sitting at the same time. As a result of this, one fails often to realize that these less-publicized “side” tribunals usually provided the Nuremberg Tribunals (both the IMT and the series of American-run Nuremberg Military Tribunals, or NMT) with much of the basic material used to formulate the concepts and support the arguments advanced by Robert H. Jackson, Telford Taylor and other United Nations prosecutors in their assignments at Nuremberg. In time, these concepts and arguments have, with some modifications necessitated already then by early revisionist research, congealed into what has become the monolithic corpus of the “Holocaust” gospel.

Pre-eminent in these side tribunals was the British Lueneburg Tribunal which undertook the trial of the Birkenau SS staff, whom the British Army had captured at the Bergen-Belsen Jewish transit camp. (See note 2.) This tribunal sat from 17 September 1945 to 17 November 1945, and at times its sensational headlines jeopardized the intended place of the Nuremberg IMT show on the front pages of the world’s newspapers. It was at this British Military Tribunal that much of the “Holocaust” dogma and wartime tales of German bestiality were chiseled into the United Nations “Behistan Rock” to justify forever the United Nations acts vis-a-vis Germany. This was done by parading before the Tribunal a nondescript chorus of Yiddish voices, each chorus member seeking to gain for himself, for varied reasons, the prestigious role of a latter-day Judith or Esther, a Samson or Mordecai, and each seeking to outdo his predecessor on the witness stand with a horror tale of abuse and privation — naturally all unsubstantiated. It was here that the first United Nations prosecutor sought to establish legal credence and respectability for the earlier rumors of German bestiality and particularly the unsubstantiated allegations that 4,000,000 Jews had been killed at Auschwitz-Birkenau. It was here that physicians Ada Bimko and Charles Bendel made their bows on the front pages of the world’s newspapers before figuring in the tribunal trying Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher — and after that disappearing, but leaving behind a legacy of falsehood and confusion which became, nevertheless, a part of the unquestioned, unchallengeable litany of the “Holocaust” credo.

A British officer serving the Defense at Lueneburg described these many witnesses as the dregs of eastern European ghettos; for this he was forced by the Tribunal to apologize. The British Tribunal at Lueneburg was described by Dr. Eberhard Kolb [4] in his book *Bergen-Belsen* as having carried out its work with “vorbildlicher” (typical or exemplary) “Fairness” (fairness) — an opinion typical of a “new” or “reconstructed” German acceptable to the United Nations conquerors. What really concerned the British Tribunal and nearly everyone else at the time was not “Fairness,” not facts, not justice but: “How will you kill Kremer?” [5] The real trials had long since been completed in the newspapers, in the information bureaus and in the numerous conferences of the United Nations.

Among the United Nations, there was the almost universal desire to see as many Germans as possible put to ignominious death, and these United Nations Tribunals appeared to be useful vehicles for achieving this extirpation. Others openly favored summary execution of large numbers of Germans with no trial whatever.

The Bergen-Belsen Tribunal at Lueneburg and the trial of Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher are to some extent unique, since they represent some of the first and last vain attempts of the accused to tell the truth and thereby clear up the multitude of preposterous wartime charges disseminated by the United Nations for obvious propaganda objectives. After the trials began, however, it soon became apparent that telling the truth was a fatal strategic error for the accused. To deny that Jews had been maliciously killed en masse by Germany in a tribunal whose very existence was based upon the intent to establish without doubt that Jews had been killed was as fatal to the defendant in 1946 as it would have been to an accused medieval heretic who before his inquisitors guaranteed his condemnation on whatever charge by throwing in for the hell of it a denial of the existence of the Trinity and the Divinity of Jesus.

From the standpoint of survival, it was necessary for a witness to testify that Jews were certainly gassed, while attempting to save himself by protesting that his presence at that location or in that position entailed no responsibility and only incidental or accidental knowledge of the killings which, if observed, he was powerless to prevent. [6]

Such were the deplorable circumstances on 1 March 1946, when Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher were indicted and brought before the British Military Tribunal at Curiohaus, Hamburg.

Tesch und Stabenow

Dr. Tesch's association with Zyklon B, the product whose sale was to result in his and Herr Weinbacher's execution, began long before the war. As a gifted graduate in chemistry, physics and mathematics at the University of Berlin, he had attained the position of assistant at the world-venerated Kaiser Wilhelm Institut. Here, he became interested in hydrogen cyanide as a fumigating agent. It was effective, but quite hazardous to use because it was a liquid and was chemically unstable. In addition, it was a deadly poison for humans. But it was this very deadliness to all animals which made it a nearly ideal fumigant. It killed not only warm-blooded vermin quickly but also any eggs, larvae, pupa or adult insects which might be on the vermin or in the area being fumigated. [7]

With the support of the IG Farbenindustrie, Dr. Tesch, in conjunction with Dr. Gerhard Peters, initiated research which to a great extent, circumvented the problems which previously had long prevented the widespread use of hydrogen cyanide as a fumigating agent.

These problems were solved as follows: An irritant tear gas was mixed with the liquid hydrogen cyanide so as to "warn" anyone of the poison's presence. [8] After adding a chemical stabilizer, one part of this liquid was soaked into two parts of a porous, highly absorbent material so that the resulting mixture was not a liquid but solid, free-flowing granules. This product was named "Zyklon B," [9] and the deadly fumes which evaporated slowly from the granules were called "Zyklon B gas." Chemically, this fumigating gas was nearly pure hydrogen cyanide diluted with air.

Zyklon B held such promise that it was patented by the IG Farbenindustrie and the patent assigned to the DEGESCH, the DEutsche GESellschaft fuer SCHaedlingsbekaempfung (German Society for Pest Control), and it was they who were designated by the German Government to set the safety rules and standards for its use, necessarily stringent, because of the product's extreme lethal character. The DEGESCH also authorized shipment of the product to the user from the factory only after the government regulations had been met. These regulations for using hydrogen cyanide for fumigation were relaxed only in specific instances deemed essential to the German

government. For purposes of fumigation, the German military forces in both world wars were granted such a relaxation in regulations. ^[10]

With Herr Paul Stabenow, Dr. Tesch established the company in 1923 which later became fully his: Tesch und Stabenow. Dr. Peters accepted a leading position in the DEGESCH. Tesch und Stabenow was a pest-control company much like those in this country or in England. It sold primarily its pest-exterminating services and know-how. It did not manufacture Zyklon B nor the other chemicals it used in its fumigation service, but purchased them from the factories which produced them in volume. ^[11]

Prior to the war, Dr. Tesch's business grew rapidly, because with Zyklon B it was possible to fumigate entire ships, buildings, dwellings, mess halls, barracks, flour mills, grain elevators, railroad cars, etc. ^[12] successfully without damaging their contents. So long as these contents remained dry, Zyklon B gas did not harm them, and so long as the fumigated area was properly aired out after fumigation and the safety practices were followed faithfully, Zyklon B could be used satisfactorily and without danger to humans.

At the same time, similar operations were being carried out in the United States by domestic companies. ^[13] As Tesch und Stabenow prospered, at least six other similar firms sprang up in Germany. Of all pest-control firms, Tesch und Stabenow was an international leader, if not in fact the international leader. This was a result of Dr. Tesch's careful personal training of his employees in fumigation techniques and his uncompromising refusal to relax safety regulations.

In war, fumigation was even more important to Germany than in peace. Besides the many pressing needs of the Wehrmacht, the Luftwaffe, and the Navy, there were additional civilian needs. Any dwelling or building which was vacated for any reason might require fumigation before new tenants could occupy it. In addition, the camps established for the huge numbers of foreign workers and repatriated Germans from the east — all under the care of the SS — required frequent fumigation. The importance of these fumigation operations can further be gaged by the fact that men employed as fumigators were exempt from military draft. Of the 50 or so employees of Tesch und Stabenow at the start of the war, thirty-five were involved with fumigation operations. Herr Weinbacher himself had begun work at the company as a fumigator and had, through hard work, become Dr. Tesch's assistant.

Although the fumigation/pest-control business was profitable, in war it was not without headaches. Besides the shortages of personnel, materials, equipment, etc., Tesch und Stabenow, because of the acute German manpower shortages, was assigned the additional task of assisting the DEGESCH in processing orders from those seeking to use Zyklon B. The German government made this arbitrary assignment because Tesch und Stabenow already placed regular, large orders for Zyklon B through the DEGESCH, and this simplified the government's role in policing compliance with existing government regulations and reduced the work load on the DEGESCH. As a condition of continuing as a licensed fumigator, Dr. Tesch was legally obligated to receive and process all Zyklon B orders from users east of the Elbe River. This unwelcome additional task represented a division of the paper work associated with ordering rather than of manufacturing or supplying. In a similar arrangement, areas west of the Elbe River had their orders initially processed by Hirt und Linkler before they were submitted to the DEGESCH.

After checking the orders to see if potential buyers were authorized users of Zyklon B, the orders were forwarded by Tesch und Stabenow to the DEGESCH ^[14] where the buyer's government authorization and compliance with regulations were rechecked.

Then, they were allocated whatever percentage of their order Dr. Peters [15] and his allocation committee at the DEGESCH decided upon, and the order was finally placed with the factory. Allocation was necessary because Zyklon B, like all other chemicals, was always in short supply. [16] Military orders were always given preference over civilian usage, and these orders were filled from wherever supplies might be available at the time — east or west of the Elbe River.

In performing this order-processing function, Dr. Tesch was required to pay cash immediately when an order processed by him was placed at the factory, and he received his money back plus a small commission three to four months later when the Zyklon B was delivered.

For German government orders, Tesch und Stabenow received initially a fee of 10% of the gross amount of the order. This fee was set by the government. After May 1943, this fee was cut to 2½%, and after 1943, the service of Tesch und Stabenow was dispensed with entirely by virtue of the Government's assignment solely to the Wehrmacht Hauptsanitaetspark (Wehrmacht Main Sanitary Depot), Berlin, the function of supplying Zyklon B to all government users.

Interrogation and charge

Dr. Tesch first became aware of his impending ordeal with the United Nations Occupation Authorities when a British Captain, Anton W. Freud, [17] visited him in his office with Emil Sehm, one of his former bookkeepers, and interrogated him in German. At this meeting, Sehm accused his former employer of supplying Zyklon B to kill Jews. Dr. Tesch denied the accusation emphatically, and accused Sehm of knowing full well that Zyklon B was used only in pest-control. Dr. Tesch was left in peace for a few days, but on 3 September 1945, he was arrested and interrogated further before being released on 1 October 1945. On 6 October 1945, he was re-arrested by the British and remained thereafter in their custody until his execution. On 31 October 1945, Dr. Tesch signed a deposition. It was taken in the standard British manner with oral translation from German into English. These on-the-spot oral translations were written down and became the official — and only — record. Afterward, Captain Freud said that the deposition was signed voluntarily and Dr. Tesch had signed after only minor changes. But Dr. Tesch testified later that he had signed only because he “felt under some pressure” and after receiving an indication that later, other explanatory changes in the deposition would be made. It is not difficult to believe that any German being interrogated at this time on this subject by a British officer named “Freud” might, indeed, feel “under some pressure.”

The Tribunal

On the basis of Captain Freud's interrogations, the British War Crimes officials decided to prosecute Dr. Tesch, Herr Weinbacher and Dr. Joachim Drosihn. [18] A British Military Tribunal was accordingly ordered convened by Sir Henry MacGeagh. C. L. Stirling, who already had served as Judge Advocate at the British trial of the Birkenau SS staff at Lueneburg was again named Judge Advocate. R. B. L. Persee was named President and Lt. Col. Sir Geoffrey Palmer and Major S. M. Johnson were named as members of the Tribunal. Capt. H. S. Marshall was designated as a waiting member.

On Friday, 1 March 1946, the Tribunal convened in Curiohaus, Hamburg. It was a trial that had to be held if the “Holocaust” allegations were ever to be anything more than malevolent tales conjured up by imaginative, vengeful inmates, escapees, war propagandists, and so forth, all with sinister, self-serving motivations and intents. It was a time during which Germany's recent conquerors were frantically scrambling to find the bricks with which to erect the all-absolving “Holocaust” edifice they needed so desperately. It was a desperation born of a compelling ur-

agency to justify their own past and future acts in Germany and elsewhere throughout the world as world powers, and to secure permanently the undisputed mastery ^[19] of Germany and Central Europe which they enjoyed in 1945 as a result of the bloody conflagration.

It must be pointed out that, regarding anything said in German (or French) at the Tribunal, we at this later date are at the mercy of the three translators and the three court reporters as to the accuracy of the translations and of the record. All Tribunal records were kept in English.

In accordance with decrees of the United Nations Occupation Forces, no former members of the NSDAP might practice law. Therefore all defense attorneys had to be free — in the minds of the prosecuting victors at least — of the slightest hint of NSDAP taint. In practice, potential difficulties were usually avoided by the tribunals' allowing only attorneys with actual anti-NSDAP histories to defend the accused. The defense attorneys were therefore from the beginning politically and ideologically hostile to those they were to defend! ^[20] Alternatively, the accused could have elected to be defended by a British officer as was done in Lueneburg at the trial of the Birkenau SS staff. (With the result that most of these were executed!) Civilian English attorneys were at this time strongly discouraged if not forbidden from acting in defense of German nationals in United Nations war crimes tribunals.

The German (anti-NSDAP) defense personnel, many of whom did not comprehend English fully, were required to follow British court procedure which was totally foreign to them. Their handicap was often so apparent that Major G. I. D. Draper, the British prosecutor, and even the British Judge Advocate, C. L. Stirling, felt compelled at times to ask the Defense if they did not have questions at particular points. This was a strange trial indeed. It should also be borne in mind that in the German law of the Third Reich, the prosecution was obligated by law to present any evidence in its possession which was favorable to the defendant. In the post-World War II war crimes trials in Germany, this was emphatically not the case. When queried on this point at Nuremberg by the German defense, the American prosecutor, Robert H. Jackson, stated that so allowing would entail the Prosecution's "serving two masters"! ^[21] The realistic objective of the United Nations prosecutors was not one of finding facts and arriving at verdicts justified by those facts but that of obtaining, by whatever means necessary, the testimony and evidence vital to support a preordained verdict. The well-known precepts of the Vishinsky-Moscow Trials were thus brought from the banks of the Moskva to the banks of the Regnitz.

From beginning to end, the Tribunal assumed the timbre of a dialog between victor and vanquished, between judge and culprit. And although after a period in which he would show characteristic British disdain and contempt for his anti-NSDAP German adversaries, Major Draper might refer to them as "my learned friends of the German bar," there was never, ever, any question as to whose hand held the gun. (And the scales.) Draper could lecture the German defense as much as he pleased on the awful burden placed upon the prosecution by British Law in requiring proof of the charges beyond all reasonable doubt, but there was never the slightest challenge to his continual statements that four million Jews were wantonly and purposefully killed by Germany at Auschwitz, that the alleged Gestapo and SS excesses were common and well-known practices, that foreign workers who came to Germany were in fact "slaves," and so on. Actually, the British Judge Advocate Stirling, having performed his appointed task at Lueneburg so well, sometimes joined in the accusations himself. These allegations were already being accepted by the Tribunal as incontrovertible fact, with only Dr. Charles Sigismund Bendel (a self-declared authority on Auschwitz-Birkenau who had testified previously at Lueneburg) and SS-Rottenführer Perry Broad giving anything approaching actual supporting, eyewitness evidence for the alleged mass murder at Auschwitz and Birkenau.

The interpreters were in continual difficulty. Providing accurate, instantaneous, oral translations — in a situation where a man's life may depend on the proper evaluation of a voice inflection, choice of the proper word, etc., — will always pose insurmountable technical difficulties. The interpreters had the further infuriating habit of using the word “gassing” whenever they obviously meant “fumigation” or “gassing” in the sense alleged in the “Holocaust” allegations. The stragem achieved its desired effect in the United Nations press, but here and in numerous other places, had records also been kept in German, I am certain there would have been numerous conflicts in the trial records.

Testimony

Of the witnesses called by the British prosecution, Emil Sehm presented the testimony which was most deadly to Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher. Sehm had been a bookkeeper at Tesch und Stabenow. It may actually have been he who initially contacted the British and denounced Dr. Tesch. Such actions were openly solicited by the United Nations. Sehm testified that in the Fall of 1942, while looking in the firm files for something entirely different, he came across a pink or red copy of a trip report which implicated Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher, as Tesch's proxy, in mass murder. In testifying to the alleged typed report, Sehm swore:

Dr. Tesch speaks about an interview he had with leading personalities of the German Wehrmacht. I remember a phrase saying that “Herr ...” — I do not remember the name — “told me that the shooting of Jews is growing more and more frequent and the burial of the great number is proving to be more and more unhygienic. To change this, it is proposed that the extermination of the Jews should be done now through the efforts of the prussic acid.” Dr. Tesch, asked to give, concerning this idea some propositions, “I, Dr. Tesch proposed to use prussic acid just as it is used for the elimination of vermin, to use it for the above mentioned purpose.”

Then, it is explained that those to be exterminated should be put into a previously prepared barracks, prepared in the same way as for the extermination of vermin. During the night some expert in this prussic acid gas method prepares the barracks, which are then later closed against intruding air. The next morning those who have been exterminated through this gas can be got rid of. I must add that in the beginning of the report it was mentioned that the Jews need not be buried, but they would be burned. Dr. Tesch takes these orders to train SS personnel in these matters concerning prussic acid gas.

Much of Sehm's testimony can be challenged for accuracy and consistency. It describes only very vaguely the basic killing procedure accepted and preached by the “Holocaust” high priesthood, and some of it even conflicts with or refutes their accepted stories. Nevertheless, it contains the fertile seeds necessary for gestating the “Holocaust” tales. These were:

- Identification of Dr. Tesch as the person who recommended as early as 1942 the use of Zyklon B in gas chambers as a more effective means of killing as opposed to shooting (or as opposed to the use of carbon monoxide, a la the testimony of Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss).
- Equation of Jews with vermin, with the implication that both were to be exterminated as pests by pest-control procedures.
- Identification of the SS as the agency responsible for killing Jews (although he also seems to attempt to implicate the Wehrmacht!).
- Disposal of Jewish corpses by cremation ("more hygienic").

The criteria for evaluating the acceptability of Sehm's testimony must be to judge his personal reliability and honesty, to check for unquestionable verification by reliable witnesses, and finally to judge its credibility and cohesiveness.

The pink copy of the alleged travel report supposedly written in the Fall of 1942 and allegedly seen by Sehm was, according to him, burned purposely along with a white original and a second pink copy — both of which no one ever saw — when the firm's files were destroyed in a bombing attack on 20 March 1945. Prior to the bombing, these files were open to everyone in the office and were locked only at night. If he had so wished, Sehm could easily have removed an entire copy even easier than he alleges he made notes from the copy he swore he saw. No one would have been wiser.

All the steno-typists of Tesch und Stabenow were questioned. If such a travel report had ever existed, one of them would have had to have taken it down in dictation and then type it in triplicate. All testified, however, that they had never seen nor typed such a report. One typist, Frau Anna Uenzelmann, testified that she had once understood Dr. Tesch to have said after a dictation session that he'd heard in Berlin that people were killed by Zyklon B, but there was no elaboration on his part as to whether this was accidental or not. Dr. Tesch did not even remember the incident. Another typist, Frl. Eliza Biagiru, testified that she had once read in a travel report of human beings being killed by Zyklon B at Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg. This event was poorly recalled and may have been actually a question put to Dr. Tesch during one of his classes at this camp. This testimony may also have been the result of an attempt by Sehm to intimidate the witness during her pre-trial interrogation by the British. At this interrogation, Sehm, obviously playing a leading role, falsely alleged that he had the missing, incriminating travel document from Dr. Tesch in his pocket.

The importance of the testimony from these two typists, however, is that neither corroborates Sehm's testimony. For that matter, they do not even support each other. All three testimonies clearly involve entirely separate and different places and events, uncorroborated by any other testimony!

"Substantiation" of Sehm's testimony rested completely on the testimony of three of his close, old friends: Wilhelm and Kate Pook and Bernhard Frahm. Sehm alleged that he showed to the Pooks the notes he made from the red or pink file copy at Tesch und Stabenow. He visited both regularly to discuss religion, politics, National Socialism, and other subjects, and they testified that they remembered "seeing" the notes. Under oath, Frau Pook testified first that she had seen the actual travel report itself. But when questioned further, she could say with certainty only that she had seen a "document," and excused her mistake by blaming the passage of four years for her uncertainty. On the advice of Wilhelm Pook, Sehm had allegedly burned his notes in an ash tray on the Pook's table.

Wilhelm Pook testified that Sehm had told him that Dr. Tesch was profiting in the range of RM20,000 to RM25,000 per quarter on Zyklon B sales alone. [\[22\]](#)

Even more remarkable and pertinent to the reliability of Sehm's testimony was the fact that both the Pooks, when first interrogated by the British, had forgotten completely to even mention the all-important incriminating "notes" or "travel report." Thereafter, after Sehm's first appearance before the military tribunal, the Pooks had discussed with him his testimony prior to their appearance before the Tribunal. When questioned closely, Frau Pook admitted that she didn't remember who had reminded whom (she Sehm, or Sehm her) that the "document" had been burned in an ash tray on her table. After such a discrediting group of admissions by witnesses called by the

British military prosecutor to give credence to Sehm's testimony, all Major Draper could do was ask Wilhelm Pook if he had told the truth, to which he answered "Yes." Both Pooks were then hurried out of the Tribunal.

Draper sought further to establish the credibility of Sehm's testimony by calling another of the latter's close friends, Bernhard Frahm. [23] Sehm alleged that several months after he burned his notes at the Pook's dwelling, he told Frahm of what he had found in the Tesch und Stabenow files. Herr Frahm professed to remember the occasion, but admitted he himself had not seen the incriminating notes written by Sehm. He added, however — certainly to the gratification of the Tribunal — that the Nazis considered anyone who opposed them to be "vermin" [24] or "Schaedlinger." He said that Sehm had told him Tesch und Stabenow were delivering gas and "stoves" [25] to kill humans.

This was the flimsy substance of Emil Sehm's testimony against Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher. No more substantial — rather less so — was the testimony of those called to substantiate it. Of four bookkeepers at Tesch und Stabenow, Sehm was the least important. He was a short-term employee and was quite dissatisfied with his position. Accordingly, he had requested to be released by his employer so that he might return to Koenigsberg, East Prussia, his native city, where he hoped to start a tax consulting business. Dr. Tesch, who was having difficulty finding employees in wartime, refused to release him, incurring as a result his hatred and wrath. In addition to being anti-NSDAP as were his friends, the Pooks and Frahm, Sehm already had cause to dislike if not hate Dr. Tesch, who was a Party member. Although he professed no ill will toward Dr. Tesch for refusing to release him, he described his former employer as an "intellectual sadist."

Of the witnesses who knew Dr. Tesch, however, only Sehm and Dr. Drosihn — the latter only after some prodding by Major Draper — spoke ill of him. It is difficult to escape the feeling that this was just one more instance where the end of the war, with its confusion and its bloody tribunals, was seized upon, as it must have been by many, as an opportunity to settle old, long-standing scores in those parts of Europe overrun by United Nations forces.

It seems quite obvious that the incriminating parts of Sehm's testimony are monstrous fabrications. Sensing the completely irresponsible character of this testimony, Dr. Zippel, who defended Dr. Tesch, lost no time in denouncing Sehm as a liar, and after offering examples to the Tribunal in which he had certainly lied under oath, proceeded to deal with the other testimony, believing that of Sehm to have been completely discredited. In the end, however, it was Sehm's incredible accusations in the hands of the British prosecutor, Draper, which provided all the substance the Military Tribunal wanted to tie Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher to the "Holocaust" juggernaut.

The next "witness" was Dr. Rudolf Diels who, because of his on-going interrogations for the Nuremberg Tribunal, could not be present at the Curiohaus Tribunal. His affidavit — also in English — was submitted in lieu of his appearance. This maneuver was used over and over again by those dedicated to the unquestioning service to "one master," [26] because of its efficacy in shielding from cross-examination by the defense those witnesses deemed weak or unreliable by the prosecution. It was only much later that the defense could force the appearances of such "witnesses" for cross-examination.

Dr. Diels's affidavit appears to be the German origin of the famous expression, "You'd better watch out or you'll go up the chimney!" This related to threats of death followed by cremation made to inmates by concentration camp guards. Diels swore that "in his opinion," gassing operations (presumably killing humans) were being talked about practically everywhere in Germany. His revelation that Zyklon B was manufactured in Hamburg was news to Dr. Tesch who, as a

user, would have been happy to know of a nearby supplier. (There was, of course, no such factory in Hamburg.)

Before being arrested by the Gestapo, first in March and again in August 1944, Dr. Diels had been President of Koeln und Hannover and then Chief of the Shipping Division of the Hermann Göring Works. His deposition, like that of Wilhelm Hoettl, fairly reeks of his desire to provide his captors with the evidence they so ardently sought. It is a curious mixture of what the occupation authorities already knew or believed they knew and what is little better than common gossip — so much so that Stirling, the British Judge Advocate, protested at having to hear all of it. Dr. Diels's affidavit was useful to the British Military Tribunal, however, in “establishing” the point that Germans such as Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher (neither of whom Diels knew) could not but have helped knowing that Jews were being killed with Zyklon B gas.

Far from it being common knowledge in Germany that people were being gassed, as Diels alleged, the vast majority of Germans were horrified by the United Nations accusations and they protested that they had never heard of such acts until after the cessation of hostilities when they had begun listening to United Nations broadcasts. They were, as mentioned previously, even more horrified to learn that the same enemies could after a mere thirty years again believe them capable of such deeds. Since the British Broadcasting Corporation had been broadcasting these accusations regularly for many months before the end of the war, those Germans who had “common knowledge” of the gassing before the war's end most likely got this “knowledge” from the BBC! This may explain at least a part of Dr. Diels's difficulties with the Gestapo, as the German authorities, who regularly recorded and monitored the United Nations propaganda broadcasts, [27] checking them for accuracy if deemed necessary, usually equated knowledge of the contents of these broadcasts with having listened illegally to them, or having associated with persons who had.

Diels' affidavit was followed by testimony from a number of Tesch und Stabenow employees. Among these were Frl. Biagini and Frau Uenzelmann, mentioned previously in connection with Sehm's testimony. The other steno-typists were also questioned about the travel report allegedly seen by Sehm, but none had typed or seen or heard of it. Besides office workers, field workers who had done contract fumigations at Auschwitz and other camps supervised by the SS were heard. No evidence was given, however, which supported the view that Tesch und Stabenow was anything other than a respected, reliable, busy, well-run pest-control firm.

The testimony of Wilhelm Bahr is of interest because, as an SS sanitation orderly from Neuengamme concentration camp, he, with nineteen others, had taken Dr. Tesch's short three-day course in fumigation with Zyklon B, using for training the fumigation chambers for clothing articles at the SS hospital at Oranienburg. These standard fumigation chambers had a volume of ten cubic meters and held from 40 to 50 pieces of clothing per charge. [28] This was the clothing normally from about 25 to 30 people. A fumigation chamber of this size required one 200 gram can [29] of Zyklon B to give the required gas concentration of 20 grams of Zyklon B gas per cubic meter of air. [30]

Bahr testified that Dr. Tesch did not train him and his colleagues specifically in killing humans, but he, Bahr, acting on orders from a Dr. von Bergmann (presumably a physician), killed 200 Russian prisoners-of-war with Zyklon B gas at Neuengamme once in 1942 by pouring five or six tins of Zyklon B (presumably 200 gram tins) into a barrack from a hole in its roof. In addition, he stated that he had seen the name of Tesch und Stabenow on the labels of cans of Zyklon B which he used at Neuengamme apparently for both fumigation operations and for the single admitted killing of Russian POWs. [31] Bahr was the single witness who definitely placed Zyklon B or-

dered through Tesch und Stabenow at the site of an alleged mass killing operation. This site, however, was at Neuengamme, not Auschwitz.

It is a tortured reasoning indeed which holds Dr. Tesch (and even more illogically, Herr Weinbacher) responsible for the alleged murders of 200 Russians killed by a man who confesses to the murder but testifies that a Dr. Von Bergmann ordered him to do it and that Dr. Tesch didn't train him to do it. If one believes that Bahr did in fact kill the Russians, Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher certainly had no responsibility. But, again, it was all the British Military Tribunal needed to establish firmly in the minds of the "Holocaust" disciples the mental picture of the sadistic SS sanitation orderly fiendishly dumping Zyklon B, ordered through Tesch und Stabenow, through openings in the ceiling into a chamber packed with pitiful, unsuspecting, for once Russian victims! (An occasional later variation on this main theme alleges that Zyklon B was added through wall ports.)

Unterscharführer (Corporal) Wilhelm Friedrich Bahr was himself awaiting trial for war crimes before a later British Military Tribunal. [32] Doubtless, he had been made aware of the seriousness of the charges against him and that his only possible chance of survival lay in accommodating his captors. As yet I have not discovered his subsequent fate.

The testimony of Rottenführer (Lance-corporal) Perry (Pery) Broad at Dr. Tesch's trial constitutes one of the most oft-cited and relied-upon supports for the charges of mass murder of Jews by Germans at Auschwitz-Zasole and Auschwitz-Birkenau. Along with his "Report" [33] and his testimony, he is responsible for the establishment of several concepts essential to the vivification and sustained vigor of the "Holocaust" tales. Broad testified that as early as 1942 he had heard rumors that gassing was being carried out "on a bigger scale" at Auschwitz-Zasole. He stated that he observed an actual "gassing" from the Truppenrevier (troop quarters) at a distance of 40-45 meters. This was in July of 1942. Several people in gas masks were on the roof of the old crematorium. They hammered open tins (presumably of Zyklon B) and poured the contents into six holes each ten centimeters (four inches) in diameter [34] leading apparently through the roof to a chamber underneath. Broad alleged that 300 to 500 people were in the "Old Crematorium." After 2-3 minutes, the screaming ended. He assumed that people were killed in this manner once or twice a month, but stated that he actually witnessed only one "gassing" this closely. He testified that in the Fall of 1944, he had observed "gassing" at Auschwitz-Birkenau but from a much greater distance. At Birkenau, he testified, there were four crematories, [35] and in March and April of 1944, 19,000 persons a day were killed with Zyklon B from tin cans. He said he was certain tin cans were used because he saw the cans in a car driven by a disinfecter who had given him a ride. But he could not identify the labels on the cans as identifying material ordered through Tesch und Stabenow.

Broad estimated that a total of 2½ to 3 million Jews from Belgium, Holland, France, Northern Italy, Czechoslovakia and Poland, as well as Gypsies and German deportees, had been killed at Auschwitz-Birkenau. These victims included babies and the elderly. Broad's testimony supported the notion that "selection" meant instant death in a gas chamber upon arrival without registration at the camp. [36] Cremation allegedly followed.

The capacities of the crematory/gas-chambers, according to Broad who admitted he was never in one, were as follows: Birkenau crematories I and II — 3,000 to 4,000 people each in underground rooms. Birkenau crematories III and IV — 2,000 each at ground level. Birkenau crematory V had a capacity, he said, of 800 to 1,200 people but contained only a gas stove. He asserted that his detailed information came from guards and from the fact that he had witnessed barrack fumigations and assumed that procedure to be the same as that used in killing. (See Bendel's tes-

timony, below.) Broad continued that the killing was actually done by the fumigators or disinfectors who fumigated clothing. He testified that in 1942 and 1943, the bodies, so far as possible, were cremated in crematories. [37] Thereafter, they were burned on pyres in the open air, because the crematories had insufficient capacities. Broad declared that the clothing from the victims was sent to the Volksdeutschemittlestelle. The killing was allegedly carried out using two of the larger (1 kilogram) tins. [38] Broad testified that in March and April of 1944, trains were lined up at Birkenau waiting to make their deliveries of humans to the gas chambers. Three hours were allegedly required to process a load of victims through the gas chambers and the crematories.

What Perry Broad's testimony, as a former member of the SS, accomplished was to give vital muscle and life to the feeble anemic statements of Sehm and to what previously had only been suspect, irresponsible, and disconnected allegations by United Nations propagandists. An argumentatively supportable, although admittedly far-fetched, killing operation was described in which nameless, faceless, unidentifiable millions were marched unrecognized, uncounted, and unregistered en masse from countless trains straightaway into waiting gas chambers, and there killed with Zyklon B and cremated — passing from illusory, allegedly uncontested existence into the dusty oblivion of "Holocaust" immortality in the short space of three hours. This testimony must have removed any lingering hesitation from the "searching" minds of the British Military Tribunal, straining to substantiate the wartime propaganda allegations and upon whose verdict Dr. Tesch's and Herr Weinbacher's lives unfortunately depended. The Tribunal must now have felt absolutely secure in declaring that "German monsters" had "gassed" six million helpless Jews. Broad had provided them with a position which, although admittedly controversial, was argumentatively supportable in that it probably could not be disproved unequivocally in minds eager to believe it and, therefore, all other facts could and would be fitted somehow into this overall, general picture, distorted though it might be in some particulars.

Rottenführer Perry Broad was himself in jeopardy on at least two counts. As a Brazilian citizen serving as an SS volunteer, he could have been executed for treason in time of war. As a member of the SS detachment at Auschwitz he, having already miraculously escaped death at capture, was a prime candidate for at least a Soviet labor camp for an undetermined number of years — if he was ever surrendered to Soviet control. Unless he mollified his captors, a train trip to Vienna via the US-run concentration camp at Eppensee [39] and finally to Russia, a trip many others in the SS had taken, was a strong probability. Broad did what he deemed necessary for his survival.

A close study of his testimony and his "Report" discloses many fallacies and contradictions, many of which must have been apparent to the British Tribunal. Suspicion of that small remainder of his evidence was justified by the fact that at the Frankfurt "Auschwitz Trial" in 1964-1965, he did exactly what numerous other witnesses did who had had testimony exacted from them by threats, coercion, or promises. (Those, that is, who were afterward allowed to live.) At a later date, feeling no longer the danger of imminent death, imprisonment or deportation at the hands of enraged, unrestrained captors, he denounced large portions of his earlier, life-saving testimony as being based upon what he had heard rather than upon what he had witnessed. This about-face led Hannah Arendt and others at the time of the "Auschwitz Trial" [40] to describe Broad in terms much less complimentary than those used by Major Draper at the Curiohaus proceedings. [41]

Of the accusing cacophony heard at the British Luene-burg Tribunal, only two witnesses, on reflection by the Prosecution, were chosen to give testimony at the trial of Dr. Tesch and Hart Weinbacher. The first of these was Dr. Charles Sigismund Bendel. In general, he supported the gross allegations made by Broad, although tending to conflict with him on specific points. Declaring himself an authority on Birkenau, he seemed to imply that he, as a physician, obtained his information either from being part of, or in charge of, the 900-man "Sonderkommando"

which allegedly operated the crematories. From his testimony, it appears that the German term for this commando unit may have been "Hilflinger," or "helpers." He asserted that during the almost twelve months he was at Birkenau, the Germans killed one million persons with Zyklon B, and that he performed post mortems on some of these victims. May, June, and July of 1944, he asserted, were the months of greatest killing activity. At the peak, in June, 25,000 persons were killed each day. Between May and June of 1944, he declared, 400,000 were killed, and a further 80,000 between 15 July and 1 September 1944. Dr. Bendel alleged that he witnessed the killing process itself, which, he said, was carried out by SS volunteers. Transports of 300 or fewer persons were shot; larger groups were "gassed" in the crematories or the "Bunker." In contrast to Broad, Dr. Bendel placed the capacities of Birkenau's crematory-gas chambers I and II at 2,000 each. Birkenau crematories III and IV [42] allegedly held 1,000 each, while a "Bunker" — not Broad's "crematory V" — held 1,000.

Bendel testified that both underground chambers in crematories I and II were used for gassing and said the gas was added "from the roof, and it came straight down until it touched the floor." The 2,000 victims were packed naked into these two 10 meter by 4 meter by 1.72 meter chambers, their clothes having previously been taken from them for fumigation at Auschwitz-Zasole in a facility known to him. After killing, Bendel alleged, the hair was cut off the victims and the gold was taken from their dental work. He testified that the yield of gold during the lifetime of the camp was 17 tons (17,000 kg.) from four million victims.

Further, Dr. Bendel stated that during the entire two years of his imprisonment by the Germans, he observed only one [43] fumigation of a barracks with Zyklon B. "Lisoform," (apparently a cresol derivative similar to "Lysol") was the material used by the Germans for disinfection, he said. Zyklon B was used solely for killing people, and two 1 kilogram tin canisters were used in each of the underground chambers. He stated that a 1 kilogram can of Zyklon B was capable of killing 500 people, [44] so at a rate of 25,000 killings per day, fifty 1 kilogram tins of the material were required per day. The bodies of the victims were thrown into cremation pits where, after one hour, they had become ashes and disappeared. [45] Finally, Dr. Bendel testified that the Zyklon B was brought into the camp in a Red Cross van but was not delivered by the Red Cross itself.

Dr. Bendel was a Rumanian-Jewish physician who had been arrested in Paris on 4 November 1943, and sent to Drancy. On 10 December 1943, as a result of his not having French citizenship and as a result of his anti-German activities, he was shipped "east" to Auschwitz as a danger to the German war effort. He was an inmate in Auschwitz-Zasole, Auschwitz-Buna (Monowitz) and Auschwitz-Birkenau before evacuation to Mauthausen. He was at Birkenau from 27 February 1943 until January 1944. As a physician at Birkenau and a member of — perhaps even a leader of — the crematory "Sonderkommando" or "Hilflinger," he held a position envied by the other inmates, because he had special privileges (special quarters, special food, etc.) and was always suspected of collaboration with the Germans. This collaboration indeed seems probable, because he admitted at Lueneburg that he had obtained his position at Birkenau through the efforts of Dr. Mengele. Quite possibly, with all the disease in the camp and the eternal shortage of physicians — and considering that he claimed to have done post mortem examinations — he may have been one of Dr. Mengele's helpers or "Hilflinger."

Bendel's fantastic testimony can be challenged for many factual transgressions. He professed to know a lot about the killing operation, but he limits his details to the operation of Birkenau crematories I and II and completely omits any detail of the operations in crematories III and IV [46] and the ever-elusive "Bunker." He does not even betray the "Bunker's" location. His allegations that both underground rooms in each of crematories I and II were gas chambers conflicts totally

with the process described by the Auschwitz Museum authorities who aver that only one room which had one small entry door served this purpose. [47] It is the Auschwitz Museum version which is supported by the OSS/CIA pictures released in 1979 showing single “gas chambers” each with four “gas shafts” attached to crematories I and II.

Inconsistencies and impossibilities, however, apparently did not bother Dr. Bendel. His additional statements under cross-examination that 1,000 naked bodies could be crammed into some 64 cubic meters “by the German technique” and that “four million people who were gassed at Auschwitz are the witnesses” completely cowed and intimidated the German defense. The defense on precisely these points, and on numerous others, should have then and there ripped his testimony to shreds. Instead, at one point when it appeared that Bendel might be backed into a corner by the anti-NSDAP German defense and forced to give a detailed answer to a question about a previous accusation, he was allowed to make another horrendous accusation, and thereby avoided giving a detailed explanation of either accusation. As it was, his statements were a series of gratifying bonuses for the British Military Tribunal with its predestined objective, and “chutzpah” triumphed again! [48]

Dr. Sigismund Bendel, who gave his testimony in French, hoping perhaps thereby to eventually gain French citizenship, gave testimony generally much less believable than that of Broad. The use of three languages obviously increased translation difficulties, but such difficulties could not possibly result in the gross error and fantastic physical impossibilities brazenly stated in his testimony. [49]

The very effective United Nations practice of introducing affidavits in lieu of witnesses who could be cross-examined was again resorted to in the case of the second “witness” from the British Military Tribunal at Lueneburg, Dr. Ada Bimko. Being indisposed because of “acute angina pectorum,” she could not parade before the Curiohaus Tribunal as she had done at Lueneburg, but her testimony was presented in the form of the two affidavits which she had already presented at Lueneburg. One of these affidavits stated that Zyklon B gas from a cylinder was run through pipes into and out of shower heads to kill the unsuspecting victims, who were expecting a shower bath. [50] Dr. Bimko was quite certain of herself, because she had observed no floor drains in the shower rooms, thus making them without question “gas chambers.” She swore that records of the camp, secretly kept by the inmates themselves, and which she had examined, showed that about 4,000,000 persons had been cremated. She also swore that an SS Unterscharführer whose name she had forgotten but who was a member of the camp medical staff had shown her the “crematory-gas chamber.” She also referred to five crematories at Birkenau.

Dr. Ada Bimko was a Jewish physician from Sosnowitz, Poland, who had been at Auschwitz. Her depositions are freely sprinkled with “I was told's” and “They said's.” On the sixth day of the Lueneburg Tribunal, she admitted that before her transfer to the Bergen-Belsen transit camp, she had been in charge of the Birkenau inmate hospital in Section B-3 (“Mexiko”), a fairly responsible job. Quite likely, she was in the same precarious position as Dr. Bendel — attempting to do sufficient penance with services rendered to placate the wrath of her co-religionists — and she went on obligingly from addendum to addendum in her depositions. There are four addenda in one deposition! This penance maneuver worked in many, perhaps even in most, cases. Thus it was all the more noteworthy when it occasionally failed, as it did in the case of Dr. Rezsoe (Rudolf) Kastner of the Budapest Zionist Relief Committee.

In her haste and eagerness to satisfy her interrogators, Dr. Bimko had unwittingly performed a service for the later historical revisionists. She actually described not Birkenau crematories I and II, which without question were crematories, but the buildings which the Germans described as

“Badeanstalt fuer Sonderaktion,” commonly referred to by the “Holocaust” historians as Birkenau crematoriums III and IV. The description given by Dr. Bimko sounds, for those who have seen it, very similar to a description of the shower installation at Dachau [51] — a concrete ceiling with rows of spray fittings, i.e., a shower bath!

The testimony of Alfred Zaun, the head bookkeeper at Tesch und Stabenow, established the quantities of Zyklon B ordered through them for various users (Tables I-III). Figures were available for 1942 and 1943, because, as has been noted, after 1943 all German government users drew their supplies of Zyklon B from the Wehrmacht Hauptsanitätspark in Berlin. This new supply arrangement started, therefore, some two months before Dr. Bendel arrived at Birkenau!

In 1942, Tesch und Stabenow ordered a grand total of 79,069.9 kg. of Zyklon B; in 1943, 119,458.4 kg. This involved a total of 9,131.6 kg. to all camps in 1942 and 18,302.9 kg. in 1943. The Auschwitz complex received 7,500 kg. in 1942 and 12,000 kg. in 1943. At the same time, the Wehrmacht Hauptsanitätspark in Berlin, [52] which after 1943 supplied all Government users, received 11,232.0 kg. in 1942 and 19,982.0 kg. in 1943 — a larger quantity in both years than the combined total for the concentration camps. These German Government orders had taken precedence over other orders from Norway for 5,794 kg. in 1942 and 12,004 kg. in 1943 as well as orders from the Finnish Army for 7,052.5 kg. in 1942 and 10,000.5 kg. in 1943.

Enormous as these quantities are in light of their unquestioned capacity to kill humans, [53] they are insufficiently small when considered in light of the huge fumigation [54] and delousing job that had to be accomplished just to keep epidemics at bay. Because Zyklon B could always be used to good advantage, much more of the material was normally ordered than could possibly be delivered. It simply was impossible to get more of it in wartime, shortage-ridden Germany regardless of the need. An idea of the degree of this shortage can be gained from the Finnish Army order in 1942. They ordered 15,000 kg. and received a mere 7,052.5 kg. As the war continued, the shortages grew more acute.

The profit realized by Tesch und Stabenow from the sale of Zyklon B to the combined Auschwitz Complex was RM4,500 in 1942 and RM5,000 in 1943 (Table III). This was about 1/18th the amount that Wilhelm Pook testified Sehm had told him Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher were making from such sales. In 1942 Tesch und Stabenow made a total net profit of RM 113,000 and the next year RM 143,000. The gross profits from sales of Zyklon B purchased for the Auschwitz camps was less than 4% of the company's yearly net profits. In U.S. dollars at that time, these gross profits represented about \$1,000 in 1942 and \$1,250 in 1943. Zyklon B sales to Auschwitz were, therefore, hardly a factor in the enrichment of Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher. The Prosecution, as true warriors in “class warfare,” [55] alleged that Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher were typically so rapacious that they would do anything for a few more Reichsmarks.

The defense

In presenting its case, the German defense could do little more than place the defendants on the witness stand, calling in addition persons who had known them and their work and having these persons testify under oath as to the characters of Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher. In a situation all too characteristic of the post-World War II United Nations Military Tribunals, it was obvious from the beginning of the proceedings that the burden of proof lay heaviest upon the defense, and that burden was one of disproving beyond a doubt the accusations made frivolously and without restraint by the Prosecution — all this quite contrary to Major Draper's pious declamations (of the defendants being innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt) otherwise. Stirling, the British Judge Advocate at Lueneburg, had already ruled that 4½ million Jews had been killed

with Zyklon B. Was he now likely to reverse his judgment as a result of any evidence presented in Dr. Tesch's case? By this time, the die was cast! Someone logically had to have recommended the use of the poison and also furnished it for that purpose.

Dr. Tesch admitted his connection with Zyklon B and its commercial development, as a result of his efforts, into a useful, effective fumigant. He discussed its use in fumigation chambers to fumigate clothing and the necessity of simultaneous bathing to kill body lice if people were being deloused [56] to prevent typhus epidemics. In this regard, he pointed out that Gentiles and Jews from the eastern regions were equally afflicted with typhus-carrying lice. He denied vehemently, however, every time he was questioned about it, ever having recommended or known of the use of Zyklon B to purposely kill humans. On the contrary, he emphasized, his efforts had always been, rather, to protect humans and save their lives! In spite of all safety precautions, there had been regrettable accidents while using the lethal material, but in no way had there ever been, to his knowledge, intentional killings. If he had learned Zyklon B was being misused to kill people, he would have stopped ordering the material for the offending user immediately.

His firm had contracted to fumigate barracks in several camps. Auschwitz camps were included in these, but the SS on their own responsibility also fumigated barracks. Because of the known size of the Auschwitz complex with its many sub-camps (Table IV) and the known high level of louse infestation in that area, the amount of Zyklon B ordered for Auschwitz through his firm prior to 1944 was not considered excessive. Rather, Auschwitz probably could have used much more Zyklon B in its fumigation operations had it been available, and thus reduced further the many deaths resulting from typhus. [57]

In his cross-examination, the British Military Prosecutor, Major Draper, was obviously more interested in the political implications of the trial rather than in whether Dr. Tesch actually was guilty of the charge as stated in the indictment. Draper's manner was abusive, and his questions were usually "loaded."

All Draper's questions Dr. Tesch attempted to answer fully. He had joined the NSDAP on 1 May 1933, but was not an active member. His wife was also a Party member. Yes, for RM2.00 per month, [58] he was also a "supporting member" of the SS, but for this he received no favors and might not wear a uniform. He would not agree that the SS was the most ferocious anti-Jewish Party group. No, he did not believe the Jews should be persecuted, but he believed they should leave public life and lead their own lives. No, there had never been persecution of Jews in Germany comparable to that in (Czarist) Russia. He had read inflammatory articles against the Jews and had heard of synagogue burnings, but these acts were openly criticized by most Germans. Goebbels had triggered these excesses, but Hitler had stopped them. He had not heard of the destruction of Jewish property. Draper asked him: "Is it now clear, do you agree with me that your gas helped to exterminate four million people in one concentration camp?" To this rather complex, loaded question, Dr. Tesch answered, according to the translator: "That I did not know; if it was my gas I did not know it."

The translators do not quote Dr. Tesch as saying that Bendel lied, although there are numerous examples during the trial in which Bendel obviously did just that. Rather, Dr. Tesch is placed in the much weaker position of saying that Bendel "passed the truth" and "exaggerated." Because the record is in English, we will never know whether Dr. Tesch could not bring himself to believe that an educated man, such as he considered Bendel to be, would blatantly and glibly lie knowing that he was sending innocent men to their deaths, or whether it was a fluke in the interpreters' choices of words. Might it have been the intent of the translators to leave the impression that as a result of guilt, Dr. Tesch didn't have the nerve to accuse his antagonist of lying?

Dr. Tesch found Broad's testimony much more believable, but pointed out that Broad had not identified the Zyklon B he saw at Auschwitz as having been ordered through Tesch und Stabenow, and that he had revealed that a manufacturer of Zyklon B was located near Auschwitz. As a scientific man accustomed to reason in word and thought, Dr. Tesch pointed out that if humans were ever packed into any space as tightly as Dr. Bendel testified, they would promptly suffocate, making the use of poison gas quite superfluous. He had heard that in Riga, Latvia, a group containing a few Jews had been shot for crimes they had committed in wartime. He could not understand how Dr. Diels could say what he did in his affidavit with no evidence to support his charges. He was unaware that the SS were a law unto themselves and not subject to ordinary courts, as Draper averred. Nor had he known that the Gestapo used methods different from ordinary police; he had had no reason to doubt their integrity. He had not heard of four million people going "up the chimney" (as smoke) at Auschwitz.

Yes, he still believed that Zyklon B was used only for fumigation. Responding to this, Draper asked: "Did you feel the SS were more reliable than the Allied [United Nations] authorities, as a matter of information?" Dr. Tesch answered with honesty and great perception (again according to the interpreter): "I cannot say because during the war I did not hear anything else. Today, I think that something might be true but probably there are exaggerations or misunderstandings." Draper replied: "Were you aware that the murder of the four million was partly arranged by the Reicharzt SS?" Dr. Tesch answered: "This is quite news to me. I have never thought of that."

Dr. Tesch then proceeded to say that during his visit to the Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg concentration camp, the inmates in striped suits looked well-fed, healthy and "quite happy." He had heard Hitler say in a speech that a Jewish Zone was being set up in the eastern provinces, and he believed him. Further, he had no reason to believe that Hitler had lied to the Germans. He believed that Hitler and the SS had been perfectly correct in their behavior. He believed Sehm and Bendel to be incorrect in their testimony. Sehm had probably misinterpreted an unimportant remark and invented the remainder; his testimony was "quite impossible." The thought of killing Jews with Zyklon B had never occurred to Dr. Tesch, who believed also that the other witnesses misunderstood something they saw or heard. He did not believe that concentration camps were a natural consequence of the NSDAP but that they were originated to contain persons considered dangerous to the state. Dr. Tesch ended his testimony by saying: "I was not a militant member of the Nazi [sic] Party but I was always loyal to the German State."

With these honest, forthright statements, Dr. Tesch had more or less sealed his own doom and dragged his unfortunate business associate, Herr Weinbacher, into the maelstrom along with him.

Major Draper had failed to prove that either Dr. Tesch or Herr Weinbacher was involved in any alleged plot to kill Jews (or Russians, or anyone else) with Zyklon B or even that the Zyklon B allegedly seen at Auschwitz by Broad had without question been ordered through Tesch und Stabenow. What Draper had done was to produce warm, live bodies to fill roles which had been conjured up deductively and rationalistically to conform to and support the war-time "Holocaust" allegations of Germany's accusers. One of these was an apparently repentant SS man who, for whatever reasons he might have had, testified under oath ^[59] that what the United Nations propaganda mills had been screaming about for years was true. That, along with the rabid testimonials at the Lueneburg Bergen-Belsen Tribunal, provided a tale which, if not examined too closely for accuracy and cohesiveness, could be used to calm and reassure those United Nations nationals who had been waiting uneasily for the revelations at war's end which would justify the many self-serving allegations disseminated by propagandists in the prosecution of the war. Many were doubtless fearful of another post-war investigation of such charges, á la that which followed

World War I, and of what might occur if the people of the United Nations should discover that they had been monstrously deceived a second time by anti-German propagandists.

To the drama created by Broad's testimony, Draper added Dr. Bruno Tesch, cast in the role of a brazen, diabolical, unrepentant, unrehabilitatable "Nazi," a "member" of the "infamous" SS, the developer of the iniquitous Zyklon B, an obvious German heretic and fanatic who, even after seeing the many bloated corpses of Bergen-Belsen, Dachau, etc. in the United Nations sponsored newspapers, still had the effrontery, the unmitigated gall, even as a prisoner before the United Nations Bar of Justice, to doubt and question the "facts" established; to maintain that from what he knew Nazi racial policy did not lead inevitably to concentration camps and gas chambers, that the SS did not purposefully kill at least four million Jews at Auschwitz with Zyklon B developed, recommended and provided by him to the concentration camps for that purpose, and so on.

Most certainly, Dr. Tesch could never become a "born-again German" through any of those quasi-religious, mock-baptismal cleansing rites of intellect cartharsis, called "Denazification" or "Reeducation," which Germany's conquerors were yet to decree for Germans who possessed concepts and values contrary to their own.

The British Military Tribunal was confronted with an elementary problem of logic. If, on the basis of the obviously sullied, unclean testimony presented against Dr. Tesch, they acquitted him and Herr Weinbacher, there would have been no one else apparently at hand against whom could be made the accusation of supplying Zyklon B or initially recommending its use to kill Jews. If, indeed, there was a "Holocaust," someone had to have carried out these functions.

With no "Holocaust" to take their place in the columns of the world's newspapers, the many surreptitious, undercover activities, plans and responsibilities of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his proto-United Nations co-conspirators prior to, during and after the war — today still too-little publicized — would have come under immediate, murderous, and lasting scrutiny. This would have resulted in the United Nations wartime charges and the (still-vulnerable) "integrity" of this organization being ripped asunder in a manner which would have made the revelations about Allied lies found in the World War I Bryce Committee Report on propaganda charges look by comparison like reports on a love feast. If the many plans already formulated diplomatically and formally or informally in war conferences were to be fully, irreversibly implemented as the planners wished, the "New" United Nations organization would have to have the full support of those who might otherwise strongly oppose it. The wartime "atrocities propaganda" charges made by the victors to inflame their soldiers and citizenry, and to justify and condone their own use of progressively more violent, ruthless measures against Germany and Japan, simply had to be sustained after the war. There was emphatically to be no "Peace Without Victory" this time, no "Forgive and Forget." And — no "coming clean" about wartime propaganda charges. [60]

C. L. Stirling, who had already functioned as Judge Advocate at the Lueneburg British Military Tribunal regarding the Birkenau SS staff must have pondered his personal position were Dr. Tesch to be freed. A large number of Germans — some of them women — had already been killed by the British because they had allegedly killed all those people at Auschwitz. Any decision in the Tesch/Weinbacher trial simply had to conform to this fact. An acquittal would have been most embarrassing, given what had already been "decided" about Auschwitz — and already done (executions) about it. Stirling was doubtless chosen for both his offices — as were the others — on the basis of his dedication and adaptability to the goals and the great "New" postwar world envisioned by the founding fathers of the United Nations, the Illuminati of the impending Utopian Millennium! Any doubts or stirrings of conscience cannot, therefore, have posed a problem insurmountable to Stirling. The loss of Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher, even if innocent,

would be no loss at all to the “New Germany” in the “New World Order” envisioned by the United Nations.

Verdict, Sentence, Execution

The verdict was short. Both Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher were declared “guilty.” Dr. Drosihn was acquitted. The Tribunal’s sentence: Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher must hang! Another British Military Tribunal (there were to be 216 such tribunals) had cut a swath through Germans.

There were still attempts to avoid execution of the sentence. Both condemned men protested their innocence in appeals to the Commander of the 8th Corps District of the British Army of the Rhine. Briefs from their defense attorneys were attached outlining and documenting more fully the unreliable character of the testimonies of Sehm, Broad, Bendel, and the others. The appeals were denied. A subsequent appeal for a pardon for both men was made by the employees of Tesch und Stabenow, and yet another for a pardon for Herr Weinbacher was made by his stepsister. These appeals were similarly refused.

On 26 April 1946, Montgomery of Alamein, Commander-in-Chief, BAOR, issued death warrants to the Director or Officer-in-Charge of the Hamburg Prison to execute Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher within 24 hours after receipt of the writ. Both warrants were executed at 11:23 AM on 16 May 1946, at Hameln Zuchthaus (prison). Dr. Bruno Tesch and Herr Karl Weinbacher were dead.

Both these honorable, innocent men died, probably aghast that such a monster masquerading as “Justice,” which had previously raged east of the Bug River, now stalked purposefully with unchecked violence east of the Maas River.

For Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher, the ordeal was ended. But for those Germans still alive out of what had been a Nation of 80 million [61] before the war, it had barely begun. An ordeal of far greater magnitude was about to be unleashed upon them with deadly, methodical, Cromwellian-puritan efficiency and fury, with the “Holocaust” tales associated with Zyklon B and, principally, the Auschwitz camp, cited over and over again — to this day — as the ostensible “moral” justification. The trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch and his associates was of no small importance to the firm establishment of these tales. We have seen how that trial was conducted, and on what bases it reached its conclusions. From this some conclusions of our own about how to approach and examine one of the most astounding and incredible collections of tales in not only recent, but all, history, must naturally follow.

Zyklon B Users Ordering Through Tesch und Stabenow (1)

I. German Government Users (Before 1944)		
	A. Concentration Camps	
		1. Auschwitz Complex
		2. Gross Rosen
		3. Majdanek-Lublin
		4. Neuengamme-Hamburg
		5. Ravensbrueck
		6. Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg

	B. Wehrmacht Hauptsanitätspark, Berlin
	C. SS Voransalon (2) (Including Waffen SS)
II. German Non-Government, Non-Military Users	
	A. Disinfection Institute of City of Guthafen
	B. German Hygiene Institute, Riga
	C. City Police, Stettin
	D. Burgomeister's Office, Danzig
	E. German Railway Repair Works, Posen
III. Foreign Users	
	A. Finnish Army, Helsinki
	B. Norsk Fumigating Company, Oslo

Quantities of Zyklon B Ordered Through or by Tesch und Stabenow for Various Users in 1942 and 1943 (3)

User	Year		In-crease
	1942	1943	1942-43
Total Zyklon B Ordered Through or by Tesch und Stabenow (kg.)	79,069.9	119,458.4	151%
Total Zyklon B Ordered for All German Government Users (kg.)	20,363.6	38,284.9	188%
Percentage Represented of Total Tesch und Stabenow Orders	25.75%	32.05%	
Total Zyklon B Ordered for Wehrmacht Hauptsanitätspark, Berlin (kg.)	11,232.0	19,982.0	178%
Percentage Represented of Total Tesch und Stabenow Orders	14.21%	16.73%	
Total Zyklon B Ordered for ALL Concentration camps (kg.)	9,131.6	18,302.9	200%
Percentage Represented of Total Tesch und Stabenow Orders	11.55%	15.32%	
Total Zyklon B Ordered for Auschwitz camps (kg.)	7,500	12,000	160%
Percentage Represented of Total Tesch und Stabenow Orders	9.48%	10.05%	
Total Zyklon B Ordered for Other Non-German) Users Finnish Army, Helsinki, Finland (kg.)	7,052.5	10,000	142%

Norsk Fumigating Company, Oslo, Norway [kg.]	5,794.8	12.004	207%
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Tesch und Stabenow Profits for Years 1942 and 1943 and Their Dependence Upon Zyklon B Orders (4)

1942	(All Figures in Reichsmarks)	1943 (5)
113,000	Tesch und Stabenow Total Net Profit	143,000
425,000	Total Value Of Zyklon B Ordered By or Through Tesch und Stabenow	396,000
92,000	Total Gross Profit from Zyklon B Ordered by or Through Tesch und Stabenow	127,000
12,096	Total Gross Profit From Processing Orders for Zyklon B for Government Users	12,900 (6)
5,424	Total Gross Profits From Processing Orders for Zyklon B for All Camps	6,167 (7)
4,500 (4%)	Total Gross Profits From Orders Processed By Tesch und Stabenow for the Auschwitz Camps (8)	5,000(3.5%)

The Camps Associated With the Auschwitz Complex (9)

Auschwitz I — Auschwitz-Zasole (The “Stammlager” — Original Camp, Headquarters for the entire complex)	
Auschwitz II — Auschwitz-Birkenau ("Birkenau")	
Auschwitz III — Auschwitz-Buna ("Monowitz" [I.G. Farbenindustrie])	
Babice	Ledziny-Lawki
Blachowinia Slaska	Libiaz Maly
Brobek	Lagiewniki
Budy	Lagisza Cmentarna
Bruenn (Czechoslovakia)	Plawy
Chelmek	Prudnik
Chorzow	Rajsko
Czechowic	Rydultowy
Dziedzice	Rybnik
Czernia	Siemianowice
Gleiwitz (4 Camps)	Sosnowiec
Goleszow	Stara
Hajduki	Kuznia
Harmenze	Swietochlowice

Huta Ksiazeca	Trachy
Jawoszpwoce	Trzebinia
Jawornzno	Trzebionka
Kobior	Zabrze

Notes

1.  Robert H. Jackson, United States; I. Nikitchenko and A. Trainin, USSR; Viscount (William Allen) Jowitt, United Kingdom; Robert Falco, France. Trial of the Major War Criminals (hereafter cited as TMWC), Vol. 1, p. 8.
2.  The “Durchgangslager” (transit camp) Bergen-Belsen was a camp primarily for Jews destined to leave Europe, usually via Spain. Here, the dead were primarily Jewish. In other camps, the dead were overwhelmingly Polish.
3.  See statements by Lord Justice Sir Geoffrey Lawrence, TMWC, Vol. IX, pp. 33-34.
4.  In view of the recent happenings involving Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, who because of his authorship of the book *Der Auschwitz Mythos: Legende oder Wirklichkeit?* (Tübingen: Grabert Verlag, 1979) suffered the “withdrawal” or “revocation” by the Georg-August University in Goettingen of the doctoral title awarded him there in 1951 (presumably for academic excellence), it is of interest to observe that Dr. Kolb — who was awarded his title (Dr. phil.) in 1959 — has apparently done quite well since 1960 as “Assistent am Historischen Seminar der Universitaet Goettingen” by hawking the version of history deemed “kosher” by the occupation authorities. For years, some have looked derisively upon the social studies as disciplines being no more than exercises in remembering and “regurgitating” dogma solemnly pronounced in lecture. Without the active questioning, searching and testing provided by the historical revisionists, it is difficult to see how the study of history could be much more!
5.  New York Times, 22 April 1945, p. 12.
6.  It is the detailed study of the individual mental gymnastics of these witnesses in the various cases, each struggling to save his own life with stories of his own invention, mingled with just enough truth to deceive the unwary, striving to support the thesis of the Prosecution and yet leave himself guiltless, which has been most fruitful for the historical revisionist. With concentrated, in-depth study, the “Holocaust” accusations become a tangled mass of conflicting, even self-refuting charges, clearly tailored at the time to support the general charges preordained and demanded by the United Nations prosecutors.
7.  Besides being very destructive to foods and other goods, vermin and insects are dangerous carriers of diseases harmful to humans.
8.  As wartime shortages grew more acute, the lachrymator or “warning agent” was omitted, this change and the attendant danger being duly noted on the billing and on the can label.
9.  Because of its deadliness, Zyklon B was always sold in sheet steel cans which had been soldered shut at the factory. They were opened by placing a special circular cutter on the can and hitting it once sharply with a hammer. Once the can-top was cut out in this manner, all the material contained in the can was to be used. The can could not be resealed. Zyklon B was sold and priced according to the amount (by weight) of hydrogen cyanide contained in the can (RM5.00/kg.), and this weight was always printed clearly on the label. The can sizes in Germany were: 100g., 200g., 500g., 1,000g., and 1,500g. — the weights referring to contained hydrogen cyanide. The corresponding total can weights were about three times

these given weights because of the weight of the absorbent material and the can itself. The fatal dosage of hydrogen cyanide for a normal-sized man varies, but Puntigam, Breymesser and Bernfus (*Blausaeuregaskammern zur Fleckfieberabwehr*, p. 200), give this dosage as about 70 milligrams. A hydrogen cyanide concentration of 50 parts per million (0.005%) in air is considered dangerous to human life. At 200ppm. (0.02%), loss of consciousness may be rapid, following by death if medical treatment is not promptly administered. At higher concentrations, hydrogen cyanide forms explosive mixtures with air. The explosive range is from 6-41 % (vol.) of hydrogen cyanide in air. There was also a “Zyklon A.” Chemically, it was methyl cyanoformate. It also was highly toxic and was a good fumigating agent, but since it was potentially useful as a war gas and as a chemical intermediate for war gases, Germany was forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles to manufacture it. It could have anyway, but didn’t.

10. ☑ Hydrogen cyanide gas was used by the German Army in World War I for fumigation before Zyklon B was developed.
11. ☑ Other fumigating gases used by Tesch und Stabenow were “Tritox” (trichloroacetone), “T-Gas” (a mixture of ethylene oxide and carbon dioxide), and “Original Gas” (a mixture of methal and ether).
12. ☑ Where large quantities of hydrogen cyanide (Zyklon B gas) were regularly required, they were most often generated at the site by reacting sulfuric acid with sodium cyanide. Hydrogen cyanide made in this manner was much cheaper than the RM5.00 per kilogram paid for it as Zyklon B.
13. ☑ In the United States, one hydrogen cyanide supplier for fumigating firms was the American Cyanamid and Chemical Corporation. See their Military Fumigation Manual, 1944. For other uses of Zyklon B for fumigation in the U.S., see U.S. Public Health Service, Public Health Reports, Vol. 46, No. 27 (3 July 1931), pp. 1572-1578, and No. 38 (10 July 1931), pp. 1633-1636.
14. ☑ Because of a patent dispute, relations between the DEGESCH and Tesch und Stabenow were not cordial. This dispute resulted among other things in Tesch und Stabenow’s insisting on its own special label on all cans of Zyklon B ordered through them after 1942.
15. ☑ Dr. Gerhard Peter’s decision was final. After the war he was arrested on charges similar to those brought against Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher. He was released from United Nations custody after serving a total of about five years in prison including time awaiting trial. [Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* [London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1968], p. 148.) As of 1983, the DEGESCH was still doing business in Germany and internationally.
16. ☑ The use of hydrogen cyanide for fumigation represented a heavy penalty the Germans had to pay in the forfeiture of production of other chemicals they needed desperately. One kilogram of hydrogen cyanide could be converted into 3.7kg. of methyl methacrylate or 1.96kg. of acrylonitrile. Both chemicals were and still are essential ingredients in the plastics industry. Acrylonitrile was in addition a component of Buna N synthetic rubber which the Germans could never produce in sufficient quantity. Hydrogen cyanide remains to this day an almost indispensable “heavy” chemical. Most of it is “captive” production used in “on-site” industrial synthesis. A single plant may make enough hydrogen cyanide in a 24-hour period every day which, if properly distributed, would kill the entire population of the United States! The use of highly toxic chemicals in heavy industry is nothing new, nor is it alarming. In addition to hydrogen cyanide, large quantities of phosgene are made for use in the plastics industry and large quantities of liquid hydrogen fluoride are used in the refining industry. The extent of production of carbon monoxide each day in the United States by all sources in which it is an intermediate chemical reactant confounds the imagination.
17. ☑ British Army Number 328165.

18. ☞ Dr. Joachim Drosihn was a zoologist employed by Tesch und Stabenow.
19. ☞ This mastery, an unstated goal of American international adventurers and their allies, had not been accomplished in 1918, as a result of an embarrassing number of fateful circumstances. As advantageous as the “idealistic” Wilsonian “Fourteen Points” might have been to achieving an Allied propaganda victory, they were still an abomination, an albatross around the necks of the victors at the end of the war when they were eager to divide the spoils. Their general and open refusal to adhere to these stated principles — also the sheer bloodiness of the conflict just ended — led to early disillusionment and resulted in an unexpectedly short re-education/occupation/“reconstruction” period. As a means to insure that this situation would not be repeated in World War II, the Roosevelt-Churchill propaganda instrument finally and finely called the “Atlantic Charter” was published. Objectively appraised, the “Atlantic Charter” was a minor public relations issue of the Argentia (Newfoundland) conference. The conference itself was really the first of a number of United Nations war conferences. It was unique only from the standpoint that the United States at the time was officially (though not actually) a “Neutral.”
20. ☞ This did not invariably work to the advantage of the United Nations prosecutors. As it became apparent (from statements such as that of Robert H. Jackson — see p. 270) that they were expected to become parties to a monstrous legal atrocity and historical fraud, they sometimes — even at the cost of placing themselves in jeopardy — fought with the “strength of ten” against verdicts they knew to be unjust, preordained, and inevitable. “Anti-NSDAP” though they might have been, they could nevertheless easily recognize injustice in the form of a legalized lynching, and would fight it to the bitter end! Little wonder that in Berlin in 1945-46, many who had opposed Hitler but had finally seen the form German “reconstruction” by the United Nations was to take, said privately: “Herr Gott schenk' uns das Fuenfte Reich. Das Vierte ist dem Dritten Gleich!” (Lord God give us the Fifth Reich. The Fourth is unto the Third like!)
21. ☞ TMWC, Vol. III, p. 551.
22. ☞ The later testimony of Alfred Zaun, Tesch und Stabenow’s chief bookkeeper, showed this statement to be completely false. (See pp. 282-83.)
23. ☞ Full name: Bernhard Detlev Friedrich Carl Frahm.
24. ☞ Vermin is properly translated into German as das Ungeziefer (preferred), die Brut, das Gesindel, or das Geschmeiss.
25. ☞ Tesch und Stabenow furnished heating elements to vaporize Zyklon B gas, and pipes for the circulation system, both for use in standard fumigation chambers. (See note 30.)
26. ☞ TMWC, Vol. III, p. 551.
27. ☞ German Federal Archives (Bundesarkiv), Koblenz, West Germany.
28. ☞ In his appeal attempting to save Herr Weinbacher’s life, Dr. Stumme showed that on the basis of testimony given during the trial, 1,000kg. of Zyklon B gas would have been necessary to fumigate 200,000 uniforms once!
29. ☞ The larger can sizes (see note 9) were intended for larger fumigation chambers or for the fumigation of barracks.
30. ☞ The development of the Zyklon B fumigation chamber spanned the two World Wars, and depended almost entirely upon the danger of epidemics from lice-carried spotted typhus. These chambers were therefore known and referred to as “hydrogen cyanide delousing chambers” (“Blausaeure-Entlausungs-kammer”). Faced with the absolute necessity of such chambers and a lethal fumigating agent (always in short supply) in wartime, the DEGESCH delousing chamber was designed. It provided for the safe introduction of the sealed Zyklon B can of the required size for the volume of the fumigating chamber. The entry port was sealed airtight and the can opened by an externally-operated screw which

pierced the soldered can inside the sealed chamber, allowing the Zyklon B granules to fall onto a heated surface (the “Vergasergeraet” [“Gasifier”] or “stove,” in the jargon of the “Holocaust” disciples), assuring the evaporation of the liquid hydrogen cyanide from the granules. A circulatory fan circulated the air / Zyklon B mixture within the chamber to mix the gases. This prevented gas stratification, since Zyklon B gas is lighter than air (not heavier, as so often erroneously stated or implied by the “Holocaust” propagandists), and made certain that the required mixture of 20g. of Zyklon B per cubic meter of air penetrated throughout the entire fumigation chamber, including the clothing articles to be deloused. With the circulation fan, the fumigation could be completed in one hour. Without such a system, the entire procedure required at least 16 hours — preferably 24 hours. After fumigation, the circulation system exhausted the poisonous mixture up a stack and aired the fumigated clothing before the airtight doors to the chamber were opened and the deloused, fumigated clothing removed to be reclaimed by its owners. The advantages of such chambers were obvious and substantial. By the Summer of 1943, 552 Zyklon B fumigation or delousing chambers with circulation systems had been constructed at 226 different sites. One hundred more had been constructed without circulation systems and were being used despite the longer fumigation time. Almost half these delousing chambers were constructed between January 1942 and April 1943. The munitions industry had 249 such chambers either in regular operation or under construction, since in the Summer of 1943 it became obligatory to inspect foreign workers regularly for the duration of the war to insure that they were and remained free from vermin. (Emil Wuestinger, “Vermehrter Einsatz von Blausaeure-Entlausungskammern,” [“Increased Usage of Hydrogen Cyanide Delousing Chambers”], *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, Jahrgang 67, Heft 7, pp. 179-80.)

31. ☞ Tesch und Stabenow began using its own distinctive labels on Zyklon B ordered through its offices in 1942.
32. ☞ WO 235/165, Case 145, Vols. I-VII, January-March 1946.
33. ☞ Bernd Naumann, *Auschwitz* (New York: Praeger, 1966), pp. 162-82.
34. ☞ The existing crematory at Auschwitz-Zasole has three ventilators (ventilator openings) on top — one of which was allegedly used in the killing operation. All ventilators are square, about 8” long on a side. This crematory is the result of the addition of a second furnace containing two muffles (two cremation positions) to the “Old Crematorium,” giving a total of four cremation positions (four muffles) at this site.
35. ☞ The numbering system for the crematories at the Auschwitz complex can cause confusion. In the German usage, crematory I was at Auschwitz-Zasole. Crematories II and III were at Auschwitz-Birkenau, as were the buildings referred to in the “Holocaust” literature as crematories IV and V, but by the Germans as “Badeanstalt(en) fuer Sonderaktion.” This paper refers to crematories II and III (at Birkenau-German usage) as Nos. I and II, respectively.
36. ☞ This concept is one of several which must be true without question if the “Holocaust” intent of the Germans and the figures of 4-4½ million Jews allegedly killed at Auschwitz-Birkenau is to be accepted as credible. After what is presumed to have been a detailed search, the Auschwitz Museum revealed (cf. Danuta Czech, *Hefte Aus Auschwitz*) in 1959-1964 that only 202,499 inmate numbers were given out at Auschwitz. Number 202,499 was given to a German habitual criminal from Mauthausen only ten days before the camp was captured by the Russians. The International Red Cross, in published data which, on the basis of United Nations allegations, is admitted by them to be grossly incomplete because data from numerous satellite camps is missing, lists 50,923 persons dead in Auschwitz-Zasole, Auschwitz-Birkenau and Auschwitz-Buna (Monowitz). The first two camps are supposed to have been the “murder camps.” Their data is based upon the “Totenbuch” which the Germans themselves kept in each camp. This “incomplete” data represents those

records kept by the Germans of inmates who died of any and all causes in the three main Auschwitz camps. (A. de Cocatrix [Director of the International Tracing Service, Arolsen, Germany], "The Number of Victims of the National Socialist Persecution" [see bibliography].)

37. ☞ Reitlinger says (p. 150) that the first crematory built at Auschwitz-Birkenau (No. I) began service on 13 March 1943, and as late as 13 June 1943 it was still the only one operational. Up to this time, the crematory at Auschwitz-Zasole was used. I have found no German document which indicates that crematory II at Birkenau ever became functional. On the other hand, many documents exist which deal with the construction and operation of crematory I at Birkenau. The alleged dates of service above are "estimated" by "Holocaust" historians.
38. ☞ Exhibit 2 in the trial (picture missing).
39. ☞ A concentration camp formerly in the Mauthausen system.
40. ☞ Naumann, pp. xi-xxx.
41. ☞ Some may say that Perry Broad had not played honorably, but it must be said of him that he had correctly assessed the nature of the deadly game being played with him and the others, and by his adept — albeit deceitful — playing with his tormentors, he won his life from them while many others in being honest had lost theirs. In 1945 in conquered, occupied Germany, that in many persons' minds was all that still mattered!
42. ☞ See note 35.
43. ☞ Perry Broad's testimony (pp. 277-78) indicates a much greater frequency of barrack fumigation with Zyklon B.
44. ☞ Dr. Bendel's value of the lethal dosage of 1,000g. per 500 people (2g. per person) conflicts sharply with the value given in the literature: 70 mg. per person, which is 0.07g. per person (see note 9). Any reasonable killing procedure might have been expected to contain a "safety factor" of perhaps five times the estimated lethal dosage — but hardly a factor 28 times greater than necessary!
45. ☞ Although flesh can rapidly be converted by fire into unrecognizable ash, bone cannot. Even the alleged grinding up of these bones would leave microscopic residue recognizable as bone, if not human bone. The one small ball mill ordered by SS Standartenführer Blobel from Schriever & Co. in 1942 (NO 4467) could hardly have dealt with the multitude of corpses alleged to have been incinerated in the crematories, much less those allegedly cremated in open trenches (supposedly "disappearing" in the flames). Had the pond at Birkenau been used as alleged (the disposal site for human ashes) it would be today a mound containing many millions of pieces of calcined bone still recognizable as human bone! If the Vistula had been so used, its bed would have been strewn with telltale pieces of burnt bone all the way to Warsaw, if not Danzig!
46. ☞ All official German reference to these buildings identified them as "Badeanstalt(en) fuer Sonderaktion" — bathhouse(s) for special action (or special purpose).
47. ☞ The original German plans described these rooms, one each for crematories I and II, as "Leichenkeller" — mortuaries for corpses awaiting cremation. Work by Dr. Robert Faurisson supports this description completely.
48. ☞ Both Bendel and Broad alleged that in the killing procedure, two one-kilogram cans of Zyklon B were used in each chamber. One may note with some interest that the Zyklon B purchase orders from the DEGESCH for the Oranienburg (Sachsenhausen) and Auschwitz camps, dated from February to April 1944 and allegedly surrendered by Kurt Gerstein at his capture by United Nations troops, dealt exclusively with 500g. cans. In case of shortages, of course, two 500g. cans would replace a 1kgs can, but it appears that only the 500g. cans were shipped, indicating that the need was for the smaller can. The question obviously

arises: What use was there for a 500g. can of Zyklon B at the Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg disinfection and decontagion stations ("Entwesung und Entseuchung Station")? The standard fumigation chamber was 10 cubic meters in volume and required only a 200g. can of Zyklon B to obtain the required concentration of 20g. Zyklon B gas per cubic meter of air. Consequently, one is led to believe that both these sites and/or their sub-camps had fumigation chambers with some 25 cubic meters of volume. Where were they located? A good bet might be the "Sauna" (closed to the public now) at Birkenau for new arrivals, and the buildings designated by the Germans as "Badeanstalt(en) fuer Sonderaktion" (now completely destroyed), also at Birkenau, which probably functioned as the recurrent delousing stations for the personnel permanently interned there.

49. ☑ In examining the entire testimony given by Dr. Bendel, I could not help but notice the extreme similarity of parts of it with the alleged experiences of the legendary Dr. Miklos Nyszli. (For an interesting discussion of Nyszli, see Paul Rassinier, *Debunking the Genocide Myth* [Torrance, Calif.: [Noontide Press](#), 1978], pp. 244-50.)
50. ☑ From 30 August 1944, when W. H. Lawrence described in the *New York Times* (pp. 1,9) the "River Rouge" killing installation at the Lublin, Poland, Majdanek camp which was "almost identical with those pictured in American motion pictures," the preferred Allied propaganda line as to the method of killing had been that it was the introduction of hydrogen cyanide gas from cylinders through pipes into the chambers disguised as baths. Dr. Bisko sought to give support to this allegation and was successful at the British Luenenburg Tribunal. At Dr. Tesch's trial, it became obvious that the claim of this method had to be abandoned, since Zyklon B was a solid and would not flow through pipes! Also, it was stored in relatively small cans and not in gas cylinders. Hydrogen cyanide is a liquid at room temperature and vaporizes only slowly unless heated. (See note 30.) Professor Karl Schwartz testified that so far as he knew, liquid hydrogen cyanide in cylinders was available only in the United States. At this time, the Germans still made all their hydrogen cyanide, an essential chemical intermediate, by reacting sodium cyanide with sulfuric acid. (See note 16.) This was done at the location where and as it was needed. One is tempted to wonder about the nationality of Dr. Bimko's interrogators and also about the story by Kurt Gerstein regarding the cylinders of hydrogen cyanide he buried in Poland rather than deliver to Majdanek for alleged killing experiments. After the trial of Dr. Tesch and Herr Weinbacher, the story that Zyklon B gas (hydrogen cyanide) was administered from a compressed gas cylinder through pipes into and out of a showerhead to kill people was allowed to die of neglect!
51. ☑ At the time of Dr. Bimko's testimony, it was stoutly maintained by Germany's accusers that the shower at Dachau was a "gas chamber" used to kill thousands of Jews. Subsequent investigation of this installation — visible to this day — has proved beyond the slightest doubt that it was what the Germans had said all along — a shower bath! (It is not today claimed even by "Holocaust" historians that people were gassed at Dachau.) This shower is similar in design to those types of rooms recommended by Puntigam, et al., for delousing operations. With such findings, Dachau's wartime and immediate postwar reputation as the worst camp of all was no longer viable for use by the United Nations propagandists, and their eyes of necessity turned eastward.
52. ☑ The Wehrmacht maintained a literal "cordon sanitaire" in Poland to protect its troops against typhus. Personnel crossing this line east to west were required to bath and be examined while their clothing was being fumigated with Zyklon B gas if it was available. This decontamination procedure was essentially the same as that used for camp inmates.
53. ☑ 70mg. (0.07g.) of Zyklon B gas per average-sized human. (See note 9)
54. ☑ See note 30.

55. ☑ In this tribunal as at Nuremberg, there were frequent references to the rapaciousness of German capitalists and the evil resulting from their devotion to the profit motive. (The implication seemed to have been that even American capitalists were similarly devoted!) One is left with the feeling that these gentlemen of the prosecution were as certain in their own minds that the profit incentive in capitalism leads as inevitably to human exploitation and acts such as selling Zyklon B to kill Jews as they were that National Socialism led inevitably to concentration camps and gas chambers!
56. ☑ Puntigam and Pichler, "Raumloesung von Entlausungsanlagen," *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, Jahrgang 67, Heft 6 (Juni 1944), p. 139.
57. ☑ See note 16. One is tempted to believe that if the Germans had intended to kill any large group of people by poisoning them, they would not have chosen to use so valuable a chemical intermediate as hydrogen cyanide. Much more virulent poisons were and are available, some much cheaper, and none requiring rather cumbersome gas chambers and other apparatus for administration to the intended victims.
58. ☑ Dr. Tesch explained that this relatively small sum (about 50 cents in U.S. equivalent at the time) was essentially a welfare donation.
59. ☑ But later at the Frankfurt "Auschwitz Trial," he denounced and disavowed large portions of this testimony. See p. 279.
60. ☑ See Friedrich Grimm, *Polftische Justize: Die Kraniheit unserer Zeit* (Bonn: Bonner Universitaets-Buchdruckerei, gebr. Scheur GmbH, 1953), pp. 146-48. The interviewer mentioned in this passage was none other than British "black" propagandist Sefton Delmer, masquerading as a "university professor."
61. ☑ A rough review of certain native populations in 1914, 1939, and 1960, a quick glance at the present map of the world and a knowledge of the destruction visited upon certain nations, their populations, cities, universities, churches — their whole cultural life — all which were to be rebuilt as nearly as possible in the images of, and at the pleasure of, their conquerors, will give the best insight as to where and against whom were visited the true twentieth-century "holocausts" — and who was responsible for them.

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Table notes

1.  This list in not intended to be a comprehensive list of all Zyklon B users who had their orders processed by Tesch und Stabenow. Rather, the institutions given are those specifically mentioned in the trial transcript.
2.  Main SS [possibly Purchasing) Office
3.  After December, 1943, all German Government users of Zyklon B obtained their supplies from the Wehrmacht Hauptsanitaetspark, Berlin.
4.  The tally sheets used in the trial which were prepared by Alfred Zaun, Chief Bookkeeper for Tesch und Stabenow, were lost along with the other Exhibits used in the trial proceedings. The above chart is a reconstruction from data given in the trial transcript. In some cases, where indicated, the values are prorated.
5.  After 31 December 1943, all German Government users of Zyklon B were supplied by the Wehrmacht Hauptsanitaetspark, Berlin.

6. ☞ These values were calculated by using 10% of the gross value for the first five months of 1943 and 2½% thereafter. These fees were set by the German Government.
7. ☞ These values were calculated by using 10% of the gross value for the first five months of 1943 and 2½% thereafter. These fees were set by the German Government.
8. ☞ The values in parentheses for the Auschwitz Camps represent the percentage of the total Tesch und Stabenow net profit. The Auschwitz profit is actually a gross value from which overhead, freight, etc. must still be deducted to obtain the true profit. The true per cent net profit is therefore even smaller than the percentage given in parentheses!
9. ☞ Taken from Datner, et. al., Genocide, Warsaw, 1962, p. 96. Auschwitz-Zasole remained the Administrative Headquarters of the entire system until November 1943 (NOO21), when the entire administrative system was reorganized on orders from Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler. The Auschwitz Complex, like its smaller counter-parts Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen, etc., and their sub-camps, reported to SS Headquarters in Oranienburg.

Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz: Last President of a United Germany HIS SUCCESSION, HIS GOVERNMENT, THE NUREMBERG PROCEEDINGS, THE AFTERMATH — SOME PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS AND EXPERIENCES

H. KEITH THOMPSON

On the afternoon of 30 April 1945, with Berlin engulfed in flames and besieged by the Russians, the Hero of the Second World War ^[1] took his own life in his cement bunker beneath the chancellery complex. This courageous act, perhaps the ultimate act of courage, represented the termination of the heroic last stand of Western Civilization, a civilization and culture nurtured and developed in Europe for many prior centuries. The tragic death of this last natural leader of Europe represented a militarypolitical victory for the forces of Asiatic Communism and Russian Nationalism on the one hand, and Jewish Bolshevism (as exemplified by the United States, England, France and their multitude of last-minute vassals and hangers-on) on the other. The so-called “victors” of World War II were already at each other’s throats, and would enter into a politico-military struggle, beginning in 1945, and continuing unabated even today. But at that moment in April of 1945, the so-called Allies, jubilant in their economicmilitary victory, were not much concerned with the future and made their first political error in failing to be magnanimous towards the defeated Axis powers. The fruitless and self-defeating spirit of Hebraic revenge would motivate their every action in the days and years ahead, a spirit so effectively demonstrated in the doctrine of “unconditional surrender”, which cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of citizens and soldiers, Axis and Allied as well.

For a few brief weeks during late April and May of 1945, another leader of Europe came to power, an honorable man, respected even within the military councils of the Allies. That man was Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz, commander-in-chief of the German Navy, in overall command of German military forces in the north, and at that tense moment engaged in arranging sea and other transportation for the masses of refugees fleeing from the eastern areas. ^[2] To his overwhelming astonishment, Dönitz had been designated by Hitler as his successor and head of state. In his last political testament executed at 4:00 a.m. on 29 April 1945, and witnessed by Dr. Joseph Goebbels, *Reichsleiter* Martin Bormann, and Generals Wilhelm Burgdorf and Hans Krebs, Adolf Hitler appointed Grand Admiral Dönitz as “President of the Reich and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces ... by virtue of my statement in the Reichstag on September 1st, 1939 ...” ^[3] To capture the spirit of Hitler’s political testament, I cite the following excerpts:

... I die with a happy heart, aware of the immeasurable deeds and achievements of our soldiers at the front, our women at home, the achievements of our farmers and workers and the work, unique in history, of our youth who bear my name... From the sacrifice of our soldiers and from my own unity with them unto death, will in any case spring up in the history of Germany, the seed of a radiant renaissance of the National Socialist movement and thus of the realization of a true community of nations... I beg the heads of the Armies, the Navy and the Air Force to strengthen by all possible means the spirit of resistance of our soldiers in the National Socialist sense

... our task, that of continuing the building of a National Socialist State, represents the work of the coming centuries, which places every single person under an obligation always to serve the common interest and to subordinate his own advantage to this end. I demand of all Germans, all National Socialists, men, women and all the men of the Armed Forces, that they be faithful and obedient unto death to the new government and its President ... [4]

At Ploen on the evening of 30 April 1945, Dönitz received only the following message: “The *Führer* has appointed you, Herr Admiral, as his successor in place of *Reichsmarschall* Göring. Confirmation in writing follows. You are hereby authorized to take any measures which the situation demands. — Bormann. “ [5]

In his Memoirs, Dönitz describes his reactions:

... This took me completely by surprise. Since July 20, 1944, I had not spoken to Hitler at all except at some large gathering... I had never received any hint on the subject from anyone else... I assumed that Hitler had nominated me because he wished to clear the way to enable an officer of the Armed Forces to put an end to the war. That this assumption was incorrect I did not find out until the winter of 1945-46 in Nuremberg, when for the first time I heard the provisions of Hitler’s will... When I read the signal I did not for a moment doubt that it was my duty to accept the task ... it had been my constant fear that the absence of any central authority would lead to chaos and the senseless and purposeless sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives ... I realized ... that the darkest moment in any fighting man’s life, the moment when he must surrender unconditionally, was at hand. I realized, too, that my name would remain forever associated with the act and that hatred and distortion of facts would continue to try and besmirch my honor. But duty demanded that I pay no attention to any such considerations. My policy was simple — to try and save as many lives as I could ... [6]

Dönitz moved forcefully. He met with Heinrich Himmler at Ploen and politely declined Himmler’s offer to become the “second man” in the Dönitz government. Dönitz ordered Field Marshal Keitel and General Jodl to come to Ploen so that the military situation could be assessed. [7]

On the morning of 1 May, Dönitz received the following radio message, classified “Secret and Personal,” from Bormann at the chancellery: “Will now in force. Coming to you as quickly as possible. Pending my arrival you should in my opinion refrain from public statement.” [8] Dönitz was left to presume from the text that Hitler was dead but he knew none of the circumstances. Some public position had to be taken and immediately. He relates in his Memoirs that he felt that the announcement of Hitler’s death should be couched in respectful terms: “... To denigrate him ... as, I felt, many around me would have liked me to do, would, in my opinion, have been a mean and cheap thing to do ... I believed that decency demanded that I should word my announcement in the manner in which it was, in fact, worded. Nor, I think, would I do otherwise today... “ [9] Consequently, on 1 May 1945 Dönitz made the following announcement on North German radio:

The *Führer* has nominated me as his successor. In full consciousness of my responsibilities I therefore assume the leadership of the German people at this fateful hour. My first task is to save German men and women from destruction by the advancing Bolshevik enemy. It is to serve this purpose alone that the military struggle continues. For as long as the British and the Americans continue to impede the accomplish-

ments of this task, we must also continue to fight and defend ourselves against them. The British and the Americans in that case will not be fighting in the interests of their own peoples, but solely for the expansion of Bolshevism in Europe. [10]

Dönitz also issued his Order of the Day to the Armed Forces on 1 May, covering the same points in slightly different language. And, to counter a growing lack of discipline in the armed forces, he issued the following declaration to the military services: "I expect discipline and obedience. Chaos and ruin can be prevented only by the swift and unreserved execution of my orders. Anyone who at this juncture fails in his duty and condemns German women and children to slavery and death is a traitor and a coward. The oath of allegiance which you took to the Führer now binds each and every one of you to me, whom he himself appointed as his successor." [11] It worked. As Dönitz relates: "The next few days showed that the German Armed Forces had accepted my authority; and that was all that mattered." [12]

On 1 May 1945, Dönitz received a third and final radio message from the Berlin chancellery, with the same "Personal and Secret" classification but signed this time by Goebbels and Bormann:

Führer died yesterday, 1530 hours. In his will dated April 29 he appoints you as President of the Reich, Goebbels as Reich Chancellor, Bormann as Party Minister, Seyss-Inquart as Foreign Minister. The will, by order of the *Führer*, is being sent to you and to Field Marshal Schoerner and out of Berlin for safe custody. Bormann will try to reach you today to explain the situation. Form and timing of announcement to the Armed Forces and the public is left to your discretion. Acknowledge. [13]

In a melodramatic series of events, Martin Bormann was killed in Berlin en route to Admiral Dönitz, other ranking officials failed to arrive, and no copies of the pertinent documents ever reached Dönitz. Apparently it never occurred to the officials in the beleaguered chancellery that the entire texts of the pertinent documents could have been radioed to Dönitz. At this point, he did not even know of the subsequent suicide of Goebbels on 1 May. Dönitz correctly felt that he must make his own government appointments in order to function at all. He could not logically appoint officials whose whereabouts he did not know (he did not in fact know whether they were alive or dead), or whose prominence in the Hitler government might prejudice negotiations with the Allies. Of this fateful date, 1 May 1945, Dönitz summarized the situation in his Memoirs: "... while out at sea transports filled with wounded, with refugees and with troops hurried westward, the columns of refugees fleeing overland pressed on towards their salvation and the armies in Pomerania, in Brandenburg and in Silesia continued to retire in the direction of the Anglo-American demarcation line." [14]

It was the plan of Admiral Dönitz to accomplish a partial surrender in the west. For this purpose, the officer commanding at Hamburg was ordered to dispatch an officer with flag of truce to the British on 3 May, to offer the surrender of Hamburg and to inform them that a general delegation under Admiral von Friedeburg was en route to confer with them. [15] Meanwhile, because of British advances, Dönitz moved his headquarters and seat of government to Muerwik near Flensburg. There he conferred with representatives of the German forces still in being and advised them to take such action as would enable them to surrender to American rather than Russian forces. He had developed a healthy respect for the American Navy, and it for him. But the American ground forces were something else again, their officer corps consisting in large part of Jews, white trash, and blacks. Dönitz had not yet met political generals of the Eisenhower stamp.

There were many acts of heroism at this difficult time. I cite but one here. As Dönitz relates in his *Memoirs*, Dr. Karl Hermann Frank, Protector of Bohemia-Moravia, concerned with Czech worries over the political fate of their nation should it fall into Russian hands, sought the agreement of Dönitz to make an offer to surrender to the Americans. Dönitz thought it unlikely to succeed but worth trying, and he comments: "... That Frank, regardless of his own personal safety and with but the slenderest chance of success, should have been willing to return to a country which he knew to be on the brink of revolt in order to secure for it a more humane solution of its problems should be noted to his credit." [16]

On 4 May, Dönitz gave to Admiral von Friedeburg the full authorization to accept various terms of surrender offered by Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery, and von Friedeburg was flown to British headquarters with the further instructions to then proceed to General Eisenhower at Rheims to offer a German surrender in the American sector. As Dönitz put it, "The first step towards a separate surrender to the West had been accomplished without our having been forced to abandon German soldiers and civilians to the mercy of the Russians." [17]

Eisenhower proved to be contentious and difficult. On 6 May, Dönitz sent Col. Gen. Alfred Jodl to negotiate with the American martinet, who rejected any separate surrender and informed Jodl that the Americans would be ordered to fire upon any German troops approaching American lines with the intention of surrender, even if unarmed. This, of course, was a direct breach of the Geneva Convention but that did not concern Eisenhower, who took his political orders from the Washington regime. Eisenhower demanded unconditional surrender on 7 May, but Jodl was able to win the concession of 9 May as the date for the termination of hostilities, thus enabling Dönitz to continue moving troops and refugees out of the eastern areas. The history of the formal signing of the instrument of surrender at Rheims on 7 May 1945 is well known. Jodl and von Friedeburg signed for Germany on the first capitulation document. Dönitz authorized the German delegates — Field Marshal Keitel, Admiral von Friedeburg, and General Stumpff — to sign for the German Armed Forces. The ceremonies were repeated in Berlin-Karlhorst on 8 May at the demand of the Russians. As it turned out, in the course of the surrender negotiations the German representatives were treated courteously by the British and the Russians, but with hostility and child-like contempt by the Americans. This conduct was exemplified by Eisenhower himself, who later censured and otherwise hounded an American brigadier general, Robert J. Stack, for having treated Göring with courtesy on his arrest, and who rebuked General Patch, commander of the U.S. 7th Army, for treating German prisoners of war decently. See Leonard Mosley's book, *The Reich Marshal*, pp320-322.

The final order of the German Armed Forces, issued on 9 May 1945, stated in part:

... By command of Admiral Dönitz the Armed Forces have given up the hopeless struggle. A heroic fight that has lasted for nearly six years thus comes to an end ... the German Armed Forces have succumbed to overwhelming superior strength ... Every German soldier, sailor and airman can therefore lay aside his arms with justifiable pride and turn to the task of ensuring the everlasting life of our nation ... To show obedience, discipline and absolute loyalty to our Fatherland, bleeding from innumerable wounds, is the sacred duty our dead impose upon us all. [18]

As noted by Dönitz in his *Memoirs*: "I thought then, and I still think, that those words are both appropriate and just." [19]

The surrender accomplished, and the cessation of hostilities being secured at even the most distant outposts, Dönitz turned his efforts to the processes of the government which he headed, a

regime which had obtained de facto status from the Allies by their dealings with it. The legal complexities of the succession are dealt with in *Regierung Dönitz*, by W. Luedde-Neurath, a work published in 1950, but even that work must be read in the light of the repressive political conditions in the western zone of Germany in 1950. The author held that Hitler's nomination of Dönitz as Head of State was unquestionably legal, and that its legality was in no way affected by the loss of German sovereignty occasioned by Allied occupation. Under German law, the resignation of a head of state is possible only when a successor is named at the same time. This would, of course, apply to a self-termination by a head of state (i.e., suicide). When this measure is not taken, the office devolves upon the president of the Reich Supreme Court (Article 51 of the Weimar Constitution). An extinction of the function of head of state is therefore legally excluded.

The Act (law) of 1 August 1934 combined the offices of president and chancellor in the person of Adolf Hitler, and the German people gave its electoral approval to this in the plebiscite of 18 August 1934. Subsequently, Hitler found general recognition as head of state both in his domestic and international dealings. Furthermore, the same law expressly gave to Hitler the right to name his successor. This he did — without any opposition — in his Reichstag declaration of 1 September 1939, naming Göring and Hess in that order. Subsequent events and instruments eliminated Hess (following his flight to England) and Göring (by Hitler's interpretation of Göring's attempt to take over Hitler's leadership in late April of 1945). Therefore, Hitler's political testament of 29 April 1945 (naming Dönitz as president and Goebbels as chancellor) took precedence and was the governing authority for the Dönitz government. (See special note [\[67\]](#))

To his everlasting credit, Eamon De Valera, Prime Minister (later President) of Eire (Ireland), called personally on the German ambassador to Ireland to offer his condolences on the death of Hitler and his recognition of the new government headed by Dönitz. There is no doubt that, had time permitted, the exchange of diplomatic representatives with neutral nations could have been achieved. Dönitz headed what he felt was, and should be, a new German government in every sense of the term. He wrote: "... it was essential that we should create the requisite state departments within the framework of a central government. It was, however, also essential that we should gather together all our best experts in these various spheres, in order to be able to offer their cooperation to the occupying powers. Our primary task was to ensure for the German people the essentials for bare survival..." [\[20\]](#)

The Dönitz government took form, then, to prevent famine; to restore communications, business and industry; to rebuild housing and obtain temporary quarters for the homeless; to try to hold the value of the currency and re-establish banking systems, and to aid the refugees and absorb the additional millions of Germans and non-Germans fleeing the Russian-occupied areas. The Dönitz Cabinet took office: Graf Lutz von Schwerin-Krosigk (Foreign Minister, Minister of Finance, and presiding officer of the Cabinet), Dr. Wilhelm Stuckart (Minister of the Interior and Minister of Culture), Albert Speer (Minister of Industry and Production), Dr. Herbert Backe (Minister of Food, Agriculture and Forests), Dr. Franz Seldte (Minister of Labor and Social Affairs), and Dr. Dorpmueller (Minister of Posts and Communications). All had held secondary posts in the Hitler government but all were essentially non-political men with bureaucratic experience and technical knowledge in their fields. The choice of Speer was an unfortunate one as the man was a self-seeking chameleon and opportunist, although able in his technical fields. Speer at once initiated an internal campaign to convince the Dönitz government to resign. As Dönitz put it: "Speer was emphatic in his opinion that we [the government] should resign. But he thought that, as far as he himself was concerned, the Americans would continue to cooperate with him." [\[21\]](#) Schwerin-Krosigk took a sounder view—that only the Armed Forces had surrendered, the German state continuing to exist with Dönitz as its legal head. As Dönitz remarks: "... The enemy themselves had recognized the fact when they insisted on my conferring plenipotentiary powers on the Chiefs of

the three services, who were to sign the instrument of surrender ... I and my provisional government could not voluntarily resign. If we did, the victors could say with justification: since the properly constituted Government ... had run away, we have no option but to set up independent German governments in the individual zones and to allow our military government to exercise authority over all. of them ... I should stay until I was removed by force. Had I not done so, then ... I should have supplied the political pretext for the division of Germany that exists today ... “

[22]

An Allied Control Commission under the American Major General Lowell W. Rooks and British Brigadier R.L.S. Foord arrived on the scene shortly after the capitulation, and they were later joined by Soviet Major General Nikolai Trusov. This commission conferred with the Dönitz government but gave little response to its proposals and less cooperation. Dönitz observed: “The attitude of the Allied representatives at these meetings was reserved, but correct. The courtesies of normal international usage were observed, but that I and the members of my government should have shown a like reserve and reticence was only natural.” [23] Meanwhile, some progress was made regardless of the non-cooperation of the Allied representatives, particularly in the areas of food procurement and communications. The Cabinet met regularly and worked hard. Interestingly, bureaucracy often lives- a life of its own, and some of the administrative offices of the Hitler government moved to the area and continued their work. An SS “think tank,” engaged in producing reports on world political affairs, was still in business as of August 1945, and some Nazi intelligence operations were taken over intact by intelligence services of the Allies, notably that of General Reinhardt Gehlen, who had specialized in gathering intelligence concerning the Russians.

Next, a campaign against the Dönitz government was orchestrated in the Allied nations, an ominous sign. As Dönitz observed:

The enemy press and particularly the Russian radio began to get busy about “the Dönitz Government” ... The cooperation between the provisional government and the British and American representatives in Muerwik had aroused their envy ... Churchill at first opposed my removal. He wanted to use me as a “useful tool” ... if I proved to be useful, that would have to be reckoned against my “war atrocities in command of submarines” [Churchill, Vol. VI, p646]. This was exactly the coldly calculating attitude that I expected of British policy ... Then ... on May 15 Eisenhower demanded my removal in the interests of friendship with Russia ... [24]

The arrest of the Dönitz government is described in a cynical article by one Corporal Howard Katzander, staff correspondent, in Yank, “The Army Weekly,” terming the Dönitz government “a grandiose bluff to persuade the Allied command to permit him [Dönitz] to attend to the interior reorganization of the nation’s economy,” coupled with the disarming of German forces under the very direction of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW), to “keep intact the nucleus of a new Wehrmacht and a new war-minded government.” [25] On 23 May 1945, Dönitz, Jodl, von Friedeburg and others were summoned aboard the steamship Patria, whereupon General Rooks, wasting no time on protocol or courtesy, communicated Eisenhower’s decision that, “... in concert with the Soviet High Command ... today the acting German government and the German high command, with the several of its members, shall be taken into custody as prisoners of war. Thereby, the acting German government is dissolved ... Troops of the 21st Army Group are taking the several members, civilian and military, and certain records, into custody...” [26] Asked by Rooks for any comment, Dönitz replied, “Any words would be superfluous.” [27] The members of the Dönitz government and the high command were gathered and marched off, hands behind

their heads and at machine-gun point, to a prisoner of war cage. Admiral von Friedeburg chose suicide over Allied detention.

I have discussed at some length the brief tenure of the Dönitz government because of its historical significance. The opposition of the Soviet Union was to be expected. Had the western Allies, however, exhibited some foresight, the history of Europe might have followed a quite different course. A legitimate government cannot be “dissolved” by military order of an external enemy, nor by taking its members forcibly under arrest. Having come legally into power, and having been recognized by the very forces which were to order its “dissolution,” the Dönitz government remains in history as the last *de jure* and *de facto* government of a United Germany. The establishment by the Allies of their own puppet regimes in West Germany (the so-called Federal Republic) and in Central Germany (the so-called German Democratic Republic) merely underscores the continuing zonal occupation of the German nation almost 40 years after the military conclusion of World War II. This is well pointed up by the maintenance of the prison at Spandau in West Berlin, containing one solitary nonagenarian prisoner (Rudolf Hess), and administered in rotation by the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, and the USSR. Despite some opposition exhibited by the Western puppet regime to its masters, any claim to genuine independence by either the western or eastern puppet regime is ludicrous in view of the continuing military presence in both those countries of the forces of the former Allies.

Grand Admiral Dönitz then, on 23 May 1945, became another prisoner of war, and the staggering burden of responsibilities for the German nation was taken from his shoulders by jailkeepers. Treated correctly at first in the Allied detention center at Bad Mondorf, Luxemburg, Dönitz had time to reflect on his long career and the events which had brought him to the situation which then faced him.

Dönitz, not born into the class which then provided officers, joined the Imperial German Navy and served on the light cruiser *Breslau* in the Near East, 1914-1916. Thereafter he entered the submarine service, serving as senior lieutenant on *U-39* and in command of *U-68*. After the sinking of his submarine off Malta, he was a British prisoner of war until 1919. He continued to serve in the navy of the Weimar Republic, such as it was, and continued to rise through the grades as a surface officer. Bound by the chains of the Versailles Treaty, Germany had no submarines again until 1935. Dönitz commanded a destroyer, a destroyer flotilla, served on the staff of the Baltic naval forces, and commanded the cruiser *Emden* in the South Atlantic (1934) and the Indian Ocean. In 1935, he was selected to build the new submarine service. He became senior officer of submarines, and was an expert on strategy, developing the tactics used by the U-Boats in World War II, notably the “wolf pack” system which devastated Allied shipping early in the war. He rose through the flag ranks of commodore, rear admiral, vice admiral, and, in 1942, became a full admiral. On 30 July 1943, Dönitz was named a grand admiral (German equivalent of fleet admiral, a five-star rank), and became commander-in-chief of the navy, replacing Grand Admiral Erich Raeder. This has been an extremely abbreviated summary of the naval service of Dönitz. Suffice it to say that he was, without a doubt, the most brilliant U-Boat tactician of all time. Submarines will never again play the major naval role they played in World War II. The American Admiral Thomas C. Hart (commander of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet at the outbreak of World War II, and later a U.S. Senator) wrote:

I rate Admiral Dönitz as the best of them all, land or sea. He was unique in his handling of the German submarines and they were our most dangerous enemy. His performance with them-and he did most of it himself-was the most outstanding Axis performance of the war. Then he succeeded to command all German Navy Forces. It was too late for real accomplishment, but he made no mistakes and no one could have

done better. Then he succeeded the Führer himself, and his performance from there on seems to me to have been perfect. So I think Dönitz was the best. [28]

Karl Dönitz was never a political man, and he took but little interest in the wearisome struggles of German political parties during the Weimar era. But he was an anti-Communist, a conservative, a nationalist, and, above all, a patriot. The principles of National Socialism were bound to appeal to him. According to the Dönitz biography in *Encyclopedia of The Third Reich*, "Dönitz was one of the few convinced National Socialists among high officers in the Navy. He praised Hitler in speeches to his sailors: 'Heaven has sent us the leadership of the Führer!' On one occasion he told a cheering crowd in Berlin that Hitler foresaw everything and made no misjudgments ... Hitler, on his side, had the utmost confidence in Dönitz ..." [29] Dönitz wrote that his relations with Hitler were always formal and courteous: "I myself never thought about receiving presents or money from Hitler ... he only called me 'Herr Grossadmiral,' and never by any other name. I welcomed it that way." [30] In his Memoirs, Dönitz discusses Hitler's influence on other people, pro and con.

I myself had often been conscious of this influence, and after spending even a few days at his headquarters, I generally had the feeling that I would have to get away from Hitler's suggestive influence if I were to free myself from it. Further, to me he was not only the legitimate and legally appointed Head of the State, the man to whom I owed obedience, the statesman as distinct from the fighting man, but also a man of high intelligence and great energy ... [31]

What was Admiral Dönitz like as a person? A gentleman of the old school, he was extremely reserved, a man of few words. He would reply to questions directly but briefly, and seldom expressed his personal feelings. He had a wry sense of humor, but was far from jocular. He had the ability to immediately see the crux of any problem and deal with it, without preliminaries. It was his natural tendency to find only good things to say about others, and in the absence of such, to say nothing. Dönitz was a family man who did not care for mixing in society, and he often expressed his fondness for dogs and children. His submariners, officers and enlisted men, were the apple of his eye, and he felt closely bound to them. He knew personally as many of them as possible, particularly his U-Boat commanders. Naval personnel uniformly respected him and referred to him as "*Der Loewe*" ("The Lion"). British Admiral of the Fleet Sir George E. Greasy wrote of him: "... As a submarine Admiral whom I knew to be held in the deepest admiration and respect by Officers and Men of the U-Boat Fleet, I held Admiral Dönitz in respect myself, and there is no doubt that he handled his U-Boat arm with masterly skill and efficiency. In return he was served with great loyalty." [32]

Dönitz, with the members of his government and other highranking members of the Hitler regime, was held at Bad Mondorf until mid-August of 1945. Conditions there were far from luxurious, but acceptable. As noted by the German historian Werner Maser, in his book *Nuremberg: A Nation On Trial*, many of the ranking prisoners of war at Bad Mondorf were under the misapprehension that any trials for "war crimes" would be trivial and insignificant, and that defendants would surely be protected by the fact that they had carried out directives of legally constituted superiors in a chain of command. Only after their transfer to prison at the so-called Nuremberg "Palace of justice" did they learn that Chapter VIII of the governing Charter stated: "The fact that the defendant acted pursuant to order of his government or of a superior shall not free him from responsibility but may be considered in mitigation of punishment if the Tribunal determine that justice so requires." [33] Needless to say, the tribunal never made any such determination. An all-encompassing indictment was formulated, charging, as criminals, not only virtually every official of any rank in the Hitler government, military and civil, but also every party and military organi-

zation of consequence, including the Cabinet, Leadership Corps, SA, SS, SD, and even the General Staff and High Command of the Armed Forces. With the serving of the individual indictments, the status of the prisoners of war became that of accused criminals and they were confined under severe conditions, without any provisions for bail, even though unconvicted, and without any consideration for rank.

Before touching on the Dönitz case at Nuremberg, some general evaluation of the proceedings is necessary. For this purpose, I quote from an analysis of the trials in general written by a distinguished American jurist, Hon. William L. Hart, Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio (1939-1957) and lecturer on international law:

... The tribunal involved was created ... by what is known as the London Charter entered into on August 8, 1945 by and between four nations-The United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France-victor nations of World War II, for the purpose of designating and defining certain acts committed in the course of the war as war crimes and the prosecution of certain officials of conquered Germany charged with the commission of such crimes.

The Charter designated and defined three classes of crimes. Class A under which most of the defendants were charged and tried, defined the crime as follows: "The planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing" ... Under the heading of "Aggressor Nations," the Chicago Tribune, under date of October 2, 1946 ... carried an editorial which said: "The truth of the matter is that no one of the victors was free of the guilt which its judges attributed to the vanquished." Measured by the Code and standards applied in these trials, it is disturbing to contemplate how the officers of our American forces might have fared had they been tried for their conduct in letting loose the devastation which practically wiped out Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and Nagasaki on August 9, 1945 the former two days before and the latter the next day after the adoption of the London Charter to which the United States was a party.

In my judgment, the procedure by which the Nuremberg Tribunal was created and the criminal trials thereunder conducted, was completely fraught with illegality ... American authorities have invariably taken the position that an individual forming a part of a nationally organized army or navy and acting under the authority of his government, cannot be held answerable as a private trespasser or criminal for acts committed under such authority. Such acts are considered acts of the state and not those of the individual..." [34]

Here, justice Hart discusses in some detail the legal precedents, notably *Dow v. Johnson*, 100 U.S. 158,163, in which the U.S. Supreme Court held that an officer of the U.S. Army serving in an enemy country could not be held liable for injuries resulting from acts ordered by him in his military capacity. Also the famous *McLeod Case* (1840), in which Daniel Webster (then Secretary of State) held that an individual acting under the authority of his government could not be held answerable as an individual for acts performed in governmental capacity, it being "a principle of public law sanctioned by all civilized nations, and which the Government of the United States has no inclination to dispute." [35] Justice Hart also deals at length with the attempts, after World War I, to try Kaiser Wilhelm II for alleged "war crimes," and the opposition thereto by U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing, and Dr. James Brown Scott, an eminent American au-

thority on international law. Also the holding of Charles Cherry Hyde in his work on international law that no demands may be made for the surrender of individuals “to be punished criminally on account of acts which were not internationally illegal. [36] Justice Hart continues:

Furthermore, these four national powers instituting the Nuremberg Trials did not separately or jointly possess any sovereign power to create a special court to try alleged criminal offenses committed outside the territorial jurisdiction of any one of them- a sovereignty necessary under all systems of law to exercise authority over the life and liberty of its subjects within its territorial jurisdiction. Nor did it possess sovereign authority to convict officers of the German forces of so-called criminal offenses not committed within such jurisdiction. It is true that some claim was made that under international law there exists certain “common law” crimes, not specifically created by legal enactment, which crimes existed and were recognized and prosecuted by the Nuremberg Tribunal. But this position was belied by the fact that the powers in question deemed it necessary to specifically define the crimes in the same joint charter which created the tribunal. The London Charter defined the offenses for which the defendants were tried in specific language heretofore quoted.

It has been generally conceded that there is no recognition of sovereign power which is the creation of or operates within the jurisdiction of international law. That none exists is to be inferred from the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, Article 13 of which provides that the General Assembly may “initiate studies and make recommendations — for the purpose inter alia — of encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification.” The wording of the provision makes it clear that the Assembly itself is not empowered to create or codify international law, but to encourage the development and codification of such rules by the constituent nations or by international tribunals yet to be created.

There was also much valid criticism expressed in this country at the time of the trials, and since, to the effect that the nations involved in the prosecutions had seen fit to submit the matter of guilt and punishment to a make-shift court created by the prosecuting nations for the one special purpose and which went out of existence immediately upon securing the convictions for which it was organized. From a legal standpoint, there is no answer to this criticism. It was completely justified. The fact is that there does not exist and never has existed any international court or tribunal having jurisdiction to try offenses such as those named in the London Charter.

The designation and definition by the London Charter of the so-called crimes with which the defendants were charged, after such so-called offenses were committed, clearly violated the well-established rule against ex post facto legislation in criminal matters. The generally accepted doctrine is expressed in the adage: “Nullum Crimen Sine Lege”-a person cannot be sentenced to punishment for a crime unless he had infringed a law in force at the time he committed the offense and unless that law prescribed the penalty. Courts in passing on this proposition had declared that: “It is to be observed that this maxim is not a limitation of sovereignty, but is a general principle of justice adhered to by all civilized nations.”

In my opinion, there was no legal justification for the trial, conviction or sentence of the so-called “war criminals” by the Nuremberg Tribunal. We have set a bad precedent. It should not be followed in the future. [37]

There are many other valid reasons, not touched upon by justice Hart, why the “trials” in general were as illegal as they were improper. To enumerate only a few: day-to-day changing of the “rules of evidence,” so as to effectively deny to the accused the right of cross-examination guaranteed to them in the Charter; the manufacturing of evidence by the prosecution through the use of forged and/or unverifiable documents; admission into evidence by the prosecution of testimony known by them to be perjured; hindering access of the defendants to their counsel through delays and pettifogging; physical and psychological maltreatment of the defendants, and demoralization through the systematic looting of their personal effects, extending even to tooth powder; denial of a permissible defense in citing similar acts of Allied nations, etc. [38]

Revisionist historians have made some headway in arguments which may hopefully lead to a general repudiation of the entire Nuremberg process. But it is at best an upstream fight against an entrenched establishment, manifest most particularly in the occupation of academia by marauding leftist Jews and shabbosgoyim, and of the mainstream publishing industry operated headto-toe by the enemy. It is therefore particularly pleasing to see an establishment historian come to reason on the subject and successfully sneak it into print. The British journalist-historian, Leonard Mosely, no friend of Germany or National Socialism, has authored 21 books, largely concerning World War II. In his biography of Hermann Göring, he writes:

The International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg was not a trial in the sense that is normally accepted in civilized countries. It had been officially announced before the proceedings began that it would generally follow the practices of British and American courts of law, giving the defendants the right to speak and to cross-examine. But even though the presiding judge, Lord justice Lawrence, was a venerable British jurist renowned for the impartiality of his judgments, both he and his American, French, and Russian colleagues knew what was expected of them, and that there could be no question of the principal accused winning acquittal. The defendants were doomed before the trial started, no matter what case they made for themselves in court ... It is true that three out of the twenty defendants were, in fact, acquitted. But most reporters at the trial could have guessed their number and names from the start [author’s note: they were anti-Nazis] ... The purpose of the tribunal was not to give the accused a fair trial to the extent that they could introduce all kinds of relevant evidence in justification of their actions. That would have proved embarrassing ... their lawyers were warned that all attempts to implicate the Soviet Union would be disallowed ... There are some jurists who still maintain that Nuremberg was a perfectly valid legal process ... But in fact it was just as much a political trial as any which had taken place in Russia ... [39]

Some “liberal” elements in the U.S. continue to attempt to justify the Nuremberg process, imagining that they are thereby defending and asserting the so-called “rights of humanity.” But the Nuremberg “trials,” as well as the efforts to justify them, will someday be looked upon by historians and the more literate elements of the general population with the contempt which they so richly deserve. Nuremberg will come to be regarded as a monstrous error, similar in degree to the fateful intervention of the United States on the wrong side in two world wars. The World War I intervention was supposedly to “make the world safe for democracy” and to “end all wars.” The first premise was undesirable, the second impossible. The equally evil intervention in World War II, a surrender to the agitation of the British, the Jews, and “internationalistic eggheads,” in that order, began with “lend lease,” “Bundles For Britain,” and military-economic give-aways long before any formal declaration of war. It, too, was accomplished by fulsome slogans about defending the rights of humanity, saving oppressed mankind, and similar garbage. After all that saving and crusading, a new dawn of universal peace and brotherhood was supposed to follow.

Take a look around you. The Nuremberg “trials” were primarily the result of neurotic hysteria, hatred, and hypocrisy. Yet there was a small, secondary, contributing element which purported to believe that “humanity” would somehow be nobly and idealistically served by the holding of such trials.

A study of recent U.S. government and Amnesty International reports on political killings should give those “humanists” some food for thought. Half a million people have been exterminated by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, another half a million in Indonesia, and millions more in various African “states.” In the name of religious idealism, executions multiply in Iran. And in the name of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam-the three-headed beast-the killing continues in that unholy land, crazily called the “Holy” Land. Meanwhile, on the domestic U.S. legal front, liberals, “humanitarians,” and so-called lovers of democracy are zealous in their endeavors to protect the “rights” of real criminals, such as murderers, rapists, and thieves. These same liberal elements continually agitate for more “war crimes trials,” for more hounding and hunting of alleged Nazis in this country and throughout the world, many of them refugees from Communist tyranny in Eastern Europe. These same “anti-Fascist” liberals, anxious to pursue and punish “Nazis,” fail to show the same zeal for domestic criminals, real criminals, the perpetrators of violent crimes. On the contrary, they are opposed to capital punishment and obsessed with the rights of criminals.

Why this discrepancy? Something in the Jewish psyche requires that their media pots be kept boiling with constantly renewed stories of more and more “Nazis” being hunted and brought to “justice.” Jewish persecution mania requires constant feeding to keep it in bloom. An Eichmann trial, a Nuremberg lynching, or a Barbie proceeding every year would amply suit the professional, fund-raising Jews.

The Nuremberg “trials” and the numerous “war crimes”, “de-Nazification”, and similar proceedings which followed them, are ideologically as ludicrous and deserving of contempt as America’s intervention in two world wars to “make the world safe for democracy” and to “save oppressed humanity.” What is not ludicrous, however, is the massive human suffering caused by the pernicious meddling of the United States of America in the affairs of its betters.

What were the *real* origins of the Nuremberg proceedings? How did the U.S. fall into this quagmire of hypocrisy and lend its offices and personnel to a victors' tribunal falsely represented as some sort of noble experiment in international law? Some of the sinister background is well developed in the book *The Road to Nuremberg* by Professor Bradley F. Smith. Certainly no friend of Germany or of revisionism (which he attacks), Prof. Smith, knowingly or not, reveals the Jewish origins of the “trials” and shows that they were essentially an *American* production. Among the “cast of characters” in Smith’s book are Henry Morgenthau Jr., Murray C. Bernays, Sidney Alderman, Bernard Bernstein, Felix Frankfurter, Sheldon Gluck, Hersch Lauterpacht, William Malkin, Sam I. Rosenman (adviser to F.D. Roosevelt), Herbert Wechsler, Frederick Bernays Weiner, and Harry Dexter White (Weiss, the Russian agent), as well as the American Jewish Conference, to name but a few. The struggle of Henry L. Stimson against the malicious influences of Henry Morgenthau, Jr., is interestingly recorded. of Stimson, Smith writes, “... Stimson was a social anti-Semite... His diary entries include references to Morgenthau’s ‘race’ and his ‘Semitic’ characteristics... Stimson decried the fact that Morgenthau had taken the lead in advocating harsh peace terms. Specifically, he believed that this could rebound and provide ammunition for those who would attribute all stringent controls on Germany to a mere ‘Jewish’ desire for revenge. [40]

In discussing the trials of Nazi organizations, Smith notes: “For the system to work as intended, the prosecution had to convince a court, which was trying to appear legally respectable, that it

should overlook shaky evidence, as well as its scruples, and condemn millions of organization members on the basis of collective guilt..." [41] As a clue to the Americanization of the entire Nuremberg process, Smith writes, "After carping at American planning- filling the hallways with snide remarks-even most British officials ultimately admitted that American energy and determination had beaten the odds and turned Nuremberg into a more successful enterprise than had been thought possible." [42]

The influence of Morgenthau and his ilk in promoting the ill-conceived doctrines of unconditional surrender, harsh occupation terms, and trials of the defeated German leadership, in fact prolonged the war. Admiral Dönitz was well aware of this:

We knew of American Treasury Secretary Morgenthau's plan which, after victory, would have destroyed Germany to make it pasture land and an agricultural nation. If his plan would have succeeded, millions of Germans would have starved. For reasons decided at the Casablanca Conference, the Allies would have made peace with Germany but only under the condition that we surrender completely. That would have meant that German troops would stay where they stood at that time, lay down their weapons, and become prisoners of the enemy. That would have been three and one-half million soldiers on the Eastern Front which, in 1944 and 1945, stood far inside Russia, and it would have been impossible to provide these troops with food and shelter, even with the best organization ... These were the reasons why we did not surrender. The decision to ask for unconditional surrender at Casablanca was a political mistake. [43]

Dönitz was magnificently defended at Nuremberg by *Flottenrichter* Captain Otto Kranzbuehler, a naval judge advocate. In a chapter on Dönitz in his book on Nuremberg, Werner Maser furnishes a lengthy account of the Dönitz defense, recommended for those interested in the details. Despite a remarkable defense supported even by American Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, Dönitz was convicted and sentenced to ten years imprisonment, a light sentence compared to others meted out, but not light for an innocent man who had to serve every day of it, and more. Of what precisely the Grand Admiral was convicted, we shall never know. The legal authority H.A. Smith, Professor of International Law in the University of London, held that "... The clumsiness and obscurity of this language [findings in the Dönitz case] perhaps indicate the embarrassment which the members of the Tribunal felt in dealing with the case of Dönitz, and it is not easy to ascertain from the rest of the judgment the precise facts upon which he was condemned."

[44] Hon. S.A. Rahman, Chief justice of Pakistan, wrote: "... apart from the question of the validity or desirability of the Nuremberg trials, the guilt of Dönitz ... could not be said to have been established beyond a reasonable doubt on the basis of the material before the Special Tribunal."

[45] Rear Admiral Dan V. Gallery, U.S. Navy, summed it up:

The outstanding example of barefaced hypocrisy at Nuremberg was the trial of Admiral Dönitz. We tried him on three charges: (1) Conspiring to wage aggressive war; (2) Waging aggressive war; and (3) Violation of the laws of war at sea. Even the loaded court at Nuremberg acquitted him of the first charge, but convicted him of the other two. How in the name of common sense a military officer can wage any kind of war except an aggressive one without being a traitor to his country, I'll never know... Dönitz's conviction on charge three ... was an insult to our own submariners... The only crime he committed was that of almost beating us in a bloody but "legal" fight... The Nuremberg trials placed a solemn stamp of approval on a code of war at sea which we not only didn't follow ourselves in World War II but which may embarrass us in the future ..." [46]

Here it should be noted that Admiral Gallery has employed the layman's definition of "aggressive,,," rather than that of the international lawyer-which is absolutely permissible because the Nuremberg Tribunal failed to offer any definition of "aggressive war" whatsoever. Dönitz himself covered the legirl point in an interview with William Buchanan in *The Boston Sunday Globe*, 8 December 1963:

... The newly created principle of law does not define clearly what an aggressive war is. Because whether a war is an aggressive one or not is purely a political question. Politics of every country will try to prove that the other is the aggressor or that one's own country must feel so threatened that it was compelled to act in self-defense. So if ... the participation of an individual soldier in an aggressive war will be punishable in future by this new Nuremberg proposition of law, every single soldier of every nation would have to be accorded the right at the outbreak of hostilities to ask his government to account for its actions and to grant him access to all political documents so that he may form his own judgment as to whether he will be taking part in a war of aggression or not. [47]

Following his sentencing on 1 October 1946, Admiral Dönitz served his time, bravely and without complaint, at the old Spandau prison in West Berlin. Under any Western system, the conditions of imprisonment would have constituted "cruel and unusual punishment," and would have been ameliorated by courts. The German leadership was ill-treated, ill-fed, and ill-clothed, under monstrous conditions, with every manner of petty torture and indignity imposed upon the elderly prisoners. They knew little of the events of the outer world, had only a very limited and highly supervised contact with their families, and had but little contact with each other. Dönitz maintained his dignity through his inner strength, and he never wrote of his prison experiences in books or articles, unlike the little rodent, Albert Speer, who twisted facts and altered "reminiscences" to obtain fat contracts from the establishment publishers for his confessionals. Speer, anxious to "confess" to anything which the prosecutors might suggest, sought at Nuremberg to assume "moral responsibility" for anything which had transpired in Hitler Germany, even what the travelling salesman did to the farmer's daughter. He maligned those defendants who stood up to the court, including Dönitz. In his Spandau diaries (18 March 1948), Speer noted, however: "... Dönitz; abruptly and aggressively says to me that the Nuremberg verdict made a mockery of all justice... I cannot deny that Dönitz; is partially right in his rejection of the Nuremberg verdicts", [48] and on 10 December 1947, Speer recorded, "... For all his personal integrity and dependability on the human plane, Dönitz has in no way revised his view of Hitler. To this day, Hitler is still his commander in chief", [49] In an entry on 3 February 1949, Speer complained: "Schirach, Raeder and Dönitz are distinctly cool toward me... They disapprove of my consistent and basic rejection of the Third Reich." [50] Of special interest is a Speer diary entry of 20 January 1953, in which he quotes the reaction of Dönitz to the election of Theodor Heuss as President of puppet West Germany: "... He [Heuss] was installed under pressure from the occupying powers. Until all political parties, including the National Socialists, are permitted to function and until they elect someone else, my legitimacy remains. Nothing can change that one iota. Even if I wanted it changed... Even if I renounced the office I would remain chief of state, because I cannot renounce it until I have appointed a successor ... " [51]

During 1952-1953, a remarkable and fascinating plan was developed in West Germany, with roots extending to Spain, Argentina, and even the United States, for the liberation of the Spandau prisoners by commando-type military action, and the setting up of the Dönitz; government elsewhere as a legitimate government-in-exile. Although the financing was available, and many dedicated men were involved, security was compromised in Germany and the matter became a field day for Allied journalism, resulting in a number of arrests. The full facts were never known and

never will be, even though most of those involved are now deceased. just a few years ago, I had the pleasure of burning a file on the subject which had been eagerly sought by at least four intelligence agencies for many years.

Rather, more legal attempts were made to secure the release of Grand Admiral Dönitz. On 19 May 1955, Dr. Kranzbuehler requested the intervention of the West German regime with its Allied masters to secure the deletion from his sentence of 16 months spent in incarceration before and during trial. [52] Under most Western systems of jurisprudence, this is a routine procedure. On 27 May the Allies denied the request. [53] They were to make Dönitz serve every day of the Nuremberg sentence. The Allies regarded him as unrepentant and they feared political repercussions should Dönitz attempt to resume his function as Head of State, for which, by then, no small amount of support existed in West Germany among rightist groups, patriotic organizations, and the large associations of World War II veterans, with their growing economic and political clout.

On 1 October 1956, Dönitz was released, and the event was widely heralded in the world press. On the scene, there were altercations between the police and the press. Various newsmen were clubbed in an effort to keep them from the Grand Admiral. "Police told newsmen they were acting on Western orders. The Western Allies, in a first reaction, either disclaimed knowledge of the incidents or attempted to lay the blame elsewhere." [54] The *New York Herald Tribune*, terming Dönitz as the "Least Repentant War Criminal," claimed that the Bonn regime "exercised pressure behind the scenes to discourage demonstrations on his behalf," and cited with alarm not only the political popularity of Dönitz; with "Right-wing groups," but claimed that Mrs. Karl Dönitz "is reported to have maintained contact in recent years with active neo-Nazi elements." [55] The Grand Admiral himself commented sensibly: "You must remember I have been isolated and cut off from the world for eleven and a half years. Therefore I am not in any position to pass any judgment or have any opinions ... My only task is to be silent. I must feel my way back in the world." [56]

Time magazine, on 24 September 1956, in an article headed "The Lion Is Out," repeated old smears of Dönitz, attributing to him remarks which he never made. On 22 October 1956, *Time* published my rebuttal. Terming their article "so much hogwash," I stated that "Dönitz, a capable professional naval officer, was 'convicted' by the illegal Nuremberg tribunal for exactly the same 'ruthless' acts committed by U.S. and British admirals. The only difference is that Germany lost the war." [57]

There were many other voices. *The Chicago Tribune*, in its editorial of October 6, 1956, summed it up capably:

Grand Adm. Karl Dönitz ... has completed his 10 year sentence as a "war criminal" and has been released from Spandau prison in Berlin. He was sentenced by an international tribunal at Nuremberg, acting under ex post facto "law" invented for the occasion. The penalties prescribed were never legislated by any lawmakers, but by representatives of the victor countries who then took over the prosecution. The presence of Adm. Dönitz among the defendants presented the victors with an unforeseen embarrassment. He was charged with having conducted unrestricted submarine warfare. The tribunal reluctantly admitted that, in assessing this charge, an order of the British admiralty, dated May 8, 1940, directing that all vessels in the Skagerrak should be sunk without warning, could not be disregarded. The tribunal was also obliged to take cognizance of the undisputed fact that the United States, from the first day of the war, had also waged unrestricted submarine warfare ... Nevertheless, the blanket charges against the defendants of planning, preparing, initiating, or conducting ag-

gressive war were sufficiently broad to produce a finding that Adm. Dönitz was guilty of something- probably the crime of fighting, as a professional officer, in the service of his country. He got 10 years — a verdict proving once again that might makes right, and that hypocrisy can surmount all obstacles. [58]

My own involvement with Admiral Dönitz was continuing and considerable. During his incarceration I maintained contact with Mrs. Inga Dönitz, a magnificent, patriotic woman whose two sons had been lost in World War II naval service. The nullification of the Nuremberg verdict in the Dönitz case-and all the others-and the refurbishing of the Grand Admiral's reputation in world opinion were among my objectives. Long before the release of Dönitz, an ad hoc committee had been formed in the United States under the direction of myself and Professor Henry Strutz, with the active assistance of a group of retired U.S. Navy admirals of high World War II rank, including T.C. Hart and Charles A. Lockwood, for the purpose of compiling testimonials for Admiral Dönitz from military and other world leaders. Despite the active hostility of the U.S. government, its intelligence and secret police agencies, Jewish pressure groups, the so-called American Legion, the Bonn puppet, and others, the project was a notable success. The compilation of endorsements of Dönitz enabled his lawyers to force the Bonn regime to pay him a retirement pension commensurate with his rank, whereas they had tried to pension him off as a lower-ranking officer, claiming that he owed his promotions to Hitler. Leather-bound volumes of the letters and documents were presented to Dönitz and used by him in various ways. Even in *The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*, it is noted that "He [Dönitz] always kept with him a file of letters from Allied naval officers who had written to him expressing their sympathy and understanding." [59]

The public relations campaign for Dönitz gradually took root. On 28 August 1958, in a *New York Times* article captioned "Dönitz Gaining in Public Prestige", it was noted that just 22 months after his release from Spandau, "Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz has emerged as a nostalgic public figure in West Germany ... the benign ghost of Germany's old spartan naval tradition. This role, modestly played, has restored Dönitz' prestige in German naval circles ... " [60]

While it had never been so intended, part of the Dönitz testimonial collection was published as a book, *Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Re-Appraisal*, the first edition appearing in 1976 and the second, expanded edition appearing in 1983 under the imprint of the Institute For Historical Review. I would like to cite merely two contributions to the work which I consider particularly significant. Field Marshal Lord Henry Maitland Wilson of Libya, Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean theatre, wrote: "During my period of Command in the Middle East and Mediterranean Theatres, there were no breaches of International Maritime Law by the Axis Powers reported to me... the Nuremberg Trials were staged as a political stunt." [61] And Tom C. Clark, justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1949-1967) and U.S. Attorney General at the time of the Nuremberg proceedings, wrote of the book: "... The series of opinions expressed by executives, legislators, jurists, militarists, writers, diplomats and royalty run the gamut of concerned leaders of our time. These learned minds not only isolate the Nuremberg 'principle,' placing it in right perspective, but at the same time cite the able and devoted Admiral as a victim of the precept. I hail this anthology as required reading for all who are interested in equal justice under law for the defeated as well as the victorious." [62]

Following his release from Spandau, Admiral Dönitz promptly went to work on his memoirs, the German edition of which (*10 Jahre und 21 Tage*) appeared in 1958, to be followed by an English and an American edition (see bibliography). Getting the memoirs of Dönitz into print in Germany in 1958 was a major problem. It would have been better to wait for some years, but of course the Grand Admiral did not know how long he would live. It was necessary to make unde-

sired concessions. Thus the memoirs are largely concerned with the naval war and submarine strategy. There is no discussion of the Spandau years (which, in any case, Dönitz would not discuss), criticism of the Allies is limited, and any discussion of the Nuremberg proceedings is confined to specific issues, largely concerning the conduct of the naval war. There is some criticism of National Socialism, largely confined to the “leadership principle,” with a bone thrown to “democracy,” and some criticism of the camps, which Dönitz opposed in principle. He was of the opinion that the concentration camp concept had first been employed by the British against the Boers in South Africa, and was amused to learn from me that “concentration camps” were originated by the American patriarch, General George Washington, to handle the troublesome Quakers during the American Revolution. Because of their opposition to war, he rounded them up and herded them into camps where he left them to starve unless fed by other Quaker sympathizers. The concept flowered again in the sinister mind of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who herded Americans of Japanese ancestry into such camps in the World War II era. All nations have had their share of detention and labor camps, even the Nazis, but it was an American concept pure and simple.

The Dönitz *Memoirs*, in their various editions, were generally well received. In reviewing the English edition, H.R.G. Whates, in an article captioned “A Formidable Antagonist of Britain,” in *The Birmingham Post* of 9 May 1959, wrote:

... From it emerges a picture of an upright, non-political naval officer with brilliant and original ideas on the employment of U-Boats as destroyers of shipping. A man who might have won the war for Germany if he had been given the three hundred U-boats for which he asked... Sadly, Dönitz quotes Nelson: “Only numbers can annihilate.” He never had the numbers. [63]

In 1962, Mrs. Dönitz died at age 69, and the Grand Admiral moved into a small bachelor’s apartment in Aumuehle, a suburb of Hamburg where, surrounded by his naval prints and silver, he continued to write books and professional articles, receive old comrades, and correspond extensively with historians who sought his views. The navy of the Bonn puppet ignored him in the main, but Dönitz took pleasure in addressing groups of former servicemen, who always received him enthusiastically. By old navy tradition, commanding officers of foreign naval vessels visiting the port of Hamburg called on Dönitz as they would on the senior officer present, much to the consternation of Bonn. Dönitz also remained active in aiding the cause of so-called “war criminals” still in Allied custody. I remained in close contact with the Grand Admiral, assisting him wherever and whenever I could.

On 27 July 1980, I received a warm letter from Dönitz, signed with an aged, shaking hand, expressing the hope that we might meet again. This was not to be. On 24 December 1980, he died peacefully in his 89th year. The jackals went quickly to work. The Bonn regime denied him military honors and ordered no wearing of uniforms at his services, which were crowded with former servicemen of high and low rank, seeking to pay their last respects. The obituaries were varied, generally favorable in Germany (with notable exceptions), respectful in England, and nasty, semi-literate hack jobs in the United States. As one might expect, the wire services went right to the old World War II propaganda files and the Nuremberg garbage, with no attempt whatever to bring matters up to date. The *New York Times* was among the worst, which did not surprise me. I have always referred to that so-called newspaper as “the Zionist rag.” H.L. Mencken, I believe, called it, “a pompously sterile sheet.” At any rate, the story was over. Karl Dönitz passed into history.

With the death of the Grand Admiral, the controversy over his legitimacy as Head of State passed into limbo. During the late 1970’s the matter had been revived in an unfortunate way. A right-

wing radical in Germany, one Manfred Roeder, sought to proclaim himself “Regent of the Reich” and issued, through a collaborator in Buffalo, N.Y., a formal protocol bearing the forged signature of Admiral Dönitz, implying his agreement to this ludicrous proposition. On 22 September 1978, an editorial in the *Deutsche National Zeitung*, a right-wing newspaper in Germany, stated: “Errant spirits who pass themselves off as 'rightwingers' have recently tried to create the impression that they were acting on behalf of Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz when they claim for themselves the function of a 'Regency of the Reich.' The Grand Admiral has expressed himself as follows on the subject ... “ [64] There followed a lengthy statement dated at Aumuehle on 2 July 1975, in which Dönitz pointed out that, after the passage of then some 30 years, the serious possibility of his claiming the office of President of the Reich had to be ruled out. He continued:

In my statement of May 1, 1945, I did in fact very consciously characterize myself not as President of the Reich but as Head of State. I did so in order not to render more difficult the purely factual process of the exercise of the supreme power of government by complicating it with constitutional-legal problems. This de facto exercise of the supreme governmental power most certainly came to an end decades ago. In this connection, I leave it to historians to determine the precise moment when. After my release from Spandau jail in 1956, when theoretically I might have done so, I never declared that I continued to regard myself as President of the German Reich. Because of the political circumstances which have since developed, such a declaration would not only have been of no consequence legally, but also politically unwise ... [it] ... could only have had a deleterious effect on the will to re-unification of the entire German people. [65]

There was disagreement among those who advised Dönitz as to the wisdom of his statement. I for one, would sooner have seen a successor nominated, but, as Dönitz argued, who would be suitable? (My suggestion was Generalmajor Otto Ernst Remer, the exemplary patriot who had put down the cowardly 20 July 1944 plot.) The German radical who backed Dönitz into this corner now languishes in a West German jail — on other grounds to be sure, but the Bonn puppet has a long arm and no sense whatever of law or of individual rights. One thing seems certain: no future government of a United Germany can take office without a claim of continuity based on the Dönitz government, the last government of the Reich.

When Admiral Dönitz emerged from Spandau prison in 1956, he re-entered an alien world, the events of the prior ten years and more having in the main been withheld from him. He thought that the German people were the same people he knew in the 1930s and 1940s. But they were not. By 1960, the youth had been almost totally Americanized. The Coca-Cola culture had taken root, with its “hippies”, its negroid music, its militant labor unions, its put-down of patriotism, its rejection of race, of family and of cultural values. These were the fruits of the American “re-education” policy in Germany. Like the American, the German no longer wished to work but merely to receive pay. Gone were quality and craftsmanship, gone were German energy and creativity. The German woman had become “too good” to perform household tasks, for which Eastern Europeans, Asians and Africans were and are imported. Within a few decades, statisticians tell us, Germany will cease to be German, and will be dominated by alien races, run by leftist labor union combines. Admiral Dönitz lived to see these changes. He came to regret any favorable words written in support of “democracy”, and, in the end, found solace in the strength of his own National Socialist spirit.

In conclusion, I would like to recall a line in Adolf Hitler’s last political testament in which he invoked the faith of “all Germans, all National Socialists.” Little can be expected from Germany or from Germans in the years ahead. But Hitler knew well that all National Socialists were not

Germans. The doctrines will survive and the movement will take root, grow and flower among generations not yet born, in nations where it might least be expected. This would please a man like Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz. Criticizing Dönitz, a hostile West German obituary cited a recent statement by him that he had nothing to apologize for and that, if he had the opportunity to relive his life, he would have done everything the same way. Such men are rare in history. Upon the release of Dönitz in 1956, I joined with the writer and historian, George Sylvester Viereck, in a telegram to the Grand Admiral:

On the day of the triumph of your steeled will over the plans of your vengeful persecutors, your American friends congratulate you and wish you a long, healthy life. Throughout the entire despicable Nuremberg proceedings — brought about by the criminal co-guilt of the U.S.A. and world Jewry — your soldierly honor shone forth as the sole hope of those who wished to rebuild the collapsing Western World.

Through your personal courage, you have triumphed over the calculated plans of the destroyers of Western Culture, and you stand today as the personification of Honor, Loyalty and Faith. Let no considerations dissuade you from this position. You are unique in history! [66]

Notes

1. [↗](#) Ulick Varange [Francis Parker Yockey], *Imperium* (London: Westropa Press, 1948), dedication page.
2. [↗](#) Karl Dönitz, *Memoirs* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1959), p. 438.
3. [↗](#) Louis L. Snyder, *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), pp. 165-66 [translation into English of the basic document].
4. [↗](#) Ibid.
5. [↗](#) Dönitz, p. 441.
6. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 442.
7. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 444.
8. [↗](#) Ibid.
9. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 445.
10. [↗](#) Ibid.
11. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 451.
12. [↗](#) Ibid.
13. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 452.
14. [↗](#) Ibid.
15. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 453.
16. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 455.
17. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 459.
18. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 466.
19. [↗](#) Ibid.
20. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 470.
21. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 471.
22. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 472.
23. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 473.

24. ↵ Ibid.
25. ↵ Howard Katzander [staff correspondent], in *Yank: The Army Weekly* (May 1945).
26. ↵ Ibid.
27. ↵ Ibid.
28. ↵ Hart quote in [Lieutenant] R.M. Ancell, Jr., "Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz: Reflections at 80", *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings* (March 1973), p. 120.
29. ↵ Snyder, p. 71.
30. ↵ Ancell, p. 121.
31. ↵ Dönitz, pp. 476-77.
32. ↵ H. Keith Thompson and Henry Strutz (ads.), *Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Re-Appraisal* (New York: Amber, 1976; second, revised ed. Torrance, Calif.: Institute for Historical Review, 1983), p. 115.
33. ↵ Werner Maser, *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial* (New York: Scribners 1979), p. 35.
34. ↵ Thompson and Strutz, pp. xvii-xx.
35. ↵ Ibid.
36. ↵ Ibid.
37. ↵ Ibid.
38. ↵ Ibid [editor's introduction].
39. ↵ Leonard Mosley, *The Reich Marshal* (New York: Doubleday, 1974), pp. 335-36.
40. ↵ Bradley F. Smith, *The Road to Nuremberg* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), p. 31.
41. ↵ Ibid, pp. 249-50.
42. ↵ Ibid.
43. ↵ Ancell, p. 120.
44. ↵ H.A. Smith, *The Law and Custom of the Sea* (London: Stevens & Sons, second ed. 1954). p. 176.
45. ↵ Handwritten letter to H. Keith Thompson, possession of the author.
46. ↵ Dan V. Gallery [Roar Admiral, U.S.N.], *Twenty Million Tons Under the Sea* (Chicago: Regnery, 1957). from the epilogue.
47. ↵ Dönitz's comments in *Boston Sunday Globe* (8 December 1963), p. A-11.
48. ↵ Albert Speer, *Spandau: The Secret Diaries* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), p. 45.
49. ↵ Ibid, p. 81.
50. ↵ Ibid, p. 119.
51. ↵ Ibid, p. 220.
52. ↵ Reuters dispatch, *New York Times* (19 May 1955).
53. ↵ *New York Daily News* (27 May 1955). *Time* (6 June 1955).
54. ↵ Joseph Fleming [United Press dispatch] in *New York World Telegram and Sun* (1 October 1956).
55. ↵ Gaston Coblenz in *New York Herald Tribune* (1 October 1956).
56. ↵ *New York World Telegram and Sun* (1 October 1956).
57. ↵ H. Keith Thompson in *Time* (22 October 1956).
58. ↵ *Chicago Tribune* (6 October 1956), lead editorial.
59. ↵ Fisher, p. 72.
60. ↵ Arthur J. Olsen in *New York Times* (28 August 1958).
61. ↵ Thompson and Strutz, p. 48.

62. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 196.
 63. [↗](#) H.R.G. Whates, "A Formidable Antagonist of Britain," *Birmingham Post* [Birmingham, England] (9 May 1959).
 64. [↗](#) Dönitz, statement prompted by the Roeder affair [with editorial comment], *Deutsche National-Zeitung* No. 39 (22 September 1978).
 65. [↗](#) Ibid.
 66. [↗](#) Joint telegram of George Sylvester Viereck and H. Keith Thompson to Grand Admiral Dönitz, 1 October 1956; transmission copy in the Viereck-Thompson Collection, University of Iowa.
 67. [↗](#) *Special Note*: On 26 April 1942, the *Reichstag* voted absolute wartime powers to Hitler, suspending any laws to the contrary, similar to the powers conferred on President Abraham Lincoln during the American Civil War.
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Gnostic Origins of Alfred Rosenberg's Thought

JAMES B. WHISKER

It has been said that the Christian opponent of Judaism has but two alternatives: to de-judaize Christ or to deny Him. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, following many theologians of middle Europe in the 19th Century, attempted to prove that Jesus was an Aryan living in an isolated area of Gallilee, and separated racially from the rest of the peoples of the region. The author of *Foundations of the 19th Century* attempted to show that an isolated group of Nordics had been cut off from the mainstream of the nation, and that Christ was descended from such people. Field Marshal Ludendorf and others merely denied the relevance of Jesus, and were anti-Christian as well as anti-Hebrew. These two traditions accepted in common the idea that the Bible, Old and New Testaments alike, was literal history.

A third possibility underlies Rosenberg's thought. The origins are rooted in pre-Christian ideas and practices commonly known in the West as gnosticism. Like many other generic terms, gnosticism is used by many to cover a wide variety of philosophical-theological ideas. Because of the success of the Western church, including its more recent Protestant forms, the systems which were vanquished in the long struggle for religious supremacy in Christendom are thought of in a totally negative context. Such names as Marcionite, gnostic, Manichaeism, and Bogomilite, are perjorative. Most of what was known about them was either secretly guarded or was learned from reading the refutations of opponents or the accounts of one or another Inquisition, including the interrogations (most often of unlearned members under torture) of those who were accused of heresy.

In the 20th Century there have been two major developments which have changed what we know about the various "heresies." One is the discovery of major documents and treatises either by leading gnostics or by their closest disciples and followers. The other development is the interest shown by leaders of the Third Reich in these movements, and the subsequent study of the ideology in terms of such thought. Among the major works to appear reinterpreting the National Socialist movement in such terms are Pauwels and Bergiers' *The Morning of the Magician* (in French, and translated into many languages), Ravenscroft's *The Spear of Destiny* and *The Cup of Destiny* and Angebert's *The Occult and the Third Reich*.

Most of the authors who have rediscovered the gnostics and their influence on the Third Reich have assumed that the leaders kept the bases of knowledge secret, usually in the SS shrines and rituals, and that this special knowledge was never intended for mass distribution. Only the few specially selected SS types could be entrusted with the age-old secrets. Even in the pre-Third Reich State, Rosenberg had distributed his essay on the origins of Nazi ideology (actually written before the NSDAP was formed). His *Myth of the 20th Century* discussed one particularly gnostic sect, the Cathars (Holy or Purified Ones), in great detail, but stopped short of offering a simplified version of the Cathar religion/philosophy as the new religion (or reinstated religion) of Germany.

It is my contention here that Alfred Rosenberg's *Myth of the 20th Century* is quintessentially a gnostic work which attempted to set the stage for subsequent works which would have taken Germany back in time to a stage in which a simplified, anti-Jewish religion was the common practice in the West among the common peoples. It was designed not as a final statement on the New Nordic Religion, but was to serve as a trial balloon, a precursor of what was to come. In the early 1920s Rosenberg was not prepared to offer a final statement of this philosophy. The research necessary to the full creation had not yet been completed. It was a promise of things to come. It was a quest which may, in his terms, be likened unto King Arthur's setting the Knights of the Round Table on the quest for the Holy Grail.

The Grail Legend

Every German schoolboy knew the great folk tale of the Grail by heart. Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* was one of the greatest works of literature in the German (or any other) language. On the surface it is a familiar tale of a pure knight's search for perfect love and redemption. It had been popularized in the late 19th Century by the composer Richard Wagner, in operatic form. Few pieces of heroic literature had more impact on the nation-conscious Germans than *Parzival*.

Wagner's opera opens with the aged Knight, Gurnemanz, recalling the legend of the Grail. Titurel had been fighting the pagans without success when, suddenly, he was visited by a band of angels. They gave unto his keeping the Holy Grail, which Christ drank from at the Last Supper; and the Spear of Longinus, the lance used by the Roman centurion to pierce the side of Jesus as he lay in agony upon the cross. Titurel had built a great stronghold at Monsalvat to house these treasures, and had gathered around him those knights who were pure in heart wherewith to guard these great talismans of heavenly power. These knights rode forth to fight injustice and tyranny throughout the world.

Klingsor was an applicant, but he could not vanquish lust and passion from his heart, and so was rejected for membership. He then built a great garden of evil in which, through enticements of the flesh provided by a variety of beautiful women, he lured the pure ones from their stronghold, and enslaved them in his evil service. Amfortas was sent forth by Titurel to carry the sacred lance into the evil place and end its temptations. Klingsor sent the lovely Kundry to tempt Amfortas. She seduced him and delivered the sacred spear to Klingsor. The evil sorcerer wounded Amfortas with it, and although Amfortas escaped, his wound would not heal. Amfortas believed that he was condemned for his sin of the flesh.

tin Innocent Fool, Parsifal, appears on the scene, seeking his identity and destiny. After a brief scene in which the Holy Grail is unveiled, he goes to Klingsor's castle. Kundry is sent to seduce him, but, suddenly, Parsifal has a vision and is transfixed. He is told that should he fall to Kundry's seduction there can be no healing of Amfortas' wound and no salvation for him or the Grail Knights. He rejects Kundry and leaves. Klingsor attempts to kill him with the spear, but it hovers over the youth's head. The sensual paradise collapses and Klingsor vanishes.

After many years Parsifal returns from his wanderings throughout the world. He finds that Kundry has taken the robes of a penitent and that Gurnemanz has become a hermit. It is Good Friday. He is told that Titurel has died and that Amfortas still lies wounded and unable to consecrate Holy Communion. Parsifal goes to Monsalvat, touches Amfortas' wound with the sacred spear and revives the knight. The spear and the Grail are replaced in the sanctuary.

The Grail legend is interpreted in two ways. Generally, it is viewed as a story of Christian love and the redemption of mankind. The second is the mythical interpretation. The Grail is said to contain a coded message known only to a few, and understood by a tiny number. It is this interpretation which is accepted by Ravenscroft in *The Cup of Destiny* (1981) and Angebert in *The Occult and the Third Reich* (1974).

Lucifer was a Prince of Heaven before his sin prompted God to cast him to Hell. On the descent to the Underworld his crown fell to earth, and from it a huge emerald. This was used by men of antiquity to fashion a drinking cup to be used in occult rituals. Here we find the most ancient relic accepted by both Christians and gnostics. The cup was ringed with the usual special signs, symbols, runes and the like, all depicting the ascent of man through various stages to a final state of blessedness. The Grail had become the sacred vessel of Initiate Knowledge. It contained on its exterior the great trove of primordial knowledge and tradition which linked the past to the future. That primordial knowledge can bring man back into the natural and only true condition for him, the primordial state of consciousness.

Within Germany many regarded the Grail as the lost, secret book of the Aryan race. It had been entrusted to them since eons past, and was lost and recovered on occasion. What precisely it contained was unknown, and since it was written in symbols, the interpretation given these runes may have differed from age to age. It was the one great treasure of all Aryans, at all times. From age to age it had been the uniting factor, the one artifact that provided a rationale for the existence of the race.

The recent movie *Excalibur* has given a similar highly secularized interpretation of the Grail myth. The Grail is presented as being a sort of intermediary between ruler and ruled, a magic transmitter that guarantees that the king and the land are one, and that each will serve the other in a wholly natural relationship. Yet it is the spiritual dimension of the Grail that allows for this mythical union.

The Grail predated Christianity. This is an absolute whose acceptance is necessary for understanding the importance of it as an artifact to the NSDAP and its leaders, notably the SS. In Alfred Rosenberg's *Myth of the 20th Century* the Grail may be viewed as the cause of German objection to some aspects of Christianity, notably to Roman Catholicism. It may be viewed as having provided direction to the German people, or at least a significant portion of it, when the people were confronted by orthodox Western church teachings which were alien to them.

While the authors of the recent studies, notably Angebert and Ravenscroft, and to a lesser degree Pauwels and Bergier, have noted the importance of the Cathars of the 11th through the 14th centuries, they have not gone far enough in their research. It is true, as we shall see below, that the "Pure Ones" did preserve, for a time, the Grail and other related artifacts, but they were relative latecomers, both doctrinally and in terms of interest in and preservation of the Grail.

The Marcionite Heresy

We must return to the 2nd century A.D., to Marcion of Sinope in Pontus, to see the development of the whole body of literature surrounding the Grail. The greater portion of what stood in contradistinction to both Western Catholicism and the later Orthodox schism from that Church, can be seen at least germinally in Marcion. He, like many, had struggled with the great problem of evil. The Church had not as of that time decided its own explanation of evil in the world. The question was far from settled when Marcion was writing.

The Marcionites believed that evil was a truly real force, not merely the privation of some good. One may, for simplification, regard that evil power as the Devil, Satan, or the Lord of the Flies. He is a power to be reckoned with. The world was the source of sin and corruption, and was to be avoided. It had been created just as the Old Testament had said, but not by God. There was a lesser being, or beings, much like the classic Greek "world artificers." Sometimes known as a Demiurge, that creator had a spark of divinity, for he was a son of God, an emanation from the Most High. Man naturally longs for his true home, but that is unknown to him. He is trapped in a world of corruption and ruination: in matter, the material world, which is not God's creation.

To Marcion, the Old Testament was lie because it was the story of a false god, a deceiver: Jehovah. It and most, if not all, of its various characters were a deceit, and must be rejected. The Jews he considered to be the people of Jehovah, that is, a race dedicated to the false god. He agreed with the Jews on one point: their messiah had not yet come. Jesus Christ was not their redeemer; he had come to liberate men from the false religion of Jehovah. In his anti-cosmic dualism, Marcion put the unknown God in opposition to the inferior creator-god, Jehovah. The salvation of mankind meant, in a word, liberation from Jehovah.

The contrast between the two worlds and their respective gods is very great. Jehovah is presented by Marcion as a warrior-avenger, interested in perpetuating a world of retribution. The gentle Jesus is the agent of the unknown (alien) God, and he is merciful and filled with love. One cannot know the unknown (alien) God directly, and though he may have been suspected by men, he was not revealed to exist until Jesus came into the world. Jehovah was at home in the material world because it was his mirror image, made in his (not the alien-God's) image and likeness. The true God could not exist in this world, for he is pure spirit and is in direct opposition to the conflict and disorder which is inherent in matter.

The Marcionites rejected any and all things which tied one to the material world, or which seemed to tie one there, or which seemed to suggest physical redemption or conversion of material things. Thus they rejected baptism, except as a manifestation of their disdain for the material world. Holy Communion was a great contradiction, for it had as its primary content the transfixion of material things into the realm of the spirit and of the unknown God. All earthly pleasures were to be avoided as distractions which tie one to the temporal world. Sexual contact was another more serious tie to the visible world. Procreation of children meant that more sparks of the spirit were to be entrapped in the world of tears and deceit.

Because he is pure goodness and mercy, the unknown God adopted mankind, or at least that portion which was his own and to whom he could come, and who would accept and love him. God gave us grace quite freely to aid in our salvation, not because we as lowly beings could not merit it, but because he loved us although he did not know us. This is the doctrine of "pure grace," a quintessential part of Marcionite theology. That, in a sense, is the whole of the religion. God so loved the world that, although unknown to him, he chose to bring men to live with him so that he and men could come to know one another in a world far removed from the corruption of the present one.

Morality was not regarded as conformity to some law of Nature; nature was physical, and thus corrupt. God was not in the world. Natural laws were the embodiment of the demi-urge, Satan, not the Unknown God. One ought to avoid contact with nature in all its visible forms, for it leads one away from the true God.

While it is faith, not knowledge, that leads us toward God, we must have access to and know the special knowledge that much of what passes as religion is false. We must know, in Marcion's

schema, that the Unknown God is God, and that the creator of the world is only an eon, an evil emanation from God. Christ the Son of God came to bring us to know that which we cannot know directly, in and of ourselves. That we are trapped in matter without hope of redemption unless we know the correct faith is a matter of special, or gnostic, revelation. That God invites us strangers into his home without any knowledge of us, or we of him, is a canon of faith which can be known only through this special knowledge.

Marcion dropped elements of the New Testament that he did not like. What remained were expurgated portions of the Gospels (notably Luke), some of Paul's letters, and bits of the Acts of the Apostles. It is noteworthy that the Western church had not, as of this time, codified the New Testament. Marcion was more restrictive than most of the priests of the time in his choice of acceptable materials for the services. He rejected the Old Testament entirely, although one deviation of the time, possibly not Marcionite, devolved into snake worship, based on the Old Testament tale of the snake tempting Eve. Presumably, the snake was a good symbol for it was set in contradistinction to the ones Marcion had made evil characters. The snake was believed to be bringing certain knowledge of Satan, the creator of Adam and Eve.

In censoring the New Testament, Marcion excised those references made to an early childhood of Christ. Since Jesus was the messenger of the Most High, the Unknown God, he could not have been immersed in matter. Without having to materialize, Jesus had appeared to men to have a body and then only at Capernaum. He came to save those who would reject Judaism and Jehovah. What his precious blood purchased, in a metaphorical sense, was the freedom from the false god, Jehovah. He offered a baptism which would reject the world and all its material evils. One was to be "married" only to Christ so that child-bearing was avoided and man could escape the material world. While the material world would continue to exist, Christ had come to destroy, as an idea, the world of Jehovah.

The Manichaeian Heresy

Few religious deviations in the Western church had greater impact or longer-lasting effect than Manichaeism. Founded by Mani in Mesopotamia about 242 A.D., it was a major rival to orthodox Christianity. Mani was martyred by the Western Church in 276 A.D. Among the early adherents was the great apologist for the Catholic Church, St. Augustine, who practiced its tenets from about 373 to 382. His *City of God* has strong Manichaeian tendencies in its absolute dichotomy between good and evil, and between the city of man (visible world) and the City of God (realm of the spirit).

Mani reflected the gnostic background of the area and the times. The origin of evil lay in the nature of matter itself. Its multiplicity is radically opposed to the spirituality of God. Matter is an evil which can never be redeemed; it is eternally evil. The soul is divine, or like unto the divine, for it is immaterial and simple. Man's body is but a prison in which the soul is entrapped. Redemption is found only in death.

The Demiurge, or lesser creator, created the visible world out of particles which belonged to the powers of darkness. These powers are opposed to God and the whole realm of the spirit. They are forever entrapped in the world of matter. They entice man to use his sexual powers to continually procreate so that bits of the spirit are trapped in the bodies of men. Otherwise the bodies would be lifeless, hollow shells, and there would be no one for the powers of darkness to control.

The dichotomy is called anti-cosmic dualism. It underlies all of the major works of gnosticism, but especially Manichaeism. Sin is concomitant with life itself in the material world. Only the

spark of life, the human spirit, is fit for godly action or thoughts, and for redemption. Necessarily this dualism concluded that whatever is merely finite (hence limited in time) is evil; whatever is eternal is good, and the spirit of man is a spark of the eternal fire of God.

Manichaeism had a rigid ethic. Mankind was forbidden to kill animals or otherwise to shed blood. Sex was condemned for reasons noted above. One was to reject Satan, the world, all material things, and all happiness based on the enjoyment of material goods. The elect or perfects travelled begging for food. They ignored secular laws which were in any way antithetical to their religion, and openly sought martyrdom for their beliefs. A significant portion of the community was devoted to prayer and fasting, and was dependent on the lodging and hospitality of the common believers.

Strictly speaking, the Manichaeans were not Christians. They did accept Christ as having been a divine being, or, at least, a being who was guided by the Holy Spirit. But so too did they accept all of the major religious leaders: Buddha, Lao-tzu and others. They did reject the idea of incarnation that is the cornerstone of Christianity. Jesus only appeared to be a man. He was not hung on one cross; he was, at all times, omnipresent. Some of the critics of Manichaeism accused the cult of pantheism. It is true that the Manichaeans had no special use for many of the Christian beliefs. They rejected Holy Communion on the ground that it was worthless because of the omnipresence of Jesus. They rejected the relics, such as the cross, partly because the artifacts were material and partly because they had no more relevance than any other physical item, since God was everywhere.

The term Manichaeism has come to represent any and all varieties of dualism in which matter and spirit are necessarily and essentially opposed. The movement died out probably for two reasons. It was too anti-social in its rejection of sex and its exclusiveness. It went too far in rejecting war, violence and bloodshed in an age that was far too tempted to war in both conquest and defense. But the term and many of the ideas lingered on, the vital spark carried by others.

Agapius (c. 450 A.D.) attempted a fusion of Manichaeism and true Christianity. He continued the belief in an Evil One, a self-subsistent force that is both eternal and opposed to God. He urged rejection of the whole of the Old Testament on the grounds that it was filled with lies and deceit. He, too, condemned earthly pleasures, sex included. Yet he believed in the doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation, baptism for the remission of sins, the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Final judgment, and the resurrection of the material and glorified body. His fusion, while intriguing, had only its role as a link in the time chain to commend it.

The Paulicans are quite another matter, for they served as a link between Manichaeism and the Gathers, from about 668 A.D. when the cult was organized, until after 1200. In 869, Peter of Sicily wrote a blistering attack on the Paulicans in his *Historia Manichaeorum*.

The origins of Paulicanism are obscure. The teachings are traced by some authorities to Paul and John of Samosata. The name may have been derived from that Paul, or it may refer to the sect's devotion to ten letters of St. Paul (Saul). Others have traced it to an attempt to belittle the movement as the "petty disciples of Paul."

Publicly, the Paulicans rejected Manichaeism, but privately they adopted the gnostic dualism and many other of its teachings. They rejected the Old Testament as a work of deception. They stated that it had been written by a race of thieves and deceivers, and was inspired by the worship of the false god, a demiurge, Jehovah. They hated the Jews on a second ground, as Christ judges and condemners. They stopped short of condemning them as Christ killers because they viewed

the Crucifixion as an illusion. They viewed Peter as a typical Jew who, under pressure and in danger, had betrayed Christ and denied him.

They attacked the traditional church on several grounds. They viewed clerical garb as the costume of Satan. They despised the emphasis placed on Christ's Passion and Crucifixion as these were either illusions or deliberate lies. Christ had no physical body made of the corrupt matter of this world. His "body" was an illusion offered to men as a convenient point of reference. Communion was an offering of material things, water or wine and bread, and thus could not be holy. The true Eucharist, they taught, was in Christ's words and thoughts.

On the surface they appeared to be orthodox Christians, for they made a distinction between things done on the surface without meaning and those done privately with special meaning. The Bible, even the hated Old Testament, was accepted for esoteric use, while the initiates used esoteric rites in private. They believed that faith was the great guiding factor in attaining salvation (hence their love for Paul). But they also believed that there were certain hidden meanings and revealed words that the initiates must know in order to escape the material world. These they held in secret, in their clandestine services.

In one area they did differ from Manichaeism. They were willing to fight and die. Much of their success came in opposing the armies of the Byzantine and, later, the Bulgarian empires. They spread the word with the sword as well as with the Bible. Perhaps their impact on history is greater because of their fighting prowess than because of their ideas. While they did not usually force conversion, the mere sight of their powerful armies in the field must have had a significant impact on the local population. Their power peaked under Tychicus, c. 801-835 A.D., although remnants remained active until at least 1200.

Paulican and Manichaean ideas were fused in an otherwise quite original movement which appeared in Bulgaria about 950 A.D. Our only true point of reference is a notation that they were first studied while Tsar Peter reigned in Bulgaria. Peter died in 969. The Bogomili were a group of initiates possessed of secret writings and ideas, whose name indicates "God have mercy" or "Mercy of God" or "Beloved of God."

Their highly original position in theology begins with the gnostic dualism of matter as evil and spirit as good. In the story of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32) they found an allegory. Christ is the good son who remained with the father and the devil is the son who goes off to do evil. The devil (Satanel as the Bogomili called him) was the son of God and the brother of Christ. One later tale which tells us of the Bogomili is as follows. The devil made the body of Adam. He tried to animate it with a spark of the eternal (soul) which he had stolen from God, but the soul would not remain in place. The soul continually exited through the anus. Eventually the devil was able to dam it up and the soul was sufficient to animate the body. The devil made the body from water and earth.

In a second version of the story the water flowed out of Adam's toe and formed a stream, which appeared to Adam as a snake. The snake tried to warn Adam of the deceit of Satanel, and was thus cursed by him. Eventually, God and his prodigal son reached an accord: each would rule a part of man. God was to govern what had been stolen from him, the spirit of man; the devil would govern the body.

To prevent the end of mankind, and thus end Satanel's control over man through his body, the devil must continue the human race. He could accomplish that only by continually entrapping the spirit in matter. He thus uses sex as the primary instrument of control. Without sex and procre-

ation there would be no future subjects for Satanel's control. Thus, marriage was to be rejected by the true believer.

The esoteric portion of the Bogomile cult taught that messages were hidden in the gospels, acts of the apostles, and letters of Paul. One had to have a certain key to unlock the secrets. For reasons that are not clear, but perhaps out of fear of the Jews, the messages were presented in riddles, allegories and metaphors. The correct interpretation of the materials was vital to salvation.

The Bogomili rejected the cross-it was a symbol of evil. On it the Jews had really or symbolically crucified Christ. Even if one attempts to reconcile the dualism which precludes Christ from having a body with the hatred of the Jews as "Christ killers" one is left with the idea in Bogomilism that they condemned Christ and his teaching. The Cross may be symbolically interpreted as representing that condemnation and rejection.

The Bogomili made no distinction between priests and laity. It was a democratically-run organization with no hierarchy until about 1200. They were more contemplative than the Paulicans, less given to action, and apparently non-violent. Had they been more active militarily their organizational structure may have been greater. They did not attempt to create a temporal regime.

The usual rejection of the sacraments marked Bogomilism. Marriage leads to continued creation of material bodies. Communion is an attempt to do the impossible: sanctify matter which is evil and cannot be blessed. Relics are rejected, and formal churches for the same reason.

The Phundagiagite may be regarded as a form or application of Bogomilism and, to a degree, Paulicanism. It was probably founded by John Tzurillas in Bulgaria about 1050, and spread through Bulgaria and Byzantium. It was more willing than the Bogomili to pay lip service to those things of organized Orthodox Christianity. Its adherents were hard to discover during the many persecutions of non-Orthodox Christians in both Bulgaria and Byzantium.

The Phundagiagite were accused of being devil worshipers, and of having a developed satanology. The accusation comes from a misreading of their interest in Satanel as a son of God and as the creator of this world. God created six heavens, and Satanel the remaining one. Satanel had tricked the other devils into rebelling against God; realizing that they had been tricked, these other fallen angels set about to create a race of helpers for mankind. This they did by fathering a race of giants by the daughters of men.

Moses had led the Jews astray, the Phundagiagite argued, by worshiping only Satanel, and in offering men the law which was written by Satanel, not by God. Other men rebelled, urged on by the giants who had been instructed by their fathers. In retaliation, Satanel caused the Universal Deluge which killed all but Noah who had remained loyal to him. In this cult, very few of the Old Testament figures were worthy of other than eternal damnation.

Satanel had stolen the spark from God which became the spirit of man. This was represented metaphorically as the light of the sun set against the eternal darkness of Satanel's realm. The spirit of man cried out for redemption so God sent his son Jesus Christ to the rescue. After having saved men, or that portion to whom he came and who received him, Jesus returned to heaven. On the ascent he bound Satanel, and removed from him his godliness, after which the devil became Satan, the "el" having been appropriately dropped. (The "el" indicated "of God.") The teaching of Jesus was designed exclusively to liberate men from Satanel and his servants on earth, the Jews, followers of Moses and Noah.

The Pure Ones

In the *Myth of the 20th Century* Alfred Rosenberg spends much time discussing the Cathars, also known as the Albigensians or Pure Ones. He clearly preferred their brand of Christianity to the Roman Catholic version. They were the carriers of the Manichaean tradition, as influenced by the Bogomili, Paulicans and others, into Central Europe, in the years prior to the Reformation. Had the Cathars been more militarily active and adept it is they, not Luther and Calvin, who might have won a place in history as the reformers of Christianity and the successful rebels against the Church. As it was, they were successfully contained by the Catholic Church and allied princes.

We find the Cathars emerging by about 1025 A.D., in Germany, Italy and France, also spreading to England and Flanders. Originally they were simply “the new Manichaeans,” and were so labeled by those whom the Church sent to weed out the recurrent heresy. There are many legends about the founders of the Cathar heresy, but no single figure or small, identifiable group can be credited. Gerbert of Aurillac, Archbishop of Reims, for example, in 991 made a declaration of principles which were decidedly gnostic and Manichaean, but he cannot be said to have led or encouraged the spread of Cathar religion. In 1028 William V, Duke of Aquitaine, summoned a council of bishops to deal with the heresy, and there it was held that it had spread northward from Italy. Ademar of Chabannes believed that a woman and another peasant had carried the doctrine into France, perhaps from Italy. Modern scholarship suggests that a portion of it, at least, came from Bulgaria, Armenia, and/or the Byzantine Empire, with another portion coming out of the Moslem Empire, where there was an unusual tolerance for strange gnostic sects.

Their doctrines are learned by and large from Roman Catholic sources, mostly records kept of the inquisition of prisoners. No book similar to the (ancient Armenian?) *Key to Truth* had to date been discovered, translated and disseminated to explain the Cathar side of the controversy over their doctrines. Most modern scholarship begins with a stern warning that the records of the Inquisition, even if accurate, were gleaned from those under torture, and thus those questioned were prone to say what the torturer wished to hear. Also, the records were obtained from unlearned peasants whose ideas of theology contradict one another, and none may be accurate in their recountings of the theology. Last, we must note that the Cathar heresy existed clearly for more than two centuries and it had no central authority similar to the papacy to set doctrine universally.

The Cathars were clearly dualists in the classical Manichaean sense. The earliest references to them state that there was a new outbreak of the Church’s old nemesis, Manichaeism. Intermittently thereafter the Cathars were called Manichaean. Authorities have not decided, based on the available testimony, whether the Cathar dualism was of traditionally opposed eternal gods, or whether it was of the monarchical type. There may have been shades of each heresy existing simultaneously. The monarchical dualism suggests that the power of evil is a being in all ways inferior to God, and that evil force will disappear when the material world ends. Traditional dualism, based in some part on the teachings of the Persian sage Zarathustra (Zoroaster) suggests that there are two equally eternal and powerful beings, one good and one evil.

The Cathars accepted the usual limited scriptural writings, and excluded the bulk of the Old Testament. Several books, to which the New Testament referred often, were retained, notably the Psalms. Jehovah of the Jews was dismissed as being either an incarnation or form of Satan, or as being merely a world artificer and not God. They gave esoteric interpretations to Scripture, including proscription of eating meat. The portions of the New Testament which did not suit their purposes were removed, usually with the justification that these had been added by the Jews to confuse or confound the faithful.

There was a significant distinction made between the Perfects and the laity within Catharism. The laity were those who were learning the true Christianity. They could marry, or continue to live in wedlock, if they wished. The initiates who had taken the final vows of the cult could not have sexual intercourse or live in a family environment. The training period often lasted several years or even a decade or more. Many Cathars held off taking the vows until they were near death, so that they were not obliged to follow the much stricter moral code required of the Perfects.

The great sacrament of the Cathar religion was the Consolementum. It was held in the home of a Perfect or a symphathizer. It began with a communal confession of sins and failures called the Servitium. All those present, Perfects or followers, participated. A senior Perfect held aloft a copy of the excised Scripture. The transcriptions of what the ceremony consisted of have come down to us, and as reported contain nothing that is shocking to, or antithetical to, orthodox Christianity. The closest it came to heresy was the stress laid on the sins one could commit of a material type, notably the sins of the flesh.

The candidate's initiation into the final rite of the Perfects was reasonably simple. It was flavored with writings from the accepted Church fathers and the excised Scripture, but mostly consisted of the rejection of things which were offensive to the Cathars. One pledged not to eat meat, engage in worldly vanities, lie, cheat, swear, and the like. The Roman Catholic Church alleged that it was at this point that the rejection of all things Catholic took place. The catechumen was reminded that here, before God, he swore eternal allegiance to his religion. Doubtless, he was required to renounce the Sacraments, since these were tied to the material world, and several canons of faith.

The Cathars drank no wine, and they objected to Holy Communion on the ground that nothing material could be made holy or purified in the sight of God. This, as we have seen before, is standard in anti-cosmic and gnostic dualism. Confession was an open affair, and not made to the priesthood. The cross was most objectionable, on the traditional ground that it was the symbol of the passion, even though they generally believed that Christ had no body and only appeared to suffer. The fact that the Jews had sought to crucify and condemn Jesus was sufficient reason to hate the cross, even if Christ was not actually crucified.

Some Cathars appeared to be Adoptionists. Here, they believed that a man like any of us-but a non-Jew-had been born, out of the flesh of Mary, fathered probably by Joseph, but not born of a virgin, and not born of one eternally exempted from sin (Immaculate Conception). At the time of the baptism by John, when God spoke the words "This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased," Jesus was transfixed or possessed by God. The "adoption" remained through the crucifixion, and possibly God removed himself from the man either at the Garden of Gethsemane or on the cross ("My God! My God! Why hast thou forsaken me?"). Most among those accepting Adoptionism believed that the man, not the man-God, was crucified.

Probably the mainstream Cathars believed that God had not, and could not, become flesh, because flesh is material and thus corrupt. He only appeared to men to have a body, as a convenience to men to see him. That point of view had a secondary benefit: it precluded having to be concerned with whether Christ was a Jew. That was a problem of some considerable concern for a group which had fully rejected Judaism and the writings, prophets, thoughts, and laws of the Old Testament.

Traditional teachings on Heaven, Hell and Purgatory were unacceptable to the Cathars. Earth, as the material world of the Devil and of corruption, was the Hell. Only those who renounced the

flesh and Satan could be assumed into Heaven. The Consolamentum was the purgation of the evil and corruption from man. Thus, there was no need for a second place in which this cleansing could occur. Likewise, there was no need to pray for the dead. Some of the dead had made it to the Heaven above the corruption of the material world, and thus needed no help. Others continued to have their spirits entrapped in the world.

None of the works consulted on Catharism have taken up the question of reincarnation, but it seems to be a logical consequence of the religion. If a soul was not able to escape matter, would it not be forced to return to try again? Or was it that a soul which failed to rise from the material world in that single attempt of the lifetime spent here was eternally trapped in matter in some way? The sources we have are silent on this important point.

One might also ask if it was necessary for the Cathars to believe that all men had this spark of the Eternal God. This is not taken up in the extant sources either. One legend suggested that Satan invaded the celestial abode sufficiently well enough to capture one-third of the spirits and these he entrapped in earthly bodies. However, the legend does not state clearly that this number was sufficient to account for all mankind. This, precisely, is the major problem in the Cathar teachings: they spoke in myths, parables and legends, and not infrequently contradicted themselves.

Except in a highly symbolic sense, Mary had no role in the Cathar teachings. Some held that she was, as a virgin, a symbol for the Church in its most abstract form. One sidelight held that Mary was a vehicle through which an eon passed on its way to earth; and a variance allowed Christ to have passed through her, but through her ear, not through the usual birth route.

The Inquisition accused the Cathars of being pantheists. In a spiritual sense, something of God may be said to be present in all things. Conversely, nothing material could house God, as in the Cathar rejection of Holy Communion, because God was the antithesis of materialist diversity and multiplicity. The Cathars generally responded to questions about God's presence in Church or in Communion by saying that God was no more present there than anywhere else. Some Cathars evidently believed that God, being all-powerful, could enter matter, or take on the appearance of matter, at will, to deceive the Devil and rescue the Men of Light from their material prison. Thus, at any given time, God may be present in any apparently material thing, or appear to all, Satan included, as a material thing.

The list of figures inverted in their moral standing is both long and intriguing. Jehovah, as we have seen, was as the Jewish God both evil and a false god, a form of Satan (or Satan incarnate). Abraham and Moses were said to have been inspired by the Devil. John the Baptist was evil because he baptised in water (i.e., a material thing) instead of baptising in the spirit. The various characters who destroyed, or who had a hand in, destroying, others — as in the robbery of the Caananites to obtain the “land of milk and honey” — were condemned.

Rosenberg and Gnosticism

The Cathars served as a highly convenient take-off point for Alfred Rosenberg's attack on both the Catholic Church and on Judaism. It is impossible to show his intellectual development, to say whether his disdain for these two powerful institutions flowed from a general dislike of them, or from his analysis of their doctrine or their history. However, there are many references throughout the *Myth of the 20th Century* to both groups as the corrupters of Christianity and of God's true message, and to these organizations as the persecutors of the Cathars.

One may assume that Rosenberg's constant favorable reference to the Cathars suggests that he believed they possessed the key to true Christianity. Rosenberg insisted throughout his writings and speeches that he was a Christian. He criticized the Roman Church on the usual grounds that one finds throughout post-Reformation Europe. But there was much more to it than that. The Reformation had not gone far enough. Luther and Calvin, and others, had started in the right direction, but had faltered.

One might compare the Protestants to the Waldenses who were the contemporaries of the Cathars. The Waldenses were in no way dogmatic and they spent very little time with questions of esoteric doctrine. They merely wanted to purify the Church, simplify the services, and end the corruption among the clergy. In short, they wanted to reform the Church to conform more to the "simple" Church they believed to have existed during the Acts of the Apostles. These, basically, were the aims and the results of Protestantism. In "simplifying" they wanted to reduce the number and complexity of the sacraments and the stronghold of central authority over matters of faith, morals, and bureaucracy. The doctrinal disputes were minimal, and for the most part no more comprehensible than the difference between Catholic Transubstantiation and Lutheran Consubstantiation. The doctrinal differences were of very little concern to most of the body of the faithful.

Thus, Luther paid great heed to the literal interpretation of the whole of the Bible, and rejected tendencies (latent Catharism?) to excise the Old Testament. The matter of a vernacular Bible was more important than any process of "purifying" the content. The Calvinists paid even greater attention to the Old Testament than did the Catholic Church. The Puritan form even attempted to reinstitute the Rule of judges and the Old Testament theocracy when they came to power in New England, and many of the True Levellers ("Diggers") attempted to do the same in England.

Luther had the greatest reverence for the literal word of Paul. The Cathars and other gnostics had made great use of Paul, but in a way so highly symbolic that a fair statement of the situation might be that they merely used Paul as a take-off point for their esoteric ideas. It is with Paul, especially a literal interpretation of Paul, that Rosenberg had his greatest problem with Christianity. Rosenberg saw in Paul a conclusive hypocrisy, in that Paul denied the Law, yet paid great attention to the development of the same Law. He had rejected the Mosaic Code under that name as too binding, but had attempted to codify a Law for Christians which, Rosenberg said, was merely the Mosaic Code under a new name.

To Rosenberg, Paul was the grand conspirator. Seeing that the new religion of Christ could not be defeated, that it threatened Judaism, the Jews sent Paul to transform it. Because the New Testament blamed the Jews for the death of Christ ("His blood be upon us ...") it would or at least could take on an anti-Jewish character. So the Jews decided, according to Rosenberg, to send one of their own, in effect sacrificing him, to redirect Christianity. It was this simple: Christ had come unto his own, and his own received him not. The Jews were thus outcast. But by redirecting Christianity, Paul made it seem that the Jews were not outcasts.

Had it not been for Paul, Rosenberg argued, Christianity would have been as the "heretics" like the Bogomili, Manichaeans, Paulicans, or Cathars. It would have rejected the Old Testament, removed the Jews and their Jehovah, and founded an anti-Jewish religion.

We are unusually hard-pressed to discover precisely how much of the gnostic anti-cosmic dualistic theology Rosenberg had mastered. We do not know precisely what books he read or discovered. Neither do we know precisely what the "Occult Bureau" of the SS had found.

After the fall of the last Cathar stronghold, in October 1244 A.D. at Montsegur, a few of the group made it through the Roman Catholic lines and carried off the treasures. Among these was reputed to be a Holy Grail, and on it the initiate knowledge the Cathar gnosticism required for salvation. This is the great theme of both Ravenscroft's books, and of Angebert's *The Occult and the Third Reich*. Otto Rahn's *Crusade Against the Grail*, published during the pre-war years, suggests that the location of the greatest of the Cathar treasures was known. Possibly, too, the SS had located long lost books of Cathar theology, or books showing the esoteric Cathar interpretation of the New Testament books they accepted. Also, the SS may have located the Cathar commentaries on books long used by Manichaeic sects, including apocryphal books like The Books of Enoch, the Book of Adam and Eve, The Gospel of Thomas, or The Childhood of Jesus.

Ravenscroft believed that the spear of Longinus had long before been located, in Vienna, at the treasure-house of the hereditary Austrian kings. The spear, as he calls it in his book title: *The Spear of Destiny*, was to Ravenscroft a talisman of power in and of itself. He suggested, but did not clearly state, that it may be much more.

We may be puzzled, as an aside, by the movie *Raiders of the Lost Ark*. In a sense, it suggests that a small group knew that the National Socialists were hunting for certain symbols, such as the Holy Grail and the Spear of Longinus. In another sense, why was the Ark of the Covenant chosen in that movie? Nothing I have read about Rosenberg or the gnostics suggests that the Ark was remotely of interest.

Other than the miscellaneous writings we have suggested here, and the Grail, of what did the Cathar treasure consist? More to the point in this section of the essay, of what did Rosenberg believe it would consist? And what of that lot did Rosenberg study and consider? Presumably, Ravenscroft and Angebert, in researching their books, spent much time in considering answers to these questions. Both agree that Hitler and the National Socialists possessed the Spear. Neither author is evidently willing to commit to the Nazis' possession any other specific object or writing. One might even ask if, indeed, the Cathars had a treasure, and, if they did, if any of it has survived.

I strongly suspect that somewhere there exists, or did exist at the end of the war, a substantial amount of very important research on the whole of the Cathar movement and the presumed great treasure taken from Montsegur. It would have been gathered for the express purpose of being made into the basis of the Nordic Christianity that preoccupied both Rosenberg and Hitler.

Angebert's *The Occult and the Third Reich* suggests that a substantial portion of what the SS gathered on religion was put into use by the SS under Heinrich Himmler and that a special stronghold had been provided Himmler for the express purpose of indoctrinating his select SS leaders in the new cult. Pauwels and Bergier, whose work is most noteworthy for its wild statements given with absolutely no documentation, say in the *Morning of the Magician* that a whole black ritual devoted to Satan worship was offered selected SS officers. The Black Order was to be devoted to black magic, demonology and all sorts of evil things. Ravenscroft believed that Hitler was a black magician and a master of many of the occult sciences.

One might point out that similar charges had been brought against the Cathars. They had offered a whole new interpretation of Christianity and had suffered burning at the stake and other painful martyrdoms. Until the documents which still may exist are released, we can only say that it is within the context of Rosenberg's published works that he studied what was available on the Cathars, and perhaps other medieval Manichaeans (in a very broad definition of

Manichaeism), and that the ideas as he understood them were to be the basis for a reconstituted Christianity.

It is noteworthy that the Roman Catholic Church acted swiftly, and for the first time in many centuries attacked a specific work, Rosenberg's *Myth of the 20th Century*, in an encyclical entitled *Mit Brennender Sorge*. The issuance of an encyclical in the vernacular (German here) was itself more than slightly irregular and noteworthy. The Roman Catholic Church has also taken the position of exonerating the Jews for especial guilt in the death of Christ, placing the blame more universally on all men. That action has taken place since the *Myth of the 20th Century* was written and, to some considerable degree, the encyclical may be viewed as a reaction to Rosenberg and the National Socialist position.

Surely, nothing fitted in better with the prevailing thinking of the Third Reich than the Manichaean position on the Jews and the Old Testament. That it was quite possible to be anti-Jewish and a good Christian at the same time was a cornerstone of the Nordic approach to Christian doctrine. It was also important that the medieval Manichaeans could allow that there was a race of cosmic men who were corrupt and materialistic and ruled by a false, materialistic god that stood in opposition to a race of pure men, steeped in rejection of the material world and deeply immersed in the realm of the spark of the Creator. The statement of the medieval Manichaeans on the race and the anti-race sounds like a passage plucked from the Nazi Primer.

Bibliographic Essay

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Yehuda Bauer and the 'Polemical and Apologetic Bias' of Jewish Historiography

- A HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST by Yehuda Bauer. New York: Franklin Watts, 1982, 398pp, \$15.95, ISBN 0-531-098621

L.A. ROLLINS

Hannah Arendt once pointed out the “strong polemical and apologetic bias” of Jewish historiography. Yehuda Bauer is Professor of Holocaust Studies at Jerusalem’s Hebrew University. And, according to Dr. Franklin H. Littell, Bauer is “one of the world’s top authorities on the Holocaust.” But *A History of the Holocaust*, Yehuda Bauer’s latest contribution to Jewish historiography, is no exception to Hannah Arendt’s observation.

The book begins with a fairly lengthy overview of Jewish history. (We do not even reach the beginning of the Third Reich until page 93.) Bauer’s bias is already apparent by page 4, where he tells us:

In the ancient world, as well as later, the concept of one God meant that all humans were His children—that all men are equal, a revolutionary idea indeed.

The laws that bear the imprint of the Mosaic tradition include the provision of liberating slaves after seven years (Ex. 21:2), of freeing all slaves who are maltreated (Ex. 21:26-27), of equality before the law (Ex. 21:20, 23-25), of the prohibition of murder and theft, and of 'the absolute sanctity of human life—all ideas or concepts logically connected to the idea of monotheism.

Thus does Bauer expound what Hannah Arendt called the “self-deceiving theory” of Jewish historians that “Judaism had always been superior to other religions in that it believed in human equality and tolerance.” But while the concept of one God might be taken to mean that all humans are His children and, therefore, are all brothers, it does not necessarily mean that all men are equal. Logically, the idea that two people, or all people, have the same father, or Father, simply does not imply that those people are therefore equal. And as a matter of fact, the idea of one God did not mean to the Israelites that all men were equal. Somewhat more accurately than Bauer, Joan Comay writes, “The concept of the covenant between God and his chosen people implied that all Israelites were equal in God’s eyes, and that the human dignity and welfare of each had to be safeguarded.” (*The World’s Greatest Story*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 220-221.) That Israelites (God’s chosen people) and non-Israelites were not considered to be equal or entitled to equal treatment is easily demonstrated. For one thing, the liberation of slaves after seven years, which Bauer mentions, applied only to Israelite slaves. As Milton Meltzer admits:

The Hebrew code assigned the full condition of slavery to “the heathen that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids.” And for them there was

no prospect of liberation: “They shall be your bondmen forever.” (*Slavery: From the Rise of Western Civilization to Today*, Laurel-Leaf Library, pp33-34. Meltzer quoted Leviticus 25:44, 46.)

The Mosaic code similarly discriminates between Israelite and non-Israelite in prohibiting usury.

Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury.

Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury... (Deuteronomy 23:19-20.)

And the provision for periodically releasing debtors from indebtedness likewise discriminates between Israelite and non-Israelite.

At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release.

And this is the manner of the release: Every creditor that lendeth ought unto his neighbour shall release it; he shall not exact it of his neighbour, or of his brother, because it is called the LORD's release.

Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it again: but that which is thine with thy brother thine hand shall release... (Deuteronomy 15: 1-3.)

Thus, Yehuda Bauer's claim that monotheism implies egalitarianism is merely pious balderdash.

Bauer also claims (p 4) that, “The laws that bear the imprint of the Mosaic tradition include the provision ... of the prohibition of murder and theft, and of the absolute sanctity of human life...” The absolute sanctity of human life? Because the Mosaic code prohibits murder? But, of course, the Mosaic law also prescribes the death penalty for murder. Is killing a murderer consistent with “the absolute sanctity of human life?” In any case, consider some of the other capital crimes under the Mosaic law: smiting either of one's parents (Exodus 21:15), cursing either of one's parents (Exodus 21:17), bestiality (Exodus 22:19), sacrificing to any god other than “the Lord” (Exodus 22:20), adultery (Leviticus 20:10), incest (Leviticus 20:11-12), homosexual acts (Leviticus 20:13), having a familiar spirit (Leviticus 20:27), blaspheming the name of “the Lord” (Leviticus 24:16), working on “the Sabbath — at this very moment I am working on “the Sabbath” — (Numbers 15:32-36), serving gods other than “the Lord” (Deuteronomy 13:12-18), saying “Let us go serve other gods” (Deuteronomy 13:6-10), and being a rebellious or stubborn son (Deuteronomy 21:18-21). If “the laws that bear the imprint of the Mosaic tradition include the provision of ... the absolute sanctity of human life,” then Yehuda Bauer is a ham sandwich. (Incidentally, a few pages later, on page 10, Bauer asserts that “the Jews” had “... elevated the sanctity of human life to a near absolute...” Thus, between pages 4 and 10 Bauer reduces “the absolute sanctity of human life” to merely a near absolute. A very slight concession to reality by Yehuda Bauer.)

Another manifestation of the “polemical and apologetic bias” of Yehuda Bauer's Jewish historiography is his expurgated version of Messianism. According to Bauer (p 15), “... in Jewish belief, the Messiah would come to lead the Jews back to their ancestral home in Israel and thus end their troubles and wanderings.” But is this really all there was (is?) to the Messiah myth? Not according to Jewish anthropologist Raphael Patai and the Jewish writings he has brought together in his book *The Messiah Texts* (Avon). For example, Patai mentions (p xxxvii) “... the global upheaval and havoc [the Messiah] was expected to wreak among the Gentiles...” Patai also men-

tions (p198) "... the time of triumph, in which all the nations of the world recognize him as their spiritual leader and ruler, and he becomes a veritable *pantocrator*, world ruler — always, of course, in his capacity as the faithful servant of God." On page 193 Patai quotes from pages 162 a-b of *Pesiqta Rabbati*:

"In that hour [in which King Messiah reveals himself] the Holy One, blessed be He, lets shine the light of the Messiah and of Israel, and all of the nations of the world will be in darkness and blackness, and all will walk in the light of the Messiah and of Israel ... and they will come and lick the dust under the feet of King Messiah... And all will come and fall upon their faces before the Messiah and before Israel, and will say to him: "Let us be servants to you and to Israel! " And each one of Israel will have 2,800 servants...

According to Isaiah 49:22-23, the Gentiles would also lick the dust under the feet of "Israel," that is, the Jews. As Patai explains (p xxxvii):

Living as they did in a state of dispersion among the nations and of oppression by the Gentiles, the Jews nevertheless remained firmly convinced of the centrality of the Jewish people in the divine scheme with all this meant in imaginary privileges and onerous obligations. Thus the Redemption in the End of Days, too, could not but be centered on the Jewish people, whose role, however, was conceived as that of divine instrument in imposing God's rule over the entire world.

Along the same lines, Patai also says (p xxvi), "For many centuries, in the midst of persecutions, massacres, expulsions, and humiliations, while living the life of hated and despised pariahs, the Jews in their fantasy saw themselves as kings of the World to Come, enjoying great pleasures of the palate, exquisite luxuries of housing and clothing, wading ankle-deep in floods of diamonds and pearls, studying the new Tora of the Messiah taught to them directly by God, and being entertained by dances performed by God himself to the music of angels and the heavenly spheres."

Yehuda Bauer gives not the slightest hint of the Messiah as "world ruler," of the Jewish people as "divine instrument in imposing God's rule over the whole world," of all the Gentile nations of the world coming to Jerusalem to lick the dust from the feet of the Messiah and "Israel" (the Jews), or of each Jew having 2,800 Gentile servants. Of course, if Bauer had mentioned these amazing ingredients of Messianism, then he wouldn't have been able to blithely dismiss the idea of "a Jewish desire to control the world" as nothing but a "false myth" (p45). But Bauer is not willing to admit even the possibility that some Jews might desire to control the world. And so he disingenuously attributes the idea of a Jewish desire to control the world to the "Satanic image" of "the Jew ... just as Satan is out to control the world, so the Jew, possessed by the Devil, must be." (p44) But I do not see "the Jew" as possessed by "the Devil," yet it seems entirely plausible to me that some Jews might well wish to control the world. As Mark Twain said, "The Jews are members of the human race-worse I can say of no man." Jews are human beings. And some human beings desire power over others. And for some human beings the lust for power is so all-consuming that they actually desire to control the world. For example, Cecil Rhodes. (See *The Anglo-American Establishment* by Carroll Quigley, Books in Focus.) I see no reason for ignoring the evidence to the contrary and assuming that Jews are inherently incapable of such a lust for power.

But in Yehuda Bauer's biased world-view, it is only Gentiles who are capable of lusting for world power. While Bauer dismisses the idea of a Jewish desire to control the world as a "false myth," he approvingly quotes (p84) Robert Payne's characterization of *Mein Kampf* as "... a blueprint

for the total destruction of bourgeois society and the conquest of the world As a matter of fact, there were a few passages in *Mein Kampf* that envisioned, in the distant future, a world ruled by an “Aryan” master race. See pages 383-384 of the Sentry edition, for example. But, contrary to the “false myth” perpetuated by Robert Payne and Yehuda Bauer, there was no blueprint, no detailed plan for world conquest.

Bauer finally gets down to the real nitty-gritty in his ninth chapter, “The 'Final Solution.'” He begins by discussing (p193) the various conditions which supposedly led to a decision to kill all European Jews. But then he says the crucial factor “was the desire to murder the Jews inherent in Nazi antisemitism.” Amazingly, however, “Up until early 1941, the Nazis-with the possible exception of Hitler himself-were not conscious of the murderous ingredient of their own ideology because the practical possibilities of implementing it were not apparent.” So the Nazis really wanted to kill the Jews all along; they just didn’t realize that they wanted to kill them until early 1941 when it became possible to do so. Does Yehuda Bauer really expect anyone to take this quasiFreudian humbugger seriously?

In any case, like his fellow “authorities on the Holocaust,” Bauer does not prove, but merely assumes, that Hitler, at some indefinite date, gave an order to Himmler “to destroy European Jewry.” Bauer says (p194), “Himmler himself hinted at such an order in various communications.” Among such communications which Bauer cites in a footnote on page 362 is Himmler’s circular memorandum of 9 October 1942. Here is Bauer’s version of that memorandum:

After executing the less useful Jews, the remaining Jews, who were to become laborers, were to be sent to concentration camps “in the eastern part of the General Gouvernement [German-occupied central Poland], if possible. Even from there, however, the Jews are someday to disappear, in accordance with the Führer’s wishes.”

But here is the full text of the memorandum, as translated into English by Elizabeth Wiskemann on pages 110-111 of *Anatomy of the SS State* by Helmut Krausnick et al. (Walker and Company):

1. I have issued instructions that all so-called armament workers employed merely in boot and shoe factories, timber yards and clothing workshops in Warsaw and Lublin will be removed under the direction of SS-Obergruppenführer Krueger and SS-Obergruppenführer Pohl to concentration camps. The Wehrmacht should transfer any orders outstanding to us and we will guarantee delivery of the clothing required. I have also ordered that steps be ruthlessly taken against all those who think they can use the interests of the war industry to cloak their real intention to protect the Jews and their own business affairs.
2. Jews who are directly employed in the war industry-that is to say, in armament or vehicle workshops and so forth-are to be released gradually. As a first step they are to be assembled on one floor of the factory. Subsequently all the hands on this floor are to be transferred-on an exchange basis if possible-to a “secure” undertaking, so that all we shall have in the Government General will be a number of “secure” concentration camp undertakings.
3. Our next endeavor will be to replace this Jewish labor force with Poles and to amalgamate the great majority of the Jewish concentration camp enterprises with one or two large, not wholly Jewish, concentration camp undertakings — if possible in the eastern part of the Government General. In due course these will also be cleared of Jews in accordance with the wishes of the Führer.

As you can see, Himmler's memorandum said nothing about "executing the less useful Jews." Nor did it say "the remaining Jews ... were to become laborers." The memorandum dealt exclusively with Jews who already were laborers. As for the final statement of the memorandum, that eventually the concentration camps would be "cleared of Jews in accordance with the wishes of the Führer," this could have been a hint at a Hitler order for the destruction of European Jewry only if there was such an order. But, as I've said, Bauer never proves, he merely assumes there was such an order.

Bauer's chapter on "the Final Solution," like the other chapters of his book, is replete with assertions for which he cites no supporting source(s). For example, after discussing *Einsatzgruppen* massacres in Russia, Bauer asserts (p200), "Mass killings also occurred in Odessa in the Crimea, at Rumanian hands, where 144,000 civilians were murdered, largely by drowning." Since this struck me as a bit far-fetched, especially the part about drowning, I looked for Bauer's source for this assertion. But Bauer cites no source for it. I then checked, but found no confirmation of this assertion in any of the "standard" works on the Holocaust, not in Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews*, not in Reitlinger's *The Final Solution*, not in Dawidowicz's *The War Against the Jews*, not in Levin's *The Holocaust*, not in Poliakov's *Harvest of Hate*, not in Manvell and Frankel's *The Incomparable Crime*. What I did find is that a few of these books claim a massacre of either 19,000 Jews (both Hilberg and Levin — who cites Hilberg) or 26,000 Jews (Reitlinger) in Odessa in October of 1941 as a "reprisal" for the deaths of several dozen Romanian soldiers resulting from the explosion of a delayed-action landmine left behind in what had been NKVD headquarters. These "authorities on the Holocaust" agree that these Jews were shot. Hilberg, and Levin, citing Hilberg, also claim that another 40,000 Jews were subsequently taken out of Odessa and shot in anti-tank ditches, bringing the total of Odessa Jews allegedly killed by the Romanians to about 60,000. So where, pray tell, did Yehuda Bauer come up with 144,000 civilians murdered at Odessa, "largely by drowning?"

On page 209 Bauer makes the offhand remark that no gassings took place at Mauthausen. However, he gives no inkling of how he arrived at this revisionist conclusion regarding Mauthausen. But if Bauer is right, the implications are interesting. Consider: In his 1966 book, *The Trial of the Germans*, Eugene Davidson discussed, and dismissed, Ernst Kaltenbrunner's defense at Nuremberg (p323):

Kaltenbrunner admitted to none of these charges despite all the witnesses and the overwhelming evidence against him. On the stand, under the searching questioning of British prosecutor Colonel Amen, he could only deny the authenticity of his own signature and declare that the witnesses were lying who said they had seen him in Mauthausen when killings were staged in his honor by gas, hanging, and shooting.

Davidson found it inconceivable that witnesses might have lied about Kaltenbrunner attending a gassing at Mauthausen. But Yehuda Bauer implies such witnesses *were* lying when he asserts that "no gassings took place at Mauthausen." In fact, Bauer's statement implies that all the testimonies about gassings at Mauthausen are false, including those of ex-inmate Johann Kanduth, ex-SS-guard Alois Hoellriegel and camp commandant Franz Ziereis. For the deposition of Hoellriegel, which implicated Kaltenbrunner, see *The Case Against Adolf Eichmann*, edited by Henry A. Zeiger, Signet, pages 141-143. This book also contains excerpts from the interrogation of Kanduth, also implicating Kaltenbrunner, on pages 143-145. Regarding "the deathbed confession" of Ziereis, see Appendix 2 of Germaine Tillion's *Ravensbrueck* (Anchor Books). And see page 8 of Simon Wiesenthal's memoirs, *The Murderers Among Us* (Bantam), for a passing reference to "the horrors of the gas chambers" of Mauthausen. Yehuda Bauer did not mention these testimonies, let alone explain why he rejects them as incredible. Perhaps he feared that had he

done so some of his readers might have wondered why he accepts as credible the similar testimonies about gassings at Polish “extermination camps.”

In any case, it certainly is possible to raise questions about the credibility of Bauer’s star witnesses about gassing, Kurt Gerstein, Rudolf Höss and Filip Mueller. On pages 210-211, Bauer quotes excerpts from the Gerstein “report” on a mass gassing of Jews at Belzec. Bauer, however, has omitted most of the blatant absurdities of the Gerstein “report,” such as the claim that the Nazis gassed a total of 25 million people. And Bauer gives a calculatedly misleading account of the adventures of Jan Karski, another self-proclaimed Belzec eyewitness whose testimony raises questions about Gerstein’s story of mass gassings of Jews at Belzec. According to Bauer (p300):

To see for himself what was happening, Jan Karski (a pseudonym), a Polish patriot and a Catholic humanitarian, visited the Warsaw ghetto after the summer 1942 deportation. Disguised as a guard, he then managed to enter Belzec death camp for one day where he witnessed mass murder.

So Jan Karski (a pseudonym) witnessed “mass murder” at Belzec. Bauer does not elaborate on Karski’s witnessing of “mass murder,” allowing naive readers to incorrectly assume that Karski witnessed the operation of the infamous “gas chambers” of Belzec described by Gerstein. But, assuming Karski accurately recounted real experiences at Belzec, the only mass murder he saw was the killing of perhaps “a few score” Jews in the process of brutally herding more than 5,000 Jews into the cars of a train which then left the Belzec camp. (See Karski’s 1944 book, *The Story of a Secret State*, Houghton Mifflin, Chapter 30.) Karski, who supposedly was at Belzee not quite two months after Kurt Gerstein supposedly witnessed a gassing at Belzec, did not even see any gas chambers, let alone witness a gassing.

It is true that Karski claimed that Jews were herded into railroad cars at Belzec as part of a process of mass extermination. According to Karski,

The floors of the car had been covered with a thick, white powder. It was quicklime. Quicklime is simply unslaked lime or calcium oxide that has been dehydrated. Anyone who has seen cement being mixed knows what occurs when water is poured on lime. The mixture bubbles and steams as the powder combines with the water, generating a large amount of heat.

... The moist flesh coming in contact with the lime is rapidly dehydrated and burned. The occupants of the cars would be literally burned to death before long, the flesh eaten from their bones. (pp349-350)

Karski, however, did not claim to have seen the occupants of the cars being “literally burned to death... the flesh eaten from their bones.” And Karski’s assumptions about this are implicitly challenged by Bergen Evans in his book, *The Natural History of Nonsense* (Vintage). According to Evans,

That quicklime will “eat” a dead body is an old delusion that has brought several murderers to the noose, for, actually, it is a preservative that instead of removing the evidence keeps it fresh for the coroner’s eye... Oscar Wilde, who poetically asserted that quicklime ate the flesh by day and the bones by night, served to refute his own assertion, for he was himself buried in quicklime, and on his exhumation two years later was found to be well preserved. (pp132-133)

If, as Evans said, quicklime does not “eat” the flesh of a dead body, then would it have “eaten” the flesh from the bones of the living Jews shipped out of Belzec as Karski said it would?

In any case, it so happens that Karski was not alone in “proving” Nazi atrocities by exploiting the supposed power of quicklime to “eat” flesh. According to Bergen Evans,

... when the resourceful Mr. W.A.S. Douglas, of the Paris Bureau of the Chicago Sun, was confronted with an empty internment camp, Fort de Romainville, deserted by the retreating Germans, he was quick to perceive that it was actually a “death factory” for “the martyred heroines of France.” No heroines or fragments of heroines were found, but that only added to the horror of it all: they had obviously been “buried in quicklime.” (p133)

Whatever the truth may be about the alleged mass extermination of Jews with quicklime, Yehuda Bauer was clearly delinquent in asserting-without explaining and justifying the assertion that Jan Karski witnessed “mass murder” at Belzec. And he was also delinquent in not even attempting to reconcile Karski’s testimony with that of Kurt Gerstein.

Another of Bauer’s star witnesses to mass extermination of Jews by gassing is Rudolf Höss. Höss gave a number of confessions to his various postwar captors and interrogators. Bauer cites only one of these confessions, the autobiography written in prison in Communist Poland and published in an English translation as *Commandant of Auschwitz*. Robert Faurisson, however, has identified some significant anomalies in that confession. (See “The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to be Physically Inconceivable” and “The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981.) And Arthur Butz has pointed out numerous anomalies in another Höss confession, an affidavit of 5 April 1946. (See *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Chapter IV.) Rather than repeat the criticisms of Faurisson and Butz, I will simply point out a few additional anomalies to be found in Höss’s various confessions.

In a portion of the autobiography quoted by Yehuda Bauer (p214), Höss described an experimental gassing.

Protected by a gas-mask I watched the killing myself. In the crowded cells death came instantaneously the moment the cyclon B was thrown in. A short, almost smothered cry, and it was all over...

But is Zyklon B capable of killing “instantaneously?” To do so, Zyklon B crystals, when exposed to open air, would have to release lethal quantities of hydrogen cyanide gas instantaneously. Is that possible? I don’t know for certain, but it seems unlikely. In any case, it seems pretty certain that hydrogen cyanide gas, once released, does not kill instantaneously. According to page 53 of *Treatment of War Injuries*, a booklet published in 1942 by Merck & Co., manufacturing chemists, “The poison inhibits oxidation in the body and may cause extremely rapid death by paralysis of the respiratory center.” The booklet then describes the symptoms of hydrogen cyanide poisoning. “There may be rapid development of vertigo, headache, palpitation and dyspnea [i.e., labored breathing], followed by coma, convulsions and death.” Thus, although inhalation of air containing sufficient hydrogen cyanide gas may cause “extremely rapid death,” it apparently does not cause instantaneous death. (If it caused death instantaneously, how would there be time for the development of the various symptoms described above?)

In “The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?,” Robert Faurisson has summarized the procedure of gassing condemned prisoners by hydrogen cyanide gas in American prisons. According to Faurisson, “Within approximately 40 seconds [after the release of the gas], the prisoner dozes off,

and in a few minutes he dies.” Although Bauer, on page 214, uncritically quotes Höss’s story about instantaneous death caused by Zyklon B, on the very next page he describes the standard gassing procedure at Auschwitz and says, “After a few minutes of intense suffering, the victims died.” Thus Bauer agrees with Faurisson that gassing by hydrogen cyanide causes death after a few minutes. So why does Bauer approvingly quote Höss’s tale about a gassing in which the victims died instantaneously?

In any case, if Faurisson is right that the victim of a hydrogen cyanide gassing “dozes off” after about 40 seconds, then Bauer is presumably wrong about the victim dying after a few minutes “of intense suffering.” Although it doesn’t say when, the Merck & Co. booklet does say that the victim of hydrogen cyanide goes into a coma before dying. This is at least a partial confirmation of Faurisson’s assertion. At any rate, the information that the victim of hydrogen cyanide gas goes into a coma before dying renders quite dubious another statement from Höss’s 5 April 1946 affidavit, to wit, “We knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped.” Can someone in a coma scream?

In addition to Höss’s autobiography, *Commandant of Auschwitz* includes a statement on “the Final Solution” made by Höss in Cracow, Poland in November of 1946. Yehuda Bauer does not quote these passages from that statement:

When I went to Budapest in the summer of 1943 and called on Eichmann, he told me about the further actions which had been planned in connection with the Jews.

At that period there were more than 200,000 Jews from the Carpatho-Ukraine, who were detained there and housed in some brickworks, while awaiting transport to Auschwitz.

Eichmann expected to receive from Hungary, according to the estimate of the Hungarian police, who had carried out the arrests, about 3,000,000 Jews.

The arrests and transportation should have been completed by 1943, but because of the Hungarian government’s political difficulties, the date was always being postponed.

In particular the Hungarian army, or rather the senior officers, were opposed to the extradition of these people and gave most of the male Jews a refuge in the labor companies of the front-line divisions, thus keeping them out of the clutches of the police. When in the autumn of 1944, an action was started in Budapest itself, the only male Jews left were the old and the sick.

Altogether there were probably not more than half a million Jews transported out of Hungary.

The next country on the list was Romania. According to the reports from his representative in Bucharest, Eichmann expected to get about 4,000,000 Jews from there.

... In the meantime Bulgaria was to follow with an estimated two and a half million Jews. The authorities there were agreeable to the transport, but wanted to await the result of the negotiations with Romania.

... The course taken by the war destroyed these plans and saved the lives of millions of Jews. (*Commandant of Auschwitz*, Popular Library, pp189-190.)

Indeed, if the estimates supposedly given to Höss by Eichmann were accurate, then “the course taken by the war” saved the lives of about 9 million Jews in Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria! Since, according to Bauer (p334), there were only 9 million Jews in all of Europe before the war, it’s no wonder he doesn’t mention this inconvenient testimony from one of his star witnesses. You don’t become “one of the world’s top authorities on the Holocaust” by dwelling on the absurdities of Rudolf Höss’s confessions.

On page 215, Yehuda Bauer quotes from Höss’s testimony regarding cremations at Birkenau: “The two large crematoria I and II ... had five three-retort ovens and could cremate about 2,000 bodies in less than 24 hours.” Höss never explained how such numbers of cremations were possible, nor does Bauer explain this. However, another of Bauer’s star witnesses is Filip Mueller, supposedly a member of the Auschwitz-Birkenau *Sonderkommando*, who has said of crematorium I at Birkenau, “Its fifteen huge ovens, working non-stop, could cremate more than 3,000 corpses daily.” (*Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*, Stein and Day, p5g.) How was it possible to cremate such numbers? According to Mueller, 3 bodies were cremated simultaneously in each oven and each cremation took only 20 minutes.

To judge from a recent *Los Angeles Times* article by Carol McGraw (“Cremation: Boom Brings Controversy,” 13 April 1983), Mueller’s claim about cremating 3 corpses simultaneously in each oven is within the realm of possibility. McGraw quotes the head of a cremation company:

You can tell in 30 seconds if a crematory is legitimate, he said. They [i.e., consumers] should look at the product — ashes should be pure white. If several bodies are cremated together, they won’t burn uniformly and the ashes come out very dark.

But to judge from the same article, Mueller’s claim about cremating 3 corpses together in 20 minutes is not within the realm of possibility. As McGraw reported, “In the cremation process, a body is placed in a furnace and subjected to temperatures of up to 2,000 degrees for two or three hours.” If it takes 2 or 3 hours to cremate a body in a present-day crematory, is it possible that the crematoria of Birkenau could have done so in 20 minutes? As Mueller himself says (p61), “These were, of course, not modern or technically advanced crematoria.” If one assumes that cremations at Birkenau took 2 hours, then, even if 3 bodies were cremated simultaneously in each oven, crematorium I’s 15 ovens, working non-stop, could have cremated no more than 540 bodies in 24 hours. That’s a far cry from Höss’s “2,000 bodies in less than 24 hours” or Mueller’s “3,000 corpses daily.” And, of course, if cremations at Birkenau took longer than 2 hours, as seems quite possible if 3 bodies were being cremated simultaneously in each oven, then crematorium I at Birkenau could not have cremated even as many as 540 bodies in 24 hours. Thus, it appears that Rudolf Höss and Filip Mueller have grossly exaggerated the capacity of the Birkenau crematoria. However, Yehuda Bauer, “one of the world’s top authorities on the Holocaust,” swallows their gross exaggerations as eagerly as if they were lox and cream cheese.

According to Bauer (p215), “Between 1.5 and 3.5 million Jews died at Auschwitz.” Bauer cites no source for these figures, nor does he provide any explanation of how they were arrived at or of how they could possibly be true. And, strangely, although he can’t be any more precise than this about Auschwitz, nevertheless, on page 334 he states that, “During the Holocaust, 5.8 million Jewish people died ...” Thus, according to Bauer, 5.8 million Jews died in the Holocaust regardless of how many Jews died at Auschwitz. For Bauer, whether 1.5 million Jews died at Auschwitz or 3.5 million Jews died at Auschwitz, in either case 5.8 million Jews died during the Holocaust. Could it be that Yehuda Bauer wants to believe, no matter what, that 5.8 million Jews, i.e., about 6 million Jews, died during the Holocaust?

In a chapter on "The Last Years of the Holocaust, 1943-1945", Yehuda Bauer reports (p326), "When Majdanek was liberated in July 1944, the Russian reports on what they found there were viewed with disbelief in the West." Indeed Richard E. Lauterbach, one of the journalists who parroted those "Russian reports" in the Western press, complained about such disbelief in his 1945 book, *These Are the Russians* (Book Find Club, p326): "The story of Majdanek was printed in American newspapers and magazines. But millions of Americans have never heard of it, and many who have do not believe it." But *what* did the "Russian [i.e., Soviet] reports" on Majdanek say? Yehuda Bauer does not spell out for his readers the actual contents of those "reports," perhaps because he does not want his readers to realize that he himself does not completely believe them. The Soviet "reports" on Majdanek included the allegation that "... one and a half million people were in one way or another put to death in this camp, about half of them Jews." (See *Newsweek*, 11 September 1944, page 64.) But according to Bauer (p209), "[Majdanek] accommodated 50,000 inmates, and in the course of its history, 200,000 died there." Thus Yehuda Bauer implies that the Soviet "reports" exaggerated the number of deaths at Majdanek by 1,300,000! Thereby Bauer himself vindicates those who, as Lauterbach complained in 1945, were already saying "these reports are untrue or exaggerated."

Interestingly enough, Lauterbach also complained about disbelief of other Soviet atrocity "reports," including the "report" that, "At Tremblyanka [sic] in Poland, an estimated 2,764,000 Jews were annihilated." By comparison, Bauer claims (p209) that 840,000 Jews were killed at Treblinka. Of course, even Bauer's (unsupported) claim may be a gross exaggeration.

Before concluding this review, I want to mention a few miscellaneous items of interest in *A History of the Holocaust*. On page 18 Bauer says, "Jewish tribes for a time controlled the Yemen..." It would be interesting to know more about this historical episode, but Bauer does not elaborate.

On page 61 Bauer makes the following assertion: "Against a background of economic crisis which hit everyone, not only the Jews, one-third of Polish Jewry in the thirties was on the verge of starvation or beyond it." Bauer returns to this theme on pages 143-144, quoting Sholem Asch, who wrote in October of 1936 that the Polish Jews seemed to be "buried alive. Every second person was undernourished, skeletons of skin and bones, crippled, candidates for the grave." But if, as Bauer says, one-third of Polish Jews, about a million Polish Jews, were already "on the verge of starvation or beyond it" *before* the war, then is it really surprising that many Jews (perhaps even hundreds of thousands) would have died of starvation and starvation-related diseases during nearly six years of war and military occupation? Is the explanation for such deaths Nazi diabolism or rather the deleterious effects of a prolonged war on the situation of about one million already-impooverished Polish Jews?

In this regard it is interesting to note the contents of chapter 4 of Reb Moshe Schonfeld's book *The Holocaust Victims Accuse* (Neturei Karta of U.S.A.). According to Schonfeld, the Committee to Boycott Germany of the World Jewish Congress in 1941 demanded, in the name of Zionist bigwig Stephen Wise, that Zeirei Agudas Israel stop sending food parcels to Polish Jewry, because this was a breach of Britain's boycott regulations against Germany. When the demand was rejected, another Zionist honcho, Joseph Tennenbaum, organized the picketing of Zeirei Agudas Israel's office. According to Schonfeld, Zeirei Agudas Israel did not yield to this pressure, but "a majority of naive New York Jews became confused and the sending of packages sharply declined." If Schonfeld's account is accurate, then it would appear that the Zionists were actually prepared to starve Polish Jewry as a means of starving Nazi Germany.

In a section on "Jewish-Gentile Relations in Eastern Europe," Bauer relates the following (pp284-285):

The accusation of Jewish-Soviet cooperation in Eastern Polish areas occupied by the Soviets in 1939 was leveled by the Poles throughout the war. There was some truth to this. Soviet occupation was better than Nazi rule, and the Soviets abolished the restrictions that had prevented Jews in Poland from entering universities, the administration, and some trades. However, the fact that Jewish attitudes changed as the Soviets restricted religious life, abolished all Jewish institutions, and confiscated property, was ignored by Polish public opinion. According to Polish figures, 264,000 Jews were deported into Soviet exile or Soviet camps, or between 17 and 20 percent of the Jews in Soviet-occupied Eastern Poland. During the war itself, in the absence of any substantial help extended by Poles or Ukrainians, the Soviet army and the return of the Soviet regime were seen by the Jews as the only hope for rescue. Jewish forest and ghetto fighters sought aid from the Soviets. The Poles, who feared Soviet rule no less than they hated the Nazi conquerors, could not identify with the Jewish attitude.

Another item of interest is an appendix in which Bauer gives the text of Himmler's 28 May 1940 secret memorandum, "Reflections on the Treatment of Peoples of Alien Races in the East." Some revisionists have cited this memorandum's reference to "the Bolshevist method of physical extermination of a people" as "un-German and impossible." But it is useful to have the full text of the memorandum.

In an interview given to *Conspiracy Digest* and reprinted in his book *The Illuminati Papers* (And/Or Press), Robert Anton Wilson opined (p 43), "Those who make a career out of spreading unproven accusations against other humans can only be forgiven if they really are so ignorant and stupid that they don't know the difference between an assertion and an evidential demonstration." Yehuda Bauer, Professor of Holocaust Studies and author of seven books, seems to be making just such a career out of spreading unproven accusations against other humans, specifically unproven accusations against Hitler and his henchmen. I doubt that Bauer is really so ignorant and stupid that he doesn't know the difference between an assertion and an evidential demonstration. But, on second thought, maybe he is that ignorant and stupid. After all, he is "one of the world's top authorities on the Holocaust."

Review

Das Hossbach-‘Protokoll’: Die Zerstoerung Einer Legende

- (THE HOSSBACH ‘PROTOCOL’: THE DESTRUCTION OF A LEGEND) by Dankwart Kluge. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag [D-81311, 1980, 168pp, DM 19.80, ISBN 3-80611003-4.

Reviewed by [Mark Weber](#)

Hitler, we’re told over and over again, set out to conquer the world, or at least Europe. At the great postwar Nuremberg Tribunal the victorious Allies sought to prove that Hitler and his “henchmen” had engaged in a sinister “Conspiracy to Wage Aggressive War.” The most important piece of evidence produced to sustain this charge was and is a document known as the “Hossbach Protocol” or “Hossbach Memorandum.”

On 5 November 1937, Hitler called a few high officials together for a conference in the Reich Chancellery in Berlin: War Minister Werner von Blomberg, Army Commander Werner von Fritsch, Navy Commander Erich Raeder, Air Force Commander Hermann Göring, and Foreign Minister Konstantin von Neurath. Also present was Hitler’s Army adjutant, Colonel Count Friedrich Hossbach.

Five days later, Hossbach wrote up an unauthorized record of the meeting based on memory. He did not take notes during the conference. Hossbach claimed after the war that he twice asked Hitler to read the memorandum, but the Chancellor replied that he had no time. Apparently none of the other participants even knew of the existence of the Colonel’s conference record. Nor did they consider the meeting particularly important.

A few months after the conference, Hossbach was transferred to another position. His manuscript was filed away with many other papers and forgotten. In 1943 German general staff officer Colonel Count Kirchbach found the manuscript while going through the file and made a copy for himself. Kirchbach left the Hossbach original in the file and gave his copy to his brother-in-law, Victor von Martin, for safe keeping. Shortly after the end of the war, Martin turned over this copy to the Allied occupation authorities, who used it to produce a substantially altered version for use as incriminating evidence at Nuremberg. Sentences such as those quoting Hitler as saying that “The German question can only be solved by force” were invented and inserted. But over all, the document presented at Nuremberg is less than half the length of the original Hossbach manuscript. Both the original written by Hossbach and the Kirchbach/Martin copy have completely (and conveniently) disappeared.

According to the Hossbach document presented at Nuremberg and widely quoted ever since, Hitler told those present that his remarks were to be regarded as a “final testament” in case of his death. The most incriminating section quotes Hitler as saying that the armed forces would have to act by 1943-45 at the latest to secure the “living space” (“Lebensraum”) Germany needed.

However, if France became weakened by internal crisis before that time, Germany should take action against Czechia (Bohemia and Moravia). Or if France became so embroiled in war (probably with Italy) that she could not take action against Germany, then Germany should seize Czechia and Austria simultaneously. Hitler's alleged references to German "living space" refer only to Austria and Czechia.

When Hitler came to power in 1933, Germany was militarily at the mercy of hostile foreign states. Rearmament had begun slowly, and in early 1937, because of a raw materials shortage, the three armed service branches had to cut back. A furious dispute broke out between the branches for the remaining allocation.

Contrary to what the Hossbach protocol suggests, Hitler called the conference of 5 November 1937 partially to reconcile the squabbling heads of the military branches and partially to revive the German rearmament program. Foreign policy was only a subsidiary issue. Hitler sought to justify the need for rebuilding German armed strength by presenting several exaggerated and hypothetical foreign crisis cases which would require military action, none of which ever occurred. Hitler announced no new course in German foreign policy, much less a plan for aggressive war.

At Nuremberg Göring testified that Hitler told him privately just before the conference that the main purpose in calling the meeting was "to put pressure on General von Fritsch, since he (Hitler) was dissatisfied with the rearmament of the army." Raeder confirmed Göring's statement.

Like some other aristocratic and traditionalist conservatives, Hossbach became a bitter opponent of Hitler and the National Socialist regime. He was an intimate friend of General Ludwig Beck, who was executed in 1944 for his leading role in the conspiracy which tried to assassinate Hitler and overthrow the government. Despite his postwar denial, it is virtually certain that Hossbach prepared his slanted version of the conference at Beck's urging for possible use in discrediting the Hitler regime following a coup d'etat. Hossbach was also close to Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, head of military intelligence, and General Ziehlberg, both of whom were also executed for their roles in the 1944 assassination plot. Even in early 1938 Hossbach, Beck and Canaris were in favor of a coup to forcibly overthrow Hitler.

The Hossbach memorandum is frequently cited in popular historical works as conclusive proof of Hitler's plans for aggressive war. A good example is William Shirer's best-selling but unreliable *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, which alleged that the protocol recorded "the decisive turning point in the life of the Third Reich." At this critical conference, Shirer wrote, "... the die was cast. Hitler had communicated his irrevocable decision to go to war. To the handful of men who would have to direct it there could no longer be any doubt." Like many other Germanophobe publicists, Shirer deceptively cites the Hossbach memorandum as a reliable record. He even distorts the actual wartime importance of the conference participants. Of the five top officials present, three (Blomberg, Fritsch, Neurath) lost their high positions within months of the meeting. Raeder was replaced as Navy Commander in January 1943. Only Göring was really close to Hitler.

The important role of the fraudulent Hossbach protocol at the Nuremberg Tribunal is another damning confirmation of the illegitimate, show-trial character of this most extravagant judicial undertaking in history. On the basis of the protocol, which became Nuremberg document 386-PS, the Tribunal indictment declared: "An influential group of the Nazi conspirators met together with Hitler on 5 November 1937 to discuss the situation. Once again it was emphasized that Germany must have living space in Central Europe. They recognized that such a conquest would

probably meet resistance that would have to be beaten down with force, and that their decision would probably lead to a general war.” U.S. prosecutor Sidney Alderman told the Tribunal that the memorandum (“one of the most striking and revealing of all the captured documents”) removed any remaining doubts about the guilt of the German leaders for their crimes against peace. It was also the basis for the conclusion of the Nuremberg judges that the German “Conspiracy to Wage Aggressive War” began at the conference of 5 November 1937. The document was crucial in condemning Göring, Neurath and Raeder for their roles in the “criminal conspiracy.” The spurious Hossbach protocol is all too typical of the kind of evidence used by the victorious Allies at Nuremberg to legitimize their judicial imprisonment and murder of defeated Germany’s leaders.

There is now no doubt that the Hossbach protocol is worthless as a historical document. After the war both Hossbach and Kirchbach declared that the U.S. prosecution version is quite different than the document manuscript they recalled. Hossbach also testified at Nuremberg that he could not confirm that the prosecution version corresponded completely with the manuscript he wrote in 1937. And in his memoirs, he admitted that in any case, Hitler did not outline any kind of “war plan” at the meeting. At Nuremberg, Göring, Raeder, Blomberg and Neurath all denounced the Hossbach protocol as a gross misrepresentation of the conference. (Fritsch was dead.) The protocol deals only with the first half of the meeting, thereby distorting its true character. The memorandum concludes with the simple sentence: “The second half of the conference dealt with material armaments questions.” No details are given. In 1968 Victor von Martin characterized the memorandum with these words: “The protocol presented at the Nuremberg court was put together in such a way as to totally change the meaning [of the original] and can therefore be characterized only as a crude forgery.”

When he wrote his path-breaking study, *The Origins of the Second World War*, A.J.P. Taylor accepted the Hossbach memorandum as a faithful record of the meeting of 5 November 1937. However, in a supplementary “Second Thoughts” added to later editions, the renowned British historian admitted that he had initially been “taken in” by the “legend” of the document. The allegedly significant conference was actually “a maneuver in domestic affairs.” The protocol itself, Taylor noted, “contains no directives for action beyond a wish for increased armaments.” He ruefully observed that “those who believe in political trials may go on quoting the Hossbach memorandum.” H.W. Koch, a Lecturer at the University of York (England), further dismantled the legend in a 1968 article which concluded that the infamous protocol would be “inadmissible in any other court except the Nuremberg tribunal.”

Dankwart Kluge has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of the origins of the Second World War. His study will stand for many years as the most authoritative dissection of a great documentary fraud. This attractive work includes the complete text of the Hossbach protocol as an appendix, four photos, and a comprehensive bibliography. The author was born in 1944 in Breslau (Wroclaw), Silesia. Since 1974 he has worked as an attorney in West Berlin. Kluge has done an admirable job of assembling his material, which is drawn not only from all the available published and documentary sources, but also from numerous private interviews and correspondence with key witnesses. Kluge argues his case compellingly, although the narrative style is somewhat weak. This important study leaves no doubt that the highly touted protocol is actually a forged revision of an uncertified copy of an unauthorized original, which has disappeared. Harry Elmer Barnes, to whom the work is dedicated, would have welcomed it heartily.

Paris in the Third Reich: A history of the German occupation, 1940-1944

- PARIS IN THE THIRD REICH: A HISTORY OF THE GERMAN OCCUPATION, 1940-1944 by David Pryce-Jones. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981, x + 294 pages, 116 photographs, \$25.00, ISBN 0-03-045621-5.

reviewed by Charles Lutton

The claim that thousands of Parisians were members of the anti-Nazi “Resistance is an aspect of the Second World War that has come under increasing scrutiny in recent years. As British historian David Pryce-Jones explains in his study of *Paris in the Third Reich*, there was little actual resistance activity in the French capital. Indeed, during the German occupation life in Paris went on much as it had before the war.

A striking point is the contrast between the behavior of the victorious German occupiers of France in 1940 and that of the Allied troops who overran Germany in 1945. Unlike what happened in Germany and Central Europe in 1945, when the Germans took Paris there were no scenes of mass pillage, rape, and murder. The French mass circulation weekly *L'Illustration* described the German soldiers as “handsome boys, decent, helpful, above all correct.” Hitler even cancelled a huge victory parade that had been planned by the military, so as not to alienate the Parisians. Within a few days after the onset of the German occupation, the schools, restaurants, theaters, trains, newspapers, and other public services were back in operation on a near-normal basis. The Paris police, who outnumbered the Germans, remained on duty throughout the occupation.

Nor did the Germans round up large numbers of political opponents and suspects. Jean-Paul Sartre, Coco Chanel, Dior, Yves Montand, Maurice Chevalier, Picasso, and Albert Camus were among those who lived and worked — very productively — in Paris during the German occupation. One French writer, Louis-Ferdinand Celine, expressed surprise that the Germans were “not shooting, hanging, exterminating the Jews ... stupified that anyone with a bayonet would not be using it all the time. 'If the Bolsheviks were in Paris, they'd show you how to set about it, they'd show you how to purge a population, district by district, house by house. If I had a bayonet, I'd know my business.'”

As noted above, Pryce-Jones sheds additional light on the so-called “Resistance.” Many Frenchmen intensely disliked the Partisans, who did not go into action against the Germans until after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941. The Communist Partisans, large numbers of whom were not native-born Frenchmen, hoped to provoke German reprisals which would then alienate the French populace. In this they succeeded. But Germans were not their only targets: throughout the occupation, other Communists, assorted leftists, and rightists were murdered by the Partisans.

Once the Germans were forced to withdraw from France in the summer of 1944, a new “Reign of Terror” commenced. PryceJones estimates that there were 105,000 summary executions in

France between June 1944 and February 1945. “The number of Frenchmen killed by other Frenchmen, whether through summary execution or rigged tribunals akin to lynch mobs or court martials and High Court trials, equalled or even exceeded the number of those sent to their death by the Germans as hostages, deportees, and slave-laborers.” (The fullest treatment in English of the bloodbath that accompanied “liberation” is found in Sisley Huddleston’s 1955 book *France: The Tragic Years, 1939-1947*.)

Often, Frenchmen could not understand the logic involved in these reprisals. One woman remarked at the time, after her daughter’s head was shaved: “My little Josiane, it’s too horrible. Her hair has been cut off, monsieur. Poor little Josiane! If she went to bed with Germans, it was because she’s seventeen, monsieur, you follow me? But why ever cut off her hair for it? It’s a crying shame, monsieur. She’s just as willing to go to bed with Americans!”

Paris in the Third Reich includes excerpts from some of the interviews the author conducted with former collaborators, German veterans, and other observers. Over a hundred photographs, some in color, supplement the text. Those interested in this chapter of contemporary history will find the book useful.

Swiss Historian [Wolfgang Haenel] Exposes Anti-Hitler Rauschning Memoir as Fraudulent

Mark Weber

Virtually every major biography of Adolf Hitler or history of the Third Reich quotes from the memoir of Hermann Rauschning, a former National Socialist Senate President of Danzig. In the book published in Britain as *Hitler Speaks* (London, 1939) and in America as *The Voice of Destruction* (New York, 1940) Rauschning presents page after page of what are purported to be Hitler's most intimate views and plans for the future. They are allegedly based on a hundred or so private conversations between the two men.

Now, after more than forty years, a Swiss historian has thoroughly exposed this supposed document of Hitler's madness as completely fraudulent. Wolfgang Haenel presented the results of his research to the annual conference in May 1983 of the Ingolstadt Contemporary History Research Center in West Germany.

Rauschning's Hitler is nothing more than a nihilistic revolutionary utterly lacking in ideas, goals, principles or systematic ideology who demagogically exploited words and men to accumulate power for its own sake. He was a clever but completely unscrupulous opportunist who believed nothing of what he said. His National Socialism, according to Rauschning, was just a "Revolution of Nihilism." He was allegedly preoccupied with war. His numerous disarmament proposals and peace offers were just hypocritical rhetoric designed to mislead his future victims.

Of the man who unified Germany, Hitler is supposed to have said: "Bismarck was stupid. He was just a Protestant." He allegedly rebuked Rauschning for his qualms: "Why do you babble about brutality and get upset over suffering. The masses want that. They need some cruelty." "I want a violent, masterful, fearless, cruel youth," he is quoted as saying. On another occasion, Hitler reportedly declared: "Yes, we are barbarians. We want to be barbarians. It is an honorable title."

Wolfgang Haenel spent many years in detailed research, text comparison and interviewing contemporary witnesses. He found that instead of "about a hundred conversations" with Hitler, Rauschning actually met with the German leader only four or five times. And these few meetings were neither private nor lengthy, but always in the company of high ranking officials while visiting Hitler in Berlin or Obersalzberg. Rauschning never had the opportunity to hear Hitler's intimate views or secret plans for the future, as he boasted in his spurious "memoir."

Haenel shows that some of the words attributed to Hitler by Rauschning were actually lifted from the works of Ernst Juenger and Friedrich Nietzsche. Hitler is quoted as making statements which could not possibly have been made at the times alleged. Some quotes supposedly made in private were in fact taken from speeches made by Hitler after 1935, the year Rauschning left for France. Haenel also exposes serious contradictions between events as presented by Rauschning and the

way they actually occurred, as in the case of an alleged conversation following the Reichstag fire of March 1933.

Haenel shows that the spurious memoir was commissioned by some French journalists and New York publishing firms as a literary weapon in the propaganda war against National Socialist Germany. For many years the amount paid to the financially strapped Rauschning for his work remained a record in France for a political book.

The democratic mass media, which devoted endless columns of print and hours of broadcast time in denouncing the so-called Hitler diaries as phony, characteristically ignored the story of the exposure of this great historical hoax. An exception was the generally sober West German daily *Die Welt* (19 May) which, however, buried its report on page 21. The U.S. daily press published nothing.

To his credit, American historian John Toland made no use of the Rauschning work in his detailed study, *Adolf Hitler*. And German historian Werner Maser noted in his biography of Hitler that “Rauschning’s statements may, at best, be considered a secondary historical source. They have no documentary value.”

It is always easier to produce a forged document or phony memoir than to prove it false. But it’s still remarkable that it took this long for someone to expose the Rauschning work as fraudulent. Any open-minded reader familiar with the literature on Hitler can determine rather quickly that *The Voice of Destruction* is an imaginative concoction. It simply lacks the “feel” of authenticity. In contrast, the genuine memoir of Otto Wagener, Hitler aus naechster Naeh, provides lengthy and detailed insights into Hitler’s thinking and private views. As first chief of Staff of the SA ("Brown Shirts") and Director of the EconomicPolitical Department of the National Socialist Party, Wagener got to know Hitler intimately. They spent hundreds of hours together between 1929 and 1932, many of them alone.

The Ingolstadt Contemporary History Research Center deserves credit for its role in exposing this great fraud. Its director, Dr. Alfred Schickel, has authored numerous substantial revisionist historical essays.

Wolfgang Haenel’s long overdue debunking of the Rauschning memoir is a welcome contribution to the slow and painful process of clarification in an age of historical obfuscation.

Sebastian Haffner's 1942 Call for Mass Murder

Mark Weber

One of postwar Germany's most influential writers has been Sebastian Haffner. This successful wordsmith has written half a dozen books on political and historical issues, several of which have been translated into English. His most recent is a highly critical review of Adolf Hitler's life and place in history. The American edition, *The Meaning of Hitler*, received very favorable reviews in the American press. For many years Haffner contributed a regular column of political commentary to West Germany's leading general-circulation illustrated weekly, *Stern*.

Haffner's persuasiveness lies in his ability to present liberal-democratic, egalitarian ideas in apparently detached and objective prose. His sober and confident style reassures many otherwise skeptical readers.

But Haffner's real character came through in an extraordinary article published during the Second World War while he was living as an emigré in Britain. In the August 1942 issue of the reputable London monthly *World Review*, Haffner called for the mass murder of at least half a million young Germans by the victorious Allies at the end of the war. According to his article "The Reintegration of Germany into Europe," the National Socialist revolution of 1933 had divorced Germany from Christian European civilization. An Allied victory in the World War would make it possible to restore the prewar order.

Fortunately, Haffner wrote, the "hard core" of Nazi revolutionaries were concentrated in the SS and could therefore be easily liquidated. The SS had become "for all practical purposes the human integration of Nazism. It is Nazism incarnate. With its elimination Nazism may not yet be dead as an idea, but it will be dead as an active political force for the decisive next ten years. Thus the road will be clear for the reconstruction of a Europe embracing Germany. But it must be eliminated first."

Haffner did not shrink from spelling out just how that would be accomplished. "Now this is a stark and gruesome matter. In all probability it amounts to the killing of, upwards of 500,000 young men, whether by summary court-martial (no such mass-justice can be other than summary) or without even that ceremony. Even if one wants to avoid the actual killing and instead to convert the SS into a number of life-serving mobile forced-labor divisions for international use, it would mean not much more than a living death."

The mass killing, Haffner exclaimed, would be "a resounding act of international justice." After all, "it would be criminal sentimentality to leave the terrorists alive and abroad when dearly-bought victory at last makes it possible to dispose of them."

A comprehensive "re-education" program would also be necessary to make sure that defeated Germany stayed in line permanently. But since the vast majority of the German people obviously backed its National Socialist leadership, only a small group of anti-Nazi Protestant clergy and

Roman Catholic priests could be entrusted with this important task. “Thank God Christianity is still a very vital supranational force in Europe, a nucleus not only of spiritual but even of structural unity.” A network of Christian schools would be responsible for “re-educating German youth radicalizing Nazism as an idea-making Germany a Christian country again and reintegrating Germany into Europe.”

Haffner’s article is not the first call for genocide in the name of Christianity made in history.

Haffner’s murderous proposal was only partially implemented. Many tens of thousands of young SS men, not only from Germany but from across Europe, were in fact murdered by the victorious Allies in both the East and West.

I learned about Haffner’s article by accident while going through back issues of the leading German National Socialist newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, on a microfilm machine at the Library of Congress. A lengthy front page report in the 11 December 1942 issue publicized the bloody Allied proposal for “pacifying” Europe. It was hard for me to believe that one of West Germany’s most influential political writers could have once authored such a plan. But it didn’t take long to locate the original article in a bound volume on an obscure, dusty shelf of the world’s largest library.

A year before the appearance of Haffner’s article, American Jewish attorney Theodore Kaufman proposed a similar final solution to the German problem. In *Germany Must Perish*, Kaufman called for the sterilization of all fertile adult Germans, and the total partitioning-off of Germany among neighboring countries. But unlike Kaufman, who fell into obscurity after the war, Haffner’s star rose to great heights. He was able to play a major role in re-educating and remaking defeated Germany into the kind of tractable, “civilized” country he wanted.

In 1946, the victorious Allies executed newspaper publisher and former Nazi party district leader Julius Streicher at Nuremberg for “crimes against humanity.” He had been found “guilty” of disseminating anti-Jewish writings, particularly in his monthly paper *Der Stürmer*. That is, Streicher was killed for actions which were illegal neither under German nor U.S. law at the time they were carried out. And at no time did Streicher ever call for the killing of Jews or anyone else on the basis of race, religion or membership in an organization.

Sebastian Haffner, in contrast, openly called for the killing of at least half a million young men simply on the basis of membership in an organization—an act which he conceded would be a “stark and gruesome matter.” If Haffner were to be judged according to the standards applied by the Allies at Nuremberg, he would be punished for “crimes against humanity.”

But Haffner has never been called to account for his genocidal call. To the contrary, he has been richly rewarded in postwar democratic Germany. How many of Sebastian Haffner’s millions of readers would think differently of him and his views if they knew about his wartime call for mass murder?

Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski and the 'Holocaust'

by Mark Weber

During the Second World War, Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski was an SS Obergruppenführer, Higher SS and Police Chief for the center section of the Eastern front, and Chief of the Anti-Partisan Units.

He testified for the prosecution at the postwar Nuremberg Tribunal as part of a deal struck with the Allied authorities. Probably the most devastating part of his testimony dealt with the activities of the Einsatzgruppen.

In 1951 he was sentenced to ten years' arrest by a Munich denazification court. In 1952 he publicly denounced himself as a mass murderer. In February 1961 he was sentenced by a Nuremberg court to four and a half years' imprisonment for a 1934 murder. At that 1961 trial he declared: "I am still an absolute Hitler man." (New York Times, 21 March 1972, p. 44.) In August 1962 he was sentenced to life imprisonment for the 1933 murders of some communists. (New York Times, 4 August 1962, p. 4.)

On 24 July 1964, Bach-Zelewski reportedly testified at the trial of SS Obergruppenführer Karl Wolff that "Hitler knew nothing of the mass destruction of the Jews" and that "the entire thing began with Himmler." (David Irving, *Hitler's War*, p. 946, note for pp. 428-429, Viking two-volume ed.)

Bach-Zelewski died in a suburban Munich hospital on 8 March 1972, but his death was not publicly announced until 20 March. Newspaper reports of his passing appeared in the editions of 21 March. *Die Welt*, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, and the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* each carried the same, short Associated Press dispatch. The *Times of London* report was also very short. The *New York Times* published a much more complete obituary. (21 March 1972, pp. 44, col. 1.) The *Washington Post* and the *Washington Star* reported nothing.

In the book *The Myth of the Six Million*, the author (David L. Hoggan, as "Anonymous") states on page 80 that: "Bach-Zelewski in April, 1959, publicly repudiated his Nuremberg testimony before a West German court, and he admitted with great courage that his earlier statements, which had no foundation in fact, had been made for reasons of expediency and survival."

Despite extensive searching in numerous daily newspapers and periodicals, I have not been able to find any confirmation of Hoggan's statement that Bach-Zelewski repudiated his Nuremberg testimony. It would be very useful to find confirmation in a reputable publication of this alleged repudiation.

A Note From The Editor

Pearl Harbor: The Latest Wave

Keith Stimely

The latest furious round of publication and ensuing controversy about Pearl Harbor erupted at the end of 1981, and has not simmered down yet. The opening shot was the release in November that year of Gordon W. Prange's massive *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor*. Prange had been working on the book for more than thirty years; his first missed deadline for publication by McGraw-Hill was in 1951, and thereafter he continued to periodically promise completion of the manuscript and never came through, all the while adding more to it and using up advances. It finally got to the point where McGraw-Hill decided to cut its losses and refuse any further communication with the indefatigable, eccentric author. But two of Prange's former students, Donald Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillon, took up the task of reducing and shaping Prange's thousands of manuscript pages and notes into publishable form, the result of which was *At Dawn We Slept*. Prange had died in May 1980. The book was promoted by McGraw-Hill as the definitive work on the subject, full of new information. Without question it did contain more in the way of details from Japanese sources about the military genesis, planning, execution, and follow-up of the attack than any other work, details gleaned in interviews conducted by Prange in the late '40s and early '50s while he was serving in Japan as Chief of the Historical Section under General MacArthur, and which were indeed "new"-back then. The book's strength and value was as a *military history* of the Japanese side; when it ventured afield into painting the diplomatic and intelligence pictures, assigning responsibility and blame on the American side, its inadequacies were apparent. Prange's collaborators Goldstein and Dillon were determined to produce an account that would not only stand up as a *general* history, but in fact deal the final, crippling blow to the revisionists interlopers. They added an appendix called "Revisionists Revisited," a *precis* of chapters 139-43 in the fourth volume of Prange's original manuscript, in which they attempted a refutation of all revisionist theories and evidences, and concluded that "in a thorough search of more than 30 years, *including all publications released up to May 1, 1981*, we have not discovered one document or one word of sworn testimony that substantiates the revisionist position on Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor." (Emphasis added.) It was clear that the book was meant to supplant Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision* (1962) as the fundamental Establishment, pro-Roosevelt account, which would constitute the final word on Pearl Harbor and effectively end revisionism on the subject for all time.

It was not to be. No sooner had *At Dawn We Slept* appeared than it became clear just how much recent important evidence Goldstein and Dillon in fact ignored. Their statement that they had searched through all publications released up to May 1, 1981, was simply not the truth — as later admitted by Goldstein, who explained that he and Dillon had relied for this statement on the assurances of another historian, Ronald Lewin, that none of the voluminous National Archives Records Service (NARS) and other data released in 1980-81 supported a revisionist view. Even if Lewin was right, which he wasn't, it was a reflection of Goldstein and Dillons' level of scholarly

integrity that they would make a sweeping assertion of up-to-date accuracy and comprehensiveness on a claim of personal familiarity which was false.

Much of the NARS and other recent data did indeed support a revisionist position, and was used as such by John Costello, a British historian whose book *The Pacific War* appeared almost simultaneously with Prange's, starting a debate which soon drowned out the premature huzzas for Prange uttered by some overeager reviewers not familiar enough with the evidential record to even have an intelligent opinion on the matter. In two chapters at the end of his general history of the Pacific-theater war, Costello discussed the new evidence which, he claimed, indicated that: eleven days before Pearl Harbor FDR had received a "positive war warning" from Churchill that the Japanese would strike against America at the end of the first week in December — a warning which caused the President to do an abrupt about-face on plans for a time-buying modus vivendi with Japan and which resulted in Secretary of State Hull's deliberately provocative ultimatum of 26 November 1941 which guaranteed war; the United States had intercepted, between 2 and 4 December, the "Winds Execute" message which meant an imminent diplomatic break and thus war, this message had been passed on to the higher authorities in Washington, and its receipt had been covered up by Washington after the Pearl Harbor attack. The new evidence for the receipt of "Winds" was National Archives document SRH-051: "Interview with Mr. Ralph T. Briggs," conducted by the Naval Security Group and declassified by the National Security Agency on 11 March 1980. Briggs said in this interview that he was the one who had intercepted the crucial message, while on duty as chief watch supervisor at the Naval Communication Station at Cheltenham, Maryland. Briggs further stated that he was ordered by his superior officer in 1946 not to testify about the matter to the joint Congressional Committee and to cease any contact with Captain Laurance Safford (then waging a lonely and career-destroying battle to convince investigators that a "Winds Execute" had been picked up), and that all copies he had made of the message intercept were missing from the files. Briggs's sensational interview, buttressing a key point in the revisionist position, was published in the Fall 1980 issue of the *Newsletter* of the American Committee on the History of the Second World War. It is therefore interesting to note the use that Goldstein and Dillon, of "thorough search of ... all publications released up to May 1, 1981" fame, made of it: none. Briggs appeared nowhere in *At Dawn We Slept*.

He did appear in another book, published in early 1982: Ronald Lewin's *The American Magic: Codes, Ciphers and the Defeat of Japan*. In this Establishment brief Lewin spent several pages discussing the "Winds Execute" business in an attempt to discredit it. His tactic was to cast doubt on the accuracy of Briggs's recollection and thus on the receipt of the execute, but then to say that, well, even if the execute came in and was passed on, it didn't really mean much, didn't tell anyone anything not already known, and at any rate would have only added to the confusion among the intelligence-gatherers, what with all these other messages coming in creating so much apparently unconnected intelligence "noise" ... and so forth. (Revisionists have come to refer to this Establishment tactic in dealing with uncomfortable evidence as "pulling a Wohlstetter.")

But, as was the case with the Prange book vs. Costello's, hardly had Lewin's work appeared than an answering blow with yet more — much more — new evidence came from the revisionist side: John Toland's *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and its Aftermath*. This book was remarkable in many ways, not least in that its author 1) had for many years been recognized as a certifiably Establishment, "safe" historian not known to hold any brief for the revisionist position (and who had indeed, in two earlier books on aspects of the Pacific war, presented only orthodox opinions on Pearl Harbor), and 2) went further even than some of the "old-line" revisionists had been willing to go, in stating that FDR not only welcomed the war and thought that an attack somewhere was likely, but knew that the attack was coming at *Pearl Harbor*. Toland wrote: "Was it possible to imagine a President who remarked, 'This means war,' after reading the [thirteen-part December 6th] mes-

sage, not instantly summoning to the White House his Army and Navy commanders as well as his Secretaries of War and Navy? One of [Secretary of the Navy] Knox's close friends, James G. Stahlman, wrote Admiral Kemp Tolley in 1973 that Knox told him that he, Stimson, Marshall, Stark and Harry Hopkins had spent most of the night of December 6 at the White House with the President: All were waiting for what they knew was coming: an attack on Pearl Harbor... The comedy of errors on the sixth and seventh appears incredible. It only makes sense if it was a charade, and Roosevelt and the inner circle had known about the attack."

Unlike Prange's book, Toland's was not a military history, full of "I was there" anecdotes from gunners' mates and mess stewards second-class, and the like. It was a searching attempt to find and fix responsibility at the levels that counted. Essentially it consisted of a history of the nine official Pearl Harbor investigations, concluding with Toland's own "tenth investigation." In building his case for FDR's perfidity and both a pre- and post-attack conspiracy and cover-up, Toland utilized and claimed vindication of much of the evidence other revisionists had used over the years. But his "tenth investigation" included much that was new with him. Two key points backing his contention that "Washington knew" were that the Dutch army in Java had passed on to the United States intercepted Japanese messages predicting the attack, and that a Dutch naval attache in Washington received information at the Office of Naval Intelligence indicating that the Americans knew a Japanese carrier task force was steaming toward Hawaii. Further: an American steamship had picked up the Japanese task force's radio traffic and reported it to the FBI, and, independently, a seaman in the intelligence office of the 12th Naval District headquarters in San Francisco had intercepted the Japanese radio traffic and used it to plot accurately the location of the task force as it headed eastward toward Hawaii- providing this information to his superiors which, he was told by one, was passed on to the White House. Toland referred to this man, who had requested anonymity, as "Seaman Z."

There was much more in Toland's account, including intriguing references to important information possessed by an "Admiral V" — but these were his essential new points of evidence.

The critical response as a whole to Toland's blockbuster book was anything but equivocal. Reactions tended to be either very strongly pro or very strongly anti. The attack on his new evidence was led by scholars David Kahn and Captain Roger Pinneau, who sought to poke holes into each piece. They stressed that there was no hard evidence that Washington had in fact received the report from the Dutch in Java, that Toland totally misinterpreted the diary entries of the Dutch naval attache in Washington, and that, as regards the supposed evidence of interception and tracking of the Japanese task force's radio traffic, that task force was in fact under orders to maintain strict radio silence — a fact indeed confirmed by the record and by the surviving Japanese themselves. Another historian who joined in attacking Toland on these grounds was John Costello, the "mild" revisionist who had in his own book stopped short of claiming that FDR knew where the Japanese were going to strike.

Toland counter-attacked in a new "Postscript" for the paperback edition of his book, released in February 1983. He did not back down from the claim of the radio traffic intercepts, but pointed out that despite undoubted *orders* for radio silence, that silence must have been broken at some points, and he presented evidence for why this was so. Neither did he back down from the claim that the information of these intercepts, and other information about the task force, was passed on to Washington; if there remains no documentary proof of receipt, there is a good reason for that which should be familiar to all students of Pearl Harbor's aftermath. Toland's purpose in writing the "Postscript" was not, however, mainly to reply to his critics, but to present yet more new evidence which had come in to him since the first edition of the book was published. Among this was material relating to J. Edgar Hoover's foreknowledge of the Pearl Harbor attack (knowledge

which was, according to Toland's source, quoting Hoover, passed on to FDR), a question which has intrigued scholars for some time. Indeed, independently of Toland, the matter was revived in a major way in December 1982 in the form of an article in the *American Historical Review* based on newly declassified documents.

In December 1983 the National Security Agency declassified and released the text of a 16,000-word interview, conducted by the Naval Security group, in which Toland's "Seaman Z- was revealed as Robert D. Ogg, a retired businessman. In the interview conducted in May, and later approved in transcript by the subject, Ogg maintained the accuracy of what he had earlier told Toland: that he had picked up the Japanese task force's radio signals, had plotted its location, and had been told by his superior that the information was passed on to the White House. When asked about the Japanese insistence that their force had been under radio silence, Ogg replied: "I feel there is no possible question that they did not maintain radio silence, but I don't believe they used it [radio communication] in any great activity."

Ogg's relenquishment of anonymity, and the release of his interview. statements, breathed new life into the Toland debate. But there was more in December 1983 which was to open up a whole new angle in Pearl Harbor revisionism, further fanning the flames of contention. Joseph Leib, a former New Deal bureaucrat and retired newspaper correspondent, wrote an article which appeared in *Hustler* magazine, "Pearl Harbor: The Story the Rest of the Media Won't Tell," in which he claimed that his friend, Secretary of State Hull, had confided to him on 29 November 1941 that J. Edgar Hoover and FDR knew that the Japanese were going to attack Pearl Harbor withing a few days, and that the President, over Hull's strident objections, was going to let this happen as a way to get the country into war. Hull's dilemma was that he could not reveal this openly to the press, since the White House would simply denounce him, and no one would believe him. He turned over to Lieb a document containing a transcript of Japanese radio intercepts which supposedly detailed the Pearl Harbor plan, making the reporter promise never to reveal the source. Leib rushed the story, minus the identification of Hull, to the United Press bureau, which refused to run it since it was so incredulous. But Leib did manage to persuade UP's cable editor, Harry Frantz, to transmit it on the foreign cable. Although the story managed somehow to get garbled in transmission, it did create a front-page banner headline in the Sunday, 30 November, Honolulu *Advertiser*: JAPANESE MAY STRIKE OVER WEEKEND! Thus Leib, writing in 1983, has finally cleared up the mystery of the origins of that headline, which has always been a particularly curious part of the Pearl Harbor puzzle. He promises to release more information about his knowledge in other forums.

Leib's story was not the capstone to the recent revisionist wave. Percy L. Greaves, Jr., who had been research chief for the Republican minority in the joint Congressional Investigation, and contributed a masterly chapter on "The Pearl Harbor Investigations" to the fundamental revisionist work *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (1953), announced the completion and forthcoming publication of his own book, provisionally entitled *The Real Infamy of Pearl Harbor*. It is a work long-awaited by revisionists, who recognize in Greaves the man who probably knows more about the Pearl Harbor record than any other alive, having been in on the investigation from virtually the start and devoted some 40 years to the subject. His is a voice of authority which will have to be contended with, and which promises to raise a new storm of controversy over an issue that just won't die.

* * * * *

All of which brings us down to the late Winter of 1983-84 and this issue of *The JHR*, entirely devoted to Pearl Harbor. Represented here are some of the fruits of Mr. Greaves's new work, in the

form of four chapters which he has granted us permission to pre-publish: “[Marshall Comes on Stage](#),” “[Marshall Before the joint Congressional Committee](#),” “[Admission of MAGIC Demolishes FDR’s Claim of Surprise](#),” and “[What We Knew](#).” These chapters contain extensive extracts from the testimony presented before the congressional investigators; precise citations from that record and other sources are dispensed with here, but will of course appear in the complete published book. The chapters are preceded by three of Mr. Greaves’s most trenchant essays from years past, quite deserving of re-circulation. These begin with “[Was Pearl Harbor Unavoidable?](#),” which appeared originally in the *Chicago Sunday Tribune Magazine* of 7 December 1947. This explores the missed chances in 1939 for the United States to cooperate with and encourage the Japanese peace party; that Washington was not interested in such a course meant that Japan, in opposing Stalin’s appetites in Asia, was left with nowhere else to turn for support than the Axis powers, and it explains a crucial part of the background to the later tragedy of war. Next appears “[The Mystery of Pearl Harbor](#),” taken from an original article published in *National Review* of 12 December 1966. (Yes: William F. Buckley, Jr., was once unafraid to publish revisionist material.) This article has been noteworthy in revisionist lore as containing a devastating rebuttal of the book which was, before Prange’s, the anti-revisionists’ principal bulwark, Roberta Wohlstetter’s *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision* — a work all too often cited by the innocent, even to this day, as “authoritative.” Greaves notes that there were more than 100 factual errors in Wohlstetter, including one *fundamental* error of assumption which fatally undermines her entire thesis. He also goes after FDR’s personal, hand-picked, paid, beranked and bemedalled court historian, the late Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison. Finally, we have a unique inside-look at the joint Congressional Committee investigation in Greaves’s “[Senator Homer Ferguson and the Pearl Harbor Congressional Investigation](#),” a valuable memoir written in 1948 and published here for the first time.

In two of the chapters from his book pre-published in this issue, Mr. Greaves presents an extended look at Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall’s crucial testimony before the congressional committee. It was on the stand there that Marshall had his famous attack of “amnesia,” explaining that he could not for the life of him remember his whereabouts on the night of 6-7 December, the most important few hours of his life. The mystery of his whereabouts and activities, not only on that night but late into the next morning as well (with precious intelligence on hand at the War Department indicating war and an attack somewhere in the Pacific at one p.m. Washington time, and precious hours slipping away until the fatal hour — which was sunrise over Pearl Harbor on a lazy Sunday morning, the best possible time for a surprise attack on the best possible target, the Pacific Fleet moored peacefully at anchorage), is one of the key elements in the whole Pearl Harbor saga. Any conspiracy by Washington to withhold vital information from the Hawaiian commanders, especially in these late hours, would have had to involve the Army’s Chief of Staff. If FDR had something up his sleeve, Marshall was in on it. And anything Marshall was up to would have to have been with the approval of his Commander-in-Chief, the President. With FDR no longer alive in 1945-46 to answer questions (a situation which would very likely have been impossible in any case, given Democrat-imposed political realities), it was up to investigators to focus on Marshall, and prominent others, attempting to find out what had gone on at the very top by finding out what had gone on just-below-the-top. The whereabouts of Marshall on that crucial night and morning thus might not only be considered a “key element” of the puzzle, but perhaps even *the key*. Was Marshall in fact-as revisionists have suspected all along-at the White House part of that night, huddled with FDR, conveniently and deliberately out of the reach of War Department underlings who, knowing what was coming, would have pressed for the warning to Hawaii’s General Short that had to come with Marshall’s authority? Clear evidence of this would be the equivalent of the “smoking gun” tape recording that did a later president in, in a similar tale of conspiracy at the highest levels of government.

Greaves having provided us here with the best description and analysis yet of just what Marshall said (and couldn't, or wouldn't, say) before the congressional investigators, we follow with James J. Martin's pointed *tour de force*, "[Where Was General Marshall?](#)" — the most comprehensive piece of research yet accomplished on this question, which reviews all the evidence and theories ever generated, and leaves the reader at the point where he cannot but draw conclusions which are devastating indeed to the "official" version of events. The essay was completed in 1981 and has been published heretofore only in a limited edition in Canada, directed mainly to Japanese there. We are pleased now to put it in general circulation in the United States and throughout the world. This publication event is especially felicitous in view of the recent interest in Marshall generated by hagiographer Leonard Mosley, whose *Marshall: Hero For Our Times* constitutes the latest whitewash effort, and by the announcement of yet another major biography of Marshall currently being prepared by a professor at the University of Southern California.

With the combination herein of new and highly significant revisionist material from Mr. Greaves and Dr. Martin, *The JHR* makes its contribution to a process which has been at work, slowly but inexorably, for four decades, and is ever-hastening: the dismantling of the cherished Establishment myth of Rooseveltian innocence on the road to war with Japan and at the gate to war which was Pearl Harbor. That myth has been, and continues to be, bitterly defended by those who for whatever emotional or practical reasons have a stake in it, and who have more than once taken it upon themselves to blithely announce that revisionism on the subject is "dead" — as if the mere announcement itself were the bullet. But revisionism in fact maintains a vibrant existence, bounding along; the old questions will not go away, some answers are found, some new questions are raised. And significant converts gained. Nothing demonstrates better than the remarkable wave of interest, revelation, and contention of the last few years the utter *persistent* quality of Pearl Harbor revisionism.

There has long existed a sly musing in revisionist circles that the Roosevelt defenders, in view of their long record of fantastic performances in the realms of obfuscation, double-talk, whitewash, tortuous justification, suppression, sleight-of-hand, ad hominemism, etc., would, in order for their minds to be finally changed, require the revisionists to prove their viewpoint with nothing less than clear evidence not only that FDR welcomed and knew about the Japanese attack in advance, but that he had *actually flown the lead Japanese plane*! The musing is meant facetiously, of course. And so is this:

Considering the evidentiary progress of the last few years, revisionists *might well say*: "No, we can't show you FDR making his dive-bombing run. But, by God, that fellow suited up on the flight deck with the Scotch terrier better get rid of his cigarette holder before he starts a fire!"

Was Pearl Harbor Unavoidable?

PERCY L. GREAVES, JR.

Remember Pearl Harbor? Of course you do. No American will ever forget December 7, 1941. Our casualties came to 3,435 — Japan's were fewer than 100. We lost 188 planes outright — Japan 29. Our proud Pacific fleet was smashed. Eight battleships were useless. Japan lost five midget submarines. It was the greatest military and naval disaster in our history.

But Pearl Harbor didn't happen all in one day. The seeds for that disaster were sown at least as early as 1935. For that was the year of the seventh world congress of the Communist International, popularly known as the Comintern.

American Communists were then told how to capture our government. We protested, but being asleep to the communist menace, did nothing more.

The Comintern also resolved to undermine Russia's neighbors — Germany and Japan. As former Ambassador Bullitt tells us, the Soviet Union "ordered its communist agents abroad to create 'public front' and anti-fascist movements in order to obtain support for the Soviet Union against Germany and Japan." The same congress agreed to support communist activities in China. Japan didn't waste words. Japan acted.

The first thing Japan did was to inspire an anti-communist movement in north China. Secretary Hull* protested. Japan told our ambassador that Japan desired Chinese cooperation to combat the spread of communism and anti-Japanese activities. Japan also expressed worry about the great increase of armaments in Soviet Russia.

Japan's next move was to sign an anti-Comintern pact with Germany. This pact held that communist interference not only endangered the internal peace and welfare of Germany and Japan but also threatened "the general peace of the world."

Japan's activities in north China were resented by the Chinese government. Friction increased until an incident provoked Japan's undeclared war on China. Japan claimed the hostilities were caused by a communist intrigue against her legitimate rights. Washington officials considered it Japanese aggression.

The undeclared war dragged on. By the fall of 1938 Germany was no longer satisfied with merely an anti-communist pact — she wanted a military alliance with Japan. She applied strong pressure.

All this placed Japan on a spot. The Japanese people, like the American people, did not want to be involved in a world war. Their leaders were divided into two factions. One group — the war party — wanted to join the Axis, remove the Russian threat, and conquer new worlds. One of these leaders was Foreign Minister Arita. Another group — the peace party — wanted to prevent

war at all costs. They foresaw a victory for the “democracies.” Then where would Japan be? This group was led by Premier Hiranuma.

Ambassador Grew** joined in the effort to prevent a military alliance with Germany. On April 19, 1939, he was assured there would be no alliance, although the anti-communist pact might be strengthened. So the peace party turned its efforts to preventing further political ties with the Axis.

Both parties wanted security for Japan. The war party pointed to England’s negotiations with Russia and the American backing of anti-Japanese sentiment in China. They argued that Japanese security rested with the Axis. The peace party felt otherwise, but their opponents were hard to convince. Cabinet permission was finally obtained to seek a “gesture of welcome” from the United States. As a result, Arita handed Grew a note for President Roosevelt. It was cabled to Washington on May 18, 1939.

This note spoke of the gathering war clouds in Europe and stated that Japan and the United States had a mutual interest in seeing that civilization was not destroyed. It went on to say that true world peace might be established and maintained if all nations had their “own proper places in the world.” They hoped this idea would make possible “closer cooperation between Japan and America as well as the foundation of a deeper mutual understanding between the two nations.” It was indefinite, but it was a bid for friendship.

Later that day Grew cabled that he was leaving for America “and confiding the embassy to the effective hands of Eugene H. Dooman, in whose judgment and analytical ability I have full confidence and whose views on policies and procedures coincide very closely with mine.”

On May 22 Germany became very tired of waiting. She signed a military alliance with Italy which didn’t include Japan.

The American public was not told about Japan’s plea for cooperation until 1943, when the State Department released two bulky volumes of selected documents relating to Japan. However, there were many other things that were not made public even then. It took a congressional investigation to reveal the facts which follow:

Behind this general message was a more specific proposal. The Japanese premier, Baron Hiranuma, met very secretly with our Mr. Dooman. He didn’t even let his own foreign minister know about it. He felt that with American help the Japanese peace party might prevent a world war with dangerous consequences for Japan.

The premier told Dooman the Japanese had a “real feeling of grievance against the occidental powers, especially Great Britain. When the first World War broke out Japan was an ally of Great Britain. There was no legal obligation on Japan to support her ally, but she conceived she had a moral obligation to do so. She accordingly declared war against Germany, her navy undertook operations against the German fleet in the Pacific, her merchant marine cooperated in various ways and finally her military forces eliminated Germany from Shantung.

“The only thanks we got from Great Britain,” continued Baron Hiranuma, “was the abrogation of that very alliance which inspired Japan to support Great Britain.” Japan was also worried about negotiations then going on between Britain and the Soviets. She thought the naval treaties operated to prevent her from safeguarding her interests.

Hiranuma claimed that Japan's objectives in China were "essential for her security in a world of sanctions, embargoes, closing of markets to foreign competition, and lack of free access to raw materials, and so long as such conditions exist any moderation of her objective in China ... could not be considered.

"Nevertheless, if conditions could be brought about which would assure to all nations markets for the world's goods on the basis of quality and price and supplies of the materials which they needed, the importance to Japan of securing a market and sources of raw materials in China would greatly diminish; and by the same token there would not be the same urge on Germany and Italy to expand at the expense of weaker and smaller nations.

"The United States and Japan were the only powers which could help to prevent the crystallization of the trend toward the division of Europe into armed camps."

He felt that world-wide economic and political troubles could be settled by an international conference. Japan, he said, would agree to include the Far East situation among the problems to be discussed. He proposed that "if the President were prepared to make a confidential approach to the European democracies he would be glad to approach Germany and Italy, and if there were returned favorable replies by these nations he would be glad to have the President call the conference under such conditions as might be agreed upon after discussion thru normal diplomatic channels."

In conclusion the premier said: "This might prove to be the last opportunity to save the world from chaos."

Dooman reported all this to Washington in a 21-page document dated June 7, 1939. He gave it as his opinion that Japan was "groping for security against the gathering storm in Europe." Japan, he said, was faced with the alternative of going over unreservedly to the totalitarian side or restoring relations with those nations which the peace party believed would be victors.

He felt the desire for a settlement did not spring "from moral regeneration, but from realization of stark facts." The China incident had failed. A European war threatened. Japan's peace party leaders realized Japan's security depended on liquidating the China affair. The proposed conference would permit Japan "to moderate its peace terms in China" without losing face.

Dooman indicated that it might be a very crucial moment in world history. He urged careful consideration.

On July 1 Hull sent Dooman's message over to Roosevelt along with a proposed reply which FDR okayed and returned the same day. This reply answered the general proposal in diplomatic language that meant we would not cooperate in any joint peace efforts until Japan withdrew from China.

It made no reference to the specific proposal to call an international conference. It said the United States did "not perceive any practicable steps which it might usefully take at this time in addition to those already taken ... and ... would be pleased to have such further information as your excellency may find it agreeable to offer by way of amplifying and making more definitive your excellency's concept as to the steps which might usefully be taken toward moderating the situation in Europe."

On July 26, before Dooman received this reply, Washington added more fuel to the fire by giving Japan six months notice that we were terminating our commercial treaty. Japan's peace party,

hoping for a friendship bid, was shocked. Even the pro-Axis, anti-British foreign minister couldn't understand "why the American government should have found it necessary to give notice of the abrogation in such a hasty and abrupt manner."

On July 31, when Dooman saw Roosevelt's reply, he immediately wired back for further guidance on the answer to the specific proposal for "an international conference to be called by the President to discuss problems causing world unrest, including Far Eastern problems." Dooman was anxious to know if we really wanted to explore the proposal or were in the process of studying it.

The next day Dooman was informed by Undersecretary Sumner Welles that the original reply was intended to cover both the general and specific messages and therefore neither of Dooman's suggestions applied. On August 3 Dooman wired back that the reply would be interpreted "by the premier as a closing of the door to insure peace in the Far East."

Welles then told Dooman that the termination of the commercial treaty had been drafted weeks before and was therefore not related to the Jap proposals. He instructed Dooman to hold back the answer until it would seem that the two matters were not interrelated.

The answer was finally delivered to Japan on August 8. That very evening a five minister conference was called in Tokyo to discuss an alliance with Germany and Italy.

On August 12 British, French, and Soviet military missions began staff talks in Moscow on measures of collaboration in the event that Germany should precipitate a war.

Japan, still worried about the Soviets and communism, desperately needed friends. The Axis offered an alliance. Roosevelt offered a cold shoulder. Until August 23 there was little doubt but what the Axis alliance would be signed. On that date it was the turn of Japan's war party to be shocked. Germany signed a 10 year nonaggression pact with Japan's traditional enemy, Soviet Russia.

This pact put an end to a Japanese-Axis alliance for the time being. It gave us another opportunity to woo Japan from the Axis camp. We muffed that, too, but that is another story. It wasn't until more than a year later, September 27, 1940, that Japan finally signed a defensive military alliance with the Axis.

Would Pearl Harbor have occurred if President Roosevelt had cooperated with Japan's peace party in 1939? Who can say?

*U.S. Secretary of State 1933-1944 Cordell Hull

**U.S. Ambassador to Japan 1932-1943 Joseph C. Grew

The Mystery of Pearl Harbor

PERCY L. GREAVES, JR.

After the Pearl Harbor attack, Americans were told that it had come without any warning. The official story has been that it was a surprise attack that forced us into war against our wishes.

For years the charges that Roosevelt lied and cajoled us into war were vehemently denied. In 1948 the great historian Charles A. Beard presented a preliminary case for the truth in *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Realities*. He was immediately reviled.

In an article in the August issue of the *Atlantic*, he was accused of being “the darling of the McCormick-Patterson Axis ... The most indecent of Beard’s numerous innuendoes in his book are those respecting the Roberts Commission. Mr. Stimson suggested justice Roberts to head the Pearl Harbor Commission ... Beard insinuates that Justice Roberts’ appointment was part of a triple play to put Kimmel and Short ‘out’ and conceal the iniquities of FDR and Stimson in a cloud of dust.”

These were the words of the court historian, Samuel Eliot Morison. In 1942, Professor Morison of Harvard was drafted by President Roosevelt and placed on the public payroll as a Navy officer with orders to write the official *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II* (fifteen vols.).

Beard, searching for the truth, was not permitted to see the papers he considered pertinent. Morison, writing the official line, had no such problems. In the words of the Secretary of the Navy, “All naval activities, afloat and ashore, were directed to make available to Captain Morison such records as he might desire to consult.”

Even so, the facts confirm Beard’s “innuendo.” They bear out that Mr. Stimson had a heavy responsibility not only for the Pearl Harbor disaster, but also for the Roberts Report which made Admiral Kimmel and General Short the scapegoats for blame that rightly rested on high officials in Washington, notably Mr. Stimson himself.

Mr. Stimson not only nominated justice Roberts, a pre-Pearl Harbor advocate of “Aiding the Allies,” as top investigator, he also nominated the two Army members. This gave him a majority of the five-man Presidential Commission. In writing his suggestion to FDR he added: “Marshall and I united on all the foregoing suggestions after very careful consideration by each of us.”

One of Mr. Stimson’s nominees was Joseph T. McNarney, a recently promoted brigadier general and right hand of Chief of Staff George C. Marshall. Officially, the appointment was suggested in order to give the Commission an air expert. It was also hinted that the General was not personally suspect as he had been out of Washington at the time of the attack.

In fact General McNarney, as a colonel, had acted as General Marshall's junior representative when signing the March 27, 1941 secret military agreements with the British. Two of his superiors, the Chiefs of War Plans and Military Intelligence, as aides of Marshall, were heavily involved with Pearl Harbor responsibilities. At the time of the attack, General McNarney was actually in London participating in further secret negotiations.

The other Stimson nominee was Major General Frank R. McCoy, an aide, friend and co-conspirator of Mr. Stimson's for more than thirty years. Back in 1911-1912 Mr. Stimson, as President Taft's Secretary of War, became involved in a controversy with congressional leaders. Major McCoy, then his aide, helped him draft a Presidential veto which divided his party but helped Mr. Stimson defeat the congressional leaders.

In 1931-1932 Mr. Stimson, as Secretary of State, failed to sell his anti-Japanese ideas to President Hoover. He then turned to the League of Nations, of which we were not a member, and persuaded the League to investigate Japan's activities in Manchuria and to appoint General McCoy to the investigating committee. General McCoy sold Mr. Stimson's ideas to the committee and the League-with the result that Japan withdrew from the League.

Before the members of the Roberts Commission left for Pearl Harbor Mr. Stimson invited General McCoy to spend an evening at his home. The invitation was repeated upon the Commission's return. It should also be noted that another protégé of Mr. Stimson's, Felix Frankfurter, his assistant years before (1906), invited both Justice Roberts and Secretary Stimson to his home for a private dinner and quiet evening during the period the Roberts Report was being drafted. Mr. Stimson duly wrote in his diary that he had informed Marshall that he thought the Roberts Report took both of them off the hook.

A well done for Messrs. Roberts, McNarney and McCoy.

One of the Commission's Navy members, Admiral Standley, later publicly rebuked Justice Roberts and the War Department. Among other things, he wrote: "I knew from firsthand experience the shortcomings of our base at Pearl Harbor, for which Short and Kimmel were in no way responsible. From the beginning of our investigation, I held a firm belief that the real responsibility ... was lodged thousands of miles from the Territory of Hawaii."

In his latest paean to his patron, *The Two-Ocean War*, the now retired Rear Admiral Morison praises FDR's foresight in leading this country into World War II by secret steps taken ahead of the public opinion he later led so skilfully to the goal he publicly denied — war.

Morison presents the events preceding Pearl Harbor in abbreviated and tendentious form, now the official one: that Japan invaded Manchuria and China and the American people had a duty to prevent any Nipponese expansion in Asia, whether the American people wanted to or not. His chapter, "Disaster at Pearl Harbor," presents self-serving sections on the "Last Days of 'Peace' in the Pacific" and "The Unsuspecting Victim." The fourth and final section, "Who Was Responsible?" gives a grotesque glimmering of the facts that were available to the historian.

Not satisfied with his own travesties, the retired Admiral tells us: "The best book by far on the question of why we were surprised at Pearl Harbor" is Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*. A first reading of this book revealed more than one hundred factual errors. It raised other questions which, if properly researched, would undoubtedly unearth still more errors, not to mention child-like acceptance of Administration releases in preference to the obscured realities.

Some of Mrs. Wohlstetter's errors are trivial (such as footnotes that do not check). Others are ridiculous (such as her "Note on Rank." She wrongly accuses the Navy of having a monopoly on the double standard of "temporary" and "permanent" ranks. She evidently does not know that both General Short and Admiral Kimmel had higher "temporary" ranks on December 7, 1941 than the "permanent" two-star ones on which their later retirement pay was based).

As the student probably more familiar with the Pearl Harbor record than any other living person, the writer appreciates the tremendous task that Mrs. Wohlstetter faced. The record is voluminous. The printed works of the joint Congressional Committee ran to 44 volumes. Like many others, she overlooks four volumes-three State Department tomes and Ambassador Grew's *Ten Years in Japan*, which were part of the Committee's official record. In addition, there are the Departmental documents and histories, the official papers of other countries, including those of the defeated nations, the books written by participants and other authors, and the myriad magazine articles, newspaper stories and personal interviews which have added a tremendous amount to the information about Pearl Harbor. There is still more, much of it suppressed for political reasons even now, 25 years after the great tragedy.

Mrs. Wohlstetter completely ignores the revisionists, those historians who have sought to reveal the truths the political powers prefer to keep hidden. Nevertheless, her well-subsidized volume won rave reviews across the nation and even in the *American Historical Review*. Columbia University awarded her the \$4,000 Bancroft prize, apparently accepting Admiral Morison's accolade that "she is cognizant of all the intricate details of the codes, has made a thorough study of all extant sources, and uses them with the perception of a well-trained mind. Her book ought finally to dispose of some of the nonsense about Pearl Harbor that has been written."

In fact, the book contains as much nonsense about Pearl Harbor as any that has been written.

Mrs. Wohlstetter concentrated on the Intelligence phase of the episode. She accordingly devoted considerable attention to the messages of the two services and the information Washington gained from reading Japanese codes. These messages played a major role in the last months, days, hours and minutes preceding the disaster. If she had done a thorough and objective job, her book would have been a very valuable contribution. Unfortunately, she joined the union of court historians.

In a volume dealing with communications, particularly Naval communications, you would expect accuracy in reporting the filing time mentioned in each such message. This is particularly so since the top official Naval historian gave the book such a boost. Unfortunately, Mrs. Wohlstetter never learned the Navy's time system.

Every Navy message states its date and time in six digits-the first two represent the day of the month, the second two the hour of the day, and the last two the minute of the hour. For example, one of the key messages was number 242005. Mrs. Wohlstetter writes, "The digits 242005 mean November 24, 20:05, which is 8:05 P.M. Washington time."

If she had read the congressional hearings through Volume 33 to page 1150, she would have noted, "For communication within the Navy, Greenwich civil time (GCT) is used in headings of messages.,, If she had read the hearings at all thoroughly she would have learned that Washington's time is Plus 5, i.e., five hours earlier than Greenwich time. So that this crucial message was actually sent at 3:05 in the afternoon, Washington time.

How valuable is a book on pre-attack intelligence that is five hours off on the timing of all Naval communications coming out of Washington? How dependable is a Naval historian who acclaims

such a book the best on the subject?

Whose Responsibility?

Another serious error is Mrs. Wohlstetter's statement, "No one knew who possessed the final command responsibility for defense of the Hawaiian Islands in the event of an enemy attack." It was clearly understood by all concerned at the time, as revealed in all the investigations, that Pearl Harbor was the responsibility of the Army in general and of the Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall, in particular. His agent on the scene was Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short. General Short took orders from and reported to no one else but George C. Marshall. What he lacked in materiel, orders, intelligence (information) and proper alert status was the responsibility of none other than General George C. Marshall.

Mrs. Wohlstetter also states, "The [Japanese] Pearl Harbor task force was under orders to return up to 24 hours before D-Day if anything favorable developed in the U.S.-Japanese negotiations." Actually, while this Task Force had orders to return to Japan if detected by any foreign forces up to 24 hours before D-Day, it could have been recalled up to the moment the planes left the decks, if anything favorable had developed in the United States-Japanese negotiations.

One could go on and on for a hundred more blunders. The facts were just too much for Mrs. Wohlstetter. Someday, someone, or some foundation, should underwrite an objective study of the Pearl Harbor disaster. Until that day comes, Americans who want to know the truth must rely on the writing of revisionists hacking away at the well-financed, well-reviewed writings of the court historians and official publications.

Like Mrs. Wohlstetter, Admiral Morison in his own book ignores the contributions of revisionists, while finding the writings of the Administration's apologists "especially valuable." He does, however, mention *The Great Sea War* by the late Admiral Chester W. Nimitz and E.B. Potter of the U.S. Naval Academy staff. Perhaps he did not notice that this semi-official volume states:

By December 6 it was known in Washington that the Japanese were sending their Washington embassy a message for the U.S. State Department breaking off diplomatic relations, the sort of message that in times past had been followed up with a surprise attack on the opposing fleet. It was known too that Japanese diplomats in London, Hong Kong, Singapore, Batavia, Manila, and Washington were burning their secret documents and codes-usually done only when war is imminent.

Thus by Saturday afternoon there was every reason to believe that war with Japan was only hours away. Then between 0400 and 0600 on Sunday, December 7, the U.S. Navy Department deciphered instructions to the Japanese ambassadors to deliver their message at 1 P.M. One o'clock in the afternoon in Washington would be 7:30 at Pearl Harbor.

However, Admiral Morison does admit that FDR's "short of war" was not so very short for the Atlantic Fleet ... These officers and men were enduring all the danger and hardship of war; yet it was not called war. They were forbidden to talk of their experiences ashore, or even to tell where they had been or what they were doing." He also admits that our economic measures against Japan were taken with the cooperation of the British and Dutch, and that "the fundamental reason for America's going to war with Japan was our insistence on the integrity of China."

Actually, of course, the contest for China, during more than a half century, had been between the Western ideas of Japan and the Communist ideas of the Soviet Union. We decided China's future as early as June 1940-when we decided on war against Japan. Yet, the Admiral tells us, "the Administration and the head of the armed forces, as we have seen, were doing their best to prevent or postpone a war with Japan. Roosevelt even sent a personal appeal to Hirohito on the evening of 6 December."

It is true that General Marshall and Admiral Stark did warn the President not to send Japan an ultimatum before we were ready. However, the President rejected their advice and sent an ultimatum on November 26. Roosevelt's message to Hirohito was sent only after FDR had been alerted that the Japanese message which meant war was already on its way. The message to Hirohito was one for the record, after he knew there was no hope for peace.

Missing Files

Speaking of the decoded Japanese messages, the Admiral states: "The recipient, without taking notes, had to read these signals in the presence of the messenger who returned them to Army or Navy Intelligence office, where all copies but one were burned." Actually, of course, there was nothing to prevent these officials from making notes. At least one did. The so-called "messenger" was a top Army or Navy Intelligence officer who stood ready to supply any background or further explanation requested. On this point, the Intelligence admiral in charge of these intercepts testified: "They might hold the book as long as they wished, or send for it to come back again, but in the interest of security, we did not like to send out individual copies for retention." Any neglect of these important messages by any recipient was a sign of rank incompetency.

On at least one occasion, early in 1941, the State Department was permitted to retain a copy of a message. This was when Under Secretary Sumner Welles informed the Soviet Embassy of a decoded message indicating Germany's intention to invade Russia. There are indications that a German spy in the Russian Embassy reported this information to Berlin. Shortly afterward, we decoded a message from Berlin to Tokyo indicating that we had read the Japanese message. Fortunately, the Japanese continued to use the PURPLE code all through the war and we continued to read Japanese messages right up to VJ Day.

When the Admiral states that "all copies but one were burned," he is in serious error. Normally, four copies were kept -two in the Army files and two in the Navy files. In each case one set was filed by the Japanese serial number and another by the serial number assigned it by the Service filing it.

There are strong indications that copies of some of these intercepted messages were ordered to be destroyed shortly after December 7, 1941. They were missing from the files when sought in December 1943. Fortunately for the cause of truth a set was located and they were replaced in both the Navy and Army files.

Senator Homer Ferguson and the Pearl Harbor Congressional Investigation

PERCY L. GREAVES, JR.

Prior to the Pearl Harbor Congressional investigation this writer had twice met Homer Ferguson. During the 78th Congress when Ferguson was a freshman Senator, I was Associate Research Director of the Republican National Committee. That sounds like a political position but essentially it was a fact-finding one — finding facts the Democrats didn't want known.

Our first meeting was in the Spring of 1943. Senator Ferguson was then an up-and-coming Senator feeling his way around Washington. He was interested, among other things, in the Republican effort to curb the political propaganda then being issued by the Office of War Information at taxpayers' expense.

The second meeting was during the 1944 campaign when the Senator came to New York to prepare for a Town Hall debate with Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. On both of these occasions the Senator impressed me as a sincere, hard-working legislator who was seriously interested in the nation's welfare, Constitutional principles and the cleaning up of political corruption.

Well-informed Americans had long known that many facts of the Pearl Harbor disaster had been concealed for reasons other than national defense. Many clippings, tips and authentic leads had found their way into Republican files. Scared service officers had given facts confidentially. Throughout the 1944 campaign, the Republican high command was consistently faced with the question: "Should we use the information in our possession?" Senator Ferguson, public servant that he was, thought that the public should know some of the facts before it voted. He was later to find out that General Marshall had personally acted to suppress the truth, including facts relating to his own responsibility.

Once the war was over, Senator Ferguson demanded "the whole truth about this unfortunate event." Public pressure mounted. Realizing that an investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack could not be averted, the Administration jumped the gun and set up a Committee which they thought they could completely control. Plans were made to rush this investigation to a hasty conclusion. An Administration-approved staff was carefully selected. The Republican minority was allowed no assistance. The schedule called for perusal of the evidence by the Committee staff, a month of hearings conducted by the Committee Counsel, and two weeks for writing the report. The Committee members would be kept busy listening to selected testimony. The staff, friendly to the Administration, would handle all details and prepare the report for the Committee members to sign. This was pretty much standard New Deal procedure.

However, there was one flaw in these plans. They reckoned without Senator Ferguson. Denied official assistance, he and Senator Owen Brewster, ranking Republican Senator on the Committee, sought research assistance. My background and experience fulfilled their needs. Senator

Brewster retained me to assist all the minority members in their efforts to ferret out the essential facts which some people desired to be withheld. Since Senator Ferguson devoted more time and effort to this investigation than any other minority member, my work simmered down to working constantly with him while reporting to Senator Brewster and maintaining liaison with Republican Representatives Frank B. Keefe and Bertrand W. Gearhart.

Realizing the importance of this investigation of Pearl Harbor and the need to prevent a similar surprise attack as an advent to a possible World War III, Senator Ferguson immediately put aside his personal and social obligations and all but the most important of his other Congressional duties. His first move was to see the Committee Counsel, Mr. William D. Mitchell, a former associate of the Secretary of War-whose actions were being investigated. The Senator expressed his desire to cooperate with the Counsel and asked what he could do to assist in the preparation of evidence. The Counsel had not counted on such assistance. In fact, he seemed to consider it an indirect reflection on his own ability. Apparently he expected the Committee members to act as an audience while he did all the probing. He just didn't know Senator Ferguson. The Senator wasn't going to sit idle if there was any investigating to be done. From this early interview the Counsel developed an antagonism toward the Senator. Because the Senator was always bringing out important evidence the Counsel had missed, this antagonism grew until Mr. Mitchell finally resigned before the completion of the investigation. The Counsel's methodical plan had been rent asunder by the Senator's uncanny ability to unearth facts the counsel either couldn't or didn't want to find.

The Senator was hampered at every turn. Before the Committee had been appointed, President Truman issued an executive order that no one would be allowed to make public any information concerning the success of the American experts in deciphering foreign codes. If this order had been allowed to stand, the American public would never have learned that the Japanese code had been solved and that Washington officials had been reading Japan's diplomatic messages for a long time before the Pearl Harbor disaster occurred. Republican members of the Committee convinced the majority that this order must be countermanded. Accordingly, the President modified it to permit public testimony before the entire Committee.

This did not satisfy Senator Ferguson. It still prohibited him from talking to Army and Navy officers individually. If left in force, the investigation would have become merely a "fishing expedition," for no Army or Naval officer would have endangered his career by talking to Committee members in private and disclosing leads for intelligent questioning. Senator Ferguson persuaded the Committee to request the President to direct all persons to volunteer whatever information they had to any and all Committee members. The President refused but finally, under pressure, permitted prospective witnesses "to disclose, orally, to any of the members of the joint Congressional Committee" any information they had on the subject but qualified it by adding that this did "not include any files or written material." This effectively prohibited the placing of any files or written material in the hands of the Committee members unless it was previously approved by top authorities of the department involved. Cabinet members and the majority of the Committee were allowed to rule out evidence as "not material to the investigation," without members of the Committee ever seeing the material thus ruled out. Under a majority vote of the Committee the individual members were denied permission to search files, even when accompanied by Committee counsel, and not even the Committee counsel were permitted to look at the late President Roosevelt's files.

After much persistent effort, some of the testimony of the previous investigations was finally obtained. There were numerous volumes, and insufficient copies to go around. The Senator carried

some home with him every night and eagerly read the digests of others as quickly as they were prepared for him.

The hearings were opened on November 15, 1945. No one was adequately prepared. That would have been humanly impossible. Senator Ferguson had requested that the Committee be furnished copies of all exhibits at least ten days before the hearings. He was ignored. In fact, more than 1,000 pages of un-indexed exhibits were furnished Committee members in the 48 hours preceding the opening of the hearings. This deluging tactic continued throughout the hearings. Exhibits were seldom available for study before they were presented and used by the Counsel. It seemed part of a plot to prevent intelligent questioning by Committee members. It might be inferred that this was a deliberate design to cover up. The exhibits alone, when printed up 11 months later, were to comprise 28 full volumes. This does not include quantities of other material which were placed in the Record without exhibit numbers. No newspaper man had time to go through the thousands of pages of the exhibits. To this day many important facts remain buried in the Record and have never been adequately brought to the public's attention.

The inundation of Committee members with so much material had the desired effect on most of the busy members. They threw up their hands and relied on the testimony and what little they could read in spare moments between other Congressional duties. This was not so with Senator Ferguson. His secretary and staff were instructed not to interrupt him except in cases of extreme emergency. He settled down to a routine, devoting almost all of his waking hours to the Pearl Harbor investigation.

He became so engrossed in the problem at hand that one morning he even came to his office without a necktie. When we were ready to start for the Committee room, I remarked that he was not wearing a tie. He looked surprised and much dismayed. He immediately borrowed one from his secretary. He had been "living" Pearl Harbor with such concentration that he had neglected to put his tie on at home, and had arrived early and worked on Pearl Harbor matters for at least an hour, without noticing that he was "tieless."

Under the normal routine, the Senator and I got together every morning for about an hour before hearings opened. I gave him research material from my files and reported on what I had digested the night before. There had been nine previous investigations — four of them Secret and five Top Secret, involving code breaking. For each witness it was necessary to know the phases with which he was familiar, what he had previously testified and what others had previously testified about him or the facts with which he should have been familiar. In most cases there was conflicting testimony that had to be recognized and brought together. Many of the hundreds of exhibits had to be re-examined for their relationship to each witness. There was never sufficient time for the Senator to do as good a job as he would have liked. It was a case of doing the best he could; he spared no effort to accomplish this.

At ten o'clock each morning we proceeded to the hearings, with an assistant or two to help lug the many bulky documents needed for the session. We were usually greeted with a new stack of documents at the Committee table. When Senator Ferguson was doing the questioning I remained at his side to supply the needed documents and make suggestions, should the answers take an unexpected turn.

At noon we returned to his private office. One of his secretaries would bring us some soup, a sandwich and ice cream, which we ate together as we discussed questions and procedures for the afternoon session. Frequently there was a call to his wife, who was ill during the first part of the investigation. She followed the proceedings very closely, encouraging and aiding him in his ef-

forts. Occasionally someone with a clue or suggestion would drop in for a few minutes. The luncheon period, always busy, passed very quickly and we then reassembled in the Senate Caucus Room for the afternoon session.

The Senator rarely missed any of the hearings. Once he was called to the White House and on one or two other occasions he had to absent himself for a short period in order to cast his vote at a Committee meeting or on the Senate floor. However, he read carefully all testimony taken during his short absences. He followed every detail.

After the afternoon session we retired to his office again, discussed the events of the day and mapped out the program for the morrow. I gathered for him the material he wanted to read that night and he suggested how I might best spend my time in culling information for his use. At six or seven o'clock each evening he would start for home carrying several grips of documents. One set of testimony was delivered to his home and another to his office. He kept duplicates of the most important exhibits in both places. However, he became so interested in his work that he frequently mislaid his papers. This presented quite a problem to the young lady who was charged with keeping them in order. She, of course, was unable to follow all the contents and sometimes could not locate papers from his description of their contents. In some cases he would leave at home papers he wanted the next day. Fortunately, Senator Brewster's copies were available and we were able to locate the needed documents without too much loss of time. This, however, necessitated a constant watch on all important papers to see that they did not go astray.

When the Senator was questioning witnesses he had a habit of tossing aside documents that had served their immediate purpose. They had to be gathered up and reassembled with care. There was a telephone booth behind the Committee table from where I could telephone for papers required in a hurry when the questions indicated a need for certain documents that were not in the Committee room.

The Senator once explained that when he was a Michigan Circuit Court judge he had a very capable secretary who read everything before it was filed and could locate anything he ever wanted on very short notice. Apparently he operated with little thought for this important detail. Unfortunately, the young lady who handled his papers on Pearl Harbor did not have the time to read the many lengthy documents involved and frequently was at a loss when asked to provide a paper in which "such and such a witness" had made "such and such a statement."

During the entire investigation the Senator's attitude was strictly judicial. There was no hint of the prejudiced prosecutor. He was after the facts—all the facts. Rarely ruffled, questions poured from him with a regularity and relentlessness that would have exhausted the average man. A sip of water and his voice was good for another half hour. It did not matter to him where the chips fell. He must have the facts. Throughout the hearings he refused to pass judgment. Time after time he told newspapermen that he would wait until all the evidence was in. At the end he would finally relent when it became evident that the majority had effectively blocked the presentation of some of the most important evidence.

The first Navy Department witness, Admiral R.B. Inglis, in charge of Naval Intelligence, told the Committee that he thought that Congress and the American people were largely to blame for the Pearl Harbor disaster. This was apparently the Administration line. It was one of many Administration acts intended to divert attention from its own responsibility. Senator Ferguson then started the following colloquy:

Senator FERGUSON: Do you think the people were to blame?

Admiral INGLIS: Are you asking for my opinion?

Senator FERGUSON: Well, you put it in the memo and they persuaded you to take it out. I am asking you whether that is your opinion?

Admiral INGLIS: My opinion is that they did contribute to some extent to the Pearl Harbor attack.

Senator FERGUSON: Well, now, you explain how that contributed to the Pearl Harbor attack.

Admiral INGLIS: Because the Armed Forces were not as strong as they might have been had the country been unified and had the appropriations been larger for the Army and Navy.

Senator FERGUSON: All right; now, do you know anything about the appropriations?

Admiral INGLIS: I only know that the Navy kept asking for more than they could get.

Senator FERGUSON: Did you know this, that when the Navy asked for an item that on many occasions the Budget Director and the Executive branch of the Government cut it down?

Admiral INGLIS: Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON: And Congress often put them up?

Admiral INGLIS: I did not know about the latter. I did know about the former.

Senator FERGUSON: Did you know that the people, the Congress for the people, did put those up?

Admiral INGLIS: Now that you mention it I believe very likely that there were certain specific instances where the Congress did increase appropriations.

Senator FERGUSON: Well, now, how could you blame the people for not getting armament?

Admiral INGLIS: I am not blaming them, Senator. I am just saying that that was my opinion, that that was the frame of mind that this country was in at the time.

This was but one of many opinions the Senator exploded with facts. Appropriation figures placed in the record showed clearly that the Executive branch did cut Army and Navy requests while Congress raised the amounts requested by the President in his budget.

The first witness provided another good example of how Senator Ferguson brought out essential information from leads which the Committee Counsel and Democratic members of the Committee missed entirely. In reading his statement the Admiral had said, "The Chief of Naval Operations, on November 25, 1941, directed that all trans-Pacific shipping be routed through Torres Straits between Australia and New

Guinea.” When it was the Senator’s turn to interrogate the witness the following interchange occurred:

Senator FERGUSON: From whom did you get you information that it was diverted on the 25th?

Admiral INGLIS: I have got the source right here, sir.

Senator FERGUSON: Will you give us the source?

Admiral INGLIS: Yes, sir, there was a dispatch from the Chief of Naval Operations dated November 25, 1941.

Senator FERGUSON: That was Admiral Stark?

Admiral INGLIS: Admiral Stark was the Chief of Naval Operations at the that time; yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON: That came out in Washington; is that true?

Admiral INGLIS: That is true.

Senator FERGUSON: Have you the order with you?

Admiral INGLIS: No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON: Will you get me the order?

Admiral INGLIS: I will sir.

Later the Admiral produced the message which read:

Route all trans-Pacific shipping through Torres Straits, The Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet; Commander in Chief Asiatic Fleet, providing necessary escort. Refer your despatch 230258.

Senator FERGUSON: Now, I will ask you why you did not put in the part that was to provide for escorts.

Admiral INGLIS: I think that was perhaps omitted by my staff because it might have been somewhat controversial.

Senator FERGUSON: You think that this part of the message is controversial, “providing necessary escort”?

Admiral INGLIS: It might lead to controversy because of the word “necessary.” There might be a difference of opinion as to ships for escorts as opposed to the need for keeping them concentrated for combat.

The reader should bear in mind that this message was sent two weeks before Pearl Harbor was attacked. There was a definite indication that officials in Washington were then worried about an attack on American ships in the Pacific Ocean. It was later to be revealed through the persistence of the Senator that President Roosevelt, on November 25th, according to Secretary Stimson,

“brought up the event that we were likely to be attacked perhaps (as soon as) next Monday (December 1).” The Senator then tried, as follows, to find out why this information had been withheld from the Committee:

Senator FERGUSON: Why was this not turned over?

Admiral INGLIS: Perhaps it was.

Senator FERGUSON: I will ask Counsel now, when did Counsel get this Exhibit 37.

Mr. MITCHELL: I first saw it about 10 minutes ago.

And so through the efforts of the junior Senator from Michigan the American public was able to learn that our ships in the Pacific were being provided naval escorts two weeks before war was declared. This little instance was typical of the way the Senator brought out important information throughout the entire investigation. It was most annoying to the Committee Counsel and majority members.

The witness who received the most attention from the Senator was the Army's Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall. Before this witness appeared, an article in Life magazine by John Chamberlain had revealed that during the 1944 Presidential campaign General Marshall had twice written the Republican candidate Governor Thomas E. Dewey personally, confidentially requesting him not to bring up the Pearl Harbor disaster during the campaign. The Committee was interested in these letters but the General did not wish to disclose them publicly. He asked for an executive meeting of the Committee to discuss the matter. He asked Committee members to pledge themselves not to reveal what went on during this executive session. Senator Ferguson stalwartly refused to attend any Executive Committee meeting on these terms. He felt that the public was entitled to the whole truth. Through his insistence the complete contents of these letters were made public over the objections of the Committee Counsel and General Marshall.

General Marshall's testimony was staged in a very dramatic manner. An urgency for speed was created. It was first announced that he had to leave immediately on a presidential mission to China. The order of the witnesses was quickly changed. General Leonard C. Gerow was brought in out of order. This General had proved himself a hero in the Normandy landing. He was much bemedalled. He was asked to accept the blame for the fact that a proper alert message had not been sent to General Walter C. Short in Hawaii before the attack. Being a good soldier he accepted the blame manfully. He was then brushed aside and General Marshall was placed on the witness stand so he could testify before leaving for China. There was much off-the-record talk that a plane was warming up to take him there.

He appeared first on Thursday morning, December 6, 1945. The Committee Counsel and Democrats questioned him through Thursday and Friday. On Saturday morning he was turned over to the Republican Committee members with a great deal of gossip holding that he would have to get away that afternoon. Senator Brewster's father had passed away the night before, and he was unable to be present. Representative Gearhart questioned him a short while and then the General was turned over to Senator Ferguson.

The Senator had devised what we called a “blue plan” for questioning the General. The General was involved in almost every phase of Pearl Harbor from the ordering of the fleet to Pearl Harbor up to the very moment the fleet was struck. He was responsible for the fleet's protection while in Pearl Harbor. He was involved in all military preparations and lack of preparations. It was in his power to decide whether defense material went to Hawaii or foreign nations. He was consulted

on almost all of the diplomatic maneuvers which preceded the disaster. There was no witness before the Committee who was in a position to know as much about the events leading up to the disaster as the General. Accordingly, the Senator put his best efforts into preparing a thorough system for questioning him on every important phase. This "blue plan" was typed into a loose leaf binder with a full set of questions on each phase. He did not mean to let the General go until he had answered all his questions. The Committee Chairman, Senator Alben W. Barkley, stated on the record that he had hoped to conclude with the General on that day, and the Vice-chairman, Representative Jere Cooper, stated that he understood that the General's plane was waiting, ready to take him to China. (It later developed that the General had not even seen the President for a briefing, since accepting his appointment over the telephone.)

The Senator could not be side-tracked; he questioned the General all through Saturday and again on Monday and Tuesday of the following week-and still further during the second round of questioning on Thursday. There was an attempt to deride his questioning. Some majority members did not think his questions were pertinent. Senator Scott W. Lucas, a Democratic member of the Committee, spent the weekend with the President. Finally, the General was ordered to the White House. The fact was that Senator Ferguson was hitting home.

on the first day alone Senator Ferguson brought out, among other things, the following facts that the Committee Counsel had missed:

1. That General Gerow was in charge of war plans and had no authority over General Short; in fact, he had nothing to do with operations until we were actually engaged in war.
2. That under Army regulations General Gerow had no responsibility for sending or not sending a proper alert to General Short.
3. That General Marshall himself as Chief of Staff was the person responsible for the fact that General Short was not properly alerted.
4. That there was no responsible Army officer on duty Saturday evening, December 6th, or Sunday morning, December 7th, who could take action before General Marshall's belated arrival at 11:20 Sunday morning and, therefore, it could not be said that Washington was on a full alert, even though it was known that the situation was critical.
5. That General Marshall had appointed as head of Army Intelligence a man he knew was short of the required qualifications.
6. That although the head of Army Intelligence "should have had access to all intelligence" he did not have such access and, therefore, his confidential bulletins were not the best information available.
7. That lack of manpower available for deciphering Japanese codes was not due to lack of Congressional appropriations.
8. That General Marshall knew that Great Britain was informed of what we read in the Japanese codes before Pearl Harbor.
9. That "we have been trying to keep that [the above] quiet as much as we could."
10. That General Marshall knew no reason why Admiral Kimmel had been cut off from the group receiving the information obtained from reading Japanese codes.
11. That General Marshall denied knowledge that the Japanese knew we were reading their codes. (The Senator brought out from a later witness, much to the embarrassment of the Committee Counsel and other witnesses, that Washington had such knowledge and copies of it were circulated to the General in the regular manner.)
12. That before the Roberts Report "was made public there were certain things withdrawn and that the complete Roberts Report went to the President before portions were withdrawn."

13. That the United States initiated the American-Dutch-British Agreement.
14. That General Marshall had approved this agreement, as did the Secretaries of War and Navy, and that the agreement went into general effect before the attack.
15. That officers of the United States were furnished to China for combat duty against Japan before December 7, 1941.

All this and more was brought out solely by the Senator's questioning. It should be borne in mind that this was after the Committee Counsel and the majority members of the Committee were fully satisfied that they had placed in the record all the significant information that General Marshall could furnish. If their record had been allowed to stand, General Gerow would have been left responsible for an important act of omission for which in fact only General Marshall or Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson were responsible.

There was only one witness, among the scores who testified, who distressed the Senator to the slightest degree. That witness was the former Supreme Court Justice, Owen J. Roberts. President Roosevelt had appointed him to make the first investigation of the attack. The Roberts Commission started its investigation right after the event. Witnesses were then well able to remember clearly what had transpired. Justice Roberts first interviewed all the top Washington officials *off the record*. He then proceeded with his Commission to Honolulu where all the local witnesses were interviewed on the record without benefit of the information Washington had, and had failed to use adequately. The Roberts Report later blamed Admiral Kimmel and General Short for the disaster, and caused their removal while Washington top officials were found to have "fulfilled their obligations." The Senator felt that this witness would be able to provide valuable information concerning what had transpired in Washington. Certainly when the justice made this inquiry no one could have forgotten where he was on the night of December 6th nor would any important documents have been lost. The Senator with his judicial background revered and respected any man who had been a Supreme Court Justice. He prepared a long list of questions to ask this Justice - questions which, if they had been answered unequivocally, would have been invaluable to the Committee in fixing responsibility for the disaster.

There had been a great deal of mystery concerning a "winds message." It seems that the Japanese had broadcast a code to appear in a weather broadcast when they decided to break relations or go to war. If they were to break with the United States the broadcast would include the three words "east wind rain." Some witnesses testified that such a message was broadcast and received in Washington before the attack. Some thought it had been received in Honolulu. One key witness changed his previous testimony. The message itself could not be found. One intercepted message was missing from the files. One Navy witness swore he last saw the message when it was assembled with others for the use of the Roberts Commission. Four years after the event memories were hazy and conflicting. There were some indications that changed testimony might have been prompted. What was the truth?

When Senator Brewster asked the Justice about this message, the Justice replied: "I don't know anything about this winds messageÖ."

Senator BREWSTER: So, so far as you now recall, there was no mention about either the original or implementing winds message, as it is called?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: *I have no recollection of any such thing and I think you will search the testimony in vain for reference to it.* (Emphasis supplied)

Senator BREWSTER: Well, we understood there were important gaps in that as the result of representations as to security.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: *Oh, No. The stenographic testimony is complete.* There is nothing eliminated from the stenographic testimony. (Emphasis supplied)

A few moments later Senator Ferguson started his questioning. He read to the Justice the testimony of a Navy Captain that the last time he saw the Winds message was when it was assembled into a file to show as evidence to the Roberts Commission.* The justice testified that "The file originals of anything of this kind were not in our custody at any time." The Senator then quoted from a transcript of the testimony before the Commission of which Justice Roberts had been the Chairman:

Senator FERGUSON: You were the chairman and this is in your language:

The CHAIRMAN: It has been reported to me that about 10 days before the attack a code was intercepted which could not be broken, but it was forwarded to Washington to the War Department to be broken, and the War Department found out it could be broken and did break it, and found it contained three important signal words which would direct the attack on Pearl Harbor, and that the War Department subsequently intercepted over the radio those three signal words and forwarded them to the military authorities here as an indication that the code had been followed and that the attack was planned.

I wish you would look at that.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: You don't need to show it to me.

Senator FERGUSON: What were you talking about?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: I was talking about some information that had been given to me somewhere around Pearl Harbor. People were coming to me all the time telling me that there was such and such a rumor. You see I say "It has been reported to me."

Senator FERGUSON: Wouldn't this describe the winds code message?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Very likely it would; very likely so.

* * * *

Senator FERGUSON: Mr. Justice, this last part -

Ö and that the War Department subsequently intercepted over the radio these three signal words and forwarded them to the military authorities here Ö

You were in Hawaii then?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Yes.

Senator FERGUSON: As an indication that the code had been followed and that the attack was planned.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Yes; that is what I say.

Senator FERGUSON: Wouldn't that indicate that the winds execute message had been received and that you had some information on that point?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Surely. Somebody had told me that or I wouldn't have asked the question.

* * * *

Senator FERGUSON: Colonel Fielder (G-2 Intelligence, Hawai said:

I have no knowledge of that whatever.

The CHAIRMAN: You know nothing about it?

Colonel FIELDER: No.

The CHAIRMAN: You had no communications from the War Department as of December 5th forwarding to you the meaning of the three code words which would be the signal for the attack?

I was coming back to that.

Now, that would indicate that there were three code words showing there was going to be an attack as far as the United States was concerned, at least someone told you about it?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: That is right.

* * * *

Senator FERGUSON: Now, I refer to exhibit 32 on December 5, 1941, there was a message sent by General Miles:

Assistant Chief of Staff, Headquarters, G-2.

Hawaiian Department, Honolulu Territory, Hawaii.

Contact Commander Rochefort (Communications Security Unit. 14th Naval District, Hawaii) immediately through Commandant Fourteenth Naval District regarding broadcast from Tokyo with reference weather.

Signed "Miles".

Did you have that message before you, do you recall? Mr. Justice ROBERTS: I think so.

Senator FERGUSON: Did you know that they were talking there about the original code message?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON: I mean the original winds message. Mr. Justice ROBERTS: No, sir; I don't know it now.

Senator FERGUSON: Now, going on:

The CHAIRMAN: I refer to something else which you may or may not know anything about. I refer to the fact that some ten days before December it is supposed that a Japanese code message you intercepted and was broken down by the Department in Washington, one of the military departments, which gave certain key words which would be flashed over the radio directing the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Colonel BICKNELL: (Asst. G-2 Intelligence, Hawaii): Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: And that, having broken that down, one of the military establishment in Washington caught over the radio the three key words and relayed them here to you. When I say "you," to the Islands -

Colonel BICKNELL: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you know of any such story?

Colonel BICKNELL: I never heard of such a thing, no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: Never heard of it?

Colonel BICKNELL: No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: I have no other questions. Are there any other questions?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: I was talking about the same rumors that had come to me from somewhere.

Senator FERGUSON: As you were there with Bicknell?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON: Did you follow that up? I have looked over the testimony and I haven't been able to find it but I want to know now, from your recollection, do you know whether you ever tried to follow that up here in Washington after you failed on Bicknell and Fielder?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Yes, sir. We asked for all the messages there were about any broken codes and we were told we had had all they had except this magic thing. ("Magic" referred to intercepted Japanese messages in their most secret code.)

Such testimony from a former justice of the Supreme Court was sickening.* Testimony which he said would be sought in vain turned out to have been the subject of almost the only questions he asked Hawaiian Intelligence officers. When the Justice did not find the information he expected, he had dropped this line of questioning. Apparently, Washington officials in 1941 thought they could place the blame in Hawaii if they could show that this message had been received there, Washington officials had been vindicated on their own say-so, while the two Hawaiian Comman-

ders were held up to national scorn on the basis of the Roberts inquiry. The Senator was visibly taken back by such testimony, but he kept on a rapid fire questioning. He hit home again.

Senator FERGUSON: Do I understand you did not get the magic? Mr. Justice ROBERTS: No; we were never shown one of the magic messages.

Senator FERGUSON: Not one?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Not one.

Senator FERGUSON: Were you ever shown the substance of the magic messages?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON: Did you know there were such messages?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Well, I knew that the Army or Navy or State Department had been cracking a super code of the Japanese for weeks or months and that they had been taking off all kinds of information. We asked the War Department and the Navy Department to tell us what they got from that and they told us. They did not show us the messages, any of them, and I didn't ask them to.

Senator FERGUSON: That being true how was this finding possible, on page 19:

The Secretary of State-

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Now, Senator, is this an investigation of the Roberts Commission or an investigation of what happened at Pearl Harbor?

Senator FERGUSON: I am trying to get the facts.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: When you ask "How is this finding possible?" I don't find you criticizing me a bit.

Senator FERGUSON: I am not criticizing. I want to know on the facts you had before you-

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: How we could make a certain finding.

Senator FERGUSON: Yes.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: I think that is criticism.

Senator FERGUSON: You think that is criticism?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Go ahead. I will be glad to answer your question.

Senator FERGUSON: (reading)

The Secretary of State fulfilled his obligations by keeping the War and Navy Departments in close touch with the international situation and fully advising them respecting the course and probable termination of negotiations with Japan.

Now, I merely mean if you didn't have any of these messages, for instance, the message setting the deadline of the 29th, the pilot message, the 1 o'clock message, the 13-part message up until midnight or 9 o'clock, and the 14th part and 1 o'clock message on Sunday morning, how could the commission make a finding, if they didn't have the facts?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: I spent an entire day in Secretary Hull's office. Secretary Hull showed me, as a Commissioner sent over by the Commission, because we wanted to do him the courtesy of sending someone there to take his evidence instead of dragging him over to the Navy Department, Secretary Hull showed me his personal memorandum where he had noted that on a certain day he had told the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy this, that and the other thing, and where he got that information I did not ask him, but I was perfectly convinced, and our commission was convinced from my report to them of the testimony he brought to me, that Secretary Hull had been warning the War and Navy Departments day by day and day by day that something might happen this day or that day, that the situation was degenerating, and so on.

Senator FERGUSON: All right. Now, justice, that part of the testimony is not in the testimony furnished us, is it?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Certainly not. They had a stack of memorandum from State Department that high, or Secretary Hull's personal memorandum and in order to recap it I asked him to write the letter which is in our record.

Senator FERGUSON: All right. Then we come to the next finding in your conclusions:

The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy fulfilled their obligations by conferring frequently with the Secretary of State and with each other and by keeping the Chief of Staff and the Chief of Naval Operations informed of the course of the negotiations with Japan and the significant implications thereof.

Now, without having the intercepted magic messages, did you make this finding? I will put it that way.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Why, certainly. The Chief of Staff and Admiral Stark told us and the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy told us that everytime Hull gave them a warning they would go and repeat it to the Chief of Staff and to the Admiral. I did not need to look at any messages to find out whether Marshall and Stark had been sufficiently warned. That is all I was interested in.

Senator FERGUSON: Now, Justice, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff, General Marshall, the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Stark, the President, and Secretary of State were each being furnished this magic. Did you not know that they were all being furnished the magic?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: I did not know it and I would not have been interested in it.

Senator FERGUSON: Well then, as to whether or not-

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Now, let's go ahead.

Senator FERGUSON: Do you have something to say?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Let's investigate the Roberts Commission. I would not have been interested in it, Senator. I wanted to know whether the military men were put on full warning and put on their toes by the men who did have the information. I got a unanimous statement that they were.

By this time the justice was becoming belligerent. He had indicated that he had been interested in what Hawaii had done, and not in questioning Washington policy or officials. The Senator, with at least two hours of further questioning before him, tried again.

Senator FERGUSON: On page 2 I see this:

The oral evidence received amounts to 1,877 typewritten pages and the records and documents examined exceed 3,000 printed pages in number.

Now the photostatic copy of the transcript has only 1862 pages, 25 less, and there is—would you look at the page?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: I do not need to, sir.

Senator FERGUSON: Can you answer it if you do not need to look at it?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Yes, I can answer it. I do not know why the discrepancy.

Senator FERGUSON: Do you know whether there is any evidence that we do not have?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: I know there is none you do not have.

Senator Ferguson made one more attempt to get some facts:

Senator FERGUSON: On the day that you spent some 2 hours with the President the day you made your report did you have a discussion of the facts?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON: There was no discussion of the facts?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Well, it depends on what you mean by a "discussion of the facts."

Senator FERGUSON: Well, will you try and give us what took place there and that will answer the question.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Well, I think it a highly improper thing but if you ask it I suppose I am bound to answer it.

Senator FERGUSON: Well now, Justice, what was wrong with the question I asked you, to tell me what the President had said?

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Well, now Senator, I am not going to indicate whether Senator Ferguson is wrong. We have been inquiring about how wrong Roberts is. Don't let us get clear off that line.

Senator FERGUSON: I was wondering why we shouldn't have the facts as a Committee.

Mr. Justice ROBERTS: Well, I am not going to argue it with you, Senator. I said I was going to try to answer your question.

The Senator seemed disheartened. My personal reaction was that the Senator was deeply shocked by such conduct. The Senator's own judicial background had led him to revere all Supreme Court justices. He felt he was only doing his duty to get the facts for the American public. The justice adopted a bellicose attitude. He resented the disclosure of the one-sidedness of his prior investigation. He created an atmosphere that implied the Senator had no right to question him. In his well-considered report the Senator had this to say:

It is extremely unfortunate that the Roberts Commission Report was so hasty, inconclusive, and incomplete. Some witnesses were examined under oath; others were not. Much testimony was not even recorded. The Commission knew that Japanese messages had been intercepted and were available, prior to the attack, to the high command in Washington. The Commission did not inquire about what information these intercepts contained, who received them or what was done about them, although the failure of Washington to inform the commanders in Hawaii of this vital intelligence bears directly on the question of whether those commanders performed their full duties. Mr. Justice Roberts testified before this Committee:

I should not have bothered to read it (the intercepted Japanese traffic) if it had been shown to me.

If it were necessary to do so, detailed examples of the many shortcomings of the Roberts Commission could be set forth. The duty of our Committee to examine the entire subject afresh does not require an extended criticism of the Roberts Report.

It should be noted, however, that Justice Roberts had sufficient legal experience to know the proper method of collecting and preserving evidence which in this case involved the highest interests of the Nation. The facts were then fresh in the minds of key witnesses in Washington. They could not have then been ignorant of their whereabouts at important times or have forgotten the details of events and operations. No files would have been "lost" and no information would have been distorted by the passage of time. The failure to observe these obvious necessities is almost as tragic to the cause of truth as the attack on Pearl Harbor itself was a tragedy for the Nation.

*It was later found that they were assembled for the then Acting Secretary of the Navy, James Forrestal.

**Justice Roberts retired in 1945 and this testimony was taken on Jan. 28, 1946.

Marshall Comes on Stage

FROM 'THE REAL INFAMY OF PEARL HARBOR'

PERCY L. GREAVES, JR.

If the testimony on the knowledge and actions of the top Navy command on that momentous weekend seems to be confusing and inconsistent, that on the Army side was downright mysterious and almost impossible to comprehend without an understanding of two facts of human nature. The first is that few people will voluntarily confess their mistakes, particularly if they think they can keep them hidden. The second is that few of us have the courage to endanger our careers by confessing the truth, if silence, a little loss of memory, or a change in our recollections can raise our rating with our superiors. Members of the Army and Navy have always found it difficult to differ with, criticize or embarrass their superiors.

The mysteries hidden by the conflicting testimonies of the top Army officers and their juniors may undoubtedly have been due primarily to the derelictions of George C. Marshall, the FDR-appointed Chief of Staff. If Marshall had recalled the truth for the record, his reputation as well as that of his chief, FDR, would certainly have suffered.

One morning as this author met with Senators Ferguson and Brewster before the start of that day's JCC hearings, Ferguson reported an incident of the previous evening. In the men's room at a social affair, he, Ferguson, had overheard Marshall tell the JCC Chairman, Senator Alben Barkley, later Vice President under Truman, that he could not say where he was on the night of December 6-7, because it might get "the Chief," FDR, in trouble. In confirmation of this, we now have the word of a very responsible person, James G. Stahlman, that Secretary Knox told him that both Marshall and Stark were among those who met with Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins at the White House on the night of December 6-7, 1941.

Marshall's Rise to Chief of Staff

Thus, we can easily understand Marshall's difficult position, as well as that of those serving under him. In his long Army career, Marshall had his ups and downs. He started in 1902 as a Second Lieutenant after graduating from Virginia Military Institute. He entered World War I as a Captain and, before its close, was promoted to a temporary Colonel. In May 1919, long after the Armistice, he became Aide-de-Camp of our World War I military hero, General John J. Pershing. Shortly thereafter, he was returned to his permanent rank of Captain to start the slow peacetime promotion back up to Colonel.

While General Douglas MacArthur, West Point 1903 and thus a contemporary of Marshall, was Chief of Staff (1903-1935), Pershing suggested to MacArthur that he raise the recently promoted full Colonel Marshall to Brigadier General. Marshall had served largely in service schools and staff positions, so to round out his experience he was given a command assignment with a top

regiment. Marshall, however, devoted so much of his energies to establishing Civilian Conservation Camps, a New Deal program with which the Army was asked to cooperate, that the Inspector General found that the regiment's training program had suffered seriously. Marshall thus missed an opportunity to win his first star and was relegated to the position of Senior Instructor of the Illinois National Guard (1933-1936). Marshall appealed the appointment, but to no avail.

It was only after the first retirement of MacArthur that Marshall's friends succeeded in obtaining his promotion. In July 1938, he was brought to Washington as Director of War Plans. From then on, with the help of Roosevelt's close advisor, Harry Hopkins, his advancement was rapid. He was Deputy Chief of Staff in less than a year and Chief of Staff three months later, advancing from one star to four stars in that short period.

As Chief of Staff, Marshall was

the immediate advisor of the Secretary of War on all matters relating to the Military Establishment, and is charged by the Secretary of War with the planning, development and execution of the military program.

After June 1940, the Secretary of War was Henry L. Stimson, a long-time advocate of tightening the noose around Japan's economic neck.

As Chief of Staff, Marshall was also

in peace, by direction of the President, the Commanding General of the Field Forces and in that capacity directs the field operations and the general training of the several Armies of the overseas forces and of the GHQ units. He continues to exercise command of the Field Forces after the outbreak of war until such time as the President shall have specifically designated a Commanding General thereof.

In this capacity, Marshall reported directly to FDR, a President who felt it was his duty to support and subsidize the Soviet Union while opposing the Japanese. Marshall did not always agree with the actions of his two superiors. However, he was certainly in sympathy with their overall plans and policies. Whatever his weaknesses may have been, Marshall was certainly a loyal and devoted deputy of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Marshall's Responsibility for the Fleet

As Chief of Staff, he and the President were the only ones with legal authority to issue command orders to the Field Commanders, including Lieutenant General Walter C. Short, Marshall's appointee as Commanding General of the Hawaiian Department. The Secretary of War, as a civilian, was outside this line of command. On February 7, 1941, Marshall wrote a long letter to his new appointee.

My Dear Short: I believe you take over command today...

Admiral Stark said that Kimmel had written him at length about the deficiencies of Army materiel for the protection of Pearl Harbor. He referred specifically to planes and anti-aircraft guns... What Kimmel does not realize is that we are tragically lacking in this materiel throughout the Army, and that Hawaii is on a far better basis than any other command in the Army.

The fullest protection for the Fleet is the rather than a major consideration for us; there can be little question about that; but the Navy itself makes demands on us for commands other than Hawaii...

You, of course, understand the pressure on the Department for the limited materiel we have... However, as I have already said, we are keeping clearly in mind that our first concern is to protect the Fleet.

My impression of the Hawaiian problem has been that if no serious harm is done us during the first six hours of known hostilities, thereafter the existing defenses would discourage an enemy against the hazard of an attack. The risk of sabotage and the risk involved in a surprise raid by Air and by submarine, constitute the real perils of the situation. Frankly, I do not see any landing threat in the Hawaiian Islands so long as we have air superiority.

Please keep clearly in mind in all your negotiations that our mission is to protect the base and the Naval concentration, and that purpose should be clearly apparent to Admiral Kimmel...

During the JCC hearings, Marshall testified:

I had a very vital interest, the Army had a very vital interest, in the Fleet at Pearl Harbor because the obligation to protect Pearl Harbor was an Army obligation.

It was thus Marshall's obligation to supply the Hawaiian Command, to the best of his ability, the materiel it needed for the defense of the Fleet. Yet, he sat on the Board that allocated scarce materiel and in the capacity acquiesced to the granting of much of the materiel Hawaii needed to the British, the Chinese and the communist Soviet Union. He also ordered that most of Hawaii's needed four engine bombers be sent on to the Philippines. No doubt this was all in agreement with the wishes of his two superiors. Marshall testified that he concurred with a November 24, 1941, memorandum of his War Plans Chief on the proposed *modus vivendi* that:

Even a temporary peace in the Pacific would permit us to complete defensive preparations in the Philippines and at the same time insure continuance of material assistance to the British both of which are highly important... War Plans Division wishes to emphasize it is of grave importance to the success of our war effort in Europe that we reach a *modus vivendi* with Japan.

This would seem to indicate that in November 1941, Marshall gave the Philippines and "our war effort in Europe" a higher priority than Pearl Harbor and the Pacific Fleet.

Marshall a Key Figure

As we have seen, when Secretary Stimson sent his warning messages of November 27, over Marshall's signature, he included the sentence: "Report measures taken." Under Army regulations then in force, an officer reporting the measures taken as the result of such a message can assume his measures are approved unless later countermanded or supplemented by his superior. Short reported to Marshall that he had alerted for sabotage, which Marshall had earlier stated was one of the two "real perils of the situation." While Marshall could not recall that reply, he was forced to admit he must have seen it. The original had been stamped, "Noted: Chief of Staff," and was stapled under MacArthur's reply, which Marshall had initialled. Yet, Marshall took no action. Hawaii remained on that sabotage alert from November 27th until the time of the attack.

With planes bunched and ammunition inaccessible, our Hawaiian forces had the worst possible disposition for repelling an attack.

Marshall, and Marshall alone, was responsible for this unfortunate situation. While it is true that he had many other worries and was admittedly more concerned about the Philippines and “our war effort in Europe,” he was on record that “The fullest protection for the Fleet” was his obligation.

The record is clear that much of the damage incurred at Pearl Harbor was due to Marshall’s failure to inform or instruct Short further on the basis of the mass of information available to him. Marshall was very reluctant about admitting this and every attempt was made to relieve him of that responsibility.

With the possible exception of the diplomatic phase, Marshall was heavily involved in all the developments that led to the Pearl Harbor disaster. With Roosevelt dead, Hull too weak to face cross examination by the Republican members of the Committee and Stimson conveniently incapacitated until after the Committee Reports were issued, it seemed evident that Marshall was likely to be the most important Administration witness before the Congressional Committee.

And so it was.

Attempts were made to alleviate his ordeal. Marshall retired as Chief of Staff on November 18, 1945. He then expected to have a few weeks for preparation prior to his appearance before the JCC. A lawyer had been engaged to assemble and brief him on all previous testimony with which it was felt he should be familiar. Marshall was to be one of the last Washington witnesses (for the prosecution) before the appearance of the Pearl Harbor witnesses (for the defendants). Then, there was a quick shift in plans.

Communism in China

Back in 1931, at the time of the Manchurian Incident, the then Secretary of War, Patrick J. Hurley, happened to be in Shanghai. He interviewed some of the leaders of the fledgling Chinese Nationalist Government which we had recognized in 1928. He then proceeded to Japan where he in turn interviewed some of that country’s Army leaders and cabinet members. He concluded that Japan was serious in her desire to dominate the mainland and had the military capability to do so. Like his cabinet colleague, Henry L. Stimson, then Hoover’s Secretary of State, he developed an anti-Japanese bias and opposed early freedom for the Philippines. Unlike Stimson, however, Hurley opposed sending Japan any threatening diplomatic notes unless we meant to back them up with force. He expressed his attitude on Japan’s venture in Manchuria succinctly: “Like it or *fight!*”

There was no more vociferous opponent of the New Deal than Patrick Hurley. However, when war came he undertook a number of assignments for FDR, the New Deal’s architect and archangel. On August 18, 1944, FDR appointed Hurley, a Republican, as his personal representative to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

to promote efficient and harmonious relations between the Generalissimo and General Stilwell to facilitate General Stilwell’s exercise of command over the Chinese armies.

Hurley left for China the next day via Moscow.

The basic problem at that time was that General Stilwell wanted to unite the Chinese Communist Army with the Chinese Nationalist Army in the war against the Japanese. While in Moscow, en route to China, Hurley met with the Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov. Molotov gave Hurley the impression that the Chinese Communists were only very impoverished people and that

The Soviet government should not be associated with these communist elements” nor could it in any way be blamed for this situation... The Soviets would be glad if the United States aided the Chinese in unifying their country... Molotov made it clear also that until Chiang Kai-shek tried by changes in his policies to improve Sino-Soviet relations, the Soviet government did not intend to take any interest in Chinese governmental affairs.

Chiang Kai-shek vs Communism

So Hurley went on to China to meet with Stilwell and Chiang Kai-shek. He found Kai-shek willing

to grant Stilwell command of the Chinese armies; but he would not consent to arming and use of the Communists' troops unless they would accept the authority of the Government.

However, the Generalissimo hesitated to give Stilwell the broad powers he desired. Exasperated, Stilwell got Marshall to draft an ultimatum over Roosevelt's signature for Stilwell to present to Chiang. That did it. Chiang realized it was Stilwell's doing and was “deeply offended.” He wired Roosevelt that he was willing to place an American officer in command of the combined forces fighting Japan, “but, *I cannot confer this heavy responsibility upon General Stilwell*.” Marshall attempted to support Stilwell as the only one fit for the task, but FDR finally relieved Stilwell and replaced him with General Albert C. Wedemeyer.

Hurley was later to learn that Stilwell's State Department advisors, John P. Davies and John Stewart Service, were strongly pro-communist and anti-Chiang. Stilwell's diary was later found to contain many statements derogatory of Chiang as well as the solution for which Stilwell had been working:

The cure for China's trouble is the elimination of Chiang Kai-shek. The only thing that keeps this country split is his fear of losing control. He hates the Reds and will not take any chance of giving them a toehold in the government.

It would seem that Chiang had some justification for telling Hurley that

he was convinced Stilwell “was in conspiracy with the Communists to overthrow the government.”

Stilwell, like Marshall, considered the Communists our allies.

Hurley still had his work cut out for him. Chiang wrote Roosevelt that he had complete confidence in Hurley and was relying on him for help in negotiating with the Chinese Communists. As a result, FDR appointed Hurley to be the American Ambassador to China. Whereupon Hurley began negotiating with the Communists with the defeat of Japan as the primary objective. His difficulties were increased by a very active faction of State Department employees who were advising the Chinese Communists to hold out while they were devising plans for arming the Chinese

Communist troops. Hurley had to request the removal of John Davies and John Service from the China Theater.

Hurley then thought he was making progress in establishing unity between the two Chinese factions. They seemed to agree on cooperating in unification of their Armed forces while moving toward the establishment of

a democratic constitution adopted by a convention in which all the people of China not just the political minorities would participate.

Chiang's Government was to remain in control for the time being with a War Cabinet which would include representatives of the Communist and other parties.

Yalta Gift to Communists

Then came the secret Yalta Agreement of February 11, 1945. The text was shown to General Marshall for comment, but he offered no criticism. It was signed by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. In order to induce the Soviet Union to enter the war against Japan after the defeat of Germany, it had been secretly agreed, without consulting Chiang Kai-shek, to grant the Soviet Communists certain rights in China.

After reporting his progress in China, Hurley heard rumors of what he called "a far-reaching betrayal of China's interests." He returned to Washington to investigate. He found FDR only a physical shadow of his former self. FDR denied to him that he had made any agreement

that would destroy the territorial integrity and political independence of China, and assure Communist conquest of that country.

Witnessing FDR in his "sickness of death," Hurley felt that FDR believed he was telling the truth. Hurley finally located a copy of the agreement and showed it to FDR, who became disturbed. FDR then directed Hurley

to go to London and Moscow; to speak to Churchill and to Stalin; and seek a way to ameliorate the betrayal of China.

On visiting Churchill, Hurley was assured that Great Britain would support the American policy of support for Chiang Kaishek's National Government. Hurley's report on his conference with Stalin, April 15, 1945, in the presence of Ambassador Averell Harriman and Foreign Minister Molotov stated:

In short, Stalin agreed unqualifiedly to America's policy in China as outlined to him during this conversation.

Japan Loses — Communists Win

Before Hurley could complete his mission, Roosevelt died on April 12th. On assuming the Presidency, Harry S. Truman soon took steps to assure both Churchill and Stalin that he would carry out FDR's policies, including those reached at Yalta. On June 18, 1945, Hurley was told by the Secretary of State:

As you know, the President is wholly committed to the fulfillment of the agreement made at Yalta.

On his return to China, Hurley found out that the Chinese Communists had learned of the still secret Yalta Agreement as it pertained to China. Mao Tse-tung proclaimed that

our ultimate program is to push China forward to Socialism and Communism; this is definite and beyond question.

A month and a half later, Truman sent Hurley a message to deliver to Chiang Kai-shek on June 15, 1945. It would inform him that the Soviet Union was entering the war against Japan and Soviet troops would be entering Chinese territory.

As compensation, Stalin had demanded, and the United States and Great Britain had agreed with his demands

for special rights in Mongolia and Manchuria. The Soviet interpretation of the Yalta Agreement went far beyond its actual terms. When Chiang protested to Truman, he was told to work out any differences in interpretation with Stalin.

It thus became evident that the Republic of China was left at the mercy of Stalin. A Chinese-Soviet treaty was signed on August 24, 1945. As General Wedemeyer has written, there was a stepped-up program of Communist propaganda. Chiang Kai-shek was painted as an enemy of the people. Soviet forces compelled United States naval vessels to withdraw from Manchurian ports. In fact, Communists actually fired on an American Admiral's launch. China's sovereignty over Manchuria, agreed upon at Cairo, was out the window.

We supposedly went to war to free China from Japanese domination. Yet we quietly acquiesced to Soviet domination of the very areas to which Japan had brought prosperity before the commies started their disruptions creating the very incidents that gave Japan an excuse to rush in troops for the protection of Japanese lives and property.

Chaos Returns to China

Hurley considered this acceptance of "Communist imperialism" a change in American policies. So he asked for an opportunity to discuss our policies in Asia with the President and Secretary of State James Byrnes. He left for Washington on September 22nd, and on October 13th, met with Truman and Byrnes. He told them he wanted to resign because there was no longer support for the policy which he had been sent to China to carry out. They urged him to reconsider and return to China. He was told that Truman's policy in China was the same as Roosevelt's. Thinking of the Yalta Agreement, Hurley asked for a "statement defining the current policy."

While awaiting the issuance of such a policy statement by the Secretary of State or the President, Hurley took a vacation. Getting impatient, he finally issued a statement of his own from New Mexico. He referred to our November 26, 1941, ultimatum to Japan asking Japan to vacate China, asserting that:

The American policy stated by Secretary Hull and President Roosevelt was the immediate cause of our war against Japan... Japan is defeated. Chinese independence for which we fought Japan has not yet been achieved. Until it is our victory cannot be real.

Meanwhile, General Wedemeyer was facing increasing problems in China. Conditions in China were fast becoming chaotic. He was operating under directives that placed him, as both the American Commander of the China Theater and Chiang's Chief of Staff, in an impossible situa-

tion. On November 20th, he sent two long messages to his superiors. They described the situation, including the advances made by both the Soviet and Chinese Communists. It was his belief that

Chiang Kai-shek sincerely desires to achieve stability in China, to unify the country, to institute democratic procedures and to implement social reforms of a wide and sweeping character... He is selfless in his approach to the situation. However, surrounding him are men without scruples who are primarily interested in self-aggrandizement. Chiang is extremely loyal to those officials and war lords who in the past have supported him. As a consequence, they have been appointed to positions of responsibility in the Government even though they are incompetent and/or unscrupulous... Whereas the politician in China seeks to enrich himself through machination and chicanery, the Chinese businessman has a code of ethics that is exemplary and he usually conforms to this code.

Wedemeyer concluded that there was only a remote chance that the Chinese Communists and the National Government would ever come to a satisfactory agreement. He also concluded that the Soviets had broken their agreements and were creating "favorable conditions for the realization of Chinese Communist aims." He further concluded that the presence of American Forces

might possibly develop a tense and dangerous situation with the Soviet Government and will inevitably lead to serious involvement in fratricidal warfare.

Wedemeyer then recommended that he be relieved as Chiang's Chief of Staff and that American Forces be removed from the China Theater

as early as practicable and concomitantly furnish continued and accelerated economic assistance to the existing recognized China Government; or, until China has developed adequate internal power ... proclaim a U.S. policy embodying the determination to continue military and economic support to the Chinese Central Government.

Without saying so specifically, Wedemeyer was describing a chaotic situation of irresponsible and inefficient government incapable of maintaining peace in the market place. The situation he disclosed closely resembled that which years earlier had led the Japanese to send a police force to China to protect the lives and property of Japanese businessmen then subjected to constant communist propaganda and harassment.

U.S. Refused to Oppose Communists

Washington's reply to Wedemeyer stated that, while the State Department wanted to help Chiang get the Japanese Out Of China, it "does not wish to support the National Government directly against the Communists." The State Department,

convinced that Mao's Communists represented an important popular movement and that the United States could not openly combat it without suffering disastrously under the charge of "imperialist meddling," wished to stay clear of the struggle between Chiang and Mao.

In short, to oust the Japanese we had fought a world war, but to oust Communists would be "imperialist meddling." Many people still do not realize that FDR's desire to hide the economic failure of the New Deal and end the resulting mass unemployment led him to take us step by step

into a bloody and expensive World War, a war that was to make large parts of Asia and Europe safe for communism.

On November 23, 1945, Wedemeyer wired back that it would be impossible to support Chiang and at the same time avoid his war with the Chinese Communists.

Such United States support to the National government will definitely involve American forces in fratricidal warfare. There can be no mistake about this... If the unification of China and Manchuria under Chinese National forces is to be a U.S. policy, involvement in fratricidal warfare and possibly in war with the Soviet Union must be accepted and would definitely require additional U.S. forces far beyond those presently available in the theater.

This caused Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal to enter in his diary:

It appears that if Manchuria and perhaps North China are not to pass to Chinese control but rather pass to Soviet control or separate states under its domination by a progression of circumstances, then Russia will have achieved in the Far East approximately the objectives Japan initially set out to accomplish.

Hurley Resigns

Disgusted with his inability to get any clear statement of American policy in China, Pat Hurley tried to resign his Ambassadorship to China by phone. Hurley wanted to quit because he believed Truman “accepted the Yalta Secret Agreement as 'basic policy' toward China.” Secretary Byrnes refused to accept Hurley’s resignation. So Hurley returned to Washington, There he found that the pro-communist State Department men he had replaced in China had not been reassigned “as President Truman had promised.” On November 26th, further developments annoyed Hurley, including attacks on him in the Communist newspaper, the Daily Worker, on the floor of the House of Representatives, and in private statements attributed to Secretary Byrnes that he would prefer as Ambassador in China a “deserving Democrat” who agreed with the Yalta policies.

Hurley wrote a letter of resignation

denouncing the un-American elements in the State Department, and warning that the failures in American policy in China were paving the way for another world war, and revealing the provisions of the Yalta Secret Agreement which had opened China to Soviet domination.

Senator Vandenberg persuaded him to remove any mention of the still secret Yalta Agreement on the premise that there was still some hope that changes might be made in it,

After rewriting his resignation, Hurley, who was unable to get an appointment with the President, called on the Secretary of State on the morning of November 27th. Byrnes again tried to persuade him not to resign, stating that both he and the President “upheld traditional American policy toward China.” Apparently Byrnes believed that he had persuaded Hurley to return to China and so informed Truman by phone. Then, as the Cabinet gathered at the White House for lunch, the Washington news ticker carried parts of a speech Hurley was to deliver to the Press Club that noon, in which he announced his resignation. After lunch, Byrnes phoned Hurley, who confirmed his resignation. When Byrnes so informed the President, Truman rang up Marshall to offer him Hurley’s former position as Ambassador to China. Marshall promptly accepted the appointment.

Marshall before the Joint Congressional Committee

FROM 'THE REAL INFAMY OF PEARL HARBOR'

PERCY L. GREAVES, JR.

Truman's quick action had two immediate effects. First, the news of Marshall's appointment completely blanketed the media publicity that Hurley had hoped would be produced by his resignation and his startling reasons for doing so. Second, it called for a change in Marshall's schedule and that of the joint Congressional Committee (JCC) investigation of the events preceding the Pearl Harbor attack.

There was just no way Marshall could avoid testifying before the JCC. He had been involved in more of the matters under investigation than any other then living person. He was in good health and could not plead infirmities, as did Hull and Stimson. The Army Pearl Harbor Board had concluded that Marshall had failed to fulfill his responsibilities in a number of respects. However, the pressure of his new assignment to solve the pressing problems in China could be used as an excuse to reduce to a bare minimum the length of his JCC appearance.

To accomodate General Marshall, the Committee's schedule of witnesses was altered radically so as not to delay his departure for China. On Monday, December 3, 1945, the Committee's General Counsel, William D. Mitchell, informed the Committee that Marshall would appear on Thursday, December 6th. The impression was given that he could be finished with that week. Mr. Mitchell also informed the Committee:

We would like to call General Gerow [pre-Pearl Harbor Chief of the Army's War Plans Division] and get as far as we can with him before General Marshall is called, because there are certain things that General Gerow knows that would be well to lay into the record, if we can, before General Marshall is called.

So on Wednesday, December 5th, the previously scheduled witness was put aside to permit General Gerow's appearance. He made a very striking appearance as he rose to take the oath. He stood erect in the spic and span uniform of a Lieutenant General with a chest full of brightly colored ribbons. He was the epitome of the war hero, which he was. Not only had he fought well for his country, but he was also willing to become the sacrificial lamb for his December 1941 superior, General George C. Marshall.

Gerow to Marshall's Rescue

Counsel Mitchell accepted without question the Administration's position on the Pearl Harbor disaster. His examinations of witnesses thus sought to establish it on the record. The Administration position was primarily that of the Roberts Commission. The Pearl Harbor commanders had been adequately alerted and they must therefore assume the primary responsibility for the enormity of the losses. If anyone in Washington had been at fault it might have been General Gerow

for not realizing that General Short had failed to obey the commands Washington claimed were in the war warning message of November 27th. This was the message to which Short had replied:

CHIEF OF STAFF
WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON DC

REURAD FOUR SEVEN TWO TWENTYSEVENTH REPORT DEPARTMENT
ALERTED TO PREVENT SABOTAGE PERIOD LIAISON WITH NAVY

SHORT

After Counsel Mitchell had established the fact that General Gerow had led one of the Army Corps in the landing on Omaha Beach in Normandy on D-Day, he had Gerow read the official duties of the War Plans Division. As might be expected, they dealt with the preparation of plans and policies should we be engaged in a war. They said nothing at all about pre-war operations. Another Army Division was actually charged with Operations and Training, but neither Mitchell nor Gerow mentioned this.

Mr. Mitchell's questioning then revealed that Gerow had participated in the secret international conversations from January 29, 1941, to March 7, 1941, in Washington that led to the ABCA-agreement. It was also brought out that he was familiar with the April 1941 conversations in Singapore

to prepare plan for conduct of military operations in Far East on basis of report of Washington conversations.

Mitchell then asked Gerow if he knew of any agreement "which assumed to bind the United States to engage in war against Japan before Japan attacked the United States?" The General replied, "No, sir." He was also asked if he knew "of any assurances that we had given the British at Singapore of armed support under three or four eventualities?" Gerow responded: "I know of no such assurances, sir." For Mitchell, that disposed of those matters.

Then, Mitchell pressed his luck a bit too far when he asked:

Mr. MITCHELL: Were any deployments, or steps ever taken by the United States prior to December 7 to put any of those plans into operation? December 7, 1941. You told us the British and Dutch plans were never approved. I want to know whether approved or not approved, the United States ever put those plans, or any part of them into effect before December 7, the joint plans, if you know?

General GEROW: I don't believe, sir, I can answer that question offhand. We certainly made some preliminary dispositions, so we would be prepared to carry out those plans but without studying the history of the orders prior to December 7, sir, I prefer not to answer that question.

Gerow testified that the November 27th conference "was directed primarily to the message to the Philippines." He admitted that he later held another conference at which it was "agreed that General Miles would send a message to G-2 of the Hawaiian Department with regard to being on guard against subversive activities." This had led him to tell the Roberts Commission that he assumed Short's reply, addressed to the Chief of Staff in reply to No. 472 "was an answer to the G-2 message that was sent out by General Miles." The number 472 meant nothing to him.

Mr. Mitchell then read part of Secretary Stimson's report which admitted that Short's reply:

was susceptible of the interpretation that he was on the alert against sabotage only, and not on the alert against an air raid or other hostile action... a keener sense of analysis and a more incisive comparison of the messages exchanged, would have invited further inquiry by the War Plans Division of General Short and his failure to go on the necessary alert might well have been discovered.

The Chief of this division and certain of his subordinates knew that a report of the measures taken by General Short had been asked for. General Short's reply was brought to the attention of the chief of the division. A clear and satisfactory reply should have been required. This was not done, and a more efficient functioning of the division would have demanded that a careful inquiry as to the meaning of General Short's message be made and no room for ambiguity permitted.

Then Mitchell asked the General,

Do you think that is a fair statement of the situation?

General GEROW: Yes, sir; I do, and if there was any responsibility to be attached to the War Department for any failure to send an inquiry to General Short, the responsibility must rest on the War Plans Division, and I accept that responsibility as Chief of the War Plans Division.

Several facts should be pointed out. The details of General Short's three possible alerts were a matter of record in Washington. So Short's response specifying the sabotage alert was informing Marshall that he had bunched his planes and placed his ammunition where it was relatively inaccessible. Secretary Stimson, who was responsible for sending the November 27th messages over Marshall's signature, saw Short's answer and did nothing about it. The truth would seem to be that the attention of all these Washington officials was concentrated on the Far East and the Philippines. They actually gave little thought to Pearl Harbor.

Mr. Mitchell questioned General Gerow until 4:40 p.m. on Wednesday, December 5, 1945. No Committee member was permitted to question the General or add to what Mr. Mitchell had asked Gerow to spread on the record.

Tender Loving Care for Marshall

General Marshall appeared the next day, Thursday, December 6th. The impression was created that his JCC testimony would be completed that week. He was subjected to a friendly examination all that day by Mr. Mitchell. It was really surprising the number of things the General could not recall, remember or recollect. He did not think our ABC and ADB "conversations" committed us to go to war "prior to our being attacked." When asked, "Did the Army make any deployments or dispositions of troops pursuant to those plans that you remember prior to December 7, 1941", he replied: "I do not think there were any definite moves unless it may have been into Iceland and I do not recall that."

When General Marshall had appeared before the Navy Court of Inquiry on September 2, 1944, he was shown the Japanese intercept setting the deadline of November 29, 1941, and asked whether he had seen or been informed of the contents. He had been trying to keep these Japanese intercepts out of the record. His reply at that time was:

I don't recall. These were highly secret matters and papers. The papers were carefully guarded, and our War Department copies today do not indicate when I saw them. I am reasonably certain, however, that I did see them or was informed concerning these papers at the time.

When JCC Counsel Mitchell asked him:

Do you remember seeing any of those [intercepts] in which the Japs instructed their Ambassadors here to get an affirmative agreement first by the 25th of November and later at least by the 29th?

General MARSHALL: I remember that very well, sir.

Such were the vagaries of the General's memory of some of the most important events of his life.

Evasive Answers

Mr. Mitchell continued his inquiry of Marshall on Friday, December 7, 1945. He did not question him concerning the Pilot message distributed Saturday afternoon, but he did ask if he remembered his "movements on the evening of December 6, as to where you were?"

Marshall answered, "I can only account for them by sort of circumstantial evidence." He then enumerated a number of places where he was not, ending with "the probability is ... we were ~ome." The General was supposed to have had a duty officer at his office and an orderly at his home who would know where he was at all times when he was not at their location. None of his duty officers or orderlies was ever called.

Mr. MITCHELL: You are sure you were not at the White House that evening?

General MARSHALL: No, sir; not at all.

That reply was undoubtedly the most enigmatic of the whole investigation. It would seem he was not sure.

Asked what he knew about "the 14 part message and the 1 P.M. message," referring to December 7, 1941, he replied:

On that particular morning I presumably had my breakfast at about eight, and following the routine that I had carried out on previous Sundays, I went riding at some time thereafter.

I think in one of the previous statements I made in this investigation of Pearl Harbor incidents that I said I probably rode at 8:30. Discussions with the orderlies and also evidence that I have seen of other individuals leads me purely by induction and not by definite memory to think that I must have ridden later; just what time I do not know; but between 8 o'clock and the time I went to the War Department I ate my breakfast, I probably looked at the Sunday papers and I went for a ride...

The average length of my rides was about, the time period of my rides is about 50 minutes because I rode at a pretty lively gait, at a trot and a canter and at a full run down on the experimental farm where the Pentagon now is and returned to the house,

so I would say that the high probability is that the ride was an hour or less, generally or certainly not longer.

My recollection beyond that is that while I was taking a shower either as I went into the shower or while I was actually taking a shower, word came to me that Colonel Bratton had something important and wished to come out to Fort Myer. I sent word that I was coming to the War Department, so I finished my shower, dressed and left for the War Department.

My average time of taking a shower and dressing would be about 10 minutes, possibly less. As to what time I arrived at the War Department is a matter of conjecture; I have no recollection.

On my arrival there Colonel Bratton handed me these intercepts which included the 14 sections of the Japanese message, and I started reading them through. You recall it is a rather lengthy document and of such a nature that there were portions of it that I read twice.

When I reached the end of the document the next sheet was the 1 o'clock message of December 7.

Mr. MITCHELL: That is the message that directed the Ambassadors to deliver this thing at 1:00 p.m. Sunday to the American Government?

General MARSHALL: Yes, sir, that message. That, of course, was indicative to me, and all the others who came into the room, of some very definite action at 1:00 o'clock, because that 1:00 o'clock was Sunday and was in Washington and involved the Secretary of State, all of which were rather unusual put together.

I think that I immediately called Admiral Stark on the phone, and found he had seen the message, and I proposed a message to our various commanders in the Pacific region, the Philippines, Hawaii, the Caribbean, that is the Panama Canal, and the west coast, which included Alaska. Admiral Stark felt that we might confuse them, because we had given them an alert and now we were adding something more to it.

I hung up the phone, which was the White House phone, and in longhand wrote out the message. My recollection was that he called me back. I am told now that the White House telephone records show that I called him back. I had no recollection of reading the message to him. I thought, on the contrary, he called me just as I finished the message saving the last sentence.

However, one way or the other, there was a call or conversation between Stark and myself, the effect of which was he wished me to add to the message specifically "Show this to your Naval officers," which I did in longhand.

I then directed Colonel Bratton to take it immediately to the message center and start it. There was a proposal then that we have it typed. The decision was that there was no time for typing, and Colonel Bratton left with the message.

On his return I questioned him as to the length of time involved and I could not make out whether or not he was talking about the time of encoding as well as the time of

dispatching and the time of receipt, so I sent him back accompanied by Colonel Bundy, the officer in charge of the immediate details of all Pacific affairs.

They came back and gave me the estimates of the time of deliveries in these various parts of the world. My recollection is that I sent at least Colonel Bundy back again, and I thought Colonel Bratton with him. I believe others state that there was no third trip. There were certainly two—my own recollection is there were three. However that may be, that was the procedure on the dispatching of the message.

Do you wish me to go ahead?

Mr. MITCHELL: Yes.

General MARSHALL: The next information I had was the notification of the actual attack on Pearl Harbor. Of my own recollection I do not recall whether I was at the War Department or at the house. I am told on one side by the Secretary of the General Staff at that time, the Acting Secretary at that time, General Dean, that I had returned to the house. I am told, on the other hand, by my orderly that I was at the War Department. I do not know where I was.

Anyway, shortly thereafter, if not immediately then, I was at the War Department, because it was a very quick drive, and on Sunday there was no traffic. It was a matter of about 7 minutes from my house to the Munitions building.

The information then came in in fuller detail, and telephone communication was established and I talked to General Short's Chief of Staff, Colonel Phillips. You could hear the explosions at the time.

Mr. Mitchell had one other very interesting and revealing exchange with the General.

Mr. MITCHELL: Did you have your staff organized at that time so that if an especially significant or important intercept was made of a Jap message, was there anyone on duty who had authority, if they were unable to reach you, to send a warning message out?

General MARSHALL: No, sir, I don't think there was a set-up for that special purpose. We had always had an arrangement there whereby the officer on the receiving end, at the central point in the War Department, knew where the principal people were, where to reach them. In my own case, for example, during that period and for about a year thereafter, I always maintained an orderly at the house at the telephone. If I left the house to go to a moving picture, which was about the only place I went, he was there and knew where to reach me...

Mr. MITCHELL: If they had not been able to reach you on the morning of the 7th, or at any time when an important message came in, was there anybody but yourself that had authority to send a warning message to the outlying post?

General MARSHALL: Yes. The authority was vested, for instance, in the Deputy Chief of Staff [Major General William Bryden]. Or even the head of War Plans Division.

Not according to Army regulations.

There is no dispute about that, I do not think, because the actions always had been on a very decentralized basis...

Mr. MITCHELL: But the War Plans Division would have operations authority to send a message that involved action?

General MARSHALL: Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL: Was the Deputy Chief of Staff the only other one that had authority to send a message without reaching you?

General MARSHALL: I think that would be the accurate way of stating it, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL: I have, of course, been speaking of the military officers. The Secretary of War, if he had information, for instance, he wouldn't have had to ask your permission. He would have directed an order.

Secretary Stimson, if this thing had come to him, and he had felt a warning ought to be sent out, he would have authority to send it out?

General MARSHALL: Yes, sir.

Mr. MITCHELL: Did you have any talk on the morning of the 7th with Secretary Stimson before the news of the attack came in?

General MARSHALL: I don't recall it. He was at the State Department I knew, but I can't recall that I saw him before lunch.

This interchange raises more questions than it answers. Under the Army order of Command, orders could be sent to Short only by the Commander in Chief, Roosevelt, the Chief of Staff, Marshall, or his Deputy, Bryden. Neither Stimson nor Gerow were in the line of command. That was why they had to send the "war warning" message they sent on November 27th over the name of Marshall. Another question raised but not answered was: How did Marshall know Stimson was at the State Department on the morning of December 7th? That meeting was arranged Saturday night after the three Secretaries were informed of the first thirteen parts of the Japanese reply. If Marshall knew of that meeting on the morning of the 7th, he would have had to have known of the 13 parts delivered on the night of the 6th.

More Tender Loving Care

Mr. Mitchell finished his friendly inquiry in the middle of the afternoon of Friday, December 7, 1945. The questioning then passed to the tender, admiring care of the Democratic members of the Committee. The Vice Chairman, Representative Jere Cooper, asked General Marshall if, in the weeks before the attack, he had been "kept fully advised as to the diplomatic developments." Marshall replied:

I was kept fully advised; and so far as Mr. Hull personally is concerned, I remember hearing him say with considerable emphasis in those last days apropos of his discussions with the Japanese envoys, "These fellows mean to fight and you will have to watch out."

The VICE CHAIRMAN: You heard him say that?

General MARSHALL: I heard him say that and I have a very distinct recollection of it.

At another point, the General stated that the Japanese

had committed themselves to the war, I think, on the assumption that the collapse of Russia was going to take place in the next 2 weeks. It did not take place. Had they not attacked on December 7, had they waited, for example, until January 1, there is a possibility that they would not have launched the attack, I do not know, because it appeared quite a definite possibility that Russia might get to her feet, which she did.

As the usual time of adjournment, 4 p.m., approached, and the fifth of the six Democratic Committee members was about to start his questioning, the Committee Chairman, Senator, later Vice President, Alben Barkley, interposed:

The CHAIRMAN: Before you begin, Senator, may I ask General Marshall, for the benefit of the committee and to determine about its sittings a little later today and tomorrow, in an effort to conclude with you what are your plans, as far as you have made them, to leave for China?

General MARSHALL: All I can do, sir, is have a plane in readiness as soon as you release me.

The CHAIRMAN: So your plans are to go forward at once as soon as we are completed?

General MARSHALL: Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: Would it be agreeable for the Committee to sit a little later than 4 o'clock today to accommodate General Marshall, in the hope we might conclude with him tomorrow?

Senator GEORGE: Mr. Chairman, we ought to go on a reasonable length of time.

Senator BREWSTER: I suggest 4:30.

The CHAIRMAN: Well, we will go at least until 4:30.

Senator Lucas and Representative Murphy then each asked a few questions and the Friday session ended at 4:35 p.m. with:

Mr. MURPHY: Had you any warning, General, or any reason to expect on the night of December 6 or on the early morning of December 7 that there was any general urgency requiring you to be at the War Department earlier than the hour you did arrive there on the morning of December 7?

The record at that point had Marshall arriving at his office at shortly before 11:30 a.m. on December 7. "On that particular morning I presumably had my breakfast at about eight, and following the routine that I had carried out on previous Sundays, I went riding at some time thereafter."

General MARSHALL: I had no such conception or information. Mr. MURPHY: Did you at any time prior to December 7 ever have anyone tell you that the fleet, the

United States Fleet in the Pacific Ocean, was not able to take care of itself in the event of an attack?

General MARSHALL: I do not think I ever did, sir. I had heard a discussion by Admiral Richardson as to the requirements that the fleet had to have to be built up before taking out to sea and be properly supplied.

Mr. MURPHY: I have no other questions, Mr Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The Investigation Begins

Fortunately, the Republicans did not yield to pressure. This author, as Chief of the Minority Staff, working with Senator Ferguson, had prepared a whole blue book of pertinent questions to be asked the General. Due to the sudden death of his father, Senator Brewster was unfortunately absent. So Representative Gearhart opened the questioning on Saturday morning.

The General admitted that he thought:

the Japanese were engaged in a campaign southward... We had in mind the possibility of an effort on the Panama Canal. We had in mind the possibility of an effort to strike a blow at our air plants in Seattle, at our air plants in San Diego, and we had in mind the possibility of a blow in the Central Pacific, in the Hawaiian district.

We thought the latter was the most improbable...

We thought it was impregnable against a Japanese landing expedition.

When the Congressman informed Marshall that Gerow in testifying had "accepted full responsibility for not having acted on the inadequacy, as he called it," of Short's November 27th report, Marshall replied:

I was not present in the room and I admire very much his attitude.

When the Congressman persisted in wanting to know why Marshall did not take exception to Short's reply, the General answered:

I can only say, sir, that that was my opportunity to intervene and have a further check made and I did not take it. Just why I do not know.

The General asserted that Short had been

issued a command and directed to do something... Once you issue an order, amendments or, you might say, codicils are very dangerous business when it is an operational order.

When asked why more of the information he had was not forwarded to Short, he replied:

The point, I think, that should be made clear, if possible, is that you must avoid confusing the commander with a mass of data.

When pressed further he admitted:

I would say offhand that the messages you just read would have been helpful to General Short, but particularly more so to Admiral Kimmel.

When the Congressman read some of the Army Pearl Harbor Board's conclusions on Marshall's failures, his reply was that Short had been given

a direction to do something which was an alert against the possibility or probability of war. He was a responsible commander; he had a definite task.

The real question was whether or not Marshall had been a "responsible commander.

Attempt to Rescue Marshall

Then, at midmorning, Senator Ferguson, at the end position behind the Committee table, took over. This author, with his collection of questions and documents, was at his elbow. We had a host of important questions to ask that the Committee's Counsel and Democratic Party members had failed to raise. Ferguson persisted until Marshall had to admit it was his responsibility and his alone to have alerted Short. Additional admissions by Marshall and conflicts in testimony were spread on the record to the embarrassment of the Administration's friends. The Saturday afternoon hours rolled by until the following intercession took place:

The CHAIRMAN: May the Chair ask at this moment, it is practically 4 o'clock-whether the committee desires to sit longer today? I frankly, was hoping we might conclude with General Marshall today on account of his matters but whether we can is not within my control.

Would the committee feel justified in sitting longer if there is a chance to conclude with General Marshall or not?

Senator FERGUSON: There isn't a chance, unless the committee is willing to sit well into the evening.

The CHAIRMAN: The Chair would not want to compel the Senator from Michigan to tell how long it will take.

Senator FERGUSON: I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN: In view of the fact that we cannot conclude with General Marshall, what is the wish of the committee as to recessing now?

The VICE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chairman, might I inquire something of General Marshall. I understand he stated yesterday his plane was waiting, ready to take him to his duties in China.

General MARSHALL: It will have to continue to wait. I am to be at your disposal until you have finished.

The CHAIRMAN: Under those circumstances, the committee will recess until 10 o'clock Monday morning.

Senator Ferguson continued questioning Marshall all day Monday and all Tuesday morning. At the opening of the Tuesday afternoon session, the Chairman stated:

The President has asked General Marshall to come down to the White House at 3:15 for a conference on his mission to China. Therefore, the committee will have to excuse General Marshall at 3 o'clock in order that he may fill that engagement. If he has not concluded his testimony at that time we shall have to excuse the General in order that he may fill that engagement, with the understanding, of course, that he may resume at his convenience, but in all likelihood not today. The Chair might express the hope that we may conclude with the General by the time he has to fill that engagement. Senator will you proceed?

“Spy” at Pearl Harbor Probe

Senator Ferguson finished shortly thereafter and Congressman Keefe took over the questioning. He was a lawyer by profession and a tall man with broad shoulders and a deep voice when he wanted to use it. He had hardly gotten warmed up when General Marshall left for the White House and General Miles assumed the JCC witness seat. While Senator Ferguson was questioning Miles, Senator Lucas interrupted to raise a question about this author's presence at the Committee's table. He asked:

just who the gentleman is and what right he has to sit alongside the committee table and chuckle at a member of the United States Senate ... I think it is about time that the committee find out just who he is, or what his business is.

Senator FERGUSON: I would be glad to tell the Senator and the committee. His name is Percy Greaves. He is with Senator Brewster and has charge of Senator Brewster's files in this case...

understand Senator Brewster will be here tomorrow.

On this particular day, in view of Senator Brewster's absence, Senator Ferguson had moved over into Senator Brewster's seat. In order to be next to Senator Ferguson, this author had moved from his usual seat at the end of the table, around the corner to Senator Ferguson's seat behind the table. Thus this author was sitting in a Committee member's seat and could have been taken for a member of the Committee.

Senator Lucas then wanted to know:

Was he [Greaves] the Republican National Committee research man in the campaign of 1944? Let him answer that.

Senator FERGUSON: Is that your position?

Mr. GREAVES: I was with the Republican National Committee up until the end of last year.

Senator LUCAS: This is a nonpartisan hearing.

The CHAIRMAN: In view of that information, would it be out of place to inquire who has compensated Mr. Greaves for the services he has rendered to Senator Brewster or Senator Ferguson?

Senator FERGUSON: He is not rendering any services for me.

Senator LUCAS: Not much.

Senator FERGUSON: He is here with papers, but he is with Senator Brewster. You have to confer with Senator Brewster. He will be glad to tell you.

The CHAIRMAN: He has been sitting by the Senator from Michigan during these whole hearings and apparently prompting the Senator in the interrogatories he has addressed to the witnesses. Maybe that is not a service to the Senator from Michigan and the Senator will have to be the judge of that, but it has been a matter of common observation that that has transpired ever since we began the hearing. I do not object to it personally. I do not care how many assistants any member of this committee may have or desire, or need, but it is not at all out of place that the committee know who it is and who is compensating anybody who is assisting any Senator, in order that the whole facts may be known.

The incident was a one-day press sensation. At the close of the session, reporters crowded about this author. The Washington Times-Herald carried a four column picture of the JCC showing this author sitting next to Senator Ferguson with Senators Lucas and George in the background. The headline read, “ 'Spy' Identified at Pearl Harbor Probe.” New York’s PM referred to this author as “the mysterious 'sixth Senator' “ whose “Incognito Is Punctured.”

When Senator Brewster returned, we met with Senator Robert A. Taft, Senate Minority Leader. At this meeting it was agreed that this author should continue in his regular seat. Funds for his services and that of his staff had been raised privately by John T. Flynn. It was decided to place Greaves on Senator Brewster’s personal payroll and Greaves was asked to prepare a memorandum on the incident for Senator Brewster. In this memorandum, this author stated that he never had any intention to

reflect on any Members of the United States Senate by thought, word or action... As you know I receive no compensation from Republican Party sources and had not for many months before I entered your service. My activities with you have not been of a partisan or a political nature.

I sincerely hope that my conduct has not caused you any embarrassment and that my services meet with your satisfaction.

This was placed in the record by Senator Brewster. Senator Lucas proposed to find out more about this author in executive session but no more was heard about it.

Foiled Counsel Resigns

The above incident was an unsuccessful attempt to stop the Republican Senators from having at their elbows the assistance that was needed to break through the rather obvious attempt of the Majority Party to cover up the Administration’s role in precipitating the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor while failing to provide the Hawaiian Commanders with the materiel and available information that could have enabled them to repel that attack. The hearings had been scheduled to last only four weeks. The Committee’s friendly counsel, Mitchell, and his chief assistant Gerhard A. Gesell, later rewarded with a Federal judgeship, were to do most of the selection and questioning of witnesses. The Committee members were expected to be mere observers, asking only occasional questions. As shown by the tender, admiring care of General Marshall, the JCC Counsel

had little thought of prying into matters which might embarrass the Administration or reflect on the reputation of FDR or his appointees.

The Democratic Majority had refused to supply any staff to the Republican Minority. In an attempt to have a real investigation of facts the Administration had hoped to suppress, John T. Flynn had privately raised the funds to supply the Minority with a staff of seven. With this aid the Minority was able to break the situation open. Daily hearings were held from November 15, 1945, to February 20, 1946, followed by two short reopenings in April and May. The final printed hearings with exhibits, which included the hearings and reports of the previous secret and top secret investigations, ran to 44 volumes. While many pertinent witnesses were not called and much relevant material was suppressed, the printed record was replete with material those responsible for the Pearl Harbor disaster had hoped would never see the light of day.

Within a week after the Greaves incident, JCC Counsel Mitchell and his assistant threw in the sponge and resigned effective January 5, 1946. The Committee then had to find a new General Counsel and a new Associate General Counsel. A recess of one week was called so the new committee staff could become familiar with the record.

Marshall Released to China

General Marshall resumed the witness seat on Wednesday, December 12, 1945. Representative Keefe then resumed his questioning of Marshall with increasing vigor. He spent all that day getting previously missed information into the record.

He would not let the General evade his responsibility for his many failures to act when his action was called for. He would not let the General evade his responsibility for his unexplained unavailability during the evening of December 6th and the early morning hours of December 7th. He questioned Marshall also on the selection of the members of the Roberts Commission which had whitewashed Washington officialdom while placing the full blame on Kimmel and Short. At this point Senator Barkley intervened:

The CHAIRMAN: The Chair would like to suggest that the hour of adjournment has come. Unless we can conclude with General Marshall in a few minutes, we will have to recess.

I don't know what the chances are to conclude.

Mr KEEFE: Well, Mr. Chairman, I confess I am not quite through.

The CHAIRMAN: Then we might as well recess.

Mr. Keefe finished up on Thursday morning and at noon General Marshall was released to fly to China to make his contribution to the Communist victory over Chiang Kai-shek. Through the efforts and persistence of Senator Ferguson and Representative Keefe, the likelihood that the JCC would ever reach the same conclusions as the Roberts Commission had been forever demolished. For interesting accounts of their contributions, the reader is referred to the pertinent pages (pp. 448-451) of this author's chapter on "The Pearl Harbor Investigations" in *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, edited by Harry Elmer Barnes, and John Toland's *Infamy* (pp. 161-170). A minor slip in Toland's book has Marshall's testimony starting on "Tuesday morning, December 6." Actually December 6 was a Thursday. The pressure to finish with him in two days of friendly questioning was thwarted. Marshall's six days of testimony changed the tenor of the entire investigation.

Admission of MAGIC Demolishes FDR's Claim of Surprise

FROM 'THE REAL INFAMY OF PEARL HARBOR'

PERCY L. GREAVES, JR.

We now come to the critical twenty-four hour period before the attack. What did the leaders in Washington know? When did they know it? What did they do about it? Unfortunately, the testimony is a jumbled mass of contradictions. Most witnesses swore under oath that they had performed their duties. Nonetheless, valuable hours were lost before responsible persons took actions that available information clearly indicated. The record seems to make clear one thing—junior officers were very reluctant to testify to facts that might embarrass their superiors. Undoubtedly there were private conferences before each investigation at which the involved officers tried to agree on how they would testify. In fact, some witnesses admitted this was so. They had merely met to refresh their joint memories. However, there were also cases where witnesses later changed their original testimony, given with the aid of notes written in December 1941, in order to conform with what they considered the wishes of their superiors.

Any serious attempt to account for the tremendous losses at Pearl Harbor must attempt to explain why the Hawaiian commanders were so ill prepared to repel the attack. They were taken completely by surprise. The first question is: Given the information available to them, did the Hawaiian Commanders make reasonably intelligent decisions? Were the Army's sabotage alert and the Navy's preparations to carry out the War Plans calling for raids on Japanese islands reasonably proper policies for the period from November 27 to December 7, 1941? As requested, Short had reported the measures taken. Kimmel was certainly carrying out the instructions received in the November 27 message. They were both acting in conformity with the orders and information sent them.

This reduces the pertinent query to: Did Washington officials have information which, if known in Hawaii, would have improved the defensive situation for the Fleet, the available planes and the ground forces? If so, when did the Washington officials have this information and what did they do about it?

The most important information the Washington commanders had, which the Pearl Harbor commanders did not, was the detailed knowledge revealed by a reading of the intercepted Japanese messages. This included not only the detailed reports Tokyo had requested on the movements and conditions within Pearl Harbor, but also the rapid deterioration of Japan's economic conditions and U.S.-Japanese diplomatic relations, as specifically related by Japan's "deadline" messages, her reaction to our ultimatum, the contacts with Hitler and Mussolini, the code destruction orders and the series of last minute messages that were intercepted starting early on the morning of December 6th. The knowledge gained from these intercepts supplies the key that opens the door to the determination of the responsibilities for the Pearl Harbor disaster.

Secrecy of MAGIC

Before and during the war the information gained from these intercepts could not be leaked or revealed to the public and thus also to the Japanese. The later reading of Japan's Naval codes made possible our greatest naval victories in the Pacific. The reading of Japan's diplomatic codes, those involved in our pre-Pearl Harbor intelligence, also provided much valuable information. Before V-E Day, we were able to intercept and read all the Japanese messages between Berlin and Tokyo. After V-E Day we intercepted and read Japan's futile plea for the Soviet Union to act as an intermediary in negotiating an end to the war.

All this, however, does not relieve the Washington officials of responsibility for failing to change the alert conditions in Hawaii during the week, days or hours preceding the attack. It does, however, suggest a reason why those responsible for this failure to take such action might seek to keep all knowledge of these intercepts off the public record. It may also explain why an Army officer, in a position to know, twice told this author — once in the presence of General Bonner Fellers and again in the presence of General Albert C. Wedemeyer — that shortly after Pearl Harbor General Marshall warned his staff officers they would have to go to their graves with this secret. This informant refused to let his name be used because he feared it might affect his son's Army career. It may also explain why Captain Safford could not find many of the pertinent intercepts in the files when he first looked for them in early 1944.

Marshall was the chief protagonist for keeping knowledge of the intercepts permanently secret. It was by his order that an attempt was made to keep such information from the secret Army and Navy investigations authorized by Congress. Stark also desired to keep this vital information from the secret wartime investigations conducted by trusted Army generals and Navy admirals, all with the highest security clearances. Accordingly, those who first testified under oath before the Navy Court of Inquiry and the Army Pearl Harbor Board failed to reveal any hint of the full truth known to them. Most of them sought refuge in the obfuscating reply, "I do not recall." Some avoided direct answers, pleading that the question was irrelevant or immaterial. Others refused to answer because they claimed to do so would not be in the public interest, or because it would force them to disclose a "state secret."

Safford Exposes the Secret

The chief protagonist for revealing the news learned from reading the intercepts was Captain L.F. Safford. In 1941, he had been in charge of the Communications Security Section of Naval Communications. Later, for his work in solving foreign codes and constructing our own, Congress awarded Safford \$100,000. Like millions of less informed Americans, Safford at first blamed Admiral Kimmel for the terrible losses at Pearl Harbor. Then, to his amazement, he found out that his superiors had not provided Kimmel with the benefit of the information that his Section had decoded in the months before the attack. His sense of injustice was aroused.

This led him to take two steps which were later to lead to the eventual revelations that both the wartime and first postwar Administrations sought to keep secret. In February 1944, he called on retired Admiral Kimmel in New York and, from notes and memory, related to him much of the information available in Washington that would have been of great value to the Pearl Harbor commanders.

Fearing war casualties, Kimmel sought a wartime recording of "testimony pertinent to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor." As a result of Kimmel's prodding, Secretary Knox appointed the retired Admiral Thomas C. Hart to travel where necessary to record such testimony. At the time

of the Pearl Harbor attack, Hart had been the Commander in Chief of our Asiatic Fleet based in the Philippines. On April 28, 1944, Hart met informally with Safford to learn what he knew. From memory, Safford related some of his pre-Pearl Harbor knowledge, which he had gained from decrypting Japanese intercepts. This was news to Hart. He cautioned Safford against making statements he could not prove and instructed him to return the next day to give formal testimony.

Safford returned to the Navy Department and made a search for copies of the pertinent intercepts. He could not find them in either the Navy or War Department files. Nevertheless, he testified the next day from notes and memory as to what he and his superiors knew pre-Pearl Harbor. Then Hart asked him:

21. Q: Is there any documentary report which shows the date and hours of delivery of the foregoing information to various officials?

A: There is no documentary evidence.

22. Q: Are you able to state, from memory, the date and hour on which the important information, say, from 1 December onward, was transmitted?

A: I can, from my recollection of Lieutenant Commander Kramer's verbal reports to me.

23. Q: Please give what you recall...

At that time, Safford's remarkable testimony contained one misstatement, viz.:

The "Winds Message" was last seen by myself about December 14, 1941, when the papers which had been distributed in early December were assembled by Kramer [Navy courier], checked by myself, and then turned over to the Director of Naval Communications for use as evidence before the Roberts Commission, according to my understanding at the time.

Actually, the intercepts were never made available to the Roberts Commission.

After speaking again with Kramer, Safford later testified before the Hewitt Inquiry that the assembled messages were given to James Forrestal "about 9 December 1941." The following day Kramer corroborated this. Forrestal became Acting Secretary of the Navy while Knox was out in Hawaii investigating the attack for FDR. As Under Secretary, Forrestal had not been privileged to see the intercepts. After the attack he learned about them and as Acting Secretary requested copies.

Forrestal's appointment schedule for December 10, 1941, shows entries for Commander McCollum of Far East Intelligence at 3:47 and Kramer at 4:49. Kramer recalled explaining to him "the way things shaped up from this traffic." It was this bundle of intercepts shown to Forrestal that Safford located some months later in a Navy safe. Safford, in one of his many meetings with this author, told him that he, Safford, then duplicated them and had copies replaced in both the Army and Navy files. Thus, they were available for the later investigations. However, the "Winds Execute" message was not among them.

Kimmel's Struggle Succeeds

The Navy Court of Inquiry, authorized by Congress, opened hearings on July 31, 1944. With the information furnished him by Safford, Kimmel and his attorneys made every effort to have the intercepts introduced as essential evidence. As an “interested party,” Kimmel and his attorneys were permitted to attend the NCI secret sessions. At the end of each witness’s testimony, a representative of each “interested party” was permitted to ask questions.

At the end of that first short session, Kimmel stated before the court of three Admirals:

I have been branded throughout this country as the one responsible for the Pearl Harbor disaster. I feel that this investigation should go far enough to disclose all the facts in connection with the matter and that witnesses from the Army, from the State Department, or from any other federal department ought to be called before this court in order to establish the facts that are necessary. It will be a long time before I am afforded any other opportunity to refute the statements made in the report of the Roberts Commission. People may die who can make statements before this court sufficient to establish the facts and to refute the utterly false and misleading statements made throughout the Roberts Commission.

The first witness, Admiral Stark, was asked his reason for detaching some ships from the Pacific Fleet for duty in the Atlantic early in 1941. Stark sought to go off the record as he thought “making this matter public would be detrimental to the best interests of the United States.” Kimmel objected and his objection was upheld. Stark then stated his reason for shifting these ships was that the move was in accordance with WPL-46. This war plan was based on the secret ABC agreement with the British, which Administration defenders have tried to contend was only a tentative proposal, no part of which went into effect before we were actually at war.

Kimmel and his attorneys kept trying to get relevant evidence into the record over the objections of witnesses and the Court’s judge Advocate. On Friday, August 25, 1944, at the close of his testimony before the Army Pearl Harbor Board, Kimmel was asked:

Admiral, is there anything that you want to tell the Board now which may not have been said by you or not brought out by other witnesses in the hearing before the Roberts Commission? ...

Admiral KIMMEL: ... Since Pearl Harbor, information has come to my knowledge that vital information in the hands of the War and Navy Departments was not supplied to responsible officers in Hawaii; in particular, that the War and Navy Departments knew that Japan had set a deadline ... for the signing of an agreement ... that on 26 November an ultimatum was delivered to Japan by the United States. This was done notwithstanding a joint recommendation to the President by General Marshall and Admiral Stark that no ultimatum of any kind should be made to Japan. I had been advised of this recommendation and had received no qualification of that information. I had no knowledge of the delivery of the ultimatum to Japan on 26 November, 1941. I am further certain that several days prior to 7 December, 1941 there was information in the War Department and the Navy Department that Japan would attack the United States ... that there was information in the War and Navy Departments on 6 December, 1941, that the hour of attack was momentarily imminent, and early on 7 December, 1941, the precise time of the attack was known. It was known at least three or probably four hours before the attack. All this information was denied to General Short and to me. I feel that we were entitled to it... Had we been furnished

this information as little as two or three hours before the attack, which was easily feasible and possible, much could have been done.

The Admiral was told by General Russell, a member of the Army Board, that:

Some of the things to which you have referred may become the subject of further investigation before the Board is through... It might come to pass that we would want the source of certain information referred to by you in your statement. Would you be willing to cooperate with us to the extent that we might be furnished the source of the information contained in your statement?

Admiral KIMMEL: I will cooperate to the best of my ability, in conformity with the restrictions which have been imposed upon me.

Kimmel's difficulties and final success in getting the Japanese intercepts into the record have been well told in Chapter Seven of John Toland's *Infamy*. Except for an inconsequential error in one date, his account is both accurate and highly interesting. This author can vouch for it. In addition to his familiarity with the official record, this author had a number of confirming conversations with Admiral Kimmel and his two top counsels, Charles B. Rugg and Captain Robert A. Lavender, all of whom were dead when Toland undertook his painstaking research.

The intercepts were finally introduced before the Navy Court on August 28, 1944, after Secretary Forrestal reversed the previous decision to exclude them. They were introduced as TOP SECRET evidence to be

extracted from the record and deposited with the Secretary of the Navy. This action was taken in the interest of national security and the successful prosecution of the war.

Stark's counsel immediately protested:

We object to bringing those documents in on the ground that the use which may be made of them in these proceedings may disclose secrets which should be held inviolate for the best prosecution of the war. Our objection is not because of what the documents themselves may contain but because their use here may compromise many years of hard work the results of which are most important to the Nation's future interest. We can have no assurance the wide publicity of parts or even all of these proceedings will not eventuate.

Stark's objection was not sustained by the Court.

En route to Hawaii, the Army Pearl Harbor Board (APHB) took testimony in San Francisco. While there, the Board's President, General George Grunert, addressed a letter to General Marshall on August 30, 1944. This letter said, in part:

Information, apparently material, has been brought to the attention of the Board, which it did not have when you testified. Hence, the Board requests that you subject yourself to a rehearing as early as possible after the Board's return to Washington, D.C., now scheduled for Sunday, September 24, 1944.

The particular subjects on which the Board would like to get additional information follow:

The letter then listed the information that Kimmel had conveyed to the APhB on August 25th.

Upon receipt of this letter, Marshall gave an “oral instruction” to Colonel Carter W. Clarke to conduct an “investigation regarding the manner in which certain Top Secret communications were handled.” This became known as Part I of the Clarke Investigation. Eight Army officers were secretly queried by Colonel Clarke and his aide on their knowledge of the MAGIC intercepts. Colonel Rufus S. Bratton, whom Marshall had recalled from Europe, appeared on four different days. He was the G-2 officer responsible for the pre-Pearl Harbor distribution of the Japanese intercepts. A written report was made to Marshall on September 20, but the investigation continued through September 28. So Marshall was prepared when he reappeared before the APhB on September 29, 1944.

Part II of the Clarke Investigation, 8 July 1945-13 August 1945, was the result of another “oral directive” by Marshall. Clarke was directed to investigate a 5 July 1945 statement by an Army officer before the Hewitt Inquiry. In reference to the “Winds Execute” message, the witness had stated:

Then, if I remember correctly, I asked Colonel Sadtler whether he had a copy, had ever gotten or seen a copy of this message, and his answer was, if I remember correctly ... that he had been told by somebody that the copies had been ordered or directed to be destroyed by General Marshall.

After questioning that witness and four Army officers, supposedly implicated, Carter Clarke, a Colonel during Part I and a Brigadier General during Part II, concluded:

I find that no written message implementing the Winds Code message was ever received by G-2, and I find that no records pertaining to Pearl Harbor have been destroyed by G-2 or by anybody connected with G-2.

Officers, not wishing to destroy their careers, denied saying what they had been reported as saying.)

Pilot Message Distribution

This brings us back to the events in the War Department during the 24 hours before the attack.

Colonel Rufus S. Bratton was the Army officer charged with the distribution of the Japanese intercepts to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and Chief of Staff, the Chief of War Plans Division and the Chief of Army Intelligence (G-2). His chief assistant was Colonel Carlisle C. Dusenbury. While the conditions of delivery of these intercepts in locked pouches would differ, the standard operating procedure, if both of these men were present, was for one to take a pouch to the State Department while the other made the deliveries within the War Department at the old Munitions Building. When deliveries were made after office hours, phone calls would be made to the residences of the recipients before attempting deliveries.

The first key Japanese intercept of this crucial period was the so-called Pilot message. This message announced that the long awaited Japanese answer to our November 26th ultimatum would shortly be transmitted by the “Purple” code in English. The Japanese Ambassadors were to put it “in nicely drafted form” and hold it for delivery at a time to be specified in a later message. The time sheet for this Pilot message shows it was intercepted by a Navy station on the West Coast from 7:15 to 7:20 a.m., East Coast time on December 6, 1941. It was teletyped in Japanese code to the Navy in Washington. The Army Signal Corps received it from the Navy more than four

hours later at 12:05 p.m. This abnormal time delay was never accounted for. It was then decoded, translated and typed by the Army's Signal Intelligence Service before delivery to the Army and Navy officer couriers.

Bratton, the Army courier, testified he received the Pilot message "around about 2 o'clock" and distributed it "that afternoon about 3 o'clock." He stated it was delivered to the full fist of persons for whom he was responsible. He recalled discussing its contents with both Generals Gerow and Miles.

When asked about receipt of the Pilot message, General Marshall at first gave an indirect answer referring to the first 13 parts of the answer to the ultimatum mentioned in the Pilot message. He admitted he was in Washington that entire day. He further admitted there was someone on duty in his office who would have known where he was. Finally, as Senator Ferguson pressed he stated: "The point is I did not receive the [Pilot] message."

General Gerow, Chief of War Plans, took a position similar to his superior. When shown the message and asked about it, he replied: "I do not recall having received that message, sir." He too had a duty officer who "knew where to reach me, sir." This duty officer could go home "but he remained at his telephone so he could be reached at any time." General Gerow "had a search made" for the duty roster but had been unable to locate it. He did testify:

I think that I was down at the office myself until 6 or 7 or 8 o'clock. Of course, that was a very busy time and we had a lot of unfinished business.

General Miles, Chief of Army Intelligence, was another matter. Testifying before the Congressional Committee, in advance of General Marshall, he stated:

We were thoroughly prepared and had been for some days to receive an unfavorable reply to the message of November 26.

As to when he first knew of it, he testified he "certainly knew it" before he left for home that Saturday. He attended a dinner party that evening at the home of Admiral Wilkinson. At a later time, Senator Ferguson asked him:

How do you account personally for the pilot message not being delivered to General Marshall, the Chief of Staff, who was the only man under his testimony that could act, he or the President or the Secretary of War, as I understand his testimony? Now how do you account ... that that was not delivered on the day it was translated?

General MILES: Senator, my answer is, first that I had every reason to believe that General Marshall did receive the locked pouch which contained this message. I heard his testimony this morning. I think he is mistaken in saying he did not receive that message on the afternoon of the 6th..

Two days later, after Marshall had returned from the White House and complete his testimony, Miles returned to the witness seat.

Senator FERGUSON: Well, you knew the pilot message- and you know what I mean by the "pilot message"-was in on the 6th?

General MILES: Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON: Did you have any reason why that was not delivered to General Marshall?

General MILES: I testified, sir, to the best of my knowledge and belief it was in the Saturday afternoon locked pouch among several other messages, which you will find were translated on that day, and that it did go to General Marshall. He does not remember seeing it.

Japan's Much-Awaited Reply

Next came the first 13 parts of Japan's 14 part reply to our ultimatum of November 26. We had known since November 22nd, that if agreement was not reached by November 29th, "things are automatically going to happen." A week had passed since that date with no agreement. The Navy's West Coast intercept station started picking up these coded parts on the morning of December 6th at 8:03 a.m. Washington, D.C. time. The first five parts were picked up by 10 a.m. and they had the first 13 parts by 11:25 a.m. They were sent in batches by teletype to the Navy in Washington.

The first four parts were received before noon and the Navy's decryption section went to work on them. The Army's section had closed down at 1 p.m. By two o'clock the Navy was swamped with work and the Army was asked to recall three of their decrypters. They came in by about three o'clock. All the first thirteen parts were in Washington by 2:51 p.m. The Army decoded parts 9 and 10 while the Navy decoded the other 11 parts. They were in English, so no translation was necessary. All thirteen parts were typed up and ready for delivery about 9 p.m.

Bratton's first testimony of record was before the Clarke Investigation on September 14, 1944. He had with him "a memorandum which I made at the time for the record." He was not then asked any question about the Pilot message. When queried on September 15, 1944, about Japan's 14 part reply, he responded:

I believe that the message started coming into the Navy on the 6th. My recollection is that I transmitted a copy to the Secretary of State that night.

There were no other questions or references to December 6, in his testimony before the Marshall-sponsored Clarke Investigation.

Bratton next appeared before the APHB on three occasions — September 30, October 2, and 6, 1944. His first appearance was the day after Marshall had testified.

Marshall had skipped over the question submitted to him in writing as to what the War Department knew on December 6, 1941. When later asked the same question orally, Marshall dodged a direct answer, referring to his testimony about December 7. He did finally say:

My understanding was-though I am not the best witness on this, and I am indulging largely in hearsay-that the major portion of that message was delivered to the Secretary of State on the night before, although I don't know.

On Bratton's first appearance before the APHB, he replied to a question concerning Japan's lengthy 14-part reply to our ultimatum:

I had had the bulk of it since the evening before, sir. It came in fourteen parts, I believe. Thirteen of those parts were received the afternoon and evening of the 6th and

were delivered by me to the office of the Chief of Staff, the A.C. of S. G-2 [Miles], the office of the Secretary of State. The last part didn't come in, as I remember, until very late at night or very early in the morning of the 7th, and it was delivered at that time to those same agencies.

On his second appearance, he was asked:

General RUSSELL: Whom did you deliver them to that night?

Colonel BRATTON: To the office of the Chief of Staff, A.C. of S. G-2; WPD [Gerow]; and the State Department. I gave the Secretary of State's copy to the watch officer in the State Department, with the request that it be gotten to Mr. Hull immediately.

He was then asked, when the President and leading Admirals had that message Saturday evening,

why it was that the Chief of Staff [Marshall] was not called and advised, as were others, that this important document had been received. In view of the tenor of its contents ... why did not the Chief of Staff get that message?

Colonel BRATTON: I cannot verify it or prove it, at this time, but my recollection is that those three officers [Generals Marshall, Miles and Gerow] got their copies the evening of the 6th.

* * * *

Colonel TOULMIN [APHB Executive Officer]: Is it your recollection that you handed that long 13-part message, on that evening, to the Secretary of the Chief of Staff?

Colonel BRATTON: Yes, sir.

Colonel TOULMIN: And it is your recollection that you handed it on that evening of December 6 to General Gerow, or some representative of General Gerow?

Colonel BRATTON: Yes.

Colonel TOULMIN: Did you hand it to General Gerow directly, or to his Secretary?

Colonel BRATTON: To his executive officer ... Colonel Gailey.

Colonel TOULMIN: And what is the name of the Secretary of the Chief of Staff?

Colonel BRATTON: Colonel Smith, Bedell Smith, now Lieutenant General

* * * *

Colonel TOULMIN: Did you talk to General Miles on the night of the 6th?

Colonel BRATTON: My recollection is that I did, sir.

Colonel TOULMIN: You talked to him on the phone, or in his office?

Colonel BRATTON: No, I believe I talked to him in his office.

* * * *

Colonel TOULMIN: And how about General Smith? Did you get any reaction from him, or any action, rather?

Colonel BRATTON: No. General Smith did not have access to these pouches. You mean General Bedell Smith?

Colonel TOULMIN: Yes.

Colonel BRATTON: He didn't have a key to the bag.

Colonel TOULMIN: Did you tell him that it was an important document in the locked pouch?

Colonel BRATTON: Yes, sir.

Colonel TOULMIN: And that the Chief of Staff should know about it?

Colonel BRATTON: Should see it right away.

Colonel TOULMIN: What was General Smith's response-that he would get in touch with the Chief of Staff, or would not?

Colonel BRATTON: It must have been, because if it had been otherwise, it would have registered on my memory.

On his third appearance before the APHB, the following interchange took place:

General RUSSELL: As I recall your testimony, you stated that you delivered it to this man Smith on Saturday night, is that correct?

Colonel BRATTON: That is correct, sir, to the best of my knowledge and belief. My recollection is that I found Colonel Smith in his office. It may have been one of the other secretaries, but my recollection is that it was Colonel Smith, and that I told him that this was a very important paper, and that General Marshall should see it at once. My recollection is that he said we would send it out to the General's quarters by courier. In any event, my mind was at rest about the Chief of Staff, I didn't worry about him any more that night.

General GRUNERT: Had this occurred frequently in the past?

Colonel BRATTON: Yes, sir.

General GRUNERT: So it was just a normal thing to say, "Here is a pouch that has got important stuff in it"?

Colonel BRATTON: No. When I thought that the Chief of Staff should see it at once, I made a point of telling Smith so, and he would say, "All right, I will sent it out by a special courier."

General GRUNERT: Did that happen very frequently?

Colonel BRATTON: It happened several times; yes, sir.

General GRUNERT: Now, about this time, most everything was important?

Colonel BRATTON: Most everything was important; and I was further urged on by the fact that if the Chief of Naval Operations ever got one of these things before General Marshall did and called him up to discuss it on the telephone with him, and the General hadn't gotten his copy, we all caught hell.

What We Knew

FROM 'THE REAL INFAMY OF PEARL HARBOR'

PERCY L. GREAVES, JR.

Before presenting the testimony relating to December 7th, it would be helpful to review the information available to Generals Marshall, Gerow and Miles as well as Secretary of War Stimson before they left their respective offices on December 6th. There was a mounting accumulation of facts and events that could not help but create an increasingly apprehensive atmosphere which called for an ever higher degree of alertness for possible Japanese action. There were a myriad of such developments, but only the highlights will be mentioned.

On November 5, 1941, Marshall and Stark signed a joint memorandum for Roosevelt in which they concluded that

The basic military policies and strategy agreed to in the United States-British Staff conversations remain sound... Military action against Japan should be undertaken only in one or more of

several contingencies. These included a Japanese movement

against the territory or mandated territory of the United States, the British Commonwealth, or the Netherlands East Indies.

It also included the movement of Japanese forces across a specified line previously described. Because of their desire for more time to build up forces in the Far East, their final recommendation was:

That no ultimatum be delivered to Japan.

That same day a MAGIC message told them that:

Because of various circumstances, it is absolutely necessary that arrangements for the signing of this agreement be completed by the 25th of this month

if Japanese-U.S. relations are to be saved

from falling into a chaotic condition.

A week later they read in MAGIC that:

the date set forth ... is absolutely immovable under present conditions. It is a definite dead-line and therefore it is essential that a settlement be reached by about that time... The situation is nearing a climax ... time is indeed becoming short.

This was further confirmed three days later when a November 15th Tokyo message closed:

The date set forth ... is an absolutely immovable one. Please, therefore, make the United States see the light, so as to make possible the signing of the agreement by that date.

A November 16 message was read on November 17, stating:

The fate of our Empire hangs by the slender thread of a few days, so please fight harder than you ever did before... I set the deadline ... and there will be no change. Please try to understand that. You see how short the time is; therefore, do not allow the United States to sidetrack us and delay the negotiations any further. Press them for a solution on the basis of our proposals, and do your best to bring about an immediate solution.

Final Deadline Set

On November 19, a MAGIC message informed them that if the U.S.-Japan diplomatic negotiations failed:

It is most probable that diplomatic relations between the two countries would be broken off immediately.

The Japanese Ambassadors in Washington sought instructions from Tokyo as to reducing Japanese personnel in the United States.

On November 22nd, the Ambassadors' plea to Tokyo for more time was answered:

It is awfully hard for us to consider changing the date we set... There are reasons beyond your ability to guess why we wanted to settle Japanese-American relations by the 25th, but if within the next three or four days you can finish your conversations with the Americans; if the signing can be completed by the 29th, (let me write it out for you-twenty-ninth); if the pertinent notes can be exchanged; if we can get an understanding with Great Britain and the Netherlands; and in short if everything can be finished, we have decided to wait until that date. This time we mean it, that the deadline absolutely cannot be changed. After that things are automatically going to happen.

Two days later, on the 24th, our top Washington officials read a Japanese intercept stating that:

The time limit set ... is in Tokyo time.

This is a day (14 hours) earlier than Washington time. On Tuesday, November 25, the War Cabinet, including Marshall and Stimson, met at the White House. Stimson's diary notes the President:

brought up entirely the relations with the Japanese. He brought up the event that we were likely to be attacked perhaps (as soon as) next Monday [December 1], for the Japanese are notorious for making an attack without warning, and the question was what we should do. The question was how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition... The others brought out the fact that any such expedition to the

South as the Japanese were likely to take would be an encirclement of our interests in the Philippines and cutting into our vital supplies of rubber from Malaysia. I pointed out to the President that he had already taken the first steps toward an ultimatum in notifying Japan way back last summer that if she crossed the border into Thailand she was violating our safety and that therefore he had only to point out (to Japan) that to follow any such expedition was a violation of a warning we had already given.

Our military and naval advisors had warned us that we could not safely allow the Japanese to move against British Malaysia or the Dutch East Indies without attempting to prevent it.

A number of Japan's intercepts were translated and circulated on November 26th. Perhaps the most informative was one sent on November 14, from Tokyo to Hong Kong and eleven other Chinese cities. It read in part:

Though the Imperial Government hopes for great things from the Japan-American negotiations, they do not permit optimism for the future. Should the negotiations collapse, the international situation in which the Empire will find herself will be one of tremendous crisis. Accompanying this, the Empire's foreign policy as it has been decided by the cabinet ... is:

- a. We will completely destroy British and American power in China.
- b. We will take over all enemy concessions and enemy important rights and interests (customs and minerals, etc.) in China...

We will cope with a world war on a long-time scale. Should our reserves for total war and our future military strength wane, we have decided to reinforce them from the whole Far Eastern area. This has become the whole fundamental policy of the Empire...

Please keep absolutely quiet the existence of these decisions and the fact that they have been transmitted to you.

On November 26, our officials read another highly interesting intercept sent the day before, probably the 24th U.S. time, from Japanese forces poised at Hanoi to Tokyo:

We are advised by the military that we are to have a reply from the United States on the 25th. If this is true, no doubt the Cabinet will make a decision between peace and war within the next day or two ...

Should ... the negotiations not end in a success, since practically all preparations for the campaign have been completed, our forces shall be able to move within the day...

State Department Surrenders

On November 26th, that same day, Roosevelt summoned Hull to the White House and, without consulting his military and naval advisors, authorized Hull to hand the Japanese Ambassadors an ultimatum to Japan that it was known Japan could not accept.

On November 27, Hull told Stimson:

I have washed my hands of it and it is now in the hands of you and Knox-the Army and the Navy.

Stimson then checked with Roosevelt, consulted with Knox, Stark and Hull, before preparing with Gerow a message “we shall send to MacArthur” over Marshall’s signature. A similar message was incidentally sent to Hawaii.

It was also the date of a joint Marshall-Stark memorandum to FDR, the Commander in Chief that stated:

If the current negotiations end without agreement, Japan may attack: the Burma Road; Thailand; Malaya; the Netherlands East Indies; the Philippines; the Russian Maritime Provinces.

Marshall and Stark again asked for more time until more men and materiel reached the Philippines. However, they stood by their agreements with the British and Dutch, while asking that a joint British-American warning be sent to Japan if she should advance into Thailand.

November 28 brought alarming indications that Japan was getting ready for action. A telephone conversation the day before between the Tokyo Foreign Office and one of the Japanese Ambassadors was taped, translated and decoded. It told us that “a crisis does appear imminent.” That same day, FDR and his War Cabinet also read a Tokyo cable to Japan’s Washington Ambassadors. This cable revealed Japan’s highly negative reaction to our ultimatum of the 26th.

Well, you two Ambassadors have exerted superhuman efforts but, in spite of this, the United States has gone ahead and presented this humiliating proposal. This was quite unexpected and extremely regrettable. The Imperial Government can by no means use it as a basis for negotiations. Therefore, with a report of the views of the Imperial Government on this American proposal which I will send you in two or three days, the negotiations will be de facto ruptured. This is inevitable. However, I do not wish you to give the impression that the negotiations are broken off. Merely say to them that you are awaiting instructions... From now on do the best you can.

The reports from the Philippines about the Japanese expeditionary force moving south were so alarming to Stimson on November 28th that he personally took them to FDR in the White House. 25,000 Japanese troops were going to land somewhere. Later that day, there was a meeting of the War Cabinet at the White House. Stimson’s diary reports:

It was now the opinion of everyone that if this expedition was allowed to get around the southern point of Indochina and go off and land in the Gulf of Siam, either at Bangkok or further west, it would be a terrific blow at all of the three Powers, Britain at Singapore, the Netherlands, and ourselves in the Philippines. It was the consensus of everybody that this must not be allowed. Then we discussed how to prevent it. It was agreed that if the Japanese got into the Isthmus of Kra, the British would fight. It was also agreed that if the British fought, we would have to fight...

It further became a consensus ... that the only thing for us to do was to address it a warning that if it reached a certain place, or a certain line, or a certain point, we should have to fight.

On Saturday, November 29th, Hull met with the British Ambassador. He informed him that he had told our Army and Navy officials that the diplomatic phase “was virtually over.” Then “speaking in great confidence” he said

that Japan may move suddenly and with every possible element of surprise and spread out over considerable areas.

On Monday, December 1st, the recipients of MAGIC read a Tokyo to Berlin message that stated:

The conversations begun between Tokyo and Washington last April ... now stand ruptured-broken... In the face of this, our Empire faces a grave situation and must act with determination. Will Your Honor, therefore, immediately interview Chancellor HITLER and Foreign Minister RIBBENTROP and confidentially communicate to them a summary of the developments... Say very secretly to them that there is extreme danger that war may suddenly break out between the Anglo-Saxon nations and Japan through some clash of arms and add that the time of the breaking out of this war may come quicker than anyone dreams...

Say that by our present moves southward we do not mean to relax our pressure against the Soviet and that if Russia joins hands tighter with England and the United States and resists us with hostilities, we are ready to turn upon her with all our might; however, right now, it is to our advantage to stress the south and for the time being we would prefer to refrain from any direct moves in the north.

That same day we read Tokyo's instructions for her embassies in London, Hong Kong, Singapore and Manila to destroy their code machines while Washington was informed on how to destroy theirs by chemical means.

On Tuesday, December 2nd, these matters were all discussed at the White House, including proposed FDR messages to Congress and the Japanese Emperor. Stimson met with Marshall, Miles and Gerow concerning their attempts to speed up supplies to the Philippines. Stimson cancelled an out-of-town engagement “in order to stay in Washington over the week end.”

Japan's Moves Known

On Wednesday, December 3rd, our War Cabinet read Tokyo's instructions to her Washington Ambassadors to destroy one of their two “Purple” machines and certain other codes. As a result, G-2's Bratton sent a man to observe the Japanese Embassy and confirm the fact that papers were being burned. As Bratton later testified, this “meant that time was running out and the approach of the crisis.”

On Thursday, December 4th, we ordered our representatives in Tokyo, Bangkok, Peiping, Tientsin and Shanghai to destroy our top code system. Guam was told to “destroy all secret and confidential publications and other classified matter” with minor exceptions which they should “Be prepared to destroy instantly in event of emergency.” The “Winds Execute” message, about which there has been so much controversy, was received. This indicated Japan's break with the United States and Great Britain, but not Russia.

On Friday, December 5th, our War Cabinet read a December 1 Tokyo order to her London Embassy to dispose of its code machine and to report back when that was done.

Saturday, December 6, produced more evidence that Japan was on the move. On that date we first read a circular MAGIC message of December 2, in which Japan ordered her diplomatic representatives abroad to start “the burning of all their telegraphic codes.” That order had been issued to all Japanese officials in North America and the South Seas, as well as those in British and Netherlands territories. Our War Cabinet also read a Japanese December 3rd Rome to Tokyo message reporting on a meeting of Japan’s Ambassador with Mussolini in which Mussolini was asked if Japan declared “war on the United States and Great Britain ... would Italy do likewise immediately? Mussolini replied: ‘Of course.’” That same Saturday morning the members of our War Cabinet read a Japanese December 5th Washington to Tokyo message stating, “We have completed destruction of codes” except for the one “Purple” machine needed for receiving the expected reply to the United States ultimatum of November 26.

Still more alarming were the reports from both Admiral Hart in the Philippines and the British, via London, that large Japanese convoys had been seen moving south. Even more alerting was the report that at least one of these convoys had crossed the line which Marshall and Stark had on November 27 told Roosevelt was “a threat to Burma and Singapore., In that case the

“United States, British and Dutch military authorities in the Far East [had] agreed that joint military counter-action against Japan should be undertaken.”

The End Approaches

Our War Cabinet members also read Tokyo’s orders for the departure from the United States of certain important Japanese nationals. Then, on Saturday afternoon, December 6, the intercepted Pilot message informed those privy to MAGIC that the long awaited Japanese reply to our ultimatum would soon be on its way from Tokyo, to be held for delivery at a specified time. As we had learned on November 22, that specified time would undoubtedly be when “things are automatically going to happen.”

The 14 part reply began coming in that Saturday afternoon, December 6th. At the White House, a young Navy Lieutenant was detailed to remain after hours to deliver to Roosevelt material “of such importance that the President expected to receive it.” The Lieutenant was told that “during the evening Captain Kramer would bring up some “magic” material and that I was to take it and give it immediately to the President.” Meanwhile, the President was busy redrafting a face saving message which went off to the Japanese Emperor at 9 p.m., with an announcement to the press.

At the War Department, the urgency that Saturday afternoon was such that several Army cryptographers were summoned from their homes to expedite the decoding of the anxiously awaited Japanese reply. To keep him informed of important developments, Marshall had Colonels on duty around the clock at his office and orderlies at his residence up to 10 p.m. or, when he was out, until he returned. His office, home and bedside had secure telephones passing through the White House switchboard. Yet, according to Marshall’s original testimony before the JCC, he wanted the world to believe that he, like Stark, was unaware of all this quickening of developments crying out for his attention and action.

The first time Stark and Marshall testified, each, in turn, implied that he was following his usual Sunday morning activities and weekend routine. As Marshall stated it, “the probability is” that he was at home on Saturday evening and that he took his habitual horseback ride on Sunday morning. Stark had no memory whatsoever as to where he was that Saturday night. As regards the time of his arrival at his Navy Department office on Sunday, December 7, 1941, Stark’s first reply was:

I usually got down to the office on Sunday mornings around 10:30 or 11 o'clock. I was lazy on Sunday mornings unless there was some special reason for getting up early. I usually took a walk around the grounds and greenhouse at the Chief of Naval Operations' quarters and didn't hurry about getting down and my usual time, as I recall, was about 10:30 or 11. What time it was that particular Sunday morning I couldn't go beyond that.

The memory of a member of Stark's December 6 theater party forced Stark to revise his earlier testimony that he did not know his whereabouts that Saturday evening or recall the fact that Roosevelt had asked him to phone late that night. Stark thus learned there was a "special reason for getting up early" that Sunday morning. Testimonies of subordinates placed him in his office as early as 9 a.m. or a few minutes later. Unfortunately, no witness enlightened the JCC as to the actual whereabouts of Marshall during many of these crucial hours.

Where Was General Marshall?

SOME NEW VIEWS AND CONTRIBUTIONS RELATIVE TO THE ONGOING MYSTERY OF PEARL HARBOR.*

JAMES J. MARTIN

We have been solemnly assured even in our own day that gossip is part of history. We find it from Thucydides to Tacitus; Suetonius' *History of the Twelve Caesars* is liberally seasoned with gossip. And some of the most graceful and elegant gossip ever committed to posterity is to be found in Plutarch.

Apparently it is an almost inescapable part of any episode which persists in remaining cloudy as to origins or content regardless of efforts to penetrate to the core of the affair by assemblage or analysis of facts. Perhaps there is more excuse for gossip in classical accounts, when the writing of such often took place many years after the events described, by which time some of the sources may have disappeared, and could not be examined. There is undoubtedly less excuse for it now. But we have events all the time which result in such circumstances, with any number of reasons prevailing to help explain either why there is a mystery, or why none should prevail.

The real burden of holding up under gossip bears most heavily upon those who wish to maintain sweet and innocent versions of the past which they dearly love, despite being faced by all manner of harsh and discordant facts which simply do not fit, and cannot be reconciled with the original or desired accounts. This is the predicament of all history which must deal in subsequent times with uncomfortable disclosures and discoveries, resulting either in the noticeable alteration of the original narratives, or subjecting them to deep suspicions and discount if they are able to withstand the uncomfortable heat of contradiction. And if this defense of official versions cannot come to terms with new facts or the uncovering of old ones, or discrepancies caused by lack of supporting documentary evidence, then gossip and its cousin rumor fills the space resulting from the failure of the upholders of prior rectitude to account for their inability to reinforce their credibility with anything but bluster, ad *hominem* criticism of their challengers, or the employment of devious and diversionary maneuvers intended to draw attention away from the problem. Like legal processes, history, when it cannot stand on documentary evidence, relapses and tries to make do by the substitution of testimony and opinion.

As we approach our own time, however, there are many complications which do not face those who are mainly concerned with the more distant past. One may write with relative ease of a time from which no one survives, and be guided only by respect for the sources, there being no one to issue heated challenges to one's product as a consequence of feeling injured by the account thus rendered. This state of affairs grows from residues of political significance which may still survive even if the events under question are many decades old. And the partisans of a person or policy surviving the demise of the actual participants become a veritable interest-group-industry in trying to perpetuate a memory and version more felicitous to their state of mind and wellbeing. Hence a clash is inevitable when those interested in the events too, come upon the scene unencumbered by the emotional and political baggage which marks the position of the defenders of an

established narrative. The case of the late General George C. Marshall and his connections with the drama of the Pearl Harbor attack of December 7, 1941 can hardly be surpassed as an example of this phenomenon.

Despite an immense volume of print which has been inspired and stimulated by the complicated events transpiring, we still do not know much of anything, and in some cases, nothing at all, concerning some of the actions or whereabouts of Gen. Marshall for most of the 24 hours which elapsed between roughly noon of Dec. 6 and the same hour on Dec. 7. This is of immense significance, since Gen. Marshall was Army Chief of Staff and as such directly in charge operationally over all Army affairs, which included the command at Pearl Harbor. This fact is at the center of the entire incident, and should be clearly emphasized at the outset, lest the usual muddiness prevail as to what the situation was. Percy Greaves, Jr., summarized the command situation in the following way in his expert chapter titled "The Pearl Harbor Investigations," in the symposium edited by Harry Elmer Barnes, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1953), pp. 409-410:

The Pacific Fleet was subject to orders of the Chief of Naval Operations [Adm. Harold R. Stark, in 1941] in Washington, but when it was in *Pearl Harbor, the Army was charged with its protection*. The Hawaiian Army Commander [Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short] took orders directly only from the Chief of Staff [Gen. Marshall], the Secretary of War, [Henry L. Stimson], or the President of the United States [Franklin D. Roosevelt]. (Emphasis added.)

It will be seen, therefore, that the commander of the Pacific Fleet, which was based at Pearl Harbor beginning in April, 1940, and under Adm. Husband E. Kimmel beginning in January, 1941, had some defensive duties. But he and the Fleet were there largely to make ready *offensive* actions against the Japanese in the Pacific, in liaison with the Dutch and British navies in particular, as well as the naval forces of Australia, contingent upon various possible Japanese actions in this vast area.

All of this grew out of the very secret ("Rainbow") agreements which emerged from the joint strategy talks in Singapore, January-April, 1941. What Adm. Kimmel's *real job* with the Pacific Fleet was, in this context, was put on the record via the testimony of Adm. Richmond Kelley Turner before the board of inquiry conducted by Adm. Thomas C. Hart between mid-February and mid-June, 1944 (see Greaves, *Perpetual War*, pp. 421-422.) Knowledge of his duties undoubtedly played a big part in the official Navy Court of Inquiry (July-October, 1944) finding Adm. Kimmel innocent of any dereliction of duty during the events leading up to and through the attack of Dec. 7, 1941. (For an insight into how far political partisanship can go in covering up the truth, one should consult the observations on the infamous way in which the Roberts Commission went about its blackening of Adm. Kimmel, in the latter's own book on the entire business, *Admiral Kimmel's Story* [Chicago: Regnery, 1954], pp. 146-185. This should be supplemented by consulting the report of the interview with Adm. Kimmel by the Associated Press in December, 1966, published in varying length here and there about the country, e.g., *Denver Post*, Dec. 7, 1966.)

Part of the difficulty in sorting out the various elements in the Pearl Harbor situation prior to the day of the attack stems from what may be called the "From Here to Eternity" syndrome, a reference to the famed moving picture of 1953, based on the novel of the same name by the late James Jones. This movie, now made much worse in a re-filming which reduces the pre-attack total scene in Hawaii to a monstrous soap opera, did much to induce the hazy ignorance as to what the situation was in the closing weeks of 1941. One gets from this much-shown picture that an

aura of lazy unconcern with the world at war was the order of the day and that the Navy was simply there for a casual vacation, while the Army was involved in even more trivial diversions. One absorbs the impression that all were there to indulge in sexual peccadillos and mild dissipation, with nothing on their minds except a succession of empty dinner parties for the officers and opportunities for drunken forays into Honolulu for the enlisted men.

However, since the picture dwelled mainly upon the empty distractions consuming the Army, and hardly involved the other services, lost entirely is the purpose of the Fleet being in Hawaii in the first place. There is not the faintest allusion to its preparation for likely attack on the Japanese, or even a single reference to the general situation in the Pacific. The casual atmosphere of scatter-brained lightheartedness allegedly prevailing there conveyed by this film helps to ingrain among its viewers a possible desired propagandist attitude, reinforcing the conviction that the eventual attack truly was totally unexpected, and unprepared for, thus sanctifying Roosevelt's pious "day of infamy" rhetoric and rendering those exposed uninclined to consider any other view of the entire affair later on, when sobriety returned to temper hysteria. Moving pictures may be entertainment, but it is a rare one devoid of political messages.

That Adm. Kimmel was not empowered to engage in unilateral actions regardless of the situation, but had to await directions from Gen. Short, based on prior orders from Washington from either Stimson or Marshall, was already demonstrated in the case of the famous "warning" to Hawaii purportedly emanating from Marshall (his name was appended to the message, at least) of November 27, 1941, in which Gen. Short was the addressee, with instructions further to establish liaison with the Navy, in effecting a sabotage alert at the combined Pearl Harbor facilities.

The Base had promptly been placed on such an alert, and there it remained to the moment of the bombing on the morning of December 7. (There has recently been a curious diversion related to this subject growing out of the Burns Oral History Project at the University of Hawaii headed by Stuart Gerry Brown. In the transcripts of portions of Tapes #2, #5 and #6, former Gov. Burns seemed to recall that his informant on the upcoming attack on Pearl Harbor, Robert L. Shivers, the FBI's agent in charge in Honolulu, was supposed to have gone to the Pearl Harbor commanders with this information, though no evidence ever surfaced that he ever did, or even mentioned his special knowledge before the Roosevelt-handpicked whitewash Roberts Commission, before which he testified. Burns could not understand where Shivers got this information, though one might suspect that the Bureau may have acquired such intelligence in New York from their liaison work with British intelligence headed by Sir William Stephenson, who had full access to Purple "Magic" via their cracking of the analog of Purple, the German "Ultra" code. British possession of a Purple machine in London from January, 1941 on surely did not get in their way, either. (One should consult William Stevenson, *A Man Called Intrepid* [New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1976] for a revelation of some of the interaction between American-based British intelligence and the FBI prior to U.S. formal involvement in World War II.)

This British connection was originally established by testimony of William F. Friedman, who headed the Army cryptanalytical team which first broke the Japanese Purple code in August, 1940, largely as a consequence of the work of Harry L. Clark, before the top-secret inquiries conducted by Col. (later Gen.) Carter W. Clarke for the War Department in September, 1944 (see Greaves, *Perpetual War*, p. 475.) However, in view of the chain of command prevailing, it does not seem that a visit by Shivers to either Adm. Kimmel or Gen. Short would have done much of anything other than stimulating a barrage of telephone calls and telegrams back and forth between Honolulu and Washington, with the Pearl Harbor commanders' superiors in the latter city becoming quietly hysterical over how Shivers and the FBI might have acquired such intelligence.)

We may now get on properly to an attempt to find the trail of Gen. Marshall, dividing the time span involved into three segments: 1) the afternoon of Dec. 6; 2) the evening of Dec. 6-7; 3) the morning of Dec. 7. Shortly after noon on the 6th there took place the interception of the so-called “pilot message” sent by the Japanese to their Washington embassy, announcing that a long communication, in 14 parts, was about to be sent to them, which was to be presented to the American Secretary of State the next day under conditions to be relayed later. A few moments after receiving this news, in his office in the old Munitions Building (the Pentagon did not exist in 1941), Gen. Marshall disappeared, and was not seen again until the following morning, at 9 a.m., 10 a.m., or around 11:30 a.m., depending on which testimony one wants to accept.

At the moment of learning of the “pilot message,” asserted Captain Joseph J. Rochefort, chief of Naval Combat Intelligence at Pearl Harbor from June, 1941 on, and the key figure in the cracking of the Japanese naval code which led to the U.S. naval victory of the battle of Midway in the spring of 1942, Gen. Marshall, instead of disappearing, should have been on the scrambler telephone to Gen. Short in Honolulu. In a number of conversations with Capt. Rochefort in which this writer took part, in the mutual company of Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, in the 1960s at Redondo Beach, Calif., it was asserted by Capt. Rochefort, though professing to be ignorant of the famous “Winds Execute” message of Dec. 4 wherein the Japanese had announced to their diplomatic people around the world a situation which could hardly be interpreted as anything but a coming declaration of war on the U.S., disguised in a false weather report, that he too was convinced that what was coming through the 6th was a sure prelude to a formal announcement of the breaking of diplomatic relations. And with Pearl Harbor still on sabotage alert since Nov. 27, the Base was in grave danger if an *attack* were to follow, with aircraft and naval vessels still bunched up in various concentration points, in accordance with sabotage alert procedures. (That the aircraft carriers, heavy cruisers and submarines were not there at the time of the attack was a fortunate break.)

But Gen. Marshall executed one of the most famous disappearing acts in history instead. Testifying before the joint Congressional Committee investigating the Pearl Harbor attack during the second week of December, 1945, Gen. Marshall declared under oath that he could not recall where he was the rest of Dec. 6 four years earlier, surely a day of major importance in his life. His memory was later “refreshed” by his wife, Katharine Tupper Marshall, resulting in the conclusion that he had been with her, through the evening. Her engagement book, indicating they had not been anywhere else, presumably was the evidence, though, strangely enough, in her book *Together* (Atlanta: Tupper and Love, 1946), published the following year, she did not say that. She spoke of returning to their quarters at Fort Myer, Va., the evening of the 6th, but she did not say the General was with her, or was already there when she got home, or that he came in later in the evening. Nothing was said about his presence until she commented on him having breakfast with her the morning of the 7th, about which more later. Though Gen. Marshall’s comments were confused, even with the support of his wife’s engagement book, by default, there still is no positive statement on his part as to whether he was home or not.

Though all of Gen. Marshall’s strongest contemporary supporters flinch from making this positive statement as to his whereabouts, also, this does not faze his very formidable hagiographer, Forrest C. Pogue, who, in Chapter 10 of Volume II of what has been emphasized as the only *official* Marshall biography (George C. Marshall: *Ordeal and Hope, 1939-1942*; New York: Viking, 1966), flatly declares the General was home all evening with his wife. He presents no evidence or citation for that declaration; we are supposed to take his word for it (*Ordeal and Hope*, p. 223).

For those who are not impressed with Pogue, and they exist, the absence of any solid documentary evidence of his whereabouts has led to the other areas which make up history: testimony and opinion. How much of this is plain gossip or speculation, regardless of point of origin, is unmeasurable, but durable.

Pogue, the reverent curator of the George C. Marshall Research Library for years, and now Director of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Institute for Historical Research, from the small mountain of official papers over which he presides, has been unable, apparently, to find anything at all to substantiate where Gen. Marshall spent the time from shortly after noon on Dec. 6 to around 9-11 a.m. the next day. In the meantime, some have volunteered suggestions. There is one account which tries to place him at a dinner reunion of fellow graduates of the Virginia Military Institute. There have been those who have ruminated out loud that Gen. Marshall spent into the early morning hours of the 7th hiding somewhere in the White House under Pres. Roosevelt's protection. One long-held account maintained he spent Dec. 7 morning at the airport in Washington as part of the welcoming committee greeting the arrival of Maxim Litvinov, Stalin's new ambassador representing the Soviet Union, though this proved to be based on false information derived from a worshipful biography of Litvinov, later, by a specialist in Iranian art and a dogged admirer of the USSR, Arthur Upham Pope. There is still another, in an oral tradition among retired Army intelligence who are still too frightened to reveal their identity, who insist Gen. Marshall was a "closet dipsomaniac," and could not be found the evening of Dec. 6, 1941 because he was being treated for over-indulgence at the Walter Reed hospital, presumably masked by a false identity in the hospital admissions log.

Of course, there is not a shred of documentary evidence for any of these, but the persistence of a lack of explanation for the legendary mysterious absence of Gen. Marshall from all of normal channels of association and communication for a man that prominent has lent encouragement to those stories. For those who are devoted to the veneration of Important People, these are horrendous, unmentionable things even to think about, even though they are not yet punishable as offenses against "the officially established and sanctioned opinions of the State," shall we say, as are certain views in West Germany on various aspects of wartime history, 1939-1945. But they are perfectly valid "questions" to advance about someone else's heroes, in the time honored manner as a further example of the whose-ox-is-being-gored department. Perhaps this irreverence may have useful consequences in times to come. An audience ready to accept the recent accounts of the sexual adventures of both Pres. and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, let alone those of Pres. John F. Kennedy, may in due time come to terms with the revelation of the real whereabouts of Gen. George C. Marshall during the 24 hours preceding the Pearl Harbor attack, though this will obviously be something of a far different order than the matters mentioned above, if it ever takes place.

Shortly after Gen. Marshall vanished early Saturday afternoon, Dec. 6, the Japanese Memorandum #902 from Tokyo began to come in, and while the Japanese Embassy in Washington was busy taking it down, unknown to them, the American intelligence systems were doing the same, and converting it into English somewhat faster. And this had catastrophic consequences. The combined Army and Navy team of code-breakers were not only more successful than the Japanese Embassy people in coming up with an English language version of this memorandum, and well ahead of the latter. The difficulties of the Embassy decoders led to a delay in furnishing their diplomats with a version in time to make the scheduled presentation at the State Department, compounding their problem with accusations of planned deceit to cover the air attack on Hawaii as a consequence.

But this legend does not fit with the facts. Even the Japanese educator-historian Saburo Ienaga, though bitterly hostile to the Japanese regime which took Japan into war with the U.S.A., exonerates them of the almost universally-held notion in the U.S.A. that they had “planned a perfidious attack without any prior warning.” This is “incorrect,” Ienaga flatly declared. It was the Japanese government’s clear intention to notify the State Department “immediately before the attack” at Pearl Harbor that diplomatic relations were considered broken, but this formal notice was delayed because “they had difficulty with the last long message from Tokyo.” (Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978, p. 136. This book was first published in Japanese language in Tokyo in 1968.)

Ladislav Farago in his *The Broken Seal* (New York: Random House, 1967), the most recent heavily-documented pro-Administration apologia and diversionary effort, frankly admitted it was the Japanese Embassy’s inefficiency in failing to have the 14-part message in acceptable English in time for delivery to Sec. of State Cordell Hull, as originally promised, and not a part of some devilish “sneak attack” plot, though the latter misconception persists as the almost universal American belief.

What is really repelling about the drama in the offices of the State Department early in the afternoon of Dec. 7, 1941 was the fakery of Sec. Hull in pretending to read what was tendered him by the Japanese diplomats Nomura and Kurusu, and then launching into a diatribe of billingsgate aimed at these two, intended more for the record than anything else. Like everyone else privileged to read “Magic,” Hull had already seen this message, thanks to the more speedy efforts of U.S. intelligence. Therefore, his whole performance was far more theater than it was the execution of his duties as a diplomat, and his simulated sense of outrage simply another contribution to the tight little scheme of propaganda being built around the entire incident by the Administration, to make themselves look like aggrieved innocent victims and the Japanese sinister, scheming deceivers. It worked in precisely that way, and the American public responded in a manner which must rank close to the top as an achievement of a propagandist’s dream, probably unequalled in the history of devious statecraft.

Work on the Memorandum #902 was originally begun by Navy Communications Intelligence under the direction of Capt. Laurance F. Safford shortly after noon on the 6th, but the Army was eventually brought in to help out. This was no brief or routine communique. It went on for pages, amounting to well over 3000 words. Rather than being a catalog of “infamous falsehoods,” as Sec. Hull raged, for public consumption, it was a sober and restrained summary of the Far East situation, from the Japanese point of view, and stating why they thought further attempts to negotiate the crisis in the Pacific were not worth continuing. Had Sec. Hull and his subordinates had to compose a similar memorandum, there are grave doubts that they could have come up with something less inflammatory in tone or more subdued in emphasis. It is significant that the U.S. public was not allowed to read the text of this fateful diplomatic paper at that time, which would have put to the test of critical appraisal whether or not it was a tissue of lies, as Hull succeeded in getting nearly all to believe, sight unseen. (What purports to be the entire memorandum, including the 14th part, received early Sunday a.m., the 7th, can be found in *The “Magic” Background of Pearl Harbor* [8 vols., Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977, Vol. IV Appendix, pp. A-130-A-134.] This ponderous gathering of intelligence derived from the secret cracking of the Japanese “Purple” diplomatic code has finally been made available for students of the year before American entry into the Pacific War, but gives the appearance of having been well-laundered and bleached, or “sanitized,” as the euphemism goes in document-verification circles.)

Memorandum #902 was decoded and in an English-language version ready for distribution around 9 p.m. the evening of Dec. 6. Now began the activities connected with its distribution. And Gen. Marshall enters the front row once more, as a prime receiver of a copy, but whom no one could locate in order to deliver it to him. Thirteen of the fourteen parts were in, and, according to Farago, the Navy delivered six copies, typed up on official Navy message forms, to Col. Rufus S. Bratton, Chief of Army Intelligence, Far East Section. According to the procedure in effect that week, it was the Navy's job to get "Magic" (translated copies of "Purple" code intercepts) to the President, among others, while the Army was entrusted with seeing that the Secretary of State and the Chief of Staff, among others, received copies.

At this point, the story splinters and nearly disintegrates. Col. Bratton told so many conflicting stories, some of them under oath before various Pearl Harbor investigations, that they cannot be clearly understood yet. Those he told off the record in subsequent times were even more puzzling. But the upshot of them all is that he failed to encounter Gen. Marshall at all, and it is unverified that he managed to deliver a copy to anyone even close to Gen. Marshall, despite claiming that he did so in delivering a copy to the Secretary of the General Staff, Col. (later Gen.) Walter Bedell Smith. Smith later filed an affidavit in 1945 denying that he had even been in the Munitions Building when Col. Bratton allegedly arrived there and purportedly left Gen. Marshall's copy for delivery to the General when he could be located. (Smith later was to become Chief of Staff himself, in the Eisenhower presidency.)

We do know, however, that Pres. Roosevelt [1] received a copy, and we are told that he shortly thereafter frantically tried to locate Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations. Why he should have done that, if a warning to Pearl Harbor was on his mind, escapes understanding. Contacting Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, Adm. Stark's superior, might have made more sense. However, warnings to Pearl Harbor were already stipulated as having to emanate from the office of the Chief of Staff, not the Chief of Naval Operations, keeping in mind that the protection of the Fleet and the Base was the Army's job, not the Navy's. Therefore, Pres. Roosevelt should have been looking for Gen. Marshall in great agitation, not Adm. Stark, or Gen. Marshall's superior, Sec. of War Henry L. Stimson, for sure. But we do not learn from any source that Pres. Roosevelt tried to locate Gen. Marshall anytime during the night of Dec. 6, and though it was plain from the context of the 13-part message in hand that a diplomatic rupture, at least, was soon to occur, no one lifted a finger at that moment to call or wire Gen. Short in Honolulu. In view of the above, it may seem to some that it might be more fundamental to ask where Sec. of War Stimson, Gen. Marshall's superior, was during the crisis of the night of Dec. 6, and why he was not enlisted in the effort to find Gen. Marshall, to tell him of the ominous context of this latest message, and have him direct Gen. Short, and through him, Adm. Kimmel, to reverse the sabotage alert under which the Base was operating, and replace it with an attack alert, which was the reverse, a wide dispersal of all important operational factors, especially planes and ships. Yet no one located Gen. Marshall all the rest of the night, either, even though Pogue tells us that an orderly was at Gen. Marshall's quarters "to take calls." In a succinct comment on the lapses of the Congressional investigation of Pearl Harbor, especially in neglecting to call at least forty important witnesses who could have added immensely to what we were to know about the entire event, Greaves (*Perpetual War*, p. 459) mentioned specifically this aide to Gen. Marshall, who presumably was on duty at least until 10 p.m. the night of Dec. 6, and might at least have been able to report if the General had arrived home by that time. (In later hearsay, Gen. Marshall was supposed to have been overheard telling Sen. Alben W. Barkley of the majority side of the Congressional Committee investigating the Pearl Harbor attack that he could not tell anyone where he had been the night of Dec. 6 because it would have got Pres. Roosevelt in trouble, meaning, presumably, the President's memory, Mr. Roosevelt having died seven months before the investigation hearings began.)

We now come to the early morning hours of Dec. 7, and the picture becomes a little more cloudy. In Mrs. Marshall's book *Together* (subtitled *Annals of an Army Wife*) she reported that the General had breakfast with her, eating from a tray at her bedside, she being indisposed as a result of breaking four ribs in an accident a few days before (the General is reported to have thought that she spent the entire day of Dec. 6 helping out at "an old-clothes sale," a rather wearying chore for someone with four broken ribs, it would seem.) She did not say anything about his whereabouts prior to the bedside breakfast. Pogue reports a different story on Marshall's breakfast, taken alone, and an hour later than usual, though both stories agree the General proceeded to go thereafter on his customary Sunday morning horseback ride, certainly one of the most fateful canters in history. We still have not been told the time this took place, and over the years we have been treated to two accounts of where it took place. The earliest generation of Administration apologists for Gen. Marshall's non-presence in his office Sunday morning, when everyone was allegedly looking for him, explained that he had been riding in Rock Creek Park, and those who knew nothing about this place were led to assume that it was so inaccessible that while there the General was virtually incommunicado. But that was soon blown away after the publication of the booklet *Pearl Harbor* (1946) by Charles Sweeny, one of the earliest skeptics over the entire Pearl fable. Sweeny pointed out that Rock Creek Park was really little more than "a narrow gully" running through "the heart of the residential district of Washington," and that it was only a half mile wide, with all its trails clearly visible from its ridges. A courier from the War Department could probably have contacted Gen. Marshall in a few minutes, using a motorcycle. But this account quietly shifted a later years, the ride then supposedly taking place on the Virginia side of the Potomac, and presumably occupying 50 minutes or more, according to the General's later recollections, as recorded by Pogue (*Ordeal and Hope*, p. 227).

It was followed by a return to quarters, a shower and dressing prior to the trip to the Munitions Building office. When did all this take place? It would seem that it would have had to have happened quite early. Though the Administration apologia had Gen. Marshall appearing at his office only at around 11:20 a.m., two other officers in sworn testimony declared they had seen him or were in his company in his office or that of someone else well before that time. Commander (later Adm.) Arthur N. McCollum, head of Naval Intelligence's Far Eastern desk, twice declared, once under oath, that the General, accompanied by an aide, had come to Adm. Stark's office around 9 a.m., and Col. (later Gen.) John R. Deane asserted he saw Gen. Marshall in the latter's office an hour later. However, the official legend rolls on, and in Pogue's masterpiece of official chronicling we find Gen. Marshall leisurely wandering on to the premises close to 11:30, a story dating back to the very first efforts at fabricating an innocent record for the Chief of Staff. By that time he was presumably the last of ten prominent political and military figures to read the Japanese Memorandum #902 *in toto*, something which Pogue thinks is almost commendatory (one may leave out here the possibility suggested by revisionists that Gen. Marshall's casual attitude toward this critically-important document, with its sophisticated implications of a state of war immediately impending, was due to his already having read it, or at least its first 13 parts, sometime in the previous evening.) Nevertheless, the tale told in the closing four pages of Pogue's chapter 10, "The Fatal Week," in *Ordeal and Hope*, is one of such unbelievable ignorance and innocence on the part of Gen. Marshall that one can conclude that perhaps it is a version of the past intended for a child's history of this grim and dramatic morning.

The picture that Pogue leaves with us, of a composed, almost diffident General Marshall, making his measured way about among several agitated, loud-speaking and near-hysteric subordinates and associates, is indeed charming, but the aspect involving his attitude of mystification as to the significance of the Japanese memorandum's content and further puzzlement over the import of the delivery-time of 1 p.m. at the State Department strikes especially hollow. If there was one man in the land who knew more of what the situation was all about than Gen. Marshall, it would

be a prodigious task to pick him out. The direction of the Administration's entire drive since late July, 1941 was obvious to many who hardly knew anything about American statecraft, diplomacy and intelligence, let alone one who had total access to the entire substance of Japanese confidential discourse and planning. The circumstances of late morning, Dec. 7, 1941, were such that hardly anyone in Gen. Marshall's position would have labored and pondered more than a minute over the implications of this lengthy piece of "Magic" in his hands.

The insubstantial portrait of Gen. Marshall at this critical moment clashes in total contradiction with that revealed nearly a quarter of a century later by Robert Sherrod, who attained great prominence as a combat reporter in the Pacific War on a par with Clark Lee and Ernie Pyle. Sherrod, in his memoir in the symposium *I Can Tell It Now* (New York: Dutton, 1964), [2] disclosed a completely different Marshall, who called together a very secret meeting of seven trusted Washington correspondents early in the morning of Saturday, Nov. 15, 1941, just over three weeks before the attack on Hawaii. Gen. Marshall explained that his purpose in calling together this hush-hush seance was to tell the attendants that the U.S. was "on the brink of war with Japan," (this was a week and half before Sec. of State Hull's brusque "ultimatum"), and that America's position prior to it was "highly favorable," because "We know what they know about us, and they don't know that we know it," a roundabout way of telling the reporters the consequences of "Magic," but concealing from them that the Japanese diplomatic traffic divulged that they were vigorously seeking an accommodation with the U.S.A., and trying their best to escape involvement in a war with America. And Gen. Marshall further seemingly outlined to them Adm. Kimmel's real mission at Pearl Harbor by confiding to them that "We are preparing for an offensive war against Japan."

But when one reads Sherrod's account in its entirety, it reveals a Marshall so abysmally ignorant of the realities of Pacific geography that one may wonder what was going on in the War Plans Division under his trusted underling, Gen. Leonard T. Gerow. When questioned by one of his handpicked journalists as to what part the Navy was scheduled to play in this coming offensive war against Japan, Sherrod quoted Gen. Marshall as saying, " 'the grand strategy doesn't include the use of much naval force.' " Gen. Marshall, said Sherrod, stated that "he believed that our [the Army's] bombers could do the trick against Japan's Navy and Japan's cities 'without the use of our shipping.' " Were Sherrod not such a trusted member of the official reportage team and rewarded so many times for his faithful description of the war later on in harmony with official guidelines, one would be inclined to think he was out to make Marshall appear to be a simpleton. Nevertheless, Sherrod's "Secret Conference With General Marshall" (in *I Can Tell It Now*, pp. 41-42) described someone which makes one wonder a bit about who Forrest Pogue was limning on pages 228 to 231 of *Ordeal and Hope*.

But, as has been observed before, someone in his position with his knowledge of the total situation should have issued an attack alert both to Hawaii and the Philippines some 14 hours earlier, by the fastest means available. A rather feeble excuse in Gen. Marshall's behalf, that he eschewed the scrambler telephone on his desk because he did not want to run the risk of being intercepted by Japanese electronic surveillance, does not wash. There was no indication whatever that the Japanese had broken any American code (Marshall had boasted to the reporters about Japanese ignorance of American secrets three weeks before), and, furthermore, making recourse to commercial telegraph cable was certainly no better guarantee of confidentiality. The odds in favor of suspecting that RCA might already have been tapped were far higher than that the scrambler telephone ran such a risk. In any case, the real issue was the several thousands of American lives being jeopardized; new codes can always be structured. But Japanese discovery of defense precautions being taken in Hawaii would surely have led to the calling off of the attack.

In this matter it may be pertinent to inquire if Gen. Marshall violated Army regulations by failing to send such an important message by *multiple* means of transmission, in addition to waiting until the last moment. The one chosen, the slowest available, resulted in the ultimate futility. There has long been a suspicion among people intimate with the Pearl Harbor affair that this action alone by Gen. Marshall was the tip-off that something extremely important was at stake, and that the incredible slowness in warning the Base was not just a happenstance.

The story from this point on has been told many times and does not need to be gone over exhaustively. The lethargic response to the Japanese message, with the additional intelligence that it would be presented to the Secretary of State at 1 p.m., and the final realization of the significance of that, and then the sending out of a “warning” to Pearl Harbor, by the slowest method available short of homing pigeon, which arrived to Gen. Short after the attack had already concluded, is embalmed in our folklore.

A carefully-plotted-out excuse for Gen. Marshall has been expertly constructed over the years, though little of it holds up under criticism based on facts. Administration apologists have been able to produce an explanation for almost everything, especially the circumstances surrounding the sending of the last message to the Hawaiian command, circumstances which are far from clear and straightforward. In a re-examination of this it is clear that a large part of the total account demands another look, and a consideration of previously skimmed, or ignored or avoided facts and implications.

It is acknowledged by Pogue and others that the famous “warning” of Nov. 27 which ordered Gen. Short, in liaison with Adm. Kimmel, to put Pearl Harbor on a sabotage alert, was not prepared by Marshall at all, the General being in South Carolina observing Army maneuvers that day. Its authors were the Secretary of War, Stimson, and Gen. Gerow, Chief of the Army War Plans Division, who apparently was responsible for attaching Gen. Marshall’s name to the message, for years assumed to be an authentic signature.

In later years, this message, and that of Dec. 7 also addressed to the Hawaiian Army commander, universally attributed to Gen. Marshall, attracted the critical attention of the famed Navy intelligence officer, Capt. Safford, a central figure in the controversies aroused over the 13-part and “East Wind Rain” Japanese intercepts. Capt. Safford became a student of serious insights into the Pearl Harbor story, and was the key figure in stimulating Adm. Kimmel in taking up his own vigorous defense after having been made the “goat” of the Hawaii fiasco by the clever dissimulation of the cover-up diversionary artists working in behalf of whitewashing the Administration’s favorites and pets.

It was Capt. Safford’s firm view, after comparing the message of Nov. 27 with that of Dec. 7, that Gen. Marshall had not composed either of them. Utilizing the tools of internal criticism, he noted four separate particulars in which the two messages were almost identical in composition, not to mention the vague and civilian-like construction of both, which he ascribed to Sec. of War Stimson.

In a long 15-page single-spaced typed memorandum which he wrote with Commander Charles C. Hiles, and distributed to a fairly wide circle of interested revisionist students in the late winter and early spring of 1963, accompanied by a copy of his letter to Dr. Barnes of Feb. 1, 1963, Capt. Safford scrutinized the two messages in detail (Exhibits #36 and #61, respectively, as reproduced in the joint Congressional Committee Proceedings of the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack), the first from Part 14, p. 1393, a better copy of which was Exhibit #15 of the Clarke investigation hearings, Part 34, pages 182-183, and Part 15, page 1640.

The latter, the Dec. 7, 1941 message, was not the version previously introduced, but was the transmission copy of the message, Capt. Safford emphasized, and that as Exhibit #61 it marked the only time he believed it ever appeared in the entire investigatory proceedings. He called attention to the clearly legible pencilled notations on the Clarke #15 photostatted version, which listed the times-and-places order of transmission, definitively listing Hawaii as fourth, and last, and not third (the official line), thus putting the location most likely to be struck by a sunrise attack last in order of notification. (1 p.m. Washington time was also about the same, Canal Zone time, the first notified, a very poor time for a sneak attack, while it was midnight, Manila time, the second notified, utterly out of the question as far as a carrierbased aircraft attack was concerned. Why they took precedence over Honolulu, where it would be 7:30 a.m., an ideal time for such an attack that time of the year, was what aroused Capt. Safford's questioning of the adequacy of this "warning.")

In support of his contention that not only did Gen. Marshall have no part in the construction of the fateful war "warning" of Dec. 7, 1941 but was not even on the premises housing his office when the message in question was filed for transmission in the War Department Signals Room, Capt. Safford called attention to the stumbling responses to questions by Major Edward C. French, in charge of the message Center, before the Clarke investigation on Sept. 28, 1944 (JCC Proceedings, Part 34, pp. 32-33.) The gist of this was that there was no proof Gen. Marshall was present when the efforts were made to get a legible copy of the "Warning" for telegraphic transmission.

The above material may be peripheral to the topic of this extended commentary on the story which has grown around the whereabouts and activities of Gen. Marshall in the 24 hours prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, but that does not render it insignificant. And all such labors have been systematically minimized and defused over the years by official apologists skilled at creating diversionary obfuscation. Probably the best example of such is Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1962), ostensibly prepared, as Dr. Barnes suggested, with the assistance of the RAND Corporation think-tank and the presumable support of related networks of "mega-death intellectuals" fashionable 20 years ago.

In a somewhat different tactical exercise, this was also the fate of the "East Wind, Rain" Execute, in the course of which incredible efforts were undertaken to discredit repeated testimony even on the part of Admirals who testified under oath that it had been received by the Navy. Here the device was employed of getting their inferiors in rank to declare they had not seen the transmission copies. (The battery of people recruited to diminish the credibility of Captain Safford in this case was indeed a revelation. The shameful roundelay of witnesses changing their sworn testimony under the frantic pressure of armed service legal officers, ultimately leaving Capt. Safford alone in maintaining that a Winds Execute had been received Dec. 4 and translated copies widely circulated, is a very dismal story. The 14th and 15th chapters of George Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* [New York: Devin-Adair, 1947] is still the best account of this sad affair. The plain implication is that several higher-ups, with knowledge of this impending break in diplomatic relations between the Japanese Empire and the U.S.A., had violated their trust in failing to place American bases all over the world on an attack alert despite possession of this crucial information.)

in a further consideration in this exploratory commentary, is there any significance in the observation that, among retired principals involved in the Pearl Harbor business who later became engaged in revisionist investigations, almost all of them have been from the Navy? Admirals Standley, Kimmel, Theobald and Tolley, Commander Hiles, Captains Safford and Rochefort, and the expert testimony of Captain Alwyn Kramer and Admiral McCollum, stand out.

Nor should one omit from this group of retired Navy revisionists on Pearl Harbor the celebrated Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, who actually carried out a mock attack on Pearl Harbor uncannily similar to what the Japanese brought about, but some nine years earlier than they. In war games testing the Hawaii defenses, Adm. Yarnell, with a task force consisting of two aircraft carriers, four destroyers and 152 aircraft, launched an air assault 30 minutes before dawn on Sunday, Feb. 7, 1932 from sea about 60 miles from Oahu, coming in from the northeast, as did the Japanese Navy planes nine years later. The referees of the war games ruled that Adm. Yarnell's action caught the Base entirely by surprise, and theoretically sank every ship in the harbor and destroyed every Army warplane on the ground.

Adm. Yarnell was one of the very first and very enthusiastic reviewers of Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* and similarly commended the joint contributors to the *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* symposium, edited by Barnes. In a letter to Barnes, Dec. 16, 1953, Adm. Yarnell warmly congratulated them on their work, and said, "If the efforts of yourself and others could only succeed in your efforts to break down the Iron Curtain of dictated literature, it will do much to save our nation."

As against Navy busyness, there is no comparable output of publication, research and testimony from Army figures, despite occasional oblique contributions such as those by Gen. Douglas MacArthur's intelligence chief in the East Asian sector, Gen. Elliot R. Thorpe, and the strangely-unexploited commentary attributed to Gen. Clarke of May 4, 1961 in a widely circulated manuscript report by Professor Charles Callan Tansill, about which more later.

Could this preponderance of critics in one branch of the armed services have been an unconscious resentful response to the realization that the Navy had been unconscionably smeared with responsibility for the fiasco in Hawaii, via a process which had at the same time taken the Army, the real responsible entity for the safety and security of the Base, off the hook? Especially irritating must have been the extenuating circumstances found for excusing the top figures of the Administration, the War Department, including the Secretary, the Chief of Staff, his subordinates, and nearly everyone else related to them, while allowing Gen. Short to be thrown to the wolves as a diversion and a specious gesture of "objectivity" in spreading and allocating responsibility around a bit. The exception in this matter is of course the findings of the Army Pearl Harbor Board, whose deliberations began in July, 1944 and whose secret report was not made until after the end of the war in Europe in May, 1945. This report heavily involved the Secretary of State, Hull, the Chief of Staff, Gen. Marshall, and his War Plans head, Gen. Gerow, citing them for delinquency in failing to keep the Hawaiian command informed as to what was going on and, as Greaves put it (*Perpetual War*; p. 424), pointedly mentioning Gen. Marshall as responsible "for the fact that the Army was not prepared to defend the Fleet on the morning of December 7, 1941."

But the APHB noticeably omitted Gen. Marshall's superior from the list of responsables neglectful of their duties: could it have been because Sec. of War Stimson had brought their investigation into existence in the first place, and making them loath and tender when it came to the subject of criticizing the man at the head of all of them? Though the central matter in this essay concerns those aspects of the Pearl Harbor subject related to Gen. Marshall, it becomes clear to almost anyone pursuing the literature surrounding the entire matter that the General's superior, Sec. Stimson, was an even more sacred cow when it came to pressing him for information. Sec. Stimson reportedly suffered a heart attack the day he was scheduled to testify before the congressional investigation, and did not recover until it was all over. He answered only in part the questions submitted to him in writing, and largely escaped the barrage of light and sound that was directed at all the main characters in the cast which took part in that fateful event.

Sec. Stimson, a sophisticated and veteran Japanophobe who gave away points in this department to no one, not even the implacable Stanley K. Hornbeck, of the Far East desk of the State Department, has been documented by several historians as an enthusiast for war in the Pacific against Japan even when he was Pres. Herbert C. Hoover's Secretary of State, leaving office early in 1933. His reappearance as Pres. Roosevelt's Secretary of War seven years later found him still of the same view.

And historian-apologists have been pushed to the limits of their abilities in explaining away that painful entry in his diary for Nov. 25, 1941, just two days before he sent out over Gen. Marshall's signature the famous sabotage alert to Hawaii with its mixture of "dos" and "don'ts" to Gen. Short (it was Capt. Safford's view that the "dos" were Stimson's and the "don'ts" were Gen. Gerow's, "like a duet in grand opera.") Whatever may be the truth, this famous diary entry, which became part of the public record which has stuck in the craw of every official apologist for the last 35 years, discussed a White House strategy meeting, and included the following: "The question was how we should maneuver them [the Japanese] into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves." As much paper and ink has been spent in trying to denature this remark and to mollify the quizzical as to its import, and to tell us what Sec. Stimson "really meant" here, as used to be expended by Marxian zealots trying to tell us what Marx "really meant" by various bits of his much more murky and tangled prose in one or another semi-intelligible book. (It was ironic that U.S. forces fired the first shot anyway, the Navy sinking a Japanese submarine at the entry to the Harbor well before the air attack came on the Base.)

A constant in the whitewash-blackout defense of Rooseveltian official history on the evolution of the attack on Pearl Harbor is the repeated categorical denial that there was any traffic among the armed forces, their civilian political chiefs, and the intelligence services, indicating that Hawaii was the prime, if not the only target in case war broke out between Japan and the U.S.A. Right down to the very hour of the bombing on Dec. 7, 1941 we find repeated statements in the defensive apologia that the attack was suspected as likely to be on half a dozen other places, even as distant as Borneo, but Pearl is pointedly left out as a locus for concern. A favorite distraction of the diversionists is the Philippines, though what American forces were there which might inhibit in any way the invasion of Southeast Asia which the Japanese were simultaneously conducting is indeed a dark secret. That the Philippine-based forces could not even defend themselves for more than a few weeks was shortly demonstrated, let alone cause much trouble for Japan south and west of there. ^[3]

It was the American Fleet in Hawaii that represented the only assistance the European colonial powers could expect in their effort to retain their grip on Singapore, Malaysia, what is now

known as Indonesia, and the former French colonies now known as Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. But posing the Philippines as where the Administration expected an attack (precious little was done to frustrate one) distracts the inquisitive, and partially satisfies the hope that the latter will come to share the simulated surprise and conclude that this innocence pose is genuine.

In actuality, the strong possibility that the war might start with a Japanese assault on Pearl Harbor was a subject of heavy discourse, officially, in January and February, 1941. Navy Sec. Knox dispatched a four-page letter to Army Sec. Stimson on January 24, which became part of the record of the Roberts Commission investigating the attack, in December, 1941-January, 1942. But few people have ever seen it or bothered to read it. This letter was entirely devoted, not to just a vague speculation on the possibility of attack somewhere, as one would gather from the preliminary remarks in Vol. 1 of the Defense Department's 1977 compilation, *The "Magic" Background of Pearl Harbor* (p. 1), but to a single topic, the likelihood of a bombing and torpedo plane attack

on the U.S. Pacific Fleet while it was berthed at Pearl Harbor. Sec. Knox began by declaring that the “security of the U.S. Pacific Fleet while in Pearl Harbor” had been under consideration among the Navy for several weeks prior to his letter, long before U.S. Ambassador Joseph Grew’s muchpublicized letter from Tokyo, also in January, 1941, suggesting a likely attack coming upon Hawaii. [4] Navy concern probably went back to the moving of the Fleet to Hawaii in mid-summer of 1940. Said Sec. Knox in the last sentence of his first paragraph,

If war eventuates with Japan, it is believed easily possible that hostilities would be initiated by a surprise attack upon the Fleet or the Naval Base at Pearl Harbor.

Again it should be understood that Sec. Knox’s long letter was devoted *in toto* to Pearl Harbor, not to Panama, Manila, the Presidio, Guam or Enderbury Island, and was responded to by Sec. Stimson on Feb. 7, 1941 in a 1½ page letter addressed to Sec. Knox, headed “Subject: Air Defense of Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.” Like Sec. Knox’s letter of Jan. 24, there was not a word devoted to any other place except Pearl Harbor. Copies of both letters reached Chief of Naval Operations Harold R. Stark, which he acknowledged Feb. 11, while Sec. Stimson declared at the end of his reply to Sec. Knox that copies of both letters were also going to the Commanding General in Hawaii. The presumption was that the Chief of Staff, Gen. Marshall, the Hawaiian Commander’s superior, would also be a recipient, though this is not specified in the postscript notation concerning other designates of copies. But Sec. Stimson would hardly have deprived his immediate subordinate of documents of this importance.

Four days later (Feb. 15, 1941), a six-page confidential letter from Adm. Kimmel from his flagship, the *USS Pennsylvania*, under the heading address “Pearl Harbor, T.H.” went out to nearly everyone possibly concerned with naval affairs in Hawaii, and also was exclusively devoted to a discussion of the problems involved in guarding against the possible sabotage of the Fleet, or its protection in case “That a declaration of war might be preceded by a surprise attack on ships in Pearl Harbor.” The timing was too close to the Knox-Stimson exchange and the recognition of it by Adm. Stark to indicate anything but concordance and cooperation on Adm. Kimmel’s part. (The Knox-Stimson correspondence of early 1941 and Adm. Kimmel’s confidential letter to the Pacific Fleet are dealt with by Gordon Prange in his book *Tora! Tora! Tora!* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963], but in an obfuscatory manner. It might be pointed out that Joint Chiefs of Staff position papers throughout the 1920s and 1930s reveal repeated concern about a possible attack by Imperial Japan upon Pearl Harbor.)

It is in the light of the above, and because of the above, that Sec. Knox’s 19-page double-spaced typewritten “Report by the Secretary of the Navy to the President” is such a sorry commentary, in effect suggesting the defensive neglect all around was so grave and encompassing, that one finds it hard to comprehend what he is trying to establish. Handed to Pres. Roosevelt personally by Sec. Knox the eveing of Dec. 14, 1941 on his return from Hawaii (the President endorsed it in his own handwriting, “Given me by F.K. 10 p.m. Dec. 14 when he landed here from Hawaii”), the report on what had happened at Pearl a week earlier crawled with inaccuracies, especially in the parts dealing with non-combat aspects. One obvious concession was Sec. Knox’s willingness to saddle the Navy with a large part of the blame, “due to a lack of a state of readiness against such an air attack by both branches of the service,” a half-non sequitur, since this ignored the Army’s primary responsibility for protecting the Fleet and the entire Base.

But what was immensely intriguing was Sec. Knox’s declaration, also on the first page of his report, that a “message of warning” had been sent to Gen. Short from the War Department in Washington at midnight, Dec. 6, a warning which did not reach him, as he told Sec. Knox, until after even the warning sent under Gen. Marshall’s signature around noon the following day. It

would be of great interest to know who sent that warning from Washington at midnight, Dec. 6, and what it consisted of. Since no one could locate Gen. Marshall and since Col. Bratton testified that his superior, Gen. Sherman Miles of Army Intelligence, told him not to try to find him any longer after 11:30 p.m. that night, the sender of this warning must surely be a mysterious entity, if not ectoplasm. There is no account of anyone in authority in the War Department being awake at midnight, Dec. 6, 1941. No one credited Sec. Stimson with this action, and undoubtedly no subordinate of Gen. Marshall would have dared to do so without the General's permission. One may be induced to ruminate over whether this actually happened, or were both Gen. Short and Sec. Knox involved in a substantial error?

Sec. Knox seemed to be befuddled on the reason for the Hawaii Base being still on a sabotage alert, at the time of the attack, failing to recall that this was precisely what the two commanders had been ordered to do on Nov. 27, and had not been ordered to do anything different after that date. Another question comes up: why had not the men responsible for the defense of the Fleet and the Base, Sec. Stimson and Gen. Marshall, been sent to Honolulu by the President to conduct an investigation? Sec. Knox should have been third in line, along with Adm. Stark, for such an assignment. However, his mission there alone, with the Army men not participating, further spread the impression, false but probably desired, that it was the Navy, which had sustained by far the largest part of the damage, which had been the delinquent in its protection, rather than the Army. This is how it worked out in terms of public relations and propaganda, and the traditional accounts to this day reflect this bias.

Knox, crediting Japanese espionage with informing their attacking forces of the precise location of the American ships, for obvious reasons did not give the slightest hint that American intelligence was well aware of this traffic via "Magic" intercepts for many months, though here he may have been in the dark himself as a result of the failure to communicate this "need-to-know" information to him. An examination of the majority of the actual copies of the "Magic" intercepts received ultimately by the Navy, though liberally covered with rubber stamps "Army," "Top Secret," "Ultra," and others, also reveals a rubber stamp legend, "Records of Naval Communications do not indicate transmittal of this specific information to authorities in Hawaii." One may conclude that, knowing Sec. Knox's reputation for integrity, this "specific information" never reached the Navy in Washington, either, and he simply did not know about all this.

To cap it all off, Sec. Knox omitted making the faintest reference to his four-page warning letter to Sec. Stimson early in 1941 of the need to develop a plan to defend Pearl Harbor specifically from a Japanese attack. And, of course, there is no indication of anyone's knowledge of the growing desperation in Japan as a result of the accelerating economic pinch caused by the global economic warfare against Japan by the Western colonial powers, also plainly discussed by the Japanese diplomatic service in the "Magic" intercepts of the late fall of 1941. (Especially pertinent here are the November, 1941 intercepts reproduced in Vol. IV Appendix of *The "Magic" Background of Pearl Harbor*.)

This aspect of the Pacific crisis is systematically neglected by the fuglemen of Anglo-American innocence, the increasing economic warfare carried out against the Japanese after the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting off Newfoundland in August, 1941. On October 23, the U.S. Commerce Department reported that Japanese raw material shortages had become so acute as a result of stepped-up curtailment that Japanese trade with a number of its biggest customers had virtually stopped, and that shipping to and trade with the U.S., the British Empire and the Netherlands East Indies had become almost "non-existent." (*New York Times*, October 24, 1941, p. 36). On December 1, the National Industrial Conference Board published a work titled "The Effects of the Allied Economic Blockade on Japan," in which it stated that normal Japanese imports of raw

materials covering not only war supplies but necessities for the civilian population had been reduced by about 750/o, and cited a report of the Chinese News Service that Japan was “on the verge of economic collapse.” (*New York Times*, December 2, 1941, p. 6.) And in the *Congressional Record*, 77th Congress, Second Session, December 8, 1942, Rep. Jeanette Rankin of Montana, the only member of Congress who had refused to vote for a declaration of war on Japan the previous year on that date, remarked that near the same day as the NICB report on Japanese economic desperation was published the previous year, a “prominent non-Japanese Oriental” had told her that the situation in the Pacific was not only “serious, “ but that “Japan has no choice but to go to war or to submit to economic slavery for the rest of her existence.” General information of this nature, if widely read and understood, might have made possible an appreciation of another reason for Pearl Harbor other than the simpleminded explanation fed into public discourse for the purpose of maximizing patriotic sentiments and nationalistic outrage and hatred.

The veteran reporter, political analyst and commentator for the *New York Times*, Arthur Krock, made a glancing remark in his memoirs (*Sixty Years on the Firing Lines*) about the “posse of apologists” who made a veritable industry out of “explaining away” all the disjointed irregularities in the Roosevelt Administration’s conduct of affairs in the months prior to the Pearl Harbor bombing. In actuality, Krock’s “posse” grew over the last 40 years to comprise a multitudinous constabulary. No defensive apologetic effort in American history has been so extensive or sustained as that which has sought to perfume Mr. Roosevelt and his eager-for-war regime, and how they eventually got it, while seeking to banish all criticism and suspicion of their role in this disaster. [5]

However, the more this industriousness in behalf of Administration purity and innocence branches out, the more tenacious grows the conviction that the total situation seen in the light of over 35 years of revelations, exposures and discoveries confirms the reverse, and the belief hardens that a gigantic camouflage diversion has taken place instead, succeeding in part at least in diverting attention from many basic disagreeable and distressing facts, while seeking to encourage favorable consideration of an evasive mollification.

As the people involved die (very few of the participants and principals in that great drama are still alive), and as the documents either vanish, one by one, or are declared never to have existed, there will tend to precipitate out a vague narrative steering its readers into accepting a genteel and respectable Establishment whitewash. But the anti-Establishment’s counterstory will hardly give ground for that reason. The former’s eyewash may appear to have won the day, if one considers the simple tales told the youth, to this time still nearly clean of any reconciliation with the contradictory material placed on the record by their adversaries, the revisionists. But it is unlikely that the latter will disappear or go away, or abandon the field, in the future. It is just as possible that the efforts to modify or demolish the Establishment monolith will be augmented instead. For there are many in close accord with the observations of Joseph D. Harrington, the author of *Yankee Samurai* (1979), who maintained that challenging the *official* accounts of everything was not only a “civic responsibility” but also “great fun.”

A Pertinent Postscript on the “Winds” Message Affair

When the Japanese Foreign Office sent out Circular #2353 Nov. 19, 1941, advising their embassy and consular people in Washington and presumably a number of other places in the world of the possible coming announcement of the suspension of diplomatic relations with any of three other countries, it was sent in Purple code, which they believed no one had deciphered. Early in December, the 1st and 2nd, all materials and machines connected with handling Purple were ordered destroyed. Therefore, when the decision was made to break relations and go to war with

the U.S.A. on Dec. 4, the decision buried within a radio newscast disguised as a pre-arranged false weather report, the Foreign Office sent it out in Japanese Morse Code, which made its transmission and subsequent understanding quite simple to all. Believing that the confidential message informing intended recipients what HIGASHI NO KAZE AME would mean in this context was still a secret, its execution would therefore excite no suspicion among non-Japanese interceptors, while widespread dissemination, repeatedly, would guarantee that few if any of those for whom it was intended would miss it. The official American line is and has been that though Circular #2353 was intercepted, the “execute” was not.

The editors of the world-known Tokyo newspaper Asahi Shimbun, in their book *The Pacific Rivals* (New York: Weatherhill, 1972, p. 91), declare that the “Easterly wind, rain” message was “flashed repeatedly” at the direction of Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo. But the defenders of official innocence here have made a convention out of denying that it was received here no matter how often it was sent out, or that it was received in a garbled form which made it unintelligible, or that it was too ambiguous to be construed as a coded message indicating a definite decision of Japan to go to war with the U.S.A. Furthermore, if received, it could not have been of any real assistance to American intelligence because it had nothing to do with Pearl Harbor. This latter line apparently is based on the notion that the Winds Execute should have been accompanied by a map of the naval and military installations in Hawaii, in order to be taken seriously.

The smugness about and surefooted dismissal of this critical issue has especially characterized the approach of the Roosevelt defense squad since the publication of Mrs. Wohlstetter’s book in 1962, and is reflected in the official publication of the “Magic” intercepts beginning in 1977 by the Defense Department, described above. This massive multi-volume work, weighing 20 pounds, escapes mention of the subject entirely, except for a repetition of a 1945 commentary which passed over the matter airily as of no consequence.

However, before we move on from the Winds Execute matter, one more contribution should be made to the subject which should shake the official diversion specialists and the “blackout” and “blurout” (to use Barnes’ terms) exponents, and bring into focus again Capt. Safford’s stubborn position on the reception and wide distribution of this message. What time has effected should make all the scoffers at Capt. Safford stand back a bit (even the would-be revisionist book on Pearl Harbor by Bruce R. Bartlett, *Cover-Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor, 1941-1946* [New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1978], contains a malicious sally at Capt. Safford in the manner of Pogue that would have done justice to the work of any “blackout boy,” from the original old masters, Morison, Millis, Feis, Bailey, Perkins or Rauch, to any of the undistinguished non-entities of the current scene.)

On March 11, 1980 there was declassified and placed in the National Archives Document SRH-051, in Record Group 457, a “sanitized” version of a 17-page typewritten interview, January 13, 1977, conducted by Raymond Schmidt, a historian with the Naval Security Group (since reassigned to the National Security Agency), with Ralph T. Briggs. Briggs, chief watch supervisor at the Naval Communications Station at Cheltenham, Maryland in December, 1941, related in detail his interception of the Winds Execute message the evening of Dec. 4. [6] He went on to relate his transmission of it to Naval Communications in Washington by teletype, the message also being delivered later by pouch. He also stated that he entered this interception of the false weather report, HIGASHI NO KAZE AME, in his log sheet of intercepted messages.

Briggs added the sensational information that this log sheet, presumed by all to have been destroyed sometime during the war, had survived, and that he had come across it himself between 1960 and 1962 while he was officer in charge of Naval World War II intelligence and “crypto”

archives. He described his verification of the time of receipt on the log sheet, and said, "I then made a written entry on the upper right hand margin of this log sheet concerning the fact that I, as officer in charge, on the date in question, had sighted and verified that this was a recorded original entry of the Winds execute message."

Briggs then returned the log sheet to the files without making a copy, from which point it presumably went into Naval Security Group archives. It is believed that Brigg's log has been rediscovered by NSG, and that it is possible copies have been made available to favored personages, though others seeking it have been thus far stonewalled in their efforts also to get access to it.

The puzzling aspect of all this is the silence of Capt. Safford for so many years on Briggs. It might be explained that Brigg's existence was known to revisionists as well since 1945-46, yet the failure of a single work on Pearl Harbor to mention even his name is fully as mystifying. Briggs relates in his interview with Dr. Schmidt that Capt. Safford had contacted him and that the possibility of his testifying before the Congressional investigation had been discussed by them four or five times. Briggs stated that he was not averse to this, but that he was eventually ordered by his superior at the Cheltenham installation, a Capt. John Harper, that he was not to testify, nor was he to continue meeting with Capt. Safford. (Briggs stated that Capt. Harper was very disturbed when he ordered him, Briggs, to remain silent about this subject; it would be most interesting to discover how far up the chain of command Capt. Harper's orders could be located.)

It is strange that no revisionist ever asked Capt. Safford where his operation, on Nebraska Avenue in Washington, got their copy of the raw intercept of the Winds Execute. They were not an intercept station, and obviously had to get it from someone. That Cheltenham had made the intercept was a matter of record among all, but how it got from there to Capt. Safford's team, and Capt. Alwyn Kramer, under whom the translated copies were prepared for distribution, was never explained by anyone. The Briggs interview furnishes us with this missing piece.

In a similar manner, the famed luncheon of May 4, 1961 involving Gen. Carter W. Clarke, Gen. Bonner Fellers and Prof. Tansill, during which other materials relating to Winds Execute were revealed, never became utilized by an writers of revisionist persuasion, then or later, even by Prof. Tansill himself. Though a 4-page single-spaced typed copy of Tansill's notes has circulated for nearly 20 years, it has not been employed in any context, to this writer's knowledge. Gen. Clarke, Deputy Chief of the Military Intelligence Service, was reported by Prof. Tansill to have declared that the Winds Execute was picked up also by the Coast and Geodetic Survey Station at Mobile, Alabama and sent on to Washington the following day.

The next move is up to the official defenders and the salvagers of prior legends of ignorance and innocence. But the publication of Ralph T. Briggs' January, 1977 interview and his December, 1941 message reception log should take place at the same time the next obfuscatory campaign is made to wrap up the Winds Execute in impenetrable diversionary irrelevance and historical baf-flegab.

DOCUMENT

No. 148

From: Tokyo To: Washington	November 19, 1941 Circular 2353
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Regarding the broadcast of a special message in an emergency.

In case of emergency, (danger Of cutting off our diplomatic relations), and the cutting off of international communications, the following warning will be added in the middle of the daily Japanese language short wave news broadcast.

(1) In case of a Japan-U.S. relations in danger-HIGASHI NO KAZEAME (East Wind rain).

(2) Japan-USSR relations-KITANOKAZE KUMORI (North Wind cloudy).

(3) Japan-British relations-NISHI NO KAZE HARE (West Wind clear).

This signal will be given in the middle and at the end as a weather forecast and last sentence will be repeated twice. When this is heard please destroy all code papers, etc. This is as yet to be a completely secret arrangement.

Trans. 11-28-41

Above from p. A-81 of *The "Magic" Background of Pearl Harbor*, Vol. IV Appendix (8 vols., Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, 1977).

Notes

* It is not the purpose of this essay to try to condense in this much space the entire story of Pearl Harbor. This is a task which has eluded more than a score of writers who have tried to do it in large books. The principal objective here is to concentrate on the drama of the ten days, and especially the last 24 hours, prior to the outbreak of war between the U.S.A. and Japan following the attack of the latter on Hawaii December 7, 1941. It is intended to be read in conjunction with this writer's essay, "Pearl Harbor: Antecedents, Background, and Consequences" (in *The Saga of Hog Island and Other Essays in Inconvenient History* [Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles Publisher, 1977], pp. 114-131). The essay at hand was inspired as a follow-up to a single sentence in the former (9th line from bottom, p. 122), where something of the larger picture of U.S.A.-Japanese relations was one of the principal concerns.

The course and collapse of the diplomatic talks between the American and Japanese governments between September and late November, 1941 is the real backdrop of the account here narrated, with emphasis on what are new or previously unstressed aspects of the happenings from November 26 through December 7. Analysis of the fine points of the diplomatic presentations dealing with the Far Eastern situation is also of secondary consideration at this stage. Partisans of the rival positions may quarrel over the rightness or wrongness of them for a long time. But Americans had the upper hand in these conversations, by dint of cracking the Japanese diplomatic code of highest priority, "Purple," having made it possible to read their adversary's ideas and secrets while at the same time keeping theirs from Japanese scrutiny. The foundering of the talks over differences on China policy can be blamed as easily on the Roosevelt Administration as on the Japanese, even if neither side were ready to make any substantial concessions to the other on this specific point. But, in retrospect, what the Roosevelt partisans wanted in East Asia was never implemented, even after winning a war, and probably could never have been implemented, unless it was preferred that there be a solidly-Communist Far East at the conclusion, which does not seem to have been expected by the short-view politicians. But such a possibility was plain to see prior

to the war, and a Red East Asia was certainly no political improvement over a Japanese-dominated East Asia as it was in 1941. As the near-total destruction of the European colonial system in East Asia and the Pacific, the succoring of which was jointly a high Roosevelt original priority, also swiftly followed the immense Communist encroachment from 1945 onward, one can hardly look upon the “New Order” thereafter as something to take much pride in, and the later wars over real estate still in dispute from the Pacific War, in Korea and Vietnam, have certainly added emphasis to this observation.

A thousand evasions of this political reality are possible and many of them have been paraded by us over the years, including the revival of such primitive ones as the bogus indignation over, and the necessity to destroy, the allegedly unequalled political sin of unique Japanese “militarism” (for the past 20 years our politicians and journalists have whined and stewed that the Japanese are lamentably too anti-militaristic). So the problem is an endemic one, and may be centuries in existence prior to satisfactory resolution, a matter deeply imbedded in our total situation. As good a statement as one is likely to find in so few words on the remaining difficulty is that of the late William L. Neumann:

“Good patriot, bad historian,” a comment first made in regard to Poggio Bracciolini, author of *Eight Books of Florentine History*, can all too often be applied to modern historians as well. Enveloped in nationalism, that omnipresent malaise of the modern world, the scholar has made little progress toward his commonly proclaimed goal of objectivity when his subject has involved the interests of his own nation or its enemies.

(Neumann, “World War I Revisionist,” in Arthur Goddard, ed., *Harry Elmer Barnes, Learned Crusader: The New History in Action* [Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles, Publisher, 1968], p. 261.)

1. 🟢 Lewis Carroll’s fantasy character who suggested salutary consequences might follow in developing the ability to believe six impossible things before breakfast probably had an unconscious impact upon establishment official writers of Roosevelt Administration innocence in developing their version of the Pearl Harbor story. In toto they eventually gathered together somewhat more than six, but the most imaginative of all, perhaps, was the fable the Roosevelt rarely if ever saw the “Magic” intercept transcripts, despite being first on the list of intended recipients via the joint Army-Navy delivery system. This has been advanced with the airy and casual aplomb of someone reporting that it is raining outside. When placed against the many-times-told account of the delivery to the President of the “Magic” intercept of the first thirteen parts of the Japanese Memorandum #902 shortly after 9 p.m. the evening of Dec. 6, and his agitated response upon reading it, surely it must stretch the credulity of even his most devoted self-serving partisans to the cracking point to be told this was one of his rare exposures to these English language transcripts of intercepted Japanese diplomatic intelligence traffic. Several historians of England and the British Empire have declared that the Russians in their campaigns against Napoleon conducted their intelligence service in the language of the enemy, French. This “Magic” windfall surely was the next best thing to that, and one can hardly expect the American Chief of State to be ignorant of it in the manner described by his apologists.
2. 🟢 David Brown and W. Richard Bruner, eds., *I Can Tell It Now*, by members of the Overseas Press Club. Foreword by Dwight D. Eisenhower, 363 pp. New York: Dutton, 1964.
3. 🟢 The Defense Department, instead of publishing the “Magic” intercepts in chronological order, or all of the traffic between any two points (e.g., Panama-Tokyo or Tokyo-Bangkok) all in one place, has arranged them in various sequences, some of which are a little fanciful or imaginative, but probably making more sense to those with mainly technical interest in

the content. But one effect of this procedure, or “methodology,” if one prefers contemporary cliches, is in effect the preparation of a scheme leading to a sort of history of the 15 months before Pearl by themselves, unintentional or otherwise.

Scattered through this assemblage of what is supposed to be exclusively “Magic” derived from translated intercepts of Japanese intelligence are several pieces of American Naval communications which are not part of “Magic” at all, and seem to be inserted at strategic spots which convey the impression of being self-serving additions to the potential account which might result from using this material. Some of this may also have the intention of reinforcing the official line on innocence of Pearl Harbor being the primary attack point for the Japanese upon rupture of diplomatic relations.

However, there is one especially interesting dispatch included (*“Magic” Background*, Vol. IV Appendix, pp. A-109/A-110) from the Chief of Naval Operations (Adm. Stark) to the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Far Eastern Fleet (Adm. Thomas C. Hart) #271442, Nov. 26, 1941, the same date as that of the State Department’s “ultimatum” to Japan. This instructs Adm. Hart to wage, at the outset of a state of belligerency with Japan, unrestricted submarine and aerial warfare south and west of an area bounded by 70 and 301 North Latitude and 1220 and 1401 East Longitude. The region covered by these stipulated compass points incorporates the Philippines and the Philippine Sea, and some areas of British and Dutch interest as well, and was to be treated as a “strategic area.” The unrestricted warfare was to be conducted south and west of this, presumably in the areas of the South China Sea, plus the environs of Singapore, Malaya in general, the Dutch East Indies and the region stretching into and including the Gulf of Siam (Thailand) and adjacent areas of the seacoast of the French Indo-Chinese colonies, now Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia (Kampuchea).

Adm. Hart was further instructed to work in liaison with the British and Dutch forces in defining the circumstances under which this vast region of the Far Eastern waters was to be policed, but it was especially interesting that Adm. Stark specifically cautioned Adm. Hart that in dealing with the leaders of these two other powers he was to “take care not to disclose for the present these instructions to wage unrestricted submarine and aerial warfare.”

This communication said nothing about Army cooperation or any contingency priority deriving from the Army until two days later, when Adm. Stark’s #271912CRO863 informed Adm. Hart that Gen. Marshall had requested that Gen. MacArthur be informed so that the Army Air Force might “make appropriate plans” to cooperate with this unrestricted warfare plan. (This writer has repeatedly encountered in recent years individuals who reflect a faint smile and murmur, upon hearing such details of 40 years ago, “I didn’t know the Army has its own air force,” and must conclude that he is in the presence of someone who does not go back very far.)

We thus have additional information about American plans for southeast Asia, and further confirmation that a concerted effort to wage offensive war versus Japan was substantially envisioned well before the Hawaiian attack, as opposed to the general misconception of mindless lazing-about in huddled defensiveness à la *From Here to Eternity* in utter ignorance of the Pacific realities.

That this contingency involved deception of “allies” as to the decision to wage unrestricted submarine and aerial war in a large area of the East Asian waters is of more than casual importance, and suggests that such a change had been made by the Administration and the joint Chiefs of Staff as a secret decision to “revise” the arrangements previously incorporated in the Rainbow/WPL-46 understanding arrived at during the extended meetings in Singapore between January 29th and March 27th, 1941. That the Japanese had rather quickly found out about these meetings, where Rainbow had been born, has been suggested by a variety of reactions, but whether they found out about Adm. Stark’s Nov. 26 message to Adm. Hart is uncertain. Constant interest in Tokyo concerning the presence and movement of U.S. submarines in Manila, in addition to news about troop movements in the

Philippines and the disposition of Army fighting aircraft, accelerated in November, 1941 but in part preceded Adm. Stark's "unrestricted warfare" pronouncement. Submarines far outnumbered other U.S. Navy craft based in Manila and vicinity, and two "Purple" messages from there to Tokyo Nov. 24 and Nov. 26, intercepted by American intelligence and available for consultation in English translation a short time later, mentioned some two dozen U.S. submarines leaving Manila Bay, "destination unknown." On the general interest in submarine movement one can consult the following Japanese "Purple" dispatches: #742 (Nov. 8, 1941); #745 (Nov. 10, 1941); #757 (Nov. 14, 1941); #767 (Nov. 15, 1941); #785 (Nov. 22, 1941); #790 (Nov. 25, 1941); #805 (Nov. 29, 1941); #812 (Dec. 1, 1941). The last two were not translated until Dec. 8 according to official records but the others were available as "Magic" intercepts shortly after each of the original sending dates in question. The messages mentioned above have been reproduced in *The "Magic" Background To Pearl Harbor*; Vol. IV Appendix, pp. A-161/A-170.

In retrospect, this U.S. plan for the conducting of unrestricted submarine warfare was resolutely put into operation after Dec. 7, 1941. In a shrewd and percipient commentary on the U.S. Senate ratification of the four Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949 by a vote of 77-0 in July, 1955, summarizing their essential futility and predicting their sure coming violation by future belligerents (so amply vindicated by what happened between 1955 and 1980), the *Chicago Tribune* ("Civilizing War", July 11, 1955) pointed out the grave Allied violation during World War II of the previous protocols of this sort, especially the Hague Convention of 1907, the Washington conference of 1922, the Geneva Convention of 1928 and the London naval treaty of 1930. As to the latter the Tribune pointed out pithily,

... the laws governing submarine warfare were clearly and precisely defined in the London naval treaty of 1930, which specified that attacks were to be confined to unmistakable men o'war, and then only after seeing to the safety of all hands. The American navy, in its official report on the submarine campaign against Japan, admitted an indiscriminate campaign in which nine of every 10 Japanese ships sunk were noncombatant vessels. Of 276,000 Japanese drowned in these attacks, 105,000 were civilians.

Among the rarest of all the narratives of history is an account of the indictment, successful prosecution and punishment of the winners of a war for violations of international law governing the conduct of belligerency. In the round of post-World War II trials in Germany conducted by the U.S. under Allied Control Council Law No. 10, when German defense counsel pointed out Allied breaches of the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 during the war, spokesmen among the prosecutors such as Telford Taylor airily dismissed the pertinent articles of these Conventions as inapplicable to Allied behavior because they were "anti-quarian." Some wry comments on such selective application of international law can be found in such books as those by August von Knieriem, *The Nuremberg Trials* (Chicago: Regnery, 1959) and Werner Maser, *Nürnberg: Tribunal der Sieger* (Dusseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1977), rendered in fanciful English translation as *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1979).

4.  Grew's report to the State Department is undoubtedly the bestknown and most widely divulged pseudo-intelligence tidbit allowed to reach the American public. This may have been an electrifying possibility to Sec. of State Hull, but could hardly have stirred much response from the Navy, which had already rehearsed two Pearl Harbor attacks on their own in simulated war games off Hawaii in the half dozen or so years prior to the outbreak of war in Europe in September, 1939. Probably picked up third hand as a consequence of drunken talk at a diplomatic cocktail party, there is an almost comic dwelling upon its significance in the book *The Pearl Harbor Cover-Up* by Frank Schuler and Robin Moore (New York:

Pinnacle Books, 1976). In parts this book reads like a brief in behalf of the pro-Maoist wing in the State Department's version of how war came in the Pacific.

What is missing from the record, to the release of the "Magic" intercepts by the Defense Department just recently, is the simultaneous war scare in the Japanese Foreign Office, a matter of even greater curiosity. On February 15, 1941 the Japanese vice-consul in Honolulu, Otohiko Okuda, dispatched his #027, which was addressed to the Foreign Ministry for routing to the General Staff and the chief of Japanese Naval Intelligence, American Section, Capt. Kenji Ogawa. This relayed second hand information that the Roosevelt Administration would declare war on Japan sometime between the sending date and the end of the first week of March.

Since American intelligence had cracked "Purple" almost six months previous to this, it may be that Japanese intelligence in Hawaii had been victimized by the process we now call "disinformation," in an effort to determine how long it would take to be released in Japan, being able to read both transmission and return reaction with equal ease. Nothing has been made public via release of appropriate "Magic" intercepts as to how this sensational piece of non-fact was handled or whether any response was made to this manufactured war scare. In view of the mollifying press conference given by Japan's new ambassador to the U.S.A., Adm. Kichisaburo Nomura, on Feb. 20 (he had just arrived in Washington on Feb. 11), the Japanese Foreign Office seems not to have taken seriously this prediction of a war declaration by the U.S.A. Nevertheless both Japan and the U.S.A. on the highest diplomatic levels went through separate war scares in the first two months of 1941. Whether both were the result of deliberate incitement by one another's "dis-information" agents can only be ruminated upon at this point. But there is no doubt of Japanese interest in possible U.S. Navy action in the event of a state of war during this time, as the intercepts #011 and #029 (neither of which are in the Defense Department's published collection of "Magic") attest. As one can see, these reports on ship-harbor activities in Pearl Harbor began well before the presence in Honolulu of the new Japanese consul general, Nagao Kite, who first arrived on March 14, 1941. (Though Kite's name is associated with similar reports to Japan dealing with what was going on in Pearl Harbor starting in September, it is obvious that this letter was well after a stream of "Purple" intercepts indicated that in the event of trouble between the two countries, Hawaii was a prime target for an early if not initiating attack by Japanese forces. Even Farago, in his essentially establishment-supporting book *The Broken Seal*, concedes as much. Though American intelligence never found in their interceptions of traffic of the Japanese Imperial Navy one word even hinting that Pearl Harbor might be a future target, Farago concedes, "On the other hand, 'Magic' produced this evidence actually in abundance, from February 15, 1941, until the morning of the attack.") (*The Broken Seal*, p. 167.)

5. Some idea of the richness of the obscurantism and diversionary genius now applied to the Pearl Harbor epic as we approach the 40th anniversary of the attack can be derived especially from fairly current histories of wartime intelligence. Especially revealing is how the subject is handled in William R. Carson's *The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire* (New York: Dial/James Wade, 1977, pp. 151-159). After a brief treatment excoriating those who reject the official establishment line as "isolationists" enamored of "conspiratorial" fixations, Carson manages to sketch out the layers of camouflage which have been laid upon the subject over the years, while getting to mention only two students of the affair, the undeviating establishment apologists and chroniclers, Mrs. Wohlstetter and Hans L. Trefousse. No one is to blame, and the author seems to believe that the main trouble was that not enough people were privy to the "Magic" intercepts to enable the dispatch of a proper "warning" to the Hawaii commanders. That every responsible figure in the highest authority echelons was quite conversant with or on the automatic delivery list for "Magic," including the President, his Secretaries of State, War, and Navy, the Chief

of Staff and the Chief of Naval Operations, and the very top commanders in the intelligence departments of the armed services, does not appear to impress or to have been adequate according to Carson. How an underling with less knowledge could have gone over the heads of this group of men to “warn” Pearl Harbor escapes all understanding. But the unknown ignorant and unauthorized all appear to gain in stature and importance in the wake of the event, when anything they might have attempted to say or do would have left them vulnerable to swift censure and possible demotion, in addition to off-hand dismissal of their words or actions.

Further evidence that histories of intelligence in harmony with accepted official positions prefer to come no closer than the views of 20 years ago, and conclude in a consensus that Mrs. Wohlstetter had the last word in 1962, can be found in Ronald Lewin’s *Ultra Goes to War* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978). “Ultra” (as the British named it) was the German analog of the Japanese “Purple” code, and the actual “Magic” intercepts circulated by American intelligence all bore the word “Ultra” rubber-stamped on them. Lewin’s view is close to Carson’s, but is more subdued, though similarly following closely in support of the too-mixed-” signals,” no-one-could-be-blamed obscurantism of Mrs. Wohlstetter’s *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*. The position taken by Lewin not only requires ignoring the multitude of errors in this latter book, in part pointed out by Percy Greaves and Charles C. Hiles, but also a most selective approach to the matter of the chain of command, approvingly pinpointed when something of credit is to be assigned, but studiously avoided when something blameworthy demands the designation of some responsibility.

6.  An unusual development in this dramatic account relating to the significance of the Briggs interview, unprecedented in the literature related to the Pearl Harbor topic, was the publication of the entire interview, from a facsimile copy originally deposited in the National Archives, in the Fall, 1980 (No. 24) *Newsletter* of the American Committee on the History of the Second World War, a solidly official-establishment organization, with presumably no real interest in this kind of disclosure. The reproduction indicates the elisions and other deletions made in the copy made available to other scholars previously (the Newsletter did not make its appearance until around Christmas time, 1980 despite its date), and which substantial interest from March, 1980 onward on the part of several investigators undoubtedly precipitated. But the persistence of deleted material even forty years after the event helps to convey the impression that we are still too close to the event to allow full disclosure.

There is a mysterious aspect of the Briggs Winds Execute matter which requires some official explanation and extended discourse. though the previous accounts for 35 years have centered on Captain Safford’s repeated insistence on its receipt December 4, the material related to the Briggs interview recently made public clearly indicates the latter originally received the Winds message *December 2*, which actually makes the official gloss on the matter look even worse.

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The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth Within A Myth

by Friedrich Paul Berg

- Paper presented to the 1983 International Revisionist Conference.

In any trial of even the most ordinary murder, one can expect an abundance of information about the murder weapon, including a detailed description of the weapon and how it was used. Surely, with regard to murder as novel and as bestially spectacular as the alleged mass-murder of millions of Jews in gas chambers, one would be given far more information. Surely, the postwar trials involving those monstrously amazing gas chambers would provide the most extensive and precise documentation possible regarding such unconventional murder weapons. But no, that is not what one finds at all. Although there is a vast literature, based in part on those trials, including many “eyewitness accounts” and “documentaries” covering the most diverse aspects of the holocaust story, nonetheless, as far as the actual mechanics of the extermination process are concerned, about all one ever finds is an occasional short and vague description.

The information gaps regarding the mechanics of the alleged extermination process should arouse the gravest suspicions. We are after all no longer in the immediate postwar era, when there would have been many valid excuses for confusion as to events which may or may not have taken place in a terrible war which had ended just recently. Almost forty years have now elapsed. The holocaust specialists have had more than enough time and opportunity to examine documents and alleged mass-murder sites as well as the testimony from the most massive trials in the entire history of the world. Throughout this period they have certainly been active, and yet they have found little. Aside from a few bits and pieces of so-called “confessions” and “eyewitness testimony,” they have, in fact, found next to nothing.

The information gaps are bad enough; what is far worse is that the bits and pieces of information which one does find are simply incredible. To kill people with gas is not inherently incredible since it certainly does happen, even accidentally. But if one carefully examines the available information about the German gas chambers from a scientific, medical or technical perspective, he soon realizes that he is dealing with an absurd muddle. To characterize the alleged mass-murder methodology as “harebrained,” “crackpot,” or simply “weird” is to understate the situation. The more one examines what little information there is, the more obvious it becomes that the people who repeat the holocaust story in one form or other really have no idea as to what they are talking or writing about. The testimony of the so-called eyewitnesses is especially weird. The Gerstein statement, which has been widely accepted by the holocaust specialists, is probably the best example of such testimony. But the other statements” or “confessions” are almost as bad or worse.

The absurdity of the various alleged extermination methods does not in itself prove that the holocaust did not happen, but it should at least persuade reasonable people to ask for some other evi-

dence before they let themselves believe such a monstrous tale. The fact that other evidence such as documents ordering the killing of Jews with gas, or hard, physical evidence such as workable gas chambers — not just ordinary rooms that have been mislabelled — is also absent should make it quite obvious that something is seriously wrong. [1]

To concoct horrible, but conveniently vague, eyewitness accounts of mass-murder is easy. To have such tales accepted about a defeated enemy nation after a brutal war during which the vast media resources of the victors had succeeded in portraying the enemy as thoroughly depraved and wicked is also easy. On the other hand, it is not at all easy to explain how one could possibly commit mass-murder with Diesel exhaust.

The Exterminationist Position

The table below is from *The Destruction of the European Jews* by Raul Hilberg, published in 1961. [2] The table summarizes the views of practically all the generally accepted, “consensus,” writers on the holocaust story of the last 20 years. The camps listed are the only ones which Hilberg regarded as having been “extermination” camps. Camps such as Dachau, Bergen-Belsen, and Buchenwald are not included. [3]

Table 1: Characteristics of the death camps according to Raul Hilberg

Camp	Location	Jurisdiction	Type of Killing operation	Number of Jews killed
Kulmhof	Wartheland	Higher SS and Police Leader (Koppe)	gas vans (CO)	over a hundred thousand
Belzec	Lublin district	SS and Police Leader (Globocnik)	gas chambers (CO)	hundreds of thousands
Sobibor	Lublin district	SS and Police Leader (Globocnik)	gas chambers (CO)	hundreds of thousands
Lublin	Lublin district	WVHA	gas chamber (CO), shooting	tens of thousands
Treblinka	Warsaw district	SS and Police Leader	gas chambers (CO)	hundreds of thousands
Auschwitz	Upper Silesia	WVHA	gas chambers (HCN)	one million

The fourth column from the left shows that in all of the camps except for Auschwitz, the killing operation supposedly used carbon monoxide or CO. In Auschwitz the killing operation supposedly used hydrogen cyanide or HCN. Of the five camps where carbon monoxide was supposedly used, the vast majority of victims were supposedly killed in just three camps, namely: Treblinka, Belzec, and Sobibor. It is in those three camps that the carbon monoxide was supposedly generated by Diesel engines. The numbers of Jews who were supposedly killed in Kulmhof (Chelmno) or Lublin (Majdanek) are relatively small compared to the numbers for Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor.

On the basis of the generally accepted numbers of victims, one can say that approximately half of all the Jewish victims of German gas chambers were supposedly gassed with Diesel exhaust. In other words, the Diesel gas chambers are as important, at least in terms of the numbers of alleged victims, as the gas chambers that supposedly used Zyklon B and hydrogen cyanide.

For at least several months in 1939 and 1940, Diesel engines had supposedly been used as part of the euthanasia program to kill Germans who were feeble-minded or incurably ill in Germany. The experience gained from the use of Diesels for euthanasia was supposedly applied later by some of the same people involved with the euthanasia program, such as Reichsamtssleiter Viktor Brack and Kriminalkommissar Christian Wirth, to the killing of Jews in Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor in Eastern Poland. According to Hilberg, it was Wirth who supposedly constructed the “carbon monoxide gas chambers” for the euthanasia program on the orders of Brack, who was “actually in charge of the [euthanasia] operation.” Then in the spring of 1942 Brack ordered Wirth to Lublin where “Wirth and his crew immediately and under primitive conditions began to construct chambers into which they piped carbon monoxide from diesel motors.” [4]

In the National Broadcasting Corporation’s “Holocaust” miniseries for television, which was essentially a dramatization of the generally accepted holocaust story, there were several references to the use of Diesel engines for mass-murder. In one scene, Dr. Bruno Tesch, who in real life had been a highly qualified chemist and was hanged after the war by the Allies, [5] explains to Eric Dorf, a fictional SS officer administering the extermination program, that one of the advantages of Zyklon B over carbon monoxide is that Zyklon B “won’t clog machinery-and there’s no apparatus to break down, as in carbon monoxide.” In another scene Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, is about to start a Diesel when Eric Dorf explains to him that he will not need the Diesel anymore because he has ordered another substance, namely Zyklon B.

The Gerstein Statement

The statement of Kurt Gerstein is still a major cornerstone of the holocaust legend in general. Gerstein was an Obersturmführer (First Lieutenant) in the SS and a mine surveyor by profession with a graduate degree in engineering. When he surrendered to the Americans, he supposedly gave them a prepared statement dated April 26, 1945 (in French, oddly enough) written partially on the backs of several receipts for the delivery of Zyklon B to Auschwitz. Since then he has been elevated to the status of “righteous gentile” by the Israelis and by various Jewish writers for having at least tried to alert the world regarding the Nazi extermination program.

The text which follows is a portion of the Gerstein statement as given in the English translation of *Harvest of Hate* by Leon Poliakov. Aside from a rather brazen “error” on the part of Poliakov, namely the claim that 700 to 800 bodies were crowded into 93 square meters instead of only 25 square meters (which is the way the original documents actually read) it is probably no worse a translation than any of the other versions which can be found. [6]

SS men pushed the men into the chambers. “Fill it up,” Wirth ordered, 700-800 people in 93 [sic] square meters. The doors closed. Then I understood the reason for the “Heckenholt” sign. Heckenholt was the driver of the Diesel, whose exhaust was to kill these poor unfortunates. SS Unterscharführer Heckenholt tried to start the motor. It wouldn’t start! Captain Wirth came up. You could see he was afraid because I was there to see the disaster. Yes, I saw everything and waited. My stopwatch clocked it all: 50 minutes, 70 minutes, and the Diesel still would not start! The men were waiting in the gas chambers. You could hear them weeping “as though in a synagogue,” said Professor Pfannenstiel, his eyes glued to the window in the wooden door. Captain Wirth, furious, struck with his whip the Ukrainian who helped Heckenholt- The Diesel started up after 2 hours and 49 minutes, by my stopwatch. Twenty-five minutes passed. You could see through the window that many were already dead, for an electric light illuminated the interior of the room. All were dead after thirty-two minutes! Jewish workers on the other side opened the wooden doors. They had been promised their lives in return for doing this horrible work, plus a small percentage of the money and valuables collected. The men were still standing, like col-

umns of stone, with no room to fall or lean. Even in death you could tell the families, all holding hands. It was difficult to separate them while emptying the room for the next batch. The bodies were tossed out, blue, wet with sweat and urine, the legs smeared with excrement and menstrual blood. [7]

It was not a peephole through which Prof. Pfannenstiel supposedly looked into the gas chamber-it was a window. And it was a window in a wooden door-not a steel, gas-tight door as one might expect. Apparently, there were wooden doors on two sides of at least one of the gas chambers. We are told that the intended victims were still alive after almost three hours in the gas chambers before the Diesel even started. Surely, there must have been many air leaks into the chambers or else the Jews would have been asphyxiated without the aid of any Diesel.

The men were “standing, like columns of stone with no room to fall or lean. Even in death you could tell the families, all holding hands.” There is no mention anywhere of the intended victims trying to break out. Surely Prof. Pfannenstiel, with “his eyes glued to the window,” would have noticed if some of the people on the other side had been trying to smash through. [8] But no, there is no mention of anything of the sort. We are, however, told that the victims had enough presence of mind to form groups of family members and hold hands.

According to the last sentence of the text quoted, “the bodies were tossed out blue, wet with sweat and urine.” Here we have a flaw as far as the death-from-carbon-monoxide theory is concerned because victims of carbon monoxide poisoning are not blue at all. On the contrary, victims of carbon monoxide poisoning are a distinctive “cherry red,” or “pink.” [9] This is clearly stated in most toxicology handbooks and is probably well known to every doctor and to most, if not all, emergency medical personnel. Carbon monoxide poisoning is actually very common because of the automobile and accounts for more incidents of poison gas injury than all other gases combined.

The Gerstein statement, to its credit, makes no claim that carbon monoxide was the lethal ingredient in the Diesel exhaust. It is the exterminationists, i.e., the people who try to uphold the holocaust story, who have repeatedly stated that death was due to the carbon monoxide in the Diesel exhaust. The recurrence of references to “bluish” corpses in several examples of so-called, eye-witness testimony” from West German trials merely demonstrates the “copy-cat” nature of much of that testimony. That such testimony has been accepted by West German courts specializing in holocaust-related cases and by the holocaust scholars, apparently without any serious challenge, merely demonstrates the pathetic shoddiness of those trials and of the 'scholarship' pertaining to the subject in general.

If the corpses had, indeed, appeared “bluish,” death certainly would not have been due to carbon monoxide. A “bluish” appearance could have been an indication of death from asphyxiation, i.e., lack of oxygen. In this article we will investigate that possibility and we will see that in any Diesel gas chamber, although death from lack of oxygen is very unlikely, it is nonetheless far more likely than death from carbon monoxide.

According to Leon Poliakov, who is a French-Jewish historian and one of the few historians anywhere who has actually written at any length in support of the holocaust story, “there is little to add to this description [the Gerstein statement] which holds good for Treblinka, Sobibor as well as for the Belzec camp. The latter installations were constructed in almost the same way and also used the exhaust carbon monoxide gases from Diesel motors as death agents.” According to Poliakov, more than a million and a half people were killed with Diesel exhaust. [10]

Toxic Effects of Carbon Monoxide

To investigate the Diesel gas chamber claim, two questions one should ask are: How much carbon monoxide is actually needed to kill a human being in half an hour? Does Diesel exhaust ever contain that much carbon monoxide?

Table 2: Toxic effects of carbon monoxide [11]

Parts of carbon monoxide per million parts of air	Carbon monoxide in per cent	Physiological effects
100	0.01%	Concentration allowable for an exposure of several hours.
400 to 500	0.04%-0.05%	Concentration which can be inhaled for 1 hour without appreciate effect.
600 to 700	0.06%-0.07%	Concentration causing a just appreciable effect after exposure of 1 hour.
1,000 to 1,200	0.10%-0.12%	Concentration causing unpleasant but not dangerous effects after exposure of 1 hour.
1,500 to 2.000	.1 5%-.2%	Dangerous concentrations for exposure of 1 hour.
4,000 and above	.4% and above	Concentrations which are fatal in exposure of less than 1 hour.

Carbon monoxide poisoning has been thoroughly studied since about 1920, when it was carefully examined in order to determine the ventilation requirements of tunnels for motor vehicles, particularly for the New York City metropolitan area in such tunnels as the Holland Tunnel. Since the early 1940s, it has been widely accepted on the basis of the research of Yandell Henderson and J.S. Haldane that an average carbon monoxide concentration of “0.4% and above,” as shown on the last line of Table 2, is the amount needed to kill people in “less” than one hour of continuous exposure. [12] Concentrations of 0.15% to 0.20% are considered “dangerous,” which means they might kill some people in one hour, especially if those people have, for example, weak hearts. But in order to commit mass-murder in a gas chamber, one would require a concentration of poison gas sufficient to kill not merely a “portion” of any given group of people, but rather, sufficient to kill “all.”

The vagueness introduced by Henderson’s use of the term “less” is unfortunate. It arises from the fact that although Henderson and others were able to test for non-lethal effects in a laboratory with a high degree of accuracy — the lethal effects could not be tested in the same way. The lethal effects and the corresponding CO levels were determined on the basis of careful extrapolation of carboxyhemoglobin levels over time from nonlethal tests on humans and from some lethal tests on animals. Although the test results for lethal effects are not as precise as one might wish, they are nonetheless sufficiently accurate to support some important conclusions about Diesel gas chambers.

According to the exterminationists, the nasty deed was always done in less than half an hour. In order to determine how much carbon monoxide would be needed to kill in only half an hour, instead of a full hour, one can use the widely accepted rule of thumb known as “Henderson’s Rule,” which is:

$\% \text{ CO} \times (\text{exposure time}) = \text{Constant for any given toxic effect}$

In other words, for any given toxic effect, the poisonous concentration must be inversely proportional to the time of exposure. This means that to kill in half an hour, one would need twice the concentration that one would need to kill in a full hour. Applying this rule to the “0.4% and above” needed to kill in “less than one hour,” we get 0.8% and above as the concentration needed to kill in less than half an hour. [13]

Applying the same rule to the 0.15% to 0.20% which is “dangerous” for one hour of exposure, we get 0.3% to 0.4% as the amount of CO which is dangerous for half an hour of exposure.

What all this means is that to have any kind of practical gas chamber using carbon monoxide as the lethal agent, one would need an average concentration of at least 0.4% carbon monoxide, but probably closer to 0.8%. We should keep “0.4% to 0.8%” in mind as benchmark numbers to which we can refer shortly.

The important consideration is always the “average” concentration over the entire exposure period and not some quantity of poison measured in pounds or cubic feet. To try to analyze the problem by determining actual quantities of CO produced, rather than “concentrations,” would be futile since the little that one is told, in the case of Gerstein’s description, about the actual size of the chamber or chambers is so incredible to begin with.

Figure 1 gives the symptoms of various low level carbon monoxide exposures as a function of time of exposure. The highest CO concentration which is discussed is 600 ppm (parts per million). 600 ppm is another way of saying 0.06%. The chart shows that after one hour of exposure to an average concentration of 600 ppm of CO, one would experience a headache but not a throbbing headache. Even after 100 hours of exposure, the worst that one would experience would be a coma but not death. However, after only half an hour of exposure to 600 ppm, no symptoms are indicated at all—not even a mild headache. We should keep “0.06%” in mind as another benchmark number to which we will refer.

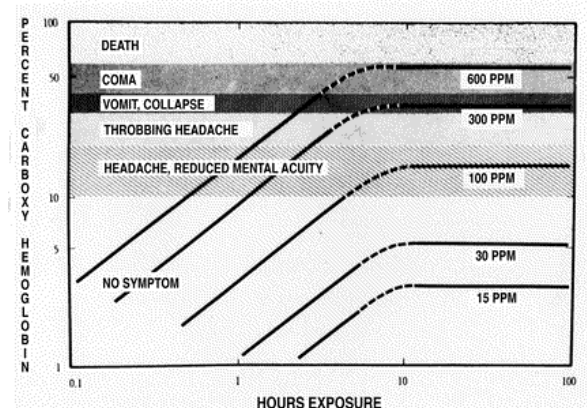


Figure 1: toxic effects of low levels of carbon monoxide. [14]

The Diesel Engine

It would have been helpful if the Holocaust proponents had provided such data as the engine manufacturer’s name or the model number, size and HP rating of the engines. Although similar information would be considered essential in the investigation of any ordinary murder, alas, when one is dealing with holocaust such details are too much to expect. The most frequent claim seems to have been that the engines were Diesels from Soviet tanks (most Soviet tanks during the war were Diesel-driven, including the famous T-34), but it has recently been claimed that at least one of the engines was from a Soviet submarine. [15] Any submarine engine would certainly have been a Diesel also. In lieu of better information, one has to investigate the broader and more difficult question of whether or not any Diesel ever built could possibly have done the abominable deed.

If Gerstein had claimed that the carbon monoxide was generated by gasoline engines, his story might be more credible. Gasoline engines can, indeed, kill rather easily and with little or no warning because their exhaust is almost odorless. Although Diesel engines look very much like gasoline engines, at least to most people, they are actually quite different. Any mining engineer or mine surveyor should certainly have been able to easily distinguish between the two types of engines. For one thing, the sound of Diesels is so distinct that almost anyone can with a little experience recognize them with his eyes closed.

Another peculiarity of Diesels is that when in operation they usually give warning of their presence-their exhaust generally smells terrible. The intensity of the smell or stench has, no doubt, given rise to the thoroughly false impression that Diesel exhaust must therefore be very harmful.

Although Diesel exhaust is not totally harmless it is, in fact, one of the least harmful pollutants anywhere except for some possible long term, carcinogenic effects which are totally irrelevant for the operation of a gas chamber to commit mass-murder. Diesel emission levels have always been within the current air emission standards of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency without requiring any modifications or accessories. Diesels have always produced less than 1% carbon monoxide which is the current standard for internal combustion engines. Gasoline engines have only met the same standard after many years of research and after the addition of many complex accessories and engine modifications. The Diesels of the 1930s and 1940s were as clean-burning as, if not more clean than, Diesels of today.

Figure 2 compares the carbon monoxide emissions from Diesel and gasoline engines. Gasoline engines are sometimes called spark ignition engines as in this figure. Clearly, the logical choice between the two types of engines as a source of carbon monoxide would always have been the gasoline engine. From spark ignition or gasoline engines, one can easily get 7% carbon monoxide, but from Diesel engines one can never get even as much as 1% with liquid fuels.

Carbon monoxide emissions from internal combustion engines are commonly plotted as functions of air/fuel ratio or fuel/air ratio.

Fuel/air ratio is merely the reciprocal of air/fuel ratio. It has generally been accepted by the auto industry and by environmentalists that Diesel exhaust-gas composition is related chiefly to these ratios and not to other factors such as rpm. [17]

An air/fuel ratio of 100, for example, means that for every pound of fuel burned, 100 pounds of air are drawn into the engine. However, only about 15 pounds of air can ever react in any way chemically with each pound of fuel regardless of the air/fuel ratio or even the type of engine. This means that at an air/fuel ratio of 100, there are always about 85 pounds of air which do not react. These 85 pounds of excess air are blown out of the engine without undergoing any chemical change at all. As far as the excess air is concerned, the Diesel engine is nothing more than an unusual kind of blower or compressor.

Gasoline engines always operate with a deficiency of air. As a result of this deficiency, the reaction process in a gasoline engine can never go to completion, a relatively large proportion of carbon monoxide to carbon dioxide is always formed.

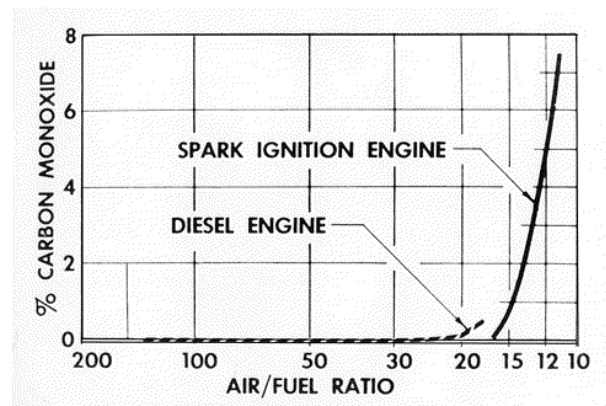


Figure 2: Comparison of carbon monoxide emissions from Diesel and gasoline engines. [16]

Diesels always operate with an excess of air. At idle, Diesels operate with air/fuel ratios as high as 200:1. At full load, the air/fuel ratio is only down to 18:1. Because of the abundance of air, there is always far greater opportunity for the fuel to burn to completion, thereby causing very little carbon monoxide to be produced as compared with gasoline engines. Also, what little carbon monoxide is produced in the cylinders of a Diesel is subsequently diluted by the excess air.

As soon as one acquires an understanding of the differences between Diesel and gasoline engines, it becomes obvious that the logical choice as a source of carbon monoxide would always have been the gasoline engine. The Diesel engine is, and always was, an inherently ludicrous choice as a source of carbon monoxide.

There are basically two types of Diesel engines: divided combustion chamber engines and undivided combustion chamber engines.

The divided chamber category of Diesel engines is generally subdivided into precombustion chamber designs and turbulent cell designs.

Figure 3 shows a pair of emission curves for Diesels with divided combustion chambers that were the result of exceptionally careful and extensive tests made in the early 1940s in the United States by the U.S. Bureau of Mines to determine whether or not Diesel engines could operate in underground mines without endangering miners. 1) The conclusion of the- U.S. Bureau of Mines as stated in many reports throughout the intervening years has always been that Diesels may operate underground in non-coal mines subject to USBM approval of the engines and the mechanical arrangements in which the engines are employed.

The lower curve in Figure 3 is for a precombustion chamber Diesel. The upper curve is for a turbulent cell Diesel. The lowest fuel/air ratio always corresponds approximately to idle and also to a no-load condition. For the pre-combustion chamber Diesel at idle, the carbon monoxide level is less than 0.0211/o. For the turbulent cell Diesel at idle, its carbon monoxide level is barely 0.06%. What this means is that at idle both of these types of Diesels could not produce enough carbon monoxide to even give a headache after half an hour of continuous exposure.

As one starts to impose loads on these engines, thereby, in effect, increasing the fuel/air ratio's, the carbon monoxide levels actually decrease at first. Only as one approaches full load, represented by the solid heavy line in the figure, do the carbon monoxide levels rise significantly to a maximum of 0.1% at a fuel/air ratio of .055. A CO concentration of 0.1% is still well below the benchmark range of numbers, "0.4% to 0.8%." In other words, neither of these engines could possibly have produced enough carbon monoxide to kill anyone in half an hour regardless of the loads on the engines.

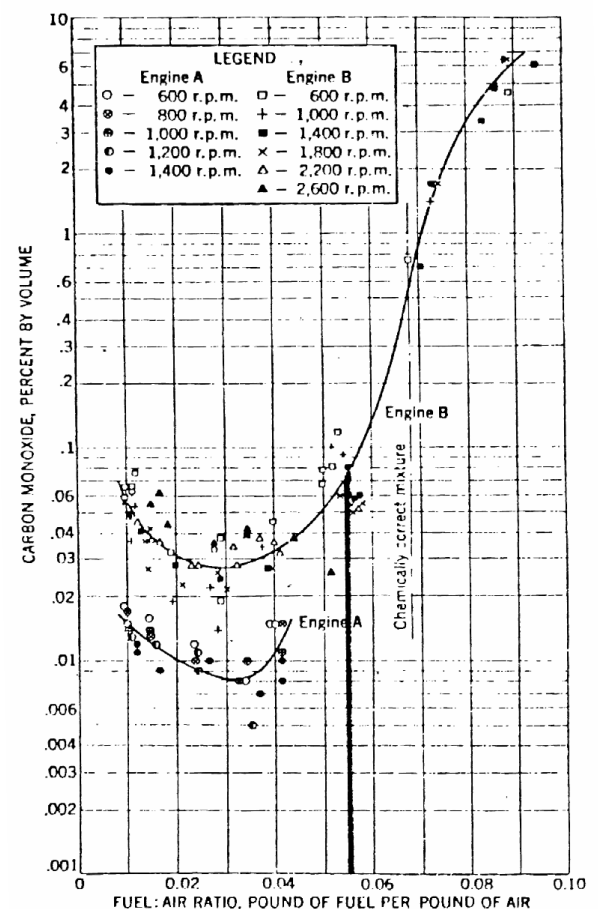


Figure 3: Carbon monoxide emissions for pre-combustion chamber and turbulent cell Diesel engines. [18] The heavy vertical line at a fuel:air ratio of 0.055 has been added by the author.

Diesel Smoke

One characteristic of Diesels is that they tend to smoke. This is not due to any inherent inefficiency of Diesels. On the contrary, Diesels are as a rule extremely efficient. The smoke is primarily the result of the nature of Diesel combustion and the heavier fuels which are used-as compared with gasoline engines.

The solid heavy line in Figure 3 represents the smoke limit that manufacturers have found necessary to protect their engines from excessive wear due to smoke and solids accumulations within the cylinders. As a practical matter, a Diesel cannot be operated to the right of the solid heavy line with liquid fuels. In Figure 3 as well as in Figure 5, the solid heavy line is at a fuel/air ratio of 0.055. Many manufacturers are more conservative and limit their engines to fuel/air ratios below 0.050.

Diesel engines can operate safely at fuel/air ratios greater than 0.055 only if they are burning a clean gaseous fuel; this is the only way to avoid the buildup of solid material within the cylinders. The data shown for fuel/air ratios above 0.055 were only gathered because the researchers at the U.S. Bureau of Mines chose to test the engines for theoretical reasons with gaseous fuel far beyond the normal, full load settings of the respective engines. [19]

The data for clean gaseous fuel is irrelevant to our analysis because if the Germans had had a gaseous fuel for the Diesel, they could have sent that gas directly to the gas chamber. To have used a Diesel engine as some kind of intermediate step would have made no sense at all. Such an arrangement could only have made the gas far less toxic. Since carbon monoxide is highly combustible, any carbon monoxide going into the Diesel would have been largely consumed within the engine.

Diesel smoke contains a liquid phase and a solid phase. The liquid phase generally gets blown out of the engine with the exhaust and, therefore, does no harm to the engine. But if enough solid material is also produced, and rapidly enough, some of that material will accumulate in the cylinders where in just a few minutes it can severely damage the piston rings and valves and cause the engine to simply self-destruct and stop. As the graph shows, the amount of solids produced by the engines increases dramatically just beyond a fuel/air ratio of 0.055. For this reason, manufacturers as a rule equip the fuel injection pumps with stops so that the engines can only operate below 0.055 or 0.050.

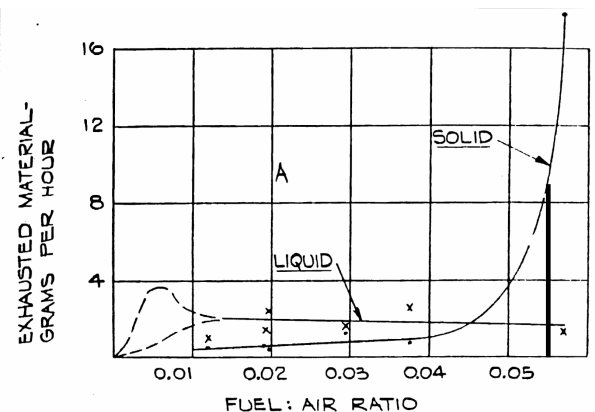


Figure 4: Liquid and solid components of Diesel smoke. [20]

Operating any Diesel under any substantial load, regardless of the particular design or engine type, would have led to the production of significant amounts of smoke. Smoke is generally also noticeable immediately after start-up, even at idle or under light load, when the engine has not yet had time to reach its normal operating temperature. It should be no great surprise that there is no mention of any smoke from the Diesel-black, white, dense or otherwise-anywhere in the Gerstein statement or in any of the postwar trial testimony.

Undivided Chamber Diesels

Figure 5 shows that an undivided chamber Diesel still produces only about 0.03% carbon monoxide at idle, which is not enough to cause a headache after half an hour of exposure. However, as increasing loads are imposed on such an engine, the carbon monoxide levels do eventually rise rather sharply, and at full load, represented by the heavy vertical line, the carbon monoxide level is indeed about 0.4%. In other words, here we have a Diesel which looks as if it could have been used to commit mass-murder in half an hour.

The problem for this engine, and for all Diesels, is that to operate at full load continuously for long periods, such as half an hour at a time, would involve severe risks of fouling and damage from accumulated solids inside the cylinders. If operating at lower and safer fuel/air ratios than 0.055, which would also be lower loads, the carbon monoxide emission levels drop very dramatically. For example, at 80% of full load, which is generally regarded as a safe maximum for continuous operation and which occurs at a fuel/air ratio of about 0.045, the carbon monoxide level is only 0.13%. According to Henderson's rule and index figures and some simple calculation, 0.13% carbon monoxide would not even be "dangerous" for half an hour of exposure.

That Figure 3 and Figure 5 are indeed typical of all Diesel engines over the last fifty years is attested to by the fact that these particular curves have been referred to and are still being referred to in countless journals and books on Diesel emissions to this very day. In other words, there are no better examples of Diesel emissions. To be sure, there are many other test results which one can find in reputable automotive journals such as the Society of Automotive Engineers Transactions. But if one takes the trouble to look through the SAE Transactions of the last forty years, as well as through other journals, he will not find any examples of worse carbon monoxide emissions than Figure 5. Our analysis of Figure 5 represents the worst case that can be found anywhere for any Diesel engine.

Engine Loading

Aside from the smoke problem, merely to impose a full load on any engine is far from easy. For example, if one has a truck, a full load can be imposed on the engine by first filling the truck with a heavy cargo and then racing the vehicle up a steep hill at maximum speed with the accelerator to the floor. Under that condition one would probably be putting out about 0.40% from the exhaust pipe if the truck's engine were an undivided chamber Diesel. However, if the truck is parked in a driveway, it is far more difficult to impose a full load on the engine. Simply "racing" the engine with the transmission in neutral" will put no more than a few per cent of load on the engine. Letting the clutch slip and stepping on the accelerator may impose a somewhat greater load on the engine but the clutch will rapidly burn out, jacking up the rear end of the vehicle and applying the brakes while racing the engine will impose a somewhat greater load but the brake linings will rapidly burn out.

The only way to realistically impose a significant load on any engine is by attaching to the engine some kind of brake dynamometer or other loading device, such as a generator with an elec-

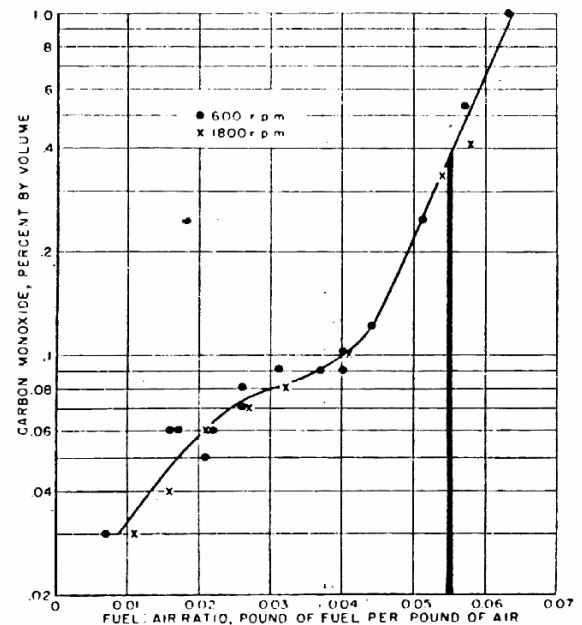


Figure 5: Carbon monoxide emissions from undivided chamber Diesel engines. [21] The heavy vertical line at a fuel:air ratio of 0.055 has been added by the author.

trical load.

Brake dynamometers could have been available and the Germans must have had many, but they are hardly the kind of equipment that one finds in the typical auto repair shop. They are generally only available in well-equipped engineering testing laboratories. They cost much more than the engines to which they are attached, since they are not mass-produced.

A generator arrangement seems more plausible since places such as reblinka and Belzec would have needed electricity, even if only to keep the barbed wire charged and the lights burning. However, such an arrangement suggests a continuous operation of both the generator and the Diesel which is contrary to the Gerstein statement. According to that statement, the engine was unable even to start for almost three hours prior to the actual gassing. There is nothing in the statement to even remotely suggest that the engine served any other purpose than to kill Jews. If it had had a dual purpose, for example, to also drive a generator, one could have expected some comment about the lights going on as the Diesel started-but there is nothing of the sort.

Aldehydes, Nitrous Oxides and Hydrocarbons

There are other pollutants in Diesel exhaust besides carbon monoxide. These are aldehydes, nitrous oxides, and hydrocarbons, which are indeed harmful. The smell or stench for which Diesels are notorious is not caused by carbon monoxide-carbon monoxide is completely odorless. The smell is caused by trace amounts of certain hydrocarbons and aldehydes which the most modern analytical instruments can just barely identify, let alone measure. The sensitivity of the human nose to these compounds is, however, extremely high and out of all proportion to the actual quantities present.

Nitrous oxides can form nitric acid by reacting with the moisture in the lungs which can, in turn, cause cancer after many months of exposure. One of the nitrous oxides formed by Diesels is tear gas, which is extremely irritating. The possible carcinogenic and mutagenic effects of nitrous oxides and certain other ingredients in Diesel exhaust may become the basis for special emission standards for Diesels in the not too distant future. All these effects are, however, long-term and totally irrelevant for mass-murder in a gas chamber.

Although Diesel exhaust is relatively harmless, inhaling it is not a pleasant experience. If Diesel exhaust were introduced into a large meeting room, it would not take very long before everyone present would feel driven by an overwhelming desire to get out, regardless of how safe he or she were convinced the exhaust really was. And yet, the Gerstein-statement makes no mention of any attempt to break out of the gas chamber or even to break the “window.” We are told rather that the victims formed family groups and held hands.

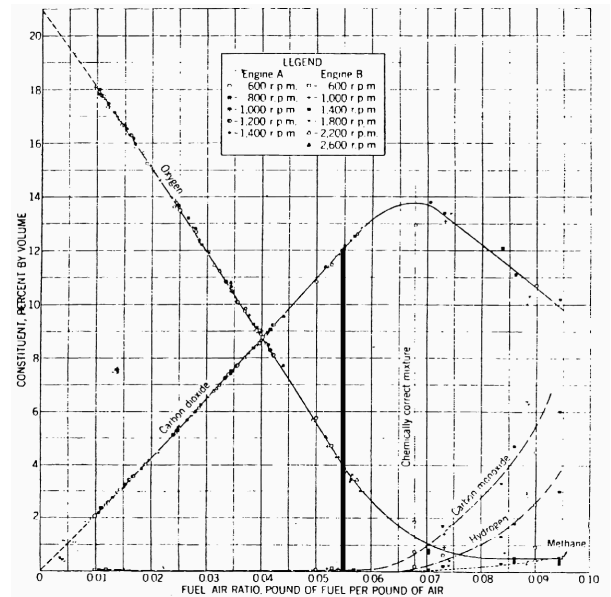
Oxygen in Diesel Exhaust

If the Jews were not murdered with carbon monoxide from Diesel exhaust, could they have died instead from the effects of reduced oxygen in Diesel exhaust? Such a theory would at least be consistent with the claim that the corpses were “blue.” A bluish coloring to certain parts of a corpse is indeed a symptom of death from lack of oxygen. This theory, however, does not hold up very well because of the fact that Diesels always operate with excess air.

Figure 6: Exhaust gas constituents of internal combustion engines. [22] The heavy vertical line at a fuel:air ratio of 0.055 has been added by the author.

Normal air contains 21% oxygen. In Figure 6 we see that the oxygen concentration corresponding to idle in the exhaust of any Diesel (divided or undivided chamber), shown near the top of the chart at a fuel/air ratio of 0.01, is 18%, which is just a few per cent less than one finds in normal air. At full load, which corresponds to a fuel/air ratio of 0.055, the oxygen concentration in the exhaust of any Diesel is 4%.

Probably the best discussion of the effects of reduced oxygen levels or asphyxia is provided by Henderson and Haggard:



Second Stage. When the oxygen is diminished to values between 14 and 10 per cent the higher values of the brain are affected.

Consciousness continues, but judgment becomes faulty. Severe injuries, such as burns, bruises and even broken bones, may cause no pain. Emotions, particularly ill temper and pugnacity, and less often hilarity, or an alteration of moods, are aroused with abnormal readiness ...

Third Stage. When the oxygen is diminished to values between 10 and 6 per cent, nausea and vomiting may appear. The subject loses the ability to perform any vigorous muscular movements, or even to move at all. Bewilderment and loss of consciousness follow, either with fainting or a rigid, glassy-eyed coma. If revived, the subject may have no recollection of this state, or an entirely erroneous belief as to what has happened. Up to this stage, or even in it, he may be wholly unaware that anything is wrong ...

Fourth Stage. When the oxygen is diminished below 6 per cent, respiration consists of gasps separated by apneas of increasing duration. Convulsive movements may occur. Then the breathing stops, but the heart may continue to beat for a few minutes and then develop ventricular fibrillation, or stand still in extreme dilation. [23]

According to Haidane and Priestley, “air containing less than 9.5 per cent of oxygen would ordinarily cause disablement within half an hour.” [24] Disablement is still not death.

It is clear that there is no magic number below which death would occur, or above which life would continue. However, for any gas chamber relying upon reduced oxygen as the killing method, one would have to reduce the oxygen to below 9.5% perhaps even below 6%.

From Figure 6 we see that to reduce the oxygen concentration in the exhaust to just 9%, any Diesel would have to operate at a fuel/air ratio of about 0.040, which corresponds to about $\frac{3}{4}$ of full load. To reduce the oxygen concentration to as low as 6%, which would be the fourth stage according to Henderson and Haggard and would almost certainly be the condition needed to kill “all” members of any intended group of victims, any Diesel would have to operate at a fuel/air ratio of about 0.048, which is close to full load. In other words, any Diesel gas chamber relying on the reduction of oxygen as a killing method would have to operate at more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of full load, but probably closer to full load.

From the above it should be obvious that over most of their operating ranges, Diesels discharge sufficient oxygen so that one can literally inhale pure Diesel exhaust and survive on the oxygen

in the exhaust. From idle to at least $\frac{3}{4}$ of full load, Diesel exhaust contains sufficient oxygen to sustain human life for at least half an hour.

Carbon Dioxide

If the Jews were not killed with carbon monoxide or from a lack of oxygen, could they have died instead from the effects of carbon dioxide?

Carbon dioxide is not really any more poisonous than ordinary water. Most toxicology handbooks do not even mention it. When mentioned at all, it is generally classified as a “non-toxic, simple asphyxiant.” There are occasional accidental fatalities where carbon dioxide is directly involved. Death in almost all such cases is caused by a lack of oxygen. The lack of oxygen is caused by the fact that the carbon dioxide is much heavier than oxygen and will, especially in an enclosed space, displace oxygen in the same way that water will displace air in the lungs of a drowning man. The cause of death, chemically, in both situations is not carbon dioxide but rather the lack of oxygen in the blood. One symptom of this kind of death is a bluish appearance of the skin.

Carbon dioxide can be beneficial and therapeutic. [25] It is commonly used in clinical medicine as a harmless stimulant for respiration, for which purpose it is supplied under pressure in cylinders (Carbogen) containing oxygen and 7% carbon dioxide. [26] Normally, when a person exhales, the air leaving the lungs contains about 5.5% carbon dioxide.

Levels of 3% carbon dioxide are quite tolerable for exposures lasting several days. For example, in the 1950s the U.S. Navy experimented with gas mixtures containing 3% carbon dioxide and 15% oxygen, i.e., 25% less oxygen than in normal air, for use in American submarines with exposures lasting up to several weeks. [27]

For Diesel engines, the carbon dioxide level at or near idle is only about 2% and gradually increases to about 12% at full load as shown in Figure 6. A carbon dioxide level of 12% may cause cardiac irregularity and may, therefore, be dangerous for people with weak hearts. Gasoline engines, in contrast to Diesels, produce 12% already at idle. In general, if enough oxygen is available, a carbon dioxide level even as high as 12% is not likely to cause death. However, when the carbon dioxide level is this high in Diesel exhaust, the corresponding oxygen level is dangerously low.

The principal danger to life from Diesel exhaust arises not from the abundance of carbon dioxide, nor even from carbon monoxide, but rather from the lack of oxygen.

Diesel Gas Chamber Operation

If the exhaust pipe from a Diesel engine is connected to a gas chamber, the carbon monoxide concentration will initially be extremely low and the oxygen level will initially be high. (Since the doors of a gas chamber must be opened to allow the intended victims to enter, fresh air must enter the chamber also.) As soon as the Diesel starts and as more and more Diesel exhaust is introduced into the chamber, the carbon monoxide concentration will gradually rise to the level directly inside the exhaust pipe of the Diesel engine without ever being able to exceed that level. Exactly how long it would take before the oxygen and carbon monoxide levels in the gas chamber equal the levels in the engine exhaust pipe is impossible to determine in the case of the Gerstein account because the information about the engine and gas chamber is so limited.

To get a better idea as to how effective-or ineffective-a Diesel gas chamber such as that described by Gerstein might have been in practice, we can analyze the problem by dividing the half-hour into two periods: a period of “rising CO concentration” followed by a period of “constant CO concentration.” Since we do not know the size or rpm of the engine, or the size of the chamber, or the amount of leakage into or out of the chamber, we cannot possibly determine the actual duration of each of these two periods. Nonetheless, we do know that when they are added together, the sum must equal half an hour.

For the “constant period,” the deadliest arrangement would use an undivided chamber Diesel which could give a carbon monoxide concentration as high as 0.4%.

For the “rising” period, the carbon monoxide concentration would be near zero initially and no more than 0.4% at the end. When we average these two numbers together, we get a maximum, average concentration for the “rising” period of 0.2% assuming a steady rise in carbon monoxide.

The combined average over the entire half-hour cannot be determined precisely because we simply do not know the duration of the “rising” and “constant” periods respectively. But we can be sure that it would always be some number less than 0.4%. If the “rising” period had only been of short duration, the combined average for half an hour would be only slightly less than 0.4%.

If the “rising” period had been longer, the combined average would be lower.

If the “rising” and “constant” periods had each lasted for fifteen minutes, the combined average concentration for the entire half hour would be less than 0.3%. According to our previous analysis of toxic effects, 0.3% of CO (for half an hour) is only “dangerous” which means that it could have killed no more than a portion of any group of intended victims.

Without knowing the type and size of the engine, and the amount of leakage into the gas chamber, we cannot possibly determine the exact carbon monoxide concentration in the gas chamber. We do know, however, that the average would always be less than 0.4%. It would always be less than the benchmark number which was established previously as the minimum amount required in the Gerstein-Diesel gas chamber. In other words, the carbon monoxide from any Diesel ever built would by itself never have been able to kill more than a portion of any group of intended victims even if the Diesel were of the undivided chamber design and even if it were operated at full load.

A similar analysis of the effects of reduced oxygen would show that one would have had to operate any Diesel ever built at some indeterminate level above $\frac{3}{4}$ of full load before the arrangement could have been even marginally lethal due to lack of oxygen.

An analysis of the combined effects of carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide and reduced oxygen might be possible on the basis of the research of Haldane and Henderson, but it would not give any significantly different results than what has already been concluded on the basis of reduced oxygen acting alone. The reason is that the carbon monoxide and carbon dioxide levels are just too low to make much difference.

In any event, any Diesel ever built would have had to operate at a minimum of $\frac{1}{4}$ of full load in order for the Diesel gas chamber to have been even marginally effective from any possible combination of toxic effects.

Noise and vibration

In addition to their smoke and smell, Diesel engines are also notorious for their intense noise and vibration. Because of their higher compression ratios, lower rpm's, and the type of combustion, the amount of vibration that Diesels produce is substantially greater than that of any comparably sized gasoline engines. The noise and vibration are among the major reasons why Diesels have not generally been used in automobiles.

If the 12 cylinder, V-type Diesel engine from a typical Soviet T-34 tank with a rated capacity of 500 HP had been mounted on the floor of a small building and had been operated for half an hour at more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of full load, i.e., at more than 375 HP, the noise and vibration would have been at least as noteworthy and as wildly spectacular as the wailing of any Jews-and yet, there is no mention of any such noise or vibration in the Gerstein statement or in any of the postwar trial testimony.

Diesels for Mass-Murder?

Without some understanding of the basic characteristics of Diesel engines, the method that would have come to mind most readily for any would-be mass-murder would have been to simply mount a Diesel on the floor of a building and direct the exhaust into some adjoining rooms without any provision for artificial load on the engine. Such an arrangement would have annoyed the hell out of any group of intended victims, but would have given them nothing worse than a headache. The headache would have been due to the stench and smoke and noise but certainly not to carbon monoxide or lack of oxygen. As a method for committing mass-murder, it would have been a fiasco.

For any Diesel arrangement to have been even marginally effective for mass-murder would have required an exceptionally well-informed collection of individuals to know and do all that was necessary. They would have had to be familiar with the carbon monoxide and oxygen emission curves for their particular engine. Such information is probably not known even today by most engineers, despite all the popular concern over air pollution. The gas chamber designers would also have had to know how to impose and maintain an engine load of more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of full load on their engine since anything less would just not have been enough. If they had overloaded the engine or operated it for too long at or near full load (more than 80% of full load is generally considered unsafe for continuous operation), they might after each gassing have had to overhaul and, perhaps, replace the engine because of fouling and damage from engine smoke. Merely to gather and properly assemble the appropriate equipment, including the equipment for imposing and controlling an artificial load, would have been a major undertaking which would have required the expertise of experienced engineers, not just ordinary auto mechanics. The mounting of the engine on the floor of the building would have required a proper foundation with some provision to isolate vibrations so as to avoid tearing the building apart.

The all-important question is: if any persons had been smart enough and resourceful enough to know and do all that was necessary to make a workable Diesel gas chamber, why would they have bothered to try to use a Diesel engine in the first place? For all their efforts they would have had a gas chamber which at the very worst would still have been only marginally effective at its morbid task. For all their efforts they would have had an average concentration of less than 0.4% carbon monoxide and more than 4% oxygen. Any common, ordinary gasoline engine without any special attachments would easily have given them ten times as much carbon monoxide at idle as any comparably sized Diesel at full load. Any common, ordinary gasoline engine would easily have given them 7% carbon monoxide and less than 1% oxygen. If one had tampered with the carburetor, one could probably have had as much as 12% carbon monoxide by merely turning one small screw, namely the idle-mixture adjustment screw.

Comparing the two types of engines, with both operating at idle or under light load, the difference is even more dramatic. At idle or under light load any common, ordinary gasoline engine without any special attachments would easily have given more than one hundred times as much carbon monoxide as any comparably sized Diesel.

The Diesel gas chamber story is incredible on these grounds alone. However, the story becomes even more incredible when one discovers that far better sources of carbon monoxide, better even than gasoline engines, were readily available to the Germans. Those other sources did not require either Diesel fuel or gasoline.

The Gaswagons



Figure 7: A typical gaswagon which had originally been a conventional bus but which was subsequently retro-fitted with a gas-generator and a Saurer engine. [28]

During World War II all European countries relied for most of their non-military vehicular transport needs upon vehicles which burned neither gasoline nor oil, but burned solid fuels such as wood, charcoal, or coal instead. The solid fuel, which was generally wood, was first converted into a mixture of combustible gases by burning in a generator, usually mounted at the rear of the vehicle. The gases were then withdrawn from the generator and burned in a modified gasoline or Diesel engine located at the front of the vehicle. The combustible gas produced in this way always contained between 18% and 35% carbon monoxide.

In English-speaking countries, these vehicles were generally called “producer gas vehicles.” However, they could just as appropriately have been called “poison gas vehicles” because that is precisely what they were — the gas which they produced was extremely poisonous. The operation of these vehicles required special safety procedures as well as special government approved training and licensing of the many thousands of drivers who drove these vehicles daily throughout most of the war in German-occupied Europe. [29]

In German-speaking parts of Europe, the producer gas vehicles were called “Gaswagen.” If they burned wood, which most of them did, they were generally called “Holzgaswagen,” which literally translated means “wood gas wagons.” The abundance of the gaswagons throughout German-occupied Europe and the intensity with which the Germans were developing ever newer vehicles and applications of the producer gas technology is a fact which undermines the Holocaust story in general. Had the Germans ever intended to commit mass-murder with carbon monoxide, they

certainly would have employed the producer gas technology long before they would have ever used anything as idiotic as Diesel exhaust. Surely, Eichmann and the other “transportation experts” involved with the “final solution of the Jewish problem,” which was to a great extent a transportation problem, would have been well aware of these vehicles and of their unique features. Surely, they would have used the “gaswagons” to kill the Jews had there ever been any intent to kill the Jews with poison gas.

The gaswagons are not the “gas vans” which were allegedly used for mass-murder in Chelmno, and by the Einsatzgruppen in Russia, despite the fact that the terminology is identical in German.

The murderous “gas vans” were, as can be seen in all of the “evidence” pertaining to the gas van story, conventional trucks which supposedly used “only” the exhaust of the engines as the killing agent. The basis of the “gas van” story is a strange document known as “PS-501” which is, in my opinion, a forgery based on an innocuous letter from SS Untersturmführer (First Lieutenant) Becker to SS Obersturmbannführer (Lieutenant Colonel) Walter Rauff, discussing some of the many problems that must have occurred with gaswagons. [30] The letter was apparently rewritten and the text partially changed so as to give it a sinister meaning. A thorough analysis of the gaswagons and PS-501 is, however, beyond the scope of this article. [31]

The gaswagons, which would have been far superior for mass murder to any conventionally powered vehicles, including the “gas vans,” traveled on all the roads of Europe and into and from the concentration camps daily. And yet, these potentially perfect mass-murder devices have never been implicated by the promoters of the holocaust story in even a single murder!

The gas van story is merely an adaptation by the holocaust propagandists of some documentary materials related to the perfectly innocent use of producer gas vehicles, supported of course by appropriate “eyewitness” testimony generated after the war. It is within the gas van story that one clearly sees in miniature the evolutionary process of the larger, general holocaust story.

Coal Gasification

In addition to the producer gas technology, the Germans had the world’s most advanced coal gasification technology. [32] One of the first steps in most of the coal gasification processes was to produce carbon monoxide from coal. The carbon monoxide could then be used either as a fuel or as an intermediate step in the synthesis of other products.

Because of Germany’s isolation from adequate sources of petroleum and natural rubber, she had converted much of her industry already during World War I to use coal as a substitute source of hydrocarbons for making synthetic liquid fuels as well as a vast assortment of chemical substances, including synthetic rubber. The quantities of carbon monoxide that were produced as part of this technology measured in the millions of tons and would have been more than enough to kill the entire population of Europe many times over.

Coal gasification plants were located in all of Germany’s industrial areas. One region containing several such plants was Silesia, where the abundance of coal had for more than a century been the basis of that region’s industry. One Silesian facility was the I.G. Farben plant at Auschwitz, a small portion of whose

carbon monoxide could easily have been diverted through a small pipeline to Auschwitz-Birkenau only a few miles away. Of course, no one alleges that carbon monoxide was ever used for

mass-murder at Auschwitz although that would have been an ideal place for it. For mass-murder at Auschwitz, the Germans supposedly used a completely different substance, Zyklon B.

Conclusion

Although it would be most convenient for the revisionist camp in the holocaust controversy to be able to say that mass-murder could not possibly have been committed with Diesel exhaust in half an hour, that simply cannot be said with total accuracy. It must be conceded that it would have been remotely possible to commit the deeds in question with Diesels. However, it would certainly have required an inordinate amount of expertise and determination and, for all their efforts, the would-be murderers would have had an arrangement which at best (worst?) would still have been only marginally effective at its morbid task. From a practical perspective the whole idea of perfecting a Diesel arrangement for such a purpose would have been contrary to all common sense.

One is sometimes told in the Holocaust literature that the reason the Germans used gas chambers to murder the Jews was to avoid the emotional strain on soldiers who would have otherwise had to kill the Jews by shooting them by the thousands. It is suggested that the gas chamber method was more efficient somehow. No doubt, an efficient killing method could have been developed-but not with Diesel exhaust. From all the evidence we have seen regarding Diesel exhaust and its effects, a more hideously clumsy, and inefficient, method of committing mass-murder would be hard to imagine. Although it is conceivable that some deranged minds may have tried for a time to commit murder with Diesel exhaust, after a few tries it would have become apparent to even the most demented fiend that something better was needed. And yet, Christian Wirth supposedly asked Gerstein not to propose in Berlin any other kind of gas chamber. ^[33] Supposedly, it was not just a few people who were killed with Diesel exhaust, but millions. To have used such a clumsy method to kill Jews, especially when far better methods were readily available, is incredible enough, but that the same clumsy method would have also been used by the Germans on their own people as part of a euthanasia program is even more incredible.

Postscript: More Surprises to Come!

A marvelous metamorphosis is already taking place in the holocaust story. Several leading Holocaust proponents are now taking great pains to drop the Diesel claim and replace it with the view that the engines were not Diesels but conventional gasoline engines which simply burned Diesel fuel, presumably to make the engines more deadly than if they had only burned regular gasoline. This amazing transformation has appeared in a recent book in Germany entitled *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*. ^[34] The book was a joint project of 24 of the most eminent scholars on the subject, including such notables as Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rueckerl, Gideon Hausner, Germaine Tillon and Georges Wellers. The book represents the current state of the art of holocaust mythomania and has already been recommended by the World Jewish Congress in London. ^[35] The new, "revised" version of the holocaust says, in effect, that Gerstein and others were mistaken when they had claimed that Diesels were used to kill Jews at reblinka, Belzec and Sobibor. The claim now is that gasoline engines were used.

The clumsy juggling of evidence which characterizes this book is exemplified by the fact that although the Gerstein statement refers to Diesel engines four times, the portion of the Gerstein statement which is quoted in this supposedly definitive rebuttal of the revisionists does not mention Diesels at all, nor does it even describe the alleged killing process. ^[36] For a description of the killing process that Gerstein supposedly witnessed, the book gives a piece of postwar testimony by Dr. Pfannenstiel in which there is also no mention of the use of Diesels, but only of the

use of Diesel fuel in the engine. How one could possibly have operated a gasoline engine with Diesel fuel is, of course, left to the imagination. The fact is that any gasoline engine simply would not operate with Diesel fuel (and vice-versa).

A fatal flaw in the new, non-Diesel, version is the retention of the recurrent claim that the corpses were “blue.” Although any possible death from Diesel exhaust would have been due to lack of oxygen, which would in turn have caused a bluish appearance of the corpse, death from gasoline engine exhaust would “only” have been due to carbon monoxide and could “only” have caused a distinctive “cherry red” or “pink” appearance. Although Pfannenstiel’s postwar testimony is generally less wild than the Gerstein statement, nonetheless he and other “eyewitnesses” also repeated the claim that the corpses were “blue.” [37]

That the Gerstein statement, although in a severely abbreviated form, is included at all in such a scholarly work, despite the problems for the “revised” version of the holocaust

story which should be obvious to anyone looking at the complete text of that statement, only shows how desperate the holocaust scholars are to scrape together everything they have in support of their monstrous fantasy. They have precious little, and the Gerstein statement is still the best evidence they can present.

The new “revised” version of the holocaust story is actually more absurd than the old version. Although it might be remotely possible for an engineer to have mistaken a gasoline engine for a Diesel engine, how could anyone possibly have mistaken “red” for “blue”? Perhaps they were all color blind—we will just have to wait and see. No doubt, we will see many more attempts by desperate men to hold together a crumbling patchwork of lies.

The Diesel gas chamber claim is rubbish—apparently some of the exterminationists themselves recognize that now. However, the alternate claim that gasoline engine exhaust was used instead is rubbish also.



circulation and venting
arrangement of a 400 cubic meter
railroad disinfestation chamber



railroad fumigation chamber of the
state railways in Budapest

(at the far end one can see the equipment room
for the circulation and ventilation apparatus)

Notes

1. ☞ The “gas chambers” that one is shown today in Dachau, Auschwitz and elsewhere are practically nothing more than ordinary rooms which could not have been used to kill in the

manner alleged. The Diesel gas chambers in Treblinka. Belzec and Sobibor were all supposedly destroyed long before the end of the war.

2. ☞ Raul Hilberg. *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961). p. 572.
3. ☞ It was at these camps that many photos were taken of dead bodies, many already in advanced states of decay. These photos are still being presented as proof of Jewish extermination. No comparable photos were taken in Auschwitz, for example. Already in 1960 Dr. Martin Broszat of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich wrote in a letter to *Die Zeit* (19 August 1960), p. 16, stating that there had been “no gas chambers in the Altreich,” meaning Germany within its pre-1937 borders, but rather “gassings took place only in German-occupied Poland.” The exclusion of Dachau, Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald from the current litany of extermination camps in the serious literature is a tacit admission that at least a “mini-hoax” had been perpetrated earlier.
4. ☞ Hilberg, pp. 561-62.
5. ☞ William B. Lindsey, “Zyklon B, Auschwitz, and the Trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch,” *Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall 1983).
6. ☞ In a trial in France in 1982 in which Dr. Robert Faurisson had been sued for slander by Poliakov for having described him as a “falsifier of history,” Poliakov had explained that he had simply misread a poor quality copy of a copy, several times removed, of the original Gerstein document.
7. ☞ Leon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate*, Holocaust Library (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), p. 195.
8. ☞ Dr. Wilhelm Pfannenstiel was a professor at the Institute for Hygiene at the University of Marburg an der Lahn. An article by him on the effectiveness of vitamin K was published in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Chirurgie*, 257 Band (1943) pp. 639-42. Also, an answer by him to a reader’s question was published by the *Muenchener Medizinische Wochenschrift* (4 July 1941), p. 766, with his home address: Pilgrimstein 2, Marburg an der Lahn. He was apparently sent to Belzec as well as other camps as a medical consultant to improve camp sanitation. After the war he was interrogated every few years with regard to his visit to Belzec with Gerstein and on two occasions was prosecuted, the last trial being in April 1970 in Marburg. Essentially, his testimony was always to support the Gerstein statement while at the same time avoiding or denying anything which would incriminate himself.
9. ☞ S. Kaye, *Handbook of Emergency Toxicology*, 4th ed. (Springfield: C.C. Thomas, 1980) pp. 187-88. For a more detailed discussion of toxic effects of CO see: C.J. Polson and R.N. Tattersall, *Clinical Toxicology* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1969), pp. 604-21.
10. ☞ Poliakov, p. 196.
11. ☞ Y. Henderson and H.W. Haggard, *Noxious Gases* (New York: Reinhold Publishing, 1943), p. 168.
12. ☞ W. Baker and A.L. Mossman, *Effects of Exposure to Toxic Gases*, (East Rutherford, New Jersey: Matheson Gas Products, 1970), p. 12.
13. ☞ F.E. Camps, *Medical and Scientific Investigations in the Christie Case* (London: Medical Publications Ltd., 1953), p. 170,
14. ☞ P.S. Myers, “Automobile Emissions-A Study in Environmental Benefits versus Technological Costs,” *Society of Automotive Engineers Transactions* Vol. 79 (1970), Section 1, paper 700182, p. 662.
15. ☞ A Russian submarine engine is mentioned, without any details, in Jochen von Lang, *Eichmann Interrogated* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983) p. 76. Since World War I, gasoline engines have as a rule been excluded from submarines because of the toxic-

ity of their exhaust and the flammability of their fuel. Thus, any submarine engine, even from a Soviet submarine, would have been a Diesel and would probably have been as powerful as the engine from any tank.

16. ☞ David F. Merrion, "Effect of Design Revisions on Two Stroke Cycle Diesel Engine Exhaust," Society of Automotive Engineers Transactions Vol. 77 (1968), paper 680422, p. 1535.
17. ☞ J.C. Holtz, "Safety with mobile diesel-powered equipment underground," Report of Investigations No. 5616, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Washington, 1960, p. 67,
18. ☞ Figure 3 and Figure 5 have been used repeatedly over the last forty years in the technical literature by numerous engineers thereby demonstrating the reliability of the data on which these figures are based and the extent to which they represent the worst possible carbon monoxide emission levels from all Diesels. Two of the early examples of articles using Figure 3 are: H.H. Schrenk and L.B. Berger, "Composition of Diesel Engine Exhaust Gas," American Journal of Public Health Vol. 31, No. 7 (July 1941), p. 674, and Martin A. Elliott, "Combustion of Diesel Fuel," Society of Automotive Engineers Quarterly Transactions Vol. 3, No. 3 (July 1949), p. 509.
19. ☞ Although the related tests and their purpose have been discussed in many articles, probably the best is in Holtz.
20. ☞ Elliot and Davis, "Composition of Diesel Exhaust Gas," SAE Quarterly Transactions Vol. 4, No. 3 (July 1950), pp. 345-46-discussion by E.W. Landen.
21. ☞ Ibid, p. 333.
22. ☞ Edward F. Obert, Internal Combustion Engines and Air Pollution (New York and London: Intext Educational Publishers, 1973), p. 361.
23. ☞ Henderson and Haggard, pp. 144-45.
24. ☞ J.S. Haldane and J.G. Priestly, Respiration (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), pp. 223-24.
25. ☞ L.J. Meduna, Carbon Dioxide Therapy (Springfield: C.C. Thomas), pp. 3-19.
26. ☞ J.D.P. Graham, The Diagnosis and Treatment of Acute Poisoning (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 215-17.
27. ☞ L.T. Fairhall, Industrial Toxicology, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1957), p. 180.
28. ☞ Wolfgang Oerley, "Entwicklung und Stand der Holzgaserzeuger in Oesterreich, Maerz 1938 [Development and Status of Woodgas Generators in Austria, March 1938]," in ATZ Automobiltechnische Zeitschrift, Heft 11 (April 1939), p. 314. Before the war, the leading company not only in Europe but probably in the entire world in the manufacture and development of "wood gas wagons" was the Vienna-based Saurer Company. This is the same company which is identified, oddly enough, as the manufacturer of the murderous "gas vans" in PS-501.
29. ☞ The German automotive technical literature of that period abounds with material on this forgotten subject. For an introductory survey of the subject, two especially useful issues of ATZ are Heft 18 from September 1940 and from 1941.
30. ☞ Rauff is now residing in Chile where he is pursued by the likes of Simon Wiesenthal and Beate Klarsfeld- A recent attempt by the ADL in the U.S.A. and by others to have him extradited to Israel was denied by the Chilean government because of Chile's statute of limitations and because of Rauff's faultless behavior in Chile.
31. ☞ A more thorough analysis of the gas wagons, and of Zyklon B, may be found in the author's taped presentation given in Los Angeles on 6 September 1983 before the Interna-

tional Revisionist Conference of the Institute for Historical Review, from which this article is essentially an abridgement. The audio cassette is available from the Institute.

32. [↗](#) An excellent discussion of the subject including extensive lists of references, especially German references, is: W. Gumz and J.F. Foster of the Battelle Memorial Inst., "A Critical Survey of Methods of Making a High BTU Gas from Coal," Research Bull. No. 6 (New York: American Gas Association, July 1953).
 33. [↗](#) See the complete text of the Gerstein statement in Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Torrance, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1982) p. 254. The extermination technology employed at Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor was supposedly no longer an experimental technology in 1942 but rather a highly developed technology based upon almost three years of practical experience beginning in 1939 with the euthanasia program.
 34. [↗](#) *Nationalsozialistische Massentoetungen durch Giftgas* [National Socialist Mass-Murders with Poison Gas] (Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1983).
 35. [↗](#) *Chicago Jewish Sentinel* (22 December 1983).
 36. [↗](#) *Nationalsozialistische Massentoetungen durch Giftgas*, p. 172-74.
 37. [↗](#) See, for example, his testimony before the Darmstadt court from 6 June 1950 which appears in Saul Friedlaender, *Counterfeit Nazi: The Ambiguity of Good* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967), p.18. For a thorough discussion of the kind of mad dilemma confronting any German who was even remotely connected with the concentration camps-Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor were actually transit camps rather than concentration camps-see the article by W.B. Lindsey.
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'Der Auschwitz Mythos': A book and its fate in the German Federal Republic

Wilhelm Stäglich

From a translation by Charles E. Weber
(Paper presented to the 1983 International Revisionist Conference)

To sin by silence when they should protest makes cowards of men. [retranslation]

President Abraham Lincoln

I was not yet acquainted with these words of Lincoln when, after the Second World War, I repeatedly expressed doubts in conversations with a wide range of people about the alleged atrocities in German concentration camps. It simply appeared to me my obvious duty to report, in such conversations, what I had seen or, for that matter, had not seen in the Auschwitz region around the middle of the year 1944. At that time, in the so-called Stommloger [original or parent camp] of Auschwitz, I saw orderly quarters and sanitary facilities, and internees who were well nourished and who appeared to have neither special demoralization nor fear, let alone a fear of death. Moreover, I never noticed mistreatments of internees nor, in particular, any sign—such as clouds of smoke or the stench of burning corpses—of mass extermination of human beings.

At that time, as the *Ordonnanzoffizier* [warrant officer] on the staff of an anti-aircraft detachment stationed near Auschwitz from mid-July to approximately mid-September 1944 for the protection of the industrial plants in the area of the concentration camp, it was my duty to maintain contact with the SS camp command. For that reason I had unlimited access to the Auschwitz Stommloger, where the camp command was located. I should state that I never entered the Birkenau camp, which was located about two miles away.

In 1965 (when the famous first Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial was just being concluded) I was denounced as a “Nazi” by one of my judicial colleagues in Hamburg to the Jewish mayor of the city, as a result of my remarks concerning Auschwitz. That led to the initiation of a disciplinary proceeding against me. Its objective was to expel me from civil service. The notable feature of this proceeding, which lasted nearly two years, was the fact that the attempt was made to render me ineffective during its course with the aid of a psychiatrist (apparently of Jewish origin), this after it became obvious that the proceeding would probably not lead to the desired success, as a result of legal factors. I could only thank the energetic intercession of my defense attorney for the fact that nothing came of this scheme, which is otherwise known as characteristic only of the Communist sphere of influence. I was acquitted “for lack of evidence” because the exact contents of my remarks could not be determined, in the opinion of the disciplinary judge, who appeared to have a good opinion of me.

This disciplinary proceeding was for me the first incentive to analyze the Auschwitz problem in a somewhat more thorough manner. And so I began to study the official literature about it. The more I read, the more improbable indeed seemed to me the thesis of the “extermination camp of Auschwitz.” More and more I recognized that the descriptions of it were different from the atrocity propaganda of the First World War only insofar as the details were concerned.

Around the middle of 1973 I acquired by chance the eyewitness report of Thies Christophersen, published as a booklet under the title *Die Auschwitz-Lüge*.^[1] Christophersen, whom I did not then know, completely confirmed with his report the impressions which I myself had gained of Auschwitz in the year 1944. All the doubts (about my own doubts) which occasionally occurred to me were thus as if expunged, especially after I became acquainted personally with the author. My reaction was such because Christophersen had, after all, been a member of the command personnel of the ancillary camp of Rajsko for a whole year and had himself even picked out his labor internees from the ill-famed Birkenau camp. Naturally, he had thus obtained a much deeper insight into the conditions of the Auschwitz region than I.

I no longer saw any reason not to release for publication my own impressions of Auschwitz—which, even during the disciplinary proceeding, had been recorded in writing in the archive of the German monthly periodical *Nation Europa*. Their publication took place in the October 1973 issue under my full name and with the note that I was a judge fulfilling my duties in Hamburg. I was quite cognizant of the risks involved in this, but I hoped that the ban placed for years on the critical discussion of “Auschwitz” had now been broken and that after Christophersen’s courageous appearance other eyewitnesses in addition to myself would come forth who remembered the Auschwitz concentration camp as not being an “extermination camp.”

Alas, my hopes were illusory. Had we Germans really, to use Lincoln’s words, become “a nation of cowards” during the past decades? It appeared that this was the case! In any event, the smear campaign by nearly all the mass media which commenced against me only a few days after the appearance of my Auschwitz report had to be taken as an indication that further infractions of the Auschwitz taboo would be daring acts indeed. Although Christophersen’s report was effectively killed by silence at the time, the Auschwitz myth-makers obviously did not want to put up with the circumstance that no less than a judge holding office was opposing their lies. The result was a further disciplinary proceeding against me, again with the objective of removing me from my judicial position. During the course of this proceeding it was suggested to me to leave the service voluntarily and that the proceeding could then be suspended. Since my health was no longer the best, simply as a result of the emotional disturbances and constant professional disadvantages connected with the first proceeding (ever after my acquittal), I finally took this “hint” and requested early retirement. Under such circumstances I in fact had little inclination to continue in my position as a judge. My request was granted at once. Presumably the judicial officials were happy to get rid of me in this manner. Nevertheless, the disciplinary proceeding was continued against me—now with the declared objective of disallowing my claims to a pension! Although the people prosecuting me did not attain this objective, my *peisioti* was nevertheless reduced by 20% for a period of five years.

Even though the financial disadvantages incurred by this proceeding were difficult for me, I was nevertheless happy to now be in the position of freedom from professional duties and restrictions, able to carry out what I had already begun by force of circumstances during the first proceeding: the scholarly examination of the Auschwitz problem. The attacks directed against me thus had set something positive in motion. They had become, as Goethe once expressed it [*Faust*, I, 1335-6], “a part of that force which constantly intends evil and yet creates good.”

When I became certain, on the basis of my scholarly efforts, how impudently our German nation and the world had been deceived with regard to the treatment of Jews during the Third Reich, I resolved to publish the things I knew in the form of a book. I was not willing to “sin by remaining silent.” That was the hour of birth of my book, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*.

In this work I focused on the question of the alleged mass gassings because this is essentially the basis on which the “myth of terror” is founded. This restriction in scope to the core of the Auschwitz legend seemed appropriate to me in order to finally treat the basic problem as completely as possible—a treatment which had not yet been undertaken, even by the various revisionists.

At the beginning of my research I had, in my naive mind, actually planned to proceed as far as possible from the examination of primary sources. I soon became aware that this was practically impossible. This was mainly the case because the places where most of the original documents from the archives of the German authorities are kept are presently unknown. They may still be found, with some exceptions, in very many different foreign archives and even so can be located only with difficulty. Even the professional historians appear to have been hitherto scarcely concerned with this problem. In any event, the German historian Dr. Alfred Schickel, a moderate revisionist of the postwar generation, reported approximately two years ago in several German newspapers that the National Archives in Washington D.C. could be “a real bonanza” for every historian, but, nevertheless, remain scarcely used. There, according to Schickel, are kept amongst other things the archival materials and documents which were confiscated by the U.S. Army in Germany, including in some cases documents of which even the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz, and other West German archives, possess neither copies nor microfilms. Dr. Schickel reported further that the American experts had, however, waited in vain for the visits of German historians, although the Germans certainly had to be the ones who should be primarily interested. [2]

Schickel’s assertions are proved correct when one goes through the literature on recent history. Today this history is still based essentially on the record books of the International Military Tribunal (IMT) in Nuremberg and of the subsequent trials (Nuremberg Military Tribunal, or NMT) which were carried out exclusively under American direction. Besides these records, photographic copies of alleged documents from various foreign (especially Polish or Jewish) archives are employed. Yet for a historian working on a scholarly basis, photographic copies cannot be a substitute of equal value for the original documents—this especially because they offer no guarantee of the authenticity of the documents and because the possibility of forgeries must be taken into account, particularly for the period of the Third Reich, 1933-1945. There are numerous examples of such forgeries, one of the most recent being the forged “Hitler diaries.”

For an outsider such as myself, extraordinarily limited moreover in his financial possibilities, it was naturally impossible under these circumstances even just to locate the primary source materials for the problem on which I was working. And I was not the recipient of any support from official or semiofficial offices such as, for example, the Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte [Institute for Contemporary History] in Munich. [3] Although I was able to inspect a few copies of documents in the archives in the German Federal Republic, an inquiry from me to the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz concerning certain important original documents and other items was answered, for example, as follows:

... to my regret I must inform you that the originals of the Nuremberg documents mentioned in your letter could not yet be located in the materials present in the Federal Archives...

Furthermore, concerning the originals of the documents employed in the Nuremberg trials, the quite general observation must be made that the tracing of places where they are stored involves considerable difficulties and problems as a matter of principle. Unfortunately, the ones specified by you are no exception.

To the extent that documents were present in the original ... they might be in American custody along with the originals of the trial records themselves or, for that matter, in the archives of the United Nations in New York. Some of them have also certainly been transferred to the trial representatives of the other participating nations and can be expected [to be found] today in their archives.

The paths which the original documents took ... can not be traced with absolute certainty ...

For thirty years now, the scholars of many countries and research organizations have also seen no reason to dispense with the form of the documents of the Nuremberg trials preserved and present in Nuremberg and other places as a quite important source of German history and to go back to the originals which are not easily accessible. ^[4]

All of this is quite revealing with regard to the question of the validity of the official or established postwar historiography — which, as we can see, is still almost exclusively dependent on the information supplied by the Nuremberg trials, not on any genuine critical scholarly research, even to the slightest extent. In view of these facts I can only be astonished again and again at the impudence of historians with a scholarly education who, primarily in the function of experts appointed by the courts, simply assert that the official version of the extermination of the Jews is based on “proved historical knowledge.” The fact that German courts constantly pay unlimited homage to this formula, although the so-called “information” upon which it is based appears absolutely grotesque, speaks less for the vaunted thoroughness of German judges than for their apparently unlimited opportunism. Involved also, perhaps, is the factor of a certain judicial confidence in the scholarly integrity of German professors, although this of course would hardly be in keeping with the critical stance which should be demanded of judges even in relation to supposedly expert witnesses.

And so a thorough historical examination of the Auschwitz problem would demand not only much time, but also much money. After my retirement I had the former but not the latter; my possibilities financially were extremely limited. Thus I had to rely during my work essentially upon the same source materials used by the established writers of recent history as the basis for their statements concerning the “extermination camp of Auschwitz.” Here I made a virtue out of necessity, confining myself to examining the question as to whether this source material was at all valid. My method in this regard I have described in detail in my book, and so won’t go into further detail here on this point. Suffice it to say that this method led to my conclusion that “the Auschwitz myth is rooted in the morass of inconsistent formation of legends, but not in actual happenings.” ^[5] There is no significant evidence that in the Auschwitz region during the Second World War there took place by command from the highest echelons the planned, massive extermination of Jews by means of gas with the subsequent burning of the corpses so produced. I shall explain this conclusion below in greater detail by means of several examples.

In connection with this conclusion it is perhaps worth noting that one of the most famous and respected of West German historians, Dr. Hellmut Diwald, professor of history at the University of Erlangen, came to it himself (and at approximately the same time I did) in his book *Geschichte der Deutschen*. Therein he wrote that whatever happened to the Jews who were evacuated to the

east after 1940 is “still unexplained with regard to the central questions, in spite of all that has been written.”^[6] By coming to this conclusion he caused a storm of indignation to issue from all Jewish organizations and their West German puppets. The Zionistically-minded press czar Axel Springer even dismissed the head of his corporation’s publishing house, Propylaen, which had brought out Diwald’s work; he further ordered the destruction of the stock of the original printing which had not yet been sold. In order to keep his academic position and to avoid a prosecution under criminal law, Diwald himself was compelled to rewrite completely the two pages in his book dealing with the persecution of Jews.

“Freedom of scholarly research” in West Germany in the year 1979!

Let us now consider the contents of my book. In it I arranged into three groups and discussed accordingly the types of source materials for the allegation of the extermination of the Jews which are of decisive importance in the opinion of the makers of the Auschwitz myth. These three groups were 1) documents, 2) reports dating from the postwar period of witnesses, and 3) evidence from the first Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial. I included in the first group only those documents (including written depositions) which came into existence at the time of the alleged happenings. These I designated “contemporary documents.”

I included in my investigations the Auschwitz Trial (which is strictly speaking not a proper historical source at all) because the advocates of the extermination thesis rely more and more on this trial as an allegedly, even particularly, reliable source. Their reliance on a postwar trial for material upon which to base a claim of writing wartime history is not really so astonishing from their- or our-point of view, given that contemporary, wartime, documents concerning the alleged extermination of the Jews are almost entirely lacking or are at least very questionable. As regards the eyewitness reports published in the postwar period, these are not only all inconsistent with each other, but also claim things that are simply technically impossible. For this reason they are obviously not to be believed. Given, then, the generally ragged evidentiary situation, it was presumably the main objective of the Auschwitz Trial, as well as of all further trials of this kind, to make the extermination thesis incontestable, so to speak, by virtue of judicial authority. But it should be clear to historians working on a scholarly basis that judicial criminal trials are hardly suited to clearing up historical facts and connections. This fact was demonstrated by one of the most famous German professors of law, Dr. Beling, as early as the closing phases of the First World War in a journal article which remains quite pertinent today. ^[7]

It is naturally impossible within the limitations of this paper even just to hint at all of the questions and views treated in my book. Therefore I must confine myself to making a few important points.

With regard to the contemporary documents I would first like to mention the fact that in reality, and in spite of all the assurances of the advocates of the extermination legend, there is not one single official written item from the time of the Third Reich which contains evidence of the alleged mass gassings of Jews. In particular, there are no documents concerning the construction of gas chambers for the killing of human beings, or concerning other technical arrangements which would have been necessary for this purpose. To just as slight an extent are there any directions concerning the use and servicing of such “death factories.” Since the mass killings of human beings by means of gas, indeed even the killing of a single human being in this manner, requires [it] unavoidable technical preparations which would quite certainly have to have been put down in writing in appropriate plans and directives, the utter lack of such written documents is certainly an important indication of the fact that such “gas chambers” for human beings did not actually exist. Furthermore, one must note that the advocates of the extermination thesis have hitherto

studiously avoided even just touching on the question of the technical requisites for the claimed “gassings of jews.,, [8]

Nevertheless these people do base their case on documents of various kinds (in addition, of course, to other things). However, and primarily for two reasons, these documents are not sufficient proof for such a monstrous claim.

In the first place, the documents can be made to serve the purposes of the extermination thesis only with the aid of arbitrary interpretations of terms. This is true of all documents in which there is talk of “resettlement of Jews, expulsion of Jews, deportation, evacuation” and similar things. The advocates of the extermination legend, accordingly, speak regularly of “code designations” or “code words” and “euphemisms” with which the authors of the documents were supposed to have intended to voice the “true situation,” specifically the intended killing of Jews in “extermination camps.” But it remains that this claim of “..coded” intent must be designated as unfounded and misleading as long as the question is unanswered as to when, where, and by whom these “code designations” were established and precisely how their supposedly true meaning was transmitted to the persons and military offices involved. In other words: how the “..code” was set up and run. As far as I can tell, the advocates of the extermination legend have not even posed this question, let alone answered it.

In the second place, a number of these documents give the impression of being forgeries. I wish to elucidate this point using the example of the so-called Wannsee-Protokoll, to the critical analysis of which I devoted quite a bit of space in my book. In the case of this document it is the matter of a later record of a conference of high German government officials presided over by the well-known SS-Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich. This conference is supposed to have taken place on the shore of the Great Wannsee in Berlin on 20 January 1942. The subject of the discussion was the “final solution of the Jewish Problem,” as it was literally formulated in the introductory sentence of the “Protokoll.” The sixteenth of the total of thirty copies of the document which were prepared was allegedly discovered shortly before the beginning of the Nuremberg (NMT) Wilhelmstrasse Trial, in the records of the German Foreign Office, by the representative of the American prosecutor’s office in that trial. This representative was Robert M.W. Kempner, a former Prussian Oberregierungsrat [senior government councillor] who had emigrated to the United States for racial reasons during the 1930s. Since its discovery the Wannsee-Protokoll has generally been cited by the advocates of the extermination legend as the document with which the planned extermination of the Jews ordered by Hitler was initiated.

Now it is true that this document in fact contains no express indication of such an intent to exterminate. However, there are several sentences in it which when taken out of their context could make possible (if one wishes it) such an interpretation. Thus the following sentences have always been cited in the “Holocaust” literature only in their isolated form:

In large labor formations and with a separation of the sexes the Jews will be led into these areas while they are engaged in building roads. During this a large proportion will doubtless drop out as a result of natural reduction. The remnant which is certain to remain in the end will have to be dealt with appropriately since it will doubtless be the most rugged component and since this component, representing a natural selection, will probably become the germ of a new Jewish structure after it is released. (Behold the experience of history.) [9]

The words “dealt with appropriately” are always interpreted in connection with the term “final solution” (which occurs rather frequently in the Wannsee-Protokoll) to the effect that those Jews who had not already perished by the hardships of their deportation and work were subsequently

to be killed. In this way the impression is suggested that from the outset a complete extermination of the deported Jews had been planned.

But an analysis of the entire document shows that at least this part of it must be a forgery. Specifically, one must note that it is not at all in keeping with the rest of the text, appearing rather as a foreign entity in the context in which it occurs. Even the sentence stating that the Jews were to be led into the eastern areas “while they are engaged in building roads,” during which “a large proportion will doubtless drop out as a result of natural reduction” does not make sense, because shortly before it the employment of these Jews as laborers in the eastern areas was given as the objective of their deportation. That is a contradiction in itself. One does not first attempt to exterminate people who are later supposed to work. (Surely they would then be rather inefficient laborers!)

The forgery simply cannot be overlooked, especially when one reads in connection with the quoted passages on page 8 of the record that the “evacuated Jews” of Europe were initially to be brought to so-called “transit ghettos” in order to be subsequently “transported to the east” from there. A “transportation” of the Jews into the eastern areas is certainly something quite different from leading them thither “while engaged in building roads” not to mention the fact that in any case no such occurrence as the latter has become known. Again on page 14 of the record the “transportation problem” is expressly addressed. Thus in the original, genuine, text of the document the sentences quoted above can scarcely have been present. It must not be assumed that such highly qualified people as the participants in the Wannsee Conference would have decided on such contradictory nonsense.

There are still other points indicating a forgery of the document which, however, I cannot discuss completely here because of limitations of space. I do see the single most convincing evidence of a forgery in the point just discussed.

The anticipated objection that, in the case of a forgery, the “incriminatory” passages about a decision for the extermination of the Jews would have been expressed more directly and concretely, is not valid. Because at the time of the initial presentation of the document during the Wilhelmstrasse Trial there were still too many of the conference participants alive, all-too-crass, obviously bogus statements about the resolutions made there could not be risked. All of the participants in the conference interrogated by Kempner before the trial could recall only the fact that there was a discussion at the time concerning the employment of the Jews in the east as a labor force. That was also probably discussed in greater detail in the genuine document. I am therefore of the opinion that Kempner had the document brought into its present form only after the interrogations of the participants in the conference (which were, by the way, unsuccessful from this point of view), in order to be able to present it at the upcoming trial as a genuine-sounding proof of his extermination thesis. This is the case because without the few sentences in question the document would have been entirely unusable for the proof of a planned extermination of the Jews.

There is even material evidence of -such hurriedly accomplished forgery. Kempner published a reproduction of the 16th copy of the Wannsee-Protokoll in his book *Eichmann und Komplizen*. [10] I based the analysis in my book on this reproduction. In so doing I designated this reproduction as a “facsimile” of the document used as evidence in Nuremberg. I could so designate it because (as I have found out in the meantime) Kempner’s reproduction shows no similarity whatsoever, in typeface, to the alleged original of this 16th copy presently kept in the archives of the Bonn Foreign Office! In all probability Kempner presented his reproduction in the Wilhelmstrasse Trial as documentary evidence. Why would he have otherwise had it made up in the first

place, and later even published it in his book? The primitiveness of this forgery could be caused by the fact that the time was not sufficient at first for a better job of forgery. The well-known temper and methods of the time of the Nuremberg trials would indicate that Kempner hardly had to fear a rejection by the court of this primitive forgery.

However, even the 16th copy kept in the archives of the Bonn Foreign Office cannot be the genuine document, although from a purely external point of view this copy might give that impression. It is indeed essentially similar in content to the Kempner reproduction, which is recognizable as a forgery. It must have thus been “doctored” in keeping with the Kempner reproduction, because it was naturally clear to the experts that Kempner’s forgery, produced under the pressure of time, could not hold up indefinitely before the eyes of historians. The later forgers had time enough. According to information given me by the archives of the Foreign Office, this document was returned by the United States to Bonn in 1959 at the earliest.

There is moreover something else which appears worthy of mention in this connection. I have in my possession a copy of the 16th copy of the Wannsee-Protokoll which apparently originates from a document copy used in the Jerusalem Eichmann Trial. In any event, the heading of individual pages indicates that. Externally and as far as content is concerned, it is completely similar to the document kept in the archives of the Bonn Foreign Office except for the fact that the type size of several pages varies from the rest of the type face. Especially striking is the larger type face of page 8-the very page which contains the second, more important, part of those passages which in my view were manipulated into the genuine document replacing other passages. It may be that these variations originate from the use of various copying machines. But why, then, would various copying machines have been used for the copying of a single document in the first place? Were the copies of the pages which showed a different type size perhaps even made at another place? And why that? Could, perhaps, the forged parts be copied only at a certain place?

Questions and more questions, to which there are still no answers.

Naturally, it must not be ruled out that the indications enumerated by me of a possible forgery of the document might possibly be attributed to other causes. However, for the historian they should be reason enough finally to demand the long overdue scientific testing of the physical document kept in Bonn. Only such testing could give a certain answer to the question of authenticity. Under the present conditions, to be sure, such an initiative is scarcely to be expected from German historians.

Now I come to the alleged eyewitness accounts concerning the claims of mass gassings in Auschwitz.

Recollections of contemporary witnesses have always been problematic as a historical source. Like all statements by witnesses, they are almost always more or less subjectively colored. Furthermore, with witnesses the question of their own involvements in the happenings plays a very special role. A person who has suffered generally has the inclination to exaggerate his suffering. Rassinier called this the “Odysseus Complex”-in recognition of the legendary fact that travellers returning from long journeys often tell tall tales. The person who has caused the suffering will generally attempt to palliate it or to shift the blame for it onto others (the so-called scapegoat theory). Further problems result from the facts that the human capacities for observation and recollection are quite limited, that witnesses can be influenced, that for particular reasons they knowingly lie, that they knowingly or unknowingly repeat as something that they have experienced themselves that which in fact they have only heard, and many other factors. Statements and re-

ports of experiences by participants in certain happenings can therefore never serve simply by themselves as an objective portrayal of history.

In addition to this there is the fact that the question of the extermination of the Jews being considered here was from the outset and is burdened with considerable emotions and that officially, even to the present day, statements are allowed to be considered valid only to the extent that they are suitable in some way as support for the claims concerning the extermination of the Jews. My own case, which I described briefly at the beginning of this paper, is a typical example of this, the double-standard.

Now, indeed, those statements and reports which have contributed to the founding of the Auschwitz Myth will scarcely appear convincing to the objective historian who is working on a scholarly basis. This is the case because they not only contain contradictions and inconsistencies amongst themselves, but contain in some cases even internal contradictions. I have already mentioned that there is not a single report which even somewhat credibly describes the technical procedure of the mass gassing and of the subsequent destruction without a trace of the bodies. Each of these reports contains such crass impossibilities of a technical and physical nature that it is shown by this alone to be a lie. In this connection I need only call to mind such “eyewitnesses” as Dr. Rudolf Vrba, Miklos Nyiszli, Kitty Hart or Filip Mueller, whose accounts are, in part, simply absurd. We need not waste another word concerning such accounts.

Perhaps for the reason of the self-evident absurdity of so many such accounts, reference is now—at least since the time of the Auschwitz Trial—almost exclusively made by the specialists in recent history (at least in our case in West Germany) to the Cracow memoirs of the commandant of Auschwitz, Rudolf Hoess, although these are, in part, no less absurd. They are, however, a psychologically relatively skilled mixture of “fiction and truth,” so that an uncritical reader—and most readers do fall into that category—will probably take them on the whole as the authentic life-confession of Rudolf Hoess. Hoess wrote these memoirs, it is alleged, “voluntarily and without coercion” during his incarceration in Poland, before the Polish Supreme Peoples' Court sentenced him to death on 2 April 1947. On 16 April 1947 he died on the gallows at the place of his previous function as commandant, Auschwitz. Strangely, however, these alleged memoirs were not published until 1958, in German, and on the basis only of a photographic copy which the Poles had placed at the disposal of the present director of the Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte, Prof. Dr. Martin Broszat. The question as to why publication did not take place until eleven years after the writing, even though the memoirs are supposed to be an extraordinarily important historical source, has up till now been neither posed nor answered by the advocates of the extermination legend. ^[11]

In spite of their obscure origin there has also been no demand to this day for an examination of the original memoirs as to their authenticity. It indeed appears doubtful that the Poles would even grant such a request. Rassinier pointed out the practical impossibility of an examination of the original document. ^[12]

I was the first scholar to subject the Hoess memoirs to a detailed critical analysis as to their source. This analysis forms a particularly important aspect of my book. After it there can be no further doubt that in the case of parts which have to do with the mass extermination of the Jews, Hoess was either writing the document under coercion or those parts are a forgery which originated after his death. I am inclined toward the second possibility because, to mention only one reason amongst a number, the publication did not take place until a decade after the alleged writing of the document.

There are numerous indications of forgery in the document which I could not possibly discuss in their totality within the limitations of this paper. But it is particularly striking that in this autobiography there is not one word spent on well-known events which must certainly have brought about considerable problems for Hoess as the commandant of the camp-events such as the great typhus epidemic around the middle of the year 1942 and the construction of the large crematoria in Birkenau. Hoess certainly would not have passed over these things in an otherwise quite detailed autobiography. It thus appears as if the sections in question were removed from the memoirs afterwards by another hand, and in their place inserted an account of the alleged extermination of Jews. Likewise, the separate description of "The Final Solution of the Jewish Problem in the Auschwitz Concentration Camp" possibly originated only after Hoess's death-despite its being dated November 1946.

I would like to go into another point in greater detail, which throws a characterizing light on our West German professors of history. On pages 270-72 of the German edition of my book I had called attention to a certain circumstance by pointing out various passages in the text of the Hoess memoirs which have to do with the extermination of Jews. We owe the discovery of this circumstance to our French friend Dr. Robert Faurisson. From these passages in the text it is learned that the so-called special command (Sonderkommando) is supposed to have entered the gas chamber as early as a half-hour after the Zyklon B was thrown into it, in order to take out the "gassed" Jews-entering so soon, however, without gas masks! No gas masks because the men of the special command-and this is the way it is literally put in the memoirs-were "eating and smoking" while in the chamber! That is, as we know, absolutely impossible on account of certain properties of Zyklon B. Dr. Faurisson has repeatedly written about this in the journal of Historical Review. [\[13\]](#)

On account of these statements, the expert in recent history who gave testimony in the proceedings against my book relative to its being put on the prohibitional index, Prof. Dr. Schemer, made the reproach to me that I had, by means of "evil methods of manipulation," attempted to confuse the public. He pointed out that the text passages quoted by me originated from various, separate parts of the Hoess memoirs. According to him, I had arbitrarily juxtaposed them and thus had "forged" them with regard to their actual meaning.

In so arguing Dr. Scheffier locked one of his own gates! On the two last pages of the alleged Hoess account, "The Final Solution of the Jewish Problem in the Auschwitz Concentration Camp," the impossible behavior of the men of the special command is again depicted, this time in one section. It is quite noteworthy that Prof. Broszat left out these two pages in his edition of the Hoess memoirs. Unfortunately, it was only after the appearance of my book that I was able to procure copies of them in a roundabout way. I could now make reference to them.

It is not difficult to imagine why Prof. Broszat failed to include these pages in his edition of Hoess's memoirs. Prof. Schemer must also have known about these pages!

The guild of the experts on recent history is pronouncing its own sentence.

Now let us turn to the first Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, the preliminary history and course of which I described in detail in the fourth chapter of my book. This trial achieved worldwide fame at the time, and that is indeed what it was supposed to do. It was a matter of a typical show trial after the model of the Nuremberg trials in the second half of the 1940s. At this point I will make some observations about this aspect and only about this aspect.

When I speak of the Auschwitz Trial as a show trial, I do not mean to imply that sentences of the 22 (ultimately 20) defendants had been decided from the outset. That was undoubtedly not the

case; three defendants were even found innocent. In contrast to a widespread opinion, a predetermined judgement of the defendants is not the essential criterion of a show trial. Naturally, there are such trials with predetermined judgements, especially in the Communist countries. However, they also pursue an objective which goes beyond merely imposing a sentence on defendants: the objective of influencing or even intimidating the population, in keeping with the intentions of the political power clique which is always standing in back of such trials. In my book I designated this objective as “political demonstration effect.” In my opinion that is the characteristic feature of every show trial. Thus, in a trial with an externally juridical form and always carried out before the broadest possible public, political objectives are pursued which in themselves are foreign to law and justice. The defendants in trials of this sort, then, have only the role of actors with mute parts.

The political demonstration effect of the Auschwitz Trial consisted of making clear to a perhaps still-doubting public once and for all, and with the aid of juridical authority, that Auschwitz was an “extermination camp” in which, according to plan, millions of human beings, Jews in particular, were killed in “gas chambers” and subsequently “destroyed without a trace” by burning. In fact nothing less was involved in this trial than the maintenance of the capacity to extort from the Germans politically and financially. One of the trial’s initiators, the General Secretary of the International Auschwitz Committee in Vienna, Hermann Langbein, thus saw in it a “documentation of Hitler’s largest extermination camp” which was supposed “to offer the possibility of an orientation and material for reflection to future historians, but especially to the young generation in Germany.,, [14]

The Auschwitz Trial attained its character of a show trial by virtue of the fact that the one contention of which proof should really have been established first of all in this trial, this unique opportunity-proof of the existence of “gas chambers” for the purpose of killing people-was considered by the court and all the trial participants as incontestable to begin with! I went into that matter in detail in my book.

Naturally, witnesses “confirmed” this contention on an assembly-line basis in their statements. Nevertheless, these witnesses would have been shown very quickly to be lying, and the ground removed from under the trial dogma, by depositions from experts concerning the properties and effects of Zyklon B, and the conditions necessary for its use. Also concerning: the efficiency and capacity of crematory installations, the possibility and effectiveness of cremation of corpses in the open, and many other matters of a technical and physical nature important in this connection. Such opinions of technical experts, however, were neither sought nor gathered by the court, even though this was its manifest duty.

The fact itself that the clarification of these pertinent questions was circumvented during the entire course of the trial demonstrates its character as a show trial. Contesting the dogma was not permitted, even though that dogma was the nucleus of the entire presentation, and its confirmation the real purpose of this monstrous trial! It can probably be doubted justifiably even today whether, indeed, the “results” of this embarrassing court trial will even stand the test before the eyes of future historians at a time when, as must be hoped, the study of history will again be free.

Let me finally make a few brief remarks about the consequences brought about in my country by the publication of my book *Der Auschwitz Mythos*. As far as I was concerned they were quite unexpected. When the book appeared in March 1979 I granted the publisher of a German monthly periodical an interview. Among the questions I was asked in it was whether, in view of the “Holocaust” hysteria, I did not have to fear “nervous reactions of government offices” or indeed even the book’s confiscation. My exact answer to that question was:

I am not really counting on that. The book is a scholarly undertaking... Since I have also not put out into the world any assertions which cannot be proved, but have simply made a factual investigation of the foundations of the “Auschwitz Myth,” I can really only imagine two kinds of reactions to my book. Either it is going to be killed by silence, like so many things which are not in keeping with the spirit of the times, or there will be a factual discussion of it just as I have done with the arguments of the opposing side. As a jurist I see no reason at all for its being confiscated. I would not know what criminal law I could have violated with this book. [15]

It turned out that I had great illusions. As early as 28 June 1979 — that is, scarcely three months after the appearance of the book the Bundesprüfstelle fuer jugendgefahrdende Schriften (Federal Office for the Examination of Publications Harmful to Young People) commenced a so-called “indexing procedure” on the basis of the law of 9 June 1953 concerning the distribution of publications harmful to young people. Such procedures may be entered against “publications which are capable of being morally dangerous to children and young people,” as the law is worded. Included in these, according to wording, are “in particular immoral publications which have a brutalizing effect, incite people to a particular violence, crime or racial hatred, as well as those publications which glorify war.” An indexing does not, it is true, have the effect of being a total prohibition of the indexed book, but it certainly does result in limitations of distribution and the prohibition of any advertising of the book. Indexed publications are thus practically excluded from sale on the open book market, which amounts, to a considerable extent, to a prohibition. [16]

Further, the prosecuting attorney’s office of Stuttgart initiated a preliminary criminal procedure against my publisher and me on 23 July 1979, on account of alleged “distribution of propaganda materials of unconstitutional organizations” (SS86 of the Criminal Code), “incitement of the populace” (SS130 of the Criminal Code), and other provisions of criminal law allegedly violated by the book. [17] These accusations were of course far fetched. Apparently the public prosecutor who was dealing with the case under orders thought likewise and had the courage (which, unfortunately, cannot be taken for granted in the Bundesrepublik) not to bring any indictment. After about eight months he discontinued the litigation. In the meantime the statute of limitations had also taken effect in accordance with press laws.

However, that did not cause the opponents of my book to give up. The prosecutor’s office was now directed by court order to seize the book. By a corresponding petition of the prosecutor’s office and a judgement of 7 May 1982 it was sequestered on 31 July 1980 by the Stuttgart Landgericht (Regional Court), the equipment used for its production seized along with it. The Bundesgerichtshof (Federal Supreme Court) confirmed this action by its decision of 26 January 1983. Fortunately, only seven remaining archival copies were obtained from the publisher by the confiscation and seizure. The other 10,000 copies of the entire printing had already been sold because the indexing could not take place until 11 March 1982, as a result of our delaying procedural tactics.

The mere fact of the unusually long duration, almost three years, of these two proceedings shows how difficult it was for the officials and courts involved to find an apparent legal basis for the measures taken. On the other hand, the quite unusual pressure which groups interested in removing the book from the German book trade knew how to, and did, exert also becomes apparent.

From the course of these two proceedings I would like to pick out two aspects which are especially worthy of mention. The one aspect is an expert’s opinion concerning the scholarly value of my book which was given in the indexing procedure. The Bundesprüfstelle had assigned Dr. Wolfgang Scheffler to prepare this opinion. This man is an expert on recent history who is well

known from his testimony in many concentration camp trials. His expert's opinion reveals the complete incompetency of these experts in defending the Holocaust Legend against revisionist arguments. I have already demonstrated this by one example. I should also note that Schemer needed no less than one-and-a-half years to prepare his "expert's opinion"! In spite of this, not much more than nonfactual polemics came out of his effort, which culminated in the assertion that my book is "extremely evil political [!] poisoning of the wells." In the further proceedings, as a matter of caution no use was made of experts' opinions on recent history, in obvious recognition of their obvious incompetency.

The other aspect is a noteworthy fact with regard to the book-seizure proceeding of the court: after approximately one year, by a threadbare pretext, the court excluded me-the author! -from further participation in the proceeding! Probably the court felt that it was no longer capable of dealing with my arguments. On account of this "refusal of due process," a protest by me to the Bundesverfassungsgericht (Federal Constitution Court) is still pending. However, on the basis of all the previous experiences with this court I hardly have any hope for success. (I had already twice tried in vain to obtain my constitutional rights there.) The seizure order will thus probably remain standing.

There was more. On 15 November 1982 the University of Goettingen initiated an academic proceeding against me for the purpose of depriving me of the doctoral degree granted me by the University in 1951. Although it should hardly be considered possible, this proceeding was based on a law signed personally, once upon a time, by Adolf Hitler! ^[18] The withdrawal of the degree took place by virtue of a resolution of the Council of Deans of the University on 29 March 1983, but it is not yet legally in effect. The clandestine rulers in our country had obviously decided that after the destruction of the "dangerous" book (as the Stuttgart Landgericht put it), its author had also to be discredited and decredited in the eyes of the public, in order to make him seem untrustworthy in a scholarly sense once and for all.

Now, I myself have thus far simply taken all of this as a confirmation of the fact that at present there is no one in the position to refute my work by factual arguments. Naturally, the officials and courts involved in the various proceedings were just not able to do this. They did not even attempt it. The particular bases of the measures taken against me and my book are essentially as similar as one egg is to another. They do not concern themselves with the actual substance of the work at all, but use several of my expressions of opinion at the margin of the matter, or conclusions in the text of the book wrenched from context, in order to put together from these the criminal accusations of "incitement of the populace" (SS130 of the Criminal Code) and "incitement to racial hate" (SS131 of the Penal Code). ^[19] In addition there is naturally no forgetting to mention that the "extermination of millions of Jews" is an "established historical fact." In a quite fatal manner all this is reminiscent of the practices of the medieval Inquisition, except that a person is no longer burned as a "heretic." In place of the stake comes today the destruction of a person's means of making a living, and prison sentences or fines. My case will demonstrate whether in the future personal disgrace by the invalidation, in the case of academic people, of earned academic degrees will be routinely added as a "punishment."

Now, many of you will ask why all this is the case with we Germans, of all people, since for us, after all, the interest in exonerating our nation from the accusation of genocide would have to be dominant. There are many reasons for this case, of a factual and personal nature. In my view all of them can be summed up in one answer generally valid: We Germans, in spite of the repeated assurances to the contrary of our puppet politicians, are politically and intellectually no longer a sovereign nation since our defeat in the Second World War. Our political subservience, which is apparent in the fact of the breaking up of the Reich and the incorporation of the individual pieces

into the extant power blocks of the East and of the West, has had as its consequence a corresponding intellectual subservience. Escape from this intellectual subservience is prevented primarily by the guilt complex inculcated in most Germans through the „reeducation” instituted in 1945. This guilt complex is based primarily on the Holocaust Legend. Therefore for we Germans the struggle against what I have called the “Auschwitz Myth” is so frightfully important. I believe that this is also being increasingly recognized by the real human beings amongst us.

At this point I would like to express my grateful recognition of the fact that the German people are finding understanding and support amongst numerous citizens of those countries which were at one 'time enemies of the Reich in the frightful fraternal war of the Aryan nations. As representative of many people I might simply mention here the names Butz, Faurisson, and Irving. Their efforts in favor of historical truth appear to me to be of greater importance in determining their countries' respective national characters than the participation of those countries decades ago in the disgraceful Nuremberg show trials.

I began my paper with a quotation from your great President Lincoln. I want to conclude it with a quotation from my great compatriot, Goethe, as passed on down to us by his secretary, Eckermann. It is as follows:

That which is true must constantly be repeated, because error is constantly being extolled all around us, and to be sure not just by individuals but also by the masses of people. In newspapers and encyclopedias, at schools and universities, error prevails everywhere and it is well and comfortable in the sentiment of the majority which is on its side.

One must constantly repeat that which is true! Let us all act accordingly!

Notes

1. ☞ Because it was forbidden in the German Federal Republic, this booklet has been distributed with a new foreword by me by the Swiss publishing house Courier du Continent, Case Ville 2428, Lausanne, Switzerland. An English edition is available from Liberty Bell Publications, P.O. Box 21, Reedy, W. Va., 25270.
2. ☞ In this connection, see also Alfred Schickel, *Zeitgeschichte am Scheideweg* [Contemporary History at the Crossroads] (Wuerzburg: Verlag Johann Wilhelm Neumann, 1981), pp. lgff.
3. ☞ Cf. Wilhelm Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos: Legende oder Wirklichkeit?* [The Auschwitz Myth: Legend or Reality?] (Tuebingen: Grabert-Verlag, 1979), Appendix 1, pp. 367ff,
4. ☞ Original letter dated 26 January 1977 in the author's files.
5. ☞ Stäglich, p. 363.
6. ☞ Hellmut Diwald, *Geschichte der Deutschen* [History of the Germans], 1st ed. (Frankfurt, Berlin, Vienna: Propylaen-Verlag, 1978), p. 165.
7. ☞ *Deutsche Strafrechtszeitung* [journal of German Penal Law], 1918, col. lgff. The translated title of the article is; “Research in World History in the Court Room.”
8. ☞ See Robert Faurisson: “The Mechanics of Gassing,” *Journal of Historical Review* Vol-1, No. 1 (Spring 1980), pp. 23-30; “Confessions of SS Men Who Were at Auschwitz,” *JHR* Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 1981)@ pp. 103-36; “The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to be Physically Inconceivable,” *JHR* Vol. 2, No. 4 (Winter 1981), pp. 31 117; “The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?,” *JHR* Vol. 2, No. 4 (Winter 1981), pp. 319-73.

9. ☞ Stiglich. pp. 45-46.
10. ☞ Robert M.W. Kempner, Eichmann und Komplizen [Eichmann and Accomplices] (Zurich, Stuttgart, Vienna: Europa-Verlag, 1961), pp. 133ff.
11. ☞ Rudolf Hoess, Kommandant in Auschwitz: Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen von Rudolf Hdss, with an introduction and commentary by Martin Broszat (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1958). The English edition is Commandant of Auschwitz (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963).
12. ☞ Cf. Paul Rassinier: Das Drama der Juden Europas (Hannover: Hans Pfeiffer Verlag, 1965), pp. 54-55; Was nun, Odysseus? (Wiesbaden: Verlag Karl Heinz Priester, 1960), p. 61. An English edition incorporating these two works is Debunking the Genocide Myth (Los Angeles: Noontide Press, 1978).
13. ☞ See note B.
14. ☞ Hermann Langbein, Der Auschwitz-Prozess: Eine Dokumentation [The Auschwitz Trial: A Documentation], vol. 2 (Frankfurt: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1965), pp. 907-08.
15. ☞ Mut: Das nationaleuropäische Magazin [Courage; The National European Magazine] No. 139 (March 1979), pp. 18ff. This magazine is published by Bernhard C. Wintzek at Postfach 1, D-28kk, Asendorf, West Germany.
16. ☞ Bundesgesetzblatt I [Federal Law Record 11, 1953, p. 377. This law was amended in various ways. The version valid at a given time is printed in the cumulative list of materials indexed by the Bundesprüfstelle [Federal Examining Office]. This cumulative list is currently being published by the chairman of the Bundesprüfstelle, Rudolf Stefen, in the Nomos-Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden.
17. ☞ SS86 of the German Penal Code reads as follows in the part cited here by the prosecutor's office:

Any person who ...

1. ...
2. ...
3. ...
4. distributes or produces for distribution, keeps in stock or imports propaganda materials which are intended by their content to continue the activities of a former National Socialist Organization is punishable by imprisonment up to three years or by fine.

Propaganda materials in keeping with Section 1 are only such publications (SSII, Section 3), the content of which is directed against the free, democratic basic order or the principle of conciliation amongst the nations...

SS130 reads as follows:

Any person who attacks the human dignity of others in a manner suited to disturb the public peace by

1. inciting hatred against parts of the population
2. demanding violent or arbitrary measures against them or
3. insulting them, maliciously making them the object of scorn or slandering them shall be punished by a prison sentence of three months to five years.

18.  Law Concerning the Use of Academic Degrees, dated 7 June 1939, published in the Reichsgesetzblatt I, page 985.
19.  SS130 of the Penal Code: see note 17. SS131 of the Penal Code reads in those parts possibly applicable here as follows:

any person who

1. distributes,
2. ...
3. ...
4. produces written materials which ... incite racial hatred shall be punished by a prison sentence of as much as one year or by a fine...

The 90-minute cassette tape recording of Dr. Stäglich's conference lecture is available from the IHR at \$8.95.

Spring 1984 (Vol. 5, No. 1), page 69.

Karl Marx: Anti-Semite

James B. Whisker

Karl Marx was not only Jewish, he was descended from an established rabbinical family. His father had abandoned the practice of Judaism in order to function more freely in and with the newly established Prussian state, and in order to attract more clients to his law practice. Biographers do agree that age-old Jewish traditions continued to run deep in Herschel Marx's family long after he had ceased attending the synagogue. Karl Marx probably had no formal ties with Judaism, but he was acutely aware of its theology and its traditions. Lack of formal practice cannot here be equated with ignorance. Indeed, Karl Marx apparently had studied the bases of all Western religions throughout his life.

As a "Young Hegelian," commonly known as the Hegelians of the Left, Marx had been exposed to the often bizarre interpretations of organized religion. Among the earliest of his publications was *The Holy Family*, little more than a plagiarism of the leftist Hegelian leader Ludwig Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*. It was in the juvenile *Holy Family* that Marx coined the oft-quoted phrase "Religion is the opiate of the people." The idea was hardly original with him. It was a reasonably cogent summation of one of the principal of Feuerbach's ideas, which was that man is alienated from himself by virtue of his dependence on God. By concentrating on God and by assuring himself that God will right all wrongs and reward all sufferings in the next world, man is said to fail to realize that he can correct injustice and prevent the evils of the world in this world by and through his own efforts. Religion has a narcotic effect by soothing us so that we do not mind that we are miserable. All our sufferings, trials and tribulations, sorrows and despair are part of a divine plan wherewith we work out our salvation; thus they are to be accepted and cherished, not defeated or circumvented or prevented.

The *Holy Family* was an attack on all religion, without prejudice against any one specific variety. There was no real attempt in it to separate Christianity from Judaism. Inasmuch as many of the Young Hegelians were apostate Jews, some had shown especial concern for the status of Judaism, but not prejudice against Jews for religious reasons. Hence, in a sense, freedom from religion was really a form of release for Jews. These leftist followers of George William Frederick Hegel assumed that without any religion in the new state there would be no point of separation between Jews and Gentiles, ex-Christians and ex-Jews. The onus of "Christ killer" would no longer be meaningful, any more than accusations levelled against any other group for killing any other individual or group of individuals. Indeed, Christ as a rejected symbol of false hope would be killed for a second time, and at least this second death would be the cause of liberation, rejoicing and new hope for the suffering masses. With most of this Marx could wholeheartedly agree. Christ had to die a second time, and this time there would be no resurrection. Marx agreed that without religion there could and would be no religious persecutions and prejudices. This was a sound example of an analytic logic in which he had great faith.

But there were parts of the argument put by the Young Hegelians with which Marx totally disagreed. And this disagreement marks the first clear-cut application of Marx's antisemitism. The Jew would and could not change his character and habits any more than a tiger could shed its stripes. Marx concluded that Judaism was more than possible even without God, the Ten Commandments, the Ark of the Covenant, or the Bible. Judaism had nothing, or at least very little, to actually do with God or religion. It was essentially a cultural phenomenon, based on the acquisition of material wealth. It was a system of cultural and religious deception whose real concern was capital, bullion, currency—in short, whatever the coin of the realm or the currency of the era presented or valued. With this, Marx has a somewhat original idea to present to his fellow Hegelians of the Left. He had not merely copied this insight from Moses Hess, Bruno Bauer, Lorenz von Stein, or Feuerbach. He had added the popular perception of the times and, as an intellectual and a cultural and ethnic, if not religious, Jew, he presented the argument in a form somewhat more articulate than that of the streetcorner pamphleteer.

The apostate Jew and direct descendant of a long line of rabbis, Karl Marx, had provided powerful ammunition for the Jew-baiter and the anti-semite among the apostate Jewish community of intellectuals at the German universities. He had spoken the unspeakable and had challenged the fundamentals of religion. He had in fact created a racist theory second to none among the intellectuals of the nineteenth century on the European continent. There is nothing in Arthur de Gobineau or in Houston Stewart Chamberlain that is more powerful or damning in its content with reference to Jews than Marx's *On The Jewish Question* (1843), also known as *A World Without Jews*.

This odd little book on the "Jewish Question" was written in response to Dr. Bruno Bauer's *The Jewish Question* (1843), also known as *The Capacity of Today's Jews and Christians to Become Free*. Marx's booklet has had a curious publishing history. The first unexpurgated English translation did not appear until made available through the clearly anti-Zionist Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow about 1955. Then the Philosophical Library published an English edition (1959) with a curious and apologetic introduction by the press's editor, Dagobert Runes. German and other editions are scarce, save for those distributed by the communist state press.

More intriguing than the scarce-availability of the book is the fact that most scholars have either seemed acutely unaware of its existence, or have simply chosen to ignore it. Certainly, the booklet does not fit in well with the secular humanistic and liberationist theological picture of Karl Marx as the great humanitarian and liberator of the oppressed. Truly, the work presents an obstacle. How can Marx be presented as the champion of all that is good and right in the world when he was in fact so unalterably opposed to Jews and Judaism? A passing remark here or there might be excused, a whole essay on-and-of-nothing but antisemitism is an entirely different matter and a more complex question. The liberal-left is no more able to cope with *A World Without Jews* than is the communist world able to deal with Marx's bitter attacks on Russia, in his several essays denouncing Russian communist movements which have been collectively published as *Marx Against Russia*.

Marx made specific charges against the Jews in his polemic. Jews worship Mammon, not God. Jews practice usury. Their true religion is predicated upon the acquisition of money through any and all means. The emancipation of all Europeans means the emancipation from Jewry: "emancipation from usury and money, that is, from practical, real Judaism, would constitute the emancipation of our time." Jews seek to control the world through the control of money: "What is the object of the Jew's worship in this world? Usury. What is his worldly god? Money... What is the foundation of the Jew in this world? Practical necessity, private advantage... The bill of exchange is the Jew's real God. His God is the illusory bill of exchange." Marx further alleges:

“Money is the one zealous god of Israel, beside which no other god may stand. Money degrades all the gods of mankind and turns them into commodities. Money is the universal and self-constituted value set upon all things. It has therefore robbed the whole world, of both nature and man, of its original value. Money is the essence of man’s life and work which have become alienated from him: this alien monster rules him and he worships it.”

It is from such statements as these, and from the basic tenets of *A World Without Jews*, that we discover some of the reasons for the mass appeal of National Socialism among the German working class to which Marxism-Leninism had once appealed. The fundamental and overriding racism of Marx himself helped to create an atmosphere in which Alfred Rosenberg’s *Zur Protokollen wisen Zionismus* could be accepted. The antisemitism of the master communist planner and theorist-and Jew-Karl Marx, helped to create the preconditions for the later acceptance of Alfred Rosenberg’s many conclusions about Jews in *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*.

There is no clear and direct charge in *A World Without Jews* of a universal Jewish conspiracy. Marx’s work lacks the charge of clear-cut direction of and central control over the Jewish community contained in *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*. But only that separates the two works. Both agree in the fundamentals of a Jewish mammonistic approach to the world and its inhabitants. Both agree that Judaism is nothing more-or less than a form of money-grabbing and money-worshipping secularism. Judaism’s culture, the two works agree, is a pseudo-culture that seeks only material gain for its adherents.

Marx believed that man originally was good and that he naturally looked at all objects as an extension of his self. Objects were weighed according to the good that could accrue in the sense of self-fulfillment and in terms of providing a unified and integrated man, or, as Marx might prefer to put it, in terms of guaranteeing that man would not become alienated from himself. Alienation is the basis of man’s illness, in the Marxist paradigm. The “Jewish mentality” that seeks only material gain from objects is necessarily productive of alienation. Man reduces objects to their monetary value. One does not keep that which has no value, unless he cannot sell it; one sells for money and for riches anything that he has, and disregards the cost in loss of self (self-alienation). Marx charged that even mother or wife is thereby reduced to a monetary transaction, thought of in terms of gains and losses. “Even the relations between the sexes, between man and woman, becomes an object of commerce. The woman is auctioned off.”

The world of aesthetics is reduced to a world of monetary gain. A painting is great because it can command a large price. An opera or other musical composition is judged according to its salability. Poetry and prose is to be valued for its market potential, not for its thoughts, expressions or beauty. Thus, a pornographic work may become greater than a true creation of inspired genius because its market potential is greater. Beyond market considerations, art has no value. Marx accuses the Jewish religion of having nothing but “contempt for ... art, history and man.” The Jew “cannot create a new world,” be it an historical one or one of aesthetic escapism; he can merely calculate how the world might be turned into a profit. Other men create, while the Jew, Marx assures us, can only create the marketplace in which creative products are to be sold; he creates a scale of values by which to measure in terms of money the worth of a creation.

The rampant materialism which Marx abhorred-despite his own materialism and economic determinism-was the work of the earth-centered Jew. Marx concluded that the Gentile had created capitalism, but the Jew had perfected its marketing potentials. In short: without the Jew, capitalism would have been an entirely different phenomenon. The Gentile had to create it because the Jew could not conceive any new worlds on his own, but the Jew could turn capitalism into a wholly materialistic and money-oriented system based on gain at any cost.

An obscure essay by Alfred Rosenberg, *The Earth-Centered Jew Locks a Soul*, has much the same theme: The Jew made capitalism into an earth-centered system that is thoroughly dehumanizing. He had created an atmosphere in which he and many Gentiles operated. Competition forced the non-Jew to perform his business functions like the Jew-or fail. If the modern capitalist state would continue even without Jews, Rosenberg concluded, it would be as it is now because the Jew had removed the soul from the system. Economics was no longer moral; it was a system with no soul. It had been successfully divorced from moral philosophy. One knew Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, but not his *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. If the capitalist system was to survive intact, in the form with which men were familiar, the Jew would survive as the archetype of the capitalist man.

Neither Rosenberg nor Marx attempted an apology for the status of the "earth-centered Jew." There was no historical tracing of the why of it all: of the prejudices and restrictions that may have forced the Jew into money lending, or commerce. The Jew was not as he was depicted by these critics because of conditions that were dehumanizing and beyond his control. The Jew was as he was, they agreed, because that is the way of all Jews: it is a racial-cultural characteristic that cannot in any way be altered or ameliorated.

A World Without Jews was not an isolated work in the sense that it alone contained Marx's anti-Jewish thoughts and positions. Other essays such as *The Class Struggle in France* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* contained strong statements indicting the Jews for various crimes against humanity. Even in *The German Ideology* one finds occasional statements like "It is the circumvention of the law that makes the religious Jew a religious Jew." His dislike for rival socialist leader Ferdinand Lassalle prompted Marx to refer to that writer as "Juden Itzig [Jew-Nigger]."

What emerged from Marx was a clear condemnation of both Jews and Judaism. They had been wholly identified with all the worst elements of capitalism, most notably exploitation of the workers and the manipulation of money in the practice of usury. Marx did not state precisely whether he would have preferred a refabrication of society without the Jews or whether it would have been sufficient to merely remove the "Jewish mentality." The portion of the communist program relating to the confiscation of alien property, as given in Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto*, has been thought by some to relate to the expropriation of Jewish property. This is debatable, but it is a curious addition to that document, whatever the rationale for its inclusion. The overall weight of evidence suggests that the "liberation from Judaism" of which Marx wrote so often is the liberation of society generally from Jews, rather than the liberation of Jews from an earth-centered climate of opinion. "The emancipation of our time," Marx wrote, "means the emancipation from practical Jewry."

We must not think of Marx's racism as confined merely to his baiting of Jews. Marx was a true European of his time, and for him no race save the Caucasian had established itself, committed deeds that might be recorded in history. The yellow and black races were definitely excluded from history, having had no role in the development of the world or of the idea of history.

Marx never, however, wrote anything attacking other races or peoples comparable to his attacks on the Jews. There exists bits and pieces of racist rhetoric, such as his use of the term Itzig, which can be translated best as "nigger." Even had Marx been a more productive and wide-ranging writer, and his attention been drawn more to other nations and other peoples, there seems little doubt that he would indeed have shrunk away from writing something such as Carlyle's *Disquisition on the Nigger Question*.

A careful reading of Marxism does reveal what, though not explicitly stated, Marx's "line" was on these matters. The Proletarian Revolution will not occur in nations of the undeveloped, non-Gaucasian (as we call it now, Third) world. Marx often named the nations in which his thought and prognosis were applicable: Germany, France, Great Britain, the United States, Belgium, the Netherlands, Holland, and other European or Caucasian nations. Marx never included in his grand schematic the nations of the Far East, Latin America or sub-Saharan Africa.

The exclusion of Russia from his system provides a good insight into his thinking. If Russia was to be considered a European nation then it might, at least one day in the future, be subject to the dialectical and historical stages of progress and development through which the remainder of the European nations had passed or were passing. If Russia were, however, Asiatic, at least in the main, it would not pass through the stages and progressions of other nations built and inhabited by Caucasians.

The man who invented the Dialectic, G.W.F. Hegel, had made no provision for applying the dialectical operations of his *Weltgeist* (World-Spirit) to nations other than those traditionally grouped as "Western Civilization." Marx did not choose to alter this in his own construction. If the Dialectic does not operate in a nation, that nation is quintessentially outside history. Events still occur and time passes, but nothing of true historical meaning or value can pass.

It remained for other Marxist-socialist theorists to excise or cover-up the racist remarks in the writings of Karl Marx, and to establish a worldwide appeal for Marxism. Friedrich Engels was able to establish something of a historic and revolutionary role for Third World nations, and Lenin included them in his *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. The German socialist Eduard Bernstein removed anti-semitic remarks from Marx's *Letters to Engels*. It remains that *A World Without Jews* is unknown to all but a handful in the West. Racist remarks in other of Marx's works have been excised by sympathetic editors or passed over apologetically with the flip explanation that Marx was doing nothing more than reflecting the prejudices of his time and place.

But Soviet communism has in fact returned to its anti-semitic roots. Theoretically the Soviet communist state allows the practice of Judaism, while opposing political Zionism. And it is most interesting that the distinction made in Soviet Russia and in other communist satellite nations between the "Sabbath Jew" and the "Zionist Jew" is remarkably similar to the distinction made in National Socialist Germany between the practicing Jew and the earth-centered, irreligious Jew.

Bibliographical note

The primary source for the racist theories of Karl Marx is his *A World Without Jews* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), which was edited and translated by Dagobert D. Runes. Since Runes made reference to the official Soviet edition of the same work we may safely assume that this undated edition published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow was done before 1959. Of the other works in which Marx made passing references to Jews, editions abound. These works include: *The German Ideology*, *The Class Struggle in France*, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*, and *Letters to Engels*. Many of the letters were published in L. Feuer (ed.), *Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy* (Anchor Books). The Foreign Languages Publishing House editions of Marx's many works tend to be accurate and inexpensive.

One of the first discussions in English of Marx's antisemitism was Zygmund Dobbs, "Karl Marx: Father of Modern Anti-Semitism," *Plain Talk* (September 1949). The fundamental secondary

source for Marx's racism and antisemitism is Nathaniel Weyl, *Karl Marx: Racist* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1979).

On the parallels to Alfred Rosenberg in National Socialist Germany, consult Rosenberg's *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* (Torrance, Calif.: Noontide Press, 1982). Rosenberg's essay "The Earth-Centered Jew Lacks a Soul" is found in George Mosse, *Nazi Culture* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1966) and in J.B. Whisker (ed., trans.), *Notional Socialist Ideology: Concepts and Ideas* (Greensboro, North Carolina: W.U.N. Press, 1979).

Oswald Mosley Reconsidered

Keith Stimely

In the five years and twenty issues of its existence, this journal of contemporary history, devoted to the unusual and the unsung — to histories untold or told generally from only one point of view, to people and ideas, movements and events and interpretations not often given (so we from our perspective suppose) a fair hearing — has never touched on the subject of Oswald Mosley and the tumultuous, though unsuccessful, political movements he led in Britain during the middle third of this century. All historical study entails not only the consideration of events transpired, but of alternatives untried; for “revisionary” history, the kind whose students and practitioners for one reason or another carry a predisposition to look and think twice, the draw to the latter, to imagination and reconstruction, must be especially powerful. And for history considered as politics, creator through sheer power-wield of what we like or don’t like about the world around us. all the more compelling must be that draw — particularly if it transcends “what if” speculation and involves consciously the desire to glean useful lessons from the past, quite as much from failures as from successes, what didn’t as from what did happen.

Oswald Mosley’s strange, spectacular, and absolutely unique career within the broad polity of an entrenched liberal-democratic society of our time touched, in its long course, on virtually every great public issue and theme that faced and still faces such a society in this age of continuing turmoil and change. Peace and war, the division of the world, European union, colonialism, government, empire, democracy, communism, socialism, fascism, corporatism, syndicalism, trade unionism, protectionism, capitalism, Keynesianism, public works, militarism, technocracy, managerialism, violence, race, treason, free speech, coercion, philosophy, culture — all these met their treatment in earnest study and debate, and impassioned advocacy, at the hands of Mosley and his various followers and opponents, at various times. And while it would be wrong to suggest that, excepting the two fiery decades of his meteoric political ascendancy after World War I, Mosley and “Mosleyism” were at or even very near the center of all these discussions in Britain, nevertheless his approaches to the problems of the twentieth century have left their mark on events and ideas. With passions of former years subsiding, old combatants mellowing (or just dying), and inevitable curiosity piquing at what is, after all, a most interesting and instructive political story, recent years have seen the emergence in his own country of a profound reawakening of interest in just who Mosley was, what he stood for, what led him to stand for it — and how all or some of it might have made a difference. For decades he was kept quite out of “serious” discussion, though never really out of the public eye. The revival of interest in him is serious, and it is hardly unnatural that much of it takes the form, mild yet, of a reaction against the long-standing former “consensus” interpretation of the man as the very epitome of political evil. Mosley is being revised — and the revisionist process truly to be such need only amount to a gradual reconsideration of his ideas and proposals simply on their merits. The persistence into the present of the problems Mosley addressed, often in studious detail and with an eloquence conceded even by his worst enemies and since unmatched, makes for his relevance to the contemporary political discussion. As in Britain, so this discussion would bear hearing in America — though on these

shores the “reconsideration” of Mosley is really his consideration in the first place; not too much has been said of him here, perhaps naturally enough. But for American students of Fascism, indeed of the clash of political ideas in this century generally, there must be an especial usefulness in considering the British case since, of all countries with Fascist movements successful or unsuccessful, that one does bear the closest resemblance to our own in terms of political and cultural structure and tradition, the degree of development and modernization — and it is, of course, the most readily accessible to understanding because of a shared language. The lessons of Mosley for Britain are not necessarily restricted to Britain. Nor need be simple interest.

To the end of introducing Oswald Mosley to American readers we present as our lead article this issue Robert Row’s “Sir Oswald Mosley: Briton, Fascist, European,” followed by an extensive, though not exhaustive, bibliography for those who might care to pursue their interest. Nothing like either has ever appeared in an American publication. About Mr. Row’s contribution two points should be made. First, it is not an objective historical study, but an appreciation by a long-time political associate and partisan; it introduces Mosley from the frank Mosleyite perspective of the present day, and as such — a “political” treatment — tends to give his post-1945 ideas and proposals as much attention as those of the prewar Fascist period — a rare, and valuable, thing. (Those seeking other perspectives are referred to the bibliography, where will be found anti-Mosleyana in magnificent abundance.) Second, it speaks in some degree — with several rather interesting quotations, considering from whom they come — to the current phenomenon of a “new objectivity” in approaching Mosley. Though already mentioned here, it is to this point that some further few words might yet with profit be addressed.

It indeed became fashionable toward the end of, and after, Mosley’s life for even the British intellectual Establishment, whose members by-and-large had waged alternately hot and cold wars against him for decades, to praise Mosley — or at least to raise him up somewhat from the “out of sight, out of mind” political and moral dustbin to which he had been consigned. Mosley himself contributed in great measure to his (partial) rehabilitation with the publication by a major house in 1968 of his autobiography, *My Life*. (The final chapter of this book, incidentally, should be read intently by anyone seeking to understand the fundamental difference in outlook on life between a Fascist and a Marxist.) The trend of looking at Mosley in a new, less jaundiced way was heralded by Colin Cross’s rancor-bereft historical study *The Fascists in Britain*, of 1961. By the time of its appearance Mosley had already been gaining some sympathy of a kind because of heavy-handed, often violent, attempts to curb his and Union Movement’s rights of free speech in public places. Robert Skidelsky’s magisterial and controversial 1975 biography, *Oswald Mosley*, marked the real milestone in revising “standard” interpretations of the man. After it no one could look at its subject in quite the same way; this included the work’s many strident critics, who demonstrated the fact by sole virtue of adopting some countering lines of argument that they had not, theretofore, felt it necessary to raise, probably even to consider. So by the time of his death in 1980 at the age of 84, a new way of looking at Mosley, more respectful and quite respectable, had developed into being. It was manifest in many of the hundreds of mainstream-press obituary articles and broadcasts that papered and sounded over Britain and caused the people of that land — at least those with memories — to pause of a day and reflect on the loss of one who, variously adored or hated, praised or reviled, looked to enthusiastically as likely Labour Prime Minister or feared as would-be Fascist dictator, stirring and shaking huge crowds in monster auditoriums or pacing in a tiny Brixton Prison cell, putting forth policy in the highest councils of national government or standing against charges of planned violent subversion, had been a part of their political tradition and consciousness for more than four decades.

But a slightly specious note may be discovered in many of the good words of recent years that have been said about Mosley. (Said especially since his death; if it is bad to criticize a dead man

on the grounds that he can't reply, is it any better to reserve the full flowering of relative kindness and fairness for the time when he can't benefit?) This note sounds in the one basic qualification generally attached to those words, lending a resounding "Yes, but..." effect. The line goes something like this: "Ah, Mosley... tsk, what a tragedy. He could have accomplished great things with all that talent and some of those modern ideas of his. If it just weren't for that fall into extremism and Fascism; must have been a character flaw there. Well, the major parties lost a great one, for sure. Could have used him. Yes, too bad about that Fascist thing, too bad..." Thus the "tragedy of Mosley" — that a man of such high station, so full of early influence and exalted promise, could "succumb" (to something or other) and take himself down "the wrong path" (or "the twisted path"), leading only to the pale and beyond. Here we have Mosley considered not really on his own terms but, as usual, on the terms, from the singular perspective, of the Establishment. For a long time criticized and condemned on those terms, lately praised and lamented on those terms: the tragedy of how Mosley was lost to the use of the old ways — not of how possible new, radically new, ways were lost to the use of Britain.

Surely this lament for "the lost Mosley" does not amount finally to the lament that, oh, what a shame, Labour in the '40s could have had a much more dynamic and photogenic leader than Clement Atlee! Mosley would laugh in his grave. He could not but have left Labour eventually (at least any Labour Party likely ever to have been constituted), precisely as he did leave it in 1931. He was made for more than that, and his cause — which came to him gradually — was far greater than that; he finally knew it, he tried for more, and he failed. He failed right at the vigorous prime, not at all toward the enfeebling end, of his life, still a young man with much ahead of him. The times, the situation, had determined when he would make his gamble for "The Greater Britain." (They determined also — and this is very important — that and how he would make the gamble.) He never regretted his course, though he had decades in the political wilderness to help persuade him to do so. Rather he kept on, with a new movement suited, he said, to the post-1945 world realities. New vehicle notwithstanding, the guiding cause was really the same, with the difference now that it was a greater one, not just Britain's. As Mosley put it: "Europe a Nation." But no regret — and certainly no apology. For Mosley, surveying the course of Britain and Europe since the Second World War, there could only be regret that the cause to which he had sacrificed his career, and which had promised a far, far different future for his nation, its continent and culture, had not succeeded. Hardly could there be any other regret, certainly not on fundamentals, when the very evidences — massive, innumerable, overwhelming — of vindication, the what-is compared with the what-could-have-been, stared back unblinking, like Nietzsche's abyss, into the souls of all who cared to look, and had a European soul so to be affrighted.

Just who had taken "the wrong path" — Mosley in turning to Fascism, or those who rejected and condemned him and it? That can only be answered after it has been asked. and the Establishment, for all its "new objectivity" in treating Mosley, has not yet got around to asking that. When it does, as it will one day, we will see finally considered with all due seriousness (and that is no little seriousness) the ideas and program of, yes, Mosley the Fascist and European unionist. Nevertheless just Mosley the "lost leader" of Labour (or, for that matter, of the Tories), not just the Mosley who "could have been another Lloyd George if he'd played his cards right," but as well the Mosley who could utterly renounce the old parties and the old philosophies to provide his countrymen with the great and revolutionary alternative of a new philosophy and synthesis. The Mosley of the British Union Peace Programme of 1939, of the Declaration of Venice of 1962, not just of the rejected Labour "Memorandum" of 1930. Only when this Mosley is considered in wide and serious measure will objectivity have run its course, to do which it must pass through the pale itself, using as a guide precisely that "wrong" path Mosley was alleged to have taken. To where that path, in time, leads will also be found the answer to the question of just whose real and great tragedy the Mosley story, the brilliant Mosley failure, described. For those who have

already ventured in their hearts down that path, reaching the precipice that is also a lookout, the answer stands clear: more than a man's; more than a nation's; Europe's.

Sir Oswald Mosley: Briton, Fascist, European

Robert Row

Late in 1932, about a year after the financial crisis that rocked Britain to its foundations and heralded the great depression of the thirties, George Bernard Shaw said at a Fabian meeting in London: “You may remember the eloquence with which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald begged the nation to defend the gold standard. They all rallied 'round the gold standard and gave Mr. MacDonald a big majority. They were told that as long as they stuck to the gold standard the trade of England was safe.” Yet “Mr. MacDonald, who had been hailed as the man who saved the nation by keeping it on the gold standard, was then hailed as the man who saved the nation by taking it off the gold standard.”

Thus the ironic Shaw on that extraordinary sleight-of-hand by which the old political order faced the crisis of 1931.

He then turned to MacDonald’s leading critic who had warned, in vain, that the crisis was coming. “You will hear more of Sir Oswald Mosley before you are very much older. I know you dislike him, because he looks like a man who has some physical courage and is going to do something, and that is a terrible thing. You instinctively hate him, because you do not know where he will land you. Instead of talking 'round and 'round political subjects, and obscuring them with bunk verbiage without even touching them and without understanding them ... he keeps hard flown to the actual situation.”

So much for what Shaw really thought of his Fabian friends, many of whom were to rise to the very heights of “the Establishment,” those rulers who have run Britain down-hill since 1931, Mosley’s entrenched opponents all his life.

Others, too, were to recognize the same attitude in high places. Richard Crossman wrote in 1961 that “Mosley was spurned by Whitehall, Fleet Street and every party leader at Westminster simply and solely because he was right.” No doubt, as Crossman added, he was spurned because he “was prepared to discard the orthodoxies of democratic politics and to break with the bankers of high finance in order to conquer unemployment,” a terrible thing in the view of Shaw, ironic as ever. Dazzled by Mosley’s “brightly shining star,” as Michael Foot observed in 1968, the men of the Establishment decided they preferred, after all, “mediocrity and safety first which consigned political genius to the wilderness and the nation to the valley of the shadow of death” and to much suffering in large parts of Britain during the unemployment of the thirties.

Mosley, in the opinion of Lord Boothby and others, could have been “a very great Prime Minister” leading either a Labour or a Conservative government. That was not to be. Mediocrity ruled in Britain instead.

Who was this man Mosley? The noted historian A.J.P. Taylor wrote in 1965 that “his proposals were more creative than those of Lloyd George and offered a blueprint for most of the construc-

tive advances in economic policy to the present day... evidence of a superlative talent.” David Lloyd George himself saw Mosley as a man of “remarkable lucidity and force.” John Wheatley, M.P. of “Red” Clydeside, said in 1926 that he was “one of the greatest and most hopeful figures the socialist movement has thrown up.” Colonel Joseph Wedgwood of the Labour Party, later a Father of the House, said after Mosley’s speech of resignation from government in 1930: “I watched the Liberal Party. I watched the Conservative Party. Man after man was saying to himself: ‘That is our leader.’ “

Such were the views of leading historians and parliamentarians. Great audiences thought likewise, when they heard his policies. During the stormy General Election of 1931, as New Party meetings up and down the country were being wrecked by organized mobs, Mosley held one remarkable meeting in Manchester’s Free Trade Hall about which the Manchester Guardian was to say: “In his thirty-fifth year Oswald Mosley is already encrusted with legend... Who could doubt when he sat down after his speech on Saturday, and the audience, stirred as an audience rarely is, rose and swept a storm of applause towards the platform — who could doubt that here was one of those root- and-branch men who have been thrown up from time to time in the religious, political and business story of England? His ideas swept a great audience off its feet and the scene at the end was matter for thought to any ‘elder statesman.’ “

In the world of letters Beverley Nichols was later to write in his News of England in 1938, the time of the British Union of Fascists (BUF): “For Mosley, whether you regard him as a limb of Satan or a potential saviour of this nation, is one of the three most dynamic personalities in the Empire today. And the men he has inspired are animated by something akin to a religious faith.”

How did the man regard himself? He wished to be known to posterity as “the man of synthesis,” and in a recent criticism in the Times Higher Education Supplement, Richard Thurlow conceded he had “a brilliant synthesising mind... He synthesised many of the best ideas of his time: Keynes’s critique of the Establishment’s deflationary policies, Lloyd George’s great public works to soak up unemployment, Joseph Chamberlain’s demand for an insulated home market and protection for the British Empire, and C.H. Douglas’s proposals of consumer credits to raise the purchasing power of the poorer sections of the community.”

There was also guild socialism. Mosley wrote in his auto biography, My Life: “My inclination in British politics was always towards the guild socialists — then represented by such thinkers and writers as [G.D.H.] Cole, [J.A.] Hobson and [A.R.] Orage — rather than to state socialism, whose exponents were the Webbs and the Fabians. The tradition of the mediaeval guilds in England, of the Hanseatic League and the syndicalism of the Latin countries was much nearer to my thinking.” At the same time he could appreciate the power of the Federal Reserve System and what he saw of American mass production methods during his visit to the United States in the twenties, reaching yet another synthesis for Britain by combining what he learned in America, the most advanced capitalist state, and the thinking of British guild socialists and European syndicalists.

Yet he was more. He achieved his own personal ideal of the “complete man” of politics, economic thinking, war service in 1914-18, a man of culture with a deep interest in philosophy, the true aristocrat who was “the friend of the people.” And there was his sport. Descended from a family long connected with the land of England, including a grandfather famous for his pedigree cattle and the very model for England’s “John Bull,” Mosley’s early interest in sport turned to boxing, “The Fancy” of his ancestors in a more robust age. He also represented his country in international fencing contests in his thirties.

“He is very English,” wrote James Drennan of the Mosley of that time, “as it were, a composite ghost of English history, yet his enemies complain he is so 'un-English.' Perhaps they mean that he lacks that bourgeois stamp which has moulded to its flaccid type the generations of English politicians who have grown up since the Industrial Revolution. There is something of the Elizabethan in his gallant, rather arrogant air. He is the Englishman of the Carolean tennis court, of the duelling ground rather than of the Pall Mall club. Then again, with his boxing and fencing, he has walked in the tradition of the Regency 'buck' in a time when people have got into the habit of expecting younger politicians to have horn-rimmed spectacles and soft white hands. He is a big man of blood and bone, of strong tones, no feeble creature of grey shadings. He is a personality, with all his individual qualities and faults, no self-complacent bladder of conventions.”

A certain hard seriousness and a natural chivalry were indeed his hallmarks. Several times in later life he was in a position to destroy an opponent by exposing personal scandal. “We must confine our attacks on these people to their public lapses and not to their private lives, however disgusting” was his invariable response.

The Mosley story began in the waterlogged trenches of Flanders, red with poppies and the life blood of a slaughtered British generation, and in the Royal Flying Corps where he learned to respect his opponents, the young German airmen of 1914-18, feeling a kinship with them higher than his regard for “the old politicians who sent both of us there, to fight.” Many years later he saw a film of the Verdun battles when he experienced an immediate spiritual comradeship with one French soldier silent and stark amid that enormous suffering.

Out of these deep impressions of what G.K. Chesterton described as “that awful depopulation” of Europe, there sprang his lasting faith in an ultimate union of the nations of Europe to end all conflicts of brother peoples.

And so, with the limp which was his own personal legacy from the trenches, he went into Parliament with a hatred of world wars to raise his great voice for “the missing generation,” his mission that never again should there be another such bloodbath. Winning Harrow for the Conservatives in the “Khaki Election” of 1918, he was asked to explain his policies. His reply, in the tradition of Joseph Chamberlain, was “socialist imperialism”; he had fought on a platform of high wages and shorter hours, housing schemes carried out by the nation, the abolition of slums, and health and child welfare policies.

But when he reached Parliament, as he later said, “the first shock was the sight of my colleagues. The young men were in a minority and the 'hardfaced men' were in a great majority. The profiteer outnumbered the fighter.” Thus when those “hard-faced men” who then led the Conservatives betrayed the war-time pledge that a land for heroes would be built after so much sacrifice, while disgracing themselves during the Black and Tan period in Ireland, he left that party.

For a time he sat in Parliament as an Independent, holding Harrow against the attacks of Conservative press and party machine in two further elections, and there he was spotted as a coming man by the bright eye of the Labour leader, Ramsay MacDonald, to be invited to join that “peoples' party” which MacDonald in turn was to betray, in 1931. In 1924, when Mosley joined Labour, Britain was in the grip of a merciless deflation. Other hard-faced men in high places, the Cunliffe Committee of City bankers and Treasury officials, had met in conclave before the killing was over in 1918 and there decreed that deflation was the essential road “back to normality” after the war. This was accepted widely. By 1925 Stanley Baldwin, Tory leader, was stating bluntly that “all the workers in this country have got to face a reduction in wages.” The Liberals were split on the question, but they were the declining party. Even Labour, the rising party, no matter

how much it denounced deflation in opposition, was led by men who tugged their forelocks to the bankers in office. Prominent among them was the mercantilist Philip Snowden. He announced shortly after becoming Chancellor in the first Labour government of 1924 that he was “much guided” by the findings of the Cunliffe Committee. As Chancellor again in the second Labour government he was to say in 1931 that “the City would not stand for” Mosley’s proposals for solving unemployment.

The latter did not join a party widely proclaiming its “socialist” goal in order to grovel in this way before the power of high finance. All his sympathies lay with the guild socialist tradition in that party, all his ideas were opposed to the deflation demanded by the Establishment of the day. His years of synthesizing then began, seeing much of Keynes — at that time the leading rebel against the Cunliffe Committee’s dictates — and inevitably coming into growing conflict with the Snowdenites; for such leaders, cast in an older mold, Mosley had far too many ideas and most of them dangerous.

By 1925 he had written *Revolution by Reason*, a book revolutionary in the sense that it cut across the current orthodoxy and proposed the deliberate raising of living standards through consumer credits, injecting purchasing power wherever it was needed most in order to match the greater power of industry to produce. And in these proposals lay the origins of that later breach with Labour leaders.

For, while Mosley campaigned for higher living standards at public meetings where he was increasingly in demand, a Conservative government took measures to depress those standards through a more rigorous deflation than Mrs. Thatcher recently has attempted — and there on the Labour front bench in Parliament the Snowdenites bowed in deepest reverence to the financial gods sacred to Stanley Baldwin, Tory leader. The men of like minds occupied both front benches. The men who wanted change sat behind, with Mosley.

Incredible though it may seem to much opinion in the 1980s, Mosley did not turn to Fascism because of “arrogance” or “ambition” but simply because he soon came to realize that socialism would not be built under the old leadership; the logic of his ideas drew him ever more towards a form of proto-fascism but for the word itself. For him this arose from the memory of comradeship in the trenches, uniting all classes in face of the machine-guns which struck down all irrespective of social class. It arose from his “socialist imperialism”; its dynamic thrust came from his synthesis of economic ideas; its method of government was inspired by Lloyd George’s inner cabinet, a government of action which had won the war of 1914-18 and which Mosley would transform into “a machinery of government” to solve the problems left by that war.

First among those problems was unemployment. This continued to rise rapidly despite the election of a Labour government in 1929 to solve it. Seeing that MacDonald’s speeches on the subject were having no effect, Mosley compiled his own policies of action in the famous “Mosley Memorandum” of early 1930; a government determined to solve unemployment, equipped with the machinery to do it, was the vital part of his proposals.

Yet when placed before the men of the Cabinet, these proposals aroused their pious horror, for the men were paragons of inaction, dedicated to muddling through. Close contact with their woolly minds had no doubt made a parting of the ways likely in any event: this was made inevitable by their limp response to the approaching crisis and the inertia with which they answered Mosley’s dynamism. When they rejected the Memorandum, while refusing to produce something better themselves, he resigned from the Labour government in May 1930.

Father Brocard Sewell of the Carmellites, replying to an obituary in Mosley's old school magazine, *The Wykehamist*, wrote that "when the dust has settled" Mosley may be remembered most for his rejected Memorandum, which would have solved unemployment, and for his advocacy of a united Europe. Prophetic words.

Much has been written about the failure of Mosley's New Party, hastily formed under the storm cloud of crisis, lacking a press but attacked by the national press, accused of the blackest treachery by former allies, its meetings smashed by the Labour mobs and the communists. Its electoral organization was rudimentary and in the panic conditions of the General Election of 1931 it was swept away.

Those panic conditions, with the workless queues lengthening ominously, set the scene for one of the great confidence tricks of British history. Assisted by some Liberals, the Labour and Conservative leaders united to stampede the country into giving them office again — although they were the men most responsible for the crisis! They had the support of a servile press which both whipped up the crisis and bamboozled the public. The first step in the charade was taken by MacDonald when his coalition was arranged. "All my friends are with me tonight," declared the erstwhile revolutionary as he faced the House of Commons, proudly surveying his former class enemies, the leading Tories sitting poker-faced at his side. The men of like minds were together at last.

A further step was that trick derided by Shaw before the dumbfounded Fabians, the trick of panicking the country into defense of the gold standard to be duly followed by the abandoning of the gold standard, yet still to the applause of the servile press.

Hence the bitterness of Mosley, who had striven to arouse a Labour government to action long before the crisis arose, at the one-time visionaries of "socialism" joining in the trickery which thus resuscitated the economic system they had spent their lives in denouncing. The defeated New Party had offered a real alternative to that system and had been at least an attempt to save Britain from the mass unemployment that followed in the thirties, and in the last issue of its paper, *Action*, Mosley flung his defiance at his triumphant opponents: "Better far the great adventure, better the great attempt for England's sake, better defeat, disaster, better far the end of that trivial thing called a political career than stifling in a uniform of Blue and Gold, strutting and posturing on the stage of Little England, amid the scenery of decadence ..."

And for those who stood fast, unlike those who had broken at the sight of the mobs or had chosen "safety first" in the ranks of the old parties after all, he reaffirmed the original faith which had taken him into politics: "Before we go we will do something great for England. Through and beyond the failure of men and parties, we of the war generation are marching on, and we shall march on until our end is achieved and our sacrifice atoned." It was to be a stormy road.

Oswald Mosley was bitterly condemned when he took the road to Fascism. Critics were as outraged then as they have been since. Suddenly they began to notice certain flaws of character which had not been apparent when they praised his abilities.

Yet this recoil from men who dare to cross Rubicons and defy the fates has occurred again and again in history.

History also shows that all new ideas, as Fascism was new in Britain in 1932, have met with strong opposition in that country from their inception. Parliament itself was not a British invention but was imported from France by Simon de Montfort in the very teeth of opposition from the mediaeval crown. Democracy in classical times originated in Athens, and in modern times again

in France: great thunderings greeted it from the great landed interests when its early crude form emerged during the French Revolution. England went to war with democracy then, a conflict intensified when Napoleon Bonaparte, its military champion, reached power in France. And England and Prussia, defenders of the older order, defeated Napoleon and democracy at Waterloo in 1815. Nevertheless democracy was to triumph in the end in England, through a series of political changes beginning with the first Reform Act of 1832, eleven years after the great Napoleon died, and to such an extent that in the more spacious Victorian age English statesmen came to pride themselves as the very paladins of democracy: Read their speeches.

Thus just a hundred years after the passing of the Reform Act, when Britain was long settled in democratic ways, the founding of the British Union of Fascists aroused another storm in 1932.

What was Fascism? Serious critics now agree that it took several very different forms between the two world wars. Fascism was an intensely national idea and differing national characters and conditions produced different forms of it. Certainly this was true of Mosley's BUF. As he patiently explained to his raging critics, all the political ideas of history had come to Britain from abroad, but it was the true genius of the British people which created the finest examples of those ideas here in this country. So it was with Fascism.

Mosley's Fascism was unique, above all, because of the fact that its main policies rested upon the concept of a united British Empire, and many of its older members had seen service in that Empire. All other Fascist ideas lacked such a wide living space. Again, its national ideology sprang from native British roots, as Mosley's slogan "Britain First" emphasized, and mainly those roots were the earlier ideas of Joseph Chamberlain, Keynes, and Lloyd George, and the guild socialists led by Hobson, Cole and Orage, British every one. What had happened was that Mosley had synthesized their ideas into the British policies of the BUF. He was preeminently "the man of synthesis."

Yet patient explanation and the sheer logic of his standpoint only drew uproar from the critics, chief of whom were in the Labour Party. How ironic it was, therefore, that many of the ideas in *The Greater Britain*, Mosley's book which launched the BUF, had won him huge support while he was in that party. So popular were these that his vote at the Labour annual conference at Llandudno in 1930 came near to dethroning MacDonald, that grand old man of straw. A few weeks later the same proposals formed a manifesto signed by 17 Labour M.P.s, from Oswald and Cynthia Mosley to Aneurin Bevan and John McGovern, and the famous miners' leader A.J. Cook.

Was there, perhaps, a deep guilt complex at work in the tirades of Labour leaders when the BUF arose?

What, however, of the "political uniform" which most enraged them? As far as Mosley himself was concerned the black shirt was adopted for reasons of a hard necessity. It was the means of keeping order at the early meetings when Red violence was mobilized again in a fresh bid to drive him right out of political life. His New Party meetings had been wrecked when the stewards wore no uniform (for instance at the Rag Market in Birmingham), but BUF meetings were not wrecked because the stewards wore the distinctive black shirt; that was the acid test.

Let it be stated clearly that it was the violence of the Left which created the black shirt uniform. Of all the political forces of the time, the violence was mainly responsible for the black shirt's appearance on British streets.

However, what Mosley called "the great negation" of the Left brought forth in reply the great positivism of the BUF through the clash of ideas, a nation-wide movement which wore its politi-

cal symbol with pride and with heroism in many hard battles to secure freedom of speech for a new idea, uniting all classes in a creed “akin to a religious faith,” as Beverley Nichols wrote. Until the old parties, alarmed at this phenomenon which had arisen out of the streets scarred with poverty and depression in the thirties to challenge the corruption of their failure and misrule, used the pretext of yet another wave of Red violence to ban all political uniforms under the grotesquely mis-styled Public Order Act.

Yet the whole question of political ideas has been distorted to an hilarious extent. Almost all political ideas went into uniform during the thirties. Some Social Crediters wore a green shirt uniform. The communists sported the red shirt, seen in London and Red Madrid alike during the decade. Even the democratic parties affected an easily recognized uniform of sorts, the top hat and morning suit of Mr. Baldwin, at least on ceremonial occasions. This became the accepted garb of plump veterans or aspiring younger politicians. From the assembled top hats who had signed the Versailles Treaty down to the British Chancellor on Budget Day they invariably appeared in their own political uniform. It was to be seen in its greatest glory when the League of Nations assembled at Geneva, all dressed like Baldwin no matter what their nationality.

The fact of the matter between the two world wars was that it was the age of political uniforms. Mosley’s black shirt was one of many. He had a political uniform, and so had the others.

Yet still the myths persist, and one of the most ludicrous is that the BUF, after a promising start, began to fail in the mid-thirties.

A critic like R.C Thurlow, for example, traces this to “the relative success of the national government in partially reconstructing the economy” after the crisis of 1931. Here a comparison with the National Socialists in Germany can be drawn. They came to power, it is widely agreed, because unemployment in that country more than doubled between 1930 and 1933. Would Hitler have become the Chancellor of Germany but for economic catastrophe? In Britain, on the other hand, unemployment was halved between 1932 and 1939, and yet in those seven years the BUF advanced in strength from fifty members at the beginning to the 30,000 enthusiastic people who packed the Earls Court exhibition hall for Mosley’s greatest meeting, just six weeks before war began in 1939.

This was the largest indoor political rally then held anywhere in the world. Nor did any rival organization in Britain attempt such a meeting. And Mosley had been speaking to capacity meetings elsewhere in Britain during the previous two years, notably in Manchester’s Free Trade Hall. The ban on the black shirt made no difference, except that his meetings were bigger.

Social collapse brought the National Socialists to power in Germany. Social improvement, “partial reconstruction,” the creation of jobs with belated rearmament and a rising war fever against Fascism abroad failed to stop the advance of the BUF in Britain.

But in September 1939 the iron door of war clanged down again monstrously and the second world conflict Mosley had striven to avert tore Europe apart.

This time there would be fifty million corpses piled across the earth, to stare at the “peace makers” of twenty years before at Versailles, and from democracy’s laboratories would emerge a new devil’s weapon, the nuclear bomb, to raise a hideous question mark high above the earth. If Mosley’s struggle for peace ended in 1939, if indeed he was then the “brilliant failure” of the obituary notices, he did not have to run the gauntlet of those fifty million unnecessary dead when his time came to leave this earth and face another verdict beyond. But what of the politicians who took Britain to war?

For three years before the war, and again at Earls Court, Mosley had advanced the way of averting a conflict. The *World Alternative*, published in 1936, urged a reconciliation of the rising war camps through a settlement of territorial problems created at Versailles. Each of the main nations of Europe would have had a clearly defined political area, with adequate space to solve its problems. For Britain this would have brought freedom from non-British quarrels, enabling the country to devote its statesmanship, effort and wealth to its true interest, the development of the British Empire, whose immense and untapped resources made possible far higher living standards for its peoples.

The official De La Warr Report of early 1939 stated that there were then 100 million people in the Empire suffering from “malnutrition” (i.e., semi-starvation), quite apart from the same problem among hundreds of thousands of the long-term unemployed in Britain. A world slump created this problem. Mosley’s policies would have solved it. Britain went to war instead.

Further, the ideas in *The World Alternative* would have led to a very different union of Europe from that of the postwar (1957) Treaty of Rome, a union into which Britain could have entered much stronger, at the head of the Empire. It was above all a plan for preserving world peace, inspired by the ideals of 1918. Mosley wrote then: “We must return to the fundamental concept of European union which animated the war generation of 1918,” and he looked forward to “the union of Europe within the universalism of the Modern Movement.”

Was it thus so strange that, after a disastrous war — that great clash between Fascism and a democracy allied with communism — he declared in 1948 for the future “Europe a Nation” to achieve a European universalism at a higher level and (ever “the man of synthesis,” rising above that clash) turned to “the idea which is beyond both fascism and democracy”?

Meanwhile, during the thirties, his policy was “mind Britain’s business,” and Britain’s business was the preservation of peace and the security of Empire. To secure the Empire he called, in *The Greater Britain* of 1932 and at the Olympia meeting in 1934, for adequate defenses. He was thus several years ahead of Churchill in demanding rearmament, but with a difference.

While Mosley stood for rearmament to mind Britain’s business, Churchill wanted rearmament to interfere in other countries’ business.

Churchill was full of the doctrine of the balance of power, which had ruled British attitudes for centuries. His ancestor Marlborough had fought the French over the balance of power, and Churchill fought Germans for the same reason. Though a prolific writer of history, he failed to appreciate that the world had changed since the days of Queen Anne. Certainly Marlborough understood his own age: his battles restored the balance of power in Europe and his genius had made Britain a first-rate power of the day. Churchill’s war policy, on the other hand, reduced Britain to a second-rate power and replaced the former European balance of power with a more ominous balance of nuclear terror in the world. This he did by pursuing his demand for the unconditional surrender of Germany, ignoring the postwar consequences of that defeat. Further, he prolonged and enlarged the war to the stage where two extra-European superpowers, the U.S.A. and the USSR, began to dominate the whole course of the war and indeed changed the very shape of the postwar world. Once Roosevelt and Stalin, in command of bigger resources of manpower and material than Churchill, assumed the direction of the war for their own objectives, which were not Britain’s, Churchill’s voice in their higher councils counted for less and less.

The fact is that Churchill destroyed Britain as a first-rate power, and no amount of nostalgia which surrounds his name can alter that fact.

The point where Britain became a second-rate power in effect (not realized, however, at the time) can be fixed. It was during the Teheran conference of 1943. Churchill discovered at Teheran that his allies were “ganging up on him” and moreover possessed the power to enforce their demands. It happened again at Yalta in 1945, when Stalin was even more powerful and Roosevelt was a dying man.

It was quite true that Churchill realized in later years what his years of war-time vigor had wrought; nevertheless it was then far too late. The war had brought Russian power half-way across Europe, in the hands of those Bolsheviks whom Churchill had spent much of his life denouncing as the most detestable tyrants. Poland, for whose freedom Britain had declared war, had been swept by Red armies into the sphere of the USSR — that new version of the monolithic Eurasian empire first set up in the Middle Ages under the Mongol conqueror Genghiz Khan. It seems to be lost on most war historians that Stalin’s “iron curtain” of 1945 corresponded roughly with the furthest conquests of the old Mongol centuries before: his horde from Eurasia also watered its horses in the river Oder. Lenin, and more particularly Stalin, simply restored that empire and called it the USSR, and Churchill helped to establish it on formal lines at Yalta. While the original empire broke up when Genghiz Khan died and his sons quarreled over the booty, the sons of Lenin remained united. Today, as Stalin’s successors, they possess the most formidable military machine on earth.

It is grimly ironic that the Churchill of the twenties who likened the Bolsheviks to “the heirs of Genghis Khan” was the same Churchill of the forties whose war policies brought the Red armies to the river Oder.

As for Western Europe in 1945, shattered by six years of conflict, faced with a Stalin crushing all opposition behind his sealed-off “Iron Curtain,” Churchill was to warn in four major speeches between 1948 and 1955 that its continued independence rested solely on American nuclear weaponry. “Nothing,” he told the Conservative annual conference of 1948, “nothing stands today between Europe and complete subjugation to communist tyranny but the atomic bomb in American hands.” This situation was the logical outcome of the policies of Churchill himself — the policies which prolonged a world war until Germany surrendered unconditionally and which extended the new-style Mongol empire to central Europe.

Against such madness Mosley had stood out from September 1939, urging strongly the negotiation of peace in Europe, with Britain and the Empire intact. But when Churchill reached the premiership, one of his first acts was the silencing of Mosley.

It is claimed that Britain went to war for “freedom.” Not only Polish freedom but British freedom. “Your freedom is in peril, defend it with all your might” shouted the posters in 1939. What did the word really mean when those like Mosley, who stood for an honorable peace, lost their freedom within nine months of the declaration of war?

Lady Mosley described in the Times of November 1981 what happened under Regulation 18B which gave the government power of arrest without charge or trial, and denied to those arrested any recourse to the Habeas Corpus Act, supposedly one of the historic pillars of British freedom. “My husband and I were arrested in the summer of 1940 at a moment of general panic. All our possessions were searched, safes broken open and so forth. I welcomed this at the time, as I thought it would ensure our early release... Months and then years went by and we remained in prison. As we had not been charged with an offense we were denied the luxury of a trial.”

Instead of a trial, Lady Mosley continued, “there was an advisory committee, whose chairman was Norman Birkett, K.C. It was held in camera. He questioned Mosley for sixteen hours, and at

the end Mosley asked if he might put a question. It was: 'Is it suggested that if the Germans invaded we should help them in some way?', to which Birkett replied, 'Sir Oswald, you can put any such idea right out of your head.' In other words I am in prison for having advocated a negotiated peace while Britain and the Empire are intact?' 'Yes' was the reply."

That was the entire point of war-time detention without charge or trial.

How indeed could Mosley be accused of conspiring to help German invaders when he had fought the Germans in the first war, he had called for adequate air defenses in his maiden speech in Parliament in 1919 (at a time when government was cutting Britain's air defenses), he had demanded a well-armed Britain in 1932 on founding the BUF, he had called on BUF members in September 1939 to do their duty if called up for military service, and on 9 May 1940, just fourteen days before his arrest, he had stated in his paper *Action*: "Stories concerning the invasion of Britain are being circulated. In such an event every member of British Union would be at the disposal of the nation. Every one of us would resist the foreign invader with all that is in us. In such a situation no doubt exists concerning the attitude of British Union."

Considering such a long and patriotic record — a record better than that of some Labour Ministers in the government which arrested him — clearly Mosley could not be charged with any treasonable intention to help any invaders, German or otherwise.

The sole reason for his arrest and detention was his political opposition to the war, as Birkett admitted. Yet political opposition to wars had long been an honorable British tradition. Lord Chatham opposed war with the Americans in the eighteenth century. Lloyd George opposed war with the Boers in the nineteenth century. Labour leaders like MacDonald, George Lansbury, Herbert Morrison and Bernard Shaw opposed the first world war, all on political grounds. None of these was imprisoned without charge or trial, but Mosley was.

And such was the malice in high places that he and Lady Mosley might have stayed in prison to the end of the war, but for the rapid deterioration in his health. Deprived of vigorous exercise by confinement, the injured leg which had invalidated him out of the Army in the First World War now developed a dangerous phlebitis. Under pressure from an uneasy Churchill, Mr. Home Secretary Morrison (a conscientious objector of 1914-18, the jailer of British ex-soldiers in 1939-45) released him and Lady Mosley towards the end of 1943.

Oswald Mosley came out of prison to a very different Britain from that of 1940. Politicians who had refused to unite the nation for construction in peace-time had now done that to wage a destructive war. He regained some measure of his freedom to see his claims for what a united Britain could do fulfilled — but to wage war, not peace.

Unemployment had vanished. Huge armies in the field had replaced the queues of the workless, and with the rising tempo of American war production (some of which had gone to Russia to aid its turn-around after the Stalingrad battle) these armies spelled the end of Nazi Germany.

Another end could be foreseen. The days of the British Empire were numbered. The old imperial spirit had been submerged beneath a wave of propaganda for worldwide democracy. Something called "trusteeship" for the overseas territories was in high fashion, the preliminary to pushing even the cannibal islands into Westminster-style democracies in that brave, bright postwar world when Hitler and imperialism were dead. Facing the spread of this doctrine, growing ever more luxurious in the war propaganda hot-house, it is true that the old imperialist Churchill was to growl out his defiance at the Mansion House in November 1942: "I did not become the King's

First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.” Yet he had already sold the pass.

Had he not signed in 1941 President Roosevelt’s Atlantic Charter, which in real terms meant the break-up of the Empire? Had not the President told his son Elliot that he “meant to make Winston live up to it”? Had not Sir Stafford Cripps been sent to India by Churchill eight months before the Mansion House speech with an offer of independence after the war? In the event the offer was rejected. Indian Congress leaders preferred to wait and see if they could get better terms when the war was over. They got what they wanted from a Labour government in 1947 and the liquidation of the British Empire began.

Thus the war left a world in flux and dissolution. Every nationalist leader in the Empire was to demand the same independence. And peace brought a Britain divided again under strident party banners: the unity of the nation was the first casualty of peace. Two main facts stood out clearly then

First was the fact of Britain’s new second-rate status. It showed in many signs of weakness. Britain went to war as a creditor nation and came out a debtor. Huge assets were sold to pay for the war, yet Britain owed billions to the world at the end of it, mainly as the “sterling balances.” American Lend-Lease was cut off abruptly with the defeat of Japan. A big dollar loan was advanced instead, under humiliating conditions despite all the efforts of Keynes. The money was spent by a Labour government in about two years, and the loan’s repayment was added to the general indebtedness which has bedeviled Britain’s position to this day. Further, inflation gained its first real grip on the nation during the war: the cost of living index doubled between 1939 and 1945. Rationing of essential foodstuffs like sugar lasted as long after the war as during it. And in 1945 the electorate’s revulsion against Churchill’s war-time rule swept a Labour government into power, ushering in the age of rampant bureaucracy and industrial nationalization. Look at the plight of British Railways today.

The same dismal story was told by A.J.P. Taylor in his *English History 1914-1945*: “The legacy of the war seemed almost beyond bearing. Great Britain had drawn on the rest of the world to the extent of 4198 million pounds... The British mercantile marine was 30 per cent smaller in June 1945 than it had been at the beginning of the war. Exports were little more than 40 per cent of the pre-war figure. On top of this government expenditure abroad... remained five times as great as pre-war. In 1946, it was calculated, Great Britain would spend abroad 750 million pounds more than she earned... Something like 10 per cent of our pre-war national wealth at home had been destroyed, some by physical destruction, the rest by running down capital assets.”

Was it really worth fighting the war which Mosley opposed to produce these lamentable results at home and turn Britain into a second-rate power abroad?

And this second-rate Britain was now compelled to earn its living on uncertain world markets, in place of that first-rate Britain which had enjoyed a measure of Imperial Preference before the war. Labour, triumphant in office, saw the end of the Imperial Preference it had always detested, but now was to issue an urgent official exhortation: “Export — or die!”

In the event Britain did struggle through, or muddle through, but much less due to Labour’s boasted “planning” than to the effect of America’s Marshall Plan. World markets revived, thanks to lavish American aid. British exports rose, and for a short time it seemed as if this country would rise on the wave of a favorable position in an otherwise devastated world. Much complacency reigned in Whitehall as they looked across the Channel towards the ruins of the Ruhr, the “knocked-out” German trade rival. This would not last, warned Mosley in his first book written

after the war, The Alternative of 1947. Once the former enemy countries Germany and Japan began to compete again on world markets, then Britain's favorable position would decline. Indeed it would soon be a case of "all nations will want to send more exports abroad than before."

He pointed to Japan, which was not a competitor in 1947. When Japan joined in the struggle to export, "the experiences of Lancashire and Yorkshire from Japanese competition in the decade of 1930 will be negligible in comparison." The truth of that warning can be seen today. Not only Britain and the rest of Europe but also America are fulminating over the Japanese export success.

The second main fact for Britain in the postwar world was the heavily armed Soviet power less than 500 miles east of London, which space modern tank armies could cover in a matter of days, and the existence of large communist parties in Western Europe led by men like Pollitt, Thorez and Togliatti, who openly stated that their loyalty to Russia came first in any clash.

American military strength offset the first danger, and the Marshall Plan revived the economic life of Europe, reducing the second. But for that aid both France and Italy might have been overwhelmed by communism.

Mosley paid a warm tribute to the Americans for their aid, but asserted that Europe could not remain a pensioner under their protection. Nor had Britain a real future as Europe's off shore island "going it alone" as the Empire broke up. The war had changed the whole position too drastically. Dean Acheson, America's elder statesman, who from a lofty position in Washington had seen the world change, said about this time that "Britain had lost its old role in the world and had not found another." That was true and Mosley, closer to events, now advanced that new role for Britain, through European union. Before the war he had stood for "Britain first." Now he advocated "Britain first in Europe." Britain must take the leadership of Europe for its role, and by its own example unite the war-torn continent as a political entity as great as America. Europe must unite to shoulder most of its own defense in face of a menacing Russia and to solve its many economic problems.

Yet he went further than those urgent questions. While others looked no further than the Council of Europe (little more than a debating club), Mosley launched the Union Movement early in 1948, to be inspired by the "idea which is beyond both fascism and democracy." He called for "the extension of patriotism" to achieve union in the fullest sense, imbued with an idea higher than fascism and democracy, both of which had become obsolete as the result of the war.

In those years he reached new heights as "the man of synthesis." To the challenge of the ruin of old ideas he returned the answer of a new one. And he saw it as part of an organic process which was part of British history. In Britain, England had been the first to unite under the Saxon heptarchy of the eighth century. Wales was then joined to England, and the United Kingdom rose to a brilliant peak under the half-Welsh House of Tudor. Scotland then joined, to make Great Britain. Now it was time to go further, under the pressure of great dangers, and extend patriotism to the whole of Europe in a continuing organic union.

In October 1948 — the dangerous year of Stalin's blockade of Berlin — Mosley spoke to an enthusiastic meeting of East London workers and called for "the making of Europe a Nation." Yet, as he said in later years, making Europe into a nation with its own common government did not make him feel any less an Englishman, and an Englishman of Staffordshire where he was born. All other Europeans, Normans and Bretons, Bavarians and Prussians, Neapolitans and Milanese, would through his idea remain Frenchmen, Germans and Italians, as would Britons remain Britons, yet they would all think and act together as Europeans.

In those later years he also proposed a three-tier order of governments in Europe, each with a different function. In fact this was taking the best part of the old fascism, the corporate state, and the best of the old democracy, creating something higher and finer than either, through yet another synthesis. The corporate state had envisaged the nation like a human body, having a head, with a brain, with all members of the body working together in political harmony. Thus in Mosley's vision of the future nation of Europe the first tier, the head, would be a common government — freely elected by all Europeans — for Europe's defense and to organize a single continental economy. The second tier would be national governments for all national questions — elected as today — and at the third level many local governments for the regions and small nations like Wales and Scotland. They would have the special task of preserving the wide diversity of Europe's cultural life: regional democracy with a new meaning.

Mosley's concept of Europe thus went much further than the present "European Community" and was a direct contrast with it, replacing the national jealousies and economic rivalry of today's "common market" with an essential harmony. "Europe a Nation" included the whole life of the continent from the head organizing a single economy down to the many cultures of Europe. It was perhaps his greatest concept: a new order of governments giving a new meaning to democracy, to be achieved through a synthesis of those two old opponents, prewar fascism and prewar democracy.

The turbulent year 1950 advanced Mosley's thinking again. The communist threat to Europe had lessened as the Marshall Plan put industry on its feet, Stalin's blockade of Berlin had failed and, in 1949, the NATO alliance had been formed. Yet if communism had been checked in the West it was sweeping everything before it in the East. China fell to Mao Tse-tung in 1949; events in Vietnam were moving towards the fateful battle of Dien Bien Phu; by 1950 the Korean war had erupted. And the military struggle in Korea had two momentous economic effects.

Japan, forbidden at the Potsdam conference ever to become a military power again, now experienced a huge industrial boom by supplying the United Nations forces fighting the communists in Korea. The war gave the Japanese the beginning of their post-war revival and a take-off for their "export miracle." From that point they did not look back.

However, the other effect was a crisis for Britain's Labour government, still trying hard to build "socialism" in this island while completely at the mercy of the capitalist world outside. The war sent a shock wave of rising commodity prices through that world, to which a social democratic government had tied Britain for doctrinaire reasons, and thus right into the island economy. They had learned nothing from the fall of MacDonald in 1931. Britain, weakened by the war, now suffered a serious payments crisis and an upward spin in the spiral of inflation. Lord Attlee blamed certain "external factors" for his government's problems. He was right — but they served to show that all such governments remain at the mercy of international forces they cannot control.

None of this surprised Mosley. He had shown where Labour's Achilles heel lay twenty years before in his speech of resignation from the MacDonald government.

His reaction to such events was always to give a constructive solution, and this time the solution was so far-reaching that all contemporary figures have utterly rejected it; in any case it challenged the whole structure of their international system of trade and finance established five years before at Bretton Woods under such glittering edifices as GATT, the IMF, and the World Bank. (They are not quite so splendid today, as their international system groans beneath worldwide recession and immense debts.)

What Mosley proposed, at another great East London meeting in December 1950, was the “division of the world” into several separate systems, each with a very large part of the world.

Each of these economic blocs, he explained in later speeches and writing, would have a big population as its market, adequate raw materials for its industry, and sufficient food. By insulating itself against the shocks of sudden movements in prices (what he called “the world cost system”) its internal economy would be impervious to such shocks. Each economic bloc should concentrate on solving its own problems; it would be freed from the need to export, or import, since it would have all it needed within its own “borders.” Within those borders a high standard of life could be built for its own people.

Mosley proposed that one such area, or bloc, should be formed from a fully united Europe, including Britain and the former Dominions; America should form another; a third should be formed in Asia around Japan. Had this idea of several “continental systems” been acted upon thirty years or so ago, today’s problem of Japanese “laser beam” import drives into our markets would not exist: Japan’s market would be in Asia. Nor would America be talking of a trade war with Europe. Europe, America, and Japan would be living at peace with each other in separate systems with economic areas big enough for all their needs. One might call this autarkic, not interdependent, “trilateralism.”

The danger today is indeed trade war and for the obvious reason: nothing effectively had been done to avert it. Mosley’s proposal would have ruled out trade wars; since governments failed to adopt it we can expect the consequences of this failure to act. More importantly, however, the same proposal of creating several large blocs in the world would make more unlikely a shooting war with either of the two communist powers, Russia and China, for Mosley emphasized from the start that no such bloc should interfere with any other, non-communist or communist.

What, though, of the men in the Kremlin who are still possessed by the messianic dream of communizing Europe as a step towards their world utopia?

True to its character as the restored empire of Ghenghiz Khan, the USSR always looks to further expansion, and a still badly-divided Western Europe is prone to a gradual take-over by the “splitting” tactics in which the Kremlin excels. Again, anything which weakens NATO or “splits” America and Europe only strengthens their hand. Further east, their occupation of Afghanistan is undoubtedly a stage for future inroads into Pakistan and India, when the time becomes ripe, or into Iran and the oil-rich Gulf — always, however, under the guise of peaceful intentions. Churchill, in his days of barnstorming against early Bolshevism, used to speak of containing it by “a cordon sanitaire garnished with German bayonets,” but matters have gone beyond those simplicities.

What is needed to contain the relentless Soviet expansion are Mosley’s continental blocs, adequately armed to prevent Red Army incursions, with truly reinvigorated economies and social systems in which the appeal of communism withers, and above all imbued with a political idea far superior to communism.

The existence of just three such strong blocs in the world — Europe, America, and Japan — would bring the men in the Kremlin hard up against a new reality, sharply reducing the danger of new adventures, even in the stormy Middle East. And then real discussions could be held at the highest level between the leaders of the communist and non-communist powers, to secure an effective peace.

Mosley's was not a policy for war against Russia, but the very opposite. He showed this clearly in 1956 when he urged the reduction of tension between the Soviets and the West by taking up Khrushchev's offer, repeated several times, of Russian troop withdrawals from Eastern Europe if the Americans also withdrew from Western Europe. Whether the Soviet leader's offer was genuine or not should have been put to the test through hard and searching probing in direct negotiations. Mosley's answer to all such offers was "Get into the ring with the Russians."

He would take the same line today over Soviet proposals for cutting East-West missile strengths: hard and continual negotiations to reduce the danger of a nuclear holocaust. In his last, short, speech before he died in 1980 he called for such action to "stop the world being blown up."

He was thus following an old road in the fifties, but now going further. He had seen the high ideals of 1918 dashed as the war camps arose in the thirties, and in *The World Alternative* of 1936 proposed their reconciliation through a new settlement in Europe. Now, from 1950 onwards, he urged another and greater settlement of world problems, by the creation of several self-contained blocs, the purpose of which was both to abolish trade war and reduce the dangers of a nuclear conflagration.

It was in those years that Mosley took on his final historic roles as the man of world peace and as the forward-thinking economic European. If his ideals of 1918 carried him through to the end of his life on the quest for peace, a similar straight line can be traced through his economic ideas. His main goal here was so to organize society that the people would be enabled to consume what their industry produced.

Power of industry to produce had always been greater than the power of the people to consume, and Mosley thus advanced policies to redress the balance.

Thus, shortly after joining the Labour Party, he wrote *Revolution by Reason*, which propounded the idea of raising the living standard of poorer sections of the community by means of consumer credits, injecting purchasing power where it was needed most. Extra ability to consume in the hands of millions would raise demand until production was equated with consumption. Naturally, the government issuing the credits would take care not to inflate.

Again, in his Fascist period from 1932, he sought the same end by building up the home market through a higher wage policy within the corporate state. His basic reasoning remained that of his Labour days. "In organizing production we have to think, not so much of maximum output, as of maximum consumption," he wrote in *The Greater Britain*. British industry would not suffer from undercutting by cheaper imports when it paid higher wages, because each industry would be protected on the home market, on condition that the industry modernized itself. This he called "scientific protection."

After 1945, however, the problem became more complex. In winning the war many scientific advances were made, and when applied to industry after the war these advanced greatly the power to produce. Yet there was no advance towards a new-style consumption policy. On the contrary, weak governments turned to an old-style inflation. This brought its own evils: a decline in the power of the pound, a rising cost of living, and strong sectional power in the hands of trade unions. The devaluation trick only made matters worse. All imports then cost more, the cost of living rose again and wage-inflation duly followed, with the result that any export advantages from a depreciated pound were wiped out. For a Britain living by exporting this was a deadly drug.

Yet long before the opposite policies of deflation and the strong pound were tried, the march of science and technology was preparing an entirely new phenomenon in the power of industry to produce. It was known as “automation.”

Mosley had long been familiar with the mass production methods he had seen on his visit to America in the twenties. During the thirties, rationalization was taking place, the displacement of men’s labor by better machines. By the fifties automation was on the horizon and this, he wrote in an essay in 1955, threatened “not merely displacement but the virtual elimination of men’s labor, because its machines will require only the services of a few specialists.”

The danger to the whole of industrial society was that “under the old economics these few specialists would draw enormous wages and the rest would be unemployed. No market would then exist for the ever-increasing products of the machines, which would pile up in the midst of a surrounding waste of poverty.” This was “the logical reduction to absurdity of a system which had never devised any effective means of distributing the wealth which modern science can produce.” It was precisely the same problem which had led him to write *Revolution by Reason* — but now much graver.

Thus in his 1955 essay, and in greater detail in *Europe: Faith and Plan* three years later, he outlined his solution: the “wage-price mechanism.”

This was a policy for the deliberate raising of wages and salaries in the primary industries and the multiplying services in order to create an adequate market for manufacturing industry as it turned to automation. Two other things would be required: a new type of government in charge of the policy, working with the unions and the managers throughout, and “the insulated self-contained area freed from the world cost system.” The large self-contained area was needed to provide a really big market for the immense potential of the automation age.

Half-measures under the old economics could not cope. If government at present attempted to raise railwaymen’s wages, for instance, this would “throw the whole system out of gear because additional transport charges would be added to the price of export goods.” On the other hand, under new economics of the self-contained continental system which did not need to export, “it would be quite possible to raise wages far above the present level in all primary industry and services — in agriculture, mining, power, building, banking, insurance and the Civil Service — provided that automation in manufacturing industry had suddenly increased the power to produce; naturally, only on that condition.”

As a variation of this great increase in wages there could be a planned shortening of hours, a three- or four-day week in work-sharing schemes, creating many jobs for the unemployed. Or there could be both higher wages and shorter hours.

Once automation spread to all manufacturing, with greater volume of output balanced by higher wages and shorter hours, the whole expansion taking place within an insulated continental system, Mosley foresaw greater possibilities still. Governments operating his wage-price mechanism could then draw workers to any industry or service short of manpower. If more miners were needed, raise their pay. If more food was required, raise the farmer’s reward, to take on more labor or to buy better agricultural machines. If education was short of teachers, then increase their salaries. And if some branch of science or technology needed extra personnel to advance it, once proved to be beneficial after thorough tests, rewards should be raised. Indeed, he continually stressed that science and technology should always come high in the scale of rewards; skilled workers should come before the unskilled in industry.

“We will not direct men to do what is necessary in the common interest, but we will pay them to do it so effectively that, in fact, they will do it, and the increased productive power of automation will give us the means to pay them,” wrote Mosley in 1958.

Yet could the wage-price mechanism be introduced in a small island like Britain before the great area of a united Europe was formed? Would it work in a Britain faced with high unemployment and serious inflation? It could, Mosley wrote: it would then “also be necessary to fix prices over a wide field.” This second form of the wage-price mechanism is needed indeed in the Britain of 1984. Shortening hours to a three- or four-day week in work-sharing schemes would mop up unemployment; direct action for fixing prices over a wide field would curb inflation, and these measures would be strengthened when wider use of automation in Britain would cut prices anyway.

If the present work force in manufacturing worked half the working week, another work force of about the same size could be recruited from the unemployed to operate the same machines for the other half of the week. That is the way to get unemployment right down and raise output. The market to consume the bigger output would be provided by raising wages generally throughout the whole economy. That could be done in Britain alone, with government, unions and managers acting as a team to organize the policy; yet how much more effective it would be if the same policy was in operation throughout Europe, as Mosley emphasized.

This was his wage-price policy long before Mr. Heath tried a “pay freeze” in the early seventies and Mr. Wilson experimented with his “social contract” a few years later. Mosley’s policy was positive; theirs were negative. His wage-price mechanism was to be a permanent instrument of economic management while theirs were merely short-term expedients, soon abandoned. There could be no comparison whatever.

Thus it is nonsense for Mrs. Thatcher to say that “all” wages policies have failed. Certainly all negative policies have been tried, and they failed. What has never been attempted is the wage-price mechanism of Oswald Mosley.

Above all other questions, however, is that of the type of government needed to make these changes. Mosley was deeply concerned with this question in his Labour days, being much impressed with Lloyd George’s inner cabinet of five men with wide powers which had won the First World War, and in his Memorandum proposed a “machinery of government” to modernize industry and solve unemployment. Lloyd George had overcome huge wartime problems in 1917, but a Labour government collapsed in 1931 when faced with lesser problems of peace.

When founding the British Union of Fascists, Mosley addressed himself to the paradox of a British democracy which could fight world wars with governments of action yet failed before the test of economic crisis in peacetime. He pointed out in *The Greater Britain* that the system of government was a century out of date in 1932 while the country had changed beyond recognition during those hundred years.

Nevertheless, no attempt was made by the ruling politicians of the thirties to remedy the situation, and the paradox was seen again in another world war when Churchill copied, to some extent, the methods of Lloyd George. And again, with 1945, the habits of peacetime returned. Party rivalries reasserted themselves; the time-wasting procedure of Parliament was treasured once more like some precious national heirloom. Britain’s problems were worse than ever, yet Parliament, far from becoming an efficient workshop to face a more serious age, resembled on some days a slumbering museum and on others a beer-garden. And all the world stood amazed at that ancient ritual of M.P.s dragging a new Speaker to his seat!

Little wonder that Britain has gone down-hill ever since under the vast weight of innumerable points-of-order and obstructionisms.

By 1966, Mosley could say without any fear of contradiction that the old party system was, to all intents, bankrupt. In *Action* he wrote: "Labour and the Tories have failed equally; the Liberals have no answer at all. No matter which is in office they cannot cope. The only way is to go above and beyond the parties to a national union of the best of our people" and to form "a government of true national union drawn from the most vigorous parts of the whole nation." A government drawn from "the professions, from science, from the unions and the managers, from businessmen, the housewives, from the services, from the universities, and even from the best of the politicians."

It would be a new-style government of action with "hard centre" ideas and not an old-style coalition of soft center politics, elected for one term of office with the specific task of putting Britain on its feet. It should gain from Parliament the power of rapid action under an Enabling Act, so that the time-wasting obstructionism of present procedure would be removed.

Parliament would always retain the power to dismiss it by vote of censure if its policies failed or if it attempted to override basic British freedoms.

This would make for the utmost action within the constitution, and it was precisely how British governments functioned during the emergencies of two world wars, except that such a government would be drawn from the whole nation instead of merely from the parties. In Mosley's phrase, this was "using the methods of wartime to solve the problems of peace," bringing to an end that paradox of government of well over a century in Britain.

It is said that Oswald Mosley was a man before his time, and there is some truth in this. His life was spent in a Britain where big parties occupied the arena and held the devotion of millions, no matter how many their failures. Those parties had become the political armies of the class system, and the Mosley who placed nation before party and valued the individual for his abilities, not his class background, was in that sense a man before his time, the time when the parties would decline through their own shortcomings and corruptions.

To turn his back on the party system when the faith of millions in it was still unshaken, to go "out into the political wilderness," was therefore regarded as effective suicide. For the millions who took their opinions from the party leaders, those politicians represented public opinion, whether Stanley Baldwin with his pipe and his pigs and his limpet-like philosophy of "safety first"; or Harold Macmillan, who was also trusted because Britain had "never had it so good" and could have it better with the Tories; or Harold Wilson, who was trusted less but knew how to "keep his options open."

Mosley was of another world to these. He stood for action (that word so uncomfortable when things looked good and would get better). He advanced policies which would be needed when the spell of the parties had been broken in a nemesis brought by their failure to change. When Britain faced reality at last, that second great crisis he had long predicted came with a vengeance.

Now it remains, but much has broken down in Britain since 1930, from the loss of faith in politicians to the ominous decline in law and order.

The dangers in such a long decline were seen more than fifty years ago by Mosley himself. "What I fear," he warned in his Resignation Speech of 1930, "what I fear much more than a sudden crisis is a long, slow crumbling over the years, a gradual paralysis beneath which all the

vigour and energy of this country will succumb. That is a far more dangerous thing, and far more likely to happen unless some effort is made. If the effort is made, how relatively easily can disaster be averted...”

That call for effort made him less a man before his time than a man of the moment, devising policies to meet an immediate situation, which he did again at several moments in his life.

To get Mosley into true perspective: he was both a man of the present and of the future. But Britain has lived in the past increasingly, lured by those siren songs from the Palace of Westminster, those delusions of grandeur which alone remained after the sun of Empire set, those voices of the media constantly invoking the name of Churchill while silent over the destruction brought about by Britain's most disastrous leader.

Hence the gap between Mosley and his countrymen. The latter are left with the crumbling and paralysis against which he warned.

Yet there was more to it than that. There was the deep-seated hostility of those in authority collectively known as the Establishment and who, as Richard Crossman wrote, spurned Mosley because he was right. What was there about him which so much alarmed them? Was it, as the caustic Bernard Shaw remarked, that he “looked like a man who has some physical courage and is going to do something, and that is a terrible thing”? Did he have too much driving force for the men of lethargy in high place — -had he too much of the air of Sir Walter Raleigh for the smooth prototypes of late- 20th century British authority, the mandarin and the pundit?

Was he altogether too disturbing a personality for those who preferred a “safe” career and easy weekends in the Indian summer of national greatness, crowned by a place in the Honors List? Was it, as Drennan noticed, that he was a man “of strong tones, no self-complacent bladder of conventions,” whereas conventional politicians were easier meat, posturing amid growing decadence according to long-established rules?

And what of his policies? It has become fashionable to praise them. For instance, A.J.P. Taylor acclaimed the Memorandum as offering “a blueprint for most of the constructive advances in economic thinking to the present day.” High praise; why was that thinking not carried into effect? If Mosley himself was too unorthodox to be entrusted with accomplishing his own ideas, why was not some other figure entrusted with them, one of those “safe” politicians whom the Establishment trusted?

The fact was, as Michael Foot observed, that “mediocrity and safety first” stood in the way not only of the man but also of the policies. Yet failure to act never solves problems. Avoiding early effort only makes the effort more strenuous if the problems, now grown huge, are not to overwhelm society. A long run of good luck and the peculiar delusion that the Almighty is really an Englishman have encouraged the national vice of “muddling through.” The luck is running out now, and the problems stand there in gigantic proportions.

What next? How soon will there be a murmur rising higher for a man like Mosley, his dynamic approach to life at last forgiven? But men like Mosley are rare. Will one emerge, as the great voice still echoes down the years, calling “Britain awake”?

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* Mosley wrote hundreds of articles over the years. From the early '30s to the mid-'60s, roughly, these were of necessity restricted mainly to the periodicals of his own political movements, as well as various sympathetic foreign political publications. Toward the end of his life the "regular" press began to open up to him again; throughout the 1970s, for instance, he was a regular contributor to the (unfortunately now-defunct) review books and bookmen. Included in this listing are those articles which Mosley's biographer Robert Skidelsky has singled out as his most important. A full listing of all Mosley's political periodicals, from 1931 to the present, will be found at the end of this bibliography.

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Action	British Union Quarterly
Blackshirt	Age of Plenty
Fascist Week	Mosley News Letters, 1946-47
National European	Mosley Broadsheets, 1970-?

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NEW PARTY, BRITISH UNION OF FASCISTS, and UNION MOVEMENT PERIODICALS 1931-83:

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Research institutions holding major collections in British Fascism are: British Library of Political and Economic Science, London School of Economics, London; British Library Reference Museum, London; Glasgow Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Institute of Jewish Affairs, London; Labour Party Library, London; Leeds University Library, Leeds; Marx Memorial Library, London; National Council for Civil Liberties Archive, Hull University Library, Hull; National Library of Scotland, Dundee; Union Movement/Sanctuary Press, London; University of London Library, London; Wiener Library/Institute of Contemporary History, London; York Public Library, York; York University Library, York.

Readers interested in hearing a 45-minute cassette tape recording of Sir Oswald Mosley speaking to several hundred of his followers at Kensington Town Hall, London, in November 1963, may order "*Mosley Speaks*" for \$6.95 postpaid from: Oakleaf Records, P.O. Box 999, Westfield, N.J. 07091.

The 'Atlantic Charter' Smokescreen: History As A Press Release

Charles Lutton

“Good words are a mask for evil deeds.” — attributed to Joseph Stalin

During both the First and Second World Wars, the nations warring against Germany and her allies portrayed their fight as a “world war for humanity.” Despite the opening of hitherto closed government archives and the testimony of political participants, the general public, with rare exceptions, still believes in these wartime propaganda images of “the good guys” versus “the bad guys.” Textbooks aimed at college students also perpetuate the old stereotypes. One example of this is the treatment afforded the August 1941 Argentina, Newfoundland conference between United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill, and their staffs, at which time the famous Atlantic Charter was released. Over forty years after the event, many American history texts portray the Atlantic conference and Charter as authentically representing the wartime aspirations of Roosevelt and Churchill. ^[1]

The First World War

As mentioned, in both world wars the Western Allies claimed that they were fighting for democratic rights. In the Middle East, for instance, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, conducted negotiations with Hussein, Sherif of Mecca. In a letter dated 24 October 1915, McMahon promised the independence of all Arab-populated areas of the Turkish Empire (then allied with Germany and Austria-Hungary), with the exception of “the portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus,” etc. As we know, the Arabs came to fulfill their part of the bargain. The British, and their French and Italian allies, did not. ^[2]

The impression that the Allies were fighting for universal democratic rights was reinforced by statements made by President Woodrow Wilson after the United States was brought into the war. On 8 January 1918, Wilson unveiled his blueprint for peace, the “Fourteen Points.” Point Five called for “a free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of colonial claims, based upon strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.”

Wilson expanded on this topic when he told the U.S. Congress on 11 February 1918 “That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power, but that every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival states and that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuat-

ing old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.”

With the collapse of the Central Powers, it quickly became clear that “national sovereignty” did not apply to the colonial possessions of the Western Allies or to territories they coveted. Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations “provisionally recognized” the independence of “all former Turkish provinces.” But in 1916, the British and French, without informing the Arabs, divided up much of the Middle East, and in 1917 the British introduced another foreign influence into that part of the world when they issued the Balfour Declaration supporting Zionist aspirations for the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine.

After the war, President Wilson confirmed that the war had not been born out of a fight to save democracy against the forces of tyranny, as the public had been led to believe. Speaking in St. Louis on 11 September 1918, Wilson remarked that, “This war, in its inception, was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war.” John Maynard Keynes likewise observed in his book, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, that “The politics of power are inevitable, and there is nothing very new to learn about this war or the end it was fought for; England had destroyed, as in each preceding century, a trade rival...”

The post-war period saw no change of policy on the part of the victorious powers. The possessions of the former Central Powers were divided up among the Western Allies and Japan, while these countries retained control of their own colonies. For example, the people of India had been led to expect a move toward independence after the Great War. But in 1934, the former Colonial Secretary and future Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, told a Joint Select Committee of Parliament: “No member of the Cabinet meant, contemplated, or wished to suggest the establishment of a Dominion Constitution for India for any period which human beings ought to take into account.”

The Second World War

On 3 September 1939, Britain declared war against Germany. The Viceroy of India, Lord Linlithgow, declared that India, too, was now at war against Germany; this was similarly the case for other elements of the British Empire. This action certainly underlined the fact that effective power still lay with the British and that their colonial subjects, even in matters of life and death, did not count for very much and were not to be consulted in matters affecting their future.

The Indian people, as well as those of other British colonies, were reluctant to believe Allied propaganda claims that the Axis powers were virtually monsters hell-bent on world conquest. The Allied crusade against fascism hardly seemed relevant to colonial peoples struggling in their own movements for independence from the British. Indeed, the precarious military situation the British found themselves in the Spring and Summer of 1940, and well into 1941, brought hope to Indian nationalists, and various Arabs such as the Egyptians and Iraqis, that their struggles for freedom had a greater chance of fruition if the Axis won. More than one foreign observer in India noted the evident jubilation there when news that Dunkirk had fallen was announced. Each of the German advances against British positions reinforced the belief of Indians, and others, that their freedom was nearer.

This is not the place to go into a detailed review of President Roosevelt’s foreign policy maneuverings in the period before formal U.S. participation in the Second World War. American involvement in a Pacific war against Japan had long been under study in U.S. military circles and Henry L. Stimson, who served as President Hoover’s Secretary of State and later became Roo-

sevelt's Secretary of War, had been calling for war against Japan since the 1920s. Many historians have long felt that the economic failure of the New Deal led FDR to distract public attention by focusing on alleged foreign threats. [3]

In any event, the Roosevelt Administration did gradually withdraw from a position of neutrality to one of "co-belligerency" without a formal declaration of war against the Axis powers. In the weeks preceding the Argentia Conference after which the Atlantic Charter was released, the Americans, British, Dutch, Australians, and New Zealanders held joint military discussions for Pacific operations. Roosevelt had been assured that economic embargoes would goad Japan into declaring war, and on 25 July 1941 his Administration announced that Japanese funds in the U.S. would be frozen. The British and Dutch followed suit. On 31 July Roosevelt forbade the export to Japan of aviation fuel and machine tools. An economic war was thus underway against the Japanese.

With British possessions around the globe threatened, Churchill quite naturally worked to bring the U.S. into the war with the least possible delay. Although long in covert communication with each other, it was not until August 1941 that Churchill and Roosevelt had their first personal meeting in some 23 years. [4] They met between 8 and 13 August aboard ship in Argentia Bay, off Newfoundland. While Roosevelt and Churchill discussed broad policy questions, their respective military advisers outlined strategy. Full details of the discussions held by Generals Marshall and Arnold and Admirals Stark and King of the United States with their British counterparts General Dill, Admiral Pound, and Vice Air Chief Freeman have yet to be released. It is known that they discussed the possibility of sending a U.S. expeditionary force to seize the Azores and an Anglo-American operation to take the Canary and Cape Verde Islands. As John Costello revealed in his recent book, *The Pacific War*, agreement was reached for the U.S. to build up the Philippines as a base for operations directed against Japan. It was believed that the new long-range American B-17 bombers would permit crippling strikes to be launched from the Philippines against Japanese targets. This would allow the British to retain more naval units in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. The British promised to operate major naval units out of the Philippines in coordination with the U.S. Navy. As Costello explains: "This went far beyond the limited defense envisioned by the RAINBOW 5 War Plan, or even Churchill's hope in April that 'modest arrangements' could be made to increase Anglo-American strength in the Far East." The British historian points out that Churchill was disappointed that he was unable to persuade the U.S. Navy to send warships into the Mediterranean and to begin convoying British ships across the Atlantic, but that "when it came to the Far East, it was apparent that there had been a significant revision of American planning toward the strong deterrent strategy in the Far East that the British had failed to achieve during the spring [1941] staff talks." [5]

On the day the conference concluded, the U.S. House of Representatives passed by only one vote the bill to continue the draft and to federalize the National Guard units. Public opinion polls indicated that 75 percent of American adults were still opposed to going to war against Germany. In light of his domestic political situation, Roosevelt informed Churchill that he could not formally declare war at this time: "I may never declare war; I may make war. If I were to ask Congress to declare war they might argue about it for three months." By the Fall of 1941, the U.S. Navy was already in a state of undeclared war with Germany and the pressure was being increased against Japan. [6]

The commitments made at the Argentia Conference could not be revealed, so for public consumption the Atlantic Charter (or Declaration) was issued. Although it was, and still is, portrayed as a serious, historic statement of policy, it took the form of a publicity hand-out, merely mimeographed and released to the press.

The Charter had eight articles:

Article I stated that the two powers “seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.”

Article II stated that “They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.” This was a reiteration of the principle of self-determination of nations brought over from the era of Woodrow Wilson.

Article III said: “They respect the rights of all peoples to choose the forms of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereignty and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.”

Article IV promised equal access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world needed for economic prosperity.

Article V was another pledge to collaborate with all nations economically “with the object of securing for all improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.”

Article VI said that after the destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hoped to see established a peace “which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries and which will afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.”

Article VII dealt with freedom of the seas, and

Article VIII advocated general disarmament and a “wider permanent system of general security.”
[\[7\]](#)

It is understandable that expectations were thus raised among people within the Western colonial sphere of control, as well as in Axis-occupied portions of Europe. At the time it was handed to the press, Roosevelt said that the Charter meant “the ending of special privileges for the few and the preservation of civil liberties for all.” On 24 August, Churchill made a radio speech broadcast worldwide, in which he stated: “This was a meeting which marks for ever in the pages of history the taking up by the English-speaking nations amid all this peril, tumult, and confusion, of the guidance of the fortunes of the broad toiling masses in all the continents, and our loyal effort, without any clog of selfish interest, to lead them forward out of the miseries into which they have been plunged, back to the broad high road of freedom and justice.” In this same broadcast, the British warlord explained that “We had the idea when we met there — the President and I — that without attempting to draw final formal peace aims and war aims, it was necessary to give all peoples, and especially the oppressed and conquered peoples a simple rough and ready war-time statement of the goal towards which the British Commonwealth and the United States mean to make their way and thus make a way for others to march with them upon a road which will certainly be painful and may be long.” [\[8\]](#)

Clement Atlee, chief of the British Labour Party and Lord Privy Seal in the Churchill government, stated a few days after the release of the Charter: “Thursday’s declaration will be equally applicable to all races, including Asiatics and Africans.” U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull said that it was “the statement of basic ideas of policies that are universal in their application.” At a press conference held aboard the presidential yacht Potomac, Roosevelt pointed out that “not a single continent went undiscussed at the conference at sea.”

Of course, such wonderful liberal sentiments had been bandied about before. They were an essential part of the founding and continuing rhetoric of the League of Nations. But the history of the League was in fact full of special “reservations” as well as outright repudiations of promises, where the interests of the established Great Powers were directly involved. It should be recalled that at its peak in 1933, the British Empire covered some 12.2 million square miles — 23.85 percent of the earth’s land surface — with a population of nearly 502 million, nearly a quarter of the world population. As D.K. Fieldhouse remarked, “This immense agglomeration was the product of three centuries of expansion during which every place the British had occasion to annex, apart from the United States, had been preserved in the imperial museum. As a whole it had no unity of character or function... Such a multiplicity of possessions had nothing in common but their subjection.” [9]

In the United States, the Atlantic Charter was reviewed by Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago. Referring to the demand for the restoration of the status quo in European countries that had been victims of aggression during the war, he asked, “... and what do we do about the countries which were victims of aggression before 1939? What do we do about Hong Kong, the Malaya States, the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, Africa, and above all, India?” He went on to charge that the Atlantic Charter provisions should be unhesitatingly applied throughout the world and that hopes “held out to India during the last war, disappointed after it, and now held out again, must be fulfilled.” [10]

One of Roosevelt’s staunchest supporters, Senator Reynolds, asked: “Why don’t Britain and the U.S. start imposing the Four Freedoms in India straight away?” This theme was taken up by Wendell Willkie and was the subject of numerous newspaper editorials across America. Even the president’s wife Eleanor sent her husband a report sharply critical of Britain’s India policy in particular and colonial policy in general, and asked for Franklin’s comment. The President replied, “I can have no thoughts about India.” [11]

Any notion that the provisions of the Atlantic Charter might apply to India and other British colonial possessions were quickly dashed. The British government’s position was clarified when on 9 September 1941, Churchill told the House of Commons:

The Joint Declaration does not try to explain how the broad principles proclaimed by it are to be applied to each and every case which will have to be dealt with when the war comes to an end. It would not be wise for us, at this moment, to be drawn into laborious discussions on how it is to fit all the manifold problems with which we shall be faced after the war.

The Joint Declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the developments of constitutional government in India, Burma, and other parts of the British Empire... At the Atlantic meeting we have had in mind, primarily, the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government, and natural life of the States and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke... so that is quite a separate problem from progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and peoples which owe allegiance to the British Crown. [12]

The Secretary of State for India, L.S. Amery, reported that the Government did not consider the Atlantic Charter to be relevant to India and other parts of the Empire. Speaking at Manchester on 20 November 1941, Amery declared that while the Indian Congress “has demanded that India’s future constitution should be settled by a Constituent Assembly, this is an impossible demand,” and went on to deplore “the clamour for the application of the Atlantic Charter to India,” which he described as “a typical example of loose thinking.” [13]

The London News Chronicle pointed out that “What the British Government will gladly concede to Yugoslavia, it will withhold from the jewel of the British Empire.” The paper went on to characterize the Atlantic Charter as a “symbol of hypocrisy.”

A Member of Parliament, Reginald Sorensen, said that “The Charter does need bold, unequivocal interpretation effectively to prevent suspicion and distrust. Unfortunately, there has already been cause for distrust and discouragement.” On another occasion, Sorensen remarked that “the position should have been dearly stated as the right of all peoples, if not at present under the British flag, to choose their form of government.” [14]

Another of the British Prime Minister’s Parliamentary critics, Mr. MacGovern, called Churchill “a self-confessed advocate of aggression.” He went on to say that in his estimation “the Atlantic Charter was one of the grossest pieces of deceit in modern times,” because Churchill was prepared to apply it to countries overrun by Hitler “while the independent government which it proposes to give them is denied to territories that have been overrun in the past by Britain herself.” [15]

The refusal of the British government to apply the Atlantic Charter to its colonies underlined the hypocrisy of demanding that the people of India and other areas participate in the war to regain the freedom of some parts of the world, yet at the same time denying those rights to the subjects of countries ruled by members of the Western Alliance. Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, addressing a meeting of the United Provinces Liberal Association, voiced the feelings of many in the Empire when he said: “We must make it clear that we cannot allow ourselves to be used as tools of imperialism. We cannot, while helping other nations in attaining their freedom, be oblivious of our duty to enable our own country to achieve freedom.” Sir Sarvapali of India declared that “this war is an Imperialist war for the defense of this struggling ramshackle system of domination, finance, trade, and tradition: the British Empire.”

The failure to implement the Atlantic Charter goes far to explain why many nationalists in the areas controlled by Western powers, such as Indian leader Subhas Chandra Bose, looked to the Axis, especially Germany and Japan, for assistance in the liberation of their lands. [16] The view of these nationals, who ended up cooperating with the Axis Powers, was well summarized in the journal *Azad Hind* [Free India]:

The British Empire is an institution of slavery. It has caused utter destitution, degradation and humiliation to millions of people. It has instituted the most vicious system of exploitation the world has ever seen. It has caused innumerable wars between nations during the last two centuries. No demagoguery, no chicanery, can alter these essential facts. And no reform measure can improve the miserable and inhuman conditions that exist in the colonies. British imperialists, who have invested there a large amount of capital and derive from that a huge profit every year, are not, and never will be inspired by any philanthropic motive, whatever their Labour valets may say. The only salvation of the colonial people, and as a matter of fact, of the entire world, can come only when this slave institution, called the British Empire, is completely destroyed. And it will be destroyed only when India, the pivot on which the Empire rests, strikes hard. Once India goes, the Empire also goes. Indian people are conscious of their great mission. And the final hour of British imperialism approaches nearer every day. [17]

Although the Allies, including Stalin’s Russia, continued throughout the war to invoke the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter, those principles were in practice ignored as the Allies issued their “Unconditional Surrender” policy in February 1943, and later as the United States and Britain consented to the Soviet seizure of the Baltic states and portions of Poland. William Henry

Chamberlin, in his still-useful survey of this chapter of modern history, commented that with the Yalta accords “The leaders of the Axis could scarcely have surpassed the cynicism of Roosevelt and Churchill in throwing over allies like Poland and China.” Chamberlin further noted that “when the Atlantic Charter pledges of self-determination and equality of economic opportunity were most obviously and crudely violated voices of protest were few and timid.” [18]

As for the British Empire, its end was brought about not by the application of war-time promises about self-determination and an end to tyranny, but rather by the enervating consequences of Britain’s second war against Germany within the first half of the twentieth century. [19] Britain, as well as France, paid an especially high price for having participated in the two world wars. Far from “winning” anything other than illusory victories in two phony wars, the British and French were chief among the real losers of the real wars. Today, nearly forty years after the end of the crusade to fight fascism, they are but a shadow of what they were before the war began.

Notes

1.  American history professors and textbooks taking the Atlantic Charter seriously include H. Stuart Hughes (of Harvard), *Contemporary Europe: A History* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Wallace K. Ferguson and Geoffrey Bruun, *A Survey of European Civilization* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961 and later editions); Joseph R. Strayer (Princeton), Hans W. Gatzke (Yale) and E. Harris Harbison (Princeton), *The Mainstream of Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1974 and later editions). On the other hand, Carl N. Degler in his widely-used text *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969, 1970), remarks on p. 448 that “Roosevelt’s meeting in August 1941, with Churchill at Argentia Bay, Newfoundland, to write the Atlantic Charter and to agree on postwar aims, was undoubtedly the most unneutral act ever committed by a professed neutral. Yet the Atlantic meeting aroused surprisingly little hostile sentiment except among a small group of die hard isolationists.” The brilliant British military strategist and historian, Maj. Gen. J.F.C. Fuller, characterized the Atlantic Charter as “first-class propaganda, and probably the biggest hoax in history,” in his *A Military History of the Western World*, Vol. 3 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1955), p.453.
2.  For a concise review of this history, see David Hirst, *The Gun & the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East* (London: Farber & Farber, 1977), reprinted 1983 by Futura Books, and available in the United States for \$2.75 from Americans for Middle East Understanding, Room 771, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115. AMEU also publishes a useful newsletter on Middle Eastern political developments, *The Link*.
3.  Historian Charles A. Beard was among those at the time who concluded that FDR was going to take this course of action. On Beard’s views, James J. Martin writes: “In February 1935 *Scribner’s Magazine* had published an essay by Charles A. Beard titled, ‘National Politics and War.’ Beard had predicted in this that the political fortunes of Roosevelt would decline steadily until 1940, when, faced by stupendous domestic problems and serious splits in his own party, and unable to develop a ‘strong’ workable domestic program, he would adopt a ‘strong’ foreign policy instead, and cause the country to ‘stumble’ onto war. It was of significance that a book by Mauritz Hallgren, a critical study of Roosevelt titled *The Gay Reformer*, should be published at this moment, restating this thesis once more.” Martin, *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941* Vol. 2 (New York: Devin-Adair, 1964), p. 859. For more on Beard’s prescience, see Martin’s “Charles A. Beard: A Tribute,” *The Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 3, No. 3 (Fall 1982), pp. 239-58. On the economic failure of the New Deal, see Broadus Mitchell’s chapter “War to the Rescue” in his *The Depression Decade*; also John T. Flynn, *The Roosevelt Myth* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1948

and later editions). For a concise review of Roosevelt's foreign policy maneuverings, see William L. Neumann, "Roosevelt's Options and Evasions in Foreign Policy Decisions, 1940-1945," in Leonard Liggio and James J. Martin (eds.), *Watershed of Empire: Essays in New Deal Foreign Policy* (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles, 1976).

4.  President Roosevelt was secretly communicating with Churchill even before the latter assumed the Prime Ministership in May 1940 — that is, when Churchill was merely First Lord of the Admiralty in Neville Chamberlain's war cabinet. Such an end-run in official communication around a counterpart head of state was virtually unprecedented. An isolationist code-clerk at the American embassy in London, Tyler Gatewood Kent, saw these communications and began to make copies and abstracts — with a view toward bringing Roosevelt's secret to the attention of certain non-interventionist U.S. Senators, and through them the American press and people. He was caught with the contraband documents before he could put his plan into effect. His diplomatic immunity waived by Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy, Kent spent 1940-45 in British detention. See John Howland Snow, *The Case of Tyler Kent* (New York: Domestic and Foreign Affairs, 1946; New Canaan, Conn.: The Long House, 1962); also Richard Whalen, "The Strange Case of Tyler Kent," *Diplomat* (November 1965), pp. 16-19, 62-64. A recent examination of the Kent case which concludes that the evidence against Roosevelt collected by Kent was not really so damning is Bruce Bartlett and Warren F. Kimball, "Roosevelt and Prewar Commitments to Churchill: The Tyler Kent Affair," *Diplomatic History* Vol. 5, No. 4 (Fall 1981), pp. 291-312. The opposite point of view may be found in Tyler Kent's own exposition, "The Roosevelt Legacy and The Kent Case," *The Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 4, No. 2 (Summer 1983), pp. 173-203. In his Introduction to this essay, historian Mark Weber examines several of the Roosevelt-Churchill communications from the "Kent Documents" and concludes that the American President was indeed guilty of conspiring with Churchill to violate not only American, but international, law — and that had Kent's plan to release the documents succeeded, and Roosevelt been "caught out," the course of world history might well have been drastically altered. The other essays in the Summer 1983 issue of the JHR — a special issue entitled *Roosevelt and War in Europe, 1938-40: Origins and Interventions* — also bear reading: Weber's "President Roosevelt's Campaign to Incite War in Europe: The Secret Polish Documents," pp. 135-72, and David L. Hoggan's "President Roosevelt and The Origins of The 1939 War," pp. 205-56.
5.  John Costello, *The Pacific War* (New York: Rawson, Wade, 1981), pp. 95-96. Costello points out that relevant portions of the Prime Minister's papers housed at the Public Records Office in Kew, PREM3 file, group 252, section 5, dealing with events through November 1941 are unavailable to researchers and marked "closed for 75 years."
6.  The release of 950 volumes of British War Cabinet documents on 1 January 1972 has done much to shed light on Roosevelt's schemes to draw the United States into the war. See Colin Cross (London Observer), "British Papers Indicate FDR Sought War With Hitler," *Washington Post* (Sunday, 2 January 1972) p. A-16; also Associated Press dispatch (London), "War-Entry Plans Laid to Roosevelt: Britain Releases Her Data on Talks With Churchill," *New York Times* (Sunday, 2 January 1972), p.7.
7.  Joel H. Wiener (ed.), *Great Britain: Foreign Policy and the Span of Empire 1689-1971: A Documentary History*, Vol. 2 (New York: Chelsea House/McGraw-Hill, 1972), pp.1192-93.
8.  *Ibid.*, pp. 1193-96, emphasis added.
9.  D. K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1966), p. 242.
10.  Anup Chand, *India and the Atlantic Charter* (Lahore: Hero Publications, 1945).

11. ☞ During the course of a Fireside Chat in May 1941, Roosevelt discussed the Four Freedoms: “freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship his God in his own way, freedom from want, freedom from terror.” The exchange between Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt is mentioned in Theodore A. Wilson, *The First Summit* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969).
12. ☞ *Atlantic Charter: Declarations by Members of the War Cabinet, National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations* (UK), 1942.
13. ☞ *Ibid.*
14. ☞ Reginald Sorensen, M.P., *India and the Atlantic Charter* (London: The India League, February 1942), pp. 4-5.
15. ☞ Chand.
16. ☞ See the informative essay by the late Ranjan Borra, “Subhas Chandra Bose, The Indian National Army, and The War of India’s Liberation,” *Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 3, No. 4 Winter 1982), pp. 407-39.
17. ☞ Promode Sengupta, “British Colonies and India,” *Azad Hind* No. 1 (Berlin: Eigenverlag Zentrale Freies Indien, 1944) p. 25.
18. ☞ William Henry Chamberlin, *America’s Second Crusade* (Chicago: Regnery, 1950 and later editions), pp. 216, 240.
19. ☞ See James J. Martin, “The Consequences of World War II to Great Britain: Twenty Years of Decline, 1939-1959,” in his *The Saga of Hog Island and Other Essays in Inconvenient History* (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles, 1977), pp. 42-87.

The 'Holocaust' and the Failure of Allied and Jewish Responses: The Logic Of Disbelief

K. C. Gleason

Over the past several years, there has emerged with increasing frequency the charge that because it failed to bomb the Germans' concentration camps, the United States bears a significant share of the blame for the Holocaust. There are even those who insist that American officials were well aware of Hitler's crimes during World War Two, yet chose purposely not to stop them. ^[1]

Documentation made available only during the past decade, however, amply demonstrates that the volatile accusations of American indifference — even collusion — are unwarranted. That the Roosevelt administration (and, it is also charged, American Jews) did not act with dispatch to effect the rescue of European Jewry, shows essentially that the tales of extermination were not believed.

This study will examine what was known of allegations of a German policy of mass murder in Europe, and whether the many wartime reports about such allegations were credible. I contend that the mass murder reports were, in the main, of such a patternless character that their key elements are thrown into doubt.

Consequently, with few exceptions the information as received in the West was dismissed as atrocity propaganda. It was not treated seriously by the Allied leadership, nor by Allied intelligence; not by the American public nor the English; not by American Jewry nor even European Jews. Who could accept the fantastic allegation that Hitler would exterminate a vital manpower source late in the war, while engaged in ferocious battles on three fronts and desperate for every available hand?

Because the Allied response to the sporadic accounts of mass killings was conditioned mainly on intelligence data, it is appropriate that the study begin here. Records of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), America's chief wartime intelligence agency, are currently being declassified and to date show a startling paucity of data on "exterminations." By themselves the OSS documents challenge the notion that Allied leaders "knew" what was happening to the Jews under German occupation. Not only is the information given in them remarkably scant, it is often mutually contradictory and sometimes bizarre.

One document quotes a "Polish underground source" as saying during the Spring of 1944 that Auschwitz was metamorphosing from a death camp into a massive "forced labor camp." ^[2] This was ostensibly taking place during the alleged time of greatest killing at the Birkenau facility, when 700,000 Hungarian Jews were presumably being murdered. This report directly contradicts all that has been claimed about that period since the end of the war.

Another document, distributed by OSS headquarters in Washington in March 1944, refers to Belzek, Sobibor and Treblinka as the best-known death camps. Some 20 others are mentioned as well-yet Auschwitz, sometimes called “the kingdom of death,” is nowhere discussed. [3] This document is significant because, as Walter Laqueur notes in his book *The Terrible Secret*, Auschwitz had been open since 1940. Thus, any report failing to point to Auschwitz as the Nazis' key extermination plant would be puzzling. There are, however, many reports which do not connect Auschwitz with exterminations.

In the same period, June 1944, a captured SS man told his Allied interrogators that his brother had witnessed an extermination of Jews in special “gas barracks.” After the murders, the OSS report says, he told his captors that the corpses were “sticking together; it was one block of dead which could not be separated. Apparently the gas destroyed the skin and therefore the bodies melted together.” [4] Few other accounts, contemporaneous or postwar, have described such queer and doubtful effects.

Another story, sent in early January 1944 from the American Consulate-General in Istanbul to the State Department in Washington, discusses Jewish underground activities at length. But while prisoner-smuggling techniques and other issues are bandied about, nothing in this internal memo relates to the Nazis' killing of Jews. [5]

A high-ranking OSS official, William L. Langer, received a report apparently composed in August 1943. In it Auschwitz is described in some detail. Among other claims made for the camp is the immediate gassing of 98% of all Jewish arrivees, “mostly young and healthy individuals.” These, the report alleges, were “gassed and then burned half-alive.” Women and children were gassed, then “thrown out through an aperture and cremated on a stake.” Langer was asked by a horrified subordinate to give this information “maximum publicity” in the United States. In the postwar era, of course, most of the extensive body of Holocaust lore insists that healthy persons were not killed outright, but worked to death. Since then, “stakes” have not seriously been associated with Auschwitz. (For unexplained reasons this document adds that “only a German could have perpetrated such destruction.”) [6]

Still another late-war dispatch (made also at the supposed time of greatest killing) rejects news of gas as a murder agent, in favor of steam. At Treblinka, it says, “men and women were separated and driven into hermetically-sealed baths, in which instead of water steam was introduced through the faucets. The victims [at Treblinka] are in general killed by steam, and not by gas as had been first suspected.” [7]

One of the most nettlesome and persistent tales, accepted by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, involved the manufacture of soap from Jewish bodies. While no one was convicted of such loathesome business by the war crimes courts (nor any reliable evidence produced for it), the soap story continues to enjoy widespread currency. This despite occasional debunking by scholars like Walter Laqueur, [8] and the dismissal several years ago by a German court in Flensburg of “soap recipes” presented by Holocaust survivors. (The former inmates had claimed that a “soap factory” had existed at the Stutthof concentration camp in Germany. [9])

Certainly one of the most significant events bearing on the question of the Allies' knowledge of German extermination preparations or operations occurred in 1979. Owing to research by two CIA photo-analysts, Dino A. Brugioni and Robert Poirier (who said they were moved by the original NBC Network telecast of Holocaust), the National Archives and the CIA released dozens of aerial photographs taken by Allied warplanes over Auschwitz in the Spring and Fall of 1944. [10]

The two CIA men, who apparently worked in their spare time, said they wondered whether any actual “photo-imagery” existed of the camp’s extermination annex, Birkenau. They began an exhaustive search of government photographic holdings from this period, finally locating many images of Auschwitz I (the main camp), Auschwitz III (the primary industrial sector), and Auschwitz II-Birkenau.

The unusual photos, made sharper by advanced computer enhancement techniques, are often cited by critics of the U.S. government as proof of a callous disregard for the fate of the Jews. Author Konnilyn Feig, for example, contends that since the photos were available to the American military, there can be no doubt that this country “knew” about Hitler’s “death camps.” Feig says that the American explanation that it had inadequate information was now proven to be “a clear lie.” Here, finally, were photos bearing “clear... topographical information.” [11] According to Feig and other contemporary writers, for the American government to have had this evidence and not concluded what today seems obvious is somehow incriminating.

These accusations, however, have the classic hallmarks of “20-20 hindsight.” At the original press conference announcing the release of the photos (a conference that Feig appears to have missed), CIA analyst Brugioni said that when the photos were first viewed they indeed seemed inconsequential. There was nothing in them to suggest anything besides a conventional prison camp — or even army camp — of the sort which dotted the Silesian landscape at that time. [12]

Brugioni also explained that when he served as a young Army Corps photo-interpreter in Europe, there were no reports in Yank, Stars and Stripes, or other publications referring to Polish camps as the locus of Nazi murder programs. [13] Moreover, the two intelligence analysts (along with Robert Wolfe, curator of the National Archives' Modern Military Branch) stressed that the current means of minutely examining the photos were unavailable to the armed forces of 40 years ago. [14]

The real significance of the CIA/Archives photos lies not in what they show, however, but in what they fail to show. That is: evidence to sustain “ground accounts” of mass murder of Jews at Auschwitz in the Spring of 1944. Whereas the great majority of the extensive descriptions of Auschwitz speak of between ten and thirty thousand victims gassed and cremated daily at this time, in none of the hundreds of aerial photos examined by the CIA officials is found any hint of the smoke and flame said to blanket the entire Auschwitz region. [15]

The great and infamous “burning pits” meant to accommodate the overflow of Hungarian Jews are absent as well. Only one shallow pit — perhaps 15 by 20 feet — is visible in any of the photos. And even with the benefit of computer-enhancement it shows no evidence of the revolting purpose ascribed to it.

The CIA analysts and the National Archives (which in 1979 supplied for the photos such labels as “possible cremation pit,” “Jews on the way to gas chambers,” “gas chambers,” etc.), were unable to reconcile this anomaly. A footnote accompanying the monograph observes only that the photos did not conform to “corollary ground accounts” of the purported events at Birkenau. [16] In light of this, declarations by writers such as Otto Friedrich that the “remarkably clear” photos show “the essential evidence — the gas chambers, the crematoria, the prisoners standing in line” [17] are without foundation. They are, in fact, utterly ridiculous.

The keys to understanding these important photographs, are, rather, that 1) Auschwitz was not “reliably” reported by Allied authorities as a death camp until the Fall of 1944, and 2) the photos' seemingly-authoritative captions were not applied until 34 years after the war ended.

Robert Wolfe — under whose aegis the Birkenau pictures were released by the National Archives — is concerned lest people today use them as weapons against various government agencies or officials. Yes, he says, the U.S. did receive scattered atrocity reports, but “if you don’t know or suspect something like [gassing at Auschwitz], you wouldn’t look for evidence like chimneys.” Besides, the custodian of the Archives’ vast Modern Military Branch added, “the truth was intermingled with all sorts of rumors and stories... The U.S. didn’t put [the information] together correctly.” [18]

Wolfe, who is Jewish, says that investigations of this sort are difficult for him, but that as a professional archivist he must rely on “contemporary textual and documentary evidence.” In the realm of extermination data, this evidence is largely absent. According to Wolfe, the rules governing the acceptance of mass-murder intelligence data were and are the same as those impinging on other areas.

“You have to evaluate [the information],” he said intently. “How good is the source? Where does the data come from? How does it fit in with something else?” He offered as an analogy the Battle of the Bulge in 1944. In that instance Allied commanders possessed information that, assembled in a cogent way, would have thwarted the unpleasant surprise of the Germans’ sweep through American lines in Belgium.

In marked contrast to critics who insist that the Allies had obtained good information on exterminations of Jews as early as 1942, Wolfe would prefer not to characterize inaction as indifference. “The main questions involve when and to what extent, and which part of the Allies [knew about the extermination], and what could they do about it. All of that is pretty hard to boil down.” [19]

Author Edward T. Chase is similarly aware of the need for probity about the CIA/Archives photos and other evidence. In assessing the role of former Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy in the American failure to bomb Auschwitz, Chase said: “You’ve got to be enormously careful... before you start throwing bricks around; you have to really look at [the question of responsibility]. You can’t just impose hindsight on events that took place then.”

To Chase, the information of the period — as well as post-war “revelations” of Allied culpability for not rescuing European Jews — “has to be examined with more responsibility.” [20] Chase’s views reflect the experience gained from his service as a Naval Intelligence officer during World War Two.

It appears that the treatment of intelligence data received throughout the war was, in the main, distinguished by such rigorous evaluation. Even analysts in the British ENIGMA program, which decrypted nearly all German intelligence ciphers from 1942 on, possessed nothing of sufficient moment with which to frame a conclusion of a German extermination policy. Thus, although the Allies had, through the possession of a captured ENIGMA coding machine, decoded the messages of the SS, the Wehrmacht, the Luftwaffe and other organizations, a highly respected authority on the ENIGMA program has little to say on the subject of extermination. In the nearly 1000 pages of *Bodyguard of Lies*, Anthony Cave Brown refers to the Nazi concentration camps primarily as adjuncts of German industry.

In this seminal study, Cave Brown also cites standard intelligence sources which failed to establish a relationship between deportation and mass murder. “... [British] MI-6 and [American] OSS,” he writes, “had gained considerable success discovering Hitler’s secrets through conventional... channels — the reports of spies and informants throughout Nazi-occupied Europe and in the satellite and neutral countries; the censorship of foreign mail; the interrogation of POWs.” [21]

A “massively-detailed” but “little read” study of Britain’s wartime intelligence published in 1981, *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, strongly bolsters the notion that the British did not associate what appeared to be random shootings of Jews with a policy of mass murder. In fact, from 1942 on there were no references in the SS and Police decrypts to gassing. Underscoring a seeming disbelief in the reports, mention of German concentration camps in any connection became increasingly scant as the war progressed. The British did, however, “carefully log” the return of prisoners — presumably from work details — to Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Dachau and seven other camps. [22]

In both the massive British intelligence study and in SS records at the National Archives there are, to be sure, field reports alluding to “executions” of Jewish partisans and civilians in Russia. “Field reports” of this sort are hardly persuasive evidence of an extermination program, however. Nor were they taken as such by analysts of the time.

Another recent book on Allied intelligence, Joseph Persico’s *Piercing the Reich* (dealing specifically with American agent penetration of Germany), devotes only four pages to what was known of the activities of camps like Auschwitz. This is curious, inasmuch as the author’s preface states that “the U.S. reaped an abundant harvest of intelligence in the operations of the wartime OSS.” [23] And a former OSS operative who served in Europe made this observation recently: “... the OSS learned in advance about the development of German jet aircraft, the Nazi effort to develop a nuclear weapon, secrets of the V-1s and V-2s, and the plot against Hitler.” [24] These were some of the most highly secret goings-on in the entire Third Reich. Had even verbal information about a projected slaughter of the Jews been gleaned by the OSS, knowledge of this ought to appear in study after study of wartime European intelligence. It does not. Rather, it is fairly clear that American agents’ reports directly from Germany itself expressed no knowledge about — or belief in — accounts of Jewish exterminations in Europe.

As the previously-cited British study indicates, Allied planners in the U.S. and England did calculate the size of concentration camp populations through the years; the linkage between manpower capabilities and industrial output clearly interested them.

Investigating the manufacture of ersatz fuel at Auschwitz, for example, was deemed a vital mission by Allied intelligence because the hydrogenation works were a key to Germany’s capacity for future military operations. It is virtually certain that information concerning Jews at Auschwitz — who were employed in many of the three dozen enterprises located there — was both obtained by American agents inside Germany and published in manpower or demographic studies.

Had the rumors of extermination, with which the camps were reportedly rife, been credible, the agents’ reports ought to have conveyed shock and anxiety. This because a sudden diminution of available laborers in the camp would logically have prompted questions about their disposition. To date (although there remains much classified data on the subject) indications are that intelligence analysts viewed the waxing and waning of inmate populations as no more ominous than intra-camp transfers, which occurred on a regular basis depending upon which prisoners had which skills. [25] (Auschwitz, for example, had an artillery fuse plant and cement works; Dachau a clothing factory for the Waffen SS; Neuengamme a research and development facility for V-2 missiles. All were staffed largely by Jews.)

Some students of the period, such as American University professor Allen Kraut, contradict Persico’s contention that the OSS was well-informed on concentration camp matters. To Kraut, the “OSS was just a bunch of amateurs beginning to learn professional methods.” Moreover, “the

plight of the Jews was really a very secondary matter. What the OSS wanted was military intelligence.” Yet the OSS received vast assemblages of data on the role of concentration camps in the German war effort; it in effect concluded that the evidence for charging Germany with an extermination program was insufficient.

Kraut is similarly hard-put to explain the lack of plausible extermination information on the part of the British, who largely taught America its intelligence craft. “They weren’t looking for [evidence],” he contends. “They were getting some about the executions of Jews; many times they were ignoring it. And other times they saw it, they read it, and they didn’t believe it. But there’s a difference between that and simply not having any information.” [26] It might be added that there is a difference between having an unconsolidated mass of raw intelligence about the killings of Jewish civilians, and knowing which reports were more reliable than the discredited “Belgian baby”-type allegations of the previous war, which members of the British Parliament later admitted fabricating.

It appears, then, that in the intelligence sphere the accounts of mass killings lacked credibility. Even if some analysts suspected that Germans randomly shot Jews, Slavs, Poles and others considered racially inferior by the Reich government, a quantum leap of faith was required to accept tales of Europe-wide extermination.

If the reports had at that time been accorded the respect and credibility they have acquired since the war, some attempt to warn Europe’s Jews would almost certainly have been inaugurated. Yet those agencies (the OSS, MI-6, and others) privy to the most secret communications throughout the far-flung Reich failed to attempt even rudimentary leaflet campaigns for this purpose. [27]

Even American officials like Roswell McClelland, who found the term “deportation” pregnant with evil meaning, kept their suspicions mostly to themselves. “One wonders why... It’s something I’ve never entirely explained to myself,” McClelland says in answer to the question of why he didn’t mobilize others to act on his “gut feelings.” [28]

McClelland was stationed in Switzerland during the war as War Refugee Board (WRB) representative at the American Consulate in Bern. In addition to his work on behalf of war refugees, including Jews, he often communicated, he says, with the Switzerland-based OSS chief, Allen Dulles. McClelland is widely acclaimed for having transmitted to Washington from his post in Bern the report of two Slovakian Jewish escapees from Auschwitz. (This report was later to gain notoriety as the main evidentiary feature of the “WRB Report.”) His remarks to this writer on his failure to propose the obvious — a massive warning campaign for the Jews — are all the more puzzling for it. They underscore that fact that although some people in rumor-choked Switzerland had a “gut” suspicion that extermination was taking place, their actual behavior did not reflect such concerns. Pressed on his inaction, McClelland offers little. “You had intimations,” he recalled rather weakly. “But then you were swept on, and there was a lot of [other] work to do. [The extermination allegations] sort of faded to the background.” [29]

There was another, earlier, report which sparked a great deal of controversy, because it appeared more authoritative and complete than the notably brief and usually unattributed fillers that the New York Times and other U.S. papers started publishing in mid-1942. [30]

Like Roswell McClelland, the World Jewish Congress (WJC) representative in Switzerland, Gerhard Riegner, was apparently a man who “could not believe, yet did believe” information on exterminations. He made many protestations to Allied governments on the basis of a report he allegedly obtained from an anti-Nazi German industrialist in the Summer of 1942.

In that report, Riegner was quoted recently as saying, were somber warnings that Hitler had prepared for the total physical annihilation of European Jews. Authorities in the U.S. and Britain were asked to believe that the industrialist (who owned factories employing 30,000 workers) had access to the highest counsels of the German government, and was invited to a secret meeting at which the Nazi extermination plan was laid out.

In the first of several messages to American and British diplomatic representatives in Switzerland, Riegner asked that the data be transmitted to their governments and to key Jewish leaders. As is now well known, the information was dismissed as fantasy by the foreign service establishments of both countries. A typical reaction was that these allegations were merely “the opinion of one Jew in Geneva.” [31] As Riegner himself told the Washington Post: “No one really believed it. Not even the Jews who knew it [?]... I counted 4 million Jews as dead.” (How they were counted is not indicated.) “My own World Jewish Congress office in New York — where I sent all my reports — published the figure of only 1.5 million.” [32]

While he has reportedly “struggled” long and hard with the reasons his industrialist’s — and by extension, others’ — reports were suspect, Riegner concludes that the human mind simply could not accept claims of such magnitude.

There are, of course, less metaphysical reasons why Riegner’s claims were viewed as little more than rumor. The most obvious is their unsubstantiated character. As Martin Gilbert made plain in his 1981 book *Auschwitz and the Allies*, Washington and London were “disinclined” to believe Riegner’s “fantastic” tales, in part because no others had been as strikingly grandiose. Although Riegner spoke of interrogating the mysterious industrialist (it was two full days before he believed the man’s accounts himself), authorities in the West remained dubious. Much of this attitude appears to have hinged on the phrase “at one blow exterminated,” found in Riegner’s first urgent telegram, of 8 August 1942. [33] To be sure, some officials, including the American Vice-Consul in Geneva, Howard Elting, considered the 30-year-old lawyer “a serious and balanced individual,” but inside the State Department skepticism prevailed.

Against Vice-Consul Elting’s view that Riegner would not have asked to see him had Riegner “lacked confidence in his informant,” must be weighed the questions of Elting’s colleagues about the messenger. Riegner was, in fact, an entirely unknown quantity either in Foggy Bottom or in Whitehall. When the Riegner correspondence was forwarded from Switzerland to London, the response of Richard Law, Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was to ask: “What do we know of Mr. Riegner?” [34] After pouring over refugee files and consulting with British Zionists, the answer was: nothing. As Gilbert notes, “the Foreign Office drew a blank.” [35]

Owing to such official reservations the Riegner report was not made public. On 17 August the U.S. Minister in Bern, Leland Harrison, was told by Washington that the report also had not been delivered — as requested by Riegner — to World Jewish Congress President Rabbi Stephen Wise. The reason, according to U.S. documents quoted extensively in Gilbert’s book, was “the unsubstantiated nature of the information.”

The American Consul in Geneva, Paul Squire, bluntly echoed this language in communicating to Riegner a week later. Until “corroboratory information” on the extermination of the Jews was received, Squire told a frustrated Riegner, the State Department was “disinclined to deliver the message in question in view of the apparently unsubstantiated character in the information that forms its main theme.”

There was another reason for this disinclination. The report repeated some of the most gruesome atrocity canards of the First World War. [36] Some stories retained the discredited charges intact,

others dropped certain elements and replaced them with ones which may have had a plausible basis. The result was an incomprehensible hash of fact and fancy.

A typical illustration: Quoting on authority of an “anti-Nazi” German officer attached to German Army Headquarters, Riegner contended that Nazi factories were rendering Jewish bodies into fertilizer, glue and lubricants. This part of his story was similar to other dreadful tales circulating around Europe at the time — tales whose authors were, of course, anonymous. Recalling the propaganda of the previous war, one British diplomat remarked: “The facts are quite bad enough without the addition of such an old story as the use of bodies for the manufacture of soap.” [37]

Just as the contents of intelligence reports on the Jews' misfortunes were disjointed in extremis, so did poorly-sourced news accounts about people like Riegner help to undermine public confidence in them. The content of many stories circulating in Geneva tended, in fact, to make all “extermination” information suspect in the eyes of Allied officialdom. In addition to the “soap and glue” tales, there were even accounts alleging that Hitler sought the elimination of Jews because European food supplies were dwindling. [38]

Nor did reports from nations bordering on Germany or Poland give credence to charges by Riegner and his fellow messengers of the unthinkable. For example, Eduard Benes, the exiled but well-informed President of Czechoslovakia, wrote to the World Jewish Congress in late 1942 to say that Riegner's claims were false. [39] This statesman hardly regarded himself as a friend of the Germans; he was, however, convinced that they had drawn up no plans to murder the Jews.

The Swiss government reacted in a similar vein, declaring (after the poorly-detailed Allied atrocity declaration of 17 December 1942) that such claims were “foreign rumor propaganda of the worst type.” [40] Roswell McClelland found the Swiss view reflected in an October 1942 interview with Heinrich Rothmann, head of the Swiss Federal Police. McClelland says that the extermination charges against Germany were judged patently untrue. [41] This was not the case with various reports of sporadic killings, brutality, and general abuse of Jews and others by German occupation forces. Yet, as disturbing as these reports were to many people, few were prepared to extrapolate the likelihood that the extermination of a race was in the offing.

American and European Jews, too (for emotional, logical, or other reasons) largely dismissed as rumor the tales of massive killing. The connection between the two Jewish communities is important. Contrary to a popular postwar impression, the flow of information from one to the other was far from totally circumscribed.

Information on numerous topics flowed freely between Germany and neighboring Switzerland, transmitted by phone, telegrams postcard, word-of-mouth and other methods. Remarkably German censors even passed data of intelligence value from Nazi-occupied areas — including messages about Jewish suffering. Historian Walter Laqueur describes, for example, cards sent from Jews in Europe to relatives in Allied nations. Had fear of imminent death been endemic or palpable, surely this would have been communicated. Had the extermination accounts been accepted by European Jewry in a serious way, concerted efforts to bring them to the attention of Jews everywhere would have been made.

Rather than merely one or two examples of data transmitted by the mails containing, for example, “coded” messages about exterminations to fellow Jews outside Nazi control, one would expect to find hundreds or thousands in Jewish archives. Laqueur knows of only two extant. [42] This is not to say that other “coded” letters or phone-call transcripts might not exist. They would certainly be considered of immense value to historians and thus publicized, if indeed they were preserved and known. [43]

The foreign press stationed in Germany also succeeded in passing a great deal more information in their dispatches to “the outside world” than is generally believed. Often these accounts were uncensored, though critical of the Nazi regime. Others from countries occupied by Germany were similarly uncensored for the most part; reporters from neutral powers in these nations sent “a steady stream” of material to their home offices. [44] On occasion, the foreign press coverage focused on tales of Jewish civilian deaths, sometimes even describing them as the product of extermination. Surely some people believed the tales, Gentiles as well as Jews; most did not.

On 6 June 1943, the secret Polish radio station SWIT was quoted by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency on the subject of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of two months before. Jewish survivors of the fighting, said SWIT, were “deported to an unknown destination.” After the war it was learned that the destination was Auschwitz. By 1943 the camp had supposedly become a household word throughout occupied Europe, as the most notorious camp in the Nazi “kingdom of death.” [45]

It is thus surprising that the SWIT report did not mention the “destination” in any context suggesting a grisly fate for the ghetto soldiers. Rumors were rife at this time, of course; SWIT broadcasters were no strangers to them. Yet the failure to mention death camps implied that captivity was the Warsaw survivors' lot. Moreover, the World Jewish Congress even omitted mention of the important uprising in the “Resistance” column of its newsletter, Jewish Comment, for 11 June 1943. [46]

The fact that this portentous event was overlooked by a major Jewish organization (although covered in some detail by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency on successive days thereafter) amply illustrates the crisis of credibility engendered by mass-murder stories. And it foreshadowed the bitter infighting and recriminations that attend the current debate on Jewish behavior during the war.

The Judenraete, or Jewish councils of the occupied towns and cities of Europe, similarly had no inkling of any German plans for the complete physical annihilation of their people. These organizations have been severely lambasted over the years by writers who have found in them “Nazi collaborationists.” While this collaboration may in some instances have occurred out of fear for individuals' lives, it is only through the optic of hindsight that the elders of the Judenraete are so disparaged. Of the views of such writers as the late Hannah Arendt, National Archives official Robert Wolfe says exasperatedly: “Those poor [Judenraete] bastards. It wasn't their idea to exterminate their fellow Jews.” He maintains that “hope” led them to believe in resettlement (not extermination), and that the end of the war would save them “from whatever the fate was — resettlement or death; whatever they happened to know or believe.” [47]

Clearly, what most of the elders and their flocks knew was less unsettling than the fears they are now criticized for not giving rein to. The councils' actions seem best reflected in examples like the following. In early 1943 the elders of Amsterdam were disturbed at the lack of postcards from two categories of Dutch deportees: the elderly and mothers with children. But the source of their concern was not the one that now leaps quickly to mind, i.e., extermination. The Amsterdam Jewish Council was, rather, angered because the Germans had broken their promise to keep Jewish families united on their journeys to various camps. [48] There was what has been called “an unbridgeable gulf” between what was ultimately concluded about the fate of the deported Jews, and the remarkable dearth of information as to where this killing was taking place. It bears repeating that the great majority of Jewish officials did not mentally associate trains with gas chambers. [49]

One highly-respected elder, Berlin Rabbi Leo Baeck, reportedly rejected as rumor claims of mass murder eight months into 1943. He had been told of large-scale gassing at Auschwitz by a fellow

inmate at Theresienstadt camp, and decided against informing the camp elders' council about it. "... this death was not certain at all," he reasoned. "... There was selection for slave labor; perhaps not all transports went to Auschwitz. So I came to the grave decision to tell no one." [50] Why Baeck's informant did not then himself communicate this urgent information to everyone, may never be known.

French Jewry apparently refused to believe in the deportation-means-death theory until the end of the war. The increasing reports of the putative fate of Europe's Jews were generally chalked up to British propaganda; few paid any attention. It was not merely the blasé rejection of the genocide information as propaganda that led the French Jews to their conclusions; its disjointed character made rejection a virtual certainty. And so it went throughout Nazi-occupied Europe. The French, Dutch, Danish, Greek, Hungarian and other Jews behaved in a manner that bespoke disbelief in the fantastic gossip of the time.

The most dramatic evidence — even proof — that the claims were generally dismissed, however, is the simple fact that throughout the war Jews passively boarded the "resettlement" trains. Certainly there were cases of panic, and the odd suicide — but there was little resistance to speak of. Roswell McClelland recalls having a "gut knowledge" that the Jews of France — some of whom he aided after they had fled the war zone in 194 — would be murdered. Yet he confined expressions of his fears to a 10-minute chat with the Vichy President, Pierre Laval. Laval told the American relief worker that he was a victim of "atrocities propaganda"; no such killings were taking place. [51] Granted that Laval was not the most authoritative source, his remarks nevertheless could only have reinforced McClelland's own experience. Resistance by French Jews? "There wasn't any, besides some infrequent hysteria," he agrees. [52] Instead, entire Jewish populations of cities, towns and hamlets throughout Europe, numbering in the millions, grudgingly accepted the journey to "labor assignment in the East."

Jewish organizations in America and in other Allied nations betrayed a similar disinclination to honor the stories emanating from "the old country." Yes, most people had seen the press reports of the cruelties being inflicted upon the Jews by the Nazis, and yes, the word from relatives under occupation confirmed that conditions for the Jews were harsh. Nonetheless, at no time did American or British Jews mount an all-out, sustained, unified mobilization for rescue or even protest. [53] In view of this lack of visible attempts on the part of Jewish leaders themselves, it seems tendentious now to heap blame on British or American statesmen for "complacency."

The concern over exaggerations was by no means limited to suspicious officials in the U.S. State Department and the British Foreign Office, however. Such was the wide and wild variety of extermination stories from occupied Europe that even the Zionist press often warned against "padding" them. Thus, while the organ of the World Zionist movement, *Ha'olem*, published up to June 1942 no news concerning Nazi massacres, it did contain a feature by a Polish Jewish leader claiming that the propaganda uses of Jewish suffering had been discovered and the truth "actually exaggerated two-fold and more." (This, and the following citations quoting Jewish newspapers *Ha'olem*, *Davar*, and *Hatzofe* are from Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret*, pp. 184-85.)

Another Hebrew-language newspaper, *Davar*, cautioned all of its reporters (and readers) that great care should be taken in evaluating tales of, for example, soldiers returning from the front. Some people had accepted claims in the Soviet Army tabloid, *Red Star*, that most of those killed by the Germans at Babi Yar (Kiev) were Jews. Laqueur writes that *Davar* admonished readers not to accept such reports because the Soviet paper had not adequately supported its claims.

Even the information from Warsaw Ghetto leader Schmuel Zygelboim (whose report constituted key evidence of extermination after the war) was discredited when it appeared. Another Hebrew paper, Hatzofe, commented about Zygelboim: “The irresponsible informants... absorb every rumor, they desperately look for every piece of bad news, every enormous figure and present it in a way that makes the blood curdle in one’s veins.” This organ scolded careless correspondents and informants, comparing their inaccurate stories to those about the Palestine riots of 1936-39. These, the paper recalled “were spread all over the world and... were so much exaggerated.” (In the earlier case, Zionist press accounts dealt falsely with the degree of Arab violence towards the increasing numbers of Jewish refugees in Palestine.) [54]

Perhaps more than any single document, the detailed physical description of Auschwitz given in the War Refugee Board [WRB] Report convinced some that the rumors of extermination were based on fact. The information, carried by two young Slovakian Jewish escapees from Auschwitz, was published by the U.S. War Refugee Board in November 1944. The late date is significant for the purposes of this study. The Roosevelt administration, reacting to the two Slovakian Jews' report as it had to earlier data alleging a Nazi extermination campaign, “sat on” the Auschwitz news for four months before authorizing the WRB to release it. [55]

Again the believability issue had surfaced. While more detailed than previous questionable reports, this one by escapees Alfred Wetzler and Rudolf Vrba contained similar data. One element, however, distinguished it: for the first time Auschwitz was mentioned primarily as an “extermination camp.” The introduction of this new term — new at least in connection with “genocide” — probably undergirded the widespread suspicions among Allied leaders. When the Auschwitz claims reached Washington via OSS London representative Arthur Goldberg, officials at the State Department remained unimpressed. Remember, one said privately: “... stuff like this has been coming out of Bern since 1942... this is a Jew telling about other Jews.” [56]

Although some Jews may have begun to accept the claims by this time (having read similar material in the past), Jewish organizations in Hungary apparently steadfastly rejected them. Instead of a dramatic rescue plan for Jewish camp inmates, a laborious barter arrangement was established. Gilbert describes in some detail the talks between SS-Standartenführer Adolf Eichmann and Hungarian Zionist authorities, in which Eichmann offered Jews their freedom in exchange for food, trucks and other commodities needed by the struggling German military. [57]

As impressive a document as the Vrba/Wetzler report is supposed to have been, the desperate warnings it contained about the endangered Hungarian Jews were somehow shunted aside in favor of an inherently time-consuming approach. To this day, Vrba is said to be convinced that had the facts brought to Bratislava been circulated immediately throughout Hungary, many of the 450,000 Jews scheduled for deportation would have resisted, evaded or otherwise obstructed their transfer to concentration camps. As it happened, the two young Jewish messengers sparked the same lukewarm response as had Gerhard Riegner.

Some people, however, still do not accept the logical notion that masses of panicked Jews in the middle of a war could have wrought havoc among the Nazi authorities. Among these are former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, National Archives curator Robert Wolfe, and Holocaust scholar David Weinberg. The first two argue that any resistance to the Germans would have been futile, and that the Jews were conscious of their fate.

Weinberg (a member of an interdisciplinary Holocaust research team) agrees that awareness of impending doom was widespread among the deportees, but he describes a kind of “moral resistance.” It was “not necessarily a passive acceptance” that the trains' occupants expressed, says

Weinberg, but “a pattern of resistance that manifested itself in a commitment to Jewish identity and a will to survive as witnesses to Nazi brutality.” This explanation is untenable, however, if only because of the emphatically “survivalist” mentality evolved in the Jews through centuries of bitter experience. How Weinberg expected the doomed Jews to have “survived as witnesses” — if they believed they were to die — is nowhere explained in his writings about the behavior of Jewish prisoners. [58]

One final report on the Jews' response to information about mass killings deserves examination. It is one which, considering its background and sponsors, seems surprisingly to have been quoted only rarely in the post-war period. The *Displacement of Population in Europe*, published in late 1943 by the International Labor office in Montreal, contains heavily annotated data on the far-ranging movements of civilians during the war. But despite having been prepared and sanctioned by an impressive coalition of Jewish organizations, the Red Cross, and others concerned with refugee work, *Displacement* echoes the Nazi line on deportation. [59] The rule, this 100-page document found, was that following concentration in ghettos, European Jews (along with other civilians) were transferred from their homes to make room for “repatriated. Germans.”

“At the same time, however,” the report continues, “another factor, perceptible since the end of 1940 and now assuming growing importance, is strongly operating in a contradictory direction — namely, the needs of the German war economy. As a result, Germany’s Jewish policy may be described as a compromise between the extermination of the Jews and their utilization in the war economy.” It is difficult to understand whether the term “extermination” in this context refers to physical murder, or to the elimination of all vestiges of Jewish unity and cultural heritage. [60] But because the report proceeds at length concerning the manner in which Jews were being forced to labor for Germany (and only rarely refers to “extermination” in other contexts) it seems clear that many Jewish organizations accepted the Nazis' explanation of the word “deportation.” In addition to the surprising and conspicuous absence from the population report of the “extermination camp” category from its list of labor and other camps, there is the interesting observation that Jews were “permitted to return home” following a day’s work. [61]

There is, certainly, a complicated matrix of elements involved in the attitudes of the Allied governments accused of failure to destroy the Nazi “extermination” camps. Some relate to concerns that heavy rescue efforts on behalf of Jews would be construed as preferential treatment for their Jewish civilians by nations seeking help from the major powers. A related issue was apparently the belief that responding to the sporadic pressures from Jewish leaders would make the conflict appear to be a “Jewish war,” causing latent anti-Semitism to rise in the U.S. and Britain and playing into the hands of Nazi propagandists. Another element involves the wisdom of diverting military resources for humanitarian purposes.

But such concerns — now the subjects of many books and articles — are dependent upon, and rightly subordinated to, the question of what was known factually, and believed, about Nazi atrocities. Highly-charged debate over questions like the Allied failure to bomb Auschwitz becomes moot when viewed in light of the absence of evidence supporting allegations of mass murder.

Whether or not greater rescue efforts by the Allies or Western Jewish groups could have prevented Jewish deaths is highly speculative. What is far clearer and, I believe, amply demonstrated by the foregoing, is that neither the Allied powers nor world Jewry had adequate knowledge from which convincingly to argue a case that the extermination of the Jews was occurring.

The “bottom line,” perhaps, is this: with the Goldberg Commission (to investigate Jewish behavior during the war) now — Summer 1984 — aswirl in charge and countercharge — accusations about who helped and who did not, who had the resources and who did not, who “knew” about the atrocities and kept silent, and so on ad infinitum — it is unjust for the seemingly growing numbers of Jewish leaders now to accuse the Allied governments of indifference. What appears to be taking place is a dangerous scapegoating, aided by an entirely misplaced and inappropriate guilt among those Gentile leaders who associate with this school of thought. Among these are President Ronald Reagan, Vice-President George Bush, and other government officials endorsing the goals of the semi-official “President’s Commission on the Holocaust.”

Because the fruit of the Commission’s work will be the opening of a “Holocaust Museum” in Washington, in which Allied “indifference” will reportedly be highlighted, the Mea culpas of present-day administration figures have the effect of aligning them with only one (albeit the loudest) faction in a dispute that has yet to be resolved.

It is hoped that this study may help to illuminate those darker corners of the dispute that some have preferred to shun.

Notes

Full References for Sources Cited in the Notes Are Given in the Bibliography

1. [↗](#) Washington Post (19 May 1983), p. B1. Columnist Richard Cohen called “a disgrace” the conferring of an honorary degree by Harvard University upon John McCloy (Assistant Secretary of War under Franklin Roosevelt). Cohen, like other writers of late, finds fault with the decision by the Allies not to bomb Auschwitz. McCloy himself has said that the decision was not his to make. The Washington Times of 8 April 1983 (p.2-B) quotes the President of the Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors: “Why wasn’t the world telling what was happening to [European Jews]?... These are the questions, not why did we go like sheep.” In *Hitler’s Death Camps: The Sanity of Madness*, historian Konnilyn Feig cites the “extensive topographical information” in the aerial photos of Auschwitz in 1978 as proof that the Allies “knew” what was occurring there; in an interview with this writer Arthur Goldberg claimed bluntly that “the Allied governments... did not exercise... these powers... of deterrence... to the fullest. This is to their everlasting shame.” Yet Goldberg (with the OSS Labor Section in London during the war, and currently Chairman of the American Jewish Commission on the Holocaust) concedes that “there was great difficulty... to accept what was going on.” One reason cited: the Belgian-babies-being-eaten-by-the-Germans falsehoods of the First World War.
2. [↗](#) Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Record Group RG 226, National Archives and Records Service, Washington D.C. Document Number 81854-C, June 13, 1944.
3. [↗](#) Ibid., Doc. 61701, September 27, 1944.
4. [↗](#) Ibid., Doc. 80227, June 1, 1944.
5. [↗](#) Ibid., Doc. 56166, January 8, 1944.
6. [↗](#) Ibid., Doc. 66059, August 12, 1943.
7. [↗](#) Ibid., Doc. 67231, April 13, 1944.
8. [↗](#) Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret: Suppression of the Truth About Hitler’s Final Solution*, p. 82. The soap story was very reminiscent of stories which surfaced in the previous conflict, and was equally suspect in the minds of the (by-then) somewhat more sophisticated public in America and abroad. In the “war to end all wars,” it was recalled, Germany — so it had been said by Allied propagandists — established “corpse factories” for render-

ing civilians into various lubricants, glue, and so forth. The ever-popular soap allegation was freely repeated at Washington's 1983 gathering of Holocaust survivors from around the world.

9. ☞ Erich Kern, *Meineid Gegen Deutschland*, p. 152-63.
10. ☞ Dino A. Brugioni and Robert Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz/Birkenau Extermination Complex*.
11. ☞ Konnilyn G. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps: The Sanity of Madness*, p. 368.
12. ☞ See Gilbert, generally, and press conference cited below.
13. ☞ Press conference, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 23 February 1979.
14. ☞ *Ibid.*, and author's interview with Robert Wolfe, April 1983, on the intelligence value of the photos: "That was 1978, and nobody had ever looked at those things since the war. And when they looked at them during the war... they had no idea that Birkenau was a murder mill... How good was the [information on extermination] being evaluated? After all, it was coming from behind enemy lines."
15. ☞ Brugioni and Poirier, p. 11
16. ☞ *Ibid.*, note p. 11.
17. ☞ Otto Friedrich, "The Kingdom of Auschwitz," *Atlantic* (September 1981), p. 54.
18. ☞ Author's interview with Robert Wolfe.
19. ☞ *Ibid.*
20. ☞ Author's interview with Edward T. Chase, May 1983. Chase said that four factors "conspired to ruin" the Jews' case for sparking Allied rescue and bombing efforts: 1) Roosevelt's "lack of imagination"; 2) "the degree of divisiveness and hostility among the American Jewish groups themselves... and between upper-class German Jews and the Russian and lower-class Jews," which was "immense"; 3) the [related] impatience this squabbling caused among the non-Jews and State Department and other officials, who "wondered who the hell they were going to deal with"; and 4) the question of "what's true, what's false about the extermination stories."
21. ☞ Anthony Cave Brown, *Bodyguard of Lies*, p. 5. Cave Brown also makes an interesting observation on the uses by modern nations in wartime of what is generally termed "black propaganda." Quoting Sir Garnet Wolseley, former Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, in his 1869 *Soldier's Handbook*: "We are brought up to feel it a disgrace ever to succeed by falsehood... that honesty is the best policy... These pretty little sentiments do well for a child's copybook, but a man who acts on them had better be prepared to sheathe his sword forever." The Allies in both world wars certainly did heed these words on occasion, fabricating some data about Nazi atrocities to discredit the Germans and to encourage greater efforts against the "barbaric enemy." Such propaganda has become a standard fixture of modern warfare, on all sides.
22. ☞ "British Intelligence and the Holocaust," *Baltimore Jewish Week* (15 April 1983), "News" section, p. 30, quoting F. H. Hinsley, et al., *British Intelligence in the Second World War*.
23. ☞ Joseph Persico, *Piercing the Reich*, p. xi.
24. ☞ Richard Dunlop, "The Wartime OSS," *American Legion* (June 1984), p. 15.
25. ☞ In *The Terrible Secret* (p. 86), Laqueur claims that "studies about what, if anything, was produced at Auschwitz ... were probably undertaken [by Allied intelligences but they have not been declassified." While it is true that some records remain classified — involving as they do intelligence sources and methods — a large body of material on Auschwitz industries has been, or is in the process of being, declassified. See, for example, OSS RG 226 at the Modern Military Branch of the National Archives, and archivist John Taylor. Some 36

sub-camps at Auschwitz produced goods for the German war machine as diverse as cement and electrical fuses.

26. ☞ Author's interview with Professor Allen Kraut, May 1983. Kraut is co-author of a work-in-progress entitled *American Refugee Policy, 1933-1945*.
27. ☞ Ibid., and Laqueur, p. 85. Laqueur makes the valuable observation that highly-classified Nazi Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service or "SD") codes could be read in London by late 1941, thanks to British Intelligence's acquisition of a German ENIGMA coding machine. Although much in the ENIGMA files remains classified, what is presently known (from Anthony Cave Brown and others) makes patently evident that even in the covert communications of those German agencies most often associated with extermination of the Jews, the subject of Jewish killings rarely arises.
28. ☞ Author's interview with Roswell McClelland, April 1983. McClelland acted as the WRP representative in Switzerland from 1942 on. From 1940 until that time he and his Quaker wife travelled through unoccupied France aiding war refugees.
29. ☞ Ibid. Laqueur (p. 99) says that OSS spy-master Allen Dulles was "profoundly shocked" at the report of the two Auschwitz escapees in 1944, saying: "one has to do something immediately." What Laqueur fails to explain is why Dulles should have expressed surprise at the information, considering that he occupied the best listening post in Europe, had an efficient and elaborate agent network which extended across Europe, and regularly received vital intelligence from such high-ranking anti-Nazi German leaders as Admiral Wilhelm Canaris (head of the Abwehr, or military intelligence). Laqueur suspects that such professionals as Dulles may have inhabited a twilight zone "between knowing and not knowing" the truth about the Holocaust, or knew "and kept their knowledge to themselves." Dulles, whether or not his "shock" was genuine (it may more likely have been affected for the benefit of the British newsman who brought him the Auschwitz report), confined his only known reaction to writing a cable to the State Department the next day.
30. ☞ A selection of items from the New York Times from 1943 reflects the low order of priority assigned to charges of extermination by America's "newspaper of record" — despite the magnitude of the charges. Note the page numbers: 14 February, p. 37: "Mass executions of Jews in Poland on an accelerated tempo was reported by [European Jewish leaders]... In one place 6000 Jews are killed daily, according to reports"; 16 February, p. 7: "All the aged and feeble [from Czeszchowa] Poland] were sent to Rawa-Russka, in Galicia, for execution by the Nazis, sources inside Poland said"; 10 March, p. 10: "40 thousand persons listened and watched ... last night to two performances of 'We Shall Never Die,' a dramatic mass memorial to the two million Jews killed in Europe... The narrator said, 'There will be no more Jews left in Europe for representation when peace comes. The four million left to be killed are being killed, according to plan' " ; 20 April, p. 11: "Two million Jews have been wiped out since the Nazis began their march through Europe in 1939 and five million more are in immediate danger of execution ... The report said lethal gas and shooting are among the methods being used to exterminate the Jews."
31. ☞ Josiah E. DuBois, Jr. *The Devil's Chemists*, pp. 184, 188.
32. ☞ "The Nazi Secret No One Believed," *Washington Post* (5 February 1983), pp. C-1, C-4.
33. ☞ Arthur B. Morse, *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy*, p. 57. Riegner's telegram read: "Received alarming report stating that, in Führer's headquarter, a plan has been discussed and is under consideration, according to which all Jews ... numbering 3½ million to 4 million should be ... at one blow exterminated ... Action reported planned for autumn. Methods under discussion include prussic acid."
34. ☞ *Washington Post* (5 February 1983) p. C-4.
35. ☞ Gilbert, pp. 57-59.

36. ☞ Ibid., p. 57, and Morse, p. 4.
37. ☞ Laqueur, p. 82, quoting Frank Roberts, Central Department official in the British Foreign Ministry.
38. ☞ Ibid., p. 98. Also expressing an incredulity that seemed widespread was the U.S. Ambassador to Sweden, Hershel Johnson. Johnson had heard a story from a “German eyewitness” about a document alleging that of 450,000 Jews in Warsaw only 50,000 remained. Although he sent the report on to his superiors in Washington in April 1943, he noted that “so fantastic is the story... that I hesitate to make it the subject of an official report.” Bernard Wasserstein, in *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1945*, pp. 295-96, delves into very similar attitudes of British government officials toward the reports. He quotes a member of the Propaganda Directorate who said after the war that “Exaggeration, excitement, threats and extravagance in all forms were avoided.” Concerning the Foreign Office’s consideration of further declarations against German mass killings of Jews and others, similar to a previous declaration of December 1942 (in which Jews were not singled out as victims), Wasserstein explains that “officials agreed that evidence for the use of gas chambers was untrustworthy and inconclusive.” The Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee, moreover, commented irritably: “The Poles, and to a far greater extent the Jews, tend to exaggerate German atrocities in order to stoke us up.”
39. ☞ Laqueur, pp. 162-64.
40. ☞ Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust*, p. 229.
41. ☞ Author’s interview with Roswell McClelland, April 1983.
42. ☞ Laqueur, pp. 130-31.
43. ☞ Gilbert, p. 340. Between May 1942 and June 1944, Gilbert notes, almost none of the messages reaching the West referred to Auschwitz as the destination of Jewish deportees or as a killing center. “Nor had Auschwitz made any impression on those who were building what they believed to be an increasingly comprehensive picture of the fate of the Jews.” Bauer (note p. 325) and Gilbert (p. 121) both indicate that Jewish records confirm what is suggested by the postcards cited by Laqueur. Jewish organizations in Europe were “diligent record-keepers,” yet despite what Bauer says is a good amount of documentation that survived the war, there is “an absence of vital [i.e., extermination-related] subjects from the records.” Gerhard Riegner, whose report from the anonymous German industrialist made believers of some (since the man supposedly had access to the killing chemicals), strangely mentioned only “eastern camps” in his reports. Had his informant truly been aware of any “secret talks” at Hitler’s headquarters — or actually attended them, as Riegner claims — surely Auschwitz would have received high priority. Further straining the credibility of such stories is the fact, noted by Laqueur, for example (pp. 22-25), that notwithstanding Auschwitz’s top-secret status, any serious suspicions would have spread quickly. This, he says, is because “Auschwitz inmates were dispersed all over Silesia, and... met with thousands of people. Hundreds of civilian employees worked at Auschwitz, and journalists travelled regularly in the Government-General (Poland) and were bound to hear.” Obviously, what was heard was written off as propaganda or gross exaggeration.
44. ☞ Laqueur, p. 215.
45. ☞ *Jewish Week*, Washington, D.C. (7-13 April 1983), p. 10.
46. ☞ Ibid.
47. ☞ Author’s interview with Robert Wolfe, April 1983.
48. ☞ Gilbert, p. 121.
49. ☞ If the Jews in close proximity to the Germans failed to appreciate an ominous “deportation-equals-extermination” formulation, the Allied leadership thousands of miles away can

hardly be faulted for not seeing the connection.

50. ☞ Laqueur, p. 148; Bauer, pp. 56, 58. Bolstering Leo Baeck's essentially "upbeat" view is the fact that there were many deportations from Theresienstadt; apparently no credible information existed there to alter the venerated rabbi's position.
51. ☞ Author's interview with Roswell McClelland, April 1983.
52. ☞ Ibid.
53. ☞ Gilbert, p. 5.
54. ☞ Laqueur, pp. 184-85.
55. ☞ Allied officials can only have wondered why they did not hear earlier about the "extermination" activities of Auschwitz. My own conclusions are manifest.
56. ☞ DuBois, pp. 184-88.
57. ☞ Gilbert, pp. 204-05.
58. ☞ David Weinberg, "The Holocaust in Historical Perspective," in Byron L. Sherwin and Susan G. Ament (eds.), *Encountering the Holocaust: An Interdisciplinary Survey*, pp. 61-62. After speaking of the "heroic resistance" in the Treblinka concentration camp and the Warsaw Ghetto, Weinberg concedes that "the overwhelming majority of Jews did not actively resist their slaughter." That is presumably because "it was impossible for a powerless and unarmed people to mount an effective defense against the most powerful military and political force in Europe." Aside from the fact that Jews were not entirely "unarmed" (and, with stolen and airdropped arms, engaged the Germans in battle much as the Afghan "freedom fighters" do against the Soviets today), Weinberg's logic is open to question. If the annihilation of Europe's Jews was the certainty that he sees 40 years later, uprisings like the one in Warsaw should have attained a far greater fury and been more numerous than they were. Jews have no lesser instinctive desire to live than do other peoples. The scale of their resistance actions against the Germans occurred in direct proportion to their fears.
59. ☞ Eugene M. Kulischer, *The Displacement of Population in Europe*. A partial list of contributors to the report: The American Joint Distribution Committee, the American National Red Cross, the American Jewish Committee Research Institute, the Institute of Jewish Affairs, the Board of Economic Warfare (Washington, D.C.), the Central and Eastern European Planning Board (New York), the Office of Population Research (Princeton University).
60. ☞ Bernard Wasserstein, "Jewish Silence," *Midstream* (August-September 1980), p. 13. Wasserstein quotes Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann in a May 1940 letter to aide Meyer Weisgal: "European Jewry, with very few exceptions, has been practically blotted out." The fact that the term "blotted out" is as strongly connotative of physical murder as "extermination" illustrates the problems that arise from rhetorical license and faulty translation. Few, certainly, would argue that most German Jews before or during the early period of the war — to say nothing of Jews in Eastern Europe — were overcome with a foreboding that tragedy would befall them several years later. Weizmann's declaration is, therefore, both inflammatory and grossly misleading. In 1940, the European Jewish community was intact and its members quite alive.
61. ☞ Kulischer, pp. 109-110.

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American Policy Toward Europe: The Fateful Change

Notes On The Legacy Of Woodrow Wilson And Franklin Roosevelt

Karl Otto Braun

Following the final defeat of Napoleonic France, the leaders of Europe gathered for the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to reorganize the war-torn continent. European recovery from the consequences of Napoleon's downfall was considerably aided by the decent and magnanimous treatment of defeated France by the victorious powers. Henry Kissinger aptly entitled his study of the Congress of Vienna *A World Restored*. [1]

In contrast, the leaders of the victorious coalition that defeated Germany in 1945 imposed a virtual Carthaginian peace upon the vanquished nation. Germany and Europe itself was split into two hostile camps: American-style democracy was imposed in the West and Soviet-style socialism was established in the East. The peace settlement of 1945 prevented European recovery from the consequences of Hitler's downfall. Princeton professor Martin Sherwin gave his scholarly study of the consequences of the Second World War the appropriate title *A World Destroyed*. [2]

Hitler's primary aim in the Second World War was the eradication of the world threat of Soviet Bolshevism. By halting General Eisenhower, Roosevelt enabled Stalin to conquer Berlin and thus establish an Asian presence in the middle of Europe. When Roosevelt and Churchill met off Newfoundland in August 1941 to plan their common war strategy, they sang "Onward Christian Soldiers" before the cameras. Their exhortation later became, in practice, support for the anti-Christian Red Army in its subjugation of half of Europe. In 1945 the German commander invited U.S. General George Patton to seize Prague, but Patton's superior, General Eisenhower, forbade it.

The peace established in 1945 by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin laid the foundation for a long-term conflict which has regularly broken out in crisis: the West Berlin blockade of 1948, the East Berlin uprising of 1953, the Budapest uprising of 1956, the Prague uprising of 1968, and the recent worker's uprising in Poland, a country sacrificed by Roosevelt and Churchill to Stalin's rule. No less than ten countries found themselves under Moscow's rule in 1945, an ominous development with foreboding for the future of Western civilization as a whole. It is not surprising that after nearly forty years, there is still no peace treaty between defeated Germany and the victorious powers. Instead, Germany and Europe remain divided, plagued with turmoil and facing the threat of annihilation in a new war. Historical failures of this magnitude have always had a deep and lasting impact.

In his 1961 historical study, *Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin*, diplomat and historian George F. Kennan wrote:

The pattern of the events that led the Western world to new disaster in 1939 was laid down in its entirety by the Allied governments in 1918 and 1919. What we shall have

to observe from here on in the relations between Russia, Germany, and the West follows a logic as inexorable as that of any Greek tragedy ...

In 1917, the Western powers, in their determination to inflict total defeat on a Germany far less dangerous to them than that of Hitler, had pressed so unwisely for the continuation of Russia's help that they had consigned her to the arms of the Communists. Now, in 1939, they were paying the price for this folly.

The First World War, Kennan has correctly noted, was "the great seminal catastrophe of this century, excepting only perhaps the discovery of nuclear weaponry." [3]

The career of William C. Bullitt, whom Roosevelt appointed as America's first ambassador to the Soviet Union, strikingly exemplifies the contradictory nature of U.S. policy toward the Kremlin over the years.

President Wilson's close advisor and alter ego, Colonel Edward M. House, encouraged young Bullitt to visit the fledgling, civil war-racked Soviet state and its leader, Lenin, in 1919. Bullitt returned to the Versailles conference with a sensational proposal from the Bolshevik government. In return for an immediate cease fire on all fronts, an end to the Allied blockade, establishment of normal relations, and Soviet access to the railways and ports of the former Russian empire, the Soviets would agree to accept the loss of all territories then under de facto non-Soviet control.

Bolshevik rule would be confined to central Russia (including Moscow and Petrograd), while relinquishing Finland, Murmansk-Archangel, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, western Byelorussia Bessarabia, western Ukraine, Crimea, Caucasus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the whole of the Urals and Siberia. [4] Wilson tabled this unique offer until it expired on 10 April 1919. Sigmund Freud, who co-authored a psychological biography of Wilson with Bullitt, considered this "the most important single decision that he [Wilson] made in Paris." [5]

This fumbled opportunity deeply disappointed Bullitt, and he resigned from the foreign service. In his resignation letter to Wilson of 17 May 1919, Bullitt denounced the Versailles Treaty which the Allies had imposed on defeated Germany as unjust and prophesied that the unresolved issues of Danzig and (detached) East Prussia would "make new international conflicts certain." [6] In his youthful idealism, Bullitt did not foresee that one day, as Roosevelt's ambassador to France in 1938-39, he himself would energetically promote uncompromising Polish opposition to any revision of the Versailles settlement. Twenty years later Bullitt helped to implement his own fateful prophecy! This was the first great historical irony of Bullitt's life.

In the 1930s it was trendy for American intellectuals to idealize the Bolshevik revolution and the new Soviet regime, although the Red reign of terror had already claimed many times more victims than the guillotines of the French revolution. Bullitt shared that fashionable enthusiasm. He married Louise Bryant Reed, widow of American Communist leader John Reed, who had authored the flattering portrait of the Bolshevik revolution, *Ten Days that Shook the World*.

Roosevelt called Bullitt back to the diplomatic service in 1933 and appropriately sent him to Moscow as America's first envoy to the USSR. When he arrived, he laid a wreath at the tomb of John Reed by the Kremlin wall. He was honored by the Soviet dictator in extraordinary fashion: "Stalin took my head in his two hands and gave me a large kiss! I swallowed my astonishment and when he turned up his face for a return kiss, I delivered it." [7] But Bullitt's sincere enthusiasm for the Soviet regime "ended in frustration." [8] The Ambassador's confidential dispatches to the President on the terror of the Soviet Commissars became as critical as the articles appearing in German newspapers of the time. His reports to Washington echoed the speeches of German

propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels. He thus became an obstacle for Roosevelt, who sought friendship with Stalin. Bullitt was transferred to Paris in 1936.

After America and the Soviet Union became allies in the Second World War, the latent friction between Bullitt and Roosevelt surfaced and finally led to a complete break between them. (The break was hastened by Bullitt's circulation of stories about the sexual peccadillos of a rival and Roosevelt favorite, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. For this Roosevelt never forgave him.) According to Kennan, in early 1943 "Bullitt predicted with startling accuracy the situation to which the war would lead... He urged the President to use the great influence he still had with a view to bringing Stalin to a specific renunciation of all conquests and annexation in Europe." Bullitt was "remarkably prophetic on what would happen in Europe, if the Russians were allowed to reach Berlin." [9] He told Roosevelt: "This is not the old British policy of the Balance of Power in Europe, but a new one of the Balance of Impotence..." [10] His brother Orville remarked: "In retrospect it would appear that had Bullitt accompanied Roosevelt and later Truman, the meetings with Stalin might have been on a more realistic basis and might have saved the world untold misery." But Roosevelt remained totally deaf to Bullitt's many realistic warnings. This was the second great historical irony of Bullitt's life.

Bullitt left a valuable book to posterity. Together with the renowned Sigmund Freud he wrote a fascinating psychological study of President Wilson. [12] This analysis of Wilson's character was so devastating that its publication had to be postponed until 1967, following the death of Wilson's widow. Bullitt and Freud explain that Wilson was psychologically unable properly to carry out his duties at the Versailles Peace Conference. On 8 April 1919 he even suffered what Bullitt and Freud called a "moral collapse" in relinquishing his highly touted "Fourteen Points" peace plan on the promises of which Germany had laid down its arms. [13]

The German Social Democratic party had welcomed returning German soldiers to the homeland in 1918 with the words: "Welcome back, brave soldiers. God and Wilson will help us from now on." By abandoning his peace pledges, Wilson squandered his enormous popularity in Germany and paved the way for the sham peace which, in Kennan's words, was "forced upon the loser" and "had to be accepted in humiliation under duress." [14] Versailles gave birth to Hitler, just as the Polish "Solidarity" movement is the child of Yalta.

Yet another irony of history is the fact that at a second crucial international conference after a world war, an American president was physically incapable of fully understanding the awesome issues which were decided and which affect us still today. President Roosevelt was a visibly dying man. Churchill's personal physician, Lord Moran, noted in his diary at Yalta on 9 February 1945: "Everyone was shocked by his [Roosevelt's] appearance and gabbled about it afterwards. The President looked old and thin and drawn. He sat looking straight ahead with his mouth open, as if he were not taking things in." [15] In his critical study of Roosevelt's foreign policy, Hamilton Fish deals extensively with the great cover-up about the President's mental and physical deterioration in 1944 and 1945. "This tragic deception over the status of his health... was one of the most unjustifiable, cruelest and most dangerous of all the political tricks and stratagems ever used to deceive the American people." [16]

Fish came to the same devastating conclusion about Roosevelt's health in 1945 as Freud and Bullitt had about Wilson's condition in 1919. These are two of the most appalling cases of failure in American leadership during critical periods of world history. In each of its "crusades" in Europe, America failed to reach the "Holy Land" of a world made safe for Democracy! On the contrary, the present "Great Wall of Europe" (or "Iron Curtain") which divides the continent down the

middle with barbed wire, explosive mines, baying dogs, and killer guards, is the real legacy of the last crusade. It is the most shameful monument of our age.

In light of all this, one must admit that the voice of the sober historian is often drowned out in the noise of rough power politics. Human passions prevail in history. Both President Wilson and President Roosevelt were imbued with blind hatred. In Wilson's view, the French and British Allies were fighting in September 1915 with their backs to the wall against "wild beasts." Roosevelt, in turn, went so far as to tell the Senate military affairs committee in May 1939 that it would be a good thing if Hitler and Mussolini were to be murdered. ^[17]

In 1943 Roosevelt laid the basis for the destruction of Germany by unexpectedly demanding unconditional surrender, thereby surpassing the blunders of the Versailles conference. The destruction of the sovereignty of the German Reich had the effect of unilaterally promoting Soviet expansion. The intense hatred fomented by subversive pressure groups in America changed the course of U.S. foreign policy in a direction detrimental to the nation's welfare. But hatred and vengeance have always been the most awesome tools of politicians.

The crucial turning point in American foreign policy dates from President Wilson's fateful rejection of Washington's admonition in his Farewell Address. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson warned against any U.S. entanglements in European disputes and called for strict neutrality in the Western hemisphere. For Jefferson, England was always the enemy. In 1776, when the thirteen colonies were still ruled from London, Thomas Paine prophetically wrote in *Common Sense*: "It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she can never do while, by her dependence on Britain she is made the makeweight in the scale of British politics."

Backed by his intimate pro-Marxist advisor, Colonel House, Wilson proclaimed a hazy internationalism as the new foundation of U.S. foreign policy. The adoption of Marxist principles under a smokescreen of liberal rhetoric contributed tremendously to the decline of American national strength. Sixty years later, the full working-out of this progressive decline was made dramatically manifest in the humiliating, chaotic fall of Saigon in April 1975.

In 1913 President Wilson signed the law which established the Federal Reserve system. In contradiction to the U.S. Constitution, private enterprise was thereby authorized to print and circulate money, outside of the control of Congress. Under Roosevelt the term of office of the System's governors was extended from seven to fourteen years, thus putting the governing Board's membership beyond the reach of any president. During the debate on the proposed System, Representative Charles Lindbergh, Sr. (father of the famous aviator) warned in February 1912 that "the great special financial interests" of America would use the System to try "to control absolutely by law as well as by environment and manipulation the finances of this country, and eventually, I believe, the markets of the world to form a world trust." The System "would practically put the people of this government and the government itself into a receivership. It would place within the control of a few the means of commercial exchange by the use of which they would control the rest of us to eat out of their hands on such terms as they fixed." ^[18] After the financial association was established, he wrote: "The Federal Reserve Act panics are scientifically created." ^[19] With the establishment of the Federal Reserve System, Wall Street finally triumphed over the White House.

In his 1979 study of Bismarck, George Kennan meticulously exposed the way in which international finance began promoting the Franco-Russian military alliance beginning in 1888. ^[20] Later, Wall Street financing of Britain's war program between 1914 and 1917 virtually insured

America's eventual entry into the First World War on the British side. In 1939 Britain had still not repaid her war debt of 1918 to the United States and could not dare engage in a new conflagration without assurances of U.S. financial backing from the outset. With crucial help from Henry Morgenthau, head of the U.S. Treasury Department, and from Wall Street banking houses, Britain received the (then) staggering sum of 30.75 billion dollars in Lend-Lease aid during the course of the Second World War. The Soviet Union received aid amounting to 11.4 billion dollars. [21] These figures prove — better than could a thousand documents — America's prime responsibility for the intensity and duration of the Second World War. The results of the enormous American sacrifices in money, material, and lives are utterly disappointing. George Kennan was right when he spoke at the end of the war of the "wreckage of FDR's policy with relation to Russia and Poland." [22]

It was Wilson and, above all, Roosevelt, who were responsible for abandoning an independent, national and American foreign policy. Instead, American interests were twice subordinated to British interests in support of the antiquated British "balance of power" policy in Europe. Americans have been encouraged to forget that it was only after Napoleon's fall that the British occupied Washington and burned the Capitol and White House (in 1814).

George Kennan was filled with "horror and shame" when he suddenly learned in Moscow from British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden of the secret Yalta agreement to "repatriate" all Russian, Cossack, and Ukrainian prisoners held by the Germans. The result was a Soviet-made holocaust. Britain induced America to participate in the crime. Between 1943 and 1947, 2.27 million Soviet citizens — many of whom had fought on the Axis side — were forcibly delivered to Stalin's revenge by the British and Americans. [23]

The U.S government similarly betrayed the traditional hemispheric principles of President Monroe and its Pan-American commitments when it sided with Britain in the recent tragi-comic colonial war over the Falklands/Malvinas Islands. (The forcible removal of the Argentine Governor of the Islands by a British military force in 1833 was a clear violation of the Monroe Doctrine proclaimed in 1823.) America's support for (divergent) British interests may drag the United States into the abyss unless financial sovereignty is restored to Congress and the White House. In short, the "Paradise Lost" with Wilson's abandonment of a sovereign foreign policy must be regained.

When this writer was a teenage student in Munich in 1927 he had to write a composition, "Germany, the Heart of Europe." Until 1945, the German Reich was the heart and defender of Europe. The Reich defended Europe against Hungarians, Mongols, and Turks, and enabled Western culture to develop from the Middle Ages onwards. In this century, British envy attacked this continental heart without considering the consequences. America blindly followed the British slogans. America has paid for it. Bismarck once said: "Whoever rules Bohemia is master of Europe." German culture and influence prevailed there for more than 900 years. A German emperor built Prague.

In 1945 German power was crushed. Consistent with the geopolitical principle that power abhors a vacuum, Soviet Russian influence filled the void. The Western-minded Czech Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk was thrown from a Prague window in 1948 as a prelude to complete Soviet rule, another consequence of Roosevelt's lack of geopolitical awareness.

How did America come to war against Germany, the heart of Europe? Could not Roosevelt have acted as a great peacemaker by mediating the Danzig conflict in 1939, instead of instigating the Poles against Germany? Roosevelt knew full well that war between Germany and Poland would

mean the end of Poland. Just a week before the outbreak of war, a traitor in the German embassy in Moscow informed the U.S. government that Germany and the Soviet Union had agreed to divide Poland between them. [24] Roosevelt knew this but refrained from telling the hapless Poles. Veteran New York Times correspondent Harrison Salisbury reports in his memoirs that Roosevelt knew in advance of the German-Soviet pact of August 1939 and could have delayed (or prevented?) war had he leaked this information to the press. [25] The American President could very possibly have saved the peace in 1939. Instead, he fed the American people inventions about a hypothetical German plot to take over the United States and the whole world. Of course, a Germany which was incapable of crossing the English Channel to conquer Britain had not the slightest ability (or intention) of conquering America from across the Atlantic ocean. Roosevelt and Truman should have easily realized that Churchill's 1934 dream of finally destroying Germany for all time and subjecting her to a new super-Versailles would end in global chaos. [26] Bullitt's prophecy became reality.

After dispatching his declaration of war to Berlin on 4 August 1914, British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey said: "The lamps are going out all over Europe. We shall not see them lit again in our lifetime." In his book on Roosevelt, Hamilton Fish commented: "That remark was only partly true then but it does describe the aftermath of World War II. With communism dominating half the world and nuclear missiles threatening us all, the lights are dimmer. An overt act of aggression might unleash a nuclear war that would extinguish lights everywhere." [27]

Notes

1. ☺ Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).
2. ☺ Martin J. Sherwin, *A World Destroyed* (New York: Knopf, 1975).
3. ☺ George F. Kennan, *Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), pp. 164, 330.
4. ☺ Orville H. Bullitt (ed.) *For the President — Personal and Secret: Correspondence Between Franklin D. Roosevelt and William C. Bullitt* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972), pp. 5-6; Sigmund Freud and William C. Bullitt, *Thomas Woodrow Wilson, Twenty-Eighth President of the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), p. 253.
5. ☺ Freud/Bullitt, pp. 253-54. ("Incidentally, Lenin had also offered to recognize Soviet responsibility for the debts of the Russian Empire." p. 253)
6. ☺ *Ibid.*, p. 271.
7. ☺ Orville H. Bullitt (ed.), p. 69.
8. ☺ *Ibid.*, Introduction by George F. Kennan, p. vi.
9. ☺ *Ibid.*, p. xiv.
10. ☺ *Ibid.*, p. 583.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 572.
12. ☺ See note 4.
13. ☺ Freud/Bullitt, pp. 255, 260.
14. ☺ George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy 1900-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 66, 68.
15. ☺ Charles M.W. (Lord) Moran, *Winston Churchill: The Struggle for Survival 1940-1965* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), p. 234.
16. ☺ Hamilton Fish, *FDR: The Other Side of the Coin* (New York: Vantage, 1976; Torrance, Calif.: Institute for Historical Review, 1980), p. 181.

17. ☞ Report by Charge d'affaires Dr. Hans Thomsen from the German Embassy in Washington to Berlin of 17 May 1939. Cited in David L. Hoggan, *Der Erzwungene Krieg* (Tuebingen: Grabert, 1974), p. 520.
 18. ☞ Speech of 27 February 1912. Congressional Record, Appendix (62nd Congress, 2nd Session), Vol. 48, part 12 (289) pp. 60 (col. 1), 64 (col. 1).
 19. ☞ Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., *The Economic Pinch* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1923), pp. 145, 95.
 20. ☞ George F. Kennan, *The Decline of Bismarck's European Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 389. See especially the chapter "Financial and Military Stirrings."
 21. ☞ Twenty-Second Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations [for period ending 31 December 1945] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 17, 26.
 22. ☞ George F. Kennan, *Memoirs 1925-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown. 1967), p. 212.
 23. ☞ Nikolai Tolstoy, *Victims of Yalta* (London: Corgi, 1979), p. 468. See also: Charles Lutton, "Stalin's War: Victims and Accomplices," *Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring 1984), pp. 84-94.
 24. ☞ Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973), pp. 69-87. Confirmed in telegram 465 of 24 August 1939 from Steinhardt in Moscow to Washington.
 25. ☞ Robert Sherill, review of Harrison Salisbury, *A Journey for Our Times*, in *Washington Post* (29 May 1983), "Book World" section, p. 14.
 26. ☞ Heinrich Bruening, *Briefe und Gespraechе 1934-1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1974), p. 31. See also pp. 29, 206, 211, 220, 223.
 27. ☞ Fish, p. 178.
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On Contemporary History and Historiography

[David Irving](#)

- Remarks Delivered at the 1983 International Revisionist Conference.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is my first public speaking engagement in America except, I think, for an after-luncheon speech in Kansas to a Kansas City ladies guild of some kind. This, I think, is because of language problems. I am a master of many languages but the American tongue is one that eludes me. I realized that this was going to be a problem many years ago when my elder brother came to the United States long before the rest of our family. He came here as a stoker, what you would call an engineer, in the Queen Mary, which is that battleship parked some way down the coast here, which was still afloat; he came over as a stoker and he came back to London and regaled our family with the stories of how he immigrated into the United States. It was still Ellis Island in those days, and the man in front of him in the immigration line was asked by the immigration officer what his profession was, and this Englishman answered and said "I'm a clock" and the immigration officer said "You're a what?" and he said "I'm a clock" and the immigration officer said "You're a what?" and this Englishman repeated "I'm a clock" and the immigration officer said "What do you mean, you're a clock, you go tick, tock, tick, tock?" The Englishman, of course, was a clerk.

Let me go one stage further and explain the kind of problems we have with words, not just with pronunciation. In the National Archives in Washington, which is my second home, I do a great deal of work and have many friends there one of the department heads is a Dr. Wolfe, and I had lunch with him one day and he brought out his wallet and showed me a photograph of his wife and children. Now, I said to him: "Is that Mrs. Wolfe?" and he said "Yes" and I said "She looks very homely." He said "She looks what?" and I said "She looks very homely indeed, your wife," and he said, "Did you say homely?" and I said, "Yes, she looks extremely homely, your wife, I mean, one of the most homely women I've seen all week," and I went through various progressions from one of the most homely women to an exceptionally homely woman to a woman who is so homely that...until gradually the penny dropped and I realized that in America "homely" means something different. It is not a compliment.

Now this has a bearing on the books I write. I end up writing books that are presented in a kind of Mid-Atlantic English. For example, in my book Hitler's War, there's one dramatic episode after the attack on Hitler's life where he sits on the edge of his bed, after the bomb attempt on his life, and feels his pulse. He's very proud of it, because his pulse is still only ticking away at 72. I describe this about Adolf Hitler sitting on the edge of his bed, in his shirt sleeves and braces,... and you've got it. The editor, Stan Hockman, a very distinguished American Jewish editor who said he had nightmares editing my book afterwards, cut out Hitler sitting on the edge of the bed in his shirt sleeves and braces and made it "Hitler sitting on the edge of his bed in his shirt sleeves and suspenders." But in England suspenders are what women hold up their stockings

with, you see, so the idea of Hitler sitting on the edge of his bed wearing a garter belt (I think that is what you call it) is, well...Once again this book fell to the dictatorship of the editor's knife!

Again, with Ribbentrop: Ribbentrop, I said, had a skeleton in the cupboard. The editor changed it to: Ribbentrop had a skeleton in the closet. Now in England a closet is what you call a john or a bathroom, and the idea of a skeleton in the john, well, that also went out. So, bit by bit, the book was emaciated. The problems of writing in the English language.

I'm sometimes questioned as to why it is that my books always seem to arouse controversy. Private Eye, which is a rather scurrilous but deeply revered magazine in England, a lithograph magazine with a circulation of about a quarter of a million (though still managing to maintain a kind of schoolboy look), ran a big expose of me a couple of years ago in which they suggested that my books are 95% true with 5% consisting of such abominable lies that no one can disprove them.

Now, that is not the secret. But to explain the secret of my success, and I am still successful, let me tell a parable. I had dinner a few weeks ago with a member of the English aristocracy Lady Stutterheim, we'll call her. We had dinner and after a while the door opened and a pig came trotting in or rather limping in, as it had a wooden leg. A pig with a wooden leg. I looked at this pig with a wooden leg and I said "It's got a wooden leg," and she said, "Oh, you mean Fido," and I said, "Never mind the name, it's a pig with a wooden leg, how do you explain that?" She said, "Well, if you've got a minute, what happened was this. A couple of years ago my husband and I went out for a drive and we went out in the Land Rover and hit this icy patch and the car skidded, the Land Rover landed on its roof, the doors were buckled in, we couldn't get out, and this pig came trotting 'round with its nose and pressed the button, opened the door and we were able to get out. Saved our lives, the pig has. "What about the wooden leg?" I repeated. She said, "Wait a minute, Mr. Irving, wait a minute. A year later, in this very house, a room caught fire. I was absolutely petrified, the room caught fire, I couldn't get out, all the windows jammed, door locked, then the pig came 'round to the outside and with his snout, lifted the window, and I was able to get out through the window. Saved my life, first my husband's life, then my life."

So I said, "Lady Stutterheim, you haven't explained to me the wooden leg." And she said, "Mr. Irving, I thought I had made it perfectly plain: if you have a pig as valuable as that you don't eat it all at once!" Now, there may be some people to whom the idea of eating pork is offensive. If so, I deeply apologize. The moral of this story is that I have at home, rather like the case of that pig, a filing cabinet full of documents which I don't issue all at once. I keep them; I issue them a bit at a time. When I think my name hasn't been in the newspapers for several weeks, well, then I ring them up and I phone them and I say: "What about this one, then?" And that poor old pig has to go limping on two legs. So this is the secret of my success. They aren't lies, what I publish: they are true, at any rate the truth as I perceive it. And thereby hangs a tale, of course, because what is the truth? Even the most erudite and hard-working historian is never going to obtain one hundred percent truth; he is only going to approximate it, and what militates against that approximation is your desire for the truth, your financial circumstances and above all, whether you've got a publisher who's prepared to publish the truth once you've found it out. Now, I spend a great deal of time and a great deal of money doing research all 'round the world, particularly over here in the United States. I tend to pick subjects which give me a chance to come to California, go up to Stanford, work in the archives of the United States as often as I can. I rather like this country and I think it's a great shame, a great scandal, that we lost it.

In the course of my researches, and because I spread my net very widely with the material that the other historians don't get, I do sometimes come up with material that's a fake, and I'm un-

happy about it. Sometimes I get the suspicion that people are deliberately putting fakes in front of me in the hope eventually of tripping me up. There is one gentleman here in California who fed to me three years ago a document which I think is without doubt a fake. A document with which, I think, he hoped I was going to rush into print. It was a document from Himmler to the chief of the concentration camps, Oswald Pohl, dated the 23rd of October, 1943, which tended to suggest that my theory was correct. Himmler ostensibly writing to Pohl saying: We mustn't let Martin Bormann come near our concentration camp at Oranienburg because as you know the De-gausser operation is running there that's the German gold and silver company and as you know, Martin Bormann is very close to the Führer and the Führer has no idea of the way we're interpreting the Final Solution.

My immediate instinct when I first heard of this document was: Eureka! My secondary instinct was still Eureka!, I've got to admit. The tertiary instinct was then to say: this is too good to be true, let's have a look at it. I eventually persuaded the gentleman to let me have a copy of the document which he said was very difficult because the Himmler signature on it was in green crayon. You've got to realize that Ribbentrop, Himmler, and a number of other senior Nazi officials did write their signatures in green crayon, they had various typical characteristics, and so, in fact, this suggested to me that it might be a genuine document. But then when I saw the document I knew it had to be fake. There were too many typing errors in it, spelling errors in German and, above all, the crucial clincher was the date on it. On all the Himmler documents which I had meanwhile assembled in the interim, from the archives of the same week or two of October 1943, you could actually do a typewriter comparison, and on all the Himmler documents the date was always written like this the year and the month were typed in, and the date, the 23rd in this case, would be written in, in ink by Himmler himself. On the document the gentleman gave me, the whole thing was typed in; it was also the wrong size paper, and the heading was wrong, and so on.

So for some reason that document was a fake, and was fed to me by this man in California. I suspect that possibly he's not a million miles away from our friends at the ADL, the Anti-Defamation League, the people who go around defaming the Antis, which include people like me. I may be wrong, but after a time you realize that you've nearly come a cropper. My instinct initially was immediately to publish the document as gloating, triumphant proof that I was right. Fortunately I didn't; the odd thing is that the background information the man gave me about how the document came into his possession was all true: I checked it out. He said the document had been de-accessioned by a crooked archivist at West Point; it was one of a batch of documents that had been removed from the files at Nuremberg, he said, because it didn't fit in with the Allied case and instead of destroying this batch of documents the archivists at Nuremberg had then shipped the stuff back to America, and it had ended up at West Point in New York State, the military academy. And an archivist there, a crook, had de-accessioned it (in the language of the document collectors and autograph hunters), and taken it to the autograph-hunting fraternity here in the United States. So I checked up with General Goodpaster, who at the time was commandant of West Point, and he said: Yes, it was true, as your man says, there was an archivist here at West Point who, as your man said, did commit suicide when he was caught stealing documents from the archives. So that part of the story is all true.

I've got in my filing cabinet at home not only collections of genuine documents but a large number of fake documents. Some of you may have seen me in April or May of this year, the time of the Hitler diaries scandal, when these Hitler diaries were first offered to the market by a large number of gullible newspapers: in England, the Sunday Times; Germany's Der Stern; and some in the United States as well, all these rich and powerful publishing houses. Now I, because of my researching back in October of last year, managed to get hold of about 800 pages of various of

those Hitler documents from the same source, I was convinced, as had provided the Hitler diaries to Der Stern. I brought along a few pages with me today to show you, that you may see how clumsy the forgeries are. This is a page of the apparent diary of Adolf Hitler, in his handwriting, signed at the bottom and dated 3rd of June 1935. Of course this made my mouth water when I first saw it, because your initial instinct is to believe it must be genuine, you want it to be genuine, because you've got it I mean, believe me, ladies and gentlemen, all human greed is there when you get documents like this in your hands and you want it to be genuine and all your instincts cry out for it not to be a fake. But then when you start reading the documents a third or fourth time, as I did, well ... I first rushed them back to England, of course, and I contacted my publisher, Macmillan's, a very famous publishing house, and I said: I've got these Hitler documents and we're going to do a deal this morning; I'll come 'round at 11:00 and we'll sign a contract. And from 9:00 a.m. until 11:00 a.m. I sat at my equipment going through these documents, working out a catalog of them because I wanted to have a catalog or a general overview of the Hitler documents that I thought I'd bought, and by 11:00 a.m. I was beginning to have an uneasy feeling. I telephoned the editor at Macmillan's, and I said: Listen Alan, it's five to eleven now, let's cancel today's meeting this morning; I'll come 'round at 4:00 instead. He asked what the problem was, and I said: I won't explain now, I'll tell you when I see you at 4:00.

I still wanted them to be genuine, wanted to find explanations. You couldn't at this moment put your finger on the reason why these documents were probably a fake; it was just a bit too pretty. Any of you historians, ladies and gentlemen, who've worked in an archive, will know that you spend a lot of your time wading through garbage: you wade through tons and tons of molding, crumbling, yellowing paper which is completely and totally irrelevant to any subject that you're researching, and you wonder why it's ended up in the archives. But every now and then you come across a nugget. Perhaps one or two nuggets a day, of varying sizes. This Adolf Hitler collection which I found in Munich was all nugget. It was all big names, and having dealt with the American autograph-hunting fraternity I know that they are always interested in big names. It isn't the historical content of a document that they like so much as the fact that it's got to be signed by Hermann Göring, addressed to Adolf Hitler, and possibly mention Rudolf Hess in the middle somewhere. So everyone rings up a few more numbers on the till in an autograph. It was this kind of collection. That's what didn't quite ring true. I mean, there was a letter, for example, from Hitler to Martin Bormann mentioning not Rudolf Hess but Rudolf Höss who later on became the commandant of Auschwitz. But this was a letter dated back in 1922, ostensibly. Well, I thought: that was a strange turn-up for the book, that's a bit of coincidence, a bit of good fortune for the autograph hunters. But by 4 o'clock that afternoon it was quite plain that the whole collection was fake. I turned up several pages, for example; the most graphic, I think the real clincher, being this one, after the bomb attempt on Hitler's life: Hermann Göring sent out an order to all the German Armed Forces that they had in future to replace the military salute with the German salute, the "Heil Hitler!" with the raised right arm. This is a famous order which everyone knows about, from the 23rd of July 1944. Here is the actual document, signed ostensibly by Hermann Göring, by Dönitz and by Keitel. And at the heading: "Der Reichsmarshall Oberkommando der Luftwaffe. Except that the guy who printed this headed notepaper for Hermann Göring spelled his title wrong. Der Reichsmarshall if you look at it closely, you'll see that he's left out the "ch" in the middle, in the printed heading of Hermann Göring; it should be "Reichsmarschall." Now, I don't know much about Hermann Göring, but I don't think he would put up with that kind of carelessness in his headed notepaper. Of course, once you've got one spurious document in a collection, then the whole thing begins to stink of rotten fish. And you begin to go back through the collection and there, on the day of the bomb attempt on Hitler's life, he sends a pathetic letter to Eva Braun apparently telling her that he's OK and that he's torn his trouser leg a bit and he's just waiting for Martin Bormann. Here's the letter, and I think the letter heading was probably done by a printer on Sunset Boulevard, by the look of the print style. You'll see the letterhead in there,

“Adolf Hitler”; I think, yes, a Sunset Boulevard printer for one of the young ladies on the street who would have turned out a promising starlet. I think the Führer, the head of the great German Reich, would have chosen something more gothic by way of a type style.

So you get these fakes thrust at you from every side. But part of the joy of being a writer, and being an independent historian, is that you've got an open mind. Only yesterday I had the very great pleasure of listening to Dr. James J. Martin talking about Francis Neilsen, about Neilsen's writings. The name rang a bell and I went through my papers back in the hotel, and I see that one of the things I've instructed myself to look for in the Library of Congress is a book, mentioned in a letter from Charles Douglas Home who wrote to me, oh, four years ago (that's how long it takes to follow these things up) saying that as far as Churchill goes I'm writing a book about Winston Churchill now, that'll please you, but rather scandalize his family to hear I have just been reading some interesting comments on him in Allen Brook's diaries which no doubt you have seen, and I imagine you have also read Neilsen's book which a friend of mine told me about the other day. Now, Charles Douglas Home is a very respected English historian and it shows that even though that book by Neilsen on Churchill was printed by himself at his own expense and published I think in 500 or 1,000 copies, according to what Dr. Martin told us yesterday, it nevertheless begins to seep through. It's had its impact. A friend has told this man about a book by a chap called Neilsen which apparently gives all the lowdown on Churchill; he says this friend also interested in Churchill says there's some unexplained material about the large loans Churchill received from various financiers.

Well, that's a particular aspect I'm following up on the life of Winston Churchill. I'm very interested to know how he financed himself in the ten years that he was in the wilderness. We're beginning to get some clues; we know that his clique was very heavily in the pay of the Czechoslovakian president, Dr. Benes. I know this because the telephone conversations concerning this ran across German territory and the Germans the Nazis, as we know, were very wicked people weren't above listening to other people's telephone conversations, and Adolf Hitler was so shocked to find out what Benes was doing that he had a complete set of transcripts made of the telephone conversations between Benes in Prague and Jan Masaryk, the ambassador in London. In fact, Hitler at the time of the Munich crisis made a present of all these transcripts to the British Ambassador in Berlin! And if you look in the British Public Records Office, you can actually find these transcripts there, printed on the familiar brown paper of the Forschungsamt, which was Göring's telephone wire tapping agency. You see the brown paper and you see the initials “FA” occasionally scattered through the transcripts; you know who did it, you know what it is, you know what these are transcripts of, all the evidence is in there. You have great fun finding documents like this, you never know when first finding the documents what you've turned up. About four years ago, when I was half-way through writing the Winston Churchill project, I paid five thousand pounds, which was a large sum of money in those days (about seven, eight thousand dollars), for a set of appointment cards which Churchill kept on his desk, thinking: you never know when it will come in handy. Admittedly, I didn't buy them from the person who offered them to me; he wanted to sell them to me but I said: They're hot aren't they?, because obviously there's no way these would be outside the Churchill family archives, they're Churchill's diaries, his desk diary throughout the entire war period. And I happened to know that this young man's father had been Churchill's security chief and the father had obviously lifted them off Churchill's desk or had actually stolen them at the end of the war and had taken them home. A long legal battle was fought, in fact, between the Churchill family and this young man, but the Churchill family couldn't establish that they had title to these appointment cards. But he couldn't sell them, they were in a kind of limbo and I wasn't going to buy them and face them being confiscated by the Churchill family and so on. So I rented them from him; I did a renting deal — went to him rather like Avis or Hertz or Budget, and said: I'll pay you five thousand pounds to rent these cards

for the duration of writing my book. I did it, and I've got beautiful photographic copies of them at home now. You never know when they're going to come in handy.

In fact, they have come in handy already once. I'm half-way through writing the Churchill manuscript now and if you will bear with me, I will tell you one episode showing how you can use a tool like this, which is absolutely dynamite, in order to illuminate the character of somebody who was as genial, jovial, friendly, upright, forthright, courageous, decent as Winston Churchill was.

The day concerned is November 14, 1940. Let us first look at the version of this day given by Martin Gilbert, the official Churchill family-appointed biographer of Winston Churchill. It is the day, namely, when Coventry is bombed, the first massive air raid of the war, conducted by the Germans against Coventry resulting in the killing of 554 Coventry civilians. Some of you may remember that about three or four years ago there was a controversy over that air raid: did Churchill know about it in advance? The answer is: yes, he did, but I will say straightaway that he didn't know about it long enough in advance so as to be able to undertake really worthwhile countermeasures and steps. He knew about it long enough in advance to enable him to take certain personal steps, but not in order to do anything that would save the town of Coventry as such. He thought that the air raid was going to be on London that night, and hearing this, according to Martin Gilbert's version, he hurried back to London telling his staff: It isn't right that I should leave London, leave the metropolis, and leave the citizens of my metropolis to suffer this appalling air raid while I go to the safety of some shelter out in the countryside. Thus this brave man hurried back to London to take the medicine or so we read in the Martin Gilbert biography.

What is the truth? Here we turn up the appointment cards. Let us first of all go two days further back, to November 12, 1940. In the official files we find that the British Intelligence Service decoded certain Luftwaffe messages which indicate that Hermann Göring is planning the biggest air raid of the war. The entire German air force on the Western Front, two air fleets, Luftflotten II and III, are going to be thrown against a target, and in the intercepts, the decoded messages, the target is identified as Central London. One thousand eight hundred bombers, that means, are going to be thrown against Central London on a night in the very near future. They always come by full moon and, in fact, this is confirmed by the fact that this particular operation is given the code name, in the intercepts, "Moonlight Sonata." Winston Churchill has ordered that these intercepts are to be shown to him exclusively and to very few other people. For example, he finds out that the American military attaché is getting copies of digests of these intercepts, and he is very indignant indeed and says that on no account are the Americans to be shown these intercepts. Limited to a very, very small handful of people around him, these ULTRA messages. And so Winston Churchill knows, therefore, on November 12 that in a few days' time, Göring is going to attack London, Central London, with 1,800 bombers. Full moon. Operation Moonlight Sonata. Churchill takes his appointment card, the appointment card that I've mentioned, looks at the next full moon date and sees that it is November 15. He takes his pencil and he draws a bracket beginning on the evening of November 14, the day before, all the way down to November 17, and rubs out all the appointments. He doesn't want to be in London during those three days. So, the intercepts have done some good already. In other words, they've insured that Winston Churchill won't be in London on those days when the 1,800 bombers come and get him. However, the bracket starts on the evening of the 14th of November, which is the day before full moon. On that day, looking at the appointment card, we see that at 12:45 he is going to be in Westminster Abbey for the funeral of Neville Chamberlain, we see that he has a defense committee meeting, we see that at 2:45 he has an appointment with Lord Halifax, the foreign secretary, and at 3:00 he has an appointment with Clement Atlee, the leader of the British Opposition. (Atlee was a small rabbit-like figure of complete impotence, whom Winston Churchill himself categorized on one occasion as a sheep in sheep's clothing, and on another occasion said that he was a man of immense mod-

esty with everything to be modest about.) Atlee had this appointment with Churchill at 3:00. Now, Churchill had no reason on this morning to believe that the air raid was coming that night; he thought the air raid was going to come the following night and by that time he would be safe out in the country, in a country house of a friend of his out in Ditchely, Oxfordshire. So he goes through the morning's appointments with relative phlegm and equanimity until at 1:00 the Air Ministry contacts him and says it looks like the air raid is going to be tonight, Prime Minister, because the Germans have already sent out the reconnaissance plane they always send out in advance of an air raid to check the weather conditions over the target. And we've monitored the radio traffic of that plane, so the air raid's being laid on today. However, the Air Ministry follows in a message. They say: we believe the attack is going to be on Central London tonight therefore. However, a prisoner taken a few days ago has been overheard by a hidden microphone in his cell, talking of Coventry or Birmingham instead. But we think, says the Air Ministry, that the air raid is going to be on Central London tonight. We will know for certain by 3 o'clock this afternoon when the Germans switch on their blind bombing radio beams. The town at which these beams intersect is going to be the target. We will find that out at 3 o'clock this afternoon. We will tell you immediately.

Churchill goes to the funeral ceremony for Neville Chamberlain, comes back to Downing Street, has the appointments with Lord Halifax and Atlee at 2 :45 and at 3:00, and he gets into his car in a hurry at 4:00 because it's beginning to get dark and he doesn't want to be there when the bombers come. As he's at the garden gate just stepping into his big Humber sedan, a secretary, John Martin (now Sir John Martin), comes running down the path and says: "Prime Minister, a message has just come." It's now 4 o'clock and a message from the Air Ministry in a sealed envelope is handed to Winston Churchill. He gets in the car and drives off. Martin says that as he and Churchill drove off the Prime Minister read the message. By the time he reached Hyde Park he knocked on the glass partition and told the driver to stop, turn around, go back to Downing Street. As he gets out at No. 10 Downing Street he turns to his rather curious secretary (none of his secretaries were in on the ULTRA secret, and none knew anything about the decrypting) and says: "We have had a message, the beams are on London tonight and it would not be right for me to leave my capital and the citizens of this metropolis to suffer the raid alone." In fact, the message that he had received told him that the raid was on Coventry and so it was safe to come back to London. And the giveaway is the appointment card, of course. Martin Gilbert, the official Churchill biographer, has concealed the fact that there are two afternoon appointments in that appointment card which kept Churchill there until the second message came, namely, the Coventry message. Gilbert has tried to pretend that the one that Churchill got in the car was the first message, saying that we still think the raid is going to be on London tonight but we'll know at 3 o'clock, when they switch on the beams. Gilbert might say to me, "Mr. Irving, the fact that there are two appointments written down on the appointment card, the 2:45 and 3:00, doesn't mean to say that Churchill actually attended those appointments." But even there I've got him because I've got the private diary of Hugh Dalton, who was Minister of Economic Warfare and who on that afternoon had a long conversation with Lord Halifax which begins with Halifax saying "I've just had a very tedious hour long session with the Prime Minister." So that's the absolute giveaway, and Martin Gilbert, who is of a certain persuasion, Martin Gilbert, who is funded by the Jaffa Foundation to write the Churchill biography, now has to explain to us, the radical cranky historians, why it is that he gives the alternative version and why he deliberately suppresses the fact that Churchill had two afternoon appointments. Because it makes the difference between an act of great heroism by Winston Churchill in deliberately returning to the city which he knows is going to be attacked by 1,800 bombers that night, or an act of supreme hypocrisy, of simulated heroism in the eyes of his junior staff when he says it wouldn't be right for me to leave. In fact, Churchill goes even further that night. His private secretary John Colville writes that that evening he went up on to the roof of the Air Ministry to wait for the oncoming bombers: he wanted to see

the raid begin. What a hypocrite. This is no surprise for us, ladies and gentlemen, but it's a surprise for the world at large, I think.

You never know what you are going to find out, that's the lesson; you never know what you're going to find out when you buy such important documents as a table top desk calendar of Winston Churchill. I've been writing a Winston Churchill biography now for several years, but I'm not going to deal with that any more in this part of the talk. I just wanted to give a hint of the goodies that are to come when that book is finally published. I still have very worthwhile publishers in the world to publish that book, but I ought to emphasize the fact that I am beginning to come under fire; the fact that the ADL has now seen fit to put out this defamatory leaflet attacking me (and who knows whom it's going to) means that the boycott is beginning to start on my person. But the Winston Churchill book is going to be published in this country by Doubleday, and in England by Macmillan, and will be published all round the world by very, very notable publishers. In each case you have to cross your fingers and hope that you've got an editor who still has the courage to publish what you have satisfied him is true.

You see, even on the Adolf Hitler biography I took a very independent line, a line which had my agent Max Becker very alarmed when I published that book. He said: You realize you are going to lose a lot of money by claiming that Adolf Hitler didn't know what was going on, in short, that Adolf Hitler didn't know about Auschwitz and so on. He said, well, the first thing is that you're going to lose the Book-of-the-Month Club, the Readers Digest, the Sunday Times in England is going to cancel, you'll lose the Military History Club, and so on. And he was right: all the way down the line, we lost every single one of those contracts, every single one of those publishers canceled the deal. So when people come to me and say: "David Irving, you write controversial books in order to make money," they are talking from sheer ignorance. They don't realize that in fact by writing a book like that, in taking a dedicated line which you yourself believe in and which in fact has not been disproved in all the years since that book was published, you are losing not just tens of thousands but hundreds of thousands of dollars. It hurt me a great deal and it hurt my agent, Max Becker, one-tenth as much.

You see, I took this controversial line that Adolf Hitler was a man of a certain amount of intellectual honesty. I remember arguing this point at a debate in Dublin University a few years ago and when the students rather howled me down and said: How can you call that man honest?, I read to them this passage out of the private diary of one of his staff, Walther Hewel. Hewel was the diplomatic liaison officer attached to Hitler's staff by Ribbentrop, which meant that he traveled around with Hitler. He had known Hitler as a student and, in fact, he committed suicide with Hitler on the same day and in the same fashion. There was that kind of bond between the two men. (I got this diary of Hewel from Hewel's widow, in fact. I had to break it to the widow that she was a widow; she had at that time no final confirmation that her husband was dead, and I had to tell her that I knew the whole story.) Right at the end, on the 2nd of June, 1941, Walther Hewel writes down (I'll translate it here): "The Führer says this evening: As a private man I would never break my word, as a politician for Germany, if necessary, I'd do it a thousand times." Honesty. Hitler tells his staff that he's prepared to break his word if it's necessary for Germany's sake. All politicians do that, all statesmen do that, all statesmen lie when they have to for the sake of their country, right or wrong, their country. Hitler had the intellectual honesty to admit it quite frankly to his staff, and it was this kind of line in my book Hitler's War which I think upset a lot of critics. Before I get on to the subject of the general outline of the Hitler biography which I wrote and which is a major part of my life (it took 15 years to write), I ought to explain that I'm always running into problems with my critics of a certain persuasion. It's not a battle of my choosing. I am not anti-Jewish, I am not anti-Semitic. I have employed Jewish staff: my lawyer, my attorney in London for the last 26 years has been the firm of Michael Rubinstein; they've lost every case

they've fought for me but I've still stood loyal to them. I should add straight away and I ought to tell the ADL that in this country, of course, your laws of libel are very lax and people can say what they like about other people. That may or may not be right; I'm not sure. In England and in Germany the laws of libel are much stricter: you can't go 'round defaming people, and get away with it, just because they happen to be on the public stage. In Germany we have several libel actions running now against people who've said precisely the same things as the ADL has said in its report about me; one case is against a Communist who's been handing out leaflets attacking me in Germany. (That's now gone to the Court of Appeal and he's going to lose because the Court of Appeal Judge already indicated which way he's going to find.) It's just unfortunate that in this country you cannot proceed against well-funded, well-organized smear campaigns of the kind that we've seen there, particularly when they are concealed smear campaigns. I don't know who that ADL report has gone to. I can only suspect. I can suspect from the facts above all in the case of my book on the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, Uprising, which was to be published in many countries around the world. It was published in England by Hodder and Stoughton, a very respectable and old company, was going to be published in the United States by Putnam's, was published in Germany and in Italy and France and many other countries. In the United States two weeks before publication date, Putnam's canceled the contract. They gave no explanation, they just quite simply swallowed the losses that they had sustained, and Peter Israel, the managing director of Putnam's, telephoned me to say that the deal was off: they weren't going to publish. Now we don't know what kind of pressure, if any, was put on Putnam's. It is something very close to a boycott, and I think that any organization that starts a boycott has to watch its onions. Because the knife can very rapidly turn. A boycott is the cruelest and most dishonest weapon to use. The Nazis used it against the Jews in the 1930s and if the Jews now start themselves, through the ADL or Anti-Defamation League, to try to use the same weapon against historians like myself who are only interested in establishing the truth, I think they will long live to regret it. This book, on Hungary, is an attempt to fill a gap, as I perceived it. I considered when I was writing it, ten years ago, that there had been no proper investigation of the anti-Communist uprising of 1956 in Soviet-occupied Hungary. There had been a number of lurid newspaper articles; it was probably the first historical event that I myself remember living through (I was at the university at the time) and it was immediately masked of course by the fact that we British in connivance and conspiracy with the Israelis and the French attacked Egypt and the Suez Canal. This indeed masked the tragedy of Hungary effectively from the world's view.

In writing this book, I was able to obtain a lot of assistance and a lot of access to not only British and American records but also records behind the Iron Curtain. I think if the ADL wants to suggest that I'm kind of a Nazi or Fascist sympathizer, they had better reflect on this: Is it likely that the KGB would have allowed me into Moscow and is it likely that the successors of the Hungarian Secret Police would have allowed me into Budapest as often as they did when I was researching this book, if they thought that the names attached to me by the ADL in its report were even remotely true? Because we have seen, haven't we, the way the Soviets now operate against people they regard as inimical to their cause. I flew into Moscow when I was researching this book; the chairman of the John Birch Society had only to fly 100 miles away from the Soviet shores and they shot down his plane. And, by the way, I'm convinced myself that that is the reason why that particular plane was shot down. I dare go further: I suggest that there's a very close link between that operation and the operation when the Korean airliner was shot down near Leningrad in 1978. (In fact, it was two days after I flew into Moscow myself.) I think that the Russians have found some way of manipulating the beams of radio navigation devices so that they can lure planes over their air space. We did exactly the same with the German bombers in 1940. The German bombers had their blind bombing beams I was just talking about the Coventry episode and in order to prevent cities like Coventry being attacked in future, we found ways of bending the German beams so that the Germans thought they were bombing Birmingham but in fact they

were dropping their bombs in the open sea. And I am convinced that the Russians have found precisely the same means of doing things with the navigation systems employed by the airline systems. I think they shot down that plane on purpose and I think it was probably because they knew MacDonald was on the plane. We don't have to foster illusions among ourselves, ladies and gentlemen; we are on the right side of the fence, we know what kind of people we are dealing with over there, and I was investigating that in my book *Uprising*, on which I spent so much of my time.

I questioned many hundreds of Hungarians, I got access to the interrogation records of the Hungarians who escaped, interrogations conducted by the CIA, and by psychiatrists operating for the CIA, and by the Oral History Project of Columbia University, in New York. Altogether, I suppose I have read through the contemporary questionings of perhaps 2,000 Hungarians, conducted by people who are far more expert at questioning than I. And it was the conclusion of these questioners that upset my critics. Because the conclusion of these questioners was that the uprising of 1956 in Hungary was primarily an anti-Jewish uprising. The Hungarians are anti-Jewish, they are a race in which anti-Semitism goes back almost as far as the nation of Hungary itself, 1,000 years. You go to Hungary now and you talk to the Hungarians and within half an hour they are telling you anti-Jewish jokes, although they have very few Jews left there to be anti-Jewish about. They are an anti-Jewish race compared with whom the Nazis are as pure as the driven snow.

At the end of the Second World War, when the Red Army marched back into Hungary, all the Jewish émigrés who had sought refuge in Moscow were brought back on the Russian tanks, so to speak, and installed in positions of power some of them with and some of them without the party card. I mention here four names, the names of Revai, who is the Dr. Goebbels of the post war Hungarian era (he was the propaganda minister I suppose that is the best way you could describe him, a very clever man, very brilliant, vicious); Farkas (his name means "wolf"; he subsequently became Minister of Defense, and was a very cruel man on whose hands lie the blood of many innocent Hungarians); Rakosi the dictator (a man with a head like a bald potato, a man hideously ugly who had married a Mongolian ballet dancer from Central Siberia, I think), and finally Gero, a man who died only a year and a half ago, I think, in Hungary, and who by that time had fallen into such disgrace that he was afforded only three lines of an obituary, although at one time he had been the most powerful man in Hungary, the first secretary of the party. This Jewish camarilla, this four-headed monster which descended on the Hungarian people, bore down on them from Moscow, had been in Moscow throughout the war years and was imposed upon them as the post war government, obtaining power by quite illegal and undemocratic means, and exercising that power with brutality and ruthlessness. Its primary executive arm was the secret police, initially called the Államvédelmi Osztály (AVO), the State Security Office, and subsequently the ABH. Now it is necessary to know that the officer corps of that secret police was almost entirely Jewish and from the Russian point of view you can understand this. They needed people on whom they could rely 100% to be their officer corps, their secret police.

I'm trying to explain to you why this book is anathema to the critics. In England it was greeted with great respect and reverence and a certain amount of shock. The things I brought out in the book were not my opinions; I had no idea that this was going to emerge from the research. These were the opinions of the interrogators appointed by the CIA, and of the psychiatrists appointed by Rutgers University, some of whom are still operating at Rutgers, and of the Oral History Project at Columbia University. When they came to write their summaries, they concluded that nearly all the refugees they had questioned were motivated by a hideous anti-Jewish malice and spite. They made anti-Jewish remarks throughout the interrogations. The Government that they had been trying to topple was perceived by the Hungarian people as being Jewish, before it was

perceived as being Bolshevik. What happened in 1956 had the closest possible analogy to a pogrom. And I had to spell this out in fact, because at the beginning of the book, at the request of the English publishers, I included a listing of all the personalities of any importance to follow in the pages of the book and, at the request of the publishers, I also identified which ones were Jewish and which ones were Calvinist and which ones were Catholic, and so on. Because this is an important factor, not in my eyes, the eyes of David Irving the writer, but in the eyes of the rebellious mass of ten million Hungarians. The population regarded their own regime in that light.

So the revolution took place. The secret police, the AVO and the ABH, who were perceived by the people as being largely Jewish officers (although the other ranks of the secret police were nearly all recruits from the regular forces in Hungary), were regarded and alleged to be using the most incredible torture machinery. On the one hand, some of these allegations were true: they were using concentration camps with great brutality. I need only mention the stone quarry at Recsk as an example; there's a whole chapter about it in this book. On the other hand, some of the allegations which were attached to these secret police were almost certainly without any kind of foundation allegations, for example, that in the secret police headquarters in the center of Budapest on the banks of the River Danube there was a dungeon with a large meat-mincing machine into which the bodies were placed and minced and then the garbage thrown into the river. I only mention this because that particular meat-mincing machine of the secret police is referred to in about five or ten interrogation reports. It does show the extent to which even the most absurd stories can rapidly gain credence among an oppressed population. They were prepared to believe even the most absurd stories. So that is one lesson that one could draw from that particular story.

It wasn't an economic revolution, I found out. People wanted to believe that the Hungarians were seeking freedom. They weren't seeking freedom. People wanted to believe that the Hungarians were seeking a better economic existence in the way that one imagines they wanted also to have a refrigerator and a color television set and a better standard of living. It wasn't that either. What the Hungarians were rebelling against in 1956 was the fact that they knew that they were in a blind alley, nearly all of them; if they didn't have the right background they had no future. They were making an uprising in order to find a future for themselves. Let me explain to you that if you were a Hungarian and your father happened to have been an officer in any Army or any Armed Services, or happened to have been a landowner either small or large, then you were given a carda, which is a kind of party personality dossier, with an "x" on it; that "x" meant that you could never hold any kind of worthwhile job for the rest of your life. You were doomed. Doomed to be a lorry driver or truck driver, or whatever, for the rest of your life. You couldn't have a university education, you couldn't move into one of the higher professions; those jobs were reserved for the party officials, for the funktionarios, the flunkies of the Communist party, one million strong, and for their progeny and offspring and friends. And this kind of oppression is what engendered the revolution of 1956. The hopelessness of the average Hungarian's situation, living 16 to a room in the middle of Budapest because of the absurdness of the socialist system which made it impossible for the profit motive to operate. If you look at the actual statistics of 1956, one quarter of the entire Hungarian population had at some time in its life been in prison, put there by the Communist party officials, usually on trumped-up charges. One of the current jokes in Hungary is that there are only three categories of Hungarians: those who have been in prison, those who are in prison, and those who are going to prison. Take as an example a builder who's got a little building construction company which is taken over by the State; he takes two bags of cement back to himself because in future he may want to build a garden wall or something. He's found out, and accused of stealing from the State. A complete reversion of the truth, a perversion of the truth. The State has stolen his company from him, he has retained two bags of cement which were his property, and he's accused of stealing from the State and can think himself lucky he didn't go before the firing squad for it. There are heroes in this story, quite

unusual heroes. The hero of whom I'm particularly fond is a man who had, in fact, been part of the Armistice delegation that was sent by Admiral Horthy to Moscow in 1944. A man called Joseph Dudas. He was subsequently hanged after the uprising and his name has almost vanished into oblivion. If you go to Budapest now and you speak to the citizens and ask them what they know of Joseph Dudas, they know absolutely nothing about him. And yet he is a man who emerged from nowhere in the middle of the uprising. (I suspect that he was possibly CIA-backed, because some stories are beginning to emerge from people who knew him, which do indicate that there were connections between him and the American Embassy. I would like to think so.) Dudas emerged from nowhere when the uprising began, organized a street army, a rabble of people, marched on the Communist newspaper headquarters, the Free People building in downtown Budapest, took over the party newspaper building which is still there, evicted nearly all the staff, and used it as his revolutionary headquarters for an army which he very rapidly built. He found to his delight that the Communists' secret telephone system, the kisbugo or red K-line system, was still operating, and he thus used the Communists' own telephone network in order to obtain intelligence from all over the country about the Soviet troop movements. He built up such a vast following, and so fast, from his own newspaper which he published called Magyar Fugetlenseg (Hungarian Independence) that in no time at all his name had become a byword in Soviet-occupied Hungary. When the Russian tanks moved back in at the beginning of November 1956, he went underground but Janos Kadar, the present prime minister and first secretary of Hungary, realizing that he couldn't get ahead without negotiating with Joseph Dudas, sent for Dudas to come and see him in the Parliament building. Like a fool, Dudas went. Kidnapped, arrested, deported, hanged. That was the future of many, many scores of the people who were involved in the Hungarian uprising.

I suppose another hero is a man who is still in Budapest now, Nicholas Vasarhelyi, who had been the press officer of Imri Nagy at the time of Imri Nagy's first prime ministership in 1953, and then was called in by Nagy again when the uprising began. Nagy the revolutionary prime minister, this great big fat potbellied man whom the people demanded should become the new prime minister after the uprising began. I asked Nicholas Vasarhelyi, who still lives in Budapest: What had been the turning point for you in the months prior to the uprising, the point that made you decide to start becoming a revolutionary? And he said: Somebody in France sent me a copy of George Orwell's book Animal Farm, and I began reading that and I realized I had been on the wrong side all my life.

It's the power of the pen. George Orwell, I suppose, would also be defamed now by the ADL as being revisionist or a dissident. These are titles we don't need to be ashamed of, I think, when we realize that a man like George Orwell wrote a book called Animal Farm and that this book inspired one man, Nicholas Vasarhelyi in Budapest, a young man with a wife and three children, to become a revolutionary and risk his life in a fight in which many of his comrades were subsequently hanged (including Imri Nagy, the prime minister himself). You realize that the power of the pen is a power that cannot be scorned.

As a small closing humorous note on perceptions in the Soviet bloc, I would mention the fact that I sent to Vasarhelyi several chapters of my book on the Hungarian uprising, and he took umbrage at my description of Imri Nagy. Now, Imri Nagy was the prime minister of Hungary who was installed by the revolutionaries into his second prime ministership. He bumbled, waffled his way around, missed the opportunity, missed the bus, went into hiding in the Yugoslavian Embassy, was tricked out of that, kidnapped by Janos Kadar, sent to exile, brought back and hanged two years later. Rather a tragic life; but it couldn't have happened to a nicer guy so you realize when you read some of his earlier speeches. He was a dyed-in-the-wool Marxist, like the rest of them, and he deserved the fate he subsequently got. And I did describe him in my book rather un-

pleasantly. I want readers to know that I don't like him, that he was a rather porky figure, wearing dark three-button suits and silk shirts of a quality not often seen on representatives of the proletariat, and with a face rather like a bunch of hemorrhoids wearing a Joseph Stalin mustache.

Now, I sent that chapter of the book to Nicholas Vasarhelyi to read, with out realizing that I had not omitted those rather unpleasant words. And when I saw him in Budapest, driving up in my Rolls and parking outside his door, he said: "Mr. Irving, this description of Uncle Imri is not very nice, is it?" So I said: "What do you mean?" He says: "Here you describe him as this — 'three button silk shirts,' and here, this line here, 'a face like a bunch of hemorrhoids wearing a Joseph Stalin mustache.' It wasn't a Stalin mustache, we would say a walrus mustache."

And this is indicative for the present Hungarians. In particular, the Communists are completely wrapped up in their own Communist history. I think that a passage of my book which I like most is the passage where I describe how the revolution began how the people, the students, meet, pour out onto the banks of the river, across the bridges towards Parliament Square, not really knowing quite what's going to happen. October 23rd: it was the students who started it and then the workers joined in. The intellectuals, of course, subsequently claimed that they were right out there in front, but the intellectuals, we know who they all were, are the ones who had been the editors, people of a certain persuasion, for the last four or five years of all the party newspapers and all the literary journals and so on, throughout Hungary. They were the ones who had kept the lid firmly screwed down on all the popular unrest that was swelling up over this lack of freedom, lack of a future, in their country. But now, of course, they realized that the lid was about to blow off and none of them wanted to be the actual ones to unscrew it; they wanted to be out there in the front of the revolution, so they could claim later on as in fact they subsequently did that they were in the very vanguard. We've all heard the Hungarian intellectuals claiming that they were the ones who touched off the revolution. They weren't. It was the workers, the Hungarian workers and the Hungarian students. The workers poured out of the factories and they got the guns, handed to them by the soldiers. They grabbed the guns off the secret policemen and by 9:00 that evening, in fact, the revolutionaries had got arms and that's the difference between what happened in Hungary then and what's happening in Poland now. (These Poles can march and counter-march and hold their strikes and demonstrations but unless they get guns in their hands the government always has the last laugh.)

And these were the hours leading up to that moment when the rioting outside the radio building in Budapest ended up with the rioters getting demonstrations together. It was a mob, we can be quite frank about it, it was a mob that began to roam the streets in Hungary; as they came across the bridges, the people realized that they were talking to each other for the first time. The Hungarians had previously been frightened to talk rather as, yesterday, your deputy of the Institute for Historical Review mentioned how interesting it is for us all to meet here and be able to talk freely with people of the same views. These people were finding that they were meeting people in the demonstration, standing next to them and for the first time they could talk freely: nobody says it, but nobody doubts it, it's been a 12-year nightmare but now it's coming to an end. This regime and all that it stood for the screams, the whines from the next-door torture cells, the boulders falling from the rock face of the Reesk stone quarry, the Fraznapoch (that means the "nightmare of deportation"), the drug injections, the hallucinations of General Bielkin's whirring lion's tale, the Russians working at that time with hallucinogenic drug injections in prisoners, the forced Russian language lessons, the work norms, the Communist doctors too lazy to come to a child birth, the fathers teaching their children how to lie at school, the gypsy transfer gang centers, bailiffs into the peasant's homes, the workers galloping like rats on a speeding treadmill, the raped woman treating herself with disinfectant, the body grinder (that legend), the endless queues for rotten quality [goods], the interminable drone of Marxist jargon, the class war, the Korean

war, the war against the Gulags, and all the voices echoing down from the past, marking this regime and its twisted brand of Socialist legality.

And so the revolution then takes place, the uprising: they pour onto Parliament Square, October 23. Nobody knows what size of mob actually becomes a fissile mass, how big a mob has to be before it explodes; ten people standing in a square aren't enough it's got to be ten thousand, perhaps. This fissile, ungovernable, seething crowd is beginning to radiate a power of its own: twenty, fifty, seventy thousand, still. Still the critical mass hasn't been reached, the dazzling explosion hasn't occurred, nobody knows just where that point will lie. They are still waiting on Parliament Square for Imri Nagy to appear, rather like Batman who swoops down from the building to liberate them. We've no real plans, we've no definite leadership, is how one marcher describes this moment. In every little group, the leader of the movement seems to be the man with the loudest voice. We are moving, and we know one thing we can't go home, something must happen here ; we don't know what but we can't go home any more.

That's the kind of feeling that happens in the middle of an uprising. Very difficult to try and put your finger on it, but if you read enough of the interrogation reports, you get to the bottom of what causes a mass movement like that, against the Soviet occupation forces in a country like Hungary. When I came out with the truth this book was published two years ago in England it provoked a howl of outrage in England. Arthur Koestler, who's now gone to his maker (he was one of the Hungarian émigrés to whom the Sunday Times gave this book to review), produced a half-page attack on it; other reviewers called it obsessively anti-Semitic. This is the kind of problem you have if you try to get to the root of a problem. The root of this problem turns out to have been a nation's own anti-Semitism, and so you are accused of being an anti-Semite for drawing attention to this fact.

Well, Arthur Koestler's now gone to his maker. We know in fact that Arthur Koestler the Hungarian was a Communist agent for most of his life, directly controlled by Moscow. In the 1930s and 1940s he was operating in Paris under Willi Muenzenberg, the famous Communist propagandist, and I think it's a fitting epitaph on his life that now that he's died, it turns out in his published will that he's left his very considerable fortune of a couple of million dollars to a University to found a chair of psychical research, research into extra-sensory phenomena. And it turns out that, in fact, in the basement of his home there was a bed fitted with all sorts of acute, precise devices for measuring the weight of the bed, and on this bed were conducted levitational experiments of some kind and the chair which he has endowed with the two million dollars is going to be a chair for carrying out investigations into thought-induced fluctuations in body weight. Arthur Koestler, so I suggested in my little magazine Focal Point, should in fact, in view of his Communist past and his association with known Communist terrorist regimes, have donated the money for investigations of rope-induced fluctuations of body weight. Perhaps that's being a little bit too cruel.

My most recently published book was The Secret Diaries of Hitler's Doctor. Nobody knew they existed, though I won't say it took any great feat of research investigation to obtain them; they happened to flop under my nose one day when I was in the archives in Washington. They had just turned up from Bethesda, the National Institute of Health, where they had been misfiled, and I spent a year and a half of my life transcribing the handwritten diaries of a doctor (you can imagine how unpleasant they are to transcribe), and they turned out to be very largely concerned with Adolf Hitler's gastrointestinal tract. I published them, that is, Macmillan published them in this country simultaneously with the appearance in Europe of those fake Hitler diaries. Of interest in our context is only the fact that an American magazine I think it was Newsday or People or Us telephoned me in London and said: "Mr. Irving, is it true that you're publishing the diaries of Hitler's doctor?" So I said: "Yes," and they said: "Are the Jews going to like this book?" So I

said: "I don't think so, no." So he said: "What's the reason for that?" and I said: "Well, they're not mentioned in it."

It is very difficult; we cannot please them. I do my hardest to please them, ladies and gentlemen, believe me, I try very hard to please them. If you do mention them in a book they are mortally offended, if you don't mention them in a book they are equally offended.

The biggest problem, of course and with this I come to the final part of my lecture this evening is the problem caused by the so-called Holocaust. I say so-called because it's a phrase that they themselves started using several years ago, whereas previously "Holocaust" seemed to be more aptly applied to something like Hiroshima, or Dresden because to my mind, as a classicist, the word "Holocaust" implies somebody perishing by flames or fire. God knows, there was enough of that in the Second World War. When I wrote my now-famous book *Hitler's War*, I tried to write it from behind that man's desk. I spent a very great deal of time assembling documentation which I was certain had passed through his hands: intelligence reports, orders, documents, and so forth. At a secondary level, I had also tried to obtain the private diaries of people who had dealt with him his private secretaries, colonels, the adjutants, the people who had been on his staff, even people like Governor Hans Frank, Goebbels, Himmler, anybody like that. I spent a very great deal of time doing the research for the book. And the result was that I came up with a lot of documents that a lot of these so-called experts, on whom the ADL and other worthy establishments rely, had not found. We need only mention Lucy Dawidowicz, who has written a book on the plight of European Jewry. We see that it is quite evident from her own background work that she did for the Anti-Defamation League's defamatory report on myself, that until my book was published, neither she nor any of her colleagues had had the slightest idea that in the archives, reposing all these years, has been a big folder containing all Heinrich Himmler's handwritten notes of his telephone conversations.

Perhaps the key word there is handwritten. You all know how lazy historians are, and I'm as lazy as the rest of them. A lot of us, when we see something in handwriting, well, we hurriedly flip to another folder where it's all neatly typed out. And even better, we hurriedly flip to a book where it's neatly printed with an index at the back. In other words, we do tend to steer clear of handwritten documents. But I've trained myself to take the line of most resistance and I go for the handwriting. And I spent, I suppose, four months transcribing every single line of those Himmler handwritten documents, his notes on his telephone conversations. I've got a page of them here which I can show you, so you can see what we're talking about. He would have on the desk in front of him just a pad of paper at the top of which he would write it would either be typed or handwritten "telephone conversations." There we are. I won't plague you to read the handwriting but if you see the handwriting, that may give you an idea why people like Ms. Dawidowicz can't read it — it's Gothic handwriting. German, old German handwriting. I can read it; my secretary can't, and she was born in Germany. At the top it says "Telefon" telephone conversation, 30 November 1941. The first line after that says "Aus" that is, from the train : Himmler's making some telephone conversation from his train. In the left hand column, he writes the name and the time of the person he's calling and in the right hand column he jots down a few words about the subjects that he's talked about. General is the first one. Then in the next one down, he's telephoned Berlin and then here, where my finger is, the next line is "from the bunker" he's telephoned from the Führerhauptquartier, which is Hitler's headquarters; he's now making a phone call from Hitler's bunker.

13.30: Telephoned Obergruppenführer Heydrich in Prague. These four lines here on the right are the four points that he discusses with Heydrich. The first one is: "Arrest of Doktor Jakelius." The

next one is, apparently : “Son of Molotov.” The next one is: “Jewish [Juden] transport Berlin.” (Transport of Jews from Berlin.) Full stop. The final line is: “Keine liquidierung” no liquidation.

Now this, of course as some of you may know had been reproduced in my book as a photograph, creating a great furor among the other historians who had never before seen these lines. They tried to make out that this is the only evidence I have for my suggestion that if there was any kind of liquidation program going on, then Adolf Hitler didn't know about it. Well, this is typical of the kind of methods that these people use: they set up a line of argument and then they knock it down and say: There you are, he 's got no case.

There is a whole chain of evidence from 1938 right through to October 1943, possibly even later, indicating that Hitler was completely in the dark about anything that may have been going on. And I use these words very closely. I am sure you realize that I take a slightly different line from several people here. I would specify as follows: I would say I am satisfied in my own mind that in various locations Nazi criminals, acting probably without direct orders from above, did carry out liquidations of groups of people including Jews, gypsies, homosexuals, mentally incurable people and the rest. I am quite plain about that in my own mind. I can't prove it, I haven't gone into that, I haven't investigated that particular aspect of history but from the documents I have seen, I've got the kind of gut feeling which suggests to me that that is probably accurate.

But when I was writing about Adolf Hitler, I had to look specifically about what he knew or didn't know; that's why documents like those phone conversations became important.

I spoke of an unbroken chain of evidence. Let's start looking at it.

The first one is in November 1938. This evidence all goes to support my theory that probably the biggest friend the Jews had in the Third Reich, certainly when the war broke out, was Adolf Hitler. He was the one who was doing everything he could to prevent things nasty happening to them.

But he'd let the genie out of the bottle; he'd uncorked the bottle and the demon was there and he couldn't get the genie to go back in.

The first time we see that happening is in November 1938. The Night of Broken Glass. The German diplomat Vom Rath has been assassinated by a deranged Jew in Paris; the Nazis took their revenge on the night of November 9 -10, the Night of Broken Glass. On that night Hitler is in Munich, with his adjutants and staff. He is in his private home in Prinzregentenstrasse. One of the adjutants, his air force adjutant Von Below (who's just died), told me: “Mr. Irving, the first thing that Hitler knew about the night of broken glass throughout the pogrom that evening was when the phone rang at 2:00 in the morning in our adjutants' apartment, which was one floor lower down beneath his apartment at Prinzregentenstrasse. The Four Seasons Hotel telephoned us adjutants and asked if we would please come to the hotel and pick up our baggage, because there was a synagogue on fire next door and they couldn't be certain the hotel wasn't going to get caught in the flames as well.” And, Von Below says: “I thought there was something funny going on, and I telephoned the Führer and I told him this. And he said I had to spend the rest of the night with the Führer, making the necessary telephone calls to try and stop this.”

Hitler in his apartment sent for Goebbels, the chief of the propaganda ministry who in my view is the one who touched off this particular outrage. He also sent for Himmler and through the telephone lines of the propaganda ministry network, and the Gestapo network, and the party organization, were sent out telephone calls, telegrams and telexes the whole night long trying to stop what had already started. And one example of that is this rather bad photocopy of a document I

got from the American-controlled Berlin Document Center in Berlin. (It's run by the American Embassy in Berlin some of you may have heard of it a top secret document center, which controls the records of about 15 million Nazis and is classified as top secret; historians can't get access to it now but at the time I got it; the chief of the document center was a personal friend of mine and he used to let me go and do research there among the files.)

And this document is dated the 10th of November, 1938. It's a directive issued on the headed notepaper of Rudolf Hess's office, the office of the Deputy Führer. It is a directive which goes out to all the party offices throughout Germany, to all the Gauleiters, for immediate communication. Directive No. 174/38. Repetition of telegram which had already gone out 10th of November 1938. "On express orders issued at the very highest level, there are to be no kind of acts of arson or outrages against Jewish property or the like on any account and under any circumstances whatsoever." It's rather bad German, rather bad grammar in the German, but I've done a literal translation of those three lines.

Now, if the Deputy Führer issues an order on express instructions from the very highest level, this can only mean that Adolf Hitler himself has ordered that all this outrage has got to stop forthwith. I remember speaking to a mass audience of students in the University of Bonn two years ago, and they'd been a bit unruly to start with, 800 students. It was a Saturday evening that in itself is quite interesting, to see that you can pack 800 students into a university hall to come and hear you at 8:00 on a Saturday evening. On the top three ranks were all young Socialists, all waiting for a moment to start causing trouble, when I said to them: I don't want applause but I will expect, some time in the next hour and a half that I am talking, that occasionally you will all be hushed to silence by something I tell you. And when I read this one out, that hush began. And I said: You see, I told you you would hush. And the reason you are hushing is this. You are asking why it is that I, an Englishman, come and read out a document to you forty years afterwards, about something that is deeply scarred into the German national conscience, which gives a completely different interpretation on what you've been told, and yet your own history professors haven't told you this. There are only two explanations, I say. Either they didn't know about this document, in which case they're not fit to be your professors of history. Or, what is far more likely, they do know about this document but they choose not to mention it. In which case they are also not fit to be your professors of history. And all the professors, of course, are lined up in the front rows right in front of me.

People then begin saying: What about Hitler when he makes his speeches? That he's going to "ausrottung" the Jews from Europe. The trouble our dilemma, is that we have to translate. Even modern Germans don't understand what these words meant then. And I have tried to din it into the heads of the German historians now that the word "ausrottung" did not mean then what it means now because of what the historians have been writing for the last 20 years. And they cannot get it into their heads. So I said, let me explain to you: when Hitler says in a speech, for example on the 30th of January 1939, that if international finance Jewry succeeds once again in starting a world war, then it will end with the "ausrottung" of the Jews from Europe (which I think are the words he uses), then this doesn't mean to say that he's saying they are going to be liquidated; it means rather that it will be the end of the Jewish influence as a closed entity. And people boo and jeer and start sniggering when I say this. And I say: All right, well, let's take an example where we do know that Hitler used the word and we can look at the context.

I made a card index of every instance where he used that word in the 1930 s. About 15 documented instances. Look at his memorandum on the Four Year Plan of August 1936. He sits down and he dictates to his secretary, Christa Schroeder (who's still alive, a dear old lady in Munich), a long memorandum on the Four Year Plan. Roughly saying: I want the German economy to be

ready inside four years to fight a war. I mean, he takes a lot of pages saying that. And in that document is the following phrase: The Wehrmacht has got to be ready in four years to fight the Soviet Union (which is significant, because he's only ever looking eastwards) because if the Soviet Union should ever succeed in invading and conquering Germany it will end with the "ausrottung" of the German people, of the German Volk. And I say to the historians: Is Hitler really saying here that if the Soviet Union succeeds in invading all Germany and conquering them, it's going to end up with the liquidation, the murder, of 80 million Germans? Or course he's not: he's just saying it means the end of Germany. The end of Germany as a power, the power factor. And it's the same when Czech President Hacha comes to see him in March 1939 and has to sign on the dotted line, handing over Czechoslovakia to Hitler. Hitler says afterwards: It's a good thing you signed because otherwise it would have led to the "ausrottung" of the Czech people. The same word "ausrottung." Hitler is not saying it's a good thing you signed because otherwise I would have had to put ten million of you through the gas chambers; he's just saying that it would have been the end of Czechoslovakia as a national entity, as a power factor.

So we begin to get a different picture. When Hitler talks about the "ausrottung" of the Jews and I go into this in some detail, because this is the only kind of evidence the historians use against me they say that Hitler himself spoke about what he was going to do. The answer is that he's not saying that at all, he's saying something quite different: he's saying that there's going to be the end of the Jewish influence in future. (An influence which, I hasten to add, even Winston Churchill got alarmed about in an article in the 1920s. So it's not just this rather cranky David Irving saying this.)

Thus it's important that we know precisely the terms that Adolf Hitler is using in his speeches. If we now accept, however, that these atrocities did occur, on whatever scale, then how did they start? I can summarize my own feelings, having read all the documentation, quite simply by saying that whatever happened gained its own momentum deriving from atrocities which the Nazis did commit. For example, the euthanasia program an operation which interestingly enough is documented in every detail including even the order given by Hitler with his own handwritten signature on it. So people can't say that an operation like this would be kept so secret that of course no paper would be generated. The euthanasia program, the killing of the mentally incurable who occupied the hospital beds that wartime Germany needed this was an operation that was carried out on Hitler's written instructions. And this generated a certain amount of expertise in killing, there's no question about it.

And there's no question in my mind that some of the personnel who were operating on that program, the T-4 operation, the Tiergartenstrasse (the office from which it was conducted), were then automatically injected into the killing operations that a number of local police officials in my view on the Eastern front in Germany carried out against Jews and other people who just got in their way.

I use the phrase "got in their way" because coming out of the Polish archives is a document which may or may not be genuine let's be quite frank, we've all seen quite a lot of fakes in our time and this is a document from a man called Rolf Heinz Hupner, written to a man called Adolf Eichmann. July 16, 1941. Eichmann at that time was very busily involved at SS head quarters with retraining the Jews. Eichmann was involved with all sorts of agricultural schemes to retrain the Jews for when they were transported overseas to Madagascar or whatever other territory Adolf Hitler allocated to them. Eichmann found himself involved in all sorts of strange agricultural schemes. And out of the blue he gets sent to him this letter from a man called Hupner, reading: Dear Comrade Eichmann: Attached I am sending you a memorandum which is summarizing a number of conversations which have taken place here in the Nazi Reichstathauterei, which is

the kind of Nazi headquarters out here in Poznan. (Poznan was the area where several of the major concentration camps which were involved were located.) I won't read it all to you. What he does say in the 16 July 1941 document, in paragraph four, is that in this winter there's great danger that the Jews won't, we can't continue to nourish them. (You see, all the Jews who are being displaced from Western Europe to the East are landing up in this kind of region. And they're causing a major health, food and accommodation problem for the local Party officials in Poland.) And he says: There's going to be a big risk in this winter that we can't continue to nourish all these Jews who are coming here. We seriously ought to consider whether it is not, whether it would not be the most humane solution, to finish off the Jews, insofar as we can't make use of them as labor, by some kind of fast-working method, means which implies some kind of chemical. In any case, it would be far more pleasant than to allow them just to starve to death.

Now, this fits in with the image that I have built in my own mind that such atrocities that did occur, in these territories, occurred at the initiative of the people on the spot. They found themselves put on the spot by Berlin. Berlin didn't really bother about what happened to the trainloads of Jews and others who were sent out there. Berlin just left it to them to make up their own mind. In fact, there is at the end of this year 1941 a verbatim record of a conference, in the records of Hans Frank, where one of the local police chiefs says: What does Berlin imagine we are doing with these people? They are sending out trainloads of the people to us; does Berlin imagine that we are housing them in neat housing estates along the Baltic somewhere? We can't do that. We're just bumping them off as and when they arrive.

We have of course to accept the possibilities that that document, too, may be fake. But it's sufficient to make me suspect that there was some kind of major crime going on at the initiative of the local criminals on the spot. This I think is the line that dissident historians should take.

We should investigate how it is that in a dictatorship actions can be taken by criminals at the local level without the supreme authority's knowing about it. Rather like Sabra and Chattila, I suppose; it's a direct comparison we have to make there. It isn't right for Tel Aviv to claim now that David Irving is talking nonsense and of course Adolf Hitler must have known about what was going on in Auschwitz and Treblinka, and then in the same breath to claim that, of course, our beloved Mr. Begin didn't know what was going on in Sabra and Chattila. You can't have one without the other; rather like a horse and carriage.

But about the documents which exist in the files of the SS. (I'm one of these incurable people who attaches a great deal of importance to the documents.) You don't have to read between the lines if you get enough paper actually in your hands. The documents which exist show quite clearly that Adolf Hitler ordained a massive transportation program, sweeping all the Jews out of Western Europe into Eastern Europe. This was a program that began after the attack on the Soviet Union. In fact, later on, in February 1942, you find him actually saying that now that we've got the territories in Eastern Europe, we don't have to consider the Madagascar program any more because these Eastern Europe territories have given us a completely different possibility of solving it. (I can't actually find it in this sheaf of documents but it is there, believe me.)

Every reference and every remark that Hitler makes, even in the most intimate circles, even at lunch time conversations where just Martin Bormann and Heinrich Himmler are present, or Reinhard Heydrich, Hitler says precisely the same thing: It's a good thing that I am sweeping the Jews back out of Europe to where they belong. It's a good thing that I'm making them do good, sound, healthy work in the East. He's not just saying this to a mass audience, he's not saying this in the Sportpalast, he's not writing an article in the *Volkischer Beobachter* no, he's saying this rather to the people who are actually doing the dirty deed. Or who certainly know it's going on.

So this in my mind strongly suggests that he doesn't know what's going on. On October 6, for example, he says at a luncheon in his headquarters, and I found these records in the private possession of a man, he says all the Jews have got to be shipped out of the protectorate, out of Czechoslovakia, and not into the General government [of Poland] not into Poland first of all, let's just send them immediately further East. He says the problem is he can't quite do this at present, immediately, because we've got a severe shortage of transport for military reasons.

This in itself gives cause for doubt. We know that in the Winter of 1941 there was a massive transport shortage caused by the crisis on the Eastern Front. If you've got a transport crisis, you are not going to start soaking up transport space which is scarce on the railways by shipping tens of thousands of Jews eastwards, if all you're going to do at the other end is liquidate them. These are the big questions which the Lucy Dawidowicz' s of this world haven't bothered to ask or answer. This transport movement only fits in with my thesis that the transportation program was ordered by Hitler, that whatever happened at the other end, if anything happened at the other end, was carried out on the initiative of the local officials to whom the transport crisis was a matter of supreme academic disinterest.

There is more than enough evidence of that.

10th of October, 1941. There's a letter from Himmler to Ohlendorf, in which Himmler reacts to complaints made by Ohlendorf about the fact that Jews have been dumped in his territory by the tens of thousands. And Himmler writes: Well, of course, it's not very nice if all these Jews have been dumped on you, but may I please beg you from the bottom of my heart to find the necessary understanding, as your Gauleiter has also done. It's in accordance with the will of the Führer that the Jews are shipped from West to East, stage by stage. Full stop, period.

The will of the Führer that the Jews are shipped stage by stage from West to East: again and again and again even in his table talk. You've all heard of Hitler's table talk or Tischgesprache, written down by Heinrich Heim, Martin Bormann's secretary; long before anybody got these things, I got the actual transcripts from the Swiss lawyer who controls these documents. Here you see the actual wording used by Hitler in German, which is completely different from the published English translation. In fact, in the English translation, sentences have been interposed which don't exist in the original German at all. In that original, you see Hitler saying things like: It's a good thing that this legend is being spread about that the Jews are perishing, it's a good thing that this terror story is being spread about us. He regards it altogether as being a legend. And then later, he says what a scandal it is that we should be accused of maltreating the Jews. These statements are in the private. Here is one from 25th January 1942. Wolf's Lair, mid-day, luncheon guests: Dr. Lammers, the Reichsführer-SS Himmler, and Colonel Seisler. The Chief (that is, Hitler), spoke as follows, in the following sense: If I take the Jews now out of our so city then our bourgeoisie is very unhappy. But what are we doing with them? Did the same people show the slightest sympathy with our people, with the Germans, when they had to emigrate? We've got to do it quickly and isn't it better if I take out...[further down, he says:]...at the time of the Papal hegemony in Rome, the Jews were being mistreated. Until 1838, Jews every year were driven through the town of Rome on asses, and I only say that they have to leave us.

So that shows in his mind what he thought was happening to the Jews. Some thing rather mild indeed was happening to them. He says again, two days later on the 27th January: The Jews have got to leave Europe. The best thing is to go to Russia. I've got no sympathy at all with the Jews. They will always be an element that winds up one nation against another. They do it in national politics just as much as they do it in their own private existence.

Finally, I think the most cardinal piece of proof in this entire story of what Hitler knew about what was going on is a document that mysteriously vanished from the Nuremberg files in 1945. It is clear that it was in the files in August 1945, when they were sighted by the Americans in Berlin and cataloged, because it appears as Item Four of a five-item list. It then vanished from the files by the time they reached Nuremberg for the Nuremberg trials and so it couldn't be produced there as evidence and then reappeared now in the files of the Federal Archives in Coblenz. That is the file that it's in: Reich Minister of Justice. The heading is: The Treatment of the Jews, and it's a document, a memo on a telephone conversation inside the Ministry of Justice. From its placing in the file we know that this conversation is about March 1942, two months after the notorious Wannsee conference when all is supposed to have been put in train by Adolf Hitler. The Reich Minister, Hans Lammers, was the chief of the German Civil Service; he would be rather like the Prime Minister in a normal society. The memo says: "Reich Minister Lammers informs me that the Führer has repeatedly told him that he wants the solution of the Jewish problem postponed until after the war is over." And it goes on about the fact that for this reason, all this talk, all this jaw that's going on at present is completely superfluous.

Hitler has repeatedly said he wants the solution to the Jewish problem postponed until after the war is over.

Again, this is a document which is of extreme embarrassment for the rival school of history. They can't talk their way around it, they can't talk their way out of it, they close their eyes and when they open them it is still there. It refuses to go away. Believe me: from this moment on, right through to 1943, there are further documents showing Hitler interceding, acting, trying to stop, preventing. There's another telephone conversation from Himmler to Heydrich on 20th April, 1942, again from Hitler's headquarters. Himmler telephoned Heydrich, the chief of the SD, or Sicherheitsdienst of the SS: No destruction of the gypsies, the gypsies aren't to be liquidated either. But it was still done. Himmler telephoned Ribbentrop from Hitler's headquarters in October 1943, saying that he has discussed a certain matter with Hitler, namely whether the Jews from Rome are to be rounded up and sent to Northern Italy and liquidated as the SS has ordered, or, as Hitler has ordered quite to the contrary, that the Jews in Rome had got to be sent instead to Mauthausen and kept alive there which didn't prevent them from being rounded up and shipped off to Auschwitz, according to what we read in history books.

So all this builds up in my mind, as a Hitler biographer, a picture of a rather weak boss, who was so busy being a general, being a soldier and I think I've adequately established that he was a very good soldier indeed, who repeatedly outwitted Winston Churchill, which isn't too difficult, even in that famous man's sober moments he was so busy being a soldier that he didn't really pay too much attention to what crimes may or may not have been going on in various far-flung parts of the Reich.

I'm not going to go into the controversy here about the actual goings-on inside Auschwitz, or the other extermination camps or concentration camps. We do know in the meantime that Dachau is a legend, that everything that people found in Dachau was in fact installed there by the Americans after the war rather like Disneyland for their local people to go and be impressed by German Schrecklichkeit.

I must say that I have been deeply impressed by Mr. Friedrich Berg's lecture earlier this afternoon; I have found a great deal in his lecture which I found greatly impressive.

It's not going to be an easy path for us dissident historians to follow. We are going to be boycotted, we are going to find life getting very nasty. It's not quite as difficult yet here in America

as it is in Europe, where frequently when I arrive to address a meeting in Germany, or in England, I find sticky situations. In Germany, for example, when I last arrived at Stuttgart to speak and there were 300 mounted police with water cannon and riot shields to protect the building I was going to speak in, and the audience sitting in front there with blood-stained shirts and their noses broken and their shirt. well. It's not quite as bad as that here; I suppose in Germany the stakes are higher. In Germany the Left is on the march, the Left is rampant, the strings to Moscow are that much shorter. We can talk here at greater peace, but I have to be quite plain about one thing: I am an independent historian. I have no academic chair which finances me, I have no family fortune to rely on; I depend entirely on my own readership. Above all, I depend on publishers to keep on publishing me. Every time I make an open statement that I make in front of people like yourselves, ladies and gentlemen, it's one step closer to a total boycott by Madison Avenue. Which is a risk that I have to contemplate with great earnestness. So I am right out near the end of that gang plank, I am right out in the front line. The artillery fire is beginning and the shot and shell are falling all 'round me. I have built various rear lines on which I can fall back if necessary, but so far I haven't been disproved. This is what makes me believe that in my ambition to write total truth, I am succeeding.

A Challenge to David Irving

Robert Faurisson

At the time of the fifth international Revisionist Conference sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review, held in Los Angeles on 3-5 September 1983, I had the pleasure of meeting David Irving for the first time. Unfortunately, our meeting was too short. We had a brief conversation, and then I listened to his presentation. At the conclusion of his presentation, some of us were able to ask him questions or share with him our comments. There again the time was too short for me to bring up to him all that was on my mind. On the following day, before beginning my own paper, I briefly shared with the audience the questions and comments that I would have directed to David Irving. I expand upon them here. It will come as no surprise that they concern what is called the problem of genocide and the gas chambers.

Karl Wolff's 'Seventy Men'

In my brief conversation with him, I asked Irving who the approximately “seventy men” were who, in his opinion, knew about the existence of the extermination camps. I reminded him of the following passage from his *Hitler's War*:

By August 1942 the massacre machinery was gathering momentum — of such refinement and devilish ingenuity that from Himmler down to the ex-lawyers who ran the extermination camps perhaps only seventy men were aware of the truth. (Hitler's War [New York: Viking Press, 1977], p. 393.)

Irving told me that it was General Karl Wolff, former SS-Obergruppenführer, who had mentioned that figure of approximately seventy men. Wolff had mentioned that figure in a study that can be found today at the Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte in Munich. I then asked Irving if there wasn't something strange about that. In point of fact, Karl Wolff, Himmler's Chief of Staff and liaison officer with Hitler, had never, during the entire length of the war, been informed of any such extermination program. It was only in April 1945 that he had heard it mentioned in Switzerland, over the radio, at the time of his negotiations over the surrender of the German troops in Italy. Irving stated his agreement with me on this point. Then our conversation was interrupted. I would like further to have asked him the following questions:

1.) Karl Wolff, according to David Irving, made a very serious accusation against some seventy persons. One-by-one: who are those seventy-some persons “down to the ex-lawyers”? Did Karl Wolff undertake an investigation regarding each case? Did he even so much as inquire in any sense? When and how? Had he detailed evidence to support his accusations? If so, what is it? Can we verify that evidence?

2.) Has David Irving examined that evidence, if it exists, and has he found it convincing? Why has the Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte in Munich not published it? Are David Irving and Martin

Broszat, the director of the Institut, prepared today to publish the documents it has relating to this, which must have been compiled prior to 1977 (the date of publication of Irving's book)?

3.) In order to understand Irving's remarks about "such refinement and devilish ingenuity," I need concrete details of all kinds. I want to know first what that "refinement" consisted of, as well as that "ingenuity" (a "devilish" ingenuity at that). I want to know about the material reality which must lie behind those words. What was the nature of those realities? What were their dimensions? Where were they located? How did they function? Who conceived of them? Who drew up the plans? Who had them carried out? With what manpower and materials? Most of all, with what kind of budget? How did they succeed in hiding the creation and operation of such machinery from Hitler and from the entire world for a period of three or four years? How is it that, except for perhaps seventy men, all of the personnel of the military, police, and economic organizations could not see that millions of people were disappearing in that way into horrible slaughterhouses whose operation must have demanded considerable supplies of raw materials (hard to obtain in a time of total war) and a no less considerable labor force (at a time when it was precisely the lack of manpower that was causing such terrible problems for Germany)?

Some Seventy Supermen!

Borrowing a comparison from David Irving, I can certainly believe that Menachem Begin could have been unaware of the massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon at the time it was taking place. Over a period of several hours several hundred civilians were massacred. I do not know when Begin learned of the massacre, but I do know that, like everyone else in the world, he learned about it very quickly. If, however, instead of several hundred men, women, and children being massacred in a few hours, we were considering the massacre of millions of men, women, and children over a period of three or four years in the very heart of Europe, by what miracle could that heinous crime have been hidden from Hitler, Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt, as well as Germany and all of Europe, except for perhaps only seventy men? Those seventy-some men must have been supermen. For myself, a person who has studied the problem so much, I further state that those supermen, not content with clandestinely carrying out such a fantastic massacre, succeeded also in wiping out all traces of their heinous crime. Because there does not exist, for example, any proof of the existence of a single homicidal gas chamber which could have been built and used by the Germans. What does exist is a superabundance of alleged evidence which, when subjected to the elementary and routine methods of historical research, is demonstrated to be false. We have thousands of solid proofs of the existence in certain German camps of shower facilities, disinfection facilities, facilities for preserving bodies in mortuaries before burning them in crematory ovens; we know when, where, by whom, according to what plans, and with how much money all that was done. But about the gigantic homicidal gas chambers, we have nothing. That is magic.

David Irving: Only "Some Feelings" About the Extermination Story

Now I come to David Irving's presentation at the Revisionist Conference. The impression of magic persists there again. Irving has the honesty to advise us that, in fact, he has not studied the particular aspect of the history of the Second World War that some call the "Holocaust." With some insistence he repeated that about the "Holocaust" specifically he only has some "feelings." He said that in his mind there has been formed a certain impression of what "probably" took place. He does not for a moment attack the revisionist authors. He does not act like those persons who issue denunciations of the revisionists that are more and more categorical in proportion to the extent that they have not studied the question. However, even a David Irving sometimes gives in to the temptation to maintain opinions that, from his own point of view, he ought not to main-

tain since he has not studied the question. The errors that he makes here and there prove by themselves that he is a layman on this subject.

According to the manuscript transcription of his presentation taken from the tape recording, David Irving uses the following words (p. 42):

... my suggestion that, if there was any kind of liquidation program going on, then Hitler did not know about it.

Setting aside for the moment the question of Hitler himself, let us deal only with the question whether or not, according to Irving, there was a program for the physical liquidation of the Jews. The words that I have just quoted show me a David Irving who answers my questions neither with a yes nor a no. However, by this very fact alone he takes, in my opinion, a courageous position, which must prompt his readers to some reflection since here Irving does not place himself among those who assume the extermination as an established fact. He speaks about it in the conditional mood ("if"). That skepticism or that refusal to commit himself is encountered elsewhere on the same subject in his same presentation. Here are some quotations in which I have added emphasis to certain words.

(p. 42): Hitler was completely in the dark about anything that may have been going on. And I use these words very closely.

(p. 53): ... whatever happened at the other end [of this transport movement] if anything happened at the other end,...

(p. 57): ... what crimes may or may not have been going on...

On several occasions David Irving, instead of talking with the degree of certainty that one can obtain from an investigation, prefers to talk about a "feeling" or about "feelings" that one can simply have in "mind":

(p. 42): I would say I am satisfied in my own mind... I am quite plain about that in my own mind... I've got the kind of gut feeling which suggests to me that that is probably accurate.

(p. 49): And there's no question in my mind that... in my view...

(p. 50): Now, this fits in with the image that I have built in my own mind that...

I am now going to reproduce in its entirety a passage in which Irving tried to define his position. I emphasize the words in it which seem to me especially worthy of note — either because they frankly show the lack of certainty of the author, or because they call for explanations that are not forthcoming; from this comes the general impression that David Irving is making some accusations which are very serious, and yet about which he himself is not entirely sure, at least at this time. He says, as a matter of fact:

(p. 42): I would say I am satisfied in my own mind that in various locations [?], Nazi criminals [?] acting probably [?] without direct [?] orders from above, did carry out liquidations of groups [?] of people including Jews, gypsies, homosexuals, mentally incurable people and the rest. I am quite plain about that in my own mind. I can't prove it, I haven't got into that, I haven't investigated that particular aspect of history but from the documents I've seen, I've got the kind of gut feeling which suggests to me that that is probably accurate.

We would love to learn from Irving the facts about precisely how many such “locations” there were and at what geographical points? How many “Nazi criminals” in this matter were there, and what were the specific responsibilities of each? If they acted “probably without direct orders from above,” does that mean that they perhaps acted with indirect orders or perhaps even without orders at all? What does “from above” mean? About which level(s) of the hierarchy is Irving thinking here, if he is not alluding to Adolf Hitler alone? What were the processes of physical liquidation that were used? How large were those groups of victims? If, on the one hand, Irving has the honesty — rare among historians — to tell us: “I can’t prove it, I haven’t got into that, I haven’t investigated that particular aspect of history” and if, on the other hand, he mentions “the documents I have seen,” I can allow myself to deduce the following: David Irving has studied some documents which are not the ones that he would have studied if his research had dealt with the exterminations. In that case, not having carried out research on that aspect, he is not able to say very much about it. He can simply express his “feelings.” When he declared to his audience at the Revisionist Conference:

(p. 42): ... I am sure you realize that I take a slightly different line from several people here...

he is certainly correct, considering that the revisionist researchers have carried out their investigations in a specific area which is not Irving’s specific area. Logically speaking, if Irving had been invited to a conference of exterminationist believers (that is, those who uphold the standard “Holocaust” story), he would have been obliged to exercise the same care — the care of the scholarly investigator who knows that he can talk only about what he thinks he has studied.

Elsewhere in his presentation, Irving takes the risk of giving some details about the history, according to him, of the extermination. It is remarkable that his introductory sentence begins this way:

(p. 48): I can summarize my own feelings, having read all the documentation, quite simply by saying that...

Here the word “documentation” must, according to Irving’s own revelations about his research, be taken in the sense of “nonspecific documentation” or “documentation not bearing specifically on the history of the extermination.” Since the documentation studied by Irving did not allow him to end up with proof (“I can’t prove”), it is understandable that he once more uses the word “feelings. “

David Irving's Account of the Extermination: Too Much Metaphysics, Not Enough Materialism

Toward the latter part of his presentation Irving offered his version of the history of the extermination. Here are some extracts from his words (I have removed what seemed to me to be irrelevant commentary or digression, and I have emphasized certain words):

(pp. 48-49): ... whatever happened gained its own momentum deriving from atrocities which the Nazis did commit, for example, the euthanasia program... the killing of the mentally incurable, who occup[ied] the hospital beds that wartime Germany needed — this was an operation that was carried out on Hitler’s written instructions. And this generated a certain amount of expertise in killing, there’s no question. And there is no question in my mind that some of the personnel who were operating on that program, the T-4 operation, the “Tiergartenstrasse” (the office from which it was conducted), were then automatically injected into the killing operations that a num-

ber of local police officials in my view on the Eastern Front in Germany, carried out against Jews and other people who just got in their way.

What Irving says is in agreement with the exterminationists' narrative. At one end of the chain we have the euthanasia program and, at the other end of the chain, we have a program for the extermination of the Jews and of other categories of possible victims. The object is to demonstrate that there is a sort of logical progression in it. That is hard to believe. To begin with, is a euthanasia program an atrocity or even a crime? I do not believe that one can say that. I notice that today people advocate euthanasia the way others advocate free abortion. The Germans' euthanasia program was back-dated to begin on the very same day (1 September 1939) on which broke out a terrible conflict that was going to cause horrible physical wounds. Therefore, perhaps it was an acute remembrance of the horrible spectacle of certain seriously wounded men from the First World War deprived of hospital beds that caused Hitler and his men to establish the possibility of putting an end to the intolerable or incurable sufferings not only of those who, just for a vegetable existence or worse, were taking up the valuable hospital space, but in some cases of the most severely, hopelessly wounded returning soldiers themselves. In any event, the matter was serious enough for Hitler personally to sign such an order. Certainly no secret about that could be maintained. The churches protested and the program was abandoned under their pressure and that of German public opinion. This is enough to let us say that when there was a decision of that kind to make, Hitler did not leave the responsibility to others, but took it himself. Moreover, he did so in writing — he signed a document which then served as a point of reference for a mass of orders and measures to be taken as a result. I would add that when decisions were made, after a demanding medical and bureaucratic investigatory process, to put an incurable person out of his misery, the means of death was lethal injection. To convince oneself that there were never any homicidal gas chambers in German hospitals, it is sufficient to refer to the “testimonies” of those who claim that there were such gas chambers in such places. The narratives, uniformly idiotic, can be read, for example, in the recent work by Kogon, Langbein, Rueckerl, et. al., *NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas: eine Dokumentation* (Nazi Mass Killings by Poison Gas: A Documentation [Frankfurt a/M: S. Fischer Verlag, 1983], 350pp.). Besides, can we imagine the bed-ridden, people at death's door, some lacking arms or legs, gathering submissively at the entrance to a room where they would have then been left alone with one wash cloth each and a piece of soap (“Seife und Handtuecher,” Kogon, et al., p. 48) — this room that supposedly had been camouflaged as a shower (no doubt for the benefit of the blind)?

I do not know how the act of administering a euthanasiac injection to such persons could have “generated a certain amount of expertise in killing.” I do not see how the existence of an order from Hitler regarding euthanasia would explain the absence of an order from the same Hitler regarding a gigantic undertaking of collective killings. I do not see how Hitler, recoiling before the consequences of his euthanasia order amongst the churches and in German public opinion, could have undertaken a program that would have been outrageously criminal and sure to alienate him from all the churches and all the people on earth, including his own. And, in the case of the Irving thesis (that the immense crime of the “Holocaust” was perpetrated without Hitler knowing about it), I can understand even less how Germans could have been found who would believe themselves to be so many times stronger and more authority-laden than their Führer as to allow them to carry out the following feat: serving their Führer without his knowledge or that of his police, without the knowledge of the public (beginning with those civilians in arms whom we call military men), without the knowledge of their hierarchical superiors as a whole; undertaking the most demented human effort that one could ever have imagined. Where Hitler had given up or feared to tread, these underlings would triumph on all levels? Does David Irving really expect anyone to believe this? Has Irving made an investigation that would allow him to state that “some of the personnel [from the euthanasia operation] were then automatically injected into the

killing operations... on the Eastern Front in Germany"? What does "automatically injected" mean? Is there one piece of evidence, one service document, showing that "automatic injection"? What does "some" mean — does it mean a significant number? What was the wording of the assignment-orders of those persons? To what exact area(s) did each of those persons go on that Eastern Front where nearly all the Germans of an age to serve the German armed forces or the German administration were already going? How would competence in handling a syringe provide competence in the handling of homicidal gas — a job which, in the United States today, even requires experts who have at their disposal very sophisticated special installations, and must have very special and extensive training, this just in order to kill one single condemned man at a time? Would Irving refer back to Kriminaloberkommissar Christian Wirth and to the confused "confessions" of Kurt Gerstein? He is too wise, I think, to give any credence, even for a minute, to the content of such confessions.

On p. 49, Irving tries to explain to us the end of his sentence thus: "... against the Jews and other people who just got in their [the local police officials'] way." He must sense that this morsel is one of the most difficult to swallow. We were already struggling with vague generalizations in sentences like:

(p. 48): ... whatever happened... gained its own momentum deriving from...

or

(p. 49): ... this generated a certain amount of...

or

(p. 49): ... automatically injected...

In those phrases, I seem to see the God of Spinoza in action. As a matter of fact, the extermination is presented to us as a phenomenon which somehow must result from the natural course of things and must manifest itself one day or another! Here, the act of the Jews and the others meeting their butchers and going to their atrocious deaths seems to be of an immanent character. Let me say in passing — this does not relate to David Irving — that I am struck by the hugely-important place occupied in exterminationist literature by things like metaphysics — the preference, indeed, for the non-material in evidence, for the abstract character of the documentation used, for the stereotyped mythical narrative. Here there seems to exist a holy horror of the exact sciences and what these might tell us.

Why?

The Jews Sent to the East

David Irving says that Berlin sent the Jews to the East without pre-occupying itself too much about their fate. So it was that the Germans who received excessive numbers of them did not know what to do with them. Thus there must have been planted in the minds of certain Germans the idea of undertaking a liquidation of the Jews on a large scale. In support of that thesis, Irving quotes a letter written to Adolf Eichmann on 16 July 1941. The author of that letter wrote that in Posen (Poznan) the German authorities were complaining about the influx of Jews and were asking themselves how to feed them all. The letter in particular is supposed to have contained the following sentences:

(p. 50): We seriously ought to consider whether it is not, whether it would not be the most humane solution, to finish off the Jews, insofar as we can't make use of them as labor, by some kind of fast working method, means which implies some kind of chemical. In any case, it would be far more pleasant than to allow them just to starve to death. [I assume that Irving was here paraphrasing the words of the letter.]

Personally, I cannot make a judgment about that letter until I have re-read it in the German original. I say "re-read" because it seems to me that I have already read it somewhere. Let us suppose that the letter is genuine and that it is correctly translated. (Is the phrase "which implies some kind of chemical" Irving's own interjection within his paraphrase?) Even in that case I see in this letter only the reaction of a man overwhelmed by a serious problem which was already evident in Poland in 1939 and which was going to become the problem of all Europe at war, suffering from a progressive blockade. The author of the letter, and those with him, curse Berlin. As far as they are concerned, Berlin is sending those Jews without bothering about the difficulties in the realms of health, lodging, and feeding which they are going to cause for everyone, beginning with the Jews themselves. It would be more humane to kill those Jews, by whatever means: by means of work which would hasten their deaths, or by some chemical poison. If that consideration proves anything, it proves precisely that such a method apparently did not exist on 16 July 1941, so far as Eichmann's correspondent knew. Did such a method exist later? Ah, well, it is necessary to engage in serious research in order to know that. This could be the point of departure for an historical investigation. It cannot be a stopping-point or a conclusion.

David Irving compares that letter to Eichmann with the word-for-word transcription of a meeting held at the end of 1941 by Hans Frank, Governor General of Poland, a meeting at which one of the chiefs of the local police complained to Berlin in the following terms:

(pp. 50-51): They are sending out trainloads of people to us. Does Berlin imagine that we are housing them in neat housing estates along the Baltic somewhere? We can't do that. We're just bumping them off as and when they arrive. [This is a free rendering by Irving of a portion of Nuremberg document PS-2233, dated 16 December 1941.]

The Good Faith of Governor Hans Frank, When Confronted by the Infamous Propaganda

I hope that Irving will allow me to quote here a passage from the transcripts of the sessions of the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg regarding defendant Hans Frank. To begin with, I will quote Document PS-2233. It consists of excerpts from Hans Frank's official diary as head of the Generalgouvernement of Poland. That diary in its complete version would be 10,000 or 12,000 pages in length. For the Nuremberg tribunal, the excerpts represent only 269 printed pages. You can trust those who chose the excerpts for the IMT; you can trust that they chose everything that could crush Frank. But, in that mountain of various papers, they have not discovered a single page supporting the theory of the extermination and the gas chambers. The page numbered 503 in Vol. XXIX of the blue series (Trial of the Major War Criminals [= IMT]) of Nuremberg documents contains the most violent rhetoric against the Jews. In it are these words:

Wir muessen die Juden vernichten, wo immer wir sie treffen... (We must annihilate the Jews wherever [or -always] we encounter them...)

But, if we put those words back into their context and into the time in which they were spoken (Cracow, 16 December 1941), we see that they are part of that warrior pathos that one encounters among all political men in a country at war. In his own presentation, Irving has shown very well how it is necessary to put the words of Hitler back into their context. The same goes for Hans

Frank. And when a political figure sees placed before him such and such a word that he spoke at such a moment of great national or international tension, he can in all justice respond in the very same way that Frank responded to his accusers at Nuremberg on 18 April 1946:

One has to take the diary as a whole. You can not go through 43 volumes and pick out single sentences and separate them from their context. I would like to say here that I do not want to argue or quibble about individual phrases. It was a wild and stormy period filled with terrible passions, and when a whole country is on fire and a life and death struggle is going on, such words may easily be used... Some of the words are terrible. I myself must admit that I was shocked at many of the words which I had used. (TMWC, XII, p. 20)

Hans Frank's sincerity cannot be doubted by anyone, I think. He at first pleaded "not guilty." Then, he suddenly began to believe in the worst inventions of Allied war propaganda about the gas chambers and the rest. He was utterly crushed by it. He accused himself of blindness. He thought that Hitler had shamefully deceived him. He sank into Judeo-Christian repentance. During the war, on the basis of rumors of atrocities at Belzec, he had immediately visited that camp. He had met General Globocnik (spelled "Globocznik," TMWC, Vol. XII, p. 18) and he had simply seen some Jews from the Reich and France digging an immense ditch as a protective enclosure; he spoke to some of them and his investigation ended there. At the trial, defense counsel Alfred Seidl ended by asking him, on 18 April 1946: "Did you ever participate in the annihilation of Jews?" Here is Hans Frank's reply. It is pathetic since it shows the man's good faith and the infamous character of the propaganda that had led him to make such a self-accusation:

I say "yes," and the reason why I say "yes" is because, having lived through the 5 months of this trial, and particularly after having heard the testimony of the witness Höss [three days before] my conscience does not allow me to throw the responsibility solely on these minor people... A thousand years will pass and still this guilt of Germany will not have been erased. (TMWC, Vol. XII, p. 13)

So it was that Frank was duped by the false testimony of Höss, one of the former commandants of Auschwitz, who had signed his written deposition (document NO-1210 of 14 March 1946; he later signed another deposition, document PS-3868 of 5 April 1946 — on which he was interrogated at the IMT) without even knowing what it contained, since he had been beaten so much by his British guards. (Rudolf Höss, Kommandant in Auschwitz [Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1958], p. 145.)

David Irving is Not Certain

On p. 52 of his presentation, David Irving reminds us that even in his private conversations, taken down by a stenographer, Hitler had expressed opinions about the Jews that prove he was completely unaware of a program for exterminating the Jews. And Irving said that those opinions were expressed in the presence of people like Martin Bormann, Reinhard Heydrich, or Heinrich Himmler, who themselves "certainly" knew that there was such a program and such an extermination going on. Irving said:

... he's [Hitler is] saying this to the people who are actually doing the dirty deed. Or who certainly know it's going on.

Here I would like to take the liberty of making an observation. When David Irving says "certainly," that is when he is least certain. This kind of adverb is often used to give weight to what one is not certain of being able to demonstrate. According to Hans Frank and the other defen-

dants at the Nuremberg trial, Hitler was playing a double game. According to David Irving, it was Hitler's entourage that was playing the double game. In reality, the double game never existed. Neither Hitler nor the others were concealing a terrible secret: the one about the program for the extermination of the Jews. That program quite simply did not exist.

How Does David Irving Know That Gypsies Were Exterminated?

On p. 56, Irving presents the physical liquidation of the Gypsies as an established fact. I do not know — he doesn't tell us — what evidence he has for that. Some Gypsies certainly were put into concentration camps, but there were still some troupes of Gypsies giving theatrical and circus performances in Germany even up to the very end. And above all I do not have the impression that the Gypsies are a race that has disappeared from continental Europe, or that by the end of the war they were a race on the way to extinction.

A Mistake About Majdanek

On p. 718 of his *Hitler's War*, David Irving talks about "Majdanek near Treblinka". As a matter of fact, as the crow flies there is a distance of about 110 miles (180 kilometers) between Majdanek, which is located in the vicinity of Lublin, and Treblinka, which is located east of Warsaw. I mentioned Majdanek as one of the six places where exterminationists still persist in saying that there were gas chambers, although Martin Broszat of the Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte does not mention that camp in his famous letter published by *Die Zeit* on 19 August 1960, and Gerald Reitlinger does not at all seem to believe in the existence of gas chambers in the camp where, he writes, "Es war keine Todesfabrik in der Art von Auschwitz." ("There was no death factory of the kind at Auschwitz." Reitlinger, *Die Endloesung* [Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 4th ed. 1961], p. 332).

Could David Irving Find Those Plans?

On p. 49, Irving makes a remark in passing about Posen (Poznan). He says:

Poznan was the area where several of the major concentration camps which were involved were located.

If he means to say "involved in the extermination," he is in error. The official historians have gradually reduced to five or six the number of so-called extermination camps: Auschwitz (which is in the extreme south of Poland), then Treblinka, Sobibor, Majdanek, and Belzec (all located to the east toward the Russian border), and finally, the closest, Chelmno-on-the-Ner, located about 80 miles to the east of Poznan in the Konin district. The legend claims the presence at Chelmno of some "Stationierte Gaswagen," that is, some "gas-wagons [or-vans] parked there — some immaterial and magic vans whose appearance the legend's scribes take great care not to show us, except through some children's drawings. I would be very grateful to an excellent investigator like Irving if he could find me a construction plan for one of those gas vans and, at the same time, a plan for Treblinka, a plan for Sobibor, and a plan for Belzec; I do mean a plan — not some kind of "reconstruction from memory by a prosecution witness" in which, quite innocently, so as to make us believe in the existence of homicidal gas chambers in those camps, the designer has drawn in a small rectangle just as innocently labeled "gas chamber[s]." The general public is unaware that people have brought baseless suits against German staff personnel from those camps by making do with imaginary presentations of the locations of the crimes. Some "historians" like Gitta Sereny-Honeyman and Adalbert Rueckerl have had the nerve to publish works

about those camps either without showing us any plan, or showing us plans “reconstructed according to the memory of a witness” for the prosecution. Germaine Tillon has done better than that for Ravensbrueck. She provides a plan but discreetly refrains from mentioning to us the location of the homicidal gas chamber. Those gas chambers are certainly magic.

The grand prize goes to the camp at Treblinka. In 1945-46, at the main Nuremberg trial, the official truth was held to be that the camp had had some “steam filled chambers,” thirteen in number. With these, the Treblinka Jews were exterminated by means of water vapor. (See Document PS-3311, Charge No. 6 against Hans Frank, Governor General of Poland, TMWC, Vol. XXXII, pp. 154-58.) At a postwar time that I have not yet been able to determine, those steam chambers were (magically?) transformed into, and have officially remained, gas chambers.

It is Time for David Irving to Begin at the Beginning

Most certainly, every historian — precisely as every person — has the right to change his views, to discard or modify in any way or enlarge upon them. The exercise of this right, which in some persons faced with some situations may also be called a duty, is in fact the foundation-stone of our revisionist history. David Irving has his right; it is up to him alone to determine whether he has also a duty — to his many readers who recognize in him a master historian of World War II with a generally superb command of its sources, and who expect from him precisely what he has stated he is after: the “total truth”; to his peers in historiography — some supportive, some indignant, some just perplexed — who must, as they go about their own tasks, know exactly what they are confronting in him, so that they can compare it with their own lines of inquiry and conclusions, all toward the end of illuminating the problem; ultimately to the world and to history at large.

I will now present a final sentence from David Irving’s presentation. On p. 51, after quoting the person who wrote to Eichmann on 16 July 1941, along with a comment from Hans Frank, he addresses himself to the revisionist historians. Using a word that I find very appropriate, he calls them the “dissident” historians. He says:

... it’s sufficient to make me suspect that there was some kind of major crime going on at the initiative of the local criminals on the spot. This, I think, is the line that dissident historians should take.

Here is my response to David Irving:

“You are right to be suspicious. In historical investigation, suspicion is the beginning of wisdom. But what you consider to be in some sense a finish line, a line which must be maintained in order to continue the inquiry, I consider to be the starting line. Start with that suspicion if you wish, but do not stop there. Let that suspicion be a stimulus for an investigator like you. Do not hesitate to question it when you need to. You yourself frankly say that you ‘haven’t investigated that particular aspect of history.’ You even say that you ‘haven’t got into that.’ Let someone like me, who has gotten into that subject for many long years and who has conducted some investigations which few others have conducted, investigations as materialist in character as possible, let me tell you that the moment has come for a historian of your importance to get into the subject and to study it for yourself in your own fashion.”

David Irving Should Expand His \$1,000 Offer

I have some other things to say to David Irving:

“I congratulate you for the vigorous terms that you have used in opposing those who persecute free research. In this area I have, unfortunately, a certain advantage over you. If there is one lesson that I have drawn from my experiences in the struggle against that intolerance, it is that one must be inflexible. One must never fear to stand up for what one believes to be true, for the results to which his researches have inexorably pointed, in the face of such an enemy. One must provoke him, flush him out of hiding, and force him into battle. You already have easily provoked him by saying in public that you were ready to offer \$1,000 if someone could bring you wartime documentary proof, for example, that Hitler knew something about a program for the extermination of the Jews. I say this to you: EXPAND YOUR \$1,000 OFFER. Expand it beyond Hitler. Expand it to cover the other members of the Nazi hierarchy and administration, as high or as low as you want to go: Himmler, Göring, Goebbels, Bormann, Ribbentrop, Rosenberg, Frank, Heydrich, Kaltenbrunner, Eichmann, Heinrich Mueller, Richard Gluecks, and so on. Do this, and do not fear: You will not lose your \$1,000.

Raul Hilberg Himself Could Show the Way to David Irving

“For a long time, Raul Hilberg, a sort of scholarly 'Pope' among the exterminationists, the only one for whom I have any sort of intellectual respect (what value is there to sad specimens like Eugen Kogon or Simon Wiesenthal, Adalbert Rueckerl or Martin Gray, Martin Broszat or Filip Mueller, Georges Wellers or Leon Poliakov?) has gone much further than you have. His confusion is not that of a pitiful cheat caught red-handed, a la Poliakov. His confusion resembles that of a man who has done an enormous amount of work throughout much of his adult life, only to discover in the final analysis that he had failed to see at the start what a child is capable of seeing: before launching oneself into the realms of theories about events, one must take care to establish the physical realities of the events. What, concretely, took place? That is the first question which the historian must do his utmost to answer. Unless he answers that, as definitively as can possibly be done, then a house of cards — or, to use a term that should be familiar to students of the exterminationist Gerald Reitlinger, a 'house built on sand' — will result. The truth is not easy to find, to be sure, but the truth about actual, physical events is already something more limited, more precise, more accessible. And then, if many people still do not know what the truth is, they might at least know what a lie is. To try to flush the lie out of hiding helps the truth about the events to appear. Raul Hilberg has realized late in life that he did not begin at the beginning and that he was all along too cerebral, too theoretical — and not enough the materialist. I advise you, David Irving, to read the long interview that Hilberg gave to Guy Sitbon, permanent correspondent in the United States for *Le Nouvel Observateur*, published in that paper's issue of 3-9 July 1982 (pp. 70-73, 75, 76). But perhaps it would be easier for you to read the article by George DeWan that appeared in the Long Island, New York, newspaper *Newsday* on 23 February 1983 (p. II-3) under the title 'The Holocaust in Perspective.' Here is a sampling of what Hilberg said about what he calls 'the destruction of the European Jews':

But what began in 1941 was a process of destruction not planned in advance, not organized centrally by any agency. There was no blueprint and there was no budget for destructive measures. They were taken step by step, one step at a time. Thus came about not so much a plan being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind-reading by a far-flung bureaucracy.

One of the Revisionist Conference participants, Dr. Robert John, was present at the presentation given by Hilberg in Lincoln Center's Avery Fisher Hall, on which the *Newsday* article was reporting. He confirmed to me that those statements were in fact made by Hilberg, and that he was surprised by them. For my part, those statements come as no surprise. Hilberg knows very well that if tomorrow you, David Irving, would study the cases of Himmler, Heydrich, Bormann,

Frank, Globocnik, and so on, right on down to the case of First Sergeant Otto Moll (gardener in civilian life) who was in charge of the crematories at Birkenau, you would reach the same conclusions as you did about Hitler. Furthermore, Hilberg, restricted by the requirements of a thesis that he has maintained for more than twenty years and now in despair about his case and his cause, is obliged to look for an explanation of a magical kind: the inter-bureaucratic transmission ('mind-reading') of thought. ('Mind-reading.' This is exquisite. And could Hilberg not have paused to consider the associative consequences when, along with this term in the quote given above, he used the word 'incredible'?) You, however, are freer than that. Your hypothesis — which you presented at the Revisionist Conference — has some similarities in form to Hilberg's. But Hilberg has already carried out all of the investigations that you could propose now to make. And we see the result of it: a quasi-metaphysical explanation of the alleged physical extermination of the Jews.”

An Outside-inside Report on The 1983 International Revisionist Conference

by Elisabeth Kuesters

Nazism is dead, and good riddance, with its Führer. What remains today is the truth. Let us dare to proclaim it. The nonexistence of the gas chambers is good news for poor mankind — good news which one would be wrong to suppress any longer.

Robert Faurisson

For the fifth time since 1979, the Institute for Historical Review held a conference to present and discuss papers on various aspects of twentieth century history — the Holocaust, Hitler's military strategy and war aims, the Nuremberg tribunals, Britain and the partition of Palestine, Zionist political influence, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and, as a background motif, the various legal problems caused by the publication of their heterodox views on all these subjects and more. In 1979 about 75 people attended the first IHR convention; this year it was up to 150, and I too was in attendance. I had never been to a "revisionist" confab before, and one might well wonder what I was doing there, but this can be explained. First, as a historian I was intrigued by the sheer gall of the most controversial revisionist hypothesis: that the Third Reich had pursued no mass physical extermination policy against the Jews (i.e., there had been few or no gassings in "death" camps). Second, as a collector of prime conspiracy theories, I knew as soon as I heard about this aspect of World War II revisionism that it took the cake and ate it too. Third, as a student, like everyone, of a human nature that grows increasingly slippery, I was drawn to comprehend the logic involved, a logic I felt sure must boil down to the self-serving neoNazi reasoning: "Hitler would never have done such thing — but he should have!" or "The Holocaust never happened — let's have a holocaust!"

Fourth, as a journalist I had a story to get. Who were these people and why were they saying these outrageous things? Fifth, finally and most disturbingly, as a postwar citizen I became more and more shocked, the deeper I delved into the questions thrown out by revisionist partisans, by how little I really knew about the era that commands such blind, heated emotional allegiance from us all.

Thus it was that I commuted from Hollywood to Anaheim daily in order to see for myself what was going on here.

Everything in the vicinity of Disneyland has a fantasy theme; I was expecting no less of this conference being held in the hotel directly across from "The Happiest Place in the World." For that matter the whole of Orange County is notorious for its proliferation of fantastic sects, cults and holy warriors, its tax rebels and its survivalists, its bloody born-again bizzaros and its Immortalists, its Armenian terrorists and its Chicano burguesia, its UFO contactees and its private space academies. Orange is heresy's home county; no surprise to find the Institute meeting here.

As I entered the conference room, late, a middle-aged gentleman was reading a historical paper on the 1945 British Military Tribunal trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch for supplying Zyklon B to the SS administration of the concentration camps. Zyklon B, in the form of prussic acid crystals, was used as an insecticide in the U.S. in the '20s and by the German army from 1924 until the advent of DDT in 1944. It is also the agent claimed to be the gas used in specially-constructed chambers adjoining crematoria in camps such as Auschwitz, where up to 2,000 people at a time, day and night, were herded together to die — according to “eyewitnesses.”

Many revisionists have devoted themselves to picking apart these “eyewitness” testimonies, and this provides some background to Dr. William B. Lindsey’s remarks about the Tesch trial. Arthur Butz in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976), and Paul Rassinier in *Le Passage de la Ligne* (1949), *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* (1950), *Le Drame des Juifs Europeens* (1964), *Ulysse Trahi par les Siens* (1961), and *Le veritable proces Eichmann* (1962) — the first three translated and collated into *Debunking the Genocide Myth* (1978), the last one translated as *The Real Eichmann Trial* (1979) — have pointed out not only contradictions tending to weaken or invalidate the testimonies, but on broader grounds have questioned whether Zyklon B could have been used to gas people at all. Most complete on the latter angle is Robert Faurisson in various articles published in 1980-82 in *The Journal of Historical Review*. Revisionists think that Zyklon B’s use against typhus-bearing lice in the camps was the genesis of the rumor, later to become mass hysteria, that it was actually for killing people. The symbolism of shaving heads to get rid of lice-infested hair only heightened the prisoners’ — and the postwar writers’ — sense of doom. The clothes hangers in the 10-cubic-meter fumigation chambers for clothing and bedding were transmogrified into “meathooks,” and so forth.

Zyklon B released cyanide gas on contact with water vapor (or air) and was very persistent — that is, it would condense on the walls of the fumigation chambers unless the internal temperature of these was kept quite high, and 24 hours was required for safe ventilation. Yet many sworn accounts portray the SS or prisoner Sonderkommandos entering gas chambers without masks to extract bodies a mere half to one hour after all victims were certifiably dead. Zyklon B was also flammable and could not be used near open flame. Furthermore, any chamber that could hold a few hundred people, much less the 1,000-2,000 often claimed, would have had to be immense, constructed of steel, and airtight — or else the killers would have killed themselves as well. The ramshackle wooden “bunkers” at Auschwitz-Birkenau could not have done the job, and the much-photographed gas chamber at Dachau, toured by U.S. Congressmen and Nuremberg prosecutors, was actually installed by the Americans for propaganda purposes after the camp’s liberation. It is now agreed from Tel Aviv to Washington and even Moscow that there were no death camps or gas chambers in Germany proper. But this did not prevent witnesses from coming forth to testify that there were. Paul Rassinier remarked “that a whole is composed of details, and that an error of detail, whether made in good or bad faith ... must logically make the observer doubt the reliability of the whole; and if there are many errors in detail ...?”

This entire “undertaking” to refute the dead seems macabre, and I can’t do more than touch on a few of the objections here; one can imagine the overall effect. What of these dead, the mute six million — or is it six million? The living all disagree on the numbers involved; it is a matter of conjecture and not of record. Even Holocaust proponents (those who uphold the standard Holocaust story) have offered differing figures, ranging from one million to eleven million. Revisionists agree on one thing: if one begins with the Jewish population of Western and Eastern Europe before the war, and then subtracts survivors, emigres, refugees, and those left unmolested, the remainder is not six million. Of the remainder (dead) they do admit, revisionists estimate that the majority died of typhus and other diseases, from “executions” due to subversive activities, from Allied bombings, and in the horrific chaos of the German collapse.

Arthur Butz is an associate professor of electrical engineering and computer sciences at Northwestern University, and Paul Rassinier was a French geographer and socialist interned by the Nazis at Buchenwald and Dora from 1943 to 1945, who upon returning home made it his mission to expose what he called “resistantialisme”: the extravagantly exaggerated and vengeful stories of deportees — and collaborators as well — about what they had suffered and done in the name of *La Liberation*. For instance, rumor in the camps had it that if you were “selected” for a “transport” to another area, this was code for “going to be gassed.” But Rassinier wrote that he met men after the war who had been “selected” and had in fact been transported to other camps, where their labor was more needed or their illnesses could be treated. Rassinier also contributed his own working model of the concentration camps: the *Haftlingsführung*, composed largely of German communist prisoners (some inherited from Weimar Republic jails), essentially ran the camps with little SS supervision. Without these “trusties,” Rassinier contended, the camps would have been ungovernable. They made sure their own comrades were well fed and taken care of; “the miserable mass of the prisoners” made do with whatever was left over. Hundreds of sick inmates died in the typhus blocks because the *Haftlingsführung* was so eager to preserve a “precious nucleus” of politically correct individuals to inherit the postwar order. More on Butz, Rassinier, “false witness” and lethal gases below.

Dr. William B. Lindsey was basically following the objections raised by these two revisionist authors in his defense of Tesch. It is difficult to take notes on such readings; for the exact texts of exactly who said what, one must look up the issues of *The Journal of Historical Review* where the papers are published. In addition, I was scanning the room through the cigar smoke to see just who was on the scene. A preponderance of older white males, a handful of old Germans, some Canadians, not many women, some very WASP-type younger people. The crowd greeted mention of some of the wider discrepancies between the Nuremberg testimony and their own beliefs with low laughter, but there was an awkwardness in the air — typical, I thought, of reserved middle-class WASPs. Later the atmosphere grew more convivial but at first I spoke to no one, feeling awkward myself, lacking the killer instinct of the true Total Journalist — and also a bit scared off the scent by what the conference organizer told me. “We don’t want the press in here,” J. Marcellus said. “They might harass our speakers and then just write some dumb sensational piece calling us a bunch of Nazis. We’ve got no use for that.” I promised not to start a riot (but Nazi is as Nazi does, and Nazism is in the eye of the beholder, so I made no promises on that score). To avoid riotousness, I simply shut up.

A considerable amount of reading, re-reading, historical re orientation, suspension of disbelief and sheer heretical elan is called for in writing about this stuff. I’ve already summarized in a rudimentary way two of the underlying revisionist themes Lindsey touched on — the “physical and chemical impossibility” of gas chambers using Zyklon B, and Rassinier’s insight into how the indisputable horror of *l’enfer organise* (the organized hell) of the camps was actually administered. A third theme which may help break the mass down into more manageable quanta is the contention that the Nuremberg trials were rigged and riddled with illegal procedures. Butz’s book attempts at length and in detail to prove irregularities, from the treatment (including torture) of defendants, to the determination and admission of evidence, to the selection of witnesses, prosecutors and defense attorneys, to the overall political object of the trials: the crushing of Germany as a nation among nations, and of National Socialism as a political philosophy among political philosophies. He investigates the backgrounds of War Crimes Branch figures such as David Marcus and Robert M.W. Kempner and concludes that the various tribunals were mere kangaroo courts run on a predetermined verdict: the Third Reich was guilty period, of mass crimes against humanity. Any defendant who wished to mitigate his own sentence had to testify to the existence of these intentional crimes; those who didn’t were simply hung out to dry. Before his suicide

Göring told an American interrogator: “I doubt if it was six million, but as I’ve always said, it is sufficient if only five percent of it is true ...”

Naturally the judgments rendered at Nuremberg have to be impugned, I thought, if the Germans are to be “rehabilitated”; how else could the special horror we reserve for them be undermined? After all, our entire postwar consensus on Good and Evil is based upon the evidence presented at these trials. If the judgments hold up, so must our horror. And if I found myself listening carefully to the revisionists, it was not so much doubt as my own ignorance that made me hold my breath.

A mobile mike was produced to catch questions from the floor, between speakers. After Lindsey’s speech the dean of French revisionists, Robert Faurisson, who was due to deliver his own talk the next day, noted that the only ones who could have defended Tesch at Nuremberg were people in the metal products industry who knew the properties of Zyklon B, and none of them was called to the stand. Faurisson gave an example of testimony that was allowed due to the vindictive anti-German atmosphere. A witness who’d sworn to “17 tons of gold” extracted from camp inmates’ teeth, when questioned on this surprising figure, retorted: “When it is done by German science, I am never surprised!”

OK, so far: thought-provoking. A couple of times, though, “people of a certain persuasion” were mentioned, causing a light rippling chuckle. In-jokes, I thought: easy means of making people feel camaraderie, of creating a bond among them. (Like on the Left, where my first act of integration with the sect I came briefly to call home was to start laughing at its crude caricatures of rival sects.) Not being Jewish, I didn’t feel cut to the quick by them, but I noted them, and weighed them. I wondered how many others in the room were wary of snide anti-Semitic asides. “None dare call it Aryan” ran through my mind, and although I eventually found that most of the crowd could not be bothered about such ephemera as “Aryan” or “Semitic,” these ephemera nonetheless have some substance, and due care must be exercised. On the other hand, Roald Dahl criticized the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in a recent interview, and now his TV programs have been banned from Israeli television as “anti-Semitic.” So “due care” need not mean “Lie down and play dead every time someone decides to call you names.”

Actually the background to the snide asides is concrete as well as metaphysical: the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B’nai B’rith has put the word out on the Institute, and the Jewish Defense League has made life physically unpleasant for more than one revisionist. Considerable secrecy was maintained about the conference site lest the JDL decide to send a commando squad to raid it. So behind the scenes there rages a small guerrilla war whose skirmishes — thus far — have been petty and rather absurd. [\[See note\]](#) In fact I myself was put on the spot at one point because the doorwatcher didn’t catch sight of my badge as I exited — off to call in the commandos, no doubt. Uncool of him, but not entirely off the mark; to any True Believer I might well qualify as a Mole or a Stooge.

The next speaker was historian Dr. Robert John, co-author of *The Palestine Diary* (for which Arnold Toynbee wrote the foreword). His topic was how the Balfour Declaration of 1917 came about, whereby Britain pledged to partition Palestine between Arabs and Zionists. The first international congress of Zionism, called by Theodore Herzl in 1897, dedicated itself to “strengthening Jewish national sentiment and consciousness” against the trend toward assimilation. Herzl was willing to negotiate with any power — Papacy, Sultanate, British Crown, Kaiser, Czar — to gain a Jewish homeland. The Jews would win Palestine, he felt, “not from goodwill, but from the jealousy of the powers.” (Emphasis mine — and Robert John’s.) American Zionist financiers, by backing various loans, had got the Germans to promise them Palestine; with the Balfour Declara-

tion they shifted their support to the British — a maneuver Hitler exploited as a *Dolchstoss*, “stab in the back.”

John’s discussion, I thought raised a point fatal to any conspiracy theory of “world Jewish domination”: if Jews really wanted to run the world, why should they agitate for a homeland? This contradiction is so obvious it inspired the young Surrealist Robert Desnos to the rather comic extreme of his Pamphlet contre Jerusalem (1925): “Judas’s 30 pieces of silver were not given in vain. You have saved them to buy back those rare things worthy of salvation. Don’t waste them in reclaiming sentimental real estate ... It is necessary that the Israelites remain in exile ... as long as this Latin, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, German spirit is not crushed, this most terrible menace to the Spirit.”

At any rate, what John argued was that Zionists used World War I as they would later (most successfully) use World War II: as a situation or diversion out of which to obtain Palestine over Arab objections. On the second try, the Holocaust both fact and fiction became the “founding myth” of Israel, the old dream of Zion, at once proving the necessity of a Jewish state, silencing any opposition to the dispossession of the Palestinians, and assuring the new state a treasury-full of reparations payments from Germany. John closed his speech with a denunciation of the modern world order, an order which ordains that “\$625 for every Israeli man, woman and child will be transferred from American taxpayers during 1983 alone” in what he called “the game of Israel.” That does seem rather a lot of money but I can’t see going to war over it. However dubiously Israel may have been established (see Alfred Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection*), the Jews of Europe did, after all, need somewhere to go once it had been so spectacularly demonstrated that their fellow Europeans cared very little about their fate. (E.g., during the war the Reich Foreign Office discovered it had “requisitioned” too many Romanian Jews for forced labor, and asked their government if it wanted them sent back. “Oh no, don’t bother!” the Romanians blithely replied.)

Next, Friedrich P. (Fritz) Berg, according to his introducer “another scientist who has something to tell the historians,” spoke on “Diesels, Gas Vans, and Zyklon B.” Berg, who has a strong New Jersey accent, petitioned the National Broadcasting Corporation for equal time after the “Holocaust” television mini-series was broadcast, and lost. His angle of attack on the “crackpot, hare-brained contraptions” which “for forty years” have rested unchallenged in the popular horror pantheon as “Nazi Gas Chambers” differed somewhat from that of Butz and others, in that Berg addressed the charge that the *Einsatzgruppen* (roving SS mop-up units behind the lines of the eastern front), as well as the first tentative gassings at the regular death camps, used diesel exhaust fumes for mass murder. One of the major witnesses to diesel gassing was Kurt Gerstein, an SS officer who committed suicide while in Allied custody after the war. (His body was never produced, but his statement, in six different versions and three different languages, was.)

Berg used visual aids drawn from his automotive engineering and environmental-analysis background to make several points. Gerstein had spoken of wooden doors, windows, a period of one half hour (which he timed) for the fumes to induce death, and corpses that had turned blue. American studies of carbon monoxide (CO) accumulation in auto tunnels yield a number of base statistics. An accumulation of 0.06% CO will produce no more than a headache in the course of several hours, but an accumulation of 0.35% is sufficient to cause death in just under an hour. Following “Henderson’s Rule” that for any given toxic effect, if you halve the time you must double the dose, death in half an hour would require a concentration of about 0.7% CO.

Diesel engines run clean compared to gasoline engines, making the former, in Berg’s words, “an inherently ludicrous choice.” Idling, diesels cannot produce enough CO to cause a headache in the

time described by the Gerstein and other statements, even supposing the structures described were perfectly sealed; at “peak load,” as in a heavy vehicle straining uphill, one type of diesel engine available in the '40s could have produced sufficient CO — just before the strain burnt it out. Perhaps other gases present in diesel exhaust were lethal — hydrocarbons, aldehydes, carbon dioxide itself? Not possible, said Berg, although they are responsible for the smell which makes diesel exhaust seem dangerous. Perhaps the lack of oxygen? Oxygen is also present in diesel exhaust. What could have killed them? Not CO, either: victims of CO poisoning turn “cherry red,” not blue, according to Berg.

Why, he went on, did witnesses speak of diesel fumes when a far likelier candidate for “extermination vans” already existed close at hand: “producer gas vehicles,” 3,000 of which were in use in Germany prior to WWII? By 1941 150,000 of these “gas wagons,” propelled by solid fuel (such as wood chips or coal) consumed in a rear burner and sucked as a gas into the forward engine, were in service throughout German-occupied territory. (General Motors was a major manufacturer of these.) For the autarkic and oil “gassings” in ordinary military trucks? Why haven’t the gas wagons, the producer gas vehicles — so lethal, in contrast to both regular vehicles and diesels — been implicated in a single Holocaust horror story? Why did Eichmann, the SS transport specialist, or Himmler and other SS commanders itching to implement the Final Solution, not hit upon using these very effective gassing machines?

Another anomaly, Berg continued, is this: Why did the Reich use scarce rail transport to ship its victims from Bucharest, Posen (Poznan) and Budapest, for example, all the way to Auschwitz for gassing, when near Bucharest, Posen and Budapest there already stood enormous fumigation buildings, huge versions of the clothing-decontamination units in use at all the camps and military installations? These buildings could fumigate entire trains that had passed through typhus-infested regions; better candidates for gas chambers would be hard to imagine.

A final anomaly noted by Berg: The shower bath at Dachau, now agreed to have been inoperative for gassing, was eventually “supposed” to be used for that purpose had not the end of the war prematurely intervened. Yet it could easily have been converted into a gas chamber all along by being hooked up with the adjacent clothes-fumigation chamber. The same holds true for the rest of the admitted non-death camps (i.e., the camps in Germany itself). Why was this not done?

It seemed to me initially that Berg had made a breach in the anti-Zyklon B argument here. Was he saying that there could have been gas chambers, but there just ... weren’t? Contacted afterward, he replied that the SS certainly knew exactly how to use Zyklon B since they had their own school for pesticide experts. And by speeding up the evaporation of cyanide from the granules with a superior ventilation system, the SS might indeed have been able to devise a safe and fool-proof method for killing with it. “The problem is, if you used Zyklon B in the ways alleged, it wouldn’t have worked. The descriptions in the Holocaust legend are completely different — and fantastic. Maybe someone will come along and change them now, but after 40 years changing the story won’t be too believable. You wonder,” he laughed, “how all those people like Elie Wiesel and Simon Wiesenthal survived all their years in the camps with the SS trying to kill them off every day! The only explanation is that no one was trying to kill them.” And: “the official descriptions are off because the witnesses did not really see these things. They heard about them from others, who heard about them from others ...”

The master of ceremonies next introduced British historian David Irving by reading from a “Special Backgrounder” on him issued by the ADL to its regional offices. God knows how the IHR got hold of it. The ADL terms Irving “a leading neo-Nazi” due shortly in the States, and instructs: “Should he surface in your region, please notify the fact-finding department and your civil rights

coordinator.” My own awareness of Irving was not in his capacity as alleged leading neo-Nazi but as a pretty well-known and well-received historian, author of *The Destruction of Dresden*, *Hitler’s War*; the recent *Uprising!* (on Hungary 1956), *The Secret Diaries of Hitler’s Doctor*, and an upcoming biography of Winston Churchill. Eliot Fremont-Smith, book reviewer for the *Village Voice*, has gone quite soft on Irving lately. I was unaware that the *Voice* had any neo-Nazi leanings.

Looking back on it, I must admit that David Irving’s speech appealed directly to the Romantic Historian in me. “My ambition is to write the total truth,” he announced — rather splendidly, I felt. He is a man of passion and of scorn, a tall, exceedingly florid man with a dramatic and eloquent delivery. Sort of the two-fisted intellectual, thriving on controversy and fond of making public splashes — most recently during the Hitler Diaries farce in Spring 1983. Evidently he’d bought some fake Hitleriana from the same source as *Der Stern* had, and having determined his were ersatz — “In this business fakes are thrust at one from every side!” — he was one of the first historians to dismiss the “diaries.” His new book on Churchill, written in light of what we now know about ULTRA, ENIGMA, and the Allies’ clandestine “war of deception” — and also in light of what Irving found in Churchill’s desk appointment book, which he “rented” for 5,000 pounds from the thief trying to sell it to him — should prove to be eye-opening. “No surprise to us, but a surprise to the world at large, ladies and gentlemen.”

Irving “rambled” in an energetic, thoroughly methodical manner. He clearly was displeased — though at the same time somewhat amused — to be a bugbear of the ADL. “Addressing you today, ladies and gentlemen, brings me one step closer to a boycott by Madison Avenue,” he said somberly. Although he is published by Macmillan and Doubleday, his latest book, *Uprising!*, was dropped by Putnams, apparently because of its central treatment of anti-Semitism. That is, Irving had determined that what happened in 1956 bore all the features of a pogrom: “The Hungarians are an anti-Jewish race compared to whom the Nazis were as pure as the driven snow.” The four top commissars and much of the secret police and officer corps instated by Moscow after World War II had been communists and hence were trusted by the Soviets. The commissars were all Jewish — a fact mentioned bitterly by many of the escaped revolutionaries when debriefed by CIA interrogators and psychiatrists after the revolt. (Irving’s research corroborated those findings.) By 1956 one quarter of the Hungarian population had been jailed at one time or other; people lived in a state of hopeless desperation. If your father had followed the wrong profession, a mark on your dossier ensured that you got nowhere in the professions, the universities, or politics. Deep in the bowels of Budapest there was, people believed, a “meatmincing machine” for the corpses of enemies of the State — an example of how “even the most absurd stories” seem credible to the oppressed, observed Irving. (Also a characteristic horror-fantasy Christians recurrently have about the Jews, and vice-versa.) However, there are those who deem anti-Semitic even a discussion of events traceable to anti-Semitism — Putnams, for instance.

I must leave out lots of interesting stuff about how research from primary sources is done (“Go for the handwritten documents the other historians avoid” was one bit of advice) in order to convey the chief convergence and chief divergence Irving’s oeuvre has with Holocaust revisionism. His military history, *Hitler’s War*; researched for 15 years, concludes that Hitler did not know about or sanction any mass extermination program. No orders, approvals, plans or blueprints for implementation exist to link him with a Final Solution of extermination. There are references to *Ausrottung der Juden und dieses Volk umzubringen* (destroying these people) in a speech Himmler is said to have given at Posen in 1943, the text of which was found in Alfred Rosenberg’s files, but that’s about it. On the other hand, the Reich euthanasia policy was initiated on written orders from Hitler. (It was terminated after concerted protests by German clergymen.) Could the extermination order have been a verbal understanding of the kind Kitchener is said to have em-

ployed against Boer prisoners in South Africa? If so, the chain of command must have been breached many times, if the Nuremberg defendants are to be believed; it is difficult to imagine how such a gigantic plan systematically to eliminate millions could have been implemented on so informal a basis.

Nonetheless, Irving admits that Hitler had “uncorked the bottle” and was hard put to recapture the “genie” he’d let loose. Kristallnacht 1938 was such a case: a German secretary at the embassy had fallen to a Jewish assassin in Paris and Goebbels gave a rabble-rousing speech that touched off “the night of broken glass.” He hoped thereby to be restored to the Führer’s good graces, as he was in disfavor owing to a certain scandalous amour. To Goebbels’ horror, the plan backfired, and he had to stay up all night calling off the “outrage” after Hitler was informed of it.

It is obvious that David Irving is impressed with the man whose career he studied for so many years. He considers Hitler “a rather weak boss” but an excellent military mind who “repeatedly outwitted Churchill.” At one point he referred to Hitler as “intellectually honest” and at another as “the Jews’ greatest friend in Germany.” My instincts were to deride those remarks, but by this time I felt I could no longer trust my instincts: they weren’t well enough informed.

Insofar as Hitler’s non-authorization of a Holocaust is maintained, Irving’s view coincides with that of revisionism. But Irving finds it quite possible, even probable, that certain “criminal elements” in the SS did take it upon themselves in various localities in the East to authorize the shooting and/or gassing of prisoners. He says he “can’t prove it” but has “a gut feeling,” grounded in the principle that where there’s smoke there’s fire. In other words, the wildfire wartime rumors codified into Established Historical Fact at Nuremberg could not have been concocted out of thin air but must have been based on isolated incidents of “undesirables” being “liquidated.”

Either the guilt lay with SS criminals, then, or else — perhaps also — it resulted from a breakdown in the ability of certain camps to support their deportee allotments; here Irving cites a memorandum from the General Government (the Nazi authority in occupied Poland) to Eichmann requesting some “fast-acting means” to finish off deportees “who will otherwise starve.” Yet extermination was never the intended goal of the deportations, Irving believes — e.g., the big project to remove Jews to Madagascar was dropped the moment the Eastern territories were seized in 1941, whereupon construction of resettlement and labor camps proceeded apace. Therefore one might conclude that the “banality of evil” was in truth more banality than evil, thus resolving Hannah Arendt’s celebrated but unenlightening oxymoron.

Evidently some members of the audience didn’t care to hear any concession whatever to the “Holocaust legend,” but David Irving received a standing ovation anyway. For the middle-aged rightists in attendance, “exposure” of the Holocaust may be primarily a new, more sophisticated structure from which to fly their old banner of American Betrayed. For the elderly Germans, there doubtless exists a still more immediate self-interest. For others, it represents the amplifying confirmation of a suspicion-laden sense of the universe, a universe where even the Sun is conspiring to ditch us eventually. For others, the opportunity to question the givens and the received ideas about this crucial, reverberating period offers a chance to overcome static, dead-end banalities like “the banality of evil.” It is far more stimulating to determine for oneself a coherent picture of what happened, to devise for oneself an explanation that better explains this “inexplicable” world war. As for me, someone asked if I were “convinced yet.” I answered that I had no intention of becoming “convinced” or of converting to some alternative version of events simply because my faith in the old one had been shaken — that what threw me most was how vulnerable

my dogmatic version had been to a few well-placed kicks; I planned for this reason to take a vacation from “conviction” for some time to come.

Not that there is one single, unitary “alternative version” available from the revisionists, in any case. Opponents of this heresy will be heartened to learn how riven with schisms the young upstart already is. For instance, Robert Faurisson opened his talk with a critical response to David Irving. “Dahveed Earveeng saze, Eatlair deent know wot appen at Auschwitz. I esk Dahveed Earveeng, whot appent at Auschwitz???,” he chided in a real “Com wit’ me to thee Casbah” French accent. Irving had already departed, but to say that this group is not averse to mutual criticism would be putting it mildly. One exception is the reverence Faurisson reserves for Arthur Butz. (Butz didn’t attend this year because “eleven years of Holohoax are too many for somebody who does not have the temperament of an historian.”) And they all revere Paul Rassinier, but (or because) he’s been dead since 1967.

Following are the highlights of Faurisson’s talk, which covered the two civil suits and one penal suit filed against him in France. Faurisson has always been “revisionist,” although until the abrupt admission in 1960 by Martin Broszat, the current director of the Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte, that there had been no death camps on German soil, he had confined his heterodoxy to reconsiderations of Rimbaud and Lautreamont. A bright-eyed, wiry, Celtic-looking man, he seems not to have been bowed by “The Faurisson Affair,” which has cost him thousands of francs in legal fees, his position in literature at the University of Lyon-2 (he retains the post but cannot teach), and at times his health.

Most Americans first heard of the Affair when a flap arose over Noam Chomsky having written the introduction to Faurisson’s *Memoire en Defense* (*Memory on the Defensive*) in 1978. Chomsky defended Faurisson against the charge of anti-Semitism and avowed that he was no worse than a freethinker hounded by zealots. People were shocked that a Jew could condone denial of what M. Hirsh Goldberg has called “one of the touchstones of modern Jewry,” the Holocaust. But Chomsky was not alone: soon rallying to Faurisson’s side were Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit (Danny the Red’s brother) and other Jewish leftists, as well as two Jewish members of France’s Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique. One of the latter testified that Faurisson was no Nazi, but rather part of “a revolution in historical research.” Journalist Gitta Sereny ruefully called them “young, eager, and even attractive acolytes.”

In the first suit, nine organizations banded together to accuse *Memoire en Defense* and *Verite historique ou Verite politique?* (coauthored by Serge Thion) of “racial defamation and incitement to racial hatred.” The plaintiffs sent three lawyers to Poland in quest of extermination proof, but they came back empty-handed, according to Faurisson. Eventually he was convicted of “personal injury” but not “falsification of history.” This epoch, instructed the court, was still “too sorrowful, too burning.” One must “wait for time to calm people’s minds.” Exclaimed Faurisson: “How long am I supposed to wait?”

The whole Faurisson Affair has been conducted in unique Parisian fashion. Paris is a richly incestuous milieu where resistants and collaborators, existentialists and Catholic humanists, Trotskyites and Stalinists all know, revile, and, often, ultimately forgive one another. Faurisson first convinced his own lawyer of the thesis that gas chambers never existed; the lawyer was then reproached by his friends on the prosecuting side: “How you have changed!” One prosecutor cried out in court, “Monsieur Faurisson, you haunt my nights!” Another burst into tears and had to be helped home by his wife when — upon appeal of his first conviction — Faurisson was found innocent of “lying,” “false research,” and generally being an impostor. “Faurisson is not a liar,” quoth the appeals court. “But he is, perhaps, a troublemaker.” The son of Simone Veil, president

of the European Parliament in addition to having been listed among those gassed at Birkenau, was one of the prosecuting attorneys; Faurisson came upon him one day at a cafe, head sunk in his hands, and proceeded to lecture the disconsolate young man on “historical truth.” And so on. Quaint personal touches foreign to those of us in anonymous mass societies.

The second civil suit was filed by Leon Poliakov, author of a number of standard Holocaust histories. Faurisson had claimed that Poliakov “manipulated” the Gerstein statement and the Auschwitz diaries of Dr. Johann Paul Kremer, making interpolations and changes in them which amounted to forgery. (Like almost all revisionist revelations, this doubt was first sown by Rassinier, nemesis of “the extermination mystique.”) Poliakov sued for libel “under heavy pressure from his friends,” we were told. His court strategy centered on proofs that Gerstein — who in death has become a sort of SS saint, a “spy for God” — really existed. This point Faurisson did not contend and considered moot, adding that “Gerstein’s grotesque revelations” were not in any case credited by those who heard them during the last years of the war.

The court found Poliakov’s interpolations and alterations “annoying but not serious,” and convicted Faurisson of libel. At this point the story of the various judgments and appeals began to confuse me. The Poliakov verdict was never published, although the plaintiff had the right to make Faurisson pay for this to be done; the appeals court on the penal suit, in which Faurisson was also convicted, let stand part of the conviction but eliminated the stipulation that he pay for prime-time TV and radio readings of the verdict (about \$600,000 worth). In April of 1982 Pierre Vidal Naquet and Poliakov formed a group called ASSAG to assemble all “verifiable data” on killings by gas — this, although they had testified that such evidence is already overwhelmingly available. Simone Veil, in further self-contradiction, announced that “no proof and no witness exist because the Germans suppressed them all.” She herself was deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau; was she, too, “suppressed”? “I don’t think they are going to sue me any more,” Faurisson concluded.

What could make a man give up his career and social position for an idea? Raw, naked anti-Semitism would seem insufficient cause. Vidal-Naquet has likened Faurisson’s stance to W. Arens’ denial, in *The Man-Eating Myth*, that human cannibalism ever existed; his implications are that one can become addicted to “revising,” that denial is one classic method of dealing with complex or troublesome historical problems, and that “the university prestige game” may be a factor. In Faurisson’s case the last factor, if it was a factor, would appear to have backfired. In an interview with *Liberation* (reported in *Harper’s*, December 1981), Faurisson himself explained that “While studying Greek and Latin, I was corrected thousands of times for mistakes in translation, which made an indelible impression on me. I told myself that we have eyes to see and ears to hear, but that we nonetheless keep getting things wrong.”

Here perhaps is some insight, at least, into what keeps such “crusaders” going. We have all noticed our remarkable human ability to see things we never saw and hear things we never heard, to fabricate “memories” of things we have been told of and never ourselves experienced. This phenomenon has been explored by Jacques Vallee in *Passport to Magonia* (a universal mythography of UFO sightings), Jan Harold Brunvald’s *The Vanishing Hitchhiker: American Urban Legends and Their Meaning*, and other studies. People don’t need to lie — they frequently can’t help but lie. At times it seems the mind is no “window onto the universe” but a mere self-serving illusion machine designed to keep us blissful in our ignorance. Courtrooms must go to great lengths to check and crosscheck sworn testimony; imagine how much more intense these metaphysical mirages become under wartime conditions.

In any event this is how Faurisson views the problem. If critical re-evaluation arrives at truths which incommode the prevailing views of established Truth, so be it; this cannot be helped and must be faced squarely if History as written by the victors (the “incorrigible” victors, as Rassinier called them) does not stand up to scrutiny after time has “calmed people’s minds” enough to permit such re-evaluation. He defends himself against the charge that his work “objectively lends itself to neo-Nazism” by declaring: “I take no responsibility for the political views of those who publish [my work].” To the extent that applying a corrective to the human capacity for self-deception is his motive, I don’t believe Faurisson’s revisionism is a noxious thing. Moreover, censorship in the hope that this heresy will “go away” only acts, and has already acted, to convince the heretics they’re onto something big — and perhaps to convince others of the same thing as well.

With that last observation, I will close with a few more comments about what makes revisionists tick. Some just tick along as they always have because they are associated with the [Liberty Lobby](#), a right-wing outfit whose boss, Willis Carto, publishes the weekly [Spotlight](#) and is the behind-the-scenes controlling voice at the Institute for Historical Review. Other revisionists are Libertarians politically and thus dislike the Far Right. Still others are unaffiliated ex-Marxists. Yet others are a- or anti-political. I gleaned this at lunch on the last day. Though it’s hard to eat and scoff at the same time, my table was manned with dining scoffers scratching each other’s surfaces to bare deep differences. Gary Allen, author of *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, sat to my left; to my right Dr. James J. Martin, venerated as a Libertarian historian (he prefers to call himself “an advanced Stirnerite with anarchist tendencies”) expounded his theories straight through to dessert. The [Liberty Lobby](#)’s Dr. Martin A. Larson discoursed on the “impending great catastrophe” of the money system. “But a rolling loan gathers no loss, does it?” quipped Allen.

Who are these people, I thought? Well, for the most part they seemed rather nice. Regular people, pleasant but low-key. More than one told me they felt that exposure of the Holocaust as “the most astounding mass psychosis in human history” (in the introductory words of the master of ceremonies) would “help Jews most of all” by liberating them from the traumatic burden of paranoid distortions. What I found most often was a sort of taboophobia. As one man put it: “I’d rather believe it’s possible the earth is flat than believe it’s round in the same way I used to ‘believe in’ the Holocaust.”

Cui bono? If the Holocaust story as it stands has benefitted Israel financially and the Soviet Union politically (by keeping West Germany hamstrung in Europe), it has certainly not benefitted my Jewish friends, who are all to some degree traumatized by its horror. “The real horror is enough,” argues Faurisson. “It is useless to add anything to it.” Admittedly one motive for hoping Revisionism is “onto something,” big or not, is the longing to disbelieve that humans are capable of such atrocities — “good news for poor mankind,” indeed, mankind so cruelly maligned ... Several people at the conference told me they believed revisionism would “help Jews most of all.” But in the back of the mind is that longing, that great yearning to be free at last of man’s inhumanity to man.

We can all agree with Winston Churchill that “In wartime, truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies.” Yet we have a right and an obligation to demobilize this bodyguard once the wars are over. If this was not accomplished completely right or shortly after World War II, we are nevertheless going to be “demobed” more and more insistently from now on, either by revisionism or other forces, until the process is complete. The Holocaust is not mythical but it may have been mythologized, perhaps to a considerable extent, and it will become increasingly difficult to quell doubt with dogma in this regard. Grin and bear it, ladies and gentlemen — the repressed has returned.

Note

After this was written, the offices of the Institute for Historical Review in Torrance, California were destroyed in an arson blaze that was set in the early morning hours of July 4, 1984. Damage was estimated by police at\$400,000. No [suspects](#) have as yet been apprehended. — Ed.

Ronald Reagan's Political and Cultural Folklore

The Puritan And Frontier Traditions And The 'Third Half Of The Pie'

Darryl Hattenhauer

This article focuses on the American dominant culture's world view implicit in Ronald Reagan's politics. Taking a New Left approach to cultural history, it assumes that proletarians, rural people, and "pre-modern" people are not the only social groups who have a folklore; that the American dominant culture also has a folklore; that if New Left history — for example Lawrence Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* — can treat American slave folklore as cultural history, then the New Left can also approach the dominant culture's folklore as cultural history; that in contemporary political history, the power elite's influence is facilitated by the dominant culture's folklore.

The discussion draws on anthropologist Clifford Geertz's theories on world view, as well as folklorist Alan Dundes' concept of the folk idea, the stuff of which world views are made. In Dundes' definition, folk ideas are the building blocks of world views, "the unstated premises [that] underlie the thought and action of a given group of people." ^[1] The concept of the folk idea is useful because it permits a more precise use of the term "myth" as employed in sociology, anthropology, and American studies. With the term "folk idea," cultural historians can reserve the term "myth" for materials explaining sacred origins, and yet do so without ignoring the findings of allied disciplines on the world view of America's dominant culture. Dundes' essay suggests a few folk ideas in the world view of America's dominant culture. The present article identifies many more American folk ideas — the articles of America's cultural constitution. The following analysis argues that Reagan's folklore — his world view and folk ideas — stems from the Puritan and frontier traditions in American cultural history.

Rhetorical Reagan

Before examining the folk ideas implicit in Reagan's rhetoric, it is instructive to see how he uses folk themes explicitly. First, he criticizes his opponents by associating them with what his folklore considers negative folk heroes and themes. For example, he told a gathering of businessmen that Ralph Nader is an ersatz white knight: "Little Sir Ralph has become a folk hero taking whacks at you with his wooden sword, and all of a sudden in too many minds, you are the dragon that must be slain." ^[2] Similarly, he claims that Jimmy Carter's "view of the world ranks along with belief in the Tooth Fairy." ^[3] Reagan also argues against certain policies by likening them to folk beliefs. For example, he dismisses social security as "the biggest sacred cow in all of the United States." ^[4]

Reagan posits that his opposition lives in a folkloric world of fantasy and delusion while he himself avoids such traditional thought and conventions, coming instead to unfiltered reality. For example, he speaks of the liberal "mythology which replaced understanding of the free enterprise

system." [5] In other words, his opposition creates delusions while he merely understands the facts. Accordingly, he invites his audience to side with him against those who have not transcended the traditional, pre-modern world: "The Carter Administration lives in a world of make-believe." "But you and I live in a different world..." [6]

Although Reagan uses folklore to denigrate his opposition, he also uses it to promote his own views. For example, he often insists that the free market is "magic." [7] Even his promoters use folklore to present Reagan in a favorable light. Frank Van Der Linden's *The Real Reagan*, ostensibly a biography, explains that "Reagan is like a Knight of the Age of Chivalry scarred by many battles but holding high his sword for one more charge. He was a Lone Crusader for years as the White Knight of the Right." [8]

One folkloric genre Reagan uses to promote his views is the proverb. For example, he advises us that "he who would have nothing to do with thorns must never attempt to gather flowers." And in sanctifying our forefathers, he quotes General Patton: "Wars may be fought with weapons, but they are won by men." [9]

Reagan also uses medicinal folk metaphors for the American economy. In these metaphors, the problem of a sluggish economy starts with the appetitive Democrats, who "still have their hands in the nation's cookie jars." [10] As a result of these uncontrolled appetites, the United States' economy is "swollen" [11] from an "economic bellyache." [12] Similarly, he complains of the "economic stew that has turned the national stomach." [13] The outcome of this national dyspepsia is an "economic mess." [14] The plan "to clean up our economic mess" [15] is ironically twofold. On the one hand, America needs a purge: it needs "relief from over-regulation" [16] in order "to get our economy moving again." [17] On the other hand, it needs to consolidate: it needs more "order." [18] And with this order, the elimination of America's illness "will not come quickly" but "in inches and feet, not in miles." [19] With a "dose" of both the aggressive and retentive "medicine," the "patient" [20] will return to "economic health." [21] In this metaphor of nutritional throughput, Reagan does not forget that the mode of elimination is dependent on the appetite. So he proposes that the patient be put on a "diet" [22] because the "federal government is overgrown and overweight." [23]

This dieting imagery gives way to more radical methods of reducing. One of Reagan's most widely used figures is "belt-tightening." [24] In California, he repeated that each unit of the state government would tighten its belt by ten per cent. His opponents have suggested the analogy is faulty because if one tightens one's belt ten per cent—say three or four inches — one will suffer not only pain but injury and dysfunction. Belt-tightening has since been replaced by more extreme metaphors. The phrase "remove the layers of fat" [25] has a clinically neutral sound, but the words suggest surgical removal, especially when Reagan amplifies the metaphor with the image of "cutting the fat." [26] In this same vein, Reagan the social physician insists that it is Carter who is "like the witch doctor that gets mad when a good doctor comes along with a cure that'll work." [27]

The Covenant and the Crusade

Cultural anthropologists Neil Kinsner and Bill Kleinman argue that a culture's world view can be summed up in what they call a "cultural metaphor." [28] Perhaps America's cultural metaphor is to be found in Perry Miller's phrase, "the errand into the wilderness." [29] For Reagan, America is leading a spiritual crusade out of a desert of Big Government and modern immorality, and into a wilderness Eden of freedom and affluence. This theme, of course, comes to Reagan from the Puritans, and he uses some of their figures of speech. Where John Winthrop, the first Governor of

Massachusetts Bay Colony, announced that his settlement would be “as a city upon a hill,” Reagan says that America will be a “shining city upon a hill” and a “beacon of hope.” [30] Moreover Reagan continues the Puritans' folk idea that Americans are the chosen people of God and that America's mission is to do God's work. Subscribing to the notion of America as a New World, a divinely inspired second chance, Reagan asks, “Can we doubt that only a Divine Providence placed this land, this island of freedom, here as a refuge for all those people in the world who yearn to breathe free?” [31] In accordance with this folk idea, Reagan implies that God planned for Europe to fall and for America to buoy up the saving remnant. (But according to Reagan's opponents, this view that God kept the New World secret until the right people were ready to settle it ignores the native populations, reducing them to the status of a natural resource, along with the other fauna and flora.) Similarly, Reagan claims that he believes in “shaping American policy to reflect God's will,” [32] adding that God is “waiting for us to do something.” [33] Clearly, then, Reagan is committed to upholding a modernized version of the Puritan folk idea of the covenant.

For the Puritan as for Reagan, one of the duties of covenanters is that they should be an example to all mankind. Where Winthrop explained that “the eyes of the world are upon us,” Reagan reminds Americans that “the rest of the world is watching America carefully,” [34] and, “You have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other.” Reagan even uses the image of eyes: “In the eyes of many in the world, this every-four-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.” [35]

As a corollary to America's status as God's favorite nation, Reagan regards America as unique. This folk idea of America's uniqueness creates the attendant misconceptions that other countries can not compare with America. For example, he states, “We are a nation that has a government — not the other way around.

And this makes us special among the nations of the earth.” [36] This folk idea assumes that the other democracies are under some dictatorial thumb, that in Canada, Japan, and Austria, for example government is beyond popular control while only America is still ruled by the consent of the governed. In this folk idea of America's chosen people and unique status, the Puritan and frontier traditions combine to exaggerate our achievements and ignore the achievements of others: “We have fought harder, paid a higher price for freedom, and done more to advance the dignity of mankind than any people who ever lived.” [38]

This folk idea of American supremacy leads Reagan to express a corollary folk idea: that the world is declining and only God's favorite nation and the chosen people can save it. Thus he speaks of America as “this last and greatest bastion of freedom” and “the last, best hope of man on earth.” [39] However, Reagan's opponents would claim that if Americans define freedom as something beyond all-night convenience stores and free choice of video recorders, if they see freedom as including, for example, equal rights and opportunities for advancement for all, then Americans can look to Holland or Denmark or any number of countries. Yet Reagan insists that America's responsibility is “leadership of all that remains of the free world.” [40] Ignoring numerous countries, Reagan insists that “America is still the abiding alternative to tyranny. That is our purpose in the world.” [41] Thus Reagan maintains the grandiosity of the original Puritan folk idea of the errand. (However, we might forgive the Puritans for proposing what might have seemed true in the Seventeenth Century.) Moreover, the sense of being surrounded by immoral hordes and the destructive imagination for an apocalypse such as that in *Moby Dick* or *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* suffuses the folk idea of America as “the last, best hope of man on earth,” and of the folk idea that “if freedom is lost here there is no place to escape to.” [42]

Like many of the dominant culture's heroes before him, Reagan calls for a "spiritual revival": "I want my candidacy to unify our country, to renew the American spirit and sense of purpose. I want to carry our message to every American, regardless of party affiliation, who is a member of this community of shared values." "Let us dedicate ourselves to renewing the American compact." [43] And he closed his Presidential nomination acceptance speech by calling his campaign a "crusade" and asking for prayers: "Can we begin our crusade joined together in a moment of silent prayer?" [44] The religious cast to this appeal is explicit. He has declared that inaugural day "should be declared a day of prayer." [45] And the reason for this prayer is to remind Americans that theirs is a nation not entirely secular, but a nation at least partly transcendent: "Together let us take up the challenge to re-awaken America's religious and moral heart, recognizing that a deep and abiding faith in God is the rock upon which this great nation was founded." [46] And as if to cite evidence of his nation's godliness, he reminds Americans that "Our pledge of allegiance states that we are one nation under God, and our currency bears the motto, 'In God We Trust'." [47]

Now as Sacvan Bercovitch has detailed, in the ideology of America's dominant culture, secular history continues the mission of Jesus. [48] And as students of religion such as Robert Bellah have affirmed, the American dominant culture has a "civil religion" in which the line of descendants who have done God's work runs from Christ and Calvin and Winthrop up through its most deified leaders — Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln — and into the present day. [49] Reagan affirmed this sacralization of American history during his inaugural address: "At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand." [50] He then ran through the list of sanctified heroes, beginning with Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, and continuing with the soldiers of World War One, World War Two, Korea, and Vietnam. Although Bercovitch only fleetingly extends his analysis into the Twentieth Century, Reagan explicitly continues this traditional folk idea. First, he claims that the Mayflower compact is the model for American life: "This single act — the voluntary binding together of free people to live under the law — set the pattern for what was to come." [51] Exemplifying Bercovitch's argument, Reagan extends the linear continuity of Plymouth colony to the American Revolution and then through Lincoln.

As mentioned, Reagan also includes the military in this line running from God and Adam and Jesus. He told an audience of military personnel that they were links in a "chain, holding back an evil force that would extinguish the light we've been tending here for 6,000 years." [52] Elsewhere, Reagan treats this theme of the chain of moral command not as horizontal, as stretching back across the United States through Europe to the cradle of civilization. Rather, he treats it as vertical: he uses an image which depicts present Americans as standing on the shoulders of the predecessors. This image of a human ladder of thousands of heroes and demigods, each one perched on the shoulders of his predecessor, Reagan finds indicative of the difference between his imagination and that of 1960s protesters: "Our young rebels saw the generations as horizontal. Each generation separated from others like slices from a sausage. Humankind is vertical. Each generation sees farther than the one before because it is standing on the shoulders of those who have gone before." [53] (His unintended implications here are twofold. First, the protesters were the most far-sighted of all, since they were on the top, and the most short-sighted was the crew at the bottom: God, Adam, Jesus. And second, the figure also logically implies that progress is like an ever climbing, jack-in-the-beanstalk erection of heroes; but the protesters mistake this tower of greatness for a mutilated wiener.)

As the current head of this tower of perpetual expansion, Reagan believes that he is God's instrument. As Van Der Linden notes, "Reagan... felt 'called' to lead the nation, as ministers are 'called'... Reagan believes that he is ordained to fill his present role." [54] This claim for missionary zeal places the agency for Reagan's election — in both senses — in God's hands. His elec-

tion wasn't Reagan's choice; it was God's. Yet Van Der Linden's promotional treatment unwittingly reveals the truth about Reagan's ascendancy. Rather than receiving the call, Reagan looked eastward from California "in quest of new worlds to conquer." [55] The White Knight again.

As Bercovitch has shown in *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*, the individual of the American dominant culture who is becoming another link in the chain of holy progress makes himself a microcosm for the social group. Each individual becomes a metaphor for the community. Each individual can identify with America, can stand for America. This interchangeability of self and group is implicit in Reagan's statement that "the era of self-doubt is over." [56] In this figure, America is both comparable to an individual with self-doubt, and consists of individuals with self-doubt. And as Perry Miller writes, the dynamic of the Puritan jeremiad was first to doubt, then to expunge doubt with a flurry of covenant renewal. [57]

The sanctity of this American covenant extends to America's international relations. For example, Reagan notes that America's presence in Berlin "is a sacred trust." [58] Since he and Americans are chosen by God, there is a certain fatalism to America's international relations. The role of the United States "is not a burden we sought." [59] On the stage of history, God has cast the United States in this heroic role. America has no choice but to accept its role as the world's policeman.

A further aspect of the folk idea of American exceptionalism and mission is the notion that America's problems do not originate there among the elect, but creep in from the devils surrounding the United States. Thus for Reagan, as for many of his predecessors, communism, although in some indigenous tribal forms it predated the Europeans' arrival in the New World, "is not of this hemisphere," [60] but rather has to be imported from the Soviet bloc. This folk idea ignores the fact that Christianity and capitalism are not indigenous to the New World.

Another outcome of the folk idea of closeness and mission is that it creates simple us-and-them dichotomies in foreign policy. Thus a recurrent problem for Reagan has been his tendency to view Europe as both a loose federation — an inferior United States — and as America's insubordinate dependent in the struggle against Russia. Similarly, if Europeans who don't want missiles in their neighborhood are confused foreigners, so Americans opposed to militarism are dupes of "them." To illustrate, Reagan claims that the nuclear freeze is not "inspired by... sincere, honest people who want peace, but by some who want the weakening of America and so are manipulating many honest and sincere people." [61]

An additional foreign policy implication of Reagan's folk idea about American exceptionalism and mission is his notion that Americans are, as upholders of Christ, the princes of peace: "We always seek to live in peace. We resort to force infrequently and with great reluctance — and only after we've determined that it is absolutely necessary. We are awed — and rightly so — by the forces of destruction at loose in the world." [62] Now a variety of scholars have agreed that a culture can be paranoid — for example, Richard Hofstadter in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*. Paranoia is indicated by two traits: delusions of grandeur, and delusions of persecution. Some would agree that Reagan may not qualify here because what he suffers from are delusions of adequacy. But the concept of delusions of persecution, in which a person projects his negative self on to his devil figures in an effort to maintain his grandiose image of himself, may explain why Reagan can still hold to the folk idea of American peacefulness as opposed to all of the war-mongering around the world. The history of American belligerence is too well-known to recount here, but some examples of Reagan's projection illustrate the point. First, while American small businesses fail at unprecedented rates at the same time that multinational corporations gobble them up, Reagan chafes that Soviet centralization stifles individual initiative, causing "malaise

and resentment” among the citizenry. [64] He claims that Russian armament is “pre-empting the needs of its people.” In addition, he attacks Russia for its militarism in the Third World. [65] And he avers that the “Soviet Union must make the difficult choices brought on by its military budget and economic shortcomings.” [66] And finally, to charge that the Russians are hypocritical and insincere about peace, he quotes Demosthenes: “What same man would let another man’s word rather than his deeds proclaim who is at peace and who is at war with him?” [67]

'The People' and The Others

Another important folk idea that Reagan promotes is indicated in his reverent use of the term “the people.” For example, he finds that the folk idea of egalitarianism is the wisest part of the Constitution: “We can remind ourselves and those in government who have lost faith in the simple verities that the most profound words in the Constitution are but three in number — 'We the people.'” [68] As Bercovitch has shown, the founders' understanding of the term “the people” implicitly included only Anglo-Saxon Protestant male property holders.

Who does Reagan imagine comprises “the people”? In his words, “the people” consists of “professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies and truckdrivers. They are in shorts 'We the people.' This breed called Americans.” [69] “The people,” then, have two traits: they cut across class lines, and they are tantamount to a separate race — a “breed” apart. They are, then, commoners who amount to an elect. Reagan thus affirms both egalitarianism and elitism. He affirms both superiority and equality through consensus, like Jefferson, who said “We are all Federalists; we are all Republicans.” And who are not the people? Reagan states that the rioters in Watts were not of the people but “against the people.” [70] Similarly, he contrasts “the people” with students protesting tuition increases by saying to those students: “I am going to represent the people.” The demonstrators replied, “We are the people.” [71]

In Reagan’s folk idea of “the people,” there can be no serious malaise — except with students and ghetto rioters: “I find no national malaise, I find nothing wrong with the American people. Oh, they are frustrated, even angry, at what has been done to this blessed land. But more than anything they are sturdy and robust as they have always been.” [72] This happy folk idea of “the people” overlooks rising rates of drug abuse, alcoholism, suicide, divorce, illiteracy, rape, murder, and pollution. Similarly, Reagan glosses over class conflict with his confused folk idea of egalitarianism and elitism. For example, he claims that “in America, our aristocracy is not by accident of birth or royal favor but by virtue of accomplishment.” [73] With such statements, Reagan seemingly places egalitarianism over elitism in such a way that the elitism can be denied because egalitarianism has already been affirmed. This confusion allows Reagan to treat the exploited as exploiters by contrasting the people with the “special interests.” For example, speaking of the House of Representatives, he stated that the representatives “get plenty of input from the special interest groups, they'd like to hear from their homefolks.” [74] And in another speech, he stated that “grassroots support for a balanced budget amendment is out there and will carry the day against the special interests.” [75] The term “special interests” is conveniently vague, but just as “the people” (or “homefolks” or “grass roots”) excludes ecologists, artists, educators, and social workers, so the term “special interests” implicitly applies to these latter groups.

As was mentioned, the folk idea of the commoner is inherently elitist. It insists that there is an identifiably superior group. For example, we find Reagan claiming that “America is unique in world history because it has a genius for leaders.” [76] As an example of America’s capacity for turning out leaders, Reagan often cites Lincoln, the man of the people, who was great because he was a commoner, who was brilliant because he lacked a formal education, who was a regular guy

because he was a corporate lawyer for the railroad, who was just like the other good Americans who ran miles to return a book and did their lessons on the back of a shovel by firelight.

As one of the people, Reagan conceives of himself in the folklore of the simple, innocent mid-westerner. About his entry into politics, he claims: "I came out of the woods an innocent." [77] And speaking of his childhood, he notes, "My existence turned into one of those rare Huck Finn-Tom Sawyer idylls." [78] Typifying his aw-shucks manner, this millionaire who associates with millionaires can say: "I don't know about the hierarchy or the upper regions, I only know about the people." [79]

This notion of Reagan as the commoner informs Van Der Linden's biography of Reagan. For example, he calls Reagan "an innocent in Tinseltown" whose conversion to conservatism was a "Pilgrim's progress." [80] This biography also uses the theme of masculinity as another trait that Reagan shares with Joe Sixpack. Several pages are devoted to accounts of Reagan's athletic prowess as well as appeals to the western image, including the assertion that Reagan "looks like a ranch hand." In addition, the wisdom of folk medicine is employed. Van Der Linden notes that when Reagan was a boy, Reagan's mother was saved by moldy cheese, which contained penicillin, something allegedly unknown to the city doctors with all their book learning. [81] And the appeal of the work ethic is also central. Van Der Linden uses the folklore of persistent effort by claiming that Reagan "tramped from one radio station to another asking for any kind of job — even sweeping floors — just to get started in the business." [82] Moreover, Van Der Linden compares Reagan to another poor Illinois story teller, Abe Lincoln. [83] And to satisfy the modernist impulse, he uses the popular psychology that Reagan is "secure" and a "nice guy." [84] All of this folklore adds up to one of the most typical characters in American folklore, the man who is beyond folklore, convention, and ideology, whose simplicity puts him in direct contact with reality: "He is an artless, charming man." [85]

As one of "the people," Reagan feels compelled to explain how, if "the people" are the engines of America, their world view and folk ideas have been derailed, necessitating a spiritual revival to get America back on track to its rendezvous with destiny. Reagan answers that the problem is not with the people but with their leaders. Says he: "The crisis we face is not the result of any failure of the American spirit; it is a failure of our leaders to establish rational goals and give our people something to order their lives by." [86] This statement violates the speaker's belief in the primacy of the people. How is it that the people have chosen irrational leaders? And if, according to the folk idea, American policy reflects the coterminous will of the people and God, how is it the people need leaders to give them goals and principles by which to order their lives? Reagan would answer, perhaps, that the people, while still basically flawless, have renounced their power and responsibility by abdicating their role to bureaucrats, intellectuals, and others of the "special interests": "The truth is we've let Government take away many things we once considered were really ours to do voluntarily, out of the goodness of our hearts and a sense of community pride and neighborliness." [87] Unable to explain how "the people" could violate the covenant of their world view and folk ideas and yet remain chosen, Reagan focuses his anger on the government. For example, he contends that "the people," the American boys, could have won in Vietnam, but the government was "afraid to let them win." [88]

Similarly, Reagan's folklore leads him to contend that forty years of liberalism (and that would have to include Eisenhower, Nixon, and Ford) made government "the distributor of gifts and privilege." [89] Such gifts and privilege presumably consist of welfare, aid to the blind, and scholarships — but not defense contracts. Government spending, in this folk idea, was aimed not at real problems but only at feathering the nests of the "special interests": "The Ruling Party in Washington wants a larger share of the workers' income to spend as it pleases on expanding the

federal bureaucracy." [90] For Reagan, there is an additional problem with this increase in bureaucracy. It is inconsistent with the way the West was won: "They built the West without Federal planners." [91] Those who promote such regulation are untrue to the will of "the people." Thus Reagan claims that Carter's "failure was rooted in his view of the American people." [92] The solution, according to this folklore, is to restore government to the will of "the people." Accordingly, Reagan announced his new concept of leadership, "one based on faith in the American people, and a firm commitment to see to it that the Federal Government is once more responsive to the people." [93] Reagan, then, will restore faith in the people, even though they suspended representative government and free enterprise by turning over the ship of state to un-American elitists.

The folk idea that government and the people are diametrically opposed finds Reagan asserting that he is not of the power structure even when he is in office. For example, in Sacramento, he told his cabinet and staff: "We belong here only so long as we refer to government as 'they' and never think of it as 'we.'" [94] Reagan's opposition of the people and the government has reified the terms "government" and "bureaucrat" as terms of opprobrium. In this regard, some would contend that Reagan has done more to encourage disrespect for his country than have a million protesters. His disrespect for politicians and bureaucrats leads him to fire as many as possible and replace them with amateurs: "There is no better way to bring about effective government than to have its operation scrutinized by citizens dedicated to that principle." [95]

For Reagan, the civil service is not staffed by citizens who are already working for effective government. For Reagan, acting on his folk idea of the people and the government, the accountants, actuaries, purchasers, and managers of the public sector are incompetents with their pockets lined with tax revenues, while the accountants, actuaries, purchasers, and managers in the private sector are vigilant citizens. For Reagan, the bureaucrat at Exxon is suited for cleaning up government, while the bureaucrat at the Department of Energy is not; likewise, the bureaucrat at the Department of Energy has no competence in guiding Exxon, while the bureaucrat at Exxon is inherently capable of managing our natural resources. In sum, the government bureaucrat is one of the special interests; the Exxon bureaucrat is one of the people.

An appurtenance to Reagan's body of folk ideas about "the people" is the folk idea of common sense. Consistent with the folk idea that the people know best, Reagan often calls for more common sense. For example, he says, "We will simply apply to government the common sense that we all use in our daily lives." [96] He also says that "common sense... characterizes the people of this country." [97] For its proponents, the dominant culture's common sense is not socially constructed; rather, it is the great Them — bureaucrats, liberals, special interests — who suffer from fantasy-ridden thinking. Carter and the tooth fairy, Ralph Nader and the White Knight. Actually, common sense is part of any culture's folklore. Common sense expresses the culture's world view and folk ideas. Common sense, then, is wisdom, or what passes for it, applied to action. It is this common sense that appeals to Reagan's audience. As one fan in Portland put it: "He simply talks common sense." [98] And speaking of our regeneration, Reagan notes that "all it takes is a little common sense and recognition of our own ability." [99]

That Bad 'Govment'

As was noted, an important folk idea implicit in Reagan's politics is that government is suspect. If the people are inherently good, government is inherently bad, because it interferes with the decisions of the people, decisions which are made in the marketplace. For example, Reagan contends that "the source of our economic problems" is that "the government decides that it knows better than you what should be done with your earnings." "Trust the people. This is the one ir-

refutable lesson of the entire postwar period contradicting the notion that rigid government controls are essential to economic development." [100] Even Reagan's pronunciation of the word "government" indicates his lack of respect for that institution. Like Huckleberry Finn's fathers Reagan complains about the "govment."

Reagan's folklore, to repeat, assumes a split between the private and the public. First of all, the public and private are imagined to be distinct. Thus decisions in the marketplace are not believed to have power; only decisions in government have power. For example, when Exxon decided to quit developing synthetic fuels because it could no longer afford to do so without government help, many people lost their jobs, and their homes near the Colorado research and development center lost their value. In the folk idea that the private sector is and should be relatively free to make decisions which influence hundreds or thousands or millions, such decisions are regarded as natural. But if government restrictions on tourism had similar results, the government's decisions would be regarded as unnatural. Such folk ideas not only set up a double standard for public and private conduct, they also posit a dualism where there is in fact an overlap. For the fact is that so-called "private" industry — even the language reflects the folk idea that business is untouchable — makes decisions that influence not just the marketplace but also private lives.

In Reagan's laissez-faire folk ideas, then, the growth of the corporations' power is not intrusive. As a result, the corporations' decision to use sexually oriented advertising to appeal to pre-teens is not seen as an exercise of power, let alone an abuse of power. Similarly, if the marketplace determines that many workers will receive low wages, such an influence on the lives of millions is not seen as resulting from the exercise of power. Yet the government's minimum wage law is called interference. According to this folk belief, people in ghettos are free to prosper because there are no civil laws keeping them down: as Reagan puts it, "There is no law saying the negro has to live in Harlem or Watts." [101] In this folk idea, economic laws do not count. Similarly, the Third World has not been exploited by America, because the marketplace just does not exercise power. Workers in Mexico who assemble our clothes and radios for a tenth of the wages of Americans who buy them will not be convinced when Reagan informs them that "there is absolutely no substance to charges that the United States is guilty of imperialism or attempts to impose its will on other countries by use of force." [102] For Reagan, then, economic pressure has no force. From this folk idea, it follows that those who are poor in market economies deserve to be poor. There is no law that says they have to live in the ghetto.

The folk idea of the separation of public and private entities leads to another double standard in the matter of spending. In this folk idea, spending on a state car is a waste, but spending on a company car is not. In addition, government spending on welfare and education is inflationary, but consumer spending on snowmobiles and video games is not. Curiously, however, one form of public spending is not wasteful and inflationary: the military. That which is deemed necessary can not be wasteful and inflationary. And that which is deemed wasteful, such as federal aid to education, must be unnecessary. So it is that the government can pump money into localities through the conduit of military bases, but not through schools, theaters, museums, or hospitals.

According to the folk idea of the split between the public and private sectors, the public sphere is further reprehensible because its salaries must be paid through tax revenues. This position first ignores the fact that the citizenry pays for both public and private salaries. A person pays the salaries and commissions of sales people, managers, owners, and clerks every time he buys something. But according to Reagan's folk ideas, an employee in the public sector who makes \$13,000 a year is exploiting the employee in the private sector who makes \$30,000.

Taxation is further influenced by the folk idea of the public and private dichotomy. Believing that the private is good and the public is bad, Reagan, as Governor of California, started a private employment program. Although he was acting as the head of the state's public sector, he believed that the program exemplified what American business can do without government. He also contended that such a program does not influence the taxation and spending in the public sector: "Foundations and private citizens have picked up the tab for administrative overhead so it is completely independent of tax revenues." [103] But the donations of those foundations and individuals consist of money that would have been donated somewhere else. Moreover, the donations were, presumably, tax deductible. Without these deductions, which in effect make the government partially subsidize the charity of choice, the donations would be far smaller or non-existent. Reagan uses the same folk idea for the thousands of dollars that were spent on buying new china for the White House. He claims that because the funds were donated, the people don't have to pay for the china. Again, people have to pay indirectly through tax, and those donations could have been used in churches, schools, and hospitals.

Part of Reagan's anti-government folk idea is the corollary folk idea that taxation is largely destructive and unnatural: "High rates of taxation destroy incentive to earn, to save, to invest. And they cripple productivity, lead to deficit financing and inflation, and create unemployment." [104] But the fact is that nations such as Sweden, Germany, and Japan have higher taxes than America, and the result is a higher per capita GNP. Similarly, the folk idea that taxation impedes saving is also invalid. Many European nations have taxes on consumer items and restrictions on credit that require people to save before they buy. In America, low taxes spur inflation by creating demand push, and spur higher interest rates by increasing demand for credit. As for high taxes leading to deficit financing, deficits result from too little revenue, not too much. And higher taxes on the upper-middle class do not reduce incentive; higher taxes would require them to work more.

Similarly, Reagan holds to the folk idea that in the public sphere bigness is bad, but in the private sphere it is good. The overhead of big government lowers one's living standard, but the overhead of big business does not. In the end, Reagan promotes the folk idea that that government governs best which governs least. Actually, that government which governs least has the least to govern. Creeping corporatism has created an urban, industrial, technocratic, and egoistic mass society that can not manage with a philosophy that was designed for a rural, agricultural, self-sacrificing, decentralized polity. The big business Reagan reveres has made impossible the kind of government he envisions.

Despite all of Reagan's cutbacks in the name of non-interference, he violates that folk idea explicitly. For example, the President interfered with federal laws to subsidize American aluminum corporations in Jamaica. According to Jeff Gerth of the New York Times, Reagan wanted to turn Jamaica into the symbol of what free enterprise would do for those who cooperated with the American Way. To that end, Reagan "prompted three federal agencies to waive laws and bend rules, thereby providing more than \$100 million to bolster the Jamaican operations of leading American aluminum companies." [105] Moreover, Reagan used David Rockefeller, who was at that time Chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, to organize a group of businessmen to carry out this venture. In a related development, Reagan directed the General Services Administration to buy \$67 million of Jamaican bauxite, and in the process the administration waived federal laws requiring competitive bidding.

His folk ideas of the "free" market inform Reagan's reading of economic history. He contends that the American economy "is historically revitalized not by government but by people free of government interference." [106] In truth, America was founded on government interference. The Hamiltonian association of business and government was a holdover from the mercantile tradi-

tion, which held that business needed government to raise capital and regulate the economy. The folk idea of laissez faire leads Reagan to insist that the last forty years of government regulation, redistribution, and deficit financing brought us to inflation, unemployment, and high interest rates. Actually, it brought us phenomenal material wealth, even after the cost of the Vietnam War brought inflation starting in 1968, and after the rising energy costs exacerbated the problem beginning in 1974.

Nonetheless, Reagan implies that the policies of the last ten to fifteen years are like those from the New Deal on; thereby he implies that the whole post-World War II era was a failure: "There hasn't been too much opportunity in the last 40 years to see what our philosophy can do. But we know what theirs can do. The longest sustained inflation in history, the highest interest rates in a hundred years, eight recessions since World War Two, and a trillion dollar debt." [107] This statement ignores the fact that the bad guys' philosophy quadrupled the GNP from 1940 to 1960.

Reagan not only overlooks the conditions which created economic successes and failures, but he also insists — since the facts must be there, given his folk ideas — that all other prosperous nations developed without so-called government interference: "The societies which have achieved the most spectacular broad-based economic progress in the shortest period of time [share] their willingness to believe in the magic of the market place." [108] The only magic going on here is the ability of Reagan and his audience to deduce from their folklore that countries like Japan, West Germany, and Norway have subscribed to the laissez-faire party line.

But Reagan sticks to his reading of history. His folklore tells him that laissez-faire "has worked before and will work again." [109] When has it worked before? After 1929, when the anti-regulatory, anti-intellectual conservatism of Harding and Coolidge did much to create the Great Depression? When the free-market theory of the 1870s and 1880s permitted robber barons on the one hand and literally-starving farmers and laborers on the other? When Andrew Jackson's anti-regulatory anti-intellectualism disestablished the "monster" bank, exacerbating the depression of the 1830s?

Dundes identifies the folk idea of unlimited good as a corollary of the folk idea of progress. [110] According to the folk idea of progress, America's wealth and power should increase every year, and if they do not, someone has interfered with the Divine Plan. For believers in these folk ideas, the government has interfered in the good work of the American people if Americans answer no to Reagan's following question: "Are you better off now than you were four years ago?" [111]

The folk idea of unlimited good prevents Reagan and the dominant culture from understanding that natural resources are finite, that increasing scarcity, not income distribution and regulation, are reducing the increase in our standard of consumption. As Dundes claims, the folk idea of unlimited good is tied to the folk idea of dominating nature, of expecting nature always to provide an undiminishing store of energy and raw materials. And so Reagan asserts — against all ecological evidence — that "prosperity is a fundamental part of our environment." [112] For Reagan, believing in the New World's exceptionalism, natural resources are infinite, and so too is America's ability to increase its standard of consumption: "Our hemisphere has an unlimited potential for economic development and human fulfillment." [113] Where Carter learned that America must conserve resources, use them more slowly so that the United States can change over to non-fossil fuels before they run out, Reagan calls for extracting more energy from fossil fuel, using it faster, as if it will replenish itself: "Those who preside over the worst energy shortage in our history tell us to use less, so that we will run out of oil and gas a little more slowly." "America must get to work producing more energy. The Republican program for solving economic problems is based

on growth and productivity.” [114] When Reagan rejects “an energy policy based on the sharing of scarcity,” [115] he rejects reality in favor of his folklore.

The world view shared by Reagan and his audience assumes our ability to sustain growth. The free market is assumed as a given — as if corporations exist in a state of nature. In this world view, there is an ecology of the market, an ecology that produces unending growth from unending resources. If the United States runs short of finite resources, there must be some interference with nature, some interference from — government. And so Reagan’s energy policy is to get government out of nature, out of the market, by disestablishing the Department of Energy in much the same way that Andrew Jackson disestablished the National Bank: “We do not need an Energy Department to solve our basic energy problem: as long as we let the forces of the marketplace work without undue interference, the ingenuity of consumers, business, producers, and inventors will do that for us.” [116] America will overcome the laws of physics just as America will overcome the laws of economics. In this vision of limitlessness, Reagan has posited a third half of the pie.

Now even though he regards Carter’s dreams as delusionary, he regards the American dream as still honorable: “We are a people known for dreaming with our eyes open.” [117] In Reagan’s vision, God’s promise to America can be redeemed. “This time has come for the American people to reclaim their dream.” As special people, “We have every right to dream heroic dreams.” Besides, “we are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams.” [118] Small is ugly.

But Reagan’s version of the American dream combines vague intimations of exalted purpose with base lust for material gain; the two go hand in hand: “Most of our forebears came to this hemisphere seeking a better life for themselves; they came in search of opportunity and, yes, in search of God.” [119] For Reagan, the search for God and moral purpose is quickly passed over in pursuit of its corollary, “opportunity,” which is a convenient code word for acquisitiveness: “There is a spiritual revival going on in this country, a hunger on the part of the public to once again be proud of America, all that it is and all that it can be.” “Now the first step... must be the rejuvenation of our economy.” [120] With this fortuitous marriage of world redemptive moral purpose and the pursuit of unending affluence, snowmobiles serve God and nature. When Americans seek for themselves, they also do for others. Or as Garry Wills puts it: “selfishness is a duty with us.” [121] This folk idea of the morality of immorality also applies to the foreign market — a kind of international trickle-down theory: “A prosperous, growing U.S. economy will mean increased trading opportunities for other nations.” [122]

For Reagan, then, the confusion of high consumption with the good life — even that term sounds materialistic — makes increasing affluence a necessary condition for remaining true to God and nature. Inflation, taxes, high interest rates, and deficits “will put an end to everything we believe in and to our dreams for the future.” [123] In this analysis, America’s mission depends now on restoring “material affluence on a scale unequalled in history.” [124] If affluence is necessary for the good life, how is it that all of those considerably less affluent generations before World War II were good Americans? What can America’s national purpose be if it is dependent on the growing wealth that will exhaust its natural resources?

Conclusion

Three hundred years ago, the original Puritan polities failed largely because their means of creating a society consistent with their world view undermined the society that they tried to construct. The unbridled emphasis on work and frugality resulted in the accumulation of goods. As a result, the populace became more worldly, fewer and fewer were concerned with signs of their salva-

tion, and more and more were concerned with signs of their secular salvation — their accumulation of goods and power. In recent years, the value placed on work, the belief in education (as opposed to training), the family, sexual restraint, frugality delayed gratification — all of these have withered. Only the pursuit of affluence remains, more militant than ever, as a means to that nebulous American dream. But as with the Puritans, America's means have become an end. America's means will destroy the contemporary Americans' society more thoroughly and disastrously than the Puritans' means of work and frugality did theirs. The exhaustion of the environment will far exceed the damage done by concern for such worldly goods as fine cloth and imported wood. But at least the Puritans were knowledgeable about their forebears; even if the Puritans vainly tried to cut their ties to the so-called Old World, they knew the assumptions and principles of their spiritual and intellectual lineage. In the world view that has come down from them, however, Reagan only dimly perceives the history of the dominant culture's world view and folk ideas. Mark Twain once said, in an ethnic slur that reveals America's xenophobia and exceptionalism, that it is a rare Frenchman indeed who knows the identity of his true father. In our own time, those who are unaware of their ideational forebears, those whose celebrations of their patrimony only reveal their ignorance of their intellectual family tree, are the real illegitimate children.

Notes

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2.  Reagan, "Free Enterprise: Economics," Delivered before the Annual Dinner, 77th Congress of American Industry, National Association of Manufacturers, New York City, December 8, 1972, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, XXXIX (January 15, 1973), 196.
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8.  Frank van der Linden, *The Real Reagan* (New York: Morrow, 1981), p. 25.
9.  Reagan, "Our Economic Recovery Program: The Time for Action Is Now," Delivered at a joint session of Congress, Washington, D.C., April 28, 1981, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, XLVII (May 15, 1981), 452; "The New Spirit that Is Abroad: Patriotism," Delivered at the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, May 27, 1981, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, XLVII (June 15, 1981), p. 515.
10.  Steven R. Weisman, "Farmers Criticize Reagan Dairy Program," *New York Times*, May 15, 1982, p. 9.

11. ☺ Reagan, "Five-Year Economic Program for U.S.: Let's Get America Working Again," Delivered before the International Business Council, Chicago, Illinois, September 9, 1980, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, XLVI (October 1, 1980), p. 739.
12. ☺ Quoted in van der Linden, p. 157.
13. ☺ Reagan, "Presidential Nomination Acceptance," p. 643.
14. ☺ Reagan, "The State of the Nation's Economy: We Are Out of Time," Delivered to the American People from the White House, Washington, D.C., February 5, 1981, *Vital Speeches of the Day*, XLVII (February 15, 1981), p. 290.
15. ☺ Reagan, "Our Economic Recovery Program," p. 451.
16. ☺ Reagan, "Our Economic Recovery Program," p. 452.
17. ☺ "Transcript of President's Address Defending His Proposals on Budget for '83," *New York Times*, April 30, 1982, p. 10.
18. ☺ Reagan, "The Magic of the Market Place," p. 35.
19. ☺ Reagan, "Our Economic Recovery Program," p. 451.
20. ☺ "Transcript of Remarks by Reagan on Budget," *New York Times*, April 17, 1982, p. 19.
21. ☺ Reagan, "Five-Year Economic Program," p. 740.
22. ☺ Reagan, "Our Economic Recovery Program," p. 451.
23. ☺ Reagan, "Presidential Nomination Acceptance," p. 643.
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26. ☺ Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, *Reagan: The Political Chameleon* (New York: Praeger, 1976), p. 73.
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Beyond Year Zero: The Pursuit of Peace Through War

James J. Martin

Author's Note: In 1955 I was contacted and asked whether I would be interested in collaborating with Francis Neilson in a revision and expansion of his book *The Makers of War*, first published in 1950 and then out of print. The opportunity to work with so eminent a revisionist as Mr. Neilson, author of such milestones as *How Diplomats Make War*, *Hate the Enemy of Peace*, *The Churchill Legend*, and the five-volume *The Tragedy of Europe*, was accepted with alacrity. Much time was devoted to expanding his book. the revised edition of which was to be published under our joint authorship.

The somewhat enlarged revision, which included two new concluding chapters which would have been numbers XXI and XXII, written in their entirety by me, was submitted to Mr. Neilson's secretary, Phyllis Evans. late that same year. On 4 February 1956 Miss Evans wrote me:

I am now retyping the manuscript of *The Makers of War*, and am hoping to complete the job next week. Despite Mr. Neilson's aversion to footnotes, I am supplying the specific references for all of the original text, as you have done so thoroughly for your additions. Your work is magnificent, and the amount of labor you expended and your enthusiastic dedication to the cause impress me deeply.

The entire project was concluded on an amicable and satisfactory basis, but it was never published. Mr. Neilson, already suffering from grave impediments to both sight and hearing, was actually at work on three other books (all of which were published eventually) and these literary projects resulted in the diversion which prevented him from getting around to the additional labors the reprinting of this book would have required.

The last of the two new concluding chapters written for the revised edition of *The Makers of War*, "The Pursuit of Peace Through War," is published here for the first time. It is presented as edited for publication in 1956, and no-post 1955 qualifications or sources are added anywhere, except in one instance, as indicated by brackets.

The decision to issue this material nearly thirty years later is partially influenced by purely bibliographic considerations, to place on the record a historical way of looking at things which largely was overlooked, ignored or suppressed when it was first produced, a decade after the end of the Second World War. The mid-1950s was not a time receptive to the approach found in this chapter, intended for a book which never came into existence. It was the fate of much revisionist writing in the score of years following the formal ending of hostilities in 1945.

There is nothing in it which this author would care to change now, about a generation after it was first written. The main criticism which might be entered at this time is that it is excessively moderate in the interpretative aspect, since the extensive revelations and admissions, and the documentary releases which have occurred since 1955, support a somewhat stronger position than has been taken here.

If the tenor of this chapter seems unduly somber today, one should be reminded that the mid-1950s were not quite the light-hearted and jolly time that moderns enamored with nostalgic imaginations for those days think it was. Much of the land was still reeling from the desolate, dreary and depressing just-concluded Korean war (1950-53], fully as traumatic then to most Americans as the Vietnam war was to be a generation later. (Few are yet able to come to terms with the realities of the previous war on the fringes of East Asia, the Pacific War of 1941-45 which, still hailed so noisily and boastfully as such a great “victory,” launched the train of incredible and breathtaking changes which are still profoundly sweeping America and the West. And in a major way it is responsible for disasters even more fundamental than those caused by Korea and Vietnam, which, after all, grew directly from the end of the Pacific War, and essentially were unsettled real estate problems left over from that war. When the self-serving and the self-promotion related to the war of 1941-45 ends, if it ever does, and a sober view of this conflict, its origins and consequences, takes place from a planetary instead of a local viewpoint, then maybe the American populace may come around to an understanding of why the war ending in 1945 made the next two East Asian wars almost unavoidable. It will also make the Korean and Vietnam disasters more understandable to those who still cannot fathom why they were such failures, given that the first of this trio of East Asian conflicts was such an unqualified “triumph.”) It may be well beyond the end of this century and into the next before Americans pay the full bill resulting from the three twentieth century wars in East Asia. But an inkling as to the stunning global revolution triggered in the Far East by the great mindless crusade of 1941-45 was beginning to sift through by the end of the first decade after V-J Day, and Korea had much to do with that.

The great historical dividing-line of our time is 6 August 1945. On this day the most senseless act of an unnecessary four year war was effected. Today, more than ten years after this fateful unleashing of the world's first atomic bomb, we are still living in the war's backwash, and the peace so solemnly promised us by the leaders of the West recedes before our grasp at an alarming rate. The wreckage of the ideals of this war lies about us in enormous heaps, revealing the utter lack of rational goals for which the Allied coalition fought: the impoverished motives of these powers were unmasked and laid open to the eyes of the world even sooner than they were after the debacle of 1914-1918. In addition, we have been graced with another “collective security” organization of far greater irrationality than the first, one which took but two years to rend it from top to bottom, instead of two decades. With what contemporary result?

The most obvious deficiency in today's world is the total absence of the noble and vacuous objectives which were announced to the world after the famous original meeting at the summit” off the coast of Newfoundland, 8-14 August 1941. The war aims of the Anglo-American combine led by Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, incorporated in the purely imaginative “Atlantic Charter” exist in realization nowhere on the planet. After four years of the most revolting massacre of life and destruction of property followed by ten years of savage intermittent fighting on the fringe lands of Asia and Africa, is there a person so sanguine as to dare assert that the touted “Four Freedoms” are actually enjoyed anywhere? There has never been a time when the world knew more want and fear than now, and the vaunted civil liberties which were to appear on earth

like flocks of gentle birds have vanished so thoroughly that the taut times of 1939 seem immeasurably more free by comparison. The world bristles with guns and men under arms, to the point that the world of the 1930s seems comparably a time of military and naval de-emphasis. Military budgets tower over domestic populations, and the whole earth has become accustomed to the endless movement of men in uniform as a matter of course. The goods and travelers of the nations move at a crawl through incredible physical and psychological barriers at all the national frontiers, when compared with the relative freedom that prevailed a half century ago while the thought of espionage and surprise atomic attack has made paranoia the most widely-prevalent state of mind the world over.

Still, the statesmen talk in a subdued manner about the desirability of peace, and at the same time prepare more resolutely for war. Their various peoples go about their tasks in a trance-like manner, so stunned by the enormity of what they have seen and heard and done these last fifteen years that the thought that they are now on the edge of radioactive oblivion drives them into unreality in the hope of escape. Their past conditioning nevertheless induces them even at this late hour to demand that no concessions be made in the interests of real peace, because the last time this was undertaken it was demolished by the war hawks as "appeasement." No more fateful word ever was so misapplied, and it remains today as the semantic albatross tied under the chins of the world's diplomats and heads of state, inhibiting even their most restrained gestures in the interests of holding back the chariots in our time.

We make such little progress toward a satisfactory peace because we suffer so grievously still from the results of vexations unleashed during our most recent crusade to exterminate political sin. The dramatic summations by William Henry Chamberlin in his *America's Second Crusade* and by Harry Elmer Barnes and George Lundberg in *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* should not be missed by anyone who earnestly desires to know what the balance sheet looks like at this moment. Surely the biblical observation about the visitation of the sins of the fathers upon future generations was never more dramatically demonstrated than in our time, and contemporary trends hold out no hope that this process is bound to be interrupted for a substantial period of time to come. Instead of re-tracing our steps in an effort to restore the balance we have lost, we are beginning to make a system out of the lop-sided circumstances in which we have found ourselves since 1945. No peace prevails mainly because perpetual war on a limited scale has largely replaced peace as the ideal state of affairs under which men live their lives.

Can we profit at all from a close glance at the wartime, in the hope that we might see a glimmer of a rational formula or practical plan for an order of things superior to the one which the war camp found so repulsive that it felt the resources of the whole globe needed to be devoted to its obliteration? There is scant gain indeed. With the exception of florid messianic promises, the wartime was saturated with the most primitive emotions. Hate of the enemy leaders and fervent hopes that their peoples suffer annihilation redounded through the wartime days. In America a veritable anti-Japanese race war was preached, which led not only to the frightening violations of the civil rights and liberties of its citizens of Japanese extraction, but the fighting of one of the most vicious wars in history in the Pacific. The apocalyptic atom bombing properly concludes this imbalance. Americans on the whole have not yet revived from this all-consuming hate campaign and the position papers and atrocity stories of the psychological war departments of all the "Allies," which partially explains the widespread confusion and paralysis of attitudes resulting from the changed postwar conditions demanding adjustment.

The indices to understanding the comprehensive hate of things Italian and German may be narrowed down to two: the triumphant whoop by Mr. Churchill upon hearing of the sickening murder of Mussolini by a Communist criminal, and a poll on London's streets taken by a London

newspaper before D-Day, commented upon by two American reporters of the service newspaper Stars and Stripes. When queried: "If you could press a button and kill every German in the world, would you press it?" almost 50 percent of the British citizens "thought they would jump at the chance." (Quoted in "Bud" Hutton and "Andy" Rooney, *Conquerors' Peace*, p. 63.) Surely these incidents suggest that the newer methods of emotional engineering far surpassed the primitive ones of the First World War in effectiveness. It is little wonder that the frightened leaders have discovered that it is easier to extend the hate campaigns than to decondition a people so fundamentally affected by such Neanderthalic appeals. It is not surprising that the most devoted supporters and instigators of hostile feelings in the war have given up in despair with respect to the hope of peace in our time, and now trumpet for unceasing bloodshed in pursuit of their delirious dreams. We need cite only the hysteria of such self-appointed leaders of the new blood-drenched "liberals" in our land as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., with his callous and horrifying "log-jam" theory of war. According to this, using the analogy of a river log jam and dynamite, the affairs of men periodically get so inextricably tangled that a war periodically is needed to set things aright. A little further down the road to annihilation is the latest emanation of still another of the tribe of these "right-thinking" folk, Elmer Davis, the George Creel of America's second war of propaganda against its people. In his *Two Minutes Till Midnight*, he begs us to resign ourselves to the inevitable — hydrogen bomb warfare — in the supreme effort to bring into the world the reign of righteousness and virtue that his most recently promoted planetary butchery somehow failed to flush out into the open. Mr. Davis' line that our only alternatives are world Communist slavery or atomic disintegration is the most dishonest fakery yet spawned by this bloody tribe. It does not appear that Mr. Davis learned a particle from the four brain-chilling reports of Dr. Ralph E. Lapp in the November 1954 and February, May, and June 1955 issues of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, on the now predictable effects of even a restricted hydrogen bomb war.

There is little to learn from what the academic camp as well has to say on this issue. Their books and other contributions grind along, proclaiming the unchanging message of the utter depravity of Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan, and the virtuousness of the combine they faced, with recent adjustments to cover their trail since the defection of Russia from the circles of the "peace-loving nations," of which the Soviet was a charter member just a short time ago. A new generation of historical camp-followers now preaches the necessity of World War Two and the virility of the United Nations, as a preceding one extolled World War One and the League. What we have passing as the history of the war is largely the collective value judgments of British- or Russian-inspired intellectuals frozen into a seeming finality.

Porter Sargent, morosely commenting in his *Getting U.S. Into War* (p. 44) on the war which was rapidly coming up on America in 1941, concluded:

Propaganda has always been Britain's best paying export. There has always been a demand for it. Americans lap it up, pay for it, and derive a sense of morality, religious exaltation and self-righteousness after gobbling it down. It was five or six years after the first World war before our university professors began to feel the first pangs of pain from their gullible gluttony. So secret and unsuspected have been the methods this time that it may take even longer. They were not immunized but apparently left even more susceptible.

At the heights of the Harvard faculty's hysteria for participating in the war, a student demonstration protesting the zeal of the draft-exempt academic elders for bloodshed took place in the Harvard Yard, one poster suggesting: "Send 50 Overage Professors to England." But the recommendation was ignored by the administration, and the cloistered warriors remained all over the land to repeat the experiences of the fold of Clio two decades earlier, under the direction of George

Creel's spiritual descendants. The part played by this battalion of editorial and microphone commandos in manufacturing belligerent psychology remains to be chronicled. It is ironic and poetic justice that from the economic point of view, the interest-group whose purchasing power has suffered most in America from the inroads of the war-created inflation of the past fifteen years has been the professors, and no other interest group acclaimed the coming of the war with such rousing enthusiasm as this same academic element.

As we look back over the last two gory decades, and contemplate the public apathy of mass-killing which exists around the world, it appears fruitless to sum up what has happened to the moral sense of mankind. The actions of the armed forces of all belligerents under stress erase the possibility of creating clearly-defined categories of righteous and evil participants. After years of annihilating women and children in undefended cities, starvation blockades, shooting and torturing prisoners of war, and systematic political murder, there should not be much wonder that so much world opinion remains unimpressed with the dreadful possibilities inherent in atomic warfare. Nobody can be blamed for wilting under such an assault as we have witnessed, all carried out in the name of re-establishing political virtue in the world and the installation of various praiseworthy social and economic objectives.

There is certainly nothing that can be pointed to in the conduct of the Allies from beginning to end that merits substantial unqualified praise on the moral level. Anyone who examined closely the behavior of these Allies in victory between 1945 and 1948 saw how thin and shabby the Allied ethico-moral superiority protestations were. The savage and nauseating things described by the courageous British Leftist publisher Victor Gollancz in his books *Our Threatened Values* and *In Darkest Germany*, and the stirring volume by Freda Utley, *The High Cost of Vengeance*, were sufficient to cancel out of consideration every scrap of lofty ethical and moral pretension of the war winners over the Nazis. These were books which the Allied policy-makers in Germany were surely sorry to see published. The admissions, some unconscious and inadvertent, in Hutton and Rooneys' *Conquerors' Peace* on the practices of the occupying powers in the chopped-up zones of Germany, additionally document the absence of principled distinctions.

The robbery, rape, murder and insolent strong-arm tactics so commonly reported in the first few years of occupation cannot be separated from official policy which encouraged such attitudes. Most noteworthy are the infamous "Unconditional Surrender" and Morgenthau Plan policies; the consequences of these crackbrained schemes will be with us for many years to come, in addition to having furnished myriad headaches this past dozen years. One can hardly imagine a policy madness which would have so reflected the goals of the professional anti-Germanism of Vansittart and Duff Cooper, even though Americans conceived them and with massive Soviet support largely carried them into such existence as they enjoyed.

The former was the logical extension of the Churchill-Duff Cooper-Vansittart sloganeering of 1940-44, when the Germans were being told incessantly that the war was to continue until Nazism was "extirpated." Just which Nazis were to be "extirpated," and how one was to recognize when "extirpation" was an accomplished fact, never was explained. Ultimately this fraud was abandoned and the outrageous "Black Record" program of comprehensive German extermination substituted. The Nazis were able to develop a tenacious and dogged resistance in Germany by pointing to the anti-German racialism of their righteous opponents. A Treaty of Berlin dictated by this trio and Roosevelt was threatened, which would make Versailles seem a feather bed by comparison. What this doctrine did to extend the war at least two more years, during which time most of the loss of life and destruction of property occurred, is already well known and hardly needs repetition here. All that followed was a lamentable hanging bee which got rid of most of

the important Nazi leaders and the ones most likely to rock the Allies' boat by revealing what they knew was being suppressed.

But Germany was converted into a collection of smoking craters first by a bombing campaign which has been subsequently denounced as a failure insofar as its professed objectives were concerned by experts ranging from Harold Urey to Major General J. F. C. Fuller. Those among the Allies who acclaimed this enthusiastically as revenge, overlooked the real nature of the situation completely. Not only were they guilty of staggering proportional obtuseness, in which the return of a thousand tons of bombs for one was considered proper retaliation, but they also conveniently ignored that it was Hitler who had proposed that the bombing of undefended cities be outlawed. We call to mind Frederick J. P. Veale's conclusive study *Advance to Barbarism*, which places the responsibility for the bombing of civilian populations where it properly belongs, upon the British Air Ministry.

But this was not revealed until after the incredible pulverization of urban Germany was completed topped off by the mass terror bombing of the undefended cultural center of Dresden on 13 February 1945, causing a quarter of a million casualties in a single day. The survivors elsewhere in the land were so stunned that they had little energy remaining to devote to noticing what Joseph Stalin, Harry Dexter White, and Henry Morgenthau, Jr. had contemplated as Germany's post-war "new look." The industrial and commercial pillaging of the land and its planned reduction to a bleak cabbage-raising helotry has long been abandoned. But, despite all the optimistic talk and the banal "healing of the wounds," the aims of these three remain largely effected. Territorially, Germany has been partitioned, restructured and truncated, despite all the furious activity since 1948 to salvage the scraps remaining after the Russian vandal holiday.

What is the story elsewhere? Five years ago Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, in his *Defence of the West*, entitled a chapter "Were We Wise to Foster Resistance Movements?" His conclusion was definitely in the negative. These largely-Communist and criminal-dominated enterprises have created as many political nightmares for the parliamentary democracies as Red China and Russia combined. Working under the full approval of the Western Allies, these sinister gatherings made such inroads that they remain behind the political weakness and instability of France and Italy to this day. The part they played in converting Yugoslavia into a Communist state is formidable. The ghoulish gloating of Churchill over the butchering of Mussolini and the rushed "trial" and execution of Laval have carried a big political price tag. In France we should not forget the 125,000 brutal political murders committed by the criminal-infested Maquis and other "resistance" elements during the years Germany was being given the Carthaginian treatment. This has been effectively described by Sisley Huddleston in his *France: The Tragic Years* and the novel *Terreur 1944*. The similar proscription in Italy has not received the attention it deserves, and an account of this shameful episode is badly needed. [It finally appeared in 1959, with the publication of Luigi Villari's *The Liberation of Italy*. — JJM, 1984]

And what of the behavior of the "democratic" Czechs? For sheer ferocity is there anything that matches the barbarous treatment accorded their German minorities after the glorious "liberation," as described for us in the symposium headed by Roger Baldwin titled *The Land of the Dead* and in Jurgen Thorwald's *Flight In the Winter*? Lidice pales into insignificance compared to this gout of primitive savagery.

Nor are the Russians to escape mention in this bleak saga without reference to their systematic elimination in Poland of elements considered incapable of incorporation within a Communist order. The account of the massacre of Polish officers in Joseph Mackiewicz's *The Katyn Wood Murders* and the thick volumes of incriminating evidence compiled in the United States Senate re-

ports on this event emphasize why this incredible atrocity was not successfully pinned on the Nazis at the time of the Nuremberg war crimes trials. The grisly humor of the Communists in trying to bluff their gullible democratic Allies on this point is probably the high-water mark for wartime cynicism.

Stalin's cold-blooded plans for a similar but far larger slaughter in Germany failed to obtain the approval of both his partners "at the summit," largely due to Churchill's obdurate resistance to the idea of shooting prisoners of war as a policy. Western commentators such as Dorothy Thompson have been inclined to cast too many huzzas in Sir Winston's direction for this stand, forgetting his description of Germany as a nation of 65 million "all killable." What a mockery this was to make out of his protestations, when he stood by in silence as Stalin ordered the execution of all German prisoners who had previously been members of the German Communist Party! There is little better evidence to indicate that the Soviet considered Communists the world over as loyal subjects of the Kremlin first and citizens of their own lands second. The crowning insult, and the total erasure of Churchill's plea that British entry into the war was primarily due to the pledge to preserve the integrity of Poland, occurred when he again kept his tongue while in full possession of proof during the war that the Russians had murdered the cream of Poland's officers, 15,000 in number, after taking them prisoner. But it stands to Roosevelt's perpetual discredit that he showed great enthusiasm for the casually-suggested monstrosity at both the Teheran and Yalta conferences, while Sir Winston at least had the temporary decency to object to such criminal savagery.

There is little doubt that the worst political blunder committed by the Allies was the decision to atom-bomb Japan, even after possessing full knowledge that this nation was beaten and seeking surrender terms which did not strip them bare of all self-respect. The one which rivals it closely is the hanging of the German and Japanese leaders after the trumped-up trials at Nuremberg, Manila. and Tokyo. The aftermath of these judicial farces has led to a formidable defensive and apologetic literature written mostly by citizens of the nations which sat in judgment on their enemies and consigned them to the gallows. Nothing done by the Allies through out the war so closely followed the Russian Communists' doctrine of political biology: the obliteration of all elements of the enemy elite considered incapable of assimilation into the order of the winners. Contrary to the fevered opinions of the camp-follower legalists, who still strive in the most unconvincing manner to justify these juridical assassinations and to sell them to the home front populations as novel departures in international law, they were no newer than the systematic executions by Assur-banipal and the other Old Testament Assyrian terrors.

For sheer dramatic irony it is difficult to surpass the comment by Charles Duff in his *A New Handbook on Hanging* (p. 126) on the circumstances immediately preceding the killing of these German military and political personages:

Forever memorable in the proud annals of execution will be the Great Hangings at Nuremberg in the Year of Grace 1946. Eleven leaders of the Nazi movement who had been tried for war crimes and crimes against humanity sat down one October evening (23rd) to their Last Supper of canned American-German sausage and cold cuts with potato salad, bread and tea. The same evening the cinema of the Court of Justice announced next day's screen attraction which had been well chosen for the occasion. It was "Deadline for Murder."

Nearly a dozen brave books have appeared since 1948 demolishing the validity of the contentions of the Allied judges. Montgomery Belgion's *Victors' Justice*; Lord Maurice Hankey's *Politics, Trials and Errors*; Captain Russell Grenfell's *Unconditional Hatred*; the previously

mentioned volumes of Freda Uitley and Frederick J. P. Veale; Viscount Maugham's *UNO and War Crimes*; R. T. Paget's *Manstein: His Campaigns and His Trial*, and the logical crusher by A. Frank Reel, *The Case of General Yamashita*, make the sickly justifications of the courts' trained seals sound unbearably unconvincing. Nevertheless, these lynchings under the cloak of legality were the logical conclusion of the wartime crusade, and followed through with hardly a pause where their predecessors had faltered after their vainglorious "Hang the Kaiser" rabbleroxing. But the fat now is in the fire for sure. These trials have made it a crime to lose, and in the future we may expect the most exaggerated recourse to martial paraphernalia on the part of all belligerent leaders in desperate efforts to avoid defeat and an ignominious end on the victor's gallows. There is little doubt but that the sobering after-effects of these war crimes trials have reached upon the military leadership of the whole world, and upon the West in particular. The "United Nations" war in Korea partially illustrated what we may take to be customary procedure in future wars: both sides rapidly compiled lists of "war criminals" in anticipation of victory and another morality pageant to be played before another planetary audience on new scaffolds. The stalemate result undoubtedly was a bitter disappointment to those who were fired with the righteous zeal of Nuremberg and Manila, even though the now-hostile sides had been joint participants at these former spectacles.

If the Allies wished world approval of their case, they should not have so lightly betrayed the principles and traditions of vaunted Anglo-Saxon juridical and legal practice. We frown on courts where the judges have already made up their minds on the guilt of the accused and are in partnership with the accusers. We disapprove of courts which refuse the accused the right to present evidence on their own behalf because it might undermine the case of the accusers, and ignore the fact that the accusers have been guilty of the identical things they charged against the accused. Why did the Allies abandon honest pursuit of justice and conduct a trial along the line of Soviet Communist "purge" farces, where the trial is simply advertising for the case against already sentenced persons? Something nearer the value system the West was supposed to be defending in this frightful bloodbath might have been established if the winners had created a court staffed by judges exclusively from neutrals and who tried the winners for their "war crimes" as well.

Charges against the "Axis" leaders (was there ever really an "Axis"?) for such offenses as collective punishments and "enslaving" the laborers of adjacent lands overlooked the monstrous acts of the Russian ally of more comprehensive scope in these departments. And do not documents prove that even while the Allies were considering such charges against the Germans, hundreds of thousands of Germans were being shipped to Russia as involuntary labor with full approval of the other nations? In the decade since the war ended in the West, we have seen impressive evidence of British and French callousness toward the matter of collective punishment. British asperity toward recalcitrant Asians and Africans in Malaya and Kenya proves without a doubt the willingness of England to employ such practices when it is profitable to do so. There is no record of Mr. Churchill condemning the actions in these two lands, actions which match anything on the German or Japanese dossier. Nor have there been any indignant protests among the articulate, who viewed the Nazi razing of Lidice as the crime of the century, at the repetition of this in the jungles of Asia and Africa under Christian British auspices, during these last three years. The press in England has reported these with a straight face, but the wells of moral protest seem to have run dry among those who had made moral protestation a veritable occupation when it involved the behavior of a formidable antagonist.

The ability which the French displayed in starting the tears of the world with their tales of woe in the recent war with Hitler rates very high in the annals of world propaganda history. Bailed out of their sagging descent toward fourth-rate status as a power by the American industrial and military machine, all former sentiments have been discarded while a desperate and losing battle for

the maintenance of their colonial prestige in Asia and Africa goes on. Their austerity in handling Algerians, Tunisians and Moroccans fully matches any story told of German behavior in France during the Occupation. Morally the two accounts are precisely equal. As for the Indo-China debacle, one cannot break off his attention to this theater before reading the incredible tale of the campaign against the civilian population as told by the young French parachute trooper Philippe de Pirey in his *Operation Waste*.

But, once more we have fallen for the propaganda stunts which paint the violence of the favored side in the most favorable hues, while that of the antagonists, as I.M. Read has pointed out in *Atrocity Propaganda*, is denounced as the blackest behavior to the credit of a sub-group of homo sapiens. Unfortunately, there has been no long recuperative period after this great war as there was beginning in 1919. No comprehensive decontamination process has been possible anywhere, and the continuation of war in cold, hot and lukewarm forms this past decade has also served the purpose of hardening into permanency the propaganda which accompanied the global assault on Hitler, Mussolini, and Japan. No lessening of the pressure to believe has converted the world's masses into even more compliant believers. It is incorrect to speak of the contemporary generation as skeptics and scoffers; Eric Hoffer's *The True Believer* accurately describes the current world as one desperately anxious to believe, and to follow such beliefs even to annihilation. Underlining this is their patient support of the vast war machines and economies today in the hope that in this way the peace they have been denied will eventuate.

That Stalin was able to get control of nearly a third of Europe beyond his pre-war frontiers, and establish the Russian policy of recalcitrancy and contumely which has sparked the last rancorous decade, is due almost entirely to Roosevelt and Churchill. When it comes to the political blunders of modern times, none surpasses that of the former and his adviser Harry Hopkins in confidently predicting that the Communists would be amenable to a world settlement which would find the same old post-Versailles Anglo-Franco-American combine dictating all fundamental world policies, with Russian collaboration. It was with such blithe hopes that the destruction of Europe was so lightly undertaken. Sir Winston's change of heart was too late. Although he hypocritically announced late in 1944 that the war was "no longer an ideological war" as he and the ponderous Allied propaganda factories had proclaimed it even before it began, there was faint hope that any successful salvage of the situation was then possible. The real issue was not sudden Communist perfidy but repeated and unpardonable Anglo-American misjudgment of Communism.

It is hard to reconcile Mr. Churchill's belatedly discovered and asserted suspicion of the Soviets with the way in which the war was prosecuted in the last ten months. Of course, the launching of the Cold War in March 1946 signified a relatively rapid policy-somersault on the part of the "Democratic Leader," but his assertions to the press in the spring of 1955 that he had authorized the stockpiling of German arms for possible reissue to the soldiers of his hated enemy should Russian advances into the West continue aroused wry smiles of incredulity. The Potsdam agreement unfortunately is on the record, and its specific provisions dismiss any feeble gestures on the part of Sir Winston to ensconce himself further as an omniscient sleuth when it came to divining the intents of things Russian. The editor of *The Economist* in an article published on 11 August 1945 made probably the most realistic contemporary resume of this whole deplorable settlement:

The conviction that the peace proposed at Potsdam is a thoroughly bad peace is not based on any sentimental softening towards Germany. It is based on the belief that the system proposed is in the fullest sense unworkable. It offers no hope of ultimate German reconciliation. It offers little hope of the Allies maintaining its cumbrous controls beyond the first years of peace. Its methods of reparations reinforce autarky in Russia and consummate the ruin not only of Germany, but of

Europe. Above all, it has in it not a single constructive idea, not a single hopeful perspective for the post-war world. At the end of a mighty war fought to defeat Hitlerism, the Allies are making a Hitlerian peace. This is the real measure of their failure.

The remarkable disintegration of the United Nations Organization as the cure-all for the world's conflicting national interests is the most impressive evidence of the basic defectiveness of design in the postwar plans of the Allied victors. Like its direct ancestor it was little more than a gathering of the most powerful conquerors and several levels of satellites, as exclusive as its predecessor. The defeated nations are not in it yet, and there exists little evidence that they will be admitted in the near future. Little wonder that much of the perpetual debate is so unrealistic. The two great-power concentrations whose wheeling and dealing has occupied most of the UN's time since 1945 are the consequences which indicate the transparency of the great statesmen who in the majesty of their wisdom imagined that another diplomatic Potemkin-village such as the League was all the world needed to bring about peace. And the military alliances of the West — NATO, SEATO, and the like — are the best proof of the fundamental lack of faith of the West in their own creature. The futile wars fought in Korea and Indo-China since 1945 add emphasis to the contention that the UN is mainly an instrument for the encouragement and spreading of wars rather than a device for their prevention or limitation. So after all the disparagement and ridicule, we are back to conferences, agreements, alliances, understandings, balances of power and conciliatory gatherings in the hope of reconciling conflicting national interests. How protagonists can claim with a straight face that the organization has inhibited fighting anywhere is dissimulation beyond compare.

It is these contemporary attempts to find a common meeting ground with Communism that illustrate best of all the sheer lunacy of the war. They undermine completely the argument that fighting Hitler to the end was a moral necessity on the grounds that such a sinner and such an evil program could not be permitted to survive. The most pathetic spectacle of all has been Mr. Churchill's groping for peace in his declining days, after a lifetime of unbroken devotion to solving his problems and those of Britain in generous baths of hot lead, steel and blood. After all his thunder-words and belligerency comes the interlude, at the conclusion of his career, of sweetness and reconciliation. Are we to thank the hydrogen bomb for this, rather than an intellectual conversion to the machinery of peace? For those of us who have watched him for five decades, and in particular the period since the Bolshevik revolution, it is the paradox of the century that Sir Winston should end his political days as the champion of a policy of peace with an element, the Soviet Union, of which he has been one of the most vitriolic critics, even though he found it possible to swallow his scruples and accept them as allies not a very great time ago. In just what way do the Soviets exceed the Nazis in moral rectitude? Are we to believe that the guiding consideration in seeking this understanding is the vast material power of this potential adversary in still another war? If not, Sir Winston concludes his career as a statesman in complete absurdity. The editorialist (Sir Oswald Mosley) in the May 1955 issue of *The European* has summed it up most succinctly:

... none can deny — least of all Sir Winston Churchill — that the Soviet leaders in undoubted fact have committed crimes against humanity which have surpassed anything even suggested against the Nazi leaders.

So Churchill's moral desire for peace today removes his last moral excuse for war yesterday. No one can say that peace with Nazi Germany was morally impossible while he clambers up the "throne of skulls" to seek peace with the Soviet "monsters" at yet another vodka banquet.

He returns to the true tradition of British policy which sought peace and the interests of the country without requiring any certificate of domestic virtue from the other side. He is right to seek peace today; he would have been still more right to seek peace yesterday.

That we are now deep in a stage of world affairs best described by George Orwell is a conclusion that is nearly impossible to reject. In his novel 1984 the three power agglomerations now glaring at one another and the motivations easily recognizable today have been laid down with implacable literary skill. One should not miss the remarkable summaries of this situation in Harry Elmer Barnes' *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout*, Chapter 10, titled "Orwellian Warfare," of Veale's *Advance to Barbarism*, and the symposium *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*. Orwell's analysis is the fruit of a fairly long intellectual tradition which begins with Bakunin, and courses along through Wacław Machajski, Max Nomad and James Burnham. The latter's *The Managerial Revolution* first brought this thesis to a large public, but it was already fully developed. The capture of the machinery of the modern state by the new intellectual "managerial" elite, using the working class as camouflage, describes in brief the main argument. The entrenchment of this new managerial elite in power by utilization of the strategy of endless but limited global war is the subject of Orwell's brilliant tour de force. The chances for peace and comity in the world appear grim and dark in view of this set of circumstances. But it may be that the mind-shrinking potential of fission warfare may intervene and bring the world back to sanity; the speech of General MacArthur in Los Angeles in January 1955 is a straw in the wind which suggests a way out. A more summary condemnation of the present managerial war trends has never issued from the lips of anyone, let alone from those of a person whose whole life has been spent in military proclivities.

Still again, the chief reason for the failure to break out of this new circle of death may be that people have lost interest in foreign affairs, and although still living in the cloud-castles created for them by propaganda, have woven a fact-proof screen about themselves out of sheer distrust of their representatives. One's intelligence can stand just so much blunting by war censorship edicts and palpably misleading news and informational fare. This accounts in large part for the widespread apathy and state of torpor, regardless how pressing the issues of the day are. Our wartime project which sought to batter down the moral conditioning which looked upon the taking of life with disfavor was a rousing success. Resistance to this has been largely obliterated, a fact which can be verified by attendance at moving picture theaters where war pictures and news reels are shown. A sober, ruminating audience accepts scenes of obliteration bombing, napalm, and flame-thrower incendiarism and automatic weapon massacres with hardly a flicker of reaction. Do we really think that this kind of psychological conditioning is going to be lightly brushed away by the application of the new post-war fad of juke-box religion? No, perhaps we still face the necessity of paying a fabulous price beyond what already has been paid. Another war may find us grazing the possibility of racial annihilation.

We are again at the stage which the world was in twenty years ago. Will we act any wiser this time, or will the counsels of the makers of war again prevail and the bloody burden once more be taken up by the world's peoples? We cannot approach this new situation as complacently as a large part of the spectators did in 1935. The new weapons urge us to seek a just settlement, and eliminate the gnawing grievances which clamor for equitable assessment. We simply cannot afford anymore the heavy-handed obtuseness which precipitated 1914 and 1939. The time to begin a realistic reeducation in the ways that wars are made is already long overdue.

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'The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry' An Exchange

W. D. Rubinstein
Walter N. Sanning
Arthur R. Butz

Editor's Note: Earlier this year Mr. John Bennett, head of the Australian Civil Liberties Union, sent a copy of Walter N. Sanning's 1983 book *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* to Dr. W. D. Rubinstein of the School of Social Sciences at Deakin University, Victoria, Australia. Professor Rubinstein has been a leading Australian critic of revisionist books on the "Holocaust." He gave Mr. Bennett his reactions to the Sanning book in a letter, which Mr. Bennett circulated in revisionist circles, soliciting comment. We herewith print the Rubinstein letter, followed by letters in reaction to it by Walter N. Sanning and Arthur R. Butz.

Professor W.D. Rubinstein to John Bennett, ca. 15 February 1984:

Dear Mr. Bennett,

Thank you for letting me see Sanning's book, which I attach. I would like to purchase a copy in due course. I have not, because of the pressure of other work, gone over the whole text in great detail, but I think the following remarks would still stand after a more detailed reading:

1) Sanning's thesis is that there were many fewer Jews in Europe in 1939, and many more in Europe (or ex-European Jews elsewhere) in 1945 than previous historians have maintained, and that any decrease in European Jewish numbers between 1939 and 1945 was due to a continuation of previous unfavorable demographic patterns, emigration, 'normal' wartime losses, and one new factor not found in previous works of this type, the mass murder of Jews by Stalin. Sanning claims that Stalin murdered at least 600,000 former Polish Jews (p. 106). Sanning denies that a Nazi Holocaust occurred, in common with other neo-Nazi writers.

2) Sanning appears to be a competent and expert historical demographer and, to give him credit, has studied all of the sources. However, his whole work is permeated by willful sleight-of-hand and distortion, and with the possible exception of one part of his discussion, is just as historically worthless as other works of this sort.

Two points are crucial to Sanning's discussion. The first is that the number of Polish Jews was not 3.2-3.3 million in 1939 as is generally maintained, but about 2.6 million, due to an excess of deaths over births and large-scale emigration, especially by younger males. This is demographically quite incredible, apart from the fact that it is not based upon adequate sources. There is not the slightest evidence of any such widescale emigration, and one might ask: where did these Jews emigrate to? Anyone who knows the extreme difficulties faced by wealthy and educated German Jews in emigrating between 1933 and 1939 will realize the implausibility that large numbers of impoverished Polish Jews migrated elsewhere during this period.

The second key point is that very substantial numbers of Polish Jews were moved to the eastern parts of the Soviet Union in 1939. For this, there is not one shred of compelling evidence, and Sanning cannot really decide whether Stalin rescued these Polish Jews or murdered 600,000 of them! As I believe I wrote you before, this whole argument is irrelevant if there was no Nazi Holocaust, but such is life.

Notice too, that after all of Sanning's sleight-of-hand over numbers, all of it misleading, he is still unable to account for 600,000 'missing' Polish Jews except by claiming they were murdered (by Stalin). Doesn't this strike you as giving the whole game away?

3) I do not have Butz's work at hand, but Sanning's work contradicts Butz's on a number of interesting matters:

a) Butz, as I remember, claims that no Hungarian Jews were deported; Sanning states (pp. 141-2) that 100,000 (or more) were deported to Germany.

b) Butz claims that there may be 9 million Jews in the U.S. at present. Doubtless because such a figure is preposterous, Sanning puts the number at 6.6 million.

c) Butz claims that the Zionist-Communist international conspiracy were responsible for concocting the 'Holocaust myth'. Sanning claims that Stalin murdered 600,000 Jews.

4) Sanning does not examine the historical evidence for the Nazi Holocaust, but evidently dismisses it as fiction. Yet he unhesitatingly accepts the fact that Stalin murdered 600,000 Polish Jews. I would regard the historical evidence that the Nazis murdered between 5-6 million European Jews as about 10,000 times stronger than Sanning's claim about Stalin and the evidence he presents for it, yet, to fit his theories, he accepts the Stalin claim and rejects 'normal' history.

There are many many other similar points which readily occur to me, but which, frankly, it is a waste of my time to canvass. Like Butz's work, Sanning's book is a monument of misdirected energy and is without merit or interest except to students of contemporary anti-semitism.

Finally, the clipping you sent about Polish Jews in Australia, regardless of its source, is a wild exaggeration. It will send you the correct figures when I have a chance to look at the Census data.

Yours sincerely, (Dr.) W.D. Rubinstein

Walter N. Sanning to John Bennett, 8 March 1984:

Dear Mr. Bennett,

A few days ago I received a copy of Dr. Rubinstein's letter to you criticizing *The Dissolution* as a book "permeated by willful sleight-of-hand and distortion" and "as historically worthless" at the same time charging me with "neo-Nazism" and "anti-Semitism." Possibly, one must expect this kind of denunciation if one presents facts contrary to the views of the established power structure and its most influential special interest group.

I assume that Dr. Rubinstein knows the difference between "emigration" and "immigration." He refers to "the extreme difficulties faced by wealthy and educated German Jews in emigrating between 1933 and 1939..." However, the difficulty was on the immigration side as a number of Western countries did not welcome Jewish immigration. Dr. Rubinstein knows this and I suppose

that is what he meant, but he creates the wrong impression that Germany prevented them from leaving the country.

Not in a single instance does Dr. Rubinstein try to disprove or refute the conclusions, facts or evidence contained in *The Dissolution*. He calls the figure of only 2.6 million Polish Jews in 1939 “demographically quite incredible, apart from the fact that it is not based upon adequate sources.” He goes on: “There is not the slightest evidence of any such widescale emigration and one might ask: where did these Jews emigrate to?”

Is he joking? Either he overlooked or he chose to overlook the evidence I presented for such widescale emigration. Examples: (a) the testimony of U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long before a congressional committee to the effect that the U.S.A. admitted about 580,000 refugees until 1943 — most of them Jews; (b) the large immigration in Palestine in the Thirties and early Forties (almost 300,000); (c) the huge Jewish population increases in Latin America (almost 200,000) and Western Europe until the war (over 100,000). It is precisely because I anticipated charges like those of Dr. Rubinstein that I based my analysis almost exclusively on Allied, Zionist and pro-Zionist West German sources. If he believes that the evidence given by the wartime U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, the Institute of Jewish Affairs, the American Jewish Year Book, official census publications or the pro-Zionist Institute for Contemporary History in Munich and other similar sources is inadequate, then he should explain what he considers adequate. In Germany at any rate, the Holocaust-enthralled courts have used the latter institute’s testimony as *prima facie* evidence.

Dr. Rubinstein’s question “where did these Jews emigrate to?” is brazen indeed. *The Dissolution* has been very specific on this (Chapter Seven) and I can only take this remark as another example of a thoroughly dishonest approach.

His assertion that “there is not one shred of compelling evidence [that] very substantial numbers of Polish Jews were moved to the eastern parts of the Soviet Union in 1939” is absolutely correct. Trouble is, I never claimed that: I referred to the year 1940. The evidence presented (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Institute of Jewish Affairs, Gerald Reitlinger, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Encyclopaedia Judaica, David Bergelson, American Jewish Year Book, Herschel Weinrauch, Rabbi Aaron Pechenick, Shachne Epstein, Committee for Jewish Refugees from Concentration Camps, etc.) is overwhelming. Dr. Rubinstein neither refers to this evidence nor does he explain why it should not be accepted; he chooses simply to deny its existence. But then, I can’t blame him considering how easy it is to be charged with “anti-Semitism” these days.

I am afraid that I also have to dampen somewhat his obvious delight in having found what he believes are contradictions between Prof. Butz’s work and mine.

However, it is just not true that Prof. Butz “claims that no Hungarian Jews were deported,” nor is it true that I stated that 100,000 or more were deported. What Prof. Butz said was that some deportations were going on between March and October 1944 and, again, that in October 1944 between 35,000 and 45,000 were actually deported to Germany for labor. My own reference to this episode was that the IRC report mentioned only 60,000 scheduled to be deported and that nowhere do we find any trace whatever that this number was exceeded or attained. I went on to say that “in this analysis we will assume that... the total number of deported Jews from Hungary reached 100,000 which is probably much too high” (p. 140). It is difficult to believe that Dr. Rubinstein’s false charges are just the result of gross negligence.

Dr. Rubinstein's further claim of a contradiction between Prof. Butz and my work regarding the number of Jews in the United States is just as baseless. Prof. Butz stated "I really have no idea how many Jews there are in the U.S... As far as I know, the correct figure could easily be 9,000,000." In other words, Prof. Butz did not claim 9 million Jews for the U.S.A.; he merely stated a personal view while admitting that he does not know. Where is the contradiction?

There are more misrepresentations and false charges I could cite, but I think that the above is quite sufficient to show the total failure of this representative of "normal" history to fend off the blow which *The Dissolution* has delivered to some of the basic tenets of the Holocaust story.

If "incredible" and "inadequate" is all he can say to counter my arguments, his case must be weak indeed. If he feels that he can resort to crude falsehoods just to make up for non-existent differences between Prof. Butz and myself, can one believe that he would tell us the truth in as abstruse and lucrative an affair as the so-called Holocaust?

Dr. Rubinstein deplored the fact that I did not examine "the historical evidence for the Nazi Holocaust." Well, I haven't done so for good reason. First, there are plenty of excellent Revisionist works available examining "the historical evidence" (Butz, Faurisson, Rassinier, Stäglich) to name just a few, and, unfortunately for people like Dr. Rubinstein, they found this evidence wanting. Secondly, my objective was to examine the statistical demographic facts and the specific historical frame pertaining to just one aspect of recent Jewish History: The demographic development of eastern European Jewry.

I kept *The Dissolution* as free of emotion as possible and I hoped to contribute thereby to a genuine discussion of the premises underlying the genocide charge. It seems, though, that this is not possible. One should think that academics would owe it to their self-esteem to argue objectively and impassionately rather than to resort to slander, name-calling, misrepresentations and outright lies. Hopefully, Dr. Rubinstein is just an exception. His total disregard for the truth is further proof, if any was needed, of the Holocaust story's lack of substance.

My very best regards,

Walter N. Sanning

Professor Arthur R. Butz to J. Marcellus, 18 April 1984:

Dear Mr. Marcellus:

Thank you for sending me the copy of Dr. W.D. Rubinstein's recent letter to John Bennett, criticizing Walter Sanning's *Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*. I have the following comments on the Rubinstein letter, which you can publish in the JHR or newsletter if you wish.

Dr. Rubinstein, of Deakin University in Australia, is best known now for his recent book *The Left, the Right and the Jews*, whose thesis is that Jews constitute a new social, economic and political elite in the West and as such have been moving to the right politically. The book contains a scolding notice of revisionism, with which his public scrapes started in 1979, when he attempted to convince Australian libraries not to allow my *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* to become available to readers (*Australian Library Journal*, 6 July 1979, p. 162).

I was almost incredulous at some of Rubinstein's remarks, especially where he seemed to be saying that there were no significant emigrations of Jews from Germany or Poland during the Thirties, or that "there is not one shred of compelling evidence" that "substantial numbers" of Polish

Jews were deported to the interior of the Soviet Union. Such wild remarks make one wonder if any of the writings of this supposed expert on Jewry can be read with credence. However, I shall not redundantly try to cover the ground that Sanning has in his excellent rebuttal of Rubinstein.

Rather I shall remark on a respect in which Rubinstein's criticism is valid, although trifling and anticipated in the Foreword I contributed to the Sanning book. To oversimplify, Sanning argued at one point, on the basis of his documentation, that 750,000 Polish Jews were deported by the Soviets, that the conditions attending the relocation were severe, that about 150,000 returned, and that the most plausible explanation for the discrepancy is that 600,000 died from the severe conditions. While that is possible, I am not convinced. Sanning's argument can be disputed at several points. This is one of those instances of a Sanning estimate that can be "challenged on some plausible grounds," as I wrote in the Foreword. You should be prepared in the future for the raising of other valid points of disputation.

Sanning undertook one of the most difficult tasks I can imagine. For example the specific question of about how many Polish Jews perished in the Soviet Union will never be answered to the general satisfaction of all reasonable inquirers. If Sanning should be faulted, however, it is not for the "willful sleight-of-hand and distortion" of Rubinstein's curses but for underestimating the difficulty of the task he set for himself. Nevertheless, in Sanning's book "the treatment has been carried ... about as far as it can be," as I wrote in the Foreword. Even Rubinstein implicitly concedes real value for the book by remarking that Sanning "has studied all of the sources." The implication is that one can learn the identity of these sources in *Dissolution*.

To address Rubinstein's comments on my work, he considers "preposterous" my belief that the number of U.S. Jews "could as easily be 9,000,000", and presumably also my associated claim that "there must be at least 4,000,000 in the New York City area alone" (p. 17 of Hoax). While at no point claiming to possess accurate figures, I gave background considerations which made such speculations reasonable. The "New York City area" is not, I admit, precisely defined, but I think it could fairly be taken to be the area from which people might feasibly commute to jobs in Manhattan; that would include e.g. Philadelphia and the densely populated parts of Connecticut. Such speculations, so inharmonious with the six million Jews supposed to be in the U.S.A., are not confined to revisionist historians. An article in the *New York Times* of 2 January 1981 on Gaucher's disease (which like Tay-Sachs strikes mainly Jews), clearly based on demographic data of some sort, remarked that "about half of this country's estimated eight million Jews live in the New York metropolitan area."

The Rubinstein letter is a contribution to its subject only in its unintended implications. The only serious weakness he found in the Sanning book is one that any work of such objectives will have. The rest of Rubinstein's remarks are empty railing.

Sincerely, Arthur R. Butz

Winter 1984 (Vol. 5, No. 2), page 375

Book review

Why The Goyim?

- *Why The Jews? The Reason For Antisemitism*, by Dennis Prager and Joseph Telushkin. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983, 238pp, \$14.95, ISBN 0-671-45270-3.

reviewed by L. A. Rollins

“Jews have suffered, and Christians have suffered. Mankind has suffered. There is no group with a monopoly on suffering, and no human beings which have experienced hate and hostility more than any other. I must say, however, that it is my impression that Jewish history has been taught with a whine and a whimper rather than with a straight-forward acknowledgment that man practices his inhumanity on his fellow human beings ...”

Rabbi Richard E. Singer, Highland Park, Illinois, Lakeside Congregation. Quoted by Alfred Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection*. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978), p. 401.

In *Why the Jews?*, Dennis Prager and Joseph Telushkin perform a disingenuous duet of whining and whimpering. The basic premise of the book, which I dispute, is that (p. 17) “Hatred of the Jew has been humanity’s great hatred. While hatred of other groups has always existed, no hatred has been as universal, as deep or as permanent as antisemitism.”

But all of Prager and Telushkins' arguments in support of their assertion of the “uniqueness” of Jew-hatred are rendered at best inconclusive by a fundamental defect in their discussion. This defect is their failure to acknowledge the reality of another form of hatred that has been as universal, deep and permanent as Jew-hatred. I'm talking about Goy-hatred.

Space limitations preclude my documenting the phenomenon of Goy-hatred in the detail that I would like to. So interested readers are referred to my book *A History of Anti-Gentilism*, forthcoming from Random House — when Hell freezes over. But right now I will quote just one piece of Jewish testimony concerning Goy-hatred. Writing under the name “Avner,” a former member of LEHI, also known as the Stern Gang, a Jewish terrorist organization in Mandatory Palestine, described his joining the group:

Tsfoni handed us each a heavy revolver and said in a harsh voice which immediately acquainted us with the spirit of the adventure we were embarking on:

“No pity for the Goys.”

I experienced an inner surge of emotion.

It was years since I had heard this word. It was never used in the kibboutz because there was no place for it in Marxist terminology. For the European Jew, the term is not necessarily one of abuse. It is the way in which it is said which gives it its character. For the Lehi, on the other hand, an Englishman would always be a filthy Goy, who could be killed for this reason alone, but if one in particular was necessary — the Polish pogrom and the Hitler camps. Later, I saw this biological hatred appear in the course of operations, as in the case of the eighteen-year-old Sabra who, after having fired a burst of submachinegun fire point-blank at a policeman, instead of running away, lingered a long while battering the already cooling body with the butt of his weapon. (Memoirs of an Assassin: Confessions of a Stern Gang Killer [New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959], p. 78.)

In the course of this review, I will present some additional evidence of the existence of Goy-hatred throughout Jewish history.

Their failure to acknowledge the reality of Goy-hatred is not the only defect in Prager and Telushkins' discussion of the alleged uniqueness of Jew-hatred. Another defect is their penchant for magnifying the extent of Jew-hatred by promiscuously labeling as Jew-hatred (or “anti-semitism”) any opinion concerning Jews that they find troublesome, and by endorsing false or exaggerated Jewish accusations against the Goyim.

As an example of their promiscuous use of the “antisemitism” label, consider this statement (p. 17), intended to illustrate the allegedly unique nature of Jew-hatred: “Jews who live in non-Jewish societies have been accused of having dual loyalties, and Jews who live in the Jewish state have been condemned as 'racists.'” “ But inasmuch as it is true that some Jews who live in “non-Jewish” societies do have dual loyalties, and some Jews who live in the Jewish state are racists, saying so does not necessarily indicate Jew-hatred.

Prager and Telushkins' endorsement of false or exaggerated Jewish accusations against the Goyim is well illustrated by their discussion (pp. 18-19) of various alleged attempts to annihilate the Jewish people:

The basic source of ancient Jewish history, the Bible, depicts two attempts to destroy the Jewish people, the attempt by Pharaoh and the Egyptians (Exodus 1:15-22) and that of Haman and the Persians (Book of Esther). While it is true that the historicity of these biblical accounts has not been proven or disproven by nonbiblical sources, few would dispute the supposition that in ancient times attempts were made to destroy the Jews. Indeed the first record reference to Jews in non-Jewish sources, the Merneptah stele, written by an Egyptian king about 1220 B.C.E., states “Israel is no more.” Jewish writings from the earliest times until the present are replete with references to attempts by non-Jews to destroy the Jewish people. Psalms 83:5 describes the enemies of the Jews as proponents of genocide: “Come, and let us cut them off from being a nation, that the Name of Israel may no more be remembered.” Just how precarious Jews have viewed, their survival is reflected in a statement from the ancient and still recited Passover Haggadah: “In every generation they rise against us in order to annihilate us.”

On two occasions in the last 350 years annihilation campaigns have been waged against the Jews: the Chmelnitzky massacres in Eastern Europe in 1648-49, and the Nazi destruction of Jews throughout Europe between 1939-1945.

... In both instances all Jews, including infants, were targeted for murder; the general populace nearly always joined in the attacks; and the torture and degradation of Jews were an integral part of the murderers' procedures.

Contrary to Prager and Telushkin, nonbiblical sources do disprove the historicity of the biblical account of Haman's alleged plot to annihilate the Jews of Persia. Theodore H. Gaster, a scholar of religions and civilizations of the Near East, has written:

Scholars have long since pointed out that the story of Esther, as related in the Bible, is simply a piece of romantic fiction and cannot possibly represent historical fact. None of the Persian kings called Xerxes had a wife named Esther, and none had a vizier named Haman. What is more, the whole story of Ahasuerus' marrying a Jewish maiden is factually preposterous, for we happen to know from the Greek historian Herodotus and from other sources that the Persian king was permitted to marry only into one of the seven leading families of the realm, and the pedigree of the bride was therefore submitted to the most searching examination. (Festivals of the Jewish Year: A Modern Interpretation and Guide, 2nd printing [New York: William Morrow, 1972], pp. 215-216.)

(Parenthetically I will point out that if, as Prager and Telushkin claim, biblical accounts of attempts to destroy the Jewish people are evidence of the depth of Jew-hatred, then, by the same token, the biblical account (Book of Joshua) of how "the children of Israel," led by Joshua, "utterly destroyed" the inhabitants of Jericho, Ai, Makedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir and Hazor must be evidence of the depth of Goy-hatred. Maybe that is why Prager and Telushkin do not mention Joshua or his perhaps mythical massacres.)

The Chmelnitzky massacres of the 1640s did, in fact, occur, with Poles and Germans among the victims, not only Jews. But, contrary to Prager and Telushkin's claim that "... all Jews, including infants, were targeted for murder...", Paul E. Grosser and Edwin G. Halperin have said:

The roving bands of [Cossack] rebels allowed only those who converted to the Greek Orthodox faith to survive. Jews living in the Kiev area fled to the Tatar camps and surrendered. (As a rule the Tartars refrained from killing them but rather sold them into slavery in Turkey where there was an excellent chance of being purchased by their Turkish coreligionists.) (Anti-Semitism: The Causes and Effects of a Prejudice [Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel Press. 1979], p. 180.)

Prager and Telushkin's claim that "... all Jews, including infants, were targeted for murder..." during "the Nazi Holocaust" has been convincingly disputed by a number of writers. Rather than open up that particular subject in this review, I will refer readers especially to the works on this question by Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson. ^[1]

At least some of the five alleged attempts to annihilate the Jewish people specifically mentioned by Prager and Telushkin are totally or partially fictional. But even if all five were completely factual, that would not make true the Passover Haggadah's defamatory accusation against the Goyim: "In every generation they rise against us in order to annihilate us."

Why, then, do Prager and Telushkin cite the Passover Haggadah's defamation of the Goyim as evidence of the depth of Jew-hatred, when, if it is evidence of anything, it must be evidence of Goy-hatred? After all, they treat false and defamatory accusations against the Jews as evidence of Jew-hatred. But by the same token, false and defamatory accusations against the Goyim can with equal justification be viewed as evidence of Goy-hatred. So if Prager and Telushkin are right to

interpret anti-Jewish libels as evidence of Jew-hatred, then their own endorsement of various anti-Gentile libels must be evidence of their own virulent, violent Goy-hatred.

The main point of *Why the Jews?* is to present Prager and Telushkins' explanation of Jew-hatred. They reject various explanations that have been proposed, including (p. 20) "economic factors, the need for scapegoats, ethnic hatred, xenophobia, resentment of Jewish affluence and professional success, and religious bigotry." They assert that none of these things provides an ultimate or universal explanation of Jew-hatred. And they assume there must be such an ultimate, universal explanation. Why must there be? They say (p. 21): "Antisemitism has existed too long and in too many disparate cultures to ignore the problem of ultimate cause and/or to claim that new or indigenous factors are responsible every time it erupts." But to deny that there is any ultimate, universal cause of Jew-hatred is not necessarily to imply that "new and indigenous factors are responsible every time it erupts." To prove their point, Prager and Telushkin must prove that new and indigenous factors are never responsible for Jew-hatred. This they have not done.

Nevertheless, Prager and Telushkin proceed to endorse "the age-old Jewish understanding of antisemitism," which they express (*ibid.*) thusly: "Throughout their history Jews have regarded Jew-hatred as an inevitable consequence of their Jewishness." Or, as they also put it (p. 22): "The ultimate cause of antisemitism is that which made Jews Jewish — Judaism." But if, as they assert, Judaism is the cause of Jew-hatred, then what (or who) is the cause of Judaism?

In any case, Prager and Telushkin specify (pp. 22-23) four reasons why Judaism has caused Jew-hatred: 1) the Jews' allegiance to "God, Torah, and Israel" has been regarded by "non-Jews (often correctly) as challenging the validity of the non-Jews' god(s), law(s), and/or national allegiance"; 2) the Jewish mission "to perfect the world under the rule of God" and the Jews' consequent practice of making "moral" demands upon others "has constantly been a source of tension between Jews and non-Jews"; 3) Judaism has also held from the earliest time that the Jews were chosen by God to achieve the mission of perfecting the world"; and 4) "As a result of the Jews' commitment to Judaism, they have led higher quality lives than their non-Jewish neighbors in almost every society in which they have lived," a fact which "has challenged non-Jews and provoked profound envy and hostility." "For these reasons," say Prager and Telushkin (p. 24), "Jews have always seen antisemitism as the somewhat inevitable and often quite rational, though of course immoral, response to Judaism."

In Chapter Two, "Antisemitism: The Hatred of Judaism and Its Challenge," Prager and Telushkin elaborate upon the first two of the four reasons why, they say, Judaism causes Jew-hatred. They state (p. 27): "Judaism consists of three components: God, Torah (laws and teachings), and Israel (Jewish nationhood). Throughout Jewish history, the Jews' affirmation of one or more of these components has challenged, often threatened, the gods, laws, and nationalism of non-Jews among whom the Jews have lived."

Jewish monotheism has challenged the validity of worshipping any god but Yahweh. As Prager and Telushkin explain (pp. 27-28):

In the ancient world, every nation but the Jews worshiped its own gods and acknowledged the legitimacy of others' gods. The Jews declared that the gods of the non-Jews were nonsense: "They have mouths but cannot speak, eyes but cannot see, ears but cannot hear..." (Psalms 115:5-6). There is but one God and He had revealed himself to mankind through the Jews. One need not be a theologian or historian to understand why these doctrines bred massive anti-Jewish resentment.

True enough. But Prager and Telushkin seem to overlook something. While Jewish monotheism challenges the legitimacy of any god but Yahweh, every other form of religion (and every form of irreligion) similarly challenges the legitimacy of Jewish monotheism. While Goyim have felt their religions threatened by Judaism, Jews have also felt Judaism threatened by other religions (or irreligions). Just as Goyim have hated Jews for this reason, so have Jews hated Goyim. Prager and Telushkin cite (p. 105) as a manifestation of Jew-hatred a ruling of the Synod of Elvira in 306 A.D. that Jews and Christians were not permitted to eat together. But in an interview in The Jerusalem Post International Edition (26 February-3 March 1984, p. 22), the Sephardic and Ashkenazic Chief Rabbis of Israel, discussing Christian missionaries, "... stressed that it was forbidden for Jews to have anything to do with such people." And the Chief Rabbis' stated attitude is relatively moderate. According to Norman Kempster, in the Los Angeles Times (18 March 1984, p. 1), "Amid the religious graffiti covering the walls of Mea Shearim, the home neighborhood of Israel's most militantly Orthodox Jews, someone has plastered dozens of copies of a handbill with the jarring message: 'Death to the Missionaries.'" Kempster also reports: "Within the last six months, the meeting place of a Christian congregation in Jerusalem was set on fire and Christian worshippers by the Sea of Galilee were showered with stones, including a potentially lethal seven pound chunk of concrete that injured a woman seriously enough to send her to a hospital." All of which is further evidence that Prager and Telushkins' whining and whimpering about the alleged uniqueness of Jew-hatred is simply so much kosher baloney.

According to Prager and Telushkin, the Jews, via their "ethical monotheism," have challenged the values of their neighbors. They quote (p. 28) the Reverend Edward H. Flannery: "It was Judaism that brought the concept of a God-given universal moral law into the world ..." But, they say (ibid.), "The world to which the Jews have introduced God and His moral demands has always resented this challenge." And they conclude (ibid.): "A basic element of anti-semitism is, therefore, a rebellion against the thou shalt and thou shalt nots introduced by the Jews in the name of a supreme moral authority."

Though Prager and Telushkin have provided no proof of this, there may be some truth to it. Perhaps some Goyim do resent the challenge of Jewish "morality." But in any case, some Goyim do not resent it. They simply reject it as a hoax, a camouflage for the advancement of Jewish interests. And such "amoralism" need not mean hatred of Jews. It may simply mean a refusal to be manipulated by Jewish moralizers such as Prager and Telushkin.

Prager and Telushkin discuss resentment of Jewish "morality." They do not discuss resentment of Jewish "immorality." The Ten Commandments include the commandment that thou shalt not steal. But have Jews always felt bound by this commandment in their relations with Goyim? In The Jerusalem Post International Edition (25-31 March 1984, p. 14), Dr. Reuven Hammer, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, writes: "When the Romans complained to Rabban Gamaliel that Jewish law was most praiseworthy except for the fact that it permitted theft from non-Jews, he promptly made an enactment forbidding it." Thus, prior to Gamaliel's amendment, the prohibition against stealing was interpreted so as to allow stealing from Goyim. It is only natural that Goyim would have resented such "immorality" towards them.

This may have been one reason why some Romans accused the Jews of hating mankind. Prager and Telushkin mention this pagan "antisemitic" allegation a number of times, but they never deign to refute it. Nor do they ever mention that Jewish law once permitted theft from Goyim. Why, though, did Jewish law allow this, if not due to hatred of the Goyim?

According to Prager and Telushkin, Jews constitute not only a religion, but also a nation. Although attempts have been made to eliminate nationhood from Judaism, they insist (pp. 35-36)

that “Judaism cannot survive without nationhood, since without this component it is by definition not Judaism but a new religion.” And, for some reason, they assume that Judaism (as defined by them) must survive rather than be replaced by any such new religion.

Jewish nationhood, however, renders the patriotism of Jews outside Israel suspect in the eyes of their neighbors. But Prager and Telushkin say that such suspicions are unfounded. They deny (pp. 38-39) that Jews outside Israel have a “dual loyalty”: “Jews who affirm the national component of Judaism, both in fact and Jewish legal obligation (*dina dimalkhuta dina*, the law of the land is the law according to the Talmud) live as every other good citizen in accordance with the constitution and laws of the country in which they reside, presuming, of course, that the government is not a dictatorship and does not pass immoral laws.”

But, as a matter of “fact,” this is mere assertion. Prager and Telushkin make no attempt whatever to refute any of the specific allegations about “dual loyalty” that have been made by anti-Zionists, in some cases Jewish anti-Zionists. (See, for example, “Dual Loyalty,” Chapter Four of Alfred Lilienthal’s *The Other Side of the Coin* [New York: Devin-Adair, 1965].)

As to the matter of “Jewish legal obligation,” Prager and Telushkins’ qualification creates a loophole wider than the Mississippi River. Specifically what sort of laws would they consider “immoral”? Who knows? Within the pages of their book, “morality” and “immorality” are completely nebulous terms, with no clear-cut meaning.

Chapter Three is devoted to “The Chosen People Idea as a Cause of Antisemitism.” Prager and Telushkin assert that the Jewish belief that they are “the Chosen People” has caused anti-Jewish feelings ever since Goyim became aware of it. They say (p. 42):

“Reactions to the Jewish belief in chosenness have been often so negative that some Jews have actually called for elimination of this belief from Judaism ...” But they insist that “chosenness is an integral belief of Judaism” and proceed to “explain” (p. 43) the belief in order to give their readers “a proper understanding of the doctrine.”

Jewish chosenness has always meant that Jews have believed themselves chosen by God to spread ethical monotheism to the world and to live as a moral “light unto the nations” (Isaiah 49:6). All other meanings imputed to Jewish chosenness are non-Jewish.

The Hebrew Bible, where the concept originates in its entirety, neither states nor implies that chosenness means Jewish superiority or privilege.

Apparently the following passage in my King James Version of the Bible is a mistranslation:

The LORD shall establish thee an holy people unto himself, as he hath sworn unto thee, if thou shalt keep the commandments of the LORD thy God, and walk in his ways.

And all people of the earth shall see that thou are called by the name of the LORD; and they shall be afraid of thee.

And the LORD shall make thee plenteous in goods, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground, in the land which the LORD sware unto thy fathers to give thee.

The LORD shall open unto thee his good treasure, the heavens to give the rain unto thy land in his season, and to bless all the work of thy hand: and thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow.

And the LORD shall make thee the head, and not the tail; and thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath; if that thou shalt hearken unto the commandments of the LORD thy God, which I command thee this day, to observe them and to do them... (Deuteronomy 28:9-13)

Of course, there are other passages of a similar nature in the Bible. And the Bible is not the only Jewish source in which Jewish chosenness has meant superiority or privilege. In “Meta-Myth: The Diaspora and Israel,” Rabbi Jacob B. Agus has written:

It is axiomatic in Kabbalistic writings that the higher souls of Jewish people are derived from the divine pleroma — the realm of Sefirot — whereas the souls of all other nations are derived from the “shells.” Rabbi Hayim Vital does not exempt converts from this rule (Aitz Hayim 7, 10, 7) (Aitz Hadaat, Bemidbar). The “Tanya” of Rav Shneur Zalman was written for the general public. Its view of Gentile souls is in Chapter 6. The Zohar follows the same line, save that in the Midrash Haneelam, we note a certain effort to account for this difference. Before Adam sinned, he possessed the higher soul; after his sin, only his animal soul remained. Thereafter, the divine soul comes only to those who are preoccupied with Torah, entering the body of the Jewish male at age 13 (Zohar Hodosh, Bereshit 18b-19a, Midrash Hane'elam). (Etan Levine [ed.], *Diaspora: Exile and the Jewish Condition* [New York: Jason Aronson, 1983], p. 139.)

So much for Prager and Telushkins' insistence (p. 203) that, historically, “The Jews saw their superiority as an existential fact, not a theological premise ...” In fact, to this very day some Jews continue to hold the views mentioned by Rabbi Agus. This very day, it so happens, I received the 30 March 1984 issue of the B'nai B'rith Messenger, in which columnist Gershon Winkler criticizes such views. Winkler's column, entitled “The Goy,” begins: “I've heard this once too often: If a shopkeeper unknowingly gives you back too much change for your purchase, you must return the money to him only if he is Jewish. This, too, I've heard once too often: A non-Jew has an 'animal' soul, not a 'Godly' soul like that of a Jew.”

To judge from Prager and Telushkins' discussion of Jewish chosenness, the “ethical monotheism” that they espouse does not require them to tell the truth. Or perhaps “God” simply made a mistake in choosing Prager and Telushkin to be a light unto the nations?

Why the Jews? is more than an exercise in whining and whimpering; it also contains its share of bragging and boasting. Thus, Chapter Four concerns “The Higher Quality of Jewish Life as a Cause of Anti-semitism.” According to Prager and Telushkin (p. 46), “In nearly every society in which Jews have lived for the past two thousand years, they have been better educated, more sober, more charitable with one another, committed far fewer violent crimes, and had a considerably more stable family life than their non-Jewish neighbors.”

There may be a good deal of truth in these claims, but even so I dispute the assumption that this means that (p. 47) “... Jews generally have led higher quality lives...” Prager and Telushkin go so far as to assert (p. 56) that “The higher quality of Jewish life is objectively verifiable.” But at best they have objectively verified only that Jewish life has generally been of higher quality in terms of a handful of specific criteria of evaluation. And these particular criteria are not the only ones by which the quality of a life, or a peoples' collective life, may be evaluated. Jews may have

generally been more sober, but have they generally had more fun? Jews may have generally committed far fewer violent crimes, but have they generally committed fewer non-violent crimes, such as fraud and embezzlement? Perhaps Jews have generally been better educated, but have they generally been more physically fit, healthier or more athletically accomplished? If Prager and Telushkin wish to demonstrate the objectively higher quality of Jewish life, then they must demonstrate the higher quality of Jewish life in every respect.

In proclaiming the higher quality of Jewish life, Prager and Telushkin focus on certain positive aspects of Jewish life, never acknowledging that they might have any negative aspects to complicate the simple picture painted. This despite the fact that their book is largely devoted to whining and whimpering about how Judaism has caused Jews to be victims of the greatest hatred in history, almost always suffering from discrimination, persecution, violence, murder or annihilation campaigns, and so on. But if, as Prager and Telushkin assert, Jew-hatred is the inevitable consequence of Judaism, then why don't they take into account Jew-hatred and all its manifestations when calculating the overall quality of Jewish life?

Part Two of *Why the Jews?* is supposed to “document the thesis that Judaism, with its distinctiveness and moral challenge, is at the root of Jew-hatred.” (p. 81) But this it does not do. It merely presents yet another one-sided account of Jewish history, bemoaning hatred of the Jews and ignoring hatred of the Goyim.

For example, in Chapter Seven, “Antisemitism in the Ancient World,” Prager and Telushkin tell us (p. 85):

In 167 B.C.E., the first recorded antisemitic persecution in the postbiblical period took place. The Hellenic ruler of Syria and Palestine, Antiochus Epiphanes, incited in part by certain assimilated Jews, attempted to destroy Judaism, which he correctly perceived as the basis of the Jewish opposition to his leadership. Owing to their religious beliefs, the Jews rejected Antiochus' claim to being the “god manifest” (“Epiphanes” in Greek). Consequently, according to the biblical Apocrypha, Antiochus sent an emissary to Judea “in order to force the Jews to transgress the laws of their fathers and not to live according to God's commandments.” (Maccabees II 6:11). He renamed the Holy Temple in Jerusalem after Zeus Olympus, prohibited the observance of the Sabbath and circumcision, and forced the Jews to participate in the festival procession in honor of Dionysus.

Such measures sparked the Maccabean revolt, which eventually led to Judean independence from Syrian rule. As George W. Robnett has commented:

What Antiochus Epiphanes did to the Jews in pressing Hellenism upon them is the kind of thing the Jews have capitalized down through the centuries as “oppression” — and since realism shows that most human problems are two-way streets, it is interesting to contrast the disposition of Antiochus with a Jewish leader just a few years afterwards. John Hyrcanus (of the Jewish Hasmonean-Maccabean line) came to power in Judea in 135 B.C. (under the new freedom won by the revolt). He conquered the small country of Edom to the south and (according to Graetz) gave the inhabitants (Idumeans) “the choice between acceptance of Judaism or exile.” They accepted Judaism in order to keep their homes. (Zionist Rape of the Holy Land [Pasadena. CA: Crown City Publishing Co., rev. ed. 1976], p. 386.)

Prager and Telushkin do not even mention the Maccabean revolt, let alone John Hyrcanus and his forcible conversion of the Idumeans to Judaism. But if Antiochus Epiphanes' actions show that

he hated the Jews, then by the same token John Hyrcanus' actions must show that he hated the Idumeans. In which case: Why the Idumeans?

In Chapter Nine, "Islamic Antisemitism," Prager and Telushkin quote (p. 128) French-Jewish novelist Albert Memmi's characterization of the status of Jews under Islam in the 20th century: "Roughly speaking and in the best of cases, the Jew is protected like a dog which is part of man's property, but if he raises his head or acts like a man, then he must be beaten so that he will always remember his status." But even if this characterization is accurate, there is a parallel in the attitude of Orthodox Jewish settlers toward Arabs in the West Bank. In *The Fateful Triangle* (Boston: South End Press, 1983), Noam Chomsky discusses an article by Yedidia Segal in the 3 September 1982 issue of *Nekudah*, the journal of the religious West Bank settlers. According to Chomsky (p. 124):

The scholarly author cites passages from the Talmud explaining that God is sorry that he created the Ishmaelites, and that Gentiles are "a people like a donkey." The law concerning "conquered" peoples is explicit, he argues, quoting Maimonides on how they must "serve" their Jewish conquerors and be "degraded and low" and "must not raise their heads in Israel but must be conquered beneath their hand... with complete submission."

According to Prager and Telushkin (p. 128), "It is the Jews' refusal to accept this subordination [to Moslems] that is at the heart of the Arab-Muslim hatred for Israel." If so, however, then by the same token the Arabs' refusal to accept such subordination to Jews must be at the heart of the Jewish-Israeli hatred for Arabs.

In Chapter Fourteen, Prager and Telushkin ask the musical question, "What Is to Be Done?" Or, in other words (p. 179): "What, if anything can Jews do to eradicate, diminish, or at the very least, individually avoid antisemitism?"

They say (p. 182) that assimilation, defined as "ceasing to be a Jew," is "... a rational and viable way to escape antisemitism for individuals, not to the Jewish people as a whole. Many Jews will never assimilate, which alone invalidates assimilation as a solution to antisemitism."

Thus, Prager and Telushkin are looking for a total (final?) "solution to antisemitism." Furthermore (pp. 181-82): "A solution to antisemitism must by definition include the survival of Jewry, just as a solution to an illness must by definition include the survival of the patient. We seek solutions to antisemitism which enable Jews to live as Jews." But if, as they assert elsewhere in the book, Jew-hatred is an inevitable response to Judaism, then how can there be any total "solution to antisemitism" which enables Jews to live as Jews? The only possibility that comes to mind is the elimination of all "non-Jews," one way or another.

Prager and Telushkin do not, in fact, advocate such a solution. Instead, after showing that some other solutions (Zionism, seeking converts, fighting "antisemitism" à la the ADL) are not total solutions, they announce (p. 191) the following "solution to antisemitism": "... if the goal is to put an end to antisemitism, then Jews must also attempt to influence the moral values of non-Jews so that no aspect of Judaism any longer threatens the non-Jews' values." What does this mean in practical terms? Here's the closet that they come to answering this question (ibid.): "Jews must therefore resume their original task of spreading ethical monotheism... This means in essence that the Jews must make the world aware of two basic principles: ethics need God, and God's major demand is ethics."

But Prager and Telushkin don't tell us how they are going to get the world to accept "ethical monotheism." Furthermore, they don't clearly explain how such acceptance of "ethical monotheism" will necessarily end "antisemitism." After all, there have been many Christian and Moslem "ethical monotheists" who nevertheless, in Prager and Telushkin's opinion, have been "antisemites." I suggest the Prager and Telushkin's "solution to antisemitism" is as illusory as their "God" and his commandments.

If a "solution to antisemitism" is in fact possible, its discovery will require a more honest consideration of the problem than Prager and Telushkin have given it. This means, among other things, that the problem of Jew-hatred cannot be divorced from the problems of Goy-hatred. If there is to be a solution to the former problem, there must be a solution to the latter problem as well. So rather than devoting themselves exclusively to whining and whimpering "Why the Jews?," I suggest that Prager and Telushkin finally begin to ask themselves: "Why the Goyim?"

Notes

1.  Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, 5th ed. (Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1983). This is the expanded edition which includes, as appendices, the essays "The International 'Holocaust' Controversy" and "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy." Robert Faurisson "The Mechanics of Gassing," *Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 1980), pp. 23-30; "Confessions of SS Men Who Were at Auschwitz," *JHR* Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 1981), pp. 103-36; "The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to be Physically Inconceivable," *JHR* Vol. 2, No. 4 (Winter 1981), pp. 311-17; "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," *JHR* Vol. 2, No. 4 (Winter 1981), pp. 319-73. The most complete exposition of Faurisson's views is, of course, found in his books and those of his supporters which have been published in France: Serge Thion [With Robert Faurisson], *Vérité historique ou vérité politique? Le dossier de l'affaire Faurisson: La question des chambres à gas* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980); Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1981); *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, 2nd ed. (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1983); Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Eric Delcroix, Claude Karnoouh, Vincent Monteil, and Jean-Louis Tristani, *Intolérable Intolérance* (Paris: Editions de La Différence, 1981); Anon., *De L'Exploitation dans les camps a L'Exploitation des camps: Une mise au point de "La Guerre sociale,"* supplement au numero 3 (Paris: La Guerre sociale, 1981); "Le Citoyen," *L'incroyable Affaire Faurisson: Les petits supplements au Guide des droits des victimes* No. 1 (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1982). See also: Andrea Chersi (ed.), *Il caso Faurisson* (Castenedolo, Italy: Andrea Chersi, 1982), and Anon., *Note rassinieriane (con appendice sulla persecuzione giudiziaria di R. Faurisson)* (Rome: Estratto da L'Internazionalista, 1982).

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Book review

Thrusting the Stake into Lemkin's Bleeding Heart

- *The Man Who Invented 'Genocide': The Public Career And Consequences of Raphael Lemkin*, by James J. Martin. Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1984, 360pp, \$15.95 Hb, \$9.95 Pb, ISBN 0-939484-17-X (Hb), 0-939484-14-5 (Pb).

reviewed by Samuel E. Konkin III

Until a historical revisionist conference of three years ago, I had never heard of Raphael Lemkin. It did not surprise me that no one else I knew had heard of him either. What significance could this unbelievably obscure academic lounge-lizard of decades ago have for us in the middle 1980s?

James J. Martin, commonly saddled with the title “Dean of the Revisionist Historians,” kicks open the tomb of this long-dead neologist to explore the vampiric bite he put on this world’s languages. Lemkin’s corpse turns out to be little able to withstand the strong light.

In 1943, as an act of pro-Allied academic war propaganda, this long-term floating statist spliced together a Greek prefix and a Latin suffix to coin the word which would be incanted on behalf of hyperstatism for the next 40 years. The term was the Aladdin’s Lamp which held together a cloud of fog oft-confused for a powerful djinn and so worshipped in the halls of the United Nations, half the world’s parliaments, and a near majority of the united States Senate.

Raphael Lemkin minted the word “genocide.”

There is something of a shock of heightened awareness in the discovery that this political household word was tossed off to encode a wartime propaganda charge by a free-lance civil servant on behalf of a doomed government-in-exile and on the payroll of a power-elite think tank. There was no word for race-killing before Lemkin and 1943. However did we manage without it? Think — try! — of a major international intervention or call for intervention since 1945 which did not involve a charge of genocide.

Raphael Lemkin himself was a stupefying uninteresting person, nowhere near a Master of Evil, and that unavoidable fact gives Martin’s book its only real problem in readability. After the introduction, Martin spends the opening chapter on Raphael Lemkin, the man. The most incorruptible of historians, Martin refuses to liven up this bureaucrat’s biography. Indeed, when our curiosity may threaten to be aroused by hints that Lemkin may have been a Czarist draft dodger or a Polish partisan, Martin dampens such unwarranted stimulation with assurances of probable banality.

What is known of Raphael Lemkin, the man? He received doctorates in philosophy from the Universities of Heidelberg and Lvov; we draw a blank on his earlier education or activities dur-

ing World War I. He went to work at the Court of Appeals in Warsaw as a secretary, becoming public prosecutor in 1925. He was remarkably unaffected by the political and antisemitic clashes in the new Polish state. He moved up to Secretary to the Commission of the Laws of the Polish Republic in 1929.

Lemkin avoided the antisemitic pogroms and riots in Poland in 1931 — well before the National Socialist victory in Germany — and in 1933 represented Poland at the League of Nations' Fifth International Conference for the Unification of Criminal Law. Dropping out of overt statism in 1935, Lemkin spent the years prior to World War II writing legal books, including a collaboration on the Polish Penal Code of 1932 with an American lawyer and Duke University Law professor.

After the German-Soviet invasion of September 1939, Lemkin claimed he was a civilian guerilla in the Polish forests for six months. He claimed that his large family was killed by the Germans. Later he changed that to the Russians — a more probable claim given the territorial division.

Lemkin then managed to traverse Lithuania (occupied by the USSR), the Soviet Union, and cross the Baltic Sea patrolled by German and Russian Navies, ending up in Sweden where he lectured at Stockholm University on foreign exchange and international banking laws.

In 1941 he travelled through the USSR, Japan, and Canada to North Carolina to meet with his Duke University collaborator. After floating around American wartime bureaucracies, as “advisor” and “consultant,” he lectured at the School of Military Government in Charlottesville. On 15 November 1943, Lemkin completed his major tome, which received a foreword from George A. Finch of the Carnegie Foundation, and was published by Columbia University Press in November 1944.

The book was *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. It received rave reviews in the *New York Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review*, the *New York Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and London's *Times Literary Supplement*. “Genocide” entered the English language with the massed support of the Allied Establishment

Concentrated Revisionism

When James Martin slips off to supply “Some Missing Historical Background” (Chapter Two — a third of the book), *The Man Who Invented 'Genocide'* takes off. For this chapter is nothing less than a summary of Martin's libertarian-revisionist views of the Second World War — its causes, covert acts and concealed counter-acts, hidden responsibilities, and unbelievable levels of macro-hypocrisy.

For the libertarian and the hard-core revisionist, this chapter is the highlight of the book and a valuable booklet on its own. To give just a partial list of what Martin covers in passing or in detail:

- Soviet versus Zionist socialism: the split among Jews (p. 30).
- Origins of Jewish fascism: Vladimir Jabotinsky, the Revisionist Zionists, and Irgun Z'vai Leumi (p. 31).
- Irgun recruitment aided by Hitler and antisemitic Rumania, Hungary, and Poland (p. 32).
- Polish antisemitic rioting exceeding National Socialist German persecution (pp. 33-37), including the flight of Jews from Poland to Germany and how this led to Kristallnacht (p.

37).

- Massive Jewish exodus from Germany and Poland in 1940. leaving few to be “exterminated” (p. 38).
- Origins of charges against the Germans of Jewish extermination, including contradictory claims from the beginning (pp. 39-44).
- Lemkin’s sources for the genocide charge (p. 44).
- Respectable challenges to the atrocity charges in 1942 (p. 46).
- Contradictions as to whether Jews were removed to the USSR or executed (p. 47).
- The Majdanek Camp “liberation” of 1944, the first “gas and ovens” claims (pp. 48-51).
- Campaign for the extermination of Germans (not just Nazis) by Allied agents (pp. 54-56).
- Who really ran the Resistance, how much they resisted, and how this early “terrorism” resulted in stiff German repression (pp. 57-60).
- Soviet wartime execution of Jews (p. 65).
- The Katyn Forest massacre of the Polish officer corps, “probably the only genuine mass atrocity of World War Two which was accompanied by evidence” (pp. 66-70).
- Anglo-American sell-out of the Polish state on whose behalf the war was started (p. 69).
- Reinhold Niebuhr’s fear that Stalin would restrain Allied dismemberment of Germany (p. 72).
- The first “war crimes trials” before Nuremberg (pp. 75-76).
- Babi Yar, an atrocity? by whom? for what reasons? (pp. 77-79).
- Rex Stout and his Writers War Board of German-lynchers (p. 83).
- Lord Vansittart, the ultra-Germanophobe (p. 91).
- Communist-Gaullist Civil War in France with the German retreat (p. 98).
- Who really ran the concentration camps in Germany, who selected victims and fillers of the worst jobs (pp. 107-13).

The cumulative effect of this condensed war history is to confirm that the definitive revisionist history of the Second World War has yet to be written. Whoever does it will have an excellent outline in Martin’s second chapter. One can only hope Martin himself can finally be enticed, cajoled, bribed, dragooned, or otherwise encouraged to write the revisionist history of World War II.

The Book and its Effect

James Martin returns to Raphael Lemkin with a brief chapter criticizing the organization and writing of Axis Rule in Occupied Europe. He points out that it appears to have been stitched together by a committee and then builds a case for this assertion. Martin not only blows away Lemkin’s weak case for putting Germany on trial under International Law but, in fact, turns the table: the case seems firm against the partisans and guerrillas as violators of the Hague Conventions of 1899 (first article), and even Vice Department of the Army Field Manual FM27-18, Chapter 3. Section 1.

Perhaps the only departure from fulsome praise for Martin’s masterwork must arise, for a libertarian, in considering his long discussion of the guerrilla struggle against German control to make his case that the Allies practiced blatant hypocrisy. What the libertarian longs for is some acceptance or endorsement of the anti-statist struggle of maquis-types. True, Martin sticks firmly to the topic of German war and “war crimes” guilt and relative lack thereof, but it would not be amiss for an anarchist to slip in a pat on the back for rebels free of statism; one thinks of Murray Rothbard’s deft manipulation in that regard, in his works.

As the account stands, alas, Dr. Martin sounds as if he finds uniformed, flag-waving statist belligerence preferable to ad hoc civilian resistance, a most unlikely position for an individualist anarchist of Stirnerite leanings.

Although “genocide” is a relatively small topic in Lemkin’s *Axis Rule* and, as Martin observes, appears to have been patched in late, it is what makes the book significant and what gave Raphael Lemkin his Warhollian 15 minutes of fame. For those of us who have taken the word “genocide” for granted since birth, only astonishment can be registered at how confused and imprecise the concept is and always was.

Martin spends Chapter Four, the center of his book, on his analysis of the origin and evolution of the term. Surely the modern reader would be surprised to find out that genocide-qua-crime is in opposition to violation-of-Human-Rights? That only groups can commit it against groups and individuals are not held responsible? That the originator was so desperate for historical examples that he focused on the massacre of 600 Assyrian Christians by Iraq in 1933 — a dubious event that the indefatigable Dr. Martin revises for good measure?

Lemkin’s problem — writing during World War II — was obvious. The best examples of acts of “genocide” happened to have been committed by the Allies. Martin points out how the British treatment of the Irish and the American treatment of North American Indians fit Lemkin’s strict definition best; also the Soviet movement of Volga Germans and the American forced-dispossession of American Japanese.

The “genocide” man, Raphael Lemkin, was in fact only incidentally interested in massacre. Genocide was and is the destruction of a collective entity of people — including by peaceful assimilation. No libertarian needs further stimulation to imagine the irrationality of grouping enticements for voluntary cultural change with “gas chambers,” “ovens,” and firing squads. Raphael Lemkin lived up to such libertarian imaginings immediately, accusing the German occupiers of imposing pornography, alcohol and gambling on Poles as acts of genocide (p. 156).

Those needing exhaustive treatment of the built-in abuse in this muddled term are welcome to dwell in this section; the reviewer moves on.

The Selling of Genocide

In spite of the considerable difficulty it faced in just defining the collectivist pseudo-concept of genocide, the new United Nations drew up a Convention (treaty) on this crime for its member nations to sign. Raphael Lemkin hung around the lounges, corridors, meeting rooms and press section of the UN from its first General Assembly of January 1946 and drafted the resolution for the Convention which passed in December. It took two years of debate and Lemkin was appointed to a committee of three to draft the final Convention. On 9 December 1948, the Assembly unanimously accepted the Convention; five Soviet-proposed amendments were defeated.

The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials popularized the use of the term “genocide,” but, as Martin shows through the rest of the book, there was never to be another trial quite like that, nor any attempt at enforcement of the Convention. From 1949 onward the Genocide Convention, the confused concept it criminalized, and the career of Raphael Lemkin all declined.

The sixth chapter of *The Man Who Invented 'Genocide'* chronicles the ratifications of the treaty by member nations and the battle in the United States leading to its ultimate defeat. It begins with a treat for total-revisionists, particularly libertarians: Martin’s view of the world ruling class

and its foreign policy (p. 195). It is tempting to quote it entirely here in order to blow away the lingering anti-Communist crusader hangovers among libertarians, but let this suffice as an appetizer:

The “West” faced about as much of a threat to their economic power from Communism as the world of the Industrial Revolution even in its early decades faced from a system no further along than stone hatchets. They had put down the real threats to their power in destroying the Italo- German-Japanese revolutionary upstarts, whose incredible energy and organizing genius, even considering their considerable handicaps, must have thrown a serious fright into many of their antagonists in the struggle of 1939-45, especially when they thought about the future.

Raphael Lemkin joined the Cold War to accuse the USSR, now the major target with the Axis demise, of genocide. President Harry S. Truman submitted the Genocide Convention to the U.S. Senate for ratification on 16 June 1949. The usual lobbies lined up on the usual sides. On 5 July, Norway and Ethiopia fought over who was the first to ratify.

But in America one non-political group turned out to be the nemesis of genocide ratification: the American Bar Association. Try as it might, it could not reconcile the words of the treaty with any rational conception of law nor, in particular, harmonize it with the Constitutional protection of U.S. citizens. On 8 September, the ABA condemned “the mass killing of innocent people” but rejected the treaty.

Martin details blow-by-blow the fight over U.S. ratification, particularly in the Senate Subcommittee hearings. The Korean War interrupted the Administration’s attempt to ratify it as a weapon against the Reds, but the treaty continued to get delayed to death. Meanwhile, by 12 January 1951, the minimum twenty countries had ratified it and it went into “effect.” As mentioned, no indictment has yet occurred under the Convention. The four nations to put the Convention over the top were France, Haiti, Costa Rica — and South Korea. On 20 July 1951, Nationalist China ratified and it and South Korea promptly charged the People’s Republic of China.

While the Cold War liberals championed the Genocide Convention as a weapon in the anti-Communist arsenal, the American Old Right, in its last gasp, offered the Bricker Amendment requiring validating legislation from state legislatures before Executive Agreements could become binding on a state’s citizens. The internationalist Eisenhower Administration, as a trade-off with the Bricker isolationists, tabled the Genocide Convention indefinitely.

On 3 May 1954, with the Korean War safely over and U.S. ratification unlikely, the USSR ratified in a no-press-allowed ceremony at the UN. Ratified, that is, with some reservations. American ethnics from seven countries under Soviet domination promptly charged the USSR with the new crime. The UN acted not.

Raphael Lemkin died on 28 August 1959; Great Britain had not yet ratified his Genocide Convention nor, to this day, has the United States of America.

Martin’s seventh chapter adds a “postscript”: a blow-by-blow account of the 1970 U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee hearings. Britain had at long last ratified the Convention on 30 January of that year and President Richard Nixon renewed the request for ratification on 19 February. Interestingly enough, another U.S. war was then being fought — in Vietnam. (Today there is another move on to ratify the treaty, just as yet another Imperial war cranks up in Central America.)

Martin Nails the Coffin

James J. Martin concludes perceptively: "... over 40 years after Raphael Lemkin invented the word 'genocide,' most people who have heard it think they know what it means. The overwhelming majority of them are mistaken; they do not."

Summing up the mass of condensed — but well-presented — data in *The Man Who Invented 'Genocide'* is a monumental task in itself — as this reviewer has sorely learned — but Martin carries it off deftly. Reading his Conclusion chapter provides a precis of the book's contents. Libertarian and Revisionist anthologists to come should consider this section worth including. The appendices add to the overwhelming feeling of a complete treatment of the topic, though it would surely be a crime greater than any well-defined genocide to demand that the reader wade through the reproductions of the UN publication "The Crime of Genocide," Senator Sam Ervin's Statement to the 1970 Senate hearings (Ervin, the hero of Watergate, torpedoed that floating of ratification), and Senate Bill S.3155.

The book deserves far more outreach than it will likely receive — with an obscure title and a small and mostly-reviled publisher. Martin has anyway driven the stake through the heart of Lemkin's corpse. That a toothpick would have sufficed to keep this pseudomoralistic/pseudolegalistic vampire down forever can only increase our admiration for Martin's achievement.

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Book Reviews

The War Between The Generals / Overlord: D-Day And The Battle For Normandy

- *The War Between The Generals*, by David Irving. New York: Congdon and Weed (distributed by St. Martin's Press), 1981, 446PP, \$9.95 Pb, ISBN 0-312-92921-8.
- *Overlord: D-Day And The Battle For Normandy*, by Max Hastings. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984, 368pp, \$17.95, ISBN 0-671-46029-3.

Reviewed by Charles Lutton

David Irving first gained the attention of serious students of history in 1963 with the publication of his first book, *The Destruction of Dresden*. Since then he has written nearly a dozen other books and translated three more from the German. In the process he has established himself (oh, Professor Gerhard Weinberg isn't going to like this) as perhaps the world's leading authority on Hitler and certainly one of the premier historians of the European Theater of the Second World War.

Having written a number of critically acclaimed studies dealing with aspects of the war on the German side, Irving decided to delve inside the Allied high command. As he points out in the prologue to *The War Between the Generals*, at the conclusion of the war, General Eisenhower tried to place a lid on information relating to the internal conflicts that had raged among the Western Allies. Though some leaks occurred after the war, it was only after wartime documents were declassified and the heirs of deceased leaders released diaries and other personal records that it became possible to gain a fuller understanding of the antagonisms that festered among the British and American commanders during the last year of the war — from the invasion of Normandy to VE-Day.

Two main strategic issues provided sources of contention. The first was whether or not the Normandy landing should take place at all. Churchill was opposed to it, arguing instead for a drive into the Balkans. The British also argued unsuccessfully against the American proposal for an invasion of southern France — ANVIL — which they viewed as a wasteful dispersal of forces.

Once the Allies were secured in Normandy, the strategic debate shifted to the question of broad-versus-narrow-front attack against Germany. Montgomery and Patton wanted to launch a single decisive thrust into the heart of the Reich, preferably toward the north, which would likely have resulted in Anglo-American occupation of Berlin. Eisenhower again prevailed, the Allies taking almost a year cautiously to advance across a broad front, costing them thousands of unnecessary casualties and leaving the Soviets in control of central Germany.

Many generals, both British and American, found fault with Eisenhower's "broad front" strategy. On 17 November 1944, Montgomery wrote to Sir Alan Brooke: "The Directives he issues... have no relation to the practical necessities of the battle... He has never commanded anything before in his whole career; now, for the first time, he has elected to take direct command of very large-scale operations and he does not know how to do it." At a Chiefs of Staff meeting a week later, Brooke remarked: "Eisenhower, though supposed to be running the land battle, is on the golf links at Rheims — entirely detached and taking practically no part in the running of the war." Patton considered his commander in chief "nothing but a popinjay, a stuffed doll."

As if Eisenhower's misdirection of military operations was not enough, a New York newspaper leaked word of the infamous "Morgenthau Plan" — an outline for a draconian postwar occupation policy for Germany. In the summer of 1944, the U.S. War Department drew up a draft calling for a rather mild postwar occupation policy. Irving reveals that a certain Col. B. Bernstein of SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces) purloined a copy of the draft and, "bypassing regular army channels," sent a copy to Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, who "was outraged by the leniency of the War Department approach." Secretary of War Henry Stimson opposed Morgenthau's Carthaginian occupation program but, as Stimson said, "the Semites" carried the day, with Roosevelt and Churchill approving the Morgenthau Plan on 15 September 1944. Once the Germans got wind of the Morgenthau Plan, it confirmed what the "Unconditional Surrender" announcement of 1943 had already suggested, namely, that defeat by either the Soviets or the Anglo-Americans would lead to the utter destruction of Germany and the German people. Irving points out that, following the disclosure of the Morgenthau Plan, "German resistance, already stiffening, became desperate. The death toll among Allied soldiers increased."

As time goes on and the archives open more of their files to the scrutiny of researchers, we will be revising our view of the German occupation of France and conditions there following "liberation." John Eisenhower, the General's son, reported: "I saw absolutely no evidence of German abuse of the population ... The attitude of the French was sobering indeed. Instead of bursting with enthusiasm they seemed not only indifferent but sullen. There was considerable cause for wondering whether these people wished to be "liberated." General Eisenhower's British aide conceded that "The people looked well-fed and the children healthy and well-dressed." And Sir Alan Brooke, the British Army Chief of Staff, observed: "The French population did not seem in any way pleased to see us arrive as a victorious army to liberate France. They had been quite content as they were and we were bringing war and desolation to their country." Referring to the French town of Carentan, Montgomery wrote to Brooke: "I see SHAEF communique said yesterday that the town had been liberated. Actually, it has been completely flattened and there is hardly a house intact; all the civilians have fled. It is a queer sort of liberation." Irving explains that "French folk saw only the Allied battleships and bombers and tanks pounding their towns into ruins. In a reflexive act of self-preservation, many of them seized arms to aid Rommel's army against the death-dealing newcomers."

In sharp contrast with the picture long held up to us of American GIs being welcomed by a grateful French populace, Irving is one of several historians who are casting new light on these events. It seems that far from acting like Boy Scouts out on a mission of mercy, American soldiers terrorized many of the people they were supposed to be liberating from the clutches of the nasty Nazis. As Irving informs his readers: "An ordeal began for the French who stayed behind in Normandy to welcome their liberators. They were liable to be vandalized, robbed, raped, murdered. Indeed, the behavior of GIs throughout liberated Europe was causing apprehension in Washington. The Joint Chiefs reviewed a report from Rome too that conditions now were worse than when the Germans had been there." Following a visit to Caen, B.H. Liddell Hart, the famous British military strategist and historian, pointed out that "Most Frenchmen speak of the correctness of the

German Army's behavior. They seem particularly impressed that German soldiers were shot for incivility to women and compare this with the American troops' bad behavior toward women." According to an official U.S. Army report, "Unfortunately most of these undisciplined acts were caused by colored troops."

German resistance continued on into the Fall and "the discipline of even some of the finest U.S. units was cracking," including the famous 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions. On 5 November 1944, Eisenhower's driver and girl friend, Kay Summersby, recorded: "General Betts reports that disciplinary conditions in the army are becoming bad. Many cases of rape, murder, and pillage are causing complaints by the French Dutch, etc." A month later, General Leroy Lutes remarked: "The French now grumble that the Americans are a more drunken and disorderly lot than the Germans and hope to see the day when they are liberated from the Americans." Lutes discovered that the Allied propaganda which portrayed the Germans as brutes was untrue: "I am informed the Germans did not loot either residences, stores, or museums. In fact the people claimed that they were meticulously treated by the Army of Occupation." By the end of the war, over 450 GIs were sentenced to death by courts-martial, nearly all for having committed nonmilitary offenses like rape and murder.

The indefatigable Irving has also turned up more information about General Charles DeGaulle. He discloses that to help pave the way for his intended return, anti-Gaullist resistants and independents in France were betrayed to the Gestapo — while in French North Africa, in the wake of the Allied landings there in 1942, Gaullists jailed and executed Frenchmen who had assisted the Anglo-American forces. Later, on the eve of D-Day, DeGaulle insisted that a sentence be removed from Eisenhower's invasion broadcast to the French people. The sentence read: "When France is liberated from her oppressors, you yourselves will choose your representatives, and the government under which you wish to live." Irving goes on to describe conditions following D-Day, characterizing the "liberation" of France a "witch-hunt" which "turned into a winter of long-knives. In Belgium, too, the Resistance, founded and nourished by the Allies, had turned into a Frankenstein creature which they had trouble in controlling."

The "Malmedy Massacre" is revealed by Irving to be a hoax invented by wartime sensation-mongers. During the Battle of the Bulge, a unit of the 1st Panzer Division killed over 80 GIs during a fire fight. The American dead were laid out in rows in the snow, but the Germans were forced to withdraw from Malmedy before the dead soldiers were buried. Allied propagandists blew this event up into a major atrocity story, claiming that the Americans had been taken prisoner and then lined up and shot. Several Germans were tried after the war for their participation in this "war crime."

Turning to the other side, Irving does authenticate several instances of German POWs being executed in cold blood by Allied troops. Irving cites Patton, who wrote in his diary on 4 January 1945: "The Eleventh Armored is very green and took unnecessary losses to no effect. There were also some unfortunate incidents in the shooting of prisoners. I hope we can conceal this."

Irving goes beyond a review of the strategic debates that went on among the Allied generals and a re-examination of significant events. He also reveals the private opinions various leading characters had about each other and discloses often interesting tidbits about their personal lives. (One shrill Irving critic, Professor John Lukacs, has taken especial umbrage over some of Irving's revelations, accusing the British historian, in the pages of the New York Times Book Review, of trying "to rehabilitate Hitler... He not only tells his readers that Hitler was an able man... but tries to convince them that he was a man morally superior to his opponents." Apparently it is fully permissible to write — and speculate — about the private lives of Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, et

al., but not “cricket” to do the same when writing about the victors of World War II, who were, never forget, engaged in a great “Crusade in Europe.”)

One of the most colorful American generals of the war was George S. Patton; Irving spices his narrative with anecdotes about him, as well as others. Patton came to take a jaundiced view of some of the people for whose “liberation” from Axis tyranny Americans were being killed. After spending some months fighting in the Mediterranean Theater, Patton “told his staff that he could not understand how the Arabs could share their hovels with animals. Arriving in Sicily, he added that he could not understand how the animals could live with Sicilians in their yards.” By the end of the war Patton was expressing serious doubts about the results of the conflict. In a letter to his wife, he confessed: “Berlin gave me the blues. We have destroyed what could have been a good race and we [are] about to replace them with Mongolian savages.” And in another letter, Patton admitted: “The stuff in the papers about fraternization is all wet... All that sort of writing is done by Jews to get revenge. Actually, the Germans are the only decent people left in Europe... I prefer the Germans. So do our cousins [the British].” After touring refugee camps he came to see Jews as “lower than animals.”

Patton and Montgomery considered the Soviets to be a serious menace. Both felt it best to carry the war into Russia in 1945, while the Anglo-American ground and air forces were mobilized and on the Continent, rather than wait for some crisis to emerge in the future. Patton was confident that he could be in Moscow within months.

Napoleon once observed that “History is a lie agreed upon.” David Irving has made a career out of exposing agreed upon lies. By forcing his readers — among them members of the academic community — to revise their views of epochal events, Irving has contributed to the re-evaluation of our past that is so necessary for the building of a better future.

This past Spring marked the 40th anniversary of D-Day — the invasion of Normandy by the Western Allies. President Reagan made the nightly news on 6 June, when he visited Omaha Beach, retracing some of the steps taken by American troops on that same date in 1944. Local papers interviewed aging veterans, who tried to recall what it was like to wade ashore in the face of machine gun and artillery fire. To the average citizen of the United States — and Great Britain — D-Day remains one of the greatest military successes in history.

Many years ago the distinguished British military strategist and historian, B.H. Liddell Hart, pointed out that “there has been too much glorification of the [Normandy] campaign and too little objective investigation.” Were he alive today, Sir Basil would likely view with approval the account of D-Day written by Max Hastings. A British historian who previously authored a noteworthy treatment of the British bombing campaign during World War II ^[1] and co-authored what is widely regarded as the best of the recent spate of books on the Falklands War, Hastings has based his conclusions about the invasion of Hitler’s “Fortress Europe” in large part on recently declassified military records made available in London and Washington D.C., as well as interviews with both Allied and German survivors of the Normandy battles. Unlike some of the other titles on this topic that appeared this year, Hastings' volume is no mere reworking of the scores of previously published books. His findings clearly contradict those earlier works which portrayed D-Day and the subsequent battles as triumphs of Anglo-American military prowess and heroism. Among his major discoveries are:

- The Allies made slow progress and the fighting was hard and bloody. ^[2] Few American infantry units arrived at the battlefield “with a grasp of basic tactics — a failure for which

many men paid with their lives.”

- With the exception of artillery, German military equipment often far exceeded the quality of U.S. and British models. This was especially true in the case of tanks and anti-tank weapons. There were almost countless instances of a few Germans, supported by a handful of Panther and Tiger tanks, repulsing large numbers of Allied troops, inflicting heavy losses.
- The lack of Anglo-American military success came against a Wehrmacht that had already sustained frightful losses on the Eastern Front and in the Mediterranean. “The Russians made a decisive contribution to the Western war by destroying the best of the German army, killing some two million men ... It remains astounding that after three years of devastating losses in the east and the relentless bombing of Hitler’s industries, Germany could still produce and equip an army in the west capable of causing the gravest difficulties to the best that Britain and America could throw into the war.”
- The Allied declaration of “Unconditional Surrender” was a key factor motivating German soldiers to fight on to the bitter end: “... they believed that defeat in Normandy, and beyond that defeat in Europe, would inaugurate a new dark age for Germany, a ghastly destiny for the German people.”
- Despite the traditional portrayal of the French civilian population welcoming the Allied troops with open arms, the reality was in fact often the opposite. As a former British trooper informed the author, most of the French were sullen and acted as if they did not care very much if they were “liberated” at all. Hastings explains: “It was not remarkable that so many French families were shocked and appalled by the cost of liberation to their own homes, which if anything were looted more thoroughly by the Allied than “the German armies.”
- The legend that the Germans alone were guilty of shooting captured enemy soldiers is also challenged: “Much has been made of the shooting of prisoners — most notoriously, Canadian prisoners — by 12th SS Panzer and other German units in Normandy. Yet it must be said that propaganda has distorted the balance of guilt. Among scores of Allied witnesses interviewed for this narrative, almost every one had direct knowledge or even experience of the shooting of German prisoners during the campaign... Many British and American units shot SS prisoners routinely, which explained, as much as the fanatical resistance that the SS so often offered, why so few appeared in POW cages.”
- In his conclusion, the author reminds the reader that “it has been the central theme of this book that the inescapable reality of the battle for Normandy was that whenever Allied troops met Germans on anything like equal terms, the Germans nearly always prevailed.” This was because “The Allies in Normandy faced the finest fighting army of the war, one of the greatest the world has ever seen. This is a simple truth that some soldiers and writers have been reluctant to acknowledge.”

Then why did the Germans lose the campaign? The main reason is that they were simply overwhelmed by the Allies' vast superiority in men and equipment. After all, Germany and her feeble allies fought against the combined resources of the United States, the British Empire, the Soviet Union, and the overseas possessions of France and the Netherlands. Germany’s undoubted qualitative superiority had its limits. Secondly, decisions made by the German high command were often faulty. They were hampered by the poor state of German military intelligence in the West, as well as by some of the directives of Adolf Hitler — who by 1944 was far from being the same man who had overseen the astonishing German military triumphs of 1939-1942. [\[3\]](#)

Hastings has written an absorbing account of the decisive campaign on the Western Front during World War II. He overturns a host of long-held views, leaving the reader with a more balanced understanding of that conflict.

*Hitler apparently suffered from Parkinson's Disease, a condition aggravated by the mismedication prescribed by his chief physician, Professor Theo Morell. On Hitler's health and its implications for his decision making, see: Werner Maser, *Hitler: Legend, Myth, and Reality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973); Percy Ernst Schramm, *Hitler: The Man and the Military Leader* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), and David Irving, *The Secret Diaries of Hitler's Doctor* (New York: Macmillan, 1983).

Notes

1. ☞ See this reviewer's appraisal of Hastings' book *Bomber Command*, contained in the essay "Death From on High," *Journal of Historical Review* Vol. 1, No. 3 (Fall 1980), pp. 247-54.
2. ☞ Consider that it took the Germans approximately six weeks to conquer Holland, Belgium, France, and drive the British off the European continent in the period May-June 1940, despite the fact that their opponents enjoyed numerical superiority in both men and war material, and even qualitative superiority in some types of tanks. Four years later, the Germans were badly outnumbered, while the Allies held command of the air and had almost unlimited supplies and uninterrupted supply lines. Yet it took the Allies over eleven months from the time they landed at Normandy to subdue Germany, and this snail-like advance took place against a Wehrmacht that was forced to concentrate its best remaining forces against the invading Soviets in the East.
3. ☞ Hitler apparently suffered from Parkinson's Disease, a condition aggravated by the mismedication prescribed by his chief physician, Professor Theo Morell. On Hitler's health and its implications for his decision making, see: Werner Maser, *Hitler: Legend, Myth, and Reality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973); Percy Ernst Schramm, *Hitler: The Man and the Military Leader* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), and David Irving, *The Secret Diaries of Hitler's Doctor* (New York: Macmillan, 1983).

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Review

Dönitz: The Last Führer

- *Dönitz: The Last Führer*, by Peter Padfield. New York: Harper and Row, 1984, 523pp, \$25.00, ISBN 0-06-015264-8.

Reviewed by H. Keith Thompson

In an appearance on a book-talk show on BBC radio, the author was asked why he had written this book. He replied that it was written at the suggestion of his agent. That is perhaps a clue to the author's motive in slapping together this garbled, hostile rehash of long-discredited British war propaganda. It draws heavily on British naval archives and the writings of Dönitz himself, evidencing in its course the usual British ability to twist facts according to their own nationalistic propaganda views.

The entire first 91 pages of the work are taken up with the early training and family background of Dönitz, and his experiences in World War I as a youthful naval junior officer and ultimately submarine commander. This is based largely on books written by Admiral Dönitz and from a few interviews with unsuspecting members of his surviving family who were not let in on the fact that they were being cynically used for a third-rate hatchet job on their relative. The author attempts an apology for this on page xi of the "Acknowledgments." A clue as to what was on the author's mind may be found in the conclusion to the first chapter, on page 91: "So ended Germany's first bid for world power, and Karl Dönitz's career as an Imperial naval officer. But for both the attitudes were too ingrained to be altered even by the bitter shock of defeat."

The author takes the standard British view that while it was fine and perfectly proper to blockade Germany and the European continent with the large British fleet for the purpose of starving the population, it was inhumane and wrong for the Germans to employ the use of unrestricted submarine warfare in order to counter this. The whole thrust of this argument is simply British propaganda. Their allies engaged in unrestricted submarine warfare at will, particularly the Americans — as attested by Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz at Nuremberg.

The author is openly anti-American, as most of the British are. On page 237 he writes: "It is not realized how much the U.S. Navy, like the German, gained expansionary wind from jealousy of the Royal Navy, shading naturally in more, aggressive U.S. naval officers into active dislike of the arrogant pretensions and imperial manner of British naval officers. Whether Admiral Ernest J. King, the U.S. C-in-C, was actively anti-British is not for debate here, but his attitude was undoubtedly that he was not going to play second string to the Royal Navy as the U.S. Navy had in the First World War, and as Patrick Beesley puts it in his study of British operational intelligence, neither he nor his staff had anything to learn from 'a bunch of limeys'." Nowhere does author Padfield care to concede that in two world wars, the U.S. entered against its own interests and

over the objections of a considerable percentage of its population, in order to save the collective hide of the British.

In his discussion of the Dönitz government which followed the death of Hitler, the author goes out of his way to try to demonstrate that Dönitz was more friendly to Heinrich Himmler than the Dönitz memoirs indicate. Padfield writes (page 409): “Whatever they said to each other it was not the short interview Dönitz described; they talked through the night while in the canteen the adjutants drank quantities of Hennessy brandy together.” On page 423, Padfield guesses that “probably Dönitz felt he owed him loyalty from their relationship in better days,” and states that Dönitz arranged for Himmler and all the SS personnel in attendance upon the Dönitz government to “ ‘dive for cover in the Wehrmacht.’ ” Padfield’s source for this is none other than Rudolf Höss, former commandant of Auschwitz, who soon thereafter was made a prisoner of the Communists and whose every statement has been found suspect by later historians.

The International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg is disposed of very summarily by the author, who relies almost entirely on IMT documents and the statements of Albert Speer. Virtually everything written or said by Speer is, to put it mildly, open to question. The man was a type commonly known about any police headquarters. After a crime, he would be prompt to arrive and deliver a full and fulsome confession. Speer was prepared to dicker for anything, and would deliver up any of his former comrades for a smile from the Allies. That is how he saved his neck. The writings of Speer can be ranked with those of Höss, sometimes colorful and interesting but hardly of legal — or historical — weight.

Padfield prints, on his concluding page (491), the text of a supposed letter of Dönitz to the Times of London, allegedly dictated in 1971 and “to be opened and published after his death.” The letter urges British, French and German unity, cites Russia and Communism as the true enemy, and mentions the German “struggle against Hebrews!” Heretofore unpublished and supposedly in possession of the Times, this letter is probably a forgery. Although he could have agreed with its sentiments, Dönitz would not have written such a letter in English or in such a manner. No reproduction of the letter itself appears in the Padfield book. Grand Admiral Dönitz had little command of English and would have written in German, as he could presume that the Times had excellent facilities to translate it. Nor would he have trusted the Times to handle the letter as he wished in any case. This is another example of how Padfield, in his typically sloppy approach to research, leaves things up in the air.

Padfield devotes considerable attention (pages 489 and following) to what he terms the “failure of the efforts made on his [Dönitz's] behalf with the Federal Government and with the former allied powers to clear his name. The campaign flickered for the last time in 1976 with the publication of Dönitz at Nuremberg, a reappraisal. It was not a reappraisal; no new evidence was produced.” The author does not understand the meaning of the term “reappraise”; perhaps he needs a refresher course in basic English as well as one in historical method. A reappraisal requires no “new evidence,” merely a re-examination of the old. And new evidence was, anyway, indeed produced, demonstrating irrefutably the unfitness of the Nuremberg tribunal and certain of its members; this evidence accrues to the benefit of not only Dönitz but all the defendants in that sorry proceeding. Padfield is no doubt piqued at the efforts of some high-ranking English officers on behalf of Admiral Dönitz, particularly Admiral of the Fleet the Rt. Hon. Earl of Cork and Orrery, and Field Marshal Lord Henry Maitland Wilson of Libya. Wilson states outright that “... there were no breaches of International Maritime Law by the Axis Powers reported to me... the Nuremberg Trials were staged as a political stunt.” The Earl of Cork and Orrery, himself a participant in the Norway campaign of 1940, holds that “As regards the legality of these trials, is there any question but that judged by previous standards, they were illegal?... To try high ranking mil-

itary officers on such a charge as 'planning aggressive warfare,' or because malpractices occurred in the area of their command, and to inflict heavy sentences upon individuals for doing what was their obvious duty to their country to do, to me savours more of vengeance than justice." One hears nothing of this sort from Padfield, who hides from his reader any mention of this material. The English newspaper Birmingham Post, reviewing a book by Dönitz on 9 May 1959, held that "From it emerges a picture of an upright, nonpolitical naval officer with brilliant and original ideas on the employment of U-boats as destroyers of shipping. A man who might have won the war for Germany if he had been given the three hundred U-boats for which he asked... Sadly, Dönitz quotes Nelson: 'Only numbers can annihilate.' He never had the numbers."

Because author Padfield never saw the second edition of *Dönitz at Nuremberg*, published by the Institute for Historical Review, he never read the evaluation therein of Tom C. Clark, Attorney General at the time of the Nuremberg trials and later a Justice of the United States Supreme Court: "These learned minds [the contributors to *Dönitz at Nuremberg*] not only isolate the Nuremberg 'principle,' placing it in the right perspective, but at the same time cite the able and devoted Admiral as a victim of the precept. I hail this anthology as required reading for all who are interested in equal justice under law for the defeated as well as the victorious." But Padfield, who doesn't like Americans anyway, would find this "overstated." Perhaps he would prefer the obituary of Dönitz in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (Nos. 1-2, 1981), which states: "And 30 years later there have united 254 Generals, Admirals and Marshals of the Western world in a book [*Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Re-Appraisal*] to laud Dönitz as a soldier and as a man in a way never before accorded to any German ..."

Peter Padfield's book, *Dönitz: The Last Führer*, will cost you \$25.00 for no reason that I can see. It is a cheap production, not only internally but also in physical terms. Its dust jacket states that it is "the first biography" of Dönitz. Even that is wrong, as at least two appeared in Germany before Padfield's. Unless you feel the need of a heavy dose of castor oil in the form of snivelling British propaganda, save your money and pass this piece of trash by.

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Review

Der Zweite Weltkrieg: Ursachen Und Anlass

- *Der Zweite Weltkrieg: Ursachen Und Anlass* [The Second World War: Origins And Causes] by Georg Franz-Willing. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1979, 310pp, DM 29.50, ISBN 3-8061-0960-5.

Reviewed by Russ Granata

It is no secret that the bombardment of Germans has merely changed in form and intensity since the 1940s. Moscow and Washington both have seen to it that the whole world, not just “East” and “West” Germany, keeps getting a steady barrage of anti-German/anti-Nazi incendiary missiles. By the year 1983, the German people especially were being overwhelmed by waves of electronic media, as well as avalanches of paper, called “volks-paedagogischen Bemuehungen” — “public educational efforts.” The reason: the 50th anniversary of what is termed “der Machtergreifung,” the power-seizure of 1933. The themes: Hitler, National Socialism, the Third Reich, the Second World War. One thing all these “public education” endeavors had in common was that they were presentations from the 1945 victors' perspectives against the German people — this people not only firebombed, truncated and divided, but for all these years still without a formal peace treaty, and still militarily occupied in toto by foreign forces, some from the East, some from the West.

The post-1945 bombardment about the Third Reich and the war via the victors' media, in America as well as in Germany, has been boringly repetitious. We do, after all, know how it comes out, who the “winners” were — and are, and who has to carry the blame. In the meantime, however, has come by fits and starts a refreshing, if yet relatively unsung, free spirit of debate within a movement of historical revisionism. This impetus toward debate and open inquiry, though often obstructed and victimized by organized suppression, nevertheless continues courageously to proceed throughout the world, as though it was inevitably willed, or at least somehow forced, by history. In the vanguard of this most worthy contemporary development are those relative few heroic historians from Germany of the latter half of the twentieth century. Georg Franz-Willing is one of these honored few.

Unlike many other contemporary German historians, whose interpretations of recent history are merely themes played upon the victors' harps, Georg Franz-Willing in *Der Zweite Weltkrieg: Ursachen und Anlass* lays bare the victors' culpability both in the war of 1914 and its horrendous aftermath, and in the war of 1939 and thereafter. It is no surprise that the general “established” press in occupied Germany, still dominated by a regrettable and false collective guilt complex, has given his book the silent treatment. In spite of the suppression of this book, however, reviews of previous works of the author have been given; Armin Moehler wrote a piece on him which was allowed to appear in Germany's respected *Criticon* (No. 75, of January-February 1983). Franz- Willing indeed is — or was — a name to be reckoned with in West German historiogra-

phy as it treats the Hitler era. His books on the early years of the National Socialist movement, *Ursprung der Hitlerbewegung 1919-1922*, *Krisenjahr der Hitlerbewegung*, and *Putsch und Verbotszeit der Hitlerbewegung 1923-1925*, have attained critical respect and lasting places in all serious bibliographies.

In the present volume, Franz-Willing describes World War II as an extension of Anglo-American anti-German Great War policy; he refers to the era of the world wars as a “second Thirty Years War” within the unfoldment of the West. Both world wars are seen as comprising essentially a single, unitary conflict: phases of a global revolution deriving from the crises caused by modernization and industrialization in the West. The British Empire, as traditional dominating economic world power, saw its position threatened by a rising and united Germany. Although Britain was able to maintain economic control right after World War I, it was unable to stop the social changes — some revolutionary, some evolutionary — which were sweeping the continent, uncorked by that great conflict but long-simmering. Franz-Willing sees Great Britain and its daughter nation, the United States of America, as essentially representing the liberalistic, capitalistic, and reactionary forces against the new order(s) of the twentieth century. The Russian Revolution and the rise of Fascism were struggles to find a place in a changing social order.

The author presents a vast panorama of the ideological, political, and economic power-struggles which, like Fates in a Greek tragedy, seemed inevitably to invoke the gods of war. He evades neither the “Guilt Question” of the Second World War nor the Jewish Question — within and without Germany — which latter he shows as having a most fateful place in the drama. Great pro-Zionist and Jewish influence in America is demonstrated to have contributed to the clearing of the warpath. While taking the devious Roosevelt-Churchill axis to task, he devotes a full page to photographs of Chaim Weizmann, Felix Frankfurter, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Bernard Baruch, focusing on this Jewish quartet prominently in his chapter revealing the forces that impelled America’s economic and military intervention into what had theretofore been a limited and essentially European affair.

Finding Germany not singularly guilty as charged, either in the first or the second phase of the “second Thirty Years War,” Franz Willing by his archival and secondary research unravels the many devious and quite consequential discussions on the “good guys” side which managed to plunge the world into a contest for power which is still going on. Like David L. Hoggan, among other fellow historians whom he cites, the author finds Hitler striving to continue the remarkable and essentially bloodless pre-1939 effort to revise Versailles, but being refused peaceful accommodation and finally forced into a war he did not desire or plan. In Franz-Willing’s view, the conflict engendered thereby is not in fact over; the world revolution continues, allies-then now foes, some contending parties of today created by 1945, the many attendant struggles sometimes flaring into full and frightening view, sometimes masked and subtle, withal perilous.

As an honest and objective explication of the background to and circumstances surrounding the great flare-up of 1939-45, *Der Zweite Weltkrieg: Ursachen und Anlass* serves very well indeed as an introduction to what historian Charles A. Beard aptly called the world’s — for it is hardly now just the West’s — “new and dangerous age.”

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Book review

Uprising! One Nation's Nightmare: Hungary 1956

- by [David Irving](#). London, Sydney, Auckland, Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981. 628pp, \$13.50, ISBN 0-340-18313-6

Reviewed by Charles Lutton

No less a figure than A. J. P. Taylor has described British historian David Irving as “a patient researcher of unrivalled industry and success.” Since the publication of his book *The Destruction of Dresden* in 1963, Irving has written or translated over a dozen books, a number of which have been bestsellers in several countries. Visit any well-stocked bookstore in the United States and you are likely to find at least one or two Irving titles in the “history” or “military” sections. With millions of readers worldwide, who eagerly anticipate the next results of his often amazingly productive research efforts, it is not going too far to state that the appearance of a new book by David Irving constitutes a publishing “event.”

Irving has done well for himself — his London flat is located in a posh area near the U.S. Embassy off Grosvenor Square — and certainly for his agent and publishers. So, when his study of the 1956 Hungarian revolt was published in Britain in Spring 1981 by the distinguished house of Hodder & Stoughton, with publication as well in France, and serialization in the large-circulation West German weekly *Der Spiegel*, it was right to assume that *Uprising!* would shortly appear in this country. But going on four years since it hit bookstores in Western Europe, *Uprising!* has yet to find an American publisher. There are clearly people here who do not want their fellow Americans to read this book. We shall soon see why.

It has been nearly thirty years since the people of Hungary rose up against the vicious Communist regime that had been imposed on them by Stalin. During the Second World War, thousands of Hungarians fought and died fighting the Russians on the Eastern Front. “Liberation” from the “Fascists” took place in typical Soviet style: over 600,000 Hungarian males were deported as slave laborers to the USSR while, as Irving points out, “for many of Hungary’s beautiful and lissom girls the first useful Russian phrase was one that anguished parents taught them: ‘I’ve got syphilis and TB.’ Workers grimly joked that their country had now known three disasters — their defeat by the Tartars, their conquest by the Turks, and their liberation by the Russians.”

As we know, at Yalta in 1945 that champion of universal brotherhood and democracy, Joseph Stalin, affirmed with his fellow champions Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill “the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live.” Elections did take place in Hungary in November of that year, with the local Communists and Social Democrats obtaining only seventeen per cent of the votes. (The people of Hungary had not forgotten the short-lived Communist regime led by Bela Kun ["Cohen"] that had drenched the coun-

try in blood before being overthrown by popular forces in 1919.) Failure at the polls in 1945 did not faze the Reds, who set about to undermine the Hungarian Republic. After all, as the author reminds his readers, “the whole Communist advance is based on conspiracy and intrigue, and Party members relish and revel in it.” By the end of 1947, the Communists, backed by Stalin’s Red Army, aborted the fledgling Republic.

To run his Hungarian satrapy, Stalin picked one Matyas Rakosi (born “Roth”), described by Irving as an “ugly Jewish dwarf” who had “the tact of a Kosher butcher.” Irving, not one to fear an awkward truth, discovered that the Communist regime and its terror machinery was viewed by the Hungarian people — and, it turns out, the U.S. State Department — as being almost entirely in the hands of Jews. A “Jewish Quartet” ruled the country: Rakosi, Ernest Gero (born “Ernst Singer”), Michael Farkas (“Wolf”) the defense minister, and Joseph Revai, minister of propaganda. The AVH, dreaded Hungarian equivalent of the NKVD, was headed by a creature who went under the name of Gabor Peter, but had been born as “Benjamin Auschpitz.” Peter (sic) staffed the AVH with fellow Jews. Irving points out that “The regime’s high Jewish profile caused deep resentment.” He cites the work of an American sociologist, Jay Schulman, who interviewed many Hungarian refugees after the events of 1956 and found that “the Communist leaders were perceived as Jews by almost 100 percent of the people we have seen.”

It is this sort of information — what the distinguished American revisionist historian James J. Martin has dubbed “inconvenient history” — that has probably delayed publication of this fascinating book in the United States. For, after years of painstaking research including the use of the testimonies of refugees taken by the CIA and State Department and deposited in American university libraries, interviews with survivors (even including the Soviet general who commanded the 1956 intervention), and diaries of diplomats and journalists who were on the scene, Irving concludes that the 1956 Hungarian uprising was a largely spontaneous revolt against what was viewed as a Jewish dictatorship. Inconvenient history indeed.

Contrary to the often self-serving claims of some refugees, among them ex-Communists living comfortably in the West, as well as many “academics,” Irving does not feel that Hungary’s intellectuals and “liberal” Marxists played much of a role in bringing down the rotten Communist regime in 1956. Rather, he sees the compelling events as having been generated and carried out by workers and peasants, with university students taking the first step toward a rising on 15 October 1956, when three thousand students voted to leave the Communist youth organization. “The rebellion,” Irving writes, then “spread like a medieval plague, only thousands of time faster.”

What started with student demonstrations got out of hand, and Rakosi’s “Jewish camarilla” completely lost control of events. Imre Nagy, non-Jewish, an old-line Communist who had spent the war in Moscow, became prime minister — for the second time — during the hectic days of October-November, 1956. Nagy called for free elections. The AVH was officially abolished, and the citizens killed all the secret police operatives they could lay their hands on. In Irving’s words: “The real criminals had long ago donned false uniforms and escaped, leaving the small-fry for the lynching parties; often blameless recruits who had had no part in the decade of spectacular crimes of their superiors ... The mob rage was primeval, primitive, and brutal. It was the closest that the uprising came to an anti-Semitic pogrom, as the largely Jewish AVH officials were mercilessly winkled out of the boltholes where they had fled.” On 1 November 1956, Nagy announced that Hungary was withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact and would follow a course of neutrality in world affairs.

For the Hungarian revolt to have succeeded, assistance was needed from the West. Unfortunately, the events in Hungary coincided with the Suez Crisis. Britain and France were tied up in the Middle East. The United States, whose CIA-sponsored Radio Free Europe had encouraged the Hungarians to resist their Soviet masters, could have warned the USSR to stay out. Instead, the U.S. reacted timidly with what Irving characterizes as “vintage Eisenhower eyewash unlikely to chill the blood of any Soviet commander.” Eisenhower went so far as to state that the U.S. was not “looking for new allies in Eastern Europe.” Khrushchev viewed this response as a green light to take decisive action free of American interference. Soviet soldiers were mobilized and sent in to quash the Hungarians. Irving explains that “President Eisenhower’s renewed disclaimer of any strategic interest in the satellite nations barely drew an appreciative belch from him [Khrushchev] now he knew that he could risk everything to recover Hungary without in effect risking anything.”

Many of the invading Soviet troops did not even realize that they were attacking Hungary; their impression was that they were headed toward Berlin to fight Fascists. Among them were Russians who “had hungry faces, and the slant eyes and Mongol cheekbones of troops from Soviet Asia. These young men in dark grey coats were killers and sadists ...” The Western powers did nothing while the Kremlin set about the task of reestablishing Communism in Hungary.

Uprising! is vintage Irving. Once again, the conclusionshe draws after years of diligent research challenge critics to revise long-accepted interpretations. But the book does more than re-tell a chapter of mid- twentieth century history. The fact that in the self-proclaimed “land of the free,” where people are supposed to enjoy a “free press” and “freedom of expression,” this important book has yet to appear in print, is a powerful reminder of just how hollow this great republic is and in what genuine peril we live today.

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Book Reviews

National Socialism and Fascism: Recent Books in Brief

Précis by Keith Stimely

The Revisionist Historians and German War Guilt

by Warren B. Morris. Brooklyn: Revisionist Press, 1977. 141 pp. \$69.95. Objective, analytical study of the foundations of revisionist historiography relating to Germany and its roles in the Second World War. Includes discussions of A.J.P. Taylor, David L. Hoggan, Harry Elmer Barnes, Paul Rassinier, Arthur R. Butz. Extensive notes and bibliography.

Explaining Hitler's Germany: Historians and the Third Reich

by John Hiden and John Farquharson. Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1983. 190pp. \$19.95. The most up-to-date and comprehensive treatment of how historians have viewed, and changed views of, the Third Reich over the years. Much emphasis on recent German scholarship, West and East. Nearly exhaustive bibliography.

The Nazi Question: An Essay on the Interpretations of National Socialism 1922-1975

by Pierre Aycoberry. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981. 257pp. \$6.95 pb. A history of the history of Nazism, as interpreted through 50 years by the Nazis themselves, their sympathizers, the Left, social scientists and historians of all stripes and particular disciplines. Much of the focus is on Nazism as a peculiar political/psychosocial/ cultural phenomenon.

Carl Schmitt: Theorist for the Reich

by Joseph W. Bendersky. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983. 280pp. \$25.00. First major treatment in English of the German political philosopher who formulated the "Law of Political Plenum," within his overarching construction "Concept of the Political." Schmitt is seen as having played a leading role in formulating the politico-legal ethos used to justify the revolutionary Nazi regime — this despite his own abiding preference for the "conservative" label.

National Socialist Ideology: Concepts and Ideas

by James B. Whisker. Greensboro, NC: WUN Press, 1979. 72pp. \$3.95 pb. Concise but wide-ranging introduction to Nazi ideology, featuring a lengthy analytical essay and a varied selection of readings from Nazi literature. Most of the readings are newly translated by the author, from sources not usually featured in collections of this type.

The Social, Political, and Religious Thought of Alfred Rosenberg: An Interpretive Essay

by James B. Whisker. Washington DC: University Press of America, 1982. 141pp. \$5.95 pb. An exposition and analysis of the views of the leading Nazi Party philosopher, who was hanged at Nuremberg in 1946. Traces the evolution of Rosenberg's thought as expressed in his several major works, and presents a comprehensive overview of his contemporaries and precursors in the fields of scientific racialism and Nordicist theology.

The Myth of the Twentieth Century

by Alfred Rosenberg. Costa Mesa, CA: [Noontide Press](#), 1982. 454pp. \$15.00. First English-language edition, unexpurgated, of this fundamental work of Nazi philosophy. Contains a preface by Prof. Peter H. Peel, an introduction by Prof. James B. Whisker, and Rosenberg's own preface to the third (1931) German edition, replying to the early critics.

When Nazi Dreams Come True: The Third Reich's Internal Struggle Over the Future of Europe After a German Victory

by Robert Edwin Herzstein. London: Sphere/Abacus, 1982. 302pp. \$8.95 pb. Based largely on heretofore-unexamined sources, including private and ministerial records and a wide range of Nazi and collaborationist periodicals. Details the conflict within the Nazi hierarchy between pan-German and pan-European thinkers and planners; holds that pan-European propaganda and professions of faith generally increased in direct proportion to the likelihood of a German defeat.

To the Heart of Asia: The Life of Sven Hedin

by George Kish. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1984. 260pp. \$16.50. Biography of the great, part-Jewish, Swedish explorer and author who knew and admired Hitler, and whose 1943 book *Amerika im Kampf der Kontinente* made a great impression on the Führer. Includes a full discussion of Hedin's relations with Nazi leaders, his ventures into pro-German diplomacy, and what this augured for him after the war.

Berlin Alert: The Memoirs and Reports of Truman Smith

edited by Robert Hessen. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1984. 195pp. \$19.95. First publication of the personal and official papers of the U.S. military attache in Berlin who was one of the earliest American observers of the rise to power of Hitler — and who in the 1930s reported candidly on Germany's growing military potential. Colonel Smith was ultimately accused, along with his friends Charles Lindbergh and Lawrence Dennis, of being a Nazi sympathizer.

The Nightmare Years 1930-1940

by William L. Shirer. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984. 654pp. \$22.50. The second volume, covering the Nazi period which made him famous, of the correspondent's autobiography, "Twentieth Century Journey." Contains much material republished verbatim — though not identified as such — from his earlier books.

Who's Who in Nazi Germany

by Robert Wistrich. New York: Macmillan, 1982. 359pp. \$17.75. Reference work of 350 entries described by the author as “the first comprehensive Who’s Who on the subject to be written in any language.” (It is not; Erich Stockhorst’s Fuenftausend Koepfe: Wer war Was im Dritten Reich was published in 1967, and contains some 4,650 more entries.) Of some use as a basic source for English-language readers, but should be approached with caution, given some factual errors and the author’s anti-Nazi bias.

Leaders and Personalities of the Third Reich: Their Biographies, Portraits, and Autographs

by Charles Hamilton. San Jose, CA: R. James Bender Publishing, 1984. 480pp. \$24.95. The best “Who’s Who” available in English, of interest not only to scholars but to autograph and document collectors. Contains in addition to biographical data some 880 photos/ documents/auto-graphs. 55 pages are devoted to Hitler alone, including a valuable section on Hitler forgeries. A second volume, dealing mainly with military figures, is promised in 1985.

The Hitler Movement: A Modern Millenarian Revolution

by James M. Rhodes. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1980. 253pp. \$14.95. Holds that Nazism, arising out of the mass-calamity of World War I with its “revelation” and promise of salvation to the Germans, was a modern, secular version of the apocalyptic-millenarian religious movements of the Middle Ages. The author contends that it is a great mistake for historians not to take Nazi “mythic” self-interpretations very seriously indeed.

Nazism: A Historical and Comparative Analysis of National Socialism

by George L. Mosse. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1978. 134pp. \$5.95. A distillation of the views of one of the leading social historians of Nazism, as recorded in this wide-ranging interview with Michael Ledeen, who sets the stage with a 14-page introduction to Mosse’s work and influence as an interpreter of modern Europe.

Hitler’s World View: A Blueprint for Power

by Eberhard Jaeckel. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981. 140pp. \$6.95 pb. Current edition of the influential 1972 work which overthrew the venerable myth that Hitler never held any real philosophical convictions — was just an opportunist interested only in power for its own sake. Shows via careful examination of Hitler’s words and actions that, whatever one might think of it, the Führer did hold and hold to a consistent and internally-logical world view in which he believed deeply.

Hitler’s Secret Book by Adolf Hitler

Introduction by Telford Taylor. New York: Grove Press, 1983. 230pp. \$7.95 pb. Most recent edition of the semi sequel to Mein Kampf, dealing mainly with concrete questions of long-term foreign policy, which Hitler wrote in 1928 but never allowed to be published. This translation was originally published in 1961.

Hitler’s “Mein Kampf” in Britain and America: A Publishing History 1930-39

by James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980. 101pp. \$19.95. An investigation into the labyrinthian saga of Hitler's famous book as it was presented to English-speaking audiences in the 1930s. Deals with the various translation and publication efforts from the abridged British 1933 version (*My Battle*) through pirated productions (including a tabloid "anti-Hitler version") to the well-known James Murphy, New School for Social Research, and Ralph Manheim translations.

Hitler in Vienna 1907-1913: Clues to the Future

by J. Sydney Jones. 350pp. \$19.95. Careful study of Hitler's youth, based on some sources not exploited by previous researchers. It is as much a general biography of Viennese cultural and intellectual life during this time as of its stated subject; captures well the milieu surrounding Hitler during his formative years.

The Memoirs of Bridget Hitler

edited by Michael Unger. London: Duckworth, 1979. 192pp. \$9.95. First publication of the largely-spurious memoirs of the English wife of Hitler's half-brother, Alois. The memoirs reposed for many years in the New York Public Library as a typescript ("My Brother-in-Law Adolf"), and describe a mythical 1913 visit by young Hitler to England.

Ein Andere Hitler: Erlebnisse, Gespraech, Reflexionen

(A Different Hitler: Experiences, Conversations, Reflections) by Hermann Giesler. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1977. 527pp. DM 46.00. The memoirs of Hitler's "other architect," responsible for some of the great public building projects planned for the New Reich. Avoids the guilt-ridden apologetics, responsibility-shiftings, and recriminations characteristic of Albert Speer's memoirs; frankly pro-Hitler.

Hitler's Personal Security

by Peter Hoffman. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979. 321pp. \$15.00. Meticulous study of the means and methods used to protect the life of the Führer, his residences/offices, and entourage, from the time of his entry into political prominence to the last days. Based in large part on the files of the agencies responsible for security. Many maps, photos, diagrams.

Hitler's Secret Life: The Mysteries of the Eagles Nest

by Glenn B. Infield. New York: Stein and Day, 1981. 317pp. \$2.95 pb. Sensationalistic, unreliable account by a contemporary master-chronicler of Third Reich gossip. Much use made of patently spurious sources, including material from the "archives" of Nuremberg trial judge Michael Mussmano — the author's predecessor in producing "history" of this sort.

The Medical Casebook of Adolf Hitler

by Leonard L. Heston and Renate Heston. Introduction by Albert Speer. New York: Stein and Day/Scarborough, 1982. 184pp. \$9.95 pb. Careful, detailed reconstruction of the state of Hitler's health over the years, approached in terms of Hitler as just another patient for whose patient-history all available evidence is gathered and evaluated. Little extraneous discussion: the authors stick to their subject — the result being probably the definitive study.

The Secret Diaries of Hitler's Doctor

by David Irving. New York: Macmillan, 1983. 310pp. \$16.95. The notes made by Hitler's chief attendant physician, Dr. Theo Morell, transcribed and translated by David Irving, who provides a lengthy introduction and extensive commentary throughout. This book has renewed discussion over Morell's unorthodox treatments and their effect on Hitler's performance as statesman and warlord.

Hitler: The Survival Myth

by Donald M. McKale. New York: Stein and Day, 1981. 270pp. \$14.95. A meticulous cataloging — and debunking — of just about every "Hitler is alive" story of the past 40 years, of both the patently ridiculous and more logically presentable varieties. Includes a thorough analysis of the official, politically motivated, Soviet story- changing and backtracking in mid-1945.

Munich 1923: The Inside Story of Hitler's First Grab for Power

by John Dornberg. New York: Harper and Row, 1982. 385pp. \$18.95. Most recent account of Hitler's ill-fated attempt to "Putsch" himself into power. Provides a good account of the whole city of Munich and what it was going through politically and socially, as well as the story of the Nazis' would-be revolution.

1933: Die Nationale Erhebung

(1933: The National Rising) by Georg Franz-Willing. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1982. 340pp. DM 29.80 pb. Unbiased history of the decisive year of the Nazis' capture and consolidation of power. Shows just how tenuous at first was the hold of the Nazi Party on the reins of government, even after passage in the Reichstag of the crucial Enabling Act. Concludes that Hitler's party could finally become supreme in the state only because it was, indeed, the organized will of the people.

Aus Deutscher Sicht: Erlebte Zeitgeschichte

(From the German View: The Experience of Recent History) by Hans-Juergen Evert. Berg am See: Kurt Vowinckel Verlag, 1980. 386pp. DM 30.00 pb. A general scholarly treatment of the course of German history from Versailles to Potsdam and its aftermath. Written from a nationalistic perspective, sympathetic to National Socialism.

Guernica: Greuelpropaganda oder Kriegsverbrechen?

(Guernica: Atrocity Propaganda or War Crime?) by Adolf von Thadden. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1982. 160pp. DM 22.50. Holds that the popular view of the Spanish Civil War bombing of Guernica by the Germans is largely based on myth, not fact. Sees the liberal/Stalinist propaganda line about Guernica as a precursory case-study of the greater anti-German atrocity stories to come.

Guernica! Guernica! Diplomacy, Propaganda, and the Press

by Herbert R. Southworth. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977. 552pp. \$37.50. The most scholarly and generally-informative study of the Guernica bombing as a continuing prob-

lem in fact-sifting and propagandistic exploitation. Extensive use of press accounts and examination of foreign-correspondent behavior and motivations.

Mut zur Wahrheit: Beiträe zur Geschichte unserer Zeit

(Courage Towards the Truth: Contributions to the History of Our Time) by Helmut Suendermann. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1981. 256pp. DM 28.00. A collection of the author's most important revisionist essays and reviews, 1951-72, some previously unpublished, many appearing originally in such periodicals as Nation Europa and Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung. Suendermann was Deputy Reich Press Chief during the war, and after it a leading revisionist publisher and author.

Germany and the Two World Wars

by Andreas Hillgruber. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981. 120pp. \$7.95 pb. An encapsulation of the conclusions reached by one of West Germany's foremost historians of the problem of continuity and change in German foreign policy in this century. Presents the major arguments of his Hitlers Strategie: Politik und Kriegfuehrung 1940 and Der Zenit des Zweiten Weltkrieges: Juli 1941, as well as his colleague Klaus Hildebrand's influential Vom Reich zum Weltreich.

Den Sieg Verspielt: Musste Deutschland den Zweiten Weltkrieg verlieren?

(The Lost Victory: Did Germany Have to Lose the Second World War?) by Max Kluever. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1983. 340pp. DM 36.00. Considers all factors — economic, military, strategic, social — bearing on the question asked in the subtitle. Particularly treats the importance of the forces of treason, sabotage and resistance, often ignored in such examinations. Concludes that Germany's total defeat was by no means inevitable.

Bedingungslose Kapitulation: Inferno in Deutschland 1945

(Unconditional Surrender: Inferno in Germany 1945) by Franz Kurowski. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1983. 384pp. DM 39.80 pb. General history, from a revisionist perspective, of the events surrounding the capitulation of Germany, including the aftermath of occupation, forced expulsion, reeducation, denazification, forced repatriation, and war crimes trials

Regierung Dönitz: Die letzten Tage des Dritten Reiches

(The Dönitz Government: The Last Days of the Third Reich) by Walter Luedde-Neurath. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1980. 208pp. DM 24.80. Latest edition of the classic 1950 study of Dönitz's short-lived successor government, by a Dönitz naval aide who participated in the events he describes. This edition is supplemented with selections from Dönitz's personal diary of the period.

Grossadmiral Karl Dönitz: Vom U-Bootkommandanten zum Staatsoberhaupt

(Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz: From U-Boat Commander to Head of State) by Karl Alman. Berg am See: Kurt Vowinckel Verlag, 1983. 256pp. DM 29.80. Sympathetic biography of Hitler's successor as Reich President, covering the Second World War years in great depth and ending with Dönitz's release from Spandau prison in 1956.

Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Re-Appraisal

edited by H.K. Thompson, Jr., and Henry Strutz. Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1983. 200pp. \$5.00 pb. Revised, expanded edition of this collection of testimonials from over 400 world figures in government, the judiciary, the law, the military, diplomacy, scholarship, philosophy, and the arts, condemning the Nuremberg war crimes proceedings and betokening support for Grand Admiral Dönitz as a man unjustly maligned in law and in history.

Guenther Prien: Der "Wolf" und sein Admiral

(Guenther Prien: The "Wolf" and His Admiral) by Karl Alman. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1981. 320pp. DM 19.80 pb. Biography of the legendary U-Boat commander who provided one of the great dramatic exploits in the war at sea: the sinking of the "unsinkable" British battleship Royal Oak in harbor at Scapa Flow. Traces in detail all of Prien's hunting expeditions, and his relationship with Admiral Dönitz.

Germany Reborn

by Hermann Göring. Costa Mesa, CA: Noontide Press, 1983. 67pp. \$4.00 pb. New translation of Göring's 1934 memoir-history (Aufbau einer Nation) of the Nazi movement's struggle for power from the earliest days. A fundamental document of Nazism as seen by one of its leaders. Introduction by the translator, Prof. James B. Whisker.

The Murder of Rudolf Hess

by W. Hugh Thomas. New York: Harper and Row, 1979. 224pp. \$9.95. A British doctor who examined Spandau's famous prisoner #7 in the early 1970s here makes the claim that the man held at Nuremberg and in Spandau has all along been an impersonator, set up by the Nazis to make the flight to England after the real Hess was murdered. The book does not really resolve the many questions attendant to such an extraordinary thesis.

Rudolf Hess: Der Deutsche Martyr

(Rudolf Hess: The German Martyr) by Robert H. Drechsler. Vienna: Verlag des "Vereines zur Foerderung Volkstreuen Schrifttums in Oesterreich," 1979. 383pp. DM 30.00 pb. A comprehensive selection of documents from Nuremberg and Spandau accompanies this biography, sympathetic to both Hess and National Socialism.

Final Entries 1945: The Diaries of Joseph Goebbels

edited by Hugh Trevor-Roper. New York: Putnam's, 1978. 368pp. \$14.95. First publication of the last-days diaries of the Reich propaganda minister, providing a unique look at life in high official Berlin as a world went up in flames. Includes some photo reproductions of original pages of the transcriptions.

The Goebbels Diaries 1939-1941

edited by Fred Taylor. New York: Putnam's, 1983. 490pp. \$17.95. Diary selections from the years of victory, providing much insight into both "pure" propaganda and official Nazi cultural policy.

The copies of the transcription-sheets came to the publisher from the Eastern bloc; entries relating to the Nazi-Soviet pact are missing.

Finale Furioso: Mit Goebbels biz zum Ende

(Furious Finale: With Goebbels to the End) by Wilfred von Oven. Tuebingen: Grabert Verlag, 1979. 670pp. DM 39.80. Current edition of the memoirs of one of Goebbels' principal aides in the propaganda ministry. Transcends the basics of an "I was there" account, providing intelligent philosophical reflections on the meaning of the war and Germany's loss.

Magda Goebbels: The First Lady of the Third Reich

by Hans Otto Meissner. New York: Dial Press, 1980. 288pp. \$14.95. First biography of Joseph Goebbels' influential wife, written by longtime Reich State Secretary Otto Meissner's son, who knew both well. A full chronicle of the often stormy relationship which ended in a double-suicide in the Reich Chancellery bunker.

The Secretary. Martin Bormann — The Man Who Manipulated Hitler

by Jochen von Lang. New York: Random House, 1979. 430pp. \$15.95. Most complete and scholarly account of the life of one of the most powerful men around Hitler, by a West German journalist who spent 10 years on the research, and was largely responsible for the forensic investigation which finally determined that Bormann had indeed died in Berlin in 1945.

Martin Bormann: Nazi in Exile

by Paul Manning. Secaucus, N.J.: Lyle Stuart, 1981. 302pp. \$14.95. Latest variation on the Bormann-is-alive-and- well-and-behaving-terribly theme. Claims that Bormann became an advisor to Argentine dictator Juan Peron, and personally engineered the postwar German economic rebirth. No source notes, no bibliography.

Walter Reder. Der Gefangene von Gaeta

(Walter Reder: The Prisoner of Gaeta) by Robert H. Drechsler. Vienna: Verlag die Leuchtkugel Robert H. Drechsler, 1977. 192pp. DM 25.00 pb. A documentation and narrative history of the four-decades-long ordeal of Major Walter Reder, still held prisoner in the Italian fortress of Gaeta for being convicted of "war crimes" in the execution of a group of communist partisans in German-held Italy in 1944.

Hasso von Manteuffel: Panzerkampf im Zweiten Weltkrieg

(Hasso von Manteuffel: Panzer-Struggle in the Second World War) by Joachim von Schaulen. Berg am See: Kurt Vowinkel Verlag, 1983. 280pp. DM 29.80. A study of the military leadership of one of the most tenacious of German tank generals, particularly famed — and respected by his opponents — for his role in slowing up the Western advance into Germany in 1944-45.

Operation Valkyrie: The German Generals' Plot Against Hitler

by Pierre Galante. New York: Harper and Row, 1981. 299pp. \$15.95. New treatment of the 20 July bomb plot, its genesis and aftermath. Based largely on the personal archives and recollec-

tions of General Adolf Heusinger, operations chief of the general staff 1940-44 and a leading figure in the treason conspiracy.

Albert Speer: The End of a Myth

by Matthias Schmidt. New York: St. Martin's, 1984. 288pp. \$14.95. Very critical examination, from an anti- Nazi perspective, of Albert Speer's veracity as a memoirist and chronicler of the Third Reich. Holds that Speer after the war assiduously promoted a view of himself which amounted to a clever lie, and concludes that he was a shameless opportunist at every stage of his life; after 1945 he just changed sides and told lies about his former regime and his role in it.

Infiltration: How Heinrich Himmler Schemed to Build an SS Industrial Empire

by Albert Speer. New York: Macmillan, 1981. 384pp. \$15.95. Speer's last book, based on extensive archival research in addition to his own experience. Describes Himmler's plan to develop the SS into a vast financial/industrial "state within a state." Although Speer hardly intends it, the net effect of his research — which demonstrates just how important concentration camp labor was to Himmler's plans — is to reinforce revisionist conclusions about the non-existence of an "extermination policy."

The SS: Alibi of a Nation

by Gerald Reitlinger. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981. 502pp. \$17.50. Re-issue of the 1957 standard work describing the internal workings and political infighting of the SS, with a new foreword by Martin Gilbert.

Secrets of the SS

by Glenn B. Infield. New York: Stein and Day, 1984. 271pp. \$3.50 pb. The author, in typical fashion, mixes in just enough established fact with his vivid collection of gossip, rumor, innuendo, and outright invention, as to enable this basically silly volume to have at least just the hint of the reflection of the gloss of the veneer of scholarship.

Reinhard Heydrich: A Biography

by Guenther Deschner. New York: Stein and Day, 1981. 351pp. \$18.95. Well-researched biography of the SD chief of the SS. The author exhibits an unusual ambivalence, amounting to a much-qualified revisionism, in discussing Heydrich's own ambivalent attitudes in his roles as Reich Protector of Bohemia-Moravia and key administrator trying to formulate a coherent and consistent Reich policy toward the Jews.

Eichmann Interrogated

edited by Jochen von Lang. New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1983. 240pp. \$19.95. A selection (stated to be about ten percent) from the transcripts of Eichmann's supposed pre-trial interrogation testimony, as given by him in Israel between 29 May 1960 and 11 April 1961, to Israeli Captain Avner Less.

Ich, Adolf Eichmann: Ein Historischer Zeugenbericht

(I, Adolf Eichmann: A Historical Witness-Account) edited by Rudolf Aschenauer. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1980. 550pp. DM 36.00. Controversial book purporting to be the memoirs of Eichmann obtained by the editor in their original form through Eichmann's widow. Contains extensive commentary and analysis by the editor, a major revisionist historian and former defense lawyer in several war crimes trials.

Krieg ohne Grenzen: Der Partisanenkampf gegen Deutschland 1939-1945

(War Without Frontiers: The Partisan Struggle Against Germany 1939-1945) by Rudolf Aschenauer. Leoni am Starnberger See: Druffel Verlag, 1983. Landmark study of an aspect of World War II in Europe that has remained largely unexplored in English-language literature. This book deals not only with the partisans' activities, but also the Germans' desperate countermeasures — seen by the author as providing the victors with a convenient peg on which to hang “extermination” allegations.

Hitler and the Final Solution

by Gerald Fleming. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. 272pp. \$15.95. Direct, hard-driving attack on David Irving's thesis that Hitler did not know of exterminations of Jews. Attempts to reverse Irving and “set the record straight” for all time by proving that Hitler did indeed order an extermination program. The attempt fails, however, to bring forth what Irving has always demanded of his critics: a single piece of paper from the war years (not postwar) showing that Hitler even knew about such a thing.

Hitler, Germans, and the “Jewish Question”

by Sarah Gordon. Princeton University Press, 1984. 412pp. \$40.00 hb. \$14.50 pb. A study of German politics and society, 1870-1945, with reference to the Jewish question. The focus is mainly on the Weimar and Nazi years. Not about the “Holocaust” per se — though there are many assertions about it, all drawn from secondary sources.

Hitler's Death Camps: The Sanity of Madness

by Konnilyn G. Feig. New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1981. 423pp. \$19.95. Based almost exclusively on secondary literature, this book attempts to provide an over-view of the Nazi internment system, on a camp-by-camp basis. Lurid assertions, now generally accepted as false, about “extermination” camps on German soil are uncritically repeated. Not for the squeamish or intelligent.

The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry

by Walter N. Sanning. Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1983. 239pp. \$12.00 hb. \$8.00 pb. First scientific demographic study of the movements and fates of Eastern European Jews in the twentieth century. Highlights the constant processes of declining birthrate and extensive emigration, particularly during and after the Second World War. Throws doubt on “Holocaust” extermination claims

Vor dem Tribunal der Sieger: Gesetzlose Justiz in Nuernberg

(Before the Victors' Tribunal: Lawless Justice in Nuremberg) by Hildegard Fritzsche. Preussisch Oldendorf: Verlag K.W. Schuetz, 1981. 336pp. DM 24.00. Revisionist examination of the International Military Tribunal. Scathingly critical of the prosecution and judges, as well as the whole mentality behind the very concept of the trial, which would never have been set up but for the “victors' flush” that caused a wholesale casting-aside of venerable legal principle.

Justice at Nuremberg

by Robert E. Conot. New York: Harper and Row, 1983. 593pp. \$22.50. General history, largely uncritical, of the International Military Tribunal. Based as much upon the prosecution's pre-trial interrogation records as on the proceedings or documentary evidences themselves, with the resultant bias such an approach would entail. Essentially a Brief for the Prosecution.

The Nuremberg Trial

by Anne Tusa and John Tusa. New York: Atheneum, 1984. 600pp. \$22.50. Latest overview of the IMT proceedings, much more thoroughly researched than the Conot book. Considers the many criticisms of the trial concept and course that have been made over the years, though ultimately ends up vindicating the trial as something that the victors just “had to” do to get the war out of their systems.

The Nazi Era 1919-1945: A Selected Bibliography of Published Works from the Early Roots to 1980

compiled by Helen Kehr and Janet Langmaid. London: Mansell, 1982. 618pp. £30.00. Multi-language guide of great scope and authority, though does not pretend to be exhaustive. Includes a bibliography of bibliographies, and listings of published documentary collections.

Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship

by A. James Gregor. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979. 427pp. \$27.50 hb. \$9.75 pb. The political scientist who has emerged as America's foremost revisionist interpreter of Fascism here expands upon and extends the lines of inquiry of his previous works (Contemporary Radical Ideologies, The Ideology of Fascism, The Fascist Persuasion in Radical Politics, Interpretations of Fascism) to present a detailed analysis of Italian Fascism in power. He sees Mussolini's state as a prototypical developmental revolutionary regime — arising ideologically out of the “crisis of classical Marxism” with its “heresy” of nationalistic revolutionary syndicalism. A comparison of the Fascist mobilization of Italy — the rapid, forced industrialization and modernization of an economically “delayed” country — with the Bolshevization of Russia at the same time via similar means and under similar conditions, leads to the conclusion that all developmental revolutionary regimes must in fact be both intensely nationalist and socialist. Gregor's vindication of the social science concept of totalitarianism is a unique one: accomplished without the usual unctuous moralizing, and with arguments not likely to please doctrinaire interpreters of Fascism of either Left or Right persuasion.

Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism

by A. James Gregor. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. 271pp. \$28.50. A major re-examination of the development of Mussolini's thought, thoroughly debunking the notion that Mussolini was just an opportunistic seeker-after-power, with no real ideological convictions or

program. Traced in great detail is the young radical's evolution from anti-nationalist Marxist to fervently nationalist syndicalist, as his political genius combined the ideas of such as Sorel, Pareto, Mosca, Michels, Gentile, Malaparte, and Prezzolini into a mass-mobilizing belief system which swept away all competing revolutionary factions and has confused and consternated doctrinaire Marxists to this day. Contrary to the Marxists' persistent and wishful declarations that Mussolini's belief-system never really existed, Gregor shows him as "an astute political thinker whose beliefs were as intelligent and coherent as any revolutionary of the twentieth century" and whose movement's "intellectual credentials were as compelling as any."

Mussolini

by Anthony James Joes. New York: Franklin Watts, 1982. 405pp. \$18.95. A full-scale biography of the revolutionary intellectual turned Duce, by a leading interpreter of Fascism in the revisionist vein. Not sparing in criticisms, the work is nevertheless devoid of condemnatory zeal and not at all shy about describing matter-of-factly the many social, cultural, economic, and foreign policy accomplishments of the Fascist regime, the genuine idealism and intellectual grounding of Mussolini's program, and the broad support it enjoyed from the Italian people. It is seen to be strange that the Mussolini of the 1920s and early '30s, so widely admired and praised even in the world liberal press as the savior of his country, institutor of needed reforms and developer of a workable "alternate way" transcending both Bolshevism and Reaction, could so quickly and so blithely be painted over as an inhuman monster or buffoon. This biography is essentially a careful restoration-job, scraping away the propaganda coloration to reveal a much more objective, truthful picture of the man and his era.

Mussolini

by Dennis Mack Smith. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981. 429pp. £12.95. A standard (i.e., disparaging) biography, by a well-known liberal historian of modern Italy who has been adamant in conducting rear-guard actions against the advances of Mussolini/Fascist revisionism that have been a feature of the past twenty years. In essence this is a much more sophisticated — and, certainly, more factually accurate — version of the "Sawdust Caesar" anti-Mussolini tracts of the wartime era. The author knows his sources well, and is a meticulous researcher, but ultimately this study adds nothing to our knowledge of the subject.

Mussolini Unleashed: 1939-1941

by MacGregor Knox. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982. 385pp. \$19.95. Ground-breaking revisionist study of Mussolini's foreign policy and war aims. Rejects the interpretation of the Duce as a bluffing, clownish and inconsistent opportunist hitching a desperate ride on Hitler's fast-moving war train only out of fear of being "left out" in the share of spoils. Mussolini emerges as neither a poor second-relation to Hitler in policy aims nor a "traditional" Italian statesman striving (even if unsuccessfully) to maintain a delicate, status-quo balance between the Western and Germanic powers. Rather, he consistently sought supremacy and empire for Italy in the Mediterranean, and the stunning Nazi victories of 1940, far from "pushing" him into a stance not really desired, "unleashed" him to attempt accomplishment of formidable goals he had always had in mind.

The First Duce: D'Annunzio at Fiume

by Michael Ledeen. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977. 225pp. \$15.00. Descriptive and interpretive study of Gabriele D'Annunzio's 16-month popular dictatorship, 1919-20, in the Italian-claimed North Adriatic city of Fiume. The romantic-mythic leadership exploits of the flamboyant poet/war- hero/dictator are seen as contributing greatly to the style, if not the substance, of Mussolini's later dictatorship over Italy. D'Annunzio's ability to unite (for a time) under his banner the many competing factions and ideological currents in Fiume demonstrated a drastic and revolutionary form of "consensus politics" whose lesson was not lost on later leaders working in a larger context. The turbulent Fiume of post- World War I is seen as a microcosm of the continuing turbulence and political possibilities of our own time.

The Syndicalist Tradition and Italian Fascism

by David D. Roberts. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1979. 440pp. \$30.00. A meticulous tracing and analysis of the contributions of revolutionary syndicalism to the development of Italian Fascist ideology, politics, and practice-in-power — demonstrating just how much Fascism owed to the revolutionary Left. Particular attention is paid to the ideas and influence of Georges Sorel, erstwhile Marxist turned prophet of nationalist socialism and the "myth" of violence and action.

Fascism: An Informal Introduction to Its Theory and Practice

by Renzo De Felice. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1976. 128pp. \$5.95 hb. \$3.95 pb. An interview with De Felice conducted by Michael Ledeen. Provides a concise but wide-ranging introduction to the thought of the controversial University of Rome historian, author of a monumental six- volume biography of Mussolini and editor of the Mussolini-D'Annunzio correspondence. Discussed are De Felice's political and historical analyses of Fascism in all its stages, and the controversy his work has stirred up by virtue of its decided departure from long-standing "consensus" (including Marxist) interpretations. The paperback Italian edition of this book was the number-one best-seller in that country for a year — very unusual for a work of this kind. Doubtless contributing to the interest in it was the Marxist and popular-press characterization of De Felice as a closet "neo-Fascist. "

Interpretations of Fascism

by Renzo De Felice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977. 248pp. \$14.95. De Felice's own comprehensive review of his predecessors and contemporaries — and critics — in the study of Fascism. He extends the scope of inquiry here beyond the Italian case to consider "generic" European Fascism and all its schools of interpretation through 50 years, including the Marxist, conservative, Catholic, totalitarian, social science, and psychosocial constructs.

Fascism in the Contemporary World: Ideology, Evolution, Resurgence

by Anthony James Joes. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1978. 238pp. \$17.50. Not a work about contemporary "neo-nazi" movements, but a comparative historical/political study of certain nationalistic and socialistic regimes-in-power today — "the first attempt to systematically link fascist ideology and practice in Europe to that in the Third World." Follows much of the approach of A. James Gregor (who contributes the Foreword) in positing the developing nations as seed-grounds for Fascism; no matter that these developmental, hurrying-to-modernize Third World regimes might call themselves "Marxist" (and be so called by both Western and Eastern Bloc

commentators), they actually have much more in common with the Italian Fascist than the Marxist tradition. The author states bluntly that “Fascism is on the rise in the contemporary world.”

Who Were the Fascists? Social Roots of European Fascism

edited by Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Bernt Hagtvet, Jan Peter Myklebust, BergenEslo-Tromso: Universitetsforlaget, 1980. U.S. distributor: Columbia University Press. 893pp. \$39.95. Massive compilation of original research, much of it quantitative, from more than two dozen researchers of Fascism’s appeal and its ultimate satisfaction or non-satisfaction of that appeal, among all population groups in all European countries. Social science, psychological, economic. and demographic approaches predominate.

Fascism in Europe 1919-1945

by R.A.H. Robinson. London: The Historical Association, 1981.45pp. \$3.95 pb. Basic introductory booklet providing an overview of the history, belief systems, and leaders of the various European Fascisms, and an exposure to varied interpretations of the place of Fascism and its attendant phenomena in European history.

Reappraisals of Fascism

edited by Henry A. Turner, Jr. New York: Franklin Watts, 1975.238pp. \$5.95 pb. A selection of essays representing some of the main currents of theory thrust up by the 1960s-'70s reawakening of scholarly interest in — and debate over — Fascism. One section is devoted to analyses of the interpretation of West German historian Ernst Nolte, whose *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* (1963; *Three Faces of Fascism*, 1966) has contributed markedly and lastingly to all serious discussions of the subject. Although many different viewpoints and approaches are featured in this anthology, there are none of the Marxist persuasion-since, in the words of the editor, “It proved impossible to find even one interpretation from that point of view of a quality comparable to that of the contributions published here.”

Fascism

by Alan Cassels. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1975. 401pp. \$7.95 pb. One of the more useful and provocative surveys of European Fascism, expanding on the author’s classic 1969 essay, “Janus: The Two Faces of Fascism.” Surveying all European nations, but concentrating on the two — distinct — “prototypes” of Hitler’s Germany and Mussolini’s Italy, Cassels posits a dichotomy between Fascisms in fully-modernized and in less-developed countries. The core ethos of German National Socialism, inheriting an advanced industrialized nation of the highest order, involved a fundamental rejection of modernism (though not of its technics), and a yearning for the return to a purer, uncorrupted and simpler volkisch past. Italian Fascism, on the other hand, arising in a comparatively backward country, proudly placed itself in the forefront of “modern movement” progressivism and positivism. The dichotomy of “backward-looking” vs. “forward-looking” Fascisms is extended to include other European variants, including Sir Oswald Mosley’s movement in Britain (placed in the former category). Cassels does not, however, discard the concept of a “generic” Fascism. He rather vindicates it by holding that all Fascisms shared the wellspring of desire for a renewal of social cohesion in societies that had become atomized — and shared as well the radical compulsion to sweep away the reigning establishments of pluralistic liberal capitalism and Marxism, manifestations both of despised materialism.

Fascism: Comparison and Definition

by Stanley G. Payne. Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980. 234pp. \$6.95 pb. The most rigorous and systematic work to review, define, compare, and contrast all theoretical approaches to the historical/political “problem” of Fascism, “the only major new ideology of the twentieth century.” Country-by-country and theory-by-theory comparative analyses lead to the conclusion that no one interpretative “system” can properly explain the phenomenon of Fascism — despite the numerous such systems that have been devised (often for political purposes); an “either/or” approach, such as the Marxist, won’t do and is in fact misleading. There was no absolute, shared single cause or generic phenomenon to which all the various Fascisms can be reduced; at the same time, however, a view of different Fascist regimes and movements which ignores their very real similarities, both in ideological and situational terms, is also inappropriate. As a “touchstone” for definition of what Fascism is and what it is not — a key question, given the widespread contemporary abuse of the term “Fascist,” often hurled about with little or no concern for definitional rigor — the author presents a descriptive typology positing certain characteristics making up a “Fascist minimum.” The outstanding feature of this book is its clarity and objectivity in treating a subject all too often wrapped up in myth and polemics.

Fascist Intellectual: Drieu La Rochelle

by Robert Soucy. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. 400pp. \$37.50. First biography in English of the famous French Fascist thinker, author of *L'Europe contre les patries*, *Le Français d'Europe* and the classic *Chronique Politique 1934-1942*. Treats Drieu’s entire career from his formative experiences in the First World War to his early advocacy of a united Europe support of Jacques Doriot’s *Parti Populaire Français*, feuds with Robert Brasillach, editorship of the collaborationist *Nouvelle Revue Française*, and despairing suicide in 1945.

Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, The Modernist as Fascist

by Fredric Jameson. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. 200pp. \$18.95. Essentially a literary treatment of the avant-garde British prose stylist, but with the focus on his romantic, anti-democratic political views. Analyzes not only his “protofascist” fiction, but his ostentatiously “shocking” books on politics and society, such as *The Art of Being Ruled*, *Blasting and Bombardiering*, *Left Wings Over Europe*, *Hitler*, and *The Jews: Are They Human?* Despite his public turn away from admiration for Hitler in the late '30s. Wyndham Lewis is seen as having held throughout his life a peculiar Fascist “temperament.”

Deliberate Regression: The Disastrous History of Romantic Individualism in Thought and Art, from Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Twentieth Century Fascism

by Robert Harbison. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980. 264pp. \$15.00. The author of this study of art and society did not create the category “Romantic Individualism,” but he does manage here to divest it of all real meaning or usefulness by indiscriminately lumping together under its rubric any artistic expressions of the past 200 years that he happens not to like. What he doesn’t like are, for instance, paintings and sculptures of human beings that bear some resemblance to human beings. Quite beyond the pale are any representations that dare proclaim beauty in the human form or in human works, and express such traits as heroism, idealism, and nobility. Hence his zealous anti-“fascist” condemnation, in chapters entitled “Tribe and Race” and “Millennium,” of both the Nazi and Soviet realist/neo-classicist schools of art and architecture. The author’s stri-

dent intolerance betrays, perhaps, a lurking would-be Zhdanov in reverse; he has written a book full of intellectual sound and fury, signifying stupidity.

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National Socialism and Fascism: Recent Books in Brief

The Secret Diaries of Hitler's Doctor

- *The Secret Diaries of Hitler's Doctor*, by [David Irving](#). New York: Macmillan, 1983. 310pp. \$16.95.

reviewed by Keith Stimely

The notes made by Hitler's chief attendant physician, Dr. Theo Morell, transcribed and translated by David Irving, who provides a lengthy introduction and extensive commentary throughout. This book has renewed discussion over Morell's unorthodox treatments and their effect on Hitler's performance as statesman and warlord.

Historical News And Comment

His Master's Voice: Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Travers Harris, 1892-1984

Charles Lutton

“Bomber” Harris died on 5 April of this year, at the age of 91. As Air Officer Commanding in Chief Bomber Command from February 1942 until the end of the Second World War, he was in charge of Britain’s massive “area bombing” campaign directed against German cities. At least half a million German civilians were killed in these raids. And over 58,000 British air crew members died while flying in massed concentrations of heavy bombers — nearly the same number of fatalities suffered by British junior army officers during the First World War. The British jurist and historian, F. J. P. Veale, considered this “an even more calamitous loss since the standard of health and intelligence required for the men of Bomber Command was far higher than that of the junior officers who served in the trenches in France twenty years before.”

English by birth, Harris spent part of his youth in Rhodesia. After joining the British Army, he transferred to the Royal Flying Corps, which was redesignated the Royal Air Force in 1919. He commanded bomber and transport squadrons in Britain and the Mideast and by 1938 was Air Officer Commanding in Palestine and Transjordan. The next year he took command of No. 5 Bomber Group in Britain, which post he held until 22 February, 1942, when he was entrusted with the direction of Bomber Command.

Harris took command of Britain’s strategic bombing effort when the new four-engine heavy bombers were beginning to roll out of the factories. The Lancasters and Halifaxes were the principle delivery vehicles employed to drop thousands of tons of bombs on German cities.

Britain, like the other combatants, had attempted precision bombing of military targets early in the war. The 1941 British “Butt Report,” dealing with the effectiveness of bombing, found that only 30 percent of the bombers arrived within five miles of their targets, and in the Ruhr only 10 percent. Unable to engage in precision bombing, Harris advocated and instituted “area bombing.” This technique required the assembly of very large numbers of bombers, which would then drench whole metropolitan areas with high explosives and incendiaries. The aircraft were directed toward the center of a given city, since they were unable to strike selectively military targets. It was presumed that amid all the destruction wrought some targets of military significance would be demolished. During the process of hitting a city, factory workers and other civilians would, of course, be killed and wounded, with thousands more “de-housed.” Harris and other advocates of area bombing argued that such a bombing campaign would bring the war to a relatively swift end, by doing massive material and morale damage to the enemy.

Harris launched the first of his famous “Thousand Plane” raids against Cologne on 30 May 1942. While much favorable publicity was generated, the actual military results were exaggerated. For the year 1942, German armament production increased 50 per- cent overall, with aircraft output

way up and oil, Germany's weakest link, hardly touched. This armament increase came despite the intensification of the British and American bombing campaign.

Area bombing continued. On 12 August 1943, Harris wrote to Air Chief Marshal Sir Charles Portal: "It is my firm belief that we are on the verge of a final showdown in the bombing war... I am certain that given average weather and concentration on the main job, we can push Germany over by bombing this year." He followed up this prediction with another in January 1944, declaring that if he were only permitted to stay the course, his bombing campaign would drive Germany to "a state of devastation in which surrender is inevitable" by April 1st of that year.

Even as Harris was forecasting imminent victory through bombing, Bomber Command was fighting for its life over the skies of Germany. From November 1943 to March 1944, the RAF conducted the air Battle of Berlin. During this campaign the British lost 1,047 bombers, with a further 1,682 damaged — many beyond repair. The last blow came with the catastrophic Nuremberg raid of 30 March 1944, when the British suffered the loss of 94 bombers and another 71 damaged, out of 795 sent out that night. The severe losses in men and aircraft placed the future of Harris' massed night attacks in doubt. But his command was given a reprieve when he was ordered, over his vigorous protests, to switch to operations directed against the French rail network, in order to assist the forthcoming cross-Channel invasion at Normandy.

Throughout the Summer of 1944, Harris called for the resumption of massed attacks against German cities. He even threatened to resign when given a directive, dated 25 September 1944, recommending that Bomber Command concentrate against oil and communications targets. On 27 January 1945 Harris was explicitly instructed to resume terror attacks against the German civilian population. This led to the notorious mid-February raids on Dresden, by then overflowing with refugees from the Red Terror in the East.

Harris was certainly one of the dominant military figures of the Second World War. However, the bombing campaign he had directed became an unpopular topic — especially among politicians — after the war. Harris left his post in September 1945, never to be given another military command by the British. He was the only top British military commander not given a peerage at the end of the war, and Bomber Command was denied a separate campaign medal and separate church monuments. Members of the Royal Family turned down invitations to its reunions. The British Government even refused to permit Harris to consult official records when writing his war memoirs. For many years after the war he worked in private business in South Africa.

It is noteworthy that Harris' civilian superiors largely succeeded in escaping responsibility in the public mind for the policy of bombing German cities instead of concentrating on military targets. The decision to bomb cities for morale effect was made long before Harris became Commander-in-Chief of Bomber Command. The official minutes (quoting participants in the third person) of the War Cabinet meeting of 28 October 1940 reveal that Churchill said:

... whilst we should adhere to the rule that our objectives should be military targets, at the same time the civilian population around the target areas must be made to feel the weight of the war. He regarded this as a somewhat broader interpretation of our present policy, and not as any fundamental change. No public announcement on the subject should be made. The Italians and, according to recent reports, the inhabitants of Berlin, would not stand up to bombing attacks with the same fortitude as the people of this country. (Public Records Office — Kew, file PRO 65/6 War Cab 280 (40), 30 October 1940.)

On 14 February 1942, a week prior to Harris' new appointment taking effect, the British Cabinet issued a new directive to Bomber Command that ordered the bombing campaign to “be focused on the morale of the enemy civilian population and in particular the industrial workers.” That was to be Bomber Command’s “primary object.” “Thus,” as B. H. Liddell Hart observed, “terror-ization became without reservation the definite policy of the British Government, although still disguised in answer to Parliamentary questions.” After all, as Churchill remarked, “There are 65 million Germans — all of them killable.”

Reflecting on the terror bombing campaign, the famous British military strategist and historian, General J. F. C. Fuller, felt that “Bomber” Harris was symptomatic of a general decline in British character and morality: “With the disappearance of the gentleman — the man of honour and principle — as the backbone of the ruling class in England, political power rapidly passed into the hands of demagogues, who by playing upon the emotions and ignorance of the masses, created a permanent war psychosis. To these men, political necessity justified every means, and in wartime, military necessity did likewise.”

Air Marshal Sir Arthur Harris was truly a man of his times.

An Interview with Hellmut Diwald: Truth-Seeking Historiography

Editor's Note

The following is taken from the Austrian student periodical *Die Aula* (No. 3, 1980, pp. 9-10), A-8010 Graz, Merangasse 13, Austria. Professor Hellmut Diwald, distinguished professor of history at the Friedrich-Alexander University in Erlangen, West Germany, became a figure of some considerable controversy in academic and press circles with the publication in 1978 of his book *Geschichte der Deutschen* (Frankfurt, Berlin, Vienna: Propylaen Verlag). This general history of the German people from the tenth century A.D., published by a thoroughly respectable and venerable firm, engendered by virtue of its treatment of certain themes of Third Reich World War II history an immediate and massive backlash — with the ultimate result that the first edition was officially withdrawn, and a new version released with certain offending passages changed. These passages occurred on pp. 164-65, and dealt in fairly general terms with the treatment of the Jews by Germany in World War II. Diwald wrote, among other things, that “Since the capitulation in 1945, 'Auschwitz' has also served as the main vehicle in a campaign to reduce the German people to complete moral degradation ... Countless works have been published and claims made since 1945 which cannot be proven and which cynically add to the infamy. The most horrible events of modern times have been exploited through the use of distortions, deceptions and exaggerations... Thus, the victorious Allies claimed the existence of 'extermination camps' of which there was not a single one in Germany. For years visitors to the Dachau concentration camp were shown 'gas chambers' where as many as 25,000 Jews were allegedly killed daily by the SS. Actually the rooms displayed were dummy chambers which the U.S. military had forced imprisoned SS men to build after the capitulation... The deportation of the Jews took place as part of a general forced-labor program for the war industry ... During the war Jewish emigration was no longer possible and the expression 'total solution' or 'final solution' was coined to refer to the policy whereby all Jews were to be segregated from the German population, removed from central Europe, evacuated to the East, and relocated in new ghettos. This plan was outlined by Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Reich Security Main Office on 24 June 1940. The central questions about what actually happened in the subsequent years still remain unclear despite all of the literature.”*

(Die Aula questions are in boldface, Diwald's answers following.)

Die Aula: The best way to introduce a short discussion of the book *Geschichte der Deutschen* is with a remark by David Irving made during a lecture given at the “Seminar for a Free Mass Media” in Kassel, West Germany. Irving began his presentation by pointing out how remarkable it is that it takes an Englishman to correct historical distortions relating to Germany's role in the Second World War. That should more appropriately be the job of a German historian.

Such a historian has now come forward. As should be expected in contemporary, semi-colonial, Germany, his work has caused an echo-effect in the mass media; the responses have ranged, depending on the particular respondents, from naked hatred to a breath of relief. The sense of relief is due to the fact that the ice finally seems to have broken and an objective, un-emotional discussion of events become possible.

The established practice of “overcoming” the past brought about the forced revision of the first edition of *Geschichte der Deutschen* and must likewise sooner or later lead to an attack on the entire work. But the practice should not condemn whole generations of Germans to political ignorance and stupefaction due to their receiving a distorted sense of history. The “mess”

*A complete translation of Diwald’s remarks in this section (“The Final Solution”) of his book was presented in *The Journal of Historical Review* Vol.3, No.1 (Spring 1982), pp.35-37. The book was reviewed in *JHR* Vol.1, No.1 (Spring 1980), pp. 81 -87

which has occurred should prove quite enough for a while. Besides, the real circumstances of the case should be clear to any German interested in history and educated in the traditional sense.

Nobody can object to calling things by their correct names. Insofar as they were inconsistent with international law and do contribute to a “moral mortgage” against the German people of today and their descendants, the Erlangen historian Hellmut Diwald makes appropriate and frequent criticisms of the decisions and policies of the Third Reich. That is as it should be. However, and in the name of the German people, Diwald condemns the criticisms which go beyond those limits. This is his good right as a scholar and as a historian of contemporary history. It is also his duty as a patriot and member of this very self-critical people, the Germans.

During an interview in December 1978 with Bavarian Broadcasting, you stated that you would not agree to any changes made by the Propylaen publishing house in your attention-getting book, “*Geschichte der Deutschen*.” Since then a second edition has appeared in which pages 164 and 165 have been changed, It is being said that a forthcoming new edition of the book will be significantly “reworked.” What circumstances induced you to revise the book?

I still stand today by the same position, in that I don’t take back a word of what I’ve written in my book *Geschichte der Deutschen*. That also includes the two pages which were substituted in the new edition. I have merely taken out a few remarks, which are nevertheless fundamentally correct, because I haven’t the slightest intention of providing [new] material which can be mis-used for consciously false claims. I still maintain that the theme of “German crimes” has been used since 1945 in order to defame the Germans. Moreover, central questions in this regard still remain unexplained. I have rejected any further revisions.

You mean, then, that the revisions do not change the substance but rather were made only for the purpose of clarification?

It is a fact that at Bergen-Belsen concentration camp the memorial plaque still refers to 50,000 victims whereas in reality there were 7,000 — most of whom died during the final months of the war as a result of epidemics and malnutrition. The usual response to that observation is to argue that the number is not what is important.

Golo Mann called your book “The most monstrous since 1945” written in this field.

Concentration camps are not the issue. Many contemporary historians hold that if we discuss history this way [that is, in a revisionist way], the work of 20 years is brought into question. An ef-

fort was thus made to take the book completely off the market. The whole affair involved important issues of criminal and civil law. I had to consider carefully those issues. It would have been unwise to push the matter and thereby jeopardize the entire book.

Have you had difficulties with your colleagues?

My colleagues can be divided into three types. One person opposes me, another remains silent, and a third comes to me, shakes my hand and merely says: "Keep your chin up." A historian cannot be concerned primarily with popularly desirable pedagogical values, but rather with what is tenable. The first consideration must be to clarify the facts of the matter. Morally desirable considerations are secondary. Science recognizes no rules which engender limitations on objective truth. "Truth" means the greatest possible striving for the ideal of truth. Today, the field of contemporary history is limited to a few basic convictions which cannot be challenged or, in other words, cannot be discussed.

Do you mean that in the same sense as did the former Rector of the University of Tuebingen, Prof. Eschenburg, who declared: "Whoever questions Germany's exclusive guilt for the Second World War destroys the foundation of post-war politics" or, similarly, the statement by David Irving that many contemporary German historians make it easy for themselves by copying from each other's work?

Yes.

What has been and is the response among students?

Among the students who know me, nothing has changed at all. A mob once organized a meeting in Erlangen. Posters in February announced the meeting. A colleague asked me to participate in a discussion since the students had many questions. I agreed. Things got very emotional although the meeting went well on stage. But it was as if I was speaking to a wall. There was no basis for understanding. I was sharply attacked, although hardly anyone knew the book. The students got their information only from the newspaper and from the article in Spiegel.

Your book is important for Austria. In the introduction, you speak of the existence of three republics in which Germans live, one of which is in Austria. How do you see the themes of state, nation, and folk in regards to Austria?

The principle of the right of self-determination must remain preeminent. Furthermore, in view of the political realities which have emerged, one must remain thoughtful when considering the situation of the German nation. It is a fact that the German people were denied the right to self-determination after the First World War and that ten million Germans remained excluded.

In 1952 Stalin proposed a peace treaty whereby Germany would be reunified and militarily neutral. The English newspaper "The Observer" recently [1980] reported that Brezhnev would be prepared to accept a similar arrangement. Do you see any chance for reunification along these lines?

Yes. There are certain constants in politics. We should keep that in mind — even if the government in Bonn does not. However, our constitutional mandate to work for reunification must take precedence. Consistent with the unity of Germany, an independent policy must be followed which, above all, is oriented neither toward the West nor the East. Such a policy could make a valuable contribution to peace. The Federal Republic of Germany should not promote the foreign policy of the U.S.A. and neither should the "German Democratic Republic" promote the foreign

policy of the USSR. The danger that a reunited Germany — or, we might say, a rump Germany joined in a single state — could be Bolshevized, does not exist. There is nothing the Russians would like less than to have such a powerful formation within their own sphere of influence. On the other hand, [reunification] would eliminate the greatest source of turmoil in Europe — that is, a divided Germany — and thereby relieve both the United States and the Soviet Union. The initiative for this will certainly come not from the United States, but from the Soviet Union. The Soviets are much better practitioners of Realpolitik than are the politicians of the U.S.A.

Is the “Ostpolitik” of the Bonn Government a suitable vehicle?

No. The Russians view the current [1980] Bonn policy as a lesser evil because the rigidity of the previous CDU [Christian Democratic] government and its absolute Western orientation excluded any political flexibility.

In other words, all of the Bonn parties have failed?

Yes. Austria is way ahead in this regard. Austria would be a realistic model.

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Albert Speer and the 'Holocaust'

by [Mark Weber](#)

Albert Speer may ultimately be best remembered as the only high German wartime official to be “rehabilitated” during his lifetime and even profit handsomely from his once-powerful position. The one-time Hitler confidant and Reich Armaments Minister escaped the hangman’s noose at Nuremberg by adopting an unusual defense strategy. While maintaining that he personally knew nothing of a Jewish extermination program during the war, he nevertheless declared himself guilty for having worked diligently for a regime he belatedly considered evil.

After serving a 20-year prison sentence at Spandau, the democratic mass media showered praise on the “repentant Nazi” for his sometimes subtle but always fervent condemnations of the Hitler regime. His contrite memoirs, published in America as *Inside the Third Reich*, were highly acclaimed and sold very profitably throughout the world.

Until his death in 1981, Speer repeatedly insisted that he did not know of any extermination program or gassings during the war. In an obliging May 1977 letter to the Executive Director of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, he stated: “I would give something to be able to state clearly that Hitler ordered the killing of the Jews in my presence. Neither am I in a position to testify to the exact number of Jews killed.”

(This statement, incidentally and interestingly, provided yet another opportunity for “Nazi hunter” Simon Wiesenthal to bleat out one of his big lies. In a notarized statement dated 4 May 1981, referring to Speer’s letter quoted above, Wiesenthal declared: “Albert Speer, a former friend of Hitler and minister of his government, made a statement for the court in Johannesburg. He declared under oath that Hitler often spoke about the murdering of Jews and that as far as he knows, gasifications [gassings] of Jews took place.” How Simon Wiesenthal gets that out of what Speer actually wrote is a question best reserved for professional students of the “Nazi hunting” psyche.)

Speer’s position was remarkable because, if a wartime policy to exterminate the Jews had actually existed, almost no one would have been in a better position to have known about it. As Reich Armaments Minister, he was responsible for the continental mobilization of all available resources, including critically-needed Jewish workers. That millions of Jews could have been killed at a wartime industrial center as important as Auschwitz and elsewhere without Speer’s knowledge simply defies belief.

Uproar in Clio's Library: The Case Of Dr. David Abraham And 'The Collapse Of The Weimar Republic'

Keith Stimely

A lengthy page-one, six column article in the Sunday, 23 December 1984 New York Times (Colin Campbell, "History and Ethics: A Dispute," pp. 1, 35) brought to the attention of the general public for the first time the facts about a controversy within the halls of mainstream historical scholarship that has proceeded with mounting bitterness for almost two years — and will receive fresh impetus early in 1985 with the publication of major articles/rebuttals/counter-rebuttals in the historical journals *Central European History* and *German Quarterly of Social and Economic History*. The case has already drawn in dozens of professional historians (among them some of the most prominent names in the historiography of modern Germany), been publicized in the *American Historical Review*, and resulted in a formal protest to the American Historical Association's committee on professional affairs. It involves nothing less than charges of massive scholarly fraud, distortion, fabrication and lying, in a book about the fall of the Weimar Republic and the financial sources of the Nazis' rise to power. It has caused a number of historians to question publicly what has become of standards of scholarship, verification, and ethics in their profession. And it has raised the question whether a closer examination of other texts of modern history might yield results as disconcerting as have come up in this case.

The charges revolve around Dr. David Abraham, whose book *The Collapse of the Weimar Republic: Political Economy and Crisis* was published by Princeton University Press in June 1981. Dr. Abraham is currently an untenured professor at Princeton. (His application for tenure has been turned down, although his employment was extended for another year.) The book grew out of his 1977 Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Chicago. Submitting it to Princeton for publication in 1979, he revised it somewhat after it was sent around to two scholars for a reading — a standard practice. One of those scholars, Prof. Gerald Feldman of the University of California at Berkeley, adjudged the revised version "vastly improved" and "very sound."

Initial reviews of the book were favorable or respectful. Its thesis was the neo-Marxist one that German Big Business as a group sought to sabotage the late Weimar state by supporting Hitler and the Nazis, the faction they saw as best representing their economic interests, especially in the face of a rising threat from the Left. This thesis — Nazism or "generic" Fascism as anti-proletarian reaction, the last resort and tool of monopoly capitalism — is an old one, stated many times over the years in such well-known works as Arthur Rosenberg's *Der Faschismus als Massenbewegung*, Daniel Guérin's *Fascism and Big Business*, Robert Brady's *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*, R. Palme Dutt's *Fascism and Social Revolution*, and, perhaps the most sophisticated example, Franz Neumann's *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism*. Known as the "classical Marxian interpretation" of Fascism, it retains, in its numerous variations, many adherents on the Left today. In support of his variant, Abraham cited and quoted from many primary sources which seemed to show just how ardently pro-Nazi and anti-Weimar, for their own narrow ends, were some of Germany's most important business and financial leaders.

It was when Abraham's quotations and sources were subjected to a searching look. however, that serious questions began to be raised. Prof. Henry A. Turner. Jr., of Yale, whose own book *German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler* was published by Oxford University Press in January 1985, took the lead in checking out Abraham's scholarship. Turner had reviewed the book for the *Political Science Quarterly* in October 1982, focusing there on a critique, not of its veracity as to sources, but of its analytic logic and what he saw as an over-reliance on dogmatic Marxist theories about Nazism. (Turner is one of those scholars who reject the Marxian analysis as politically-motivated, narrow, and unsupported, ignoring the broader "populist" appeal of the Nazis and the importance of the anti-capitalist element and attraction in their ideology.) Commenting later that had Dr. Abraham's quotations all been accurate, he would have had to tear up a chapter of his own work-in-progress, Dr. Turner set to examining those quotations and their sources.

What he found so shocked and angered him that he sent communications to colleagues in America and Europe warning them that the Abraham book was, as he put it in one cover-letter, a "far-rago of misinformation." With his letters went photocopies of Abraham's page 320, which directly quoted a 1932 exchange of letters between Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, former president of the Reichsbank, and Paul Reusch, a heavy-industry leader, seeming to show not only a heretofore-undocumented high degree of sympathy for the Nazis, but plans actively to assist them to power. With this page Dr. Turner sent copies of the original referenced letters of Schacht and Reuss. The comparison revealed that Abraham had invented out of thin air whole sentences, phrases, and sentiments in his "quotes." This was but one example. In a letter to Abraham, Turner charged several other misquotations, misdatings, and, most importantly, misattributions of documents dating from around Christmas 1930 that were a key part of Abraham's supposed documentation of pro-Nazi business machinations. Turner circulated this letter to other historians, and composed a letter to the *American Historical Review* which challenged Abraham to prove that certain documents relating to that Christmas 1930 period "exist now or ever existed." He pointed out that a book and a journal article cited by Abraham were nonexistent. The letter, together with Abraham's reply, was published in the October 1983 issue.

In his reply, Dr. Abraham developed the defense that he has hewed to ever since: while conceding a number of errors and a degree of carelessness, due partly to the pressure of time in preparing the book, he had not deliberately invented anything; there was no intent to defraud. But Dr. Turner in fact was charging that there obviously was such an intent; such discrepancies as he had found between Abraham's versions of things and what the documents actually said could not be explained away as mere "mistakes." It was Turner's insistent voicing of this charge that led a number of scholars to come down against him for being too vehement about it all. These, conceding that Turner had a case against Abraham on points of fact, criticized him nevertheless for concluding that Abraham was a faker — as opposed to just a sloppy researcher. And they raised questions about Turner's ethics in so quickly and publicly making his charges. Some even speculated openly that Turner's motivation in discrediting the Abraham book was to drum up interest in and support for his own forthcoming book with the opposite thesis. These considerations formed the basis for a protest by several scholars, among them Carl Schorske of Princeton and President Hanna Grey of the University of Chicago, to the American Historical Association. Early in January 1985, the AHA's professional affairs committee declined to act on this protest, holding in effect that the time-honored academic system of open professional criticism and exchange should be allowed to run its course.

Dr. Turner was not at all without allies in making the case against Dr. Abraham. One supporter was Dr. Gerald Feldman — the same Gerald Feldman who had reviewed the book for Princeton before publication. After looking into the work much deeper, he now said that it seemed "a terrible, terrible distortion of the documents," and readily admitted being embarrassed by his initial

recommendation. One development that particularly infuriated him was that Abraham had picked up some scholarly supporters who were minimizing his errors (by calling them just "errors") and attacking Dr. Turner for his efforts at exposure. Said Feldman: "Everywhere you went, people were saying that Turner was operating for political and personal reasons." He was disturbed that Abraham's appalling scholarship could be condoned or excused by his peers — and that those peers could engage in a sustained attack on the man largely responsible for directing the light of day onto such scholarship, an attack which called that man, in effect, a victimizer. In a letter to colleagues, Feldman expressed his shock at the sympathetic portrayal of Abraham in some quarters as "a victim of something other than his own sloppiness, incompetence, tendentiousness, and untruthfulness."

A former graduate student of Feldman's, Dr. Ulrich Nocken of the University of Dusseldorf, had meanwhile been spending much time in the same archives consulted by Abraham. He found numerous further errors, inventions, and distortions, and composed a lengthy indictment against the author of *The Collapse of the Weimar Republic*. Of the 70 footnotes he had checked, only four were "unobjectionable." (It is this review which appears in the current issue of *German Quarterly of Social and Economic History*.) The Nocken report, circulated in manuscript, sufficed to change the minds of some who had initially been supportive of Abraham. Among these was Prof. Gordon A. Craig of Stanford — perhaps the "dean" of American scholars of modern Germany. Craig's original "instinct," he told the *New York Times*, was to be lenient, since some mistakes and the temptation to "strain the evidence" are not uncommon in younger scholars. But Craig's "instincts after reading Dr. Nocken's piece told him the errors went beyond carelessness."

One criticism levelled at Dr. Abraham has been that the "misinformation" in his book begins with its very dedication: "For my parents, who at Auschwitz and elsewhere suffered the worst consequences of what I can only write about." His parents happen to be alive. Abraham condemns as "contemptible" the charge that by "worst consequences" he meant to suggest that they had been killed — "even apart from the question whether death was the worst horror Auschwitz could inflict."

Since the controversy over his scholarship began, Abraham has been turned down for jobs at the University of Texas, the University of California at Santa Cruz, the Catholic University of America, and the University of Tel Aviv — this last for the post of director of the Wiener Library, a major resource center on anti-Semitism and the Nazi era. In reaction to that prospect, Dr. Feldman remarked that handing David Abraham a research library would have been "like putting Dracula in charge of a blood bank."

The Abraham controversy dominated the end-of-year convention of the American Historical Association held in Chicago. *Time* magazine, reporting on the affair in its issue of 14 January 1985 ("Stormy Weather in Academe," p. 59), quoted AHA Executive Director Samuel Gammon as saying that "It's almost impossible to get involved and be neutral." Another AHA official, not speaking for attribution, said: "I feel an immense sadness. We have not shown our best face to the world." Abraham himself was at the convention, defending his reputation against the charges of fraud — and continuing to claim that his book's thesis is essentially sound. His admitted mistakes "do not distort reality," he said. "The truth, the argument, wasn't based on the errors. Like all historians, I interpreted a mass of material in a way that is most truthful."

Dr. Feldman will present the case against Dr. Abraham in a 40-page article in the Spring 1985 issue of *Central European History*. That issue will also contain Abraham's lengthy response, a reply to that response by Feldman, and a reply to the reply by Abraham. Where the case will go from there is an open question. It has certainly shaken up enough historians already. Dr. Feld-

man, for one, is stunned that there could remain defenders of Abraham, who persist in trivializing his errors. He and others on his side had earlier raised volatile charges of a “cover-up” and “academic Watergate” engaged in by the Abraham partisans. Now Feldman wonders whether a “revolution” in historiography is not taking place: historical documents must be treated as practically “sacred.” If they are not so treated, and errors like Abraham’s are or become common, “We should be put out of business.”

Percy L. Greaves, Jr., 1906-1984

J. Marcellus

Veteran Pearl Harbor revisionist and IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member Percy L. Greaves, Jr., died of cancer on 13 August 1984, 11 days short of what would have been his 78th birthday. A highlight of Mr. Greaves's long and distinguished career in both the private and public sectors was his service as Chief of Minority Staff for the 1945-46 Joint Congressional Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack. Prior to this, in 1943-45, he was Research Director of the Republican National Committee. A frequent contributor to *The Journal of Historical Review*, he authored most of the Winter 1983-84 special JHR issue entitled "Pearl Harbor: Revisionism Renewed." Mr. Greaves was a much sought-after speaker on historical and economic subjects; his presentation at the IHR's Third International Revisionist Conference (1981) in Los Angeles, "Pearl Harbor: 40 Years On," capped that weekend event.

Since 1944 Percy Greaves had relentlessly pursued clarification of the facts about the Pearl Harbor attack. At the time of his death he was putting the finishing touches on a volume, *The Real Infamy Of Pearl Harbor*, which would have been the definitive summation of his decades of research. He was perhaps more qualified than any other man to speak and write with authority on the Washington events contributing to the attack, a point made by historian Harry Elmer Barnes in his introduction to Mr. Greaves's chapter "The Pearl Harbor Investigations" in Barnes's classic 1953 anthology *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*. More recently, historian John Toland noted, in his best-selling *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*, Mr. Greaves's "outstanding" aid in researching that book, calling him "an invaluable living source" on Pearl Harbor.

Mr. Greaves was a free market economist for *U.S. News* (the forerunner of *U.S. News and World Report*), and authored several books on economics, including *Understanding the Dollar Crisis* and *Mises Made Easier: A Glossary for Ludwig von Mises' "Human Action"*. A long-time associate and friend of Ludwig von Mises, he served as Armstrong Professor of Economics with Mises at the University of Plano, Texas. He was also a seminar speaker and discussion leader with the Foundation for Economic Education at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York.

Survived by two sons, a daughter, six grandsons, and his wife, Bettina, Percy Greaves was a tough, tireless advocate of the truth about Pearl Harbor, as well as an enduring friend of the IHR. He will be sorely missed.

Austin T. App, 1902-1984

Keith Stimely

One of the titanic figures of postwar revisionist historiography, Professor Austin J. App, died of kidney failure on 4 May 1984. A well-established author and scholar of English literature at the outbreak of World War II, Dr. App was soon appalled at the human suffering and political disaster caused by that “unnecessary conflict,” and for the next four decades he was in the very forefront of those courageous scholars who, often in the face of severe academic and press hostility, sought to determine the historical truth about the war, and to publicize that truth far and wide. His engaging and candid 1977 Autobiography was subtitled . This he certainly was, right to the end. His career as historical scholar and publicist, as recounted in his memoir and manifest in his many publications, is in essence the story from its very beginnings of the fight for the historical truth about the European war of 1939-45, and for a postwar political justice predicated upon recognition of that truth.

Austin App was born on 24 May 1902 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the son of August App, an immigrant from Wuerttemberg, Germany, and Katharina Obermaier, originally from Niederpoering, Lower Bavaria. He spent most of his youth on the family farm outside Milwaukee, learning about the world through voracious reading and, equally important for an impressionable and intelligent young man, through close observation of the life of animals. A lesson he gleaned from his youth on the farm is worth repeating. After an anecdote about two large rival rock roosters, who continually fought each other — and only each other — for months on end, one finally succumbing to the other in bloody resolution, App remarked that this “taught me something about individuals and nations”:

Why did they fight each other? Because one was less democratic than the other? Or because they did not understand each other? Or could not communicate? Did the final victor fight to make the world safe for democracy? Or to end all wars? Humbug and hypocrisy. They fought each other because of rivalry, because of power politics. That is the truth of it. In World War I the U.S. finally turned on Germany rather than Russia or England, because Germany was, not more wrong, but more strong. In World War II it turned on Hitler, not on Stalin, for the same reason. On every count Stalin was a barbarian, compared to Hitler. Any attempt to equate our intervention against the third Reich with crusadism or idealism is a calculated swindle against the people.

That bloody duel of these two mighty roosters also disqualified for me another myth in the relations of men and nations. It is a myth dear to Americans, namely, that persons and nations fight because they do not know each other well enough, because they do not speak the same language, they do not live contiguous enough. Utter hogwash. These two roosters were of the same breed, crowed the same way, had the same friends — and fought each other to the death. So did the North and the South in the Civil War. We fought two wars against our English cousin — same language, same customs; and two with our next nearest of kin, the Germans, whose language is a cognate of English, and whom we knew and understood best of all peoples in the world after

those of the British Isles. We were twice allies of the Russians, whom we do not understand at all and who are the least contiguous to us. If we have not yet fought Ireland, it is not because we understand the Irish, but because they have not yet challenged our supremacy of the sea! One could in fact be cynical and say human nature is intrinsically so inclined to evil that the better they know each other the more likely they are to fight — and the more bitterly: civil wars are notoriously the most brutal. And since their premature liberation from colonialism, the Africans — for example, in the Congo and in Nigeria — have killed more fellow Africans in a few decades than the European Christian colonizers killed in several hundred years! Had the American government lived by the lesson of what the farmyard has taught me, both world wars would have been avoided — and future generations would have been spared a lot of hypocritical balderdash inflicted on the world as history. (Autobiography, pp. 30, 32.)

After attending public and parochial schools, he entered St. Francis Seminary near Milwaukee, where he received a liberal classical education, graduating in 1921, and returning to the “Major Seminary” there to obtain his B.A. degree in 1923. He entered graduate school at the Catholic University, Washington D.C., receiving his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in English literature. His doctoral dissertation of 1929, *Lancelot in English Literature*, was published to critical acclaim and became a standard of the literature; it was republished in 1965 by Haskell House of New York, seeing wide use as a college text.

After a period of travelling widely in Central and Western Europe during the trouble-fraught first years of the Depression, Dr. App settled down to teaching posts at Catholic University, Basselin College and Sisters College. He wrote prolifically, his human-interest, literary, and religious articles and book reviews appearing in such publications as *Catholic Educational Review*, *Commonweal*, *Sign Magazine*, *Magnificat*, *Catholic World*, and the *Washington Post*. He co-founded the monthly literary review, *Best Sellers*. From 1934 to 1942 he taught at St. Thomas College, University of Scranton, in Scranton, Pennsylvania. He received the university’s Faculty Gold Medal in 1939 as “outstanding educator of men.”

Entering the U.S. Army in 1942, he served briefly in the Corps of Engineers before being released to work in private industry. After a period of teaching at Dominican College, St. Mary’s of the Woods, in Columbus, Ohio, he secured a professorship at Incarnate Word College in San Antonio, Texas, where he taught from 1944 to 1948.

It was while in San Antonio, learning about the wreckage of Europe caused by the American-Soviet invasion and those two allies’ obscene occupation policies, that Dr. App really began his “second career” as a contemporary historian and samizdat publisher of an age of calamity. All through the war he had, in fact — and in spite of the danger, acute within a nation at war, of stern official disfavor — kept up a steady barrage of letters to newspapers, magazines, and public figures, expressing his frank opinions about the origins of the war and the need for a negotiated peace with Germany. In the Spring of 1946, sickened by the Potsdam-sanctioned policy of mass-expulsion of the Eastern Germans, and particularly shocked by the terrible atrocities visited upon helpless German women in the East by the conquering Red hordes, App self-published his first pamphlet, the ten-page *Ravishing the Women of Conquered Europe*. Its success was immediate and unexpected; orders came in by the thousands, periodicals far and wide picked it up, it was translated into four languages — all this with the “advertising” being almost solely by word-of-mouth. Additionally, invitations by the dozens came to App to speak in front of patriotic groups. There seemed to exist a genuine thirst on the part of a considerable segment of the American public for knowledge of a situation, exposure to a viewpoint, about which the mainline press, by-and-large, was keeping silent. In July 1946 he published the 24-page *Slave-Laboring German Prisoners of War*, and at the end of the year collected 13 original and republished articles and

speeches in the book *History's Most Terrifying Peace*, the first major work to bring to the attention of significant numbers of Americans the facts about the Carthaginian treatment being meted out to conquered Germany, by the West as well as the East. The book had to be reprinted only two months after the original press run.

Austin App had touched a nerve. In those dismal postwar years, an America punch-drunk with, and already beginning to feel dubious about, the massed “victory” whoops of the established media, badly needed a corrective balance. This lone scholar in San Antonio found himself supplying a goodly part of it, in his crusade on behalf of the “impolite truths” — therefore very interesting ones — about the real, morally and politically bankrupt, results of that war. So it was that Austin App supplemented, quite independently, the efforts of the group of scholars then clustered around historians Charles A. Beard and Harry Elmer Barnes, who were embarking on their own ambitious revisionist “program” to write the true history of the war. Whereas that effort, in its early stages, tended to focus on the diplomatic history of the war’s origins, App’s emphasis was — and largely remained for thirty years — on the unholy trinity of what might be called the “peace crimes” of the victors who had smashed Europe: the Morgenthau Plan for the utter despoilment and pastoralization of Germany (officially disclaimed but largely enacted for two years under the Joint Chiefs of Staff directive 1067); the Expulsions of the German-ethnics of Eastern Europe, and all the atrocities attendant to this massively inhumane action; the Deportations back to Stalinist “care” of the millions of anti-Communist Russians and East Europeans who had fought on the Germans' side. More than any other single man in America, Austin App as writer and speaker was responsible for bringing to the attention of his countrymen these three great crimes against Western civilization and elemental humanity. For this alone he will always be remembered.

App had actually touched more than one brand of nerve. Upon his path-breaking publication efforts, he became a favorite target of such loudmouthed smear-terrorists as Walter Winchell, George Seldes, Drew Pearson, the Anti-Defamation League, and assorted ADL front-groups like the Committee for the Prevention of World War III. (“World War III” being the imminent “next Nazi attempt at world conquest.” This in 1946-47, of course.) He was smeared and hounded as an anti-semitic, anti-American, and pro-Nazi. Commenting on one particularly vicious — and wildly inaccurate — propaganda diatribe against App, the eminent columnist Westbrook Pegler wrote:

Dr. App’s writing which caused this explosion was a protest against the ravishment of German, Austrian, and Hungarian women by the conquering armies. The Society for the Prevention of World War III ... does not appear to deny the truth of Doctor App’s charge nor even to deplore the crimes alleged ... However the anonymous powers who put out that issue of the Bulletin thought it well nigh seditious of Doctor App to reveal enmity toward Soviet Russia.

Brushing aside the epithets, and welcoming the support that came to him from many Americans, App continued both his revisionist activities and his academic career as professor of literature. In 1948 he accepted a professorship at LaSalle College, Philadelphia, where he remained until his retirement in 1968.

Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, Dr. App kept a schedule that would wear out less committed men. In addition to teaching, he continued to publish his own books and pamphlets on political/historical topics, and had several literary and human interest books published by other houses. He wrote more than a thousand articles, columns, and book reviews for such publications as *Social Justice Review*, *Nord Amerika*, the *Philadelphia Gazette-Democrat*, the *Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader*, the *Cleveland Waechter und Anzeiger*, *Western Destiny*, *American Mer-*

cury, Common Sense, ABN Correspondence, Conservative Viewpoint, Amerika: The Ukrainian Catholic Daily, Ukrainian Quarterly, Deutsche-Amerikaner, Reason, Deutsche National-Zeitung, Nation Europa, and Voice of Americans of German Descent. He was National Chairman of the last-named publication's parent group, the Federation of American Citizens of German Descent, from 1960 to 1966, after which he was permanent National Honorary Chairman. He was also Chairman, for ten years, of the Pastorius Unit of the Steuben Society, Philadelphia, a longtime honorary member of the German-American National Congress (D.A.N.K.), and Chairman for several years of the Greater Philadelphia Captive Nations Committee.

Austin App never failed to champion, whenever and however he could, the cause of the millions of dispossessed Sudeten, Silesian, and other Eastern German expellees. In his frequent trips to Germany he spoke regularly at many of the giant Expellee mass-rallies held yearly in Cologne, Munich, and elsewhere, becoming well-known to patriotic Germans as their principal, quite tireless, American friend and advocate. For his years of scholarship and public relations activity, he was awarded in 1975 the "European Freedom Prize" of 10,000-DM by the German Peoples' Union. The prize was presented in Munich by Dr. Gerhard Frey, editor of the Deutsche National-Zeitung.

Dr. App was a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of The Journal of Historical Review from its inception. His last major speech in America was "The Holocaust Put in Perspective," delivered at the first International Revisionist Conference sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review, held in Los Angeles over Labor Day, 1979. The speech was published in Vol. 1, No. 1 of the JHR (Spring 1980). In his last years Dr. App several times expressed his satisfaction at the fact that he was able to witness the contemporary worldwide explosion of accomplishment and interest in revisionist studies of all aspects of the Second World War. Those now engaged in this work owe him, as one of the handful of pioneers in a field where pioneering entailed great risk and therefore great courage, their most heartfelt respect, admiration, and gratitude. He was a fighter and a champion in the cause of truth.

Austin J. App's Principal Revisionist Books And Pamphlets

Ravishing the Women of Conquered Europe. San Antonio: Author, 1946. (10pp.)

The Big Three Deportation Crime. San Antonio: Author, 1946. (4pp.)

Slave-Laboring German Prisoners of War. San Antonio: Author, 1946. (24pp.)

History's Most Terrifying Peace. San Antonio: Author, 1946, 1947; Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1970. (110pp.)

Morgenthau Era Letters. Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1966, 1974. (128pp.)

Red Genocide in a German Village. Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1970, 1976. (6pp.)

The Bombing Atrocity of Dresden. Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1970. (6pp.)

[The Six Million Swindle](#). Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1973, 1976. (40pp.)

[A Straight Look at the Third Reich](#). Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1974. (60pp.)

The Rooseveltian Concentration Camps for Japanese-Americans. Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1974. (8pp.)

Anti-Semitism: A Phoney Bogey. Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1974. (8pp.)

The Curse of Anglo-American Power Politics. Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1974. (6pp.)

Footnote on President Ford's Visit to Auschwitz. Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1975. (4pp.)

The Curse of Anti-Anti-Semitism. Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1976. (66pp.)

Autobiography: German-American Voice for Truth and Justice. Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1977. (308pp.)

"Holocaust": Sneak Attack on Christianity. Reedy, W. Va.: Liberty Bell, 1978. (8pp.)

Hitler-Himmler Order on Jews Uncovered. Reedy, W. Va.: Liberty Bell, 1978. (6pp.)

Soviet Murder of German P.O.W.s. Reedy, W. Va.: Liberty Bell, 1978. (8pp.)

Will the Ethnically Polish Pope John Paul II Promote Truth and Justice for the German Expellees? Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1978. (4pp.)

[Power and Propaganda in American Politics and Foreign Affairs](#). Reedy, W. Va.: Liberty Bell, 1978. (8pp.)

The Sudeten-German Tragedy. Takoma Park, Md.: Boniface Press, 1979. (84pp.)

The Journal of Historical Review

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From the publisher

This special issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* includes issues Two, Three and Four of Volume Five, 1984. There is a reason for this. At approximately midnight on the Fourth of July last, the business office and warehouse of the publisher were burned to the ground by arson. Lost in the gutted ruins were the manuscripts and galley proofs destined to be the regular 1984 quarterly issues. These issues thus had to be produced all over again, essentially from scratch — a formidable task that ultimately took more than six months.

What you see before you could be called the “Phoenix” issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* as it has quite literally risen from the ashes. Regrettably, more than \$300,000 worth of historical books, documents, files and equipment were not so fortunate.

This effort to incinerate the assets of the world’s leading publisher of revisionist historical literature was largely successful:

The attempt to break the spirits of those who staff and serve this organization and its goals, however, was not.

Normal issuance of *The Journal of Historical Review* on a quarterly basis will resume with the Spring 1985 issue (Volume 6, Number 1).

We appreciate your forbearance and look forward enthusiastically to serving you through this publication in the months and years to come.

— The Publisher

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Christophersen, Thies. "Reflections on Auschwitz and West German justice." Spring, 1985; Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 117.

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Historical revisionism and the legacy of George Orwell

Mark Weber

During the Second World War, George Orwell wrote a weekly radio political commentary, designed to counter German and Japanese propaganda in India, that was broadcast over the BBC overseas service. His wartime work for the BBC was a major inspiration for his monumental novel, 1984. Very few readers of 1984 know, for example, that Orwell's attack against the perverse double-talk language called Newspeak was based on the author's revulsion against Basic English, an artificial language that Churchill's wartime cabinet wanted the BBC to use in its overseas propaganda. Similarly, Orwell's model for the lying Ministry of Truth was the British wartime Ministry of Information, which censored BBC broadcasts. The shorthand form, Mini-true, was taken directly from the Ministry of Information telegraphic address, Miniform.

Throughout his lifetime, the great English writer continually questioned all "official" or "accepted" versions of history. As early as 1945, just after the end of the war in Europe, he expressed doubts about the widespread stories of "gas oven" exterminations (Notes on Nationalism). George Orwell was a revisionist. He detested officially sanctioned atrocity and hate propaganda. If he were alive today he would certainly be nauseated by the pervasive Holocaust propaganda of our times. And as a staunch lifelong supporter of free speech and open historical inquiry, he would undoubtedly defend the right of revisionist historians to present their challenging views to the world.

It is worth noting that last July's devastating fire-bomb attack against the offices of the Institute for Historical Review, the foremost center of dissident historical inquiry, took place during the year made immortal by 1984. The terrorist attack also forced the rescheduling of the revisionist conference dedicated to Orwell's memory. Symbolically, the July fire-bombing of the Institute was an attack against the spirit of George Orwell in our times.

Life in the western world today differs markedly from what Orwell suggested it might be like in 1984. In contrast to the squalid, puritanical and thoroughly regimented life of 1984's Oceania, American life today is increasingly anarchic and self-indulgent. But there are also many ominous similarities. Deceptive "Newspeak" terms are in wide use today. One of the most odious examples is "affirmative action" which, despite its benign ring, is a dishonest label for a vast government-imposed program of anti-White racial discrimination. And like the hysterical "hate sessions" unforgettably described in 1984, Americans endure an endless array of hyper-emotional propaganda designed to whip up mindless hatred of anything smacking of "Nazism" or "Hitlerism." While the attention span of the American mass media normally seems to last no longer than a few weeks or months, its appetite for Holocaust atrocity propaganda is apparently insatiable.

Orwell himself recognized that “unacceptable” views are suppressed in modern democratic society not in the crude, heavy-handed way described in 1984, but much more subtly and insidiously. He put it this way:

At any given moment there is an orthodoxy, a body of ideas which it is assumed that all right-thinking people will accept without question. It is not exactly forbidden to state this or that or the other, but it is “not done.”... Anyone who challenges the prevailing orthodoxy finds himself silenced with surprising effectiveness. A genuinely unfashionable opinion is almost never given a fair hearing, either in the popular press or in the highbrow periodicals.

Accordingly, Holocaust revisionism is vilified with particular vehemence, almost invariably by individuals who have obviously never made the slightest effort to discover what revisionists have actually written. When the mass media does bother to describe revisionist views on the Holocaust to the public, the usual practice is to portray them as so ludicrous and childishly absurd that no rational person could possibly take them seriously, but also as just plausible enough so that others, not quite so enlightened, might be taken in. The Simon Wiesenthal Holocaust Center, for example, charges that revisionists claim that concentration camp crematories were not really crematories at all, but bread ovens. Revisionists are often accused of claiming that the well-known photos of emaciated corpses found in camps at the end of the war are fakes, or that no Jews ever died in the camps. Such perverse misrepresentation is very reminiscent of the passage in 1984 which describes a “hate session” presentation of a concocted speech by the monstrous and semi-legendary arch-fiend Goldstein:

Goldstein was delivering his usual venomous attack upon the doctrines of the Party — an attack so exaggerated and perverse that a child should have been able to see through it, and yet just plausible enough to fill one with an alarmed feeling that other people, less level-headed than oneself, might be taken in by it.

The powers that be are not content with merely propagandistic or behind-the-scenes methods of maintaining their self-serving portrayals of history. While historical revisionism has always been strictly forbidden in Communist countries, now even some ostensibly democratic governments are trying to legally suppress “unacceptable” historical views. The West German government, for example, has approved a proposed law that would prohibit historical works that “minimize” or “deny” Nazi crimes.

The Canadian government has banned the importation of many purely political and historical works, including *Behind Communism* and *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, on the basis of a law which makes it illegal to import literature “of an immoral or indecent character.” Bowing to pressure from the B'nai B'rith, Canadian officials added *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* to its list of banned books. Canadian police even raided a couple of university libraries to seize copies of this supposedly dangerous book from library shelves. The B'nai B'rith recently asked the Canadian government to forbid the importation of all future issues of *The Journal of Historical Review*, a particularly pernicious violation of the time-honored principle of the presumption of innocence. Of course, the hypocritical import ban will have no significant long-term effect on the ever wider distribution of revisionist works in Canada. As Arthur Butz put it, the Canadian move against his book was rather like locking the barn door after the horses have already escaped.

The most spectacular recent effort to legally suppress free historical inquiry and expression was the Toronto trial of revisionist Ernst Zündel on a charge of “publishing false news likely to cause injury or mischief to a public interest.” Despite the guilty verdict against the German-Canadian

for publishing the booklet, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, the trial was a public relations victory for Holocaust revisionism.

Canadian television and newspapers gave the eight-week-long case prominent and detailed coverage. Among those who testified on behalf of Zündel were IHR Advisory Committee members Dr. Robert Faurisson, Dr. William Lindsey, Ditlieb Felderer and Udo Walendy. Generally unbiased press reports appeared under startling headlines, such as: “Gas was not used in prison camps, expert tells court,” “Nazi gas chambers unproven, court told,” “Genocide a myth, jury told,” “The Nazi ‘final solution’ meant relocating Jews,” “View of Belsen was propaganda, trial told,” “Mass gassing impossible, says chemist,” and “Camp gas chambers fake, Holocaust revisionist says.” Never before have revisionist views received such widespread coverage in any country. As a result of the trial, more Canadians than ever now doubt the Holocaust story.

The apparent consensus of Canadian newspapers and news commentators is that the Zündel case was a major mistake and that the seldom used law under which he was tried should be abolished. For example, Toronto Star columnist Gerald Caplan complained that “someone made a terrible, terrible blunder” in putting Zündel on trial because “the very magnitude of the attention he has received has afforded him and witnesses who supported him some legitimacy in the eyes of innocent Canadians.” In an editorial entitled “A threat to free speech,” the Toronto Star pointed out that the vaguely worded law under which Zündel was tried is ominously characteristic of totalitarian societies. The Star compared the Zündel trial to similarly perverse legal efforts to suppress Galileo’s supposedly dangerous idea that the sun is the center of our solar system and, more recently, the theory of evolution. Toronto Sun columnist George Jonas lamented that the trial “handed them (Zündel and his supporters) a victory on a platter.” In the words of another Sun columnist, Walter Stewart, Zündel “won the propaganda war hands down.”

The increasingly frantic efforts by “thought police” organizations such as B'nai B'rith are manifestations of weakness, not strength. For despite the tremendous obstacles, the trend is clear. Historical revisionism has been growing ever more influential. Revisionist works can be found in ever greater numbers of college and public libraries across the United States. And the phoenix-like rebirth of the IHR from the ashes of terrorist attack is proof of the Institute’s undaunted vitality and an expression of its supporters’ faith in the ultimate triumph of truth over lies.

One of the great strengths of historical revisionism in its struggle for public acceptance is that it holds the moral high ground. In spite of their pervasive propaganda and awesome power, the B'nai B'rith and its allies operate like thieves in the night. They cannot tolerate the glare of scrutiny or the light of open debate. Despite their yapping about human rights and democracy, they are the ones trying to stifle free speech and open inquiry. In the long run, their deceitful and hypocritical efforts just won’t wash with men and women of good will.

In the wake of the arson attack against the Institute’s offices last July, hundreds of letters of support and encouragement arrived from around the world. Among the many who expressed their solidarity with the IHR were two of the most widely-read and respected historians of our time. British author, David Irving, who addressed the 1983 IHR conference, told the Institute: “I was deeply shocked to hear of the firebomb attack on your premises ... The inaction of the Torrance police department since then is also disturbing.”

And American Pulitzer prize-winning author John Toland wrote:

When I learned of the torching of the office-warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review I was shocked. And when I heard no condemnation of this act of terrorism on television and read no protests in the editorial pages of our leading newspapers or

from the halls of academia, I was dismayed and incensed. Where are those defenders of democracy who over the years have so vigorously protested the burning of books by Hitler? Are they only summer soldiers of democracy, selective in their outrage? I call on all true believers in democracy to join me in public denunciation of the recent burning of books in Torrance, California.

The fact that the Institute for Historical Review is so hated and vilified by the bigoted forces of darkness that seek to strangle any contrary voice, no matter how modest, is itself evidence of its importance as a bulwark against intellectual tyranny and scholastic repression. Just as challenges to political and social orthodoxy are vitally important in any healthy society, so also is it essential to challenge orthodox portrayals of the past. That is the work of historical revisionism. It deserves the support of everyone who honestly supports the search for historical truth, no matter where it may lead. George Orwell would surely agree.

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Orwell's *1984*: Was Orwell right?

John Bennett

- Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference.

Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past.

O'Brien in *1984*

Every government is run by liars and nothing they say should be believed.

I. F. Stone

Many of the predictions made by George Orwell in his book *1984* in relation to “Big Brother” surveillance, corruption of language and control of history have already come about to a great extent in Communist countries and to some extent in the West. The powers of security police in Western countries to intercept mail and tap phones have often been extended, police agencies keep numerous files on law-abiding citizens, and more and more public officials have the right to enter private homes without a warrant. Many government departments keep computerized information on citizens and there is a danger that this information will be fed into a centralized data bank.

Attempts by law enforcement agencies to obtain more information through informer schemes, through new law enforcement agencies, and through new techniques such as computerization of information, are understandable, but the cumulative effect of such Big Brother activities is to make countries such as the United States, Britain and Australia increasingly totalitarian societies. The corruption of language described in *1984* is widespread in the media today, with “Newspeak” terms such as democratic, socialist, fascist, war criminal, freedom fighter, racist and many other expressions being used in a deliberately deceptive, propagandistic way to whip up mass hysteria or simply to ensure that people can never achieve even an approximation of the truth.

Control of the Past

The fact that almost all media commentary, book reviews and feature articles about the book *1984* have ignored the crucial role of controlling the past indicates that Orwell’s prophecy has already been partially fulfilled. The central theme of his book, the control of history, has already been largely written out of references to his book and has disappeared down the memory hole. ^[1]

The book’s hero, Winston Smith, works in the Ministry of Truth rewriting and falsifying history. The Ministry writes people out of history — they go “down the memory hole” as though they

never existed. The Ministry also creates people as historical figures who never existed. Big Brother, who controls the State of Oceania, uses “thought police” to ensure that people in the inner and outer Party are kept under control. Oceania is at perpetual war with either Eurasia or Eastasia. Alliances between these three states change without rational explanation. “Hate weeks” are organized against Goldstein, the leader of an alleged underground opposition to Big Brother, and hate sessions are organized against either Eurasia or Eastasia. O'Brien, a member of the inner Party, pretends to Smith that he is part of the Goldstein conspiracy against Big Brother. He asks Smith what he would most like to drink a toast to. Smith chooses to drink a toast, not to the death of Big Brother, the confusion of the Thought Police, or Humanity, but “to the past.” Both Smith and O'Brien, the main characters of 1984, agree that the past is more important. Unfortunately, almost all of last year’s media commentary about Orwell’s greatest book ignored the importance of the past and control of the past as a theme in 1984. The extent of censorship of history is indicated by suppression of the fact that Orwell originally considered giving the title 1948 to his book because of widespread Big Brother tendencies already in the year 1948, including control of history. [2] It is also indicated by the suppression of the fact that Orwell queried the allegation that there were gas chambers in Poland.

Orwell wrote that

indifference to objective truth is encouraged by the sealing off of one part of the world from another, which makes it harder and harder to discover what is actually happening. There can often be doubt about the most enormous events...The calamities that are constantly being reported — battles, massacres, famines, revolutions — tend to inspire in the average person a feeling of unreality. One has no way of verifying the facts, one is not even fully certain that they have happened, and one is always presented with totally different interpretations from different sources. Probably the truth is undiscoverable but the facts will be so dishonestly set forth in that the ordinary reader can be forgiven either for swallowing lies or for failing to form an opinion ... [3]

Because of his experience in the Spanish civil war that media reports of the conflict bore no relation to what was happening, Orwell developed a great skepticism about the ability of even a well intentioned and honest writer to get to the truth. He was generally skeptical of atrocity stories.

It should be noted that Orwell worked for the BBC for a time, and the Ministry of Truth is modeled to some extent on the BBC. Orwell noted that the BBC put out false hate propaganda during World War II, and controlled history by censoring news about the genocidal Allied policy of leveling German cities by saturation bombing. Orwell’s beliefs about the control of the past, including the recent past, also derived from his experiences in the Spanish civil war, where he found that “no event is ever correctly reported in a newspaper, but in Spain for the first time I saw newspaper reports which did not bear any relation to the facts.” [4]

The popular perception of history is based on brainwashing by the mass media, indoctrination by the education system, peer group pressure, self-censorship and television “docudramas.” Docudramas such as Winds of War; Tora, Tora, Tora; Gandhi; Gallipoli; and Holocaust, which pervade people’s 1984-like telescreens, are a blend of fact and fiction. They give a clear and believable, but usually completely misleading view, of historical events. Such devices to indoctrinate and mislead people are not new. Shakespeare’s docudramas, such as Richard III, served a similar purpose. The pervasiveness of television and widespread literacy make people more susceptible to brainwashing by Big Brother agencies than was possible in the past. The twentieth century is the century of mass propaganda. Due to different systems of propaganda, people in different coun-

tries such as Russia, China, and the United States will have quite different beliefs about history. The “Winston Smiths” in Communist countries who query approved history are likely to be more harshly treated than their counterparts in the West.

Book Censorship and Treatment of Dissidents

Many of the books mentioned in this essay are, for a variety of reasons, including direct censorship, trade boycott and self-censorship by booksellers, distributors and librarians, difficult to obtain. (However, many of them can be ordered from the Institute for Historical Review.) Obtaining banned books and access to restricted information plays a major role in Orwell’s best-known work. One of the most important developments in 1984 is when Winston Smith obtains a book by Goldstein which had been effectively banned by the Thought Police. Pressure from people with a thought-police mentality inhibits freedom of speech in my own country, Australia, and has helped to restrict the circulation of some books. Extreme cases of book censorship in the West have occurred in West Germany, where Professor Helmut Diwald was forced to delete revisionist portions from his *History of the Germans*. Retired judge Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich had his book on Auschwitz seized, and the University of Tuebingen, which had granted him his law degree, deprived him of it, ironically under a law passed by the Nazis. In Sweden, Ditlieb Felderer’s writings were also recently seized and he was imprisoned for the “thought crime” of querying the Holocaust. His arrest and detention should alarm all people concerned with civil liberties. Mr. Felderer, who has questioned the extent of alleged German war atrocities and pointed out the extent of Allied war atrocities, including one million civilian deaths from saturation bombing of German and Japanese cities, was jailed because of his writings. Following the precedent of Soviet authorities in dealing with dissident thinkers, he was forced to undergo psychiatric examinations. The jailing of Felderer for querying the establishment version of history and his harassment by psychiatrists is clearly an attempt to intimidate him and other free thinkers who have dared to ask challenging questions about the past. The harassment or persecution of Felderer is part of a worldwide attempt to silence revisionist writers. An unsuccessful effort was made to silence Professor Robert Faurisson, a French revisionist historian, by court proceedings in 1983 involving potential penalties of \$200,000, while moves are currently being made, supported by some so-called historians, to remove Professor Arthur Butz from his teaching position at Northwestern University. Canadian postal authorities denied the use of the postal system to revisionist publicist Ernst Zündel for a time. Various West German writers have been imprisoned, while a French revisionist was assassinated a few years ago. Many civil libertarians, such as the distinguished Jewish intellectuals Noam Chomsky and Alfred Lilienthal, have protested against the attempts to silence revisionist historians, while other so-called civil libertarians have been strangely silent, preferring to defend only the civil liberties of those whose views they agree with.

Gandhi and Bose

Henry Ford said that history is bunk, while Dean Inge noted that historians have the power denied to almighty God of altering the past. These statements are relevant to the film *Gandhi*, which was mainly financed by the government of India and which won numerous best-film, best-actor and best-director awards. It is widely accepted as an accurate biographical portrayal of Mohandas K. Gandhi. The film portrays the Indian political leader as a saintly figure virtually without fault and suggests that he and his campaign of non-violent resistance to British rule was the reason India gained independence in 1947. The portrayal of Gandhi in the film of that name is a massive distortion. The film ignores Gandhi’s tyrannical habits, his hypocrisy, his appalling treatment of his wife and children, his bizarre fixation on bowel functions, and his support for vio-

lence in various wars. The film ignores Gandhi's views that sexual attraction between men and women is unnatural and that he demanded celibacy between even married members of his entourage. He was so fanatical about his views on sex that he disowned his son Harilal for wishing to marry, and repeatedly tested his own will by sleeping nude with young women. The film Gandhi ignores the Mahatma's elitist attitudes. He is portrayed as a champion of freedom and individual rights, but in real life he was steadfastly opposed to granting additional rights to India's millions of Untouchables. The film's portrayal of Gandhi as a pacifist is incorrect. He supported the British military in the Boer War and World War I. The so-called pacifist gave his approval to men who, as he put it, were "using violence in a normal cause." He gave his blessing to the Nawab of Maler Kolta when he gave orders to shoot ten Moslems for every Hindu killed in his State. Gandhi's hypocrisy and double standards (not mentioned in the film) are also indicated by his opposition to modern medicine and his refusal to allow his wife to receive a life-saving shot of penicillin when she was dying of pneumonia. When he contracted malaria shortly afterwards, however, Gandhi accepted for himself the alien medicine of quinine, and when he had appendicitis he allowed British doctors to operate to save his life.

Perhaps the most serious distortion of history in the Gandhi propaganda film is the total suppression of the role played by Subhas Chandra Bose in the events leading to the independence of India. (This subject was examined in detail by Mr. Ranjan Borra in an essay published in the Winter 1982 issue of *The Journal*.) At the time that India attained independence, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee regarded the armed insurrection led by Bose as a far more important factor leading to independence than Gandhi's activities. However, Bose is not even mentioned in the Gandhi film. The eminent Indian historian, Dr. R.C. Majumdar, wrote: "There is... no basis for the claim that the civil disobedience movement (led by Gandhi) directly led to independence. The campaigns of Gandhi... came to an ignoble end about fourteen years before India achieved independence." [5]

There is ample evidence to substantiate the fact that the armed assault on British India by Bose and his Indian National Army (INA) during World War II was the decisive factor that forced the British withdrawal from the Asian sub-continent. The exploits of this army, when they became known, undermined the loyalty of the Indian soldiers, or sepoys, of the British. These men were the mainstay of colonial rule in India. Bose and the INA ignited the spark of a potential military revolt within the country, which the British dreaded above all else. This forced their decision to quit India honorably, while there was still time. As Majumdar wrote: "In particular, the revelations made by the INA trial, and the reaction it produced in India, made it quite plain to the British, already exhausted by the war, that they could no longer depend upon the loyalty of the sepoys for maintaining their authority in India. This had, probably, the greatest influence upon their final decision to quit India." [6]

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace

The changing alliances between Oceania, Eurasia and Eastasia described in 1984 are similar to the changing alliances between the United States, Russia, and China. The state of perpetual war described by Orwell is also reflected in the three hundred wars since 1945, the thirty-seven armed conflicts under way in 1980, and recent conflicts in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Central America, and Grenada. Perpetual civil war also seems to prevail in various multi-racial societies.

"Doublespeak" propaganda terms are used in these conflicts. "Peace-keeping forces" are used to make war, invasions such as in Grenada are described as "landings," planning for aggressive war is described as "defense strategy." The book *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* edited by Harry Elmer Barnes describes the permanent war economy of the United States, the trickery employed

by the U.S. government to enter World War I and World War II, and the censorship of dissident historical views by the media, the book trade, libraries, the curricula sections of education departments, and book reviewers. *The Dynamics of War and Revolution* by Lawrence Dennis discusses the need for preparation for perpetual wars to overcome unemployment, boost profits, and use up excess capital. Foreign markets are secured through war and foreign aid. Huge loans are made which cannot be paid back by debtor nations such as Poland and Brazil.

The role of international banks in financing wars and revolutions has been documented in numerous books, few of which are available in bookshops or libraries. Dr. Anthony Sutton documented the link between international finance and the Russian Revolution in *Wall Street and the Russian Revolution*. The American Red Cross mission to Moscow in 1917 had more financiers than medical doctors. Wall Street banks helped finance the revolution. This has been almost entirely swept under the rug by historians since it cuts across conventional ideas about the political left and right. *Uncovering the Forces of War* by Conrad Grieb deals with the role of international financiers in simultaneously bankrolling both sides in wars.

Organized Incitement to Hatred

The media in all countries are a vehicle for whipping up hatred against Goldstein-like figures. The aim of hate-week incitement is to divert attention from domestic problems, promote national unity, and, where necessary, motivate people to kill other people in wars. Hate-week campaigns in the Soviet Union direct invective against the Chinese and Western "imperialists." In China hatred is whipped up against the Russians, sometimes the Vietnamese, and, until recently, the Americans. Iran and Iraq use their media outlets to control history, including recent history, and to keep their respective captive populations in the psychological state of hatred required to maintain their current war. Other countries at war or on a war footing use similar tactics. Hate propaganda is used in the civil-war conditions which prevail in many multiracial societies such as Zimbabwe, Chad, Sri Lanka, Zaire, Ethiopia, Burma, Uganda and Cyprus, which are paying the price demanded by the fallacious belief that multi-racial societies are viable.

The most pervasive hate campaigns in the West are still directed against Hitler, who died almost forty years ago. Hitler is treated in the Western mass media as a Goldstein figure with no redeeming features. Hate sessions directed against Hitler and the Nazis are so pervasive that a visitor from Mars might think that World War II was still in progress. More than four hundred feature films have been produced since 1945 with negative stereotyping of Germans, as well as numerous television series and countless books. (By contrast, the Nazis made only two or three anti-Semitic feature films between 1933 and 1945.) Recent films include *Sophie's Choice*, *Playing for Time*, *The Boys from Brazil*, *Marathon Man*, and *The Odessa File*. Recent television series include *Winds of War*, *Holocaust*, *Kessler*, and *The Secret War*. Many more films, television series, and books are in the pipeline. The cumulative effect of this media avalanche of negative stereotyping of Germans is to incite ethnic hatred against people of German extraction of whom there are more than twenty million in the United States. Civil-rights, human-rights and church groups which have been quick to oppose racism and anti-Semitism have done almost nothing to stem this incitement to ethnic hatred.

The 18-hour *Winds of War* television saga is a good example of the docudrama blend of fact, fiction and fantasy ("faction") which is accepted by many viewers as objective history. The *Winds of War* film is an instructive example of gross distortion of history, of incitement to ethnic hatred, and of the use of the electronic media as a vehicle for propaganda. *Winds of War* was written by Herman Wouk, a devout Orthodox Jew. It's an American-Jewish version of the last world war in which the persecution of Jews is a dominant theme and war atrocities committed by the Allies,

such as the terror bombing of cities, are almost completely ignored. A Washington Post reviewer wrote “if you miss the Winds of War you will be adding 18 hours to your life,” while another critic called the series “essentially a cartoon, a child’s history of the war with all the stock characters of a Hollywood propaganda movie.”

Wouk tries to make the Jewish people the axis around which American and world history revolves. Without exception, he portrays Jews as warm, sensitive, admirable people who are innocent victims of mindless persecution. The Germans are stereotypes of evil who are barely recognizable as real people at all. The German people are portrayed as suffering from a national character disorder to explain why they admired and supported Hitler, who is portrayed by Wouk as a raving comic-book lunatic. If an 18-hour television series were to be shown at peak viewing time with comparably derogatory portrayals of Jews, there would be a massive protest about “anti-Semitism.” The argument that films such as *Winds of War* are made because of popular demand is incorrect, since much of the demand is created by massive advertising and promotional campaigns, often as expensive as the films themselves.

The book *Dealing in Hate* by Michael Connors examines anti-German hate campaigns in both world wars. *Falsehood in Wartime* by Arthur Ponsonby deals with the Allied propaganda lies against Germany in World War I. Second World War propaganda lies are still being churned out on an almost daily basis. If the Germans had won the last world war, and had influence in the media, we would doubtless be having a series of hate sessions against England, America and Russia. If there is another world war, the victors will once again write the history books and cowardly court historians, acting as thought police, will ensure that the history of the war is not objective. Finally, to make a fairly trite but important point — if the conditions described in Orwell’s 1984 actually existed in the United States and Australia today, we would not be able to publicly attack official security agencies or query establishment history. Western countries are still the most free and, fortunately, freedom of speech is still widely respected.

The Ministry of Truth and World War II

The attempt to portray the Second World War as a conflict between total good and total evil is slowly breaking down. Despite decades of brainwashing by the media, censorship of revisionist historians, and the cowardice of establishment court historians, a more balanced history of the origins and course of the war is slowly emerging. *The Origins of the Second World War* by A.J.P. Taylor establishes that Hitler did not plan the war and that the Allies bore important responsibility for the outbreak of the conflict. *Germany’s Economic Preparation for War* by Burton J. Klein establishes that Germany was spending a smaller percentage of its GNP on war preparations than either Britain or France in the late 1930s.

The extent of Allied war crimes is slowly being documented. *Bomber Command* by Max Hastings shows that saturation bombing of cities was initiated by the British and that some 600,000 German civilians were killed in the levelling of German cities. A review of Hastings’ book in the *London Spectator* was headlined “Devastating and Exterminating” and described the aerial destruction of German cities and the killing of 600,000 German civilians as “the greatest war crime of the Second World War.” ^[7] Other Allied war crimes such as bombing of Japanese cities, the execution of more than 12,000 Polish officers and other leaders at Katyn and elsewhere by the Soviets, have also been documented, although the Katyn massacre is still not widely known in the West. The forced repatriation of millions of Russians and other Soviet subjects back to the USSR, resulting in many deaths, has also been set out in books such as *The Last Secret*. The Nuremberg trials were illegal and yet another Allied crime. This is discussed in *Failure at*

Nuremberg, Profiles in Courage by the late President John F. Kennedy, and Dönitz at Nuremberg by H. Keith Thompson.

However, for every book and film about Allied war crimes there are literally thousands of books and films about German and Japanese war crimes, particularly those dealing with the concentration camps. The greatest war crime of the war, the bombing of German cities, is never dealt with in films, apart from very rare exceptions such as Slaughterhouse Five.

The central allegation made against the Nazis is that they exterminated six million Jews during the war, mainly by gassing in gas chambers. This claim has been established as false by Professor Arthur Butz in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, by Dr. Charles Weber in *The Holocaust*, by Walter Sanning in *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, by Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich in *The Auschwitz Myth*, by Dr. Robert Faurisson in *The Problem of the Gas Chambers*, and by Professor Paul Rassinier in *Debunking the Genocide Myth*. Due to thought-police pressure and self-censorship by the media and book trade, these books are not readily available. These books demonstrate that there was no plan to exterminate Jews in World War II, no mass gassings in gas chambers, that fewer than 500,000 people died in concentration camps and that most Jewish deaths were due to diseases such as typhus. Numerous Jewish writers, including civil libertarians such as J. Cohn-Bendit, C. Karnoouh and J. Assons, accept the revisionist view of the Holocaust. Most academics dealing in modern European history are too cowardly even to investigate the revisionist evidence.

The Holocaust story is repeated ad nauseam to drum up emotional support for Israel, and Zionist Jews have accurately described it as “Israel’s number one propaganda weapon.” Anti-Zionist Jews such as Dr. Alfred Lilienthal describe the constant Holocaust drum-beating as “holocaustomania” and point out that the Holocaust has become a kind of new religion among Jews. Jewish intellectual Noam Chomsky described Dr. Rubenstein’s reactions to Professor Faurisson’s claims that there were no gas chambers as the reactions of a religious fanatic. The Holocaust is so important to Zionist Jews that Professor Friedlander has said that “the Revisionist School of historians, those who say the Holocaust never existed, that it is a Jewish invention, are more worrying than countries’ political positions,” while Professor H. Littell has said “you can’t discuss the truth of the Holocaust. That is a distortion of the concept of free speech. The United States should emulate West Germany which outlaws such exercises.” Despite cogent evidence that revisionists are censored and persecuted, one so-called intellectual recently stated that it is fashionable to claim that Hitler’s gas chambers did not exist. [8] A five-page attack in the Australian magazine *Quadrant* described revisionists such as Professor Butz, Professor Faurisson and myself as “lone wolf malcontents,” the “John Hinckley Juniors of the intelligentsia,” and possibly more evil than Himmler and Pol Pot. [9] As is customary with such attacks, no right of reply was allowed.

Down the Memory Hole

Chairman Mao, once the Big Brother of China, has almost vanished down the Chinese memory hole. He has been virtually written out of Chinese history. A similar fate has befallen Stalin in official Soviet history. Hitler, on the other hand, has not been written out of history. He is larger than life, appearing on our 1984-style telescreens on a regular basis as a Goldstein hate figure. He is needed to assist in the portrayal of World War II as a war between total good (the victors) and total evil (the vanquished). Hitler is also useful for the Hollywood World War II industry which churns out a mind-boggling number of films and TV series about the war. Dr. Alfred Lilienthal has pointed out in *The Zionist Connection* that the three major television networks (NBC, ABC and CBS), the major film companies, book distributors, and influential newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, as well as influential news magazines such as *Time*

and Newsweek, are owned and controlled by Zionist Jews who use the evil Hitler image and the Holocaust as propaganda weapons for Israel.

Some aspects of popular history are shrouded in secrecy and receive little publicity. Thus, collaboration between the Nazis and the Zionists in World War II, revisionist evidence about the treatment of Jews during that war, the role of Subhas Bose in the struggle for Indian independence, massacres by the Soviets at Katyn, Vynnytsia and elsewhere, and the sinking of the passenger ships Wilhelm Gustloff, General Steuben, and Goya, in each case with greater loss of life than the Titanic, are seldom mentioned in the controlled media of the West. Collaboration between the Nazis and the Zionists is established by Jewish writers in books such as *Perfidy* by Ben Hecht, *The Holocaust Victims Accuse* by M. Shonfeld, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* by Hannah Arendt and *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* by Lenni Brenner. The massacre of Polish leaders by the Soviets in 1940 is documented in *Katyn* by Louis Fitzgibbon, while the massacre of some 10,000 Ukrainians at Vynnytsia is covered in *The Crime of Moscow in Vynnytsia*. The sinking of three passenger ships in the Baltic in 1945 with more than 18,000 deaths, mainly German women and children, is dealt with in *The Cruellest Night* by Dobson. Anne Frank's *Diary*, *A Hoax* by Ditlieb Felderer, which proves that Anne Frank did not write the famous "diary," has been given the silent treatment by the media. In case after case, historical truth has been consigned to the memory hole.

There has also been a fairly successful cover-up in relation to the American entry into the Pacific war in 1941. The largest ethnic group in America is of German origin. Resistance from this and other groups had to be overcome to get the United States into the First and Second World Wars. The attack against the *Lusitania* was used as a pretext for entry into World War I. The attack against Pearl Harbor was the excuse for entry into World War II. Both of these attacks involved gross deception of the American public. The Watergate cover-up was nothing compared with the cover-up over Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt incited the attack with an oil embargo, and knew that the attack was coming. It was not a surprise attack. The Pacific war began in deception and cover-up and ended the same way. The Japanese offered to surrender prior to the bombing of Hiroshima on condition that the office of Japanese Emperor be retained, and after the bombing the war was concluded with that condition accepted. Why then was Hiroshima bombed? Most people's understanding of the Pearl Harbor attack is based on popular portrayals such as the docudrama film *Tora, Tora, Tora*, which presents the attacks as a surprise. *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* by Rear Admiral Theobald, which examines the days immediately preceding the attack, shows that it was not a surprise. It shows instead that Washington authorities had ample foreknowledge of the time and place of the Japanese attack, and that the failure to warn General Short and Admiral Kimmel was due to Roosevelt's order that no warning be sent lest their preparations for defense might deter the Japanese from attacking. Theobald also shows that Pearl Harbor was denied a "Purple" decoding machine lest the commanders there might independently decode Japanese messages and take steps to ward off the attack.

Similar deceptions were used by the U.S. government in the Gulf of Tonkin incident, the bombing of Cambodia, and in military interventions in the Middle East, Central America and Grenada.

Some of Simon Wiesenthal's activities have likewise gone down the memory hole. His wartime collaboration with the Nazis was discussed by the former Chancellor of Austria, Bruno Kreisky, himself of Jewish origin, and others. Wiesenthal's criminal "Nazi hunter" role in persecuting innocent individuals such as Frank Walus and wrecking their lives has been amply documented but has received only minimal media coverage.

Down With Big Brother

Control of the past, Big Brother surveillance, and the use of “doublethink” are much more extensive in Communist and many third world countries than in the United States, western Europe or Australia. People in the West can help combat Big Brother control in Communist and other quasi-totalitarian countries by supporting Amnesty International and by helping human rights groups in those countries. Unfortunately, effective human rights groups can be established only in countries where basic civil rights are already relatively secure. Individuals who attempt to establish such groups in repressive countries are often persecuted and imprisoned.

Although civil liberties are entrenched in the West, there are still some areas of concern. Control of the past, the central issue of Orwell’s 1984, remains pervasive, especially with regard to World War II history which is, to use Napoleon’s phrase, “lies agreed upon by the victors.” The lies are repeated to justify the carnage of the war and to explain the Allied policy of unconditional surrender in the war. The six million Holocaust allegation, the hoax of the twentieth century, is used as a propaganda weapon to promote support for Israel. Uncritical support for Israel, particularly by the United States, could contribute to starting World War III.

Challenging the official version of anything may be a civic responsibility and even great fun, but it is still difficult for those who dispute the establishment version of history to have their views heard. The best way to combat Big Brother control of the past is to ask questions and challenge the claims put out by the high priests of sanctioned history repeatedly. People should ask, for example, whose interests are served by the repetition of particular atrocity stories? What real evidence is there for various mass murder allegations? Who controls the media? And so forth.

Citizens should support bona fide civil liberties groups and actively oppose government measures restricting basic freedoms. Freedom of speech is a basic civil liberty and people should fight to retain it. They should defy group pressure, think for themselves and speak out. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

Notes

1. [↗](#) See, for example: New Society, 12 May 1983; Commentary, May 1983; New Republic, December 1982; Commentary, March 1983; Harper’s January 1983.
2. [↗](#) New Society, 5 October 1978.
3. [↗](#) Orwell, Notes on Nationalism.
4. [↗](#) Orwell, Homage to Catalonia.
5. [↗](#) R.C. Majumdar, Three Phases of India’s Struggle for Freedom.
6. [↗](#) *ibid.*
7. [↗](#) The Spectator, 29 September 1979.
8. [↗](#) Quadrant, (Australia), August 1983.
9. [↗](#) Quadrant, October 1981. See also: New Statesman, November 1979, and Commentary, December, 1980.

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The Great Sedition Trial of 1944: A personal memoir

David Baxter

- Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference.

I have the honor to discuss an historical event in which I played a personal role, the notorious Sedition Trial of 1944. As a Christian I have long since forgiven those who were responsible for instigating this persecution of American citizens and I have no axes to grind with anyone. Some of what I have to tell is merely personal recollection while some is indisputable fact. Historians must make these distinctions. I write here as a witness to history.

Before discussing the trial itself it is necessary to outline some background. I've always been idealistic and history was my favorite subject in school. Accordingly, in my youth I was greatly impressed by Edward Bellamy's book *Looking Backward*. I became an ardent socialist and joined the Socialist Party, which was then America's third largest party. Still, I was also nationalistic and supposed that socialism would be best for our country and its people. World government was not an issue and I'm sure that most of the socialist followers of Eugene V. Debs would have opposed it. We were concerned about America and its economic system, which was then about the most ruthless monopoly capitalism one can imagine.

Consequently, I was also very enamored of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. In the belief that the Roosevelt program fulfilled our hopes (but unaware of his world government philosophy), our California state Socialist leader, Upton Sinclair, joined the Democratic party and ran for Governor. I was the last remaining registered Socialist in San Bernardino County but finally gave in and, following Sinclair's lead, joined the Democrats. For two years I served as president of the largest Democratic Club in California. While the great depression was at its worst, I worked for several years as a W. P. A. supervisor. I believe that Roosevelt did do some good in emergency legislation, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, banking reforms to protect citizens' savings, Social Security and the like.

My interest in political affairs never waned. I wanted to hear both sides of every issue. Accordingly, you might see me at a Communist rally, a Klu Klux Klan conclave, a Townsend old-age speech, a Jewish anti-Nazi gathering or a Silver Shirt meeting. Incidentally, the Silver Shirt leader, William Dudley Pelley, was one of my co-defendants in the Sedition Trial several years later, along with two Los Angeles German-American Bund leaders. Before the trial I had never met Pelley personally nor corresponded with him, and had only been introduced to the German-American Bunders at their open meeting. Yet I was later accused of conspiring with them. Actually, at that time I was simply a New Deal Democrat interested in what was going on in the country politically.

I've always been a little slow about jumping to conclusions, but as Chesterton once said, "The object of opening the mind is to close it again on something solid." Once thoroughly convinced of the rightness of a thing, I have jumped in on what I believe to be right with enthusiasm. It was after war broke out in Europe that I first began having doubts about Roosevelt's honesty. I had already become what is called a "middle of the roader" politically and economically, and I now found myself more and more sympathetic to those who stood for rugged individualism, disliked regimentation, and opposed Roosevelt's cleverly disguised efforts to get the United States involved in a foreign war that was none of our business. Because the President would say one thing to the people and do exactly the opposite, I frankly came to detest the ground he walked on. Moreover, I became convinced that there really was an international conspiracy that was using our nation as a pawn, as had been the case in World War I. Since I had no access to the press at that time, I began publishing a newsletter.

Politics indeed makes strange bedfellows. After Hitler and Stalin concluded a treaty, American Communists enthusiastically endorsed those of us who opposed getting into the European war between Germany and the British-French alliance. The Communists even stomached the Jewish issue that some of us raised and many Jewish Communists, who wanted the United States to join the war against Hitler, left their party. All that changed overnight, however, when war broke out between Germany and Russia. The Communists then turned against us with a vengeance and eagerly backed F.D.R. and American participation in the war to save the Soviets. Those of us who had been anti-war from the beginning were now even more set against such an adventure. England and France were now practically out of the conflict. Now let the Nazis and Russians slug each other while the United States remained neutral, we felt. When the smoke cleared neither of the big European powers would have much strength left, there probably wouldn't be any Soviet Union, and the United States would emerge unscathed with not a man lost. We could also resolve our own domestic problems without attention being diverted by war. I wrote one article after another and sometimes ghost-wrote speeches for visiting speakers of the American First Committee, of which I was a member. Apart from the Democratic and Socialist parties, it was the only political organization I ever joined. I also tried to organize a correspondence circle of anti-war people to be called the Social Republic Society, but it was never amounted to anything. Or so we thought.

After the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, which even then many of us claimed Roosevelt and Churchill had schemed to bring about (and which is now known fact), America Firsters found themselves in hot water. All of our political supporters in Congress and elsewhere disappeared as if by magic. Even Hamilton Fish, Robert Taft, Burton Wheeler and Claire Hoffman were misled and carried away by the Administration-created hysteria. They did not even suspect Roosevelt's skullduggery in bringing about the Pearl Harbor attack. They all jumped aboard the war bandwagon, except for a very few diehards, of whom I was one. To us, if a thing was wrong in principle before an official declaration of war by the President, it was just as wrong afterwards. Despite our limited numbers and political insignificance, some of us then took it upon ourselves to tackle one of the most improbable jobs imaginable — a Peace Offensive. We believed that although America had made a mistake in getting into the European inferno, we could still negotiate an honorable peace and save millions of lives. I then suddenly found myself thrust into national prominence and my name appeared in several major newspapers. I was actually proposed as a presidential candidate by Edward Price Bell, a retired editor of the Chicago Daily News. Although Bell was prominent in the Republican party, he was just as opposed to the GOP's Wendell Willkie as he was to the Democrat Roosevelt. He opposed American subservience to foreign interests as much as I did. His article in the Saturday Spectator brought me directly to Roosevelt's attention and triggered my speedy political demise.

I was quickly subpoenaed to appear before a California State Senate anti-subversion committee headed by Senator Jack Tenney, before which I testified and was labeled a "hostile witness." Years later, after he became enlightened, Tenney personally apologized to me. After that subpoena a U.S. marshal served me with a "Presidential Warrant" signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt which ordered me to appear before a grand jury in Washington D.C. I tore up the warrant and told the marshal to tell F.D.R. to go to hell, where he belonged. Roosevelt had no more authority to order me around than any other citizen. Accordingly, a few days later a marshal served me with a proper subpoena to appear and I promptly left for Washington. I had never been in the capital before.

At the same time, Walter Winchell, Drew Pearson and a raft of others went after me over the radio. Pearson called me a "fascist" and Winchell constantly demanded, "Why doesn't somebody do something about it?" When I arrived in the capital, the *Washington Post* kept up a page-one running attack against me as a "revolutionist." The other Washington papers were more restrained, although one headlined me as a "Jap apologist," probably because of some things I had written in defense of Japanese-American citizens who had been rounded up and sent to concentration camps without any semblance of legality. Being called a "Jap apologist" didn't make me any more popular with the average American. In those days most Americans were hysterical about anything Japanese after Pearl Harbor, not knowing that their own President was responsible for it. I was practically without friends. Anti-war members of Congress whom I had loyally supported pretended that they had never heard of me. People who had known me for years were afraid to be seen with me. Quite frankly, I felt depressed and disillusioned.

The Washington grand jury session was pretty fiery. A number of people I had heard of but had never met were there from all over the country, including Charles B. Hudson, Gerald B. Winrod (a minister and a spokesman for Social Justice and Father Charles Coughlin), Congressman Claire Hoffman of Michigan, and many others. When I got into a row with the federal prosecutor, William Power Maloney, and was cited by the grand jury for contempt, newspapers were full of it and my home town paper, the San Bernadino Sun-Telegram, ran a screaming headline: "Baxter Defies Federal Grand Jury."

An interesting feature of the grand jury investigation was when a bailiff entered the witness room and called out several times, "Jefferson Breem." Jefferson Breem was there, all right, but he didn't answer. That was because he was really a reporter for the Washington Post named Dillard Stokes. It was Stokes who wrote the Post stories which referred to me as a "revolutionist" and smeared me and other witnesses from pillar to post. "Jefferson Breem" was one of many people who had written to me to ask for copies of my writings. After all, none of my work was secret and my writings were in some libraries. The Hoover Library of Stanford University, for example, had requested and received my literature. Anyway, when the grand jury later indicted about 30 of us who had been witnesses, accusing us of sedition, it was largely on the basis of literature we had sent to Stokes, alias Breem, in Washington. In order to try us in Washington as a group, it was necessary to establish that a crime had been committed in the District of Columbia, thus giving jurisdiction to the federal courts there. So the grand jury, which was obviously controlled by the prosecutor, charged us with the crime of sedition, and then established District of Columbia jurisdiction to try us on the grounds that a District of Columbia resident, "Jefferson Breem," had received the allegedly seditious literature. Thus was the alleged "crime" committed in the capital. The defendants were charged with having conspired in the District of Columbia, despite the fact that I had never been in Washington in my life until ordered there by the grand jury. Even then I was not allowed to have legal counsel.

After the grand jury hearing I returned to California and tried to rebuild my small outdoor advertising business, which the adverse publicity had almost ruined. Even my neighbors were suspicious of me. After the war a railroad union official told me that some union members had talked about tarring and feathering me. They were dissuaded when he told them, "I've known Dave Baxer for years. Let him have a fair trial and if he's guilty, I myself will apply the tar." As it was, two gunmen sneaked up to our house one night and tried to bushwhack me. It was only when I suddenly leaped out on to the front porch with a .38 caliber pistol in my hand that they fled. My wife remembers that incident very well. She jumped under the bed.

This may be hard to believe, but the fact is that although I had come to believe firmly that an international conspiracy of Jewish Sanhedrin-bankers existed and influenced the President and government, I had never heard of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. I had never had the slightest animosity against anyone because of race or creed. I had many Jewish personal friends, whom I was convinced had no knowledge of an international Sanhedrin. Or at least they were my friends until I was smeared as "anti-Semitic." I first heard of the Anti-Defamation League when a cousin of my wife's, who worked in the office of a lawyer named Julius Novak in San Bernardino, one day came to our home greatly agitated. I had never had anything against Novak, but our cousin said that she was in an adjoining room when a delegation she called the "Anti-Defamation League" conferred with Novak and she overheard him say, "We'll get Dave Baxter if it's the last thing we ever do." A few days later my close friend, the San Bernardino postmaster, quietly leaked to me that an Anti-Defamation League group had called on him and asked him to inspect my mail. I then began to suspect who was behind most of my troubles and started researching this organization.

Actually, the Anti-Defamation League was the catalyst behind the entire Sedition Trial. I couldn't prove it then but I can now. A few years ago I demanded, through the Freedom of Information Act, that the FBI turn over to me its investigation records of my activities during the early 1940s leading up to the Sedition Trial. I learned that the investigation had extended over several years and covered hundreds of pages, which I now have. The FBI blocked out the names of those who had given information about me, much of it as false as anything could be. I was never given a chance to face these people and make them prove their accusations. Yet everything they said went into the investigation records. Oddly enough, in a great many cases, it wasn't the FBI that conducted the investigation but the Anti-Defamation League, with the FBI merely receiving the reports of ADL investigators. One can hardly tell from the reports whether a given person was an FBI or an ADL agent. But at the time all this was so hush-hush that I didn't even suspect the web-spinning going on around me. I hadn't considered myself that important. Anyone who wishes to inspect my FBI file is welcome to do so. It's a masterpiece of intrigue, cunning and deception.

One day my wife, Bernice, our two youngsters and I were on a fishing trip in Newport Beach. A U.S. marshal came out from behind our rented cottage, arrested me and, without any explanation, whisked me off to the Los Angeles County jail. Three days later, FBI agents whom I knew well visited me there. They said that there had been a statewide manhunt for me and that I had been indicted along with 29 others before U.S. Commissioner David B. Head during which the charge against me was read. The federal prosecutor was Leo Silverstein, a character who looked like a recycled transsexual. Two American Civil Liberties Union attorneys, A.L. Wirin and Fred Okrand, visited me in jail. For some reason the ACLU had decided to defend me. Its paper announced that while it was unusual for the ACLU to defend "rightists," my case was a clear violation of civil liberties. So I did not obtain a private lawyer. My bail was originally so high that I couldn't make it, but even when it was reduced I still refused to post bond on general principles and spent several months in jail while legal proceedings dragged on. The Justice Department had

so far failed to extradite me to Washington. I finally agreed to go voluntarily, believing that since I wasn't guilty of anything, a jury would certainly acquit me. Talk about naivete! A lawyer warned me: "If they get you back there they'll railroad you for sure." But I still had abiding belief in impartial American justice and bullheadedly insisted in going to Washington for trial. Federal Judge Ralph Jenny finally ordered me released on my own recognizance and I returned home to San Bernardino to prepare for the trip to Washington. I was almost broke by then, so I asked the government to pay my railroad fare. Accordingly, I was told to report to the U.S. Marshall in Los Angeles for transportation, which I did. Two marshals reserved a drawing room on the Sante Fe railroad and accompanied me. We became quite friendly and called each other by our first names, but as we boarded the train one of the marshals shame-facedly showed me a telegram he had received from Washington which ordered: "Bring the prisoner back in chains and handcuffs." The marshall said, "Forget it, Dave. You're no dangerous criminal." "Right," I replied, "but you aren't going to lose your job for refusing to obey orders. You're going to do as ordered." So that was that. I never missed an opportunity, when passing through a crowd in a railroad station, to call out, "I'm a guest of your President, who is also your enemy, as you will someday find out."

An interesting sidelight at this time was when my dearly beloved wife tried to find employment to support herself and the children after I was jailed. She was from an old San Bernardino County pioneer family and well thought of. She had worked in the court house before marrying me. She was hired at the San Bernardino Air Depot and was praised for her efficiency. But shortly thereafter, Col. Adrian Cote, who commanded the depot, learned who she was and dismissed her on the ground that she was the wife of David Baxter. He then told her in a letter, which I still have, that if she wished to divorce me she could have her job back. When she refused he wrote another letter telling her that she was discharged with prejudice so that she could not get another job. All that happened before I had been tried or been convicted of anything. (As it turned out, I never was convicted of anything.) Yet even the school kids taunted our youngsters, "You're daddy's in jail."

After my arrival in Washington I was not permitted freedom on my own word, as I had been in Los Angeles, so that I couldn't find a job to support my wife and kids. I was hustled off to the District jail without counsel or the opportunity to obtain a lawyer. The jail admission officer was a big, sloppy-appearing guy who, after asking my name, said to me, "What's your address? Where do you want your body shipped?" Sedition defendants in the jail nicknamed him "Anus" (Annas was a high priest at Jesus' trial.) He was an ornery rascal who liked to gloatingly mention the execution chamber in the facility.

My cell was cold. My hearing was already bad and it became worse, with earaches and no medical attention. The food was terrible, consisting mostly of plain bread and heavily-peppered soup, with one cup of weak coffee. When fellow defendant Leon de Aryan once looked out the barred window of the window of the dining room and remarked, "It looks like rain," I glanced at my cup and replied, "Yeah, but it smells a little like coffee." We were finally allowed a dish of chocolate pudding as a special diet. The U.S. Marshal's bullpen in the District Court House basement was even worse. Defendants George Viereck, Ralph Townsend, Bill Lyman, Edward James Smythe and I were thrown into one large room with a galaxy of criminals and suspects of all kinds. The single toilet without a lid was covered with excrement and cigarette butts, and a leaky old faucet was our only drinking supply. Our "dinner" consisted of one piece of bread, one slice of baloney, and coffee. Talk about punishment before trial — and in our own American capital!

Bill Lyman was in England when the indictment was issued. Instead of fleeing, he immediately booked passage home and surrendered himself to the authorities. But rather than allowing him freedom to earn a living while awaiting trial, he was handcuffed and put in leg irons in the Dis-

strict jail. After several months in jail, Howard S. Le Roy learned that I was there and called on me. At first he was frankly skeptical of my description of jail conditions, but after investigating on his own he said that he had never known anything like it. Political prisoners were usually treated more leniently and, if wealthy, were generally put under mere "house arrest." Thanks to an old friend, Henry G. Reinsch of Tacoma, Washington, who had never disowned me despite extreme pressure, I was released on \$1,000 bond. I still didn't like the bond idea, but it was better than spending a lifetime in jail without trial.

Now this may seem absurd, but to this day I am thankful that my enemies were successful in their persecution. The reason is that while in the Washington jail I became a convert to Jesus Christ. You can bet your bottom dollar that wasn't in the enemy's plans. Yet, thank God, they were actually instrumental in bringing about that very thing. For years I had been a confirmed agnostic, although my wife was a Christian. It was while reading a Gideon Bible left in my cell that this miraculous event occurred. As I was making notes on alleged biblical contradictions, expecting to someday write an article about this, I found myself more and more drawn to Christ. What He said and His apostles wrote made more sense than I had ever imagined. He had the same enemies I had, but He certainly suffered infinitely more than I ever did. What's more, I had to admit that I was a sinner and needed spiritual salvation, which Jesus alone of all the prophets that ever lived provided. The shedding of His blood now really meant something to me. Whatever happened to my mortal body, His enemies and mine would never be able to conquer my soul. I was so happy about my salvation that it wasn't long before we even had a sizable Bible class among the prisoners during the occasional recreation periods. A Washington missionary named Harvey Prentice, in charge of the Gospel Mission, was a big help during this period, bless his soul. So I returned to California a Christian, much to the joy of Bernice and the kids, who ran out to meet me on the porch late one night upon my arrival home.

In the meantime the federal courts in Washington threw out the indictment and I wound up on Los Angeles's Skid Row trying in vain to find a job. Every prospective employer was warned against hiring me. Nevertheless, back in San Bernardino I started painting signs for people, was welcomed by city officials who by now had their own ideas about the cause of my trouble, spoke in churches, and soon ran a thriving sign shop. The enemy arranged for another indictment in 1943 but the courts scuttled it. Despite that, a third indictment was issued after Roosevelt appointed a New York lawyer named O. John Rogge to the Justice Department as an assistant attorney general specially in charge of the Sedition Case. Roosevelt also appointed a former Iowa Congressman, Edward C. Eicher, as Chief Justice of the federal court in Washington with direct orders to try the Sedition Case. Rogge was a protege of Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, who had planted his "hot dog boys" in sensitive government positions.

Columnist Drew Pearson testified that Attorney General Francis Biddle had advised against the whole Mass Sedition venture from the beginning, but Roosevelt ordered him to proceed anyway, adding, "I will appoint the judge." With Eicher now in place as Chief Justice of the U.S. District Court, the trial began on 17 April 1944 with Eicher presiding. There were some 30 defendants, including some of those originally indicted. I well remember Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Joseph Dilling, Joseph McWilliams, Lawrence Dennis, Robert Edmondson, Col. Eugene Sanctuary, Robert Noble, Ellis Jones, German-American Bunders Herman Schwinn and Hans Diebel, Garland Alderman, Prescott Dennett, Lois de Lafayette Washburn, August Klapprott, Elmer J. Garner, George Deathage, William Dudley Pelley, James True, and others. My name had appeared on all three indictments, so it seemed that someone had a special interest in wanting to railroad me into prison. Even though several of the German-American Bundists had already been convicted in other trials, they were added to our group in an effort to collectively discredit all the defendants as alien and "un-American." Actually, those who arranged our trial did not consider us

the ultimate targets. Our trial was meant to intimidate others and set an important precedent. After disposing of us the people behind the venture planned to put the leading opponents of Roosevelt's war policy on trial, including American First Committee spokesman Charles A. Lindbergh, General Robert Wood of Sears Roebuck, several senators and congressmen, and possibly Father Charles E. Coughlin and Henry Ford. Our trial was intended to be a "warm up" for trials of really prominent Americans who dared oppose Roosevelt's policies.

As one paper wrote, "all hell broke loose" when the trial opened. It was covered in every American daily newspaper. Along with the Communist sheets, Marshall Field's leftist New York paper PM bombarded us on page one day after day. The liberal press was somewhat more restrained, including the Washington Post, which had helped to instigate the case. For some reason, though, their former star reporter, Dillard Stokes, alias "Jefferson Broom," was missing from the courtroom. Most conservative papers assumed a wait-and-see attitude, although the Chicago Tribune and the New York Daily News forthrightly opposed the Justice Department and gave decent, unbiased coverage of the defendants. A United Press report published in those papers in 1943 even went so far as to state:

Under pressure from Jewish organizations, to judge from articles appearing in publications put out by Jews for Jews, the new indictment even more than the first was drawn to include criticisms of Jews as "sedition." It appeared that a main purpose of the whole procedure, along with outlawing unfavorable comments on the administration, was to set a legal precedent of judicial interpretations and severe penalties which would serve to exempt Jews in America from all public mention except praise, in contrast to the traditional American viewpoint which holds that all who take part in public affairs must be ready to accept full free public discussion, either pro or con.

I took Bernice and our children with me on this trip to Washington. After prosecutor Rogge tried unsuccessfully to revoke my bond, we found what passed for an apartment in a tenement. Because I was short of funds, I had a court-appointed lawyer, Hobart Little, who was a fraternity brother of Chief Justice Eicher. During the trial Hobart roomed with Joseph McWilliams' lawyer, Maximilian St. George, and after he learned the whole story about the case he took a really active interest in defending me. That happened in the case of other defendants as well, much to the consternation of the judge and prosecutor, who had obviously intended to make short work of the Sedition Trial. Far from letting their clients be sacrificed, court-appointed lawyers like James McLaughlin stormed into court and in just a few days had the proceedings in an uproar. Mr. Little and I, however, remained calm and were careful to show respect for an American court — even this one. The trial got almost completely out of hand and Eicher spent a lot of time banging his gavel. After at least a dozen attorneys were found in contempt, they came into court wearing buttons bearing the insignia "E.C.C." When the judge asked about the buttons, McLaughlin informed him that the initials stood for "Eicher Contempt Club." The attorneys eventually named Eicher a defendant in a suit they brought during the trial accusing him of holding office illegally. He was not a resident of the District of Columbia, as the law required. The judge once had to recess the trial to defend himself against our lawyers in another court. As I recall, his case had still not been settled when he died.

The trial caused such a scandal that even the staid District Bar Association found itself in an uproar about it. Lawyers not connected with the Sedition Trial demanded an investigation and called the case a "judicial farce." The Bar Association finally appointed a committee of observers to sit in on the trial. A good example of the trial's legal high jinks occurred when our little boy, David, came down sick and his doctor reported that he suspected diphtheria. After spending several hours with David, I returned to the courtroom. Attorney McLaughlin then immediately

jumped up and said to the judge, "I move that the defendant Baxter be seated next to Prosecutor Rogge." That made Rogge furious, but the unrelenting pressure on him from some 30 lawyers kept him angry most of the time anyway. He was losing his case and knew it. Even the jury sometimes laughed when a defense lawyer needled the prosecutor. Rogge spent much of his time reading from literature written by the defendants. I could see from the jurors' faces that they were more bored than impressed, waiting for him to present some direct evidence that the accused were actually guilty of the charges he accused them of. He never did that. Indeed, the thing became so loose that before long I was even on friendly terms with the male jurors I often met in the restroom, although we didn't discuss the trial. After about a month, when Bernice and I entered the cafeteria, some of the jurors who were having lunch called out, "Hey Dave, you and your wife bring your trays over and eat with us." If they had voted, I doubt that a single one of them would have convicted me.

Washington's a broiler in the summer. Our tenement was as hot as a furnace, and Bernice and the kids really suffered. I found a job working evenings after court sessions doing art work and lettering, but it only lasted a couple of months. As usual, someone called on the boss and told him who I was. We received a little income from my California business but the fellow I had left in charge was a poor manager and even that source finally trickled out. The defense lawyers were unpaid but they managed to collect a few small donations now and then which they shared with us. Mrs. Dilling, Dr. Winrod and a few other co-defendants were more affluent and they collected about \$100 each from their followers for our family and others. I've never forgotten those two \$100 gifts.

Fellow defendant Elmer J. "Pop" Garner was 82 years old and very deaf. He had headlined me in his little Kansas paper, Publicity. Garner could barely afford a cheap boarding room and during the noon recess all he could afford for lunch was a doughnut and cup of coffee. I wasn't in much better shape, but "Pop" and I stuck it out and even joked during our talks. "Pop" Garner was an old Kansas pioneer and one of the finest men I've ever known. He couldn't hear a word of his trial and died after a few months. Prosecutor Rogge had his body sent back to his widow stark naked in a plain pine box. That really enraged not only the defendants but even several newspapers and many people with common decency. After his death, whenever Rogge mentioned old "Pop" before the jury he referred to him as "the conspirator Garner." He never prefixed the term "conspirator" to any of us still living, for we were there with our lawyers. At least "Pop" Garner no longer had to endure the trial or the Washington heat.

One torrid day I came home from court and said to Bernice and our youngsters, "Let's get out of here for a while, board a streetcar and go somewhere, anywhere, to cool off." So we boarded the first trolley that came along, marked "Cabin John." We didn't know where Cabin John was, or care, just so we could sit in the breeze as the car rolled along. The streetcar eventually left the city itself and followed the track through beautiful, cool woods along the Potomac River. Bernice had an inspiration and suggested that we get off at a stop and walk along the river bank. We hiked along, admiring the woods and river, when we came to an abandoned cruiser high up on the bank. It was a really nice little ship and equipped for living. Even the engine was still in place. We played Robinson Crusoe on it for a while and then continued our walk, coming to a fishing camp a short distance away. We talked with the owner of the camp, a man named Crampton. When we mentioned the boat, he said that it had belonged to a Swedish mariner who had moored it to the river bank, left and never returned. A flood had left it high and dry, and it was now in receivership. Thinking that we might manage a small down payment on the boat or rent it for the duration of the trial, we had Crampton call up the receiver, who lived across the river. A short time later he came over in a boat.

As it turned out, the receiver was anxious to settle the estate and, after some haggling, told us we could have the cruiser for less than \$200 cash. That was most of the money we had left, but to this day I've never heard of such a bargain. We bought it on the spot. Crampton and some other men brought over some equipment and got the boat into the water. It was in perfect condition and so, a few days later, we left the tenement apartment and moved aboard our new home. During the remaining months of the trial we lived in cool comfort on the river under a big shade tree that hung out over the water. The kids went back and forth on a gangplank and played in the woods. The fishing was excellent. I rode to court each morning on the street car. Of course, the other defendants and their lawyers were always welcome aboard when they could visit us and we were glad to be able to show them a good time. It was at least a diversion from the bad time the Justice Department was giving us in court.

After the first few months of excitement, the trial settled down to a humdrum presentation of the government's case, which consisted of a perpetual reading aloud of defendant literature by Rogge. The jurors were getting fidgety and finally asked how long the case would last. They had had to neglect their business and family affairs and were obviously bored stiff. On one occasion, while Rogge was heatedly denouncing a defendant as an "anti-Semite," one of them glanced at me and yawned. Later, in the wash room, he didn't say a word to me, but shook his head, gave me a slight smile, and managed a little wink. I don't think that Justice Eicher ever realized what he was getting into when Roosevelt decided to use him. Eicher was a professing Christian — an Iowa Mennonite — and the case was obviously getting on his nerves. He became more testy as the trial droned on and finally asked Rogge when he was going to start presenting solid evidence. The fact was that Rogge didn't have any, as was later proved. The case might have gone on for years.

Then suddenly one day Judge Eicher asked me to stand up and announced that he was severing me from the case on the ground that I wasn't able to hear my own trial. That was true. My hearing had declined from the time of my imprisonment so that I was now 85 percent deaf. I wore a hearing aid but the devices were far from their present-day level of near-perfection. I couldn't hear a single witness on the stand some fifty feet away and my lawyer had to translate for me. What caused Eicher to make his decision is conjectural. Several times attorney Little had moved for a severance for me because I was deaf, but Eicher had overruled him. And yet, after several months, he ordered me to see a specialist for a hearing examination. After receiving the specialist's report he severed me without even a motion from Mr. Little to do so. Later that day Judge Eicher asked to see me privately in his chamber. When we met he smiled, held out his hand, and said: "Go back to California and forget about it, Dave." Frankly, I was glad to be through with the whole ordeal, as were Bernice and Mr. Little, who were there with me. So I replied, "Well, your honor, forgetting it won't be easy, but as a Christian I'm glad to forgive." We immediately sold the cruiser and were preparing to take a train to California when Eicher again asked to talk to me. This time he said that if we wanted to buy an automobile and drive back he would help, and actually handed me a whole roll of gasoline coupons. (During the war every motorist had to have those coupons to buy gasoline, which was severely rationed.) All the same, we returned by train, but back in California we had a car and those coupons certainly came in handy.

Judge Eicher then began severing other defendants, even though Rogge was far from resting his case. The Washington Post (16 July 1944) commented editorially:

The severance of three cases from Washington's mass sedition trial is the best news that has come out of this dreary affair in Justice Eicher's court. It clearly suggests belated recognition of the mistake that was made in bringing 30 individuals of widely varying temperaments and backgrounds to trial at the same time and place for a series of alleged offenses classified as sedition.

One defendant recently died. Another is too ill to attend court sessions regularly. A third found it difficult to follow the proceedings because of limited hearing. A fourth proved to be so obstreperous as seriously to interfere with the progress of the trial. In other words, the exigencies of human life are such as to defeat most any attempt to dispose of complicated criminal charges en masse with both fairness and dispatch. It is a pity that the Department of Justice did not foresee this elementary objection to mass trials before embarking on such an adventure.

The fact that four cases have been eliminated from the trial is overshadowed, therefore, by the larger fact that 26 cases remain before the court. We hope that better progress can be made but no end to even the presentation of evidence by the prosecution is in sight after 13 weeks. How can the jurymen be expected to remember testimony given many weeks before their verdict will be rendered? How can they, in these circumstances, distinguish the varying degrees of guilt, if any, among the 26 remaining defendants? We fear that whatever may be the outcome of this trial it will stand as a black mark against American justice for many years to come.

Such were the remarkable words of the very paper whose own reporter had plotted with the original prosecutor to entrap the defendants and bring them to trial in Washington. “Oh what tangled webs we weave, when first we practice to deceive.” As if to add insult to injury, the Post issued another blistering editorial some two weeks later headed “Courtroom Farce.” (28 July 1944). The lengthy editorial included these remarks:

we think the time has come to recognize the unlikelihood of securing any fair approximation of justice from this unhappy experiment. The end of the Government’s testimony is nowhere in sight. Prosecutors have 4000 exhibits to offer in evidence and only about one-eighth of them are in the record at present. At its present rate of progress, therefore, the trial may run on for several years after the war is over. Meanwhile it is gravely undermining confidence in American justice.

The editorial concluded:

After all, this is a trial of men and women accused of sedition, not a contest in befuddlement. In our opinion the trial can continue its present course only at the cost of serious impairment of our judicial system and the reputation of those responsible for this travesty.

Apparently the Post didn’t consider itself among those responsible for what it now called “this travesty.” In any case, the paper indignantly withdrew its reporter, James Chinn, from the courtroom. Post Managing editor A.F. Jones told a PM reporter: “I’m not going to keep a man tied up on a lot of baloney.” Seeing the way the trial was going, it’s clear that the Washington Post was now anxious to obscure its own role in bringing it about. The paper was now calling the case a “black mark against American justice for many years to come” and a “travesty.”

What remained of the ill-fated Sedition Trial ended abruptly when Justice Eicher died suddenly of a heart attack on 30 November 1944. That trial could have killed any judge with a Christian conscience and any semblance of fairness. I felt genuinely sorry about Justice Eicher’s death. Although Rogge was still reluctant to end the business, he now had a new judge to contend with. Justice Bolitha Laws, a veteran federal judge in the District of Columbia, took over and promptly made it clear that he was a no-nonsense jurist who wanted definite and purposeful action. After Roosevelt died suddenly and mysteriously in April 1945, Rogge admitted to Justice Laws that he had a weak case, but with the European part of the war over, he asked for time to visit Germany to interview Nazi officials and get evidence. After all, he had accused the defendants of having conspired with Adolf Hitler and German officials in the indictment. Laws granted Rogge’s re-

quest for a continuance in order to question former high Nazis in Germany. Several months later Rogge again appeared before his honor. He was empty-handed. None of the Nazi officials had ever heard of me. They knew that one defendant, George Sylvester Viereck, had been a registered American agent for the German government before the war, when such representation was (and is) quite legal. Most foreign governments retain respected Americans who are registered to represent their interests.

Justice Laws repeatedly asked Rogge if he wanted a new trial. When the prosecutor kept hesitating and even expressed doubt about the government's chances of winning, Laws blasted the Justice Department for its "lack of diligence," (in his exact words), and dismissed Rogge for good. The new President, Harry Truman, then fired Rogge. It later turned out that Rogge had been a good friend of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, was involved in numerous Communist front groups, and had visited Russia where he spoke in the Kremlin and laid a wreath at the grave of American Communist Party co-founder John Reed in Red Square. His wreath was inscribed, "In loving memory from grateful Americans." Along with movie actor Charlie Chaplin, Rogge was an American delegate to a world Communist "peace conference" in Paris and was a lawyer for many Communists in trouble with the law. He was the attorney for David Greenglass, the atomic spy who saved his own life by turning state's evidence against his sister and brother-in-law, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The Rosenbergs went to the electric chair for turning over U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviets. John Rogge, Roosevelt's choice to prosecute the Sedition Trial and Supreme Court Justice Frankfurter's right-hand man, was thus eventually exposed for what he was. No wonder he was so fanatical in his hatred against the Sedition Trial defendants, all of whom were anti-Communists. After Justice Eicher severed me from the case, Rogge met me in the deserted courtroom and called me a "fascist" to my face. "Fascist" is a favorite term Communists apply to their enemies.

With Rogge out, an assistant attorney general who had helped him named T. Lamar Caudle took over. Probably prompted by the same people who had been behind Rogge, Caudle tried to continue the persecution and appealed Justice Laws' decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals. But that court turned him down, using strong language. Caudle was himself later convicted of "fixing" the income tax of a St. Louis merchant named Wolfe and he received five years in the federal penitentiary.

It should be noted that during those five years and three indictments, the public was continuously propagandized against us in radio broadcasts and best-selling books. I was attacked in at least five books. One was the famous best seller *Under Cover* by John Roy Carlson. It turned out that "Carlson" was one Avedis Derounian, a writer for the Communist Daily Worker newspaper. Radio propagandist Walter Winchell had collaborated with him on the book and then advertised it over nationwide radio. Derounian, alias "Carlson," was later found guilty of libel in United States District Court in Chicago. Trial judge Barnes commented in sentencing that Derounian would "write anything for a dollar" and that, after hearing the evidence, he would not "believe anything Derounian said under oath." A similar best-selling book of the time, warmly promoted by Winchell, Drew Pearson and then U.S. Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, was *Sabotage: The Secret War Against America*. The authors were Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, later reported by congressional investigators to be members of the Communist Party. But at the time the public was given to understand that all these propagandists were just good American patriots exposing America's enemies.

Well, five years of this was enough for me. I went to work, paid off all our bills, worked for the Santa Ana (California) Register for a couple of years, wrote a syndicated column, studied theology, and thought I was through with politics. But not the real conspirators who had all but ruined

our family life and seen their court case blown to smithereens. A couple of years after the trial, one of the Congressional spokesmen, Adolph Sabath of Illinois, began beating the drum to start a whole new Sedition proceeding and started pressuring the Justice Department.

So now I'll tell you why I'm not made of the stuff of heroes. I gave up. My nerves were half shot from the five-year persecution. At that time a "friend" visited to tell me that if I wished to make my peace with Mr. Sabath and avoid further molestation, I could write Sabath a letter apologizing for my alleged "anti-Semitism" and assuring him that because I had become a Christian and was confining myself to religious affairs, I would not return to political activity. At first I strongly rejected this "offer." Furthermore, I really wasn't anti-Jewish as such, and felt that that point should be clarified. (Of course, the Anti-Defamation League was quite another matter.)

I was concerned about my children and my wife, Bernice, who begged me to ask Sabath's mercy. She pleaded, "Dave, we can't stand any more. We don't want to die. For my sake and our children's, please don't let us go through this again."

I caved in and wrote the required letter to the Congressman. I received a cordial reply. The pressure on the Justice Department stopped as suddenly as it had begun. The incident demonstrated the terrifying power to manipulate the United States government wielded by hidden forces. I was now out of the game, broken and disillusioned. I had given my all to be a solid American but there's a limit to every person's endurance. I recovered enough to become a well-known newspaper editor, theologian and writer for many Christian magazines. And I sometimes became involved in issues requiring that I take a firm stand one way or another. Thank God, I still have some of that spirit at 76 years of age. I have no regrets about the Sedition Trial. Bernice and I celebrated our golden wedding anniversary in 1983. Our children are now middle-aged and successful. We are still firmly dedicated to our Christian faith and American nationalism, with charity toward all and malice toward none.

For the sake of the historical record I would still like to see the U.S. Congress acknowledge that an injustice was done against 30 American citizens in the Sedition Case. Not one of us ever received a penny in compensation for our mistreatment and expenses, much less any official acknowledgment that our government made a serious mistake. Only Congressional committees have made such admissions. Yes, I would like to see our Congress vindicate itself before history by at least partially erasing what the Washington Post called "a black mark against American justice" and the federal courts declared "a travesty upon justice." I believe that God will one day bring this about.

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Reflections on German and American foreign policy, 1933-1945

Karl Otto Braun

- Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference.

During my career as a German diplomat, I had three superiors. The first was Alfred Rosenberg, head of the Foreign Political Office of the National Socialist Party. The next was Foreign Minister Freiherr Konstantin von Neurath, an “old school” conservative. The last was Joachim von Ribbentrop. After the war these men were condemned as criminals by the Allied Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Rosenberg and von Ribbentrop were sentenced to “death by hanging.” I doubt if many Americans have had a similarly tragic experience with their superiors. The words “death by hanging” still resound in my ears and dreams since the moment I first heard them pronounced over the radio in late 1946 while I myself was an “automatic arrest” inmate in the Dachau concentration camp, then under U.S. Military Government control.

All former German officials with university degrees were subject to “automatic arrest” according to Morgenthau’s punitive directive JCS 1067, regardless of whether or not they had been members of the National Socialist Party. The infamous Morgenthau Plan was originally drawn up by Harry Dexter White, the right-hand man of U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau. White had been born in eastern Poland with the name Weis. White died in suspicious circumstances in 1948 after it was discovered by the U.S.A. government that he’d been a Soviet agent. Morgenthau’s program was thus indirectly drafted by Stalin!

Directive JCS 1067, which determined the main lines of U.S. policy in occupied Germany until July 1947, was itself a violation of the Hague Convention of 1907 which prohibited the automatic arrest of people in occupied territories. When I made this point to my American interrogators, I received the reply that the Germans had already violated the Hague Convention much earlier. Those American officers did not know that the Nuremberg International Tribunal had expressly acknowledged the Hague Convention (and especially section 6b) as the basis of its judgment against the German defendants!

All the same, a bitter fate always has a purifying effect in life. A man who, like Hamlet, suffers “the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune” is forced to weigh his words carefully, must maintain a sense of balance and, above all, must stick to the facts. Revisionism has a mission. It is to find facts. Historical fact-finding likewise has a purifying effect because it embodies the struggle for truth. History is reborn memory. Men with a rich memory have a superior power. Consequently, nations should promote a regard for history, thereby strengthening their memory and their power. It’s true that the history of the United States is still comparatively young, but two hundred years of memory are enough upon which to build a respect for traditional values. Recalling the values of your forefathers, of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Cleveland and others, you have no reason to despair or be timid. The dawn of another Renaissance is approaching! Believe

me: Moral values have a more enduring life than shrewd tactics! If we stoop to the level of Marxist lies and self-deception, as Franklin Roosevelt did, we fall into the hands of our more cunning enemies; whereas if we keep ourselves on a morally elevated plane, we will emerge victorious. When all is said and done, our blue shining planet, our universe, is in the hands of God-contrary to the erroneous denials of Marxism.'

The great German historian Leopold von Ranke worked on the principle of trying to describe historical events truthfully, just as they actually happened. I try to work in keeping with Ranke's principle. All the same, I must admit that I see everything through the eyes of my own experience. Please consider and accept this limitation.

On that fateful 30th day of January 1933-ironically, Roosevelt's 51st birthday-I was reading Dutch books about Mount Kloet, a volcano in Java which mixed its lava with the water of a lake, thus creating the terrible "lahars" which ultimately created fertile fields. Late that evening I left the Geographical Institute of the University of Berlin and stepped out into the crowded streets. Newspaper boys were shouting that President von Hindenburg had appointed Adolf Hitler as Reich Chancellor and that the SA stormtroopers would soon be holding a torchlight parade.

I was myself a simple stormtrooper but my uniform was at home, too far away. Therefore I decided to climb onto a linden tree at the corner of the Unter den Linden boulevard and the Wilhelmstrasse in central Berlin. All the trees were packed with sightseers and the Unter den Linden was crowded with thousands of people. The torchlight procession soon passed through the Brandenburg Gate, nowadays walled off by concrete by Communist tyranny, thus ridiculing its purpose as a gate. When the stormtroopers passed by the darkened French Embassy, I wondered what the French Ambassador, Francois-Poncet, might be feeling about all this. I can remember being vividly struck by this thought.

The torchlight parade turned right into the Wilhelmstrasse, just under my tree, and headed towards the Reich Chancellery. There were 16 men marching shoulder to shoulder in each row. Hitler saluted the men from a window in the Chancellery building. As the first rows passed by him, the words "Deutschland, Deutschland Ueber Alles" echoed through the crowd like an organ. It seemed to be the outcry of a nation humiliated by foreign oppression, occupation, inflation and a scandalous treaty imbued with revenge and contempt. The torchlight procession seemed to me like the glowing, fertilizing lava of Mount Kloet! Then, 22 years of age, I wrote an enthusiastic report about all this to my parents. They kept it until it was burned with their belongings by British bombs in 1944.

The moral outcry of a humiliated nation proved that Hitler's real historical birthplace was Versailles. The punitive economic clauses of that imposed treaty had been drafted by Bernard Baruch, who later wrote: "President Wilson called me to Paris to serve as one of his advisers on the economic section of the treaty." [2] Already in 1920 Baruch published *The Making of the Reparation and the Economic Sections of the Treaty*, in which he wrote: "I was intimately concerned with the creation of these (economic) sections... Serbia, Rumania and Poland had been victims of merciless German aggression." [3] Baruch intentionally ignored the murder at Sarajevo and the fact that Austria and Germany had re-established Poland in November 1916 as a constitutional monarchy. Baruch supported the popular slogan of the time, "Let Germany pay first," and admitted in his 1920 book that "Many of the (Versailles conference) participants preferred war with all its horrors to any peace short of that which they demanded." He conceded, "It is true that the (Versailles) treaty is a severe treaty." [4] It is thus not an exaggeration to say that Baruch significantly helped Hitler to power. History is full of such irony. Already in 1919 we can recognize the genesis of a terrible confrontation, for it was precisely the economic demands of the Ver-

sailles conference that brought about the punitive Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, Black Friday, seven million German unemployed and six million German Communist votes. When he came to power, Hitler was thus confronted with a country in economic ruin. Again ironically, Franklin Roosevelt faced a very similar economic catastrophe as he assumed the presidency of one of the victor nations that same year. It is worth noting that after six years of Roosevelt's New Deal, there were still ten million unemployed Americans, whereas Hitler's "New Deal" was able to absorb all seven million unemployed Germans without war. Roosevelt achieved the same result only after the world had burst into flames. This contrast is one of the main sources of Roosevelt's personal jealousy and enmity towards his great adversary.

According to a May 1939 report to Berlin by the German diplomatic representative in Washington, Hans Thomsen, Roosevelt told the Senate Military Committee that "It would be a good thing if Hitler and Mussolini were murdered." [5] To make this situation more clear, consider these passages from Hitler's important address of 28 April 1939 (four months before the outbreak of war in Europe) which were directed personally to President Roosevelt:

I have taken no step that violated foreign rights, but I have restored the rights which had been violated twenty years ago (at Versailles). Within the territory of the present Greater German Reich there is no part which did not belong to it since ancient times or was not subject to its sovereignty. Long before the American continent was discovered by the White Man, this Reich existed. President Roosevelt believes that the leaders of the great nations have it in their power to protect the nations from the imminent disaster of war. If this is correct, it is criminal rashness if the leaders of nations who wield great power do not curb their newspapers which agitate continuously for war. It would be an honorable achievement if President Roosevelt were to redeem the lofty promises of President Wilson. That would certainly be a practical contribution to the moral consolidation of the world ...

President Roosevelt, Hitler continued, I understand that the vastness of your realm and the immeasurable wealth of your resources make you feel yourself responsible for the destiny of the entire world. My scope, however, is much more modest. I have assumed power in a country with 140 inhabitants per square kilometer, not 15. Billions of German savings in gold and foreign exchange were taken from us. We lost all our colonies. In 1933 we had seven million unemployed, as well as several million part-time employed, and we faced ruin. In the past six and half years I have devoted all of my effort to mobilizing the energy of my people, who have been outlawed and abandoned by the rest of the world. Furthermore I have tried to remove, page by page, that (Versailles) treaty which, with its 448 articles, represents the crudest violation ever imposed on nations and individuals.

Anyone can easily check Hitler's statements about U.S. press agitation for war by looking through leading American newspapers, particularly from the years 1938 to 1941. I was told by Germans returning from visits to the U.S. in 1934 that anti-German defamation was already running high even then. The Zionists were clever enough to establish an "Anti-Defamation League" in 1913 when Wilson became President and their influence first reached the highest level of government. They feared growing opposition. In contrast, Americans of German descent neglected to take any similar defensive measures. As a result, the image of the brutal, militant German still haunts American movies to this day. The question arises whether a pro-German American group should not establish its own "Anti-Defamation League" for the sake of a free America.

My Turn to East Asia

In 1932 I was in England preparing my dissertation on Shakespeare in the library of the British Museum. I continued my studies of English, history, and geography at the University of Berlin in 1933. At the same time I attended lectures at the Hochschule fuer Politik (Higher School for Political Studies) located across from the Imperial Palace, which was torn down in 1945 by German Bolsheviks. I was occupied with lectures on international law by Professor Friedrich Berber and geopolitics by Professor Albrecht Haushofer, and I participated in a seminar on the British press by Professor Karl Boemer. I wrote a study on background forces behind leading English papers for the seminar. Professor Boemer took it with him when he accompanied Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels on his September 1933 trip to the League of Nations in Geneva. Boemer later told me that my survey helped the Minister in his appearance before the League.

The following year I received a postcard from Professor Boemer asking me to visit him at his office in the Foreign Political Office of the National Socialist Party (Aussenpolitisches Amt der NSDAP). To my great astonishment, Boemer immediately introduced me to Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg, a pre-eminent party official and chief editor of the main party paper, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, since 1922. As a second surprise Rosenberg asked me if I would join his office in the recently planned East Asia Section. I replied that although I knew Britain well, I knew East Asia only geographically. Rosenberg, a Baltic German from Riga, replied: "You are young enough to be trained." We arrived at a compromise. I offered to work afternoons in his office while learning Japanese mornings at the Institute of Oriental Languages, which had been founded by Bismarck. Rosenberg accepted my proposal.

I found him a noble, broad-minded and modest superior. His modesty was crowned with some shyness or restraint. He had the gift of being able to present his views convincingly. In practical conflicts, however, he was much too soft. I considered him more of a philosopher than a politician.

When I began my first job in August 1934 I found an unfinished manuscript on my desk entitled "The Amau Declaration and Its Echo in the World Press." I was asked to add up-to-date observations and comment on it. Amau was the speaker of the Japanese Foreign Office, the Gaimusho. He had announced that Japan considered China as a sphere of her special interest. Already in 1917 Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, Ambassador in Washington, had concluded an agreement with the American Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, which conceded Japan's special relationship with neighboring China. But this liberal trend changed under Secretary of State Henry Stimson to the inflexible "Open Door Policy" of unrestricted international trade with China. This policy was first introduced by Britain during the last century as part of her imperialistic design based on her world naval supremacy. British political imports have often proved disadvantageous to the United States! There have sometimes been great contrasts between the declared independence of the United States and an American foreign policy still directed by the former "mother country."

In 1931 Japan proclaimed the formation of the state of Manchukuo from the three ancient Manchurian provinces of northern China. Japan was condemned by the League of Nations for this act and Japan consequently left the League. Then Secretary of State Stimson was an advocate of war against Japan but this view was rejected by President Herbert Hoover, a statesman of German-Swiss descent. In this respect Hoover was a forerunner of General Douglas MacArthur, who warned his country against participation in any land war on the Asian continent. The Amau study returned to my desk a few weeks later with the words stamped on it in green "Hat dem Führer vorgelegen," showing that Hitler had read it. I felt then that my decision to learn the awesomely difficult Japanese language had not been a false step.

The following year we had a minor success. The first public short wave radio telephone service between Germany and Japan was inaugurated by Alfred Rosenberg. It was followed by a setback. Rosenberg's internal political adversary, Joachim von Ribbentrop (then Ambassador in London and a close advisor to Hitler) moved ahead of Rosenberg by concluding the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan on 25 November 1936. The Pact was a response to the new policies of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) of 25 July to 21 August 1935 in Moscow. Ribbentrop declared: "The Comintern intends to establish a new Soviet Republic in Spain in order to extend its subversive activity in Europe. Who will be the next victim?" Don't those words sound very up to date? Between 1936 and 1939 a fierce civil war raged in Spain until Stalin was defeated by Francisco Franco with military aid from Germany and Italy. Stalin's defeat was costly for Spain because he had arranged for the entire Spanish gold reserve to be shipped to Moscow!

The signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact had several remarkable features:

1. Ribbentrop had initiated it without the knowledge of the Wilhelmstrasse (the German Foreign Office). In this respect Hitler's tactics resembled those of Roosevelt, who always relied on intimate advisers such as Felix Frankfurter, Henry Morgenthau and the pro-Soviet Harry Hopkins rather than on his State Department. The negotiations for the Pact were carried out by Herr von Raumer of the "Bureau Ribbentrop" and the Japanese Military. The Japanese liaison officer was the Military Attache Hiroshi Oshima. The Japanese Foreign Office and the Wilhelmstrasse were informed only at the last minute. This was the internal feature, so to speak.
2. Hitler's move was a blow to Great Britain which then aided the Red government in Spain on the grounds that it was the only legal government. Britain was legally correct but politically wrong. If Britain had fought Communism in Spain with Franco, Soviet influence would not reign today in Aden, Ethiopia and elsewhere. Japan had been England's ally in the First World War. The Pact had now blocked this road to partnership.
3. There were other reasons for Hitler's approach to Japan. In *Mein Kampf* he wrote: "When I was 16 years old I followed the Russian-Japanese war (of 1905) with great interest. For national reasons I immediately sided with Japan. A Russian defeat automatically meant a defeat of the Slavs within the Austrian empire." [6] Even more revealing, Hitler observed that Great Britain was reluctant to weaken her alliance with Japan after the war because that would have weakened her position vis a vis the United States or, in Hitler's words, "the gigantic colossus of the United States with her enormous resources." Nevertheless, the entire Jewish press had definitely turned against Japan. Hitler argued: "How is it possible that the Jewish Anglo-Saxon papers which had faithfully backed England's war against Imperial Germany suddenly committed a breach of faith and pursued different aims? The annihilation of Germany was not so much a British interest as a Jewish one, just as the annihilation of Japan does not serve the interests of Britain, but rather the long range goals of the advocates of Jewish world domination. England exerts every effort to maintain her predominant position in this world, whereas the Jews are organizing to attack her." [7] A few lines later Hitler wrote: "A stable national monarchy like Japan is a thorn in Israel's eye. Japan will suffer the fate of Imperial Germany." In short, the 1936 German pact with Japan was less anti-British than it was anti-Jewish. Do not forget that Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was written sixty years ago-sixty years in a rapidly changing century. It suggests that you draw your own conclusions from this fact and consider that since the Second World War America has become the heir of the outworn British Empire. Could America not face the same fate? Are you really convinced that your country is run only by your President and an independent Congress? Hitler certainly cannot be considered a statesman like Bismarck, who was far su-

perior. Like Napoleon, Hitler ultimately failed as a statesman and military leader. But Hitler was a prophet-a political prophet with a logical outlook.

4. Hitler's policy towards Japan resembled his approach to the Poland of Marshal Josef Pilsudski when he concluded a ten-year Non-Aggression Pact with Poland on 26 January 1934. A new phase in German-Polish relations was opened. Hitler sought an effective German-Polish bloc against the Soviet Union in Europe and a similar alliance with Japan against the USSR in Asia. Hitler considered the detachment of Pilsudski's Poland from the Anglo-French alliance as a personal triumph over the German Foreign Office which still stubbornly clung to Gustav Stresemann's anti-Polish and pro-Soviet policy. I can assure you that if Pilsudski had not died in 1935, Britain would never have succeeded in trapping Poland into the unilateral anti-German alliance which forced Hitler to cancel the German-Polish pact on 28 April 1939. Polish-French Freemasonry played an important role in this. [8] This was the beginning of Poland's demise-a twilight which, thanks to Roosevelt and Churchill, has lasted until today.

In 1937 my Japanese study course was coming to an end. From the outset I had told Rosenberg that I intended to enter the Foreign Office by passing all the required examinations. When the time arrived, Rosenberg begged me to stay on with his party office, promising me a higher career in the Foreign Office later on. But I insisted on my idealistic intention to start right at the bottom in order to avoid any criticism of party favoritism. I now know that I was mistaken because I fell into the net of a hidden anti-Hitler conspiracy. In your State Department at least three different gangs of pro-Soviet agents flourished, culminating in Alger Hiss. [9] Similarly, Staatssekretär (Under Secretary) Ernst von Weizsäcker headed the secret opposition within the German Foreign Office. Under the tutelage of Harry Hopkins, atomic material and designs were shipped from the U.S. to the Soviet Union during the war. Colonel Curtis B. Dall considered Hopkins a creature of Bernard Baruch. [10] On the other hand, Under Secretary von Weizsäcker, aided by Wilhelm Canaris, frustrated Hitler's effort for a joint German-Spanish action against Gibraltar in 1940 by telling Franco that Germany would ultimately lose the war. If Franco had decided to join with Germany, an American landing in North Africa would have been prevented. These two examples prove that the faithful officials in both Berlin and Washington might well complain of "the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes." (Hamlet, Act III, Scene I)

I was fortunate to be assigned to the East Asia Section of the Foreign Office's Political Department. It was headed by Herr von Schmieden who did not belong to any gang. Thanks to his recommendation I was allowed to accompany the professional diplomatic courier to Tokyo at Christmas-time 1937. The courier spoke Russian and I could assist him with Japanese. The journey via Siberia took two weeks, then the quickest route. It was a unique experience which made me realize that German propaganda about Soviet Russia did not exaggerate. On the contrary, what I observed was worse than I had expected. When we deposited our diplomatic luggage at the German Embassy in Moscow, we saw a revolver on the desk of an official who told us that an attempt had been made to break into the code room the previous night. The intruders did not know that it was guarded round the clock and they had to flee. While escaping over the garden wall, one of the NKVD (Soviet secret police) men lost his revolver, which would now serve as evidence for an official protest. Another surprise came when the Military Attaché, General Koestring, confessed that he did not specifically know whether or not the second track of the trans-Siberian rail line had been completed. We later found that, except for five bridges, it had been. On the longest bridge, which spanned the Yenisei River, men worked even at three o'clock in the morning in a temperature of minus 35 degrees Celsius. We passed by numerous freight trains loaded with prisoners-Soviet prisoners in peace time. Stalin was then waging an internal war against the supposed conspiracy of the Chief of the General Staff, Marshal Michael Tukhachevsky. The German General Consul in Novosibirsk told us that thousands were arrested

every morning, between three and five o'clock, who had never even heard of his name. Terror reigned at its height. The front page of Pravda was packed with names of high ranking "traitors" who had been liquidated. Many brownish icicles dripped from drains in the rail cars, indicating that the poor prisoners had been locked up for weeks. With a sigh of relief we passed beneath a wooden, redflagged border gate with the slogan "Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!" We were then kindly received by Manchurian-Japanese border guards. We enjoyed the clean Manchurian train and celebrated the last night of 1937 with a hospitable Sino-Japanese dining car crew. It was my good fate indeed to go to East Asia for the first time after experiencing something of the Soviet nightmare. Arriving at Manchuli I had the feeling of being welcomed again by an ancient civilization after a period of complete lawlessness. My conviction that Germany must work together with Japan as a factor for stabilization was reinforced.

There is no denying the fact that the Marxist revolution of Lenin and Stalin was the belated child of the French Revolution of 1789. The cry for unrestricted liberty in Paris had similarly ended in Robespierre's terrorism. However, it was superseded by a new European order under Napoleon. The Soviets, in contrast, enforced their rule by perpetuating institutionalized terror. Despite the stigma of terroristic rule, the Soviets were remarkably successful at exporting their ideology, not so much through sheer power but more because of the whitewashing policy of the ultraliberal western press. The distorting journalists of the New York Times and other leading papers bear an enormous historical guilt. It is remarkable that U.S. Ambassador William Bullitt's reports from Moscow to Franklin Roosevelt which compared Stalin with Tsar Ivan the Terrible had been sent as secret dispatches while the controlled German press openly reported on the Soviet terror. Communism cannot exist without terror, just as the teachings of Karl Marx cannot prosper without cultivating hatred and envy.

In 1938 I was assigned to the cultural section of the German Embassy in Tokyo. This time I traveled to Asia by ship from Genoa to Yokohama by way of Ceylon, Singapore and Hong Kong. This journey was not a nightmare, but a sunny tropical dream. Unfortunately, the old-style but patriotic ambassador, Herbert von Dirksen, was no longer in Tokyo. The Military Attache, General Eugen Ott, was chosen as his successor. In my view, this was one of Hitler's far-reaching mistakes. Ott had been the adjutant of General Kurt Schleicher for at least a decade. Schleicher had been involved in a conspiracy against Hitler and was executed without trial in the SA revolt of June 1934. It was only natural that Ott remained an adversary, regardless of whatever assurances he may have given to Hitler to obtain the appointment as ambassador to Tokyo. From the very beginning Ott considered me a National Socialist supervisor, particularly since my career had begun with Alfred Rosenberg. I can assure you that this was not the case, but Ott's bad conscience nourished this suspicion. After 18 months I was transferred to the German Consulate in Kobe-Osaka. I did not regret the move because my new superior, Consul General August Balser, was a loyal official and an expert in Chinese affairs who spoke Chinese and Russian. I vividly remember when he invited me to our first breakfast together on 4 September 1939. Two declarations of war-by Britain and France-lay on our table. Have you ever had morning coffee with two war declarations?

The Ott problem was a very delicate one. As an old line military conservative he constantly had to hide his anti-Hitler leanings. But his negative attitude fatefully meshed with that of the infamous Richard Sorge, which came from the opposite ideological side. Officially Sorge was a correspondent for the liberal Frankfurter Zeitung, but he was actually an agent of the Chief of the Soviet General Staff, Marshal B.M. Shaposhnikov. Sorge portrayed himself as an upright democrat who opposed the Japanese monarchy, which he considered "antiquated." He always had a ready supply of good Göring and Goebbels jokes. I often saw him drunk at Lohmeyer's, a German restaurant, something quite unusual for a secret agent. His Bohemian behavior completely

disarmed our suspicions. Despite his hard drinking, he was on a very familiar basis with our Ambassador and furnished him with valuable details on Japanese domestic policy. This friendship made him a permanent guest of our three military attaches. I am still proud that I never invited him to my house. It remained a “Sans Souchi” house, “Ohne Sorge” in German, or “without worry” in English!

In spite of these unfavorable conditions, we in the cultural section succeeded in concluding a bilateral cultural agreement with Japan on 25 November 1938. We chose that date because it was the second anniversary of the Anti-Comintern Pact, an achievement, as already mentioned, of von Ribbentrop, who had become our Foreign Minister the year before. Our efforts were decisively helped by Hitler’s spectacular success in Munich in solving the Bohemian Sudetenland problem. The new agreement with Japan was designed to gradually weaken the still formidable pro-British and pro-American sentiments in the Japanese Foreign Office, and even more so, in the Navy. Meanwhile, the so-called “China Incident” of 1937 had grown into a major war. It brought about greater economic difficulties and sacrifices. Many urns, wooden boxes wrapped in silk containing the ashes of fallen soldiers, were delivered to the mourning relatives. I often saw them at railway stations bowing reverently to the flag and the accompanying officers. Not a tear fell. It was a moving sight!

Prince Fumimaro Konoe resigned as Prime Minister on 4 January 1939 because he could not fulfill his promise to end the war in China. His successor was Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma, but Konoe’s Anglophile Foreign Minister, Hachiro Arita, remained in office. We Germans did not have much confidence in him. Many years after the war I read that Arita had sent a note to President Roosevelt in May 1939 pleading for “a closer cooperation between Japan and America.” Arita was, so to speak, a forerunner of President Reagan! At the time this offer was concealed from the American people, but it leaked out in 1943. Hiranuma felt that -with American help Japanese moderates might prevent a world war, with its dangerous consequences for Japan. However, Roosevelt demanded that Japan must first withdraw entirely from China, and he added more fuel to the fire by giving six months notice that the United States was terminating the Commercial Treaty of 1911 with Japan. In contrast to Roosevelt’s cold shoulder, the Axis offered an alliance at that time. Japan was on the brink of joining the Axis. Percy L. Greaves Jr. deals with this in greater detail in his excellent essay, “Was Pearl Harbor Unavoidable?”

And then something unexpected happened: The British “blank check” guarantee to Poland in March 1939 suddenly forced Hitler to seek a way to break out of the threatening encirclement of Germany on the East and West. Dark clouds arose on all sides. A cunning Stalin offered temporary relief in return for half of Poland, the Baltic states and Bessarabia. British and French delegations were negotiating in Moscow at the same time under rather humiliating circumstances. For example, they had to take notes on their knees because Molotov denied them tables! Two years later, when Hitler attacked Stalin, the Allies voluntarily humiliated themselves by giving the Kremlin everything it wanted without any conditions. Unbelievable! Was this due to a lack of intelligence or a lack of character? And by whom: Roosevelt, Harriman, or the “Brain Trust”?

But to return to 1939. Only after desperate resistance by Poland did the British and French concede-too late-to Molotov that the Red Army could march through Poland against Germany. Hitler was the highest bidder in the “Fourth Partition” of Poland. He thus signed a Ten Year Non-Aggression Pact with Japan’s traditional enemy, Soviet Russia. When the news of the agreement reached our embassy in Tokyo, it was as if a bomb had exploded. Secrecy had been a top priority. Ambassador Ott was informed only at the last minute, thereby deeply offending the Japanese. Our Japanese friends, who supported close collaboration with Germany, were especially upset. Serious border clashes with the Red Army had been going on since May at the Mongolian fron-

tier. General Grigorii Zhukov, who would later conquer Berlin, was victorious against the Japanese because of a superiority in tanks and heavy artillery.

It is easy to imagine the opportunities that Washington could have had if it had not cancelled the U.S.-Japanese Commercial Treaty during that critical August of 1939—a month crammed with fateful events! But as a result the Hiranuma cabinet fell only three days later. Under the two succeeding cabinets Japan followed an independent course between the Great Powers. On 15 September 1939 she signed an armistice with Moscow. Japan's bad experience with the USSR had a long-range deterring effect. Alfred Rosenberg wrote these significant sentences in his diary on 25 August 1939:

I have the feeling that this Pact with Moscow will one day turn out to be a tragedy for National Socialism. It was not a step of free decision, but was rather an action taken in an emergency. The National Socialist Revolution had to beg for help from the head of another revolution which it has been our ideal to fight for the last twenty years. How can we speak in the future of the rescue and renaissance of Europe when we had to plead for help from the destroyer of Europe?

Hamilton Fish was perfectly correct when he observed that Hitler wanted to move East, but Roosevelt and the British war party forced him to turn against the West. ^[12] So it happened that while Hitler carried out his 18-day victory over Poland, he had already lost half of the country to his one-time and future enemy! American author Benjamin Colby gave his analysis of Roosevelt's foreign policy the ironic title 'Twas a Famous victory. ^[13] We should also ask: Was Hitler's victory over Poland so famous? Stalin reaped his harvest without any noteworthy loss, and deported the resisting Poles along with many thousands of "Holocaust" Jews into the vast interior of his empire. "Vae Victis!" Remember Katyn! We honor the memory of twelve Polish Generals, 58 Colonels, 72 Lieutenant Colonels and 9, 217 officers.

It took more than a year to repair our damaged relations with Japan. Hitler's amazing and convincing victories over Norway, Holland, Belgium and France helped our ongoing efforts. Ribbentrop was intelligent enough to send an envoy to Tokyo whom he trusted and respected, Ambassador Heinrich Stahmer, to assist Ott. Within 18 days Stahmer successfully worked out the Tripartite Pact. It was officially signed in Berlin on 27 September 1940. The negotiations were conducted under Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka of Prince Konoe's second cabinet. The Pact had two main goals: (1) We hoped that it would help to deter Roosevelt's provocative policy, but it turned out that we were in error about this. (2) The door was left open for a fourth partner. Our Foreign Office hoped that Soviet Russia might ultimately also join with us.

At my urging I was called back to Berlin at the end of 1940. The only route left open was through Siberia. At Otpor the Soviets had established a strict quarantine zone on the pretext of a single case of pestilence in a dentist's practice in Hsinking, the capital of Manchuria, more than one thousand kilometers from the border. We were interned for eight days in badly heated third-class sleeping cars and had to turn over all our clothing and belongings to the Soviets for disinfection. Disinfection is a marvelous excuse for people to humiliate others. An NKVD agent interned together with us distributed anti-German books in violation of the existing agreements on propaganda. I realized right there that the hope by the Wilhelmstrasse of winning the USSR as a fourth partner for the Tripartite Pact was an idle dream. In Berlin I reported to Foreign Office Assistant Secretary (Unterstaatssekretär) Ernst Woermann, a loyal official. He told me: "We have decided to transfer you to the East Asia Section of the Political Department, but, frankly speaking, the important political decisions are taken outside of the Foreign Office in the Führer's and Ribbentrop's headquarters." I suppose that if I had been an American diplomat returning to

Washington, Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles might well have explained to me that the important U.S. political decisions were made exclusively by Roosevelt and his “Brain Trust” of Frankfurter, Morgenthau, Baruch, and so forth, but not by the State Department. The fate of a diplomat in a distorted democracy such as Roosevelt’s is not unlike the fate of a diplomat in a dictatorship.

The next major event was the visit of Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka to Berlin, Rome and Moscow. I accompanied Matsuoka in Hitler’s special train from Berlin to the Italian border. We had dinner together. Matsuoka was deeply impressed by his conversation with Hitler and spoke enthusiastically of “the Führer.” Hitler had urged Matsuoka to attack Singapore while strictly avoiding any steps against the United States. Matsuoka was unable to give any military assurances, but he hinted that Japan would be ready for action in May. ^[15] The Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, Hiroshi Oshima, traveled with Matsuoka on his return journey to Malkinia, the new German-Soviet border crossing. Confidentially I learned from Oshima that Hitler had not mentioned the strained relations with Stalin to Matsuoka, but he (Oshima) had warned his superior not to sign a neutrality agreement with the USSR, as Molotov had been urging. Through the train window Oshima pointed out the long German trains at Posen transporting weapons. But Matsuoka had his instructions and Hitler, whom he had informed about the forthcoming agreement, avoided contradicting him. And so the Soviet-Japanese neutrality agreement was signed. The Soviets promised 100,000 tons of crude oil from North Sakhalin as an added inducement. Matsuoka had been Americanized from his youth and was a talkative character. Hitler was also understandably fearful of revealing his secret plan to attack the USSR. And yet, long after the war I learned, to my great embarrassment, that Hitler had revealed-four weeks before Matsuoka’s visit-to Prince Paul of Yugoslavia that he would attack the Soviet Union in early summer. ^[16] Paul was Anglophile and had a Russian mother. The American Ambassador in Belgrade, Arthur Bliss Lane, immediately reported the news of Hitler’s plan to Washington. Washington informed Moscow at once! This contrast proves that the German-Japanese Pact was in reality not a functioning alliance. Poisonous sacro egoismo prevailed on both sides. In this respect Roosevelt treated his allies much better. Morgenthau was very generous to Britain with American taxpayers’ money because he was always afraid that Britain might be seduced by German peace proposals or that Stalin might change sides again. Even today most Germans are convinced that Hitler’s attack against the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 was a serious blunder. I do not share that view. In his memoirs, Malaya Zemlya, Leonid Brezhnev openly admitted Soviet intentions to attack a weakened Germany. ^[17] But apart from that, the best proof of Soviet intentions is the fact that the attacking German armies encountered an enormous concentration of Soviet forces being mobilized against the West. That’s the reason for the enormous numbers of Soviet prisoners taken in the summer of 1941. ^[18] It is ironic that Hitler’s armies crossed the Soviet border exactly 129 years after Napoleon began his campaign against Russia. The overthrow of the pro-German government in Belgrade, which was well organized by Roosevelt and Donovan with Stalin’s help, delayed Hitler’s original timetable against the USSR for five weeks. This was perhaps Roosevelt’s greatest triumph during the war. He saved Stalin! *

Hitler failed in Russia primarily because he waged war only militarily and not politically. In Norway, Holland, Belgium and France he had carefully observed the golden rule of Alexander the Great in Asia and Egypt-magnanimity towards the vanquished. However, against the Bolsheviks Hitler was blind with a rage that resembled Roosevelt’s hatred of him. It was Hitler’s error to occupy the Soviet Embassy in Berlin instead of having it put under the protection of a neutral power. It was Hitler’s error not to have formed national Russian and Ukrainian governments. It was Hitler’s error not to have abolished collectivized agriculture and given land to the peasants. If he had done these things, a fire of popular insurrection would have swept away Stalin’s

tyranny. Russian armies shoulder to shoulder with the German forces would have smashed Bolshevism forever.

In 1983 I discovered a lengthy report by Felix Frankfurter in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Roosevelt sent Frankfurter to the USSR in 1941. He visited the retreating Soviet front near Rostov in October 1941 and, along with Allied military specialists, speculated that Hitler's armies might reach the Ural mountains, leaving only Vladivostok as the last American supply line to the Reds. Therefore he considered Japan a "stumbling block" between California and Siberia. Frankfurter argued for an American war of aggression against Japan. He wrote: "In Japan we have a 'dagger in the back' type of enemy waiting and anxious only for the place and moment when it can sink that dagger to the best advantage. In this show-down war, reasons multiply for annihilating this kind of enemy." [19] Annihilating a whole nation is genocide. Remember Hitler's prophesies regarding Japan and about whom her annihilation would serve best. If the standards applied to the defeated Axis leaders at Nuremberg and Tokyo had been applied to Frankfurter, I doubt if he would have escaped death by hanging.

Another "bomb" exploded when a top secret telegram from Ambassador Ott landed on my desk in October 1941. It reported that Richard Sorge had been arrested for espionage on behalf of the Soviet government. Further Japanese investigation in the following days revealed that Sorge had been the editor of a Communist paper published near Cologne in 1924, that he had participated in Comintern congresses, and that he had collaborated with Asahi newspaper correspondent Hotsumi Ozaki, who was close to Prince Konoe. Sorge's mother was a Russian. His great-uncle, Friedrich Albert Sorge, had been General Secretary of the Marxist First International and a friend of Karl Marx. And we had to learn all of this from the Japanese! I felt ashamed. The dreaded Gestapo, the German FBI, suddenly bustled with activity. They finally found a dusty file in the records of the old Prussian democratic police which they had acquired in 1933, but never read. The file label read "Richard Sorge." The agent was so bold that he didn't even change his name. To make matters worse, Sorge had transmitted two fateful messages to Vladivostok shortly before his arrest. The first reported a Japanese cabinet decision to refrain from any attack against the Soviet Union. As a result of that information, 200,000 fresh Siberian troops were quickly transferred westwards to the German advance front. On 5 December 1941 the Tenth Motorized Infantry Division leading a pincer movement around Moscow under General Heinz Guderian was forced to retreat for the first time. [20] Hitler's "blitz" came to an end. This was the consequence of Sorge's treason and the five summer weeks lost in Yugoslavia. Sorge's second message informed Stalin that Pearl Harbor might be attacked within the next 60 days if war should break out between Japan and the U.S. The Soviets thanked Sorge, replying that "they had informed Roosevelt, Marshall, Admiral Stark, et al." [21] In this way Stalin returned his thanks for the priceless "Prince Paul message" of spring. "For Brutus is an honorable man. So are they all, all honorable men." Julius Caesar, Act III, Scene II)

A few weeks later Under Secretary von Weizsaecker reached me by telephone while I was away visiting in Nuremberg. He asked me about relations between Ott and Sorge. I replied: "They were extremely intimate. Unfortunately, the Japanese knew this. Therefore the Ambassador should be recalled immediately." Von Weizsaecker replied: "He should stay on there." Along with the Japanese, I was very disturbed. A few months later they tactfully demanded his recall. After the war I learned the context. I was taught that because Weizsaecker was an honorable man who resisted a dictator, his oath of allegiance did not count. At the end of the war America discovered that the Sorge connection was only half of the story. Major General C.~A. Willoughby, who served under MacArthur, found out that the head of Soviet espionage was based in Shanghai from where the eager American Marxist, Agnes Smedley, organized her footholds in high-level

positions in Washington. [22] The Sorge-Smedley ring was thus a threat to the United States as well as to Germany.

It is significant that Matsuoka's negotiations in Europe were not coordinated with the Japanese negotiations being conducted in Washington at the same time. There was considerable disagreement about policy in Tokyo. Although Prince Konoe was fully aware of Hiranuma's failure, he thought that the Tripartite Pact had strengthened his position and would allow him to take a chance on the United States. He even sacrificed the pro-German Matsuoka in July in favor of retiring Vice Admiral Teijiro Toyoda, who was opposed to any attack against the United States. The Japanese Ambassador in Washington, Nomura, met forty times with Secretary of State Cordell Hull and nine times with President Roosevelt. But Roosevelt's attitude was so uncompromising that it was he who saved the Tripartite Pact. To be quite clear, I must confess that it was not German diplomatic skill, but rather Roosevelt who alone forced the reluctant Japanese to stick to the alliance with Germany. At virtually the last minute Tokyo asked if we would join them in case of war with America. On 5 December 1941 Hitler gave the Japanese this assurance and, following the Pearl Harbor attack, he complied with it, even though Germany was not legally bound to do so because it was the Japanese who had struck first. On 11 December 1941, long after Roosevelt had issued shooting orders against German warships, Germany declared war against the United States. [23] Hitler delivered an epochal speech on that occasion. After reading it one has to admit that Hitler, citing documents found in Prague and Warsaw, indicted Roosevelt in such a way that he may be called a pioneer of historical revisionism. I personally witnessed this speech and will never forget the experience. "The American President has labeled our three nations as 'have nots'," Hitler declared. "That is correct!

But the 'have nots' also wish to live and they will keep from being robbed of even their modest share by the 'haves'." [24]

There is no need to dwell here on the background to the Pearl Harbor attack. This subject is dealt with in detail in Admiral Theobald's *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*, John Toland's *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*, and Hamilton Fish's latest book *Tragic Deception*. It's worth recalling Thomas Dewey's remark of 26 September 1944 to General George Marshall's messenger, Col. Carter W. Clarke. In reply to Clarke's plea to suppress the whole issue during the election campaign, Dewey said: "From what I know of Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt, instead of being reselected, ought to be impeached." [25] This is also not the place to discuss the Pacific War. The history of that conflict has to be re-written. In his top secret letter to then Republican presidential nominee Dewey, George Marshall credited the U.S. victories at Midway and in the Coral Sea to the intelligence ability to eavesdrop on Japanese High Command communications. It took nearly forty years for these documents to be declassified. Many years of painstaking research will be needed to properly evaluate this library of some 700,000 pages! [26] They will open new horizons.

The question arises: If there was so much suspicion and selfish distrust between Germany and Japan, when was the alliance productive? Here are two cases: One fruitful result was Hitler's presentation of two German submarines together with all patent papers and technical information to the Japanese Navy. This proved to be of great help in rebuilding Japanese industry after the war. But there is another and more important achievement of the German-Japanese alliance. This was the contribution to the Indian National Liberation movement headed by Subhas Chandra Bose. (I delivered a lecture on this remarkable man and his place in history at American University in Washington, D.C. in late 1983.) Bose was President of the All-India Congress and a major figure in the struggle for Indian independence. Shortly after the outbreak of war in Europe he was imprisoned by the British in Calcutta, but he escaped and made his way to Germany via Kabul and

Moscow. After a period of speaking to his country over the short wave radio station “Azid Hind” (“Free India”) from Germany, Bose wanted

to go to East Asia to organize an Indian National Army. The Foreign Office appreciated his goal and we arranged a submarine voyage in coordination with the Japanese Navy. The remarkable journey was successful and Bose was well received in Tokyo by Prime Minister Hideki Tojo. Bose raised an Indian army in Singapore and Malaya which fought with Japanese forces against the British at the India-Burma border area. Years after the war the British Prime Minister Clement Atlee confessed to the Indian Chief Justice in Calcutta that it was Bose’s Indian National Army which had shattered the loyalty of the British colonial troops. The British could no longer rely on them and were forced to quit India forever. [27] Bose perished in an air accident in Taiwan at the end of the war and did not live to see Indian independence. But his struggle survived his death! History is a human affair. It is therefore not barren Marxist materialism but the human spirit that is decisive. Bose, a remarkable orator, had appealed to patriotic spirit. The German-Japanese alliance could not prevent the military defeat of their own countries, but their support for Bose and his movement contributed substantially to the fall of the mighty British empire.

Retrospect and Conclusion

In politics nothing happens by accident. If something happens, you can be sure that it was planned that way. — Franklin Roosevelt

The Second World War turned the world into a slaughterhouse. Altogether some 55 million died and two atomic bombs were dropped in order to force some 90 million Japanese and 75 million Germans to submit to the “unconditional surrender” proclaimed by Roosevelt at Casablanca in January 1943. [29]

William C. Bullitt, who was later Roosevelt’s first Ambassador to Moscow, broke with President Wilson in 1919. He considered the Versailles Peace Treaty a disaster which would ultimately bring on another war. Ironically, twenty years later, Bullitt, by order of Roosevelt, did everything possible to incite the Poles to war. He had become an eager supporter of war against Germany! This policy ended in catastrophe for his own country because Roosevelt gave away all his cards to Stalin without demanding anything in return. Stalin received considerable Lend-Lease aid amounting to more than \$11 billion. [30] Roosevelt delivered twice as many tanks to Stalin as Hitler employed at the outset of his invasion. In May 1943 even atomic materials (black uranium oxide and uranium nitrate) and secret technical information were loaded on to Soviet planes in Canada. The orders for this astonishing transfer came from the White House! [31] In the final analysis, Yalta and Potsdam meant catastrophe for Germany and Japan, as well as tragedy for the United States, Korea, China and the rest of the Western world. Only two powers emerged triumphant from the conflagration, one old and one new: the Soviet Union and the Zionists.

The First World War was concluded with the Versailles Treaty which, as unjust and fragile as it was, was still a signed treaty. In contrast, there has not been any European peace treaty to conclude the Second World War. Europe’s central power, Germany, was beheaded and, as a result, her two primary wartime enemies, the U.S. and the USSR, still confront each other on the territory of divided Germany under the conditions of a precarious armistice. Western access to divided Berlin remains literally “in the air.” After forty years, this is the longest standing armistice in world history. American sons and grandsons have inherited from their fathers the need to keep watch across Soviet mines at the fortified border through Central Europe. They must also guard the last German prisoner, Rudolf Hess, who spends his 50th birthday in Spandau. The high cost of vengeance, it seems, will never end. As the English poet Alexander Pope put it: “Now Eu-

rope's balanced, neither side prevails. For nothing's left in either of the scales.' The nervous military build-up on both sides of the Iron Curtain (a term first popularized by Dr. Goebbels) entails the deadly risk that one of the opposing superpowers may act out of fear that the military balance has been broken. The British "balance of power" was destroyed and has been replaced by a "balance of terror."

Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo have long since disappeared, but the injustices they opposed and the problems they sought to overcome, which caused their emergence, remain unresolved to this day. Nearly one quarter of Weimar Germany was placed under Polish Communist administration. Twelve million Germans were driven from their homes, of whom more than two million were slain in an orgy of hatred. [32] Genghis Khan seemed to come to life. For this reason the explosive charge of unresolved problems has become more dangerous than ever. New, explosively dangerous borderlines were created: Korea and Vietnam were divided by Stalin, India was torn asunder, Germany was cut up, Austria was again amputated from her, Poland was doomed, three Baltic states were sentenced to death, Japan was mutilated... The Middle East has been engulfed in turmoil. This conflict was fostered at Versailles in 1919 when the British and French violated numerous solemn pledges and betrayed the Arabs. The last great British defender of the Arabs, T.E. Lawrence ("Lawrence of Arabia") was killed in a motorcycle accident in 1935 shortly before a planned meeting with Hitler. The evidence strongly suggests that Lawrence was murdered by British officials. [33] The AngloAmerican partition of Palestine provoked a new Islamic fervor which bears the spark of a Third World War. The American officials who were taken hostage in their own Embassy in Teheran dramatically experienced this Islamic renaissance. There is an imminent danger that the Middle Eastern conflict may erupt into a third world conflagration. This must be avoided at all costs! The NATO and Warsaw Pact armies should therefore be withdrawn from German soil. In addition to sound long-range political considerations by both Washington and Moscow, the development of new long-range weapons can facilitate such a move. America should take the lead in this. The two artificially created states on German soil have no weight. People in America and Europe, often misled by sinister forces, shout for peace. Nobody shouts for the prerequisite of real peace: A European Peace Treaty. A consistent and conscientious effort by the super powers leading to a European Peace Treaty must have priority over new armaments. With the implacability of the classical Roman statesman Cato, all Germans should demand ("Ceterum censeo") that the "enemy clause" in the United Nations Charter must be abolished. Above all, the White House should earnestly work for such a peace treaty, which would be more effective and less costly than any armaments race. An active peace policy should have priority over Secretary Weinberger's purely military campaign. Today we seem to be witnessing the squaring of the circle, but in politics nothing is as permanent as change. A bold and courageous step by the United States may one day overcome Roosevelt's fatal decision, expressed to Francis Cardinal Spellman in 1943 that "there will be no peace treaty." [34] As history has shown, no peace treaty means perpetual danger.

Historians have the duty to ask: What was behind the catastrophe of Yalta and Potsdam? Colonel Curtis B. Dall wisely entitled his book FDR, My Exploited Father-in-Law. Exploited by whom? We Germans found the answer in captured Polish documents. In January 1939, scarcely four months after the Munich Agreement, Polish Ambassador Jerzy Potocki reported from Washington to Warsaw:

The feeling now prevailing in the United States is marked by a growing hatred of Fascism and, above all, of Chancellor Hitler and everything connected with Nazism. Propaganda is mostly in the hands of the Jews who control almost 100 percent radio, film, daily and periodical press. In this action various Jewish intellectuals participated: for instance, Bernard Baruch; the Governor of New York State, Lehman; the

newly appointed judge of the Supreme Court, Felix Frankfurter; Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau; and others who are personal friends of President Roosevelt... These groups of people who occupy the highest positions in the American government and want to pose as representatives of “true Americanism” and “defenders of democracy” are, in the last analysis, connected by unbreakable ties with international Jewry... They have created a dangerous hotbed for hatred and hostility in this hemisphere and divided the world into two hostile camps. The entire issue is worked out in masterly manner. Roosevelt has been given the foundation for activating American foreign policy, and simultaneously has been procuring enormous military stocks for the coming war, for which the Jews are striving very consciously. It is the decided opinion of the President that France and Britain must put an end to any sort of compromise with the totalitarian countries. They must not get into any discussions aiming at any kind of territorial changes. They have the moral assurance that the United States will abandon the policy of isolation and be prepared to intervene actively on the side of Britain and France in case of war. America is ready to place its whole wealth of money and raw materials at their disposal. [35]

The father of this international “Brain Trust” cabal was Wilson. Under blackmail pressure, he was forced to appoint Louis Dembitz Brandeis, an ardent Zionist, as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1916. [36] Along with President Wilson, Brandeis bears a major responsibility for pushing America to join Britain’s war in order to obtain from her the fateful Balfour Declaration of 1917. In 1939, a year just as crucial as 1916, Roosevelt nominated Felix Frankfurter, Brandeis’ intimate friend, as his successor on the Supreme Court. A secret state within a state was gradually developing. University of Pennsylvania Professor Bruce Allen Murphy is the author of the 1982 work, *The Brandeis-Frankfurter Connection*, which is significantly subtitled “The Secret Political Activities of Two Supreme Court Justices.” [37] Based on 300 previously unpublished letters from Brandeis to Frankfurter, Murphy reveals that these men clannishly placed their sympathizers in influential positions throughout the U.S. government. As Murphy put it, this made it possible for them to “pull the invisible wires.” [38] Among Frankfurter’s “extrajudicial successes,” Murphy noted that “he (Frankfurter) had helped to prepare the nation for its entry into the (Second World) war and had secured assistance, both material and monetary, for Great Britain.” [39] This was, of course, a blatant violation of the U.S. Neutrality Law of 1935. A Supreme Court Justice thus subverted the law. Worst of all, however, was the ideological influence of these men, which differed radically from the Western tradition of the Founding Fathers. Zionism is an Oriental nationalism based on the spirit of the Old Testament, the pre-Christian Torah and the Babylonian Talmud. [40] It has nothing in common with our civilization, which is rooted in Occidental Hellenic and Roman thinking. Recall what I wrote about the magnanimous treatment of the vanquished by Alexander the Great. His teacher was Aristotle, a disciple of Plato. In a way, Alexander’s policy resembled Wilson’s slogan, “a war to end all war.” However, the President unfortunately abandoned this path by entrusting Bernard Baruch with the preparation of the Versailles conference. It is no accident that it was the Zionists who introduced the spirit of hatred and revenge into Anglo-American foreign policy. Montague Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, called the Versailles settlement “economic lunacy.” [41] In 1944 Morgenthau issued his devastating plan for Germany’s ruin.

The “unconditional surrender” concept grew from the same spiritual root. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress, proudly claimed for himself and his Congress the honor of first expounding the idea of a tribunal to punish Nazi war criminals. [42] Robert Oppenheimer, the famous Communist-inclined physicist, nearly succeeded in having the first atomic bomb dropped on Kyoto, the cultural heart of Japan. An atomic attack on Kyoto, which is surrounded on three sides by high hills, would have cost many more lives than the atomic bombing of Hi-

roshima, which faces the open sea. Secretary of War Henry Stimson had to use all of his authority to frustrate two attempts by Oppenheimer to have Kyoto selected as the target for the first atomic bombing. [43] Satanic hatred also manifested itself in books. In Germany Must Perish, Theodore Nathan Kaufman proposed the compulsory sterilization of all German men and women after victory. [44] Germany was to disappear completely and would be totally partitioned off among neighboring countries. Holland would absorb Hamburg, Poland would acquire Berlin, and Munich would become part of France. Goebbels arranged for widespread distribution of a German translation of Kaufman's book. You can imagine the effect this had on the public! In a 1942 issue of a prominent British magazine, a Jewish emigree who wrote under the pen name of Sebastian Haffner urged the summary killing of at least 500,000 young SS men [45] This murderous proposal surpassed even Stalin's suggestion at the 1943 Teheran conference that 50,000 German officers should be murdered. [46] Finally, at a mass meeting with New York Mayor La Guardia in 1945, Jewish newspaper mogul Joseph Pulitzer called for the killing of one and a half million Nazis, the German General Staff, industrialists and bankers "with army bullets through their heads." The New York Times of 23 May 1945 reported at length on this rally and Pulitzer's proposal without any criticism whatsoever. The contemptible Times editors had completely abandoned George Washington's noble sentiment, expressed in his Farewell Address: "It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great Nation, to give mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."

One of America's greatest generals, George Patton, declared: "We fought the war of 1776 for independence. We fought the Civil War to free the slaves. We fought the war of 1812 to make the world safe for democracy. We fought this war to lose everything we had gained from the other three." [47] Did Patton die for making this critical but accurate statement, in circumstances very similar to those surrounding the death of Lawrence of Arabia Dr. James J. Martin once stated that the policy of the Allied "Big Three" is "unequaled in the history of devious statecraft." This policy has led the super powers into a maze. There is no way out, unless they abandon Roosevelt's road to Yalta, a road paved by subversives. Between 1871 and 1918 the French kept a ribbon of mourning on the statue of "lost" Alsace-Lorraine at the Place de la Concorde in Paris. In the same spirit, should not the Statue of Liberty veil her head to mourn the mockery that Roosevelt had made of this noble, proud and venerated symbol? In the search for new horizons of honesty, devotion and love of country, we must courageously oppose those who preach hatred, Marxist class straggle or hollow internationalism. Hope is dawning ... Let us not forget that although Anglo-American bombers killed many hopeful specialists at the German rocket center of Peenemuende, fruitful German-American collaboration since the war at Cape Canaveral has brought us to the moon! Columbus would envy us!

Notes

1. See: Ludwig Klages, *Der Geist als Widersacher der Seele*, 2 vols. (1929). Klages was a German philosophical pioneer.
2. ☺ Bernard M. Baruch, *My Own Story* (London: Oddhouse Press, 1958), p.276. '
3. ☺ New York: Harper & Bros., 1920. New edition: New York: 1970.
4. ☺ Baruch (1920,1970), pp. 5, 8.
5. ☺ *Akten zur deutschen und auswaertigen Politik*, (Baden Baden: 1956), Serie D (1937-1945), Band VI, Dokument 403 (17 May 1939), p.441. Cited in: David L. Hoggan, *Der erzwungene Krieg* (Tuebingen: 1974), p.520.
6. ☺ A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (German edition of 1930), p.173.
7. ☺ Hitler, pp. 722-724.

8. ☞ Chain Leon, *Wolnomularstwo w II Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw: Cytelnik, 1975).
9. ☞ Earl Jowitt, *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss* (London: 1953).
10. ☞ Curtis B. Dall, *FDR, My Exploited Father-in-Law* (1972).
11. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Winter 1983-84), pp. 391-395.
12. H. Fish, *Tragic Deception* (Old Greenwich, ☞ CN: Devin Adair, 1983), p.94.
13. ☞ New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1974 and 1979.
14. This listing of prisoners was published in the Moscow army daily *Krasnaya Zvezda* ("Red Star") of 17 Sept. 1940. All correspondence between the Polish prisoners and their relatives was cut off in the spring of 1940. General Sikorski was unable to get any information about their whereabouts from Stalin on 3 Dec. 1940. See also: Louis FitzGibbon, *Katyn*.
15. ☞ Helmut Suendermann, *Tagesparzen: Deutsche Presseweisungen 1934-1945*, (Leoni: Druffel Verlag, 1973), pp. 186, 209ff.
16. ☞ Konstantin Fotitch, *Yugoslavia's Tragedy and the Failure of the West* (New York: 1948). Fotitch, a Serb, was the Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington. See the record of his conversation with Prince Paul of 1 March 1941.
17. ☞ Moscow: 1978. (Russian edition, pp. 6-7?)
18. ☞ Erich Helmdach, *Ueberfall?*, (Neckargemuend: 1975).
19. ☞ F. Frankfurter to William J. Donovan, 20 October 1941, p. 14. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Container Z43, File 004234 Miscellany.
20. ☞ Personal information by eyewitness Dr. Josef Jindrich, Munich. See also: Paul Carell, *Unternehmen Barbarossa*, (Berlin: Ullstein, 1968), Vol. 1, p. 167, Map 9, and Vol. 2, p. 284.
21. ☞ Sorge Jiken ("The Sorge Case"), (Tokyo: 1962).
22. ☞ C.A. Willoughby, *Sorge: Soviet Master Spy* (London: Wm. Kimber, 1952). Published in the U.S. by Dutton as *Shanghai Conspiracy*. See also: Freda Utelev. *Last Chance in China* [Indianapolis: Bobbs Merits 1947).
23. ☞ Peter Herde, *Pearl Harbor: 7. Dez. 1941*, (Darmstadt: 1980, Kanitel II, pp. 42-273.
24. ☞ Friedrich Berber, *Die Amerikanische Neutralität im Kriege, 1939-1941*, (Essen: 1943) Dokumentenanhang, pp. 163-190.
25. ☞ Congressional Investigation, *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part 3, pp. 1132-1133.
26. ☞ Index of NSA/CSS Cryptologic Documents Offered to and Accepted by The National Archives of the United States as of 30 November 1981. (Record Group 457, Modern Military Branch, Military Archives Division)
27. ☞ Ranjan Borra, "India's War of Liberation," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 407-439.
28. Quoted in: Gary Allen, *None Dare Call it Conspiracy*, (German edition, 1971, p. 10)
29. ☞ Meyers Enzyklopaedisches Lexikon (Mannheim: 1979), Vol. 25, p. 215.
30. ☞ Twenty-Second Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations [for period ending 31 December 1945] (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 17, 26.
31. ☞ The dealer was "Raznoimport," USSR. Sent by "Amtorg," New York. Order No. 21-73/043058. Facsimile in: Peter Kleist, *Die europäische Tragödie* (Pr. Oldendorf: K.W. Schuetz, 1971), p. 65. See also: George R. Jordan, *From Major Jordan's Diaries* (Boston: Western Islands, 1965).
32. ☞ P. Kleist, p. 311.
33. ☞ Desmond Hansen, "The Enigma of Lawrence," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Fall 1981), pp. 286-287.

34. ☞ R.I. Gannon, *The Cardinal Spellman Story*. Quoted in: Leon De Poncins, *State Secrets*, p. 91.
35. ☞ Potocki dispatches of 12 and 16 January 1939. Mark Weber, "President Roosevelt's Campaign to Incite War in Europe," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Summer 1983), pp. 147, 148, 149.
36. ☞ Conrad Grieb, *American Manifest Destiny and the Holocausts*, (New York: Examiner Books, 1979), pp. 39-40.
37. ☞ New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 473pp.
38. ☞ B.A. Murphy, p. xi.
39. ☞ B.A. Murphy, p. 302.
40. ☞ M. Schloessinger, *Rashi: His Life and His Work* (Baltimore: 1905). Rashi, which means "learning," was the most authoritative interpreter of the Talmud.
41. ☞ James Pool and Suzanne Pool, *Who Financed Hitler?* (New York: Dial Press, 1979, pb.), p. 309.
42. ☞ Nahum Goldmann, *Memories*, pp. 216-217.
43. ☞ Martin J. Sherwin, *A World Destroyed* (New York: A Knopf, 1975), pp. 230-231.
44. ☞ Newark, NJ: Argyle Press, 1941.
45. ☞ *World Review* (London), August 1942. See also: M. Weber, "Sebastian Haffner's 1942 Call for Mass Murder," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Fall 1983), pp. 380-382.
46. ☞ Elliot Roosevelt, *As He Saw It*, (New York: 1946), pp. 188-191.
47. ☞ C. Grieb, an 138.

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Plato's Dialectic v. Hegel and Marx: An Evaluation of Five Revolutions

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- Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference.

The main source of Plato's dialectic was of course the legendary Socrates, who, because he left no literary written legacy, has become a largely legendary figure like Jesus. For a record of Socrates the popular soldier one reads Xenophon. An insight into Socrates the sophist, who believed in the old Sumerian pedagogical adage that a teacher is good in proportion to the extent that he can make his students cantankerous, perpetually argumentative, and incurably neurotic, one reads in Aristophanes. And for Socrates the serious philosopher, which of course is the aspect of his reputation that made him justifiably famous, one reads Plato, the most famous disciple of Socrates who later on was also the principal teacher of the great Aristotle, who, like Socrates, was hounded to a disgraceful death. Socrates was punished for corrupting the aristocratic youth of Athens, and Aristotle was punished for developing the brains and leverage of Alexander the Great, and hence he was hunted down and died less than one year after the death of his illustrious and still very youthful Macedonian pupil. Just as William Joyce was condemned to death in England in 1945 for treason despite the fact that he was a U.S.A. citizen and an Irish nationalist, the Athenians pursuing Aristotle seemed unmindful of the fact that, like Alexander, he too was of Macedonian origin. Plato, on the other hand, had gone to Socrates as one of the aristocratic and golden blond Athenian youths through and through, and, beloved by his democratic polis regardless of the fact that he always hated democracy as an insane leveling system and always fought against it, he died a very pleasant death during his sleep one night in Athens at the ripe age of eighty.

Unlike the writings of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and Euripedes, with part of their extant works destroyed due to their concentration in the main Hellenistic University at Alexandria/Egypt when the Jews in one of their nihilistic and bloodthirsty perennial revolutions burned what was the largest library the world was ever to see until the emergence of modern printing in 15th-century Germany, the many dialogues of the fortunate golden Athenian Plato have been preserved for posterity, including Plato's famous allegory of the cave in his most famous and portentous dialogue, *The Republic*. Except for a few of the Sumerian classics, this allegory alone explains to modern mankind what the nature and the purpose of civilization have become.

According to Plato in his allegory of the cave, barbarian peoples, whether Viking-like marauders from the Atlantis region of the North Sea described by Plato who tried to loot and destroy Egyptian civilization around 1200 B.C., the same time that the paleolithic barbarian Hebrew people tried to occupy South Palestine as nomad invaders from the Arabian desert, or the Semitic Amorite invaders who only became semi-civilized and developed Babylon after genociding the nineteen republics of the magnificent Sumerians, with the latter, so far as we know today, being the originators of all existing civilization due to their three magnificent innovations of written

records, urbanization, and free enterprise, these barbarian peoples being by stipulative definition unfree because of their slavish subjection in the Spenglerian sense to totem and taboo, just as the pre-Greek Mycenaean barbarians were the unfree slaves of superstition as described by Homer in the Iliad and the Odyssey, were in Plato's magnificent allegory like prisoners in a dark cave staring at shadowy reflections on the walls that were only dimly related to the real world that they reflected, until Socrates came and freed them all and led them upward from darkness into the light. Especially from Plato onward the Greek academy, or university, saw in Greek paideia, or education, an obligation, whenever possible, to follow the original Sumerian tradition, and we now have transliterated enough hundreds of thousands of clay tablets in Sumerian cuneiform to comprehend the incredible vitality and eloquence of those original Sumerian schools, and to lead all peoples upward into the light. That is why Plato's pupil Aristotle made a special effort to civilize the wild barbarian youth Alexander, an effort which failed, as witness Alexander's drunken murder of his best friend, Black Cleitus, who had saved his life in the Battle of the Granicus, of his murder of Aristotle's own nephew, who was the official historian of Alexander's marauding expedition against Persia, and, above all, his insanely barbarian kill-or-be-killed vendetta against Darius III, the brave but urbane Iranian benevolent despot. By the same token the able and brilliant Polybius, a hostage in Rome from the Hellenic Achaean League, flattered the Romans by giving them more credit than justly was their due in the realm of politics, but he could neither civilize them nor prevent their incredibly brutal genociding of the great Carthaginian mercantile civilization. It was not until Lucretius and the spread of Greek Epicureanism that Rome became civilized.

Now Plato's dialectical method, as everyone knows, begins in its basic form with the deductive reasoning of the classical Hellenic syllogism, where one formulates an adequate major premise, confronts it with a contrary and qualifying minor premise, and from this artificially induced confrontation derives a synthesis or conclusion. This play of 1) thesis, 2) antithesis, and 3) synthesis is at the root of all twenty of Plato's dialogues, and, knowing as we do that the greatest Greek historian Thucydides was merely paraphrasing when he offered to his readers the verbatim speeches of contemporary rival Dorian and Ionian politicians and military leaders in his epic narrative of the monumental Peloponnesian War, we would be naive indeed if we believed that we could accept literally the facts that Plato offers us about Socrates. Take the case of the magnificent Republic with which we are concerned in this context. The discussion takes place against the background of events that existed when Plato was only seven years old. Now although it is a fact that Plato in the bosom of his own family already had met Socrates by the time that Plato himself was only aged seven, surely nobody would believe seriously that in the Republic Plato wrote at the age of sixty he was recording accurately philosophical discussions that he had perhaps listened to fifty-three years earlier, particularly when those talks were the most subtle and sophisticated ones that the world had ever known down to that time, and certainly, *cela va sans dire*, no U.S.A. university graduate seminar in philosophy could equal them today.

Nobody could have been more of a revisionist than Plato. Just as we know today that England wantonly unleashed both World War I in 1914 and World War II in 1939 against a Germany that on each occasion was trying its best to be friendly with her, so Plato, born during the Peloponnesian War which resulted, as Oswald Spengler correctly pointed out in his epochal *The Decline of the West*, in the permanent divorce in the Ancient World between the source of political power and the source of culture, a development always fatal in any civilization if it is not corrected, so Plato knew that Athens, not the Dorian Spartans, caused that horrible internecine war which buried the freedom of Greece, firstly, because democratic Athenian demagogues wantonly destroyed the traditional alliance between Athens and Sparta in 462 B.C., and secondly, because the worst of those demagogues, the depraved and arrogant Pericles, seized on an issue at distant Corfu in Western Greece to unleash that fatal and unnecessary war.

The Peloponnesian War that began in 431 B.C. buried classical Greece historically speaking, although it is only fair to add that contemporaries could not have understood that in the same final sense that we do. Plato came closer than anybody to suspecting right at the time that the late 5th century B.C. blow struck against Greece by the Greeks themselves was in fact mortal. That explains the pessimism that pervades the writings of this otherwise exuberant blond Athenian. One has the feeling reading Plato that was cogently expressed by Prussian Foreign Minister Radowitz on the eve of the 1850 humiliation inflicted on Hohenzollern Prussia, namely, the unilateral Prussian repudiation of the Erfurt German Unity Plan, by Habsburg Austria and Romanov Russia: Radowitz complained that he was experiencing exactly the same feeling of the soldier entering a globally decisive battle with the absolute certainty that he would be defeated. But there is the same devotion to duty in Plato that there was later in Radowitz and still later in the NSDAP as expressed by the Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe in his magnificently sensitive book, *Verdammte Pflicht und Schuldigkeit* (Damned Duty and Responsibility.) He symbolizes it by quoting from a popular SA song about a small cadre of SA men marching into a large town at sundown and restoring order. To Schaumburg-Lippe the sundown theme expresses the heroic last ditch effort that in the long run could very possibly fail. I can only speak for myself, but I hope to God the day will never come when I allow the threat of failure to compromise my idealism. Bob LaFollette in his 1911 autobiography put it another way: "In politics it is always better to take no loaf than half a loaf." Or as Henrik Ibsen put it in his Alpine epic *Brand*: "The Devil is compromise!" For instance, I consider that Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Hitler were extremely great men in both the affective and cognitive domains. All three were kind and considerate, and all three were brilliant leaders of the German people against all odds. The fact that Bismarck made a success whereas the Kaiser and Hitler did not has nothing to do with my attitude because I am not a superficial pragmatist in the tradition of Peirce, James, and Dewey, and because I do not worship what William Tames called the "bitch-goddess success." If I believe that those three great leaders were correct and that their goals were valid, which is in fact my definitive and mature opinion, I will continue to proclaim that truth regardless of the money and power brought against me by any deluded so-called "chosen people."

Plato's revisionism was by no means limited to war origins. He believed that the downward turn in Athenian politics began with the so-called democratic reform of Cleisthenes in 508 B.C. Indeed, such disastrous wars as the Peloponnesian War, the Thirty Years War, World War I or World War II are in and of themselves no more than the symptoms of the disease. For instance, no nation has exercised a more dire influence on 20th-century global forces than the U.S.A., although certainly no sane person would argue that the same thing was true of the U.S.A. in the 18th or 19th centuries. What is the source of this remarkable malaise? The B'nai B'rith (Brothers of the Faith) were founded at Philadelphia in 1843 with the express purpose of seizing control of the U.S.A. public media, a goal which they had largely achieved fifty years later by 1893. Thus in pluralistic America one small minority seized a commanding position, and even the great Henry Ford, Sr., was challenged when he attempted to challenge the Jewish U.S.A. power monopoly during the 1920's. Meanwhile, B'nai B'rith established a main European headquarters at Berlin/Germany in 1880. The purpose of that move, of course, was the destruction of Tsarist Christian Russia, the homeland at that time of a majority of all the Jews on earth, just as today, one century later, the U.S.A. enjoys that same dubious distinction. France had been the main target of Jewish subversion down to the failure of the largely Jewish Paris Commune of 1871; for instance, Napoleon I, after vainly appealing for patriotism instead of selfishness to the Paris Sanhedrin (Great Jewish Council) in 1807 (the Jews for the first time had received full French citizenship in the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man, which Napoleon never revoked), exclaimed: "These Jewish locusts are devouring my beloved France!" As everyone knows, the Jewish destruction of Russia in 1917 was successful, with supreme power over the wretched Russian masses going to Lenin's first Politburo (the Soviet Executive Committee) of whose original eigh-

teen members no less than thirteen were Jews. Now the traditionally free enterprise U.S.A., albeit with Jewish monopoly control over the public media for the past ninety years, is locked, due to FDR's initial action, into a permanent global alliance with the USSR behind the phoney camouflage screen of the Cold War declared by Harry Truman on March 12, 1947, in a public speech to the U.S.A. Congress at the behest of the English imperialists, who hoped to replace U.S.A. in the middle of the global diplomatic teeter-totter. However, English crimes had rendered them too feeble to do that effectively.

It is clear that of the six supremely great rational philosophers of classical Hellas, namely, Heraclitus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno (the latter founder of Stoicism was originally an Arab resident of Cyprus who was Hellenized there and who became great as a philosopher only after moving to Athens, where Plato's Academy, or university, functioned continuously until it was closed by the last Latin-speaking Byzantine Emperor Justinian, and, above all, by the real power behind the throne, Empress Theodora, who, until her death, from cancer, had become the supreme commercial prostitute of Byzantium, a career described for us eloquently by the great Byzantine historian Procopius), that of all these great Hellenic philosophers, only Plato was a thoroughgoing revisionist in the modern sense understood by us, namely, the capacity of civilized man for independent thought. Despite the sterling objectivity of the great Athenian historian Thucydides, who, despite his own historical role as a patriotic Athenian combat general, was willing and able to prove that it was the Athenian democratic demagogues, not the proud militaristic Spartans, who alone caused the ruinous Peloponnesian War, it cannot be contended in any meaningful sense that Thucydides was a revisionist in the same modern sense that is applicable to Plato. As everyone knows, the traditional concept of "court history," namely, historians bribed to tell eloquent lies about their country like Livy, originates only with the scoundrel Emperor Augustus, who, along with his great-uncle Julius Caesar, was one of the two main perpetrators of the assassination of the original aristocratic Roman Republic described for us by Polybius. Indeed, his minister Maecenas made a regular policy of bribing poets like Vergil as well as historians like Livy. Although the great Tacitus was an independent Roman historian who refused to be bought by the Roman court, and, indeed, Tacitus is in fact the supreme Latin-language historian of all time in exactly the same way that Thucydides is the number one Greek-language historian of all time, Tacitus simply ignored the Roman court historians rather than presuming to attack them, and of course Thucydides, in Athens the one and only supreme chronicler of the great Peloponnesian War, had no court historians to attack. Beyond all that, Plato had developed a complete Weltbild in a way that Thucydides never did, and in a way that Tacitus never understood. Would anyone deny that the three German great ones, namely, Bismarck, Kaiser Bill II, and Hitler, each had such a complete individual Weltbild? Certainly not. Would any competent person claim that any of the three main opponents of Hitler in World War II, namely, the drunken plagiarist Churchill, the pornographic mama's boy FDR, or the lover of crime and murder for its own sake, Stalin, had an individually independent Weltbild? Again the answer would have to be: certainly not. That the three German great ones were millions of light years in intellectual quality beyond the standards of leadership traditionally acceptable and even admired in England, U.S.A., and USSR simply goes without saying, and this is particularly true when we recall that in Plato's allegory of the cave it was precisely the possession of this individual and independent Weltbild that gave Socrates the powerful leverage to lead mankind out of the dark and shadowy realm of merely shadows into the bright and golden civilized light of true manliness and substance. If one had to identify succinctly the intellectual power of Sumer to create and to sustain a first universal civilization, thus cutting short by millions of years the wallowing of mankind in superstitious and mindless barbarism, would not one have to concede that it was in fact this ability of many, many individual Sumerians to develop independent Weltbilder in the context of a literate, free-enterprise, and extremely sophisticated society that gave them the Archimedean point of leverage to establish the glory of a permanent civilization on this glorious and beautiful globe of ours? For

instance, the Sumerian Epic of Gilgamesh, although composed several millennia before the Hebrew Old Testament, is incomparably more humane, urbane, literary, and sensible than the latter with its hideous nonsense about Jehovah creating the sun on the so-called fourth day. How in the hell could those first three days have transpired without a sun? As a matter of fact, it was precisely the achievement of Socrates and Plato to restore civilization back to the high standards that had prevailed thirteen hundred years earlier before the savage Semitic Amorites of Hammurabi genocided all of Sumer at a moment of military advantage in the same way that FDR, who had three separate plans of sterilization, atomic destruction, and starvation, very nearly genocided Germany during the years from 1941 to 1945. Fortunately for all mankind, the supremely Satanic FDR died in the arms of one of his many whores on April 12, 1945, and, albeit ten percent of Germans due to FDR had died by that time, the other 90% were spread in several small and truncated territories.

It should be seen in retrospect that the Athenian imperialistic warmonger, Pericles, who, unlike FDR with less than five years of college and a low "C" average, was something of an intellectual, was almost angelic compared to FDR, the greatest war criminal of all time and the American Antichrist. What a horrifying commentary it is on the unspeakably abysmal standards of U.S.A. public life after more than ninety years of the tyrannical Jewish monopoly of the public media that only the epigoni of FDR are considered eligible by that same media to hold presidential office, and that all U.S.A. presidents since the death of FDR the tyrant in 1945 have in fact been his epigoni. With the exception of Ronald Reagan, who simply adores FDR and has never made any secret of that fact, all of the other successors, including Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter either disliked or utterly detested FDR personally, much like the epigoni of the scoundrel Augustus and his court historians in Rome, but the fact remains that all of them have found it necessary to praise FDR to the skies in their public messages. One is reminded of the official memoirs of Augustus, the *Res Gestae* (Things Accomplished), and his last recorded words as he lay dying at Nola in 14 A.D.: "Have I not been a good actor?" The worst crimes of Augustus, including the murder of the great Cicero in 43 B.C. when the latter was at the peak of his productive power, and the senseless dispossession and slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people on alleged grounds of mere suspicion, took place during the fifteen years after sixty Roman senators successfully conspired to assassinate the tyrant Julius Caesar with his hypocritical and phoney dementia, yet the Augustus official memoirs, in typical court historical fashion, only commence after the passage of those fifteen bloody years. The same is true when FDR's epigoni present him as a goody-goody two-shoes humanitarian while ignoring his bloody effort to genocide eighty million Germans along with his myriad other crimes. Although Pericles was not as bad as Augustus, and not nearly so bad as FDR, Plato makes it unmistakably clear in his dialogues that Socrates was the indispensable advisor of the counter-revolutionaries who sought at Athens by both suasion and force to overturn the Cleisthenes-Periclean system which had failed politically, ethically, and socially, and which was in the process of destroying Greece. Can any imperialistic crime be more brutal than the slaughter of the good Dorians of Melos merely because they aspired to preserve their benevolent neutrality toward all combatant parties? Does that not remind one of the role of FDR and his OSS chief Wild Bill Donovan in cooperation with the English secret service and the Soviet NKVD in overthrowing the legitimate government of Yugoslavia merely because that unfortunate country wished to preserve its benevolent neutrality in the latest Anglo-German War, with the English, as usual, being both the initial aggressors and the ones who hoped to perpetuate a senseless and horrible war indefinitely? Did not the fact that the U.S.A. was still officially and legally neutral in April 1941 add to the horrid crime of FDR a special ingredient of iniquity? All sources agree that it was FDR's ploy that converted Yugoslav Air Force Minister Simovic, the chief of the revolutionaries, to the putsch plan and especially since FDR, supposedly neutral, threatened to treat the Yugoslavs as a permanent enemy of the U.S.A. unless they complied. Have any FDR epigoni ever expressed regret that as a

result of the dastardly Simovic-Nincic coup more than two million civilian Roman Catholic Croats and Pravoslaven Greek Orthodox Serbs perished in senseless internecine slaughter, and that out of this chaos the Stalin agent and bloody butcher Josip Broz, known to history as Tito (Stalin always called him by his World War I Bolshevik alias Walther), climbed to power and built fifty concentration camps in which hundreds of thousands of Christian Serbs and Croats, Islamic Bosniaks, minority Albanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Germans perished? There was a time when the official Beograd Tito newspaper Borba took special pride in the efficiency of these camps, where on certain days children witnessed the public execution of their parents and on other days parents witnessed the public execution of their children. Can anyone deny that from 1941 onward the U.S.A.-Jewish public media have given Tito a favorable press, whereas the brilliant book, *Tito: Moscow's Trojan Horse*, by Slobdan Drashkovich, one of the sons of the anti-Communist Yugoslav Prime Minister Drashkovich, who was murdered from ambush by the Communists, has sold less than three thousand copies albeit in print for several decades?

The reason that Plato's revisionism extended from immediate war causes to the entire host of iniquities in the prevailing system was because Plato knew that the war in question was merely the symptom of the disease. Important as it is to analyze carefully the crime of unleashing deliberately the unnecessary war, it is equally important, like Plato in *The Republic*, to endeavor to reform the rotten society that produced the crime. For instance, if the U.S.A. Progressive movement, under Fighting Bob LaFollette during the era of its heyday from 1900 to 1925, had ever succeeded in bringing honest and responsible government at the national level to the U.S.A. for the first time, the imperialistic crimes of Bill McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt could have been speedily and neatly undone, and the unspeakable and gargantuan crimes of Woody Wilson could have been prevented. Without the precedent of Wilson, the crime program of FDR could never have taken off and a deadly and serious effort to annihilate the entire German people could never have been made. It is because Plato saw this, namely, that without the corruption of the Athenian system by Cleisthenes a criminal career like that of Pericles would have been impossible, that the main thrust of *The Republic* is to reform society in precisely the same way that modern revisionists confront that same problem. The details of Plato's reforms need not concern us here beyond the general assertion that they were a giant step in the right direction. Furthermore, Plato's dialectic described earlier made it possible to present instrumental objectives and ultimate goals in a fair, lucid, and rational manner.

How different the situation is when we turn to Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831) and Karl Marx (1818-1883). These two rascals, superficially opposite numbers with Hegel advocating idealism and Marx advocating materialism, were in reality like twin peas in a pod with both addicted to a barbarian worship of power for its own sake. Both were supreme cynics and hypocrites, adept at disguising their wolf plans in sheep's clothing. Hegel, even more than Marx, was also a supreme weather-vane without any ordinary integrity who claimed that it was all right to change fashions in opinions like fashions in clothes, with consistency becoming the virtue of small minds. Hegel as a young man was a fanatical advocate for Frederician Prussia, but no sooner had the guns cooled on the battlefields of Jena and Auerstedt in 1806 than he became a Bonapartist and proclaimed Napoleon I to be the so-called *Zeitgeist*. After the Congress of Vienna concluded its labors in 1815, Hegel suddenly discovered in the feeble and utterly corrupt Metternichean stooge Prussian monarch Frederick William III the perfect guardian of German liberties, although that same monarch had proclaimed publicly that he would rather roast in Hell than accept any of the sane and moderate political reform plans of Arndt, Hardenberg, and Stein.

Unfortunately, even more than Arndt, Fichte, and Kant, this same Hegel was a genius in formulating magnificent abstract conceptions and in clothing them in almost irresistibly seductive language. It was due partly to Hegel that the Machiavellian cynicism of the end justifying the

means, whereas Plato had understood clearly enough that the end is determined by the means, became a temporarily dominant force in Central European ideology and political theory down through the 1830's until a new Prussian monarch, Frederick William IV, who also happened to be an intellectual, revived the supremacy of philosophical idealism after he came to the throne in 1840, and of course it was during the 1830's that the impressionable Marx entered the German university system as a freshman student. Essentially, Hegel was a materialistic utilitarian like Jeremy Bentham in England, and his lip service to the idealism of freedom, like that of Marx to

the so-called eventual withering away of the state, was just a pose. Influenced as he was by the great 17th-century Italian historian, Giambattista Vico, and by the great 18th-century German historian Johann Gottfried Herder, Hegel imagined human history moving in spirals toward an explicit goal of perfection, and to Hegel that goal was the perfect omniscient and omnipotent state, which he camouflaged in the quaint notion that perfect human freedom could only then be attained when every libertarian individual identified his own will with that of the state. Like Marx Hegel in reality was eager to move as far and as fast as he could away from any real liberty. Karl Marx, of course, was the typical Jew copycat in politics that wealthy Felix Mendelssohn with his unlimited appetite for plagiarism was in music, and it is safe to say that the Karl Marx-Vladimir Lenin ideology of supreme totalitarian Communism could never have emerged in the world as the monstrosity that it is without the Hegelian adaptation of Plato's dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Hegel himself was the indispensable *deus ex machina*, and although the primitive Lenin complained in letters in 1916 from his room next to the sausage factory in Zuerich/Switzerland that after six months of diligent effort he was simply intellectually incapable of understanding Hegel, that did not matter because young Marx had understood Hegel clearly enough and Lenin was capable of understanding the more crude and simplistic philosophy of Karl Marx. In their worship of absolutism, Hegel, Marx, and Lenin were unmistakable disciples of Voltaire just as Bismarck, Kaiser Bill II, and Hitler were the disciples of Rousseau who put his faith in people.

We can move now to the five so-called modern revolutions in England (1688), U.S.A. (1776), France (1789), Russia (1917), and Germany (1933). It is my thesis, and I have no doubt that Plato would have agreed with me, that the most promising of these five revolutions was the German one, with the French one following in second place. It is possible to proceed succinctly because we have established a context with a specific standard for evaluating revolutions, and, for that matter, any other political developments, based squarely as that standard is on the norms of a successful civilization as invented and demonstrated by Sumer and as revived and restored in Hellas by Socrates and Plato.

Now it goes without saying that in terms of historical prestige in society at large the Great French Revolution of 1789 continues to be the modern revolution number one. Consider that when professional historians divide the 5500 years of recorded civilization like Caesar's ancient Gaul into three parts, with Ancient History 4,000 years from the origins in Sumer to the fall of Classical Rome, with Medieval History from that point to the Age of Global Discovery in 1500 A.D., a span of one thousand years, and with Modern History the 500 years since the Age of Discovery, there is only one generally recognized sub-division employing a precise date, namely, the dividing line between Early Modern History and Recent Modern History based upon the advent of the Great French Revolution in 1789. Although the Han Chinese have written more history than the historians of all the other nations of the world combined, the revolution in world history about which the most had been written by historians is still the Great French Revolution, and certainly in my opinion that great theme deserves the full extent of its historical treatment down to the present time.

The so-called English Glorious Revolution of 1688 presents a very different picture, and although in American textbook ballyhoo its importance is blown out of all proportion because of the 1689 adoption of the so-called English Bill of Rights, it was actually a charter of privilege for the less than 3% of adult males who received the suffrage under the settlement terms of that revolution. The coalition of Whig landowners and merchants who carried through that putsch under their anti-French puppet, William of Orange, were actually the victorious leaders of a counter-revolution which purged the libertarian English political parties of Levelers and Diggers with their aspirations for universal human rights, and permanently disenfranchised the Catholics, who had still been the English majority one century earlier, plus the Methodists, Quakers, Jews, and, except for Scotland under the 1707 settlement, Presbyterians. At the same time, everyone was liable for taxes to the Church of England alone, the so-called hybrid Anglican Church, although at no time in subsequent English history did it come close to becoming the church and faith of the English majority. At the same time, the tolerant policy in Ireland of the legitimate Stuart sovereign James II came speedily to an end, and after the Stuart cause met with defeat on the River Boyne in 1690, an era of fierce persecution followed which culminated in the deliberate attempt to genocide the Irish by applying the so-called Corn Laws against them throughout the entire duration of the potato famine of 1846-49. Consider what the late Herbert Hoover would have called a powerful statistic. In 1800, the population of Ireland was eight million and the population of England was eleven million. In 1900, the population of Ireland was four million and the population of England was forty million. It is true that Puritan Dictator Cromwell had deliberately genocided 1.5 million Irish during the Irish national uprising of the 1640's in retaliation for the Irish assassination of a score of English landlords, but statistically the deliberate Whig genociding of the Irish during the mid-19th century was even more impressive.

The suffrage was kept under 3% in England throughout the entire six generations from 1688 to 1832. Then, in response to the July 1830 Louis Philippe revolution in France which expanded the French suffrage by 1,000% although it by no means restored the universal suffrage of the Jacobin Constitution of 1793, Lord Russell and the English Whigs put through the so-called Victorian Compromise, which led to an English suffrage expanded from less than 3% to less than 5% for the subsequent 1½ generations down to 1867, the year that Bismarck established universal suffrage in the North German Federation. John Locke, who, unlike Rousseau, was interested in money and titles rather than people, whitewashed the 1688 coup, although he had been a devoted disciple of Thomas Hobbes and his absolutism down to the death of the latter in 1677. The doublespeak language of the Whigs in calling their reactionary plot a glorious revolution should deceive nobody, because it was like the earlier Vikings calling their largest frozen island Greenland to attract unwary settlers.

The U.S.A. Revolution of 1776 is a classic example of a revolution that might have become a truly great one, but that instead became a petty and debased one because it went wrong in its concluding phase. When one considers the impudence of U.S.A. savants during the 1980's in teaching young minds in what the all-time greatest U.S.A. educational philosopher, Porter Edward Sargent (1874-1951), called "the continuing struggle for the control over the minds of American youth" (a concept that would have been especially dear to Plato, author of 'the Republic'), namely, that merely because the 1776 U.S.A. Revolution preceded the 1789 French Revolution chronologically by a few years, ergo ipso facto: the U.S.A. Revolution was the principal cause of the French Revolution, we are surely encountering the all-time leading example of the tail attempting to wag the dog. Hegel once remarked jokingly that shredding learned books and mixing them with the food of your dog will not increase the intelligence of your dog just even one iota, and by the same token the German Spiessbuerger (complacent bourgeois) Biedermeierzeit after 1815, which Hegel experienced late in life and which can be compared only to the post-1919 U.S.A. atmosphere described by Sinclair Lewis in *Main Street*, and which in both cases included

the smug habit of exhibiting in den bookcases popular learned books never really read but exhibited only for show (like Harry Truman telling Richard Current, the historian who authored *Henry Stimson*, at the Truman Library in Independence, Missouri: "Oh, yes, I have read your latest book on that bookshelf behind my desk, a truly excellent book!", which was scarcely conceivable in view of the fact that Current in that same book described Truman, the political gangster of Kansas City, Missouri, as the worst president that the U.S.A. had ever had although he had been FDR's voluntary choice from among all of the available candidates); in short, Hegel was correct in his assertion that the learned book displayed in the den does not educate the Booboisie (favorite H.L. Mencken term for the U.S.A. bourgeoisie) any more than mixing books with your dog's diet will educate your dog. By the same token, when U.S.A. court historians assert repeatedly that the U.S.A. Revolution was the main factor in bringing on the French Revolution, this stupid propaganda lie can in no way guarantee that such actually was the case. In reality, it was the other way around, namely, the ideas of the great French Enlightenment thinkers—after all, 90% of the Enlightenment was in fact French, just as 90% of the Reformation according to the great second-generation French religious reformer Jean Calvin was in fact German—these great 18th-century French ideas of geniuses like Quesny and Rousseau were what sparked the American revolutionary movement against England when the English mercantilist-imperialists began to put the economic screws on their colonies after the elimination of French imperial competition at the Peace of Paris in 1763, and on the specious and utterly dishonest pretext that the Americans had to be punished for their illicit smuggling trade with the French West Indies during the French and Indian War of 1754 to 1763. In reality, illicit English smuggling trade with France across the English Channel during that same war was one hundred times greater than similar American trade while at the same time the average American carried a much greater burden in combat during that war than did the average Englishman. There was no serious shortage of gold and silver in England during the 18th century of English mercantilism in which the state steered the economy rather than allowing genuine free enterprise, but there was indeed a catastrophic shortage of gold and silver in the American colonies during that same period. Also, the official English attitude toward the Americans was that of the outstanding English Enlightenment figure, Dr. Samuel Johnson: "Sir, hanging is too good for them!"

There were some excellent American grassroots revolutionary leaders during the early phase of the movement after 1763 such as Sam Adams in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia, patriots, incidentally, who are almost always debunked by contemporary U.S.A. court historians, but with the propaganda success of Tom Paine's *Common Sense* early in 1776 and the joining of the cause by wealthy or ambitious men who were essentially Tories such as George Washington, Ben Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton, the American counter-revolution against the original revolutionary ideals was already in full swing and the triumph of this same counter-revolution made hash of the initial revolutionary movement by concluding the shameful separate peace with England early in 1783, although in the freely negotiated Franco-American alliance of 1778 the U.S.A. had promised that they would not do this, and, above all, after the 1787 secret and illegal convention presided over by George Washington at Philadelphia, in the creation in 1789, despite a majority of votes to the contrary, of the plutocratic and anti-democratic reactionary regime that has continued without fundamental changes down to the present day.

The English plutocratic oligarchs and imperialists who in 1789 were continuing to profit from the so-called Glorious Revolution of one century earlier were delighted with the 1783 separate peace and, above all, with the pro-English Tory regime that came into power under the aegis of George Washington in 1789. During 48 of the first 60 years under the new system, and that is 80% of the time, U.S.A. presidents were human slaveowners personally using the leather slave whip on their recalcitrant slaves. The cruel English landlord in Ireland, Edmund Burke, was delighted with U.S.A. developments after 1776 because politically he was a Whig, not a Tory, and

he favored the pristine 1688 oligarch system over the Lord Bolingbroke and general Tory attempt to restore some actual power to a patriot king, but he had nothing but horror as early as 1790 to express in condemning events in France in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* because that movement, instead of being led by reactionary Voltaire disciples like Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton, was led by the disciples of Rousseau, who cared more for people than for money and titles, like Max Robespierre. Does not the fact that the English oligarchy with their cynical and unbridled contempt for humanity, were complacent and even satisfied with the results of the U.S.A. revolution show that, at least temporarily, the U.S.A. revolution had failed, and does not their horror and dread of the French revolution suggest that the latter held real promise in challenging their own corrupt imperialistic system?

That the Great French Revolution of 1789 ended temporarily in a fiasco was first and foremost the result of the typical aggressive policies and war crimes of the English imperialists, a policy fully supported by the reactionary U.S.A. Federalist leaders during the Federalist Era which covered the decisive twelve years from 1789 to 1801. Had it not been for such ceaseless English aggression, there is a more than fair chance that a modern free enterprise regime based upon capitalism and political universal manhood suffrage along the lines provided in the Jacobin Constitution of 1793 could have been firmly established and could have co-existed successfully as a kind of showcase to such monarchical mercantilistic regimes as those of 18th-century England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. That no such development resulted attests to the spoiling success of the English imperialists and of their reactionary American stooges. However, for France the ultimate importance of 1789 was the push toward a more modern society.

The worst of the five revolutions discussed in this context was clearly the Russian Soviet Revolution of November 1917, a development in civilization so horribly regressive that its full implications still are not grasped down to the present day by ordinary people. A California expert on the evils of Communism, when told by a friend that he was tired of hearing the same old record, asked that friend to compute the additive sum total of two plus two, and when the response was the correct "four!" the expert on Communism commented wearily: "Same old record!"

Karl Marx, like Hegel, was a blind worshipper of power for its own sake, and although Marx lacked the original conceptual brilliance of Hegel, he more than made up for that in his unprecedented mendacity. Richard Wagner's friend from the Dresden revolutionary barricades of the May 1849 Saxon defense of the Frankfurt Parliament and the concept of a united German Reich, the Russian philosophical anarchist, Mikhail Bakunin, succeeded by his brilliance, eloquence, and indefatigable hostility in destroying the infamous Karl Marx First Revolutionary International after the failure of the 1871 Commune. Marx, although at that time only fifty-four, drifted away into mindless alcoholism, becoming what the Londoners call a "pub-crawler." August Bebel, who succeeded Wilhelm Liebknecht as the leader of the Marxist German Social Democracy after the death in a duel in 1863 of Ferdinand Lassalle, the conservative Jewish leader of the first German Socialist Party and the nationalist supporter of Bismarck's program for a united German Reich, visited Marx in London a few years before the death in voluntary exile of the latter and inquired from Marx in eager anticipation when the unfinished torso of *Das Kapital*, with all of its glaring inconsistencies and economic fallacies, would be completed, only to have Marx scream at him in helpless alcoholic irritation: "Nobody could possibly want that more than I do!" Of course, in addition to the permanent shock of Bakunin's "operation demolition," Marx had never really recovered from an event a few years earlier, namely, that terrible occasion when his illiterate Hessian maid servant gave birth to his illegitimate son on the same day that his high-born Prussian wife, Jenny von Westphalen-Marx, gave birth to his legitimate daughter. The illegitimate son, incidentally, became a revisionist Marxist and was active in the English trade union movement until the time of his death in 1929.

The revolutionary party led by Marx until his death in 1883 was hopelessly nihilistic and terroristic, but cooler counsel among his disciples prevailed during the decades that followed, so that what had finally emerged, before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, namely, Marxist revisionism, was actually a safe and sane evolutionary approach to socialist ultimate goals along the same lines as the Fabian socialist movement of George Bernard Shaw and of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Marxist revisionism was also the slogan of the Russian Social Democratic Party formally called into existence by Georgi Plekhanov in 1892, although Marx himself, who as a Jew had always hated the Russian anti-Jewish tradition and who had said that Russia was the last country on earth where Marxist ideas would prevail, had always discouraged the idea of organizing a Russian Marxist party down to the time of his death in 1883. There was, however, a reincarnation of Marx-the-beast in Vladimir Ulyanov Lenin (1870-1924), and he turned out to be the ultimate spoiler of the later civilized trend in what had been a doctrine of ultimate barbarism in the pristine program of Karl Marx himself. Incidentally, the fact that Marx, not Friedrich Engels, was the real Satan of Marxism is indicated clearly enough by the fact that the elderly Engels during the 1890's, in the absence of Marx himself, had no difficulty coming to terms with Marxist revisionism, something that Marx himself always had refused to consider. Marx and Lenin detested the idea of a Marxist victory through the coming ascendancy of a Marxist majority or coalition-governing plurality in equal measure; they both loved the idea of totalitarian dictatorial power based on bullets, and not some benevolent utopian socialist regime based upon ballots. Although Lenin's evil faction of professionally criminal terrorists remained a tiny minority within the Russian Marxist movement down to his own return from voluntary exile to Finland Station in Petrograd in April 1917, he had already, because of his dialectical skill, managed as early as 1903 to win a majority vote against Plekhanov in a central committee meeting, and from that year on seized for his faction the propaganda term Bolshevism and at the same time managed to stick successfully his opponents with the propaganda label Menshevism, with the former term meaning majority and the latter term minority. The following year in 1904 Lenin published his definitive program, *Shto Dyeiat?* (What Is To Be Done?). Like his master Marx, Lenin was a hopeless plagiarist and he borrowed his program title from the brilliant best-selling novel of the Russian disciple of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Richard Wagner, Nikolai Chernyshevsky, one of the five greatest Russian novelists of all time along with Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Gogol, and Turgenev. The message in Lenin's program was clear enough and it would have been as much of a delight to Marx as it would have been an abomination to Plato: to hell with voting and majorities, what we mean to create is a small and compact revolutionary elite who understand how to use modern military technology along with unlimited terror to impose their will over the stupid Christian masses of Russia. Now since the Jews of the Kresy (areas of Poland annexed by Russia after 1772 where most Jews, except for a few wealthy ones, were compelled during the era of the late Romanov rulers to reside) had formally launched their Kramola (hellish terror) campaign for the destruction of Tsarist Russia in 1879, the year before the U.S.A. B'nai B'rith established its elite anti-Russian revolutionary branch in Berlin, it went without saying that not less than 80% of Lenin's recruits for the new Untermensch elite were either Jewish professional criminals or Jewish revolutionaries. This bothered young Stalin (1879-1953), the former anti-Jewish Georgian nationalist who as late as 1912 was complaining to Lenin that we have "too many Abramoviches" in the Bolshevik faction, but it did not bother Lenin, who had a maternal Jewish grandmother and on top of that was one-half Mongolian-Tartar descent. Both Lenin and Stalin hated Russians, but Lenin did not share Stalin's proverbial hatred of Jews. When Stalin's first wife, a lovely Georgian, died (Stalin's otherwise rugged father had died from alcoholism at the age of 40), Stalin declared proudly and without tears that he never again would have to face the wasteful luxury and obligation of loving another human being. And so it turned out to be. Although the family of Stalin's second wife, a lovely Russian girl from Saint Petersburg, was more than generous in sending packages to Stalin in the Arctic region of Siberia after the election of the Fourth Duma (Russian Parliament according to the 1905 Constitution), Stalin, after he destroyed her,

also destroyed all of her numerous relatives one by one as a cat plays with mice, and Stalin later explained that he only married his Jewish third wife, the sister of Commissar and Politburo member Lazar Kaganovich, who supervised the genociding of millions of so-called recalcitrant Ukrainian peasants during the so-called Stalin First Five Year Plan of 1928-1933, because he liked to have some woman around his Kremlin private apartment to torture during his idle spare moments.

After this same Stalin violated his voluntary 1939 agreement with Hitler in every possible way following Hitler's surprising May 1940 victory over France, including the seizure of Rumanian territory beyond the agreed-upon demarcation line between NSDAP and CPSU spheres of influence in Eastern Europe, the promotion of a violent anti-German putsch in Yugoslavia which was far to the west of that same line, and the promotion throughout German-occupied Europe of espionage, sabotage and anti-Hitler revolutionary propaganda, while at the same time refusing to discuss or negotiate on Hitler's moderate November 1940 terms for a new agreement, had finally goaded Hitler into the preventive war of June 22, 1941, which even Bismarck, had he been alive, and although he was the proverbial public opponent of all preventive wars, would have supported because it was Hitler's only alternative to unconditional submission to the Churchill-FDR Leviathan pressure from the West and the Soviet pressure from the East, the drunken English dictator Churchill, with traditional habeas corpus suspended for the duration in England since 1940, described Stalin publicly in the House of Commons as "so wise a man and so great a ruler!" The same Churchill had frequently described the same Stalin a few years earlier as "the Bloody Baboon of Bolshevism!," and as recently as four years earlier Churchill had refused at a public reception to shake hands with Plato v. Hegel and Marx 85

the Ambassador of the Spanish Republic, proclaiming in a loud voice for all attending dignitaries to hear that the man's hands were covered with blood because he was nothing more nor less than Stalin's stooge.

The drunken Churchill imagined that he had succeeded in flattering Stalin in his Commons speech, so he followed that up with a fawning personal letter that Stalin never bothered to answer. In reply to the official query of the English Ambassador in Moscow, Stalin commented succinctly and rudely that nothing in Churchill's letter deserved a reply, and the same Stalin at the Russian Compound in Teheran in 1943 jumped all over FDR when the dying U.S.A. chief-executive foolishly suggested to Stalin that Hitler was insane. Stalin roared at FDR: "You idiot, could an insane man have come within a hare's breath of destroying once and for all a great leader like me? At one point I was even contemplating, because I knew Hitler liked me well enough personally, to volunteer to become Hitler's NSDAP Gauleiter in ministering to the needs of the Russian masses who had suffered horribly from the many purges I had inflicted upon them!" Concerning Churchill, Stalin had never forgiven his responsibility for the massacre of unarmed Georgian and Azerbaijani civilians at Baku, the chief Russian oil center, in 1920, just as Mahatma Gandhi down to his own death in 1948 never forgave Churchill his public defense in Commons of the senseless slaughter of hordes of peaceful Hindu demonstrators at Amritsar in 1919.

How different the brutal fiends Churchill, FDR, and Stalin were from Hitler. When Hitler's Minister for Propaganda Josef Goebbels showed up at Hitler's headquarters at Rastenburg, East Prussia in August 1941 and told Hitler that he was planning a German-language edition of the FDR sterilization plan for Germany published in the pre-Pearl Harbor book in New Jersey of the New York City Jew Theodore Kaufman, Germany Must Perish!,-a book, incidentally, which was enthusiastically reviewed across U.S.A. from the San Francisco Chronicle to the New York City PM-Hitler vetoed the Goebbels plan at once and he explained that he was intensely proud of his German servicemen who were not only fighting with courage but who also were fighting like

professional gentlemen without hatred. Hitler knew the ultimate truth of Plato's adage that the end is determined by the means, and he explained to Goebbels that the final victory of Germany would make no sense if meanwhile Germans had descended to the gangster barbarian level of hate-crazed U.S.A. or English servicemen, or to the Mongolian-style barbarian robots of Stalin. Hitler, who had asked his Company Commander Captain Fritz Wiedemann not to take him out of the line at the Somme in 1916 although he had been severely wounded six times that same day, also explained to Goebbels, the proverbial civilian feather merchant, that cool professional soldiers fighting according to honorable codes are more efficient than hate-crazed maniacs who are not soldiers in the true sense merely because they have been thrust into uniform. Indeed, does any military expert doubt today that, had it not been for the ten thousand anti-Hitler elite traitors in German Intelligence, the German Reichsbank, the German General Staff, and the German Foreign Office, the sane professional German soldiers, with or without the Italians, Croats, Hungarians, Finns, and Japanese, could have defeated soundly the combined force of the crazed maniacs, driven crazy by billions of dollars spent on Jewish directed propaganda, of the U.S.A., UK, and USSR? The civilian Goebbels once asked his assistant Wilfred von Oven, the veteran of three years of combat in Spain and three years of combat after 1939 in other parts of Europe, what was so difficult about being killed instantly in combat? Oven dryly responded to Goebbels that the soldier taking a fatal hit required on the average one hour to die to the accompaniment of terrible suffering. This struck home because Goebbels dreaded even an ordinary dental appointment.

The long and the short of the 1917 Soviet Russian Revolution is that it was an unprecedented disaster for all mankind. Had it not been for the pro-Bolshevik policies of Woody Wilson, FDR, and the epigoni of FDR, the disaster would long since have been eliminated. Lenin could not have succeeded in the first place had not Wilson, over the indignant protests of U.S.A. Ambassador to Russia Mr. Francis of Chicago, shipped tens of thousands of pro-Bolshevik New York City Jews to Russia during the Kerensky Provisional Government after March 1917, although ordinary Americans were not allowed to travel during wartime, and by all odds FDR, who jumped from U.S.A. non-recognition to a de facto secret alliance with Stalin in the one year 1933, a fact confirmed for me personally with overwhelming evidence by the late William C. Bullitt, author of the anti-FDR 1943 book *The Great Globe Itself*, but FDR's first U.S.A. Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1933 to 1936, this same FDR was by all odds the greatest salesman of Bolshevism that the world has ever seen, including Marx himself, Lenin, and Stalin, and no rational and informed person can deny that the U.S.A. Jewish public media during the nearly forty years since FDR's death have allowed only servile supporters of FDR's policies to become U.S.A. presidents, with far and away the worst one being the current White House incumbent, Ronald Wilson Reagan. Only the final elimination of the U.S.A. global empire founded by Bill McKinley and Teddy; Roosevelt in the years from 1898 to 1901 can save the contemporary world from the threat of the permanent global triumph of Bolshevism. Without perpetual U.S.A. support behind the screen of Truman's phoney Cold War, the threat of global Bolshevism would fade away rapidly from the real historical world, albeit its atrocities which, thanks to U.S.A., have already produced in the neighborhood of 150 million violent deaths, neither could nor should ever be forgotten. Although Robert Jackson, the U.S.A. Supreme Court justice, aspiring to be Chief Justice, who both prosecuted and persecuted the heroic Hermann Göring and the other Nuremberg defendants at the Main Nuremberg Trial of 1945-46, declared in a public pro-FDR speech at Jamestown, New York in 1934 that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia of 1917 constituted a giant step forward for mankind, that same revolution was in reality supremely evil.

This brings us to the best of the five revolutions in particular, namely, the German national revolution of 1933, and in general to a few of the magnificent contributions to world civilization rendered by Germany since the birth of Bismarck on April 1, 1815.

Does any informed person doubt any longer today that Bolshevism by 1937 would have spread from the Siberian Pacific coast to the Atlantic coast of Portugal had it not been for the heading off of the Bolshevist threat in Germany and the amazing triumph of Hitler by legal and constitutional means on January 30, 1933? In his speech to the German nation on July 20, 1944, after evil reactionary German assassins had failed that same day to eliminate him, Hitler, the lifelong friend of private initiative, anti-inflationary policies, and economic free enterprise, reminded all of his listeners that the 1919 Weimar Constitution written by the German-Jewish patriot Dr. Hugo Preuss was still in effect as Germany's fundamental law, since Hitler had always stood for the policy of calling a German constitutional convention only after the German national crisis created by Woody Wilson in 1918 had been surpassed, and, thanks to Wilson's chief disciple, FDR, to whom Wilson had always been attracted physically, describing FDR as that "most handsome Greek god" at the Democrat Baltimore convention of 1912, when FDR, still free of polio, had just turned thirty, Hitler, despite valiant efforts, had by 1944 and eleven years in power still not been able to eliminate the U.S.A.-induced German national crisis, and, indeed, with the successful Anglo-American second front in France and the successful June 22, 1944, Bolshevik Vitebsk-sector offensive, the skies were once again growing as uncomfortably dark over Germany as they had been on November 9, 1918, the day at German Supreme Military Headquarters at Spa, Belgium, when an ungrateful Hindenburg kidnapped his startled sovereign, Bill II, and shoved him by force over the border into Holland instead of letting him return to Germany. When the Kaiser asked Hindenburg about the oath that he had sworn as a young cadet in 1866 before the decisive battle for control over Germany against Austria at Koeniggratz, Bohemia, Field Marshal Hindenburg replied insolently, in a style that would have been typical of any English or U.S.A. politician, that it was no longer convenient for him to be mindful of any such oath. Hitler faced the same U.S.A.-style unlimited moral relativism in the German treason elite secret opposition of 1944, and that is why he appealed to his loyal German people over their heads and he reminded them also that he was still their legal and constitutional representative, an argument which was accepted by the overwhelming majority according to secret reports.

The long and the short of it is that one superb German 19th century patriot alone, Bismarck, a disciple of the ideals of romanticism and of the romantic nationalism of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Ernst Moritz Arndt, had that childlike and naive faith (Nietzsche once remarked cogently that maturity is to reacquire the seriousness of a child at play) that made it possible for him in practical and limited secret alliance with the great Jewish banking house of Rothschild at Frankfurt, Main, to consolidate Frederick-Barbarossa-style once again the traditional national unity of Germany despite the recent heroic failure of the parliamentary German nationalists to do so during the mighty revolution and upheaval of 1848-1851 (the latter being the date of the Dresden Conference presided over by the Austrian reactionary Schwarzenberg who had restored the reactionary, particularistic post-1815 system of Clemens von Metternich with the diplomatic and military aid of Palmerston in England and Tsar Nicholas I in Russia.) Bismarck achieved the laudable earlier goal of the forty-eighters in 1871 by an adroit combination of secret diplomacy, defiance of Prussian parliamentary public opinion, and strictly limited and effective military campaigns. The story of the three wars of German reunification between 1864 and 1871 has been told well so often that there is no point in repeating that story here.

More important is the fundamental question that would have intrigued Plato, namely, what were truly Bismarck's instrumental objectives and his ultimate goals? Firstly, Bismarck believed in a united Germany under the rule of law with a federal political system like U.S.A. rather than a unitary state system like England, France, or Italy, and with universal manhood suffrage for German citizens, including those of Danish or Polish extraction. Secondly, Bismarck, who admired the ideals of Italy's Mazzini, as well as Germany's Arndt and France's Rousseau, was a good European in the sense developed by Herder and best articulated by Nietzsche, namely, a European

who was non-prejudicial in his judgment of the ethnic components in a pluralistic Europe picturesquely described by Herder as a beautiful garden with many distinctly beautiful varieties of flowers. Had Marx been a gardener, he would simply have planted the whole place with marigolds, whereas the more civilized Herder with a maturely developed aesthetic sense would have planted several score varieties of shrubs and flowers. Thirdly, Bismarck was a Francophile who made heroic efforts to appease France after the 1871 Treaty of Frankfurt, Main which terminated the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War, and he was within an ace in 1885 of consolidating a new friendship with the France of Premier Jules Ferry when unexpectedly heavy losses inflicted on the French military forces by the North Vietnamese who were backed up by China forced Ferry from power and played into the hands of Paul Deroulede, head of the viciously chauvinistic French military lobby, The League of Patriots. Although Bismarck did not quite succeed in consolidating Europe in the league of preponderant states dreamed about by both Fenelon of France and Kant of Germany in the 18th century, his very nearly successful effort deserves at the least our respect.

Although Bismarck got along well with none of the five Hohenzollern Prussian sovereigns who ruled during his lifetime, namely, Frederick William III (reigned 1797-1840), Frederick William IV (1840-1861), William I (1861-1888), Frederick III (1888), and William II (1888-1918), and albeit the 29-year-old William II had no choice in March 1890 other than to sack Bismarck in order to prevent the increasingly irascible elderly man of seventy-five from scuttling the constitution he had created and attacking the moderate revisionist Marxists, the Kaiser and Bismarck did become generally reconciled five years later in 1895 after the Berlin City Council and even the Imperial German Reichstag refused by majority votes to congratulate Bismarck officially on his 80th birthday because there were aspects of his domestic policies after 1871 with which some of the parties, such as the Progressives, Center Party, and Social Democratic Party, had disagreed. So far as the Kaiser is concerned, I agree with Harvard University's Sidney Bradshaw Fay who knew him well personally during the years that he was an outstanding graduate student in the pre-1914 era at the University of Berlin, namely, that he was personally charming, a hard worker, highly intelligent, very charismatic, and, above all, an honest and sincere German Christian patriot.

The great German nationalist, Hans Grimm, author of the outstanding and excellent epic German novel, *Volk ohne Raum*, although he never joined Hitler's NSDAP and actually voted against Hitler in 1934 on the issue of combining the offices of Reich Chancellor and President (why have a twin-executive?) following the death of President Hindenburg, observed in his justly famous 1954 book on Hitler, *Warum, Woher, aber auch wohin?* (Why, for What, in What Direction?) that Hitler was a better leader than even the German people or any other people had ever observed. I also fully accept that verdict.

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Soviet Scorched-Earth Warfare: Facts And Consequences

By Walter N. Sanning

The Soviet scorched-earth policy has many facets: Military, economic, and so on. In *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* I touched only on those which are of importance in connection with the demographic changes of Eastern European Jewry. Here I want to emphasize the economic side of a little-known portion of the Second World War. However, in order to present the whole picture I must refer to portions of the subject which have already been covered in *The Dissolution*. Space allows only the most important references to those findings, and anybody who wishes to know more about this is advised to check *The Dissolution*.

The German-Soviet Non-Aggression Treaty of 23 August 1939 provided for the following territorial divisions: Estonia and Latvia would fall into the Soviet sphere of interest while Lithuania would fall into the German. From Lithuania the line of demarcation would run toward East Prussia, from there along the Narew, Vistula, and San rivers toward the Carpathian mountains (Map 1). [1] After the Polish defeat, the Soviet government immediately exerted heavy pressure on Germany for a revision of the treaty. In order to maintain peace, Hitler agreed in the second treaty, the so-called Border and Friendship Agreement of 28 September 1939, that Germany would relinquish its interest in most of Lithuania in exchange for the area between the Vistula and the Bug rivers with a population of about 3.5 million, including more than 300,000 Jews. [2] This area had been occupied by the Soviets for only a few days, but the Red Army had taken the area's food supplies and livestock with it as it departed. As a result the Germans actually had to bring in large quantities of food to forestall starvation in this agricultural area. [3] This episode should have been a lesson to Germany. It was not.

While Germany was engaged in the Western Campaign from 10 May until 24 June, 1940, the Soviet Union occupied the entirety of Lithuania between 16 and 22 June following the ultimatum of 15 June – that is, including even that portion which was to remain within the German sphere of interest according to the treaty. This occupation constituted not only a gross violation of the two Soviet-German treaties but also of the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty of Mutual Assistance (10 October 1939). The German government was neither consulted nor informed of this Soviet action as required under the treaty provisions. [4] The northern Bukovina region of Rumania, which was outside the agreed-upon Soviet sphere of interest, was similarly appropriated by the Soviets, although in this case the Soviets pressured Germany into giving its “consent” within an ultimative time period of 24 hours before occupation (Map 2). I mention these developments only because they demonstrate the determination with which Russia removed German strategic advantages while improving her own. They also show that Germany had no definite military objectives against the Soviet Union because otherwise it is inconceivable that she would have tolerated Soviet usurpation of the strategically invaluable Lithuanian gateway to Leningrad and Moscow.

Scorched Earth

Faced with a massive build-up of Soviet military strength across the line of demarcation, concerned by the Soviet breach of the so-called Hitler-Stalin Pact and forewarned by new and enormous Soviet demands for geographic concessions in Europe, Germany invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. The Soviets immediately began to execute German prisoners-of-war right after capture or a short interrogation. Even seriously wounded soldiers were not spared. Numerous high level orders to this effect are on record. The West German Military History Research Institute (*Militaergeschichtliche Forschungsamt*), which is not known for its pro-German bias, puts the percentage of captured German soldiers who died while in Soviet captivity in the years 1941-1942 at 90-95 percent. /5a Within days after hostilities began, the Kremlin's Central Committee issued orders to the effect that only scorched earth be left to the enemy. Everything of value was ordered to be destroyed, regardless of the needs of the civilian population left behind. For this purpose special demolition battalions were sent into action. The above-mentioned Military Research Institute commented further: "From the very beginning of the war Stalin and the leadership of the Soviet Union indicated through these measures that as far as they were concerned the armed conflict with Germany was of an entirely different character than the historical 'European national wars'." [5]

The measures taken by the Soviet Union between 1940 and 1942 aimed not only at furthering the Soviet war effort, but also at harming the German enemy even at the cost of huge losses of life among Soviet civilians. The Soviet *scorched-earth strategy* included the deportation of millions of men, women and children; the resettlement and reestablishment of thousands of factories; the withdrawal of almost the entire railway rolling stock; the annihilation of raw material depots; the removal of most of the agricultural machinery, cattle and grain stocks; the systematic destruction, burning and blowing up of the immovable infrastructure, inventories of all kinds, factory buildings, mines, residential areas, public buildings, public records, and even cultural monuments; and the intentional starvation of the civilian population which remained behind to face German occupation. It was basically a policy which unscrupulously used the civilian population as a strategic pawn. The extent and timing of this policy action is confirmed by so many sources that no real difference of opinion exists in this regard. What is strange is how scantily it has been covered so far in the scholarly literature. Until now, this policy has not been analyzed to the extent it deserves with an eye to identifying the party responsible for the conflict, nor to appreciating the German difficulties in prosecuting a war along established civilized lines, nor to assessing the claims of German brutality in Russia, nor to sizing up the numerical potential of the alleged German genocide of Soviet Jews, or indeed, of the Soviet Slavs.

Long before the outbreak of the German-Soviet conflict, Stalin had begun to prepare for a future war in Europe when he began to develop heavy industry in the Urals and Western Siberia starting with the first Five-Year Plan which commenced in 1928. His plans were for the long run. In the early 1930s he had already announced his determination to overtake the most advanced industrialized countries with respect to industrial and military capacity not later than 1941 [6] — the year when, according to numerous admissions of Soviet leaders, including Stalin's son, the Red Army would strike Germany late that summer. [7] With the help of thousands of engineers and experts from Europe and North America, the core of the Soviet armaments industry was established in the region where Europe meets Asia. Millions of Soviet citizens were also mercilessly sacrificed in the drive to attain Soviet military supremacy. The Ural industrial region was covered with a far-flung network of power lines and electric-power generation plants. In 1940, this rather underpopulated area, with just four percent of the Soviet population, produced 4 billion kWh of electricity, and the existing capacity allowed for a great expansion. [8] By comparison, the Soviet territory later occupied by Germany — the so-called Occupied Eastern Territories — produced no more than 10 billion kWh before the war even though it accounted for about 40 percent of the Soviet population. In other words, on a per capita basis the electric power output of the Urals re-

gion was four times larger. In preparation for the coming conflict, substitute factory building shells were raised all across the southern Urals and western Siberia for the purpose of accepting the machinery from the territory the German enemy might threaten during the anticipated hostilities. A railroad network far out of proportion to the needs of this thinly populated area was vigorously expanded right up to the outbreak of war. [9]

As soon as the Germans crossed the frontier, the Soviets put their *Plan of Economic Mobilization* into action. This plan incorporated the possibility that the enemy might succeed in occupying large sections of the country – as had happened during the First World War. For this reason detailed plans specified the locations to which the dismantled factories should be transported and the successive steps in which the removal was to take place. The interrelationships between the individual enterprises and their dependence on one another were painstakingly taken into account. [10] The carefully executed plan included the removal and evacuation of equipment and people 8-10 days before the retreat of the Red Army, followed by 24 hours of extensive destruction by special demolition squads just prior to the retreat. If necessary, the Soviet troops would put up last-ditch resistance to provide sufficient time for their demolition squads to complete their tasks.

Destination addresses found by the surprised Germans pointed practically always in the direction of the Ural industrial region, specifically to the area encompassed by Sverdlovsk, Molotov, Ufa, Chkalov, and Magnitogorsk. This was the region where the factory shells had been built years before the war and where the equipment dismantled in the factories of the western Soviet Union was reassembled. [11]

In just the first three months after the outbreak of war more than 1360 large industrial enterprises were transplanted and the movable equipment of thousands of collective farms was transported to the interior. It seems that owing to the brutal regimentation of the miserable deportees the evacuated enterprises rose in an unbelievably short time at their new locations: it took just three to four weeks to reassemble large factories and enterprises. The workers had to labor 12 to 14 hours a day, seven days a week. Within three to four months Soviet production had again reached prewar levels. [12]

The Soviet feat was possible only because millions of trained workers, managers, engineers and specialists had been transported to those areas along with their factories. As early as February 1940, German intelligence had reported the systematic deportation of the Polish, Ukrainian and Jewish population from the western Ukraine. [13] In June 1940, up to one million Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland along with many hundreds of thousands of Poles were deported to Siberia. Then, a few weeks before 22 June 1941, mass deportations of the civilian populations along the entire frontier with Germany, Hungary, and Rumania took place. The Soviets, informed by their own spies, Allied intelligence, and German traitors, lost no time in removing those civilians who were most critically needed in the Ural armaments centers. [14]

Soviet historians admitted years ago that the Soviet Union had laid plans long before the war to put the entire Soviet railroad system on a war footing overnight. The purpose was to prevent the Germans from getting hold of the strategic rolling equipment. The Soviet success in this endeavor was almost total: Despite the huge number of rail cars, locomotives, and special transportation equipment in the frontier areas, and the deployment of troops and war materials for the gigantic Soviet military build-up in preparation for an attack on central Europe, most of the rolling stock was removed in time before the Germans struck in a lightning preventive action on 22 June 1941. During the first five weeks, when German armies pushed hundreds of miles into

the Soviet interior, only 577 locomotives, 270 passenger cars and 21,947 rail freight cars were captured. In relative terms, this amounted to just 2.3, 0.8 and 2.5 percent respectively. [15]

During the first few months of the war one million railroad cars loaded with industrial equipment, raw materials, and people departed from the frontline areas. [16] I won't delve into specifics of the scale of the Soviet program of deporting the civilian population. This I have done in some detail in *The Dissolution*. Suffice it here to note that before the war upward of 90 million people were living in the Soviet areas conquered by Germany during the Second World War. The Soviets deported anywhere between 25 and 30 million of them. They concentrated their deportation efforts on specific groups. Thus, they preferred the urban to the rural population, the skilled to the unskilled, and large educated minorities (Jews and Russians in the Ukraine, White Russia, and in the Baltic countries) to the more hostile native population. Because the Soviets had begun their deportation program long before the outbreak of the war and because the western frontier areas were generally not densely populated, the Soviet cities which fell into German hands during the first few days and weeks of the war were greatly depopulated – up to 90 percent in some cases and over 50 percent on the average. The cities tended to show greater deportation percentages if they were located in the Ukraine or White Russia, rather than in the Baltic countries; if they were located near the western frontier rather than further east; and if they had large educated minorities than if the native population predominated. [17]

In summary, the scorched-earth policy was extremely well geared to Soviet objectives. A huge armaments program had been initiated 13 years before 1941 and long before Adolf Hitler was in sight as a serious contender for German leadership. Extensive investments had been made in a rather thinly populated and underdeveloped area in order to develop its transportation facilities, power stations and network, and heavy industry. Last but not least, substitute factories had been systematically erected, ready to accept the industrial equipment from the more developed Soviet areas to the west should an unfavorable course of the war necessitate their removal to safer areas. What was lacking, however, was the social infrastructure, such as housing and hospitals, to accommodate the many millions of civilians deported there between 1940 and 1941. As a result, 15-20 million civilians died of epidemics, hunger, overwork, lack of housing, lack of clothing and the brutal Siberian winter.

The Economic Breakdown in the Occupied Eastern Territories

The picture presenting itself to the advancing German troops was one of despair. Of the railroad system only the tracks remained. The rolling stock was gone. Water works and power stations were destroyed. In order to organize the production of war-essential raw materials and mineral oil products, the Germans created the so-called Economic Staff East.

However, the Soviet strategy of scorching the earth very quickly forced the Economic Staff to reactivate all productive facilities of any kind. Even the production of consumer goods was included in its program, because domestic industry was incapable of resuming production on its own following the almost total destruction and dismantling by the Soviets and the deportation of most of the managerial personnel and technical specialists.

Of the original power generation capacity of 2.57 million kW in the Occupied Eastern Territories – which was equivalent to roughly one-fourth of total prewar Soviet generating capacity-less than one-eighth (300,000 kW) was found to be intact. Soviet demolition efforts were so thorough that until the end of March 1943, capacity could be increased to not more than 630,000 kW, which was still only one-quarter of the prewar level. [18] (See Table 1.)

Table 1 Power Generation in the Occupied Eastern Territories (1,000 kW)				
	Total	RK Ukraine (incl. Military Area South)	RK Ostland	Military Area North and Center
Before the war	2570 (100%)	2200 (100%)	270 (100%)	100 (100%)
After Soviet retreat	300 (12%)	145 (7%)	135 (50%)	20 (20%)
March 1943	630 (24%)	350 (16%)	240 (90%)	40 (40%)
Source: <i>Wirtschaftsgrößenordnungen für die besetzten Ostgebiete</i> , 9 March 1943, Berlin: Chefgruppe W im Wirtschaftsstab Ost (Military Archives Freiburg; Bestand RW 31/260).				

And yet, regional differences were quite obvious. In the Reichskommissariat (RK) Ostland (Baltic countries and White Russia) about half of the original capacity of 270,000 kW was found to be intact and until the end of March 1943 almost 90 percent of the former capacity was returned to operation. But in the Ukraine only 7 percent (145,000 kW) of the original power-generation capacity of 2.2 million kW was still operational. The thoroughness of the Bolsheviks is shown by the fact that until the end of March 1943, not more than 350,000 kW were usable again. This was just 16 percent of prewar capacity. These figures refer only to available capacities. In practice, these were rarely operated fully because of the growing partisan menace and an almost total lack of coal supplies. Obviously, industrial production had been dealt a fatal blow. As mentioned already, electric power generation before the war amounted to 10 billion kWh annually in the Occupied Eastern Territories. The German administration succeeded in producing only 750 million kWh from the time of occupation until the end of 1942. For the year 1943 the planned increase to 1.4 billion kWh – which would still have been 86 percent *below* pre-war levels -was never attained as only 1 billion kWh were actually produced. ^[19] It is significant that the planned increases in manufacturing and mining production for the year 1943 were realized in only a few cases. Actual production of essential raw materials or energy supplies fell far short of stated goals despite the high priority attached to redeveloping the Ukrainian economy.

The effects of the systematic destruction by the Soviets on industrial production are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Industrial Production in the Occupied Eastern Territories from the Time of Occupation until the End of 1943

Category	Unit	Production before Occupation	Production per cent of until end of 1942	1941-1943 pre-war production	Induction average until year end 1943	Plan fulfillment in the year 1943
Electricity	bill. kWh	10.0	7.5%	10.0%	8.8%	71%
Coal	mill. tons	85.0 (1940)	2.1%	2.7%	2.4%	26%
Iron ore	mill. tons	16.5 (1938)		2.3%	1.2%	10%
Crude Steel	mill. tons	12.0 (1940)	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	2%
Cement	mill. tons	2.0 (1938)	15.0%	8.2%	11.6%	31%
Lignite	mill. tons	0.5 (1938)	56.0%	90.0%	73.0%	23%
Peat	mill. tons	8.0 (1938)	56.0%	35.1%	45.6%	51%
Manganese ore	mill. tons	1.4 (1938)	45.0%	81.4%	63.6%	80%
Shale	mill. tons	1.7 (1938)	50.6%	76.2%	63.5%	68%
Shale oil	1000 tons	160.0 (1938)	33.8%	67.3%	50.5%	82%
Petroleum*	1000 tons	370.0 (1938)	67.8%	21.0%	44.7%	31%
Phosphate rock	1000 tons	175.0 (1938)	7.6%	47.9%	27.8%	98%
Mercury	tons	300.0 (1938)	7.6%	4.0%	5.5%	12%

* Including mineral oil production of Drohobycz (Galicia/General Government of Poland)

Source: *Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Chefgruppe Wirtschaft in Reichsministererium für die besetzten Ostgebiete*, 20 November 1943, Berlin: Wirtschaftsstab Ost (Military Archives Freiburg; Bestand RW 31/260). *Wirtschaftsgrößenordnungen für die besetzten Ostgebiete*, 9 March 1943, Berlin: Chefgruppe W im Wirtschaftsstab Ost (Military Archives Freiburg; Bestand RW 31/260).

The basic industrial structure — coal, iron ore, crude steel, electricity, and cement — was for all practical purposes totally destroyed. Compared with pre-war levels, coal mining averaged 2.4 percent, iron ore production 1.2 percent, crude steel production nothing, electricity 8.8 percent, and cement production 11.6 percent!

Another indication of the sorry state of the economy in German occupied Russia was the size of industrial manpower. In 1940, Soviet blue and white-collar workers numbered 31.2 million. [20] Even if their proportionate share in the regions later occupied by Germany was less than the Soviet average, it is reasonable to assume that there was a total of at least 10 million blue- and white-collar workers in these areas before the war. At the end of 1942, employment in industry (excluding the food industry) totalled only 750,000. In the purely industrial enterprises, that is, excluding the handicrafts, the number of employees was just 600,000 (**Table 3**)

Table 3 Number of Employees in Industry (excl. food) in the Occupied Eastern Territories – End of 1942		
Area	Employees	(percent)
Baltic countries (of RK Ostland)	140,000	(24%)
White Russia (General District)	25,000	
Military Area North	14,475	
Military Area Center	40,000	(76%)
RK Ukraine	150,000	
Military Area South	219,893	
Total	600,000	(100%)

Six hundred thousand in an area which prior to the war had a population of perhaps 75 million! Even if we add the unknown number of people employed in the food industry, it is obvious that *industrial employment under German administration was equivalent to one-tenth of prewar levels* at most. To make matters worse, the productivity of this remnant manpower was far below prewar standards. It is noteworthy that although the Baltic countries (the largest of which, Lithuania, had very little industry) accounted for only 8 percent of the prewar population of the Occupied Eastern Territories, they nevertheless furnished one quarter of the industrial manpower under German administration (**Table 3**).

Soviet deportations reduced skilled personnel to such an extent that not enough local managerial or technical experts could be found in the Occupied Eastern Territories for even the tiny number of remaining industrial employees. The Germans were forced to bring in about 10,000 civilian specialists from the Reich in order to overcome the most severe personnel shortages. ^[21] On the basis of available statistics I estimate that the Soviets deported at least 70 percent of the workers prior to German occupation. This means that the number of workers available to the German administration (generally lesser-skilled) was about 2 to 3 million. Inasmuch as not more than a million could be put back to work despite the enormous need for every kind of production, unemployment assumed huge proportions (50-70 percent) in the midst of a vociferous demand for goods of any kind.

According to Soviet Prof. Telpuchowski, the areas occupied by the Germans until November 1941 accounted for 63 percent of the coal, 68 percent of pig iron, 58 percent of the steel, 60 percent of the aluminum, 38 percent of grains and 84 percent of the sugar produced in the entire Soviet Union before the war. ^[22] The documents of the German Economic Staff East show essentially very similar magnitudes. The Soviets managed to make all this unavailable to the German enemy. The means employed were ruthless dismantling, demolition, fire, sabotage and deportation. Instead of adding to Germany's military strength, these areas became a tremendous drain on her already strained industrial capacity.

Hunger

As for the conquered raw material supplies, the following secret report of the German Economic Staff for the period 1-10 October 1941, provides a vivid description of the situation:

Few supplies of any size have been found so that care will have to be taken during the hostilities ... It appears that all raw material stocks were either systematically removed from the areas conquered so far or made unusable. Thus, the small quantities found until now are not a significant help in relieving the raw material needs of the Reich.... The factories have not been supplied with raw materials for some time. ^[23]

The same situation applied in the case of food, especially grains. An interdepartmental proposal of the Economic Staff dated 3 October 1941 on the supplies needed for Russian cities even went so far as to suggest that the remaining larger cities not yet in German hands should be cut off and encircled, and that their capitulation should not be accepted.

This, of course, was militarily quite out of the question, but it shows the desperation with which the German authorities of the conquered areas viewed the effects of the Soviet strategy of leaving it up to the occupying armies to feed millions of starving Soviet citizens! The report continued:

It has been our experience that the Russians remove or destroy systematically all of the food supplies before retreating. The urban population of the conquered cities thus will either have to be fed by the Wehrmacht or it will have to starve. Obviously, by forcing us to provide additional food to the Russian population, the Russian leadership intends to worsen the already difficult food situation of the German Reich through a reduction of the domestic German food supply. As a matter of fact, the present food situation permits us to feed the Russian urban population from our own stocks only if we reduce the supplies to the Army or if we lower the rations at home.

[24]

During the very early period of the war, Soviet destruction in the agricultural sector was confined to the machine and tractor stations. As a rule, these stations were found empty and the machines and vehicles left behind had been made unusable. At first, cattle stocks were relatively intact. But this changed rapidly during the following weeks. As the war progressed from west to east, almost no cattle, grain and gasoline supplies were found. The Luftwaffe and prisoners of war reported that the Soviets busily harvested the fields as they retreated. After the Ukraine was liberated, it became obvious that the food situation would slowly but surely become catastrophic. In many cases even seed grains had to be distributed to help the starving Ukrainians. This, in turn, reduced the acreage that could be planted at a time when the lack of tractors, gasoline, and draft horses had already made its negative effects felt. It is estimated that the so-called Occupied Eastern Territories produced 43 million tons of grain under Soviet rule in 1940. Under German administration the recorded harvest in 1941 was not more than 13 million tons. One reason for this small harvest was the fact that the German drive into Russia was swiftest in the northern and center sections of the theater of war, thus enabling the Soviets to take with them or destroy considerable parts of the harvest in the Ukraine. In 1942 even less was harvested, only 11.7 million tons. According to Dallin, the German administration succeeded in seeding not more than three quarters of the prewar acreage. Fertilizer was practically unavailable and the yield per acre was correspondingly lower in 1942. Compared to the average yields per hectare of approximately 2200 pounds (14 bushels/acre) in the Ukraine in the late 1930s, the Germans managed to obtain just 1500 pounds (10 bushels/acre). [25] Furthermore, the Soviet scorched earth policy now began to show its full effects: The use of seed grains to relieve the worst hunger in the cities, the increasing partisan menace and the dearth of personnel and machinery reduced the harvest potential drastically.

German supervisory personnel in the countryside were much too thinly spread to enforce effectively a strict delivery of agricultural products. To be sure, at the expense of the goodwill and the pro-German attitude of the peasant population, it was possible to locate and requisition some additional agricultural produce for the cities, but, judging by the misery in the cities, this was by far not rigorous enough. Of course, the Germans periodically tried to “comb through” the countryside to find these hoarded stocks but their efforts were marked with little success. The retreating Red Army had removed the entire organization necessary to collect and distribute the harvest of the collectivized agriculture system, and the German administration was forced to set up its own collection and distribution system for agricultural products—not an easy task considering the harrowing wartime conditions. Not only was time much too short and wartime conditions simply too severe to organize such an administration successfully, but the brutality with which the Bolsheviks had enforced their claims on agricultural production was simply not in keeping with the German mentality or German policy which — contrary to Allied and Soviet propaganda — aimed at finding a basis of mutual understanding with the liberated Slavic and Baltic populations.

Far from the ruthlessness which supposedly characterized German occupation rule in Russia, the plain fact is that, as a central European nation, the Germans never came to grips with the inhu-

mane concept of total warfare as applied by their Soviet foe. As even Jewish historian Alexander Dallin admits: “Soviet collection (of the harvest) had, in practice, been far more *efficient* (italics added) than the German. As a result, peasants in German-held areas were often able to hide larger stocks than before the war. In all probability concealed reserves remained substantial,...” [26] From 1941 until 1943, 15,000 rail cars loaded with agricultural equipment and machines left Germany for the Occupied Eastern Territories under the so-called *Ostackerprogramm* (“Eastern soil program”). This included 7,000 tractors, 20,000 generators, 250,000 steel plows, and 3,000,000 scythes. Furthermore, thousands of bulls, cows, swine, and stallions were sent to those areas for breeding purposes to raise the quality of the livestock. Available statistics indicate that German agricultural assistance between July 1941 and June 1943 amounted to 445 million RM (Reichsmarks). [27]

The net prewar Soviet harvest of 1940 yielded 82 million tons of grain, of which about 30 percent was set aside for seed and feed purposes. Theoretically, the Soviet population thus had available 57 million tons, or a little less than 800 grams daily per person. In practice, of course, it was less, because part of this volume was set aside in reserve in anticipation of the coming war with Germany. [28] Assuming that 30 percent of the recorded harvest of only 13 millions tons under German occupation in 1941 was set aside for seed and feed purposes, only 9 million tons were left for the native population. Of that amount 2 million tons were taken by the German army. The amount requisitioned by the German army was rather moderate indeed. This is shown by the fact that the Red Army used 3 1/4 million tons of grain in 1940, the last year of peace! While another 350,000 tons were shipped off to Germany, this was offset by the significant but unknown portion of the grain volume sequestered by the German army but used to feed the native urban civilian population. [29] In any case, the civilian population of about 50 million was thus left with only about 7 million tons. On a per capita basis this amounted to less than 400 grams daily (less than one pound) – only half as much as in 1940. Meat and fats were not available as a general rule. But this average does not mean very much. On the one hand, we noted that the harvests probably were considerably larger than German statistics indicate. This means that at least the rural population which was the majority, was able to enjoy a considerably better and more plentiful diet. Also, many urban dwellers were able to obtain food from the peasants on the illegal, but difficult to control black market. In this way the cities obtained from the peasants some of the food which German authorities were unable to trace. On the other hand, transportation was often an insurmountable problem so that even the minimal supply of food arrived in the cities either late or not at all. Moreover, partisans either destroyed or confiscated large parts of the harvested grain. Finally, German authorities often tried to obtain extra rations for workers in war-essential factories. Of course, this was only possible at the expense of the rest of the population. The fact that German authorities did not even succeed in getting the special rations for the workers in war-essential industries or for those doing heavy manual labor, as they were entitled, shows how serious the situation was. [30] Those urban residents who were either unemployed or did not have anything to trade with the peasants were really in trouble: Starvation was their fate.

To show the desperate food situation in the cities of German occupied Russia, I will quote from the regular secret reports of the Economic Staff East sent to Berlin:

11 November 1941: The scarcity of food and the lack of even the most essential consumer goods are the main reason why the morale of the Russian and Ukrainian population is becoming more and more depressed ... Kiev received no grain whatever since its occupation on 19 September 1941 ... The partisans take food from the civilian population at night and force physically able men to join them. In part, food supplies are being burned down by the partisans. Especially great difficulties exist in the southern area where it is impossible to feed all of the prisoners of war because of

their huge numbers.... The authorities are constantly at pains to find enough to eat for the prisoners, although gruel and buckwheat are available only in limited quantities.... We are very concerned about our ability to feed the urban population in the southern areas. [31]

8 December 1941: The food situation in the city of Kharkov is extremely critical. There is almost nothing for the population to eat. Bread is not available. [32]

22 January 1942: The regular distribution of food to the urban civilian population in the southern area must be restricted more and more, and this is not likely to change in the foreseeable future. [33]

23 February 1942: The supply of food to the civilian population of the larger cities is so critical that it is cause for the most serious warnings. [33]

1 March 1942: The morale is low because of food problems.... In the densely populated Donets area especially no food has been distributed at all to the population. As a result, several thousand people have died of hunger so far. In some cases even highly qualified specialists and professors were among the victims. [33]

5 March 1942: The food situation continues to be very serious and in some cities there is actual starvation. In Pushkin it was discovered that there was a trade in human flesh which was offered to the population as pork. [33]

16 March 1942 (Report by the commander of the military rear central areas): In the large cities (the food situation) continues to be unsatisfactory and in Kharkov it is catastrophic. As time goes on it becomes ever more difficult to feed the urban population ... [33]

3 June 1942: The food situation in the cities grows worse and worse because part of the food supplies collected for the population had to be used for seeding and part of the supplies were destroyed by the partisans. [33]

The unceasing efforts by the German civil and military authorities to provide a sufficient supply of food to the civilian population within their narrow means were brought to naught by the terribly poor harvests, the catastrophic transport situation, the partisan menace, the removal of the food depots by the Soviets and the impossibility of organizing a satisfactory regular exchange of goods between the large cities and the countryside. While the food supply of the rural population and the small towns was relatively secure, the civilian population of the large cities and the millions of prisoners faced naked starvation. Soviet savagery thus became a legacy of German guilt.

German Counter-Measures

If for no other reason than self-interest, the Germans tried to relieve the catastrophic economic situation and stabilize the economy by importing huge amounts of capital from Germany. Equipment worth one billion RM was imported from the Reich for the mining, energy and manufacturing sectors alone. To this must be added the considerable costs incurred for the transportation sector as well as for road-building equipment, the value of which has been estimated at more than one billion RM. After adding the considerable quantities of coal used as fuel for civilian railroad freight transport, German reconstruction aid for industry and the infrastructure may have totalled more than 2.5 billion RM. [34] This amount does not include agricultural assistance worth about a half-billion RM. The extent of German aid to the civilian sector may be better appreci-

ated if one realizes that the gross value of industrial production in those areas (valued on the basis of domestic German prices) from the beginning of the occupation until the end of 1943 amounted to approximately 5 billion RM. (This figure includes the industrial raw materials, finished goods, and repairs furnished by that economy to the German army.) [35] Although it is not known precisely what portion of this gross value was actual value-added, comparisons with other countries would suggest that it must have been a little more than 2 billion RM. [36] In other words, *German non-agricultural economic aid was larger than the entire industrial output of these territories during the time of occupation!* The annual net output per worker amounted to 1,000 RM per year. By comparison: The German worker attained a net production of 4,000 RM in the year 1936. [37]

Naturally, a large part of the much-reduced volume of industrial production was absorbed by the German occupation army. Thus, German army requirements and, to an even greater extent, the Soviet scorched-earth strategy, reduced the supply of consumer goods for a native population of about 50 million to almost nothing. The reason for the failure of the German administration to provide sufficient food for the native urban population is best demonstrated by this dilemma. Consumer goods production was practically non-existent because of Soviet destruction and evacuation of all industrial plants and raw materials, the deportation of the trained industrial manpower, and the impossibility of quickly repairing damages. Thus, there was nothing the urban populations could offer to the peasants in exchange for their food. And since the peasant was unable to buy anything for the money he received, he was unwilling to part with his produce.

German economic aid to the occupied Soviet territories amounted to roughly one percent of German gross national product of those years. [38] Even today, this figure is not matched by the level of foreign aid of the industrial nations to developing countries. West Germany, for example, extended foreign aid amounting to about one-half of one percent of GNP since 1960, that is, at a time of relative prosperity and low defense outlays. Indeed, *the economic assistance of about 3 billion RM (including both industrial and agricultural aid) furnished to the economy of the occupied Soviet area* is even more remarkable when one realizes this this amount *was equivalent to one-fourth of aggregate gross fixed investment in Greater Germany in the years 1942 and 1943* (12 billion RM). [39]

A comparison of the straight economic tonnage exchanged between the Reich and the Occupied Eastern Territories provides additional information on non-military exchange between those two years. Unfortunately, only data for the year 1943 could be found. (Table 4)

Table 4 Non-military Transports between the German Reich and the Occupied Eastern Territories in the Year 1943 (1,000 tons)		
	From the Occupied Eastern Territories into the Reich	
By Rail	4,259	

On waterways	536	4,795
	From the Reich into the Occupied Eastern Territories	
By Rail	2,126	
On waterways	1,911	4,037
Source: Reichsministerium fuer die besetzen Ostgebiete. <i>Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Chefgruppe Wirtschaft in Reichsministerium für die besetzen Ostgebiete</i> , 20 November 1944, Military Archives Freiburg; Bestand RW 31/260.		

In terms of tonnage, about 20 percent more freight entered Germany than was delivered by the Reich. Considering that about 2 million tons of grain were furnished by the Occupied Eastern Territories to the German armies in 1943, ^[40] the tonnage ratio of exchange of 7 to 4 was indeed favorable to Germany. However, the goods made available by those territories were mainly staples (raw materials, ores, etc.) with relatively low weight-specific values, while the products from Germany had very high weight-specific values (with the exception of coal to run the railroads, of course). Inasmuch as finished goods tend to be many times more valuable, pound for pound, than staple products, it would seem that the exchange was much more favorable for the Occupied Eastern Territories, even though this rough approximation certainly does not permit us to calculate the actual value of the trade even within a wide margin of error. On balance, the Occupied Eastern Territories delivered agricultural products worth 1.6 billion RM to the Reich and the German armies. ^[41] The deliveries of German machines, tractors, generators, equipment of all kinds for industry and agriculture, vehicles, railroad coal, etc., amounted to roughly 3.0 billion RM, leaving a difference of about 1.4 billion RM in favor of the Occupied Eastern Territories. From this we would have to deduct the value of captured raw material supplies, the ores and other raw materials produced during the period of occupation, as well as repair services for the German army. It is unknown what value should be applied to these items. However, in view of the very small raw material depots found and the extremely low production of the largely defunct industry (a large part of the industrial output was actually used to rebuild the factories) it must be doubted whether more than 25 percent of industry's meager output of 2 billion RM was absorbed by the occupation forces. In short, the Occupied Eastern territories as such added little in economic terms to the fight against the common Bolshevik enemy. In fact, they were the beneficiaries of an almost unbelievably generous reconstruction assistance. This aid, like all so-called foreign aid, was hardly made for purely altruistic reasons. Nevertheless, it was unique in the history of relations between an occupying power and the conquered territory of a country with which it was still locked in mortal combat.

It would be too simplistic to attribute the German economic failure in Russia simply to the Soviet success in dismantling, removing and destroying the industrial base, infrastructure and raw material supplies, to the deportation of millions of workers or to the increasing partisan threat. All of these factors were no doubt very important. Another aspect, however, was at least as significant. When Germany invaded the USSR she did so despite an almost total lack of knowledge of real Soviet military strength, of the size of Soviet arms production, of the capacity of the main centers

of military industrial output, or of Soviet preparations for total war. Even worse, Germany was totally unprepared to overcome the serious transportation bottlenecks which developed almost immediately and had no plans whatever for running an economy which had depended on centralized planning directives from Moscow, where every kind of private initiative had been stifled, where the entire administrative, managerial and technical class had been deported and where public records had been largely removed. Not only did Soviet brutality and lack of any restraint differ from the practice during the historic national wars in Europe, but it soon also became apparent that the challenge of a smoking remains of an economy, run on an organizational pattern vastly different from that familiar to Europeans, posed insurmountable problems. The added liability of the disappearance of the entire organizational, administrative and technical apparatus turned a task which was almost impossible to begin with into chaos. Chaos brought starvation, and starvation brought support for the partisans. The book has not yet been written which analyses the German military defeat in Russia in terms of her failure to get the economy of the occupied territories organized effectively and producing again.

The lack of success in finding a solution to the food problem was partly due to Germany's inability to effectively revamp Soviet agriculture during the limited time available and to her scruples in burdening an already downtrodden population even further. Thus, assistance measures like the so-called *Ostackerprogramm*, while gigantic in terms of absolute aid to the agriculture of the Occupied Eastern Territories, were really doomed to failure from the start because they did not remove the cause of the problem. In effect, Germany tried to keep alive by artificial means the amputated trunk of a society devoid of its brains and muscles.

Implications

It is an indisputable fact that the systematic Soviet dismantling of factories and their shipment to the Urals, the carefully planned removal and destruction of raw materials stocks and food supplies, and the large-scale deportation of civilians were started long before 22 June 1941. Indeed, evidence indicated that these efforts were greatly intensified ten to fourteen days prior to that date. Now, we do not know whether Stalin believed that a German attack would come on the precise date of 22 June 1941, although Sorge and others had provided such information to him. Possibly, Stalin thought that Germany's military build-up was insufficient to allow her to strike on the day reported to him. But this is really beside the point. Both sides knew that the other would attack as soon as it was ready. This fact demolishes forever the charge of a German sneak attack on an unprepared, peace-loving Soviet Union. The initial German military successes were achieved not because of the element of surprise but despite Stalin's knowledge of German preventive action and despite a huge Soviet military build-up for an attack on central Europe, which was the reason for Germany's preventive war in the first place. Furthermore, the allegation of systematic German brutality in Russia is exposed as plain Soviet propaganda. It is true that starvation was widespread in the large cities of the German-occupied Soviet Union, that large numbers of Soviet prisoners-of-war died of hunger, that the Soviet cities were in ruins after the German armies retreated, and that the Soviet population suffered tens of millions of dead during the Second World War. However, we also know that the inhumane Soviet scorched-earth strategy was the cause of hunger in the German-occupied Soviet territories, of an orgy of destruction previously unknown in warfare, and of the death of up to 20 million Soviet civilians, many of whom had been deported to the frozen wastes of Siberia and the Urals where epidemics, lack of housing and medical care, unimaginably hard work loads, and an extreme climate allowed only the toughest to survive. Add the costly human-wave tactics of Soviet military strategy and it is evident that Soviet brutality alone was responsible for the unbelievably huge losses of life suffered by the peoples of the Soviet Union – more than 30 million dead!

The real number of Soviet war losses is not the main focus of this paper, and space does not permit a detailed examination of this subject here. However, an appendix has been added which attempts to arrive at a more realistic estimate of Soviet war casualties based on an analysis of post-war USSR census figures from 1959, 1970 and 1979 and a comparison with the Soviet census of 1939 adjusted to the extent possible for border and population changes between 1939 and 1945. Suffice it here to say that the Soviets lost more than 25 percent of their male and almost 9 percent of their female population. For the population left under Stalin's control at the height of German expansion in Russia, the equivalent losses are 33 percent and 13 percent. It is curious that contemporary standard treatments of Soviet wartime losses generally admit to just 20 million dead. Why this unusual understatement for a wartime ally? Well, to admit that the Soviets lost almost 20 million civilians rather than 6-7 million during the Second World War would place the responsibility for most of the non-military losses on the Soviets themselves.

Naturally, the alleged German rampage in Russia fits neatly into the "Holocaust" tale. After all, the area of the Soviet Union occupied by Germany had been populated by more than 3.5 million Jews before 22 June 1941. ^[42] If one adds the nearly one million Jewish refugees in eastern Poland in early 1940, it is obvious that to maintain the genocide charge it has been necessary to draw a curtain of silence around the Soviet long-term preparation, anticipation, thoroughness, brutality, and scale of scorching the earth during the Second World War. Since the historical framework within which the alleged German mass murder is supposed to have been perpetrated simply did not exist, it became necessary to create the myths which superficially appeared to be substantiated by what was obvious to everyone: The initial swift German advances and the horrible destruction of Soviet cities and countryside after the Germans were forced out again.

It is up to us to lift this curtain of silence and concealment and to replace the myth of Soviet unpreparedness with the horrible truth of Soviet scorched earth.

Appendix

Soviet Casualties During the Second World War

The USSR has never published any data on Soviet war casualties. But the censuses taken in the post-war period can help give a good idea of the probable size of the Soviet losses. A distinction between military and non-military losses, however, still is not possible with any great degree of accuracy. The census of 17 January 1939 found a population of 170.56 million, of which 81.70 million (47.9%) were male. The first post-war census conducted in December 1959 counted 208.83 million inhabitants; males accounted for 94.05 million (45%) of them. A direct comparison between these two counts is not possible, though, because the Soviet Union annexed huge territories in eastern Europe in the period from September 1939 to the summer of 1940 and then again in 1945: the Baltic countries, eastern Poland, northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, and the Carpathian Ukraine. In the course of its territorial expansion in the years 1939 and 1940 the Soviet Union absorbed at least 24 million Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Jews, White Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and Rumanians, to name just the most important nationalities. Also, between January 1939 and June 1941 the natural excess of births over deaths added another 7-8 million people. Thus, at the beginning of the war with Germany in June 1941 there were about 202 million people under Soviet rule.

The sex structure of the Soviet population of 202 million (June 1941) was not affected by the incorporation of 24 million people between 1939 and 1940, because most of the absorbed territories had belonged to the Tsarist empire until 1917 and thus the enormous male casualties suffered

during the First World War were reflected in the demographic structure of those areas as well. But the excess births over deaths between 1939 and 1941 did result in a very slight improvement of the male share to 48 percent. To summarize: Of the 202 million people in the Soviet Union at the beginning of the war in June 1941, 97 million were male (48%) and 105 million female (52%). A comparison of these figures with the census of 1959 is encumbered by the fact that after the war further territorial changes and forcible population exchanges with neighboring satellite countries took place. For example, the area around Bialystok, which was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1939, was returned to Communist post-war Poland. At the same time, the Soviets annexed the Carpathian Ukraine. Then, too, many Poles residing in eastern Poland were removed after the war to areas previously populated by Germans, while many Ukrainians living west of the line of the Bug and San rivers were transferred to Ukraine.

Development of the Soviet Population: 1939 to 1979 (millions)			
	Male (percent)	Female (percent)	Total
Increase			
Census of January 1939	81.70 (47.9)	88.86 (52.1)	170.56
a) Estimated resident population of eastern Poland, Baltic countries, northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Polish refugees from central Poland	+11.50 (47.9)	+12.50 (52.1)	+24.00
b) Estimated natural population growth until June 1941	+3.80 (51.0)	+3.64 (49.0)	+7.44
Estimate for June 1941	97.00 (48.0)	105.00 (52.0)	202.00
Soviet War Casualties*	23.87	9.00	32.87

Estimate for June 1945	73.13 (43.2)	96.00 (56.8)	169.13
Net increase 1945-1959			
Births (at least)	30.10	30.10	60.2
Deaths (estimate)	9.18	11.32	20.5
Net total	20.92 (52.7)	18.78 (47.3)	39.70
Census of December 1959	94.05 (45.0)	114.78 (55.0)	208.83
Net increase 1959-1970	17.35 (52.7)	15.54 (47.3)	32.89
Census of January 1970	111.40 (46.1)	130.32 (53.9)	241.72
Net increase 1970-1979	10.90 (52.7)	9.78 (47.3)	20.68
Census of January 1979	122.30 (46.6)	140.10 (53.4)	262.40
* Difference between the 1941 and 1945 population estimates.			

Whether all of these changes provided the Soviet Union with a net population gain or loss cannot be determined today with certainty. In addition, there is the well-known fact that many former Soviet citizens fled to the West when the German armies withdrew from Russia. Many of them were able to find their way to western countries despite Allied efforts to force them to return to the Soviet Union after 1945. But these lucky ones are more than matched by the millions deported by the Soviets from central and eastern Europe after the war. It is just about impossible to obtain even approximate figures for these population changes, but it can be argued (and this analysis starts from the basis) that these changes did not produce major additions or subtractions.

The total number and the sex composition of the Soviet population at the end of the war in 1945 can be estimated if we draw on the post-war censuses of December 1959, January 1970 and January 1979. The age groups of 0 to 15 years (1945-1959) accounted for 60.2 million people ac-

cording to the census of December 1959. Available statistics indicate that the mortality rate averaged 0.72% between 1945 and 1959; on the basis of an average population of 190 million the total number of deaths during this period may be estimated at 20.5 million. Thus, the net population growth until 1959 was almost 40 million. Subtracting this figure from the 1959 population of about 209 million we arrive at a 1945-population of only 169 million! Finally, if we compare the 1941 figure (202 million) with the one for 1945, it is obvious that *the Soviet Union's total war casualties amounted to 33 million!* The distribution of this immense loss of life among both sexes can also be estimated by using the post-war censuses. Between 1959 and 1970 the net population gain was 32.89 million, and between 1970 and 1979 it was 20.68 million. Males accounted for 52.74 percent of this total increase of 53.57 million. Applying this percentage to the increase of barely 40 million between 1945 and 1959, it is obvious that males increased by almost 21 million.

The Soviet censuses of 1939, 1959, 1970 and 1979, as well as the estimates for the years 1941 and 1945, are listed above.

Despite the above-mentioned uncertainties pertaining to the various population movements, it is nevertheless possible to state with a great degree of probability that Soviet war losses during the Second World War exceeded 30 million and that only 73 million of the previous 97 million males survived the war. In short, more than 25 percent of the males had to sacrifice their lives for the Soviet cause! The female Soviet population suffered 9 million dead, or almost 9 percent. Citing official sources, the Swiss newspaper *Die Tat* (January 1955) reported 13.6 million Red Army deaths during the Second World War. The same figure was published by the Ploetz Publishing House in Wuerzburg/Germany, and other sources — for example, the West German Historical Military Research Institute — mentioned similar figures. If this huge military loss is accurate, Soviet *civilian* losses must have been 19.3 million, of which, in turn, 9 million were female and 10.3 million male. The terrible conditions behind Soviet lines, which included hunger, exhaustion, deaths from exposure to cold, epidemics, lack of medications and medical care, catastrophic living conditions (tents, earth huts), and the terror of an inhumane regime fighting for its survival, caused most of these deaths, as the 9 million female casualties indicate.

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38. [↗](#) Klein, Burton H. Germany's Economic Preparations for War, Cambridge/Mass.: 1959, p. 256. The gross national product of the German Reich for 1942 and 1943 was given as RM 143 and RM 160 billion, respectively. Relative to the entire reconstruction assistance of about RM 3 billion (incl. agricultural aid of RM 445 million) provided to the Occupied Eastern Territories this amounts to 1%. Soviet Scorched-Earth Warfare
39. [↗](#) [ibid.](#)
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Reflections on Auschwitz and West German Justice

Thies Christophersen

My booklet, *The Auschwitz Lie*, has become an under-the-counter bestseller. It has appeared in French, Spanish, Dutch, Danish and even Hungarian, as well as in several Englishlanguage editions. Actually, there's nothing very remarkable about *The Auschwitz Lie* except that it was written by someone who was in Auschwitz and~who recorded his experiences and recollections. People generally prefer to read sensational reports, and my booklet is certainly not that.

In the spirit of Martin Luther, I try to speak positively and influence things for the best. But I was accused of "popular incitement" (*Volksverhetzung*) for doing that. I spent a year in prison, even though the charge of popular incitement was eventually dropped. However, the charges of "contempt against the state" and defamation of the Jews, who now enjoy special protection in this regard, were not dropped. I was also accused of defaming the memory of the dead. In this regard, the son of Count Schenk von Stauffenberg appeared as a co-plaintiff against me because I had called his father a traitor. Well, I wouldn't like it either if my own father had been insulted, and so I wasn't offended when Stauffenberg junior sought to rehabilitate his father's reputation. All the same, there wasn't any need for a criminal indictment. If he had sent me a letter justifying his father's actions, I certainly would have published the complete text of it in my magazine. Of course, I would also have commented on it, as I always do with critical letters from readers.

I'd like to describe my experiences and observations since the publication of my first-person report about Auschwitz. When I wrote my report, I was criticized on the grounds that, although I was in the camp and saw nothing of mass gassings, that fact did not necessarily mean that there were none. All the same, I can say with certainty that there were no mass gassings at Auschwitz. I don't write under a pen name. I even gave my address and telephone number. I have received thousands of letters and calls. Many of those who contacted me can confirm my statements, but are afraid to do so publicly. Some of those are SS men who were brutally mistreated and even tortured in Allied captivity. I also immediately contacted those who claimed to know more about mass gassings. My experiences were precisely the same as those of French professor Paul Rassinier. I have not found any eyewitnesses. Instead, people would tell me that they knew someone who knew someone else, who talked about it. In most cases the alleged eyewitnesses had died. Other supposed eyewitnesses would quickly begin to stammer and stutter when I asked a few precise questions. Even Simon Wiesenthal had to finally admit before a Frankfurt district court that he was actually never in Auschwitz. All of the reports I have heard about are contradictory. Everyone seemed to tell a different story about the gas chambers. They couldn't even agree about where they were supposed to have been located.,This is also true of the so-called scholarly literature, which is full of contradictions. But they know more about that than I do.

I want to try to explain how such stories get started. When I tell fairy tales to my grandchildren, I often speak as if I am there in the story myself, so that the children will believe them. Many peo-

ple also have a tendency to embellish what they say. Some enjoy getting others to believe their false tales. And then there are the so-called “bull stories” (Latrinenparolen). Every veteran knows about these. Those interned in prison camps particularly like to invent and spread such stories.

So I have an explanation for how the story got started that corpses were burned in open fires at Auschwitz. There were also “bull stories” at Auschwitz. My maid, Olga, once told my mother, who was visiting me at Auschwitz, about a fire in which people were being burned. I asked Olga about that. She didn’t know anything for sure, but she said that a fire could always be seen in the direction of Bielitz. I drove in that direction but found only a large industrial plant where inmates were also working. I looked over the entire camp and inspected all the fires and smoking chimneys. But I didn’t find anything suspicious. I asked my colleagues, but they answered merely by shrugging their shoulders and saying that I shouldn’t believe “bull stories.” There was indeed a crematory at Auschwitz. After all, 200,000 people lived there and every city has a crematory. Of course, people died there as well-and not just inmates. The wife of SS Lt. Col. Caesar, for example, died there of typhus. I was satisfied with those answers at the time.

Today I know much more about this matter. At first, those who died at Auschwitz were buried, but because of the high ground water level (one meter) in this area between the Vistula and Sola rivers, that practice couldn’t be continued. A labor team headed by SS Staff Sergeant Moll (who had been in charge of the agricultural nursery at Raisko) was assigned to dig up the buried corpses and burn them. This was done on an open fire. The most unbelievable stories were told about this procedure. West German television even broadcast a film of this which was supposedly made in secret by an SS man.

There’s another factor which has played a role in all this. The defense attorneys for the so-called German war criminals were not entirely blameless. Every defense attorney wants freedom for his client and, as a result, the attorneys often argued that persons who were already dead were guilty of the alleged crimes. SS Sergeant Moll was killed in action in the final days of the war.

During this period I also received a report from the brother-in-law of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. He lives in Flensburg, not far from my home. His report generally confirmed my own statements. Death sentences were certainly carried out and hostages were also shot. I pointed this out in my booklet. But these executions were not carried out in the camp itself. otherwise they would have been heard.

I can’t understand why Auschwitz is called a concentration camp. I consider it an internment camp. It’s well known that enemy aliens are normally interned during wartime. In order to keep them from fighting against their host country, they are normally not expelled. Of course, one can argue about whether the Jews should have been considered members of an enemy nation. After all, the state of Israel wasn’t founded until after the war. Nevertheless, the Jews had already declared war against us in 1933, as the London Daily Express reported on 24 March of that year. On that basis, internment would have been justified even then. But the Jews weren’t interned until after the outbreak of war in September 1939, and even then not all at once.

I am thus one of the few who can report on the actual situation in the Auschwitz camp, and I have done so. What has it brought me? Two years of living in exile and one year in prison. Even though, prudently enough, there wasn’t anything about it in my verdict, I would never have been imprisoned if I had not written *The Auschwitz Lie*. The charge of “contempt against the state” was only a pretense. There’s no parallel for such a charge in any other country of the western world, not even in those that are still monarchies.

I lived in Belgium for two years. Even though I was not recognized as a political refugee, I nevertheless received an official residence permit. The Belgian authorities knew that I was wanted in the German Federal Republic on a charge of “contempt against the state.” I was extradited at the request of the German legal authorities. I brought suit against the Belgian government for damages of one million Belgian francs, or 50,000 German marks. And how did the Belgian authorities respond? They began legal proceedings against me to determine whether or not I had broken any Belgian laws. My apartment in Belgium was searched while I was away. Many of my papers were confiscated. That was two years ago. It was discovered that I had once stayed overnight in an Antwerp hotel under the name of Tetje Paulsen. I didn’t know anything about that because the room had been reserved for me by a friend who knew me only under the pseudonym Paulsen. A Belgian judge told me that it was dishonorable to stay overnight in a hotel with a strange woman, and that doing so made me suspect. It didn’t matter that the woman I spent the night with there was my own wife.

But the greatest violation was committed by the German legal authorities. They issued a false report to the news media that I had been arrested while trying to enter the German Federal Republic without a valid passport. Actually, I was arrested in my apartment in Belgium on 26 August 1983 by Belgian police and taken in handcuffs to the border where I was turned over to German police who were waiting for me. I then got to learn how justice is carried out in German prisons. I must say that Auschwitz inmates had more freedom. There were no individual cells or isolation confinement. Even during the war the inmates received unlimited numbers of very welcome “Care” packages. There was even a brothel in Auschwitz for the inmates. In the Flensburg prison not even a chaplain was made available to me.

Around the world, and especially in Germany, people protest against injustice, oppression and persecution of minorities. The injustices during the Third Reich, and there certainly were injustices, are condemned and denounced most loudly of all. I have made it my duty to criticize not the mistakes of the past, but rather the mistakes of the present. I did the same during the Third Reich, but I wasn’t imprisoned as a result.

Nowadays there’s an awful lot of talk about democracy, or the “rule of the people.” That doesn’t exist for us today. We are still West German Justice living under the rule of the occupation powers. In our homeland there is only room for aliens and for those who serve foreigners. There was once a time when more than 90 percent of the population supported its leadership. I remember that time very well. There was no government peevishness, no unemployment and no fear about the future. Anyone who lived during that time will never forget those things, despite the many lies which have been spread about that time and which are unfortunately believed. The right of national self-determination became a reality. It was never so disregarded as it has been since 1945.

A national socialism could have been a model and guide for the entire world. But it was precisely those powers which ruled over and oppressed other nations which could not tolerate the right of national self-determination. And although many of the colonial empires have disappeared, the nations have been forced into a new and far more terrible form of dependency. U.S. capitalism, and those behind it, have won the struggle for world supremacy.

Surveillance grows more and more pervasive. Orwell was thus not completely wrong. I have experienced it and I believe we all experience it. Terror is now also being used.

What can we do? Nothing? Should we remain silent? Should we smother the cry of outrage in our hearts? Our writings may be banned. We may be thrown into prison. Our mail may be in-

spected. We may be attacked with fire and bombs. Our homes may be searched. We may be kept from obtaining employment or fired from our jobs. We may be slandered, ridiculed and persecuted like the early Christians. But we will suffer and endure it all, and our enemies will thus achieve precisely the opposite of what they intend. Their actions make others interested in what we do. I believe in truth and in justice, and I know that one day they will prevail.

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Book review

A Trial On Trial: The Great Sedition Trial Of 1944

- *A Trial On Trial: The Great Sedition Trial Of 1944*, by Lawrence Dennis and Maximilian St. George. Torrance, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1984, 503pp, \$11.00, Pb, ISBN 0-939484-20-X.

Reviewed by L. A. Rollins

About fifteen years ago, in the midst of the raging debate over American involvement in the Indochina War, which I had come to oppose, I wrote a heated denunciation of the Chicago Conspiracy Trial of 1969. At that time I knew nothing of the Great Sedition Trial of 1944, which was, in some ways, a strikingly similar judicial farce.

Of course, the Sedition Trial of 1944 has been consigned to the Orwellian memory hole by America's post-World-War-Two political, economic, intellectual, cultural, academic and media establishments. After all, a basic and unquestioned premise of all post-war Establishment thinking has been the necessity and nobility of Roosevelt II's interventionist warmongering. And the reality of the mass sedition trial of 1944 rather glaringly conflicts with at least one aspect of the mythological version of Roosevelt's War, the myth that the Roosevelt regime displayed an unusually tender solicitude for civil liberties during wartime. The IHR's reprinting of Dennis and St. George's classic work on the 1944 Sedition Trial is an important contribution to the task of "blasting the historical blackout" that still keeps most Americans in the dark about Roosevelt's War.

Lawrence Dennis was himself one of the twenty-nine defendants charged with conspiring to undermine the morale of the armed forces in violation of the Smith Act of 1940. His co-author Maximilian St. George, was defense attorney for Joseph McWilliams, another of the defendants in the trial.

The book is not so much an account of the trial as an analysis of it. Dennis and St. George identify the people and the purposes behind the trial, how and why it came about. And they devote much of the book to a dissection of the government's case against the accused seditionists. This detailed legal discussion is, perhaps inevitably, somewhat repetitious and, therefore, somewhat tedious. But there is much here that should be of interest to civil libertarians as well as revisionists.

The prosecutor, O. John Rogge, accused the defendants of membership in a world-wide Nazi conspiracy. His case consisted largely of out-of-context quotations from the writings of the defendants. These quotations were supposed to show that the defendants agreed with Nazi criticisms of Communism, democracy, Jews and/or the warmongering Roosevelt regime. Thus,

agreement with the Nazis on one or more points was made out to be the equivalent of full-fledged, conscious participation in a conspiracy to Nazify the planet. Dennis and St. George painstakingly debunk this ludicrous attempt to prove guilt-by-association. They also include a chapter calling for an end to the abuse of the charge of “conspiracy.” Perhaps those revisionists with a penchant for parroting conspiracy theories based on similar guilt-by-association arguments will take heed of the author’s views.

Dennis and St. George point out (p. 83) that “One of the many ironies of the mass Sedition Trial was that the defendants were charged with conspiring to violate a law aimed at communists and a communist tactic, that of trying to undermine the loyalty of the armed forces. What makes this so ironical is that many of the defendants, being fanatical anti-Communists, had openly supported the enactment of this law.” How’s that for being hoisted with one’s own petard? As the authors go on to say, “The moral is one of the major points of this book: laws intended to get one crowd may well be used by them to get the authors and backers of the law. This just another good argument for civil liberties and freedom of speech.”

Perhaps the backers of the prosecution of Ernst Zündel in Canada for publishing “false news” about “the Holocaust” should contemplate this particular point. Imagine how many Canadian Holocausters would end up behind bars if the law against publishing “false news” about “the Holocaust” were ever used against them. There wouldn’t be enough jails to hold ‘em.

Here is another of the ironies of the Sedition Trial. As Dennis and St. George pointed out for the benefit of the “extremists of the left” who supported the trial, the same sort of guilt-by-association argument could easily be used to make a similar case against those same leftists. They write (p. 211), “If anti-Semitism equals Nazism and Nazism equals conspiracy to cause insubordination, any brand of socialism can be made to equal Russian communism and, if popular feeling were aroused against Russia, Russian communism could equal conspiracy to commit almost any crime in the catalogue.” This is a rather prescient statement, considering it was first published in 1945. Three years later, with the Cold War in full swing, the Truman regime indicted twelve top Communist leaders (including Eugene Dennis) under the Smith Act.

In Chapter XIX, “Beating an Improper Prosecution,” Dennis and St. George give their advice on how to fight a free speech battle in American courts. Thus, at a time when the Zionist Inquisitors are resorting more and more to outright governmental censorship to stamp out historiography heresy, *A Trial on Trial* takes on increasing practical importance. I recommend it highly.

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Roosevelt's 'Secret Map' speech

by Mark Weber

Franklin Roosevelt often lied to further his goals. In a radio address broadcast to the nation on 23 October 1940, for example, he gave “this most solemn assurance” that he had not given any “secret understanding in any shape or form, direct or indirect, with any government or any other nation in any part of the world, to involve this nation in any war or for any other purpose.” But American, British and Polish documents (mostly released many years later) proved that this “most solemn assurance” was a bald-faced lie. Roosevelt had, in fact, made numerous secret arrangements to involve the U.S. in war.

Of all his speeches, perhaps the best example of Roosevelt’s readiness to lie is his 1941 Navy Day address broadcast over nationwide radio on 27 October.

A lot had happened in the months preceding that address. On 11 March 1941 Roosevelt signed the Lend-Lease bill into law, permitting increased deliveries of military aid to Britain in violation of U.S. neutrality and international law. In April Roosevelt illegally sent U.S. troops to occupy Greenland. On 27 May he proclaimed a state of “unlimited national emergency,” a kind of presidential declaration of war that circumvented a power constitutionally reserved to Congress. Following the Axis attack against the USSR in June, the Roosevelt administration began delivering enormous quantities of military aid to the beleaguered Soviets. These shipments also blatantly violated international law. In July Roosevelt illegally sent American troops to occupy Iceland.

The President began his Navy Day address by recalling that German submarines had torpedoed the U.S. destroyer Greer on 4 September 1941 and the U.S. destroyer Kearny on 17 October. In highly emotional language, he characterized these incidents as unprovoked acts of aggression directed against all Americans. He declared that although he had wanted to avoid conflict, shooting had begun and “history has recorded who fired the first shot.” What Roosevelt deliberately failed to mention was the fact that in each case the U.S. destroyers had been engaged in attack operations against the submarines, which fired in self-defense only as a last resort. Hitler wanted to avoid war with the United States, and had expressly ordered German submarines to avoid conflicts with U.S. warships at all costs, except to avoid imminent destruction. Roosevelt’s standing “shoot on sight” orders to the U.S. Navy were specifically designed to make incidents like the ones he so piously condemned inevitable. His provocative efforts to goad Hitler into declaring war against the U.S. had failed and most Americans still opposed direct involvement in the European conflict.

And so, in an effort to convince his listeners that Germany was a real threat to American security, Roosevelt continued his Navy Day speech with a startling announcement: “Hitler has often protested that his plans for conquest do not extend across the Atlantic Ocean. I have in my possession a secret map, made in Germany by Hitler’s government-by the planners of the new world

order. It is a map of South America and a part of Central America as Hitler proposes to reorganize it.” This map, the President explained, showed South America, as well as “our great life line, the Panama Canal,” divided into five vassal states under German domination. “That map, my friends, makes clear the Nazi design not only against South America but against the United States as well.”

Roosevelt went on to reveal that he also had in his possession “another document made in Germany by Hitler’s government. It is a detailed plan to abolish all existing religions — Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jewish alike” which Germany will impose “on a dominated world, if Hitler wins.”

“The property of all churches will be seized by the Reich and its puppets. The cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden. The clergy are to be ever liquidated. In the place of the churches of our civilization there is to be set up an international Nazi church, a church which will be served by orators sent out by the Nazi government. And in the place of the Bible, the words of Mein Kampf will be imposed and enforced as Holy Writ. And in the place of the cross of Christ will be put two symbols: the swastika and the naked sword.”

Roosevelt emphasized the importances of his “revelations” by declaring: “Let us well ponder these grim truths which I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism” All Americans, he said, “are faced with the choice between the kind of world we want to live in and the kind of world which Hitler and his hordes would impose on us.” Accordingly, “we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism.” The German government immediately responded to Roosevelt’s speech by denouncing his “documents” as preposterous frauds. The Italian government declared that if Roosevelt did not publish his map “within 24 hours, he will acquire a sky high reputation as a forger.” At a press conference the next day, a reporter rather naturally asked the President for a copy of the “secret map.” But Roosevelt refused, insisting only that it came from “a source which is undoubtedly reliable.”

As has often happened, the truth about the map did not emerge until many years after the war: It was a forgery produced by the British intelligence service, most probably at its technical laboratory in Ontario, Canada. William Stephenson (code name: Intrepid), chief of British intelligence operations in North America, passed it on to U.S. intelligence chief William Donovan, who gave it to Roosevelt. In a memoir published in late 1984, war-time British agent Ivar Bryce claimed credit for thinking up the “secret map” scheme. Of course, the other “document” cited by Roosevelt, purporting to outline German plans to abolish the world’s religions, was just as fraudulent as the “secret map.”

Some U.S. officials were concerned about British wartime efforts to deceive the American government and people. In a 5 September 1941 memorandum forwarded to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle warned that British intelligence agents were manufacturing phony documents detailing supposed German conspiracies. Americans should be “on our guard” against these British-invented “false scares,” Berle concluded.

It’s doubtful if any of Roosevelt’s great contemporaries, including Stalin, Hitler and even Churchill, ever delivered a speech as loaded with falsehoods as brazen as those in his 1941 Navy Day address. On at least one occasion, Roosevelt privately admitted his willingness to lie to further his goals. During a conversation on 14 May 1942 with his close Jewish adviser, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr., the President candidly remarked: “I may have one policy for Europe and one diametrically opposite for North and South America. I maybe entirely inconsis-

tent, and furthermore, I am perfectly willing to mislead and tell untruths if it will help us win the war.”

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'Crystal Night' 1938: The great Anti-German spectacle

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- Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference.

“Crystal Night” is the name that’s been given to the night of 9-10 November 1938. In almost all large German cities and some smaller ones that night, store windows of Jewish shops were broken, Jewish houses and apartments were destroyed, and synagogues were demolished and set on fire. Many Jews were arrested, some were beaten, and some were even killed. The “Reich Crystal Night” (*Reichskristallnacht*) was one of the most shameful events of National Socialist Germany. Although the Jews suffered initially, the greatest harm was ultimately done to Germany and the German people.

Even people who are sympathetic to National Socialism cannot understand how this event could have happened. Julius Streicher, the so-called “number one Jew baiter” ^[1] for example, was shocked when he first learned about the demonstrations and destruction the next morning.

The all-important question is: Who was responsible for the incident? It is generally accepted, especially by contemporary historians, that the Nazi gang organized and carried out the pogrom, and that the chief instigator was Propaganda Minister Dr. Joseph Goebbels. The truth of the matter is that Adolf Hitler was so disgusted by the incident that he forbade anyone from discussing the matter in his presence. Dr. Goebbels complained that he would now have to explain this terrible affair to the German people and the world, and that he simply did not know what kind of credible explanation to give. If he had actually been responsible for the Crystal Night, he surely would have had a well-prepared explanation. The explanation he gave on the morning of the 10th was extremely unconvincing and was generally not believed by the German public. During my study of this subject, which resulted in my book on the Crystal Night, *Feuerzeichen*, I found many facts which do not agree with the generally accepted thesis. On the contrary, the evidence which I have found gives a completely different picture.

The Story We Are Given

The generally accepted sequence of events, according to most writers on the subject, is this:

In early October 1938 the Polish government announced that all Polish passports would become invalid at the end of the month unless they received a special stamp before then, obtainable only in Poland. This measure was meant to rid Poland effectively for all time of all Polish Jews living in foreign countries, most of whom were in Germany. Many of the approximately 70,000 Polish Jews living in the Reich at the time had arrived after the First World War. Of course, the German government now feared that it would have to permanently accept these 70,000 Jews. The German government tried to negotiate this issue with the Poles, but they flatly refused.

On 28 October, just two days before the deadline, German police rounded up between 15,000 and 17,000 Polish Jews, mostly adult males, from across the Reich and transported them to the German-Polish border. The deportees traveled in regular German passenger trains with more than adequate space. Contrary to some claims, they were not crammed into cattle cars. The deportees were well provided with food and medical care. Red Cross personnel and medical doctors accompanied them on the trains. [2]

The Polish border officials were surprised when the first trainloads arrived at the border, and they let the Jews enter Poland. At about the same time, the Polish government was deporting German Jews back to Germany. The next day, 29 October, the Polish and German governments suddenly agreed to stop the deportations of their respective Jewish populations to each other's countries. The deportations were completely halted that night.

Among the Polish Jews deported was the family of Herschel Feibel Grynszpan (Gruenspan), a 17-year-old then living Paris. What followed next is generally reported either incorrectly or very one-sidedly. On 7 November Grynszpan went to the German Embassy in Paris and shot Embassy Secretary Ernst vom Rath. It is said that Grynszpan did this because he was furious over the deportation of his family. The truth about his motivation is very different. It is also claimed that the German population, upset by the news of vom Rath's death on the 8th, organized anti-Jewish demonstrations, destroyed Jewish stores, and demolished or set on fire all the synagogues in Germany. Demonstrations and destruction did take place, but the truth is that they were not organized by the German people and did not affect most of the synagogues in the Reich. Finally, it is claimed that the Crystal Night was the beginning of the extermination of the Jews in Germany. This is entirely false.

German-Jewish Relations Prior to the Crystal Night

Before explaining how the events surrounding the Crystal Night differ from what is generally believed, I must first give some background information about the peaceful years in Germany after Hitler came to power in 1933. Anyone who is aware of the true situation in Germany during the Third Reich era recognizes that the Crystal Night episode was quite extraordinary. It was a radical aberration from the normal pattern of daily life. The outburst was not in keeping with either the official National Socialist Jewish policy nor with the general German attitude towards the Jews. The Germans were no more anti-Semitic than any other people. In fact, Jews who had to leave other European countries preferred Germany as a place to live and work.

Within the National Socialist-Party itself there were two distinct anti-Semitic factions. One was scholarly and one was vulgar. The scholarly faction was centered around the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question. It published several journals and gave lectures to civic and political groups. Its activities were consistent with the policy of peacefully removing the Jews from Germany and resettling them elsewhere. The SS was totally committed to this policy and rejected vulgar anti-Semitism. The vulgar anti-Semitic faction tried to influence popular feeling. The chief exponent of this approach was Julius Streicher, who published the unofficial monthly *Der Stuermer*. It used crude caricatures to portray Jews in the most horrible way in an effort to convince readers that the Jews were as evil as Satan. For years the motto "The Jews Are Our Misfortune" appeared on the front page of every issue. *Der Stuermer* often employed improper and undignified means to make its point.

German National Socialism basically regarded the Jews as non-German aliens who had proven themselves destructive to any nation that permitted them to dominate. Therefore, the only way to prevent further problems was to separate the Jews from the Germans. In other words, they had to

emigrate. On this point the National Socialists and the Zionists were in full agreement. Although the Jews made up less than one percent of the total German population in 1933, they had power and influence in finance, business, cultural affairs and scientific life far out of proportion to their small numbers. Jewish influence was very widely regarded as harmful to German recovery after the First World War. No legal measures were taken against the Jews in Germany until after the international Jewish "Declaration of War" against Germany, as announced, for example, on the front page of the London *Daily Express* of 24 March 1933. This "declaration" took the form of a worldwide boycott of German goods. A week later there was an officially sanctioned boycott of Jewish shops and stores throughout Germany. This action was in direct response to the international Jewish boycott of German goods already in effect. However, the German response was a rather absurd affair and it was therefore limited to a single day, the first of April 1933. Hitler and Goebbels privately recognized that the German counter-boycott was a failure and would only turn people against the new government. Furthermore, this one-day action came on a Saturday, the Jewish sabbath. Religious Jews took malicious pleasure at the discomfort of the Jews who normally kept their stores open on Saturdays and were now, in effect, forced by the government to obey the Jewish law against work on the sabbath. The National Socialist regime thereafter sought to diminish Jewish influence and power by strictly legal means. The first German law which could be considered anti-Jewish was dated 7 April 1933. Although the legal status of the Jews was restricted, each and every Jew knew what his legal rights were and to what he was still entitled. There were no secret or extra-legal measures against the Jews.

Ironically, it was precisely the official discrimination policy against the Jews which reduced the effectiveness of anti-Semitic propaganda to almost nothing. The Germans are a generally fair-minded people. When Germans saw their Jewish neighbors being treated unjustly, they considered that far worse than the dangers which the Jews supposedly represented simply because they were Jewish. Furthermore, the examples of Jewish criminality and perversion described in *Der Stürmer* were widely regarded as exceptions to normal Jewish behavior. The average German was convinced that the Jews whom he knew personally were completely unlike the criminal types sometimes described in newspapers. In my home town of Berlin most of the doctors and lawyers were still Jewish. And even the public health officer for children in the district of Berlin where my family lived was a Jew who kept this job throughout the war. I still remember one day when my mother returned from her Jewish doctor. She told us that she hadn't been able to see him because he was no longer there. He had been taken away-hauled off the previous night. My mother was very upset. A crowd of people had gathered outside his house. They were all shocked, and they discussed the injustice of this measure quite openly. My parents later talked about what had happened, and they both agreed that the doctor had never really done anything wrong. Their reaction was typical. A few days later our family pediatrician, who was also Jewish, was likewise taken away.

At the time I did not know what it meant to be taken away. It was only many years after the war, when I started reading the Holocaust literature, that I learned that I was supposed to believe that to be taken away meant deportation to a concentration camp and probable death. But like so many thousands of others, these two doctor families were not exterminated. One summer day in 1973, as I was walking through the streets of the German quarter in Tel Aviv, I came upon the name plates of both doctors on the doors of two houses. I immediately tried to visit them and found out that both families had migrated to Palestine in 1939. Although one of them had died in the meantime in Israel, I was able to speak to the other. He remembered my father very well and explained that when he and his family were arrested, they were taken to a camp and given the choice of either signing a document declaring their intention of emigrating from Germany or being taken to a labor camp. He and his family chose to emigrate. In fact, most German Jews sur-

vived the anti-Semitic measures quite well. That does not mean that those measures were not unfair to individual Jews, but they could usually manage to live with them.

The Haavara Agreement

As already mentioned, the main goal of Germany's Jewish policy was to encourage the Jews to emigrate. After the beginning of the international Jewish boycott against German goods in March 1933, the Jewish community in Palestine contacted the German government and offered a break in the boycott as far as Palestine was concerned provided it was combined with Jewish emigration from Germany. As a result, the "Haavara" or "Transfer" agreement was signed by the Germans and Jews in May 1933. [3] The Jewish community thus concluded an extremely beneficial agreement with the National Socialist government only a few months after its formation. This agreement was a crucial phase in the creation of the State of Israel. When I made this claim in my book *Feuerzeichen*, which appeared in 1981, some readers considered it outrageous. [4] But then this same claim was made in *The Transfer Agreement*, a book by Edwin Black published in 1984. The final paragraph of his book concludes with the statement that the continuing economic relationship between the Jewish community of Palestine and National Socialist Germany was "an indispensable factor in the creation of the State of Israel." [5]

The Haavara agreement made it possible for any Jew to emigrate from Germany with practically all of his possessions and personal fortune provided that Jews could deposit all of their assets in one of two Jewish-owned banks in Germany which had branch offices in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Upon arrival in Palestine they could withdraw their assets according to the terms of the agreement. The German capital of these two Jewish banking firms was guaranteed by the German government. Even after the war these assets were fully available to the Jewish owners or their representatives. If a Jew did not wish to emigrate immediately he could transfer all of his personal assets to Palestine where they would be safeguarded by a trustee while he remained in Germany for an indefinite period with emigration as his eventual goal. In the meantime his personal fortune was safe outside of Germany.

Even poorer Jews who did not possess 1,000 English pounds were able to emigrate to Palestine with credits provided through the Haavara. The British authorities generally required minimum assets of 1,000 pounds for each immigrant to Palestine if he was not entitled to a so-called worker's certificate. Only a limited number of these certificates were available and they were issued only to persons with special job skills. In addition, Jews emigrating to Palestine were exempt from the so-called "Reich flight tax," which all emigrating Germans normally had to pay. However, the Jewish companies which arranged the transfers charged the emigrants a fixed percentage of their total assets. The Haavara agreement remained in operation until the end of 1941 when the United States entered the war.

National Socialist Ethical Standards

I am always amazed whenever I read books about the Third Reich published after the war. Most give an almost totally false impression of the reality of the Third Reich. The Germany of Adolf Hitler was not the Germany described by such books. It was quite different. I was brought up during the Third Reich. Along with my entire generation, I received an education of the highest ethical standards. We were brought up to love and respect our country and people. We were taught to be proud of its great history. The heroes of Germany's past represented our great ideals. They spurred us to honesty and responsibility in our own lives. In my opinion, the youth of Adolf Hitler's Germany was the finest of all Europe and perhaps of the entire world.

The same ethical standards applied to the SS and SA. The SA stormtroopers were not sophisticated men. They usually preferred to use their fists before using their heads, but they acted according to the ideals which they had been taught: honor, faithfulness, honesty and devotion to their people and country. They were not at all the sadistic beasts portrayed by so-called historians. It was their faithfulness and gallantry which saved Germany from chaos and Communism. It is sheer stupidity to describe the SA men as blood-thirsty killers, as is widely done today. Although some individual SA men may have committed acts of brutality, it is nonsense to blame the entire organization or the whole German people and its government for such behavior. Individual SA men were indeed involved in the Crystal Night incident. But far fewer actually participated than has been claimed. Of the 28 SA Groups which existed in Germany at the time, the available evidence identifies only three as having actually received orders to join the anti-Jewish demonstrations.

What Really Happened During the Crystal Night

Now let us look at what really happened during that fateful night.

After 1945 any harm ever done to any Jew in National Socialist Germany has been described in great detail in many publications and combined with other stories to give exaggerated figures which have then become the so-called “historical truth.” How strange it is then that despite the passage of more than forty years, no one has established the true extent of the damage done to the Jews during the Crystal Night. All one can learn from history writers is that “all” synagogues were demolished and that “all” shop windows were destroyed. Aside from this vague description, one is given almost no details.

On the basis of the so-called “historical truth” about the Crystal Night, the President of the World Jewish Congress, Nahum Goldmann, had the chutzpah in 1952 to claim 500 million dollars from German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer as reparation payment for the damage done during that November night. When Adenauer asked Goldmann for his justification for this enormous request, Goldmann replied: “You find the justification yourself! What I want is not the justification but the money.” ^[7] And he got his money! Goldmann may have interpreted the willingness of the German Chancellor to pay a half billion dollars as proof for the claim that all synagogues had been destroyed. Why else would Germany be so foolish as to pay for something which never happened? All the same, the “historical truth” that “all” German synagogues were destroyed is a lie.

In 1938 there were approximately 1,400 synagogues in Germany, of which only about 180 were destroyed or damaged. Furthermore, Jews owned approximately 100,000 shops and department stores in Germany in 1938. Of this number, only about 7,500 had their windows broken. These figures show just how much the so-called “historical truth” differs from what actually happened. The damage and destruction that did actually occur was, of course, a terrible shame, but the exaggerations, especially by German historians who use them to condemn their own people, are also a shame.

History writers tell us that during the Crystal Night all the Jews were frightened, meekly accepted whatever happened to them and watched the destruction of their property with no resistance. The contrary is true. While going through the files on this subject, I found many documents which report precisely just the opposite of what is claimed. The fact is that in many cases Jews and their German neighbors fought together against the attackers, pushing them down staircases. Street mobs were beaten up and chased away in more than one case. Police and Party officials were generally on the side of the Jews. Some Jewish community leaders went to police sta-

tions the next morning and asked the police to investigate the damage done to their synagogues. The resulting police reports are still available in the files today.

Also contrary to what we have been told, most Jews were not directly affected by these events. In Berlin, for example, all of the teachers and pupils of the city's largest Jewish school, which served the entire Berlin area, appeared in their classes the next morning without having noticed anything unusual during the previous night. Heinemann Stern, the Jewish principal of that school, wrote in his postwar memoirs that he noticed a burning synagogue on his way to the school on the morning after the Crystal Night, but he thought it was just an accidental fire. It was only after he arrived at the school that he received a telephone call informing him of the destruction of the previous night. He then went on with his classes of the day and only during the first recess did he take the trouble to inform the entire student body about what had happened. [8]

How can such evidence be reconciled with the claim by Herman Graml, a prominent German historian and associate of the Munich Institute of Contemporary History, who wrote: "Every single Jew was beaten, chased, robbed, insulted and humiliated. The SA tore the Jews from their beds, mercilessly beat them in their apartments and then ... chased them almost to death ... Blood flowed everywhere." [9] Is it conceivable that thousands of Jewish children would have been sent to school by their parents on the morning after that fateful night if the attacks against Jews had been so horrific or extensive? Would any parents have let their children go to school if they had thought there was even the slightest danger of them being attacked by roving gangs of SA men? I think the answer is clearly no! Deplorable things did indeed happen which were bad enough, but the fantasies of modern historians and history writers such as Graml are simply inexcusable.

The Grynszpan Story

It was Herschel Feibel Grynszpan (Gruenspan) who initiated the entire Crystal Night affair by shooting the Secretary of the German Embassy in Paris, Ernst vom Rath. History writers tell us that the 17-year-old Grynszpan was merely a poor Jewish boy who had been driven to despair by the injustice done to his family and who, in his deep depression, shot the young German diplomat. The fact, however, is that Grynszpan had not shown any previous interest in his family's fate. He had wanted to be free of them and had gone to Paris to live on his own.

When the French police asked Grynszpan why he had shot vom Rath, he gave several contradictory explanations:

Version 1: He did not mean to kill vom Rath. He had wanted to kill the German ambassador but because he did not know the ambassador personally, he shot vom Rath instead by mistake.

Version 2: He had only wanted to kill himself, but wanted to do so directly beneath a portrait of Adolf Hitler. In this way he hoped to become a symbol for the Jewish people, who were being murdered daily in Germany.

Version 3: He had not intended to kill anyone. Although he had a pistol in his hand, he did not know how to handle it properly and it simply went off accidentally.

Version 4: He could not remember what had happened while he stood in vom Rath's office. All he remembered was that he was there, but did not remember why.

Version 5: He couldn't understand the question at all. He must have had a complete blackout because he no longer remembered anything.

And finally, version 6, which he gave several years later to German officials: Whatever the French police had written down about his reason was nonsense. The true story is that he used to procure young boys for the German embassy secretary because vom Rath had been a homosexual. And he shot vom Rath because he had not been paid for his services. This is the only explanation which he later retracted during interrogation. However, none of these explanations is correct.

The true story is far less heroic. Grynszpan had left his family in Hannover, Germany, in 1936 after finishing elementary school but without graduating. His father had been a piece-work tailor who had moved from Poland to Germany after the First World War. Herschel had a reputation for disliking work and he hung out at the homes of his uncles in Brussels and Paris. In February 1938 his Polish passport expired and the French government refused to renew his residence permit. As a direct result, his Paris uncle insisted that Herschel leave his home because he was afraid of getting into trouble with the law. And now the story begins to get extremely interesting. Although Grynszpan had no job or money (his uncle refused to support him), he was nevertheless able to move into a hotel. His hotel happened to be just around the corner from the offices of an important and influential Jewish organization, the International League Against Anti-Semitism, or LICA. The questions which now arise are: Who supported him after February 1938 and who paid for his hotel room? Although he had no apparent means of support or even valid identity papers between February and November 1938, Grynszpan was nevertheless able to purchase a handgun for 250 francs on the morning of 7 November 1938 and then, about an hour later, go to the German Embassy and shoot vom Rath.

Grynszpan was arrested at the scene and was taken to a police station. Although he was a totally obscure Polish Jew with no money and no apparent supporters, nevertheless one of France's most famous lawyers, Moro Giafferi, appeared at the police station a few hours after the shooting and told the police that he was Grynszpan's attorney. Nothing could possibly have appeared about the shooting in any newspaper before his arrival. How then could Moro Giafferi have possibly known about the shooting? Why was he so eager to defend this young foreigner? And finally, who was going to pay his attorney fees? As it turned out, Giafferi took good care of Grynszpan during the following years. Before the Grynszpan case could come before a French court, the war broke out. After the Germans occupied France, he was turned over to them by the French authorities. He was taken to Germany where he was interrogated many times, but no trial ever took place. Moro Giafferi, who had moved to Switzerland in the meantime, still managed to take good care of Grynszpan.

Many German officials were actively interested in the case. They wanted Grynszpan brought to trial, but this never happened. Rumors circulated. A trial date was scheduled but then postponed again and again and again. Whenever any official asked why Grynszpan had not been brought to trial, he was given a different answer each time. The veil of mystery surrounding this case was lifted only slightly many years after the war when a note was discovered among the many hundreds of pages in the Grynszpan file. This single short note stated simply that the trial against Grynszpan would not take place for "other than official reasons." ^[10] It gave no further explanation. Although the National Socialist regime supposedly committed the greatest imaginable crimes against the Jews, the murderer Grynszpan survived the war and returned to Paris. Why to Paris, where he could still have been arrested and tried for murder? But instead he received a new name and new identity papers there. ^[11] From whom? Who was in Paris to help him and once again take such good care of him?

Incidentally, the Grynszpan family also survived the war. The young man's father, mother, brother and sister were deported to Poland as a result of the Polish passport affair and shortly

thereafter were somehow able to emigrate to Palestine. Amazingly enough, this took place at a time when immigration to Palestine was limited to persons who possessed at least 1,000 English pounds in cash. Grynszpan's father, a poor piece-work tailor, certainly never had a fortune of 4,000 English pounds. Many years after the war the father testified at the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem that he and his family had to give up all of their money except for ten marks per family member when they arrived at the German-Polish border in October 1938. [note 12] How did they ever raise the 4,000 English pounds only a short time later for their migration to Palestine? Who organized their move?

Perhaps the answer to all of these questions is ... Moro Giafferi! He was not a sorcerer, but someone even more powerful: he was the legal counsel of the LICA. The LICA was founded in Paris in 1933 by the Jew Bernard Lecache and operated as a militant propaganda organization against real or imagined anti-Semitism. Its main office is still in Paris at the same address it was at in 1938. (Now known as the LICRA, it unsuccessfully sued Robert Faurisson a few years ago.) Moro Giafferi was well worth the fees LICA paid him as its legal counsel. He apparently enjoyed spectacular scenes. He had already achieved international renown at a mass meeting in Paris following the Berlin Reichstag fire of February 1933. Without knowing at all what had happened, he nevertheless delivered a spiteful speech against National Socialist Germany in which he accused Hermann Göring of setting the fire. In February 1936 Giafferi hurried to Davos, Switzerland, where the Jew David Frankfurter had shot and killed Wilhelm Gustloff, the head of the Swiss branch of the German National Socialist Party. During the subsequent trial it was clearly established that Frankfurter had been a hired murderer with backing from an unidentified but influential organization. All clues pointed to the LICA, but with Moro Giafferi as his defense counsel, Frankfurter remained silent about who, if anyone, had hired him. Amazingly enough, Frankfurter's answers to questions about the shooting showed the same pattern as Grynszpan's answers almost three years later after Giafferi arrived to help following the shooting of Ernst vom Rath.

Who Could the Provocateurs Have Been?

Like a medal, the Crystal Night has two sides. One side lies in the shining glare of historical research while the other remains in the shadows. Until now no one (at least as far as I know) has tried to examine the hidden side.

In the wake of the Crystal Night, almost everyone wanted to know who the culprits were. Dr. Goebbels had to give an official explanation which was, in effect, that the German people had been so enraged by the murder of Ernst vom Rath that they wanted to punish the Jews and therefore started the pogrom. But Goebbels did not really believe this story himself. To several persons he expressed his suspicion that a secret organization must have instigated the entire affair. He simply could not believe that anything so well organized could have been a spontaneous popular outburst.

One must understand the broad popularity of the National Socialist regime at that time to realize how incredibly difficult it was to imagine that any secret, well organized opposition movement could have instigated such a pogrom. We now know about some of these so-called resistance organizations. But at that time such well-organized opposition groups seemed preposterous, so overwhelming was the popularity and self-confidence of Hitler and the National Socialist government. Although the National Socialists were probably more aware of the danger of Jewish power and influence than anyone else, they nevertheless totally underestimated it. In a real sense, they were far too naive. One consequence of this enormous popularity and self-confidence was that the Party leaders themselves simply could not imagine that it was not one of their own colleagues behind the whole affair. Among the Party leaders fingers were being pointed in all direc-

tions. Apparently to avoid internal wrangling and the harm that this would do to their public image, an investigation to determine the instigators never took place. Hitler believed that Dr. Goebbels, his closest confidant and the one man he could never abandon, had been the instigator.

The only persons actually punished were individual SA men who had participated directly in the pogrom and been accused in German courts of murder, assault, looting or other criminal acts by Jewish or German witnesses to these crimes. But before any of these cases ever actually came to trial, Hitler issued a special decree ordering the postponement of all such cases until after the accused individuals were first prosecuted by the Supreme Party Court, an internal court concerned with discipline within the National Socialist Party organization. The most severe punishment which the Court could impose was expulsion from the Party. In this way the Party hoped to remove any guilty members from its own ranks before they appeared as defendants in the criminal courts. In February 1939 the Chief Judge of the Supreme Party Court, Walter Buch, reported his findings to Hermann Göring. From an examination of the Buch report as well as many documents from some of the thousands of trials of so-called Nazi criminals held after the war, and corroborating testimony by thousands of defendants and witnesses, I have been able to gain a detailed and accurate understanding of what actually happened during those fateful days and nights of November 1938.

Already on 8 November 1938, one day before the Crystal Night, strange persons who had never been seen there before suddenly appeared in several small towns in Hessen near the French-German border. They went to mayors, Kreisleiters (district Party leaders) and other important officials in these towns and asked them what actions were being planned against the Jews. The officials were rather startled by these questions and replied that they didn't know of any such plans. The strangers acted as if they were shocked to hear this. They shouted and complained that something had to be done against the Jews and then, without further explanation, they disappeared. Most of those who were approached by these strangers reported the incidents to the police or discussed them with friends. They usually regarded the strangers as crazy anti-Semites and promptly forgot about the incidents — until the next evening. Some of these apparently crazy individuals really outdid themselves. In one case two men, dressed as members of the SS, went to an SA Standartenführer (Colonel) and ordered him to destroy the nearby synagogue. To understand the absurdity of this one must know that the SS and SA were completely separate organizations. A real SS member would never have tried to give orders to an SA unit. This case shows that the strangers were foreigners who did not even understand the distinctions of German authority. The SA Standartenführer rejected the demands of the self-styled SS men and reported the incident to his superiors.

When the provocateurs realized that their efforts were not working with local officials, they changed their tactics. Instead they tried to incite directly the people in the streets. In another town, for example, two men appeared at the market place and began making speeches to the people there, trying to incite them against the Jews. Eventually some people did indeed storm the synagogue, but by then the two provocateurs had, of course, disappeared.

Similar incidents occurred in several towns. Unidentified strangers suddenly appeared, gave speeches, started throwing stones at windows, stormed Jewish buildings, schools, hospitals, and synagogues, and then disappeared. These unusual incidents had already started on the 8th of November, that is, before Ernst vom Rath was dead. His death was only reported late on the evening of the 9th. The fact that this strange pattern of incidents had already begun one day earlier proves that the death of vom Rath was not the reason for the Crystal Night outburst. Vom Rath was still alive when the pogrom began.

And this was only the beginning. Well organized and widespread incidents began on the evening of 9 November. Groups of generally five or six young men, armed with bars and clubs, went down the streets smashing store windows. They were not Jew-hating SA men, enraged over the murder of a German diplomat. They operated too methodically to have been motivated by anger. They carried out their work without any apparent emotion. Nonetheless, it was their destruction that encouraged certain other individuals from the lowest social classes to become a mob and continue the destruction. There is another mysterious aspect to all this. Several district and local Party leaders (Kreisleiters and Ortsgruppenleiter) were awakened from their sleep in the middle of the night by telephone calls. Someone claiming to be from the regional Party headquarters or the regional Party propaganda bureau (Gauleitung or Gaupropagandaleitung) would ask what was happening in the official's town or city. If the Party official answered "Nothing, everything is quiet," the telephone caller would then say in German slang that he had received an order to the effect that the Jews were going to get it tonight and that the respective official should carry out the order. In most cases the Party leader, disturbed from his sleep, did not even understand what had happened. Some simply dismissed the call as a joke and went back to bed. Others called back the office from where the telephone voice had pretended to be calling. If they managed to reach someone in charge, they were often told that nobody knew anything about such a call. But if they reached only a lower official they were often told: "Well, if you got that order, you'd better go ahead and do what you were told." These telephone calls caused considerable confusion. All this came out months later during the trials conducted by the Supreme Party Court. The Chief Judge concluded that in every case a misunderstanding had arisen in one link or other of the chain of command. But when they were confronted with apparently genuine orders to organize demonstrations against the Jews that night, most of the Party leaders had simply not known what to do.

The pattern of seemingly sporadic anti-Jewish incidents in small towns, followed only later by a carefully planned outburst in many large cities throughout Germany, clearly suggests the work of a centrally organized group of well-trained agents. Even shortly after the Crystal Night, many leading Party officials suspected that the entire affair had been centrally coordinated. Significantly, even Hermann Graml, the only West German historian who has written in detail about the Crystal Night, carefully distinguished between provocateurs and people who were simply carried away by their emotions and spontaneously took part in the riot and destruction. Without providing the slightest shred of real evidence, Graml claims that the provocative agents were directed by Dr. Goebbels.

Munich on the Ninth of November

While all this was happening across the Reich, a special annual commemoration was being held in Munich. Fifteen years earlier, on 9 November 1923, a movement led by Adolf Hitler, Erich von Ludendorff (a leading First World War General), and two major figures in the Bavarian government tried to depose the legal government and take responsibility themselves as a new national government. The uprising or putsch was put down and 16 rebels were shot down next to the Feldherrnhalle, a famous old monument building in central Munich. Accordingly, the 9th of November had been commemorated every year since 1933 as the memorial day for the martyred heroes of the National Socialist movement. Adolf Hitler and the Party veterans, as well as all of the Gauleiters (regional Party leaders) met every year in Munich for the occasion. Hitler would usually deliver a speech to a select audience of Party veterans at the famous Buergerbraeukeller restaurant on the evening of the 8th. On the morning of the 9th Hitler and his veteran comrades would reenact the 1923 "March to the Feldherrnhalle." On the evening of the 9th the Führer always held an informal dinner at the Old Town Hall ("Alte Rathaus") with old comrades as well as all the Gauleiters. At midnight young men who were about to enter the SS and the SA were

sworn in at the Feldherrnhalle. All of the Gauleiters and other guests participated in this very solemn ceremony. After it was over they left Munich and returned to their homes throughout the Reich.

It is clear that the 8th of November date was chosen very cleverly. The annual commemoration ceremony of that day insured that almost all of the Gauleiters would be away from their home offices when the anti-Jewish demonstrations began. In other words, the actual decision-making responsibilities that were normally carried out by the Gauleiters were temporarily in the hands of lower-ranking individuals with less experience. Between 8 and 10 November, subordinate officials stood in for the Gauleiters who were either in Munich or en route to or from the annual commemoration there. This temporary transfer of decision-making authority is very important because it contributed to much of the subsequent confusion and thus helped the provocateurs. Another contributing factor was the fact that no one expected any trouble. At that time Germany was one of the most peaceful countries in the world. There was no reason to expect any kind of unrest. It was only during dinner at the Old Town Hall that the first sporadic reports of riot and destruction reached Munich from some of the Gauleiter's home offices. At the same time it was learned that Ernst vom Rath had died in Paris from his wounds.

What Was Goebbels Doing?

After the dinner was over, the Führer left at about 9 p.m. and returned to his apartment. Dr. Goebbels then stood up and spoke briefly about the latest news. He informed the audience that vom Rath had died and that, as a result, anti-Jewish demonstrations had spontaneously broken out in two or three places. Goebbels was renowned for his passionate and inspiring speeches. But what he gave that evening was not a speech at all but only a short and very informal announcement. He pointed out that the times were over when Jews could kill Germans without being punished. Legal measures would now be taken. Nevertheless, the death of vom Rath should not be an excuse for private actions against Jews. He suggested that the Gauleiters and the head of the SA, Viktor Lutze, should contact their home offices to make sure that peace and order were being maintained. It's very important to understand that Dr. Goebbels had no authority to give any orders to the others present.

As fellow Gauleiters they were colleagues of equal rank. Anyway, what he said was apparently considered so reasonable that the others agreed and did what he suggested.

You may have heard the widespread allegation that Goebbels started the Crystal Night pogrom with a fiery speech on that evening of 9 November. This widely accepted story is false. The following facts will clarify this point:

1. As Gauleiter for Berlin, Dr. Goebbels had no authority outside of his Berlin district. Although he was also the Propaganda Minister of the German government, this did not give him any authority over Party officials. Furthermore, he had no authority whatsoever over the SA or the SS.
2. Of all the National Socialist leaders, Dr. Goebbels would have understood better than anyone else the immense damage that an anti-Jewish pogrom would cause for Germany. On the morning of 10 November, when he first learned about the extent of the damage and destruction of the previous night, he was furious and shocked at the stupidity of those who had participated. There is substantial evidence for this.
3. How could a speech given after 9 p.m. on the evening of 9 November have possibly incited a "pogrom" which had already begun the day before when the first provocateurs appeared at municipal and Party offices to persuade officials to take action against the Jews?

4. Although we do not know exactly what Dr. Goebbels said in his supposedly fiery speech, we do know what the Gauleiters and the SA commander did after the speech had ended: they went to the telephones and called their respective home offices to order their subordinates to do everything necessary to maintain peace and order. They emphasized that under no circumstances must anyone take part in any demonstrations. These telephone instructions were written down at the home offices by whoever was on duty. The orders from each Gauleiter were then passed on by telex to other offices within the Gau or district. These telex messages are still in various records files and are available to anyone who wishes to examine them.

Orders to Stop the Pogrom

While the Gauleiters were calling their home offices, the head of the SA, Viktor Lutze, ordered all of his immediate subordinates, the SA Gruppenführers, who were together with him in Munich, to call their home offices as well. Lutze ordered that under no circumstances could SA men take part in any demonstrations against Jews, and that furthermore the SA was to intervene to stop any demonstrations already in progress. As a result of these strict orders, SA men began to guard Jewish stores that very night wherever windows had been broken. There is no doubt about this order by Lutze because we have the postwar court testimony of several witnesses confirming it. The SS and the police were given similar orders to restore peace and order. Himmler ordered Reinhard Heydrich to prevent all destruction of property and to protect Jews against demonstrators. The telex communication of this order still exists. It is in the files of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. However, during the Nuremberg trial this telex order was presented in three different forms, with forged amendments to change the original meaning. In my book *Feuerzeichen* I undertook to restore the original text.

Adolf Hitler joined the midnight celebration at the Feldherrnhalle. It was only after he returned to his apartment about one o'clock in the morning that he learned about the demonstrations which had been taking place in Munich, during which one synagogue had been set on fire. He was furious and immediately ordered the police chief of Munich to come see him. Hitler told him to immediately stop the fire and to make sure that no other outrages took place in Munich. He then called various police and Party officials throughout the Reich to learn the extent of these demonstrations. Finally, he ordered a telex message sent to all Gauleiter offices. It read: "By express order from the very highest authority, arson against Jewish businesses or other property must in no case and under no circumstances take place." Synagogues were not specifically mentioned, apparently because Hitler was still unaware of the burning of synagogues, apart from the one in Munich.

How Did the SA Get Involved Despite the Orders from Its Own Leaders?

How was it possible that in spite of all these emphatic orders, so much damage and destruction could have been done and that so many SA members could have participated? According to the records, at least three of the 28 SA Groups did not obey the orders of SA chief Lutze. Instead, they sent out their men to destroy synagogues and Jewish buildings. In effect they did precisely the opposite of what Lutze had ordered. What actually happened is clear from the testimony and evidence presented at postwar trials against former SA men accused of participating in the riot. The trials, held between 1946 and 1952, were based to a large extent on the report of SA Brigade 50 chief Karl Lucke and begins with these words: "On 10 November 1938, at 3 o'clock in the morning, I received the following order: 'By order of the Gruppenführer, all Jewish synagogues within the Brigade district are to be immediately blown up or set on fire.'" Lucke then included in his report a listing of synagogues which had been destroyed by members of his Brigade. This

report has been cited by the prosecution at the Nuremberg Tribunal and by practically all of the consensus historians ever since as proof that the SA was given orders to destroy Jewish stores and synagogues.

The contradiction between the orders actually given and the statement made in the Lucke report requires a detailed explanation. On 9 November the leader of SA Group Mannheim, Herbert Fust, was in Munich together with the other SA Group leaders and the SA Chief of Staff, Viktor Lutze. When Lutze ordered the Group leaders to contact their home offices to stop all anti-Jewish demonstrations, Fust, along with the other SA leaders, did just that. He called his office in Mannheim and passed on the orders he had received from Lutze. The man who was on duty that night at the Mannheim SA office telephone and who received Fust's order confirmed that he understood it and then hung up. But he never passed on the order he had received. Instead, he transmitted precisely the opposite order. The normal procedure would have been for the man on duty at the telephone to immediately call the deputy group leader, Lucke, who was in nearby Darmstadt. But instead he called SA Oberführer (senior colonel) Fritsch and asked him to come to the office. Fritsch had a reputation for not being particularly clever. When he arrived, the man who had received the telephone call showed him a small paper slip with a few notes on it which said that the synagogues within the Mannheim SA Group district were to be destroyed. The man who had received the call explained to Fritsch that the order had just arrived from Munich. Slow-minded as he was, Fritsch did not know what to do and called the local Kreisleiter (district Party leader) and his deputy. These two men then arrived at the SA office and discussed the situation, while at the same time the telephone duty man notified other SA leaders, but still not the deputy Group leader Lucke. In the meantime the small paper slip disappeared and the SA men now arriving at the headquarters met only the Kreisleiter, who told them about the order which he thought had come from Munich. No one asked for any further confirmation. The SA men then left to begin the destruction. Hours later, when the whole action was almost finished, the telephone guard finally called Deputy Group Leader Lucke and passed on the false order. He also informed Lucke that the action had already been going on for several hours. Since it was almost all over by this time, Lucke also neglected to ask for confirmation of the order. It was already 3 o'clock in the morning. Lucke then alerted the Standartenführer of his Brigade and carried out the destruction within the Darmstadt district.

At 8 o'clock the next morning Lucke sat down and wrote the report which was later cited at the Nuremberg Tribunal. In fact, as already shown, there was no order to commit arson or carry out destruction against any Jewish property from the Gruppenführer in Munich, but only from the telephone guard. Who he was remains a mystery. During the postwar trials against members of this SA unit, none of the judges asked for the name or identity of this telephone guard. This mysterious man was very probably an agent for those who were actually behind the entire Crystal Night Affair.

The Fine Imposed on the Jews

Early in the morning following the Crystal Night, Propaganda Minister Dr. Goebbels announced in a radio broadcast that any action against Jews was strictly prohibited. He warned that severe penalties would be imposed on anyone who did not obey this order. He also explained that the Jewish question would be resolved only by legal means. As already mentioned, German government and Party officials were furious about what had happened. Hermann Göring, who was responsible for Germany's economy, complained that it would be impossible to replace the special plate glass of the broken store windows because it was not manufactured in Germany. It had to be imported from Belgium and would cost a great deal of precious foreign currency. Because of the Jewish boycott against German goods, the Reich was short of foreign exchange currency.

Göring therefore decided that because this shortage was caused by the Jews, it was they who would have to pay for the broken glass. He imposed a fine of one billion Reichsmarks on the German Jews. This fine is always mentioned by anyone who writes about the Crystal Night. But historians and history writers invariably neglect to explain the reason for the fine.

It was certainly unjust to force Jews to pay for damage which they had not caused. Göring understood this. However, in private he justified the fine by citing the fact that the 1933 Jewish declaration of war against Germany was proclaimed in the name of the millions of Jews throughout the world. Therefore they could now help their co-religionists in Germany bear the consequences of the boycott. It should also be pointed out that only German Jews with assets of more than 5,000 Reichsmarks in cash had to contribute to the fine. In 1938, when prices were very low, 5,000 Reichsmarks was a small fortune. Anyone with that much money in cash would certainly have had far more wealth in other assets and could therefore well afford to pay their assessed portion of the fine without being reduced to poverty, despite what history writers have maintained.

The Consequences of the Crystal Night

It is often said that the Crystal Night incident was the official start of the German “Final Solution of the Jewish Question.” This is quite true, but “Final Solution” did not mean physical extermination — it meant only emigration of the Jews from Germany. Immediately after the Crystal Night, Hitler ordered the creation of a central agency to organize the emigration of the Jews from Germany as rapidly as possible. Accordingly, Göring set up the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration ("Reichszentrale fuer die juedische Auswanderung") with Reinhard Heydrich as director. This agency combined the various government departments which had been involved with Jewish emigration. It simplified official procedures for Jewish emigration, but its work was severely hampered by the unwillingness of almost all countries to admit Jews. The only country to which Jews could still easily emigrate was Palestine, provided they possessed one thousand pounds sterling each, as required by the British authorities there.

Despite the favorable terms of the Haavara or Transfer Agreement, only a few German Jews were willing to emigrate to Palestine. In those days Palestine was only at the beginning of its development. It was still an agrarian country with very little industry. It was only after the arrival of thousands of German Jews with their capital and experience that industrial development really began there. The Jews in Germany were generally employed in trade, industry, or the professions. There were little or no opportunities for them in Palestine. For example, there was virtually no financial structure in Palestine in the 1930s. There was no money market, no stock exchange, and no investment banking. How could businessmen operate in such an environment?

Because so few Jews wanted to migrate to Palestine, special efforts were made to open the doors of other countries, but this proved very difficult. Prosperous nations did not want Jewish immigrants and poor countries were very unattractive. In the summer of 1938 an Inter-Governmental Refugee Committee was established with the American lawyer George Rublee as its director. In January 1939 (that is, after the Crystal Night), Rublee and the German government signed an agreement by which all German Jews could emigrate to the country of their choice. Interestingly enough, it was the father of a future American president and the father of a future German president who nearly torpedoed this agreement: Josäph Kennedy, the U.S. Ambassador to Britain, and Ernst von Weizsaecker, State Secretary of the German Foreign Office and father of the current president of the German Federal Republic. Adolf Hitler personally intervened in the negotiating process and saved the agreement by sending Reichsbank President Hjalmar Schacht to London to negotiate with Rublee.

Rublee himself later called it a “sensational agreement” — and it was indeed sensational. Special arrangements between the Inter-Governmental Committee and governments of individual countries would guarantee the financial security of the migrating Jews. Training camps would be established to prepare emigrating Jews for new jobs in their future homelands. Jews in Germany who were more than 45 years old could either emigrate or remain in Germany. If they decided to remain, they would be exempt from discriminatory restrictions. They would be able to live and work wherever they wanted. Their social security would be guaranteed by the Reich government, the same as for any German citizen. As Rublee later noted, there were practically no incidents against Jews during the time between the signing of the agreement and the outbreak of war in September 1939.

The Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, which was organized shortly after the Crystal Night, was based on the provisions of the Rublee plan. A parallel Jewish organization, the Reich Union of Jews in Germany ("Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland"), was established. Its task was to advise Jews on all questions of emigration and to act on behalf of Jews with the Reich Central Office. The two agencies worked closely together to facilitate Jewish emigration as much as possible. In addition, the SS and certain other National Socialist organizations worked with Zionist organizations to facilitate Jewish emigration. Jewish groups greatly appreciated the cooperation of the SS. For example, the SS established training centers where prospective Jewish emigrants learned new job skills to prepare them for their new lives.

With the help of the Transfer Agreement and the Rublee plan, hundreds of thousands of Jews migrated from Europe to Palestine. In September 1940 the Jewish news agency in Palestine, “Palcor,” reported that 500,000 Jewish emigrants had already arrived from the German Reich, including Austria, the Sudetenland, Bohemia-Moravia, and German-ruled Poland. Nevertheless, after 1950 it was claimed that the total number of Jewish emigrants to Palestine from all European countries was only about 80,000. What happened to the other 420,000 Jews? In 1940 they probably had no idea that later on they were supposed to have been “gassed”!

Conclusion

I have tried to point out just a few unmentioned aspects of the Crystal Night issue which, in my opinion, give a picture of what actually happened that is entirely different than the one generally accepted. I am convinced that neither the German government nor the leaders of the National Socialist Party instigated the Crystal Night. Ultimately it was not the Jews but the Germans who suffered most as a result of this event. Even persons sympathetic to National Socialism are still appalled when they think of the Crystal Night. Many are under the impression that murder and arson were quite common under National Socialism and that no Jew could be sure of his life or property. Nazi Germany was supposedly a country without any civil rights. The Crystal Night incident was indeed one of the darkest episodes of German history in the era of 1933 to 1945. But based on all of the available evidence, these demonstrations were neither thought up nor organized by German Party or government officials. In fact, they were completely surprised and shocked when they learned of the riot and destruction. The pogrom must have been thought up and organized by those who actually benefited from it and who wanted to create havoc in Germany.

Who could they have been? If we keep in mind the deep involvement of the Jewish organization LICA in the murder of vom Rath, we may ask: Could the Jews themselves have hoped to benefit from a pogrom? In the aftermath of the Crystal Night, the world press became overwhelmingly sympathetic to the Jews, which is precisely what they wanted above all else. The Zionists in particular counted on worldwide support in their struggle against England, which then ruled Pales-

tine as a British mandate. Jewish immigration to Palestine was strictly limited at that time by the British because of vehement Arab opposition to the arrival of ever larger numbers of Jews. As a result, the number of Jewish immigrants dropped in 1938 to the lowest level since the beginning of the century, when the Zionist mass migration to Palestine began.

To stabilize the situation, the British formulated a partition plan dividing Palestine into Arab and Jewish portions. Despite serious reservations, the Jews agreed to the plan, but the Arabs did not. They responded with an uprising known as the Arab Revolt. In March 1938 the British government sent Sir Harold MacMichael as High Commissioner to Palestine. He succeeded in suppressing the uprising, but to appease the Arabs he promised to urge his government to abandon the partition plan and halt further Jewish immigration. MacMichael returned to London in October 1938 to discuss his proposals with the British parliament. The scheduled date for the final decision was 8 November 1938, the day on which the Crystal Night violence actually began.

German Embassy Secretary Ernst vom Rath had been shot just one day earlier, on 7 November. The conspirators no doubt hoped that vom Rath would die immediately, in which case the anti-Jewish demonstrations would probably have also started on the 7th. Could someone have hoped that a pogrom in nearby Germany would influence the British to change their Palestine policy? Or that it would induce the outside world to exert pressure on Britain to open Palestine to the Jews who were being so terribly treated in Germany? I cannot give any definite answers. I can only speculate as to who conspirators behind the Crystal Night really were and as to their motives. To me it seems entirely plausible that certain Jewish groups were involved. The LICA was almost certainly involved in the murder of vom Rath. In any case, the Crystal Night incident was not an expression of the will of the German people. Nor was it organized by Dr. Goebbels or any of the other German leaders. On the contrary, it was carefully organized by people who worked in the shadows.

Notes

1. [U](#) William P. Varga, *The Number One Nazi Jew-Baiter: A Political Biography of Julius Streicher* (New York: 1981).
2. [U](#) Even Helmut Heiber, a prominent contemporary German historian, had to admit these facts. Helmut Heiber, "Der Fall Gruenspan," *Vierteljahrsshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 5. Hg., 1957, pp. 154-172.
3. [U](#) See: Werner Feilchenfeld, Dolf Michaelis, and Ludwig Pinner, *Haavara-Transfer nach Palaestina* (Tuebingen: 1972); and, Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (New York and London: 1984)
4. [U](#) Ingrid Weckert, Feuerzeichen: Die "Reichskristallnacht," Anstifter und Brandstifterpfer und Nutzniesser (Tuebingen: 1981), p. 225.
5. [U](#) Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement*, p. 382.
6. 6. W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer Nach Palaestina*, p. 71.
7. [U](#) Nahum Goldmann, *Das Juedische Paradox: Zionismus und Judentum nach Hitler* (Cologne: 1978), p. 181.
8. [U](#) Heinemann Stern, *Warum Hassen Sie Uns Eigentlich?* (Duesseldorf: 1970), pp. 298-299.
9. [U](#) Hermann Graml, *Der 9. November 1938* (Bonn: 1958), p. 47.
10. [U](#) H. Heiber, "Der Fall Gruenspan," p. 164.
11. [U](#) H. Heiber, "Der Fall Gruenspan," p. 172.
12. 12. Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem* (New York: 1968), p. 41.

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Nationalism and Genocide: The Origin of the Artificial Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine

Valentyn Moroz

- Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conferences.

An indicative feature of the mass media's portrayal of modern history is the striking contrast between the heavy volume of "Holocaust" material and the silent treatment given to the appalling record of Soviet mass slaughter, even though the number of Stalin's victims alone vastly exceeds even the most exaggerated figures of alleged "Holocaust" victims. While names like Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Dachau have been unforgettably engraved into our collective consciousness, few Americans recognize Vorkuta, Kolyma, or any of the many other Soviet camps where at least twenty million people are conservatively estimated to have perished. And whereas Americans have been taught to instantly recognize the name of Heinrich Himmler, hardly anyone has heard of Soviet secret police chiefs Nikolai Yezhov or Genrikh Yagoda, each of whom murdered many more people, and in less time, than Himmler is reputed to have killed.

The gruesome record is well documented. Nobel prize-winning author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has detailed the horrors of the Soviet concentration camp system, which held up to fifteen million prisoners at a time. In *The Great Terror*, British historian Robert Conquest cautiously estimated the number of Stalin's political victims at 20 to 30 million. (Stalin once privately admitted to Churchill that some ten million kulaks had been killed for resisting the confiscation of their farms.) In *Stalin's Secret War*, Nikolai Tolstoy exposes as a fraud the official Soviet claim, widely parroted by the Western media, that 20 million Soviet citizens were killed by the Axis during the Second World War. Tolstoy demonstrates that most of those 20 million were actually victims of the Soviet regime. Russian historian Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko estimates in *A Time of Stalin* that the Soviet rulers have killed more than eighty million of their own people to keep themselves in power.

Stalin's single most horrific campaign was probably the organized mass starvation of 1932-1933, which he used as a weapon to totally crush peasant resistance to the forced collectivization of agriculture. Soviet military units confiscated all available food in vast areas, condemning the inhabitants to death by hunger. As Conquest points out, this is perhaps the only case in history of a purely man-made famine. He estimates that the campaign claimed five to six million lives, including more than three million Ukrainians. Other historians have put the number of Ukrainian famine victims at six or even seven million. An important new work on this subject is Miron Dolot's moving memoir, *Execution by Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust*, which includes a valuable introduction by Adam Ulam.

In the following essay, Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz dissects the origins of the imposed famine of 1932-1933. He takes exception to the generally accepted view that the campaign was

carried out for purely socioeconomic reasons, and holds instead that the decisive motivation was Moscow's need to maintain the multi-national Soviet Russian empire. Stalin destroyed the independent Ukrainian peasantry, Moroz writes, because it was the foundation and Respring of Ukrainian nationalism.

— Mark Weber

In 1921, at the Moth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it was resolved that the country's non-Russian nations (nationalities) required assistance: ^[1]

- a. to develop and strengthen locally Soviet statehood in such forms as are applicable to the national and social conditions of these nations;
- b. to develop and strengthen locally, in their native languages, the legal system, administrative and economic organs, and government organs, consisting of local people who are acquainted with the living conditions and mentality of the local population;
- c. to develop locally the press, schools, the theater, social clubs, and all cultural and educational institutions in their native languages;
- d. to create and develop a wide spectrum of courses and education institutions in both the humanities and the technical and professional fields in their native languages ...

Thus began the policy known as “korenizatsiia” or “return to the roots,” which is an instructive and very interesting phenomenon in the history of the modern Russian empire. In Ukraine this policy became known as “ukrainizatsiia” or “Ukrainianization.” In fact, this term was widely used in official documents during the 1920s. The Edict of 1923 described Ukrainianization with these words: ^[2]

... The people's government acknowledges the necessity ... of concentrating the attention of the state in the near future on broadening the knowledge of the Ukrainian language. The formal equality of the two most widely used languages in Ukraine—Ukrainian and Russian—has so far been insufficient. The processes of life, as experience has indicated, in reality favor the predominance of Russian. To remove this inequality the government will implement a series of practical measures which, while guaranteeing the equality of every language used on Ukrainian territory, must safeguard a position for Ukrainian corresponding to the size and strength of the Ukrainian nation on the territory of the Ukrainian nation on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

These days there is a tendency to regard this policy of Ukrainianization as a tactical ploy by Moscow to expose and destroy all patriotic Ukrainians. This is an extreme view. Obviously, Moscow had tactical considerations in introducing this policy. But it should be understood that Moscow was forced to adopt this policy. The impulse behind Ukrainianization came from far beyond the walls of the Krenllin and emerged from quite different sources.

The Revolution of 1917 stimulated a powerful renaissance among the non-Russian nations' of the Russian empire and this process continued even after these peoples were militarily subdued by the Soviet Russian forces. National development found means of self-expression even under the conditions of Soviet rule. While the facts and figures of the expansion of Ukrainainization are of interest for their own sake, even more interesting is the story of how the people involved found the means of carrying out this process of national development under the conditions of totalitar-

ian one-party rule. This was possible because a kind of second political party, which was never proclaimed and formalized as such, existed during the 1920s. This alternate party was private enterprise.

The both Congress of the Communist Party symbolically announced the introduction of the “new economic policy” or NEP in 1921 and shortly thereafter was also forced to proclaim the “*kor-enizatsiia*” policy of a return to native roots. New opportunities for private enterprise in economic life automatically also brought about a national renaissance among the non-Russian peoples. The “new economic policy” (NEP) not only meant a total change in economic life but in social and cultural life as a whole. Private entrepreneurs began demolishing totalitarianism in countless different ways. A shop owner operating his own business or a doctor with his own practice quickly became independent of the commissar with the red cloth on his table. They were soon also regarded as socially higher. And although these entrepreneurs had to recite the Communist slogans and jargon whenever required, the free market and not the Party came to govern their lives. Like the legendary genie suddenly released from his bottle, free enterprise spread swiftly.

This meant that, in practice, life became pluralistic, despite the protests of orthodox Communists concerned about the purity of party doctrine. And all this gave subconscious moral strength to the national movements. One felt able to “breathe” and express oneself at last. In Ukraine many associations of artists and writers were formed. An innovative and experimental theatrical life began to develop. In such conditions it was natural that legally sanctioned competition between the Ukrainian and Russian national influences would eventually develop. Among those who recognized this was Dmytro Lebed, who coined the theory of the “struggle between two cultures” in which the state should not intervene.

From the outset the Russians regarded Ukrainianization as a temporary political phenomenon and accordingly sought to make it a purely formal letter, not to be taken seriously. For example, during a certain party conference an economic administrator from an outlying district, after listening to resolutions on the necessity of having administrators use Ukrainian in their official work, began speaking to his district director in Ukrainian. To this the official replied in Russian: “Speak like a human being!” But despite such resistance, a virtual army of patriotic Ukrainian academics and other culturally and politically active individuals greatly furthered the process of Ukrainianization. Supporters of this process of national renaissance came into high and sometimes even key positions. Because of Russian chauvinist resistance, Ukrainianization didn’t really begun to develop until 1925. A 1927 letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to the Communist International (Comintern) dealt with numerous “distortions” regarding the Ukrainianization process: [3]

These distortions lie in the ignoring of and failure to value adequately the national question in Ukraine (which is frequently masked by internationalist phrases), particularly:

1. in the belittling of Ukraine’s significance as a part of the USSR, in the attempt to interpret the creation of the USSR as the actual liquidation of the national republics;
2. in the instruction that the party remain neutral toward the development of Ukrainian culture, in the interpretation of it as backward and “rural” compared to Russian “proletarian” culture;
3. in the attempt to maintain at all costs the dominance of the Russian language in the governmental, social, and cultural life of Ukraine;

4. in the formalistic attitude towards the development of Ukrainianization, which is often accepted only theoretically;
5. in the uncritical repetition of chauvinistic and imperialistic views about the so-called artificiality of Ukrainianization, the unintelligibility of the “Galician” language for the nation, and so forth, and in cultivation of these views within the party;
6. in the attempt to hinder the implementation of the policies of Ukrainianization in the towns and among the proletariat, confining it only to the villages;
7. in the frequent tendency to exaggerate isolated cases of distortion in the implementation of Ukrainianization, and in the attempt to portray these as an entire political system which violates the rights of national minorities (Russians, Jews, etc.).

It was characteristic of the time that the Communist Party of Ukraine could bypass the Central Committee in Russia and appeal directly to the Communist International, even though it was still a part of the all-encompassing “Soviet” Communist party. This is another indication of the pluralism and national self-expression which de facto manifested itself under conditions of Soviet rule, despite and in opposition to totalitarian doctrine.

The record shows that Ukrainianization was an important and very real development. Its impact may be compared to a torpedo exploding a dangerously threatening hole in the hull of the imperial ship of state. Millions of Ukrainian children were now being taught in Ukrainian. This was something for which several generations of Ukrainians had fought. In 1930 an astonishing 89 percent of the books published in Ukraine were printed in the Ukrainian language. That same year, the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine reported: [\[4\]](#)

... A turbulent increase in Ukrainianization is apparent among the proletariat, particularly among its chief groups. Along with this there is an indisputable and systematic increase in the number of Ukrainians in the proletariat ... During the past three years the number of people who can read, write, and speak in Ukrainian has greatly increased ... The professional associations of Ukraine should take it upon themselves, as leaders of the masses, to ensure the availability of cultural services in Ukrainian for the working masses and also to make certain that the movement inspires the workers towards cultural and national development ...

These three elements — the schools, the press, and the Ukrainianization of the proletariat — are a strong base which will guarantee a rapid and unprecedented development of a Ukrainian culture which is national in form and proletarian in content.

All this created unease in Moscow, where it was understood that the continuation of this process would eventually mean the end of Russian hegemony in Ukraine. Two tendencies became apparent during the years of Ukrainianization which raised ominous questions about the future of the Russian empire.

Firstly, the major role of the village in the process of Ukrainianization became obvious. The village had long been recognized as the conserving bastion of national traditions. But now it was also clearly a powerful impetus for Ukrainianization in the towns and cities as well. The most talented Ukrainian national authors and cultural leaders of the 1920s were from the villages, which provided a solid base of some forty million people for the development of Ukrainianization. Ukrainian blood from the villages flowed into the veins of new Ukrainian social and cultural institutions developing in the cities. As these structures grew visibly stronger it became increas-

ingly evident that this powerful and turbulent stream would eventually sweep aside all Russian influence. Joseph Stalin, the most important Bolshevik theoretician on the national question, clearly understood the crucial importance of the village in this process. In a speech to the both Soviet Communist Party Congress in 1921 he pointed out: [5]

It is obvious that although the Russian element is still predominant in Ukrainian cities, within a short period of time these cities will doubtlessly be Ukrainianized. Forty years ago Riga was a German city, but because the village population moves to the cities and determines their character, Riga is now a Latvian city. Fifty years ago every city in Hungary had a German character, but now each is Hungarian. The same can be said for the cities of Ukraine because the village population will move to the cities. The village is the representative of the Ukrainian language and this language will penetrate every Ukrainian city and there become the dominant language.

Secondly, a clear distinction developed between archaic and modern nationalism. The first could express itself only in traditional and limited forms. It was thus able to co-exist for many years within a colonial structure, within the framework of an alien empire, and dominated by a foreign dynasty. In contrast, the modern form of nationalism was aggressive and dynamic, intolerant of colonial structures and inclined to demolish them. It was characterized by an alliance of the village and a national intelligentsia which emerged from native ethnic roots. (This modern form of nationalism brought down the European colonial empires in Asia and Africa during the 1940s and 1950s, and was accompanied by major conflicts and social upheaval.)

The process of Ukrainianization during the 1920s gave birth to a concept which had the potential of becoming an umbrella or screen behind which meaningful Ukrainian nationalism could develop under the new conditions of Soviet rule. This concept was best formulated by the writer Mykola Khvyloviy, who coined the slogans “Away from Russia!” and “We can do without a Russian conductor.” Even the titles of his essays (such as “Russian Slops”) convey the new atmosphere and direction which emerged from Ukrainianization. With this concept, Ukrainian cultural, social and even political development could be furthered using acceptable “proletarian” jargon. In his polemical dispute with Russian newspapers, Khvyloviy wrote: [6]

Today, as Ukrainian poetry follows its own direction, Moscow is no longer able to tempt it with baubles ... And this is not because this or that Ukrainian participant in the dispute is more talented than this or that Russian (God forbid!) but because the Ukrainian reality is more complex than the Russian, because we have before us different tasks, because we are the young class of a young nation, because our literature is young ...

Because our literature has at last found its own path of development, the question now lies before us: Which of the world’s literatures should we follow? In any case, not Russian literature. That is absolutely crucial. We must not confuse our political union with literature. Ukrainian poetry must move away from Russian literature and its influence as soon as possible. The Poles would never have given us Mickiewicz if their orientation towards Russian art had not ceased. The fact is that Russian literature has been weighing us down for centuries, like a master who has trained our mentality into slave-like imitation. So, to feed our young art with Russian literature is to restrain its development. We are aware of proletarian ideas without the help of Russian art. To the contrary, we, as representatives of a young nation, will more easily sense these ideas and will more quickly recreate them in suitable works of art. We will orient ourselves towards western European art, towards its style and methods.

We have philosophized enough. Let us at last use our guide. We do so not with the intention of harnessing our art to yet another foreign wagon, but in order to free it from the suffocating atmosphere of backwardness. We will go to Europe to learn, but in a few years we will return burning with a new light. Do you hear what we want, Moscow-lovers with your Russian slops? So, death to the Dostoyevskys! Let us begin a cultural renaissance!

It is also characteristic of the time that Khvyloviy came from a Russified milieu. This itself was his inspiration. Khvyloviy, who had been named Fitylov, knew from personal experience the swamp-like world of Russified Ukrainians. He thus knew best how to fight against it. The most effective preacher is a Saul converted into a Paul.

As Moscow watched, new institutions were developing which were both Communist and Ukrainian. Along with others, Khvyloviy exclaimed: "We are aware of proletarian ideas without the help of Russian art." The next and inevitable stage in the realization of the slogan "Away from Russia!" would have been the political separation of Ukraine from Russia. And that would have meant the collapse of the Russian empire. As everyone realized, Russia without Ukraine would automatically be reduced to the small realm (khanate) of Moscovy it had once been in the 16th century before Tsar Peter I.

The successful development of Ukrainianization (and of parallel national developments in other Soviet republics) was not limited to literary life. The non-Russian nations of the USSR chalked up other important achievements which threatened Russian hegemony. One was the establishment of "native" (territorial) armies. Out of a total of 17 army divisions based in Ukraine in the late 1920s, eight were "native" divisions consisting almost entirely of Ukrainians. These divisions also used Ukrainian as the language of communication and military command. Ukrainian was also the language of instruction in some military schools. Other non-Russian peoples had similar military formations. There were two Byelorussian divisions, two Georgian, and one Armenian, as well as one Tatar regiment, one Tadzhik regiment, and so forth. National non-Russian educational systems also developed. Under the direction of the Ukrainian minister of education, Hryhory Hrynko, an educational system developed in Ukraine which differed in every way from the Russian form. In economic life Volobuyev introduced the concept by which Ukraine would develop a national economy separate from Russia. And so it went in every sphere of Ukrainian life.

Moscow understood that if this process was allowed to continue for another decade the Soviet Russian empire would break up along national lines, much as the Austro-Hungarian empire had at the end of the First World War. The Kremlin rulers realized another essential reality: the empire could only be held together with totalitarianism. And that meant totalitarianism in every sphere of life. Only absolute state power could guarantee a unified empire. Although Russian chauvinistic opposition to the Ukrainian renaissance never completely disappeared, it was ineffective during the 1920s for two reasons. Firstly, private enterprise automatically brought with it pluralism in other spheres of life. It was comparable to fresh rain falling on the young shoots of the national movement. Secondly, the national awakening unleashed by the revolution of 1917 burgeoned during the decade of the 1920s.

The historical pendulum began to swing in a different direction at the close of the 1920s. The energy of the national renaissance was depleted, indicating the beginning of a decline. The rerouted imperial forces sensed that the time had come to strike back. Their revenge took three forms: 1) The elimination of private property in the villages and the imposition of totalitarian agriculture in the form of the collective farm ("kolhosp" or, in Russian, "kolkhoz"); 2) The up-

rooting of private enterprise in industry and trade; 3) The annihilation of pluralism in the arts. All cultural associations were replaced by unitary cultural unions, one each for writers, artists, journalists, and so forth.

The crucial essence of this program was the annihilation of the traditional village structure which had always been the nation's foundation. Stalin recognized the key role of the village in the movement for national liberation. "The village is the major army in a national movement," he wrote. "Without the village the movement becomes impossible. This is what we mean when we say that the national question is, in effect, the village question." [7]

In planning the artificial famine of 1933, Moscow sought to strike a fatal blow at the village structure, not because it was socially troublesome or economically disadvantageous, but because it was the lifspring and resource foundation of the vital national spirit. Postishev, who was sent to Ukraine in 1933 as Moscow's plenipotentiary, stated this clearly: "The mistakes and oversight of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the realization of the nationalities policy of the party was one of the major reasons for the collapse of agriculture in 1931-1932." [8]

This one sentence is enough to show that the national question triggered the catastrophe of 1933. The Plenum in 1933 and the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in January 1934 both declared that "the greatest danger in Ukraine is local Ukrainian nationalism." [9] This marked a turning point in the Kremlin's nationalities policy. Until then the greatest danger in the nationalities question was officially "Russian imperialistic chauvinism." At the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Postishev declared that "1933 was the year of the defeat of Ukrainian nationalist counter-revolution." [10] Moscow thus regarded the catastrophe of 1933 as an aspect of the struggle against Ukrainian national renaissance. The village and national aspects of this catastrophe were closely interconnected. In the spring of 1933, when millions of Ukrainian villagers were starving to death, Soviet forces carried out mass executions across Ukraine. Two population groups were targeted for extermination: the intelligentsia and Ukrainain Communists who had once belonged to other parties. The census figures of 1926 and 1939 indicate that the Ukrainian population decreased by ten percent during this period, while the number of Russians increased by 27 percent. [11] The reason for this startling contrast was explained by a witness of the 1933 famine: "There were two villages on the border between the Ukrainain Soviet Socialist Revublic and the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. On the Ukrainian side ; everything was taken away, on the Russian side there were normal corn taxes and everything went according to plan. The Ukrainians climbed onto the roofs of passing trains and traveled to Russia to buy bread." [12]

Historians have concluded that Ukraine lost 80 percent of its creative intelligentsia during the decade of the 1930s. [13] Thus, Ukrainian culture suffered even more acutely than Ukrainian village life. While 80 percent of the books published in Ukraine in 1930 were printed in Ukrainian, in 1934 this figure had fallen to only 59 percent. [14] At the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1930 there was talk of "the turbulent rise of Ukrainialization" and of the necessity for its continuation. In 1934, at the 12th Congress quite a different tone prevailed: [15]

Before the November Plenum alone, 248 counter-revolutionaries, nationalists, spies and class enemies — among them 48 enemies who were party members — were exposed and expelled from Ukrainian research institutes and the Ministry of Education. Since then, many more of these people have been unmasked. For example, not long ago, in December, we were compelled to close down the Bahaliy Research Institute of History and Culture because we discovered that this institute, like numerous other academic organizations (such as the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia and the

Shevchenko Institute where Pylypenko was administrator), was a nest of counter-revolution.

A key question in this entire issue is this: To what extent were the repressions of the 1930s carried out for socioeconomic reasons? Certainly the social and economic motivations behind this policy of repression cannot be ignored or overlooked. But these motivations must be understood within historical context. Although these repressions were social in application, they were carried out primarily to preserve Russian imperial power.

The central thesis of this essay is that socioeconomic considerations played only an instrumental and auxiliary role in the policy of repression of the 1930s. The drastic socio-economic changes of this period were motivated primarily by the desire to maintain Russian imperial hegemony and only secondarily by economic considerations. In the struggle between orthodox dogmatists and pragmatists within the Communist party in the early 1930s, the defenders of doctrine were victorious. At the same time, however, the momentum of their attack against the pragmatists gave them their imperialistic and chauvinistic impulse.

The history of the Soviet system until the Second World War is normally divided into three phases: 1) Military Communism, 1917-1921; 2) Temporary tactical retreat in the form of the NEP, 1921-1929; 3) Further development of Communism according to Marxist doctrine, from 1929. However, few historians have considered that the characteristics of the third phase are hardly pragmatic.

I would describe these three phases somewhat differently. The first phase may be called a naive Communist experiment. During this period of military Communism the principle of private enterprise was totally extinguished. The new Soviet state confiscated as much of the villagers' production as it desired. (In practice this was usually as much as it could find.) A black market operated and without it life could not have continued even though officially it was illegal even to sell one's own shoes. The economy quickly fell into chaos. Suffice it to mention that only one blast furnace was functioning in Ukraine in 1921.

It was obvious that this "pure Communism" would soon result in the total collapse of the new system unless the new Soviet rulers recovered quickly from their "orthodox" intoxication. The abrupt turn to pragmatism in 1921 proved effective. This NEP phase permitted extensive private enterprise in agriculture and other aspects of economic life. It ended in 1929 with a sharp return to the collectivized system. This change has been generally regarded as a return to Marxist orthodoxy after a temporary retreat. However, this view is erroneous. The socio-economic policy of the 1930s was not a return to "pure" Communist orthodoxy. It was rather a synthesis of the principle of collectivization and pragmatism dictated by exclusively imperial interests.

The Communism described in Marx's *Das Kapital* is not realistic. As with any ideology, Communism in practice must take into consideration concrete national interests. The first Soviet phase of military Communism was only an experiment. The new Soviet rulers believed that the mythical "world revolution" and the utopian ideal of Communism would quickly usher in a worldwide proletarian paradise. These fantasies utterly ignored national considerations. The second NEP phase was a concession forced by individualistic and national factors. Only in the third phase was Communism integrated with Russian national interests. Marxist doctrine was adapted to the needs of the "Third Rome" (Moscow). (A similar process occurred in China. After a series of uprooting experiments, a variant form of Communism was finally developed which might successfully serve Chinese imperial interests.)

A careful study of the Soviet collective farm system makes clear that it is not consistent with pure Communist doctrine. While the land and all agricultural implements are group property, houses, gardens, chickens, pigs, cows and many other items remained the property of individual villagers. In urban areas individuals continue to own such basic items as homes, holiday houses, and automobiles.

Beginning with the Stalin era, the Soviet system has been characterized by an ongoing combination of the collectivization principle and pragmatism. However, the nature of this pragmatism is not at all economic. If economic considerations were paramount, Moscow would long ago have disbanded the collective farms and reintroduced private enterprise in economic life. The collective farm system has brought Soviet agriculture to its knees and the Soviet economy has still not recovered from the chronic depression caused by Stalin's drastic experiments during the 1930s. Soviet pragmatism is thus dictated by imperial and not economic interests. The relationship between the principle of collectivization and pragmatism is adjusted according to the interests of the empire. The collective farm worker category is not a socio-economic category as much as it is an imperial category, similar to the "colon" class of the late Roman era. If villagers live according to the principles of individual self-reliance and private enterprise, they maintain a vital national awareness. This consciousness makes the collapse of any empire inevitable. Imperial self-interest necessitates the destruction of the villagers' traditional way of life. The villager is transformed into a "proletarian" who is neither tied to his land nor to his national heritage. Such rootless people easily lose touch with their native localities and migrate to the endless wastes of Siberia or Kazakhstan—from one end of the empire to the other—in search of higher wages. Moscow's intention has been to assimilate the non-Russian half of the Soviet empire. It is also interesting to note that even during the worst economic periods of Soviet rule, there has always been sufficient liquor available in the stores. This is one Soviet product which has never been in short supply. In destroying national consciousness, liquor has been as important as official Soviet propaganda. It's not difficult to persuade a drunk "proletarian" that as far as his national heritage is concerned "What's the difference?".

The collective farms are essential to the Soviet system, not because of Marxist economic doctrine (Yugoslavia gets along without them), but to maintain the empire. It is the Soviet Russian empire and not Communist orthodoxy that bans private enterprise. This is a key fact in understanding the nature of the Soviet system.

Thus, economic principles are ignored in favor of imperial interests. Not even the catastrophic economic consequences of this policy induce Moscow to change. Accordingly, the orthodox "purity" of Marxism has been abandoned. Of course, Soviet text books and newspapers repetitiously insist that everything is advancing "according to Marxist principles." But whoever has the patience to read past the third page of Marx's *Das Kapital* (almost no one in the Soviet Union has done so) realizes that the Kremlin ignores numerous Marxist principles. One example is the notion of "the total collapse of capitalism" which has not occurred as Marx "scientifically" predicted. Another is the Leninist thesis that the Soviet Union would not require a standing army (only a limited "people's militia"), nor secret diplomacy, and so forth. These things are never mentioned in the USSR. While using Communist slogans for its own ends, the Soviet Russian empire has simply discarded everything about Communism which might prove advantageous to the non-Russian peoples.

The introduction of the collectivization and industrialization programs at the end of the 1920s meant that the empire once again held the reins of power tightly in its hands. During the chaos of the revolution these reins were temporarily torn from its control. State policy shifted in different

directions during the 1920s in response to various forces. But when Moscow recovered and fully realized the situation, it once again adapted to the needs of the empire.

Although the impetus for the repressions of the 1930s is widely considered to have been socio-economic, often even by those who made policy, the real motivation behind the repression was a subconscious and unexpressed need to preserve the imperial system. The imperial instinct prompted the concrete social forms of the repression as well as the kind of totalitarianism which could be effective during the 1930s. If there had been no pressing imperial interests or Russian chauvinism, the repressions of the 1930s would have been only a tenth as severe. This is shown by comparing the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the Armenian massacre of 1915. Foreigners who were in Petrograd in late 1917 were astonished at how little blood was shed in the Bolshevik seizure of power. When one class fights another, many shots are fired but few people are killed. In contrast, an estimated two million Armenians were slaughtered in 1915 in an effort by the Turkish (Ottoman) empire to put an end to the Armenian national question. It is estimated that one half of the Armenian nation was murdered.

These elementary analogies are enough to show that the murder of seven million Ukrainians in 1933 could not have been motivated by socioeconomic or “class” reasons alone. Conflicts claim millions of victims only in struggles between nations, as in wars, colonial struggles, and so forth, when the national question is paramount. Moscow needed a holocaust. The imposed famine of 1933 and the whole range of repressive mass killings during the 1930s were an expression of the empire’s struggle for self-preservation. It was this instinct, and not the economic doctrine of collectivization, which impelled the Kremlin to carry out the horrors of the 1930s. No one can say how “real” socialist economics are supposed to work in practice. For example, Sweden calls itself a socialist society and some regard it as a model of socialism. But Sweden has never abolished private enterprise. And although Poland has been under complete Soviet domination since 1945, collectivized agriculture has never been introduced there.

An article entitled “The Ethnocide of the Ukrainians in the USSR,” signed by pseudonym Maksym Sahaydak, appeared in 1974 in the underground journal Ukrainian News. After quoting from Stalin’s speech to the both Soviet Communist Party Congress of 1921, predicting that the cities of the Ukraine will inevitably become Ukrainianized, the author concludes: “The invaders dreaded this as they would an inferno and they still dread it today. Bolshevik Moscow, headed by ‘the father of all nations’ (Stalin) did everything it could to stop the Ukrainian city from becoming Ukrainianized. This was the central reason for the famine in Ukraine in 1932 and 1933.” ^[16]

From a historical perspective the year 1933 in the history of the Russian empire is analogous to 1848 in the Austrian empire, when the rulers in Vienna preserved the realm from dissolution by taking effective measures to repress the centrifugal national movements. This was the last great convulsion and the last effective effort for self-preservation before the final earthquake in 1918 brought about the collapse of the Habsburg empire.

Notes

1.  Kess v resoliutsiiach i postanovleniia sezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TC (Moscow: 1954), Vol. 1, p. 559.
2.  Entsypediia Ukrainoznavstva (1949), Vol. 1(2), pp. 547-548.
3.  Dva roky roboty. Zvit Tsentralnoho Komitetu KP (b) U. (Kharkiv [Kharkov]: 1927), pp. 57-58.
4.  XI zyzd KP (b)U. Stenohrafichnyj zvit (Kharkiv; 1930), pp. 737-738.

5. ☞ X zyezd RKP(b). Stenohraficheskyj otchet (Moscow: 1963), p. 213.
6. ☞ Visti BUCVK (dodatok "Kultura i pobut"l, (1926).
7. ☞ I. Stalin, Marksysm i natsionalno-kolonialnyj vopros (Moscow: 1935), p. 152.
8. ☞ Ukrainskyj zbirnyk (Munich: 1957), Vol.
9. ☞ p. 71. 9.V.I. Hryshko, Ukrainskyj HolOkost 1933 (1978), p. 77.
10. ☞ Chrevonyj Shlach (Kharkiv: 1934), 2-3, p. 165.
11. ☞ The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book (New York and Toronto: Dobrus, 1955), Vol. 2, p. 129.
12. ☞ I. M-ko (I. Maystrenko), Do 25 richiia holodu 1933-ho roku. (Munich: Vpered, 1958), 7(92), p. 1.
13. ☞ Entsyclopediia Ukrainoznavstva (Paris and New York: 1959), Vol. 3, p. 1050.
14. ☞ U. Lavrynenko, Rostriliane Vidrodzheniia (Paris: 1959), p. 965.
15. ☞ XII zyizd KP (b)U. Stenohrafichnyi zvit (Kharkiv: 1934), p. 380.
16. ☞ Ukrainskyj Visnyk (Paris: Smoloskyp, 1975, reprint), 7-8, pp. 50-51.

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A Challenge to Thought Control: The Historiography of Leon Degrelle

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- Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference.

It has been often said that the first casualty of war is truth. Belligerents have always had their own versions of history, particularly with regard to responsibility for wars. And yet certain basic facts and events have not been totally suppressed, if only due to the lack of total media technology and control. Roman statesmen never hid their intense hostility toward Carthage, yet historians have been able to produce rather reliable accounts of the Punic wars. Rome was the absolute military victor, but does not appear completely blameless and righteous in history books. Although Carthage was utterly destroyed by Rome, the feats of Hannibal were duly recorded, his heroism and his integrity were not denied, his character was not assassinated, his genius was not called madness and his motives were understood and respected in the context of his duty to his country.

For four thousand years historians were rather able to keep track of human events. Despite the triumph of victorious nations, the vanquished were not eternally execrated. If the victor was particularly vindictive, honest historians might have to maintain discreet, low profile research for a time but they were eventually able to record the facts without fear of retribution. Defeated nations were not prevented from rendering their versions of history. Historians, like accountants, could gather facts and figures as well as give their own interpretations.

The phenomenon of distorting or suppressing facts from the historical ledger is relatively recent. In conjunction with forced military conscription and absolutist ideology, it first appeared with the advent of the French Revolution.

While the *ancien regime* tolerated even those who were determined to abolish it, and men such as Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu were feted in the royal salons, the French revolutionaries stamped out dissent with the guillotine. Suspected opponents of the revolutionary regime were simply put to death.

Historians were among the first victims of this democratic reign of terror. Millions were murdered and historical truth became a casualty. Fortunately for the world, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre did not prevail, but instead fell victim to their own terror.

It proved only a short respite. The virus was out of the bottle. During the nineteenth century, many tyrants and would-be tyrants became infected. Yet truth, or at least diversity of opinion, survived in countries not subjected to ideological tyranny.

Marat's ideological heirs, nurtured by the teachings of Marx and Engels, took control of Russia in 1917. Another major country fell under the absolutist rule of ideological fanatics. Once again

historians became victims. Events were erased from memory, “facts” were invented, and whole classes of people were exterminated or classified as non-persons in the rewritten history books produced for the new Soviet man. Recalcitrant historians were quickly liquidated as counter revolutionaries or anti-Semites. [1] Nevertheless, the facts about this modern-age tyranny filtered out and Western historians were able to record them. [2]

Tyranny took a quantum leap between 1917 and the present. What the French and Marxist revolutions were not able to accomplish — namely, control of history to perpetuate their own regimes — has become the norm around the world. The wartime alliance of the Anglo-American Allies and Soviet Russia did not make the Kremlin’s rulers more democratic. Instead, the “democratic” Allies accepted the practices of Soviet tyranny.

For the first time in history virtually the entire world found itself subjected to the same tyrannical ideology, including a common version of modern history. Gone were the sanctuaries of countries where dissident historians could take refuge to record history or wait until passions had abated. Even the freedom of historians of the defeated countries to write history from the perspective of the vanquished disappeared. The victorious Second World War alliance stopped the clock of history in 1945, unconditionally and universally.

It is certainly not without irony that the joint triumph of the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American democracies over Germany, all in the name of peace, freedom and democracy, should have ushered in a dark era of intellectual tyranny. An era dawned during which anyone daring to express dissident opinions did so at the risk of his life and livelihood. Never before has absolute dogma been so widely imposed around the globe.

It is this exclusivist historical perspective of Marxism, Capitalism, and Zionism which has kept the world in intellectual darkness during the last forty years. Revisionist historians are hounded around the world by the new grand inquisitors of this intolerant dogma.

More than any other country, Germany remains an occupied and divided land under illegitimate governments with legal prohibitions against even modest challenges to the official dogma.

Since 1945 laws have multiplied in many countries to punish recalcitrant historians. And if legal measures fail, inflammatory and lying propaganda produced by modern media technology are used.

But in spite of murder, arson and persecution of every possible kind, the powerful forces of repression and obscurantism have not completely extinguished the spark of freedom. In fact, forty years of persecution have made its defenders stronger and more determined than ever that truth and freedom shall prevail. The annual revisionist conferences sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review are a manifestation of the indomitable spirit of human freedom.

It is ironic indeed that our persecutors behave in a worse fashion than the “Nazis” they execrate. In fact, they have imposed upon the world all the evils, and then some, that they accuse National Socialist Germany of perpetrating. The roles have been completely reversed: the allegedly persecuted are the real persecutors. The historical truth, of course, is that Germany has been viciously oppressed since the First World War onward, and that those historians who have attempted to set the record straight have likewise been persecuted.

Although historical revisionism is not at all limited to the Second World War era, it has been necessary to emphasize this critical period because the total falsification of modern history was imposed by the Soviets and their wartime democratic Allies. For the past forty years they have con-

trolled historiography to perpetuate their rule through an absolutist worldwide ideology. They operate according to the Orwellian axiom: “Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past.”

Today, however, defenders of First Amendment rights and general freedom of speech have joined with historians to battle for the basic right to express oneself without fear of sanctions.

As the falsifiers openly admit, their greatest fear is historical revisionism. They have thus also revealed their greatest weakness: the scrutiny of revisionist historians. It is a matter of constant amazement that the historical falsifiers do not rebut revisionism with facts but with abuse, threats or punishment. The normal exchange of scholarly information common to other intellectual disciplines has also been absent.

The challenge to the tyranny of worldwide thought control has been issued. After four decades of lies, we say: Enough. We can be grateful that the United States is still a bastion where freedom of expression has not been legally eradicated, but time is running out. If today historians are muzzled by denial of their First Amendment rights, who may be next? The freedom of us all is at stake.

The imperative of historians to tell the truth is inextricably linked to freedom of speech. It is a dual role and a dual burden which we cannot shirk. At the same time it is a unique and tremendous opportunity to unravel the falsifications that have held the world captive since 1945.

It would have been of benefit to history if the central figure of the Second World War, Adolf Hitler, had been retired like Napoleon, to write his memoirs and answer the questions of history. The contrast between the way Napoleon and Hitler were treated following their defeats is a measure of how far the world has fallen into totalitarian tyranny.

Defeat on the battlefield cost Napoleon his throne, but he kept his life and honor. To this day he is honored as a personality of prominence in the country he once ruled as well as in the world. In contrast, for Hitler military defeat meant annihilation in a war of total destruction. This pitiless hostility began during the First World War and was institutionalized by the Versailles Treaty. The time is gone when the ultimate price a leader had to pay for military defeat was the loss of his power and prestige.

The Soviets and their democratic allies, who introduced the concept of total war, unconditional surrender and unconditional hatred, have institutionalized bigotry and retribution on a macabre and perpetual basis. This fanatical stance has brought historical inquiry to a standstill.

The corrosive legacy of censorship and suppression will only end if there is free debate, inquiry, research, and scrutiny. The perspective of the vanquished must be given — not by Nuremberg inquisitors — but by those who actually made history on the other side. The academic world and the general public are entitled to examine both sides of the Hitler era.

More than 200,000 books have been written since 1945 about the Second World War, but have they let us know the authentic story?

For example, only a handful of those who had any personal knowledge of Hitler have written about the man. Unfortunately, their ability to tell the truth has been subordinate to their primary obligation for sheer survival.

The Institute for Historical Review believes that the time has now come to understand the man who was the central figure of the most momentous era of modern history: Adolf Hitler. Unfortunately for historians, Hitler and all his lieutenants can no longer be questioned. All, save one.

In its quest to produce a monumental record of this missing side of history, the Institute has commissioned the last wartime National Socialist leader who is still alive and free to fill the gap: Leon Degrelle, the Catholic leader of the Belgian Rexist movement and wartime leader of the Waffen SS volunteer legion "Wallonie."

Degrelle knew Hitler intimately and was one of his most trusted colleagues. One of the most decorated heroes of the Eastern Front, he may also be uniquely qualified to observe history objectively. He is not a German. Along with the people of Belgium and France, he was brought up in an officially anti-German atmosphere.

In the years before the outbreak of war, Degrelle was a young Belgian intellectual who published a daily newspaper and organized a national political party that won elections and sent representatives to the Belgian parliament. The popular enthusiasm he generated was reflected in the turnout of millions who applauded his message and supported his program.

When Degrelle returned to Brussels after fighting communism for four years on the Eastern Front, he was given the largest mass welcome in Belgian history. [Thousands of] Belgians lined the streets of Brussels to cheer the returning general only two months before the Allies invaded that country.

One of the outstanding writers in the French language, he has published more than forty books and essays ranging from poetry to economics, from architecture to history. He has been acknowledged as a passionate orator and a soldier of rare valor. He joined the ranks of the 600,000 foreign volunteers of the Waffen SS as a private and earned all his stripes at the front. After four continuous years in the inferno of battle, his legion was one of the last to retreat from Russia.

This titanic struggle is described in his famous epic, *Campaign in Russia*, which earned him renown in Europe as the "Homer of the Twentieth Century." (This book has been recently published in English by the Institute for Historical Review.)

During his final meeting with Adolf Hitler, as bombs rained across Germany, Degrelle recalled that Hitler was calm and composed. They shared a last supper together. Hitler served him, cutting his bread and pouring him a glass of wine. He gazed confidently into Degrelle's eyes: "We will all die, but you, Leon, must live. You must live to tell the world the truth."

In 1945, Degrelle escaped from Germany to Norway where he boarded a single-engine plane and flew over Allied-occupied Europe to crash land on the Spanish border as his craft ran out of fuel. He suffered multiple injuries in the landing including several broken bones. He spent a year in the hospital recuperating, most of it in a plaster cast, unable to move. Typically, as soon as his right arm became free he began writing his masterwork, *Campaign in Russia* ("The Lost Legion"). It has appeared in two French editions.

The Allies threatened to invade Spain unless Degrelle and wartime French premier Pierre Laval were not immediately turned over for execution. Franco compromised. He turned over Laval but kept Degrelle on the grounds that he could not be physically removed from the hospital.

A year later Degrelle was given refuge in a monastery. Members of his family and many friends and supporters were arrested and tortured to death by the "democratic liberators" of Belgium. His

six children were forcibly shipped to detention centers in different parts of Europe after their names were changed. The authorities ordered that they were never to be permitted contact with one another or with their father.

The new Belgian government condemned him to death in absentia on three separate occasions. A special law was passed, the *Lex Degrellana*, which made it illegal to transfer, possess, or receive any book by or about Degrelle. The IHR's *Campaign in Russia* is automatically banned in Belgium.

Completely alone, Degrelle went on to rebuild his shattered life from nothing. With the energy and burning spirit that had never left him, he worked as a manual laborer in construction. And just as he had risen from private to general on the battlefield, Degrelle rose to build a major construction company with important contracts. The quality and efficiency of his company became so well known that the United States government commissioned him to build major defense projects, including military airfields, in Spain. Meanwhile his emissaries searched Europe for his kidnapped children. All were found in the most amazing circumstances and returned to their father.

On twelve separate occasions over the last forty years Degrelle has challenged the Belgian government to put him on public trial with a jury. His repeated demands to be tried in a legitimate court of law (as opposed to an inquisitorial Nuremberg-style show trial) have been met with embarrassed and guilty silence.

The Institute has commissioned this giant historical figure and first-hand witness and participant to momentous events to write a definitive, fourteen volume revisionist historical account. Degrelle's first-hand experience, as well as his acquaintance with Churchill, Mussolini and every other major figure of the Second World War, makes this a project of tremendous historical significance.

Will these books be biased in favor of Hitler? General Degrelle has already provided the answer in his other published works. He writes without fear or favor. His facts have been cursed by his opponents, but never disproved. It is this approach combined with encyclopedic knowledge that assures a valuable end result.

The first manuscript of 1268 pages is divided into three parts and is entitled: *Hitler: Born in Versailles*. It is the foundation of the thirteen succeeding books which will average 400 pages each, complete with reproductions of previously unpublished documents and photographs of key personalities. Each volume will deal with a specific aspect of Hitler's legacy. They will be entitled: *Hitler the Democrat*, *Hitler and the Church*, *Hitler and the Germans*, *Hitler and the United States*, *Hitler and Stalin*, *Hitler and England*, *Hitler and France*, *Hitler and the Banks*, *Hitler and the Communists*, *Hitler and the Jews*, *Hitler the Politician*, *Hitler the Military Strategist*, and *Hitler and the Third World*.

"There would never have been a Hitler without the Versailles Treaty," Degrelle says. The vested interests joined to eviscerate Germany with unprecedented iniquity. Hitler emerged as an unlikely champion from the depths of his nation's misery and despair. He was a graphic artist with a passion for music. His battle uniform was his only worldly possession. He had never been involved in politics. From the abyss of hopelessness and against the combined forces of established power, Hitler created, directed, and lived his revolution from beginning to end. He broke through all prejudices and opposition to the German people, and they responded. He earned every vote he received by tirelessly addressing peoples in town after town and city after city. Hitler was demo-

cratically elected. When he proceeded to implement his mandate, the combined forces of Capitalism, Communism, and Zionism once again declared war against Germany.

Degrelle's comprehensive historical survey reviews all the facts in the chain of events that led to Hitler's election and the beginning of the Second World War. He also provides a rare look behind the scenes of the Versailles conference.

Degrelle maintains that Hitler's social reforms will ultimately be remembered even more than his military feats. He reviews Hitler's innovation of paid vacations and profit-sharing for work. The German leader introduced affordable and decent housing for all citizens. Hitler insisted that every German family was entitled to a home with a garden for flowers and vegetables. He required safe and pleasant working conditions. Every factory was to have a sports field, swimming pool, trees, flowers, and a pleasant architectural design. He insisted that working conditions must not impair the physical and spiritual wellbeing of the workers. He organized the mass production of the cheap "People's Car" or Volkswagen for every German family and offered them on low payments to every worker. Hitler constructed modern and beautiful freeways. He abolished usury on the principle that a nation's wealth is in its work force, not its hoard of gold. The state, Hitler emphasized, is the exclusive servant of the people and recognizes no other master. The list of Hitler's social innovations and achievements goes on and on.

In 1933 all this was unheard of. His dynamic social revolution of deed, not rhetoric, infuriated Germany's enemies and united them in hatred.

The Versailles mutilation of Germany and Austria-Hungary parceled out many millions of Germans (including German Austrians), Hungarians, and others like cattle to the hostile rule of alien neighboring countries. General Degrelle surveys the Franco-British intrigues in the affairs of Central Europe, the systematic betrayal of Wilson's Fourteen Points, the secret treaties that doomed Wilson's mission from the start, and the cynical Franco-British dividing up of vast territories without regard to the will of the millions of hapless inhabitants.

Degrelle points out that the history of Hitler and Germany can be understood only within the context of the Versailles Treaty and the harsh subjugation of Germany by implacable enemies. "Whenever I hear the Allied side of history," he adds, "I am often reminded of the reporter sent to report on a brawl. He scrupulously recorded all the blows delivered by one side and none from the other. His story would truthfully bear witness to the aggression of one side and the victimization of the other. But he would be lying by omission. I do not deny anything that Hitler did, but I also point out what the Communists and their Western allies did, and I let the public be the judge." I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to read the first volume of Degrelle's multi-volume survey. I can vouch for its momentous importance. With members of my family I have visited him at his home in Spain. This project will be a milestone of historical writing that will shatter the foundations of the great historical lies of our time. It will be a definitive survey for generations to come. I believe that its magnitude will change the course of human affairs.

Notes

1. ☞ For example, the intrepid Roman Catholic scholar J.B. Pranaitis, a formidable Hebraist, was executed in 1917 by the Cheka (Soviet secret police) for "thought crimes."
 2. ☞ Cf. Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror*; Stefan Possony, *Lenin The Compulsive Revolutionary*; Raymond Arthur Davies, *Odyssey Through Hell* and Jean Fontenoy, *Frontier Rouge-Frontier d'Enfer*.
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Book review

Quiet Neighbors: Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals In America

- by Alan A. Ryan, Jr. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, 1984, 386pp, \$15.95, ISBN 0-15-175823-9.

reviewed by Ted O'Keefe

It's been six years since the Office of Special Investigations was established in the Justice Department to gather up the few loose ends remaining after Operation Keelhaul and similar actions in 1945, when the United States, Britain, and France rounded up millions of hapless refugees from the Soviet empire and its satrapies to send them back to be hanged, shot, or worked to death in the archipelago of the Gulag. Alan Ryan, who headed the OSI for three years, has written this book to justify his and his office's part in one of the most serious abuses of American justice in this century, by which hundreds of immigrants who have lived blameless and productive lives in their adopted country are to be stripped of their rights and dragged off to show trials and certain death in Israel and the USSR.

Despite exterminationist supermaven Raul Hilberg's characterization of Ryan as "an outstanding lawyer with the mind of a philosopher," by the evidence of *Quiet Neighbors* Ryan is a prosecutorial shyster whose mind is nimble and devious enough to carry out the duties his masters (don't worry, he tells us who they are) have entrusted him, but is clearly overtaxed at the writing of a brief for the prosecution both coherent and discreet.

Ryan's legal training was evidently good enough to land him a clerkship with Supreme Court Justice Byron "Whizzer" White, but his style of writing and the quality of his reasoning supply yet another instance of why those vocations once known as "the learned professions" are now called simply "the professions." A Yuppie-type who knows how to pander to the left-liberal galleries by adducing the well-cropped lawns and law-abiding habits of his prey as further grounds for suspecting them, Ryan is a master of the wrong word and the botched historical reference. For him, trials "appear and fade away like astronomical phenoma"; for the OSI the prolonged round of hearings and appeals necessary to dispatch its victims is a "lugubrious process," Ryan assures us that the Croats are Teutonic, and at one point informs us that the Sicherheitsdienst of the SS was commanded by Reinhold Heydrich.

Nevertheless, these are almost minor peccadilloes in the context of the grotesque and willful travesty of history Ryan serves up in *Quiet Neighbors*. Not surprisingly, his attempts at a history of the "Holocaust," the flight of the alleged war criminals to America, and the rise of the OSI are encysted between an "indictment" (of America) and a "verdict" (guilty as charged), clothed as a lengthy brief for the prosecution.

Ryan begins his story with an account of the DP's, or displaced persons, in which he manages to write an entire chapter about the post-war fate of the refugees and concentration-camp survivors from Eastern and Central Europe without once mentioning the forced "repatriation" of millions of them to the USSR. To the flight of hundreds of thousands of Jews to Palestine, which was represented by Zionist organizers and propagandists of the day as European Jewry's sole salvation, Ryan devotes half a line; for he has a different ax to grind. In the face of nine-tenths of the historical evidence, as well as all probability, he claims that Jewish DP's were second-class citizens, discriminated against in favor of Balts, Ukrainians, and ethnic Germans. Deftly picking and choosing among such evidence as seems to serve his case—the biased reports of Jewish officials seeking to obtain even further favoritism for the Jews who were moving by the hundreds of thousands into the American-occupied zone of Germany—the author waves away the rigid standards laid down against considering Germans and their "collaborators" as displaced persons, and implies, without actually saying so (for he knows better), that the number of Jews who came to America under the several special immigration laws passed after the war, was less than that justified by their numbers in the DP centers.

Ryan says nothing of the intense pressure which was being generated by Zionists at the time, pressure directed against the migration of Jews to America and their remaining in Europe as well as in favor of their admission to Palestine. If Dorothy Thompson, for most of her career as relentlessly a pro-Jewish publicist as was to be found in the morass of American journalism of her day, were still among the living, she could enlighten Mr. Ryan on this matter with not a little poignancy, for that erstwhile "righteous Gentile" was ruined by her pleas not only on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine, but by her "powerful plea ... made to the United Nations to open the allied countries to the displaced European Jews. There are Zionists, however," she continued, "who did not like that column. They don't want any alternative except Palestine ..." (Connoisseurs of the swift rises and precipitous declines in the fortunes of public men and women, as well as of the fine line which separates a Just Goy from just a goy, are advised to consult Marion K. Sanders's *Dorothy Thompson: A Legend in Her Time*).

Ryan's efforts to stir up sympathy for the Jews of post-war Europe are at the expense of the various peoples of Eastern Europe, for none of whom he seems to have any compassion. Despite a few transparent efforts to assure the reader of his fair-mindedness, Ryan generally sees Balts and Ukrainians, in particular, as anti-Semitic and vitiated by treason against the Soviet Union and collaboration with the invading Germans. For him, the issues of the war in the East were clearcut: the Germans were conquerors and enslavers, the Soviets were liberators. He chafes at the vestigial attempts of the U.S. State Department to refrain from diplomatic acquiescence in the Soviet annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which to him merely obstruct the condign justice to be meted out to traitors and "war criminals." He continually falls into locations such as "the despised Ukrainians" and approvingly cites such references as "the notorious Nazi Fifth Column" (referring to the ethnic Germans of Central and Eastern Europe).

Ryan's disdain for the complex lot of the peoples of the vast belt between Russia proper and the nations of EastZentral Europe, sucked inexorably into a hellish vortex of a quarter-century of war, revolution, famine, and purges is magnified when he comes to consider the cases of the individuals he claims have committed "war crimes." The reader should understand that for Ryan and the OSI a seemingly complicated standard for evaluating and punishing the conduct of immigrants in far-off lands four decades ago, is in force. Ryan finds great fault with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the jurisdiction of which over this sort of case was removed in the putsch engineered by Congressperson Elizabeth Holtzman and Felonperson Joshua Eilberg in 1979, for proceeding in the 1950's with three cases against Jews charged by other Jews with beating and otherwise mistreating them, as well as in one case rounding up Jews for deportation

as a member of the ghetto police. Although each of the accused Jews was allowed to remain in America, Ryan speaks plaintively of the INS finding "Jews who were Nazis" (as if brutality in the service of an authoritarian power were intrinsically "Nazi").

As to the non-Jews implicated in "war crimes" (at one place Ryan disclaims the phrase "war crimes," following Simon Wiesenthal and other propagandists, but he uses it throughout), the author's standard of evidence, as well as of basic equity, is selective indeed. He accepts without qualm lists and documents supplied by the Soviet Union, and one of the most revealing chapters of *Quiet Americans* recounts his journey to Moscow in 1980, where the trembling lawyer was duly cowed and impressed by several functionaries of the Soviet's vast terror and prison machine (he accepts a cigarette from one, although he's a non-smoker; sweats through the firm, potentially bone-crushing hand-shake of another; and returns breathless and ecstatic at the Reds' deigning to help out in what can only be a vast propaganda bonanza for the Kremlin).

A cardinal instance of the way Ryan and the OSI deal with historical evidence, as well as of their contempt for American ideals of fair play and justice, is Ryan's handling of the case against John Demjanjuk, whom Ryan and the U.S. government hold guilty of the murder of hundreds of thousands of Jews in 1942-43 at Treblinka, a German camp in Poland. The case against Demjanjuk, whose accusers say was called "Ivan the Terrible" in the days when he was allegedly operating a diesel engine hooked up to the Treblinka gas chambers, is clearly Ryan's chef d'oeuvre. He begins his "indictment" with an account of Ivan's supposed doings at the camp, and goes on to deal at further length with Ivan's crimes at Treblinka in a chapter devoted entirely to Demjanjuk, the first of several chapters dealing with specific "war criminals."

In his Demjanjuk chapter Ryan goes to some pains to display his newly acquired mastery of Exterminationism. His account of the establishment and workings of Treblinka is drawn from several sources, as well as the testimony of a number of professed eyewitnesses, the discrepancies in whose testimony "do not seriously detract from their accounts," according to our lawyer-cum-historian. Ryan has enough grasp of the more refined account (let us call it the "Revised Standard Version") of the "Holocaust" story to be aware that Jean-Francois Steiner's Treblinka has been banished from the ranks of canonical works on Exterminationism to the Exterminationist Apocrypha, although he archly announces that the book is "accurate enough for the lay reader."

Despite Ryan's mention of the Steiner book's shortcomings, he latches on greedily to one of the book's central theses, that Treblinka was a crowning achievement in the Nazi technology of death, and that its establishment was a triumph for cost-effective mass-murder. Not for Ryan is the emphasis of some "Holocaust" experts on the squeamishness, both on the part of the firing squads and the Nazi hierarchy, which resulted in a more "humane" method of killing: killing the Jews with rifle-fire was far "too primitive, too costly, too timesonsuming ... there were too many of them, and not enough bullets." The reader may make his own calculations as to the probable expenditure of bullets by a nation which fielded an army of several million men for the better part of six years, for much of that time in heavy combat, as well maintaining an air force in combat over the skies of Europe during the same time period, and judge Ryan's reasoning here accordingly.

Ryan believes that "Treblinka was not only murder's main factory but its first research and development center" (sort of a demonic Silicon Valley). Great strides were made, according to Ryan. 450 to 500 persons could be crowded into a 25-meter square gas chamber, a particularly notable achievement in view of the fact that previously, as the author informs us, the technicians of death had been unable to cram more than thirty or forty Jews-"no matter how tightly packed"-into specially modified "mobile killing vans." If Ryan's figures are to be believed, the trucks must have

had carrying capacities of something less than two square meters-possibly less than that of their cabs-rendering the gas chambers of Treblinka a great advance indeed. If this premiere murder factory lacked crematoria to dispose of the bodies (something of an anomaly, in view of the great secrecy which Ryan alleges shrouded the camp), technology, we are left to assume, like nature, non Tacit salts

Certainly Ryan's villain, Ivan the Terrible Demjanjuk, must have cut an outlandish figure among the austere technocrats who built and managed Treblinka, since it is alleged by the author (following the testimony of several sworn witnesses) that Ivan was wont to sally forth from his engine room whenever the mood struck him to carry out bestial assaults on his victims' ears, anuses, and genitalia. Whether Ivan was compelled, by his superiors or through some super-human exercise of self-discipline, to stick to his tank engine on those mornings when twenty thousand Jews arrived, were gassed, and "were dead by noon" is not made clear by Ryan, although he approvingly quotes several witnesses, one of whom has Ivan driving a cart as Jews are being driven into the gas chambers, another of whom claims that the spry Ukrainian met every train at the station, and another of whom claims Demjanjuk's duties included driving his victims into the chambers himself.

Despite Ryan's skills in reconstructing the technological and historical background to Treblinka, and in squeezing the last tear from his witnesses, and their roccoco atrocity stories, he was cognizant of the need of some supporting documentary evidence. With the help of a Soviet agent living in the United States, whom Ryan declines to name other than with a pseudonym, U.S. officials were provided with a reference to a document which purports to show that Demjanjuk served as a concentration camp guard, and then, later, during the proceedings against Demjanjuk, the document itself, an ID card from a training camp for concentration camp personnel located at Travniki in Poland, with a picture of what seems to be a young Demjanjuk prominently displayed.

Much has been written about the propriety of accepting any sort of evidence from a regime which is unsurpassed in the dissemination of forgeries and faked documents of all kinds, and justifiably so. What makes the Demjanjuk ID card interesting, however, in the light of the testimony and allegations against him, is the fact that the ID, a picture of which is reproduced in *Quiet Neighbors*, has no reference to a posting at Treblinka at all. We learn that, according to the card, the holder was "abkommandiert" to a place called "LG. Okzow" on 22 September 1942 (at close to the height of Treblinka's mass-murder season) and then sent off to Sobibor on 27 March 1943. There is no mention of Treblinka, an anomaly which evidently troubles Ryan not in the least. He makes no reference to what "LG. Okzow" might have been, and aside from his puzzled ruminations over the discrepancy in the initial Soviet report that placed Demjanjuk at Sobibor and the identifications of Jewish "survivors" of Treblinka, the obvious disparity between the evidence of the ID card, real or fake, and the testimony of the witnesses is passed over in silence.

What to make of a procedure so clumsy, and so shabby, that it would be laughed out of a police court if it ever so much as came to a hearing? Clearly it has little to do with the norms of justice in America. Then again, the OSI is scarcely an American body. It serves no American purpose, its investigations are dependent almost entirely on evidence supplied by the USSR and witnesses produced from abroad, mainly from Israel, and nine-tenths of its activity is focused on events which occurred in countries far from America and which didn't involve Americans. Only two aspects of the OSI's activities are American: Americans foot the bill, and several hundred Americans are being stripped of their rights and driven from their country.

Ryan is fairly explicit, despite certain efforts to portray the OSI as of vast moment to America's conscience, in acknowledging to whom it is he owes allegiance. As he tells us, when he became head of OSI he was concerned about his not being a Jew. "Could a good lawyer who was not Jewish have the same commitment (to round up and deport alleged war criminals — ed.)?" As he told his Jewish boss at the Department of Justice, Assistant Attorney General Philip B. Heymann: "I believed that Jewish leaders would be fair enough to give me-and Heymann enough time to judge whether that commitment was there, and whether I could produce results. If I could, my religion would not matter; if I could not, I deserved to get the sack." So much for separation of church and state; so much for justice in America.

Ryan's allegiance to Israel and his fawning compliance with Soviet officials might be more than enough to disqualify him for any position in an American government and enough to result in the abolition of the OSI immediately, particularly by an administration that at least gives lip service to American nationalism and anti-Communism. The fact that several Americans have already been banished from a country that they served loyally (witness Bishop Viorel Trifa's establishment of an anti-Communist Romanian Orthodox Episcopate in America to counter the existing, Bucharest-controlled body), the fact that at least two have been driven to suicide, and the glaring violations of justice and the rights of several hundred other Americans, whom the OSI is busily investigating and indicting even now, would seem to spur the Reagan administration even more vigorously. The fact that these haven't occurred teaches us more about the present reality of government in America than the leaders of the current administration would like us to know, just as Ryan's book teaches us more about the author and the OSI than was his purpose in revealing.

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Book review

Eichmann Interrogated: Transcripts from the Archives of the Israeli Police

- *Eichmann Interrogated: Transcripts from the Archives of the Israeli Police*, edited by Jochen von Lang in collaboration with Claus Sibyll. Translated from the German by Ralph Manheim. Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York, 1983, 293pp.

reviewed by Ted O'Keefe

The kidnapping, trial, and execution of Adolf Eichmann, the German officer alleged by the Israelis to have played a central role in the killing of six million Jews in the years 1941 to 1944, have attracted vast attention and endless comment. Much of this has dealt with ethical or even metaphysical issues: Eichmann's justification in claiming that he was merely carrying out his orders, "the banality of evil," and the like. This book, which purports to be a translation of selected transcripts of Eichmann's nine-month interrogation by the Israeli Police, presents a fairly detailed account of Eichmann's alleged misdeeds and attempts to establish that he was "in fact the fly-wheel of [the] merciless extermination machine."

The transcripts, which were translated from German to English by Ralph Manheim, well known for his translation of *Mein Kampf*, are conceded by their editors, Jochen von Lang and Claus Sibyll, to have been "collated ... so as to present the record in logical and chronological order." Like anything which comes out of Israel, particularly when it touches on the "Holocaust" tale, their authenticity is open to considerable doubt. Nevertheless, despite the pains of the Israelis, as well as the editors and translator, the Eichmann transcripts, when carefully studied, offer considerable ammunition to revisionists of the Extermination myth.

The reader will doubtless be surprised to learn that Eichmann's interrogation was carried out by the Israeli Police Force, a national organization comparable in its duties and function to the British national police headquartered at Scotland Yard. The details of Eichmann's surveillance and capture remain murky, despite several accounts, at least one of them purportedly by former Mossad chief Isser Harel, but few doubt that Harel's shadowy spy and terror directorate played a commanding role in the affair. The most interesting conversations between Eichmann and the Israelis were between the former SS Obersturmbannführer and the Mossad, particularly in light of his many dealings with Zionist leaders and agents, from his trip to Palestine in 1937 with Haganah operative Feivel Polkes to his contacts with Raoul Wallenberg in 1944.

It is interesting to learn from the introduction by Avner Less, the German-born policeman who questioned Eichmann, that of the thirty-man team charged with preparing the interrogation "no one ... had detailed knowledge of the Holocaust." Since the interrogation team had to "plow through" the voluminous records of the Nuremberg trials, as well as material supplied by the Yad Vashem center, it is clear that Less and his helpers lacked a coherent account of the activities

Eichmann had been arrested for, and were conducting an investigation and an interrogation simultaneously. This goes far to explain the ineptitude often exhibited by Less in this edition of the transcripts, which doubtless were edited to put the Israeli case in the best light.

Captain Less's ignorance of Eichmann's career (he admits in his introduction that Gerald Reitlinger's *Final Solution* "became almost a bible" for him), didn't stop him from attempting to create an all-encompassing role for his prisoner as architect of the "Final Solution," which for Less means the systematic murder of the Jews of German-occupied Europe. The documentary evidence presented by Less as to Eichmann's role in promoting Jewish emigration from Austria, the Czech lands which then formed the "protectorate" of Bohemia and Moravia, and Germany proper, as well as for his part in organizing the deportation of Jews from various European countries to ghettos and camps in territories to the east of the German Reich, is for the most part credible. As to Eichmann's activities in other facets of the "Final Solution," however, there is grave doubt, even when Eichmann is presented as admitting to them, as he does often in these transcripts. In inflating Eichmann's role in the "Holocaust" story to the stature claimed for it in the testimony of a number of his subordinates in the "war crimes" proceedings, the Israelis have created a dilemma for themselves from which escape is a difficult matter indeed.

In this effort to build up Eichmann as the managing director of Exterminationism they've been more poorly served by the editors, Lang and Sibyll, and their translator, Manheim, than they may imagine. All three are fussy pedants of a particularly Teutonic mold who seldom miss an opportunity to catch an error, no matter how minor, if it will detract from the credibility of an Eichmann or a Hitler (readers of *Mein Kampf* in Manheim's translation will recall his quibbling at the author's every minor lapse, and his assurance that Hitler's use of classical allusions carries no proof that he's familiar with the original works). If Eichmann's forgotten a date or mixed up a time sequence, the editors' intervention is swift and implacable.

All the more damning, therefore, that Eichmann is unchallenged by interrogator, editors, or translator in a whole series of ludicrous mistakes about the version of the "Holocaust" that currently enjoys the imprimatur of recognized Exterminationist experts. The ex-SS officer claims to have witnessed mass slaughter on a grand scale at Auschwitz in the fall of 1941, where the camp commandant, Rudolf Höss, informed him that the great, factory-like buildings, the chimneys of which belch smoke, are "working to capacity: Ten thousand!" This months before the Auschwitz crematoria were constructed, let alone in use. In a Cook's tour of mass murder sites which Eichmann claims he took that memorable Fall, on the urging of Gestapo chief Heinrich Mueller and Reich Security Main Office head Reinhard Heydrich, he obligingly admits to visiting half a dozen places where killings are already being carried out, including Treblinka-although he's not sure if it's Treblinka-where gassings are being carried out with a submarine engine; places near Minsk and Lemberg, where mass shootings are taking place (including one mass grave from which "blood was gushing out ... like a geyser," although it had already been filled in); and again Treblinka (this time there's no doubt: phony railway station and all) where gassings are being carried out with the insecticide Zyklon-B. The gushing geysers are a nice touch, and jibe well with the propensity of other "Holocaust" mass graves to quake and spew forth blood, sometimes for months after the killings; Treblinka, however, is supposed not to have been functioning as an extermination center until the summer of 1942, nor was Zyklon-B ever claimed to have been employed there.

As has been stated, these minor absurdities don't seem to have perturbed Captain Less, who throughout the remainder of *Eichmann Interrogated* skips merrily from document to document, confronting his prisoner time and time again with allegedly damning accusations culled from affidavits and bills of lading, passenger lists and confessions. In his efforts to have Eichmann own

up to his full guilt. Although the prisoner does his best to be obliging throughout the transcripts (Eichmann even offers substantiation for the six-million claim—he says he’s worked out the numbers from reading Jewish almanacs), he persistently rejects the accusation that he was the organizer of the “Final Solution” or the “flywheel of the extermination machine.” Indeed, Eichmann is allowed to score occasionally some telling points. Why carry several weeks provisions, foot-gear, and blankets, as one deportation order provides, if the deportees are to be gassed as soon as they alight, is Eichmann’s plaintive question, to which Less has no good reply. These transcripts, organized and collated as they may be, offer no all-embracing confession.

What has been worked out, however, with Eichmann’s seeming agreement, is a role as a sort of presiding genius of Exterminationism, intimately involved somehow in all its grisly details, sometimes to be sure only in the role of a voyeur, gaping at mass slaughters from Kulmhof (which Eichmann calls in these transcripts Kulm, for the most part), at other times implicated by bits of paper which have flowed through his office or across his desk; in a word, an Erich Dorf avant la lettre (and the reader will surmise that the fictional Dorf was awarded his subsidiary but all-encompassing part in the Holocaust of the novel and the docudrama because Greater Ones than he were privileged to be giving out orders, and more brutal men than he were allowed to carry them out).

The propaganda bonanza which Israel reaped from the Eichmann affair was necessarily transitory. Unfortunately for the proponents of the “Holocaust” tale, Eichmann Interrogated will be around for a long time.

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Book review

The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel & The Palestinians

- The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel & The Palestinians, by Noam Chomsky. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1983, 481 pp. \$10.00, Pb, ISBN: 049608-187-7.

reviewed by L.A. Rollins

The Fateful Triangle is a fact-filled, insightful look at the “special relationship” between the United States and Israel. Noam Chomsky, professor of linguistics at M.I.T., examines the origins of this “special relationship,” its disastrous consequences for the Palestinian (and other) Arabs, and its danger for everyone.

Concentrating mainly on Israel’s 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Chomsky provides a wealth of ideas and information in conflict with the Zionist mythology which pretty much predominates in the mass media and academia. The result is a devastating debunking of one-sided Zionist propaganda.

The pro-Zionist bias of most American journalists and scholars is one particularly obvious aspect of the aforementioned “special relationship.” As Chomsky puts it, “The truth of the matter is that Israel has been granted a unique immunity from criticism in mainstream journalism and scholarship, consistent with its unique role as a beneficiary of other forms of American support” (p. 31). He cites numerous examples of this immunity from criticism, including the silence and/or misrepresentation about Israel’s terrorist attacks on U.S. facilities in Egypt (the Lavon affair) and the “clearly premeditated” attack on the “unmistakably identified” U.S.S. Liberty, an attack which, according to Chomsky’s count, left 34 American crewmen dead and another 75 wounded. Chomsky asks, “Can one imagine that any other country could carry out terrorist bombings of U.S. installations or attack a U.S. ship killing or wounding 100 men with complete impunity, without even critical comment for many years?” (p. 32)

Of course, as Chomsky acknowledges, Israel did come in for an unprecedented amount of criticism because of “Operation Peace for Galilee,” the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. But he debunks the attempt by some die-hard Zionist apologists to blame such criticism on-get this-media bias against Israel! As Chomsky shows, there was (and is) no widespread anti-Israel bias in the American mass media, although there was, temporarily at least, a reduction in the usual degree of pro-Israel bias. As Chomsky writes:

The charge that the American media were “pro-PLO” or “anti-Israel” during the Lebanon war — or before — is easily unmasked, and is in fact absurd. It suffices to compare their coverage of the occupied territories, the war, the treatment of prisoners, and other topics, with what we find in the Hebrew press in Israel, a comparison

always avoided by those who produce these ridiculous charges. Again, the annals of Stalinism come to mind, with the outrage over Trotskyite “critical support” for the “workers' state.” Any deviation from total obedience is intolerable to the totalitarian mentality, and is interpreted as reflecting a “double standard,” or worse. (p. 289)

Among those accusing the media of anti-Israel bias was the self-styled Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which, as Chomsky points out, “... specializes in trying to prevent critical discussion of policies of Israel by such techniques as maligning critics, including Israelis who do not pass its test of loyalty ...” (p. 14). Chomsky has himself been a victim of defamation by the Anti-Defamation League and knows whereof he speaks.

It is somewhat unusual for an American author, especially a Jewish ones to blow the whistle on the ADL's propaganda antics.

But it is even more unusual to see public criticism of bigtime “Holocaust” survivor and pseudo-saint Elie Wiesel and his Wiesel words regarding Israel's less lovely activities.

Regarding Israeli policies in the occupied territories, for example, Wiesel has said:

What to do and how to do it, I really don't know because I lack the elements of information and knowledge ... You must be in a position of power to possess all the information ... I don't have that information, so I don't know ... [D. 161]

Similarly, after the Sabra and Shatila massacres, Wiesel said, “I don't think we should even comment [on the massacre in the refugee camps] since the [Israeli judicial] investigation is still on ... We should not pass judgment until the investigation takes place.” (p. 386)

Wiesel, of course, is well known for passing judgment on the actions of other governments, but when it comes to the State of Israel he whistles a different tune. In fact, Wiesel has said, “I support Israel-period. I identify with Israel-period. I never attack, I never criticize Israel when I am not in Israel.” (p. 16)

Chomsky points up Wiesel's hypocrisy in the following passage:

Recall Wiesel's unwillingness to criticize Israel beyond its borders, or to comment on what happens in the occupied territories, because “You must be in a position of power to possess all the information.” Generalizing the principle beyond the single state to which it applies for this saintly figure, as we should if it is valid, we reach some interesting conclusions: it follows, for example, that critics of the Holocaust while it was in progress were engaged in an illegitimate act, since not being in a position of power in Nazi Germany, they “did not possess all the information.”

Of course, one of Wiesel's repeated accusations against “the world” is that it did not say (or do) enough about “the Holocaust” while it was in progress. One wonders how Wiesel will weasel out of this contradiction in his position.

In any case, as you may have noticed, Chomsky does not dispute the historical reality of “the Holocaust.” But even so, I think that anyone who will publicly criticize the hypocrisy of such a sacred cow (or should I say, sacred weasel?) as Elie Wiesel, merits the attention of revisionists.

It should be noted that while Chomsky is highly critical of Israeli policies and actions, he is not fundamentally anti-Israel. He supports “a two-state political settlement that would include recog-

nized borders, security guarantees, and reasonable prospects for a peaceful resolution of the conflict.” (p. 3) From this position, he criticizes Israel’s consistent “rejectionism” — the rejection of any political settlement accomodating the “national rights” of the Palestinian Arabs.

Chomsky also criticizes the American policies which make Israeli rejectionism possible. And he points out the hypocrisy involved in criticizing Israeli policies while supporting their subsidization with billions of dollars of American aid each year. As Chomsky puts it:

Clearly, as long as the United States provides the wherewithal, Israel will use it for its purposes. These purposes are clear enough today, and have been clear to those who chose to understand for many years: to integrate the bulk of the occupied territories within Israel in some fashion while finding a way to reduce the Arab population; to disperse the scattered refugees and crush any manifestation of Palestinian nationalism or Palestinian culture; to gain control over Southern Lebanon. Since these goals have long been obvious and have been shared in fundamental respects by the two major political groupings in Israel, there is little basis for condemning Israel when it exploits the position of regional power afforded it by the phenomenal quantities of U.S. aid in exactly the ways that would be anticipated by any person whose head is not buried in the sand. Complaints and accusations are indeed hypocritical as long as material assistance is provided in an unending and ever-expanding flow, along with diplomatic and ideological support, the latter, by shaping the facts of history in a convenient form. Even if the occasional tempered criticisms from Washington or in editorial commentary are seriously intended, there is little reason for any Israeli government to pay any attention to them. The historical practice over many years has trained Israeli leaders to assume that U.S. “opinion makers” and political elites will stand behind them whatever they ado, and that even if direct reporting is accurate, as it generally is, its import will gradually be lost as the custodians of history carry out their tasks. (p. 2)

Chomsky’s got a point here, and it’s an important one. What better way would there be to moderate Israeli policies than to cut off (or at least drastically reduce) American aid to Israel? But even if so, how is such an aid cut-off (or reduction) to be accomplished? That is the question. Unfortunately, I don’t know the answer. And, as far as I can see, neither does Chomsky.

Of course, there is much more to *The Fateful Triangle* than I have been able to indicate in this review. To mention just one more subject, those who are interested in some of the more extreme examples of Zionist thinking will find them here, especially in the section on “The Rise of Religious-Chauvinist Fanaticism.” In this section, Chomsky quotes the following notable statement:

We will certainly establish order in the Middle East and in the world. And if we do not take this responsibility upon ourselves, we are sinners, not just towards ourselves but towards the entire world.

For who can establish order in the world? All of those western leaders of weak character? (p. 155)

No, this is not a passage from the plagiaristic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The statement was made by Rabbi Elazar Valdman of Gush Emunim in the pages of *Nekudah*, the journal of the religious-chauvinist West Bank settlers. There is a pop song on the radio these days which says, “Everybody wants to rule the world.” I don’t know if everybody wants to rule the world, but obviously the good rabbi wants to do so. I wish him the worst luck possible in getting what he wants.

Despite some shortcomings, *The Fateful Triangle* is one of the best exposes of Zionist mythology now available. Even those who have read Alfred Lilienthal's *The Zionist Connection* will probably find Chomsky's book an excellent supplement. It is, in any case, a worthy example of what James J. Martin has dubbed "inconvenient history."

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Review

The Eastern Front: The Soviet-German War, 1941-45

- by J.N. Westwood. New York: The Military Press, with maps, photographs, index, 1984, 192pp, \$12.95, ISBN 0-517 42314-6.

reviewed by Charles Lutton

This Spring marked the 40th Anniversary of VE-Day. In the United States, Britain, and other Western countries, there has been much self congratulation about how “we” won the Second World War. Yet, it was on the Eastern Front that the outcome of the war was decided. Had the best of Hitler’s forces not been fighting the Soviets, it is unlikely that there would have been any Allied victory in 1945, or anytime foreseeable thereafter. And it is well to recall that it took the Western Allies, despite their overwhelming superiority in men and materiel, eleven months to subdue the Germans. By way of contrast, in the Spring of 1940, inferior German forces conquered the same territory in about six weeks.

J.N. Westwood, a British military historian with over twenty published titles to his credit, has written a survey of the titanic struggle between Germany and the Soviet Union. Despite some flaws in interpretation, it provides a useful enough introduction to the fighting that went on in this crucial theater of the Second World War.

Westwood reviews the background to the conflict, pointing out that Stalin, confident that he was in a position of strength, took more of Eastern Europe than had been agreed to in the Russo-German agreements of 1939-including parts of Lithuania and Romanian North Bukovina. But the swift German victories in the Balkans in the Spring of 1941 alarmed Stalin and led him to adopt a softer line. This was too late, for Hitler, long suspicious of the Soviets, had already made up his mind to launch a preventive war against the USSR, before Stalin posed a greater threat to Western Europe.

In his discussion of the opposing balance of forces, the author cites their high standard of training as the key to German success. In terms of military hardware, much German equipment was run of the mill and there were relatively few Panzer and mechanized divisions in the Wehrmacht. Adding to this was the dispersal of German forces necessitated by commitments in the Mediterranean, the Battle of the Atlantic, and occupation duties in Western Europe. In fact, relatively modest German forces, along with units from Finland, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, and later, Spain and Italy, took part in the Eastern campaign.

Despite their shortcomings, the Axis forces captured thousands of square miles of Soviet territory during the opening months of the war and by November 1941 reached the suburbs of Moscow.

Westwood is correct in charging Hitler with having failed in the planning stage to agree upon a long-term objective. The author summarizes the problem thusly:

This situation in fact doomed Operation Barbarossa ... It was a plan without a conclusion. as the victorious German commanders discovered in September 1941. The foundation of the plan, a three-pronged attack against Leningrad and the Baltic, Moscow and the center, Kiev and the Ukraine, qwas agreed by all parties, although this had not been the first intention of the planners. But the objectives of the invasion were not laid out in any order of priority. Essentially, the trouble was that Hitler wished to achieve too many things and, even when asked, refused to say which he regarded as the most important, on the grounds that all were achievable. That is, it seemed that there were at least three “first” priorities.

The dispersal of Axis military resources over a broad front with multiple objectives was responsible for its failure to capture Moscow in 1941. By the end of that year, the United States entered the war and the Red Army launched a successful counter-offensive. A number of men close to Hitler even then concluded that Germany had bitten off more than it could chew. Among these insiders was Dr. Fritz Todt, Hitler’s armaments minister, who predicted that victory would go to the most primitive contestant, the Russians, because their endurance, especially of cold, was greater.

Indeed, the Soviet Union proved to be a far more resilient opponent than predicted. The Red Army was much larger than anticipated. Terror was deliberately employed to stiffen Soviet resistance. Westwood points out that, “From the top generals, subject to Stalin’s capriciousness, right down to the wavering foot soldiers executed by detachments placed in their rear for that very purpose, the Red Army was characterized by the large number of its men killed by Russian bullets.”

This touches on one of my reservations with what is, by and large, an even-handed narrative. Westwood admits that many Soviet casualties were inflicted by NKVD murder squads; by Red partisans against civilians who they feared might cooperate with the Germans; and by the Red Army commanders’ reliance on massed frontal attacks which took a heavy toll of front-line troops. Yet, in his final chapter, “The Drive to Berlin,” the author tries to excuse the brutalities perpetrated by the Red Army on the conquered people of Central Europe by repeating the claim made by apologists for Soviet behavior, that twenty million Soviet soldiers and civilians were killed in the course of the war: “By 1945 self- restraint could hardly be expected,” writes the author. Careful research, chiefly that of Nikolai Tolstoy, has unmasked this particular hoax. On many counts Stalin’s government can be held accountable for the frightfully high number of deaths suffered by Soviet subjects during the Second World War. Tolstoy’s thesis has been developed in his important book, *Stalin’s Secret War* (1981), which appeared in print before Westwood’s manuscript was completed. *

Westwood believes correctly, in my opinion, that the Soviet victory at Stalingrad in early 1943 was not the military turning point of the war. The monumental battle of Kursk in the Summer of 1943 confirmed that ascendancy had irrevocably passed to the Soviets. But even through the last weeks of the war, German regular troops and officers were, on average, superior to their opponents in the East and the West. The Wehrmacht was simply overwhelmed by the forces of the Soviet Union and her Western Allies.

Those looking for a summary of the war on the Eastern Front, describing the battles, equipment, and personalities involved, will likely find this lavishly illustrated volume useful. More detailed

accounts of this epic struggle include: *Barbarossa: The Russian- German Conflict, 1941-45* by Alan Clark (1965/85); *The Russo-German War 1941-45* by Albert Seaton (1970/71); and John Erickson's two-volume shady, *The Road to Stalingrad: Stalin's War with Germany* (1975), *The Road to Berlin* (1983) and Leon Degrelle's epic, *Campaign In Russia: The Waffen SS on the Eastern Front* (1985) published by the IHR.

See my dual review to *Stalin's Secret War* and *Pawns of Yalta* by Mark Elliott, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Spring 1984, pp. 84-94.

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Review

Dresden 1945: The Devil's Tinderbox

- by Alexander McKee. New York: E.P. Duffon, Inc., 1982, 1984, with maps, photographs, index, \$18.95, ISBN 0-525-24262-7.

reviewed by Charles Lutton

The destruction of the virtually undefended German city of Dresden by bombers of the Royal Air Force and U.S. Army Air Force, in mid-February, 1945, remains one of the most controversial episodes of the Second World War. In 1963, British historian David Irving published a pathbreaking study on this topic. Another widely-published British military historian, Alexander McKee, has produced a new account of the Dresden bombing, based in part upon an examination of official records recently declassified, as well as interviews from survivors of the attack and Allied airmen who flew in the raids.

McKee had doubts about the efficacy of area bombing when, as a soldier with the 1st Canadian Army, he witnessed the results of the Allied bombing of “friendly” French towns. Following visits to the cities of Caen and Lisieux, he wrote in his personal war diary:

Lisieux and Caen are examples of the inflexibility of the four motor heavy bombers: it cannot block a road without bringing down a city. I'm not surprised that our troops advancing between Caen and Lisieux were fired on by French civilians. No doubt many Frenchmen found it hard to be liberated by a people who seem, by their actions, to specialise in the mass murder of their friends.

McKee was an eye-witness to the final destruction of the towns of Emmerich and Arnhem. He related that, “In Emmerich I saw no building whatever intact ... This process, when the town was an Allied one, we referred to with bitter mockery as 'Liberation.' When you said that such-and-such a place had been 'liberated,' you meant that hardly one stone still stood upon another.”

The bombing of urban areas which might contain targets of military importance was a policy advocated by leading British air strategists long before the outbreak of the war. McKee reviewed the writings of the air power theorists of the 1920s and 30s, observing that “retreading them now is like browsing through a British *Mein Kampf*. The horror to come is all there between the lines. What they are really advocating is an all-out attack on noncombatants, men, women, and children, as a deliberate policy of terror.

After sifting through the evidence, the author refers to these proffered justifications as the “standard white-wash gambit.” There was a military barracks in Dresden, but it was located on the outskirts of the “New Town,” miles away from the selected target area. There were some hutted

camps in the city — full of starving refugees who had fled from the advancing Red Terror in the East. The main road route passed on the west outside the city limits. The railway network led to an important junction, but this, too, passed outside the center of the “Old City,” which was the focal point for the bombing attacks. No railway stations were on the British target maps, nor, apparently, were bridges, the destruction of which could have impeded German communications with the Eastern Front. And despite the claims of U.S. Air Force historians, writing in 1978, that “The Secretary of War had to be appraised of ... the Russian request for its neutralization,” the author has unearthed no evidence of such a Soviet request.

What the author has discovered about the attack is that:

- By the end of Summer, 1944, “there is evidence that the Western Allies were contemplating some terrible but swift end to the war by committing an atrocity which would terrify the enemy into instant surrender. Without doubt, the inner truth has still to be prised loose, but the thread of thought can be discerned.”
- “The bomber commanders were not really interested in any purely military or economic targets ... What they were looking for was a big built-up area which they could burn ... The attraction Dresden had for Bomber Command was that the centre of the city should burn easily and magnificently: as indeed it was to do.”
- At the time of the attacks on February 13/14, 1945, the inhabitants of Dresden were mostly women and children, many of whom had just arrived as refugees from the East. There were also large numbers of Allied POWs. Few German males of military age were left in the city environs. The author cites the official Bomber Command history prepared by Sir Charles Webster and Dr. Noble Frankland, which reveals that “the unfortunate, frozen, starving civilian refugees were the first object of the attack, before military movements.”
- Dresden was virtually undefended. Luftwaffe fighters stationed in the general vicinity were grounded for lack of fuel. With the exception of a few light guns, the anti-aircraft batteries had been dismantled for employment elsewhere. McKee quotes one British participant in the raid, who reported that “our biggest problem, quite truly, was with the chance of being hit by bombs from other Lancasters flying above us.”
- Targets of genuine military significance were not hit, and had not even been included on the official list of targets. Among the neglected military targets was the railway bridge spanning the Elbe River, the destruction of which could have halted rail traffic for months. The railway marshalling yards in Dresden were also outside the RAF target area. The important autobahn bridge to the west of the city was not attacked. Rubble from damaged buildings did interrupt the flow of traffic within the city, “but in terms of the Eastern Front communications network, road transport was virtually unimpaired.”
- In the course of the USAF daylight raids, American fighter-bombers strafed civilians: “Amongst these people who had lost everything in a single night, panic broke out. Women and children were massacred with cannon and bombs. It was mass murder.” American aircraft even attacked animals in the Dresden Zoo. The USAF was still at it in late April, with Mustangs strafing Allied POWs they discovered working in fields.
- The author concludes that, “Dresden had been bombed for political and not military reasons; but again, without effect. There was misery, but it did not affect the war.” Some have suggested that the bombing of Dresden was meant to serve as a warning to Stalin of what sort of destruction the Western Powers were capable of dealing. If that was their intent, it certainly failed to accomplish the objective.

Once word leaked out that the Dresden raids were generally viewed as terrorist attacks against civilians, those most responsible for ordering the bombings tried to avoid their just share of the blame. McKee points out that:

In both the UK and the U.S.A. a high level of sophistication was to be employed in order to excuse or justify the raids, or to blame them on someone else. It is difficult to think of any other atrocity-and there were many in the Second World War-which has produced such an extraordinary aftermath of unscrupulous and mendacious polemics.

Who were the men to blame for the attacks? The author reveals that:

It was the Prime Minister himself who in effect had signed the death warrant for Dresden, which had been executed by Harris [chief of RAF Bomber Command]. And it was Churchill, too, who in the beginning had enthusiastically backed the bomber marshals in carrying out the indiscriminate area bombing policy in which they all believed. They were all in it together. Portal himself [head of the RAF, Harris of course, Trenchard [British air theorist] too, and the Prime Minister most of all. And many lesser people.

An aspect of the Dresden bombing that remains a question today is how many people died during the attacks of February 13/14, 1945. The city was crammed with uncounted refugees and many POWs in transit. when the raids took place. The exact number of casualties will never be known. McKee believed that the official figures were understated, and that 35,000 to 45,000 died, though “the figure of 35,000 for one night’s massacre alone might easily be doubled to 70,000 without much fear of exaggeration, I feel.”

Alexander McKee has written a compelling account of the destruction of Dresden. Although the author served with the British armed forces during the war, his attitude toward the events he describes reminds this reviewer of McKee’s fellow Brit, Royal Navy Captain Russell Grenfell, who played a key role in the sinking of the battleship Bismarck, but who, after the war, wrote a classic of modern Revisionism, *Unconditional Hatred: German War Guilt and the Future of Europe* (1953). Likewise, *Dresden, 1945*, deserves a place in any Revisionists' library.

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Review

The Might That Was Assyria

- by H.W.F. Saggs. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, with maps, photographs, index, xii + 340 pp. 1984, ISBN 0-283-98961 (hardcover), 0-283-98962 (paperback), (available in the United States through the History Book Club).

reviewed by Charles Lutton

For approximately two-and-a-half centuries, the Assyrian empire exerted tremendous influence upon developments in what biblical accounts called the “land of Canaan.” At the height of its power, Assyria absorbed the kingdoms of Syria, Israel, Judah, and Egypt as far as Thebes. Jonah, after being disgorged by a whale, is said to have called upon the inhabitants of Ninevah, the Assyrian capital, to renounce their sins and worship the Hebrews' god. Isaiah viewed Assyrian imperialism as an instrument used for divine purpose.

Over the centuries, the Assyrians have suffered from a “bad press.” True, they pursued policies of often ruthless conquest, made possible in part by their army, noted for its ferocity and fighting efficiency. As Professor Harry Saggs points out in his new study, *The Might That Was Assyria*, “Largely in consequence of the Bible and of Byron’s poem,* the Assyrians have a reputation in the English-speaking world for ruthless barbarity. They have been maligned. Certainly they could be rough and tough to maintain order, but they were defenders of civilization, not barbarian destroyers.”

Byron wrote about the Assyrian attack on Jerusalem, capital of Judah. The opening lines read:

The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold, And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold.

Dr. Saggs, Professor of Semitic Languages, University College, Cardiff, and author of many works, including *The Greatness That Was Babylon*, has spent over half his life studying the Assyrians. He sets out to present them as real human beings. For example, Professor Saggs has his readers meet the king who took time off from a military expedition to go harpooning dolphins in the Mediterranean, and the royal governor who regarded the introduction of bee-keeping in his province as his most notable accomplishment. We learn how Assyrians dressed, their marriage customs, religious views, and medical practices, which mixed magic with medical treatments — much as people today often call for divine intervention for people undergoing surgery or who suffer from severe illness. The author warns in the preface that, “The reader will soon notice that I actually like the Assyrians, warts and all: I make no apology for this. Though the Assyrians, like the people of every other nation ancient and modern, were sometimes less than kind to their fellow humans, I feel no compulsion to be continually advertising my own rightmindedness by of-

fering judgment upon their every action or attitude in terms of current liberal orthodoxy.” In his chapter reviewing the background and beginnings of Assyria, Professor Saggs mentions the influence of the Sumerians in that part of the world. Of this remarkable people, he writes, “Altogether, there is a good deal of evidence in favor of the view that a particular ethnic group played a major part in the creation of what we know as Sumerian culture, although this sticks in the gullet of many younger archaeologists, who have been politically conditioned to regard it as wicked even to consider the possibility that one race or ethnic group may be more able than another.”

This is a well-written introduction to one of the major formative influences on the history of the ancient Near East. It also serves as a barometer marking the progress of revisionism. After all, the Assyrian capital of Ninevah fell in 612 B.C. to the combined forces of the Medes, Scythians, and Babylonians under Nabopolassar. Yet, it was not until 1984 A.D. that a major work describing the Assyrians as something other than Satanic tools appeared, and gained a measure of acceptance, as shown by its being a selection of the very establishment History Book Club. At this rate, I can well imagine a fearless historian of the year 4580 A.D. writing in his preface to *A History of the German Empires to 1945*: “The reader will soon notice that I actually like the Germans, warts and all ... Though the Germans, like the people of every other nation ancient and modern, were sometimes less than kind to their fellow humans ... they were defenders of civilization, not barbarian destroyers.”

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Review

The Periodic Table

- by Primo Levi, Translated from the Italian by Raymond Rosenthal. New York: Schocken Books, 1984, 233pp, ISBN 0-8052-3929-4.

reviewed by Dr. William B. Lindsey

In the deluge of printed matter which competes today for our time and attention as well as our dollars, one is required to use all the selective skills at his disposal to discriminate and thereby eliminate as much chaff from the grain as is possible. Even then, it is highly unlikely that anyone would ever be able to read all that which one might consider worthy of one's time.

One of the selective criteria, of course, is whether the author knows whereof he writes. On this point, Primo Levi is certainly no late-comer, as are numerous others in the present glittering array of professional "Holocaustorians." His initial opus, *If This Is A Man* (1959), fits the general pattern of writing of this type and this period. It has a shaky, often imperceptible skeleton of autobiographical fact heavily clothed with the grossest and often the most shameless fiction posing as fact. At a time when a gullible, German-hating, sensation-hungry, grossly-misinformed public was eager to believe that every German concentration camp was erected to kill Jews, his first book was one of those effective, inundative fictional diatribes which reassured the uncertain and helped stampede the mesmerized herd into the inevitability of the post-war dismemberment of Central Europe.

But as I say, some of Levi's words are true. He is an Italian Jew, and was trained as a chemist ("summa cum laude," he tells us in the section entitled "Nickel"). As any self-respecting "lover of freedom" would do, he joined the (communist) underground in the Piedmont and was finally caught and delivered to the Germans. Instead of shooting him on the spot ("Gold"), the recognized and sanctioned penalty to which non-uniformed guerrillas were subject in military law, the labor-short Germans shipped him off to the Auschwitz complex in 1944 (prisoner No. 174517) where, he reveals, he eventually worked in the I.G. Farbenindustrie Monowitz industrial laboratory ("Cerium") which supported the huge German effort to manufacture sorely needed synthetic gasoline and rubber. When the Germans were forced to evacuate the Auschwitz area, Levi was one of those who chose, or was chosen, to remain with those unable to be evacuated—those who were to be captured or "liberated" by the Russians. (Some inmates apparently preferred death to such "liberation.") After "liberation," Levi remained for quite some time either willingly or — as he now states — because of a Russian "bureaucratic snarl-up," traveling in Poland and Russia before returning to Italy to resume activities as a chemist ("Chromium"), apparently in an Italian varnish firm.

An inquiring mind will at this point, I believe wonder why, if the Germans intended to kill all Jews, Primo Levi was spared? He had, after all, been caught red-handed as a communist partisan. He was a Jewish intellectual. He knew of the “exterminations” going on at Auschwitz. Any one of those categories, according to Exterminationist dogma, should have qualified him for immediate, certain “liquidation,” as the Soviets prefer to put it. If the Germans had intended killing anyone, he should have been one of the very first to go. But he, along with countless others, survived. Indeed, unlike Levi, most did so because they were evacuated by the very Germans who were later to become the victims of the very evacuees they’d saved, as an ironic result of fantastic and tainted testimony given by the evacuees. In an endeavor which became very lucrative, Levi, proceeded, as did many others, to “get his” in the traditional manner. As might have been predicted, he has produced a number of profitable “I was there” books which led eventually to the current *The Periodic Table*.

Having established the position of the author as an “expert” on his subject, one must then be concerned with the credentials of the translator, Mr. Raymond Rosenthal. In this case, it seems appropriate to consider the judgment of Nobel Laureate Saul Bellow who exudes the following: “There is nothing superfluous here everything this book contains is essential. It is wonderfully pure and beautifully translated.”

I cannot attest to the “beauty” of the translation, but I do not share Bellow’s unrestrained enthusiasm for this book. It might better have been entitled *The Periodic Accusations*, since they, indeed, do seem to return almost as periodically as do Israeli needs for U.S. Dollars and German Marks. Levi’s ploy this round has been to select a skeleton of twenty-one very real chemical elements and then to proceed to “clothe” them with his standard sentimental “Holocaust” reminiscences and fancies on a series of subjects. These subjects range from his ancestry (“Argon”) through his schooling, demonstrations of his linguistic prowess, a fling at creative writing (“Lead” and “Mercury”), Greco-Roman mythology, a smattering of chemistry, his war experiences, an expected dash of braggadocio and, of course, his undying hatred of the inhuman Fascists—all intended, I conclude, to impress the conditioned reader.

To demonstrate Levi’s genius in more detail, I have chosen to review his “Potassium” more completely. In ten pages, he describes how, as a result of reading Lion Feuchtwanger’s *The Oppermanns* (published in the U.S. early in 1934) and a British White Book, along with hearing stories from Polish and French refugees, he was in January 1941 already well aware of the Jewish slaughter occurring and still in store for the remaining European Jews. (At this point the Wannsee Conference was still a year away!) Already, the “I alone have escaped to tell you the story” anecdotes were the refugee’s stock and trade. These stories didn’t really improve with age, of course, they just got more numerous, as did the refugees, and more audacious as the stories were accepted without question, setting the stage for the anxious, guilt-ridden accounts of post-war raconteurs like Levi.

In school (“fourth year of pure chemistry”), he decided chemistry would no longer solve his problems and resolved to pursue physics. As an assistant, he was called upon to prepare pure dry benzene for an experiment by distilling the solvent over sodium, a rather simple undergraduate operation. Using potassium instead of sodium, and apparently as adeptly as one might expect “Dr.” Szymon Wiesenthal to practice “Inzyniera Architekta” (architectural engineering), he caused a laboratory fire which propelled him into his next literary effort, “Nickel.”

Properly, the book contains no index. For any inquiring mind, however, there is little within its covers which is worth looking for. Compared to other “I was there” books, those of Langbein, Kraus, Kulka, Kogon, and Adler to name but a few, it is nothing. In an era characterized by its

plethora of dogmatic, sterile, thought-torpidifying “books,” it may make it in some circles as a “best seller” and thereby qualify as the authoritative basis of a Hollywood “docudrama” on the “Holocaust.” For anyone who is looking for fresh information, intellectual stimulation, or for that matter beautiful prose, the book, even by Exterminationist standards, is a failure. If intended as a contribution to culture, perhaps Dr. Levi’s prose lost much of its beauty in translation.

The Pro-Red Orchestra In the USA, 1941

by James J. Martin

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Part 1: Opinions and opinion makers in the USA

As the German-Russian War Begins on June 22, 1941, in the 22nd month of World War Two, an event occurred as important in the history of the United States and its relations with the rest of the world as the bombing attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, a little less than six months later. This was the invasion by the German armies of Hitler's National Socialist Germany of the portions of Eastern Poland occupied by the armies and political machinery of Stalinist Communist Soviet Russia, and then on deeply into Russia itself.

Upon this act most of that portion of American opinion ranged to the left of center joined in the war psychologically and emotionally, and spent much of its energy from that point on in trying to induce general American sympathy with the cause now heavily weighted in the direction of the interests of Stalinist Communism and its global satellites and sympathetic forces and concerns. A vast sea of printer's ink and a galactic volume of radio babble engulfed the U.S.A. upon the outbreak of formal hostilities between Germany and Russia, most of which concerned whether or not this country should aid the forces of Josef Stalin against those of Adolf Hitler. Eight years of towering and unremitting anti-Hitler propaganda in the U.S.A. had resulted in reducing the pro-German elements in the land to a minority so small as to be, in modern parlance, "statistically irrelevant."

One of the factors which conditioned this discussion was the persistence of a powerful and probably dominant body of opinion opposed to becoming involved in the war as a belligerent. It included an enormous contingent of those who had always been hostile to Soviet Communism and which now were more firmly convinced than ever before that abstention be demanded of the national policy makers. Also included in the citizenry which had a rigid position against collaboration with the Soviet Union were various sects of the Left, particularly the Socialist Party, and the Social Democratic Federation, the inheritors of the anti-Bolshevik faction of Russian Marxists known in the time of the upheaval in Russia as the Mensheviks. Their company was augmented by the anarchists and syndicalists, such as the I.W.W., tiny fragments of the radical spectrum in the U.S.A. implacably opposed to Stalinism on ideological, not nationalistic, grounds.

Still another source of anti-Red sentiment stemmed from those of all persuasions who had been affronted by the diplomatic revolution performed in August 1939 by the joining of Russia and Germany at that time, which wrecked almost a decade of fatuous, simple-minded gabble, both oral and printed, that such an event was the most unlikely thing ever to take place. And yet another sector of anti-Stalinism derived from the war fought against Finland by Stalin's legions in 1940-41, many of whose camp having also become incensed at the division of Poland between the Germans and the Soviet in September/October 1939, a fourth partition of that unhappy land. It required substantial powers of forgetfulness on the part of sentimental partisans of the Poles, however, whose belligerence and sabre-rattling, mainly with real sabres, had preceded for a decade and a half their sudden and humiliating collapse before the forces of two flanking lands. Polish warmongers had long predicted that both could be beaten simultaneously by Polish arms, to be followed by the recreation of a Polish state with boundaries close to those which allegedly prevailed in the (earlier) days of glory.

Had Russian Communism's friends been as few in America as were those of German National Socialism, there would not have been much of a story to tell, and granted American entry into World War Two in the same manner it eventually took place, the ultimate fighting of the war would have been considerably different and an outcome and postwar consequence would have ensued which would coincide with very little the world has seen in the last 40 years.

However, the Soviet Russian state enjoyed the support of a large and growing contingent of admirers, well-wishers and lovers in America, including, here as in most other countries in the world, an element so enamored of Bolshevik Communism that they customarily and consistently placed Soviet welfare and interests ahead of those of the land in which they lived. The unique aspect of this mountainous propaganda in behalf of the welfare of a foreign state was not the call for military cooperation with it to overcome a common enemy but the widespread promotional efforts on behalf of its internal programs, its domestic system and its philosophical and psychic foundations. The Second World War was the high water mark of this phenomenon, unmatched by anything similar in the history of the national state system, and still a factor in world politics well over 60 years after the Russian Revolution.

During World War Two, the scope and impact of this immense multitude of "loyal Russians" living elsewhere than in the Soviet Fatherland added up to results of such immensity that their full effect still remains to be chronicled properly. Part of what happened in the U.S.A. is the subject of this book.

Hitler's attack on Stalin occurred at a moment when most of the politicians in the U.S.A. were enlisted emotionally on the side of the British and French, at war with Hitler since September 1939. Along with them were the largest part of the management and those employed in the newspaper, magazine and book publishing industries, motion picture production, and radio broadcasting (television was in its infancy in 1941, confined mainly to brief local broadcasts weekly in New York City.) Arrayed with them were an overwhelming majority of the American populace, although their sentiment in favor of a victory over the Germans did not extend to participation in the hostilities to the same degree, over 80% indicating unwillingness to join in the war as belligerents at about the time of the outbreak of the Russo-German phase of the war. Stalin's involvement in June 1941 brought to an end a period of neutrality which extended back to the outbreak of the war, preceded by the incredible diplomatic pact of "non-aggression" between him and Hitler which heralded the outbreak of hostilities between the Germans and Poles by a week and a half. Committed to come to the aid of Poland by a clumsy bit of diplomatic adventurism dating back to March 31, 1939, the British demonstrated an incompetence which was outmatched only by their French collaborators in declaring war on Germany, the succession of British defeats being dimmed by the calamitous collapse of the French in June 1940, following which their country was partially occupied and the remainder governed by a regime subservient to German policies.

The Communist regime in Russia had always looked forward to a general war in Europe which would find them playing the role of spectators exclusively. The events of September 1939 to June 1941 were cut precisely to their specifications. The principal price paid for this comfortable situation was a sharp decline in the esteem of the countries involved against the Germans under Adolf Hitler, not only the Franco-British belligerents, but also in militarily uninvolved but emotionally enlisted America. After 15 years of diplomatic isolation, the U.S. had recognized the Soviet Union in 1933, and there followed a spectacular blossoming of pro-Communist propaganda and special pleading, especially in American intellectual centers.

Beginning in 1935, the Stalin regime encouraged the creation of a political alignment called the Popular Front, a sidling up to any other country or to political forces in that country which would advance with the Reds a common anti-German position. The local Communist parties in lands other than Russia made this their principal enterprise, though the scope of the Popular Front would have been exceedingly small had it not been for the sympathetic collaboration of a substantial number of formal non-Communists whose exploits and contributions to the Communist cause dwarfed those of the formal Party activists. Many of these were deeply offended by discov-

ering on August 23, 1939, that the Popular Front was not the beginning of a perpetual political alliance presaging the eventual triumph of the planetary proletarian state, but a temporary phase in Russian foreign policy. As a consequence, zeal for the protection of Communism in Stalin's Workers' Fatherland cooled perceptibly between September 1939 and June 22, 1941. A very large part of those previously involved went over to an anti-German position based on British and French interests, a few joined the anti-interventionist cause, a tiny handful continued to support Stalinism, which now espoused strict neutrality, but many were so paralyzed by the betrayal represented by the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact that they ceased involvement in politics. Four years later a New Republic editor, Malcolm Cowley, disclosed, "Psychiatrists tell me that in some circles there was almost an epidemic of nervous breakdowns after the Russo-German pact".

[1]

Virtually the only analysis of and literature on World War Two from Communists which merits any attention is that produced during the period of Stalinist neutrality, between September 1939 and June 1941. Prior to that time it is mainly a crafty and carefully cultivated alarmist hysteria, calculated to produce panic among the "democracies" and encourage alliances with Soviet Russia in the "popular front" against the anti-communist states. After 1941 it was mainly florid patriotic Soviet raving. But in both instances the Stalinist ploy gathered a rich harvest of "conservatives" (nearly fifty years after Munich, essentially an anti-communist action engineered by Chamberlain and Daladier, right wingers were still mouthing the communist derogation of it as "appeasement," one of the most successful dupings of the Right by communist propaganda in seventy years.) It is significant that the only sustained period of conservative criticism of communists during 1939-45 occurred in the 1939-41 lull when the latter chose to stand back and watch what they correctly interpreted as a civil war among the capitalist powers. All this ended with the entry of Stalinist Russia in the war. Most of Communism's friends rapidly recuperated and were back at their familiar stations, pleading for American involvement on Russian lines, a matter of serious embarrassment to the Anglophile and Francophile warrior elements, in the same way the Red sympathizers as neutralists had been an exasperation to the anti-war and anti-involvement people between September 3, 1939 and June 22, 1941.

Though Americans had been carefully nursed in their Germanophobia for more than eight years by the radio, movies and the printed word, as well as by pedagogical oratory from coast to coast, the job of making them belligerents was not as easy as it might have appeared to be. Only in the areas most heavily settled for three centuries by British stock, New England and the South, was the eagerness for combat at the side of Britain preponderant. [2] Elsewhere a vast selling job had to be done, and it was never successful. The attack on Pearl Harbor and not intellectual conviction brought the overwhelming mass of Americans into World War Two.

In essence then the Anglophile and Russophile warmongers were minorities, but very active and persuasive ones, though their main impact was felt after December 7, 1941. The former concealed their impatience for immersion in the war behind calls for "defense of democracy" and "the democratic way of life," [3] in every enterprise available to propaganda, including a flood of books. In the late summer such works as Professor Edward Meade Earle's *Against This Torrent* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press [4]), Francis Hackett's *What Mein Kampf Means to America* (Reynal -Hitchcock) and Henry R. Luce's *The American Century* (Farrar and Rinehart) characterized the outpouring from this camp. But it was being matched by a similar flow from leftists and pro-Communists, now that Hitler and Stalin were at war, of the likes of Pierre van Paassen's *The Time is Now!* (Dial Press), Ralph Ingersoll's *America is Worth Fighting For* (Indianapolis: BobbsMerrill), and Max Werner's *Battle for the World* (Modern Age Books).

Luce and his formidable publishing empire of Time, Life and Fortune was by far the most influential interventionist voice favoring teamwork with Britain, and his American Century proposal

for a joint straddling of the world with Anglo-American power indefinitely had already had a dress rehearsal before American readers months before Soviet Russia entered the war. Where the sentiments and loyalties of many of his writers, reporters and editors lay was another matter, as will be examined at length. [5]

Still another stream of pro-war literature, sometimes subtle, and at other times not so subtle, was represented by such massively promoted and widely read works as William L. Shirer's *Berlin Diary* (Knopf) (Shirer's political affections were not frankly laid out for some time), Douglas Miller's heated tract, *You Can't Do Business With Hitler* (Boston: Little, Brown), and the now disenchanted former pro-Soviet publicist Louis Fischer's *Men and Politics* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce). These three titles had been given top billing and frenetic praise in the house organ of the interventionist Council on Foreign Relations' quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, in the early fall of 1941. [6]

In the meantime, probably the oldest of the literary calls to war, the output of refugees, continued its steady representation in U.S.A. bookstalls with such examples of leftist anti-German central European journalist output as *A Thousand Shall Fall*, by Hans Habe (Harcourt Brace), and *The Darkest Hour* by Leo Lania (Boston: Houghton Mifflin). [7]

Part 2: Winston Churchill as a factor influencing Americans at the outset, June 1941

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By far the most spectacular and fateful extension of hands across the Volga occurred at the very start of the Russo-German war. Winston Churchill, prime minister of Great Britain, flung himself into the arms of Josef Stalin the very day the Red premier became involved in war with Hitler, a few hours after the German attack. Churchill, head of Britain's war coalition government since May 1940, [8] had managed to achieve two main things since then: the supervision of an unbroken string of disastrous military defeats, and the dazzling, if not the gassing, of the English speaking world with an incredible volume of turgid rhetoric. If 19th century declamatory talk could have won wars, World War Two would have ended in British victory a few weeks after it began. [9]

On June 22, 1941, Churchill was on the world's radios before the first day's gunfire had ceased reverberating across Eastern Poland, repudiating over two decades of ferocious anti-Bolshevik oratory and journalistic writing, promising unstinted aid to Stalinist Russia and announcing a single war aim: the physical destruction of Adolf Hitler and his government. In view of the hapless British wartime performance and its even more dim promise, it was a desperate moment and Churchill's eager grasping for what was surely a drowning man's straw can be understood, since he had categorically ruled out ending the war by negotiation. But this unqualified transfer of the initiative to Stalin was also the act which guaranteed the swift expulsion of Britain from its centuries-old key spot in European balance of power manipulation, precipitated evaporation of its global empire, its reduction first to the status of a stationary American aircraft carrier off the coast of Europe, and then to a tottering and precarious second rate status in a steady forty-year decline upon achieving its most costly "victory" in its national history. [10]

The tardiness of Stalin and his circle of Red functionaries in responding to Churchill's generous offer of unstinted support reflected the discount to which British "aid" was subject, in view of the near-zero impact of such assistance supplied to Poland in its grave predicament in September 1939. Though Stalin got around to a radio address on July 3, 1941, welcoming the British to the Communist side in a "struggle" "for democratic liberties" in a "united front of the people stand-

ing for freedom and against enslavement,” which latter should have been grand news to the many millions in Stalin’s slave labor camps, he was too much of a realist to expect British military help or supplies in any great hurry.

The importance of the flight of Churchill to Stalin’s side was not the practical situation attending immediate material support. It was rather in the effect of this impulsive action on the sympathetic Roosevelt administration, which had to become involved under far more obstructive circumstances, namely, the national non-belligerence of the moment, and the national irritation with Communist-dominated labor unions and their record of industrial trouble-making during the period of Russian neutrality since September 1939. This had been a grave nuisance to the noninterventionist elements during the time. Now, Soviet eagerness for American intervention was to nag their adversaries, whether interested in the welfare of British or Russians. On the official side of the aid-to-the-Soviet question, the President had as close advisors in favor of such help a goodly collection. It included Secretaries of War and Navy Henry L. Stimson and Frank Knox; former Ambassador to Russia Joseph E. Davies, now Special Assistant for War Emergency Problems and Policies to Secretary of State Cordell Hull; Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau; Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State; Ambassador to Russia Lawrence Steinhardt; Postmaster Frank C. Walker (as a prominent Catholic layman, Walker was especially useful in countering general Catholic opposition to involvement with Communist Russia); Colonel Philip R. Eaymonville, U.S. Military Attache in Moscow (Davies’ principal prop before he was replaced by Steinhardt); and especially Harry Hopkins, elevated from his job related to grubby New Deal welfare agencies to the glamorous post of Administrator of Lend-Lease, the aid-to-Britain program passed by Congress in March 1941 which made the U.S. a de facto participant in World War Two. [\[11\]](#)

To be sure, when Churchill propelled England and the resources of the British Empire to the succor of Stalinist Russia, he had no political problem. The influential and powerful supporters of a conciliatory policy toward Germany in the 1930s associated with The Link, the Friends of Germany and the Anglo-German Fellowship had gone underground or joined in the “war effort,” battered by Stalinist propaganda as “appeasers” before and after the 1939 Pakt. (The British Stalinists had endured some abuse themselves, between August 1939 and June 1941. They had been particularly incensed at the gibe “Communazi” in that time.) The supporters of Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists and figures of the implacably anti-communist Right Club such as Captain A.H.M. Ramsay, a Member of Parliament, had been jailed by Churchill’s Ministry of Home Security headed by Sir John Anderson, under the terms of Regulation 18B. Anderson had even ordered the arrest and detention in special concentration camps starting May 12, 1940, of almost 75,000 German, Austrian, Italian and Czech refugees in England, despite their hatred of their home regimes and collaboration with the British. A ship, the Arandora Star, carrying 1200 of these internees to Canada, was torpedoed or struck a mine and sank off the coast of Ireland on July 3, 1940. Over half the passengers drowned.

And for a year England had been badgered by a large corps of private intelligence agents of the Ministry of Information, conducting the “Moral and Social Survey” of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, known colloquially as “[Duff] Cooper’s Snoopers,” a powerful depressant on expression of individual opinion. The wonder is that anyone in Britain opposed Churchill’s headlong dive to Stalin’s relief. [\[12\]](#)

Part 3: Initial reaction of interventionist spokesmen and press to the Soviet entry into the European war

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The political situation facing Roosevelt's war party was far more complicated and troublesome, there being no formal state of hostilities with anyone, and with a long campaign to provide "aid" to England just concluded, and with its opponents anything but happy over the state of affairs resulting. Adding Stalin to the candidates for assistance was a more formidable proposition. Major newspaper lineup on the issue continued approximately the same. The Hearst papers, typified by the New York Journal American, and the McCormick-Patterson interests, of which the Chicago Tribune, the Washington Times-Herald, and the New York Daily News represented the principal voice, could be counted on to oppose flatly any material gestures toward Soviet Russia. But the New York Herald Tribune, the patrician voice of Eastern interventionist Republicanism, while managing to carry a sizable freight consisting of thinly disguised Stalinist spokesmen, suddenly discovered that objections to an alliance with Communist Russia to beat Hitler were based on "moralistic follies," while its chief columnist spokesman, Walter Lippmann, the closest thing to Jove on the American journalistic scene, loosed some of his rumbling thunder on the subject, cautioning critics of aid to Stalin against releasing excessive "vaporings about democracy."

America's tiny Communist press could not come up with material as good as this. With spokesmen as far apart as the Chicago Tribune and the New York Herald Tribune, there was no sense to allegations by Republicans that the Democrats were the "war" party; a large number of both were on Roosevelt's pro-war team. World War Two homogenized American politics. It put foreign policy more or less off the agenda thereafter, resulting in the "bi-partisanship" which prevailed regardless of the winners in the quadrennial elections. The war really created two new parties, supporting pro-involvement or anti-involvement in global international activities, and vastly disparate in size progressively after Pearl Harbor. What passed for "debate" among the world interventionist majority for thirty years descended to the level of whether five or seven units of artillery or one or two aircraft carriers should be sent to some distant land. There has been nothing in American history to match what has happened since 1942 in demonstrating dramatically the function of foreign policy as a reflection of domestic policy, and the essential control of the latter by the former.

With the entry of Communist Russia into the war against the Germans, most of America's liberals and non-Communist Left took another ludicrous and wrenching opinion lurch. The venom behind the "Communazi" epithet quickly was neutralized in the warm flow of sympathy which was promptly forthcoming. They were aided by many self-recruited newcomers who joined them and helped build the big wave of pro-Stalinist sentiment which was still washing over the land when the falling-out occurred five years later. It might be said that not as many liberals and leftists were against aid to Russia as there were conservatives and rightists for such aid. The anti-aid liberals were grouped around the Keep America out of War Congress, and additional figures such as Norman Thomas and Eugene Lyons represented other factions hostile to pro-Soviet support. But other left organizations, such as the Legion for American Unity, the Union for Democratic Action, the Council on Soviet Relations and the Socialist Workers' Party were examples of elements quick to back an aid program for Soviet Russia.

On the operational side, two of the principal interventionist pressure groups, ostensibly buttressed by influential conservatives, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, and the Fight for Freedom Committee, both responded promptly to the Russo-German war by urging U.S. aid to the Communists. The former dropped "by Aiding the Allies" from its name, while stipulating that aid be given Stalin "without relaxing opposition to Communism." The FFF soft-pedaled that approach and attacked the most formidable anti-interventionist group, the America First Committee, while posing to the latter a bogus choice, "Would you rather have the Nazis looking across the Bering Strait or Alaska?" [13] This was reminiscent of the ingeniously clever questions invented by George Gallup, head of the American Institute of Public Opinion, and an

ardent pro-war activist, one of which was whether it was more important to defeat Hitler or to stay out of the war. When put this way, 70% supported the first clause, but when the same people were quizzed on a declaration of war, a larger percentage, 80%, flatly said no. [14] Pollsters persisted in putting people on the spot this way by presenting two-part propositions, the first of which was ethical and the second practical politics, which introduced serious popular confusion between ends and means, insofar as these same pollsters stated the issues and allowed decisions based on these limitations. Thus either large interest group, for or against involvement, was equally free to quote the public response, and both were right. But the chips came down only when the interventionists quietly inserted the matter of aiding the Reds as part of the pro-war proposition. This invariably drew a formidable vote against involvement. As for the Communist Party, 145 delegates from 48 states met in New York City the last weekend of June 1941 to prepare a "peoples' program," which included a wild call for all-out aid. Churchill and the CPUSA were of one voice by July 4, 1941, whatever may have been their disparate objectives.

Such an alignment was purely coincidental to forces such as Churchill represented. Time, which in magazine journalism stood for what the Herald Tribune did among the dailies, set the tone by simultaneously uttering huzzas for Stalin and Russia while The Pro-Red Orchestra in the U.S.A. [15] ... displaying nothing but contempt for domestic Stalinists. The German attack was ill-timed for the American newsweeklies, taking place on a Sunday. As a result, the issues of June 23 were already being distributed and could have nothing on this electrifying event, one of the half-dozen most important dates of the entire war. Therefore, the first comment was delayed until the issues of June 30. By that date Time was able to make a deeper assessment of what was taking place, and thought the message written by Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles and read to the press, obviously with Pres. Roosevelt's approval, not only amounted to a pledge to Stalin but used the language of a committed belligerent, regardless of the state of diplomatic realities. It did not bother Time that Welles filled the statement with verbiage such as "Hitler's treacherous attack upon Soviet Russia," and using such choice derogations as "dishonorable," "deceitful," "hostile," "murderous," "brutal," "desperate," and the like; as they concluded with satisfaction, "When the U.S. could officially use such terms" in describing the German action, "the U.S. was certainly at War. [16] A further article asserted that all of Washington was of the view that Communist Russia now had become at least technically a beneficiary of FDR's \$7 billion fund "to aid the allies of democracy," while noting that Churchill had immediately sprung to Stalin's defense. A minor problem existed here, since Churchill had become a recipient of U.S. military assistance only about three months before when the Administration's hotly-contested Lend-Lease legislation was enacted. Therefore if this was now to become a "Lenin-Lease" program, it suggested to some that anything Churchill contributed to Stalin's cause might first have to be derived from Roosevelt, in which case the U.S. would probably be the original source of all "aid" supplied to Communist Russia. [17]

There is little doubt but that the involvement of Stalinist Russia in the war in the summer of 1941 put a substantial crimp in the interventionist propaganda line that the war was an unsullied conflict between "tyranny," represented by Germany, and "freedom," by its British adversaries. This was essentially the contention of the American Anglophiles, which to their embarrassment was now tirelessly mouthed by the Communists. It no longer was an imperialist war, and global materialist factors quickly vanished. Though Soviet Russia itself represented one of the most impressive feats of imperialism, the word had not been applied to the USSR by Reds or their allies since before Lenin's death. Now that they were a party to the conflict, all description of the war as a contest for mainly tangible objectives ceased, and the taking on of the moralistic terminology of the pro-British opinion-makers irked the latter substantially.

Time on July 7 in its article “The New Party Line” was anything but conciliatory to the CPUSA, though in a parallel piece had kind words to say about the sudden resurrection of Soviet diplomat Constantine Oumansky to respectability. The magazine thought the CP leader William Z. Foster grotesque in declaring that “A victory for Russia will enormously strengthen democracy throughout the world,” while concluding that a Russian victory would primarily “strengthen U.S. Communists.” [18] The job of Time and all the other agents of traditional British affiliations and sympathies was to get on with a war in which the assistance of Russia against Germany could be effected with as little reward or gain redounding to the Russians at its conclusion as possible. So, even at this early stage it was hands-across-the-Volga, but with a grimace of distaste. The wartime partnership between the U.S.A. and the USSR lay more than five months in the future, but its psychic consequences were apparent from the moment people and politicians began to talk of supporting Stalin in June 1941. Ultimately it gave this country the most uneasy and morally disturbing experience it has ever known in the history of her foreign affairs. With the exception of a few high-flying months in 1943 it must have been apparent to the respective contingents of pro-Stalinists of all social backgrounds and economic levels in this country that they were engaged in the salesmanship of a doomed product.

The schizoids of Time, with their continuous rebuffs of and sneers at the U.S. Communists [19] while glowing with favorable sentiment toward the Russian Reds, were symptomatic of other sectors of bedeviled American opinion makers. It was embarrassing to have to support the Soviet Union and simultaneously to have to suffer local Communists. From the propaganda point of view, what was to eventuate resulted in a unique war for the United States. While Time presumed that there was no need to bring the populace into the picture, the issue involved being of stratospheric foreign affairs well beyond the limited capacities of the common citizenry to understand, the other two newsweeklies made a gesture at trying to determine what a sector of the general public thought about it all, even if they overwhelmingly sought the views of persons of some prominence while doing it. The First Polls of American Political Personalities on the Pros and Cons of Aiding the Soviet Union The United States News (it did not add World Report until 1950) exclaimed, “With Germany and Russia at grips along a vast frontier, and with the Administration’s announcement that any opposition to Hitler, no matter what its source, is of benefit to our own defense, this country faces a new problem in international relations.” It faced a new problem in internal relations, too: What did the people in general think of this loud huzza to Stalinist Russia from the Roosevelt regime? U.S. News sought to find out at least partially by polling public figures on the question “Should the U.S. aid Russia as a part of the American policy of aiding Great Britain?”

Wealthy Joseph E. Davies, late ambassador to Soviet Russia and the launching pad of more pro-Stalinist mischief than the entire Communist apparati in the U.S.A. combined were ever to achieve, responded, “My answer to your query is unqualifiedly, yes.” Senator Gerald P. Nye, famous for having conducted the investigation into the material profiteers from World War I five years earlier, replied in the negative as abruptly as Davies had in the positive: Nye believed that Roosevelt should “draw the line” against this further involvement.

Rep. Melvin J. Maas (R.-Minn.), minority member of the House of Representatives Committee on Naval Affairs, declared, “I do not believe that we should aid Russia. When you help one burglar to beat another, you are bound to be robbed yourself in the end anyway. Stalin and Communism are as great a menace as Hitler and Nazism. A shortsighted policy of expediency of the moment, such as aiding Stalin, may be the tragedy of tomorrow, loosing a greater destructive force in the world than that which now threatens us.”

The prophetic quality of Rep. Maas's contribution was rarely bettered by others, though it was something pro-Stalinist figures abominated, and tried to make believe had never happened when the latter zealots for the Soviet were circling about, a little over four years later, trying to mobilize the land in the global Cold War against Stalin which Rep. Maas accurately predicted.

But there were far more to be put on the record by the U.S. News reportorial pollsters. Rep. A.J. May (D.-Ky.), Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, sounded the case of the reluctantly repelled among the Administration's supporters: "The complete crushing of Hitler and his regime is today's paramount issue, and while the Communism of Russia is unthinkable and the enemy of human liberty, it is a stealthy force not yet turned loose in such vicious form and with such objectives of conquest as that of Nazism under Hitler. Therefore I am persuaded that first problems should come first, and we should aid Russia by aiding Britain."

Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, the Royal Oak, Michigan, Catholic priest who had been a burr in Pres. Roosevelt's hide for eight years with his radio orations and publications, confined himself to quoting Pope Pius XI, "'Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any manner whatsoever,'" and Cardinal Hinsley of England, "'Britain must not, cannot, ally herself to an atheistic dictatorship.'" Norman Thomas, four times Socialist Party candidate for President of the U.S.A., but an implacable political adversary of domestic and foreign Communism, expressed his sympathy with the Russian people but demurred from coming to Stalin's succor: "I want no American boy to die to decide which of two cruel and perfidious dictators shall temporarily rule the European continent," Thomas forcefully responded; "Therefore I want no attempt to send aid to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at great cost to ourselves."

But Rev. L.M. Birkhead, Director of the fiercely pro-interventionist Friends of Democracy, thought the fear of future Communist advancement a trivial thing: "The United States should give every possible aid to Russia in the present crisis," while confidently predicting that after the defeat of Hitler, "the threat of Communism" "would no longer exist," "for Russia will be exhausted by this war, win or lose." No one polled the citizens of the twelve European capitals in the hands of the Red Army on the breezy confidence of Rev. Birkhead four years later, nor was it done while they still lay in the grips of Soviet Communism nearly forty years later. But in 1941 one of the "friends" of "democracy," in the view of Rev. Birkhead and his front, was Stalinist Communism.

Some were evasive. Paul Hutchinson, editor of the very influential Protestant weekly Christian Century, thought that aid should be extended to Stalin only after an American defense force had been fully built up, while Ralph Barton Perry, the Harvard University philosopher who chaired the Harvard Group on National Defense, stepped aside and was willing to let the Roosevelt regime decide on the matter. Another of the formidable Eastern figures behind the Anglophile impulse, Frederic R. Coudert, also evaded the question.

As far as its press survey, the U.S. News thought the nation's newspaper editors supported the idea the U.S. should aid the USSR, but of the 14 papers it quoted, only the New York Times was for immediate and limitless aid to the Reds regardless of consequences. It was noted however that the majority of the papers had a very restrained admiration of the Bolshevik regime, and tended to speak of helping "Russia," not its political masters. [20]

Things moved so fast, and the overrunning of Soviet-held Poland and entry into Western Russia by the German forces in the three weeks after June 22, 1941 was so rapid, that hysteria among Stalin's friends in the U.S.A. swelled dramatically, and the question of American aid to Russian

Communism in its travails grew more prominently among those who charted public opinion. U.S. News continued its poll another week in July, soliciting positive and negative responses from another collection of the country's notables, which managed to explore other dimensions of the issue and its likely results.

Speaking favorably in behalf of pro-Communist aid against Germany were Rev. Dr. St. George Tucker, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S., Rt. Rev. Joseph L. O'Brien, Pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Charleston, S.C., Clark L. Eichelberger, Acting Chairman of the most powerful pro-war pressure group in the country, The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, and Major General John F. O'Ryan, Commander of the 27th Division in World War I and sponsor of the equally interventionist Fight for Freedom Committee. In addition to these were Rev. Dr. Henry W. Hobson, Bishop for Southern Ohio for the Protestant Episcopal Church and Chairman of the FFF Committee, Rev. Owen A. Knox, Chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Estelle M. Sternberger, Executive Director of World Peaceways, and James H. Sheldon, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Nonsectarian Anti-Nazi League, another deeply committed band of civilian warriors.

Rev. Dr. Tucker asserted, "It would seem to me a very wise and proper thing to do. As a matter of fact, I think our Government has already decided on this course. Father O'Brien was more explicit and saw principled virtue in aiding Stalin: "In the choice between Germany and Russia, the democracies are safe if they throw their full power and influence on the side of Russian ignorance and superstition to crush German intellectual materialism." Eichelberger was strongly in the affirmative as well, "Not because Communism is deserving of any sympathy, but because the German attack upon Russia is part of the strategy of the Battle of Britain and part of Germany's desire to dominate the world." The unwearied assertion of the alleged German goal of world domination was a major aspect of the propaganda of the Committee to Defend the Allies. Gen. O'Ryan enthusiastically supported aid to Stalin, since the defeat of Hitler called for "the expedient cooperation with any of his enemies who will hasten his defeat," an end which did not seem imminent, with Russian forces flying in retreat in Eastern Europe.

Dr. Hobson backed aid to the Soviet for a different reason, fearful of a quick German victory which he was sure would be followed by a westward drive by Hitler against America. Rev. Knox's reason for backing aid was the following: "If we believe that democracy must be maintained by war and that England's fight is our fight, there would appear to be little logic in doing anything less than giving Russia full support," while Estelle Sternberger's view was close to that of Rev. Dr. Tucker, that the Roosevelt regime was obviously favoring this course anyway. Sheldon not only vigorously supported aid to Stalin, claiming "the very life of democracy is at stake," but used his response to cover a sideswiping blow at two obviously opposed public figures, the eminent aviator Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Bennett Champ Clark (D.-Mo.), both of whom he claimed had fallen into Hitler's "amazingly efficient propaganda trap." Dr. Hobson had of course avoided all Stalinist propaganda traps. J. Barnard Walter, Secretary of the Friends' General Conference, issued an evasive generalization, declaring that "The one way the U.S. can help is to propose the kind of peace in which all peoples can unite with justice," a course a light year away from that which FDR was traveling.

The others were in the unqualified "no" category; Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War, John Haynes Holmes, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, pastor of the Community Church in New York City and vice chairman of the Keep America Out of War Congress, Brig. Gen. Robert E. Wood, Chairman of the Board of Sears Roebuck Co., and Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, Pastor of St. Stephen's Church in Brooklyn and Director of the Anti-War Crusade of the International Catholic

Truth Society. Libby's flat negative was followed by extensive explanation: Only a fleeting military expediency would prompt the United States to support Churchill in the coalition he has formed with the Communist dictator against the Nazi dictatorship. Such a tieup strips the last shreds of idealism from the Allied side of the war. After pointing out that Churchill had made an agreement to fight at Stalin's side until Hitler was defeated, and that this meant that neither could negotiate peace without the other's consent, Libby observed that "This means that Stalin's war aims become Britain's war aims as well," concluding with a harsh-tasting evaluation for interventionism: If America ever joined this war now, we should be fighting, not for the "four freedoms," but to restore Soviet tyranny over such little nations as Finland, Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. Only the strictest neutrality is possible now for the United States, if it is to maintain its loyalty to democratic ideals. The hypocrisies of the [First] World War should not be repeated.

Rev. Holmes, a front rank member of America's most influential opinion makers, was no less vehement: No, the United States should not aid Russia. Why should we use our wealth and power to make the world safe for Communism? The idea that this is a war for democracy and civilization is now revealed as the perfect sham it has always been. It is a war for imperialistic power and for the mastery of the world by any nation that can get it. General Wood, a founder of the most implacable anti-interventionist group, the America First Committee (though he was not identified with it in his statement), simply responded in a single sentence, "I do not think the United States should aid Russia as part of the American policy of aiding Great Britain," but Fr. Curran adamantly declared: "decent nations who still enjoy the blessings of peace should lend no aid or comfort to the brawl." He concluded: "The use of the Lend Lease law in favor of Communist Russia by the President of the United States will generate the prompt and righteous indignation and opposition of all Godfearing, liberty-loving American citizens who denounce both Nazi Germany and Communist Russia as kindred branches of the same pagan stem." [21]

Four days earlier, Newsweek had added to the controversy by printing the reactions of several opponents of aid or involvement, which were as sharply hostile as those cited by U.S. News. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, (D.-Mont.), one of the foremost opponents of the Roosevelt foreign policy as it veered toward involvement in the war buildups in Europe and Asia since 1937, remarked: "The death struggle between the armed Germany and Russia is a death struggle between the armed might of Nazism and Communism, and not an American war." This view was echoed by John T. Flynn, veteran columnist for the liberal New Republic and feature writer for Collier's magazine: "It never was our war, and it is less our war now than ever." Senator Walter F. George (D.-Ga.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, expressed his "profound hope" that this country will not become an active participant in the present war," a hope already dashed by its considerable involvement indirectly as a result of the Lend Lease Act of the previous March, though far from the shooting stage, to be sure. In its roundup of no-help-to-Russia notables, Newsweek cited Sen. Clark as asking a Brooklyn crowd rhetorically if they could imagine "American boys being sent to their deaths singing 'Onward Christian Soldiers' under the bloody emblem of the Hammer and Sickle." The redoubtable Sen. Robert A. Taft (R.-Ohio) was quoted in the same collection of statements as seeing a positive aspect of allowing Stalin to go down: "The victory of Communism in the world would be far more dangerous to the United States than a victory of Fascism." Probably the most influential of the anti-aid figures was former President Herbert C. Hoover, and both Newsweek and Time published statements by him in their July 7, 1941 issues. In the former, Hoover noted, "We now find ourselves promising aid to Stalin and his militant Communist conspiracy against the democratic ideals of the world," an allusion to the Administration's sympathetic moves in that direction beginning with the publication of the Welles statement. "Collaboration between Britain and Russia," concluded Hoover, "makes the whole argument of our joining the war to bring the four freedoms to mankind a Gargantuan jest."

Time frontpaged this observation by FDR's immediate predecessor in the White House and added his famous warning, "If we go further [than aid to Stalin] and join the war and we win, then we have won for Stalin the grip of Communism on Russia, and more opportunity for it to extend in the world." [23] It has been a rare week in the over 40 years since Hoover uttered those words that the world has not seen them supported by world events. Despite the prominence given to the views of public figures hostile to additional involvement in the war via aid to Russia in harmony with already announced British policy to go all out in this direction, there were all kinds of indicators that the Administration considered the spreading of the war advantageous to its own cautious edging- into hostilities. At the end of July 1941, U.S. News told its readers in tones just short of panic that "best informed U.S. officials" were convinced the Germans would reach their objectives in Russia by September 15. [24] To some this was over-kill in the propaganda department, for should Hitler attain his goals that soon, then there was little need to attempt aiding Stalin; the war in the East would be over long before any assistance arrived at the war front. Others were less disconcerted. Time, still looking for a formula by which it could express its distaste for American Communists while hailing the Russian variety, conceded that the Soviet Union was "the weaker of two well-hated dictatorships," yet denounced Hitler's "crusade against Communism," and backed aiding Stalin in his struggle as a protection of "democracy." [25] U.S. News also enjoyed the discomfiture the opening of the war between the Germans and Russians caused to the Communist Party (CP) in America, forcing it to abandon its nearly two-year position of neutrality overnight, though there were signs that this abrupt turnaround was not unbearably painful, and was being achieved with skill. As early as July 8, New Masses, easily the most influential Communist journal in the U.S.A., printed a piece authored by Rep. Adolph A. Sabath (D.-Ill.) urging aid to the Soviet as a matter of concern to U.S. defense. [26] In general the stress was upon this issue, and not that of making the Russian Communist regime safe. From this point on it was a contest between the liberals and Communists as to which could make the most ringing appeal to American self-interest in saving Stalin.

Part 4: Some diplomatic and economic straws in the wind

Top

In the meantime the scurrying about of diplomats and the on- going massive movements of "defense" gave every indication that policy-making and the initiative were in the hands of people seeking greater involvement, not less. U.S. News described the accelerated scramble for "defense" contracts in the height of the summer, accompanied by the pressure on small business to abandon the consumer field and participate in the hustle. Few were documenting the substantial unemployment occurring in small economic enterprises as a result of the pro-"defense" preferential treatment by the Government relative to raw materials procurement and related matters. During the last six months of 1941, U.S. News spoke as though the U.S.A. were already in the war, and repeatedly told businessmen that Roosevelt was planning on a long one, lasting into 1946 at least. [27]

Part of the indication of the go-ahead signal from Washington on aid to Stalin was easily deduced from the sudden publicity to diplomats and their rushing about in the newsmagazine. Especially significant was the attention given to the resurrection of the Soviet ambassador to the U.S., Constantin Oumansky, in disrepute and obscurity after the Pakt of 1939. His picture and the story of his return to social and official favor were prominently displayed in July. U.S. News even revealed that he and Under Secretary of State Welles had secretly "joined forces" as far back as the previous summer "in a dogged attempt to better U.S.-Soviet relations," and heaped praise on Welles, while describing Oumansky's frequent visits to the State Department, for having perse-

vered against former Ambassador to Russia William C. Bullitt and kept the Administration from breaking relations with Stalin. [28]

That things had also taken a goodly switch toward the Soviet since the replacement of Bullitt in Moscow grew obvious with a similar glamor treatment accorded the new U.S. Ambassador to the Kremlin, Laurence A. Steinhardt, the wealthy 48-year-old nephew of Samuel Untermyer, the latter sponsor of numerous efforts to promote world-wide boycotts of and war on Hitler Germany since 1933. The U.S. News portrait pointedly dwelled on matters such as the above, plus his membership in the past on ten boards of directors of corporations, his fluency in five languages and his authorship of "numerous books and articles." America's latest opulent presence in Stalin's court and the Workers' Fatherland was even less a son of toil than his predecessors, but it was exactly in character with what was to follow at home and abroad. The main labors by far in the cementing of Roosevelt America and Stalin Russia were to be tasks and achievements of America's moneyed and social elite, not of its labor union members and economically marginal Marxist intellectuals. [29]

While the hubbub went on over how Communist Russia was to be viewed and treated in this first month of the Russo-German war, other indications swiftly surfaced supporting the conviction that Roosevelt was enlarging the scope of American economic warfare against Germany and Japan and in behalf of Britain and Stalin. Soviet assets in America had become once more available to them, and a decision had already been made not to invoke the provisions of the Neutrality Act against them, while the Administration was already on record as promoting a favorable consideration of Soviet aid requests.

The reverse side of this warm glow toward Stalinist entreaties and the last-minute succor of Churchill via the Lend-Lease assistance provided the previous March were two dramatic acts of economic warfare against Japan in the U.S.A. and against Germany and Italy in the Americas from Mexico south. The latter took shape in an abrupt announcement in the form of Executive Order #8389 on July 17, a blacklist of 1800 German and Italian firms in 20 countries of the Western Hemisphere, forbidding U.S.A. businesses to deal with them except under the most rigidly regulated circumstances. This was a policy step in preparation for some time, as the extensiveness of the operation was revealed. The blacklisted firms filled 16 full columns of tiny type in the New York Times on July 18, 1941 and the list was also supplied to those involved in the form of a Federal Reserve Bank pamphlet, as well as being published in the Federal Register. Moves of this sort were hardly impulsive or capricious. The other move took place nine days later, and was even less a hasty and flighty gesture: the announcement of the "freeze order" affecting all Japanese assets in the U.S.A., and halting their use. This long-planned directive consisted of 9 pages of neatly printed materials, including regulations, amendments to existing orders and foreign exchange license data, also distributed to the Federal Reserve Banks early on July 26, 1941, an event later characterized as the "Japanese Pearl Harbor," an economic calamity which hit Japan without the faintest warning. Whether the invasion of Stalinist Europe by Germany a month earlier accelerated these ominous announcements was not demonstrable, but the timing was impressive.

The orchestration of the forces strongly favoring the salvation of Stalin by mid-summer 1941 inspired a subscriber of Time to remark upon some obvious parallels with the hysteria in favor of England a year earlier, speaking of the imminence of an analogous campaign of "Bundles for Russia" and suggesting "the probability of a song being composed about 'there always being a Russia' and the recitation by Lynn Fontanne of the 'White Cliffs of Omsk,' " "a satirical re-structuring of the title of the lugubriously sentimental popular song of that moment, The White Cliffs of Dover, so beloved of emotional and nostalgic Anglophiles. That Time should print it indicated

a lingering bit of a sense of humor, not very noticeable in the ranks of the pro-war set in those days, and utterly lacking in those deeply devoted to the welfare of Russian Communism. [30] It was a time of mobilization of all resources in America to this end, part of it consisting in the production of their own propaganda. The most impressive contribution was the issuance at the end of July of *The Soviet Power* by Hewlett Johnson, perhaps the most widely read friend of Stalinist Russia whose native tongue was English. It appeared in an edition of a million copies, and priced at five cents, [31] obviously below cost of production, in order to maximize its audience; the Communist propaganda apparatus indicated it had been taking lessons from the Jehovah's Witnesses.

Some Religious and Educational Leaders Respond to the Issue of Aid or No Aid to Stalin Though the momentum was definitely with the aid-to-Stalin elements in the early weeks of the Russo-German war, the talkers and the opinion-makers were far from routed or silenced Especially troubled were the religious spokesmen, in both the U.S.A. and England. Oswald Garrison Villard, famed one-time owner of the even more famed liberal weekly *The Nation*, who had been ousted from that journal a year before when the majority of its editors had plumped for a strong pro-war course, had found a refuge in the pages of the liberal Protestant but anti-involvement weekly *Christian Century*. Three weeks after Hitler's armies started across Eastern Poland, Villard predicted that "the warrior clergy" would pronounce a pro-Soviet course as "divine intervention in behalf of Right, " and now would be "as eager to embrace Stalin as they were but yesterday to anathemize him." His piece "Our Moral Confusion" [32] was a good statement of the dilemma this new phase of the war had created, but there were differences among denominations and countries. The English Catholic press, for example, was wholeheartedly behind Churchill in his cooperation program with the Communists against Hitler, while trying to qualify this position by declaring that "Russia's cause is not our cause." This was the view of the *Catholic Times*, while the *London Tablet* came out for the defeat of Hitler and Nazism, "a man and a system much more efficient than Stalin's Communism." [33]

Their leaders were not nearly as vehement in support of this program as were the U.S.A. Catholic spokesmen in favor of it, nor as critical of it as were the U.S.A. anti-aid Catholic leaders. The division in America was quite pronounced. Though the Catholic War Veterans were dead-set against any aid to the Soviets, 15 outstanding prelates and laymen in the Fight for Freedom Committee were for it. "We and the Soviet are temporarily on the same side in the effort to resist a common enemy," was their analysis of the issue. [34]

We have seen that a variety of prominent Catholics, clergy and laymen, were not in the least shy in announcing their support of aid to Red Russia, when interrogated by public-opinion samplers of the news weeklies. There were others: Col. William J. Donovan, Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan of Catholic University, and Michael Williams, editor of the Catholic counterpart to the *Christian Century*, *Commonweal*. Even the *New Masses* took comfort in their testimonials in behalf of helping the Reds against Hitler. [35]

But by far the most earnest of these was Bishop Joseph P. Hurley of St. Augustine, Florida, whose emotional radio address in early July was heavily excerpted by delighted *Time*. He ridiculed the notion that Hitler was fighting an anti-Communist crusade in Eastern Europe, described the Germans as "Enemy No. 1 of America and the world," favored Roosevelt deciding all by himself when it was proper to take the U.S.A. into the war against them, and did not find Soviet Communism the faintest present or future threat, and never mentioned whatever an issue which bothered many other people, the situation that would prevail in the world if Stalin won. From the context of Bishop Hurley's declamation, it was improper, irrelevant and immaterial to dwell on this latter speculation. [36]

The opposite of Bishop Hurley was Rev. James M. Gillis, editor of the influential Catholic World, founded by the Paulist order at the end of the American Civil War. There was no more implacable anti-war figure in America than Fr. Gillis, though like most of those of this persuasion he execrated both sides of the Russo- German conflict. He was confident that he represented the majority in the U.S.A. "It is not a majority but a minority that wants war or would welcome war as either necessary or just," he asserted in the mid-summer 1941 struggle of opinions. Furthermore, as he identified his adversary, "It is a highly articulate insolent aggressive minority." [37] Where Fr. Gillis found the pro-war enthusiasts weakest was in their avoidance of facing up to the consequences of supporting a Red victory in Europe, or their casual confidence in the ease with which they thought they could dispel the Soviets from the scene once Germany had been smashed: [38] ...make no mistake, there will be a showdown. None of your Willkies and Knoxes and Stimsons and Conants seem to have visualized it, but it will come. The showdown is always a "divvy" with allies in war as with partners in crime... No one is going to say to him [Stalin], when the time for the divvy comes, "Good work, Joe old boy; and now be off with you, back to Moscow."

In many ways the conflict among Catholic opinion makers as to the merits of involvement in the war and support of Stalin was brought to a sharper point by posing Fr. Gillis against the Catholic convert (1913) professor Theodore Maynard, an ex-Protestant and English emigrant who had come to the U.S.A. in 1909. His residual English patriotism was transparent in his tussles with Fr. Gillis over the merits of becoming England's war partner. Maynard was far less concerned over the spread of Communism than he was over the German threat to Mother England, his sustained message in the Catholic press, and in essays in the secular journals as well.

Maynard was quite aware of the formidability of Fr. Gillis as an adversary in this battle of ideas. "Father Gillis is by all odds the ablest Catholic editor of our time," Maynard conceded in the early fall of 1941. While admitting substantial respect for Fr. Gillis and commending him for his condemnation of all brands of totalitarianism, Maynard clung tenaciously to a position very close to Bishop Hurley, giving a solid measure of psychic support to the Soviet Union in its war with Germany, on the same grounds that Germany was the "greatest enemy" of religion at the moment, though he did not make clear that he was referring to official policy or popular behavior, in which latter Maynard would surely have been backing an untenable proposition. [39] Fr. Gillis ridiculed this view, insisting on total abstention from the question.

Though Maynard was irked by Fr. Gillis' having made the Catholic World the most "belligerently isolationist" of all the Catholic papers in the country, he was probably as unhappy over his continuing policy of not yielding a particle on the matter of Russian support. Implacably anti-Soviet, Fr. Gillis did not relinquish this position regardless of the various maneuvering that continued. Probably the most invulnerable morally of all the main figures in the U.S.A. opposed to the war between 1939 and 1941, he continued his adamant stand against involvement in a war which might be construed as a beneficiary or contributor to the welfare of either side. In one monthly editorial after another he continued castigating Stalinism, denouncing all efforts to make the opportunistic circumstances which threw Communist Russia and the Anglo-Americans together at war with Hitler and Mussolini the grounds for rigging a political alliance. This continued to be his policy all through the war, a courageous position which even veteran anti-Reds soft-pedaled for some time after the Pearl Harbor attack, then went underground, or turned about and began to write kindly pro-Red propaganda. All during World War Two, the Catholic World boiled with editorial suspicions and disparagement of Communist policy, abroad and at home.

A similar confrontation of opposites was observable in the non- Catholic center, probably best illustrated by the positions of England's Archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Gordon Lang, and the

redoubtable John Haynes Holmes, the latter already on published record as an uncompromising anti-involvement figure. Time, as in the case of Bishop Hurley, gave generous space to Dr. Lang's reproaching of the Church of England for its misgivings about the Churchill alliance with Stalin. Though reputed as an anti-Communist, Dr. Lang at the end of July 1941 sounded like an incandescent fellow traveler. In his view, Soviet Russia was "contending for the principles of national freedom and independence for which the British Commonwealth and the United States of America are standing," recommending that Britons "must therefore wish every success to the valiant Russian armies and people in their struggle and be ready to give them every possible help." Managing to sound like a composite of Stalin and Churchill, Dr. Lang like the other civilian warriors was troubled not in the least by contemplation of a Communist victory and its import for Central and Eastern Europe. [40]

The basic position of the editors of the Christian Century was advanced in a long editorial in the first issue after the outbreak of the war in the East: "A Nazi victory must be prevented if that is possible. But equally there must be no smashing victory for the Communists." They conceded that the Russians would get help from the U.S.A., "but not too much help." "For an overwhelming triumph, with Stalin at the head of the Russian avalanche, would hold almost as great a threat as an overwhelming victory for Hitler and his Nazis." [41] A week later they expressed great confidence in the 'impossibility' of anyone here arousing "American enthusiasm for the idea of participating as an ally of Russia," especially after Finland had gone to war with the Reds; they were sure nine out of ten Americans would delight "to see the Finns march triumphantly into Leningrad." [42]

Rev. Holmes, whose spirited essays were featured by the Christian Century on many occasions, did not share the editorial hope that some kind of moderation and long-range statecraft would govern the aid-to-Stalin impulse which the interventionists wanted to prevail, consequences unconsidered. In the last issue in July 1941, he predicted that at the end of the European war, Stalin would annex all of Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and part of Poland which had been part of Czarist Russia in 1914, East

Prussia, Mongolia, openly, and Manchuria by proxy, and would "insist, under one form or another, on dominating the Balkans, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Dardanelles." Rev. Holmes maintained that was all guaranteed by Britain in signing the "co-belligerency pact in Moscow," which at the same time "signed a blank check to be filled in later by Russia." "After an immeasurably exhausting effort to destroy Nazi totalitarianism, the world will have succeeded only in putting in its place a more powerful, more widely extended, and therefore more formidable Communist totalitarianism," he concluded. [43] Holmes, favoring a "peace without victory," like Gillis, came astonishingly close to the actual situation which came into existence between 1945 and 1948.

The most remarkable trial balloon concerning propaganda favoring aid to Russia was launched by the Christian Century on August 13, 1941. In an extended article titled "Join Russia in the War!" (pp. 1002-1004), Professor Henry Nelson Wieman of the University of Chicago Divinity School, and a prolific writer on the subject of the philosophy of theology, argued that Russia was going to win the war anyway, and would "dominate Europe and Asia." Thereafter it would cause unlimited trouble for the democracies for having abstained, and would thus lead to an even larger war. His plan involved eliminating this possibility by joining the current war in Russia's favor. Furthermore, there would be substantial resulting domestic compensations; "Mighty coercions toward community will begin to work if we enter this war with Russia and do everything in our power to help her win." This would not only mitigate postwar tension possibilities, but lead to peace. Prof. Wieman suggested casually that there need be no fear of "military conquest" on the

part of anyone at the hands of the Soviets, since they were not “imperialistic.” Though he conceded that they would try “to make all the world go Communist” by other means, it would be possible to deprive them of the chance by massive reforms, providing employment and material well-being.

A month later the editors responded in a two-page editorial, pounding Prof. Wieman’s avoidance of the religious issue entirely, condemned his plan unconditionally, and observed that in view of “the record of tyranny which the rulers of Russia have inscribed in the blood of their people during the past twenty-two years,” the difference in degree of tyranny between Germany and Russia definitely lay “in favor of Germany, not Russia.” [44]

Churchill’s flat admission before the House of Commons on July 15 that the British-Russian agreement to give mutual aid and to make no separate peace was, “of course, an alliance, and the Russian people are now our allies,” was given wide publicity here, [45] but this did not in any way discommode the war-bound among the well-placed and the prestigious. James B. Conant, President of Harvard, in a turgid speech before a convention of the National Education Association, crammed with urgent pedagogical warriors, managed to outdo Bishop Hurley in urging aid to Stalin and in eagerly calling for entry into the war: “To the minds of some of us, the peril is so great that the United States has no alternative but to enter the war against Nazi power,” exclaimed the head of America’s most prestigious institution of higher learning. Conant, making the usual disavowal of supporting either Germans or Russians, concluded with the interventionist convention that only the Germans were a threat. [46] As was expected, Time printed most of his private war declaration, just a fragment of the hurricane of similar material assaulting the ears and eyes of the general public.

After a month of the Russo-German war, the U.S. public was beginning to show evidence of responding to the mainly one-way news interpretation and pro-war conditioning which occupied most mass media. A Gallup poll claimed 72% desired a Red victory and only 4% one by the Germans. Those in favor of a war declaration were alleged to have risen from 21% to 24%. Newsweek, however, analyzing the mail on the issue received by 30 U.S. senators, found it “evenly divided between isolationists, interventionists and middle of the roaders,” and that the volume was only 1/5th of that which had poured in during the debates over the Lend Lease bill earlier in the year. The magazine further declared that the mail of Senators Burton K. Wheeler, Walsh, Nye, Brooks, La Follette, Taft and Tobey was running 10-1 against involvement in the war, while that of Senators Pepper, Lee and Barkley was roughly 50-50 on the question.

The full spectrum of opinions on the subject had hardly been seen, however. On July 31, 1941, British Aircraft Production Minister Lt. Col. John Theodore Cuthbert Moore-Brabazon delivered a speech in Manchester in which he expressed the hope that Russia and Germany would “exterminate” each other, leaving Britain master of the Continent. New political fireworks displays resulted. London’s Marxist Daily Herald, appalled, announced that Churchill, “astonished and angry,” had given him a savage dressing-down, “a sizzling and blistering affair, in which the colonel was left in no doubt as to the gravity of his offense.” [47] Churchill, however, was in a jam, and ended up having to defend Moore-Brabazon in September before Parliament, and was forced into a bitter exchange with fervent Stalinist Willie Gallacher, the only Communist M.P. in the House of Commons. [48] Sentiments close to those of Moore-Brabazon were expressed at about the same time by a member of the United States Congress, who was contemptuously referred to later by insulted Time as “little fox-faced Senator Harry S. Truman” [49] [D.-Mo.).

The expressions of support for Stalin continued from a wide spread of opinion makers into the first weeks of August, the issue of aid taking a dramatic lurch in Soviet favor later in the month

after the celebrated Roosevelt Churchill meeting off the coast of Newfoundland and the issuance of the “Atlantic Charter,” which followed the equally important mission of Roosevelt’s ubiquitous assistant, Harry Hopkins. The Stalinist-line League of American Writers, vociferously for war against Hitler until the August 1939 Pakt, and then scrupulously neutral during the period of Stalin’s absence from the fray, was quick to get re-involved with the German attack, and issued a hectic public statement espousing Stalin’s cause, characteristically published by New Masses on August 5, 1941 (p.23), while calling attention to having sent a copy of their manifesto to Erskine Caldwell, a vice-president of the LAW, who was in Moscow at that moment. [50]

An even more pretentious declamation came from Michael Straight, editor of the once firmly anti-involvement liberal New Republic but almost overnight a convert to belligerency. He hailed the entry of Stalin into the war as the turning point and suggested Hitler was “perhaps well on the way of retreat.” He further hailed the creation of the International Free World Association in Washington, organized by refugee anti-Nazi politicians, solidly to the left, from half a dozen countries, and saw as its principal function that of preparing war aims, and the “promise of a just and lasting peace,” still embarrassingly absent from the statements of the “Allies.” Impatient over American unwillingness to do big things and indignant over the U.S.A.’s failure so far to “accept the leadership that should be ours in the fight for a free world,”

Straight was grimly satisfied that the part America had earned in the next peace conference was “scrubbing the floors.” [51]

And still another prestigious figure used the New Masses to broadcast his enlistment. Harvard’s philosophic light, Ralph Barton Perry, no longer the subdued murmur of the U.S. News poll six weeks earlier, was calling loudly in behalf of Soviet Russia as the most recent state whose “freedom” was “threatened” by Hitler’s armies. Russia was already “our moral ally,” trumpeted Prof. Perry, and he ended up calling for a world pooling of military power to defeat Germany’s attempt at “world domination.” [52]

The Christian Century, still anxious to read the pulse of European Protestantism correctly on the newest phase of the European war, managed to solicit conflicting advice again in August 1941, this time from neutral Switzerland. A lengthy letter from correspondent Denzil G.M. Patrick declared that the chief reaction there was one of “relief” that the threat of the “bolshevization of Europe” was much abated, and that the Swiss looked upon the mutual weakening of both “tyrannies,” their government not intending to aid either. He also remarked upon the numbness of some Swiss following the ferocity of the anti-religious efforts of the Soviets in the Baltic states under the commissar Yaroslavsky and the machinery of the Stalinist League of the Militant Godless. [53]

But the following month it published from the same country their reaction to the famous Protestant theologian Karl Barth’s *A Letter to Great Britain From Switzerland*. This caused much consternation, Barth placing the stamp of theological approval upon the civilian “resistance” to the German armed forces and in substance making it a holy war. The editorial remarked that they did not see that Barth was urging the Swiss to become a belligerent, however. [54] Shortly thereafter the journal published a lengthy think-piece on Barth by W.S. Kilpatrick, president of Cedarville (Ohio) College, who had just returned from a year’s study under Barth. Said Kilpatrick, “Barth is politically a socialist today, although fearing its potential materialism and distrusting its optimistic view of man.” Kilpatrick pointed out that the Nazis, who had cut short Barth’s tenure in a German university, had simply “requested him to absent himself, and had even given him several months’ pay in advance,” while suppressing his Marxist writings. [55] No one could recall the Soviet Union handling a political adversary as gently and generously as this, even if a foreign subject in residence there.

The editors followed this with a three-page editorial devoted to Barth, avoiding challenging his politics, but concentrating on deouncing his calling World War II a “holy” war, willed by God. [56] They were willing, however, to recognize the war being called “righteous,” which really was not that distant a stance from Barth, another of the legion of World War I socialists and pacifists who turned around and reached astounding heights of martial ferocity in ... 1939-1945.

In the meantime the religious scene continued reverberating with strong statements for and against helping out Stalin. Late in August testimonials in behalf of this cause were published here which came from both the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, the English prelates skipping over the Red regime with mild disapproval, while emphasizing the religiosity of the Russian people (nothing was said that 99% of the Germans were identified with the Roman Catholic or Lutheran faiths). Here, Dorothy Day, editor of the Catholic Worker, denounced movement toward entry into the war, while speaking at Williamstown, Mass., at a meeting of the Institute of Human Relations sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. But Justice Frank Murphy of the U.S. Supreme Court, speaking before the supreme council of the Catholic Knights of Columbus in Atlantic City, N.J., declared that the Soviet Union should have the support of all the world’s democracies in its war with Hitler.

Part 5: The Roosevelt administration and press supporters lean toward aid at the time of the August 1941 Atlantic Conference

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While this agitated clash of opinions on the subject became more heated and pointed, it grew more obvious that the Roosevelt regime had made up its mind in favor of sustained and substantial material and military aid to Soviet Russia. The creep in that direction became a lope by mid-August 1941, a short time before the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting. The first dramatic signal was the attention given to the flight to Moscow from London by Harry Hopkins, much scrambled by the pro-New Deal press but ultimately admitted to have been in the interests of seeking out Stalin’s advice on how U.S. goods might be expedited to the Soviet. [58] It took place at about the same time Soviet Ambassador Oumansky led a Soviet military mission to an audience with FDR on the same subject, presumably with the behind-the-scenes guidance of Welles, the subject of a Time cover story on August 11, and credited with having virtually assured Oumansky that his Red regime could depend on a substantial supply of military assistance from America, “in its struggle against armed aggression.” [59]

Time’s lead story a week later, “Aid to Russia,” pinpointed FDR as responsible for the expediting of arms and planes to Stalin, presumably responding impulsively to a horror story of Russian desperation from his “analysts in the White House.” The account was graced by pictures of such Roosevelt confidants as Sam Rosenman and Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau. [60]

David Lawrence’s U.S. News presented a somewhat similar story of the President’s personal initiative in forwarding substance to Stalin, as well as draping the Hopkins mission to Moscow in even more colorful and romantic prose than others. [61] Though addressing himself to U.S. businessmen, Lawrence demonstrated utter unconcern over Communism or Communists, saw nothing to worry about should Stalin win in Eastern Europe, and apparently thought the latter would retire modestly behind the Curzon Line once having repelled Hitler, to allow a joint- Franco-British politico-military experiment once more to mismanage Central Europe and the Balkans.

U.S. News August 8 featured a genial portrait of FDR and summarized his press conference, less than 24 hours after Oumansky “had led a Russian military mission to his desk.” The article went

on to say: "The President in his press conference authorized reporters to quote him as saying with regard to Russian resistance:

'It is magnificent and frankly better than any military expert in Germany thought it would be.'" As to the payment problem, Roosevelt was quoted as saying that Russia was "on a strictly cash basis" with American suppliers, and that there was no sign that this would change, when he was questioned as to Russian qualification for Lend Lease largess. On the subject of how Hopkins got from London to Moscow, however, FDR was not talking to reporters. [62]

For Hopkins the U.S. News saved special space a week later, exclaiming to its readers that his perambulations from Washington to London, then to Moscow and back once more to London, were part of an assignment to bring about a five-power "iron ring" around Germany, consisting of staggering population and resources preponderance. "U.S. collaboration with Russia" was already a fact, and Hopkins had gone there to extend it. The latter's sensational rise from an obscure social worker to a world figure was explained as a consequence of Roosevelt's "unusual confidence" in him. [63]

U.S. News acted as a mere entity floating on this approved "wave of the future." In its sampling of press editorials around the country it found already a "large majority of the editors favoring U.S. aid to Russia." In its reproduction of nine major newspaper editorial turnarounds on Russian policy in less than two months in Lawrence's businessman-oriented weekly, it could be seen that not one even imagined the possibility of Red victory. None looked a particle beyond victory over the Germans, or had the faintest idea of what might follow, nor did any imagine what kind of regime they expected to follow what they wanted to destroy. The nearest one could discern was some kind of sentiment that a vast desert of suspended animation would prevail indefinitely among the defeated nations and the numerous areas sure to be "liberated" from their control and influence. [64]

And in its extended spread on the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting a week after, on August 22, U.S. News called attention to the tidbit in the proceedings redounding to Stalin's welfare, though he was not there, his contribution being brought there from Moscow by Hopkins. It was divined by Lawrence and his editorial assistants that American businessmen could expect American "large-scale help" to the Soviets, supplied "on the advice of the British Government." Stalin was supposed to have been notified of this by letter at the conclusion of the Atlantic Charter meeting at sea. They were assured that there would be no problem of payment. Russia had \$40 million on deposit in the U.S. and of course had "a large annual gold production which she can use in international trade." [65] The cash registers were ringing in the ears of all putative American suppliers to this unnamed Operation Life Raft for the salvation of Russian Communism by the more than two-decades- execrated "capitalists." It promised to serve a similar purpose to segments of major American industrial and commercial enterprise, beginning to emerge from over a decade of economic slough under the aegis of a national government which was abandoning saving the domestic scene and about to embark on the far more exciting and encompassing task of saving the world. It was not long however before U.S. News amended its earlier advice on Russian payment procedure as furnished by the Administration to let its business subscribers know that the Soviet Union had been made the beneficiary of a \$50 million "initial fund" provided by the Defense Supply Corporation under the U.S. Commerce Department." In September and October 1941 a succession of stories impressed all concerned that the Reds were all that prevented the Germans from sweeping over the world, and they were in the field only if "U.S. and British supplies come." [67] The change in emphasis on the part of the spokesmen for intervention in the first two to three months of the war in Eastern Europe was quite spectacular, in view of the essentially Anglophile substance of what had preceded it for several years.

The partisanship in behalf of Stalinist Russia not only added a new dimension to pro-war propaganda, it intruded into the American scene a competing loyalty which served to disturb the tenor of the war sentiment once the U.S.A. became a belligerent, and added an ingredient which soured and alienated the various "Allies" to such a degree that when they fell out almost upon achieving "victory," the situation never did right itself.

A good example of events overtaking established positions was laid out in Time's monthly cousin in the publishing empire of Henry Luce, Fortune. As a releasing point for combinations of the materialistic and the messianic-moral, it was a source which was almost impossible to top. It was the ultimate organ expressing the view that the future belonged to an Anglo-American combine, with the major decision-making power sure to lodge in the hands of the latter of this team. The Soviet as a major factor in a world victorious over the Germans and Japanese was unmentioned even as a dim possibility. Even in the pretentious and portentous position paper by Russell W. Davenport finally published in August, "This Would Be Victory," ^[68] with its talk of a grandiose world "Area of Freedom" dominated by an "International Party," the possibility of having to come to terms with the world Communist apparat was airily dismissed. Once the adversaries East and West were overcome (Davenport assumed U.S. entry into the war was inevitable and would soon occur), this "International Party" would "make common cause with all peoples willing and able to be free," and "The advent of the USSR to our side, and other irrationalities of the European Walpurgisnacht, do not alter this essential principle." Davenport believed the correct course was just to proceed serenely as if it had not happened.

The version of this vision intended for the common citizen was that of Hopkins the previous month in the four-million-circulation American Magazine, a breezy and confident outline of eventual British victory, with the help of America and with two-thirds of the rest of the world also helping out. In this rather extended account, Hopkins managed to mention the Soviet Union only once, as a likely puppet of Hitler should the latter succeed in defeating the British. ^[69]

In his next American Magazine article, December 1941, Hopkins expatiated on his new job as Lend-Lease Administrator and his personal encounter with Stalin in Moscow. His narrative was an unbroken account of praise of Communist correctness, faithfulness and dependability. He described how Britain became Stalin's partner in June in this way: ^[70]

With the courage that is Churchill's, he pledged Britain to Russia's cause. And he did it boldly, without consulting anybody, without stopping to consider any possible political consequences. At Chequers [Churchill's estate] he told me of it.

But the emphasis now was on Russia, not England. Published just before U.S. involvement in the war via the Pearl Harbor attack by Japan, Hopkins realized he had a public relations job on his hands, knowing of the intimidating majority against direct involvement in the war, and his concluding rhetorical query to a readership he knew wanted no part of the ineffable regime in Russia apparently was supposed to rouse a sense of horror upon contemplation of the alternative: "Ask yourself whom you want on the west shore of the fifty miles of sea which separates Asiatic Russia from Alaska. Whom do you want-Stalin or Hitler?" (No one commented that Hopkins was parroting the Fight for Freedom Committee word for word). Probably a majority of Americans had already made up their mind, under the constant pounding of the newspapers, radio and tireless Administration orators and their legions of auxiliaries in Academe and public affairs. The pro-aid-to-Russia position seemed to have swept the field at least three months before direct U.S. entry into the war. Fortune's poll the last week of September 1941 found 73.3% favoring assisting the Communists, but still showing only a small minority actually supporting a war declaration: 10.7%. Despite the sinuous prose of the most persuasive war-peddlers, Americans con-

fronted by the various poll-takers were no more interested in full shooting involvement than they had been two years earlier.

Part 6: The main pockets of resistance to supporting Stalin

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Despite the rising tide of contrived pro-Stalinist sympathy, there remained pockets of obdurate opposition in the U.S., some of them anti-Stalinist throughout the war, even during the period of ardent official pro-Sovietism which reached its peak in 1943. Clerics, disaffected liberals with longstanding reputations as critics of Bolshevism, and relapsed fellow travelers with Lenin and Stalin made up most of the people involved in the public expression of this hostility. Politicians, businessmen, and the highly placed socially and culturally were noticeably absent from this contingent.

A particularly thorny case was that of the *American Mercury*, once the property of H. L. Mencken, and, in 1941, after a number of changes, published by Lawrence Spivak, later to become familiar as the moderator and host of the radio and television show, "Meet the Press." Its new editor was Eugene Lyons, a one time warm pro-Soviet foreign correspondent, whom Edmund Wilson had once described as having "spent some of the best years of his life whooping it up for the Soviets." Lyons now was as hostile as he had ever been favorable, and set for the *Mercury* a curious editorial line, hostile to Hitler, for involvement of the U.S.A. in the European war, but also probably more hostile to Stalin than Hitler, presumably on the grounds that though disliking both immensely, he felt that Hitler, having no friendly support in the country, was less formidable in the editorial assault on dictatorial systems. Tackling Stalin so resolutely was perhaps a tougher problem for Lyons, in view of the snowballing of support for the Soviet. And how he hoped to keep from benefiting Stalin by urging a pro-war course was not explained at all.

Lyons had just published what was to prove a very influential book, *The Red Decade* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill) when the Reds went to war with the Nazis. Its description of the meticulous and detailed penetration of the U.S.A. by pro-Soviet influence and its spread through all the agencies of American culture in the ten years or so prior to the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 was to be a veritable reference work for a generation after its publication. For the pro-Soviet-support elements of the Roosevelt Administration it was an awkward book, published and reviewed at an awkward time. Both *Newsweek* and the *New York Herald Tribune* had kind words for it in September 1941, the latter review being by Nicholas Roosevelt. ^[71] At about that time the *August Mercury* was being sold on the newstands, which contained a fierce Lyons article, "The End of Joseph Stalin," ^[72] which anticipated his downfall at Hitler's hands, and which Lyons, though very hostile to Hitler as well, thought was richly deserved. The piece included a long catalog of the things Stalin had done which Lyons thought had made Hitler possible. Lyons was still furious at the Red boss for having rejected the "democratic allies" and signing the August 1939 Pakt with Hitler. It was Lyons' thesis that an accommodating, abject and obsequious Stalin had finally been spurned by the contemptuous Nazis. Much of this was wishful thinking and ignored entirely the possibility that the war in Eastern Europe grew out of Stalinist pressures on Hitler. Lyons' follow-up, "Some Plain Talk on Russia," ^[73] was a heated blast upon the tendency to lump the Soviets with the Anglo-French-American democracies, now that Britain and the U.S.A. were offering the Reds material aid. But his striving to keep Anglo-American selfish interests in this matter in the foreground was beginning to have an effect on his judgment. Lyons in November 1941 thought that it was the height of impossibility to imagine a future Red swamping of Europe. Britain and America could assist the Russians wholeheartedly "without any fear of a Red tidal wave overwhelming Europe-because they know that a decisive Russian vic-

tory is not even a remote possibility.” But he did expect another Moscow- Berlin pact between the now-warring former non-belligerents, and suggested that no guarantee of any kind made by Stalin to the Western powers was worth the paper it might be written on, adding that Stalin’s “adherence to the Anglo-American 'Atlantic Charter' is a cynical joke,” though from 1945 on there were many who thought the behavior of the Charter’s founders no less reprehensible.

A skilled recruit to Lyons' side, adding other dimensions to the frontal attack on Communism, domestic and foreign, was another veteran one-time well-wisher of the Bolsheviks, Max Eastman. Eastman’s enthusiastic review of Lyons' book was published by the New York Times on September 7, 1941. [74] In an extrapolation on Lyons' book, Eastman’s Mercury essay “Stalin’s American Power,” which subsequently was reprinted by the far larger circulation Readers Digest, enlarged upon the Red fronts in the U.S.A. and their pushing of Russian foreign policy. But making frequent use of the term “Communist conspiracy,” once the main property of the Social Democratic Federation’s organ, the New Leader, Eastman confined himself to largely ideological elements, and paid no attention to the burgeoning pro-Sovietism discernible among the top business and professional layers of American society. The small Communist press in the U.S.A. took much comfort in steadily growing pro-Soviet sentiments there and elsewhere in the land, the New Masses denouncing Eastman’s as “a kind of digest of Lyons' indigestible book,” and “a miserably cheap attempt to throw dust into the eyes of millions who at last see the Soviet Union with clarity.” [75]

Part 7: American Communists as a complication in the Soviet aid debate

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To be sure, there were serious aspects of the domestic Communist issue for the war-bound involvement elements and the Administration, as well as for the Workers' Fatherland. The salvation of Russian Communism did not rest with the CPUSA, whose only product was words, but with the producers of tanks, planes, guns and food, as well as a thousand other items useful in Stalin’s “war effort.” Any U.S. Communist activity of a propaganda or agitational nature that interfered with this undoubtedly would draw a prompt frown of disapproval from the Kremlin. The U.S. Communist press swing from peace to war overnight after June 22, 1941, was a most ludicrous lurch. The conversion of all their peace fronts to violent pro-war mobs, the return of “appeaser” to indicate the genuine peace forces remaining of 1935-39, and the disappearance of “warmonger” as a description of the Anglophiles still breathing belligerence, all hardly went unnoticed on the American scene. With the Daily Worker by the end of the third month of the Russo-German war praising West Point and glorifying army life, it was easy to note what was on their mind.

For the elements which had been for war all the time, it was now their time to watch for Communists “boring from within,” as it had been the problem of the “isolationists” and non-involvement committees and organizations between August 23, 1939, and June 22, 1941. The former had obstacles in going ahead with their goal of fighting a nice, clear-cut Anglo-American vs German war, with no Reds in it. The Fight For Freedom Committee was one of the first warrior civilian groups to put its members on the alert as to this difficulty. [76] *Newsweek* told all on September 22 that the FBI was “still carefully checking on U.S. Communist activities,” though this must have been hard to do and not run afoul of the FDR camp’s involvement proclivities which dealt with generous pro-Stalinist assistance plans, all vigorously championed by domestic Reds as well. [77]

The real mess however was in the ranks of labor. Communist strength in the roughly 7-year-old Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) promptly flexed its muscle. By mid- September 20 CIO unions were already demanding the U.S.A. go to war against Germany. And a curious

arabesque was performed internally. The elements led by Sidney Hillman, pro-war and pro-FDR, known down to June 1941 as “the old right wing,” as U.S. News put it, and confronted by labor led by John L. Lewis, anti-war and anti-FDR, “the old left wing,” had by September 1941 changed identities. [78] Lewis and his cohorts now were assembled under the “right wing” tag, and Hillman and his the contrary designation. The Communists in the CIO and the Daily Worker were now both berating Lewis as an “appeaser” and “isolationist” after having praised him for the identical stands during the period of Stalinist non-involvement in the European war. Labor-watchers now were of the view that the Communists were now trying to cuddle to Hillman, who was formally rejecting a working alliance with them, though finding their support of war policies comforting.

In mid-September 1941 also, Stalin obviously had far more on his mind than Anglophile American warmongers unhappy over the CPUSA infiltrating their simon-pure pro-war fronts. But Newsweek informed its readers at that moment that Stalin had “in- directly asked” the USCP to “quiet down,” and might even “publicly request it to dissolve formally,” in the interests of relieving “the strain which CP activities put on U.S.-Russian and British-Russian relations.” Hopkins was supposed to have suggested this course to Stalin. [79] And in truth there really was no need for an American Communist Party now. Its chores were performed by many magnitudes beyond its capacity by the majority of the conventional press and radio in the U.S.A., bellowing mightily for support of Stalin in all ways, promotional assistance to a national administration already involved in massive planning toward the achievement of this goal.

Part 8: *Time*, corporate America, and 'culture' contribute to the confusion

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In toting up the score of the forces favoring Russian Communism in its showdown with German National Socialism, one could not leave out the American industrial system as represented by its corporate giants, and their dramatically-swelling labor forces. There is a direct correlation between the steady decline of the energy and support of the non-interventionist position on the war during the last 15 months before direct American involvement, and the corresponding increasing economic stake of more and more Americans in the “defense” boom, during that same period. It was remarkably obvious in the last six months of that time span. The steady drifting away of supporters for neutrality can be less understood by reading their specious moralizing on why they had changed their minds than by noting the simultaneous stunning full page color advertisements of scores of major corporations hawking the new martial hardware being made within their walls. The wonder is that such an immense percentage of those polled in opinion surveys still opposed a declaration of war during this spell. [80] If psychic and spiritual enlistment in the war could be dated from June 1940 and *de facto* involvement in the war as a belligerent from March 1941, it took the vast industrial mobilization in the period after the Russians joined the war to cement down this American participation. As the summer wore into the fall in 1941, the necessity of maintaining a scrupulous distinction as to which of the anti-German belligerents one was favoring steadily eroded away, and the American hand to Stalin began to stretch in every direction it might reach there. One could understand that Stalin was risking no palpable damage in ordering the CPUSA to scuttle its profile in this critical moment. Their help really was not needed, and the function of their press could easily be confined to echoing what was broadcast from Moscow. The pro-Soviet forces of non-Communist origin were demonstrating that they could handle the job of assistance to the Kremlin and the spreading of the positive virtues and the noble attributes of Stalinism all by themselves.

It was not, therefore, in the tiny editions and limited distribution of the Stalinist press in America that one read the cheering, dramatic story of the first string of tankers arriving in Stalin's Siberian port of Vladivostok with immense cargoes of high octane gasoline from the U.S.A. for "battling Russia." It was rather in the front pages of the millionaire-run three-quarters-of-a-million circulation *Time* on September 15, 1941. A week earlier its opinion-saturated "news" columns had declared that the U.S.A. was in "a virtual alliance-with Russia against Germany," [81] and with China against Japan, though the latter did not specify whether we were allied with Chiang or Mao. With the gasoline delivery, *Time* assured its readers that "If not actively fighting Fascism, the U.S. was helping to fuel the fight against it." No New Masses editor could have stated it any better.

In fact, *Time* had begun printing material directly supplied by the Soviet newspaper Red Star weeks before, without the slightest warning that it might be the purest propaganda. And it expressed general sympathy with the Soviet stories of their massive destruction of Russian communities and industry, 90% of the area in some claims, as its armies retreated in the face of the advancing Germans, thus making possible propaganda exploitation of this scorched-earth policy, with a future claim being lodged for other self-serving purposes later, of charges that the same amount of damage had all been done by the Germans. [82] It was one of many aspects of the war which found the eventual victors working both sides of the street with singular success. Though physically impossible, this contradictory story did wonders for pro-Stalinist sympathizers in the U.S.A.

For sure, the intense season of "heroic Russia" was nearly upon the American imagination, to be propelled at an increasing tempo shortly, until well after the Anglo-American and Stalinist "allies" had fallen out. And no facet of the cultural or psychic world was to be neglected in the accentuation of this campaign against the English-speaking sensibilities, music included. Late in September, *Time* told all that the Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich had related that he was writing his Seventh Symphony, which would "attempt to depict the battle of Leningrad and tell the story of the city's Home Guards." [83] This endeavor was billed as the equivalent in this new war to Tschaikovsky's 1812 Overture, though subsequent critics were to find the former an essay in subdued trash-can bashing by comparison with the celebrated Tschaikovsky composition.

Part 9: New voices in behalf of assistance to Stalin, at home and abroad

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While the reportage on things Russian increased in warmth, the temperature of pro-Red sympathy in America soared somewhat higher. Symptomatic of this was the bellow for aid to Stalin which emanated from the American Legion convention in Milwaukee at about this same time. *Time* for September 29 shimmered with its eulogy of the Legion, rejoiced at its bellicosity toward Hitler Germany and its fierce desire for war, along with approval of its almost unanimous support for the creeping interventionism of Roosevelt. It even voted for one of Roosevelt's latest hobby horses, permanent universal military training. [84]

Almost simultaneously with this were other indications surfacing in widely separated places. The *Christian Century* quoted the Jackson, Mississippi Daily News as calling upon all religious congregations in the state to expel any ministers who were in opposition to the U.S. becoming involved in the European war. [85] Apparently these anti-Communist Southern fundamentalists were unperturbed by the thought of full enlistment in a war with Stalin to make Europe one-half Red. In fact, there were elements which were of the mind that this latter appellation was a dirty political word. That same week the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, the city's morning paper, embarked

on a sortie to persuade other Canadian papers to join it in abandoning the word “Red” as a term for Russians. [86] And a few days before, war correspondent Edgar Ansel Mowrer, in an open letter to Roosevelt published in the vigorously pro-war picture weekly *Look*, founded in 1937 and already sporting a circulation of two million, urged him to clean out the “professional Bolshephobes” from all government departments, since they were hindrances who could not “honestly help us to destroy Fascism.” [87] Nowhere in the Communist press could anyone find a more ardent ideological call than this.

To be sure, things seemed to be looking up for the Anglo-Russian cause in September 1941. Their joint invasion of Iran had resulted in success, hailed in *Time* as “Victors in the fortnight-old, 80-hour Iranian war.” Though Hitler’s invasions of strategically-located neighbors were uniformly billed as brutal aggressions, far softer and kinder verbiage was invented to describe the same thing when undertaken by Stalin and Churchill. And *Time* wound up its accolade by quoting from the *New York Herald Tribune*’s Russell Hill, who, at Kazan with Russian officers, drank bottoms-up toasts to Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt, and “reunion in Berlin.” [88] Though the U.S. was still not a formal belligerent, May 1945 was brilliantly forecast and anticipated.

In the meantime the assiduous promotion of still another wealthy pro-Stalinist, England’s Sir Richard Stafford Cripps, had begun, along with serious efforts in liberal circles to bring H.G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw to the U.S. to assist in helping “whip up enthusiasm for aid to Russia,” as *Newsweek* put it. [89]

Time’s salute to Cripps, Ambassador to Moscow since the lonely days of 1940, when the Stalinists had nothing but ridicule for England at war, included a tribute to his being “One man who has really been right about World War II,” since “From its opening gun, he maintained that Britain’s interest and Russia’s were the same,” while calling attention to his recent “paean to the Russian people.” [90]

And when Eric Estorick’s puff in book form, *Stafford Cripps, Prophetic Rebel* (John Day), began to go the rounds a few weeks later, it was no scrubby journal of the impoverished left that hailed it, but the alleged tower of Republican strength, the *Herald Tribune*, at the hands of its warmly pro-Soviet foreign editor, Joseph Barnes. It was Barnes who called attention to this opulent Briton’s eloquence in behalf of the Workers’ Fatherland: “Outside the Communist Party, itself, no other British leader,” asserted Barnes, produced such speeches, “which were like and sounded like Marxism.” [91]

Not all the traffic was one-way in the burgeoning buildup of the Soviet in the fall of 1941. The Roosevelt regime was increasingly embarrassed by the continuation of the war between Finland and Russia, and dreaded non-interventionist congressmen arguing against aid to Stalin on the grounds that Russians would use American arms to shoot Finns. There were signs that a formidable residue of anti-war reservations existed among the populace and that not all the devices being used to work up war fever were effective. Pro-war *Look* was chagrined to learn as a result of their poll of 15,000 moving picture exhibitors at the end of the summer that “‘Anti-Nazi’ pictures — like ‘Escape,’ ‘Underground’ or ‘Manhunt’ — were rated least productive at the box office.” [92] But there were hundreds more like these to come in the future. A similar conclusion was arrived at by the Gallup Audience Research Institute, headed by David Ogilvy, whose report was released the third week of July 1941. It concluded that there was no audience outside of New York City for anti-Hitler and anti-Nazi pictures, and that all propaganda movies had thus far fizzled. [93]

Part 10: Continued annoyance from influential anti-Soviet liberal personalities, while pro-aid forces gain in academe

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And there were a few towering holdouts among the predominantly war-bound liberal opinion-makers adding their discordant notes to the swelling chorus of Soviet tributes to be heard on the American scene. Notable was Villard, mainly reduced to a platform with the anti-war Christian Century, though Common Sense and the Progressive were still open to views such as his. He was deeply resentful of interventionist liberals now insisting that the “aggressor” nations had to be defeated “even if it meant the ruin of the whole world,” though he thought that there was even less chance of the U.S.A. entering the war by way of a formal declaration than “before we became partners of the unspeakable Stalin.” [94] Of the growing emphasis on Russianism instead of Communism in the Soviet Union Villard remarked, “It is a tribute to the skill with which the Bolsheviks have pumped nationalistic and patriotic doctrines into the Russian people that they are so willing to bleed to death for a government that has murdered, exiled and imprisoned innumerable Russians for the sole offense of opposing Josef Stalin’s rule.” [95]

Another redoubtable fixture in the anti-war liberal fold who stuck in the collective craw of the interventionists, when it came to the subject of enlisting their sentiments behind Stalin, was John Dewey. His consistent coolness toward Stalin and his unwillingness to indulge in encomiums to him as a result of the exigencies of the European war drew him repeated scoldings, but his cautions about the dangers in idealizing Stalin due to an excess of uncritical enthusiasm continued for several months after U.S. entry into the war. He was sure this would lead to Americans having to pay “too costly a price for Russia’s cooperation.” (96) Dewey’s antagonist on the faculty of Columbia Teacher’s College was Prof. John L. Childs, who uttered the standard liberal reproach to Dewey, fearful that such an attitude would affront the Reds. Childs was one of the eloquent exponents of sustained long-term pro-Soviet relations. He urged Americans to “Let’s cooperate with the Reds during and after the war,” and above all, he implored, “Let’s not adopt a policy of isolating Russia once the war is over.” [97] Dewey’s courage in sticking to his views was all the more remarkable in that the organization with which he was most prominently identified, the 10,000-member Progressive Education Association, had early in July 1941 become the first organized group of American educators to support an outright declaration for full American participation in the world war, a manifesto which was also signed by 12 of the 14 editors of its journal, *Frontiers of Democracy*. [98]

The only sector of the academic and educational world comprised of students which matched their mentors in belligerence were the newspaper editors of the Ivy League and other elite colleges. In the twelve schools selected for examination by *Time* in the early fall of 1941 they were deeply gratified to notice a much more aggravated call for gore in their college newspaper editorials, though this martial posture was hardly to be reflected in the undergraduate enrollment or in any other level occupied by those in age brackets which were likely to end up in the front lines. [99] This social fact is what so incensed the intellectual leaders of the administration’s budding propaganda machine, especially the likes of the new Librarian of Congress, Archibald MacLeish, a fervent and eloquent voice for world war, and the performer of probably the most spectacular intellectual somersault achieved by any American intellectual on the subject of war participation in the short six years between 1935 and 1941. There certainly was no one trying to square the strident warrior MacLeish of 1940-41 with the MacLeish who answered a questionnaire of the *Modern Monthly* in June 1935 in these words: “I should do everything in my power to prevent the United States going into war under *any* [MacLeish’s emphasis] circumstances. There is only one possible position against the menace of militarism: absolute hostility. Any other is romantic.” But MacLeish, in the eyes of the stubborn remnant of anti-war liberals the outstanding intellec-

tual turncoat of the pre-war period, was just one of a legion who did much the same, to be rewarded with lush posts, handsome remuneration, continuous fulsome praise and sustained promotion into a succession of even more prominent post-war careers.

While the small, quiet steps announcing each steady move toward cultural totalitarianism took place, while the pretense was maintained that the “democracies” and their new Communist “ally” were trying to overcome it, the announcements of growing technical and industrial mobilization in its behalf were to be found far closer to the front. Early in October 1941 Time devoted a substantial account to an English Midlands tank factory whose labor force stood and sang the Communist Internationale at the unveiling of a goodly batch of tanks built for the Soviet Union, bearing the names of Marx and many more recent Red bureaucrat “heroes of Soviet labor.” Even Time was a little abashed to report that the British Broadcasting Corporation’s broadcasts “sounded like Moscow radio” in its bawling propaganda announcements of tanks and munitions output in the just-concluded “Tanks-for- Russia” week in Great Britain. ^[100]

Part 11: October 1941 polls register a gain in aid-to-Stalin sentiment

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The faddish aspect of this all-out help for Stalin was spreading in the U.S.A. at this moment as well, even provoking U.S. News to ask the following question of its readers: “Should U.S. Divert its Entire Arms Production to Britain and Russia for the Next Three Months?” ^[101] At a time when Americans were being whipsawed by pro-war propagandists into fears of imminent invasion themselves by the seemingly omnipresent and ubiquitous Germans, and the domestic “defense” agitation was indicating that elements of the newly conscripted American armed forces were conducting maneuvers in part with wooden and other play-style “weapons,” it posed a contradiction for the pro-war enthusiasts. The industrial system did not seem to be capable of providing the military of the main belligerents abroad and the U.S. too with all the martial hardware they required.

The responses of the prominent political, military and other personalities were indicative of some of the conflicts sweeping opinion at the time, nevertheless. Senators Capper of Kansas and Overton of Louisiana and Rep. Karl Mundt of South Dakota, of the Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committees, respectively, said no. But Capper and Mundt were for sending as much as could be spared to the British without undermining U.S. defense, while stipulating that of that total the recipients would have to decide how much was then to be sent to the Communists, “since Russia is an ally of Britain.” In the process, they cautioned, “let us not have Uncle Sam become the generalissimo of the war nor the bedmate of Communism.” Major General William H. Haskell, Commander of the 27th Infantry Division, also joined the “nays,” saying that the weapons were needed here first of all: “I feel it is of major importance to carry forward the training of our own armies.”

But James W. Gerard, the U.S. Ambassador to Germany prior to American entry into World War I, Rep. May of Kentucky, Chairman of the House Committee of Military Affairs, were for it, as well as Hiram Winternitz, Jr., President of Charles Dreifus Co., of Philadelphia. The latter insisted: “It seems to me that the diversion of practically all of our production of military goods for the next few months to Britain and Russia, particularly Russia, would be sound practice.” Also favoring this was Lewis G. Harriman, prominent Buffalo banker and president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He expressed himself in complete harmony with such a diversion, fearing that Russian loss to the Germans would delay and make immensely more difficult the ultimate victory of England, while sure the argument “that such help would make Russia itself presently a

greater menace to us seems too remote to cause concern.” Dean Paul Andrews of the University of Syracuse College of Law favored the idea in principle but thought that the percentage of such allocations to Britain and Russia should be determined by technical people. Dean Andrews' views were additionally agitated by his fear that the Germans were about to capture all of South America while disposing of the Soviet Union.

David Lawrence apparently was not as carried away with euphoria as some of the respondents to the U.S. News query concerning the desirability of shipping off the total of three months' American war production to Russia, or to Britain as Stalin's agent. One of their requests, that they acquire “large quantities of tools and machinery to equip new war industry east of the Ural Mountains,” temporarily got lodged in his craw, but not for long”. ^[102] Though not too sure that aid to Russia involved a commitment to help the Bolsheviks develop long-term heavy industrial potential far from the war fronts (he did not take up the massive aid to the Soviet of this kind in the previous 25 years), his fears soon washed away, partially as a consequence of his October questionnaire and the mounting bad war news from the new Eastern Front. By October 24 U.S. News was sure that two-thirds of the industry in Western Russia was already in Hitler's grip, and editorially it declared with some agitation, “Russian industry in the Urals must be supported by an immense quantity of supplies from Britain and America if resistance is to continue.” Gratification was also expressed over a recent Roosevelt statement that vast supplies of war goods were under way to Russia, all promised by Hopkins at Moscow too be delivered by the end of October 1941. ^[103] And at the end of November its war industries executive readers must have been cheered to learn that “A large United States military mission” was being “quietly organized to go to Russia,” and would leave “soon,” for Archangel, to gather first hand information “about how this country can help Russia.” ^[104] The months of wary ruminations about the wisdom of direct involvement in Russia's war fortunes were giving way to exactly the reverse, undoubtedly nurtured by the steadily growing involvement of the Roosevelt camp into matters which promised eventual belligerent status somewhere, and probably in several places.

Apparently a barrier to this scheme had been overcome in a short time since an early fall complaint had been circulated about Stalin's reserve and secrecy, and his refusal to allow any U.S. or British observers anywhere near any of the fighting or almost anywhere else. Hence had come about the joint mission of U.S.A.'s Averell Harriman and Britain's Lord Beaverbrook to seek for more frankness on Stalin's part. ^[105] Of this noted visit, more later.

Part 12: President Roosevelt creates a diversion over the religious issue

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The only clashing noise in what was otherwise a symphony of effortless gliding on the part of the varied forces working in behalf of Stalinist Russia in the fall of 1941 across the United States grew out of the August 1941 Atlantic Charter and the consequences of Roosevelt adding the “point” dealing with freedom of religion. One of the first to capitalize on this was Soviet radio, commending this strategy, and joining to it the urging of the overthrow of the Germans at the earliest opportunity because Hitler was “menacing the very existence of Christianity.” This even cooled off ardently pro-Russian Time, which did not think it appropriate for the Marxist regime to be hailing a force which they systematically attacked on the domestic Russian scene. ^[106] Even if one wished to insist that Bolshevism was a form of religion itself, ^[107] the Russian people as a whole hardly had abandoned their old ways, no matter what the Soviet government's League of the Militant Godless maintained. Almost twenty years after the Leninist revolution had taken over, about one half of the total population was still of the Russian Orthodox faith. ^[108] The

dramatic decline was in the number of churches, estimated in August 1941 to be down to 8,338 from 70,000 in 1917.

Not much had been said at the time the so-called “Four Freedoms” had been launched from the deck of the British battle- ship Prince of Wales off Argentia, Newfoundland, which included the religious freedom concept. Even the noted Protestant layman John Foster Dulles, not a part of the Roosevelt regime, and mainly involved in labors in behalf of a group of prominent churchmen and laymen called the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, had nothing to say about it in particular when he drafted his famous negative dissection of the celebrated Eight Points of Churchill and Roosevelt. Dulles, a party to the American presence at Versailles in 1919, condemned the Churchill- Roosevelt vision of the postwar world as following “too closely the pattern of Versailles” and saw their August 1941 product as mainly a prop for a self-satisfied pro-status quo crowd, and a prelude to a new war when the one going on was over, not an outline for “the development of some international mechanism for effecting peaceful change,” which recalled the book he had published two years before, *War, Peace and Change* (Harper). [109] The mobilization of religion in the impending worldwide martial cataclysm was inevitable, but the maneuvering had been going on for years prior to 1941. Americans, with their separation-of-church-and-state tradition, knew nothing of the realities of the religious scene in Europe, and the propagandistic forces seeking to enroll their sentiments and sensibilities preferred to keep them that way. Few knew of the state relationships of the Russian Orthodox Catholic clergy, nor that the German congregations, roughly half Roman Catholic and half Lutheran, were the recipients of sizable subventions from the Hitler government, as they had been recipients from previous German regimes. For that matter, probably no more than a platoon of Americans realized that the clergy of the official state-supported church in northern Europe were actually public functionaries drawing the equivalent of civil service salaries, in American parlance. The emphasis in the propaganda war in the U.S. was entirely away from these facts and entirely upon emotional and denominational loyalties, with such overtones of general substance as were unavoidable, given the general knowledge of world affairs prevailing. One aspect of the latter involved the universal conviction in the U.S. that all organized religion was in a bad way in Soviet Russia, a regime with a formal policy of hostility to this and a corresponding policy of encouraging organized disbelief, in harmony with Marxist materialism, the Soviet state’s religion.

In the word war waged against Hitler and Mussolini, American liberals especially esteemed the descriptive epithet “clerico- fascist,” finding it useful also to apply to Franco Spain and to the breakaway Slovakian state headed by Monsignor Josef Tiso. This stands in strange contradiction to the simultaneous charge by the same propaganda voices that these hated dictators were trying to abolish religion. Though it was known that the Russian Orthodox Church leaders were fully behind Stalin, it struck them as painfully distasteful to have to apply the same criteria to their warmly esteemed Stalin, so one heard nothing about “clerico-fascist Russia.”

The relative detachment or apathy of most clergy in Europe was not a subject for much commentary after Russia joined the European war. The self-righteous militarism of the clergy everywhere in World War I was not repeated, most of such figures being found associating mainly with leftists in Europe and America, in the latter their numbers being also swelled by German and British expatriates. The likes of Karl Barth, Paul Tillich [110] and William Temple, Archbishop of York and Canterbury, typified the former, and the one-time Marxist enthusiast Reinhold Niebuhr standing out among church notables flourishing their verbal armament in the U.S., [111] though the American warrior clergy in general were far more identified with secular ideological politics than with the pulpit. [112] It became obvious to the clerical friends of Stalin, however, that the most profitable tactics consisted of negative material, which was the very largest part of “anti-fascism” at all times, even at the peak period of ardent admiration of Communist Russia, in 1943.

It was easier to crow and gloat over failure among the Soviet's enemies than it was to attempt to sell the view that there were positive and affirmative things happening in the Workers' Fatherland, and which under the renewed patriotic pressure of the Stalinist machine, desperate for public support, was even becoming spoken of occasionally once more as "Mother Russia." Such an occasion was the exultation, even in *Time*, when it was claimed that the new premier of Norway under the German occupation, Vidkun Quisling, was able to get only 27 of Norway's 700 Lutheran pastors to support Germany's "crusade against Russia." [113] A few days later, Roosevelt himself tossed a grenade into the middle of this essentially successful anti-Hitler and pro-Soviet campaign on the religious front by his casual remark during a press conference in the second week of October 1941 alleging the existence of religious freedom in Stalinist Russia.

Few remarks by Roosevelt before or after, during the war era, drew as much comment, including analyses, guesses and glosses as to its real intent, attacks, excuses and a rare defense. Walter Lippmann, one of FDR's strongest journalistic supporters, delivered a harsh scolding, and Lippmann's paper, the *New York Herald Tribune*, called it "whitewashing the Kremlin." *Time*'s lead story was devoted to deep analysis of the act, ascribing political objectives to it all. Roosevelt was thought to have advanced this trial balloon, seeking to get the Russians to "guarantee religious liberty" in case they were not doing it in exchange for gaining a spot on the American Lend-Lease bandwagon. This in turn he was thought to exchange for the support of Pope Pius XII, thinking such a Russian concession might gain his endorsement of the "democracies" and Russian cause as "just," soften up Eire to allow British and U.S. bases on its territory, create discomfiture among the Catholic populations of Italy and Germany, and get the support of U.S. Catholics behind the administration's pro-Russian course. Thus, his motivation in their view had really nothing to do with religion at all. [114]

U.S. News gave lengthy attention to the brawl stirred up by the President, originally trying to make FDR look as good as possible and his critics as evil as possible, [115] but in its summary a week later, it was conceded that a presidential gaffe of substantial proportions had occurred. After a broad sampling of the nation's press, David Lawrence's weekly organ conceded that a consensus indicated Roosevelt "showed poor judgment in making his in cautious remark about the Russian constitution and religious liberty." [116]

The Protestant *Christian Century* scalded Roosevelt for his soothing pronouncement on religious freedom in Russia, and recalled his words before a Christian youth assembly in 1939 when he declared, how much he detested "the banishment of religion" from Russia. The editors also divined the intent of the statement as one of trying to woo Catholics in the U.S. to support his aid to Russia program, but insisted that "Instead of winning the Catholics, the President's careless words have made them more than ever critical of his Russia policy." Furthermore, the editors considered the presidential remark an adverse reflection upon his widely hailed "freedoms" in the Atlantic Charter: "The President gave the nation an opportunity to test his conception of one of these essential freedoms, and the test gave forth a hollow, empty sound." [117]

There was no doubt that the national mood, despite the stunning attack upon their sensibilities by a rising din of pro-war propaganda, was still quite alien to receptivity to puffs about another non-existent beauty supposedly existing in Soviet Russia. In this moment of disaster only the *New Masses* came up with a supporting strike, a long three-column editorial in which Roosevelt's prominent Catholic critics, such as Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen and Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, vice president of Georgetown University, were subjected to personal abuse. The Communist editors cited in warm approval the vociferous criticism of veteran pro-Soviet divines such as Paul Tillich, Kenneth Leslie, Pierre van Paassen and James Luther Adams, deploring "the attempt to create a religious issue regarding the USSR." The editors concluded by returning to the offense, empha-

sizing their charge that Hitler Germany was attacking religion, and that any suppression of clergy or religious persecution in the Soviet Union were just “police measures taken by the government against reactionary clerics who secretly conspired against the Soviet regime.” ^[118]

Part 13: Diplomatic moves toward vastly increased military aid to Stalin

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In the meantime, however, simultaneously with its losing effort on the pro-Soviet propaganda circuit, the administration was moving ahead rapidly and successfully in its military aid program for Stalin. The same issue of *Time* which unfolded the details of Roosevelt’s lighthearted encomium to religious freedom in the USSR described the famous meeting in Moscow of the U.S.A.’s Averell Harriman, Britain’s Lord Beaverbrook and Stalinist diplomat Molotov. No one saw the incongruity of the spectacle of two capitalist millionaires collaborating with a Bolshevik super-bureaucrat potentate dedicated to their destruction, in the creation of what *Time* hailed as an “Anti-Hitler Front,” even if the U.S.A. still was not formally in the war. (It was fifteen years later that Molotov described the start of World War Two as the result of a successful stunt by the Soviet Union in precipitating a civil war among the capitalist states. ^[119]

The preparation of this famous semi-summit meeting was well shielded from public attention, as were almost all pro-war maneuvers by the FDR regime, though a report on Harriman’s famous pledge of American backing for Stalin on September 29, 1941, was printed deep in the back pages of *Newsweek* at the same moment *Time* was exulting over the Moscow meeting: “I am instructed to pledge you the very fullest support today, tomorrow and as long as the struggle lasts and until ultimate victory comes.” ^[120] It surely was obvious by now that capitalism and Communism had no trouble getting along in a time of trial, as later scholarship demonstrated took place at the very moment the Bolshevik revolution was precipitated.

It is amazing that hardly any mention took place of the administration extending to Stalin the benefits of Lend-Lease on the same terms as were enjoyed by Britain and Nationalist China, surely one of the most fateful events of World War II. A billion dollar credit was established on October 30, 1941, following the drawing up of the first Russian protocol in Moscow October 1. But most news sources in America spent their space on the growing warmth of the administration toward the Soviet, in non-material gestures, and a parallel program of glamorizing Stalin, which started at a strong clip in mid-autumn of 1941.

Roosevelt figured prominently in the sensational news from Moscow related to the extension of unlimited American aid to the Stalinist war machine. *Time* on October 20 highlighted his announcement that vast supplies were already on their way, and added something unexpected, a reproduction of FDR’s cordial personal letter to Stalin, which apparently the administration hoped to conceal. It actually was leaked by the German news agency, DNB, which was followed by what *Time* called a “wry admission” that it was authentic despite the source which revealed it. ^[121] A great flurry over how it had been leaked out took place, with all hands in Washington and Moscow denying any part in divulging this secret. It is significant that the letter was not transmitted to Stalin by an American worker with high regard for the Workers’ Fatherland, but by another millionaire, Ambassador Steinhardt, to Harriman, and then to the Red premier, whom few in these agitated days any longer chose to call a “dictator,” a word now reserved only for the leaders of the enemy. This letter summarized the attitudes of the admirers of the Red Army in particular, closing with the fervent promise of material support: “I would like to express my great confidence that your armies will be victorious in the end over Hitler and to assure you of the greatest determination to afford the necessary material assistance.”

This letter should have left no doubt whatever in the minds of all Americans as to where their President stood now, and it is mystifying that so little was done with this by the opponents of involvement in the war. Obsessed with actual moves committing the U.S.A. to direct involvement in the shooting, they neglected to size up the full implications of what went on in Moscow in October 1941. And despite the increasingly ominous buildup of pro-belligerence in the Pacific, one could hardly consider the U.S.A. under Roosevelt a non-participant in what was happening in Eastern Europe. Time gave top billing the following week to a survey of the impressions of the Soviet Union by the U.S. mission “headed by slick, handsome William Averell Harriman,” whose associates as well as himself were described as “eagle-eyed fact-minded men.” Among their observations was reported their impressions of Communist censorship, which they thought made that of the Germans “look like children playing with paper dolls,” a statement which actually seriously undermined several years of horror stories by German emigres in America. The meat of this new message was a recommendation from them that “a real agreement or treaty of alliance with Great Britain and Russia” be drawn up as soon as it was “politically possible.” [122]

Part 14: Culture, big names, and the well-placed lend their assistance to the building pro-Soviet bandwagon

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October, the symbolic month of the Bolshevik revolution, was memorialized in many ways in America. The main feature of an assault on the citizenry in behalf of Russia was the glamorization of Stalin in interventionist organs. On the 27th Time ran a long and ludicrously sentimental portrait of the Red chief. This piece was accompanied by a cover portrait of “Good Old Joe” by the artist Artzybasheff, and an ingenious attempt to whitewash Stalin for his diplomatic coup with Germany in August 1939. [123] Time’s political retouching of that event credited it to his “peasant cunning,” though granting that he was rudely upset by Hitler in June 1941 “before he was ready,” which suggested that Hitler had anticipated a Russian attack on Germany by his action. Meanwhile, the publishing world that same week quietly mulled over the news that still another effort in behalf of the USSR by a millionaire lay in the offing: a book by ex-ambassador Joseph E. Davies, in which the latter was said to have extolled Stalin as a predictor of “singular accuracy” on current events, [124] while advancing an apology for and explanation of the 1936-38 purge trials which was guaranteed to stun the world of political analysis.

While the big-ticket items relating to overall Communist comfort and welfare were being handled and arranged by upper-level capitalist opulents, the New Masses brought up the rear in the culture department. The day after Time’s cover story on Stalin, the Communist weekly published a cable from Shostakovich in which he announced that he was still at work on his Seventh Symphony “in the midst of battle.” [125] And the whole period was fittingly climaxed by a stirring Russian War Relief Benefit [126] staged at New York City’s Madison Square Garden which managed to include elements of almost the whole spectrum of pro-Sovietism in the neighborhood. Among the speakers were Walter Duranty, whose genial pro-Soviet cables had long been featured in the New York Times, the fervent French “anti-fascist” refugee, Genevieve Tabouis, Andrei Gromyko, Soviet charge d'affaires in the city, and Clark Eichelberger, national chairman of the fiercely pro-war Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. The principal attraction however was ex-Ambassador Davies, delivering his first public address since returning from Moscow. Speaking to this overflow “Testimony for Unity,” Davies delivered a stirring pro-Soviet speech which among other things defended the Soviet on the recent religious issue. Particularly impressive was his vindication, according to the New Masses report, “of much in Soviet policy that has been distorted and vilified in recent years.” [127]

Even the lavish resources of the Luce publishing empire's upper-level business-oriented Fortune magazine were mobilized in this month to advancing a nation-wide pro-Sovietism. Its October Survey was devoted to trying to prove that Americans at large were swallowing their fear and dislike of Communism, and that a great majority were in favor of aiding the Reds against Hitler, and asserting that 20% were already willing to accept the USSR "as a full partner." The poll, conducted as others before by Elmo Roper, concluded that in general the U.S. was "incurably conditioned against Communism," and that even the Red military performance as reported in America had not deterred 35.1% of the respondents from replying in the affirmative to the poll statement, "The Russian Government and the German Government are equally bad," and that 4.6% had said that the former was worse. But 32% were of the opinion the Stalinists were "slightly better" and 8.5% declared they were "far better" than the Hitlerites. Despite all this, nearly 30% were in favor of deporting or jailing "Communist sympathizers" here in the U.S., and 54% were for close surveillance of same, recommending prohibition of pro-Communist "agitating and organizing," preparatory to rounding them up "if necessary." But at the same time, 73.3% were willing to help the Soviet bring about the defeat of Hitler, with 22% of this group willing to accept Stalin "as a full partner" with Great Britain in this fight. It was deplorable that Roper did not include a question dealing with American response to the likely outcome of a Communist victory in Europe, which such a commanding majority of those polled obviously were voting for.

It was significant that Roper, in discussing socio-economic status, indicated that the percentage of the "wealthy" was somewhat more in favor than the general average when questioned as to "cooperation with Stalin and for accepting him as a partner." And once more that part of the populace located in the South Atlantic states, the consistently most belligerent sector of the country since the outbreak of the war in 1939, demonstrated their zeal for gore by exceeding all other regions in their enthusiasm for joining with Stalin, 32.7%

The rush to join the pro-Stalinist bandwagon on the part of the opulent and well-placed in the U.S. in the fall of 1941 involved an impressive number of people, with perhaps the best known of their persuasion, the defeated Republican standard-bearer in the 1940 election, Wendell Willkie, not endorsing this choice. However, having swiftly abandoned his campaigning oratory in favor of non-intervention for exactly the opposite within weeks of defeat, his enthusiasm for defense of the enemies of the Germans indicated to critics that sooner or later he was sure to accompany the others in climbing aboard the Moscow Express. William Henry Chamberlin summarized the moral problem facing Willkie in a curt piece in the non-interventionist Christian Century:

We cannot, so Mr. Willkie tells us, maintain the American way of life unless we also maintain the British way, the Chinese way, the Greek way. So far as I know, Mr. Willkie has remained silent on the somewhat delicate point of whether the American way of life is also dependent on the maintenance of the Stalinite way ... or the Chinese brand of Communism [129]

Chamberlain and the others studying Willkie got their answer a little over a year later with the publication of the book by Willkie, *One World*.

Part 15: Echoes of the religious dust-up reverberate

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The Christian Century was far more exercised by the increasing belligerence of key churchmen in behalf of Stalin than they were by the steady movement of big capitalists to his succor in the war with the Germans. Singled out for special reproach were the Archbishop of Canterbury in Britain and prestigious Reinhold Niebuhr in the U.S. Repelled by the former's flattering estimate of the Reds in late October, the editors remarked disparagingly, "It is slightly nauseating to hear those who have never been able to find words hard enough to express their opinion of the Soviets now cooing compliments, and almost, if not quite, conferring benedictions." ^[130] The editors had not taken up the new fashion of fawning on an old enemy turned into an "ally" via the fortunes of war.

In Niebuhr's case, they were dealing with someone whose long campaign in behalf of Marx and Mars had undergone some modification; the former had been replaced by the Deity. In the magazine *Christianity and Crisis*, newly formed mainly to accommodate the war cries of a class of divine not previously noted for truculence toward Stalin, Niebuhr had registered the growing insolence of this kind of warrior parson with a ferocious editorial which attacked neutrality in any war as immoral. On November 12 the *Christian Century* ran one of its most lengthy and memorable editorials in decades, a five-column incensed raking of Niebuhr probably unmatched in any journal before. Its summary of his message was calculated to create serious qualms among the Men of God in the seminaries whose first allegiance had always been to the Prince of Peace: It is the baldest apologetic for war that has appeared in either secular or religious contemporary writing. It is not merely an apologetic for this war and for America's participation in it, but for war in general. Under its thesis the United States would become responsible for participation in any war waged anywhere in the world. ^[131]

It would appear that Rev. Niebuhr had written a manifesto which far more than not set the course for U.S. foreign policy which by and large is still in effect over 40 years later. It was a message for soldiers, money, business and industry, and politicians, not clergymen. Rev. Niebuhr, a not-so-closet-Marxist, was another of their most eloquent and articulate voices who saw no serious conflict in the way of planetary cooperation between Stalinist Russia and the new form of corporate state taking shape rapidly in the U.S.A.

But the green light for war participation did not shine down all the avenues of organized religion. Though several Catholic leaders in prominent positions had endorsed Roosevelt's pro-intervention drive, it was a view hardly shared with the parish priesthood, who dealt with people and not with the symbols of power. A poll of 34,616 Catholic priests which was responded to by 13,155 of them revealed that 91.5% were opposed to a shooting war outside the Western Hemisphere for Americans (only 6.7% were for it), and that 90.5% opposed any aid to the "Communist Russian government" (7% favored it). The liberal and pro-war Catholic weekly *Commonweal* was very unhappy about the results, ^[132] while *Commonweal's* opposite number, the anti-war Protestant *Christian Century*, confined itself to observing: "The President's sedulous wooing of Catholic approval does not seem to have produced very gratifying results." ^[133]

Part of the impact of this thundering voice of disapproval was negated a month later. The last week of November 1941 a statement by ten Bishops and Archbishops on the administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference contained a vaguely pro-interventionist pronouncement which contributed in a minor way to refurbishing the Communist aid cause. Utilizing the clever ploy fashioned by Woodrow Wilson in 1918 in setting up a distinction between the peoples and political systems of Germany and Russia, in this new case, it seemed to be sufficient grounds, in the view of the prelates, to enable Catholics "to back U.S. aid to Russia" and not feel seriously in error while so doing. Time called it "a prime example of ecclesiastical double talk,"

but since it supported a policy heatedly promoted by the editors, the magazine was far from displeased by it all. [\[134\]](#)

Part 16: British propaganda diversions, and related American Anglophile support for the growing enhancement of Stalin

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Almost everything seemed to be favoring pro-Stalinist moves and gestures in the last five or six weeks of formal American neutrality in the late fall of 1941. The only obstacle, and a very large one, continued to be the persistence of large popular majorities against American involvement in a shooting war outside the continental U.S., and the stubborn front against involvement in the war on any terms waged by the America First Committee. Here, however, the major opposition was being furnished not bar Soviet partisans of American nationality but the large British secret intelligence apparatus, about which few Americans knew, and even fewer talked. Newsweek in July had published a quiet tid-bit, remarking that there were “more British in Washington than captured and burned it in 1814,” but the real center of British espionage was New York, lodged in the Rockefeller Center, from which they created false pro-war organizations, sabotaged American antiwar political leaders, and even murdered enemy espionage agents also in the U.S. Over 40 years after the war broke out, Americans were aware of just a part of the story of British espionage work in the U.S.A., 1939-1945. Its principal cover prior to Pearl Harbor and American belligerence was a totally cooperating Roosevelt administration and its own massive amateur spy organization, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), which through its head William J. Donovan, worked smoothly in harmony with the British Security Coordination (BSC) headed by the Canadian millionaire, William Stephenson. (It was Stephenson who quoted Roosevelt with some relish over 30 years after the end of the war as saying in mid-1940, “I’m your biggest undercover agent.”) [\[135\]](#) But in 1940-1941 no U.S. printed source even breathed the slightest hint that the troubles of such prominent America First speakers as Senator Burton K. Wheeler (D.-Mont.) and the globally-famous aviator Charles A. Lindbergh [\[136\]](#) were partially the work of undercover sabotage by British intelligence in the U.S.A. *Time* gloated when Sen. Wheeler was denied the right to speak in Atlanta in July 1941 [\[137\]](#) when he was to argue for a neutral course for the U.S.A., which made embarrassing accompanying copy to the hypocritical groans over the suspension of free speech in Germany, Soviet Russia and Vichy France. *Time* did print Sec. of War Stimson’s apology to Wheeler in August after Stimson had referred to Wheeler’s public views as “near-treason,” [\[138\]](#) but it was back the following month with a subliminal vote of approval when Lindbergh was similarly denied the right to speak on the same subject as Wheeler in Oklahoma City. [\[139\]](#) Its subsequent reaction to the Lindbergh speech in Des Moines in early October 1941, when Lindbergh was reported as “charging that the British, the Administration, and Jews [the *Time* story contained no article “the” before “Jews”] were pushing the U.S. toward war,” [\[140\]](#) had much to do with singling out Lindbergh for contumely on a scale rarely experienced by any other American, and which was still accruing to his memory nearly 60 years after his famous solo airplane crossing of the Atlantic in 1927. [\[141\]](#)

In the meantime the millionaire and Communist press pursued their joint though uncoordinated adulation and idealization of Stalin and Red Russia. One especially influential campaign was carried out by Ralph Ingersoll, editor and publisher of Chicago tycoon Marshall Field’s New York City tabloid, *PM*, an urgent voice of belligerence. He authored a sensational series in November 1941 for three weeks, on his return from the Soviet after a visit of less than a month. His articles were widely syndicated in other U.S. cities and in Canada, and reached hundreds of thousands of readers. *Time* imperturbably described it all as “the first uncensored first hand report on fighting

Russia by a capable U.S. journalist," ^[142] thereby adding another to their string of breath-taking whoppers, in view of already published testimony by Harriman that Soviet censorship exceeded in tightness that of any nation on earth by a very wide margin.

To some, Ingersoll's writing sounded like *Daily Worker* fare though somewhat toned down. In actuality, Ingersoll described no battle scenes, which no other Anglo-American reporter in Russia ever did either, and was obviously much curtailed in his movements, despite his Stalinophile fixations. The Communist press received his work warily, gratified by his contribution to their cause, but not quite yet sure that what they were seeing was not a hoax or trap being sprung on them by the "capitalist gutter-reptile press." A.B. Magil's cautious reaction in the *New Masses* was typical, not thoroughly sold by Ingersoll, but willing to concede that the latter had "brought back more of the truth about the Soviet Union than any American capitalist journalist in years" Magil was especially pleased with his portrait of Stalin, and that he had made his interview with the Red premier "exciting and dramatic, radiant with the greatness of the man." No Communist in America wrote anything later more influential among Americans about Stalin than did Ingersoll in this last month before U.S. entry into World War II. But in that same period two other affluent Americans, Harriman and Davies, tried, only to be outdone by the British mogul, Lord Beaverbrook.

Harriman's glorious tribute to Stalin during his October 12 radio address broadcast from London was matched by that of Beaverbrook that same night, but was well surpassed by Beaverbrook's speech at Manchester the following month, in which he testified, "I put my faith in Stalin's leadership," though *Time* thought his audience a few paces in advance of him in ardent emotion toward the Soviet. "When the Beaver mentioned Russia," its story noted, "the applause was violent." Harriman was quoted by *Newsweek* as saying of Stalin, "He is a human fellow to deal with. He has a keen sense of humor, which he allowed full play even in conference." ^[143]

Davies specialized in tributes to Stalin's acumen retroactively, mainly substantiating Party explanations for the purge trials of 1936-1938, when most of the Old Bolsheviks and half of the Red Army's officer corps were killed or hustled to concentration camps. His testimony supporting the official Stalinist line was quoted and requoted by American Reds and their sympathizers, and appeared at times in the Communist press in columns parallel to the identical line being launched by Earl Browder, the CPUSA chief in the fall of 1941. ^[144] Liberal enemies of the American CP, who had been foremost in vociferous denunciation of the trials when they took place, now were much discomfited by what the new political expedience called for, and were further anguished that now that they were on Mr. Roosevelt's war wagon, they had to keep quiet during this latest tribute to Stalin's probity. That the ex-Ambassador to Moscow should appear in Stalin's corner in such good voice simply made the entire affair that much more unbearable. But the season of profound Stalinophilia had just begun.

Part 17: Fellow travelers — domestic and foreign — add their bit

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Serenely contemplating all this from the pages of the *New Masses* was Corliss Lamont, scion of the famed Wall Street banking family, but hardly its courier in his role as America's most famed Communist fellow traveler. In his long-quoted article of November 11, "What Americans Are Learning," Lamont proclaimed, "I believe that there has been a favorable turn in public opinion concerning Russia much more far-reaching and fundamental than the unfavorable one that took place subsequent to the Nazi-Soviet pact." Everyone had been misled about Russia between 1935 and 1941, said Lamont, and now were being set right again: "The American people were sold a

false bill of goods on Russia by writers, tourists, diplomats, newspapers, and all sorts of commentators whose anti-Soviet prejudice was so bitter that they could not and would not recognize a fact when they saw one.” He still was not sure that things might not deteriorate again, and though predicting that “in the future there will again take place an organized attempt to mislead public opinion in this country concerning the Soviet Union,” he was convinced it would not succeed “if we as a people are able to learn sufficiently from the lessons of the recent past.” [145] Ultimately it became a matter of what “lessons” were to be taught and learned, and how “recent” the era was to be from which these “lessons” were to be derived. In just a little over four years Lamont’s worst fears had materialized with a vengeance. But at this moment he rode on a magic carpet of purest good will toward Stalinism.

The best was yet to come: the hushed eulogies of Stalin on the occasion of his Moscow speech on the 24th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolutionary assumption of power. Time’s account was set in tones which might have been used to describe a movie actress, if not in the style made familiar in the Worker. This major four-page piece was accompanied by a two-page color map of the Soviet, and included a panegyric by none other than Churchill himself, quoted from a speech at Sheffield, wherein the Red chief was hailed by the British prime minister as “that great warrior, Stalin.” The account included the introductory paragraphs of Stalin’s speech. [146]

The New Masses did not like Time’s treatment of Stalin, though their “news” story might easily have graced the Masses’ editorial pages. However, the latter had run their own tribute to the great man and great event a week earlier, [147] featuring stirring accolades from ex-Ambassador Davies, the refugee French Marxist former minister of aircraft production in France, Pierre Cot, [148] the one-time Moscow propaganda magazine editor, Lion Feuchtwanger (about whom more later), and the American luminary H.W.L. Dana, along with selected Communist Party functionaries. Davies was quoted as saying, “I find the greatest satisfaction in the courage and idealism of the Soviet government and the Russian people in resisting Hitler” (the millions of Russians who had gone over to Hitler were not news in these days), while Cot relieved himself of the opinion that “Soviet Russia is actually the best fighter for the defense of civilization,” by which he must have meant a more primitive one than prevailed among their German enemy.

Feuchtwanger elected to broaden the historical frontiers by claiming, “The fight of the Soviet Union against Hitlerism is the natural continuation of all the wars for freedom that the United States of America ever fought,” though the most flattering encomium was delivered by Dana, the grandson of the American literary giant, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. A veteran of 14 visits to the Soviet in as many years, Dana terminated his fulsome declamation by quoting from the famous words of his grandfather which had been recently quoted as well by Roosevelt and Churchill, and in the line which read “Sail on, O Union strong and great!” Dana capitalized the word “Union” in such a way that no one might be confused as to which one he was referring.

Part 18: Voice of no confidence from the *Saturday Evening Post*

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In all the sweet twittering from above, there was only one harsh bellow from below, as H.L. Mencken might have written it. This was the remarkable full page editorial in the Saturday Evening Post, “Playing the Red,” on November 8, 1941. It was one of the few tough ruminations on the likely outcome of the war as it was now shaping up. The editors called the partnership between the U.S. and Britain on one side and Stalin on the other “morally and politically false,” involving both of the former in “shocking political insincerities.” And, anticipating the Cold War of 1946 et seq., they asked rhetorically, should the war end with the Soviet Union “the paramount

land power in Europe,” “Having saved the world from Nazism, should we not go on and save it from Bolshevism?” The Cold Warriors of four years later and after always acted as though such inconvenient thinking had never been expressed this early. For the pro-war seers among the most ardent interventionist camp followers, the editors had still another irritating query:

We ask the revelationists — such as Secretary [of the Navy Frank] Knox, with his vision of a tenth of a millennium for an Anglo-American world, and Mr. [Supreme Court] Justice [Robert H.] Jackson, with his international order of the Golden Rule that shall come to pass when America has outstripped, as he says she must, “All the rest of the world in naval, air and perhaps military forces” — we ask them, what will they do with 180,000,000 Russians who may no more want our world order than we want theirs or Hitler’s?

Part 19: Some practical consequences of Soviet aid get aired

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But the war party had to have their war first before they took up the problems anticipated by the editors of the Post. The post-war era offered endless opportunities to maintain such foresight never took place, and to launch limitless schemes to obfuscate the situation with lies and evasions. The growing material complications and the impact of the war on the American socio-economic complex probably had generated enough momentum by now to render the situation out of control and incapable of being handled within the confines of cool extrapolation of its likely consequences.

For instance, it was remarkable how quickly the drive to furnish material assistance to the Soviet switched, from the comfortable assurance to the American general public that such would be paid for in cash, to putting Stalin on the Lend-Lease gravy train of unrequited blank checks, ultimately to be made good by public taxes, or simply added to the national debt. Even for the businessmen a line was developed to soften their presumably hard hearts, as it was obvious that a goodly part of U.S. aid to Russia was intended to make possible a formidable Communist capital buildup behind the Ural Mountains, Soviet territory west of this region being conceded to the invading Germans. *U.S. News* on November 14, 1941 ran a pointed piece on this subject. It described a deliberate “strategic retreat” of the Reds to this new concentration point, and the construction of vast industry there, assisted by “the interest-free lend-lease loan of \$1,000,000,000 announced by the State Department.” There was no more talk of Soviet payment from their funds on American deposit, or their allegedly vast caches of gold. The contribution to the war of this strategy was supposedly the part it all played in dangerously extending German supply lines, across an immense area systematically laid waste. By “leaving ruin in their wake,” the Reds were rendering the region a total economic liability to its occupiers. ^[149] Once again this superb bit of Communist propaganda was making its double point, taking credit for wrecking their own land via a scorched-earth policy now, though retaining the option to blame the Germans for it later, and assessing immense reparations payments. This persuasive bit of brainwash for still-troubled American business and finance was decorated by a glamor picture of grinning “Soviet Artillery Cadets,” little more than an assemblage of teen age boys. How this material was to reach Stalin was another matter.

Though much of the frenzied talk by interventionists about the need to repeal the Neutrality Acts in behalf of beleaguered Britain dominated the surface, there was a quiet strain in this same verbal onslaught concerned with the Soviet. Having no merchant fleet of any consequence and being far more distant than the United Kingdom, a logistical problem prevailed here of even greater

magnitude than that which faced the suppliers of “bundles for Britain.” The barriers against American merchant ships supplying belligerents had to go down if the aid promised to Stalin were to materialize in the USSR. *U.S. News* played a revealing part in this matter as well. In its pro-and-con column on views on the subject, ^[150] it printed two vociferous pro-repeal votes from Gifford Pinchot, a venerable government bureaucrat whose tenure on the public payroll went back to the turn of the century, and the millionaire Cleveland industrialist Cyrus S. Eaton. In hailing the drive to repeal the Neutrality Act still in the way, Eaton singled out for special commendation three Vermont Republicans for their contribution thereto: Senator Warren Austin for introducing the resolution to repeal, Rep. Plumley for supporting the move to arm U.S. merchant ships, and Governor Willis for calling for a Republican Party caucus “to end obstruction of national defense.” Eaton’s concluding accolade to these three commended their actions as “encouraging signs that the traditional Republican foreign policy” “will again prevail in party councils.” Eaton apparently was of the view that “traditional Republican foreign policy” and the existing recently-amended Roosevelt New Deal foreign policy were one and the same.

And, in an editorial invocation which blessed all these developments, David Lawrence announced his conviction that Hitler had already lost the war; his conquests had simply generated hate, Russia was now in arms against him and “the United States is on the way.” Hitler, Lawrence was sure, must have become aware by this moment (November 14, 1941) that “the President of the United States, the head of a democratic state, has boldly loaned a billion dollars in supplies to Josef Stalin, the dictator of a totalitarian state.” “Ideologies have been swept aside,” and it now was not the time “to argue the merits or demerits of allies in war”; “God moves in strange ways his wonders to perform.” ^[151] Mr. Lawrence had discerned divine guidance in the extending of lend-lease to Communist Russia. There would be decades for him after 1945 to wail and grumble about the awful threat of Stalinist Communism and its descendants to the very future of the galaxy, during which time he never again discerned the intervention of the Deity in behalf of his politics.

Part 20: The origins of 'second front' talk in the West, and the impact of Soviet aid production on American labor and business/ businessmen

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By this time, however, those perspiring for Stalin’s safety were not entirely satisfied with the prospect of celestial intervention in his behalf, and were suggesting that such aid might be more promptly forthcoming if preceded by human action toward the same objective. A clamor had already risen, mainly in Britain, for a “second front” to be established somewhere in assistance to the floundering Red Army, which, though hailed by sustained and glittering eloquence in the English-speaking world, was still on the run. There apparently was a solid contingent in England still, who, despite the record of failing to supply Poland with any help at all prior to or during invasion by the Germans in September 1939, thought substantial military support could be furnished to Stalin. Those who disparaged this position in England in the late fall of 1941 were smeared as “Munich men,” frightened by “fear of a Russian victory,” by far the most contemptible attitude anyone might have in the view of the new legions of Communism’s adulators, high and low alike, in the Motherland of Parliaments. One of them was not the new Supply Minister in the Churchill regime, Beaverbrook, who had impressed even *Time* with his “spectacular verbal leap into bed with Russia,” and who was reported to be the principal voice clamoring for a British expeditionary force to be sent somehow to Stalin’s assistance, “in the Ukraine or the Donetz Basin.” ^[152] Neither Beaverbrook nor *Time* nor anyone else suggested how this force was

to be translated to such distant places, but nothing was said about consulting with David Lawrence on the matter. Some heavenly assistance might have been contracted for, perhaps.

Nevertheless, the atmosphere of geniality toward Stalin and the Reds continued to prevail, and the slow, piecemeal gains were more substantial than the impulsive and unrealizable projects which were hatched in more fevered minds. Diplomatically the story was one of uninterrupted success. In Washington, the 24th anniversary of the assumption of the Leninists to power in Russia was celebrated at a reception at the Soviet embassy that was hailed as one of the largest diplomatic functions ever held in the city, [153] to be followed shortly by the return of Stalin's "greatest diplomat," Maxim Litvinov, once more as the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the U.S.A. His projected return to "the scene of his greatest diplomatic triumph," the negotiation of U.S. recognition of the Soviet in 1933, was looked upon with much satisfaction, while *Time*, for reasons ungiven, chose to call attention to "his name at birth," allegedly Max Wallach. [154]

Still other moves were considerably cloaked, especially the State Department's pro-Soviet pressure on Finland, still at war with Stalin in the late fall of 1941. Once hailed as "gallant little Finland," this unfortunate land was now the recipient of special malice for persisting in its hostility to the Russians. With Secretary of State Hull publicly testifying to his faith in the Soviet's commitment to "its full part in standing side by side with all liberty-loving people against the common menace," [155] it seemed to be only good faith to work with them in crushing an active military enemy. The argument seemed to be that with the joint commitment to defeat Hitler, there should not be a limitation upon indirect Soviet ties, including mutual action against Finland, since its continued belligerence only worked in behalf of German welfare. [156]

On the domestic material side a mixture of tendencies, developments, both slow and rapid, and an accretion of significant facts, reflected related circumstances. But the overall "defense" program masked specific aspects. One of the best sources in which to examine the week-by-week development in the U.S. of an American-style system rivaling those of the enemy and designed to combat them was Lawrence's U.S. News. The disciplining and planning of industry and the increased state regulation of the economic system geared almost exclusively to the success of the national state in warfare are patently observable, and these did not take long to become institutionalized.

On July 4, 1941, Lawrence complained editorially, "The United States is on the threshold of national socialism," adding that "In-roads of national socialism are unchecked by either Republicans or Democrats who have hitherto defended our system of private initiative." [157] Three weeks later he had already seen the light and changed his tune. "Every issue is a Defense issue," he now announced, adding, "Every Defense item is actually a peacetime item, temporarily put to Defense use." [158] Peripherally he noted that nationwide, politicians were grumbling that their home areas were not getting enough "defense patronage." Lawrence soon had joined those who used "defense" to dissolve the difference between war and peace and within weeks of his remonstrance against these developments, had emerged as a suave advisor to such sectors of the business world which had not yet caught on to the consequences of what was taking place. Coaching businessmen to be alert and cash in on the vast conversion of industry to war production, he uttered as an aside, "Government isn't a respecter of individual interests, isn't too much concerned about individual hardships so long as its own purpose is served." [159] This stood in strange contrast to his whooping enthusiasm for the political lace trimming and fancy filigree decorating the famed bogus "Atlantic Charter," one of the very few at the time of its alleged promulgation to take it seriously. But Lawrence was not misleading the business community when he described what was going on in the late months of 1941. Arthur E. Burns, economic advisor to the Works Progress Administration, estimated on October 31, 1941, that 700,000 people working in the

non-defense sector had lost their jobs in the months of August and September alone. [160] On the other hand, 75% of the total membership in the CIO electrical workers union in mid-September were engaged in defense work. One was able to understand without wonder why its leader, youthful James B. Carey, was, as Time described him, “an earnest supporter of the Roosevelt foreign policy and closely identified with the defense program.” [161] U.S. defense spending in October, 1941 was already \$50,000,000 a day, and \$5,000,000,000 in various products and arms had already been sent to Britain, though there was no published breakdown of what part of this may have been transferred to the Soviet Union. [162] And all was catapulting at a pace relished by employers, marred only by a suggestion that same month by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., that profits should be limited to 6 per cent, a profit ceiling which was supposed to prevail in Hitler Germany as well, though the latter had nothing to do with the proposal by the former. [163]

It was obvious that profit margins had not the slightest relationship to such figures, though the public at large rarely saw anything substantial in the fact department relating to the subject. One such occasion was the issuance of a preliminary report by the House of Representatives Naval Affairs Committee early in December, a few days before the Pearl Harbor attack, that some U.S. ship-building companies were making 150% profits on naval building defense contracts. A followup report by the Office of Price Administration of one unnamed defense industry indicated that 86 of the 88 companies in this venture were making 6% or better, that 44 of the 88 were averaging 42.6% profits and up, and one of the 88 was achieving a 112% profit margin. [164] Senator David I. Walsh, affronted by such disclosures, was quoted as predicting “an awful day of reckoning” “when the U.S. public got the figures” on the total situation, though in retrospect this might have been interpreted as an attempt at humor. There never was a “day of reckoning,” and the American public never “got the figures.”

The evolution of “aid” to Stalin had expanded the vision of some of the leaders of American defense industry, getting their first glimpses of the staggering possibilities which lay in expansion throughout the globe. Russia at the time of its revolution, 1917-1922, was a dream which had quickened even the World War I generation of businessmen, industrialists and financiers. [165] And there had always been the fantasies built around China’s “400 million customers,” as the title of Carl Crow’s book (1937) put it. The coming of a new war simply made it possible to erect even higher cloud castles upon the older ones. The spectacle which William Batt put together upon his return from the Soviet late in 1941 is in that class, Batt, president of the famous ball-bearing manufacturing concern, SKF, and recently appointed a director of the super-bureaucracy created by Roosevelt to direct war production, the Office of Production Management (OPM), came back to America “as an outspoken advocate of the policy of bigger and better help for Russia,” a vibrant profile in U.S. News proclaimed on November 21. Batt went on to describe the complete reversal on his previous views about Soviet industry, and Russian ability to use machine tools. He confessed to be vastly impressed by the technical competence of Russian mechanics, “ingenious, intelligent, and technically trained,” a view which was contradicted by General John R. Deane, Roosevelt’s trouble-shooting liaison man in the Soviet later, during the war years, who in his book *Strange Alliance* described an entire tire factory shipped from the U.S.A. to the USSR which the Russians failed to put together though working on it the whole war. Batt passed encomiums to the Reds all down the line: the officers were “able, confident and brave,” and Stalin “intelligent and amazingly well informed” (fifteen years later Khrushchev and his colleagues berated Stalin as being personally responsible for the disasters of 1941-1942 through his abysmal personal ignorance). Batt concluded his amazing piece of special pleading by declaring that industrial management and organization seemed to be good, and that their inspection standards “compared favorably with our own.” All this was placed before the readership as the judgment of a nationally known industrialist, now a defense official. [166] Perhaps it was all a prelimi-

nary device to make palatable the issuance of Special Allocation Order No. 1 by the OPM a few days later, which instructed 35 U.S. machine tool plants to place Stalinist orders ahead of even American and British requests, on the order of \$10-\$15 million for the next calendar year. ^[167] The U.S. was still not a belligerent.

The aid program for Stalin had moved ahead on both administrative and practical levels. On the latter, *Time* pictured a formidable collection of U.S. manufactures intended for the USSR, unloaded at a Persian Gulf port, the photographer having made sure that the labels of the Ford and Youngstown Sheet and Tube companies were prominently displayed American free enterprise was now demonstrably at work making sure of the survival of Stalinist Communism.

On the former, a complication ensued which once more broke open the old religious sore. At the conclusion of the paper work which detailed the arrangements concerning the U.S. aid program, a Kremlin dinner was thrown to celebrate. An unnamed U.S. official involved in the labors was a guest at the feast and was quoted as describing Stalin as “a nice old gentleman.” But the explosion was created by Wallace Carroll, United Press correspondent in Moscow, who reported that Stalin proposed a toast to Roosevelt, which ended in the expression of the generalized entreaty, “May God help him in his task.” Stalin’s remarks were reported by *Time* to have been translated by the diplomat Oumansky, and certified to be correct. ^[169] Repercussions of this were muffled by the sensational Japanese attack on the U.S. naval base in Hawaii a few days later, preventing a repetition of the immense squabble precipitated by Roosevelt a few weeks earlier concerning the allegation of religious freedom in the USSR. But there were a few reverberations of this incident for some time thereafter, and incredulity was the principal reaction to this last effort at imputing godliness to Stalin prior to the formal belligerence of the U.S.

The Pearl Harbor disaster also diverted all but a few from another contemporary political event, the news that Willkie, famed corporation lawyer and 1940 presidential election Republican opponent of Roosevelt, had agreed to defend William Schneiderman, Russian-born secretary of the Communist Party in California, against a federal charge of having uttered a fraudulent oath of allegiance to the United States. Mentioned in *Time* in the issue which was dated the day after the Hawaii attack, ^[170] it caused a flush of pleasure in the *New Masses* of a day later, its lead editorial remarking, “The fact that a man of his [Willkie’s] prestige and conservative outlook undertakes the defense of a leading Communist undoubtedly reflects the changed political climate in the country during the past few months.” ^[171]

Part 21: Pearl Harbor forces a temporary diversion in the overall drive to assist the Soviet Union

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But for a few days at least all political matters relating to Communism at home and abroad were dissolved in the national bellow of indignation over the Pearl Harbor affair, and a brigade of the choicest partisans of the Roosevelt regime began a two-fifths of a century offensive aimed at distracting national attention completely away from any suspicions of possible administration pre-knowledge of the coming attack, and fastening the blame for it all upon the military and naval commanders at Honolulu. This infamous enfilade blackened the character of these men but did not succeed in heading off a formidable amount of investigation and literature which did anything but entrench the desired result of this Roosevelt establishment.

Pearl Harbor made the fatalist argument come true. The varied forces ranging from pro-Communists of the 1934-1939 “popular front” to the fervid Anglophiles of 1939-1941 who had tirelessly

argued that the entry of the U.S. into war with either Germany or Japan or both was “inevitable” were finally “vindicated,” in their own mind, but in a way very much different from that expected. Their own propagandistic efforts to bring about this result as a matter of “conviction” and voluntary choice were a total failure. It was not “isolationism” which got America into the war. It was the inch-by-inch creeping intrusionism and “aid short of war” which created all the policy imperatives that slowly moved the country to a point where their threat to an adversary and the sustained pressure on that adversary finally produced the attack so dearly desired and needed by the administration’s political warriors. A good case can be made for the view that war with Japan was not entirely unwelcome in the U.S.A. at any time. Decades of political and propaganda hostility toward Japan on many levels in the U.S.A. preceded Pearl Harbor. Even men antagonistic to involvement in the European war after it broke out in 1939 did not feel the same way about mixing it up in the Pacific. Even the usually anti-war Senator George Curtis (R.-Neb.) was quoted by *Newsweek* as late as the end of October 1941 as saying “I’m not so sure that war with Japan would be a bad thing... I believe we could lick them... Our bombers could set the whole island (*sic*) ablaze in one night...” [172]

And contrary to the mountain of mendacious special pleading that flowed across the land afterward alleging unbelievable unpreparedness, the general belief prior to Pearl Harbor was that the country’s defenses, and offensive strength, too, for that matter, were at a high pitch of development, ready for anything, even the obliteration of Japan itself, as Senator Norris believed. The public had been encouraged to feel that immense armaments and the best of war materiel were at hand, easily put to use in the destruction of any enemy. The fairy tale of innocent, unready America on the eve of the attack is not substantiated by what many millions of Americans read in nationally circulated periodicals for weeks prior to December 7, 1941.

Time had primed its millions of readers (readership surveys in the 1940s indicated that a publication’s total reading audience might exceed its actual paid circulation by from 5 to 15 times that number) with repeated accounts of the bristling armor and fire power prevailing here. On November 10, 1941, it had referred admiringly to Roosevelt as the man who “was waging the first great undeclared war in U.S. history,” [173] and later in the month, on the occasion of his press conference following the sinking of the U.S. destroyer *Reuben James* by a German submarine while on convoy duty for the British in the North Atlantic, the editors concluded from the substance of FDR’s talk that “the U.S. was far into the unknown waters of war.”

In its issue of December 8, unfortunately on the stands after the attack had taken place, *Time’s* editors confidently assured Americans, expecting war any minute, that “Everything was ready from Rangoon to Honolulu, every man was at battle stations.” [174] They went on in a gloating mood, describing the vast American and British war machine which was ready to spring on the Japanese should they snap under Roosevelt’s “war of nerves” and “undeclared war” and react militarily. Nothing was more opposite to the whine and snivel of innocence and outrage which promptly rose to the heavens from these same war anticipators a few days later.

A respectable compendium of such material could have been collected, including accounts which actually picked out Pearl Harbor as the site of the coming attack weeks before it happened. Hallett Abend, a widely read newspaper reporter on matters Japanese in the pre-war decade, in his November 18 article in *Look*, “How the U.S. Navy Will Fight Japan,” which was exposed to a possible reading audience of about 12 million, launched even more inspiring misconceptions than did *Time*. Abend, who shared with Hugh Byas of the *New York Times* a record for being consistently wrong about Japan and filing repeatedly misleading material about affairs there, was ludicrously off the mark in this confident puff as well, seeding his piece with the promise of a

Stalinist attack on Japan from Siberia as soon as the shooting began. The meat of his vaticination concerning the coming Pacific war was wrapped up in the following:

When the clash comes, the Japanese fleet will have to stay in home waters, to guard the islands of the Empire against naval raids. Our own fleet will cruise somewhere west of Hawaii, with scout planes far over the seas day and night to prevent surprise raids on the Pearl Harbor naval base or on our own West Coast cities. ^[175]

This is the kind of gargantuan misinformation to which Americans were exposed as late as three weeks before the attack. But it indicates that at least on the popular level Pearl Harbor was openly expected to be the point at which the war might or would begin. The fundamental line of the Roosevelt defense corps in the next quarter of a century was that the Washington establishment was totally unaware of such a possibility, and vaguely imagined the Japanese strike would be at Borneo or similarly irrelevant distant locations.

The ear-splitting barks of hostility toward the Japanese which rang out from all corners of American opinion, and especially from the long-believed contingent of radio and newspaper “old Japan hands,” were remarkable in their barren thinness. Their desperate suggestions produced no Japanese casualties (the first in the U.S.A. were the cherry trees lining the tidal basin of Washington, D.C., cut down by pseudo-patriotic vandals), but their call for an obliterating victory never contemplated the consequences of the accompanying triumph of Asian Communism, an almost sure guarantee. Most of these “advisors” looked forward to nothing in Japan but an abyss of smoking ruins and corpses, and few of these seers were able to discern that a major revolution was under way in Asia, regardless of who won the war, which would stand any American or “Allied” victory in the area on its head in an extremely short time. ^[176] But the beams from a dimmer searchlight were never played on American public opinion than those emanating from these cloudy beacons.

Part 22: Reactions and second-guessing following Stalin's avoidance of involvement in the war Against Japan

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Roosevelt took America to war with Stalin's enemies within four days of Pearl Harbor. This was not reciprocated by Stalin, who pointedly stayed at peace with Japan and became involved in the Pacific war for just a few hours at its conclusion in August 1945 when there were many political plums to gather resulting from the gross oversight of his Anglo-American war partners. The staggering importance of this Red policy got little or no play in U.S. communications, and such as emerged were very largely apologies for Stalin's decision. The New Masses within days of the U.S. declarations of war on Italy and Germany in December 1941 began a continuous drumroll for the establishment of a “second front” in Europe by Americans in assistance of Stalin. But this journal did not exhort Stalin to go to war with Japan and open a “second front” against that land from its Pacific Siberian bases. The persistence of peace with Japan on the part of Stalin also made impossible any other party to the war establishing a “second front” from Siberia, and effectively denied the region to the bombing planes of its “allies” as well.

It amazed a few observers how little comment was aroused in the U.S.A. when the USSR failed to go to war with Japan. The usual apology was that the Russians had their hands full with Hitler, and were fearful that the result of formal hostilities would be a big drive into Siberia by the Japanese. That the Reds in Siberia along the Korean, Manchurian and Chinese borders had fought many hundreds of battles with the Japanese in the previous decade was carefully neglected. All

that was fed Americans was the notion of some antiseptic form of scrupulous state of peace existing in this region.

U.S. News uttered a few quiet words on the subject a week and a half after Pearl, expressing the belief that Russian support was “vital, if the Allies are to attack Japan.” The journal noted that Vladivostok was the nearest and likely most effective base from which an air attack might be raised, but conceding that without access, the chances of “avenging” Pearl Harbor were “slim.” [177] A later discussion asserted that “A pact is needed binding all Allies to fight on all fronts until victory,” [178] but no Rooseveltian or Churchillian political magic ever moved Stalin a centimeter in this direction at any time.

It was generally conceded in American commentaries that Stalin had the freedom to stay out of the Pacific war, and no one ever mentioned the employment of any form of compulsion or pressure upon him to do differently, though Roosevelt held by far the most potent hand in this game, the threat of the withholding of lend-lease supplies until Stalin had become a full belligerent in the Pacific. It was never done, or even slightly hinted at as a possible move. The mouthpieces of comfortable affluence well exceeded the threadbare Communist organs in their solicitude for Stalin on this issue.

Time was perhaps the warmest and most sympathetic to the explanations as to why the USSR remained at peace with Japan after December 7, 1941. These were forthcoming from the new Stalinist ambassador to Washington, Litvinov, who boldly uttered harsh words at the combined enemy, describing them as a “vast conspiracy of international gangsters,” but chose to see his master, Stalin, gingerly skirting the Far East contingent of these “gangsters,” as engaging in eminently sound conduct in the maximization of the safety of his skin. As the author of the famous political cliché of the Popular Front, “Peace is indivisible,” he certainly thought World War II was divisible. The Russians rarely admitted there was an Asiatic front in World War II. And Time supported the decision in substance by remaining uncritical of the hands-off-Japan decision of Stalin in separate commentaries on December 22, 1941, [179] and January 19, 1942. Nor was there the slightest diminution of the pro-Stalinist wave of support which swept across the Anglo-American peoples during the next three and a half years of war as a result of Red refusal to become involved in a truly world war with its anxious “Allies.” In the meantime most of the belligerence aimed at the Japanese came from American song writers. In the first three days after Pearl Harbor, some 260 song titles were registered, involving a mixture of patriotic and racial-slur stereotypes the latter mostly anti-Japanese. These and many more, before and after December 7, 1941, provoked the famed band leader, Paul Whiteman, to castigate the entire product musically to mid-January, 1942 as “dribble.” Remarked the portly Whiteman, it was “enough to make a band leader lose weight.” [180]

Part 23: The dimensions of the propaganda war as waged by the authors and publishers

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In examining the respective tasks facing American public opinion shapers and war propagandists, it becomes apparent that the selling of fear and hate of the enemy via negative messages [181] was vastly more simple than the chore involved in creating favorable and positive visions of an ally, especially in case that “ally” enjoyed the largely critical stance which had been the experience of the Soviet in the U.S. in its more than two dozen years of existence down to mutual belligerence in late 1941. Concerning the Japanese, the job could be done largely on the visceral level, and insulting and taunting songs were a very visible example of what might be employed. There was no corresponding mode for the salesmanship of devices productive of warm and appealing dispo-

sitions toward the USSR. There the processes demanded mainly rational discourse, at least for an introductory intermission, after which emotional messages might become employable after a time of commonly shared wartime hardships. It is for this reason that the earliest efforts and gestures had a warily exploratory flavor, for the most part, and acquired a confident and positive content some time later.

The book world trailed well behind that of magazine and newspaper journalism in the sales campaign in the West in behalf of Stalinism, a matter of timing and the nature of their different operational methods. The decade or more of heavy pro-Soviet salesmanship among authors which came to an end roughly about the time of the Russo-German pact in 1939 was followed by a confused interim of much contradictory effort and a strong tendency to shy away from more Stalinist accolades except among the devoted Party regulars and their most devoted and ardent fellow travelers, still a healthy contingent. The opening of the Russo-German phase on the war in mid-1941 caught the industry unprepared to take full advantage of the situation. Only a handful of outright pro-Stalinist tracts were able to hit the market before Pearl Harbor, and they had to share the spotlight with tomes which were anything but friendly. The six months after Pearl was a time for reversing the gears and eventually launching a flood of pro-Communist volumes, which reached successively higher land-marks in each of the three years of war still remaining.

The two most blatant pro-Soviet tracts which managed to get produced and marketed early by major publishers were those by veteran Bolshevik adulators, Maurice Gershon Hindus' *Hitler Cannot Conquer Russia* (Doubleday) and Anna Louise Strong's (Mrs. Joel Shubin) *The Soviets Expected It* (Dial). These hurry-up jobs caught reviewers by surprise, and they were obviously not ready for them yet, even such committed ink and paper warriors as Clifton Fadiman of the *New Yorker*. He allotted both works very cool and skeptical reception, identifying Strong as a "well-known apologist" for the Soviet, but not Hindus, who was just as prominent in this category. ^[182] Foreign Affairs was rather quizzical about Hindus, while mildly calling attention to Strong's work as mainly a justification for Soviet foreign policy, contrary to the momentary consensus which thought Stalin's line had turned out to be an incalculable disaster. A weak and uninformative review of her book by Elizabeth Barnes in the *New York Herald Tribune* was delayed until early in January 1942, but it was fiercely dissected in the same paper six weeks earlier by Isabel M. Paterson, and a few days later by William Henry Chamberlain in the *Saturday Review of Literature*. Chamberlain, like Lyons a disaffected former admirer of the Bolshevik "experiment," called attention to Strong's party line interpretation of everything, remarking that hers was the least critical study of Russia and apology-for-Stalin since that published some years earlier by the "Red Dean of Canterbury," Hewlett Johnson, which indeed was in a special class by itself.

Chamberlain, who had just become the editor of a new magazine, the *Russian Review*, did not deal as harshly with Hindus' book in the *New York Times* as had Lyons in the *American Mercury*, but was reserved as to the outcome of the war in Eastern Europe. Like everyone else who wanted Hitler defeated without Stalin taking advantage of the consequences, Chamberlain was caught in the same bind. Doubting Hindus' cheerful confidence that there was no fear that Stalin would as Chamberlain put it, "exploit a victory to spread his brand of dictatorship over a great part of Europe beyond Russia's proper ethnological frontiers," he held up further judgment on Hindus' pro-Red tract. At the moment it did not appear that Stalin was in any position to defeat Hitler without immense help from the capitalist nations, so it did seem to be excessive to worry about this matter.

Another reviewer who did not handle Hindus too kindly was the Council on Foreign Relations regular Philip E. Mosely, in the *Yale Review*, though he fell short as well of Lyons' critical level.

Hindus received the warmest treatment in the New York Herald Tribune, the alleged organ of New York plutocracy. His 300-page book, published less than three months after the outbreak of the Russo- German phase of the war, was hailed by Joseph B. Phillips, who added, of Hindus, "Of all the authors who have written about the Soviet Union, Mr. Hindus has been the most consistent and thorough investigator of the changes which the Bolshevik state has made in the mental and social makeup of the Russians," and was further commended by Lewis Gannett in the same newspaper a week later as the author of a new volume to add to his previously published *Red Bread* "and other good books on Russia."

Other major pro-Soviet books bearing 1941 imprints were too late to be paid much attention until the following year: Walter Duranty's *The Kremlin and the People* (Reynal and Hitchcock), Lucien Zacharoff's "*We Made a Mistake*"-Hitler (Appleton- Century), and the prize winner of the early era, Davies' *Mission to Moscow* (Simon and Schuster), a book so unabashedly Stalinist that the even-worse moving picture based on it drew chuckles from Stalin himself when he first viewed it. Billed by Foreign Affairs the following spring as "one of the best informed books to appear in recent years on Soviet Russia," the book was already profiting from the time lag and American belligerency since its publication. Duranty's book was heavily attacked by Louis Fischer, still another defector from the pro-Red clique among the literary men. Though it was not as unsophisticated a piece of special pleading as that of Zacharoff, who tried to turn the Red Army's pell-mell retreat across Russia in the closing months of 1941 into a great victory, as had an earlier lot of writers who similarly succeeded in converting the British disaster at Dunkirk, in the late spring of 1940, into a stirring triumph. [183]

To be sure, there were works praising Stalin and Russian Communism coming out in 1941 that nearly matched the "Red Dean," but they were being published in England, and were unreviewed and unavailable in the U.S.A., such as the British Communist Party's spokesman Pat Sloan's *How the Soviet State is Run* (London: Lawrence), Maurice Dobb's *Soviet Economy and the War* (London: Routledge), and the Austrian Marxist refugee Erich Strauss' *Soviet Russia* (London: Lane), which Woolbert in Foreign Affairs a year after publication called "one of the better informed and more thoughtful books on Russia." [184] But Americans were exposed primarily to British war writing in the form of speeches and journalism emanating from much better known public figures such as Julian Huxley's *Democracy Marches* (Harper), John Boynton Priestley's *Out of the People* (Harper) and the now Churchill- cabinet-minister Ernest Bevin's *The Balance Sheet of the Future* (McBride), all of whom seemed pre-occupied with the postwar consequences of the war, with their talk of future "world union" and "community of nations" in a "security club" as well as the opening the war was providing for advancing their own variety of a British welfare state soviet. [185]

A more stealthy kind of pro-Sovietism was always the negative line of attacking its enemies (the favorite cover of all Communists was the generalized mantle "anti-fascist"), one of 1941's prizes being *Men of Europe* by "Andre Simone," the pseudonym of one of Europe's most tireless and ubiquitous Comintern agents, Otto Katz. Well known in the U.S.A. for his Communist-line book on why France collapsed in 1940, his latest work, issued by the quasi- Communist publishing house, Modern Age Books, was a generalized attack on virtually every European politician not in the pro-Soviet orbit. An occasional reviewer such as Fadiman identified its firm Stalinist line, contradicted a few days later by the Herald Tribune's Joseph Barnes, who struggled manfully to disabuse the potential reader of the idea that "the political line of the book" was Communist. Barnes went along with the general position of not exposing the writer's real name and Comintern affiliation, which actually was not done until the following year in the U.S.A. But in the meantime he stretched the credulity of the people with any sophistication about foreign politics at all by pleading that Simone's bitter attack on all the critics of Stalin and his "appreciative"

chapter on the Red dictator could not be interpreted as “in the Moscow line.” [186] Once more a moneyed influential capitalist organ was supplying a service no openly Communist paper could ever have expected to make possible.

The release in America of books hostile to Communist Russia had slowed almost to a halt before the mid-1941 reversal of the trend of world politics in Eastern Europe. Only Lyons' *Red Decade*, more a report on pro-Soviet sympathizing by non-Communist Americans in the 1930s than an anti-Soviet work, drew much attention in the closing months, with major and mainly non-critical reviews by Bruce Bliven in the *New Republic*, Niebuhr in the *Nation*, Max Eastman in the *New York Times*, and Chamberlin in the *Saturday Review*, as well as Woolbert in *Foreign Affairs*. [187] The serious attacks on Stalinist Russia in book form were limited, and mainly the work of non-Americans who had been there, voluntarily or otherwise, as well as being very hard to come by in the U.S.A. Notable among them were Anton Ciliga's *The Russian Enigma* (London: Routledge), a book which actually had been issued in 1940 and comprised the hostile impressions of a Yugoslav Communist who had resided in the USSR from 1926 to 1935. An even more inimical book was Joseph Ameal's *Red Hell* (London: Hale), the author's account of two decades' residence in the Workers' Fatherland, much of it in prison and penal gulags, which affronted the *Foreign Affairs* reviewer, about the only one in the U.S.A. His account was looked upon as “too lurid and prejudiced to be taken at face value,” [188] but no amount of luridity or prejudice in the many books by escapees from Hitler Germany was considered warranting a caveat in their cases: the sky was the limit in derogation of Nazi Germany.

About the only book generally available in the U.S.A. in the above class was Lilian T. Mowrer's *Arrest and Exile* (Morrow), the story of Olga Kochanska, one of the Poles deported to Russia after occupation of the eastern two-thirds of Poland by the Red Army in the fall of 1940. The review by Katharine Woods in the *New York Times* stressed Mme. Kochanska's scathing contempt for Russian Communism after experiencing it for awhile, though one might have questioned her dismissal of it all as insignificant. But even here an anti-Hitler lesson was inserted in the estimate, as it was the subject's opinion that Hitler should never have been allowed to “grow great” as a result of fear of Russian Bolshevism. [189]

Still another class of escapee literature regaling the American public in 1941 were such sagas as Arthur Koestler's *Scum of the Earth* (Macmillan), an account of his residence in French concentration camps for those who fled Spain after the demise of the Communist-led resistance against Franco, [190] and Lion Feuchtwanger's *The Devil in France* (Viking), a similar story of incarceration in French concentration camps after apprehension as an enemy alien in the summer of 1940. [191] Still another was the German refugee Erich Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* (Farrar and Rinehart). The former Frankfurt-born psychoanalyst, descended from a long line of rabbis, seemed to be interested, in this book, which became immensely influential in America, primarily in why people would abandon their “liberties” and “take refuge in a totalitarian regime” only in Germany, [192] choosing to ignore Stalinist Russia, many magnitudes more totalitarian than authoritarian Germany. The war call in all these was mainly subliminal, for the most part, however.

The forthright appeals to sally forth came mainly from American newspapermen and were more oriented toward a pro-British position, indicating that they had been in formation some time before mid-1941. The most influential of these were Leland Stowe's *No Other Road to Freedom* (Knopf), a turgid brief by this *Chicago Daily News* foreign correspondent, known best for his later admissions of having fabricated the stories of Norway's fall in 1940 as the work of internal traitors, as well as his flustered post-war pro-Communist apologetics, and that of Joseph C. Harsch, *Pattern of Conquest* (Doubleday), the *Christian Science Monitor*'s Berlin correspondent for the previous 18 months. More generalized was Pierre van Paassen's *That Day Alone* (Dial), a

collection of semi-fictional yarns highly praised by leftist reviewers, especially Hindus, and bearing the main message of the unavoidability of a generalized postwar planned economy. [193] More strongly Anglophile-oriented were Forrest Davis' *The Atlantic System* (Reynal and Hitchcock) and H.R. Knickerbocker, *Is Tomorrow Hitler's?* (Reynal and Hitchcock). Davis, the one time New York Daily News rewrite man, was most appreciated by the well-entrenched elite Anglophile establishment, while Knickerbocker, known even better as a radio than a newspaper journalist, became particularly involved in incensed attacks on American opponents of the Roosevelt war drive, heaping ferocious abuse on Lindbergh in particular. Still others concerned specialized attacks on external German programs, such as *Smash Hitler's International* (Greystone), by the improbable team of the psychological war specialist Edmond Taylor, the liberal economist Eliot Janeway, and the ardent apologist for both Russian and Chinese Communism, Edgar Snow. [194]

By comparison with all this, the publishing world exposed Americans to little literature involving a strategic war concept dealing with Japan. Nothing rivaling the Taylor-Janeway-Snow recipe for Germany came out in 1941, the last such being the New York Times cable editor Robert Aura Smith's *Our Future in Asia* (Viking) of the previous fall, an explicit summary of how Washington, London and Wall Street viewed the Far East, with its exhortation for a swift and presumably easy war against Japan to preserve the British colonial status quo especially in Southeast Asia. The 1941 fare varied from the breezy tourist-style *Honorable Enemy* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce) by Ernest O. Hauser to the bitter denunciation of Japan by the ancient Korean, Syngman Rhee, the "president of the provisional Korean Government in exile" since 1911, *Japan Inside Out* (Revell). In between there were the stiff establishment treatise by Paul M.A. Linebarger, *The China of Chiang Kai-shek* (Boston: World Peace Foundation), an idealization which Chiang himself was to obliterate with his own two books two years later, and a pair of volumes by supporters of China's still almost submerged-from-view brand of Communism. The message of T.A. Bisson's *American Policy in the Far East, 1931-1941* (Institute of Pacific Relations) and Nym Wales' *China Builds for Democracy* (Modern Age Books) was anything but obscure. The latter author, in reality Helen Foster Snow, the wife of Edgar Snow, idealized "industrial cooperatives" in the Red-occupied areas of northwest China, while Bisson, a veteran apologist for Chinese Communism in both liberal and Communist papers, summarized much earlier writing for a Communist-dominated organization which was to become nationally known only after the anti-Communist reaction of the early Cold War set in a half dozen years later. [195]

Part 24: The ante rises after Pearl Harbor on production and appropriations for Stalin

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With Pearl Harbor and full-fledged belligerency four days later, the end of a season of delicacy concerning matters Stalinist was just one of the consequences, even though the passage by the House of Representatives a week after the attack of a national defense appropriation bill for \$8,243,839,031 brought from Time an almost apologetic tag that, after all, "only \$78,000,000" of this vast sum was intended for Russian lend-lease. [196] For the British, American entry into the war was a life raft of indescribably vast dimensions, far more esteemed at this early moment for its part in this economic salvation department; British income taxes in the Pearl Harbor week were 50% of its workers' pay, and 95% of "big incomes." [197] At this same time, Sir Kingsley Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was telling the House of Commons that Britain had already spent the equivalent of \$33,200,000,000 to fight the war so far, [198] with the end far from in sight, the consequences of which were evident to the far-visioned. Julian Huxley, in New York City the same day, predicted that "The United States will be the most powerful country when the war is over, while Europe will be a mess." [199] It was interesting to see how few political and

ideological warriors cared about the outcome; there was a long and beautiful war to fight and experience, which no one wanted to deny himself through such ignoble artifices as the termination of hostilities via negotiation. As for another outcome of the war, one had to consult Rev. Charles E. Coughlin's editorial in his five-year-old weekly, *Social Justice*, an unmentionable source among the chic of the day. Two weeks after Pearl Harbor, Rev. Coughlin predicted, "Karl Marx will win this war." [200]

Part 25: Davie's book, *Mission to Moscow*, sets the tone on the adulation of Soviet Communism for the rest of the war

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While noted public figures as diverse as Huxley, Caldwell, and Rev. Coughlin were ruminating presciently about the likely situation prevailing at war's end, there took place the first major literary advancement of Stalinist fortunes in American public consciousness, the publication of ex-Ambassador to Russia Davies' *Mission to Moscow* (Simon and Schuster). Out just two weeks after Pearl, it was the subject of at least three score stentorian reviews in as many weeks in the nation's largest and most prestigious periodicals and newspapers. Time led off shortly after Christmas, 1941 with a three and a half column review but handled as though the book were foreign news. [201] A few days later came Joseph Barnes's front page treatment in the *Herald Tribune* Books and identical placement of that of William Henry Chamberlin in the *Times Book Review* the same day, guaranteeing blanketing the Eastern portion of the country with massive and lengthy attention. A few days after that came that of Henry C. Wolfe in the *Saturday Review*, by which time the publishers had already run a half-page advertisement in the *Herald Tribune* Books which was heavily decorated with huzzas from 51 other major United States publications. Included in this triumphal spread were the following: "most competent, disinterested study of the Soviet Union" (*Boston Globe*); the best book on Russia "since the two-volume study by Sidney and Beatrice Webb" (*Chicago Daily News*); "a political document of the first importance as well as a piece of extraordinary sanity" (*Chicago Sun-Times*); "perhaps the most valuable book to be published on the subject of Russia in the past decade" (*Houston Post*); "Actually the first volume on Soviet Russia which will be taken seriously by all students of Soviet affairs" (*Chicago Jewish Daily Courier*); "the one book above all to read on Russia" (*New York Times*); and the following benediction from the *Daily Worker*: "Mr. Davies has supplanted a great deal of current misinformation about the USSR with realistic, clear-cut and objective reporting." [202]

Barnes's reviewer was as kindly as one might have been led to expect from him, in view of his substantial pedigree in handling things Soviet with a gentle touch. Wolfe hailed it as "One of the most significant books of our time," [204] but the general shouting approval on all sides made Joseph Starobin's six-column effulgence in the *New Masses* almost an anti-climax. [205] There was little doubt that Davies' book had replaced among the Party [206] the up-to-then prize diplomatic volume by an American in the twentieth century, the 1933-1938 *Diary of ex-Ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd*, lovingly edited by his far-leftist children. One strong assertion by Davies was given special attention by the *New Masses*, his declaration on page 434, "The boggy that a war would entail Communism in a defeated Germany and Central Europe is plain bunk." Another pregnant quotation from Davies was that by Wolfe in *Saturday Review*, [207] a reference to an unnamed Polish government figure who boasted prior to the September 1939 campaign, "within three weeks after the outbreak of war, Polish troops would be in Berlin." That they were there as prisoners of war was not the intent, for sure, though these were not days to call attention to Polish belligerent confidence in victory prior to hostilities; the total effort of "Allied" propaganda in the time following Pearl Harbor was to establish firmly the myth of a peaceful and ut-

terly non-provoking Poland, overrun by a brutish German horde, in a one-sided act of “aggression.” [208]

Few books published in the U.S.A. have been greeted by such an avalanche of reviewer approval in such a short time as *Mission to Moscow*. By the end of March 1942, the list of favorable testimonials was nothing short of sensational. The amazing thing was that it was criticized by anyone. Such as it was, unfriendly commentary on Davies' book gathered largely at one point, his acceptance without any reservation of the Stalinite explanation of the 1936-1938 massacres and mass jailings as a unified program of cleansing the USSR of German and Japanese collaborators and agents. Chamberlin had held back a little on this matter and also questioned Davies' “complete endorsement of Soviet foreign policy.” [209] Even *Time* realized the problem here, and in its marathon vote of acclaim had demonstrated a little difficulty in accepting Davies, while projecting doubt on the earlier estimate of the Dewey Commission's write-off of the “purge” trials as frame-ups. The only harsh condemnation of *Mission to Moscow* was by Margaret Marshall in the *Nation*. But to appreciate why she was so appalled at Davies' defense of the purges, one had to know something of the history of the Nation in the same period, when it was torn apart into two camps as a result of conflict over this same matter. [210]

Though barely in the wartime embrace as “allies,” Americans had tendered to the Russians a major propaganda triumph in the shape of a book written by a millionaire promoted lavishly by a major publisher and boosted in almost feverish language by nearly every organ of the heretofore scorned “capitalist” printed communications media. It was a task which could not have been achieved by a Communist Party machine in the Western Hemisphere even had it been a thousand times as large. *Mission to Moscow* went into five printings its first month, and for a time early in the American phase of formal participation in the war, it was hard to hear anyone talk about anything else. As an aid to assist the American young especially in learning to “love Russia,” little compared to it for some time. Nothing ever approaching it by many light years ever appeared in Communist Russia, according the U.S.A. a similar favorable and affirmative image. The one-sided love affair could now be considered to be fairly and fully launched.

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Part 26: Endnotes

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1. [↻](#) Cowley, “Marginalia,” *New Republic* (July 12, 1943), p. 50. In view of the havoc the Pakt caused among the *New Republic*'s editors and contributors, it is very likely that some of them also joined the rush to the psychiatrists' couches.

Between August, 1939 and June, 1941 there did develop among outraged liberals a compensation mechanism in which was expressed the outward, formal rejection of Stalinist affections. During this time this distaste was represented by the spreading of the expression “Communazi” as a descriptive term for the forces of Stalin and Hitler, accused continuously of being in an “alliance.” It grew in intensity after the collapse of France in June, 1940, then slackened noticeably in the early months of 1941, almost disappearing after June, 1941 and the start of the Russo-German war. There were comic and sometimes sour after effects of this “Communazi” episode and interlude, as liberals relapsed into old and comfortable postures with respect to Stalinist Russia. An example was the awkward publication timing of the autobiographical *Opinions of Oliver Allston* (E.P. Dutton), by one of liberalism's most hallowed literary figures, Van Wyck Brooks. Brooks admitted in this book to have found much that was admirable in Soviet Communism but had decided subsequent to the Pakt “to fight both Communists and Fascists.” Dorothy Brewster, in her caustic re-

view of this book in the Communist New Masses (December 30, 1941, pp. 20-21), inquired rhetorically, "Was he [Brooks] fighting them both a short time ago when he sponsored the meeting called by the Council for Soviet Relations to celebrate the anniversary of the recognition by the U.S.A. of the USSR [November 17, 1933]?" Brooks was just one of a formidable battalion which wanted to have forgotten their 22 or so months of pique and resentment at Stalin's "betrayal," in August, 1939.

2.  As Lawrence Dennis was wont to point out in the postwar era, in his news-letter Appeal to Reason, in the American South, as a general rule, the more racist the state, the more ferociously eager for combat with the Hitler regime it tended to be.
3.  Part of the calculated program of synthetic patriotic ritual which was infused into everyday life in the U.S.A. accompanying this tidal wave of print and talk was the device of playing the Star Spangled Banner before the commencement of formal public gatherings, especially prior to the start of athletic contests. Thirty years after the end of World War Two it was still a preface to almost all such spectacles except perhaps dog races and wrestling matches. People were already complaining that it was being overdone in 1941, at which occasion Time commented, "The tune of The Star Spangled Banner, which has been the official national anthem for only a decade [1931], is an old British drinking song... It was the club song of London's 18th Century Anacreontic Society. Called To Anacreon in Heaven, it was written by John Stafford Smith, the society's organist. Author Francis Scott Key, although believed to be tone-deaf, was apparently familiar with the original song." Time (December 22, 1941), p.56.
4.  Throughout this study, the place of publication will be identified for all books other than those issued by publishers in New York City, which latter will be assumed by its omission.
5.  Luce lent his prestige to young John F. Kennedy by signing the foreword to Kennedy's undergraduate thesis at Harvard, published under the title *While England Slept* (Wilfred Funk, 1940), and exploiting a persuasive line adopted by publicists both here and abroad. It became fashionable in the 1940s to write books alleging someone or other "slept" as a device to demonstrate *ex post facto* wisdom. Following the Kennedy essay came Denna F. Fleming's *While America Slept: A Contemporary Analysis of World Events from the Fall of France to Pearl Harbor* (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1944). Fleming was probably the most incandescent pro-war interventionist academician in the South, the equivalent to Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College. As a member of the Vanderbilt University faculty and a radio news commentator on Nashville, Tennessee's station WSM, Fleming was a formidable pedagogical warrior. Like many of them, once the war was over he went through a transformation into one of the most heart-rending pleaders for world peace and for understanding of the Stalinist world. It is unlikely anyone "slept" anywhere, but were mainly overtaken by events and the fortunes of war. The alleged nap of Americans in the 1930s does not hold up against the facts; a complaint in the year 1938, for example, was lodged against the export the previous year by the U.S. of munitions and warplanes which exceeded in dollar value the amount spent by the wartime Wilson regime on the tools of war for the entire World War I year of April 1917 to April 1918. See e.g., the critical editorial "Munitions Trade" in Colorado Springs Gazette, July 9, 1938, p. 4. There were \$10,000,000,000 spent on arms in Britain during the premiership of Churchill's predecessor, Neville Chamberlain. This was a prodigious sum of money fifty or so years ago, when, for example, the minimum wage in the U.S.A. was thirty (30) cents an hour, and a fifth of the labor force was unemployed even at this rate. The above sum suggests that this can hardly be called "sleeping," when, in addition, the air was rent in the English-speaking world with one treatise after another excoriating the immense sums being spent on the production and trade in arms, world-wide. But to this day there can be heard a type of blather-skite trying to convince anyone willing to listen that at the outbreak of war in September

1939 the United Kingdom was milling around in muddled and confused disarmament. It was peculiar, amusing, and to some, depressing, that of the many newscasters, columnists and newspapermen and politicians pushed to the fore, from 1940 on, bawling to the world of their oracular powers in predicting and warning of trouble with Japan and Germany from 1931, if not earlier, not one displayed the faintest soothsaying ability on the much closer trouble with Russian and Chinese Communism. It may be argued that exhibiting propensities of this sort might have been dangerous in the era of the ascendancy of Hitler, for several reasons. Hostile sentiments about communism in the era of the Grand Amour with Stalin, the most one-sided political love affair in history, were most likely to be denounced as “spreading rumors planted by enemy agents.” The people of the United States were still living with the consequences 40 years after it had become politically safe late in 1945.

The 1939-1945 era bustled and jostled in the U.S.A. with all manner of politicians, journalists and military analysts stridently claiming to have been the first to “recognize the Nazi peril”; some preferred to be seen as such well before the movement took shape in Germany. This contingent especially bloomed after Pearl Harbor, and there seemed to be some kind of correlation between having “early spotted the Hitler menace” and vaulting into big wartime jobs and ultimately in the postwar political machinery. But it was just peripherally embarrassing to them that none came forth as oracles and seers prophesying the “Commie peril,” demonstrating near total blindness to a “Communist menace” until well after the Cold War had set in, whereupon belated wisdom in this sector became fashionable. But there were holdouts who did not become political giants in this capacity until after the Korean war had broken out in mid-1950.

6.  See Foreign Affairs (October 1941), pp. 193-196 for the enthusiastic promotion of the books mentioned in this section. The reviewer of the journal’s “Recent Books on International Relations” section was Robert Gale Woolbert.
7.  Foreign Affairs January 1942), p. 377. Habe, originally Janos or Jean Bekessy, had an established pedigree for anti-Hitler politics. (See letter from Philip de Ronde, an ex-captain in the French Foreign Legion, to Time (November 10, 1941, pp. 4-5). Restored to political fragrance by the outcome of 1945, it was possible to read Habe-Bekessy’s tiresome political sermons decades later in various of the world’s journals. Lania was born Lazar Herrmann in Kharkov in 1896. Originally a Communist, he professed to have left them and become a Socialist in 1923. He claimed to have been an enemy of Hitler since 1924 and to have interviewed him at which time he admitted to knowing only two German words but claimed the ability to find Hitler’s dialect, grammar and sentence structure defective, during his talk with him. See also Lania’s *Today We Are Brothers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942). There will be substantial attention to both these propagandists subsequently.

In examining the propaganda literature attacking Hitler Germany, one is struck by the heavy percentage of authors who are either for a Soviet Communist alternative or one or another of half a dozen varieties of some other kind of Marxian socialism. As an economic system, there are no “free enterprise” critiques; almost every attack which does not reveal the author as a partisan of some species of Marxism is by a Jew of undiscernible political persuasion, whose position is understandable in view of Hitler’s policies toward Jews. What would have been the reception worldwide of the Hitler regime had it not flourished its racial program in the manner it did has been the subject of substantial rumination over the decades. The percentage of Marxist or socialist critiques of Mussolini Italy and Japan is even higher than of Germany. When a search is conducted into what the people attacking Italy and Japan were for, it invariably ends at the front door of a Communist or socialist splinter group, if not directly in the fold of the Communist International. The literary adversaries of Japan either directly or indirectly voted for both a Red China and a Red Japan between 1931 and 1945. The exception in the case of Japan consisted of discomfited English-

men alarmed at the simultaneous decay of the Empire in Asia at Japanese hands. They succeeded in getting half of what they sought in both Germany and the Far East. Had the Western “allies” been just a little more obtuse and myopic, they might have got the rest.

The issue in Italy remained in doubt still after more than three decades beyond war’s end, although thanks to the “liberators” bringing back to Italy the Communists who had fled to Moscow in the 1920s during the Mussolini era, followed by a vigorous and unrelenting offensive conducted thereafter, Italy in the postwar generation had Europe’s largest Communist party outside Russia itself. It was characteristic of the behavior of Italy’s returned Reds that their earliest act under the umbrella of their “democratic allies” was the repulsive murder of their adversary, Mussolini.

8.  The political rehabilitation and refurbishment of Churchill, begun after Munich by pro-war sectors of both left and right in the Anglo Saxon world, embellished through the war in coalition with additional Tories and also American Anglophiles of non-leftist persuasion, was continued into the post-war period by a “conservative” movement which relished his return to venomous attacks on communism. But they conveniently overlooked his part in launching the Reds on their course of conquest through his impulsive and heedless all out support, 1941-43. His foot-dragging tactics thereafter were in harmony with all the other bad policy-making which had marked British leadership since Versailles, following which they had consistently done the wrong thing at the wrong time in the wrong place. Churchill the journalistic opportunist would have been a better subject for scrutiny than the illusion of Churchill the ineffable statesman of the ages. Essential for any beginning attempts to produce some kind of balanced view of Churchill are Francis Neilson, *The Churchill Legend* (Appleton, Wis., C.C. Nelson, 1954) and Emrys Hughes, *Winston Churchill, British Bulldog: His Career in War and Peace* (Exposition Press, 1955.)

Churchill’s rushing into an alliance with Stalin may have appeared to have been a purely impulsive and heedless act, growing entirely from the fortunes of war and short range enthusiasms. It was the British military analyst General J.F.C. Fuller however who called attention several years later in his book *The Conduct of War* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961) that Churchill had suggested an alliance with Stalin repeatedly prior to becoming wartime Prime Minister mentioned four such occasions in the first volume of his *The Second World War*; in March, 1938(p.213), September, 1938(p.229), May 4,1939(p.285), and May 19, 1939(p.293).

General Fuller commented further on Churchill’s further wild swings of opinion change on the Soviet Union after his becoming First Lord of the Admiralty shortly after Britain declared war on Germany September 3, 1939 culminating in his bafflement by Stalin’s invasion of and investment in half of Poland, the other half of the action begun by the Germans. Sir Winston’s attempt to cover himself by remarking in *The Second World War* (Vol. 1, p. 351) that he “never had any illusion” about the Communists prompted Gen. Fuller to inquire rhetorically why he “had so ardently courted them” in the time before the war started.

And the culmination had occurred October 1, 1939 when Churchill had made his celebrated confession of being unable to predict Soviet behavior, it being “a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma.” People for most of two generations were taught to sit back in awe at this literary hokum as though it were the purest of political wisdom, but Gen. Fuller suggested that Churchill could have learned by consulting “any work on Soviet foreign policy” in the fall of 1939 that it had not changed an iota in 20 years. Regardless of what Churchill was to say then or later, however, by his actions he came down on the side of those who preferred Central Europe to be dominated by Stalinism.

It is possible to argue that had the charlatans of Versailles created a smaller and more realistic Poland in the first place, the diplomatic crisis of 1939 and the war which ensued might never have happened. From another point of view however a clash between Germany and the Soviet Union would have come about later anyway since the main question which

the Polish interlude just obscured momentarily was the ultimate location of control over Central Europe. That both Germany and the Soviet Union had serious territorial grievances against this “new” Poland can be considered merely a temporary digression and diversion.

9. ☞ Not everyone was mesmerized by Churchill’s rhetoric. Following the loss of Singapore, the sinkings of the Prince of Wales and Repulse and the passage of a German flotilla through the Strait of Dover, Robert Willis, secretary of the London Trades Council, protested, “We must break loose from the stupefying magic of Churchill’s oratory. Fine words don’t win battles. Whenever we suffer a reverse and whenever news is bad, we are treated with a superb example of the mastery of the English language. The nation is being drugged by high sounding phrases.” Quoted in Newsweek (February 23, 1942), p. 37.
10. ☞ Churchill’s reckless decision to back Stalin completely, without the faintest vestige of a quid pro quo from Stalin, has produced a heated literature defensive of this act, but of little explanatory substance. There was nothing for the Reds to do but take advantage of it. Churchill’s additional action begun in 1941, instructing a specially created organization to plan for a continent-wide operation “to coordinate all action by way of subversion and sabotage, to set Europe ablaze,” as reported by William Stephenson in *William Stevenson’s A Man Called Intrepid* (Ballantine ed., 1977, p. 97), loosed in the world one of the most incredible episodes of foolish political mischief in all time. It was Churchill’s bombers which “set Europe ablaze.” His operation, which poured down money, explosives and automatic weapons upon the Stalinist underground and “resistance” by parachute drops for over four years in eleven countries set up a murderous political situation in each land. It had as its legacy a pro-Communist political infirmity which was likely to prevail for several generations after Churchill’s passing.

That Churchill began to entertain second thoughts in 1943 and thereafter, and began to show signs of political wisdom is *ex post facto* acumen of the most hopeless sort. If Britons ever hoped to return to a status of importance in the affairs of Middle Europe after World War II as in the period 1919-1939, such hope was damaged beyond repair by Churchill’s spinal cord reaction to Hitler’s invasion of Russian-held Poland. It can be argued that Britain faced an insoluble dilemma and was doomed to expulsion from both Central European influence and Far Eastern preponderance regardless of which of the two contesting powers there were winners. It is obvious they faced this consequence if the Germans and Japanese won, and it was their classic choice of the man on a burning yacht in a typhoon, staying on and burning to death or jumping off and drowning. Churchill stayed on and the British Empire and influence were incinerated in a Red holocaust.

11. ☞ The standard apologia detailing the careful and cautious edging of Roosevelt and his principal advisors to a program of material assistance to Stalin in 1941 is William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Undeclared War, 1941-1945* (Harper, 1953), identified on its title page as “Published for the Council on Foreign Relations.” (Chapters 17 and 25.) Professors of history at Harvard and Amherst, respectively, Langer and Gleason held high posts during the war with the redoubtable global espionage agency, the Office of Strategic Services, the direct ancestor of the modern CIA. They also held similar positions in the early CIA and were so identified when their book was published.
12. ☞ Especially informative on the matters described above are “*Judex*,” *Anderson’s Prisoners* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1940), and Ivor Montagu, *The Traitor Class* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1940), which contains much valuable information, though written from the point of view of the Central Committee of the CPGB. Ramsay’s own account of his arrest and incarceration for over four years may be found in his book, *The Nameless War* (Devon, England: Britons, 5th rev. ed., 1968). On Ramsay’s release from prison on September 26, 1944 see “Bold Etonian,” *Newsweek* (October 9, 1944), pp. 60-61. Despite all that has been written, much still remains unclear about the arrests of Capt. Ramsey and

Tyler Kent, a code clerk at the U.S. Embassy in London who intercepted secret dispatches between Roosevelt and Churchill confirming their illegal efforts to bring America into war against Germany. Kent made records of the incriminating messages, hoping eventually to make them public in the United States. He was arrested at his London apartment on May 20, 1940, and found guilty of violating the British Official Secrets Act in a closed trial. He spent the rest of the war in a British prison. [A copy of the trial record, including a listing of the hundreds of messages intercepted by Kent, as well as the intercepted diplomatic dispatches themselves, are at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The secret Roosevelt-Churchill exchange has been published in *Churchill and Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1984; Warren F. Kimball, ed.) For Kent's own account see "*The Roosevelt Legacy and The Kent Case*," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1983, pp. 173-203. See also: *William Stevenson, A Man Called Intrepid*, pp. 84-85.]

13. ☑ The above matters were quoted in *Newsweek* July 7, 1941), p. 11. An interesting aspect of the right-left coalition for war, but trying to stay clear of an alliance with the CPUSA, was the presence of Jay Lovestone, head of the CPUSA until 1928 when he had been removed by Stalin, as director of the Trade Union Division of the Committee to Defend America. *Newsweek* July 14, 1941), p. 10. Long after the war it was revealed that the Fight for Freedom Committee was a totally bogus organization, created out of whole cloth by British Intelligence and winked at by the Administration and its police agencies, used mainly to harass American anti-war groups and promote diversionary ruses to distract Americans from the multifarious British propaganda activities. See especially *Stevenson, A Man Called Intrepid*, pp. 279, 324-25.

In retrospect, in terms of proportion, one of the ludicrous episodes of the propaganda war in America was the sight of the immense British propaganda enterprise and the octopus-like Communist apparatus, spending vastly-larger sums and employing a multitude of persons and mechanisms in press, radio and film, yelling in unison at the threadbare operations of Pro-German George Sylvester Viereck. A dozen major American publishers turned out a veritable Communist five-foot-shelf of books between 1933 and 1945, and enough pro-British books to fill an entire library. But the dozen or so pro-German or anti-interventionist products of Viereck's Flanders Hall firm were considered an equivalent by the pro-war propaganda machine, right and left alike. The long-delayed *The German Report* (Thomas Yoseloff, Publisher, 1961) by O. John Rogge, unsuccessful both as prosecutor of the sedition case in 1944 and the defense counsel for the Communists in 1950, was still exaggerating the influence of Viereck at this late date.

14. ☑ In response to the Gallup Poll-question, "Do you think the U.S. should declare war on Germany and send our army and navy abroad to fight?" the September, 1939 "No" total was 94% of the respondees; in October, the "No" response was 95%, in December, 96.59%. In April 1940, after the invasion of Norway by the Germans, the "No" response to this question was 96.3% and in June, 1940, after the collapse of France, it was 93% "No."
15. ☑ "War of the Dinosaurs," *Time* June 30, 1941), p. 9.
16. ☑ "Lenin-Lease Bill," *Time* June 30, 1941), p. 13. This issue of *Time* featured a cover picture of Stalin and one of his most ballyhooed generals, Marshal Semyon Timoshenko.
17. ☑ Even after 1945, new words were invented to describe Russia territorial grabs under Soviet auspices, while pro-Stalinist students of "imperialism" ground out millions of words describing this policy in conventional terminology as applied to everyone else.
18. ☑ "Looking the Other Way? The New Party Line," *Time* July 7, 1941), p. 12-13.
19. ☑ *Time's* contempt and meanness toward the Stalinists in America was reflected in numerous recollections of Communist detachment toward the war in the period of USSR neutral-

ity and-the CPUSA's stance of anti-involvement. One of these was the reproduction of a bit of doggerel attributed to the U.S. Reds in the not very distant past:

Oh Franklin Roosevelt told the people how he felt
We almost believed him when he said,
'Oh I hate war And so does Eleanor
But we won't be safe till everybody's dead.' Time (July 7, 1941), p. 13.

Some recalled the bitter words of the CPUSA's leader, Earl Browder, a few months earlier when he was convicted for forging a U.S. passport; in the Daily Worker for February 25, 1941 he had remonstrated, "If my kind of crime rates four years in prison, what should be the punishment for Franklin Roosevelt, who got a third term [as president] on a false passport, a promise to keep America out of war? I think the supreme punishment for this crime will be written in history that he betrayed the peace and prosperity of the American people." It did not take Browder and his associates long to change that tune after June 22, 1941.

20. U.S. News July 4, 1941), pp. 26-28, for all above citations by persons responding to this first poll published after the outbreak of the war in Poland between Germany and Russia. U.S. News billed itself on its cover every week as "The Only Magazine Devoted Entirely to Reporting, Interpreting and Forecasting the News of National Affairs." It established a frightfully bad record as a "forecaster." A slogan carried over Lawrence's weekly editorials, credited to George Washington, read: "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."
21. U.S. News July 11, 1941), pp. 32-33, for all above citations in this second installment of queries.
22. Newsweek (July 7, 1941], pp. 11-12 for ex-Pres. Hoover's remarks and those of the preceding participants in Newsweek's roundup of reaction to the new phase of the war. Sen. Taft was especially subjected to subsequent abuse for his views, but the criticism abated after the Cold War with the USSR set in after 1945 and the bills for this consequence of victory began to appear.
23. "Against Both Sides," Time (July 7, 1941), p.9.
24. Washington Report, U.S. News July 25, 1941), p.5.
25. "Back to the 16th Century," Time July 7, 1941), p. 21.
26. New Masses (July 8, 1941), p. 6. The New Masses was the only weekly journal presenting the "Marxist outlook on world events"; it also presented an undeviating Stalinist outlook at any given moment and was probably the most articulate reflector of Stalinist opinion in the U.S.A. during World War II among the journals which were frankly Moscow transmission belts. To many people, it and the Daily Worker constituted the totality of the Communist press here, but there were others of some importance, such as Soviet Russia Today, People's World, The Communist, (official organ of the CPUSA), Amerasia, and the Far Eastern Survey of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which were the two centers for the dispersal of Chinese Communist propaganda, for the most part, while Science and Society specialized mainly in Marxist theory. But there were at least three dozen other publications of far greater circulation, and incredibly more affluent, whose editors and contributors numbered several warmly pro-Soviet partisans of the pen, and whose output and influence were thousands of times more significant. On the other hand, it is not known that a single pro-American journal or writer existed or was produced in the Soviet Union during the entire war.
27. A careful reading of the business and finance sections of the nation's newspapers and magazines 1939-1945 will open up to one an aspect of World War II which is almost en-

tirely lacking in what passes for the history of that time in most conventional tomes to this day.

28. [↗](#) "Soviet Ambassador Oumansky, Back in Favor in Washington's Social and Official Circles," U.S. News (July 11, 1941), p.41. Oumansky was the beneficiary of a sustained news picture campaign which made him appear almost winsome.
29. [↗](#) On Steinhardt and related matters, see "Life in the Capital," "People of the Week" and "Washington Whispers" columns in U.S. News dully 4,1941), pp.38, 40. Said the editors, "U.S. diplomatic advisers were almost unanimous in urging President Roosevelt to support Stalin as against Hitler, on the ground that Hitler was the real threat."
30. [↗](#) Letter from Paul Jones of Columbia, Ohio, in Time July 21,1941), p.4.
31. [↗](#) Newsweek (August 5,1941), p.25.
32. [↗](#) Christian Century July 9, 1941), pp.881-882.
33. [↗](#) Catholic Times and London Tablet quoted in Christian Century July 16,1941), p. 900.
34. [↗](#) "Catholics Will Not Join Hitler's Crusade," Christian Century July 16,1941), pp. 900-901. How British intelligence were able to recruit so many notable Catholics into their fraudulent "Fight for Freedom" organization is a matter worthy of respectful consideration as well as suspicion of their powers of discrimination.
35. [↗](#) New Masses (July 8,1941), p.21. On Col. Donovan's new post in the Roosevelt amateur spy and psychological warfare agency being created at this same moment, see below, note 181.
36. [↗](#) "Bishop Speaks," Time (July 14,1941), pp.42-43.
37. [↗](#) Catholic World July, 1941), p.395.
38. [↗](#) Catholic World (August, 1941), pp.515-516. The Pro Red Orchestra in the U.S.A. 345
39. [↗](#) Maynard, "Catholics and the Nazis," American Mercury (October, 1941),pp. 399-400.

Rev. Gillis was affronted by Willkie's 180-degree turnabout on foreign policy, especially as represented by the latter's speech of June 18,1940: "I want to repeat what I have said on several occasions, that despite our sympathy for the Allied cause we must stay out of the war. In these times, when our hearts are confused, we must keep our heads clear. We do not intend to send men from this continent to fight in any war. We shall not serve the cause of democracy by becoming involved in the present war; we shall serve that cause only by keeping out of the war. It is the duty of the President of the United States to recognize the determination of the people to stay out of war and to do nothing by word or deed that will undermine that determination. No man has the right to use the great powers of the Presidency to lead the people indirectly into war; only the people through their elected representatives can make that awful decision; and there is no question as to their decision."
40. [↗](#) "Cantuar and Commissars," Time (August 4,1941),p.28.
41. [↗](#) "Hitler Attacks Stalin," Christian Century Uuly 2,1941),pp.855-856.
42. [↗](#) Editorial, Christian Century (July 9, 1941),p.875.
43. [↗](#) Holmes, "If Russia Wins," Christian Century Uuly 30,1941),pp.954-956.
44. [↗](#) "Shall We Fight for Russia?" Christian Century (September 10, 1941),pp. 1104-1105. Wieman's letters in response to this (Christian Century, September 10, 1941,pp. 1114-1115, and September 24, 1941,p.1180) went into greater detail, which sounded like much domestic reform talk being heard in Britain at that moment; the U.S.A. could avoid going Communist only by massive post-war economic reform, and that could be achieved only by breaking down domestic hostility to Communism, the main barrier to reform. The latter could best be realized by joining with the USSR in the current war. This was amazing reasoning, in view of the utter absence of the slightest tendency to "go Communist" registered anywhere in the U.S.A. at that moment.

45. ☞ Newsweek (July 28,1941),p.26.
46. ☞ On reportage of Conant's speech see "Tepees and Propaganda," Time July 14,1941),pp.51-52. Time continued its booming of war mongers from the respectable side, and teased the chastened Communists continually. The most recent target after Conant's speech was the Red-lining head of the National Maritime Union, Joe Curran, and the NMU's about-face in now supporting the Anglo- Russian cause. "Hail A-Starboard," Time July 21,1941),p.17.
47. ☞ Newsweek (September 15,1941),p.28.
48. ☞ Newsweek {September 22,1941),p.24.
49. ☞ Time (December 29,1941),p.26.
50. ☞ On Caldwell's estimate of the war in Eastern Europe on his return from Russia four months later, see below. Caldwell and his wife, the famous photographer, Margaret Bourke-White, were in Moscow between May 1 and October 1, returning to the U.S.A. by way of Siberia just before the Pearl Harbor attack.
51. ☞ Straight, "For a Free World," New Republic (August 11, 1941), p. 182.
52. ☞ New Masses (August 12, 1941),p. 19. Other stirring testimonials of Prod Perry's sort were also published from the artist Max Weber and Emil Lengyel.
53. ☞ Christian Century (August 6,1941),pp.986-987. He returned to the fear- Communism theme in his report published in the issue of October 15, 1941,p. 1285.
54. ☞ "We have not heard that he is agitating for the intervention of Switzerland,his own country, as a belligerent," the editors concluded pointedly. Editorial, "Barth Says Britain's War Is Christian," Christian Century (September 17,1941),p. 113Z.
55. ☞ Kilpatrick, "Karl Barth and His Times," Christian Century (October 8,1941), pp.1235-37.
56. ☞ Editorial, "Is It a Holy War?" Christian Century (October 8, 1941), pp. 1230-32.
57. Christian Century (August 27,1941), p.1061.
58. ☞ Time (August 11, 1941), pp.9-10.
59. ☞ Time (August 11, 1941), pp 10-12.
60. ☞ Time (August 18,1941), p. 11.
61. ☞ Hopkins' visit was originally interpreted for its readers as a gesture to offer "moral support" to Stalin. U.S. News (August 8,1941), p.4; the editorial position was somewhat braver shortly thereafter.
62. ☞ On the above see "War Dramas, Old and New: Praise for Prowess of Soviet Troops," U.S. News (August 8, 1941), p. 17. On p. 40 of the same issue it was reported, "Harry Hopkins, in and out of Moscow, is dealing with matters involving delicate political relationships as well as matters of supply... Some important officials in Washington are wondering if something Mr. Hopkins told him caused England's Prime Minister Churchill to say that U.S. was very near the verge of war."
63. ☞ "Role of Harry Hopkins in Forming a World-Wide Anti-Nazi Front," U.S. News (August 15,1941), pp.7-8.
64. ☞ U.S. News (August 15,1941), p.17. The preservation or restoration intact of the European colonial domination of Africa and East Asia also appeared to be taken for granted.
65. ☞ "Roosevelt-Churchill: Inside Story of Meeting," U.S. News (August 22,1941), pp.7-9, contained the material under the heading, "What it means to Russia." U.S. News (September 12,1941),p.5, reported the first U.S. tanker carrying gasoline to the Soviet had arrived in the Siberian port of Vladivostok.

The preaching fervor and deep religious faith of David Lawrence in the Roosevelt-Churchill "Atlantic Charter" laid out in a two-page editorial ("The Eight Points," U.S. News, August 22, 1941, pp. 18-19), is one of the most painful things of the 1941 public opinion molding journalistic propaganda to retread, especially his profound conviction that it was unfailing evidence that the "Allies" planned a "peace without vengeance" and that the German government's warning to their people that they would be dismembered if defeated and that their economy would be locked up behind punitive walls could be dismissed as idle talk by Germans and all others as well. But the German propaganda to their people in 1941 as to their fate if vanquished came closer to actuality by at least a light year than did the vaporings of the "Atlantic Charter"; for five years after defeat their worst fears were realized. Had it not been for Anglo-American panic that the Russians might end up with all of Germany as a satellite, the punitive program in Germany after the war might have gone on indefinitely. When Lawrence bumbled about "our humane peace terms," he created an embarrassment for the future of no small dimensions. But he was right in one prediction, when he declared, "We are to be part of the European orbit for generations to come."

It is indeed a tribute to the human powers for self-delusion that over 40 years after the event we still see books published which talk about the issuance of something called the "Atlantic Charter" and "signed" by Roosevelt and Churchill on a British warship off the coast of Newfoundland in August, 1941. What was originally a simple press release handed to a radio operator, and intended largely to be a diversion and concealment for what they had really talked about, quickly became a noble document rivaling the Magna Carta, The Petition of Right, the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation. That there was no such document was admitted as early as 1944 but writers by the hundreds since that time wearily attest to there being a stately position-paper supposedly outlining the reverent state of affairs which was to prevail in perpetuity once the enemy of 1941 had been annihilated and the planet redeemed in a vast bath of hot lead and blood.

66. U.S. News (September 26, 1941), p. 12.
67. U.S. News (October 10, 1941), p. 6.
68. Fortune (August, 1941), pp. 4547, 136-146.
69. Hopkins, "Hitler Won't Win," American Magazine (July, 1941), pp. 24-25, 123-124.
70. Hopkins, "The Inside Story of My Meeting With Stalin," American Magazine (December, 1941), pp. 14-15, 114-117. Political leadership of this kind largely explains the predicament of the West from mid-1945 on, but the beatification of Churchill in the Anglo-American press made criticism almost impossible. The *ex post facto* yarns about Churchill's attempts to recoup lost ground in 1943 and 1944 described a largely impossible situation.
71. Newsweek review in issue for September 1, 1941, p. 42. That by Roosevelt in New York Herald Tribune Books (September 14, 1941), p. 4. Roosevelt repeated in his review Lyons' criticism of the New York Times and Herald Tribune "for having given space deliberately or gullibly to radical reviewers," when in a few weeks both were to expand upon this practice many magnitudes.
72. American Mercury (August, 1941), pp. 135-143; Lyons was sure Stalin was going to be overthrown in a very short time.
73. American Mercury (November, 1941), pp. 583-589.
74. Pp. 5, 20. Said Eastman, echoing Lyons, "Stalin is the weaker of two gangster-tyrants, and common sense demands that we support him in his resistance to Hitler."
75. New Masses (December 9, 1941), p. 21.
76. Newsweek (September 8, 1941), p. 12. As a 100% creation of British intelligence services in the U.S.A., it must have been a little trying for the latter to gear up its fraudulent organization in this country against the Communists when at home Churchill and prominent

people in his government were continuously huzzaing Stalin and the British home front was vociferously acclaiming all things Communist. But such difficulties were not discernible to the American public, the imposture having been executed so skillfully.

77. U Newsweek (September 22, 1941), p. 9.
78. U U.S. News (September 19, 1941), p. 13.
79. U "Communist Muffling," Newsweek (September 15, 1941), p. 9.
80. U There is ample evidence that the economic involvement of the U.S.A. in the war, 1940-1941, had as much to do with the steady involvement in the war as the economic aspect of Anglo-American affairs, 1915-1917 had with the entry into the war of that time, despite the steady efforts of a regiment of obscurantist academics to expunge this from the record.
81. U Time (September 8, 1941), p. 10.
82. U The first week of December, 1941 newspapers in the U.S.A. were printing pictures of weeping Russian peasants outside their burning homes, with the captions frankly ascribing such firings and the general destruction in the neighborhood to the Red Army. It was significant that no soldiers of either side appeared in these photographs, which suggested that the damage was being done to the home front far behind the battle lines. See the general approval of this destruction by the Red Army in Time (September 1, 1941), pp. 22-23. On Time's reproduction of Stalinist propaganda from Red Star as "news," see the issue for September 8, 1941, p. 15.
83. U Time (September 22, 1941), p. 52. This effusion was accompanied by a cheap, subtle attack on the music of Richard Wagner, though this time there was no suggestion for the extirpation of German music. For the embarrassingly fulsome description of the first performance of this new Shostakovich symphony in the U.S.A. see below.
84. U Time (September 29, 1941), p. 12. Oswald Garrison Villard reported that the Legion's vote was "under direct pressure from President Roosevelt, according to Gov. Heil of Wisconsin, who was at the convention." "The Military Outlook," Christian Century (October 8, 1941), pp. 1240-1241.
85. U Christian Century (September 24, 1941), p. 1190.
86. U Newsweek (September 29, 1941), p. 10.
87. U Mowrer, "44 Ways to Beat Hitler," Look (September 23, 1941), p. 10. Look became part of the liberal press with a vengeance in 1941, and as the wartime '40s wore on, it, more than the liberal literary weeklies, became the special organ for the more spectacular trial balloons of the liberal correspondents, columnists and radio commentators. The Nation gradually became the forum for European left wing refugees more than of any other attitudinal group, while even such a staid agency of Eastern Anglo-American-controlled financial voices and its associated world politics as Foreign Affairs opened its pages more and more year by year to pro-war leftist liberals, especially from the fall of 1941 on, when the various impulses for interventionism began to grow together, regardless of their differing strategies and objectives.
88. U "Iranian Aftermath," Time (September 15, 1941), pp. 21-22
89. U Newsweek (September 1, 1941), p. 13
90. U Time (September 15, 1941), p. 18.
91. U New York Herald Tribune Books (November 23, 1941), p. 18. Cripps was the founder of the London leftist paper Tribune, which, along with Laski's Herald, were far more the sources of British collectivist, and, at the same time, pro-Soviet, ideas, than any of the organs associated with left partisan sects.
92. U Look (September 9, 1941), p. 38.
93. U "Biz Meets Facts," Time (July 21, 1941), pp. 73-74.

94. ☐ Villard, "This Global War," *Christian Century* (September 10, 1941) pp. 1108-09. A decade and a half later, Wm. F. Buckley, Jr. and Brent Bozell and their associates were tormenting these same liberals with this identical language and rhetoric, only this time in promoting a war against the liberals' erstwhile Communist "allies," even if it meant "burning out the farthest star." as. Villard, "The Military Outlook," *Christian Century* (October 8, 1941), pp. 1240-41.
95. ☐ On Dewey's views see Ruth Byrns, "John Dewey on Russia," *CommonutZl* (September 18, 1941), pp. 511-513.
97. ☐ See Prof. Childs' letter to the *New York Times* for January 11, 1942, reprinted in *Frontiers of Democracy* for March 15, 1942.
98. ☐ "Progressives for War," *Time* (July 7, 1941), p. 48.
99. ☐ "Switch," *Time* (October 13, 1941), pp. 6849. The colleges selected were Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Cornell, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Iowa, Chicago, Missouri, Minnesota, Northwestern and Stanford. *The Pro-Red Orchestra in the U.S.A.* 349
100. ☐ "Tanks and Thanks to Russia," *Time* (October 6, 1941), p. 25.
101. ☐ For this question and replies below see issue of October 17, 1941, pp. 28-30.
102. ☐ *U.S. News* (October 10, 1941), p. 48.
103. ☐ On above see *U.S. News* (October 24, 1941), pp. 9, 19.
104. ☐ *U.S. News* (November 28, 1941), p. 44.
105. ☐ See analysis in *Newsweek* (October 6, 1941), p. 30.
106. ☐ "Everybody for Freedom," *Time* (September 1, 1941), p. 53. A liberal fixation in particular during the war of 1939-1945 was the tendency to use the term "clerico-fascist" in describing the European enemy states, and to accuse their leaders at the same time of trying to abolish religion. It was essential to this ploy to ignore utterly the subventions enjoyed by the Christian churches in Hitler Germany, the special position of the Roman Catholic church in Mussolini Italy, and the favored status of the Church in Slovakia under Msgr. Tiso, as well as in Hungary and Rumania, let alone what prevailed in Franco Spain, an enemy in the eyes of the Stalinist-oriented liberals everywhere. This was a studied working of both sides of the street; the Russian Orthodox Church was fully behind Stalin, but no liberal was inclined to describe Soviet Russia as a "clerico-fascist" state.
107. ☐ This was proposed by Serge Bolshakoff in the London journal *The Month* (September-October, 1941): "Bolshevism is a *de facto* religion though without God." Bolshakoff explained that its main doctrine was that matter is eternal and mind only its derivative, in essence a pantheism akin to that of the evolutionists of recent vintage.
108. ☐ In a widely circulated statistic resulting from a poll in 1941 it was estimated that religious preferences of the U.S. Armed Forces were as follows: Protestant: 59%; Catholic: 31%; Jewish: 2%. Those expressing no preference were 8%. This was compared with a U.S. church membership survey in 1936 in which the breakdown was 55% Protestant, 37% Catholic and 8% Jewish.
109. ☐ "Peace Without Platitudes," *Time* (October 13, 1941), pp. 4344, 46. *Time* excerpted this from a somewhat longer work which was published under the same title in *Fortune* (January, 1942), pp. 42-43, 87-90. It was of interest that Dulles mentioned the Soviet Union only once in this lengthy treatise, in an aside referring to the war with Finland in 1939-1940. Otherwise his critique of the new world order he saw taking place and the one he preferred to take place both had no Soviet Russia in them. It might be noted that his preferred future was couched in more platitudes than the Roosevelt-Churchill proposal wrapped in the "Atlantic Charter." Dulles' utter repudiation of the balance-of-power concept was his most striking contribution.

110. ☞ Liberal social democrat Marxists in the U.S.A. were always circumspect in the selling of Tillich, with the accent always on his function as a theologian of sorts. His political pedigree was usually masked until well after the war. Such works of his as *Die sozialistische Entscheidung* (Offenbach-am-Main, 1948) rarely surfaced in America.
111. ☞ Niebuhr's intellectual turncoatism on the subject of war was as spectacular as that of MacLeish. As an editor of the journal *The World Tomorrow* in the first half of the 1930s Niebuhr was famous for statements hostile to ever participating again in any war which might break out anywhere. This journal, heavily dominated by socialist and pacifist clergymen, devoted extensive space in its issue of May 10, 1934, summarizing a poll of 20,870 clergymen of 12 religious bodies in the U.S.A., nearly 13,000 of whom responded that they were determined "not to sanction or participate in any future war," according to the summation by Kirby Page (p. 222.) Niebuhr's separate statement was quite in harmony with this view.
112. ☞ There was no book such as Rae Hamilton Abrams' *Preachers Present Arms*, the famous chronicle of clerical belligerence in World War One, after the end of World War Two. Though many had strong views on the subject, no class of educated persons exhibited less martial fervor during and after the war than the nation's clergy of all persuasions. This role was dominated by their long-time adversaries, the secular liberals, once determinedly pacifist, but steadily grown more affectionate for left-Marxist causes about the world. These latter easily out-distanced the bellicose divines of 1917-1918 in advocacy of American involvement in gore production, 1937-1945. Though there were a number of prominent clerical figures who lent their position and prestige to war propaganda, probably more English than Americans, there was little of the "holy war" aspect in their effort. Civilians dominated this latter emanation from the propaganda factories.

An outstanding characteristic, and probably the predominant one, of 20th century American liberalism, has been its notorious and almost comic selective indignation. Political policies and practices which have aroused deafening condemnation when employed by their enemies anywhere have been winked at, condoned and at times vociferously applauded when similarly put into effect by their friends. Minority control, total obliteration of civil rights, racist exclusion, sustained denial of majority rule, comprehensive terrorist suppression of rivals and adversaries, and the commission of mass murder and systematic political massacres, have all drawn their support and apologia or have been almost totally ignored for many decades. The identical programs, put into effect by enemies of liberalism, have excited a volume of disapprobation and condemnation which surely has been by decibel measurement heard in outer space.
113. ☞ *Time* (October 6, 1941), p. 77. The clever smearing of Quisling, for many years a prominent anti-Bolshevik in Norway, was probably the outstanding piece of character assassination achieved by Anglo-Russo-American propaganda in the entire war. Essential to any understanding of the magnitude of the savagery inflicted on Quisling personally and his systematic defamation in every other respect is the book by Ralph Hewins, *Quisling: Prophet Without Honor* (Cohn Day, 1966). Hewins was a chastened major perpetrator of the literary outrages on Quisling.
114. ☞ "Power Politics," *Time* (October 13, 1941), p. 11. The story was illustrated with a Talburt cartoon from the *New York World Telegram* depicting a beaming Stalin wearing a halo marked "from F.D.R." Some idea of how the spreading of the war to Russia had scrambled the situation for Catholics can be understood by a study of the refugee German Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein's "Christian World Revolution" in the January, 1942 *Atlantic Monthly* (pp. 104-111), a tortured think piece trying to make a case for Catholics against Hitler, knowing the vast anti-Communist U.S. Catholic position. The presence of Stalin on

the side of the other- wise sainted “Allies” was a bone in the craw of the pro-war liberal Catholic, especially, for the entire war.

Loewenstein, who fled Germany early after the triumph of Hitler, established a formidable pedigree as an author of anti-Hitler works in England and the U.S.A., some of them lengthy tomes which argued an idealistic Catholic conservative line, and dwelt upon a “new Germany” to come once the Nazis were destroyed. Among these were *The Tragedy of a Nation* (London: Faber; New York: Macmillan, 1934) and *After Hitler's Fall* (London: Faber; New York: Macmillan, 1935). The first had an introduction by Henry Wickham Steed, and was used as a piece of anti-German propaganda by the English war party. Loewenstein found out after 1945 what kind of a Germany his Anglo-American hosts were interested in, and his views in the 1950s were far different as a consequence.

115. ☞ “Pointing to the Record,” U.S. News (October 10, 1941), pp. 28-29.
116. ☞ U.S. News (October 17, 1941), p. 25; this entry repeated the Herald Tribune’s criticism of “whitewashing the Kremlin,” an indication that there were limits even to this major affluent Anglophile organ’s accelerating receptivity to pro-Stalinist puffs.
117. ☞ “Are the Four Freedoms a Delusion?” Christian Century (October 15, 1941), pp. 1262-64.
118. ☞ “An Issue Without Substance,” New Masses (October 14, 1941), p. 21.
119. ☞ Time (October 13, 1941), pp. 20-21, for the comment on the formation of the “Anti-Hitler Front.” The Stockholm paper Aftonbladet in September, 1939 printed replies made by the Comintern to Swedish Communists querying on grand strategy, of which the following were especially significant:
Q. How can a world revolution be evolved rapidly?
A. By a long war, according to the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.
Q. Is a European war apt to promote the interests of the Comintern?
A. Yes.
Q. Can a Russo-German pact promote the outbreak of war?
A. Yes.
This material was reprinted in Life magazine in the U.S.A. also in September, 1939.
120. ☞ Newsweek (October 13, 1941), pp. 54, 59.
121. ☞ Time (October 20, 1941), p. 15. The feature story on Russian aid was on pp. 13-14 of this issue.
122. ☞ Time (October 27, 1941), p. 17. “Anti-fascist” propaganda long had it both ways. Hitler Germany and German-occupied lands in Europe were systematically described as a fearful animal cage in which no one made a move unless under observance by the German home state security police, the Gestapo. At the same time this propaganda reported on scores of books by escapees by every imaginable route, whose authors described additional thousands of escapees of every imaginable station of life.
123. ☞ Time (October 27, 1941), pp. 24-26.
124. ☞ Probably the earliest notice of the impending publication of Davies' book was in the “Turns with a Bookworm” column written by Isabel M. Paterson, in the New York Herald Tribune Books issue of October 26, 1941, p. 30.
125. ☞ New Masses (October 28, 1941), p. 5.
126. ☞ A nearly full page advertisement of this celebration was run in the New Masses (October 28, 1941), p. 25.
127. ☞ New Masses (November 4, 1941), p. 22, for this and above references.
128. Fortune (October, 1941), p. 105. The people responding to this poll apparently were questioned in August, 1941. What the attitudinal situation was in the U.S.A. from December, 1941 to the end of August, 1945 has to be looked at from two perspectives. If one follows

the book publishers, most by far of the magazines, newspapers, the polls and the radio, it was substantially to the left. But this was mainly deceptive, a thin icing over a vast national community in factories and in the armed forces, which was largely untouched by all of this. When their views were allowed to leak out under anonymous auspices and circumstances, they indicated anything but a desire for a stunning new style postwar leftist world. If anything this majority of the national community expressed a yearning for a return to the pre-war situation as closely as it could be approximated. The transparent politics of the poll takers and the majority of the mouthpieces of radio and print seemed to act upon those holding to the former sentiment as a warning to remain in an underground.

129.  Chamberlin, "America Faces the Iron Age," *Christian Century* (October 29, 1941), pp.1331-34. It is hard to find even a few lines of realistic political writing in the six months prior to U.S. involvement in World War II on the subject of Stalinist Russia and its stake and likely part in a world victorious over Germany, Italy and Japan. There are hundreds of pieces everywhere by people concerned with the future threat of Hitler to the U.S.A, much shuddering over the possibility of Nazi "domination of the world," but also almost as much synthetic advice on what had to be done to Germany when the British won the war. Scores of postwar visions contained only the Anglo-American powers, and never any Communists. One of the best indicators of this near-total discount of Russian Communism in the future was the long think-piece by Raoul de Roussy de Sales, a pet French propagandist of the moment, in his "Socialism and the Future," in the *Atlantic Monthly* (December, 1941, pp.694-704), largely an account of the vastly preferable collectivism of the Roosevelt New Deal to those represented by the various socialisms of more dogmatic sort, as the pattern for a future planetary order. Enthused de Roussy de Sales,

It may be that by siding with the democracies (much against his will) Stalin will eventually save the independence of his country and his own regime. But, even if he should sit among the victors, it will not be in the capacity of the head of Communism and world revolution, but as the national leader of the Russian people. I do not say that a joint victory of the United States, England and the USSR will mean necessarily the disappearance of Communist rule in Russia, but if there is to be a new international order after this war (provided it is not Hitler's) those who will give shape to this order are men like Roosevelt and Churchill or their successors-not Stalin. (p. 699)

The short-circuiting of this grandiose kind of dream, which was expressed in printed and oratorical form thousands of times, 1941-1945, when the "victors" finally "sat," was achieved with most of these same intellectual opinion-making prophets observing with mouths agape wondering what had happened. But the likes of de Roussy de Sales is what the wartime American intellectual was brought up on.

130.  Editorial, "Canterbury Sees Moscow In a New Light," *Christian Century* (October 22,1941), pp.1291-92.
131.  Editorial, *Christian Century* (November 12, 1941), pp. 1399-1401. On Niebuhr's turnaround from non-belligerent to warrior see note 111, above. One might profit from comparing the sophisticated differences between Niebuhr's statements in the prewar 1930s in such as *The World Tomorrow*, for example, and the more transparently pro-Soviet Nation.
132.  Editorial, "Clergy Pod," *Commonweal* (October 31,1941), pp.37-38.
133.  "Catholic Clergy Vote Against Wards *Christian Century* (October 29,1941), pp.1323-24.
134.  *Time* (December 1, 1941), p. 44. There was a similar recruitment of interventionist preachers by Kenneth Leslie, editor of the *Protestant Digest*, a petition signed by 1000 Protestant clergymen, calling for increased aid to the "anti-Hitler" forces in the world. The

increasingly pro-Stalinist orientation of this journal became the subject of steadily mounting attention in the closing two years of the war and after.

The clever Anglo-American propaganda ploy of selling their respective populaces on a war against only Hitler personally and the “Nazi tyranny” involved ineluctably a war for the mass destruction of millions of Germans who were not Nazis and were not particularly enchanted by Hitler. In this way was their basic Germanophobia concealed under high-sounding verbiage and empty, wordy “principles.” In the same way the fiercely pro-war Communists and their ardent liberal allies had not the slightest compunction about the urban massacres by Allied saturation strategic bombing, which obliterated many German fellow Marxists. In reality their pretension about Marxist ideology was an utter fraud, in that they looked upon the annihilation of presumably blood-brother ideologues with considerable relish, and gloated over it thousands of times. The ultimate advantage of this concealed program of ethnic mass murder was postponed until that stage of victory was reached where atrocity propaganda came to the fore to guide postwar policy; the ascribing to the enemy of what has befallen him is the essence of successful atrocity propaganda.

135. ☞ *Stevenson, A Man Called Intrepid*, p. 136.

136. ☞ It may be a long time before Americans see again the kind of personal courage demonstrated by Lindbergh in his campaign against the Roosevelt Administration’s war-bound drive. Defenders of FDR who have perennially lamented their champion’s abuse by the nation’s press are hard put to produce anything to compare with the venomous attack on Lindbergh, which actually continued in one way or another for over 30 years, until his death in Hawaii in 1973. In the 1947-1957 period it became a verbal reflex of sobered liberals to complain heatedly of “guilt by association” in the numerous investigations of sustained pro-Stalinist activism on their part in the previous decade. Some might have remembered profitably the grossly malicious allegations by Roosevelt’s Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, that Lindbergh was acting in the best interests of Adolf Hitler by urging a policy of neutrality.

137. ☞ *Time* (September 8, 1941), pp. 12-13.

138. ☞ *Time* (August 11, 1941), p. 10.

139. ☞ “The Unsilenced,” *Time* (September 8, 1941), pp. 12-13.

140. ☞ *Time* (October 6, 1941), pp. 18-20.

141. ☞ The evolution of thinking about the weekly newsmagazines as truthful, impartial and reliable sources is not the subject of this study. Much of their reputation along such lines accrued as a result of their phenomenal growth during World War II, by which times they were all mainly transmission belts for official governmental views and had engaged in extremely drastic self-censorship. In the immediate pre-war period they were ceaselessly shifting about, searching for stances from which to operate, though becoming weekly a more and more pro-official or “establishment” organ in each case, a situation which was undoubtedly inevitable, given their socioeconomic origins.

In the case of *Time*, which engaged in the most bald-faced efforts at posing as a detached observer of affairs, its protestation that it had no ax to grind was enough to tickle almost any political funny-bone. The exigencies of following the American Century line of its founder and owner, Henry Luce, produced much the same problems as those facing any ideological journal, though the results were more variable. Some weekly issues were detached and realistic, while others were such obvious propaganda for their pet views and causes that the management could have given away crowns and pounds to *Pravda* or *Völkischer Beobachter* and still have had them squirming with jealous admiration.

Time’s politics were not entirely visible, but it appeared to yearn for a situation resulting from a homogenization of U.S. majority political parties, and the regrouping of them into

two different bodies, the American Century supporters for global intervention indefinitely, and the wizened little remnant an “isolationist” sect, existing only to put up token opposition at elections, to give the illusion that operationally the country had not become a one-party state such as was abominated when seen elsewhere in the world.

In their June 9 issue the editors had declared that “every man is a propagandist, whether he knows it or not.” When this was questioned by a correspondent as to whether this also applied to Time, the editors expanded upon it in this manner: “Time makes no claim to being unbiased and impartial,” “But Time does set as its goal to be fair in reporting and never takes sides in partisan affairs.” (July 14, 1941, pp. 2-3.) This howler was of course simply superb double-think; its side-taking in “partisan affairs” was already blatant and widely-recognized. A good example dealt with the matter of whether the country should support Roosevelt’s obvious pro-war policies or not. The latter had long been tagged with the pejorative epithet “isolationist.” And even Time recognized it was a traditional view of lengthy standing in the U.S.; “The doctrine of U.S. isolationism has a long and honorable past,” it admitted (October 6, 1941, p. 19). But what irked the editors and owner at that moment was its effectiveness in frustrating the political and journalistic warriors and their many elite and affluent fellow travelers, in banking, business, industry and the universities.

It was bad enough to put up with labor figures, disaffected liberals and anti- communist leftists, influential pacifists such as Paul Comly French, the likes of Edmund Wilson, Norman Thomas and John L. Lewis, the Writers' Anti-War Bureau, the Keep America Out of War Congress, the Womens' League for Peace and Freedom, and many other related groups and personalities. Even more formidable and surely more effective were the America First Committee and the immensely influential newspaper groups headed by Col. Robert R. McCormick, Joseph Patterson and William Randolph Hearst, Sr.

Many found it riotously funny to see Time berating and belaboring the McCormick-Patterson-Hearst press as “news-slanting.” In reporting foreign affairs, no one stood ahead of the American Century press when it came to “news- slanting” on U.S. foreign policy and international relations. Time was enlisted in the war on Germany and Japan long before the rest of the country, and steadily reported anti-war neutralist activity as though it were barely a non-criminal enterprise. As late as six days before the Pearl Harbor attack, Time had lambasted McCormick’s extremely influential Chicago Tribune as “unsurpassed for furious bias since frontier journalism” (Dec. 1, 1941; pp.60-64.) In this incredible piece of complex hypocrisy, Time omitted any criticism of the other two major Chicago newspapers, the blatantly pro-war tabloid owned by the millionaire Marshall Field, the Sun, and the Daily News, owned by Roosevelt’s own Secretary of the Navy, the wealthy Col. Frank Knox, as equally guilty of “furious bias” on the same subject. Of course, Time itself was the most clearly identified printed source in the major periodical press in which “news-slanting” in behalf of the pro-war camp was recognizable policy; it probably did more with the verbal reflexes “isolationist” and “internationalist” (its preferred euphemism for “interventionist”) of all organs of printed communication in the U.S.

142. [↗](#) Time (November 3, 1941), pp. 21-22.

143. [↗](#) Newsweek (November 3, 1941), p. 20.

144. [↗](#) See especially the lead editorial in the New Masses [November 11, 1941), p. 21, for one of these.

145. [↗](#) Lamont, “What Americans Are Learning,” New Masses (November 11, 1941), pp. 340.

146. [↗](#) See especially quotes on pages 19 and 31 in the November 17, 1941 issue of Time. In the first of these Time quoted from Hitler’s speech in the second week of November in which he referred to Churchill as “the crazy drunkard who for years now has been ruling England.” The reason for the almost offensively fulsome adulation of Stalin was not discernible, nor was it ever so. There were no counter- demonstrations of affection for Eng-

land anywhere in Russia then, nor were there ever any. Fighting their own war for their own objectives, one might have understood that there was no compulsion among Russians to demonstrate “solidarity” with the English; the members of the non-Russian Comintern could be depended upon to engage in any public effusions of such sentiment thought necessary. At home in Moscow, all was business, Russian business. But if anything, there should have been recognition among Russians that English help was more important to them than any Russian help to the English. The latter was microscopic, other than the function the Eastern Front played in diverting part of the German air force from English targets; but even here the assistance was more imagined than real.

147. ☞ New Masses (November 11, 1941), p. 19, for quotations cited below.
148. ☞ Cot’s political pedigree was expertly obfuscated by American liberals until the publication of his biography of Marx in the symposium *The Torch of Freedom* (Farrar and Rinehart, 1943), edited by Emil Ludwig and Henry B. Kranz. This revelation by Cot was sufficient to pinpoint his Front Populaire sentiments, if his occasional essays in *The Protestant* were insufficient illumination.
149. ☞ “What’s Behind the Urals?” U.S. News (November 14, 1941), p. 19.
150. ☞ “The Yeas and the Nays,” U.S. News (November 7, 1941), p. 49.
151. ☞ Lawrence, “Hitler Defeats Hitler,” U.S. News (November 14, 1941), pp. 20-21. Lawrence was one of the most strident voices in the U.S.A. complaining why nothing had been done about “aggression” by Japan since 1931 and by Germany since 1933. He continued this well after the European war began. However, he was one of the very last to see Stalinist Russia a threat or an “aggressor.” As a prognosticator of trouble in this quarter he had one of the poorest records in American journalism.
152. ☞ Time (November 10, 1941), pp. 29-30. Mass journalism tends to put its moguls into a position vis-a-vis the State where their conversion into commissar types is almost inevitable.
153. ☞ Newsweek (November 17, 1941), p. 22. Roosevelt sent the note pledging a billion dollars in lend-lease aid to the Reds on the 24th anniversary of Woodrow Wilson’s severance of diplomatic relations with the Bolsheviks in 1917, and Litvinov (see note below), whom Wilson refused to accept as the first Red ambassador to the U.S., was appointed Stalin’s new U.S. ambassador the same day, a matter of odd timing which called to mind to a few the 180-degree turn of U.S. liberalism on the Bolsheviks in a quarter of a century.

The ecstatic rehabilitation of Litvinov as a result of his restoration to good odor in the Soviet diplomatic bureaucracy with his appointment to America led to several kinds of rejoicing among the non-Communist fellow travelers and ardent well-wishers of the USSR in the U.S.A. One of the consequences was a re-raking over of the dramatic events of 1937-1939, as the Soviet ploy of “collective security” and the “popular front” collapsed, leading to the refusal of Americans to back Roosevelt in his “quarantine the aggressors” trial balloon of October, 1937, then the Munich agreement of September, 1938 and the diplomatic revolution of August, 1939, the immediate precursor but not necessarily the trigger of the hostilities which ensued the following month.

One of the most comprehensive was that by the veteran Moscow correspondent of the New York Times, Walter Duranty, whose pedigree as a friend of the USSR was outranked by very few. His lengthy commentary was delayed in publication (“He Who Got Slapped,” *Collier's*, January 3, 1942, pp. 12, 39-40) but got an exposure before a subscriber total of nearly 3,000,000 Americans, and probably millions of others as well, something no Communist could have expected to achieve in a number of lifetimes. Inspired by the proceedings at the Nov. 7, 1941 Soviet Embassy reception on the 24th anniversary of the “Soviet National Birthday,” Duranty, who had met Litvinov as far back as 1919, proceeded to lav-

ish praise on the latter as the father of the whole “collective security” gambit between 1934 and 1939. Rejoicing that Americans were becoming so voluble in their praise of the Red Army’s loudly advertised resistance to the German invasion, Duranty undertook to scold those who had abandoned the pro-Soviet positions earlier.

Duranty reasserted once more that the real victim of the Munich pact between the French and British, represented by Daladier (and Bonnet, the actual French diplomat on the scene) and Chamberlain, and the Germans, led by Hitler, was the Soviet Union, and the Czechs secondarily. Though the majority of even Communist-hating “conservatives” adopted the Red pejorative term “appeasement” (claimed to have been his invention by the British Communist Claude Cockburn) to describe Munich, a demonstration of political ignorance which must have kept Communists about the world laughing for the last 45 years, it should be pointed out that the Stalinists and their friends were considerably more astute in seeing the real dimensions of the Daladier-Chamberlain-Hitler proceedings in Munich. A vigorous assertion that the Munich operation was first of all an anti-Communist agreement was made by Charles A. Davila, former Rumanian minister to the U.S., some months later, but buried in the back pages of the *Nation* (July 25, 1942, p. 80.) It was the substance of Davila’s view that had the “democracies” “stood” with the Czechs at Munich that the Red Army would have been in Central Europe in a matter of days. This could be divined by a straining of Duranty’s prose as well. In his high acclaim of what he called Litvinov’s “greatest speech” before the League of Nations at Geneva, Duranty pointed out that in essence it was “a fruitless attempt to convince the French and British delegates that Russia would adhere with all its influence, and force of arms if need be, to its pledge to aid Czechoslovakia.” (emphasis added.) How any support for the Czechs could have been supplied by anyone except Stalin was not imagined then, and in view of what happened in Poland a year later, could hardly have been imagined by anyone later.

A loud and substantial part of the American Right in recent times has wanted it both ways; they have pushed for an unremitting anti-Communist program and at the same time have mouthed the Left revulsion for the Munich pact, using the same descriptive catcalls as the Communists and fellow travelers they pretend to abominate. (Somehow or other they have managed to overlook that in France with the exception of the political exotic Henri de Kerillis, the only opponents of Daladier on Munich in the Chamber of Deputies were the 75 Communists.)

Despite this long-standing verbal dust cloud, through which few have been able to peer, the French-British decision at Munich had much good to say for it. It was consistent with their Russian policy from at least 1933 as well, since “standing” with the Czechs would not only have opened the gates of Central Europe to the Red Army; such a decision would have placed them in accedence to old Soviet frontier rectification demands. By bellowing in unison with the Left over Munich, the Right, particularly that in America, have voted in favor of the Red Army being in 1938 where they eventually were, thanks to their American “allies,” in 1945.

The major ingredient of the Cold War for nearly 40 years has consisted of *ex post facto* American remorse over this consequence, and the wearisome and only feebly successful rebuilding of a power concentrate in what is left of non-Communist Europe to match off against a Communist saturation of total power in Central and Eastern Europe, to which tacit approval was tendered long before Yalta. It may be that the Anglo-French position was hopeless, and that the small countries fabricated at Versailles and after, lying between Germany and Russia, extending from Finland to the Black Sea, were doomed to either German or Russian interference. But on the face of it, Chamberlain and Daladier emerge as towering figures of wisdom compared to Churchill, Duff Cooper, Lord Halifax, Lord Lothian, Anthony Eden and Robert Vansittart, and the likes of Attlee, Cripps, Bevin, Shinwell and Morrison. Concessions to Germany resulted in undesirable consequences, but the former

did not bring the Red Army into Central Europe, which is what the logic of the challenge to Germany called for. One can throw up barrels of stale propaganda accusations of German intentions to “conquer the world,” but until pressured to do otherwise, the Anglo-French policies down to the end of March, 1939 still pitted German ambitions against those of the Soviet, allowing themselves a position to move about, at least relatively, as to their best interests. Once the commitment to support either the Germans or Russians was made, the outcome was predictable and often predicted: either a German- or Russian-dominated Central Europe. The long-range vision of the Churchill wing of British leadership is that they preferred Russian to German, and they promptly got it. Churchill’s opening of the Cold War with his March, 1946 speech at Fulton, Missouri is the perfect testament to his political myopia.

A related rumination of the time, and since reiterated in many hundreds of books and thousands of smaller pieces, is that if only the British and French and the American people had backed Roosevelt in his “quarantine” doctrine of October, 1937 (Actually fully developed by Stalinists a good 2 years before FDR’s speech in Chicago), Hitler, intimidated, would have evaporated in fear, the Germans would have slunk home and cowered in their basements, and a Central Europe tailored to Anglo-Franco-American specifications and desires would have prevailed in perpetuity. This theme is always built on a foundation of theoretical statecraft from which the Soviet Union is always omitted. Therefore the possibility of a German-Russian agreement a la that of August, 1939, but occurring well before it, is breezily ignored and never considered. If being checked by a British policy turnabout in late March, 1939 led to the Pakt five months later, is there any reason that adoption of a similar line in October, 1937 might not have brought about a diplomatic revolution resembling the Pakt but, say, in March, 1938?

Again, the upholders of the above-mentioned strategy to “contain” Hitler wish not to confront the obvious: the Anglo-French and their moral supporters in America were through in Central Europe, and that it was a matter of whether they would support the Germans or the Russians in this region. The entry of the Americans directly in the situation as a consequence of the military events of 1944-1945 did not alter this at all. From a European point of view it has been a nuisance at best, and a replacement of an inept and impotent Anglo-French policy by one which has yet to be demonstrated to be very much better. American Cold War “containment” simply put the problem into suspended animation for a generation, and now going on to another. One might summarize the U.S.A. apologetic satirically as follows: it was a lovely, noble, righteous war; if only the Communists, with whom we were in such exalted wartime partnership, had not tried to gain anything out of the victory and allowed the spoils to accrue to their Western “partners,” all would be well in the world.

154. ☺ “Mr. Wallach Goes to Washington,” Time (November 17, 1941), pp.23-24; “Litvinoff’s Return,” Time (December 8, 1941), p. 29. Still others identified Litvinoff as originally Moysheev Vallakh, the son of a Jewish bank clerk in Bialystok, Russia. His employment record, 1908-1918, prior to his emergence as a Bolshevik bureaucrat reputedly involved work as a clerk, draftsman, newspaper reporter and traveling salesman, supposedly for a corset manufacturer. Those who jeered at the German Foreign Minister, Joachim Ribbentrop, as a one-time wine salesman neglected to point out that one of their diplomat heroes had also spent much time on the road.
155. ☺ Associated Press report, in Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph, December 11, 1941), p. A1. The steadily accelerating propaganda from pro-Soviet spokesmen in the U.S.A. of all kinds from 1941 on, stressing Soviet faithfulness to their given word, always skipped rapidly past the expulsion of the USSR from the League of Nations on December 14, 1939 for carrying on the war with Finland in the first place.
156. ☺ “There Goes Finland,” Time (November 17, 1941), p.15.

157. U Lawrence, "Loyal Opposition'-Where ?" U.S. News (July 4, 1941), pp. 18-19.
158. U U.S. News (July 25,1941), inside back cover.
159. U U.S. News (August 22,1941), p.23.
160. U Colorado Springs Gazette, November 1,1941, p.4.
161. U Time (September 15,1941), p.16.
162. U Time (October 27, 1941), p. 13. In the summer of 1941 the National Resources Planning Board published a pamphlet titled "After Defense-What?" This suggested that this top-level think tank looked upon the flood of defense spending as a short term phenomenon, and that its unemployment blotter effect would be short lived, thus requiring a new impulse, unlike either the New Deal or "defense spending" to perform the function of putting Americans to work. That a succession of wars, followed by a succession of defense programs, would serve to postpone this problem, which the NRPB saw shaping up right away, did not cross the minds of the eminent economic savants.
163. U U.S. News (October 10, 1941), p.48. Roosevelt was reputed to be "greatly amused" at the "violently unfavorable" reaction to this proposal from "many Congressmen who once favored keeping the profits out of war." Another remarkable somersault had been performed by a sector of American opinion in five years, as it began to sink home what some of the economic consequences of gearing up the "arsenal of democracy" portended for local districts.
164. U Time (December 8,1941), p.28.
165. U One of the almost forgotten episodes of the earliest years of the Bolshevik upheaval was that associated with the mining engineer Washington B. Vanderlip, representing a mainly Los Angeles-based investor group seeking from Lenin a mining lease on Kamchatka. Vanderlip, who declared to Americans that the "Red terror" was simply propaganda and was not taking place, drew a remarkable amount of space in the American newspapers from October, 1920 on into 1922.
166. U "What Mr. Batt Saw in Russia," U.S. News (November 21,1941), p.15, for above observations. The near-panic attached to "defense" beginning in the early summer of 1940 and the sharp turnaround from criticism to accolades for industrial war production was not without its problems. There was a largely concealed struggle between the incumbent New Deal bureaucrats of the top rank, reluctantly doffing domestic reform for planetary martial roles, and the newly perfumed industrial moguls recruited for the job of mass-producing billions of dollars of all kinds of weapons, sometimes referred to as the "dollar-a-year" men. These top executives entered quasi-government service presumably waiving federal compensation, though the immense revenue accruing to their companies via arms contracts seemed not to be a subject worth discussing publicly. The subject of dispute over the pressure to produce for Stalin was even more concealed, though it can be assumed to have had some influence in these conflicts over direction of policy. An interesting contemporary book over this fight at the top was Carlisle Barger's Confusion on the Potomac (Wilfred Funk), attacked in Foreign Affairs but otherwise reviewed in a commendatory way, even a year after publication (1942).
167. U Time (November 24,1941), p.87. A week before the Pearl Harbor attack, an organization of American interventionists, the Associated Leagues for a Declared War, had named James W. Gerard, the U.S. ambassador to Germany during the early years of World War One, as their honorary chairman. Gerard took on the symbolic post, declaring that "the time had come to declare a state of war with Germany." Associated Press report, Colorado Springs Gazette, December 1,1941, p. 1. But the way things were going in terms of public disaffection for initiated belligerency, it might have been a very long wait for ex-Ambassador Ger-

ard and the Associated Leagues had not the welcome assault by Japan a week later brought about the dearly-desired war declaration.

168. Time (December 8,1941), p.25.

169. ☺ “Nice Old Gentleman,” Time (December 1, 1941), p.25.

170. ☺ Time (December 8,1941), p.20.

171. ☺ New Masses (December 9, 1941), p. 19. Willkie’s gratuitous volunteering of the opinion that the Communist Manifesto was “one of the great historical documents” earned him the criticism of Rep. Paul Schafer of Michigan on the floor of the House of Representatives. It was a strange testimonial to hear from the lips of a well-to-do corporation lawyer. The Pr>Red Orchestra in the U.S.A. 359

171a. The largest part of the justification for American involvement in World War II has been ex post facto; on the basis of what happened after hostilities were joined, participation has been hailed as vindicated, and all ensuing and subsequent policies have been explained as the ultimate in rectitude.

This became progressively a convention, in the generation after the war, when repeated publication of information and previously suppressed documentation and memoirs revealed, for instance, that the pretense of neutrality on the part of the Roosevelt administration was a garment, not a tissue, of lies, and that it was an arm of Britain almost from the beginning of the war. In a similar way, the sustained revelation of mendacity all during the war was increasingly and often vociferously hailed as justified in view of the alleged monstrousness of the enemy’s subsequent behavior. That little of this would have ever taken place had the war been terminated on a negotiated basis, as was possible on many occasions, is rarely if ever allowed to enter into the account. It is always a convenient rationalization to claim nobility for one’s behavior at one moment by calling attention to specious factors at a later time which appear to give ersatz righteousness to the initiating action. The clever ploy of provoking a response, in order to justify what is done in reaction to it, and which was intended or hoped for to begin with, is hardly a novel device in the history of statecraft, however.

172. ☺ Sen. Norris quoted in Newsweek (October 27,1941), p.16. The opinion of Sen. Norris was actually quite widespread, and undoubtedly accounted to a serious degree for the intractability of the Administration toward Japan, and the unwillingness to negotiate anything; the attitude seemed to be that one does not have to compromise with weak inferiors. The widely read commentator on military and naval matters, Major George Fielding Eliot, urged war on Japan in his column, and in other writings; “We have but to stir a finger, and they will sustain such a defeat as they will not recover from this side of total ruin,” is the way he confidently stated the matter. Roosevelt was known to have a very low opinion of Japan as a naval power, while liberal and Communist opinion makers vaulted back and forth on the subject, portraying Japan as an invincible juggernaut, especially threatening to Stalinist Siberia and the future of Communism in China, and, alternately, as a thin shell of superficial strength but with “feet of clay,” easily destroyed by a Western military foray whenever the latter made up their mind to confront them. One should be aware of the incredible opportunities that lay in the hands of those interested in misleading and lying to the American public about Japan, in these times. Those non-Japanese Americans who had a real command of Japanese were estimated by Archibald MacLeish, the chief of the American propaganda services, to be only three of a total U.S.A. populace of nearly 135,000,000. The editors of Publishers Weekly were a little more generous in their estimate; they concluded there were about 100. See “Global War Demands New Skills in Foreign Languages,” Publishers Weekly (September 26,1942), p.1192, for the quote from MacLeish, and their estimate. An absorbing summary of contemporary misconceptions about the Japa-

nese is the section "Prodding Japan into War," in Porter Sargent's *Getting U.S. into War* (Boston, 1941), pp.525-545.

173. ☺ *Time* (November 10,1941), p.13.

174. ☺ *Time* (December 8,1941), p. 11.

175. ☺ Abend, "How the U.S. Navy Will Fight Japan," *Look* (November 18,1941), pp.20-21.

Part of the over-confidence in the sureness of a swift victory in a matter of a few weeks over Japan in any likely war, which was almost universal (financial "experts" did not think Japan had enough money to fight more than two months), was a result of many decades of belief that Japanese industrial quality was extremely poor, partially due to the experience of seeing nothing but toys, Christmas tree ornaments and electric light bulbs in American shops. Many years of hilarious stories had gone around describing Japanese naval vessels as comic craft at best.

One of the great yarns which was retold with many novelty decorations concerned a Japanese dreadnought which allegedly turned turtle and sank upon its launching, because it had been faultily constructed from stolen plans previously tampered with by U.S. or British agents. This was revealed after Pearl Harbor to have been only a torpedo boat, the *Tomoduru*, which tipped over because of overloading with guns and torpedo tubes, when it had insufficient displacement, according to *Time* (December 22, 1941), p. 24.

176. ☺ An amazingly large number of people in public communications in the U.S. complacently expected that the prying loose of Japan from the British, French and Dutch colonies in the Far East would be followed a genial and uneventful restoration, after the entry of the U.S. into the Pacific-War, in the same way their colleagues dealing with the war in Europe expected pro-British or pro-French regimes to return to control of the region between Germany and Russia. Part of this mindless complacency was due to the widely-encouraged belief that the Western powers were deeply loved in the Orient by all except the Japanese, partially due to generations of Sinophile sentiments encouraged by missionaries, among other things. In harmony with this was an incredible piece in *Time* two weeks after the Pearl Harbor bombing, "How to Tell Your Friends From the Japs" (December 22, 1941, p. 33), which was worse than no tipsheet at all in aiding distinguishing one sub-racial group of Orientals from another.

The entry of the United States into World War II via the Pearl Harbor attack triggered another development which had bittersweet responses in both the business community and the consumer public: the machinery of price controls, rationing and many other nagging harassments which so bedevilled those subject to them and so elated those who made and administered them. Frustrated by the failure of domestic New Deal agencies to loose the controls upon the land, so dear to the controllers among the bureaucratic multitude employed in its police actions, the war brought about the regulators' dream. It now became high patriotic duty to govern and regulate the citizenry's tastes, and massive doses of sumptuary legislation soon flowed out, to the delight of the element made responsible for applying it. The agency primarily involved, the Office of Price Administration, soon became the most hated agency of the entire war, and was loaded down with the haughtiest and most insufferable people that the general populace had to put up with for the next five years. Particularly offensive to a growing number was its first chief, Leon Henderson, despite continuous efforts in the mass media to sell him as an economic giant. The glamor portrait in the *U.S. News* (May 8, 1942, pp. 14-15), titled "Leon Henderson, Boss of Our Economy," had many counterparts. Eventually he simply had to be replaced in the interests of domestic war morale and societal tranquillity, by a somewhat less abrasive personality, Chester Bowles.

Usually ignored were the army of underlings gathered around Henderson, delighted by the enhanced aura of their collective egos, and they may have done as much to annoy and infuriate the national community as their boss, if not more so. Most prominent of these was

John Kenneth Galbraith, Henderson's deputy administrator, a one time professor of economics at Princeton University and an editor of Luce's business mouthpiece magazine, *Fortune*, in the mid-1930s. "Tall, towering" Galbraith, as *U.S. News* described him, had been in the OPA prior to Pearl, and was credited by *Time* (December 22, 1941, pp. 33-34) for swiftly instituting the legislation, apparently prepared well before, which made it virtually impossible for Americans to procure new automobile tires, just days after the Hawaii attack. Thus a new occupation was made possible for organized crime, and the Mafia sequestered many billions directing the national campaign of supplying those goods which the OPA managers decreed were not to be purchased legally by the citizenry, or which they were to have only in very limited supply. This story has yet to be told, though much of the lunacy of the program of price controls and rationing has been described with great effectiveness by Professor Fred Shannon in his *America's Economic Growth* (Macmillan, 1951). A notable list of future luminaries from the legal world and the economics professoriat worked at one time or another for the OPA, including future Nobel Prize winner Milton Friedman and future President Richard M. Nixon.

177. [U.S. News](#) (December 19, 1941), p.13.
178. ["Far-Flung Strategy to Defeat Japanese," U.S. News](#) (December 26, 1941), p. 11. An amusing by-product of the abstention of Soviet Russia from the Pacific War was the reaction of some elements of the American Left which traditionally abominated the USSR, especially the Socialists long led by Norman Thomas. He insisted that the U.S.A. should have declared war on just Japan as a consequence of Pearl Harbor, and not given Stalin a wind-fall by going to war with his enemies in Europe as well, since he had not reciprocated by adding Japan to the Soviet war opponents. The *New Masses* was deeply offended by Thomas' proposition, and denounced him as a "Quisling Socialist." *New Masses* (January 6, 1942), p. 19.
179. ["Litvinoff's Problem," Time](#) (December 22, 1941), p. 14, contained the most succinct of the expert evasions of Stalin's newest ambassador to the U.S.A. on the absence of a two-front war in Soviet views of the world situation. (The continuous application by Stalinist flacks of the pejorative "gangster" to its enemies became somewhat wearying especially to the scattered and dispersed enemies of the regime, who considered that the nearest thing to a "gangster" regime in international politics, in terms of legitimacy, was that descended from Lenin and Trotsky and administered at that moment by Stalin.)
180. [Wide World press service report](#), in *Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph*, January 18, 1942, p. 1. From a cultural point of view, the music of World War Two probably reached a new low in quality. From Russia came pretentious compositions which were mainly organized noise, while the output of the West, from both sides of the battle lines, consisted largely of senseless ditties or ballads so treacly sentimental that they were largely an incitation to desertion. As things turned out, there was a heavy reliance on the popular music and jazz of the West prior to the phase of American involvement, which even proved to be true in the case of the enemy in the Far East; dependence on recordings of earlier vintage was common- place on radio in most war sectors.

The effort of the music industry in the U.S.A. to produce quality propaganda songs was quite dismal (World War Two was not the singing war that World War One was). An incredibly bad pro-Stalinist song, "If That's Propaganda, Make the Most of It," was composed expressly for a Russian War Relief Benefit in the fall of 1941 by Harold Arlen and Ira Gershwin; *Time* published its lyrics (November 3, 1941, p. 51) while remarking that "Tin Pan Alley has now gone at least halfway to town for Russia." A tune with some of the entire war's silliest lyrics, "Any Bonds Today," composed by Irving Berlin, was actually copyrighted by Treasury Secretary Morgenthau (*Time*, December 22, 1941, p. 55.) But the depths were plumbed by the Pearl Harbor attack, which resulted in the launching of the following:

"They Asked For It," "You're a Sap, Mr. Jap," "The Japs Haven't a Chinaman's Chance," "The Sun Will Soon Be Setting for the Land of the Rising Sun," "We Did It Before and We Can Do It Again," "Remember Pearl Harbor," "So We'll Knock the Japs Right Into the Laps of the Nazis," "They Started Something But We're Gonna End It," "Let's Take a Rap At the Japs," "Taps for the Japs," "We're the Guys To Do It," "We've Got To Do a Job on the Japs, Baby," "Those Nasty, Nasty Nazis," and "We're Gonna Find a Fellow Who Is Yellow and Beat Him Red, White and Blue." *Time* (December 29, 1941), p.46.

181.  The Roosevelt regime's psychological warfare division was at work on Germany many weeks before involved formally in hostilities. *Time's* "The U.S. Short Wave" (November 31, 1941, pp. 54-56) revealed that the ardent Stalinist sympathizer Lillian Hellman's more pro-Communist than anti-Nazi play *Watch on the Rhine* was being shortwaved overseas in a German translation via New York City's station WRUL. and that the ex-secretary to the ex-Ambassador to Moscow, Davies, one Stan P. Richardson, with the aid of Joseph Barnes, ex-foreign editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*, and the Chicago journalist Edmond Taylor (author of *Strategy of Terror*) were at work on a comprehensive radio program of psychological war propaganda dovetailed closely to administration recipes. Taylor, who became a major figure in the amateur spy organization which straddled the world during the war, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the ancestor of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), has been memorialized at length in the book by R. Harris Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency* (University of California Press, 1972).

Richardson, Barnes and Taylor were identified by *Time* as working under the Coordinator of Information, an office secretly created by Roosevelt in July, 1941, with a largely un-vouchered budget and headed by a World War I veteran, William J. Donovan. The COI evolved into the OSS, probably the most over-rated agency in the history of espionage, and which did incalculable mischief detrimental to long- term U.S. interests in behalf of both European and Asian Communism. Its research chief in 1941 was James Phinney Baxter III, President of exclusive and costly Williams College, and it gradually recruited a legion of leftist liberal academics, journalists, ideologues and assorted upper and upper middle class off- spring of American moneyed Anglophiles, from the Little Ivy League colleges, in particular. This whole was heavily sprinkled by ferocious Marxist professionals of both domestic and European refugee backgrounds, and later a contingent of professional murderers and related vicious recruits from the ranks of the Mafia and other enclaves of American and European organized crime.

Fright is one of the most ancient political capers which has been perpetrated against people by their leaders since recorded history. It enjoyed an enormous vogue, 1933-1945, and was generously employed with considerable effect all during the war, especially. Americans went through three episodes in particular, in the 1940-1941 period, when people in authority threatened them with invasion by the Germans first, then by the Germans and Japanese simultaneously, and then by just the Japanese. President Roosevelt had in his inaugural address in March, 1933 effectively utilized Henry David Thoreau's declaration, without giving the latter credit, to the effect that the only thing Americans had to fear was "fear itself." In his pronouncements on the European war in the last eighteen months before American involvement, however, FDR had not the slightest reservation in spreading fear in the hope of making political capital out of it, and driving the populace into the arms of the warrior interventionist segment of the total. He specialized in fright about the possible consequences of German actions. His predictions as to the dire circumstances of possible German moves never came within the slightest possibility of realization, but they helped overcome skeptical reservations widely held by those opposed to his interest in becoming a belligerent. The Luce publications cooperated spiritedly in putting his nightmares before the public. *Life* featured the trial balloon which involved the prediction of an invasion of both coasts by

German and Japanese “hordes,” and Time always put his threats of other kinds of trouble before its readers prominently and persuasively. Though nothing happened in 1940, the fright-threats got much worse in 1941.

In July a variant of the possibility of German paratroops descending upon Iowa was the scare that Hitler’s forces would sweep across the many thousands of miles from Poland to the Pacific shores of Siberia and arrive in Vladivostok in days, to undertake an invasion of Alaska via Siberia, which was expected to be a swift German victory in the manner of Norway, presumably helped out with local traitors, apparently (“Another Norway,” Time July 7, 1941, p.14). This ploy was right in focus for Republican Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington, long the proponent for a road from Seattle to Alaska. Now the drive for this began at a far more heated tempo, as an aid to promote the intensive militarization of the latter to forestall this possible debacle. Time was right with him.

Roosevelt was not satisfied with this, and in his speech to Congress later in the month, on which he was reported to have spent a large amount of time, he again suggested to that body that the U.S.A. was in “infinitely greater” danger at that moment than it had been in the summer of 1940, the time of the launching of some of the most incredible threats (Time, July 28, 1941, p.7).

Still another venture in these turbulent currents was undertaken by the President. At the Navy League dinner in Washington at the end of October, 1941 he made public two famous “documents” he claimed he had come upon, the first a “secret map” purporting to show how Hitler planned to cut up Central and South America into five vassal states and the second another “secret” which was a plan “to abolish every religion in the world” and to replace them with “an international Nazi Church” with Hitler’s Mein Kampf presumably replacing the Bible, and undoubtedly all of the other holy books about the planet. These were substantially fabrications of British intelligence, probably by leftist Germans in their employ, and planted upon a source delighted to try them out on his listeners. Time soberly reported these as fact. (Time, November 3, 1941, p. 11.)

The big scare about a possible Japanese invasion of the entire West Coast was part of the hysteria following Pearl Harbor, and may have had more to do with distracted leadership other than Roosevelt. Part of this was accompanied by a rumor that an evacuation of the entire West back to a line in the Continental Divide slightly west of Denver was about to become policy, from which a last ditch stand was to be made. It may have caused the panic in Secretary of War Stimson’s coterie which led to the order to round up the entire Japanese-American population for incarceration in concentration camps.

All this agitation and panic stands in strange contrast to the evaluation by Time eight years after the end of the war. In the lead article under “National Affairs” in the issue for October 18, 1953 the editors calculated, “distance prevented any European enemy from dreaming (sic) of forcing a decision on the U.S. by sending major forces to this country”. The worst that the U.S. faced in World War II was the possibility that Europe and Asia, in the hands of its enemies, would be able slowly to weaken the U.S. or to force it to fight without allies on distant and unfavorable battlefields.” Though no one can “force” another to go vast distances to fight, the last portion of the Time analysis sounded much like what the U.S.A., a “victor,” ended up doing anyway in Korea and Vietnam.

182. On the reviews in this section: Fadiman reviews in New Yorker (October 4, 1941), p.86, and (December 6, 1941), p.108. Woolbert’s review in Foreign Affairs of Hindus in issue of January, 1942, p.384, but Strong review delayed until issue for October, 1942, p.783. Barnes review in New York Herald Tribune Books, January 11, 1942, p.13. Chamberlin reviews in Saturday Review of Literature (December 20, 1941), p.7, and New York Times Book Review, October 12, 1941, pp.9, 26. The Paterson critique was buried in the New York Herald Tribune Books, November 30, 1941, p. 34. Mosely review in Yale Review (December, 1941), pp. 394-396. Phillips’ review in New York Herald Tribune Books, September

28, 1941, p. 6, while Gannett, long-established Herald Tribune critic and long-famed as one of the most combative liberals decorating the Nation, included his kindly estimate of Hindus in a roundup of current literature, "Books You May Be Reading This Fall," New York Herald Tribune Books, October 5, 1941, p.2.

183. ♻ Foreign Affairs review of Davies given the top billing in the section devoted to World War Two books in issue for April, 1942, p. 571. Duranty reviewed in same issue, p. 578, while the Zacharoff book delayed until the October, 1942 issue, p.783.
184. ♻ Foreign Affairs (October, 1942), p. 782. These English imprints were frequently unnoticed anywhere except in Foreign Affairs, which usually devoted no more than a line or two in general description, as in the case of the Sloan essay, "An uncritical pro-Communist description of the structure and functioning of the Soviet Government." (April, 1942, p. 578.) Another London imprint of 1941 which went unnoticed in the U.S.A. was Kingsley Martin's *Propaganda's Harvest* (Kegan Paul). Strauss was identified cryptically as "formerly connected with the labor movement in Austria," but his arrival time in England was not mentioned.
185. ♻ These 1941 imprints generally received late reviews, all being mentioned in the April, 1942 Foreign Affairs, pp. 568-573. Included with them was the Air Ministry secretary, J.M. Spaight's *The Battle of Britain* (London: Bles), an account of the German air attack on the country and the Royal Air Force's counter-attack on Germany, a book which Americans might have learned a great deal from, but did not see.
186. ♻ Fadiman review in New Yorker (September 13, 1941), p.74; Barnes review in New York Herald Tribune Books, September 21, 1941), p.18. Even Woolbert in Foreign Affairs was repelled by Simone's latest work; his critical note appeared in the issue for January, 1942, p.381.
187. ♻ The reaction to Lyons' book was remarkably subdued in view of its poor timing as far as publication was concerned. Even in the liberal weeklies it was treated circumspectly, though both the author and most of the commentators on the book had records of previous enthusiasm for the Bolsheviks at one time or another. It appeared malapropos to just a few that a book criticizing enthusiasm for Soviet foreign politics should appear at just about the moment a general drive in that direction was about to get under way once more.
188. ♻ Foreign Affairs (April, 1942), p. 578; review of Ciliga in issue of October, 1941, p. 202. Also published in 1941 was John Kenneth Turner's *Challenge to Karl Marx* (Reynal and Hitchcock), almost as awkward a book as that by Lyons. Turner was vigorously attacked by the British Marxist David W. Petegorsky in the New Republic (November 17, 1941).
189. ♻ Woods review in New-York Times Book Review (November 2, 1941), p.10. These disillusionist books about the USSR in early wartime should be compared with the American classic of this sort, *Proletarian Journey*, by Fred Beal (1937).
190. ♻ Fadiman in the New Yorker compared Koestler's book to that of Aladar Kuncz, *Black Monastery*, published posthumously in 1934 by Harcourt Brace; the author was a Hungarian school teacher on vacation in France at the outbreak of World War I who was interned as an enemy alien and spent the war in French concentration camps.
191. ♻ The closing blow in behalf of Communism struck in Time prior to direct U.S. participation in World War Two involved a review of Feuchtwanger's book, published in the late fall of 1941 by Harold Guinzburg's Viking Press, and heavily promoted. A book largely devoted to Feuchtwanger's wailing about his experiences in a French concentration camp as an enemy alien, its review in Time would surely have earned the misinformation prize of the year had one been awarded. It included a breath-takingly dishonest description of the author as "a peace-loving contemplative Jew of 57" who allegedly "had no interest in politics."

Its anonymous author apparently concluded that no reader was familiar with the liberal, fellow-traveler and Communist press in America, to whom Feuchtwanger was a well-known and fiercely-controversial figure. Ignored was a then-recent fact: other than Corliss Lamont, Feuchtwanger had been the first person published by the New Masses in its issue of July 15, 1941 of a group asked to comment on the significance of the just-erupted war between Germany and Russia. Nothing from the Soviet Foreign Office could have exceeded Feuchtwanger's incandescent Soviet sentiments.. He rejoiced that the "enemies of the USSR" who had "tried to hide the truth about the Soviet people" were now being unmasked, and that, thanks to the spreading of the war, "this malicious gossip" had been "shattered," and people everywhere were taking "a better look at the USSR" and recognizing the "nobility" of the Soviet Union and also "Stalin's speeches, with their bold and simple realism." Feuchtwanger was further comforted to note that "The recognition that the Soviet peoples fight for America's safety" was being "expressed in the statements of the American government," a curious distillation of official pronouncements not discerned by much of anyone else.

Ignored by Time's incredible reviewer was that Feuchtwanger had already run his white-wash of French Stalinism of 1938-40 past liberal reviewers, as an article early in 1941, and had earned a stinging denunciation from Dwight MacDonald, as "the number one world literary spokesman for the Stalin regime," in *Common Sense*. MacDonald had accompanied this with a lengthy string of quotations from the Communist literary magazine *Das Wort* when Feuchtwanger was editing it in Moscow in 1936-1937, including the latter's bitter attack on American liberals for questioning the vicious Moscow trials. Now posing as an enemy of totalitarianism and scribbling feverish anti-Hitler pro-war tracts, MacDonald insisted Feuchtwanger was a systematic peddler of falsehoods in the former department, and finished his deflating critique of this man who "had no interest in politics" by quoting from one of his *Das Wort* essays in 1937, in which Feuchtwanger had enthused, "One breathes again when one comes from this oppressive Western atmosphere of a counterfeit democracy and hypocritical humanism into the invigorating atmosphere of the Soviet Union." In view of this encomium to the Stalinist heaven on earth, there were those who wondered what Feuchtwanger was doing in the corrupt and degenerate America he so detested such a short time before. And it was reviews such as this which made some observers wonder why Time repeatedly issued scoffing disparagements of the Nation and New Republic as "pinko."

It was characteristic of Time to suppress basic information about the politics of persons subject to profiles in its pages as was the case with Feuchtwanger. At about the same time, in hailing the talents of the artist Anton Refregier, who had received \$26,000 for the murals in the San Francisco Post Office under the aegis of the Works Progress Administration, Time omitted mention that Refregier, born in Moscow in 1905, and in the U.S.A. since 1921, was a veteran hero of the New Masses and Daily Worker editors; see report in Time (November 17, 1941), p.54.

192. [↗](#) Woolbert review in *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1942), p.568.

193. [↗](#) Woolbert described Stowe's book as "engrossing" in *Foreign Affairs* (January, 1942), pp.376-377; it was the first-listed in the section of wartime books. Stowe mentioned being sent to Europe in September, 1939 for the *Chicago Daily News*. Hindus' review of van Paassen in *Saturday Review of Literature* (November 18, 1941), p.13; see also review of van Paassen by J.M. Minifie in *New York Herald Tribune Books* (October 19, 1941), p. 3, another kindly puff. Harsch was highly praised in *Foreign Affairs* January, 1942), p.377; van Paassen hailed in issue for October, 1941, p.778.

194. [↗](#) *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1942), p.569, praised Davis' book as a "sound and timely" work dealing with the "Anglo-American entente for the control of the seas," not just the Atlantic,

as the title suggested. Knickerbocker's work was pushed even more strongly by Foreign Affairs (April, 1942), p. 571. Carrying a foreword by another nationally known warrior correspondent, John Gunther, the book got a similarly loud burst of praise from still another emotionally-involved foreign newsman, William L. Shirer, in the New York Herald Tribune Books, November 9, 1941, p.5. Shirer's rise to pre-eminence among the Herald Tribune's reviewers of World War Two books will be examined in detail subsequently. The Taylor-Janeway-Snow joint effort may have been the basis for a position paper for the coming Office of Strategic Services (OSS), outlining an American counter-offensive against Italo-German policies and propaganda.

However, this work was mainly ignored in favor of a nearly simultaneously published volume, *The Spoil of Europe* (Norton) dealing with much of the same subject. One of the mystery books of the war, it was credited to "Thomas Reveille," the alias cover for a refugee European who rejoiced in the real name of Rifat Tirana, an utter unknown, but guessed by some to be an Albanian Communist. Hired in a super-secret job in the Roosevelt pre-war war machine, he ground out this book which was preceded by a foreword by still another of the enthusiastic journalists for war, Raymond Gram Swing, and vociferously hailed by uncritical reviewers in all the choice sources, from Foreign Affairs through the prestigious dailies, as an insightful book into wartime Germany and its occupied regions in Europe. Reviewer after reviewer strained buttons in heaping praise on it, for reasons which will probably never be known. As a war call it had its merits, but as a description of the German economy and that of German-occupied Europe it had no particular virtue that could not be found in the estimates of Marxists and near-Marxists of the stamp of Franz Neumann, Max Werner, Fritz Sternberg and Gunter Reimann. Its message of a shaky and disintegrating economic nightmare prevailing in the Hitler-controlled areas of Europe encouraged the impulsive to think a war would be a sudden success if undertaken soon under American auspices. Its failure to indicate what really was going on, and that those anxious for martial endeavor in America faced a tough and resourceful enemy who was about to take on the whole world for another four destructive and bloody years, performed a mean chore utterly antagonistic to American interests. It fattened the illusions of eager interventionists into thinking they were facing a puff-ball which would pop in a few months, while concealing the real world, setting up the wrecking of Europe and the killing of many millions, and guaranteeing Stalinist Communism for tens of millions of others.

There were a few voices of complaint about its shortcomings but they were buried in scholarly works of limited circulation. Hailed by left-liberals, e.g., Swing in the Atlantic Monthly for October, 1941, by Joseph Barnes in the New York Herald Tribune Books for August 31, 1941, p.3, and described in Foreign Affairs (January, 1942, p.377) by Woolbert as "one of the most competent books to appear since the war began," it even panicked the normally skeptical William Henry Chamberlin, who declared that it was "extremely impressive because so well documented." This raised some eyebrows in Academe, and set some wondering what book Chamberlin was talking about, since the European history specialist E.C. Helmreich (in the American Political Science Review for December, 1941, p. 1177) had panned "Reveille" severely for his extremely weak documentation. Complained Helmreich, "there are virtually no footnotes," so that it was impossible to trace his quotations. Another Central European specialist, M.W. Fodor, pointed out serious weaknesses of *The Spoil of Europe* in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (January, 1942), p.178.

195.  For brief comments on the above volumes see Foreign Affairs (January, 1942), p.386; (October, 1942), p.785. Hauser's book was the only one with general distribution. The others had influence mostly in the academic community. Another contribution in 1941 to the pro-Red literature on the Far East by Miss Wales (Mrs. Snow) was *Kim San: The Life Story of a Korean Rebel* (John Day), an edited collation which by and large failed to endear itself

to reviewers. Rodney Gilbert in the New York Herald Tribune Books (November 16, 1941, p. 4) was repelled by the portrait which emerged, and which presumably entranced Miss Wales. The book's subject came across to Gilbert as "a daft, conceited, murderous little prig." Such sterling "anti-fascist revolutionaries" of Korean stamp were a little while in becoming celebrities among Americans of "advanced social consciousness."

196. [↗](#) Time (December 15, 1941, p. 74
197. [↗](#) Time (December 15, 1941), p.38.
198. [↗](#) Associated Press report, in Colorado Springs Evening Telegraph, December 16, 1941, p.10.
199. [↗](#) Huxley quoted in Time (December 15, 1941), p. 53. The Pro-Red Orchestra in the U.S.A. 367
200. [↗](#) Social Justice (December 22,1941), p.4. Rev. Coughlin seemed to be echoing a view expressed by an almost polar political opposite, the novelist Erskine Caldwell, a short time before. Caldwell, with his wife, Margaret Bourke-White, a photographer famous for her "proletarian" portraits (especially the very worst she could find in the rural U.S. South, *You Have Seen Their Faces*), had spent from May 1 to October 1 in Moscow, and had returned to the U.S. via Siberia just before the Pearl Harbor incident. Speaking to an interviewer in Spokane, Washington on December 1, Caldwell declared, "Russia-not England or the United States-will win the war in the end." And he added as a closing caution, "If the Allied countries try to cheat Russia, they're going to regret it." Associated Press report, Colorado Springs Gazette, December 1,1941, p. 1, and December 3, 1941, p.4.
201. [↗](#) Time (December 29, 1941), pp.23-24.
202. [↗](#) Quotations from publisher's advertisement, New York Herald Tribune Books, January 4, 1942, p. 8. The heavy space and attention given to Davies' book in this paper, endlessly referred to by Time as "the arch-Republican New York Herald Tribune," may have puzzled some who might have identified such an appellation as an indication of powerful conservative leanings. What such persons needed was an education on the people who dominated the paper's book review pages, whose pro-Soviet special pleading already was substantial, and which was to accelerate at an impressive rate for the duration of the war.
203. New York Herald Tribune Books, January 4, 1942, p. 1.
204. [↗](#) Saturday Review of Literature (January 10, 1942, p.5.
205. [↗](#) New Masses (January 13, 1942), pp.20-22.
206. [↗](#) Davies' book was just as fiercely acclaimed among the affluent circles connected with Eastern capital as it was by the USCP, however. It drew enthusiastic approval and top billing in the April, 1942 issue of Foreign Affairs (p. 571) as well.
207. [↗](#) Wolfe's review was titled "No Radish," apparently intended to be complimentary to Davies and a testament to his sincere pro-Stalinism; the term "radish" had long applied to persons with superficial affection for Stalin but fundamentally opposed to him secretly ("red outside, white inside.") A similar cognomen, "beefsteak Nazis," had for years been applied to the legion of Marxists who voted against Hitler, 1930-1933, and then joined National Socialist organizations thereafter ("brown outside, red inside.")
208. [↗](#) There is no study of the voluminous literature by Poles in the 1919-1939 interim not only predicting but welcoming a war not only with Russia but with Germany, and confidently forecasting victory over both and a substantial enlargement of the geographical scope of the Polish state which would follow such victory.
209. [↗](#) Chamberlin review in New York Times Book Review (January 4, 1942), pp. to 15. The Times reported January 22 that a fifth printing, bringing the total of copies to 54,000 had already taken place.

210. ☞ Marshall review in *Nation* (January 31, 1942), p. 118. The *Nation* editors had already objected to the publisher's use in their advertisement of what appeared to be a testimonial from President Roosevelt for the book but which actually was a part of a letter FDR had written to Davies in 1940 when the latter had resigned as a special assistant to the State Department. *Nation* (January 24, 1942), p.93. Simon and Schuster were not dismayed by this; in a display advertisement at the end of March, 1942 they featured prominently a tribute from Soviet Ambassador Litvinov. *New York Times Book Review* (March 29, 1942), p.12.
211. ☞ Davies had hardly evacuated the political arena. In a profile in the *U.S. News* at the moment his book was selling in avalanche fashion (January 30, 1942, p.38), it was revealed, "Joseph E. Davies, whose dispatches written while he was U.S. Ambassador to Russia now are a best Seller, spends most of his time around the State Department these days." It went on to say, "He is working on problems of war refugees in many corners of the world." Nearly forty-five years after the precipitation of the German-Soviet war... millionaires have become quite common in the U.S.A. and the influence of a very large number of them is minimal if perceptible. But in 1941 this was anything but the case, and the impact of American millionaires in mass communication and in the diplomatic and opinion-influencing circles, especially about public affairs and foreign relations, was pronounced and most often conclusive. When we talk of 1941 we talk of a time when many millions in the U.S.A. had no job at all, and when millions of others worked for \$700-\$900 a year at pay which ranged between 30 cents and 45 cents an hour. To be recognized as a millionaire in an economic climate such as this must be obvious to even the mentally arrested as enjoying a special status difficult to describe, and capable of having an impact on the total community of vast scope. One should keep this in mind while assaying the dimensions of this study.

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Book review by [Mark Weber](#)

The Abandonment Of The Jews: America and the Holocaust

- *The Abandonment Of The Jews: America and the Holocaust*, by David S. Wyman. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, 444pp, Hb, \$19.95.

Most of the important information assembled in this significant new book has already been presented and evaluated by others, most notably by Bernard Wasserstein, Martin Gilbert and Arthur Morse. But in *The Abandonment of the Jews*, David Wyman goes further than any other historian to accuse the Allied wartime leadership of passive complicity in the Holocaust.

Wyman makes no secret of his basic outlook. In the preface he describes himself as “strongly pro-Zionist” and a “resolute supporter of the state of Israel.” He is a member of the Academic Advisory Board of the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles. The bias that pervades this book is reflected, for example, in Wyman’s reference to “the alleged Russian massacre of Polish officers at the Katyn forest.” (p. 334. Emphasis added.) While eager to accept at face value the unsubstantiated Holocaust story, Wyman is unwilling to acknowledge the indisputably established Soviet slaughter of thousands of leading Poles in the Katyn forest near Smolensk.

Wyman devotes just three pages of “evidence” for the Holocaust itself, including a lengthy excerpt from the widely-quoted affidavit of Hermann Graebe (Nuremberg document 2992-PS) describing a mass shooting of Soviet Jews in 1942. Wyman does not mention (and probably does not know) that in 1964 and 1965 Graebe was proven to have been a professional liar who perjured himself in 145 Allied “war crimes” trials, and that his famous “eyewitness” affidavit is now thoroughly discredited. (See: *Der Spiegel*, 29 December 1965, pp. 25-28) Also cited is Göring’s well-known letter of 31 July 1941 to Heydrich which Wyman describes as the “directive” for “the systematic extermination of all Jews in the Nazi grip.” But as the letter’s text (not given by Wyman) makes rather clear, and as Martin Broszat and some other anti-Hitler historians have conceded, Göring’s reference to “the final solution of the Jewish question” in this key document meant peaceful emigration and deportation, not extermination.

Wyman’s main charge is that the British and American political leaders, including President Roosevelt, turned down numerous proposals that they knew would have saved hundreds of thousands of European Jews from certain death at German hands. In doing so, Wyman argues, the Allied leaders showed inexcusable indifference, betrayed their own highly-touted moral principles, and therefore share some historical responsibility for the slaughter of European Jewry.

But there is another explanation for this apparently heinous negligence: Along with others in a position to know, the Allied leaders did not believe their own propaganda that Germany was systematically destroying Europe’s Jews. (This point has already been dealt with at some length in *The Journal* by [A. Butz](#), Winter 1982, and [K.C. Gleason](#), Winter 1984.) Wyman assembles com-

elling evidence for this alternative explanation, but like other Holocaust historians, he ignores the obvious and tries instead to make the evidence fit his preconceived thesis. To the unbiased reader, the facts he presents actually cast severe doubt on the Holocaust story.

Rabbi Stephen Wise, who was president of both the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress, announced at a press conference in late November 1942 that, according to information confirmed by the State Department, the Germans had already killed two million European Jews as part of an “extermination campaign.” In fact, the State Department had confirmed nothing of the kind. Two weeks later, its specialist for European Jewish affairs, R. Borden Reams, urged higher Department official’s to try to persuade Wise “to call off, or at least to tone down, the present world-wide publicity campaign concerning 'mass murders' and particularly to ask Dr. Wise to avoid any implications that the State Department furnished him with official documentary proof of these stories.”

The State Department issued a formal statement, which was made public on 4 September 1942, protesting the “brutal mass murders” of “hundreds of thousands” of Jews deported from Germany and other countries under German control “in accordance with the announced policy of the Nazis to exterminate the Jews of Europe.” But as Wyman points out, the day before this statement was made public, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles privately assured Wise that in reality the deported Jews were not being killed. The “real purpose” of the deportation program, Welles said, was “to use Jews in connection with war work” in Germany, Poland and Russia.

And although President Roosevelt had issued a vaguely worded condemnation in July 1942 of the alleged German extermination of the Jews, he privately told his close Jewish confidant Felix Frankfurter in mid-September 1942 not to worry because the deported Jews were simply being employed in the Soviet frontier area. While Walter Laqueur and a few other Jewish historians have cited this revealing statement by Roosevelt, Wyman prefers to ignore it.

As Wyman repeatedly emphasizes, the U.S. and British governments turned down numerous proposals to accept European Jews out of fear that Hitler would eagerly turn over masses of Jews to the Allies. This issue was brought up, for example, at a White House conference on 27 March 1943 of top American and British wartime leaders, including President Roosevelt, U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, presidential advisor Harry Hopkins and the British Ambassador to Washington, Lord Halifax. Hull raised the question of having the Allies offer to accept 60,000 to 70,000 Jews from Bulgaria, a German ally. Eden replied

that the whole problem of the Jews in Europe is very difficult and that we should move cautiously about offering to take all Jews out of a country like Bulgaria. If we do that, then the Jews of the world will be wanting us to make similar offers in Poland and Germany. Hitler might well take us up on any such offer and there simply are not enough ships and means of transportation in the world to handle them.

The conference record shows that no one present objected to or even questioned Eden’s statement. Apparently no one really believed the Allied story that the Jews of Poland and Germany were being exterminated.

Similarly, the representatives to the April 1943 joint British-American refugees conference in Bermuda also did not speak as if they believed the official claims of their own governments. Delegate Richard Law, the British parliamentary undersecretary of state for foreign affairs, said that if the Allies agreed to accept Europe’s Jews, Hitler might offer two million of them, which would make the Allies “look exceedingly foolish.” Another British delegate, Osbert Peake of the British Home Office, cautioned that the Allies should not relieve Hitler of the burden of having to care

for Jews who couldn't work. "Many of the potential refugees are empty mouths for which Hitler has no use," Peake said. "It would be relieving Hitler of an obligation to take care of these useless people. If Hitler would agree to release a large number of old people and children, we should be placed in a ridiculous position ...". One conference delegate explained the problem to reporters: "Suppose he [Hitler] did let two million or so Jews out of Europe, what would we do with them?"

In May 1943, State Department official Robert Alexander opposed proposals to accept masses of European Jews under German control because that would "take the burden and the curse off Hitler." In October 1943 a State Department advisor on political relations strongly opposed any Allied offer to accept European Jews because the Germans might agree and the "net result would be the transfer of odium from the German to the Allied governments." The head of the British Foreign Office's Refugee Department, A.W.G. Randall, noted in an internal communication in late December 1943: "Once we open the door to adult male Jews to be taken out of enemy territory, a quite unmanageable flood may result. (Hitler may facilitate it!)" U.S. Treasury Department lawyer Randolph Paul commented on the Allied unwillingness to accept Jews: "I don't know how we can blame the Germans for killing them [the Jews] when we are doing this. The law calls [it] para-delicto, of equal guilt ...".

At the end of May 1944 (when most of Europe's Jews had supposedly already been killed), the British War Cabinet's Committee on Refugees turned down a proposed arrangement for transporting large numbers of Jews from Axis-controlled Europe in part because it could "lead to an offer to unload an even greater number of Jews on our hands."

One of the biggest non-issues raised by Holocaust publicists in recent years has been why the United States did not bomb Auschwitz-Birkenau during the war. Chapter 15 of Wyman's book, much of which originally appeared in 1978 in Commentary magazine, is devoted to this question. Discussion of this issue was also stimulated by the release and publication in 1978 of a series of detailed aerial reconnaissance photos taken of the Auschwitz camp complex by Allied aircraft during the war. The most important of these were photos of Birkenau taken on various dates in April, June, August and September 1944, when as many as 10,000 Jews were supposedly gassed and cremated there every 24 hours.

While Jewish leaders and numerous publications eagerly misrepresented these photos to charge that Allied officials knowingly permitted the slaughter of Jews, these photos are actually important evidence that there were no mass killings at Auschwitz. The remarkably detailed enlargements of these photos show no evidence at all of the alleged extermination operation: no crowds of Jews awaiting gassing, no smoke or flame billowing from the crematories which were supposedly in continuous operation, and no trace of ashes or corpses. Although Wyman refers to them in passing, he says nothing about what these aerial photos show (or don't show).

America's most influential newspapers have warmly praised *The Abandonment of the Jews*. The New York Times alone ran no less than four glowing tributes: a lengthy front page review in the nationally distributed Sunday "Book Review" section, a second review in a week day edition, a "news" article "puff piece" about the book, and a sympathetic profile of author Wyman. Daily newspapers across the country ran syndicated reprints of the laudatory Times pieces. The book was also enthusiastically reviewed by the Washington Post, Wall Street Journal and Christian Science Monitor. Wyman appeared as the main guest on an ABC "Nightline" broadcast devoted to the book's central thesis. Various writers, including nationally syndicated columnist Max Lerner and Village Voice contributor Sol Stern, have seized upon the book to castigate Roosevelt for his alleged complicity in the Holocaust. As a result of this kind of coverage, *The Abandon-*

ment of the Jews may have already put a real dent in the Roosevelt iconography. The book's greatest significance, though, is probably as an expression of a growing trend to shift the collective guilt for what is regarded as history's most evil deed from Hitler and the Germans to all of non-Jewish humanity, including the Americans. For those who uphold the Holocaust story, as well as for revisionists who challenge it, *The Abandonment of the Jews* is an important work.

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Elie Wiesel: Messenger To All Humanity

- *Elie Wiesel: Messenger To All Humanity*, by Robert McAfee Brown. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983~ 244pp, Pb, ISBN 0-268-00908-2.

Reviewed by L.A. Rollins

Pushkin claims a beautiful lie is superior to a debasing truth. I don't agree: Truth alone elevates man, even when it hurts. The task of the writer is, after all, not to appease, or flatter, but to disturb, to warn, to question by questioning oneself. — Elie Wiesel, *A Jew Today*, translated by Marion Wiesel (New York: Vintage, 1979), p. 130.

Robert McAfee Brown is a professor of theology and ethics at the Pacific School of Religion. In relation to “Holocaust survivor” Elie Wiesel, however, Brown regards himself as “the pupil,” and refers to Wiesel as his “rebbe,” or teacher. (pxii)

But although his teacher has written that the task of a writer is not to appease, or flatter, Brown flatters his teacher outrageously in *Elie Wiesel: Messenger to All Humanity*, his study of Wiesel's writings. Indeed, this literary lickspittle tells his readers right away, “This is not a 'critical' appraisal of Wiesel, and I make no apologies for the fact ...” (Ibid.)

Rather than criticize Wiesel, Brown has devoted himself to brown-nosing his teacher. Thus, for example, he tells us that Wiesel “does not evade ghastly revelations of human depravity, nor will he let us do so.” (p. 2) But this is hogwash, if only because of the fact that Wiesel routinely evades ghastly revelations of Jewish “depravity.”

In an open letter entitled, “To a Young Palestinian Arab,” Wiesel pretends to denounce “the injustice endured by Arab refugees in 1948.” (*A Jew Today*, p. 122.) But, like any other Zionist propaganda hack, Wiesel puts the entire blame on Arab leaders, who supposedly “incited the Arab population to mass flight in order to return 'forthwith' as victors.” (Ibid.) Wiesel makes not the slightest mention of the massacre of about 250 women, children and old men in the Arab village of Deir Yassin by Irgun and Stern Gang terrorists, commanded by those incipient statesmen, Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir, on April 9, 1948, shortly before the Israeli “declaration of independence.” Anti-Zionist author Alfred Lilienthal cites various sources regarding the impact of this massacre:

Jon Kimche, the Zionist writer, calling the incident “the darkest stain on the Jewish record throughout the fighting,” stated, “The terrorist justified the massacre of Deir Yassin because it led to the panic flight of the remaining Arabs in the Jewish state areas Jewish writer Don Peretz described the result of Deir Yassin as a amass fear psychosis which grasped the whole Arab community.4t Arthur Koestler wrote, this “bloodbath ... was the psychologically decisive factor in

the spectacular exodus of the Arab refugees.” (The Zionist Connection, New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978, p. 156.)

According to Brown, “Wiesel seeks to enlist us in the ongoing struggle of light against darkness, of memory against indifference.” (p. 192) Here he parrots Wiesel’s phony rationale for habitually harping on “the Holocaust” — the importance of “memory.” But the Deir Yassin massacre is just one of many episodes of Jewish history which Wiesel finds eminently forgettable.

Thus, Wiesel has written, “There were never any religious persecutions instigated, organized or implemented by Jews.” (A Jew Today, p. 210.) Down the Orwellian “memory hole” goes the forcible conversion to Judaism of the Idumeans by John Hyrcanus. Also consigned to oblivion is the participation of Jews in instigating persecutions of Christians during the rule of pagan Rome. According to Bernard Lazare, the French-Jewish anarchist who later became a Zionist:

The Church, in those evil days, could not count on its rival, the Synagogue, for assistance; in some places where the struggle between the Jews and Christians had reached an acute stage the Jews, recognized by Roman legislation and possessed of vested rights, would join the citizens of the towns in dragging the Christians before the court. In Antioch, for example, where the enmity between the two sects was most bitter, in all probability, the Jews, like the pagans, demanded the trial and execution of Polycarp. They are said to have fed with great eagerness the stake upon which the bishop was burned. (Antisemitism, London: Britons, 1967, p. 37.) Book Reviews 375

Mister Memory has also forgotten the Jewish persecution of Jewish heretics. According to Lazare:

In 1232, Rabbi Solomon of Montpellier issued an anathema against all those who would read the Moreh Nebukhim [Guide of the Perplexed by Maimonides] or would take up scientific and philosophic studies... The fanatical rabbis appealed to the fanaticism of the Dominicans, they denounced the Guide of the Perplexed and had it burned by the inquisition. At the instigation of a German doctor, Asher ben Yechiel, a synod of thirty rabbis met at Barcelona, with ben Adret in the chair, and excommunicated all those who read books other than the Bible and the Talmud, when under twenty-five years. A counter-excommunication was proclaimed by Jacob Tibbon, who, at the head of the Provencal rabbis, boldly defended condemned science. All was in vain: those wretched Jews, whom everybody tormented for their faith, persecuted their coreligionists more cruelly and severely than they had ever been persecuted. Those whom they accused of indifference had to undergo the worst punishments; the blasphemers had their tongues cut; Jewish women who had any relations with Christians were condemned to disfigurement: their noses were subjected to ablation. (Op. cit., p. 64.)

(The dictionary definition of “ablation” is: the surgical removal of a growth, organ or part of the body. Therefore, Lazare presumably meant that their noses were cut off.)

Despite these and similar facts, including some about the present-day State of Israel, Wiesel denies that Jews have ever perpetrated any religious persecutions. Indeed, he also denies that Jews have ever hated their enemies, or become executioners when they have had power and their enemies none. And he denies that any of the “notorious” killers in history were Jews. (A Jew Today, p. 210.)

Robert McAfee Brown, wretched creature that he is, studiously ignores Wiesel's brazen white-washing of Jews. Meanwhile, he obsequiously echoes Wiesel's accusations against Gentiles, as well as Wiesel's hypocritical denunciations of those who deny his accusations.

To deny the truth of the "Holocaust" story is an "ugly way" to avoid involvement," says Brown. (p. 8) "There is no greater indignity," he tells us, "than to say to a suffering person, 'Your suffering is a fake ... You invented it to gain sympathy ... You are an impostor.'" (p. 10) Furthermore, "... attempts to deny a past Holocaust almost ensure that there will be a future one." (p. 11) Brown even approvingly quotes Wiesel's characterization of revisionist writings as "the recent attempts to kill the victims again." (Ibid.) (I sometimes wonder if Wiesel isn't a resurrected victim of the homicidal "steam chambers" of Treblinka, he's so full of hot air.)

"In the face of those who 'speak obscenely' by attempting to deny the story, we too must register disgust. And having done so, turn our backs on those who disgust us and listen no longer, listening instead to Elie Wiesel telling the story once more, a story that supplies its own credentials." (pp. 11-12) Is this Brown's euphemistic way of telling us that Wiesel's tall tales about "the Holocaust" are self-evidently true? Apparently so. Wiesel, it should be noted, does not claim to have been an eyewitness to any of the alleged mass gassings of Jews by the Nazis. Indeed, he only claims to have seen one event relevant to the allegations about mass extermination-the burning alive of a truck-load of babies in a flaming pit on the night that he arrived at Birkenau. Obviously it's a hell of a story. But is it true?

Consider what Wiesel himself has said in an anti-revisionist lecture given at Northwestern University:

The boy that began to talk to you tonight, where is he? Did he dream or live his dreams of fear and fire? Did he really witness the agony of mankind, through the death of his community? Did he really see the triumph of brutality, did he hear or imagine the laughter of the executioner? Did he really see killers throwing children, Jewish children, into the flames alive? I rarely speak about this, but in this place we must. For a very long while I resisted accepting this story as mine. For years and years I clung to the belief that it was all a dream, a nightmare. No, I did not see the children. I did not see the flames. It was no dream. It was real. Jewish children, living Jewish children were thrown into the flames in order to save money because the gas was costly. (Dimensions of the Holocaust, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 1977, pp. 17-18.)

Wiesel does not tell us when, or how, or why he decided that the incident was real, and not a dream. He simply expects us to accept without question his present assertions about the matter. That may be good enough for Robert McAfee Brown, who revels in grovelling before the Shrine of the Sacred Weasel. But, for those of us who are not oblivious to Wiesel's obvious hypocrisy and dishonesty, his unsupported assertions are not conclusive evidence of anything. And, as a matter of fact, there are some positive reasons for doubt about Wiesel's story of children being burned in pits at Birkenau, though, for the time being, I'm going to keep those reasons for doubt up my sleeve.

As for Robert McAfee Brown, like the whale that swallowed Jonah, he swallows Wiesel's "Holocaust" stories whole. From that starting point, he devotes the bulk of his book to Wieselian weaseling about the moral, religious and theological "implications" of "The Event." He faithfully follows all the twistings and turnings of Wiesel's non-Aristotelian "Auschwitz logic." Paradoxes parade past the reader. "The Event" is relentlessly made mysterious.

And yet ... through the mist of mystification some conclusions shine through quite clearly: the incomparable importance of “The Event”; the necessity of giving special attention to Jews as victims of “The Event”; and the guilt of Christians for complicity in “The Event.” All the fundamental dogmas of Wiesel’s brand of “Holocaust” Fundamentalism.

Brown, a member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, of which Wiesel is the chairman, was not content to compose this book-length hymn of praise to Elie Wiesel. He had to dedicate it to him as well. In his dedication, he tells Wiesel, “At every stage” of the writing “it seemed a tampering with things I had no right-to touch.” For this reason, “I tried very hard, my friend, not to write this book.” He should have tried harder-much. much harder.

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Historical News and Comment

Lessons of the Mengele Affair

Mark Weber

With the possible exceptions of Hitler and Himmler, no man has been so vilified in recent years as the personification of Nazi evil as Dr. Josef Mengele. The Mengele legend was the basis for two novels that Hollywood turned into popular movies: William Goldman's *The Marathon Man* and Ira Levin's *The Boys From Brazil*. In the latter film, Gregory Peck played a relentlessly malevolent Dr. Mengele who cloned dozens of little Hitlers as part of a diabolical Latin American Nazi conspiracy.

In countless newspapers and magazine articles, Mengele has been routinely accused of sending 400,000 people to their deaths in gas chambers while serving as the chief physician at Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1943 and 1944. The man dubbed the "Angel of Death" supposedly conducted gruesome "experiments" on selected Jewish victims and habitually delighted in sadistic atrocities. For example, according to *U.S. News and World Report* (24 June 1985) he enjoyed "giving candy to children he tossed alive into the ovens while he hummed Mozart and Wagner." The *Washington Post* (8 March 1985) reported that Mengele "routinely tossed babies into ovens alive" and "ordered pregnant women onto their backs, then stomped them until they aborted."

The media campaign reached a climax in June 1985 when the Mengele name was repeated daily on newspaper front pages and television network evening news broadcasts. Mengele's face stared from the cover of the gossipy mass circulation *People* weekly. A hunt that had been going on for years finally came to an end when an international team of forensic scientists positively identified the mortal remains exhumed from a Brazilian grave as those of Dr. Josef Mengele. Testimony from relatives and former friends of the German physician and a large collection of documentary material further established that Mengele had died in a drowning accident in February 1979.

While no sane person would excuse or whitewash atrocities, no matter who commits them, a basic regard for truth and decency compels another, more thoughtful look at the Mengele legend. How much truth is there to the fantastic accusations?

The stock allegation that Mengele "sent 400,000 Jews to the Auschwitz gas chambers" is a falsehood based in part on misrepresentation. It is true that, along with other camp physicians, Mengele routinely selected persons who were capable of working from among the transports of new arrivals to the camp. Holocaust writers maintain that all Jews arriving at Auschwitz who could not work were immediately killed in gas chambers. The 400,000 figure is simply a conjectural estimate of the number of unemployable Jews who arrived at Birkenau in 1943 and 1944 while Mengele was the chief physician there.

Actually, large numbers of unemployable Jews were admitted to the camp and interned there. Consistent with other evidence, official German records show that a very high proportion of Birkenau's overwhelmingly Jewish population in 1943 and 1944 was unable to work. (See: G. Reitlinger, *Final Solution*, p. 125; and, A. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 124)

Many Jews survived the war as a result of medical care in the camp infirmary, which was under Dr. Mengele's general supervision. One such person was Otto Frank, father of the famous Anne Frank. After coming down sick, Otto was transferred to the camp hospital, where he remained until Soviet troops reached Auschwitz in January 1945. When the Germans evacuated the camp shortly beforehand, they left behind those who could not move, including sick, elderly and infirm inmates, and a number of children. The most horrific charges made against Mengele, such as the tale that he tossed live babies into ovens, are sick and absurd fables that contradict what is known about the doctor's character. For example, as *Time* magazine reported (24 June 1985), Mengele was "given to occasional flourishes of gallantry: after transferring a pregnant Jewish doctor to Cracow to do research for him, Mengele sent her flowers upon the birth of her son."

It's conceivable, of course, that Mengele could have murdered inmates, although camp officials who committed such crimes risked severe punishment. For example, the Buchenwald camp physician, Dr. Waldemar Hoven, was sentenced to death by an SS court for murdering inmates there.

Nationally syndicated columnist Jeffrey Hart told readers that he doubted many of the "monster Mengele" stories being peddled in the mass media. "... As a professional historian, I would urge some caution about many of the anecdotes that are being routinely accepted as fact," wrote Hart. "My own historical hunch is that much of this kind of thing is mythology, concocted as a kind of metaphor ... I doubt the story that he killed a woman by crushing her throat with his boot. It will be a long time before scholars sift the fact from the fiction about Mengele." (*Washington Times*, 9 July 1985)

While Hart deserves praise for his cautious public skepticism of part of the Mengele mythology, he would show real courage if he looked at the entire Holocaust story with the same questioning eye. What's his "hunch" about the popular story, certified at Nuremberg, that the Germans manufactured soap from Jewish corpses? How about the stories of gassings at Dachau, Buchenwald, Mauthausen and Auschwitz?

The evidence seems rather clear that Mengele did, in fact, perform medical research operations on Auschwitz inmates. In this regard it's perhaps worth noting that the U.S. government conducted similar medical "experiments" both during and after the Second World War. American military physicians infected Negroes with syphilis without their knowledge as part of an investigation of new ways to treat venereal disease. And during the 1950s the CIA financed psychiatric experiments involving LSD, sleep deprivation, massive shock therapy and attempted brain-washing of hospital patients without their knowledge or consent. One survivor, Louis Weinstein, is now reportedly a "human guinea pig, a poor, pathetic man with no memory, no life." The U.S. government has been sued for redress on behalf of Weinstein and eight other persons. (*Washington Post*, 1 August 1985, editorial)

A flawed but enlightening article about Mengele by Professor Robert Jay Lifton of the City University of New York appeared in the 21 July 1985 issue of the *New York Times Magazine*. The lengthy essay begins by noting that "Mengele has long been the focus of what could be called a cult of demonic personality. He has been seen as the embodiment of absolute evil ..." But, as Lifton explains, he was not the "nonhuman or even superhuman force" portrayed in the media.

As a young man Mengele was popular, intelligent and serious. During his three years of military service, mostly on the Eastern front, he proved himself a brave and diligent soldier, and received five decorations, including the Iron Cross First Class and Second Class. As the chief physician at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Mengele was in charge of the large staff of inmate doctors, most of them Jewish, who treated inmates.

Lifton points out that the “eyewitness” testimony about Mengele at the well-publicized 1963-1965 Frankfurt Auschwitz trial was riddled with errors. For example, although Mengele was only one of numerous camp doctors who took turns deciding which new arrivals at Auschwitz-Birkenau would be assigned to work and which would not, a Jewish inmate who unloaded incoming transports insisted at the trial that Mengele alone was always there for the selections. When the judge commented, “Mengele cannot have been there all the time,” the witness replied: “In my opinion, always. Night and day.” Other former inmates described Mengele as “very Aryan looking” or “tall and blond,” although he was actually of medium height, with dark hair and a dark complexion.

Among the many myths circulated about Mengele, Lifton writes, are the stories that he advised President Stroessner of Paraguay on how to exterminate the country’s native Indian population, and that he made a fortune in South America in an extensive drug trade run by former Nazis.

A valuable contemporary record of Mengele’s character and performance during his stay at Auschwitz is the “Evaluation of SS Captain Dr. Josef Mengele,” dated 19 August 1944, prepared by the Auschwitz SS Physician’s Office. (Original on file at the Berlin Document Center.) The report is very flattering:

Dr. Mengele has an open, honest, solid character. He is absolutely reliable, upright and straightforward. He does not manifest any weakness of character, bad tendencies or cravings. His emotional and physical make-up is outstanding. During his period of service at the Auschwitz concentration camp, he applied his practical and theoretical knowledge to combating severe epidemics. With prudence and persistent energy, and often under the most difficult conditions, he completed every assigned task to the complete satisfaction of his superiors. He showed himself capable of handling any situation. In addition, he used what little free time he had to ardently further his education as an anthropologist. His tactful and modest deportment is that of a good soldier. Because of his demeanor, he is especially well liked by his comrades. He treats subordinates with absolute fairness and requisite severity, but is nevertheless exceptionally admired and liked. In his behavior, work record and attitude, Dr. Mengele shows an absolutely solid and mature outlook on life. He is a Catholic. His speaking manner is spontaneous, uninhibited, convincing and lively. The personal evaluation went on to note that Mengele had “contracted typhus while conscientiously performing his duties as a physician at Auschwitz.” It listed the awards he had received for bravery and outstanding service, and concluded that he was worthy of promotion.

After fleeing to South America to avoid becoming a show trial defendant, Mengele lived for ten years in Argentina and Paraguay under his own name. There is no evidence that he ever felt ashamed or guilty about anything he did at Auschwitz. To the contrary. In a letter to his son Rolf he wrote: “I have not the slightest reason to justify or apologize for any of my decisions or actions.” (Time, 1 July 1985)

Among his personal papers found by Brazilian police in June 1985 was a rambling semiautobiographical essay entitled in Latin “Fiat Lux” (“Let There Be Light”), apparently written by Men-

gele while he was still living on a Bavarian farm shortly after the end of the war. The contents of the essay have so far not been made public. (New York Times, 23 June 1985)

Mengele occasionally spoke about his past with Mr. and Mrs. Stammer, a couple with whom he lived for 13 years on their farm near Sao Paulo, Brazil. Mrs. Gitta Stammer recalled that Mengele had said that the Jews had been an alien group working against Germany whom the Germans wanted out of their country. Mengele repeatedly insisted that he had not committed any crime, and that instead he had become a victim of great injustice. (New York Times, 14 June 1985; Baltimore Sun, 14 June 1985)

During the final years of his life Mengele lived with an Austrian couple, Wolfram and Liselotte Bossert, at their Brazilian farm. In an interview the Bosserts expressed great admiration and a special affection for their modest guest. In reply to a question about Mengele's alleged atrocities at Auschwitz, Wolfram Bossert said: "I admire him as a person for his many good qualities, not for what he committed. And even today there's doubt as to whether that's really true." (Washington Post, 10 June 1985)

A long-time friend of both Dr. Mengele and the Mengele family in Germany, Hans Sedlmeier, told a reporter: "I could tell you what Mengele did, what he did during Auschwitz, what he did after Auschwitz, but you wouldn't believe me. The newspapers won't print the truth, because it's not in the interest of the Jews... I refuse to talk about the Mengele affair. Journalists have already written so many lies, and what the Jewish press has asserted..." Apparently exasperated, he did not finish the sentence. (New York Times, 13 June 1985)

In its sensationalized treatment of the Mengele story, the mass media ignored what is probably the most important lesson of this entire affair. Right up until the summer of 1985, when it was conclusively established that Mengele had been dead since 1979, the "Holocaust experts" and professional "Nazi hunters" solemnly insisted that the German doctor was alive. Most of them maintained that he was hiding in Paraguay.

Israeli "Nazi hunter" Tuvia Friedman reported in late 1984 that Mengele had recently been sighted in Orlando and Tampa, Florida, and in New Orleans. (AP, 3 October 1984) A few months later Friedman announced that although he owned "major properties" in the United States, Mengele was probably in Italy. Moreover, the fugitive doctor had recently been spotted at a big Nazi reunion in Bermuda. (Jewish Week, 8 February 1985)

Stanley E. Morris, a federal official involved in the U.S. government's investigation of Mengele, told a reporter in May that "tons of information is coming in daily, most of it useless" about Mengele. "One letter was from a person who claimed to see Martin Bormann, Hitler and Mengele riding together in a convertible in Philadelphia," he said. (New York Times, 28 May 1985)

In late January 1985, U.S. Congressman Robert Torricelli (Dem.-NJ) returned from a visit to Paraguay with the "astonishing news" that Mengele was living in a German colony in the Paraguayan mountains. (Newsweek, 4 February 1985) Citing two supposedly very reliable sources, the London Sunday Times (10 February 1985) reported that Mengele was living "fairly openly" in Paraguay, spending much of his time in a log cabin near the summer palace of President Alfredo Stroessner. The most famous "Nazi hunter" of all, Simon Wiesenthal, announced that he was "100 percent sure" that Mengele was living in Paraguay and charged that the Mengele family in West Germany knew just where. (Newsweek, 20 May 1985) By the end of May 1985, the reward money offered by Wiesenthal, the Israeli and West German governments, the Simon Wiesenthal Center and others for the capture of Mengele totalled \$3.4 million.

Internationally prominent “Holocaust expert” and “Nazi hunter” Serge Klarsfeld charged that “Mengele is in Paraguay under the personal protection of President Stroessner.” The Paris-based Jewish lawyer even pinpointed his residence: “Mengele is living in a large private villa outside Asuncion, either one owned by Stroessner himself or by a friend of Stroessner.” (Newsweek, 20 May 1985)

Klarsfeld’s wife, Beate, flew to Paraguay in late May where she demonstrated in downtown Asuncion carrying a sign calling President Stroessner a liar for stating that he did not know where Mengele was living. While American television and newspapers lavished Mrs. Klarsfeld with praise and sympathetic coverage, the people of Paraguay rather naturally regarded her conduct as insulting and disgraceful. She was promptly ejected from her hotel.

As history has shown, it was not Stroessner who had been lying, but rather Klarsfeld and her self-righteous allies.

One of the few individuals who had the rare courage to publicly condemn the blazing irresponsibility of the “experts” in the Mengele case was A. Dane Bowen, Jr., a history professor at Lock Haven (Pa.) University. In a letter to the New York Times (29 June 1985) he admonished: “Both the professional Nazi hunters and those U.S. politicians who have chased votes at the expense of a friendly foreign power should be big enough to apologize publicly for having recklessly charged that the Paraguayan government has been currently or recently ‘protecting’ Josef Mengele.”

For years, the “Holocaust experts” and “Nazi hunters” have been portrayed by the mass media as oracles of profound insight and trustworthy information. They are treated with an awed reverence not accorded other public figures, and even their most sensational allegations are accepted uncritically and passed on to the public as fact. But for all those who care to see, the dramatic finale to the worldwide search for Mengele discredited the “experts” and conspicuously pointed up their reckless disregard for accuracy.

Although the search for Mengele is now a thing of the past, the frenetic hunt for “Nazi fugitives” goes on. The undaunted Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles has even issued a “Most Wanted List,” complete with rewards, of “Nazi war criminals at large.” This may well prove to be yet another embarrassing miscalculation because high on the Center’s list is Leon Degrelle, the charismatic Belgian political leader and wartime hero of the Wallonia volunteer SS legion. Now a Spanish citizen, the articulate Degrelle has been living openly in Spain for years and welcomes opportunities to defend his views. His presentations on Dutch and Spanish television in recent years were, by all accounts, highly persuasive. (Degrelle’s gripping memoir of his wartime experiences, *Campaign in Russia*, was recently published by the Institute for Historical Review.)

It appears that as long as historical revisionists continue their work, there will be no let up in the media-conscious hunt for elusive “Nazi fugitives.” Serge Klarsfeld candidly admitted to the New York Times (3 March 1985) that part of the motive for the intense focus on Mengele and other “Nazi criminals” in recent years has been to offset the challenge by revisionist historians to Holocaust orthodoxy.

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Behind the Balfour Declaration: Britain's Great War Pledge To Lord Rothschild

THE MEANING FOR US

ROBERT JOHN

- Paper Presented to the Fifth International Revisionist Conference.

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To Benjamin H. Freedman, who committed himself to finding and telling the facts about Zionism and Communism. and encouraged others to do the same. The son of one of the founders of the American Jewish Committee, which for many years was anti-Zionist, Ben Freedman founded the League for Peace with Justice in Palestine in 1946. He gave me copies of materials on the Balfour Declaration which I might never have found on my own and encouraged my own research. (He died in April 1984.)

The Institute for Historical Review is providing means for the better understanding of the events of our time.

Attempts to review historical records impartially often reveal that blame, culpability, or dishonor are not to be attached wholly to one side in the conflicts of the last hundred years. To seek to untangle fact from propaganda is a worthy study, for it increases understanding of how we got where we are and it should help people resist exploitation by powerful and destructive interests in the present and future, by exposing their working in the past.

May I recommend to the Nobel Prize Committee that when the influence of this organization's historical review and search for truth has prevailed the societies of its contributors — say about 5 years or less from now — that they consider the IHR for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Regrettably, some of the company in that award would be hard to bear!

The Balfour Declaration may be the most extraordinary document produced by any Government in world history. It took the form of a letter from the Government of His Britannic Majesty King George the Fifth, the Government of the largest empire the world has even known, on which — once upon a time — the sun never set; a letter to an international financier of the banking house of Rothschild who had been made a peer of the realm.

Arthur Koestler wrote that in the letter “one nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third.” [see [\[1\]](#)]

It was decided by Lord Allenby that the “Declaration” should not then be published in Palestine where his forces were still south of the Gaza-Beersheba line. This was not done until after the establishment of the Civil Administration in 1920.

Then why was the “Declaration” made a year before the end of what was called The Great War?

“The people” were told at the time that it was given as a return for a debt of gratitude which they were supposed to owe to the Zionist leader (and first President of Israel), Chaim Weizman, a Russian-born immigrant to Britain from Germany who was said to have invented a process of fermentation of horse chestnuts into scarce acetone for production of high explosives by the Ministry of Munitions.

This horse chestnut propaganda production was not dislodged from the mass mind by the short bursts of another story which was used officially between the World Wars.

So let us dig into the records and bury the chestnuts forever.

To know where to explore we must stand back from the event and look over some parts of the relevant historical background. The terrain is extensive and the mud deep, so I shall try to proceed by pointing out markers.

Herzl on the Jewish Problem

Support for a “national home” for the Jews in Palestine from the government of the greatest empire in the world was in part a fulfillment of the efforts and scheming of Theodore Herzl (1860-1904), descendant of Sephardim (on his rich father’s side) who had published *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State) in Vienna in 1896. It outlined the factors which he believed had created a universal Jewish problem, and offered a program to regulate it through the exodus of unhappy and unwanted Jews to an autonomous territory of their own in a national-socialist setting.

Herzl offered a focus for a Zionist movement founded in Odessa in 1881, which spread rapidly through the Jewish communities of Russia, and small branches which had sprung up in Germany, England and elsewhere. Though “Zion” referred to a geographical location, it functioned as a utopian conception in the myths of traditionalists, modernists and Zionists alike. It was the reverse of everything rejected in the actual Jewish situation in the “Dispersion,” whether oppression or assimilation.

In his diary Herzl describes submitting his draft proposals to the Rothschild Family Council, noting: “I bring to the Rothschilds and the big Jews their historical mission. I shall welcome all men of goodwill — we must be united — and crush all those of bad.” [\[2\]](#)

He read his manuscript “Addressed to the Rothschilds” to a friend, Meyer-Cohn, who said,

Up till now I have believed that we are not a nation — but more than a nation. I believed that we have the historic mission of being the exponents of universalism among the nations and therefore were more than a people identified with a specific land.

Herzl replied:

Nothing prevents us from being and remaining the exponents of a united humanity, when we have a country of our own. To fulfill this mission we do not have to remain literally planted among the nations who hate and despise us. If, in our present circumstances, we wanted to bring about the unity of mankind independent of national boundaries, we would have to combat the ideal of patriotism. The latter, however, will prove stronger than we for innumerable years to come.” [2a]

In this era, there were a number of Christians and Messianic groups who looked for a Jewish “return.” One of these was the Protestant chaplain at the British Embassy in Vienna, who had published a book in 1882: *The Restoration of the Jews to Palestine According to the Prophets*. Through him, Herzl obtained an audience of the Grand Duke of Baden, and as they waited for their appointment to go to the castle, Herzl said to Chaplain Hechler, “When I go to Jerusalem I shall take you with me.”

The Duke gave Herzl’s proposal his consideration, and agreed to Herzl’s request that he might refer to it in his meetings outside of Baden. He then used this to open his way to higher levels of power.

Through intermediaries, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the Sultan of Turkey by activities designed to reduce the agitation by emigre Armenian committees in London and Brussels for Turkish reforms and cessation of oppression [A] and started a press campaign to calm public opinion in London on the Armenian question. But when offered money for Palestine, the Sultan replied that his people had won their Empire with blood, and owned it. “The Jews may spend their millions. When my Empire is divided, perhaps they will get Palestine for nothing. But only our corpse can be divided. I will never consent to vivisection.” [2b]

Herzl met the Papal Nuncio in Vienna and promised the exclusion of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth from the Jewish state. He started a Zionist newspaper — *Die Welt*, and was delighted to hear from the United States that a group of rabbis headed by Dr. Gustave Gottheil favored a Zionist movement. All this, and more, in a few months.

It was Herzl who created the first Zionist Congress at Basel, Switzerland, 29-31 August 1897, [B] There were 197 “delegates”; some were orthodox, some nationalist, liberal, atheist, culturalist, anarchist, socialist and some capitalist.

“We want to lay the foundation stone of the house which is to shelter the Jewish nation,” and “Zionism seeks to obtain for the Jewish people a publicly recognized, legally secured homeland in Palestine.” declared Herzl. And his anti-assimilationist dictum that “Zionism is a return to the Jewish fold even before it is a return to the Jewish land,” was an expression of his own experience which was extended into the official platform of Zionism as the aim of “strengthening the Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness.” [3]

Another leading figure who addressed the Congress was Max Nordau, a Hungarian Jewish physician and author, who delivered a polemic against assimilated Jews. “For the first time the Jewish problem was presented forcefully before a European forum,” wrote Weizmann. But the Russian Jews thought Herzl was patronizing them as Askenazim. They found his “western dignity did not sit well with our Russian-Jewish realism; and without wanting to, we could not help irritating him.” [4]

As a result of the Congress, the “Basic Protocol,” keystone of the world Zionist movement, was adopted as follows:

Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:

1. The promotion on suitable lines of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.
2. The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.
3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining Government consent where necessary to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.^[5]

The British *Chovevei-Zion* Association declined an invitation to be represented at the Congress, and the Executive Committee of the Association of Rabbis in Germany protested that:

1. The efforts of so-called Zionists to found a Jewish national state in Palestine contradict the messianic promise of Judaism as contained in the Holy Writ and in later religious sources.
2. Judaism obligates its adherents to serve with all devotion the Fatherland to which they belong, and to further its national interests with all their heart and with all their strength.
3. However, those noble aims directed toward the colonization of Palestine by Jewish peasants and farmers are not in contradiction to these obligations, because they have no relation whatsoever to the founding of a national state.^[6]

In conversation with a delegate at the First Congress, Litman Rosenthal, Herzl said,

It may be that Turkey will refuse or be unable to understand us. This will not discourage us. We will seek other means to accomplish our end. The Orient question is now the question of the day. Sooner or later it will bring about a conflict among the nations. *A European war is imminent.* . The great European War must come. With my watch in hand do I await this terrible moment. After the great European war is ended the Peace Conference will assemble. We must be ready for that time. We will assuredly be called to this great conference of the nations and we must prove to them the urgent importance of a Zionist solution to the Jewish Question. We must prove to them that the problem of the Orient and Palestine is one with the problem of the Jews — both must be solved together. We must prove to them that the Jewish problem is a world problem and that a world problem must be solved by the world. And the solution must be the return of Palestine to the Jewish people.^[American Jewish News, 7 March 1919]

A few months later, in a message to a Jewish conference in London, Herzl wrote “the first moment I entered the Movement my eyes were directed towards England because I saw that by reason of the general situation of things there it was the Archimedean point where the lever could be applied.” Herzl showed his desire for some foothold in England, and also perhaps his respect for London as the world’s financial center, by causing the Jewish Colonial Trust, which was to be the main financial instrument of his Movement, to be incorporated in 1899 as an English company.

Herzl was indefatigable. He offered the Sultan of Turkey help in re-organizing his financial affairs in return for assistance in Jewish settlement in Palestine.^[7] To the Kaiser, who visited Palestine in 1888 and again in 1898, [C] he promised support for furthering German interests in the Near East; a similar offer was made to King Edward VII of England; and he personally promised the Pope to respect the holy places of Christendom in return for Vatican support.^[D] But only from the Czar did he receive, through the Minister of the Interior, a pledge of “moral and material assistance with respect to the measures taken by the movement which would lead to a diminution of the Jewish population in Russia.” ^[8]

He reported his work to the Sixth Zionist Congress at Basle on 23 August 1903, but stated, “Zion is not and can never be. It is merely an expedient for colonization purposes, but, be it well understood, an expedient founded on a national and political basis.” ^[9]

When pressed for Jewish colonization in Palestine, the Turkish Sublime Porte offered a charter for any other Turkish territory [with acceptance by the settlers of Ottoman citizenship] which Herzl refused.^[11] The British Establishment, aware of Herzl’s activities through his appearance before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, [E] and powerful press organs such as the *Daily Chronicle* and *Pall Mall Gazette* which were demanding a conference of the Powers to consider the Zionist program, ^[12] somewhat characteristically, had shown a willingness to negotiate about a Jewish colony in the Egyptian territory of El-'Arish on the Turco-Egyptian frontier in the Sinai Peninsula. But the Egyptian Government objected to making Nile water available for irrigation; the Turkish Government, through its Commissioner in Cairo, objected; and the British Agent in Cairo, Lord Cromer, finally advised the scheme’s rejection.^[13]

Meanwhile, returning from a visit to British East Africa in the Spring of 1903, Prime Minister Joseph Chamberlain put to Herzl the idea of a Jewish settlement in what was soon to become the Colony of Kenya, but through a misunderstanding Herzl believed that Uganda was intended, and it was referred to as the “Uganda scheme.” Of the part of the conversation on the El-'Arish proposal, Herzl wrote in his diary that he had told Chamberlain that eventually we shall gain our aims “not from the goodwill but from the jealousy of the Powers.” ^[14] With the failure of the El-'Arish proposal, Herzl authorized the preparation of a draft scheme for settlement in East Africa. This was prepared by the legal firm of Lloyd George, Roberts and Company, on the instructions of Herzl’s go-between with the British Government, Leopold Greenberg.^[15]

Herzl urged acceptance of the “Uganda scheme,” favoring it as a temporary refuge, but he was opposed from all sides, and died suddenly of heart failure on 3 July 1904. Herzl’s death rid the Zionists of an “alien,” and he was replaced by David Wolffsohn (the Litvak [F]).^[16]

The “Uganda proposal” split the Zionist movement. Some who favored it formed the Jewish Territorial Organization, under the leadership of Israel Zangwill (1864-1926). For these territorialists, the renunciation of “Zion” was not generally felt as an ideological sacrifice; instead they contended that not mystical claims to “historic attachment” but present conditions should determine the location of a Jewish national homeland.^[17]

In Turkey, the “Young Turk” (Committee of Union and Progress) revolution of 1908 was ostensibly a popular movement opposed to foreign influence. However, Jews and crypto-Jews known as *Dunmeh* had played a leading part in the Revolution.^[19]

The Zionists opened a branch of the Anglo-Palestine Bank in the Turkish capital, and the bank became the headquarters of their work in the Ottoman Empire. Victor Jacobson [G] was brought from Beirut, “ostensibly to represent the Anglo-Palestine Company, but really to make Zionist propaganda among the Turkish Jews.” ^[20] His contacts included both political parties, discus-

sions with Arab members of Parliament from Syria and Palestine, and a general approach to young Ottoman intellectuals through a newspaper issued by the Zionist office.^[21] In Turkey, as in Germany, “Their own native Jews were resentful of the attempt to segregate them as Jews and were opposed to the intrusion of Jewish nationalism in their domestic affairs.” Though several periodicals in French “were subvented” by the Zionist-front office under Dr. Victor Jacobson, ^[22] (the first Zionist who aspired to be not a Zionist leader but a “career” diplomat,) and although he built up good political connections through social contacts, “always avoiding the sharpness of a direct issue, and waiting in patient oriental fashion for the insidious seed of propaganda to fructify,” ^[23] yet some of those engaged in the work, notably Vladimir (Zev) Jabotinsky (1880-1940), came to despair of success so long as the Ottoman Empire controlled Palestine. They henceforth pinned their hopes on its collapse.^[24]

At the 10th Congress in 1911, David Wolffsohn, who had succeeded Herzl, said in his presidential address that what the Zionists wanted was not a Jewish state but a homeland, ^[26] while Max Nordau denounced the “infamous traducers,” who alleged that “the Zionists ... wanted to worm their way into Turkey in order to seize Palestine . It is our duty to convince (the Turks) that ... they possess in the whole world no more generous and self-sacrificing friends than the Zionists.” ^[H] ^[27]

The mild sympathy which the Young Turks had shown for Zionism was replaced by suspicion as growing national unrest threatened the Ottoman Empire, especially in the Balkans. Zionist policy then shifted to the Arabs, so that they might think of Zionism as a possible make-weight against the Turks. But Zionists soon observed that their reception by Arab leaders grew warmer as the Arabs were disappointed in their hopes of gaining concessions from the Turks, but cooled swiftly when these hopes revived. The more than 60 Arab parliamentary delegates in Constantinople and the newly active Arabic press kept up “a drumfire of complaints” against Jewish immigration, land purchase and settlement in Palestine.^[28]

“After many years of striving, the conviction was forced upon us that we stood before a blank wall, which it was impossible for us to surmount by ordinary political means,” said Weizmann of the last pre-war Zionist Congress. But the strength of the national will forged for itself two main roads towards its goal — the gradual extension and strengthening of our *Yishuv* (Hebrew: literally, “settlement,” a collective name for the Jewish settlers) in Palestine and the spreading of the Zionist idea throughout the length and breadth of Jewry.^[29]

The Turks were doing all they could to keep Jews out of Palestine. But this barrier was covertly surmounted, partly due to the venality of Turkish officials, ^[30] (as delicately put in a Zionist report — “it was always possible to get round the individual official with a little artifice”); ^[32] and partly to the diligence of the Russian consuls in Palestine in protecting Russian Jews and saving them from expulsion.^[33]

But if Zionism were to succeed in its ambitions, Ottoman rule of Palestine must end. Arab independence could be prevented by the intervention of England and France, Germany or Russia. The Eastern Jews hated Czarist Russia. With the *entente cordiale* in existence, it was to be Germany or England, with the odds slightly in Britain’s favor in potential support of the Zionist aim in Palestine, as well as in military power.^[I] On the other hand, Zionism was attracting some German and Austrian Jews with important financial interests and had to take into account strong Jewish anti-Zionist opinion in England.

But before Zionism had finally reckoned it could gain no special consideration in Palestine from Turkey, the correspondent of *The Times* was able to report in a message published 14 April 1911,

of the Zionist organ *Jeune Turc's* [J] “violent hostility to England” and “its germanophile enthusiasm,” and to the propaganda carried on among Turkish Jews by “German Zionist agents.” When the policy line altered, this impression in England had to be erased.^[34] The concern of the majority of rich English Jews was not allayed by articles in the *Jewish Chronicle*, edited by Leopold Greenberg, pointing out that in the Basle program there was “not a word of any autonomous Jewish state,” ^[35] and in *Die Welt*, the official organ of the Movement, the article by Nahum Sokolow, then the General Secretary of the Zionist Organization, in which he protested that there was no truth in the allegation that Zionism aimed at the establishment of an independent Jewish State.^[36] Even at the 11th Congress in 1913, Otto Warburg, speaking as chairman of the Zionist Executive, gave assurances of loyalty to Turkey, adding that in colonizing Palestine and developing its resources, Zionists would be making a valuable contribution to the progress of the Turkish Empire.^[37]

[A]	A letter entered in Herzl's diary on 15 May 1896 states that the head of the Armenian movement in London is Avetis Nazarhek, “and he directs the paper <i>Huntchak</i> (The Bell). He will be spoken to.”
[B]	On either side of the main doorway of the hall hung white banners with two blue stripes, and over the doorway was placed a six-pointed “Shield of David.” It was the invention of David Wolffsohn, who employed the colors of the traditional Jewish prayer shawl. Fifty years later, the combined emblems became the flag of the Zionist state. The “Shield of David” is of Assyrian origin: previously a decorative motif or magical emblemi. It appeared on the heraldic flag of the Jews in Prague in 1527.
[C]	On the latter trip he was accompanied by his Empress. Their yacht, the <i>Hohenzollern</i> , put in at Haifa, and they were escorted to Jerusalem by 2,000 Turkish soldiers.
[D]	Pope Pius X told him that the Church could not support the return of “infidel Jews” to the Holy Land. ^[10]
[E]	In 1880, there were about 60,000 Jews in England. Between 1881 and 1905, there was an immigration of some 100,000 Eastern Jews. Though cut by the Aliens Bill of the Balfour Government, which became law in the summer of 1905, immigration continued so that by 1914 there was a Jewish population in England of some 300,000. A leader of the fight against the Aliens Bill and against tightening up naturalization regulations in 1903-1904 was Winston S. Churchill. ^[18]
[F]	The Eastern Jews referred to each other as “Litvaks” (Lithuania), “Galizianers” (Galicia), “Polaks,” “Hungarians,” and geographical regions of their ancestral origin, e.g., “Pinskens”; never by the term <i>Jew</i> .
[G]	(1869-1935). Born in the Crimea, and nurtured in the atmosphere of assimilation and revolutionary agitation in Russia, Jacobson had organized clubs and written about Zionism in Russian Jewish newspapers. After the First World War, the era of the direct and indirect bribe and the contact man gave way to one in which the interests of nationalities, represented by diplomat-attorneys, had to be met, wrote Lipsky: “In this new world into which Jacobson was thrown, he laboured with the delicacy and concentration of an artist .. working persistently and with vision to build up an interest in the cause. He had to win sympathy as well as conviction.” ^[25]
[H]	In the Zionist Congress of 1911, (22 years before Hitler came to power, and three years before World War I), Nordau said, “How dare the smooth talkers, the clever official

]	blabbers, open their mouths and boast of progress ... Here they hold jubilant peace conferences in which they talk against war... But the same righteous governments, who are so nobly, industriously active to establish the eternal peace, are preparing, by their own confession, <i>complete annihilation for six million people</i> , and there is nobody, except the doomed themselves, to raise his voice in protest although this is a worse crime than any war ... “ [31]
[I]	Approximate annual expenditure for military purposes by the European Powers in the first years of the century were: France — £38,400,000; Germany — £38,000,000; Italy — £15,000,000; Russia — £43,000,000; United States — £38,300,000; Great Britain — £69,000,000 at pre-1914 values of sterling.
[J]	Its business manager was a German Jew, Sam Hochberg. Among invited contributors was the immensely wealthy Russian Jew Alexander Helphand who, as “Parvus,” was later to suggest to the German left-wing parties that Lenin and his associates be sent to Russia in 1917 to demoralize still further the beaten Russian armies.

The Great War

Until mid-1914, the surface of European diplomatic relations was placid, reflecting successfully negotiated settlements of colonial and other questions. But certain British journalists were charged by their contemporaries “that they deliberately set out to poison Anglo-German relations and to create by their scaremongering such a climate of public opinion that war between the two Great Powers became inevitable.” (*The Scaremongers: The Advocacy of War and Rearmament 1896-1914*, A. J. A. Morris, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984)

Were they paid or pure? Every anti-German diatribe in British newspapers added to German government concern as to whether it was part of a policy instigated or condoned by Downing Street. Further, there were groups in every major European country which could see only in war the possible means to further their interests or to thwart the ambitions of their rivals. This is why the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir-apparent to the Austro-Hungarian throne, on 28 June in Sarajevo, soon set Europe crackling with fire, a fire which naturally spread through the lines of communications to colonial territories as far away as China.

On 28 July, Austria declared war on Serbia. Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia threatening hostilities if orders for total mobilization of the Russian army and navy were not countermanded.

A telegram dated 29 July 1914 from the Czar Nicholas to the Emperor Wilhelm, proposing that the Austro-Serbian dispute should be referred to the Hague Tribunal, remained unanswered. At the same time Germany sent a message to France asking if she would remain neutral; but France, which had absorbed issue after issue of Russian railroad bonds in addition to other problems, was unequivocal in supporting Russia. Amid mounting tension and frontier violations, Germany declared war on Russia and France.

The French Chief-of-Staff, General Joseph Joffre, was prepared to march into Belgium if the Germans first violated its neutrality [38] which had been guaranteed by Britain, France, Prussia, Austria and Russia. German troops crossed the Belgian frontier (on 4 August at 8 a.m.) and the United Kingdom declared war on Germany.

First Pledge

Lord Kitchener, who had left London at 11:30 on the morning of 3 August to return to Egypt after leave, was stopped at Dover and put in charge of the War Office.^[39] At the first meeting of the War Council he warned his colleagues of a long struggle which would be won not at sea but on land, for which Britain would have to raise an army of millions of men and maintain them in the field for several years.^[40] When the defense of Egypt was discussed at the meeting, Winston Churchill suggested that the ideal method of defending Egypt was to attack the Gallipoli Peninsula which, if successful, would give Britain control of the Dardenelles. But this operation was very difficult, and required a large force. He preferred the alternative of a feint at Gallipoli, and a landing at Haifa or some other point on the Syrian coast.

In Turkey, the Sultan had taken the title of *Khalif-al-Islam*, or supreme religious leader of Moslems everywhere, and emissaries were dispatched to Arab chiefs with instructions that in the event of Turkey being involved in the European hostilities, they were to declare a *jihad*, or Moslem holy war. A psychological and physical force which Kitchener of Khartoum, the avenger of General Gordon's death, understood very well.

Kitchener planned to draw the sting of the *jihad*, which could affect British-Indian forces and rule in the East, by promoting an Arab revolt to be led by Hussein, who had been allowed by the Turks to assume his hereditary dignity as *Sherif* of Mecca and titular ruler of the Hejaz. Kitchener cabled on 13 October 1914 to his son, Abdullah, in Mecca, saying that if the Arab nation assisted England in this war, England would guarantee that no internal intervention took place in Arabia, and would give the Arabs every assistance against external aggression.

A series of letters passed between Sherif Hussein and the British Government through Sir Henry McMahon, High Commissioner for Egypt, designed to secure Arab support for the British in the Great War. One dated 24 October 1915 committed HMG to the inclusion of Palestine within the boundaries of Arab independence after the war, but excluded the area now known as Lebanon. This is clearly recognized in a secret "Memorandum on British Commitments to King Hussein" prepared for the inner group at the Peace Conference in 1919. (See Appendix) I found a copy in 1964 among the papers of the late Professor Wm. Westermann, who had been adviser on Turkish affairs to the American Delegation to the Peace Conference.

The Second Pledge

As the major ally, France's claim to preference in parts of Syria could not be ignored. The British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, told the French Ambassador in London, Mr. Paul Cambon, on 21 October 1915, of the exchanges of correspondence with Sherif Hussein, and suggested that the two governments arrive at an understanding with their Russian ally on their future interests in the Ottoman Empire.

M. Picot was appointed French representative with Sir Mark Sykes, now Secretary of the British War Cabinet, to define the interests of their countries and to go to Russia to include that country's views in their agreement.

In the subsequent secret discussions with Foreign Secretary Sazonov, Russia was accorded the occupation of Constantinople, both shores of the Bosphorus and some parts of "Turkish" Armenia.^[A] France claimed Lebanon and Syria eastwards to Mosul. Palestine did in fact have inhabitants and shrines of the Greek and Russian Orthodox and Armenian churches, and Russia at first claimed a right to the area as their protector. This was countered by Sykes-Picot and the claim was withdrawn to the extent that Russia, in consultation with the other Allies, would only participate in deciding a form of international administration for Palestine.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement was incompatible with the pledges made to the Arabs. When the Turks gave Hussein details of the Agreement after the Russian revolution, he confined his action to a formal repudiation.

Like the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence, the Tripartite Agreement made no mention of concessions to Zionism in the future disposition of Palestine, or even mention of the word “Jew.” However it is now known that before the departure of Sykes [B] for Petrograd on 27 February 1916 for discussions with Sazonov, he was approached with a plan by Herbert Samuel, who had a seat in the Cabinet as President of the Local Government Board and was strongly sympathetic to Herzl’s Zionism.^[41]

The plan put forward by Samuel was in the form of a memorandum which Sykes thought prudent to commit to memory and destroy, Commenting on it, Sykes wrote to Samuel suggesting that if Belgium should assume the administration of Palestine it might be more acceptable to France as an alternative to the international administration which she wanted and the Zionists did not.^[42] Of boundaries marked on a map attached to the memorandum he wrote, “By excluding Hebron and the East of the Jordan there is less to discuss with the Moslems, as the Mosque of Omar then becomes the only matter of vital importance to discuss with them and further does away with any contact with the bedouins, who never cross the river except on business. I imagine that the principal object of Zionism is the realization of the ideal of an existing center of nationality rather than boundaries or extent of territory. The moment I return I will let you know how things stand at Pd.” ^[43]

However, in conversations both with Sykes and the French ambassador, Sazonov was careful not to commit himself as to the extent of the Russian interest in Palestine, but made it clear that Russia would have to insist that not only the holy places, but all towns and localities in which there were religious establishments belonging to the Orthodox Church, should be placed under international administration, with a guarantee for free access to the Mediterranean.^[44]

Czarist Russia would not agree to a Zionist formula for Palestine; but its days were numbered.

A) This new offer to Russia of a direct outlet into the Mediterranean is a measure of the great importance attached by Britain and France to continued and wholehearted Russian participation in the war. British policy from the end of the Napoleonic wars had been directed against Russia’s efforts to extend its conquests to the Golden Horn and the Mediterranean (threatening Egypt and the way to India). For this reason, Britain and France had formed an alliance and fought the Crimean War (1854-56), which ended in the Black Sea being declared neutral; no warships could enter it nor could arsenals be built on its shores.

But Russian concern for the capture of Constantinople was more than economic and strategic. It was not unusual for priests to declare that the Russian people had a sacred duty to drive out the “infidel” Turk and raise the orthodox cross on the dome of Santa Sophia.

In 1877, the Russian armies again moved towards Constantinople with the excuse of avenging cruelties practiced on Christians. Again England frustrated these designs and the aggression ended with the Congress of Berlin, and British occupation of Cyprus.

B) Sir Mark Sykes, Secretary of the British War Cabinet, sent to Russia to negotiate the Tripartite (Sykes-Picot) Agreement for the Partition of the Ottoman Empire. M. Picot was the French representative in the negotiations. Neither Hussein nor Sir Henry McMahon were made aware of these secret discussions. Among other things, the agreement called for parts of Palestine to be placed under “an international administration.”

The Third Pledge

In 1914, the central office of the Zionist Organization and the seat of its directorate, the Zionist Executive, were in Berlin. It already had adherents in most Eastern Jewish communities, including all the countries at war, though its main strength was in Russia and Austria-Hungary.^[45] Some important institutions, namely, the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Anglo-Palestine Company and the Jewish National Fund, were incorporated in England. Of the Executive, two members (Otto Warburg [A] and Arthur Hantke) were German citizens, three (Yechiel Tschlenow, Nahum Sokolow and Victor Jacobson) were Russians and one (Shmarya Levin) had recently exchanged his Russian for Austro-Hungarian nationality. The 25 members of the General Council included 12 from Germany and Austria-Hungary, 7 from Russia...Chaim Weizmann and Leopold Kessler) from England, and one each from Belgium, France, Holland and Rumania.^[46]

Some prominent German Zionists associated themselves with a newly founded organization known as the *Komitee für den Osten*, whose aims were: “To place at the disposal of the German Government the special knowledge of the founders and their relations with the Jews in Eastern Europe and in America, so as to contribute to the overthrow of Czarist Russia and to secure the national autonomy of the Jews.”^[47]

Influential Zionists outside the Central Powers were disturbed by the activities of the K.f.d.O. and anxious for the Zionist movement not to be compromised. Weizmann’s advice was that the central office be moved from Berlin and that the conduct of Zionist affairs during the war should be entrusted to a provisional executive committee for general Zionist affairs in the United States.

At a conference in New York on 30 August 1914, this committee was set up under the chairmanship of Louis D. Brandeis, with the British-born Dr. Richard Gottheil and Jacob de Haas, Rabbi Stephen Wise and Felix Frankfurter, among his principal lieutenants. For Shmarya Levin, the representative of the Zionist Executive in the United States, and Dr. Judah Magnes, to whom the alliance of England and France with Russia seemed “unholy,” Russian czarism was the enemy against which their force should be pitted.^[48] But on 1 October 1914 Gottheil, first President of the Zionist Organization of America, wrote from the Department of Semitic Languages, Columbia University, to Brandeis in Boston enclosing a memorandum on what the organization planned to seek from the belligerents, with respect to the Russian Jews:

We have got to be prepared to work under the Government of any one of the Powers ... shall be glad to have any suggestion from you in regard to this memorandum, and shall be glad to know if it meets with your approval. I recognize that I ought not to have put it out without first consulting you; but the exigencies of the situation demanded immediate action. We ought to be fully prepared to take advantage of any occasion that offers itself.^[49]

In a speech on 9 November, four days after Britain’s declaration of war on Turkey, Prime Minister Asquith said that the traditional eastern policy had been abandoned and the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire had become a war aim. “It is the Ottoman Government,” he declared, “and not we who have rung the death knell of Ottoman dominion not only in Europe but in Asia.”^[50] The statement followed a discussion of the subject at a Cabinet meeting earlier that day, at which we know, from Herbert Samuel’s memoirs, that Lloyd George, who had been retained as legal counsel by the Zionists some years before,^[51] “referred to the ultimate destiny of Palestine.” In a talk with Samuel after the meeting, Lloyd George assured him that “he was very keen to see a Jewish state established in Palestine.”

On the same day, Samuel developed the Zionist position more fully in a conversation with the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey. He spoke of Zionist aspirations for the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state, and of the importance of its geographical position to the British Empire. Such a state, he said, “could not be large enough to defend itself.” and it would therefore be essential that it should be by constitution, neutral. Grey asked whether Syria as a whole must necessarily go with Palestine, and Samuel replied that this was not only unnecessary but inadvisable, since it would bring in a large and unassimilable Arab population. “It would,” he said be a great advantage if the remainder of Syria were annexed by France, as it would be far better for the state to have a European Power as a neighbor than the Turk. “ [52]

In January 1915 Samuel produced a Zionist memorandum on Palestine after discussions with Weizmann and Lloyd George. It contained arguments in favor of combining British annexation of Palestine with British support for Zionist aspirations, and ended with objections to any other solution.[53] Samuel circulated it to his colleagues in the Cabinet. Lloyd George was already a Zionist “partisan”; Lord Haldane, to whom Weizmann had had access, wrote expressing a friendly interest; [54] though privately expressing Zionist sympathies, the Marquess of Crewe presumably did not express any views in the Cabinet on the memorandum; [55] Zionism had a strong sentimental attraction for Grey[56] but his colleagues, including his cousin Edwin Montagu, did not give him much encouragement. Prime Minister Asquith wrote: “I confess that I am not attracted by the proposed addition to our responsibilities, but it is a curious illustration of Dissy’s favorite maxim that race is everything to find this almost lyrical outburst proceeding from the well-ordered and methodical brain of H.S.” [57]

After further conversations with Lloyd George and Grey.[58] Samuel circulated a revised text to the Cabinet in the middle of March 1915.

It is not known if the memorandum was formally considered by the Cabinet, but Asquith wrote in his diary on 13 March 1915 of Samuel’s “dithyrambic memorandum” of which Lloyd George was “the only other partisan. “ [59] Certainly, at this time, Zionist claims and aspirations were secondary to British policy towards Russia and the Arabs.

Britain, France and Germany attached considerable importance to the attitudes of Jewry towards them because money and credit were needed for the war. The international banking houses of Lazard Frères, Eugene Mayer, J. & W. Seligman, Speyer Brothers and M.M. Warburg, were all conducting major operations in the United States, as were the Rothschilds through the New York banking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.[B] Apart from their goodwill. the votes of America’s Jewish community of 3,000,000 were important to the issue of that country’s intervention or non-intervention in the war, and the provision of military supplies. The great majority represented the one-third of the Jews of Eastern Europe. including Russia, who had left their homelands and come to America between 1880 and 1914. Many detested Czarist Russia and wished to see it destroyed. Of these Jews, not more than 12,000 were enrolled members of the Zionist Organization.[60]

The goodwill of Jewry, and especially America’s Jews, was assessed by both sides in the war as being very important. The once-poor Eastern European Jews had achieved a dominant position in New York’s garment industry. and had become a significant political force. In 1914 they sent a Russian-born socialist to the Congress of the United States. They produced dozens of Yiddish periodicals; they patronized numerous Yiddish theatres and music halls; their sons and daughters were filling the metropolitan colleges and universities.[61]

From the beginning of the war, the German Ambassador in Washington. Count Bernstorff, was provided. by the *Komitee fuer den Osten*, with an adviser on Jewish Affairs (Isaac Straus); and

when the head of the Zionist Agency in Constantinople appealed, in the winter of 1914, to the German Embassy to do what it could to relieve the pressure on the Jews in Palestine, it was reinforced by a similar appeal to Berlin from Bernstorff.^[62] In November 1914, therefore, the German Embassy in Constantinople received instructions to recommend that the Turks sanction the re-opening of the Anglo-Palestine Company's Bank — a key Zionist institution. In December the Embassy made representations which prevented a projected mass deportation of Jews of Russian nationality.^[63] In February 1915 German influence helped to save a number of Jews in Palestine from imprisonment or expulsion, and "a dozen or twenty times" the Germans intervened with the Turks at the request of the Zionist office in Turkey, "thus saving and protecting the *Yishuv*."^[65] The German representations reinforced those of the American Ambassador in Turkey (Henry Morgenthau).^[C] ^[66] Moreover, both the German consulates in Palestine and the head of the German military mission there frequently exerted their influence on behalf of the Jews.^[67]

German respect for Jewish goodwill enabled the Constantinople Zionist Agency from December 1914 to use the German diplomatic courier service and telegraphic code for communicating with Berlin and Palestine.^[68] On 5 June 1915 Victor Jacobson was received at the German Foreign Office by the Under-Secretary of State (von Zimmerman) and regular contact commenced between the Berlin Zionist Executive (Warburg, Hantke and Jacobson) and the German Foreign Office.^[69]

Zionist propagandists in Germany elaborated and publicized the idea that Turkey could become a German satellite and its Empire in Asia made wide open to German enterprise; support for "a revival of Jewish life in Palestine" would form a bastion of German influence in that part of the world.^[70] This was followed by solicitation of the German Foreign Office to notify the German consuls in Palestine of the German Government's friendly interest in Zionism. Such a course was favored by von Neurath [D] when asked by Berlin for his views in October, and in November of 1915, the text for such a document was agreed upon and circulated after the approval of the German Chancellor (Bethmann-Hollweg). It was cautiously and vaguely worded so as not to upset Turkish susceptibilities, stating to the Palestine consuls that the German Government looked favorably on "Jewish activities designed to promote the economic and cultural progress of the Jews in Turkey, and also on the immigration and settlement of Jews from other countries."^[71]

The Zionists felt that an important advance toward a firm German commitment to their aims had been made, but when the Berlin Zionist Executive pressed for a public assurance of sympathy and support, the Government told them to wait until the end of the war, when a victorious Germany would demonstrate its goodwill.^[72]

When Zionist leaders in Germany met Jemal Pasha, by arrangement with the Foreign Office, during his visit to Berlin in the summer of 1917, they were told that the existing Jewish population would be treated fairly but that no further Jewish immigrants would be allowed. Jews could settle anywhere else but not in Palestine. The Turkish Government, Jemal Pasha declared, wanted no new nationality problems, nor was it prepared to antagonize the Palestinian Arabs, "who formed the majority of the population and were to a man opposed to Zionism."^[73]

A few weeks after the interview, the Berlin Zionists' pressure was further weakened by the uncovering by Turkish Intelligence of a Zionist spy ring working for General Allenby's Intelligence section under an Aaron Aaronsohn. "It is no wonder that the Germans, tempted as they may have been by its advantages, shrank from committing themselves to a pro-Zionist declaration."^[74]

It was fortunate for Zionism that the American Jews as a whole showed no enthusiasm for the Allied cause, wrote Stein, political secretary of the Zionist Organization from 1920 to 1929, "If

they had all along been reliable friends, there would have been no need to pay them any special attention.” [75]

In 1914 the French Government had sponsored a visit to the United States by Professor Sylvain Levy and the Grand Rabbi of France with the object of influencing Jewish opinion in their favor, but without success. A year later, it tried to reply to disturbing reports from its embassy in Washington about the sympathies of American Jews [76] by sending a Jew of Hungarian origin (Professor Victor Basch) to the United States in November 1915.[77]

Ostensibly he represented the Ministry of Public Instruction, but his real mission was to influence American Jews through contact with their leaders.[78] Though armed with a message to American Jewry from Prime Minister Briand, he encountered an insuperable obstacle — the Russian alliance. “For Russia there is universal hatred and distrust ... We are reproached with one thing only, the persecution of the Russian Jews, which we tolerate — a toleration which makes us accomplices ... It is certain that any measures in favor of Jewish emancipation would be equivalent to a great battle lost by Germany.” [79] Basch had to report to French President Poincare the failure of his mission.[80]

At the same time that Basch had been dispatched to the United States, the French Government approved the setting up of a “Comité de propagande Francais aupres des Juifs neutres,” and Jacques Bigart, the Secretary of the Alliance Israelite, accepted a secretaryship of the Comité. Bigart suggested to Lucien Wolf, of the Jewish Conjoint Foreign Committee in London, that a similar committee be set up there. Wolf consulted the Foreign Office and was invited by Lord Robert Cecil to provide a full statement of his views.[81]

In December 1915 Wolf submitted a memorandum in which he analyzed the characteristics of the Jewish population of the United States and reached the conclusion that “the situation, though unsatisfactory, is far from unpromising.” Though disclaiming Zionism, he wrote that “In America, the Zionist organizations have lately captured Jewish opinion.” If a statement of sympathy with their aspirations were made, “I am confident they would sweep the whole of American Jewry into enthusiastic allegiance to their cause.” [82]

Early in 1916 a further memorandum was submitted to the British Foreign Office as a formal communication from the Jewish Conjoint Foreign Committee. This stated that “the London (Conjoint) and Paris Committees formed to influence Jewish opinion in neutral countries in a sense favorable to the Allies” had agreed to make representations to their respective Governments. First, the Russian Government should be urged to ease the position of their Jews by immediate concessions for national-cultural autonomy secondly, “in view of the great organized strength of the Zionists in the United States,” (in fact out of the three million Jews in the U.S. less than 12,000 had enrolled as Zionists in 1913), [83] the Allied Powers should give assurances to the Jews of facilities in Palestine for immigration and colonization, liberal local self-government for Jewish colonists, the establishment of a Jewish university, and for the recognition of Hebrew as one of the vernaculars of the land — in the event of their victory.[84]

On 9 March 1916 the Zionists were informed by the Foreign Office that “your suggested formula is receiving (Sir Edward Grey's) careful and sympathetic attention, but it is necessary for H.M.G. to consult their Allies on the subject.” [85] A confidential memorandum was accordingly addressed to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs in Petrograd, to ascertain his views, though its paternity, seeing that Asquith was still Prime Minister, “remains to be discovered.” [86] No direct reply was received, but in a note addressed to the British and French ambassadors four days later,

Sazonov obliquely assented, subject to guarantees for the Orthodox Church and its establishments, to raise no objection to the settlement of Jewish colonists in Palestine.^[87]

Nothing came of these proposals. On 4 July the Foreign Office informed the Conjoint Committee that an official announcement of support was inopportune.^[88] They must be considered alongside the Sykes-Picot Agreement being negotiated at this time, and the virtual completion of the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence by 10 March 1916, with the hope that an Arab revolt and other measures would bring victory near.

But 1916 was a disastrous year for the Allies. “In the story of the war” wrote Lloyd George,

the end of 1916 found the fortunes of the Allies at their lowest ebb. In the offensives on the western front we had lost three men for every two of the Germans we had put out of action. Over 300,000 British troops were being immobilized for lack of initiative or equipment or both by the Turks in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and for the same reason nearly 400,000 Allied soldiers were for all purposes interned in the malarial plains around Salonika.^[89]

The voluntary system of enlistment was abolished, and a mass conscript army of continental pattern was adopted, something which had never before occurred in British history.^[E] ^[90] German submarine activity in the Atlantic was formidable; nearly 1½ million tons of merchant shipping had been sunk in 1916 alone. As for paying for the war, the Allies at first had used the huge American debts in Europe to pay for war supplies, but by 1916 the resources of J.P. Morgan and Company, the Allies' financial and purchasing agents in the United States, were said to be nearly exhausted by increased Allied demands for American credit.^[91] There was rebellion in Ireland. Lord Robert Cecil stated to the British Cabinet: “France is within measurable distance of exhaustion. The political outlook of Italy is menacing. Her finance is tottering. In Russia, there is great discouragement. She has long been on the verge of revolution. Even her man-power seems coming near its limits.” ^[94]

Secretary of State Kitchener was gone — drowned when the cruiser *Hampshire* sank on 5 June 1916 off the Orkneys when he was on his way to Archangel and Petrograd to nip the revolution in the bud. He had a better knowledge of the Middle East than anyone else in the Cabinet. The circumstances suggest espionage and treachery. Walter Page, the U.S. Ambassador in London, entered in his diary: “There was a hope and feeling that he (Lord Kitchener) might not come back... as I make out.”

There was a stalemate on all fronts. In Britain, France and Germany, hardly a family numbered all its sons among the living. But the British public — and the French, and the German — were not allowed to know the numbers of the dead and wounded. By restricting war correspondents, the American people were not allowed to know the truth either.

The figures that are known are a recital of horrors.^[E]

In these circumstances, a European tradition of negotiated peace in scores of wars, might have led to peace at the end of 1916 or early 1917.

Into this gloomy winter of 1916 walked a new figure. He was James Malcolm, ^[F] an Oxford educated Armenian ^[G] who, at the beginning of 1916, with the sanction of the British and Russian Governments, had been appointed by the Armenian Patriarch a member of the Armenian National Delegation to take charge of Armenian interests during and after the war. In this official capacity, and as adviser to the British Government on Eastern affairs, ^[95] he had frequent contacts

with the Cabinet Office, the Foreign Office, the War Office and the French and other Allied embassies in London, and made visits to Paris for consultations with his colleagues and leading French officials. He was passionately devoted to an Allied victory which he hoped would guarantee the national freedom of the Armenians then under Turkish and Russian rule.

Sir Mark Sykes, with whom he was on terms of family friendship, told him that the Cabinet was looking anxiously for United States intervention in the war on the side of the Allies, but when asked what progress was being made in that direction, Sykes shook his head glumly, "Precious little," he replied.

James Malcolm now suggested to Mark Sykes that the reason why previous overtures to American Jewry to support the Allies had received no attention was because the approach had been made to the wrong people. It was to the Zionist Jews that the British and French Governments should address their parleys.

"You are going the wrong way about it," said Mr. Malcolm. "You can win the sympathy of certain politically-minded Jews everywhere, and especially in the United States, in one way only, and that is, by offering to try and secure Palestine for them." [96]

What really weighed most heavily now with Sykes were the terms of the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement. He told Malcolm that to offer to secure Palestine for the Jews was impossible. "Malcolm insisted that there was no other way and urged a Cabinet discussion. A day or two later, Sykes told him that the matter had been mentioned to Lord Milner who had asked for further information. Malcolm pointed out the influence of Judge Brandeis of the American Supreme Court, and his strong Zionist sympathies." [97]

In the United States, the President's adviser, Louis D. Brandeis, a leading advocate of Zionism, had been inducted as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court on 5 June 1916. That Wilson was vulnerable was evident, in that as early as 1911, he had made known his profound interest in the Zionist idea and in Jewry. [98]

Malcolm described Wilson as being "attached to Brandeis by ties of peculiar hardness," a cryptic reference to the story that Wilson had been blackmailed for \$40,000 for some hot love letters he had written to his neighbor's wife when he was President of Princeton. He did not have the money, and the go-between, Samuel Untermyer, of the law firm of Guggenheim, Untermyer & Marshall, said he would provide it if Wilson would appoint to the next vacancy on the Supreme Court a nominee selected by Mr. Untermyer. The money was paid, the letters returned, and Brandeis had been the nominee.

Wilson had written to the Senate, where opposition to the nominee was strong: "I have known him. I have tested him by seeking his advice upon some of the most difficult and perplexing public questions about which it was necessary for me to form a judgment. When Brandeis had been approved by the Senate, Wilson wrote to Henry Morgenthau: "I never signed any commission with such satisfaction." "Relief" might have been a more appropriate word.

The fact that endorsement of Wilson's nominee by the Senate Judiciary Committee had only been made "after hearings of unprecedented length" [99] was not important. Brandeis had the President's ear; he was "formally concerned with the Department of State." [100] This was the significant development, said Malcolm, which compelled a new approach to the Zionists by offering them the key to Palestine.

The British Ambassador to the United States (Sir Cecil Spring-Rice) had written from Washington in January 1914 that “a deputation came down from New York and in two days 'fixed' the two Houses so that the President had to renounce the idea of making a new treaty with Russia.”^[101] In November 1914 he had written to the British Foreign Secretary of the German Jewish bankers who were extending credits to the German Government and were getting hold of the principal New York papers” thereby “bringing them over as much as they dare to the German side and “toiling in a solid phalanx to compass our destruction.”^[102]

This anti-Russian sentiment was part of a deep concern for the well-being of Russian and Polish Jews. Brandeis wrote to his brother from Washington on 8 December 1914: “... You cannot possibly conceive the horrible sufferings of the Jews in Poland and adjacent countries. These changes of control from German to Russian and Polish anti-semitism are bringing miseries as great as the Jews ever suffered in all their exiles.” [H]^[103]

In a speech to the Russian Duma on 9 February (27 January Gregorian) 1915, Foreign Minister Sazonov denied the calumnious stories which, he said, were circulated by Germany, of accounts of alleged pogroms against the Jews and of wholesale murders of Jews by the Russian armies. “If the Jewish Population suffered in the war zone, that circumstance unfortunately was inevitably associated with war, and the same conditions applied in equal measure to all people living within the region of military activity.” He added to the rebuttal with accounts of hardship in areas of German military action in Poland, Belgium and Serbia.^[104]

It is noteworthy that the chairman of the non-Zionist American Jewish Committee responded to an appeal by the Brandeis group that all American Jews should organize to emphasize Zionist aims in Palestine before the Great Powers in any negotiations during or at the end of the war, by dissociating his community from the suggestion that Jews of other nationalities were to be accorded special status. He said that “the very thought of the mass of the Jews of America having a voice in the matter of deciding the welfare of the Jews in the world made him shrink in horror.”^[107]

The new approach to the Zionist movement by Mark Sykes with James Malcolm as preliminary interlocutor took the form of a series of meetings at Chaim Weizmann’s London house, with the knowledge and approval of the Secretary of the War Cabinet, Sir Maurice Hankey.

A Programme for a New Administration of Palestine in Accordance with the Aspirations of the Zionist Movement was issued by the English Political Committee of the Zionist Organization in October 1916, and submitted to the British Foreign Office as a basis for discussion in order to give an official character to the informal house-talks. It included the following:

- (1) The Jewish Chartered Company is to have power to exercise the right of pre-emption over Crown and other lands and to acquire for its own use all or any concessions which may at any time be granted by the suzerain government or governments.
- (2) The present population, being too small, too poor and too little trained to make rapid progress, requires the introduction of a new and progressive element in the population. (But the rights of minority nationalities were to be protected).

Other Points were, (3) recognition of separate Jewish nationality in Palestine; participation of the Palestine Jewish population in local self-government; (5) Jewish autonomy in purely Jewish affairs; (6) official recognition and legalization of existing Jewish institutions for colonization in Palestine.^[108]

This *Programme* does not appear to have reached Cabinet level at the time it was issued, probably because of Asquith's known lack of sympathy, but as recorded by Samuel Landman, the Zionist Organization was given official British facilities for its international correspondence.^[109]

Lloyd George, an earnest and powerful demagogue, was now prepared to oust Asquith, his chief, by a *coup de main*. With the death of Kitchener in the summer of 1916, he had passed from Munitions to the War Office and he saw the top of the parliamentary tree within his grasp. In this maneuver he was powerfully aided by the newspaper proprietor Northcliffe, [I] who turned all his publications from *The Times* downwards to depreciate Asquith, and by the newspaper-owning M.P., Max Aitken (later Lord Beaverbrook).

With public sympathy well prepared, Lloyd George demanded virtual control of war policy. It was intended that Asquith should refuse. He did. Lloyd George resigned. Asquith also resigned to facilitate the reconstruction of the Government. The King then sent for the Conservative leader, Bonar Law, who, as prearranged, advised him to offer the premiership to Lloyd George.^[110]

Asquith and Grey were out; Lloyd George and Balfour were in. With Lloyd George as Prime Minister from December 1916, Zionist relations with the British Government developed fast. Lloyd George had been legal counsel for the Zionists, and while Minister of Munitions, had had assistance from the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann; the new Foreign Minister, Arthur Balfour, was already known for his Zionist sympathies.

The Zionists were undermining the wall between them and their Palestine objective which they had found impossible "to surmount by ordinary political means" prior to the war.^[111] Herzl's suggestion that they would get Palestine "not from the goodwill but from the jealousy of the Powers," ^[112] was being made to come true.

The Zionists moved resolutely to exploit the new situation now that the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary were their firm supporters.

Landman, in his *Secret History of the Balfour Declaration*, wrote:

Through General McDonogh, Director of Military Operations, who was won over by Fitzmaurice (formerly Dragoman of the British Embassy in Constantinople and a friend of James Malcolm), Dr. Weizmann was able, about this time, to secure from the Government the services of half a dozen younger Zionists for active work on behalf of Zionism. At the time, conscription was in force, and only those who were engaged on work of national importance could be released from active service at the Front. I remember Dr. Weizmann writing a letter to General McDonogh and invoking his assistance in obtaining the exemption from active service of Leon Simon, (who later rose to high rank in the Civil Service as Sir Leon Simon, C.B.), Harry Sacher, (on the editorial staff of the *Manchester Guardian*), Simon Marks, [J] Yamson Tolkowsky and myself. At Dr. Weizmann's request I was transferred from the War Office (M.I.9), where I was then working, to the Ministry of Propaganda, which was under Lord Northcliffe, and later to the Zionist office, where I commenced work about December 1916. Simon Marks actually arrived at the Office in khaki, and immediately set about the task of organizing the office which, as will be easily understood, had to maintain constant communications with Zionists in most countries.

From that time onwards for several years, Zionism was considered an ally of the British Government, and every help and assistance was forthcoming from each government department. Passport or travel difficulties did not exist when a man was rec-

commended by our office. For instance, a certificate signed by me was accepted by the Home Office at that time as evidence that an Ottoman Jew was to be treated as a friendly alien and not as an enemy, which was the case with the Turkish subjects.

- A. Jacob Schiff, German-born senior partner in Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and “the most influential figure of his day in American Jewish life,” wrote in *The Menorah Journal* of April 1915: “It is well known that I am a German sympathizer ... England has been contaminated by her alliance with Russia ... am quite convinced that in Germany anti-semitism is a thing of the past.^[64] The *Jewish Encyclopedia* for 1906 states that “Schiff’s firm subscribed for and floated the large Japanese war loan in 1904-05” (for the Russo-Japanese war). “in recognition of which the Mikado conferred on Schiff the second order of the Sacred Treasure of Japan.”
- Partners with Schiff were Felix M. Warburg and his brother Paul who had come to New York in 1902 from Hamburg, and organized the Federal Reserve System.
- B. An award for Morgenthau’s heavy financial support for Wilson’s presidential campaign.
- C. Later, Foreign Minister (1932-38) and Protector of Bohemia (1939-43).
- D. Russian nationals resident in the United Kingdom (nearly all of them Jews), not having become British subjects, some 25,000 of military age, still escaped military service.^[92] This prompted Jabotinsky and Weizmann to urge the formation of a special brigade for Russian Jews, but the idea not favorably received by the Government, and the Zionists joined non-Zionists in an effort to persuade Russian Jews of military age to volunteer as individuals for service in the British army. The response was negligible, and in July 1917 the Military Service (Conventions with Allies) Act was given Royal assent. Men of military age were invited to serve in the British army or risk deportation to Russia. However, the Russian revolution prevented its unhindered application.^[93]
- E. Half a million Frenchmen were lost in the first four months of war, 1 million lost by the end of 1915, and 5 million by 1918. Who can imagine that the Allies lost 600,000 men in one battle, the Somme, and the British more officers in the first few months than all wars of the previous hundred years put together?
- At Stalingrad, in the Second World War, the Wehrmacht had 230,000 men in the field. The German losses at Verdun alone were 325,000 killed or wounded.
- By this time a soldier in one of the better divisions could count on a maximum of three months’ service without being killed or wounded, and the life expectancy for an officer at the front was down to five months in an ordinary regiment and six weeks in a crack one.
- F. See his *Origins of the Balfour Declaration: Dr. Weizmann’s Contribution* reprinted by the IHR, \$2.00 postpaid.
- G. Born in Persia, where his family had settled before Elizabethan days. He was sent to school in England in 1881, being placed in the care of a friend and agent of his family, Sir Albert (Abdullah) Sassoon. Early in 1915, he founded the Russia Society in London among the British public as a means of improving relations between the two countries. Unlike the Zionists, he had no animus towards Czarist Russia.
- H. A reference to the 1914 invasion of Austria and East Prussia by the Russians with such vigor that many people believed that the “Russian steamroller” would soon reach Berlin and end the war. Only the diversion of whole army divisions from the Western to the Eastern Front under the command of General von Hindenburg saved Berlin, and in turn saved Paris.
- There was a direct effort by certain groups to support anti-Imperial activities in Russia from the United States, ^{[105][106]} but Brandeis was apparently not implicated.

- I. Northcliffe was small-minded enough to have Lloyd George called to the telephone, in front of friends, to demonstrate the politician's need of the Press.
- J. Associated with Israel M. Sieff, another of Weizmann's inner circle, in the business which later became Marks & Spencer, Ltd. Sieff was appointed an economic consultant to the U.S. Administration (OPA) in March 1924. As subsequent supporters, with Lord Melchett, of "Political and Economic Planning" (PEP), they exercised considerable influence on British inter-war policy.

The Declaration, 1917

The informal committee of Zionists and Mark Sykes as representative of the British Government, met on 7 February 1917 at the house of Moses Gaster, [A] the Chief Rabbi of the Sephardic (Spanish and Portuguese) congregations in England. Gaster opened the meeting with a statement that stressed Zionist support for British strategic interests in Palestine which were to be an integral part of any agreement between them. As these interests might be considered paramount to British statesmen, support for Zionist aims there, Gaster said, was fully justified. Zionism was irrevocably opposed to any internationalization proposals, even an Anglo-French condominium. [113]

Herbert Samuel followed with an expression of the hope that Jews in Palestine would receive full national status, which would be shared by Jews in the *Diaspora*. The question of conflict of nationality was not mentioned and a succeeding speaker, Harry Sacher, suggested that the sharing should not involve the political implications of citizenship. [114] Weizmann spoke of the necessity for unrestricted immigration. It is clear that the content of each speech was thoroughly prepared before the meeting.

Sykes outlined the obstacles: the inevitable Russian objections, the opposition of the Arabs, and strongly pressed French claims to all Syria, including Palestine. [115] James de Rothschild and Nahum Sokolow, the international Zionist leader, also spoke.

1. The meeting ended with a summary of Zionist objectives:
2. International recognition of Jewish right to Palestine;
3. Juridical nationhood for the Jewish community in Palestine:
4. The creation of a Jewish chartered company in Palestine with rights to acquire land:
5. Union and one administration for Palestine; and
6. Extra-territorial status for the holy places. [117]

The first three points are Zionist, the last two were designed to placate England and Russia, respectively [118] and probably Italy and the Vatican. Sokolow was chosen to act as Zionist representative, to negotiate with Sir Mark Sykes.

The Zionists were, of course, coordinating their activities internationally. On the same day as the meeting in London, Rabbi Stephen Wise in the United States wrote to Brandeis: "I sent the memorandum to Colonel House covering our question, and he writes: 'I hope the dream you have may soon become a reality.'" [118a]

The reports reaching England of impending dissolution of the Russian state practically removed the need for Russian endorsement of Zionist aims, but made French and Italian acceptance even more urgent. This at any rate was the belief of Sykes, Balfour, Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, who, as claimed in their subsequent statements, were convinced that proclaimed Allied

support for Zionist aims would especially influence the United States. Events in Russia made the cooperation of Jewish groups with the Allies much easier. At a mass meeting in March 1917 to celebrate the revolution which had then taken place, Rabbi Stephen Wise, who had succeeded Brandeis as chairman of the American Provisional Zionist Committee after Brandeis's appointment to the Supreme Court, said: "I believe that of all the achievements of my people, none has been nobler than the part the sons and daughters of Israel have taken in the great movement which has culminated in free Russia." [119]

Negotiations for a series of loans totalling \$190,000,000 by the United States to the Provisional Government in Russia of Alexander Kerensky were begun on the advice of the U.S. ambassador to Russia, David R. Francis, who noted in his telegram to Secretary of State Lansing, "financial aid now from America would be a master-stroke. Confidential. Immeasurably important to the Jews that revolution succeed..." [120]

On 22 March 1917 Jacob H. Schiff of Kuhn, Loch & Co., wrote to Mortimer Schiff, "We should be somewhat careful not to appear as overzealous but you might cable Cassel because of recent action of Germany (the declaration of unlimited U-boat warfare) and developments in Russia we shall no longer abstain from Allied Governments financing when opportunity offers."

He also sent a congratulatory cable to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the first Provisional Government, referring to the previous government as "the merciless persecutors of my co-religionists."

In the same month, Leiber Davidovich Bronstein, alias Leon Trotsky, a Russian-born U.S. immigrant, had left the Bronx, New York, for Russia, with a contingent of followers, while V.I. Ulyanov (Lenin) and a party of about thirty were moving across Germany from Switzerland, through Scandinavia to Russia. Some evidence exists that Schiff and other sponsors like Help-hand financed these revolutionaries.

In March 1917, President Wilson denounced as "a little group of willful men," the non-interventionists who filibustered an Administration-sponsored bill that would have empowered Wilson to wage an undeclared naval war against Germany. The opposition to Wilson was led by Senators La Follette and Norris.

On 5 April, the day before the United States Congress adopted a resolution of war, Schiff had been informed by Baron Gunzburg of the actual signing of the decrees removing all restrictions on the Jews in Russia.

At a special session of Congress on 2 April 1917, President Wilson referred to American merchant ships taking supplies to the Allies which had been sunk during the previous month by German submarines (operating a counter-blockade; the British and French fleets having blockaded the Central Powers from the beginning of the war); and then told Congress that "wonderful and heartening things have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia."

He asked for a declaration of war with a mission:

for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, *for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.*

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace that she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other. (emphasis supplied)

That night crowds filled the streets, marching, shouting, singing Dixie” or “The Star Spangled Banner.” Wilson turned to his secretary, Tumulty: “Think what that means, the applause. My message tonight was a message of death, How strange to applaud that!”

So, within six months of Malcolm’s specific suggestion to Sykes, the United States of America, guided by Woodrow Wilson, was on the side of the Allies in the Great War.

Was Wilson guided by Brandeis away from neutrality — to war?

In London, the War Cabinet led by Lloyd George lost no time committing British forces first to the capture of Jerusalem, and then to the total expulsion of the Turks from Palestine. The attack on Egypt, launched on 26 March 1917, attempting to take Gaza, ended in failure. By the end of April a second attack on Gaza had been driven back and it had become clear that there was no prospect of a quick success on this Front.

From Cairo, where he had gone hoping to follow the Army into Jerusalem with Weizmann, Sykes telegraphed to the Foreign Office that, if the Egyptian Expeditionary Force was not reinforced then it would be necessary “to drop all Zionist projects ... Zionists in London and U.S.A. should be warned of this through M. Sokolow...” [120a]

Three weeks later, Sykes was told that reinforcements were coming from Salonika. The War Cabinet also decided to replace the Force’s commander with General Allenby.

Sykes was the official negotiator for the whole project of assisting the Zionists. He acted immediately after the meeting at Gaster’s house by asking his friend M. Picot to meet Nahum Sokolow at the French Embassy in London in an attempt to induce the French to give way on the question of British suzerainty in Palestine.[121] James Malcolm was then asked to go alone to Paris to arrange an interview for Sokolow directly with the French Foreign Minister. Sokolow had been previously unsuccessful in obtaining the support of French Jewry for a meeting with the Minister; since the richest and most influential Jews in the United States and England, with the notable exception of the Rothschilds, who could have arranged such a meeting, were opposed to the political implications of Zionism. In Paris, the powerful *Alliance Israélite Universelle* had made every effort to dissuade him from his mission.[122] Not that the Zionists had no supporters in France other than Edmond de Rothschild, [B] but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had no reason to entangle itself with them.[123] Now James Malcolm opened the door directly to them as he had done in London.

Sykes joined Malcolm and Sokolow in Paris. Sykes and Malcolm, apart from the consideration of Zionism and future American support for the war, were concerned with the possibility of an Arab-Jewish-Armenian *entente* which, through amity between Islamic, Jewish and Christian peoples, would bring peace, stability and a bright new future for the inhabitants of this area where Europe, Asia Minor and Africa meet. Sokolow went along for the diplomatic ride, but in a letter to Weizmann (20 April 1917) he wrote: “I regard the idea as quite fantastic. It is difficult to reach an understanding with the Arabs, but we will have to try. There are no conflicts between Jews and Armenians because there are no common interests whatever.” [C] [124]

Several conversations were held with Picot, including one on 9 April when other officials included Jules Cambon, the Secretary-General of the Foreign Ministry, and the Minister's Chef de Cabinet. Exactly what assurances were given to Sokolow is uncertain, but he wrote to Weizmann "that they accept in principle the recognition of Jewish nationality in terms of a national home, local autonomy, etc." [125] And to Brandeis and Tschlenow, he telegraphed through French official channels: "... Have full confidence Allied victory will realise our Palestine Zionist aspirations." [126]

Sokolow set off for Rome and the Vatican. "There, thanks to the introductions of Fitzmaurice on the one hand and the help of Baron Sidney Sonnino [D] on the other," a Papal audience and interviews with the leading Foreign Office officials were quickly arranged. [127]

When Sokolow returned to Paris, he requested and received a letter from the Foreign Minister dated 4 June 1917, supporting the Zionist cause in general terms. He hastily wrote two telegrams which he gave to M. Picot for dispatch by official diplomatic channels. One was addressed to Louis D. Brandeis in the United States. It read: "Now you can move. We have the formal assurance of the French Government." [E] [128]

"After many years, ' wrote M. Picot, "I am still moved by the thanks he poured out to me as he gave me the two telegrams ... do not say that it was the cause of the great upsurge of enthusiasm which occurred in the United States, but I say that Judge Brandeis, to whom this telegram was addressed, was certainly one of the elements determining the decision of President Wilson." [129]

But Wilson had declared war one month before!

It is natural that M. Picot should want to believe that he had played a significant part in bringing America into the war and therefore helping his country's victory. The evidence certainly supports his having a part in helping a Zionist victory.

Their objective was in sight, but had still to be taken and held.

Although the United States was now a belligerent, no declaration of support had been made for the Zionist program for Palestine, either by Britain or the United States, and some of the richest and most powerful Jews in both countries were opposed to it.

The exception among these Jewish merchant princes was, of course, the House of Rothschild. From London on 25 April 1917, James de Rothschild cabled to Brandeis that Balfour was coming to the United States, and urged American Jewry to support "a Jewish Palestine under British Protection,,, as well as to press their government to do so. He advised Brandeis to meet Balfour. [134] The meeting took place at a White House luncheon, "You are one of the Americans I wanted to meet," said the British Foreign Secretary. [135] Brandeis cabled Louis de Rothschild: "Have had a satisfactory talk with Mr. Balfour, also with Our President. This is not for Publication. " [136]

On the other hand, a letter dated 17 May 1917 appeared in *The Times* (London) signed by the President of the Jewish Board of Deputies and the President of the Anglo-Jewish Association (Alexander and Montefiore, both men of wealth and eminence) stating their approval of Jewish settlement in Palestine as a source of inspiration for all Jews, but adding that they could not favor the Zionist's political scheme. Jews, they believed, were a religious community and they opposed the creation of "a secular Jewish nationality recruited on some loose and obscure principle of race and ethnological peculiarity." They particularly took exception to Zionist Pressure for a Jewish chartered company invested with political and economic privileges in which Jews alone

would participate, Since this was incompatible with the desires of world Jewry for equal rights wherever they lived.^[137]

A controversy then ensued in the British press, in Jewish associations and in the corridors of government, between the Zionist and non-Zionist Jews. In this, Weizmann really had less weight, but he mobilized the more forceful team. The Chief Rabbi dissociated himself from the non-Zionist statement and charged that the Alexander-Montefiore letter did not represent the views of their organizations.^[138] Lord Rothschild wrote: “We Zionists cannot see how the establishment of an autonomous *Jewish State* under the aegis of one of the Allied Powers could be subversive to the loyalty of Jews to countries of which they were citizens. In the letter you have published, the question is also raised of a chartered company.” He continued: “We Zionists have always felt that if Palestine is to be colonized by the Jews, some machinery must be set up to receive the immigrants, settle them on the land and develop the land, and to be generally a directing agency. I can only again emphasize that we Zionists have no wish for privileges at the expense of other nationalities, but only desire to be allowed to work out our destinies side by side with other nationalities in an autonomous state under the suzerainty of one of the Allied Powers.” ^[139] This letter stressed the colonialist aspect of Zionism, but detracted from the strong statist declaration of Weizmann. The Zionist body in Palestine was to be of a more organizational character for the Jewish community.

Perhaps feeling that his statement had been a little too strong for liberal acceptance, Weizmann also joined this correspondence in the *Times*. Writing as President of the English Zionist Federation, he first claimed that,

it is strictly a question of fact that the Jews are a nationality. An overwhelming majority of them had always had the conviction that they were a nationality, which has been shared by non-Jews in all countries.”

The letter continued:

The Zionists are not demanding in Palestine monopolies or exclusive privileges, nor are they asking that any part of Palestine should be administered by a chartered company to the detriment of others. *It always was and remains a cardinal principle of Zionism as a democratic movement that all races and sects in Palestine should enjoy full justice and liberty*, and Zionists are confident that the new suzerain whom they hope Palestine will acquire as a result of the war will, in its administration of the country, be guided by the same principle.^[140] (emphasis supplied)

The competition for the attention of the British public and British Jewry by the Zionists and their Jewish opponents continued in the press and in their various special meetings. A manifesto of solidarity with the opinions of Alexander and Montefiore was sent to *The Times* on 1 June 1917; and in the same month at Buffalo, N.Y., the President of the Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis added his weight against Jewish nationalism: “I am not here to quarrel with Zionism. Mine is only the intention to declare that we, as rabbis, who are consecrated to the service of the Lord ... have no place in a movement in which Jews band together on racial or national grounds, and for a political State or even for a legally-assured Home.” ^[141]

But while the controversy continued, the Zionists worked hard to produce a draft document which could form a declaration acceptable to the Allies, particularly Britain and the United States, and which would be in the nature of a charter of international status for their aims in Palestine. This was treated as a matter of urgency, as Weizmann believed it would remove the support from non-Zionist Jews ^[142] and ensure against the uncertainties inseparable from the war.

On 13 June 1917 Weizmann wrote Sir Ronald Graham at the Foreign Office that “it appears desirable from every point of view that the British Government should give expression to its sympathy and support of the Zionist claims on Palestine. In fact, it need only confirm the view which eminent and representative members of the Government have many times expressed to us ... “ [143] This was timed to coincide with a minute of the same date of one of Balfour’s advisers in which it was suggested that the time had arrived “when we might meet the wishes of the Zionists and give them an assurance that H.M.G. are in general sympathy with their aspirations. “ [144] To which Balfour remarked, “Personally, I should still prefer to associate the U.S.A. in the Protectorate, should we succeed in securing it.” [145]

The Zionists also had to counter tentative British and American plans to seek a separate peace with Turkey. When Weizmann, for the Zionists, together with Malcolm, for the Armenians, went on 10 June to the Foreign Office to protest such a plan, Weizmann broadly suggested that the Zionist leaders in Germany were being courted by the German Government, and he mentioned, to improve credibility, that approaches were made to them through the medium of a Dr. Lepsius.

The truth, probably, is that the Berlin Zionist Executive was initiating renewed contact with the German Government so as to give weight to the pleading of their counterparts in London that the risk of German competition could not be left out of account. Lepsius was actually a leading Evangelical divine, well known for his championship of the Armenians, who were then being massacred in Turkey. When Leonard Stein examined the papers of the Berlin Executive after the war, his name was not to be found, and Mr. Lichtheim of the Executive had no recollection of any overtures by Lepsius.[146]

In the U.S., in July 1917, a special mission consisting of Henry Morgenthau, Sr., and Justice Brandeis’s nephew, Felix Frankfurter, was charged by President Wilson to proceed to Turkey, against which the United States did not declare war, to sound out the possibility of peace negotiations between Turkey and the Allies. In this, Wilson may have been particularly motivated by his passion to stop the massacres of Armenian and Greek Christians which were then taking place in Turkey and for whom he expressed immense solicitude. On many occasions. Weizmann, however, accompanied by the French Zionist M. Weyl, forewarned, proceeded to intercept them at Gibraltar and persuaded them to return home.[147] During 1917 and 1918 more Christians were massacred in Turkey. Had Morgenthau and Frankfurter carried out their mission successfully, maybe this would have been avoided.

This account appears in William Yale’s book *The Near East: A Modern History*. He was a Special Agent of the State Department in the Near East during the First World War. When I had dinner with him on 12 May 1970 at the Biltmore Hotel in New York, I asked him if Weizmann had told him how the special mission had been aborted. He replied that Weizmann said that the Governor of Gibraltar had held a special banquet in their honor, but at the end all the British officials withdrew discretely, leaving the four Jews alone. “Then,” said Weizmann, “we fixed it.”

The same evening, he told me something which he said he had never told anyone else, and which was in his secret papers which were only to be opened after his death. He later wrote to me, after he had read *The Palestine Diary*, saying that he would like me to deal with those papers.

One of Yale’s assignments was to follow Wilson’s preference for having private talks with key personalities capable of influencing the course of events. He did this with Lloyd George, General Allenby and Col. T.E. Lawrence, for example. Yale said he had a talk with Weizmann “somewhere in the Mediterranean in 1919,” and asked him what might happen if the British did not support a national home for the Jews in Palestine. Weizmann thumped his fist on the table and

the teacups jumped, “If they don’t,” he said, “we’ll smash the British Empire as we smashed the Russian Empire.”

Brandeis was in Washington during the summer of 1917 and conferred with Secretary of State Robert S. Lansing from time to time on Turkish-American relations and the treatment of Jews in Palestine.^[148] He busied himself in particular with drafts of what later became the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate for Palestine, and in obtaining American approval for them.^[149] A considerable number of drafts were made in London and transmitted to the United States, through War Office channels, for the use of the American Zionist Political Committee. Some were detailed, but the British Government did not want to commit itself to more than a general statement of principles.

On 18 July, such a statement, approved in the United States, was forwarded by Lord Rothschild to Lord Balfour. It read as follows:

His Majesty’s Government, after considering the aims of the Zionist Organization, accepts the principle of recognizing Palestine as the National Home [E] of the Jewish people and the right of the Jewish people to build up its national life in Palestine under a protectorate to be established at the conclusion of peace following the successful issue of war.

His Majesty’s Government regards as essential for the realization of this principle the grant of internal autonomy to the Jewish nationality in Palestine, freedom of immigration for Jews, and the establishment of a Jewish national colonization corporation for the resettlement and economic development of the country.

The conditions and forms of the internal autonomy and a charter for the Jewish national colonizing corporation should, in the view of His Majesty’s Government, be elaborated in detail, and determined with the representatives of the Zionist Organization.^[150]

It seems possible that Balfour would have issued this declaration but strong representatives against it were made directly to the Cabinet by Lucien Wolf, Claude Montefiore Sir Mathew Nathan, Secretary of State for India Edwin Montagu, [F] and other non-Zionist Jews. It was significant they believed that “anti-semites are always very sympathetic to Zionism,” and though they would welcome the establishment in Palestine of a center of Jewish culture, some — like Philip Magnes — feared that a political declaration would antagonize other sections of the population in Palestine, and might result in the Turks dealing with the Jews as they had dealt with the Armenians.^[154] The Jewish opposition was too important to ignore, and the preparation of a new draft was commenced. At about this time, Northcliffe and Reading [G] visited Washington and had a discussion with Brandeis at which they undoubtedly discussed Zionism.^[155]

Multiple pressures at key points led Lord Robert Cecil to telegraph to Col. E.M. House on 3 September 1917: “We are being pressed here for a declaration of sympathy with the Zionist movement and I should be very grateful if you felt able to ascertain unofficially if the President favours such a declaration. “^[156] House, who had performed services relating to Federal Reserve and currency legislation for Jacob W. Schiff and Paul Warburg, ^[157] and was Wilson’s closet adviser, relayed the message, but a week later Cecil was still without a reply.

On 11 September the Foreign Office had ready for dispatch the following message for Sir William Wiseman, [H] head of the British Military Intelligence Service in the United States: “Has Colonel House been able to ascertain whether the President favours sympathy with Zionist

aspirations as asked in my telegram of September 3rd? We should be most grateful for an early reply as September 17th is the Jewish New Year and announcement of sympathy by or on that date would have excellent effect.” But before it was sent, a telegram from Colonel House dated 11 September reached the Foreign Office.

Wilson had been approached as requested and had expressed the opinion that “the time was not opportune for any definite statement further, perhaps, than one of sympathy, provided it can be made without conveying any real commitment.” Presumably, a formal declaration would presuppose the expulsion of the Turks from Palestine, but the United States was not at war with Turkey, and a declaration implying annexation would exclude an early and separate peace with that country.^[158]

In a widely publicized speech in Cincinnati on 21 May 1916, after temporarily relinquishing his appointment as Ambassador to Turkey in favor of a Jewish colleague, Henry Morgenthau had announced that he had recently suggested to the Turkish Government that Turkey should sell Palestine to the Zionists after the war. The proposal, he said, had been well received, but its publication caused anger in Turkey.^[159]

Weizmann was “greatly astonished” at this news, especially as he had “wired to Brandeis requesting him to use his influence in our favour ... But up to now I have heard nothing from Brandeis.” ^[161]

On 19 September Weizmann cabled to Brandeis:

Following text declaration has been approved by Foreign Office and Prime Minister and submitted to War Cabinet:

1. H.M. Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people.
2. H.M. Government will use its best endeavours to secure the achievement of the object and will discuss the necessary methods and means with the Zionist Organization.^[162]

Weizmann suggested that non-Zionist opposition should be forestalled, and in this it would “greatly help if President Wilson and yourself support the text. Matter most urgent.” ^[163] He followed this up with a telegram to two leading New York Zionists, asking them to “see Brandeis and Frankfurter to immediately discuss my last two telegrams with them,” adding that it might be necessary for him to come to the United States himself.^[164]

Brandeis saw House on 23 September and drafted a message, sent the following day through the British War Office. It advised that presidential support would be facilitated if the French and Italians made inquiry about the White House attitude, but he followed this the same day with another cable stating that from previous talks with the President and in the opinion of his close advisers. he could safely say that Wilson would be in complete sympathy.^[165]

Thus Brandeis had either persuaded Wilson that there was nothing in the draft (Rothschild) declaration of 19 September which could be interpreted as “conveying any real commitment,” which is difficult to believe, or he had induced the President to change his mind about the kind of declaration, he could approve or was sure he and House could do so.^[166]

On 7 February 1917, Stephen Wise had written to Brandeis: “I sent the memorandum to Colonel House covering our question, and he writes, 'I hope the dream you have may soon become a real-

ity.” [167] In October, after seeing House together with Wise, de Haas reported to Brandeis: “He has told us that he was as interested in our success as ourselves.” To Wilson, House stated that “The Jews from every tribe descended in force, and they seem determined to break in with a jimmy, if they are not let in.” [168] A new draft declaration had been prepared; Wilson had to support it.

On 9 October 1917, Weizmann cabled again to Brandeis from London of difficulties from the “assimilants” Opposition: “They have found an excellent champion ... in Mr. Edwin Montagu who is a member of the Government and has certainly made use of his position to injure the Zionist cause.” [169]

Weizmann also telegraphed to Brandeis a new (Milner-Amery) formula. The same draft was cabled by Balfour to House in Washington on 14 October:

His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish race and will use its best endeavours to facilitate achievement of this object; it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed in any other country by such Jews who are fully contented with their existing nationality and citizenship.[170]

It was reinforced by a telegram from the U.S. Embassy in London direct to President Wilson (bypassing the State Department), stating that the “question of a message of sympathy with the (Zionist) movement” was being reconsidered by the British Cabinet “in view of reports that (the) German Government are making great efforts to capture (the) Zionist movement.” [171]

Brandeis and his associates found the draft unsatisfactory in two particulars. They disliked that part of the draft’s second safeguard clause which read, “by such Jew’s who are fully contented with their existing nationality and citizenship,” and substituted “the rights and civil political status enjoyed by Jews in any country. In addition, Brandeis apparently proposed the change of “Jewish race” to “Jewish people.” [172] Jacob de Haas, then Executive Secretary of the Provisional Zionist Committee, has written that the pressure to issue the declaration was coming from the English Zionist leaders: “they apparently needed it to stabilize their position against local anti-Zionism. If American Zionists were anxious about it, Washington would act.” De Haas continues:

Then one morning Baron Furness, one of England’s unostentatious representatives, brought to 44 East 23rd Street, at that time headquarters of the Zionist Organization, the final draft ready for issue. The language of the declaration accepted by the English Zionists based as it was on the theory of discontent was unacceptable to me. I informed Justice Brandeis of my views, called in Dr. Schmarya Levin and proceeded to change the text. Then with Dr. Wise, I hurried to Colonel House. By this time he had come to speak of Zionism as “our cause.” Quietly he perused my proposed change, discussed its wisdom and promised to call President Wilson on his private wire and urge the change. He cabled to the British Cabinet. Next day he informed me that the President had approved. I had business that week-end in Boston and it was over the long distance wire that my secretary in New York read to me the final form as repeated by cable from London. It was the text as I had altered it.[173]

“It seems clear,” wrote Stein, “that .it was not without some prompting by House that Wilson eventually authorized a favourable reply to the British enquiry.” Sir William Wiseman, “who was *persona grata* both with the President and with House, was relied upon by the Foreign Office for

dealing with the declaration at the American end. Sir William's recollection is that Colonel House was influential in bringing the matter to the President's attention and persuading him to approve the formula." [174]

On 16 October 1917, after a conference with House, Wiseman telegraphed to Balfour's private secretary: "Colonel House put the formula before the President who approves of it but asks that no mention of his approval shall be made when His Majesty's Government makes formula public, as he had arranged the American Jews shall then ask him for approval, which he will publicly give here." [175]

The Balfour Declaration, as stated, was issued on 2 November 1917. Its text, seemingly so simple, had been prepared by some of the craftiest of the craft of legal drafting. Leaflets containing its message were dropped by air on Germany and Austria and on the Jewish belt from Poland to the Baltic Sea.

Seven months had passed since America entered the war. It was an epochal triumph for Zionism, and some believe, for the Jews.

On the other hand, two months before the declaration, Sokolow had written of a marked falling off in "le philo-sémitisme d'autrefois," ascribed by some to the impression that the Russian Jews were the mainspring of Bolshevism; and on the day it was issued, The *Jewish Chronicle* complained of "the antisemitic campaign which a section of the press in this country, indifferent to the national interests, is sedulously conducting." [176] There only remained certain courtesies to be effected. On November 1917, Weizmann wrote a letter of thanks to Brandeis:

"... I need hardly say how we all rejoice in this great event and how grateful we all feel to you for the valuable and efficient help which you have lent to the cause in the critical hour ... Once more, dear Mr. Brandeis, I beg to tender to you our heartiest congratulations not only on my own behalf but also on behalf of our friends here — and may this epoch-making be a beginning of great work for our sorely tried people and also of mankind." [177]

The other principal Allied governments were approached with requests for similar pronouncements. The French simply supported the British Government in a short paragraph on 9 February 1918. Italian support was contained in a note dated 9 May 1918 to Mr. Sokolow by their ambassador in London in which he stressed the religious divisions of communities, grouping "a Jewish national centre" with existing religious communities."

On 31, August 1918, President Wilson wrote to Rabbi Wise "to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist movement .. since ... Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." Brandeis joined in Zionist delight at the President's endorsement and wrote: "Since the President's letter, anti-Zionism is pretty near disloyalty and non-Zionism is slackening." [178] Non-Zionist Jews now had a hard time if they wanted to disseminate their views; if they could not support Zionism they were asked at least to remain silent.

On 30 June 1922, the following resolution was adopted by the United States Congress:

Favouring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people;

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That the United States of America favours the es-

establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which should prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christians and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.[J]

All people tend to see the world and its events in terms of their own experience, ideas and prejudices. This is natural. It is a fact used by master politicians and manipulators of opinion who form their appeals accordingly. The case of the Balfour Declaration is a fascinating example of a scheme presenting a multiplicity of images according to the facet of mind on which it reflected.

There were critics of the Balfour Declaration, although among the cacophony of many events competing for attention, few but its beneficiaries concentrated on the significance of what was being offered. One was the Jewish leader and statesman Mr. Edwin Montagu, who had no desire that Jews should be regarded as a separate race and a distinct nationality.^[181] The other was Lord Curzon, who became Foreign Secretary at the end of October 1918. He prepared a memorandum dated 26 October 1917, on the penultimate and final drafts of the Balfour Declaration and related documents, and circulated it in the Cabinet. It was titled “The Future of Palestine.” Here are some extracts:

I am not concerned to discuss the question in dispute between the Zionist and anti-Zionist jews . I am only concerned in the more immediately practical questions:

(a) What is the meaning of the phrase “a national home for the Jewish race in Palestine,” and what is the nature of the obligation that we shall assume if we accept this as a principle of British policy?

(b) If such a policy be pursued what are the chances of its successful realisation?

If I seek guidance from the latest collection of circulated papers (The Zionist Movement, G.-164) I find a fundamental disagreement among the authorities quoted there as to the scope and nature of their aim.

A “national home for the Jewish race or people” would seem, if the words are to bear their ordinary meaning, to imply a place where the Jews can be reassembled as a nation, and where they will enjoy the privileges of an independent national existence. Such is clearly the conception of those who, like Sir Alfred Mond, speak of the creation in Palestine of “an autonomous Jewish State,” words which appear to contemplate a State, i.e., a political entity, composed of Jews, governed by Jews, and administered mainly in the interests of Jews...

The same conception appears to underlie several other of the phrases employed in these papers, e.g., when we are told that Palestine is to become “a home for the Jewish nation,” “a national home for the Jewish race,” “a Jewish Palestine,” and when we read of “the resettlement of Palestine as a national centre,” and “the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people,” all these phrases are variants of the same idea, viz., the re-creation of Palestine as it was before the days of the dispersion.

On the other hand, Lord Rothschild, when he speaks of Palestine as “a home where the Jews could speak their own language, have their own education, their own civilization, and religious institutions under the protection of Allied governments,” seems to postulate a much less definite form of political existence, one, indeed, which is

quite compatible with the existence of an alien (so long as it is not Turkish) government...

Now what is the capacity as regards population of Palestine within any reasonable period of time? Under the Turks there is no such place or country as Palestine, because it is divided up between the *sanjak* of Jerusalem and the *vilayets* of Syria and Beirut. But let us assume that in speaking of Palestine in the present context we mean the old scriptural Palestine, extending from Dan to Beersheba, i.e., from Banias to Bir es-Sabi... an area of less than 10,000 square miles. What is to become of the people of this country, assuming the Turk to be expelled, and the inhabitants not to have been exterminated by the war? There are over a half a million of these, Syrian Arabs — a mixed community with Arab, Hebrew, Canaanite, Greek, Egyptian, and possibly Crusaders' blood. They and their forefathers have occupied the country for the best part of 1,500 years. They own the soil, which belongs either to individual landowners or to village communities. They profess the Mohammadan faith. They will not be content either to be expropriated for Jewish immigrants, or to act merely as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the latter.

- A. Born in Rumania in 1856, his imposing presence and scholarship combined with “an oracular manner suggesting that he had access to mysteries hidden from others, had made him an important figure at Zionist Congresses and on Zionist platforms in England and abroad.” It was calculated that Sykes would be impressed by his personality and background.^[116]
- B. These included the socialist leader, Jules Cuesde, who had joined Viviani’s National Government as Minister of State; Gustave Herve: the publicist and future Minister de Monzie; and others.
- C. Privately, Sokolow resented Malcolm as “a stranger in the center of our work,” who was “endowed with an *esprit* of a goyish kind. “^[130]
- D. Of Jewish extraction.^[131]
- E. The French note represented a defeat for the “Syrian Party” in the government who believed in French dominion over the entire area. This was not only due to the strong representations of Sykes on behalf of his Government, but was assisted by those of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, ^[132] who prevailed upon the *Alliance Israélite* to back the Zionist cause.
The result of the no less successful conversations in Rome and the Vatican were cabled to the Zionist Organization over British controlled lines.^[133]
- F. The use of the term “National Home” was a continuation of the euphemism deliberately adopted since the first Zionist Congress, when the term “Heimstaette” was used instead of any of the possible German words signifying “state.” At that time, its purpose was to avoid provoking the hostility of non-Zionist Jews.^[151]
The author or inventor of the term “Heimstaette” was Max Nordau who coined it “to deceive by its mildness “ until such time as “there was no reason to dissimulate our real aim.”^[152]
The Arabic translation of “National Home” ignores the intended subtlety, and the words employed: *watan*, *qawm*, and *sha'b*, are much stronger in meaning than an abstract notion of government.^[153]
- G. (1879-1924). His father, the first Lord Swaythling, and Herbert Samuel’s father were brothers.
- H. Rufus Isaacs, a Jewish lawyer, who had quickly risen to fame in his profession, and then in politics. This was a period when elevations to the peerage for political and financial assis-

tance to the party in power were so numerous that the whole system of British peerage was weakened. In 1916, Isaacs was a viscount; in 1917 an earl.

- I. Joined Kuhn, Loeb & Co. in 1921. and was responsible for their liaison with London banks, and was “in charge of financing several large enterprises.” [160]
- J. This was introduced by Mr. Hamilton Fish. His interpretation of his action was clarified thirty-eight years later, when the World Zionists held their 25th Congress in Jerusalem. David Ben Gurion, as Prime Minister of Israel, in his address to the gathering stated: “every religious Jew has daily violated the precepts of Judaism by remaining in the diaspora”; and, citing the authority of the Jewish sages, said: “Whoever dwells outside the land of Israel is considered to have no god.” He added: “Judaism is in danger of death by strangulation. In the free and prosperous countries it faces the kiss of death, a slow and imperceptible decline into the abyss of assimilation.” [179]

Mr. Hamilton Fish replied: “As author of the first Zionist Resolution patterned on the Balfour Resolution, I denounce and repudiate the Ben Gurion statements as irreconcilable with my Resolution as adopted by Congress, and if they represent the Government of Israel and public opinion there, then I shall disavow publicly my support of my own Resolution, as I do not want to be associated with such un-American doctrines.” [180]

Wilson and the War

If the contract with Jewry was to bring the United States into the Great War in exchange for the promise of Palestine, did they in fact deliver, through Brandeis or anyone else?

For the German-Jewish princes of the purse in the United States, the evidence points more to the Russian revolution being the factor of most weight in determining their attitude.

Was it the resumption of Germany’s submarine blockade, the sinking of the *Laconia*, the Zimmerman telegram, which really influenced Wilson for war? Was it the Zionist counsel of Brandeis? In a careful study, Prof. Alex M. Arnett showed in 1937 that Wilson had decided to put the United States into the war on the side of the Allies many months before the resumption of U-boat warfare by Germany, which was promoted as a sufficient reason. [182]

In the propaganda battle for American public opinion between Britain and Germany, the former had the advantage of language, and the fact that on 5 August 1914 they had cut the international undersea cables linking Germany and the United States, thus eliminating quick communication between those two countries and giving British “news” the edge in forming public opinion.

The success of British propaganda methods were acknowledged by a German soldier of the time when he dictated his memoirs, *Mein Kampf*, in 1925: “In England propaganda was regarded as a weapon of the first order, whereas with us it represented the last hope of a livelihood for our unemployed politicians and a snug job for shirkers of the modest heroic type. Taken all in all, its results were negative.”

British propaganda portrayed the war as one of just defense against a barbarian aggressor akin to the hordes of Genghis Khan, who were rapers of nuns, mutilators of children, led by the Kaiser — pictured as a beast in human form, a lunatic, deformed monster, modern Judas, and criminal monarch.

Stories that German soldiers cut off the hands of Belgian children and crucified prisoners and perpetrated and all sorts of other atrocities said to have been practiced in Belgium, were circulated as widely as possible. The story about their making glycerine and soap from corpses did not appear until the end of April 1917, when new stories were created by American propagandists. One, a book called *Christine*, by “Alice Cholmondeley,” a collection of letters purporting to have been written by a teenage girl music student to her mother in Britain until her death in 1914, mingled a damning catalogue of alleged German character faults with emotional feelings for her fictitious mother and music. Propaganda experts rated it highly.^[183]

The head of the American section of the British propaganda bureau, Sir Gilbert Parker, was able to report on his Success in the issue of his secret *Americon Press Review* for 11 October 1916 before the Presidential election: “This week supplies satisfactory evidence of the permeation of the American Press by British influence.”

Men of British ancestry still dominated the powerful infrastructure of the economy, filled top Positions in the State Department in the influential Eastern universities, in the communications and cultural media. Britain and France were more identified with democracy and freedom, and the Central Powers with imperial militaristic autocracy. From Oyster Bay, former President Theodore Roosevelt, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, performed high-pitched war dances of words in support of belligerency.

But at the Democratic convention, and in the subsequent campaign, it was William Jennings Bryan and his allied orators who created the theme and slogan: “He kept us out of war.”

Bryan had resigned as Secretary of State in June 1915 because he believed Wilson was jeopardizing American neutrality and showing partiality towards England. In his last interview, he told Wilson bitterly, “Colonel House has been Secretary of State, not I, and I have never had your full confidence.”

House, a secretive and subtle flatterer who had performed services relating to the Federal Reserve Bank and currency legislation for Jacob W. Schiff and Paul Warburg, was perceived by Wilson as the “friend who so thoroughly understands me,” “my second personality...my independent self, His thoughts and mine are one.”

Bryan had wanted to go on a peace mission to Europe at the beginning of 1915, but the President sent House instead. House had actually sailed on the British ship *Lusitania* and as it approached the Irish coast on 5 February, the captain ordered the American flag to be raised.

The Intimate Papers of Colonel House record that on the morning of 7 May 1915, he and the British Foreign Secretary Grey drove to Kew. “We spoke of the probability of an ocean liner being sunk,” recorded House, “and I told him if this were done, a flame of indignation would sweep across America, which would in itself probably carry us into the war.” An hour later, House was with King George in Buckingham Palace. “We fell to talking, strangely enough,” the Colonel wrote that night, “of the probability of Germany sinking a trans-Atlantic liner... “ He said, “Suppose they should sink the *Lusitania* with American passengers on board... “

That evening House dined at the American Embassy. A dispatch came in, stating that at two in the afternoon a German submarine had torpedoed and sunk the *Lusitania* off the southern coast of Ireland. 1,200 lives were lost, including 128 Americans. It took 60 years for the truth about its cargo to be confirmed; that it had carried munitions which exploded when the torpedo hit. But Secretary of State Bryan remarked to his wife, “I wonder if that ship carried munitions of war...

If she did carry them, it puts a different face on the whole matter! England has been using our citizens to protect her ammunition.”

In a telegram to President Wilson from England on 9 May 1915, House said he believed an immediate demand should be made to Germany for assurance against a similar incident.

I should inform her that our Government expected to take measures ... to ensure the safety of American citizens.

If war follows, it will not be a new war, but an endeavor to end more speedily an old one. Our intervention will save, rather than increase loss of life. We can no longer be neutral spectators .

In another telegram on 25 May, he noted that he had received from Ambassador Gerard a cable that Germany is in no need of food. “This does away with their contention that the starving of Germany justified their submarine policy.”

The next day, House lunched with Sir Edward Grey and read him all the telegrams that had passed between the President, Gerard and himself since last they had met. And he wrote on 30 May 1915, “I have concluded that war with Germany is inevitable, and this afternoon at six o'clock I decided to go home on the *S.S. St. Paul* on Saturday. I sent a cable to the President to this effect.” After his arrival in the United States, he wrote to the President from Rosslyn, Long Island, on 16 June 1915, a long letter which included the paragraph:

I need not tell you that if the Allies fail to win, it must necessarily mean a reversal of our entire policy.

I think we shall find ourselves drifting into war with Germany ... Regrettable as this would be, there would be compensations. The war would be more speedily ended, and we would be in a strong position to aid the other great democracies in turning the world into the right paths. It is something that we have to face with fortitude, being consoled by the thought that no matter what sacrifices we make, the end will justify them. Affectionately yours, E.M. House.

Are these references related to Zionism or Palestine? I think not. Perhaps the clue is that immediately after the election of Wilson, House had anonymously published a political romance entitled *Philip Dru: Administrator*. Dru leads a revolt and becomes a dictator in Washington, where he formulates a new American constitution and brings about an international grouping or league of Powers.

Let us look to the other side of the water again in 1916, a year later.

About a month before Malcolm's meeting with Sir Mark Sykes, Lloyd George gave an interview to the President of the United Press Association of America, in which he said “that Britain had only now got into her stride in her war effort, and was justifiably suspicious of any suggestion that President Wilson should choose this moment to 'butt in' with a proposal to stop the war before we could achieve victory.”

“The whole world ... must know that there can be no outside interference at this stage. Britain asked no intervention when she was unprepared to fight. She will tolerate none now that she is prepared, until the Prussian military despotism is broken beyond repair... The motto of the Allies

was '*Never Again!*' “ And this made worthwhile the sacrifices so far as well as those needed to end the war with victory.^[184]

Grey wrote to him on the 29th of September that he was apprehensive about the effect “of the warning to Wilson in your interview... It has always been my view that until the Allies were sure of victory the door should be kept open for Wilson’s mediation.”

But the following month, at one of the formal regular meetings with the Chief of the Imperial Staff, when Lloyd George received the familiar answers as to the course of the war — the German losses were greater than the Allies, that the Germans were gradually being worn down, and their morale shaken by constant defeat and retreat — he asked Sir Wm. Robertson for his views as “to how this sanguinary conflict was to be brought to a successful end ... He just mumbled something about 'attrition'.”

Lloyd George then asked for a formal memorandum on the subject. This was not encouraging, and said that an end could not be expected “before the summer of 1918. How long it may go on afterwards I cannot even guess.”

The facts were far from rosy, but were the hopes of Great Britain really hanging upon American entry into the war? There were two other possible courses.

One was suggested by the Marquess of Landsdowne, a member of the Cabinet and a statesman of considerable standing as the author of the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904. It was contained in a Memorandum Respecting a Peace Settlement, circulated to the Cabinet with the consent of the Prime Minister. Landsdowne suggested doubts as to the possibility of victory within a reasonable space of time.

What does the prolongation of the war mean? Our own casualties already amount to over 1,100,000. We have had 15,000 officers killed, not including those who are missing. There is no reason to suppose that, as the force at the front in the different theatres of war increases, the casualties will increase at a lower rate. We are slowly but surely killing off the best of the male population of these islands. The figures representing the casualties of our Allies are not before me. The total must be appalling.
^[185]

The other members of the Cabinet and the Chief of Staff repudiated peace without victory.

The other course was that adopted: to thrust more men and money into the holocaust (defined as a wholesale sacrifice or destruction). What would now be called political and military summit meetings were held in France to plan for it. They commenced on 15 November 1916.

In the political presentations, the only reference to America seems to have been offered by Lloyd George:

The difficulties we have experienced in making payment for our purchases abroad must be as present to the minds of French statesmen as to ourselves. Our dependence upon America is growing for food, raw material and munitions. We are rapidly exhausting the securities negotiable in America. If victory shone on our banners, our difficulties would disappear.[Asquith deleted the next sentence, which read] Success means credit: financiers never hesitate to lend to a prosperous concern: but business which is lumbering along amidst great difficulties and which is making no headway

in spite of enormous expenditure will find the banks gradually closing their books against it.

This reference to Allied problems in getting more credit from the bankers in the United States, who were predominantly German-Jewish, elucidates Schiff's agreement to arrange credit for Britain through the Jewish banker Cassel — they were not waiting for a Balfour Declaration, they were waiting for the Russian Revolution!

On the military side, there was general agreement at the summit conference that what was needed was a “knock-out blow,” and it was decided that the 1917 plan of campaign would be an offensive on all fronts, including Palestine, with the Western Front as the principal one.

On 7 December the Asquith government fell and Lloyd George, who was pledged to a more vigorous prosecution of the war, took over the Government. Five days later, Germany and her allies put forward notes in which they stated their willingness to consider peace by compromise and negotiations.

The first of the battles opened on 9 April 1917, heralded by a bombardment of 2,700,000 shells. Another attack was launched by the French nine days later, these resulting in about a million dead and wounded on both sides. The French Army mutinied, and General Petain was put in charge.

At this time the two events which were to twist the world into a new shape were occurring, the Russian Revolution and American entry into the war.

French Government wanted to defer all offensive operations until American assistance became available, but the generals thought otherwise. Maj.-Gen. J.F.C. Fuller, whom I have met, one of the few bright military-political minds in this century, tells us that Haig “had set his heart on a decisive battle in Flanders, and so obsessed was he by it that he believed that he could beat the Germans single-handed, and before the Americans came in.” ^[186] I do not think that people who did not live in the great days of the British Empire can have a sense of the hubris of a Haig, unless one gets it from classical literature. Perhaps today it would be found in the head of the World Bank, from whom we taxpayers, like the common soldiers of that time, are so far removed! There was actually resentment in the England of my boyhood about Americans claiming to have played any significant part in fighting the Great War.

The outcome of the grandiosity of the generals and politicians was the costly Flanders campaign of the summer and autumn. On 7th June it was opened by the limited and successful Battle of Messines, which was preceded by a seventeen days' bombardment of 3,500,000 shells, and initiated by the explosion of nineteen mines packed with a million pounds of high explosives.

On 31st July it was followed by the Third Battle of Ypres, for which the largest force of artillery ever seen in British history was assembled. In all, the preliminary bombardment lasted nineteen days, and during it 4,300,000 shells, some 107,000 tons in weight were hurled onto the prospective low lying battlefield. Its entire surface was upheaved; all drains, dikes, culverts and roads were destroyed, and an almost uncrossable swamp created, in which the infantry wallowed for three and a half months. When, on 10th November, the battle ended, the Germans had been pushed back a maximum depth of five miles on a frontage of ten miles, at a cost of a little under 200,000 men to themselves, and, at the lowest estimate, of 300,000 to their enemy.

Thus ended the last of the great artillery battles of attrition on the Western Front, and when in retrospect they are looked on, it becomes understandable why the politicians were so eager to es-

cape them.

The Great War was like a greatly magnified version of the mutual destruction of noble men in the *Nibelungenlied*. Set against each other by the vanity and lack of vision of their rulers, the more they fought the more there was to avenge until death delivered them from their need. “At the going down of the sun and in the morning,” we should learn their lesson.

Britain's Obligation?

In a memorandum marked in his own handwriting “Private & Confidential” to Lord Peel and other members of the Royal Commission on Palestine in 1936, James Malcolm wrote:

I have always been convinced that until the Jewish question was more or less satisfactorily settled there could be no real or permanent peace in the world, and that the solution lay in Palestine. This was one of the two main considerations which impelled me, in the autumn of 1916, to initiate the negotiations which led eventually to the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate for Palestine. The other, of course, was to bring America into the War.

For generations Jews and Gentiles alike have assumed in error that the cause of Anti-Semitism was in the main religious. Indeed, the Jews in the hope of obtaining relief from intolerance, engaged in the intensive and subversive propagation of materialistic doctrines productive of “Liberalism,” Socialism, and Irreligion, resulting in de-Christianisation. On the other hand, the more materialistic the Gentiles became, the more aware they were subconsciously made of the cause of Anti-Semitism, which at bottom was, and remains to this day, primarily an economic one. A French writer — Vicomte de Poncins — has remarked that in some respects Anti-Semitism is largely a form of self-defence against Jewish economic aggression. In my opinion, however, neither the Jews nor the Gentiles bear the sole responsibility for this.

As I have already said, I had a part in initiating the negotiations in the early autumn of 1916 between the British and French Governments and the Zionist leaders, which led to the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate for Palestine.

The first object, of course, was to enlist the very considerable and necessary influence of the Jews, and especially of the Zionist or Nationalist Jews, to help us bring America into the War at the most critical period of the hostilities. This was publicly acknowledged by Mr. Lloyd George during a recent debate in the House of Commons.

Our second object was to enable and induce Jews all the world over to envisage constructive work as their proper field, and to take their minds off destructive and subversive schemes which, owing to their general Sense of insecurity and homelessness, even in the periods preceding the French Revolution, had provoked so much trouble and unrest in various countries, until their ever-increasing violence culminated in the Third International and the Russian Communist Revolution. But to achieve this end it was necessary to promise them Palestine in consideration of their help, as already explained, and not as a mere humanitarian experiment or enterprise, as represented in certain quarters.

It is no wonder that Weizmann did not refer to Malcolm in his autobiography, and Sokolow privately resented Malcolm “as a stranger in the center of our work,” who was “endowed with an esprit of a goyish kind. “ [187]

It is also worth noting that on page seven of his memorandum Malcolm quoted General Ludendorff, former Quartermaster General of the German Army, and perhaps at least remembered for heading an unsuccessful coup in Munich in 1923, as saying that the Balfour Declaration was “the cleverest thing done by the Allies in the way of propaganda and that he wished Germany had thought of it first.”

On the other hand, might it not have provided some cold comfort for Ludendorff to believe that the Zionist Jews were a major factor in the outcome of the war — if that is what he is implying?

Malcolm’s belief in the Balfour Declaration as a means of bringing the United States into the war was confirmed by Samuel Landman, secretary to the Zionist leaders Weizmann and Sokolow, and later secretary of the World Zionist Organization. As

the only way (which proved so to be) to induce the American President to come into the war was to secure the cooperation of Zionist Jews by promising them Palestine, and thus enlist and mobilize the hitherto unsuspectedly powerful forces of Zionist Jews in America and elsewhere in favour of the Allies on a *quid pro quo* contract basis. Thus, as will be seen, the Zionists having carried out their part, and greatly helped to bring America in, the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was but the public confirmation of the necessarily secret “gentlemen’s” agreement of 1916, made with the previous knowledge, acquiescence, and or approval of the Arabs, and of the British, and of the French and other Allied governments, and not merely a voluntary, altruistic and romantic gesture on the part of Great Britain as certain people either through pardonable ignorance assume or unpardonable ill-will would represent or rather misrepresent ... [188]

Speaking in the House of Commons on 4 July 1922, Winston Churchill asked rhetorically,

Are we to keep our pledge to the Zionists made in 1917...? Pledges and promises were made during the war, and they were made, not only on the merits, though I think the merits are considerable. They were made because it was considered they would be of value to us in our struggle to win the war. It was considered that the support which the Jews could give us all over the world, and particularly in the United States, and also in Russia, would be a definite palpable advantage. I was not responsible at that time for the giving of those pledges, nor for the conduct of the war of which they were, when given, an integral part. But like other members I supported the policy of the War Cabinet. Like other members, I accepted and was proud to accept a share in those great transactions, which left us with terrible losses, with formidable obligations, but nevertheless with unchallengable victory.

However, Hansard notes, one member, Mr. Gwynne, plaintively complained that “the House has not yet had an opportunity of discussing it.”

Writing to *The Times* on 2 November 1949, Malcolm Thomson, the official biographer of Lloyd George, noted that this was the thirty-second anniversary of the Balfour Declaration and it seemed a

suitable occasion for stating briefly certain facts about its origin which have recently been incorrectly recorded.

When writing the official biography of Lloyd George, I was able to study the original documents bearing on this question. From these it was clear that although certain members of the Cabinets of 1916 and 1917 sympathized with Zionist aspirations, the efforts of Zionist leaders to win any promise of support from the British Government had proved quite ineffectual, and the secret Sykes-Picot agreement with the French for partition of spheres of interest in the Middle East seemed to doom Zionist aims. A change of attitude was, however, brought about through the initiative of Mr. James A. Malcolm, who pressed on Sir Mark Sykes, then Under-Secretary to the War Cabinet, the thesis that an allied offer to restore Palestine to the Jews would swing over from the German to the allied side the very powerful influence of American Jews, including Judge Brandeis, the friend and adviser of President Wilson. Sykes was interested, and at his request Malcolm introduced him to Dr. Weizmann and the other Zionist leaders, and negotiations were opened which culminated in the Balfour Declaration.

These facts have at one time or another been mentioned in various books and articles, and are set out by Dr. Adolf Boehm in his monumental history of Zionism, "Die Zionistische Bewegung," Vol. 1, p.656. It therefore surprised me to find in Dr. Weizmann's autobiography, "Trial and Error," that he makes no mention of Mr. Malcolm's crucially important intervention, and even attributes his own introduction to Sir Mark Sykes to the late Dr. Caster. As future historians might not unnaturally suppose Dr. Weizmann's account to be authentic, I have communicated with Mr. Malcolm, who not only confirms the account I have given, but holds a letter written to him by Dr. Weizmann on March 5, 1941, saying: "You will be interested to hear that some time ago I had occasion to write to Mr. Lloyd George about your useful and timely initiative in 1916 to bring about the negotiations between myself and my Zionist colleagues and Sir Mark Sykes and others about Palestine and Zionist support of the allied cause in America and elsewhere."

No doubt a complexity of motives lay behind the Balfour Declaration, including strategic and diplomatic considerations and, on the part of Balfour, Lloyd George, and Smuts, a genuine sympathy with Zionist aims. But the determining factor was the intervention of Mr Malcolm with his scheme for engaging by some such concession the support of American Zionists for the allied cause in the first world war.

Yours, & c.,

MALCOLM THOMSON

According to Lloyd George's *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, where, as planned many years before, the Zionists were strongly represented,

There is no better proof of the value of the Balfour Declaration as a military move than the fact that Germany entered into negotiations with Turkey in an endeavor to provide an alternative scheme which would appeal to Zionists. A German-Jewish Society, the V.J.O.D., [A] was formed, and in January 1918, Talaat, the Turkish Grand Vizier, at the instigation of the Germans, gave vague promises of legislation by means of which "all justifiable wishes of the Jews in Palestine would be able to meet their fulfilment."

Another most cogent reason for the adoption by the Allies of the policy of the Declaration lay in the state of Russia herself. Russian Jews had been secretly active on behalf of the Central Powers from the first; they had become the chief agents of German pacifist propaganda in Russia; by 1917 they had done much in preparing for that general disintegration of Russian society, later recognised as the Revolution. It was believed that if Great Britain declared for the fulfillment of Zionist aspirations in Palestine under her own pledge, one effect would be to bring Russian Jewry to the cause of the Entente.

It was believed, also, that such a declaration would have a potent influence upon world Jewry outside Russia, and secure for the Entente the aid of Jewish financial interests. In America, their aid in this respect would have a special value when the Allies had almost exhausted the gold and marketable securities available for American purchases. Such were the chief considerations which, in 1917, impelled the British Government towards making a contract with Jewry.^[189]

As for getting the support of Russian Jewry, Trotsky's aims were to overthrow the Provisional Government and turn the imperialist war into a war of international revolution. In November 1917 the first aim was accomplished. Military factors primarily influenced Lenin to sign the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918.

The Zionist sympathizers Churchill and George seemed never to lose an opportunity to tell the British people that they had an obligation to support the Zionists.

But what had the Zionists done for Britain?

Where was the documentation?

“Measured by British interests alone,” wrote the Oxford historian Elizabeth Monroe in 1963, the Balfour Declaration “was one of the greatest mistakes in our imperial history!”

The Zionists had the Herzlian tradition — shall we call it — of Promises, “promises.” Considerable credit for the diplomacy which brought into existence the Jewish national home must go to Weizmann. A British official who came into contact with him summarized his diplomatic method in the following words:

When (the First World War) began, his cause was hardly known to the principal statesman of the victors. It had many enemies, and some of the most formidable were amongst the most highly placed of his own people ... He once told me that 2,000 interviews had gone into the making of the Balfour Declaration. With unerring skill he adapted his arguments to the special circumstances of each statesman. To the British and Americans he could use biblical language and awake a deep emotional undertone; to other nationalities he more often talked in terms of interest. Mr. Lloyd George was told that Palestine was a little mountainous country not unlike Wales; with Lord Balfour the philosophical background of Zionism could be surveyed; for Lord Cecil the problem was placed in the setting of a new world organization; while to Lord Milner the extension of imperial power could be vividly portrayed. To me, who dealt with these matters as a junior officer of the General Staff, he brought from many sources all the evidences that could be obtained of the importance of a Jewish national home to the strategical position of the British Empire, but he always indicated by a hundred shades and inflections of the voice that he believed that I could

also appreciate better than my superiors other more subtle and recondite arguments.
[190]

A) Vereinigung Jüdischer Organisation in Deutschland zur Wahrung der Rechte des Osten. (Alliance of the Jewish Organizations of Germany for the Safeguarding of the Rights of the East.)

Triumph and Tragedy

Herzl correctly predicted a great war between the Great Powers. His followers organized to be ready for that time to further their ambitions through exploiting the rivalry of the Great Powers. They had a vested interest in promoting that war and in its continuance until Palestine was wrested from Turkey by British soldiers.

They prepared for the Peace Conference at Versailles although they had no belligerent standing, but they had the weight of the Rothschilds, Bernard Baruch, Felix Frankfurter, and others, which made room for them.

In the Introduction to *The Palestine Diary* I wrote,

The establishment in 1948 of a “Jewish state” in Palestine was a phenomenal achievement. In fifty years from the Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897 — attended by a small number of Jews who represented little more than themselves — the Zionist idea had captivated the vast majority of world Jewry, and enlisted in particular Britain, America and the United Nations to intervene in Palestine in its support.

In 1983, seventy-five years after the Balfour Declaration and nearly ninety years after the first Zionist Congress in Switzerland a meeting was held there of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine — but the conferees were not Jews — they were Palestinians — two million are in exile — displaced by Jews!

Where is the meaning for us?

On a day-to-day level, we can look in our newspapers for Zionist tactics of influence and leverage which we can document they have used successfully in the past.

Then there is a long-term strategy, From the mass of material in a century of history and in our complex society of today I see the underlying effect of two themes, They influence the lives of every one of us, and will continue to do so unless a change is made.

We can see them clearly in their early formulation, before they had been fed as valid data into the information processing and software systems of our society, with the result that most of the answers we get are *wrong!*

They are found in the conversation of Herzl and Meyer-Cohn in 1895. The sets of ideas are those associated with Jewish nationalism and racism on the Right [191] — racism being defined by Sir Andrew Huxley P.R.S. as the belief in the subjugation of one race by another, and on the other hand the concept of “universalism.”

Acceptance of this input from the Right into our computations has resulted in the transfer of some \$50 billion from our pockets into theirs.[192] In 1983, budgeted American tax money, labeled “aid,” alone amounts to \$625 for every man, woman and child in Israel.[193] It results in our

acceptance of concentration camps for Palestinians containing thousands of people without a squeak from the so-called “international community” in acceptance of their assassination, torture, deportation, closing of their schools and colleges, even of their massacre.^[194] The lives of American troops — men and women, are committed to supporting these crimes.^[195] Criticism is called “antisemitism,” a word which computes as “unemployable social outcast.”

Jewish nationalism and Israeli policy planned the present destabilization of Lebanon in 1955.^[196] This is part of larger schemes to fragment and enfeeble possible challenges to their supremacy in the Middle East.^[197]

On the other hand we have “universalism.” This, I believe was the factor motivating Woodrow Wilson through House in his telegram of 30 May 1916 and letter of 16 June 1915 to the President, to which I have referred. “The League of Nations,” the United Nations Organization, are its printouts. Just as House was a coefficient of the international bankers, so the United Nations and the international bankers have been part of the coefficient whereby over \$400 billion of the earnings of workers in countries where universalism is a significant force, has been transferred to the peoples of Asia, Africa, South America and Communist countries; money needed for our capital investment.

People should ask: How is it that, with such multiplication of industrial power and resources, our peoples' standard of living and possibilities to have and support children have not multiplied accordingly? Why do so many of our women *have* to work? Why does no public figure — politician, labor leader — dare to ask — and raise the roof?

Universalism and Marxism compete superficially for first place as finalists in western culture distortion. Both promote its ethnic dilution, but deny us the reality of racial differences. Against our individuality and our nationalism, they and the global capitalists and their corporations unite as transnationals to reduce all but themselves to a common consumer market of blurred boundaries and one color. They would like one law — which they would make; one armed force — which they would control. Universalism would impose — not a global peace, but a global tyranny!

Universalism has come up with “interdependence,” an expression used as a cover for the expropriation of our earnings as foreign aid in various forms; it has anesthetized the sense of self-defense of our countries so that those who have tried to stop their colonization by people from exploding populations of Africa, Asia and Latin America have been made to feel that they were depriving others of their “human rights.”

In countries where they live other than Israel, Zionists are in the forefront of opposition to restrictions on immigration. Note that even in 1903 a leader of the fight against the Alien's Bill and against tightening up naturalization regulations in Britain was the pro-Zionist Winston S. Churchill, and the super-Zionist Herzl appeared before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration to oppose any restriction.

And yet, my Arab friends born in Jerusalem are cast out and cannot return.

“If,” said Herzl, “we wanted to bring about the unity of mankind independent of national boundaries, we would have to combat the ideal of patriotism. The latter, however, will prove stronger than we for innumerable years to come.

In a hundred years they have almost won that struggle.

In a conversation with Joseph Chamberlain in 1903, Theodore Herzl was asked how the Jewish colony would survive in the distant future. Herzl said, “We shall play the role of a small buffer state. We shall attain this not through the goodwill but from the jealousy of the Powers.”

This is the game that Israel plays today, obtaining its military supplies, its high technology, and its billions of dollars from the pay packets of American workers, using the rivalry of the USSR and the U.S.A.

We should not allow ourselves to be made pawns in the games of others.

Appendix

SECRET

Political Intelligence Department,

Foreign Office.

Special 3.

Memorandum on British Commitments to King Husein

(Page 9) With regard to Palestine, His Majesty's Government are committed by Sir H. McMahon's letter to the Sherif on the 24th October, 1915, to its inclusion in the boundaries of Arab independence. But they have stated their policy regarding the Palestinian Holy Places and Zionist colonisation in their message to him of the 4th January, 1918:

“That so far as Palestine is concerned, we are determined that no people shall be subjected to another, but that in view of the fact:

“(a.) That there are in Palestine shrines, Wakfs, and Holy Places, sacred in some cases to Moslems alone, to Jews alone, to Christians alone, and in others to two or all three, and inasmuch as these places are of interest to vast masses of people outside Palestine and Arabia, there must be a special regime to deal with these places approved of by the world.

“(b.) That as regards the Mosque of Omar, it shall be considered as a Moslem concern alone, and shall not be subjected directly or indirectly to any non-Moslem authority.

“That since the Jewish opinion of the world is in favour of a return of Jews to Palestine, and inasmuch as this opinion must remain a constant factor, and further, as His Majesty's Government view with favour the realisation of this aspiration. His Majesty's Government are determined that in so far as is compatible with the freedom of the existing population, both economic and political, no obstacle should be put in the way of the realisation of this ideal.”

This message was delivered personally to King Husein by Commander Hogarth, and the latter reported on his reception of it as follows:

“The King would not accept an independent Jewish State in Palestine, nor was I instructed to warn him that such a State was contemplated by Great Britain. He proba-

bly knows nothing of the actual or possible economy of Palestine, and his ready assent to Jewish settlement there is not worth very much. But I think he appreciates the financial advantage of Arab co-operation with the Jews.”

Notes

1. ☞ More than that, the country was still part of the Empire of a fourth, namely Turkey.

It read:

Foreign Office, November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:

“His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.”

I should be grateful if you would bring this Declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur James Balfour. *A Survey of Palestine, 1945-1946*, H.M.S.O., vol. I, p.1.

2. ☞ Lowenthal, *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl*. pp.35.
 - 2a. ☞ *Ibid.*, p.63.
 - 2b. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129, 132, 152, 176.
3. ☞ *Ibid.*, p.215.
4. ☞ Weizmann, *Trial and Error*; p.45-46.
5. ☞ Stein, Leonard, *Zionism*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubauer and Co., 1932). p.62.
6. ☞ Bela. Alex., *Theodor Herzl* (tr. Maurice Samuel). (Philadelphia: Jewish Palestine Society), pp. 304-305; Halpern. *The Ideal of a Jewish State*, p.144.
7. ☞ *Ibid.*, For financial details. see pp. 262-264.
8. ☞ Lowenthal, *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, p.398.
9. ☞ Lewisohn, Ludwig, *Theodor Herzl*. (New York: World. 1955). pp. 335-341.
10. ☞ Bela. *Theodor Herzl*, p.490.
11. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 361ff. 378f.
12. ☞ Ziff, William B., *The Rape of Palestine*. (New York: Longmans & Green, 1938), p. 43.
13. ☞ British Foreign Office to Herzl, 19 lane 1903, Zionist Archives, Jerusalem.
14. ☞ *Tagebuecher*, vol.III, pp, 412-413 (24 April 1903), Berlin 1922.
15. ☞ Stein. Leonard, *The Balfour Declaration*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1916),

16. ♪ Lipsky, Louis, *A Gallery of Zionist Profiles*, (New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1956), p.37.
17. ♪ Halpern, *The Idea of a Jewish State*, pp. 154-155.
18. ♪ Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p.78.
19. ♪ *Ibid.*, p. 35.
20. ♪ Lipsky, *A Gallery of Zionist Profiles*, p.94.
21. ♪ Alsberg, F.A., *Ha-Sh'ela ha-Araviv*, vol. I, *Shivat Zion*, IV, pp. 161-209. Quoted by Halpern in *The Idea of a Jewish State*, p.267.
22. ♪ Lipsky, *A Gallery of Zionist Profiles*, p.36.
23. ♪ *Ibid.*, p. 98.
24. ♪ Halpern, *The Idea of a Jewish State*, p.267.
25. ♪ Lipsky, *A Gallery of Zionist Profiles*, pp.95-98.
26. ♪ Protocols of the 10th Zionist Congress, p.11.
27. ♪ Lipsky, *A Gallery of Zionist Profiles*, p.26.
28. ♪ Halpern. *The Idea of a Jewish State*, p. 267.
29. ♪ Report of the 12th Zionist Congress (London: Central Office of the Organization. 1922) pp. 13ff.
30. ♪ Bela, A., *Return to the Soil*. (Jerusalem: Zionist Organization. 1952) p.27.
31. ♪ Hecht, Ben, *Perfidy*, (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1961), p.254.
32. ♪ Reports submitted by the Executive of the Zionist Organization to the 12th Zionist Congress, London, 1921, Palestine Report. p.7.
33. ♪ Hyamson, A.M., *The Near East, 31 Oct. 1913*, (London, 1917), p.68.
34. ♪ *Ibid.*, pp.39-40.
35. ♪ *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 October 1908.
36. ♪ *Die Welt*, 22 January 1909.
37. ♪ Protocols of the 11th Zionist Congress, p.6.
38. ♪ Joffre, Joseph J.C., *The Memoirs of Marshal Joffre*, (London and New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932), Vol.1, pp.38-39.
39. ♪ Chamberlain, Austen, *Down the Years*, (London: Cassell & Co., 1935), p.104.
40. ♪ Churchill, Winston L.S., *The World Crisis, 1911-1918*, (London: T. Butterworth, 1931), Vol.1, p.234.
41. ♪ Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, pp.104-105.
42. ♪ *Ibid.*, p.109.
43. ♪ *Ibid.*, pp.233-234.
44. ♪ Adamov, E., Ed., *Die Europoeische Maechte und die Tuerkei Waehrend des Weltkriegs-Die Aufteilung der Asiatischen Tuerkei*. Translation from Russian (Dresden, 1932), No.91.
45. ♪ Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p.97.
46. ♪ For details see 1921 Reports submitted by the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization to the Twelfth Zionist Congress, London, 1921.
47. ♪ Letter from Max Bodheimer to Otto Warburg, 22 November 1914 (Jerusalem: Zionist Archives), quoted in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p.98, n.8.
48. ♪ Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, pp.197-198.
49. ♪ Gottheil to Louis O. Brandeis, 1 October 1914 (unpublished).
50. ♪ London: *The Times*, 10 November 1914.

51. [↗](#) Letter from Greenberg to Herzl, 4 July 1903, quoted in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p.28. This seems to indicate Lloyd George's first contact with the Zionist movement: 'Lloyd George, as you know, is an M.P.; he, therefore, knows the ropes of these things and can be helpful to us.'
52. [↗](#) Samuel, Viscount Herbert, *Memoirs*, (London: Cresset Press, 1945), pp 139ff.
53. [↗](#) Letter from Samuel to Weizmann, 11 January 1915, quoted in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p.109, fo. 24; also Samuel, *Memoirs*, p.144.
54. [↗](#) Samuel, *Memoirs*, p.143. In a letter of 20 November 1912 to the Zionist Executive, Weizmann mentioned Haldane as one of the important persons to whom he thought he could gain access: *Zionist Archives*.
55. [↗](#) Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p.111, fn. 33; Crewe's mother-in-law was the Countess of Rosebery, daughter of Baron Mayer de Rothschild, see p.112, fn. 34.
56. [↗](#) Samuel, *Memoirs*, p.141.
57. [↗](#) Oxford and Asquith, Earl, *Memories and Reflections*, (London: Cassell, 1928), Vol. II, p. 59.
58. [↗](#) Samuel, *Memoirs*, pp.143-144.
59. [↗](#) Oxford and Asquith, *Memories and Reflections*, Vol. II, p. 65.
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61. [↗](#) Rischin, Moses, *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870-1914*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
62. [↗](#) German Foreign Office Documents at London Record Office, Washington to Berlin K 692/K 176709-10, and K 692/K 17611-12-Berlin to Washington, 1 November 1914. 'Some time ago we already strongly advised Turkey, on account of international Jewry, to protect Jews of every nationality, and we are now reverting to the matter once again.'
63. [↗](#) German Foreign Office Documents, K 692/K 176723 and 176745.
64. [↗](#) Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p.201.
65. [↗](#) Richard Lichtheim to Leonard Stein, 12 February 1952, *The Balfour Declaration*, p.209, fn. 9.
66. [↗](#) Report dated 8 March 1915, Papers of Nahum Sokolow, Quoted in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p.210, fn. 10.
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71. [↗](#) Lichtheim, *Memoirs*, Chapter XVIII; Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, pp. 213-214, fns. 21.22.
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73. [↗](#) Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, pp. 536-537; Note of the interview in memorandum 28 August 1917, *Zionist Archives*.
74. [↗](#) Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p.537. Even in 1959, Aaronsohn's superior, Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen. wrote: "I am not at liberty to divulge any of his exploits as it

would publicize methods better kept secret"- *Middle East Diary 1917-1956* (New York: Yoseloff, 1960) p.5.

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174. ☞ William Wiseman to Leonard Stein, 7 November 1952: in Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, p. 529.
175. ☞ In a dispatch dated 19 May 1919 from Balfour to Curzon, 'The correspondence with Sir William Wiseman in October 1917' is mentioned as evidence of endorsement of the Balfour Declaration. *Document on British Foreign Policy*, First Series, Vol. IV, No.196, fn. 4, p.281.
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188. ☞ *Great Britain, the Jews and Palestine*, (London, 1936), pp. 4-5, New Zionist Press.
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190. ☞ Taylor, *Prelude to Israel*, p.24.
191. ☞ Example: resigning Israeli Chief of Staff, Gen. Rafael Eytan, following the invasion of Lebanon, likened the Palestinians to "cockroaches."
192. ☞ The U.S. General Accounting Office figure for military and economic aid to Israel from 1948 through 1982 was \$24 billion. To this must be added the tax-free contributions to Israeli organizations, loss on investment of funds in Israeli bonds by American cities such as New York, by labor unions, and other entities. To the add the costs of transfer of American technology to Israel. Since 1982, IJ.S. annual taxpayer levies for Israel have been increased by Congress. so that the cost of Israel for the United States could easily climb to well in excess of \$100 billion over the next decade.
193. ☞ *New York Times*, 10 July 1983.
194. ☞ I recall distinctly how our soldiers fired their weapons at the elderly, at women and children, all on order of their commanders. I witnessed the pleas and cries of small children after their mothers were brutally killed in front of them by our soldiers. Some of the soldiers even fired phosphorus cannisters into Ein El-Helweh shelters, where hundreds of civilians had taken refuge. None of them survived." Account by Lt. Eytan Kleibneuf in *Haolam Haze*, Israel, 7 July 1982. Kleibneuf is a member of Mi'jan Michael Kibbutz and member of Mapam's United Kibbutzim Movement, and a reserve officer in the Israel infantry forces.
 The West German weekly *Stern*, 24 August 1982, carried an article by Austria's Jewish Chancellor, Bruno Kreisky, stating that Israel had committed "gigantic crimes" in its invasion of Lebanon. "Israel stands morally naked. Its leaders have shown their true face," he concluded.
 During Israel's invasion of Lebanon, the U.S. *Jewish Press* carried a regular column by Rabbi Meir Kahane advocating the killing of Palestinians of all ages. This he wrote, was G-d's will as expressed in the Torah. Not to do so, opposed that will. This is the Holy War (*herem*) which God "commanded" the Hebrews to wage against the Canaanites for the possession of the Promised Land. The Old Testament repeatedly refers to the terror that the

herem would produce and to Israel's obligation to destroy all persons with their property who remain in the land, lest they become slaves or corrupting influences. The Hebrew word *herem* designates a sacred sphere where ordinary standards do not apply, and in a military context ... *herem* is a total war of annihilation without limits against men, women, animals and property. For a discussion of the *herem* and its revival by the Zealots as reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see de Vaux, R., *Ancient Israel*, New York: McGraw-Hill. 1972, pp.258-267.

In psychological terms, the defense for indulgence in the horror of *herem* is projection -projection of ideas of *herem* as being held by others, or indulging in behavior which invites the "Group-Fantasy of Martyrdom." See *Journal of Psychohistory*, Vol.6, No.2, Fall 1978, H.F. Stein, "The Psychodynamic Paradox of Survival Through Persecution," pp.151-210.

195. ☞ Within three weeks of the presentation of the preceeding lecture at the IHR conference, 241 U.S. Marines and 58 French servicemen were killed in Beirut on 23 October 1983.
196. ☞ *Israel's Sacred Terrorism* by Livia Rokach. Belmont 1980: Assoc. of Arab-Amer. Grads. Amer. Grads. Contains the Memoirs of Moshe Sharett 1953-57, Israel's first Foreign Minister and second Prime Minister.
197. ☞ "A Strategy for Israel in the Nineteen Eighties," by Oded Yinon, a former officer in the Israeli Foreign Ministry. In *Kivunim* (Directions), the Hebrew-language journal of the Department of Information of the World Zionist Organization, February 1982. "The dissolution of Syria and Iraq ... into ethnically or religious unique areas such as in Lebanon, is Israel's primary target on the eastern front in the long run, while the dissolution of the military power of those states serves as the short term target," the presentation reads in part.

Webmaster note: This sentence by Koestler appears to have been published in *Promise and fulfillment: Palestine, 1917-1949*. London, Macmillan, 1949.

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A postwar view of the Greater East Asia War

Michiko Hasegawa

In striking contrast to the situation in North America and Europe, historical revisionism enjoys widespread support and even official sanction in Japan. The growing willingness of the Japanese to reassess their nation's role in the "Greater East Asia War" received worldwide attention during the so-called "textbook controversy" of 1962, when new Japanese high school history textbooks were introduced that portrayed Japan's wartime role in a more positive light. Recent documentary films and "docudrama" television series about the war years have also contributed to the revisionist trend. And last August Yasuhiro Nakasone became the first postwar Prime Minister to make an official visit to the Yasukuni Shrine, a Shinto holy place in Tokyo honoring Japanese war dead, including wartime Prime Minister Hideki Tojo and other leaders who were hanged by the Americans as war criminals.

The article that follows is reprinted from a special 1984 issue of the attractive quarterly magazine, *Japan Echo*, which consisted entirely of revisionist essays. It was widely distributed by the Toyota Motor Company, Japan Air Lines and the Japanese Foreign Ministry. Hayao Shimizu of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies introduced the special issue with an editorial essay entitled "The War and Japan: Revisionist Views." Besides the various objective factors, he wrote, the subjective or psychological factor behind the remarkable recent growth of revisionism in Japan has been "the fervent enthusiasm ordinary people have shown for reconfirming their identity by means of a fresh look at history." The impetus has not come from scholars, but is rather based on a growing desire "among the Japanese in general to re-establish their sense of national identity." Shimizu went on to explain: "Perhaps we can say that at the root of such developments is a manifestation of the natural nationalism of the Japanese, which for most of the post war period was suppressed, sometimes openly and at other times in covert fashion." Not surprisingly, leftists in Japan and abroad are not happy with this trend. "Clearly the direction being taken by the [historical] debate is not welcomed by those favorably inclined to the Marxist slant on history."

— Mark Weber

From Darkness to Nothingness

Individuals in any era perceive a demarcation between the years preceding and following their own births. On a subconscious level, the years preceding one's birth are bathed in darkness to a greater or lesser degree. Birth is the beginning of time for an individual; anything occurring before this precedes time itself.

To those of us born around 1945 or 1946, however, this perception of time is neither individualistic nor subconscious. Actual darkness surrounds the time of our birth, so this darkness is not only perceived by us but also admitted by the adults we grew up with. Those of us born in the immediate postwar years see ourselves as children born of darkness.

The shadows of that darkness still remained when we were children. At the foot of an ancient burial mound that we used as a playground was an air raid shelter with its two entrances forced open. We were sternly warned not to go inside, for accidents involving children trapped in abandoned air raid shelters were common at the time. Yet motivated by something stronger than simple curiosity — more of a yearning — we wanted very much just once to enter and experience an air raid.

Adult talk in those days always returned to memories of the war — to searchlights crisscrossing the sky and confirming the presence of B-29s as they flew serenely above the reach of anti-aircraft guns. To the incendiary bombs that fell by the gate of the house in front of ours. To mother trembling in fear, father rushing out with buckets to quench the fire, and mother's resentment at his delayed return. They would say, "I never want to go through that again," and yet on their faces we saw the intense excitement common to survivors of disaster, and we regretted not having shared the experience. Glimpsed in this way, the darkness of the past remained mysterious, half-frightening and half-enticing.

This childish curiosity gradually subsided as we reached school age, but now we were taught that the war years were a dark age in a totally different sense of the word. In addition to the period's shortages of food, clothing, and fuel and the ever-present danger of bombardment from the skies, we learned that the very light of reason itself had been abandoned. The war years were said to resemble the Dark Ages, that label used until recently to characterize the early European Middle Ages. We were taught that for inexplicable reasons the entire country had gone mad, thinking it could achieve the impossible and convinced that wrong was right.

If darkness carries this latter meaning, then defining oneself as a product of darkness is not comforting. We imagined that those responsible for the creation of the dark age had been punished and that the rest had repented and exorcised the darkness from themselves. The period, in short, was obliterated. Instead of seeing ourselves as children of darkness, accordingly, we became accustomed to the idea that we were born of nothingness.

The Blotted-out Word

Now that the postwar generation has reached maturity, for some reason I have been reading up on the war years. Records have been left by people of varying status and describe a multitude of experiences. They tell of soldiers burdened with cooking pots dragging their way across an endless plain in northern China, of engineers stifling in the polluted atmosphere of a submarine, of pilots in New Guinea taking off from Rabaul for an attack on Port Moresby, and of soldiers dying in the jungle of Guadalcanal. There are records of the officer at an operational headquarters who heard the report of the total annihilation of the Japanese on Attu Island and of families fleeing across Manchuria's Greater Khingan Range under Russian fire. Totally immersed in that era, I would suddenly glance at the sky, breathing a sigh of relief that, miraculously, no enemy planes hovered overhead.

After several months thus spent, a single reality, a word, began to form in my mind. On first perceiving it faintly, I realized that I had previously understood nothing of war. Simultaneously I un-

derstood what it was that had been cast in the oblivion of darkness and that no one would mention. It was the word *enemy*.

This word itself produced the war years, and consequently in the postwar era even its mention was taboo. In descriptions of the war, victims killed by fires in the great incendiary bombings of Tokyo “died in the air raids.” Soldiers shot down by Chinese troops immediately upon disembarking from ships at Shanghai, and soldiers killed by hand grenades tossed into the underground tunnels on Iwo Jima, “died in the war.” Even those instantly incinerated in the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki “died when the atomic bombs fell,” as if God, by some slip of the hand, had let the bombs drop from heaven. This is not a question of phrasing. In reviewing the events of the war, the Japanese intentionally omit the word *enemy*.

Overlooking the existence of an enemy during wartime and describing only the deeds of one side cause such deeds to appear crazy and barbarous. And indeed we were taught that such was the nature of Japanese actions in the war. The extent to which the word *enemy* had been blotted out of contemporary society is extraordinary. The concept still exists in the world of crime, the sports world, and the Communist Party, but has been obliterated in the realm of international affairs.

This is a critical situation. Even in considering prevention of future wars, people seeing themselves as having no external enemies can conceive only of watching over their own country. Suppose the Soviet Union should decide to invade Japan. Ample grounds exist for supposing such an attack, so what steps should be taken? More fundamentally, how can an invasion be deterred? And yet in Japan, not even common-sense anti-war measures can be discussed without raising ideological hackles. (One segment of opinion holds that it is the United States that bears watching. The concern, however, is not that a Japanese-American military conflict will break out. It is that the United States, though a country much like Japan, is nonetheless a rival.)

In contemporary Japan, one comes across little of the humility that would admit to less than full understanding of the causes of war. Only with such humility will we gain the prudence to reevaluate potential sources of trouble in the complex world around us. Having determined that Imperial Japan’s militarism is the sole danger we must guard against, we have closed our eyes to the true dangers of war. The situation is much like the way in which a majority of the Japanese fought the last war, disregarding the size and strength of the enemy. To be sure, when an attack by a formidable power is so overwhelming that escape is impossible, perhaps the best tactic is blind and desperate struggle, and indeed this is exactly how Japan conducted the war. But in a situation requiring deterrence rather than battle, blindness is less than helpful.

We must first review the meaning of the war using the word *enemy* precisely and fearlessly so that the prewar generation can revise its understanding of those years and we of the postwar generation can appreciate the era that bore us. This is the minimum essential step.

Fusao Hayashi’s *Dai Toa senso kotei ron* (In Affirmation of the Great East Asia War) is an example of a review fulfilling this modest requirement. Contrary to what many people assume, this book expounds no ideology and asserts no dogma. It simply reviews in candid fashion the war’s significance. In such a review, the reality of the enemy is immediately apparent. The enemies Japan actually faced — the groups of living human beings possessing power and will — are acknowledged.

The Reaction to the West

Hayashi interprets the war as the last phase of a “100-Year East Asia War” that began at the end of the Tokugawa period [in the 1860s]. To contemporary readers accustomed to the notion that each four or five years marks a “new age,” this 100-year span may appear unfashionably long. The long span may also appear to imply that Hayashi is not really making a serious analysis of the period. But his purpose is not frivolous. He uses the term because a war of 100 years' duration did indeed take place.

When one considers that this 100-year period corresponds roughly with the heyday of colonialism in world history, it does not seem absurdly long. The interval from when the West began its serious conquest of Asia and Africa until a majority of the colonized countries regained their independence was slightly over 100 years. During that time, no Asian or African country was exempt from its own tragic 100-year war. The hopelessness of these struggles is seen in the fact that in only two cases, the Ethiopian victory over Italy in 1896 and the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905, did the underdog come out on top.

Japan's own 100-year war was but a minor part of that larger struggle. Though Japan may be seen as having been one of the more victorious countries, it never succeeded in shaking off the enemy. Some Japanese argue that in the course of that long period only Japan of all the nations of Asia and Africa, managed to break free and brilliantly achieve a position on the “enemy side.” The world powers, however, neither acknowledged nor approved of this achievement. The deeply rooted white intolerance of other races is evident in the boycotts of Japanese goods conducted by the West in the 1930s. Japan was not allowed to be other than an Asian nation, and it never attempted to be anything else.

A tragedy is a struggle by a protagonist against destiny that is doomed to end in defeat. Japan's very determination to make a stand as an Asian nation turned its struggle into a true tragedy. Hayashi makes precisely this point: “The 100-Year East Asia War was a hopeless struggle from the outset. Yet the fight had to be fought, and Japan fought it. What a reckless war we fought for 100 years!”

When a petty protagonist undertakes a gigantic task for the sake of petty gains, the drama may be seen as more of a farce than a tragedy, even if the outcome is disastrous. When most people speak of the tragedy of the war, what they really mean to say is that it was a farce with an unhappy ending. Hayashi, however, rejects this view. He refuses to call the war a farce, not to preserve the honor of the war dead but because he sees it as an erroneous view.

A perception of the 100-year war as a tragedy naturally must begin with a revised understanding of its roots in the last years of the Tokugawa regime. Hayashi dates the beginning of the war from the 1863 bombardment of Kagoshima by British ships and the 1864 bombardment of Shimonoseki by the vessels of several Western powers. In these two episodes of “Japanese history,” the Japanese became acquainted with several Western countries that fill the pages of “world history.” As the Japanese perceived this “world history,” the West was brimming with vitality and full of ambitious people who used great power and devious stratagems to achieve their ends — and who sometimes failed. Interestingly, the other Japanese view — that from the vantage point of “Japanese history” — somehow managed to strip the West of this vitality. The Japanese paintings of foreigners in the early Meiji era are revealing. Westerners like Commodore Matthew Perry are depicted with strangely deformed features robbing them of their character as Westerners. “Japanese history” failed to portray the freshness of the West.

Like Hayashi, however, the Japanese leaders in those days no doubt saw the Westerners in the context of “world history.” They saw faces that, just over 10 years earlier, had stuffed Indians

into cannons and blown them apart. They saw people who had made a national enterprise out of the forced sale of opium in China. With this smoking gun aimed directly at them, the Japanese rallied behind the slogans “Expel the Barbarians,” “Open the Nation,” and “Embark on Civilization and Enlightenment.” In Hayashi’s view, the “expel the barbarians” and “civilization and enlightenment” slogans were not the assertions of opposing ideologies. Both expressed awareness of the threat posed by the Western powers’ eastward advance. In this threat was contained the essence of the tragic 100-Year East Asia War. And as I shall explain later, it contained an even deeper tragedy than that seen by Hayashi.

The commonplace perception of the movements toward “expelling the barbarians” and “civilization and enlightenment” as totally separate phenomena is an error made by later generations. Had the Meiji Japanese looked at the West solely as an excellent model, imitating it in dress, food, and creation of an army, a navy, and a constitution, they would eventually have come to regard a Japanese invasion of other Far Eastern countries as a logical conclusion. Modeling themselves after the West to this logical extreme would have been a laughable, grotesque farce. The so-called intellectuals apart, the ordinary Japanese never forgot that their century-long movement toward “civilization and enlightenment” was at the same time a century-long movement to “expel the barbarians.” The powers and circumstances surrounding Japan did not allow the Japanese to forget this fact even temporarily.

The Roots of the Pacific War

The Western powers’ advance into Asia was not a temporary phenomenon of the years preceding the Meiji Restoration of 1868. As evidenced in the Triple Intervention, by which Russia, France, and Germany forced Japan to relinquish some of its gains from the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, [1] Europe made a continuing issue of its expansionist interests in the Far East. Not long thereafter an additional threat appeared on the scene — that posed by the United States. Having acquired the Philippines in the Spanish-American War of 1898, the American forces suppressed an independence movement, killing, according to some, one-sixth of the Philippine population. The U.S annexation of Hawaii also occurred in 1898, and Secretary of State John Hay proposed the Open Door policy for China in 1899.

The drive to the west had brought Americans to their west coast. After a brief pause, they began moving farther west, this time across the Pacific. The earlier European thrust into the Far East that had so frightened the Japanese of the late Tokugawa period exhausted its energies on India first and then Southeast Asia and China, so it had run out of steam by the time it reached Japan. Now, however, the United States was on the move, and its thrust seemed to be aimed directly at Japan. Eventually a direct U.S blow on Japan was to be struck with the July 1941 embargo on oil shipments to Japan and the so-called Hull Note from Secretary of State Cordell Hull in November, which demanded among other things that Japan withdraw from China.

Information on Japanese-American relations on the eve of Pearl Harbor was concealed after the war, and only recently have people begun to talk. It has been revealed, for instance, that Washington had no intention of seriously negotiating in the talks held immediately prior to the war. It has even been claimed that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had foreknowledge of and anticipated the Japanese navy’s supposedly secret attack. The essential point, however, is not to solve the mystery of whether or not Roosevelt laid a trap for Japan. A more important need is to comprehend the overall design of America’s Pacific maneuvering.

Hayashi pinpoints the beginnings of the Pacific War in the immediate aftermath of the 1905 Portsmouth conference concluding the Russo-Japanese War. “This may strike many readers as an

arbitrary or forced interpretation,” he cautions, but a comprehensive view of world history shows his interpretation to be a logical, even conservative, conclusion. Going back further, we might even treat the Spanish-American War as the beginning of the Pacific War, since from that time onward two powers faced each other across the Pacific Ocean.

The next question is whether or not open conflict between these two powers was inevitable. The period after the Russo-Japanese War, some people argue, may have been the last point — at which the Pacific War could have been prevented. This interpretation holds that perhaps confrontation could have been avoided had Japan accepted railway baron Edward H. Harriman’s proposal to join American interests with Japanese interests in Manchuria. In a time of conflict, runs this theory, the small Japanese nation on the edge of the Pacific, facing the Eurasian continent, was forced to ally itself either with Britain and the United States or with Russia. Since an Anglo-American alliance seemed more stable and reliable than a Russian one, Japan’s strategy should have been to promote harmonious relations with Britain and the United States. By its rejection of Harriman’s proposal, however, Japan weakened these ties, thereby choosing the road that led to the Pacific War.

Certainly from the standpoint of a single country or from a present-day analysis of strategies, this view seems correct. Further support can be found in the fact that Britain and the United States in those days had no designs on Japan, their interest instead lying in China. But just because Japan then had the opportunity to conclude an Anglo-American alliance does not mean that Japan should have concluded such an alliance. Such a decision would have been too narrowly nationalistic.

Japan did not fight for 100 years merely to protect its own borders. Had this been the case, later generations would clearly understand the reasons for such a defensive war. But in the long war fought by Japan, protection of its own boundaries was a minor issue. (This may be one reason the dispute over the Soviet-occupied “northern territories” today also seems to lack urgency.) National boundaries have grave significance only between countries belonging to the same cultural sphere. Japan’s struggle was for something more urgent and essential than national boundaries; its cultural sphere was threatened.

Fighting the Wrong Enemy

Today, since the great cultural sphere of Asia is not directly threatened, we fail to appreciate just how crucial the sphere is to Japan. Thus, when confronted with such grand visions as that of Tenshin Okakura, who expatiated on a conflict between Asia and the West, we tend to regard them as outdated or too generalized. Listening to many of the recently popular theories of Japanese character, one might think that Japan constituted a cultural sphere in itself. In earlier time, however, facing an imminent crisis in the entire Asian cultural sphere, the Japanese must have strongly sensed that their own survival was endangered should that cultural sphere be destroyed. When immediately threatened, people have no difficulty identifying their true lifelines.

Considering that Asia in those days was being choked by the West, one can easily imagine the Japanese people’s reluctance to be drawn into an Anglo-American alliance or to team up with Russia. This was literally unthinkable. Had Japan made such an alliance, there would have been no answer to the inevitable scathing criticism heaped on Japan from other Asian countries. The post-war strategy cannot be applied to the past. Even though the British and Americans were not directly attacking Japan at the time, as long as they continued to be oppressors in Asia, confrontation with Japan was inevitable.

We did not fight for Japan alone. Our aim was to fight a Greater East Asia War. For this reason, the war between Japan and China and Japan's oppression of Korea were all the more profoundly regrettable, inexpressibly tragic events. Had Japan invaded China and Korea for its own benefit in thoughtless imitation of the West, this would not call for abject, prostrate apology. Japan merely would have been copying a normal mode of behavior in international society, where survival of the fittest is the law. Most countries would not even consider apology in such a case. Since Japan's actions were not of this variety, however, today we can only face China, and especially Korea, with bitter regret.

To be sure, varying interpretations of Japanese activities are possible. For instance, the political ideals behind the actions and the realities of the actions may be branded inconsistent. In spite of the clearly anticolonialist ideals of the instigators of the takeover of Manchuria, the actual management of Manchuria was colonialist — an example of the gap between ideal and reality seen everywhere.

Another possible interpretation is that just as Japan's vision was clouded by the prospect of immediate profit, so China and Korea newly awakened to the forces of nationalism, overreacted to the immediate Japanese threat in disregard of the major enemy. Those who tried to awaken their compatriots to the major enemy were branded traitors and died unrewarded. In any society those with unusual foresight and perception tend to be unappreciated. Yet we cannot but regret their treatment.

The American role must not be forgotten. Since nothing pleases war strategists more than division in enemy ranks, the United States supported the Chinese Nationalist government with loans and weapons in its war against Japan. That such aid was given on strictly humanitarian grounds is an interpretation straining belief.

After all is said and done, however, the reality remains that Japan went into the Asian continent to save it but ended up fighting against it. Hayashi does not evade this reality, nor does he attempt to rationalize or defend it. He simply grieves over it and sees in it the "coldheartedness of history." Abjectly apologizing to neighboring countries without appreciating coldhearted history is sheer sycophancy. The kind of people who engage in such conduct are those most likely to repeat past mistakes.

Was 'Liberation of Asia' Mere Demagoguery?

In the face of coldhearted history, minor controversies like last summer's uproar over the appropriateness of the word invasion in school textbooks seem petty. The essential point is an accurate understanding of the crisis that threatened all of Asia and the actions of Japan in response to that crisis. If we wish to accuse the Japanese of an invasion, then revision should begin with accounts of Columbus's discovery of America in 1492, renaming it "the first step in the invasion of the New World." After such changes, we would recognize how few movements in history are *not* invasions. We would also realize that labeling Japan's engagements in China and Korea invasions is a gross oversimplification.

Japan's actions in Southeast Asia are more easily understood. To these peoples, familiar with Western power through their direct experience as colonies under white domination, the mutual enemy appeared more clearly than it did to the Chinese and Koreans. The collaboration with Japan by Subhas Chandra Bose of India, Ba Maw of Burma, and Jose Laurel of the Philippines, as well as the Thai participation in the war, evidence a keen awareness of the need somehow to break free of white domination.

The Japanese troops were not dispatched southward as messengers of friendship and amity, however, but as combatants in a life-or-death struggle. Consequently, many Southeast Asians were alienated by the harsh Japanese actions. In addition, the Allied forces naturally drafted natives of their colonies into military service, so that Japanese and Southeast Asian soldiers often found themselves facing each other on the battlefield. Had Japan's southern advance been less of a blitzkrieg (for Japan itself as well), there might have been time to lay ample foundations for a "war of Asian liberation." Japan, however, was unable to control the timing and scale of the fighting, and even the question of war or peace was outside its control.

The decision to wage war made by the General Staff Office of the Imperial Headquarters was a reaction to the American embargo on oil shipments to Japan. Washington made this decision when its own war preparations had reached an advanced stage. In other words, the decision to fight was made neither by the Imperial Headquarters nor by the emperor but by the American government. As the United States advanced its pawns across the board, Japan was doing its best merely to keep up. Far from conducting the Greater East Asia War according to some blueprint, Japan was not even allowed time to draw up a blueprint. That Japan was forced into the fight with much of Asia still on the other side is a source of infinite regret.

Did our Greater East Asia War really result in total defeat? The former colonies that became battlegrounds all gained their independence during or after the war, and they have not fallen into white hands again. What are we to make of this fact? In the postwar years we were taught that this was an incidental byproduct of that detestable war. Yet as Japan's official statements on war objectives make clear, the goal was to free East Asia from British and American domination and establish the area's self-defense and independence. Again, if one asks Japanese war veterans why they fought, the reply comes that they believed they were fighting to liberate Asia. And indeed, Asia was liberated. It is a curious logic that denies any connection between this purpose and the war's outcome. Is history so difficult that it can only be understood through such a strange logic?

Applying this logic to the American Civil War will illustrate its distortion. It is generally recognized that the Civil War was fought not merely over the slavery issue but also over fundamental economic differences between the North and the South. Northern soldiers objected to having to die for the "niggers," but they fought nonetheless because other issues were involved. Even Lincoln's renowned Emancipation Proclamation was motivated by a hope to stimulate domestic and foreign support for the embattled Northern troops and to enhance the Northern position. Yet nobody today, except possibly some people in isolated regions of the Deep South, would maintain that the Emancipation Proclamation was an empty farce and that the concept of freeing slaves was foisted on the common people by a prowar Yankee faction attempting to cover up its invasion of the South. Nobody would cry out against the loss of young lives as a result of such demagoguery and insist that militarism must never again be permitted. Why is this interpretation so unpopular? Because the North won the war.

But Japan lost, and defeat included denial of the ideals for which the losers fought as well as denial of their accomplishments. This was simply the inverse of "might makes right."

Why is it that people do not look at history honestly? Such honesty is what Hayashi means by calling for "affirmation" of the Greater East Asia War. His sole contention throughout the book is that we should accept things for what they are. Underlying his hope that truth will prevail is his concern for the next generation. What will result if those responsible for building the postwar world do so in willful disregard of the realities of the past? Hayashi is pessimistic about a generation brought up to consider itself a product of "nothingness." We ought not to deny the validity of his concern.

The Emergence of Japanese Supernationalism

We should ask one more simple question that Hayashi never addresses. Why, in this postwar period, do we so resolutely refuse to face obvious reality? This is not a rhetorical question. Contained in the answer is a mystery and paradox of Japanese thought. Without the answer to this question, we cannot theorize about the nature of the Japanese people.

Why for so long after the war have the Japanese insisted that, they alone were in the wrong, causing them to brand as peculiar all the arguments of people like Hayashi who see the fighting for what it was? One easy answer is that the seven years of occupation and censorship implanted this mindset. Another quick response is that communist propaganda is to blame. Throughout Japan's long history, the Japanese may have appeared to accept foreign doctrines without protest, but the truth is that they have never really accepted any way of thinking that threatened their traditional values. (The failure of Christianity to take root is a good example of this.) If the unreasonable condemnation of the Greater East Asia War posed a true threat to what we call *Yamato damashii*, or the Japanese spirit, then the Japanese would have soon dismissed whatever the U.S. occupation authorities or the Kremlin said about the war.

If now, 30 years after the occupation, the Japanese continue to reiterate assertions originally made by the occupation authorities, may not the reason be that on some unconscious level these assertions reflect a basically Japanese way of thought? Hayashi does not carry his argument this far. He simply laments the "dementia of the defeated." However, he misses one small fact. He states, "I forget which politician coined the slogan '100 million people united in repentance,' but undoubtedly he was of the same lineage as the politicians who, during the war, used the slogan '100 million people united in outrage.'" The dementia of the defeated, he insisted, is evident in the former slogan. The author of the slogan, however, was none other than General Kanji Ishihara, one of the prewar figures like the nationalists Shumei Okawa and Ikki Kita whom Hayashi holds in high esteem in his book. Ishihara was *not* cringing before the Allies by using this expression. He was not apologizing for having helped cause the war. He was suggesting that the responsibility for defeat should be shared by the entire nation.

Did everyone simply misunderstand what Ishihara was proposing? Let us consider the thinking that led to his view. Underlying his concept of national repentance was regret over the uncharacteristic behavior that the Japanese were forced into during the century beginning with the demise of the Tokugawa regime [1868]. The true tragedy of the 100-Year East Asia War was that "expulsion of the barbarians" was possible only through deliberate westernization. Asian nations like the Indian Mogul Empire and the Chinese Ch'ing Empire that proudly maintained their own cultures were toppled by Western power. Japan realized that only through discarding traditional Japanese qualities could it preserve its independence and culture. In other words, Japan chose to preserve bushido, "the way of the warrior," by shearing the samurai's topknot.

Even more fundamental and less apparent in this process of westernization, the Japanese began to subscribe to the characteristically Western world view of dividing nations into friends and foes, of recognizing foes as enemies, and of behaving antagonistically toward enemies. By accepting this confrontational world view, Japan barely managed to sustain itself through several crises. This may have been an inevitable way for Japan to proceed, but it was nonetheless regrettable. Thinking in this way, Ishihara made the following declaration concerning Japan's new Constitution: "When either the Americans or the Soviets press for Japan's rearmament sometime in the future, we must never submit to this request no matter how powerful the pressure."

After the war, sensing the passing of a crisis, the Japanese felt that they could finally be themselves. They did not misinterpret Ishihara's slogan. Instead they took to heart the message that underlay it.

The Japanese determined never again to take up residence in the violent Western-style international community. No matter how much power was being brandished or what enemy was making threats, they decided, they would turn a blind eye. Should a dispute occur, they would attribute it to their negligence or handle it as a misunderstanding. They refused to view the world in any other way. This "peaceful world view" adopted by each individual Japanese is the heart of a characteristically Japanese way of thought. It is a true form of supernationalism. Based on this philosophy, postwar Japan's energy was wholly directed toward reconstruction rather than toward revenge.

Japanese Folk Wisdom

What Hayashi sees as the dementia of the defeated is actually the natural sagacity of the Japanese. One aspect of this folk wisdom lies in the fact that its possessors are themselves unaware of it. The Japanese fail to realize that when trade friction occurs or a textbook controversy breaks out, their policy of simply offering apologies left and right amounts to a firm expression of Japanese nationalism.

Perhaps the unconscious quality of this folk wisdom is even its salient characteristic. The moment that we become aware that it is a form of nationalism, it will lose its folk quality. This is because the "peaceful world view" is based not on assertiveness but on acceptance of outside views. The view would not hold up were it to become an ideological creed. That is, the quality of the peaceful world view would be substantially altered were Japan to turn this view into an ideology and announce it as an article of public faith. Yet the Japanese cannot abandon the peaceful world view and docilely accept one of the confrontational views popular in other countries, which see the world as an area of powers balanced against and clashing with other powers, for these views run contrary to the Japanese spirit.

In the postwar period, the Japanese have managed to sustain this precarious outlook that the rest of the world shares our peaceful world view and that Japan is simply drifting safely within the confines of such a view. So convinced, we can espouse the peaceful world view not as a Japanese assertion but as an article of universal faith. This is indeed an elegant answer to the predicament posed to the Japanese outlook.

The preamble to the Constitution provides the classic statement of this ideal state subscribed to by the Japanese. "We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth ... We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations..."

What is expressed here is precisely Japan's peaceful world view. International society is supposedly founded upon sympathy for others and mutual friendly relations. It is not the bloody arena directly experienced by Japan throughout the 100-year war. Nor is it the world today, where battles still rage to banish "tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance." Japan withdrew from

such a world, redefined the meaning of international society so that it would not conflict with the Japanese spirit, and declared its intention to dwell peacefully in the community thus created.

The supernationalist ideology outlined in the Constitution is a key national principle in addition to the emperor system. Anyone questioning this ideology is considered unpatriotic. Nevertheless, the actual circumstances under which the Constitution was written were far from the “international society” it presupposes. The overriding purpose in its drafting was to prevent the defeated country from ever again rising to threaten the victor. In short, the hope was to subjugate the Japanese. Japan’s desperate, all-out struggle to fend off subjugation finally succeeded in reducing the threat to Japan to the form taken by the Constitution. Yet we not only fail to pay proper respect to our predecessor’s struggle; we are not allowed even to remember that it occurred. People subconsciously fear that recognition of this reality may somehow rupture their dream of a peace-loving world.

There is one major and critical difficulty in this adept evasion of reality. This is that regardless of Japan’s own slant on the nature of the international society in which it sees itself as living, a majority of the world’s people have adopted a different slant. They still view international society entirely in terms of power and treat Japan as just one more player in the power game. Japan’s plight is that it must live as if it were completely unaware that others calculate all their moves on the basis of power — in fact, it must work actively to remain ignorant of such calculations. And when Japan unintentionally creates power or a power vacuum by its own actions, the Japanese can only wait in anxious suspension for the repercussions in the power equations of other countries. Recent cases of trade friction are one small example of this.

Understanding Ourselves

“We, the Japanese people have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world,” runs the preamble to the Japanese Constitution. Yet in other countries, justice, faith, and love of peace are perceived to be conditions that move to the fore or recede depending on the results of calculations of power. Without understanding these calculations, we stake our own security and existence on them. Even the boldest gambler would pale and tremble at a gamble of this magnitude. Japan, however, is accepting this gamble without so much as the twitch of an eyebrow.

We should not simply dismiss the peace-loving world view of the Constitution as illusion and affirm that the only realistic world view sees power in conflict with power. If our international society is an illusion, the confrontational world is no less so. Like our premise, the premise of inevitable antagonism between opposing forces cannot be proven. The only certainty is that we live in a world in which Japan has its characteristic illusions and other countries have theirs. We can no longer close our eyes to this truth, for to do so is fraught with danger.

The day when we could protect our identity by closing our eyes is ending. It is time that we opened our eyes, learned about ourselves, and grappled in earnest with the problem of preserving our identity. The popularity over the last dozen years of various theories of Japanese character is evidence that people have begun to sense that this problem is an important one. As yet, however, people are not certain what they should be looking for. Theories of Japanese character are being bandied about in the fashion of children playing with building blocks — tossing and chewing the blocks without creating any structure.

Who are we? How can we be ourselves? In order to make these simple questions meaningful, we must once more review the significance of the war. In Japan’s long history, only during this 100-

year period was it necessary to wage war to preserve our identity. In order to wage this war, inevitably we were made increasingly aware of this identity. The climactic and concluding phase of that struggle in particular must be candidly reassessed. Only when we fully understand what lay at its depths will we be able to deny that “holy war,” the Greater East Asia War, and truly begin anew.

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The treaty of Shimonoseki, signed in April 1895, ended the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. The treaty recognized Korea's independence of China and ceded Formosa (Taiwan) and the Liaotung peninsula to Japan. But later that month Russia, France, and Germany informed Japan of their concern over the prospect of the Liaotung peninsula's being transferred to Japan and “advised” its return to China. Japan, exhausted by the war with China and faced with the threat of forcible resistance by at least one of the powers, Russia, was forced to yield to this demand. — Ed., *Japan Echo*.

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The psychology and epistemology of ‘Holocaust’ newspeak

Michael A. Hoffman II

“Holocaust” is a Newspeak word whose exact definition exists, in the society of the spectacle, as a bundle of images. It is recognized on the visceral rather than the rational plane by its targeted audience. It does not exist in the public mind as a specific event, but as a command phrase summoning a sensory overload of images of piles of naked bodies and persons with stars of David on their coats being force-marched by gun-toting German soldiers. How can any person say it didn’t happen?

When Abba Eban’s Civilization and the Jews TV series installment on the “Holocaust” omitted any mention of homicidal gas chambering — the central event of the history of Exterminationism — there was no apparent notice or comment among critics or the public. It was as if NASA had produced a mini-series on the moon flights without mentioning the rockets that carried the astronauts, and no one even noticed.

The spectacular “Holocaust” has the quality of a myth because it has an existence independent of its history.

Specific descriptions of a variety of actions, events and principals having tremendous diversity in significance and meaning have been absorbed into a single, narrow category. Prior to the imposition of “Holocaust” Newspeak, precise allusions and direct references were made to the allegations at issue, as for example, the claim of six million slaughtered Jews, mass murder by means of poison gas, soap manufactured from human fat and so forth.

Now, under the aegis of “Holocaust” Newspeak, the preceding allegations are combined into an aggregate which includes the reality of National Socialist internment of Jews in concentration camps, the “Kristallnacht,” an officially enshrined policy of anti-Semitism and the displacement and death of hundreds of thousands of Jews as a result of war-related combat, typhus and privation. Which are upheld and which are denied when one is accused of saying “the ‘Holocaust’ didn’t happen”?

The masterstroke of the “Holocaust” cultists was to impose a Newspeak slogan upon a combination of historical realities and historical impostures, thereby achieving a psychological and epistemological device for condemning researchers skeptical of homicidal gas chambering accounts or human skin lampshades as deniers of the existence of concentration camps, Hitlerian anti-Semitism and persecutions; and the death and displacement of hundreds of thousands of European Jews.

By exploiting this confusion, the Exterminationists can depict persons who question even the wildest flights of “Holocaust” S&M fantasy as lunatic nay-sayers to the spectacular, overwhelm-

ing enormity of an entire era's history when conveniently grouped under the Newspeak heading.

The utility of Newspeak for the maintenance of an indoctrinated mindset is glimpsed in the intriguingly stubborn affinity many journalists have for the "Holocaust" Newspeak agenda. With comical monotony, reporters refuse to describe revisionists in terms of the specific question they have about a specific event. Instead, both the event and the questioner are located within the artificial agenda of "Holocaust" Newspeak. By continually referring to a researcher who doubts the technology described for the Nazi gas chambers, for example, as one who "says the 'Holocaust' didn't happen," the doubter is cleverly saddled with the enormous connotations which are summoned in the public mind by the invocation of a Newspeak buzz word. Suggesting that gas chamber accounts might have been faked requires the logical defense of that particular assertion. Being presented to a conditioned audience as someone who says the "Holocaust" is a fake, is tantamount to being announced as one who proclaims a flat earth. As in any cult, the doubting Thomas is not addressed in terms of his specific doubts but as one who negates an entire cosmology.

Newspeak obscurantism produces an iconic mental state among the "Holocaust" cult's true believers which is indistinguishable from that of the hypnotic because, "Newspeak was designed not to extend but to diminish the range of thought." (George Orwell, 1984).

The imposition of "Holocaust" Newspeak as the officially proper academic and journalistic term for German-Jewish relations for the period from 1933-1945 is a recent innovation. As late as 1977, the "Holocaust" word was written in the lower case, within quotation marks ("holocaust"), when used as an optional reference to the experience of Jews in the Third Reich. In the middle of the decade of the 1970s, dictionaries, encyclopedias, textbooks and newspaper indexes were altered to incorporate Newspeak, without any qualifiers, in accordance with the demands of the Big Brother Exterminationist party.

Webster's Dictionary and Encyclopedia and the Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary of the 1960's define holocaust as a burnt offering on the part of pagans and Jews. By 1975, however, "minitrueth" has entered the New Columbia Encyclopedia, which now defines holocaust as "a name given to the period of persecution and extermination of European Jews by the National Socialists, or Nazis."

A name given by whom? By whose authority was the fact of persecution mixed together with the notion of "extermination"? Who decided on this word's authoritative application? How did it enter popular usage? Why "Holocaust" with its nebulous reference to reality (anti-Semitic persecution) as well as disputed claims (extermination)? Why wasn't the word "Exterminationism" chosen for official, dictionary-definition recognition? The latter term accurately denotes a specific allegation, that the Jewish people were "exterminated" during World War II. Such a word does not depend upon ambiguous connotations or confusing allusions to disparate events for its utility and validity. To be accused of denying Exterminationism does not place the denier in the position of a flat earthist nonsensically denouncing the massive evidence of concentration camp internment and Jewish casualties. To deny Exterminationism is to deny that Jews were in fact exterminated. This is not much of a denial since millions of Jews were alive at the end of the war.

The novocaine of the media ensures that no one asks these reasonable and obvious questions. Linguists of the caliber of Noam Chomsky and Orwell pontificators of the stature of Cronkite and Moyers, accepted and even endorsed the issuance of a license akin to the ecclesiastical imprimatur for use as the exclusive referent of one nation of people.

Was World War Two itself a holocaust over-all, or does the term have a proprietary relationship with Jews alone? How is it that the atomic and thermite incineration of approximately one million helpless German and Japanese civilians, mostly women and children, in deliberate mass murder firebombings by the Allied air forces, does not rate as a holocaust?

Revisionists are forced to endure from the Exterminationists a particularly chilling and grotesque example of self-aggrandizement when revisionists are accused of denying a World War Two holocaust.

The overwhelming holocaust of the modern era, for which there is all of the forensic proof the Jewish “Holocaust” is supposed to contain and from which it is also intended to distract, is the merci less Allied fire-bombing holocaust against Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima, Nagasaki and dozens of other major civilian centers.

The racism of the ethnocentric “Holocaust” cult is confronted full force in the special criterion established for the phrase “Holocaust survivor.” Such people are always the victims of the National Socialists and are mostly Jews. Human perception has been so impaired by this cult category that Germans and Japanese who escaped death in the unprecedented firestorms which transformed their cities into pits of mass human incineration, are not referred to as holocaust survivors.

A media-certified Jewish “survivor” of the one and only “Holocaust” with a capital H symbolizes the pathetic partisanship with which the entire epoch of the holocaust that was World War Two as a whole is invested.

Revisionists do not deny the holocaust in the fully human sense of that word. Let the TV cameramen and the professors focus their attention on the mass burning of hundreds of thousands of women and children in deliberate Allied slaughters, and they too will come to realize the degree to which Zionist racism and hatred of gentiles has suppressed this holocaust to such a degree that it is totally dismissed from discussion of the history of the Second World War.

Hence, when revisionists question this or that aspect of the Sho’ah theologian’s theory about an expiational Jewish inferno, it signals to the cultist that “the ‘Holocaust’ didn’t happen.” The logic of the “Holocaust” zealot permits the visualization of only Jewish suffering; only Jews burning. If one says the gas chamber canon is questionable, contradictory, possibly false, it must then signify that one is saying the war was a picnic! The cultist is incapable of understanding that German and Japanese civilians suffered an unparalleled holocaust in World War Two which is not being denied when revisionists investigate Jewish claims; on the contrary, it is freed for the first time from an imposed silence.

It is from a desperate need to take world attention away from the authentic “burnt offerings” of that horrid war that the traumatizing monomania of Jewish “Holocaust” preoccupation has warped the conscience of the West.

Mt. Zion decrees, “The ‘Holocaust’ cannot be debated” and in a sense this theological fiat is quite true. In free and open debate, linguistic mystification would no longer shield partisan generalizations and falsehoods. Charges and assertions would have to stand on scientific and forensic evidence alone. The diminishment of thought Orwell pointed to with regard to Newspeak is noted in the current circumstances surrounding investigation into the numerous contradictions, discrepancies and outright absurdities in the claims made about homicidal gas chambers. There are many aspects of the gas chamber claims which deserve — even demand — critical, scholarly analysis. Authentically sound historiography does not shrink from such scrutiny but assists it

with all the resources available. Truth need not be protected beneath a shower of fascist-baiting expletives and left-wing McCarthyist smears about “anti-Semitism.” Truth welcomes every investigation and every manifestation of curiosity. In so vast a study as the Jewish “Holocaust” claims can it really be truthfully asserted that everyone troubled by contradictions or questionable methods and testimony is ipso facto a fiendish Jew-hater?

“Holocaust” Newspeak offers ample protection for hoaxes through its suppressive linguistic mechanism. “Holocaust” belief diminishes critical thinking because its authority is not derived from having stood the traditional tests of point-counterpoint debate and rigorously critical exegesis, but from a ruling class monopoly-consensus possessed of the ability to propound dogmatically before large captive audiences.

The remarkable fact about the attack on revisionism by the Exterminationist historians is that it has had very little to do thusfar with history, but everything to do with angry invective and Jewish moralizing.

Those who possess the authority to impose upon our discourse partisan jargon disguised as objective historical description havea tremendous impact on the shaping of human perception, an impact thus far overlooked in the study of the evolution of our beliefs about the history of the Second World War.

In modern democracies we are supposedly encouraged to question everything, from traditional religions revered by our grandparents to the infinite themes of space and time, but no “respectable” person is permitted by the establishment to question how this “Holocaust” buzz-word came to be applied, in its capitalized form, uniquely to the situation of Jews in the Third Reich.

The West, in its penultimate secular-consumer phase, wishes to uphold the concept that it alone among contemporary and historical social and cultural models, has no sacred dogmas or theology and therefore no forbidden domains of intellectual inquiry and no heretics.

As we shall see, Exterminationism (an accurate description for the ubiquitous conspiracy theory regarding Jews and National Socialists), is as much of a sacred cow in North America and Europe as Islam in Iran, Marxism-Leninism in Albania or the Holy Ghost revival in Skunk Hollow, Tennessee.

Just as atheists and pagans were executed for denying the existence of the devil in the 17th century, revisionists are candidates for burning in the 20th century for denying the devil theory of modern European history, Exterminationism.

Menachem Begin and other Israeli government officials have described the popular supermarket-tabloid fiend known by the generic brand-name, “Nazi war criminal,” as “satanic.” This notion of the diabolic presupposes the angelic. The one can do no right, the other can do no wrong. All such witch crazes carry along with their vapeurs histeriques the whiff of solicited murder.

The murder of the modern supermarket-satanist, the brand name Nazi war criminal, is a hallmark of “Holocaust” cultism taken to its illogical, but inevitable, conclusion. In February,1973 Israeli agents beat to death a former German soldier in the mistaken belief he was Dr. Mengele, the witch of Auschwitz and convenient fantasy projection for extant psychoses about Dr. Frankenstein. ^[1]

In 1982, French witchfinder general Serge Klarsfeld paid a Bolivian assassin \$5,000 to murder Klaus Barbie. ^[2] Despite this “peccadillo,” Mr. Klarsfeld continues to receive numerous encomi-

ums from the “humane” and “democratic” media establishment as a noble battler against fascist barbarity. If the thought of nobility somehow clashes in the reader’s mind with the barbarous fact of hiring assassins, and the repercussions possible from encouraging this fellow’s example by heaping lavish public praise upon him, banish the thought. To do otherwise is to flirt dangerously toward Jew-hating and neo-Nazism. Keep in mind instead that we are dealing here with angels who are above the law and demons to whom we owe nothing; certainly not the rights of man that must always be extended to Zionists under all circumstances.

Witchfinder Klarsfeld has adopted for his personal motto an adage from the Ku Klux Klan. Rather than have a satanist like Barbie walk free, Klarsfeld declared “It is better to have an illegal resolution. “

The degree of fervor exhibited in the crusade against devil-Nazis is that of almost total rage. It should come as no surprise that a special category of fiend has been reserved in the Israeli hell for an even worse species of cretin. The lowest rung on the ladder of demonism is occupied by revisionists. Speaking in what the Associated Press described as a rare interview on Israeli army radio, former Prime Minister Begin announced:

There is an attempt — and even the word satanic cannot describe its evilness — to deny that six million Jews, men, women, and children, were led by Nazi Germany and its partners to the pits, to the poison-spewing trucks, to the gas chambers, to the crematoriums. [3]

If assassination and death by beating are reserved for satanic Nazis, what fate do the holy people have in store for those for whom “even the word satanic” cannot describe their evilness — the revisionists?

Like the promulgation of a Papal Bull anathematizing apostate deniers of the existence of the devil — which carried with it threats of execution — the kingdom of the “Holocaust” is upheld by dogmatic Israeli declaration in the authoritative media monopoly, and woe to those who fail to heed it.

Just as there was no material, scientific proof for the existence of the devil, there is no material, scientific proof for the existence of Nazi homicidal gas chambers. There are no autopsies available from any source showing that even one Jew died as a result of Zyklon B (hydrocyanic acid) poisoning, among the millions who are alleged to have been killed in this manner, an esoteric but revolutionary fact clumsily admitted by the prestigious Exterminationist genie, Dr. Raul Hilberg. [4]

The “Holocaust” cult’s “proof” of gas chambers depends upon precisely what the medieval witch cult depended upon for its “proof” of the devil: confessions and “eyewitnesses. “

These cults do differ in one respect, however. To augment the accounts of the witnesses who smelled the smoke and saw the fire and brimstone of satan, the holy fungus of the rye ergot was administered to create the necessary hallucinatory vision. In our modern, spectacular society the witnesses do not need drugs to report about the “smoke” and the “flames” emitted by the satanic furnaces. They have the marvelous fungus of television to augment their visions.

For example, in the movie *The Wall* giant crematorium “smokestacks” belch massive clouds of evil-looking black smoke and ash. It was scientifically impossible for the crematoria in Auschwitz to emit smoke or ash, according to the builder’s patent by Topf and Son. In fact, no crematoria produce these emissions. Cremation technology was devised in the late 19th century

specifically for the purpose of suppressing the emissions which accompany open-pit burning. There are no such things as crematorium “smokestacks. “ Cremation uses heat, not flame for reduction of the corpse into ash and crematorium chimneys emit heat and not smoke or flames.

Because there is no business like sho’ah business, these technical facts have not had any influence on the cinematic promoters of the myth. Since cultic true believers do not permit scientific facts to get in the way of religious “truth,” and since the majority of Americans are members of the “Holocaust” cult, there is very little impetus for challenging movies like *The Wall*.

These fantasies about giant smoking furnaces are shown repeatedly in 70 mm and Dolby stereo constituting an intensely hallucinogenic experience.

“You are there, in Auschwitz!” — rather like the increasingly sophisticated video simulators which let us imagine we are piloting a starship past Orion.

The illusion is exceedingly slick. In the case of Exterminationism, repeated exposure to falsified portrayals of the concentration camps shape the “memories” of former internees who did not witness what was depicted in *The Wall*, but after forty years cannot be too greatly faulted for perhaps imagining that they did, after sitting through a lifetime of graphic cinematic retellings of what they should have seen, according to the demands of Exterminationist theology.

The Jewish “Holocaust” has all the substance of a Grade B horror flick recalling Swift:

Methinks when you expose the Scene, Down the ill-organ’d Engines fall; Off fly the Vizards and discover all, How plain I see thro’ the Deceit! How shallow! and how gross the cheat ... [5]

The benandante were agrarian mystics whose sorghum and fennel agricultural rites had no connection to the episcopal satan. Their ecstatic shamanism pre-dated the advent of JudeoChristianity in Europe by several centuries. When, in 1580, the activities of the benandante were reported to the witchfinders of Friuli, Italy it was decreed that benandante had to have been satanists because there was no mention in the inquisitors manuals, such as the *Malleus Maleficarum*, of a category of benign nature-worshippers. [6]

In the modern witchfinder’s manuals such as Charles Higham’s *American Swastika* or the appropriately named *Hammer* (of Heretics) magazine published in association with the Zionist Shmate society, Searchlight in England, the intelligence sheets of the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith (ADL) and the Simon Wiesenthal Center, revisionists are never perceived as independent thinkers or skeptical inquirers researching “Holocaust” anomalies out of concern for historical integrity, but as satanists, butchers, terrorists, anti-Semites, neo-Nazis and perverts. For example, Lucy S. Dawidowicz, author of *The War Against the Jews*, labels revisionists as “rabid,” “neo-Nazi,” “crackpot,” “paranoid” and “oddball.” [7] Elie Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Commission, adds the invectives “spiritually perverted” and “morally deranged” to the list. [8]

Because the benandante had no way of presenting their views to the official circles of the Church and literate establishment elite, they were depicted solely from the point of view of their accusers.

The best presentation of the case against the Exterminationist theory, as of this writing, is Dr. Arthur R. Butz’s *The Hoax of the 20th Century*, a brilliant tour de force of research and critical analysis. Importing or possessing the book in Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel and South Africa may result in arrest and imprisonment. In the U.S., it is informally banned from

college course work, bookstores and most libraries. Those libraries which do stock it usually keep it off the shelves in inter-library loan.

Those who dare to read the book or make it available to students and the public on the civil libertarian basis of the people's right to know and judge for themselves, will be smeared as Nazi sympathizers and persons spreading poison in the community. This argumentum ad hominem will be given by bourgeois journalists and academics who have not even read the book, but who are content to accept the infallible word of the "Holocaust" cult's popes and popesses that the book is profoundly demonic.

Without recourse to a fair hearing before the episcopate and aristocracy, the indigenous benandante were transformed into the classic Biblical image of satan. Similarly, in the face of modern censorship and repression, grotesque distortions and patent stupidities are presented to 20th century audiences as "what revisionists say." Lucy S. Dawidowicz:

Butz — an associate professor of electrical engineering and computer sciences — was convinced that all the Jews said to have been murdered were still alive and he undertook to prove it, his expertise in computers no doubt standing him in good stead. [9]

This is what Dr. Butz actually wrote:

The Jews of Europe suffered during the war by being deported to the East, by having had much of their property confiscated and, more importantly, by suffering cruelly in the circumstances surrounding Germany's defeat. They may have even lost a million dead ... Himmler was given the power to "act independently upon his own responsibility." "Everybody knew that that meant executions of partisans and persons collaborating with partisans. The dirty task was assigned to four Einsatzgruppen of the SD ... the Einsatzgruppen must have shot many Jews, although we do not know whether "many" means 5,000, 25,000 or 100,000. [10]

Miss Dawidowicz had apparently not even read the book by the man she is bashing, and does not expect that her readers have or will either.

Elie Wiesel:

If we are to believe some morally deranged and spiritually perverted pseudo-historians, the Holocaust never took place ... The Nuremberg trials, the Einsatzkommando trials, the Frankfurt trials were never held ... There was no Treblinka, there was no Majdanek, there was no Birkenau ... Northwestern Professor Arthur Butz calls it: "The hoax of the century." [11]

Dr. Butz on Nuremberg:

First there was the "big trial" conducted by the "International Military Tribunal" (IMT) at Nuernberg immediately after the war. This was the trial of top Nazis Göring, Hess, Ribbentrop et al. which ran from November 1945 to October 1946. [12]

Dr. Butz on Birkenau:

Thus, on the basis of seniority and also on account of quartering the Auschwitz SS administrative offices, Auschwitz I was indeed the "main camp," but Birkenau, de-

signed for the specific requirements of the Auschwitz operations, was clearly intended as the “principal camp” in terms of inmate accomodating functions. [13]

This skewing of revisionism on the part of “Holocaust” zealots is intended to make it impossible for otherwise intelligent people to break out of one-track, Newspeak-imposed cognition about World War Two. Orwell:

The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees ... but to make all other modes of thought impossible. (1984).

The quality of demonic heresy projected onto the revisionist witch is a product of the linguistic technology of Newspeak which creates a deliberate blurring of lines of distinction separating the literal from the metaphoric.

The adoption of a brand name mass-marketing sobriquet as the official, literal-academic, as well as Pop-metaphoric description of German-Jewish relations during the National Socialist reign, was a clever psychological and epistemological coup on the part of the Exterminationists. By this ruse, the critical faculties of both the masses as well as the intelligentsia have been occluded. In considering the subject of German-Jewish relations from 1933 to 1945, it has become difficult — if not impossible as, Orwell warned — to perform the basic requirement which ensures the integrity of language and perception, the ability to make distinctions.

The Exterminationists exploit the confusion “Holocaust” Newspeak has engendered in its denotative and connotative aspects.

When revisionist studies make specific challenges about, for example, the number of Jews who perished or the technical impossibility of gassings having taken place in the unsealed, wooden door-latched “chambers” on display in Auschwitz as of this writing, they are defended against in terms of the linguistic and visual agenda of the Pop-metaphor of “Holocaust.” Investigating any cherished axiom is cleverly interpreted to the public as an across-the-board, flat-earthist negation of a thousand conjured images of body piles, goose-steppers and concentration camp privation.

It is crucial to the Exterminationists that the public fail to grasp the distinction that the Pop-metaphors of the “Holocaust” are capable of interpretation. No revisionist of even minimal standing denies concentration camps, anti-Semitism or the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Jews from disease, hunger and combat.

The objective of the “Holocaust” cult is to ensure that the public does not learn that revisionist research does not deny the Pop imagery but seeks to discover whether the constantly repeated photographs of body piles and other images of Jewish suffering were the result of mass murder by poison gas and deliberate starvation or failed policies of preventive detention and deportation stemming from Germany’s defeat in war.

Dr. Thomas Szasz excavates the underpinnings of the confusion between the literal and the metaphoric when he writes: “ ... where the true believer speaks metaphorically but claims that he asserts literal truths ... heresy may consist in no more than insisting that a metaphorical truth may be a literal falsehood. “ (Heresies).

As a religious metaphor on a par with the mystical utterances of the Talmud, the 20th century Jewish “Holocaust” has significance as an article of pious Jewish faith. Recall that equally audacious recitals are a fixture of Jewish religious fervor. In the sacred Hebrew scripture Talmud, it is

stated that the Romans slaughtered 40 million Jews during the siege of the Israelite fortress of Bar Kokhba.

The Talmudic story, like the gas chamber story, makes for good *de laude martyrum* apocrypha, but bad history. It is not a matter for the public to debate the literal truth of Jewish beliefs. Every religion has a right to its own story. It only becomes a public matter when Jews attempt to establish as criteria for human decency, good citizenship and public morals, the demand that non-Jews must believe Jewish fables and accept them as a matter of scientific historiography.

It is a telling commentary on the modern era that the apocryphal and expiational language and agenda of partisan religious dogma has been enthusiastically embraced as the objective description of an entire epoch of world history in public newspapers and airwaves and the lecture halls of secular universities.

It is an apparent, though not widely admitted fact, that Judaism, through the “Holocaust” cult, has become the informal state religion of the West, with the distinction of being the last truly believed religion in the otherwise agnostic West; the end-result of this reactionary hegemony being the same as that of the Big Brother party in Orwell’s 1984, “to extinguish once and for all the possibility of independent thought.”

Judaism is of course not unique in this endeavor. “Churchianity” and Islam have mounted similarly ambitious undertakings, which did not prevent certain high-spirited human beings from casting off the mental shackles of those cruelly oppressive hoaxes. It remains to be seen if the especially authoritative superstitions of the Church of the “Holy Hoax” — wedded as they are to the formidable and unprecedented indoctrinating abilities of modern communications technology — will defeat or will be defeated by the empirical investigations and doubts of the infidels of our time, who dare to blaspheme against the sacred logos of “Holocaust” Newspeak.

Notes

1. ☞ The Gazette (Montreal), March 2, 1985, p. B-5.
2. ☞ NY Times, Jan. 24, 1985, “Lawyer tells of plot on Barbie. “ On Feb. 26 Barbie was administered poison by the prison physician. The NY Times described the assassination attempt as “medication that was apparently given him by mistake” (NY Times, Feb. 27, 1985; also cf. *The Spotlight*, March 11, 1985).
3. ☞ Israeli army radio broadcast of April 18, 1985.
4. ☞ The Sault Star (Canada), Jan. 18, 1985, p. A-11.
5. ☞ Ode to the Honourable Sir William Temple.
6. ☞ Cf. Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the 16th and 17th Centuries.
7. ☞ Lucy S. Dawidowicz, “Lies About the Holocaust,” Commentary, December, 1980.
8. ☞ Elie Wiesel, “What Did Happen to the Six Million?” Jewish Chronicle, Nov. 4, 1977.
9. ☞ Dawidowicz, op. cit., p. 34.
10. ☞ Arthur R. Butz, The Hoax of the 20th Century, Institute for Historical Review, 1985, pp. 239 and 197.
11. ☞ Wiesel, op. cit., p. 19.
12. ☞ Butz, op. cit., p. 18.
13. ☞ Ibid., p. 52.

Review Article

Azriel Eisenberg presents the greatest sob story ever told (with a cast of millions)

- THE LOST GENERATION: CHILDREN IN THE HOLOCAUST, by Azriel Eisenberg, The Pilgrim Press, 380 pp, \$17.95, ISBN O-8298-0498-8.

L. A. Rollins

Azriel Eisenberg strikes again! In *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1983, I reviewed Eisenberg's *Witness to the Holocaust*. Now Eisenberg, Holocaustomaniac par excellence, has produced a companion volume to that egregious opus. So here I am, writing a companion review to my earlier one.

Like *Witness to the Holocaust*, *The Lost Generation: Children in the Holocaust* purports to be a collection of eyewitness accounts of "the Holocaust." But this time these accounts are either by or about those who were 14 years of age or younger during "the Nazi carnage." According to Eisenberg, 1,200,000 of the Nazis' six million Jewish victims were children. And this killing of children is supposed to be the most shocking and terrible part of the Nazis' "bloody work." Thus, a volume devoted entirely to children in "the Holocaust."

In *Witness to the Holocaust*, Eisenberg said (p. 5), "... the heart of this book is a compilation of authentic, first-hand, personal, and eyewitness accounts," Similarly, in the introduction to *The Lost Generation*, he says (p. xvii), "The accounts included in this book were chosen from books written by eyewitnesses... Only authentic personal and eyewitness experiences were selected." Eisenberg emphasizes "authentic, first-hand, personal, and eyewitness accounts" because of the emotional impact they presumably will have on his more reverent readers. In *Witness to the Holocaust*, he explained (p. 5):

The Sho'ah [the Holocaust] cannot be intellectualized. To validate this contention, readers are invited to test their emotional reactions to the introductions of the chapters in this book as compared to the first-hand accounts that follow them. To establish any meaningful tie with Auschwitz, the Warsaw Ghetto, the partisans, the martyrs, and the survivors, we must share in their experiences. For this reason, the heart of this book is a compilation of authentic, first-hand, personal, and eyewitness accounts. They will affect your innermost being.

In the introduction to *The Lost Generation*, Eisenberg says of the "authentic personal and eyewitness experiences" that he's selected (p. xvii), "They will enable the reader to share the agony, the physical, emotional and spiritual torment of the martyred children."

Well, reading Eisenberg's "eyewitness" accounts may be a good way for devout Holocaustomaniacs to experience agony and torment. But, being the cold-hearted nitpicker that I am, I wonder if reading them is a good way to find out what really happened to Jewish children under Nazi rule.

For one thing, a number of scientific investigators of eyewitness testimony have concluded that most such testimony is to some degree unreliable. In his anthology, *The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence*, Robin W. Winks included (pp. 182-191) an excerpt, concerning the credibility of testimony, from Thomas Spencer Jerome's *Aspects of the Study of Roman History*. Jerome described experiments conducted by Alfred Binet, William Stern and others. For example, here is Jerome's account of an experiment by Stern:

He had three simple pictures in black and white, which he exhibited for forty-five seconds each to about thirty cultivated adults who immediately wrote down what they had seen in each picture, and thereafter at certain intervals of time again submitted written statements. Such parts of their depositions as they were willing to take oath upon were indicated by underlining. Without going into details, it may be said that the results were not of a nature calculated to give one great confidence in the value of testimony. Error was not the exception, but the rule. Out of two hundred and eighty-two depositions only seventeen were entirely correct; and of these seventeen, fifteen were among statements written down immediately. By the fifth day even, the proportion of misstatements reached about a quarter of all the details submitted. In the depositions containing indications of matters on which the observer was willing to take an oath, only thirteen out of sixty-three failed to contain false statements, to all of which however the witnesses were prepared to swear. Many of these were cases of the introduction of elements which were absolutely absent from the picture. So one student wrote three weeks after the event: "The picture shows an old man seated on a wooden bench. A small boy is standing at his left. He is looking at the old man who is feeding a pigeon. On the roof is perched another pigeon which is preparing to fly to the ground to get its share of food." The italicized statements were wholly incorrect: there were no pigeons in the picture. Perhaps the figure of a cat in the scene may have suggested the idea of a bird to the observer.

Jerome explained the significance of such experiments thusly:

It will appear from these and similar experiments that erroneous testimony was given in simple matters of direct, personal observation by witnesses who were not influenced by any conscious pre-existing emotion or prepossession, and who were actuated by a desire to give an exact and truthful narrative. Yet the results were not encouraging. It is evident, as scholars who have conducted or studied such experiments have shown, that good faith, the desire to tell the truth, and the certainty that the testimony is true, as well as the opportunity to secure correct information, and the absence of prepossessions, are far from affording adequate guarantees that the truth will be told. The most honest witness may misstate; the worst may tell the truth. Entirely faithful testimony is not the rule but rather a rare exception ...

As reported by French psychiatrist Marcel Eck (*Lies and Truth*, Macmillan, 1970, p. 1477, Michel Cenac, after studying similar experiments, drew the following similar conclusions about eyewitness testimony:

1. Entirely accurate testimony is the exception,

2. The witness offers false information with the same assurance that he gives true information,
3. Witnesses are inclined to perceive the facts and reconstruct their memory of them in terms of what seems likely to them rather than what they really saw.

Knowing how fallible my own memory is, these conclusions strike me as being entirely plausible. But if eyewitness testimony is commonly unreliable, then it seems fair to assume that eyewitness testimony about “the Holocaust” is commonly unreliable, too. For that matter, eyewitness testimony about “the Holocaust” might even tend to be more unreliable than other eyewitness testimony. According to Gordon Allport and Leo Postman (*The Psychology of Rumor*, Henry Holt, 1947, p. 53), eyewitness testimony is highly unreliable, “... especially in conditions where excitement existed during the original perception or in the process of narration. Normal defects of perception, retention, and verbal report are serious enough, but emotional states greatly magnify them.” This is certainly a factor influencing some testimony about “the Holocaust.”

Regarding the effect of emotional states, Alexander Leighton, writing about the wartime “internment” of the Japanese (*The Governing of Men*, Princeton University Press, 1946), made some interesting and suggestive comments (p. 268):

Psychiatrists observing patients who are emotionally unwell have long known that when they go into a state of panic they misinterpret ordinary events as horrible threats. The whistle of a distant train becomes a death scream, or two people seen talking together are instantly assumed to be plotting. More than this, it has been seen that patients in panic can become hallucinated and see people coming to attack them who are not there at all, or may smell smoke and gas where none exists. It is more than probable that this happens to otherwise normal individuals when in a state of intense fear, and it may be that those persons in the [Colorado River War Relocation] Center [at Poston, Arizona] who saw non-existent machine guns and their crews during the strike were suffering from such distortions of their senses. In the Detroit riots the police were bothered by people calling up and giving specific details of murders and violence, sometimes said to be going on before their “very eyes,” but which actually never occurred. There are similar instances in reports on the behavior of people under stress in war zones...

According to Leighton, when psychiatric patients “go into a state of panic, they misinterpret ordinary events as horrible threats. The whistle of a distant train becomes a death scream.” But it just so happens that numerous survivors of Auschwitz-Birkenau have given eyewitness (or should I say “earwitness”?) testimony about hearing the screams of people in “the gas chambers.” For example, the testimony of Zvi Goldberg, one of Azriel Eisenberg’s witnesses in *The Lost Generation*, includes the following (p. 207): “Suddenly the stillness of the night was shattered by the heartrending cries of the victims being forced into the death chambers.” But considering how much train traffic there was in the vicinity of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the question arises: Did fearful camp inmates sometimes misinterpret the sound of train whistles as the death screams of people being gassed?

There are other possibilities. Camp inmates may have sometimes heard real screams and mistakenly assumed that they were the screams of people being killed. For example, consider Sarah Cender’s eyewitness account of her arrival at Auschwitz, as quoted by Martin Gilbert (*Auschwitz and the Allies*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981, p. 309):

Upon arrival we were separated from the males and brought in front of a building where heaps of clothing were lying on the ground. We were ordered to undress quickly and naked we were pushed into a pitch dark chamber (what we naively and hopefully thought to be a bath facility — although no soap or towel were given to us).

The doors closed behind us. Anxious seconds and minutes passed. Nothing seemed to happen — for a while. Only cries and laments and hysterical screams we heard from every corner of the chamber. Some of the women started to cough incoherently, believing being choked by gas. The situation became unbearable...

Eventually, after a bombing raid, the doors were opened and Cender and her companions were ordered out of “the chamber.” But how many camp inmates heard their “hysterical screams” and assumed that they were being gassed?

In any case, even some devout Holocaustomaniacs have acknowledged the inaccuracy of some survivor testimony. In a footnote in *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Harvard University Press, 1981), Lucy Dawidowicz writes (pp. 176-177),

Many thousands of oral histories by survivors recounting their experiences exist in libraries and archives around the world. Their quality and usefulness vary significantly according to the informant’s memory, grasp of events, insights, and of course accuracy... The transcribed testimonies I have examined have been full of errors in dates, names of participants, and places, and there are evident misunderstandings of the events themselves.

In his foreword to *Voices from the Holocaust*, a collection of such transcribed oral testimonies edited by Sylvia Rothchild (New American Library, 1981), Elie Wiesel admits (p. 4):

... here and there you will come up against some errors of fact or perception. For example, the revolt of the Birkenau Sonderkommando seems to have been undertaken in cooperation with the Royal Air Force. That’s what we read in this book. But, this doesn’t agree with the findings of historians ... The witness remembers a plan that involved the RAF because he undoubtedly heard rumors: every camp was an inexhaustible source of rumors.

Yes, indeed; “every camp was an inexhaustible source of rumors.” And, as Allport and Postman pointed out (op. cit., p. 54), “Even firsthand reports are so faulty that they seldom can be trusted in detail. Rumor, being once, twice, or a thousand times removed from eyewitness testimony, is just so much more invalid.” This is a point worth emphasizing because, despite Azriel Eisenberg’s claims, *The Lost Generation* contains much that is not eyewitness testimony but is merely hearsay, rumor, inference, etc. For example, Eisenberg includes (pp. 108-110) a “document... written in Polish by a nameless thirteen-year-old boy in April 1944.” Eisenberg’s nameless “eyewitness,” a resident of Warsaw, wrote, “On the very first day that the ‘resettlement’ program was instituted, my mother, father, sister, and little brother were deported and killed at Treblinka.” But this nameless witness was not deported to Treblinka and did not see his family members killed there, so this is not eyewitness testimony. Eisenberg also includes (pp. 138-139) a brief excerpt from Philip Friedman’s *This Was Oswiecim*. Among Friedman’s revelations is this: “The children were not always liquidated by gas. Dr. Jacob Wollman of Lodz declares that the SS clubbed about five hundred children to death with their rifle butts.” Ouch! Of course, this is not eyewitness testimony, since Friedman didn’t claim to have seen this particular atrocity. (He didn’t even tell us if Dr. Wollman himself claimed to have seen it.) Titling it “THE GAS CHAMBER,”

Eisenberg has also included (pp. 139-141) an excerpt “From a Memorandum by Mr. Lieberman, September 27, 1945.” Mr. Lieberman described in some detail the operations of “the crematorium and the gas chamber” of Birkenau. But, as he himself explained, “We were separated in quarantine but housed together with another working party, which was serving the crematorium and the gas chamber. It is due to this fact that I know how things occurred.” Or, as he also wrote, “I have never seen the trolleys for the transport of corpses personally, nor have I seen the ovens operating; but as I have already mentioned, several of the working party, which was serving the gas chambers and ovens, lived with us and have given me all the details.” Thus, Mr. Lieberman’s account of “the gas chambers and ovens” is hearsay at best. Mr. Lieberman said, “A certain Jacob Weinschein of Paris, who is a survivor of this commando [Sonderkommando], is personally known to me.” Didn’t Jacob Weinschein ever write an eyewitness account of “the gas chambers and ovens” of Birkenau? In any case, Azriel Eisenberg has not given us eyewitness testimony from Jacob Weinschein. Instead he has given us a heap of hearsay from Mr. Lieberman.

Here is some of that hearsay:

The men and women entered the so-called bathroom and undressed separately to avoid panic. Once they were undressed they entered by separate doors in the central chamber. This chamber could take 3,000 people. The gas was released through sprays of the showers and from bombs which were thrown through apertures designed to allow for that procedure. Death occurred within five minutes. On certain days, when enormous transports arrived at the station of Birkenau, 42,000 people were gassed. Once the gassing process had been completed, the floor of the chamber opened automatically and the corpses fell into the subterranean chamber, where prisoners in charge of extracting the teeth or cutting hair of a certain length, took over... Once the gold teeth had been recovered, the corpses were loaded on to a moving belt and transported to cremation ovens, through subterranean gangways. There were four ovens, a big one and three small ones, which were capable of burning 400 corpses in five minutes. Later on, when the number of corpses exceeded the capacity of the ovens, trenches were dug and the corpses thrown in saturated with petrol.

And the cow in the nursery rhyme really did jump over the moon, which is made of green cheese.

Mr. Lieberman’s hearsay account of gassings and cremation at Birkenau is a dilly. For one thing, he said that “Once the gassing process had been completed, the floor of the chamber opened automatically and, the corpses fell into the subterranean chamber...” But Birkenau crematoria IV and V had no subterranean chambers. Crematoria II and III each had two subterranean “chambers,” one of which allegedly was a gas chamber, the other allegedly an undressing room. But these two subterranean “chambers” were on the same level, at right angles to each other. There were no subterranean chambers underneath the alleged subterranean gas chambers. So this part of Mr. Lieberman’s tale just doesn’t fit the facts.

Neither does his statement that “There were four ovens, a big one and three small ones, which were capable of burning 400 corpses in five minutes.” There were four crematoria at Birkenau, two larger ones and two smaller ones. The larger ones, II and III, each had 15 ovens, or, as some people put it, 5 ovens with 3 openings each. The two smaller crematoria, IV and V, each had 8 ovens, or 2 ovens with 4 openings each. No matter how you slice it, Mr. Lieberman’s testimony about four ovens, a big one and three small ones, is baloney.

As for his claim that those four ovens could cremate 400 corpses in five minutes, that's beyond baloney. According to Los Angeles Times staff writer Carol McGraw, "In the cremation process, a body is placed in a furnace and subjected to temperatures of up to 2,000 degrees for two or three hours." (See "Cremation: Boom Brings Controversy," 13 April 1983, Part I, page 24.) At that rate, four ovens might be able to cremate 400 corpses in 50 hours, not in five minutes.

If four ovens at Birkenau could cremate 400 corpses in five minutes, then, by extrapolation, they could cremate 192,000 corpses in 24 hours! This is preposterous in its own right, and it renders absurd Mr. Lieberman's claim that "Later on, when the number of corpses exceeded the capacity of the ovens, trenches were dug and the corpses thrown in saturated with petrol." If the four ovens could cremate 400 corpses in five minutes and, therefore, 192,000 corpses in 24 hours, then the Nazis would have had to have gassed something like 200,000 or more people a day at Birkenau in order to have exceeded the capacity of the ovens! But even Mr. Lieberman didn't claim that they ever gassed that many people in one day, although his claim that on certain days 42,000 people were gassed far surpasses in magnitude any other such allegation that I recall having seen. All in all, his story just doesn't "add up."

If Azriel Eisenberg really believes Mr. Lieberman's hearsay hokum, then he probably also believes, along with Steve Martin, that robots from Mars are stealing his luggage, and, for his own safety and the safety of others, he probably should not have access to pointed objects, such as pens and pencils, but should only be allowed to write with crayons.

A recurring theme of *The Lost Generation* is the burning alive of children and others by the Nazi beasts at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Variations on this macabre theme can be found in the testimonies of such survivors as Olga Lengyel, Philip Friedman, Halina Birenbaum, Leon Shlofsky and especially Gisella Perl. (See pages 39, 41-42, 139, 161-164, 165 and 204.) In most cases, the tellers of these tales do not explain how they know them to be true, nor do they explicitly claim to have seen these horrendous events with their own eyes. For example, after claiming that there was a policy of killing pregnant women, Gisella Perl wrote (pp. 163-164):

Then, one day, Dr. Mengele came to the hospital and gave a new order. From now on Jewish women could have their children. They were not going to be killed because of their pregnancy. The children, of course, had to be taken to the crematory by me, personally, but the women would be allowed to live. I was jubilant... I had 292 expectant mothers in my ward when Dr. Mengele changed his mind. He came roaring into the hospital, whip and revolver in hand, and had all 292 women loaded on a single truck and tossed, alive, into the flames of the crematory.

I'm sure that tossing 292 women, alive, "into the flames of the crematory" was a helluva lot easier said than done. And Gisella Perl did not say that she saw this improbable deed done.

However, in two cases, Gisella Perl apparently claimed to be an eyewitness to the burning alive of people. For example, she wrote (p. 161):

When we first arrived at Auschwitz, children under sixteen, whether boys or girls, were permitted to accompany their mothers to the women's camps. Then, as usual, there came a counter-order, and all children of fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen had to come forward because they were going to be put into a separate children's camp and receive double bread rations ...

The boys left first. They were kept in a camp near ours and we were able to watch them exercise from morning till night, tired, weak, and thin — without the double

bread rations they were promised. Then one night the most horrible screams woke our camp from its deathlike sleep. We ran to the entrance of the camp and witnessed a sight I shall never forget as long as I live.

Several black trucks were standing before the entrance of the boys' camp, and a detachment of SS men were throwing the naked, crying, screaming little boys [of fourteen, fifteen and sixteen years of age?] on the trucks. Those who tried to escape were dragged back by the hair [which wasn't shaved off as with other prisoners?], beaten with truncheons, and whipped mercilessly. There was no help, no escape. Neither their mothers nor God could reach out a helping hand to save their lives. They were burned alive in those crematories which killed and smoked incessantly, day and night.

But, even if the rest of this "eyewitness" testimony is true, the last sentence, the crucial one, begs some questions. Did Gisella Perl see the trucks take the boys to the crematories? If so, why did she omit to mention that detail? In any case, even assuming the boys were taken to the crematories, did Gisella Perl see them burned alive in the crematories? If so, how did she manage this? Did she follow them into the crematories to see what happened? Or did the crematories have transparent walls, allowing any interested persons to see what happened inside?

In any case, at least one part of Gisella Perl's testimony is demonstrably untrue, to wit, her claim that the crematories "killed and smoked incessantly, day and night." In 1979, the CIA published *The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex*. In this publication, two CIA photo interpreters, Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier, analyzed aerial photographs taken of Auschwitz-Birkenau between April, 1944 and January, 1945. Brugioni and Poirier wrote (p. 11), "Although survivors recalled that smoke and flame emanated continually from the crematoria chimneys and was visible for miles, the photography we examined gave no positive proof of this." Brugioni and Poirier were being diplomatic. But the fact that none of the aerial photographs of Auschwitz-Birkenau show smoke or flame coming from the crematoria chimneys constitutes positive disproof of the familiar claim that "smoke and flame emanated continually from the crematoria chimneys." And it constitutes positive disproof of Gisella Perl's particular version of that claim.

But what is the explanation of Gisella Perl's demonstrably false testimony that the crematoria of Birkenau "killed and smoked incessantly, day and night?" Is this merely an instance of the sort of unintentional distortion that often occurs in eyewitness testimony? Or is it an instance of outright, conscious deception?

What? Outright, conscious deception by a "Holocaust" survivor? Is that even possible? Aren't all survivors Semitic saints inherently incapable of lying?

That deception by a "Holocaust" survivor is within the realm of the possible has been admitted even by Holocaustomaniac Gitta Sereny. In *The New Statesman*, 2 November 1979, Sereny wrote:

Personal accounts, such as the recently-published Dora ... are not rubbish in themselves.... The problem with books like this is that they are "ghosted" by professional wordsmiths — the French are especially adept — who have neither interest in nor capacity for conveying truth with restraint. It is less the exaggerations than the false emphases and cheap humor which disqualify them.

Worse again are the partial or complete fakes, such as Jean Francois Steiner's Treblinka or Martin Gray's *For Those I Loved* ...

Gray's *For Those I Loved* was the work of Max Gallo the ghostwriter, who also produced Papillon. During the research for a Sunday Times inquiry into Gray's work, M. Gallo informed me coolly that he "needed" a long chapter on Treblinka because the book required something strong for pulling in readers. When I myself told Gray, the "author," that he had manifestly never been to, nor escaped from Treblinka, he finally asked, despairingly, "But does it matter?" Wasn't the only thing that Treblinka did happen, that it should be written about, and that some Jews should be shown to have been heroic?

But, if Martin Gray's "eyewitness" account of the mass extermination of Jews at Treblinka is a fake, then how many other "eyewitness" accounts of "the Holocaust" are fake as well? And, more specifically, how many of the "authentic personal and eyewitness" accounts in *The Lost Generation* are fakes? I would bet that Shaye Gertner's "authentic personal and eyewitness" account of his ten weeks as a member of the Birkenau Sonderkommando is a fake. Here is part of that account (pp. 210-211):

After being interrogated by the SS, I was taken to Birkenau and assigned to the Sonderkommando Field D, barracks 32. There were four hundred men, mostly Jews, some Poles, and a few Germans. Some wore red emblems [political prisoners]: others the usual green [criminals].

During the first few days I didn't go to the ovens, but did house-keeping chores, But then the squad leader Muller appeared and said, "Such a sturdy lad ought to be assigned to a shift." And I started to work on the ovens. The first days were very hard, and I began to wonder how to extricate myself. Our Kommando had just plunged into the task. Everyone knew that within three months all of us would be dispensed with and replaced with others.

Our unit consisted of four hundred men, working in two shifts. One oven belonged to us. We were accompanied by orchestral music on our way to work. The SS leader, Dr. Mengele, was our supervisor. He delivered the inmates to the gas chambers. He was followed in rank by Muller, then the Jewish kapos, Poles, and Germans. We were generally guarded by five SS men. When new transports of human cargo arrived, people were unaware of just what was in store for them. Before entering the building carrying the sign "Baths," the people had to disrobe completely and received a number of their belongings, presumably to be reclaimed later. They got soap and towels for their shower. Then the kapos would dash in to beat the unfortunates, to create confusion. During the ensuing commotion, when people trampled over one another, the door of the gas chamber would be thrown open, the prisoners pushed in, and then the door would bang shut after a cylinder of poison gas was flung into the mass,

I worked ten weeks in the Sonderkommando. I never entered the gas chamber itself; only kapos were admitted there. After the gassing a door in the other side of the chamber would open; there the kapos would enter to throw out the corpses. All of us wore rubber gloves and wads of cotton in our mouths. The corpses exuded a pungent odor that could asphyxiate one. Small cars, loaded with forty corpses apiece, would ride along rails that extended from the gas chamber to the oven. The cars disgorged their cargo into the oven, where the bodies were reduced to ashes by electric current

in ten minutes. A weak current left the bones intact; a strong current left small heaps. There was an apparatus, known as an exhaust, that blew the ashes into an adjoining pit, where they were piled into barrels by workers, then hoisted by an elevator and ultimately dumped into the Sola River.

The corpses I loaded onto the carts were yellow from the gas. Some of the cadavers had open, glazed eyes, hands holding their mouths, or clutching stomachs. None of us in this work could stand it. We often spoke of escape. (Eisenberg cites *Anthology of Holocaust Literature*, Jewish Publication Society, 1969, pp. 141-147, as his source for Gertner's account.)

According to Gertner, "All of us wore rubber gloves and wads of cotton in our mouths." What excellent safety precautions. A wad of cotton in the mouth beats a gas mask any day. Of course, Gertner and his fellow Sonderkommando members simply never inhaled through their noses.

Arthur Butz has written, "The ovens at Birkenau seem to have been coke or coal-fired..." (*The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Institute for Historical Review, 1976, p. 121.) And a surviving German document, a letter of 29 January 1943, concerning the construction of Crematorium II, said, "The fires were started in the ovens in the presence of Senior Engineer Pruefer, representative of the contractors of the firm of Topf and Soehne, Erfurt, and they are working most satisfactorily." (Butz, p. 116.) But now we know that Butz was wrong and the document forged, because "eyewitness" Shaye Gertner reported that "the bodies were reduced to ashes by electric current."

Gertner's "eyewitness" testimony that the bodies were reduced to ashes "in ten minutes" also discredits the previously-mentioned reportage of Carol McGraw, who said that the cremation of a body takes 2 or 3 hours, not ten minutes.

Another of Gertner's unique revelations: "There was an apparatus, known as an exhaust, that blew the ashes into an adjoining pit, where they were piled into barrels by workers, then hoisted by an elevator and ultimately dumped into the Sola River." Those German barbarians were mighty ingenious, weren't they? But I wonder why they didn't fully automate the disposal of the ashes. Surely they could have designed and constructed devices for conveying the ashes directly from the crematoria to the river.

In any case, Gertner said, "We often spoke of escape." And he went on to describe (pp. 211-212) how they planned and then carried out an escape from Birkenau in January 1944, "perhaps the eighteenth day." The leader was a Polish officer whose name Gertner couldn't remember.

... At a signal from the Polish officer, we killed one SS man and threw the German squad leader into the lime pit. Then we began to throw grenades into the oven. Those on the other side of the gas chamber with the other three SS men, who guarded the new arrivals, shouted that it was an air attack alarm. Hearing the explosions, the SS men believed it and ran for cover. The inmates, standing in front of the gas chamber, were at a loss what to do. Meanwhile we fled individually ...

An hour and a half went by before the Germans really got their bearings. Then they opened fire in all directions and began to reconnoiter the surrounding area. I learned later from witnesses that about two hundred men were killed in the wake of that event. The rest escaped; it is hard to determine the number killed among the latter.

I was trudging together with a group of twenty-seven men in the direction of Germany. We were led by a Jew from Berlin familiar with the land. We had plenty of

money, so we bought shovels and marched along, singing German songs in the manner of German workers. We had already penetrated deep into Germany when we were taken by the German authorities in some town. We declared that we had escaped from a transport in Dachau; they believed us and sent us to Dachau.

I was back in Dachau in March 1944. I said my name was Casimierz Dudzinski (though they knew I was Jewish).

Thanks to the incredible stupidity and gullibility of their SS guards, Gertner and some other Sonderkommando members escaped from Birkenau. So where did they go? Naturally, they headed right into the heart of Germany. What better place to escape the Nazi terror? I'm only surprised that Gertner didn't persuade his inevitable captors that he was Adolf Hitler himself, out for a stroll with his staff. After all, the Germans were apparently willing to believe anything that Gertner and his pals told them.

Although nobody else on Planet Earth seems to know about this revolt and escape of the Birkenau Sonderkommando in January 1944, Gertner's story is reminiscent of the tales that have been told of a revolt and attempted escape by the Birkenau Sonderkommando on 7 October 1944. However, in that case, none of the prisoners is supposed to have succeeded in escaping. (See, for example, Jozef Garlinski, *Fighting Auschwitz*, Fawcett, 1975, pp. 325-327.)

Speaking of the 7 October 1944 revolt of the Sonderkommando, Garlinski (p. 327) names some of those who supposedly were killed in attempting to escape: "Jozef Deresinski, Zalman Gradowski, Ajzyk Kalniak, Lajb Langfuss, Lajb Panusz and Josef Warszawski, the leader." Coincidentally, two of these names are mentioned by Azriel Eisenberg on page 141. He writes, "In 1962, in the area of the Birkenau crematorium no. 3, were found the writings of three martyrs, Leib Langfuss, Zalman Leventhal, and Zalman Gradovski." Perhaps these were some of the manuscripts Robert Faurisson had in mind when he referred to "miraculously rediscovered manuscripts" in *Le Monde* on 16 January 1979. In any case, Eisenberg does not tell us how or by whom the writings of the three "martyrs" were found in 1962. But he does tell us, "Langfuss' manuscript was found in a glass jar. In it he explained why the revolt of the Sonderkommando had failed." Eisenberg then includes (pp. 141-142) an excerpt from "Langfuss' manuscript" recounting an incident at "the end of October 1944" in which the SS drove a group of children into "the gas chamber" with great brutality and indescribable glee. But, if Jozef Garlinski was correct in writing that Langfuss was among those killed while attempting to escape on 7 October 1944, then how, pray tell, could "Langfuss' manuscript" have "explained why the revolt of the Sonderkommando had failed?" And how could it have described events alleged to have taken place at "the end of October 1944?" (This date is quoted from "Langfuss' manuscript" itself.) We seem to be confronted with a miracle similar to the one that enabled Moses to record his own death in verse 5 of Chapter 34 of Deuteronomy.

Another of Eisenberg's selections may also partake of the miraculous, to wit, his excerpt from "the diary of Anne Frank" (pp. 76-78). According to Al Fredericks (*The New York Post*, 9 October 1980),

A report by the German Federal Criminal Investigation Bureau (BKA) indicates that portions of *The Diary of Anne Frank* had been altered or added after 1951, casting doubt over the authenticity of the entire work, the West German news weekly *Der Spiegel* has disclosed ...

The results of tests performed at the BKA laboratories show that portions of the work, specifically of the fourth volume, were written with a ball point pen. Since

ballpoint pens were not available before 1951, the BKA concluded, those sections must have been added subsequently.

Azriel Eisenberg doesn't mention the BKA's report on "the diary of Anne Frank," let alone try to explain how Anne Frank might have written portions of it posthumously. Instead he devotes pages 355-364 to rebutting revisionism with an excerpt from *The Murderers Among Us: The Wiesenthal Memoirs*, edited by Joseph Wechsberg. According to Eisenberg, this excerpt "... illustrates the efforts now being made to rewrite the history of the tragedy, by such individuals as A.R. Butz of Evanston, Illinois, who published an outrageous book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, as well as others in the East, who are issuing a series of tracts entitled *Did Six Million Really Die? The Truth at Last*." Eisenberg is obviously well-informed about "Holocaust" revisionism (I'm being sarcastic), but his attempted refutation of revisionism from "the Wiesenthal Memoirs" is an exercise in irrelevancy. Confronted by an Austrian boy who disputed the existence of Anne Frank and the authenticity of the "diary," Wiesenthal proceeded to track down the officer who arrested the Frank family. This may prove that Anne Frank really existed. But it doesn't prove that she wrote "the diary of Anne Frank." Nor does it explain how it would have been possible for her to write portions of it more than six years after her death from typhus at Belsen in 1945.

Eisenberg immediately follows the irrelevant Wiesenthal excerpt with another response to "Holocaust" revisionism, this one emanating from the West German Federal Supreme Court. In a civil suit in which an injunction was sought against the display of an "offending" poster, the court on 18 September 1979 passed judgment "... against a German citizen who exhibited posters stating that the murder of millions of Jews in the Third Reich was a 'Zionist swindle' and the gassing of six million Jews a lie." (I am quoting *Patterns of Prejudice*, January 1980, pp. 32-33.) Eisenberg paraphrases the Court's decision as follows (p. 364):

On October 29, 1979, the Jewish Telegraphic Association released the news of a landmark decision by the West German Supreme Court which stated that the unique fate of Jews give them a claim to regard and respect from all German citizens, that the Holocaust is part of the consciousness of Jews and it is a matter of their personal dignity to be perceived as the group who suffered persecution and to whom other citizens bear a moral responsibility.

The court said that respect for these feelings had to be regarded as a guarantee for the non-repetition of the past and an essential condition making it possible for Jews to live in Germany. Whoever denies the truth of past events denies to every Jew the respect to which he is entitled, the court declared.

It added that any attempt to justify, to gloss over, or to dispute the facts of the Holocaust shows contempt against every person identified with persecution. Finally, the court affirmed that the evidence of the facts of the Holocaust is overwhelming.

There are a couple of discrepancies between the court's decision, as quoted by *Patterns of Prejudice*, and Eisenberg's paraphrase of it. Eisenberg says, "... the court affirmed that the evidence of the facts of the Holocaust is overwhelming." But *Patterns of Prejudice* quoted the court as saying, "The documentary evidence on the extermination of millions of Jews is damning." Similar, but different. Also, Eisenberg says the court spoke of other citizens owing Jews "a moral responsibility." But *Patterns of Prejudice* quoted the court as speaking of "a normal responsibility." Otherwise, though, Eisenberg's paraphrase of the court's ruling is reasonably accurate.

But Eisenberg's invoking of the authority of the West German Federal Supreme Court does not refute "Holocaust" revisionism. As W. Ward Fearnside and William B. Holther have written, "An authority must be qualified as an expert in the field in which he is cited." (Fallacy: The Counterfeit of Argument, Prentice-Hall, 1959, p. 85.) This means that, "The authority is expressing an opinion within the field of his special competence. Einstein may have held very worthy opinions on world peace, but he was not to be regarded as an expert on international relations just because of his reputation in physics." (Op. cit., p. 86.) By the same token, the West German Federal Supreme Court is not to be regarded as an expert on historical matters just because of its presumed expertise in matters judicial.

Eisenberg's appeal to the authority of the court is an instance of the fallacy sometimes known as "argument from authority." This was one of the fallacies referred to by Fearnside and Holther when they wrote the following (op. cit., p. 84):

The appeals described in the following fallacies often serve to take advantage of the ignorance of the audience rather than overcome it. They play on prejudices and misconceptions instead of meeting them squarely. And one must very often suspect that, unlike some fallacies which are the result of ignorance or carelessness, these appeals are dishonest in intent.

That Eisenberg's appeal to authority probably is dishonest in intent is indicated by his brazen falsehoods in *Witness to the Holocaust*, some of which I pointed out in my review of that book, as well as in *The Lost Generation*.

One rather brazen falsehood in this latter book is on page 127, where he says, "When the Red Army freed Auschwitz, fewer than 450 Jews were among the survivors; not a child was left alive." This really involves two falsehoods. First there is Eisenberg's statement that "fewer than 450 Jews were among the survivors" when the Red Army captured Auschwitz. While it may be true that there were only 450 Jewish survivors of Auschwitz still in Auschwitz when the Red Army arrived (and I don't know if that figure is accurate). Eisenberg's statement conveniently ignores the fact that there were thousands of Jewish Auschwitz survivors who were no longer at Auschwitz by the time the Red Army reached there, in late January, 1945. Tens of thousands of Auschwitz inmates, at least, including many Jews, were transferred to other camps during 1943 and 1944. For example, Dr. Ada Bimko, a.k.a. Hadassah Bimko-Rosensaft, was transferred from Auschwitz to Belsen in November, 1944. (Henry A. Zeiger, ed., *The Case Against Adolf Eichmann*, Signet, 1960, p. 180.) Furthermore, tens of thousands more Auschwitz prisoners were marched westward out of Auschwitz shortly before the arrival of the Red Army. Martin Gilbert says, "At the end of the first week of January [1945], as the Red Army drew nearer to Auschwitz, the Gestapo began to organize the evacuation of more than 65,000 Jewish prisoners." (Auschwitz and the Allies, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981, p. 334.) Gilbert probably exaggerated the number of Jewish prisoners evacuated by assuming that all Auschwitz inmates were Jewish. Jozef Garlinski wrote, "At the final evening roll-call, on January 17th [1945], the whole complex, comprising the central camp, Birkenau and Monowice with a number of sub-camps, contained 48,340 men and 18,672 women." (Fighting Auschwitz, pp. 341-342.) That adds up to 67,012 prisoners, about the same number Gilbert gave just for Jewish prisoners. But elsewhere in his book (p. 236), Garlinski said that Poles comprised the largest nationality within the camp population, Jews the second largest. In any case, there were thousands of Jews, perhaps ten thousand or more, among those evacuated from Auschwitz shortly before the Red Army arrived. So Eisenberg's reference to a mere 450 Jewish survivors is grossly misleading.

And his other statement, that “not a child was left alive” when the Red Army reached Auschwitz, is just plain false. On page 249 of Gerhard Schoenberger’s *The Yellow Star* (Bantam, 1973), there is a photo of some children, prisoners of Auschwitz, who “lived to be liberated by the Red Army.” What makes this falsehood particularly brazen is that one of Eisenberg’s own witnesses in *The Lost Generation* gives contradictory testimony. On page 205, describing events between the evacuation of Auschwitz by the Germans and the arrival of the Red Army, Leon Shlofsky says, “We decided to proceed to Birkenau to save the women and children who were still living.” As I said in my review of *Witness to the Holocaust*, Azriel Eisenberg is not a leading Jewish scholar, as it says on the dust jacket of that book. Rather, he is a misleading Jewish scholar.

Getting back to the West German Federal Supreme Court’s decision, the court said, “Whoever tries to deny the truth of past events, denies to every Jew the respect to which he is entitled.” But is it only Jews who are entitled to respect or to whom such respect is denied by attempts to deny the truth of past events? For example, if someone accuses Germans of committing atrocities which never took place, are they not attempting to deny the truth of past events and thereby denying Germans the respect to which they are entitled? Consider this whopper from “Nazi-hunter” Tuvia Friedman: “We drove a while in silence, until we approached Dachau. Silently, Yoske and I looked at the extermination camp where millions of innocent people had been executed.” (*The Hunter*, Macfadden, 1961, p. 113.) Millions of people were executed at Dachau? No, not even according to former Dachau inmate Nerin E. Gun, whose estimate of the number of deaths at Dachau was not a conservative one. Gun has written, “... it is with some skepticism that I report here certain statistics compiled after the liberation. First, there are those of Domgala, who figured that 206,204 persons went through Dachau. I would put the figure closer to 450,000.” (*The Day of the Americans*, Fleet, 1966, p. 128.) Gun also wrote (pp. 128-129),

It is impossible to ascertain the number of deaths in the camp from 1933 to 1940. It was certainly more than 15,000. From 1940 to liberation, a former camp inmate, Domgala, a responsible witness, accounts for 27,830 deaths, but that figure must be a minimum. In fact, more than 100,000 died at Dachau, or approximately one out of four inmates.

When Tuvia Friedman said that millions of people were executed at Dachau, was he not attempting to deny the truth of past events? And was he not thereby denying to Germans the respect to which they are entitled? Or are Germans less entitled to respect than Jews, less entitled to have the truth told about them?

The court said, “Whoever tries to deny the truth of past events, denies to every Jew the respect to which he is entitled.” But what exactly is the truth of past events? Where may one find the truth of past events inscribed in clear, consistent, unquestionable and undeniable form?

Is it true, for example, that Jews were gassed en masse with Zyklon B at Auschwitz-Birkenau? Apart from a few documents, whose meaning is at best debatable, the evidence for such mass gassings consists entirely of testimony, the most important of which being the **“eyewitness” testimony**. The “eyewitnesses,” however, contradict each other on various points, and some of them contradict themselves. More importantly, the stories of these “eyewitnesses” involve what appear to be various physical impossibilities. To give just one example, “eyewitnesses” have claimed that Zyklon B was capable of killing instantaneously, or within a few minutes, or in five minutes, or within three or fifteen minutes. But, citing document NI-9912, Friedrich Berg has written, “... the time required for the Zyklon to take effect would range from 6 to 32 hours depending upon the type of vermin and temperature. Since it is well known that cyanide kills very quickly given a sufficient concentration of the gas, the 6 to 32 hour period must have been essentially the period

needed to produce a sufficient concentration by evaporation out of the Zyklon B granules.” (See the Publisher’s Footnote on page 4 of Robert Faurisson’s, *The “Problem of the ‘Gas Chambers’ “* or *“The Rumor of Auschwitz,”* Revisionist Press, Rochelle Park, New Jersey, 1979. For more on the question of the physical possibility of the alleged Zyklon B gassings, see Robert Faurisson’s two contributions to *The Journal of Historical Review*, Volume Two, Number Four.)

Would the court insist that the “eyewitness” testimonies about mass gassings with Zyklon B must be true whether or not they involve physical impossibilities? If so, why? After all, a general principle that “eyewitness” testimony must be true would suffice to establish the reality, not only of mass gassings with Zyklon B, but also of the ritual murder of Christian children by Jews seeking blood for Passover matzohs, witchcraft and everything that involved, werewolves and vampires, the golden tablets from which Joseph Smith translated *The Book of Mormon*, forced conversions in Catholic nunneries, the angel of Mons, the miracle of the sun at Fatima, and “Mad Gasser” of Mattoon, Illinois, the post-WWII survival of Adolf Hitler, flying saucers and extraterrestrial visitations of Earth, Bigfoot, etc. If, for example, one denies that witches ever flew through the air to sabbats where the Devil appeared as a being, half man and half goat, and where the flesh of babies was eaten, etc., is one denying the truth of the past and thereby denying to victims of witchcraft the respect to which they are entitled?

In any case, if Robert Faurisson and the revisionists are right, then the Zyklon B gassings, as described by “eyewitnesses,” were physically impossible. And if that is the case, then it seems we are again confronted with a miracle, indeed, with a whole series of miracles.

On second thought, perhaps we are confronted, not with a series of miracles, but rather with a series of lies by “eyewitnesses.” As Thomas Paine said, echoing the argument of David Hume,

If ... we see an account given of such a miracle by the person who said he saw it, it raises a question in the mind very easily decided, which is, is it more probable that nature should go out of her course, or that a man should tell a lie? We have never seen, in our time, nature go out of her course; but we have good reason to believe that millions of lies have been told in the same time; it is, therefore, at least millions to one, that the reporter of a miracle tells a lie. (Quoted by George H. Smith in *Atheism: The Case Against God*, Nash, 1974, p. 218.)

By the same token, it is at least millions to one that the “eyewitness” reporter of physically impossible Zyklon B gassings has told a lie. (And the same goes for “eyewitness” reporters of any kind of physically impossible “Holocaust” happenings.) According to Robert Conquest, there is a Russian folk saying: “He lies like an eyewitness.” Of course, not all eyewitnesses are liars, although even most honest eyewitnesses, for the reasons discussed earlier, give testimony that is to some extent false. But some eyewitnesses are liars. And some liars pretend to be eyewitnesses of places they’ve never been and things they’ve never seen (for example, Martin Gray).

Azriel Eisenberg’s brandishing of the West German Federal Supreme Court’s dictum (“Whoever tries to deny the truth of past events, denies to every Jew the respect to which he is entitled.”) is both hypocritical and disingenuous. Hypocritical because Eisenberg’s regard for the truth of past events is minimal, if not nonexistent. This is demonstrated both by his own falsehoods, in this book and his previous one, and by his selection of “eyewitness” accounts of “the Holocaust” containing palpable falsehoods, the “eyewitness” account of Shaye Gertner and the hearsay testimony of Mr. Lieberman being the most blatant examples.

Eisenberg’s invoking of the court’s dictum is disingenuous because it is not merely respect that Eisenberg wants for himself and his “eyewitnesses”: it is reverence that he wants. As he said of

his earlier collection of “eyewitness” accounts of “the Holocaust,” “... it must be studied with awe and reverence.” (Witness to the Holocaust, pp. 4-5.)

Ambrose Bierce wittily defined “reverence” as, “The spiritual attitude of a man to a god and a dog to a man.” But Eisenberg and his “eyewitnesses” are not gods, nor am I a dog, although I am a Gentile. They are merely human beings, as I am. So I see no reason to revere Eisenberg and his “eyewitnesses,” no reason to put them on a pedestal, above skepticism, above criticism. As far as I am concerned, the fact that some or all of Eisenberg’s witnesses suffered at the hands of the Nazis does not give them a license to lie.

As Rabbi Richard E. Singer, of the Lakeside Congregation of Highland Park, Illinois, has said (quoted by Alfred M. Lilienthal in *The Zionist Connection*, Dodd, Mead, 1978, p. 40X),

Jews have suffered, and Christians have suffered. Mankind has suffered. There is no group with a monopoly on suffering, and no human beings which have experienced hate and hostility more than any other. I must say, however, that it is my impression that Jewish history has been taught with a whine and a whimper rather than with a straight-forward acknowledgement that man practices his inhumanity on his fellow human beings ... Out of this peculiar emphasis on suffering there has developed a new attitude of vicarious suffering — a feeling among numbers of Jews today that because other Jews have suffered and died they, the living, are somehow entitled to special consideration.

If only Azriel Eisenberg would take Rabbi Singer’s well-chosen words to heart, then *The Last Generation* would be Eisenberg’s last compilation of “stories of suffering and death.” If only. If only.

Notes

1. 🟢 There is a room (in the crematorium of Auschwitz I) that allegedly was used as a gas chamber before being converted into an air-raid shelter sometime in 1944, But this room constitutes evidence of the alleged Zyldon B gassings only in conjunction with the testimony that it was used for such gassings.

Author: Mark Weber
Title: Rauschning's phony 'Conversations With Hitler'
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Historical News and Comment

Rauschning's phony 'Conversations With Hitler': An pupdate

Mark Weber

One of the most widely quoted sources of information about Hitler's personality and secret intentions is the supposed memoir of Hermann Rauschning, the National Socialist President of the Danzig Senate in 1933-1934 who was ousted from the Hitler movement a short time later and then made a new life for himself as a professional anti-Nazi.

In the book known in German as *Conversations with Hitler* (*Gespraeche mit Hitler*) and first published in the U.S. in 1940 as *The Voice of Destruction*, Rauschning presents page after page of what are purported to be Hitler's most intimate views and plans for the future, allegedly based on dozens of private conversations between 1932 and 1934. After the war the memoir was introduced as Allied prosecution exhibit USSR-378 at the main Nuremberg "war crimes" trial.

Among the damning quotations attributed to Hitler by Rauschning are these memorable statements:

We must be brutal. We must regain a clear conscience about brutality. Only then can we drive out the tenderness from our people ... Do I propose to exterminate entire nationalities? Yes, it will add up to that ... I naturally have the right to destroy millions of men of inferior races who increase like vermin ... Yes, we are barbarians. We want to be barbarians. It is an honorable title.

Hitler is also supposed to have confided to Rauschning, an almost unknown provincial official, fantastic plans for a German world empire that would include Africa, South America, Mexico and, eventually, the United States.

Many prestigious historians, including Leon Poliakov, Gerhard Weinberg, Alan Bullock, Joachim Fest, Nora Levin and Robert Payne, used choice quotations from Rauschning's memoir in their works of history. Poliakov, one of the most prominent Holocaust writers, specifically praised Rauschning for his "exceptional accuracy, while Levin, another widely-read Holocaust historian, called him "one of the most penetrating analysts of the Nazi period."

But not everyone has been so credulous. Swiss historian Wolfgang Haenel spent five years diligently investigating the memoir before announcing his findings in 1983 at a revisionist history conference in West Germany. The renowned *Conversations with Hitler*, he declared are a total fraud. The book has no value "except as a document of Allied war propaganda."

Haenel was able to conclusively establish that Rausching's claim to have met with Hitler "more than a hundred times is a lie. The two actually met only four times, and never alone. The words attributed to Hitler, he showed, were simply invented or lifted from many different sources, including writings by Juenger and Friedrich Nietzsche. An account of Hitler hearing voices, waking at night with convulsive shrieks and pointing in terror at an empty corner while shouting "There, there, in the corner!" was taken from a short story by French writer Guy de Maupassant.

The phony memoir was designed to incite public opinion in democratic countries, especially in the United States, in favor of war against Germany. The project was the brainchild of the Hungarian-born journalist Emery Reves, who ran an influential anti-German press and propaganda agency in Paris during the 1930s. Haenel has also found evidence that a prominent British journalist named Henry Wickham-Steele helped to produce the memoir. Wickham-Steele was a right-hand man of Sir Robert Vansittart, perhaps the most vehemently anti-German figure in Britain.

A report about Haenel's sensational findings appeared in the Fall 1983 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. More recently, West Germany's most influential weekly periodicals, *Die Zeit*, and *Der Spiegel* (7 September 1985), have run lengthy articles about historical hoax. *Der Spiegel* concluded that Rausching's *Conversations with Hitler* "are a falsification, an historical distortion from the first to the last page ... Haenel not only proves the falsification, he also shows how the impressive surrogate was quickly compiled and which ingredients were mixed together."

There are some valuable lessons to be learned from the story of this sordid hoax, which took more than 40 years to finally unmask: It shows that even the most brazen historical fraud can have a tremendous impact if it serves important interests, that it's easier to invent a great historical lie than to expose one and finally, that everyone should be extremely wary of even the "authoritative" portrayals of the emotionally-charged Hitler era.

A footnote: Readers interested in an authentic record of Hitler's personality and private views should look into the fascinating and wide-ranging memoir of Otto Wagener, published in August 1985 by Yale University Press under the title *Hitler: Memoirs of a Confidant*. Wagener was the first Chief of Staff of the SA ("stormtroopers") and Director of the Economic-Political Department of the National Socialist Party. He spent hundreds of hours with Hitler between 1929 and 1932, many of them alone.

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Historical News and Comment

Stalin Prepared for Summer 1941 Attack

Mark Weber

Viktor Suvorov is a former member of the Soviet General Staff who now lives in the West. He is the author of three authoritative works on the Soviet armed forces. Writing in the June 1985 issue of the *Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies*, Suvorov assembles impressive evidence to show that Stalin was preparing to attack Germany in 1941. The respected British journal introduced this startling article by noting that “historians who have hitherto uncritically accepted the thesis that Stalin was the victim of unprovoked aggression in the summer of 1941 may have to revise, or at least modify, their views.”

Suvorov writes that on 13 June 1941 Stalin secretly began “the biggest troop movement in the history of civilization, transferring enormous military forces to the Soviet-German frontier. The Soviet troops were deployed there not for defense, but in preparation for a surprise invasion.

“It seems certain,” writes Suvorov, “that the Soviet concentration on the frontier was due to be completed by 10 July. Thus, the German blow which fell just 19 days earlier found the Red Army in the most unfavorable situation — in railway wagons.”

Citing information compiled mostly from official Soviet sources, Suvorov concludes that “the only credible military intention which Stalin could have had was to begin the war himself in the summer of 1941.”

Suvorov’s essay, which is based on a still uncompleted Ph.D. thesis strengthens the view of David Irving, Erich Helmdach, and other revisionist historians that the attack by Germany and her Axis partners against the USSR on 22 June 1941 was a preventive measure necessitated by a forthcoming Soviet onslaught against Europe.

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Historical News and Comment

Churchill wanted to 'drench' Germany with poison gas

Mark Weber

In a secret wartime memorandum recently made public, Winston Churchill told his advisers that he wanted to “drench” Germany with poison gas. Churchill’s July 1944 memo to his chief of staff Gen. Hastings Ismay was reproduced in the August-September 1985 issue of *American Heritage* magazine.

“I you to think very seriously over this question of poison gas,” the four-page note began. Britain’s wartime leader continued; “It is absurd to consider morality on this topic when everybody used it [gas] in the last war without a word of complaint from the moralists or the Church. On the other hand, in the last war the bombing of open cities was regarded as forbidden. Now everybody does it as a matter of course. It is simply a question of fashion changing as she does between long and short skirts for women.”

Churchill’s directive bluntly stated: “I want a cold-blooded calculation made as to how it would pay to use poison gas ... One really must not be bound within silly conventions of the mind whether they be those that ruled in the last war or those in reverse which rule in this.” Specifically he proposed: “We could drench the cities of the Ruhr and many other cities in Germany in such a way that most of the population would be requiring constant medical attention ... It may be several weeks or even months before I shall ask you to drench Germany with poison gas, and if we do it, let us do it one hundred per cent. In the meantime, I want the matter studied in cold blood by sensible people and not by the particular set of psalm-singing uniformed defeatists which one runs across now here now here now there.”

Churchill’s proposal, which would have meant violating the 1925 Geneva Protocol outlawing the use of poison gas, was never adopted. His military advisers argued that gas warfare would divert Allied war planes from the more effective strategy of bombing Germany’s industries and cities. Gas attacks would not be decisive, they feared, and Germany would very probably retaliate with devastating effect against Britain. Churchill complained to an associate that he was “not at all convinced by this negative report,” but he reluctantly gave in. “Clearly I cannot make head against the parsons and the warriors at the same time,” he complained in private.

The *American Heritage* article, written by Stanford University history professor Barton J. Bernstein, also reported that top American military officials urged the U.S. to begin gas warfare against Japan. Maj. Gen. William N. Porter, chief of the Chemical Warfare Service, pleaded in mid-December 1943 with U.S. Army superiors to initiate gas warfare against the Japanese, and

on several occasions in 1945 Gen. George C. Marshall, U.S. Army chief of staff, urged using gas in the Pacific. There was some popular support for this view. The *New York Daily News* declared “We Should Gas Japan,” and Washington *Times-Herald* agreed, explaining “You Can Cook ‘Em Better with Gas.” But this was a minority view. About 75 percent of Americans reportedly opposed initiating gas warfare. After the war Gen. Marshall said that the main reason that gas wasn’t used was opposition from the British, who feared that a desperate German might then use it in Europe.

The United States produced about 135,000 tons of chemical warfare agents during the war, while Germany turned out about 70,000 tons, Britain about 40,000 and Japan only 7,500 tons. Although the Allies had larger stockpiles of traditional chemical agents, Germany developed far more advanced and lethal nerve gasses, most notably the devastating agents Tabun, Sarin and Soman. They were never used.

After the war a British Army chemical warfare expert concluded that Germany could have delayed the June 1944 Allied cross-channel invasion by six months if it had gas. “Such a delay,” he noted, “could have given the Germans sufficient time to complete their new V-weapons, which would have made the Allies’s task all the harder and England’s long range bombardment considerably worse.” Even in March and April 1945, when German military resistance was rapidly collapsing, Germany kept to its pledge not to use gas. Hitler reportedly refused to consider using poison gas in part because of his recollection of the horror of his own gassing during the First World War, which temporarily blinded him.

Historical News and Comment

Millions go into new museums

National Holocaust Museum to cost \$100 million

Mark Weber

The campaign for the “U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum” in Washington D.C., has moved into high gear, says national director David Weinstein. More than \$13 million in gifts and pledges for the museum center have already been received, he reports, and the campaign is receiving “support from all sectors of American life, which should enable construction of the museum to begin in the fall.”

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, an independent federal government agency, was mandated by Congress to build the national museum, which will be the only one in the world outside of Israel. President Ronald Reagan is honorary chairman of the museum’s fund-raisin campaign.

The Council has set the Spring of 1989 as the target date for completion of the museum, which will be built near the Mall and the Washington Monument. Churches, schools, labor unions and corporations are scheduled to participate in the national fund-raising drive for the museum center, which will be supported with a massive nationwide Holocaust media barrage. The campaign will aim to collect \$100 million, including an estimated \$30 million for construction costs, \$45 million for equipment, exhibits, computer systems, films and books, and \$25 million for maintenance and operating costs.

The 275,000-square-foot museum center building will include a 10,000 square foot “Hall of Remembrance,” as well as a library, archives, an auditorium and classrooms. Some 80,000 square feet of space will be reserved for both permanent and changing exhibitions. The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council expects the museum to serve regional and local Holocaust centers across the country.

Although it was mandated by the U.S. Congress and will be built with funds from the American public, the museum is supposed to memorialize non-Americans who died on another continent more than forty years ago. There will be no comparable memorial center for the millions of non-Jewish victims of Soviet communism, the aboriginal Indians eliminated in the expansion of the United States, or even for the 290,000 Americans who died during the Second World War.

Thoughtful people in our country and around the world will realize, even if millions of credulous Americans do not, that this museum, like the entire Holocaust campaign, is a hypocritical mercenary venture meant primarily to generate special sympathy and support for Zionist Jewish objectives.

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum will be, above all, a monument to the historically unparalleled power and influence of a small but determined minority group, and a permanent reminder to all Americans of the craven lack of integrity and principle of those who authorized it. As the massive fund-raising and media campaign for the museum gets underway, the work of the IHR and historical revisionism will become all the more important.

Author: L. A. Rollins
Title: Los Angeles 'Museum of Tolerance' to cost \$30 million
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Historical News and Comment

Los Angeles 'Museum of Tolerance' to Cost \$30 Million

L. A. Rollins

On 30 July of this year, California's Governor, George "Duke" Deukmejian, signed into law SB 337. This bill, introduced by Democratic State Senator David Roberti, of Hollywood, authorizes a grant of \$5 million to the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles for its "Museum of Tolerance" expansion program.

The bill was signed despite the public opposition of the *Los Angeles Times*, and of some major Jewish organizations, including the so-called Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Congress.

And it was signed despite Deukmejian's vetoing "of similar measures in the past. "Earlier this year Deukmejian vetoed more than \$4 million for private museums in the proposed budget sent to him by the legislature. In his veto message, he said he was 'concerned about the seeming proliferation of appropriations related to museums and exhibitions.' "

Although Deukmejian signed SB 337 without comment or explanation, it appears that the governor, who is of Armenian descent, was bought off by the promise of Wiesenthal Center officials that the Museum of Tolerance will include a token exhibit about the so-called Armenian Genocide of 1915, a topic dear to his heart.

Marshall Phillips, legislative chair of the West Hollywood Democratic Club, complains that Wiesenthal Center officials will not promise to give recognition to homosexuals as victims of Hitlerian intolerance. Phillips claims that "tens of thousands of homosexual men were also systematically exterminated or brutally worked to death in enterprises attached to various concentration camps." (For the sake of convenience, I suggest that henceforward we all refer to the alleged Nazi extermination of homosexuals as "the Homocaust.") Phillips says he queried Senator Roberti's office about the exclusion of homosexuals from the "Museum of Tolerance" and was told, "To include others would water down the whole event."

The criticism that SB 337 violates the First Amendment's requirement of church-state separation is still being made as well. Ron Nelson, an atheist activist, writes, "I wonder if there are any consistent atheist, nationalist, humanist or 'freedom from religious' (sic) organizations that still believe in the First Amendment ...

I wonder if any of these organizations or the American Civil Liberties Union will have the courage of their convictions to challenge this blatant violation of the separation of state and church in court.”

The week before Deukmejian signed SB 337, one of the opponents, American Jewish Congress vice president Doug Mirell, said his group and others were considering suing the state over the issue if necessary. However, no one has actually taken any action as yet.

If anyone does challenge the constitutionality of SB 337 in court, they should be sure to read the special report on the Wiesenthal Center by Gary Rosenblatt, published last year in *The Baltimore Jewish Times*.

Wiesenthal Center officials have lately been attempting to pass their Holocaust museum off as a non-sectarian, humanitarian institution. Thus, they incorporated the Center, until recently a part of Yeshiva University, as a separate nonprofit organization. But Rosenblatt’s interview with Wiesenthal Center Director Rabbi Marvin Hier apparently conducted before Hier got the bright idea of soaking California’s taxpayers, makes it perfectly clear that the Wiesenthal Center is a specifically Jewish institution, dedicated to specifically Jewish ends.

Consider these revealing excerpts from Rosenblatt’s article:

[Hier] says he felt from the beginning that the ideal site for a Holocaust museum would be a yeshiva because it would offer living proof that Judaism had survived Hitler. “What is the ultimate memorial to the six million? That Torah lives on, that the Jewish people live on,” says the rabbi. “Our memorial is against assimilation, it stands for the future destiny of the Jewish people. It’s not a cold memorial of bricks and mortar but a place where students carry out God’s command to be vigilant against Amalek (the Biblical personification of Israel’s enemies). That’s the lesson of the Holocaust.”

Responding to the argument that he conceived the Holocaust Center as a means of attracting wide-scale support for his yeshiva he says: “You have to bring a person to his Jewish feelings through what he cares about. The Holocaust is a tragedy most Jews can relate to, while keeping kosher or observing Shabbos is alien to so many...” [Rosenblatt, “The Simon Wiesenthal Center: State-of-the-art Activism or Hollywood Hype?” *Baltimore Jewish Times*, 14 September 1984, p. 73.)

We see ourselves as an Orthodox institution not happy with the image that Orthodox institutions must be limited to narrow religious issues. We’re not like that. We operate on every front. We will speak up whenever and wherever Jews are put on the defensive. Our goal is to work for *Am Yisrael* (the people of Israel) and be involved in all issues affecting Jews ...” (Rosenblatt, *op. cit.*, p.. 74.)

There you have it, right from the rabbi’s mouth: the Wiesenthal Center is an Orthodox Jewish institution whose goal is to work for “the people of Israel” and to be involved in all issues affecting Jews.

It is this Orthodox Jewish-and Zionist-outfit that California’s taxpayers will be forced to subsidize unless somebody goes to court and gets SB 337 overturned. So what are all the First Amendment Fundamentalists waiting for? A sign from God?

(As it happens, the American Civil Liberties Union has filed suit in Los Angeles Superior Court to stop the state from providing the \$5 million for the proposed museum of tolerance. The suit contends that construction of this museum on the campus of Yeshiva University in Los Angeles would be in violation of the California Constitution's mandate for separation of church and state. It maintains what is clear to all honest citizens, that Yeshiva University a private religious educational institution.

Rabbi Marvin Hier, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center and dean of Yeshiva University as well, each of which are housed in the same buildings, is prepared to "vigorously defend" the constitutionality of the grant. "Preventing the spread of hatred and bigotry is the responsibility of all and has nothing to do with the issue of church and state," Hier said.

The very concept of a museum of "tolerance" is a vulgarity, and Rabbi Hier keeps his hand in it, a significant segment of the Jewish community will probably find it offensive as well. The concept implies that tolerance is not to be found in the daily lives of citizenry, in our communities, our literature and other arts, and therefore we don't know what it is. Rabbi Hier thinks it is necessary to go to a Jewish museum to discover the nature of tolerance.

Maybe revisionists should welcome the erection of such a pleasure palace of neuroticism as it will reveal to the many how much deception and fraud the Holocausters are trading in, information on which now is restricted to the minority who read revisionist literature.)

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Title: California subsidizes Japanese-American museum
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Historical News and Comment

California subsidizes Japanese-American museum

L. A. Rollins

In a 180-degree turnaround, Gov. George Deukmejian has signed a bill authorizing a \$750,000 grant for a Japanese-American history museum planned for an historic Buddhist temple in the Little Tokyo section of Los Angeles. Only a few months ago, Deukmejian had cut the \$750,000 grant from the state budget.

The bill, authored by State Senator Art Torres (D-South Pasadena), will give the money to Los Angeles if the City raises at least \$1 million in matching funds. The Los Angeles Community Re-development Agency is expected to provide the necessary \$1 million in "redevelopment funds."

"There needs to be a constant reminder of the sometimes illogical actions of government," said Torres, alluding to the "internment" of thousands of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

According to Bruce Kaji, president of the Japanese-American National Museum Foundation, the museum will show "the experiences of a minority group that has gone through normal immigration and adjustments ... but also suffered civil injustices during World War II." Kaji has said, "It will also serve as a conscience of America, so such things do not happen again."

The museum will include exhibits of Japanese-American contributions to agriculture, horticulture, fishing, mining and railroad construction, according to Kaji.

Author: Michael A. Hoffman II
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Historical News and Comment

Chicago Tribune history

Michael A. Hoffman II

Perhaps the most telling aspect of World War Two historical orthodoxy is its one-dimensional view of war criminals; by current definition these are the losers of a war. The winners decide the degree of the losers' culpability and the depth of their depravity.

Apart from this victor's morality play is the reality of the difficult-to-envision scope of the war criminality of such vaunted heroes of democracy as Franklin D. Roosevelt and Truman, as well as those who, as "good Americans" carried out their policies of deliberate and needless mass murder.

On an equivalent level of incomprehension rests the knowledge that incontrovertible proof of the war crimes of the Allied leadership had no more impact on their legend of benevolence than revelations about the war crimes of Zionism and the duplicity its intellectual apologists have had on foreign policy or public opinion today.

Some proof of the former was offered by *Chicago Tribune* reporter Walter Trohan. Due to wartime censorship, he was forced to withhold for seven months the biggest story of America's war in the Pacific. It was finally published on the Sunday following VJ-Day, August 19, 1945, on the front pages of both the *Tribune* and the Washington *Times-Herald*.

Trohan's article revealed that two days prior to Roosevelt's departure for Yalta, the president received a crucial, forty page memorandum from General Douglas MacArthur outlining five separate surrender overtures from highly placed Jap officials offering surrender terms which were virtually identical to the ones eventually dictated by the Allies to the Japanese in August.

The MacArthur communication was leaked to Trohan in early 1945 by Admiral William D. Leahy, FDR's chief of staff, who feared it would be classified as top secret for decades or even destroyed. The authenticity of Trohan's article (which elicited no editorial notice or re-publication in any other major U.S. newspaper), was never challenged by the White House. Former President Herbert Hoover personally queried General MacArthur on the *Tribune's* story and the general acknowledged its accuracy in every detail.

According to Harry Elmer Barnes, Truman was aware of the January surrender offer by the Japanese and privately confessed that both atomic warfare as well as further conventional military operations were unnecessary for concluding the war in the Pacific.

The significance of General MacArthur's statement to Roosevelt is monumental. Trohan's article shows that the war in the Pacific could have been over by the early Spring and that Roosevelt had sent thousands of American boys to needless deaths at Iwo Jima and Okinawa as Truman would later do to hundreds of thousands of civilians at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The measure of FDR can be found in the realization that he dismissed MacArthur's report after only a "casual reading" and described the general as a "poor politician." Indeed, in the politics of mass murder MacArthur was a non-contender. The skilled players, FDR, Truman and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson tried out their new military "toy," as Barnes described the A-bomb, without a scintilla of justification.

Chicago Tribune, August 19, 1945

JAPS ASKED PEACE IN JAN. ENVOYS ON WAY — TOKYO

Roosevelt Ignored M'Arthur Report On Nip Proposals

By Walter Trohan

Release of all censorship restrictions in the United States makes it possible to report that the first Japanese peace bid was relayed to the White House seven months ago.

Two days before the late President Roosevelt left the last week in January for the Yalta conference with Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin he received a Japanese offer identical with the terms subsequently concluded by his successor, Harry S. Truman.

MacArthur Relayed Message to F.D.

The Jap offer, based on five separate overtures, was relayed to the White House by Gen. MacArthur in a 40-page communication. The American commander, who had just returned triumphantly to Bataan, urged negotiations on the basis of the Jap overtures.

The offer, as relayed by MacArthur, contemplated abject surrender of everything but the person of the Emperor. The suggestion was advanced from the Japanese quarters making the offer that the Emperor become a puppet in the hands of American forces.

Two of the five Jap overtures were made through American channels and three through British channels. All came from responsible Japanese, acting for Emperor Hirohito.

General's Communication Dismissed

President Roosevelt dismissed the general's communication, which was studded with solemn references to the deity, after a casual reading with the remark, "MacArthur is our greatest general and our poorest politician."

The MacArthur report was not even taken to Yalta. However, it was carefully preserved in the files of the high command and subsequently became the basis of the Truman-Attlee Potsdam declaration calling for surrender of Japan.

This Jap peace bid was known to the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Washington Times-Herald* shortly after the MacArthur communication reached here. It was not published under the paper's established policy of complete co-operation with the voluntary censorship code.

Must Explain Delay

Now that peace has been concluded on the basis of the terms MacArthur reported, high administration officials prepared to meet expected congressional demands for explanation of the delay. It was considered certain that from various quarters of Congress charges would be hurled that the delay cost thousands of American lives and casualties, particularly in such costly offensives as Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

It was explained in high official circles that the bid relayed by MacArthur did not constitute an official offer in the same sense as the final offer which was presented through Japanese diplomatic channels at Bern and Stockholm last week for relay to the four major Allied powers.

No negotiations were begun on the basis of the bid, it was said, because it was feared that if any were undertaken the Jap war lords, who were presumed to be ignorant of the feelers, would visit swift punishment on those making the offer.

It was held possible that the war lords might even assassinate the Emperor and announce the son of heaven had fled the earth in a fury of indignation over the peace bid.

Defeat Seen Inevitable

Officials said it was felt by Mr. Roosevelt that the Japs were not ripe for peace, except for a small group, who were powerless to cope with the war lords, and that peace could not come until the Japs had suffered more.

The Jap overtures were made on acknowledgment that defeat was inevitable and Japan had to choose the best way out of an unhappy dilemma — domination of Asia by Russia or by the United States. The unofficial Jap peace brokers said the latter would be preferable by far.

Jap proposals to Gen. MacArthur contemplated:

1. Full surrender of all Jap forces on sea, in the air, at home, on island possessions and in occupied countries.
2. Surrender of all arms and munitions.
3. Occupation of the Jap homeland and island possessions by Allied troops under American direction.

Would Give Up Territory

4. Jap relinquishment from Manchuria, Korea and Formosa as well as all territory seized during the war.
5. Regulation of Jap industry to halt present and future production of implements of war.
6. Turning over of any Japanese the United States might designate as war criminals.
7. Immediate release of all prisoners of war and internees in Japan proper and areas under Japanese control.

After the fall of Germany, the policy of unconditional surrender drew critical fire. In the Senate Senator White (R.) of Maine Capehart (R.) of Indiana took the lead in demanding that precise terms be given Japan and in asking whether peace feelers had not been received from the Nipponese.

Terms Drafted in July

In July the *Tribune* reported that a set of terms were being drafted for President Truman to take to Potsdam. Capehart hailed the reported terms on the floor of the Senate as a great contribution to universal peace.

These terms, which were embodied in the Potsdam declaration did not mention the disposition of the Emperor. Otherwise they were almost identical with the proposals contained in the MacArthur memorandum.

Just before the Japanese surrender the Russian foreign commissar disclosed that the Japs had made peace overtures through Moscow asking that the Soviets mediate the war. These overtures were made in the middle of June through the Russian foreign office and also through a personal letter from Hirohito to Stalin Both overtures were reported to the United States and Britain.

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Editorial Note

A New Cycle

That marvelous entity, the human body, goes through a process whereby it constantly renews its cells. Old, injured, or malfunctioning cells die off and new ones replace them. After a cycle lasting approximately seven years, the human body is completely renewed; all the cells are brand new, and the body starts a fresh cycle.

The Institute for Historical Review has just held its Seventh International Revisionist Conference and, like the human body, is about to embark on a new cycle. The trials and terrorism that plagued us in the past are behind us. We have been tried, but not been found wanting. The strength of the truth has sustained us and will continue to do so.

Through the generosity of our supporters, we now have a new, secure, and functionally efficient building from which we can conduct our business, part of which is bringing this journal to you. We also have an infusion of new blood, replacing and augmenting our staff, who with their energy and ideas will rejuvenate and invigorate the Institute and its work.

The IHR stands firm in its commitment to restore historical truth by bringing history into accord with the facts, and with innovation and un-swerving dedication during this new cycle we shall make sure that the truth is heard.

Robert Karl Berkel
Director

Theodore J. O'Keefe
Assistant Director for Publications

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The Siege of South Africa

Ivor Benson

1. Paper Presented to the Seventh International Revisionist Conference.

The main argument which I seek to establish in this paper falls into three parts and can be summarized as follows:

1. The history of South Africa, since shortly before the beginning of the Anglo-Boer War in 1899, epitomizes the history of the world over the same period.
2. The world revolutionary movement which was to precipitate a century of conflict had its first clearly visible debut in South Africa, and
3. The Anglo-Boer War marked the beginning of the end of the British political imperium and the beginning of an entirely new kind of imperium, that of international finance-capitalism.

We must, therefore, expect to find in the history of South Africa all the distinguishing features of conflict in most other parts of the world in our time, including propaganda as a major weapon of aggression, and the infliction of barbarities on civilian populations. The fact of the unity and coherence of the history of the world in our century is freely admitted today. Three American historians, F. P. Chambers, C. P. Harris, and C. G. Bayley, have this to say:

Two world wars and their intervening wars, revolutions and crises are now generally recognized to be episodes in a single age of conflict which began in 1914 and has not yet run its course. It is an age that has brought to the world more change and tragedy than any other equal span in recorded history. Yet, whatever may be its ultimate meaning and consequence, we can already think of it — and write of it — as a historic whole. ^[1] (Emphasis added.)

The “ultimate meaning” of our age of conflict which these professional historians sought in vain is more easily read out of happenings in South Africa since the 1890s than out of happenings possibly anywhere else.

It is only to be expected, therefore, that we should find in South Africa powerful endorsement of the Orwellian dictum that forms the foundation stone of all Revisionist historical analysis: “Who controls the past controls the future; who controls the present controls the past.” ^[2]

Here is a sample of suppressed history which offers to throw a radically different light on the Boer War, the pivot of all Southern African history.

On December 18, 1898 — that is, shortly before the outbreak of the Boer War — one Lieutenant-General Sir William Butler wrote as follows from Cape Town to the Secretary for the Colonies:

“All the political questions in South Africa and nearly all the information sent from Cape Town are being worked by what I have already described as a colossal syndicate for the spread of false information.” [3]

No one was in a better position to know the truth, for General Butler was then Commander-in-Chief of British Forces in South Africa and Acting High Commissioner during the absence in England of Sir Alfred Milner (later Lord Milner), one of the principal architects and instigators of the war that was soon to follow.

Immediately after Milner’s return to Cape Town, General Butler resigned and returned to England; and successive historians have found it expedient to exclude from their writings any reference to his despatches.

General Butler, who had paid personal visits to the Boer Republic of the Transvaal, had seen for himself that the alleged “grievances” of the so-called “uitlanders,” most of them British, who had flocked to the newly discovered goldfields, were a fraudulent invention.

It is significant that there is no more than an occasional passing reference to General Butler in the official histories of that period-and to this day few students of history in South Africa would even recognize his name if they read it or heard it.

Here is another sample of the long-suppressed history of that period, a paragraph from a book written by one of the most respected writers of his day, J.A. Hobson, who had visited the Transvaal Republic before the outbreak of the Boer War:

We are fighting in order to place a small international oligarchy of mine-owners and speculators in power in Pretoria. Englishmen will do well to recognize that the economic and political destinies of South Africa are, and seem likely to remain, in the hands of men, most of whom are foreigners by origin, whose trade is finance and whose trade interests are not British. [4]

It says much for Hobson’s powers of perception that in another book, *The Psychology of Jingoism* he was able to present an analysis of propaganda and disinformation which bears comparison with George Orwell’s masterly study of this subject in his *Nineteen Eighty Four*.

Another writer of that time who seems to have escaped the attention of historians was L. March Phillips, an officer in Rimington’s Scouts, who had worked in the Transvaal for several years before the war. This is what he wrote:

As for the uitlanders and their grievances, I would not ride a yard or fire a shot to right all the grievances that were ever invented. Most of the uitlanders (that is, miners and working men on the Rand) had no grievances. I know what I am talking about for I have lived and worked among them. I have seen English newspapers passed from one to another and laughter raised by the Times telegrams about those precious grievances ... We used to read the London papers to find out what our grievances were, and very frequently they would be due to causes of which we had never heard. I never met one miner or working man who would have walked a mile to pick a vote off the road and I have known and talked with scores of hundred. [5]

These were not the views of men habitually critical of the British Empire. General Butler had served the Empire loyally and with distinction in India, Egypt, Canada, West Africa and else-

where. And Hobson was one of the many great Englishmen of his time who, like Edmund Burke before him, could happily identify themselves with the Empire's role in history.

What Butler, Hobson and other critics of the Milner policy saw in South Africa was something new and unprecedented: fraudulent misrepresentation on a colossal scale used by British leaders against their own people and their own parliament as a means of drawing them into a planned war.

Dishonorable conduct was being used for the first time as an instrument of imperial policy.

A revised history of South Africa which is now beginning to emerge exposes the enormity and impudence of the falsehood then used-and which is again being used in a renewed onslaught against the people of South Africa.

The biggest breakthrough for honest historical reporting came in 1979 with the publication of Thomas Pakenham's well-documented and richly illustrated book *The Boer War*, in which we read as follows about the causes of the war:

First there is a thin golden thread running through the narrative, a thread woven by the 'gold bugs,' the Rand millionaires who controlled the richest gold mines in the world. It has been hitherto assumed by historians that none of the 'gold bugs' was directly concerned in making the war. But directly concerned they were ... I have found evidence of an informal alliance between Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner, and the firm of Wernher-Beit, the dominant Rand mining house. It was this alliance, I believe, that gave Milner the strength to precipitate the war. ^[6] (Emphasis added.)

Pakenham lays bare the real motives at work in precipitating the Boer War but does not fit the facts into a coherent interpretation of the history of South Africa that will absorb and explain some of its glaring paradoxes:

- How was it possible for methods to be used in precipitating the war which shocked many old and trusted servants of the British Empire?
- How was it possible in 1907, so soon after a long and bitter war, for General Louis Botha, then prime minister of the Transvaal colony, now British, to be so much in love with the Empire that he could make a present of the famous Cullinan diamond to King Edward VII?
- How was it possible for General Smuts, first prime minister of the Union of South Africa, to bring both the English South Africans and the Afrikaners into World War I on the side of the British?
- Even more paradoxically, how was it possible for an English oriented South African Labour Party to help overthrow the pro Empire Smuts government in 1924 and virtually reverse the verdict of the Boer War by putting an Afrikaner nationalist party in power?

These are questions we shall need to be able to answer if we are to understand the history of South Africa and the present rapidly mounting undeclared war against that country.

The situation in which the people of South Africa find themselves today is in many ways similar to the situation in which the Transvaalers found themselves in the years preceding the Boer War.

Then it was the alleged denial of political rights to the English speaking "uitlanders" which served as ammunition for massive hate propaganda and pressure, and as *casus belli*. Today it is

the grievances of the Blacks which are called on to supply the propaganda ammunition and justify internal revolutionary activity, most of it masterminded and financed from abroad.

In the 1890's, as also today, demands for so-called reforms were of a kind clearly aimed not at reform but at the complete displacement of the country's existing rulers.

One big difference is that in the 1890's the Transvaal's enemy was Britain, whereas today South Africa finds itself apparently in confrontation with the whole world; and another difference is that Afrikaners and English-speakers today find themselves equally endangered.

The maximum deployment of all the forces of parliamentary politics since the end of World War II having failed to dislodge Afrikaner nationalism from its position of power, what we now see is, in effect, a renewal and resumption of the Boer War.

Before we go on to seek a broad explanation of all this, it might be well to examine briefly the allegation that it is the unredressed grievances of the Blacks which lie at the root of all the present troubles and which call for intervention from abroad.

Substantially, the reasons given for the present world condemnation of South Africa are just as spurious as those given by Milner and his associates for hostility towards the Kruger government in the Transvaal.

It is true that there is much discontent among South Africa's Blacks, as there is discontent everywhere else in the world where Blacks find themselves in a human environment which is not of their own making. There is bitter discontent among Blacks in the United States, in Britain, and elsewhere in the West, exploding from time to time into violence and destruction. [7] Black discontent is something for which no remedy can be found even inside the British Labour Party, one of South Africa's most vehement critics, as Black members continue to defy their leaders and demand "apartheid" in the form of separate branches of their own.

There is Black discontent in South Africa it is true, but evidently even more of it across that country's borders-for how else has illegal Black immigration become one of South Africa's major problems?

It is also necessary at this point to expand a little on the subject of the "golden thread" which Pakenham found running through the story of the Boer War and its causes-that "international oligarchy of mine-owners and speculators" of which Hobson writes.

The funding which enabled Cecil Rhodes to consolidate his grip on the diamond mining industry was supplied by the British branch of the Rothschilds, but most of the Transvaal's financiers came from the continent.

The mining groups listed by Hobson include Wernher, Beit and Company, with 29 mines and three financial companies; but even this great group he found to be only the leading member of "a larger effective combination" which included, for all practical purposes, Consolidated Goldfields, S. Neumann and Co., G. Farrar, and Abe Bailey. Goldfields (virtually Beit, Rudd, and Rhodes) owned 19 mines. Hobson traces some of the lines of financial control to Rothschild and the German Dresdner Bank in which Wernher and Beit had substantial holdings.

In a chapter headed "For Whom Are We Fighting?," Hobson declares that even at the risk of seeming to appeal to "the ignominious passion of Judenhetze," he found it a duty "not to be shirked" to point out that "recent developments of Transvaal gold mining have thrown the econ-

omy of the country into the hands of a small group of international financiers, chiefly German in origin and Jewish in race.”

In this scenario, as Hobson shows, Cecil Rhodes, the arch-imperialist and empire-builder and main instigator of the Boer War, figures as no more than a small planetary wheel in a vast international financial machine which he, no doubt, believed he had harnessed to his grandiose imperial purposes.

For General Butler, also, the duty of identifying what he called “the train-layers setting the political gunpowder” was not to be shirked. In a despatch to the War Office in June 1899 he wrote: “If the Jews were out of the question, it would be easy enough to come to an agreement, but they are apparently intent upon plunging the country into civil strife ... indications are too evident here to allow one to doubt the existence of strong undercurrents, the movers of which are bent upon war at all costs for their own selfish ends.”

For the people of Britain, the Boer War was a traumatic experience. A war that was expected to last only a few weeks dragged on for nearly three years and could only be brought to an end by an application of draconian measures which produced reactions of revulsion at home. The cost of the war also came as a shock: 350 million pounds-a great deal of money in those days-and 20,000 soldiers' lives. [8]

The trauma had something to do with the moral aspects of the struggle; it is one thing to fight against a dangerous enemy who threatens a nation's existence, quite another to suffer a succession of reverses with appalling losses of life in what is plainly a European fratricidal struggle for reasons which become increasingly dubious with the passage of time.

Paradoxically, too, a struggle which was to be labelled “the last gentlemen's war,” in which there were continual displays of chivalry on both sides on the field of battle, was characterized also by reversions to barbarism, involving non-combatants.

Kitchener's scorched-earth policy, the only means by which Britain could be extricated from an intolerable situation, reduced the whole of the Transvaal and Orange Free State to a wilderness of devastated farms and uncultivated fields, and resulted in the death of more women and children in his concentration camps, mostly from typhoid, than there were men killed on both sides in the actual fighting. [9]

As was only to be expected, the intoxication of patriotism-Hobson called it “jingoism”-with which the war was launched and promoted was followed in Britain at the war's end by the moral equivalent of an acute hangover.

In the post-war general election, the Unionists-the “victorious” party-were defeated and a Liberal Party government under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman proceeded to treat the conquered Boers with the utmost kindness and consideration. The two Boer republics became British colonies but with wide powers of self-rule; and the stage was set for the introduction of a party political process-“war by other means”-which has continued to this day. [10]

The rest of the South African story is about the reasons why the new policy of conciliation was doomed to fail.

Or, to put it differently, the political history of South Africa for more than 50 years after the Boer War can be said to have revolved around two mutually antagonistic perceptions of the British Empire or British connection.

The British Empire had acquired a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde split personality, by some encountered as a model of respectability and virtue and by others as a monster of iniquity.

The Empire ideal, as verbalized with great power and eloquence by John Ruskin and Rudyard Kipling, had something in common with the socialist ideal by which it was due to be replaced later as an intellectual frame of reference and motivating system of ideas; for socialism, too, was destined to acquire a double character, loved by some and abominated by others. [11]

How is all this to be explained?

At a time in the history of the peoples of the West when a vacuum had been created in the minds of men by a new “enlightenment” which devalued the old religious orthodoxy, a secular Empire ideal (like socialism, a programme for world improvement) was found to serve quite well as a substitute for the abandoned religion; for it supplied a sense of purpose and direction and a coherent and self-explanatory intellectual frame of reference. That was the sunnier side of the “ideal,” symbolized by Dr. Jekyll.

The dark side of the ideal was to be found in what some men were prepared to do in its name and for its furtherance.

The shock which ended General Butler’s career in South Africa was experienced by him as the betrayal of an ideal which had hitherto served him unfailingly as a lodestar; the methods used by Rhodes and Milner and their circle were, from his point of view, decidedly not “British,” and policies designed to precipitate a war with the Transvaal Republic were, for him, clearly not in the British interest.

It had been possible for several generations of Englishmen, products of the best schools and universities, to reconcile the conduct of imperial affairs with the preservation of standards of personal conduct which drew the clearest distinction between the “cad” and the “gentleman”—a state of affairs nowhere better illustrated than in Edmund Burke’s impeachment of Warren Hastings.

What Butler saw in Cape Town was the employment of dishonorable means for the attainment of the most dubious ends.

The appeal of the Empire ideal, or “English idea” as it came to be called, was by no means confined to the British; it had its votaries on the other side of the Atlantic, as Dr. Carroll Quigley has shown in his “history of the world in our century,” *Tragedy and Hope* [12]

And Boer leaders, like General Louis Botha and General Smuts, when the fighting was over and a generous policy of conciliation was being applied by the victors, were not immune to the charms of an ideal which offered glowing possibilities for the future of mankind; moreover, it had much to show for itself wherever the Union Jack had been planted. Botha and Smuts were wholly won over; and Smuts figured from 1914 onwards more as an Imperial statesman than a South African party political leader.

That partly explains why Botha, on behalf of the Transvaal colony, was able to make a gift of the Cullinan diamond to King Edward VII and why, in 1914, he was able to crush a rebellion of Boer “bitter-enders” and bring South Africa into World War I on the side of Britain.

A split in South African politics came shortly after the formation of the first government of the Union of South Africa in 1910 with the resignation from Botha’s cabinet of another former Boer

leader, General J.B.M. Hertzog. Hertzog launched the National Party, and a pattern of party political strife was initiated that was to continue to this day.

Now let us examine more closely that negative perception of the British connection, or “English idea” as it came to be called in the United States, which formed the basis of Hertzog’s political thinking, and that of a succession of other National Party leaders, including Dr. Daniel Malan, Mr. J.G. Strijdom and Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd.

It is significant that hatred of the ethnic “English” was never an important component of Hertzog’s negative attitude towards the British connection, nor the main reason for a resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism. Hertzog’s Christian names “James” and “Barry” provide some evidence of his parents’ response to English influence in the Cape Colony, Barry being the name of the much loved English doctor who had attended at his birth.

The perceived enemy of the Afrikaner, from the very beginning, was not “die Engelse” but “die geldmag,” or “money power,” symbolized in Afrikaner folklore as “Hoggenheimer,” the stereotype of the mining financier. It was also fear and hatred of financiers-Pakenham’s “gold bugs”-which motivated the armed rebellion in 1914, triggered by Botha’s decision to join Britain in declaring war on Germany.

On the positive side, what motivated Hertzog was the ideal of the unity of the two language groups in a shared patriotism under the slogan “South Africa First,” a policy which took care not to disturb the cultural integrity and unity of either group-something like the patriotism that has prevailed in Switzerland and Belgium. This he called his “two stream policy.” His attitude towards the “English” in South Africa was, therefore, always frank and honorable.

That helps to explain how it was possible in 1924 for an English-oriented South African Labour Party to join forces with Hertzog’s National Party against a Smuts government which had so recently helped Britain to win the war against Germany.

The trouble began with the mine-workers on the Witwatersrand, whose accumulated grievances at the hands of the great mine-owners finally exploded in the Rand Rebellion of 1922. General Smuts, who had become prime minister after the death of General Botha in 1919, used troops, artillery, and even bombing by aircraft to crush this rebellion. Smuts had come down firmly on the side of the mine-owners, and the mine-workers were left worse off than ever.

Workers all over the country were infuriated and rallied to the support of the two opposition parties in parliament-the Afrikaners to the National Party and the English-speakers to the Labour Party. The two opposition parties then formed an alliance, and in the elections of 1924 the Smuts government was defeated.

But did this amount to an actual reversal of the verdict of the Boer War? Not quite. Constitutionally, South Africa remained a component of the British Empire, or Commonwealth of Nations, as it came to be called, under a governor-general appointed by the monarch; and South Africans were still British citizens carrying British passports.

What many would have found it hard to understand was the fact that this radical change in the course of South African history had been accomplished with the whole-hearted assistance of the English-speaking supporters of the Labour Party, a few of the older ones actual “uitlanders” of the former Republic for whose supposed “liberation” from Afrikaner domination the Boer War had been fought. Those English-speakers who helped the National Party to get into power also

included many who only a few years before had been fighting for Britain on the battlefields of France and elsewhere.

The result of all this was a most unusual political phenomenon: a nationalist Afrikaner South Africa tacitly accepted by a substantial English-speaking population, while still held on a slender constitutional lead by the ruling powers in Britain.

The nationalist government proceeded at once to give effect to Hertzog's policy, replacing as quickly as possible some of the symbols of a subordinate association with Britain, including the flag, and drastically Afrikanerising the civil service, army and police-with little or no opposition from the Labour Party's "English" representatives in Hertzog's cabinet.

If we can get our central historical thesis right, we can expect the facts to continue to fall into place.

Policies aimed at making South Africa increasingly independent and self-directed always enjoyed the silent support of the English-speakers, who felt equally threatened by policies promoted in the name of opposition to Afrikaner nationalism.

In particular, there has been almost unanimous support down the years for policies designed to keep political power in White Afrikaner hands. In other words, unity of understanding and of purpose in race matters has been strong enough to prevail over all the inconvenience and irritation suffered by the English under an exclusively Afrikaner administration.

It is for this reason that those who continued to promote internal revolutionary activity against Afrikaner nationalism were able to draw very little assistance and support from the broad stream of the English-speakers; hence, too, only the Blacks were available in any number as revolutionary fodder.

The story of opposition politics in South Africa is told with surprising candor by Dr. Gideon Shimoni in his well-documented book *Jews and Zionism: The South African Experience 1910-1967*.
[13]

Shimoni writes of the period following World War II: "Jewish names kept appearing in every facet of the struggle; among reformist liberals; in the radical Communist opposition; in the courts, whether as defendants or as counsel for the defence; in the list of bannings and amongst those who fled the country to evade arrest. Their prominence was particularly marked in the course of the Treason Trial, which occupied an important place in the news media throughout the second half of the 1960s. This trial began in December 1966 when 156 persons were arrested on charges of treason in the form of a conspiracy to overthrow the state by violence and replace it with a state based on Communism. Twenty-three of those arrested were Whites, more than half of them Jews." [14]

After naming some of the Jews involved, Dr. Shimoni goes on: "To top it all, at one stage in the trial the defence counsel was led by Israel Maisels, while the prosecutor was none other than Oswald Pirow. The juxtaposition was striking: Maisels, the prominent Jewish communal leader, defending those accused of seeking to overthrow White supremacy."

Dr. Shimoni remarks that when the secret headquarters of the Communist underground was captured intact by the police at Rivonia, near Johannesburg, in 1964, five Whites were arrested, all of them Jews, and he names them: Arthur Goldreich, Lionel Bernstein, Hilliard Festenstein, De-

nis Goldberg, and Bob Hepple. The expensively equipped Communist command post was situated in a luxury house in extensive grounds, owned by another Jew, Vivian Ezra.

There is no need for an analysis of the relationship of the English language mining press and the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement, for a statement by Abram Fischer, leader of the South African Communist Party underground, says it all: "A section of our press is doing a magnificent job." It was revealed at Fischer's trial in 1965 that these words, referring to this English-language press, formed part of a progress report which Fischer had prepared for his comrades.

So, now we know what it was that made the two perceptions of the Empire, or British connection, so different.

Botha and Smuts saw it in its original idealized form, as the philosopher John Ruskin may have seen it; Hertzog, Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd saw it as it actually was—an Empire that was undergoing a mysterious change of identity, an Empire that had come under the influence of forces and motives very different from those which had attended its creation, an Empire which had begun to embrace a radically different system of ethical values.

The story of Hertzog's career until his displacement by Smuts on the outbreak of World War II can be summarized as follows:

Hertzog took a lead at the conferences of Commonwealth prime ministers in London in securing radical constitutional changes, culminating in the Statute of Westminster in 1932 which, if it did not free the dominions entirely, gave them the right to decide whether to stay in the Commonwealth or get out.

Feeling that his main objective had been attained, Hertzog agreed to join Smuts in a "government of national unity" as a response to the challenge of the economic depression then prevailing. Most of the nationalists supported Hertzog in an electoral alliance with Smuts's South African Party, but many broke away when the two parties fused to form the United Party. These dissidents under the leadership of Dr. Malan then took over the "National Party" label.

Hertzog opposed South Africa's entry into World War II but was narrowly defeated when the issue was put to the vote in Parliament. Hertzog resigned and Smuts took over. However, in the first general election after the war's end, Dr. Malan and his National Party, revitalized by its role as wartime opposition, was swept back into power—again with slogans about "die geldmag," or money power.

From the vantage point of 1986, we can now see that the history of South Africa in this century has a meaning very different from that which was previously read into it. It never was a struggle between "Boer and Brit." For where now is that Empire which Ruskin, Rhodes, Milner and Smuts dreamed of as the foundation of a new world order? It has passed away, to be replaced by the grotesque caricature of a "New Commonwealth."

And what happened to that little country in Central Africa which was to have been an everlasting memorial to Cecil John Rhodes, one of the founders and architects of the Empire? The statue of Rhodes in imperishable bronze was cast down from its granite plinth in Jameson Avenue, Salisbury, and the whole country purged of all associations with the Empire-builders.

But it is not only in Rhodesia that this change of attitude has occurred; all establishment or consensus thinking—that is, thinking among those who rule in the world—has been purged of any associations with the British Empire as a ground plan for the future of mankind.

We can now see more clearly than was possible in 1898 that the alliance between Milner and the so-called “gold bugs” of the Witwatersrand, most of them of foreign origin, was the beginning of the end of British power in the world, and the beginning of a struggle which Professor P.>. Bauer has so aptly described as “an undeclared one-sided civil war in the West.” [15] Concerning this struggle, Solzhenitsyn has written as follows:

“We have to recognize that the concentration of World Evil and the tremendous force of hatred is there, and it’s flowing from there throughout the world. And we have to stand up against it, and not hasten to give to it, give to it, give to it, everything that it wants to swallow.” [16]

All the signs of what was happening in South Africa since before the beginning of the century can, therefore, be understood only in the context of what was happening, and continues to happen, all over the world. In the words of the three historians earlier quoted, our “age of conflict” must be considered as an “historic whole,” presupposing the existence of “some ultimate meaning.” Or, to put it differently again, the immediate and obvious causes of the major changes which constitute South African history find their full meaning only as part of the “ultimate meaning” of our age of conflict.

What precisely was the cause of the mysterious change of identity which preceded the British Empire’s dissolution and its replacement with a socialist ideal and a new and unprecedented world imperium of high finance? The change which was to produce a worldwide chain-reaction of other change, starting with the British Empire, can be said to have begun in the realm of high finance shortly before the turn of the century.

Before then, high finance-not to be confused with private ownership capitalism-existed in great national concentrations, each one largely geared to a national set of interests. There was a British finance-capitalism, then the most powerful in the world, a German finance-capitalism, an American finance-capitalism, and so on.

There had always existed also an international high finance operated by great banking families or dynasties, the most famous of these being the Rothschilds. These all formed part of the national concentrations of financial power but were able to operate with varying degrees of success across national frontiers.

The great change came, unannounced and unreported, when these international banking families were able, by joining hands, to bring all the national concentrations of financial power into coalescence, increasingly under their power.

High finance became fully internationalized. A new world imperium was established. A new kind of Caesar came to power in the world. [17]

The clearest documentary evidence in support of this interpretation of history will be found in Professor Carroll Quigley’s monumental history of our century, *Tragedy and Hope*.

Some historical changes are unrecognizable when happening, yet noticeable after they have happened. The fact that powerful international banking families had long been established in Britain and even formed part of the nobility would have made it even more difficult at the time to penetrate the mystery.

It is now obvious that the assistance which financiers like Rothschild, Beit and Wernher so willingly gave to Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Milner had long-range purposes very different from the

purposes of these two enthusiastic British race-patriots. What these financiers were, in fact, doing was to initiate a shift of the centre of gravity of world power away from the different nations of the West towards a new imperialism.

Rhodes and Milner, we may be sure, confidently believed that they were harnessing these financiers to the chariot of their political ambitions, but events have shown that these financiers, organized increasingly on a global basis, had political ambitions of their own.

And it was because the real power had begun to flow from this new centre that British public affairs began to exhibit signs of a different morale in which little value, if any, is attached to airy realities like those of personal honour and truthfulness. In other words, there was a moral transformation involved in a change which began to permit pure finance to prevail over national politics.

No one exemplified this moral transformation better than Cecil Rhodes himself with his well-known axiom, "every man has his price"-a corrupting influence which he did not hesitate to exercise within his own community for the attainment of ends he believed to be good.

This interpretation is strongly endorsed by everything that has happened in South Africa since the National Party was restored to power in 1948.

More obviously than ever after the fall of Rhodesia, English-speakers in South Africa have felt very deeply the need to depend on Afrikaner solidarity for their preservation against a similar disaster. Hence nothing could have been less British or English than the massively financed campaign of subversion and urban guerilla warfare which has been so conspicuous a feature of the post-World War II years in South Africa. ^[18]

So, it is now the question of South Africa's fitness to survive which must engage our attention. Are the Afrikaners as solidly united today as in 1948 and thereafter under Dr. Malan, Mr. Strijdom and Dr. Verwoerd?

There can be only one answer to that question: No! At a time when solidarity is most needed, Afrikanerdom is sharply divided. The government has moved to the left and is being opposed with great vehemence by a revived nationalism led by Dr. Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and Mr. J.A. Marais's Herstigte Nasionale Party.

What happened to bring about this major disturbance of Afrikaner solidarity can be explained quite simply. After 1938 there came rapidly into existence an Afrikaner moneyed elite whose declared purpose it was to secure for the Afrikaners a larger stake in the nation's economy. This new moneyed elite with its own investment houses, banks, building societies, etc., prospered enormously by exploiting a highly inflated nationalist sentiment; so much so that by 1965 these wealthy Afrikaners felt strong enough to break into the magic circle of mining high-finance. In fact, an opening had been made for them-a trap into which they fell most readily in spite of warnings by Dr. Verwoerd and others. An important part of Afrikanerdom entered into an alliance with the traditional enemy, "die geldmag" or money power, and could no longer fight it because inseparably joined to it with veins and arteries of shared interest-including, of course, a shared attachment to the principle of credit financing by which they were doomed sooner or later to be yoked.¹⁹

The existence of this partnership in high finance will help to explain why South Africa's present strategy has been based almost exclusively on principles of appeasement and accommodation.

What then are the prospects for South Africa?

The South Africans are in much the same situation as the Trojans at the siege of Troy; the Trojans could not have defeated the Greeks in battle-but they could have won if they had not allowed themselves to be tricked into defeat. Like the Greeks who surrounded Troy, those now waging an undeclared war against South Africa, maintaining as it were a state of siege, are falling increasingly into disorder and disarray. The new world order which they are trying to build can now be seen as a Tower of Babel which is bound to collapse about their ears sooner or later. They are having to pay an enormous price for being out of register with reality.

Thus, whether South Africa survives or not may depend on two questions which the future will answer:

1. Will the South Africans be able to resist the temptation of a "settlement" of the kind that beat the Rhodesians?
2. Will enough of the history of this century be known to enough people in the West to collapse that "Tower of Babel" while the South Africans are still holding out?

Meanwhile, is there nothing South Africa's rulers could do to hasten the collapse of that "Tower of Babel"? Is there no alternative to a strategy of endless conciliation, negotiation, and accommodation? Many of South Africa's friends, especially in the United States of America, have answered "Yes!" to such questions but their suggestions have been ignored-just as the suggestions of Rhodesia's friends around the world were ignored.

The Republic of South Africa, armed with full knowledge of the forces and motives involved in the present struggle, and the skill with which to make the best use of that knowledge, could be a far more formidable opponent than the little Boer Republic at the turn of the century.

One of the major factors in South Africa's present position of strength is the vulnerability of all the political regimes in the West, which have joined hands with the Soviet Union in the present undeclared war aimed at grabbing political control of an area of immense strategical importance and one of the world's greatest repositories of mineral wealth. Their vulnerability exists mainly in the realm of public opinion-as demonstrated in 1965 when the peoples of the West responded instantly and spontaneously to Rhodesia's declaration of independence by setting up innumerable "Friends of Rhodesia" organizations; this public response caused great embarrassment to those Western governments which had joined the Soviet Union and Red China in promoting revolutionary change in Central Africa, and would have expanded enormously had it not been discouraged by an Ian Smith government bent on achieving what it was pleased to call a "settlement."

There can be no doubt that a resolute stand by South Africa, supported with skilful deployment of the country's considerable resources, could deliver a staggering blow at that conspiratorial "network" so accurately described by Professor Carroll Quigley in his book *Tragedy and Hope*.

Millions of concerned people in the countries of the West are just waiting for some nation to raise the counterrevolutionary standard with a cry that will ring around the world: So far and no further!

South Africa with its vast resources in strategic and other minerals, its manufacturing potential, its ability to feed its own people, and a military power, both conventional and nuclear, without equal in Africa, is one of the few developed countries capable of severing links of dependence on the rest of the world and of adopting a bold and heroic attitude-for the benefit of the whole of the West.

South Africans should be further strengthened in a resolution to resist by the knowledge that a willingness to negotiate will win them no remission of the penalties of defeat-as the Rhodesians earlier learned to their sorrow.

This, then, is the message I bring from South Africa: The peoples of the West have allowed themselves to be drawn into yet another of this century's fratricidal struggles. That is the meaning of what those history professors call "this century of conflict."

Notes

1. U F. P. Chambers et al., *This Age of Conflict* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1943).
2. U George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1949).
3. U Lt. General Sir William Butler, *An Autobiography* (Constable, 1911).
4. U J. A. Hobson, *The War in South Africa* (James Nisbet, 1900).
5. U L. March Phillips, *With Rimington in South Africa*.
6. U Thomas Pakenharn, *The Boer War*, 1979.
7. U See *Behind the News*, October 1985, "Britons Shaken as Riots Spread." 8. H. Rider Haggard records that Sir Abe Bailey, one of Rhodes's closest associates, when reminded of the cost of the war to Britain in lives and money, replied: "What matter? Lives are cheap"; in *the Cloak That I Left*, a biography, by Lilius Rider Haggard (Hodder and Stoughton).
8. U See Arthur Davey, *The British Pro-Boers 1877-1902* (Tafelburg); S.B. Spies, *Methods of Barbarism? (Human and Roussouw)*; Douglas Reed, *Somewhere South of Suez* (Jonathan Cape and Devin-Adair); and books by Deneys Reitz, and by the Boer War hero General Christian de Wet.
9. U See Chapter 1, "This Worldwide Conspiracy," in *The Battle for South Africa*, Ivor Benson (Dolphin Press).
10. U The difference between British imperialism until the turn of the 19th century, and socialism since the end of World War I, is not simply a difference of political theory; it was the voices of the blood which supplied the original ideas of Ruskin, Rhodes, and Milner with a powerful energizing principle. But as it turned out, race-patriots like Rhodes and Milner were not sufficiently armed with insight, intelligence, and money to win the ensuing struggle. See also *The Battle for South Africa*. on. cit.
11. U Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope: A History of the World in Our Time* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966).
12. U Dr. Shimoni's account of opposition politics in South Africa may be compared with that of Dr. B.A. Kosmin for Rhodesia, *Majuta: A History of the Jewish Community in Zimbabwe* (Mambo Press, Zimbabwe), equally candid; Shimoni's book is published by Oxford University Press.
13. U Detailed information about the South African treason trials is given in *Traitor's End* by Nathaniel Weyl (Tafelberg).
14. U P.T. Bauer, *Equality, the Third World and the Economic Delusion* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson).
15. U From Solzhenitsyn's address to the leadership of the AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C., 30 June 1975.
16. U This thesis of the revolution in the realm of high finance was first published in the present writer's pamphlet, *The Middle East Riddle Unwrapped* (1984), and has been further developed in his book *The Zionist Factor* (Veritas).
17. U See the present writer's pamphlet *Behind Communism in Africa* (Dolphin Press, 1975).

18. [↗](#) See Behind the News, January 1979, "The Broederbond Boss Speaks"; February 1983, "Mr. Heunis Unveils Government Thinking": July 1985, "South Africa: Politics of Confusion."

Further Reference: In addition to works cited in this paper, detailed chronological sequences of political affairs in South Africa since the Anglo-Boer War will be found in A History of Southern Africa by Eric A. Walker (Longmans Green), and 500 Years: A History of South Africa, edited by Professor C. F. J. Muller (Academia, Pretoria).

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Response to a Paper Historian

Robert Faurisson

Introduction

Pierre Vidal-Naquet is professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (School of Higher Studies in the Social Sciences) in Paris and has been a very determined adversary of mine. He has attacked me in the academic and journalistic worlds and even in the courts. Along with Léon Poliakov, he is the author of a declaration, published in *Le Monde* on February 21, 1979, p. 23, which was signed by 34 historians:

It is not necessary to ask how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically since it took place. That is the necessary point of departure for any historical inquiry on this subject. It is our function simply to recall that truth: There as not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.

Pierre Vidal-Naquet is also the author of a long article entitled "Un Eichmann de Papier" ("A Paper Eichmann") which was directed against me. I responded to that article with my own "Réponse à un historien de papier" ("Response to a Paper Historian"). The article by Vidal-Naquet first appeared in the review *Esprit* (No. 45, September, 1980, pp. 8-52), and later in a new form, with additions, in a book entitled *Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent* (Maspero, 1980, pp. 195-282).

My response first appeared in a short book entitled *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (La Vieille Taupe Publishers, 1982) and later in a second, expanded edition, in December 1982. It appears here for the first time in English.

An abridgement of the Vidal-Naquet article has been published in English (*Democracy*, April 1981, pp. 67-95) but I have not checked to see whether that translation is faithful to the original. Vidal-Naquet is very hard-hitting and even insulting, but his article is interesting and even unique: For the first and last time an Exterminationist has tried to answer the arguments of a Revisionist. When the Revisionist replied to the Exterminationist, the latter abandoned the discussion and retreated into silence. Vidal-Naquet no longer talks about gas chambers.

In France there have been two other attempts to answer the Revisionists' arguments, but they were so weak that they fell of their own weight. The first was by Nadine Fresco ("Les Redresseurs de morts" [The Revisers of the Dead], *Les Temps Modernes*, No. 407, June 1980, pp. 2150-2211) and the second by Georges Wellers (*Les Chambres à gaz ont existé* [The Gas Chambers Existed], Paris, Gallimard, 1981).

After being burned in the French venture, the Exterminationists have preferred not to cross swords with the Revisionists. Two recent examples illustrate this: First, the collective undertaking directed by Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, and Adalbert Rückerl (NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas [NS Mass Killings with Poison Gas], Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1983); then, Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews*, revised and definitive edition (New York/London: Holmes and Meier, 1985). In neither book are the names of the Revisionists mentioned, or their publications or arguments. For a book to be considered scholarly, however, it must treat both sides of the issue at hand; present the arguments of the opposing side; furnish bibliographical information that would let the reader consult the original sources, and the sources; and finally, it must answer the opposing party if it can.

One of the most notable differences between the Exterminationists and the Revisionists is that while Revisionists spend most of their time mentioning and examining the arguments of the other side, Exterminationists maintain a policy of ostracism against their opponents.

Let us imagine for a moment a layman who would like to know who is right—those who claim that there was a genocide carried out against the Jews by using homicidal gas chambers, or those who claim that this is an historical lie. Such a layman would like to attend a debate between representatives of those two theses, but he cannot. The Exterminationists refuse all proposals for debate that the Revisionists offer them. In place of attending such a debate, this layman might want to read publications in which each side tries to answer the arguments of the other. But he cannot do that either, because while the Revisionists do discuss the opposing arguments, the Exterminationists either turn a deaf ear or reply with insults.

There is only one way to satisfy to some extent our layman's desires; that is to have him first read Vidal-Naquet's "A Paper Eichmann" and then my own "Response to a Paper Historian." Failing that, "Response to a Paper Historian" offers an introduction to a debate between an Exterminationist and a Revisionist that is unprecedented, both in its scope and its detail.

The historian cannot avoid spending a good part of his life in paper. He goes through documents; he collects them; he compares archives and written documents of all kinds. But at the same time the historian must not neglect the material aspect of the facts; therefore he must also transform himself at times into an on-site inspector: an archeologist, a physicist, a chemist, an explorer. Visiting a place, he looks at it, searches through it, measures it, photographs it; he touches it with his fingers. He transforms himself sometimes into a police investigator. He carries out physical reconstructions or, when that is impossible, he carefully reconstructs things in his mind. He needs to have his feet on the ground. It is very good for him to inform himself, from the documents, about democracy in Rome; but it is wise to go to the spot in Rome to see what a small area was occupied by the Forum, the focal point of that democracy. His illusions take flight; so much the worse! Reality replaces them; so much the better!

When he deals with the Ancient World, which is his speciality, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, I suppose, is not content with documents only, but also investigates sites. On the other hand, when that historian calls himself an historian of the "gas chambers," he goes around and around in documents and abstractions. Settled comfortably far above us in a half-philosophical, half-religious empyrean, he writes about other writings and does not even take the effort to reflect on what he writes.

That is why I call him a Paper Historian.

Beginning with the first paper he wrote on the question of the "gas chambers," we discover two striking examples of that dangerous mind-set. We recall that *Le Monde* on 21 February 1979 (p.

23) had published a text entitled “The Nazi Policy of Extermination: A Declaration by Historians.” That text was written by Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Léon Poliakov and signed by thirty-four historians without any competence on that subject.

To begin with, the *Le Monde* text reproduced an extract from the “confession” of SS-man Kurt Gerstein. The extract was intended to persuade us that it contained an “indisputable” and “striking” testimony about the Nazi “gas chambers.” In halting French, Gerstein had, we are told, written: “The naked men [in the gas chambers] are standing up at [sic] the feet of the others. Seven hundred to eight hundred in 25 square meters, in 45 cubic meters; the doors are closed.” Any reader alert to reality would conclude: 28 to 32 men standing on one square meter—that is physically impossible; the admissibility of that strange testimony is at least questionable. But settled in their common philosophical-religious empyrean, our thirty-four scatter-brains did not see what leaped to the eye of the layman.

Here again is the triumphant (and also silly and empty) conclusion of our paper historians' manifesto:

It is not necessary to ask how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically since it took place. That is the necessary point of departure for any historical inquiry on this subject. It is our function simply to recall that truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.

Tautology? A double redundancy? Pure silliness? How to describe such a pearl of wisdom? Remember well the last phrase: “There is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers. “

In good logic, Vidal-Naquet would not have had, nineteen months later, to publish in *Esprit* a long article on the subject; an article that he expected me to honor with a response (*Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent* [The Jews, Memory, and the Present], Paris: Maspero, 1980, p. 280). Here is the explanation: The text in *Le Monde* had been conceived to ward off a very pressing problem. In the confusion that was provoked by my article on “The Rumor of Auschwitz,” Vidal-Naquet and Poliakov hastily drew up a manifesto, and then took it to some signers, saying to them: “We say there cannot be any debate, but it is very clear that you must not pay attention to that phrase and that you all have to get busy replying to Faurisson. “That is how Vidal-Naquet ingeniously puts it on page 196 of (*Les Juifs ...*) when he writes:

A good number of historians signed the declaration published in *Le Monde* on 21 February 1979, but very few got busy; one of the rare exceptions being F. Delpech.

As to the argumentation which was hidden behind this silliness, I leave to others the job of answering. I will let Claude Guillon and Yves le Bonniec speak (*Suicide, mode d'emploi* [Instruction Manual for Suicide], Alain Moreau, 1982):

We are quite prepared for our part to consider any method of elimination, including gas chambers. It is possible that the technical arguments of Faurisson will be shown to be without value. Having said that, it is inevitable to ask oneself how technically the gas chambers function, that is to say simply whether they existed or did not exist. Such is the obligatory course of every historical inquiry. If by chance no one can be found to show how a single gas chamber was able to function, from that we would deduce that no one could have been asphyxiated (p. 205).

That remark of the two authors is preceded by the following:

After Rassinier (whose estimation of the gas chambers is more reserved), Faurisson is interesting for having, at the same time that he claims to denounce a forty-year-old lie, revealed numerous lies, and having aroused among his opponents one of the most formidable productions of new lies of the decade. The official historians themselves recognize that today people still visit a gas chamber, where there never was one, which ought not, according to them, to diminish at all the influence of other “historical” truths. (op. cit., pp. 204 205)

Claude Guillon and Yves le Bonniec use here a key argument of the Revisionists against the Exterminationist thesis. Vidal-Naquet does not breathe a word of that in his innumerable writings and interventions in court.

I want to speak of what I call the “drastic revision” of 19 August 1960. On that day, the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*, which subscribes to the victors’ “Holocaust” story, published a letter, a simple letter from Dr. Martin Broszat of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. In that letter, which was simply entitled, “No Gassing at Dachau,” he conceded to us, or rather, he finally conceded to historical truth, that there had never been any homicidal gassing in the Old Reich (Germany within its 1937 frontiers). Since 1960, that is to say for 22 years, we have awaited the rigorously documented study which would let us see why it had been suddenly necessary to stop believing in the “gassings” at Dachau, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, and Neuengamme, while at the same time continuing to believe in the “gassings” in the camps located in communist Poland. Do we not have at our disposal for all the camps an indiscriminate mass of “proofs,” of “testimonies,” of “confessions”? Have they not executed or driven to suicide the officials of camps where, finally, it is revealed, as if by the working of the Holy Spirit, that there had never been a homicidal “gas chamber”? But no more of this candor: If Dr. Broszat, since 1972 the director of his institute, has never dwelt on those questions, it is because he knows perfectly well that in showing the inanity of the “proofs,” the “testimonies,” and the “confessions” relating to the camps located in the Old Reich, he would demolish simultaneously the “proofs,” the “testimonies,” the “confessions” relative to the camps in communist Poland. That is so because for an honest observer all those “proofs,” all those “testimonies,” and all those “confessions” are worth nothing. They are really of interest only to sociologists specializing in the study of mechanisms of belief.

I now come to the article by Vidal-Naquet. I am going to follow it step by step at the risk of appearing disjointed or of repeating myself, because his entire article is confused.

1. From page 195 to page 208, Vidal-Naquet piles up generalities and digressions which do not seem to me to have great relevance to the subject.

Response: No response.

2. From page 208 to page 210, Vidal-Naquet talks about the Secret Speeches of Himmler (Heinrich Himmler: *Geheimreden 1933-1945 und andere Ansprachen* [Heinrich Himmler: *Secret Speeches 1933-1945 and Other Talks*], ed. Bradley F. Smith and Agnes F. Peterson, Berlin: Propyläen, 1974), about the statistician R. Korherr, and about the word *Sonderbehandlung* (special treatment). He insinuates, but without great conviction, that a passage from those speeches shows a will to carry out “genocide” against the Jews, and that *Sonderbehandlung* is a code word for extermination.

Response: I would first like to make a remark about the seductive title, *Secret Speeches*. Those speeches were not at all secret! In this regard, I note a marked tendency among the Exterminationists to fool the ordinary reader with tendentious titles. So it was that Serge Klarsfeld’s *Memo-*

rial to the Deportation of the Jews from France is only a list of the Jews who embarked on the trains for deportation. There is no question here of a list of the dead, as they would often have us believe, especially when they go to deposit these lists at a funeral monument near Jerusalem. Georges Wellers himself, in his hatred for Vichy, goes so far as to entitle one of his books *L'Etoile jaune à l'heure de Vichy* (The Yellow Star in the Vichy Era) although the Vichy government always successfully opposed the wearing of the yellow star in its zone. Vidal-Naquet, himself, does not know what tone is proper to take about Himmler's remarks. He speaks of his "direct or nearly totally direct language." "Here he believes he sees him "at maximum frankness," even though he adds that "a description of the real process would be a thousand times more traumatic." There's the rub-Vidal-Naquet proclaims that he has found in Himmler what the Exterminationist historians have sought in vain since 1945: either an order or a simple instruction verifying a decision to exterminate the Jews. But at the very moment that he presents to us the result of his search, he looks sulkily at what he has found: The language of Himmler is "direct or nearly totally direct," there is no "description of the real process." (Dare we ask if that "description of the real process" happens to exist only in Vidal-Naquet's head?) But that's not all. Vidal-Naquet adds another puzzle to the puzzle. He is astonished at a "toning down" by Himmler; that devil Himmler was facing a "well-informed" audience! Why, then, this "indirect or nearly totally indirect" language? Then, suddenly, enveloping himself in an analysis more and more abstract and autistic, Vidal-Naquet believes he has discovered that Himmler "codes," and even "supercodes," what he had in his mind. Vidal-Naquet deciphers this alleged "code" with supreme speed and ease; he decodes on first reading, off the top of his head. He decrees, without the least proof, that *Sonderbehandlung* is a codeword and, in our presence, he decodes it instantaneously: That word means "extermination." But things get really complicated when our analyst, seized by a sudden scruple, adds as a footnote a remark very likely to mislead a reader who no longer knows whether Himmler is "direct or nearly totally direct"; whether he "is at maximum frankness" or is being secretive; whether he "codes" or whether he "supercodes": "Of course *Sonderbehandlung* could also have a perfectly benign meaning." Response to a Paper Historian 27

The reality was the following: *Sonderbehandlung* could have a whole series of meanings, from the most serious to the most benign. The context should instruct the reader. The primary meaning seems to be medical, and one will find, for example: "*Sonderbehandlung*: Quarantänelager (quarantine camp)." On the other hand, in document PS-502, the same word means explicitly "executions." "*Sonderbehandlung* was also applied to the favored treatment enjoyed in captivity by high officials. See what defendant Kaltenbrunner says about it at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (French edition, Volume XI, pp. 347-348):

In those two deluxe hotels [for special treatment] were lodged some of the best people such as M. Poncet, M. Herriot, etc. They received rations triple those normal for a diplomat; that is to say, nine times the wartime rations of a German. Every day each received a bottle of champagne; they corresponded freely with their families, they could receive parcels from their families left behind in France. These internees received frequent visits, and we would inquire about all their desires. That is what we called "special treatment."

Arrivals and departures were noted in the reports of the daily population of each camp. Among the departures might be noted the dead, the "S.B." (*Sonderbehandlung*), the freed (people forget that many of the concentration-camp inmates could leave Auschwitz after completing a sentence of several months), and those transferred. They would have us believe that the "S.B." were those condemned to "gassing." There were, however, "S.B." in the camps that had no gas chambers, even according to the Exterminationists. These "S.B." must have been, in all probability, internees assigned to other camps for some reason (Bergen-Belsen for health; Bergen-Belsen for

categories of Jews to be exchanged with the Allies; Ravensbrück for women; Dachau for priests; Theresienstadt for old people, etc.). The “transferred” category, properly speaking, was made up of people assigned to a particular job either in the camp, or in a distant camp. We find, in the travel authorizations, telegrams from the WVHA (the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office) allowing trucks to pick up material either for Sonderbehandlung or for Desinfektion (disinfection); these two words being used interchangeably. It was a matter, more precisely, of going to Dessau to obtain quantities of Zyklon-B in order to disinfect the Auschwitz camp, where typhus was prevalent (radio message of 22 July 1942 addressed to the Auschwitz camp under signature of General Gluecks [Raul Hilberg, *Documents of Destruction*, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971, p. 220]). In one and the same book (Sachso, by the Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen Society, Minuit-Plon, 1982) the expression “special treatment” is applied on page 99 to the act of marking in blue pencil on the left breast of a bearer of lice, and on page 327 it is applied to an execution.

When we seek an expression which can take account of all these meanings at the same time, we ask ourselves what would be most suitable for Sonderbehandlung: would it not be to isolate? One finds that meaning in *gesonderte Unterbringung* (isolated stay), an expression often applied to arrivals.

The fact remains that although Sonderbehandlung could occasionally mean to execute, we know very well that Himmler, after receiving the work of his statistician Korherr, told the latter that in a certain passage of his report he ought to replace the word Sonderbehandlung with *Transportierung* (transport).

Long after the war, Korherr protested against the interpretation of Sonderbehandlung as meaning massacre. In *Der Spiegel* of 25 July 1977, cited by Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich on page 391 of *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (The Auschwitz Myth) (Tübingen: Grabert Verlag, 1979), he wrote:

The statement according to which I supposedly was able to establish that more than a million Jews could have died in the camps of the General Government in Poland and of the territories of the Wartheland from the results of a special treatment (Sonderbehandlung) is absolutely incorrect. It is necessary for me to protest against the use of the verb to die in this context.

Korherr goes on to say that Sonderbehandlung was supposed to mean *Ansiedlung* (displacement).

The context is really the last concern of someone like Vidal-Naquet. I willingly concede to him that on page 169 of the German edition (*Geheimreden...*), Himmler says this to his audience (6 October 1943):

We came up against the question: What about the women and children? In this case as well I decided on a very clear solution. That is, I did not feel justified in exterminating the men — in other words, to kill or allow to be killed — while allowing the children to grow up into avengers against our sons and grandsons. The difficult decision had to be made to let this people disappear from the earth. (op. cit., p. 169)

If we end the quotation here, as Vidal-Naquet does, Himmler assumes the proportions of a General Turreau intent on killing men, women, and children and making of the Vendée (during the French Revolution) a great cemetery. However, the continuation is curious and makes clear that Himmler has indulged in a bit of braggadocio. He goes on to say that in his conduct of the anti-partisan struggle he was able to spare the German officers and soldiers a double danger:

That of becoming too hardened, of becoming heartless and of no longer respecting human life, or of becoming too weak and of losing one's head to the point of having a nervous breakdown-the path between Scylla and Charybdis is terribly narrow. (p. 170)

But how then, one may ask, did Himmler's men in fact proceed? The answer is found in many pages of his so-called Secret Speeches, and in particular on pages 201 and 203.

Two months after the speech mentioned above, Himmler returned to the subject (16 December 1943). Again, it is the partisan war that he is talking about, a war carried out as savagely on one side as on the other. He says:

Wherever I was forced to take action in a village against partisans and against Jewish commissars-I'm saying this to this circle, as meant exclusively for this circle-as a basic rule I also gave the order to have the women and children of these partisans and commissars killed as well. I would be a weakling and a criminal against our descendants if I were to allow the hate-filled sons of the sub-humans wiped out by us in the struggle between humans and sub-humans to grow up. Believe me: It's not easy to give such an order, and not as simple to carry out as it is to think through correctly its consequences and put them into words in a meeting hall. But we must always recognize just how naturally basic and primitive is the racial struggle in which we find ourselves. (p. 201)

More interesting yet is the speech Himmler gave five months later to a number of generals at Sonthofen (24 May 1944). Here we find less than ever the "genocide" we might fear. Himmler declared:

Regarding the Jewish women and children, I did not consider myself justified in allowing the children to grow up into avengers who would then kill our fathers and our grandchildren. I would have regarded that as cowardly. Therefore, the issue was dealt with uncompromisingly. Nevertheless, right now-and this is unique in this war-we are first bringing 100,000 male Jews from Hungary, and later another 100,000, with whom we are building underground factories, into concentration camps. None of them, though, will come into any contact at all with the German people. (p. 203)

The Germans were haunted by the possibility that uprisings like that of the Warsaw ghetto would recur behind their lines. Concerning the fear of seeing happen at Budapest what had taken place in Warsaw, we can read *Ich, Adolf Eichmann* (I, Adolf Eichmann), published by Dr. Rudolf Aschenhauer (Druffel Verlag, 1980), page 33.

3. On page 211, Vidal-Naquet, reciting the history of the "extermination," talks about "the halt to the extermination of the Jews on Himmler's order at the end of October 1944."

Response: That order never existed and I challenge Vidal-Naquet to produce it for us. Just as there existed no order by Hitler or by Himmler or by anyone to start the extermination of the Jews, so also was there no order by anyone to stop an extermination which had not occurred.

4. In a footnote on page 212, Vidal-Naquet asserts, "I see no reason to doubt the existence of the gas chambers at Ravensbrück, Struthof, and Mauthausen."

Response: With regard to Ravensbrück, Vidal-Naquet refers us to the book by Germaine Tillion (*Ravensbrück*, Paris: Le Seuil, 1973), which contains a plan of the camp. The location of the al-

leged “gas chambers” is not even noted! Nowhere else is there either the slightest plan or the slightest physical trace. This is a strictly metaphysical “gas chamber.”

Regarding Struthof, I was the first to publicize the condition of the premises, guaranteed to be “in original condition.” I proved that the “gasser” would have been the first to gas himself with his mysterious gas (see the two contradictory confessions by Josef Kramer about the “gassings” at Struthof camp in Alsace.) Vidal-Naquet does not resolve the technical puzzle; besides, nothing that is technical interests him.

With regard to Mauthausen, things are even simpler. The handles that open and close the pipes bringing the alleged gas into the shower are within reach of the victims! That is what is clearly evident from a normal photo. The photo exhibited at the recent display about the deportation which was held on the Esplanade of the Trocadéro in Paris (April-May of 1982) showed it not quite as well. The handles were cropped out.

5. On page 212, in footnote 23, Vidal-Naquet confesses that there exists on the subject of the concentration camps “a sub-literature which represents a really vile kind of appeal to consumerism and sadism.” He adds: “All that is dependent on hallucination and propaganda must be eliminated.” On these bases he denounces Christian Bernadac, Silvain Reiner, Jean-Francois Steiner, and V. Grossman. He admits having fallen “into the trap set by Steiner’s Treblinka (Fayard, 1966).”

Response: Very well, but that hardly moves us forward. What would be instructive for the reader would be to know why Vidal-Naquet fell into such a trap and how he got out of it. He insults Bernadac without our knowing exactly why, and he touts Nyiszli, leaving us none the wiser as to his motives. He proceeds by ukases. He decrees that one narrative is credible and that another one is not. He devotes himself to none of the analyses that the Revisionists carry out. When a Rassinier asserts to us that the best-seller, Doctor at Auschwitz, by Nyiszli, is only a “rascally trick,” it is after a long analysis and an inquiry of the most serious kind. Rassinier arms us for future reading, leaving it to our judgment as mature adults to distinguish between truth and falsehood. Vidal-Naquet disarms us. In his presence we are like children who, each time a new work appears, await the judgment which will fall from the mouth of their father—a father at the same time peremptory and fallible. What does he think of Martin Gray who, to write *Au nom de tous les miens* (published in English as *For Those I Loved*), took as his ghost-writer a purveyor of moral lessons named Max Gallo who helped Gray, in cooperation with the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, to fabricate his deportation to Treblinka? Does he sense an odor of authenticity in the rubbish piled up by Filip Müller in *Trois ans dans une chambre à gaz, à Auschwitz* (Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz) (Pygmalion/Gerald Watalet, 1980), a book launched with a great fuss by Claude Lanzmann [director of the documentary *Shoah*, 1985] and by *Le Nouvel Observateur*, a book which drew tears from the actor François Perrier who came to talk about it on television?

What does he think about Constantin Simonov on Majdanek (Editions sociales, 1946)? How does he judge a hundred other works, either histories or first-person accounts, where we find over and over again the same clichés, the same inventions, the same foul smells, the same physical impossibilities as in the works that he denounces as false? What does he think of Fania Fénelon as she expresses herself on what she experienced at Auschwitz (which is not without interest) and as she tries to make us believe in the existence of the gas chambers (which she did not see)? What does he think of the quite recent Sachso, in which the Association of Former Inmates of Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen had the effrontery to tell us that the camp had a homicidal “gas chamber,” when for nearly a quarter of a century it has been accepted by authorities in Extermi-

nationist history that the place never had any such installation? What does he think, in that regard, of the way in which faith is transformed into “science”?

6. On pages 212-213, Vidal-Naquet concedes to us that the theologian Charles Hauter, who was deported to Buchenwald, “never saw a gas chamber” and “is deranged on that subject.” He quotes him:

The machinery for extermination literally abounded. To be accomplished quickly, extermination demanded a special kind of industrialization. The gas chambers answered that need in quite different ways. Some of them, of a refined style, were supported by pillars of a porous material, inside of which the gas formed, then passed through the walls. Others were of a simpler structure, but all were sumptuous in appearance. It was easy to see that the architects had conceived them with pleasure, planning them for a long time, drawing on all of their esthetic resources. They were the only parts of the camp constructed with love.

Response: I do not see why Vidal-Naquet takes exception to that testimony. It is neither worse nor better than everything else to be read under the rubric of “gas chambers” at Buchenwald, Auschwitz or elsewhere. By what right does Vidal-Naquet assert that the theologian never saw any gas chambers, and that he “is deranged on that subject”? The answer is simple and disarming, like reasoning in the Vidal-Naquet style, and must be formulated as follows: “The theologian did not see gas chambers at Buchenwald because it offends the official truth on the question, the official truth admitted by tacit and secret consent among the establishment historians, according to whom, definitively, Buchenwald had no gas chamber.” In other words, to remain faithful to the tautological, redundant, and autistic reasonings of a Vidal-Naquet, here is what one would have to say to Charles Hauter: “It is not necessary to ask oneself how, technically, such a mass murder was possible at Buchenwald. It was impossible technically since it did not take place. That is the necessary point of departure for any historical inquiry on this subject. It is our function simply to recall that truth: There is not, there cannot be, any debate about the non-existence of the gas chambers at Buchenwald.”

7. On page 213, Vidal-Naquet concedes, “The number of six million Jews killed, which comes from Nuremberg, has nothing sacred or definitive about it, and many historians arrive at a slightly lower number.” “So it is,” he adds in a footnote, “that R. Hilberg arrives at a total of 5,100,000 victims.”

Response: This remark of Vidal-Naquet jibes with what Dr. Broszat finally declared before a court in Frankfurt: “The six million is a symbolic number.” I am surprised that Vidal-Naquet does not quote a more convincing argument in support of his thesis than the total proposed by Raul Hilberg. Gerald Reitlinger himself, on page 546 of his *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere Books Ltd., 1971), presents a “Summary of Extermination Estimates (Revised 1966).” His table gives us a choice between a minimum of 4,204,000 and a maximum of 4,575,000 Jewish dead. Still, he takes great care to add that it is a matter of totals based on conjectures. Vidal-Naquet ought to inform us that all such totals are based on pure conjectures. After 37 years, with the electronic means that we possess, the approximate number of Jewish victims ought long since to have been established, but it sadly happens that the Exterminationists do not wish to establish it. When a regime like that in France has kept secret its own figures for over ten years now, it is hiding them for fear of Jewish reaction, and, as we shall see farther on, Vidal-Naquet has taken part personally in this refusal to communicate a bit of information which inevitably would embarrass the liars and jugglers of numbers.

8. On pages 213 and 214, Vidal-Naquet writes of Klarsfeld: "In the same way, Klarsfeld, by the thorough work which characterizes his *Mémorial*, has decreased by more than 40,000 the number usually given for the deportation of Jews from France (from 100,000 to a little more than 76,000)."

Response: I have already said what I thought of Klarsfeld's book. The content is worthy of a photograph which appears on the cover. The photo is cropped in order to appear pitiful: The smiling persons have disappeared. One can find the photo in its complete form on page 188. Second distortion: On page 28, Klarsfeld leads us to believe that General Kohl was in favor of the physical destruction of the Jews, when it was a question of a destruction of their influence, "like that of the political churches." The words omitted are: "Er zeigte sich auch als Gegner der politischen Kirchen" ("He showed himself to be also an enemy of the political churches.") This very serious distortion of a text from [SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor] Dannecker originates with Josef Billig, followed by Georges Wellers, followed by Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton. Each one has replaced the missing phrase with an ellipsis, the typographical sign of an omission. Each therefore could say, "here finally is proof of the decision to exterminate. The only proof, to tell the truth." With Klarsfeld the distortion is all the more conscious since, before publishing his *Mémorial*, he had published *Die Endlösung der Judenfrage in Frankreich* (The Final Solution of the Jewish Problem in France) (Paris: Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, 1977) for the German courts that were to try [Kurt] Lischka. In that work it was impossible to conjure up those three periods (ellipsis) all of a sudden in the middle of a letter by Dannecker (page 36). I can cite a third attempt at trickery on Klarsfeld's part on page 245 of his *Mémorial*, in regard to the diary of Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer: see my *Mémoire en défense*, p. 125.

There is something infinitely more serious, however. In order to determine the number of the dead among the 76,000 Jews deported from France, Klarsfeld used an astonishing procedure: He declared DEAD all those who had not taken the trouble to go declare themselves ALIVE to the Ministry of Veterans by the deadline of 31 December 1945! And that at a time when that step was neither obligatory nor official. Truth obliges me to note that Klarsfeld did go to Belgium to find out whether it would be possible to gather there more names of survivors. The majority of Jews deported from France were foreigners. I do not think they had a great longing to return to a country which had turned them over to the Germans.

Klarsfeld has not troubled to find out how many Jews deported from France, then liberated, migrated to Palestine, the United States, South Africa, Argentina, etc. He has had no scruple about counting as dead all those who, after returning to France, presented themselves, without being asked to do so, at the door of the Ministry of Veterans after 31 December 1945. One could say a great deal about his *Mémorial*, about the appendix to *Mémorial*, or about the thousands of "gassed persons" made up out of whole cloth by the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Paris, according to Klarsfeld's own statement.

Vidal-Naquet says that the number usually given for Jews deported from France was 100,000 and that Klarsfeld reduced that to a little more than 76,000, thus bringing about a revision of about 40,000 (?). There is an error there. The number usually given was 120,000 and not 100,000, and the revision is therefore about 44,000. According to Klarsfeld, in 1939 France had about 300,000 Jews (French, foreign, stateless) out of its 39 million inhabitants (see his page 606). From that we conclude that three quarters of the Jews settled in France were not deported; a strange phenomenon to reconcile with a supposed policy of "extermination." A phenomenon still stranger in Bulgaria and in pre-war Romania or in Denmark or Finland. A phenomenon all the stranger when we think of all of the associations throughout the world which include survivors of the "Holocaust"

who, like Simon Wiesenthal himself, went from death camp to death camp without Hitler ever killing them.

The “Wannsee Protocol,” which I do not feel has any value, for reasons that I do not have time to give here, is considered authentic by the Exterminationists. For this reason, I point out that the transcript notes 865,000 Jews for France in 1941. From that we would have to conclude that not even one tenth of the Jews of France were deported.

9. On page 214, in footnote 28, Vidal-Naquet writes:

Faurisson declares (*Vérité ...*, pp. 98, 115) inaccessible the findings of the Committee for the History of the (Second) World War on the total number of non-racial deportees. They can be checked very simply in J.P. Azema, *De Munich à la Libération* (From Munich to the Liberation, 1979), p. 189: 63,000 deportees, of whom 41,000 were members of the resistance, an estimate obviously lower than those which were formerly accepted.

Response: I have never limited my criticism to the fact that the Committee hid from us “the total number of non-racial deportees. “I had always reproached it for hiding from us the total number of true deportees: racial or non-racial. One will note that my criticism remains as valid today as yesterday, and that neither the Committee, nor Azema, nor Vidal-Naquet dares to reveal to us the number of racial deportees. I am going to do it for them: THE NUMBER WHICH THEY HAVE HIDDEN FROM U.S. FOR NINE YEARS IS 28,162. (For the non-racial, it is exactly 63,085). Obviously that number-28,162 Jews is terribly embarrassing for the Exterminationists. It was obtained at the end of an investigation which lasted twenty years. How to reconcile it with the number from Klarsfeld: about 76,000? Here is a good subject for our Exterminationists to reflect on. Must we assume that the Committee worked scientifically and that it assigned the characteristic of Jewishness to those for whom that characteristic meant deportation? Must we believe that Klarsfeld for his part counted as Jews all the Jews, whether they had been deported for that characteristic or for another such as resistance, sabotage, spying, black market, common-law crime? I don’t know anything about it. I pose the question and I would certainly like some clarification. Let our people play their violins in unison!

Vidal-Naquet talks about 63,000 deportees, including 41,000 resistants, as an “estimate obviously lower than those formerly accepted. “I find him a little bit shifty. He ought to be more precise and recall for us that at the main Nuremberg trial, the number of deportees from France was officially 250,000 (IMT, Vol. VI, p. 325), which, we might note in passing, gives us an idea of the seriousness of that tribunal which called itself “military” and “international” when it was only a judicial masquerade. It was neither military (with the exception of the judge from the USSR) nor was it international but inter Response to a Paper Historian as Allied, with the victors alone cynically judging the vanquished on the basis of a statute which contained judicial abominations like Articles 19 and 21.

10. On pages 214 and 215 Vidal-Naquet writes, “It is quite simply a shameless lie to compare the Nazi camps with the camps created by a perfectly scandalous decision of the Roosevelt administration to house Americans of Japanese origin (Faurisson, in *Vérité...*, p. 189).”

Response: In fact, I wrote, “I describe 'genocide' as the act of killing men because of their race. Hitler no more committed 'genocide' than did Napoleon, Stalin, Churchill or Mao. Roosevelt interned American citizens of Japanese race in concentration camps. That was not 'genocide'.” Let people reread my sentences. Where is there a comparison of the German camps and the American camps? Where is the “shameless lie” on my part? If I had had to compare them with any-

thing, it would have been to say that in any case it would probably be better to live in a concentration camp run by a wealthy nation like the United States in 1941 rather than by a nation like Germany where shortages of all sorts were rampant. Azema, already quoted, wrote in footnote 2 of page 189, in regard to the mortality rate in the German camps: "During the last weeks, the epidemics reached an endemic stage, and the last transfers were particularly deadly."

Having said that, concentration camps are a modern invention that we owe not to the British in their war against the Boers, but to the Americans during their Civil War, and I think that the horrors of Andersonville¹ must have been as bad as the horrors of the English, German, Russian, or French camps. Let us recall modestly in what conditions, right after the war, we put many of our German prisoners of war, and for those who have a short memory, let us recall that the Americans demanded the return from France of the Germans whom they had given to us, and that the transfer operation had the name "Operation Skinny"; an operation involving those who had nothing more than skin on their bones.

11. On page 215 Vidal-Naquet wrote: "... it is the job of historians to take historical facts out of the hands of ideologues who exploit them. In the case of the genocide of the Jews, it is obvious that one of the Jewish ideologies, Zionism, exploits that great massacre in a way that is sometimes scandalous."

Response: Very well. But when I say that, people cry anti-Semitism and have me heavily sentenced by the French judicial apparatus: 360 million old French francs in fines, three months suspended prison sentence, and not one colleague to express his astonishment at the sentencing of a professor with but a single income. The only parties whom I accuse in this enormous lie about the "gas chambers" and about "genocide" are international Zionism and the State of Israel. To be exact, I accuse them of being the principal beneficiaries of it.

12. Vidal-Naquet spoke, on page 216, about the "demonstration made by Faurisson that the Diary of Anne Frank is, if not a 'literary hoax,' at least a doctored document." Then comes the following commentary: "On the scale of the history of the Nazi genocide, that change removes one comma."

Response: Here is what is troubling. The same Faurisson who finds himself treated on nearly every page as an inveterate liar and as a complete falsifier supposedly has the analytical qualities necessary to detect a doctored document where millions of readers saw a work of a staggering authenticity, which all by itself has supposedly done more good for the exterminationist cause than have the six million dead. Are there two Faurissons? Does he thus divide himself from one suddenly into two? If that is the case, we must be shown how. Very many readers are going to think that, after all, he has used one and same method (textual, pragmatic, in accord with the facts) to distinguish the true and the false in every instance.

13. On page 216, in footnote 30, Vidal-Naquet writes: "You will find in her article [that of Nadine Fresco, "Les Redresseurs de morts," op. cit.] an excellent analysis of the methods of revisionist history."

Response: In that long article, loquacious and, as has been said, "ridiculing in tone," I have found no trace of any analysis whatsoever. I was named 150 times. I believe that I had the right to reply. I therefore sent the journal a text for that purpose. Les Temps Modernes let me know that there was no question of publishing it since I denied the existence of the "gas chambers" (oral response).²

14. On page 220, Vidal-Naquet reproaches the American Revisionist Dr. Austin App for having written: "The Third Reich wanted the emigration of the Jews, not their liquidation. If it had wanted to liquidate them, there would not be 500,000 survivors of the concentration camps in Israel [an imaginary number, Vidal-Naquet says] being paid German indemnities for imaginary persecutions. "

Response: In volume 14 of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, in the article on "Reparations, German," it is said that on 12 March 1951, Moshe Sharett, in support of the demand for financial reparations from Germany, pointed out the necessity of absorbing 500,000 victims of Nazism into the land of Israel. Twenty-seven years later, in *Le Monde* of 3 November 1978, page 10, we read this: "An important part of the Israeli people escaped from the holocaust and is a living witness to the genocide committed by the Nazi beast," declares a communique of the Israeli embassy in Paris. Thirty-five years after the war, in *L'Agence Télégraphique Juive* of 9 December 1980, under the title "Le Parti des survivants" ("The Party of the Survivors"), we read: "There are between 200,000 and 500,000 survivors of the Holocaust in Israel. They are from 45 to 75 years old, says Tuvia Friedmann."

15. On page 221, Vidal-Naquet reproaches the Revisionists for asking proof from those who claim that the "gas chambers" and the "genocide" really existed. He does so in the following terms: "For here we are obliged, finally, to prove what happened to us. We, who since 1945, know, here we are occupied with being demonstrative, eloquent, with using the weapons of rhetoric, with entering into the world of what the Greeks called *Peitho*, Persuasion, which they made into a goddess who is not ours. Do you really understand what that means? "

Response: It seems normal to me for a historian to prove what he alleges and it seems to me abnormal to consider oneself dispensed from furnishing one's proofs. We note in the passage a confession which is quite considerable; that up to the present the Exterminationists proved nothing because they knew! Such is indeed the reproach that we always made against them. On the question of the "gas chambers" and the "genocide," the Exterminationists have contented themselves with a sort of intuitive knowledge; infused, metaphysical, religious, elusive. They were convinced that that would be enough. Ah well, that is no longer quite enough.

16. On page 222, in note 41, Vidal-Naquet writes that Faurisson and Thion have dared to maintain that no expert report on a gas chamber has ever been done. He says: "That is false; I have in front of me the translation of an expert report carried out at Cracow in June 1945 on the ventilation openings of the Birkenau gas chamber (Crematorium No. 2), on 25 kilograms of women's hair, and on the metallic objects found in the hair. This report which uses, Georges Wellers tells me, the classic methodology, reveals compounds of hydrogen cyanide in the material."

Response: I am familiar with the expert reports ordered by examining magistrate Jan Sehn and carried out by the laboratory located on Copernicus Street in Cracow. They are not reports establishing specifically that such and such a building was a homicidal gas chamber. I ask why they did not make that elementary investigation (which, besides, is still possible today). What Vidal-Naquet calls or lists as the "gas chamber" of Crematorium No. 2 was a "Leichenkeller," that is to say, an ordinary morgue; half buried to protect it from the heat, in a cul-de-sac, 30 meters by 7 meters in size, with support pillars in the middle. I know the ventilation system in great detail. A morgue has to be disinfected. For this they used Zyklon-B, an insecticide invented in 1917, and still used all over today. Zyklon-B is an absorbent of hydrocyanic acid on an inert, porous base-diatomaceous earth-which slowly releases gaseous hydrocyanic acid on contact with the air. It is therefore normal that an expert report turn up traces of that acid. As regards the hair, I recall that, during the war, hair was gathered in all of the barbershops in Europe. In factories or in the

camps, it was used to make carpets, shag material, insoles for boots, etc. The camps were crammed with materials for recycling, which are explained today to tourists as all coming from the personal effects of victims. I personally have a series of documents which prove that part of the hair displayed in the National Museum at Auschwitz came in fact from a carpet and shag factory located at Kietrz, about 90 kilometers as the crow flies from Auschwitz. Traces of hydrocyanic acid were found in them, which again was very normal.

I renew here my repeated request that finally, 37 years after the end of the war, someone order an expert report on every place (either in its original condition, or in ruins) that is said to be a homicidal gas chamber. Let them begin with Struthof after, if necessary, a rereading of the Simonin, Fourcade Piedelièvre report and, especially, of the unlocatable report of the toxicologist Professor René Fabre.

17. On page 223, Vidal-Naquet writes: “Faurisson contents himself with stewing ... about ‘the miraculously rediscovered manuscripts,’ the inauthenticity of which he does not even try to demonstrate.”

Response: In my *Mémoire en défense*, which appeared after the present book of Vidal-Naquet, I prove the inauthenticity of those manuscripts. I do it on pages 232 to 236, in the chapter entitled *The Trickeries of the LICRA and All the Others*. I advise Vidal-Naquet to read, further, the special issue of the *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Special Issue 1, “Handschriften von Mitgliedern des Sonderkommandos” (Manuscripts by Members of the Special Commandos) (Auschwitz State Museum Publishing Company, 1972). In the preface he will see on pages 5 and 17, not without surprise, to what extent the Poles chided the first publisher of those manuscripts because of his changes and manipulations. That publisher was none other than the illustrious Professor Bernard Mark, director of the Institute for Jewish History at Warsaw, who was denounced as a falsifier by the Polish Jew Michel Borwicz in the *Revue d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale*, January 1962, page 93.

18. On the same page 223, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for having included *The Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto*, by Emmanuel Ringelblum, among me “false, apocryphal, or suspect” works.

Response: Let us decide about this simply by the way in which the book is introduced! I have in front of me: Emmanuel Ringelblum, *Chronique du Ghetto de Varsovie* (French version by Léon Poliakov from the adaptation by Jacob Sloan [Paris: Robert Laffont, 1978]). On page 7, the note by the translator begins as follows:

At the request of the editor, I have followed for this version of the *Chronicle* of Emmanuel Ringelblum the abridgment by Mr. Jacob Sloan, published in the United States in 1958 by McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. I have nevertheless taken care to collate this text with the original edition in Yiddish, published in 1952 by the Institute for Jewish History in Warsaw [...] The Warsaw edition presents gaps motivated principally by the place and date of publication. Unfortunately, neither Mr. Jacob Sloan nor myself have been able to familiarize ourselves with the original text of the manuscript preserved in Warsaw. [emphasis added]

Must I recall here—last but not least—that the Institute’s director, whose name Léon Poliakov does not give, was the forger Bernard Mark?

19. On page 224, Vidal-Naquet comes back to a quotation from Himmler and talks about “coded language,” then quotes Goebbels who, in his *Diary*, on 13 May 1943, wrote: “There is therefore no other recourse left for modern nations except to exterminate the Jew ... “

Response: As regards Himmler, I refer back to my paragraph 2, above. As regards what is “decoded,” I would say, “Enough talk about decoding!” As regards Goebbels, I would say that wartime phraseology is always the same; it is always a question of exterminating the enemy to the last man. Look at the words of our “Marseillaise. “I look likewise at the examples quoted by Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich in *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (The Auschwitz Myth) pages 82-85; statements by Vansittart, Ilya Ehrenburg, and Zionist officials, etc. Even a Jewish intellectual like Julien Benda, who claimed that he was a rationalist, wrote as follows on page 153 of *Un Régulier dans le siècle* (Paris [trans. Gallimard]: 1938):

For my part, I maintain that by their morality the modern Germans are collectively one of the plagues of the world, and if I had only to press a button to exterminate them entirely, I would do it on the spot, even if I had perhaps to cry about any good people who would die in the process.

That said, Goebbels repeats, on several occasions in his Diary, “The Jews must be chased from Europe.” At the time he spoke, on 7 May 1943, they had not even been chased from Berlin, and at the time of “liberation,” in May 1945, the surprising discovery was made that there still existed in Berlin at least one Jewish day-nursery and a home for old Jews. As for Europe in general, it contained millions of Jews.

20. On page 224, Vidal-Naquet wrote that it is “a little surprising [...] that no SS leader denied the existence of the gas chambers.”

Response: That is quite simply false. In the transcripts of the trials we observe quite often the obstinacy camp officials displayed in not wanting to accept the “evidence.” See, in my *Mémoire en défense*, on page 45, what Germaine Tillion dares to write about the commandant of Ravensbrück:

Commandant Suhren was naturally interrogated on several occasions on the subject of the gas chamber. He began by denying its existence, then he admitted it, but said that it was outside of his control and maintained that position in spite of the evidence to the contrary. “I estimate,” he said (in the course of the interrogation of 8 December 1949), “the number of women gassed at Ravensbrück at about 1,500.”

It is now recognized that there was never a gas chamber in that camp, where, furthermore, the location of the astonishing “gas chamber” has never been given! The same obstinacy was shown by Josef Kramer in regard to Auschwitz. He said in his first deposition that he had heard the allegations of former prisoners from Auschwitz according to which a gas chamber was supposed to be located there, adding that that was entirely false. In a later deposition, however, he said that there was ONE gas chamber but that it was under the authority of Höss (*Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-four Others* [edited by Raymond Phillips, London: William Hodge and Co.] pp. 731 and 738).

Regarding the same Josef Kramer, the French military court outdid itself in the matter of the alleged homicidal “gas chamber” at Struthof. It extorted from him two totally contradictory confessions as to the conduct of the gassing operation (Celle, on 26 July 1945 and Luneburg on 6 December 1945). If Richard Baer, in the course of an interrogation in about 1962 or 1963, had admitted the existence of “gas chambers” at Auschwitz, where he was commandant, there is no doubt that in the course of the Frankfurt trial the prosecution would have used it against his 22 accomplices, who were so stubborn and vague on the subject.

I repeat here that it is impossible to scoff at a taboo. One comes to terms with it, as all the German lawyers have done by counseling their clients to deny nothing about the matter; to let the prosecution say what it wished and to content themselves with affirming that, as regards themselves, they had nothing to do with so foul an affair.

Thus in the Renaissance witchcraft trials, the witch did not go so far as to say, “the best proof that I did not meet the devil is that the devil does not exist.” She would have appeared diabolic. She used subterfuges. The devil without a doubt was there. There was loud noise some distance away. “But that was at the top of the hill, and I was at the bottom.”

Not one of the defendants at the main Nuremberg Tribunal had known about the “gas chambers” and the “genocide”—not even Frank, the former governor of Poland, who was overcome by the worst Christian repentance; not even Speer, the most “collaborative” with his judges and with his conquerors. Speer was later to publish, at the request of his Jewish friends, a text in which he said that he held himself responsible ... for his blindness! He, the minister of armaments, having, all things considered, supreme control over the activity of the concentration camps, had not SEEN any formidable human slaughterhouses, needing thousands of tons of coal for the incineration of the bodies of the victims of genocide, which operated, it would seem, night and day! Speer has been rewarded for his goodwill. Millions of copies of his books have been sold with the proviso that “after the withholding of taxes, he made a fifty-fifty split with Jewish organizations, notably French ones.” (Remarks made to French television at the time of the appearance of his first book.)

In Volume 42 of the transcripts and documents of the International Military Tribunal, one discovers document PS-862. It informs us that, of the 26,674 former political leaders interrogated, not one had heard talk about the “extermination” of the Jews or about the “extermination camps” before the surrender in May 1945. Can it be imagined that the power of the taboo is such that thirty-six years after the war, a French professor who dares to deny the “genocide” and the “gas chambers” see himself condemned to three months suspended prison sentence and to 360 millions of old French francs in fines and publication expenses? And then in order to deny that those horrors existed, it is still necessary to be entangled for years with the question from the technical point of view. The common people, the Germans and their conquerors, scientists and laymen alike, all have a tendency to imagine when one talks to them about homicidal “gassing” that it was a very simple operation. After that, go on to deny that such and such a shower, such and such a concrete building was used for “gassing”! You think, “How will I proceed to show that that commonplace operation did not take place in the building that they show me?” And you keep quiet. And your silence passes for agreement. About you they say triumphantly: “You see! He did not deny it!”

21. On page 22S, Vidal-Naquet writes that my technical considerations on the American gas chambers, where one sees that it is very difficult to kill a single human being, do not at all prove that it would be impossible to carry out mass gassings. He adds that “the operation of gassings, like that of eating, can be carried out in vastly different conditions. “

Response: I understand nothing of that reasoning, of those abstractions, and of those allusions. It seems to me that, if it is dangerous to gas one man, it must be still more dangerous to gas masses of men. I must reveal here that the LICRA [International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism] eddy on 4 February 1981, consulted with the top toxicologist in France, Mr. Louis Truffert, in a completely fallacious and abstruse letter, to ask him if it were as difficult to ventilate a place gassed with Zyklon. Mr. Truffert then made a response which went rather in the direction expected by the LICRA. Unfortunately for them, I know Mr. Truffert, whom I have never

yet talked to about my thesis about the non-existence of the Nazi “gas chambers,” but with whom I have had a very long discussion on hydrocyanic acid. In company with my publisher, Pierre Guillaume, I went to see Mr. Truffert again, but this time I showed him the plans for Auschwitz, and in particular the “reconstruction” (sic) of a “gassing” which is located in Block 4 of the Auschwitz Museum. Please believe that the reaction of Mr. Truffert was instantaneous. He immediately exclaimed about the impossibility of a homicidal gassing operation in such conditions. It is that which he wanted to confirm for us in a letter of 3 April 1981, a copy of which was to be received by the LICRA. Here is the passage which directly concerns the question:

Nevertheless, the observation that I made [in my response to the LICRA, concerning the possibility of going into a room containing bodies poisoned with hydrocyanic acid without a gas mask, involves the case of a gas chamber at ground level, opening to the fresh air, and it is evident that important reservations must be made in the case of underground installations. Such a situation would require a very large ventilation apparatus and draconian precautions in order to avoid pollution likely to be caused by accidents.

Could Vidal-Naquet be more precise about how I have used an “arsenal” that is not technical, but “pseudo-technical”? Is the consulting of six American penitentiary officials insufficient, and is Vidal-Naquet in a position to make suggestions of a scientific order to the Americans to bring about a remarkable simplification of the gassing process in their penitentiaries?

22. On page 225, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for translating “Vergasung” as “gassing” when I translate “Keine Vergasung in Dachau” (Dr. Broszat) and as “carburation” when, in a document from January 1943, I encounter “Vergasungskeller,” a word which Raul Hilberg is careful not to quote.

Response: It is all a matter of context! “Vergasung” can have still other meanings besides. Applied to a battle narrative about the gas war in 1918, it can be translated as “gassing.” It can also be a question of non-homicidal gassing. For example, in a radio message of 22 July 1942 addressed to the Auschwitz camp, over the signature of General Glücks, we read, “I hereby give authorization for one five-ton truck to make the round-trip journey from Auschwitz to Dessau [the place where Zyklon-B was distributed] and back in order to pick up gas intended for the gassing of the camp, in order to fight the epidemic which has broken out.” The German text says “Gas für Vergasung”: gas intended for gassing. Finally, at Dachau, the building which contained the disinfection gas chambers was called the “Vergasungsgebäude.”

23. On page 225, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for not devoting a line to the Einsatzgruppen, nor to Babi-Yar.

Response: Those were not my subjects. Similar police operations and similar places of execution existed among the enemy fought by the Germans on the Russian front. Euthanasia or medical experiments are likewise unrelated to the subject. On those two last points, I have the impression that people have made up an awful lot. I know researchers who are interested in all these supplementary subjects. Let us await their conclusions.

24. On page 225, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for saying that numerous gypsy children were born at Auschwitz, without saying what became of them. He adds that they were exterminated.

Response: I quoted my sources: Hefte von Auschwitz (The Auschwitz Notebooks). If those children had been the victims of a Herod-like massacre at the time of their birth, Auschwitz Notebooks would not have failed to inform us in regard to each of them. I suppose that some of the

children died, and that some of them survived and were found in the long line of children in good health whom the Soviets filmed at the time of liberation of the camp. I recall that bands of Gypsies continued to wend their way through Europe during the war (see *Nord*, by Céline). Vidal-Naquet asserts to us that those children were exterminated. Where does he get that information?

25. On page 226, Vidal-Naquet writes: “[Faurisson] maintains that in France it was the Resistance which made the Gypsies disappear.”

Response: In reality, I wrote on page 192 of *Vérité* ...: “I recall that in France even the Resistance could see the Gypsies in a bad light and suspect them of espionage, informing, and black-marketeering.” One of my footnotes refers to the following text: “I have personally made a detailed inquiry about the summary executions carried out by the Resistance in a small region of France. I was surprised to discover the Gypsy communities had paid a heavy tribute in dead; not at the hands of the Germans, but at the hands of the Resistance.” Where, in fact, did Vidal-Naquet get the idea that the Gypsies have disappeared?

26. On page 227, in a footnote, Vidal-Naquet is pleased to recall a sentence which I have repeated for some years and that I am going to repeat here one more time: “I have searched, but in vain, for one single former deportee capable of proving to me that he had really seen a gas chamber with his own eyes.”

Response: Vidal-Naquet does not propose any name to me; neither that of Martin Gray, nor that of Filip Müller (with whom I have asked television personality Bernard Volker to be good enough to confront me), nor Maurice Benroubi (discovered by *L'Express*), nor Yehuda Bauer or one of his friends (whom I said I was prepared to meet on Israeli television), nor Elie Wiesel, nor Samuel Pizar, nor Simone Veil, nor Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, nor Louise Alcan, nor Fania Fénelon, nor Dr. Bendel. In two years of research, the LICRA and its colleagues have been able to find for me only Mr. Alter Fajnzylberg, known as Jankowski. From him they obtained a very short deposition given to Mr. Attal, a notary in Paris. I was delighted at the prospect of meeting the latter in court. In his place, there came a very repetitive spokesman.

27. On page 228, Vidal-Naquet quotes “some documents on Auschwitz and on Treblinka (spelled Trembinki) which served as the basis for an American publication in November of 1944, attributed to the 'Executive Office of the War Refugee Board.’” He states: “There is nothing there that is not in accord in its essentials with either the documents of the members of the Sonderkommando or the testimonies of the SS leaders.”

Response: I did not notice that in the document from the War Refugee Board it was a question of Treblinka or of Trembinki. It dealt particularly with Auschwitz, and to some extent with Majdanek (where they do not mention the existence of “gas chambers”). It is curious that that document was not used in the main Nuremberg trial, where one page of fantastic statistics was simply reproduced from it (Document L422).

AS regards Auschwitz, that document is so little in agreement with the physical realities that it was sufficient for Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, in his work mentioned above, to juxtapose two photographs: on the one hand, the plan from photographic plate number 12 (=reality), and on the other hand, the plan from photographic plate number 13 (=War Refugee Board fiction).

The fabrication by the War Refugee Board is obvious. I recall it was in that document, published by the Roosevelt entourage, and among others, by the famous Morgenthau, that Katyn is attributed to the Germans (p. 11 of the “Polish Major’s Report”).

As regards “gassings,” they were carried out, according to an anonymous Polish officer, by a spray from “hydrogen cyanide bombs” (page 13 of the English text)! This report had quite a suspicious and interesting history, very well revealed by Butz and by Stäglich. It is sufficient to find in their indexes the names of the presumed authors of the first report: Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler. We also find an interesting study by Stäglich in the journal *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: Grabert Verlag, 1981/I) pp. 9-13.

I note that the alleged plan of the sites appears on page 15 of the American version and that it did not appear in the French version *Les Camps d'extermination allemands d'Auschwitz et Birkenau* (The German Extermination Camps of Auschwitz and Birkenau) (Office Français d'Édition, 2nd quarter of 1945).

28. On page 228, Vidal-Naquet dares to call on the “confessions” of Kurt Gerstein, which he says have been confirmed by Professor Pfannenstiel himself, who is supposed to have gone to find Rassinier in Paris in order to talk to him about them.

Response: In the different and seriously contradictory versions of the “confessions” of Gerstein, the incongruities, the stupidities, the nonsensical things (see above the 28 to 32 persons per square meter) are so numerous that one cannot believe that the Gerstein argument is still used. Léon Poliakov has inundated us with these different versions of what Vidal-Naquet himself had been obliged to recognize as some “faulty mistakes.” This is a beautiful euphemism!

A thesis is presently being prepared which will expose the Gerstein “confessions” and what Léon Poliakov has made of them.³ In her 1968 thesis, Olga Wormser-Migot was prudent enough to write on page 426: “For our part we have difficulty in accepting the complete authenticity of the confession of Kurt Gerstein or the veracity of all its elements.” As to what Dr. Pfannenstiel declared on several occasions to the German courts, here it is: 1) he treats Gerstein almost as a liar on several points; 2) he is extremely vague about the “gassing” which he is supposed to have witnessed one day side by side with Gerstein; a “gassing” with a Diesel engine, which is a curious way of gassing when we know the small amount of deadly carbon monoxide furnished by a system very rich in carbon dioxide.

Pfannenstiel is supposed to have gone to find Rassinier in Paris? That is very often said, but I know nothing about it since the visitor refused to give his name. It could be. How many times has a Nazi, bound by his “confessions” and compensated for them, served the good Exterminationist cause on command in respect to a Revisionist

or hardened Nazi? When Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer came back from his long detention in Poland and wished to begin speaking again, the German courts gave him to understand that it was in his interest to keep quiet. He kept quiet. They re-employed him as a witness for the prosecution at the Frankfurt trial (1963-65) but always with that extraordinary discretion of the German judges about the actual conduct of the “gassings.” I was able to become acquainted with a short correspondence between Rassinier and Pfannenstiel. I propose to publish it one day in order to show how Pfannenstiel sought to evade Rassinier’s simple technical questions.

It is, furthermore, necessary to be clear on Belzec. Gerstein said that they “gassed” there; but there exist other theses quite as believable (or unbelievable), and I do not see how our establishment historians have been able to eliminate them in favor of the Gerstein thesis. According to Jan Karski, the Jews were killed 'with quicklime. According to the New York Times of 12 February 1944, page 6, the Jews were electrocuted. According to Dr. Stefan Szende, they proceeded in a quite sophisticated fashion: The same platform which electrocuted the Jews was raised from the water; then made red hot, and the Jews incinerated. Karski is today a professor at Georgetown

University in Washington. In 1944 he published *Story of a Secret State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.; Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1944). Here is what is to be read on pages 349-351 of Karski's book:

... I know that many people will not believe me, will not be able to believe me, will think I exaggerate or invent. But I saw it and it is not exaggerated or invented. I have no other proofs, no photographs. All I can say is that I saw it and that it is the truth. The floors of the car containing the Jews had been covered with a thick, white powder. It was quicklime. Quicklime is simply unslaked lime or calcium oxide that has been dehydrated. Anyone who has seen cement being mixed knows what occurs when water is poured on lime. The mixture bubbles and steams as the powder combines with the water, generating a large amount of heat. Here the lime served a double purpose in the Nazi economy of brutality. The moist flesh coming in contact with the lime is rapidly dehydrated and burned. The occupants of the cars would be literally burned to death before long, the flesh eaten from their bones. Thus, the Jews would "die in agony," fulfilling the promise Himmler had issued "in accord with the will of the Führer," in Warsaw in 1942. Secondly, the lime would prevent decomposing bodies from spreading disease. It was efficient and inexpensive a perfectly chosen agent for their purposes. It took three hours to fill up the entire train by repetitions of this procedure. It was twilight when the forty-six (I counted them) cars were packed. From one end to the other the train, with its quivering cargo of flesh, seemed to throb, vibrate, rock, and jump as if bewitched. There would be a strangely uniform momentary lull and then, again, the train would begin to moan and sob, wail and howl. Inside the camp a few score dead bodies remained and a few in the final throes of death. German policemen walked around at leisure with smoking guns, pumping bullets into anything that by a moan or motion betrayed an excess of vitality. Soon not a single one was left alive. In the now quiet camp the only sounds were the inhuman screams that were echoes from the moving train. Then these, too, ceased. All that was now left was the stench of excrement and rotting straw and a queer, sickening, acidulous odor which, I thought, may have come from the quantities of blood that had been let, and with which the ground was stained. As I listened to the dwindling outcries from the train, I thought of the destination toward which it was speeding. My informants had minutely described the entire journey. The train would travel about eighty miles and finally come to a halt in an empty barren field. Then nothing at all would happen. The train would stand stock-still, patiently waiting while death penetrated into every corner of its interior. This would take from two to four days.

When quicklime, asphyxiation, and injuries had silenced every outcry, a group of men would appear. They would be young, strong Jews, assigned to the task of cleaning out these cars until their own turn to be in them would arrive. Under a strong guard they would unseal the cars and expel the heaps of decomposing bodies. The mounds of flesh that they piled up would then be burned and the remnants buried in a single huge hole. The cleaning, burning, and burial would consume one or two full days. The entire process of disposal would take, then, from three to six days. During this period the camp would have recruited new victims. The train would return and the whole cycle would be repeated from the beginning.

Let us however go on to Dr. Szende. The first edition of his book appeared in Sweden under the title *Den Siste Juden från Polen* (The Last Jew From Poland) (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlang, 1944). The second edition appeared in Switzerland as *Der letzte Jude aus Polen* (Zurich: Europe Verlag, 1945). The third edition appeared in Great Britain as *The Promise Hitler Kept*

(London: Victor Gollancz). The fourth appeared in the United States of America with the same title (New York: Roy Publishers, 1945). I am reproducing here a short passage from page 161 of the American edition:

When trainloads of naked Jews arrived at Belzec, they were herded into a great hall capable of holding several thousand people. This hall had no windows and its flooring was of metal. Once the Jews were all inside, the floor of this hall sank like a lift into a great tank of water which lay below it until the Jews were up to their waists in water. Then a powerful electric current was sent into the metal flooring and within a few seconds all the Jews, thousands at a time, were dead. The metal flooring then rose again and the water drained away. The corpses of the slaughtered Jews were now heaped all over the floor. A different current was then switched on and the metal flooring rapidly became red hot, so that the corpses were incinerated as in a crematorium and only ash was left.

The floor was tipped up and the ashes slid out into prepared receptacles. The smoke of the process was carried away by great factory chimneys. That was the whole procedure. As soon as it was accomplished, it could start up again. New batches of Jews were constantly being driven into the tunnels. The individual trains brought between 3,000 and 5,000 Jews at a time, and there were days on which the Belzec line saw between twenty and thirty such trains arrive.

Modern industrial and engineering technique in Nazi hands triumphed over all difficulties. The problem of how to slaughter millions of people rapidly and effectively was solved.

The underground slaughter-house spread a terrible stench around the neighborhood, and sometimes whole districts were covered with the foul-smelling smoke from the burning human bodies.

This narrative, which Dr. Stefan Szende is supposed to have gotten from one Adolf Folkman, is crazy, but less crazy and more coherent than the “confessions” of Kurt Gerstein, which, let it be said in passing, are found to be in serious contradiction with the “truth” about Treblinka, such as it was established at the main Nuremberg trial. At Treblinka, with all due deference to Gerstein, the Jews were not gassed, but were scalded (see, for the racy details, document PS-3311). Here again I ask Vidal-Naquet: Which story to believe? And why this one rather than that one?

29. On page 223, Vidal-Naquet writes that there are some more than doubtful “testimonies” in which an SS man, like Pery Broad, for example, seems to have adopted entirely the language of the victors. He adds that the memoir of Pery Broad on Auschwitz was drawn up for the English (the last three words are underlined by Vidal-Naquet himself).

Response: I know of few forgeries as obvious as the memoir of Pery Broad. Vidal-Naquet seems in agreement with me in seeing a forgery there, but he draws no conclusion from that. This forgery is English and at the same time of a workmanship and a tone that are perfectly Stalin-esque, to the point of caricature. I say this to respond to the naive people who claim, contrary to all proof and to every investigation, that no torturing was done in the Allied prisons, and who add: “Look at how much agreement there is between the confessions collected in the West and those collected in the East.” I point out in passing that in the lawsuit which was brought against me by the LICRA and eight other associations, the Pery Broad memoir was placed in evidence as an exhibit. They must really be in trouble if they have to present that kind of “proof” of the existence of the gas chambers!

30. On pages 232 and 233, Vidal-Naquet talks about Höss, the first of the commandants of Auschwitz. He recognizes that it is perhaps true that Höss's English captors beat him on several occasions. He says that he was "likewise maltreated by his Polish guards at the beginning of his incarceration in Cracow." He says that Höss could not have known the exact number of his victims and that "all the speculations made by Höss on the subject of the numbers of victims are useless." He recognizes that Höss gave absurd figures regarding the numbers of Romanian and Bulgarian Jews. He says, in return, that Faurisson is wrong to "make a great fuss on the subject of an error, repeated on several occasions, which in the testimonies collected by the English has him talking about the imaginary camp of 'Wolzek near Lublin' (probably a confusion and reduplication with Belzec and Majdanek)."

Response: Vidal-Naquet makes many concessions here. I dare say that a fair number of them come from his reading of my writings. But I admire the way that everything is minimized here! An outsider could believe that the speculations made on the numbers given by Höss come from Faurisson. Nothing of the kind! As to that affair of the Romanian and Bulgarian Jews, it is very serious. I point it out in order to show how Dr. Broszat mutilated the text of Höss's diary in order to remove certain blunders.

As to the camp of Wolzek, which, in reality never existed, it cannot result from a confusion with Belzec, since Höss mentions the two camps side by side. Nor is it a question of a "recopied error," but of a second error.

One looks forward to a complete judgment on the personality of Höss and on the degree of authenticity which one can attribute to the writings of a man tortured by everyone, committing enormous errors, either about numbers or places; whose writings, published in German eleven years after his hanging by the Communists, were seriously tampered with.

31. On pages 234-236, Vidal-Naquet attempts, without great conviction, it seems to me, to defend the principle of a trial like the main Nuremberg trial, or, in the case of Eichmann, that in Jerusalem. In order to know what was said at the Jerusalem trial, he refers particularly to the book entitled *Eichmann par Eichmann* (Eichmann by Eichmann).

Response: It is clever not to seek to defend the indefensible, especially when, like Vidal-Naquet, one voluntarily relies on humanitarian good conscience. I hope for his sake that he will never find himself in the defendant's dock with a representative from his conquerors on the judges' bench, someone who, of course, will have armed himself beforehand with all the moral justifications in the world for judging the vanquished.

I recommend the reading of these three pages for their mealy-mouthed tone: "That the material gathered at Nuremberg is not always of very good quality is certain [etc.]" As to using the compilation by Pierre Joffroy in order to know what was said at the Jerusalem trial, that shows an astonishing laxity. Vidal-Naquet could have consulted the transcripts of the trial at the Paris Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation. He entertains us with the following quotation: "Eichmann, in prison or at his trial, referred often to the works of Léon Poliakov as an authority and the best source about events." For my part, I can indeed believe it. Eichmann, in his cell, was fed like a Christmas goose. He ended up no longer knowing what he had heard, what he had seen, what he had read. Here, for example, is a very important passage from his interrogation by the Israeli government commissioner regarding the "gas chambers" directly from Transcripts, J1-MJ at 02-RM:

The Commissioner: Did you talk with Höss about the number of Jews who were exterminated at Auschwitz?

Eichmann: No, never. He told me that he had built new buildings and that he could put to death ten thousand Jews each day. I do remember something like that. I do not know whether I am only imagining that today, but I do not believe I am imagining it. I cannot recall exactly when and how he told me that and the location where he told me. Perhaps I read it and perhaps I am now imagining that what I had read I heard from him. That is also possible.

32. On pages 236-244, Vidal-Naquet talks about Paul Rassinier.

Commentary: He does so with a great deal of confusion. He clutches especially at what he calls the “fantastic calculations” by Paul Rassinier regarding the number of Jewish losses. It seems to me that in the matter of “fantastic calculations” and of cock-and-bull stories, no one could surpass our Exterminationists. We have seen from the foregoing that on these points Vidal-Naquet has made a fair number of concessions, and that it seldom happens, to tell the truth, that he leaves his rarefied atmosphere to set his feet on our earth for a moment. But he loses his temper when Rassinier uses statistics that come from a Russian Jew: David Bergelson. According to the latter, the Red Army was able to save a very large number of Jews at the time of the entry of the Germans into the Soviet Union in 1941. Vidal-Naquet says that source is worthless. For this he gives us two reasons, and I am personally completely in agreement with Vidal-Naquet on one of them, as to how David Bergelson could have known those numbers as early as 5 December 1942; but Vidal-Naquet will not allow me to use the same reasoning when I challenge a mass of numbers given hot and heavy immediately after the war by the Exterminationists. And what is there to say about the numbers of those supposedly massacred that the Polish resistance or Zionist groups in Geneva and Bern dared to give in the midst of the war?

Vidal-Naquet gives another reason for challenging Bergelson, and this time he makes himself hard to understand. He writes: “D. Bergelson was a writer who was a member of a Jewish committee created by the Soviet authorities for the purpose of making propaganda addressed precisely to American Jews. After the war, in 1952, his mission accomplished, he was shot.” Let us reread each of those words slowly! What reproach can one make to this Bergelson? Was it a crime to be part of such a Jewish committee? Was it a crime to tell American Jews that a number of their fellow Jews in Russia had died? What does this “mission accomplished,” so long after the war, mean, and does Vidal-Naquet find that the Stalin courts and police did good work by shooting that Jew, at the very moment of the famous “doctors' plot”? No. Vidal-Naquet is certainly engaged in hiding part of the truth from us. We are going to have to tell it for him.

In 1977, Georges Wellers did not hide the truth in *Le Monde Juif* (April-June, page 65), when he told us that David Bergelson was part of an ad hoc Jewish committee created in the USSR at the end of 1941 and charged by the government with winning the sympathies and the financial support of American Jews for Russia in the war. In other words, Bergelson exaggerated the number of Jews in order to obtain more money. So it happens that, when confronted with many of the Exterminationist statistics, I think of what I call the “Bergelson complex.”

Was it a sort of “Bergelson complex” which was suffered by those comedic showmen of relics who, like Salomon Mikhoels from the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee formed in Moscow, made a tour of American cities and showed the public a cake of soap allegedly made from the fat of Jews, and allegedly brought from a concentration camp? The sums of money brought in by those tours were important, as noted by Gerald Israel in *Jid/Les Juifs en URSS* (Yid/The Jews in the USSR) (Editions Spéciales/Jean-Claude Lattes, 1971).

33. On pages 246-247, Vidal-Naquet writes: “It is perfectly evident that Faurisson has not read the text that he mentions.” He says that in regard to the declaration of war on Hitler’s Germany by Chaim Weizmann, a declaration for which I gave as reference *The Jewish Chronicle* of 8 September 1939, page 1. He adds that this declaration of war “is made up.” Finally he adds that Chaim Weizmann was not the president of the World Jewish Congress.

Response: That is true. I give Vidal-Naquet credit. Chaim Weizmann was the president, not of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), but of the World Zionist Organization (WZO). After the war he was to become the first president of the State of Israel. In 1939 and for some years before, Jews and Zionists were active in pushing the West into a crusade against Hitler. Even before the date on which the British and the French entered into a war against Germany, Chaim Weizmann had taken the initiative of writing, on the date of 29 August 1939, to the British Prime Minister in order to assure him of the support of the Jewish Agency for the cause of the democracies. He wrote: “The Jews stand by Great Britain and will fight on the side of the democracies.”

Furthermore, a declaration made on 8 September 1939 at Jerusalem by the Jewish Agency assured the British that, despite the White Book of 1939, the Yishuv of Palestine would be loyal and would struggle for the victory of the British Empire. *The Times* of 6 September 1939 headlined it exactly: “Jews To Fight Against Nazi Germany,” while in New York *The New York Times*, on page 9, headlined: “Jews Stand by Britain.”

Curiously, Vidal-Naquet seeks to minimize the importance of Weizmann’s act, while underlining that the latter expressed himself only in the name of the Jewish Agency. I will not be treacherous enough here to insist on the various motives which could have moved the Zionists themselves, some of whom had maintained contacts with Hitler’s Germany. Zionism and Nazism had some points of agreement. I will simply say that rightly or wrongly Weizmann intended to speak in the name of the world Jewish community, and that it was indeed in that way that his initiative against Hitler was received by the whole world.

In the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, published in Jerusalem in 1971, we read in the article on Weizmann: “When World War II broke out, Weizmann immediately promised the British government all possible aid by the Jewish population in Palestine and the Jewish people outside.” (emphasis added)

John Toland, in his *Adolf Hitler* (Doubleday, 1976, page 574), reports this, which would merit verification at the source: Regarding Chamberlain] “(Later, according to Ambassador Kennedy, he said that the ‘Americans and the world Jews had forced him into the war.’)”

Having said that, let no one accuse me of having made the Jews responsible for the Second World War. I have never been able to determine who was responsible for any war.

34. On page 248, Vidal-Naquet points out a page of mine “which ought to be included as part of an anthology of filth.” (!) I had written (see page 190 of *Vérité* ...):

Where there were large concentrations of Jews impossible to watch over carefully except through the intermediary of a Jewish police force, the Germans feared that which was to take place elsewhere, in the Warsaw ghetto, where suddenly, just behind the front in April of 1943, an insurrection took place. The Germans were amazed to discover that the Jews had built 700 blockhouses. They put down the insurrection and transferred the survivors to transit camps, work camps, and concentration camps. The Jews there lived through a tragedy.

Response: For Vidal-Naquet, the “filth” would rest in the fact that my informant here supposedly is Himmler, and that I had taken good care to hide my source. He says that “any reference to a note has charitably disappeared.” I do not understand what he means by “charitable disappearance of a footnote reference.” Actually, as the result of a typographical error, the number 48, which was to have appeared after the word “Blockhaus,” was dropped. But note 48 shows up in its proper place, and reads as follows: “Speech given at Poznan on October 6, 1943, page 169 of the *Discours Secrets of Heinrich Himmler* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978). This is the French translation of *Geheimreden 1933 bis 1945 und andere Ansprachen* (Propyläen Verlag, 1974). That work is to be used with caution, especially its French translation.” So where is the “filth”?

35. On page 249, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for having written that the Warsaw ghetto insurrection took place just behind the front, in April 1943. He says that the front was then very far away, more than a thousand kilometers distant.

Response: Vidal-Naquet here confuses the “front” with the “front line.” The front line was located perhaps more than one thousand kilometers away, but the Russian front (as we say, the German front, the Pacific front, etc.) really began at the Pripet Marshes.

36. On pages 249-250, Vidal-Naquet reproaches me for not giving more details on that insurrection, and begins to talk again about “[my] master, Himmler.”

Response: I do not have to spend time on what was not my subject. I left the subject of the ghetto and what Himmler has said about it with the following sentence: “The Jews there lived through a tragedy.”

37. On pages 250-251, we think that Vidal-Naquet is finally going to come to the subject itself, that is to say, the homicidal “gas chambers.” In fact, he talks about one document in German (a commonplace travel order), in which we read: “One hundred twenty-five men and 684 women and children have been subjected to special treatment (*sonderbehandelt wurden*).” He asks, “Will he dare say that those persons were taken to a rest camp?”

Response: I note that Vidal-Naquet does not dare to say that those people were gassed. I note that he comes back to “*Sonderbehandlung*.” On the one hand, I believe that I have already answered that question; on the other hand, I note that in the same convoy 406 men and 190 women were put to work. For the men it is specified that the work was in the Buna factories; for the women, it is not specified. The other men, women, and children, therefore, benefited from special treatment; they did not have to work. This is what can explain why, at the time of the liberation of Auschwitz, so many men, women, and especially children were found very much alive among those “incapable” of marching and taking part in the evacuation-along with, of course, the sick and the dead. In the calendar from the *Hefte von Auschwitz* (1961, Volume IV, p. 81) the writers had no fear about stating quietly that the 125 men and the 684 women and children were all gassed. Elsewhere, the same calendar considers two convoys which left Drancy on 4 and 6 March 1943 to have been gassed. But Serge Klarsfeld, in his *Mémorial* (p. 110, pp. 386-389), rectifies the “mistake”-those two convoys went to Majdanek and he found the survivors.

38. On page 251, in note 86, Vidal-Naquet makes a very brief allusion to the famous aerial photos of Auschwitz recently revealed by the CIA. We talk about them on page 319 of *Vérité*. He says that “it seems in fact that one photo taken on 25 August 1944 [...] shows the process [of extermination] in action.”

Response: With the photo in front of us Vidal-Naquet would never dare claim such a thing. That photo, like all the photos from Brugioni and Poirier, issues a stinging reproof to the whole Exter-

minationist legend. The two Americans themselves, quite crestfallen, are obliged to write on page 11: "Although survivors recalled that smoke and flame emanated continually from the crematoria chimneys and was (sic) visible for miles, the photography we examined gave no positive proof of this." The two authors add in a footnote: "The imagery examined from records of the extermination period include (sic) 4 April, 26 June, 26 July, 25 August, and 13 September 1944."

Personally, I would permit myself to add here that in a letter which can be consulted in the National Archives in Washington (letter of Robert G. Poirier to Professor David Wyman on 6 March 1979), it is said that there were as many as 32 aerial missions over Auschwitz from 27 December 1943 to 14 January 1945. Since it happens, on the other hand, that I possess copies of the intelligence reports of the OSS (ancestor of the CIA) about the region, as well as certain technical commentaries on the photos, I can state here that the knowledge that the Allies had about Auschwitz was astonishingly precise. Had there taken place at Auschwitz or in its region anything at all that resembled enormous massacres on an industrial scale, there is no doubt that the Allies would have revealed it immediately. The official announcement of such massacres would have been a stupendous psychological weapon whose destructive effect the Nazis would not have been able to counteract. It is clear that if the Allies refused to believe the allegations of the Zionists of Geneva or of Bern, or those of the Polish Resistance it is because they knew, just as did the Vatican and the International Red Cross, that to stick to the facts, and not to the malicious wartime gossip there was in reality neither an extermination nor a holocaust.

39. On pages 251 and 252, Vidal-Naquet writes: "Auschwitz was, they [Butz, Faurisson, Thion] all tell us again and again, a great industrial center, specializing in the production of synthetic rubber. But no one has ever explained to us why babies had to go there, and no one has told us what became of those babies. The complete inability of the 'revisionists' to tell us what became of those who were not registered in the camp and whose names nevertheless appear on the lists of the convoys is proof of the lying character of their statements."

Response: In the beginning, the Germans wanted to intern in their camps only those from 16 or 18 to 55 years of age who were capable of working. They supposedly dispensed with persons unable to work. Why, nevertheless, did they, little by little, deport those incapable of working-even babies?

There are several reasons for this. The first is the insistence of the governmental authorities of the occupied countries on not having families dislocated. The religious authorities especially protested against breaking up families, and the fact that some children were turned over to houses of correction, to homes, to foster parents, etc. Georges Wellers in *L'Etoile jaune...* (op. cit.) shows very clearly that no one imagined that he was leaving Drancy for an extermination center (see pp. 4, 5, 233 et seq., 254 about the "grouping of families"). Indeed some people, allowed to live at Drancy in idleness, said that all in all, it was better to go to the East where their lot would doubtless be difficult, but less depressing. To the children they explained that they were leaving for the mythical country of Pitchipoï. Among those who left, there were even some "volunteers."

Sometimes they allowed families to vote on the question of whether to take their children with them or to leave them in France (C. Levy and Paul Tillard, *Le Grand Rafle du vélodrome d'hiver* [The Great Round-up at the Vélodrome d'hiver], Robert Laffont, quoted by Georges Wellers in *Le Monde Juif*, July/September 198(), p. 109).

A section of Auschwitz-II was called the family camp, and there remain on the walls of the areas virtually never visited by tourists numerous drawings or paintings made by the children. What

became of the babies? We know, at least for a part of them, through inquiries carried out twenty years after the war by the Poles, the results of which have been partially gathered in the volumes of the blue Anthology of Auschwitz (copy typed in French, in English ...). This Anthology is very seldom read. On the subject which interests us here, I would recommend particularly, but not exclusively, Volume II, third part, pp. 31-114: "Results of the Psychiatric Examinations of Persons Born or Interned During Their Infancy in the Nazi Concentration Camps." This study, published in Polish in 1966, was translated into French in 1969. I quote here the French edition.

In the same volume, we can read an article on "The Examinations of the 'Children of Auschwitz'" (pp. 18-30). We find there sentences such as these: "The children examined up to the present were eight years old at the time of Liberation. Most of them were less than five years old when they were interned" (p. 18); "The youngest children had their numbers tattooed on their legs. As they grew, the number became unreadable" (p. 25); "The examinations and the studies continue. They are finding [written in 1965] more and more of the 'children of Auschwitz'" (p. 30).

People often reproach Laval for having strongly insisted to the Germans that they deport the children. The reproach is unjust. Laval in fact wrote: "I have in particular succeeded in not having the children separated from their parents" (*Mémoire en réponse à l'acte d'accusation* [Mémorandum in Response to the Bill of Indictment]), 1945. This is because, like the religious authorities, he did not want families to be broken up. Henri Amouroux (*La Grande Histoire des Français sous l'occupation* [The Great History of the French Under the Occupation], Volume 5: "Les passions et les haines," page 333, note 3) reports this reflection made by Laval to Jean Jardin: "I have just come from a terrible meeting [with Oberg]. They want to leave the children with us. I said to them, 'It is not customary for us to separate children from their parents.'"

Certain authors claim, in contrast to Georges Wellers, that the Central Consistory, for example, "knew" from 1942 that the deportees were destined for extermination. They give as proof a text which one can read on page 207 of Klarsfeld's *Mémorial*, something that the latter has entitled "The Vehement and Lucid Protest of the Central Consistory" (25 August 1942). I have some doubts about the authenticity of that document. Excluded from the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, under threat of physical force by its director, M. Meram, I have had to ask someone to go to verify the original text for me (references CCXIII-15 and CDLXXII-89). Here is the response that I received: "Alleged duplicate which is in fact a sheet of onion-skin paper, without a letterhead, without a signature and bearing only the date of 25 August 1942."

There were other causes for the deportation of children: for example, the systematic clearing of the ghettos, or systematic expulsion (see the examples of Warsaw or Budapest).

In the blue Auschwitz Anthology, we can read the report of a Polish midwife who, as part of her thirty-eight year career, had, in the course of two years spent at Auschwitz-Birkenau, delivered the babies of 3,000 Jewish and non-Jewish women; and that was done, she said, with an exceptionally high rate of success (Warsaw, 1969, Vol. II, 2nd part, pp. 159-169: "Rapport d'une accoucheuse d'Auschwitz" [Report of a Midwife at Auschwitz], S. Leszczynska, translated from an article that appeared in 1965 in the medical review *Przegląd Lekarski*).

40. On page 252, in note 88, Vidal-Naquet writes: "Pierre Guillaume, questioned by me on that subject [where did those not registered in the camp go?] answered that those persons were transferred to the station at Kielce. Why?"

Response: He meant Kosel (120 kilometers from Auschwitz) and not Kielce. Pierre Guillaume was alluding to a fact that Klarsfeld reports on page 12 of his *Mémorial*. Klarsfeld recalls the astonishing method used in Paris by the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation and at

Auschwitz by the National Museum of Auschwitz in order to determine the number of persons gassed. For example, when it was discovered that a convoy that had left France did not seem to have reached Auschwitz, both places calmly deduced that the convoy did reach Auschwitz, but that it had been completely gassed there!

So it is that a convoy of 3,056 persons was counted as gassed, when in fact it had stopped at Kosel and not at Auschwitz. As we have already seen above, they assumed the same for convoys numbers 50 and 51, which instead of proceeding to Auschwitz made their way to Majdanek. The same for convoy number 73 which went to Kaunas and Reval. In short, there, and again elsewhere, they invented mass gassings. But the irony of the affair is that Klarsfeld, who rectifies these errors, commits still worse errors in counting as dead the persons who did not return to France before 31 December 1945 to declare themselves alive.

41. On page 253, Vidal-Naquet writes that Faurisson “triumphantly publishes the photo of Simone Veil, who was thought to have been gassed, but is still alive. The reason for that error is extremely simple [etc.]”

Response: I would certainly not contradict Vidal-Naquet. The reason for that “error” could not be more simple. As Vidal-Naquet tells it, “The camp archives, incomplete, no longer include the names of the women who were registered [for work].” The Exterminationists, then, completed those archives, “decoded” their incompleteness, and made them speak; they made them say one more time: Here is the proof that all the women of such and such a convoy were gassed. The case of Simone Veil is far from being an exception. It shows, thanks only to the celebrity of the lady in question, the incredible dishonesty of all of these statistics about the gassed or the dead.

42. On page 255, Vidal-Naquet allows a digression about poetry. To borrow his own expression, that “is obviously absurd.” I am even less inclined to pause here since it would get us away from our subject.

43. On pages 255-261, Vidal-Naquet tries to “code” in order then to “decode” the diary of Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer.

Response: I would say first, one more time: Enough decoding! I would then add that Vidal-Naquet wrote these pages before the publication of my *Mémoire en défense* which deals in large part with the diary in question. The reader of that *Mémoire* will find there, I think, an answer to the questions and the criticism of Vidal-Naquet.

44. On page 261, in note 102, Vidal-Naquet talks about a report by a delegate of the Red Cross concerning his visit to Auschwitz.

Response: Vidal-Naquet probably did not expect that I would return in my *Mémoire en défense* to that report which had been mentioned on page 115 of *Vérité*. For each reader who would like to form for himself an idea of Vidal-Naquet’s scrupulousness in reading a text, I advise careful reading of pages 241 to 247 of my *Mémoire*. He will find there, on the one hand, an analysis of the essential passage of the delegate’s report, and on the other hand, an enumeration of the procedures by which either private persons or organizations have distorted that document, which is very embarrassing to the Exterminationists. Vidal-Naquet is to be added to the list of private persons who distort the meaning of the text, without going so far, it is true, as a Marc Hillel (see p. 255 of *Les Archives de l'espoir* [Archives of Hope], Fayard, 1977, vi + 261pp).

45. On page 268, in note 113, Vidal-Naquet talks about John Bennett, an Australian leftist, secretary of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties (the equivalent, in some sense, of the American

Civil Liberties Union), a convinced Revisionist, who is struggling calmly and courageously, in my opinion, against the Exterminationist lie. Vidal-Naquet talks about “the campaign which has led to his being excluded from the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties,” and his drawing near to the far right. Vidal-Naquet says that he gets his information from Charles Sowerwine, of Melbourne.

Response: I have in front of me *Your Rights*, which is the publication of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties. It is the 1982 edition. I certify that John Bennett appears there (with his photo) as its secretary “since the founding of the association in 1966.” I learn further that John Bennett had just been named president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union.

46. On page 269, Vidal-Naquet refers to “the hype surrounding Holocaust, the last stage in the transformation of Auschwitz into merchandise. “

Commentary: The intellectuals have cleared the way for the merchants. Auschwitz, a place of suffering, has been transformed into a sort of Disneyland with, further, a Hilton in Cracow for tourists. We in France are awaiting the arrival of a new Wiesenthal film: *Genocide*.

47. On pages 273 and 279, Vidal-Naquet relies on Pitch Bloch, a chemical engineer, for the job of answering me about the chapter on Zyklon-B.

Commentary: The course given by Pitch Bloch on Zyklon-B smells terribly of improvisation, and I could not advise this chemical engineer too strongly to refer to the studies and to the works of G. Peters on the question, especially those which are mentioned on page 204 of *Vérité*. I would advise him likewise to read *Blausäuregaskammern zur Fleckfieberabwehr* (Hydrocyanic Acid Gas Chambers for the Prevention of Typhus) by Dr. Franz Puntigam, Dr. Hermann Breymesser, and engineer Erich Bernfus (official publication of the Reich Ministry of Labor [Berlin, 1943]). At no point does Bloch explain to us how, at Struthof, Josef Kramer would not himself have been the first to have been asphyxiated while “pouring out crystals of a gas about which he could have said nothing except that with a little excess water that gas killed in ONE minute.” I wrote that salt and water can not give off such a gas. Bloch replies shrewdly that “salt” (note the quotation marks) and water can produce a gas. Let us leave him to his subtleties and let him be good enough to answer the question which is asked, which is: Let someone give me the name of the salt, with or without the quotation marks, which, on contact with water, releases an acid the toxicity of which would be higher than that of hydrocyanic acid!

I recall here that the hydrocyanic acid used in American gas chambers puts the condemned person to sleep in approximately forty seconds and kills him in several minutes (Caryl Chessman in 14 minutes, I believe). While I discuss the foolish testimony of Höss regarding “gassings” at Birkenau, Bloch contents himself with “correcting” the surface area of the alleged “gas chamber” (in reality, a morgue called a *Leichenkeller*), stating that they put 2,000 persons in 236.78 square meters, and not in only 210 square meters.

Sorry. The plan shows very clearly that the dimensions of the interior of the room, including the support pillars, were 7 meters by 30 meters = 210 square meters. Bloch does not even outline a solution to the famous mystery: How the members of the *Sonderkommando* could, without a single gas mask, enter immediately a room full of 2,000 bodies just poisoned by cyanide gas, since we know of the strict precautions taken by the Americans before going into a small gas chamber and touching the body there even slightly. Bloch creates a diversion by talking about “the testimony of R. Vrba and F. Wetzler.” I have already dealt with that above, in paragraph 27. But this time Bloch runs out of luck. Vidal-Naquet cites that testimony according to the remarks by

Georges Wellers, who had used a French version from the Office Français d'Édition, 2nd quarter of 1945.

Bloch himself quotes for us the same document according to quite another source that he gives us in note 7 on his page 276; CIM, 1944. He thereby offers us, altogether unwillingly, the occasion for a treat, a comparison of the edition of 1944 with that of 1945. We notice then that, as usual in these stories concerning “testimonies” about the “gas chambers,” they have grossly manipulated the text. I do not have the time to stop for that here. Nor do I have time to show how Georges Wellers in *Les Chambres à gaz* ont existé mutilated the quotations from the same document while using ellipses in parentheses where the “testimony” was too strong a brew (p. 115). I leave it to readers interested in the mechanisms of forgeries to go there to see it at close hand.

I will content myself with one example. According to this

testimony, and according to the plan that is found in the American version (but not in the French version, as I said in paragraph 27 above), the “gas chamber” with 2,000 bodies and the crematory ovens are located on the same level: that of the ground. Therefore the bodies would have been transported from the “gas chamber” to the crematory ovens without using an elevator. In the real plan of the rooms, however, the multiple photographs, the visible ruins, ALL prove to us that the room with the ovens was located above ground and that the alleged “gas chamber,” in reality a morgue, was located below ground. According to the “witness” invoked by Vidal-Naquet and Bloch, the transferral of the bodies took place either on “flat-hand trucks” (1944 version), or on “flat-bed trucks” (1945 version)! ! !

Bloch also does not tell us where they put the 2,000 bodies before burning them. That would have required an immense place, which appears nowhere, either in the real plans, or in the fictional plans (like the War Refugee Board Report), or today at the site. But since Mr. Bloch believed that he ought to cite for us a “testimony” which now becomes very embarrassing, permit me to cite another one of equally striking veracity; that of Zofia Kossak (Du fond de l'abîme, Seigneur [From the Depths of the Abyss, O Lord], translated from the Polish, Albin Michel: 1951):

There was no water; therefore, where were the showers? Above the doors were some narrow, oblong windows. Behind the window panes, German uniforms and faces are waiting, emotionless, but strangely evil and hostile. Have they all entered? ... The door closes with a crash. That was not an ordinary door; it was a double door, impervious to gas ... A shrill ringing sound, and immediately, through some openings in the floor, the gas began to rise [emphasis added]. From an exterior balcony which overlooked the door, the SS men observed with curiosity the agony, the terror, the spasms of the condemned. This was a spectacle that those sadists would never tire of. They contemplated it with the same pleasure several times each day. They noted the convulsions, the contortions, the particularly unusual postures. They had the time. The agony would last from ten to fifteen minutes. Certain ones died immediately, but others took a longer time. It depended on the dosage of the gas. When it happened that the crematorium office was economizing, the martyrdom took longer. At length, no one in the room stirred. Five hundred [emphasis added] women and children lay in a disorderly heap. Their dead eyes, wide with fear, stared up at the ceiling.-New ringing sound [emphasis added]. Powerful ventilators drove out the gas. The “Sonderkommando” appeared in masks and opened the door located opposite the entrance. There was a ramp there, hand trucks [emphasis added]. The team loaded them with bodies, quickly, quickly. Others were waiting. And then the dead were able to

come to life again. The gas in such doses stuns, it does not kill. It happened many a time that the victims loaded on the last round came to on the hand carts ... the hand carts got down [emphasis added] the ramp and unloaded directly into the oven [emphasis added] ... The annihilation of five hundred human beings has taken no more than an hour and a quarter [emphasis added]. Except for a handful of ashes [500 bodies of women and children would leave behind at least a ton of ashes-author's note] there would remain no other trace. The following group crossed the threshold of the bath. Chattering, the little girl held her mother's hand, and without interrupting her ditty, she crossed the threshold ... (DD. 127-128).

To see, in a general way, the incredible contradictions between the witnesses in a single trial, regarding the manner in which Zyklon was introduced into the alleged "gas chamber," one could read the unintentionally humorous summary made by a German court which, for once, lingered for a short time on the technical aspects of the "gassings" (see Justiz und NS-Verbrechen [Justice and NS-Crimes], Amsterdam: University Press, 1975, Volume XIII, the case of Dr. Gerhard Peters, p. 134 or 415 b-5).

48. On pages 280-289, Vidal-Naquet continues with an "Appendix II." There he mentions and criticizes briefly my *Mémoire en défense* which had just appeared (fourth quarter of 1980). He says that I had "not devoted a single line to trying to respond to the dismantling" that he, Vidal-Naquet, had done to Faurisson's lies. Vidal-Naquet adds that by various details of editing of *Mémoire* (correction of all too evident errors), it is evident to him, Vidal-Naquet, that Faurisson was nevertheless familiar with his text. He gives only one example of a correction for which I should allegedly be indebted to him. That example relates to the translation of the German "darniederliegen" used by Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer.

Response: On page 20 of my *Mémoire*, I say to my readers that the translation into French by the Poles was "annihilated," when the original German text said "liegen [...] darnieder," which meant there, "were sick in bed." My editor has been able to prove clearly to Vidal-Naquet that I was not at all indebted to him for that detail since my translation was done prior to the article by Vidal-Naquet. In a letter that he sent in response to my publisher, Vidal-Naquet has indeed been willing to agree with that.

49. On page 280, Vidal-Naquet writes:

[I have shown that] not one single time in [the Kremer diary] did the "special actions" in which the doctor participated have any connection whatsoever with the struggle against typhus. Faurisson is incapable, for good reason, of producing a single argument, a single response on this point. I have said It before and I repeat it now; his interpretation is a forgery, in the full meaning of the term.

Response: On 5 September 1942, Dr. Kremer was present at a special action at the women's hospital and he adds, in parentheses, "Musulmans [sic]." That term was applied to sick persons who had reached the last stage of consumption. Then, on 7 October 1942, Dr. Kremer writes: "I was present at the ninth special action (people from outside and Musulman women)." How could Vidal-Naquet claim that the condition of those male and female "Musulmans" had no connection with the formidable epidemic of typhus which ravaged both the camp and the city, causing deaths among the camp inmates as well as among the German soldiers and their families?

50. On page 281, in note 3, -Vidal-Naquet recalls briefly, and as if it went without saying, that "special action" was the "code word for gassings."

Response: Once again, enough decoding!

51. In the same passage, Vidal-Naquet writes: “A falsehood that has been changed without informing the reader remains of course a falsehood,” and he remarks that in *Vérité* ..., on pages 109-110, I defined “special action” as being “the sorting out of the sick and healthy,” while later on, in my *Mémoire*, on page 34, “the special action” becomes, in addition, the cleaning of the railway cars, either third-class coaches or especially freight cars, in which newly detained persons had just arrived.”

Response: It is sufficient to go back to my text in order to see that the accusation by Vidal-Naquet is based on a bad reading. In fact, in *Vérité* ... on pages 109-110, I defined the sorting out of the sick and the well as “ONE of the forms of the doctor’s ‘special action.’”

52. On page 286, Vidal-Naquet writes: “Faurisson has been banned neither from the library nor from the public archives.” He recalls that the personnel of the Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Paris “after some years of forbearance” have refused to serve me and that to him that “seemed quite normal” since I questioned the Center “in its fundamental activity, that of remembering the crime” (sic). Vidal-Naquet adds that the Center is a “private foundation.”

Response: The staff of the Center, or at least a part of the staff, is paid by the French taxpayer. For some months the staff increased its provocations so that I could no longer come to work at the Center. I was driven away by the director in person, Mr. Meram, who threatened me with physical assault if I tried to return. Thereupon, I received from Georges Wellers a letter in which he informed me of his refusal to let me have access to the library and the archives; all done in the name of the noblest ideals. In doing that, he was, he said, “sure of finding himself in the noblest traditions of this country, where freedom and the respect for human dignity are indissoluble” (27 April 1978).

I have likewise been driven away from an institute in Paris and from a research center and library in Vienna. I state explicitly that in spite of what he supposedly declared to a French journalist, Mr. Simon Wiesenthal has never forcibly shown me to the door of his home. To the contrary, he received me with a very Viennese courtesy. It is true that at the time he did not know my opinion about the “gas chambers”!

But, in fact, does the Vatican Library refuse access to agnostics? I note that, if I am prosecuted like a criminal in the courts by a swarm of organizations, it is likewise done in the name of the noblest ideals; they are not harming the freedoms of thought and expression—they are protecting them! 53. On page 286, Vidal-Naquet writes: “I myself claim, and I prove, that Faurisson, outside of the very limited case of the Diary of Anne Frank, is not seeking truth but falsehood.”

Question: How can that be reconciled in the same man?

54. On the same page, in note 12, Vidal-Naquet obviously does not know what to say in response to the forty pages (pages 181 to 222 of *Mémoire en défense*) which I devote to the “drastic revision of 1960.” I recall there how the “gas chambers” of the Old Reich went, so to speak, down the chute, and I amuse myself collecting “strikingly true testimonies about the non-existent gassings, for example, at Buchenwald and Dachau.” Here is how Vidal-Naquet gets rid of the thorn. He writes:

In order to be complete, I would say that [in Faurisson’s new book] there is a file about the imaginary or non-functioning gas chambers in the camps in the West,

Buchenwald, Dachau. But all that is so badly analyzed historically that even that documentation is usable only with difficulty.

Response: There is no analysis on my part, either historical or otherwise. I content myself above all with a simple enumeration of the false testimonies. The enumeration in and of itself speaks volumes. In it we can read, between the lines, the famous question which no one has yet answered: “What difference do you see between the 'testimonies' about Buchenwald or Dachau and the 'testimonies' about Auschwitz or Belzec?” Had I wanted to do an analysis of each of the false testimonies that I cite, I am sure that my analysis would have been of a biblical simplicity. Let us take a short example. Here is a false testimony about Dachau. It is from Fernand Grenier and I quote it on page 218 of my *Mémoire en défense*. First I shall give the text and then I shall analyze it.

Text of the False Testimony

To the side of the four crematory ovens which never stopped working there was a room: some showers with sprinkler heads in the ceiling. In the preceding year [1944] they had given a towel and a piece of soap to 120 children, from 8 to 14 years of age. They were quite happy when they went inside. The doors were closed. Asphyxiating gas came out of the showers. Ten minutes later, death had killed these innocents whom the crematory ovens reduced to ashes an hour later.

Analysis Of The False Testimony

Since it is admitted that nobody was ever gassed in Dachau, the false witness Fernand Grenier has totally made up:

1. The four crematory ovens which never stopped working;
2. The room with the false showers and shower heads;
3. The year in which the event took place (in contrast to many witnesses, he does not go so far as to give the month, the day, and the hour);
4. The children;
5. The number of those children;
6. The ages of those children;
7. The 120 towels and pieces of soap;
8. The complete joy of the children on entering;
9. The closing of the doors (in the plural);
10. The asphyxiating gasses;
11. The 10 minutes it took for death to occur;
12. The record time for the cremation of 120 children's bodies in four ovens-only one hour, when today, with more modern means than those of 1944, four ovens of the kind that function at Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris would need 225 hours, or about nine days (45 minutes per body without antibiotics; if not, 50 to 60 minutes per body).

My analysis will stop here. To continue would serve no other purpose than to measure the candor of all who believe that such stories are not made up.

With regard to false testimony, I would be happy if Vidal-Naquet would give me his opinion on Sachso (op. cit.). There, on numerous occasions, the “gas chamber” of that camp is discussed, al-

though it was located 30 kilometers from Berlin; that is to say, in the Old Reich, where, as we have known officially since the drastic revision of 1960, there was no homicidal gassing.

In 1968, Olga Wormser-Migot, in her thesis on *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi 1932-1945* (The Nazi Concentration Camp System 1932-1945) wrote in note 2 on page 541, in the midst of a chapter significantly entitled, “The Problem of the Gas Chambers,” that the Oranienburg “gas chamber” appeared to her to be “on the order of myth.”

In Sachso, which is presented as a collective work, the authors reproduce for us two photos of Soviet origin tending to support the existence of a homicidal gas chamber. One does not see in them the least bit of the alleged “gas chamber.” The first caption reads as follows:

One of the butchers of the camp, Paul Sakowski, in the presence of an officer of the Soviet Commission of Inquiry, repeats in 1945 the movements which released death into the gas chamber.

The second caption reads as follows:

To the left of the heavy, armored, and air-tight door to the execution room he activates the lever which seals all the ventilation openings. Then, with a slap of his palm on a hammer, he breaks the ampule of Zyklon-B. the deadly vapors of which spread throughout the interior.

But it is interesting to know that Zyklon-B, invented in 1917 (the license dates from 1922) and still currently in use today throughout the world, never existed in ampules. Zyklon-B is hydrocyanic acid absorbed into an inert porous base — diatomaceous earth, for example. The funny thing about the plan of the camp which they have drawn is that it very clearly says “Industrie Hof (sic)/Crematory/Gas Chamber/Execution Chamber,” but all that is accompanied by an arrow pointing toward the open, so that it is impossible to distinguish the shape, the proportions, or the location of the “gas chamber.”

I would likewise hope that Vidal-Naquet will tell us his feelings about the “Exhibition on the Deportation, 1933-1945” which took place in late April and early May of 1982 on the Place du Trocadéro in Paris. On 30 April, in a “Supplement to the Quarterly Review *Les Amis de Paul Rassinier*, No. 1, June, 1982,” I wrote an article about it which ends as follows:

In a general way, the 1982 exhibition marks an interesting evolution of the myth of the homicidal gas chambers. The fragments they show us of the alleged homicidal gas chambers are smaller and smaller. They are tending toward the infinitesimal, toward zero, toward nothing. Many gas chambers are no longer shown at all! They content themselves with showing us the building which is supposed to have contained them.

I add, under the heading “N.B.,” the book by Georges Wellers, entitled *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé* (Gallimard, 1981), containing 12 photographs; not one shows a homicidal gas chamber.

I know several academic historians who no longer believe in the Nazi “gas chambers.” They have confided that to me but dare not state it publicly. They feel the time has come to abandon the pious lie, but they don’t know how to go about it.

To them I suggest a trick devised by one of my lawyers, who, after having believed firmly in the academic dogma, suddenly realized that he had been deceived. The means he devised in order not to appear to have changed his mind too much is as follows:

He described the “gas chambers” as “metaphorical.” No doubt those horrors had not really taken place, but they conveyed very well all the real horrors of the Nazi concentration camps, and all in all they were a faithful image of the sufferings of the deportees and a moving representation of what some suffering minds really believed they knew. After all, the figure of 6 million Jews dead has become a “symbolic number,” eine symbolische Zahl, since 3 May 1979 in a court in Frankfurt (case 50 Js 12 828/78 919 Ls, against Erwin Schönborn) where Dr. Broszat, once again, testified as an expert witness, based on his position as director of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. The alleged gas chambers are “metaphorical,” the alleged number of 6 million dead “symbolic.”

All that remains is to find an adjective of the same kind for the alleged “genocide.”

55. On page 288, Vidal-Naquet assures us that my “freedom of expression, subject to existing laws, has never been threatened.”

Response: His “subject to” is something to be relished. Vidal-Naquet has respect for law—for the law, for example, which, as a result of my having stood up for my idea about the “gas chambers” and the “genocide,” led to my being condemned to a suspended sentence of three months in prison and to 360 million old francs in various fines plus the expenses of publicizing the decision. I have against me a pack of organizations and a mob of lawyers. I have been crushed by the debts from all those trials. I no longer have the right to teach. I have been attacked and physically beaten on several occasions. I have been the object of real lynching attempts. My health has become such that I had to be hospitalized three times in one year, for one month each time. My family life is completely upset. One of my children has had to give up his studies because of the name he bears. I am insulted in the French and international press as no one else, to the best of my knowledge, has ever been. The right to reply is almost systematically refused to me since a judge declared that to put “gas chamber” in quotes is to cast a slur upon some kind of holy thing. The Council of State has declared that there is nothing “materially inexact” in declaring me to be an academic who has never published anything in his life! The administrative court of the département of the Seine has never investigated a complaint I made in January 1975. I have encountered serious problems when I've had to find a lawyer. All of them have avoided the job. One of them was expelled from the MRAP [Movement against Racism and for Peace between Peoples] for having had the audacity to defend not my ideas, but my right to freedom of expression. A portion of my books was destroyed in the warehouse. A unit of the Jewish Defense Organization called for an attack against us in a hall of “La Libre Pensée” (“Free Thought”) and smashed 12,000 francs worth of property.

One night at 9:30 p.m. a sheriff's officer came on behalf of the MRAP to seize a video-cassette which the Jewish Defense Organization had just seized. We are the objects of never-ending threats. The vigilantes flourish in Paris, as in the provinces. Because of all this my wife has been sick for four years and lives in constant fear.

We have had some of our furniture repossessed while awaiting the possible seizure of a house that I have not yet completed paying for (purchased for 105,000 francs in 1968); our car has been seized, and most of my salary (my sole source of income) taken.

I have paid for all my research, and related travel expenses, out of my own pocket. When, for once, I won a court case (against *Le Matin de Paris*, which had written that I had received a repri-

mand for anti-Semitic remarks at the lycée in Clermont-Ferrand), the judge-Mme. Simone Rozès-did not want to publicize the decision because of the “special character of the case.”

Dr. Marc Aron, the president of the consultative committee of the Jewish organizations in Lyon, declared one day that I would never again teach in Lyon, and organized demonstrations on the premises of my university by persons from outside the university. My case was the subject of administrative inquiry. The rector concluded it as follows: “Professor Faurisson is unassailable; he has not committed any professional error.” That meant nothing, nor did the moving support of my students, nor the qualities which I seem to have shown up to that time (“Very brilliant professor; very original researcher; exceptional personality”). Not one of my colleagues came to my defense. Some of them went so far as to write to the president (socialist) of my university to assure him of their support against the black sheep. I have the letters. There are 25 of them.

I was warned by the Disciplinary Council to disappear from circulation. They assured me that, since the Council was constituted as it was, the opinion of the rector was of no importance. As a result of this pressure, I asked for a position teaching in the correspondence division. There they told me that they would have nothing to do with me, and that anyway my belonging to Group A of Higher Education prevented me from being used.

As regards my union, the SNESup (a leftist union) did not delay in showing me the door without letting me be heard in any way. I belonged to the SNES and to the SNESup for more than 20 years.

I won’t mention the threatening letters, the anonymous telephone calls, the times that I was spat upon, the minor problems. I must admit that I feel like a hunted animal, and that I have often wanted to be done with my life. I do not know whether I will survive much longer what is happening to me and to my loved ones. But I feel myself torn by the duty to struggle against such horrible lies and so much cowardice.

If I must struggle in this way, with the bit between my teeth, it is also for all those who have supported me up to now. First, those of the Vieille Taupe publishing house, and then all those strangers in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, Italy, Australia, and other places as well, who collect protests and manifestos.

56. On page 288, Vidal-Naquet writes:

Noam Chomsky, in a letter of 6 December 1980 to Jean-Pierre Faye, retracted, if not his text (appearing as a preface to my *Mémoire en défense*), then at least the use which had been made of it, without his agreement, as the preface to a book by Robert Faurisson.

Response: That is quite simply false.

That letter was written, but its content has been seriously misrepresented.

One comment by way of conclusion:

Vidal-Naquet spreads the idea, even in court, that he is convinced that I am an anti-Semite.

I will share a secret with you. When I hear talk about the Jewish question, I fall asleep. I understand that such indifference on this matter might offend the people who see anti-Semites every-

where, as others see Jews everywhere-but I demand the right to be indifferent on that point and on several others.

Notes

1. In section 10 I wrote: “(...) concentration camps are a modern invention that we owe not to the British in their war against the Boers, but to the Americans during their Civil War” and I went on to mention “the horrors of Andersonville.” Recently Mr. Mitchell A. Abidor (from Brooklyn, NY), reading the French version, noticed my mistake and reminded me that Andersonville had not been a “concentration camp” but a camp for prisoners of war. He is right. I should have mentioned instead Mark Weber’s article: “The Civil War Concentration Camps,” *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1981, p. 137-153 in which we read inter alia:

In addition to camps for captured soldiers, the North also established concentration camps for civilian populations considered hostile to the Federal government. Union General Thomas Ewing issued his infamous Order Number 11 in August 1863, whereby large numbers of civilians in Missouri were relocated into what were called “posts.”

In *Plain Speaking*, “An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman,” the former president tells what happened:

Everybody, almost the entire population of Jackson County and Vernon and Cass and Bates counties, all of them were depopulated, and the people had to stay in posts.

They called them posts, but what they were, they were concentration camps. And most of the people were moved in such a hurry that they had to leave all their goods and their chattels in their houses. Then the Federal soldiers came in and took everything that was left and set fire to the houses.

That didn’t go down very well with the people in these parts; putting people in concentration camps in particular didn’t. (pp. 78-79)

President Truman’s grandmother loaded what belongings she could into an oxcart and, with six of her children, among them the President’s mother, made the journey to a “post” in Kansas City. Martha Ellen Truman vividly remembered that trek until she died at the age of 94 [p. 143].

1. In my introduction and in Section 13 of my “Response ...,” I mentioned Ms. Nadine Fresco and her attempt to answer the Revisionists' arguments. Recently, in December 1985, she was quoted by Michael May in an article against the Revisionists: “Denying the holocaust/The background, methods and motives of the 'revisionists,’” *Index on Censorship* (London), December, 1985, p. 29-33. Below is what Michael May said against me and what I answered him.

Nadine Fresco in her admirable article “The Denial of the Dead” (*Dissent*, Fall, 1981) relates the following discovery about perhaps the most meticulous and dedicated of the 'revisionists', Robert Faurisson, in his treatment of the diary of the Auschwitz doctor Kremer, an important document.

'In his letter to Le Monde on January 16, 1979, Faurisson cites the diary that Johann-Paul Kremer, SS doctor, kept during his tenure at Auschwitz. Kremer recounts, on October 18, 1942 that, for the eleventh time, he was present at a "special action" (Sonderaktion). Faurisson, who can't be had and who, like no one else, knows how to decipher a text, decides that this "special action", which the exterminationists [the deniers' name for the established historians] insist on taking for a mass gassing, refers very simply to the executions of those condemned to death. He writes, "Among those condemned are three women who arrived in a convoy from Holland; they are shot". This sentence is accompanied by a very impressive note that indicates the seriousness of Faurisson's work. The note consists of a biographical reference: "Auschwitz as Seen by the SS", published by the Museum of Oswiecim [the Polish name for Auschwitz], 1974, p. 238, note 85".

'Can one imagine a more scrupulous concern for reference, precision, and scientific rigor? But then perhaps Faurisson thinks it would be rather surprising if readers of Le Monde had access to such a book, published so far from France and behind the Iron Curtain. Unfortunately for Faurisson, I have the book. And note 85 on page 238, which reports the official transcript of Kremer's testimony in 1947, indeed indicates that three Dutch women were shot on that day. But the text of the note to which Faurisson refers reads: "At the time of the special action which I described in my diary on October 18, 1942, three Dutch women refused to enter the gas chamber [emphasis mine] and pleaded for their lives. They were young women, in good health, but despite this their prayer was not granted and the SS who participated in the action shot them on the spot."

So there were gas chambers and people were put in them-and Faurisson relies on the very testimony which shows this. But he conceals all mention of gas chambers. The truth is not his goal ...

At the time of the Faurisson affair, thirty-four of France's leading historians issued a declaration in Le Monde attesting to the historical truth of the Holocaust and protesting the Nazi attempt to erase the past. They concluded:

'Everyone is free to interpret a phenomenon like the Hitlerite genocide according to his own philosophy. Everyone is free to compare it with other enterprises of murder committed earlier, at the same time, later. Everyone is free to offer such or such kind of explanation; everyone is free, to the limit, to imagine or to dream that these monstrous deeds did not take place. Unfortunately they did take place and no one can deny their existence without committing an outrage on the truth. It is not necessary to ask how technically such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible, seeing that it took place. That is the required point of departure of every historical inquiry on this subject. This truth it behooves us to remember in simple terms there is not and there cannot be a debate about the existence of the gas chambers.' (Le Monde, Feb 21, 1979)

Letter to the Editor, Index on Censorship (for publication)

Subject: Michael May, "Denying the Holocaust" (Index on Censorship, December 1985, pp. 29-33)

My name is Robert Faurisson. I am a professor at the University of Lyon-2, in France. I have said and I still maintain that there was never a single homicidal gas chamber in the German concen-

tration camps prior to or during World War II. I have arrived at that conclusion, as have many Revisionists, at the end of a very long investigation and I have expressed that conclusion in books, articles, and one videotape presentation. In my response to Michael May's article, I will refer only to two books: Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Le dossier de l'Affaire Faurisson, La question des chambres à gaz), Paris, La Vieille Taupe Publishing Co., April 1980, 352 pages; Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire* (La question des chambres à gaz), with a preface by Noam Chomsky, same publisher, November 1980, xx-iv + 280 pages.

Michael May, on the other hand, believes that the gas chambers did exist. In his article he mentions a French woman, Madame Nadine Fresco, who has fought vigorously against the Revisionist thesis and, in particular, against my own publications in *Le Monde* ("Le problème des chambres à gaz/La rumeur d'Auschwitz," 29 December 1978, p. 8, and "Une lettre de M. Faurisson," 16 January 1979, p. 13) as well as against Serge Thion's book.

Nadine Fresco criticized us in a fierce and mocking way in a long article in *Les Temps Modernes* (the magazine of Jean-Paul Sartre and of Claude Lanzmann, famous later as the director of the film *Shoah*). Her article was entitled: "Les redresseurs de morts/Chambres à gaz: la bonne nouvelle/Comment on révisé l'histoire" (*Les Temps Modernes*, June 1980, pp. 2150-2211).

Michael May does not refer to that article but rather to an English text: "The Denial of the Dead" (*Dissent*, Fall 1981), which, judging from the excerpt that he has cited, could be either a translation or an adaptation of the *Temps Modernes* article. He describes that article as "admirable," especially since Ms. Fresco supposedly shows what kind of trick I used to hide from *Le Monde*'s readers the existence of an "important document": the testimony of Professor Johann-Paul Kremer about the gassings at Auschwitz.

Unfortunately for Nadine Fresco and Michael May, I, far from having hidden that testimony from anyone, have often mentioned it and, noting the interest that has been shown in it by those who sued me for "falsification of history," have devoted numerous pages to it for some time. Here I will limit myself to listing only the five occasions on which I talked about that testimony, a date approximately one year before Nadine Fresco in *Dissent*, in spite of so many warnings, went on to repeat and to persist in her initial serious mistake.

Here are the five dates on which I talked about the testimony that Johann-Paul Kremer made to his Polish Communist jailers:

1. On 16 January 1979, in the same letter to *Le Monde* in which Ms. Fresco said that I had concealed Kremer's testimony from my readers, I expressly mentioned "'the testimony' (in quotes) after the war by J.-P. Kremer" and the context clearly shows that it was testimony about the alleged gassings (that letter is reproduced in my *Mémoire*, pp. 84-88);
2. On 26 February 1979, in a text sent to *Le Monde* in connection with my "right to reply" to Georges Wellers, I referred to the testimony and its content (that text is reproduced in my *Mémoire*, pp. 96-100);
3. In April of 1980 Serge Thion announced on page 338 of his book that I was soon going to publish a *Mémoire* in which I would deal, among other items, with the question of Kremer's testimony;
4. In June of 1980 Nadine Fresco published her article in *Les Temps Modernes*; it mentioned me 150 times. In accordance with my legal "right of reply," I sent a response to her article. In it I pointed out, among other items, that it was wrong for Ms. Fresco, repeating Georges Wellers's error, to reproach me for having been silent about the testimony of J.-P. Kremer; I

told her that *Le Monde* had refused to publish my response to Wellers and I made it clear that I was soon going to publish a *Mémoire* in which I would once more talk about J.-P. Kremer (a photograph of *Le Monde*'s refusal letter is included in my *Mémoire*, p 101);

5. In November of 1980 the *Mémoire* that had twice been announced to Ms. Fresco appeared; in it I reproduced in facsimile 20 pages of the Communist publication in whose footnotes are found fragments of Kremer's confession. And I had no trouble in showing the vagueness and the absurdity of that testimony, which is also quite typical of Stalinist trials.

I will therefore make the following remarks about that whole affair and about Michael May's article:

1. It is astonishing that I have been accused in this way of hiding something that I had myself taken the initiative to point out. Georges Wellers was the first one to make this false accusation. The others have only repeated what he said. They have been, first of all, the group of nine organizations which sued me; then Nadine Fresco, and today Michael May. They have not been able to respond to the scholarly arguments of the revisionists and instead have leaped at the first accusation that occurred to them. And, lacking anything better to say, they have persisted in their error;
2. Those who defend the thesis about the existence of the gas chambers are amateurish. We have an example of that amateurishness in Nadine Fresco: in my letter to *Le Monde* I said that three women coming from the Netherlands had been shot rather than gassed at Auschwitz; as my source I gave a classic book, a special issue of the *Hefte von Auschwitz* (*Auschwitz Notebooks*) published by the very official State Museum of Auschwitz; this special issue was also in French, and I gave the exact citation in the French version. What did Ms. Fresco do about that? She deduced from it that this was a trick on my part and that, having done that, I counted on the fact that no reader of *Le Monde* would take the trouble to verify the reference to a work "published so far from France and behind the Iron Curtain." Could Ms. Fresco find anyone who, writing as a specialist about Auschwitz, would be unaware of the existence of the *Hefte von Auschwitz*?
3. Do we know of very many Communist-conducted trials that have not had confessions by the accused?
4. Michael May wrote his article in a publication called *Index on Censorship*. I therefore supposed that he is opposed to censorship. In this whole affair there have been two examples of censorship: first by *Le Monde*, then by *Les Temps Modernes*. In both cases they prevented me from reminding the public that I had indeed mentioned the Kremer testimony and that I even knew the subject very well. The result was that Nadine Fresco thought she could repeat a baseless accusation that is today coming back to haunt her. Therefore, it seems that it is, at least sometimes, unwise to censor things.
5. Michael May ends his article with the final excerpt from the declaration by 34 French historians who, in February 1979, published a text protesting against my denial of the existence of the gas chambers. He talks about "thirty-four of France's leading historians." He fails to mention that not one of those historians, except Léon Poliakov, was a specialist in the period under consideration; they included Egyptologists, Hellenists, specialists in the 16th or the 18th centuries, specialists in the study of customs or of societies, etc. In France today people still laugh at that declaration which seems to please Michael May; here is how it concluded:

"It is not necessary to ask how technically such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible, seeing that it took place. That is the required point of departure of every inquiry on this subject. This truth it behooves us to remember in simple

terms: there is not and there cannot be a debate about the existence of the gas chambers” (Le Monde, 21 February 1979, p. 23).

This kind of reasoning is an example of a rhetorical construction known as “tautology.” And it raises three questions: Apart from the alleged mass murder of Jews by the Nazis, what other mass murder in history could a historian research without having to ask himself how “technically” it was carried out?

You say that there cannot be any debate about the existence of the gas chambers; does that mean that if there is actually such a debate it is necessary to forbid it—for example, by means of censorship or law suits?

Supposing for a moment that the gas chambers were actually nothing more than a wartime rumor turned into an historic lie. Should we call it that or cover it up? In this case what, in your opinion, should a scholar do?

3. In section 28 I wrote: “A thesis is presently being prepared which will expose the Gerstein 'confessions' and what Léon Poliakov has made of them.” The viva voce of this thesis was on 15 June 1985. Its author, Mr. Henri Roques, received his Ph.D. (doctorat d'Université) with distinction from the University of Nantes. This long and very technical thesis will be mimeographed in February, 1986. The conclusions are humiliating for Léon Poliakov. Quite recently, in November 1985, Carlo Mattogno published *Il Rapporto Gerstein: Anatomia di un Falso/II “campo di sterminio” di Belzec* (The Gerstein Report: Anatomy of a Fraud/The Extermination Camp at Belzec), ed. Sentinella d'Italia (Via Buonarroti 4, Monfalcone, Italy), 243 p., 15,000 lire. His findings are the same as Dr. Roques' findings.

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The German Delousing Chambers

Friedrich Paul Berg

Today at the former German concentration camp at Dachau, it is no longer claimed that Jews or anyone else were ever killed in the gas chamber there. In the room that is supposedly a gas chamber, one can clearly read a sign written by the museum authorities in five languages which says, “THE GAS CHAMBER disguised as a ‘shower room’ — never used as a gas chamber.”[1] Although the room was completed in 1942, it was never used for its intended purpose — presumably, it was used for other purposes; perhaps it was used as a shower room after all.

At the western end of the crematorium building which houses the so-called gas chamber “disguised as a shower room,” one can today see and walk through four delousing chambers which were used to fumigate clothing.[2] The only explanation regarding these chambers is a sign above them, also in five languages, which simply says “Fumigation cubicles” in English and *Desinfektionskammern* in German. There is no mention anywhere within the camp of the important fact that these chambers used Zyklon-B to fumigate clothing as well as other articles placed within the chambers.

The “shower room” is not a gas chamber at all, but the so-called “fumigation cubicles” are gas chambers. Moreover, the “fumigation cubicles ” are extremely well-designed gas chambers which represented, and may still represent, the state of the art in gas chamber design. They were the product of more than 20 years of research and development into the application of hydrocyanic acid (often referred to simply as cyanide) for the extermination of vermin. This is clearly shown by the extensive German technical literature from the end of World War I through World War II on this subject.[3]

The delousing chambers at Dachau were far superior in design to the gas chambers which are still used in this country for the execution of criminals. As a consequence of their design, the operating procedures for the delousing chambers at Dachau were quite simple; for example, although gas masks had to be available, the operators were only required to use them in emergencies or in special situations. By contrast, the American gas chambers for executions still require the use of gas masks during the normal post-execution procedures. Compared to the American gas chambers, the German delousing chambers at Dachau were also safer to operate and far less expensive to construct.[4]

At the end of this article I have added a translation of one of the many articles that can be found in the German wartime technical and medical literature discussing the proper use of Zyklon-B for the control of typhus through the extermination of its principal carrier, the body louse. (See appendix.) The article by Emil Wustinger is especially important because of the numbers it gives to show the extent to which the Zyklon-B delousing technology was actually used by the Germans to save people from the ravages of typhus. According to Wustinger, 25 million people had

already had their clothing and personal belongings fumigated from the start of the war until the beginning of 1944. This number is, interestingly enough, the same as the one which appears in the Gerstein statement as the number of people who had been “killed” in gas chambers.



Figure 1: One of the four delousing chambers as it can be seen today in Dachau. (Note the heater, wire-mesh basket and other equipment visible through the open doorway.)

The delousing chamber represented by the drawing in Wustinger’s article is the standard ten-cubic-meter model which seems to have been used most often. It is essentially identical to the four chambers – “fumigation cubicles” – that one can still see today in the Dachau crematorium building. Even the interior dimensions are the same: The interior length is four meters, the interior height is 1.9 meters and the interior width is 1.35 meters, which gives a total interior volume of about ten cubic meters. The only significant difference between the delousing chamber portrayed in the drawing and the four chambers that one can still see in Dachau is that the cutouts in the walls containing some of the circulatory system apparatus are in the upper left corners of the chambers instead of in the lower left corners. The blowers above each chamber, a separate blower for each chamber, are no longer present although most of the piping, including the vent piping, remains.

The blowers, in effect, drove the entire fumigation process. Initially, each blower would accelerate the evaporation of hydrocyanic acid out of the porous Zyklon-B granules placed inside the chamber by forcing warm air through the granules and then circulating the resulting air and hydrocyanic acid gas mixture throughout all of the clothing and articles within the chamber. Finally, each blower force-vented the lethal gas mixture out of the chamber up a vent pipe through the roof to atmosphere and replaced the lethal gas with fresh air so that the chamber doors could be opened without endangering the operator.

Each chamber was designed so that it would normally be operated without the operator having to wear a gas mask except in an emergency. According to Dr. Gerhard Peters, writing in 1940 about

the recently perfected gas chamber design:

Last but not least, it is an essential requirement that the operating personnel not come into direct contact with the hydrocyanic acid and also not be hindered unnecessarily with gas masks. The new design therefore provides that the entire process and even the venting occur behind closed doors; the equipment can be controlled from outside *without anti-gas protection (ohne Gasschutz)* since the hydrocyanic acid container is opened automatically only within the chamber. (Gas masks need only be available for special situations.) [emphasis as in the original][5]

The most significant feature of these designs is that a chamber so equipped for generating the gas and for controlling circulation can be operated *without anti-gas protection. Thanks to the special arrangement of the equipment, one can ventilate with the doors closed* which can be regarded as an especially great advantage . . . [emphasis as in the original]

Without doubt this design has had the greatest significance on the mass application of hydrocyanic acid fumigation facilities for mass delousing since it is only with such installations that dependable results can be achieved in unusually short periods (1 hour treatment).[6]

An accurate explanation of the role of the delousing chambers with their blowers would, no doubt, have caused many visitors to wonder why the Germans never used these devices for mass-murder. Each of the four delousing chambers had an interior floor space of 5.4 square meters and certainly could have been used to kill several dozen people at a time. And yet such an application for these chambers has never been alleged. One problem would have been that some of the circulatory system apparatus — including the four-way valve, the can-opener and the heater — is exposed to the interior and could have been damaged quite easily by anyone trapped inside. This apparatus could, however, have been shielded by some kind of metal grill — but there is no evidence that any such shielding was ever present.

The four delousing chambers could have been adapted for mass-extinction in another way which would have been obvious to many visitors. Instead of blowing the hydrocyanic acid vapors to atmosphere through the vent pipe at the end of a typical fumigation cycle, the same gas could have been blown through another pipe into the “shower room” located approximately in the middle of the same building about 60 feet away. As soon as a sufficiently lethal concentration of cyanide vapors had been attained inside the “shower room,” the blowers could have been shut down for as long as needed, several minutes would probably have been enough, to allow the gas to kill its victims. Afterwards, the blowers could have been restarted to ventilate the shower room by blowing fresh air into the room. Such a method would have worked, although for reasons which will be given later on, the arrangement would have been far more effective if it included some piping or ductwork to circulate the air-gas mixture. Ideally, some vent piping should have also been provided for the shower room so as to cause the potentially lethal gas to be discharged above the roof of the building instead of into the surroundings near ground level.

Wustinger’s article also discusses the advantages of hydrocyanic acid gas chambers over delousing chambers which used hot air. The hot air method and a steam method (not discussed in the article) both relied on high temperature to kill lice and other vermin. Both methods were somewhat safer since they did not involve the use of a poisonous substance. However, both of these alternatives had other problems. If a high enough temperature was not maintained long enough, particularly in the center of the chamber, which would have been insulated somewhat by the

presence of a load of clothing, the delousing procedure would not have been effective. In addition, maintaining a high temperature within a chamber meant that the chamber had to be far better insulated and for this reason required a heavier, more expensive structure. A great deal of precious fuel also had to be consumed in order to generate the necessary heat. High temperatures tended to damage leather goods, foods, and some types of equipment which required fumigation from time to time.

The high temperature approach, whether it involved steam or hot air, was used more often in Eastern regions occupied by the Germans. This was because of the shortage of the trained specialists which were needed whenever one worked with Zyklon-B. The Zyklon method was generally employed within the Reich itself.

Zyklon B

Until the introduction of DDT by the Americans and by the Germans in 1944, the delousing of not only clothing but also living quarters, especially barracks, and railroad trains in order to kill body lice was the only effective means of controlling the spread of typhus. Until the arrival of DDT, the most effective pesticide for killing body lice, i.e., for delousing, was Zyklon-B.

When Exterminationists claim, as Raul Hilberg did in *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961 edition, pp. 565-67) that Zyklon-B was simply the commercial name for prussic acid (hydrocyanic acid is the chemical term generally used for prussic acid), or that it was hydrogen cyanide solidified in pellets which passed “immediately” into the gaseous state upon being dropped into a gas chamber, they merely show that they have no idea as to what their great murder weapon really was.

Zyklon-B was, and still is, essentially a porous material with liquid hydrocyanic acid absorbed into it with a small amount of chemical stabilizer and warning ingredient added.^[7] The absorbent material was generally diatomaceous earth but paper discs were also used, especially in the United States. After the hydrocyanic acid had completely evaporated, the porous material – now completely harmless – could be returned to a Zyklon dealer and refilled.

The speed with which hydrocyanic acid evaporates out of the Zyklon granules or paper discs is not instantaneous. Although the hydrocyanic acid does immediately begin to leave the porous material as soon as a can of Zyklon-B is opened, that does not mean it leaves all at once. On the contrary, it still takes about half an hour for most of the cyanide to leave under normal conditions and under normal room temperature, about 68 F. Even more time is needed for all the cyanide to leave the granules.

According to Dr. Gerhard Peters, who was the managing director of DEGESCH and who from the early 1930's through World War II was probably the most prolific advocate of Zyklon-B:^[8]

... As a general rule, the material is spread out in a layer which is 1/2 to 1 cm thick, after which most of the hydrocyanic acid has already evolved after half an hour.^[9]

Although the process begins immediately, it is nonetheless a gradual process. It can be speeded up by dispersing the granules in thinner layers or by using smaller granules to begin with or – what is most important in order to understand how the standard delousing chambers worked – by forcing air through the granules and/or by the addition of heat.

The importance of heat not only to prevent condensation during the venting of a cyanide gas chamber but also during the gassing phase itself is evident from the very title of a German patent

which was granted to DEGESCH in 1940. The title of patent no. 700469 which took effect retroactively on July 26, 1934 reads:

Method for generating the *necessary heat for the vaporization of poisonous substances* for gases used for pest control [emphasis added]

The text of the patent explains at some length the need for heating in order to accelerate the release of fumigating gases such as hydrocyanic acid. The patent includes a schematic drawing showing the same circulatory equipment arrangement which was probably used in all of the standard DEGESCH gas chambers.

The importance of heat to the venting process is spelled out in the following text from Peters and Wüstinger.

... As a consequence of the extensive preheating of the fresh air entering at D, the venting of the chamber is completed in 10 to 15 minutes. The carts can then be driven out and the articles of clothing can be immediately returned to their owners who in the meantime have had their bodies deloused.[10]

The Fumigation Cycle in the German Delousing Chambers

The fumigation cycle consisted of two phases: (1) a circulation (Kreislauf) phase, known in non-technical jargon simply as the “gassing” phase, and (2) a venting (Lüftung) phase.[11] Switching from one phase to the other was accomplished by simply turning a crank handle 180 degrees on the outside of the chamber. The crank handle was linked to a special four-way valve located on the inside of the chamber (see figure 1 in the translation of the article by Emil Wustinger).

The circulation phase lasted about an hour and the ventilation phase lasted at least fifteen minutes. In practice, however, it seems to have taken longer. There is, for example, a well-known photograph of an American soldier in Dachau looking at one of the delousing chamber doors upon which there is a notice in German which says that the fumigation time (Gaszeit) was from 7:30 until at least 10.[12]

To start the delousing process, a can of Zyklon-B inside the chamber was opened from outside the chamber by means of the specially designed can-opener with the chamber doors shut. Once the can was opened, the next step was to turn the crank handle on the outside of the chamber 180 degrees to the “Kreislauf” (circulation) position which in turn caused the Zyklon-B can inside the chamber to be turned upside down, thereby dumping the Zyklon-B granules through a chute into a wire-mesh basket. Meanwhile, air was circulated by the blower through a closed loop which consisted of the chamber itself as well as the four-way valve, the basket and a heater. The air was heated before it passed through the granules in the basket. The heated air drove the hydrocyanic acid out of the granules so that the circulating air became mixed with an increasingly lethal dosage of cyanide. The resulting lethal gas mixture was circulated throughout the chamber – hence the name: “circulatory gas chamber” – to insure thorough penetration into all possible hiding places within the clothing and articles being fumigated.

After at least an hour, the operator could begin the venting phase by turning the crank handle 180 degrees to the “Luftung” (venting) position. The blower continued to operate as before. The four-way valve would now allow fresh air to be drawn into the chamber from the opening surrounding the crank handle stem in the outside wall of the chamber. As the fresh air passed through the valve and then the heater, it was heated above the boiling point of hydrocyanic acid, which is

78.6 °F.[13] The warm air then continued on through the Zyklon-B granules in the basket and drove any remaining traces of hydrocyanic acid out of the granules. The air then entered the chamber as a whole and eventually left the chamber from an opening at the extreme end of the opposite side of the chamber, returned to the blower, and then went down into the four-way valve once again, but this time instead of going around again in a closed loop, the gas mixture was directed up the vent pipe by the four-way valve and discharged into the atmosphere. The gas mixture was discharged high enough so that the otherwise lethal gas was so diluted by fresh air that people in the vicinity were not affected. In the process, the temperature of the entire chamber, including the chamber walls, was raised above the boiling point of hydrocyanic acid in order to prevent any subsequent condensation of the cyanide vapors either in the clothing, in any other articles, or on the walls. The walls, floor and ceiling were specially coated to minimize absorption of cyanide into the structure itself.

One final step which was sometimes stressed in the German technical literature was that the articles that had been fumigated still should be aired in the open for at least five minutes before they were returned to their owners

The Circulation Principle (*Kreislautprinzip*)

The importance of good circulation to the proper operation of the German delousing chambers cannot be overemphasized. In the German literature, especially the material from the DEGESCH company itself, circulation of the air-cyanide mixture was always and still is emphasized as a major feature of all of the standardized gas chambers and of good gas chamber design in general.

As recently as 1979, the DEGESCH company was still promoting its own design of fumigation chambers for Zyklon-B with the following information in English:

Whether the fumigation chamber is a permanent installation or mobile, a *DEGESCH circulatory device* makes it possible to operate safely and quickly, and ensures success. [emphasis added]

Mobile fumigation chambers are of great advantage: As they can be attached to any tractor or lorry, their possibilities for use are almost unlimited. They are economical in price and running. The standard sizes are 2 ml, and 20 m³, other sizes can be constructed according to special requirements.

Stationary chambers are made from steel, bricks or concrete. If constructed from bricks or concrete they must be sealed by applying a suitable coating.

Neither service personnel nor unauthorized persons come into contact with the gas; one person alone can operate the fumigation chamber; a gas-mask need not be worn. *The gas-air-mixture is circulated, thus accelerating penetration and reducing exposure time.* [emphasis added] After treatment, the gas can be cleared quickly and safely.[14]

The terminology “DEGESCH circulatory device” was used to identify the mechanical equipment such as the four-way valve, heater, can-opener and blower which DEGESCH sold.[15] The structure — walls, floor and ceiling — without the mechanical equipment seems to have generally been built by the customer himself or by an independent contractor.

Zyklon-B and cyanide do not have magic properties. The cyanide does not hunt down living creatures “like radar” as has been advertised for at least one currently popular insecticide. On the

contrary, cyanide must obey the same laws of nature that steam or hot air have to obey in a similar situation. The advantage cyanide has as far as its distribution is concerned is due primarily to its low boiling point and its small molecular size. Although cyanide does indeed have great penetrating power, the penetrating rate is severely reduced by obstructions such as clothing unless those obstructions are overcome by some means such as forced circulation through a well-designed chamber with good flow patterns for the gas.

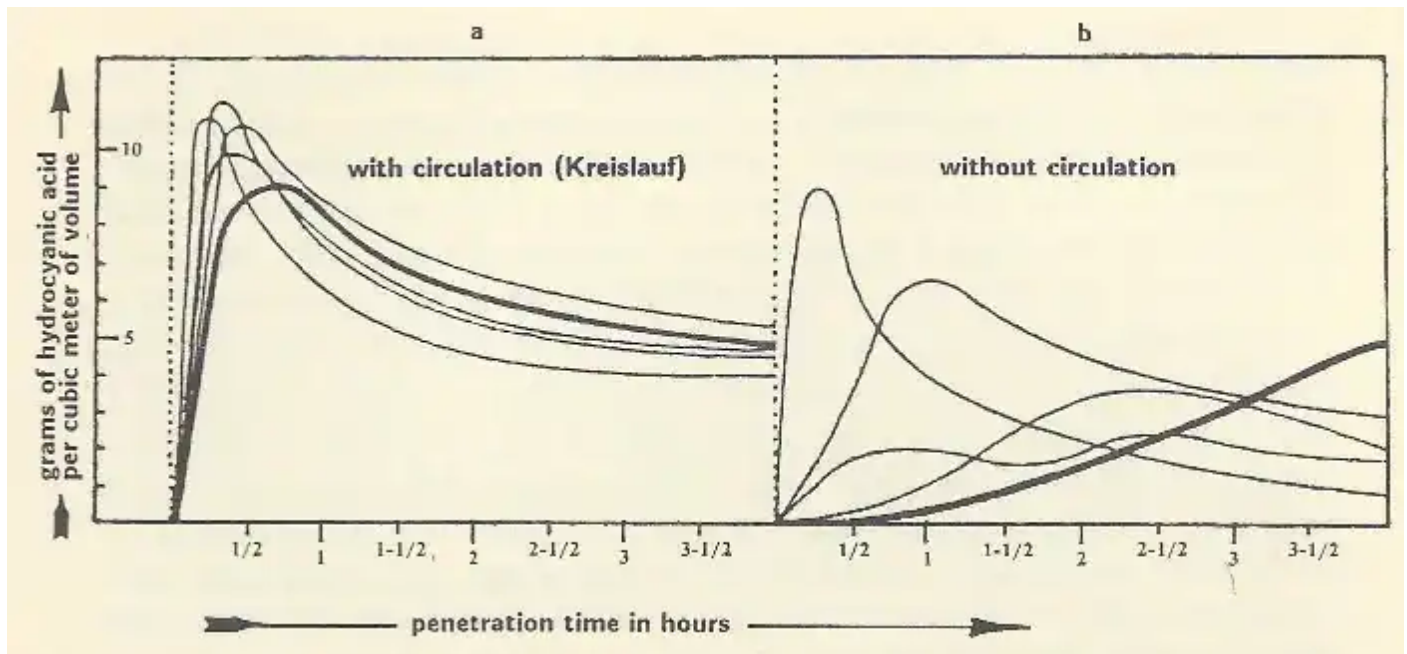


Figure 2: Development and distribution of the gas concentration in a filled gas chamber with and without circulation

a. with circulation, i.e., with exchange of the air-gas mixture,

b. without circulation, the gas must find its own path.

(the heavy lines represent concentrations in the center of the chamber while the other lines represent concentrations in various corners of the chamber.)(original source: DEGESCH)[16]

Figure 2 shows just how essential good circulation is to the design of an effective gas chamber. It was apparently based upon careful tests in which cyanide concentrations in various parts of a standard gas chamber were measured over at least two separate, three hour periods. One group of tests was made with the blower operating and with the four-way valve in the "circulation" position. The second group of tests was made with the blower idle.

The test results in Figure 2 are not at all surprising. They are generally just about what common sense would tell us to expect. It is a pleasant surprise, however, to be able to see the importance of proper circulation illustrated so clearly. The test results were obviously published first by DEGESCH and then by others in order to re-emphasize the importance of circulation as clearly as possible.

With circulation, the cyanide levels are relatively high and uniform throughout the chamber within about one hour. Without circulation, the cyanide levels are relatively high after one hour in only one corner, presumably the corner nearest to the basket with the Zyklon-B granules. Without circulation, comparable cyanide levels are achieved in the center of the filled chamber only after three hours; after only one hour, the gas hardly penetrated at all to the center of the chamber.

The emphasis upon circulation or *Kreislauf*, not only in the DEGESCH literature but also in countless articles in the German wartime literature on Zyklon-B and delousing, is apparent even in the terminology: *Kreislaufkammer*, *Kreislaufanordnung*, *Kreislaufapparatur*, *Kreislaufleitung*, *Kreislaufgeräte*, *Kreislaufanlagen*, *Kreislaufprinzip*, etc. But even more than that, the front of each DEGESCH circulatory chamber was usually marked with the word *Kreislauf* to identify one of the two positions of the four-way valve.

The operating phase during which cyanide was applied during the two-phase fumigation cycle was known as the *Kreislauf* phase. The point is that it would have been impossible to have any expertise at all in the use of cyanide and/or Zyklon-B without being well aware of the advantages of proper circulation for any application of this technology. How then could any would-be mass murderers have possibly been unaware of the need for circulation in their cyanide gas chambers for mass-murder? How could they have been oblivious to the significance of *Kreislauf*? And yet, they must have been oblivious – that is precisely what must have happened if one is to take the “Holocaust” literature at all seriously.

In any event, the would-be mass murderers – even if they had been totally illiterate amateurs, wholly ignorant of the importance of circulation – would have seen that something was seriously wrong with their method after one or more botched attempts at exterminating people with cyanide in chambers without circulation.

Hydrocyanic Acid Gas Chambers for Mass-Murder?

Although the murder weapon is the focus of a great deal of investigation and analysis in any ordinary murder case, alas, when one is dealing with the “Holocaust” story one finds nothing comparable regarding what were supposedly the greatest murder weapons in history.

In the main camp of the Auschwitz concentration camp complex, a gas chamber was supposedly used until the end of 1942 to murder about 76,000 people. That room can be visited today in its “reconstructed state.” In design and appearance it is nothing more than a dreary cellar, just like most cellars, except for some holes in the ceiling.^[17] Zyklon-B granules were supposedly dumped through these holes into the chamber where they would have fallen upon the heads and among the feet of the intended victims. The room is separated only by a door from another room containing crematorium ovens and has no ventilating equipment at all. For these reasons as well as for others which are beyond the scope of this article, many of which have however been given in the past by Dr. Robert Faurisson and Ditlieb Felderer, the claim that this room was a gas chamber for mass murder is pure rubbish.

Probably the most plausible description of a gas chamber using cyanide for mass murder is the following description from Filip Muller of the cellar in Krematorium 2 in Auschwitz-Birkenau in which 3,000 people were supposedly killed at a time:

We left the mortuary and came to a huge iron-mounted wooden door; it was not locked. We entered a place which was in total darkness. As we switched on the light, the room was lit by bulbs enclosed in a protective wire cage. We were standing in a large oblong room measuring about 250 square meters. Its unusually low ceiling and walls were white-washed. Down the length of the room concrete pillars supported the ceiling. However, not all the pillars served this purpose: for there were others, too. The Zyklon B gas crystals [sic] were inserted through openings into hollow pillars made of sheet metal. They were perforated at regular intervals and inside them a spiral ran from top to bottom in order to ensure as even a distribution of the granular

crystals as possible. Mounted on the ceiling was a large number of dummy showers made of metal. These were intended to delude the suspicious on entering the gas chamber into believing that they were in a shower-room. A ventilating plant was installed in the wall; this was switched on immediately after each gassing to disperse the gas and expedite the removal of corpses.[18]

Although a “ventilation plant” is mentioned by Muller, that does not mean there was anything even remotely comparable to the kind of ventilation and circulation which would have been needed.

According to Muller, the “Zyklon B gas crystals”[19] were dropped, presumably from the outside of the chamber, into hollow perforated pillars with spirals. The Zyklon granules (not crystals at all) would have slid down the spirals to the bottom of the pillars.

The ventilation plant was supposedly “switched on immediately *after* each gassing.” [emphasis added] In other words, during the gassing itself, the ventilation plant must have been off; there could have been no circulation of the air-gas mixture through the gas chamber during the gassing itself.

Although cyanide vapors would have gradually left the granules, their path would have been obstructed first by the “perforated” sheet metal pillars and then by those intended victims who were crammed into the spaces around the pillars. If one takes at all seriously the accounts of three thousand victims being killed at a time, the perforated pillars would have been surrounded rather tightly by the intended victims. Those who were in the immediate vicinity of the pillars would have probably been affected by the cyanide in just a few minutes but – on the basis of figure 2 – many, if not most, of the others would have been unaffected by the cyanide until hours later.

But let us give the benefit of doubt to the Exterminationists for the sake of this analysis. Perhaps Muller was somewhat mistaken and perhaps the “ventilation plant” had been switched on during the actual gassing. What then?

Even if the ventilation plant had been switched on during the gassing phase, there is no evidence that the necessary piping or ductwork was present to permit proper circulation. On the contrary, the bottom of each “perforated” pillar would have been, in effect, a cul-de-sac through which there could not possibly have been the kind of air or gas flow which circulated through the wire-mesh baskets in the standard delousing chambers even if there had been some provision for returning the ventilation plant discharge back to the gas chamber through some kind of closed loop arrangement. Any conceivable closed loop could not possibly have included the Zyklon granules themselves since they would have been isolated at the bottoms of the perforated pillars. The evaporation of the cyanide out of the Zyklon-B granules would have taken hours rather than minutes. And yet, according to the so-called confession of Rudolf Höss, the former camp commandant of Auschwitz, the gassing process was so short that after only half an hour the gas chamber doors were opened, the ventilating machinery was turned on, and workers without gas masks immediately began to remove the bodies.

Obviously, the Muller account and the Höss “confession” are nothing more than badly contrived horror stories. The mechanics, reminiscent of Rube Goldberg inventions, may seem plausible at first glance but simply do not stand up to critical examination.

The Railroad Delousing Tunnels

The abundance of Zyklon-B delousing chambers, even within concentration camps, is in itself a major problem for the accepted “Holocaust” story because here were well-designed pilot plants for committing mass-murder on a relatively small scale before attempting to kill on a massive scale; here were the ideal models to follow in order to construct scaled-up versions for mass-murder. Here was the proper technology for mass-murder with cyanide – but this technology, the delousing chamber technology, was supposedly never used for such a purpose.

More surprising is the fact that large, scaled-up versions of the small delousing chambers actually did exist in locations which were far more accessible than any of the so-called extermination camps. Those chambers employed the same circulatory principle and used Zyklon-B to fumigate railroad trains – but, those chambers were never used for mass-murder either.

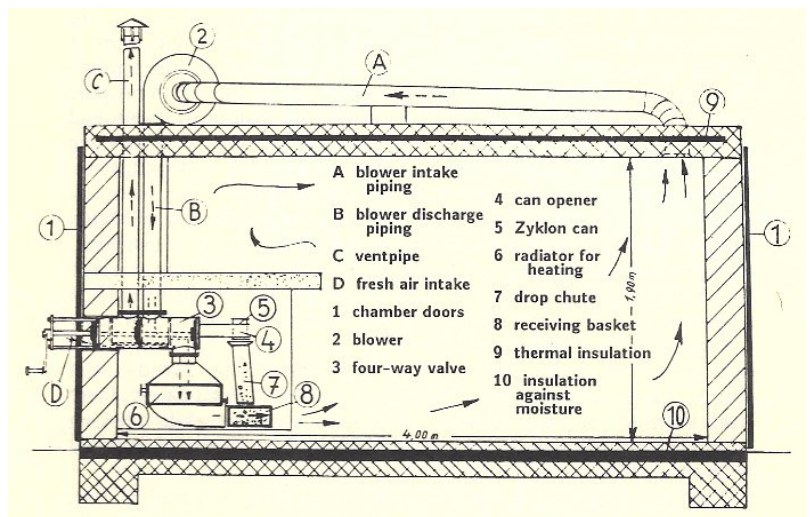
Larger chambers for fumigating entire railroad trains existed throughout German-occupied Europe in about a dozen different locations including Cologne, Poznan (Posen), Potsdam, and Budapest.[20] They had become a standard feature of the railroad network in order to prevent the spread of typhus, particularly from Eastern Europe, where typhus had always been endemic.

The would-be murderers could have simply brought railroad cars filled with Jews into these large chambers, one or two cars at a time, killed the intended victims and then ventilated the cars within just a few hours. Each gassing, including venting of one or two railroad cars, would have still taken at least one-and-a-half hours – far longer than the half-hour which is all that was supposedly needed at Auschwitz according to Hoss and others.[21]

By using the railroad delousing tunnels, which ranged in size from about 400 cubic meters to as much as 1700 cubic meters, the mass-murderers would not have had to transport their intended victims halfway across Europe in the midst of a war in which Germany was desperately trying to conserve meager resources such as railroads and fuel.

Typhus

Throughout World War II severe outbreaks of typhus occurred in the German-occupied East. Especially in the last year of the war, with disaster falling upon Europe and with millions of people fleeing to the West from parts of Europe where typhus had always been endemic, Zyklon-B became the great lifesaver. Although DDT and some other substances such as the IG Farben product “Lauseto” had become available, the quantities were severely limited by the bombing of German chemical and pharmaceutical plants. Without Zyklon-B carrying on in the role it had established for itself in the early years of the war, the horrible scenes in isolated places such as Bergen-Belsen in the spring of 1945 would have certainly been repeated on a far more spectacular scale. What actually happened was bad enough.



Left: Circulation and venting arrangement of a 400 cubic meter railroad disinfestation chamber.

Right: Railroad fumigation chamber of the state railways in Budapest. (At the far end one can see the equipment room for the circulation and ventilation apparatus)

Figure 3: Railroad delousing tunnels.[22]

There could have been a repeat of what had happened during and after World War I in Eastern Europe. The situation in Russia during that period had been described by the eminent American medical historian Hans Zinsser as follows:

. . . Will historians of this period remember that, throughout the struggles which led to the establishment of the Soviet Republic, Russia suffered – in addition to war and armed revolution – from two cholera epidemics, from a famine unequaled since the Thirty Years War, from typhus, malaria, typhoid, dysentery, tuberculosis, and syphilis to an extent unimaginable except to those who were helpless spectators? Tarasewitch estimated (statistics of accuracy were impossible) that between 1917 and 1923 there were 30,000,000 cases of typhus with 3,000,000 deaths in European Russia alone.[23]

The losses in the Ukraine, the Balkans and Poland were probably comparable to those suffered in Russia but the historians have forgotten.

During World War II, the losses in Eastern Europe may have been even worse than those indicated by Zinsser and Tarasewitch for the earlier period. However, the true statistics would not serve the interests of the Soviet Union and for this reason they will probably never be available.

In the West the true statistics are also kept quiet but for a different reason: they would diminish the sense that Jews had been the victims of an extermination policy. The proof of this statement is in the speeches of President Reagan and Chancellor Helmut Kohl and in the news coverage in 1985 regarding Reagan's visit to Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen. At that time, the truth as to what had happened in Bergen-Belsen at the end of the war should have been made public as part of the media coverage which began several months before the visit – but it was not. Although it has long been conceded that the true horrors of Bergen-Belsen had nothing whatever to do with an extermination policy, the President, the media and even the chancellor of West Germany did their best to portray Bergen-Belsen to the general public as proof of an extermination program against the Jews.

There is a substantial body of statistical evidence which shows that during the first two years of the war more than three-fourths of all cases of typhus in Poland occurred among Jews and that the remaining cases arose in large part from contact with Jews.[24] It was on the basis of this evidence that special regulations were introduced to restrict the movement of Jews. The wall around the Jewish Warsaw ghetto was one such measure. A thorough discussion of this subject is, however, beyond the scope of this article. In any event, Jews in concentration camps after 1941 certainly benefited from the presence of the delousing chambers in the camps.

Rather than having been the victims of Zyklon-B in murderous gas chambers, the Jews were probably the principal beneficiaries of Zyklon-B and its proper, life-saving application in well-designed German delousing chambers such as the ones which can still be seen in Dachau.

Conclusions

We have been blinded by our tears of sympathy for the supposed victims. We have been blinded by our tears of shame for deeds which people just like ourselves might have committed. But if we dare to wipe those tears away and look at the "Holocaust" evidence critically with sober heads, we find that there are no grounds for any such tears at all.

The mass-murder technology that was supposedly used to kill millions of people would not have worked. However, a mass-murder technology based upon the hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers would have worked quite well indeed. The SS certainly had an abundance of expertise in this technology since they were employing it themselves, daily, with their own specially trained personnel – and even had their own school for pesticide specialists.[25]

Surely Adolf Eichmann and some of the people around him must have had considerable expertise in railroad transportation. How could they have been unaware of the existence of the railroad delousing tunnels and their potential for mass-murder?

The purpose of the delousing chambers was to save lives – and that is not denied except by the most passionate Exterminationist. No doubt, many hundreds of thousands of people, possibly millions, including countless Jews, owe their lives to these chambers and the German technology based upon Zyklon-B.

How could the same Germans – particularly, the SS and the people from DEGESCH – who used a highly developed technology to kill lice in order to save countless human lives have simultaneously tried to use a pathetically primitive technology, which could not have even worked in the manner alleged, to destroy millions of human lives? How could they have used well-designed gas chambers with circulation to try to save millions of people from typhus while at the same time trying to use badly designed chambers without circulation to kill millions of people? How could they have been using an advanced technology to save people who were in many cases the very same people, namely Jews, that they were simultaneously trying to kill but with the most primitive variations of the same technology?

There are no answers to these reasonable questions even after forty years nor are there ever likely to be any answers consistent with an extermination thesis. In the absence of any proof based upon forensic evidence of even one case of death by gassing with cyanide at the hands of the Germans or of any other reliable evidence – the “evidence,” such as it is, consists almost exclusively of “confessions” and fantastic anecdotes of “survivors” – one should reject the “Holocaust” claims as self-serving propaganda. What is clear from any careful technical analysis of the supposed gas chambers for mass extermination is that the “Holocaust” story is absurd.

Appendix

Increased Use of Hydrocyanic Acid Delousing Chambers

Paper given at the Hydrocyanic Acid Conference of the Labor Committee for Room Disinfestation and Contagious Disease Prevention of January 27/28, 1944.

by Emil Wüstinger, engineer Frankfurt am Main, translated by F.P. Berg and E. Kniekamp from *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, Vol. 67 (1944) on. 179-80.

In delousing chambers, for reasons which are easily understood because of their special function, one expects maximum performance with minimum gas concentration and penetration time. A penetration period of only one hour should have the same effect as a 16-, 20-, or 24-hour period during a room disinfestation. This is demanded because of the pressing need to process massive quantities.

Such requirements can only be met successfully, even with the highly effective hydrocyanic acid, when all of the conditions for fumigation are ideal, in other words when the following conditions

exist: quickest possible release and distribution of the gas, sufficient airtightness of the room, good room temperature and proper arrangement of the articles to be fumigated within the chamber. On the basis of its collected experiences with its own fumigation chambers, the German Company for Pest Control, G.m.b.H. [DEGESCH] had already developed years ago special vaporizers (*Vergasergeräte*) and circulatory systems (*Kreislaufanordnungen*) which take into consideration all the requisites: fastest gas generation, best gas penetration and sufficient heating with simultaneous improvement in the ventilation piping.

After the first year of the war, during which a string of hydrocyanic acid facilities had been built in several regions and equipped with DEGESCH circulatory systems for Zyklon hydrocyanic acid [*Zyklon-Blausäure* or, as it is generally abbreviated, Zyklon-B][26], some of which have already been used to delouse hundreds of thousands of pieces of clothing, there arose a significant increase in demand as even government bodies and industrial factories began to take stringent measures to control lice.

The motivation for the increased use of hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers arose primarily from an official government requirement that the large numbers of foreign workers who were being used had to be deloused periodically at prescribed intervals and, therefore, the factories which employed the largest numbers of foreign workers had to build their own delousing facilities.

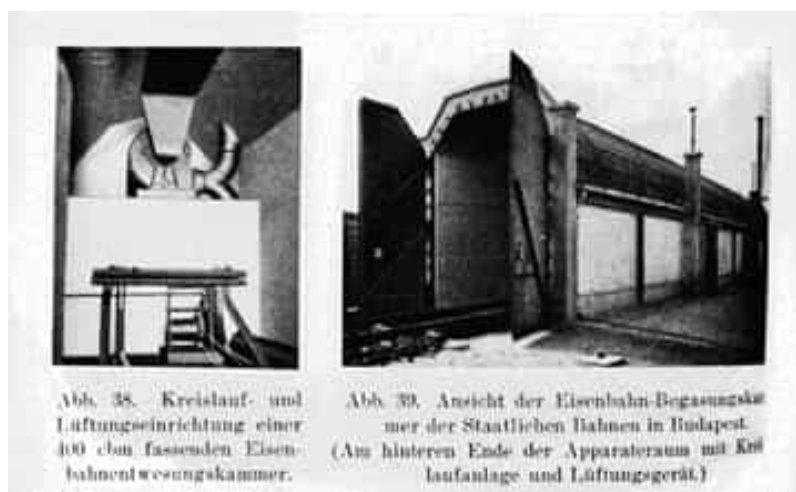


Figure 1: Elevation drawing of a delousing chamber with a DEGESCH circulatory system (“DEGESCH Kreislaufanordnung”)

This requirement was expanded by the official camp regulation from the Reich Minister of Labor which came into effect in the summer of 1943 regarding camp accommodations for workers for the duration of the war. Article 9 stipulates: *“All rooms must be cleaned daily. The rooms and their inhabitants must be regularly examined for instances of vermin. Proper installations for the extermination of vermin must be available.”* [emphasis added]

Many other large disinfestation facilities in which only hot air has been used until now are being expanded with hydrocyanic acid chambers in order to fumigate equipment and clothing which could easily be damaged in hot-air chambers – for example, fur and leather goods.

One result of these measures and the favorable judgments about hydrocyanic acid chamber delousing is that there is a steady increase in demand for hydrocyanic acid installations so that in just the last year alone as many installations went into operation as in the first three years of the war put together.

For the entire war until now, at 226 different sites, a total of 552 chambers with hydrocyanic acid circulatory fumigation systems and an additional 100 or so chambers without such equipment, but using hydrocyanic acid nonetheless, are either completed or under construction almost exclu-

sively for the purpose of delousing. 300 of these chambers at 131 different facilities have been completed or are still under construction just since January of the past year alone. Almost one-fourth of these, i.e., 131 chambers, are distributed among government and administrative district labor offices, especially in the Alpine and Danube countries, as well as among city administrations and health departments. 249 hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers are either completed or under construction for the armaments industry.

And so, it becomes ever more apparent that the generally incorrect reservations which had been previously held against the use of highly toxic gases in delousing chambers have been thoroughly dispelled. This is illustrated by the fact that in just the last year alone as much hydrocyanic acid has been expended exclusively for the disinfestation of articles in delousing chambers as had been used in all of Germany for large area disinfestations in 1939. During the war the clothing and equipment of *approximately 25 million people* have already been fumigated with hydrocyanic acid. [emphasis added] Fortunately, there have been no reported accidents of a serious nature while working with Zyklon hydrocyanic acid [Zyklon-B] in the chambers equipped with circulatory systems.

Facilities employing circulatory systems are now being built so that they are suitable not just for the use of hydrocyanic acid but primarily for other evaporable liquids as well. Fortunately, these changes can be achieved without extensive modifications in the apparatus so that there is no increase in the already difficult procurement problems; although the DEGESCH circulatory systems could be delivered with relative ease during the first years of the war and, most important of all, could be delivered on short notice, increasing demands have also led to more and more procurement problems because of the fact that the increasing demands have to be surmounted by an ever decreasing number of workers. One should note at this point that hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers have the advantage over hot air chambers of reduced construction costs and, most important of all, require less iron and metal. Consequently, far fewer man-hours are needed for fabrication and so it should not be too surprising that the hydrocyanic acid chamber equipment which has already been installed has been built despite great difficulties by only a few companies with only a small number of workers. Of the manufacturers, one is specialized in the delivery of the blowers, air heaters, and piping and even installs the equipment. The other supplier manufactures the special appliance, the so-called four-way valve with a built-in can opener, which is the centerpiece of the entire system. This second factory usually had only two or three skilled workers available for these tasks who were not at all times capable of working because of physical disabilities.

Thanks to the many delousing facilities which are already in operation and to the other stringent preventive measures, it has been possible, fortunately, to reduce dramatically the number of cases of typhus and the mortality in stark contrast to the earlier years. Nonetheless, a great many new facilities with fumigation chambers will be necessary just for delousing because the use of foreign workers and the crowding of these workers into common barracks is still increasing and, especially in the East, the number of hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers that are available is still far from sufficient.

The increasingly widespread, harmless application of hydrocyanic acid, in itself highly toxic, in delousing chambers equipped with DEGESCH circulatory systems is a good indication of the dependability of this method, which is generally regarded as one of the most effective delousing methods. This is also spelled out in a decree from the Reich Minister of the Interior

Notes

1.  A useful source of information about Dachau as it exists today and some of its post-war history is: Andrew Mollo, "Dachau," *After the Battle* (London: Battle of Britain Prints Ltd., 1980), Number 27, pp. 1-29.
2.  Although the four delousing chambers are in the crematorium building and share a common roof and foundation, they are separated from the rest of the building by an open breezeway, i.e., a passageway extending from one side of the building through to the opposite side without any doors. The breezeway is a logical safety feature. If doors had been installed, an accidental accumulation of cyanide gas could have developed in the passageway since it was also adjacent to the hydrocyanic acid delousing chambers and could have eventually penetrated into other parts of the building injuring anyone present. This well thought-out arrangement contrasts sharply with the arrangement of the supposed gas chambers for mass-murder in Auschwitz which were far larger than the four delousing chambers at Dachau but, amazingly enough, had no comparable protection for the occupants of the buildings housing those chambers.
3.  One excellent official source on the development of hydrocyanic acid, with many technical design details about the gas chambers themselves, is: Puntigam, Breymesser, and Bernfus, *Blausäuregaskammern zur Fleckfeberabwehr* [Hydrocyanic Acid Gas Chambers for the Prevention of Typhus] (Berlin: Sonderveröffentlichung des Reichsarbeitsblattes, 1943). There is nothing even remotely comparable in the English language to this classic work or to many other German works on this subject, many of which are listed in the extensive bibliography. That almost certainly applies to all other languages as well.
4.  Thanks to the research of Dr. Robert Faurisson, a great deal of information about the chambers used in this country for the execution of criminals with cyanide and the detailed and complex procedures for such executions is available – some of which will be published shortly by this journal. The gas chambers for executing criminals in the USA still used, long after World War II, the so-called "pot" or "barrel" method to generate cyanide gas by dropping cyanide salt tablets into a pot of sulfuric acid. This method had generally been abandoned for industrial uses throughout most of the world, including the U.S.A., as soon as Zyklon-B became available in the early 1920's. A major drawback of the "pot" method, aside from the problem of disposing of a pot of sulfuric acid containing cyanide, is that a significant amount of cyanide gas is absorbed by the liquid in the pot itself and then released, but only gradually, even after the rest of the chamber has been thoroughly vented. This is probably one of the main reasons why gas masks have to be worn in the gas chamber as part of the complex procedure for removing the body of an executed prisoner.
5.  Dr. Gerhard Peters and Emil Wustinger, "Sach-Entlausung in Blausäure-Kammern," *Zeitschrift für hygienische Zoologie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1940) Heft 10/11, p. 194.
6.  Dr. Gerhard Peters, "Die hochwirksamen Gase und Dämpfe in der Schädlingsbekämpfung [The Highly Effective Gases and Vapors in the Field of Pest Control]," *Sammlung chemischer und chemisch-technischer Vorträge* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1942), Neue Folge: Heft 47a, p. 40.
7.  By 1944 Zyklon was being supplied to Auschwitz without the warning ingredient but the reason for this exceptional practice was a supply shortage rather than any desire, as alleged by Exterminationists, to deceive potential murder victims. One cause of considerable concern to some of the German technicians at the time was that since the warning ingredient also contributed to the chemical stability of the Zyklon-B, its removal could present a serious hazard to the end-user. One result of the removal of the warning ingredient seems to have been the shortening of the shelf-life of even properly sealed cans of Zyklon-B.

8. [↗](#) Peters was put on trial in 1949 for complicity in the extermination of the Jews but was given only a five-year jail sentence. After a second retrial he was found not guilty in 1955. His colleague Dr. Bruno Tesch, who had shared the distribution rights for Zyklon-B, was put on trial earlier and executed by the British. Throughout the 1930's and until the end of the war, Peters probably wrote more articles than anyone else on the effectiveness of Zyklon-B for the prevention of disease, especially typhus.
9. [↗](#) Dr. Gerhard Peters, "Blausäure zur Schädlingbekämpfung [Hydrocyanic Acid for Pest Control]," *Sammlung chemischer and chemisch-technischer Vorträge* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1933), Neue Folge – Heft 20, p. 64. Although this work contains no discussion of the delousing chambers – patents for the standard versions were granted in Germany only after 1938 – the article does contain an artist's rendering of a railroad fumigation tunnel for hydrocyanic acid on page 41.
10. [↗](#) Peters and Wüstinger, "Sach-Entlausung in Blausäure-Kammern," p. 196. The term "D" refers to the fresh-air inlet just as in the diagram referred to by Wustinger in "Increased Use of Hydrocyanic Acid."
11. [↗](#) Peters, "Die hochwirksamen Gase," pp. 36-41.
12. [↗](#) A.R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Torrance: Institute for Historical Review, 1976) p. 191 or Andrew Mollo, p. 17.
13. [↗](#) It was sometimes recommended that the air-gas mixture be heated to at least ten degrees above the boiling point of hydrocyanic acid in order to compensate for the cooling through evaporation of the liquid hydrocyanic acid. Heating was especially critical for the venting phase when large amounts of cold air were drawn into the chambers. In hot summer months this heating process was not always essential but of course during the rest of the year, especially during a Polish or German winter, when typhus was generally most prevalent, it was essential. The absence of any provision for heating of the air-gas mixture in the alleged gas chambers for mass-murder is further evidence that the claim is a lie.
14. [↗](#) Deutsche Gesellschaft für Schädlingbekämpfung m.b.H., *Zyklon for Pest Control* (Frankfurt a. M.: DEGESCH, undated), p. 21.
15. [↗](#) From the context, it is quite clear that the expression "circulatory device" is a translation of *Kreislaufanordnung* which I prefer to translate as "circulatory system" just as it was translated for Wustinger's article.
16. [↗](#) Puntigam, Breymesser & Bernfus, p. 33.
17. [↗](#) According to the present-day Auschwitz authorities, this gas chamber had supposedly been disguised as a mortuary (*Leichenkeller*) until late 1942 but was rebuilt subsequently to serve as a bomb shelter by subdividing the room with interior walls. After the war, the room was "restored" by removing the interior walls except for a portion needed to retain an ante-room next to a door to the outside. In a similar manner, the supposed gas chambers in Krematoria 2 and 3 at Birkenau were supposedly disguised as mortuaries when they were built in 1943. Although they were intended originally to serve as mortuaries, they seem to have been modified to serve as bomb shelters also. This is consistent with a surprising passage in Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz* (Greenwich, Conn: Fawcett, 1960), p. 97 in which the author describes a brief stay, probably during August or September of 1944, in the "gas chamber" when it was serving, at least temporarily, as a bomb shelter during an Allied bombing raid. In other words, at least one of the four gas chambers at Birkenau supposedly did double-duty; on the one hand, it served as a gas chamber to kill 3,000 people every day while at the same time being available as a bomb shelter-fantastico!
18. [↗](#) Filip Muller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein & Day, 1979), pp. 60-1.

19. ☞ This remark about “gas crystals” already shows that Muller has no idea as to what he is writing about even though he supposedly worked in the gas chambers for three years. He seems to be confusing Zyklon-B granules with mothballs which do sublime to a gas directly from the solid state. Zyklon is quite different.
20. ☞ Dr. Ludwig Gassner, “Verkehrshygiene und Schädlingsbekämpfung [Transportation Hygiene and Disinfestation],” *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, Vol. 66 (1943) Heft 15, pp. 174-76.
21. ☞ To those readers who believe it would have been far more difficult to ventilate a freight car filled with dead bodies as compared with a passenger car containing upholstery and intricate paneling and cabinet work, I suggest that anyone using the railroad delousing tunnels for mass-murder would have been able to provide additional ventilation time simply by pulling out any railroad car filled with dead bodies and parking it somewhere on a railroad siding. Furthermore, the movement of such a railroad car, perhaps to a site some distance away for the disposal of the corpses, would in itself have provided additional ventilation in fresh air before anyone would have had to come into direct contact with corpses containing potentially hazardous amounts of cyanide.
22. ☞ Peters, “Die hochwirksamen Gase und Dämpfe in der Schädlingsbekämpfung,” p. 52. One can also see on pp. 514 photographs of some of the other large fumigation chambers, also known as “tunnels,” for disinfesting railroad trains which also used the circulatory (*Kreislauf*) principal with powerful blowers and heaters. In Romania there was at least one railroad disinfesting chamber with an internal volume of 1500 cubic meters – see p. 54.
23. ☞ Hans Zinsser, *Rats, Lice and History* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), p. 213.
24. ☞ Only one of many articles from the German literature is: Dr. Joseph Ruppert, “Gesundheitsverhältnisse und Seuchenbekämpfung im Generalgouvernement [Sanitary Conditions and Contagious Disease Control in the Generalgouvernement],” *Der praktische Desinfektor*, Vol. 33 (Berlin: Hygiene Verlag Erich Deleiter, July 1941) Heft 7, pp. 72-3.
25. ☞ R. Queisner, “Erfahrungen mit Blausäure bei Großraumtwesungen [Experiences with Hydrocyanic Acid in the Fumigation of Large Areas],” *Zeitschrift für hygienische Zoologie and Schädlingsbekämpfung*, Vol. 36 (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1944), pp. 130-37. The title of the article is preceded by the note that the article was taken from the exterminator school (Desinfektorenschule) of the Waffen-SS in Oranienburg, near Berlin, with the name of the director: SS-Hauptsturmfuehrer Dr. H. Grundlach. Grundlach is identified in the Gerstein statement as the man who made murderous experiments on women in Ravensbrück.
26. ☞ Some readers may object to the claim that Zyklon-B was an abbreviation for Zyklon-Blausäure. Although the “B” may have originally been intended merely to reflect a sequential numbering of another “Zyklon” product since there had been a Zyklon-A until about 1920 and even a Zyklon-C for a brief period, by at least the beginning of World War II the German literature used the terms “Zyklon,” “Zyklon-B” and “Zyklon-Blausäure” interchangeably. The longest form was used least often and generally only at the beginning of a piece of text in order to identify clearly the principle ingredient. The fact that Zyklon-B and Zyklon-Blausäure are synonymous is also shown by the fact that in German both terms are almost always hyphenated.

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The Origins of the Second World War

Georg Franz-Willing

- Paper Presented to the Seventh International Revisionist Conference.

I. Historical Development from the Nineteenth Century to the First World War

In 1955, the Indian diplomat and historian K. M. Panikkar, a longtime friend and collaborator of Pandit Nehru, the Indian prime minister, published a book entitled *Asia and Western Dominance 1498-1945*. He shows Western dominance of Asia as beginning with the Portuguese Vasco da Gama's discovery of the maritime route to India, and ending with the Second World War. The two world wars off the first half of the 20th century he justly describes as a European civil war. By this self-mutilation, Europe lost its position in the world, its hegemony, and caused itself to be divided into two spheres of influence: one American, and one Russian. ^[1]

One can only understand the origins, progress, and results of the Second World War if, like Panikkar, one considers both world wars as constituting one homogeneous, inwardly coherent era.

The immediate roots of the Second World War lie in the termination of the First World War by the so-called "suburban treaties" of Paris in 1919.

The deeper causes of both world wars have to be sought in the industrialization of our mode of life, and in the capitalistic imperialism of the second half of the 19th century. The upheaval in economy and society caused by new technology, modern means of communication and transport, and the rapid growth of the European population led to the development of the modern capitalist economy.

Great Britain was the birthplace and starting point of the process of industrialization. It became the world's department store. The British imported raw materials from their colonies and delivered the finished products all over the world.

India, the main competitor to Britain's textile industry, was forcibly reduced to a colony producing only raw materials. France, the most dangerous enemy of British colonialism, had been weakened during the coalition wars against Napoleon, until finally England's naval hegemony was secured by Nelson's victory over the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar in 1805.

The British Empire was undoubtedly the leading power of the world throughout the 19th century. Up to the outbreak of the First World War, it was the leading industrial nation and the most important financial, as well as maritime and naval power. ^[2] The European balance of power, the

foundation of British rule around the world, had been reestablished at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This system of peace following the Napoleonic Wars broke down with the Crimean War (1853-1856). [3] At that time Great Britain and France declared war on tsarist Russia because of its attack on the decrepit Turkish Empire and defeated the Russians soundly. Then, with the national unification of Italy and the foundation of the Second German Reich after the victorious war against France in 1870-71, a new system of states suddenly developed in Europe. By uniting the south and central German states with Prussia, Bismarck shaped the Second German Reich.

Between 1850 and 1870, the European continent, as well as North America, completed the transition to an industrial mode of living. The United States carried out the process of industrialization at the same rate as the leading industrial nations of Europe, which were at that time Great Britain and France. The Civil War of 1861-1865, with the defeat of the Confederate States, saved the large American Union and secured its way to becoming an industrial world power—a portentous event for the development of Europe and the world. [4] It was at this same time that East Asia was forcibly opened up by the two Anglo-Saxon world powers and France. After the bloody suppression of the Sepoy revolt from 1857 to 1859, the English made India into a crown colony and made it the heart of the British Empire. [5] By Admiral Perry's 1853 expedition, the Americans forced Japan to abandon its policy of isolation, [6] and with the beginning of the Meiji period in 1868, Japan's adoption of the new industrial economy took hold with ever-increasing speed. In the same way, China, the country with the world's largest population, was forcibly joined to the Anglo-Saxon economic system by the peace treaty of Peking in 1860, which had been preceded by the British Opium Wars (1840-1860). France had been involved in these wars too. The Chinese Empire was thus degraded to a semi-colony. [7]

In the seventies, capitalist imperialism set in, starting from England, as a competition of powers now borne on the wings of technology. World economy, as it was developed radiating from Great Britain, involved, and still involves, the drive to world hegemony through the struggle to dominate resources and markets. In this competition for global rule, the British Empire was to a great extent in the lead. From this largest commonwealth in human history, stretching over five continents, capitalist imperialism ever widened its orbit of power.

Runners-up were the United States and (especially on the European mainland) the German Reich. Germany's industry took off at a breath-taking rate. Between 1870 and 1890, German inventive genius, German organization, diligence, and competence shaped the newly unified German Reich into the leading industrial power of the European continent, and in English eyes, made it a bothersome competitor. In 1887, the British government enacted the Trade Marks Act, requiring any German product coming onto the British world market to bear the mark "Made in Germany." This measure soon boomeranged, however. For the consumer, "Made in Germany" became the sign of the better, while at the same time the less costly, product.

German competition grew irresistibly. In the fields of iron and steel production and in the chemical industries, Germany outdistanced its British competitor by the turn of the century. To this were added the growth of merchant shipping, and later, the navy. In the eighties, the German Reich acquired protectorates or colonies in Africa. In the nineties, a number of islands in the Pacific were added. On the coast of China, Germany acquired Kiaochow with its capital Tsingtao by a lease treaty in 1897.

As Germany's industrial and financial power as well as its trade increased, a growing antagonism between Germany and the British Empire arose. Everywhere the ambitious German industry confronted a British competitor avidly observing the growing danger to his monopolistic trade relations, jealously guarded until then. A 1910 conversation between Lord Balfour, leader of the

British Conservative Party, and Henry White, then United States Ambassador in London, shows the contrast between the two European industrial powers, and the attitude of the British leadership: [8]

Balfour: We are probably fools not to find a reason for declaring war on Germany before she builds too many ships and takes away our trade.

White: You are a very high-minded man in private life. How can you possibly contemplate anything so politically immoral as provoking a war against a harmless nation which has as good a right to a navy as you have? If you wish to compete with German trade, work harder.

Balfour: That would mean lowering our standard of living. Perhaps it would be simpler for us to have a war.

White: I am shocked that you of all men should enunciate such principles.

Balfour: Is it a question of right or wrong? Maybe it is just a question of keeping our supremacy.

In connection with this conversation, General Wedemeyer calls attention to a statement by the British military historian, General J. F. C. Fuller: [9]

Fuller remarks with reference to this recorded conversation that its interest does not lie simply in the evidence it affords of Balfour's unprincipled cynicism. Its significance lies in the fact that "the Industrial Revolution has led to the establishment of an economic struggle for existence in which self-preservation dictated a return to the ways of the jungle. The primeval struggle between nation and nation in which all competitors were beasts."

Naturally, the rapid growth of Germany's population, economy, and its military potential was a thorn in the sides of its neighbors on the continent. France had never overcome the defeat of 1870 and thirsted for revenge. Russia, the largest land power and main enemy of the British Empire throughout the 19th century (especially in Asia), had lost the Crimean War in 1856, and had to withdraw in the face of British power after a second, victorious war against the Turkish Empire, for fear of another military confrontation with England.

The Berlin Congress of 1878, which was dominated by Bismarck, rearranged affairs in the Balkans. By his supreme statesmanship, the chancellor managed to avoid another war between Russia, the largest land power, and England, the largest sea power. From then on, however, the relationship between Russia and Germany deteriorated. Inspired by the pan-slavic tendencies then prevailing in the tsar's empire, a sinister watch-word came to the fore: "On to Vienna through Berlin!" In the same way as it tried to divide up the Turkish Empire, Russian imperialist policy sought to dismember the Habsburg Monarchy, which included a number of different peoples. Russia wanted to place them all under the religious rule of the tsar as protector of the Orthodox Christians in the Balkans. Diplomatically speaking, that meant nothing less than the integration of Bulgaria and Serbia into the Russian monarchy, as well as that of all the West and South Slavic peoples. After Japan defeated Russia in Asia during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, which ended with a peace brought about by the American President Theodore Roosevelt, the Russian expansionist policy then changed its aim and turned again to the Balkans.

In 1914, Serbia unleashed the fury of war, as the Austrian heir apparent, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife were both murdered by Serbian terrorists. The murders had been organized by Colonel Dragutin Dimitrevic, chief of the intelligence department of the Serbian General Staff, while the Russian military attache in Belgrade, Colonel Artamanov, financed them. [10] In addition, the Serbian government had received an assurance of support from the Russian government in case of an Austrian attack on Serbia. Thus tsarist Russia bears the main responsibility for the outbreak of the First World War. Russia encouraged Serbia to war, and on July 25 the Russian Privy Council decided on a partial mobilization of the Western provinces adjacent to Austria-Hungary and Germany [11]

Russia had been allied with France since 1892; France had connected herself with England in 1904 by the "Entente Cordiale," and Russia had made an agreement with England in 1907. The encirclement of the two Central Powers-Germany and Austria-was complete. Italy was an unreliable ally of the Central Powers; but it was only the British declaration of war against Germany on August 4, 1914, that enlarged the European conflict into a world war. Following the 27th of July, the British navy was the first force to fully mobilize. [12]

Two years before the outbreak of that war, convinced of the inevitability of war between England and Germany, the American author Homer Lea (1876-1912) wrote in his book *The Day of the Saxon*. [13]

The German Empire is less in area than the single state of Texas, while the Saxon race claims political dominion over half of the landed surface of the earth and over all its ocean wastes. Yet the German Empire possesses a greater revenue than the American Republic, is the richest nation in productivity and possesses a population 50 percent greater than the United Kingdom. Its actual military power is manifoldly greater than that of the entire Saxon race. Germany is so tightly encircled by the Saxon race that it cannot make even a tentative extension of its territory or political sovereignty over non-Saxon states without endangering the integrity of the Saxon world. Germany cannot move against France without involving or including in its downfall that of the British Empire. It cannot move against Denmark on the North, Belgium and the Netherlands on the West or Austria-Hungary on the South without involving the British nation in a final struggle for Saxon political existence. Any extension of German sovereignty over these non-British states predetermines the political dissolution of the British Empire. In a like manner any extension of Teutonic sovereignty in the western hemisphere, though against a non-Saxon race and remote from the territorial integrity of the American Republic, can only succeed in the destruction of American power in the western hemisphere.

The founder of the Soviet Union, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, said about the causes of the First World War: "We know that three robbers (the bourgeoisie and the governments of England, tsarist Russia and France) prepared to plunder Germany." [14]

Germany faced the Triple Entente of the British Empire, France, and Russia, while its own allies-Austria-Hungary, the Turkish Empire, and, since 1915, Bulgaria, were all weak and in need of support. Italy, which had originally been allied with the two Central Powers, remained at first neutral and then entered the war on the side of the Entente.

Despite the unequal distribution of forces, the military ability and economic competence of Germany, as well as the spirit of sacrifice and endurance shown by its people, proved so strong that Germany's eastern enemy, Russia, collapsed in the spring of 1917. In March 1918, after the Bol-

shevik Revolution, the Russian Empire had to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk dictated by the victorious Central Powers. Fate seemed to have decided in favor of the Central Powers. The Western allies were facing the necessity of a compromise settlement of peace. In order to avoid that, England then entangled the United States in the war.

After the outbreak of war in 1914, the U.S.A. provided the Entente with ammunition, arms, and other war material, thus committing an open breach of its neutrality. Most of this traffic in arms was conducted by the Morgan banking company. To secure its arms manufacturers' profits, the U.S.A. had to enter the war as an active participant, thereby losing its position as a neutral mediator.

The decisive influence in winning the Wilson Administration over to war was that of the Zionists. England had won their help by promising to establish a national home for Jews in Palestine if Jews exercised their influence in Washington in favor of an active American military intervention in the European war. The decision was facilitated by the fact that their kinsmen were able to seize power in Russia in 1917 by the Bolshevik revolution after the downfall of the anti-semitic tsarist regime. The United States declared war upon the Central Powers on April 6, 1917; on November 2, 1917 the British Foreign Secretary handed over to Baron Rothschild a government statement concerning the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine. [15]

II. The 'Suburban Treaties' of Paris

It was the intervention of the United States which decided the war in favor of the Entente, because of America's immense military potential and its fresh troops. In October 1918 the last Imperial government of the German Reich asked Wilson, the American president, to mediate talks regarding an armistice and eventually a peace treaty, based on the "Fourteen Points" he had proclaimed earlier. The Western Allies, however, did not adhere to these "Fourteen Points." Thus, they broke the preliminary contract, whose validity was emphasized by American politicians and presidential advisors like Bernard Baruch and John Foster Dulles. According to Baruch, the President had refused "to accept measures which clearly do not respond to the motions we had persuaded the enemy to agree to and of which we may not change anything, just because we are powerful enough to do that." [16] At Versailles, Baruch was Wilson's advisor in financial affairs. Similarly, the South African prime minister, General Smuts, in his letter to the American president dated May 30, 1919, pointed out the obligations the Western Allies accepted in the preliminary treaty, which they did not honor. President Wilson, however, was not able to defend his point of view against the Western Powers, since he was severely ill. [17]

Wilson had induced the German people to capitulate and overthrow the monarchy by the promise, soon to be broken, of a peace without annexations and indemnities. Capitulation and revolution delivered the German Empire to the mercy of the vengeful victors. Germany was not allowed to take part in the peace negotiations; the victors alone decided the conditions of peace, in a procedure without precedent in European history. On May 7, 1919, the peace conditions were handed over to the German peace delegation. Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, foreign secretary and leader of the delegation, pointed out in his speech before the delegates of the Western Allies and their associates: [18]

... We know the impact of the hate we are encountering here, and we have heard the passionate demand of the victors, who require us, the defeated, to pay the bill and plan to punish us as the guilty party. We are asked to confess ourselves the sole culprits; in my view, such a confession would be a lie ...

By these words the foreign secretary refused to accept article 231 of the peace treaty, the so-called war-guilt article, the lie which claimed that Germany was solely responsible for the war and could therefore be made responsible for all the havoc wrought by the war. The victors threatened that if the German government didn't sign the treaty, they would invade Germany proper. Indignation in the Weimar National Assembly was general, and the climate of opinion favored rejection. The Social Democrat Philipp Scheidemann, who had proclaimed the German Republic on 9 November 1918, and was prime minister of the first republican government elected by the National Assembly, declared: "I ask you, who as an honest man-not even as a German, simply as an honest man feeling himself bound by contracts, is able to accept such conditions? Which hand would not wither, should it be bound in such chains? In the government's view, this treaty is unacceptable." [19] Scheidemann, as well as Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, resigned under protest. Important German-Jewish economic leaders, namely Walther Rathenau and the Hamburg banker Max Warburg, took a firm stand against accepting the dictate of the victors and called for a refusal, even against the odds of an enemy invasion of Germany. [20] The National Assembly, however, did not have the courage to maintain such a position, and under protest, voted acceptance of the Versailles dictate. It was on June 28, 1919, the date fixed by the victorious powers, that the National Assembly's plenipotentiaries had to sign that treaty. The date had been chosen as a reminder of the murder at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914.

Connected with the "war guilt article" were the punitive regulations of sections 227-231, referring to the surrender of "war criminals" to the victors, the most prominent "criminal" on the lists being the German emperor, who had fled to the Netherlands. Since the Dutch government declined to extradite the emperor, the planned trial did not take place. The German government refused to hand over other prominent German leaders to the victors, and passed an act concerning prosecution of war crimes.

One of the inhuman conditions of capitulation was the hunger blockade against Germany, which was continued by French demand until the Versailles Treaty came into force in January 1920.

Because of its long-term effects, the hunger blockade imposed by the British was more decisive in defeating the Central Powers than was wartime military pressure. The number of deaths due to hunger and malnutrition is estimated at 800,000 for 1919 alone. A committee of American women traveling through Germany by order of Herbert Hoover, chief of war relief and later president, reported in July 1919, "If the conditions continue which we have seen in Germany, a generation will grow up in Central Europe which will be physically and psychologically disabled, so that it will become a danger for the whole of the world." [21]

Adolf Hitler, then an unknown soldier, experienced the famine which lasted throughout the war and in those early postwar years. His political program was born of those experiences, particularly his idea of conquering Ukraine for the German people. Conquering the fertile regions of southern Russia could provide not only living space for the German people; it could ban forever the possibility of another hunger blockade.

Hitler experienced the Revolution of November 1918 lying wounded in a military hospital. He became a passionate enemy of the November Revolution and of the "Soviet Republic" in the Bavarian capital of Munich during April 1919, a political coup staged chiefly by Jews and directed by Lenin's radio commands from Moscow. Hitler became a member of the then totally unimportant "Deutsche Arbeiterpartei" (German Worker's Party) founded in January of that same year, and he soon proved to be a brilliant orator. His main topic was the Versailles dictate, which he saw as closely connected with the November revolution and the mischievous revolutionary activities of the Jews. As a German of the late Habsburg Monarchy, he was a fanatic supporter of

a union of the Austrian Germans with the German Reich. The main focuses of his political activity were the fight against the peace dictate, the Marxist-Communist threat with the leading role of the Jews in the revolt, and the fight for self-determination and equality of rights for the German people. [22]

The overthrow of the monarchy, the change from an empire to a republic, as well as the capitulation, had been sparked by President Wilson's third note, dated October 23, 1918. The National Assembly, which began sitting in January 1919, was determined to shape the new state and government according to the Western example, as the victors had wished. By the peace dictate, however, the Allies had sentenced the Weimar Republic to death even before the new constitution had been ratified by the National Assembly. On June 28, 1919, the German government signed the Versailles dictate; the new constitution came into force on the 11th of August, burdened with the curse of the Versailles treaty and its unrealizable demands. The miserable end of the Weimar Republic, "the freest democracy of the world," and its result, Hitler's dictatorship, were consequences of the Versailles dictate. The victors had won the war but lost the peace by their treaty.

The most important stipulations of the dictate of Versailles were as follows: The German Reich had to cede 73,485 square kilometers, inhabited by 7,325,000 persons, to neighboring states. Before the war it had possessed 540,787 square kilometers and 67,892,000 inhabitants; after the war, 467,301 square kilometers and 59,036,000 inhabitants remained. Germany lost 75% of its yearly production of zinc ore, 74.8% of iron ore, 7.7% of lead ore, 28.7% of coal, and 4% of potash. Of its yearly agricultural production, Germany lost 19.7% in potatoes, 18.2% in rye, 17.2% in barley, 12.6% in wheat, and 9.6% in oats.

The Saar territory and other regions to the west of the Rhine were occupied by foreign troops and were to remain so for fifteen years, with Cologne, Mainz, and Coblenz as bridgeheads. The costs of the occupation, 3,640,000,000 gold marks, had to be paid by the German Reich. Germany was not allowed to station troops or build fortifications to the west of the Rhine and in a fifty-kilometer zone to the east.

Germany was forced to disarm almost completely, the conditions calling for: abolition of the general draft, prohibition of all heavy arms (artillery and tanks), a volunteer army of only 100,000 troops and officers restricted to long-term enlistments; reduction of the navy to six capital ships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo-boats, 15,000 men and 500 officers. An air force was absolutely prohibited. The process of disarmament was overseen by an international military committee until 1927. Additionally, all German rivers had to be internationalized and overseas cables ceded to the victors.

The economic conditions of the Versailles treaty were as follows: After the delivery of the navy, the merchant ships had to be handed over as well, with only a few exceptions. Germany was deprived of all her foreign accounts-private ones too-and lost her colonies. For a period of ten years, Germany had to supply France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Italy with 40 million tons of coal per year, and had to deliver machines, factory furnishings, tools and other materials for the restoration of devastated areas in Belgium and the North of France. In regard to the hunger blockade, which continued until January 1920, a special hardship on the German people was the forced delivery of German cattle to the victors for breeding and slaughtering purposes.

The Versailles Treaty did not contain any limitation on the victors' financial demands, in order to facilitate additional demands. In 1920, the Western allies fixed the amount of reparations first at a sum of 269 billions of gold marks; then, in 1921, at 132 billions-both unrealistic demands. France made use of this opportunity by occupying additional German cities. This policy of black-

mail culminated in the invasion of the Ruhr territory by French and Belgian military units in January, 1923. In this way, France hoped to accomplish the disintegration of the German Reich, and to establish the Rhine as France's eastern frontier. Thereafter, the French occupation forces accelerated inflation in the occupied zones by confiscating the presses for printing bank notes, and produced money in unprecedented amounts. It was thus that France promoted high inflation until the breakdown of German currency. [23]

The French government, however, did not achieve its goal. Even its British and Italian allies condemned the French attack on the Ruhr as an open breach of the Versailles treaty. The paralysis of the German economy resulting from inflation, combined with passive resistances forced the United States to abandon its policy of isolation and to concentrate on regulation of the war debts.

The Habsburg Empire, the second strongest of the Central Powers, was destroyed and divided up by the victors. Serbia and Romania were amply rewarded with substantial enlargements of territory, since they had sided with the Western Allies. Serbia swallowed its Croatian, Slovenian, and Montenegrin neighbors to become the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and Romania received the eastern part of the former Hungarian Monarchy. The victors established another new state, especially favored by President Wilson, and which up to then had been unknown in European history, namely, Czechoslovakia. This new Czechoslovakia became the heir of the monarchy of Bohemia-Moravia, formerly belonging to the western half of the Habsburg monarchy, and of old Slovakia, then part of Hungary. Because the Czech leaders Thomas Masaryk and Eduard Benes, had given false data to the victors, the Czechs, forming only 44% of the population of the new state, were allowed to rule over the other 56% of the population, consisting of 23% Germans, 18% Slovaks, 5% Magyars, 3.8% Ukrainians, 1.3% Jews and 0.6% Poles. The Sudeten Germans were the largest minority, numbering 3.5 million persons, followed by the Slovaks, numbering 2.5 million, who had only agreed to the establishment of the new Czechoslovak state after they had been promised full autonomy. This promise was broken. Also, Italy was ceded the German South Tyrol. [24]

At their national assembly in Vienna in November 1918, the Germans of the Austrian part of the Habsburg Empire had decided to join themselves to the German Reich. The Weimar National Assembly had agreed to annex the 10 million Germans of the western half of the Danube Empire. The victors, however, denied the German people their right of self-determination, forcing 3.5 million Sudeten Germans under Czech rule, and compelling the Austrian Germans to establish an "independent" republic with Vienna as its capital. The truncated Austrian state was burdened with the peace dictate of St. Germain, [25] a treaty as hard and humiliating as that of Versailles. Hungary, the Eastern part of the Habsburg Monarchy, reduced to one-third of its former territory due to its losses in favor of Romania, Serbia, and Czechoslovakia, was forced to sign an equally harsh treaty at Trianon.

Poland, newly founded as a monarchy in 1916 after its liberation from Russia rule by German troops, became a republic and was greatly enlarged at the expense of Germany and Austria-Hungary. From the Habsburg Empire, Poland received Galicia and Cracow; Germany had to renounce her rights to West Prussia, Posen, and the eastern part of Upper Silesia. The German city of Danzig was separated from the Reich and put under the administration of the League of Nations as a so-called "free city." The "Polish Corridor" separated East Prussia from the rest of the Reich so that this Prussian province was inaccessible to officials except by sea.

This sadistic fixing of frontiers was due mainly to French influence. The French commander-in-chief, Marshal Ferdinand Foch, declared that in twenty years a new war was inevitable. To hold Germany down permanently, France devised a system of treaties with Poland, Czechoslovakia,

Romania, and Yugoslavia. Britain's Prime Minister David Lloyd George disapproved of the imposition of the new German-Polish frontiers, [26] but the British government did nothing to prevent it. General Henry Allen, the commander-in-chief of the American occupation forces of the Rhine, also spoke strongly against such "wrong policy." [27]

When seen from a global point of view, the most imminent result of the First World War was the victory of the United States of America. The first stage of the European civil war had resulted in a decrease of European power and brought about America's rise to the world's leading power, as well as the determining factor in the fate of Europe. Certainly the two Western colonial powers of Great Britain and France had reached their greatest territorial extension overseas as well as their climax of power in Europe with the defeat of Germany, the destruction of the Habsburg Monarchy, and the division of the Turkish Empire; but they had been able to win only by the help of an extra-European power, and they had thereby become America's debtors. The British Empire, which up to then had been the main representative of European power overseas, as well as the main financial and naval power, had by war's end become dependent on its North American "junior partner." By the agreement reached at the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-1922, London had to share its naval rule with the U.S.A. and grant America equality of rights on the seas.

Because he was afflicted with paralysis, President Wilson was not able in 1918 and 1919 to realize the ideals based on his "Fourteen Points." The peace treaties were thus distorted by French and English hatred and vengeance, endangering the peace after they had won the war with American help. [28] The American president was able to effect the creation of the League of Nations, envisioned as a world government peacefully regulating disputes among peoples, but an isolationist majority in Congress prevented American membership in the League, as well as rejecting ratification of the Versailles treaty. In 1921, the U.S.A. and Germany signed a separate peace agreement securing all the advantages of the Versailles treaty for the U.S.A. However, the attempt to withdraw into isolation was a grave mistake as well as an evasion of responsibility, for Europe had neither been able to end the war on its own or to reach a compromise peace. Thus the main responsibility for the subsequent development of European history falls on the United States.

Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, declared that the forced peace of Versailles was unacceptable. The name of God had been excluded from it, and from it not only one, but ten wars would originate. [29] Lenin, the atheist founder of the Soviet Union, said about the dictate of Versailles: [30]

An atrocious peace, making slaves out of millions of highly civilized people. That is no peace; those are conditions dictated to a helpless victim by robbers with knives in their hands.

George Kennan, the well-known American diplomat and historian, judged: [31]

In this way, the pattern of the events that led the Western world to new disaster in 1939 was laid down in its entirety by the Allied governments in 1918-19. What we shall have to observe from here on, in the relations between Russia, Germany and the West, follows a logic as inexorable as that of any Greek tragedy.

III. The Period between the Wars

Since the Allied powers depended upon Germany's reparation payments to repay their debts to the U.S.A., the American government in 1924 regulated the reparations problem with a payment plan named for the American financier Charles Dawes. The Dawes Plan was based on the princi-

ple of changing political guilt into commercial debt. Accordingly, American loans, mainly short-term ones, poured into the German economy. Germany could only meet the victors' reparation claims by a surplus resulting from increased exports. Since many states pursued a policy of enacting protective tariffs to restrict German competition, a new payment plan had to be arranged in 1928, the so-called Young Plan, named after the American banker Owen Young.

According to the Young Plan, the German Reich would pay reparations until 1988, while at the same time having to pay interest on and amortize the mainly short-term private loans. However, the shattering 1929 Wall Street crash and the ensuing crisis of world economy rendered the Young Plan absurd before it came into force. By 1931 mass employment and a decrease in the gross national product stemming from the Wall Street crash led to German insolvency and moved Hindenburg, then president of the German Reich, to write to President Hoover asking for a moratorium. In July 1932 the Conference of Lausanne ended German reparation payments by fixing a final payment of three billion gold marks. The German Reich had altogether paid 53.15S billion gold marks in reparations, including contributions in kind.

The German economy had still to meet interest obligations deriving from Germany's enormous foreign debt. In the spring of 1933, after political leadership had changed simultaneously in the U.S.A. and in Germany, the influence of Jewish and Socialist emigrants from Germany caused relations between the two countries to deteriorate. At first, both President Roosevelt and the Hitler government countered identical domestic problems of economic depression and mass unemployment by state work programs: the New Deal in the USA; the Four Year Plan in Germany. Shortly after his inauguration in 1933, Roosevelt announced a large-scale naval rearmament program and established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in the hope of fostering trade relations which could boost American industry. [32] One year later, the Soviet Union was accepted as a member of the League of Nations, another augury of the anti-German coalition of the Second World War.

After the nationalist parties' seizure of power in Germany, resulting after one-and-a-half years in Hitler's autocratic rule, based on a mass-movement, all the victor states of the First World War talked of a future war. It was not Hitler who wanted the war, but rather his internal and external enemies. Shortly after Hitler's rise to power, the Polish government suggested a preventive war against Germany to its French ally. [33] In March 1933, the international Jewish leadership decreed a propaganda and economic war on Germany, linked to a boycott of German products. During his journey to America in May 1933, Hjalmar Schacht, the President of the Reichsbank, found the atmosphere hostile. When his talks with President Roosevelt concerning regulation of German debts took a friendly turn, Schacht explained to Roosevelt that Germany could meet its obligations to American private creditors only if Germany were given the opportunity to increase its exports. This, however, did not jibe with the international boycott movement organized by the Jews, which sought a speedy overthrow of the Hitler government. During his stay in America, Schacht was also told that Paris nursed exceedingly anti-German sentiments and that people were saying that Germany should be divided up in order to accomplish what had been neglected in Versailles. [34]

Schacht managed to render the boycott useless, however, and he made Germany economically independent by signing the clearing agreements. The Four-Year Plan proved to be a success, and the Hitler government managed to get nearly all the jobless into some kind of employment by the end of 1937. At the same time, the American New Deal failed. After that, Roosevelt changed his policy to one favoring intervention. He introduced it by his "Quarantine" speech dating from October 1937, directed against Japan but also against Germany and Italy. [35]

For the ambitious Roosevelt, a large-scale war could help in solving his domestic problems by absorbing the unemployed through an armament boom, as well as subsequently bringing to pass the “American Century” through his leadership of a world government. He favored turmoil in Europe, and through his Ambassador, Anthony Biddle, he influenced the Polish government not to enter into negotiations with Germany. [36] When, in 1938, the German people realized the right of self-determination by merging Austria and the Sudetenland into the Reich according to the decisions of the Munich conference of September 1938, Roosevelt protested against the Western powers' acceptance of Germany's rightful claims. The Munich agreement, involving Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy, was the last independent decision in Europe, uninfluenced by either America or Russia. Therefore, President Roosevelt declared it a capitulation to Hitler, and brought pressure on the Western powers and Poland to offer stiff resistance to Germany. [37] Roosevelt and Stalin had equal interests in the outbreak of a war in Europe, each of them nursing his own dream of a world domination; Roosevelt as president of a world government in the form of the United Nations, Stalin as dictator of a Communist world empire. [38]

IV. The Outbreak of the Second World War

The problem of inducing the enemy to fire the first shot in order to be able to brand him the aggressor was easier in the German-Polish confrontation than it was to be two years later in the conflict between Japan and the U.S.A. The Polish, influenced by the American administration and relying on their alliance with Great Britain and France, reacted to the last German peace proposal with a general mobilization. Thus they forced the German government's hand. According to Frederick the Great of Prussia, “The attacker is the one who forces his adversary to attack.” Thanks to the treason of Herwarth von Bittenfeld, then secretary to the German embassy in Moscow, President Roosevelt knew of the German-Russian secret treaty of August 23, 1939 even before Hitler could inform his ally. Roosevelt, however, did not inform the Polish government of this intelligence, since he, like Stalin, wanted war. [39]

The Soviet dictator signed the treaty with Hitler in order to cause war between the capitalist states. It was his aim to intervene after the capitalist powers were exhausted. In this way he intended to emerge as victor of the war. In order to effect the Bolshevist world revolution, with the ultimate aim of establishing Moscow's rule over the world, the conquest of Germany was essential. [40] Bolshevist attempts at seizing power in Germany between 1918 and 1923 had failed because of the Freikorps (Volunteer Corps) and the Reichswehr. [41] By means of the Second World War and with the help of President Roosevelt, Stalin would conquer half of Europe, including half of Germany, and integrate it into the Communist block. Roosevelt's dream of becoming president of the world was not to come to pass, however; he died on April 12, 1945, eighteen days before Hitler's suicide.

On September 3, 1939, the British government declared war on Germany and thus forced France to take the same disastrous step, hypocritically claiming they were doing so to protect Polish independence. Exactly twenty-five years earlier, on August 4, 1914, the British government had declared war on the German Reich, proclaiming its support for Belgian neutrality. Within a quarter of a century, the British Empire thus started two unprovoked wars in order to destroy Germany. [42] To be sure, in 1939 the British government did not act independently, but was pressured intensely by the American President. Joseph Kennedy, from 1938 to 1940 the United States Ambassador in London, later replied to a question of James Forrestal, the U.S. secretary of defense, on just how it was that war had broken out:

Hitler would have fought Russia without any later conflict with England if it had not been for Bullitt's [William Bullitt, then Ambassador to France urging on Roosevelt in

the summer of 1939 that the Germans must be faced down about Poland; neither the French nor the British would have made Poland a cause of war if it hadn't been for the constant needling from Washington. Bullitt, he said, kept telling Roosevelt that the Germans would not fight, Kennedy said that they would and that they would overrun Europe. Chamberlain, he says, stated that America and the world Jews had forced England into the war. In his telephone conversations with Roosevelt in the summer of 1939, the President kept telling him to put some iron up Chamberlain's backside ... [43]

The 1941 German attack on the Soviet Union was a preventive war to avoid the Soviet Russian attack then being prepared. At that time the Soviet Union proved the most heavily armed state, underestimated not only by the German, but also by the Allied general staffs. [44]

Roosevelt's diplomacy contributed to the failure of German attack plans for the spring of 1941. Since he had engineered the Yugoslavian coup d'état of March 27, 1941, [45] the German command saw the necessity of a Balkan campaign, thus delaying the attack on the Soviet Union by five weeks. For President Roosevelt, America's entry into the European war was complicated by the Neutrality Act, and by the German government's silence over the growing breaches of neutrality committed by the U.S.A. on behalf of the Western Allies throughout the years 1939-1941. [46] Eventually, Roosevelt found the "backdoor to war" by provoking war with Japan. [47] His economic sanctions and political demands had been devised with the purpose of driving Japan into war, forcing it to fire the first shot and thus appear to the world as the aggressor. He attained this objective through his ultimatum of November 26, 1941, which he had issued without informing the American Congress. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor of December 7, 1941 was thereby artificially provoked. [48]

By his demand for unconditional surrender Roosevelt made impossible any attempt at a political solution of the war problems. For him and his British friend Winston Churchill the complete destruction of the German Reich and the extermination of the German people were the main objective of the war. Military force, only a means for attaining an end in the view of Clausewitz, became an end in itself. Anti-German propaganda, directed by the American administration itself, grew to an infernal extent.

In the spring of 1941, when the U.S.A. was still officially neutral, the Jewish author, Theodore Kaufman, published the book *Germany Must Perish*. In it he outlined a plan for the biological eradication of the German people through the forced sterilization of the whole adult population. [49]

Charles Lindbergh, the famous American pilot, recorded these extermination plans in his diary. [50] The sterilization plans could not be put into effect due to the developing discord within the anti-Hitler coalition. In 1943, Roosevelt disclosed to Cardinal Spellman that he intended to leave Europe to the Russians as a sphere of influence. [51] One year later, when the Red Army conquered Poland, disagreements arose between Great Britain and the USA on one side, and Stalin on the other, terminating with Poland's complete integration into the Communist sphere of influence.⁵¹ That was just one of the results of a world war unleashed by Great Britain in order to defend Poland.

After being elected four times, contrary to the American tradition, President Roosevelt was in such bad physical shape after his fourth inauguration that he was unable to fulfill his duties. Similar to President Wilson at Versailles in 1919, Roosevelt at Yalta in 1945 showed alarming signs of exhaustion and dementia. At times he was not able to follow Stalin's line of thought during his

talks with the Soviet dictator. Thus the Russian autocrat had an easy game at ramming through his plans regarding Europe and Asia. In Europe the Soviet Union reached the Elbe-Saale Line, dividing Germany, as well as the Occident, into two parts. As to East Asia, Stalin had the Portsmouth Treaty between Russia and Japan revised as a reward for Russian help in the defeat of Japan. Four years later, in 1949, China turned Communist, Communism's greatest triumph after its success in Europe.

My lecture is now drawing to a close and I shall summarize. In the course of the 19th Century, a capitalist world economy had led to the growing importance and intensification of economic ties and interests on the international stage; on the one hand bringing the nations together and establishing an interconnection of all peoples by modern means of transport and communication; on the other hand, aggravating old conflicts and creating new ones. The possibility of mutual and international involvement in other people's affairs, and of unending conflicts, was particularly increased. It was characteristic of the pre-industrial age that man could only reach limited aims, by limited means; the sign of the Machine Age and its mode of living was the enabling of man to strive for unlimited aims by seemingly unlimited means.

The conflicts resulting from a capitalistic world economy culminated at the turn of the century in the international rivalry between Germany and the British Empire. This tension, which had never existed before between these two nations, was rooted in trade competition, and overshadowed all the old conflicts between the Continental powers. A local conflict ignited by the small Balkan state of Serbia in 1914, and expanded to a war of European scale by Russia's meddling on Serbia's side, developed into a world war with the British declaration of war on Germany. Werner Sombart, the well-known German historian of capitalism, describes the nature of this development: [52]

... [the] common characteristic of all developments of the capitalist era is a pressure toward infinity, a boundlessness of aims, a force striving beyond all organic measure. Here we have one of those inner contradictions pervading modern culture: that life, in its highest and strongest action, overreaches and ... destroys itself.

The American intervention in the European civil war in 1917, brought about by British policy and ensuring the Allied victory, ushered in the climax of Anglo-Saxon world rule. At that time, after overthrowing two of the most powerful continental powers, Russia and Germany, the two Anglo-Saxon powers were rulers of the globe. They won the war, but they lost the peace because of their own incapability to shape a just order of peace. Britain and America bear the main responsibility for the further course of international history in the American Century.

The Second World War was a necessary consequence of the First World War's termination in the peace dictates of Versailles and St. Germain. The immediate origins of the Second World War were the Allied Powers' breaking of the preliminary agreement based on Wilson's Fourteen Points; the refusal of the right of self-determination and of equality of rights for the German people; the creation of the eastern frontier and the "Polish Corridor"; the treaties' paragraphs on war guilt and war criminals, and impossible financial and economic claims.

The outbreak of the war of 1939 was caused directly by the conflict between Poland and Germany over the "Corridor" and Danzig problems. Great Britain and the USA did not grant Germany fulfillment of her rights to self-determination: unification of Austria and the Sudeten region with the German Reich in 1938 had shifted the relations between the powers on the continent in favor of Germany-an event unacceptable for England's traditional policy of a "Balance of Pow-

ers.” Equally unacceptable for America was the Europeans' independent decision at the Munich conference, excluding the United States and the Soviet Union.

By means of a European war, both Roosevelt and Stalin intended to realize their dream of world rule according to totally different views and totally different aims. Thus Washington and Moscow staged a new European war, enabling both colossi to destroy and displace a Europe engaged in self-mutilation. The European order of the world was replaced by two “super powers,” leading to a balance of terror. Thus, America lost her position as arbiter mundi*2 which she had at tempted to exercise in 1919, and was forced on the defensive against an aggressive and expansionist Communism striving for exclusive world domination.

Notes

1. ☺ See also: Erwin Hölzle, *Die Selbstentmachtung Europas* (Göttingen, 1975).
2. ☺ Karl Alexander von Müller, “Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus” in Knaur’s *Weltgeschichte* (Berlin, 1935). Alexander Randa, *Handbuch der Weltgeschichte*, Vol. III (Olten, 1954).
3. ☺ Georg Franz-Willing, “Der Krimkrieg, ein Wendepunkt des europäischen Schicksals,” in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 7, Heft 8, August 1956, p. 448ff.
4. ☺ Georg Franz-Willing, *Der weltgeschichtliche Aufstieg der Vereinigten Staaten durch die Entscheidung des Bürgerkrieges 1861-1865* (Osnabruck, 1979).
5. ☺ Georg Franz-Willing, “Der Indische Aufstand 1857-1859,” in *Die Welt als Geschichte*, XXI, 1961, p. 29ff., 109ff.
6. ☺ Georg Franz-Willing, “Europa oder Asien. Admiral Perry’s Expedition nach Japan,” in *Die Österreichische Furche*, 1953, Nr. 31 v.1.8.1953.
7. ☺ Georg Franz-Willing, *Neueste Geschichte Chinas 1840-1973* (Paderborn, 1975) passim.
8. ☺ Allan Nevins, Henry White. *Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1930) p., 257 f. Albert Wedemeyer, *Reports* (New York, 1958), p. 13f.
9. ☺ Wedemeyer, *ibid.*
10. ☺ Georg Franz-Willing, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand und die Pläne zur Reform der Habsburger Monarchie* (Munich, 1943), passim.
11. ☺ Hans Übersberger, *Russland and Serbien*, (Munich, 1958), passim. Erwin Hölzle, *Amerika and Russland* (Göttingen, 1980), p. 103ff.
12. ☺ Hölzle, *Die Selbstentmachtung Europas*, p. 234. Dietrich Aigner, *Das Ringen um England* (Munich, 1969), p. 13ff.
13. ☺ Homer Lea, *The Day of the Saxon* (New York, 1912), p. 137.
14. ☺ V. I. Lenin, *Über Krieg, Armee and Militärwissenschaft. Eine Auswahl aus Lenins Schriften in zwei Bänden* (East Berlin, 1958), Vol. I, p. 455.
15. ☺ Hölzle, *Amerika and Russland*, p. 192 ff. Felix Frankfurter, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1960), p. 154ff., 178ff. Bernard Baruch, *The Public Years* (New York, 1960), p. Off., p. 49ff.
16. ☺ Baruch, *The Public Years*, p. 97ff. Baruch, *The Making of Reparations and Economic Sections of the Treaty* (New York, 1920), passim.
17. ☺ Fritz Berber, *Das Versailler Diktat*, 2 vols. (Essen, 1939), Vol. I, p. 8ff., p. 35f., p. 94f. Ulrich Graf Brockdorff-Rantzau, *Dokumente und Gedanken um Versailles* (Berlin, 1925), p. 175ff. Ray S. T. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement* (London, 1923), Vol. 3, p. 458ff.
18. ☺ Berber, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 52ff.

19. ☞ Philipp Scheidemann, *Memoiren eines Sozialdemokraten*, 2 vols. (Dresden, 1928), Vol. I, p. 346.
20. ☞ Walther Rathenau, *Kritik der dreifachen Revolution* (Berlin, 1919), p. 123ff. Walther Rathenau, *Tagebuch 1907-1922* (Düsseldorf, 1967), p. 226ff. Friedrich Boetticher, *Soldat am Rande der Politik* (Unpublished Memoirs). Max Warburg, *Aus meinen Aufzeichnungen*, ed. by Eric Warburg (New York, 1952), p. 57ff., p. 80ff.
21. ☞ *Münchener Post* (Social Democratic Daily), Nr. 263 dated 11/19/19, Article: "Die Hungerblockade und ihre Folgen."
22. ☞ Georg Franz-Willing, *Ursprung der Hitlerbewegung* (Preussisch-Oldendorf, 1947) p. 97ff.
23. ☞ Georg Franz-Willing, *Krisenjahr Hitlerbewegung* (Preussisch-Oldendorf, 1975), p. 274.
24. ☞ Taras Borodajkewycz, *Wegmarken der Geschichte Österreichs* (Wien, 1972), (Eckartschriften, Heft 42), p. 43ff. Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, "Österreich in der deutschen Geschichte," in *Zwei Reden für Österreich* (Eckartschriften, Heft 67), (Wien, 1978), p. 13ff.
25. ☞ Taras Borodajkewycz, *Saint Germain. Diktat gegen Selbstbestimmung* (Eckartschriften, Heft 31), (Wien, 1969), passim.
26. ☞ Memorandum of the Premier Lloyd George dated 3/25/19, Berber, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 35ff.
27. ☞ General Henry Allen, *My Rhineland Journal* (Boston, 1923), entry dated 1/15/20.
28. ☞ See Baruch (Nr. 16).
29. ☞ Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *Tagebücher* (Heidelberg, 1950), entry dated 3/12/20. "
30. ☞ Lenin, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 569, p. 6ñ0.
31. ☞ George Kennan, *Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin* (London, 1961), p. 164.
32. ☞ Dirk Kunert, *Ein Weltkrieg wird programmiert* (Kiel, 1984), p. 97ff.
33. ☞ Georg Franz-Willing, 1933. *Die nationale Erhebung* (Leoni, 1982), p.242f. Wacława Jędrzejewicz, "The Polish Plan for a 'Preventive War' against Germany in 1933," in *The Polish Review* (New York, 1966), p. 62ff.
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35. ☞ Kunert, loc. cit., p. 192ff.
36. ☞ Carl J. Burckhardt, *Meine Danziger Mission 1937-1939* (Munich, 1960), p. 225ff. Dirk Bavendamm, *Roosevelts Weg zum Krieg* (Munich, 1983), p. 72, p. 407ff. Kunert, loc. cit., p. 226, p. 261.
37. ☞ Bavendamm, loc. cit., p. 415ff., p. 511ff., p. 600ff.
38. ☞ Kunert, loc. cit., p. 13ff., p. 271ff., p. 280ff.
39. ☞ Hans Herwarth, *Against Two Evils* (New York, 1981), p. 159ff., Charles Bohlen, *Witness To History* (New York, 1973), Chapter: "A Source in the Nazi Embassy."
40. ☞ Ernst Topitsch, *Stalins Krieg. Die sowjetische Langzeitstrategie gegen den Westen als rationale Machtpolitik* (Murrich, 1985), passim.
41. ☞ Franz-Willing, *Krisenjahr der Hitlerbewegung*, p. 282ff.
42. ☞ Aigner, *Das Ringen um England*, p. 29ff., p. 105ff., p. 269ff.
43. ☞ *The Forrestal Diaries*, edited by Walter Millis (New York, 1951), p. 285, entry dated 12/27/45.
44. ☞ Joachim Hoffmann, "Die Sowjetunion bis zum Vorabend des deutschen Angriffs" in *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg*, Vol. 4 (Stuttgart, 1983), pp. 83-97, pp. 713-809.

45. ☞ Konstantin Fotitsch, *The War We Lost. Yugoslavia's Tragedy and the Failure of the West* (New York, 1948). K. O. Braun, "Das kriegsauslösende Serbien 1914 und 1941," in *Deutsche Annalen* (Leoni, 1984), p. 228ff.
 46. ☞ Fritz Berber, *Die amerikanische Neutralität im Kriege 1939-1941* (Essen, 1943), passim.
 47. ☞ Charles Tansill, *Backdoor To War* (Chicago, 1952). Bavendarm, loc. cit., p. 563ff.
 48. ☞ Hamilton Fish, *FDR. The Other Side of The Coin. How We Were Tricked Into World War II* (New York, 1976). Peter Herde, *Pearl Harbor 7/12/41* (Dannstadt, 1980).
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 50. ☞ *The Wartime Journals*, entry dated February 5, 1942. See also David Irving, *The Last Campaign*. German edition: *Der Nürnberger Prozess* (Munich, 1979), p. 19.
 51. ☞ *The Cardinal Spellman Story* (New York, 1962). (German Edition, Neuenbürg, 1963, p. 189ff.).
 52. ☞ *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, Vol. 3, 1928, pp. 12, 25.
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Review

Il Rapporto Gerstein: Anatomia Di Un Falso

- [THE GERSTEIN REPORT: THE ANATOMY OF A FRAUD], by Carlo Mattogno. Sentinella d'Italia (Via Buonarroti, 4, Monfalcone, Italy), 1985; 243 pp.

Reviewed by Robert A. Hall. Jr.

Italians have a special reason for being sensitive with regard to the allegations contained in the report made in 1945 by the SS officer Kurt Gerstein in his account of his observations at Belzec and other alleged “extermination-camps” in July, 1942. The German dramatist Rolf Hochhuth, in his “historical drama” *Der Stellvertreter* (Eng. “The Deputy”; It. “Il Vicario”; 1963), introduced Gerstein as a major character. In Act I, Hochhuth has Gerstein rush into the presence of the Papal Nuncio Count Césare Orsenigo in the latter’s palace in Berlin in 1942 and tell him excitedly of the massacre of Jews which he has witnessed at Belzec. Orsenigo conveys this information to Pope Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli). The Pope does not question its accuracy, but considers the fate of millions of Jews as secondary to the safeguarding of the Vatican’s financial investments in Germany. Hochhuth has the Pope spill ink on his hands, call for a basin of water, and (with obvious symbolism) wash his hands of the whole matter.

Der Stellvertreter has been translated into many languages and performed normally, because of its length, in abbreviated versions-in many countries. (Your reviewer saw it in Uruguay in 1966.) As so often happens with works of fiction, Hochhuth’s version of history has been widely accepted outside of Italy as truthful. In Italy, on the other hand, Pius XII is considered to have been not only anti-Nazi (as far as was possible in the situation), but eager to do all he could to save as many Jews as possible. Hence the concern of many Italians over what they consider Hochhuth’s unjustified slander against the posthumous reputation of Pope Pius, and over the truthfulness of the real Kurt Gerstein’s depositions made in 1945. Mattogno’s book is a thorough reexamination, from both a general and a specifically Italian point of view, of the authenticity of the story as presented in the actual documents attributed to Gerstein, and hence of his credibility with regard to the situation at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka.

Italian *falso*, in Mattogno’s title, can mean either “forgery” or “fraud.” In this instance, it clearly means the latter. In his Chapter I (pp. 15-31), Mattogno lists and describes the texts of the various depositions, hand-written and type-written, attributed to Gerstein. Of the two chief versions, one (numbered PS-1553) is in French and the other (no. PS-2170) is in German. Two Americans who took Gerstein’s depositions swore under oath that they were actually made by him, and his widow recognized his hand-writing as authentic. Concerning their authenticity, purely as documents, therefore, Mattogno has no doubt, as he says in his brief second chapter (pp. 33-35).

Their truthfulness, however, is a totally different question. Mattogno denies (Ch. III: pp. 37-85), on the basis of a detailed study and comparison of the various texts, that they correspond to anything resembling historical truth. He lists no less than 103 internal and external contradictions, falsifications of history (as it can be determined from other sources), disagreement with official Exterminationist history, errors of fact, exaggerations, and unrealistic statements Listed on pp. 80-85). Some of these are minor discrepancies, e.g., in the measurements of rooms or the age of a child whom Gerstein saw distributing shoe-laces to prisoners. Others of these inaccuracies, however, range from major contradictions to real “whoppers,” such as the assertions that 15,000 persons were killed per day at Belzec, or 20,000 at Sobibor. The biggest of all is the figure of 25 million Jews executed. (Contrast this with the official Zionist figure of 16.6 million Jews in the entire world at the beginning of the Second World War, cited by W. Sanning, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* [Los Angeles, Institute for Historical Review, 1983], p. 14.)

Those who support Gerstein’s claims to truthfulness cite various sources of information contained in statements dating from 1942 to 1947. Mattogno devotes six chapters to these sources, in their approximate chronological order. In the first of these (Ch. IV: pp. 87-97), he discusses the Swedish Baron von Otter, whom Gerstein claimed to have informed of the situation when they travelled together on a train returning from Poland. Although von Otter claimed in July, 1945, that he made an oral report to his superiors in Stockholm, Mattogno states that there is no surviving documentary evidence of such a report. A document in Dutch, dating from 1943, with the title in German (why?) “Tötungsanstalten in Polen” (“Killing-Establishments in Poland”), Mattogno dismisses (Ch. V: pp. 92-107) as containing too many inaccuracies and contradictions to be trustworthy.

The reports which reached the Vatican during the 1942-1945 period concerning alleged mass executions of Jews in occupied Poland involve a rather broader spectrum of presumed support for Gerstein’s allegations. To these reports, Mattogno devotes a longer chapter (VI: pp. 109-123) than to the other “supporting evidence.” Of the interview which Hochhuth imagines as having taken place between Count Orsenigo and Gerstein, there is naturally no record in the Vatican archives, since Gerstein was, according to his own statement, not even allowed to enter the Nuncio’s palace in 1942. (For a fuller discussion of Hochhuth’s fabrications, see Paul Rassinier, *L’Opération “Vicaire”* [Paris, La Table Ronde, 1965].) Gerstein claimed to have told hundreds of persons (including a certain Dr. Hochstrasser and Bishop Dibelius) of the atrocities he had witnessed. After 1945, these two stated that they had forwarded this information to intermediate levels of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Switzerland and Sweden, respectively. Yet, Mattogno says (pp. 110-111), there is no trace of these reports in the Vatican. In the rest of the chapter, Mattogno reviews the various stories of atrocities against Jews and East Europeans which did reach the Vatican from 1942 onwards. He emphasizes what is already fairly well known, that these stories were vague and lacking in specific information, and did not arouse intense preoccupations because of their lack of confirmation.

Gerstein claimed that a certain Wilhelm Pfannenstiel accompanied him on his visits to the various “death-camps”; but, in his short chapter on Pfannenstiel (VII: pp. 123-138), Mattogno finds that the former’s statements, made between 1947 and 1970, are (like so many of the others) vague and self-contradictory. A Pole named Rudolf Reder, in 1947, published an account (in Polish) of the “death-camp” at Belzec. For several reasons, Mattogno considers, in his Chapter VIII (pp. 129-137), that Reder’s story is a mere vulgar plagiarism from Gerstein’s depositions, which had by then been published. Mattogno then takes up, in the final chapter of this group (IX: pp. 139-147), the depositions made by Rudolf Höss and Konrad Morgen in 1946, which have already been analyzed and found untrustworthy by other Revisionist scholars.

Mattogno's next three chapters deal with the relation of Gerstein's documents to the broader historical context. What actually happened to Gerstein himself? Nobody knows, except that it is fairly certain that he died in 1945, in a French prison. In Chapter X (pp. 149-156), Mattogno discusses the mystery surrounding Gerstein's death after he was imprisoned by the French in 1945 and found hanged in his cell on July 25 of that year. The official verdict was suicide, but the details and the actual cause (possibly murder, either by fellow inmates or the French authorities) are, Mattogno tells us, open to question. Interestingly, the file on Gerstein has also disappeared from the archives (as happens all too often in such instances). "Only one fact is certain: Kurt Gerstein's corpse disappeared, as did also his file," says Mattogno (p. 156).

The existence of "gas-chambers" at Belzec and of "steam chambers" at Treblinka is a pure myth, according to Mattogno's next two chapters. His Chapter XI (pp. 157-165) is devoted to the various alleged methods of execution at Belzec, pointing out the absurdities, impossibilities, and contradictions inherent in Gerstein's and others' accounts. In some stories, we are told of electrocutions by means of metal floors on which victims were forced to stand in large numbers, all squashed together, with electric currents being passed through the mass of naked bodies. (What about the grounding of the current, or the very high tension required to overcome the electrical resistance of such a mass?) Other accounts involve such methods of execution as metal floors which were made (how?) to sink into water through which an electric current was passed (!), or freight-trains on the floors of whose cars quick-lime was spread so as to torture and kill the victims crowded in them and dissolve the corpses (!). Mattogno's twelfth chapter (pp. 167-173) deals with the 1942 report issued by the Polish government-in-exile in London, according to which the victims at Treblinka were executed in "steam-chambers"-a most inefficient procedure, which was later changed, in official Exterminationist history, to gas-chambers, through clumsy adaptations of Gerstein's assertions.

In his two final chapters, Mattogno examines the treatment of the Gerstein material by later historians. His Chapter XIII (pp. 175-185) is a discussion of Revisionists' presentation of the matter. In examining the work of such scholars as Rassinier, Aretz, Butz, Walendy, Faurisson, and others, Mattogno engages in some "cross-bench" criticism, pointing out various errors (mostly minor) in their work, but is, on the whole, favorable to them. In the course of this chapter, he refutes Georges Wellers's criticisms of Rassinier, and the assertions of the Italian Exterminationist Luciano Sterpellone.

Mattogno reserves his strongest denunciations, however, for the French Exterminationist Léon Poliakov, in the second longest chapter of the book (XIV: pp. 187-227). First Mattogno reproduces (pp. 187-207) Gerstein's own texts (in German, French, and English) with an Italian translation for each. Then he prints (pp. 187-207) the versions of each which Poliakov gives in successive editions of his *Bréviaire de la haine* (1951; revised 1974). Mattogno indicates, by means of bold-face type and numbered end-notes, all the places (398 in all) in which Poliakov altered the original, by additions, omissions, substitutions, or insertions. From this discussion, Poliakov emerges as an untrustworthy, unscrupulous deceptionist.

Mattogno needs only one page (231) for his "Conclusion," in which he points out that Gerstein's "eye-witness" account is only a mass of absurdities, contradictions, and errors of all kinds, unsupported by trustworthy confirmation, whose falsity even Poliakov implicitly recognized by manipulating the material so as to make it seem credible. It is well known that Gerstein must have been mentally unbalanced, in his attempts at reconciling his alleged faith in Christian principles with his equally strongly asserted devotion to the National Socialist cause. If Gerstein's depositions are genuine (which Mattogno considers they are), the origin of his assertions is to be

sought in his “schizoid personality” (a phrase which Mattogno quotes from the Exterminationist Saul Friedlander).

The book is well organized and Mattogno’s discussion is clear, concise, and to the point, with relatively little emotionalism. The translations from French, German, English, and Dutch into Italian are all faithful to their originals. (Your reviewer knows no Polish and hence cannot judge the translations from that language.) Unfortunately, there are a number of misprints, not only in foreign languages, but also in the ordinary Italian prose.

In the light of Mattogno’s extensive discussion, Gerstein’s “eye-witness” accounts, and further argumentation based thereon, appear very untrustworthy indeed. One does not have to be a fanatical supporter of Nazism or Fascism (your reviewer, when a student in Italy in the 1930's, was strongly anti-Fascist, and still is) to recognize the extent to which, all unsuspecting, we have been tricked into believing Gerstein’s assertions, especially through the deceit practised on us by Rolf Hochhuth in *Der Stellvertreter*.

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Review

Room 40: British Naval Intelligence, 1914-1918

- ROOM 40: BRITISH NAVAL INTELLIGENCE, 1914-1918, by Patrick Beesly. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1982, U.S. edition 1983, xiii + 338pp with maps, photographs, index, \$15.95, ISBN 0-15-178634-8.

Reviewed by Arthur S. Ward

In this book, Patrick Beesly, a veteran of the Naval Intelligence Division of the British Admiralty, tells the story of Room 40 — the office of British Naval Intelligence during World War I. Drawing upon hitherto unpublished material, he sheds new light on such events as the abortive Dardanelles campaign, the Battle of Jutland, the Irish Easter Rising of 1916, the Zimmerman Telegram affair, and the defeat of the German U-boats. The American edition includes an important revision from the first edition published in the UK: Beesly amended his views of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, concluding that a conspiracy lay behind the tragedy.

Before the end of 1914, the British captured all the German naval codes. At the head of British Naval Intelligence was the legendary Admiral “Blinker” Hall, described by U.S. Ambassador Walter Hines Page as the “one genius that the war has developed ... all other secret-service men are amateurs by comparison.” After the war broke out in August 1914, an extraordinary band of amateurs was assembled—clergymen, stockbrokers, bankers, naval-school masters, university professors—who managed to read the early German naval codes and their replacements over the course of the war.

While the German Navy was smaller than the Royal Navy, the *Hochseeflotte* had the advantage of being able to choose its moment for a sudden raid and could have inflicted some sharp defeats on isolated British forces if plans had worked out as intended. Thanks to the work of Room 40, however, the Germans were never able to achieve the element of surprise, upon which their naval strategy depended. Indeed, after Admiral Scheer launched an ineffective sortie east of the Dogger Bank on October 18, 1916 (during which operation one of his cruisers was torpedoed), the High Seas Fleet did not attempt to put to sea again until April 1918.

Many readers will find Chapter Seven, “*Lusitania*: Foul-up or Conspiracy?” of particular interest. Beesly was able to consult a number of files relating to the sinking of the famous Cunard Line passenger steamer released to the Public Record Office after 1976. Yet the British government continues to withhold pertinent records from the public view. As the author points out, “The very unsatisfactory nature of the official enquiry held in June 1915 and the refusal then, and for the next sixty-six years, of the British authorities to disclose all the information in their possession, has only succeeded in fueling suspicions ... German and American records are also remarkable

for the absence of certain papers which once existed but which can no longer, apparently, be produced.”

From what Beesly has been able to discover, Room 40 was aware that a German submarine was in the area through which the Lusitania was to sail on the last leg of her journey from New York. She was carrying a supply of munitions, “in common with other fast Cunard liners ... ordered principally from the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.” The munitions were stowed on the lower orlop deck below the bridge and just forward of the foremost bulkhead of the four boiler rooms. This was the exact point where U-20’s single torpedo struck and where a terrific second explosion tore apart the ship, with such appalling loss of life. The Lusitania carried a cargo of dangerous munitions, contraband according to the rules of war then in effect. Even after the sinking of the Lusitania, the British continued to ship ammunition aboard passenger liners.

What concerns the author is that the British, knowing a U-boat was prowling in the area where the Lusitania was sailing, failed to divert the ship to another, safer route, or failed to provide a destroyer escort for the passenger liner, as they could have easily done: “Nothing, absolutely nothing was done to ensure the liner’s safe arrival,” Beesly notes. On the basis of the evidence available to him by the early 1980s,

Beesly was “reluctantly driven to the conclusion that there was a conspiracy deliberately to put the Lusitania at risk in the hopes that even an abortive attack on her would bring the United States into the war. Such a conspiracy could not have been put into effect without Winston Churchill’s [at the time Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty-ed.] express permission and approval.” Beesly’s research thus supports the conclusions reached by Colin Simpson in his earlier revisionist work on the topic, *The Lusitania*.

Room 40’s decrypts enabled the Royal Navy to intercept the German blockade runner, *Libau* (disguised as the Norwegian vessel *Aud*), on April 20, 1916, at Tralee Bay on the west coast of Ireland. *Libau* carried rifles, machine guns, ammunition, and explosives intended for the Sinn Feiners. Had the Irish received the weapons, the success of the Easter Rising would still have been in doubt, but the fighting could have been more serious than, in the event, it was.

The author explains the role that Room 40 had in the defeat of the U-boats. With the establishment of the convoy system, it was possible to alert ships to the presence of U-boats, and either reroute them or send destroyers out to ward off enemy submarines. As Beesly remarks, “neither in World War I nor in World War II did British intelligence win the U-boat war, but in both cases it certainly shortened it.”

Room 40 is a well written narrative, containing information of interest to Revisionists. Still available in hardcover in bookstores, readers' may be able to find copies on sale tables, as this reviewer did recently.

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Special Treatment: The Untold Story Of Hitler's Third Race

- *Special Treatment: The Untold Story Of Hitler's Third Race*, by Alan Abrams. Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, 1985, 261pp, ISBN 0-8184-0364-0.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

This book may have the most ironic title of any work dealing with the Jews of Europe in the 1930s and 40s. Its author, Alan Abrams, is a convinced exterminationist, but the “special treatment” he describes was that accorded the children of marriages between Jews and Gentiles — the *Mischlinge* — and their Jewish parents. As Abrams relates, the *Mischlinge* and their Jewish parents were rarely deported to the East from the Reich and the areas under German occupation or influence, nor were they subjected to personal harassment or economic discrimination. At the war's end there were at least 28,000 registered Jews living openly throughout the Reich, and tens of thousands more across Europe, in addition to hundreds of thousands of half and quarter-Jews (in the “racial” sense), many of whom had been eligible for service in the Wehrmacht and even certain National Socialist organizations.

Abrams, though no “Holocaust” revisionist, is well aware of his book's potential for embarrassing the orthodox. Indeed, *Special Treatment* is prefaced by the adage of Prussian historian Heinrich Leo, “Better to cause a scandal than to be less than truthful,” as well as by George Sokolsky's evocation of the traditional Jewish wariness of *Shande fur die Goyim* (giving scandal to the Gentiles).

While Abrams has somewhat exaggerated the neglect of the *Mischlinge* and their Jewish parents (as he well knows, Gerald Reitlinger, Raoul Hilberg, and Nora Levin have all grudgingly acknowledged the special status of the *Mischlinge* in their accounts of the “Holocaust”), for the most part he is quite justified in the stress he lays on their relegation to obscurity, particularly in more popular works dealing with the wartime lot of the Jews. Leonard Gross, for example, in *The Last Jews of Berlin*, which deals with Jews who spent the war in hiding or under false identities, writes that “nothing could be more miraculous than the survival of a Jew in Berlin during the last years of World War II.” He says nothing of the many Jews in mixed marriages who dwelt there openly, in complete legality, to the end of the war.

Special Treatment has its flaws, of course. Abrams is no scholar, and his book is stronger on anecdote than analysis. The author tends to wander afield, as when he deals with alleged Jewish “collaboration” in France or with Jewish organizational activity in Germany, a subject dealt with far more effectively by Lenni Brenner in his *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*. Abrams's belief that the National Socialist leadership attempted to exterminate the Jews of Europe leads him to imply strongly that the drafting of the Nuremberg Laws, which established the special status of the *Mischlinge*, enabled the survival of European Jewry. In this strange notion, as well as in formulations such as “the Nazi exemptions for Jews crossed European frontiers with the first wave

of goose-stepping shock troops,” he will find little company from either exterminationists or revisionists.

The implications for the exterminationist thesis of the decision to create a special legal status for the Mischlinge and to treat their Jewish parents as privileged are worth considering, but naturally Abrams doesn’t focus on them. Raoul Hilberg, in the first edition of *The Destruction of the European Jews* (pp. 268-277), claims that these policies were necessary to camouflage the extermination: Had the Jews in mixed marriages been deported, their Aryan spouses would not only have raised a public furor, but would have created further grave problems for law and public morale by flocking to obtain death certificates, thereby fatally compromising the secrecy of the “Final Solution.” The reader may make of this explanation what he will, particularly in light of the insistence of Hilberg and other Exterminationists that the machinery of the “Final Solution” was initially revved up by killing tens of thousands of Germans in a state-mandated euthanasia program.

Of further interest in the German policy toward this special category of Jews and part-Jews is the implicit contradiction it provides to the common assertion that the alleged slaughter of the European Jews by the National Socialists was rooted in a sort of psychosexual pathology, shared by Hitler and his followers, triggered by the idea of sexual relations between Jews and Aryans. Even those with a casual acquaintance with “Holocaust” literature are aware of photographs, dating from the early days of Hitler’s rise of power, showing Aryan-Jewish couples being hazed by members of the *Sturmabteilung* and other rowdies. How odd that, if sexual envy were the driving force of the “Holocaust,” precisely those Jews married to Aryans, the progenitors of “mongrel” offspring, should be exempt from the treatment meted out to the rest of their brethren!

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Historical News And Comment

All Denials of Free Speech Undercut A Democratic Society

Noam Chomsky

The following essay first appeared in the Camera, Boulder, Colorado, in September, 1985. It is a rejoinder to a reply by Henry Smokier to a nationally syndicated article by Village Voice writer Nat Hentoff protesting the cancellation of a Cornell Medical School commencement speech by Professor Chomsky. The cancellation was the work of Zionists fearful that Chomsky, a forthright critic of Israel, would mar their happy occasion.

Chomsky has been the target of increasingly vicious invective from Zionist and Left-"Liberal" quarters for his principled stand on behalf of free speech for Revisionists. Chomsky is in fact a confirmed Exterminationist who subscribes to the orthodox history of the "Holocaust." The difference is that the renowned professor of linguistics from M.I.T. really is a civil libertarian, upholding the Enlightenment Rights of Man not merely so that his own Leftist views will be given a hearing, but from a commitment to an ideal which, far from being a selectively-applied tool of ideological opportunism, is a minimum prerequisite for a humane society and discourse.

Prof. Chomsky's essay gives important testimony about repression of Revisionists which the vast majority of Leftist intellectuals choose to ignore or even suppress. It deserves an audience far greater than that reached by the Boulder Camera. It also constitutes a tribute to both Chomsky and Faurisson-men who typify that endangered species of thinkers who actually practice what they preach.

In Faurisson's case, it is the practice of untrammelled intellectual curiosity and historical inquiry. In Chomsky's, it is the protection of the right to dissent, even when such dissent entails a radical questioning of the fundamental tenets of the most sacred dogma of the era.

— Michael A. Hoffman II

In the Daily Camera (Aug. 25), Professor Howard Smokler, responding to a column by Nat Hentoff (June 30), writes that I have "hurt and offended" him by two actions concerning Robert Faurisson, who in 1980 published a book entitled *Memoir in Defense Against Those Who Accuse Me of Falsifying History* in which, according to Smokler, "he charged that 'the myth of the gas chambers' originated in certain American Zionist circles around 1942 ... "The two actions are: 1) that I "defended Faurisson's right to publish these falsehoods," and 2) that "in a letter to the historian Lucy Dawidowicz, (I) expressed complete agnosticism on the subject of whether Faurisson's views were 'horrendous.'"

I will return to the first point. As for the second, it is not clear on what grounds Professor Smokler might be hurt or offended by a personal letter, which I presume he has never seen, written to a third party, but the question is academic, since he has grossly misinterpreted its contents.

The relevant facts are as follows. Faurisson was a professor of French literature at the University of Lyon. After he published some items in which he denied the existence of gas chambers, he was suspended from teaching on the grounds that the university could not protect him from violence. He was then brought to trial for “falsification of history,” and condemned—the first time in the West, to my knowledge, that the courts have affirmed the familiar Stalinist-fascist doctrine that the State has the right to determine historical truth and to punish deviation from it. I was one of 500 foreign signers of a petition urging that Faurisson’s civil rights be respected. Shortly after, in a letter of Sept. 10, 1980, Ms. Dawidowicz wrote me asking whether I “had signed a statement defending Robert Faurisson’s right to speak his views,” and if so, “what reason compelled me to sign it.” On Sept. 18, I wrote her that I had indeed signed a statement defending Faurisson’s right to speak his views. As for my reasons, I wrote that “I signed the appeal because I believe that people have the right of freedom and expression whatever their views, that the importance of defending these rights is all the greater when the person expresses views that are abhorrent to virtually everyone (as in this case), and that this becomes particularly important when the person in question is thrown out of his academic position,” and subjected to other ill-treatment. I did not know then about the “falsification of history” trial, and had never heard of Faurisson’s book, which appeared three months later; this book, as the title indicates, was a defense against the scandalous charges for which he was later sentenced, dealing specifically with the charge that he had falsified the diaries of Nazi doctor Johann Paul Kremer.*

*Faurisson was not convicted of falsifying history; the Paris Court of Appeals upheld a guilty verdict based on “personal damages” likely to arise from “passionately aggressive actions against all those ... implicitly accused of lying and deception” by the results of Faurisson’s research. (Ed. note)

I also wrote to Ms. Dawidowicz that I was shocked by her query as to why one should defend freedom of speech. I remain shocked today. I might add that no question has ever been raised on the innumerable occasions when I have signed similar petitions for people with all sorts of views, often views of which I know nothing or which I know to be horrendous, or when I have taken far stronger and more controversial stands in support of civil liberties, for example, when I supported the right of American war criminals not only to speak and teach but also to conduct their research, on grounds of academic freedom, at a time when their work was being used to murder and destroy (no one accuses Faurisson of being a war criminal or claims that his work is contributing to massive ongoing crimes). I might note that the utter hypocrisy of Smokler, Dawidowicz and their circles more generally is very clearly demonstrated by the fact that they are “hurt and offended” by my defense of the right of free expression in the Faurisson case, but not by far more controversial and extreme actions of mine in defense of the same rights for people they find more congenial.

I went on to inform Ms. Dawidowicz that I knew very little about Faurisson’s work, so that while it may be “horrendous,” as claimed by his critics, I obviously could not comment. This is what Smokler reports as an expression of “complete agnosticism.” Apparently, he is willing to pass judgment on matters of which he knows nothing, but I am not, and the fact that a person is universally denounced does not suffice for me to join in the parade without at least looking at what he has to say, which I had not done in this case and had no particular interest in doing: I am willing to wager that Smokler has never read a word by Faurisson, nor is there any reason why he should. Furthermore, as I wrote to Ms. Dawidowicz, the nature of his views is, plainly, com-

pletely irrelevant to the issue of his right to express them, a truism among civil libertarians that those of a Stalinist-fascist persuasion find quite shocking.

I have discussed Smokler's second charge, based on his distortion of the personal letter to Dawidowicz to which he alludes. Let us consider the first charge. Here he is correct. I do defend the right of Faurisson to publish falsehoods, as I defend the right of anyone else to do so, including Professor Smokler. As I wrote to Ms. Dawidowicz in the letter that Smokler misrepresents, 'XI thought that all of this had been settled in the 18th century, but apparently others do not agree,' including Professor Smokler. He states that my support for familiar Enlightenment principles and my rejection of the Stalinist-fascist doctrine that he advocates hurts and offends him. I am afraid I have no apologies to offer about that.

Smokier goes on to deny at length a claim that was never made, either by me or by Nat Hentoff: namely, that my "political rights," including the right of freedom of speech, were denied in the three incidents mentioned by Hentoff: namely, 1) a request by students at Cornell Medical School that I withdraw as commencement speaker (as I did) because my views on Zionism so offended them that the occasion would be spoiled for them no matter what I spoke on; 2) the withdrawal of an invitation by the Middle East Center at the University of Michigan after pressure by faculty members who demanded that I not be permitted to speak on the Middle East at the Cleveland City Club, evidently under some form of pressure. Smokier is quite right to say that there is no issue of freedom of speech in these cases, nor has anyone so alleged.

The issue, as Hentoff clearly stated, is an entirely different one. It is as stated in my letter to the Cornell Medical students, which Hentoff quoted: "As you may know, Israeli doves have bitterly deplored the chauvinist fanaticism among sectors of the American Jewish community that they consider-rightly in my view-to be driving their country to disaster." I have taken many highly controversial positions on many matters, but incidents of the kind Hentoff describes have never occurred except on this issue, and then only in the United States; my only comparable experience is in the Soviet sphere, where not a word of mine on any political topic is allowed expression. Many others have had the same experience, including prominent Israelis: for example, (General) Mattityahu Peled, who bitterly denounced the American Jewish community, after a visit here when he was subjected to the kind of abuse familiar among those who do not toe the Party Line with sufficient precision, for their "state of near hysteria" and their "blindly chauvinistic and narrow-minded" support for the most reactionary policies within Israel, which poses "the danger of prodding Israel once more toward a posture of calloused intransigence." Other well-known Israeli doves have condemned what they correctly describe as the "Stalinist" practices in these circles. The issue is a serious one, but it is not one of freedom of speech in the technical sense that Smokler irrelevantly debates with no opponent.

Smokier states that it is my responsibility to "make publicly available the evidence which leads (me) to assert that (I am) systematically excluded from the expression of (my) ideas." The assertion is his, not mine, but apart from that, I do not accept such responsibility. The ridiculous antics of Smokler's friends and associates are not my concern. If Nat Hentoff or others ask me for information about these matters, I will provide it, but I recognize no duty beyond that. The Michigan affair was discussed extensively in the University and Ann Arbor press, and by Michigan historian Alan Wald in several articles. It was regarded as scandalous quite rightly, but I have never mentioned it except in response to queries. The same is true of the other two incidents, and of many others.

Suppression of critical comment on Israel of a sort that is easily expressed in Israel itself is readily demonstrable. To mention only one case, my book *Fateful Triangle* (1983) was reviewed in

major (and minor) newspapers and news weeklies in Canada, Britain, Australia (even on national TV), and in exactly two local newspapers in the United States (and in the New York Review of Books, after a long review had appeared in its sister journal in London, which is widely read here), though its contents are far more relevant to U.S. concerns. This is quite typical, for others as well. While I am asked to write regularly on the Middle East in major journals in Israel, Europe and elsewhere, that is virtually inconceivable here. My experience is not all that unusual in this regard. It should be noted that the U.S. is a highly ideological society in which dissenting opinion is effectively marginalized as compared with other industrial democracies, but nevertheless, the case of the Middle East is unique. As has been observed in press commentary in Israel—a more democratic society than ours, at least for its Jewish majority—this is a serious danger for American democracy, for the Middle East, and indeed for world peace.

Again let me stress that no one is raising an issue of the “political rights” of critics of Israeli policies. To take another case, my “political rights” are not violated when the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith keeps a 150-page file on my activities, including surveillance of my talks and grossly falsified accounts of these talks and other matters, which the League then circulates to people with whom I am to have debates (e.g., Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz) or to groups in universities where I am to speak so that they can extract defamatory and slanderous lies from this material. The issues, rather, are quite different. I have agreed to provide these files (leaked to me from the ADL office) to the people who find the Stalinist-style mentality and behavior of the ADL scandalous, and who question whether a tax-exempt organization should devote itself to surveillance and defamation of critics of the state it serves, but I accept no further responsibility to concern myself with the matter, contrary to Smokler’s absurd claim, any more than I waste time over the behavior of Communist Party hacks. For those who may be interested in the disreputable and dangerous activities of these groups, there is ample evidence in Paul Findley’s recent book, *They Dare to Speak Out*, Naseer Aruri’s “The Middle East on the U.S. Campus,” (Link, published by Americans for Middle East Understanding), and other works.

Smokler also presents his private version of my views, claiming that I have given no evidence for them and that an unnamed Africanist interprets the facts differently. No comment appears necessary. Those who may be interested in what my views actually are and whether I have given evidence for them can easily consult available literature, for example, *Fateful Triangle*. To my knowledge, only one competent Zionist historian has reviewed this book, Dr. Noah Lucas, in the *Jewish Quarterly*, London, Nos. 3-4, 1984. I will simply quote his concluding words: “Good luck to the reader who may succeed in refuting any of the facts or assumptions or conclusions presented by Chomsky. It will not be accomplished by anyone who approaches the matter as an issue of propaganda or public relations for Israel, but only by the student who matches research with research.” Not by Professor Smokler, plainly.

From the Spanish Civil War to the Fall of France: Luftwaffe Lessons Learned and Applied

PETER H. OPPENHEIMER

Operation Magic Fire (28 July 1936 – 29 March 1939)

Hermann Göring proclaimed the existence of the reconstructed German *Luftwaffe* on 10 March 1935.^[1] Within eighteen months, the new *Luftwaffe* embarked upon Operation Magic Fire, a program to assist the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War. The war, which broke out in the summer of 1936, provided Hitler with an excellent opportunity to distract European attention from his machinations elsewhere on the Continent while at the same time enabling the fledgling *Luftwaffe* to field test its air warfare doctrine and equipment in military action.^[2] The *Luftwaffe* learned much from the Spanish War in the way of strategy, tactics, logistics, and operations. These lessons were reinforced by the Polish Campaign in September 1939 and applied in Scandinavia, the Low Countries and France in 1940.

Condor Legion was the name given to the German military units dispatched in November 1936 to fight in Spain. The task of this paper is to address issues surrounding the Condor Legion in Spain. Specifically, what lessons did the *Luftwaffe* learn from the Spanish War? What was the role of the Condor Legion in that war? Was the *Luftwaffe* helped or hampered by the experience of the Spanish Civil War? Did the Spanish War play a decisive role in influencing the *Luftwaffe* operational doctrine that contributed to Germany's defeat in World War II? By answering these questions, I hope to show that the Spanish War provided ambiguous benefits to the nascent *Luftwaffe*. Although the Condor Legion involvement in Spain proved an invaluable training and testing opportunity, the lessons it taught were occasionally interpreted erroneously. On the whole, however, the Condor Legion experience in Spain established a wellspring of variegated experience from which the *Luftwaffe* was to draw heavily at the beginning of the Second World War.

Small Beginnings

On 18 July 1936, Adolf Hitler approved the Spanish Nationalist request for military assistance in the civil war that had begun one day earlier.^[3] Within ten days, twenty Junker Ju52s had been dispatched to Spain, flown by *Lufthansa* (Germany's commercial airline) pilots and *Luftwaffe* volunteers. Shortly thereafter, six Heinkel He51 biplane fighters were shipped to Spain, along with twenty 20mm flak guns.^[4] Although many historians have claimed that Germany entered the Spanish conflict without reservation, this is untrue. Hitler supported Franco over the objections of every ministry in his government.^[5] However, the initial German assistance was restricted in both men and materiel. Indeed, only 85 *Luftwaffe* volunteers were sent originally to serve in Spain under the command of Major General Hugo Sperre, and the designated mission explicitly excluded direct military participation in combat operations.^[6] The *Freiwillige* (volunteers) released from the *Luftwaffe* were under orders only to train Spanish men to fly the German

planes. In less than a week, however, one of the Spanish trainees killed himself and destroyed a plane, while two other Spaniards crashed on their first mission.^[7] Because of these mishaps, the German pilots sought and received permission to fly combat missions.^[8]

The international reaction to German intervention in Spain was both immediate and hostile. Great Britain lodged a formal protest against the German volunteers and began to support the Spanish Republicans.^[9] The Soviet Union subscribed to a French non-intervention plan in principle, but then demanded that Germany immediately cease aid, and began to aid the Republicans themselves.^[10] Göring, having succumbed to Hitler's desire to intervene in Spain; demanded that the *Luftwaffe* expand yet faster.^[11]

Hitler's true reasons for intervening in Spain had little to do with Franco's need of assistance or the simple desire to test and develop military equipment; rather they were strategic.^[12] A Nationalist-controlled Spain, as Antony Beevor points out, "would present a threat to France's rear as well as the British route to the Suez Canal."^[13] There was also the tempting possibility of U-boat bases on Spain's Atlantic coast (Spanish ports were actually used occasionally by the Germans during World War II). Hitler also viewed the war as a way to forge the Axis with Italy while distracting Mussolini's attention from Austria and the Balkans. The idea of the war as a testing ground for German equipment was secondary at best. Yet as the equipment initially provided to the Legion demonstrated itself deficient, Berlin responded by supplying new, untested aircraft.^[14] Spain became a testing ground for the *Luftwaffe* by chance, not design.

In Spain, the Condor Legion was divided into six parts: a command staff (S/88), one bomber wing with three squadrons of Ju52s (K/88); one fighter wing with three squadrons of He51s (J/88), a reconnaissance squadron of twelve He70s and four heavy flak batteries of 88mm guns (A/88), two 20mm light flak batteries (F/88), and a communications detachment (Ln/88).^[15]

Pre-Spanish Civil War *Luftwaffe* Doctrine

The airwar theoreticians most influential in the West in the 1920s and the 1930s were Douhet in Italy, Mitchell in the U.S.A, and Trenchard in England. Basically, these men postulated that airplanes could be the decisive factor in the next major war. The air provided a third dimension in which the static trench warfare in World War I could be avoided.^[16] The essence of their idea lay in "strategic" bombing. Countries would possess large numbers of long-range bombers capable of destroying the enemy's cities and industrial base. Large-scale destruction would quickly lead to the collapse of the enemy's economy, the demoralization of his people and a quick end to the war. Inherent in this theory was the belief that "the bomber always gets through". In other words, fast, long-range, heavily armed bombers were invincible and unstoppable. Some of Douhet's extreme adherents even claimed that air warfare made the army and navy superfluous.^[17]

Germany's airwar visionary during this period was Walther Wever, head of the *Luftwaffe* until his death in 1936. Wever studied Douhet's teachings but believed that a broadly based air strategy was superior to "strategic" bombing, ^[18] and he argued that the air force should complement the army and navy.^[19] his death left the *Luftwaffe* with less capable men in charge. Nonetheless, the doctrine governing *Luftwaffe* air power was formulated by Wever before he died. Fundamentally, the three military services were to co-operate in order to achieve the foremost goal of any war, that of destroying the enemy armed forces. "It is the task of the air force in leading the war in the air within the wider framework of the whole war to serve this goal." ^[20] More specifically, *Luftwaffendienstvorschrift 16: Luftkriegsführung* (*Luftwaffe* Service Regulation 16: Conduct of the Air War) laid down three points: (1) subjugation of the enemy air force in order to achieve and

maintain air superiority; (2) support of the army and navy; (3) attack against the enemy industry.^[21]

These three points implied that the *Luftwaffe* should destroy the enemy air force over its own territory, if possible when it was still on the ground. For good measure aircraft factories ground installations, and air fields were also to be bombed. Secondly, support of the army was critical. Bombers were to clear the way for tanks and infantry by destroying depots, harassing enemy troops, and disrupting communications. Already, *Luftwaffendienstvorschrift 16* hinted at the future subordination of the *Luftwaffe* to the Army. Once these two primary tasks had been accomplished, airplanes were to bomb production centers, food supplies, railroads, ports, traffic centers, military recruiting centers, and Government administrative centers.^[22]

Luftwaffe doctrine presumed that the defense of the homeland would be the responsibility of the flak batteries. This was no nearsighted daydreaming. Prewar anti-aircraft units were highly trained and extremely effective, perhaps the best in Europe.^[23]

Therefore, the prescription for aircraft production prior to the Spanish War, based on the assumption that fighters were not required for homeland defense, was three bombers to every fighter.^[24] When, as a result of the Spanish War, Colonel Ernst Udet, head of the *Luftwaffe*'s technical department and Office of Air Armament, decided to change the *Luftwaffe*'s force structure from a three bomber to one fighter ratio to two bomber to one fighter ratio, it was for purely offensive reasons.^[25] As far as German naval air theory was concerned, an independent naval air arm was to be created, consisting of floatplanes, flying boats, and naval fighter planes.^[26] This arm would co-operate with the Navy, both offensively and defensively. Inexplicably, no aircraft carriers were completed by the Germans, although two were planned and construction on the *Graf Zeppelin* was begun. This strategic error indicated the myopia of the Navy general staff, which did not expect a general war until 1943-4, the landlocked nature of German air power thinking, and the fierce interservice rivalry within the *Wehrmacht* (armed services). The psychological component of air warfare was not neglected by *Luftwaffe* theorists. As early as 1933, the *Luftwaffe* began to plan for war. Most strategists argued that the next war would be total, entailing the complete mobilization of the civilian population and the engagement of all the country's resources. Under these conditions, many people argued that the unity created by the Nazis would better enable Germany to withstand an all-out struggle. Terror bombing of cities by the *Luftwaffe* would result in the collapse of the enemy's morale and his consequent surrender. The same people assumed that a totalitarian society like National Socialist Germany would more easily endure bombing attacks than the fractured societies of France and Britain. This attitude oriented *Luftwaffe* thinking throughout the 1930's.^[27]

In spite of the explicit air power doctrine laid out by Wever in *Luftwaffendienstvorschrift 16*, the *Luftwaffe* had little opportunity to field test its aircraft and theory in the years between its inception in 1933 and the beginning of the Spanish War in 1936. Thus, the *Luftwaffe*'s overriding theory was "to employ maximum forces at the decisive point of the battle."^[28] The course of the battle would necessarily dictate changes in both strategy and tactics, but this was something the *Luftwaffe* was prepared to do.

Tactical Lessons from the Spanish Civil War

It was in the realm of tactics, among other areas, that the German military excelled, and it was in the realm of air tactics that the *Luftwaffe* benefited the most from the Spanish War. The key individual in this area was Werner Mölders. During the Spanish War, Mölders grasped the change in airwar brought about by the monoplane's increased speed and maneuverability, and he developed

the *Rotte* and *Schwarm* fighter formation (called the finger-four by the British and Americans), which in one form or another is still in use today. Instead of the World War I fighter group locked in tight wing-to-wing “V” formation, the *Rotte* consisted of two planes, one tailing the other to protect the lead plane’s rear.^[29] A *Schwarm* consisted of two *Rottes*, and the *Schwarm* configuration mimicked that of the *Rotte*.^[30] When several of these units of four joined to make a *Staffel* (squadron), the units were staggered at different altitudes as a means of mutual search and protection.^[31] This formation possessed several advantages. The increased distances between the planes allowed for greater maneuverability and higher plane speeds. This in turn gave pilots greater flexibility when confronting opponents and enabled them to use their firepower more effectively against those opponents.

The Spanish War also indicated how difficult it was for conventional bombers to hit targets both at day and night.^[32] This difficulty led the *Luftwaffe* command to favor the more accurate dive bomber over conventional bombers. The Germans' failure to develop an accurate bombsight further reinforced support for the dive bomber. Night attacks pointed to the difficulty of not hitting targets, but finding them as well. As a consequence, the *Luftwaffe* placed great emphasis on the development of navigational aids essential for bad weather and night operation. The ultimate result was the *Knickebein* system, first used in the Battle of Britain. *Knickebein* was a blind-bombing system which utilized radio direction to assist aerial navigation.

Low-level attacks were another result of conventional bombing’s inherent inaccuracy. A First World War development refined during the Spanish conflict, low-level attacks enabled pilots to judge their bombing runs more accurately and to conduct strafing attacks which demoralized enemy troops, disrupted enemy communications, pinpointed enemy artillery. The one great disadvantage of ground level attacks was that they exposed aircraft to ground fire. No less significantly, ground level attacks increased the chance of crashes since there was very little time for a pilot to deal with an engine stall, unexpected terrain features, or any similar disastrous surprise.

The Spanish conflict revealed the importance of communications as well. The *Luftwaffe* realized that the signal corps needed to be equipped with radios to maintain close contact between air and ground forces. Furthermore, the new *Rotte* formation dictated an increase in the distance between planes. Although hand signals had sufficed in the past, German pilots perceived that air-to-air radio communications had become critical to the success of the new tactics.

Yet in order to understand the influence of the Spanish War on the *Luftwaffe*, several other areas of air warfare tactics must be addressed in greater detail. They are the development of close ground support of infantry by the Condor Legion, the evolution of fighter tactics, bombing, and reconnaissance.

Close Ground Support

Low-level attacks and close support of the infantry were tactics developed by Wolfram von Richthofen during the Spanish War.^[33] During the first battle of Madrid in 1936, German air tactics proved inadequate, primarily because they were experimental.^[34] The Legion acted as airborne artillery, bombing and strafing Republican strongpoints and then quickly fleeing.^[35] This proved ineffective. However, by functioning as airborne artillery, the Germans learned the importance of close coordination with the ground forces so as to avoid attacking friendly troops. The Legion developed extensive communications, linking planes and ground forces, to avoid just this danger. A Legion officer was assigned to the assault troops and linked by radio to the Legion Command Post. An advantageous relationship resulted. Because the Versailles Treaty had forbidden the Germans from having an air force, almost “all future *Luftwaffe* officers, in the early pe-

riod, had extensive training and experience in the infantry, artillery, or cavalry, and held a great knowledge and appreciation for the problems of ground commanders.” [36] In addition, Nationalist troops often attached white panels to their backs so they could be easily identified from the air. When necessary, they used flares and smoke pots as well.[37]

The equipment initially supplied to the Condor Legion also impelled close ground support. Condor Legion pilots soon discovered that their He51 biplanes were outclassed by the Russian Polikarpov I-16 monoplanes and took pains to avoid direct combat confrontation.[38] Moreover, the Nationalists were deficient in artillery.[39] As a result, the He51 was assigned the role of low-flying artillery in support of Nationalist infantry.

Ground support tactics did not develop immediately, nor did they ever attain the simplicity of textbook formulation. Rather, experience illustrated the necessity of a flexible response to local conditions. The general pattern was for German 88mm guns to bombard enemy strongpoints, followed by bomber and fighter attacks. The infantry advanced directly behind the low-flying planes.[40] There were many variations of this basic pattern. For instance, during the Battle of Brunete in July 1937, General Sperrle divided his squadron into four flights of two planes each. Successive flights swept in abreast of the enemy flak batteries, opening fire with their machine guns while still a good distance away. Over the batteries, they salvoed their bombs and pulled up as quickly as possible to avoid their own bomb blasts.[41] It was essential to neutralize the enemy flak batteries because the cumbersome Ju52 bombers which followed the fighters were easy targets.[42] Low altitude attacks also helped ensure that the Ju52s would not bomb friendly infantry. By dispatching successive relays of air attacks, the Legion wore down Republican defenses and shattered the morale of Republican forces.[43]

In the North, tactics perfected during the attacks against the Basques were put into practice. Heavy artillery and aerial bombardments destroyed the enemy defenses while He 111 bombers escorted by Bf109s penetrated deep into Republican territory, bombing important enemy targets.[44] During the Nationalist attack on Madrid in late 1936, the Republican chief of staff complained of the devastating air strikes launched against him. “The machine gun fire kept (his) men pinned to the ground to the point where they could not man their guns, and attacks in the rear caused great confusion.” [45]

Mass formation of bombers was yet another revision of tactics prompted by the well-fortified enemy strong points in the Basque North. Because an attack by only one or two aircraft simply drove the enemy into his dugouts, safe to reappear after the planes had passed overhead, the Condor Legion pilots approached the enemy from the rear, dropping their bombs all at once. The combined explosive power of the bombs was often sufficient to destroy the fortified dugouts. This innovation the pilots dubbed, “the little man’s bomb-carpet.” [46] Thus carpet-bombing was born.[47] The talent for responding flexibly to local circumstances characterized the Legion’s development of close ground support tactics, and it cannot be emphasized strongly enough that Colonel von Richthofen deserves the primary credit for the development of these tactics.

Evolution of Fighter Tactics

Fighter tactics in World War I were crude in form, constrained by the slow and unwieldy triplanes then available and limited by the lack of knowledge about aerial combat in general. As the war progressed, pilots gained experience, armaments were developed, and airplane designs advanced. But relative to World War II, airplanes and tactics in World War I were primitive. Usually, each side massed its planes to maximize total firepower in twisting dogfights. With the ad-

vent of fast monoplanes, however, tactics changed to accommodate and exploit the improved capabilities of the single-winged aircraft. Raymond Proctor explains that monoplanes

emphasized the elements of maneuver to firepower in formations. With speed and maneuver came closure, and with it the need to sight the enemy first and to protect the vulnerable tail areas. 80 % of all aerial kills are attained with the aircraft shot down never knowing the enemy is there and the attack usually comes from dead to the rear (or the 6 o'clock position). In the traditional formation the pilot of the new high-speed aircraft had far too much of his attention distracted by guarding against crashing into his wingman and was thereby vulnerable to enemy attack.^[48]

As a consequence of the increased vulnerability of the monoplane fighter, particularly when utilizing biplane tactics, Werner Mölders devised the *Rotte* and *Schwarm* configurations described above. Yet until the Condor Legion received advanced equipment, fighter tactics in Spain differed very little from those of World War I, indeed, the slowness of the He51s in comparison to the Russian monoplanes was not an overwhelming handicap in most instances. Only when the pilot of an He51 broke off combat with an enemy monoplane fighter did the relative slowness of his biplane become potentially fatal.^[49]

On 29 October 1936 the decision was made in Germany to send modern equipment to Spain, including the Bf 109 monoplane fighter.^[50] The Bf109 enabled the Condor Legion to drive the Soviet I-15s and I-16s from the skies, conclusively establishing German air superiority in Spain.^[51] The offensive and defensive advantages of Mölder's finger-four fighter formation soon proved extraordinary successful. Each *Rotte*, when necessary, could act as an independent entity in search, defense, and attack. Cooperation between two *Rottes* — as a *Schwarm* — increased total firepower and visual protection. When one *Rotte* was attacked, the other *Rotte* of the *Schwarm*, some 600 feet from its companion, was able to turn in on the enemy, bringing all its guns to bear. When attacking the leader assumed the role of a gunship while his wingman flew in a "cone" pattern to his rear, effectively protecting the leader plane's 6 o'clock position.^[52] The increased distance between the planes of a *Rotte* allowed the pilots to focus their attention on scanning the sky rather than on striving to maintain close formation.^[53]

At times, He51 s were used as bait in Spain. The biplanes flew several thousand feet below a squadron of Bf109s, which waited until Russian I-16s attacked the He51s. The I-16s were then attacked by the Bf109s. During an attack, the Bf109 sought to dive from a superior altitude and pass the enemy aircraft from below, coming up behind the intended victim in his blind spot. If the pilot missed, he could use his diving velocity to escape with speed, or climb again and attempt another pass.^[54] Another particularly innovative fighter tactic involved a good measure of foresight and a careful calculation of "aloft" time. Several German planes would circle in the sky near the Soviet airfields. Soon, Soviet fighters scrambled to challenge the Condor Legion pilots, who intentionally stayed out of range until the Soviet interceptors ran low on fuel. Then, another Legion flight, carefully timed to arrive over the enemy airbase as the Soviet planes refueled, bombed and strafed the grounded aircraft.^[55] Eventually, the Soviets responded with appropriate defensive measures, but not before they had lost many planes.

Bombing

The effectiveness of bombing in the Spanish Civil War remained uncertain and for that reason provided the Condor Legion with lessons of dubious value. Spain was an unusual war because by mid-1937 the Condor Legion had achieved an infrequently contested dominance of the air, an advantage rarely enjoyed by an air force.

Throughout the war, German bomber pilots usually flew sorties without a fighter escort deep into enemy territory. The Republicans possessed little artillery, and what they had was generally ineffective. The freedom to bomb the enemy, unhindered by opposition, either in the air or from the ground, led the Germans to believe that a fast, heavily armed bomber was the decisive weapon in a military conflict involving aerial attacks. In many ways, the German experience seemed to support Douhet's concept of "strategic" bombing in that it illustrated the ability of unescorted bombers to penetrate deep into enemy territory and inflict great destruction in mass bombing attacks. Yet the Germans did enlarge upon Douhet's theory. Rather, they attempted to combine the elements of both fighters and bombers into one plane on the assumption that the resulting aircraft would be better than either its precursors.^[56] Close ground support tactics also uncovered the desirability of combining both bombing and strafing capabilities into one airplane. In this way, the Germany military expenditures for the *Luftwaffe* could be economized, thus burdening the economy to a lesser degree. However, this was one of the many erroneous lessons drawn from the Spanish Civil War experience. The German experience with daylight bombing, night bombing, dive bombing, and naval bombing must be more fully examined to explain the development of Legion bombing tactics in Spain.

From the beginning of the war, the Legion used classical bombing tactics, adapting their methods whenever necessary to meet local contingencies. Basically, classical tactics entail close ground support of friendly infantry, interdiction of enemy supplies, and bombing attacks against enemy strongholds, troop formations, transportation, and communications. Occasionally, fighter escorts were assigned to the bombers, but this became less necessary as the Legion attained air supremacy. During the attack on Bilbao in the summer of 1937:

German bombers and other air groups dropped heavy bombs in daily attacks, from morning till night, on hill positions, tunnels, command posts, artillery positions, and troop concentrations. Also, they continually bombed the passes north of Miravelles to interrupt all traffic. All air groups were ordered not to bomb, under any circumstances, villages or populated areas.^[57]

The latter order, forbidding the bombing of populated areas, was soon violated. Madrid was the first European capital city in history to suffer aerial bombardment. The Germans bombed most of the residential districts of the city in a vain attempt to break the morale of the civilian population. According to Antony Beevor, this methodical experiment in psychological warfare "served only to make the populace more defiant."^[58] The *Stuka* was to alter that.^[59] But until dive bombing received greater emphasis, the Germans concentrated on low altitude bombing runs to compensate for the difficulty Legion bomber crews encountered in accurately placing their bombs on target. Even if the Germans had possessed an accurate bombsight, it is unlikely that it would have made much difference. Bomber crews required exhaustive training to learn precision bombing, and the Condor Legion airmen could afford neither the time nor the effort for such training. Yet, because of the minimal opposition encountered by Legion aircraft, daylight bombing was very effective. The Heinkel He111, a fast, heavily-armored medium bomber, arrived in Spain in 1938 and admirably fulfilled the role prescribed by the Spanish situation.^[60]

Because of the He111's successful performance in Spain, the *Luftwaffe* deduced that the medium bomber could be improved simply by designing a larger version. When the Ju52 demonstrated itself inadequate as a bomber, ^[61] the *Luftwaffe* Technical Office staff requested a plane that would both correct the deficiencies of the Ju52 and extend the capabilities of the He111. More specifically, they ordered a medium bomber that:

1. had a flight time of five rather than three hours

2. had a bomb capacity of at least two tons
3. had a fully glazed nose for better visibility
4. had heavier armaments (i.e., more defensive machine guns)
5. had improved radios
6. had a stronger landing gear and fuselage
7. had larger engines to cope with the increased weight and to provide improved flight performance.

The plane ultimately developed was the Ju88 the so-called 'super' medium bomber.^[62] Initially, this plane proved a failure, and saw little combat action in Spain.^[63] Nevertheless, the *Luftwaffe* had wed itself to the medium bomber concept embodied by the He111, a concept that though spectacularly successful in Spain, eventually contributed to the *Luftwaffe* defeat several years later.

Night bombing was practiced infrequently in Spain due to the virtually insurmountable difficulties night operations posed. Yet during the early stages of the conflict, when the Republicans were still capable of mustering a significant fighter defense, General Sperre decided to engage the enemy in hours of darkness only.^[64] Over Madrid the Legion bomber flights could gauge distances and destinations accurately because the truck traffic, upon which the city depended, was illuminated by its own headlights. Perceptively, Legion bombers struck when truck progress was slowed by bottlenecks at bridges and by the narrow roads of small towns. Weather permitting, the pilots flew sorties every night. However, the results left no doubt that it was difficult to hit small bridges with poor bomb sights at night. *Luftwaffe* Chief of Staff Albert Kesselring, Walther Wever's successor, drew the obvious conclusion: night bombing was effective only when the crews possessed a high degree of discipline and technical competence.^[65]

Night bombing was also extraordinarily demanding in terms of training, navigation, and mission execution. As a result, bomber research and development were directed toward two distinct goals. Men like Colonel Ernest Udet were convinced that every bomber should have a dive bombing capability. Others pushed *Luftwaffe* scientists to experiment with radio directional systems to aid navigation and answer the problem of bombing at night and in poor weather conditions. To fulfill the latter goal, the *Knickebein* system was developed and then tested for the first time in the Battle of Britain. The former goal, that of dive bombing, received a great deal more attention during the Spanish Civil War, where it was elaborated and refined.

The Spanish Civil War suggested to the German Air Staff that dive bombing was the single most accurate bombing method. As elucidated above, the special circumstances that existed in Spain enabled the Condor Legion to operate virtually uncontested in the skies over the Iberian Peninsula. Moreover, the equipment with which the Legion was provided proved unsuitable for "strategic" bombing missions. At first the Germans attempted to use the Ju52 as a bomber, but it was slow and lumbering, and thus an extremely vulnerable target for Republican anti-aircraft batteries. Not until later, in 1937, did the Legion receive aircraft, such as the He111, which was more adequate for "strategic" bombing missions. In any event the unqualified success of close ground support operation underlined the need for an aircraft that could drop bombs with pinpoint accuracy — something conventional bombers proved unable to do — so as not to scatter bombs on friendly forces. The plane that fulfilled these requirements was the Junker Ju87 dive bomber, first used during the Battle of Teruel in 1938.^[66] The plane had peculiarly angled wings which gave it the appearance of an ugly vulture, and *Luftwaffe* officers in Spain claimed that the *Stuka* could drop its bomb load within five meters of a target.^[67]

Wolfram von Richthofen discovered the Ju87 not only to be an accurate bomber but a psychologically demoralizing weapon as well. A technician suggested attaching sirens to the landing gear, a development which gave the *Stuka* its trademark whistling sound as it hurtled down on its target. Perhaps more so than the bombs themselves, the *Stukas'* sirens scared Republican forces, sometimes creating such a panic that the troops abandoned their weapons and fled. As the *Stuka* proved the value of dive bombing, the emphasis in production in Germany shifted toward the Ju87, confirming the belief among the military staff that the bomber was a tactical offensive weapon.^[68] Precision bombing replaced “strategic” bombing for the *Luftwaffe* in Spain, and this partially explains why the Air Staff neglected the development of a heavy, four engine conventional bomber so sorely needed in later years.

For the Germans, the story of naval bombing in the Spanish Civil War was characterized by minimal results. German naval air theory in the years 1935-1939 supported the idea of an independent naval air arm with floatplanes, flying boats, and naval fighter planes cooperating directly with the Navy. However, the theory was rarely applied. Initially, land-based attacks by planes also proved ineffective. In late October 1936 Franco urged the Condor Legion to bomb Republican naval and supply ports. It did so with disappointing results.^[69] Over a year later in the Mediterranean, another attempt was made at maritime bombing to interdict Soviet shipping. This time the Condor Legion enjoyed greater success, its seaplanes raiding shipping at sea by day and in harbor by night. On Franco's orders, the maritime bombing attacks escalated into a full-scale offensive. As Willard C. Frank notes, “Raids became continuous, severely reduced the supplies needed to maintain the [Republican] civilian population, and did serve to undercut morale.”^[70] By the end of the war in 1939. Italian and German aircraft had sunk 115 Republican and 51 foreign merchant ships, a total equal to nearly 75 percent of all enemy ships destroyed by those two countries during the entire war. Another 225 bombing sorties during this period damaged or delayed many Republican cargoes. choking off a source of the besieged population's food, clothing, fuel and medical supplies and producing increased misery and despair.

Dive bombers were intended as the basic instrument of enemy shipping's destruction. However, the only plane available at that time, the Ju87, originally had only a one-hundred mile operational radius, a factor which limited flight time. Legion pilots did ascertain that torpedo attacks and dive bombing were very promising.^[71] But the *Luftwaffe* developed neither a long-range dive bomber nor a torpedo bomber. The He59 and He115 floatplanes were intended to be torpedo bombers, but they never carried out an operation. The Germans were aware of their limitations, but because of their indifferent attitude, they failed to exploit the equipment at hand. The Air Staff believed that the larger German warships received adequate service from their Arado and Heinkel floatplanes. This helps to account for the nearsighted decision not to complete the German aircraft carrier, the *Graf Zeppelin*.^[72] In any case, the High Command in 1937-39 believed that war with Great Britain could be avoided, and men like Ernst Udet did not believe that Germany would wage war against a maritime power like Great Britain.^[73] As an result of the maritime air war during the Spanish War, the Germans falsely deduced that ships underway did not need to fear aerial attack. Consequently, naval officers procrastinated dangerously on improvements for shipboard anti-aircraft defenses.^[74] Overall, the *Luftwaffe* concluded that a separate naval air arm was unnecessary, and by 1940, it had begun to be reabsorbed into air force land-based squadrons.

Reconnaissance was ultimately the most successful element of German naval air policy in Spain. Initially, reconnaissance, both over land and sea, was viewed negatively because of the scanty results obtained.^[75] It was believed more important to wear the Republicans down through continual bombing. But this anti-reconnaissance attitude changed as the reports obtained through aerial observation demonstrated their value. Observation planes located the enemy, thereby conserving

resources by eliminating the wasteful practice of simply sending bombers on haphazardly planned and implemented missions. Given the nature of the conflict, with the great mobility of ground forces, it was important to know the enemy's exact location at any given time. At the Battle of Brunete, Nationalist observation planes were sent aloft. Within thirty minutes of sighting the enemy concentrations. Legion bombers appeared to strike and strafe the Republican troops.^[76]

The Republican Air Force always made a great effort to shoot down the Nationalist reconnaissance craft, and these observation planes were forced to engage in evasive tactics to preserve themselves. As a general rule, observation planes were less heavily armored and armed than combat aircraft. Speed was most important. When attacked, the reconnaissance planes made for a cloudbank to hide. If none was available, the planes went into a dive to gain sufficient speed to escape their pursuer, or at least limit them to one attack. Another tactic practiced by the reconnaissance planes was to begin firing their machine guns long before they were in range of enemy fighters, occasionally causing the enemy to break off his attack too early. "Considering its technical disadvantage, the Legion lost few reconnaissance planes."^[77]

Logistics & Operations

Mobility was the key logistical lesson taught the *Luftwaffe* by the Spanish War. The need for mobility had been demonstrated by the Italian military experience in Ethiopia in 1935-36. Mobility was frequently the key to the success of the Italian forces against the well-armed and well-trained Ethiopian Army. Yet, for the Germans in Spain, mobility meant more than just rapid deployment of men and equipment. It found its essence in ground-staff mobility.^[78] The use of air transport and railroads to move entire unit installations quickly lay the groundwork for the *Blitzkrieg* as later practiced in Poland. The *Wohnzug* (railroad caravan) was the quintessential example of mobility in practice. The *Wohnzug* consisted of approximately eleven railway cars, two of which were locomotives attached at either end of the train, eliminating the need for turn-arounds. One-third of the cars contained sleeping compartments for officers and enlisted men. At a moment's notice, the *Wohnzug* could be underway with all the squadron's equipment and support personnel. The flight crews flew their planes to the next designated base of operations to await the rest of the railroad-transported squadron. By 1939, each Condor Legion squadron was also assigned two Ju52s to be used both as transports and as radio direction-finding stations.^[79] The Ju52s proved reliable workhorses, perfectly suited to the task which was set for them.

In operations, the Condor Legion learned how important ground support personnel were, particularly in the inhospitable environment of Spain. The men who fueled the motors, tinkered with the engines, and replaced broken or damaged parts played an indispensable role in the Condor Legion. At first, the Legion underestimated the number of personnel required to care for the aircraft properly as well as the number of reserves needed to replace over-tired, injured, or killed front-line pilots. The exertions demanded of the men, including long, irregular hours frequently under harsh, stressful conditions indicated that the workload had to be more evenly distributed among more men. The Legion had not realized at the beginning of the conflict that air warfare is continual. But it soon became clear that the squadrons had to carry out many tasks without resting, a feat which quickly exhausted supplies and men.^[80]

The lesson in operations typified the manner in which the *Luftwaffe* took advantage of the war not only to evaluate its practices but also its organization. During the course of the war, the flight elements of the battle squadrons and their ground personnel were reorganized, forming the basis for what later became standard operational configurations.^[81] A special combat reporting team was set up in Berlin and dispatched to Spain with orders to send back periodically for analysis

and evaluation.^[82] In addition, the *Lehr Division* (Technical Development Flying Unit) was formed at Greifswald in 1937.^[83] Its purpose was to discover the lessons of the Spanish conflict and distill the experience derived from air competitions and factory research. Essentially, the *Lehr Division* functioned as a post-graduate flight school and advance operational training center devoted to absorbing and teaching new tactical air lessons, many of which came from Spain. Not surprisingly, much of what was learned was subsequently adopted as standard procedure to be used by the *Luftwaffe* throughout World War II.

Air Theory Applied in Spain

The theory of air doctrine described by Giulio Douhet in his book, *The Command of the Air* (1921), postulated a concept of “strategic” bombing which simply did not apply to the conflict raging on the Iberian Peninsula between 1936 and 1939. Douhet’s theory was predicated on the premise that the static trench warfare epitomized by World War I set the pattern for all future ground wars and that “strategic” bombing provided the only means to avoid bloody wars of attrition. In Spain, the contest between the Nationalists and the Republicans was of a fluid and mobile nature, covering many different types of terrains and climates, constrained by delicate political circumstances, and limited by the available equipment. Douhet suggested the way to win a war was to destroy the enemy’s cities and industrial base. In Spain, however, there was very little large-scale, heavy industry. It was perhaps to be expected that Spain was not, and, indeed, could not be, the war to verify Douhet’s theory. Except for the unusual circumstances that enabled Condor Legion bombers to attack the Republicans virtually unmolested, there was little proof that a well-organized fighter defense would be unable to check “strategic” bombers.

The development of close ground support tactics arose naturally, then, from the peculiar situation in Spain, as did the emphasis placed on dive and medium bombers. Many other factors contributed to the course of these developments, but they were of a more secondary nature.

On 1 May 1937 Richthofen wrote a letter to the *Luftwaffe* High Command stating “Spanish [Nationalist] artillery is always late in arriving; it fires too slowly and too poorly to keep the enemy pinned down. The load of the battle rests with the flyers; first by inflicting casualties, second, by holding him down, making him run, destroying his spirit to fight, and hindering his resupply and reinforcement.”^[84] Here was a cogent summary of Condor Legion air doctrine as practiced in Spain. The air force, claimed Richthofen, bore the primary responsibility for executing the attack. Intrinsic to his belief was the desirability, indeed necessity, of close coordination between the army and the air force. The goal of the Legion flight elements was threefold: (1) seek out the enemy air force in order to remove the threat to the army, (2) attack the enemy army, harass his troops, transport and communications, and (3) protect ground troops and infantry from enemy air attack.^[85] After air superiority had been established, the air force could then switch from air-to-air to air-to-ground attacks.

The *Luftwaffe* High Command was unaware of the efficacy and applicability of close ground support tactics at the outset of the Spanish War. It was still enthralled by the concept of “strategic” bombing. Von Richthofen slowly but surely weaned the High Command from its strategic airpower beliefs and persuaded it that close support tactics had great potential.

Some authors argue that Germany came to have an air force based on tactical air power rather than general air power because of the influence and predominance of the German Army.^[86] For such authors, it was natural that the fledgling *Luftwaffe* be subordinated to the long-established army. But in truth there was such general opposition to anything but “strategic” bombing that it was only Richthofen’s perseverance and determination that led to the acceptance of tactical air

power.^[87] The first close support operations in Spain took place in March 1937 when He51 fighter bombers made a low-level attack on the Republican front at Bilbao with great success.^[88] For the Germans, tactical air power as an operational doctrine and a strategy dates from this incident, and in retrospect, changed the course of the next war and all future wars.

Other forms of bombing were not precluded as a strategy merely because Richthofen developed close ground support tactics. But that bombing was included in strategic planning does not mean the same thing as “strategic” bombing. As indicated above, high altitude “strategic” bombing was practiced infrequently by the Condor Legion during the Spanish War because of the various political, economic, and structural circumstances. Yet the Spanish Civil War was not spectacularly successful with interdictory bombing. Its pilots discovered that conventional, high-level precision bombing was difficult in the best of conditions and virtually impossible against heavily defended or pinpoint targets.^[89]

The lack of an accurate bombsight contributed to this inadequacy. Therefore, the move towards dive bombing was natural. The putative effects of “strategic” bombing — destruction of industrial bases, devastation of morale among the working population, and psychological demoralization of the civilian populace — as the 1938 *Luftwaffe* Yearbook indicates simply had not occurred.^[90] In this light, it became apparent that “strategic” bombing was not only difficult to carry out, but was ineffective as well. Dive bombing, with its promise of great precision, seemed to portray the future. Another reason for the demise of “strategic” bombing in Spain was inextricably linked to the death of Walther Wever. Wever’s belief on the heavy, four-engined “Ural” bomber died with him, and there was no one else in the High Command willing to put through a costly and hypothetical program without sure knowledge of its ultimate result.

Personalities also exerted influence on the direction of *Luftwaffe* air theory. For example, Ernst Udet maintained a hold upon Colonel General Hans Jeschonnek, *Luftwaffe* Chief of Staff from February 1939 onwards.^[91] Udet’s preoccupation with speed propelled German Air Staff policy in the direction of a fast light bomber, rather than Wever’s “Ural” bomber.^[92] As a consequence, Germany never manufactured the equivalent of the United States Air Forces’s Boeing B17, a blunder that contributed to the *Luftwaffe*’s failure to bomb England into submission during the course of 1940.

The intermingling of hard-headed doctrine and vain desire, economic constraints, and overrated successes led to an erroneous application of fighter forces in the defense of the Reich in 1943-44. Spain engendered a belief in the quasi-omnipotence of the flak batteries. Germany had produced an extraordinarily effective anti-aircraft gun in the 88mm, a weapon used with repeated success in the three years of the Spanish War. The 88mm gun was used in Spain not only to protect against enemy aircraft but also to attack ships, tanks, troops, or any other ground targets. The confidence in the flak batteries was reinforced by the elite nature of the men that operated the guns. Pre-war anti-aircraft units constituted an independent, highly-trained body of men.^[93] Total reliance was placed upon these men to protect against intruding enemy aircraft. As a result, the *Luftwaffe* neglected to develop early warning radar, as the British did, or fighter control, by the outbreak of war. This weakness was partially compensated by the excellent aircraft reporting system linking flak and fighter units (*cf.* Richthofen and close support tactics), but it was hardly sufficient. Because of the success of the flak batteries in Spain and the influence of Douhet’s theory of attack, as well as Hitler’s belief that the noise and the flash of the batteries had a salutary political and psychological effect on civilians, the *Luftwaffe* rested defense of the *Heimat* (Homeland) on these 88mm batteries, and manufactured fighters and bombers heavily weighted in favor of the latter. 40 percent of the pre-war *Luftwaffe* units were bombers and dive bombers and only 25-30 percent were fighters.^[94] In the short-run this imbalance of fighters and bombers was not a

problem in Spain. But in the long-run, it subjected Germany to the “strategic” bombing envisioned by Douhet. Once again, the German military aptitude for brilliant short-term tactical problem-solving undermined the long-term strategic planning imperative to the successful prosecution of war.

Summary of the *Luftwaffe* Lessons from Spain

From the broadest perspective, the Condor Legion intervention in the Spanish Civil War quickened the pace of rearmament in Germany. As Edward Homze states, the war “encouraged the Reich leadership to speed up the introduction of new models as rapidly as possible even though reductions in total output and a vast increase in expenditures would result. The Spanish Civil War, coupled with the Austrian and Czech crises of 1938, also removed the last vestiges of resistance in the more conservative camp that argued for a slowdown of rearmament.”^[95]

At peak strength in Spain in the late summer of 1938, the Condor Legion had 40 Heinkel He 111s, 3 Junker Ju 87s, 45 Messerschmitt Bf109s, 5 Dornier Do 17s, 4 He 45s, 8 He 59s and 8 batteries of light and heavy flak.^[96] In addition, the Nationalist air units at that time contained 146 Spanish and 134 Italian planes. Upon returning to Germany in May 1939, the Condor Legion counted 281 officers, 4,383 men, and 412 civilian technicians. In total, approximately 19,000 Germans served duty in Spain. The Legion shot down 386 enemy aircraft, of which 59 were downed by the anti-aircraft batteries. The Germans lost 72 aircraft by direct enemy action and 160 through accidents. In terms of lives, 298 Germans were killed while serving in Spain; 131 were killed by the enemy and 167 died from illness and vehicular accidents.^[97] Those wounded by the enemy totaled 139. Though a comparatively small price to pay in relation to what the *Luftwaffe* hoped to gain, German losses were substantial because of the diminutive size of the youthful air force and the materiel constraints imposed by the German economy and military-industrial complex on aircraft production.

In the concrete realm of day-to-day operations, the Spanish War furnished a mother lode of knowledge, although at times; this knowledge was misapplied. The combat experience gained by Condor Legion pilots was invaluable particularly because many of these pilots became instructional officers in pilot training schools in Germany.^[98] The pilots also learned the importance of detailed maps, the benefits from rapid, positive target identification and the need for adequate radio communications.^[99] As a catalyst for the development of technology, the conflict emphasized the value of weather forecasting, radio directional systems (*i.e. Knickebein*), the use of pathfinder aircraft, and incendiary flares for effective night bombing. With regard to aircraft, Spain was a very helpful testing ground and incubator. The He51 biplane demonstrated its obsolescence as a fighter when matched against the Russian monoplanes and fruitfully exchanged that role for one of close ground support. The Ju52 proved an extremely reliable transport aircraft but a limited bomber, so it too assumed a role it was to fulfill more than adequately. During the course of 1937, the Bf109 fighter, the Ju87 *Stuka* dive bomber and the He111 and the Do17 bombers were introduced in Spain and all showed their value as combat aircraft.

The mistakes engendered by the Spanish War, more than the successes, indicate the difficulty in drawing general conclusions from an unusual and specific conflict. Because Legion bomber squadrons rarely encountered much opposition after the Nationalists attained air supremacy, the introduction of the He111 fast bomber suggested incorrectly that bombers required only a light armor and little fighter protection. The high command mistakenly believed that bombers could rely on speed alone to penetrate the enemy’s defenses.^[100] Berlin failed to perceive that even high performance, well-armed bombers in mass formation could not protect themselves against determined fighter opposition, particularly during daytime missions. This oversight caused the

Luftwaffe to neglect the coordination of fighter and bomber development. After realizing that bombers needed fighter escorts, the *Luftwaffe* command discovered that their fighters lacked the range to protect the bombers during the missions. A similar nearsighted rationale approved of the concept of an all-purpose aircraft for strategic and tactical operations. Indeed, Hitler demanded that heavy, multi-engined bombers possess both a strategic and dive bombing capability.^[101] The resulting hybrid aircraft, the Ju88, was unable to carry out either mission properly. The success of the 88mm flak guns in Spain suggested that flak cannons were the best weapon for air defense, and that therefore little attention need be paid to a fighter defense system to protect Germany. The horrific losses inflicted on Germany by USAF and RAF bombers attest to the inaccuracy of this belief. The most valuable lessons taught in the laboratory of the Spanish War was the tactical concept of combat operational doctrine. The Spanish experience established within the *Luftwaffe* the belief in close ground support tactics as the preeminent and foremost task of the German air force. This belief produced both the *Luftwaffe*'s most spectacular success in Poland and later contributed to the Third Reich's utter defeat.

The Polish Campaign (1 September – 27 September 1939)

In many ways, the Polish campaign justified the principles which had been enumerated and developed in Spain. The first of these principles was the concentration of all available effort on one task at a time. The second principle was the elimination of any obstacle that might hamper the movement of the ground forces.^[102] The German Air Staff planned the military operations against Poland, *Fall Weiß* (Case White), largely according to these principles, and was rewarded with a spectacular success.

The strategy and tactics applied in Poland to implement the two principles elucidated above were taken from Condor Legion experience in Spain. Basically, the *Luftwaffe* supported infantry, and mechanized armor units, clearing the path of obstacles and seeking to achieve air superiority. The Polish Campaign demonstrated the efficacy of the lessons learned in Spain: close ground support tactics, air transport, and dive bombing. The Polish Campaign also provided the first opportunity to combine the full might of the Army and the *Luftwaffe*. *Blitzkrieg* (lightning war), as this new type of warfare was termed, was the close cooperation between tactical air and mechanized ground formations to penetrate deeply and rapidly into enemy territory.^[103] The basic elements of *Blitzkrieg* had been developed in Spain. In Poland, they were fully implemented for the first time.

Prior to the attack on Poland, the *Luftwaffe* comprised 370,000 men grouped in three unequal divisions. The air force alone had 208,000 men, of which 20,000 were aircrew and 1,500 were paratroopers. The flak had 107,000 men, and the air signal units 58,000 men.^[104] The *Luftwaffe* had amassed over 2000 aircraft in preparation for *Fall Weiß*, a number far in excess of the Polish Air Force's 500 mostly obsolete fighter planes.^[105] Of the German aircraft, 1000 were bombers and 1050 fighters. Despite the Spanish Civil War, the *Luftwaffe* was not prepared to embark upon a campaign against Poland, or any other country for that matter. In September 1939 the *Luftwaffe* had stocked only enough bombs for three weeks and ammunition for six weeks.^[106] Moreover, the *Luftwaffe* lacked a long-range strategic bomber, an adequate night bomber, bombs heavier than one thousand pounds, air torpedos, modern mines, modern armament, and accurate bomb-sights. Bombers and escort fighters still lacked the means to communicate with one another.^[107] Luckily, the campaign against Poland was short. It did not last long enough to reveal Germany's underlying inventory and supply weaknesses, nor did it fully test the limited capabilities of a still unprepared *Luftwaffe*.

Within the context of the overall German military strategy of *Fall Weiß*, the *Luftwaffe*'s first and foremost objective was the destruction of the Polish Air Force in order to attain air superiority.^[108] Only with the attainment of air superiority could the *Luftwaffe* hope to provide unhampered support of the Army. As part of this objective, the *Luftwaffe* was to dislocate the entire Polish Air Force support, supply and organization and to disrupt the Polish aircraft industry. Secondly, the *Luftwaffe* would take part in the destruction of the Polish Army by bombing and strafing strong points, artillery batteries, and concentrations of ground troops. The combination of planes and mechanized ground units of the Army was to prove extremely successful, as the course of the campaign illustrated.

The German attack against Poland began at 4:45 AM on 1 September 1939.^[109] Fog and low cloud cover delayed the morning air operations, but by afternoon, the *Luftwaffe* was heavily committed. The *Luftwaffe*'s primary targets were Poland's airfields. Those at Kattowitz, Krakow, Lwow, Lublin, Wilna, Kida, Glodno, and others received a thorough pounding. The out-dated Polish P.Z.L. P.11 fighters which managed to take off were easily intercepted and repulsed by the Bf109s and Bf110s.^[110] Nevertheless, the Polish pilots exhibited great courage and determination in the air. The Germans did not know, however, that the Polish planes that rose to meet them were decoys fighting a feinting action. Though the *Luftwaffe* had hoped to catch all of Poland's planes on the ground, Polish intelligence had discovered signs of the imminent German attack, and the Polish Air Force had transferred most of its operation aircraft to camouflaged emergency airstrips.^[111] The Germans naturally attacked Poland's well-known permanent airfields. Thus, they succeeded only in destroying outmoded fighters and a number of training craft not immediately serviceable. The bulk of the Polish Air Force escaped, giving the Polish Air Command time to improvise a plan for the defense of Warsaw.^[112]

On the assumption that it had obliterated the Polish Air Force, the *Luftwaffe* shifted part of its efforts on 3 September to secondary targets and operations in support of the army. These operations followed the plans laid out prior to the campaign. The *Luftwaffe* bombed and strafed strong points, artillery batteries, and troop formations. To dislocate enemy supply organization, the bombers focused on factories, barracks, ammunition dumps and depots. Further behind enemy lines, aircraft attacked railway stations, bridges, tracks, and road junctions to disrupt communications and to prevent the Poles from moving up reinforcements.^[113]

Cooperation between the air force and the army was excellent, due mostly to Wolfram von Richthofen.

So concerned was Richthofen with providing the army with what it needed from the air that he offered to share his quarters and command post inside Schönwald Castle, six miles from the front, with General Walther von Reichenau, commanding the 10th Army. It was a happy arrangement, for Reichenau's armor was scheduled to punch holes in the Polish defenses while Richthofen's ground attack formations blasted a clear path ahead. This was interservice cooperation at its closest, a thing Richthofen had learned to value while dealing with some of Franco's generals in Spain.^[114]

Richthofen also stayed current on the ground situation by stationing himself as close to the front as possible. Whenever feasible, he flew over enemy territory in his Fiesler Storch to engage in personal reconnaissance. Indeed, on the first day of the attack, he was downed by anti-aircraft fire, but he crash-landed and returned unharmed. Aside from his own fly-overs, Richthofen had at his disposal specially equipped signal units and a reconnaissance squadron to furnish him with timely intelligence information.^[115]

The Battle near Kutno from 9-18 September is a good example of the effects produced by the *Luftwaffe* in Poland. Under General Kutzeba, the commander of the Army of Poznan, the Poles successively launched a surprise attack in the area around Kutno. To counter the Polish Army's movement, the *Luftwaffe* was called in to blunt the attack. Thirty Henschel Hs123s swarmed over the Army of Poznan at low levels, utilizing their wide range of armaments to bomb, strafe, and generally disrupt the enemy troops.^[116] The Hs123s were followed by *Stukas*, Dorniers, and Heinkels. The attack was so demoralizing that some of the Polish troops threw down their weapons and fled.^[117] On 18 September 50,000 Polish troops surrendered and on the next day, another 105,000 capitulated. Herbert Molloy Mason Jr. describes vividly the inferno inflicted on the Poles.

To Kutzeba's men, almost none of whom had been under air attack before, the next twenty minutes were like a nightmare in hell. The machine guns cut swaths in the ranks of men and horses; hundreds of light weight scatter bombs flamed and exploded; the heavier detonations of the 110-pounders tore gouts out of the earth, ripped through trees and flung jagged metal shards thudding into men and animals. Even when the last of the various missiles had been delivered, the 123s were not finished with low-level attacks. The pilots discovered that when the BMW engine was pushed to 1800 r.p.m., the resultant effect on the three-bladed, variable pitch airscrew produced an ear-splitting and indescribable sound that was both inside and outside of the man subjected to it. Even hardened soldiers were unnerved, and ran in all directions to escape. Horses simply went insane.^[118]

The Polish planes so cleverly removed before the surprise attack to be used in the defense of Warsaw, never stood a chance against the *Luftwaffe*'s overwhelming numbers. In the skies above the capital, Polish P.Z.L. P.11 fighters rose to meet the Bf109s, only to be outgunned by the faster and more maneuverable German aircraft. Occasionally, a Polish pilot by dint of bold determination, shot down an enemy fighter or bomber, but for the most part, the Polish fighters succumbed in the face of the larger numbers, the greater firepower, and the more modern equipment of the *Luftwaffe* fighter force.

Before bombing the Polish capital, the *Luftwaffe* dropped thousands of leaflets, requesting the city's surrender. When the request was refused, the *Luftwaffe*'s bombers went into action. Thereafter, the skies over Warsaw were never clear of German aircraft as the *Luftwaffe* bombed the city. The operation began on 23 September with swarms of *Stukas* stacked up in groups several thousand feet apart, diving in systematic relays on the city. Following the dive bombers, Ju52 transport planes, jury-rigged to serve as bombers, blasted the city as crewmen literally shovelled loose thermite incendiary bombs out of the cargo doors.^[119] No city or people could withstand such a devastating attack, and on 27 September 1939 the Polish Government surrendered the capital.

Despite the success of the *Luftwaffe*, it was the Army which accounted for the quick and overwhelming German victory in Poland. The Army's rapid advance overrun the Polish early warning systems and forward bases, preventing a coordinated direction of Polish fighter aircraft. The army's advance also engulfed depots and dumps, thereby cutting off the supply of spare parts to the remaining operational Polish aircraft. It was not until 14 September that the *Luftwaffe* succeeded in surprising most of the Polish bombers at an airfield near Hutnicki.^[120] The Polish Air Force was broken primarily by internal collapse, not external pressure. The *Luftwaffe*'s major contribution was not so much the destruction of the outmoded Polish Air Force as it was the effective close support of ground troops and the destruction of the Polish Army.

Fall Weiß proved a costly campaign for the *Luftwaffe*. Of the 10,761 Germans killed during the campaign, 189 were pilots and aircrew. 261 aircraft of all types were lost — 7.6 percent of the *Luftwaffe* force structure — mostly to anti-aircraft defenses against close ground support operations.^[121] Among these 261 aircraft were 47 Bf109s (5.6 percent of force structure). 81 bombers (6.5 percent of force structure) and 50 close support craft (13.2 percent of force structure). In Poland, the *Luftwaffe* suffered grave, though not irreparable damage.

The Polish campaign showed beyond doubt the value of the lessons learned in Spain. The Ju52s demonstrated their utility as transport aircraft, supplying the *Wehrmacht's Panzer* (armor) and mechanized units, and providing the Bf109 squadrons with spare parts, ammunition, and aviation fuel.^[122] Carpet-bombing was practised occasionally, as at the Krakow airfield by 60 He111s.^[123] The He111s were followed by the plane that conclusively proved its worth in Poland, the Ju87 dive bomber. At Krakow, thirty Ju 87s plummeted down upon the airstrip to unload over thirty tons of bombs on hangars, parked aircraft, and runways. The Ju87 achieved astounding results because the Polish Air Force mustered little opposition to hamper it. Lacking effective opposition, the *Stukas* were able to exploit the very high inherent accuracy of the steep diving attack while simultaneously demoralizing the infantry with their piercing sirens.^[124] The *Stukas'* success reinforced the belief among the German High Command that the airplane should be used primarily for ground support.^[125]

The overall result of the Polish campaign was to entrench firmly the notion within command circles that the air force was an exceedingly powerful weapon. At the time, much was made in the press and elsewhere of the vital role played by the *Luftwaffe* and the new type of *Blitzkrieg* war made possible by the air force. The success of *Fall Weiß* was overwhelming, perhaps deceptively so.

The Polish Air Force was outdated and outmoded, and those planes which managed to get airborne were outnumbered by the Germans almost four to one. Yet the campaign led to wild claims regarding the *Luftwaffe's* ability. In retrospect, such declarations accounted in part for Göring's claim prior to Dunkirk that the *Luftwaffe* alone could win the battle, and perhaps the war. Albert Kesselring wrote,

Beyond all other military arms, the *Luftwaffe*, by virtue of its mobility in space accomplished tasks which in former wars had been inconceivable ... The Polish Campaign was the touchstone of the potentialities of the German Air Force and an apprenticeship of special significance. In this campaign, the *Luftwaffe* learned many lessons ... and prepared itself for a second, more strenuous and decisive clash of arms.^[126]

Denmark and Norway (7 April-10 May 1940)

After *Fall Weiß* the warring countries entered a period that became known as the “Phony War.” Military engagements occurred infrequently. During this time, the *Luftwaffe* units that had participated in the Polish campaign returned to their bases in Germany. Aircraft were repaired, serviced, and refitted, and the air force continued to expand in anticipation of the spring campaign in the West. *Luftwaffe* operational activity was reduced to a minimum, restricted to occasional bombing runs on shipping and reconnaissance sorties. Fighter units, especially those stationed near France's highly touted Maginot Line, were discouraged from engaging in combat.^[127] The *Luftwaffe* was concerned primarily with repairing the damage suffered in Poland and preparing itself for the next attack.

In the spring of 1940, the Phony War ended abruptly. Instead of pushing westward, Germany launched a surprise attack northward against Scandinavia. The attack was intended to pre-empt British plans to secure Scandinavia as a military base as well as to protect crucial iron ore imports from Sweden.^[128] Furthermore, the Germans wished to gain Scandinavia for themselves as a strategic base for future air and naval attacks on the British isles.

Luftwaffe strategy for *Weserübung* (Exercise Weser), as the campaign against Norway and Denmark was code-named, was based on the same two principles that had dictated the course of action in Poland. Denmark, bordering Germany's northernmost province of Schleswig-Holstein, presented much less of a problem than Norway. Norway had a lengthy coastline that made the country easily accessible to intervention by the Royal Navy. As a result of these concerns, Germany needed to act covertly and with complete surprise. For the first time in modern warfare, paratroopers were used to achieve this element of surprise. Notwithstanding some tactical innovations, the *Luftwaffe*'s first goal was still attainment of air superiority followed by support of the army. Once these objectives had been accomplished, the *Luftwaffe* could begin its secondary tasks: supply and reinforcement of ground and motorized units, reconnaissance of coastal areas, attacks on British naval forces, support of troops operating in Norwegian valleys, and protection by fighters and flak of territory already taken.^[129]

The attack against Denmark and Norway began on 7 April 1940. Ju52s dropped airborne troops on the periphery of the Danish capital as well as at two airfields at Ålborg. Land forces crossed the Danish frontier at the same time as seaborne forces landed on the Danish coastal islands. Within several hours, King Christian X had ordered his troops to cease fire, awed by a display of Hellcats and Dof7s flying in massed formations over Copenhagen.^[130] Germany had conquered Denmark with the loss of only twenty men killed and wounded.

The attack on Norway, which began concurrently with the attack on Denmark, quickly became the focus of extensive military action. German troops occupied the towns of Bergen, Trondheim, and Narvik, but they encountered determined opposition from Norwegian troops. Paratroops dropped on Oslo overwhelmed harbor forts that had sunk the German heavy cruiser *Blücher* as she had entered the fjord. *Luftwaffe* bombers knocked out forts at Christiansand protecting the harbor entrance so that the *Kriegsmarine* (Navy) could land troops. Large numbers of Ju52s delivered airborne troops to the strategically vital airfields at Fornebu (outside of Oslo) and Sola (near Stavanger). Long range twin-engined Bf110 fighters escorted the lumbering Ju 52s, but opposition was slight.^[131] Much of the small Norwegian fighter force, its equipment largely obsolete, was destroyed by attacks on the airfields that preceded the paratroop drops. The Germans soon occupied the airfields and rushed in additional reinforcements by air.

The operation did not continue unopposed. The Royal Navy stepped up pressure on the coastal towns occupied by the Germans. At Narvik the besieged Germans under General Eduard Dietl had to be supplied and then reinforced by air.^[132] British troops landed at Narvik, Namsos, and Andalsnes on 15-17 April. The *Luftwaffe* was forced to redirect its efforts against the British landing, the amphibious transports, and their naval escorts. Level and dive bomber units mounted continuous sorties. In the face of negligible air opposition, they inflicted serious damage on the British force.^[133] German control of the airfields, a result of their successful surprise attacks, was crucial to turning back the British landing force. Indeed, the British had to call off a direct seaborne attack on the Trondheim area because the fleet would have been subject to air attack.^[134] The distances were too great for the RAF to maintain a sizeable air contingent, and this prevented the British from establishing a force inside Norway. *Luftwaffe* reconnaissance planes spied an attempt by the RAF to operate old Gladiator fighters from frozen lakes. Shortly, German bombers arrived, unloading explosives which broke up the ice and destroyed the landing surface.

Towards the end of the campaign, a small number of Hurricanes appeared, but it was too late for them to have much of an effect on the fighting.

At maximum strength, the *Luftwaffe* in Norway (*Fliegerkorps X*) comprised over 700 aircraft. There were 360 long-range bombers (He 111s and Ju88s), 50 dive bombers (Ju87s), 50 single-engined fighters (Bf 109s), 70 twin-engined fighters (Bf 110s), 60 reconnaissance craft (Do 17s) and 120 coastal types (He 111s, He 59s, Do 18s).^[135] In addition to these aircraft, 500 Ju52s were made available for transport, supplemented by a small number of four-engined Ju90Bs ^[136] and Focke Wolf Fw200 Condors.

Throughout *Weserübung*, the Germans made extensive use of air transport to move, supply, and reinforce troops. Indeed, the primary function of the *Luftwaffe* in the seizure of Scandinavia was that of a transport service. The German expedition's commander, General Nikolaus von Falkenhorst, wished to execute a friendly invasion, and for this reason, the *Luftwaffe*'s role as an air shuttle service was emphasized. German air transport theory was fully and successfully tested. Other lessons learned during the Scandinavian campaign stressed the importance of fighter escorts for bombers striking targets protected by fighters. Air superiority was crucial, enabling the Germans first to establish and then to maintain troops in isolated and otherwise inaccessible areas. Furthermore, the Germans inflicted grave damage on the Royal Navy ships protecting the attempted seaborne landings at Trondheim. As Sims notes, "Air power properly installed and employed could force even the most powerful ships and navies from waters within aerial bombing range." ^[137] The surprise occupation of towns like Oslo and Stavanger was made possible only by the use of paratroops and air-landed units. Air reconnaissance, carried out extensively over the broad reaches of the Scandinavian peninsula, facilitated communications in areas where roads were poor. Reconnaissance also pinpointed the location of the Royal Navy, enabling the *Luftwaffe* and the German Navy to sink several British transport- and warships.

In short, the *Luftwaffe* learned five lessons in Scandinavia. Paratroops and airborne operations rendered surprise easy, caused confusion among enemy troops, and invested the attacking German troops with the initiative; the air force intervened effectively in ground fighting in the rugged terrain of the peninsula; reconnaissance aircraft facilitated communications between pockets of isolated infantry and furnished accurate information on the whereabouts of enemy concentrations; air transport proved invaluable in delivering, supplying and maintaining troops from the air; and air power inflicted great damage on naval ships lacking aerial escort. Many of these lessons served well in the planning of the next German move, an attack against the Low Countries and France.

Battle in the West (10 May – 26 June 1940)

The German attack against Holland, Belgium, and France began on 10 May 1940. The *Luftwaffe* arrayed over 4,000 planes against the Allies 1,700, a mismatch that to a large extent indicated the course of the battle. Against 1,680 bombers, France and England could gather only 830 fighters, while the *Luftwaffe* could put over 800 Bf 109s into the air to escort their bombers.^[138] Of the total German planes available for the attack, there were 1,300 long-range bombers, 380 dive bombers, 860 single-engined fighters, 350 twin-engined fighters, 640 reconnaissance planes, 475 transport aircraft, and 45 assault gliders.^[139]

For the fourth time in as many campaigns, the *Luftwaffe*'s role in the Battle against France and the Low Countries was primarily that of support and transport. Initially, the *Luftwaffe* was to gain control of the air. Then, it was to clear the way for airborne operations by powerful attacks on enemy airfields. In conjunction with airborne attacks, Ju52s were to transport paratroops to their

destinations. Subsequent to and subject to the success of these objectives, the *Luftwaffe* was to support the *Wehrmacht*'s armored thrust westward. Finally, the *Luftwaffe* was to supply the advancing mechanized and ground troops, keeping disparate forces in motion and in contact with command headquarters.^[140] Hitler added, perhaps superfluously, that "the air force will prevent attacks by the Anglo-French air forces on our army and will give all necessary direct support to the advance."^[141]

The meticulously prepared and well-integrated attack of the German army and air force in the Low Countries was overwhelming. The *Luftwaffe* bombed and strafed Dutch and Belgian airbases, destroying the meager and obsolete equipment those countries possessed. *Luftwaffe* paratroops seized bridges and road junctures, while glider forces assaulted the Belgian fortress of Eben Emael. This fortress, an underground system of fortifications manned by 1,200 Belgian soldiers and reputed to be impregnable, was besieged by 85 German assault pioneers until German reinforcements arrived on 11 May, forcing the garrison to capitulate.^[142] The element of surprise was achieved by means of airborne gliders, which had been towed by Ju52s from Cologne and released over Aachen, 15 miles from the fortress.^[143] At the Hague, airborne troops captured the three main airfields and took the important Moerdijk bridge near Rotterdam. However, a plan to capture the Dutch Royal family and government failed.^[144] The Willem's bridge, spanning the Meuse River in the center of Rotterdam, was seized in an unorthodox attack by troops landed on the river by He59 floatplanes. Holland surrendered on 15 May and the Belgian Army laid down its arms thirteen days later.

The focus of the battle then shifted towards France and the all-important Meuse River crossing. The west bank of the Meuse was strongly fortified, for the river marked the last natural boundary and impediment between the advancing German forces and the French countryside beyond. On 13 May at 4 PM, the *Luftwaffe* began to bombard French positions on the west bank. As the battle got underway, the *Luftwaffe* acted as a mobile artillery barrage, providing powerful and direct air support for ground troops. The French Air Force, in the process of converting to a new generation of aircraft, proved less than a match for the *Luftwaffe*. Operational readiness rates in the *Armée de l'Air* squadrons were as low as 40 percent.^[145] German reconnaissance gave the German High Command a detailed picture of the British and French forces. In the remaining hours before darkness, the *Luftwaffe* carried out over 500 sorties by dive and level bombers. As in Poland, when Richthofen had shared his quarters with the army's General Reichenau to facilitate close interservice cooperation, General Heinz Guderian carefully worked out a plan ahead of time with General Bruno Loerzer, head of *Fliegerkorps II* (Air Force Corps II), to coordinate the attack.^[146] The two men decided that continuous support by the *Luftwaffe* would best serve the troop movements. Continuous dive bombing attacks prevented French artillerymen from firing at the German infantry crossing the Meuse. By nightfall, the troops had established a bridgehead on the west bank.

An example of the devastation wreaked by the *Luftwaffe* took place at the town of Sedan, situated on the banks of the Meuse. On 13 May, Do17s accompanied by He111s unloaded explosives on the town for over four hours, demolishing telephone lines, roads, railroad tracks, and many buildings. Following the conventional bombers, *Stukas* stacked in layers dove on the city for a total of five more hours, dropping 500 pound bombs which penetrated reinforced bunkers, upended artillery pieces, and flattened barracks. The bombers were effectively guarded by Bf109s and Bf110s which fended off British and French fighters.

The following day, as the tanks prepared to cross the Meuse, Bf109s shot down half of a French bomber squadron which had launched an attack on the pontoons spanning the river. A second attempt by the RAF Advanced Strike Force under Air Marshal Sir Arthur Barratt, with 71

Blenheims and Battles, and an assortment of 250 French Moranes, Curtisses, and Dewoitine fighters, suffered a similar fate. The attack was decimated by flak and Bf109s which broke through the fighter screen to shoot down 40 bombers. In the aerial melee, 50 of the Allied fighters also perished. “No higher rate of loss in an operation of comparable size has ever been experienced by the RAF.” ^[147] The advancing German *Panzers* forced the French Army divisions to retreat and resistance along the river disappeared.

The rapid deployment of troops and equipment essential to the mobile warfare practiced by the Germans was made possible by the Ju52 transport planes. Fuel, spare parts, ammunition, and ground personnel were flown to their destinations because the Meuse bridge crossings were often congested. Thereafter, as the mechanized *Panzer* corps advanced, the supply lines lengthened dangerously. The Ju52s again played a vital role, transporting all the necessary supplies. The lumbering craft themselves had to be moved forward to new airbases every day. The rapid German advance was indicative of the course of the fighting, which became a rout of the Allied forces.

As the German troops moved northwest towards the English Channel some 200 miles away, long-range bombers with fighter escorts attacked a broad spectrum of targets, from railway marshalling yards to all movements of the Allied armies. The French and British forces were subject to incessant bomber and fighter attacks, usually conducted at low levels to achieve surprise and accuracy. Bf109s and Bf110s rained a veritable hail of machine gun and cannon fire on enemy troops. Bombers followed closely behind with explosives fused for a delay of several seconds to ensure ground level explosion.^[148]

The French and British armies retreated towards the coastal town of Dunkirk. Göring pleaded with Hitler to permit the *Luftwaffe* to be the sole instrument of the Allied armies' destruction. Hitler acceded, and ordered General Guderian's tanks to halt outside of Dunkirk. What followed was the first rebuff of the *Luftwaffe* in World War II. British fighters, operating closer to their bases than the German planes, could remain over the Dunkirk beaches for a longer period of time than the Bf109s and Ju87s. The Spitfire fighters proved a match for the snout-nosed 109s, and as a result, the *Luftwaffe* failed to achieve air superiority.^[149] During the nine days between 26 May and 3 June, the *Luftwaffe* lost 240 planes to the RAF's 177.^[150] Poor weather also prevented the German fighters and bombers from achieving the prolonged concentration of attack essential to success.^[151] Frustrated by the quantitatively and qualitatively equal British fighters, the *Luftwaffe* also discovered that bombing the beaches was ineffectual. “Dropping 110 and 550 pound bombs into the soft sand was like stuffing firecrackers deep into sawdust.” ^[152] To deprive the *Luftwaffe* of the visibility afforded by daylight, British and French troops were evacuated under cover of darkness. Countered at almost every turn, the *Luftwaffe* focused on the ships transporting the Allied armies across the English Channel. 243 of the 861 ships involved in the evacuation from Dunkirk were sunk by German bombers.^[153] Nevertheless, the bulk of the Allied troops escaped -338,226 men — and the Germans had to be content with the mass of equipment left behind.

Although France capitulated on 26 June 1940, the *Luftwaffe*'s failure over Dunkirk contained ominous signs for the future aerial attack on Britain. Yet, the air doctrine applied by the German Air Force in the last continental campaign of 1940 had not been rendered invalid. The air support throughout the 46 day battle was fundamentally a large scale application of the lessons learned in Spain and improved in Poland. The validity of those lessons was, if anything, strengthened. The *Luftwaffe* successfully attained air superiority until Dunkirk, and control of the air proved to be an element essential to the success of the ground troops. The *Luftwaffe* followed through on its close cooperation with the mechanized ground forces, delivering, supporting, supplying, and reinforcing paratroops and infantry. The reputation of the *Stuka* was further enhanced in the cam-

paign. as it destroyed enemy dugouts, fortifications, pill-boxes, and tanks with frightening accuracy. The potential logistical problems brought about by the rapid advance of the army was averted by the dependable Ju52 transport plane.

Luftwaffe failures in the West taught the Germans that formations of unescorted bombers could not survive in the face of a well-equipped and determined fighter opposition, such as the British mustered over Dunkirk. The German bomber crews who believed their Do17s to be as fast as British fighters, and were therefore possessed of a reasonable chance of success in a dogfight, were quickly disillusioned.^[154] The German fighter crews also realized that the twin-engined Bf110 could not confront the single-engined British fighters.^[155] The *Luftwaffe* had been dealt a sobering lesson at Dunkirk. This lesson was soon followed by an even more disastrous defeat in the skies over the British Isles.

Conclusion

Despite the *Luftwaffe*'s failure over the beaches of Dunkirk, the lessons derived from the Condor Legion experience in the Spanish Civil War were not invalidated. Rather, the aerial battles over Dunkirk finally revealed that some of the lessons the *Luftwaffe* drew from the Spanish War experiences had been misinterpreted and misapplied.

Luftwaffe air warfare doctrine was encapsulated in *Luftwaffedienstvorschrift 16: Luftkriegsführung*. Throughout the course of the Spanish War and the campaigns in Poland, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and France, the *Luftwaffe* adhered faithfully to three basic air warfare rules. The first was the subjection of the enemy air force and the attainment of air superiority. Second was the support of the army and the navy (especially of the army). Third was the destruction of the enemy's industrial base and the disruption of his means to wage war.

In Spain, the Condor Legion followed only the first two rules. Spain had very little industry, and the nature of the civil war often precluded attacks on Spain's meager industrial base. Nevertheless, the application of these two rules resulted in success, and within the context of those rules, tactics were conceived and bore fruit. Close ground support tactics were developed by Wolfram von Richthofen. Fighter tactics evolved, primarily under the tutelage and perseverance of Werner Mölders. Daylight bombing, night bombing, dive bombing, and naval bombing were practiced and refined. The Condor Legion learned and absorbed the advantages afforded by mobility and rapid deployment of men and equipment. The structure and organization of the Condor Legion was rationalized and improved. When the Condor Legion returned to Germany in March 1939, it brought with it experienced pilots who taught and trained new *Luftwaffe* recruits. Inevitably, the Condor Legion brought back to Germany combat lessons and field experience which nourished the minds planning the next *Luftwaffe* campaign, the assault on Poland.

The Polish campaign demonstrated on a larger scale the value of the lessons learned in Spain. As in Spain, the *Luftwaffe* concentrated on destroying the enemy's air force and attaining air superiority. This accomplished, the *Luftwaffe* proceeded to the second rule, support of the army. The *Blitzkrieg*, first employed in Poland, combined mechanized *Panzer* units and air power to devastate the Polish Army. Reflecting the rapidity of the German advance, the Poles surrendered after four short weeks, their army and air force crushed. The *Luftwaffe*'s major contributions were close ground support tactics, dependable air transport, and accurate dive bombing. Luckily for the *Luftwaffe*, the Polish Campaign was too short to reveal its supply and equipment deficiencies. Nevertheless, its strategy and tactics proved spectacularly successful, and it had time to recuperate before the next campaign.

The *Weserübung* against Scandinavia followed the basic pattern established in Poland. The *Luftwaffe* quickly attained air superiority and used paratroops for the first time in modern warfare to achieve complete surprise. The *Luftwaffe* then supported the German ground forces, providing reconnaissance and transport services to bolster the army's assault. By the end of the campaign on 10 June, the *Luftwaffe* had learned the importance of fighter escorts for bombers, the ability of air power to force naval ships from waters within aerial bombing range, the necessity of air reconnaissance, the surprise rendered by airborne assault, and the positive services provided by air transport. These lessons formed the foundation for Germany's last continental victory.

Against Holland, Belgium, and France, the *Luftwaffe* applied its well-tested air warfare doctrine, again achieving success. Gliders delivered airborne troops, an innovation which enabled 85 men to capture the fortress of Eben Emael. The army and air force cooperated closely, relentlessly forcing the Allied army to retreat. The French Air Force, like the Polish, Norwegian, Belgian and Dutch air forces before it, failed to halt the *Luftwaffe*, while suffering grievous losses trying. At Dunkirk, the *Luftwaffe* was finally rebuffed by the Royal Air Force, which enjoyed qualitative and quantitative equality.

Over four years, the *Luftwaffe* showed the world air power unexcelled. The essence of its strategy was air superiority. Without superiority in the air, troops could not be easily transported, motorized ground units could not move rapidly, enemy troop concentrations could not be disrupted, and enemy fortifications and communications could not be destroyed. When the *Luftwaffe* failed to attain air superiority, as at Dunkirk, it failed to win. The lessons learned in Spain, and enlarged and elaborated in the succeeding European campaigns, were faithfully though not always correctly applied. After the fall of France, the *Luftwaffe's* neglect of heavy bombers, long-range fighters and radar manifested itself. The British began to outproduce the *Luftwaffe*, and the Russian quagmire swallowed entire squadrons. There can be no question that the Spanish Civil War decisively affected the development of *Luftwaffe* operational doctrine. There can also be no question that initially, the result of that doctrine was success, demonstrated as the *Luftwaffe* rendered indispensable assistance in the triumphs over Germany's enemies. At the same time, the *Luftwaffe's* deceptively easy victories hid the seeds of its defeat. Although this defeat was a long time in coming, often masked by brilliant German inventions and innovations, come it did. Like the air forces it had helped vanquish, the *Luftwaffe* too learned defeat.

Notes

1.  Alfred Price, *A Pictorial history of the Luftwaffe, 1933-45* (London: Ian Allen, Ltd., 1969), p. 11.
2.  Hauptmann Dr. (E) Eichelbaum, *Die Lüftmächte der Welt: Ein Bilderwerk*. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt Verlag, 1939, p.16.
3.  Edward L. Homze, *Arming the Luftwaffe: The Reich Air Ministry and the German Aircraft Industry. 1919-1939*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1976, p.170.
4.  Flak is a contraction of the *Flieger abwehr kanone* (anti-aircraft gun).
5.  Raymond L. Proctor, *Hitler's Luftwaffe in the Spanish Civil War*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), p.252.
6.  David Irving, *The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe: The Life of Luftwaffe Marshal Erhard Milch*. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 1973), p.49.
7.  Homze, p.170.
8.  Jesus Salas Larrazabal, *Air War Over Spain*. Trans. Margaret A. Kelley (Shepperton, Surrey: Ian Allen, Ltd., 1969), p. 68.

9. ☞ Irving, p. 50.
10. ☞ Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*. (London: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 330.
11. ☞ Irving, p.50
12. ☞ Antony Beevor, *The Spanish Civil War* (New York: Peter Bedrick Books, 1982), p.113
13. ☞ Beevor, p. 113
14. ☞ Proctor, p. 255
15. ☞ Homze, p. 170.
16. ☞ Paul Deichmann, *Der Chef im Hintergrund: Ein Leben als Soldat von der preußischen Armee bis zur Bundeswehr*. Hamburg: Stalling Verlag GmbH, 1979.), p. 58. Also see Williamson Murray, *Luftwaffe* (Baltimore: The Nautical & Aviation publishing Company of America, Inc., 1985), pp. xi-xiii (Introduction) on Douhet's doctrine of "strategic bombing."
17. ☞ Deichmann, p. 58.
18. ☞ Kenneth Macksey, *Kesselring: The Making of the Luftwaffe*. (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd., 1978.), pp.46-7. Wever had thought about the creation of a "strategic" air force of which a long-range four-engined bomber was to be the mainstay. This was reflected by a project to develop the "Ural" bomber, a long-range bomber to be used to strike eastward at Russia's industrial base. After Wever's death, the "Ural" bomber project was scrapped.
19. ☞ Murray, *Luftwaffe*, p. 9.
20. ☞ R.J. Overy. *The Air War, 1939-1945* (New York: Stein and Day. 1980), p.10
21. ☞ Deichmann, pp. 60-61.
22. ☞ Irving, p. 72.
23. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, *The Rise and Fall of the German Air Force: 1933-45*. With an introduction by H.A. Probert (London Arms & Armour Press, Lionel Leventhal Ltd.. 1983). p. 45.
24. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p. 42.
25. ☞ Williamson Murray, "The Luftwaffe against Poland and the West," p.8.
26. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p. 44.
27. ☞ Murray, *Luftwaffe*, p. 11.
28. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p. 43.
29. ☞ Homze, p. 171.
30. ☞ Edward Jablonski, *Terror from the Sky* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company. Inc. 1971), p.15
31. ☞ Edward H. Sims, *Fighter Tactics and Strategy, 1939-1970* (New York: Harper and Row, publishers. Inc. 1972), p.92.
32. ☞ Beevor, p. 18.
33. ☞ Jablonski, p. 15.
34. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p. 14.
35. ☞ Proctor, p. 90.
36. ☞ Proctor, p. 257.
37. ☞ Proctor, p. 90.
38. ☞ Heinkel He51 biplane performance statistics: SPEED — 205 m.p., CEILING — 24,000 feet, RANGE — 242 miles, ARMAMENT — two machine guns.(from Proctor, p.89.)
39. ☞ Proctor, pp. 256-57.
40. ☞ Proctor, p. 242.

41. ☞ Proctor, p. 149.
42. ☞ Junkers Ju52 performance statistics: SPEED — 165 m.p.h., CEILING — 18,000 feet, RANGE — 800 miles, TROOP CAPACITY — 17, CARGO CAPACITY — 2,000 pounds. Three-engined transport plane used to carry cargo or troops and to tow gliders.[from Gurney, p. 340.]
43. ☞ Proctor, p. 153.
44. ☞ The Bf109 was designed by Willy Messerschmitt who worked for the *Bayerische Flugzeugwerke* (Bavarian Aircraft Company). This explains why the prefix “Me” is occasionally used in place of the “Bf.”
45. ☞ Proctor, p. 153.
46. ☞ Proctor, p. 165.
47. ☞ Herbert Molloy Mason, Jr., *The Rise of the Luftwaffe: Forging the Secret German Air Weapon, 1918-1940* (New York: The Dial Press, 1973), p. 236.
48. ☞ Proctor, p. 256.
49. ☞ James J. Halley, *The Role of the Fighter in Air Warfare*, ed. Charles W. Cain (New York: Ziff-Davis Flying Books, 1978), p. 34.
50. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p. 49. Messerschmitt Bf109 performance statistics: SPEED — 354 m.p.h. at 12,300 feet, CEILING — 37,500 feet, RANGE — 412 miles, INITIAL CLIMB RATE — 3,100 feet/minute, ARMAMENT — two 20mm cannon and two 7.9mm machine guns.[from Sims, p. 90.]
51. ☞ Homze, p. 171.
52. ☞ Proctor. p. 256. The lead plane flew at the tip of a cone-shaped figure, while the wingman flew in a large two-dimensional circle some distance behind, drawing an imaginary “cone” in the air.
53. ☞ Jablonski, p.15.
54. ☞ Sims, p. 139.
55. ☞ Proctor, pp. 82-3.
56. ☞ The attempt to combine elements of both fighters and bombers in one plane began in 1934. The *Luftwaffe* wanted a multipurpose, high-altitude, long-range reconnaissance aircraft that could fulfill a battle-plane function. This *Kampfzerstörer* was to have a speed of 240 m.p.h., a range of 1,200 miles, and a night-flying capability. The Focke-Wulf FW57 and the Henschel Hs124 were developed to fulfill these requirements. However, the *Luftwaffe* Technical Office soon recognized the difficulties in reconciling the dual assignment, and terminated the program. The requirement for a speed bomber were ultimately met by the Ju88.[from Homze, pp. 127-8]
57. ☞ Proctor. p.136.
58. ☞ Beevor, p.139.
59. ☞ In this instance, *Stuka* refers to the Junkers Ju87 dive bomber. However, the word is a contraction of the German *Sturzkampfflugzeug* (dive bomber), and thus actually describes all dive bombers, not any particular one.
60. ☞ Heinkel He111 performance statistics: SPEED — 255 m.p.h., CEILING — 27,500 feet, RANGE — 1,100 miles, BOMB LOAD — up to 4,000 pounds.[from Gurney, p. 339.]
61. ☞ The plane was too slow. too heavy, unmaneuverable, lacked power reserve, had poor climbing characteristics, an excessively dispersed and poorly co-ordinated crew and unsuitable radios.
62. ☞ Homze. p. 173.

63. ☞ The Junkers Ju88 was designed in 1935 according to requirements set down by Walther Wever for a conventional high-speed bomber. The first operational model could carry two tons of bombs at 300 m.p.h and had a range of 2,000 miles. After Spain showed the failure of horizontal bombing. Junkers was ordered to redesign the plane with a dive-bombing capability. The resulting plane was a catastrophe. It was slower than the obsolescent He111, take-offs were difficult with full tanks and the plane had a nasty habit of catching on fire while in flight. Eventually after many modifications, the plane proved very successful. [from Irving. pp. 107-8.]
64. ☞ Proctor, p. 82.
65. ☞ Beevor, p. 18.
66. ☞ Proctor. pp. 182-3, Junkers Ju87 ("Stuka") dive bomber performance statistics: SPEED — 254 m.p.h, CEILING — 24,000 feet, RANGE — 600 to 1,200 miles.[from Gurney. p. 341.]
67. ☞ Beevor. p.22. The *Luftwaffe* training wing, the *Lehrgeschwader*, conducted extensive high-altitude bombing exercises at Greifswald with disappointing results. Bombing from an altitude of 13,000 feet, experienced crews with no opposing ground fire in He111 and Do17 level bombers placed only 2 percent of their bombs inside a circle with radius of 330 feet. At 6,500 feet, their average increased to between 12-25 percent. The Ju87 dive bomber proceeded to put 25 percent of its bombs in a circle with a radius of only 165 feet [from Mason. p.254.]
68. ☞ Allen Andrews, *The Air Marshals: The Air War in Western Europe* (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc. 1970). p.30.
69. ☞ Willard C. Frank. Jr., "Naval Operations in the Spanish Civil War. 1936-1939." *Naval War College Review*, January-February, 1984. p.33.
70. ☞ Frank, p.46.
71. ☞ Homze, p.173
72. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry. p.44.
73. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p. 17. In a conversation with Dr. Ernst Heinkel in April 1940. Ernst Udet, Director of Air Armament said, "I never really thought there would be a war with Britain." [from Irving, p. 83.]
74. ☞ Frank, p.48.
75. ☞ Proctor, p.91.
76. ☞ Proctor, p. 150.
77. ☞ Proctor, p. 30.
78. ☞ Andrews, p. 30.
79. ☞ Homze, p.173
80. ☞ Overy, p.9.
81. ☞ Proctor, p.96
82. ☞ Homze, p.171.
83. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, pp.17-18.
84. ☞ Proctor, p. 134.
85. ☞ Overy. pp 89.
86. ☞ Proctor, p.45.
87. ☞ Murray, *Luftwaffe*. p. 17.
88. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p. 14.
89. ☞ Homze, p.172.

90. ☞ Murray, Luftwaffe, p.17.
91. ☞ Macksey, p.55.
92. ☞ Andrews, p.29.
93. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p.45.
94. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p.42.
95. ☞ Homze, p.174.
96. ☞ Homze, p.171.
97. ☞ Proctor, p.253.
98. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p.14.
99. ☞ Homze,p.171.
100. ☞ Air Ministry, p.17.
101. ☞ Beevor, p.258.
102. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p.53.
103. ☞ Murray, p.31.
104. ☞ Irving, p.81.
105. ☞ Gurney, p.43.
106. ☞ Andrews, p.81.
107. ☞ Irving, p. 81.
108. ☞ Great Britain Air Mnistry, p.54.
109. ☞ Irving, p.18.
110. ☞ The Polish Air Force in 1939 numbered only about 400 aircraft, all but 160 of which were fighters. The majority of the fighters were P.11s, gull-winged monoplanes of a design dating back to 1931; performance statistics; SPEED — 240 m.ph. at 18,000 feet, 186 m.p.h at sea level, ARMAMENT — initially two, and later four light machine guns. The Bf109s surpassed the P. 11s in every performance category. (from Mason, p.293.)
111. ☞ Halley, p.56.
112. ☞ Mason, p.293.
113. ☞ Price, p.18.
114. ☞ Mason, pp 288-89.
115. ☞ Mason, p.293.
116. ☞ The Henschel Hsl23 had a 880 hp BMW radial engine with a 210 m.p.h. top speed. The plane was designed to operate at altitudes under 500 feet. Four types of armament were possible: (1) two twin machine guns firing through the propellor, (2) two 20mm cannon in pods under the wings, (3) underwing containers holding 94 small 4.4 pound anti-personnel bombs, or (4) four 110-pound high-explosive bombs. Additionally, the plane carried a small auxiliary fuel tank underneath the fuselage that could be jettisoned with a napalm-like effect.[from Mason, pp 297-299.]
117. ☞ Murray, p.32.
118. ☞ Mason, p. 298.
119. ☞ Mason, pp.301-02.
120. ☞ Macksey, pp. 62-63.
121. ☞ Murray, "The Luftwaffe against Poland and the West," p.16.
122. ☞ Murray, "The Luftwaffe against Poland and the West," p.17.
123. ☞ Mason, p. 291.
124. ☞ Price, p.19.

125. ☞ Gurney, p.43.
126. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p 57.
127. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p 57
128. ☞ , p.38.
129. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry. pp. 63-64.
130. ☞ Mason, pp. 319-21.
131. ☞ Halley. pp. 64-65.
132. ☞ Mason, pp. 334-35.
133. ☞ Price, pp. 20-21.
134. ☞ Sims, pp.116-17.
135. ☞ Price, pp. 20-21.
136. ☞ These were *Lufthansa* derivatives of the scrapped “Ural” bomber design.
137. ☞ Sims, p. 116.
138. ☞ Mason, pp. 340-1.
139. ☞ Price, p.22.
140. ☞ Murray, p.38.
141. ☞ Murray, p.38.
142. ☞ The fortress Eben Emael was completed in 1935. It was ½ mile long, almost that wide, and festooned with 3” and 5” gun turrets, supplemented by machine gun cupolas. Its reputation of impregnability was similar to that of the Maginot Line in France. See also Bekker, Cajus. *The Luftwaffe War Diaries*. Ed. and Trans. Frank Ziegler. Garden City, NY; Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968., pp.93-100.
143. ☞ Mason, p.344.
144. ☞ Price, p.22.
145. ☞ Murray. pp.41-42.
146. ☞ Murray, p.41.
147. ☞ Mason, pp.352-53.
148. ☞ Great Britain Air Ministry, p.70.
149. ☞ The Spitfire model J had performance characteristics very similar to the Bf109 (see above). SPEED — 362 m.p.h. at 19,000 feet, CEILING — 35,000 feet, RANGE — 395 miles, INITIAL CLIMB RATE — 2,500 feet/minute, ARMAMENT — eight .303 inch machine guns. (from Sims, p.90.)
150. ☞ Murray, pp.42-43.
151. ☞ Macksey, pp. 73-74.
152. ☞ Mason, p.358.
153. ☞ Mason, p.358.
154. ☞ Sims, pp. 100-01.
155. ☞ Though the Bf110 was designed as a long-range fighter, it was easily outmaneuvered by the nimble British Spitfires. In any case, the Luftwaffe never had enough of them. Drop tanks designed to extend the range of the Bf109s, though initially tested in Spain, were not widely used, nor were aircrews trained in their employment. A reluctance on the part of pilots to experiment with the drop tanks was understandable in light of the pilots' inexperience with them, and because usage had not yet become routine or standardized. (from Murray, “The Luftwaffe against Poland and the West,” p.9.)

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Politics, Prejudice and Procedure: The Impeachment Trial of Andrew Johnson

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Recent years have seen some erosion in the traditional view of the Andrew Johnson impeachment trial as a lawless episode of political partisanship. Johnson's reputation has worsened even as historians have come to see the essentially moderate character of the Republican Reconstruction program.^[1] Legally, the impeachment is not as self-evidently insupportable as it once seemed. Scholars and (thanks to Watergate) public officials now generally agree that impeachable offenses need not be indictable crimes,^[2] as Johnson's lawyers argued and some of the Republicans who voted to acquit him supposed.^[3] But most scholars still take it for granted that, as Raoul Berger has written, the trial was unfairly conducted and the judges prejudiced: "What made the trial 'disgraceful' was not that the charges were altogether without color of law but that the proceeding reeked with unfairness, with palpable prejudgment of guilt."^[4]

This, the received view, I regard as mythical as the other tenets of the old historiography of Reconstruction. Political and personal prejudice there certainly was, but it worked both ways, and on balance, it worked to Johnson's benefit. Far from being one-sided, the Senate's procedural and evidentiary rulings were often more favorable to the defense than they should have been. Johnson had eminent counsel who outperformed the House-appointed Managers and made the most of the prosecution's weaknesses. Chief Justice Chase, presiding over the trial, succeeded in enlarging his own role in the trial and tilting toward the defense in his comments and rulings. Despite the partisan feeling against him, Johnson was not openly deprived of his constitutional rights.^[5] Behind the scenes he bargained for the votes of conservative Republicans. Since Johnson was acquitted by only one vote, ^[6] it is more likely that a fairer trial would have resulted in his conviction.

Of course the impeachment was thoroughly political. The in-court statements of both sides reflected awareness that the real issue was presidential obstruction of Congressionally ordered Reconstruction.^[7] But the Framers of the Constitution would probably not have been shocked by that dimension of the case. They expected partisan excesses by the nouse's prosecutors to be redressed by tnal before the Senate where, as Hamilton wrote, the "security to innocence" afforded by the requirement of a two-thirds vote to convict "will be as complete as itself can desire."^[8] As Michael Les Benedict points out, if politics motivated the majority that voted to convict, it equally actuated the minority that voted to acquit.^[9]

Johnson's lawyers and the scholars who echo their arguments contended that the Senate, by passing upon charges that included defiance of congress, was judging its own case; that further bias from self-interest was injected by the happenstance that the President of the Senate, Benjamin Wade, would succeed Johnson; and that Wade's own participation in the voting was especially improper.^[10] Some of the Managers such as Thaddeus Stevens and Benjamin Butler had long called for impeachment and so, it is said, were biased against the accused.^[11] (But then the Man-

agers participated as prosecutors, not judges, and took no oath to act impartially.) The argument from senatorial self-interest proves too much, being essentially an argument against impeachment as a process. The Framers must have anticipated that many Senators would be definitely friendly or inimical to the President, and it would be absurd to disqualify them as in an ordinary trial.^[12]

The circumstance that Wade was next in succession had the most appeal for so-called Radical Republicans who hardly needed further incentive to remove a president they considered a traitor. But the prospect frightened, anti-Johnson but conservative Republicans who detested Wade's high-tariff, soft-money, pro-labor and women's suffrage sentiments: such men feared that Wade would use his patronage power to secure the 1868 Republican vice-presidential nomination.^[13] Defense counsel Evarts alluded to the "shock" and "disturbance" and "confusion" which would ensue from such a succession. At least three of the seven "recusant" Republicans who voted to acquit were personal enemies of Wade.^[14] And so was the Chief Justice, Chase. The men had been at odds as rival Ohio Republican leaders since the 1850's, and Chase believed, with good reason, that Wade's dark-horse presidential ambitions in 1860 doomed Chase's own campaign for the Republican nomination.^[15] As events were to reveal, Chase was well positioned to frustrate Wade's hopes. After the trial a Detroit newspaper wrote: "Andrew Johnson is innocent because Benjamin Wade is guilty of being his successor." ^[16]

As for Wade's own voting to convict, it was doubtless technically improper, ^[17] but it hardly mattered. Wade and his supporters felt that his state was entitled to both of its votes, balloting equally with other states; nonetheless, he refrained from voting until the day of balloting on the verdict, and he voted to convict only after acquittal was already a mathematical inevitability. As was pointed out at the time, Johnson's son-in-law Senator Patterson should have been disqualified if anyone was, but he voted (consistently pro-defense) throughout the trial.^[18] Since one vote to acquit is effectively worth two to convict, the balance of bias favored the President. As a legal matter the Senate, notwithstanding its biases, had the power and the duty to try Johnson. Under the legal doctrine of necessity, a tribunal whose members are subject to disqualification for bias or interest must nevertheless act if there is no other body with jurisdiction to proceed.^[19] It is, after all, somewhat circular to complain of politicization in the Johnson impeachment when the nature and magnitude of the issues raised by Johnson's course of conduct must necessarily amuse political passions.^[20]

Another aspect of the issue of prejudice is the Managers' occasional pejorative references to the President — the "great criminal," as even conservative Manager Bingham called him ^[21] — but there is no evidence that they had any real prejudicial impact. A famous example took place toward the close of Manager Butler's otherwise pedestrian three-hour opening statement when he said with reference to Johnson, "By murder most foul he succeeded to the Presidency, and is the elect of an assassin to that high office." ^[22]

Probably this remark did the prosecution more harm than good, ^[23] but in any event it was the kind of oratorical extravagance typical of both the 19th century courtroom and the political performance then a prime source of popular edification and entertainment. Johnson, certainly, was anything but squeamish in *his* speeches. In fact, the context of the Butler statement was his discussion of Article Ten, a minor article accusing Johnson of vilifying the Congress based on statements during his "swing around the circuit" when he called his Republican critics traitors, likened himself to a Christ among Judases, and generally shocked Republicans by the virulence of his invective.^[24] Such flashes of color only stand out, for better or for worse, on account of the dullness of the larger part of a sprawling 1200 page transcript. Although Johnson's lawyers may have been somewhat more restrained, one of them carried his oratory so far as to be censured by

the Senate for in effect challenging Butler to a duel.^[25] Critics of the Managers' language may be unaware of the latitude traditionally accorded to the prosecutor in abusing an accused. In California, for instance, prosecutors may use "appropriate epithets" if the language is warranted by the evidence; thus defendants have been called "sneaky mother killer" "the lowest of the lows," and "a smart thief and a parasite on the community." ^[26] Johnson had much less to complain of than many less eminent accused malefactors.

The Constitution provides that "the Senate shall have the sole Power to Try all Impeachments," and specifies that "when the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside." The Chief Justice replaces the Senate's usual presiding officer, the Vice-President, on such occasions for the obvious reason that the latter is next in line of succession to the presidency, and might be biased.^[27] The Chief Justice seemed a safe choice to preside because, as Justice Story wrote, "his impartiality and independence could be as little suspected as those of any person in the country." ^[28] Unfortunately the ambitions of the Chief Justice in 1868 confounded the Framers' precautions. Chase is often credited with conducting the trial impartially, ^[29] but there is no doubt in my mind that he prejudged the merits of the case and it is clear that he had a lively personal interest in its outcome.

Chase, like the proponents of impeachment, understood how to pursue political ends by legal means. Before the Civil War he was instrumental in formulating a dubious yet plausible constitutional grounding of the Free Soil Party ideology inherited by the new Republican Party.^[30] Despite his single-issue radicalism respecting slavery (and later black suffrage), Chase was a conservative at heart. Although he opposed Johnson's Reconstruction measures, he made known his opposition to impeachment "as a policy." During the trial he wrote to correspondents that Johnson had "a perfect right" to dismiss Secretary of War Stanton regardless of the provisions of the Tenure of Office Act — "a grave violation of judicial ethics," in Michael Benedict's words.^[31] Even more important in shaping Chase's behavior than his legal prejudgment, political preference, and personal antipathy (to Wade and to Stanton ^[32]), was Chase's almost lifelong, obsessive pursuit of the presidency. He sought the Republican nomination in every election year from 1856 through 1868. Lincoln said that Chase (his Secretary of the Treasury until 1864) was "a little insane" on the subject of the presidency, and Lincoln's only concern in appointing him Chief Justice was his (well-founded) fear that Chase would "neglect the place in his strife and intrigue to make himself President." A fellow Justice said of Chase that "his first thought in meeting any man of force was...how can I utilize him for my presidential ambitions." By the time of the impeachment trial it was apparent that Grant would be the Republican nominee. Chase had hitherto been considered a Radical Republican, but changing parties for the fourth time was easy enough. During the trial, Chase solicited the Democratic nomination — that is, the nomination of what was *de facto* Johnson's party insofar as he had any.^[33] At best, then, Chase fell a bit short of being the one person whose "impartiality and independence could be as little suspected as those of any person in the country."

Before the trial commenced the Senate committee which drafted rules of procedure invited Chase's comments. Chase wanted the Senate to organize itself as a "Court of Impeachment," distinct from its normal legislative capacity; and as presiding officer of that "court" he sought a vote for himself.^[34] The Senators, some of them now doubtful of Chase's political loyalties, took care to delete all references to the Senate as a court of impeachment. The original version of the rules gave the presiding officer the right to make preliminary rulings on evidentiary matters, subject to Senate reversal after one-fifth of the Senators challenged a ruling; now Senator Chandler, Radical Republican from Michigan, sponsored an obscurely worded substitute amendment whose purpose was evidently to shift this power back to the Senate collectively.^[35]

By determined manipulation and good luck, Chase undid the committee's work soon after Wade relinquished the chair to him. Almost the first matter to arise was a Democratic challenge to Wade's right to take the oath. After some debate Senator Grimes (later a recusant) moved that the "court" adjourn for a day; Senator Howard replied that the Senate should adjourn itself and "relieve" the Chief Justice and pass to its legislative business — a subtle distinction, but one that posed a controversial issue. Chase settled it, for the time being, by an adroit *fait accompli*: "The court must first adjourn. Senators, you who are in favor of adjourning the court until to-morrow at 1 o'clock will say 'ay,' and those of the contrary opinion will say 'no'." Those who denied that the Senate was a Court could not say anything, and "the motion was agreed to." [36] The next day a point of order arose regarding which Senator Howard invoked Rule XXIII of the impeachment rules. Chase made his move: "The twenty-third rule is a rule for the proceeding of the Senate when organized for the trial of an impeachment. It is not yet organized; and in the opinion of the Chair the twenty-third rule does not apply at present." Senator Drake appealed the decision of the chair, but, to the cheers of the gallery, Chase was sustained by a 24-20 vote. Following up on this success, Chase told the Senate that, having now passed over into its special impeachment capacity, it would have to readopt its impeachment rules — and again he posed the question in such a way that a Senator could vote for or against the rules, but not vote against Chase's presumption that the rules had to be readopted: "Senators, you who think that the rules of proceeding adopted on the 2nd of March should be considered as the rules of this body will say 'ay'; contrary opinion, 'no'." The ayes prevailed.[37]

Among the rules adopted (and readopted) by the Senate was Rule VIII, requiring the accused to "file his answer to said articles of impeachment" on the date specified in the summons served upon him; if he failed to appear or file an answer, "the trial shall proceed, nevertheless, as upon a plea of not guilty." Defense counsel appeared on the appointed date, March 13, but instead of filing an answer they sought forty days more in which to do so, invoking the analogy of criminal procedure. The Managers replied that the Senate's own rules were controlling, not analogies from other areas of law; if Johnson would not enter a plea, the rules were clear that the trial should commence then and there as if he had pleaded not guilty. No elaborate formal reply was necessary anyway since, as Bingham said,

technical roles do in nowise control or limit or fetter the action of this body; and under the plea of "not guilty," as provided in the rules, every conceivable defense that the party accused could make to the articles here preferred can be admitted. Why, then, this delay of forty days to draw up an answer of not guilty? [38]

Why indeed? But the Senate, touchy about insinuations that the President was being railroaded, allowed ten days to answer. On March 23 the defense filed an answer even more turgid than the articles, whereupon the trial should have begun. Yet Johnson's lawyers prevailed upon the Senate to grant another continuance until March 30. Raoul Berger complains that the defense received "extraordinarily short shrift," but it got more time by far than the rules allowed it, and nothing in the answer, the course of the trial or the verdict suggests that Johnson got any less time than he needed in order to mount a successful defense.[39]

On the second day of the trial, Chase overturned the rules in another respect. Manager Butler was trying to elicit hearsay testimony as to the expressed intentions of General Lorenzo Thomas, Johnson's *ad interim* appointee as Secretary of War, in going to the War Department on February 21 to challenge Stanton. The defense objected that the testimony was irrelevant. Chase stated: "The Chief Justice thinks the testimony is competent and it will be heard unless the Senate think otherwise." When Senator Drake challenged his right to make such a preliminary ruling — a power which the Senate had earlier stripped him of, seemingly — Chase insisted "that in his

judgment it is his duty to decide upon questions of evidence in the first instance, and that if any senator desires that the question shall then be submitted to the Senate it is his duty to submit it.” The Managers belatedly protested that Chase’s arrogation of power detracted from the Senate’s “sole power” to try impeachments: “Every judgment that must be made is a part of the trial, whether it be upon a preliminary question or a final question.’ By chance Chase got more than he hoped for by the resolution of the question. A motion that the Senate retire for consultation (in effect, to debate unconstrained by Chase) eventuated in a 25-25 tie (Wade and three others not voting). Chase announced the result and said: ‘The Chief Justice votes in the affirmative. The Senate will retire for conference.’” He then left the room.^[40] Emerging from conference, the Senate defeated actions by Drake and Sumner denying Chase’s right to vote, and instead the rules were amended to legitimate Chase’s claim to make preliminary rulings, except that any Senator’s objection would put the matter before the Senate.^[41] If less than a trial judge, Chase was at least more than a mere moderator.^[42]

Central to the fairness of any trial is the court’s reception or exclusion of evidence. In impeachment trials, exclusionary rulings will be somewhat less important than in a jury trial, since the Senators cannot be kept from hearing about proffered evidence and taking it into account as they, severally, see fit.^[43] Johnson impeachment critics claim that prejudicial rulings stud the record,^[44] but they have ignored the possibility that the rulings were correct, or at least within the range of reasonable differences under the law of evidence as it then stood. A look at a few of the more important evidentiary controversies suggest that, as in other matters, the Senate was more than fair to Johnson. Seeming injustices, e.g., the admissions of hearsay declarations against an accused but not those in his favor, may be ingrained features of criminal evidence law, not the blatantly unequal treatment they might resemble to the lay observer.^[45]

Most of the eleven articles involved Johnson’s dismissal of Secretary of War Stanton and his attempted *ad interim* appointment of General Lorenzo Thomas to the post, allegedly in violation of the Tenure of Office Act. Johnson’s defense was threefold: the Act was unconstitutional; if constitutional, it nonetheless did not cover Stanton; and if constitutional and applicable, “the President acted from laudable and honest motives, and is not, therefore, guilty of any crime or misdemeanor.”^[46] The latter defense of good faith had important evidentiary implications if accepted by the Senate. If the wrongful intent, with which Johnson was accused of having acted, had to be the intent to break a law Johnson knew to be valid, then the Senate should consider evidence that Johnson desired to precipitate a test case for the courts or that his Cabinet unanimously advised him that the Act was constitutional.^[47] Not so, however, if the requisite intent, as for most criminal offenses, was merely to have voluntarily and consciously done the acts charged; or if ignorance of the law is, as usual, no defense; or if, as Thaddeus Stevens argued, the object of impeachment is simply to end a course of unconstitutional conduct by removing the perpetrator: “Mere mistake in intention, if so persevered in after proper warning as to bring mischief upon the community, is quite sufficient to warrant the removal of the officer from the place where he is working mischief by his continuance in power.”^[48] As a matter of constitutional exegesis and common prudence, the Managers’ theory is closer to the correct view, and it was evidently also the view of the Senate.^[49] If so, just about every exclusion of proffered defense evidence is defensible.

But there were further infirmities in important parts of defense testimony. Defense attorney Stanbury sought to elicit from Thomas what Johnson had told him on February 21, 1868, immediately after Thomas had confronted Stanton at the War Department. Bingham objected that this was an attempt “to introduce in the defense of an accused criminal his own declaration made after the fact.” Noting that the acts charged (dismissal of Stanton and appointment of Thomas) were by then completed, Butler said that “Mr. Thomas cannot make evidence for himself by go-

ing and talking with the President, nor the President with Mr. Thomas.” The objection was valid. A party charged with crime can never put in evidence in his own behalf his declarations made after commission of a crime.^[50] But the Senate, to which Chase submitted the point without a preliminary ruling, voted 42-10 to admit the hearsay. Thomas then quoted Johnson’s response to the War Department incident: “Very well; we want it in the courts.” ^[51]

Next the defense questioned General Sherman about his talk with Johnson on January 14, prior to the final firing of Stanton. The defense argued that the Johnson hearsay was germane to intent, and Chase ruled it admissible. Because this declaration preceded the act charged, it was not subject to the previous objection — but there was still a crucial condition on letting such evidence in. Contemporaneous declarations of purpose, “made with no apparent motive for misstatement,” are admissible to prove the declarant’s purpose. The defense agreed such statements are admissible “if they do not appear to have been manufactured.” Senators might readily conclude that Johnson was already creating evidence for use in the impending showdown over Stanton. Chase intervened to endorse the defense view, saying that “proof of a conversation shortly before a transaction is better evidence of the intent of an actor than proof of a conversation shortly after a transaction. The Secretary will call the roll.” By a 23-28 vote of which Chase complained bitterly in private, the evidence was excluded.^[52]

But even this ruling, for which several arguable grounds of support appear, was effectively reversed. Later, by one of those one-vote margins made possible by Wade’s self-restraint, Sherman was allowed to report what Johnson told him at later interviews (January 27 or 31) as to his purpose in offering Sherman the post of *ad interim* Secretary of War. Johnson said it was for the good of the country. When Sherman asked why the courts could not settle the conflict, Johnson said that was impossible, but “if we can bring the case to the courts it would not stand half an hour.” As Stanbury said, “that which was closed to us by the decision of the court on Saturday, is now opened by the question of the senator today.” ^[53] Yet the Johnson-Sherman talks, which came after the Senate had refused to assent to Stanton’s removal on January 13, were well before the final firing on February 21 and rather remote in time to count as contemporaneous declarations of intent.

A subsidiary issue in the case was whether Johnson had contemplated the use of force to install Thomas. To prove otherwise, the defense sought to have Secretary of State Welles testify that on February 21 Johnson opined that Stanton would acquiesce peaceably in the Thomas appointment. Chase announced that he was “clearly of opinion that this is a part of the transaction, and that it is entirely proper to take this evidence into consideration as showing the intent of the President in his acts. The Secretary will call the roll.” By a 26-23 vote the evidence was admitted.^[54] Again, an after-the-fact, self-serving hearsay declaration, which must have been made in anticipation of future controversy, was admitted to prove a kind of “intent” which was not really material anyway. The defense, often with the weight of the Chief Justice’s authority behind it, overall benefited greatly from the Senate’s evidentiary rulings. And even when the Managers succeeded in excluding evidence of Johnson’s innocent intent, the Senators heard what the evidence would have been even as the Managers made themselves look bad by trying to suppress evidence favorable to Johnson.^[55]

The most important lapses from procedural propriety in the impeachment trial did not take place in court at all. They consisted of negotiations between Johnson’s lawyer Evarts (who would surely be disbarred for it today) and susceptible conservative Republican Senators which eventuated in a virtual trade of not-guilty votes for political favors. Senator Grimes, with the knowledge of Senators Fessenden and Trumbull, obtained assurances that acquittal would not be followed by presidential reprisals. The nomination of a conservative Republican general to succeed Stanton

also pleased the Republican right Senator Ross — a recusant often held up as the hero who placed principle above politics in casting “the vote that saved Johnson” — let the President know that his prompt transmission of the new, reconstructed South Carolina and Arkansas constitutions would cause him and others to vote to acquit. Johnson complied the next day. Johnson also agreed to enforce the Reconstruction Acts.^[56] It is curious that impeachment critics who point to the immense political pressure brought to bear on wavering Senators overlook that the President still wielded enough power and patronage to outbid the Radical Republicans for enough votes to win.

The evidence is overwhelming that while an impeachment trial is a judicial proceeding before the Senate sitting as a court, ^[57] it is not a criminal trial.^[58] Procedurally this means that the technicalities of indictment and pleading which characterized criminal procedure had no place in the Johnson impeachment trial. Hamilton wrote that such a proceeding “can never be tied down to such strict rules, either in the delineation of the offense by the prosecutors or the construction of it by the judges, as in common cases serve to limit the discretion of courts in favor of personal security.” ^[59] All the early commentators, seconded by the best modern authorities, agreed that the Senate was not bound to the strict forms of common-law pleading and procedure, particularly with respect to the formulation of charges; the articles might be very general and the Senators were entitled to construe them broadly from considerations of policy.^[60]

The defense, however, assailed obscurities and possible technical defects in the articles as if they appeared in an indictment. In the criminal law of the day, no conviction could stand unless the proof adduced at trial closely corroborated the allegations of the indictment, even if the proof showed other criminality on the defendant’s part. Johnson’s lawyers cited this principle in his behalf insisting, for instance, that since criminal intent was alleged in each article, conviction required proof of criminal intent.^[61] Actually it is doubtful if this rule applied even if the trial had been criminal in character. Immaterial allegations in an indictment had long been allowed to be ignored as surplusage.^[62] If most senators thought that criminal intent (at least as the defense understood it) was not necessary to sustain conviction, their disregard of allegations of criminal intent would not mean they were voting to convict Johnson of something different from what he was charged with. And yet the defense argument paid off. Five of the seven recusant Republicans filed opinions justifying acquittal in part because the proof only showed an attempt to remove Stanton (because he refused to go), not an effective removal as alleged! ^[63]

The fate of the eleventh article, “the gist and vital portion of this whole prosecution” as Stevens called it, illuminates the circumstances which led to Johnson’s acquittal. The Radical Republicans added it because, as Stevens complained, the other articles were so narrowly and legalistically framed as to have no “real vigor in them.” ^[64] In extraordinarily convoluted language it alleged a conspiracy to frustrate enforcement of the Tenure of Office Act and certain Reconstruction legislation pursuant to Johnson’s alleged assertion that the Congress was not a constitutional body. It was the most important article and the one most likely to be adopted because, in its obscure but unmistakable way, it was understood by all to state Johnson’s real offense: his obstruction of Congressional Reconstruction. Instead of meeting the charge head-on, defense counsel tried to make light of it by professing an inability to make any sense out of it. Impeachment proponents were not fooled and induced the Senate to vote on the eleventh article first.^[65]

Chase now made the last and possibly most important of his unauthorized encroachments upon the Senate’s sole power to try impeachments. Speaking as if he were the trial judge charging the jury as to the applicable law, he prefaced the voting by his own narrow construction of the article. “The single substantive matter charged,” he said, “is the attempt to prevent execution of the tenure-of-office act [sic]; and the other facts are alleged either as introductory and exhibiting this

general purpose, or as showing the means contrived in furtherance of the attempt.” By collapsing the eleventh article into a mere rehash of the others, Chase effectively eliminated the breadth which was intended to distinguish it from the other ten.^[66] It is argued that Chase did not determine the verdict of the trial because formally the Senate had the right to overrule him.^[67] As the disposition of the eleventh article shows, that is a naive view of the matter. By his comments, his control of the proceedings, the prestige of his office and his mastery of the *fait accompli*, Chase exerted a pervasive influence on the whole course of the proceedings, and his influence was usually exerted for Johnson’s benefit.

A few years after the Johnson acquittal, the Supreme Court held that a criminal defendant is accorded due process of the law “if the trial is had according to the settled course of judicial proceedings,” consonant with “the law of the land.” ^[68] In that sense, it was the Managers rather than Johnson who were denied due process. The case is shot through with ironies inuring to the accused’s benefit. Johnson portrayed his prosecutors as prejudiced and partisan while secretly taking full advantage of prejudices cutting his way and exploiting extrajudicial political clout. His lawyers insisted he be tried solely according to the literal terms of the impeaching articles — the rule of law required no less — and then belittled those “technical and formal crimes” as “of very paltry consideration.” After incurring attack for contending that the Senate was not a court, the Managers made more use than the defense of evidentiary technicalities inappropriate in an impeachment trial. Ostensibly upholding the Constitution and laws against partisan abuse, the defense — aided by the Chief Justice — repeatedly induced the Senate either to break its own rules or to rewrite them to suit Chase or Johnson. The trial included its share of errors and injustices, but they more often benefited the accused than the accusers. Unlike his prosecutors, Andrew Johnson got a fair trial.^[69]

Notes

1. ^U Michael Les Benedict, *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1973), vii, 1-8; Hans L. Trefousse, *Impeachment of a President: Andrew Johnson, the Blacks, and Reconstruction* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), ix-x.
2. ^U Benedict, 27; Raoul Berger, *Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 53-102; Charles L. Black Jr., *Impeachment: A Handbook* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 35; John R. Lahovitz, *Presidential Impeachment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 27, 99-100; William Lawrence, “The Law of Impeachment,” *American Law Register*, O.S.15 (Sept. 1867), 644, 647; William Rawle, *A View of the Constitution of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea, 1825), 201, 204; Alexander Simpson, *A Treatise on Federal Impeachments* (Philadelphia: Law Association of Philadelphia, 1916), 30-60.
3. ^U *Trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, Before the Senate of the United States, on Impeachment by the house of Representatives for high Crimes and Misdemeanors* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), 1:49 (hereafter *Trial*); Trefousse, *Impeachment*, 51.
4. ^U Berger, 264. Berger has been influential in discrediting the idea that American impeachments are criminal trials and that only indictable crimes justify impeachment. He is, however, tendentious and hyper-legalistic in all that he publishes, and his chapter on the Johnson impeachment, based on obsolete sources, is a caricature of events and issues which at times approaches the grotesque.
5. ^U Simpson, 28.

6. ☞ *Trial* 2:486-87, 496-97. There is reason to believe, though, that several more Republicans — including the Chief Justice’s son-in-law, Senator Sprague — would have voted to acquit if their votes were needed. Trefousse, *Impeachment*, 169.
7. ☞ *Trial* 1:121-22 (Manager Butler), 2:14-16 (Manager Logan). 110 (Manager Boutwell), 232-33 (Manager Williams), 270-71, 277 (defense counsel Evarts); Benedict, 135, 160; Berger, 269-70; Trefousse, *Impeachment*, 140-41, 159.
8. ☞ Labovitz, 177; Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers* (New York: New American Library, Mentor Books, 1961) No.66 (Hamilton), 402.
9. ☞ Benedict, 126.
10. ☞ *Trial* 1:411 (defense counsel Curtis), 2:324 (Evarts), 3:360-401 (Senate debate on letting Wade take the oath); Berger, 267 & n. 100.
11. ☞ Benedict, 52; Berger, 269-70; Hans L. Trefousse, *Ben Butler: The South Called him Beast!* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1957), 186; Trefousse, *Impeachment*, 51-52.
12. ☞ Black, *Impeachment*, 11.
13. ☞ Benedict, 133-35; H.L. Trefousse, *Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican From Ohio* (New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1963), 8, 284-85, 306; Trefousse, *Impeachment*, 149, 176-77. In February 1868 the future recusant Senator Fessenden wrote that Johnson’s impeachment would mean “the end of us.” Benedict, 103.
14. ☞ *Trial* 2:271; Trefousse, *Wade*, 8.
15. ☞ Thomas Graham Belden and Marva Robins Belden, *So Fell The Angels* (Boston; Little, Brown and Company, 1956), 181; Albert Bushnell Hart, *Salmon Portland Chase* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899), 358; Trefousse, *Wade*, 68-69, 121-24, 140. “Chase,” said Wade, “thinks there is a fourth person in the Trinity.” Trefousse, *Wade*, 235. Ironically, Wade actually preferred Chase to Grant as the 1868 Republican presidential nominee. Benedict, 72.
16. ☞ Trefousse, *Wade*, 309.
17. ☞ Rawle, 206.
18. ☞ *Trial* 3:360-61 (Senator Sherman); Trefousse, *Wade*, 297, 300, 303-04, Several matters were decided by one vote or by a tie (broken by the Chief Justice) during the trial. Wade has never received historical credit for his forbearance. Given the closeness of these votes and of the verdict, Wade’s abstention is another of those imponderables which might have made the difference between conviction and acquittal.
19. ☞ *In re Leefe*, 2 Barb. Ch. 39, 39-40 (N.Y. 1846). Here and hereafter an effort has been made, where legal issues are discussed, to rely on 19th century decisional law in contexts remote from impeachment. As discussed more fully later, some of the most-criticized legal determinations of the impeachment trial were fully in accord with the law at the time, a possibility overlooked by virtually all commentators on the trial.
20. ☞ Labovitz, 31.
21. ☞ *Trial* 2:407.
22. ☞ *Trial* 1:119; Trefousse, *Wade*, 298-99.
23. ☞ Trefousse, *Impeachment*, 154.
24. ☞ *Trial* 1:114-120; Benedict, 13-14. Johnson was surely among the most vulgar and uncouth of presidents save only, perhaps, the only other president to face a real impeachment threat. Johnson, for instance, attended his own and Lincoln’s inauguration while drunk.
25. ☞ *Trial* 2:307 (Censure of defense counsel Nelson). One wonders what Berger is talking about when he writes: “The Managers indulged in vituperation without restraint by the Senate; yet defense counsel, who must have felt themselves in the midst of a pack of wolves,

never departed from reasoned, measured advocacy” Eager, 274-75) — except to challenge Butler to a duel! The defense team’s relative restraint is perhaps to be explained less by its lofty ethical rectitude than by a shrewd assessment of tactics. Defense attorney Evans made good use of Butler’s logorrhea, evoking derisory laughter by his references to Butler’s invective. *Trial* 2:285.

26. [↗](#) People v. Wein, 50 Cal. 2d 383, 397 (1958); People v. Hardenbrook, 48 Cal. 2d 345, 352 (1957); People v. La Fontaine, 79 Cal. App. 3d 176, 186 (1978); People v. Rodriguez, 10 Cal. App. 3d 18,36 (1970); Robert C. Black, “Attorney Discipline for 'Offensive Personality' in California,” *Hastings Law Journal* 31 (May 1980), 1132 & nn. 219-222.
27. [↗](#) U.S. Coast., art. I §3, cl. 6; Berger, 267 n. 100; Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, ed. Melville M. Bigelow (5th ed.; Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1891), 1:557; Joseph Story, *The Constitutional Class Book: Being a Brief Exposition of the Constitution of the United States* (Boston: Hillsard, Gray & Company. 1834); Rawle, 206.
28. [↗](#) Story, *Commentaries*, 1:568.
29. [↗](#) William R. Brook, *Conflict and Transformation: The United States, 1844-1877* (New York: Penguin Books, 1973), 347-48; Hart, 360; M. Kathleen Perdue, “Salmon P. Chase and the Impeachment Trial of Andrew Johnson,” *The Historian* 27 (Nov. 1965), 7592; J. W. Schuckers, *The Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874), 558.
30. [↗](#) Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, Galaxy Books, 1971), 76-77, 87.
31. [↗](#) Belden and Belden, 185; Benedict, 136-37; Hart, 358-59; Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 115 n. 42; Perdue, 89; Schuckers, 577-78.
32. [↗](#) Chase, who tended to see treachery everywhere, thought that Stanton had betrayed him by not resigning from Lincoln’s Cabinet in 1864 when he did; Chase considered Stanton not “reliable for anything except hatred of enemies & offenses to friends.” Belden and Belden, 176.
33. [↗](#) Belden, 198-200; Benedict, 136-37; Frederick J. Blue, “Chase and the Governorship: A Stepping Stone to the Presidency,” *Ohio history* 90 (Summer 1981), 197-98, 219-220; David Donald, ed., *Inside Lincoln’s Cabinet: The Civil War Diaries of Salmon P. Chase* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1954), 3, 5, 260; Schuckers, 578-79; G. Edward White, *The American Judicial Tradition: Profiles of Leading American Judges* (New York: Oxford University Press, Galaxy Books, 1978), 87, 201 (quoting Justice Samuel Miller).
34. [↗](#) Perdue, 76-77.
35. [↗](#) *Trial* 1:1315 (Senate rules of impeachment); Benedict, 11516.
36. [↗](#) *Trial* 3:388; Benedict, 118.
37. [↗](#) *Trial* 1:12.
38. [↗](#) *Trial* 1:18-24.
39. [↗](#) *Trial* 1:33-36, 37-53 (answer); Benedict, 122-23; Berger, 267.
40. [↗](#) *Trial* 1:175-76, 180-87; Benedict, 120-22, Perdue, 81; Schuckers, 554-55.
41. [↗](#) *Trial* 1:18587; Benedict, 121-22, Schuckers, 55556.
42. [↗](#) Hart, 359. Some of the Chief Justice’s claimed prerogatives may, of course, have properly belonged to him. William Alexander Doer, *A Course of Lectures on the Constitutional Jurisprudence of the United States* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845), 78 (Chief Justice as member of court of impeachment); Rawle, 206 (Chief Justice’s right to vote).

43. ☞ Black, *Impeachment*, 18. Modern authorities favor a relaxation of exclusionary rules of evidence in impeachments, in the interest of shedding the fullest light on facts which may be relevant. Black, *Impeachment*, 18; Labovitz, 118; Simpson, 66. Ironically the only Senator to anticipate this approach was the much-maligned (by Berger) Radical, Charles Sumner (Berger, 269-70) who voted to admit any evidence offered by either side and, partway through the trial, made a motion to expedite the trial by receiving all evidence “not trivial or obviously irrelevant,” with any objections going to its weight instead of its admissibility. The motion was overwhelmingly defeated, 13-30. *Trial* 1:589-90, 633.
44. ☞ Berger, 268.
45. ☞ *United States v. Wood*, 39 U.S. (14 Pet.) 430, 443 (1840); compare *Trial* 1:175, 194-95, 209 (admitting admissions of Thomas as Johnson’s agent or co-conspirator) with 1:700 (excluding evidence that Johnson and his cabinet prior to the Stanton firing, considered the Tenure of Office Act unconstitutional).
46. ☞ *Trial* 1:383, 386 (defense counsel Curtis), 2:153, 169 (defense counsel Logan).
47. ☞ *Trial* 1:462-65 (Stanbury). 689 (Curtis); Berger, 268-69.
48. ☞ *Trial* 1:541 (Bingham), 681 (Manager Wilson), 22:24-25 (Boutwell), 220-23 (Stevens), 413 (Bingham).
49. ☞ *Trial* 1:693; Berger, 294; Labovitz, 129-31 & *passim*; Rawle, 201.
50. ☞ *Nudd v. Burrows*. 91 U.S. 426, 438-39 (1875); *State v. Vann*. 82 N.C. 631, 633 (1880); *Trial* 1:420-22, 425.
51. ☞ *Trial* 1:426, 428; Perdue, 84.
52. ☞ *Trial* 1:466, 480, 483; Perdue, 85; *State v. Fessenden*, 151 Mass. 359, 360-61 (1890) (per Holmes, J.).
53. ☞ *Trial* 1:520-21, 524.
54. ☞ *Trial* 1:673-75.
55. ☞ Trefousse, *Impeachment*, 154.
56. ☞ Benedict, 137-38; Trefousse, *Impeachment*, 157-59.
57. ☞ Berger, 264; Black, *Impeachment*, 9-11; Doer, 76; *The Federalist Papers* No.65, at 396,398 (Hamilton); Rawle, 205; Simpson, 21-27.
58. ☞ Berger, 75-85, 297; Labovitz, 245. English impeachments, in contrast, were criminal in character. Matthew Hale, *The history of the Common Law of England*. ed. Charles M. Gray (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1971), 35.
59. ☞ *The Federalist Papers* No. 65., at 395 (Hamilton); Story, *Commentaries* 1:555.
60. ☞ Doer, 76-77; Theodore W. Dwight, “Trial by Impeachment,” *American Law Register* O.S. 15 (March 1867), Labovitz, 117-18, 180; Rawle, 201, 205; Story, *Class Book*, 61; Story, *Commentaries* 1:55940.
61. ☞ *Trial* 1:689, 2:169; Labovitz, 88.
62. ☞ *Respublica v. Shryber*. 1 U.S. (1 Dall.) 68 (Pa. 1782); see also *Berger v. United States*, 295 U.S. 78, 82 (1935) (the question is whether the variance between indictment and proof is so great as to take a defendant by surprise).
63. ☞ Labovitz, 68-69.
64. ☞ Benedict, 112; Labovitz, 61.
65. ☞ *Trial* 1:10, 2:110, 114-16, 279, 484; Benedict, 114-15, 160; Labovitz, 61-62; Trefousse, *Impeachment*, 138-41.
66. ☞ *Trial* 2:480-81; Labovitz, 62.
67. ☞ Perdue, 91-92.

68. 🔄 Walker v. Sauvinet, 92 U.S. 90, 93 (1875).

69. 🔄 *Trial* 1:475, 2:129-34, 136, 303-04.

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The Legionary Movement in Romania

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It is the authors' observation that most people make the mistake of not considering socio-political phenomena in their natural context in order to discover the legitimate causes, the true sense of their development, and especially their importance in the environment which fostered them. Carried away by the passion of political convictions or by the hope of immediate benefits, they reduce every phenomenon to a linear problem: good or bad, to be accepted or rejected.

Moreover, governments, the authorities, “reason” in the same manner. This maintains an atmosphere of suspicion and misunderstanding and is detrimental to the awakening of consciousness to what we believe are certain essential truths. In addition, when the age has been ravaged by bloody conflicts and when bad memories or hates are not yet dissipated, nothing is easier then to maintain this partial and prejudiced way of judging matters each time that circumstances bring the discussion of such a problem before the public.

This disposition of the public to a puerile partisanship is manipulated by those who are interested in compromising, or even in annihilating, a historical, political, or social truth. They know that the mass man:

- ... reduces everything to his personal conception, considering as false and dangerous anything which does not conform to his thoughts;
- ... is incapable of placing himself in the socio-historical context of the phenomenon in order to judge it according to reality, nor does he manage to make abstraction from his own reality, and comparisons are reduced to what seems just and perfect in relationship to himself;
- ... and is influenced by what the press disseminates without ever being able to perceive the lies, exaggerations and perfidious insinuations which infest most of these communications.

Therefore, playing upon these attitudes of the mass man, it is easy for dishonest people to direct even the most liberal and intelligent opinion and to lead the most honest and just people into error. That is not surprising, for, if the coalition of detractors is always powerful (because it works on the ease of emotional and uncontrollable arguments), those who are the target of this relentless propaganda are most often those who are ill-equipped to defend themselves. People are not sufficiently distrustful of this kind of sporadic attack, which is of little documentary importance. In the long run, for lack of pertinent refutation, these hoaxes end up being considered as authentic documents and the game is won.

Thus prejudice and the distortion of reality come lethal weapons capable of confusing the soundest minds and creating an undercurrent of hate or distrust toward certain socio-political doctrines which are valuable. Such is the case of the Romanian Legionary Movement. The purpose of this

synthesis is to help the public reach a more accurate understanding of the movement, as viewed by its former members.

Those who have read only the stories spread by the persistent detractors of the thinking, educational methods, and activities of this spiritual movement have acquired a picture of a blood-thirsty terrorist organization. That is totally unjust and far from the truth.

A doctrine which seeks to modify an individual's spiritual structure in order to make him a better, more intelligent and more honest person, a doctrine whose foundations are morality and love can certainly *not* be terrorist, racist or oligarchic. It addresses itself to every individual, regardless of race, social or professional position, regardless of culture, religion or philosophical opinion.

What is important in the realization of this "New Man" is the transformation of an ordinary person into an individual of quality. This new person can surpass himself by renouncing every tendency towards hate, materialism and the taste for power.

One young Italian writer had the courage to go beyond the prejudices imposed by the enemies of the Legion of the Archangel Michael (The Legionary Movement) and to go to the legitimate sources of Legionary Doctrine. This is what he says about the Legionary Movement:

Above all, one thing should be very clear to everyone: The Legion of the Archangel Michael is not a party as we understand it, nor a pressure group, nor a para-religious organization, nor in anyway denominational. It is an absolutely original movement whose primary goal and purpose are: a spiritual and moral renewal, and the creation of a new individual — an individual who will stand in contrast to the democratic *homo æconomicus*, who is essentially pragmatic and egotistical. ^[1]

If, up until now, the Legionary Movement has been presented in a derogatory light, it is because the foundations of its doctrine, as well as its educational precepts, ran counter to the political conceptions based on materialism and immorality. In it people discovered a powerful renewing force which in the long run would be capable of overthrowing the dominant conception of our mixed-up and indecisive world — not only at the philosophical level, but also at the practical socio-political level. A national mission and universal vocation were perceived in the strength of its exceptional norms. Such ideas could not help but disturb the political factions which were dominant or dreaming of domination.

That may seem unlikely, given that the doctrine in question arose from a small country, from the bosom of a people without expansionist tendencies or pretensions. In the Legionary substance there is, nonetheless, a spiritually based messianism which addresses every honest man who is conscious of his human value and who wishes to change the course of history. Change is brought about through the use of moral norms in peoples' behavior and in nations' lives; these norms replace the egoism which is presently dominant. Such modification is surely difficult, but certainly not impossible. This explains the doggedness with which the Legionary doctrine and its members are still attacked today, 40 years after the Communist takeover of Romania and the outlawing of the Legionary Movement. It is because the Legionary spirit persists, invisible but tenacious, anchored in the depths of the Romanian soul as the only salvation for the nation, and perhaps for the world, which sees and feels itself carried toward the abyss.

The accusations, insinuations and lies about the Legionary movement are well known. Every opportunity is taken to forbid its precepts or to savagely attack those near or far who envision this doctrine as the path of salvation for the Romanian Nation. It will take many years to re-establish

an equilibrium and to give the original and highly spiritual content of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu's doctrine its proper value in the eyes of the world.

The following work is one sincere effort among others to put some explanation of what the Romanian Legionary Movement really is at the disposal of those who have the conscience and the courage to look beyond the sordid propaganda. This is not a detailed analysis of the Legionary phenomenon, but a synthesizing summary of the various phases and attitudes assumed by the Legion of the Archangel Michael during its first fourteen years of existence: it is, up to Romania's entry into the war. At that time, several tens of thousands of Legionnaires were in the prisons of General Ion Antonescu, who had usurped the Legionary Movement's victory over the dictatorship of King Carol II and had installed his own dictatorship.

Brief History of the Legionary Movement

In the face of the ferociously materialistic, morally bankrupt tendencies which dominated the national scene, it was felt that nothing but the authority of the Commandments, a return to religious sources and the force of sacrifice could stop the slide towards total ruin.

For that reason, since the beginning, the Legionary Movement is set on original foundations:

- it has a *hierarchical character*;
- it values *personal responsibility*;
- it calls for *national affection*;
- it rests on *Christian spirituality*;
- and it raises the *notion of sacrifice* to the highest dignity.

Under these conditions, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu did not address the crowds in order to organize them and turn them into an opposition party. He was not interested in electoral change but in the *internal change of the individual*. He sought to modify a mentality. He wanted above all to create a school which would prepare people for the future — people who would be honest, hard-working, moral, intelligent and willing to make sacrifices for the common good.

Nowhere in the Legionary norms and precepts can an incitement to social, racial or religious hate be found. The basis of the Legionary Movement and education is love. Love in the purest sense of the word: that of *respect for one's fellow man*, whatever he may be; that of *respect for work*, even the most humble; that of *respect for each person's opinion*, no matter how absurd or contradictory it may be.

Germans, Hungarians, Turks, and Tartars entered the Legion ranks because the Legionary ideal was not posed in racial or religious terms. They were engaging in a battle against a mentality which could dominate the masses of another race just as well as the Romanian masses. Everyone had the right and the obligation to participate. There was only one essential condition: each person had to blend himself body and soul into the great spiritual revolution. That was the only way to be able to comprehend the profound sense of the political vision of Corneliu Codreanu.

The beginnings of the Movement were extremely difficult. There were numerous reasons for that difficulty, and many of them were justified:

- The Legion of the Archangel Michael represented a new set of principles which were totally opposed to those that were then practiced.
- At the outset, the group was made up of inexperienced young people who promised absolutely nothing concrete and immediate.

- There was a natural distrust of a new organization, a new “party,” which was assumed to be similar to all the others. (At that time there were around thirty different parties in Romania.)
- There was a general skepticism about anything which might announce a possible change.
- The Press immediately lumped the Legionary Movement into the ranks of the Fascists and later the National Socialists.
- Government authorities were hostile towards a voluntary movement which proved to be resistant to every attempt at maneuvering.
- There was a reticence of the masses before an uncustomary political power.
- The organization being formed was in a state of total poverty.

It literally started from *absolute zero*. It was not supported by any monetary power: bank, capitalist group, *etc.*

It is for these reasons that Codreanu based his Movement on the value of its unusual principles:

I. The Militant Organization

He placed it under the insignia of personality, capacity for sacrifice and will.

The basic unit of the Legion of the Archangel Michael is not an assembly of members who have a political center, but a small group of individuals recruited one by one by the person who is going to become their leader. This unit, called a “Nest,” is an independent unit, but it is hierarchically attached to a higher unit, and so on up to the top of the pyramid to the Leader of the Legion.

[2]

2. The Political Organization

This organization does not depend on committees and subcommittees which seek the satisfaction of particular interests. It is a hierarchical system ending with the Legionary Senate and Chief of the Legion, who are dedicated entirely to the nation, its well-being and its harmonious development.

3. The Spiritual Organization

This constitutes the most important part of the Legionary purpose. The goal is to provoke a radical transformation in the mental structure and the morals of the nation through continuous work on the individual. Therefore, the Legionnaire continually seeks to educate according to moral and ethical norms, by rules of comportment, and by voluntary submission to a spiritual discipline. In the long run, this spiritual discipline will give rise to other impulses, other attitudes, other convictions about the meaning of life in society and about man as the central element of society. [3]

4. The Financial Organization

The establishment of the resources which are indispensable to the activity of the Movement was definitely removed from the usual system of financing owed to particular interest groups, to social monopolies or to even more obscure organizations. It was decided that in order to arrive at a fundamental modification of the reigning mentality, the Legionary Movement would set the example of independence. It would support itself by means of its own resources. The self sufficiency of a movement which desires to be respected signifies its independence of all other groups and gives it the opportunity to face its fight without fearing anyone. From this painful beginning

up to the present the Legionary Movement has fed its efforts by the dues and donations of its members and sympathizers.

The following is a chronological history of the Movement:

June 24, 1927: Codreanu and his four companions (Ion Mota, Ilie Garneata, Corneliu Georgescu, Radu Mironovici) lay the foundations of the Legionary Movement under the name of The Legion of the Archangel Michael. The birth certificate of this organization contains only the following lines:

Today. Friday, the 24th of June, 1927, (Saint John the Baptist,) at 10 P.M., the Legion of the Archangel Michael is founded under my direction. May he whose belief is unbounded enter its ranks. May he who has doubts remain outside. I hereby name Radu Mironovici, chief of the Guard of the Icon. Corneliu Zelea Codreanu.

July 10, 1927: Codreanu specifies the first spiritual lines of the new Legionary life: faith in God, confidence in the mission of the Legionary Movement, love among the legionnaires, and song.

August 1, 1927: The bi-monthly magazine *Pamantul Stramosec (The Land of the Ancestors)* appears. This is the first publication and the official organ of the Movement under the direction of Codreanu.

November 8, 1927: Codreanu receives the solemn oath of the first Legionnaires. In total: 28 people.

February 19, 1928: A truck is purchased, thanks to the contributions of the first Legionnaires (begun December 1, 1927).

Summer 1928: Legionary commerce based on the new principles begins. The team responsible uses the truck to transport staples and fruits (produced by another Legionary team in a rented garden) to health resorts where they are sold.

December 10, 1928: Professor Ion Gavanescul takes the Legionary oath.

January 3-4, 1929: General Ion Tamoschi takes the Legionary oath and the first meeting of the "Nest" leaders takes place. Codreanu stipulates the fundamental principles of the system of "dynamic education." (Action is education.)

During the same meeting, the Legionary Senate is formed. The first members are: Hristache Solomon, General Macridesu, General Ion Tamoschi, Spiru Pecieli, Colonel Paul Cambureanu, Professor Ion Butaru, and Traian Braileanu.

Summer 1929: As a follow-up to the decision to use the dynamic educational system, Corneliu Codreanu organizes two educational levels whose goal is: to develop the will; to accept a hard life; and to impose the obligation for each person to be strict with himself.

December 15, 1929: The first public Legionary meeting takes place in the small Moldavian village of Beresti. The authorities appear and try to prevent the meeting.

January 1930: Corneliu Codreanu decides to intensify Legion propaganda among the peasant masses. Legionary teams begin to penetrate the districts of Moldavia. The first "conflicts" with the authorities arise.

February 10, 1930: A large Legionary demonstration takes place at Cahul. More than 20,000 peasants are present. From this moment on, the peasants of other regions (Bessarabia, Maramures) begin to ask that the Legionnaires come to their region. too.

June 1930: Codreanu decides to launch a new national organization for combating the communist propaganda in Bessarabia. This was to be an organization inclusive of the Legion of the Archangel Michael and other youth groups not affiliated with any political party. His appeal had as its main goal a peaceful march and demonstration against the communist influence in Bessarabia.

At a meeting with his co-workers the formation and name of the new organization was discussed. Mr. Granganu proposed the name of the organization to be The Iron Guard. (The Iron Guard later became the political party of the Legionary Movement.)

An authorization from the government for the march by the Iron Guard was obtained from Mr. Vaida-Voevod, at that time the Minister of Internal Affairs. Later, however, Mr. Vaida-Voevod, under pressure from the controlled press, withdrew the approval of the planned march into Bessarabia by the Iron Guard.

July 20, 1930: The government forbids the distribution of the Legionary Movement's propaganda in Bessarabia, although it had previously given its authorization for that distribution.

Corneliu Codreanu issues a Manifesto-Notice in which he criticizes the maneuvers of the Jewish leaders and of bribed politicians. He calls upon spiritually upright Romanians to fight. An extremely violent campaign against the Legionary Movement is begun by the press.

November 8, 1930: The first center of the Legion is inaugurated at Bucharest.

December 1930: Without saying anything to anyone, an exasperated Legionnaire, Dumitrescu-Zapada, attempts to assassinate Socor, a Communist journalist who is the director of the newspaper *Dimineata* (*The Morning*).

January 9, 1931: Codreanu is arrested and confined in the prison of Vacaresti along with a group of Legionary leaders.

January 11, 1931: Ion Mihalache, Minister of the Interior, dissolves the Iron Guard and the Legion of the Archangel Michael for the first time by an executive order issued by the Council of Ministers. (An illegal act under the constitution of Romania.) Falsified documents are published which attempt to compromise the Supreme Leader of the Legion in the eyes of the public.

End of February, 1931: In the trial of the first dissolution of the Iron Guard and the Legion of the Archangel Michael, the Tribunal of Ilfov delivers a unanimous verdict for acquittal.

March 31, 1931: After 81 days of prison, Codreanu and the six Legionnaires involved in the previously mentioned trial are freed.

June 1, 1931: The Legionary Movement participates in the general elections for the first time and obtains 43,183 votes but no deputy is elected.

August 31, 1931: Partial elections are held in the district of Neamt. In spite of many obstacles, the Legionary forces obtain their first success: 11,301 votes. Corneliu Codreanu is proclaimed deputy.

December 31, 1931: Codreanu delivers his first speech to Parliament. In this speech he specifies the cardinal points of his generation: *God, Country, King, Family, Property, and Army*.

Next he expounds on the fundamental problems of the time for Romania: “The Jewish Problem;” “The Problem of Youth;” “The Problem of Foreign Policy;” “The Problem of the Misery of the Peasant Class;” and “The Problem of Communism.” He accuses the democratic political parties of being responsible for the nation’s misery.

On this occasion, he also stipulates the Legionary position on foreign affairs for the first time: “As for our position, if it is a question of choosing between these two extremes (Fascism or Communism), we are among those who believe that the Sun does not rise in Moscow, but in Rome.” It is also during this speech that Codreanu formulates several political measures considered of extreme urgency:

- to introduce capital punishment for defrauders of public funds;
- to confiscate the fortunes of these defrauders;
- to bring to justice all politicians who have acted against the country;
- to forbid politicians to take part in the Administrative Council;
- to expel all foreign exploiters from the country;
- to declare the territory of Romania as the inalienable and imprescriptible property of the Romanian Nation;
- to make all elected officials work honestly;
- and to institute a central administrative authority.

January 9, 1932: Codreanu opens the electoral campaign for the election of a deputy in the district of Tutova.

March 1932: The Iorga-Argetoianu government disregards the law and dissolves the Iron Guard for the second time. This does not keep the propaganda teams from continuing their efforts, but it makes it impossible for Codreanu to defend his cause in Parliament.

The press makes accusations and injurious statements and urges the annihilation of the Iron Guard. Scores of Legionnaires are beaten and imprisoned by the authorities.

April 17, 1932: Even so, the Iron Guard wins the elections at Tutova, and Professor Ion Zelea Codreanu, Corneliu’s father becomes the second Legionary deputy to enter Parliament.

July 17, 1932: General elections are held. The Iron Guard win 70,000 votes and elects five deputies.

December 10, 1932: Corneliu Codreanu creates the first superior rank in the Legionary hierarchy: that of “Legionary Commander.”

The Movement’s periodicals have reached 35,000 copies per issue. The Legion owns a print shop and two trucks.

April 1933: A propaganda team dubbed “The Team of Death” leaves on a two-month journey to include the provinces of Oltenie, Banat, and Transylvania. (The team was so named because of a Legionary song of that name, and because its members were determined to sacrifice themselves to the last man without replying to the provocations and armed attacks made against them.)

June 1933: The first court case is brought against the “Team of Death” at Arad (Banat). All are acquitted.

Beginning of July, 1933: Second trial of the “Team of Death” at Alba Iulia (Transylvania) also results in an acquittal.

July 10, 1933: The A. Vaida-Voevod government forbids the opening of the community work camp of Visani, where more than 200 Legionnaires were to build a 6 km. dam. The arrested Legionnaires are brutally mistreated by the police.

August 4, 1933: Construction is begun on the *Casa Verde* (The Green House) at Bucurestii Noi (New Bucharest) a suburb north of the capital. The initial purpose of the *Casa Verde* is to make a home for the wounded Legionnaires. Later, it becomes the Headquarters of the Legionary Movement.

July-August 1933: A ferocious press campaign is launched against the Legion and its social activities. During this campaign of calumnies, the Legionary Movement is accused of having set up a counterfeiting ring at Rasinari (Transylvania), of working for foreigners, of being financed by Hitler, Mussolini, and Moscow. The most dogged are the newspapers of Sarindar street where the Jewish press is concentrated.

November 15, 1933: The liberal government of I.G. Duca comes into power. It attempts to destroy the Iron Guard. New elections are scheduled for December 20.

The electoral campaign is very favorable to the Legionary Movement. The government unleashes an unheard of terror against the legal activity of the Iron Guard: arrests, prohibition of placarding and meeting, suspension of the Legionary press, *etc.*

November 22, 1933: The first Legionnaire falls. While hanging posters, a student named Virgil Teodorescu is killed by police at Constanta (Dobroudja).

November 28, 1933: Legionnaire, Nita Constantin, a driver, is assassinated at Jassy (Moldavia).

December 4, 1933: Corneliu Codreanu distributes a memorandum in which he criticizes the terror of the liberal government. He accuses the following members of the government of assassinating and torturing Legionnaires: I.G. Duca, Nicoale Titulescu, Victor Iamandi, Inculet, Victor Antonescu, Valer Roman, General Dumitrescu (Commander of the Police), Eugen Critescu (Director of Security).

December 9, 1933: Nicolae Balaianu, a peasant, is assassinated in the district of Vlasca (Wallachia).

December 10, 1933: The Duca government dissolves the Iron Guard for the third time in order to keep it from participating in the elections. More than 18,000 Legionnaires are arrested and imprisoned. Corneliu Codreanu succeeds in hiding.

December 1933: Gheorghe Bujgoli a Romanian Macedonian, is assassinated in the province of Dobroudja.

December 29-30, 1933: Legionnaires Nicolae Constantinescu, Doro Belimace and Ion Caranica assassinate Prime Minister I.G. Duca, who had ordered the savage terror against the Legionary

Movement. All three immediately turn themselves in to the authorities. The terror is intensified. The assassinations carried out by the authorities multiply.

December 29-30 1933: Sterie Ciumetti, Codreanu's secretary, a Romanian Macedonian, is assassinated by means of atrocious tortures for refusing to reveal where his leader is hiding.

December 30, 1933: Toader Toma, a tailor, is assassinated at Tecuci (Moldavia). The two large daily newspapers, *Calendnrul (The Calendar)* and *Cuvantul (The Word)*, which support the Legionary struggle are abolished and their directors, Nichifor Crainic and Professor Nae Ionescu, are sent to Jilava prison.

March 14, 1934: Three days before the opening of the trial for the dissolution of the Legionary Movement, Corneliu Codreanu presents himself, of his own free will, before the Council of War, which is to judge him. This Council is made up of five generals: Ignat, Costandache, Comanescu, Dona and Filip. Royal Commissioner (prosecutor): General Pelrovicescu.

April 5, 1934: The Council of War of the Military Tribunal of the Capital declares the Legionary Movement not guilty and consequently acquits the 52 indicted Legionnaires. The three Legionnaires who assassinated I.G. Duca are condemned to life at hard labor.

From this time on, The Central Headquarters of the Legionary Movement is established in the home of General Gheorghe Cantacuzino at 3 Gutenberg Street, Bucharest.

After this acquittal the prestige of the Legionary Movement grows greater and greater. The great period of education through work begins for the Legionnaires. Community work camps spring up in every region of the country. The most famous are: Giulesti, near Bucharest (commercial truck garden and brickyard), Dealul Negru in Transylvania (construction of a school), Rarau, in Bucovina (construction of a convalescent home for the Legionnaires made ill from the prisons), Cotiugenii Mari in Bessarabia (reconstruction of a church in ruins) and Movila Techirghiol in Dobroudja (rest camp for the wounded).

September 5, 1934: A plot against Corneliu Codreanu is discovered. Mihail Stelescu, Legionary Commander and Deputy, and a very ambitious man, falls under the influence of forces which are trying to destroy the Legionary Movement. Stelescu is plotting to poison Codreanu.

September 25, 1934: Mihail Stelescu is judged by a "Council of Honor" composed of 23 Legionary Commanders, like himself, with General Cantacuzino presiding. Found guilty, Stelescu is eliminated from the Legion.

January 1, 1935: Memorandum by Codreanu containing the log of the terror of the liberal government of Romania.

- 18,000 arrests
- 300 hospitalized with serious injuries
- 16 Legionnaires assassinated
- 3 Legionnaires condemned.

March 20, 1935: Codreanu institutes *Totul Pentru Tara* (Everything for the Country) as a legal party under the presidency of General Gheorghe Cantacuzino.

June 1935: Hundreds of Community Work Camps are inaugurated.

July 5, 1935: The work camp, Carmen Sylva, begins on the coast of the Black Sea. 800 Legionnaires work there under the direction of Codreanu.

July 20, 1935: In a memorandum, Codreanu explains to 242 Legionnaires of Camp Amota (Oltenie) what constitutes Legionary propriety: "The Legionnaire must behave in such a manner as to be the personification of a saying: 'He is as proper as a Legionnaire.' Proper from every point of view: in regard to himself, in regard to outsiders (behavior, attitude, good faith, respect, *etc.*), in regard to the organization, in regard to his fellows, to his superiors, in regard to his country, in regard to God."

September 13, 1935: The inauguration of Legionary Commerce. The first Legionary Co-operative appears.

September 19, 1935: Memorandum on Legionary Commerce. Codreanu gives instructions to Department leaders. He ends his memorandum with the following words: "Legionary commerce signifies a new phase in the history of commerce which has been stained by the Jewish spirit. It is called: Christian commerce — based on the love of people and not on robbing them; commerce based on honor.

October, 1935: The first meeting of the Leaders of the 13 Legionary Regions is held. These 13 regions comprise the framework of the Movement on the national level.

November 11, 1935: Codreanu institutes "The Legionary Control" whose goal is "to see that Legionary activity is maintained at the highest level of effectiveness and morality."

November 26, 1935: On the occasion of a difference of opinion between the Legionary Movement and the nationalist newspaper *Porunca Vremii* (*The Order of Time*), Corneliu Codreanu recalls in a memorandum one of the main principles of the Legionary Doctrine: "According to Legionary dogma, we are not permitted to behave dishonorably even toward our enemy. How he behaves or will behave toward us is his business."

April 5, 1936: Codreanu finishes the first volume of his book *Pentru Legionnaires* (*For My Legionnaires*).

April 22, 1936: The first Legionary camps and work projects of the year begin and throughout the country more than a thousand appear.

May 30, 1936: Memorandum concerning the external politics of the Romanian government. Codreanu denounces Nicolae Titulescu's maneuvers to draw Romania nearer to the U.S.S.R.: "That would be an act of treason on the part of the Romanian people toward God and toward the moral order of this world."

July 16, 1936: Mihail Stelescu, traitor to the Legion who continued his betrayal and infamy in his newspaper *Cruciada Romanismului* (*The Crusade of Romanianism*), is killed by a group of ten comrades who are historically to bear the name of *Decemviri* (The Ten Men).

The same day, Legionnaire Gheorghe Gligor is killed by Communists at Cernauti (Bucovina).

October 1, 1936: Even though it is banned throughout the country, Corneliu Codreanu's book comes out in Sibiu (Transylvania).

October 25, 1936: The "Corps of Legionary Workers" is organized.

November 5, 1936: Corneliu Codreanu addresses a *Memoire* on foreign policy Problems to the king, the politicians, and the country. In this publication he affirms: “There is neither a Petite Entente nor a Balkan Entente. Whoever believes in all that proves that he understands nothing...

“Two worlds are face to face. All diplomatic liaisons will crumble under their pressure in time of war. These two worlds: the States where there have been national revolutions which fight to defend the cross and a millenial civilization, and Bolshevism which, with its dependencies, fights to destroy nations and to topple Christian civilization.

“Today all those who are on the line of destiny and national history have a duty to demand and to enforce that both internal and external Romanian politics be removed from the influence and control of Free Masonry, of Communism, and of Judaism. This is the only salvation for the future of this nation.”

November 24, 1936: A Symbolic team of seven Legionary Commanders (Ion Mota, Vasile Marin, Gheorghe Clime, Neculai Totu, Alexandru Cantacuzino, Banica Dobre, Father Ion Dumitrescu-Borsa) leaves for Spain to fight at the side of Spanish nationalists against Communism.

January 13, 1937: Legionnaires Ion Mota (brother-in-law of Corneliu Codreanu) and Vasile Marin fall on the Spanish front at Majadahonda near Madrid.

January 26, 1937: Codreanu writes a Memorandum in which he clarifies the meaning of Legionary victory: “... The Legionary Movement will never resort to the idea of a plot or coup d'état in order to win. The Legionary Movement can only win by accomplishment of an internal process of conscience of the Romanian Nation. The victory that we await in this manner is so great, so luminous, that we will never accept that it be replaced by a cheap, fleeting victory born of a plot or a coup d'état.”

February 12, 1937: The “Oath of Ranking Legionnaires,” who constitute the Movement’s elite, takes place in Saint Gorgani Church before the bodies of Mota and Marin. Codreanu ends the eulogy with this statement:

“That is why you are going to swear that you understand that being a Legionary elite in our terms means not only to fight and win, but it also means above all a permanent sacrifice of oneself to the service of the Nation; that the idea of an elite is tied to the ideas of sacrifice, poverty, and a hard, bitter life; that where self-sacrifice ends, there also ends the Legionary elite.”

February 13, 1937: Mota and Marin are buried in the mausoleum of the *Casa Verde*. The funeral procession is several kilometers long. Attendance is estimated at several hundred thousand people.

The pro-Legionary wave takes on significant proportions. The government becomes uneasy. A new campaign of calumnies and provocations is organized against the Legionary Movement with the help of the press. There is increasing talk of the plots and the “coup d'état” that the Legion is supposedly fomenting.

March 2, 1937: The liberal government of Gheorghe Tatarescu begins a new phase against the Legionary Movement:

- all Romanian universities (powerful centers of the Movement) are closed *sine die*;
- all canteens and student housing are closed;
- all cases brought against Legionary students end in sentences;

- all Legionary camps and work projects are banned.

April 15, 1937: The Council of War at Bucharest begins the trial of the *Decemviri*. The defense is eliminated from the court and the principle witnesses for the defense are not allowed to appear.

April 27, 1937: The Council of War condemns the *Decemviri*.

Eight are condemned to life at hard labor, two to ten years hard labor.

June 18, 1937: Memorandum by Codreanu on the occasion of ten years of Legionary existence. This memorandum ends with the following words: "Be proper, be just, be pure, be of good humor as you would want every Romanian to be and to behave in his Legionary county."

July 14, 1937: Corneliu Codreanu rejects the government-demanded control by the O.E.T.R. (Office of Education of Romanian Youth) over the Legionary work camps.

October 9, 1937: Death of General Gheorghe Cantacuzino, party leader of *Totul Pentru Tara*.

October 12, 1937: Gheorghe Clime, an engineer, Commander of the *Buna Vestire*, is proclaimed the new party leader of *Totul Pentru Tara*.

October-December 1937: Legionary business takes on national proportions. Restaurants, canteens, boarding houses, cooperatives, factory warehouses, *etc.*, are opened everywhere.

November 11, 1937: Codreanu opens the electoral campaign for the general elections which will take place on December 20.

November 30, 1937: Corneliu Codreanu's declaration on foreign policy. Among other things, he says: "I am against the great Western Democracies; I am against the Petite Entente; I am against the Balkan Entente; and I have no attachment to the League of Nations in which, I do not believe. I am for a Romanian foreign policy at the side of Rome and Berlin at the side of the States which have had national revolutions. Against Bolshevism. Forty-eight hours after the victory of the Legionary Movement, Romania will have a new alliance with Rome and Berlin and will thus begin on the path of her historical mission in the world: for the defense of the Cross, of culture and of Christian Civilization."

December 20, 1937: General elections. The Legionary Movement party obtains 16% of the votes and 66 seats in Parliament in spite of the terror unleashed against its members.

December 28, 1937: Having lost the elections, the Tatarescu government resigns. Octavian Goga is commissioned to form the new Cabinet.

January 13, 1938: On the occasion of the commemoration of the deaths of Mota and Marin, Codreanu creates a special order in the ranks of the Legionary units: "The Mota-Marin Corps" under the direction of Alexandru Cantacuzino. The members of this elite corps have as their slogan "Ready To Die." The pro-Legionary movement among the masses is growing at a tremendous rate.

February 8, 1938: Following the infamous campaign of calumnies of the Cuza-Goga government and the deaths of several Legionnaires killed by the myrmidons of a "nationalistic government," Corneliu Codreanu reveals his decision to remove the Legionary Movement from electoral propaganda.

February 10, 1938: The Cuza-Goga government is dismissed by the king. The patriarch Miron Cristea sets up the new government.

February 12, 1938: The coup d'état of King Carol II:

- annuls the Constitution;
- adjourns elections;
- suppresses party activities;
- poses the spiritual leader of the Orthodox Romanian Church as Council President;
- imposes Armand Calinescu, the future assassin of Corneliu Codreanu, as Minister of the Interior;
- imposes a new constitution entirely directed against the Legionary Movement; and invokes the death penalty for the members of the Legionary Movement.

February 21, 1938: Codreanu decides upon the self dissolution of the party *Totul Pentru Tara* and the liquidation of Legionary commerce in order to avoid conflict with the authorities.

February 22, 1938: Codreanu sends a letter of protest to the royal Councillors in which he denounces coup d'état and the imposition of the new Constitution.

March 5, 1938: The government suspends all salaried Legionary administrators from their posts (ministers, professors, teachers, civil servants *etc.*).

March 25 1938: Codreanu sends Professor Nicolae Iorga a letter concerning the latter's campaign of calumny undertaken against the Legionary Movement in his newspaper *Neamul Romanesc* (*The Romanian People*). In this letter, Codreanu brands Professor Nicolae Iotga's lack of character with infamy before the nation and before history: "...From the depths of my battered soul, I cry to you and I will cry even from the depths of the tomb: *you are a spiritually dishonest being* who has without reason mistreated our innocent souls. Neither you, Professor, nor those who have assumed responsibility for a bloody and unjustifiable oppression will encounter any violence or even any opposition on our part."

March 29, 1938: Codreanu addresses a letter to the director of the newspaper *Neamul Romanesc* in which he denounces the attitude of Professor Nicolae Iorga who had published his reply to Codreanu's letter without also publishing the text of that letter. He demands that his letter of March 26 be published as the code of honor prescribes.

March 30, 1938: Professor Nicolae Iorga, instead of replying goes to the public prosecutor and demands the opening of a lawsuit against Codreanu for insult and injury. This suit constitutes the basis of all later government action which culminates in the assassination of Corneliu Codreanu on November 30, 1938.

April 17, 1938: Codreanu is arrested at Predeal. This is the beginning of the Great Persecution unleashed by King Carol and his Minister, Armand Calinescu. Hundreds of well-known Legionnaires are sent to concentration camps. Tens of thousands of militants are arrested and imprisoned.

April 19, 1938: Codreanu is condemned to six months in prison (the maximum penalty) by the Council of War at Bucharest in the suit filed by Professor Iorga. At the same time, the government is preparing another suit in which he is to be presented as a traitor to the country, a betrayer to the Nazis and the organizer of a revolution against the regime.

May 23, 1938: This second trial takes place before the same Council of War of Bucharest. The public is not allowed to attend. The only people admitted are press correspondents.

May 27, 1938: The Council of War delivers the sentence for second trial of Codreanu: the latter is condemned to *ten years* at hard labor on the basis of imaginary accusations.

June 16, 1938: The Legionnaires who have not been arrested organize. Ion Belgea reconstitutes the "Chain of Command of the Legionary Movement." Those who take part: Ion Belgea, Iordache Nicoara, Horia Sima, Ion Antoniu, Constantin Papanace and Gheorghe Dragomir-Jilava.

July 11, 1938: Ion Belgea is arrested. Ion Antoniu takes command. A few days later, he, too, is arrested. Constantin Papanace follows him.

July 23, 1938: Constantin Papanace is arrested and freed immediately. However, he passes the command to Horia Sima before disappearing in the country to throw off police searches.

September 8-12, 1938: New concentration camps are created and quickly filled by floods of Legionnaires who are arrested everywhere. Hunted Legionnaires are tortured and assassinated.

Beginning of October 1938: Second reorganization of Legionary Command: Vasile Cristescu, Alexandru Cantacuzino, Father Dumitrescu-Borsa, Horia Sima, Constantin Papanace and Nicolae Petrascu.

October 1938: This is the month of "Manifestos" and "Memorials" launched by the Legionary Command, student organizations, officers, *etc.*, for cessation of the terror. A

revision of the case of Corneliu Codreanu is brought up for consideration, as well as the issue of responsibility in case the conflict between the king and the nation should continue to worsen.

November 10, 1938: On the occasion of Carol II's departure abroad, the Legionary Command sends a "Manifesto-Communiqué" in which Armand Calinescu's already extant plan to assassinate Corneliu Codreanu is denounced.

November 13, 1938: King Carol II leaves for London and Paris.

November 30, 1938: Under the direct order of Armand Calinescu, Minister of the Interior, Codreanu, the *Nicadori* and the *Decemviri* are assassinated by the police 30 km. from Bucharest in the forest of Tancabesti during a transfer from one prison to another.

December 1, 1938: A manifesto is signed by Vasile Christescu and Dumitrescu-Borsa, a priest in which peace and self-control are recommended to the Legionnaires.

The Legionary Movement begins a new clandestine life. The raids, arrests, summary executions and executions without process intensify. The tension between the king and

government and the nation revolted by the injustice and barbaric methods employed, intensifies to the point of paroxysm.

December 15, 1938: Beginning of Legionary exile. The first group of Legionnaires passes secretly into Poland.

January 8, 1939: A second Legionary group also passes into Poland.

January 26, 1939: Professor Vasile Christescu is assassinated by the police.

February 4, 1939: Accompanied by a group of Legionnaires, Horia Sima crosses the border into Hungary, and four days later, they arrive in Berlin.

February 8, 1939: A Legionary team (Enache Nadoleanu, Martin Vucu, Gherman, Dragos Popovici and Dr. Ion Iovu), which is preparing an attempt on the life of Armand Calinescu, Codreanu's assassin, is arrested and its members are shot on the spot, after which their bodies are thrown into the crematory oven.

February 27, 1939: With a group of Legionnaires, Constantin Papanace takes refuge in Berlin after passing through Czechoslovakia.

May 1939: In Berlin the New Legionary Command is organized: Father Ion Dumitrescu-Borsa, Constantin Papanace, Horia Sima, Ion Victor Vojen, Victor Silaghi and Alexandru Constant.

September 21, 1939: Armand Calinescu, the executioner of the Legionary Movement, is cut down by a team of nine Legionnaires, later dubbed *Rasbunatorii* (The Avengers): Miti Dumitrescu, Cezar Popescu, Traian Popescu, Nelu Moldoveanu, Ion Ionescu, Ion Vasiliu, Marin Stanciulescu, Isaia Ovidiu and Gheorghe Paraschivescu.

After the execution of the tyrant, the team announces the punitive measure on the radio in these terms: "Armand Calinescu, President of the Council of Ministers, has been executed by a team of Legionnaires. We are sons of Romanians of Prahova, and we have accomplished a painful necessity. We have punished the one by whose consent the great Romanian, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, was executed."

After that, they turned themselves in. After torturing them for eight hours, the police executed them without trial. Their bodies were thrown on a public square to be exposed to the view of passers-by.

September 21-22, 1939: The great massacres. The new government of General Argeseanu orders execution on the spot of all Legionary directors in concentration camps and prisons in Romania. A total of 252 Legionnaires are thus massacred among the thousands who are imprisoned. Later several hundred others pay with their lives for being Legionnaires.

January 1940: Father Dumitrescu-Borsa, Alexandru Constant and Victor Vojen voluntarily withdraw from the directing group in Berlin and the leadership falls to Horia Sima and Constantin Papanace.

January-March 1940: In Romania a Legionary delegation made up of Ilie Gameata, Corneliu Georgescu, Radu Mironovici (all three founders of the Legionary Movement), Augustin Bidianu and Dr. Vasile Noveanu, continues the bargaining for a detente which was begun in December, 1939, with King Carol II.

March 28, 1940: The first Legionary delegation (Radu Mironovici and Constantin Stoicanescu) arrives in Berlin with the official mission of setting forth the condition of the case for detente and to negotiate the return of the Legionary refugees.

May 2, 1940: The second Legionary delegation (Constantin Stoicanescu and Augustin Bidianu) arrives in Berlin. Horia Sima and Constantin Papanace send letters, addressed to King Carol II,

in which the Legionary Movement's point of view on external politics (anti-communist) is specified.

May 5, 1940: Horia Sima, accompanied by a group of Legionnaires, leaves Germany to secretly penetrate into Romania where he is arrested on May 19.

June 13, 1940: Horia Sima is set free.

June 23, 1940: Horia Sima is given an audience with the king.

July 3, 1940: The Tatarescu government resigns. Three Legionnaires (Horia Sima, Dr. Vasile Noveanu and Augustin Bidianu) take part in the new Gigurtu government.

July 7, 1940: Horia Sima resigns. He is replaced by another Legionnaire Radu Budisteanu.

End of July, 1940: The "Legionary Forum," whose decisions become unassailable, is created. The members are Horia Sima, Col. Zavoiianu, Popescu-Buzau, Aristotel Gheorghiu, Vasile Iasinschi, Corneliu Georgescu, Ilie Gameata, Mile Lefter, Prof. Traian Braileanu, and Radu Mironovici.

August 16 1940: There is a collective audience of Legionary directors, Horia Sima, Traian Braileanu, Corneliu Georgescu and Radu Mironovici, with King Carol II. No acceptable result is attained.

September 3, 1940: Following a Manifesto drawn up by Horia Sima on September 1, in which the abdication of King Carol II was demanded, large anti-Carolist demonstrations take place in the urban centers of the country. During these demonstrations, eight Legionnaires meet their deaths.

September 4, 1940: General Ion Antonescu is assigned to form a new government.

September 5, 1940: General Antonescu receives complete powers. The Constitution of 1938 is suspended. The Legionnaires arrested on September 3 are freed.

September 6, 1940: Abdication of King Carol II under pressure of the Legionary forces. The Legionary Movement is requested to take part in the formation of a new government.

The same day, the Legionary Forum, the supreme entity of the Movement, represented by Corneliu Georgescu (one of the founders of the Legion) salutes Horia Sima as the successor of Corneliu Codreanu.

September 14, 1940: The "National Legionary State" is proclaimed. Several Legionnaires take part in the government directed by General Antonescu:

- Horia Sima -Vice President
- Vasile Iasinschi — Labor and Health
- Traian Braileanu — Education
- Ion Protopopescu — State Inventory
- Michel Sturdza — Foreign Affairs
- Comcliu Georgescu — Colonization
- Constantin Papanace — Finance
- A. Constant — Propaganda
- Horia Cosmovici — Under Secretary of State

- General Ion Petrovicescu — Interior

November 23, 1940: Legionary Romania joins the Tripartite Pact which was signed on September 27, by Germany, Italy and Japan.

November 25, 1940: At the prison of Jilava, work is begun to exhume Corneliu Codreanu, the *Nicadori* and the *Decemviri* who were assassinated the 29/30 of November, 1938 at

the order of Armand Calinescu and with the consent of the government and of King Carol II.

November 27, 1940: The throng of Legionnaires who take in that work are unable to contain themselves at the sight of the mortal remains of their great leader and the other martyrs. In an outburst of rage, they execute the 64 members of previous political regimes who are imprisoned at Jilava and who tortured and massacred Legionary youths.

November 29, 1940: General Antonescu initiates official steps to oust the Legionary Movement from the government.

January 12, 1941: General Antonescu tries to cause a rupture in the heart of the Legionary Movement by proposing to Vasile Iasinschi, Minister of Health, that he take over leadership of the Legionary Movement. This proposal was made by the General in front of Mihail Antonescu, Minister of Finance. Of course the proposal was politely refused.

January 13, 1941: Legionary circles learn that that the General has been preparing a personal rapprochement with Hitler for a long time and is leaving for Berlin the next day for an interview with him. The same day, Berlin requests by telegram that Horia Sima participate in that conference. Notified at the last moment, the Movement's leader, in agreement with the other Legionary directors, refuses to take part in it.

January 14, 1941: General Antonescu discusses with Hitler the question of Romanian participation in the eventuality of a war with the U.S.S.R. He appears disposed to such participation under certain conditions. One of the conditions is *German neutrality in case of a settling of accounts between him and the Legionary Movement*. His principal argument is that the army is entirely on his side and ready to follow him. The chain of events shows that the argument evoked carried more weight in Hitler's calculations than the Legionary Movement's ideological kinship to and spiritual influence on the Romanian nation. On the other hand if General Antonescu posed the problem that way, it was because he envisioned taking action against the Legionary Movement shortly.

January 15, 1941: The General returns. He resumes his activities without acquainting Horia Sima, Vice-President of the Council and leader of the Legionary Movement, with the results of his interview with the Führer.

The same day, Mr. Constantin Greceanu, Romanian Minister to Berlin, is recalled to Bucharest for "consultation." It was only later that the astuteness of this re-call was understood. General Antonescu was contemplating replacing several Legionary Ministers as the first step in his plans for the coup d'état. Therefore, it was necessary that there be no one in Berlin who could promptly appeal to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and protest this use of force.

January 16, 1941: It is learned that the German Embassy, by order of Ambassador Fabricius (a confessed enemy of the Legionary Movement), is spreading false news about the atmosphere brought about by the attitude of the Legionnaires. That false news goes so far as to state that in

the large cities the Legionnaires are scuffling with the army; that their behavior is provoking a growing anxiety in the population; that the army can no longer put up with the audacity and provocations of the Legion's troops; that General Antonescu will be obliged to take exceptional measures.

Such news circulated everywhere. The General, approving these rumors, waited for the psychological reparation of public opinion to reach the optimum point to proceed to his political-military offensive.

On the other side, the German Embassy collected those "internal events" (which it spread) and transmitted them to Berlin in the form of libel against the Legionary Movement.

According to them, the Legionary Movement was undisciplined, incapable of facing up to difficult political moments, questionable for the Reich in a conflict with the U.S.S.R., *etc.*

The Legionary Movement had to be discredited to that extent in Romania as in Berlin before the General's authoritarian action.

January 17-18, 1941: While Legionary Ministers devote themselves to their daily work, and the organization is far from suspecting anything, General Antonescu and the forces supporting him take the last steps to assure that the coup d'état will succeed and that the guilt will fall on the Movement.

January 19, 1941: Doring, a German major, head of the military transports bound for Bulgaria, is assassinated. The anti-Legionary coalition which is preparing the coup d'état immediately releases word that the German major's death was a consequence of the negligence of the Minister of the Interior, General Petrovicescu. The goal was two-fold: it was an admirable pretext for eliminating a Legionnaire from one of the most important Cabinet posts: it was an exceptionally good way to anger Hitler and turn him against the Movement.

By the time the assassin was arrested and it was ascertained that it was a Greek who had come to Romania with a passport, it was too late to change public opinion and modify the reports sent to Berlin.

General Antonescu unilaterally decides to dismiss the Commissioners of Romanization (all Legionnaires).

January 20, 1941: General Antonescu takes a series of anti-Legionary measures without consulting the Council of Ministers, which shows that coup d'état had been ready for a long time. He removes General Petrovicescu (Minister of the Interior) from office without warning or reason. Michel Sturdza (Minister of Foreign Affairs), another Legionnaire, had already been dismissed on December 8, 1940, for reasons which were just as insignificant. The elimination of the Minister of the Interior completed a plan which was already well-established and nearing its culmination.

If in Legionary circles everyone thought Minister Michel Sturdza's dismissal was one of General Antonescu's customary whims — a whim which would pass in the long-run — the dismissal of General Petrovicescu put them on guard. It was too abusive. In Bucharest, huge protests took place.

At this time, to increase his chances of winning, General Antonescu summons all the Legionary Prefects of the entire country to be in Bucharest the next day. January 21, for administrative rea-

sons. The majority of those Prefects will later be arrested, tried and condemned.

January 21, 1941: While the Prefects arrive in the Capital, believing they are there for an administrative convocation, military Prefects are assigned to their places. The lists of the military Prefects had already been prepared for several days. The take-over of the Prefectures was made *manu militari*, without respecting the slightest rule of transmission of power — as happens in coup d'état.

Two other Legionaires are dismissed for no official reason other than General Antonescu's wish: Alecu Ghica (Head of Security) and Radu Mironovici (Chief of Police of Bucharest). Still more evidence of the General's true intentions.

When the news of General Petrovicescu's dismissal spread through the country, there was a reaction on the part of Legionnaires. Where they were able to assemble, they barricaded themselves in and resisted the military forces.

The Coup D'Etat of January 21, 1941

One of the most unusual accusations which hovers over the Legionary past is that only four and one-half months after the birth of the National Legionary State, the Legionary Movement is supposed to have provoked a rebellion for motives which are poorly defined and which the authorities of Antonescu's government have always avoided discussing. After those unhappy days of January, 1941, a host of Legionary leaders were condemned to harsh prison sentences as high as 25 years at hard labor, but *never* for reasons in direct relation to that famous "rebellion." That is because there was a painful discomfort among the ranks of the "conquerors" who knew quite well the real truth of the matter in which the Legionary Movement was only the victim.

One thing must be clear from the beginning: the uprising of January 21, 1941 *was neither prepared nor set off by the Legionary Movement*.

First, the Legionary Movement had no plausible motive to do it because:

1. It had just emerged from a long period of persecution which had decimated its leading ranks.
2. It was in the midst of internal restructuring and administrative preparation of what had been saved.
3. It knew all too well that it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to replace the existing ranks without provoking a long period of political instability and national economic collapse.
4. In addition, the international political climate did not lend itself to that type of manifestation.

On the other hand, the Legionary Movement was in power, and it had no reason to want to overthrow General Antonescu. The duties of the two forces present (the army and the Legionary Movement) were perfectly defined.

The Legionary Movement, in accordance with its doctrine, faced a vast education of the masses according to its principles, which would require several years of arduous social, scholastic and cultural efforts. One can even advance the argument that General Antonescu's presence as the head of the government was considered indispensable. A patriotic, energetic man who kept a tight rein on the armed forces, he could not help but play the desired role of allowing the Le-

gionary Movement to accomplish its preliminary projects and prepare the administrative and political ranks it was lacking.

For the Legionary Movement, the essential problem was not the presence or absence of General Antonescu at the head of the government. but the Communist danger which was an unceasing menace in the East, and the actions of the political survivors of the old regime who were maneuvering in the wings to regain their former status.

With this in mind. the reconciliation between the Legionnaires and the forces supporting General Antonescu was fraternally accepted. For the same reason, a host of privileges for the army was also accepted. It was necessary to maintain internal harmony and to give evidence of complete understanding.

Why? Because the Legionary Movement was perfectly aware that political circumstances demanded *a continual sacrifice on its part*. The supreme leader of the Legion was not preoccupied by being first in the government, and even less by the idea of starting a revolution to take the place of a capable ally. The most elementary principles of Legionary life precluded such a solution. After years of persecution, irreparable losses and continual tension, the Legionary Movement hoped for a period of relative tranquility to rebuild itself and complete its mission.

The idea of breaking off collaboration with Gettetal Antonescu especially under the circumstances of that time, and even less by force, never existed in the leading circles of the Legionary Movement. Such an idea went against the most intimate convictions of the Legionary Movement whose fundamental principle is never to resort to brute force or to foul play: and for the Legionary Movement principles are not slogans meant to trick people. They are current, obligatory standards of conduct. It is only in submitting to those standards that the Legionnaire becomes a different man.

In addition, in accepting entrance into a government directed by General Antonescu, the Legionnaires had sworn fidelity to him, and nothing in the world could make them become perjurers.

Finally, it must be taken into account that the new political order proclaimed by the King and General Antonescu was based upon militant Legionary formations. The State itself bore the name of "National Legionary State." Is it humanly possible to revolt against oneself?

The most convincing evidence of Legionary innocence in this matter is that the military forces that took part in the coup d'état under the direct order of General Antonescu, encountered a massive but totally unorganized resistance. It was, therefore resistance and not offensive attack or an organized plan on the part of the Legionary forces. They simply answered the military forces' attempts to seize administrations. prefectures, city halls, police stations, *etc.* which were *officially* directed by Legionnaires.

Logically. what revolutionary force in the world would start a revolution without preparing it, without having a plan of attack, without having a part of the army on its side, without starting off it's "revolution" with a general offensive in several parts of the country, and without trying before everything else, to seize some members of the government in order to break constitutional continuity? That is the least that could be demanded of such an action. Not one of these characteristics can be attributed to the Legionary Movement, which only defended itself against the deliberate action of General Antonescu. In fairness, if the Legionary Movement had decided to take recourse to armed action in order to eliminate the non-legionary Ministers from the government, the famous "rebellion" would have had a different complexion and would not have ended in the defeat of those accused of having stirred it up.

Then there is the question of who planned this revolt and why.

History written by the conquerors almost always presents the conquered as the instigators of all the trouble: from evil intentions right up to the secret preparation of the operation — from the unleashing of the action up to the most odious crimes committed during the conflict. In this case, things were no different. And since after this episode the Legionnaires were either in Romanian prisons or in German concentration camps, it was impossible for them to bring out the truth. And that truth absolves them of all guilt and heaps it completely upon General Antonescu.

With the perspective of time, there is no longer any doubt in the minds of those who took the trouble to dissect the events of the time. The entire plot and execution of this said “affair” is on the General’s shoulders. It was he who decided to break the pact of collaboration with the Legionary Movement and to bring about conflict permitting him to expel the Legionnaires from power in order to become the absolute master of the government and if possible, of the entire Movement. This was all the easier to accomplish because the Legionnaires, in their sincerity and loyalty, did not suspect anything and believed firmly in the political rapports established between themselves and General Antonescu under the aegis of the National Legionary State.

But why would the General have made such an illogical, anti-national, hazardous decision? For one and only one reason — which for millenia has brought about the worst conflicts and brought on the most disastrous consequences: ambition. Those who knew him confess that one could rarely encounter a more ambitious individual or one who longed more for greatness or was more exclusive in command. It went to such a point that he was nicknamed “the red dog” not as much because of the color of his hair as because of his character. In a book which was laudatory of General Antonescu and venomous toward the Legionary Movement, that person is described in the following manner:

Antonescu did not owe his nickname “the red dog” to the fidelity and devotion which are characteristic of the canine race. If he passed for a dog, it was in the pejorative sense. “He bites when one expects it the least” said the officers who had served under him. The first feeling that he inspired was fear. His severity, his insensitivity which caused him not even to know the meaning of the verb to pardon, certainly had a part in that. But it must be added that he was not of our time: in him lived again a man of the primitive kind which was only slowly domesticated through the ages. What feeling other than fear could be caused by the anachronistic presence among us of a direct descendant of the tricky, savage warriors of long ago? ^[4]

These lines are taken from a book extremely favorable to General Antonescu, written by a person in his entourage who cannot be suspected of sympathy for the Legionnaires. Caught in the web of his ambition, the General could not accept or even envision, sharing a power which he considered rightfully his. The presence of a Legionary hierarchy, and especially the existence of Horia Sima as supreme leader of a political movement which escaped his personal influence, weighed heavily upon him. There was one organization in the State which, in spite of its loyalty, escaped him as an organized power and foundation of the new regime.

General Antonescu would have liked for the Legion Movement to be dependent on him and to recognize him as the sole leader of the Movement. He even tried to win the sympathy of the Legionary masses by wearing the green shirt and trying to talk and act like a Legionnaire, while trying to outdo Horia Sima’s personality. These were vain efforts, for he in no way possessed the qualities indispensable to such a feat. He even went to the point of demanding that the Legionary

forces recognize him as supreme leader of the Movement. This attempt also met with total failure.

Nothing was left for General Antonescu in order to satisfy his boundless ambition but to eliminate the Legionary Movement by indirect means. The circumstances lent themselves marvelously to such actions:

1. War with the U.S.S.R. was becoming imminent for Germany. The General could pose the question of Romanian participation in that war in terms of his personal prestige.
2. The General was sure that between the Legionary Movement (a nationalistic movement entirely politically independent with regard to Hitlerian doctrine and goals) and him (as head of the government and "commander" of the armed forces), the Germans would support the one who had direct hold on the fighting forces.
3. The political parties deprived of their power by the action of the Legionary Movement (September 3-6, 1940) manifested a open hostility against the Movement but never expressed any negative gestures against the intentions of General Antonescu.
4. From the political point of view, the Legionary Movement was far from reaching the threshold of equilibrium and internal consolidation. The frightful losses of elite men, the years of prison and clandestineness imposed up to that time, put it in a state of professional inferiority, which caused a certain hesitation in the activities of Legionnaires in positions of responsibility. The four months of active presence in the administrative machine were insufficient for a strong structure with a basis of Legionary elements to have time to assert itself.
5. In addition, the Legionary Movement was not distrustful. It counted on the loyalty of the General. No one could imagine that a man otherwise of perfect integrity would be capable of giving in to the morbid compulsion of his unbounded ambition. Mr Horia Sima, Vice President of the Council, as well as the Legionary Ministers, knew the hateful, arbitrary and dominating temperament of the head of the government, but he believed to be incapable of an act that would ruin the understanding which reigned among them and which was sealed by the recognition of the "Legionary State." That was seeing things in the light of reciprocal loyalty which the Legionary Movement considered as existing.
6. On the other hand, General Antonescu knew perfectly well that the Legionary Movement would not start a rebellion against anyone, for the simple reason that one does not set off such an action when one is in power. Even the term "rebellion" that has been given to this tragic action is absurd; but under that name it could more easily be blamed on the Legionnaires and thus cover up the aspect of the "coup d'état" which should be attributed to it.
7. Finally, for the General, the few minor incidents which had occurred between Legionary elements and certain military representatives attached directly to the head of the government could serve admirably as a cover for the legal motivation of the foreseen act.

The contingencies were favorable to General Antonescu's intentions, as the chain of political circumstances which ended the events of January 21, 1941, and in Antonescu's dictatorship shows. The facts interlock like pieces of a puzzle, revealing the true character of the affair provoked and executed under General Antonescu's orders.

The entire drama effectively unfolds between the 21st and 23rd of January, 1941, when the legitimate Legionary reaction takes place against the abuse of power perpetrated by the head of the government. However, the antecedents are of such a nature that there is no longer any doubt about the General's guilt in the preparation and execution of the coup d'état.

General Antonescu's entourage, made up of a military coterie (Colonel Rioseanu at the head), a great part of the politicians ousted by the new regime, and some camouflaged Communists had been counting for a long time on the General's megalomaniac ambition. That was his weakness on which the Legionary Movement's enemies played thoroughly.

Nothing was easier than to make him think that the presence of a supreme Legionary leader diminished his authority and his prestige, and that the only way to regain his "rights" was to eliminate that obstacle. The "reason-excuses" for such an action were not lacking. It was a post-revolutionary period full of enthusiasm, of painful adjustment, of exaggerations, even of errors. In addition, it was not easy for a regime with a Legionary doctrine to exist harmoniously next to General Antonescu, an authoritarian, exclusive person, who considered any initiative not emanating from him as a direct attack on his pre-eminent position. That state of mind led him to see the supreme Legionary leader as a threatening shadow to his political grandeur.

Naturally, the others did not miss a chance to poison the fraternal relations established between the two forces which made up the foundation of the nationalist government. The Legionary Movement's enemies used three principal means of preparing the General's coup d'état:

- a. Continual provocation by means of special agents, some of whom had even entered Legionary ranks after September 6, 1940 (later called the *Septembristi*). These agents' actions had a precise goal: to compromise the name of Legionnaire in public opinion, to attract disdain and even hate toward the Movement. It was those government agents and former political parties which committed reprehensible acts for which the Legionary Movement was then reproached. But at the same time it was very difficult to discover them and bring them to justice. Some were protected by secrecy, others by the Legionary uniform they wore to accomplish their heinous crimes.

Thus, anything disagreeable or violent that happened on Romanian territory was indiscriminately blamed on the Legionary Movement and the news was carefully spread by the General's entourage so that public opinion would lose confidence and withdraw from the Legionary Movement. The latter, sure of its innocence and preoccupied by its internal reorganization, paid too little attention to these intrigues, and waited for a better moment to re-establish the truth. That was not possible, because its presence in the government only lasted four and one half months.

- b. The second means was the exaggeration of incriminating facts in reports addressed to General Antonescu. Thus, in the eyes of the latter, each incident took on the appearance of provocation, intentional aggression, or arbitrary action. All these adjectives, knowingly set off, profoundly irritated the General's military temperament and made him consider the Legionary Movement as an anarchical organization, difficult to command; therefore, in perspective, a great danger if not a formidable competitor due to its ambitions. Scruples did not bother this coalition of informers, and the truth never counted for General Antonescu when his personal prestige and his desire for power were in question.
- c. Finally, the third means was the job of undermining the German Embassy at Bucharest so that when the time came, the Legionary Movement would have no moral or material support from the Germans. The most perfidious calumnies were hurled at the Legionary Movement to show the representatives of the Reich that if there were any impediments to German troops' movements toward Bulgaria or elsewhere on Romanian territory, the fault was entirely incumbent upon the Legionary Movement. Therefore, if there were a question of a war with the U.S.S.R., it would be first necessary to push Legionary elements out of the government and annihilate the Movement's influence in the country. The only sure element for an eventual war would be General Antonescu, who had the army's confidence.

These three methods all bore their fruit and brought about an irresolution in people's minds in regard to the Legionary Movement, just at the moment when General Antonescu instigated his coup d'état. Furthermore, seen in the light of consecutive facts, the coup d'état of January 21, 1941 had been premeditated quite far in advance (perhaps even from the first day that General Antonescu and Horia Sima, leader of the Legionary Movement, were united in the same government). In the anti-Legionary book, *Mémorial Antonescu — The Third Man of the Axis*, which appeared in 1950, the author states that following some conflicts between the General and the Legionary Movement,

Under Berlin's pressure, Antonescu consented to keep the Legionary Movement in his government even though his faith in the possibility of collaboration with it was definitively shaken. But from that moment on, he waited only for a favorable opportunity to dismiss the Legionary Ministers. [5]

And later, when he recounts the preliminaries of the coup d'état (which he calls the "Legionary rebellion"), the author affirms however that for the army, "The disposition for the fight had already been carefully studied." [6] In the same book are found innumerable passages which demonstrate German complicity in ousting the Legionary Movement in addition to the premeditation of coup d'état. Germany found it easier to get along with General Antonescu than with the indomitable Legionary Movement. Thus in the course of a visit with Hitler, in the midst of a discussion on the modern revolution, General Antonescu made the following remark:

"And what do you do with the fanatics, for it would be difficult to make a renovating movement without them?"

"You have to get rid of them," replied Hitler without hesitation, and he smilingly threw the General a look of complicity. [7]

Hitler ended his exposition with these sentences;

The man who allows himself to be dispossessed of his command — and he stared at the General with insistence — proves that he does not know how to use a machine gun. A 20th century dictator cannot be overthrown. If he falls, it is because he committed suicide...

Back in Bucharest, Antonescu maintained absolute silence about the matters discussed during the fifteen minutes he spent alone with Hitler. The conversation which had taken place in the presence of witnesses gave the impression that he had gotten satisfaction as far as his conflict with the Legionary Movement was concerned ... [8]

January 22, 1941: Dawn of this day finds the military forces and the Legionnaires face to face. The military attacks buildings occupied by Legionnaires, the latter defend themselves. The clashes between the two belligerents seem more like a siege, in which the besieged are those who are accused of fomenting the rebellion and who defend themselves with whatever weapons they can find. It is a strange "rebellion" in which the supposed rebels choose not to attack and to avoid any conflict with the forces that besiege them.

There appears to be a kind of stabilization of positions and expectations of the two sides. In certain regions there is even collaboration between the army and the Legionnaires. Some local incidents have taken place in Bucharest, Braila and Prahova where several Legionnaires but no military fell.

The most serious problem for General Antonescu arises on January 22, 1941, because of the attitude of the peasant masses. By the hundreds of thousands they begin to penetrate into the cities to help the besieged Legionnaires.

In the meantime, negotiations take place during the day between the German representative, Neubacher and Horia Sima for the cessation of hostilities. Result: The Legionary Movement agrees to stop all resistance. General Antonescu pledges not to take any action against the Legionary Movement or its militants. However, parallel to those negotiations, General Antonescu increases his intrigues, his accusations against the Legionnaires and his military offers to Hitler. All of those accusations only completed the series of calumnies made in Berlin against the Legion and worsened the Legionary position in Hitler's eyes. Under those circumstances, nothing could be more natural than the order received during the night of January 22- 23 by the German troops stationed in Romania to "...put themselves at the disposition of General Antonescu to crush the Legionary rebellion."

Therefore, it was the Germans who determined the fate of General Antonescu's coup d'état.

January 23, 1941: The troops being unable to rout the Legionnaires from the official buildings they occupy, General Antonescu gives the order to employ artillery against them. At the same time, the troops in the Capital receive orders to fire into the crowd of passers-by who are automatically considered as partisans of the Legionary Movement. Several hundred who had nothing to do with politics or the Legionary Movement were killed. These were premeditated actions which were to be charged to the Legionary Movement and presented to the Germans as undisciplined and unconscionable actions on part of the Legionnaires.

And yet at dawn, Horia Sima had ordered that the resistance cease and that the buildings be evacuated. It should be pointed out that in many cases, the public buildings occupied by the Legionnaires were first turned over to the German army, which then turned them over to Romanian military authorities so that all possibility of conflict would be entirely avoided.

The pact accepted by Horia Sima and General Antonescu before the German diplomat was categorical: total liberty for Legionnaires. Nonetheless, that pact was not respected by the General nor even considered by the Germans. A few hours after the Legionnaires' capitulation, General Antonescu gave the order for repression. The enactment of that repression registered several hundred killed and tens of thousands arrested. The Legionary Movement entered a new phase of persecution.

April 9, 1941: Horia Sima, leader of the Legionary Movement, arrives in Berlin as an ordinary refugee.

April 18, 1941: The Legionary refugees in Germany are informed that they will be confined from then on to compulsory quarters in certain areas (Rostock, Berkenbruck, *etc.*) as a result of agreements between the German and Romanian governments.

By Way of Conclusion

This work does not pretend to serve the immense flood of problems and questions that the Legionary Movement's doctrine and behavior bring up. Its intentions are much more modest and are confined to some aspects of a past which has not succeeded in destroying the image of this organization so different from all others.

The world is still unaware of many truths which were through the care of some powers of the time. It is especially unaware of the positive, and therefore real and beneficial, side of nationalist movements. They are habitually called Nazi, terrorist, dictatorial, *etc.*, and all possible defects are imputed to them. The truth is something different, and it must come out as soon as possible, before the wind of hate which is blowing everywhere sweeps away the last vestiges of good sense and humanity. The wave of calumny must cease, and society must become aware that there are two sides to the coin.

The Legionary Movement is among those nationalistic movements that have been shamelessly abused and upon which the most unlikely accusations have been heaped even today. It is even surprising that it is possible to be so persistent and repeat the same lies about problems which are either totally invented or out-of-date for 30 or 40 years without saying one word about what is really the essence of the Legionary Movement! These are unworthy methods which play the game of the political speculators who hope to eliminate from their way the forces which are conscious of the danger they constitute for the future of the world.

As wisdom says, "patience, too, has its limits." As for us, Legionnaires of the Legion of the Archangel Michael (Legionary Movement), we have reached the limits of our patience. We have decided to put an end to all the calumny, lies and absurd accusations which continue to be thrown at us with a persistence worthy of a better cause.

This work is only a beginning, an introduction to the subject, to establish certain points of reference. It does not treat any aspect in depth. It only gives a synthesizing account of some pressing problems as well as a chronological relation of the Legionary march in the midst of a politically hostile world ravaged by the lack of morality and by spiritual decomposition. It is, therefore, a focus on some truths.

The process of explaining the Legionary phenomenon was begun a long time ago in European countries. Important works on the question have appeared in French, Spanish, Portuguese, German and Italian. Only the Anglo-Saxon world remained closed to these awarenesses. We hope that other works will follow to complete this indispensable information.

Editor's Note:

The authors of the following article are both members of and avowed partisans of the Legionary Movement. The history of the Romanian Legionary Movement has most often been portrayed in an antagonistic light. We feel that this actively partisan treatment, based as it is on Movement documents and extensive interviews with Movement members, will help in its way as an alternate reading and alternate primary source on this controversial period of Romanian and European history.

Notes

1.  Sburlati, Carlo, *Codreanu, il Capitano*, p. 63, Ed Volpe, Rome, 1970. (Translation by authors.)
2.  See: Corneliu Codreanu: *Carticica sefului de cuib*, Ed. Omul Nou, Munich, 1971 (in Romanian); Paul Guiraud: *Codreanu et la Garde de Fer*, Ed. Francisme, 1940; Faust Bradescu: *Le Nid, unite de base du Mouvement Légionnaire*, Ed. Carpatii, Madrid, 1973.
3.  See: Faust Bradescu: *Les trois épreuves légionnaires*, Ed. Promethee, Paris, 1973.

4. ☞ *Mémorial Antonescu*, p. 14, Coll. Documents Politiques, Ed. de la Couronne, Paris, 1950.
5. ☞ *Mémorial Antonescu*, ibid., p. 38.
6. ☞ *Mémorial Antonescu*, ibid., p. 104.
7. ☞ *Mémorial Antonescu*, ibid., p. 73.
8. ☞ *Mémorial Antonescu*, ibid., p. 74.

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Book review

Execution by Hunger

Editor's Note: Food and/hunger have, for as long as we have records, played a part in the internal and external struggle for political power. The advance to barbarism entailed in the intentional mass privation and starvation of millions of men, women and children detailed below has become an all too quickly "*memory holed*" part of our twentieth century heritage. The reviews of Professors' Ward and Hall are a start of illuminating this record.

We actively seek additional reviews and articles on all aspects of the uses of starvation as a weapon.

- *EXECUTION BY HUNGER: THE HIDDEN HOLOCAUST*, by Miron Dolot. New York: W.W Norton & Company, 1985, xvi + 231 pp. ISBN 0-393-01886-5.

Reviewed by Arthur S. Ward

"Holocaust studies" are now being added to school curricula across the country. Yet, as syndicated columnist Joseph Sobran pointed out recently, one of the ghastliest examples in history, the Soviet's deliberate starvation of nearly eight million Ukrainians in 1932-33, is largely overlooked.

Execution by Hunger is the first book-length account of this mass murder to be written by one who lived through these terrible events. The author, Miron Dolot (a pseudonym), is a language teacher in California, who as a 15-year-old boy, lived through the winter of 1932-33 in a Ukrainian village that became "a ghost town" that looked "as if the Black Death had passed through."

What sets the Ukrainian famine apart from others is that it was a *politically-induced* catastrophe. Ukraine (not "the" Ukraine, anymore than China is "the" China) at one time was known as "the Breadbasket of Europe." Ukrainians, who are not Russians and have their own language and culture, proclaimed their independence from Russia during World War I. But in 1921, the Red Army reconquered the area and a year later the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed by Lenin.

Ukraine had a history of free peasant farming. This fierce spirit of independence continued even after Ukraine was incorporated into the Soviet Union. But in 1928 Stalin began his program of collectivizing Ukrainian agriculture. The author describes how city-dwelling Communists, who had virtually no knowledge of agriculture and exhibited utter contempt for farmers, took over rural villages and began to enforce collectivization on the hostile populace. In the process, the deeply religious Ukrainians witnessed their churches torn down or turned into Communist Party offices, priests murdered, and religious objects, such as crosses confiscated.

In 1930, Stalin announced a stepped-up campaign of collectivization and declared that all “kulaks” (so-called rich farmers, often paupers by comparison with American farmers) were to be liquidated “as a social class.” Collectivization was organized by Communist officials (with one Communist functionary for every six villagers) who were assisted by police agents and Red Army units. In Dolot’s village, a Comrade Livschitz oversaw collectivization and elsewhere, “strangers” as the author euphemistically dubs their non-Ukrainian taskmasters, managed the Red reign of terror. Villagers were divided into units of fives and tens, to keep better surveillance over them and root out those who were reluctant to join the collectives. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were deported for forced labor in the far northern regions of the Soviet Union.

The Stalin regime confiscated the entire 1932 crop including even the seed grain. The bolders were then sealed. Even after starvation set in, agents of the “Bread Procurement Commission” continued to conduct periodic raids on all homes suspected of holding small amounts of food. The author describes what took place;

Faced with starvation, the villagers tried everything possible to save themselves and their families. Some of them started eating dogs and cats. Others went hunting for birds: crows, magpies, swallows, sparrows, storks, and even nightingales. One could see starving villagers searching in the bushes along the river for birds' nests or looking for crabs and other small crustaceans in the water. Even their hard shells, though not edible, were cooked and the broth consumed as nourishment. One could see crowds of famished villagers combing the woods in search of roots or mushrooms and berries. Some tried to catch small forest animals.

Driven by hunger, people ate everything and anything: even food that had already rotted — potatoes, beets, and other root vegetables that pigs normally refused to eat. They even ate weeds, the leaves and bark of trees, insects, frogs and snails. Nor did they shy away from eating the meat of diseased horses and cattle. Often that meat was already decaying and those who ate it died of food poisoning.

By 1933 there were numerous incidents of cannibalism, and this despite the fact that the 1932 Fall harvest had been a good one. States Dolot, “From the very start of the harvest to the end, not a single pound of wheat had been distributed to the village inhabitants. Nothing was left for them. We were told that all the grain had to be transported to the railroad stations. We also learned that there it had been dumped on the ground, covered in tarpaulins, and left to rot.”

The Soviet-created famine in Ukraine was apparently intended to break the independent spirit of the Ukrainians once and for all. In this effort, they seem to have failed. During the Second World War, many Ukrainians fought along side the Axis forces. Ukrainians are still persecuted in the USSR, at least in part because they retain their sense of awareness that they are indeed Ukrainians and not Russians.

It should be noted that this heart-rending account of the death of a once peaceful and a self-reliant Ukrainian village is open to verification. As one who has taught Russian History at the college level, this reviewer can testify that the dates and details coincide with other records. Adam Ulam, Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, has written the Introduction to this work, and includes a concise overview of the historical context of Dolot’s narrative. This is an important work, dealing with another chapter of what the distinguished Revisionist historian, James J. Martin, has chosen to call “inconvenient history.”

Book review

The Politics of Hunger

- *THE POLITICS OF HUNGER: THE ALLIED BLOCKADE OF GERMANY, 1915-1919*. By C. Paul Vincent. Ohio University Press, Athens (Ohio) and London, 1985; pp. viii, 191.

Reviewed by Robert A. Hall, Jr.

When did the First World War end? Yes, that is a “catch-question.” Virtually everybody will reply “November 1918;” but, in so doing, they will be wrong. That was the date on which hostilities on land ceased. On sea, however, although there was no more combat, the Allied (chiefly English) blockade of foodstuffs and other materials continued until July 11, 1919, eight months after the Armistice was signed at Compiègne. The purpose of the blockade? — to force the new government of Germany, the “Weimar Republic,” to ratify the Versailles “peace” treaty without delay. In this way, an intentionally continued and increased scarcity of food and the resultant famine was used as a militarily enforced weapon against the civilian population of Germany. Vincent’s book, originally conceived as a study of the post-1918 blockade, grew into a detailed history of the entire operation and its background, from 1914 onward.

Vincent’s study is divided into six chapters. In the first two, he treats pre-1918 history; in the next three, the events of 1918-1919 and in the last, the longer-range effects of the starvation resulted from the blockade. Chapter I, “The Loss of Innocence,” deals with the developments in the first year of the war that led to the establishment of the blockade. On both sides, at the outbreak of hostilities, the populations appeared to be enthusiastic about the war and in a state of euphoria which owed a great deal of its virulence to the glorification of War by the “futurists” in literature and art, as well as by the more rabid nationalists during the first decade and a half of the new century. A major factor in this now strange headlong rush into Armageddon was the widespread expectation that the war would not, in fact, could not, last more than a few months. (Your reviewer’s first coherent memory is of a bright September afternoon in Minneapolis, listening to the adults deploring the outbreak of “this terrible war” in Europe, and expressing the hope that it would be over by Christmas.)

As time passed, it became evident that both sides were going to have to take drastic measures to counteract the ill effects of the excessive strain placed upon the civilian populations. Vincent points out that “the severe wartime conditions and the experiences of the English and the French on the homefront were generally matched and in many cases exceeded in Germany” (p. 15). In the following pages, Vincent analyzes the situation in Germany, with the interesting conclusion that — contrary to our prevailing folklore — the German war-effort was poorly organized, with unwise priorities given to industrial and business interests at the expense of those of civilians and farmers. Although foreign sources of food and fertilizer were cut off, the authorities “virtually ignored the [...] effects of a food shortage” (p. 30).

Matters may have been made considerably worse by the administration of the food regulations being incredibly decentralized. Under the provisions of the Prussian Law of Siege (p. 17), the procurement and distribution of the domestic food supply was administered by no less than twenty-four separate German army authorities, under generals who differed widely in their attitudes and approaches to the problem, and who often worked at cross-purposes from each other and from the overall army administration. By 1916 the German population was surviving on a “meager diet of dark bread, slices of sausage without fat, an individual ration of three pounds of potatoes per week, and turnips. Only the turnips were in abundant supply” (p. 21). By mid-1918, the army’s food ration was no better, and this scarcity contributed to disaffection among the troops. Vincent quotes (p. 23) General Ludendorff’s allegation that the German defeat was due to a “stab in the back” (*Dolchstoß*, literally “dagger-stab”). True, says Vincent, at least in part, but what was not mentioned by Ludendorff was “the fact that the army had fashioned the knife” by its maladministration of the food-supply throughout the entire war.

In Chapter II, “The Blockade,” Vincent summarizes the events which led up to its establishment in 1915 and its effects in Germany. These were especially severe in the terrible *Kohlrübenwinter* (“turnip-winter”) of 1916-1917, “during which the collective weight (sic) of the German population plummeted sharply” (p. 45). The blockade was almost totally effective in cutting off Germany’s imports of food and materiel. In 1917, with German morale nearing the point of collapse, the Kaiser decided on the now infamous policy of unrestricted submarine warfare. In so doing, Vincent argues that the German leadership committed two serious errors; “They totally underestimated the vigor with which the Allies would counter the effects of the submarine;” and “they failed to appreciate the consequence of America’s potential addition to the side of the Allies” (p. 47). By November, 1918, the food-shortage in Germany had become catastrophic; the action of the Allies in continuing the blockade, after the cessation of hostilities on land, made it even worse.

Vincent’s next two chapters deal in detail with the events of the eight months after November 11, 1918, primarily on the diplomatic front. He describes the November armistice as “A Conditional Surrender” (the title of Chapter III). Even before the cessation of hostilities on land, there had been ominous anticipations of coming discord among the Allies. Wilson’s famous “Fourteen Points” (which included “absolute freedom of navigation” at all times) seem to have been taken more seriously by the German government and negotiators than by Foch and Clemenceau with their intense desire for unlimited *revanche*, or by Lloyd George with his stubborn insistence on undiminished British command of the seas. As a consequence, and much to the dismay of the German negotiators, the continuation of the naval blockade was made one of the conditions for the Allied granting of an armistice (hence Vincent’s title for this chapter). On November 11, just before the signing, the Germans were so perturbed at the prospect of continued starvation through the continuance of the blockade that a clause was added to the armistice agreement, to the effect that the Allies “contemplated relieving the famine.” This, however, as later events showed, was only an empty phrase.

“Gold, Food, Ships, and Diplomats,” during the next eight months, are the topic of Chapter 5. There was a strange intermingling and clash of often diametrically opposed policies on the part of victorious Allies, so that Herbert Hoover’s initial moves for humanitarian famine relief, as applied to Germany, were for months stalemated by considerably less laudable refusals on the part of the French and British to allow food to be distributed, even from stocks already unloaded in Europe. The blockade was not only maintained, but even extended. Almost wholly incomprehensible to a later generation, even German fishing rights in the *Baltic* were abrogated. The British sea lords were concerned with the continual assertion of their naval power, while the French politicians were more interested with extracting from the Germans every possible centime of

reparations. The French government's demands extended even to the gold-reserves held by the German government which were desperately needed to pay the American farmer for food which he had supplied. An Allied commission set up to deal with the situation, meeting at Spa, Belgium, wasted time in interminable wrangling. For three months, even eyewitness reports of the extremely bad situation in Germany failed to move either the Allied commission at Spa or the peace negotiators at Paris.

In the end, it took a violent outburst of anger on Hoover's part to persuade Lloyd-George that a drastic change in Allied policy was urgently needed (pp. 114-11). On March 8, 1919, the Allies' policy was finally reversed (pp. 111-13) by the Supreme War Council, at a meeting which has been made relatively well-known by John Maynard Keynes's description of it in his memoirs (from which Vincent gives several quotations). As for the sources of French and British obstructionism during these crucial months, Vincent ascribes their behavior to several causes (pp. 115-17). These included: British desire to maintain the "very perfect instrument" of the blockade for imposing peace terms (Keynes's explanation); the ignorance of Allied diplomats as to the real situation; the Europeans' suspicion of Hoover's humanitarianism, which they interpreted (at least in part) as evidence of a presumed desire of the United States to dominate Europe; and, most important of all, French greed for German gold.

The continually worsening starvation of the German public is described in Vincent's fifth chapter, "Famine and Starvation." Not only the supplies of actual food (especially potatoes, grain and sugar), but also fodder, fats and fertilizer quickly came to be in very short supply. Not only the housewife, but the soldier and the prisoner-of-war, were affected. The resultant severe undernourishment was particularly telling on the elderly, the young, expectant and nursing mothers. Improper diet lowered resistance to or caused such diseases as tuberculosis, rickets, influenza, dysentery, scurvy, ulceration of the eyes, and hunger-edema (p. 137). The influenza-epidemic of 1918 had, therefore, a far greater effect on German mortality, which was 250 percent greater in that year, than in England (p.141). Vincent emphasizes (pp. 146-47) the disastrous results in malnutrition, as demonstrated in many modern physiological and psychological studies, on the human brain, especially in undernourished children. Furthermore, he points out (pp.148-50), the elementary necessity of obtaining a barely sufficient food supply undermined traditional morality and ethical standards (pp.148-50).

The end result of the blockade and especially of its continuation after November 11, 1918, was, as Vincent terms it in the title of his sixth and final chapter, "The Making of a Quagmire." Even while the blockade was being enforced and strengthened, perceptive observers on both sides pointed out the dangers inherent in its continuation, which could lead only to a complete breakdown of the social order. Even though the immediate situation was saved by a last-minute relaxation of the blockade on food, the longer-term results of the resultant famine were still disastrous. As Vincent observes (pp.112):

Whether one espouses the psychoanalytical argument that childhood deprivation fostered irrational behavior in adulthood or the physiological assertion that widespread malnutrition in childhood led to a impaired ability to think rationally in adulthood, the conclusion remains the same: the victimized youth of 1915-1920 were to become the most radical adherents of National Socialism.

Additionally, Vincent observes (p. 164) "By the same wisdom, however, one cannot intellectually dismiss the important possibility that blockade-induced starvation was a significant factor in the formation of the Nazi character." His conclusion (pp. 164-65) is that:

The ominous amalgamation of twisted emotion and physical degeneration, which was to presage considerable misery for Germany and the world, might have been prevented had it not been for the postwar policy of the Allies. The immediate centerpiece of this policy was the blockade.

Two short appendices, of British reports made in 1919 on the famine prevailing in Germany, are printed on pp. 168-72. An extensive bibliography (pp. 173-82) and a not wholly complete index (pp. 183-91) finish the book. It is well-printed, with few typos. The very full references are contained in notes printed at the end of each chapter — a far better procedure than that of putting them all in one huge clump at the end of the text of the book.

Specialists in the field have, of course, known of the Allied blockade and of its results, for a long time. A major merit of Vincent's treatment is his bringing together of information from all these different sources, and welding it into a comprehensive, highly readable, and yet scholarly presentation of the whole picture of both the 1915-18 blockade and its continuation and extension in 1918-19. Your reviewer, who was brought up in an intensely Anglophile and Francophile family, but who majored in German literature as an undergraduate, was unaware (like almost all other Americans) of the nature and extent of the blockade. Vincent's book has opened his eyes to one more neglected facet of modern history. By performing this service for his readers, Vincent has made a contribution to the never-ending task of revising and refining our perception of history, which can never be one hundred percent accurate or immune to change.

Book review

The Falcon and the Eagle

- *THE FALCON AND THE EAGLE: MONTENEGRO AND AUSTRIA, 1908-1914*, by John D. Treadway; Purdue University Press, 349 pp. \$18.00

Reviewed by WK. v. U.-Ziechmann

Aptly titled, *The Falcon and The Eagle*, while of particular interest to the student of diplomatic history, makes absolutely fascinating reading, even for those general scanners who have but the most fleeting impression of the immediate background leading to the outbreak of war in 1914. The author, a professor of history at the University of Richmond, is thoroughly grounded in his subject, having received his doctorate from the University of Virginia, but equally important, having studied at the University of Kiel in West Germany, as well as at the Indiana University extension in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia and the University of Belgrade. Thus, he is not merely conversant with documents in English, but also those in German and Serbian. His extensive bibliography will attest to an avid quest, à la Ranke, for source material. Particularly astonishing is his thorough searching and knowledge of the archives and libraries in Belgrade and Cetinje, a task seldom undertaken by Western historians. Nevertheless, the wealth of documents to be found in Vienna's Hof und Staatsarchiv (some apparently untouched until now) by far outshines and outnumbers those in Cetinje, the old Montenegrin capital, as unfortunately many of the Montenegrin documents were irretrievably lost during the course of the First World War.

Just as unfortunately, the chief formulator of Montenegrin foreign policy, the patriarchal King Nicholas, had a penchant for not committing most of the details of his policymaking to pen and paper.

Heretofore, virtually every major study of the events leading to Sarajevo, 1914 has dealt exclusively with Austrian-Serbian relations, either from neglecting or ignoring Montenegro's chess game with the vast Habsburg Empire to her north. After all, the Kingdom of Serbia headquartered in Belgrade not its rival, the tiny Serb land of Montenegro (Italian for "Black Mountain") furnished the *causus belli* that put an end to the beautiful, but catastrophic, summer of 1914. (Montenegro, which began as a theocracy under a prince-bishop [*vladik*] of the Orthodox church had become a secularized principality under Danilo II in 1852 and a kingdom [with Austrian approval] only four years before in 1910.)

Professor Treadway is not the first historian to illustrate the intrigues, great and small, which filled the vacuum created by the decline of the Ottoman Empire. It would seem that he is the first to fit Montenegro into the disparate Balkan mosaic vis-à-vis the dominating powers of Europe. Further, he demonstrates both the rivalry and the distrust between the dynasties of Belgrade and Cetinje over inheritance of the mantle of Stephan Dusan and the great Serbian Empire of the Middle Ages, an empire which had lasted until its defeat at the hands of the Turks in the 14th Century. It could be said that some 20th Century Serbians looked upon the Montenegrins as

boorish louts, it should also be pointed out that Montenegro's Nicholas I of the Petrovic-Njegos family looked upon the rival Obrenovic family with outrage when the upstart, Milan, assumed the rank of King of Serbia in 1882. Yet he was hardly more enthusiastic when his own son-in-law, Peter Karadjordjevic (Karageorgevic), occupied the bloodstained throne of Belgrade in 1903. With Serbia quickly replacing Montenegro as Russia's favorite and chief agent in the Balkans, Nicholas was more prone toward rapprochement with Austria, despite ethnic and linguistic differences, than with Serbia.

Montenegro's and Serbia's relationship, kinship and feuds are very reminiscent of those of Lebanon-Syria, although the fierce independent Druses are more akin to the hardy mountaineers of the Black Mountain than are the denizens of either Beirut or Damascus. Yet one might be as imprudent as the other, and so Montenegro was eventually (1921) swallowed up under the Karadjordjevic standard of Greater Serbian Yugoslavism — much as their spiritual brothers of the seething Levant might well fall to a form of Greater Syrianism. The Balkans do not possess a monopoly on either intrigue or intransigence.

The cunning fox of Centinje, Nicola of Cma Gora, descended from Herzegovinian stock, received the nickname "Father-in-Law of Europe." The temperamental ruler's comic penury gave inspiration to Franz Lehar's operetta, *The Merry Widow*, as he simultaneously sought to replenish his empty coffers and extend his frontiers, often provoking and antagonizing the foreign office of his bigger and more arrogant Austrian neighbor, the Ballhausplatz, but not necessarily the more tolerant Imperial Court, the Hofburg.

In 1911, the wily Nicholas of Montenegro had remonstrated with the Austro-Hungarian Minister to Cetinje, Baron Wladimir Giesl of Gieslingen (who would serve as the minister to Belgrade at the outbreak of war):

We lack Austria's strength. but we are a small courageous people. We, the falcons of the Black Mountain, yearn to soar ahead of Austria's eagles.

Foolhardy and reckless abandon, of course, but in his 56 year role (1860-1918) — only the venerable Franz Josef, with a 68 year reign (1848-1916), outdid him on the Continent) — Nicholas followed an anomalous zig-zag course, motivated by a self defeating desire for territorial expansion. His territorial acquisitions in the Balkan Wars (1912-13) did little to alleviate economic misery at home, and probably exacerbated matters, leading to discontent, vexation and isolation.

In his meticulously written volume of maturity and incisiveness, Dr. Treadway has made a judicious contribution to both European diplomatic history and historiography in dispersing two myths: (1) that Montenegro was the servile handmaiden of Serbia and Russia, and (2) that Germany was constantly trying to goad Austria-Hungary into war.

An excellent study, of interest to both the scholar and the historical amateur.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT

Historians Wrangle over the Destruction of European Jewry

DR. WILHELM STÄGLICH

Translated by Waltraud Martin

- Commentary on the Congress of Historians in Stuttgart, 1984.

International historical conventions dealing with the question of the “destruction of the Jews during World War II” have been rare up to now, the consensus being that such events were superfluous. On that subject, historians had fundamentally adhered to what had been pronounced as “historical fact” at the various show trials held by the victorious powers in Nuremberg and elsewhere soon after the end of hostilities. Furthermore, it was arranged that in divided Germany the same “findings” should also be ratified by German judges. This state of affairs, assuredly ideal for certain circles, appears to be gradually coming in its deserved end due to the increasing influence of historical Revisionism. As early as 1982 an international convention on the subject “Nazi Germany and the destruction of the Jews” was held at the Sorbonne University in Paris. ^[1] This was followed by yet another assembly of prominent historians from Germany and abroad which convened in Stuttgart on May 3-5, 1984, dealing with the same topic. The conclusions reached were published by Professors Jaeckel and Rohwer in 1985, in the form of a book consisting of the lectures presented at the congress, augmented and annotated as well as other edited contributions to the discussions insofar as these purported to contain new insights. ^[2]

However, one who hopes to find that the complex issues of World War II had finally been subjected to an exhaustive examination and that, in particular, the matter of the technical aspects relative to the alleged murder of several million Jews, without leaving any trace at all, has even been remotely clarified, must feel disappointment at the outcome of this expensive meeting of historians from all over the world. As Eberhard Jäckel (Stuttgart) introductorily explained in the foreground of this congress stood the “formation of the decision as an historical problem,” in other words: the question of how, when, where and, as applicable, by whom the decisions were made to kill the Jews, in which order of sequence, and by what means. However, this was putting the cart before the horse. Still lacking is a thorough impartial investigation as to what had become of the Jews who were deported to the East. The alleged gas chamber killings are particularly questionable in more than one respect, as numerous Revisionist works have long since shown. For that reason the complaining Jewish organizations and others were unable to refute convincingly the theses of Professor Faurisson during the Faurisson trial in France. ^[3] Likewise, in January 1985, the “U.S. authority on the Holocaust” Raul Hilberg had to admit before a Canadian court in Toronto that to date, “no scientific study...has ever been done to prove the existence of Nazi gas chambers.” In Germany this sensational admission went largely unreported, of course. Even though the Canadian press did give an account of this event, ^[4] the German historians continue to feign ignorance of this matter. Even the participants at the Stuttgart congress acted as if everything had already been clarified — with the exception of the “formation of the

decision.” They agreed, in essence, that the destruction of the Jews did take place consistent with the propaganda which has been broadcast day after day, year after year since the trials by the victors of the vanquished at Nuremberg.

Insofar as they even mentioned it, the various lecturers repeated like trained parrots the dogma of the “gassings” in the so-called “extermination camps” without touching upon any of the relevant details.

Nevertheless, the congress did offer a surprise. For the first time the German public was made aware that the establishment historians had taken up two different positions recently, the one being described as the “intentionalist” and the other as the “functionalist” school. The previously unchallenged intentionalist school — represented at this convention by Raul Hilberg (Burlington, USA), Andreas Hillgruber (Cologne), Yehuda Bauer (Jerusalem), Wolfgang Scheffler (Berlin), and Helmut Krausnick (Stuttgart) — still continues to adhere to the “purist teaching” that was produced at the Nuremberg trials, which — to summarize briefly — asserts that the extermination of the Jews originated exclusively from Hitler’s initiative. The functionalists, however, hold the position that the alleged exterminations had occurred and progressively increased, as it were by force of circumstance. To be sure, Hitler’s fanatical anti-Semitism was the indispensable ingredient for this, although Hitler had issued neither a verbal, nor a written order to exterminate the Jews. The functionalists also reject the still prevailing opinion that, at the so-called Wannsee conference of January 20, 1942, a kind of general plan for the extermination of the Jews had been formulated. According to their theory the alleged exterminations supposedly occurred out of the local necessity, such as the critical food shortages within the Polish ghettos after the start of the deportation of Jews. It reportedly began with mass executions by the Einsatzgruppen, proceeding to its terrible climax, the “gassings” in “extermination camps,” evolving progressively through a process of “cumulative radicalization” (Friedländer) rather than on account of anything planned in detail. Thus the “extermination of the Jews” was not — as the intentionalists claim — the direct consequence of a long range plan of Hitler’s, but the result of a gradual escalation of ruthlessness brought about by the desperate circumstances of the war.

At the congress, Professors Broszat (Munich) and Mommsen (Bochum) represented the “functionalist school,” although they were not scheduled to present any major lectures. They could state their positions clearly only during the various rounds of discussions. It should be noted, however, that credit is due to Saul Friedländer (Tel Aviv) who in his keynote address at the beginning of the seminar did make a serious effort to objectively portray in detail the “functionalist thesis,” although he for his own part was, as were all the other Jewish participants, clearly committed to the “intentionalist school.” For example, he quoted verbatim the significant conclusion of Professor Mommsen (1983):

In historical research the notion still holds that Hitler himself had considered the feasibility of the destruction of Jewry from the beginning, and had drawn up a long range plan for its implementation. The carefully chronicled remarks of the later dictator addressing this problem certainly do not convincingly support this view.

Friedländer also referred to the thesis already formulated by Professor Broszat in 1977, that “no general all encompassing directive for the extermination had existed at all, that the ‘program’ for the destruction of the Jews had, until spring of 1942 beginning with individual actions rather gradually evolved institutionally and factually, acquiring its determining character after the establishment of the extermination camps in Poland...”

Such remarks closely approach the position outlined in my book *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, that any “possible killings of Jews, including those by gassings... could have occurred only through the arbitrary actions of subordinate agencies” and “in that case, one could not speak of a 'planned' termination of Jews.” [5] However, the functionalists have yet to draw the logical inference that the special development and technical ramifications of the various killing actions must be scientifically clarified beyond all doubt before they can qualify as “historical fact.” To continue to rely, as do the intentionalists, essentially upon the pronouncements of sundry courts cannot be regarded as a scientifically comprehensive and conclusive clarification of the events concerned, quite apart from the questionable nature of their basis. The list of references of contemporary historical works is sufficient evidence of this, insofar as it concerns the question of the gas chambers. After all, the “gas chambers” must have been the real “instruments of genocide” (Faurisson), if one is to believe the official versions.

Thus, even if the controversy over the “formation of the decision” has changed little in the overall evaluation of the entire event, the divergences between intentionalists and functionalists reveal the rise of a certain insecurity among the historians, even at the above mentioned international Colloquium at the Sorbonne. This insecurity is based, at least partly, on the apparent absence of any discernible connection between these alleged killing operations; all previous attempts to establish and trace them back to a central directive appear to be more or less contrived. Broszat’s comment, made during the discussion, is significant. He wondered, “whether the rather passionately conducted discussion with the noteworthy participation of Israeli and other Jewish scholars, might have had ulterior motives, transcending purely objective and scholarly inquiry into the facts at issue.” Mommsen went even further, bluntly designating an “illusion” the assumption that “the final solution of the European or world Jewish question had been systematically discussed at any time within the higher circle of leadership.”

Indeed, it is difficult to believe there could have been such direction, when one considers that the various alleged killing operations, occurring in part parallel to each other, were completely different in the manner of their implementation. In addition to the mass shootings by the Einsatzgruppen, “gas wagons,” “gas showers,” “gassings” by means of exhaust fumes of diesel engines and “gassings” with the insecticide “Zyklon B” in special designated “gas chambers,” as well as “phenol injections” were to have been employed as means of killing. The war propaganda alleged even more fantastic methods of killing, which were no longer discussed even at the Nuremberg trials. No doubt, a Hitler with a purpose and plan would not have proceeded in such a confused and disorderly manner. The very fact that innumerable Jews were never caught up in this alleged genocide speaks against the thesis of the intentionalists.

On the other hand, the functionalists will not, or cannot, see that at least some of the features of the alleged killings, such as the use of diesel engines for the “gassings” (Gerstein report) or the use of Zyklon B, as is described in reports of alleged eyewitnesses, seem doubtful or even impossible in their practical application. Evidence other than these alleged “eyewitness testimonies” has not been produced thus far. The effort was not even made — no doubt for good reasons — to conduct any kind of tests to ascertain the presence of any traces of Zyklon B in the ruins of the alleged gas chambers of Birkenau. At any rate, nothing was ever made public about any positive findings of any scientific tests. In recent years, non-German Revisionists have submitted well-founded doubts on the possibility of the central role of the “gassings” in the context of the alleged genocide. Thus, sooner or later, the establishment historians will be compelled to respond to the Revisionist arguments, if they do not wish to lose their credibility altogether.

Today already one thing is certain: Those judicial pronouncements which, as is the rule, have as their basis that the “planned, organized physical extermination of Jews in German occupied

Europe,” allegedly ordered by Hitler, is a “historical fact,” a “matter of historical record,” or even a “publicly accepted fact,” and have rejected evidence to the contrary as inadmissible. On those grounds, are misjudgments resting on misclaimed competence or incorrect opinions of admittedly biased experts. For their foundation is a state of affairs which is still, or is now in any event, in dispute. Thus the truth of an already very old admonition by Professor Ernst von Beling, the highly esteemed teacher of jurisprudence during the Weimar era is reaffirmed. Beling cautioned against a “too rash judgment on contemporary events” by means of judicial decree. He opined that it would be “presumptuous of a judge to cast himself into the role of a historical writer” and referred to, inter alia, the difficulties involved in historical research and the unreliability of source material. He declared further, that a historical assertion could only be treated by the courts as “publicly accepted fact” if “historical research unanimously precluded all and every doubt as to its truth.” [6] It is about time that German judges reflect upon this!

The historians, however, should at last muster up the courage to detach themselves from the previous thought patterns and begin to delve into the real causes of the deaths of those Jews who did perish during World War II insofar as that is still possible. The declaration by Professor Helmut Diwald still holds true that the fate of the Jews who were deported to the East “is despite all literature still unclarified on central questions.” [7]

Notes

1. ☞ *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 1/84, p.18.
2. ☞ Jaeckel/Rohwer. *Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt Stuttgart, 1985, 253 pp. Paperback.
3. ☞ P. 815ff.
4. ☞ *Toronto Sun*, 1/18/85.
5. ☞ *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, p. 22, op. cit.
6. ☞ *Deutsche Strafrechtzeitung*, 1918, pp.199ff.
7. ☞ *Geschichte der Deutschen*, first edition, p.165.

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Review

Abraham Bomba, Barber of Treblinka

by [Bradley R. Smith](#)

- Chapter 11 from *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist*.

I have now seen the complete nine and one half hour documentary *Shoah*, which purports to be “An Oral History of the Holocaust.” It was produced, directed, narrated and is now being promoted by Claude Lanzmann. From the newspapers I gather that Lanzmann is an assimilated French Jew who speaks neither Hebrew nor Yiddish. He is presently 60 years old. He worked as a journalist for many years in association with Jean Paul Sartre and *Les Temps Modernes* until 1970, when he turned his attention to making movies.

That is, Claude Lanzmann worked for twenty-five years in the eye of the intellectual storms that swept across France following the end of World War II. As a journalist he certainly learned during those twenty-five years how to conduct professional interviews. He certainly learned, through his associations with Sartre, de Beauvoir, Camus and those who criticized the great triad, how to pursue a train of thought, considering the high-powered company he kept. It’s a real eye-opener then to watch Lanzmann reveal his intellectual corruption in scene after scene of this shoddy movie, which he claims took ten years to complete.

My favorite interview in *Shoah* is the one with Abraham Bomba, the Barber of Treblinka. I’m not alone in my fondness for Bomba either. Many critics have commented on his performance. They gave him rave reviews. George Will of ABC Television, for example, wrote in the *Washington Post* that Bomb’s narrative was “the most stunning episode in this shattering film.”

Some eyewitnesses to alleged gas chamber horrors recount stories that are so lacking in credibility that they can be dismissed out of hand. Others repeat stories that cannot easily be shown to be false but reveal the characters of the tale-bearers to be so sniveling and shameless that one feels compromised by even listening to them. Bomba is becoming an important character in the Holocaust-survivor-eyewitness scenario in that he embodies much of both of these characteristics.

The way Bomba tells the story, he had been interned in Treblinka about four weeks when the Germans announced that they wanted some barbers for a special detail. Bomba volunteered, of course, then helped the SS identify 16 other Jewish barber among the internees. They were all taken to the second part of the camp where the alleged gas chamber was. They were led inside the gas chambers where a Kapo (almost certainly a Jew; [\[1\]](#) explained that the 17 barbers were to shear the hair from the woman who would arrive to be gassed. Lanzmann asked Bomba about the greatest murder weapon of all time, the German homicidal poison gas chamber.

Lanzmann: How did it look, the gas chamber?

Bomba: It was not a big room, around twelve feet by twelve feet. [2]

And there you have it. Claude Lanzmann is finished with his in-depth investigation of how the Treblinka gas chamber looked. It takes all kinds. If I had been in Lanzmann's shoes I could have thought of a few more questions to ask about "how it looked." Particularly if I had some feelings about the stories that maybe a million of my kinsmen had been exterminated in it. Maybe I would have wanted to know what Bomba could tell me about what material the walls of the gas chamber were made of — what the roof was made of. How would Bomba describe the ventilation system? Where and how, exactly, did the "gas" enter the room? Maybe Bomba would have remembered if the room had been illuminated or not. If it had been, how? What were the doors made of? How did they seal so that the "gas" could not escape? As historians have not bothered to ask these simple questions, Lanzmann could have done their work for them and helped uncover one of the great mysteries of the 20th century — how the fabled Nazi gas chambers really looked.

As to whether Bomba is being honest about having seen a gas chamber at Treblinka consider Rachel Auerbach's description of that gas chamber in her *The Death Camp Treblinka* [3]. Auerbach is given a place of honor in this, the most comprehensive book published on the camp. As she was (she died in 1976) a permanent research staff member of the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial museum in Jerusalem, her description of the gas chamber should not be dismissed out of hand.

... The floor of the gas chamber was sloping and slippery. The first ones in would slip and fall, never to rise again. Those who followed would topple over them ... About 25 to 45 minutes later — [after the "gassing" began, that is] — the chutes on the other side could be opened and the corpses tumbled out."

It would seem that while he was being interviewed for *Shoah* Mr. Bomba forgot about how slippery the floor is supposed to have been in his little gas chamber. It seems he forgot how it slanted steeply in the direction of the chutes. As a matter of fact, Mr. Bomba forgot to mention the chutes. If Lanzmann had read the literature even superficially he would have been aware that Bomba was leaving a few things out of his story. As Lanzmann claims he worked for ten years on *Shoah*, I'm going to guess that Lanzmann is aware of Auerbach's description of the Treblinka gas chamber and chooses to ignore it.

In any event, once Lanzmann's curiosity was satisfied about how the gas chamber looked (not big), he wanted to know happened next.

Lanzmann: Can you describe precisely?

Bomba: Describe precisely ... We were waiting there ... inside the gas chamber ... until the transport came in. Women with children pushed into that place ... They were undressed, naked, without clothes, without anything else — completely naked — because they come from the undressing barrack ... where they had undressed themselves.

Lanzmann: What did you feel the first time you saw all those naked women?

Bomba: I felt that accordingly I got to do what they ... [Germans] ... told me, to cut their hair ...

There you have in a nut shell how eye witnesses to the gas chamber atrocities typically describe their behavior. They did whatever the Germans or anyone else requested of them. When they received a request to help prepare their kinsmen — and even their own families as well as shall soon see — to be exterminated, or genocided or whatever, these fellows say they hopped right to it. I don't believe them, but that's the persona that they have chosen to project to the world at large. In the neighborhood where I grew up men who behaved like Bomba claims he behaved would have been spit on. In the upside-down world of Holocaust survivordom, however, the Abraham Bombas are seen as martyrs and even heroes. It's a peculiar psychological slant on manly behavior.

Lanzmann expresses a little more curiosity about how Bomba cut his (for hasn't Bomba according to his own story become a working partner in the alleged genocide of his people?) victims hair than he did about how the gas chamber looked. He asked if Bomba had shaved them, if he had used scissors, and if there had not been mirrors available inside the gas chamber. Bomba said that he did not shave the women, and that the Germans had not provided the barbers with mirrors.

Lanzmann: "There were no mirrors?"

Bomba: "No, there were no mirrors. There were just benches — not chairs, just benches ...

There's an interesting note. According to Bomba the Germans had provided benches inside the little gas chamber for the ladies and their children to sit on. We're not told how many benches. There could have been 17 individual ones, but more likely Bomba would have said — if Lanzmann had thought to ask him — that there were maybe four or five, half a dozen perhaps. Two or more ladies with their kids could have sat on each bench. No matter how you slice it, traffic is picking up. Seventeen barbers, the benches for 17, and now the 17 women and their kids are all there together inside the gas chamber, which is about the size of a small bedroom in the rear of an ordinary tract house — and the hair is flying. But we re not finished yet:

Lanzmann: "You said there were about sixteen ... [Lanzmann has forgotten that Bomba makes the seventeenth] ... barbers? You cut the hair of how many women in a one batch?"

Bomba: "In one day there was about, I would say, going into that place between sixty and seventy women in the same room at one time."

You might think that Claude Lanzmann is about to express some doubt about how Bomba is blocking out this scene for him. Sixty to seventy naked women in the 12-square-foot room. Lanzmann isn't going to express doubt, however, about anything told to him by a survivor. Lanzmann is a Holocaust fundamentalist. The role of the fundamentalist in any cult is to accept absolutely the testimony of those who claim to have been eyewitnesses to the original sacred event. Once the original story is made to fly, the most elegant minds can elaborate on it endlessly in good faith.

Two thousand years ago there were Jews who believed utterly that the son of their God had been nailed to a pole and executed and that he rose from his tomb to sail off the planet into the heavens. That tale was a runaway hit. Now we have Jews everywhere committed to the proposition that millions of them were exterminated in itty-bitty gas chambers, were cremated, and rose up toward the heavens in smoke. This one has all the signs of becoming a real blockbuster too. We Gentiles used to be made of sterner stuff. It took the Jesus story more than three hundred years to

be accepted as Truth by the State. In our own time the State bought the Holocaust story at the first screening.

What was the rush, one wonders?

Lanzmann urged Bomba to say something more about how he felt as he went about preparing the women and their children to be exterminated. Something more perhaps than the homely: “I felt that accordingly I got to do what they told me, to cut their hair ...”

Bomba: “I tell you something. To have a feeling about that ... It was very hard to feel anything ... your feelings disappeared, you were dead. You had no feeling at all.

This is a universal response by eyewitnesses to the alleged gas chamber murders. The claim Bomba makes that his feelings were “dead,” that he had “no feeling at all,” resembles the “temporary insanity” claim murderers use to diminish their responsibility for their behavior in the eye of the State. The ordinary murderer claims that his mental process was so diminished at the time he murdered that he was not responsible for his act. The eyewitness to the alleged gas chamber murders claims that his sensibilities were so diminished while he worked as a link in the murder process that he was not responsible for his behavior. The murderer was out of his “mind,” while gas-chamber eyewitnesses ran out of “feeling.” When Bomba describes himself as being inwardly “dead” he is saying that he cannot be judged guilty of being an accomplice to mass murder. He can accuse Germans of whatever he likes — participate in the crimes he accuses them of — yet remain forever innocent while Germans remain forever guilty. It’s a nice set-up.

In the film Bomba goes on to illustrate how dead he was inwardly while working for the SS at reblinka. He describes how he shared the hair from women he knew personally from his hometown, from his own street: “... and some of them were my close friends.” They would ask Abe: “What’s going to happen to us?” But Abe would hold his tongue. With Abe it was just snip, snip, snip. “What could you tell them?” he asks Lanzmann. “What could you tell?”

Snip, snip, snip.

Now Bomba relate to Lanzmann the story that reviewers have remarked on more than any other in *Shoah*. ^[4]

Bomba A friend of mine worked as a barber — he was good barber in my hometown — when his wife and his sister came into the gas chamber ... I can’t. It’s too horrible. Please.

Lanzmann: “We have to do it. You know it.”

Bomba: (holding back tears) “I won’t be able to do it.”

Lanzmann: (very quietly) “You have to do it. I know it’s very hard. I know and I apologize.”

Bomba : (struggling) “Don’t make me go on, please.”

Lanzmann: “Please. We must go on.”

Bomba: (unable to control tears, leaving the frame for a moment, returning) “I told you it’s going to be very hard. They were taking that ... [hair] ... in bags and transporting it to Germany.”

Lanzmann: “Okay, go ahead. What was his answer when his wife and sister came?”

Bomba: “They tried to talk to him and the husband of his sister. They could not tell him this was the last time they stay alive, because behind them was the German Nazis, SS, and they knew that if they said a word, not only the wife and the woman, who were dead already, but also they would share the same thing with them. In a way, they tried to do the best for them, with a second longer, a minute longer, just to hug them and kiss them, because they knew they would never see them again.”

To tell the truth, this is my kind of story, simple and lurid. There is also some new information in it. In addition to the 60 to 70 women and their kids, and the barbers and the benches, there were also “SS men” inside the 12-foot by 12-foot gas chamber. We don’t know how many, but as Bomba speaks in the plural he must mean that there were at least two. If Lanzmann had thought to ask him about it, Bomba might have said that there were 10 or 15 SS men in there. And then there is the welcome news that the SS would allow the Barbers to hug and kiss certain of the naked women inside the gas chamber. Bomba speaks only of married couples. Lanzmann might have asked perhaps how the SS were able to identify which of the naked women were married to which of the barbers. It must be doubtful that the naked women entered the gas chamber carrying their marriage certificates. Maybe the barbers had previously petitioned the SS to keep their own copies of their marriage certificates on the chance that just such a reunion as Bomba claims he witnessed would take place. On the other hand, maybe the SS men took the barber’s word for who was married and who wasn’t. If they did, it would betray a generosity of spirit that is not usually ascribed to the SS by Jewish survivors.

Imagine trying to visualize this scene from the wife’s point of view. Try imagining what might have gone through her mind at the moment she spied her husband. The hope that must have jumped in her heart. Then what her thoughts were as her husband sheared off her hair without speaking to her. Imagine what she must have felt as he held her silently for a minute or so, his cheek pressed lovingly against her scalp, then turned with scissors and comb to the next patient lady waiting her turn. Did his wife run her fingers over her skull and think:

“Ah, I’ve always known what kind of man you are. A schmuck when I married you and a schmuck today.”

There are a number of observations that can be made about my presentation of Lanzmann’s presentation of Bomba’s testimony. It could be observed that while Rachel Auerbach’s research suggests that Bomba is inventing his gas chamber story out of whole cloth, it can still be claimed that we are left with Auerbach’s scholarly outline of the alleged reblinka gas chambers. Therefore, while Bomba’s investigations may destroy his own credibility as a witness, the Treblinka gas chamber story itself remains as it was, an extensively documented story of a weapon used to annihilate about a million Jews. To give you a quick fix on Ms. Auerbach’s scholarly instincts and her even-handed objectivity, I will quote from her famous essay “In the Fields of Treblinka.”

As I read such passages in Rachel Auerbach’s essay I take the trouble to remind myself that after the war was she was “one of the first active members of the Jewish Historical Committee in Poland;” that after emigrating to Israel she became a “permanent research staff member of the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial Museum,” and that this In-the-Fields-of-Treblinka essay was thought worthy of reprinting as recently as 1979 by The Holocaust Library, which was found and is managed by survivors themselves and is distributed by a major Jewish publishing house, Shoken Books.

Polish people still talk about the way soap was manufactured from the bodies of Jews. 'Sent away for soap!' was the expression the Poles would use when they spoke of transports to Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor. The discovery of Professor Spanner's soap factory in Langfuhr near Danzig proved that their suspicions had been well founded. Witnesses tell us that when the corpses were burned on pyres, pans would be placed beneath the racks to catch the fat as it ran off, but this has not been confirmed. But even if the Germans in Treblinka or at any of the other death factories failed to do this, and allowed so many tons of precious fat to go to waste, it could only have been an oversight on their part. They were fully capable of doing things like that. It was entirely in keeping with their proclivities. Only the newness of this branch of manufacturing was to blame for this omission. If the Germans ever would make another drive across Europe, they would not make this mistake again.

Professor Spanner's "soap factory" in Langfuhr near Danzig was apparently an invention of active members of self-proclaimed Jewish historical committees, based upon the entrepreneurial reports of professional slanderers, and has since been kept alive by research staffs at Jewish Holocaust memorials around the world. A photograph of this "factory," with no documentation, appears in the scholarly *Encyclopedia Judaica*, published in Israel and shelved in many of the larger libraries across the United States.

Polish Jews such as Rachel Auerbach witnessed Germans destroying their culture. They witnessed Germans tearing apart Jewish families during the titanic, brutal resettlement programs. Those Jews can be forgiven their credulity and even some of their hatred, expressed in their eagerness to believe every accusation made against Germans, no matter how corrupt. Americans, however, who suffered nothing of what European Jews suffered at the hands of Germans, have little right to indulge themselves with it. Which brings me to Mr. George Will, *Washington Post* columnist and ABC Television commentator.

I am willing to accept Mr. Will's own assessment of himself. He is a brilliant and principled man. I disagree with some of his viewpoints, particularly with his obsessive-compulsive attachment to the state of Israel, but I can't show that attachment to be morally wrong. As luck would have it, Mr. Will has written a column about *Shoah* where he makes a remarkable observation.

The most stunning episode in this shattering film lasts about five minutes and involves 'only' the talk of a barber now in Israel. While he clips the hair of a customer he talks, never needing to raise his voice to be heard over the small sounds of a familiar ambiance. He describes his duties in Treblinka, cutting hair from naked women on the threshold of the gas chamber, and the day a fellow barber saw his wife and sister enter the room. [5]

Remarkable, eh? Cutting hair from naked women on the "threshold" of the gas chamber. Do you see it? The threshold is the place directly below the door to a room. A door sill perhaps. An entrance or a doorway. According to Mr. Webster it is a "place or point of beginning." Taking Mr. Will's own obvious assessment of himself, he is the proud possessor of a formidably organized intellect. A man who always distinguishes carefully between similar but different points of fact. While doing so enrages those lesser men who cannot do it themselves, it gives Mr. Will a lot of pleasure, which is why he does it so regularly. That being so, what am I to make of the fact that Mr. Will has changed the wording of Mr. Bomba's testimony?

Lanzmann: "Excuse me. How did it happen when the women came into the gas chamber? Were you yourself already in the gas chamber?"

Bomba: “I said we were already in the gas chamber, waiting over there for the transport to come in. Inside the gas chamber — we were already in.”

If Mr. Bomba swears that he was inside the gas chamber at that particular time, why does Mr. Will write that he barbed those naked women on the “threshold” of the gas chamber? Mr. Bomba can be seen on film saying that he was inside the gas chamber when he did it. In the text of the film published by Mr. Lanzmann, Mr. Bomba again insists he was inside the thing. What happened in Mr. Will’s brain as he wrote “threshold” rather than “inside” or “in?” Is it possible that Mr. Will found Mr. Bomba’s story ludicrous? He wouldn’t want to say so publicly of course as Mr. Will is one of our brightest and best Holocaust fundamentalists. Nevertheless, having the kind of relentlessly rational mind that he does, something at the bottom of it might not have bought Mr. Bomba’s story the way Mr. Will would have preferred to buy it. Maybe a single wire got crossed in the depths of Mr. Will’s brain, out of the millions that are twisted around in there. Maybe Mr. Will wanted to express some doubt about Mr. Bomba’s story but could not bring himself to do it. He may have been in that peculiar place where writers sometimes find themselves — smart enough to know that something needs to be said but without enough character to go ahead and say it. When this happens it causes a psychological malfunction known as writer’s block. Mr. Will isn’t the sort to be bothered with writer’s block, he has the habit of full production, but if he wasn’t going to spill the beans he had to turn somewhere. It looks like he turned to invention. I suppose in the moment it was easy enough for a man wired the way Mr. Will is wired to invent a threshold image and use it to replace the one Mr. Bomba invented. You can judge how much more intelligent Mr. Will is than Mr. Bomba when you compare the rationality of their two opposing visualizations.

Now that Mr. Will had Mr. Bomba on the threshold of the gas chamber rather than inside it, Mr. Will could go on indulging his fantasy about Mr. Lanzmann’s *Shoah*. As the threshold to an exterior door not only leads inside, but turning about leads to the great outdoors and indeed to the survivors who claim to have actually seen a homicidal poison gas chamber. In this scenario, as the eyewitness testimony is not allowed to be challenged, the genocide theory can not be challenged either, and if that is so then European Jews had every right to conquer Palestine and the U.S. Government is morally obligated to protect forever the Israeli State. That is the line that has been spoon-fed to American so successfully for 40 years now. Mr. Will’s threshold caper is a small example of how our intellectual elites accept the use of invention on the one hand and the suppression of good sense on the other to bolster a world view that is based, incredibly, on a handful of stories told by a handful of Abraham Bombas.

I believe the worldwide Jewish community is being betrayed by the coupling of such men as Abraham Bomba and George Will. Jews are being betrayed by their own spokesmen, and they are being betrayed by gentiles who profess to be friends and allies of the Jewish community but who in reality are merely supporters of a Zionist leadership, entrapped by the rhetoric of the Holocaust Lobby, too ashamed to reveal the immense fraud and falsehood on which so much of its influence has been built.

Notes

1.  *Kapo*: German for “trustee”.
2.  *Shoah: An Oral History of the Holocaust*, by Claude Lanzmann. Pantheon Books. New York, 1985. Unless otherwise noted, all the passages quoted in this article are from the Pantheon Books edition, pages 111-117.
3.  *The Death Camp Treblinka*, Ed. by Alexander Donat, Holocaust Library (New York, 1979). See Rachael Auerbach’s contribution, *In The Fields of Treblinka*.

4. ☺ The parenthetical descriptions of Bomba's reactions here are not in the published text. I have added them from memory. While I watched the film I could not help but be touched by Bomba's sincere distress. His tears brought tears to my own eyes. At the same time I was aware of what a laugh I thought his story is. A nice irony for the psychotherapists.
5. ☺ *The Washington Post* (Nov 15, 1985)

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The Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft

Peter H. Oppenheimer

This paper is an examination of the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft (SL), a West German organization of Sudeten Germans expelled by Czechoslovakia from their homeland after World War II. This essay will place particular emphasis on the political activities of the SL. The intention of the essay is to enlighten the reader to the workings and evolution of a unique organization and advance some reasons for the successes, failures, and longevity of this group.

The continuing existence of an organization such as the SL seems to be an anachronism when one juxtaposes the original political objectives of the group and West German Ostpolitik since Willy Brandt. Yet, like the West German polity, the SL underwent successful policy alterations, reacting to developments both at home and abroad. To a certain extent, the SL adapted to contemporary conditions, discarded obsolete rhetoric, retrenched when necessary, and, in consequence, has survived until the present. Basically, the SL evolved from a politically oriented organization to a heritage preservation society. Although this description is exaggerated, it accurately indicates the direction of the SL's evolution. True, even today the SL still espouses the right to the Sudeten homeland and self-determination, but generally Sudeten Germans appear to be economically and politically content in West Germany and all signs point to a continuance of their contentment.

The issues which this paper will discuss include the path of the SL from 1950 to the present and its reaction to West German, Central and Eastern European diplomatic and political developments. The questions which the essay will endeavour to answer encompass such topics as: What are the political objectives and aspirations of the SL? How has the SL influenced Bonn's Eastern policy? What tactics and strategies has the SL utilized to achieve its goals? What part have the Sudeten Germans taken in government? Do Sudeten Germans still desire to return to the homeland? These questions have no easy answers, but this writer hopes he will at least provoke some thought on a subject that even today has consequences for a divided Germany and an ideologically disparate Europe.

Background And History

In 845, several Slav chieftains accepted Christianity in Regensburg, Germany. Thereafter, many of these chieftains married German princesses, and the land where they lived, Bohemia, became a fief of Charlemagne's Empire. The Bohemian Dukes were later made kings by the German Emperor, and became electors of the German Empire.

The Bohemian rulers invited Germans to settle the uninhabited lands bordering on Bohemia and Moravia. Through this area runs a mountain range, the Sudetes, hence the region became known as the Sudetenland. [1] In 1526, a Habsburg prince was elected King of Bohemia, reinforcing

Sudetenland ties to Germany. Bohemia and Moravia remained a part of the Holy Roman Empire until its dissolution in 1806. Later they belonged to the German Confederation and after 1866 Austria-Hungary included them among its territories. [2]

The situation remained unaltered until the collapse of the Habsburg Empire at the end of World War I. The First Czechoslovak Republic, created in 1918, annexed the crown lands of Bohemia and Moravia. The Sudeten Germans, desirous of self-determination as set forth in Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, attempted to affiliate themselves with the new Austrian Republic. To prevent this "treasonous" action, the new Czech state occupied the Sudetenland with troops and forbade Sudeten German participation in Austrian parliamentary elections. Sudeten German political leaders consequently called for a general strike on 4 March 1919, and on this day fifty-four Sudeten Germans were killed by Czech troops as they demonstrated for self-determination. [3]

Unable to break this iron grip, the Sudeten Germans strove for political reform within the Czechoslovak State in hopes it would grant their minority ethnic group greater freedom. [4] Under the leadership of Konrad Henlein, the Sudeten German Party (SGP) was formed. Henlein actively supported Hitler's pre-war annexationism, and the SGP sympathized with the National Socialists. [5] On the other side of the political spectrum, Wenzel Jaksch headed the Sudeten German Social Democratic Party (SGSDP). In contrast to the SGP, the SGSDP continued to work with and support the Czechoslovak Government. [6]

By 1935, Henlein's party received 60% of all Sudeten German votes, polled more than 1.2 million ballots, and became the single strongest party in Czechoslovakia. [7] Concurrently, the influence of the SGSDP waned, and after the 1938 Munich Agreement, became insignificant. When Germany occupied Czechoslovakia in 1939, Jaksch and his group fled to London, where the party operated in exile. [8] The SGP, having supported Hitler, was allowed to govern the Sudetenland.

Upon Germany's defeat in 1945, the Red Army entered Czechoslovakia and Eduard Benes, the former president of Czechoslovakia (1935 - 1938), was permitted to re-establish a government. He immediately began to expel the Sudeten Germans and eventually 3 million were "deported." [9] Of these, 1.9 million arrived in the American Zone of Germany. By 1947, the basic framework of the SL was assembled. [10]

The SL argued publicly that the Sudeten Germans were expelled to cause turmoil and unrest in West Germany. According to the SL, the Czechs reckoned that a large influx of homeless people in a war-torn country would create a social upheaval favorable to communism and enable communist agents to infiltrate West Germany. [11] Prague maintained that it expelled the Sudeten Germans to guarantee the existence of an independent Czech State and to punish the Sudeten Germans for crimes perpetrated by the National Socialists during the Second World War. [12]

In 1948, the Czech Communist Party seized control of the country and continued the expulsions begun by the previous government. One of the most significant results of this policy was to make the Sudeten Germans staunch anti-communists. [13] Prague in turn has viewed the SL as a revanchist organization with pan-germanic aims. [14] Needless to say, both sides believed the existence of the other precluded the achievement of their own foreign policy goals. In hindsight, this has not proven to be the case, and although Prague has triumphed, the SL is still extant.

The Structure of the SL

The SL set up regional headquarters in Bavaria in 1947. [15] A national headquarters was established in Munich in 1950. [16] The organization encompasses several regional groups and its membership (defined as dues-paying adherents) was approximately 350,000 in 1960. [17]

From its inception, the SL functioned as a well-organized association. In 1954 it became the only democratic representation of the Sudeten Germans, and the Sudeten Germans became the first ethnic expellee group in West Germany to have a democratic organization based on secret elections. [18] The SL has a central assembly consisting of seventy-one representatives elected by seventy-one electoral districts all over West Germany. [19] These representatives serve two-year terms and they elect the president, whose tenure is three years, and the executive board. [20]

The Sudeten Council, loosely linked to the SL, plays a most important role in the Sudeten German cause. It consists of thirty members, ten deputies from political parties represented in the Bundestag, ten members from the SL, and ten members co-opted from other relevant West German institutions. [21] The council is the official representation of external Sudeten German interests, and can accurately be termed the Sudeten German foreign-policy body. [22]

From 1954 until 1968, the SL had a marked right-wing slant, mirroring the beliefs of its first two presidents, Rudolf Lodgman von Auen (1954-1959) and Hans-Christoph Seebohm (1959-1968). [23] Since 1968, Walter Becher, a more moderate politician, has presided over the SL. As we shall see, under his direction, the SL has more realistically reflected the political situation of present day Europe, such as that brought about by the Prague-Bonn Treaty Of 1973.

Rights and Tenets

The basis for SL political aims have rested upon two rights and two tenets. Because for so long these have dictated SL foreign policy, it is necessary to outline them.

The right to the homeland and the right of self-determination have formed the cornerstone of Sudeten German hopes and aspirations vis-à-vis the Sudetenland. These rights, supported throughout years by increasingly sophisticated legalistic and moralistic arguments, hark back at least as far as Wilson's Fourteen Points of 1918. The SL also has pointed to the incorporation of both of these rights in numerous international documents as a further justification of their validity. Among the documents that have declared these rights are The Atlantic Charter (12 August 1941), Statutes of the UN (26 June 1945), General Declaration of Human Rights (10 September 1948), and the European Convention for Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms (14 November 1950). [24] Most importantly, the Basic Law of the BRD states that one of the country's duties is "to effect the unity and freedom of Germany in an act of self-determination." [25] However, in spite of all such legal documents, the Sudeten Germans have come no closer to the realization of either right.

The two tenets that have supplemented the basic rights asserted by the SL were incorporated in the Charta der Deutschen Heimatvertriebenen, a lofty proclamation to which the SL subscribed. The tenets constitute a renunciation of revenge and retaliation in all actions, and the belief that only in a united Europe can people live in peace without fear and threat to their basic human rights. [26] By assuming these tenets, the SL hoped to make their cause acceptable to their countrymen and the world. In light of Germany's role in World War II, renunciation of revenge and retaliation laid the foundation for respectability for the SL. It is unlikely that the Federal Government or the Western Allies would have tolerated the existence of the organization in the post-war years if not for this declaration. The desire for a united Europe has expressed itself in the foreign policy objectives of the SL. In this context, it suffices to remark that the SL hoped that the cre-

ation of a supra-national state would enable the peoples of Europe to transcend nationalism and allow the Sudeten Germans to return to their homeland.

Political Development

The development of the SL, its foreign policy and political aspirations can be divided roughly into three periods. The first of these, from the SL's inception in 1950 until the 20-Point Program of 1961, witnessed the apogee of SL political potency as well as the climax of hard-line ideology. The second period, from the 20-Point Program until the Prague-Bonn Agreement of 1973, saw the gradual reconciliation of SL aspirations with the political realities of Europe. During this period, the children of those expellees who had lived in the Sudetenland as adults reached maturity, and this accounted in part for the softening of SL rhetoric. The final period, the ten or so years since 1973, has not marked the demise of the SL, as one might have expected. West German political leaders still espouse the right of self-determination, as Chancellor Kohl did in 1983 in a speech on the state of the German Nation. [27] And, on the thirty-fifth annual Sudeten German day in 1984, 50,000 Sudeten Germans assembled to hear President Karl Carstens address their cause. [28] The survival of the SL has entailed adaptation, reconciliation and concession. It also implies that at the core of the SL there lies a purpose that transcends politics and foreshadows an enduring place for the organization in Germany's future.

The First Period (1950-1961)

The first period in the evolution of the SL lasted approximately twelve years and paralleled the re-emergence of West Germany as an economic powerhouse and its acceptance into the family of nations. The SL's main goals during this period, as reflected by the 1950 Detmold Declaration, consisted a mixture of idealism, hope and realpolitik. [29] The goals included the attempt to raise their cause to an all-German and then an all-European one, the promotion of a supra-national European State-with its implications of "rolling back communism" — the enlistment of Western, especially American support, the dissemination of information to publicize their views, and the integration of Sudeten Germans into the BRD economy. The last of these goals, accomplished by the Wirtschaftswunder,² will not be discussed in this essay. The first five, however, will be examined in depth.

The early years of the SL were marked both with success and occasional failure. The Charta der Deutschen Heimatvertriebenen conferred respectability on the SL and further reputability was bestowed upon the organization with the promulgation of the Wiesbaden Agreement in 1950. This document was concluded between the Czech National Committee — an organization of exiled non-communist Czechs — and the SL. Apart from an abiding belief in democracy, the Wiesbaden Agreement recognized the right of Sudeten Germans to return to the homeland, bound both signatories to work for the liberation of the Czech people, rejected the theory of collective guilt, and established claims for the compensation of damages suffered by either party. [30] This last point is noteworthy, for the SL was the only expellee organization to claim compensation for the expulsions. [31] This claim contradicted the spirit of the Charta der Deutschen Heimatvertriebenen, for it raised the spectre of retaliation for injury. However, the SL leadership found no difficulty reconciling the two, which suggests that beneath the facade of formal, peaceful declarations lay latent feelings of resentment. Nevertheless, the Wiesbaden Agreement enhanced the position of the SL, for it was the only Landsmannschaft to cement such a "foreign" agreement, and showed the type of supranational state the Sudeten Germans desired in Europe. Evidently, this state was supposed to be democratic and non-totalitarian, implying that the elimination of communism from Eastern Europe was a prerequisite to the return to the homeland.

SL reaction to political events within West Germany and Western Europe serves as an indication of the organization's goals. The SL supported the European Defense Community and decried its demise in 1954. [32] In 1955, the SL supported Germany's entrance into NATO and logically German rearmament. [33] Again in 1957, the SL approved of the European Common Market because "This marks another great milestone on the way to uniting the free peoples of Europe." [34] One year later, the Sudeten German Council rejected the Soviet Peace Plan because it sought German recognition of the Sudetenland as part of Czechoslovakia and the legalization of the expulsions. [35] The reasons the SL supported economic and military organizations was intrinsically related to the objective of constructing a supra-national European State and pushing back communism. Additionally, co-operation among Western European countries may have facilitated SL opportunities to enlist aid for their cause and as a consequence thereof, hasten the return of their homeland.

Initially, the SL endeavoured to elevate the Sudeten Question to national importance. This attempt was met with marked success and should be traced for its past, present and future implications. Even before the SL had established a national headquarters, Sudeten Germans were represented in the German Bundestag and the Bavarian Landtag. West Germany's political parties were quite supportive of expellee aims in general, and Sudeten Germans in particular. This should come as no surprise for in 1950, West Germany's population of 47,696,000 included 7,900,000 expellees, or 16% of the population. [36] Sudeten Germans, 1,900,000 of them, constituted 20% of Bavaria's population. [37] It would have been extremely difficult for political parties to ignore such a large part of the populace, particularly since most expellee groups, like the Sudeten Germans, were well-organized. Initially, Sudeten Germans seemed to support political parties dependent upon the degree to which the party catered to their stated objectives. In 1950, a political party, the Bund der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten (BHE) (the organization of expellees and those deprived of their rights) was created expressly to serve expellee interests. [38] However, being as socially, economically, and politically diverse as any other group, Sudeten Germans cast votes for all political parties. A brief examination of each follows.

The CDU (Christian Democratic Union), as the party in power after 1949, made a special effort to attract expellee support. [39] In 1945, the party established a special sub-branch led by expellees "primarily responsible for formulating expellee and refugee policy for the CDU." [40] The party's 1953 Hamburg Program upheld claims to the homeland and insisted on the right of self-determination. [41] In 1966, when the BRD moved toward improved relations with Czechoslovakia, the CDU reiterated its 1953 stance, but explained that it sought reconciliation with East Bloc countries. [42] On the regional and national levels, the CDU got marginally smaller support from expellees than the SPD (Social Democratic Party), despite its control of government and more conservative slant.

The SPD, unlike the CDU, did not establish a special expellee infra-organization until the mid-1960's but did exert efforts to obtain expellee votes. [43] The Bad Godesberg Party Program of 1959 explicitly demanded "Recht aller Menschen auf ihre Heimat, ihr Volkstum, ihre Sprache und Kultur." [44] However, the SPD was criticized by the CDU and CSU for being too soft towards Eastern Europe. [45] Especially after the erection of the Berlin Wall, the SPD was the vanguard of political parties adopting a more flexible attitude towards East Bloc countries. [46] Perhaps because expellees were more likely to be economically disadvantaged, the SPD, despite its policies, received substantial expellee support.

The Free Democratic Party (FDP) position regarding expellees was similar to the SPD's. In its 1957 Berlin Program, it advocated the right of self-determination, the right to the homeland, and the rights of free mankind. [47] Because the FDP was so much smaller than the SPD and CDU, its expellee mandate was correspondingly smaller.

The Christian Social Union (CSU), the Bavarian counterpart and essentially smaller partner of the CDU, usually espoused the same program as its big brother. However, the CSU's chairman, Franz Josef Strauss, was perhaps one of the most outspoken supporters of expellee interests. [48] In 1961 in a resolution supporting the SL's 20-Point Program (see below), the CSU stated it felt particularly closely tied to and responsible for the Sudeten Germans. [49] Moreover, "Die CSU ist bereit, entsprechende Anträge der SL mit besonderer Bereitwilligkeit zu unterstützen."4 [50] This attention to Sudeten German interests has been undoubtedly rewarded at the polling place.

Perhaps the most interesting, and certainly one of the most ephemeral political parties, was the BHE. Created in 1950 specifically to represent expellee interests, it obtained Bundestag representation only once, in 1957, and declined rapidly thereafter. [51] During its existence, Sudeten Germans voted the BHE ticket more than for any other political party, and supported the BHE more than any other expellee organization. The BHE eventually failed because of internal dissension, economic integration of expellees, and demographic factors. [52] The SL did not mourn the BHE collapse, but neither did it accurately gauge Sudeten German support of the party. SL President Lodgman von Auen explained after the BHE's electoral failure in 1957, "The BHE/GB's loss of votes in the last election is no symptom of shifting interests among expellees with regard to German reunification or the lost German territory in the East. The BHE/GB never represented a majority among expellees." [53]

The National Democratic Party (NPD), a neo-fascist group which grew in size in the 1960's, was another party which tried to attract expellee support. [54] The party was formed in 1964, and although it never broke the 5% barrier for a national mandate, it achieved regional representation. The NPD program, a mixture of nationalism, pan-germanism, and irredentism, seemed attractive to expellees. According to the NPD, the Sudetenland had been legally ceded to Hitler in 1938 in fulfillment of the principle of selfdetermination. [55] Thus the region was still considered a part of Germany, contrary to Government declarations which only recognized 1937 borders. In spite of the expulsions, "the Sudeten German's right to the homeland...has not been extinguished," and the NPD "pledges especially to support the SL in its battle for rights." [56] Many expellee organizations denounced the NPD as neo-fascist, however the SL was not among them. [57] Notwithstanding Sudeten German support, the NPD expired as a political party by 1970. [58] The SL, as shown below, had certainly become less politically active by this time as well. It appears that the NPD took with them their radicalism and rightist-extremism, and these -isms no longer seem to have an audience among Sudeten Germans.

On the whole, expellees as a group have come to support the major democratic parties. [59] Although 20% of all expellees "were attracted to the BHE's thin mixture of narrow economic appeal and nostalgic nationalism" this did not prevent that party's decline. [60] Indeed, one historian credits the BHE with "having organized sections of the population that were ready to swing to radicalism, of having helped to make them feel that there was a place for them in West German politics, and of having led them to participate in the processes of a new democracy." [61] Whatever the case may be, the Sudeten Germans seemed to have followed the broad path towards moderation. They gave disproportionate support in comparison with other expense groups to rightist parties — the BHE and NPD — but have gradually succumbed to mitigating political, social, and economic forces. The German economy has successfully absorbed them, Bonn's social legislation (i.e., Equalization of Burdens) has recognized many of their claims, and they generally have acquired a stake in society. [62] Sudeten Germans today are indistinguishable in their political preferences from other West Germans. Therefore, political parties, especially since the SPD came to power in 1969, have made much less of an effort to attract expellee support. [63]

In retrospect, the number of Sudeten German representatives has fluctuated in the Bundestag, but increased absolutely in both parliaments between 1946 and 1965. The numbers themselves explain little, but government statements at the time tell that the ballot box voice of the Sudeten Germans was not insubstantial. For example, West Germany responded to the 1950 Prague Agreement by rejecting it. The Prague Agreement was a treaty of friendship between East Germany and Czechoslovakia of 14 July 1950 in which Pankow and Prague sanctioned the expulsions of the Sudeten Germans and recognized the Oder-Neisse line. [64] Bonn said that Pankow was unauthorized to represent the German peoples and refused to surrender the right of the homeland of Germans from Czechoslovakia who "had been placed under the protective patronage of the BRD." [65] Of course, Bonn reacted to national and international anti-communist pressures distinct from the Sudeten German constituency, but the proclamation was undoubtedly a victory if not a life-saver for the SL. In 1954, Bavaria became the official patron of the SL. [66] The then Bavarian Minister President, Dr. Hans Ehard, after declaring Bavarian patronage, stated that his land would do everything in its power to support Sudeten German claims to their homeland. [67] Among his many reasons for declaring this patronage, Ehard was certainly motivated by politics, as the Sudeten Germans comprised 1.9 million of Bavaria's population. Ehard's political magnanimity was also a significant step toward raising the political consciousness of the German people on the Sudeten Question. Shortly thereafter, BRD foreign minister Dr. von Brentano assured the Sudeten Germans that "The West German Government (would) adhere to the 1950 resolution according to which it had pledged the German expellees its guardianship of their rights to the homeland in Czechoslovakia." [68] A few months later on 28 June 1956, Brentano reiterated this position adding that Bonn backed "the rights to the homeland and self-determination right of people as an unconditional prerequisite for the resolution of the fate of those persons in exile or slavery." [69] This statement was admittedly ambiguous, for exiles could refer to all inhabitants of communist ruled countries or more specifically ethnic Germans still living in communist countries. Yet, the SL inferred support of their aspirations from Brentano's remark, which was perhaps most important. Final proof that the SL had succeeded in elevating theirs to an all-German cause came as a subsection of the Hallstein Doctrine. In 1956, at the 161st session of the Bundestag, State Secretary Hallstein, inter alia, recognized expellees' right to the homeland and self-determination. [70] On the heels of this proclamation, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Bundestag stated that the Federal Government was "charged with defending the legal claim to German eastern territories and the expellees' right to the homeland vis-à-vis foreign governments." [71]

These proclamations signified SL success at solidifying the Sudeten Problem within the political mind of West Germany. Their success at the European level, however, was much less impressive. In 1960, Dr. Rudolf Lodgman von Auen, past president of the SL, wrote that the SL ought to extend the Sudeten German cause abroad by establishing relations with exile groups outside of Europe and their respective organizations. [72] The absolute dearth of information on this objective in subsequent issues of the Sudeten Bulletin, while not proving its failure, definitely indicate the insignificance of its result. This was one of the problems of the SL; it was never able, beyond symbolic gestures, to obtain foreign or international recognition of its cause. Much hoopla was given to the Nationalist Chinese who, on 11 December 1956, brought before a plenary session of the UN the question of the German expulsions after World War II. [73] Seen as a step toward the international recognition of expellee legal claims, it had only minor repercussions and the UN did not pass a resolution. A similar failure occurred when the SL tried to obtain Radio Free Europe (RFE) airtime to project their views and broadcast Sudeten German programs. Czech commentators on the RFE opposed the SL and were vehemently attacked for their anti-Sudeten German stance. One SL spokesman said, "The RFE has developed into a stronghold of the late Dr. Benes' National Socialist Party." [74] The SL was unable to obtain RFE airtime and called for its own expellee transmitter station. [75] This project, too, never reached fruition, and ultimately, the SL had to be content with transmissions by Radio Madrid of Sudeten German programs in the

Czech language. [76] This string of failures marked SL attempts to achieve international recognition of their cause. The one exception, the one country that did take notice of the SL was the USA, although in a half-hearted, superficial way. Perhaps because Bavaria, the home of the majority of Sudeten Germans, had been part of the American Zone, or perhaps because the USA had a guilty conscience arising from the Potsdam Agreement, which, among other things, had sanctioned the expulsions, a steady stream of U.S. Congressmen and Senators sent congratulatory messages to the SL every year upon the annual Sudetendeutscher Tag, approving their intentions and encouraging their aims. [77] For example, Senator Strom Thurmond wrote in 1957, "The spirit of independence demonstrated by the Sudeten Germans who suffered such great persecution at the hands of the communist-led government should inspire the world." [78] The inaccuracy of this statement — the Benes-led National Socialist Government, not the communists, first expelled the Sudeten Germans — typified American ignorance of Central European history and proved that U.S. support was probably part of a general anti-communist stance for domestic political profit rather than a knowledgeable response to perceived injustice. Furthermore, the Senator's message proved that despite all efforts, the SL had failed to elevate the Sudeten Question to the international level or to enlist the whole-hearted support of the West. As the SL president lamented in 1957, the West was interested only in combatting communists in Europe and has yet to move beyond theoretical declamations on the expellee issue. [79]

Against these prevailing currents, the SL participated in the World Refugee Year of 1959, and in 1961 the Sudeten German Council joined the Federalist Union of European Ethnic Groups. [80] The latter meant that from then on the Sudeten German Council still represented the 165,000 Sudeten Germans still living in Czechoslovakia. However, neither action significantly enhanced the international position of the SL.

1961 was a benchmark year for the SL. There surfaced an internal conflict between the wish to accommodate political realities in Europe and the desire to continue the hard-line policies. One Sudeten German leader voicing the latter opinion explained that the SL "(does) not want to be a mere cultural society, or an auxiliary wing of political parties, but an ethnic organization with responsibilities and aspirations unique for all times." [81] However, his was a dissenting voice amidst a growing acceptance of a conciliatory line. The 20-Point Program of 1961, while retaining many hard-line positions to pacify SL right-wingers, was the first indication of the SL's new direction.

The Annual Rally

The annual Sudeten German Rally (Sudetendeutscher Tag) has been and continues to be the most prominent event of the SL. As a measure of Sudeten German vitality, the rally reveals an almost uninterrupted well-being since the first one took place in 1950. [82] Because this event provides a common thread in the SL chronology, it constitutes an appropriate transition from the first to the second period of SL history.

In the early years, the rally offered expellees the opportunity to find family and encounter old friends. [83] It also enabled the SL to remind the public of the right to the homeland and self-determination and to denounce the Czech Government. [84] Later, the rallies increasingly became a forum for politicians and an exhibition of Sudeten German culture (i.e., sports, dances, plays, and parades). [85] Looking at pictures of the rally in the Sudeten Bulletin, one is struck overwhelmingly by the predominance of elderly people. Certainly the annual rally was for many simply a reunion, a time to get together to share memories of the homeland and reminisce about old times.

The number of Sudeten Germans who attended these rallies is instructive, if only in showing the extent of support for the SL and the unflagging desire of Sudeten Germans to congregate year after year. Even given the difficulty of accurately estimating such large numbers and the likely tendency of the Sudeten Bulletin to exaggerate, the attendance figures are impressive and reveal that there has been an attraction, be it political posturing, cultural exhibitions, or simply fond memories that has consistently drawn Sudeten Germans to the rallies.

It was usual at the rallies for SL leaders to direct verbal exhortations at the Federal Government or Prague. Frequently, BRD representatives came to the Sudetendeutscher Tag as well to explain government policies with regard to expellees, as Foreign Minister von Brentano did in 1956. [86] Congratulatory messages always poured in from abroad, especially from the US, demonstrating the perceived importance of the rallies. Prague, on the other hand, often denigrated the rally, viewing it as a symbol of German revanchism. In 1956, Rude Pravo, Prague's newspaper, labelled the event a "rusty weapon left over from the stubborn period of the cold war." [87]

The purpose of the rally, in the opinion of a member of the Bavarian Landtag, was basically to remind the world of the expulsions and reaffirm the Sudeten German claim to the homeland. [88] With the passage of time and the repercussions of such events as the erection of the Berlin Wall, the establishment of a BRD trade mission in Prague and the suppression of the "Prague Spring," the purpose of the rally gradually changed. In 1970, one spokesman described the rally as a "testimony of support for Europe, justice, and the preservation of peace." [89] The late 60's and early 70's witnessed a mitigation of Sudeten German rhetoric at the annual rally and West Germany's establishment of diplomatic relations with Prague in 1973 reinforced this trend. In more recent years, with West Germany's growing desire to improve ties with East Germany (DDR), the rally has once again become a platform for national politicians. At the thirty-fifth rally in 1984, BRD President Karl Carstens praised the Sudeten Germans for their intellectual and cultural contributions to Germany and their role in preserving Eastern German traditions. [90] As the hope of German reunification receives new life, it is possible that the Sudetendeutscher Tag will regain some of its lost luster while the SL itself may recoup some of its past political prestige.

The Second Period (1961-1973)

The second period of SL history covers the period 1961 to 1973 and witnessed many events of far-reaching importance in Central Europe. The period was characterized by temporizing action on the part of the SL as the organization endeavoured to withstand forces that generally ameliorated relations between West Germany and Czechoslovakia. Throughout this period, the SL maintained its existing political objectives. However, in line with numerous West German diplomatic decisions which the SL perceived to threaten its future, SL leaders exerted a greater effort to influence the BRD government. Paradoxically, the failure of the SL to prevent, or even attempt to impede Germany from establishing diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia (CSSR) did not spell the end for the organization. Instead, that event, which marks the close of the second period, confirmed the SL propensity to focus on cultural and historical activities over political agitation as the sustaining purpose of the organization.

The Sudeten German 20-Point Program of 7 May 1961 demarcates the beginning of the second period of SL history. Beneath a biased view of the expulsions, evidence of appeasement was present. For the first time, the SL recognized that the Munich Agreement, which it had hitherto regarded as legal and just according to international law, was a document of dubious character. [91] The SL also reversed its position concerning negotiations with the CSSR. The criterion of SL policy had always been to "reject negotiations with persons who instigated or carried out the expulsions." [92] The new program averred that "people are to be judged exclusively by what they

think of the expulsion today and what they are sincerely working for today." [93] Although this last point specifically referred to Sudeten Germans, it implied a more tolerant attitude toward Prague as well. Finally, the right of self-determination, though reiterated in its traditional form, was qualified by point 19 which explained that self-determination "admitted different constitutional or international solutions." [94]

The 20-Point Program set the SL upon a new path of pragmatism. It arose largely from the realization by SL leaders that the West judged other international problems as more important than the expellee question. [95] Additionally, trends visible within the BRD government portended improved relations with Central Europe. Indeed, on 14 June 1961 the Bundestag passed a resolution calling for a gradual normalization of relations with Central European countries. [96] Apparently, the SL leaders were not purblind and, in a sense, were accommodating themselves to diplomatic developments.

One result of the 20-Point Program was that each of the major political parties of West Germany endorsed the new, liberal program as a solution to the Sudeten German Question. [97] Party support of the SL, as has been shown, was not unprecedented and in fact dated back to 1950. At that time, all of the West German parliamentary parties had sanctioned the Obhutserklärung. [98] In this Declaration of Protection, the BRD Government promised to protect the rights of Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia. [99] Although the parties renewed their support of the SL in 1961, they concurred with Bonn that the BRD had no territorial claims against the CSSR, but that this did not prejudice the inalienable rights of the Sudeten Germans to their homeland. [100] This disclaimer was an important qualification that reflected Bonn's desire to improve relations with Central Europe. As such, it served notice to the SL that their political position was perhaps not as strong as it had previously been.

Any hope engendered by the 20-Point Program for a return to the homeland was stricken when the Berlin Wall was erected during the night of 13 August 1961. More than any other single event, this action drove home to the SL as well as the rest of the world the permanence of Germany's division. The SL's prerequisite for returning to the Sudetenland — the reunification of Germany followed by the founding of a supra-national European state — received a severe, if not fatal, blow. The shock waves that rumbled through the world community affected the Sudeten Germans no less than any other Germans, and it perhaps indicated that a more practical strategy was in order. That this was not immediately the case is illustrated by SL actions in the early 1960's.

In 1962, members of the Bavarian Diet, evidently responding to pressure from Sudeten German constituents, sent a letter to the Federal Minister of Justice of the BRD. The letter demanded the extradition or punishment of those Czechoslovak citizens responsible for the deaths of 300,000 Sudeten Germans during the expulsions. [101] This behest contradicted the spirit of the Charta der Deutschen Heimatvertriebenen and scarcely mirrored the more conciliatory aims outlined in the 20-Point Program. Apparently, the Berlin Wall and its implications for the SL had boosted conservative sentiment within the organization. [102] Bavaria's reaffirmation of its patronage of the Sudeten Germans shortly thereafter may have been related to this forward, aggressive attitude. Yet, the pre-eminence of this hard-line was short-lived.

On 11 December 1962 Rudolf Lodgman von Auen, past president of the SL and staunch conservative, died. [103] The passing of Auen seemed to weaken conservative initiative among Sudeten Germans, for in 1963, when Bonn began to consider establishing a trade mission in Prague, the Sudeten Council acted reasonably. It passed a resolution which stated in part, "The Sudeten German Council welcomes all endeavours aimed at improved relations between the two peoples."

[104] Assuredly the council restricted its resolution by warning the BRD government to avoid recognizing Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, the pragmatic, more “liberal” attitude initiated in 1961 appeared once again to prevail.

Pragmatism, however, did not prevent the negotiations between Prague and Bonn from being stormy. The CSSR demanded that West Germany annul the Munich Agreement *hic et nunc* as a precondition to negotiations. [105] The SL went into a frenzied state announcing that an annulment would be extremely detrimental to their cause, essentially invalidating their claims to the homeland. [106] Eventually the negotiations were concluded with the Munich Agreement intact. However, the near catastrophe exposed the precarious position of the SL and the willingness of Bonn to ponder, though not as yet bargain with, Hitler’s 1938 diplomatic coup. The Münchner Abkommen had possibly become the vulnerable shield of a retreating SL knight.

The SL knight arguably lost that vulnerable shield in 1966. In April of that year, West Germany transmitted a Peace Note to Prague avowing “The BRD is of the opinion that the Munich Agreement of 1938 was torn up by Hitler and that it is no longer of territorial significance.” [107] Although Bonn did not explicitly annul the Munich Agreement, it was clear that SL objections had been overridden and Bonn was finally pursuing better formal relations with the CSSR. [108] Perhaps partly as a result of the Peace Note, partly as a result of declining interest in the Sudeten Question in the West, the Sudeten Bulletin underwent major changes in 1966. The bulletin dropped its title, merged with another publication, the German News, and was renamed the Central European Journal. [109] The editor, Anton Wuschek, explained that the bulletin’s content would deal with historical and contemporary European affairs instead of solely Czech-German relations and Sudeten German issues. [110] More important, the-primary emphasis was thenceforth to be placed upon “articles concerned with modern history, international relations, arts, economics, and the current affairs of Central Europe.” [111] That its major English language publication no longer focused exclusively on Sudeten German issues implied that treatment of such issues no longer supported an English-speaking readership. Western, especially American, heed of the Sudeten German Question had either declined or been replaced with a greater desire for a European detente. In any case, the SL presumably believed that its cause would be better served by stressing a broader spectrum of Central European topics instead of specific Sudeten German matters.

Two years after Bonn’s Peace Note and the reorganization of the Sudeten Bulletin, Russian troops cracked down on blossoming intellectual and personal freedoms in Czechoslovakia. [112] The suppression of the Prague Spring, as it came to be known, affected both Bonn and Sudeten German leaders. Franz Josef Strauss, chairman of the CSU, must have expressed the feelings of many Germans when he said “a curtain (fell) on the prospects for a peaceful coexistence with the East Bloc states, obscuring a view of the future.” [113] But the event elicited no further response in the Central European Journal. [114] The silence of the journal is possibly indicative of Sudeten German disinterest and depoliticization with regard to the country of their homeland. If this is the case, it reinforced the already visible trend-axiomatic in the Sudeten Bulletin’s merger and change — away from purely Sudeten German political issues.

In 1970 Bavaria established the House of the German East for the Sudeten Germans in Munich. [115] The purpose of this institution was twofold: first and foremost was to preserve the Sudeten German cultural heritage and second, to provide a place where peoples from all over Europe could meet to exchange ideas. In a closing address at the official opening of the House, a member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences defined the House as follows, “These houses are a socio-political, and interpersonal necessity; they depoliticize and de-ideologize old concepts and relations... At stake is a new healthy attitude on the part of Germans from the East ... toward a

new intellectual and cultural focus in Europe." [116] As a reflection of the trend away from political activism, as a signpost indicating a new cultural-historical orientation for Sudeten Germans, and as a result of Central European diplomatic realities, the Haus des deutschen Ostens symbolized the SL revelation that they were not going to ever regain the homeland. Hence, the best, and perhaps only way to preserve the Heimat for their children was to create a place where their arts, handicrafts, customs, and traditions would be preserved.

The evolution of the SL from a politically oriented organization to a homeland preservation association probably made it easier for the Sudeten Germans to accept the Bonn-Prague Treaty of 1973. [117] During preliminary negotiations; the SL magnanimously offered "its expert knowledge and advice" to the BRD Government. [118] It is quite likely that Bonn did not avail itself of the offer, for the treaty was highly unsatisfactory to the Sudeten Germans, although it probably would have been so under any circumstance. Once the treaty was signed establishing formal diplomatic relations between West Germany and Czechoslovakia, an outcry arose from SL leaders. But it was more the form the treaty took than the fact of the treaty itself which provoked them. [119] Nonetheless, indignation among SL leaders was so great that Bavaria, as patron of the Sudeten Germans, was compelled to reject the treaty. [120] One Sudeten German explaining his displeasure said, "The Bonn-Prague Treaty perpetuates the tragedy of 3½ million Sudeten Germans who had no effective voice in any one of the significant historical decisions affecting their fates as a people." [121] Needless to say, the anti-treaty protest had no tangible effect on the ratification of the treaty. To all intents and purposes, the treaty simply reconciled the political reality of the loss of the Sudetenland with the personal conviction of many Sudeten Germans. The only apparent victim of the treaty, the Central European Journal, ceased publication shortly after the treaty was promulgated. [122] The SL must have decided to channel its journalistic enemies in other, more fruitful and probably less political directions. Twenty-five years after first going to press, the journal ended, culminating the second period in SL history.

The Third Period (1974-1984) And Conclusion

The third period in SL history, dating from 1974 to the present, is notable primarily for the dearth of information this writer was able to obtain. Indeed, only a few recent speeches and an article or two were located. However, with an eye to trends evident within the SL at the time of the Bonn-Prague Treaty, the balance of the 1970's was liable to have been marked by continued emphasis on cultural activities and a further decline in interest in the Eastern Question. Attendance at the annual rally dipped enormously between 1974 and 1984, supporting this hypothesis. Aging must have contributed to a declining interest in the homeland; most Sudeten Germans who had been adults in 1945 have probably died. Furthermore, for those Sudeten Germans who had experienced the expulsions and are still alive, the passage of time inevitably heals emotional and psychological wounds, including those caused by the loss of the Sudetenland. Polls taken in the 1950's and 1960's had demonstrated the diminishing desire of expellees to return to the homeland, and one author attributes this to the Berlin Wall and the complete economic integration of expellees by 1961. [123] If public clamoring for Die Recht auf Heimat⁵ did not always decline in correspondence to the true desires of expellees, this was because there was often a disparity between what some expellee leaders professed and what their followers believed. [124] On the whole, Sudeten Germans had no desire, even if given the opportunity, to return to the Sudetenland, and this accounted, most likely, for the growing lack of interest in political activity aimed at regaining the homeland and the increasing stress placed upon institutions like the German House of the East.

Very recently there appears to have been a resurgence in interest in the expellee question and Sudeten Question. West German Bundeskanzler Helmut Kohl remarked in June, 1983, that the

BRD does not “accept our German compatriots being denied the right to self-determination and their human rights being violated.” [125] On 9 February 1984 Kohl appeared at the Tag der Heimat des Bundes der Vertiebenen (Day of the Homeland sponsored by the Association of Expellees) and enunciated the belief that expellees had been a constructive force in their support of democracy and peace in West Germany. [126] He went on to state “ich setze mich ein für ein geeintes Europa, das uns allen Heimat ist und bleiben kann.”* [127] With East and West Germany moving closer over the last several years, speculation about reunification has become rife, and this obviously has great significance for all expellees. SL objectives for a supranational European state are alluded to in Kohl’s “geeintes Europa,” and in the desire for peace, a unified Europe may lead at long last to a peace treaty ending World War II. On the thirty-fifth annual Sudetendeutscher Tag, Franz Josef Strauss, speaking to 50,000 Sudeten Germans, said, “Die Teilung Europas und Deutschlands werde sich ändern, auch wenn es noch so lange dauert”** [128] Expellee groups like the SL may still have a role to play in Europe’s future. Very few things are absolutely certain, but we can be reasonably sure about two things concerning the SL: the Sudetenland will in all probability never again be occupied by Sudeten Germans; and secondly, this is no longer a crucial matter to Sudeten Germans. Content where they are, Sudeten Germans will sustain memories of the homeland through institutions such as the Munich House of the German East and the SL, having refocused its attention on cultural and historical matters, will continue to exist for some time.

*"I declare that I am for a united Europe, that is and can remain a homeland for all of us."

**"The partition of Europe and Germany will be changed, no matter how long it takes."

Notes

1. ☞ The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press), 1983, p. 815.
2. ☞ “Sudeten German 20-Point Program,” Sudeten Bulletin, ed. Anton shaft), June, 1961, pp. Wuschek (Munich: Sudetendeutsche Lands 150-52.
3. ☞ Smelser, Ronald M. The Sudeten Problem: 1933-1938 (Middletown, Connecticut Wesleyan University Press, 1975), p. 9.
4. ☞ Sudeten Germans comprised approximately one-fifth of Czechoslovakia’s population of 14 million in 1930. The Expulsion of the German Population on from the Territories East of the Oder-Neisse Line, ed. Theodor Schieder, trans. GS. de Sausmarez et al. (Bonn: Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims, 1960), Vol. IV, pp. 7, 17.
5. ☞ Schoenberg, Hans W. Germans from the East: A Study of Their Migration, Resettlement, and Subsequent Group History Since 1945 (The Hague: Maranus Nijhoff, 1970), pp. 99-100.
6. ☞ Luza, Radomir The Transfer of the Sudeten Germans: A Study of Czech German Relations 1933-1962 (New York New York University Press, 1964), pp. 310-312.
7. ☞ Smelser, p. 120.
8. ☞ Bachstein, Martin K. Wenzel Jaksch end die Sudetendeutsche Sozialdemokratie, (Munchen R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1974), pp. 184-5.
9. ☞ Theodor Schieder, p. 127
10. ☞ Schoenberg, p. 96.
11. ☞ Sudeten Bulletin, September, 1954, pp. 1-3.
12. ☞ Luza, pp. 320-21.
13. ☞ Sudeten Bulletin, November, 1959, p. 219.

14. ↵ Op. cit., July/August, 1956, p. 75.
15. ↵ Op. cit., July, 1959, p. 71.
16. ↵ Schoenberg, p. 96.
17. ↵ Loc. cit. The Bund der Vertriebenen (BdV), a national organization comprising twenty Landsmannschaften, among them the SL, when formed in 1957 had a membership of 2.8 million (Sudeten Bulletin, December, 1957, p. 149). In 1970, the BdV's membership was 2.7 million (Meyer's Enzyklopädisches Lexikon, 1972, p. 67). Assuming SL membership has remained relatively constant, one can posit that it has declined but slightly over the ten year period.
18. ↵ Sudeten Bulletin, June 1954, p. 1.
19. ↵ Op. cit., February, 1954, p. 2.
20. ↵ Loc. cit.
21. ↵ Op. cit., March, 1955, p. 1.
22. ↵ Op. cit., June 1961, p. 150.
23. ↵ Schoenberg, p. 97.
24. ↵ Sudeten Bulletin, September, 1958, pp. 177-78.
25. ↵ Op. cit., September, 1958, p. 178.
26. ↵ Charta der Deutschen Heimatvertriebenen, promulgate on 5 August 1950 in Cannstatt near Stuttgart, West Germany.
27. ↵ "State of the Nation in a Divided Germany," address by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the German Bundestag on 23 June 1983 (German Information Center, 950 Third Avenue, New York NY 10022 — Statements and Speeches, Vol. VL No. 12).
28. ↵ Die Zeit (article received from German Information Center without a date — unable to ascertain date by research at SML).
29. ↵ "Detmold Declaration," Sudeten Bulletin, April 1960, p. 175.
30. ↵ Op. cit., July/August, 1954, p. 7.
31. ↵ Schoenberg, p. 200.
32. ↵ Sudeten Bulletin, December 1954, p. 2.
33. ↵ Op. cit., March, 1955, p. 2 and May, 1955, p. 51-53.
34. ↵ Op. cit., May, 1957, p. 49.
35. ↵ Op. cit., April, 1959, p. 91.
36. ↵ Schoenberg, pp. 37, 43.
37. ↵ Loc. cit.
38. ↵ Walton, Hemy. Germany (New York, Walker and Company, 1969), p. 59.
39. ↵ Schoenberg, pp. 244-45.
40. ↵ Loc. cit.
41. ↵ Loc. cit.
42. ↵ Loc. cit.
43. ↵ Schoenberg, p. 246.
44. ↵ Die Sudetendeutsche Frage: Entstehung, Entwicklung and Lösungsversuchen 1918-1973, ed. Wolfgang Götz (Mainz. v. Hase & Koehler Verlag GmbH, 1974), p. 112.
45. ↵ Schoenberg, p. 246.
46. ↵ Op. cit., pp. 248-49.
47. ↵ Op. cit., p. 252.
48. ↵ Op. cit., pp. 244-45.

49. ☞ Die Sudetendeutsche Frage in der Deutschen Politik, herausgegeben vom Sudetendeutschen Rat E.V. München (Mitteleuropäische Quellen und Dokumente, Band 9), (München: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei und Verlag Dr. C. Wolf & Sohn, 1965), p. 9.
50. ☞ Loc. cit.
51. ☞ Heidenheimer, Arnold J. and Kommers, Donald P. The Governments of Germany (New York Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975), p. 95.
52. ☞ Kitzinger, V.W. German Electoral Politics: A Study of the 1957 Campaign (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 291.
53. ☞ Sudeten Bulletin, November, 1957, p. 133.
54. ☞ Schoenberg, pp. 297-98.
55. ☞ Op. cit., p. 299.
56. ☞ Loc. cit.
57. ☞ Op. cit., p. 303.
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1. West Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland)
 2. economic miracle
 3. The right of all people to their homeland, nation, language and culture.
 4. "The CSU is ready to support suitable proposals of the SL with marked enthusiasm."
 5. The right to a homeland

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Not Just Japanese Americans: The Untold Story of U.S. Repression During 'The Good War'

Jeffrey Rogers Hummel

I. Pre-Pearl Harbor

The sad saga of civil liberties in the United States during the Second World War begins well before Pearl Harbor. The popular impression is that the Japanese surprise attack in December 1941 caught the U.S. government totally unaware. In an effort to counter this impression, countless Revisionist historians have raked over the diplomatic events that proceeded the attack. ^[1] Yet, prior domestic developments within the U.S. probably belie the impression of U.S. unpreparedness much more forcefully. For the U.S. government was, without a doubt, better prepared to fight World War II than any previous war in its history.

This unprecedented military preparedness resulted from a massive prewar mobilization that involved

1. the U.S.' first large peacetime foreign aid program: lend-lease;
2. an emergency peacetime military buildup;
3. the first peacetime draft in U.S. history to support that buildup;
4. an array of new and heavy emergency taxes to pay for the buildup;
5. the creation of a new and broad regulatory bureaucracy, supplementing New Deal agencies, to direct the economy toward war production;
6. the use of troops to enforce labor settlements within critical defense industries; and finally
7. the adoption of a peacetime sedition law to suppress disloyalty. ^[2]

This last is what concerns us. The pre-Pearl Harbor sedition law, the Smith Act, is more generally known for its postwar enforcement, in a period of tense U.S. relations with the Soviet Union. In fact, it was just the most glaring manifestation of the growing precariousness of civil liberties as the nation went on a war footing prior to its intervention in World War II. The deteriorating international situation brought a rash of related legislation, Congressional inquiries, executive harassment, and state government repression, all aimed at so-called subversive activities. ^[3]

Because of disillusionment with the First World War, Americans initially wished to stay out of the Second. An early generation of Revisionist historians had successfully debunked the official justifications for U.S. participation in World War I, and had overturned the judgment of exclusive German war guilt. In 1934 and 1935, a Senate committee, under the chairmanship of Gerald P. Nye, a progressive Republican, investigated the munitions industry. It concluded that American financiers and arms merchants had maneuvered the U.S. into the previous European conflict for

their own profit. AU of these trends coalesced into a powerful isolationist movement, opposed to any future U.S. involvement in European quarrels.

The debate between the isolationists and interventionists became intense and bitter with the onset of war in Europe. By 1940, a broad-based coalition of noninterventionists had joined together in the America First Committee. Among the committee's luminaries, supporters, and sympathizers were Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, the aviator hero of the twenties; General Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck; Colonel Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the conservative Chicago Tribune; ex-President Herbert Hoover, labor leader John L. Lewis, who had co-founded the militant Congress of Industrial Organizations as a rival to the American Federation of Labor, Norman Thomas, Socialist Party candidate for President; and progressive Democratic Senator Burton K. Wheeler from Montana. [4]

Although the isolationists were influential enough to prevent President Franklin D. Roosevelt from dragging the nation overtly into the war before Pearl Harbor, they were unable to prevent the prewar mobilization. Eventually their loyalty came under question, and the government subjected them to increasing harassment. But before that transpired, the State had already honed its repressive instruments upon much less prominent targets on the extreme Right and extreme Left.

Numerous American fascist groups, nearly an minuscule, had sprouted in the Great Depression's fertile soil. The two most vocal were the German-American Bund and the Legion of Silver Shirts. Both groups were violently anti-Jewish, with paramilitary trappings, and both received public attention grotesquely out of proportion to their numbers. The German-American Bund, virulently but not officially a U.S. branch of Germany's National Socialist Party, drew its fewer than 25,000 and probably closer to 8,500 members from among recent German immigrants. At its peak, the Bund packed Madison Square Garden in New York with 22,000 sympathizers for a George Washington's birthday rally in 1939. The Silver Shirts was an independent organization, headed by mystic William Dudley Pelley. Its membership may have reached 15,000 in 1934, but thereafter it declined to less than 5,000. None of the native fascist organizations, separately or in combination, ever approached the influence of the Ku Klux Klan in the twenties. [5]

The U.S. Communist Party had likewise experienced a surge during the depression decade, growing from 7,500 in 1930 to 30,000 in 1935. By the mid-thirties, the party had adopted the strategy of joining thousands of non-communists in popular front organizations, such as the American League for Peace and Democracy. Many party members found employment in the burgeoning bureaus of the New Deal. With the signing of the German-Soviet nonaggression pact in August 1939, the Communist Party also indirectly arrived at an isolationist foreign policy stance. [6]

Very early in the depression the House's Fish Committee had briefly looked into Communist propaganda. With this one lone exception, the precedent established during the post-World War I Red Scare of Congressional investigation into subversive activity had lain dormant until the German Reichstag granted absolute power to Adolf Hitler in March 1933, the same month as F.D.R.'s inauguration. Immediately, the internal threat to this country from the right received equal billing with the internal threat from the left, in what one historian has recently dubbed the "Brown Scare." The House established a new special committee to investigate these twin "foreign" dangers, with John W. McCormack as chairman and Samuel Dickstein as vice-chairman. The committee released a report in 1935 that branded the Communist Party, the Silver Shirts, and several other organizations as subversive.

The ultimate results of the committee's efforts was enactment in 1938, while events were reaching the boiling point in Europe, of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. This first of the pre-World War II repressive laws provided a maximum penalty of two years and \$1000 (later increased to five years and \$10,000) for anyone whom the U.S. government deemed a "foreign agent" but who failed to register as such with the Secretary of State.

At the time that the Foreign Agents Registration Act passed, the most significant loyalty legislation already on the books was the World War I Espionage Act. The Espionage Act had combined three features: 1 a true espionage law, which punished spying and wartime sabotage, 2 a neutrality law, which restricted the non-neutral acts of private citizens in foreign conflicts, and 3 a sedition law, providing up to twenty years in jail and a \$10,000 fine for aiding the enemy with "false reports or false statements," for obstructing recruiting, or for causing insubordination, disloyalty, or mutiny in the U.S. armed forces. The act also empowered the Postmaster General to exclude from the mail issues of newspapers and periodicals that he felt were subversive.

The sedition portions of the Espionage Act, however, were inoperative in peacetime. During the infamous Red Scare, the Wilson Administration had sought a peacetime sedition act, but had failed. The Foreign Agents Registration Act represented a minor step toward closing that loophole.

Congress also implemented a second of the McCormack-Dickstein Committee's recommendations: an extension of the Congressional subpoena power beyond the District of Columbia. A new Special House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, created in 1938 with Martin Dies of Texas as chairman, put this added power to effective use. Like its predecessor, the Dies Committee went after both domestic fascists and Communists. It paid greater attention to the latter, however, as Dies, an arch-foe of the New Deal, attempted to taint the Roosevelt Administration with Communist associations. Each succeeding House faithfully renewed the committee, and several states copied it, with their own "little Dies" committees. [7]

While the Dies Committee's spectacular hearings and voluminous reports gathered headlines, Congress approved an array of additional security laws: the Hatch Act of 1939, which generally restricted the political freedom of government employees and specifically prohibited Communists from working for the national government; an amendment of March 1940 to the Espionage Act, increasing the act's penalties for spying, neutrality violations, and other infractions that applied during peacetime; and finally the Smith Act of June 1940.

The Smith Act bore the somewhat misleading official title of Alien Registration Act. To be sure, provisions of the act affected the 3.5 million immigrants in this country who had not attained citizenship. It required their registration and fingerprinting, and it made deportation for revolutionary activities and beliefs easier. Several states had already foreshadowed these moves. With the outbreak of war in Europe, Georgia and Pennsylvania had both required aliens to register, and Pennsylvania had also forbidden them to hunt, fish, or own dogs.

The Smith Act's most far-reaching provisions, however, established a penalty of up to ten years in jail and a \$10,000 fine for encouraging insubordination in the military, for advocating, in speech or writing, the forceful overthrow of the U.S. government, or for joining any organization that so advocated. Thus, the Smith Act was, in fact, a true peacetime sedition law of the same sort that had previously failed to pass at the height of the Red Scare. It took the approach of World War II to secure enactment.

Following the Smith Act, Congress added still more "security" legislation. The Selective Service Act of September 1940, which gave the U.S. its first peacetime draft, also carried penalties for

urging resistance to the draft. The Nationality Act of October 1940 facilitated divesting naturalized immigrants of their citizenship for radical political beliefs. The Voorhis Act, passed later the same month, required registration with the Attorney General of all organizations subject to “foreign control,” if involved in civilian-military activities or if advocating the overthrow of the government. (the previous Foreign Agents Registration Act applied to individuals.) The fact that the Voorhis Act could require members of the radical organizations to incriminate themselves under the Smith Act did not faze Congress. Just before the Pearl Harbor attack, another amendment to the Espionage Act made sabotage a national crime during peacetime as well as wartime. In short, the pre-Pearl Harbor period witnessed the most sustained outburst of repressive legislation in the nation’s history. [8]

Executive-branch harassment of government opponents kept pace with Congress’s steady prewar infringement of people’s political liberty. At the van of this harassment was the national government’s police force: the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). To fully appreciate the FBI’s prewar politicization, we must take a brief retrospective look at that agency’s evolution during the interwar years. [9]

In the midst of the Red Scare, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer had established within what was then called the Bureau of Investigation (it got its current name in 1935) a special section to investigate radicals: the General Intelligence Division, with the young J. Edgar Hoover at its head. The Bureau’s subsequent raids and deportations had left it, however, with a severely tarnished reputation. As a result of further revelations that the Bureau had even spied upon Congressmen in order to suppress the Teapot Dome scandal, the supposedly reactionary Coolidge Administration ordered an abrupt halt to all the Bureau’s political activities and abolished the General Intelligence Division.

Unfortunately, to clean up the Bureau, the Coolidge Administration made none other than J. Edgar Hoover its new director. Defenders of Hoover cite this as proof that his role in the Red Scare had been merely perfunctory. Detractors on the other hand speculated that Hoover got the promotion because, in the words of intelligence expert William Corson, “there was enough in his files to effectively sink the Republican Party in the upcoming Presidential election.” [10] Which-ever the case may be, recent documents secured by historians under the Freedom of Information Act reveal that Hoover secretly defied the Coolidge Directive against political surveillance and sporadically monitored such groups as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), even to the point of illegal break-ins.

Nonetheless, the Bureau’s low political profile coupled with its emphasis on catching criminals transformed its public image during the next decade. An extremely significant but oft-neglected feature of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal was a “war with the organized forces of crime,” involving a new deal for the Bureau. Congress passed nine major anti-crime bills in 1934. These gave Bureau agents full arrest power and the authority to carry any kind of firearm, and they put a variety of crimes under its jurisdiction: robbing any bank insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, fleeing across state lines to avoid prosecution or subpena, extorting money by phone or mail, or transporting stolen property valued at \$5,000 or more across state lines. Among these new laws was the National Firearms Act of 1934, the first federal gun control law.

In his war on crime, as in most other respects, F.D.R. was fully anticipated by President Herbert Hoover. Hoover had appointed the national Wickersham Commission to study the problems of law enforcement. In his zest for increased bureaucratic efficiency in national crime control, he had created a separate Bureau of Prisons and a separate Bureau of Narcotics. He also had signed

the bill that established the Bureau of Investigation's fingerprinting division in 1930 and the Lindbergh Bill, which made kidnapping a national crime, in 1932.

Most important for the future of civil liberties, Hoover was the first U.S. President to request formally that the Bureau of Investigation collect political intelligence. We have already observed that under J. Edgar Hoover, the Bureau continued throughout the twenties to monitor radical activities on its own. But President Hoover legitimized these transgressions by requesting Bureau reports on groups as diverse as the Sentinels of the Republic (a minor far right organization), the Navy League, the ACLU, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Foreign Policy Association.

Roosevelt, upon assuming the Presidency, expanded the Bureau's political surveillance. While continuing Hoover's precedent of soliciting FBI reports on his political adversaries, he secretly ordered the Bureau to look into the American Nazi movement in 1934, and he widened that general mandate to include all potentially subversive groups in 1936. In June of 1939, with concern about foreign spies and "fifth columnists" on the rise, Roosevelt centralized responsibility over all "espionage, counter-espionage, and sabotage matters" into the FBI's hands, with Military Intelligence and Naval Intelligence playing supporting roles. This directive became public and was broadened to include "subversive activities and violations of neutrality laws," when the European war erupted later that year.

J. Edgar Hoover thereupon reactivated the dreaded General Intelligence Division and compiled a secret Custodial Detention list of persons to be jailed summarily during wartime. FBI officials opened first-class mail and regularly practiced, with Roosevelt's explicit blessing, wiretapping, despite the 1939 Supreme Court ruling that the Federal Communications Act of 1934 proscribed government wiretapping. The executive branch instituted a loyalty program for federal job holders, with FBI checks, to help implement the Hatch Act, and the Attorney General drew up his first list of subversive organizations.

At the same time, Roosevelt prepared other sections of the executive branch for the suppression of dissent. In the spring of 1940 he transferred the Immigration and Naturalization Service from the Labor to the Justice Department. Roosevelt thought the Labor Department too lenient; it was the Labor Department which in 1920 had initially called a halt to the Red Scare by refusing to deport the aliens that the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation had rounded up. Also within the Justice Department, a newly established Neutrality Laws Unit (which would become the Special War Policies Unit once the U.S. entered the war) assumed responsibility for sedition prosecutions. The Post Office invoked a strained interpretation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act to reinstitute its World War I practice of mail censorship. It seized and destroyed over fifteen tons of alleged foreign propaganda mailed to the U.S. from Japan, Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union.

The FBI invariably serviced White House requests for derogatory information on critics of Roosevelt's foreign policy. Roosevelt's press secretary, in May of 1940, turned over to J. Edgar Hoover for checking the names of persons who had sent telegrams critical of a Presidential fire-side chat on national defense. The FBI furnished the President with reports on leading isolationists, including Senators Nye and Wheeler. After the America First Committee was organized, Roosevelt subjected it to the meticulous scrutiny of first the FBI and later the Internal Revenue Service. In an ironic twist of fate, F.D.R. even ordered ex-President Hoover put under FBI observation.

The Dies Committee, while continuing to harass the Roosevelt administration, also started a probe of the America First Committee, one month before Pearl Harbor. F.D.R., however, fully reciprocated Dies's enmity and ordered the FBI to investigate Dies and his supporters for election fraud and then, after Pearl Harbor, for fascist links. J. Edgar Hoover skillfully played both political foes off against each other. While investigating Dies for the President, he confidentially cooperated with the Dies Committee, feeding it FBI tips. This tactic generally induced Roosevelt to give Hoover wider leeway, so that the FBI could preempt the exposes of the Dies Committee.

The hardest hit victims of this labyrinth of political ploys and government intrigue were not major political figures, but usually less influential and sometimes insignificant dissidents. During the opening months of 1940, the FBI conducted two sets of widely publicized raids. The first picked up seventeen members of the Christian Front Sports Club in Brooklyn, New York—young rightists, unemployed or very poor, who were supposedly plotting to overthrow the government. The second, in Detroit, swooped down upon a dozen veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, all leftists who had fought against General Franco in the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and 1937 and were therefore charged with neutrality law infractions. The trial of the Christian Fronters resulted in an acquittal after revelations that the defendants had received drunken encouragement from an FBI agent provocateur, while the Justice Department, facing a public outcry, dipped its three-year-late charges against the Abraham Lincoln Brigade veterans.

The Justice Department was successful, however, in convicting Earl Browder, the Communist Party's General Secretary, of passport fraud in January, 1940, after his testimony before the Dies Committee. He received the ridiculously long and obviously political sentence of four years in prison and a \$2,000 fine. (Another person convicted of the same offense shortly thereafter received merely a \$500 fine.) The government also initiated denaturalization proceedings against William Schneiderman, leader of the California Communist Party, and deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges, the left-wing leader of the west coast longshoremens.

A federal grand jury in October 1941 indicted pro-German publicist George Sylvester Viereck for infringement of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Viereck was on the German government's payroll and was among the four hundred persons who had by March of 1940 dutifully registered under the act's provisions. But he was also involved in a Congressional scandal in which he had solicited isolationist writings for insertion by various legislators into the Congressional Record so that he could distribute them through mass mailings under Congressional franking privileges. The State's indictment charged him with not filling out his registration forms fully and properly. His was only the most noteworthy of a whole slew of cases brought against both leftists and rightists under the same act. ^[11]

The first to fall prey to the Smith Act was the Socialist Workers Party. The Socialist Workers Party was a Trotskyite splinter from the Communist Party. It was also one of the few leftwing groups still opposed to U.S. involvement in the war after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. The Trotskyites committed the additional political sin of gaining control over Teamster locals in Minnesota and challenging the leadership of union president Dan Tobias, a Roosevelt ally. Federal marshals raided the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party on June 28, 1941, and indicted twenty-nine leaders. Eighteen were convicted and jailed for from one to one and a half years.

The national government did devote some effort to the persecution of genuine spies. Thus, the FBI cracked the two major German rings in 1941 and set in motion the process that would put their members behind bars. It also began, under F.D.R.'s direct orders, secretly collaborating with British Intelligence, in violation of U.S. neutrality laws. Although designed to keep the State out

of war, neutrality laws ended up more often in practice being used by the State to harass private citizens. ^[12]

A most unusual prewar espionage case involved a code clerk at the U.S. Embassy in Great Britain: Tyler Kent. Kent was presumably responsible for a leak of embassy communications to the Axis. The U.S. government, in an unheard-of diplomatic irregularity, waived Kent's diplomatic immunity so that the British could apprehend him. It then pressured the British into trying Kent, rather than deporting him to the U.S. An American trial would have disclosed the existence of the major documents that Kent had purloined—the clandestine personal correspondence between President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, carried on prior to Churchill's becoming British Prime Minister, while he was still only a cabinet member in Chamberlain's war government. Such a patent exposure of F.D.R.'s unneutral designs would probably have outraged the American people and damaged F.D.R.'s bid for a third term in the 1940 Presidential race. The British trial, on the other hand, was conducted behind closed doors, under harsher statutes. Kent received a seven-year sentence, and the American public heard absolutely nothing about the case until four years later, long after the U.S. was fully committed to the war. ^[13]

Finding a legal basis for suppressing the German-American Bund before Pearl Harbor proved more difficult for the U.S. government. Back in 1933, it had indicted Spanknoebel, then Bund leader, for violating an obscure notification clause in the Espionage Act. But Spanknoebel fled to Germany, and after that, the Justice Department could find no grounds for further prosecution, despite all the new repressive laws. Not until June of 1941 did Roosevelt order the seizure of Bund assets as part of his general order freezing all Axis assets in the United States. Soon afterward, the government filed tax liens against the Bund.

The most telling blows against the Bund came from state and local governments. New Jersey passed an anti-Bund law, forbidding the wearing of foreign uniforms, as early as mid-1938, and several years later, confiscated the Bund's Camp Nordland. New York City's mayor, Fiorello La Guardia, bent upon imprisoning Bund leaders under any pretext, established an antisubversive squad in the city's police department and launched an investigation into Bund finances. The young and aggressive New York District Attorney, Thomas Dewey, secured a conviction of Fritz Kuhn, head of the Bund, for misuse of Bund funds, and sent him to Sing Sing Prison for two and a half years in December, 1939. By the summer of 1941, California had a comprehensive Subversive Organization Registration Law aimed at the Bund, while Florida had made membership in any "anarchistic, communistic, Naziistic or fascistic organization" a felony.

The Bund was not the only fringe organization to feel the sting of state and local repression. Pelley of the Silver Shirts, to give just one more example from the right, was constantly in trouble with North Carolina authorities from 1935 on. Several states made libel of racial, religious, and ethnic groups a criminal offense. To drive the Communist Party off the ballot, many states made their ballot requirements more stringent during the 1940 election or immediately thereafter. Four states, at the instigation of the Dies Committee, indicted over a hundred Communist petition circulators for election fraud. Oklahoma handed down sentences of ten years to four Communist leaders under the state's criminal syndicalism laws, while the Washington legislature refused to seat an elected state senator who was a former party member.

But it was neither fascists nor Communists who suffered most during the pre-Pearl Harbor hysteria. According to the ACLU's annual report for 1940-41, "the most numerous attacks on civil liberties of any single minority were directed against the Jehovah's Witnesses." ^[14] The Jehovah's Witnesses are a millennialist Protestant sect, founded in the last third of the nineteenth century and numbering a quarter of a million American adherents. Their theology is extremely anti-

Statist, and it even opposes flag salutes. This opposition so enraged local authorities, the American Legion, and other protectors of patriotism that the Witnesses were the only group during the World War II period to endure the kind of vigilante violence that had been so prevalent during World War I. Mob attacks upon Witnesses occurred in 335 communities in 44 different states in the six months running from May to October 1940 alone. Many of the injured were women and children.

The Supreme Court defended the Witnesses' First Amendment right to distribute religious literature without restrictions from local ordinances beginning in 1938. But in the 1940 *Gobitis* case, the Court held that children could legally be expelled from government schools for not saluting the flag. "National Unity is the basis of national security," wrote Justice Felix Frankfurter in the majority opinion. [15] Massive expulsions were the result, followed sometimes by state prosecutions of Witness parents for violating compulsory attendance laws. A few attempts were made to take children from their Jehovah's Witness parents but were unsuccessful. Indiana, under its state sedition law, sentenced two elderly Witness women who refused to salute the flag to prison terms of two to ten years, although their convictions were later overturned on appeal.

II. Post-Pearl Harbor

All the aforementioned events, entailing enormous gains for State power, occurred, we should stress, at a time when the United States was technically at peace. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor merely accelerated the civil liberties trends already in motion. The awesome repressive machinery constructed by Congress and the President during the prewar period now became fully operational. The only well-known World War II civil liberties outrage is the internment of Japanese-Americans. Actually, the U.S. government amplified its harassment of aliens from all enemy nations at the first news of the Japanese attack. Within seventy-two hours of the attack, the FBI had 3,846 Japanese, German, and Italian immigrants in custody. A grand total of sixteen thousand were seized throughout the war and about four thousand of them were held for the duration. This was done under authority of the old Alien Enemies Act, which permitted alien internment during wartime. It was one of the four notorious Alien and Sedition Acts passed by the Federalists in 1798, and the only one of the four that President Jefferson had left on the books. [16]

The "enemy" aliens who were paroled or who remained at large suffered numerous other infringements of their liberty. The national government forced more than ten thousand to leave their homes near defense installations, and it imposed rigid curfews upon others. They all needed permission to travel or move and could not possess firearms or short-wave radios. The Justice Department's only leniencies were to exempt Italian aliens from these restrictions after Columbus Day, 1942, and west coast Germans two months later.

Unlike the policies already mentioned, the State's treatment of the west coast Japanese made no distinction between native-born citizens (Nisei) and foreign-born aliens (Issei). [17] (None of the foreign-born Japanese were naturalized American citizens because they were legally ineligible.) As U.S. defeats in the Pacific mounted during the war's early days, west coast leaders intensified their demands that all Japanese be singled out for special treatment. These demands arose out of the area's deep-rooted racism, as well as from resentment at economic competition with this industrious minority. Many people were more than anxious to accept columnist Walter Lippmann's strained explanation for the complete absence of any act of sabotage by Japanese-Americans. According to Lippmann, this merely indicated that they were waiting with Oriental patience for the propitious moment to commit some massive coordinated atrocity. [18]

Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, empowering the army to exclude “any or all persons” from designated military zones. One month later, he signed a Congressional measure stipulating criminal penalties for disobeying this order. The War Department had already declared the western parts of California, Oregon, and Washington and the southern part of Arizona a “prohibited zone.” No one was ordered to leave yet, but about nine thousand Japanese-Americans saw the handwriting on the wall and decided to move inland on their own. They encountered a very chilly reception. Officials from other western states objected to being made, in the words of the Governor of Arizona, “a dumping ground for enemy aliens,” and violence threatened. [19]

The Army therefore forbade any more voluntary evacuation. Instead, it forcibly collected at race tracks, fairgrounds, and other makeshift assembly points all persons of Japanese ancestry residing not only within the original restricted zone but anywhere within California, Washington, Oregon, southern Arizona, and Alaska. Evacuees could only take clothing, bedding and utensils. The government offered to store their remaining personal property, but would assume no liability for it. So most evacuees sold their property on five-days' notice for what they could get. After they left, their leases expired and their farms were generally confiscated. Japanese-Americans suffered an estimated \$350 million loss in property and income. [20]

The War Relocation Agency (WRA), a civilian agency created in mid-March, erected ten semi-permanent relocation centers in inhospitable regions of seven western states. By September, the army had turned over 110,000 Japanese-Americans to these camps. Nearly two-thirds of that total were native-born American citizens. Anyone with simply one Japanese great grandparent qualified for internment, although this rule was later relaxed. The relocation centers were, as F.D.R. admitted in a slip of the tongue, “concentration camps,” [21] ringed with barbed wire and armed guards. In at least one instance, a sentry shot and killed an elderly internee who wandered too close to the outer fence, in violation of camp regulations.

The WRA began granting leaves to those inmates who could prove that they were not disloyal, that they had a job waiting, and that the community would accept them. But only 35,000, mostly young Nisei, left the camps under this dispensation. Meanwhile, the War Department sought to register male internees for the drafts following Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson's announcement of the “inherent right of every faithful citizen regardless of ancestry, to bear arms in the nation's battle.” [22] Of the 75,000 who were asked whether they would renounce allegiance to the Japanese emperor, however, 8,700 either refused or equivocated. Many of these were Issei who, being forbidden American citizenship, were afraid to put themselves in limbo, without any formal nationality. Riots also erupted in some of the camps. The worst took place at Camp Manzanar in California, where soldiers fired into unarmed crowds, killing two and wounding ten.

Congressional critics thought the WRA was too lenient, and forced the agency, beginning in the summer of 1943, to isolate those inmates who would not swear loyalty or who were troublemakers. The WRA consequently transferred about 18,500 to a special camp in Tule Lake, California. The Tule Lake inmates organized a campaign of passive resistance which turned into rioting, with the result that the government put the camp under military rule for two months and put two hundred internees in the stockade. After Congress passed the Denationalization Act of 1944, making it easier for Americans to renounce their citizenship, some eight thousand Japanese-Americans were eventually returned to Japan. [23]

The Roosevelt Administration conceded that, whatever the military justification for evacuation, it no longer applied in the spring of 1944. Roosevelt, however, continued Japanese internment to avoid any political repercussions from west coast voters. Only after he was safely reelected to a

fourth term that November did he permit the inmates to leave the camps and return home. Some, their lives disrupted and fearing racist attacks, were reluctant to leave the camps. But the WRA all of a sudden became concerned about the \$250 million that the camps had already cost taxpayers, and it booted out the last of the internees at the end of 1945.

The U.S. State extended its deprivations against people of Japanese ancestry beyond the borders. It pressured more than a dozen Latin American nations to implement similar policies and even interned two thousand of their Japanese residents right here in U.S. relocation centers. [24] Curiously, the Japanese in Hawaii, who numbered 250,000, one-third of the islands' population, were untouched by the internment program, except for about two thousand who were shipped to the mainland. Extensive internment would have disrupted Hawaii's economy. The government did, however, put Hawaii under strict martial law for the three years following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, suspending trial by jury, habeas corpus, and other procedural safeguards. Out of the over 22,000 military trials of civilians on the islands during 1942, 99 percent resulted in convictions. [25]

Internment was not the only consequence of F.D.R.'s Executive Order 9066, nor Japanese the only class of U.S. citizens affected. The vague phrasing of the order would have permitted the army to evacuate or incarcerate any American anywhere in the country, had it so chosen. Thus, even after the Japanese were free to leave the relocation centers, five thousand still faced individual exclusion from the west coast. The military also forcibly ejected, after secret deliberations, 250 citizens not of Japanese ancestry from the west coast, and an additional fifty from the east coast. [26]

Most historical accounts of the World War II homefront report that, except for Japanese-American internment, the U.S. civil liberties record was relatively clean. It never approached, this view argues, the repressive heights of World War I. The first observation we can make about this view is that Japanese-American internment is a pretty glaring exception. Even one of the early defenders of the Second World War civil liberties record, legal scholar Edward S. Corwin, has rated the treatment of the Japanese as "the most drastic invasion of the rights of citizens of the United States by their own government that has thus far occurred in the history of our nation." [27] During the First World War, the total number of victims of the Espionage and Sedition Acts, of alien internment and deportation, of state prosecutions, and of mob violence could not have exceeded fifteen thousand. Contrast that figure with 110,000 interned Japanese-Americans.

Then there is the internment and imprisonment of conscientious objectors during the Second World War. True, the options available to conscientious objectors were slightly improved over the First World War. About 25,000 accepted noncombatant military duty. Another 11,950 worked in civilian public service camps at tasks mainly involving conservation, forestry, and public health. The pacifist churches and organizations agreed to fund these camps, at an eventual cost of over \$7 million.

But rigid military discipline prevailed, making the camps nothing more than outdoor prisons. The objectors in the camps received no pay for fifty hours per week of generally arduous and sometimes dangerous work. In the rare case where an objector was allowed to work outside the camps, the State confiscated his wages. About five hundred objectors volunteered for medical experiments in which they were infected with lice, bitten by mosquitoes to test typhus and malaria cures, or subjected to other potentially disabling or fatal procedures. Not until two years after the war ended did the government release the last of the objectors from these camps. Then, to add insult to injury, several states barred objectors from licensed professions, and the Supreme Court upheld these bars.

Whether one received conscientious objector status at all depended upon the vagaries of local boards. In any case, only religious objectors qualified under the Selective Service Act, and Selective Service Director General Louis B. Hershey ordered this provision interpreted strictly. Of the sixteen thousand men convicted for draft resistance of one kind or another during the war, six thousand were conscientious objectors whose status was not recognized, and three quarters of those were Jehovah's Witnesses. Although opposed to the war on religious grounds, the Witnesses were not consistent pacifists—they declared their willingness to fight in the battle of Armageddon—and draft boards routinely denied their requests for ministerial exemptions.

The Selective Service Act provided a maximum prison term of five years. This applied not only for refusal to serve but also for failure to register, which in World War I had been just a misdemeanor. In a few cases, objectors faced the World War I procedure of being forcibly inducted and then court-martialed, with much sterner penalties. The most severe case was that of Henry Weber, a conscientious objector who was married and the father of three children. He also belonged to the Socialist Labor Party, another Marxist splinter group. The army initially sentenced him to hang, then reconsidered, and changed that to life imprisonment. Only as the war drew to a close, after several appeals, was his sentence reduced to five years and a dishonorable discharge. Overall, the jailings of conscientious objectors during World War II, not counting those interned in civilian public service camps, ran at three times the World War I rate, even in proportion to the total drafted. [28]

If we somehow overlook Japanese-Americans and conscientious objectors, we still must appraise the State's respect for personal liberty during World War II in light of the virtual nonexistence of antiwar sentiment. After Pearl Harbor, Americans endorsed U.S. intervention with an eruption of patriotic unity unmatched in any previous war. The prewar isolationists universally abandoned their cause, closed up shop, and threw their hearts into the war. The country's organized peace movement disintegrated. [29] And on the extreme left, the Communist Party tried to outdo all others in its new-found American nationalism. In contrast, two powerful leftwing organizations, the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, had opposed World War I.

Despite the Second World War's unprecedented popularity, the national government still went out of its way to conduct sedition trials, initiate denaturalizations and deportations, and practice censorship. Sometimes, as the case of the Japanese-Americans amply illustrates, it created disloyalty out of thin air, where none initially existed. In other instances, it would prosecute the same individuals in several different proceedings under several different laws, because of the paucity of eligible scapegoats. Relative to the amount of dissent, there was clearly more repression during the Second World War than during the First. But since many of the victims were viewed as pathetic rightists with odious ideas, America's dominant liberals hardly noticed.

Repression of groups other than the Japanese-Americans during World War II required no new legislation. The prewar period provided all the necessary tools. A mass prosecution conducted under the Smith Act was to be the Roosevelt Administration's show trial. Attorney General Francis Biddle, facing constant prodding from F.D.R., indicted a heterogeneous assortment of two dozen alleged native fascists in July, 1942. The faulty indictment had to be rewritten twice, however, so that the actual trial did not begin for almost another two years. The defendants, dragged from all corners of the country to stand trial in Washington, D.C., now numbered thirty. Most of them had never met each other. They were not even all overtly anti-Jewish; all they had in common was a hatred of President Roosevelt. [30]

The most prominent defendant was Harvard-educated Laurence Dennis, a former diplomat and author of *The Coming American Fascism*. Dennis's book was more prediction than prescription,

and when told of his indictment, he exclaimed, "My prophecy is coming true. This is fascism." [31] Viereck, the German publicist indicted before Pearl Harbor under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, was also among the defendants, and while he stood trial, his son died in action with U.S. forces in North Africa. Other defendants included Elizabeth Dilling, author of *The Red Network*, a book that charged many liberals with being Communists; Pelley of the Silver Shirts; and four leaders of the German-American Bund.

The government's indictment charged the defendants with participating in a fantastic international Nazi conspiracy, dating from 1933, to establish a fascist regime in the U.S. by subverting morale in the armed forces. The defendants had purportedly asserted, among other scurrilous and dangerous doctrines, that "President Roosevelt is reprehensible, a war-monger, liar, unscrupulous, and a pawn of the Jews, Communists and Plutocrats" and that "[t]he Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was deliberately invited by the public officials of the United States, in order to involve the United States in a foreign war." The indictment named as co-conspirators forty-two books and publications and thirty-five organizations, including the German-American Bund, the Silver Shirts, the German Embassy in the U.S., and the National Socialist Party of Germany. The first indictment had even named the America First Committee, but that organization did not appear in the final document.

The defendants engaged twenty-two different lawyers, two-thirds of whom were court appointed to represent the indigent. The trial quickly degenerated into a circus. The defendants and their lawyers bickered among themselves, separately raised every conceivable objection, and regularly disrupted the proceedings. One lawyer concluded most of his objections with the exclamation "Your Honor, this is just another New Deal trick!" which invariably brought snickers from the jury. The presiding judge, in his efforts to maintain order, issued so many contempt citations that the cited lawyers and defendants formed a "contempt club," with badges. Some of the defendants wore masks to court and signs saying, "I am a Spy," until dissuaded by their lawyers. The judge finally kicked one lawyer off the case, while another resigned. The number of defendants fell by four, with one dying, two being severed from the case for illness, and one for unruly behavior.

After an eight-month marathon, and a trial record of 18,000 pages, the presiding judge died, and a mistrial was declared. The prosecution had still presented less than half its case, which failed to charge any overt acts, but relied solely on guilt by association and similarities between the defendants' prewar opinions and the Nazi "party line." The poorer defendants, having to either raise bail and support themselves in wartime Washington or remain in jail during the trial, suffered extreme hardships. The Justice Department pressed for a new trial for the next two years, until November of 1946, after the war was long over, when the courts at last dismissed the case, ruling that a retrial would be "a travesty of justice." Nevertheless, as Biddle coyly admits in his memoirs, "the propaganda had long since ceased." "In that sense, at least, the prosecution had accomplished the purpose the President had in mind." [32]

At the time that the mass sedition trial commenced, two of the defendants were already incarcerated without trial as dangerous enemy aliens, three more had suffered involuntary psychiatric commitment, and six were serving sentences arising out of other war-related prosecutions. Among the latter group were Viereck and Pelley. Viereck's indictment under the Foreign Agents Registration Act had resulted in a conviction, encouraging the government to use the act with telling effect upon several others who had been on the fringes of the isolationist movement. Pelley, in one of the first post- Pearl Harbor cases, had received a fifteen-year sentence, while his press was fined \$5,000, for articles critical of the U.S. war effort. The national government had tried him under the sedition provisions of the Espionage Act, which had become operative with the declaration of war. All of this was on top of having his parole revoked in North Carolina.

Two other defendants in the mass sedition trial were leaders of the Friends of Progress, a group which had conducted a mock impeachment of Roosevelt and then found themselves facing no fewer than four wartime prosecutions. In addition to being entangled in the mass sedition trial, they had been convicted under both the national Espionage Act and California's Subversive Organization Registration Law (the state conviction was overturned on appeal) and charged with criminal libel in California for critical remarks about General Douglas MacArthur.

In a second mass trial, this one using the Selective Service Act, the Justice Department charged twenty-four members of the German-American Bund with counseling draft evasion. The two mass trials had much in common, including several of the defendants and many of the prosecution witnesses. The major difference was that the mass trial of the German-Americans resulted in a conviction. [33]

In all, more than two hundred different persons went through such sedition prosecutions under either the Espionage Act, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the Smith Act, or the Selective Service Act during the course of the war. The largest number of them were, interestingly enough, blacks. The FBI arrested about one hundred Black Muslims and members of other more ephemeral black religious cults that identified with the Japanese as kindred victims of white oppression. Robert Jackson, for example, the founder of the Ethiopian Pacific League, who had told a Harlem audience that the Japanese "wanted to help you and give you back your culture," received ten years' imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine. [34]

After blacks, the German-American Bund provided the next largest number of sedition defendants. In addition, Biddle launched a crusade to revoke the citizenship of Bund members. This crusade had denaturalized forty-two by December 1940, three hundred suits were pending, and thousands of cases were under investigation. The courts, however, restrained the Justice Department, so that ultimately a total of only 180 Americans lost their citizenship.

Among them was Fritz Kuhn, the Bund leader jailed in New York before the war. His tale demonstrates the vindictive lengths to which the State carried its persecution of the Bund. Stripped of his citizenship, Kuhn was no sooner paroled by New York than he was put in a federal internment camp for enemy aliens. The U.S. deported him to Germany at the war's close, where the U.S. occupation government promptly arrested him again and finally sentenced him to ten years hard labor for associations with Hitler which Kuhn had, in fact, fabricated in order to increase his stature within the Bund. Kuhn was finally freed on appeal in 1950, and a year later, he died.

One clear difference between repression in the two world wars was the greater degree of centralization during the Second. The Roosevelt Administration, in conferences with state officials both before and after U.S. entry, reached an unpublicized gentleman's agreement that left state sedition laws nearly unenforced. Biddle, unlike Wilson's Attorney General during World War I, kept a tight reign on U.S. attorneys, who could not undertake sedition prosecutions without his approval. The national government also discouraged vigilantes and refused to revive any private loyalty organizations like the American Protective League.

Private violence and local repression did transpire, however. As in the prewar period, the Jehovah's Witnesses were the most frequent objects of mob attacks, being the only war opponents with any visibility. Mississippi arrested over fifty Witnesses for violating its new sedition law. Brutality against Witnesses did not recede until mid-1942, when the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division began to come to their aid. In one case, it secured a conviction of two West Virginia police officers for releasing several Witnesses into the eager hands of American Legion-

naires, who had then forced the Witnesses to drink castor oil, tied them together with police department rope, and marched them out of town. The Supreme Court also succored the Witnesses. Although it upheld local peddlers' taxes, no matter how exorbitant, on the distribution of their literature, it overturned their Mississippi conviction and, in June 1943, reversed its previous mandatory flag-salute decision.

The Second World War also saw another upsurge in violence directed at racial minorities. The war boom and the market demand for labor, far more than the government's Fair Employment Practices Committee, opened up new economic opportunities for minorities. As blacks poured into industrial centers, north and south, racial antagonism intensified. Disorders first appeared on southern military posts, where white residents clashed with northern black soldiers, who did not proffer the customary subservience. But the most severe race riots occurred in the cities: Harlem; Philadelphia; Mobile, Alabama; El Paso and Port Arthur, Texas; Springfield, Massachusetts; Hubbard, Ohio. A two-day guerrilla war between blacks and whites in Detroit during the summer of 1943 left twenty-five blacks and nine whites dead, seven hundred of both races injured, and \$2 million property damage. [35] The riot only ceased when six thousand troops occupied the city. Two weeks later, during the famous zoot-suit riots in Los Angeles, white servicemen terrorized the city's Mexican-American sections for four days as the city police, the Military Police, and the Shore Patrol all looked the other way. [36] The only factor which kept violence against Japanese-Americans at such a low ebb was their forcible removal.

As in World War I, the national government had an official propaganda agency. Roosevelt created the Office of Facts and Figures before Pearl Harbor and then replaced it in mid-1942 with the Office of War Information (OWI), under Elmer Davis from the New York Times. The OWI's first-year appropriation was nearly \$40 million, but, from the outset, it had to be more circumspect than its World War I counterpart, the Committee on Public Information. It was continuously beset with controversy, emanating both from within the agency and from Congressional critics. Congress cut off practically all funding for the OWI's domestic operations in 1943, but expanded its overseas activities. [37]

More robust was the Office of Censorship, created by the First War Powers Act. It examined all forms of communication entering or leaving the country—letters, cables, telephone calls, even films. It went so far as to suppress private letters that painted a gloomy picture of the war. By 1944, it had detained 500,000 pieces of mail, occupying 10,000 square feet of storage space. The Office also drew up an ostensibly voluntary Code of Wartime Practices that applied to press and radio news reporting. [38] The military engaged in its own independent censorship covering the news it released, the mail sent and received by U.S. troops, the dispatches of war correspondents, and all media within conquered territories. When the isolationist Chicago Tribune innocently published too many details about the Battle of Midway, the Justice Department tried to prosecute. The grand jury refused to indict, however.

The Post Office banned single issues of domestic publications it judged subversive and then used that as justification for revoking their second-class mailing privileges altogether just as freely as it had in the first World War. This affected over seventy publications, ranging from the Trotskyite *Militant* to the Christian Pacifist *Boise Valley Herald*. The most important publication denied use of the mails was Father James Coughlin's *Social Justice*, with 200,000 subscribers. Father Coughlin was a radio priest from Michigan and probably the most influential native radical rightist. Biddle was afraid that a sedition trial would make Coughlin a martyr, so he persuaded the Catholic hierarchy to silence Coughlin instead. *Social Justice*, meanwhile, ceased publication in the face of the postal ban. [39] The Post Office also took advantage of the war to mount a fresh as-

sault on obscenity. It barred about sixty additional publications from the mails for this reason, including Esquire magazine.

The government did not rely solely upon postal censorship, as in the previous war, to intimidate the domestic press. It confiscated outright publications put out by American citizens if it could even tenuously argue that they were financed by enemy funds. This is what befell all publications of the German-American Bund, as well as a few domestic Japanese newspapers. The Enemy Alien Property Division of the Treasury Department handled these seizures as part of its general takeover of enemy property.

Prosecutions for actual spying and treason, as opposed to sedition, made their first widespread appearance in this country during the Second World War. The national government convicted ninety-one persons of these offenses between 1938 and 1945, sixty-four of them U.S. citizens. Many of the sentences were blatantly excessive.

For instance, one of the earliest espionage prosecutions subsequent to Pearl Harbor ensnared one Max Stephen, an inconsequential Detroit tavern keeper who gave sanctuary to a German prisoner-of-war escaped from Canada. The State dusted off its until-then rarely used treason statute and sentenced Stephen to hang. Roosevelt commuted the sentence to life imprisonment.

The State dealt even more summarily with eight German saboteurs dropped off on U.S. shores by submarines in the summer of 1942. The Coast Guard and FBI quickly apprehended all eight. Since they had not yet committed sabotage, and since attempted sabotage was a minor felony, difficult to prove, the Roosevelt Administration decided against a civilian trial. In flagrant disregard of the Supreme Court's *Ex Parte Milligan* Civil War precedent, a military commission, even less bound by judicial safeguards than a court martial, tried the saboteurs in secret. Six were electrocuted within a month and a half of their apprehension, while the two who turned State's evidence received long sentences. [40]

In 1943, the U.S. secured treason indictments against eleven Americans making broadcasts from German, Italian, or Japanese radio stations. At the end of the war, when the government finally caught up with these renegade broadcasters, it convicted five. Probably the most egregious among these cases was that of Iva Ikuko Toguri d'Aquino. She was a native-born American of Japanese ancestry caught in Japan at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack. She went to work for Radio Tokyo under duress, was only one of several women broadcasters known by the generic name "Tokyo Rose," and made mostly routine broadcasts devoid of political or military overtones. But she had the misfortune to be tried in California before an all-white jury, and was sentenced to 10 years and \$10,000. Not until the Presidency of Gerald Ford did she receive a retroactive full pardon. [41]

Another of those broadcasters was Ezra Pound, the renowned poet. He had worked for Radio Rome. The government did not even bother formally to convict him. Instead, it incarcerated him without a trial in a mental hospital for thirteen years. [42]

Concomitant with the State's new attention to the crime of espionage was the birth of the U.S. intelligence community, with its ubiquitous influence upon policy. The number of FBI special agents swelled from 851 in 1939 to 5a~72 in 1944. The Bureau also moved into other countries, gaining responsibility for intelligence and counter-espionage in Latin America. To carry on covert actions elsewhere, Roosevelt created the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in July 1941, with the flamboyant General William "Wild Bill" Donovan at its helm. The OSS originated from the Coordinator of Information's office, created five months prior to Pearl Harbor. It grew prodigiously during the war and afterwards blossomed into the Central Intelligence Agency. [43]

The military intelligence services expanded their activities as well. Their most notable operation was the worldwide interception, decoding, and analysis of radio communications. Conducted primarily by the army's Signal Security Agency, this electromagnetic eavesdropping contributed significantly to many Allied military victories. It also sometimes provided sensitive information about American citizens. It did not cease with the war's end, but rather beginning in 1952 fell under the auspices of the National Security Agency, today the U.S.'s largest and most secret intelligence agency. [44]

Concern for loyalty within the State apparatus itself reached new levels. In this one area, Congress pushed the Roosevelt Administration further than the administration wished to go. The Communist Party's enthusiasm for the war brought a rapprochement with the administration, symbolized by F.D.R.'s pardon of Browder, the party leader convicted before Pearl Harbor of passport fraud. Other Communists convicted under state law also received pardons. But the Dies Committee did not go along with this rapprochement and continued to attack the administration for harboring subversives. This induced the executive branch to augment its own loyalty program and lengthen the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. As the war drew to a close, the House voted to convert the Committee on Un-American Activities from a special committee, requiring yearly renewal, to a permanent standing committee.

The one bright spot in the U.S. civil liberties record during World War II was the courts. They ultimately upheld convictions against only about one-fourth of all the seditionists prosecuted. The Supreme Court, in particular, thwarted many civil liberties transgressions, beginning in 1943, when the tide of battle shifted toward the Allies. Even so, nearly all the Court's favorable decisions turned on narrow procedural grounds. Only in protecting such victims of the state governments as Jehovah's Witnesses did it strike down any repressive laws.

Thus, the Court overturned Viereck's first conviction under the Alien Registration Act, but when the Roosevelt Administration retried him under the same act, the Court let his second conviction stand. In *Hartzel v. U.S.*, it reversed the wartime Espionage Act conviction of a native fascist for distributing antiwar literature, and in *Keegan v. U.S.*, it reversed the mass Selective Service Act conviction of German-American Bund members, but it refused to re-view the Smith Act conviction of the Socialist Workers Party, and later, in 1951, it upheld that act's constitutionality. It blocked the deportation of Harry Bridges, and the denaturalization of both a Communist and a Bundist in the *Schneiderman and Baumgartner* cases, but it sustained the denaturalization of another Bund member in the *Knauer* case.

It reinstated Esquire's second-class mailing privileges, but it left the Post Office's power to exclude single issues of publications intact. It also approved FBI wiretapping in two 1942 decisions. It overruled the treason conviction of one German-American who had sheltered the U-boat saboteurs, but in a related case, it sustained a treason conviction for the first time in its history, and in *Ex Parte Quinn*, it certified the extralegal railroading of the saboteurs. It conceded that aliens had some constitutional rights in *Ex Parte Kuwate*, but it upheld the Federalist Alien Enemies Act in *Ludecke v. Watkins*. It ruled that the military should not have closed the civilian courts in Hawaii, but only two years after martial law there had already ended. [45]

On the most grievous civil liberties violation of the war, the internment of Japanese-American citizens, the Court refused to rule at all. It skirted the issue, finding in the *Endo* case, on the one hand, that the government could not detain citizens who had proven their loyalty (and this only on the day after the government had opened the relocation centers). On the other hand, in *Hirabayashi v. U.S.* and *Korematsu v. U.S.*, the Court avowed the government to impose special curfews upon citizens of Japanese ancestry and to exclude them from certain areas. [46]

The Second World War is still today widely regarded as the U.S. State's last "good war." [47] The partiality of establishment liberals for Franklin D. Roosevelt is notorious, but amazingly, even his Attorney General, Biddle, has a reputation as a staunch advocate of civil liberties. The internment of Japanese-Americans is treated as an anomaly within an otherwise commendable performance.

The internment of Japanese-Americans was not an anomaly. It was representative of a wartime administration that respected civil liberties only so far as political expediency required. The repression of others whose enthusiasm for American participation in the Second World War was even slightly suspect differed in scale, not in degree. Furthermore, the repressive instruments established during this period would again be put to effective use during the McCarthy Era and the Vietnam War. The Roosevelt Administration established virtually all the precedents for Cold War political harassment.

If this is what we can expect from a "good war," we can only tremble at the thought of what the next "bad war" might bring.

Notes

1.  The Revisionist interpretation of U.S. entry into World War II was presented in the immediate post-war period in Charles A. Beans, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946), and *President Roosevelt and the Coming of War, 1941: A Study in Appearances and Reality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948); George Morgenstern, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1947); William Henry Chamberlin, *America's Second Crusade* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1950); Frederic R. Sanborn, *Design for War: A Study of Secret Power Politics, 1937-1941* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1951); Charles Callan Tansill, *Back Door to War: The Roosevelt Foreign Policy* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1952); Harry Elmer Barnes, ed., *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace: A Critical Examination of the Foreign Policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Its Aftermath* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton, 1953); and Robert A. Sepaloid, *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor: The Washington Contribution to the Japanese Attack* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1954).

After this initial outpouring, Revisionist scholarship fell dormant. The alleged reason—according to orthodox historiography—was that Revisionism had been discredited. In reality what happened was that the orthodox historians incorporated the salient features of the Revisionist account without admitting the fact. The early orthodox accounts of U.S. entry into World War II, such as Basil Rauch, *Roosevelt: From Munich to Pearl Harbor* (New York: Creative Age Press, 1950), endeavored to portray the U.S. government as genuinely surprised by the Pearl Harbor attack. But such later orthodox accounts as William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The World Crisis and American Foreign Policy*, 2v. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952-3), and Robert A. Divine, *The Reluctant Belligerent: American Entry into the Second World War* (New York: John Wiley, 1965), in contrast did not dispute the Revisionist factual claim that the Roosevelt administration both strongly desired and fully anticipated U.S. involvement in World War II. They instead merely argued that U.S. involvement was a worthy goal, and some went so far as to criticize Roosevelt for not achieving that goal rapidly enough.

One of the few recent Revisionist works to challenge the strategic necessity of U.S. intervention into World War II is Bruce M. Russett, *No Clear and Present Danger: A Skeptical View of the US. Entry into World War II* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

2.  On the passage of the Lend-Lease Act, see Warren F. Kimball, *The Most Unsordid Act: Lend-Lease, 1939-1941* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969). On the peacetime introduc-

tion of conscription, see John O'Sullivan; *From Voluntarism to Conscription. Congress and Selective Service, 1940-1945* (New York Garland, 1982), which is the published version of a dissertation written ten years earlier. The official overview of prewar mobilization in general is Bureau of the Budget, *The United States at War: Development and Administration of the War Program by the Federal Government* (Washington Government Printing Office, 1946). The relevant sections of Paul A.C. Koistinen, *The Military Industrial Complex: Historical Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1980), offer a more critical survey.

3.  Because so many authors have accepted the myth about the relative mildness of U.S. civil liberties' violations during World War II, the treatment of that subject is generally woe-ful. Even the highly competent and usually meticulous historian Harold M. Hyman, in his otherwise excellent overview of civil liberties in U.S. history, *To Try Men's Souls: Loyally Tests in American History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), makes the glaring error on p. 329 of finding "only twenty- six" federal indictments under security statutes that "emerged from World War II." He is apparently counting just the mass sedition trial, in fact, just the initial indictment, and overlooks all the remaining 270 or so prosecutions for both sedition and espionage.

There are to my knowledge only three works, all devoted to broader subjects, that give reasonably complete pictures of State repression during World War II: 1 Robert Justin Goldstein's sprawling chronicle of U.S. civil liberties in the twentieth century, *Political Repression in Modern America: From 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1978). Goldstein tries to be comprehensive, but his work is a somewhat uncritical compilation based on secondary sources, with a heavy emphasis on labor violence, and it ignores such other forms of civil liberty violations as obscenity laws. 2 Geoffrey Perrett's account of domestic events during World War II, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph: The American People, 1939-1945* (New York Coward McCann & Geoghegan, 1973). Perrett always presents a provocative slant and forcefully overturns many myths about World War II, but he can sometimes be careless about details. 3 Leo P. Ribuffo's study of the prewar and wartime far right, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia Temple University Press, 1983). It is Ribuffo who coined the term "Brown Scare," and I will have more to say about his work below.

Two other homefront accounts that look into civil liberties more briefly or more selectively are Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945* (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott, 1972), and John Morton Blum, *V Was For Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976). One article devoted specifically to this subject, Richard W. Steele, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and His Foreign Policy Critics," *Political Science Quarterly*, 94 (Spring 1979), 15-32, hardly scratches the surface. It is chiefly interesting for the trailing comment (pp. 33-5) by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., who makes a pathetic attempt to salvage the civil liberties reputation of his presidential idol.

Thus, to get the full story, one must really piece it together from historical accounts of its component parts. A good place to start is with the Annual Reports of the American Civil Liberties Union, which have different titles, but which the N.Y. Times publishing house has compiled into convenient bound volumes. v. 3, July 1937-June 1944, and v. 4, July 1944-December 1950 (New York: Arno Press, 1970), cover the Second World War period. One should also examine *In Brief Authority* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962), the memoirs of Francis Biddle F.D.R.'s wartime Attorney General. That alone should be sufficient to deflate Biddle's exaggerated reputation as a civil libertarian.

4.  On the prewar isolationists, see Wayne S. Cole's definitive *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932-45* (Lincoln University of Nebraska Press, 1983). Cole fully exposes F.D.R.'s civil liberties transgressions during the contest with the isolationists. Cole's older America

First: The Battle against Intervention, 1940-1941 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953) is the basic work on the America First Committee. An analysis of the battle between isolationists and interventionists in Congress is David L. Porter, *The Seventy-Sixth Congress and World War II, 1939-1940* (Columbia University of Missouri Press, 1979). John E. Wiltz, *In Search of Peace: The Senate Munitions Inquiry, 1934-36* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), covers the Nye Committee investigations.

5.  Ribuffo's *Old Christian Right* is outstanding not only for its account of State repression, but also because it is one of the few really scholarly and objective studies of the World War II far right. It finally transcends the moral indignation, the pseudo-scientific reliance upon the concept of "extremism," and the amateurish psychologizing that cloud most of the literature on the subject. Geoffrey S. Smith, *To Save a Nation: American Countersubversive, the New Deal, and the Coming of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), is an equally important work that achieves the same level of historical detachment. He shows how the far right changed from an anti-immigrant phenomenon at the end of World War I to an anti-Establishment one at the beginning of World War A, and in the process turned the countersubversive propaganda techniques used so effectively by the State during the Red Scare against the State.

Similarly dispassionate on the German-American Bund is Sander A. Diamond's *The Nazi Movement In The United States, 1924-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974). With useful facts on the same subject, but not at all dispassionate, is Leland V. Bell, *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1973). Two older studies that lean toward the exposé approach, but that have information on organizations and individuals within the far right that more recent studies have not yet gotten to, are Donald S. Strong, *Organized Anti-Semitism In America: The Rise of Group Prejudice during the Decade, 1930-1940* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941), and Morris Schonbach, "Native Fascism during the 1930s and 1940s: A Study of Its Roots, Its Growth and Its Decline" (Ph.D. dissertation: University of California at Los Angeles, 1958).

6.  The classic account of the growth of Communist influence during the popular-front era remains Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade: The Stalinist Penetration of America* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941). A more modern study is Earl Latham, *The Communist Controversy in Washington: From the New Deal to McCarthy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966). For the twists and turns in Communist Party policy, see Irving Howe and Lewis Closer, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History (1919-1957)* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), and Philip J. Jaffe, *The Rise and Fall of American Communism* (New York: Horizon Press, 1975).
7.  The Dies Committee and its predecessors are the subject of August Raymond Ogden, *The Dies Committee: A Study of the Special House Committee for Investigation of Un-American Activities, 1938-1944* (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1945), and Walter Goodman, *The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1968). The Ogden book, although older and dryer, is more scholarly.
8.  It would be nice to have a book on passage and pre-Cold War enforcement of the Smith Act or one on all the World War II repressive legislation. Until then, we must be satisfied with the account of the Smith Act's passage contained in the first two chapters of Michal R. Belknap, *Cold War Justice: The Smith Act, the Communist Party, and American Civil Liberties* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977). Schonbach, "Native Fascism during the 1930s and 1940s," is one of the few works to give reasonably complete coverage to the other prewar security laws.

9.  The older works on the FBI, Fred J. Cook, *The FBI Nobody Knows* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), and Max Lowenthal, *The Federal Bureau of Investigation* (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1950), are still useful for background. The Bureau's officially authorized history, Don Whitehead, *The FBI Story: A Report to the People* (New York: Random House, 1957), is less critical and far less informative. A better balanced defense of the Bureau that criticizes both the Cook and Lowenthal books is Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, *The FBI in Our Open Society* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969).

We have recently found out a lot about the FBI's operations during the World War II period with the help of the Freedom of Information Act. Of the works incorporating this information, the most important is Kenneth O'Reilly, *Hoover and the Un-Americans: The FBI, HUAC, and the Red Menace* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983). It covers the FBI's relationship with the Dies Committee, and is also the first work to document the FBI's continued political surveillance of radicals through the twenties.

Other newer works on the FBI and political surveillance are Athan Theoharis, *Spying On Americans: Political Surveillance from Hoover to the Huston Plan* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978); Athan G. Theoharis, ed., *Beyond the Hiss Case: The FBI, Congress, and the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); and Frank J. Donner, *The Age of Surveillance: The Aims and Methods of America's Political Intelligence System* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980). Unfortunately, Theoharis and Donner, both being swept up unconsciously in the liberal Roosevelt cult, devote far too much energy to quibbling over whether the FBI went beyond F.D.R.'s prewar mandates in its domestic operations.

In a class by itself is Richard Gil Powers, *G-Men: Hoover's FBI in American Popular Culture* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983). This ambitious study links a judicious political history of the FBI with a far-ranging cultural history of American attitudes toward crime and law enforcement. The mass media is, of course, the bridge between the two, and Powers exposes Hoover's very astute manipulation of the media.

10.  William R. Corson, *Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire* (New York: Dial, 1977), p. 69. Corson's book is a massive general history of the U.S. intelligence community with many details not found elsewhere. For instance, although the book was published before the incriminating documents were secured through the Freedom of Information Act, Corson reports the rumor that Assistant Attorney General William J. Donovan (later of OSS fame) informed Coolidge's Attorney General, Harlan Fisk Stone, about Hoover routinely violating the directive against political surveillance. Donovan's revelation, however, had no effect.
11.  For a scholarly study of a prominent individual within the antiwar far right who was at the fringes of the isolationist movement and who was a defendant in not only the mass sedition trial but in other wartime sedition cases, see Niel M. Johnson, *George Sylvester Viereck. German-American Propagandist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972). Johnson's book is hostile to its subject, but still reliable. For a sensationalist — almost hysterical — contemporary "expose" of Nazi mail propaganda within the U.S. during World War II, see Henry Hoke, *Black Mail* (New York: Reader's Book Service, 1944).
12.  The most thorough account of German espionage within the U.S. is Ladislav Farago, *The Game of the Foxes: The Untold Story of German Espionage in the United States and Great Britain during World War II* (New York: David McKay, 1971), although Farago has a journalistic tendency to exaggerate the overall importance of his subject. There is also some coverage of World War II espionage and treason prosecutions in two books by Nathaniel Weyl: *Treason: The Story of Disloyalty and Betrayal in American Wars* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1950) and *The Battle against Disloyalty* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1951). The titles and publication dates give away the McCarthyite bias of these highly col-

ored and unreliable studies. They at least show no favoritism to either the extreme right or extreme left; Weyl heartily endorses government suppression of both.

Even that virtue eludes a recent work in the same disreputable category: Charles Higham, *American Swastika* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985). Professing to be a history of Nazi penetration of the U.S. up to the present day, the book dredges up and seriously advances the long-discredited allegations about Nazi collusion with respectable isolationists. It is astonishing in this day and age to find a new book that actually bemoans the fact that Roosevelt could not get authority "allowing for the incarceration of known enemy collaborators without trial." Indeed, Higham makes this complaint on p. 31, with reference to the pre-Pearl Harbor period.

Another redeeming feature of Weyl's books is that they are not overly concerned with the somewhat arbitrary distinction between antiwar dissent and espionage. Most civil libertarians still treat espionage, at least during the Second World War, as beyond the pale. As a result, no serious scholar has yet approached World War II espionage prosecutions from a civil liberties perspective. Any historical accounts, like Farago's, focus on the spying and apprehension parts of the story and tell us little or nothing about the actual trials or the precise laws under which the prosecutions were conducted.

13. [U](#) The best treatment of the Tyler Kent espionage case is contained in Richard J. Whalen's biography of the U.S. ambassador to England at the time, *The Founding Father: The Story of Joseph P. Kennedy* (New York: New American Library, 1964), pp. 309-20. An earlier brief for Kent is John Howland Snow, *The Case of Tyler Kent* (New York Domestic and Foreign Affairs Press, 1946). Farago, writing more recently than Whalen, finds positive confirmation that the documents stolen by Kent finally did reach German intelligence. Farago, however, also repeats as true some fabrications against Kent concocted by Ambassador Kennedy but exposed by Whalen.
14. [U](#) ACLU 1941 annual report, "Liberty's National Emergency: The Story of Civil Liberty in the Crisis Year, 1940-1941," p. 27. David R. Manwaring, *Render Unto Caesar: The Flag-Salute Controversy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), gives a full account of the war-engendered plight of the Jehovah's Witnesses.
15. [U](#) Polenberg, *War and Society*, p. 59.
16. [U](#) In contrast to Japanese-American internment, U.S. internment of "enemy" aliens during World War II is wide open for research. It only receives mention in passing from works on other subjects, and the government has still to release the documents on alien internment facilities within its World War II concentration camp system. Although the Justice Department was responsible for alien internment, the camps used for this purpose were run by the military as part of its POW system. For a brief wartime report, see J. Edgar Hoover, "Alien Enemy Control," *Iowa Law Review*, 29 (Mar 1944), 396408. Virtually the only scholarly attempt to open up this subject is a recent journal article, John H. Culley, "Trouble at Lordsburg Internment Camp," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 60 (Jul 1985), 225 17. Culley investigates the suspicious shooting and killing of two Japanese "enemy" aliens at one of the camps.
17. [U](#) Japanese-American internment, of course, has received an inordinate amount of scholarly attention. The best introduction to the subject is Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971). See also his collection of documents, *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans* (Philadelphia J.P. Lippincott, 1975). It has a useful text and bibliographic note. Fuller treatments, in order of publications are: Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949); Jacobus tenBroek Edward N. Barnhard, and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954); Audrie Girdner and Anne Loftis, *The*

Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of the Japanese-Americans During World War II (New York: Macmillan, 1969); Allan R. Bosworth, *America's Concentration Camps* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967); and Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (New York: William Morrow, 1976). The tenBroek, Barnhart, and Matson work is best on legalistic details, the Bosworth book is mainly journalistic, and the Weglyn study is the most wide-ranging in its coverage.

18. ☞ Perrett, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph*, pp. 219-220.
19. ☞ Blum, *V Was for Victory*, p. 160.
20. ☞ The economic cost of internment to Japanese-Americans is evaluated in Leonard Bloom and Ruth Reimer, *Removal and Returns: The Socio Economic Effect of the War on Japanese Americans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).
21. ☞ Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA*, p. 154.
22. ☞ Blum, *V Was for Victory*, p. 164.
23. ☞ Donald E. Collins, *Native American Aliens: Disloyalty and the Renunciation of Citizenship by Japanese Americans During World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).
24. ☞ Weglyn, *Years of Infamy*, reveals the U.S. pressure for similar policies with respect to Japanese residents in the Latin American countries.
25. ☞ On martial law in Hawaii, see J. Gager Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1955).
26. ☞ ACLU Annual Report 1942-1943, *Freedom in Wartime*, pp. 30-32.
27. ☞ Edwin S. Corwin, *Total War and the Constitution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p. 91.
28. ☞ The definitive study on World War II conscientious objectors is Mulford Q. Sibley and Philip E. Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience: The American State and the Conscientious Objector, 1940-47* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952). An examination of resistance to the draft is James J. Martin, "A Look at Conscription, Then and Now," in *Revisionist Viewpoints: Essays in a Dissident Historical Tradition* (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles Publisher, Inc., 1971). Martin suggests that resistance to the draft within the military, through AWOL, malingering, and other passive techniques, was substantial. So far, no scholar has given this suggestion the serious investigation that it deserves.
29. ☞ Lawrence S. Wittner, *Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1941-1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), shows the devastating impact the war hysteria had on the organized peace movement.
30. ☞ The best account of the mass sedition trial is Leo P. Ribuffo, "United States v. McWilliams: The Roosevelt Administration and the Far Right," in Michal R. Belknap, ed., *American Political Trials* (Newport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), pp. 201-32. Essentially the same account appears in Ribuffo's book *The Old Christian Right*. Biddle's summary of the results of the trial is from p. 243 of *In Brief Authority*. The prosecuting attorney, O. John Rogge, updated and published the government's ludicrous case against the defendants in *The Official German Report: Nazi Penetration, 1924-1942; Pan-Arabism, 1939-To-day* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961). The most prominent defendant and his lawyer meanwhile had published their own account (which reprints the entire government indictment): Lawrence Dennis and Maximilian St. George, *A Trial on Trial: The Great Sedition Trial of 1944* ([?]: National Civil Rights Committee, 1945). Eric Scott Royce, "FDR's Mass Sedition Trial," *New Libertarian Weekly*, 3 (30 Nov. 1975), 4-7, offers a competent summary.

31. [↗](#) As quoted in Perrett, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph*, p. 361. Ronald Radosh, *Prophets on the Right: Profiles of Conservative Critics of American Globalism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975), devotes several chapters to Dennis and finds his reputation as a native fascist, to say the least, greatly exaggerated.
32. [↗](#) Biddle, *In Brief Authority*, p. 243.
33. [↗](#) Because it resulted in a conviction (albeit, one that was overturned by the Supreme Court), the mass trial of the German-American Bund members under the Selective Service Act deserves as much scholarly and journalistic attention as the mass sedition trial. But, alas, it has received very little.
34. [↗](#) The only places that give much detail about the black antiwar religious cults and about the government prosecutions of their members are chapter twenty-two of Roi Ottley, *'New World A-Coming': Inside Black America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), and pp. 103-5 of Neil A. Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975). Wynn's comments are based on more recent research, but he makes an unfounded distinction between prosecutions for sedition and for urging draft resistance. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition*, also discusses black seditionists on p. 172~ and further reveals that, if not for Biddle, F.D.R. and J. Edgar Hoover probably would have shut down the entire black press during World War II.
35. [↗](#) Two works on the wartime Detroit race riot are Alfred McClung Lee and Norman D. Humphrey, *Race Riot* (New York: Dryden, 1943), and Robert Shogan and Tom Craig, *The Detroit Race Riot: A Study in Violence* (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1964).
36. [↗](#) The best discussion of the zoot-suit riots in Los Angeles is contained in Blum's *V Was for Victory*. Mauncio Mazon, *The Zoot Suit Rusts: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), although a more recent book-length treatment, is marred by its psycho-historic approach, which views the riots as mainly symbolic. Mazon does, however, point out the important fact that the zoot-suit riots generated a fairly tame level of violence, especially relative to the wartime violence directed against blacks.
37. [↗](#) Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), is a solid study of that agency. Blum's *V Was for Victory* also contains a lengthy section on the Office of War Information.
38. [↗](#) Theodore Koop, *Weapon of Silence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), is an older study of the Office of Censorship.
39. [↗](#) Charles J. Tull, *Father Coughlin and the New Deal* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1965). For a more general examination of postal censorship, consult the relevant section of Dorothy Ganfield Fowler, *Unmailable: Congress and the Post Office* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977).
40. [↗](#) The case of the U-boat saboteurs is the subject of Eugene Rachlis, *They Came to Kill: The Story of Eight Nazi Saboteurs in America* (New York: Random House, 1961).
41. [↗](#) A Revisionist look at one of the renegade broadcaster cases is provided by James J. Martin, "The Framing of 'Tokyo Rose,'" in *The Saga of Hog IskaId: And Other Essays in Inconvenient History* (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles, 1977); pp. 145-80.
42. [↗](#) Pound's incarceration is fully treated in E. Fuller Torrey, *The Roots of Treason. Ezra Pound and the Secrets of St. Elizabeth's* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984). Torrey, himself a psychiatrist, believes that Pound was sane-but still a bona fide traitor.
43. [↗](#) For the emergence of the intelligence community during World War A, see Corson's *The Armies Of Ignorance*. There are two good works on the CIA's forerunner R. Hams Smith, OSS: *The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency* (Berkeley: University of California, 1972), and Bradley F. Smith, *The Shadow Warriors: The OSS, and the Origins of the CIA*. (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

44. ☞ On the wartime roots of the National Security Agency, see James Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace: A Report On America's Most Secret Agency*, rev. ed., (New York Penguin Books, 1983).
 45. ☞ For the ambivalent civil liberties role played by the Supreme Court and the Constitution, see Edwin S. Corwin, *Total War And TV Constitution In Crisis Tunes, 1918-1969* (New York Harper & Row, 1972).
 46. ☞ Peter Irons, *Justice At War: The Story Of The Japanese-American Internment Cases* (New York Oxford University Press, 1983), looks at the court cases that internment inspired, showing both that the government suppressed damaging documents and that ACLU lawyers, out of deference to F.D.R., were remiss in representing their Japanese- American clients.
 47. ☞ The common notion of World War II as "The Good War" has most recently been reaffirmed in the title of a book by Studs Terl  el: "The Good War": An Oral History of World War Two (New York Pantheon 1984).
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Shattering the Icon of Abraham Lincoln

Sam Dickson

The astonishing thing about this paper on Abraham Lincoln is that it is needed at all or is considered controversial. In my opinion, one does not have to be a scholar to ferret out obscure and suppressed facets of history to see Abraham Lincoln as he was.

My views on this subject are not unusual. They are those of the overwhelming majority of Southerners both immediately before, during and for decades after the War between the States. My views were also shared by many in the North and the West. Only the passage of time and the studious cultivation of the myth of Abraham Lincoln, coupled with his timely death (timely in the sense of being providential for his place in history) have caused Abraham Lincoln to be raised to the level of a sacred cow in American history.

Nevertheless, even contemporary events show that the place and role of Abraham Lincoln in American history are a subject which is very sensitive to the Establishment. When Professor M.E. Bradford of the University of Dallas was nominated by President Reagan to head the National Endowment for the Humanities, a storm of abuse and controversy exploded. Professor Bradford's sin was that he had the effrontery to criticize Abraham Lincoln. The New York Times launched the attack, followed by a host of other establishment liberal spokesmen and institutions and joined by so-called "neo-conservatives" such as George Will. Mr. Will excoriated Professor Bradford as "the nostalgic Confederate remnant of the Conservative movement" and made it clear that neo-conservatives have no use for any criticism of Abraham Lincoln. ^[1] Obviously, Professor Bradford touched a raw and sensitive nerve when he criticized a president who has been dead for over 120 years. One wonders after the lapse of so many years why this matter is such a vital, important and sensitive one.

Part of the reason for the importance of Abraham Lincoln in the iconography of the left is explained by the Whig Theory of History which is shared by most leftists in one form or another. The Whig Theory of History holds that history, in particular the history of the English-speaking peoples, is the history of freedom broadening down from precedent to precedent as progress is made away from tradition, authority, monarchy, and aristocracy toward democracy and egalitarianism. The leftist adherents to the Whig Theory of History see Lincoln as part of a continuum running from Runnymede to Cromwell to the so-called Glorious Revolution to the American Revolution to Lincoln to Wilson to Roosevelt to Kennedy and beyond.

Of course, this Whig Theory of History is preposterous and fallacious and maintained only by a thoroughly dishonest editing of historical events. However, the leftists are correct in viewing Lincoln and the effect of his career on the course of the United States as moving America away from an aristocratic society founded upon traditions, authority and property and toward a mass democratic society founded upon universal suffrage, equality and unlimited government-mandated so-

cial experimentation. While it is not remarkable that leftists should admire Abraham Lincoln, it is noteworthy and surprising that the Lincoln Myth has been marketed to moderate and conservative Americans.

Part of the success enjoyed by the Lincoln Myth lies in the timeliness of his death. By dying though an assassination at the conclusion of the war and prior to the commencement of a bitter and cruel peace, Lincoln could be used by all factions in America and could be opposed by none. Hence, Radical Republicans used his death, as well as a contrived propaganda campaign alleging that Southern leaders, including Jefferson Davis, had plotted Lincoln's assassination, to inflame Northern opinion and to solidify their leadership of the North in a campaign of humiliation, robbery and persecution of the conquered and prostrate South and its vanquished leaders. [2] Southerners were likewise in no position to attack Lincoln. The South's situation after the war was similar to that of post-World War II Germany, that is to say, utterly defeated, prostrate, the victim of inflammatory lies about atrocities at Andersonville, etc. Hence, the only prudent course for Southerners was to promote those aspects of the Lincoln Myth (e.g., his alleged kindness and magnanimity) so as to defuse Northern anger and work patiently for the amelioration of the condition of the South.

Having touched on the foregoing points, let us examine the real Abraham Lincoln and his true place in American history. I have selected the following areas of scrutiny:

1. Lincoln the man;
2. Lincoln from the standpoint of American patriotism and nationalism;
3. Lincoln and the coming of the War,
4. Lincoln's conduct of the War,
5. Lincoln and his place in American history.

1. Lincoln The Man

The official image of Lincoln the man according to the Lincoln Myth runs as follows: a man of upright character and honesty, a man of peace and compassion for his Southern adversaries, and a Christian of sincere religious convictions.

All of the above articles of faith are demonstrably false.

Lincoln was a demagogic politician who maneuvered with consummate skill on all sides of many burning issues of the day. Thus, in the famous debates with Stephen Douglas his position on the question of Negro equality became several positions according to which area of Illinois was hosting the debate. His pronouncements ranged from denials of Negro equality and advocacy of an inferior and degraded state of civil rights for the Negro to affirmations of the equality of Negroes. This is not to say that Lincoln was without principle. It is my belief, which will be developed in this paper, that Lincoln was an abiding leftist but at the same time was a crafty and dissimulating politician who was willing shamelessly to try to fool all of the people, all of the time.

As to Lincoln's alleged sincere "Christian" religious convictions, it is well known to students of Lincoln that he was an atheist and free-thinker. While like any crafty politician Lincoln was willing to invoke the name of God to garner support, no great importance should be laid to this practice which is common in all democratic societies.

Also, Lincoln believed in omens, was often depressed by seeing blackbirds, and would interpret dreams that he had in ways that can only be described as superstitious. Lincoln's superstition is

frequently confused with piety.

Lincoln's law partner, William Herndon, was deeply disturbed after Lincoln's death by popular portrayals of Lincoln as a Christian saint. As Dwight G. Anderson, author of a recent study of Abraham Lincoln, points out, Herndon knew that Lincoln had written an essay denying the divinity of the Bible. This essay or book of Lincoln's came to be referred to as the "infidel book." Herndon's lectures and writings on the subject of Lincoln's atheism provoked immediate defense of Lincoln as a devout Christian. However, as Herndon shrewdly pointed out, the fact of Lincoln's early atheism cannot be denied and Lincoln's political career would have been vastly helped by some public revelation of a dramatic conversion to Christianity. No such conversion has ever been established. Long after the controversy over Lincoln's atheism or devotion to Christianity, a statement of Lincoln's was discovered which Lincoln issued in reply to accusations that he was not a Christian. [3] Lincoln admitted that he was not a member of any Christian church, but stated that he had not denied the truth of the scriptures and had not spoken with intentional disrespect of religion in general or of any particular Christian denomination. Lincoln's statement shows that Herndon was correct. The statement is artfully worded but does not indicate any conversion to Christianity and does not deny the assertions of Herndon that Lincoln had denied the divinity of the scriptures. Lincoln says only that he had not denied their truth. Lincoln is to be admired for his honesty in this statement in not concocting some vote-catching, born-again experience. Our admiration for his candor would be greater had he desisted from piously self-serving references to the Almighty in political speeches throughout his career.

2. Lincoln As Patriot And Nationalist

Regarding Lincoln's patriotism and devotion to the Union, he was devoted rather to the aggrandizement of his section and of his faction, which dominated that section. When broader national interests came into conflict with the interests of Lincoln and his faction, Lincoln took the side of his faction, as will be shown later in dealing with the Mexican-American War.

Lincoln's first term in the Illinois legislature coincided with the initial rumblings in Northern legislatures of the dangerous and divisive slavery issue. Responsible Americans of both sections recognized the danger posed to the American Union by the slavery issue and sought to head it off. One means of doing this was to have the legislatures of both sections pass identical resolutions expressing a national consensus on the slavery issue from a moderate point of view.

Stephen Douglas, a true American patriot, was among those instrumental in seeking to have the Illinois legislature pass this resolution. The resolution was overwhelmingly passed with only a tiny minority voting against it. Among the handful of opponents was a freshman member of the legislature, Abraham Lincoln. [4] Beginning with this incident, Douglas was to be a lifelong adversary of Lincoln.

Lincoln's position on the Illinois resolution seriously impeaches those who try to make of Lincoln a white racist. The fact that Lincoln was willing to go that far early in his career indicates that he was committed to Negro equality at the inception of his career and was on the far left of contemporary American thought about the Negro and slavery issues. Furthermore, Lincoln's opposition to the resolution is strong evidence for his willingness to disrupt the Union in order to promote his own faction's success. Certainly, his position on the resolution has to be laid to his discredit in assessing his career.

This is not to say that Lincoln did not craftily dissemble his views on slavery and the Negro as a practical politician, realizing the limitations within which he strove to realize his ideals. For in-

stance, in late 1854 Lincoln was furious when he learned that radical abolitionist Republicans meeting in Springfield had adopted fiery anti-slavery resolutions and formed a party state central committee, on which they took the liberty of placing Lincoln's name.

I have been perplexed some to understand how my name was placed in that committee. I was not consulted on the subject; nor was I apprised of the appointment until I discovered it by accident two or three weeks afterwards. I suppose that my opposition to the principle of slavery is as strong as that of any number of the Republican party; but I had also supposed that the extent [original emphasis] to which I feel authorized to catty that opposition practically was not at all satisfactory to that party. [5]

This letter shows that Lincoln was, in fact, a staunch opponent of slavery but that he recognized, better than some abolitionists sharing his views, that it was necessary to be careful in approaching their goal.

Lincoln's aggrandizement of his sectional and factional advantage at the expense of the nation as a whole is most clearly evidenced by his opposition to the war with Mexico. President James K. Polk, certainly one of the greatest American presidents, was responsible for almost doubling our national territory by means of the war with Mexico. Through his efforts and through the heroism in battle of many genuine American nationalists like Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, a whole empire was won, out of which would be carved many of our states, from Texas to California.

President Polk's war with Mexico was not universally popular, however, even in the America of the 1840's. (It is noteworthy that many modern Liberals consider the Mexican War to have been the worst and most immoral war in our history, preferring such wars as the War between the States, WWI and WWII as "moral" wars.) [6] Among Polk's opponents in the matter of the war was the freshman congressman from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. On January 12, 1848, Lincoln spoke in the House of Representatives defending the vote of his party a few days before in declaring "that the war with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President." [7] It was, in Carl Sandburg's words, a fiercely partisan speech, which led to strong criticism of Lincoln in Illinois. The result was that Abraham Lincoln was defeated for re-election to Congress due to his opposition to national expansion and to the war with Mexico.

It is also ironic to note that in his speech attacking President Polk Lincoln made two statements which can be cited against him in his own conduct in the War between the States. Lincoln stated:

Any people any when, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better ... Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize, and make their own of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority, intermingled with, or near about them, who may oppose their movement. [8]

These remarks clearly can be cited to justify and condone the actions of the South in seceding from the Union in 1860 and 1861. To further the irony, Lincoln condemned President Polk's initiation of the War as unconstitutional on the grounds that Polk had sent American troops into battle without congressional authority, [9] but later, Lincoln would take far more dramatic steps to initiate war by executive fiat without prior congressional approval, as required by the Constitution, when it served his interests to do so in the secession crisis.

3. Lincoln and the Coming of The War

As we have noted previously, Lincoln in the inception of his public career in the Illinois State house took the radical position on slavery by opposing the resolutions intended to soothe public feelings in both sections.

The slavery issue continued to torment and divide the nation. However, it would be a mistake to focus, as do most Northern historians, solely upon the slavery issue as the cause of division between the two sections.

The North was already losing its Anglo-Saxon character and was rapidly changing with the inundation of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants from Europe. Furthermore, the North was industrializing and her economic interests were in many respects directly antithetical to those of the South. Hence the North desired the erection of a high tariff barrier to enable herself to sell her industrial products with a competitive advantage over imports from Europe. Likewise, most of the nation's foreign exchange was earned by exports from the South. The tariff issue was critical in the division of the nation and probably played the major role in determining the North upon a policy of aggression and conquest when the secession came.

Lincoln had always been a national Whig. His policies were those in favor of a central banking system, which he championed during his first term in the Illinois legislature. ^[10] The Bank of the United States which Andrew Jackson opposed was similar to our present day Federal Reserve System. Lincoln opposed resolutions in the Illinois legislature supporting President Andrew Jackson, who had vetoed the National Bank. ^[11] Lincoln also favored high tariffs, a strongly centralized government and internal improvements. ^[12] Lincoln himself had a direct personal reason to support such policies, since he derived a significant portion of his income from serving as attorney for the railroad interests. ^[13]

The estrangement and antagonism between the two sections gradually accelerated. In 1858 Lincoln made his famous "House Divided" Speech. In this speech, Lincoln declared:

A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new — North as well so South.

^[14]

Entranced by the Lincoln cult, Americans are prone to read or hear the House Divided Speech with a tingling of the spine, impressed by its dramatic tone. Set in the context of developing regional antagonism, however, the speech seems to be that of an irresponsible demagogue. The Union had existed half slave and half free from its inception. There appears to be no logical reason why it could not have continued to have existed in that fashion, given responsible leadership and good will on both sides, until slavery was eliminated by the progress of technology. Certainly the delivery of such a speech was not responsible leadership, as it did much to infuriate and alarm the South. This especially was true with Lincoln's election, which the South saw as the election of a man who seemed to have declared himself on the side of those who intended to violate the constitutional rights and property rights of Southerners and to interfere with their self-government. As is the case with many dramatic speeches, the speech has its thrilling aspects, but was utterly irresponsible and led to tragic results.

Lincoln's activity with regard to the developing sectional strife contrasts sharply with that of his major opponent Stephen A. Douglas. Douglas consistently sought the national advantage, having been a staunch supporter of President Polk in the war with Mexico. Douglas strived to promote

reconciliation and cooperation between North and South, and to develop workable compromises that avoided dogmatic impasses on either side. [15]

Lincoln in the Lincoln-Douglas debates was his characteristic demagogic and unprincipled self. In northern Illinois, in which the German and other non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants now were playing a major and perhaps decisive role, Lincoln declared himself dramatically for Negro equality, raising his hands to the heavens and declaring: "In the right to eat the bread his own hands have earned he is the equal of Judge Douglas, or of myself, or any living man." However, in southern Illinois, where conservative and Southern sympathies ran strong, Lincoln declared himself opposed to granting Negroes civil rights and stated that they were in fact an inferior race. [16]

Likewise, in 1858 in the course of the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates, Lincoln wrote a meditation which was not used in his debates and which his admiring biographer Sandburg described as a "private affair between him and his conscience." This statement ran as follows:

Yet I have never failed — do not now fail — to remember that in the Republican cause there is a higher aim than that of mere office. I have not allowed myself to forget that the abolition of the slave trade by Great Britain was agitated a hundred years before it was a final success; that the measure had its open fire-eating opponents; its stealthy "don't care" opponents; its dollar and cent opponents; its inferior race opponents; its negro equality opponents; and its religious and good order opponents; that all these opponents got offices, and their adversaries got none. But I also remember that though they blazed like tallow candles for a century, at last they flickered in the socket, died out, stank in the dark for a brief season, and were remembered no more, even by the smell ... I am proud, in my passing speck of time, to contribute an humble mite to that glorious consummation, which my own poor eyes may not last to see. [17]

With his election in 1860, the real test of Abraham Lincoln's leadership in his country began. State after state in the South withdrew from the Union, as it became obvious that the South was extremely agitated by his election. Lincoln had been elected with only 39% of the popular vote. Only the splintering of the moderate-to-conservative majority made possible the election of this President. No president since has ever been elected with so little popular support. Certainly no president has ever been placed in office over the determined opposition of so many of his fellow citizens. [18]

Had Stephen A. Douglas been elected, it is almost certain secession and civil war would have been averted.

In his campaign Lincoln had avoided speaking on vital issues. In the words of Reinhart H. Luthin, one of Lincoln's better known biographers, "From his election to his inauguration Lincoln's handling, or rather lack of handling of the bedeviling secession crisis might be termed 'calculated inactivity' for he was to do nothing about it nor was he to provide much leadership, with the Republic tottering in the balance." [19]

Lincoln had long believed that Southern talk of secession was nothing but bluff. In 1856 he had stated in a speech in Galena, Illinois: "All this talk about the dissolution of the Union is humbug." [20] He grossly underestimated secessionist sentiment and overestimated pro-Union strength in the upper South and border slave regions.

After Lincoln's election, a conservative Senator, John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, proposed a compromise to head off secession by extending the Missouri Compromise line dividing slave states from free states all the way to the Pacific. [21] Lincoln rejected this compromise and marshalled his party against all other compromises with the South. Lincoln said as follows concerning this:

Let there be no compromise on the question of extending slavery. If there be, all our labor is lost and, ere long must be done again. The dangerous ground — that into which some of our friends have a hankering to run — is Pop. Sov. [Popular Sovereignty]. Have none of it. Stand firm. The tug has to come, and better now, than any time hereafter. [22]

Lincoln also instructed his legislative spokesman from Illinois in Washington not to compromise with the South. [23]

Pleas poured into Lincoln from all regions of the country imploring him to make some gesture to the South and give leadership at that critical time. However, as Luthin describes it, Lincoln continued his "sphinx-like silence" until his inauguration. [24]

The Lincoln cultists often quote a letter which Lincoln wrote during this period, to Alexander Hamilton Stephens of Georgia, who later would serve as Vice President of the Confederacy. In this letter, Lincoln is quoted as saying:

For your eyes only

Springfield, Ill. Dec. 22, 1860

Hon. A. H. Stephens

My Dear Sir

Your obliging answer to my short note is just received and for which please accept my thanks — I fully appreciate the present peril the country is in, and the weight of responsibility on me.

Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would directly, or indirectly, interfere with the slaves, or with them about their slaves? If they do I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not as an enemy, that there is no cause for such fear —

The South would be in no more danger in this respect than it was in the days of Washington.

I suppose, however, this does not meet the case — You think slavery is right and ought to be extended while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted — That I suppose is the rule — It certainly is the only substantial difference between us —

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln [25]

The interesting thing about this letter, which as I say is often quoted by Lincoln's admirers to show him in the official posture of the loving father holding out his hands to his erring Southern

sons, is that the letter was never publicized and never received any attention in the South. The reason for this is that the preamble of the letter, which Lincoln's admirers delete in the quotation, forbade Stephens, a Unionist, upon his honor from showing it to anyone else, stating that the letter is for his eyes only.

Lincoln and Stephens had served together in Congress and knew each other very well. Lincoln, it may be anticipated, knew that Stephens would not make use of the letter in his efforts to keep Georgia (and thereby the South) in the Union in obedience to Lincoln's urgings.

The question then arises of why Lincoln wrote the letter at all. No one can answer that question with certainty but it would appear that Lincoln believed that he could entice Stephens into coming North and siding with the Union in the impending sectional war. This policy of Lincoln worked with his later Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, who had also served in Congress with Lincoln, representing eastern Tennessee and who went North and supported the Union during the War.

Certainly any responsible American would agree that Lincoln should have moved energetically to try to deter the secession movement. The fact is that Lincoln did not. On his way to Washington Lincoln visited with a number of the so-called "war governors" in the North. These were men like Governor Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania who were in favor of coercing the South by armed force into remaining in the Union and thus remaining subject to the North's tariff laws.

While in Pennsylvania, Lincoln spoke at Independence Hall. He alluded to the Declaration of Independence and made clear that the Constitution was in conflict with the Declaration of Independence, and that it was his intention to reform the Constitution to bring it in line with the principles of the Declaration. Lincoln stated as follows:

I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence... if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle [equality] I was about to say that I would rather be assassinated on this spot than to surrender it. [26]

These statements were not calculated to soothe suspicions of Southern conservatives; they also reflect Lincoln's innate radicalism and dissatisfaction with the American Constitution. His dissatisfaction with the limitations imposed on government and executive power by the Constitution were later to become evident in his precipitation of the war and his conduct of that war.

As Stephen Douglas pointed out in the United States Senate, as the secession crisis developed, there were three possible courses for the United States to take in dealing with the sectional crisis: 1 The Union could be saved by compromise and reconciliation between men of good will in both sections; 2 The South could be allowed to withdraw in peace and set up her own government independent of the North; 3 The South could be coerced by military force into remaining subject to the Union. According to Douglas, the best solution would have been one based on compromise and reconciliation. The next best would have been to allow the South to depart in peace. The worst was to resort to violent military force to coerce the South into the Union like a conquered province. [27]

In his inaugural address, Lincoln was ambiguous, making his famous gesture to the South in its conclusion but also containing passages stating that he would not recognize secession and would enforce the laws in all states. His original draft was much more warlike but Seward convinced him to soften it. [28]

Continuing efforts were made to negotiate a peaceful separation. Virginia sent three commissioners to meet with Lincoln shortly prior to Lincoln's attempt to resupply Fort Sumter, which led to the bombardment of Fort Sumter and the outbreak of the War. According to the Virginia commissioners, Lincoln equivocated as to whether he would resort to armed force to coerce the seceded states back into the Union. Virginia at that point had not seceded but had placed her legislature in a state of continuous session to await further developments. The Virginia commissioners had made it clear that if the Lincoln administration resorted to armed force against the South, Virginia and the other states of the South which had not already seceded would also go out and join their seceded sisters. [29]

Lincoln equivocated with the commissioners. However, his greatest concern voiced to them was, "What about my tariff?" [30] This shows once again Lincoln's commitment to the huge vested industrial and financial interests of the North. The war in Lincoln's mind had to be fought to establish the supremacy of that financial oligarchy. The tariff under Lincoln was instated with a vigor and was raised to unparalleled heights. [31] This economic policy of anti-Southern tariffs and economic exploitation of the South was to be continued for almost eighty years after the war and was only abandoned in the face of the crisis of World War II. [32]

Lincoln after his inauguration temporarized and maneuvered. All proposals in the so-called "Peace Congress" failed, receiving no support from the administration. It was necessary to provoke the South into firing the first shot so as to rally Northern opinion, at that point strongly divided, behind a war to coerce the South. This was achieved by dispatching resupply ships to Fort Sumter, thus breaking his commitments and assurances to the South that he would not reinforce the Federal forts in the South. [33]

When the news of the planned resupply of Fort Sumter reached the South, the bombardment of the fort was begun. Lincoln then used the act of flying upon the American flag to rally Northern opinion to his cause and put up a public pretense that the situation in the South was merely that of a minority of conspirators preventing the expression of the true Union sentiments of the loyalist majorities in the South. Lincoln may have believed this himself, because he always overestimated his ability to divide the South and to provoke animosity between the social classes in the South. It would not be until the war had been raging for over a year that Lincoln would realize that this was not to be.

After the surrender of Fort Sumter, Lincoln issued an executive proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers to form an army to invade the South. Virginia and the other remaining Southern states withdrew and the Confederacy assumed its basic geography. [34]

In 1848 during his efforts to oppose the war with Mexico, Lincoln had attacked President Polk upon the floor of the House for having sent units of the United States Army into a disputed border region between Mexico and the United States. Lincoln said that the President's action violated the Constitution's requirement that only Congress could declare war. Lincoln's own action in raising an army by Executive Order was a far greater violation of these same provisions of the Constitution dealing with the declaration of war, than the alleged violations of President Polk which he had attacked. The "Executive Order Army" could be said to be the precursor of the whole litany of executive orders which have been a favorite device of presidents from the Roosevelt administration onward. The war governors, nevertheless, hastened to provide Lincoln with the militia units and volunteers which he needed to commence the hostilities and the war was on.

The efforts of true American patriots like Stephen A. Douglas to save the Union by conciliation and compromise had been successfully thwarted. Lincoln had achieved his opportunity to rededi-

cate the nation to the radical principles of the Declaration of Independence and to get around the impediment of the Constitution.

4. Lincoln's Conduct of the War

A civil war is usually marked by an intensity in feeling and an atrociousness of conduct which is often lacking in wars between rival powers. It is fair to say that the War between the States was waged by the Lincoln administration with a barbarity rarely equalled in any other war in American history.

Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus throughout the nation. He assumed the power to close newspapers and in fact closed hundreds of them in the North which dared criticize his policies. He arrested elected officials, including former members of Congress, who opposed him. [35]

Vice-President John C. Breckenridge, who finished second to Lincoln in electoral votes in the 1860 election, presided over the official election and swore in his successor, Hannibal Hamlin. Breckenridge, a Kentuckian, was opposed to disunion and to Lincoln. His criticism of Lincoln was censored and the Associated Press was barred from reporting his remarks. Breckenridge remained in Washington until after the First Battle of Manassas, hoping and working for peace. [36] He later became a Confederate general.

The first taste of what was to come in the South in the course of the war was seen in the border states. In Missouri, the Anglo-Saxon population was disarmed and the state was garrisoned with volunteer units of Germans who could be counted on to support the Lincoln administration. The Anglo-Saxon population of the whole western tier of counties in Missouri were deported from their homes by General Ewing's General Order Number 11, which depopulated the region by forcibly evacuating the women and children on the shortest of notice, along with burning their houses and stealing their property. Among those experiencing this deportation and expropriation was the mother of later President Harry S. Truman. The memories of the sufferings she and her family had endured while she was a small child stayed with Mrs. Truman throughout her life. On one occasion the aspiring young politician told his mother that he had been invited to dinner at the house of a prominent family in Kansas City. His mother admonished him to turn the silver over and check the hallmark because, "It's probably ours." On another occasion, Truman showed his mother his new National Guard uniform only to be ordered out of the house because the pants were blue.

In Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, Northern troops fired on pro-Southern demonstrators, dispersed legislatures, expelled elected officials and otherwise demonstrated that no respect for constitutional rights or liberties would be shown during the course of the war.

It is amazing that the Lincoln cultists have been able to shield Lincoln from the Northern atrocities committed during the war under his tenure as Commander-in-Chief of its armies. The standard line on this point, usually implied rather than stated, is that Lincoln sat in the White House exuding love for Southerners, in blissful ignorance of what Sherman, Ewing, Pope, Butler and others were doing. This, of course, is unworthy of belief and is an impossibility, given the widespread jubilant publicity in the North over the depredations of the Northern armies against the Southern people. [37]

General Ewing's General Order Number 11 in Missouri was merely a taste of what was to come throughout the South. The most famous and widely known example of Northern atrocities was

the campaign of General William Tecumseh Sherman in Georgia. No portion of this country has ever felt the scourge of war like the State of Georgia experienced it.

The city of Atlanta, after its surrender, was burned to the ground, and only a handful of churches and a few outlying residences escaped the holocaust. More than 4,000 edifices were burned, which was approximately 92% of the city. Only 450 buildings of any sort escaped this ruthless burning, in a city which had a population of 14,000. Captain Daniel Oakey of the Second Massachusetts Volunteers recounted the bunting of Atlanta as follows: "Sixty thousand of us witnessed the destruction of Atlanta, while our post band and that of the 33rd Massachusetts played martial airs and operatic selections." [38] Like the bombing of Dresden, this massive destruction of civilian property was of no military importance. On November 15, 1864, the march of the Northern troops across Georgia from Atlanta to Savannah began. Sherman created a charred avenue over 40 miles wide, destroying all railroads, seizing all provisions, pillaging, plundering and burning. There was no military force available to obstruct his course. [39]

The devastation in Georgia was so complete that entire communities disappeared never to be heard of again. Perhaps the most dramatic of these occurred at the midtown of New Manchester on Sweetwater Creek in Douglas County, Georgia. The Union forces had occupied the town without a shot being fired on July 2, 1864. Most of the workers in the mill were women and were told to return to their homes. They were told that they would be taken out of the path of the advancing army. The mill was destroyed and the town was placed under guard. On July 8, the entire town, including the homes of the workers, was burned to the ground. Having destroyed the entire town, only the population remained, most of them women and children with a few men. The women and children were separated from the men and herded into wagons. The wagon train then set off for Marietta, Georgia, some 16 miles away. During the journey the women were forced to endure the sexual advances of the Union soldiers. In Marietta the group was joined by a similar group of deported women from Roswell, Georgia. On July 20, the entire group of women and children were shipped by train from Georgia to Louisville, Kentucky. [40] Not one woman or child is known to have returned to New Manchester. To the credit of the North, even in that section, there was strong opposition to the policy of deporting women and children.

Are we really to believe that Abraham Lincoln knew nothing of the depredations of Sherman's troops? The atrocious deeds of his troops were reported widely throughout the Northern press and extended over a period of many months, not ending until the final surrender of the Confederacy, by which time Sherman had similarly torched Columbia, South Carolina, and laid waste to parts of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina. Sherman, besides his legendary "War is hell" comment, wrote his wife in Savannah, Georgia, of popular opinion of the Northern liberators: "They regard us just as the Romans did the Goths and the parallel is not unjust." [41]

However, one should not be too hasty in condemning Lincoln. Lincoln shared the democratic sensitivity to deportations which certainly justify his being included in the trinity of Lincoln, Wilson and F.D.R. on the subject of deportations. Not all deportations were tolerated by the White House during the war. Thus for instance when General Grant ordered Jewish speculators expelled from Tennessee, Lincoln quickly issued a peremptory order to Grant, rescinding his order and rebuking him for having deported the Jewish speculators. [42] Like Wilson, F.D.R. and other ideological descendants of Lincoln, Lincoln knew where a democracy has to draw the line. After all, a distinction has to be made between Anglo-Saxon women and children, textile workers and farmers, and Jewish speculators.

Nor were the outrages of the Northern armies confined to the states of Georgia and South Carolina. In Virginia, for example, between July 18 and July 23, 1862, General John Pope issued

four general orders providing that the Union army would as far as possible subsist upon the country, i.e., steal food from the civilians. All villages and neighborhoods through which the Union forces marched would be placed “under contribution.” Civilians living along the line of march would be punished if there were any injuries to railroads or other roads by bands of unknown guerillas. Also, Brigadier General Adolph von Steinwehr seized civilians as hostage so that they could be executed if any of his soldiers were killed by unknown persons. (One recalls the righteous indignation periodically vented at Germans for reprisals taken against civilians for guerilla actions of the “gallant resistance” in World War II.) Those refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States would be banished from their homes; if found at any point within the Federal lines or in the rear, they would be executed as spies. Anyone who communicated with the enemy was subject to the death penalty. As Hudson Strode points out in his marvelous biography of Jefferson Davis, a mother who sent her son a letter could be regarded as a spy. [43] Pope also proceeded to arm the recently-freed slaves against the whites. General McClellan deserves this country’s admiration for denouncing Pope as “an upstart braggart” and a man who mistook brutality in war for power. [44]

President Jefferson Davis writing to General Robert E. Lee, reacted to Pope’s orders as follows:

We find ourselves driven by our enemies in their steady progress towards a practice which we abhor and which we are vainly snuggling to avoid. Some of the military authorities of the United States seem to suppose that better success will attend a savage war in which no quarter is to be given and no sex to be spared. For the press we renounce the right of retaliation on the innocent and shall continue to treat the private enlisted soldiers of General Pope’s army as prisoners of war, but if, after notice to the government in Washington, these savage practices are continued we shall be reluctantly forced to the last resort of accepting war on the terms chosen by our foes, until the outraged voice of the common humanity forces a respect for the recognized rules of war.

You are therefore instructed to communicate to the Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States the contents of this letter — to the end that he may be notified of our intention not to consider any officers hereafter captured from General Pope’s army as prisoners of war. [45]

General Lee also wrote to the United States government condemning Pope’s practices and warning of the results they would lead to. While General Halleck refused to accept Lee’s letter because of its insulting statements about the United States government, nevertheless Pope’s orders were modified and von Steinwehr was reprimanded for the conduct of his troops. [46]

Like his ideological descendants, Wilson and F.D.R., Lincoln did not hesitate to cooperate with antagonistic ethnic groups against his own people. Thus the armies of the North were swelled with hundreds of thousands of mercenary soldiers from Europe, lured to the United States by a circular known as “the notorious Number 19” in the South. This circular from William H. Seward offered inducement in the form of pay and bounties to enlist in the service of the North, which already enjoyed an advantage in numbers of four times the White population of the South. The circular was evasive about service in the Army. Consul General John Bigelow in Paris organized a network of immigration agencies across Europe offering free land under the Homestead Act of 1862. After the war Bigelow stated that the tremendous success of recruiting of these foreign mercenaries accounted for the “mysterious repletion of our army during the four years of war.” [47]

Large numbers of Irish and German mercenaries arrived to assist in the suppression of the South. According to the New York Herald, almost 150,000 immigrants were estimated to have joined the army early in the war. Admiral Porter estimated that a majority of the eighty thousand seamen were aliens. Ultimately, it is estimated that between 400,000 and 500,000 mercenary troops were enrolled in the Northern army to subjugate the South. [48]

Pope Pius IX wrote a personal letter to Jefferson Davis for the Confederacy to use in Ireland and in Catholic areas of Germany to stem the recruitment of such mercenary troops. [49] This letter was read in Catholic churches across Europe to discourage Union recruitment efforts. [50] Without the large influx of mercenaries, the primitive and wasteful military tactics of Grant would have sickened the Northern public far sooner than it did.

Southern prisoners of war also seemed to have escaped Lincoln's much acclaimed magnanimity. The death rate of Southern prisoners in Northern prison camps was much higher than the rate of Northern prisoners in Southern P.O.W. camps. To this disparity must be added the fact that the North could not claim lack of food or medicine as a reason for the horrifying high death rate in the prisons. In fact, the North refused to permit the shipment of medicine or food to Union prisoners in Southern hands. Jefferson Davis offered to pay two or three times the market price for medicine in commodities such as cotton, tobacco or even gold for the exclusive use of Northern prisoners, to be dispensed by Northern surgeons. This offer was ignored by Lincoln. Finally, the Confederates offered to release 13,000 of the most desperate cases without an equivalent exchange by the Lincoln government. The Lincoln administration waited from August to October to collect the prisoners. After they were released, atrocity photographs of the men were circulated in the North to show how the typical prisoner in Southern hands was supposedly treated. [51]

Sherman used Southern prisoners of war to clear mine fields by marching them back and forth across land outside Savannah where mines were suspected. Southern prisoners were also herded in front of Northern emplacements under Confederate artillery fire so as to force Southerners to fire on their own men. Thus in the siege of Charleston, 50 Confederate officers were placed in a holding pen in front of Fort Wagner on Morris Island, so as to expose them to the fire of Confederate batteries shelling the Northern positions. On June 23, 1864, an order was issued to this effect from the office of the Commissary-General of Prisoners in Washington, D.C. [52] Once again, the idea that Lincoln was ignorant of the atrocious conditions under which Southern prisoners were held or the misuse of such prisoners is not tenable.

There is a French saying: the more things change, the more they remain the same. A book that has gotten fairly widespread distribution in the United States in the last year, called *The Long Surrender*, is worth reading because it shows us that we Americans are no more moral than foreign peoples. We have committed the same kind of war crimes that other people have committed. During the height of the hullabaloo raised over the Bitburg visit by Reagan, I learned of the disrespect shown to the Southern war dead in the course of the war. Among things cited by Burke Davis in *The Long Surrender* was the fact that after the Battle of Sharpsburg in Maryland, the Northerners announced that they would not permit anyone to accord Christian burials to the Southern soldiers of war — they ordered the bodies to be left out to rot and to decompose. Only after the rot had gotten to the point where the public's health was being endangered were the rotted remains scooped together and buried in unmarked common ground. [53]

Likewise after the war — of course, this can't be laid to Lincoln's account since he too was dead — the North posted soldiers at military cemeteries to prevent Southern women from putting flowers on the graves of their deceased husbands, fathers, sons and brothers. [54]

When Richmond fell another interesting little tidbit of American history occurred. Lincoln's subordinates ordered that the Episcopal churches, in which it is the custom to pray for the leader of the country, were to pray for Abraham Lincoln in conquered areas of the South. If they refused to pray for Abraham Lincoln, Northern troops were to take the priest away from the altar, thrust him out of the church, close the church and turn the church over to Northern denominations.

Another development in the course of the war which shows something of the barbarity with which it was waged is the famous incident involving Benjamin Butler in New Orleans. General Butler was one of the most ruthless and cruel Northern generals. When he occupied New Orleans he embarked upon a course of insult and abuse toward the civilian population. There were hardly any males of military age left in New Orleans. They had all been sent off to the army, so that the women were deprived of their sons, husbands and fathers to protect them. It was apparently inconceivable to Butler that these women would not welcome their Northern conquerors under the circumstances of the war and he took umbrage at the fact that one Southern lady spat at a Northern soldier who persisted in making advances toward her. When Butler heard of this he issued his Order Number 28 which read as follows:

As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women calling themselves "ladies" of New Orleans in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part [it is to be noted that there were Negro troops among the occupying army] it is ordered that hereafter when any female shall by word, gesture or movement insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation. [55]

This in essence was a "right to rape" order which he issued to his troops and he undoubtedly, given his personality, was gratified by the effect it worked upon the civilian population. I assume that he was also astonished at the outrage that it aroused around the world, because the order rebounded to the great discredit of the United States. Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, wrote to Charles Francis Adams, the U.S. Minister in London the following concerning Butler's order

I will venture to say that no example can be found in the history of civilized nations till the publication of this order of a general guilty in cold blood of so infamous an act as deliberately to hand over the female inhabitants of a conquered city to the unbridled license of an unrestrained soldiery.[55]

Later he said to the English Parliament: "It is a proclamation to which I do not scruple to attach the epithet 'infamous.' Any English man must blush to think that such an act has been committed by one belonging to the Anglo-Saxon race."

Likewise the French Minister in Washington, Mercier, who was concerned because so many of the women in New Orleans were of French extraction, issued strong remonstrances from the French government. Finally, Lincoln relieved Butler of his command — but not because of Butler's treatment of the civilians of New Orleans; not because Butler and his brother were believed to be selling supplies through the black market to the Confederates; not because Butler ordered a civilian hanged: Lincoln did not remove Butler for these reasons. It was when Butler began confiscating foreign property and all of the foreign consuls united and objected to his behavior in a unanimous letter to Washington that Butler was removed. Lincoln's reaction to the complaints was to give Butler the assignment of Commander of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina and Commissioner of Prisoner-of-War Exchanges. [56] What Lincoln expected of prisoner of war exchanges can be gauged from this appointment.

When Lincoln appointed Butler he also warned Butler that if he were captured, “He [Jeff Davis] has a price on your head and will hang you for sure.” This was the man Lincoln expected would be able to ensure humane treatment for prisoners of war and their exchange. The Confederate commissioner at first refused to meet with Butler. A few months after Butler’s appointment, Grant ordered all further exchanges to cease.

Lincoln’s depredations in the course of the war were not confined, however, to the South. As mentioned above Lincoln also interfered with the functioning of constitutional government in the North by arresting elected representatives of the people and holding them for military trial. [57] By Executive Order he closed down hundreds of newspapers in the North which criticized the war. He abolished the writ of habeas corpus and is estimated to have held as many as 20,000 civilians in detention without trial. [58] The suffering of the North, while not as horrific as that of the South, especially since the Northern civilian population at large escaped its severity, was none the less very real. The battle losses were far in excess of anyone’s expectations. [59]

In this regard it is worth noting the famous letter to Lidia P. Bixby which Lincoln cultists love to cite. The text of the famous letter is as follows:

Dear Madam:

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts, that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle.

I feel how weak and frivolous must be any words of mine which could attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save.

I pray our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours, to have laid so costly a sacrifice on the altar of Freedom.

Yours, sincerely and respectfully,

A Lincoln [60]

This letter received much publicity in the North, calculated as it was to touch the heart of any reader.

Those of us who are not Lincoln admirers may see in it a sterling example of the humbug and hypocrisy that is an inescapable part of any democracy. Lincoln’s own son, Robert Todd Lincoln, was of military age and was also a resident of Massachusetts during the bloodletting of the War between the States. Unlike Mrs. Bixby’s sons, however, Abraham Lincoln’s son fought the war at Andover and Harvard. Only in the closing months of the War did young Robert finally see military service. His service was confined to serving on General Grant’s staff where he enjoyed a bird’s eye view of the war’s conclusion with the rank of Captain and Assistant Adjutant General. [61]

But Lincoln’s behavior in sheltering his son from the war at same same time he was consigning the sons of so many Northern mothers to battle contrasts sharply with the behavior of Robert E. Lee and other Southern leaders. Most of the sons of Southern leaders fought in the war. There

was a famous example in one battle in which Lee was riding by an artillery unit. It was a hot day and the men had stripped themselves of their uniforms. They were blackened by the smoke from the cannons. As Lee rode by, one private, black with powder, ran out of the unit and spoke to the General. Lee said: "Well, my man, what can I do for you?" The artilleryman replied to him, "Why, General, don't you know me?" It was Robert E. ("Rob") Lee, Jr., Lee's son and namesake in the thick of battle. Another of Lee's sons, William Fitzhugh Lee, would be captured about the middle of the war, and Custis Lee would later be taken prisoner by the North in the closing days of the war. [62]

Finally, most Americans accept as an article of faith that had Lincoln lived he would have conducted a policy of magnanimity toward the South during Reconstruction. In view of the methods by which he provoked the war and the methods by which he waged the war, such is mere supposition. There are various statements of Lincoln's that are cited (that he was going to treat them as if they had never left, and all of that) but since Lincoln spoke out of both sides of his mouth, not too much credit can be laid to such remarks.

For example, Lincoln indicated that he was in favor of Negro suffrage in Louisiana, which would have placed the white Louisianans in a politically untenable position. He was upset when the Unionist-dominated legislature of the Reconstruction government did not grant suffrage to Negroes and he expressed a desire that Negro suffrage be granted. [63] Indeed, after Lincoln's last cabinet meeting Attorney General Joshua Speed, an advocate of Negro suffrage, told Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase that Lincoln "never seemed so near our views." [64] Of course, after Lincoln's assassination, Negroes were given the right to vote and they were manipulated by Northern carpetbaggers into passing harsh laws against the formerly rebellious, white, Southern population.

5. Lincoln and His Place in American History

What then is the proper place of Abraham Lincoln in American history and why they should we as Revisionists question Abraham Lincoln?

The proper place of Abraham Lincoln in American history is as part of the liberal trinity of F.D.R., Wilson and Lincoln. He had the same values they had. He advanced the country toward unlimited government as they did. He was willing to use foreigners and minority groups against his own people. He was willing to have a selective "democratic" conscience when it came to subjects like deportations. He properly ought to be considered as a major liberal force, as someone who moved the country toward the left and toward the situation which exists today. He successfully defeated the South. The labors of the South for its freedom were all in vain. Seventy-five percent of the white male population of military age served in the Southern armies but could not overcome the disparity in numbers of the North's mercenaries. [65] The cherished dream of Southern independence was not to be. Lincoln should be seen as an example of the amazing inability of Americans to assess their history objectively because while some things may be little known, certainly everyone has heard of General Sherman's March to the Sea. We cannot exonerate Abraham Lincoln from this atrocity. Yet somehow the question is never even asked by Americans-if

Lincoln was so wonderful and magnanimous and kind and good, why did the March to the Sea take place?

The Lincoln myth exemplifies the lack of historical sense and objectivity of Americans the ability to accept "official" history even in the face of obvious facts.

Notes

1. ☞ See, for example, Eric Foner, "Lincoln, Bradford and the Conservatives," *The New York Times*, February 13, 1981.
2. ☞ Burke Davis, *The Long Surrender* (New York Random House, 1985), pp. 108-109, 203.
3. ☞ Dwight G. Anderson, *Abraham Lincoln. The Question for Immortality* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), p. 66. Ward Hill Lamon, one of Lincoln's closest friends, wrote: "He perceived no reason for changing his convictions, but he did perceive many good and cogent reasons for not making them public."
4. ☞ Edgar Lee Masters, *Lincoln, the Man* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1931), pp. 40-3; Robert W. Johansen, Stephen A. Douglas (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 565.
5. ☞ Reinhard H. Luthin, *The Real Abraham Lincoln* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall 1960), p. 178.
6. ☞ David L. Hoggan, *The Myth of the New History* (Torrance, California: Institute for Historical Review, 1985), p. 72 et. seq.
7. ☞ Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), Volume 1, p. 367. Sangamon Edition (referred herein as "SE.")
8. ☞ Sandburg, Vol. 1 p. 369 SE.
9. ☞ Masters, pp. 97-8.
10. ☞ Johansen, p. 53.
11. ☞ Masters, p. 81.
12. ☞ Masters p. 82.
13. ☞ Dee Alexander Brown, *Hear the Lonesome Whistle Blow: Railroads in the West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston 1977), pp. 10-12. This book also details the Republicans' use of the railroads as a political tool and weapon during and after the war between the States.
14. ☞ Sandburg, Vol. 2, pp. 103-04 SE.
15. ☞ Johansen, see general chapters XXIX and XXX.
16. ☞ Sandburg, Vol. 2, p. 159 SE.
17. ☞ Carl Sandburg, *Reader's Digest Illustrated Edition Abraham Lincoln — The Prairie Years and the War Years* (Pleasantville, New York The Reader's Digest Association, 1970), p. 136. ("RD")
18. ☞ Luthin, p. 238. It is worth pointing out that Lincoln got the same percentage of the vote as Fremont received in 1856 while the combined Douglas-Breckentidge slates increased the Democratic popular vote. This does not include Bell, who got nearly one third of Lincoln's popular vote total. The Douglas-Breckenridge vote increased from 45% (1.8 million) to 47% (2.2 million).
19. ☞ Luthin's chapter 16 outlines this nicely.
20. ☞ Luthin, p. 242.
21. ☞ loc. cit.
22. ☞ loc. cit.
23. ☞ op. cit., p. 243.
24. ☞ loc. cit. Lincoln "pondered over patronage" while the Union dissolved.
25. ☞ Alexander Hamilton Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States, Its Causes, Character, Conduct and Results* (New York: National Publishing Company, 1868), Volume II, p. 266.

26. ☞ Sandburg, Vol. 3, p. 73 SE; Masters, p. 380.
27. ☞ Johannsen, p. 850.
28. ☞ Hudson Strode, Jefferson Davis, Confederate President (New York Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959), p. 8.
29. ☞ C. R. Vaughan, D.D., Editor, Discussions by Robert Dabney, DD., LL.D., Volume IV (Hamsburg, Virginia Sprinkle Publications, 1979), pp. 87-100, quoting the memoirs of Colonel John B. Baldwm. a member of the Virginia Peace Commission.
30. ☞ Vaughan, p. 94.
31. ☞ M.E. Bradford, Remembering Who We Are: Observations of a Southern Conservative (Athens, Georgia The University of Georgia Press 1985), p. 147. Lincoln raised the tariff from 18.84% to 47.56%. The tariff stayed above 40% in all but two years from Lincoln's administraion to the election of Woodrow Wilson. The policy amounted to a brutally effective policy of treating the South as a colonial possession transferring wealth from the South to the Northern plutocrats.
32. ☞ Ellis Gibbs Arnall, The Shore Dimly Seen (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania J B. Lippincott Company, 1946), pp. 165-185. Ellis Amall was Governor of Georgia from 1943 to 1947. A staunch New Deal Democrat, he was one of the most liberal governors ever elected in this history of the State. An example of what Wilmot Roblertson styled an "old believer" liberal, he also appears to be that rarest of all creatures -an honest Southern liberal whose belief in multi-racialism does not include the usual hatred for his own people and region The chapter of the book referred to in this footnote is a concise and convinang summary of the Northern exploitation of its Southem colony after the War for Southern Induce.
33. ☞ Strode, Jefferson Davis, Confederate President, pp. 28-31; John Shipley Tilley, The Coming of the Glory (New York Stratford Houses 1949), pp. 58-9. See also Masters, pp. 390-96.
34. ☞ What kind of war did Lincoln expect? The largest single field army in the Mexican War was 11,000. After calling out the 75,000 militia, Lincoln on May 3, 1861 authorized enlistment of 82,000 additional soldiers. On July 4, 1861 he asked for 400,000 volunteers. The First Battle of Manassas was not fought until July 21, 1861. What did Lincoln plan to do with over half a million troops? Ludwell H. Johnson, Division and Reunion: America 1848-77 (New York. John Wiley & Sons, 1978), p. 89.
35. ☞ Bradford, pp. 149-150; Masters pp. 422-23. The mayor of Washington, D.C., Congressman Vallandigham of Ohio and a large portion of the Maryland legislature were jailed.
36. ☞ Davis, pp. 69-70.
37. ☞ It is worth noting that Dr. Goebbels did not overlook the Northern campaign techniques. German propaganda in the Second World War cited Union conduct as an example of what Europe could expect if the Americans were to begin their crusading on a broad scale. Evidently the Nazis felt the Lincoln government would be a model for the Roosevelt government. An example of this propaganda is printed in the English language version of Signal.
38. ☞ Joseph T. Derry, AM., edited by General Clements A. Evans, Georgia: Confederate Military History (Secaucus, New Jersey: The Blue and Gray Press), Volume IV, p. 360.
39. ☞ Derry, pp. 360-69; Masters, pp. 455-62. See also F.J.P. Veale, The Veale File, Volume 1: Advance to Barbarism (Torrance, California Institute for Historical Review, 1979), p. 122: "Sherman only executed the most dramatic and devastating example of the strategy that was laid down by President Lincoln himself... That Lincoln determined the basic lines of Northern military strategy has been well established in such books as Collin R. Ballard's

The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln and T. Harry Williarns' Lincoln and His Generals. Grant only efficiently applied Lincoln's military policy in the field..."

40. ☞ Atlanta Journal Constitution, Atlanta Weekly Magazine, April 3, 1983, p.22. '
41. ☞ Strode, Jefferson Davis, Confederate President, p. 125.
42. ☞ Sandburg, Vol. 4, p. 176. The New York Times comment on this incident is revealing as well: "The order, to be sure, was promptly set aside by the President but the affront to the Jews conveyed by its issue was not so easily effaced. A committee of Jews took it upon themselves to thank [emphasis in original] President Lincoln at Washington for so promptly annulling the odious order. Against the conduct of this committee the bulk of Jews vehemently protest. They say that they have no thanks for an act of simple and imperative justice — but grounds for deep and just complaint against the Government, that General Grant has not been dismissed from the service."
43. ☞ Strode, pp. 289-90.
44. ☞ op. cit., p. 290.
45. ☞ op. cit., pp. 290-91.
46. ☞ op. cit., p. 291.
47. ☞ op. cit., p. 500.
48. ☞ op. cit., pp. 500-501.
49. ☞ op. cit., p. 501.
50. ☞ There is an Irish song of the era that goes:
"Hey, boys, do take my advice,
"To America I'd have you not to be coming,
"For there's nothin' here but war,
"Where the murderin' cannon roar,
"And I wish I was back in dear ole Erin."
The song refers to "Mr. Lincoln's war" and being handed a gun upon arrival at the pier.
51. ☞ Strode, pp. 111-13.
52. ☞ Confederate Veteran Magazine, January-February, 1986, p. 7.
53. ☞ Davis, pp. 191-92.
54. ☞ Ibid.
55. ☞ Robert Werlich, "Beast" Buller: The Incredible Career of Union Major General Benjamin F. Butler (Washington, D.C.: The Quaker Press, 1962), p. 39.
56. ☞ Werlich, pp. 89-90.
57. ☞ Masters, pp. 422-23.
58. ☞ Johnson, p. 125.
59. ☞ General Henry Halleck, General in Chief of the Union Armies, wrote to Sherman in 1864: "It seems little better than murder to give important commands to men such as Banks, Butler, McClernand, Sigel and Lew. Wallace, and yet it seems impossible to prevent it." (Quoted in Johnson, p. 90.) Lincoln's search for a politically "right" general continued.
60. ☞ Sandburg, Vol. 5, pp. 665-69 SE.
61. ☞ Sandburg, pp. 548-49 RD.
62. ☞ Clifford Dowdy, Lee (New York: Bonanza Books, 1965), p. 295.
63. ☞ Stephen B. Oates, Abraham Lincoln The Man Behind the Myths (New York: New American Library, 1984), p. 143. Oates is a liberal who mustered plenty of information about Lincoln's radicalism.
64. ☞ Oates, p. 145.

65. ☞ Cost of the war to the South: approximately 100,000 battle deaths, 200,000 disease deaths, 230,000 wounded of 850,000 in service. Approximately 62% casualties for the entire war. It has been estimated that 75% of all Southern white males of military age served in the Confederate armies. (Johnson)
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The Persecution of P. G. Wodehouse

Robert A. Hall, Jr.

The noted Anglo-American humorist Pelham Grenville Wodehouse (1881-1975) led, up to 1940, a life which was professionally very active and successful, but devoid of striking or soul-shaking experiences. [1] In that year, however, there occurred an event which changed the course of his life very drastically for the next six years, and cast a lasting, though gradually diminishing, shadow over the rest of his existence until his death on February 14, 1975. He and his wife were living semi-permanently at Le Touquet, in France. The town was captured by the Germans on May 22, 1940, and on July 21, he, with the other male aliens in Le Touquet, were sent off to internment-centers, first at Huy in Belgium and then at Tost in Upper Silesia. His internment lasted until June 21, 1941, on which date he was released (solely because he was almost sixty) and was sent to Berlin, where he was joined by his wife (who had been detained in France).

Up to this point, nothing untoward had happened except the detainment itself. Soon after arriving in Berlin, however, he undertook to write and record five talks describing his experiences as British Civilian Prisoner no. 796. The talks were intended to reassure his American friends that he was well, and to give a humorous description of his experience as an internee. They were made for broadcasting to the United States, with which Germany was, at the time, not at war. They were, nevertheless, also broadcast later (without Wodehouse's having been consulted) to England. Their actual content was simply a straightforward narrative, wholly unpolitical (as can be seen by reading their actual texts [2]). The German authorities must have been quite insensitive to Wodehouse's brand of humor, because the over-all effect of the talks was to show what fools his SS jailers and the other army-men were. We are told [3] that the American army used the Wodehouse talks, later during the war, as prize examples of subtle anti-German propaganda.

In England, however, the fact of his having made the broadcasts aroused a storm of indignation, much of it whipped up artificially by the British Broadcasting Corporation and the newspapers. In the B.B.C.'s defense, it must be said that its directors at first objected, but were ordered by the Government to undertake the slander-campaign against Wodehouse. [4] The British public was in a state of rage against Germany because of the pounding England had been taking from the air, and were all too ready to have a scapegoat on whom to vent their anger. As Jasen says:

Comparatively few people actually heard the talks, but the mere knowledge that they had been given on the German radio was enough to whip the British press into a frenzy of hate and vituperation. Without checking the facts and without giving the astonished public a hint of what Plum [i.e. Wodehouse] had said in his broadcasts, the papers reviled him and accused him — placing him on a par with the arch-traitor known as Lord Haw-Haw. [5]

After the saturation-bombing of Berlin began in 1943, Wodehouse and his wife were permitted to move to Paris, where they remained until 1947. Two British officers, Major Malcolm Muggeridge and Major E.J P. Cussen, were sent to interview Wodehouse. Although both reported that there was no evidence that he had intentionally given any aid to the enemy, nevertheless, Wodehouse and his wife were subjected to a certain amount of harassment by both the British and the French authorities. Some of his English enemies (such as a certain Quintin Hogg, later Lord Hailsham) demanded that he be brought back to England and tried for treason. [6]

Wodehouse and his wife left France in 1947 for the United States, where he remained for the rest of his life. Even after his arrival in America, he was harassed, this time by the United States Treasury, with preposterous claims for allegedly unpaid income-taxes, dating as far back as 1923. The case dragged out for over two and a half years, and was finally decided in his favor on three out of four counts. [7]

The accusations made against Wodehouse have, in the last forty years, all been refuted, although uninformed persons still repeat them on occasion, either with the general assertion that “somehow Wodehouse blotted his copy-book during the war,” or with more specific, though completely unfounded, statements. [8] The best way of dealing with these falsehoods is to enumerate them, one by one, together with the truth, in parallel columns. This I shall do in three sections, dealing with his aim in broadcasting his talks over the German radio, his personal character, and his actions. [9]

I. Wodehouse's Broadcasting

The Lies	The Truth
1. Wodehouse broadcast for the Nazis.	Wodehouse broadcast for himself, to send word of his experience to his friends in America.
2. He broadcast propaganda Nazi.	He sent only information about his personal experiences, with absolutely no pro-German propaganda.
3. He was comparable to William Joyce ("Lord Haw-Haw").	Joyce's aim was to persuade Britain to cease fighting Germany; Wodehouse made no reference to any such concerns.
4. He was comparable to Charles A. Lindbergh, in aiding the enemies of democracy.	Lindbergh's position was based on political and military considerations; Wodehouse was notoriously unpolitical.
5. Wodehouse was a slacker, having fought in neither war.	He had applied to enter the British navy in 1914 and had been rejected because of poor eyesight; in 1939, he was too old.

II. Personal Character

The Lies	The Truth
1. Wodehouse was a rich idler and a play-boy.	No professional writer ever worked harder than Wodehouse to earn his pay; his critics were mistaking him with his characters, such as Bertie Wooster and the Drones Club.
2. He was an income-tax dodger.	He had been harassed during the 1930's by both the British and the American authorities, with claims which were later dismissed in large part. [11]
3. He expressed sympathy for Nazism.	He was almost completely uninterested in politics, and in 1939 had satirized the British Fascist Sir Oswald Mosley in the character of Roderick Spode. [12]
4. He was anti-Jewish.	He was in no wise anti-Jewish (or, for that matter, anti-any-group). [13]

III. His Actions

The Lies	The Truth
1. The Wodehouses lived in luxury, for free, at the Adlon in Berlin, as a reward for having made the broadcasts.	The Adlon was the only place where they were allowed to live, and Wodehouse had to pay for their lodging and food, in part from his German royalties and in part from the sale of some of Mrs. Wodehouse's jewelry. [14]
2. Wodehouse made false statements against Jews, Belgians, and French patriots.	He made no such statements; the allegations that he did so emanated from untrustworthy sources (especially the B.B.C.'s propagandists) and have been demonstrated to have been pure inventions.

The outcry against Wodehouse gradually died down, and was generally regarded as definitively ended when he was given a (much belated) knighthood in January, 1975, only a month before his death. [\[15\]](#) The government's dossier on Wodehouse was still kept secret, however, until Iain Sproat finally persuaded the authorities to make the documents available to him in 1980. Nothing was found in them to warrant the attack to which Wodehouse had been subjected both during and after the war.

Why, then, was he persecuted in this way? Primarily because, from various points of view, he was a "sitting duck," a very convenient target for governmental propaganda at a time when popular emotions were strongest and most irrational. Very few people in England had actually heard the Berlin broadcasts, and at the same time very many were ready to believe any propaganda, without verification, against anyone who was alleged to be traitorously aiding the Nazis. Being

in Germany, Wodehouse did not know of the current emotional state of the British public, and, even if he had known, he was in no position to defend himself.

The same motive may well have been at work in the United States Treasury Department's post-war harassment of Wodehouse. As is well known, ^[16] during and after Henry Morgenthau, Jr.'s tenure of the Secretaryship of the Treasury, that department was very extensively involved in determining American foreign policy, and was extensively staffed with fanatically anti-German personnel. The decision to press untenable claims against Wodehouse may have emanated from such elements in the Treasury, on the basis of his undeserved reputation for having "collaborated" with the Nazis. ^[17] The validity of this hypothesis can, of course, not be determined until such information as is still extant in the Treasury files is made available to the public.

The basic moral of the "Wodehouse case" is, not that it is undesirable to refrain from "hating in the plural," but that persons with such an out-look should be more aware than he was of the readiness of others to yield to emotionally based mass-hatreds or to exploit them for political purposes. Persons of the Wodehouse type should also be cautious about engaging in activities which can be maliciously misinterpreted and used as pretexts for hostility and persecution.

Notes

1. ^U There are good summaries of his life-history in several biographies, e.g. David A. Jasen, P.G. Wodehouse, *A Portrait of a Master* (New York: Mason and Lipscomb, 1974; new, revised edition, New York: Continuum 1981); Benny Green: P.G. Wodehouse, *A Literary Biography* (London: Pavilion Books and New York: The Rutledge Press, 1981); Frances Donaldson: P.G. Wodehouse, *A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, and New York: Alfred Knopf, 1981).
2. ^U Reproduced in their entirety in Iain Sproat: *Wodehouse at War* (London: Milner and New Haven [Conn.]: Ticknor and Fields, 1981), pp. 108-28.
3. ^U Richard J. Voorhees: P.G. Wodehouse (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1966), p. 41, ascribing this information to Malcolm Muggeridge. The same story is told by R.B.D. French P.G. Wodehouse (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1966; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), p. 116, but without mention of Muggeridge.
4. ^U Cf. the accounts given in almost all biographies of Wodehouse, e.g. Jasen's (op. cit., pp. 181-82), or Lady Donaldson's (op. cit., pp. 218-21).
5. ^U Op. cit., p. 180.
6. ^U Cf. Jasen, op. cit., pp. 185-87; Lady Donaldson, op. cit., pp. 242-245.
7. ^U He wrote to his friend William Townend (Performing Flea, letter of May 22, 1945): "They have now gone back to 1925 and claim that I made no return that year or in 1924. I have absolutely no means of proving that I did, but I must have done. I was in America both years and left for England, and you can't get on a boat at New York: unless you have paid your income tax."
8. ^U In his *Wodehouse at War*, which is the best and the most detailed account of the entire Sooty mess, Iain Sproat states (p. 31) that a certain senior politician, whom he does not name, declared as late as 1980 "Oh, yes, I know all about the Wodehouse case. The man was an out-and-out traitor. He was anti-Churchill. He broadcast propaganda for the Nazis."
9. ^U To save space, I have not given detailed footnote references for each item separately; they are all dealt with in detail in the sources mentioned in the preceding notes, especially the books by Jasen, Sproat, and Lady Donaldson.

10. As pointed out specifically by Wodehouse's friend Denis Mackail, whom Jasen (op. cit., p. 193) cites as having contrasted the accusation made by the journalist William Connor ("Cassandra") that Wodehouse was a "play-boy" with the fact that the latter was actually "the most industrious author I have ever known."
 11. ♪ Lady Donaldson emphasizes this point by dedicating to it an entire chapter dealing with his troubles from 1932 to 1939, and entitling it "Income Tax" (Chapter 6, pp. 135-53).
 12. ♪ In *The Code of the Woosters* (1939), Spode is a highly offensive, aggressive, over-bearing, gorilla-like character, the leader of the British "Black Short," a clear satire on Mussolini and Hitler.
 13. ♪ Cf. my article "Was Wodehouse Anti-Jewish?" in my *Papers on Wodehouse* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Linguistica, 1985), with a definitely negative response to the question in the title. It is reported that when, after the war, Wodehouse was urged to declare that he hated the Nazis, he replied, "I don't hate in the plural." He was very much aware that there are too many individual differences among the members of any group to justify judging it *es masse*. As Edmund Burke said, in his *Second Speech on Conciliation with America* (1775), 'I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against an whole people.' Such attitudes are not popular, however, at a time when mass-hatreds are being aroused and exploited by politicians during and after a war.
 14. ♪ Mrs. Wodehouse was by no means popular at She Adlon, because of her flamboyant, irresponsible behavior (cf. Lady Donaldson's account of Ethel Wodehouse's actions, We 234-235).
 15. ♪ He is reported to have said, concerning the knighthood, "I think it's sort of a graceful act on the part of the government-sort of their way of saying that's that."
 16. ♪ For Morgenthau's role in taking the United States' foreign policy out of the hands of the State Debarment, and in establishing such agencies as the War Refugee Boaul, cf. John Morton Blun: *Roosevelt and Morgenthau* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970). pp; 520-33; or any biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt (e.g., most recently, Ted Morgan: *F.D.R.: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster 1985), pp. 703-05).
 17. ♪ Sproat (op. cit., pp. 104-05) ascribes the long delay in releasing the Home Office's dossier on Wodehouse to two factors: a desire to protect the name of some man who travelled with Wodehouse from Tost to Berlin, and an intent on the part of bureaucrats to cover up their own or their colleagues' errors for as long as possible. We may wonder whether, perhaps, a third factor may have been the efforts of anti-Germany elements in the British bureaucracy, similar to those in the United States Treasury, to keep Wodehouse's name blackened for as long as thee could.
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Book review

Orwell: The War Commentaries

- *Orwell: The War Commentaries*, edited and with an introduction by W. J. West. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986, 253 pp., \$18.95.

Reviewed by Jeff Rigenbach

George Orwell, too, had feet of clay.

This will come as no surprise to some, of course. There are at least a few who know already, and a much smaller number who have long known, that no human being ever lives fully up to the standards and expectations of another — not even when the actions on which he or she is to be judged are severely restricted to a narrow and circumscribed realm, like the realm of literature or the realm of philosophy or, as in the present case, the realm of intellectual integrity.

One problem with expecting intellectual integrity from someone is that intellectual integrity is by no means universally recognized as a thing to be desired. At bottom, intellectual integrity means consistency of thought. And consistency of thought has had its prominent detractors for more than a century.

“A foolish consistency,” Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote in 1841, “is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines. With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do.”

“If you are bound to your past hour,” Max Stirner wrote three years later, “if you must babble to-day because you babbled yesterday, if you cannot transform yourself each instant, you feel yourself fettered to slavery and benumbed.” “If I am required to be consistent,” Stirner complained, “would I not be bound today and henceforth to my will of yesterday?... My creature — to wit, a particular expression of (my) will — would have become my commander... Because I was a fool yesterday I must remain such my life long.”

“Do I contradict myself?” Walt Whitman asked in 1855. “Very well, then, I contradict myself; I am large—I contain multitudes.”

“The question is,” Lewis Carroll’s Humpty Dumpty declared in 1872, “which is to be master” — words, or the human beings who invent and use them?

“Consistency,” said Oscar Wilde, “is the last refuge of the unimaginative.”

Still, most of us — especially those idealistic youngsters among us who are most susceptible to Orwell’s peculiar charm and therefore most likely to adopt him as a kind of secular saint persist

in seeing virtue in “practicing what you preach.”

Those who know Orwell best, however, know that it is not at all clear what ideas we should expect him to have practiced, because it is not at all clear what ideas he held. Those who knew him in life agree that he had a quality of great earnestness and sincerity about him, and this quality certainly comes through for most of us in his best writing. But if you look at Orwell’s oeuvre as a coherent whole, you soon find yourself uncertain as to exactly what he did believe.

This uncertainty is only complicated further by the fact that Orwell expressed himself so often through the mode of fiction. It is much more difficult to be confident as to just what a writer is trying to tell you if he dramatizes his message in a story rather than putting it before you straightforwardly in expository prose. This is why, today, both conservative cold warriors like Norman Podhoretz and democratic socialist peace advocates like Irving Howe claim with equal certainty that if Orwell were alive today he would be on their side.

Even in his journalism, however, Orwell is hard to pin down. As his friend and biographer George Woodcock writes, “he was mainly concerned with the implementation of those fairly general ideas which he brought together under the heading of ‘decency,’ ideas like brotherhood, fair play and honest dealing which he had absorbed from writers like Dickens.”

“What concerned him much more deeply than political programs,” Woodcock continues, “were...general principles of conduct, particularly conduct affecting other men.” To Orwell, “it was important to tell the truth. It was important to preserve the objectivity of history. It was important, above all, to create a world in which every man’s right to self-respect would be jealously preserved.”

“It was when he talked to me about the state,” Woodcock recalls, “that Orwell seemed particularly confused. On one side he was still influenced by the traditions of the sahib class into which he had been born, traditions of dedicated public service coupled with the wielding of unchallenged authority. But he also cultivated an anti-authoritarian strain of thought that was never far from the surface in his reactions to established government. So there were occasions when he would speak...of extensive and disciplined nationalization of industries, of state control over wide sectors of social life. But at other times — and here I felt his real inclinations were emerging — he seemed to envisage a decentralized society...with a great deal of room for individual initiative. Similarly, he would argue that authors should be state-supported, and at other times appear to contradict himself by maintaining that the less a writer had to do with any organized body, the better for him and his work.”

Of course, Woodcock is speaking here of Orwell’s conversation, not his published work. But as he makes clear in his classic study *The Crystal Spirit* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), from which the foregoing quotations have been extracted, it was in Orwell’s conversation that his work, especially his journalism, originated.

One would have a conversation with Orwell during the 1940s, Woodcock writes, “and then, a week or two later, one would find that this conversation had become part of his writing and formed the basis for one of his highly readable essays... I think it was this close relationship between his talk and his writing that enabled Orwell to be at once such a prolific and such a generally successful journalist. Once an idea had taken shape and even a degree of polish in conversation, it was a fairly simple matter to write it down. Some of Orwell’s articles, as he admitted rather shamefacedly, were actually typed out immediately and published in their first draft, without any substantial revision.”

Still, it is his less definite, more ambiguous novels that reach the widest audience and win Orwell most of his most fervent disciples. To the young reader who has just discovered *Nineteen Eighty-four* and *Animal Farm*, it seems obvious that Orwell is a crusader for truth, individual liberty and the use of the English language — or any language — to express truth and convey beauty rather than to subvert thought and perpetuate tyranny. And for such a reader, the biggest revelation of Orwell: *The War Commentaries* is likely to be the news that this fighter for truth and justice spent a good part of World War II as a propagandist for the British government, using the English language to mislead and to preserve the undeserved loyalty of a foreign people, a people long oppressed by the British government, a people whose freedom from British domination was a cause he had long given many readers and friends plenty of reason to believe that he fervently supported.

The people in question were the people of India, and Orwell's job was to research, write, and in a few cases to deliver on the air, weekly radio "commentaries" — news summaries would be a more accurate term — on how the war was going up to the time of broadcast. The summaries were written for the Indian section of the Eastern Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and were beamed into India from December 1941 through mid-March 1943.

As has been noted, Orwell often worked out the ideas for his more topical writing in conversation. Also, like many other great writers, he tended to write not just for the eye and the intellect, but also for what might be called "the mind's ear." He wrote, that is, with attention to the sound and rhythm, as well as the sense, of his sentences. Orwell was, therefore, a natural for the medium of radio.

But why was he given this particular assignment by the BBC? Radio was, of course, the television of the 1940s. Television itself existed at that time. The BBC itself had pioneered regularly scheduled television broadcasting in the 1930s. But too few people owned television sets at the outset of World War II for the technology to have much potential as a source of information for the general population, and the war temporarily halted the process by which the manufacture of sets and their placement in homes had been steadily accelerating. For almost everyone alive at the time, the fastest way to learn of events that had just taken place halfway around the world was to listen to the radio.

This is not to say that radio did for World War II what television did for the Vietnam War. Listeners in the early 1940s were not able to hear the battles of the war as they occurred. The news they received from their radio sets was often several days old and was often based on reports which broadcasters had no way of checking. Nevertheless, radio represented a major improvement over the newspapers on which people had had to rely for information during World War I. Thanks to radio, civilian populations during World War II were better informed than civilian populations had ever before been during wartime.

They were also better proselytized. The Axis powers had realized early on that radio could facilitate the dissemination of propaganda as well as the dissemination of "straight news." Aiming broadcasts into enemy territory had much more potential than dropping leaflets from the air.

Among the Axis broadcasts aimed at undermining the British war effort during 1941 and 1942 was a series directed at India from Berlin and masterminded by the exiled Indian nationalist, Subhas Chandra Bose. It was these broadcasts which Orwell was specifically assigned to counter.

India was a major source of military manpower for the Allies, particularly in its African campaigns. It was also something of a powder keg — a country in which an already strong nationalist movement was commanding more and more public support. The British could ill afford to

fight a civil war in India at a time when the battle against the Axis powers was already severely taxing its resources. Nor did the British want to risk losing or even weakening their control of India at such a crucial moment. The major figures in the Indian nationalist movement — men like Gandhi and Nehru — were committed to non-violence, and an independent India under their leadership might therefore be neutral in the war. This would deny the Allies access to an important source of troop strength.

All these same considerations made Axis propagandists eager to make what they could of the Indian situation by encouraging the more militant nationalists. Not only could they create problems for the Allies by helping to bring about independence for India, they might also create some solutions for themselves. India, was, for example, rich in certain natural resources which were crucial to the war effort, but which the Axis powers sorely lacked. The most notable of these was rubber — a commodity whose scarcity in Germany led the Reich to invest vast resources in the development of synthetic substitutes. And even if an independent India were neutral in the war, it might well look favorably on trade with nations that had aided its quest for freedom from the British.

For this reason, the German government was happy, early in the 1941, to provide sanctuary to Bose, a major leader of the more militant Indian nationalists and a recent escapee from imprisonment by the British. By the end of that year, the Reich was providing Bose with more than sanctuary. It was financing both his Berlin — based Free India Radio news service and his plan to build an “Indian Army of Liberation in the West” by retraining Indian prisoners of war then being held in Germany and Italy. This special fighting force was to be used eventually to liberate India from British control. The idea for such an Army of Liberation may seem fanciful to some readers today, but in fact it grew to a size of some 3500 men before the Allied victory ended its existence.

Much of this historical background information is to be found in the Introduction, the Appendix and the notes which W.J. West had provided for Orwell: *The War Commentaries*. (The Appendix, which is especially helpful, includes the text of several of Bose’s broadcasts over Free India Radio.) But for much of it, I was forced to turn to other sources, including West’s earlier volume, *Orwell: The Lost Writings* (New York: Arbor House, 1985), a collection of mostly literary scripts Orwell wrote for the BBC during the same period. (Both volumes are compiled from materials recently uncovered by West in the BBC archives.) Time and again, the reader of *The War Commentaries* is referred to the earlier volume for supplementary information. On occasion, he is referred to the earlier volume even for essential information — information without which it would be impossible to assess the importance, the truthfulness or the purpose of Orwell’s news summaries. This may be an effective strategy for selling two books instead of one, or for saving the publisher money on the price of paper for the second volume, but it is an annoyance and a disservice to the serious reader.

Nor is this the only fault the serious reader will find with this book. There are also a few curious, apparent lapses of scholarship. At one point, for example, when Orwell refers in a news summary dated 4 April 1942 to the “paid Indian mouthpieces” of the Japanese, West notes that this is “one of Orwell’s very rare references to his main opponent, Subhas Chandra Bose and his supporters.” In fact, however, Subhas Chandra Bose did not move his operations to Japan, or begin working closely with the Japanese on common goals, until nearly a year later. Orwell’s reference was probably to another Bose, Rashbehari Bose, a militant Indian nationalist who had made his home in Japan since around the time of World War I.

The most important failure of West’s book, however, lies not with its editor’s scholarship, but in the fundamentally uninteresting character of its contents. Pieces that were written to be read

aloud on radio and then forgotten are seldom effective in printed form, especially if they are, as in the present case, for example, highly repetitive. A radio writer cannot assume that the audience this week was also listening the week before, and he certainly cannot assume that all his listeners have tuned in faithfully every week from the beginning of his broadcasts. Therefore, he repeats certain essential items of information week after week, script after script, so that those who have just tuned in can understand what is being said. In a book, such endless repetition is deadening. One can only bear being told about the potential importance to the Japanese of the Burma Road as a supply route so many times before the impulse to skip and skim becomes irresistible.

Moreover, these pieces contain almost no political analysis — no “commentary,” in the strict sense of that word. The analytical content of all 49 pieces collected here, if out together, would scarcely fill one page. In part this may be the result of censorship. Each of Orwell’s scripts had to be submitted to a censor before being broadcast. Also, analysis seems not to have been a part of Orwell’s job in preparing these scripts. They appear to have been intended primarily as news reports. They are “slanted,” of course, in the sense that they obviously regard the Allied cause with favor. But their slant becomes evident more through simple sloganeering than through any kind of thoughtful discussion of issues.

Orwell writes, for example, that the war is an effort by “the free nations of the world” to “put an end to Fascist aggression.” One wonders if the Soviet Union qualified in those days as one of “the free nations of the world.” We know that Orwell and other BBC propagandists were under explicit pressure to soft pedal or avoid any criticism of the Stalin regime, which only a short time before, during the period of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact, had been a favorite target of official criticism by the British. West quotes at length from an official memorandum that established guidelines for writers like Orwell on this issue. It delineates important “differences” between the Soviet and German styles of dictatorship which supposedly justify cooperating with the one and working indefatigably for the destruction of the other. This memo is curiously reminiscent of more recent attempts by certain conservatives to explain why we should fight to the death against “totalitarian” regimes but be willing to ally ourselves with “authoritarian” regimes, no matter how repressive they may be.

In other scripts Orwell writes of the virtual unanimity of public support for the Allied cause. He informs his listeners that opposition by Americans “to the idea of being involved in a war abroad, and specially in Europe,” which had been common before the United States entered the war, “has entirely disappeared,” and that “the ordinary people” of England “would welcome greater sacrifices” if they would aid the war effort. As West notes, these comments bear a certain resemblance to the government broadcasts in Nineteen Eighty-four, with their incessant talk of the happiness with which the common people accept sacrifice as the price of Oceania’s victory against whatever nation is its enemy of the moment.

It is well known that the World War II-era BBC was Orwell’s model for the satanic Ministry of Truth in Nineteen Eighty-four. Why did Orwell consent to do the work of an institution which he regarded as having within it the seed of so monstrous an evil? As George Woodcock explains it, Orwell was “a thorough English patriot, dedicated to defending the people and the countryside of England even if he had little use for most of its existing institutions.” Also, Woodcock writes, “he believed that the left-wing libertarian socialism which he had adopted in 1936 could only survive if the Nazis were defeated.” W.J. West concurs with this image of Orwell and adds that while he “believed passionately that India ought to be given her freedom at the earliest possible moment,” he “also saw clearly that there were far greater dangers for the Indian people in domination by a non-English-speaking totalitarian power than in the mere continuation of British rule for a few more years, or even until the war ended.”

Orwell told George Woodcock in 1942 that “I doubt whether I shall stay in this job much longer, but while here I consider that I have kept our propaganda slightly less disgusting than it might otherwise have been.” He resigned the following year, and took a job as literary editor of a left-wing London paper, *The Tribune*. The work he had done for the BBC, as this collection makes clear, was by no means “disgusting.” It was, however, consistently mundane and virtually without intellectual content. Orwell completists and serious students of World War II propaganda will want to own this book. Most general readers, however, will probably want to pass it by. It won’t afford them much entertainment or edification, and it may well undermine any delusions they have about the purity of heart and the intellectual integrity of the author of *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-four*.

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Book review

Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations With A Militant Israel

- *Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations With A Militant Israel*, by Stephen Green. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1984.

Reviewed by Robert Atelier

This excellent, heavily-documented and footnoted book should indeed, as the blurb on the inside dust-jacket promises, “cause major reassessments in the published literature in this field, at least as far as mainstream sources are concerned.” Mr. Green has waded through an ocean of official (American) sources — filing over a hundred Freedom of Information Act requests — and has been personally responsible for the de-classification of many documents important to historians of the very strange relationship between Israel and the United States 1948-1967. (A companion volume — hopefully out very soon — will continue tracing the history of this relationship up to the present day.) The documents reproduced in facsimile and plain text in the appendix to the book are a goldmine in themselves, well worth the price of the book alone.

The text of the book itself, then, can almost be considered a bonus. Stephen Green thoughtfully (but thoroughly) debunks many of the shibboleths of Israeli-American relations, such as the “accidental” nature of the bombing of the United States Ship Liberty, the myth of “Poor defenseless Israel surrounded by her overwhelming enemies,” the related “miracle” victory of 1948 (which some religious leaders in the United States have set much stock in), and, perhaps most frightening of all, the blind eye turned by the American government to Israeli attempts to obtain nuclear material and atomic weapons technology. Perhaps none of this is new to the readers of JHR, but *Taking Sides* is able to shed new light on these matters through its use of formerly-classified sources.

If I have any bones to pick with the author, it is with his attempt to distinguish between the “bad” militaristic wing of the Zionist movement who have been encouraged by the U.S. (despite many a Zionist kick in the teeth to Uncle Sam!), and the “more humanistic” elements in the Israeli government. (Little is said about the non-government underground resistance to Israeli militarism.) Stephen Green’s book itself tends to show how the Moshe Sharett’s of Israel have tended, willingly or unwillingly, to act as window dressing- ineffective, ignored, and discarded when their criticism or nonco-operation with militaristic plans becomes too inconvenient.

Other than that, a good and thoughtful book, deserving more than the “anti-Semitic” and “Pro-P.L.O.” smears which, I suppose (alas!), are inevitable.

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Book review

It Happened In Our Lifetime

- *It Happened In Our Lifetime*, by John Phillips. N.Y. and Toronto: Little, Brown & Company, 1985, copyright by Time, Inc., 277 pp., illustrated with 445 black & white photos, \$24.95, ISBN 0-316-70609-4.

Reviewed by H. Keith Thompson

In 1985 John Phillips published his *It Happened In Our Lifetime: A Memoir in Words and Pictures*. The former Life magazine photojournalist reports on his many assignments from 1936 into the post-war period.

As is, I suppose, to be expected with any establishment mass-media journalist or photo-journalist, Phillips is consistently anti- Nazi, and anti-German. Nevertheless, he does some small service by pointing out that there were large and articulate German minorities in Romania, and especially in that Frankensteinian-crafted country, Czechoslovakia, a significant plurality of whom advocated Anschluss by the Reich

For example, perhaps it's too much to expect him to know that the German "Knödel" (dumplings) is the obvious parent of Czech "knödlí." It's also the less obvious parent of French "quenelle," which, like "quiche" (from German "Kuchen"), entered French via German-speaking Alsace. Phillips relates an idiotic story of his Czech driver's distress at the breakup of Czechoslovakia and the driver's even greater distress at being able to find no "knödlí" as the German troops arrived to the delight and for the liberation of the Sudeten natives. Phillips seems to confuse "Sudeten" with "Southern" and frequently makes that error. Nevertheless, a careful perusal of his photos makes it abundantly clear that the Sudeten Germans were in fact expressing their right of "self-determination" and achieving it when they were incorporated into the Reich. That right had been cynically, viciously, and brutally denied them by the Allies when they concocted "Czechoslovakia."

In another section of his book, "Retribution in Prague," Phillips does some grisly gloating and shows ghoulish photos he took of "war criminal" Dr. Josef Pfitzner's sentencing and hanging in the fall of 1945.

Pfitzner, a former professor of History at Prague's German University, as Phillips points out, had been deputy mayor of Prague during the war.

Pfitzner was accused of having affirmed that Prague was founded and built by Germans. The Karlsuniversitat was in fact the first German University, older even than Heidelberg. The outcome of the "trial" was a foregone conclusion although Phillips seems to think it was a legal

model. After defending himself (in Czech), Pfitzner, when taken to the gallows, moments before his judicial murder, cried out, “Ich sterbe für Deutschland” (I die for Germany).

Another Pfitzner, the composer Hans, left another German borderland, Alsace, when the Americans reconquered it for France in 1918. After the Second World War, the Americans having reconquered Alsace for France once again, the Allies put Hans Pfitzner into one of their concentration camps. He died not long after release. Yet Hans Pfitzner fared better than Josef Pfitzner in Prague.

Another composer, Mozart, was very popular in Prague. Mozart danced to his own Deutsche Tänze (German Dances) at the Breitenfeldhall in Prague. Prague and Vienna communicated musically, and in so many ways, through the centuries.

Nothing is lost in History. All is recycled, including martyred history professors and mayors of Prague. And it may not be at all as Phillips saw it, when he snapped his prurient camera on the mutilated corpse of Prague’s former deputy mayor.

So much in Europe, in the world, was recycled wrongly, largely due to evil, ignorant American intervention in two world wars.

Interestingly enough, one German source in Bohemia continues to flow, to bring currency to Czech coffers. Joachimsthal may no longer mine silver for dollars, but dollars flow to the Communist marketers of “Pilsener Urquell,” that famous Bohemian beer, whose name means “Original Source of Pilsen.” Its quality has declined, of course, since the days Bohemia was German. But at least the name remains. Blood flowed in Bohemia. The Gods recycle it and make their eternal cakes and “Knödel.”

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Book Reviews

Russia Against Japan, 1904-05: A New Look At The Russo-Japanese War

- *Russia Against Japan, 1904-05: A New Look At The Russo-Japanese War*, by J. N. Westwood. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press 1986, \$34.50 Hb.

Reviewed by Samuel Edward Konkin III

Ever wonder what a revisionist book might read like if it were published by, and with the consent of, the Establishment? If such could happen, it would have to be about an obscure little war whose impact on modern ruling relations was considered unexceptional. Such a book was published this year by SUNY in Rockefeller-land, written by an Honorary Research Fellow at Birmingham University in Round-Table Rhodes country.

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904 is nearly forgotten today; ask anyone for a quick list of the twentieth-century wars. Yet it was fought between the two major empires in Asia, decided not only the new balance of power in the East but also the West, and shifted the perception of modern warfare in the minds of those who would plan the strategies for World War I.

Conspiracy miners will find plenty of nuggets in Westwood's slim tome. Perfidious Albion is deeply involved against Russia only two years before the Triple Entente. Both Russian and Japanese court intrigue is covered. And even the finance-capitalists' loans to the belligerents are detailed.

Those JHR readers fascinated with the early political role of Zionism will find relevancy in the peace process, which happened in the U.S.A. in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with arch-imperialist Theodore Roosevelt acting as arbitrator. Even then, says Westwood.

[Russian statesman and Finance Minister Sergei] Witte also took care to conciliate the American Jewish community, which was influential and could determine the success of any further Russian attempts to raise loans on the American market. Displaying some courage and adaptability, Witte visited the Russian Jewish community where he defended Russian policies in the presence of people who had left Russia to escape the anti-Jewish discrimination and violence of Nicholas's government. As Witte was known to be opposed to governmental anti-semitism, his reception was not unfriendly. ^[1]

Sergei Witte was the key figure of the Russo-Japanese War in that he created the Russian situation in the Far East, lost control of it in the power struggles, watched the war destroy his efforts and then returned to favor just in time to clean up the mess by negotiating the peace.

The Russo-Japanese War was fought neither on Russian nor Japanese soil. It was the purest imperial war, fought by two now- dead empires. The Russian Empire had all the advantages except proximity; it lost through bureaucracy and decadence. In several battles when Russian troops attacked with high morale and valour they were ordered to retreat following a new strategic theory.

The situation in 1904 can be summed up fairly quickly. Witte had expanded the Trans-Siberian Railway through Manchuria and established a Russian city at Harbin. The fiction of a private railway, Chinese Eastern (CER), covered the sovereignty lapse. The CER was linked to the Russo-Chinese Bank, by which Witte controlled Manchurian finance. Witte portrayed Russia as China's friend against Japan, who had beaten China in the war of 1894 5.

Pseudo-entrepreneurial groups, lead by A.M. Bezobrazov, won the Czar's ear, overruled Witte's cautious, well-worked-out plan, and had Russia expand southward to Port Arthur, the Liaotung Peninsula, and expand the CER branch to Port Arthur. Then the statist speculators moved into Korea, via the tried and true imperialist method.

After several false starts this group had set up its East Asian Development Company. Bezolzrazov had frankly described dais company as modelled on that of the old British East India Company, and its aim was to exploit a concession in Korea ... [2]

Japan thought they had won Korea (a weak kingdom, supposedly independent) and Port Arthur in the Sino-Japanese War. With the Europeans consolidating their "concessions" in China after the Boxer Rebellion (an anti-imperialist insurgency by "a secret society"), this further advance into what Japan regarded as its rightful sphere of influence was intolerable. In 1902, Japan signed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in preparation for war against Russia Since at least the Crimean War, Russia and Britain had been at odds. As Westwood says, "... in the British press and Parliament 'Russian scares' were as frequent in the nineteenth century as 'red scares' in the twentieths." [3]

The British Empire clearly assisted the Japanese during the war, particularly through their formidable international press control (which pressured the U.S. State to join the British alliance against the Central Powers only a decade later), and actually passed up cases of Russian ships accidentally firing on British trawlers to avoid conflict. Later, the Japanese would uphold the treaty to scoop up the German far-eastern colonies in World War I.

Both sides lied to their people and both suffered domestic political upheaval in return. The Russian State-on the advice of the rehabilitated Witte-gave in to the strikes and mutinies and created the Duma, opening power to the liberal bourgeoisie. But the Japanese, too, suffered "anti-peace riots" when their hardest-lining politician, eking out a fairly favorable settlement, fell drastically below the unrealistic expectations of the deluded populace.

The actual conduct of the war can be summarized simply (Woodward does a credible narrative of the detail). After two years of negotiation with both sides convinced of war's inevitability, the Japanese struck à la Pearl Harbor. In fact, as Pearl was the American Empire's western most naval outpost, Port Arthur was Russia's easternmost. The surprise attack was far less successful than Pearl Harbor was to be, but the Russians frittered away time in harbor, running their fleet out eventually, suffered losses, returned to port and suffered final destruction by the land artillery of the slowly encroaching Japanese forces.

The Japanese marched into the Liaotung Peninsula, drove the Russians back from Port Arthur to Mukden, and captured the Manchurian capital-all to heavy losses from Banzai charges. Port Arthur fell after a long siege. Unbelievably, at this point the Russians were stronger than-ever,

their reinforcements finally arriving over the railway, while the Japanese were drafting bottom-of-the-barrel, aged reserves and their officer corps was depleted to crisis levels.

The Russians did suffer a decisive defeat: on the sea The Baltic Fleet sailed through the English Channel, under harassment, around the Cape of Good Hope (smaller ships passed through Suez) and through the Indian Ocean. The French bent their neutrality to counteract the British and let the Russian ships rest and rendezvous in Madagascar. Germans supplied coaling ships to feed the voracious Russian boilers. (Kaiser Wilhelm supported his cousin the Tsar in Eastern expansion.) After that epic voyage around the globe, the Russian fleet attempted to run the Straits of Tsushima between Korea and Japan to rendezvous with the cruisers raiding out of Vladivostok and ran into the Japanese fleet under Naval Commander Admiral Togo.

Westwood makes a plausible case that the Russian fleet of Admiral Rozhdestvensky could have come out better with a few better breaks; nonetheless, Togo gambled on the classic “crossing the T” tactic and pulled it off. After several hours, and an attempt by some cruisers to break through to Vladivostok, all the Russian capital ships were sunk, surrendered or were scuttled.

(Historical coincidence: The Russian fleet’s last safe port had been Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, then French Indo-China. The Soviet fleet uses it again today.)

Both sides were racist; the Russian press portrayed the Japanese as “yellow monkeys” and the Japanese portrayed the Caucasians as subhuman barbarians. But other Asiatics, particularly the Indians suffering under the British imperial yoke, took heart at an Asian victory over Europeans. (The Japanese “Greater Asian Co-Prosperty Sphere” propaganda of World War II cashed in on the good will they reaped from this war.) But both sides were fairly careless with the lives of their own soldiers in battle. The Russian reserves mutined on their way home during the 1905 uprising.

Nicholas relieved General Kuropatkin after the fall of Port Arthur and the Battle of Mukden, rightly considering that the land war would swing over to them. But the naval disaster of May 1905 at Tsushima nearly toppled him and he agreed to Roosevelt’s offer of arbitration. The Japanese, equally desperate, sought him out first, and accepted his “suggestion” of peace talks on June 10, two days before the Russians. Because it implied a loss of face, it was the first inkling the Japanese populace had that all was not going well. The Japanese ruling caste was willing to go for almost anything that left them intact and in control of Korea. Even though Witte was out-negotiating them, showing remarkable understanding of manipulation of the modern press by “generous leaks,” Nicholas gave up the south end of Sakhalin Island to seal the deal without conceding any indemnities. The lack of monetary compensation left Japan deep in the debt of international finance.

Military buffs and wargamers will enjoy *Russia Against Japan* not only for battle details but also for their impact on World War I. According to Westwood, the military historians studied this conflict for a decade, drawing correct — and erroneous — conclusions. Most of their publishing was lost through bad timing when the guns of August 1914 sounded. All the military protagonists of World War I studied the Russo-Japanese War, most of the Russian generals were veterans and the defeated General, Kuropatkin, “displayed the same quality of bureaucratic caution.” [4] Two of these generals, Samsonov and Rennenkampf, carried their feud to 1914 where Rennenkampf failed to rescue Samsonov at the Battle of Tannenberg, a major German victory.

Though the beloved British balance of power was maintained in the Far East, Russia and Japan maintained a healthy respect for each other for forty years. The Soviet policy continued the Imperial Russian; when Japan was clearly defeated, they moved into Korea back to their 39th paral-

lel division of 1903, recaptured Sakhalin, and reestablished Manchurian control — only to lose it to Emperor Mao after 1949.

Japan preferred war with the U.S. to another round with Russia in 1941.

The war shifted European alliances. Britain was now ready to enter an entente with the weakened Russian Empire, especially after the Moroccan crisis of 1905 turned the German Empire into the new prime enemy. Bismarck's plans to avoid a two-front hostile alliance failed.

Libertarians will enjoy the brief allusions to counter-economic activity of the always-enterprising Chinese on both sides of the war. Although the war was fought on Chinese (and Korean) territory, nobody consulted or cared what the Manchu court thought. The Manchus fell to Sun Yat-Sen's bourgeois revolt six years later.

Foreshadowing World War I, the Russo-Japanese War ended with massive loss of human lives and economic treasure, loss of faith and “sacred honour,” and an insurgent, revolting populace anxious to reform or sweep away ancien régimes. The Russian State, fighting two senseless wars in a decade on foreign soil, for gains incomprehensible to those fighting and paying, reaped the whirlwind of revolution. And the Japanese State, learning all the wrong lessons in the war, collapsed in two mushroom clouds almost exactly forty years after the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed.

Notes

1. ↪ Op.cit., pp. 158-59.
 2. ↪ Op.cit., p. 13.
 3. ↪ Op.cit., p. 16.
 4. ↪ Op.cit., p. 135.
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Book review

Auschwitz: True Tales From A Grotesque Land

- *Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land*, by Sara Nomberg-Przytyk. Translated by Roslyn Hirsch. Edited by Eli Pfefferkorn and David H. Hirsch. Chapel Hill, NC and London: The University of North Carolina Press 1985, xii + 185 pp., ISBN 0-8078-4160-9.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land is a collection of stories garnered by Sara Nomberg-Przytyk, allegedly during the year she spent at the Auschwitz concentration camp between January 1944 and January 1945. For the most part the tales she recounts are from the stock repertory of the Auschwitz "survivor": incredible brutality and callousness on the part of the Germans, noble endurance or brutish self-interest among the inmates, poignant romances, miraculous escapes, mass exterminations.

Some of these things Mrs. Nomberg-Przytyk claims to have witnessed; others she has at second or third hand. Dr. Mengele bulks larger than life, as usual, demonic and indefatigable, dispensing lethal injections, tormenting dwarves, and consigning the unfortunate to the gas chambers with his customary gusto. Ilse Koch appears, in a cameo role, as "commander of the camp," presiding over a ceremonial execution which is forestalled by a grisly suicide. Several well-known Auschwitz legends are recounted, including the end of the Gypsy camp; the death of a German NCO, shot by a Jewess with his own pistol; and the escape, recapture, and sad end of two star-crossed lovers.

A number of features of life at Auschwitz as told by the author have an incontestable basis in historical fact. She presents rather well the role of the prisoner hierarchy, which exercised considerable authority over every aspect of the inmates' existence, an authority which by all accounts the prisoner Kapos (foremen) and Blockälteste (barracks chiefs) often misused. The powerful Communist infrastructure in the camp is touched on (Mrs. Nomberg-Przytyk is anything but unsympathetic to the Communists). Her focus on the Germans' strenuous efforts to safeguard their charges' health in infirmaries, hospitals, and quarantine stations, as well as through preventive measures (baths and gas chambers for delousing inmates and their clothing) is in incongruous contrast to the supposed function of Auschwitz as an extermination center.

Nevertheless, the critical reader, particularly one with some knowledge of Auschwitz, will have more than a few doubts as to the accuracy of Mrs. Nomberg-Przytyk's stories, even if he is a convinced Exterminationist. Does the author really imagine that Ilse Koch was at Auschwitz? (She was never anywhere near the place.) How could a Greek girl temporarily evade her fate by leaping from a second-story window after being led into the gas chamber, when all the buildings alleged to have housed gas chambers were either of one story or had underground gas chambers? Is

it conceivable that Dr. Mengele had his cruel sport with a whole family of full-grown, 50 centimeter-tall midgets (that's less than 20 inches)?

Sara Nomberg-Przytyk's funny way with facts is clearly perturbing to the editors, David H. Hirsch, a professor of English at Brown, and Eli Pfefferkorn, director of research for the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. In an "Editorial Afterword" the two make a labored analysis. They tell us: "It is one of the still unresolved problems of that body of writings called Holocaust literature that the events seem to overwhelm all attempts to impose formal order, either of literary history or literary criticism. The problem of ordering, categorizing, and interpreting is further exacerbated by the perverse efforts of so-called revisionist historians who deny everything, deny that the Nazis exterminated millions of Jews and others, thereby placing an additional burden on those who wish to study the ways in which imagination modifies memory and fiction vitalizes history."

Sorry, but this won't wash. Either Professor Hirsch has so restricted his scholarship to browsing amid the dry stubble of literary realism that he is incapable of analyzing imaginative literature, or he and his collaborator don't know what literary criticism and literary history are, in which case they might be advised to seek out a qualified scholar of, say, the Homeric question, an expert in Biblical exegesis, or a specialist in the composition and transmission of folk literature.

A third possibility, of course, is that Hirsch and Pfefferkorn are attempting to blur the boundaries between fiction and history relegating the less credible elements of Sara Nomberg-Przytyk's "stales" to the realm of literary fancy, or "dramatization," as they refer to it. It is difficult, after all, to distinguish between the allegedly literary efforts of Mrs. Nomberg-Przytyk and the accounts of such Auschwitz inmates as Phillip Miller, whose *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*, despite its supposed "simple, straightforward language," its lack of "embellishment" and "deviation" (according to Professor Yehuda Bauer's foreword), employs many of the same threadbare literary artifices as *Tales from a Grotesque Land*.

It is instructive that the editors take refuge in a characteristic pronouncement of Holocaust Kabbalist and Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel, in reference to his own Holocaust writings: "Things are not that simple, Rebbe. Some events do take place but are not true; other are, although they never occurred" (*Legends of Our Time*, New York Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968, p. viii).

Holocaust Revisionists will not likely be deterred from examining with a cold eye the literature of the concentration camps by such formulas as this. They will continue to wonder at such details as Filip Müller's crematory ovens, supposedly capable of completely disposing of nine corpses per hour, or at the miraculous escape of Sara Nomberg-Przytyk's Fela, who escapes death by hiding in the chimney of the hearse bringing her to the crematorium, and draw their own conclusions about a literature which increasingly seems devoid of either *Dichtung* or *Wahrheit*.

Students of the "Holocaust" will be thankful to the author and her editors for several passages that have the ring of truth, however, particularly that which concludes her book. Sara, who escaped from the Germans in the chaos of the last days of the war (she had been removed from Auschwitz to first one, then another camp in central Germany), makes her way back to the Polish city of Lublin in a freight train crammed with Poles. Keeping her own counsel in the car in which she sits surrounded by the Poles, she muses, "They could strangle me in this terrible car if they found out that I am a Red." Soon they arrive in Lublin, and *Auschwitz: True Tales from a Grotesque Land* closes with these two paragraphs:

At twelve noon the door suddenly slid open. We were in Lublin. I was the first one to leave. As I reached the street, I was greeted by a colorful Easter procession. There

was a colorful crowd of women dressed in their native costumes, children, and elegant men. There was no room on the street. All of the balconies and windows were decorated with rugs, flowers and pictures of the Holy Family.

So this is Poland. I understood the words of the Polish soldiers whom I met on the border “Don’t tell the people you meet that you are a Communist.” The fight had not ended. A fight takes time. (p.161)

These ringing words will doubtless discomfit those Poles and Polish-Americans who imagine that there is room on the Holocaust bandwagon for them, too, as will the involvement of Mr. Pfefferkorn from the taxpayer-supported Holocaust Memorial Council. The fact that the team of Pfefferkorn, Hirsch, and Hirsch’s wife Roslyn, who translated the book from the original Polish, were supported at every step in the way by tax-exempt “philanthropy” (The Sigmund Strochlitz Foundation, The Brown Faculty Development Fund, the American Philosophical Society) will likely be of little solace either. Those from less favored ethnic and religious groups may console themselves with the observation that, even though the Holocaust bandwagon is full, there is plenty of room in the traces for willing drayhorses.

About the Contributors

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Historical News And Comment

Joseph Sobran and Historical Revisionism

Mark Weber

One of America's best conservative writers, Joseph Sobran, is currently under fire for his outspoken criticisms of Zionism and, in part, for an implied sympathy for historical Revisionism. Sobran writes a twice-weekly syndicated column that is distributed to about 70 newspapers in the United States. He is also a senior editor of National Review magazine.

Sobran's first "thoughtcrime" column, which vigorously defended President Reagan's decision to honor German soldiers buried at Bitburg, appeared in April 1985. In one essay he wrote: "Imputing diabolism to Hitler can be a strategy of pretending that his was a peculiar aberration. This allows us to evade the gross fact that communism has proved a far more potent and persistent evil than Nazism, which was a brief flare-up by comparison." Thus, he wrote, "it strikes me as misleading to speak of Hitler's crimes as 'the Holocaust.' This has been a century of holocausts. There is no 'the' holocaust. We are kidding ourselves if we talk as if there were anything 'unique' about what the Nazis did." Therefore, we "have no right to denounce 'the Holocaust' as long as we shut our eyes to the (communist) holocaust in progress."

In another column a few days later, Sobran wrote: "Along with those who care deeply about what Hitler did to the Jews, there are the Elmer Gantrys who inevitably attach themselves to every legitimate cause. In the '60s we were manipulated by people who used the memory of slave ships to extort moral deference and expressions of white guilt, which were parlayed into political power and the bottom line—money. The same thing is now being done with Hitler's mass murders. If you don't condemn them in the prescribed ritual ways, the guilt-mongers will find a way to lump you with Hitler himself." Sobran jokingly added that, because of its obsession with one particular chapter of history, The New York Times, "really ought to change its name to Holocaust Update."

The Sobran columns that raised the most hackles appeared during April and May 1986. One raised an issue that hasn't been mentioned in the "respectable" American press for more than four decades. Sobran quoted from the Talmud to point out that, besides the legacy of Christian animosity toward Jews, there is also a little known but very real history of Jewish hostility against Christians. Unfortunately, Sobran wrote, the public gets "a false and distorted history, the sort of history one gets when one reads too many newspapers and not enough books."

Sobran came under especially vicious attack for a May 1986 column that included a few words of qualified praise for *Instauration*, Wilmot Robertson's hard-hitting monthly journal. Sobran called it "an often brilliant magazine, covering a beat nobody else will touch, and doing so with intelligence, wide-ranging observation and bitter wit." In its almost twelve years of publication

Instauration has frequently cast doubt on the Holocaust story and has sun numerous sympathetic reports on the achievements and travails of the Institute for Historical Review.

In a column that appeared in early June, Sobran sought to answer his boisterous critics. He criticized the illegitimate way that critics of Israel or of the pro-Israel lobby are routinely silenced by branding them as “anti-Semitic.” The mere threat of being so labelled is enough to intimidate almost all potential critics. The term “anti-Semite,” Sobran wrote, “carries the whiff of Nazism and mass murder. 'It means,' as a friend of mine put it, 'that you ultimately approve of the gas chambers.'”

The self-appointed watchdogs of American cultural life are now busy trying to silence Joseph Sobran permanently. Leading the self-serving crusade is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the husband-wife team of Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter. (Podhoretz edits the American Jewish Committee’s monthly journal, *Commentary*, and Decter heads something called the Committee for the Free World.) National Review editor-founder William F. Buckley Jr., apparently alarmed that what Sobran wrote on his own would result in a loss of circulation and advertising revenue for his magazine, publicly repudiated his senior colleague for violating what Buckley accurately called “the structure of prevailing taboos.”

Several Sobran critics have been particularly upset over his friendly words for Instauration because of the feisty journal’s staunch refusal to bow before the Holocaust totem. In the words of Newsweek writer Jonathan Alter, for example, “Instauration denies the reality of the Holocaust — a classic [!?] anti-Semitic gambit.” Alexander Cockburn, a regular contributor to the liberal weekly, *The Nation*, was riled at Instauration use of the term “Holohoax.”

As the Sobran affair shows, public skepticism about the Holocaust is still far from being “acceptable.” Nevertheless, Sobran’s iconoclastic commentaries are a welcome indication that things may be changing, however, slowly, for the better.

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Historical News And Comment

Critique of John S. Conway's Review of Walter Sanning's *Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, From *The International History Review*, August, 1985

Dan Desjardins

An the annals of anti-revisionism, one does not often find establishment academia types appraising revisionist works directly. However, Dr. A. R. Butz has recently discovered just such an endeavor, involving, indeed, a book to which he wrote the preface: Walter Sanning's *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*. The deed was done by one John S. Conway, of the University of British Columbia, writing for *The International History Review*, VII, 3, August 1985, pp 450-51.

After a preamble in which Conway praises Sanning for avoiding sensationalism (i.e., refraining from the assertions that gas chambers never existed or that the Holocaust is mere Zionist propaganda), he launches into a reasonable summary of Sanning's demographic findings. Conway even acknowledges the extensive use of Jewish and Israeli sources in establishing Jewish population shifts into the Soviet Union, revealing that much of European Jewry avoided the German advance and did not reside within its sphere of occupation. However, Conway then deplores that these same documents are not used to establish Nazi crimes. The implied grievance would be that in using Jewish and Israeli documents, one ought to do so in a way which would most plead Jewish and Israeli partisans, else one is not properly reciprocating for services rendered. I here proclaim a minor truth: if one trusts a source in instances, one is not obliged to endorse the entirety; and if one uses a source in instances, one is not obliged to use anything but what is relevant to the purposes at hand. In this regard it was unwittingly apt that Conway chose to preface his complaint with the words "needless to say:" for that is it, exactly. By contrast to Sanning's half measures, Conway is prepared to demote the credibility of Sanning's entire thesis because the latter calls Operation Barbarossa (the 1941 German invasion of the Soviet Union) a "preventive aggression." I shall not argue that pre-Barbarossan Soviet aggression against Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Finland, and Eastern Poland might have established any sort of plausible trend, but instead ask that Mr. Conway take this up with fellow historians Toland, Irving, Diwald, and Franz-Willing — for their reputations are in question here also.

Mr. Conway readily admits that he is not a competent demographer, but is certain that if one were found, he "would expose many of the errors in this work." I might ask: does Conway specifically know which data are in error and which are not; and if not, how does he "know" that there are "many" errors, or that there are errors at all? Still lacking the demographer's expertise, Conway elaborates his suspicions to include "juggled figures" and "dubious conjectures about demographic trends, fertility patterns, death rates, emigration opportunities, and other equally unverifiable suppositions ..." I am afraid that I am in the same predicament regarding Conway as

Conway is regarding Sanning. There is one major difference, however. Whereas Sanning provides various data, tables, and background as the foundation of his conjectures, Conway's suppositions are unverifiable on their face: no evidence, no contrary information, no examples by which to substantiate his accusations, no information whatsoever, other than his own bald assertions. Because of this, such generalizations cannot be investigated or refuted except in a general way. I will say only this: to the degree that Conway uses his claim of "dubiousness" as an inference that Sanning's conjectures are false, he is liable to the fallacy of argumentum ad ignorantiam: the proposition that if a thing cannot be proven (i.e., "unverifiable"), it is necessarily disproved. Both Dr. Butz, in his prefatory remarks to the text, and Sanning, its author, are aware that certain estimates "have no claim on absolute certainty" (p. 11). A similar intellectual honesty, however, might ask to know why Sanning's "unverifiable suppositions" are necessarily dubious, while suppositions based on the same Jewish, Israeli and Allied sources by persons such as Poliakov, Reitlinger, or Dawidowicz do not suffer any such reservation. Whereas Conway is rather undemocratic in this regard, he is otherwise the perfect egalitarian: he implicitly suggests that Sanning's suppositions are equivalently unverifiable, while in actuality they are equal only to the degree that Conway's claims themselves cannot be verified because they remain mere innuendo, without a single example specified.

As with unmentioned Nazi crimes, Conway is similarly distressed that concentration camps such as Auschwitz, Chelmo, Majdanek, and Treblinka are not mentioned. The defense, I suspect (as Faurisson gives for not mentioning Babi Yar or the Sonderkommando), is that it is not a necessary part of the subject. But I give Conway credit in recognizing that it could have been. Sanning might have attempted to determine from concentration camp records the number of Jews interned throughout the German occupied countries. If this is possible, assuming the existence or accuracy of such records, I do not know. Admittedly, it would have been an interesting study to determine the numbers of Jews actually held in such camps versus the numbers which were present at the time of liberation. Still, Conway should be advised that this itself would not necessarily determine the cause of death for those who perished, or that death ought necessarily to be assumed for those who were missing

Conway closes his review of Sanning with a final extended chastisement, which I quote:

This book is in fact no more than a perverse attempt to concoct a contrived analysis of the Jewish 'population changes' during the Second World War, which not only mendaciously exonerates the Nazis, but hypocritically seeks to create a distorted account of the Jewish experience which does without the Holocaust, without Hitler, without history at all.

Conway does not simply say that Sanning may have derived mistaken or faulty conjectures, but that his analysis was a wilful and perverse attempt at concoction. I think Conway was a bit injudicious. He is claiming no less than libel, and may be subject to same.

For Conway, it is obvious that no purpose dealing with the Jewish experience during World War II can be historical if certain features are missing, i.e., concentration camps, "Holocaust," and Hitler. I must first register dismay that academia counts among its members persons with this low an opinion of the meaning of history. Secondly, it is unfortunate that this is the paltry level of intellect with which Revisionism must sometimes contend. Whereas Conway earlier refers to a misuse of alleged erudition disregarding Sanning's "unverifiable suppositions," I would have to say that this is certainly in contradistinction to Mr. Conway's disuse of same. For while Conway's complaint seems to focus on the impropriety of Sanning's analysis, i.e., that it "exonerates" Nazis while "distorting" the experience of Jews, he reveals an ignominious and thoroughly

unacademic criterion in his critique: not concern with truth for its own sake or the sake of history, but history primarily as a servant to politics and philosophy. Sanning reiterates his book's purpose on page 196:

The purpose of this analysis was not to investigate the content of truth in the "Holocaust" story, but to outline the extent and the direction of the Jewish population movement before during and after World War Two.

This is certainly his right as a demographer, and reasonably so, as it is sharply delineated and restricted to the authors field of expertise. I would instead question that any account which attempts to elaborate Nazi crimes, the daily routine of concentration camps or the life and death of Adolf Hider is within the reasonable scope of the intended analysis. It is not Sanning's demographic study which "distorts" accounts of the Jewish experience, but Conway's demands, which attempt to distort this specific purpose by insisting on a general one. Though Conway has elsewhere expressed appreciation that Sanning does not openly deny the Holocaust, this is not enough: full satisfaction demands Sanning proclaim its existence as a foundation to his study. This is not to say that this should be satisfactory to the purposes of a demographer — or a historian.

Sanning's book has amassed 24 tables, 453 references and footnotes quoting 98 publications and authors (almost entirely Allied, Zionist, and other "sympathetic" sources), with 205 pages of text. Conway has condemned the entirety by simply claiming "errors" (which supposedly will require the services of a demographer to expose), "juggled figures" and "dubious conjectures" (accusations unelaborated and without any example), "contrived analysis" (Conway's reciprocity here is 1.2 pages without reference or bibliography), and that Sanning's account is "without history at all." To say that there is "no history" if one's purpose is without Hitler or the "Holocaust" is to redefine history in a rather narrow-minded, precarious and utterly Orwellian fashion. Whether this is a politicized definition, or one which is merely foolish, Conway has made of himself a person whose undocumented attacks defy serious treatment. His review of a work which he considers ahistorical is ironically performed in a manner which is anti-historical and non-analytic, an approach which carelessly substitutes dogma for integrity: assumptive, unsubstantive, and by his own accusation, hypocritical.

Appendix

In the interest of fairness we would like to [reproduce John S. Conway's review](#) so our readers can judge for themselves.

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Book Reviews

History, Hitler, and the Holocaust

- EBERHARD JÄCKEL. *Hitler in History*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1984. Pp. 115;
- GERALD FLEMING. *Hitler and the Final Solution*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1984. Pp. 219;
- MALCOLM C. MACPHERSON. *The Blood of His Servants*. New York: The New York Times Book Co., Inc., 1984. Pp. 310; ISABELLA LEITNER. *Fragments of Isabella: A Memoir of Auschwitz*. New York: Crowell Publishers, 1978. Pp. 112;
- JAMES BENTLEY. *Martin Niemöller 1891-1984*. New York: Free Press, 1984. Pp. 253;
- SAUL S. FRIEDMAN. *The Oberammergau Passion Play: A Lance Against Civilization*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984. Pp. 270;
- DAVID S. WYMAN, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984. Pp. 445;
- WALTER N. SANNING. *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*. Torrance, Cal: Institute for Historical Review, 1983. Pp. 239.

Reviewed by John S. Conway

As Archibald MacLeish once remarked, "We are deluged with facts but we have lost or are losing our human ability to feel them." He might well have continued: "It is possible to refuse full realization of unprecedented horror because we are unable to face the implications of these facts." Or as William Shawcross has recently written, "Few people want to believe tales of atrocities; resistance to them is a natural defence mechanism. And the more awful the speculations, the greater the resistance." Such was the case when the news of the annihilation of Europe's Jews first became known in the 1940s. The rational scepticism of the experts and the innocent incredulity of ordinary citizens could not embrace the rumors and reports seeping out of Nazi-controlled Europe. In subsequent decades, the same factors have widely affected the reception of the "Holocaust" as it is now called, so that witnesses, survivors, and historians alike still have an uphill battle to gain full acceptance for any objective and complete description of the twentieth century's most portentous genocide. As a notorious recent trial in Toronto has shown, there are still some extremists who wish to disbelieve the accumulation of evidence, preferring to convince themselves that the Holocaust story is a deliberate post-war hoax, perpetuated by a world-wide conspiracy of Jews, Freemasons, and Bolsheviki and designed to bring into discredit the other-

wise admirable German nation. This defiance of the available contemporary evidence about the Nazi state and its intentions, and of the vast researches of scholars during the past four decades on the extermination of the Jews, must be judged intellectually dishonest and obscene. "It is an appalling lie that the Holocaust did not happen; it is a monstrous truth that it did."

Finally, a piece of sophisticated Holocaust detail. Walter Sanning, one of the team who writes for the Institute for Historical Review in Torrance, California, avoids the kind of sensationalism exhibited in the recent Toronto trial. He does not assert that the gas chambers never existed, that the Holocaust is mere Zionist propaganda, or that the Nazis were basically respectable citizens. Instead, Sanning claims to have undertaken a detailed examination of the population statistics of eastern Europe, and in particular of the Jewish inhabitants, in order to show that the extermination figures attributed to the Nazis are greatly exaggerated, because there simply were not that many Jews—no more than 3.5 million—in all the areas controlled by the Germans. For example, Sanning claims that emigration and death had already, by 1939, reduced to 2.6 million the 3 million Jews in Poland in 1931, and that thereafter no fewer than 2.1 million Jews were deported by the Soviet Union to Siberia, including such notable figures as Menachem Begin. More escaped through other routes, leaving only 750,000 in German-controlled Poland by 1941. For obvious reasons, the Germans exaggerated the figures in order to justify their policies, while the Soviets have imposed a total silence. Sanning makes the further claim that the large number of Jews in Russian-controlled Poland in 1941 and other populations in the Ukraine, the Baltic countries and western Russia were forcibly deported early in 1941 to work in the relocated industries behind the Urals. Thus, only 720,000 Soviet Jews fell into German hands in 1941-2, mostly older people in any case liable to higher death rates through natural causes. But the vast majority must have survived the war, since the figures of Jews present after 1945 amount to nearly this total. The fate of the Jews deported by the Russians to Siberia was far worse (by implication than those under Nazi control). He quotes extensively from Jewish and Israeli sources to prove how large the Jewish population in the Soviet Union had become by 1950, with a view to establishing that the eastern European Jewry had "dissolved" without any participation by the Germans. Needless to say, neither the same sources nor Nazi wartime documents are quoted about the Nazi crimes. Despite the warm endorsement of Sanning's statistical tabulations by A.R. Butz, Professor of Electrical Engineering, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, the credibility of his thesis is not enhanced by such absurd claims as that the German invasion of the Soviet Union was purely "preventive" in order to forestall a planned Soviet aggression. It will require the services of a competent demographer to expose many of the errors in this work. The potpourri of juggled figures, using dubious conjectures about demographic trends, fertility patterns, death rates, emigration opportunities, or other equally unverifiable suppositions, adds up to a misuse of alleged erudition. Naturally, Auschwitz, Chelmo, Majdanek, or Treblinka are not mentioned. This book is in fact no more than a perverse attempt to concoct a contrived analysis of the Jewish "population changes" during the Second World War, which not only mendaciously exonerates the Nazis, but hypocritically seeks to create a distorted account of the Jewish experience which does without the Holocaust, without Hitler, without history at all.

Author: Robert Faurisson

Title: How the British obtained the confessions of Rudolf Höss

Date: Winter 1986

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How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss

ROBERT FAURISSON

Rudolf Höss was the first of three successive commandants of the Auschwitz concentration camp. He is often called “*the* Commandant of Auschwitz,” and the general public knows of him from a book published under the title *Commandant in Auschwitz*.

He appeared before the International Military Tribunal as a witness on 15 April 1946, where his deposition caused a sensation. To the amazement of the defendants and in the presence of journalists from around the world, he confessed to the most frightful crimes that history had ever known. He said that he had personally received an order from Himmler to exterminate the Jews. He estimated that at Auschwitz 3,000,000 people had been exterminated, 2,500,000 of them by means of gas chambers. His confessions were false. They had been extorted from Höss by torture, but it took until 1983 to learn the identity of the torturers and the nature of the tortures they inflicted upon him.

The confessions of Rudolf Höss supply the keystone to the theory which maintains that systematic extermination of the Jews, especially by means of homicidal gas chambers, was a historical reality. These confessions consist essentially of four documents which, in chronological order, are the following:

1. A written deposition signed on 14 March (or 15 March?) 1946 at 2:30 in the morning; it is an 8-page typed text written in German; I do not think, under normal circumstances, a court in any democracy would agree to take into consideration those pages lacking as they did any heading and any printed administrative reference; and crawling with various corrections, whether typed or handwritten, uninitialled and without a notation at the end of the total number of words corrected or deleted. Höss signed it for the first time after having written: “14.3.46 230.” He signed again after two lines which are supposed to have been handwritten but which were typed, and which say:

I have read the above account and confirm that it is corresponding to my own statement and that it was the pure truth. (Official translation.)

The names and the signatures of the two witnesses, British sergeants, follow. One did not note the date, while the other indicated 15 March. The last signature is that of a captain of the 92nd Field Security Section, who certifies that the two sergeants were present throughout the entire proceedings, during which the prisoner Rudolf Höss made his statement voluntarily. The date indicated is 14 March 1946. Nothing indicates the place!

The Allies numbered this document NO-1210.

2. An affidavit signed 22 days later on 5 April 1946. It is a typed text, 20 pages long, written in English. That is surprising: thereby Höss signed a declaration under oath, not in his own language but in that of his guards. His signature appeared three times: at the bottom of the first two pages, then on the third and last page, after a text of four lines, still in English, still typed, which reads:

I understand English as it is written above. The above statements are true: this declaration is made by me voluntarily and without compulsion; after reading over the statement, I have signed and executed the same at Nurnberg, Germany, on the fifth day of April 1946.

There follows the signature of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith W. Brookhart after the statement: “Subscribed and sworn before me this 5th day of April 1946, at Nurnberg, Germany.”

In its form, this text is, if possible, even less acceptable than the preceding one. In particular, entire lines have been added in capital letters in the English style, while others are crossed out with a stroke of the pen. There is no initialling in the margin next to these corrections, and no summary at the end of the document of the words struck out. The Allies assigned this document the number PS-3868.

In order to hide the fact that Höss had signed an affidavit that was in English when it ought to have been in his own language, and in order to make the crossed-out words and the additions and corrections disappear, the following trick was used at Nuremberg: the original text was recast and presented as a “Translation” from German into English! But the person responsible for this deception did his work too quickly. He thought that a handwritten addition to paragraph 10 (done in an English handwriting style) was an addition to the end of paragraph 9. The result of that misunderstanding is that the end of paragraph 9 is rendered totally incomprehensible. There are, therefore, two different documents that bear the same file number, PS-3868: the document signed by Höss and the “remake.” It is the “remake,” really a glaring forgery, that was used before the Nuremberg tribunal. One historical work that claimed to reproduce document PS-3868 by Höss in fact reproduced the “remake” but omitted (without saying so) the end of paragraph 9 as well as all of paragraph 10: see Henri Monneray, *La Persécution des Juifs dans les pays de l'Est présentée à Nuremberg*, Paris, Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, 1949, pp.159 — 162.

3. The spectacular oral deposition, which I have already mentioned, made before the IMT on 15 April 1946, ten days after the writing of document PS-3868. Paradoxically, it was a lawyer for the defense, Kurt Kauffmann, Ernst Kaltenbrunner’s attorney, who had asked for Höss’s appearance. His obvious intention was to show that the person responsible for the presumed extermination was Himmler and not Kaltenbrunner. When it came time for the representative of the prosecution (at that point the American assistant prosecutor, Col. Harlan Amen) to question Höss, he seemed to be reading from the affidavit signed by the latter but, in fact, he was reading excerpts from the “remake.” Col. Amen gave an excuse for not reading paragraph 9 (and, at the same time, paragraph 8). Stopping after reading each excerpt, he asked Höss if that was in fact what he had stated. He received the following responses: “Jawohl,” “Jawohl,” “Jawohl” “Ja, es stimmt,” a two sentence response (containing an obvious error about the Hungarian Jews supposedly having been killed at Auschwitz as early as 1943 even though the first convoy of them did not arrive at Auschwitz until May 2 of 1944), “Jawohl,” “Jawohl,” “Jawohl,” a one-sentence response, “Jawohl,” and “Jawohl.” [IMT, XI, pp. 457-461]. Höss is quoted according to the text of the German-language edition of the IMT series.

In a normal murder case there would have been a hundred questions to ask about the extermination and the gas chambers (that is to say about a crime and an instrument of the crime which were without precedent in history), but no one asked those questions. In particular, Colonel Amen did not ask for a single detail nor for any additional information about the frightening text which he had read in the presence of journalists whose stories would make the headlines in newspapers around the world the next day.

4. The texts generally collected under the title *Commandant in Auschwitz*. Höss is alleged to have written these texts in pencil under the watchful eye of his Polish-Communist jailers, while in a prison at Cracow awaiting his trial. He was condemned to death on 2 April 1947 and hanged at the Auschwitz concentration camp fourteen days later. The world had to wait 11 years, until 1958, for the publication in German of his alleged memoirs. They were edited by the German historian Martin Broszat without regard for scholarly method. Broszat went so far as to suppress several fragments which would have too clearly made it appear that Höss (or his Polish jailers) had offered outrageous statements which would have called into question the reliability of his writings *in toto*.

The four documents that I have just enumerated are closely connected in their origin. Looking at them more closely, there are contradictions among their respective contents, but, for the most part, they are internally consistent. The eight pages of NO-1210 are in a sense summed up in the 2^o pages of PS-3868; that latter document served as the central document in the oral testimony before the IMT; and, finally, the memoirs written at Cracow crown the whole. The base and the matrix are thus document NO-1210. It was in the Cracow memoirs, written under the supervision of Polish examining magistrate Jan Sehn, that Höss was to give particulars about how the British had obtained that very first confession.

Höss's Revelations about His First Confession (Document NO-1210 of 14 or 15 March 1946)

The war ended in Germany on 8 May 1945. Höss fell into the hands of the British, who imprisoned him in a camp for SS men. As a trained agronomist, he obtained an early release. His guards were unaware of the importance of their prey. A work office found him employment as an agricultural work at a farm near Flensburg, not far from the Danish border. He remained there for eight months. The military police looked for him. His family, with whom he succeeded in making contact, was closely watched and subjected to frequent searches.

In his memoirs Höss recounts the circumstances of his arrest and what followed. The treatment that he underwent was particularly brutal. At first sight it is surprising that the Poles allowed Höss to make the revelations he did about the British military police. On reflection, we discover that they might have done so out of one or more of the following motives:

- to give the confession an appearance of sincerity and veracity;
- to cause the reader to make a comparison, flattering for the Polish Communists, between the British and Polish methods, Indeed Höss later said that during the first part of his detention at Cracow, his jailers came very close to finishing him off physically and above all morally, but that later they treated him with “such decent and considerate treatment” that he consented to write his memoirs;
- to furnish an explanation for certain absurdities contained in the text (NO-1210) that the British police had had Höss sign, one of these absurdities being the invention of an “extermination camp” in a place which never existed on any Polish map: “Wolzek near Lublin”; confusion with Belzec is not possible since Höss talks about three camps: “Belzec (*sic*),

Tublinka (*sic*) and Wolzek near Lublin.” Farther on, the spelling of Treblinka will be corrected. Let us note in passing that the camps of Belzec and Treblinka did not yet exist at the time (June 1941) when Himmler, according to Höss, told him that they were already functioning as “extermination camps.”

Here are the words Höss uses to describe, in succession, his arrest by the British; his signing of the document that would become NO-1210; his transfer to Minden-on-the-Weser, where the treatment that he underwent was worse yet; his stay at the Nuremberg tribunal’s prison; and, finally, his extradition to Poland.

I was arrested on 11 March 1946 (at 11 pm).

My phial of poison had been broken two days before.

When I was aroused from sleep, I thought at first I was being attacked by robbers, for many robberies were taking place at that time. That was how they managed to arrest me. I was maltreated by the Field Security Police.

I was taken to Heide where I was put in those very barracks from which I had been released by the British eight months earlier.

At my first interrogation, evidence was obtained by beating me. I do not know what is in the record, although I signed it. Alcohol and the whip were too much for me. The whip was my own, which by chance had got into my wife’s luggage. It had hardly ever touched my horse, far less the prisoners. Nevertheless, one of my interrogators was convinced that I had perpetually used it for flogging the prisoners.

After some days I was taken to Minden-on-the-Weser, the main interrogation centre in the British Zone. There I received further rough treatment at the hands of the English public prosecutor, a major.

The conditions in the prison accorded with this behaviour.

After three weeks, to my surprise, I was shaved and had my hair cut and I was allowed to wash. My handcuffs had not previously been removed since my arrest.

On the next day I was taken by lorry to Nuremberg, together with a prisoner of war who had been brought over from London as a witness in Fritzsche’s defence. My imprisonment by the International Military Tribunal was a rest-cure compared to what I had been through before. I was accommodated in the same building as the principal accused, and was able to see them daily as they were taken to the court. Almost every day we were visited by representatives for all the Allied nations. I was always pointed out as an especially interesting animal.

I was in Nuremberg because Kaltenbrunner’s counsel had demanded me as a witness for his defence. I have never been able to grasp, and it is still not clear to me, how I of all people could have helped to exonerate Kaltenbrunner. Although the conditions in prison were, in every respect, good — I read whenever I had the time, and there was a well stocked library available — the interrogations were extremely unpleasant, not so much physically, but far more because of their strong psychological effect. I cannot really blame the interrogators — they were all Jews.

Psychologically I was almost cut in pieces. They wanted to know all about everything, and this was also done by Jews. They left me in no doubt whatever as to the fate that was in store for me.

On 25 May, my wedding anniversary as it happened, I was driven with von Burgsdorff and Bühler to the aerodrome and there handed over to Polish officers. We flew in an American plane via Berlin to Warsaw. Although we were treated very politely during our journey, I feared the worst when I remembered my experiences in the British Zone and the tales I had heard about the way people were being treated in the East. (*Commandant in Auschwitz*, Introduction by Lord Russell of Liverpool. English translation, Weidenfeld and Nicolson,. 1959, p. 173-175.)

Revelations in 1983 About the British Torturers of Rudolf Höss

The Revisionists proved a long time ago that the various confessions of Rudolf Höss contained so many gross errors, nonsensical elements, and impossibilities of all kinds, that it is no longer possible to believe them, as did the judges at Nuremberg and Cracow, as well as certain self-styled historians, without any prior analysis of their content and of the circumstances in which they were obtained.

In all likelihood, Höss was tortured by the British soldiers of the 92nd Field Security Section, but a confirmation of that hypothesis was necessary. Confirmation has come with the publication in England of a book containing the name of the principal torturer (a British sergeant of Jewish origin) and a description of the circumstances of Höss' arrest, as well as his third-degree interrogation.

The book is by Rupert Butler. It was published in 1983 (Hamlyn Paperbacks). Butler is the author of three other works: *The Black Angels*, *Hand of Steel* and *Gestapo*, all published by Hamlyn. The book that interests us is entitled *Legions of Death*. Its inspiration is anti-Nazi. Butler says that he researched this book at the Imperial War Museum in London, the Institute for Contemporary History and Wiener Library, and other such prestigious institutions. At the beginning of his book, he expresses his gratitude to these institutions and, among others, to two persons, one of whom is Bernard Clarke ("who captured Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss"). The author quotes several fragments of what are either written or recorded statements by Clarke.

Bernard Clarke shows no remorse. On the contrary, he exhibits a certain pride in having tortured a "Nazi." Rupert Butler, likewise, finds nothing to criticize in that. Neither of them understands the importance of their revelations. They say that Höss was arrested on 11 March, 1946, and that it took three days of torture to obtain "a coherent statement." They do not realize that the alleged "coherent statement" is nothing other than the lunatic confession, signed by their quivering victim on the 14th or 15th of March 1946, at 2:30 in the morning, which was to seal Höss' fate definitely, a confession which would also give definitive shape to the myth. The confession would also shape decisively the myth of Auschwitz, the supposed high-point of the extermination of the Jews, above all due to the alleged use of homicidal gas chambers.

On 11 March 1946, a Captain Cross, Bernard Clarke and four other intelligence specialists in British uniforms, most of them tall and menacing, entered the home of Frau Höss and her children.

The six men, we are told, were all "practised in the more sophisticated techniques of sustained and merciless investigation" (p. 235). Clarke began to shout:

If you don't tell us [where your husband is] we'll turn you over to the Russians and they'll put you before a firing-squad. Your son will go to Siberia.

Frau Höss broke down and revealed, says Clarke, the location of the farm where her husband was in hiding, as well as his assumed name: Franz Lang. And Bernard Clarke added:

Suitable intimidation of the son and daughter produced precisely identical information.

The Jewish sergeant and the five other specialists in third degree interrogation then left to seek out Höss, whom they surprised in the middle of the night, sleeping in an alcove of the room used to slaughter cattle on the farm.

Höss screamed in terror at the mere sight of British uniforms.

Clarke yelled "What is your name?"

With each answer of "Franz Lang," Clarke's hand crashed into the face of his prisoner. The fourth time that happened, Höss broke and admitted who he was.

The admission suddenly unleashed the loathing of the Jewish sergeants in the arresting party whose parents had died in Auschwitz following an order signed by Höss.

The prisoner was torn from the top bunk, the pyjamas ripped from his body. He was then dragged naked to one of the slaughter tables, where it seemed to Clarke the blows and screams were endless.

Eventually, the Medical Officer urged the Captain: "Call them off, unless you want to take back a corpse."

A blanket was thrown over Höss and he was dragged to Clarke's car, where the sergeant poured a substantial slug of whisky down his throat. Then Höss tried to sleep.

Clarke thrust his service stick under the man's eyelids and ordered in German: "Keep your pig eyes open, you swine."

For the first time Höss trotted out his oft-repeated justification: "I took my orders from Himmler. I am a soldier in the same way as you are a soldier and we had to obey orders."

The party arrived back at Heide around three in the morning. The snow was swirling still, but the blanket was torn from Höss and he was made to walk completely nude through the prison yard to his cell. (p. 237)

So it is that Bernard reveals "It took three days to get a coherent statement out of [Höss]" (*ibid.*). This admission was corroborated by Mr. Ken Jones in an article in the *Wrexham Leader*. (October 17, 1986):

Mr. Ken Jones was then a private with the fifth Royal Horse Artillery stationed at Heid[e] in Schleswig-Holstein. "They brought him to us when he refused to cooperate over questioning about his activities during the war. He came in the winter of 1945/6 and was put in a small jail cell in the barracks," recalls Mr. Jones. Two other

soldiers were detailed with Mr. Jones to join Höss in his cell to help break him down for interrogation. “We sat in the cell with him, night and day, armed with axe handles. Our job was to prod him every time he fell asleep to help break down his resistance,” said Mr. Jones. When Höss was taken out for exercise he was made to wear only jeans and a thin cotton shirt in the bitter cold. After three days and nights without sleep, Höss finally broke down and made a full confession to the authorities.

Clarke’s statement, obtained under the conditions just described by bullies of British Military Security under the brutal inspiration of sergeant-interpreter Bernard Clarke, became Höss’s first confession, the original confession indexed under the number NO-1210. Once the tortured prisoner had begun to talk, according to Clarke, it was impossible to stop him. Clarke, no more conscious in 1982 or 1983 than in 1946 of the enormity of what he forced Höss to confess, goes on to describe a series of fictitious horrors presented here as the truth: Höss went on to tell how after the bodies had been ignited, the fat oozing from them was poured over the other bodies (!). He estimated the number of dead during just the period when he was at Auschwitz at two million (!); the killings reached 10,000 victims per day (!).

It was Clarke’s duty to censor the letters sent by Höss to his wife and children. Every policeman knows that the power to grant or withhold permission to a prisoner to write to his family constitutes a psychological weapon. To make a prisoner “sing” it is sometimes sufficient to merely suspend or cancel that authorization. Clarke makes an interesting remark about the content of Höss’s letters; he confides to us:

Sometimes a lump came to my throat. **There were two** different men in that one man. One was brutal with no **regard** for human life. The other was soft and affectionate. (p. 238)

Rupert Butler ends his narrative by saying that Höss sought neither to deny nor to escape his responsibilities. In effect, at the Nuremberg tribunal Höss conducted himself with a “schizoid apathy.” The expression is that of the American prison psychologist, G.M. Gilbert, who was in charge of the psychological surveillance of the prisoners and whose eavesdropping aided the American prosecution. We can certainly believe that Höss was “split in two”! He had the appearance of a rag because they had turned him into a rag.

“Apathetic”, writes Gilbert on page 229 of his book; “apathetic, he repeats on the following page; “schizoid apathy,” he writes on page 239 (*Nuremberg Diary*, 1947, Signet Book, 1961).

At the end of his trial at Cracow; Höss greeted his death sentence with apparent indifference, Rupert Butler comments as follows:

[Höss] reasoned that Allies had their orders and, that there could be absolutely no question of these not being carried out. (*ibid.*)

One could not say it any better. It seems that Rudolf Höss, like thousands of accused Germans turned over to the mercy of conquerors who were totally convinced of their own goodness, had quickly grasped that he had no other choice but to suffer the will of his judges, whether they came from the West or from the East.

Butler then quickly evokes the case of Hans Frank, the former Governor of Poland. With the same tone of moral satisfaction he recounts the circumstances of Frank’s capture and subsequent treatment:

Celebrity status of any kind singularly failed to impress the two coloured GIs who arrested him and made sure he was transported to the municipal prison in Miesbach only after he had been savagely beaten up and flung into a lorry.

A tarpaulin had been thrown over him to hide the more obvious signs of ill-treatment; Frank found the cover useful when he attempted to slash an artery in his left arm.

Clearly, no such easy way out could be permitted; a U.S. army medical officer saved his life and he stood trial at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. (p. 238-239)

Rudolf Höss and Hans Frank were not the only ones to undergo treatment of that kind. Among the most celebrated cases, we know of Julius Streicher, Hans Fritzsche, Oswald Pohl, Franz Ziereis, and Josef Kramer.

But the case of Rudolf Höss is by far the most serious in its consequences. There is no document that proves that the Germans had a policy of exterminating the Jews. Léon Poliakov agreed with this in 1951:

As regards the conception properly called of the plan for a total extermination, the three or four principal actors committed suicide in May of 1945. No document has survived or perhaps has ever existed.

(*Bréviaire de la haine: Le IIIe Reich et les Juifs*, Calmann-Levy, 1951, Livre de Poche, 1974, p.171)

In the absence of any document, historians *à la* Poliakov have repeatedly returned, primarily, to doubtful confessions like those of Kurt Gerstein or Rudolf Höss, sometimes modifying the texts to suit their convenience.

Bernard Clarke is “today a successful businessman working in the south of England” (*Legions of Death*, 1983, p. 235). One can in fact say that it is *his* voice that was heard at Nuremberg on 15 April 1946, when Assistant Prosecutor Amen read, piece by piece, to an astonished and overwhelmed audience, the supposed confession of Rudolf Höss. On that day was launched a lie of world-wide dimensions: the lie of Auschwitz. At the origins of that prodigious media event: several Jewish sergeants of British Military Security, including Bernard Clarke, “today a successful businessman working in the south of England.”

The Testimony of Moritz von Schirmeister

During the war, Moritz von Schirmeister had been the personal press attaché of Joseph Goebbels. On 29 June 1946, he was interrogated before the IMT as a defense witness for Hans Fritzsche. His deposition was particularly interesting regarding the actual personality of Dr. Goebbels and the attitude of the official German news services toward the flood of atrocity stories about the concentration camps spread during the war by the Allies.

At the end of the war, Moritz von Schirmeister had been arrested by the British and interned in a camp in England, where he was given the task of politically “re-educating” his fellow prisoners. Before testifying at Nuremberg, he was transferred by plane from London to Germany. At first he was kept at Minden-on-the-Weser, which was the principal interrogation center for the British Military Police. From there he was taken by car (31 March — 1 April 1946) to the prison at Nuremberg. In the same car rode Rudolf Höss. Moritz von Schirmeister is precisely that “pris-

oner of war who had been brought over from London as a witness in Fritzsche's defense about whom Höss speaks in his "memoirs" (see above, p. 393).

Thanks to a document that I obtained from American researcher Mark Weber, who gave me a copy of it in Washington in September of 1983 (a document whose exact source I not yet authorized to indicate), we know that they were able to talk freely in the car that took them to Nuremberg. In that document, slightly more than two pages long, Schirmeister reports, as regarding the charges hanging over Höss, that Höss confided to him:

Gewiss, ich habe unterschrieben, dass ich 2 Millionen Juden umgebracht habe. Aber ich hätte genausogut unterschrieben, dass es 5 Millionen Juden gewesen sind. Es gibt eben Methoden, mit denen man jedes Geständnis erreichen kann — ob es nun wahr ist oder nicht.

"Certainly, I signed a statement that I killed two and a half million Jews. But I could just as well have said that it was five million Jews. There are certain methods by which any confession can be obtained, whether it is true or not."

Another Confession Signed by Rudolf Höss

The British torturers of Rudolf Höss had no reason to exercise any restraint. After making him sign document NO-1210 at 2:30 in the morning of the 14th or 15th of March 1946, they obtained a new signature from him on March 16, this time at the bottom of a text in English, written in an English handwriting style, with a blank in the space where the name of the place ought to have been given. His guards made him sign a simple note written in English:

Statement made voluntarily at _____ Gaol by Rudolf Höss, former Commandant of Auschwitz Concentration Camp on 16th day of March 1946.

I personally arranged on orders received from Himmler in May 1941 the gassing of two million persons between June/July 1941 and the end of 1943 during which time I was commandant of Auschwitz.

signed.

Rudolf Höss,

SS-Stubhr.

Eh. (?) Kdt. v. Auschwitz-Birkenau

(even the word "signed" was written in an English hand).

The Auschwitz Myth

We have known for some time that the Auschwitz myth is of an exclusively Jewish origin. Arthur R. Butz has related the facts in his book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, as has Wilhelm Stäglich in *The Auschwitz Myth*. The principal authors of the creation and the peddling of the "rumor of Auschwitz" have been, successively, two Slovaks, Alfred Wetzler (or Weczler) and Rudolf Vrba (or Rosenberg or Rosenthal); then a Hungarian, Rabbi Michael Dov Ber Weissmandel (or Weissmandl); then, in Switzerland, representatives of the World Jewish Congress like Gerhard Riegner, who were in touch with London and Washington; and finally Americans like Harry Dexter White, Henry Morgenthau Jr. and Rabbi Stephen Samuel Wise. Thus was born the famous World Refugee Board Report on Auschwitz and Birkenau, published in Washington in

November 1944. Copies of this report were included in the files of the judges advocate general in charge of prosecuting the Germans involved in the Auschwitz camp. It constituted the official version of the story of the alleged gassing of the Jews in that camp. Most probably it was used as a reference work by the inquirers-interrogators-torturers of “*the* Commandant of Auschwitz.” All the names here mentioned are those of Jews.

Moreover we now see that Bernard Clarke, the first British torturer, was a Jew, The second British torturer, Major Draper (?), may also have been a Jew. The same for the two Americans: psychologist G.M. (Gustave Mahler) Gilbert and Colonel Harlan Amen. Finally, in Poland, Höss was faced with Polish Jews who treated him more or less the same way. When he wrote his “memoirs” it was under the supervision of instructing magistrate Jan Sehn, who was also probably a Jew.

Establishment historians dispute that Höss had been tortured and had confessed under duress. Since the publication of Rupert Butler’s book in 1983, however, it is no longer possible for them to contest that. The Revisionists were right.

Since 1985 it is even less possible. In January-March 1985, the trial of Ernst Zündel, who was accused by a Jewish association and by the Crown of spreading Revisionist literature, took place in Toronto (Canada). Rudolf Vrba testified as a Crown witness. (He lives now in British Columbia). Affirmative and self assured as long as he answered the questions of the Crown, he suffered a spectacular rout when cross-examined by Ernst Zündel’s lawyer, Doug Christie. For the first time since 1945 a Jewish witness to the alleged gassings in Auschwitz was asked to explain his affirmations and his figures. The result was so terrible for R. Vrba that finally the Crown itself gave a kind of coup de grace to its key witness. That unexpected event and some others (like the leading specialist of the Holocaust, Raul Hilberg, being caught red-handed in his lies) really made of the “Toronto Trial” the “Trial of the Nuremberg Trial.”

The unintentional revelations of Rupert Butler in 1983 and unexpected revelations of the “Toronto Trial” in 1985 succeeded at last in showing entirely and clearly how the Auschwitz myth was fabricated from 1944 to 1947, to be exact from April 1944, when Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler are supposed to have escaped from Auschwitz to tell their story to the world up until April 1947, when Rudolf Höss was hanged after having supposedly told the same world his own story about Auschwitz.

It is remarkable that from beginning to end that story comes from essentially or perhaps even exclusively Jewish sources. Two Jewish liars (Vrba and Wetzler) from Slovakia convinced or seemed to have convinced other Jews from Hungary, Switzerland, United States, Great Britain, and Poland. This is not a conspiracy or a plot; it is the story of the birth of a religious belief: the myth of Auschwitz, center of the religion of the Holocaust.

This photograph was published after p. 161 of Lord Russell of Liverpool’s *Geissel der Menschheit*, Berlin, Verlag Volk und Welt, 1960. The title of the original book in English is *The Scourge of the Swastika*. The caption of the photo says: “The Confession of Rudolf Höss.” It is not NO-1210 or PS-3868 but only a very short text of 16 March 1946. You will note the difference between the handwriting of the text of the confession and Höss’s own handwriting. In his introduction to the English edition of *Commandant in Auschwitz* Lord Russell claims to furnish some information on the conditions in which Höss had to sign that note, but, since he commits errors in the chronology of the events in that regard, his information is to be received with reservations. (See *Commandant in Auschwitz*, p.18.)

The second photo was published as photo #22 in Tom Bower, *Blind Eye to Murder* (Britain, America and the Purging of Nazi Germany — A Pledge Betrayed), Granada: London, Toronto, Sydney, New York 1981. The caption of the photo says: “Colonel Gerald Draper of the British War Crimes Group photographed as he finally secured the confession of Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, to the murder of three million people.” As one remembers, Höss said in his “memoirs”: “I received further rough treatment at the hands of the English public prosecutor, a major” (*Commandant in Auschwitz*, p. 74). Did this major become a colonel and was his name “Draper”?

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Buchenwald: Legend and Reality

by Mark Weber

Buchenwald is widely regarded as one of wartime Germany's most notorious "death camps." In fact, though, this carefully cultivated image bears little resemblance to reality. Today, more than forty years after the end of the Second World War, the camp deserves another, more objective look.

History and Function

The Buchenwald concentration camp was located on a wooded hill outside of Weimar, in what is now East Germany. It was opened in July 1937. Until the war years, almost all the inmates were either professional criminals or political prisoners (most of them ardent Communists). Some 2,300 Buchenwald inmates were pardoned in 1939 in honor of Hitler's 50th birthday.

At the outbreak of war in September 1939 the camp population was 5,300. This grew slowly to 12,000 in early 1943, and then increased rapidly as many foreign workers, especially Poles, Ukrainians and Russians, were brought for employment in war production. ^[1]

During the war years Buchenwald was expanded into a vast complex of more than a hundred satellite factories, mines and workshops spread across a large portion of Germany. The most important of these was probably the Dora underground plant, which produced V-2 missiles. In October 1944 it became the independent Nordhausen (Mittelbau) camp. ^[2]

Many thousands of Jews arrived at Buchenwald from Hungary and various eastern camps in 1944 and 1945. Most had been evacuated by railroad from Auschwitz and other camps threatened by the advancing Red Army. ^[3]

The number of inmates increased enormously during the final months of the war: 34,000 in November 1943, 44,000 in April 1944, and 80,000 in August 1944. A monthly peak was reached at the end of February 1945, when 86,000 inmates were crammed into the severely overcrowded camp. Almost 30,000 inmates were evacuated from Buchenwald during the week before the U.S. Army takeover on 11 April 1945. Altogether a total of 239,000 persons were interned in the camp between 1937 and April 1945. ^[4]

The Commandant and his wife

The first Commandant, Karl Koch, ran Buchenwald from 1937 until early 1942, when he was transferred to Majdanek. He proved a notoriously brutal and corrupt administrator who enriched himself with valuables stolen from numerous inmates, whom he then had killed to cover up his thefts. The camp physician, Dr. Waldemar Hoven, murdered many inmates in cooperation with

Koch and the Communist underground camp organization. Koch was eventually charged by an SS court with murder and corruption, found guilty and executed. [5]

His wife, Ilse Koch, was involved in many of her husband's crimes, but the fantastic charge that she had lamp shades and other items manufactured from the skins of murdered inmates is not true. This allegation was made by the United States prosecution team at the main Nuremberg trial. [6]

General Lucius D. Clay, Commander in Chief of U.S. Forces in Europe and Military Governor of the U.S. Occupation Zone of Germany, 1947-49, carefully reviewed the Use Koch case in 1948 and found that, whatever her other misdeeds, the lampshade charge was baseless. He commuted her sentence from life imprisonment to four years and informed the Army Department in Washington "There is no convincing evidence that she [Ilse Koch] selected inmates for extermination in order to secure tattooed skins or that she possessed any articles made of human skin." [7] During a 1976 interview Clay recalled the case:

We tried Ilse Koch ... She was sentenced to life imprisonment, and I commuted it to three [four] years. And our press really didn't like that. She had been destroyed by the fact that an enterprising reporter who first went into her house had given her the beautiful name, the "Bitch of Buchenwald," and he had found some white lampshades in there which he wrote up as being made out of human flesh

Well, it turned out actually that it was goat flesh But at the trial it was still human flesh. It was almost impossible for her to have gotten a fair trial.

... The Germans picked her up and gave her 12 years for her treatment of her own people. But it wasn't really a war crime in the strict sense of the word.

And those are the kinds of things that we had to deal with all the time. [8]

The Inmates: Life and Death

There is no question that many atrocities were committed against Buchenwald inmates. However, at least a very large portion of them were committed, not by the German SS guards, but by the underground Communist camp organization that gained almost total internal control after 1943. This remarkable situation was confirmed in a detailed U.S. Army intelligence document of 24 April 1945 entitled Buchenwald: A Preliminary Report. [9] This confidential analysis remained classified until 1972.

In a short preface, Army intelligence chief Alfred Toombs called this secret report "one of the most significant accounts yet written on an aspect of life in Nazi Germany" because it "tells how the [Buchenwald] prisoners themselves organized a deadly terror within the Nazi terror." The general accuracy of the report had been independently confirmed, Toombs added.

As large numbers of foreigners began arriving at the camp during the war years, the confidential report noted, the understaffed SS found it necessary to turn over an ever larger share of camp administration to the inmates themselves. In practice this meant that by 1943 the well-organized and disciplined Communist inmate organization had taken virtually total control of the camp's internal operation. As the report explained:

The trustees had wide powers over their fellow inmates. At first they were drawn almost exclusively from the German criminals. This period lasted until 1942. But grad-

ually the Communists began to gain control of this organization. They were the oldest residents, with records of 10-12 years in the concentration camps ... They clung together with remarkable tenacity, whereas the criminal elements were simply out for their own individual welfare and had little group cohesiveness. The Communists maintained excellent discipline and received a certain amount of direction from outside the camp. They had brains and technical qualifications for running the various industries established at the camp.

Their advances were not made without resistance from the criminals, but gradually the criminals were eliminated from power, partly by intimidation, partly with the aid of the SS. Numbers of the criminals were killed by beatings, hangings or injections of phenol into the heart or of air or milk into the veins. The injections were a specialty of the camp doctor [Hoven], who became a partisan of the Communist faction.

Besides the top positions in the trusty organization, there were a number of key Communist strongholds in the administration of the camp. One was the food supply organization, through which favored groups received reasonable rations while others were brought to the starvation level. A second was the hospital, staffed almost exclusively by Communists. Its facilities were largely devoted to caring for members of their party ... Another Communist stronghold was the Property Room ... Each German trusty obtained good clothing and numerous other valuables. The Communists of Buchenwald, after ten or twelve years in concentration camps, are dressed like prosperous business men. Some affect leather jackets and little round caps of the German navy, apparently the uniform of revolution.

As a result of all this:

... Instead of a heap of corpses or a disorderly mob of starving, leaderless men, the Americans [who captured the camp] found a disciplined and efficient organization in Buchenwald. Credit is undoubtedly due to the self-appointed Camp Committee, an almost purely Communist group under the domination of the German political leaders.

... The trusties, who in time became almost exclusively Communist Germans, had the power of life and death over all other inmates. They could sentence a man or a group to almost certain death ... The Communist trusties were directly responsible for a large part of the brutalities committed at Buchenwald.

Communist block chiefs, the report stated, would personally beat their charges and “sometimes forced whole blocks to stand barefoot in the snow for hours, apparently on their own initiative.” The Communists killed “large numbers” of Polish inmates who refused to submit to their rule. They forced French inmates to give up thousands of Red Cross parcels. The report mentioned several particularly brutal Communist camp leaders by name.

It confirmed that the camp physician, Dr. Hoven, had been an important Communist ally who killed numerous criminal and anti-Communist political prisoners with lethal injections. An SS investigation team uncovered his activities during the war and sentenced him to death for murder. However, because of the critical wartime shortage of doctors, he was reprieved after 18 months in jail. After the war the Communists tried to protect their ally, but Hoven was sentenced to death for a second time by a U.S. military tribunal and executed in 1948.

Camp Communists maintained close relations with the well- organized underground Communist party on the outside. “From Buchenwald an inmate went out regularly to establish contact with a Communist courier bringing news and instructions. Bound by his loyalty to the Party, the contact man never made use of his opportunity to escape personally.” The Communist camp military organization had three machine guns, fifty rifles and a number of hand grenades. The German Communists lived better than any other group. “Even now,” the report noted, “they may be distinguished from the rest of the inmates by their rosy cheeks and robust health, though they have been in concentration camps for much longer than the others.”

Finally, the report’s authors warned against the simplistic and naive notion that former inmates should be trusted and helped just because they had been interned in German camps. “Some are in fact 'bandits,' criminals from all Europe or foreign workers in Germany who were caught stealing ... They are brutalized, unpleasant to look on. It is easy to adopt the Nazi theory that they are subhuman.”

A book published in 1961 by the Communist-run “International Buchenwald Committee” of East Berlin proudly describes the wartime activities of the camp’s Communist underground. It ran an underground camp newspaper, an illegal radio transmitter, an inmate orchestra (which played Communist songs), a large library and even a military organization. It held Communist ceremonies and political meetings, and carried out extensive sabotage of German war production. ^[10]

Former Buchenwald inmate Ernst Fedem, a Jew, explained after the war how the Communist camp organization cooperated with the SS to increase its own power and eliminate opponents and undesirables. He recalled that the leader of the Jewish section of the Communist camp organization, Emil Carlebach, declared quite frankly that for him only his [Communist] friends counted, that everybody else might as well perish.” Fedem reported that he personally witnessed two acts of brutality by Carlebach, who was a Block Senior from 1942 until 1945. In one case he ordered the death of a fellow Jewish inmate for allegedly mistreating inmates at another camp. On another occasion Carlebach personally beat an elderly Jewish inmate from Turkey to death because he had unavoidably relieved himself in the barracks. ^[11]

Similarly, an Englishman who spent 15 months in Buchenwald reported after the war that the Communist camp organization did not consider the Jewish inmates particularly worth trying to-keep alive. ^[12]

In recent years some homosexual organizations have claimed that thousands of homosexuals were “systematically exterminated” in the German concentration camps. While it is true that many were interned as criminals, no homosexual was ever killed by the Germans for that reason alone. It is also worth recalling that during the 1930s and 1940s, homosexual behavior was considered an odious crime in most of the world, including the United States.

A former Buchenwald inmate recalled in 1981: “... Homosexuals were oppressed by the Nazis because of their social mores ... In Buchenwald, a great number of them were not killed by the Nazis, but by political prisoners [Communists], because of the homosexuals' aggressive and offensive behavior.” ^[13]

Day-to-day conditions were much better than most portrayals would suggest. Inmates could both receive and send two letters or postcards monthly. They could receive money from the outside. Inmates were also paid for their labor with special camp currency which they could use to purchase a wide variety of items in the camp canteen. They played soccer, handball and volleyball in their spare time. Soccer matches were held on Saturdays and Sundays on the camp playing field. A large camp library offered a wide range of books. A motion picture theater was very popular.

There were also variety shows, and musical groups put on regular concerts in the central square. A camp brothel, which employed 15 prostitutes when the Americans arrived, was available to many inmates. ^[14]

Extermination factory?

The Americans who arrived at Buchenwald in April 1945 found hundreds of sick inmates and many unburied corpses in the camp. Horrific photos of these gruesome scenes were immediately circulated throughout the world and have been widely reproduced ever since, giving the impression that Buchenwald was a diabolical mass killing center.

The American government encouraged this impression. A U.S. Army report about Buchenwald prepared for the Supreme Allied Headquarters in Europe and made public at the end of April 1945 declared that the “mission of the camp” was “an extermination factory.” ^[15] And two weeks later a U.S. Congressional report on German camps, later used as a Nuremberg trial document, was issued which likewise described Buchenwald as an “extermination factory.” ^[16]

This superficially plausible description is, however, completely wrong. The great majority of those who died at Buchenwald perished during the chaotic final months of the war. They succumbed to disease, often aggravated by malnutrition, in spite of woefully inadequate efforts to keep them alive. They were victims, not of an “extermination” program, but rather of the terrible overcrowding and severe lack of food and medical supplies due to a general collapse of order in Germany during the tumultuous final phase of the war.

Along with these indirect victims of the war were many healthy inmates. B.M. McKelway inspected Buchenwald shortly after the U.S. takeover as one of a group of American newspaper editors and publishers. He reported that “many of the hundreds of inmates we saw appeared to be healthy while others suffering from dysentery, typhus, tuberculosis and other diseases were living skeletons.” ^[17]

One striking indication that Buchenwald was not an “extermination” camp is the fact that some of the internees were children too young to work. An estimated one thousand boys, aged two to 16, were housed in two special children’s barracks. Train transports of Jewish children arrived from 1942 to 1945. Some arrived from Auschwitz in 1943. Other Jewish children came from Hungary and Poland. ^[18] The confidential U.S. Army report of April 24, 1945, noted the “most remarkable sight of the children” who “rush about, shrieking and playing.” ^[19]

Thirty years after the war, even famed “Nazi hunter” Simon Wiesenthal conceded that “there were no extermination camps on German soil.” ^[20]

The gas chamber lie

Perhaps the most vicious lie circulated after the war about Buchenwald is the charge that the Germans exterminated inmates there in gas chambers. An official French government report submitted to the Nuremberg tribunal as a prosecution exhibit imaginatively stated: “Everything had been provided for down to the smallest detail. In 1944, at Buchenwald, they had even lengthened a railway line so that the deportees might be led directly to the gas chamber. Certain [of the gas chambers] had a floor that tipped and immediately directed the bodies into the room with the crematory oven.” ^[21] The chief British prosecutor at the main Nuremberg trial, Sir Hartley Shawcross, declared in his closing address that “murder [was] conducted like some mass production industry in the gas chambers and the ovens” of Buchenwald and other camps. ^[22]

In a book published in 1947, French priest Georges Henocque, former chaplain of the Saint-Cyr Military Academy, claimed to have visited the inside of a Buchenwald gas chamber, which he described in detail. This particular story has been cited as a good example of the kind of Holocaust lies which even prominent personalities are capable of inventing. [23]

Another French priest and former inmate, Jean-Paul Renard, made a similar claim about the camp in his own book published shortly after the war: "I saw thousands and thousands of persons going into the showers. Instead of liquid, asphyxiating gases poured out over them." When fellow Frenchman and former Buchenwald inmate Paul Rassinier pointed out to the priest that there was no gas chamber in the camp, Renard replied: "Right, but that's only a figure of speech ... and since those things existed somewhere, it's not important." [24]

In a book published in 1948, Hungarian Jewish writer Eugene Levai charged that the Germans killed tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews at Buchenwald in gas chambers. [25]

A widely distributed booklet issued by the Jewish Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith also spread the tale that people were gassed at Buchenwald. [26]

In 1960 the Buchenwald gassing story was officially declared a fable. In that year, Martin Broszat of the anti-Hitler Institute for Contemporary History in Munich specifically stated that no one was ever gassed at Buchenwald. [27] Professor A.S. Balachowsky, a member of the Institut de France, likewise declared in November 1971: "I would like to confirm to you that no gas chamber as such existed at Buchenwald ..." [28] Holocaust writer Konnilyn Feig conceded in her book, *Hitler's Death Camps*, that Buchenwald did not have a gas chamber. [29] Today no serious historian still claims gassings there.

How many perished?

The numbers of persons estimated to have perished at Buchenwald while it was under German control vary tremendously. According to former inmate Elie Wiesel, the prolific Jewish writer and 1986 Nobel Peace Prize recipient, "In Buchenwald they sent 10,000 to their deaths every day." [30] This wildly irresponsible statement is, unfortunately, all too typical of the rhetoric of the man who was also chosen to head the U.S. government's official Holocaust Memorial Council.

The 1980 edition of the *World Book Encyclopedia* claimed that "more than 100,000" died in the camp. [31] The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* put the number at 56,549. [32] Raul Hilberg, writing in the 1982 edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana*, stated that "more than 50,000 died in the Buchenwald complex." [33]

The U.S. Army intelligence report of April 24, 1945 (cited above) noted that the total number of certified deaths was 32,705. [34] A detailed June 1945 U.S. government report about Buchenwald put the total at 33,462, of whom more than 20,000 died in the chaotic final months of the war. [35]

The authoritative International Tracing Service of Arolsen, an affiliate of the International Red Cross, stated in 1984 that the number of documented deaths (of both Jews and non-Jews) at Buchenwald was 20,671, with another 7,463 for Dora (Mittelbau). [36]

While even these lower figures are regrettably high, it is important to realize that the great majority of those who died at Buchenwald were unfortunate victims of a catastrophic war, not Germany policy. Most of the rest were murdered by order of the Communist underground camp organization. Several hundred were also killed in Allied bombing attacks.

In one air raid against a large munitions factory near the main camp, British bombers killed 750 persons, including 400 inmates. [37]

American and Soviet atrocities

Following the American takeover of Buchenwald in April 1945, about 80 remaining German guards and camp functionaries were summarily murdered. Inmates brutally beat the Germans to death, sometimes with the aid and encouragement of American soldiers. [38] Between 20 and 30 GIs took turns gleefully beating six young Germans to death. [39] Inmates also commandeered American jeeps and drove to nearby Weimar, where they looted and randomly killed German civilians. [40]

After the war the Soviet secret police operated Buchenwald as a concentration camp for “potential class enemies” and other “possibly dangerous” German civilians. In September 1949, more than four years after the end of the war, there were still 14,300 inmates in the “special camp.” (While Buchenwald was under German control, the number of inmates did not reach 14,000 until May 1943.) Conditions were horrible. Even the Soviet official in charge of the concentration camps in Germany, General Merkulov, acknowledged the severe lack of order and cleanliness, particularly at Buchenwald. At least 13,000 and as many as 21,000 persons died in Soviet-run Buchenwald, but no one has ever been punished for the deaths and mistreatment in this notorious postwar camp. [41] One former inmate described his “five years of horrible seclusion, humiliations, interrogations and annihilation” in the Soviet-run camp in these words:

People were mere numbers. Their dignity was consciously trampled upon. They were starved without mercy and consumed by tuberculosis until they were skeletons. The annihilation process which had been well tested over decades was systematic. The cries and groans of those in pain still echo in my ears whenever the past comes back to me in sleepless nights. We had to watch helplessly as people perished according to plan — like creatures sacrificed to annihilation.

Many nameless people were caught up in the annihilation machinery of the NKVD [Soviet secret police] after the collapse of 1945. They were herded together like cattle after the so-called liberation and vegetated in the many concentration camps. Many were systematically tortured to death. A memorial was built for the dead of the Buchenwald concentration camp. A figure of death victims was chosen based on fantasy. Intentionally, only the dead of the 1937-1945 period were honored. Why is there no memorial honoring the dead of 1945 to 1950? Countless mass graves were dug around the camp in the postwar period. [42]

In an act of stunning hypocrisy, the Communist rulers of the postwar “German Democratic Republic” have turned the Buchenwald camp area into a kind of secular shrine. Every year, hundreds of thousands visit the sites, complete with museums, bell tower, monumental sculpture and memorials dedicated, ironically enough, to the “victims of fascism.” [43] There is nothing to remind visitors of the thousands of forgotten Germans who perished miserably during the years after the war when the camp was run by the Soviets.

The story of Buchenwald, like the story of virtually every German wartime concentration camp, is a microcosm of the entire Holocaust tale. The widely-accepted portrayal of Buchenwald, like those of the other German camps, contrasts sharply with the little-known reality.

Notes

1. [↗](#) The information in this section is from two sources: "Buchenwald," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York and Jerusalem: 1971), Vol. 4, pp. 1442, 1445; and U.S. government report B-2833 of 18 June 1945. Document 217I-PS, published in the "red series," *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (NC&A) (Washington, DC: 1946-48), Vol. 4, pp. 800-833.
2. [↗](#) U.S. Army report of 25 May 1945. Document 2222-PS. Published in NC&A, Vol. 4, pp. 86p864; "German-Bom NASA Expert ...," *New York Times*, 18 October 1984, pp. A1, A12; "Ex-Nazi Denies Role ...," *New York Times*, 21 October 1984, p. 8.
3. [↗](#) Document 2171-PS. NC&A, Vol. 4, pp. 800-833.
4. [↗](#) 2171-PS. NC&A, Vol. 4, pp. 832-833.
5. [↗](#) Nuremberg testimony of Günther Reinecke, 7 August 1946. Published in the IMT "blue series," *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (IMT)* (Nuremberg: 1947-49), Vol. 20, pp. 438, 441-442; SS indictment brief against Karl Koch, 11 April 1944. Document NO-2360.
6. [↗](#) IMT, Vol. 3, pp. 514-515; Vol. 5, pp. 220-201; Vol. 32, pp. 267-269.
7. [↗](#) "Clay Explains Cut in Ilse Koch Term," *New York Times*, 24 Sept. 1948, p. 3.
8. [↗](#) Interview with Lucius D. Clay. Official Proceedings of the George C. Marshall Research Foundation. Transcript of a videotape interview shown at the conference "U.S. Occupation in Europe After World War II," 23-24 April 1976 at Lexington, Va., sponsored by the George C. Marshall Research Foundation, pp. 37-38. (I am grateful to Robert Wolfe of the National Archives for bringing this interview to my attention.)
9. [↗](#) Egon W. Fleck and Edward Attenbaum, *Buchenwald: A Preliminary Report*, U.S. Army, 12th Army Group, 24 April 1945. National Archives, Record Group 331, SHAEF, G-5, 17.11, Jacket 10, Box 151 (8929t163-8929/180). I am grateful to Mr. Timothy Mulligan of the Military Branch of the National Archives for bringing this report to my attention. See also: Donald B. Robinson, "Communist Atrocities at Buchenwald," *American Mercury*, October 1946, pp. 397-404; and Christopher Burney, *The Dungeon Democracy* (New York 1946), pp. 21, 22-23, 28-29, 32, 33, 34, 44, 46, 49.
10. [↗](#) *Internationales Buchenwald-Komitee, Buchenwald* (East Berlin: Kongress, 1961).
11. [↗](#) Ernst Federn, "That German ..." *Harper's*, August 1948, pp. 106-107.
12. [↗](#) Christopher Burney, *The Dungeon Democracy* (New York 1946), pp. 109, 124, 128-130.
13. [↗](#) *The Jewish Times* (Baltimore). Quoted in "On the Holocaust," *The Gay Paper* (Baltimore), December 1981, p. 2.
14. [↗](#) John Mendelsohn; "Sources," *Prologue* (Washington, DC: National Archives), Fall 1983, p. 180; Konnilyn G. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (New York 1981), p. 96; K. Morgen testimony, 7 August 1946, IMT, Vol. 20, p. 490; testimony by former Buchenwald inmate Arnost Tauber at Nuremberg "I.G. Farben" trial, 12 Nov. 1947. Printed in: Udo Walendy (ed.), *Auschwitz im IG-Farben Prozess* (1981), p. 119; Roger Manvell and H. Fraenkel. *The Incomparable Crime* (New York 1967), p. 155; *Buchenwald Camp: The Report of a Parliamentary Delegation* (London: HMSO, 1945), pp. 4, 5.
15. [↗](#) "Official Army Report Lists Buchenwald as Extermination Factory, *The Washington Star*, 29 April 1945, p. A7.
16. [↗](#) U.S. Congressional Report on Camps, Doc. 159-L., IMT, Vol. 37, pp. 605-626; and *Congressional Record* (Senate), 15 May 1945, pp. 457S-4582.
17. [↗](#) B. M. McKelway, "Buchenwald ...," *The Washington Star*, 29 April 1945, pp. A1, A7.
18. [↗](#) B. M. McKelway, "Buchenwald ...," *Washington Star*, 29 April 1945, p. A7; affidavit of H. Wilhelm Hamman of 6 March 1947. NO-2328. (Hamman was an inmate from 1938 until April 1945.)

19. [↗](#) E.W. Fleck and EA. Tenenbawn, Buchenwald: A Preliminary Report, 24 April 1945 (Cited above), p. 14; see also the photo of Jewish children inmates at Buchenwald in: Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart* (New York: Oxford, 1985), pp. 148-149.
20. [↗](#) S. Wiesenthal (letter), *Book and Bookmen* (London), April 1975, p. 5.
21. [↗](#) Nuremberg document 274-F (RF-301). If, Vol. 37, p. 148.
22. [↗](#) IMT, Vol. 19, p. 434; NC&A, Suppl. Vol. A, p. 61.
23. [↗](#) Georges Henocque, *LesAutres de la Bête* (Paris: G. Duraissie, 1947), p. 115. Facsimile reprint and commentary in Robert Faurisson, *Memoire en Defense* (Paris: 1980), pp. 185-191.
24. [↗](#) Paul Rassinier, *Debunking the Genocide Myth* (Torrance, CA.: The [Noontide Press](#), 1978), pp. 129-130.
25. [↗](#) Eugene Levai, *Black Book on the Martyrdom of Hungarian Jewry* (Zurich: 1948), p. 439.
26. [↗](#) Earl Raab, *The Anatomy of Nazism* (New York ADL, 1979), photo caption opposite page 21. The Buchenwald gassing myth was also propagated in: Francis Tomczuk, "Days of Remembrance," *American Legion Magazine*, April 1985, p. 23.
27. [↗](#) *Die Zeit*, 19 August 1960, p. 16 (Up. edition 26 August 1960).
28. [↗](#) Germaine Tillion, *Ravensbrueck* (Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday, 1975), p. 231.
29. [↗](#) K Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps*, p. 100.
30. [↗](#) Stefan Kanfer, "Author, Teacher, Witness," *Time magazine*, 18 March 1985, p. 79.
31. [↗](#) "Buchenwald," *World Book Encyclopedia*, (1980 edition), Vol. 2, p. 550.
32. [↗](#) "Buchenwald," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 4, p. 1445.
33. [↗](#) R Hilberg, "Buchenwald," *Encyclopedia Americana* (1982 edition), Vol. 4, p. 677.
34. [↗](#) E. Fleck and E. Tenenbawn, *Buchenwald: A Preliminary Report* (cited above), p. 18.
35. [↗](#) 2171-PS. NCLA, Vol. 4, p. 801.
36. [↗](#) Statement by Arolsen registry official Butterweck, 16 Jan. 1984. Facsimile in: *Deutsche National-Zeitung* (Munich), Nr. 18, 27 April 1984, p. 10.
37. [↗](#) *Buchenwald Camp: The Report of a Parliamentary Delegation* (London: HMSO, 1945), p. 5; 2171-PS. NC1EA, Vol 4, p. 821.
38. [↗](#) Robert Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart*, pp. 49, 52.
39. [↗](#) Marguerite Higgins, *News Is a Singular Thing* (Doubleday, 1955), p. 78-79.
40. [↗](#) Elie Wiesel *Legends of Our Sane* (New York Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 140; Raul Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews* (New York Holmes and Meier, 1985), p. 987.
41. [↗](#) "Bis 1950: Buchenwald und Sachsenhausen," *Amerika Woche* (Chicago), 11 May 1985, p. 3; "Im Todeslager der Sowjets." *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), Nr. 47, 15 Nov. 1985, p. 4; "Soviet Camps Busy, Berlin Paper Says," *New York Times*, 10 Sept. 1949, p. 6.
42. [↗](#) Letter by E. Kromholz of Aschaffenburg, "Erlebnisbericht aus einem Sowjet-KZ," *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), Nr. 11, 9 March 1984, p. 10; see also sketches of conditions in Soviet-run Buchenwald by former inmate Dr. Heinz Moller in: *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), Nr. 6, 3 Feb. 1984, p. 5.
43. [↗](#) "Nazi Death Camp ..." (AP) *Gazette-Telegraph* (Colorado Springs, Co.), 1 July 1984, p. H12; "At Buchenwald ...," *New York Times*, 14 April 1985, pp. 1, 29.

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The Great Brown Scare: The Amerika Deutscher Bund in the Thirties and the Hounding of Fritz Julius Kuhn

Peter H. Peel

A note on the title: Liberal-Establishment historians have an all too effective propaganda device to promote approved ideologies. They invent labels which, in due course, are thoughtlessly parroted and tend to set the desired concepts in concrete, obviating any further need for argument. Thus the raids carried out by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer on subversive and revolutionary Communist groups, mostly on New York's Lower East Side, in 1919 and 1920, have been derisively labeled "The Great Red Scare." This neatly glosses over the very real threat such groups constituted in the early days of Bolshevik euphoria and proselytizing and the horrors taking place concurrently not only in Russia but in Bavaria, Hungary, and elsewhere under Communist regimes. The potent label "McCarthyism" is a later example of the use of this tactic to deflect any expression of concern about subversive conspiracies. The "Bund," however, which is the subject of this paper, was never, as I will show, a danger or in any way unpatriotic or subversive. Its enthusiasm for the recovery of German pride, self-confidence, economy, and independence after 1933 was a natural enough emotion in an ethnic and cultural minority, especially one which had suffered great humiliation and persecution during the recent war. But there were many and powerful special interests which sought, with considerable success, to create the image of a frightful menace in the Bund. I have therefore chosen to call this paper by the title above. Besides, even the color "brown" seems a more appropriate modifier for the noun "scare."

In the feverish eight years of world history immediately preceding the entry of the United States into World War II, there streaked across the American political firmament a rather noisy meteor officially called Das Amerikadeutscher Bund, more generally referred to as the German-American Bund or simply as the Bund. In its brief lifetime, the Bund was the object of much hostility, suspicion and fear. It had an almost universally "bad press" and wild exaggerations concerning its aims. Its size and its resources were uttered with patent self-interest and *arrières pensées* by a number of politicians, journalists and assorted public figures. Yet post-war historians usually dismiss the Bund in a sentence or two when writing general histories of the American thirties. For example:

The Bund appeared to be more powerful than it was. It attracted so few members and aroused so much antagonism that the Third Reich severed its ties with this stupid and noisy organization which it recognized to be a liability.

The tone is still hostile and derogatory but one should recall this when reading the wild accusations by influential politicians and others (*vide infra*) that its funds and its programs were provided directly from Berlin. The same writer just cited offers an apparently contradictory assessment of the Bund's strength, however, when he tells us that in February, 1939, "22,000 members and sympathizers of the German-American Bund packed Madison Square Garden." [2]

When I first became interested in the history of the Bund about twenty years ago, there was not only no scholarly study of it or of Fritz Kuhn but not even a popular account. [3] Not until 1974 does any such appear and inevitably it is polemical and hostile in tone. [4]

The Bund itself maintained few records. Its newspaper, *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, is virtually unobtainable, and former members are now dead or elderly and fearful and unwilling to identify themselves or to be interviewed or quoted. Nevertheless, contemporary magazines and newspapers provide us with a great deal of information from which it is relatively easy to filter out mere invective and diatribe.

The questions to be addressed in this paper are as follows: What were the ideological, emotional and historical roots of the Bund and how did its enemies encompass its destruction and wreak vengeance upon its leadership? The Bund was, after all, itself a reaction. It was certainly not a “Goethe Society.” And it did not spring into existence fully grown like Pallas Athene from the head of Zeus. In its final form was it a tactless, overly vocal, overly demonstrative reaction of largely unsophisticated elements to a painful and humiliating ethnic experience? Or was it, as its enemies alleged, a sinister and subversive alien conspiracy and a nest of treason?

Richard O'Connor, discussing Sinclair Lewis's contemporary cautionary novel, *It Can't Happen Here*, tells us: [5]

“It” never did happen here, or even came close to happening. Fascism ... was opera bouffe. Its promoters were clowns and its followers slightly demented sheep. A Nuremberg-type rally in Madison Square Garden, with all its sweating solemnity and raucous appeals to unreason, was an hilarious spectacle when looked back upon.

The passage just cited was published nearly thirty years after the demise of the Bund and the reader may consider it to be evidence of the persistence of unmitigated dislike for the Bund even among authors who, like O'Connor, are generally admiring of *Deutschtum* and the German record in the United States since colonial times.

Arthur Smith (*vide supra*, n.2) remarked to this writer that the Bund was “largely playacting.” [6] Is this consistent with a sinister menace, one must ask. Time describes the *Bundesleiter* thus: “No great shakes as a chemist was simple, earnest Fritz Kuhn” [emphasis added]. [7] On the other hand, O'Connor says:

But appearances were deceiving in Kuhn's case. Actually he was a well-educated man, if not an intellectual. After the war he had attended the University of Munich and received a master's degree in sciences.

Contradictions abound. On the one hand, we have an entirely undocumented assertion by Harold Lavine of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis that Dr. Goebbels had “created” the Bund; [9] on the other hand, we have the utter failure of successive official investigations to demonstrate any connection between the Bund and the Reich government bureaux beyond a natural and uncealed exchange of literature. A feature article in the *New York Times* as late as February, 1939, concludes: “There has been no evidence of any active support of nazism [sic] in America on the part of the Nazi [sic] diplomatic force in this country.” [10] Even Alton Frye, a virulently hostile commentator, says: since it employed the appurtenances of a Nazi organization, the general conclusion was that the Bund received its directions ultimately from the Reich. This was not strictly true, but the Bund readily adapted itself to the will of the Nazi Party without the need of specific instructions. Shortly after the founding of the Bund, Kuhn led a delegation to Berlin for the 1936

Olympics, where he was received briefly by Hitler. This is the only known meeting between Kuhn and the Fuhrer and there is no evidence that Hitler attached any special significance to it. ^[11]

According to Frye, Kuhn nevertheless claimed to Bund members that he had concluded a secret agreement with Hitler, which Frye clearly disbelieves. As we shall see, Kuhn's tendency to brag a little became a source of some embarrassment to Germany and a cache, gratis, of all kinds of ammunition for his enemies. One of the most energetic and implacable of those enemies was Congressman Samuel Dickstein. Dickstein, testifying at one of the interminable investigations, claimed to have knowledge of the details of secret discussions between Kuhn and Hitler. As history has shown to the present day, Dickstein's is an imaginative race. We may, perhaps, warm to Kuhn a little for his reply to Dickstein's charge. Quoting a contemporary radio comic, Kuhn said, "Vas you dere, Sharley?"

The Historical Experience of Germans in America

It is necessary in the course of explaining the roots of the Bund to offer at least a synoptic sketch of the role of the German element in this history of the United States. Construed as a minority ethnic group, Germans constitute probably the largest single element, exceeding even the Irish, with whom they have intermarried considerably. Estimates for those of German or part-German descent range up to 52 million, far exceeding the Blacks and, at least for a while, the "Hispanic" hordes pouring across the Rio Grande.

The usual date given for the arrival of the first Germans in the colonies is 1683, but one writer has asserted that the "damned Dutch" in Jamestown in 1607 were actually the first. ^[12] The "Dutch" governor of New Amsterdam, Peter Minuit, was born in Wesel on the Rhine, and about 1664, Johann Prinz arrived in New Sweden (now Delaware) with fifty-four German families from Pomerania. ^[13] The story of Jacob Leisler, the second governor of New York in the confused period of the English "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, is well known.

The first permanent and wholly German settlement did indeed take place in 1683, when Germantown, Pennsylvania was founded. The German immigrants of 1683 were Protestants of various fundamentalist sects. Francis Daniel Pastorius, their leader, was an educated man, but German immigrants, in 1683 and thereafter, were tradesmen, skilled artisans and farmers. Huebner lists carpenters, locksmiths, shoemakers and tailors. ^[14]

During the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1713), large numbers of poor refugees began arriving from the Rhineland, devastated by the aggressive designs of Louis XIV. In the single year of 1709, more than 600 families were shipped to the Carolinas. After the large influx of Hessians, many of whom stayed on after the Revolutionary War, German immigration continued at a fairly modest level. It began to increase again in the period 1830-1850 and positively exploded after 1852, amounting to perhaps a half a million in a very few years. ^[15] Again the preponderance seems to have been women, small tradesmen and peasants, although there was a fairly sizeable contingent of liberal intellectuals-refugees from the failed revolutions of 1848.

In the sunnier days before Europe began its suicidal "Peloponnesian Wars," Germans in America had no doubts about their successful integration into American life. Germans played a major role in the Federal Army during the War between the States. The XI Corps of the Union Army contained two entirely German divisions and the name of Carl Schurz is prominent in the history of the period. Germans also played an important part in the Westward Movement.

Wine flowed from German vineyards, gold from German discovered mines, wheat from virgin prairies broken by diligent and skillful German farmers, and blood from Indians who fought the cavalry regiments with their large proportion of German troopers. [16]

During the epoch between the Gilded Age and the outbreak of World War I, a number of German families moved up socially and were assimilated into the then Anglo-Saxon Establishment. Chief among them were the big brewing families of St. Louis and Milwaukee and the meat barons of Chicago. But for the Swabian and Bavarian peasants, the Austrian and German waiters and beer-garden proprietors, a certain, sentimental Heimweh (homesickness) was always present. The Songfest at the local Turnverein Halle (gym) was at least as natural and gemütlich (innocently cheerful) as a cinco de Mayo parade in Los Angeles or St. Patrick's Day in New York

The unification of Germany under Bismarck, though incomplete without German Austria, was by 1871 a source of great and justifiable pride for persons of German ancestry everywhere. So was the seemingly miraculous victory over erstwhile mighty France in six short months. Germans had no longer to smart under a somewhat patronizing view of them as rather quaint peasants and pedagogues with a medieval social structure.

In the late nineteenth century there reigned an era of great good will between the United States and Germany. German universities attracted many American students and the American university system itself was modeled after that of Germany and not, as one might have expected, after Oxford and Cambridge. German immigrants were encouraged and welcomed because of their enterprise, hard work, and respect for the law.

Not very long after the outbreak of World War I in 1914, this affection and admiration was to undergo an almost total volte face from which it never recovered. It is not necessary here to dissertate upon the causes of this change of heart. It was essentially due to the extremely effective and one-sided propaganda to which the American public was exposed. The effect, however, was that even before the entry of the United States into the war, public sentiment in the United States had become virulently anti-German. And the understandable reaction of German publications in the United States to defend their ancestral land only succeeded in exacerbating the hostility.

Huebner and O'Connor are both very graphic on the subject of the German-American reaction to Allied propaganda and the enormous advantage that the propaganda had in English-speaking, Anglo-Saxon dominated America.

When eminent Americans of German ancestry defended the Central Powers with the same passion which innumerable other Americans were bringing to the support of the Entente, they were dismayed to find that in their case such efforts were held to be akin to treason. Their response-as human as it was unwise-was to speak with only greater anger and violence. [17]

Referring to the last months of 1916, O'Connor points out that "German-Americans" were now "only a few months away from the most traumatic moment in their history as part of American life." [18] Huebner writes that at this critical period, the inability of the Central Powers to present their case fairly and the incessant denunciation of everything German caused many German-Americans to become even more pro-German than they might otherwise have been. They bitterly resented the epithet "Hun" applied to themselves and to their kin in Europe as well as President Wilson's contemptuous remarks about "hyphenated Americans" and his doubts as to their loyalty. [19]

In describing H. L. Mencken's biting attack in 1920 on those "who had fought the war with their mouths"-the bullying of elderly German waiters for example-O'Connor has the following very

interesting sentence for those of us who have witnessed the same propaganda warmed over for use in the Second World War.

Nor did Mr. Mencken believe that posterity should overlook the New York Tribune liar who invented the story about the German plant for converting the corpses of the slain to soap. [20]

The teaching of the German language was forbidden by statute in twenty-six states. [21] Even Hermann Hagedorn, a great friend of Theodore Roosevelt, was suspected because of his German name and the fact that his water-tower “commanded” the arms factory at Bridgeport, six miles away. [22]

The venomous hysteria even extended to the animal world and the lives of dachshunds, schnauzers, weimaraners and German shepherds (temporarily renamed Alsatians) were made miserable by small boys aping their super-patriot fathers. [23]

The end of it all, of course, was what John Maynard Keynes called “the Carthaginian Peace”: the Diktat of Versailles. Not only Germans but even among Germany’s former enemies there was a growing number of those who felt a great revulsion at the spectacle of the victorious democracies exulting in their unbridled orgy of revenge, and who perceived in the vicious spite of the victors the seedbed of another war. Harold Nicolson, a member of the British delegation at Versailles, wrote:

We came to Paris confident that the new order was about to be established; we left it convinced that the new order had merely fouled up the old ... conscious that the treaties imposed on our enemies were neither just nor wise ... that seldom in the history of man has such vindictiveness cloaked itself in such unctuous sophistry. [24]

If Englishmen could harbor such sentiments, it is hardly to be wondered at that the shock and horror at the Diktat and the real or apparent cynical betrayal of the promise of a just peace implicit in Wilson’s “Fourteen Points” were infinitely more acute among Germans and German-Americans. It is also pertinent to note that despite the starvation and misery of the immediate post-war period in Germany, the moral stigma which was forced upon Germany by the “war guilt” clause (Article 231) burned as a deeper humiliation and injustice in the German soul than the physical deprivation of food, territory, armaments or money. O'Connor writes of the lingering resentment of German-Americans for their treatment and their suspicion in the thirties that “F.D.R. was heading toward another intervention in Europe.” [25] It was undoubtedly this sense of injustice and persecution which accounts for a certain degree of stridency in the public utterances of the Bund and its leaders.

I have quoted O'Connor at some length precisely because his hostility towards the Bund and his description of it as a small minority “infected” with the “Nazi virus” and as a “lunatic fringe” tends, I believe, to lend all the greater verisimilitude to his sympathetic description of the role of Germans in American history. Unencumbered by either love or loathing, we may now approach the study of the Bund itself and its enemies without recourse to the kind of epithets and disclaimers which O'Connor appears to find necessary. That the Bund acted rashly, and sometimes lacked the sensitivity and Levantine subtlety which might better have served the interests it sought to defend, may well be true. But it was surely a very human and natural reaction to the humiliations of World War I and to the Versailles Diktat as well as glory and pride in the post-1933 German renaissance. And if, despite its best and most earnest efforts, Deutschtum was fated never again to win the affection of pre-war days, it could at least win respect. German-Americans and Germans of the Reich alike could derive a thrill of pride at the new mood of hope, the achievement of full employment, and the general transformation in so short a time from pariah

Germany into a Germany which spoke with such confidence in the councils of World Powers. This writer as a teenager was a personal witness to that extraordinary and ubiquitous mood of joy and uplift, having spent a vacation in Germany from his native England, at that time plunged in the all-pervading gloom of the Great Depression.

Such was the historical milieu into which the Bund was born.

The Bund and its Enemies

The German-American Bund was, in fact, the third generation of successive organizations in the United States which were sympathetic to Germany and to National Socialism. The first of these was the Nationalsozialistische Vereinigung Teutonia.

[A] number of Hitler's followers fled abroad after the abortive Hitler-Ludendorff Putsch of November, 1923, and it would have provided a logical motivation for the formation of a National Socialist organization elsewhere. The founder..., Friedrich Gissibl, had come to the United States in 1923 and probably founded the organization in October, 1924, in Detroit, later moving to Chicago. The life of the Teutonia was about seven years. [26]

The Teutonia was dissolved in March, 1932, and after a confused period during which several insignificant and short-lived groups came and went, was effectually replaced in the summer of 1933 by the Friends of the New Germany. [27]

In January, 1934, Democratic Congressman Samuel Dickstein of New York obtained Congressional consent for the establishment of a committee to investigate "Nazi activities" in the United States. "It was thought that the Nazis would be sure to exploit the fact that a Jew, Samuel Dickstein, headed a committee investigating Nazi activities...therefore [Congressman John] McCormack was selected as chairman." [28] The work of the committee was "to create the image of a widespread conspiracy with truly giant proportions." [29] The German Foreign Office was besieged with complaints about the Friends' activities and began to disassociate the government of the Reich from any connection with the organization or with its successor, the Bund. [30] Prior to late 1935, these organizations had included in their membership American citizens, both native-born and naturalized, as well as some Reich citizens who were legal resident aliens or temporary residents such as students or businessmen. It is interesting to note that among the native-born American members were some with unimpeachably Anglo-Saxon names. Sympathy for Germany has never been wholly restricted to those of German descent.

In the interests of appeasing the increasingly inflamed teutonophobia in the United States, Deputy Fuhrer Rudolf Hess, in October 1935, acting through the Foreign Minister, Baron von Neurath, issued the Oktober Direktiv. This was an order which forbade the participation of Reich citizens in the United States in domestic organizations or societies. Fritz Gissibl, on learning of the Direktiv, went to Germany in November where he attempted to persuade the Foreign Ministry to permit those who had taken out their 'first papers' (that is, had made the initial application for American citizenship) to remain members of the Friends. He was unsuccessful in this endeavor.

In March, 1936, as a result of both of the Oktober Direktiv and of the hostile publicity emanating from the McCormack-Dickstein Committee, a final convention of the Friends was held in Buffalo and the German-American Bund was created. phoenix-like, from the ashes of its predecessor. Fritz Julius Kuhn was elected Bundesführer or Bundesleiter. Kuhn had been an American citizen since 1934. He was born in Munich on May 15, 1896. He had served in World War I as a

lieutenant in the Bavarian army and had been decorated with the Iron Cross. In 1923, he went to Mexico where he worked as a chemist. Subsequently, he entered the United States as an immigrant and obtained work as an industrial chemist at the Ford plant in Detroit. He became a naturalized citizen on December 3, 1934. While in Mexico, he had married a fellow student whom he had first met at the University of Munich. In due course, his wife, Elsa, presented him with a son and daughter (Walter and Waltraut).

During most of Kuhn's period of leadership in the Bund, he was on unpaid leave-of-absence from the Ford plant, which gave rise to the widespread but unsubstantiated allegation that "certain wealthy industrialists" had financed the Bund. It would appear that "certain interested parties" which had already evinced extreme hostility to Henry Ford saw in the allegations about the Bund's finances an opportunity to fire two salvoes for the price of one.

From June 1936 until its dissolution, the characteristic activities of the Bund and those of its implacable enemies take center stage. In default of the Bund's own publications, insights may be — with the greatest caution — achieved from newspaper and magazine articles of the period despite their polemical nature. An article, "Star Spangled Fascists" which appeared in the May 1939 Saturday Evening Post seems minimally fairer than most. Thus the "thriving state of our current Fascist crop does not mean that [they] receive cash from the Nazis." The article suggests that the links to the Fatherland are rather "a fraternal source of inspiration." It offers an estimate of "8000 to 10,000 uniformed, strong-arm storm-troopers." From the same article we learn that the Bund publishes a youth magazine and four local issues of the *Deutsche Weckruf* in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles. Some twenty other German newspapers are alleged to give it "aggressive backing." The Bund's customary activities involve:

a never ending round of meetings, the largest and most successful of which was the recent mass celebration of Washington's birthday in Madison Square Garden. That meeting was attended by some 22,000 Bundsmen and their sympathizers. These activities and the propaganda which they spread all appear to be within the law.

Describing the Bund's 'folder of purposes,' the writer says that it begins with the "embrace of the Constitution, Flag and Institutions of the United States" and then lists its enemies as (inter alia):

all abuse of the pulpits designed to undermine the Morals, Ethics or patriotism of Americans; all Racial intermixture between Aryans (White Gentiles) and Asiatics. Africans or other non-Aryans; all Subversive Internationalism; the liberal-pacifistic forces undermining the morale of Youth; Alien-controlled, international so called Labor Movements; the Rackets of International Finance...

The Bund urges, the article continues, an American movement of liberation in order that "the dictatorship of a small racially and ethnically alien Jewish minority to which the mind of the entire nation is being rapidly subjected, may be broken."

When der Tag comes, the Bund's young men will probably be the first on the barricades. But there is nothing in its program, either of venom or of violence, that cannot be matched in the propaganda of more authentically American groups. ^[32]

It is well to keep constantly in mind the wild variations in estimates of the Bund's numerical strength and by extrapolation to consider that all other conjectures, for example as to its treasonable or subversive nature, may be equally wide of the mark. We have just quoted one estimate of from 8,000 to 10,000 members. Here are a few other guesses: an article in the *Christian Science Monitor* suggests that while a press estimate of from 200,000 to 250,000 may be too high, 70,000

would be a reasonable figure. [33] On January 18, 1938, a Justice Department report which stated that no violations of Federal law were involved in the Bund's activities estimated the Bund's strength at the' rather precise figure of 8,299. [34] In 1939, the Dies Committee — otherwise known as the House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities. or HUAC, and chaired by Martin Dies — produced a witness using the alias “Ralph Metcalfe” who testified to a figure of 500,000. [35]

At a somewhat earlier date, Dickstein charged that the figure was 200,000 and a “War chest” of \$20,000,000 existed (about a quarter of a billion in today's terms). To this, Congressman Thomas riposted that “Mr. Dickstein has more Communists in his own district than there are Nazis in the whole United States.” [36] In retrospect, most authorities appear to have agreed that the larger figures for Bund membership were sheer fantasy, dreamed up by people with an enduring penchant for vast numerical exaggerations, no doubt; but Kuhn's own tendency to exaggerate a little added fuel to the all-too-willing fires. He mentioned a figure of 200,000 in 1938. [37]

In the same way, hints dropped by Kuhn of secret agreements he had made with the Reichskanzler himself in connection with the 1936 presidential election were acutely embarrassing to Germany. It was in 1936 that Kuhn and some fellow Bundists attended the Olympic Games in Berlin where Hitler received him briefly and accepted from Kuhn a donation of about \$3000 for the Winterhilfe (Winter help) fund. Kuhn then implied that his support for Alf Landon had been arranged with the Fuhrer. The German embassy in Washington immediately denied that there was any truth to the story or any attempt to influence American domestic politics.

In March, 1936, the Bund held a protest meeting against the proposal of New York's falsetto-voiced, half-Jewish mayor, Florello La Guardia, to install a bust of Hitler in the Chamber of Horrors at the New York World's Fair. Meanwhile the indefatigable Congressman Dickstein demanded that the House conduct a Congressional investigation of Kuhn's purported \$20,000,000 fund. He contended that “thousands” of Bundists drilled every Sunday at Camp Upton; that Henry Ford had not destroyed the plates of his “anti-Jewish book.” Kuhn merely answered that Dickstein was a Jew and a Soviet sympathizer. [38]

A certain Julius Hochfelder, head of an “anti-Nazi” organization, now entered the lists. He demanded that Attorney-General Cummings bar the Bund's newspaper from the mails, claiming that it was German-subsidized and under the direct control of Dr. Goebbels. [39]

A New York Times feature article of March, 1937, reported Bund membership at about 10,000 and ridiculed Dickstein's “200,000 army of stormtroopers.” It admitted the Nazi ideology but said that there was no coercion, only education, in the activities. [40] The secretary of something called “The Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League” petitioned Congressmen Dickstein and citrone to investigate a “new Nazi Camp Nordland” at Andover, New Jersey, claiming that it was the seventeenth camp for boys and girls operating illegally on American soil. [41]

The Bund Camps, Camp Siegfried on Long Island and Camp Nordland in New Jersey, appear to have been the sites for somewhat bucolic gathennngs of Bundist families for picknicking, beer drinking, singing and some pro-German and so-called 'right-wing Americanism” speeches as well as some calisthenics and marching about by uniformed children. They were, however, increasingly portrayed by their enemies as sinister, paramilitary training facilities. The reader may care to recall Mr. Hagedorn's water tower (vide supra). In a lighter vein, we find a Bund leader, August Klapprott. protesting that the New York Times had falsely reported that mainly German beer was drunk at Bund rallies whereas in fact it was mostly American beer that was consumed. [42]

On July 21, 1937, Representative Martin Dies of Texas asked for a Congressional investigation of the 'un-American activities of Nazis, Fascists, Communists and White Russians.' Dickstein urged the adoption of Dies' resolution and warned that "twenty-one Nazi camps" were close to "big munitions factories." [43]

You remember what happened in 1916... If you want to fix it so that when we get into trouble again [emphasis added] we will have to fight our enemies from within as well as from without, well, just let this thing keep going on like it is going- [44]

Kuhn answered Dickstein's charges by demanding, as he was repeatedly to do in the next two years, a Congressional investigation "to stop the nonsense...once and for all, I demand as an American citizen, an investigation of our organization and our camps." [45]

In August, Dickstein, for the second time, inserted into the Congressional Record a list of names of "persons spreading un-American propaganda." One smeared individual by the name of Dietrich Wortmann, not a Bundist, was the president of an amateur athletic association. Wortmann complained that under the law he had no redress for Dickstein's slanders and demanded that a committee of inquiry be set up to clear himself of them. Also in August, Julius Hochfelder asked the Immigration and Naturalization Department to revoke Kuhn's citizenship. Kuhn wrote to the Speaker of the House, Bankhead, again demanding an investigation.

But all reaction to the Bund was not hostile. Charles Masterbrook, Vice-Commander of the New Jersey American Legion, said that he could find no more fault with German-American gatherings than with St. Patrick's Day parades. Major-General George Van Horn Moseley, retired former Second-in-Command of the Army, said, 'Nazis in America have only one mission...to see to it that the Communists shall not take possession of this nation.' [46]

But teutonophobia was being extended even to sporting events. The Anti-Nazi League of Congressman Samuel Untermyer (the gentleman who personally declared war on Germany in 1933 on behalf of World Jewry) proclaimed a boycott of the Max Schmeling-Joe Louis fight at the Garden. Bundists in Southbury, Connecticut, were arrested under a dusted-off blue law forbidding work on the Sabbath-they had been cleaning up their camp on a Sunday. Bundist meetings were increasingly subjected to violent attacks by organized mobs or else their proposed meetings were banned in advance by local authorities.

In May, 1938, the House approved the setting-up of the Dies Committee, which we have already encountered in these pages. Representative Maverick of Texas, however, said:

It is time this House quit four-flushing and ballyhooing. You know this resolution is aimed particularly at the Nazi movement. It is not the Dies resolutions It is the Dickstein resolution ... [and] will cause race-hatred and may prove the altering wedge for persecutions. [47]

Kuhn said later before the Dies Committee that "Jews are Jews first before they are Americans" and quoted the famous Rabbi Stephen Wise as telling a body of the American Jewish Congress (AJC) that he was not an American but a Jew and had been 4,000 years a Jew.

On July 12, 1938, a Suffolk County (N.Y.) court found six officials of Camp Siegfried guilty of belonging to an oath-bound organization and fined them \$13,000 under what the Times called "a rarely evoked statute." Numerous witnesses denied any oath-taking but Judge Hill ruled that the evidence of the solitary State witness had equal weight with one hundred contrary testimonies. [48]

HUAC labored mightily and in August brought forth this mouse: “A close relationship exists between the German-American Bund and the Nazi government in Germany.” This certainly did not satisfy Dickstein who complained that the Committee had failed to expose Nazi activities and had instead become a “Red-baiting excursion.” A month or so later, Kuhn sent a notarized statement to Congress reiterating that the Bund had no political, financial or other ties with the German government. The only ties were those of sympathy for Germany’s emancipation from the oppressions of the Versailles Treaty.

Typical of the quality of testimony presented to the Dies Committee is that of Mr. Arnold Gingrich, editor of *Ken*, *Esquire*, and *Coronet*. Mr. Gingrich declared that he had personally seen German Foreign Office documents which proved that the “job” of the Bund was not merely propaganda but to constitute a military organization for sabotage and espionage. [49]

The apogee of the Bund’s career came with the great Madison Square Garden Rally of 1939. The *Times*, reporting about it on the following day, said that 22,000 had attended with 1,700 police present to prevent violence. Nevertheless, desultory street brawls erupted over several adjacent blocks. As the audience left the Garden, reported the *Times*, “the most violent anti-Nazis began assaults on individuals.”

The meeting had opened, the report continues, with the singing of the national anthem. There were cheers for Herbert Hoover, Senators Nye, Hiram Johnson, and William E. Borah; and jeers for President Roosevelt. G(erhard) W(ilhelm) Kunze said, “When a Henry Morgenthau takes the place of a Washington, the country is in a deplorable state.” The audience roared a mass response when called upon to give the pledge of allegiance to the flag.

A man named Isadore Greenbaum tried to scale the platform and seize the microphone but was prevented from doing so by uniformed stewards. A former magistrate, Joseph Goldstein, was also prevented by the police from serving a writ for criminal libel on Kuhn. An anti-Bund Negro, Peter Saunders, was charged with cruelty to animals after he injured a policeman’s horse. [50]

Injuries to people were minimal, however, and the violence was not remotely comparable to the violence in London which was a constant feature of the meetings of Sir Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists at the hands of the Left, or, in recent years, that directed against the National Front and the British National Party. To the bloody prewar violence this writer can bear personal testimony. What does appear incontrovertible from the reports in the *New York Times* and other major newspapers during the years of the Bund’s existence, and that parallels events in London where ideologically similar organizations were, and are, concerned, is that violence was never initiated by the Bund but always by hooligans of the far Left. Conservatives know this pattern to be true for their own meetings. Rightist speakers in Britain, in Germany before 1933, and in the United States have frequently been subject in certain “red” areas to violent attacks and had their meetings broken up. This writer has never heard of a Conservative mob, armed with razors, broken bottles and coshes, breaking up a Leftist meeting. It is about as plausible a scenario as stab-bings, gang rapes and drugs at a symphony concert. The *New York Times*, for example, reported on a group of young lady canvassers for Alf Landon being pelted with garbage and rotten vegetables in New York. [51]

The Hounding of Fritz Julius Kuhn

If the great Madison Square Garden rally of February 20, 1939, was the zenith of the Bund’s activities, its nadir was soon to follow. The Bund simply dissolved but Orestes was not pursued by

the Erinyes with more malignancy than the hapless Kuhn by his triumphant enemies for the next ten years.

On May 25, 1939, Fritz Kuhn was indicted on a charge of having stolen \$14,548 of the Bund's funds and was arrested near Allentown, Pennsylvania. With Kuhn were three other high-ranking Bundists, Thomas Dixon, Gustav Elmer and Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze. No complaint had been lodged by any Bund member against Kuhn and the latter protested that he was not, as alleged, in flight but headed for speech-making commitments in Chicago and Milwaukee. The New York District Attorney, Thomas Dewey, claimed, however, that Kuhn was fleeing and was "just a common thief." [52] There were twelve charges in the indictment representing a possible fifty-year sentence for grand larceny and forgery. Kuhn's office was raided on May 2 and books and papers seized. Kuhn alleged that \$1,380 had been stolen from his desk during the raid.

Kuhn was released on \$5,000 bail after pleading not guilty. The following day he told a cheering audience of about 1,100 local Bundists in Milwaukee, "I have never taken a nickel of the Bund's money. Dewey is just fishing to line up the Jewish vote." [53]

The Bund itself regarded the charges as without substance or foundation as was made very clear early in July. "Kuhn vindicated by Bund membership" headlined the New York Times.

At a 3-day annual convention of 330 Bund delegates from all parts of the U.S. which terminated July 3, Fritz Kuhn was reelected unanimously Bund leader with full power of attorney over all Bund finances. [54]

On July 26, Judge Morris Koenig denied a motion on behalf of Kuhn for the return of documents seized by Dewey's men in the raid on Bund headquarters and on the private home of the Bund treasurer. On August 29 the Dies Committee requested New York authorities to prevent Kuhn from leaving the country. Kuhn denied that he had any such intention. The Dies Committee interim report stated that the Bund, William Pelley's Silver Shirts, and some other groups were "potent organizations for espionage and sabotage if war breaks out even though this country does not participate." [55] One can only marvel at this language and what it reveals even before war had broken out in Europe and more than two years before Pearl Harbor.

While on bail awaiting trial, Kuhn's public utterances were like those of a man either bent on his own destruction or still unaware of the hideous power of the forces now intent on destroying him. On September 3, the day that Britain and France declared war on Germany in defense of Poland (though evidently only in defense of its western half), Kuhn told a Bund rally that the Bund stood for absolute neutrality and no aid to any belligerent. "We shall see how far the Jewish war-mongers go; how far our youth will be driven into war." And G.W. Kunze, speaking at the same meeting, said, "When F.D. Rosenfeld is thrown out of the White House next year an American will be elected." Poles in the U.S., said Kunze, were collecting funds for the Polish army and he wondered what would happen if German-Americans behaved similarly. [56]

On September 5, Marc and Louis Levant, publishers of the Wichita Beacon, telegraphed Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, asking that Fritz Kuhn be deported along with other Bund leaders as threats to peace and the neutrality (sic) of the country. Kuhn, on 26 September, ridiculed the Dies Committee's decision to seek his indictment for perjury and said that allegations of espionage and of being an unregistered agent of a foreign government should be investigated by the F.B.I. and a U.S. attorney and passed on by a court of law not by a committee. Dies replied that Kuhn was afraid to appear before the Committee because "he knows we've got him." [57]

Parenthetically, Dies, on 28 September, launched an attack on the Ukrainian Independence Movement, which he called Fascist and Nazi. A few days earlier, he had charged that precisely 2,850 Communists held positions in the U.S. government.

Two items in the New York Times are interesting in juxtaposition. On the front page appeared an article which stated that Thomas Dewey had demanded and obtained the raising of Kuhn's bail from \$5,000 to \$50,000. This being allowed and the money not being immediately available, Kuhn was jailed. The second item, on page seven, reported that William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, told the Dies Committee that he would not support the United States in the event of a war with Russia.

An appeal for the reduction of Kuhn's bail was rejected but by October 7, the Bund raised the extra money and Kuhn was released. He was immediately driven to Bund headquarters where he was surrounded and cheered by a small crowd.

On October 13, Kuhn issued a protest against what he termed malicious rumors deliberately disseminated by the D.A.'s office and widely reported in the Press that the bail money was comprised, in part, of the ransom money from the Lindbergh baby kidnapping and murder of March, 1932, more than seven years earlier. Kuhn said that no effort was being spared to poison the minds of the prospective jurors in advance of his trial.

Captain Fritz Wiedermann, German Consul-General in San Francisco, was reported as saying that he did not approve of the Bund which could only cause trouble because its members were American citizens and his advice was that they be good American Citizens, [58]

On 6 December, Kuhn was sentenced to 2½ to 5 years in the penitentiary. He promptly designated G.W. Kunze as his successor in Bund leadership. Kunze and G.J. Elmer were, however, arrested a few months later on undisclosed charges." They were not held however, and Kunze took over a rapidly disintegrating Bund after Kuhn's incarceration. There is some reason to believe that Kunze really did misappropriate considerable Bund funds, including monies that had been raised to provide for appeals on behalf of Kuhn. At all events, there was considerable infighting and the Bund simply fell apart. Kunze himself disappeared but was apprehended in Mexico and sent back to the United States where he was eventually tried for espionage and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. By the time America entered the war, the activities of the Bund had diminished to the vanishing point.

On the subject of Kuhn's trial, however, some comments of Time magazine seem worth quoting. Said Time:

The defense scored heavily; the prosecution auditor admitted an error of calculation of the alleged thefts, all but five charges against Kuhn were dismissed. [59]

Bund members, reported Time, testified that under the leadership principle, Kuhn could, in fact, spend the Bund's funds as he saw fit. After some titillating revelations about Kuhn's private amours — presumably for want of anything more serious — Time's three-column article concludes:

Produced as evidence were two notes by Mayor La Guardia and Tom Dewey written before Kuhn's arrest:

La Guardia: "Dear Tom: ... You can have him"

Dewey: 'I don't want him either. I guess the ashcan is the best place for him.'" [60]

Kuhn entered Sing-Sing on December 7, 1939. The penultimate mention of him in the files of the New York Times is almost ten years later, in June 1949, but that is a passing reference in an extensive article, cited and quoted below. For Kuhn's personal ordeal in the intervening years, we are largely dependent on that journal. On the day that Kuhn entered Sing-Sing, the Times reported without explanation that he would be barred from most of the prison's recreational diversions such as movies, football and baseball games, the gymnasium and the fellowship of the prison yard. [61] A later story reported that Kuhn was allowed no gifts or other packages. [62]

In May 1940, the House passed a \$1,111,754,916 relief Bill for the next fiscal year, with \$975,650,000 allocated to the W.P.A. from which Bund members were specifically to be denied benefits. No explanation was offered for this selective discrimination.

In the same month, Representative Leland Ford of California asked the House to revoke Kuhn's citizenship on the grounds that he had "mental reservations" when pledging his allegiance in his naturalization proceedings in December 1934. In October, 1940, Kunze, Klapprott and two other Bundists were indicted in Newton, New Jersey for "promoting hatred and hostility against people of the Jewish religion contrary to a 1935 New Jersey statute." [63] In December, an annual convention of 600 delegates of the American-Jewish Youth passed a resolution calling upon Congress to declare the Bund outlawed. It should be come in mind that outlawry permits anyone to kill the outlaw without penalty and one might reflect on certain events half a century later.

In June, 1941, with Peard Harbor still six months in the future, the New York State Parole Board turned down Kuhn's parole appeal on the grounds that he was a "hazard to public peace and security." The warden of Sing Sing is quoted as testifying to Kuhn's good behavior. [64]

In the following year, a small item in the Times reports leniency (a suspended six-month sentence for illicit possession of narcotics) for Mrs. Virginia Cogswell "whose testimony helped send Fritz Kuhn to State prison..." [65] In March, 1942, the Justice Department announced that it would deprive Kuhn of his citizenship and that as soon as he was released from Sing-Sing he would immediately be interned in a camp for enemy aliens for the duration of the war. In June, 1943, therefore, Kuhn was taken directly from prison to an internment camp in Texas. ^

An item, peripheral to our subject perhaps but worth noting as casting light on contemporary attitudes, appeared in the Times in 1944. It concerned a complaint by the "chief investigator of the Dies Committee" that Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau was impeding investigations of subversive by refusing to release information about their tax returns. Referring to such suspects (clearly not of the "Right") Morgenthau denied that many of them could be considered subversive or "non-American." [66]

In April, 1945, Kuhn's wife Elsa and his teenage daughter Waltraut were arrested by American army authorities near Nuremberg, where they had been living quietly since before the war. On September 17, Kuhn was deported from New York to Germany along with "500 undesirable Germans." [67]

But Kuhn's ordeal was far from over. A photograph of Kuhn in the Times in November is captioned: "Learning About Internment Camps: Fritz Kuhn, former German-American Bund Leader sitting it out in the internment camp at Augsburg, Germany where he is confined". [68] The next story is datelined February 1946. A Lieutenant Rosemary (sic) from Brooklyn, in charge of the internees in the cells of the Heidelberg Schloss, describes Kuhn as "a beaten, broken man" who "walks with his head bowed, eyes downcast and murmurs 'I beg your pardon' every few sec-

onds.” Kuhn is reported as hoping some day to return the United States. He is said to feel guiltless. He claims to have established the Bund to promote German-American friendship but admits that he failed. He says he would have undoubtedly dissolved the Bund the moment that America went to war. [69] Two days later as reported in the Times a U.S. army spokesman said that there was no plan to release Kuhn as:

He is one of the greatest security threats in the American zone. We can't possibly release Kuhn as long as there are occupation forces in Germany, for he might gather together his henchmen and threaten our security. [70]

Anyone who has any concept of the condition of Germany in Jahr Null (Year Zero) or has comprehended the mental and physical condition of Kuhn from what has been said above, may be excused for wondering if the “spokesman” quoted was afflicted with a very unpleasant sense of humor or was mentally deranged.

Nevertheless, Kuhn was released on April 25, 1946 and entrained for Munich where Elsa, Walter and Waltraut were then living. A Times reporter noted with unconcealed satisfaction that “he will now, like other Germans, have to live on 1,275 calories per day.” [71] On November 29, a small item reports that Kuhn is living “drably” with his wife and children and two other families in a sparsely furnished Munich house. The item, referring to Thanksgiving Day, is headed “No Turkey for Fritz Kuhn.” The gloating tone is unmistakable. [72]

In the following Spring, Kuhn was again jailed. This time he was to be tried before a Bavarian “denazification” court. The Times published a photograph of an emaciated Kuhn talking to a guard in the German prison. [73] In February, 1948, eight months later, while still awaiting trial, Kuhn escaped from Dachau by simply merging with a crowd of visitors and walking out. The prison director was promptly dismissed. In April a Munich “denazification” court sentenced Kuhn in absentia, to ten years imprisonment and forfeiture of all his property except a small sum of money. The evidence presented against him by the public prosecutor, one Julius Herf, consisted of 23 orders from Kuhn to Bund members concerning uniforms to be worn or American political candidates, such as Alf Landon, to be supported. In Kuhn’s absence, no defense was offered, nor could be. Kuhn was recaptured on June 16, 1948, in the French zone where he had filed a permit to open a chemical laboratory. He was returned to Munich in custody. The Times, reporting this, said, “He wept as he was escorted back to a cell here.” [74]

Kuhn finally obtained a hearing before a German appellate court on February 14, 1949. He continued to maintain that the Bund had never been affiliated with the Third Reich. Except for two brief interludes, he had now been incarcerated since 1939. The court reduced his sentence from ten years to two years and he was released for the last time on February 22, 1949. When news of his release reached the United States, the insatiable sadism of certain elements was once more aroused. The “Non-Sectarian” Anti-Nazi League petitioned the United States Senate to make “comprehensive investigations of army and civilian authorities in the government [they meant “governance”] of Germany.” [75]

The penultimate reference to Kuhn in the columns of the New York Times is in a feature article quoted in extenso below.

Ambassador Dieckhoff sent a series of messages during 1938 pointing out the harm done to German-American relations by the activities of the German-American Bund... His warnings seem to have been largely instrumental in the ultimate disavowal of Kuhn and the Bund by the German government... Speaking of the possibilities of revolutionary activist conspiracies of U.S. Nazis. Dieckhoff, who exempts Kuhn from such charges, continues that such ideas are ludicrous in the

United States and reminiscent of Balkan intrigues in which latter they might be mildly efficacious. In the U.S., says Dieckhoff, the undercover men of the Justice Department would have complete lists of names almost immediately such a conspiracy W&S formed. [76]

Those diplomatic reports would seem once and for all to put into proper perspective the “deadly menace” of this “monster” with his “250,000 or 500,000 highly trained stormtroopers and his \$20,000,000 war chest” and the necessity of imprisoning and persecuting him for ten years. And our last mention of Kuhn is a belated obituary notice in the *Times* in 1953 which reports that Fritz Julius Kuhn died on December 14, 1951. The information was given to the press by Kuhn’s former lawyer, Otto Gritschneider. No mention was made of Waltraut, but Gritschneider also revealed that Kuhn’s widow, Elsa, and son, Walter, were in Mexico where Walter was serving in the Mexican army.

To round out this brief study, I beg to submit a few personal conclusions.

Fritz Kuhn, Magister Artium and winner of the Iron Cross, may well have been typical of the Bund itself. If so, what emerges is a story of a provocative minor movement but not a treasonable one, which made enemies far beyond its strength to defy. Its members rejoiced in their ethnic and cultural roots and dreaded what they foresaw as another war against Germany in the near future which would be brought about by the machinations of her implacable enemies (a representative of whom had already “declared war” on Germany as early as 1933).

The Bundists nurtured the hope — which at times one senses was even to them a forlorn one — that through propaganda or enlightenment (whichever way it is seen) disaster might be averted.

In the *Bundesleiter* we find a man, stubborn courageous, sincere -even at times witty-more than a little rash in his actions and somewhat lacking in charm. Kuhn is a German-deutsch and deutlich — without guile. No “fine Italian hand” for Kuhn. In some ways, he and his followers may have been, as Dieckhoff and others feared, more dangerous to the very causes they espoused than to their enemies. Kuhn is the Sorcerer’s Apprentice, mercilessly destroyed by the forces he evoked. But if we cannot quite elevate him to the rank of tragic hero, we can at least scorn the obvious chicanery and perversion of justice which not only led to his initial imprisonment but to the ten years of hounding and persecution and prolonged sadistic cruelty which followed. What was Fritz Kuhn’s crime? I cannot discern one. His own organization absolved him from the patently trumped-up charge of stealing its funds. No other charges were ever substantiated against him, or indeed, levied. Unless a certain lack of discretion be a crime, I am forced to say that “I find no fault with this man.”

Bibliographic Note

This study has dealt, after the dissolution of the Bund and Kuhn’s incarceration in Sing-Sing, with the subsequent fate of Kuhn himself. Other senior members of the Bund were also subjected to various forms of persecution. This has been covered, though somewhat sketchily, in a book published in 1974 by Cornell University Press. The author is, as expected, hostile to the Bund and its members. However, the dearth of published material on the subject makes even polemical works useful when treated with caution. The author of this particular book is Sander A. Diamond, the title, *The Nazi Movement in the United States: 1924-1941*. Caveat Rector.

Notes

1. William E Log, *Franwidin D. Roosevelt and Tic Ncw DeoL 1932-1950 Mew Yadc*, 1963) p. 276 & 276n.
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3. ↵ Arthur L Sniidl, Jr., *The Dcutshtwn f Nazi Gcnnonny in the United Saws* (Ihe Hague, 1965) p. 99.
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5. ↵ Ricked O'Connof, *The German Amaicans: An Irytormal History* (Boston & Tot o, 1968) p. 441.
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10. ↵ *New York Times*, Febnsy 26, 1939, IV, 6.
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 41. ☺ Ibid., Marcell 21, 1937, p. 1
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 54. ☺ Ibid., July 4, 1939, p. 4.
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 57. ☺ Ibid., Septanber 27, 1939, pp. 1,9.
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Death and Rebirth: European Political Observations

DR. ANDREAS WESSERLE

Concerning constitutions, Montesquieu wrote in volume IX of his work *Esprit des lois*: “Some... have as their purpose...the glorification of the State (*"la gloire de l'état"*), others the political freedom of the citizen.” If an unbiased observer studies those nations of the world which have succeeded in retaining their political sovereignty to this day, he will find that the majority of them have honored the universally acclaimed human rights mainly in the breach, exploiting them only when expedient, and then chiefly for the deeper entrenchment of their power or for the expansion of their territorial domain. The battle-cry of the mobilization of the masses did not die with bygone epochs.

Montesquieu, however, ignores a small, third group which appears destined to perpetual subjection to the freedom and the glory of others. Recent events place this observation in proper perspective. As early as 1976 the Bonn correspondent of a Tyrolean newspaper neatly summarized a notion that has been held for decades, even centuries, to the effect that in regard to the Common Enemy — Germany — the Western and Eastern powers are of one accord. Even in 1986 it often appeared as though the only solid connecting link between the two power blocs, drifting ever further apart, was their animosity toward Germany. Of course this includes their continuing effort to infuse in the political and cultural void in the heart of Europe, the core of the most dynamic continent in history, their own ideologies.

Current trends may be summarized under the following headings:

I. Excerpts from contemporary nationalism.

II. The phenomenon of Russia.

III. The phenomenon of America.

IV. America and Germany.

V. A new Counter-Reformation?

I. Excerpts from Contemporary Nationalism

Despite widely divergent interpretations, the festivities which in 1984/85 commemorated the invasion of Normandy, France, as well as the end of the Second World War, were embarrassingly archaic in nature. Once again, they showed that the Western powers have learned nothing new from their campaign of 1944/45, a struggle which was one-sidedly military on their part, and short-sighted both politically and strategically. At the time, they overwhelmed Europe, presided over the division of the world at the conferences of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, and turned half

of Europe over to the marauding Red Army. To this day Germany, Europe and the world remain divided. [1]

If anything, 1986 turned out even worse than the preceding year. President Reagan's initially wise decision to "let bygones be bygones" and to visit a German military cemetery at Bitburg — made at the prompting of then White House advisor Deaver — twisted into a farce by Zionists on both sides of the Atlantic in 1985. In 1986 — last year — and apparently onward into an indefinite future — in Austria, the "third German state," a campaign of political defamation was waged with characteristic factual as well as emotional imbalance by the American media against Dr. Kurt Waldheim, a conservative candidate for the largely ceremonial office of the presidency of the Republic of Austria. Why the theatrics? No one knows for sure. But informed Washington observers remembered that, as Secretary General of the United Nations, Waldheim had been sympathetic to the plight of certain Third World nations, even evincing a kind of tolerance toward the representatives of the Palestinians and their spokesmen among the Arab and Islamic states. Austrian voters indignant at outside interference elected Dr. Waldheim president, an outcome somewhat surprising after the innumerable "brainwashing" campaigns foisted on them during the past four decades.

Austrian-*Italian* relations, on the other hand, continue to be affected by the second-class status of the Germans of the South Tyrol, an Austrian province annexed by Italy at the end of the First World War with the blessings of President Woodrow Wilson.

Recently, continuing a venerable tradition of self aggrandizement, Italy's Christian Democratic foreign minister, Andreotti, drew a characteristic conclusion before an assembly of Communists: "The reunification of Germany equals 'pan-Germanism.' It must be prevented." [2] Andreotti conveniently overlooked exactly those "pan-movements" which, from the middle of the 19th century to this day, have repeatedly proved their magnetic force and their power of impact: pan-Slavism in neighboring Yugoslavia and in much of eastern Europe being one of the most successful. Apparently, Signore Andreotti's conscience is troubled over the treatment of the German South Tyrolers, whose rights of self determination, laid down in writing, have for the most part remained an unfulfilled dream. As an example of the officially induced Italianization under the aegis of *sacro egoismo* ("sacred egoism"), the overwhelming German city of Bozen (Bolzano) still boasts a Fascist "Victory monument" erected under Mussolini, as well as a military compound named in honor of General Luigi Cadorna, the Italian commander of the blood-drenched Alpine and Isonzo fronts of the First World War. Never mind the other, numerous transgressions against the Tyrolers' sensibilities. But let it be remembered that South Tyrol's 1400 illustrious years as part and parcel of Germany and Austria, as a brilliant contributor to its culture and civilization cannot be wiped out with the stroke of a pen. All the same, it is remarkable to what extent Italy, as one of the losers of the Second World War, has managed to capitalize on its strategically important location and its otherwise slender resources.

Even more surprising is the fact that in recent years a *German* political entity has rediscovered the greatness of its national past: the German Democratic Republic.

The exhibition entitled: "Baroque and Classicism — 18th-Century Centers of Art in the German Democratic Republic," which was concluded at Schallaburg Castle in Lower Austria in October 1984, represented one of the best instances of this process of "finding one's self again." Exhibits from Dresden, Potsdam, Wörlitz and Weimar convey insight into this spirit of this German renaissance. The political implications cannot be overlooked: the works shown date back as it does to the era of August the Strong of Saxony, King of Poland and occasional ally of Tsar Peter the

Great of Russia, then on in time to Schiller and Goethe, the lumineries of a brilliant age prior to the dark triumph of the Industrial Revolution.

It is politics *pur sang* that is being conducted by Willi Stoph, Prime Minister of the GDR (German Democratic Republic), however. In "*Einheit*," the SED ("Socialist Unity Party of Germany": the Muscovite German Communists) party journal, he accuses the Federal Republic of Germany of "... ratifying the establishment of the West German separate state on September 7, 1949 [and thereby] national treason was officially sanctioned." In view of this divisive policy the establishment of the GDR had allegedly "... become a necessary consequence." [3] West German politicians disturbed by the revived national tone of the "workers' and farmers' state" are hit with the added charges of "revanchism" and "imperialism," no doubt to the relief of the Kremlin, which is observing developments in Germany with attention. At the same time, however, the West German foe is being discomfited, dislocated mentally and demoralized by the maneuvers of other functionaries, such as the President of the People's Chamber, Horst Sindermann, who appeal to "all powers" conscious of their responsibilities for the destinies of their nations and of mankind, and who desire a "dialogue." The GDR is in support of all "opportunities for a negotiated end to the arms race..." [4] An unmistakable invitation to the "Greens," who are making inroads into the political life of the Federal Republic, for their sympathizers in the SPD (Social Democratic Party) which at its party convention in Essen experienced a move to the left, as well as for the numerous adherents of disarmament in the Netherlands, Belgium, Britain and other Western nations.

SED leaders seem to be batting .500. Party Secretary Honecker's proposed visit to West Germany — sincerely, if naively, welcomed by West Germans desperate for a dialogue on unification — squelched by Moscow for the time being. On the other hand, during the January, 1987, parliamentary elections in the Federal Republic, the Greens increased their overall representation significantly: from 5.6 percent and 27 seats in the Bundestag in 1983 to 8.3 percent and 42 seats in 1987 — at the expense of the SPD which fell from 38.2 percent and 193 seats in 1983 to 37 percent and 186 seats this election, the worst SPD showing since 1961. The combined, conservative, ruling "union," the CDU/CSU, fared even worse, however. They recorded a total of but 44.3 percent and 223 seats — their very worst result since 1949, the year of inception of the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1983 they had won 48.8 percent and 244 seats in parliament. Who picked up the missing votes this time? It was the FDP, their government coalition partner, the party of Foreign Minister Genscher, well known for his policies of *détente* and *rapprochement* with the demands of the Warsaw Pact states. (The FDP improved its standing from 7 percent and 34 seats at the last elections to 9.1 percent and 46 seats in 1987.)

Any lessons to be gained from this election with a low voter turnout, for Germany, of 84.4 percent, also the lowest since 1949? [5]

Just this: the slight, but steady and ominous gain of the anti-establishment Greens and the solid recovery of the pro-appeasement FDP at the expense of the CDU/CSU in a sense parallel the shift away from the classical "establishment" parties of the early Weimar republic, the then moderate SPD and the smaller parties of the bourgeois center (the German Party, the German People's Party, etc.), away from the responsible, national parties toward the more radical "Independent Social Democratic Party," the Communists and other revolutionary splinter groups. The best that can be said about the 1987 elections is that a good number of disenchanted conservative and patriotic voters stayed home. The alienation may spread. The Federal Republic of Germany, the epitome of timidity, had better be on guard lest she be one-upped by her smaller "*nouveau-German*" neighbor to the east with its powerful demands for national-proletarian legitimization. *Preussens Gloria* yet lives.

II. The Phenomenon of Soviet Russia

Too late, much too late to recover vital positions that were lost, former U.S. President Nixon conceded in his book *The Real War* that on the stage of world events it had been Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Japan who had held in check and contained Great Russia's historical expansion. These powers were destroyed or driven to the brink of collapse during the First and Second World Wars. The role of global counterweight fell to an unprepared America. Through this description may represent an oversimplification of the facts as concerns the United States, Nixon's main thesis still stands on solid ground. [6]

The Soviets are masters at exploiting the weaknesses of their opponents. In the course of the deteriorating relations between the two world powers it has been the goal of the USSR to damage, by means of Soviet *agitprop* which often enlists the American news media as its prime handmaiden, the most important and vulnerable ally of the United States: the Federal Republic of Germany. Concurrently, every opportunity is exploited to encourage the widening of any divergent currents into unbridgeable differences.

With cosmopolitan sophistication Soviet foreign policy pursues a dual goal:

1. The maintenance and the increase of her territorial, political and ideological (*i.e.*, quasi-religious) conquests. Here Moscow has accumulated five centuries of experience. In the footsteps of the Tsar's tenacious forward drive, which converted the 14th century vassal state of the Tatars into the world's largest territorial empire, Russia in the 19th and 20th centuries appropriated the political dynamism of Panslavism and Slavophilism (a dynamism directed toward the goals of establishing hegemony over both the Near East and Central Europe) and, while exploiting earth-shaking crises, continued her push on toward Königsberg, Berlin and the gates of Lübeck, only a hair's breadth away from the key ports of the North Sea. (At the close of the Second World War, unsupported by American officialdom, Churchill and Eden engaged in a desperate race with the Red Army to deny it those very ports and the jutting peninsula of Jutland.)
2. In keeping with the world-revolutionary tenets of Marxism-Leninism Soviet Russia has gained a foothold on the shores of the Atlantic, the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. In the ascent to superpower status, her time-tested perseverance as well as the brief attention-span of her bourgeois adversaries have been to her advantage.

Despite the impressive gains of this first-rate but landlocked power, Soviet Russia has also inherited the less advantageous attributes of her ancestors, a Godsend to others. These include (aside from her unfavorable geopolitical location as compared to the United States):

1. the ethnically varied composition of the populations within her sphere of power and in the USSR herself;
2. the critical state of the military balance with China; and pivot point; and
3. the perennial "problem of succession" to the helm of state.

The Germans of the Soviet Zone, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Czechs and, prior to these, the Serbs and Croats have openly manifested their discontent with Soviet rule since before 1953. This weakness remains critical to this day when, due to the diminishing birth rate, the *Staatsvolk*, the Russians, will constitute less than half of the total Soviet population a few years hence. The non-Russian majority — particularly the prolific Islamic peoples of Central Asia — will want to increase their autonomy but encounter official resistance, possibly due to an armaments-related economic crisis. In such a situation, the Soviet leadership might be unable to cope with its mili-

tary involvements, e.g. in Central Asia or the Far East. For the rear of the Soviet anti-NATO front, China and Japan are recovering their vitality. In stark contrast to Western Europe's and West Germany's official policy of *détente* the powers of the Far East are by no means willing to concede to their powerful neighbor the territories lost to Russia in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, concessions which would impugn their sovereignty or forfeit it altogether.

If the Soviet leadership does not come to grips with these problems — and it is making energetic efforts to do so under Gorbachev, foreign policy advisor Dobrynin and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze — their empire will disintegrate into chaos. In order to avoid this they will be amenable to far-reaching compromise with Germany and Europe — compromise they are in the process of reaching with China and Japan — particularly prior to an unstable period of internal power struggles or rather, to avoid such a period altogether. This scenario does not exclude a period of adventurism in foreign policy. More likely, the Soviet leaders — and, particularly, certain circles in the United States — may consider the possibility of a strategic withdrawal from parts of East Central Europe the function of which as a *cordon sanitaire* was rendered obsolete with the stationing of U.S. intermediate-range missiles, accompanied by the neutralization of Central Europe and the withdrawal of the United States from Western Europe north of the Pyrenees. Should the political-economic isolation of the United States from her allies increase as a result both of further “Reykjavik-style sell-outs” to the Soviets and of more rigid American tariff walls against the perception of an ever-more vicious competition exercised by Western Europe and Japan/Korea/Taiwan, etc. (the “Devil theory” of foreign policy familiar to students of American politics), this possibility would become a probability.

Note that the first steps toward removing both U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles from “Europe” were taken in February/March 1987 against the resistance of West European governments which had incurred grave risks from their domestic nuclear opposition, by stationing the rockets in the first place. Other steps will follow. Much depends on how the Reagan administration will weather the current “Iran-Contra” crisis (which a few wags have dubbed “Israel-Contra-America”), and whether subsequent administrations will be able to avoid the type of media-hyped imbroglios which have lamed the past four or five presidencies. Slyly, First Secretary Gorbachev insures the USSR against a future American backlash by his every-more insistent courting, since the Geneva “summit” of world Jewry. The more America alienates herself from her “client states,” and the more precarious her economic health becomes the more productive will be Gorbachev's overtures. [7]

III. The Phenomenon of America

In opposition — though not necessarily in lasting hostility — to the Great Russian drive for self fulfillment in the world arena stands the faith of the American in *his* mission to improve the universe. Both movements have their origins in historically deeply rooted motives, formerly religious. To some extent the two empires are rather similar. Apart from its favorable geopolitical location, however, great assets to the United States are: the regularity of its mechanism of leadership change; secondly, the solid cohesion of U.S. political culture, up to the present; and thirdly, arising from the former; the art of political mythologizing, which Americans have internalized to a well-nigh somnambulistic — an art essential for global propaganda.

All the same, a set of circumstances is foreseeable which casts shadows over the seemingly auspicious start of 1987. The prediction of strong economic growth (4 percent per annum for the rest of the decade) made by the White House seems doubtful. Negative factors are on the increase: an astronomical budget deficit; a disturbing imbalance of payments; the danger of proletarianization of large segments of the middle class by a process of enforced wage-and-benefits reductions of

white-and-blue collar workers (encouraged by the administration); the massive indebtedness of the great banks, and the farm sector and others. The volatile stock market promises, to turn from bull to bear, if the fears voiced by economic pundits of such divergent schools as Galbraith and Greenspan come true. Military involvements in Central America or the Near East would strain the social fabric even more perilously. Already, the gloomily nightmare of outbreaks of violence and of race riots, a frequent experience in America's short history, looms again. In this empire, too, diversionary tactics in foreign policy are the stock of the political arsenal, though the lack of social discipline gives rise to the prospect of inadequate or overly hasty decisions. Still, it's an ill wind that blows no one any good; the restoration of the Saar region, to Germany in 1954, a result that came about through the application of German pressure during and after the Korean War, reminds us that in times of tension the "Anglo-Saxons" may be amenable to real concessions, even to their allies, *if* these minor entities only exert their own will power — a point often made by Charles de Gaulle.

It is evident in any case, for reasons of economic and political stability, the Reagan administration — or its successors — will implement an arms reduction to an unprecedented degree and will usher in relations with the Soviet Union which reflect U.S.- American self interest exclusively. Global "understandings" with the USSR, considered the only adversary to be taken seriously, are at stake. Common interests such as the prevention of nuclear proliferation — Israel being the exception to the rule — had brought the two powers together on "non-proliferation" at the end of 1984. Then, prior to the meeting at Geneva, President Reagan addressed soothing words to First Secretary Gorbachev to the effect that "our two countries" should get together to cooperate and work for peace around the world. A near calamity followed these vague but ominous pronouncements when the "two most powerful men of the world" met again, at Reykjavik, in October, 1986. There the common Western and United States defense front against the Warsaw Pact nearly collapsed due to President Reagan's eagerness to denude Western Europe of its nuclear shield of intermediate-range missiles (IRBM's) — then being installed at considerable political cost to the NATO states of Europe — leaving these states to face on their own an overwhelming Eastern superiority in numbers and equipment. Reagan apparently also fell for Gorbachev's quick suggestion of a radical reduction, and the final elimination, of *all* ICBM's. He balked only when invited to scrap the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars"), just in the nick of time, one might add, for he and his administration had not troubled to consult either the so-called European Allies, their political and physical survival at stake, or the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff. Viewed in this light, the German parliamentary elections of January, 1987 represent merely a very slight reaction against the obvious powerlessness of the German Federal Republic. Of course, future events may deal a delayed, but a far more powerful, blow to the tottering regime.

Why the dissarray? Gorbachev — ably seconded by Dobrynin and Arbatov and others — handled the entire Administration's hunger for a sudden, global public relations coup with such skill and a near-perfect sense of timing — in which the bait of exchanging the American journalist Nicholas Daniloff, arrested in Moscow, for the so-called Soviet spy Gennadiy Zakharov, spiced with the added promise of the release of Soviet human-rights leader Yuri Orlov from a labor camp and from the Soviet Union, was used to hurry up American preparations — that, despite Reagan's previous warnings that there should be no "hasty" summit, particularly not in the midst of a U.S. election campaign, his closest advisors either were shunted aside or suffused with euphoria. Typical of the Administration's hasty planning and unprofessional mentality are the effusions of a key aide entrusted with drafting the documents considered by Reagan and Gorbachev at Reykjavik: Richard N. Perle, then Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, questioned by the influential chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Rep. Les Aspin (D.-Wis.), on November 21, 1986, Perle had this to say: "[The President] could have

walked out of there with an agreement that millions would have cheered and won the Nobel prize.” [8] Verily, Hollywood at its worst.

The imperious contempt for what are termed, tongue in cheek, “America’s European allies” is clad in raiments of contradictory hue. The remarks of former Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, which caused distress in Brussels and Bonn, provide food for thought; namely, that in case the West Europeans continue to dawdle on re-armament — as seen from America — the United States would have to look for more satisfactory solutions. [9] Not that the United States would be content with the role of “Fortress America” for long. By no means. But seen from its geopolitical perspective America might for the time being settle for a *cordon sanitaire* which would extend from Greenland to Britain and the North Sea, encompass the Mediterranean, Africa and South Asia, and from there stretch to the Far East and the Pacific Ocean, which casts its ponderous shadow upon a half hearted Europe. Such a philosophy, some of which harks back to well-worked Republican patterns of foreign policy, and strongly smacks of the Anglophilia of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, is implied both in the new edition of the Monroe Doctrine, the “Reagan Doctrine,” and in the accelerated expansion of the United States Navy. Small wonder that a recently launched super-carrier was named in honor of Theodore Roosevelt, the alert and over-active president whose charisma emanated an imperial force felt from Latin America to East Asia, Africa and Europe. The name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Theodore’s even more ambitious cousin and Stalin’s most loyal ally, is frequently invoked by President Reagan, probably not just for reasons of campaign rhetoric. Should a Democrat enter the White House in 1988 no changes will be needed in this “pragmatic” combination of ideology and global strategy.

Surprising sympathy for the problems of Soviet leaders is occasionally expressed by high-ranking politicians generally not suspected of harboring Russophile emotions. On the eve of the 1984 elections, Defense Secretary Weinberger gave a dissertation on U.S. foreign and defense policies before the World Affairs Institute of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Apparently, he felt constrained to bow to the trend of pacifism in the public opinion of his own camp — the United States and Europe — and rhetorically offered the palm of peace to the then Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. On this occasion the corporate leader and friend of Big Business reiterated the weary thesis that since Russia’s neighbors, such as the Tatars, the Poles, the Swedes, Napoleon and Hitler, had attacked her repeatedly the Russian nation is living in a constant psychosis of fear. [10] All is sweetness and light in the relations between the two World Powers: such is the conclusion that the pugnacious “Defense” Secretary allows us to draw for ourselves.

IV. America and Germany

During the presidential election campaign of 1972, on the other hand, Paul Warnke, a leader of the U.S. Defense Department under the Democrats and later director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency under President Carter, and head of the U.S. delegation to the SALT II negotiations, drew a much less complimentary picture of the Common Enemy. On October 5, 1972, during a debate on defense policy before an academic audience in Boston, Mr. Warnke — then an advocate of extensive U.S. arms limitations in Europe (an idea that has suddenly gained fresh favor) — shooed the cat out of the bag:

Question by the moderator, Mr. Dukakis (governor of Massachusetts in 1987): “Does the prospect of Germany substantially rearming its forces trouble you at all?”

Reply by Mr. Warnke; “It would, Mr. Dukakis, which is why I favor maintaining a substantial American presence in Europe. I regard 130,000 American troops as being

a very substantial presence. And I see no necessity for the Europeans increasing their own force deployment under those circumstances.” [11]

Not at all a personal gaffe; nor is this position a “leftist deviation” concerning Germany by the Democrats. Similar positions had been publicly expressed by Republican President Nixon prior to 1974. Notions such as these are *irrational*, i.e., they have their origin in a pseudo-conflict with ideologically conjured-up entities. They manifest, *inter alia*, a bloodless, strategic victory of the Soviet Union and in the final analysis, will mortally injure the vital interests of America herself, no matter what her politicians may believe at present.

During the sixties and seventies defamatory statements similar to those cited — indeed, often more offensive — were poured out by the bushel and accomplished the intended purpose of demoralizing the legitimate representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Simultaneously, they contributed to the strengthening of the leftist protest movements, of the radical adherents of disarmament, of the believers in violence and revolution, in West Germany and in western Europe. One might trace America’s bipartisan resentment to Chancellor Brandt’s and special envoy Egon Bahr’s intensively pursued *Ostpolitik*; an appeasement policy of the East which according to Bahr’s thinking decades ago, included the (very theoretical) possibility of the unification of Germany, accompanied by the neutralization of parts of Central Europe, possibly on the model of Austria. Such a rationalization after the fact ignores the official and unofficial American advice “encouraging” West Germany to enter into negotiations with Moscow and her satellites; it ignores also the rock-like “given” of American foreign policy which, following the low of the Cold War, after 1960 strove to reach global “understandings” with the Soviets. Remember that the very preconditions for the unsatisfactory state of *Ostpolitik* affairs were created by the United States which in 1945 abandoned globally important Central Europe without a struggle, from Wismar in the north to Magdeburg, Leipzig and Pilsen, and who by surrendering the crown cities of Berlin, Vienna and Prague to the Red Army also deserted the heart and mind of Europe. In the portentous years of 1953, 1955, 1956, 1961, 1968 and onward, America’s hands-off policy concerning affairs in the Soviet Occupation zone and East Central Europe was instrumental in bringing about the continued and unbearable oppression of Central Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. Today, four decades after Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam the spirit of those conferences under the chairmanship of United States presidents bears much of the blame for the *status quo transAlbiam*. [12]

As an aside, even as early as 1964, the political sociologist Amitai Etzioni alluded to the fact that, in a shrinking world in which the two powers with their nuclear arsenals are “facin each other down,” their fears of diminished power will drive them to handle their client-states more roughly or will even deliver them up to the blackmail tactics of the great adversary in order to lasso them and rein them in more easily afterwards. With regard to Germany, the much feared statute on “enemy states” of the United Nations Charter provides a convenient handle for unlimited interpretation by the Powers. [13]

The worm has turned now. The cautious rise of a healthy sense of patriotism is being observed in the Federal Republic. It seems amazing that after decades in which German politics, and the politics for Germany, had been officially debased in every manner and to every degree imaginable, some West German politicians dare to set new sails in the freshening breeze. During the short campaign for the 1987 elections even the Social Democrats (the SPD), the party of former Chancellor Brandt, then the chief executor of the post-1969 SPD/FDP coalition *Ostpolitik*, saw fit not to ignore the new conditions totally. Note that its party manager (“*Bundesgeschäftsführer*”) Peter

Glötz, during the 1986 SPD convention at Nuremberg, called upon the Germans to reactivate the idea of

"Mitteleuropa" (Central Europe) publicized seventy years previously by the great National Liberal, Friedrich Naumann. So far so good. But will the renewed force of the idea succeed in welding together, effectively, its sympathizers east and west of the Iron Curtain?

Franz Josef Strauss, the old political warhorse from Bavaria, boss of its CSU, has also jumped on the slowly accelerating bandwagon. That was no surprise since he tried similar tactics, unsuccessfully, both before the Great Ice Age of 1969 and in his run for the federal chancellorship in the 1970's when Brandt's and Schmidt's governments began to unravel. Will he succeed now? His considerable talents include a penchant for opportunistic temporizing and good connections to Israel dating from his time as Defense Minister. Perhaps his turn *will* come.

Some time ago, on September 14, 1984, another spokesman, Dr. Rainer Barzel, then President of the German Bundestag, found words on patriotism which bear repeating:

“The German issue...remains, above all, a challenge. He who believes the solution to be simple is no realist; he who gives up, is no patriot. [14]

We add, inevitably: he who gives up is no realist but the gravedigger of Germany and of Europe.

Lo and behold: this time, the sentiments of Big Brother point in the right direction. Shortly upon his return from state visits to Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia, none less that U.S. Vice President Bush declared, in 1983, that the Yalta conference did not have the division of Europe as its goal. On the contrary, the Vice President appealed to the nations of Central and Eastern Europe to throw off the alien yoke of Soviet rule, to form a united central Europe with their brother nations united in Western Civilization, and to find refuge in the arms of the Free World. Fine words, indeed — and they did find a responsive echo east and west of the Iron Curtain. But the Vice President has yet to clarify exactly how those nations are to accomplish this revolution, after the blood revolts and uprisings from 1953 through 1983, profound events for which the United States stirred not a finger to help. Will the insecure euphoria of 1986/87, which already celebrates the dismantling of IRBM's in communist and capitalist Europe, succeed in re-uniting those great peoples, finally, for the first time since 1945, 1949, 1918? Great events do cast their shadows ahead but only great deeds will bring them about.

The noteworthy signal of the Vice President was seconded by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz repeatedly, particularly during the Stockholm conference on “confidence building, security and arms control in Europe, January 1985. The division of Germany and of Europe is an injustice perpetrated by the Soviet Union, Shultz declared. It must be redressed thoroughly. [15] We may doubt that, steeped in an atmosphere worsened by the near-fiasco of Reykjavik and finding himself immured in a political system which has little use for Secretaries of State since 1916 at least, any future United States Secretary of State will waste more than a few soothing words on East Central Europe.

As for the Europeans, the shock of Reykjavik has brought West Germany, Britain and France together more effectively than any stirring declaration could have done. The governments of Thatcher, Mitterand and Kohl are starting to coordinate and unify their arms control policies — a singular turnabout particularly for Kohl and Thatcher who had been very closely attuned to Washington's wishes and whims. We wish them Godspeed faced, as they are, by the double jeopardy of an America seemingly bent on transforming economic troubles into a permanent, global, political-economic crisis (*à la* 1929 to 1941, thus lending substance to the questionable prophecies

of Marxism-Leninism), and, on the other front, of a Soviet continental colossus suddenly turned more flexible in its methods and more dynamic in its ways. [16]

V. A New Counter-Reformation?

A pacesetter of quite a different caliber than the secular and secularly fickle politicians is the head of the Roman Catholic church. John Paul II, son of his Polish nation, deeply rooted in the church, pursues far-reaching plans, the implementation of which might well influence the course of the future for centuries to come. An ever accelerating spiritual counter-revolution is to accomplish the cooperation, possibly even the amalgamation of Catholics, Orthodox Christians and Lutherans in Eastern Europe, roll back the tide of Russian Communism, and at the same time bring about the revitalization of Western Europe, which at present has been indulging in a morally degenerate, as well as politically sterile, alien addiction to vulgar materialism. The goal of the constantly repeated papal initiatives, which go beyond mere regeneration — *i.e.* the revitalization of the human judgmental capability of the individual — is also the renaissance of occidental culture, and, founded thereupon, the reconstruction and new formation of the political integrity of “classical Europe.” After the glorious imperial and royal era of the *regnum et sacerdotium* of the Carolingians, the dynasties of Otto the Great and the Saliers, this integrity was lost to us.

Germany, situated in the heart of Europe and on the strategic turntable of the Old World, encompassing Eurasia and Africa, must of necessity be accorded a culturally, politically and territorially central role, if this grandiose world project is to succeed. Will her politicians develop the strength, vision and perserverance necessary to master this role? Will Germany be allowed to make genuine and significant decisions?

There are many arguments against this. Is so romantic an idea as the Pope’s powerful enough to gain control of the workings of modern technology — *e.g.* the communications media — without being corrupted by it? Will it be possible for this idea to prevail in this culturally as well as politically torpid *post bellum* period after 1945 without triggering unforeseen chain reactions or catastrophic events?

The answer to these questions is that self determination for the Occident must be reattained. Europe must be allowed to be the architect of its own destiny. The alternative will be an accelerated decline, ending in extinction.

Practical politicians may — quite apart from any religious considerations — mistrust the veiled objectives of the church. The day may come, however, when the two world powers will realize that their power is overextended and that for economic, domestic, as well as military reasons it would be to their advantage to welcome openly Europe — and East Asia — into the club of world powers. Once before, an American president (Nixon) decided in the name of his country to renounce the disastrous role of “world policeman” — seven decades after former President Theodore Roosevelt with his “Corollary” (supplement to the Monroe Doctrine) and foreign policy had boldly seized upon it.

At least three prerequisites are necessary to bring about a new balance of power:

1. Never again will the — desirable — “*l'Europe des Patries*” (General de Gaulle) be in a position to afford the luxury of bloody internal wars. Most of all, the longer Germany sees herself hemmed in by the iron pincers of ambitious expansionists, the stronger her need for extra-European solutions will grow.

2. As an intuitive creator of public opinion the Pope recognizes that only an organic ideology, deeply rooted in the people, will be able to neutralize the claims advanced by eschatologies of dialectical, as well as Manchester-Liberal, materialism, and be of benefit to all mankind, of benefit to Russia and to America as well. The question of whether this praiseworthy idea has not come three hundred years too late is moot; for it was from the Europe of the past two centuries that the most unfruitful ideologies have sprung — parasites on the vitality of the brilliant edifices of civilized thought. It is imperative that innermost alienation be overcome, and posthaste.
3. It is imperative that, along with the vitally essential cultural, economic and ethnic-political apparatus, a common military-political morale be established if Europe is to survive. Practical politicians of the Third World such as General Mustapha Tlas, Defense Minister of the Republic of Syria, are looking forward to see the establishment of Europe as a third force, with a revitalized Germany as its core. Should this *realm of the middle* — facing the Powers — fail to recover its national health, Europe will be without the vital backbone of a common military defense system.

One can well understand the instinctive desire of those nations which are in the direct firing line of the most horrendous weapons of mass destruction and propaganda broadsides of all kinds from both fronts to “get out of history.” However, it will not be granted to them to leave the roaring express train of modern times. Quite the opposite! In contrast to the situation of the Swedish nation in the course of the sometimes glorious and sometimes ignominious military campaigns of King Charles XII, Central and Western Europe constitute an essential piece of the world’s prime real estate: a prize the lasting attainment of which will crown the one or the other side as ruler of the world. It is imperative that it be restored to trustworthy hands. The exertion of will effort and power is well worth it:

So girt by danger shall youth, manhood and age
 Pass kindly here their buys pilgrimage
 Such swarming multitudes I fain would see!
 Free people standing on a soil as free.*

Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Faust II*

*Und so verbringt, umrung von Gefahr,
 Hier Kindheit, Mann, und Greis sein tüchtig Jahr.
 Auf freiem Grund mit freiem Volke stehn!

Notes

1. ☞ Andreas Wesserle, *Paradise Lost: Roosevelt, Churchill, Teheran und Jalta*; publication of the Zeitgeschichtliche Forschungsstelle Ingolstadt, Germany; volume 8, 1984.
2. ☞ “Andreotti sorgt für Aufregung,” *Deutschland Nachrichten*, No. 31, September 19, 1984; German Information Center, 410 Park Avenue, New York. “Italian Foreign Minister Regrets Misunderstanding,” *The Week in Germany*, Vol. XIV, September 21, 1984; German Information Center, 410 Park Avenue, New York.
3. ☞ “DDR sieht ‘Nationalen Verrat,’” *Milwaukee Deutsche Zeitung*, 95th year, No. 74, Friday, September 14, 1984.
4. ☞ *Ibid.*
5. ☞ *The German Tribune*, Hamburg, 1 February 1987, p. 1. *The Week in Germany*, January 30, 1987, German Information Center, New York.

6. ☺ Richard M. Nixon, *The Real War*; Warner Books, New York, New York; pp. 72-77.
7. ☺ Rainer Barzel, "Ursachen und Stand der deutschen Frage," *Bulletin*, No 105, 18 September 1984; Presse und Informationsamt der Deutschen Bundesregierung, Bonn. Lajos Lederer, Report, *The Observer*, 31 July 1983. "Worldgram," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 9, 1987. "Newest Soviet Threat," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 16, 1987.
8. ☺ "Iceland Pact Would Have Meant Impeaching Reagan, Aspin Says," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 22, 1986. "Aspin Blasts Linking of Daniloff to Summit," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 25, 1986; *U.S. News & World Report*, October 20, 1986.
9. ☺ "Skepsis gegenüber Kissingers Vorschlägen," *Deutschland Nachrichten*, No. 8, February 29, 1984. Dr. Kissinger alluded to the possibility of the United States withdrawing half of its troops from Europe. Dr. Alois Mertens, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Bonn, replied: "Europe cannot be expected to assume more responsibility than its power permits."
10. ☺ "The Inaugural Clement J. Zablocki Memorial Lecture on U.S. Foreign Policy by the Hon. Caspar W. Weinberger," October 24, 1984. A group of about 7 women was present in silent protest against Secretary Weinberger's alleged re-armament policy. Their leaflet proclaimed: "He will continue, and intensify, the militarization of U.S. foreign policy ... leading us farther down the road toward a global war ... a war no nation can win": *Women for Peace*.
11. ☺ "Should You Support McGovern's Defense Proposal?" *The Advocates*, The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), WGBH Television, Boston, Massachusetts, October 5, 1972.
12. ☺ Wesslerle, *loc. cit.*
13. ☺ Amitai Etzioni, "Strategic Models for a De-Polarizing World," *Journal of Peace Research*, 2: 136-150, 1965. *Charter of the United Nations*, Articles 53, 107, etc.
14. ☺ Rainer Barzel, *loc. cit.*
15. ☺ Lajos Lederer, *The Observer*, 31 July 1983; William Pfaff, *The Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1983; "Bonn Pins Hopes for Détente on Stockholm Conference," *The Week in Germany*, Vol. XV, No. 2, January 19, 1984, German Information Center, New York; "Genscher und Shultz sehen gute Ausgangspositionen in Stockholm," *Deutschland Nachrichten*, No. 2, 18 January 1984; German Information Center, New York; "Ruehe sieht Möglichkeiten für neuen 'Dialog'," *ibid.* "Genscher: Stockholm Offers Fresh Start for East-West Relations," *The Week in Germany*, No. 3, January 20, 1984.
16. ☺ "Donnergrollen aus Amerika," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16 January 1987; "Europe Fears Rudderless Reagan Administration," *The Christian Science Monitor*, November 28, 1986; "Market Viewpoints: A Glance at the Year Ahead," *Investment Focus, A Monthly Publication for Merrill Lynch Clients*, January 1987; "Economic Outlook," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 9, 1987; "Tomorrow," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 16, 1987; *United States Department of State*, Washington, D.C. 20520; communication to this author of December 8, 1986 by a Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

Book review

Warschau Unter Deutscher Herrschaft

- WARSCHAU UNTER DEUTSCHER HERRSCHAFT [WARSAW UNDER GERMAN RULE] by Friedrich Gollert. Warsaw: Berg Verlag GmbH., 1942, 302 pp.

Reviewed by R. Clarence Lang, Ph.D.

On the occasion of the two years' existence of the General Government (GG), I was commissioned to render an account concerning the District of Warsaw. At that time (1941) I wrote *Zwei Jahre Wiederaufbau im Distrikt Warschau* (Two Years Rebuilding Work in the District of Warsaw). In weeks the 3,000 copies were sold out, so numerous orders from Germany remained unfilled.

This great interest in the GG prompted me to write a vastly expanded and greatly revised edition. [All translations are by the reviewer.]

These are the opening paragraphs of the foreword to *Warschau unter Deutscher Herrschaft* (Warsaw under German Rule) by the Governor of Warsaw, Dr. Ludwig Fischer, who commissioned Dr. Friederich Gollert to expand the 1941 edition with access to official records and documents.

This new edition is to be a standard work about the German work of rebuilding the District of Warsaw and will document historically the accomplishment of German men and women sent to work here since the founding of the GG. It is to instill confidence in them that their work, which frequently has to be performed under the most stringent circumstances, and which by its very nature has found little recognition on the outside, will not remain unnoticed.

Furthermore, this is to introduce readers to the East, with the manifold problems associated with this newly won soil.

It is the duty of all politically-minded Germans to become acquainted with these problems, of which the GG is most characteristic. In it, the reshaping of the Eastern Areas is being pursued with great success in the midst of the greatest war in history.

English-speaking readers may recall that the Republic of Poland, established after World War I, was partitioned in the fall of 1939. The northwestern part, which already included numerous Germans was incorporated in Germany. The eastern part, which included many non-Poles and Jews, became part of the Soviet Union. The central part was made semi-independent, and was divided into four districts: Warsaw, Radom, Lublin and Cracow. When the Russian Communists took over Bessarabia [Romania] and the Baltic States, ethnic Germans were permitted to leave and many were resettled in Poland.

Gollert gives the population of the GG as 17,607,500, with 11,300,000 Poles, 4,029,000 Ukrainians, 2,092,000 Jews, 90,000 Gorals, 75,000 ethnic Germans, 15,000 Ruthenians, 6,500 Russians and small groups of Georgians, Tatars and Armenians. Accordingly, the District of Warsaw had 2,800,000 poles, 600,000 Jews and a small number of other groups.

Since Warsaw had a very large Jewish population (according to the *The New Concise Pictorial Encyclopedia*, Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1938, the Jewish population was 309,000), naturally Gollert devotes 7 of his 302 pages to the Jewish District of Warsaw, with 12 pictures of the Jewish District.

Under the subtitle “The Necessity of Establishing the Jewish District,” one is told that the Jewish District was surrounded by a wall in the summer of 1940 to protect both Jews and non-Jews from epidemics potentially emanating from it. This action then became the model for establishing Jewish districts in the rest of Poland. Or as Gollert put it, “So it happened that in 1940; earlier than in any other district of the GG, a Jewish District was established. “

Since one is generally led to believe that this decision was racially motivated — the natural outgrowth of the National Socialist plan — exterminate all Jews — this raises the crucial question: Was the threat of epidemic real, or was it, as the exterminationists claim only a German pretense to mask their alleged goals of exterminating non-German human beings?

In 1987, 47 years after the Ghetto was walled in, and 44 years after DDT (dichlorodiphenyl-trichloroethane) powder eradicated epidemic typhus forever, it is difficult to realize that typhus was indeed the number-one killer in Eastern Europe. However, medical books and journals of the time leave no doubt that this was the case.

To take just one; example, *The Textbook of Bacteriology* (1945) by Edwin O. Jordan, under “Typhus Fever” and “European Typhus Fever,” one reads that the disease is caused by the *Rickettsia prowazeki* germ and is transmitted by the human body louse *Pediculus vestimenti*. This louse-borne typhus persists in endemic foci in Russia and Poland, where it has occasionally broken out in major epidemics during periods of stress, Furthermore, and this approximated the conditions of the Jewish District, “The disease is associated with overcrowding and filth and has been termed 'camp' and 'jail fever.' Epidemics are not infrequent in both civil and military populations during time of war and may be extensive. It is estimated that 315,000 persons died of typhus in Serbia in 1915, and about 25,000,000 cases occurred in Russia in 1917-21.” The *Textbook* claims that the sole vector of the disease under natural conditions is the louse, and thus takes for granted that the only approach in battling the disease is by instituting rigorous delousing programs.

The pre-DDT danger of typhus found expression in such books as *A Five-Year Peace Plan* by Edward J. Byng, published in 1943. Byng took for granted that the United Nations would win, but there would continue to be a grave typhus problem after the war. He thus insisted: “The occupation troops of the United Nations should immediately install 'de-lousing' stations in Poland, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and, in close cooperation with Russia, along the Finnish-German-Hungarian-Romanian-Russian border.” This because the border would be crossed by home-ward-bound Axis soldiers and civilians. The writer claimed that between 1914-20 more people died in Europe from that louse-borne scourge, spotted- fever (or exanthematic typhus), than in the actual fighting.

There can be no doubt that typhus was a deadly reality before DDT.

The first large-scale, effective use of DDT delousing powder was in Naples in December 1943. According to *The American Year Book: A Record of Events and Progress for the Year 1944*, on

page 23, “Demonstrations of DDT’s efficacy against epidemic louse-borne typhus in Naples were dramatic and complete.” Supposedly typhus had broken out when Italian troops returned from the louse-infested Balkans.

As many as 50,000 persons were deloused in one day, and by mid-March 1944, 2,250,000 had been treated with DDT. By the summer of 1944 the Allies had sufficient DDT to protect 50,000,000 troops in one month.

Two years after the war, *The Textbook of Bacteriology* (1947), by Thulman B. Rice, could triumphantly claim: “The American troops protected by vaccination and armed with DDT for the destruction of lice were able to go into Naples and Buchenwald (Concentration camp) with impunity even when the epidemic was raging.” The writer puts the story of the DDT gun “among the classic stories of epidemiological methods.”

1943, however, was four years after the Germans quarantined the Jewish District of Waisaw, and three years after the decision was made to build walls around the Jewish Ghetto. Thus, the Germans still had to follow the delousing procedures spoken of by Byng and illustrated in the *The Cylopedia of Medicine Surgery and Speciaities* (1941) by George M. Piersol, Editor. On page 534 one finds:

No specific therapy has yet been developed for typhus. Since endemic typhus is carried by rats and transmitted by rat fleas, the obvious means for prophylaxis is disinfection of the premises of rats or avoidance of the vicinity where they exist. Without lice (carried by rats or infested humans and clothing) epidemic typhus could not exist, therefore, all measures focus on methods of keeping louse-free or delousing. Carrying out these procedures on a large scale may be difficult during war and pestilence, but they should be rigidly enforced.

The *Textbook* states that elaborate baths and delousing stations may be erected, but simpler methods may be exposing clothing to disinfection by chemicals or heat or to burn the clothes while the individual is bathed and completely shaven. These have proven satisfactory.

Indeed the Germans learned how difficult it was to “carry out these procedures on a large scale.” These methods needed the co-operation of men, women and children to be deloused. Some were hostile to the Germans, and even inspired and ordered by the Underground to sabotage. On the other hand, DDT powder could be readily blown, even unsuspectingly, down the neck or up the sleeves of fully dressed individuals. Within an hour or two the lice were dead, according to the *The Science Yearbook of 1945*.

The German method meant herding people together, undressing, taking a bath, shaving, changing and washing of clothing. Clothing had to be kept apart and sorted out, and worn-out clothing destroyed in incinerators. Since heat was involved in the delousing and the incinerators using coal or gas were generally close to crematoria, the most hygienic way of disposing of the dead, this method became the target of a vicious anti-German radio and underground campaign. It was easy for gullible people to believe and pass on the story that the Germans had extermination instead of delousing on their minds.

That the Jewish District presented formidable health problems can be learned from the description of the Ghetto (a term not used by Gollert in *Warschau unter Deutscher Herrschaft*) in the *Autobiography* of the American Rabbi Stephen Wise. He visited the Ghetto three years before the war and in 1949 wrote that he had seen “crowded, poverty-stricken ghettos in the large cities of other lands” but that nothing could compare with the Ghetto in Warsaw with its “poorest

denizens,” “subcellar homes and unimaginable darkest underground hovels.” “Many were tented in their day and night occupancy; families were crowded together.”

A similar description is to be found in *Europe behind the Iron Curtain*, in which the Protestant preacher Martha L. Moennich, page 74, recalled:

“I well remember my first visit to the Warsaw Ghetto in 1939 when I preached to many of these God’s ancient people... Their plight was already a sorrowful one at the time. These unemancipated people — wrapped in their ancient traditions, struggling to eke out an existence by means of a pushcart, crowded into one-room apartments with large families, with no privacy, comforts or common facilities to encourage decency — certainly touched my heart”.

To these normal unsanitary conditions, Gollert had to factor in the havoc and disarray caused by the siege of Warsaw in September 1939. The city and much of the surrounding area, according to Gollert, had been heavily destroyed, with town, villages and farms burned to the ground. Thousands of refugees from Warsaw and other cities had been uprooted and roamed about aimlessly. Businesses were closed; markets deserted. Many believed that the Germans had come only to plunder and destroy. There was panic and shock. Famine threatened, for farmers were not inclined to sell their products. Half of the crop was lost. The number of cattle, sheep, pigs and horses had been greatly reduced. There was a shortage of machinery, and Poles were reluctant to work with the Germans, even though streets, roads, railroads, telecommunications systems and sewage systems urgently needed repair. Murder and robberies were commonplace. Pure water was rare, as were suitable eating places. Former officials had fled, taking with them valuable records and documents and destroying the rest in order to sabotage the effectiveness of future German administrations.

The Germans met this head-on. Even before the fighting ceased, German soldiers began cleaning up. Military booty was collected; tens of thousands of prisoners of war were put into temporary camps; roads, streets, bridges and railroads were repaired. Although in the beginning there was little Polish cooperation, Gollert spoke positively of the Polish officials and people, who were responsible and prepared to cooperate effectively in the rebuilding.

In writing about the Jews, the writer reflected the thought-world and emotions of National Socialism. One is told that the Jews in pre-war Poland, as in Central and Western Europe, understood how to gain key decision-making posts in the cultural, the industrial, the commercial and financial areas. Nevertheless, Poland was different, since the majority of Jews were neither businessmen nor intellectuals, but workers and artisans. Thus the Germans, besides having to break up the overall national Jewish influence, had also to govern an exceptionally large Jewish population concentrated in compact areas.

Contrary to common conceptions, the Germans had no pre-conceived plan to deal with the Jewish District, except that, for hygienic reasons, the Jewish District was put off limits to German troops. But this did not solve the epidemic problem, so it was decided to quarantine certain areas. This did not envision “an actual moving of men, women and children.” But the epidemic danger persisted as the Jews paid little attention to the quarantine, but went about unhindered. (It seems even that the wearing of the Star of David did not help.) Enforcement was difficult, since “the back streets, yards and dwellings in the District were pictures of disarray, filth and dirt.” The danger of spreading “typhus fever, stomach typhus, (typhoid), diarrhea and other contagious diseases” to other areas continued as Jews were found in the inner city. Thus in May 1940 the Germans, in consultation with Polish representatives, decided to wall in the district and, as much as

possible, to put the Jews themselves in charge of the health of the District. At one time two districts were considered, but in the last analysis only one was established. This was a relatively easy operation, since the District had been quarantined already and the percentage of Jews living there was between 80% to 90%.

This action involved moving out about 700 ethnic Germans and 113,000 Poles, and moving in about 138,000 Jews. About 11,500 Aryan (non-Jewish) homes and dwellings were evacuated in the city, and about 13,000 Jewish homes in the eastern part of the Warsaw District were not included, but continued to live in Jewish encaves, as in Siedlce and Sokolow. A relatively large number did not even live in any areas designated as Jewish. (Note: the word Aryan encompassed all non-Jewish ethnic groups in Poland, not just Germans.)

How separate was the Jewish District? One learns that there was a wall and a fence around it. Special permission was needed to enter and to leave. Administratively the Jews continued to have their 24-member council with, a spokesman, comparable to the mayor of a city. The Germans appointed a German Commissar for the District who was directly under the German Governor of the GG in Cracow. This Commissar established a Central Transfer Office, which took care of the economic needs of the District.

Within this framework, the District was autonomous. It had own Department of Health, its Office of Housing, its Office for the Registration of the Population, and its Office for Taxation and Finance. There were about 2000 Jewish orderlies (some are pictured in the book), which worked together with the Polish and German authorities. These orderlies were entrusted with the necessary authority to enforce the health rules and to provide the postal service. Gollert was quite explicit regarding the mail service explaining that the German Mail East delivered the mail to the District, who handed it to the Jewish Postal Administration, who in turn gave their mail to the German Mail East. The Jews were charge of the traffic and transit system.

Engaged in a life-and-death struggle, the Germans naturally implemented measures to utilize the workshops of the District for war contracts. These contracts were mutually agreed upon with representatives from the Jews. The necessities of life, as stated, were handled through the Central Transfer Office under the German Commissar, who, so it seems, allowed the Jewish authorities to distribute them as they saw fit.

Was this decision of May 1940 a wise one? Gollert defends it, arguing that with “great clarity” the wall was needed to prevent the outbreaks of epidemics in Warsaw and the surrounding areas. In doing so, the writer cited statistics showing that despite the closeness of the District to the rest of Warsaw (it was practically downtown) and despite some laxity in enforcing the separation, only 10% of all reported typhus cases occurred outside the Jewish District. Economically and militarily, it was also the best policy under the circumstances, since it utilized the Jewish workers for the war effort, while requiring a minimum of German supervision, thus partially alleviating the great German manpower shortage. (Jews were exempted from military service.)

Gollert claims that the organizational talent of the Jews did not match their intellectual abilities, so despite numerous official commissions, organizations and committees, the inhabitants seldom succeeded in a coordinated effort. Although Gollert spoke of Jewish self centeredness and strong individualism, he also struck a positive note, in writing that “generally the actions of the representatives of the Jewish Districts were satisfactory.”

Concluding the chapter on the Jewish District, Gollert wrote that the arrangement was self evidently a temporary solution until a permanent solution to the Jewish problem could be found. Essentially, the German decision was Jewish, since Jews oppose intermarriages, and insist on their

own built-in laws. The Germans also had to fear Polish inspired pogroms against the Jews. The wall prevented that as well.

Seven months later, in April 1943, the Jews, taking advantage of their autonomous situation, staged an uprising, which the Germans put down. This uprising should not be confused with the one in August 1944, when the London based, Polish Government-in-exile staged another abortive uprising in Warsaw, so as to capture Warsaw for the so-called Western democracies, hoping thereby to guarantee the independence of postwar Poland. Promised help from the Russian forces, who were already in the eastern part of the city, just across the Vistula, did not materialize, as the Russians passively allowed the Germans to eliminate the Polish "Home Army" in this 65-day long battle.

When General Dwight D. Eisenhower visited the city after the war, he called it the most destroyed city of World War II. He failed to mention that by September 1942, when Gollert wrote his *Warsaw under German Rule*, Warsaw had been rebuilt under German supervision after the destruction of the Warsaw siege of September 1939.

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Reviews

The Survivor

- THE SURVIVOR, by Jack Eisner. New York: Wm. Morrow, 1980, 320 pp., ISBN 0-688-03741-0.
- WAR AND LOVE, directed by Moshe Mizrahi, screenplay by Abby Mann, produced by Jack Eisner, released by Cannon Group, 1985. Running time 112 min.

Reviewed by Arthur R. Butz

In late 1980 I was contacted by a Chicago TV station with a proposal that I appear to discuss a newly published book with its author, New York businessman Jack Eisner. Accordingly the station sent me a copy of the book, *The Survivor*, a vanity publication (though issued by a regular New York publisher), which ostensibly gives an account of Eisner's activities as an adolescent smuggler and black marketer in the wartime Warsaw ghetto, his arrest and incarceration at the Majdanek concentration camp, his transfer to Flossenburg, and his liberation at the end of the war. I read the book and was generally agreeable to appearing on the TV show, but that event never materialized. I have a hunch on the reasons why the appearance was proposed in the first place, which I shall get to.

The book turned out to be a more crudely constructed opus than I expected. Consider Eisner's account of his arrival at the "reception depot" for Majdanek:

Suddenly, as though a fairy tale had come to life, a beautiful white horse and rider appeared in the distance. I couldn't believe my eyes as I watched the animal gallop closer and closer. In the saddle was an majestic, monocled figure in an SS general's uniform decorated with red velvet lapels, topped by a striped SS cap. A long white cape lined with red satin floated behind him. Several SS officers, using their whips and guns, cleared a path for the "emperor." Standing in the stirrups, he rode through the masses of "rubbish," assessing the scene.

The text then identifies the general as Odilo Globocnik, described as "Himmler's chief executioner in Southern Poland" (Globocnik was SS and Police Leader in the Lublin district)

In the book it is typical that SS officers appear on the scene wearing monocles, supplemented with white gloves and miscellaneous fancy vestments. For me this evoked images from some of the horrid movies I saw as a child during the war, in which German officers often wore monocles. Those Hollywood gimmicks were, in turn, throwbacks to the anti-militarist, anti-Prussian reaction in the Weimar Republic, in which a monocle was associated with Prussian militarists.

I wonder why Eisner adorned his text with monocles, but in any case they are ludicrous on several grounds. First, the monocle had become in Germany a symbol of a reactionary attitude and the Nazis and the SS represented themselves as revolutionaries; no SS officer would have been

caught dead wearing a monocle. Second, Globocnik was no Prussian but an Austrian of Croatian ancestry. His wearing a monocle would have been preposterous on ethnic grounds — something like a Brooklyn Italian affecting a Southern colonel. Third, Globocnik didn't wear a monocle.

That Globocnik scene is typical of the book. Much more comparable fantasy is to be found there and the above quotation would have been much funnier if I had included a few more paragraphs. I had to stop somewhere. Caroline Latham, a freelance editor Eisner hired to help him with his book, commented that "A number of us who read the early manuscript felt that believability was one of its greatest problems ... Jack had performed so many heroic deeds and had so many close brushes with death that he tended to stretch his credibility." [1]

After such admissions, what is left for the critic to say? I shall only add that the Globocnik scene is followed by some exterminations in gas chambers that "were long wooden structures with too many windows ... sealed and taped," with a monocled SS doctor presiding. Wooden gas chambers with windows are features of the legend that we encounter now and then, but what seems particularly odd in Eisner's account is that this gassing scene is followed by an enigmatic reference to "the camp where the real gas chambers, the concrete ones, are." There is no elaboration or attempt to answer the questions begged. Of course both wood and concrete, on account of their ventilatory and absorptive properties, are unsuitable as walls for gas chambers.

The TV appearance did not materialize. After I read the book and communicated my agreeability to appear with Eisner as originally proposed, preferably live, the station representative said that there would be an additional guest to support Eisner. Sensing a move to take the focus off the book, I rejected such an arrangement. I now believe that there was never a serious intention to have Eisner confront me on TV. Eisner is unpopular in some Jewish circles and I suspect that the whole episode was put on only to teach Eisner that his book was a piece of junk that a revisionist would have no trouble handling.

Eisner's next project was the funding of the "American-Jewish Commission on the Holocaust," to study the behavior of "American Jewry during the Holocaust." Eisner got former Supreme Court Associate Justice Arthur J. Goldberg to chair the Commission, and Seymour M. Finger, Professor of Political Science at CUNY (City University of New York), to serve as research director. The Commission became publicly active in 1981.

Many Jewish leaders did not like Eisner's Commission; e.g. the 1983 article by Lucy Dawidowicz, *Commentary* magazine's most reliable hatchet person. [2] Eisner's intellectual sloppiness was probably one of the reasons for this hostility. The major reason however must have been that the Commission's subject was, shall we say, delicate. Whatever the general U.S. Jewish population thought of the atrocity and extermination tales, the wartime Jewish leaders certainly did not take claims of "extermination" seriously; that is completely clear from Yehuda Bauer's *American Jewry and the Holocaust*, Detroit 1981 (see also my remarks on this subject in the Winter 1982 *Journal of Historical Review*, or in Supplement B in recent printings of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*). The controversy over the Commission became so intense that early in 1983 it had even been declared dissolved with Goldberg and Finger claiming that Eisner had welched, on commitments of financial support, and Eisner claiming that Goldberg had bowed to pressure from Jewish groups. [3] However, the Commission was eventually reassembled, and its report was issued in 1984. [4]

Eisner had more vanity productions in the works. In 1985 he appeared as producer of a film entitled *War and Love*, an adaptation of his book *The Survivor*. To provide the background music (Mahler) he hired the Israel Philharmonic, no less, and his director was the respected Moshe

Mizrahi, thus proving again that money can buy almost anything. Most of the film was shot in Budapest (resulting in a last minute litigation by Hungary over the rights), with a side trip to Auschwitz in Poland.

As should be expected the movie resembles the book, but the most ludicrous scenes are dropped. No monocled SS officers, and no Globocnik scene as above. The principal difference between book and film is that the portion devoted to concentration camp experiences was greatly reduced. Indeed Eisner does not arrive at Majdanek but at Auschwitz, and the action of the film does not tarry there long. There are no great gassing or extermination scenes. The generally moderated tone of the film, in relation to the book, is to be expected. It is far harder to get away with absurdities when they dramatized in visual form than when they are claimed in print.

Nevertheless the more influential critics received the film with contempt. Vincent Canby of the *New York Times* described it as “shockingly inept,” while David Edelstein of the *Village Voice* was more lucid: “Junk ... How cheap.” [5] I wonder how the critics would have reacted to a faithful adaption of the book!

It is worth pausing over the film’s failure to dramatize the mass gassings, which are, after all, the kernel of the whole legend. It is now 42 years since World War II ended, and for about 10 years we have been on the Great Binge of “Holocaust remembrance.” The Great Binge is probably a reaction to Revisionism, but that is beside the present point. Commissions have been organized, conferences and symposia have been held, massively publicized TV spectacles have been shown, the most politically tainted of the Nobel Prizes has been given to a raving novelist, special investigating and prosecuting units have been formed in several countries to pursue aged alleged “Nazis,” and a journal of scholarly format has been launched (*Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Pergamon Press). I could go on.

We seem to have actually gotten accustomed to getting these half-century-old atrocity tales for breakfast, lunch and dinner, so it may be seem paradoxical that to date the number of attempts to actually dramatize the mass gassings of the legend could probably be counted on the fingers of one hand. All such attempts have in technically poor productions. For example, NBC’s “Holocaust” series of 1978, though courteously plugged everywhere, was not well received by serious critics and was quickly forgotten.

As I wrote at the time, “the extermination legend entails dramatic impossibilities.” That resistance to transport was rare, and that there were no riots by transports of Jews on arriving at camps, are very evident historical data. Thus the legend claims, as it must, that the Jews did not resist being gassed. The problem is that while while a reader of a book, might be persuaded that, for a period of two or three years, at some place in Poland, thousands of Jews were delivered every day by railway trains and marched quietly and peacefully (for they are supposed to have thought they were getting showers)', to their deaths in gas chambers, the belief would vanish if that reader saw a serious effort to depict such events on film. Surely some of the victims would had to have known, through rumor, or through taunting by guards. But then one would have the situation, of NBC’s “Holocaust,” in which some are presented as knowing; thus making the peaceful submission of the mass to death quite incredible, and even in that NBC production only the initial events, in only one instance of an imagined mass gassing, were depicted. Something like this was probably comprehended by Mizrahi, and he edited Eisner’s vanity movie accordingly. As for the ludicrous title, perhaps it was Mizrahi’s revenge.

At this writing Eisner seems to have no further projects of interest to us, although the “Jack Eisner Center for Holocaust Research” that he established at CUNY is listed in *Holocaust and*

Genocide Studies as a “major research centre.” His productions are not even bad history or bad autobiography, and it is understatement to designate them bad fiction. One may wonder why they are worth noting at all. I believe they are worth noting as a puzzling contemporary cultural phenomenon, specifically, that of normally inarticulate people from the world of business or finance attempting to participate prominently in the Great Binge.

It is at least simplistic, and probably erroneous, to explain Eisner’s activities in terms of pure financial motivation. Not only am I confident that Eisner lost a good deal of money on his stinkers, I also suspect that he never expected to make money on them, at least not in the sense of direct profit from the specific productions. If that seems implausible, consider the example of the super-crook, Ivan F. Boesky, former member of the U.S. Holocaust Commission, and generous contributor to Jewish philanthropy. Associated with the American Ballet Theater, Boesky sought to “finance a production of a ballet on the Holocaust.” [6] Fine arts performances are notoriously unprofitable, and could not exist without infusions from generous benefactors. Boesky could not have made any money on the ballet. The motivations for such enterprises are no doubt political, but certainly in Eisner’s case the politics are not those of the Jewish community as a whole; Eisner’s unpopularity there proves that.

My guess is that intra-Jewish politics underlie such projects, and that consequently they are impenetrable to me in fundamental respects. I will have to leave the subject there, as an unresolved and probably unresolvable puzzle. What is certain, however, is that there is a calculation, in the minds of people who have proved their considerable business acumen, that the decade-long Great Binge invites them, for specific reasons I can only guess at, to participate.

Notes

1. [↗](#) *Publishers Weekly*, September 12, 1980, p. 48.
2. [↗](#) *Commentary*, June 1983, p. 36.
3. [↗](#) *New York Times*, January 4, 1983, p. 1.
4. [↗](#) Seymour M. Finger, ed. *American Jewry during the Holocaust*, American Jewish Commission on the Holocaust, New York, 1984.
5. [↗](#) *New York Times*, September 13, 1985, p. C6. *Village Voice*, September 24, 1985, p. 64.
6. [↗](#) *New York Times*, November 21, 1986, business section. *Jewish Chronicle*, November 28, 1986, p. 3.

Book review

Selling Hitler

- SELLING HITLER by Robert Harris. New York: Pantheon Books. First American edition, 1986, 402 pp., \$18.95, ISBN 0-394-5533-5.

Reviewed by H. Keith Thompson

The quantities of Third-Reich-related forgeries in circulation can generally be divided into two categories. First, there are the forgeries made by the World War II Allies, and by various international pressure groups, for propaganda purposes, such as the masses of faked material introduced by the Allies at their various postwar “trials” of defeated Axis adherents, e.g., the Russian “evidence” concerning the Katyn Massacre. Most forgeries in the second category (documents, uniforms, medals, weapons and other memorabilia) are merely attempts to make money.

Selling Hitler tells the story of one of the most flagrant, crassly commercial attempts to cash in on the still intense memory of the Third Reich and its leaders. An important and highly entertaining work by a BBC television journalist, it deals not only with controversy surrounding the forged purported “diaries” of Adolf Hitler, but also touches on the murky world of dealing in and collecting of so-called “Nazi memorabilia,” much of which is currently being faked on a considerable scale in England, Germany and the U.S.

A special issue of the *IHR Newsletter*, No. 18, April 1983, dealt with the then breaking story of the Hitler “diaries,” revealing the facts and the assertions as they then stood and very intelligently advising that, “Ordinary prudence, as well as academic skepticism, would dictate that no opinion be given until the evidence is fully examined by experts and specialists of impeccable credentials.” It is a pity that historians of some stature, establishment as well as revisionist, did not heed that sage advice but instead jumped into the controversy, giving off the-cuff opinions to please those sharks of the publishing world who were prepared to pay very well for such opinions when favorable to them. The “anything for a buck” mentality gripped the historians involved when they knew full well that only forensic scientists, with knowledge of papers, inks, glue, bindings and the interaction of time on those elements, were qualified to rule in the matter. It is far more difficult to launch a fraud among scientists, for their work is physical, finite, and can be double-checked by other qualified scientists.

Easily the most costly and most publicity-ridden fraud in modern times, 60 purported volumes of Hitler “diaries” brought — temporarily — over \$2,000,000, only to be conclusively identified as forgeries within less than three weeks. *Selling Hitler* tells the whole story.

The chief villain in the affair was Gerd Heidemann, a reporter for the German publication, *Stern*, who worked with the forger himself, Konrad Kujau alias “Connie” Fischer, a dealer and middleman in Nazi memorabilia, some genuine and some fake. Aside from his work on the “diaries,” Kujau also forged more than 300 drawings and paintings attributed to Hitler, many of which

ended up reproduced as genuine in a beautiful multi-colored edition of *Adolf Hitler As Painter and Draftsman*, published by Texas millionaire Billy F. Price, Printed in German, it was banned in West Germany but, in 1984, appeared in the U.S. as *Adolf Hitler: The Unknown Artist*. Robert Harris relates,

A large section of it was the work of Konrad Kujau, but it would have cost a fortune to rip out the fakes and reprint the book. The Kujaus therefore were left sprinkled amongst the Hitlers, and nobody, apparently, cared. “Even the suspect pictures,” claimed a limp note of explanation in the book’s introduction, “generally reflect Hitler’s known style.” That remark echoes that made by *Newsweek* about the Hitler diaries; “Genuine or not, it almost doesn’t matter in the end.”

Frankly, the Kujau Hitlers were not very good. Some of them might be said to reflect Hitler’s style, but most of them did not. Hitler was a skilled but very conservative artist. He was not good at human figures, and he preferred to do landscapes. The market is glutted with forgeries and any prospective buyer of Hitler art had best be on guard, particularly since one of the “art experts” involved is ready to authenticate anything as a Hitler for an appropriate fee. The same is true of much other “Nazi memorabilia.” A village in West Germany thrives on the cottage industry of reproducing Hitler silverware, knives, forks, spoons, dishes, etc. It is impossible to determine the age of an element like silver and all that is needed is a good set of engraving dies for the simple monogrammed design of the silver used in Hitler’s various residences and many officers’ messes. Another popular item is SS silverware, even simpler to reproduce, adorned as it is with merely the SS runes. And Brooklyn, N.Y. a metalworking firm is busily making modern reproductions of copper busts and statuary. A special formula has even been developed to produce a convincing age patina.

The group of so-called handwriting experts and historians summoned — for large fees — for the purpose of authenticating the Hitler diaries proved to be a pitiful lot. The first was Ordway Hilton of South Carolina, a name not widely known in the field of handwriting analysis. As author Harris writes, “Hilton’s report, couched in five pages of professional gobbledygook, was conclusive. But, based as it was on the assumption that all the documents he had been given for comparison were authentic, it was also completely wrong...they were all forged by Kujau.” The West German police were similarly tricked, as was similarly tricked, as was another handwriting expert, one Frei-Sulzer of West Germany. Their “comparison examples” came from the Heide-mann archive and were Kujau forgeries. But it provided sufficient “evidence” for the “*Stern* gang” to begin the international marketing of publication rights. Never before in publishing have such greed and double-dealing been witnessed. Bidding and counter-offers, the repudiation of agreements by the West Germans involved and the aggressive attitude of Rupert Murdoch combined to skyrocket prices. The American editors of *Newsweek* and the London *Sunday Times* typified the essentially mercenary role of the press. “Genuine or not, let’s publish the diaries and make money.” That became the order of the day.

Among the historians who had rejected the diaries from the outset were the West Germans Dr. Eberhard Jäckel and Dr. Werner Maser. The American historian Dr. Gerhard Weinberg, of the University of North Carolina, was on the wrong side. After a quick flight (between classes) to Germany, he found certain passages in the diary which coincided with his “own theories,” and he endorsed the authenticity of the manuscripts.

The historian who causes the most trouble was Trevor-Roper (now Lord Dacre), an Englishman who had built a career on his opportunistic book, *The Last Days of Hitler*, but who was in fact a specialist in the 16th and 17th centuries. Harris notes:

He was not a German scholar. He was not fluent in the language and had admitted as much in a review of *Mein Kampf* published a decade earlier: “I do not read German,” he confessed, “with great ease or pleasure.” Written in an archaic script, impenetrable to most Germans, the diaries might as well have been composed of Egyptian hieroglyphics for all the sense Trevor-Roper could make of them. He had to rely on the *Stern* men for translation. The conversation was entirely in English ...

Trevor Roper and Murdoch were not friends. Murdoch regarded him as a “typical English establishment waxwork ... Harold Evans described the historian at board meetings of Times Newspapers sitting with 'eyes screwed up behind pebble glasses ... permanently sniffing the air for *non sequiturs* ...” For his part, Trevor-Roper considered Murdoch, “an awful cad.” But Trevor Roper did Murdoch’s work and endorsed the Hitler forgeries, creating the biggest stir of all, only to begin within a few days to backtrack and try to wiggle out. What kind of “historians” are these? They had ventured into a field for which they possessed no qualifications.

The forged diaries were, remarkably, rather poor productions. The initials on the binders, taken by Germans to be “AH” but in fact “FH” (for *Führerhauptquartier*), were made of Hong Kong plastic bought by Kujau in a department store. The “text” was in large measure copied directly from a 1962 work by Max Domarus, *Hitler’s Speeches and Proclamations*, and Kujau meticulously copied the dated entries, even transcribing errors made by Domarus in dates and acts. Harris notes, “One such mistake was an entry by 'Hitler' recording that he had received a telegram from General Ritter von Epp congratulating him on the fiftieth anniversary of his joining the army; in reality, the telegram was *from* Hitler *to* Epp. Kujau had copied the error word-for-word into the diary.”

If there were any heroes in the whole sordid business, who were they? Above all, they were the circle of surviving old Nazis, particularly Hitler’s adjutants, staff, and secretaries. Many of these people had literally lived with Hitler and knew his every movement. He was not a diarist. Heidemann made every effort to infiltrate this group of elderly “keepers of the flame.” He tried to buy his way into their confidence for motives of his own, certainly not political but exclusively financial. SS General Wilhelm Mohnke, a Bunker survivor who led one of the escape groups after Hitler’s death in 1945, notes that at a social occasion in his home, with two of Hitler’s adjutants present, Heidemann announced that a set of Hitler’s diaries had survived. “... the three old SS men were skeptical. 'That was thought by the people there to be impossible,' declared Mohnke.” On another occasion, Mohnke informed Heidemann,

Several things in these diaries were simply not true. First the SS *Standarte* never had their barracks in Lichterfeld. I belonged to that troop and in March and April 1933 we were in the Friesenstraße... Secondly, at that time this troop of men did not have the name *Liebstandarte*. Thirdly, the entry for 18 March 1933 was false. Adolf Hitler never visited this troop in the Friesenstraße...

Another major hero was the *Bundesarchiv* and its forensic scientists. The paper was found to be a type that had not existed before 1955. The bindings contained viscose and polyester, not in use at the time alleged. “And by measuring the evaporation of chloride from the ink, the scientists established that the Hess 'volume had been written within the last two years, whilst the writing in the 1943 diary was less than twelve months old.”

Still another hero was Kenneth Rendell, an autograph dealer and handwriting expert from Massachusetts. He was retained by *Newsweek* to evaluate the diaries. He used forensic methods and an valid system of analysis, quickly reaching the conclusion that the diaries were forgeries and not

particularly good ones. He probably could have counted on a more generous honorarium had he endorsed the diaries. Another autograph dealer sought to interject himself into the controversy for publicity purposes, but ends up in *Selling Hitler* with an appropriately brief mention.

Robert Harris has written a definitive book on the Hitler diaries hoax. His research is detailed and impeccable. The style of writing, peppered with wit, holds the reader's attention. This is a book one cannot put down without reading to the last line. It is a valuable reference work and belongs in the library of Revisionists and of others interested in the history of the Third Reich.

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Book review

Maus: A Survivor's Tale

- *Maus: A Survivor's Tale*, by Art Spiegelman. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986, 160 pp., \$8.95

Reviewed by Janet Reilly

The publisher of *MAUS* directs libraries to shelve the book under "Holocaust/Autobiography," and indeed, although it is a comic strip featuring white mice as Jews, pigs as Poles, cats as Nazis, and wartime Europe as a gigantic mousetrap, *Maus* is as restrained an exemplar of this garish genre as can be found nowadays. For several years the tale has been appearing as specially bound installments in the avant-garde art comic *Raw*, of which the artist-author Art Spiegelman is coeditor along with his wife Francoise Mouly. (A New York quarterly founded in 1980, *Raw* sports a different subtitle each quarter: "The Graphix Magazine — of Postponed Suicides," "for Damned Intellectuals," "that Lost its Faith in Nihilism," "for your Bomb Shelter's Coffee Table," "of Abstract Depressionism," and other equally jejune shock-schlock tags. Its folio-size pages, crawling with violent, absurdist, sick and stylish images, are a leading repository of Eurotrash chic, a fact which ticks off American comic artists who feel unfairly left out.) *Maus* is actually less another "survivor's tale" than it is another cruel anatomy of the legendary Jewish Family. We have all met this Wunderfamilie: it is uniquely warm, supportive, close and nonviolent. Its parents never hit. Its mother may be "pushy," but only out of bottomless maternal desire to see her precious offspring flourish. Its father is wise, gentle, intellectually stimulating, and never alcoholic. Since the war, the more heavily propagandized countries such as the U.S. have imbibed this myth with their mother's milk; similarly acquired lore includes "The Nazis tied pregnant women's legs together when they went into labor," "The Nazis swung Jewish babies against brick walls and dashed out their brains," and of course that old Christmas favorite, the Anne Frank Story. It is a measure of how much more potent a well-told (and oft-repeated) fable is than mere empirical observation that not until we encounter Revisionism, which dares to call a thing by its proper name, are most of us able to retroactively "conform" the actualities of Jewish behavior we ourselves have witnessed to a rather sounder theoretical framework.

Until recently Jews have tried to present a united front of perfect harmony before the rest of the world and keep the weird little pathologies strictly to themselves. Increasingly, however, emboldened by the "untouchable" status they have extorted from American society (if not from other cultures), Jews have been treating these inherent tensions more and more blatantly. That Jews have in fact even less difficulty than most people despising their own kin is clear from the dozens of recent novels, plays, biographies, autobiographies, pop psychology tomes, and films in the Where's Poppa? mode (the father in *Death of a Salesman* had already gotten pretty hard to forgive, for that matter ...). The best way to obsess someone is to reject him, and parental rejection would seem to be the dynamic underlying these ferociously unsparing dissections now mas-

querading as “American literature.” It is also the dynamic, of course, that plays such a large role in ensuring the reproduction of the peculiarly Jewish character structure. To get back to Spiegelman’s adventure, son Artie hopes to understand through his father Vladek’s life history why the old man behaves as he does. Perhaps “the camps” are to blame? Perhaps the “Mauschwitz” experience is the solution to the riddle of unloved, unlovely, unlovable parents? At first it seems so, but by the end it has come to seem not.

Most of the rave reviews Maus has received tiptoe uneasily round this central contradiction: that it is one thing to portray one’s parent unsentimentally, the better to serve historical truth but quite another thing to have no sentimentality to forego. None of the reviewers has mustered the feck to address Maus as an irruption of the Jewish repressed. They duly note its contents, from the opening quote — “The Jews are undoubtedly a race, but they are not human” (Adolf Hitler) — to the parting shot — Art muttering that Vladek is a “murderer” for having destroyed his dead first wife Anja’s wartime diaries — but keep mum as to meaning. “A quiet triumph ... impossible to achieve in any medium but comics.” — The Washington Post. (Why?) “The tiny animal figures that move, dress, and speak like human beings become a metaphor for the Jewish experience.” — Susan T. Goodman, Chief Curator, the Jewish Museum. (How so, Susan? You don’t agree with Hitler, surely?) Spiegelman may well be getting flak from ADL public-image monitors or Mel Mermelstein-style hysterics of authenticity, but so far there’s been no public censure. In the event, Spiegelman’s goal of rendering his father’s story exactly, warts and all, to make it more truthful, more recognizably human than many of the wildly idealized self-canonizations occasioned by the “Holocaust,” has the effect primarily of reinforcing and reconfirming the son’s aversion and resentment. As Art confesses to his stepmother, Mala (p. 131), “I used to think the war made him that way ... “

“Fah!” blurts Mala. “I went through the camps ... All our friends went through the camps. Nobody is like him!” “It’s something that worries me about the book I’m doing about him ...,” Art goes on. “In some ways he’s just like the racist caricature of the miserly old Jew.”

“Hah! You can say that again!”

“I mean, I’m just trying to portray my father accurately! ... “ And Maus offers no reason to doubt that Spiegelman has accomplished just that. Vladek’s irritable, unremitting rejection of his son has driven the latter to become an artist in the first place: because “he thought it was impractical, just a waste of time ... It was an area where I wouldn’t have to compete with him” (p. 97). In a move which adumbrates a far more serious betrayal at the end, Vladek furtively throws Art’s favorite jacket in the garbage, supposedly because it’s too “shabby.” Anja herself, possibly Vladek’s prime victim, has earlier committed suicide by taking pills and slashing her wrists; only a fluke prevents Artie from being the one who finds her lying dead in a bloody bathtub. In a previous strip, “Prisoner on the Hell Planet,” reproduced in Maus, Spiegelman described his reaction: “I remembered the last time I saw her ... She came into my room ... It was late at night ... “Artie — you — still — love — me — don’t you?” I turned away, resentful of the way she tightened the umbilical cord ... Well, Mom, if you’re listening ... Congratulations! ... You’ve committed the perfect crime ... You murdered me, Mommy, and you left me here to take the rap!!!” — fade out on the vista of an endless cellblock (ellipses in original). The betrayal prefigured by the jacket incident is Vladek’s wanton burning of Anja’s memoirs, which throughout Maus Art has been eagerly agitating to read at last. And so it goes. The Elie Wiesel school asserts that the “Holocaust” is so immense that its essence can be approached and grasped only through the most extreme fictionalization, in other words, that nonsense alone touches upon truth (the corollary of Wiesel’s unfortunately ignored dictum that “silence alone can speak of such things” as Auschwitz). Spiegelman, on the other hand, writes down all his father tells him, periodically de-

manding more precise chronologies, dates, concrete details, names, followup. Baldly, the tale is this: Jewish mouse Vladek Spiegelman—no Mighty Mouse, nor even Mickey Mouse — is an ambitious young textile merchant in Poland who coldly dumps his penniless long-time girlfriend to marry the homely but clever daughter of a millionaire hosiery-factory owner, Anja Zylberberg. They have a son, Richiev, and Vladek is soon enriched by the match. Having been drafted into the Polish army some years before — unlike the rest of his family, whose time-honored practice it has been to pull out their teeth or starve themselves in order to be rejected — Vladek is called up for service in 1939 and finds himself on the frontier facing the German army. He does not shoot ("Why should I kill anyone?" p. 48), but ends up killing one German soldier almost by accident. Shortly, the Germans (the cats, that is, and poorly-drawn cats they are, too, for all that cats are hard to draw) overrun the pig and mouse position, and all are taken prisoner. Eventually the prisoners are given the alternative of volunteering to work at "a big German company." Here Vladek's lot improves, although the mice are compelled to wield "shovels and picks ... things what we never held in our hands before" (p. 55). Those who cannot do the work are left to "freeze and starve" — or so Vladek assumes; he cannot really tell us what becomes of them.

One day the captive mice are processed out of camp and shipped by train back to Poland. In Lublin the Nazi authorities fritter away yet another opportunity to exterminate them by permitting their release to Jewish "relatives" (for a fee). Vladek makes his way back to the family in Sosnowiec. From this point on much of the tale revolves around the sufferings of rich mice forced to have recourse to the black market to maintain their standard of living. None of this suffering is unique to Jews, of course, but although Maus tends to obscure the universality of this fact of wartime, it also makes quite plain that hoarding, speculating, and black-market profiteering quickly became Jewish specialties; for example, Vladek describes half his relatives as *Kombinators* — connivers. While the extended Spiegelman family enjoys escape after miraculous escape from Nazi attempts to control the currency and regulate economic activity (see, for instance, pp. 79 and 85), rumors are flying thick and fast, and the cats take their sweet time ghettoizing the mice. Four are hanged "for dealing goods without coupons, " "to make an example of them!" (p. 83). In fact, these are the only authenticated executions in Maus; hearsay and assumption account for the rest ("This I didn't see with my own eyes ..."). With one exception: Art's elder brother Richiev does not "come out from the war" with his supernaturally fortunate parents, for the simple reason that the aunt who is caring for him, in a moment of blind panic upon hearing that her town is to be evacuated to Auschwitz, poisons him, her own two children, and herself to death (p. 109). Suffice it to say that the Final Solution was somewhat lacking in finality when it came to the Spiegelman clan — like so many others. Vladek even emerges from the war with valuables he now keeps in a Queens safe deposit box. One particularly schizophrenic image in Maus (p. 121) depicts the mice gaining access to a new "bunker" in the town of Srodula: the entrance, emanating from a shoe shop, is hidden by an enormous pile of shoes. One wonders if it was the same pile later photographed to represent "shoes taken from gas chamber victims" ...

Steven Spielberg and crew seem to find the mouse an apt metaphor for Jewry, too. Their cartoon feature *An American Tail* is the heartwarming story of Mousekewitzes emigrating from Russia to the Golden Burrow of America -Ellis Islanders all the way. Released for the Christmas season — excuse me, in time for "the holidays," the new Jewish jargon being employed to knock the traditional spiritual punch out of the gentile festival — the film will probably clean up at the box office, if only because it will be one of the few entertainments fit for children to watch. Art Spiegelman is now at work on the sequel to Maus, subtitled "From Mauschwitz to the Catskills." One supposes it will be of some clinical and even aesthetic interest to see how both elder Spiegelmans manage to evade the ceaseless efforts of the Nazi Katzen to trick them into taking that shower. Auschwitz Schmauschwitz — Maus is the subliminal confession, by a cartoonist whose art is

perhaps more honest than its creator can bring himself to be, that the “Holocaust” never happened the way we learned in school.

Book review

War Without Mercy

- WAR WITHOUT MERCY: RACE AND POWER IN THE PACIFIC WAR by John W. Dower. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986, xii, 399 pp., illustrated, \$22.50, ISBN 0-394-50030-X.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Following the surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the American people reacted violently with fear and anger at the suddenly ominous power of the Japanese nation. The forms this rage took in the portrayal of the enemy in political cartoons, propaganda films, popular songs, and psychological studies often presented the Japanese variously as apes, bats, octopuses, vermin, giants, rapists, midgets and children. Paralleling this we find that the Japanese, in their crusade to drive the Anglo-Americans from the Pacific, portrayed the enemy as demons, cannibalistic ogres, gangsters, Napoleonic megalomaniacs, and even dandruff.

The changing perceptions of the Allied and Japanese protagonists of the Pacific theatre of World War II are the subject of John W. Dower's superbly researched and documented book. Divided equally into discussions of the propaganda methods and perceptions of both sides, *War Without Mercy* also contains a section of illustrations with fourteen American and British and fifteen Japanese political cartoons.

It is Dower's central premise that racial fear and hatred were major factors that determined how both sides, Japanese and Anglo-American, perceived and dealt with the respective enemy, the "inferior other." Dower makes this clear in a telling passage of the introductory section:

In this milieu of historical forgetfulness, selective reporting centralized propaganda, and a truly savage war, atrocities and war crimes played a major role in the propagation of racial and cultural stereotypes. The stereotypes preceded the atrocities, however, and had led an independent existence apart from any specific event. [p .73]

In the section entitled "the War in Western Eyes" the author surveys in great detail the development of stereotypical images of the Japanese, especially in American sources. the Japanese were often represented in a depersonalized manner as the "Jap hordes" although the wartime population of Japan was only 73 million. Behind such a characterization was the nightmare fantasy of the "Yellow Peril" fostered in part by the "Fu Manchu" novels of Rohmer. Real or not, the fear that the billion-strong masses of the Orient would pour into Australia, New Zealand and the western United States was foremost in Anglo-American minds. Japanese propagandists themselves made use of this in a leaflet which depicted a teeter-totter with figures representing seven Asian nations weighing down one end while Roosevelt and Churchill are seen flying off the other end. The caption reads "Greater East Asian War: One Billion Asians against Anglo-Ameri-

cans” (illustrated on p. 248 of *Propaganda: The Art of Persuasion: World War II*, by Anthony Rhodes, NY: Chelsea House, 1976).

Prior to Pearl Harbor and the extraordinary military success of Japan in 1942, notably the seizure of Singapore from the complacent British, the Anglo-Americans had failed to take the Japanese seriously. They rated the Japanese as poor and unintelligent fighters, incapable of flying advanced aircraft, unable to build quality battleships, and incapable of the invention of new weapons or methods of battle. In the months following the outbreak of war, the Allies swung to the opposite view, exaggerating the fanaticism, willingness to die, and mysterious, “occult,” Oriental qualities of the Japanese soldier. This shift can be seen through the large number of portrayals of Japanese as apes. In a January

1942 issue of *Punch*, monkeys with helmets and machine guns are drawn swinging through vines, underlined with a quotation from Kipling’s *Jungle Book* (*War Without Mercy*, p. 183). By 1943 the Japanese were increasingly represented in cartoons as gigantic, savage gorillas (pp.184,187). Six months after the April 18, 1942 Doolittle-led B-25 raid on Tokyo, three captured airmen were tried and executed. The American people reacted in a paroxysm of anger and one especially graphic and now famous cartoon depicted an apelike subhuman labeled “Tojo” crouching with blood-dripping mouth and hands over a body labeled “Murdered American Airmen” (illustration on p. 45 of *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination*, by Sam Keen. San Francisco: Harper & Row., Pub.,1986.)

Yet another extraordinary representation of the enemy as an animal may be found on the December 12, 1942 cover of *Colliers*, painted by Arthur Szyk, which depicts a Japanese Officer as an huge bat with fangs and pointed ears carrying a bomb inscribed with skull and crossbones. This creature wears a plumed cap and full dress uniform with swastika-emblazoned epaulets. The swastikas no doubt were meant to reveal that the “Japs” were able students of the “Nazis.”

The author of *War Without Mercy* devotes one chapter, “Primitives, Children, Madmen,” to both popular and high-brow psychiatric analyses of the Japanese character. A study by Geoffrey Gorer, the English social anthropologist, entitled “Themes in Japanese Culture” was recapitulated in Time magazine under the title “Why are Japs Japs?” Other articles in American publications were given such titles as “Jap Cruelty Traced to Childhood,” “Jap Bullies,” and “How to Tell Japs from Chinese.

Popular American songs proclaimed “There’ll Be No Adolf Hitler nor Yellow Japs to Fear,” “Until That Rising Sun Is Down,” and “We’re Gonna Have to Slap the Dirty Little Jap.”

Part III of *War Without Mercy* is titled “The War in Japanese Eyes” and begins:

During the war, the Japanese routinely referred to themselves as the leading race (shido minzoku) of the world. Like their American and Commonwealth adversaries, they called on a variety of metaphors, images, code phrases, and concepts to affirm their superiority - ranging from expressions that demeaned non-Japanese to elaborate affirmations of their own unique qualities. [p. 203]

Dower analyzes in great detail the Japanese view of themselves as a race and nation, more homogeneous, pure, and separate than others. That the “Rising Sun” was used as a symbol of a purifying force can be seen from a cartoon, reproduced in *War Without Mercy*, from the January 1942 issue of the Japanese periodical *Manga*. As described by Dower:

The purifying sun of Japanese glory dispels the “ABCD” powers. America and Britain are thugs (the crown of Jewish — “J” — plutocracy is falling from America’s head). China is a sprawling figure with Chiang Kai-shek’s face — and a stubby tail, a bestial mark often attached to the Nationalist Chinese. All that remains of the Dutch is a wooden shoe. (p. 192)

The alliance with Germany and Italy made a propaganda campaign of overt anti-white racism somewhat impractical. Furthermore, Japan’s history of rapid and often enthusiastic Westernization while resisting colonialization by western powers largely precluded such a propaganda approach. Nevertheless, the Japanese were not above making comparisons of the Japanese and European races.

An argument was offered in another popular book on racial issues that was also published in Tokyo in 1944. Readers of *A History of Changing Theories about the Japanese* by Kiyono Kenji were again reminded of ... physical features which on the contrary placed the Europeans closer to the monkeys and other animals than the Japanese; Kiyono offered this ... list: “high” noses, hairiness, relatively long arms, lower brain-to-body-weight ratio, thick fingers, and strong body odor of the sort associated with the generative function in certain animals. (p. 219)

Although the Japanese leaders proclaimed a desire for the attainment of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere uniting the nations of the region, it was clear that Tokyo was to be the dominant economic and military center. A disparaging view of other Asians is seen in the portrayals of them as darker-skinned “natives,” “half-naked and implicitly half-civilized.”

The most common device used to portray Europeans in Japanese cartoons of the era is that of the demon. Thus we see the American president and British prime minister drawn with horns and claws. Another cartoon from *Manga* depicts a head of rice bristling with bayonet blades reminiscent of samurai swords, impaling three American flyers falling from a burning bomber. The flyers are drawn with long pointed noses, skinny bodies, and tails.

The Japanese people were urged by their leaders to work for the good of the group; the nation was more important than the selfish desires of the individual, a theme illustrated by a cartoon of a Japanese woman purging her head of “Anglo-Americanism,” the dandruff “being combed out is identified as extravagance, selfishness, hedonism, liberalism, materialism, money worship, individualism, and Anglo-American ideas” (p.191).

In 1981 the discovery of a volume of war-time documents in a used-book store in Tokyo led to the unearthing of the full six-volume, 3,127-page report, completed July 1, 1943, entitled *Investigation of Global Policy with the Yamato [Japanese] Race Nucleus*, in the archives of the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare. This unusual and valuable document is the subject of one excellent chapter. Dower elucidates the Japanese equivalent of “blood and soil” and hierarchic patterns of thinking, but only lightly touches on the similarities between National Socialist and Japanese racial, economic, and political theories. One of the few failings of *War Without Mercy* concerns the author’s occasional superficial remarks about Japan’s National Socialist ally. Dower is properly skeptical of the flood of atrocity stories which attributed nearly every conceivable brutality to the Japanese, but accepts uncritically all the clichés and myths about alleged German atrocities that were the staples of Allied propaganda. Particularly telling is the following paragraph:

Apart from the genocide of the Jews, racism remains one of the great neglected subjects of World War Two. We can gain an impression of its importance, however, by

asking a simple question: when and where did race play a significant role in the war? The query may seem to border on the simplistic, but it turns out to have no simple answer — not even for the Holocaust. As has become more widely acknowledged in recent years, the destruction of European Jewry itself was neither an isolated event nor a peculiarly Nazi atrocity. The German extermination campaign was not limited to Jews but extended to other “undesirable” peoples as well. At the same time there occurred a “hidden Holocaust” — that is, a conveniently forgotten one — in which the annihilation of the Jews was actively supported by French and Dutch citizens, Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Latvians. It is now also well documented that anti-Semitism in the United States and Great Britain prevented both countries from doing as much as they could have to publicize these genocidal policies or to mount a serious rescue campaign. (p. 4)

Dower acknowledges that the fighting in the Pacific was especially brutal with each side frequently killing captured enemy soldiers rather than taking prisoners, and that the collecting of body parts of enemy dead for mementos was commonplace. He also discusses the cruel Japanese treatment of whites and Asians in concentration camps and the United States' internment of 110,000 Japanese/American citizens.

We are told in a footnote (page 357) that the above-mentioned *Investigation of Global Policy with the Yamato Race As Nucleus* contains several hundred pages on Nazi racial policies and “the Jewish problem.” Yet, other than providing two illustrations (pages 192 and 194) of Japanese cartoons which include anti-Jewish caricatures, Dower does not touch on the Japanese attitude to the Jews. A discussion of Japanese anti-Jewish and pro-Muslim policies and a more even-handed comparison of the brutal Pacific battles and those of the Eastern Front would have been welcome.

Also, a somewhat larger sampling of political cartoons would have been helpful to convey the wide variety of images and metaphors used in propaganda of the era.

Overall, *War Without Mercy* is a thoroughly documented work and breaks much ground in the study of the propaganda of the war in the Pacific. It is to be hoped that in the future many of the World War II Japanese writings about the West cited by Dower will be available in English translation. This can only assist in building greater understanding between East and West and may help to prevent future conflicts.

Book review

Prophecy and Politics

- PROPHECY AND POLITICS: MILITANT EVANGELISTS ON THE ROAD TO NUCLEAR WAR by Grace Halsell. Lawrence Hill & Company, 1986, 210 pages, \$14.95, Hb., ISBN 0-88208-210-8.

Reviewed by Edward Johnson

In the coming maelstrom that lies ahead, in the coming judgment that's going to burst in cyclonic fury over this world, and this planet, America's only hope — listen to me, White House, listen to me, State Department, listen to me, Pentagon, listen to me, Mr. President — America's only hope is not GNP, it's not scientific achievement, it's not an education at Harvard or Yale, but it's America holding on to that little, tiny state of Israel and saying, "We will stand with you," because God said, "They that bless Israel I will bless, and they that curse Israel, I will curse."

Rev. Jimmy Lee Swaggart, March 1985 TV homily.

Elite intellectual opinion in the West continues to regard the electronic sermons of Rev. Swaggart and other fleecers of the telecitizenry (Falwell, Bakker, Robertson, etc.) as morally outrageous and politically idiotic. Interestingly, the intelligentsia have continued to connect the phenomenon of TV evangelism and its Scofield Dispensationalist dogma with the extreme right and anti-Semitism. The unspoken assumption is that anything as stupid as a Jimmy Lee Swaggart sermon must be anti-Jewish.

The intelligentsia traffic in stereotypes which reinforce the liberal-Marxist view that history is essentially progressive and Zionism synonymous with progress; thus opposition to these hallowed forces arises from the camp of ignorant reaction, always atavistic and anti-Jewish.

Grace Halsell, whose liberal credentials as a former "Black like me" Southern civil rights worker (she once dyed her skin to experience the tribulations of minorities) are unassailable, has written a troubling book which neatly undercuts this stereotype. Contrary to the coverup, the most powerful movement of jingoists and "nuke 'em 'till they glow" fanatics is in Israel's camp.

The source of their zealotry lies in the *Scofield Reference Bible*, a heavily annotated King James Bible whose marginalia, penned by the 19th-century hermeneuticist C.I. Scofield, is often given the weight of Scripture itself by enthusiasts. His disciples' view of the modern era (or dispensation) is apocalyptic: Armageddon is inevitable, Jews are God's Herrenvolk, Mesech (Moscow) and Gomer (Europe) are the enemy, and righteous Christians will be "raptured" off the planet before the final, radioactive curtain.

True believers in Scofield Dispensationalism regard the nuclear annihilation of the world as imminent. Thus all attempts at making peace with one's foes, or even balancing Reagan's leviathan-sized national budget, are futile.

As a result of their pious vision of Zionists as God's chosen realtors in the Middle East, the TV preachers have received a kind of *de facto* license to remain on the airwaves and promote a traditional, conservative, Christian social agenda. Hence the rift among Zionism's powers that be: such Jewish leaders as Norman Lear feel that influential Jews should quickly pull the plug on Swaggart and Company because of their anti-abortionist, homophobic, anti-feminist, media-bashing platforms.

Other powerful Jews, for instance the neo-conservative Norman Podhoretz, feel that the preachers' social prescriptions must be tolerated for the sake of preserving their high profile philo-Zionism. New York intellectual Irving Kristol has tallied up this balance sheet with considerable acuity. Halsell writes:

If one had informed American Jews 15 years ago that there was to be a powerful revival of Protestant fundamentalism as a political as well as a religious force, they would surely have been alarmed, since they would have assumed that any such revival might tend to be anti-Semitic and anti-Israel. But the Moral Majority is neither ... Kristol urges Jews to ask themselves the question: How significant would it be for American Jews if the Moral Majority were anti-Israel? "The answer is easy and inescapable: it would be of major significance. Indeed, it would generally be regarded by Jews as a very alarming matter."

True, Kristol writes, the Moral Majority is committed to a set of social issues — school prayer, anti-abortion, the relation of church and state in general — that tend to evoke a hostile reaction among most (though not all) American Jews. To balance the pros and cons of the matter, Kristol says that "the social issues of the Moral Majority are meeting with practically no success, whereas anti-Israel sentiment has been distinctly on the rise, and the support of the Moral Majority could, in the near future, turn out to be decisive for the very existence of the Jewish state. This is the way that the Israeli government has struck its own balance vis-à-vis the Moral Majority, and it is hard to see why American Jews should come up with a different bottom line." (pp.155-156)

In other words, for the government of Israel and its dual-loyalist followers in the United States, the "bottom line" is that no matter how many pro-Zionist TV preachers have visions of a 900-foot Lassie instructing them to build a multi-million dollar crystal dog house, or engage in any of the other buck-hustling buffoonery Twain, Mencken and. Bierce satirized with their devastating barbs, the fundamentalists will remain on the airwaves. That all-encompassing ecclesiastical fiat, "If it's good for Israel, it's good," applies as effectively to Christian fundamentalists as it does to grossly inflated American military budgets, senatorial candidates or any other facet of contemporary realpolitik.

Halsell's book moves quickly and reads easily because it combines scholarship with the author's anecdotes about her experiences as a member of a Jerry Falwell-sponsored tour of Israel. On her tour bus she conversed with mostly successful American businessmen and entrepreneurs like Marvin, who told her, "Every war the Jewish soldiers fight is a battle directed by God himself."

Marvin liked the biblical texts that quoted a God opting for extreme violence as divine policy. He once quoted to me Psalm 110 that speaks of Yahweh crushing the

heads and filling the earth with the corpses of non-believers, and Psalm 137 that expresses the wish for vengeance by taking little Babylonian children and dashing them against the rocks. (p. 168)

Another Falwellite was Brad, a financial manager who resembled the “quintessential southern male.” Brad told Halsell, “I just wish I had been born a Jew!,” explaining that “when God made the universe, He gave His special blessing to the Jews.” As a result, “Jews were 'different and better' than non-Jews.”

Jews are in fact so far superior to their Christian admirers that the temples, battle sites, and ceremonies of Judaism and state Zionism are apparently the only attractions of interest to the folks on the Falwell tour. Halsell was astounded to discover that no one on her bus evinced the least interest in visiting Nazareth, the home of what’s His name, but went wild in anticipation of a meeting with an Israeli general. Ironically, the Falwell tour did make a stop in Jesus’s home town after all, when their bus driver decided it would be a convenient place for the Christian Zionists to use the restroom facilities.

Halsell hints that the Christian Zionists have a believer in the White House and that the President is not pursuing peace because:

“There’ll be no peace until Jesus comes. Any preaching of peace prior to this return is heresy; it’s against the word of God; it’s Anti-Christ,” says TV evangelist Jim Robison, who was invited by President Reagan to deliver the opening prayer at the 1984 Republican National Convention. (p. 16)

Politician and president-maker Jerry Falwell, a close confidant of Reagan, is the only non-Jew ever to have received the coveted Jabotinsky medal for services rendered to the state of Israel. The prize, named in honor of the arch-terrorist Vladimir Jabotinsky, was personally bestowed upon Rev. Falwell by Jabotinsky’s most ardent disciple, Menachem Begin, at a gala 1980 dinner in New York.

According to Halsell, the view of the fundamentalists surrounding Reagan, as well as 1980 Presidential candidates Bush and Kemp, is that,

... one need not work to eliminate pollution in our cities, or starvation ... One need not concern oneself with nuclear proliferation. One need not attempt to prevent an Arab-Israeli war. Rather — pray for it to explode and engulf the world, since this is part of the divine scheme. (p. 39)

At a 1971 dinner, Reagan told California legislator James Mills that “everything is in place for the battle of Armageddon and the Second Coming of Christ.” The President has permitted Jerry Falwell to attend National Security Council briefings and author and Armageddon-advocate Hal Lindsey to give a talk on nuclear war with Russia to top Pentagon strategists.

If Mills, Halsell and other observers of the presidency are correct, Reagan’s personal belief in the Dispensationalist scenario explains the mystery of the seeming fatalism of so many of his military, domestic and monetary policies. According to Mills, Reagan’s attitude can be summed up as, “There’s no reason to get wrought up about the national debt, if God is soon going to foreclose on the whole world.”

Leading an electronic propaganda drive with some 60 million estimated adherents, an enthusiast in the White House, upcoming Republican presidential candidates influenced by, and in debt to,

fundamentalism (and one candidate, Marion G. “Pat” Robertson, who sees himself as “an anointed prophet of God” and confirmed advocate of Israel and Armageddon), one would think some sort of alarm would be sweeping America.

One would expect that the “no nukes” ecology movement and the anti-racism groups, as well as anyone who gives a fig for the future of his children would, by now, have launched a sustained campaign to oppose the fundamentalists on the specific grounds of their seeking after nuclear war in the Middle East. Yet no such movement has come forth. Mesmerized by Holocaust propaganda centered on World War II, millions of Americans are oblivious to the hoped-for atomic holocaust openly advocated by Christian Zionists who claim to have God on their side and who utilize the vast persuasion-power of television.

This recipe for World War III, the cowing of the collective conscience of Americans who know better, the resultant mass apathy, the vacant stares and smirking grins of clergymen who lead constituencies which regard their leaders as infallible mystics, has a final, perverse twist to its core-belief.

In the theology of the cult of Scofield Dispensationalism, these horrors these “Christians” actually pray for at 24-hour vigil sites in the nation’s capital, attended by government officials and lawmakers, will not be shared by them or their children. Instead, a form of Star Trek-like “dematerialization” will occur. This event, called the “rapture,” will waft Christian airline pilots out of their cockpits (leaving a planeload of the unsaved to tailspin to fiery destruction), Christian surgeons out of their operating rooms (while patients bleed to death), and tens of thousands of others directly to heaven, where they will observe from a cozy celestial cloud the flaming cinder of planet Earth.

This bizarre belief in a *deus-ex-machina* rescue from an atomic holocaust to be provoked by their blind support of state Zionism is most dramatically evoked by Jimmy Lee Swaggart, a spellbinding orator who has used television to showcase his speaking ability to maximum effect:

I'm not lookin' for a hole in the ground. I'm lookin' for a hole in the sky. I'm not lookin' for the undertaker, I'm lookin' for the Up Taker. I'm not lookin' for some missile. I'm lookin' for the coming king — Jesus Christ — to gather us and take us away! Rapture! Rapture! Rapture!... After the Rapture, the world will be plunged into tribulation. It will be a time so horrible and hideous that words cannot describe it. Jesus called it “Great Tribulation” such as the world has never seen before... a time of such agony, a time of such horrifying hell that will burst in cataclysmic destruction... And for the first time, in the Day of Grace, He (God) pulls off the gloves. He is going to pour out destruction onto this planet, upon evil and upon sin and upon wickedness and upon evil-doers such as minds cannot imagine, contemplate or comprehend...it will affect the whole world... (From a transcript of a Swaggart sermon of March 3,1985.)

Rev. Swaggart’s words would be no more than a colorful bit of gothic, Southern Americana were he delivering them in a dimly lit tent on a steamy August night in some backwater hamlet. But Swaggart’s “tent” was a midwestern auditorium holding 20,000 people in a major metropolian area. Moreover, he was nationally televised to an audience in the millions.

When Swaggart poured forth his searing nihilistic hatred for all life on earth he was not laughed out of town, booed, or tarred and feathered. He was cheered wildly, with the frenzied abandon and up-lifted arms not seen since the fabled days of Hitlerian Germany.

Odd, is it not, that amid the oceans of newsprint and months of broadcast time devoted to hammering home, with an unprecedented monotony, the perils of a fanatical demagogue and an irrational following which arose in National Socialist Germany, Swaggart, Robertson, Bakker and the rest proceed apace with little notice or protest?

What protest there is scrupulously skirts the taboo issue of the relationship between the likelihood of nuclear war and the preacher's idolatry of war-Zionism, delicately limiting the protests to concern over the fundamentalist's promotion of anti-abortion laws and censorship of pornography. These are interesting topics but their urgency pales in comparison to the atomic hell-fire the fundamentalists are promoting by every means available.

Perhaps these "men of God" are correct. Maybe America does have some weird death wish, having grown world-weary and full of resentment for life in the process Nietzsche accused Judeo-Christians of fomenting. If a thanatos cult as virulent as Scofield Dispensationalism can find allegiance among so many millions of our fellow citizens, while other millions idle away their hours in apathy, maybe the self fulfilling prophecies are coming true.

Surely some culpability descends upon all of us for helping to create the throw-away fundamentalist world Halsell documents. Ultimately, the evangelists have given any who choose to follow them a license to escalate the industrial pollution and nuclear arms buildup threatening all life on earth.

In this current manifestation of a long-festering disease we have an eschatology of the extreme taken to its farthest and most unnatural conclusion. This is nowhere revealed, in all its bitterest consequences, more aptly than in the contrast between the traditional question asked by native peoples in the past — "How will any of our actions affect the next seven generations?" — and the mindset of Rev. Jerry Falwell, who, when confronted with the horrors his philosophy may produce, commented, "You know why I'm not worried? I ain't gonna be here."

Historical news and comment

Deceptive Linguistic Structures in the Phrase 'The Holocaust'

ROBERT A. HALL, JR.

At present, the phrase *the Holocaust* is almost universally used to refer to various aspects of the situation in which Jews found themselves under the National Socialist regime from 1933 to 1945, in Germany and occupied territories. In this usage, there are several features of linguistic, graphemic, and semantic structures which command the belief of the average hearer in the reality of “the Holocaust” (normally quite outside his or her awareness) and at the same time leave its reference confusingly unclear. These features include the meaning of the definite article (reality), the singular number and capitalization (uniqueness), and the effects (confusion and ambiguity) of the reference of this expression.

1. The definite article *the* is often thought of as an “itsy-bit” word, unstressed and of little or no importance in contrast to words which are fully stressed, such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Yet the English definite article has a specific meaning and semantic function of its own. It commands a hearer’s or reader’s belief in the reality of what is referred to by the noun it modifies, and sets up a tacit presupposition, for the rest of the discourse, that this reality has been established. Consider the following joke, in which someone says: “If the dog would only catch a rabbit, we could have rabbit-pie for dinner — if we had a dog.” The humor of this utterance consists in the contradiction between what we are led to believe at the outset of the sentence — *i.e.* that the speaker has a really existing dog — and the information given at the end, namely that he does not have a dog. [1]

In the case of “the Holocaust;” the use of the definite article has a similar effect. Once we speak of “the Holocaust;” the presupposition is set up that we are referring to a reality, so that further discourse on the topic is perforce committed to acceptance of that reality. How could one even query the existence of whatever is referred to by that phrase? Hence “to deny the reality of the Holocaust” has come to be a stock slogan, used against anyone who questions any aspect of what is alleged concerning the experiences of Jews under Nazism, or even (as I know from personal experience) to report on what others have said. It is as if one were denying the reality of the sun or the moon or the earth.

2. The meaning of the singular number of a noun in English is, of course, that only one member of the phenomena referred to exists or is relevant to the situation. In writing, we emphasize the uniqueness of an object or phenomenon by capitalizing the noun, thus giving it somewhat of the status of a proper name. There are for instance, a number of “water-gaps” in the Pennsylvania mountains, but around Stroudsburg one refers to the Delaware Water-Gap simply as *the Water-Gap*. Similarly with historical events, such as *the Crucifixion*. Many thousands of poor wretches died agonizing deaths on crosses, but for Christians, there was only one such object, *the Cross*, and one such event, *the Crucifixion*.

In the case of *the Holocaust*, likewise, use of the singular and capitalization of the noun serve to emphasize to any hearer (and even more so, to any reader) its uniqueness. Various commentators such as Michael A. Hoffman and Joseph Sobran, have been in the vanguard in expressing a growing awareness that the Jewish experience under the Nazis was only one of many such — no matter how we define it — that many groups have undergone since ancient times. [2] Yet insistence on the uniqueness of “the Holocaust” has led even to such excesses as refusal to countenance the foundation of a Roman Catholic convent at Auschwitz (Oswiecim), because that place is regarded by some as exclusively sacred to the memory of the specifically Jewish victims of “the Holocaust.” [3] For the sake of the argument, let us assume for the moment that a given number of non-Jews were martyred there. Why is their suffering be considered less important than that of whatever Jewish victims there may have been? Why should the non-Jews, also, not be commemorated there?

3. The English word *holocaust* is a borrowing from Late Latin *holocaustum* “a burnt offering,” which was borrowed in its turn from Greek *holócauston* “something wholly burnt.” In addition to these meanings, it has acquired in English the further senses of “complete consumption by fire; complete destruction, esp. of a large number of persons; a great slaughter, a massacre” [4] It is in this last sense that it has come to be used in the phrase *the Holocaust*, but it has undergone a further extension not justified by its previous history. Its use now covers a wide range of senses, from referring to the presumed mass-execution of Jews in gas chambers or other installations, to denoting the entire experience of all Jews in Germany and in territories occupied by German troops, from the accession of the National Socialist party to power in 1933 until the end of the war in 1945. It is thus possible for a person who even questions any given allegation concerning concentration-camps or gas-chambers to be accused of denying that Jews underwent an persecution or suffering at all. This type of unacknowledged shifting of meaning is known as *semantic wrenching*, and the taking over of a term for such special use is often called *word-shanghaiing* or *word-kidnapping*. [5]

Unscrupulous discussants have, by using these linguistic features, induced naive, unsuspecting hearers and readers to believe in the reality and uniqueness of whatever is called *the Holocaust*, and have at the same time wrenched its meaning and made its reference vague and imprecise. They have thus eliminated objective discussion and replaced it by obfuscation and confusion. In this way, use of the phrase *the Holocaust*, without further qualification, prejudices the issue. Here, as in so many other instances of propagandistic “Newspeak,” we must be on our guard whenever we hear, read, or use this phrase. We must be fully aware of its various and distorted uses, if we are to realize what is happening linguistically and thus avoid being duped.

Notes

1. ☞ Another instance which is often cited in this connection involves the first five lines of Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s poem *The Pleasure Dome of Kubla Khan*: “In Xanadu did Kubla Khan / A stately pleasure dome decree, / Where Alph, the sacred river, ran / through caverns measureless to man / down to a sunless sea.” The most important word in these five lines is *the* in verse three, because it commands the reader’s belief in the existence of Alph, and hence of the entire situation. [Try substituting *a* for *the* here, and see how flat the entire passage falls.)
2. ☞ Cf., most recently, Michael A. Hoffman III, “Psychology and Epistemology of Holocaust ‘Newspeak,’” *JHR* Vol. 6, no. 3 (Winter 1985-86), pp. 467-478, and Mark Weber’s observations in “Joseph Sobran and Historical Revisionism,” *JHR* Vol 7, no 3 (Winter 1986-87), pp. 373-374.

3. ☞ As widely reported in the news-media in late January, 1986, e.g. in the *New York Times*, January 31, I, p. 4, col 1.
4. ☞ Cf. the *Oxford English Dictionary* 5.344, s.v. holocaust.
5. ☞ If I am not mistaken, I was the first to use the expressions *semantic wrench* and *word-shanghaiings*, in my review of Maurizio Dardano, *Il linguaggio dei giornali italiani*, in *Language* 31.211-215 (1975).

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Irving on Churchill

Theodore J. O'Keefe

World-class historian David Irving is no stranger to readers of the JHR. His address to the 1983 International Revisionist Conference, which appeared in the Winter 1984 Journal of Historical Review ("On Contemporary History and Historiography"), was something of a primer on Irving's revisionist historiographical method. It was spiced as well with tantalizing hints of new directions in Irving's research and new book possibilities arising from them.

Not the least among Irving's revelations were those that touched on Winston Churchill, descendant of one of England's greatest families and leader of his nation and its empire (as he still thought it) at what many of his countrymen and many abroad still regard as Britain's "finest hour." Readers will recall that Irving exposed several instances of Churchill's venality, cowardice, and hypocrisy, including Churchill's poltroonish posturing at the time of the German air raid against Coventry and the facts of Churchill and his cronies' secret subvention by the Czech government.

It will also be recalled that in his lecture Irving spoke of his projected book on Winston Churchill, which at the time was to be published in the U.S. by Doubleday and in Great Britain by MacMillan, two great firms entirely worthy of an author who has been churning out meticulously researched historical bestsellers for a quarter of a century. As has been pointed out in recent issues of the IHR Newsletter, Irving's challenges to the reigning orthodoxy have become so unbearable to the Establishment that both these major houses refused to print the books as written. The task has now been undertaken by a revisionist operation in Australia. Nearing completion, the new Irving book, *Churchill's War*, is slated to be available from the IHR by the end of this year.

Last year David Irving made a world-wide speaking tour, visiting North America (the U.S. and Canada), Australia, South Africa, and Europe. He lectured on a wide range of topics pertaining to the troubled history of our century, with his customary flair for the pointed phrase and the telling anecdote. During one of his lectures, delivered at Vancouver, British Columbia, on March 31, 1986, Irving offered a series of mordant new facts and insights on the life and career of Winston Churchill.

At the outset of his lecture, Irving remarked that the late Harold MacMillan (Lord Stockton), recently targeted by Nikolai Tolstoy (*The Minister and the Massacres*) for his role in the forcible deportation of tens of thousands of anti-Communist Cossacks, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and others to the U.S.S.R. after World War II, had stated that Irving's Churchill book would "not be published by his company, over his dead body." Clearly Lord Stockton's recent demise didn't alter things at MacMillan, however.

Then Irving let out an electrifying piece of information:

The details which I will tell you today, you will not find published in the Churchill biography. For example, you won't even find them published in Churchill's own biography because there were powers above him who were so powerful that they were able to prevent him publishing details that even he wanted to publish that he found dirty and unscrupulous about the origins of the Second World War.

For example, when I was writing my Churchill biography, I came across a lot of private papers in the files of the Time/Life organization in New York. In Columbia University, there are all the private papers of the chief editor of Time/Life, a man called Daniel Longwell. And in there, in those papers we find all the papers relating to the original publication of the Churchill memoirs in 1947, 1949, the great six-volume set of Churchill memoirs of the Second World War. And I found there a letter from the pre-war German chancellor, the man who preceded Hitler, Dr. Heinrich Brüning, a letter he wrote to Churchill in August, 1937. The sequence of events was this: Dr. Brüning became the chancellor and then Hitler succeeded him after a small indistinguishable move by another man. In other words, Brüning was the man whom Hitler replaced. And Brüning had the opportunity to see who was backing Hitler. Very interesting, who was financing Hitler during all his years in the wilderness, and Brüning knew.

Brüning wrote a letter to Churchill after he had been forced to resign and go into exile in England in August, 1937, setting out the names and identities of the people who backed Hitler. And after the war, Churchill requested Brüning for permission to publish this letter in his great world history, The six-volume world history. And Brüning said no. In his letter, Brüning wrote, 'I didn't, and do not even today for understandable reasons, wish to reveal from October 1928, the two largest regular contributors to the Nazi Party were the general managers of two of the largest Berlin banks, both of Jewish faith and one of them the leader of Zionism in Germany.'

Now there is a letter from Dr. Heinrich Brüning to Churchill in 1949, explaining why he wouldn't give permission to Churchill to publish the August 1937 letter. It was an extraordinary story, out of Churchill's memoirs, even Churchill wanted to reveal that fact, you begin to sense the difficulties that we have in printing the truth today. Churchill, of course, knew all about lies. He was an expert in lying himself. He put a gloss on it. He would say to his friends, "The truth is such a fragile flower, The truth is so precious, it must be given a bodyguard of lies." This is the way Churchill put it.

Irving went on to describe several sources of secret financial support enjoyed by Churchill. In addition to money supplied by the Czech government, Churchill was financed during the "wilderness years" between 1930 and 1939 by a slush fund emanating from a secret pressure group known as the Focus.

Irving on the Focus:

The Focus was financed by a slush fund set up by some of London's wealthiest businessmen. Principally, businessmen organized by the Board of Jewish Deputies in England, whose chairman was a man called Sir Bernard Waley Cohen. Sir Bernard Waley Cohen held a private dinner party at his apartment on July 29, 1936. This is in Waley Cohen's memoirs ... The 29th of July, 1936, Waley Cohen set up a slush fund of 50,000 pounds for The Focus, the Churchill pressure group. Now, 50,000 pounds

in 1936, multiply that by ten, at least, to get today's figures. By another three or four to multiply that into Canadian dollars. So, 40 times 50,000 pounds — about \$2 million in Canadian terms — was given by Bernard Waley Cohen to this secret pressure group of Churchill in July 1936. The purpose was, the tune that Churchill had to play was, fight Germany. Start warning the world about Gennany, about Nazi Germany. Churchill, of course, one of our most brilliant orators, a magnificent writer, did precisely that.

For two years, The Focus continued to militate, in fact, right through until 1939. And I managed to find the secret files of The Focus, I know the names of all the members. I know all their secrets. I know how much money they were getting, not just from The Pocus, but from other governments. I use the word "other governments" advisedly because one of my sources of information for my Churchill biography is, in fact, the Chaim Weizmann Papers in the State of Israel. Israel has made available to me all Churchill's secret correspondence with Chain Weizmann, all his secret conferences. It is an astonishing thing, but I, despite my reputation, in a kind of negative sense with these people, am given access to files like that, just the same as the Russian Government has given me complete access to all of the Soviet records of Churchill's dealings with Ivan Maisky, Joseph Stalin, Molotov and the rest of them. I am the only historian who has been given access to these Russian records. It is a kind of horse trading method that I use when I want access to these files, because it is in these foreign archives we find the truth about Winston Churchill.

When you want the evidence about his tax dodging in 1949 and thereabouts, you are not going to look in his own tax files, you're going to look in the files of those who employed him, like the Time/Life Corporation of America. That's where you look. And when you're looking for evidence about who was putting money up for Churchill when he was in the wilderness and who was funding this secret group of his, The Focus, you're not going to look in his files, again you're going to look in the secret files, for example, of the Czech government in Prague, because that is where much of the money was coming from.

Irving then revealed further details of Churchill's financing by the Czechs, as well as the facts of Churchill's financial rescue by a wealthy banker of Austro-Jewish origins, Sir Henry Strakosch, who, in Irving's words, emerged "out of the woodwork of the City of London, that great pure international financial institution." When Churchill was bankrupted overnight in the American stock market crash of 1938, it was Strakosch, who was instrumental in setting up the central banks of South Africa and India, who bought up all Churchill's debts. When Strakosch died in 1943, the details of his will, published in the London Times, included a bequest of £20,000 to the then Prime Minister, eliminating the entire debt.

Irving dealt with Churchill's performance as a wartime leader, first as Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty and then as Prime Minister. The British historian adverted to Churchill's "great military defeat in Norway, which he himself engineered and pioneered," and mentioned the suspicion of Captain Ralph Edwards, who was on Churchill's staff at the time, that Churchill had deliberately caused the fiasco to bring down Neville Chamberlain and replace him as prime minister, which subsequently happened.

Irving spoke of Dunkirk:

In May, 1940, Dunkirk, the biggest Churchill defeat of the lot. It wasn't a victory, it wasn't a triumph, nothing for the British to be proud of. Dunkirk? If you look at the Dunkirk files in the British archives now, you will find, too, you're given only photocopies of the premier files on Dunkirk with mysterious blank pages inserted. And you think, at first, how nice of them to put these blank pages in to keep the documents apart. Not so. The blank pages are the ones that you really want to be seeing. In some cases, of course, the blank pages are genuinely censored with intelligence matters. But the other blank pages are letters between Churchill and the French Prime Minister, Paul Reynaud, which revealed the ugly truth that Churchill, himself, gave the secret order to Lord Gort, the British General in command of the British expeditionary force at Dunkirk, "Withdraw, fall back," or as Churchill put it, "Advance to the coast." That was Churchill's wording. "And you are forbidden to tell any of your neighboring allies that you are pulling out. The French and the Belgians were left in the dark that we were pulling out.

I think it's the most despicable action that any British commander could have been ordered to carry out, to pull out and not tell either his allies on his left and right flanks that he was pulling out at Dunkirk. The reason I knew this is because, although the blanks are in the British files, I got permission from the French Prime Minister Paul Reynaud's widow. His widow is still alive. A dear old lady about 95, living in Paris. And guiding her trembling hand, I managed to get her to sign a document releasing to me all the Prime Minister's files in the French National Archives in Paris. And there are documents, the originals of the documents which we're not allowed to see in London. and there we know the ugly truth about that other great Churchill triumph, the retreat to Dunkirk. If peace had broken out in June of 1940, Churchill would have been finished. No brass statue in Parliament Square for Mr. Winston Churchill. He would have been consigned to the dustbin of oblivion, forgotten for all time and good riddance I say, because the British Empire would have been preserved. We would, by now, have been the most powerful race. can we dare use the word, the British race, the most powerful race on Earth.

Irving pointed out that Churchill rejected Hitler's peace offers in 1939, 1940, and 1941 (Irving supports the thesis that Rudolf Hess's flight to Scotland was ordered by the Führer). Irving pinpointed one critical moment, and supplied the background:

The crucial moment when he managed to kill this peace offensive in England was July 1940. If we look at the one date. July the 20th. this I think was something of a watershed between the old era of peace, the greatness of the British Empire and the new era, the new era. Of nuclear deterrent and the holocaust, the nuclear holocaust, July 20, 1940. Mr. Churchill is lying in bed that Sunday out in Checkers. when he gets a strange message. It's an intercept of a German ambassador's telegram in Washington to Berlin. It's only just been revealed. of course, that we were reading all of the German codes, not only the German Army, Air Force and Navy Codes. but also the German embassy codes. And if you're silly enough to believe everything that's written in the official history of British Intelligence, you will understand that the only reason that they released half of the stories is to prevent us from trying to find out the other half. And what matters is that we are reading the German diplomatic codes as well. On July 20th. the German ambassador in Washington sent a message to Berlin saying that the British ambassador in Washington had asked him very quietly, very confidentially, just what the German peace terms were. This. of course. was the one thing that Churchill could never allow to happen, that the British find out what

Hitler's peace terms are. He sends an immediate message to the foreign office, to Lord Halifax, saying, "Your ambassador in Washington is strictly forbidden to have any further contacts with the German ambassador, even indirectly." They were communicating through a Quaker intermediary.

Now, on the same day, Churchill sent a telegram to Washington ordering Lord Lothian, the British ambassador in Washington, to have nothing to do with the German ambassador. And the same day, he takes a third move to ensure that the peace moves in Britain are finally strangled at birth. He orders Sir Charles Portal to visit him at Checkers, the country residence of British prime ministers. Sir Charles Portal was Commander in Chief of Bomber Command. Now what is the significance? Well, the significance is this. Up to July 1940, not one single German bomb has fallen on British towns. Hitler had given orders that no British towns are to be bombed and, above all, bombing of London is completely forbidden and embargoed. Churchill knows this, because he's reading the German code, he's reading the German Air Force signals, which I can now read in the German files. Churchill is reading the signals and he knows that Hitler is not doing him the favor.

Hitler is still hoping that this madman in England will see reason or that he will be outvoted by his cabinet colleagues. So he's not doing Churchill the favor of bombing any English towns. Churchill is frantic because he thinks he's being outsmarted by Hitler. On July the 20th he sends for Sir Charles Portal, the Chief of Bomber Command, and he says to Sir Charles Portal, as we know from records from Command to the Air Ministry, "When is the earliest that you could launch a vicious air attack on Berlin?" Sir Charles Portal replies to Winston, "I'm afraid we can't do it now, not until September because the nights aren't long enough to fly from England to Berlin and back in the hours of darkness. September, perhaps, and in September we will have the first hundred of the new Sterling bombers ..." But he also says, "I warn you, if you do that, the Germans will retaliate. At present they're not bombing English targets, they're not bombing civilian targets at all and you know why. And if you bomb Berlin, then Hitler will retaliate against English civilian targets." And Churchill just twinkles when he gets this reply because he knows what he wants.

We know what he wants because he's told Joe Kennedy, the American Ambassador, Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the late President, "I want the Germans to start bombing London as early as possible because this will bring the Americans into the war when they see the Nazis' frightfulness and above all it will put an end to this awkward and inconvenient peace movement that's afoot in my own Cabinet and among the British population." I've opened Kennedy's diary, I've also read Kennedy's telegrams back to the State Department in Washington. They're buried among the files. You can't find them easily, but they are worth reading and you see in detail what Churchill was telling him. What cynicism. Churchill deliberately provoking the bombing of his own capital in order to kill the peace movement. He's been warned this would be the consequence, but he needs it. And still Hitler doesn't do him the favor.

Irving then gave a detailed account of the cynical maneuverings of Churchill to escalate the aerial campaign against Germany's civilian population to the point at which Hitler was driven to strike back against Britain's cities, supplying the spurious justification for the R.A.F.'s (and later the U.S. Army Air Force's) monstrous terror attacks against centuries-old citadels of culture and their helpless inhabitants.

The British historian further expanded on a theme he had touched on in his address to the IHR's 1983 conference: Churchill the drunkard. Irving substantiated his accusation with numerous citations from diaries and journals, the originals of which often differ from heavily laundered published editions. He concluded his address with an anecdote of a ludicrous incident which found Churchill pleading with William Lyon Mackenzie King, wartime prime minister of Canada, to shift production in his country's distilleries from raw materials for the war effort to whiskey and gin, twenty-five thousand cases of it. According to Mackenzie King's private diary, the Canadian prime minister tore up Churchill's memorandum on the subject at precisely twenty-five minutes to eight on August 25, 1943, and Sir Winston had to soldier on through the war with liquid sustenance from other lands and climes. As Irving emphasized, Churchill's drunken rantings, often during cabinet meetings, disgusted many of his generals, as when, at a meeting on July 6, 1944, the prime minister told his commanders to prepare to drop two million lethal anthrax bombs on German cities. Of this meeting Britain's First Sea Lord, Admiral Cunningham, wrote, according to the Irving: "There's no doubt that P.M. is in no state to discuss anything, too tired, and too much alcohol."

Irving's demolition of the Churchill myth, based on a wealth of documentary evidence, most of which has been studiously avoided by the keepers of the Churchill flame, may constitute his most important service to Revisionism. The legendary V-for-victory- waggling, cigar-puffing "Winnie" is for many of a centrist or conservative bent the symbol and guarantee that Britain and America fought and "won" the Second World War for traditional Western values rather than to bleed Europe white and secure an enormous geopolitical base for Communism.

Irving's Churchill biography promises to make trash of such authorized studies as that of Martin Gilbert (which has already been described in private by one Establishment historian as "footnotes to Churchill's war memoirs"). The publication of the first volume of Churchill's War later this year should be an historiographical event of the first importance.

Winter 1986 (Vol. 7, No. 4), page 504

A Secret Report by Jan Karski

Theodore J. O'Keefe

One of the most durable and useful “eyewitnesses” to the alleged Jewish Holocaust has been the World-War-II Polish spy and propagandist who calls himself Jan Karski. The former courier for the Polish Underground, who was born Jan Koziński, wrote an account of his experiences in wartime Poland, *Story of a Secret State*, which was an American best-seller over forty years ago. Karski’s most recent hit was his appearance in the film *Shoah* (for which he has high praise despite its strident anti-Polonism), in which his agonized recounting of his doings in the Warsaw “ghetto” in 1942 won him additional laurels for his role as a “righteous Gentile.”

It has long been evident to revisionist scholars that Karski’s several accounts of his alleged visit to the German camp for Jews located near Belzec, some 80 miles southeast of Lublin, have lost favor among Exterminationist authorities. As Arthur Butz has pointed out, “a new and sanitized version of his story” appeared in Walter Laqueur’s *The Terrible Secret*. [1] Laqueur felt the need to explain Karski’s failure to see any gas chambers by stating that “apparently ... these were walled in and could be approached only with a special permit.” [2] Karski was not asked about his Belzec visit during his interview by Claude Lanzmann in *Shoah*, and most recently Raoul Hilberg has cast severe doubt on Karski’s 1942 Belzec visit. “I would not put him in a footnote in my book,” stated Hilberg. [3] As revisionist researcher Mark Weber has lately written, Karski’s claim that Jews at Belzec were put on trains and shipped away from the camp is more consistent with the revisionist view of Belzec as a transit camp for Jews headed east than with the notion that Belzec was an extermination center. [4]

Not long ago a translation of a secret and before-that-time-unknown report submitted by Jan Karski to the Polish Government-in-Exile appeared in a Jewish scholarly journal published in New York City. [5] In the report, titled *Zagadnienie Żydowskie w Raju* (The Jewish Problem in the Homeland), Karski provided revealing information about Jews and Poles under German and Soviet occupation, and even more revealing indications of his facility at distorting the facts in order to serve propaganda aims.

Karski’s report, which carries a handwritten notation “to be put to use,” was submitted to the Polish Government-in-Exile, at that time based in Angers, France, in February 1940. Karski had just returned from Poland, where he had been taken prisoner by the invading Russians, been handed over to German custody, and then escaped to the Polish Underground in the fall of 1939. According to his introduction to the report, which he composed on his arrival in Angers, he “did not make a special study of the Jewish Question while in the homeland.” [6] Nevertheless, Karski made some careful observations. After describing the situations of Jews in the pre-1919 German territories annexed by the Germans in 1939 and in the German-occupied General Government, Karski portrayed the Jewish role in that part of pre-war Poland that fell to the USSR in 1939 as follows:

The situation of the Jews in these territories is fundamentally different. Above all, “there are no distinctions made here among nationalities or religious groups.” “Everyone finds conditions for work and the protection of the law.”

The Jews are at home here, not only because they do not experience humiliations or persecutions, but [also because] they possess, thanks to their quick-wittedness and ability to adapt to every new situation, a certain power of both a political and an economic nature.

They are entering the political cells; in many of them they have taken over the most critical political-administrative positions. They play quite a large role in the factory unions, in higher education, and most of all in commerce; but above and beyond even all this they are involved in loansharking and profiteering, contraband, foreign currency exchange, liquor, immoral interests, pimping and procurement.

In these territories in the vast majority of cases their situation is better both economically and politically than what it was before the war.

This applies first of all the the classes of petty merchants, artisans, proletarians, and the half-educated. The wealthier and more educated circles [owners of hotels, large plants, factories, stores, as well as lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc.] are subject in principle to the same restrictions as a group, as are other nationalities within the Soviet system.

Karski went on to write of the Poles' attitudes towards the Jews in the Russian zone of occupation:

The attitude of the Jews towards the Bolsheviks is regarded among the Polish populace as quite positive. It is generally believed that the Jews betrayed Poland and the Poles, that they are basically communists, that they crossed over to the Bolsheviks with flags unfurled.

In fact, in most cities the Jews greeted the Bolsheviks with baskets of red roses, with submissive declarations and speeches, etc., etc.

However, one needs to insert here certain distinctions.

Certainly it is so that Jewish communists adopted an enthusiastic stance toward the Bolsheviks, regardless of the social class from which they came. The Jewish proletariat, small merchants, artisans, and all those whose position has at present been improved structurally and who had formerly been exposed to oppression, indignities, excesses, etc., from the Polish element — all of these responded positively, if not enthusiastically, to the new regime.

Their attitude seems to me quite understandable.

However, there are worse cases, where they [the Jews] denounce the Poles, Polish nationalist students, and Polish political figures when they direct the work of the Bolshevik police force from behind their desks or are members of the police force, when they falsely defame the relations [between Poles and Jews] in former Poland. Unfortunately it is necessary to state that such incidents are quite common, more common than incidents which reveal loyalty toward Poles or sentiment toward Poland.

After expressing his own sympathy for the wealthier and better educated Jews, Karski concluded that as to the Poles' feelings toward the Jews in the Soviet zone:

In principle, however, and in their mass, the Jews have created here a situation in which the Poles regard them as devoted to the Bolsheviks and — one can safely say — wait for the moment when they will be able simply to take revenge upon the Jews. Virtually all Poles are bitter and disappointed in relation to the Jews; the overwhelming majority [first among them of course the youth] literally look forward to an opportunity for “repayment in blood “

Karski devoted the remainder of his report on the Jewish problem in occupied Poland to a frank consideration of the effectiveness of German anti-Jewish measures in winning “the sympathy, recognition, and respect of a broad stratum among the Poles.” After claiming that the Germans' real goals in Poland vis-a- vis the Jews were “plunder” and “the duping of the Polish populace,” Karski summed up the situation as follows:

It must be admitted that they are succeeding in this.

The Jews pay and pay and pay ..., and the Polish peasant, laborer, and half-educated, unintelligent, demoralized wretch loudly proclaim, “Now then, they are finally teaching them a lesson.” — “We should learn from them.” — “The end has come for the Jews.” — “Whatever happens, we should thank God that the Germans came and took hold of the Jews,” — etc.

“The solution of the Jewish Question” by the Germans — I must state this with a full sense of responsibility for what I am saying — is a serious and quite dangerous tool in the hands of the Germans, leading toward the “moral pacification” of broad sections of Polish society.

It would certainly be erroneous to suppose that this issue alone will be effective in gaining for them the acceptance of the populace.

However, although the nation loathes them mortally, this question is creating something akin to a narrow bridge upon which the Germans and a large portion of Polish society are finding agreement.

It is certain that this bridge is no less narrow than the desires of the Germans to strengthen and reinforce it are great.

Moreover, this situation threatens to demoralize broad segments of the populace, and this in turn may present many problems to the future authorities endeavoring to rebuild the Polish state. It is difficult; “the lesson is not lost.”

Furthermore, the present situation is creating a twofold schism among the inhabitants of these territories — first, a schism between Jews and Poles in the struggle against the common enemy, and second, a schism among the Poles with one group despising and resenting the Germans' barbaric methods [conscious of the danger in this], and the other regarding them [and thus the Germans. too!] with curiosity and often fascination, and condemning the first group for its “indifference toward such an important question.”

Karski and his superiors were not about to leave matters there, however. Possibly to avoid offending the sensibilities of British and French officials who might come across the report, but far more likely as a basis for propaganda among Jews and Western liberals, Karski prepared alternate versions of some of the most damning passages in his secret report, which were appended to the document. The appended passages represented the Poles as sympathetic to the plight of the Jews, and dismissive of German efforts to win them over through anti-Jewish measures. The following passage is a rewrite of the summary quoted above, and embodies what Karski and the Polish Government-in-Exile imagined (doubtless correctly) would be a more palatable, to Hitler's enemies in the West, portrayal of Polish attitudes:

It is necessary to admit that only in one part are they necessary [sic] in this, while in the other part they are creating an affect precisely contrary to their intentions.

The Jews pay and pay and pay ..., but the Polish populace more and more frequently and in ever wider circles is thinking out loud: 'This is already too much.' — "These are not people." — "This must end with some horrible punishment for the Germans.

'The solution of the Jewish Question' by the Germans — this must be stated with a full sense of responsibility — is supposed to be in their hands and according to their plans a serious and quite dangerous tool, whether for winning over or for "morally pacifying" broad sections of the Polish populace.

Certainly it would be in error to suppose that they expect that this issue alone will be effective in gaining for them the acceptance of the populace.

They know that the Polish nation loathes them mortally, but at the same time they are convinced that this question will create something akin to a narrow bridge upon which the Germans and a certain portion of Polish society will find agreement.

They know further — and they rather expect this — that their methods with respect to the Jews threaten to demoralize broad segments of the populace, and this in turn will certainly present many problems to the future authorities endeavoring to rebuild the Polish state. They believe also that the present situation will create a twofold schism among the inhabitants of these territories — first, a schism between Jews and Poles in the struggle against the common enemy, and second, a schism among the Poles, with one group despising and resenting their barbaric methods [conscious of the danger in this] and the other [according to the German expectations the great majority] regarding those methods [and thus, of course, their authors as well] with curiosity or fascination, and condemning the first group for its "indifference toward such an important question."

At this moment it is difficult to say to what extent the Germans understand that this group is not large and will in the course of time become even smaller.

The Karski report, interesting in itself for its observations of the pro-Soviet activity of many Jews in that part of pre-war Poland occupied by the Soviets in September 1939, provides further evidence of Karski's skill and lack of scruples as a propagandist. Indeed, Karski's role as a propagandist, spreading mendacious "Holocaust" propaganda among the political leaders and press lords of America and Britain, was if anything more important to his superiors in the Polish Government-in-Exile than his activity as a spy and a courier. As his successor, Jan Nowak, wrote:

They way was opened for me by my predecessor in this role, Jan Karski. Endowed with great political acumen, very inventive, and commanding excellent English, Karski had done excellent political and propaganda work on both sides of the Atlantic. He had talked with Churchill, Roosevelt, and a whole range of influential politicians, members of Parliament, and British and American newspaper columnists. His book *The Story of a Secret State* was a best-seller in America “I hope,” said Mikolajczyk [the Polish Interior Minister], “that you will turn out to be another Karski.” [7]

Through his continued activity as a self-professed eyewitness to the “Holocaust,” and his defense of Claude Lanzmann’s anti-Polish movie, the alleged “righteous gentile” Jan Karski seems to be carrying on his propagandist’s role for different interests.

Notes

1. ☺ Arthur Butz, “Perspective in the ‘Holocaust’ Controversy,” *JHR*, Vol. 3, no. 4 (Winter 1982), p. 388. Reprinted in Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, *IHR*, 1985, p. 352.
2. ☺ Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret*, New York: Penguin, 1982, p. 231.
3. ☺ Interview by Emie Meyer, *Jerusalem Post*, week ending June 28, 1986, p.9.
4. ☺ “An Open Letter to Rev. Mark Herbener,” *Christian News*, April 27, 1987, p. 1.
5. ☺ David Engel, “An Early Account of Polish Jewry under Nazi and Soviet Occupation Presented to the Polish Government-in-Exile, February 1940,” *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. XLV, no. 1 (Winter 1983), p. 1.
6. ☺ All quotations from the Karski report are taken from the translation presented in the the Engel article. Excerpts from a slightly different translation of Karski’s report lately appeared in a letter by the British historian of Poland, Norman Davies, which was published in *The New York Review of Books*, April 9, 1987 (“Poles and Jews: An Exchange”).
7. ☺ Jan Nowak, *Courier from Warsaw*, Detroit: Wayne State University, 1982, p. 234.

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From the Editor

Ted O’Keefe

With the appearance of this first number of Volume Eight, *The Journal of Historical Review* ends its “sabbatical,” and resumes its vital mission of revising and correcting propaganda untruths disseminated in the name of history to the woe of men and women of good will everywhere. In its first seven volumes, *The Journal* established itself as the world’s leading scholarly voice against the gas-chamber hoax and the other falsehoods and legends associated with the Holocaust story. *The Journal* was also able to revitalize and carry forward the program of Harry Elmer Barnes and his school reviewing the diplomatic history of the twentieth century, examining the largely veiled war crimes of the victors, and debunking atrocities falsely ascribed to the vanquished.

This issue builds on and advances the tradition established by its predecessors. As befits *The Journal*’s primary focus, contemporary history, the articles are timely indeed, from [Henri Roques’ account](#) of the imbroglio that erupted in France two years ago when he dared subject the “confessions” of Kurt Gerstein — until then regarded as a key “proof” of the gaschamber story — to a close textual examination, to the latest news from Germany and Austria regarding Judge Stäglich’s efforts to regain his duly earned doctorate and the explosive revelations of the Müller document The essential characteristics of Historical Revisionism, i.e., a commitment to a spirit of critical doubt and an obligation to truthfulness as a component of personal honor, shine through in [Clarence Lang’s study](#) of the background to the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt as well as [General Otto Ernst Remer’s account](#) of his role in suppressing the July 20, 1944, anti-Hitler *putsch*, whose authors for some time have been objects of a virtual state cult in West Germany. [Dr. Alexander Berkis reminds us](#) of the many crimes of the Soviet Union in Latvia and the other two Baltic states, crimes that advocates of *glasnost* are all too willing to sweep under the rug in exchange for promised Soviet amity, often sought by dusting off Soviet atrocity stories directed not only at Germans but at Balts, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and other subject peoples of Eastern and Central Europe. IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member [Martin Larson reports on the latest developments](#) in the ongoing attempts to force publication of the long since deciphered and translated, but curiously withheld, Dead Sea Scrolls.

As always, *The Journal* helps readers stay abreast of historiographical developments in its Review and Historical News and Comment sections, which in this issue feature the incomparable [Robert Faurisson on Shoah](#), [Dr. Stäglich’s report](#), and reviews from IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member Georg Franz-Willing and other contributors. Readers will notice a somewhat smaller overall trim size in this issue. Previous issues were six inches by nine, but softcover book printers are beginning to favor dimensions of one-half inch less each way, rendering the earlier size economically impractical. The already more common 5 by 8 inch format is the “wave of the future,” so we’re told. We at IHR, who print and publish in forward-looking California, hard by the Pacific Ocean, wish to be in disharmony with the future and the present no more than with the past. Thus, we have consented to this minor abbreviation in size, with no sacrifice in text, but with slightly thinner margins. From here on in — with your approval, we trust — the new trim

size will be standard for *The Journal* and its annual bound volumes. We sincerely hope that the return of *The Journal of Historical Review*, together with the advances Historical Revisionists are making around the world, signals the onset of a tidal wave of historical truth, a revisionist tsunami, which will sweep away decades- and age-old falsehoods, a wave that revisionists and their supporters will ride high, wide and handsome to victory.

Summer 1988 (Vol. 8, No. 1), page 5

From the Gerstein affair to the Roques affair

Henri Roques

- Translated by Ronald V. Percival. Paper presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference.

On February 21, 1979, the newspaper *Le Monde*, the Paris daily, published a text titled “The Hitler Policy of Extermination: A Declaration by Historians.” This declaration, whose style was intended to be solemn and whose conclusions were meant to be irrefutable, had been drafted by two persons:

- Léon Poliakov, former director of research at the C.N.R.S. (the National Center for Scientific Research), an author of widely- distributed books translated into several languages and often republished, all devoted to the questions of anti-Semitism and the persecutions suffered by the Jews under the Third Reich (for example: *The Breviary of Hate*, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, *The Trial at Jerusalem*);
- Pierre Vidal-Naquet, a professor at the School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences at Paris, a specialist in ancient Greek history but at the same time the chief of a group of university academics who, at the time, had decided to oppose vigorously the revisionist theses expounded in France by Professor Robert Faurisson. Pierre Vidal-Naquet published in 1980 a work under the title: *The Jews, Memory and the Present*.

Poliakov and Vidal-Naquet had obtained, in order to support their text, the signatures of thirty-two other historians. Among the latter, who worked or taught at the College of France, at the National Center for Scientific Research, in the French universities, at the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences and at the Practical School of Advanced Studies, one could identify the names of some academics very well-known in France as historians. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there was only a small minority of specialists in contemporary history and, more particularly, in the history of the Second World War. The declaration began as follows:

Since the end of the Second World War, it has happened on several occasions that publicists, sometimes taking the title of historians, have cast doubt on the veracity of the evidence of the Hitler policy of extermination. This evidence had, in 1945, a glaring obviousness. The great majority of the deportees today are dead. There remain their writings and the archives of the Third Reich, but this documentation does not always prevent reactions which are in the form of a “critique” in appearance only.

The declaration ends with the following bewildering phrases:

It is not necessary to ask oneself how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically because it took place. Such is the obligatory point of de-

parture for all historical inquiry on the subject It is our concern simply to recall this truth there is not, there cannot be, any debate on the existence of the gas chambers.

In addition, in the fourth paragraph of this text, bearing the subtitle “The Evidence,” one can read the following: “A witness, a document, can always be suspected. The criticism of texts is one of the fundamental rules of our profession.” Personally, I have always remembered very specially this last sentence and I asked myself: “Has there been any critical textual evaluation of sufficient substance to deal with the rare written accounts which claim to attest the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the Nazi concentration camps?” To this question, I have replied in the negative. Now, in this declaration of the historians, an evidence in writing was partially reproduced; it came from what was customarily called the “Gerstein Report” (in German, Gerstein-Bericht). The writers of the declaration, Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, presented it in these terms:

From amongst so very much evidence, which obviously cannot come from those who have been killed, is it necessary to recall that of the SS [officer] Gerstein, who tried in vain to alert, as early as 1942, the civil and religious authorities on what was happening in these camps? Written by himself, April 26, 1945, for the French authorities, in hesitant French, his account, indisputable in its essentials, of what he had seen at Belzec is only the more moving.

This preamble was followed by an extract of the Gerstein report in its most widely-known version, which carries the reference PS-1553, a total of 55 lines spread over two columns of the newspaper *Le Monde*, on page twenty-three. Why was this evidence chosen “from amongst so very much evidence”? Apparently because Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet believed it to be the most convincing of all the written evidence relating to the problem of the homicidal gas chambers. Léon Poliakov had long experience of this evidence because he had utilized it very often in his writings. As far as Pierre Vidal-Naquet was concerned, he put his trust in Léon Poliakov who was considered to be one of the best specialists, perhaps even the best specialist, on this question in France. As for the thirty-two co-signatories to the declaration, it is very probable that the Gerstein report was hardly known to them, and that the reputations of the two initiators of the declaration sufficed to obtain their signatures.

The Gerstein evidence has a unique character: it is the only evidence to have been given spontaneously by a German officer who had been a member of the Waffen SS. Gerstein was described by his hagiographers as “a saint astray in our century,” as “God’s spy.” For Poliakov, this German was “a righteous Gentile.” However, the Gerstein report began its career badly: it was, in fact, rejected as proof by the Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, which had called for the document during its session of January 30, 1946. Subsequently, the Gerstein account was used in legal proceedings, notably in the Doctors’ Trial of November 1947 and, later, in the Eichmann Trial at Jerusalem in 1961. If a critical review of the various published versions of the texts was indispensable, it seemed clear to me that it was necessary to begin by a critical review of the texts left by Gerstein or which were attributed to him. I am neither an academic nor an historian. My career has been spent in administration in the private sector, and I took my retirement in 1981. It happens that, since 1945, I have been greatly interested in several historical questions relating to the Second World War; in this way I have cultivated for a very long time what you Americans, I believe, call a “hobby.” I was a friend of the historian Paul Rassinier, whom we all recognize as the spiritual father of Holocaust revisionism. I often have to explain Paul Rassinier’s work to audiences who are not fully aware or whose knowledge of his work is poor. It is, for me, an immense pleasure to speak of the great and honest man who was Paul Rassinier. But I believe that

here it is quite unnecessary to recall at length the historian whom you know well and whom you admire.

I had read, during the 1950's and the 1960's, the works of Rassinier; I had long conversations with him at his home in the Paris suburbs between 1962 and 1967, which was the year of his untimely death. Rassinier certainly mentioned the Gerstein story; in regard to the witness Pfannenstiel, he even pointed out to me that his name meant "handle of the frying pan." Unaware that one day I should write a thesis on the Gerstein texts, I did not pay sufficient attention to Paul Rassinier on this subject.

I did, however, have a record in a comparative presentation made by Rassinier in his book *The Drama of the European Jews*. On ten to twelve pages, he presented side by side:

- on the one hand, the French version of the document attributed to Gerstein by Léon Poliakov in 1951 in his book *The Breviary of Hate*;
- on the other hand, the French version of the document attributed to Gerstein by the tribunal at Jerusalem in 1961 and printed by the same Poliakov in *The Trial at Jerusalem*.

Paul Rassinier pointed out important and inexplicable differences between these extracts of the same original document. Moreover, a remark made by the historian stayed always in my memory: "Of all the evidence relating to the homicidal gas chambers," Rassinier had said to me, "the craziest, the most extravagant, is that of Gerstein." Then, in 1979, almost twelve years after the death of my friend, I found once more the evidence he had described as crazy and extravagant in a declaration by historians, signed by thirty-four French academics. I informed Professor Robert Faurisson, with whom I was already in contact, of my stupefaction. He shared my indignation, the more so because he possessed a solid documentation on this subject. The idea of bringing matters out into the open progressively imposed itself on me; I reread the books of Rassinier, those of Léon Poliakov, of Saul Friedlander and of Pierre Joffroy. In 1981, I took my professional retirement and began my work of research and study. In the course of this same year 1981, a trial confronted Robert Faurisson with Léon Poliakov; the former having written, in one of his works, that the latter was a manipulator and fabricator of texts, precisely a propos the Gerstein story. Poliakov, urged by his followers, brought a complaint of defamation against Faurisson. At the request of Professor Faurisson and as witness at this trial I prepared for the attention of the judges a memorandum which showed very clearly the manipulations and fabrications of Gerstein's texts by Poliakov. But the Advocate-General recalled to the attention of the court in his summation that there was defamation in regard to a person from the moment that injurious remarks were made as to his reputation, even if those remarks were true. As a consequence, Professor Faurisson was found guilty. Now quite determined to prepare a university thesis in order to present a critical evaluation of the "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein, I succeeded in obtaining the agreement of a professor of literature to his becoming director of studies for my thesis.

On February 5, 1982, I registered myself in the correct manner at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne.

My research was basically undertaken in two places:

1. In the Archives of the Evangelical Church of Bielefeld in Westphalia, which possesses a unique file concerning Gerstein; the majority of these documents have been sent to the archives by the widow of the former SS officer. It was in these archives that I discovered a sixth version of the "confessions," thus adding to the five versions already known but never published in full.

2. At the Direction of Military Justice in Paris, where the file on the war criminal Kurt Gerstein, accused of murder and complicity in murder on July 5, 1945, by a military examining magistrate, is preserved. The Gerstein file had mysteriously disappeared from the French military archives from November 1945 until August 1971. On the latter date, it was rediscovered “by chance.” It seems that, before me, no one had sought seriously to study the documents contained in this file.

When I had collected an important number of these documents, often unpublished, I began the writing of my thesis. My director of studies at the Sorbonne advised me; I had great need of his advice, for I was not familiar with the academic methods applicable to textual criticism. I had visualized devoting one chapter to the cuts in the text made in the published versions, to the substitutions of words and figures, to the amalgams made in utilizing extracts from different versions, etc. My director of studies did not approve of this project; such a chapter would have brought into question the integrity of authors known for their Exterminationist works. I then opted for another method: throughout the length of my thesis, I have noted the inexplicable anomalies in the numerous alleged reproductions of Gerstein’s texts.

My work thus took the following form

- Introduction
- Chapter One: Establishment of the Texts
- Chapter Two: Authenticity of the Texts
- Chapter Three: Veracity of the Texts
- Chapter Four: Gerstein’s “Confessions” and the Views of Their Readers.
- Conclusion

At the end of Chapter One, I have drawn up large tables which permit the reader to compare the principal extracts of the “Confessions” of Gerstein according to the six versions, or even the eight versions, since version number five has two different texts in French and a translation in English. My study of the authenticity of the texts led me to doubt the authenticity of the two versions written in German; I consider, in fact, that these two German texts have been fabricated, at least partially, from the texts in French which themselves appear to have been composed by Gerstein. One of these two texts, the one dated May 4, 1945, was moreover rediscovered in the spring of 1946, in circumstances which are unclear, at the Hotel Mohren of Rottweil in the Wurttemberg region, where Gerstein had been interned as a prisoner of war by the French army. In regard to the veracity of the texts, the most remarkable aspect is to be found in the enumeration of the improbabilities and unrealistic assertions which are scattered throughout the account of the SS officer. I have enumerated 29, but I am fully aware that my list is incomplete. I shall not burden you with a recital of these twenty-nine improbabilities; some are moreover very well known. According to Gerstein, in three small camps in Poland, named Belzec, Treblinka and Sobibor, sixty-thousand persons were exterminated every day. Now, for these three camps, the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* gives the following statistics which are not, however, based on any scientific foundation one million, six-hundred thousand persons, which is already hardly credible. According to Gerstein, the total of the victims would be twenty-eight millions, by reason of the sixty-thousand daily deaths during the periods when officially the camps were functioning.. In addition, in the version of his “Confessions” which carries the code PS-1553, Gerstein himself gives the figure of twenty-five million victims. This strange SS officer, who did not lack imagination, saw piles of shoes or clothing that reached a height of thirty-five to forty meters, which is the equivalent of a building of ten to twelve floors. Was he not aware of the absurdity of such a statement? How could anyone climb such a height to deposit his shoes? Additionally, these mounds of shoes would have been visible from a very considerable distance, while at the same time Gerstein tells

us that the exterminations in the camps had to be effected with the utmost secrecy. Again, Gerstein tells us in each of the versions of his story that seven-hundred to eight-hundred persons were packed into a room of twenty-five square meters. A simple arithmetical division permits us to question the possibility of packing thirty persons or thereabouts into one square meter. Finally, Gerstein boasts of having made his cargo of hydrocyanic acid disappear by burying it twelve-hundred meters before the camp entrance. One can already believe that the operation could not have been easy. But, to crown the improbabilities, the SS officer pretends that no one asked him for a report on his Mission when he returned to Berlin. Was it customary in the German army, or in any other army in the world, to assign an officer to an ultra-secret mission and then not bother to inquire whether this mission had been fulfilled? The conclusion of my thesis specifies the results I had proposed to attain

1. to offer to historians, by my critical edition of the texts commonly called the “Gerstein Report,” a solid base on which these historians could form their opinions;
2. to demonstrate that the SS officer’s story does not have the value one should require of a historical document;
3. to encourage my readers to ask questions, and in particular the following question “Why have the Exterminationists considered a text so extravagant and so crammed with improbabilities as being major evidence, as one of the best proofs of the existence of the gas chambers?”

I ended my conclusion with a saying borrowed from a French writer of Jewish origin, Raymond Aron: “The fertile spirit of doubt.” This expression is very fine: it explains simply the necessity of exercising our critical intelligence in every scientific study, including, naturally, the study of history. ^[1]

My work was finished at the beginning of April 1984; on that date I sent a copy of my thesis to the professor at the Sorbonne who had agreed to direct my studies. Normally, I should have formally argued my thesis in the following weeks, at all events before June 30, 1984. But a jury composed of three professors was necessary; my director of studies, who was a professor of letters, thus had to find two colleagues, one of whom at least had to be a historian, in order to constitute this famous jury. He had warned me: by reason of the “explosive character” of this thesis, it would be imperative to have a jury “above all suspicion.” I had myself proposed as members of the jury the three professors who, the following year, constituted the jury at the University of Nantes. But the professor of Paris-Sorbonne objected to them. In effect, my director of studies in Paris was a victim of the intellectual terrorism which is rife throughout France as in the other European countries and even North America. He was frightened at the possibility of underwriting a thesis which would support revisionist opinions. The months passed by with the situation unresolved.

At the beginning of 1985, I requested the Paris professor to withdraw and with much delight I accepted the offer of a courageous professor of the University of Nantes to become my new director of studies for the thesis. The jury was then rapidly formed. It is a pleasure for me to give you the names of the members of this panel. They are:

- Professor Jean-Claude Rivi re, who teaches literature at the University of Nantes;
- Professor Jean-Paul Allard, who teaches German language and literature at the University of Lyon-III;
- Professor Pierre Zind, who teaches modern history at the University of Lyon-II.

The oral argument of my thesis took place on June 15, 1985, in full accordance with all the established regulations. In the autumn of 1985, a communique was sent to the press and to a certain number of historians to inform them of the success of my thesis and of my duly being awarded a doctorate for research, in the Faculty of Letters. With the exception of some brief reports in some friendly newspapers, a great silence supervened until April 1986. On April 18, 1986 (the date is worth noting), a letter was sent to me by the University of Nantes informing me that the certificate of my diploma was at my disposal; the letter suggested either that I should go personally to collect it or that I should send the small sum of money required so that the diploma could be mailed. My mind and my conscience both being quite untroubled, I did not make the journey to Nantes. Now, to be sure, I regret my decision, because the diploma would then have been handed to me and I could have shown it to you today. About the twenty-fourth of April, that is to say some days later, Professor Jean-Claude Rivi re telephoned me to tell me of his consternation the issue of *Le Monde juif* [The Jewish World] for the first quarter of 1986 had just been profusely distributed at the University of Nantes, principally by dropping free copies into the postboxes of the teaching staff and other key personnel. This issue contained a lengthy article by Georges Wellers, who is the editor of *Le Monde juif* and, at the same time, a principal member of the managing committee of the Center for Jewish Documentation in Paris. The Wellers article did not address itself properly to the issues raised in my thesis: academically, or historically, it was insignificant. But it was a well-calculated and quite persuasive propaganda attack; and we have to bear in mind that the vast majority of the persons who read it — in all innocence — had not read my thesis, which was then unpublished, and were thus unaware of the basic facts.

So, to give the Devil his due — or rather, in this case Georges Wellers — his article was a clever and well-planned propaganda effort. The primary purpose, obviously, was not to refute my thesis on matters of fact or interpretation but to embarrass the University: and, in this context, it succeeded. From this issue of *Le Monde juif*, the scandal of the Roques Affair exploded, though for a further three weeks the scandal was confined to the region of Nantes. The scandal of the Roques Affair reached Paris and the whole of France on May 22-23, 1986. One evening, a so-called debate was organized, during a peak listening period, on a major radio channel. In the guise of a debate, it was rather more an attempt at a lynching party. I had beside me my friend and lawyer Maitre Eric Delcroix thus, we were two, confronting six adversaries who, for the most part, were experienced in radio phone-in debates. In the course of the broadcast two Ministers, one of whom, Alain Devaquet, was the Minister of Research and Higher Education, intervened by telephone. Madame Simone Veil, a member of the European Parliament and a former president of that institution, also a former deportee to Auschwitz, likewise intervened. Maitre Delcroix and I came out of this pre-arranged ambush fairly well; our adversaries lost their self-control to the extent of offering us insults. The following day, the twenty-fourth of May, all the national press was writing of the “affair,” often on the front page. On the twenty-eighth of May a demonstration was held in Paris in front of the Jewish Memorial, with the participation of several government ministers and other political personalities.. On the same day, the affair was discussed with indignation at the National Assembly in Paris, as well as the Knesset in Jerusalem. On the thirtieth of May, several persons reputed to be historians met together in front of the press at the Institute of Modern History, in order to declare my thesis completely invalid.” This round table was composed entirely of Exterminationist theoreticians This is the first occasion in the history of French universities that a thesis accepted by a properly constituted university jury was then rejected by a sort of extra-mural and self-appointed anti-jury, not qualified by any sort of university authority and, moreover, in the absence of the doctoral candidate! For what reason did these learned critics believe it was not necessary to invite me to be present to defend my thesis? It is obvious that they had no wish to hear me cite the irrefutable fact in my favor, namely, the palpable unreliability of Gerstein’s evidence.

Throughout the whole of the month of June 1986, that is to say one year after the success of my thesis, the rector of the University of Nantes was obliged to complete a strange and laborious task. Charged by the Minister of Research and Higher Education to undertake an administrative inquiry, he examined with a magnifying glass my registration at the University of Paris IV- Sorbonne, the transfer of my file to the University of Nantes, and the circumstances in which the oral argumentation on my thesis had been held. In fact, it was absolutely imperative for him to produce for his minister a report of his inquiry making it appear that there had been some error in the formalities. You are all aware that if you look carefully enough you can always arrive at finding some error in some formality or other; failing which, an error in the formalities can also be fabricated. In this way, a fictitious signature, one which even if authentic would have been perfectly useless, was “discovered” on the report on my oral defense for the thesis. I shall not say more on this ridiculous affair for the moment, but if a question is put to me on this matter, I shall give you every possible explanation in my reply. [2] On July 2, 1986, in the course of a noisy press conference, the minister, Alain Devaquet, flanked by the rector of the Academy of Nantes and the administrator of the University of Nantes, announced to all the media the cancellation of my successful defense on the thesis. The moral of this story is summed up in a French proverb which probably has its equivalent in the English-speaking countries: “When someone wants to drown his dog, he says it has rabies.” When questioned that same evening by the reporters on French radio, my essential words were:

I receive the minister's decision with a great outburst of laughter. Since it is impossible to attack the thesis itself, a pretext has anxiously been sought regarding some pretended error in the formalities. This course of action is ridiculous and scandalous. But my thesis exists and there are innumerable people willing to read it. As of now, I am beginning proceedings before the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes in order to regain my doctorate.

The media earthquake whose epicenter was, at the end of April 1986, at Nantes had, by July, reached your “neighbors” in Los Angeles; that is to say the famous Simon Wiesenthal Center. Upon the announcement of the annulment of my thesis, this Center published a communique particularly insulting to France. I quote this statement:

This measure shows that France recognizes not only its responsibility towards the victims of Nazi Germany, but also the menace threatening university standards and historical truth raised by those who attempt to deny the crimes of the Third Reich or to exonerate them.

The same day, the French prime minister, Jacques Chirac, let it be known through his spokesman that “solemnly and personally he was outraged.” Do not imagine that Monsieur Chirac was outraged by the insolent communique of the Simon Wiesenthal Center! Not at all. He was outraged “by the subject of my thesis, its lack of seriousness and the attitude adopted.” Surely it is superfluous to inquire whether Monsieur the Prime Minister had read or had had someone read my thesis for him, even in part. Certain attitudes and declarations by the “great ones of this world” are often dictated by conditioned reflexes.

Exactly four weeks after this absurd ministerial decision, I held in my turn a press conference in a large Paris hotel. The association SOS-Racism, which, with powerful private and public support, militates for a “French Melting-pot,” sent twenty or thirty of its members to prevent me from holding this conference. These troublemakers succeeded only in delaying the conference for about an hour and a half: when the police, who had been alerted at the start, decided to inter-

vene, the rowdies disappeared within a few seconds and the press conference proceeded in the normal way. Paradoxically the most attentive listeners were the foreign journalists, in particular the Arabs and the Chinese. My alleged “racism” does not seem to have shocked them. My press conference had been chaired by a young Swiss lady, a teacher of French and history at a high school in Lausanne; her name is Mariette Paschoud. She had been one of the first to pay respect to the seriousness of my thesis, in an article published by a periodical in Lausanne. Upon her return to Switzerland, Mariette Paschoud was the target of a campaign of calumny conducted by the press in her country and stirred up by certain very influential personalities, notably the Grand Rabbi of Lausanne. For more than six months the Paschoud Affair developed, at the end of which Mariette Paschoud had to resign her position as teacher and accept a transfer to an archives department; thus, no longer in contact with the students or teaching colleagues, she no longer risks “polluting them ideologically.” Happily, the Roques Affair included some encouraging events.

On August 2-3, 1986 the newspaper *Ouest-France*, which is the regional daily with the widest distribution in France, published two articles in support of my thesis. In particular, it printed an interview with an academic of great repute, Michel de Bouard, who is an historian and a member of the Institute of France. Monsieur Bouard was deported to the concentration camp of Mauthausen for acts of resistance during the occupation; in this respect, he holds many decorations and, as a historian, is a member of the Institute of Modern History. With great intellectual honesty and great courage, in view of the climate surrounding the Roques Affair, Monsieur de Bouard declared principally: “The thesis of Monsieur Roques is a good critical publication. If I had been a member of the jury, I should probably have accorded the grade 'Very Good' to this thesis.” This statement of his position by an academic as respected and as competent as Monsieur de Bouard has greatly troubled the consciences of many of his colleagues.

One other expression of support was especially precious to me: that of an historian very well known in France, Alain Decaux, a member of the Académie Française. Alain Decaux, in a letter published by a Paris daily on September 13, 1986, expressed himself clearly on the matter. He said essentially that, after having read through the complete thesis, he maintained what he had already written on the subject, namely, that he believed Henri Roques to be the best-informed man on the subject of Gerstein and that future historians of the subject of gas chambers would have to take Henri Roques' work into account. He even described my work as “remarkable.” He makes clear, however, that he does not share all my conclusions.

Everyone knows that one can judge a thesis to be a good thesis even if one disputes its conclusions. Additionally, in the interview which I have previously quoted, Monsieur de Bouard states clearly: “A thesis is not a catechism. A thesis is to be discussed ...” In the last months of 1986 and the first months of 1987, there were still frequent articles and mentions of my thesis in the newspapers, on the radio and even on television.

My critical evaluation of the texts of the “confessions” of Kurt Gerstein had been done with a view to serving historical science in a revisionist spirit and to accord it a university label. This action, judged to be scandalous by conformists of all kinds, has given rise to a tornado in the media and in certain political circles not only in France but overseas as well, most especially in Israel. It is appropriate to study the reactions caused by my thesis among academics, and more especially historians, with careful attention. The first academic requested to give his opinion was Dean Paul Malvy, Provisional Administrator of the University of Nantes. Monsieur Malvy is a professor of medicine. On May 5, 1986, he made the following statement to the daily *Ouest-France*:

I wish only to point out that the matters expressed in a thesis commit only the author of that thesis and do not commit the university in which that thesis is submitted in any way at all I have looked through this work. There is not, alas, any ambiguity about the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the texts studied ... Personally, this perusal has disturbed me deeply; everyone will easily understand the reasons why; I was twenty years of age in 1942 and, in 1945, I was in Poland. I held in my hands, wrapped in twists of newspaper, with or without a label, that which has a name: ashes.

Those are the exact terms used by Dean Malvy. I should explain that Monsieur Malvy, a student of medicine in 1945, was a member of a mission charged with the repatriation of deportees; and it was for this reason that he visited the concentration camps in Poland shortly after the war. The statement of the Nantes academic is, taken as a whole, honest. He points out that my analysis of the texts led me to conclude that Gerstein's evidence has no historic value; he adds that reading through my thesis has deeply disturbed him. He recalls, at the end, a personal memory: he has held in his hands twists of newspaper containing ashes. Thus, there is no mention of the homicidal gas chambers in the remarks of the Dean Malvy; he has simply seen ashes which came from the incineration of bodies in the crematoriums. On May 6, 1986, the following day, the national press in France reproduced Dean Malvy's statement and, naturally, the reproduction was often inaccurate. So we have sometimes been able to read that Dean Malvy had seen, in the Polish camps, "the gas chambers functioning" [sic]; we have even been able to read that Dean Malvy had held in his hands twists of newspaper containing "the ashes of his relatives" [sic]. Here we have a fine example of misinformation by the media! The second academic who made his feelings known was the Minister of Research and Higher Education, Alain Devaquet himself. Strangely, the minister chose to present himself in the context of a radio phone-in program to which I had been invited on the twenty-third of May, a program that I have previously mentioned. What did Alain Devaquet say on this evening? He addressed his remarks to the program moderator, Jean-Pierre Elkabach, in the following terms:

You know, Monsieur Elkabach, that the offense of freely expressing an opinion does not exist in our society. You know that the liberty of expression is a rule of French universities. But in this particular case, this freedom leads to a pseudo-science. It is genuine science which should reply and I believe, for my part, that the only true sanction, whether it be intellectual, or whether it be above all moral, is the overwhelming repudiation, the overwhelming disapproval, the overwhelming indignation of the whole scientific community. In particular, I believe that the true historians should rise as one man.

As you will notice, the minister's tone was imbued with passion and solemnity. On that day, he called for a general mobilization against revisionists.

Now, it is about eighteen months since the minister launched this call to arms and, in France, we still await any authentic disapproval, any repudiation by the scientific community, solely excepting the grotesque round table of which I have just now spoken. From the historians acknowledged for their competence in regard to the problems of the Second World War, we have heard nothing but total silence! And this silence still endures.

During 1987, we have well noticed a general mobilization against the revisionist school of historians and especially French revisionists; this mobilization was solely a mobilization of the media; it was unleashed for the great spectacle of the Klaus Barbie trial and accompanied, on the last days of the hearings, by an evening TV transmission of the serial film Shoah. I shall add a detail

for those of my listeners who are not fully conversant with the ups and downs of French politics: as of early December 1986, Alain Devaquet is no longer a minister. He was obliged to resign in face of the student demonstrations against his plans for change in the universities. His enforced leisure should have eased the ex-minister's task of bringing to fulfillment his mobilization against the Revisionist movement in France. If he has tried to act to this effect then it has been almost certainly without result, as no one has heard anything further.

In the last days of May and the first days of June 1986 the petitions and communiques condemning my thesis flooded in. From among these petitions and communiques, I shall mention only two:

the communique from the Scientific Committee of the University of Nantes which Disassociates itself from the teacher responsible for processing the thesis," meaning their colleague at Nantes, Professor JeanClaude Rivi re, the tutor for my thesis;

the petition of a certain number of the teaching staff at the university of Paris-VII, in the midst of whom was Professor Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who certainly instigated this feeble petition.

As for the Israeli ambassador to France, he took the liberty of giving a lesson in morality to the French university community. The weekly magazine, Tribune juive [Jewish Tribune] (edition of June 6, 1986) published a declaration by him in which one reads principally:

The duty of the democracies and of the scientific community is to struggle against all forms of destabilization of the free world. Those establishments of higher learning which lend themselves to the games of ignorant students cooperate with the destroyers of civilization and liberty.

Afterwards, there was the great turn in the tide in the month of August 1986, when the historian Michel de Bouard, a former deportee, gave his support to my thesis. Latterly, Monsieur de Bouard had waged an intensive campaign among his historian colleagues and we are already noticing some happy results. There exists in France a very official and very conformist Association of Professors of History and Geography which publishes a review titled *Historiens et g ographes* [Historians and Geographers]. In the edition of July-August 1986, the professors of history gave free rein to their indignation against the "Scandalous" thesis of Nantes; in the readers' letters columns, one found a letter written by the professors of the Academy of Nancy-Metz having as its heading "Against an untenable 'thesis'"; another letter, composed by the professors of Tulle in the south of France proclaimed: "Shame on the falsifiers of history." Let us recall that these various reactions violently hostile, were precedent to the courageous position adopted by Dean Michel de Bouard, who is unanimously respected in the French university world. I exercised my right of reply in respect to the review *Historiens et g ographes* and my letter was published in the issue of December- January 1987. [3] who are these alleged falsifiers of history among whom I am numbered?" I asked. I recalled that the French courts have made their position known very clearly in regard to Professor Faurisson, who was accused, some years ago, of the falsification of history. Refusing to pursue the accusation, the Court of Appeal of Paris, in its judgment of April 26, 1983, declared that by reason of the seriousness of the work undertaken by the professor "the validity of the conclusions he defends belongs solely to the appraisal of experts, of historians and of the public." I then emphasized that the objective of my thesis was defined exactly by its title; I mentioned the support of Professor Michel de Bouard and of the academician Alain Decaux; I pointed out that George Wellers himself, although very hostile, recog-

nized that my study of the texts was Punctilious and that I had accomplished a Considerable work.”

The editors of the magazine accompanied my letter with a commentary which began as follows:

Our friends Alain Decaux and Georges Wellers have in fact acknowledged the merits of the literary work of Monsieur Roques, who has assembled, compared and evaluated all the reports concerning Gerstein. That is indisputable. But Georges Wellers and Alain Decaux do not agree with the conclusions of this study.

It is easy to remark how the tone has changed in respect to my work. There are no more insults or uncontrolled indignation. Even the merits of my Literary” work are acknowledged. There is, as yet, no mention of my Historical” work. But let us not be too hasty. There is also no mention so far of the supportive views of the distinguished historian Michel de Bouard. Patience! Truth progresses slowly, but it does progress.

Another French scientific review is called the *Révue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine* [Review of Modern and Contemporary History]; it is written by teachers of history who work in the French universities. The issue for the first quarter of 1987 is devoted to a study with the title “History, Discipline and the Media. A Propos the Roques Affair.” The authors of the study recapitulate, by a concise documentation, the essentials of the development of the affair; they note that my work supports Revisionist opinion. To be sure, they do not take sides in favor of my thesis; but this time they refer on several occasions to Dean Michel de Bouard, even reproducing as an appendix the whole of the interview which the historian accorded to the daily newspaper *Ouest-France*. From this, I can remark great progress achieved by the Revisionist school among French historians within the space of a few months. There remains one last step to accomplish: to obtain from the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes a decision in my favor for the restoration of my diploma. So long as I maintain the respect of persons whose opinions I value, the title of “Doctor,” however pleasing it is, does not matter too much to me. But I do believe, with all sincerity, that the scandalous insults offered to me, the three professors on my jury, as well as my friends and associates, should be expunged. They and I should be exonerated; and the only correct way to do this is to restore my doctorate. My application is still under review by this tribunal and I am awaiting, with a certain confidence, the result of this application.. It has already been firmly decided that if the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes does not annul the unjust action taken by the ex-minister, Devaquet, the case will be taken before the Council of State, the highest legal authority in France, equivalent to the American Supreme Court or, in Britain, to the legal committee of the House of Lords.

It is now almost eighteen months since the Roques Affair exploded; and so it is now possible to analyze the cases and the developments with a certain perspective and detachment. How do we explain that a thesis on the critical evaluation of texts, devoted to a subject as limited as the evidence of one SS officer on killings by gas in a small concentration camp in Poland, could have set off such a tidal wave in the media and in a certain number of political circles anxious not to displease the centers of international Zionism? The so-called Gerstein Report” represents a fundamental proof of the homicidal gas chambers, say the Exterminationists. Let us assume this to be true. Nevertheless, these same Exterminationists affirm that they possess an abundance of proofs of these gassings. In such circumstances, why do they give way to a veritable panic when only one of these allegedly very numerous proofs is seriously challenged? The story written by Gerstein was not even retained as evidence against the accused by the International Military Tribunal

of Nuremberg; this “Gerstein Report” was in fact rejected by the Tribunal in the course of its session of January 30, 1946.

An explanation for the behavior of our adversaries can only be found if we fully recognize that their behavior is, in effect, religious. A religion is founded on a dogma; a dogma has an imperative need of support from holy scriptures. Thus, the Gerstein Report” is taken to be Holy Writ. Consequently, the exercise of my critical faculty in regard to the “Gerstein Report” had appeared to them as a sort of sacrilege or profanation. The ideal image of Obersturmführer Kurt Gerstein has been assembled religiously by Léon Poliakov, by Rolf Hochhuth, by Saul Friedlander, by Pierre Joffroy. For Poliakov, Gerstein is a “righteous Gentile”; for Hochhuth, a militant of the Confessional Church, Gerstein is a pure Christian faithful to the Gospel — the Gospel which Pope Pius XII betrayed by his political realism, interpreted by Hochhuth as treachery; for Friedlander, the SS officer is a saint astray in this century”; for Joffroy, Gerstein rises even higher in this celestial hierarchy: he becomes the spy of God”; the writer-hagiographer even subtitles his book “the passion of Kurt Gerstein,” as though referring to a new Jesus Christ. The personage of Gerstein, as remodelled by his worshippers, ^[4] could quite well sustain the double role projected for him

1. to lead us, without any intellectual defenses, into the “magical gas chambers,” to use the expression of a very great French writer, Louis-Ferdinand Céline;
2. to make us admit the universal culpability of all those, such as Pope Pius XII, who have kept silent before the greatest crime in the history of the world.

It is not impossible that my thesis, which is based on simple common sense, may have pulverized the ideal image of Saint Gerstein. In fact, over the past eighteen months, neither Poliakov, nor Hochhuth, nor Friedlander, nor Joffroy have stood up to defend the memory of their hero. They have been silent, with only one exception, that of Saul Friedlander. This Israeli professor, who teaches history at the University of Tel Aviv and at the Institute of European Studies in Geneva, had the chance to express himself on May 30, 1986. We should recall that Friedlander is the author of a book titled Kurt Gerstein, or the Ambiguity of Good. So, on May 30, 1986, Friedlander was in Paris, where he participated at the famous round table formed, as I have said earlier, as an anti-jury in order to proclaim the invalidity of my thesis. When reading a report of this stupefying conference, I learned that Saul Friedlander declared: “Gerstein was a very fragile man. scarcely prepared to be a witness.” What an admission!

It is easy for me to reply that the precise objective of my thesis was to demonstrate that a very fragile witness such as Gerstein could only give evidence that was, by the same token, very fragile.

To conclude this lecture it remains for me to thank the Institute for Historical Review for having invited me to this Eighth International Revisionist Conference. This is an honor that certainly cannot be attributed to the wide range of my researches, as I have concentrated on one individual, Gerstein, and, in effect, one camp, Belzec. If one wishes to acknowledge any qualities, I would admit two: patience and tenacity. Patience? I have exercised patience for forty years, while waiting for the chance to denounce a fraud perpetrated by those who, motivated by the need for propaganda at all costs, have exploited the inevitable obscurity, the inevitable anarchy of war. Tenacity? I have needed a little tenacity to arrive at the accomplishment of this thesis; I have needed a great deal of tenacity in order to succeed in finally constituting a university jury; perhaps I have needed even more tenacity in keeping my head throughout this affair, against certain powerful forces in the world, unleashed against me personally. As for my study, I have restricted

it to one subject and I have made only a critical evaluation of the texts. Nevertheless, our adversaries have made my work known to the entire world by use of the media, of which they have almost a monopoly. For the historical revision of the Second World War, France is the country where, side by side, we have the worst and the best. It was a Frenchman, Paul Rassinier, who, a quarter of a century past, laid the foundations of Holocaust Revisionism. But his struggle was a lonely one and rare were those of his countrymen who offered him their support. It is in France that Professor Robert Faurisson, taking over the task from Paul Rassinier, was dragged before the courts, convicted, and overwhelmed with fines: but it is also in France that the courts have refused to convict Robert Faurisson for falsifying history, even admitting the seriousness of his work. France is now a country where, since the judgment of the Court of Appeal of Paris on April 26, 1983, everyone has the right to believe, to deny or to doubt the existence of the gas chambers.

Similarly, it is in France that we have been able to find three university professors courageous enough to constitute the jury at Nantes before which I was able to argue my thesis. The pitiful and illegal decision of an ephemeral minister must not allow us to forget the moral courage of my professors. Perhaps we shall be able to acknowledge our respects, at some time, to the professional honesty of the judges of the Administrative Tribunal of Nantes, if these judges concur in the validity of my appeal that the minister acted in excess of his authorized powers. I am proud to belong to the French Revisionist school, a school which has, moreover, now become Franco-Italian thanks to a young researcher, Carlo Mattogno. I hope that Mattogno will soon have the opportunity to reveal to you the results of his very extensive researches into the myth of the extermination of the Jews on this same platform from which I address you today.

On June 15, 1985, in the oral argument of my thesis, I stated that the Revisionist school should open its doors wide to all those who have questions to ask, to all those who have reason to distrust the manichean interpretations applied to the Second World War. Those who doubt cannot find their spiritual home among the Exterminationists because these latter refuse all debate which challenges their dogma. In France, our adversaries persist in trying to pour scorn upon us by treating us as a sect of negators," as a wretched little group who deny the Holocaust"

Our reply is simply that of the scientist, and in accord with the humanist tradition, which is based on a simple axiom since the truth is not historically established, men not only have the right to doubt, but they also have the duty to doubt.

Translators Notes

1.  In French, the word *scientifique* is used to describe any subject of academic study, including history; whereas the Anglo saxons tend to apply the word only to objective sciences such as chemistry, biology, etc. However, in the sense of a logical and systematic study, a literal translation seems perfectly clear.
2.  The forged Signature" in question was that of a lecturer at the University of Nantes who had been invited to participate in the oral argument of the Roques thesis as an expert witness. This lecturer had no authority to sign any document relating to the thesis, nor was he permitted to sit in on the jury's deliberations. He was not even present at the public hearing of the thesis on June 15, 1987. Whoever forged the signature, which had no bearing on the original approval of the thesis, was clearly no friend of Henri Roques.
3.  In France there is an actual law which obliges, as in this instance, an editor to publish replies to personal attacks. Like most laws anywhere, it does not function perfectly; but it is

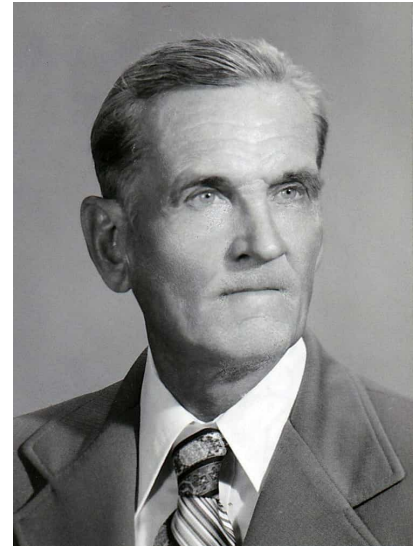
a good law nevertheless. It does help to restrain the owners and editors from manipulating the media entirely in their own political or sectarian interests.

4. ☞ Worshippers. It is unfortunate that many accurate and descriptive French expressions cannot be fully translated into English. This small gloss has to suffice. The original word in French (*thuriféraire*) denotes the cleric who incenses/sanctifies the altar — at a High Mass, for instance. That is one meaning. A second meaning, in popular use, is “sycophant” or “flatterer.” Yet a third meaning arises from the fact that a *thurifer* (incense-bearer) uses a *thurible*; and a *thurible* was the vessel also used by the alchemists allegedly to turn base metals into gold. Hence a triple-entendre. “Worshippers” seems to be the best explanatory compromise.

Soviet Russia's Persecution of Latvia, 1918 to the Present

By Alexander V. Berkis

The focus of this paper is the oppression and persecution which the rulers of the Soviet Union have inflicted on the Baltic nation of Latvia, from its declaration of independence in 1918 to the present day [1987]. The Red Army has invaded and occupied Latvia three times in the past seventy years; its most recent aggression, in 1944, has resulted in the continuing, illegal Soviet occupation of Latvia. Each Soviet incursion has been accompanied by mass killings and deportations of Latvians, and Soviet authorities have sought to destroy Latvian nationhood by the illegal annexation of Latvia to the USSR and through measures aimed at eradicating the Latvians' historical, cultural, and religious traditions. Nevertheless, the Latvian people, in their homeland and in exile, have fought to defend their nationhood with all the means at their disposal.



Dr. Alexander Berkis

Latvia Under Foreign Rule, 1290-1918

Since the Communist regime in Russia has built upon and intensified earlier oppression under the tsars, a brief overview of Latvia's history under foreign rule is necessary. By 1290 all of Latvia had been conquered by the Teutonic Knights and the Livonian Order. From 1290 to 1561 Latvia belonged to the Confederation of Livonia, which included also Estonia. The fall of the Confederation of Livonia was brought about by the invasion of Russia under the rule of John (Ivan) IV, the Terrible. Since the Confederation was unable to defend itself, it asked for the help of Poland-Lithuania, Sweden and Denmark. As a result of the long Livonian War (1558-1582), northern Livonia, including southern Estonia, became a Polish province (1561-1629). After the Swedish-Polish succession war western Livonia, including its capital Riga, and all of Estonia became a Swedish province (1629-1721). Eastern Livonia remained a Polish province until 1772; after the First Partition of Poland-Lithuania in that year it was annexed by Russia.

The last Master of the Livonian Order, Gotthard Kettler, founded the Duchy of Courland, which endured as an almost independent state under Polish suzerainty for over two centuries (1561-1795). It is no exaggeration to say that the history of the Duchy of Courland has been almost forgotten since 1795, although Duke James (1639-1682) and his achievements were well known in the seventeenth century. The duke owned two crown colonies, the island of Tobago in the West Indies and Gambia in West Africa, as well as mining territories in Norway, which, like his colonies in Tobago and Gambia, were colonized by his Courlanders.

Courland was also a naval power. Only the Netherlands, England, Spain and Portugal had stronger navies than Courland at the time of Duke James. The envious Dutch called Duke James the "Skipper Duke," for Courland's flourishing prosperity during the age of mercantilism made

the Courlanders the rivals of the Dutch. James was likewise called “the merchant on the ducal throne.”

After the Third Partition of Poland-Lithuania (1795), the Duchy of Courland and Lithuania were annexed by Russia. It should be emphasized that during the Livonian War and the Great Northern War (1700-1721), the Russians committed atrocities on a large scale in Latvia. During the Great Northern War, these Russian measures brought about a pestilence which killed two-thirds of the population of Latvia.

Systematic persecution of Latvians by Russians commenced when all of Latvia became the Russian provinces of Livonia and Courland. Not content with suppressing Latvian calls for self-determination, Russian authorities pursued an intensifying program of russifying Latvia throughout the nineteenth century. From 1883 on Russian was the only language of instruction in Latvian schools. Pupils were punished for speaking Latvian among themselves. Educated Latvians could not obtain work in their professions in their homeland; at the same time they were welcomed, for their skill and dependability, in Russia proper.

During the National Awakening (or Romantic Nationalism) which blossomed in nineteenth-century Latvia, the movements leaders, Krisjanis Voldemars (1825-1891) and Krisjanis Barons (1835-1923), were the targets of Russian suppression. Considered politically dangerous, they were forced to live in Russia for three decades of exile from Latvia. Nevertheless, some Latvian historians reproach them for neglecting Latvia's political independence. Voldemars and Barons did not go beyond urging their countrymen to cultivate their language and national traditions, although they favored increasing Latvia's economic independence through the accumulation of wealth.

When Russia was rocked by revolution in 1905, Latvian nationalists called for political autonomy for Latvia. The tsarist authorities responded with mass killings and deportations to Siberia.

Representative of the fates of the more fortunate Latvian nationalist leaders of that time was the experience of Karlis Ulmanis, Latvia's future president. He was jailed for several months in consequence of his activities in 1905. Upon his release from prison, tsarist authorities sought to rearrest him. With that Ulmanis went into exile in America, where he lived from 1906 to 1913.

In 1913 the Russian Duma passed an amnesty act to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of the Romanov dynasty. Ulmanis and other Latvian leaders in exile returned in time to experience the outbreak of the First World War, which led to the overthrow of Nicholas II and his dynasty, the Bolshevik seizure of power, and the independence of the Baltic nations.

Latvian Independence and First Soviet Occupation

It is impossible to treat the independence of Latvia (1918-1940) and the three occupations under the Soviet rule without discussing briefly the life of President Ulmanis of Latvia (1877-1942?). Foreign observers, including historians, have called Ulmanis Latvia and Latvia Ulmanis. Indeed the two names are inseparable. The writer of this paper knows no other example in history in which one person dominated so completely the history and life of a country as did Ulmanis, both as leader and as legend in Latvia.

Karlis Ulmanis was born on September 4, 1877, in Zemgale, in southern Latvia, on the territory of the former Duchy of Courland. He obtained a degree in agronomy from the Institute of Agronomy in Leipzig, Germany in 1905, and a B.S. in agriculture at the University of Nebraska in

1909 during his American exile. In 1916, returned to Latvia, Ulmanis founded the Farmers' Union, or Party, and became its leader, a position he would retain until the fall of independent Latvia in 1940. During the next few years Ulmanis organized the leading Latvian politicians, and with them formed the People's Council.

On November 18, 1918, the People's Council proclaimed the independence of Latvia. Looking to Ulmanis as the only candidate willing, able, resourceful, and courageous enough to lead Latvia, the council elected him prime minister (or minister president) of the provisional government. Political conditions in Latvia were at that time very complicated, because by 1918 its entire territory was occupied by the German army. Latvia had suffered even more devastation in the war than had Belgium. After Germany signed the November 11th armistice, the discipline of the German soldiers collapsed, and the Soviet army gradually pushed into defenseless Latvia. By February 1919 all of Latvia except the western part, which constituted less than one-eighth of its territory, had been occupied by the Soviets. ^[1]

In occupied Latvia the Soviet authorities passed decrees nationalizing property, without compensation to the former owners. All landed property was nationalized; compulsory labor was decreed. The Communists requisitioned clothing and footwear. They imposed confiscatory taxes; even the workers had to pay higher taxes. All these decrees grossly violated international law. Since the Soviet measures could not be carried out without terror, thousands of Latvians were murdered, tortured or died of hunger. The prisons were crammed.

By early 1919 power was largely in the hands of local councils, or "soviets." These authorities mainly concerned themselves with searching for supposed counter-revolutionaries. At night those in power met and decided whom to arrest; it was also by night that the victims were arrested. Farmers, artisans, workers and intellectuals alike were arrested; nobody could feel safe. Revolutionary tribunals were busy constantly, and pronounced numerous death sentences. The "law" that the "judges" applied was "revolutionary consciousness." Toward dawn special units would take charge of the condemned Latvians, order them to take off their clothes, and then shoot them.

The crimes committed by the Soviets against the cream of the Latvian nation verged on genocide, and caused a large-scale guerrilla war against the Russian troops. Gradually the Ulmanis government, with the help of German soldiers, reconquered occupied Latvia. By the beginning of February 1920, all of Latvia had been liberated. The Soviet Union, hard-pressed in the civil war against the White Russian generals, concluded a peace treaty with Latvia on August 11, 1920. ^[2]

During the War of Latvian Liberation, Ulmanis formed three governments. At the beginning of May 1920, the Constituent Assembly convened, and authorized Ulmanis to form his fourth government. This government was able to obtain *de jure* recognition of Latvia by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Belgium on January 26, 1921. A few months later the Constituent Assembly forced Ulmanis to resign, for a majority of the delegates had grown tired and envious of his strongman leadership. ^[3]

The Interwar Years

Ulmanis' influence, however, remained powerful. In 1925 he became prime minister of his fifth government, which resigned in 1926. Ulmanis formed his sixth government during the economic crisis of 1931, which was comparatively mild in agrarian Latvia. There was no unemployment; indeed, foreign farmhands were imported. Nevertheless, many Latvians blamed the parliamentary system for economic woes. It became almost proverbial to say that when Latvia had hard times Ulmanis always appeared to solve the problems. Foreign observers remarked that parlia-

ments and their members were elected and defeated, but Ulmanis remained. In fact coalition governments could seldom be formed without Ulmanis' agreement, even at times when other members of the Farmers' Union were chosen prime minister due to the other parties' envy of Ulmanis.

In March 1934 Ulmanis became the seventh and last prime minister under the parliamentary system. The Latvian people had at last tired of the corrupt rule of the nation's many parties. On May 15, 1934, Ulmanis carried out a bloodless coup and dissolved the parliament and all parties. [4] He was hailed by a flood of letters and telegrams thanking him for restoring the unity of Latvia. The third president of Latvia, Alberts Kviesis, who also belonged to the Farmers' Union, invited Ulmanis and the ministers of the eighth and last of his governments to the presidential castle. President Kviesis announced that because the overwhelming majority of Latvians was behind the Ulmanis government, he considered Ulmanis' coup to have the force of a plebiscite. Kviesis thus gave his approval and blessing to the new government of national unity. This government remained in power for more than six years, until the Soviet Union invaded Latvia. The gratitude of the Latvian people was always behind the heroic and magic prime minister of the Latvian War of Liberation — Karlis Ulmanis.

Yet the personality of Ulmanis cannot be overlooked in connection with the tragic fall of independent Latvia. After the outbreak of World War II, Latvia and the other Baltic States were isolated. Under such conditions the Soviet Union forced Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to sign mutual assistance pacts and established Russian naval, air, and infantry bases in these virtually defenseless countries. [5]

The Second Soviet Occupation

Ulmanis hoped to gain time by signing the pact. In fact, he gained time up to June 17, 1940. The collapse of France spurred the Soviet Union to demand the total occupation of the Baltic countries and the formation of pro-Soviet governments there. Ulmanis accepted the ultimatum and refused to go into exile. He remained technically the President of Latvia up to July 22, 1940, without any power and influence. On the twenty-second of July he was deported to the Soviet Union. The place, date and circumstances of Ulmanis' death are unknown, although some sources say he died in 1942.

Thus began the second Soviet occupation of Latvia. It proved to be far more disastrous than the first one. In the first weeks following the Red Army's invasion, Latvia's political leaders, including the very popular former vice president and minister of war, General Janis Balodis, were arrested and deported.

The mass arrests took place months later, after foreign diplomatic and consular representatives had departed Latvia, and could not report to their governments on the crimes committed by the Soviets. The NKVD, the Soviet secret police, issued a detailed basic order on deportations of anti-Soviet elements from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia (Order No. 001223). It was issued while the Baltic States were still independent countries. [6] Needless to say this grossly violated the basic principles of international law. The lists of so-called anti-Soviet elements had long ago been drawn up by local Communists and well-paid traitors.

Fully aware of the disaffection of Latvians, the Soviet government deemed it necessary to engineer the voluntary "approval" of its occupation of Latvia. Therefore, the Soviet authorities ordered a parliamentary election. In the staged elections of July 14 and 15, 1940, a single list of candidates, approved by Andrei Vishinsky, was permitted. The unanimously "elected" parliament declared Latvia to be transformed into a Soviet Republic and requested the Soviet "parliament"

to admit Latvia to the Soviet Union. The constitution of Latvia of 1922 had stipulated that any question touching the independence of Latvia had to be decided by a plebiscite. The Soviet government dared not carry one out; therefore Latvia was never legally incorporated into the Soviet Union. Besides, according to international law, no election conducted under occupation by foreign troops can be legally valid.

Latvia's minister in Washington, Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, who had been invested with emergency powers by the legitimate government, and the Latvian minister in London, Karlis Zarins, accordingly declared the elections null and void. Their emergency powers had been issued by the government of Latvia as late as May 18, 1940, with Dr. Bilmanis appointed as Zarins' substitute, in case of the death of the Latvian minister in London. The holder of the emergency powers of state was authorized to appoint delegates to international conferences and to appoint and transfer the staff of the Latvian legations and consulates. In fact Zarins was assigned the functions of the president and the government of Latvia. The Latvian puppet government declared both men traitors and deprived them of Latvian citizenship.

The sovietization of Latvia proceeded rapidly. By the end of September 1940, all "large" private fortunes, private industry, commerce, banks, transportation, land and its natural resources, and rental property had been nationalized without compensation to the owners. On the contrary, they were slandered and libeled as exploiters and enemies of the toiling masses. The funds in the possession of the nationalized and disorganized banks were converted to worthless paper, and equally worthless Soviet paper rubles flooded the country. High prices in rubles were then fixed for all wares. Red Army soldiers and Soviet functionaries promptly cleared out the stores.

During the first major stage of the mass deportation program at least 35,828 persons were deported or murdered. American and other foreign sources estimate the number of persons from all walks of life deported or murdered at 60,000. After the outbreak of the German-Russian war, Latvian soldiers, included against the principles of international law in the Red Army, were withdrawn to Russia or murdered. Many civilians were carried off by the retreating Soviet authorities as well. Marked especially for extermination were Latvian government officials, members of the intelligentsia, and retired army officers.

It should be noted that intellectuals suffered most from the persecution, because during the Latvian War of Liberation almost the entire student body of the University of Latvia volunteered to fight against the Red Army. Therefore the Soviets called the University of Latvia a citadel of arch-reactionaries. Neither among the intellectuals nor the capitalists, however, did the Soviets find their most outspoken enemies. These were the farmers, because in Latvia 62 per cent of the inhabitants were farmers and their families. In fact they were their own bosses. From the Soviet point of view the backbone of the stable middle classes had to be broken by any and all means. The outbreak of the German-Russian War prevented the Soviet regime from forcing the collectivization of agriculture. [7]

The Soviet terror was met by an uprising of officers and enlisted men from the former Latvian Home Guard, a well-trained reserve army, and other Latvian nationalists. They seized control of most of Latvia after the outbreak of the German-Russian War. The German army conquered only the major cities — Riga, Liepaja (Libau), Ventspils (Windau), Jelgava (Mitau) and Daugavpils (Dünaburg). During the first days of July 1941, all of Latvia was occupied by the German army. The war swept across Latvia like a hurricane. Despite the German liberation, Latvians were soon disappointed as it became obvious that Hitler's government had no intention of restoring Latvia's independence.

Beginning in the middle of July 1944, the German troops gradually retreated from Latvia after heavy fighting. The superiority of the Red Army was in no small part due to its support with weapons and all kinds of material by the U.S. and the British Empire. On May 8, 1945, the German troops laid down their arms in accordance with the terms of Germany's unconditional surrender on both the Western and Eastern fronts.

Realizing that with Latvia's third occupation by the Red Army at hand, the Soviet terror was again imminent, many Latvian activists saw exile as their only hope for the future. Experience had taught them that nothing is worse than Communism. According to information provided by the Latvian Red Cross, by 1947 there were 134,000 Latvian political refugees, the overwhelming majority of them in West Germany. This must be regarded as a minimum estimate.

Defeat and Reoccupation

Those Latvians who remained in Latvia had no illusions as to their fate. Within a few days the Red Army was followed by the NKVD. The Red secret police immediately interrogated the population by means of mandatory questionnaires. The Soviets declared that all who had not retreated with Soviet forces before the advance of the German Army were enemies of the Soviet Union and deserved exemplary punishment. The questions each Latvian was forced to answer included the following: "Why did you not retreat with the Soviet Army in 1941?" What employment did you pursue during the German occupation?" What anti-German sabotage did you carry out?" "Name three collaborators of the Germans." Men were issued red tickets for military service, green for compulsory labor, and white for deportation. People's courts, meeting in the absence of the accused, condemned Latvian patriots to long prison terms or deportation to the Gulag, while their families were picked up, separated at the entrainment points and dragged off to unknown parts of the Soviet Union. Beginning in 1948 collectivization was imposed on most Latvian farms. The University of Latvia was thoroughly russified and sovietized. An even more serious result of the Red Army's third occupation was the introduction of large numbers of ethnic Russians and natives of the U.S.S.R's Asiatic republics into the country to replace the deported Latvians. [8]

Latvian Guerrilla Resistance

These Soviet measures caused a very bloody large-scale guerrilla war, not only in Latvia but in Estonia and Lithuania as well, where similar policies were imposed. From 1944 to 1952, and on a smaller scale even up to 1956, fierce fighting still raged in the countryside. Only after the failure of the Hungarian revolt in 1956 did the Baltic peoples realize that the Western democracies were unable and unwilling to support them.

The guerrilla war was waged on the largest scale in Lithuania. According to Lithuanian sources, the Lithuanians lost 30,000 men; Soviet losses are put at no fewer than 80,000 soldiers and NKVD men. These estimates have been reinforced by testimony obtained from Soviet officials, who had previously participated in suppressing the Lithuanian freedom fighters, after they themselves went into exile. [9]

Soviet authorities spoke very frankly about the extent of the guerrilla war. They estimated that there were around 9,000 Latvian national partisans, whom they resentfully referred to as "fascist bandits." The Communist regime branded the Latvians a counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet people. It is indeed a great compliment to be called such names by the Soviets. This is, furthermore, something new, because it has consistently been standard Soviet practice to feign friend-

ship with all peoples and to differentiate between “exploiters,” the “enemies of the people,” and the population as a whole.

It should be noted that Latvian sources make roughly the same estimation of the number of the Latvian national partisans. On the average, the partisans survived the fighting only for two or three years, and then were replaced by other men with military training. Up until 1949 the national partisans controlled many parts of Latvia, especially the peninsula of Courland. Their successes can be explained by the fact that about 43 per cent of Latvia is covered by forests, lakes and swamps. This terrain was exploited by seasoned fighters from the two divisions of the Latvian Legion mobilized by the Germans. At the time of the German capitulation they had taken to the forests. These Latvian troops took their weapons with them, obtaining additional arms and ammunition from the German army depots in the fortress of Courland, the last-ditch redoubt of Hitler’s Army Group North. Later on they used captured Russian weapons. Above all, they enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of Latvians.

After the collectivization of agriculture, the Soviet authorities carried out their largest deportation, involving mainly the farm population, in 1949. This measure considerably deprived the national partisans of food supplies, civilian support, and a source of new recruits. Nevertheless, so resourceful were the partisans that they captured food and money from the collective farms and state- owned stores.

The collectivization and mass deportations, however, spelled the beginning of the end of the large-scale guerrilla war. Gradually the partisans were demobilized. They were provided with forged or purchased identification documents in the black markets to enable them to filter back into the civilian population.

The question of the fate of the former partisans is still open. Those who criticize the guerrilla war assert that it was a lost cause from the very beginning. In fact, however, the national partisans, by executing many Soviet functionaries, made many of the others fear for their lives. In many cases Soviet officials intentionally overlooked the surviving partisans, especially when they moved far away from their former homes or to the metropolis of Riga, with its 700,000 inhabitants. Communists fear retaliation; this is the only argument that they understand. Nor should the fact be overlooked that the national partisans created a legend for the future. The only peoples who deserve independent states are those willing to fight for them!

The writer of this paper has the sad duty of pointing out that the noble aspiration and hope of President Ulmanis — to save the Latvian people from extermination by accepting the ultimatum of the Soviet Union without offering military resistance — proved mistaken. The mass deportations carried out by the government of the Soviet Union, the mobilization of over 150,000 Latvians by the Germans, and the very bloody guerrilla war, caused such losses to the population that they cannot be correctly estimated at this time. These painful facts cannot diminish President Ulmanis’ outstanding achievements and his glorious rule.

Donald Day, correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* in Eastern Europe for 22 years, in his book *Onward Christian Soldiers* devotes more pages to Ulmanis than to any other statesman, including Poland’s Marshal Pilsudski. According to Day, Ulmanis believed that the Latvians’ best hope for a future national existence was to raise their living standard and culture to such a high level that the people, no matter what the immediate future might bring, would always treasure these memories in their hearts. In Day’s opinion Ulmanis was the greatest man Latvia has ever produced. [10] Karlis Ulmanis was the great president of a small country. After the Hitler-Stalin pact and the outbreak of World War II, only God could save Latvia.

One misunderstanding should be corrected. There is still a widespread belief in the Western democracies that Communism is a lesser evil than National Socialism. The former Marxist Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, with great reluctance, recognized that National Socialism was a lesser evil than Communism. Indeed, it should be emphasized that even William L. Shirer, whose strong anti-German bias concerning all periods of German history is well known, when writing about Latvia and the other Baltic States in his book *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, stated that Stalin, in dealing with small countries, could be as crude and as ruthless as Hitler, and even more cynical. ^[11]

Latvian Resistance, Soviet Oppression

After the end of the guerrilla war, the Latvians resorted to passive resistance. In spite of the well-known Latvian individualism, which has caused keen foreign observers to say that Latvians are strong as individuals and weak in cooperation, Soviet rule has fostered a strong Latvian national unity. Now, in Soviet-occupied Latvia, Latvians help their fellow Latvians in any way they can. There are no longer any parties in Latvia: all Latvians constitute one community of suffering.

In general Latvians do their best to maintain their language, culture and national traditions. Above all they have done and continue to do everything possible to achieve the best education for their children. In this regard they have succeeded, because the Latvians, together with the Estonians, are the best educated among the captive peoples, and by far more educated than the Russians.

In spite of all the Latvians' efforts to survive as a people, the outlook grows more bleak with each passing year. To be sure, after the major deportation of 1949, no new mass deportations have occurred. On the contrary, an amnesty for certain categories of political prisoners was proclaimed after Stalin's death in 1953. Several thousand Latvians returned to their native land, most of them as invalids, broken in body and spirit. But deportations from Latvia still continue, as young people are inveigled into volunteering for the cultivation of virgin lands or for mining in Central Asia and Siberia.

The Russian eight years' war in Afghanistan provided the government of the Soviet Union with a new opportunity to deport Latvian youth. Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians and other subject peoples are sent as soldiers to Afghanistan to eliminate the Afghans and at the same time to spare, as much as possible, the pro-Soviet Russians. Losses among Latvian soldiers are very high because the Soviet authorities deliberately engage them in the riskiest military operations. The Latvian organizations in exile have to some extent succeeded in reaching agreements with the fighting Afghans to spare Latvian prisoners of war. But these measures can only be of a limited scope, because the various Afghan tribes lack both a united military command and common organization abroad which could function as a government-in-exile.

The Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster, caused by the gross negligence of the Soviet authorities, presented the Soviets with yet another pretext to deport Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, and other subject peoples. Those drafted to clean up the Chernobyl mess were told that they would have to work for only three months at the site. Yet those who survived the nuclear clean-up, under the most miserable conditions, were not allowed to return to their homes. The cheapest thing in the Soviet Union is human life.

The Soviet authorities in occupied Latvia have engaged in the systematic destruction of graves, entire cemeteries, churches and many other historical monuments. For instance, the graves of

resident Karlis Ulmanis's family were destroyed by the Russian barbarians. The monument and memorial museum of the first Latvian commander-in-chief, Oskars Kalpaks, were likewise destroyed by the Soviets. Destruction of church property has been extensive. The historic Lutheran "Dome" of Riga – the cathedral of the archbishop – has been turned into a concert hall, the historic St. Peter's Church into a museum, and the Greek Catholic Cathedral into a planetarium. Numerous other churches have been transformed into warehouses, cinemas, clubs, or meeting halls, or have been burned down. Many Latvians known for their outspoken anti-Communism have been killed in "accidents," not only in Soviet-ruled Latvia, but also in the United States, Canada and West Germany. Latvians are not safe from Russian persecution, even in exile.

The Fight Goes on Abroad

The Baltic exiles have not, however, allowed themselves to be intimidated. The diplomatic and consular representatives of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, in conjunction with the worldwide organizations of the Baltic peoples, function as governments in exile. A new generation of Baltic young people, provided by their parents with educations in the finest universities of America, Canada, Australia, and Western Europe, has moved into the leadership of the exile organizations. More important, they have succeeded in bringing their fight for justice and the liberation of their fatherlands into international forums.

As a result of their endless activity and effort, on January 13, 1983, the Parliament of Europe in Strasbourg passed a resolution that strongly condemned the occupation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union. The resolution calls the Soviet Union the last colonial empire, and demands that the issue of the Baltic States be brought before the United Nations. The European resolution is firmly based on numerous treaties, including those concluded and subsequently violated by the Soviet Union. The language of the resolution stresses that the three Baltic peoples waged a large-scale guerrilla war against the Russian troops for eight years (1944-1952) and that about 665,000 Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians have been deported by the Soviet authorities to forced labor camps since 1940.

Encouraged by this success, on July 25 and 26, 1985, the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian exile organizations held an international tribunal against the government of the Soviet Union, charging it with genocide and other crimes against humanity in the three Baltic states. A panel of internationally known authorities in the field of human rights issued its verdict, the Copenhagen Manifesto, which found the Soviet government guilty as charged. ^[12] Meanwhile a Baltic ship, symbolizing the ideal of peace based upon freedom, sailed along the coasts of Denmark, Sweden and Finland. Impressive demonstrations against the Soviet Union took place in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Helsinki. West European TV networks and major newspapers gave these events good coverage. It is regrettable that only *The Wall Street Journal*, among major American papers, gave these stories any notice at all.

'Useful Idiots' Against Baltic Freedom: The OSI

As might have been expected, the Soviet Union answered these initiatives by organizing so-called war crimes trials. Unfortunately, the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI) entered into collaboration with the Soviet secret police. Karl Linnas, an Estonian-born resident of Long Island who was stripped of his citizenship by a federal court for participating in alleged war crimes committed by Hitler during World War II, was implicated by "evidence" compiled by the Soviet KGB. Their evidence was forged, fabricated and fraudulent. As a result, Linnas was deported by the U.S. government to illegally occupied Estonia, where he had been already condemned to death by Soviet courts. On his arrival the Soviet prosecutor informed

him that the Soviet Union had no case against him due to statutory limitation. Soon afterward, the Soviets announced his death.

The Linnas case was an outrageous violation of the U.S. Constitution. Linnas and other U.S. citizens of Eastern European origin in the so-called war criminal cases have been treated as third-class citizens, deprived of due process, a trial by jury, and protection from the application of *ex post facto* laws. The statutory basis for these outrages is a special law passed by Congress during the Carter administration. The writer of this paper believes that this is a bill of attainder, and thus forbidden by the U.S. Constitution. Congress has likewise grossly violated the constitutional principle of separation of powers of the three branches of government.

To do justice to President Reagan, it should be noted that he fired Allan A. Ryan, Jr., who was not covered by the civil service laws. Ryan's answer to the President was a book, *Quiet Neighbors: Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1984). In this book Ryan shows great zeal to justify the activities of the nefarious OSI. Characterizing Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians in general as collaborators with the Germans, he engages in character assassination of the three peoples as a whole. He seems irritated that the U.S. government does not recognize the Soviet annexation of the three Baltic countries. Since colonialism has come to an end in Africa and Asia, Ryan and his Soviet accomplices are no longer in the mainstream of twentieth-century ideas. His book amply demonstrates that he and the OSI owe their allegiance to the Soviet Union, as evidenced by their instigation of ethnic and sectarian hatred and their attempts to intimidate outspoken anti-Communists.

Even in this regard, they have miserably failed. They are blind to the fact that young Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians are well educated, resourceful, and courageous. Baltic young people will only increase their struggle against the Soviet Union and its leftist fifth column in the U.S. The Baltic youth of today cannot and will not allow itself to be legally or morally burdened with war crimes committed before their births. They do not hate Ryan, they despise him. Only a misfit like Ryan fails to see this. Lenin called such persons "useful idiots."

The pro-Soviet elements in the U.S., including the OSI, suffered a great setback in September 1986, when the superpowers met in a conference at Jurmala, Latvia. There, on the eighteenth of September, White House adviser and ambassador Jack Matlock told the conference, in the Latvian language, that the U.S. has never recognized and will not recognize the legitimacy of the forcible incorporation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia into the Soviet Union. This declaration was twice carried on local television and has spread throughout Riga the capital of Latvia. Matlock immediately became a national hero in Latvia, and Latvians consider President Reagan the best friend of Latvia. This was one declaration that the American news media could not suppress.

Prospects for an Independent Latvia

During the decade beginning in 1965, both houses of Congress passed sense-of-Congress resolutions condemning the genocidal measures of the government of the Soviet Union in the Baltic States, and asking for the restoration of these nations' independence. Congress has also passed annual resolutions declaring June 14 to be Baltic States' Day and condemning the mass deportations carried out by the Soviets in the Baltic nations. President Reagan has each year signed strong Captive Nations proclamations, and the Baltic States' Day resolutions calling the Soviet Union an aggressor and demanding the restoration of independence of Latvian Lithuania, and Estonia. Again, it is unfortunate that those resolutions and proclamations are almost never mentioned by our major news media.

Today [1987] there is a strong underground movement in the Baltic States. The underground organizations have frequently sent memoranda to the governments of the Western democracies asking for the restoration of the rights of self-determination and independence for the Baltic peoples. These communiques are also ignored by our news media.

It should be noted that a falsified history taught in Western academic institutions stresses alleged German imperialism, ignoring the fact that after 1254 (the end of the Hohenstaufen dynasty), Germany became and remained largely a geographic concept up to the unification of Germany by Otto von Bismarck in 1870.

Students in most American schools and universities are studiously deprived of the knowledge that for several centuries the Russians have engaged in large-scale colonial plundering and exploitation of quite advanced non-Russian and non-Slavic peoples, and that today's Soviet Russia is a prison of peoples.

It is a lack of intellectual integrity that prevents academics from informing American students that the Russians have consistent plans to achieve global domination by any and all means. A good example of this kind of misinformation is provided by the whole galaxy of U.S. and West European TV networks and newspapers, assisted by spurious pollsters, which have pictured Gorbachev as a leader with constructive ideas of how to achieve peace, contrary to the negative attitude of President Reagan. They deliberately ignore the fact that during the short totalitarian dictatorship of Gorbachev the mass murders in Afghanistan, including those of women and children, have reached a climax, resulting in the deaths or exile of a third of the population. Thus, behind his facade of moderation, Gorbachev has demonstrated his true barbarian mentality. It should be stated that only pro-Soviet Western capitalists, such as the Rockefellers, can postpone the disintegration of the Soviet empire due to its highly unstable and precarious economy, the explosive, growing nationalism of the captive peoples, and the conflicting interests of Soviet Russia and Red China.

Latvian youth, in Latvia and in exile, is using the slogan of President Ulmanis: "Latvia for Latvians and Latvians for Latvia." Before his deportation to Russia, Ulmanis declared to his closest coworkers: "We can be oppressed, we can be partly exterminated, but, as long as a single Latvian is alive, the struggle will continue for the right to live in a free and independent Latvia."

The author of this study believes that he will see an independent Latvia once more, a Latvia which is now in the process of formation, a new Latvia, Latvia restored.

Notes

1.  Žanis Unāms (ed.), *Es viņu pazistu: latviešu biogrāfiska vārdnīca* (Riga: 1939), pp. 501-505.
2.  Dr. Arnolds Spekke, *History of Latvia* (Stockholm: 1951) pp. 347-348. Dr. Spekke was the Minister of Latvia in Washington, D.C. (1954-1970).
3.  Edgars Dunsdorfs, *Karla Ulmana Dzīve* (Stockholm: 1978) pp. 193-209.
4.  Z. Unāms (ed.), *Es viņu pazistu*, pp. 501-504.
5.  Dr. Alfreds Bilmanis, *History of Latvia* (Princeton University Press: 1951) pp. 394-407. The late Bilmanis was the Minister of Latvia to the U.S. (1935-1948) and a prominent Latvian historian.
6.  Joseph Pajaujis-Javis, *Soviet Genocide in Lithuania*. (New York: 1980), appendix No. 4, pp. 224-229.

7. ☞ Alfreds Zeichners, *Latvijas Bolševizācija, 1940-1941*. (The author's edition, Riga 1944) p.458; Bilmanis, *History of Latvia*, p. 406.
 8. ☞ Clarence A. Manning, *The Forgotten Republics* (New York 1952), pp. 232-235.
 9. ☞ J. Pajaujis-Javis, *Soviet Genocide in Lithuania*, pp. 91-117.
 10. ☞ Donald Day, *Onward Christian Soldiers* (The Noontide Press, 1982), p.33.
 11. ☞ Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, Vols I-II, (Harper and Row Publishers, New York), I, p. 145. William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: 1962), p.1041.
 12. ☞ *Baltic Tribunal Against the Soviet Union July 25 and 26, 1985, Copenhagen* (published by the World Federation of Free Latvians), pp. 1-195.
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About the Author

Alexander V. Berkis was born in Latvia in 1916. He held a law degree from the University of Latvia, and a doctorate in history from the University of Wisconsin. For years he served as a professor of European history at Longwood College in Farmville, Virginia, until his retirement at the age of 65. He was a chairman of the Latvian Republican Committee, and a member of several academic associations. He also served as a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*. He died in 2003 at the age of 87. He was survived by his wife of 57 years, as well as a daughter and two grandsons.

My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944

OTTO ERNST REMER (Translated by Mark Weber)

My assignment to the guard regiment “Großdeutschland” in Berlin was actually a form of rest and recreation — my first leave from the front — after my many wounds and in recognition of my combat decorations, including the Knight’s Cross with Oak Leaves and the Close Combat Badge in Silver (forty-eight days of close combat). Later I would be wounded again. In all I was to command the guard regiment for only four months, since I felt obligated to be back with my comrades at the front.

My mission as commander of the guard regiment “Großdeutschland,” which I took over at the end of May 1944, was, aside from purely ceremonial duties, to safeguard the Reich government and the Reich capital. Since there were more than a million foreign workers in Berlin and its immediate vicinity, the possibility of internal unrest had to be taken into account. Around noon on July 20, 1944, 1st Lieutenant Dr. Hans Hagen, who had been severely wounded at the front, concluded his lecture on cultural history before the officers and NCO’s of the regiment. He was attached to my regiment only administratively and in no way as a National Socialist political officer, as has often been reported. I was the regiments sole leader, politically as well as militarily.

I had invited Hagen to lunch afterward in my quarters at the Rathenow barracks, together with my adjutant, 1st Lieutenant Siebert. Siebert, who had lost an eye in combat, was a pastor of the Confessional Church [that branch of the German Protestant Church which opposed Hitler — Trans.]. He attended services every Sunday at the Garrison Church, with my express permission, although I myself had left the church. Among us personal freedom was the rule. Nor did it bother me that, after having been an SA stormtrooper and a member of the party during the years of struggle before Hitler came to power, he had resigned from both organizations to protest defamatory remarks by his local party leader concerning the ancestry of Jesus Christ. Lt. Siebert suffered no adverse consequences due to his resignation.

In those days that sort of thing was entirely possible, with no repercussions. Indeed, before I chose Siebert, due to his character, as my adjutant, he confided to me that while still a stormtrooper he had broken into a Gestapo office in order to obtain documents incriminating colleagues in the Confessional Church. For me Siebert’s frank admissions were just a further evidence of the personal élan that recommended him as a trustworthy adjutant. That’s the way it was in the Third Reich, so widely execrated nowadays. Neither in my unit nor in the officer corps as a whole did there prevail the stubborn narrowmindedness, not to mention the sort of terror against dissenting opinions, that is carried on against nationalists in West Germany today by the Office for Constitutional Protection. Nor have I ever heard that Pastor Siebert considered himself to be a “resistance fighter” or that he later pretended to have been one. Characteristic of our open-mindedness was a discourse which took place after lunch between Hagen, the top-notch cultural historian, and Pastor Siebert concerning the *Heliand* [an Old Saxon Bible adaptation — Trans.]. The question involved the extent to which traditional Germanic structures were invoked in order to

render the new and alien doctrine understandable. Thus Christ was represented as a warlord, and his disciples the warrior band. After a while, I lost interest in the two scholarly gamecocks' wordy contention, so I placed a reconciliatory bottle of wine on the table and headed for the swimming pool at the nearby sports arena to keep myself fit for my next front assignment.

During the early afternoon of July 20, 1944 my regiment, like all units of the Replacement Army, was alerted by the codeword "Valkyrie." "Valkyrie" provided for the mobilization of the Replacement Army in case of internal unrest. While my regiment automatically implemented the prescribed measures, I was summoned from the swimming pool. In compliance with my orders I drove immediately to my designated post, the Berlin City Command Center, directly across from the "Eternal Watch" honor guard. While the other unit commanders waited in the anteroom, I alone was admitted to the city commander, Major General von Hase, and given the following briefing on the situation and my assignment:

The Führer has had a fatal accident! Civil disorder has broken out The Army has assumed executive authority! The guard regiment is ordered to concentrate a strong force, reinforced for counterattack, to seal off the government quarter so that nobody, not even a general or a government minister, can enter or leave! To support you in sealing off the streets and subways I'm seconding Lieutenant Colonel Wolters to your command!

As these orders were being issued, I was struck by the circumstance that a younger officer of the general staff, Major Hayessen, assisted, while the former and senior general staff officer, whom I knew personally, stood about, idle and noticeably nervous.

I was naturally very shocked by the general's words, since I felt that with Hitler's death the possibility of a favorable turn in the war had almost disappeared. Immediately, I asked:

Is the Führer actually dead? Was it an accident or has he been assassinated? Where have civil disturbances occurred? I saw nothing unusual while driving here through BerlilL Why is executive authority passing to the Army and not to the Wehrmacht? Who is the Führer's successor? According to Hitler's testament Hermann Goring is automatically his successor. Has he issued any orders or proclamations?

Since I received neither detailed information nor clear answers to my questions, the situation became even murkier, and I felt a certain sense of mistrust even from the beginning. When I tried to get a brief glimpse of the papers which lay before me on the table, above all to see who had signed the orders, Major Hayessen ostentatiously gathered them up and put them in a folder. As I returned to my regiment I was oppressed by the notion that "Hitler's dead, now confusion reigns, various people will probably try to seize power." I contemplated the future struggles for succession.

I decided that, in any case, I would not allow myself to be misused in my capacity as commander of the only elite unit on active duty in Berlin. My regiment was made up entirely of picked, proven combat soldiers with high decorations for bravery. Every officer sported the Knights Cross. I bore in mind as well the events of 1918, after which the Berlin guard units had been reproached for their hesitancy, which contributed to the success of the revolution. I had no desire to expose myself to a similar reproach before History.

When I returned to my troops, I gathered my officers and informed them of the situation and our orders. The alleged death of Adolf Hitler sent officers and men into shock. Never in my life, even

at Germany's final defeat, have I witnessed such despondency. Despite the numerous stories which flourish today, that is the absolute truth: I vouch for it

I made no secret to my officers that there was a lot that was still unclear, indeed mysterious to me, and that I would in no way allow myself or my unit to be exploited. I expressly demanded unconditional confidence and absolute obedience, just as at the front, from every one of my officers. This somewhat unusual demand was due to a telephone call I received during the briefing from a general I didn't recognize — it was probably Major General Friedrich Olbricht — at the High Command of the Replacement Army, requisitioning a company from my unit for a special assignment. This demand I explicitly rejected, pointing out that I had been entrusted with a clearly defined mission and that dispersing my forces didn't seem advisable.

After the briefing I received two reports which further disturbed me. The first was from 1st Lt Dr. Hagen, a member of my staff, who informed me that while on the way to the barracks he had seen Field Marshal Brauchitsch, in full uniform, driving his car on the streets of Berlin. This was strange, for Brauchitsch was retired. Given the circumstances, his appearance in uniform seemed remarkable. It later turned out that the officer seen by Dr. Hagen can't have been Brauchitsch. Probably it was one of the conspirators.

The second disconcerting report was from Lt Colonel Wolters, who had been attached to my regiment as a liaison officer by the Command Center. He told me that I musn't believe he was there to keep tabs on me as an informer. Such a remark was completely uncalled for. Not only was it incongruous and annoying, it awoke precisely the suspicion it was designed to allay: somebody had something up his sleeve. As it turned out, the briefing I gave my officers caused the colonel misgivings. In order to avoid responsibility, he simply went home — an unthinkable course of action for an officer on active duty.

My doubts that Major General von Hase's description of the situation matched the facts, doubts strengthened by another version which had Hitler murdered by the SS, convinced me that I had to determine the facts for myself. I decided to telephone every command post I could. This was just basic reconnaissance, a matter of course for every commander before committing his troops. Needless to say this type of thinking and acting is quite at odds with the notorious corpse-like obedience that denigrators of the Third Reich's army attribute to it.

Among other things I decided to send 1st Lt Dr. Hagen, who had eagerly volunteered, to the Reich Defense Commissioner for Berlin, Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Dr. Hagen had earlier worked under Dr. Goebbels in the Propaganda Ministry, and I believed that by dispatching him to Dr. Goebbels I would be informed about not only the military but also the political situation. Gauleiter and Defense Commissioner for Berlin as well as Propaganda Minister, Dr. Goebbels was in consequence of the former positions patron of the "Grossdeutschland" Division, which was made up of soldiers from all the provinces of the Reich.

About an hour and a half after the "Valkyrie" order was given, my regiment, by then combat-ready, moved into the areas to be sealed off in accordance with its orders. The normal guard units, such as those at the War Memorial and the Bendlerblock, the headquarters of the Commander of the Replacement Army and of the Defense Production Office, remained at their posts. At about 4:15 p.m. Lt. Arends, the duty officer in the Bendlerblock, reported to me that he had been ordered to seal off all entrances to the building. A Colonel Mertz von Quirnheim, whom Lt Arends didn't know, had given him this assignment. Lt Arends had further been instructed by General Olbricht to open fire on any SS units that might approach.

After personally inspecting my troops in their new positions, at about 5:00 p.m. I returned once more to the City Commander, General von Hase, to inform him that I had carried out his orders. At this time I was asked to establish my command post there in the City Command Center, opposite the War Memorial. I had already set up a message center, commanded by Lt Gees, in the Rathenow Barracks, with which I maintained telephone contact. Then von Hase gave me an additional assignment, to seal off a block of buildings north of the Anhalt Station (he showed me where on the map), very tightly.

As I commenced carrying out these orders, I ascertained that the block designated housed the Main Office of Reich Security. The unclarity, not to mention the deception, of this misleading order, could only strengthen my suspicions. Why wasn't I given explicit orders to place the Main Office of Reich Security under guard? It goes without saying that I would have carried out even this order.

Thus, on my third visit to General von Hase, I asked him directly "Herr General, why am I receiving orders formulated so obscurely? Why wasn't I simply told to pay special attention to the Main Office of Reich Security?" Von Hase was quite nervous and excited. He didn't even respond to my question. If one wonders today how a young officer like me could allow himself such liberties with a general, it should be borne in mind that we young commanders saw ourselves as battle-hardened, proven combat leaders, and we had scant regard for the chairborne warriors of the home front.

In this connection I should like to point out something based on my long experience at the front just as in the First World War it was the veteran commanders of the shock companies who epitomized the front experience, so in the Second World War it was the young commanders, come of age on the front, who had forged with their troops a sworn fellowship of combat. These men could not only fight, they wanted to fight, particularly since they believed in Germany's victory.

While in General von Hase's office I overheard from a conversation between the General and his First General Staff Officer that Goebbels was now to be arrested, and that this assignment was to be mine. Since I found this an unpleasant duty in light of my attempt to contact Goebbels, I jumped in and told General von Hase:

Herr General I consider myself unsuitable for this assignment. As you know, I've been with the "Grossdeutschland" Division, I've worn its stripe, for years. For me your mission would be very unchivalrous, for as you are doubtless aware, Dr. Goebbels, in his capacity as Gauleiter of Berlin, is at the same time the patron of the "Großdeutschland." Only two weeks ago I paid Goebbels my first call as new commander of the guard regiment. On these grounds I consider it inappropriate that I, in particular, be ordered to arrest my patron.

Possibly von Hase sympathized with my arguments; from whatever grounds he now ordered the military police to take Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels into custody.

Around 5:30 p.m. Lt Dr. Hagen finally met with Dr. Goebbels in his private residence, at 20 Hermann-Goring Strasse beside the Brandenburg Gate, after having tried in vain to see him at the Propaganda Ministry. The Reich Minister had no idea of the danger he was in. It was only after Hagen, in order to emphasize how serious the situation was, pointed out vehicles from the guard regiment as they drove by, that Goebbels took fright. He cried, "This is impossible, what shall we do?"

To which Hagen suggested, "The best thing would be for you to summon my commander here."

Goebbels asked curtly: "Can your commander be trusted?" "I'd lay down my life for him!" replied Hagen.

As I was going down the corridor just after leaving the City Commander's office, I finally found my bearings as a result of Hagen's contacting Goebbels.

Hagen had driven back to the barracks, given Gees his instructions, and then driven to my new command post at the Command Center, which was being heavily guarded. To avoid any hindrance, he did not enter the building, but informed my adjutant, Lt Siebert, and my orderly, Lt. Buck, of the situation, asking them to inform me without delay. They reported as follows:

There's a completely new situation! This is probably a military putsch! Nothing further is known! The Reich Defense Commissioner requests that you come to him as quickly as possible! If you're not there within twenty minutes, he will assume that you are being forcibly restrained. In that case he will be compelled to alert the Waffen-SS. To avoid civil war, he has until then ordered the Leibstandarte [Hitler's personal bodyguard, the 1st Division of the Waffen-SS — Trans.] to stay where it is.

When I learned these things from my adjutant, I decided to see General von Hase one more time. That I still trusted the Major General, even then, is shown by my having Lt. Buck repeat to me once again, in the presence of von Hase, the message from Goebbels. I didn't want to seem an intriguer; as a veteran combat officer it was my practice to lay all my cards on the table. Von Hase bluntly rejected my request to comply with the Reich Defense Commissioner's summons so that I might clarify the situation in the interest of all concerned. After leaving the Command Center without interference, I deliberated, together with my adjutant, Lt. Siebert -today a pastor in Nuremberg — as to what I should do. My key role in this difficult and obscure situation, which I had not caused, was increasingly clear to me. I felt that by now my head was on the line too. After evaluating the situation as carefully as I could at that time, I decided that in spite of von Hase's order to the contrary I would go to Goebbels. My reasons were as follows:

- First, I didn't want to be deprived of my freedom of action under any circumstances, as often happened at the front. Often there was a very thin line between being awarded a high decoration or being sentenced to death by a court martial.
- Second, I felt myself still bound by my oath; so far the report of the Führer's death was at least doubtful. Thus, I had to act in keeping with the oath I swore on the flag.
- Third, at the front I had many times made responsible decisions on my own, decisions the correctness of which was confirmed by my being awarded high decorations. Many a situation can only be mastered by decisive action. I felt as one with my comrades at the front, who wouldn't understand were I to stand idly by out of a lack of civic courage. I could not allow myself the responsibility of letting things come to a fatal head. I thought of 1918.
- Fourth, I was under compulsion, since Goebbels had plans to alert the Waffen-SS, raising the possibility that a fraternal war between two forces, each proven in combat, might break out. As the commander of the only elite unit in Berlin on active duty I was responsible for the lives of the men entrusted to me. To employ them in a totally confused affair was not my duty.

Nevertheless, I didn't entirely trust Goebbels either, for I still assumed that Hitler was dead, and believed a struggle for succession was possible. I was far from wanting to let myself and my unit be thrust into a latterday Diadochian struggle. Inasmuch as Goebbels' role remained unclear, I took along Lt Buck and a platoon of soldiers. Their orders were to come and get me if I didn't emerge from Goebbels' residence in fifteen minutes.

Then, after releasing the safety catch of my pistol, I entered the Reich Minister's office, where I had been eagerly awaited, and asked Goebbels to orient me. With that Goebbels asked me to tell him everything I knew. I did so, although I didn't reveal that von Hase intended to arrest him, since I was still unclear as to Goebbels' role in all this. When he asked me what I intended to do, I told him that I would stick to my military orders and that I was determined to carry them out. Even if the Führer were no longer alive, I felt bound by my oath and could only act in accord with my conscience as an officer. At that Goebbels looked at me in amazement and cried: "What are you talking about? The Führer is alive! I've spoken with him on the telephone. The assassination failed! You've been tricked."

This information came as a complete surprise. When I heard that the Führer was still alive, I was greatly relieved. But I was still suspicious. Therefore I asked Goebbels to assure me, on his word of honor, that what he said was true and that he stood unconditionally behind the Führer. Goebbels hesitated at first, because he didn't understand the reason for my request. It was only after I repeated that as an officer I needed his word of honor in order to see my way clear that he obliged.

My wish to telephone the Führer's headquarters coincided with his. Within seconds I was connected to the Wolf's Lair at Rastenburg in East Prussia. To my great surprise Hitler himself came on the line. Goebbels quickly explained the situation to the Führer and then handed me the receiver.

Adolf Hitler said to me, approximately, the following: "Major Remer, can you hear me, do you recognize my voice? Do you understand me?" I replied affirmatively, but I was nevertheless uncertain. It flashed through my mind that someone could possibly be imitating the Führer's voice. To be sure I had become personally acquainted with the Führer's voice during the previous year, when, after he had awarded me the Oak Leaf to the Knight's Cross, I had been able to speak alone and completely frankly with him for an hour about the cares and miseries of the front. It was only as he continued speaking over the telephone that I became convinced that I was indeed speaking with Hitler. He went on:

As you can tell I'm alive. The assassination has failed, providence didn't intend it. A small clique of ambitious, disloyal, and traitorous officers wanted to kill me. Now we've got these saboteurs of the front. We'll make short work of this treacherous plague, by brute force if necessary.

From this moment on, Major Remer, I am giving you complete authority in Berlin. You are responsible to me personally and exclusively for the immediate restoration of peace and security in the Reich capital. You will remain under my personal command for this purpose until Reichsführer Himmler arrives there and relieves you of responsibility.

The Führer's words were very calm, determined, and convincing. I could breathe a sigh of relief, for the conversation had removed all my doubts. The soldier's oath which I had sworn to the Führer was still binding, and the guiding principle of my actions. Now my only concern was to eliminate misunderstandings and to avoid unnecessary bloodshed by acting quickly and decisively.

Goebbels asked me to inform him of the content of my conversation with Hitler, and asked me what I intended to do next. He placed the downstairs rooms of his house at my disposal, and I set up a new command post there. By this time it was 6:30 p.m. The first report of the bomb attack

in the Führer's headquarters was broadcast over the Greater German Radio Network around fifteen minutes later.

Due to my visit to the Berlin City Command Center I had a rough idea, for the most part, of the dispositions of the units advancing on Berlin. To let their commanders know the real situation, I dispatched staff officers in all directions to bring the word. Success was total. The question "The Führer — with him or against him?" worked miracles. I would like to state unequivocally that every one of these commanding officers, who like me were outraged at what had happened, subordinated themselves unconditionally to my command, although they all outranked me. Thus, they demonstrated that their soldier's oaths were binding for them as well. Difficulties, temporary in nature, arose here and there, where personal briefings were not immediately possible.

Due to the prevailing uncertainty and because of misunderstanding — some thought that the guard regiments sealing off its designated area meant that it had mutinied — on two occasions my regiment came within a hair's breadth of being fired on by other units. At the Fehrbelliner Platz an armored brigade had assembled at the order of the conspirators, but an order radioed by Lt. General Guderian removed it from the conspirators' control. Thereafter this unit undertook reconnaissance and mistakenly concluded that the guard regiment "Großdeutschland" was on the side of the conspirators and had apprehended Reich Minister Goebbels. Several of the brigade's tanks advanced tentatively, and bloodshed would have been a near thing had I not intervened personally to clear up the confusion.

The same thing happened in front of the Bendlerblock, the headquarters of the Commander of the Replacement Army, when a panzergrenadier company tried to take over from my guard, which had been authorized by the Führer. The energetic intervention of officers from my regiment made possible a clarification at the last moment and prevented German soldiers from firing on each other. Here too the question "Hitler-with him or against him?" proved decisive. I had sent one of my company commanders, Captain Schlee, to the Bendlerblock in order to clear things up. At this point I had no idea that the leadership of the conspiracy had its Headquarters there. Schlee had orders to withdraw our guards, because I wanted, as much as possible, to avoid bloodshed. When he arrived he was ordered to see General Olbricht. He took the precaution of telling the guard to bring him out by force in the event he didn't return promptly. In fact he was placed under arrest in the general's waiting room by Colonel Mertz von Quirnheim, who told him to stay there. When Mertz went into Olbricht's office, however, Schlee simply walked away.

When he returned to our guard, Lt. Arends informed him of a strange occurrence. He'd heard shouts coming from an upper story of the building and just then a typewriter and a telephone came flying through the window and into the courtyard. Schlee did an about-face and led a patrol back up to find out what was going on. He quickly identified the room from which the noise was coming; it was locked, but not under guard, and the key was still in the lock. Inside was General von Kortzfleisch, commanding general of the Berlin Military District; it was he who had thrown the objects out the window. The general had been summoned to the Bendlerblock to receive his orders. On his arrival, he steadfastly refused to cooperate with the conspirators. He was arrested and locked in, but left unguarded. Now that he was free, he gave us our first information as to the leadership of the conspiracy.

At 7:30 p.m. our guards were relieved, in keeping with orders. Olbricht had to replace our guard detail with his own officers. The commander of the new guard was Lt. Colonel Fritz von der Lancken. As he was moving out Schlee learned from a captain in the communications center in the Bendlerblock that Major Remer had been ordered by the Führer to put down the putsch. They had been able to overhear my conversation with the Führer, and recognized that the telexes they

were to send out were the conspirators' orders. Thus the men in the communications center deliberately delayed sending the messages, or in some cases didn't dispatch them at all.

Truly a masterfully prepared plan: the conspirators had no accomplices! Furthermore, telexes and telephone messages continued to come in from the Führer Headquarters, making the actual state of affairs quite clear.

Countless orders were given that late afternoon of the twentieth of July. Among other measures I moved the replacement brigade of the "Großdeutschland" from Cottbus to the outskirts of Berlin as a combat reserve. The brigade, too, had gotten different orders from the conspirators beforehand. Its tried and true commander, Colonel Schulte-Neuhaus, who had lost an arm in combat and whom I knew from the front, reported to my command post I introduced him to Goebbels. Meanwhile I concentrated my own troops more tightly around the Reich Chancery complex, and formed a strong combat reserve in the garden of Goebbels' official residence. Goebbels asked me to address the troops assembled there, which I did. Their outrage at the traitorous goings-on was so great that they would have torn every single conspirator to pieces, had they been there.

Then I sealed off the City Command Center, for I'd gotten the impression that there was a number of questionable characters there. I also learned that after my refusal to arrest Goebbels, the military police had been ordered to do so. I waited in vain for them to appear. Later I heard that not a single unit was ready to arrest Dr. Goebbels, so that it was left to von Hase himself. The City Commander was at this point at the headquarters of the deputy commander, to which he had driven in order to work out further measures with the general, who had been installed there by the Conspirators. They had discussed things for two hours without coming to a decision, typical behavior for these combat-shy Conspirators.

After General von Hase's return to the City Command Center was reported to me, I asked him over the telephone to come by my command post at Goebbels' residence in order to clarify the Situation. At first he refused my invitation, and demanded that, since I was his subordinate, I should report to him at the Command Center. It was only after I informed him that I had been ordered personally by the Führer to restore peace and order, as his immediate subordinate; that thus von Hase was under my orders; and that I would come and get him if he didn't appear of his own free will, that the general arrived. At this point I was still under the impression that von Hase, who had often been my guest at the officers' club, who frequently expressed his solidarity with the soldiers at the front, and who on no account omitted a "Sieg Heil!" to his beloved Führer from any speech, had been deceived, just as I had been, and was unaware of the facts. Therefore I apologized for my unusual treatment. On his arrival von Hase was affability personified; he even praised me for my independence and decisiveness, and for seeking out Goebbels, by which I had averted a good deal of mischief.

Even with Goebbels von Hase played the innocent, and acted as if he had no inkling of any conspiracy. He was asked to stand by for further information, and a room was placed at his disposal. As von Hase left Goebbels' office, there was an embarrassing incident, which made me, as a German officer, blush for shame. In these very tense circumstances, von Hase stated that he had been busy the whole day and hadn't had a thing to eat. Goebbels immediately offered to have a sandwich prepared and asked him if he would like a glass of Mosel or Rhine wine as well. As soon as von Hase had left the office, Goebbels sneered:

"My name is Hare [Hase], I know nothing." That's the stuff our revolutionary *putsch* generals are made of. With the irons still in the fire they want to be winned and dined,

and call their mommies on the telephone. In their place I'd see my tongue ripped out before I'd make such contemptible requests.

Two events illustrate how little thought and planning went into the putsch. My conversations and orders were routed through the same communications center in the Bendlerblock, headquarters of the conspiracy, from which the plotters' orders were being disseminated in all directions. The communications officers could have delayed my orders or not transmitted them at all or they could have interrupted my telephone calls, none of which they did. I even received a message from the Reich Broadcasting Service, inquiring about what was going on. As a result, I was able to give the order that under no circumstances was any unscheduled transmission to be made. As a result this important communications medium was denied to the plotters as well. What transpired at the Broadcasting Center on the Masurenallee? Major Jacob had been ordered to occupy the Broadcasting Center. Astonishingly enough he had been ordered neither to broadcast any announcements nor to shut down the station. He attempted to telephone the conspirators to report his occupation of the radio station and to request additional orders. He had no luck, however he wasn't put through, as happened at many offices. For front-line soldiers the loss of telephone connections was a frequent occurrence. In such a case the normal procedure was to establish radio communications or to send a courier. Major Jacob had a teleprinter at his disposal as well, but he used none of these methods. Stauffenberg, the General Staff officer who planned the putsch, gave no thought to furnishing motorcycle couriers — such trivial details were studiously overlooked!

Rudolf-Günther Wagner, the man who was to broadcast the conspirators' proclamations, said later:

I had known for years that I was to broadcast the proclamation on the day of the putsch I awaited with feverish excitement the arrival of the lieutenant who was to bring me the proclamation. Unfortunately I waited in vain, until I heard from Goebbels' loudspeakers that the assassination had failed.

As is now well known, General Lindemann, who had the text of the proclamation, was nowhere to be found. General Beck was not willing to step in; he ordered Hans-Bernd Gisevius, a conspirator with the Abwehr, to bring the proclamation. First, however, Gisevius had to speedily draft a new statement, while the conspirators Stauffenberg, Hoepner, Yorck, Schwerin, and Schulenburg shouted suggestions at him. For this fiasco, too, Stauffenberg, the “manager” of the conspiracy, bears responsibility. To keep a broadcasting station in operation requires skilled and trustworthy personnel. A team had been ordered to the City Command Center but waited there idly until it was arrested during the counteraction. Hans Kasper, who was part of Operation Jacob, later commented:

It was around that time that the twentieth of July collapsed. From the perspective of a radio editor it was tragic. Tragic because the way in which details were handled made it obvious that this revolt had had very little chance of succeeding.

In the meantime Lt. Schlee had reported to me what was happening at the Bendlerblock. I knew nothing of the inside story, nor that Lt. General Fromm, Commander in Chief of the 1 Replacement Army, had withdrawn from the plot and been arrested by the conspirators. Schlee was further ordered, after our guards had been relieved, to surround and seal off the Bendlerblock, without entering the buildings. At about 7:00 p.m. I felt I had the situation in Berlin in hand. The tension began to subside.

[This article was translated from Otto Ernst Remer's book Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler (Conspiracy and Betrayal round Hitler), published by Verlag K. W. Schütz, Preussisch Oldendorf, West Germany, reviewed in this journal by H. Keith Thompson. The contents of this article closely parallel General Remer's address to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference. — Ed.]

Imposed German Guilt: The Stuttgart Declaration of 1945

R. Clarence Lang

- Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference.

President Ronald Reagan, in preparation for his celebrated visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg in 1985, termed the alleged collective German guilt for the Second World War “imposed” and “unnecessary.” [1] That President Reagan felt compelled to express himself so clearly demonstrates that the German guilt said to stem from the Second World War is still a burning issue. The president’s words, and the furor that attended them, are a clear mandate for us to examine anew the nature of this imposed guilt, and the persons and circumstances that imposed it

I. Broad Perspectives Regarding The Declaration

The concern of this paper is the background to the declaration of German guilt made in Stuttgart, Germany by eleven leading German churchmen in connection with a visit by a delegation of eight non-German churchmen on October 18-19, 1945. The declaration began “We are especially thankful for this visit, since we realize that we are not only united with our people in a great company of suffering, but also *in a solidarity of guilt.*” [Emphasis added][2] By linking “our people” with “a solidarity of guilt,” these German clergymen conjured up that entity known as “German guilt.” This paper focuses as well on the role of Pastor Niemöller, doubtless the most famous of the eleven German churchmen who signed the Declaration of Stuttgart. A U-boat hero in the First World War who hailed Hitler’s rise to power in 1933, Niemöller later publicly opposed the National Socialist regime and became an object of international sympathy after his incarceration in a concentration camp. [3] That Niemöller, a Lutheran, should so avidly have advocated a collective German guilt is an aberration, for no one more clearly recognized that the nature of guilt is personal, and not collective, than Martin Luther. As the theologian Martin Köhler pointed out, the young Luther’s Ninety-Five Theses of 1517 were expressions of “a religion of the individual conscience”. Conscience and guilt go hand in hand. As with guilt, so with repentance, sin, reconciliation, justification, and forgiveness: for Luther these religious entities only become real that inner commitment called faith. Guilt, like faith, can by its very nature only be personal. To be sure, everyone in a group may believe, but never the group as such, for each one believes only as an individual. Merely because a person belongs to a group outwardly does not mean so inwardly.[4]

Because Lutherans take guilt and its nature seriously, Niemöller should have grasped the fallacy in the concept of a collective German guilt. Instead, it has fallen to the revisionists, many of them nonprofessing Christians, to carry out the Gospel endeavor of refuting the collective guilt which has been fallaciously imposed on the Germans. The work of the Revisionists has also brought to light a motive of the victors — and their allies in postwar Germany — in unilaterally imposing a collective guilt on their defeated enemies: the victors’ need to be exonerated of their own misdeeds. The defeated Germans, at the mercy of their conquerors in staged trials which afforded the

accused little opportunity to place the war in historical perspective, were unable to raise the issue of the war crimes of the victors. This pretense of a collective, unilateral criminality on the part of the Germans afforded the victors a classic, dehumanizing, un-Christian exoneration.

By laying bare the crimes of the victors, revisionist historians have demonstrated that guilt for the Second World War is shared, not unilateral. One need only point to David Irving's classic *The Destruction of Dresden*, which demonstrated that although the Allies, with victory a certainty, had a wider range of options to act humanely, they chose to be even more brutal and vindictive, to the bitter end. [5]

While the senseless and unnecessary terror bombing campaign is well known, certain aspects of the hunger blockade which the Allies imposed on German-occupied Europe are less familiar. It is a little known fact that Allied leaders vetoed efforts of the Famine Relief Committee, formed in 1942, to send food to the hard-pressed civilians of occupied Europe after an initial success in Greece, where, in cooperation with the International Red Cross and with the permission of the Germans, tens of thousands of lives were saved by food supplied from Allied nations. Thereafter Allied leaders, above all America's Franklin Roosevelt and Britain's Winston Churchill, were obdurate in their refusal to cooperate with the Famine Relief Committee and the Red Cross. These men used food as a weapon during the war; afterwards they profited from the lurid images and descriptions of the horrors of the concentration camps at the war's close. Many of these horrors were the direct result of Allied policy makers' refusal to cooperate with international organizations such as the FRC and IRC.

That this is not mere speculation is evident from the final report of the Famine Relief Committee. As the victorious Allies advanced into Germany, and the FRC handed over the balance of its funds to the Friends' [Quakers] Relief Service, the Committee's last report concluded:

It should have been obvious to all intelligent people that our food blockade of the continent of Europe would bring untold torture and suffering to our friends and allies and would do little or no harm to our enemy ... It has been possible to obtain proof that our food blockade did not shorten the war by a single hour ... History will judge our government harshly for its futile persistence in the policy of total blockade of foodstuffs. [6]

The Famine Relief Committee was by no means an isolated Allied voice, for there were vigorous advocates of such a humanitarian policy in high government positions, particularly in the U.S. House of Representatives. As late in the war as June 28, 1943 (six months after Stalingrad, amid a growing realization that the Germans could not win), an emotional debate took place on Capitol Hill. The Republican minority leader, Harold Knutson, a congressman since 1917, pleaded: "What the Society of Friends is doing in northern France, and what the Swedes and Swiss are doing in Greece, can be done in Poland, Finland, Norway, Denmark and the Low Countries, as well as the balance of occupied France." After pointing out that financing would not be a problem, since the Allies had frozen considerable assets after the Germans occupied these countries, the Minnesotan Knutson, strongly supported by fellow Republican Congressmen Walter H. Judd (MN), Carl T. Curtis (NE), Walter F. Horan (WI), and Christian A. Herter (MA) accusingly ended the debate: "One word from either of them [Roosevelt or Churchill] would banish all the horrors of famine and pestilence from Poland, Finland, Norway, Denmark and the Low Countries. Will they rise to the occasion? The future of white civilization in Europe rests in their hands." [7] It is evident that in 1943 Roosevelt and Churchill, mindful of the postwar Morgenthau Plan with its cold-blooded imposition of unilateral guilt on the Germans, refused any life-saving measures.

(One must also wonder what became of the vast financial resources of the occupied countries seized by the Allies.)

The Famine Relief Committee in 1945, and the congressmen in 1943, could not foresee that in line with the Morgenthau Plan, the Allied blockade would be transformed into a postwar American and British military ban on all private and church humanitarian aid to about 85,000,000 Germans. Nor could they have foreseen that this ban would become a tool whereby Allied Protestant churchmen would, in an utterly un-Christian fashion, manipulate fellow Christian German churchmen in an attempt to impose a lingering guilt on the German people. They could not foresee that this would help to transform the Church of the Reformation, “a fellowship of believers,” into a political sect, i.e., an entity using its resources primarily for political, not religious purposes, above all to “re-educate” the Germans.

II. Theological and Other Implications of the Declaration of Stuttgart

Reflecting on the basic thrust of the declaration, the German Lutheran Old Testament scholar Friedrich Baumgärtel wrote: “The consciousness of guilt that drives one to confess is, is it not, born of the uneasiness of the conscience over *specific, concrete* completed deeds and behavior?” [Emphasis added] [8]

Baumgärtel’s implication, that consciousness of guilt cannot be generalized or collectivized, has been powerfully amplified by the German theologian Dr. Walter Bodenstein in *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*, a treatise devoted to the Declaration of Stuttgart. Bodenstein writes: “The words ‘solidarity of guilt’ take for granted that a collective entity is capable of becoming guilty. Thus a group is treated as an individual.” Setting this in the Christian context, Bodenstein points out:

That nations were seen as individuals is true, so in the Old Testament the nations surrounding Israel as well as Israel itself, were spoken of as persons. Babylon became the “daughter of Babylon” and Israel “the daughter of Zion” (Isaiah 41:7; Zech 9). The prophets of Israel personified their people as “a servant of God,” and as “son of man” in order to express Israel’s task in the world of nations. But who can overlook that these were images and *through that not groups but only individuals can be responsible and become guilty*. (Psalm 6; Ezekiel 18: 5-10) [9]

This fluctuation, from unreal collective (or theocratic) groups to real personal (or fellowship) groups, can be traced in the Old Testament. Regardless of how much of the Old Testament one regards as historical, it is in the New Testament that the personal becomes paramount in the struggles of Jesus and the early church, above all in the confrontation with Phariseeism culminating in the liberating Gospel experience of the Apostle Paul. Based on Paul and the Scriptures, the Gospel became viable once again through Luther, in his struggle with the legalistic ecclesiasticism of his day.

Much becomes clearer in looking at the broader theological context here. For Roman Catholics the starting point is the specific Organization of the Church; for Jews the Covenants in the Holy Torah (the Law); for Calvinists (i.e., Puritans, Huguenots, and Reformed), the Holy Will of God; for Lutherans, however, as for the Apostle Paul the starting point is the personal sinful human condition, befitting Luther’s lonely words: “Here, I stand.” For Lutherans the Church is thus a fellowship of believers, not a theocracy.

For Lutherans the heart of religion is life personally experienced in terms of accusatory aspects, referred to generically as the Law, and on the other hand forgiving or consolatory aspects, called

the Christian Gospel. The Law includes all accusatory aspects of life. The Jewish Torah is thus seen as not unique, but a merely one of the cutting edges impelling persons to the Christian Gospel, which relativizes and overcomes life's accusatory aspects. More than good news, the Gospel is the inner liberating experience which affirms life, dispels negative, accusatory impositions, and emanates appreciation and thankfulness. The Gospel finds its highest expression in thankfulness to God for Jesus Christ. That forgiveness was Martin Luther's keystone is clear from his *Catechism*: "Where there is forgiveness of sins there is also life and salvation." In a nutshell, what is at stake is the cardinal teaching of the Christian Church, that is, justification by faith alone.

Some of the sharpness of the Gospel that emanated through Luther was dulled by the puritanical legalism of John Calvin. Today, Christians are in danger of blending this puritanical legalism with that of what has been termed "the Zionist entity," as this entity attempts to impose the guilt consciousness associated with the term "Holocaust" on successive generations, not only of Germans but of Christians in general, thereby undermining the Gospel of forgiveness. Thus the guilt imposed on the Germans has great implications for Christianity as well.

The danger is that the Church be turned into a theocracy, and thus cease to be a Church. In a theocracy religious unity is based on divine laws, and God is regarded primarily as the Lawgiver. The Church, "the fellowship of believers," bases its religious unity on a personal faith which regards God as the creator and sustainer of redeeming faith. The essence of the Church is appreciation and thankfulness to God, the highest and most powerful form of thankfulness. Nor is the fundamental issue of how we look at ourselves and others to be overlooked in this connection. At stake is the free, autonomous personality, a personality that the Church is to protect and foster.

Christianity indeed speaks of a human, Adamic sin, but this is not a collectivity of individual transgressions, as if one could visualize sin in piles, with one pile being the sins of the Germans. Adamic sin is rather the personal realization that I find in myself the same personal centeredness and selfishness that I am convinced is also in others. To be sure, interpretations may vary, but for our purposes it is evident that there can be no separate German heart. That the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt took place is historical fact; when one confronts the fallaciousness of this imposed, factitious guilt, it wholly evaporates. What is here said as to German guilt applies equally well to "Nazi," or National Socialist, guilt.

Theologically, Christians are obligated to ask how long they can allow Christianity, and the various Western nations, to be held hostage to historically unprecedented "guilt trips" stemming from the Second World War, without losing the universality of the Gospel as well as a true perspective on history. The Gospel cannot be stripped of its universality in this way without losing its liberating power, the essence of the Gospel, which is the foundation of the Church. How ironic it is that Revisionists, often non-Christians, are fulfilling this Christian role, as they unintentionally prove the Apostle Paul was indeed right when he proclaimed that "all have sinned."

III. Niemöller and Barth Set the Stage for Stuttgart

Since the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt is intimately associated with Martin Niemöller, certain insights are to be gained in treating him as a focal personality. Shortly after Adolf Hitler succeeded in creating political stability after a virtual two-year civil war against chaos and Bolshevism, Niemöller's name became well known inside Germany and abroad. [10] One of the founders of the Confessional Church, and later incarcerated in concentration camps as a personal prisoner of Adolf Hitler, Niemöller became the darling of the international anti-German propagandists.

The Confessional Church was named for the confession proclaimed in May, 1934 at Barmen a city in the Ruhr. The Confessional Church comprised mostly Reformed (Calvinist) Protestants; quite a few Lutherans participated, however. (American readers should bear in mind that the state-supported German Protestant Church comprised both Lutheran and Reformed congregations, although such congregations remained separate.) The confessors renewed their pledge to Jesus Christ as the only head of the Church. This was meant to counter the “German Christians,” Hitler’s supporters within the Protestant Church, who were accused of trying to replace Jesus Christ with Adolf Hitler. The implication of the Barmenites, carried to its extremes meant that Hitler wanted to take the place of Christ in the Church, with persons baptized, confirmed, and ordained in his name. While it is true that Hitler professed faith in Providence (unlike such men as Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky), there is no evidence that he had any such plans as the Confessional Church and its supporters imputed to him.

The differences between the Barmen confessors and many traditional Lutherans were a factor in the later imposition of German guilt at Stuttgart, so it is well to examine them. Most German Lutheran pastors and theologians neither participated in nor subscribed to the Confession of Barmen. Some German Lutherans were ardent National Socialists, some German Christians (in Bavaria about twelve per cent of the clergy were German Christians). [11] Like the theologian Paul Althaus, most Lutherans opposed the Confession of Barmen on theological grounds, for the Confession spoke exclusively of God’s revelation in Jesus Christ, rejecting or bypassing the traditional doctrine of Lutherans and Catholics, of a God- implanted natural, universal revelation. Althaus and others saw their convictions reinforced by the Apostle Paul, who spoke of God’s law written in the hearts of all people, and the Evangelist John, who spoke of “the true light which lights everyone.” Calling this the *Uroffenbarung* [basic or original revelation], Althaus argued convincingly that, merely because some might abuse natural, universal revelation for political purposes, it was no grounds for rejecting there in claiming that Jesus Christ was God’s sole revelation, as the Confessors of Barmen had done.[12]

Barmen, however, was only the first manifestation, so many Lutherans became convinced, of a subtle theological manipulation associated with the Swiss Karl Barth and his allies, who sought to undermine the foundations of Lutheranism, expounded in the Lutheran Confessional Writing of 1580. As will be demonstrated, the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt would be a further step in this process.

Seven years after the war, Althaus would correctly assess the German Christians, in recognizing that the main threat for Lutherans was not contained in their doctrinal errors, which had been successfully countered by Lutherans not involved in the Confessional Church. The danger, rather, lay in the “wild,” “emotional,” and “tumultuous” times, during which Germany had been virtually engulfed in a civil war. In such times the temptation is to minimize the Church’s necessary theological role in favor of seeking solutions to political problems. Althaus pointed out that not a single group of theological professors of any stature or ecclesiastical respectability had espoused German Christianity.” [13]

In 1945 this was in any case no longer an issue, for Hitler was dead and the German Christians had been discredited by a friend and foe alike. In 1945, however, Martin Niemöller, just released from Dachau, had a problem with Hitler gone and National Socialism vanquished, was there any future for the Confessional Church? [14] Why preach against a dead Hitler? Niemöller found his new Gospel in the mission to warn Germany and the world of the dangers of Hitlerism, and in preaching that the Germans had need to repent for Hitler and the Second World War. Who, if not the Confessional Church, could carry out this crusade in a fallen, degenerated, paganized, and Nazified Germany? [15] This image of Germany devoid of Christianity fell right in line with the

propaganda of the victorious Allies, and helped justify their “re-education” and “denazification” of the Germans. [16]

To further his new Gospel, in July 1945 Niemöller summoned the Brother’s Council of the Confessional Church to meet in Frankfurt. The meeting convened on August 21, with sixteen German brothers and one Swiss, who arrived in an American jeep and wore a U.S. Army uniform.

The Swiss, whose arrival had doubtless been orchestrated by the American Counter Intelligence Corps and the religious sections of the American and British military control commissions, needed few introductions at the Frankfurt Council, for he was Karl Barth, regarded by many as the world’s foremost theologian. A Calvinist with an open anti-Lutheran bias, Barth was a leader in the ecumenical movement which arose in the last century, and which has sought to unify not only Protestantism, but indeed all Christendom.

Karl Barth was born in Basel, Switzerland in 1886. In 1919 he became famous in the theological world with his commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans*. In 1921 he was appointed a professor at the University of Göttingen. The Barmen Confession of 1934 was essentially his brainchild, despite some recent claims to the contrary. [17] After his unceasing criticism of the German government Barth was ousted from Germany. Secure again at Pilgerstrasse 25 in Basel, he became the favorite theologian of the anti-German propagandists. Barth’s basic theological thrust, in the view of his theological opponents, such as Paul Althaus, Emmanuel Hirsch, and Werner Elert, was to formulate his theology in such a way as to exclude the German Christians from Christianity, thus rejecting the traditional Christian view of a natural, universal revelation. In short, Barth was doing ecclesiastically, theologically, and morally what the Jewish boycott of Germany, proclaimed March 24, 1933, was doing economically. [18]

More than any other influential Christian, Karl Barth made a holy war out of the economically based tragedy that was the Second World War. His stance in this regard is documented in his letter to Professor Hronadka of Prague, in September 1938, even before the Germans had occupied the Sudetenland. “Every Czech,” he wrote, “who fights [the Germans] and suffers in doing so is doing this for us — and I say it without reservation, he will also do it for the Church of Jesus Christ...” [19] After the war, this theological mentality would claim that God had used Russian tanks and German bombers to teach the Germans a necessary lesson. Characteristic of Barth’s thinking regarding the Lutherans was his claim that in the Hitler years, “The Lutherans slept while the Reformed stayed awake.”

The Karl Barth who arrived under American auspices at the Brothers' Council in Frankfurt in August 1945 had been greatly strengthened by the organization, in Utrecht, Netherlands in 1938, of the Provisional World Council of Churches (PWCC). (It became the World Council of Churches in 1948.) This ecumenical group, which strove toward a unified Christian Church, was dominated by its secretary, W.A. Visser't Hooft (of whom more later), a Calvinist and a strong ally of Barth.

In 1945 Barth, Visser't Hooft, and other leaders of the PWCC feared the emergence of a strong, independent German Lutheran Church. With the help of such Lutheran allies as Niemöller they used such terms as “confessionalism,” “denominationalism,” and “separatism” to stigmatize this alleged danger. [20] Barth and his allies also evolved a dual strategy of isolating German Lutherans from the Scandinavian Lutheran churches, and availing themselves of the idea of the Germans' “collective guilt” to keep them on the defensive.

This strategy surfaced at the Brother’s Council of the Confessional Church in Frankfurt. Until then the participating churchmen had spoken of those who had sinned by actively furthering Na-

tional Socialism or those who had done nothing to stop the Hitler movement. Now these churchmen spoke of the enormous guilt that “our people” had “accumulated,” a departure from the traditional Lutheran concept of guilt which has been discussed above. [21] Essentially, the Frankfurt meeting was aimed at gaining influential positions in the upcoming All-German Protestant Churchleaders' Conference in Treysa, a small town near Kassel, from August 27 to September 1. The Brother's Council selected Niemöller and Barth to represent them. Barth was not even a German, leaving the question open of whether he imposed himself or was imposed on the Treysa conference. (The free churches, which were not state-supported, such as the Mennonites, Baptists, Free Lutherans and Methodists, were not present; these had their own meetings.)

At Treysa, the Confessional churchmen were able to pack the church council with either their members or their supporters, thereby frustrating the emergence of a viable German Lutheran Church independent from the PWCC. Bishop Marahrens, the influential Lutheran bishop of Hannover, who had past connection with the Confessional Church, was boycotted by his fellow believers. [22] He had talked to Hitler! The secretary of the PWCC, Visser't Hooft, although not at Treysa, had written the Anglican Bishop Bell on July 24, 1945 that Marahrens “must disappear.” [23] After constant hidden and overt pressures the bishop was driven to resign two years later. He was replaced by Hans Lilje, a signer of the Stuttgart Declaration. In the New Testament lots were cast in the selecting of a replacement for Judas. The emergent postwar Germany churchleaders would hardly take such a risk.

The bitterness between the Swiss Calvinist Barth and the German Lutherans became dramatically visible at Treysa. When Barth's presence became known, the Bavarians, mostly Lutherans, threatened to leave. They were persuaded to stay. [24] As a theological student in Germany in the early 1950's, I was told that at one of the postwar meetings, possibly Treysa, Barth lampooned the German brothers for their lack of courage in standing up to Hitler, whereupon one dared to stand up and shout “We couldn't all run to Switzerland like you did.”

In the closing session, Treysa seemed a dismal failure to some, but Barth's remarks were optimistic. Presumably, he sensed a successful check to the “Lutheran danger.” After Treysa, the rest could be accomplished by the ever-handly insistence on atoning for Hitler. [25]

Yet, for Barth, uncertainties remained. In dejection he wrote Niemöller

How I wish you could make this matter [the issue of German guilt] your own. Believe me that, seen from the outside, it is truly a burning issue ... so it is with me personally, when I, as I so often do, have to speak about the new Germany ... I always get stuck when I have to give some kind of explanation which I still could not bring along either from Frankfurt nor from Treysa I even have to say, “Yes, yes, they really mean it that way!” I would give a kingdom for a snappy [*klipp und klar*] written statement, a written statement which I could clearly show. [26]

On October 5, Niemöller responded: “That I can and will make this matter my own, you [the personal *Du*] should no longer doubt, after my speech in Treysa ... nevertheless, I will see to it that I come up with a clear expression in the sense you hinted.”

The American Methodist churchman Walter W. Van Kirk, who was a consultant to the American delegation to the UN conference in San Francisco in the spring of 1945, as well as secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, experienced none of Karl Barth's difficulties with regard to the continued need for German repentance. In his book *A Christian Global Strategy*, published before Stuttgart, he recognized the danger of a politically isolated Germany. Describing the defeated Germans as “a pariah people subject to all sorts of military controls,” Van Kirk admon-

ished: “But it must not be so between Western Christendom and the churches of Germany. There is but one family of God and all who breathe the name of Christ are encompassed within its fellowship.” As if foreseeing the Declaration of Stuttgart, he added: “Nor should certain members of that family sit in moral judgment upon other members. It is for God to judge and exact reparation for guilt.” [27] The contrast with Barth’s approach is all too clear. As the German saying goes, “One hears from the forest [the echo of] what one shouts in.”

Indeed, nearly everyone thought that the guilt issue had been taken care of satisfactorily at Treysa, rendering Barth’s letter to Niemöller doubly strange. At the Treysa conference over a hundred of the churchmen present had adopted a resolution to the German people which included the words: “ ... today, we confess that long before God spoke in anger, God besought us in love, but we refused to heed his call.” What else is Christian repentance but this? [28]

This confession was made in Germany, for Germans. It satisfied the religious press in America. Papers such as *The Lutheran Standard* carried headlines like: Church of Germany Confesses Guilt” [29] The American church historian Richard Solberg, writing twelve years later, pointed out that the German Christians had been boycotted (obviously, anyone with a National Socialist past had simply stayed away): “At the historic meeting [Treysa] odious ties with the past were severed.” [30] According to his biographer, the Anglican bishop George Bell claimed that the Germans had taken up and settled the guilt question.

What satisfied others, however, was not enough for Barth, nor for his powerful ally Visser’t Hooft, two Calvinists possessed of their own standards for repentance. Visser’t Hooft, the secretary of the Provisional World Council of Churches, revealed his own standard when, after insisting that the PWCC reserved all freedom of action in establishing ties with the German churches, he announced that the PWCC would deal only with those German churchmen who had demonstrated active opposition to Hitler. [31]

Visser’t Hooft’s position as secretary of the PWCC equipped him to play a dominating role in forcing the Stuttgart declaration. A Calvinist from the Netherlands, he was the chief spokesman and policy maker of the PWCC, which operated from the same Geneva, Switzerland headquarters as the International Red Cross. Unlike the Red Cross, however, the PWCC was not neutral. During the war Visser’t Hooft worked with the Allied military, indeed some have maintained that he was an operative of the British Secret Service. [32]

Like Barth, Visser’t Hooft possessed the Calvinist “holy” determination to direct organizational action rather than to the indirect approach, which stresses changing inner convictions (the approach favored by Lutherans). This difference is readily apparent in Calvinistic terminology, with its predilection for theocratic, depersonalizing terms of reference: its “institutes,” “eternal values,” “principles,” “plans,” “being chosen,” “purposes and causes,” “covenants,” and “goals.” The Calvinist vision of the church is thus less a fellowship of believers than a theocracy, a “new Israel” with holy wars and holy causes, a vision that has worked itself out with world-historical consequences in such diverse locales as Puritan New England and the South African Transvaal. It seems that Martin Luther sensed this difference in outlook more than 450 years ago, when in his colloquy at Marburg with Calvin’s forerunner Ulrich Zwingli, Luther said: “Sie haben einen anderen Geist” [You have a different spirit or attitude.]

This different spirit was now ready to manifest itself at Stuttgart. The Treysa conference had elected a provisional council of twelve, which included only members sympathetic to the Confessional Church. Its chairman was Theophil Wurm, the seventy-eight year-old bishop of Stuttgart, a friend of Niemöller who had become well known in Germany during the war for his stand

against euthanasia. [33] (A voice like Wurm's is sorely needed today, for according to a recent newspaper report an estimated six to ten thousand persons are being put to death annually in the Netherlands. In Germany euthanasia was ended by decree in August 1941. Who or what can stop it in Holland?)

Niemöller became Bishop Wurm's deputy, one of whose duties was to seek ecumenical ties. For Niemöller this meant above all ties with Barth and his supporters in the PWCC, despite their patent bias against German Lutherans.

IV. The Material Basis for the Stuttgart Declaration

There was an unavoidable prerequisite for the declaration of German guilt which the eight churchmen, led by Visser't Hooft, extracted from the German council of twelve. Visser't Hooft had, by acquiring what amounted to control of Protestant aid to Germany, availed himself of a powerful lever, which as events proved, he was only too ready to use.

Here a little background as to Allied food policy with regard to postwar Germany is helpful. The dominant Western ally, the United States, had proclaimed its intention to impose a Carthaginian peace on Germany in the notorious Morgenthau Plan, which was publicized while the fighting still raged. [34]

As mentioned above, a food blockade was Allied policy throughout most of the war. To be fully effective, it was necessary that the blockade enlist the support of neutral nations and international organizations such as the Geneva-based International Red Cross. The Red Cross was a particularly bothersome thorn in the flesh of the Allies, for in the words of its president, Dr. Max Huber: "The Red Cross aids victims of war not because of their particular nationality or because they are fighting for this or that cause, but purely and simply because they are human beings, who are suffering and in need of help." In one of his writings Huber, a clergyman, went so far as to insist that the Good Samaritan was an actual historical figure and not a parable.[35]

Slowly but surely, the Allies undermined the neutrality of the International Red Cross. In 1943, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was formed. UNRRA adopted a policy of subsidizing only those groups actually fighting against the Germans. Without question Allied policies, as carried out by UNRRA, impeded even the neutral aid which the Red Cross was able to provide in the German concentration camps. Despite this, according to the International Committee of the Red Cross, "... from 12 November 1943 to 8 May 1945, some 751,000 packages, weighing about 26,000 tons, were sent by the International Committee to deportees in concentration camps." [36]

UNRRA policies were, of course, coordinated with the unconditional surrender dictate and the Morgenthau Plan, which the American church historian Richard Solberg, who was present in postwar Germany, called "vengeful." Solberg points out that while the plan was never officially adopted, it was nevertheless largely carried out. [37]

With the occupation of Germany, UNRRA, headed first by Herbert Lehman and then by Fiorello La Guardia, continued to serve as an arm of Allied military policy. UNRRA enforced a policy that all material aid was to be provided to the displaced persons, or D.P.'s, first, and specified that Germans and Finns could not be considered D.P.'s.

The inhumanity of this Allied policy can be gathered from Sumner Welles' *Where Are We Heading*, published in 1946. After describing the masses of refugees from eastern Europe, Welles

wrote: “Food supplies were totally inadequate to feed these hordes. The wave of anarchy ... within western Germany of these masses of refugees was overpowering.” Welles continued:

For lack of an organized force of trained personnel to cope with this situation it was many months before there was any alleviation, before any efficient screening of these floating masses of humanity could be carried out, and before even a minimum of help could be given to that pitiful class of refugees, mainly of the Jewish faith, termed “displaced persons.” No accurate record is yet available. But it can be asserted that for lack of effective organization to meet a situation which should have been foreseen, many thousands of innocent persons experienced a degree of tragedy and suffering which was altogether unnecessary. [38]

That a lack of American charity was not the problem can be seen from the fact that the Lutheran Synod of Missouri, representing only about a third of America’s Lutherans, raised about six million dollars by August, 1945, a sum comparable to many times that amount in today’s dollars. [39]

These charitable efforts, however, faced a considerable obstacle, for the policy of UNRRA was to forbid independent relief efforts, even in the face of such catastrophic human misery as that occasioned by the postwar expulsion of more than ten million Germans from their ancestral homes in eastern Germany and other parts of central Europe.

Meanwhile, the PWCC, which was quite willing to cooperate with the Allies, had acquired control of a key church relief agency in Europe. The European Central Bureau of Relief of Suffering Churches had formerly been headed by the internationally known Swiss clergyman Adolf Keller. Under his leadership the Central Bureau had defied the Allied ban on aid: as late as June 1942 Keller wrote that “food packages are still being shipped to the professors of the theological faculty in Warsaw and [to] evangelical preachers.” [40] When pressure exerted by North American churches forced Keller to resign under protest, his organization was absorbed into the new World Council of Churches Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid, headed by Dr. H. Hutchinson Cockburn. [41]

Shortly before Visser’t Hooft left for Stuttgart, this department was reorganized, and renamed the World Churches Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid. Its new chairman, Alphons Köchlin, president of the Swiss Protestant Church, set up an agency to coordinate all church aid to Germany, and named as its chairman none other than the secretary of the PWCC, Visser’t Hooft. Thus Visser’t Hooft, who had earlier articulated the PWCC policy of denying fellowship to ideologically unacceptable (read: German nationalist) churchmen, now had the last word on the allocation and distribution of all Protestant material aid to the Germans. [42]

V: A Confession of Guilt With No One to Give the Absolution

The events of October 17 to 19, 1945 in Stuttgart were intriguingly simple. There was standing room only in Bishop Wurm’s church in the bomb-damaged city when the German council, selected at the All-Protestant Church Conference in Treysa, held its initial meeting. Pastor Niemöller preached on his favorite topic: repentance. [43] This was strikingly out of key with the accent on thanksgiving one of his fellow Lutherans, the primate of Denmark, had given by setting aside a Sunday of thanksgiving in his country, claiming that “our hearts are filled with gratitude to God that the bloodiest war of mankind has ended.” [44]

According to the autobiography of one of the councilmen, Dr. Hans Lilje, later bishop of predominantly Lutheran city and province of Hannover, there was embracing, rejoicing and smiling as the eleven German Council members greeted the visitors, eight supposedly uninvited members of the PWCC. [45]

Sometime before the Council met, Visser't Hooft dined in a cafe with two ardent members of the Confessional Church, Niemöller and Hans Asmussen. They certainly knew in advance of the arrival of the delegation.. Niemöller, as has been noted, had already promised Barth “a snappy and clear” written statement of German guilt.

Asmussen needed no persuasion, since, according to Baumgärtel he had written the PWCC even before the war to suggest such a statement. [46] Instead of taking the Christian approach and indicating to Asmussen that such a statement was un-Christian, Visser't Hooft had come to enlist Asmussen in support of his own preconceived and prescribed un-Christian statement, since such a statement, confession or declaration would have to be based on “all have sinned.” It was Visser't Hooft’s duty to make this clear to Asmussen.

Undoubtedly, the three worked out their strategy to fulfill the PWCC’s wishes for a voluntary German statement in Visser't Hooft’s words, “clarifying the last 12 years of German history.” Visser't Hooft also spoke of “a specific repentance.” Whether at the cafe meeting or elsewhere, Visser't Hooft showed his “trump card.” It was this “trump card” that imposed the decisive pressure on those Council members who still hesitated. The card, or “soft pressure,” was this: the idea was sown that North American churches were having considerable difficulties in raising money for the desperately needy yet unrepentant Germans. Therefore, if a written statement of German repentance could be shown these unwilling congregations, then fundraising endeavors would be substantially easier. [47]

The autobiographies of Lilje and Friedrich Karl Otto Dibelius, two German council members, and the biography of the Englishman churchman George Bell, who was part of the visiting delegation, make clear that this implied, yet real, pressure for a German specific word of repentance, tailored by Germans for Germans, left the German churchman little choice. This is understandable if one puts oneself in their place. The Germans were only eleven (one of the twelve named at Treysa was absent). Theirs was a provisional council, as was the PWCC. Stateless, since there was no German government, they had no civil rights. The PWCC laid on them the burden of either formulating and signing the preconceived “short and snappy” statement of mandatory penance for Hitler, or of bearing the responsibility for additional unnecessary suffering brought about by the unwillingness of congregations in North America to give to the unrepentant Germans. It was late in October. Winter approached as millions of Germans were being uprooted from their ancestral homes in the east, and were flocking into Germany’s countryside and bombed-out cities, some of them as much as ninety per cent destroyed. Incidents of German women-girls, mothers and grandmothers-raped to death in the East were commonplace.

Such was the pressure behind the Declaration. It was tantamount to persuasion by force. Even had this not been so, what right did eight lonely delegates have to declare Germans guilty simply for being Germans?

Dibelius wrote that he had personally drafted the Declaration Here again there are grounds for question, for Niemöller was present when he did so, and Niemöller corrected Dibelius at times. Dibelius speaks of the “Niemöller text.”

To end all speculation on this matter one need only look at the words of Dibelius, who was from Berlin and had seen firsthand the “accumulated” suffering in the East. In Dibelius' words, “It was

not easy, after experiencing the terrible things we have witnessed in the East, not to say a word about them and *confine ourselves to the guilt of the Germans*.” [Emphasis added]. [48] Clearly the juxtaposition of “it was not easy” and “confine ourselves [note the plural] to the guilt of the Germans” unlocks the inner convictions. This was a clerical euphemism for saying it was forced!

The autobiography of Hans Lilje reveals the same perspective. That this was at the time deliberately concealed from at least one delegate, Bishop Bell, is shown by his biography, because there we find that the document “did not reach its final form without some heart-searching, as Dr. Di-belius *subsequently* [emphasis added] revealed in his autobiography.” There are strong indications that Bishop Bell was left in the dark regarding the “hidden” pressure behind the Declaration, for how else can one interpret his absence at the pre-Stuttgart meeting of the PWCC delegation on October 15 in Baden-Baden, Germany? How else should one interpret his words to the effect that, at one point in one of the meetings in Stuttgart, “... Niemöller handed around copies of a typewritten document which became famous as the Stuttgart Declaration of October 1945”? [49] Clearly this surprised him. If so, then one can even say that Visser't Hooft and his allies took advantage of the gullibility of an Anglican bishop. This should hardly surprise us, since Visser't Hooft went so far as to say bluntly that the bishop of Hannover, Marahrens, had to “disappear.”

By its willingness to threaten implicitly a continuation of the wartime food blockade, the PWCC, and its guiding lights Barth and Visser't Hooft, perpetrated an organizational and theological imperialism, displaying an un-Christian holy-war mentality. Through the coup at Stuttgart, theological giants such as Althaus, Hirsch, and Elert were suddenly relegated to the backwaters of German Protestant theology, the mainstream of which was now a vehicle for a preconceived, unhistorical condemnation.

A Christian is entitled to wonder as well why the PWCC administered no absolution. After all, if there existed a specific German guilt, logically, once the German “confession” had been accepted, there should have followed a specific German absolution. In the Church, there is no other purpose for confession than to gain absolution.

The engineers of the Stuttgart Declaration of German Guilt had taken it upon themselves to be the judges of the entire German people, and had avidly accepted the Declaration of German Guilt. Perhaps, in their failure to grant a collective absolution, they sensed, in their heart of hearts, the absence at Stuttgart of the One they had proclaimed at Barmen to be the sole Head of the Church, Jesus Christ.

VI: Additional Reflections

Who can deny that tying material aid to spiritual aims is contrary to Christianity and that which churchmen represent? In Christianity one is commanded to “feed one’s enemies.” Even then, after May 1945 the German people were former enemies. Accordingly, such organizations as the Red Cross, and not the Provisional World Council of Churches (PWCC), with its willingness to cooperate unilaterally with Allied political and military policy, had kept this Christian command. Had the Stuttgart affair been really a Christian endeavor, then the PWCC would have avoided any semblance of combining material aid with spiritual fellowship. Even their thinking, in terms of restoration or reconciliation, was not Christian, for Christians always hold the “fellowship of all believers” in the universal confession known as the Apostle’s Creed cannot be broken by political and other secular events.

It is unlikely that a Lutheran such as the Swede Folke Bernadotte would have tolerated any connection of material aid to public repentance. For what else could he have meant when he wrote,

just before his tragic murder in Jerusalem in 1948, in his *Instead of Arms*, “Judge not lest ye be judged.” Bernadette claimed he could think of no more beautiful words in the Bible than these, which are on the opening page of his book. [50]

Later writers, both ecclesiastical and secular, would claim that the Declaration of Stuttgart had been misunderstood, that it was only a religious declaration.. But it is clear that what Barth, Visser't Hooft, the PWCC, and the victorious Allies desired from Stuttgart were headlines in the religious and secular press declaring that German churchmen had “repented.” These would bolster the Allied propaganda that the Second World War had indeed been a “holy war.” Furthermore, a German proclamation of guilt supplied justification for Allied policies: for the withholding from the Germans of the rights proclaimed in the “Atlantic Charter,” for the unconditional surrender, for the harsh provisions of the Morgenthau Plan, for the denazification tribunals, for the continued imprisonment of millions of German “prisoners of war,” for the expulsions, for the Nuremberg trials, and all the other punitive measures of the victors. The eleven signatures on the Declaration of Stuttgart would serve the PWCC in its plans for dominating the German Protestants. The eleven names would show the Germans who, in the PWCC’s terms, were the preferred “fellows” in the Fellowship of believers.” Here were modern, up-to-date disciples, the Bonifaces to re-Christianize a Hitlerized, paganized Germany, here were the true churchmen who had not bent their knees to the latterday Baal! For Lutherans, the Barmen Confession of 1934 was now, through the mandate of Barth, Visser't Hooft, and Niemöller, the guide by which the traditional Lutheran confessional writings were to be interpreted.

The ecclesiasticism manifested at Stuttgart transformed the German Protestant Church from an indivisible, invisible (in the sense that spiritually it defies a clear-cut, organizational identity) object of faith into a church clearly visible to humans. As one observer put it, “the marks of the church are no longer faithfulness to the Word and Sacraments, but now include opposition to National Socialism as practiced by Hitler, especially that associated with his programs toward the Jews. [51] While alive, Hitler had awesome power, but now the dead Hitler could even determine who belonged to the Christian Church. Pontius Pilate has been eternalized in the Apostle’s Creed, while the Austrian Hitler, the “Modern Pharaoh” had been eternalized, by implication, in the Barmen Confession of 1934, now obligatory for ordination in some German churches. [52]

The medieval Englishmen Wycliffe spoke of the “poor church” as the genuine Christian Church. Strikingly, the new German Evangelists after World War II have hardly walked in poverty. The new Gospel brought with it high administrative positions in the German Protestant churches, the Lutheran World Federation, and the World Council of Churches, with good salaries and pensions paid for by church taxation in West Germany. All this has kept these churchmen theocratically independent from the wishes of the German people in the *Volkskirche*. For the heirs to the signers of the Declaration of Stuttgart, there are good and profitable reasons for the continued acceptance of what President Reagan said was “imposed” and “unnecessary” German guilt. Mindful of this, German Protestant church leaders renew the Stuttgart Declaration through ceaseless commemorations and anniversaries.

President Reagan called the German guilt “unnecessary.” If a collective German guilt is unnecessary today, then it was unnecessary in 1945, a year in which Germany was battered to its knees and then dismembered by an overwhelming coalition of forces which included the world’s mightiest and most oppressive empires. Forgotten by the victors, and those Germans who rejoice in self-flagellation, is the fact that under Hitler, Germany was attempting chiefly to free itself from the shackles of the onerous peace of Versailles, another imposition brought about through a hunger blockade, and to combat the twin evils of economic depression and Communist chaos.

The West German Revisionist historian Helmut Diwald rightfully termed the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt “most demeaning.” [53] Its ramifications for Revisionists have been and still are of considerable importance. The Stuttgart Declaration and other such pronouncements have served to create an uncritical religious and academic climate, thereby rendering inaccessible the most important source of reconciliation, the relativizing and humanizing perspective of impartial historical study.

Fortunately, the endeavors of the world-wide Revisionist movement, characterized by sound research and an unbiased outlook, are redressing the wrongs of the postwar era. Let the Revisionists' work serve as a touchstone to Establishment historians, both ecclesiastical and secular. The Revisionists, through their writings, are working hard to restore a real sense of fellowship, one dependent neither on false accusations nor on imposed guilt, a fellowship in which Christians and non-Christians alike can be joined by a concern for justice and for truth.

Notes

1. ☪ ” ... they have a feeling and a guilt feeling that's been imposed upon them. And I just think it's unnecessary.” The president's words, spoken at a press conference on March 21, 1985, are quoted in *Bitburg and Beyond*, edited by Ilya Levkov (Shapolsky, New York, 1987).
2. ☪ Walter Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*, translation of *Ist Nur der Besiegte Schuldig?*, Herbig, 1983. The English was printed in the *Christian News*, New Haven, MO, in four parts in September 1985. The English is an authorized translation, based on additional discussions with Dr. Bodenstein, who reads English. Thus, the English is not exactly as the German.
3. ☪ In 1937 Niemöller was arrested and imprisoned for eight months at Moabit Prison in Berlin. The following year he was tried and found guilty of subversive acts against the state, and was fined two thousand marks and sentenced to seven months fortress arrest. Following his release he was rearrested and spent the years 1939 to 1945 at Sachsenhausen and Dachau. Shortly after his liberation from Dachau, he caused some consternation when he said, during an interview in Naples on June 5, 1945: “I was not ill-treated. I saw isolated acts of brutality, but I took them to be isolated.” [Editor's note.]
4. ☪ The Lutheran Encyclopedia, edited by J.B. Bodensieck, Augsburg, 1965, p. 2019.
5. ☪ David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden*, Viking, 1978.
6. ☪ Ronald C.D. Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1967, p.266. Compare also Jan-Albert Goris, *Belgium in Bondage*, L.B. Fischer, 1943, p. 217: “The Belgian government [in exile in London] has been trying for more than three years to obtain the organization of the Allies to send at least milk and vitamins to Belgium, without success. Only some medical supplies were sent.” That medical supplies were actually sent shows that sending them was possible.
7. ☪ The *Congressional Record* account is reproduced in my article in the *Christian News*, New Haven, MO, entitled “FDR Tragically Spurned His Humanitarian Impulse,” in the April 20, 1987 issue.
8. ☪ Friedrich Baumgärtel, *Wider die Kirchenkampfllegenden* [Against Legends of the Church Struggle of the Hitler period], Freimund Verlag, Neuendettelsau, West Germany. Baumgärtel was a professor in 1933. This booklet should be made available to English readers. On p.3 he writes: “It is exactly the year 1933 which is washed away by many, who did not conscientiously experience it ... it is described as though there were clear-cut issues, which there simply weren't”

9. ☑ Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*
10. ☑ The expression “after a virtual two year civil war” is from the college textbook, *New Governments in Europe*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1935, p. 155.
11. ☑ Stewart Herman, Jr., *The Rebirth of the German Church*, with an introduction by Martin Niemöller, S.C.M. Press, London, 1946.
12. ☑ Paul Althaus, *Die Christliche Wahrheit* [The Christian Truth], C. Bertelsman, Gütersloh, 1952, p. 227-8.
13. ☑ Althaus, *Die Christliche Wahrheit*, p. 60.
14. ☑ Regarding his arrest in 1937, Niemöller admitted to an American chaplain in 1945, “My underground activities were discovered and I was arrested and sent to the concentration camp.” *Lutheran Standard*. Wartburg Press, Sept. 26, 1946.
15. ☑ Compare Diether Goetz Lichdi, *Mennoniten im Dritten Reich* [Mennonites in the Third Reich], Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1977 (p. 85), in which it is claimed that between 1937-45, 18 Protestant pastors became martyrs. This includes Dietrich Bonhöffer, who actually plotted against the government, something Niemöller claimed he would not have done personally, although he respected Bonhöffer for his actions. Compare Dietmar Schmidt, *Martin Niemöller*, Doubleday, 1959, p. 176.
 Lichdi (p. 85) claimed that after 1935, the regime lost interest in the German Protestant Church and strangled it through financial and administrative means. This seems contradictory. How can one claim the government lost interest and then speak of strangulation? In general, I agree with the Scot A P. Laurie, *The Case for Germany*, Intern. Verlag, Berlin, 1939 (p. 110): “The Government has not the remotest desire or intention to interfere with the religious teaching and faith of the Church” Without mentioning Niemöller, he wrote: “A section [of the Church] refuses to administer the simple regulations of the government and attacks it violently from the pulpit and obtains much satisfaction from a quite unnecessary martyrdom when fined or sent to a concentration camp.”
 David Irving in his *Warpath*, Viking Press, 1978 (pp.220-1), gives Hitler’s assessment Hitler said to Himmler in January 1939, “ ... that the pastor’s [Niemöller’s] whole opposition now emanated only from his not getting the promotion that he had hoped for after the Nazis came to power. After that he began agitating against the state.”
 Compare Philip Gibbs, *Across the Frontier*, Doubleday, 1938 (p.194). Gibbs says that in 1938 there were 12 Protestant pastors still in prison and not one priest, although he does claim that at one time there were hundreds. Gibbs does not give the source for this information.
 On page 209, Gibbs writes: “Let us at least keep our sense of proportion in judgments. The very people who are stirred to passionate anger because a few Protestant pastors are arrested and imprisoned in Germany utterly ignore the wholesale murders of priests and the anti-God campaign in Russia. Their hearts bleed wide compassion for Pastor Niemöller, but are curiously unmoved by the slaughter of thousands of priests in Spain and the outrages against nuns. They are shocked at the treatment of Jews in Germany but they are coldly indifferent to the death and starvation of more than two million peasants in the Ukraine because they dared to resist the orders of Stalin and his officers. Is there not here in this continued nagging at Germany by the Left Wing critics a ghastly hypocrisy because they turn a blind eye to the outrageous crimes committed by those with whom they are in political sympathy?”
16. ☑ Herman, *The Rebirth of the New German Church*, pp. 20,32; Gibbs, *Across the Border*, p.199.
17. ☑ Die Lutherischen Kirchen und die Bekenntnissynode von Barmen, [The Lutheran Churches and the Confessional Synod of Barmen], Vandenhöck and Ruprecht, 1984. This

book is a collection of papers presented at a conference commemorating Barmen 1934, and is dedicated to Martin Niemöller. See especially pp. 98 ff.

18. [↗](#) Compare *Daily Press*, London, March 24, 1933, with its front page headlines, “Judea Declares War on Germany,” and subtitles, “Boycott of German Goods,” and “Mass Demonstrations.”
Compare also: Stephen Wise, *Challenging Years: The Autobiography of Stephen Wise*, C.P. Putnam, 1949 (p.246): “On March 27 [1933] the American Jewish Congress mobilized the first broad resistance movement to Hitlerism at a mass meeting held in Madison Square Garden, New York.” The German boycott, in fact, defused a very dangerous potential of a national pogrom in Germany, which, as the rabbi pointed out, never materialized. Hitler’s orders were that any form of violence against a Jew would mean an automatic removal from the National Socialist party. The main purpose of the German boycott was to mark Jewish stores, in order to make Germans aware of the extent of Jewish holdings.
19. [↗](#) Armin Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene* [Church Struggle and Oecumene], 1939-45, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1973, p.188. Compare also, W.W. Van Kirk, *Religion and the World of Tomorrow*, Willet Clark & Co.1941 (p. 140): “American Christians are divided with respect to the war. On one thing they, however, are agreed. This is not a 'holy war.' This is not a war in which the wrong is all on one side and all the right on the other side.”
The relationship between crusaders and criminals is brought out in a famous statment of R.H. Tawney: “Either war is a crusade, or it is a crime. There is no halfway house.” This seems to explain the determination of some Americans to stage dramatic postwar “war crimes” trials. The words “war crimes” already puts this on the crusading wavelength.
20. [↗](#) Lutheran Partners (official Lutheran Church magazine), “A Forgotten Anniversary: Stuttgart” May/June, 1985 issue, Philadelphia Article by Stewart W. Herman, Jr.
21. [↗](#) Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 263. This transition to a national accumulation of guilt is revealing. When the crusading spirit predominates, then all the enemy has done is tagged as criminal.
22. [↗](#) Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 300.
23. [↗](#) Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 20. The tenor at Treysa is dramatically revealed in a speech made by Niemöller, found in Baumgärtel’s *Wider die Kirchenkampflegeren*, p. 43. “We have rid ourselves of quite a few (*viele*) of the church leaders, who are not suitable to be leaders of the Church ... If we were to retain them, we would thereby make the Church from the beginning once again unworthy of belief and bring about a new guilt.” This is from a Niemöller who on October 13, 1933, in the name of 2,500 pastors, sent a telegram to Hitler, pledging faithfully to follow him (*Gefolgschaft*) and promising him intercessory prayers. On p. 4, Baumgärtel writes about Niemöller’s volunteering in 1939 for the German armed forces (some even claim the SS). Bodenstein, in writing about some of this, remarks: What a short memory Niemöller had.”
24. [↗](#) Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 269. At Treysa some termed Niemöller “the dictator.”
25. [↗](#) Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, pp. 20 ff.
26. [↗](#) Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, pp. 275 ff.
27. [↗](#) W. W. Van Kirk, *A Christian Global Strategy*, Willet, Clark & Co., 1945, p. 133. Compare his *Religion and the World Today, 1941*. Van Kirk wrote: “Who killed the German democracy? Not Hitler. Not Goring. Not Goebbels. Not Himmler. Not the Nazi Party. The statesmen and the people of the victor’s powers killed the German democracy, and their guilt will be recorded in the histories of those terrible years”) (p.166). “Along with other nations the U.S. must accept the full responsibility for Hitler” (p. 116). “Certain it is that the Germans were never forgiven in 1918.”

Generally speaking, most Germans would be amazed at the exonerating material found in publications of this period. The difference was that these people had experienced the post World War I period.

28. ☞ Jasper, *George Bell*, p. 292.
29. ☞ The Lutheran Standard, Oct.13, 1945, p.12.
30. ☞ Richard W. Solberg, *As Between Brothers*, Augsburg, 1957.
31. ☞ The Lutheran Standard, August 25,1945.
32. ☞ Bodenstein, *Is Only the Victor Guilty?* [Hooft and Barth were active in lending their prestige to and disseminating the fabrications of Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler, among others, regarding gassing of Jews at Auschwitz. According to Rudolph L. Braham “The credence of the material (the so-called “Auschwitz Protocols” — ed) was enhanced through its distribution under a cover later dated July 4, 1944, over the signatures of Professor D. Karl Barth of Basel, Professor D. Emil Brunner of Zurich, Dr. Visser't Hooft of Geneva, and Pastor Vogt of Zurich” [*The Holocaust as Historical Experience*, edited by Yehuda Bauer and Nathan Rotenstreich Holmes and Meier, New York, 1981, p.120) -Editor’s note]
33. ☞ Schmidt, *Martin Niemöller*, p. 144.
34. ☞ David Irving’s *Der Morgenthau Plan, 1944/45*, Facsimile-Verlag Wieland Soyka, Bremen, 1986, is a valuable historical contribution, which includes many copies of official documents in English On p. 271, Morgenthau writes: “The German people must bear the consequences of their acts.”
35. ☞ Fritz Wartenweil, *Max Huber*, Rotapfel Verlag, Zurich, 1953, pp.242 ff. See also Marcel Junod, *Warriors Without Weapons*, MacMillan, 1951, p. 1.
36. ☞ International Committee of the Red Cross, *The Work of the ICRC for Civilian Detainees in the German Concentration Camps (1939-1945)*, Geneva, 1975, p.24.
37. ☞ Solberg, *As Between Brothers*, p. 57.
38. ☞ Sumner Welles, *Where Are We Heading?*, Harper, 1946, p.85.
39. ☞ The Lutheran Standard, August 4,1945, p.15.
40. ☞ Adolf Keller, *Christian Europe Today*, Harper, p. 192.
41. ☞ Boyens, *Kirchenkampf und Oekumene*, p. 236; *The Lutheran Standard*, Oct.13,1945.
42. ☞ The Lutheran Standard, August 25,1945.
43. ☞ Schmidt, *Martin Niemöller*, p. 37.
44. ☞ The Lutheran Standard, Sept 15,1945.
45. ☞ Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*
46. ☞ Besides Bodenstein, Baumgärtel also mentions this cafe meeting in a footnote to *Wider die Kirchenkampfllegenden* (page 75). He also mentions that it seems Asmussen mentioned such a German statement before the end of the war, supposedly in a letter to the ecumenical leaders. This does not contradict the thesis that the declaration was imposed, since an important element in this is the threat to use material aid as the persuader. Asmussen could only make a confession for himself and not for others. If the ecumenical leaders responded to his letter, they had a Christian obligation to point out that the blame is shared and not unilateral. Later Asmussen tried to defend the indefensible by speaking of the Protestant priesthood making the confession for the people, a theological monstrosity.
47. ☞ Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*
48. ☞ Jasper, *George Bell*, p.295.
49. ☞ Jasper, *George Bell*, p.294.
50. ☞ Folke Bernadotte, *Instead of Arms*, Hodder and Stroughton,1949, p. 1.

51. ☞ In this connection there is a remarkable claim made by A P. Laurie, *The Case for Germany* (p. 110): “The hatred of the Jews on the continent is not confined to Germany. The anti-Jewish pogroms that have taken place in Poland were so dreadful that the Polish government did not allow any news of them to leave the country, and there can be no doubt that Hitler, by bringing the whole matter under law and regulation, saved the Jews from massacre.”
52. ☞ The term “modern Pharoah” is found in Gibbs, *Across the Frontier*.
53. ☞ Quoted in Bodenstein, *Is Only the Loser Guilty?*

An Update on the Dead Sea Scrolls

MARTIN A. LARSON

- *Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference.*

I was reared in a highly fundamentalist religious denomination; and although I had various early doubts concerning its dogmas and practices and rejected them when I was about twenty years old, I never lost an intense interest in religion as a social phenomenon or in its influence upon mankind. I remember one philosopher who said that men create their gods in their own image; and certain it is that human beings in almost all times have believed in a great variety of supernatural beings; and one scholar declared that the greatest miracle of all is the capacity of mankind to believe in things for which there is no actual evidence.

When I was doing my research for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Michigan, I became engrossed in Milton, especially his religious concepts; and I discovered that he was far from orthodox in these as well as in his political convictions. In fact, I found that he had embraced various heresies for which, under Puritan law, he could have been sent to prison or even executed. And this was especially true because he rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, which is a central dogma in both the Catholic Church and in the Protestant Reformation.

This set me off on a search for the sources of his beliefs; and I found that Michael Servetus, burned at the stake by Calvin in 1553, may have been the heretic who inspired Milton to reject this basic dogma.

However, when I was no longer a teacher but had to make my living in the business world, I had no time for research; and had to put this off until 1950, when I had both leisure and financial independence; then I plunged into new research in the religious area.

I soon conceived an intense interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which had been found in 1947; and together with this, I sought to discover the ultimate as well as the immediate sources of the Christian gospel, as set forth in the New Testament. I therefore began research which involved the reading and examination of hundreds of esoteric volumes and the editing of a large book, entitled *The Religion of the Occident*, published in 1959, which has since been reprinted at least five times and is now entitled *The Story of Christian Origins*.

As my interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls intensified, I prepared another volume dealing largely with this subject and entitled *The Essene-Christian Faith*.

A few years ago, I gave a talk at IHR's Third International Revisionist Historical Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, in which I emphasized two points:

1. that there is a definite relationship between the Essene cult and the teachings found in the New Testament gospels, especially that of Luke; and

2. that both the Jewish authorities and the present Christian denominations seem determined to negate and deny any such relationship, and if possible, to prevent the publication of the Scrolls.

In 1947, two Bedouins stumbled into a cave near the Dead Sea and found there several scrolls, which were sold to some people in New York and published without delay. These furnished very strong evidence to support the belief that Jesus may himself have been an Essene before he appeared at the Jordan to be baptized by John, and that the New Testament Gospels contain many ideas and teachings very similar to those of the Essenes. After this first discovery, several well-financed expeditions were sent into the area to explore any other caves that might be found; several caves were discovered, containing rich treasures of Essene material; and Millar Burrows, the leading scholar in the field, stated that original Essene scriptures sufficient to fill two large volumes had been recovered.

It is indeed interesting to note that more than a hundred years before the discovery of the Scrolls, a famous English author, Thomas De Quincey, had written a long essay called "The Essenes," in which he maintained that there never had been such a separate community, but that the people described by Josephus, Philo Judaeus, and Pliny were simply Christians gone underground as a result of persecution. Even on the basis of the slight evidence available in 1830, this renowned scholar arrived at this momentous conclusion.

I wish to point out the fact that having any scrolls at all was simply an accident of history. The Bedouins who happened upon them had no interest in them except to obtain some money; and those who bought them had the same objective. As a result, these first Scrolls saw the light without any delay whatever.

Then, however, a completely different process began. The expeditions undertaken by religious groups, which recovered much additional treasure, placed this material in a Jordanian museum in Jerusalem. There it remained until 1967, when the Jewish government seized the area, the museum, and the Scrolls in the war which occurred that year. Since then, virtually no one has been permitted access to any Essene material, although the Isaiah Scroll, found in one of the caves, has long been on public display.

We should note that even while the museum was under Jordanian control, strict secrecy was maintained. I know that, for when I wrote the curator asking permission to photograph certain pieces of parchment from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the reply was that should I journey there *I would not be allowed even to look at them!*

Nearly forty years have now elapsed since great quantities of original Essene material were found, much of which would undoubtedly have a definite bearing on the origins of Christianity. Many years ago, eight scholars were appointed to study, collate, arrange, publish and translate the Scrolls. However, all of them, except one, had religious commitments or obligations; only John Marco Allegro was free of such limitations; he was assigned the difficult task of unraveling the Copper Treasure Scroll, which he did promptly and expertly; he also translated and published a few fragments from the Scrolls which are most interesting.. The others, of whom four were Roman Catholics and three Protestants, simply malingered on the job; and to this day, while the Scrolls may be disintegrating with age and exposure, virtually nothing of the task imposed upon these men has been accomplished.

I consider this failure perhaps the greatest and most contemptible cover-up that has ever occurred in the religious field. And we should note that while those in control see to it that the Scrolls are

not published, they deny vehemently that there is any attempt to delay or prevent their publication.

At this point, I want to say a few words about the importance of religion. In my experience, I found that bigots in this area are more intolerant of others and more certain that they and they alone possess the truth — even though they actually know nothing — than is the case in any other realm of belief. There is nothing which creates more antagonism than an opinion or a fact which is at variance with their persuasions. For this reason, I try to avoid religious controversy. I usually withhold my personal opinions or beliefs and try to limit any discussion, if any, to unquestionable facts — such as those pertaining to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Since it is a fact that one of the greatest cover-ups in history relates to the suppression of these documents, it is certainly pertinent to ask why this has occurred. What powerful interests wish to suppress their contents? As far as I am concerned, the answer is not far to seek; both the Israelis and the Christian denominations wish to ignore the content of the Scrolls and see them into oblivion for reasons which seem obvious enough to me.

And we should note that religion is perhaps the most powerful influence that exists on earth. Although there are several major faiths and although Christianity itself is divided into hundreds of sects and denominations, one of them alone, the Roman Catholic Church, is considered by some scholars as powerful an economic and political force in the Western world as either the United States or the Soviet Union. Although all Christian divisions agree on certain matters, they differ sharply on various others.

Why, then, do Christian organizations desire the oblivion of the Scrolls? The reason is that they have always held that their creed was a single, unique, miraculous, and supreme revelation without predecessor or outside contributor. But the fact is that nothing could be further from the truth; Christianity is a composite of doctrines, teachings, and ideologies which have forerunners in previous religions, with a proximate source in the Essene cult. If these facts were widely known, the authority of the Church or the churches would be drastically reduced. For this reason the reigning churches are determined to show that there is little or no similarity between Essenism and original Christianity. Or they prefer simply to ignore the whole thing as if it did not exist. It would be virtually impossible to do this if all the Scrolls were published.

We know also from the Scrolls as well as from many passages in the New Testament that both the Essenes and Jesus were bitterly opposed to the Jewish authorities, especially the religious. There can be little doubt that the Scrolls now crumbling into dust include many passages in which the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Scribes are excoriated in the most bitter terms and that the tyranny exercised by them over the dissident Essenes is described in full detail. We know that about 104 B.C. the Essenes became a secret cult, went underground as it were, and forbade its members to discuss any of its beliefs with outsiders. We know also that about 70 B.C. the Teacher of Righteousness, the Essene leader, appeared in the temple in Jerusalem, where he denounced the authorities, and that, as a result, he was executed, probably by crucifixion; and that his followers thereafter declared that he had risen from the grave on the third day, ascended to heaven, and would send a great messiah before the end of the generation to conduct the Last Judgment and inaugurate the Kingdom of the Saints on earth.

In addition, I think we would be correct in concluding or assuming that the Jews prefer not to believe that Christianity sprang from an obscure and secret cult existing practically underground among their own people.

I can assure you that I am not the only one who believes that there is a general conspiracy to conceal the content of the remaining Scrolls and, if possible, to hasten their destruction. One of these is the same John Allegro, mentioned earlier, who lost his position as a professor in an English university because of what he said, and who was denied all future access to the Scrolls after he declared that a predecessor of Jesus may also have been crucified about a century before. In an article entitled “The Scandal of the Unpublished Scrolls,” published on May 18, 1987, in *The Daily Telegraph* of London, England, he states that the Scrolls:

Pose questions too hot for the scholars' liking. He considers the delays in publication pathetic and inexcusable... for years, his colleagues have been sitting on the material, which is not only of outstanding importance, but also quite the most religiously sensitive.

Mr. Allegro has no doubt that the evidence from the Scrolls undermines the uniqueness of Christianity as a sect “In fact,” he declares, “we know all about the origins of Christianity”; however,

... these documents lift the curtain. But the members of the international team are all ecclesiastically connected in some way and I think they are quite glad to sit on the stuff ... that has been the trouble with the Scrolls; they impinge so much on Judaism and on Christianity ... they became a political football when the Israelis marched in and seized Jerusalem from the Jordanians in the War of 1967.

“They are,” he continues,

... now in Israeli custody and are still so far as I am aware, locked up in cabinets in the basements of the museum in Jerusalem, where one bomb could destroy them at any time.

Some thirty years ago, it was made clear that all the members of the team appointed to work on the Scrolls would soon make the documents assigned to them available for publication in learned journals and by the Oxford University Press; however, Allegro was the only member of the team who fulfilled this duty.

The only solution for the problem, he declares, “is the formation at once of an international, interdenominational and ecumenical committee to complete the study and decide how best to make the contents of the Scrolls available to the public.” He might, I think have added that such a committee should consist largely of dedicated scholars who are without specific commitments or obligations to religious organizations.

Will this happen? I very much doubt it. I am afraid that the cover-up will continue until the Scrolls have withered into dust — forever lost. The seekers for truth will probably have to be satisfied with what we already have; but even that, I assure you, is ample to establish the fact that there is a close relationship between the Essene cult and original Christianity.

Review

Shoah

- SHOAH. Directed by Claude Lanzmann. Produced by Les Films Aleph, Historia Films with the French Ministry of Culture. Cinematographers: Dominique Chapuls, Jimmy Glasberg, William Lubehansky. Editors: Ziva Postec, Anna Ruiz. Running time: Part I, 4 hours, 33 minutes. Part II, 4 hours, 50 minutes.

Reviewed by Robert Faurisson

Shoah is a Hebrew word which means catastrophe. It has become a synonym for extermination, or genocide, or Holocaust. It serves as the title of a seemingly endless film by Claude Lanzmann. Marek Edelman, a leader of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising, described the film as “boring,” “not very interesting,” and “a failure” (*Le Monde*, November 2, 1985, p. 3). In spite of a general mobilization by the media on its behalf, the French, “including the French Jewish community as a whole,” haven’t cared very much for this imposition. In desperation, the secretary general for the French Judaism Foundation Prize, which was awarded to *Shoah*, declared: “I will end with an exhortation, a plea. Go to see this film, ask those around you to go see it.” (*Hamore*, June, 1986, p. 37). [French President] Francois Mitterrand and Pope John Paul II approved of the film, as have many other prominent world figures. But nothing has worked. For a long time the television networks resisted, but now they are giving in. The gigantic turkey will be shown. Length almost nine and a half hours. Lanzmann wants to convince us that there were homicidal gas chambers and that the Jews really were exterminated. But what this film shows above all is that there are neither proof nor witnesses and that, as the Revisionists demonstrate, those alleged gas chambers and the extermination story are one and the same myth. Anyway, were it a question of truth, the “Exterminationists” would be eager to prove it to us with a special broadcast showing documents on all the television networks one fine evening in prime time, and not with *Shoah*. The truth is that Hitler treated the Jews as his declared enemies, that he wanted to drive them out of Europe, and that he put many of them in labor and concentration camps. Some of the camps had crematoria for burning bodies. None of them had a homicidal gas chamber. The existence of the alleged gas slaughterhouses is impossible for physical, chemical, topographical, architectural, and documentary reasons. The fate of the Jews was atrocious, but not unusually so. Consider the fate of the German children killed or wounded by phosphorous bombs or of those slaughtered at the time of their “transfer” from East to West between 1945 and 1947!

No Order, No Plan, No Budget

Lanzmann knew very well the weakness of the Exterminationist thesis and the strength of Revisionist arguments. Supposedly, there was a gigantic extermination program for which no one can find any trace of an order, a plan or a budget! And the weapon allegedly used to carry out the crime has simply disappeared! Even *Le Nouvel-Observateur* (26 April 1983, p. 33) ended up repeating for the general public the acknowledgement by specialists: “There is no photograph of a gas chamber.” This means that the “gas chambers” which are still shown to tourists at Struthof

(Alsace), Mauthausen, Hartheim, Dachau, Majdanek and Auschwitz are really only phony mock-ups. Lanzmann participated in the famous colloquium held at the Sorbonne (29 June to 2 July 1982) at which its two organizers, Raymond Aron and François Furet, were suddenly confronted with that cruel truth. The awareness that he lacked any proof or documentation reportedly strengthened Lanzmann's determination to respond to the Revisionists with an emotional film and some montages of "testimonies."

Making a Film Out of Nothing

Lanzmann filmed railway tracks, stones and countrysides *ad nauseam*. He accompanies these striking images with a clumsily lyrical commentary and with camera movements intended to "evoke" deportations and gassings. He himself commented in his maudlin way: "As a result of our filming the stones at Treblinka from all angles, they have finally spoken" (*Libération*, 25 April 1985, p. 22). He asserted, without proof, that the Nazis erased the traces of their gigantic crime. He declares: "it was necessary to make this film from nothing, without archival documents, to invent everything." (*Le Matin de Paris*, 29 April 1985, p. 12). Or again: "It is therefore a case of making a film with traces of traces of traces ... With nothing one comes back to nothing." (*L'Express*, 10 May 1985, p. 40). His loyal followers admire him most of all for that "Not a single archival image," exclaims J.F. Held (*L'Événement du jeudi*, 2 May 1985, p. 80). "This film is a fantastic repetition" (*L'Autre Journal*, May 1985, p. 48); "The strength of this film is not in showing what took place — in fact it refrains from doing that — but in showing the possibility of what took place" (André Glucksmann, *Le Droit de vivre* [The Right to Live], February-March 1986, p. 21). The director worked to make the filmgoer believe what he wanted him to believe. Imaginations asked only to be put to work and the result exceeded all expectations.. Proud of his art of persuasion, Lanzmann told America's leading newspaper: "There was one man who wrote to me after seeing the film saying it was the first time he had heard the cry of an infant inside the gas chamber. It was perhaps because his imagination had been put to work." (*New York Times*, 20 October 1985, Sect 2, p. H-1). In the main camp at Auschwitz, Lanzmann filmed the crematory where the tourists are shown, on the one hand, the crematory room and, on the other hand, an adjacent room called a gas chamber (in reality, a room for bodies awaiting cremation). But Lanzmann's camera remains in the first room; it does its pirouettes and its circlings so well that the sudden, ever-so-brief appearance of the so-called gas chamber, almost pitch dark, can only be noticed by a specialist. The unprepared viewer might believe that Lanzmann has clearly shown him a gas chamber. This is pure sleight of hand. Lanzmann can prove equally well that he did or did not show the "real" gas chamber. In a sense he did both.

Shoah begins with a lie of omission. In the list of those who made the film possible, especially financially, Lanzmann carefully avoids indicating his primary source of funding: the State of Israel. Menachem Begin himself began by arranging for \$850,000 for what he called a "project in the national Jewish interest." (*The Jewish Journal*, New York, 27 June 1986, p. 3, and the *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, June 20, 1986).

Lanzmann used physical and verbal tricks of all kinds to fool some of the people interviewed as well as the viewers of the film. In order to obtain German "witnesses," he invented a non-existent institute he called the "Centre de recherches et d'études pour l'histoire contemporaine." He also forged the letterhead of the "Académie de Paris" on his own stationery (Mrs. Ahrweiler, the Jewish chancellor of the Académie, is a friend of Lanzmann's). Lanzmann procured false identity papers, taking the name Claude-Marie Sorel and appropriating the title of "Doctor in History." He promised and he gave 3,000 deutschmarks to each of his German "witnesses," further assuring each before his interview that it would be sealed for thirty years ("Ce que je n'ai pas dit dans

Shoah,” *VSD*, interview by Jean-Pierre Chabrol, July 9, 1987, especially p. 11). Thus, these Germans “testified” for money.

Lanzmann’s number one “witness” is barber Abraham Bomba. In a scene “crying out with truth” we see Bomba working in his shop, where he imitates on a customer’s head the gestures that he supposedly used while cutting the hair of the victims “in the gas chamber at Treblinka.” Here again there is a bit of trickery. Bomba had been a barber in New York; he moved to Israel to retire, and there Lanzmann rented a shop and orchestrated the entire scene in cooperation with Bomba [Jean-Charles Szurek, *L’Autre Groupe*, 10, 1986, p. 65; *Times* (London), 2 March 1986; *L’Autre Journal*, May 1985, p. 47).

A Barber Shop in the Gas Chamber

Let’s deal in some detail with the “witnesses” in *Shoah*. We are not talking about “witnesses” in the legal sense of the term. None of the a “witnesses” was verified and examined. No “witness” was cross-examined. No “testimony” seems to have been reproduced in its complete form, and Lanzmann presented only nine and a half hours of the 350 hours of film that he shot. The “testimonies” are, furthermore, systematically cut and are given only in fragments, on the basis of images carefully chosen to condition the viewer. The testimony that is dearest to the promoters of *Shoah* is that of Abraham Bomba. Unfortunately, it teems with physical impossibilities and serious vagueness. Bomba wants us to believe that at Treblinka he worked in a room which was both a barber shop and a gas chamber! The room measured four meters by four meters. He said that narrow space contained 16 or 17 barbers and some benches; approximately 60 or 70 naked women entered along with an unknown number of children; it took about 8 minutes for that entire group to have its hair cut; no one left the room; then 70 or 80 more women entered, again with an unknown number of children; the hair cutting for that whole group lasted about 10 minutes. Therefore, those present by then numbered about 146 or 147 people, not counting the children, and other space was occupied by the benches — all this in a space of 16 square meters! This is all pure nonsense.

The barbers involved in this process worked non-stop. They sometimes left the room, but only for five minutes, which was just the amount of time needed to gas the victims, remove the bodies and clean up the room everything “was clean” then. They do not tell us what gas was used or how it was introduced into the room. And how did they go about getting rid of the gas after the operation was completed? Lanzmann does not ask questions like that The Germans would have needed a gas that acted with lightning speed, that would not stick to surfaces and would not remain on and in the bodies to be removed.

Bomba is a mythomaniac who was very likely inspired by page 212 of *Treblinka* by J.F. Steiner (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), a book denounced even by Pierre Vidal-Naquet as an incredible fabrication (*Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent*, Maspero, 1981, p.212), which was at least in part written by the novelist Gilles Perrault (*Le Journal du dimanche*, 30 March 1986, p. 5).

“Witness” Rudolf Vrba was an originator of the Auschwitz myth. He had been imprisoned at Birkenau in the best of conditions.. (For example, he had a room of his own.) He recounted so much nonsense about Auschwitz in April 1944 that at the Zündel trial in Toronto in January 1985 he suffered a humiliating experience. The prosecutor who had called for his testimony against a Revisionist suddenly refrained from questioning him any further, since it had become quite evident that Vrba was a shameless liar. He completely invented facts and figures. In particular, he said that he had personally counted 150,000 Jews from France who had been gassed during a pe-

riod of 24 months at Birkenau. However, Serge Klarsfeld, the Nazi-hunter, has shown that during the entire war period the Germans *deported* no more than about 75,721 Jews from France to all of the camps. Asked to explain about an alleged visit by Himmler to Auschwitz for the inauguration of new “gas chambers,” Vrba, whom his ghost writer, Alan Bestic, presented as taking a “immense trouble over every detail” with a “meticulous, almost fanatical respect for accuracy” (*I Cannot Forgive*, by Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestec, Bantam Books of Canada, 1964, p. 2), was obliged to confess that he had availed himself of what he called “poetic license.”

A Witness Saved by Some Naked Young Women

“Witness” Filip Müller is much the same. He is the author of *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979; the French edition has a preface by Claude Lanzmann). This sickening bestseller is the result of the work of a German ghostwriter, Helmut Freitag, who did not shrink from engaging in plagiarism. (See Carlo Mattogno, “Filip Müller’s Plagiarism,” reprinted in *Auschwitz: un caso di plagio*, Edizioni la Sfinge, Parma, 1986. Müller plagiarized from *Doctor at Auschwitz*, another bestseller, supposedly written by Miklos Nyiszli). In the film Müller says that up to 3,000 people could be gassed at the same time in the large gas chamber at Birkenau, and that at the moment of the gassing “nearly everyone rushed toward the doors and, finally, that “where the Zyklon had been thrown in it was empty.” He avoids saying that the room in question (which was, in fact, a *Leichenkeller* [corpse cellar]) was at most 210 square meters in size, which would have prevented any movement inside. He said that it took only three or four hours for the crowd of people to enter the disrobing room (with 3,000 coat hooks!?), undress, go into the gas chamber, be gassed there, be transported into the crematory room, and there be cremated and reduced to ashes. He does not reveal that there were only 15 ovens. If, let us suppose, it took one and a half hours to burn one corpse completely, it would have taken 12 days and 12 nights of uninterrupted operation to do what he described. And there were several groups of victims to be gassed and burned each and every day. In the film, Müller describes how victims sang the Czech national hymn and the Jewish hymn, the “Hatikva.” He is inspired here by an “eyewitness account” according to which the victims sang the Polish national hymn and the “Hatikva” until the two songs blended into ... the “Internationale” (a narrative reprinted by Ber Mark, *Des voix dans la nuit* [Voices in the Night], preface by Elie Wiesel, Plon, 1982, p. 247).

In the book (p. 113-114) but not in the film, Müller recounts how, after deciding to die in the gas chamber, he was dissuaded by a group of naked young women who forcibly dragged and pushed him out so they could die all alone: he would serve as a witness. On pages 46-47 he describes how Nazi doctors

felt the thighs and calves of men and women who were still alive and selected what they called the best pieces before the victims were executed. After their execution ... the doctors proceeded to cut pieces of still warm flesh from thighs and calves and threw them into waiting receptacles. The muscles of those who had been shot were still working and contracting, making the bucket jump about.

This is Filip Müller, Claude Lanzmann’s great “witness.”

Another “witness,” Jan Karski, talks with emphasis about the Warsaw Ghetto, but doesn’t say anything. It is unfortunate that Lanzmann did not let us hear about Karski’s supposed experience at the camp at Belzec, after which Karski claimed that Jews were killed there in railway cars with quicklime. Raul Hilberg would later say that “I would not mention him in a footnote” (“Recording the Holocaust,” *The Jerusalem Post International Edition*. June 28, 1986, p. 9)

“Witness” Raul Hilberg is much more interesting. Lanzmann has been criticized for devoting film time to this American professor, of Austrian-Jewish origin, who had no first-hand experience of the camps. Hilberg is the high priest of the Exterminationist view. He is the man who ended up by acknowledging that there was no order or plan or budget for the extermination of the Jews. He nevertheless believes desperately in such an extermination. His despair as an intellectual is particularly interesting. A careful viewer of the film can observe the extent to which Hilberg resorts to pure speculation to defend his theory. This is especially obvious when he talks about the German railways, which he says brought Jews from Warsaw to Treblinka in the most open and undisguised way. He recalls the precise hours of departure and arrival. And he concludes ... that this is how the Jews were sent to the gas chambers of Treblinka. At no point does he prove to us that Treblinka had such gas chambers.

“Witness” Franz Suchomel is a former sergeant at Treblinka. As long as he talks about things other than the so-called homicidal gassings he is relatively precise. When he gets to the subject of gas chambers he becomes vague. He does not make clear their locations, their size, or how they operated. Sometimes he talks about the “gas chamber” and sometimes about the “gas chambers” without Lanzmann asking him to explain that ambiguity. He does not even reveal what kind of gas it was. He talks about “motors.” The legend which has been accepted is that there was a Diesel engine there (Gerstein). But a Diesel engine is not appropriate for asphyxiating people. He never talks about having been present at a gassing. He says that on the day of his arrival “just at the moment when we were passing by, they were in the process of opening the doors of the gas chamber ... and the people fell out like sacks of potatoes.” Therefore, at most he saw some bodies. Nothing would have justified him in claiming that the place was a gas chamber. He had just arrived. At best he was reporting a guess. Besides, everything that he says implies that in this camp there were some Jews, some bodies, perhaps one or more funeral pyres and, probably, some showers and some disinfection gas chambers. He shows a portion of a plan but only very vaguely. What is this plan? He talks authoritatively about gassings at Auschwitz, where he never set foot. He talks with equal authority about the gassings at Treblinka, but never as an eyewitness. He is like those self-taught persons who show off the results of their reading on a given subject, but are confounded by a simple, direct and precise question. But Lanzmann never asks Suchomel that kind of question.

Since the myth of the gas chambers is in danger, Exterminationists have a tendency to fall back on the story of the “gas vans.” Claude Lanzmann often takes us for a ride on these too. It is perhaps on this subject that his “witnesses” are the most improbable and contradictory. In order to save the day for the Exterminationists, Lanzmann forces us to listen to the reading of a document (he, who did not want documents) about the “special Saurer vans.” There is only one problem: he has seriously distorted the text, trying in particular to remove its most obvious absurdities. Specialists will find the complete document in *NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas* [NS Mass Killings by Poison Gas], (S. Fischer, 1983), pp. 333-337.

Treblinka: Not Secret at All

The brave Polish peasants from the vicinity of Treblinka and the locomotive engineer all seem to have been especially dazzled by the wealth of the Jews who arrived on the trains. If they thought that — the Germans were going to kill the Jews, they believed that it would be done mainly by strangling or hanging them. Not one peasant nor the mechanic actually witnessed homicidal gassings. Now such gassings on such a scale could hardly have escaped their attention. There was nothing secret about Treblinka, located only 100 kilometers from Warsaw. Richard Glazar, questioned by Lanzmann, does not say in the film what he confided to historian Gitta Sereny Honeyman: all the Poles between Warsaw and Treblinka must have known the area. They, and

especially the peasants, went there to sell things to the Jews in the camp. Polish prostitutes catered to the Ukrainian guards. Treblinka was a real “circus” for the peasants and the prostitutes. (*Into That Darkness*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1974, p. 193). Lanzmann fears the Revisionists. He has said: “I often meet people who say *Shoah* is not objective because it does not show interviews with those who denied the Holocaust. But by trying to discuss that point, you will find yourself caught in a trap” (*Jewish Chronicle*, 6 February 1987, p. 8).

In fact, on those rare occasions when Revisionists have been able to draw Exterminationists into a discussion, the latter have not done well. But the general public understands less and less why Exterminationists refuse to discuss the issues on radio or television. If the Revisionists tell lies, why not refute them in public? Besides, are they telling lies? Wasn’t it Serge Klarsfeld himself who recognized that no one has yet *published* “real proofs” of the existence of the gas chambers but only beginnings of proofs” (*VSD*, 29 May 1986, p. 37)?

The last war with Germany ended on May 8, 1945. But some people apparently think that it is necessary to continue that war by continuing to spread the horrible inventions of war propaganda. They carry on the war by means of trials or through the media, which more and more increase their Holocaust drumbeating. It is time they stopped. They have already done too much. Peace and reconciliation demand a different kind of behavior. “*Shoah* business” is leading us all into a dead end. The younger generation of Jews has better things to do than to wrap themselves up in the absurd beliefs of the Holocaust religion. Their refusal to become interested in the film *Shoah* would be, if confirmed, a first sign of the younger generation’s rejection of the official mythology, at least about the Second World War and its results.

Review

Shoah

- SHOAH: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE HOLOCAUST. THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE FILM, by Claude Lanzmann. Preface by Simone de Beauvoir. Translated by A. Whitelaw and W. Byron. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985, xii + 200 pp. hb, \$11.95, ISBN 0-394-55142-7.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Since *Shoah* the movie rolled on for a seemingly interminable nine and a half hours, readers of *Shoah* the book may be pardoned for surprise on finding that this misbegotten offspring of the movie encompasses every word spoken, sneered, and sung in the original. There's a lot of white on these two hundred pages, too, together with seventeen uncaptioned stills, which convey a fair idea of the visual insipidity of *Shoah*.

In his introduction, filmmaker Claude Lanzmann speaks of "this naked and bloodless text," which he claims "a strange force seems to have filled ... through and through." Without speculating overmuch as to the nature of the strange force, a careful reader will quickly conclude that it wasn't concern for accuracy. The first line of the text proper (p. 3) places Chelmno on the Narew River rather than on the Ner, where it was actually located. This error is repeated throughout, even in the dialogue (p. 15) of alleged Chelmno "survivor" Simon Srebnik, who is supposed to have regularly paddled up the Ner to gather alfalfa for the SS rabbit hutch. The town of Chelm (German Cholm), near Sobibor, is identified as Chelmno (p. 39), a curious mistake in a book which views the fate of Polish Jewry as its central concern: the proverbial simplemindedness of the Jews of Chelm is a staple of Yiddish folklore.

Similarly, Kurt Gerstein's "Heckenholt," the alleged superintendant of gassing at Belzec, here puts in an appearance as "Hackenhold" (p. 62), while his commander, Odilo Globocnik, is referred to as "Globocznik," even when his name is in the mouth of the German state prosecutor at the Treblinka trial (p. 65). It almost goes without saying that Lanzmann follows many Exterminationist experts in referring to a non-existent *Aktion Reinhard* (p. 65), their name for the operation which bears its correct name, *Aktion Reinhardt*, in all but a couple of places in the documents relating to the operation translated in *The Trial of the Major War Criminals* (vol. 34, Doc. 4024-PS, pp. 58-92). The difficulty Lanzmann and such Exterminationist "scholars as Lucy Dawidowicz, Yitzhak Arad, Martin Gilbert, et al. have in spelling *Aktion Reinhardt* is exceeded only by their inability to interpret correctly what the operation consisted of.

For the Polish town of Dabie, one finds the semi-phonetic, but otherwise unwarranted, spelling "Dombie" (p. 84). One hopes that Dr. Raul Hilberg didn't say "Bahnhofe" for "Bahnhöfe" (p. 139), or "Mittel Europäisch Reisebüro" for "Mitteleuropäisches Reisebüro" (p. 143). "Volhynia" (p. 80) is rendered "Wohnia," "Heydebreck" appears as "Heidebreck" (pp. 160, 164), and we read Oberscharführer" for "Oberscharführer" (p. 147).

Minor lapses? Not in a translation of the “complete text” of a film that was years in the making and lavishly financed from a number of sources, including by American taxpayers, through their subsidization of Israel. As Professor Faurisson has pointed out in regard to Lanzmann’s use of the “gas-van” document, Lanzmann has not shrunk from textual falsification. Nor is that the only place where he misrepresents a text. On page 83, we read: “Claude Lanzmann reads a letter in front of a building that was formerly the Grabow synagogue. On January 19, 1942, the rabbi of Grabow, Jacob Schulman, wrote the following letter to his friends in Lodz:

My very dear friends, I waited to write to confirm what I'd heard. Alas, to our great grief, we now know all. I spoke to an eyewitness who escaped. He told me everything. They're exterminated in Chelmno, near Dombie [sic], and they're all buried in the Rzuszow forest. The Jews are killed in two ways: by shooting or gas. Its just happened to thousands of Lodz Jews. Do not think that this is being written by a madman. Alas, it is the tragic, horrible truth. 'Horror, horror! Man, shed thy clothes, cover thy head with ashes, run in the street and dance in thy madness.' I am so weary that my pen can no longer write. Creator of the universe, help us!

The Creator did not help the Jews of Grabow. With their rabbi, they all died in the gas vans at Chelmno a few weeks later. Chelmno is only twelve miles from Grabow” (p. 84).

There is in fact serious question as to the text of this purported letter, and whether it ever existed. Lucjan Dobroszycki, in *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto 1941-1944* (Yale University Press), states: “Grabów’s [sic] letter and the means by which it reached the ghetto have never been thoroughly investigated. Our knowledge of it comes not from contemporaneous sources but from three mutually contradictory post-war accounts” (p. xxi). Doroszycki goes on to supply a translation of “the full text of the letter” which is twice as long as Lanzmann’s text and differs from the version in *Shoah* in several important particulars. Where Lanzmann has “... they're all buried in the Rzuszow forest,” Dobroszycki’s text, translated from the official *Polish Dokumenty i materialy z czasow okupacji niemieckiej w Polsce*, vol. 1: *Obozy* [Documents and Materials from the Time of the German Occupation in Poland, vol. 1: The Camps] (Lodz, 1946), reads “people are kept in the nearby forest of Lochów” (Dobroszycki, p. xxi).

Where Lanzmann reads, “It’s just happened to thousands of Lodz Jews,” Dobroszycki’s text is as follows: “Recently, thousands of gypsies have been brought there from the so-called Gypsy camp at Łódź and the same is done to them.” Other variant texts of this alleged letter are to be found in Walter Laqueur’s *The Terrible Secret* (Penguin Books, New York, 1982), Léon Poliakov’s *Harvest of Hate* (Syracuse University Press, 1954), and Martin Gilbert’s *The Holocaust* (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1985). Connoisseurs of Exterminationist absurdity will relish Raul Hilberg at his most absurd in *Shoah*, as when Hilberg informs readers that the orders relating to what he calls “death trains” — actually resettlement trains for Jews moving eastward — bore a very low classification, “*Nur für den Dienstgebrauch*” [For internal use only]. The professor proceeds to unravel this anomaly by concluding “that had they labeled it secret, they would have invited a great many inquiries from people who got hold of it. They would then perhaps have raised more questions; they would have focused attention on the whole thing” (pp. 138-139). Those diabolical Nazis! (Here’s grist for a dissertation in Holocaust studies: *Edgar Allen Poe’s The Purloined Letter: A Neglected Literary Influence on Holocaust Planners?*)

Dr. Hilberg’s theory in this connection is even more interesting in the light of a recent study of Aktion Reinhard [sic] he contributed to a book entitled *Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg* [The Murder of the Jews in the Second World War] (edited by Eberhard Jäckel and Jürgen Rohwer, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1985). There (p. 130) Hilberg informs us that

there could be no budgetary title for the “death camps” of “Aktion Reinhard” — Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka — resulting in Materials for their construction and operation [having been] fragmentary and minimal” [reviewer’s translation], so that they would “remain financially unobtrusive.”

When the reader reminds himself that all this was going on at a time at which Allied propagandists were trumpeting news of the “Final Solution” to the entire world, he will better grasp what Arthur Butz means when he writes of “the remarkable cabbalistic mentality” of Hilberg and his fellow Exterminationists in the foreword to *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. And he will perhaps be reminded of the words of the descendant of a long line of rabbis, Karl Marx, in another connection: “All that is not solid melts into air.”

Review

Rebel Patriot

- **REBEL PATRIOT: A BIOGRAPHY OF FRANZ VON PAPEN**, by Henry M. and Robin K. Adams. Santa Barbara, CA: McNally and Loftin, 1987, 513 pages, \$29.95, ISBN 0-87461-065-6.

Reviewed by Georg Franz-Willing

Professor Henry M. Adams (University of California, Santa Barbara), born in 1907, first met Franz von Papen while a student in Berlin in 1931. Adams had befriended Franz von Papen's son, who bears the same name as his father, during the previous years, when both were studying at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

In 1957 Adams contacted his friend from his university years once again, with the intent of writing a biography of his father, the former German chancellor. The elder von Papen agreed to cooperate, but pointed out that his private papers had been lost when his home at Wallerfangen (Saarland) was destroyed at the end of 1944. Adams had himself taken part in the fighting in Saarland as an American officer. He visited von Papen in 1958, and the two corresponded throughout the following decade, during which Adams was a frequent guest of Papen's.

Professor Adams is thoroughly conversant with modern German history. His *Prussian-American Relations 1775-1870* (Western Reserve University Press) appeared in 1960, and was later published in Germany by Holzner Verlag under the title *Die Beziehungen zwischen Preussen und den Vereinigten Staaten 1775-1870*. Four years later the same publisher released his *Recht in Dienste der Menschenwürde* [Law in the Service of Human Dignity]. Professor Adams contributed the chapter "World War II Revisionist" to the massive festschrift *Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader* (Ralph Miles, Publisher, Inc.), and has written numerous articles for historical journals.

With the active assistance of his wife, Robin Adams, Professor Adams has spent decades researching the extensive source material in both German and American archives, including the records of the postwar Nuremberg trials, the denazification hearings, and other proceedings. Adams also consulted Papen's personal notes and those of his wife, as well as his voluminous correspondence, for this biography. He has not neglected the published archives or the pertinent historiographical literature, while making good use of newspapers, in particular American ones, which are a valuable contemporary source for the period 1914-1917 and the years following the Second World War.

Adams' guiding principle as historian and biographer is the dictum of Leopold von Ranke: "to show how it really was." As Adams wrote in a letter to Papen at the beginning of his researches, an objective and plausible treatment of Papen the man would be impossible without sympathy and understanding. The entire generation which has elapsed between 1957 and the 1987 publica-

tion of this lengthy biography is an indication of the care and effort which Professor Adams and his wife have devoted to *Rebel Patriot*.

The long and eventful life (1879-1969) of Franz von Papen, whose personal destiny was closely linked by his political activity with that of the German nation and people, can be easily divided into the following periods: the Imperial era and the First World War, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich and the Second World War, and the postwar decades.

Papen sprang from an old Westphalian family which had its estate at Werl. Opting for a military career, he became an officer of the General Staff before the First World War. In 1914 he began his political career as a military attache in the United States and Mexico. His work in this capacity affords an informative insight into Britain's brutal policy of refusing to observe American neutrality, as well as into the animosity, first covert but increasingly undisguised, of the American government led by President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing. American hostility to Germany grew under the influence of the powerful propaganda campaign against the Central Powers waged by the British, whose increasingly numerous chicaneries included frequent violations of international law.

The growing pressure exerted by the British, coupled with the rising enmity of the American government, forced Berlin to recall Papen, its military attaché, and Boy-Ed, Germany's naval attaché, at the end of 1915. The neutral ship on which Papen returned was searched in the British port of Falmouth. In a crude violation of international law, Papen was forced to disrobe for a body search and all his papers were confiscated.

From February 1916 until May 1917 von Papen served as a battalion commander on the Western front. He was then transferred to the Turkish front in Palestine, where he was chief of staff to the Fourth Turkish Army at the war's end.

In 1919 Papen returned home, where he took an active part in politics. His interest in agrarian policy led him to join the Catholic Center Party. Elected a deputy to the Prussian Diet, Papen also became influential at *Germania*, the chief organ of the Center Party. On June 1, 1932, he succeeded Brüning as Reich chancellor, at a time when the parliamentary system had already collapsed. The failure of Germany's political parties had already forced Reich President Hindenburg to shift to an authoritarian regime with the Brüning government. The grave economic crisis, with its massive unemployment, and conditions which verged on civil war confronted Papen with problems which could no longer be solved by normal constitutional means. Therefore, he was ousted at the end of November 1932 by the "Chancellor Maker," General Schleicher, the gray eminence of the last years of the Weimar Republic.

The polarization of internal political opposites embodied in the two antiparliamentary mass movements — the Communists and the National Socialists — had given rise to notions of a coup d'état in Reichswehr circles. The Reichstag majority of the two radical parties, at opposite ends of the political spectrum, rendered parliamentary democracy incapable of ruling. The elderly Reich president preferred a constitutional solution to one which would violate the Weimar constitution. Thus he agreed to a proposal by Papen, a trusted advisor, to enlist National Socialist participation in the new government, several of whose ministers had served in Papen's "government of national cooperation" in 1931.

As the strongest party, the National Socialists were entitled to the office of chancellor. In order to evade the threat of a one-party dictatorship which loomed from the revolutionary Hitler movement only two National Socialists besides Hitler were named to the cabinet: Dr. Frick as minister of the interior and Hermann Göring as minister without portfolio. The three National Socialists

were “boxed in” by seven conservative cabinet members. Hindenburg and Papen saw this as sufficient insurance against revolutionary encroachments by the National Socialists.

Adams describes the dramatic events relating to the formation of the “Government of National Concentration” (out of members of the German National People’s Party and the “Stahlhelm,” a veterans party, as well as the three National Socialists) with superior expertise and objectivity.. When the conservatives, led by Hindenburg and Papen, were overwhelmed by the dynamism of the National Socialist mass movement in March 1933, Papen’s office of vice chancellor became a department for complaints against the revolutionary excesses of the National Socialists. The title of Adam’s biography, *Rebel Patriot*, has been well chosen in view of the vice chancellor’s protest role and his bold efforts to build a dam against the revolutionary flood waters. He was successful in only one respect by the *Reichskonkordat* of July 1933 he was able to secure the legal status of the Roman Catholic Church. Papen made further attempts to divert the revolutionary high tide into legal channels by his tireless efforts as vice-chancellor; in 1933 Hitler himself shared this concern.

Papen is famous for his speech of June 1934 at Marburg, in which he took a brave, public stand against the anti-Christian and anti-Jewish activities of the National Socialists. Two weeks later his civic courage nearly cost him his life. It was only through a fortunate coincidence that he escaped death during the “Night of the Long Knives,” the bloody purge of the S.A.’s leadership on June 30, 1934, which was accompanied by a similarly bloody suppression of the conservative opposition. Two of Papen’s associates were murdered. In protest, Papen resigned from the government. Several weeks later, the death of the aged Reich president, Hindenburg, removed the last hindrance to the revolutionary regime.

Thereafter Papen returned to the diplomatic service, in order to serve and help his sorely tried fatherland from abroad. His first assignment was the delicate one of establishing friendly relations between the two neighboring German states. He served in Vienna until March, 1938. In the following year Papen was dispatched to Turkey where he served as Germany’s ambassador. In 1941 he succeeded in bringing about a German-Turkish friendship treaty; he was able to preserve Turkish neutrality until the summer of 1944, despite the overwhelming pressure of the Anglo-Saxon powers. When British insistence finally caused Turkey to break off diplomatic relations with Germany at the start of August 1944, Papen was accorded full diplomatic honors on his departure.

After his return to Germany, Papen played an active role in the defense of the Saarland. He was arrested by the Americans in April 1945 and forced over the next four years to run the gauntlet at Nuremberg, where the vengeful victors staged their political inquisition (the “Trial of the Major War Criminals”). Papen was acquitted of all charges, but his persecution continued at the hands of no less vengeful domestic enemies in the form of West German denazification tribunals. After withstanding the appeals process, he regained his freedom in February 1949.

Papen was a prolific writer until the end of his life. He published his memoirs in German in 1952 (*Der Wahrheit eine Gasse* [A Path for the Truth]), which was published in English shortly afterward as *Memoirs*. Among other writings, he published a series of articles in the Spanish periodical *ABC*. Despite his acquittal at Nuremberg and his release from detention after being “denazified,” Papen was forced to wage additional battles in court to regain his civil rights.

The high regard in which the Vatican held Franz von Papen was expressed in audiences with Pope Pius XII and Pope John XXIII. The Turks continued to esteem him as well.

Papen published his final book, *Vom Scheitern einer Demokratie* [On the Failure of a Democracy], in 1968, the year before his death at almost ninety years old. Until the end he was forced to combat malicious attacks by opinion makers and “Vergangenheitsbewältiger,” those West Germans who “come to terms with the past” by slavishly adhering to the dogma of Germany’s sole and total guilt for the events of 1933-1945. Adams has done an excellent service in focusing on Papen’s efforts in this regard, and in providing an illuminating account of the venomous political atmosphere of the postwar Bundesrepublik.

Rebel Patriot offers an overview of a lengthy portion of German and European history from the nonpartisan perspective of an American history professor. In this monumental work, Dr. and Mrs. Adams have memorialized not only Papen but also the German Reich and its tragic history in this century.

All that is required to restore some respect for historical truth are favorable opportunities, a bit of luck, and a few courageous authors and publishers.

— Harry Elmer Barnes,
Blasting the Historical Blackout, 1963

Review

Conspiracy and Betrayal Around Hitler

- **VERSCHWÖRUNG UND VERRAT UM HITLER URTEIL DES FRONTSOLDATEN: [CONSPIRACY AND BETRAYAL AROUND HITLER: A COMBAT SOLDIER'S VERDICT]** by Otto Ernst Remer, Brigadier General Retired [Generalmajor a.D.]. Preussisch Oldendorf, Federal Republic of Germany: Verlag K.W. Schlütz, KG, Third Printing, 1984, 336 pages, illustrated, 42.00 DM (about \$20 U.S.), ISBN 3-87725-102/1.

Reviewed by H. Keith Thompson

A few exciting hours after the July 20, 1944 assassination attempt on the life of Adolf Hitler, Otto Ernst Remer, then an army major commanding the Berlin Guard Regiment, was ordered by General von Hase (a conspirator) to arrest Dr. Goebbels, propaganda minister and Gauleiter of Berlin. Remer relives for the reader the dramatic events that followed, detailing his personal involvement in those events and reporting on his subsequent in-depth study of the personalities and particulars of the several conspiracies against Hitler and Germany. From Remer's discussions with Hitler, who personally decorated him for bravery in action, Hitler is revealed as a concerned commander, receptive to and understanding of the problems and circumstances of the soldier at the front.

There is a definite continuity between Remer's wartime bravery and the enormous courage he has shown in his active politics and his writings in the postwar period. Germans — politicians, editors and others — must wrestle with the tortuous problem of how to pay homage to the "bomb plotters" and yet not dismiss the great sacrifices and sufferings of the vast majority of the German armed forces and population. The politicians and others therefore usually try to do a balancing act, attempting to distinguish between "Germany" and "Nazi Germany." Remer repeatedly and courageously points out the impossibility and utter hypocrisy of such distinctions. The Allies certainly did not make distinctions before, during, or after the war. Even the conspirators themselves finally learned that bitter lesson "What we in the German resistance didn't really want to grasp, we've subsequently learned completely: the war really wasn't waged against Hitler, but against Germany" (former bomb plotter and *Bundestag* President Eugen Gerstenmaier in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 21, 1976, as quoted by Remer on p. 12).

In 1951, Remer published a book on the conspiracy of July 20, 1944. The present volume considers not only that one attempt but the entire network of betrayal surrounding Hitler and the Third Reich. Remer is very familiar with the existing literature on the subject and cites numerous authorities, including David Irving.

General Remer unmasks the conspirators as a clique of cowardly, incompetent traitors. In individual and collective analyses of their perfidy, he contrasts them with the majority of German of-

ficers who remained loyal to their oath even though they were no less aware of Germany's desperate struggle against overwhelming odds than were the conspirators.

Some elements in the Federal Republic, particularly officials, have attempted to make "heroes" of the conspirators. Remer effectively removes that fake patina of saintliness, those fabricated halos placed on the heads of traitors. For example, new uniforms and equipment were scheduled for demonstration to Hitler at a military briefing. The plotters prepared explosives for concealment in the uniforms which the enlisted men involved in the demonstration would be wearing, and in the equipment they were to demonstrate. Hitler's schedule changed and the demonstration was cancelled. Remer does not fail to point out the ugliness in the grotesque spectacle of monocled general officers unwilling to put their own lives on the line but ready to sacrifice the lives of unknowing enlisted troops. Those soldiers were spared by fate. But, because of the treasonous activities of the conspirators, many other German soldiers were not so fortunate, as Remer shows in citing from battle casualty reports, and the postwar memoirs of many of the conspirators who admit that their doings cost the lives of German soldiers. The German campaigns in Crete and Norway, for instance, were successful. Nevertheless, the cost in German lives would have been far less if the conspirators had not revealed to the enemy, in advance, details of those and many other German military and naval operations.

Some conspirators waited for the fortunes of war to turn before becoming active traitors. Others, in high places long before the war began, have alleged that they wanted to show "the world" that there was "another Germany." Perhaps the presence of so many prominent and highly placed traitors in Germany encouraged Britain and France to make their absurd "guarantee" of Poland's ludicrous frontiers, and thus precipitate World War II. The treasonous activities of the various echelons of conspirators did nothing to keep the Allies from ruthlessly pursuing their objective, the destruction of Germany and the fixing of frontiers even more unnatural than those drawn after World War I.

Although the Allies (including the Badoglio Italians) never tire of producing self-glorifying films dealing with their own alleged World-War-II heroism, those same Allies have displayed some reluctance to show the July 20 conspirators in a heroic, noble light. Remer quotes from Scottish Pastor Peter H. Nicoll's book, *England's War Against Germany* (p. 501):

One can understand the extreme severity of the proceedings against the conspirators. And no one can doubt that they would have fared just as badly in England if we had had to deal with them under similar, extreme circumstances.

Fortunately, the July 20, 1944, conspirators lacked character and courage. Consider the case of Count von Stauffenberg, who carried the bomb in his briefcase into Hitler's conference room and positioned it under the large table so as to do maximum damage to Hitler. But Stauffenberg was quick to leave the room and scamper away to save his life. Fate decreed that another officer, annoyed by the briefcase near his feet, unknowingly moved it into a position where it was less effective. The course of history was altered by the failure of Stauffenberg to see it through.

Many well-known Communists, like Sorge, were involved in conspiracies against Hitler and Germany. This is less surprising. Ironically, however, many of the conspirators, like Stauffenberg, belonged to the landed aristocracy. It is a further irony that most of the citadels of the "Junker" class were in *Ostelbien*, areas east of the Elbe, including Central Germany and former Eastern Germany, now divided between Poland and the Soviet Union after the postwar expulsions of the native German population. The aristocrats thus helped dig their own graves. There

are lessons here to be learned by our own domestic liberals, anxious for a detente with Communism.

Privately, very privately, many Germans express contentment that Remer's voice is heard on the German scene. Because anti-Nazi fantasizing in the media is so prevalent and continues so intensely and unrelentingly, even Germans who, from personal experience, should know better, occasionally find themselves caught up in these horror fantasies, reacting as the media manipulators intend. Audiences are being mythologized and trained to approach the Third Reich the same way they see Dracula, Frankenstein, or space monster films, the same way they listen to the tormented ravings of the gypsy Azucena in Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, whose mother went up in flames and who threw her own baby into those fires. Obsessively she recounts and relives the flaming agony.

It is no wonder that Jews whose families haven't been in Europe for generations, and even non-Jews, have been so "holocausted," so hyped by relentless media onslaughts, that they are instantly ready to characterize the Third Reich as a horror story, a thing of "demonic forces" or "moral decay," supremely, uniquely evil. Remer has the courage to ask loudly, very loudly:

What demons? What decay? What are you talking about? The moral values and attitudes we learned at home and in the Hitler Youth, the spirit that prevailed in Nazi Germany, was anything but "decadent," or "demonic" or in any way "evil" [Remer is here paraphrased, not quoted directly].

General Remer reminds many Germans of what they know to be true — that the Third Reich was a time of moral and physical renewal, of high standards in public morality, of discipline and integrity, of striving for ancient ideals and new forms in which to embody them.

If I had to choose any one word to characterize Remer, it would be *courage*. Others might be *honor* and *honesty*. In the late 1940's he organized, with Dr. Fritz Dorls, Dr. Gerhard Krüger and others, the *Sozialistische Reichspartei* (SRP), founded in October 1949. Gains were evidenced as early as July, 1950, when the SRP polled 19,960 votes in an election in Schleswig-Holstein. In June of the following year, the SRP polled 366,790 votes in Lower Saxony. This show of strength by Remer, in a defeated, dismembered country still in the throes of the "denazification" and "re-education" imposed by the Allies, brought down massive suppression and persecution by the Bonn regime, which ultimately outlawed the legally constituted political party. This reviewer had first-hand experience of that period as the SRP's U.S. agent, and was active in attempting to counter the various legal actions against Remer and others.

General Remer is still politically active today as head of *Die Deutsche Freiheitsbewegung* [German Freedom Movement]. The movement publishes a newsletter, *Der Bismarck-Deutsche* [The Bismarck-German], from Postfach 1210, D-8950 Kaufbeuren. Just as good, safe relations with Russia were a cornerstone of Bismarck's foreign policy, Remer and his organization advocate total European collaboration, from Iberia to the Urals, thus including Russia. In Remer's vision of a new, rejuvenated, united Europe, Great Britain and the U.S. would be excluded. Remer realizes that it was the Anglo-American power block, the British Empire (its Canadian and Australian dominions, its colonies, its African and Asian soldiers), and behind them the Americans, bemused by Jewish propaganda and cowed by Jewish pressure, who were twice instrumental in effecting Germany's defeat. The historical reasons for such a program are eminently understandable. Many geopolitical thinkers, for instance Francis Parker Yockey, were early supporters of this viewpoint. In 1988, few can fail to respect Remer's courage and honesty in advancing it. It is possible that he can become the inspiring, visionary leader needed by Europe to effect its liberation from the

counter-cultural forces which now infest and occupy it, and guide it toward a future free of economic and armed conflicts.

With its detailed case histories, lists and statistics, and comprehensive bibliography, *Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler* is an indispensable work for any study of the Third Reich and its internal enemies. Even if your German is limited, you should have this book. It is recommended for anyone interested in 20th-century heroism in the face of adversity, and for anyone capable of appreciating individuals like Otto Ernst Remer, who embody political courage and vision, and even more important, personal courage and integrity.

[*Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler*, from which General Remer's article in this journal was translated, can also be ordered from DDF-Buchdienst, Postfach 1210, D-8950 Kaufbeuren, Federal Republic of Germany (for an additional few dollars handling, General Remer will inscribe to order).]

Review

Hollywood Goes to War

- **HOLLYWOOD GOES TO WAR: HOW POLITICS, PROFITS AND PROPAGANDA SHAPED WORLD WAR II MOVIES** by Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black. New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1987, x + 374 pages, illustrated, \$22.50, ISBN 0-02-903550-3.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Propaganda may be defined as the attempt to manipulate public opinion for the purpose of helping or injuring a particular cause, individual or group. The propagandist seeks to control rather than to inform.

After reading *Hollywood Goes to War*, one cannot help but come away with the impression that the movie industry and various government agencies were very much in the propaganda business before and during World War II.

By the late 1930's the "Big Eight" Hollywood studios dominated the domestic and foreign markets. These corporations had created a vertically integrated industry. As authors Koppes and Black tell us:

They controlled the entire process from casting and production through distribution (wholesaling) and exhibition (retailing). The Big Eight reaped 95 per cent of all motion picture rentals in the U.S. in the late 1930's. Their control over theater chains, particularly the all-important first-run urban houses which determined a picture's future, was critical.

Koppes and Black go on to explain briefly that:

The men who guided the industry in its transition to big business were mostly Jewish theater owners, who were uniquely suited to the task. The playwright and screenwriter Ben Hecht once observed that Hollywood constituted "a Semitic renaissance sans rabbis and Talmud."

We are also informed that:

In 1940 five of the fifteen highest salaries in the country went to movie people. Atop the greasy pole was the quintessential mogul. Louis B. Mayer, whose princely \$1.3 million in salary and bonuses in 1937 probably surpassed the compensation to any other American executive.

The content of motion pictures became avidly internationalist and anti-isolationist long before Pearl Harbor. In 1938 United Artists released *Blockade*, a pro-Loyalist tale of the Spanish Civil War starring Henry Fonda. Catholic organizations protested the showing of this picture because of the pro-Communist Republican armies' record of atrocities against priests and nuns. Joseph Breen, the conservative Catholic journalist and head of the Production Code Administration, accused Hollywood and in particular the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League of an attempt to "capture the screen of the United States for Communistic propaganda purposes." He claimed the League was "conducted and financed almost entirely by Jews."

In 1939 Warner Brothers premiered *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, which claimed in melodramatic fashion that Germany sought to conquer the entire globe. "Using semi-documentary techniques and long periods of narration, the film identified the German-American Bund as an arm of the German government whose purpose was to destroy the American Constitution and Bill of Rights." Fritz Kuhn, leader of the Bund, responded to this smear campaign with a libel suit for \$5,000,000. After Kuhn was indicted and convicted for allegedly stealing German-American Bund funds, the suit was dropped. That these charges against Kuhn were politically motivated was indicated by the Bund's continued support of him. [See Peter Peel, "The Great Brown Scare," *JHR*, Vol. 7, no.4, Winter 1986-1987 — Ed.]

Also released in 1939 was *Beasts of Berlin*, capitalizing on the infamy of the 1917 film, *The Kaiser; Beast of Berlin*, which had sparked anti-German riots in many American cities during the First World War.

1940 and 1941 saw the appearance of such pro-war films as Charlie Chaplin's burlesque of Hitler and Mussolini, *The Great Dictator*, as well as *Man Hunt*, directed by German emigré Fritz Lang, *The Mortal Storm*, *A Yank in the R.A.F.*, *Sergeant York*, *I Married a Nazi* and a host of other titles. These pictures were an integral part of the vigorous campaign by various elements to get the United States into a war with Germany.

Interestingly, FDR's son, James, the president of Globe Productions, got into the propaganda business by distributing a British film titled *Pastor Hall*. This was a glamorized account of the anti-Nazi activities of Martin Niemöller, the "World War I U-boat captain-turned-pacifist-preacher." James added a prologue written by Robert Sherwood and read by none other than his dear old mom, Eleanor.

Intimate ties between Hollywood and the Roosevelt administration are further indicated by the following paragraph in *Hollywood Goes to War*:

In August [1940] FDR asked Nicholas Schenck, president of Loew's (parent of MGM) to make a film on defense and foreign policy. By mid-October *Eyes of the Navy*, a two-reeler which a studio executive promised would win the president thousands of votes, graced neighborhood movie houses. Schenck's interest may have been personal as well as patriotic. His brother Joseph, head of Twentieth Century-Fox, was convicted of income tax evasion. President Roosevelt asked Attorney General Robert Jackson to let the studio chief off with a fine, and so did Roosevelt's son James, to whom Joseph had lent \$50,000. But the upright Jackson insisted on a jail sentence. Schenck served four months before being paroled to the studio lot.

In September of 1941 a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate Commerce began hearings on "war propaganda disseminated by the motion picture industry and of any monopoly in the production, distribution, or exhibition of motion pictures." This investigation was instigated by the isolationist Senator from North Dakota, Gerald P. Nye. Chief counsel for Hollywood was

Wendell Willkie, the internationalist and 1940 Republican presidential nominee. This last-ditch effort by the isolationists was too little and too late. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor three months later ended any question of more hearings.

Once the United States was at war with Germany, the studios churned out one anti-Nazi potboiler after another. An audience today is likely to snicker at such “classics” as *Hillbilly Blitzkrieg*, *Women in Bondage*, *The Devil with Hitler*, *I Escaped from the Gestapo*, *Hitler’s Children*, *That Nazty Nuisance*, *Strange Death of Adolf Hitler*, *Enemy of Women*, *Hitler’s Madman*, *The Master Race*, *The Hitler Gang*, *Hotel Berlin* and *Tarzan Triumphs*. Koppes and Black summarize the plot of *Tarzan Triumphs* as follows:

Nazi agents parachute into Tarzan’s peaceful kingdom and occupy a fortress, hoping to exploit oil and tin. Johnny Weissmuller, a slightly flabby but still commanding noble savage, rallies his natives (all of whom are white) against the Axis. “Kill Nadzies!” Tarzan commands the natives. They nod eagerly. The Germans are so despicable even the animals turn against them. Tarzan chases the head of the Nazi troops into the jungle, and, just as the fear-crazed German officer frantically signals Berlin on his shortwave radio, Tarzan kills him. In Berlin the radio operator recognizes the distress signal and rushes out to summon the general in charge of the African operation. While Tarzan, Boy, and Jungle Priestess laughingly look on, Cheeta the chimp chatters into the transmitter. Ignorant of the fatal struggle in the jungle depths, the general hears the chimp on the radio, jumps to his feet, salutes, and yells to his subordinates that they are listening not to Africa but to Der Führer.

The roles of the sadistic, sex-crazed, bullet-headed, Nazi “Krauts” in these pictures were played by such Hollywood “heavies” as George Siegman, Erich von Stroheim, Walter Long and Hobart Bosworth. Actor Bobby Watson was kept busy playing the part of Adolf Hitler throughout the war.

To be fair, Hollywood did make some quality pictures out of the 2400 made from 1939 to 1945. Some of the few that come to this reviewer’s mind are *Casablanca* (Warner Brothers, 1943), *The Story of G.I. Joe* (United Artists, 1945), and *Lifeboat* (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1944). It has often been said that the best war movies are usually made long after the war is over.

The Japanese fared no better at the hands of Hollywood’s myth makers. In *Little Tokyo, U.S.A.* (Twentieth Century-Fox, 1942) all people of Japanese descent were portrayed as loyal to the Emperor and capable of sabotage and treason. This film wholeheartedly advocated the internment of all Japanese-Americans. At the end of the film, when an “all-American Los Angeles police detective” named Mike Steele has broken the Japanese spy ring, he does what every red-blooded American supposedly wanted to do, namely to punch out the Japanese villain, proclaiming “That’s for Pearl Harbor, you slant-eyed ... “

Coldblooded Japanese militarism was portrayed in *The Purple Heart*, *Guadalcanal Diary*, *Wake Island*, *Menace of the Rising Sun*, *Remember Pearl Harbor*, *Danger in the Pacific* and others. Koppes and Black remind us “It is a rare film that did not employ such terms as ‘Japs,’ ‘beasts,’ ‘yellow monkeys,’ ‘snips,’ or ‘slant-eyed rats.’” Japanese soldiers were frequently shown about to rape white women, usually buxom blonds. Another frequent cinematic image was that of a Japanese fighter-pilot with buckteeth taking several machine-gun hits to the body, blood splattering his windshield, and screaming in agony as his plane plunged into the Pacific.

The height of absurdity in race-crossed casting appears in *Dragon Seed* (MGM, 1944) in which heavily made-up Caucasians, including a “slant-eyed” Katherine Hepburn, play Chinese, while

real Chinese extras play the Japanese hordes.

In 1943 Warner Brothers premiered *Mission to Moscow*, based on the book of the same name by Joseph E. Davies, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1936 to 1938. The authors of *Hollywood Goes to War* characterize this picture as the “most notorious example of propaganda in the guise of entertainment ever produced by Hollywood.” *Mission to Moscow* traces in pseudo-documentary style Davies' career as ambassador and the events taking place in the Soviet Union and worldwide from the mid-1930's through 1941.

The Roosevelt administration was intimately involved in the making of this picture, which represented FDR as a great internationalist and anti-fascist. Davies had power of script approval and was ultimately responsible for *Mission to Moscow's* glossing over of Stalinist crimes. Davies insisted that the Soviet invasion of Finland be portrayed as happening at the “invitation” of Finland to the Soviets to occupy strategic positions against Germany. Likewise, other Soviet crimes of the 1930's are ignored or passed over: the invasion of the eastern portion of Poland in 1939, the aggression against Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and the forced collectivization of the kulaks (small farmers) in the Ukraine with the resulting starvation of millions of peasants. The film represented the Moscow purge trials as the result of attempts by Trotsky, Bukharin, Krestinsky and other “Old Bolsheviks” to sell out the Soviet Union to Germany and Japan. *Mission to Moscow* used documentary film footage to add verisimilitude to this vintage “docudrama,” which depicted the American isolationists as a small cabal plotting to thwart the people's will to “collective security.” The Soviet Union was depicted as a land of plenty in contrast to National Socialist Germany's alleged chronic lack of food and consumer goods. The public was led to believe the Soviet Union was a “democracy” and the Russian people were “just like Americans.”

Most of the major studios produced pro-Soviet films in the last years of the war, including *Song of Russia* (MGM, 1943), *Three Russian Girls* (United Artists, 1943), *North Star* (MGM, 1943), *Boy from Stalingrad* (Columbia, 1943), *Days of Glory* (RKO, 1944) and *Counterattack* (Columbia, 1945).

While the United States was at war, several overlapping and competing government bureaucracies sought to influence the content of motion pictures. Most influential was the Office of War Information, set up in 1942. Much of *Hollywood Goes to War* deals, in Koppes and Black's rather plodding style, with the relationship between the movie industry and the OWI. The Bureau of Motion Pictures played a role as well. The Office of Censorship, created by the Roosevelt administration to oversee the wartime censorship of mail, films, maps and other materials, could deny an export license for a movie. With forty per cent of an average picture's revenue coming from the foreign market, the Office of Censorship had considerable power over motion picture content, from script approval to final cut.

Hollywood Goes to War deals strictly with feature films made by the major studios and the bureaucracies involved in the motion picture production process. Koppes and Black do not cover training films and documentaries made by the Army and Navy with enlisted Hollywood personnel studio-made short films, newsreels or animation. Nor is any mention made of the Field Photographic branch of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the predecessor of the CIA, created by William “Wild Bill” Donovan. Utilizing the talents of such Hollywood directors as Budd Schulberg and John Ford, the Field Photographic branch collected “evidence” of alleged atrocities in German concentration camps captured at the war's end. This footage was used by the prosecution at the Nuremberg trials and in denazification films shown during the forced “re-education” of German citizens.

Without a doubt, the Hollywood studios wanted to contribute to the war effort and defeat of the Axis, yet at the same time the movie moguls did not want to be told how to run their monopolistic corporations. Most important to these film executives was the profit motive. In the early and mid-1930's the studios had altered the content of films to allow them to play in the lucrative German, Italian, Spanish and Latin American markets. 5,000 theaters in Latin America showed American films, 6,000 in Asia, and an astounding 35,000 in Europe. In 1935, when the National Socialist government demanded that foreign companies with offices in Germany hire only Aryan employees, the major studios complied.

The foreign market for Hollywood pictures diminished as National Socialist and Fascist political movements became more influential. The Nuremberg Laws banned German films with Jewish actors and actresses and limited the number of Hollywood films to 20% of the German market. The onset of World War II reduced the market for Hollywood's product even more. The market began to expand as soon as Allied armies secured territory in the latter years of the war, and American movies were again shown in the newly "liberated" theaters. After the war's end the great studio system which had flourished in Germany from 1919 to 1945 was unable to rebuild in West Germany, and the internationalist film industry gained a virtually open market. In contrast, the Communist government of East Germany rebuilt a studio system that was now totally state-owned and-operated.

The authors of *Hollywood Goes to War* make it very clear that the power to shape the content of entertainment and information was extraordinary during World War II, when dissenting opinion was likely to be stifled and censored in the name of the "war effort". Unfortunately authors Koppes and Black do not question the motives which got the United States into World War II in the first place. They are also unduly critical of the motivations of the isolationists and tend to play down the influence of leftwing and Marxist elements in prewar Hollywood, especially among the screenwriters. Nevertheless, *Hollywood Goes to War* provides a strong picture of what happens when a powerful industry and government attempt to control public opinion. As expressed on the closing page:

Hollywood had always claimed that it only gave the public what it wanted, and cited the movies' popularity as proof. But since the cartel controlled the range of choice, Hollywood was saying only that the public bought what it was given.

Review

Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist

- **CONFESSIONS OF A HOLOCAUST REVISIONIST** by **Bradley R. Smith**. Los Angeles: **Prima Facie**, 1987, 118 pages + (vi), \$11.95 Hb (ISBN 0-943415-00-4), \$6.95 Pb (ISBN 0-943415-00-4).

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

When you see a title starting with the word *Confessions* nowadays, it's usually safe to assume that some sort of parody is being undertaken. The moral earnestness and the often excruciating self-revelations of an Augustine have long since given way to the posturings of a Rousseau or a De Quincey, not to mention such offspring as *Confessions of a Mad Housewife*, *True Confessions* magazine, etc.

Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist, by Bradley Smith, inevitably invites the same sort of scrutiny demanded by some many latterday "confessions," for Smith assumes a self-mocking stance virtually from the outset. In his preface he lets the reader know that he is overweight, self-indulgent, intellectually lazy, and endowed with a character "made up in part of all the bigotries and prejudices that have been identified and catalogued by the best people in the worst."

That's just the beginning. A vocal agnostic who once stood trial for selling Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*, Bradley Smith comes to join the Historical Revisionists in questioning the historicity of what moral and intellectual opinion makers of the age have assured us is the most terrible, the most significant, the most real event of our century: the Holocaust, in which six million Jews were systematically done to death in gas chambers and by other means at the decree of Adolf Hitler and at the hands of his henchmen, while a cold-hearted gentile world looked the other way. And, as the exegetes of the Holocaust haggadah never tire of informing us, Holocaust Revisionists are, if anything worse than, Holocaust perpetrators: for the Revisionists kill the six million yet again.

Yet Smith's account is not calculated to endear him to a good portion of the Revisionist camp either. Among his more disconcerting confessions is the story of how a "half-snookered" Smith (who is director of the Institute for Historical Review's Media Project) was "befuddled" by questions asked by the host of a radio program on which he was explaining Holocaust Revisionism, shortly after he'd downed three rums on an empty stomach. Some Revisionists won't cotton to his statement that:

If the people who now support Holocaust Revisionism come to power, however, I have little doubt that the new bullies of the age would be among them, or that I would be thrown out of their ranks, or that my new associates would then become those who despise me now.

Nor will many Revisionists be pleased at the spectacle of their spokesman being shown up intellectually by his aged mother and his Mexican wife, neither of them with any academic pretensions.

Is this confessional stance, however, simply another literary pose, an effort of a fifty-seven-year-old writer who admits that he's had little success, to curry favor with Revisionists, and simultaneously disarm the opposition, by presenting himself as a likeable, but harmless, buffoon?

Clearly not, for what shines through *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist* is the author's adamant resolve to concede other persons their humanity all the while he struggles to free himself from the shackles of "belief, the mere habit of faith," which he has come to see as "the most degrading passion of the species." From the moment when Smith accepts a leaflet disputing Holocaust gas-chamber claims, we are made privy to an inner struggle in which the author must reconcile the conflicting claims raised by civility, tolerance, shame, courage, and intellectual integrity. Onlookers have heard the man who gave him the leaflet speak against the gas chambers; furthermore, in Smith's circle "one did not read material that made Jews feel uncomfortable." Nevertheless, Smith holds back from handing back the leaflet

At the same time, because of his honest and open manner, I didn't want him to feel ashamed by publicly rejecting him. I had never looked into the history of the Holocaust, had never examined any of the primary documents used to support the literature, so in my ignorance I felt I had no right, really, to believe or disbelieve any statement about it whatever. I didn't feel I had the right to embarrass another man simply because he doubted what I believed. If sincerity isn't to be taken seriously in human relationship, what is?

That night, alone in his room, "fearful and ashamed," Bradley Smith reads Robert Faurisson's *The 'Problem of the Gas Chambers.'*

What follows is a pilgrim's progress in which Smith, already a sceptic, is driven to confront the bases of his own thought and action. "There has never been a time in my life," he tells us, when I have not believed something ridiculous. A libertarian who confesses to a certain self-indulgence ("I have always taken the easy way") and proclaims that "I have no program for others," Smith is nevertheless stung by what he comes to see as the intellectual and moral abdication of the Establishment, particularly its journalists.

For many readers Smith's account of how he was driven to investigate the veracity of Holocaust claims by reading Faurisson, Arthur Butz, John Bennett (the man who started him off by handing him Faurisson's *'Problem of the Gas Chambers'*) and other Revisionist writers will doubtless be the easiest path to Revisionism. To their intellectual austerity and rigor Smith adds the all-too-human dimension of the concerned but sceptical citizen, in Smith's case a libertarian who nevertheless possesses a profound sense of duty not only to humankind in general but in particular to the members of his own *polis*.

Smith's humanity — his bumptious refusal to be categorized or to accept the imposition of things that don't pertain to him — is of course what makes him so deadly a spokesman for Holocaust Revisionism. The Exterminationists he has confronted nearly one hundred times on talk radio shows have so far been unable to deal with a flesh-and-blood, Caucasian American male who can't be credibly dismissed as a "Nazi," a "Klansman," a "white supremacist," "a born-again Christian," and all the other strawmen they have found so easy to brush aside until now. Further, Smith's insistence on his right and his duty to *doubt* must be particularly afflicting to the Exterminationist high command, which has made clear in marching orders issued to its foot soldiers

over the past several years that the new tactic is to characterize Revisionists as “Holocaust deniers,” with all the added Freudian freight the term “denial” carries.

Smith handles the structure of this autobiographical reminiscence pretty deftly, cutting back and forth from the time of his first encounter with a Revisionist and Revisionism in 1979 to 1987, by which time he has become thoroughly enmeshed in his campaign to break the blockade of smear and silence that rings the growing literature of Holocaust Revisionism. The writer gives evidence of a rich inner life, and he has a wonderful ear for human speech. In one masterly stretch of prose he captures with near perfection an airplane conversation with a bright young Jewish woman flying home to Los Angeles from Harvard. To the practiced ear of this reviewer he hits scarcely a false note, and it’s a good bet that even the most hardened anti-Semite will not feel for the Jew-ess’ distress in forcibly confronting the real issues of the Holocaust, or that all but the most rabid Exterminationists will cringe a little with Smith in his initial embarrassment.

Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist comes not to an end but a caesura on page 118, where one reads “End of Part I.” This already expanded version of a tabloid *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist* is, according to its author, to be shortly followed by Part II, which will range farther back into Smith’s past which has included service as a combat infantryman in the Korean War (a strong vignette from which appears in the present book), work as a Los Angeles County deputy sheriff, a longshoreman, a merchant seaman, a bullfighter (in Mexico) and a stint as a freelance journalist during the Vietnam War which saw Smith swept up in the 1968 Viet Cong Tet offensive.

It’s difficult not to root for Bradley Smith, for he speaks in a voice that’s unmistakably American. Self-schooled, hard-headed, he’s called what’s essentially an alien bluff by hanging tough with poseurs like Elie Wiesel, for the last thing that sainted laureate of the Holocaust would ever expect to hear from today’s fashion in Americans would likely be Smith’s (implied, anyway): “I’m from Missouri — show me.” This twentieth-century American Diogenes, who wanders the world not with a lamp but with a mirror, in which even the grimacing visage of the Jewish Defense League’s Irv Rubin is reflected to the possible edification of its unfortunate possessor, has turned the tables on those professors and philosophers who have instructed us for so many years on how Auschwitz has desacralized the world, how “there is no poetry after Auschwitz,” by demonstrating that it is these pretentious Exterminationists who are slaves to a false dogma.

When Part II appears, it is to be hoped that the embarrassing, but not critical, erratum on page 22 is removed. Even more desirable would be an eye-catching dust jacket to cover the drab, mustard-yellow binding, which Bradley Smith will surely brandish to ill advantage on camera when he hits Donahue, or *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. But let not the purchasers of the first edition of *Confessions* lose heart. these homely little gems of Revisionist incunabula will some day be, if not costly collectibles, surely testimony that their buyers were early on attuned to a movement of intellectual liberation that is of world-historical importance.

Historical news and comment

West German Court Rejects Judge Stäglich's Appeal

WILHELM STÄGLICH

*While an officer in a German anti-aircraft unit in 1944, Wilhelm Stäglich was for several months stationed in the vicinity of the Auschwitz concentration camp. The postwar doubts he expressed about alleged mass exterminations carried out at Auschwitz have led to twenty years of disciplinary proceedings, including his early retirement from the judiciary with a reduced pension, the banning from open sale of his book *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (published in English by IHR as *The Auschwitz Myth*), and the notorious revocation of his duly earned doctorate in jurisprudence by the council of deans of the University of Göttingen, acting under the provisions of a law issued by Adolf Hitler. Dr. Stäglich reports below on his latest legal setback in his fight for justice in West Germany.*

On November 17, 1987 the Higher Administrative court (HAC) at Lüneburg rejected my appeal (Az, 10 OVG A 17/86) of the Administrative Court (AC) at Braunschweig's January 29, 1986 dismissal (Az. 6 VG A 219/83) of my pleas to regain my doctorate, which was withdrawn by the University of Göttingen. A writ of certiorari was not allowed. The grounds for rejecting my appeal are, in essence, as follows:

A holder of the doctoral degree who, "under the cloak of scholarly activity" [*sic*] complies with the statutory provisions for the crimes of popular agitation (§ 130 STGB) and incitement to racial hatred (§ 131 STGB)" violates the "dignity inseparably bound with the doctorate" and misuses "the claim to scholarship" which arises from the doctorate; he thus demonstrates that he is unworthy to continue holding the doctorate.

These findings, which correspond neither to the facts of the case nor to the law, were signed by three judges, Dr. Jank (presiding), Dr. Heidelmann, and Dr. Greve. Their opinion was based on a law regarding academic degrees issued by none other than Adolf Hitler, on June 7, 1939 (RGBL. I S. 985). The same law served the council of deans of the University of Göttingen as a basis for depriving me of my doctorate on March 24, 1983, without so much as granting me a personal hearing. Where does the state governed by the "rule of law" begin and the lawless state leave off?

The Administrative Court's ruling of January 29, 1986 had been based on a thoroughly false determination of the facts, as I amply demonstrated in a 34-page report which I submitted to the HAC. The HAC, although the trial court of last resort, nevertheless accepted the lower court's erroneous finding as to the facts of the case, which the AC had arrived at in violation of the applicable statutes. The HAC did not devote a single word to my strictly factual report. The higher court likewise disregarded the extensive legal argumentation of my attorney, who is especially

competent in the subject matter. In my view the court's behavior satisfies the criteria for a perversion of the law (§ 336 STGB).

My attorney will file an appeal against the court's refusal to grant a writ of certiorari within the specified time period. There are a number of grounds for doing so. In particular, my case is of fundamental importance since to my knowledge it is the first time that an attempt has been made in the Federal Republic to deprive someone of a doctoral degree on purely political grounds, using a law established during the Third Reich. If the HAC ruling acquires the force of law, then every academic degree-holder who undertakes research in the treatment of the Jews in the war years after 1940, a treatment which Professor Helmut Diwald has characterized as "in its central questions still unclarified" (*Geschichte der Deutschen*, 1st edition, p. 165), must fear for his academic titles and honors. For according to the HAC opinion, "the cloak of scholarship" no longer allows, in contravention of Article 5, Paragraph 3 of the Basic Law [West Germany's provisional constitution — Ed.] unbiased research in this area. A truly shocking determination! Even such welcome Revisionist tendencies as have appeared in recent years among Establishment historians, in opposition to the historical line fostered by the victors of the Second World War, would then probably come to an end. Perhaps this was in fact the hidden goal of the entire process that has been directed against me.

Should the Federal Administrative Court [the highest administrative tribunal in the Federal Republic-Ed.] fail to reverse the HAC's scandalous ruling through a writ of certiorari, the last remaining legal remedy open to me is a constitutional complaint. Only then will we find out what the much lauded constitutional right of freedom of opinion and research really counts for in this country. To determine this, once and for all, is the only reason for carrying on my legal battle. I have ceased to care about my honorably earned doctorate, since my case has demonstrated that even the University of Göttingen, so highly regarded both here and abroad, is today no longer the bastion of academic freedom it should be.

From the Editor

Theodore J. O'Keefe

In this issue *The Journal of Historical Review* is proud to introduce Italian Revisionist Carlo Mattogno to the English-speaking world. Mr. Mattogno, a classicist and Orientalist trained in Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, and Hebrew, has during the past three years produced a stream of Revisionist monographs painstakingly analyzing and debunking Exterminationist claims relating to the Holocaust. This first part of Mr. Mattogno's "[historico-bibliographical introduction to Revisionist historiography](#)," which ran first in the outstanding French Revisionist quarterly *Annales d'histoire révisionniste*, is as lucid and salient an exposure of Exterminationist rodomontade on the "Final Solution"-myth and reality-as we've seen anywhere. (Part II will appear in the Fall issue of The *JHR*.)

The Journal is also pleased to welcome Paul Grubach, a graduate student in sociobiology, to the ranks of Revisionist writers. Mr. Grubach's [careful study of the function of the charge of "anti-Semitism"](#) as not merely thwarting but rendering taboo discussion of the role of Jews in American and world politics could not be more timely in the light of recent developments in Washington and the Middle East.

Two important articles by Editorial Advisory Committee member Mark Weber appear in this issue. Weber's "[Open Letter to the Reverend Herbener](#)" is not only an important survey of the scanty documentary evidence on the transit camps of Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka, which Exterminationists present as "killing centers," but a challenge to Exterminationists to debate their claims in the public forum, a challenge that has been taken up by a group of fundamentalist Christian Exterminationists subsequent to the appearance of the "open letter" in 1987. The debate is scheduled for early 1988, in Washington, D.C. Weber's analysis of [West Germany's huge reparations payments to Jews](#), and to the state of Israel, since the 1950's is noteworthy, not merely for documenting the massive subvention these enforced payments have represented for Jewry, but for using the reparations statistics to impugn still further the arbitrary and false figure of six million Jews dead in Europe during the Second World War.

Martin Merson, a former naval officer, veteran of the Pacific War, and retired federal administrator, has, in [reviewing an important testimony by the late Admiral James O. Richardson](#), leveled important criticisms at the American Establishment historians of Pearl Harbor, who remain as anxious as ever to safeguard the Roosevelt flame by continuing to tarnish the reputations of the unwitting defenders of Pearl Harbor. Merson has further reported on the continuing tenacity of the Pearl Harbor Survivors' Association in its fight to vindicate the commanders of Army and Navy forces at Pearl, General Short and Admiral Kimmel, as to their role on that "day of infamy."

As ever, the book reviews reflect the broad concerns of Historical Revisionism, concerns imposed by the ruling historical Establishment's continuing obsessive attempts to hamper the rewriting of the propaganda of the victors of the Second World War. On the contrary, there are

unremitting attempts by some, particularly militant Zionist interests, to drum up new hatreds out of old witness the campaigns against Kurt Waldheim and German-American rocket expert Arthur Rudolph, campaigns ably dissected by historians John Ries and Robert Countess in their [reviews of two relevant books](#).

Englishman Dennis Nayland Smith applauds an [Austrian philosopher's persuasive case](#) for Josef Stalin as a more able manipulator than either Adolf Hitler or the Führer's Western counterparts, Roosevelt and Churchill, while Jack Wikoff reviews yet another treatment of Hitler, this time in the form of a gloss on World War II caricatures, which fails to rise above wartime partisanship and hatreds.

Libertarians John Strang and Samuel Konkin throw approving yet critical glances on two books dealing with American history. The two libertarians' anti-statist perspective has afforded them valuable insights on a [biography of the man who succeeded Dwight Eisenhower's brother](#) as chief of America's wartime concentration camps for Japanese-Americans, as well as on a [neo-Marxist study of the history of the American Left](#).

The necessity for historical revisionism, the bringing of historiography into accord with the facts, is being demonstrated daily by reports from the Soviet Union and China, where ruling elites are laboriously scrapping a wrong-headed and injurious scheme of history, politics and economics, Marxism-Leninism. Mao Tse-tung and Josef Stalin, each of whom consolidated a mighty continental empire, and went on to rule absolutely over his creation for three decades, have been relegated to the status of a virtual non-person, in Mao's case, or to the object of growing condemnation, in the case of Stalin. IHR and *The Journal of Historical Review* do not intend to confer cheap laurels on regimes which continue to oppress their own peoples and the subject nations under the rule, regimes which continue to falsify history by generating fake documents and perjured testimony in order to send innocent men to their deaths. Nevertheless, the ruthlessly practical men who wield power in the USSR and China are finding that they cannot reform the present without revising the official view of the past, a revision which has lately included acknowledgment of the extent of and state role in the great Ukrainian hunger terror of the early thirties.

It is imperative that the leaders of the Western world now join in the trend toward historical revision now underway in the Communist nations by jettisoning wartime propaganda, including the Holocaust myth, that has long congealed into a hardened mass of antipathies and hatreds, ever ready for evocation against enemies old and new. The key to Western Revisionism, furthermore, is the skewed and distorted history of the two world wars, which continues to sap the West's collective will to reasoned deliberation and caution in matters foreign and domestic by holding the image of a diabolical enemy up to our politicians and our populace, an enemy which must not be "appeased," but rather annihilated, not once but again and again in ritual trials and auto-da-fés. If the *JHR*, and the Institute for Historical Review, have one great task, it is to bring home to the world, as forcefully as possible, that the ongoing Hitlermania and Nazi frenzy have not supplied a basis for peace and understanding, as good-hearted supporters of the United Nations and other peace schemes may have once thought rather, unchallenged lies and distortions about the Second World War have supplied leaders, East and West, with all the weapons, and all the power, to accomplish far greater devastation and ruin than Hitler and his most evil henchmen ever could have dreamed.

The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews: Part I

CARLO MATTOGNO

1. 'Not a document remains, or perhaps ever existed.'

What strikes one most in the voluminous literature dedicated to the “extermination” of the Jews is the disparity existing between so grave an accusation and the fragility of the evidence furnished for its support.

The elaboration and realization of so gigantic an “extermination plan” would have required a very complex organization, technically, economically, and administratively, as noted by Enzo Collotti:

It is easy to understand that so horrifying a tragedy could not physically be carried out by only a few hundred, or even by a few thousand, that it could not be accomplished without a very extensive organization, benefiting by the help and collaboration of the most diverse sectors of national life, practically all branches of government, in other words, without the collusion of millions of people who knew, who saw, who accepted, or who, in any case, even if they did not agree, kept silent and, most often, worked without reacting in making their contribution to the machinery of the persecution and the extermination. [1]

Gerald Reitlinger underscores that:

Hitler Germany was a police state of the highest degree, that has left hundreds of tons of documents and thousands of precious pieces of evidence.

So that, finally,

... there is, in truth, nothing that this adversary has not confided to papers. [2]

At the end of the Second World War the Allies seized

... all the secret archives of the German government, including the documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Army and the Navy, of the National Socialist Party, and of the Secret State Police [Gestapo] of Heinrich Himmler. [3]

Those archives were sided by the victorious powers with a view toward the Nuremberg trials:

Hundreds of thousands of seized German documents were assembled in all haste at Nuremberg in order to be used as evidence against the principal Nazi war criminals. [4]

The Americans alone examined 1,100 tons of documents [5] from which they selected 2,500 documents. [6]

One would expect, then, to be submerged by a flood of documents establishing the reality of the “extermination” of the Jews, but matters presented themselves in a very different manner, as is recognized by Léon Poliakov:

The archives torn from the bowels of the Third Reich, the depositions and accounts of its chiefs permit us to reconstruct in their least detail the birth and the development of its plans for aggression, its military campaigns, and the whole range of processes by which the Nazis intended to reshape the world to their pattern. Only the campaign to exterminate the Jews, as concerns its completion, as well as in many other essential aspects, remains steeped in fog. Psychological inferences and considerations, third- or fourth-hand accounts, allow us to reconstruct the developments with a considerable verisimilitude. Certain details, nevertheless, will remain unknown forever. As concerns the concept proper of the plan for total extermination, the three or four principal actors are dead. No document remains, and has perhaps never existed. That is the secret of the masters of the Third Reich. As boastful and cynical as they were on other occasions, they covered up their major crimes. [7]

Since the first version of Léon Poliakov’s work [8] the situation has not changed:

Despite the great harvest of Nazi documents captured by the Allies at the end of the war, it is precisely the documents concerning the process of the formation of the idea of the final solution of the “Jewish question” that are missing, to the point that up until the present it is difficult to say how, when, and exactly by whom the order to exterminate the Jews was given. [9]

The “plan for total extermination” still remains a mystery, even from the technical, economic, and administrative viewpoint:

The technical genius of the Germans allowed them to mount, within a few months, an efficient, rationalized death industry. Like every industry it comprised research and development, and administrative services, accounting, and records. Many aspects of these activities remain unknown to us, and remain hidden by a secret incomparably more opaque than that of the German war industries. The German rocket and torpedo technicians, the economic planners of the Reich have survived, and have given up their plans and their processes to the victors; almost all the technicians of death have disappeared, after having destroyed their records.

Extermination camps had sprung up at first with rudimentary installations, which were then perfected; who perfected them? A veritable mastery of crowd psychology was manifested, to the end of assuring the perfect docility of the men intended for death who were the promoters? There are so many questions to which, at the moment, [10] we can find only fragmentary, and sometimes hypothetical, replies. [11]

Fragmentary information allows us to have an imperfect notion of the part played by the technicians of euthanasia in the extermination of the Polish Jews. But many points still remain in darkness; in general the history of the Polish camps is very imperfectly known [12]

But a systematic “extermination plan” evidently presupposes a specific order that, by force of circumstance, can be imputed only to the Führer. Now one must set down that this phantom-like

Führerbefehl (command of the Führer) is submerged in the most impenetrable blackness.

Walter Laqueur acknowledges:

To the present day a written order by Hitler regarding the destruction of the European Jewish community has not been found, and, in all probability, this order was never given. [13]

Colin Cross admits:

There does not exist then, anything like a written order signed by him for the extermination of the Jews in Europe. [14]

Christian Zentner acknowledges:

One cannot fix the exact moment when Hitler gave the order ... without doubt never drawn up in writing ... to exterminate the Jews. [15]

Saul Friedländer admits:

It is not known precisely when the idea of the physical extermination of the Jews imposed itself on Hitler's spirit. [16]

Joachim Fest acknowledged:

To the present day the question of knowing when Hitler made the decision for the Final Solution of the Jewish question is in abeyance, and for the simple reason that not a single document on the subject exists. [17]

The total absence of evidence permits the official historians to give free rein to the most diverse speculations.

After having insinuated that "it is Adolf Hitler in person who undoubtedly signed the death sentence of the Jews of Europe," [18] Léon Poliakov continues:

All that we can affirm with certainty is that the genocidal decision was made by Hitler at a time that may be set between the end of the campaign in the west, in June 1940, and the aggression against Russia, a year later. Contrary to the account of Dr. Kersten, it seems to us more probable to set it some months later [the autumn of 1940], that is to say, at the beginning of 1941.

Here we get into the game of psychological deductions, to which we are obliged to appeal in order to provide a response to the second and throbbing question: what could have been the factors that weighed in the Hitlerian resolution? [19]

Poliakov affirms, consequently, "with certainty" that the "extermination" decision was made in the space of a year (June 1940 — June 1941)!

That he brings into play here largely "the game of psychological deductions is demonstrated by the fact that in another work, he moves forward imperturbably by a year and a half the fateful decision of the Führer (September 1939 instead of June 1941).

The program of the National Socialist Party called for the elimination of Jews from the German community; between 1933 and 1939 they were methodically bullied, plundered, forced to emigrate; the decision to kill them to the last man also dated from the beginning of the war. [20]

Arthur Eisenbach declares on this subject:

It is today verified that the plans for the massive extermination of the Jewish population of Europe had been prepared by the Nazi government before the outbreak of the Second World war, and were thereupon carried out gradually, according to the European political and military situations. [21]

According to Helmut Krausnick, Hitler gave the secret order to exterminate the Jews “at the latest in March 1941.” [22]

Item 79 of the judgment in the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem, on the contrary, maintains that the extermination order “was given by Hitler himself shortly before the invasion of Russia,” [23] while the judgment of the Nuremberg trial pronounces:

The plan for the extermination of the Jews was formulated immediately after the aggression against the Soviet Union. [24]

In a report drawn up in Bratislava November 18, 1944, Dieter Wisliceny, former Hauptsturmführer and Eichmann’s representative in Slovakia, affirmed that to his knowledge “the decision of Hitler that ordered the biological extermination of European Judaism [*sic*]” must be dated back to “after the beginning of the war with the United States,” [25] that is, it would have been after 11 December 1941.

This is why all that the official historians can affirm “with certainty,” to use Poliakov’s expression, is that the supposed “decision of the Führer and the alleged “extermination order” were given over a time lapse of nearly two years!

Just as fanciful is the sham order of Himmler that would have put an end to the extermination of the Jews.

Olga Wormser-Migot asserts on the subject:

No more than there exists a written order in clear text for extermination by gas at Auschwitz does there exist a written order to stop it in November 1944. [26]

She adds more precisely:

Last remark on the gas chambers: Neither at the Nuremberg trial, nor in the course of the different [occupation] zone trials, nor at the trial of Hoss at Cracow, of Eichmann in Israel, nor at the trials of the camp commanders, nor from November 1964 to August 1965 at the Frankfurt trial [Auschwitz “second echelon” accused] was there ever produced the famous order signed by Himmler 22 November 1944 ending the extermination of the Jews by gas and putting a finish to the Final Solution. [27]

Kurt Becher, former SS Standartenführer, affirmed that Himmler gave this order “between mid-September and mid-October 1944,” [28] which contradicts the testimony of Reszö Kastner, according to whom Kurt Becher had told him that Himmler on 25 [29] or on 26 [30] November

1944 had ordered the crematories and the “gas chambers” to be destroyed and to suspend the “extermination” of the Jews.

Strangely, this phantom order that even the *Auschwitz Kalendarium* puts at 26 November 1944 [31] is deemed to have gotten into the Auschwitz crematories on 17 November, or nine days before the order itself was delivered! [32]

According to other testimony reported in *Het doedenboek van Auschwitz*, the order came from Berlin even sooner, on 2 November 1944. [33]

At-Nuremberg Wisliceny declared that Himmler’s counterorder was sent in October 1944. [34]

In conclusion there exists no document establishing the reality of the “plan to exterminate” the Jews, so that “it is difficult to say how, when, and exactly by whom the order to exterminate the Jews was given.”

Such is the most recent conclusion of Exterminationist historiography.

From 29 June to 2 July 1982, the School of Higher Studies in Social Sciences and the Sorbonne organized, in Paris, an important international conference on the theme: “Nazi Germany and the Extermination of the Jews.”

In the introductory report, titled “The historiographical debate on Nazi anti-Semitism and the extermination of the Jews,” Saul Friedländer adduced in evidence the presence of two fundamental tendencies of the most recent historiography in regard to the genesis and development of the Extermination” of the Jews. [35]

The first is the thesis of the continuity “that established right from the start a cause-and-effect relationship between Nazi ideology since its origins, in particular, that of Hitler and the annihilation of the Jews.” [36] The other is the idea of discontinuity that implies “a certain anarchy at the level of the decision-making centers, that restores to certain responsible subalterns of the Nazi hierarchy their importance and eliminates, in part, the idea of one supremely responsible man, Hitler, in that which concerns the Jewish policy.” [37] Not only are these two interpretations contradictory, but indeed both are without foundation. [38]

Neither the thesis of inexorable continuity and of planning the total extermination of the Jews before the attack on the USSR, nor that of discontinuity and improvisation can be demonstrated in reality, in view of the present state of the sources; such is the conclusion reached by Krausnick and Wilhelm at the end of their monumental study of the Einsatzgruppen. [39]

At the end of his report Saul Friedländer traces a “framework of the acquisitions of [Exterminationist] historiography” in which, regarding the extermination of the Jews, he admits:

The question of the date on which the total physical extermination of the Jews was decided, as well as the elaboration of the plan for the “final solution” remain unresolved. [40]

These “acquisitions” have been fully confirmed in the presentations of two other historians.

Uwe Dietrich Adam in his account “Nazi measures regarding the Jews from the start of the Second World War up to the German attack against the USSR,” declared:

However, the precise date at which this “final solutions was ordained constitutes a problem not yet resolved for German and for world history. [41]

And again:

Insofar as no one has yet discovered a written trace of this order [to liquidate the Jews under German control] in the sources which have been exploited up to the present, and insofar as that seems unlikely, it is incumbent on the historian to date it as precisely as possible by appealing to interpretation. Since the methods and the hypotheses on this subject are very numerous, we find ourselves confronted with very diverse opinions. [42]

In his account “The decision concerning the final solutions” Christopher R. Browning spoke of “essential divergences” among Exterminationist historians:

The decision concerning the final solution has been the object of a large number of historical interpretations. The essential divergences seem to involve two connected questions: on the one hand, the nature of the decision process and, more particularly, the role of Hitler and his ideology; on the other hand, the moment when the decision was made. As Martin Broszat rightly remarked, so great a variety of interpretations warns us that every theory on the origin of the final solution is in the domain of probability rather than of certitude. [43]

Browning then presents a survey recapitulating these “essential divergences”:

For Lucy Dawidowicz, the conception of the final solution preceded its accomplishment by twenty years; for Martin Broszat, the idea emerged from praxis — the sporadic murder of groups of Jews gave birth to the idea of killing the Jews systematically. Between these two polar extremes, one finds a large variety of interpretations. Thus Eberhard Jäckel maintains that the idea of killing the Jews formed in Hitler’s mind around 1924. Stressing Hitler’s threatening declarations at the end of the thirties, Karl Dietrich Bracher supposes that the intention existed from this period. Andreas Hillgruber and Klaus Hildebrand affirm the primacy of ideological factors but propose no precise date. Others, not all functionalists, place the turning point in 1941; however, several dates are proposed for that year. Léon Poliakov judges that the beginning of 1941 is the most likely date, and Robert Kempner and Helmut Krausnick maintain that Hitler made the decision in the spring, in connection with the preparations for the invasion of Russia. Raul Hilberg thinks that the decision was made during the summer, when the massacres carried out in Russia fostered the belief that this solution was possible for a victorious Germany throughout Europe. Uwe Dietrich Adam states that it was made in autumn, at the time when the military offensive faltered and a Territorial solution” for a massive expulsion to Russia proved impossible. Finally Sebastian Haffner, who is certainly not a functionalist, defends a still later date, at the beginning of December, when first presentiment of defeat pushed Hitler to seek an irreversible victory over the Jews. [44]

At this point, Browning asks:

How to explain such a diversity of interpretations regarding the character and the date of the decision on the final solution?

This diversity is explained, according to Browning, by a subjective ground — the different vantage points occupied by the “intentionalists” and the “functionalists” — and an objective ground which is in reality the real reason, “by the lack of documentation.” [45] Browning continues:

There are no written archives in which Hitler, Himmler, and Heydrich discuss the subject of the final solution, and none of the three survived to testify after the war. That is why the historian must himself reconstruct the decision process at the top by extrapolating from events, documents, and external testimony. Just like Plato’s man in the cave, he only sees reflections and shadows, not reality. This risky process of extrapolation and reconstruction leads inevitably to a large variety of conclusions. [46]

Browning insists many times on the nearly total absence of documents concerning the “extermination plan” for the Jews:

Nevertheless, in spite of everything known about the German invasion of Russia, there is no specific documentation on the destiny reserved for the Russian Jews. In order to obtain an answer to this question it is necessary to have recourse to postwar testimony, to indirect proofs and to scattered references in the later documents. [47]

If the decision to kill the Jews in Russia indeed was taken before the invasion, on the other hand the circumstances and the exact moment of this decision remain obscure. It is impossible to determine if the initiative came from Hitler or from someone else, from Heydrich for example. Moreover, it is not known whether Hitler had already made his decision in March, when he announced clearly to the military that the Russian war would not be a conventional war, or if the complaisance of the military pushed them in the end to widen the circle of intended victims beyond the “Judeo-Bolshevik intelligentsia.” Insufficient documentation does not permit a definite response to these questions, allowing only informed hypotheses. [48]

It is not known, and doubtless will never be known when and how Heydrich and his immediate superior, Himmler, became aware of their new mission. [49]

Finally:

There was no written order for the final solution, and we have not a single reference to a verbal order, outside of that furnished by Himmler and Heydrich, who stated they acted in accord with the Führer. [50]

To conclude, the “acquisitions” of Exterminationist historiography, up to the present, are still: “Not a document remains, or perhaps ever existed.”

2. The National Socialist Policy for Jewish Emigration

The alleged “extermination plan” for the Jews, aside from not being corroborated by any document, is refuted decisively by National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration, a policy which we can trace here only in its essential lines.

In a letter to his friend Gemlich of 16 September 1919, considered to be “the first written document of Hitler’s political career” [1] he states on the subject of the Jewish question:

Rational anti-Semitism must, however, lead to the struggle against the privileges of the Jew that he alone possesses, in contrast to the other foreigners who dwell among us (legislation relative to foreigners), and to their legal and systematic suppression. But its ultimate goal must be, immutably and above all else, the removal of the Jews. [2]

On 13 August 1920 in Munich Hitler gave a speech, “Why Are We Anti-Semites?,” in which he repeated that a scientific knowledge of anti-Semitism must translate into action ending in “the removal of the Jews from among our people.” [3]

The solution of the Jewish question became the principal inspiration of the National Socialist political program[4] and of the racial doctrine. Indeed, as Poliakov notes:

... that there had to be exterminations is not apparent, furthermore, from any of the National Socialist dogmas, or their principal writings. *Mein Kampf*, where the word “Jew” appears on almost every page, is mute on the fate that will befall them in the National Socialist state.

The official party programs declares that “a Jew cannot be a compatriot” nor, consequently, a citizen, while the commentaries on the program call more explicitly for “the expulsion of the Jews and undesirable foreigners.” [5]

The removal of the Jews from the Reich was the focal point of Hitler’s policy toward the Jews from his accession to power. On 28 August 1933 the Reich Economics Ministry and the Jewish Agency for Palestine agreed to what was called the *Haavara Abkommen*, which was an accord (*Abkommen*) to facilitate the transfer (*Haavara*) [6] of German Jews to Palestine. [7]

A note of the Foreign Affairs Ministry dated 19 March 1938 presaged the breaking of the accord because, as may be read in point 3, it was not in the interest of Germany to organize the emigration of rich Jews with their capital, which [German] interest rested rather “on a mass emigration of Jews.” [8]

The Nuremberg laws of 15 September 1935 [9] reaffirmed, by legislation, Articles 4 and 5 of the party program formulated in Munich 24 February 1920. The goal of the law on Reich citizenship, and of that for the defense of German blood and honor, was to separate and isolate the Jewish foreign body from the German organism in view of the approaching expulsion, as underscored by Reitlinger:

In 1938, shortly before the Munich “agreement,” when the Fifth Supplementary Decree had just finished ousting the Jews from the last of the free professions, Wilhelm Stuckart, who not only drafted, but was in large part the promoter of the Nuremberg laws, wrote that from here on the objective of the racial laws was attained. A great number of decisions carried out thanks to the Nuremberg laws “lose importance as one nears the final solution of the Jewish problem.” The phrase, as is evident, was not yet a mask for the concept of the extermination of the race; on the contrary, it alluded clearly to the fact that the laws did not intend to perpetrate the Jewish problem, but rather to eliminate the reasons for it. The Jews had to leave the Reich, once and for all. [10]

In fact at the end of 1936 a service for Jewish questions was constituted as part of the SS Security Service. “The essential goal of the new agency was the study of all questions preparatory to a mass emigration of the Jews.” [11]

In 1938 there was instituted in Vienna the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung), the direction of which was entrusted to Adolf Eichmann by Heydrich. [12]

On 12 November 1938, some days after what was called “Crystal Night” (the night of broken glass) Göring convened the Council of Ministers to face the difficult situation thereby created.

The attitude of the National Socialist chiefs appears unequivocally as one goes through the stenographic record of the meeting. Heydrich declared that the ejection of the Jews from German economic life did not resolve “the fundamental problem of the end objective: the removal of the Jews from Germany.” At Vienna, by order of the Reichskommissar, a central office for Jewish emigration had been set up, by whose intervention at least 50,000 Jews had left Austria, while in the same period only 19,000 had left the Old Reich. That is why he proposed to establish, in the Reich as well, a central service similar to that of Vienna, and to establish an emigration operation to be completed in 8 to 10 years. Finance Minister von Krosigk approved Heydrich’s proposal: he agreed to make every effort toward the evacuation abroad of the Jews. Interior Minister Frick repeated that the objective had to be to make the largest possible number of Jews emigrate. [13]

In order to overcome the economic difficulties entailed by Jewish emigration, in December 1938 Hitler approved the Schacht plan.

The proposition discussed by Schacht with Lord Bearsted, Lord Winterton, and Mr. Rublee in London in December was, in large outline, the following: The German government would freeze the assets of the Jews to use them as a fund to guarantee an international loan amortizable in 20-25 years. Supposing that the Jewish assets were valued at 1.5 billion marks, there would have been a sufficient amount of foreign exchange to finance the emigration of Jews from the greater Reich over 3-5 years in the normal course of events.

After Schacht’s return to Germany, he met with Hitler in Berchtesgaden on 2 January 1939 concerning the reception his proposals had received in London. Hitler seemed to be impressed, as three days later he named Schacht special delegate for the augmentation of Jewish emigration. [14]

In January 1939 Schacht and [George] Rublee, director of an “intergovernmental” committee for the emigration of German Jews, agreed in London to a basic plan foreseeing the emigration of about 400,000 Jews in the space of 3 years. [15]

Reitlinger attributes the failure of the Schacht plan to the reaction aroused in Hitler by Schacht’s refusal to increase the circulation of paper money, following which, on 20 January 1939, Schacht was dismissed from the presidency of the Reichsbank. However, in an interview given Rolf Vogel in January 1970, Schacht declared that the plan was checkmated by the opposition of Chaim Weizmann. [16]

Meanwhile, National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration forged ahead.

On 24 January 1939 Göring promulgated a decree authorizing the establishment of a Reich Central [Office] for Jewish Emigration.

Göring summarized at the outset National Socialist policy toward the Jews in lapidary fashion:

The emigration of the Jews from Germany is to be furthered by all means [*Die Auswanderung der Juden aus Deutschland ist mit allen Mitteln zu fördern*].

It is precisely to that end that he established the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration mentioned above, which had as its assignment “the adoption of all measures to prepare for an intensified emigration of the Jews,” and lastly to facilitate the bureaucratic procedures for the emigration of each individual.

The direction of the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration Göring entrusted to Heydrich, Chief of the Security Police. [17]

In the course of the first meeting of the Committee of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration (11 February 1939), Heydrich discussed, above all, the Schacht-Rublee plan:

This plan evidently is destined to become the basis of a massive and organized Jewish emigration, but its implementation seems not yet to be ensured; it would be an error to count solely on it. We must therefore continue to encourage emigration by all the means at our disposal, leaving the plan aside. [18]

A Foreign Affairs Ministry report 25 January 1939 titled *The Jewish Question as a Factor of Foreign Policy* in 1938 unequivocally confirmed the animating principle of National Socialist Jewish policy:

The end objective of German policy in regard to the Jews is the emigration of all Jews living in the territory of the Reich [Das letzte Ziel der deutschen Judenpolitik ist die Auswanderung aller im Reichsgebiet lebenden Juden]. [19]

This report upheld “a radical solution of the Jewish question by emigration” such as has been pursued here for years [*eine radikale Lösung der Judenfrage durch die Auswanderung-wie sie hier schon seit Jahren verfolgt wird*],” according to the commentary of SS-Obersturmführer Ehrlinger of the Reich Central Security Department. [20]

After the creation of the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, Eichmann received an order from Heydrich to establish “a central office for Jewish emigration” in Prague. [21] In the pertinent document, signed by Reich Protector von Neurath on 15 July 1939, one reads this:

In compliance with Reich regulations, to the end of obviating hindrances and delays it is necessary to group together the treatment of all questions relating to Jewish emigration. In view of the accelerated increase and regulation of the emigration of Jews from Bohemia-Moravia, the “Central Office for Jewish Emigration” of Prague is therefore created. [22]

Despite growing difficulties, National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration was pursued even during the war.

The major difficulty was undoubtedly the poorly dissimulated anti-Semitism of the democratic countries, which on the one hand made an outcry against the persecution of the Jews by the National Socialists, and on the other, refused to accept the persecuted Jews, as appeared clearly in the course of the Evian conference that unfolded from 6 to 15 June 1938.

This conference was organized at the initiative of President Roosevelt to the end of facilitating the emigration of the victims of National Socialist persecution and, first of all, the Jews. But the

good intentions of the American president appeared suspect from the beginning. Michel Mazor writes:

At his Warm Springs press conference President Roosevelt limited the possibilities of Evian by saying that no revision or increase of immigration quotas into the United States was envisioned because of it. In his invitation to that conference, addressed to thirty three countries, Roosevelt emphasized that it was not expected of any country that it would consent to receive more immigrants than the norm stipulated by its legislation then in force.

On such a basis, the Evian conference, from its inception, was doomed to failure. In fact, its result was “that the free world abandoned the Jews of Germany and of Austria to their pitiless fate.” [23]

For her part, Rita Thalmann recalls:

Drawing a lesson from the conference, the *Danziger Vorposten* notes that “one loves to pity the Jews as long as such pity heightens an evil intentioned agitation against Germany, but that no state was disposed to fight the culture damage to central Europe by taking some thousands of Jews.. The conference,” concluded the newspaper, “therefore is a vindication of German policy toward the Jews.”

At all events, the German leaders had the evidence that the thirty-two states which took part in the Evian conference (the USSR and Czechoslovakia were not represented; Italy had declined the invitation; Hungary, Romania, and Poland had sent observers with the sole intent of asking that they be relieved of their own Jews) had no intention of taking charge of the persecutees, or indeed of concerning themselves seriously about their fate. [24]

Paradoxically, immediately after the Evian conference, beginning at the end of 1938, one notes a diminution in emigration from the Reich, “because other countries opposed themselves more and more to new immigrations of Jews.” [25]

In March 1943 Goebbels could again remark sarcastically:

What will be the solution of the Jewish question, will a Jewish state be created one day anywhere whatsoever? We'll know that later. But it is curious to note that the countries whose public opinion is aroused in favor of the Jews still refuse to receive them. They say these are the pioneers of civilization, geniuses of philosophy and artistic creation, but when one wants them to accept these geniuses, they close their frontiers: “No no, we don't want them!” This is, it seems to me, a unique example in world history of one declining to welcome genius! [26]

The rapid defeat of Poland suggested a provisional solution to the National Socialist leaders. On 23 September 1939 Heydrich sent an express-letter [*Schnellbrief*] to all chiefs of the Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police. In that letter, which had as subject “The Jewish Question in the Occupied Territory,” he set forth the measures that were agreed on in Berlin at a meeting that same day, which were summarized in two points: the final goal [*Endziel*] and the stages of its achievement. In view of this final goal, the Jews were to be concentrated in towns after the campaign. [27]

Poliakov comments:

It is a question of a “final end.” What was it? Not at all extermination, yet; we are only in 1939. A passage in the document gives us a key in the territory flying to the east of Cracow” the Jews are not to be touched; and if in other regions they are gathered together near the railroad stations, it is evidently so they may be evacuated more easily. To what destination? Very certainly to that “region to the east of Cracow.” [28]

It is thus, always according to Poliakov, that there was designed:

The project to resolve the Jewish question by gathering all Jews under Nazi domination into the region of Lublin, at the frontier of the USSR The plan for the creation of a “Jewish reservation” was given a certain publicity in the columns of the German press of the period. A territory was chosen, delimited, it seems (the information is incomplete and contradictory) by the Vistula, the San, and the USSR border, within which the Jews were to devote themselves to works of colonization under surveillance of the SS. [29]

But, because of unfavorable circumstances the project was never completely realized.

During this period the German government continued its traditional emigration policy. In effect, as Poliakov remarks:

... parallel to these deportations to the east, the “Center [Central Office — Ed.] for Jewish Emigration” made efforts to expel the German Jews to other destinations. Legal emigration had become almost impossible: a thin stream of emigrants meanwhile continued to trickle out, from Austria in particular, via Italy toward overseas countries. Some clandestine convoys, formed with the cooperation of Eichman, attempted to go down the Danube by boat, with Palestine as their destination but the British government refused to allow these travelers without visas to enter the Jewish national homeland. We shall later on meet again with this bitter paradox of the Gestapo pushing Jews to safety, while His Majesty’s democratic government bans access to the future victims of the crematory ovens. [30]

The defeat of France furnished the occasion for carrying out the policy of Jewish emigration on a large scale:

When, after the collapse of France, enormous prospects opened before the eyes of the Nazis, a plan long cherished by certain persons among them returned to the agenda with new topicality. They believed, in short, to have in hand the key to “the definitive solution of the Jewish question.” We have seen that in the course of the astonishing meeting of 12 November 1938, Göring had mentioned the “question of Madagascar.” Himmler himself had dreamed of that since 1934, a witness assures us. Park all the Jews on a big island, that, moreover, belongs to France — that must have satisfied their love of symbolism. Whatever the case, after the armistice of June 1940 the idea was propounded by the Foreign Affairs Ministry, taken up enthusiastically by the RSHA and approved by Himmler as well as by the Führer himself, it seems. [31]

During the meeting of 12 November 1938, Göring had in fact informed those present that the Führer, according to what he had told Göring personally three days before, was preparing a foreign policy gesture toward those powers which had raised the Jewish question, in order to arrive at a solution to the Madagascar question. “He will say to the other states: Why are you always talking about the Jews? Take them!” [32]

Himmler was equally favorable to a massive Jewish emigration, as is seen by the note “Some thoughts on the treatment of foreign population groups in the East” of May 1940, in which he wrote:

I expect to see the idea “Jew” effaced definitively, thanks to the emigration of all Jews to Africa, or to a colony. [33]

In the same note he rejected:

... the Bolshevik method of physically exterminating a people, with the innermost conviction that that is unGerman and impossible. [34]

On 24 June 1940 Heydrich informed Foreign Affairs Minister Ribbentrop that more than 200,000 Jews had emigrated from the territory of the Reich, but that ...

... the overall problem [*Gesamtproblem*] constituted by the 3,250,000 Jews who found themselves under German rule could no longer be resolved by emigration [*durch Auswanderung* — words underlined in the original]; which is why the necessity of a “final territorial solution [*eine territoriale Endlösung*] becomes apparent. [35]

Following that letter, the Foreign Affairs Ministry worked out the “Madagascar project.”

On 3 July 1940 Franz Rademacher, responsible for Jewish affairs at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, drew up a report titled: “The Jewish Question in the Peace Treaty” which opens with the following declaration:

The imminent victory gives Germany the possibility and, in my opinion, also the duty, to resolve the Jewish question in Europe. The desirable solution is: all the Jews out of Europe.

After having set forth the responsibilities of the Foreign Affairs Ministry relative to that solution, Rademacher goes on “Section D II proposes as a solution to the Jewish question in the peace treaty France should make Madagascar available for the solution of the Jewish question and transfer and indemnify the 25,000 French who live there. The island will come under German mandate.” [36]

It is precisely in this, just as Joseph Billig discerned, that “the territorial solution of the Jewish question, as Heydrich designated it to Ribbentrop,” consisted. [37]

Rademacher’s report was approved by Ribbentrop and transmitted to the Reich Central Security Department, which “elaborated a detailed plan for the evacuation of the Jews to Madagascar and for their settlement there; this plan was approved by the Reichsführer-SS.” [38]

On 12 July 1940, upon returning from Berlin, where he had been received by Hitler, Hans Frank, governor of Poland, made a speech in which he declared:

From the viewpoint of general policy, I would like to add that it was decided to deport all the Jewish communities of Germany, of the General Government [Poland], and of the Protectorate [Bohemia-Moravia] to an African or an American colony as soon as possible after having made peace: Madagascar, which France would have to abandon to that end, has been suggested. [39]

On 29 July Frank repeated that Hitler had decided that the Jews would be completely evacuated as soon as overseas transport permitted. [40]

Otto Abetz, former German ambassador to Paris, declared, in return, that the destination of the Jews would be the United States:

I have spoken just once, 3 August 1940, with the Führer about the Jewish question. He told me that he wanted to resolve the Jewish question for Europe in general, that is, by means of a clause in the peace treaty making it a condition that the vanquished countries transfer their Jewish nationals out of Europe. He wanted in the same way to influence the states with which he was allied. On that occasion he mentioned the United States of America as a country that had not long been overpopulated as was Europe, and therefore was able still to take in some millions of Jews. [41]

In October 1940 Alfred Rosenberg wrote an article titled: “Jews to Madagascar.” As far back as 1927, he recalled, at the anti-Jewish congress in Budapest:

... the question of a future evacuation of Jews from Europe was taken up, and on that occasion appeared for the first time the proposal to promote precisely Madagascar as the future domicile of the Jews.

He reiterated that proposal, hoping that “the Jewish high finance” of the United States and of England [42] would collaborate in the installation of a Jewish reservations on Madagascar, a matter that he considered to be a “world problem.”

According to a communication, dated 3 November 1940, from Bormann to Rosenberg, Hitler at that time opposed the publication of the article in question, while not ruling out its possible publication in the following months. [43]

This was because the Germans at the time were in contact with the Vichy government on the subject of the Madagascar project:

It was therefore natural that Hitler put off public notice of the project until later. In his speech of 30 January 1941 (anniversary of the assumption of power) he limited himself to proclaiming that “Judaism will cease to play its role in Europe.” That also was in harmony with the Madagascar plan. [44]

It seems, nevertheless, that Hitler did not thereafter authorize Rosenberg to publicize the Madagascar project. In fact, at the conference on “The Jewish Question as a World Problem” held by Rosenberg 28 March 1941, he declared, in the name of all Europeans:

For Europe the Jewish question will not be resolved until the last Jew has left the continent for a Jewish reservation.

On the subject of that reservation, Rosenberg limited himself to declaring:

In regard to the practical realization and the place of transfer, or evacuation, many things naturally have been said over the years. It is not necessary at present to deal with that question. Its solution will be left to a future accord. [45]

Goebbels, in turn, according to the testimony of Morit von Schirmeister, a former Propaganda Ministry official, spoke publicly and repeatedly of the Madagascar project.

Dr. Fritz: Where were the Jews to be evacuated to according to the declarations of Dr. Goebbels?

Von Schirmeister: Up until the first year, including the Russian campaign, Dr. Goebbels mentioned several times the Madagascar plan at conferences at which he presided. Afterwards, he changed his mind and said it was necessary to set up a new Jewish state in the east, to which the Jews then would be sent. [46]

Interrogated at Nuremberg about a document of 24 September 1943, Ribbentrop responded:

The Führer then proposed the evacuation of the European Jews to North Africa — but Madagascar also came up. He ordered me to make contact with the various governments to induce emigration of Jews, and their exclusion from important organizations as far as possible. That order was then directed by me to the Foreign Affairs Ministry and, as far as I can remember, contacts were made repeatedly with several governments on the subject of emigration of Jews to North Africa, which was anticipated. [47]

In the note, “Madagascar Project”, 30 August 1940, Rademacher declared that the establishment of the General Government of Poland and the annexation of the new eastern districts had put a very great number of Jews under German rule. That and other difficulties, such as the hardening immigration legislation on the part of overseas countries, made it difficult to complete the “solution of the Jewish question in the territory of the Reich, and including the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, by means of emigration,” [48] on schedule, or for a date not too far distant, whence, precisely, the Madagascar project.

Eichmann went to work with a will

He surrounded himself with maritime experts, to work out a transport plan; this was to be carried out by a pool of the big German navigation companies. Embarkation would be at the principal North Sea and Mediterranean ports. At the same time, he strove to have all Jewish fortunes confiscated for the benefit of the “Central Fund.” He sent emissaries to the occupied or controlled countries in order to gather statistics on the number, age, occupational distribution, etc., of the Jews. These detailed statistics, we shall see, will serve another end.

...Everything was in readiness so that the machinery could go into action when peace was concluded. [49]

Indeed, in the note quoted from above, Rademacher, reckoning that the transfer of four million Jews to Madagascar would take about four years, wrote:

After the conclusion of peace, the German merchant marine will no doubt be thoroughly occupied in another fashion. It is therefore necessary to include in the peace treaty that France and England put at our disposal the tonnage required for the solution of the Jewish problem. [50]

The paragraph “Financing” in the “Madagascar Project” note opens with the following phrase:

The realization of the proposed “final solution” requires considerable means. [51]

The infamous “final solution of the Jewish question,” then, reduces simply to the transfer of the European Jews to Madagascar, as acknowledged in the judgment of the Eichmann trial:

Until it was abandoned, the “Madagascar Plan” was sometimes referred to by the German leaders as “the final solution of the Jewish question,” [52]

As we know, that expression would later become, according to the official historians, synonymous with the “extermination” of the Jews:

Final Solution of the Jewish question was one of the conventional phrases to designate the Hitlerian plan to exterminate the European., Jews. German functionaries employed it, beginning in the summer of 1941, in order to avoid having to admit to each other the existence of this plan; however, even before then, on diverse occasions, the expression had been used to designate, essentially, the emigration of the Jews. [53]

In reality, this assertion is arbitrary, and entirely without foundation, not only because no evidence supports it, but because existing documents refute it categorically.

Here we must limit ourselves to some brief considerations. The investigators at Nuremberg knew perfectly well that an “extermination plan” which, according to the prosecution, brought about the death of “more than four and a half million” [54] or of “six million” [55] Jews could not have been carried out without leaving the least trace in the Nazi archives and, from the juridical standpoint, they could not have recourse to the subterfuges of the official historians, according to whom all the compromising documents were destroyed.

Thus they worked out an audacious method of exegesis, allowing one to say whatever he wants, regardless of any document. The foundation of that exegetic method rests on an arbitrary speculation according to which the supreme National Socialist authorities adopted, even for their most private documents, a kind of code language, to which the Nuremberg investigators pretended, naturally, to have discovered the key. Whence the systematic distortion — to serve the extermination thesis — of completely harmless documents.

The most widely known example of this systematic travesty concerns precisely the interpretation of the term *Endlösung*(final solution), which has been made a synonym for “extermination of the Jews.” [56] As we shall soon see, the “final solutions by the transfer of European Jews to Madagascar was succeeded — but only as an alternative — by “the final territorial solution” of deporting the European Jews to the eastern territories occupied by the Germans.

On 20 May 1941 Heydrich stopped Jewish emigration from France and from Belgium, and the immigration of Jews into the occupied territories, in order to reserve all emigration possibilities for the Jews of the Reich, and “in consideration of the no doubt early final solution of the Jewish question.” [57]

Uwe Dietrich Adam comments:

This document was later often, due to its formulation, poorly interpreted. Göring ordered all authorities to facilitate the emigration of the Jews from the Reich and the areas under its protectorate, insofar as possible, even during the war. On the other hand, the emigration of Jews from France and from Belgium was to be forbidden due to “the final solution which, without a doubt, draws near.” The deceptive term “final solution” was interpreted by generations of historians as designating a physical destruc-

tion, whereas at that time it signified only the emigration of the Jews to Madagascar. [57a]

In the event, by a letter of 31 July 1941 Göring entrusted to Heydrich the task of making all necessary preparations regarding the “final solution,” that is, to organize the total and definitive emigration or evacuation of the Jews who found themselves under German rule.[57b] The letter declared, in effect:

Supplementing the task already assigned to you by decree of 24 January 1939, to find the most advantageous solution of the Jewish question, by means of emigration or evacuation, possible in the circumstances, I charge you herewith to proceed with all preparations necessary on the organizational concrete, and material levels in order to arrive at a total solution [*Gesamtlösung*] of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe. Insofar as the competent authorities of other branches may find themselves concerned here, they will have to participate. I charge you also to submit to me quickly a complete plan [*Gesamtentwurf*] showing the organizational, the concrete, and material preliminary measures to achieve the final solution of the Jewish question to which we all aspire. [58]

According to the method of interpretation mentioned above, that letter would constitute one of the fundamental documents of the history of the “extermination” [59]: the expression “final solution” appears indeed, to designate, as Reitlinger maintains, “the Hitlerian plan for the extermination of the Jews of Europe.”

In reality, and the text shows it clearly, the desired “final solution of the Jewish question” is a solution by means of “emigration or evacuation.”

Heydrich himself, writing 6 November 1941 that for years he had been charged with preparing the “final solution” in Europe, [60] made clear that this responsibility was derived from the decree 24 January 1939 and identified the “final solution” precisely as “the final solution by way of emigration or of evacuation.”

That the official historians' interpretations are tendentious is evidenced by the fact that G. Reitlinger and W. Shirer, citing the letter in question, suppress precisely that part of the document that speaks of emigration and evacuation. [61]

Göring's letter of 31 July 1941 refers exclusively to Jewish emigration and evacuation, and that is confirmed by a very important document, the 21 August 1942 memorandum of Martin Luther.

In this document Martin Luther, chief of the department “Germany” in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, recapitulates the essential points of National Socialist policy in regard to the Jews. Luther goes on:

The principle of German policy on the Jewish question after the assumption of power was to promote Jewish emigration by every means. To accomplish this General Field Marshal Göring, in his capacity as chief of the Four Year Plan, established in 1939 a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, the direction of which was entrusted to Gruppenführer Heydrich in his role as chief of the security police.

After having referred to the Madagascar plan, which had at that time been by-passed by events, Luther went on to note that Göring's letter of 31 July 1941 followed up Heydrich's letter, which we have already cited, in which Heydrich informed Rademacher that:

The overall problem constituted by the 3,250,000 Jews who found themselves under German rule could no longer be resolved by emigration; which is why the necessity of a “final territorial solution” becomes apparent.

Luther went on to write

Knowing that, Reich Marshal Göring on 31 July 1941 charged Gruppenführer Heydrich with making, in collaboration with all German central agencies interested, all necessary preparations for a total solution of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe

Luther continues:

In compliance with that order, Gruppenführer Heydrich called a meeting 20 January 1942 of all interested German agencies, a meeting at which the under secretaries of the other ministries, and I myself from the Foreign Ministry, were present.

At that meeting Gruppenführer Heydrich explained that the responsibility assigned him by Reich Marshal Göring had been given him by order of the Führer, and that the Führer from then on authorized the evacuation of the Jews to the east as a solution other than emigration.

In compliance with that order by the Führer, the evacuation of the German Jews was undertaken.

The destination consisted of the eastern territories, via the General Government

Evacuation via the General Government is a provisional measure. The Jews ultimately will be transferred to the eastern occupied territories when the necessary conditions are created. [62]

In a note of 14 November 1942 headed “Financing the measures related to the solution of the Jewish problem,” Ministerial Counselor Maedel confirmed

It is some time ago that the Reichsmarschall charged the Reichsführer-SS and chief of the German police with preparing measures appropriate to assuring the final solution of the Jewish problem in Europe. The Reichsführer-SS has charged the Chief of the Security Police and the SD with the execution of that task. The latter has, first of all, expedited, by special measures, the legal emigration of the Jews to overseas countries. When the war made overseas emigration impossible he made preparations for the progressive clearance of the Reich territory of its Jews by their evacuation to the east. [63]

The difficulties of the war and the prospects opened by the Russian campaign had brought about the provisional abandonment of the policy of total emigration.

In consequence, emigration of Jews from Germany was suspended 23 October 1941 [64] for the duration of the war, but, it seems, the order was not executed because it was sent out again 3 January 1942 [65] and promulgated finally by Himmler 4 February 1942. On that date the “military commander” in France published the following ordinance:

The Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police at RMdJ has ordered the general cessation of all Jewish emigration from Germany and from the occupied countries.

Himmler reserved to himself authorization of particular emigrations when the interests of Germany required. [66] Yet up until 31 March 1943, Jews of Italian, Finnish, Swiss, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, and Swedish citizenship were permitted to return to their countries. [67]

Heydrich's conference mentioned by Luther was held 20 January 1942 in Berlin at Gross Wannsee 56/58. The "minutes" relating to that conference open with a summary of National Socialist policy regarding the Jews:

The Chief of Security Police and of the Security Service, SS Gruppenführer Heydrich, opened the meeting by announcing his appointment to responsibility for the preparation of the final solution of the European Jewish question [*Endlösung der europäischen Judenfrage*], and indicated that the object of the meeting was to clear up questions of principle. To respond to the wish of the Reichsmarschall to see a plan for organizational measures, and on concrete and material questions posed by the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe, all central agencies directly interested must agree first of all to coordinate their efforts.

It is the Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police (and of the security police and of the security service) who will be responsible for the totality of the measure necessary for the solution of the Jewish question regardless of geographical boundaries.

The Chief of the Security Police and of the Security Service thereupon gave a brief insight into the fight against this adversary up to the present time. Its essential phases are:

- a) Forcing the Jews out of the vital spheres of the German people
- b) Driving the Jews out of the living space of the German people.

To arrive at these goals, the only possibility of provisional solution has been to accelerate and to undertake in systematic fashion the emigration of the Jews out of the territory of the Reich

In January 1939, at the order of the Reichsmarschall there was created a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, at the head of which was placed the Chief of the Security Police and of the Security Service. This service had as its mission, in particular:

- a) to take all measures for the *preparation* of an intensified emigration of the Jews;
- b) to *orient* the course of emigration;
- c) to hasten emigration in *particular cases*.

The object was to cleanse the German living space of its Jews by legal means.

In consequence of that policy, up to 31 October 1941, and this despite manifold difficulties, about 537,000 Jews emigrated from the old Reich, from Austria, and from the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia.

The minutes continue:

Meanwhile, the Reichsführer-SS and Chief of the German Police [Himmler], in view of the dangers of emigration in wartime, and in view of the possibilities offered in the east, has forbidden the emigration of Jews.

From that time on, with the prior authorization of the Führer, emigration gave way to another possible solution, evacuation of the Jews to the east

Although one will not fail to recognize these actions as merely alternative possibilities [*Ausweichsmöglichkeiten*], the practical experience already gathered in this field is of — signal importance for the final solution of the Jewish question.” [68]

By order of the Führer the final solution, i.e., the total emigration of the European Jews, thus was replaced by evacuation to the occupied territories of the east, but only as a palliative, until taking up the question again after the end of the war. In the event, by a memorandum dated Berlin August 1940, Luther had communicated to Rademacher the following:

On the occasion of a conference with Ambassador Abetz in Paris, he informed me that when he reported to the Führer on France about two weeks ago, the Führer told him that he intended to evacuate all the Jews from Europe after the war. [69]

This is not the only document in which Hitler manifests this intention regarding the European Jews. Indeed, according to a Reich Chancellery note of March-April 1942, Hitler intended to take up the Jewish question after the war, [70] and on 24 July 1942 he himself affirmed that after the end of the war he “would strike town after town if the Jews did not move out and did not emigrate to Madagascar or to another Jewish national state.” [71]

Some months earlier, on March 7, 1942, Goebbels had written in his diary:

The Jewish question will have to be written up in a plan on a pan-European scale. There remain more than eleven million Jews in Europe. In the first place it is necessary to concentrate them all in the east. After the war we will be able eventually to assign them an island, perhaps Madagascar. In any case, there will be no peace in Europe as long as the Jews on the Continent are not totally excluded. [72]

The intention of the Nazis to resolve the Jewish question after the end of the war appears also in the so-called “Brown File,” which goes back to the summer of 1941.

The paragraph “Directive for the solution of the Jewish question” of this document, which B. Nellessen says “sanctioned severe measures, but not extermination,” [73] opens with the following phrase:

All measures concerning the Jewish question in the occupied territories of the east must be taken with the thought that after the war the Jewish question in Europe will find a general solution. [74]

A note by Luther of 17 October 1941 likewise mentions, in reference to Jews interned in France, “the measures to be taken after the war toward fundamental solution of the Jewish question.” [74a]

In compliance with Hitler's directives the Madagascar project was then provisionally abandoned. An informative letter of 10 February 1942 by Rademacher gives the reason for this:

In August 1940, I sent you, for your files, the plan for the final solution of the Jewish question [*zur Endlösung der Judenfrage*] formulated by my office, according to which in the peace treaty the island of Madagascar was to be required of France but the practical execution of that task was to be entrusted to the Reich Central Security Agency. In conformance with that plan, GruppenFührer Heydrich has been charged by the Führer with solving the Jewish question in Europe.

Meanwhile, the war against the Soviet Union has put more territory for the final solution [*für die Endlösung*] at our disposal. Consequently, the Führer has decided to expel the Jews not to Madagascar, but to the east. Therefore it is no longer necessary to look to Madagascar for the final solution. [Madagaskar braucht mithin nicht mehr für die Endlösung vorgesehen zu werden]. [75]

Some weeks before then, on 27 January 1942, the Führer had declared:

The Jews must leave Europe. The best thing is that they go to Russia. [76]

A "notice" of 9 October 1942 captioned, "preparatory measures for the solution of the Jewish problem in Europe. Rumors about the condition of the Jews in the east" summarizes the stages and explains clearly the meaning of "final solution":

For almost 2,000 years a struggle, until now in vain has been carried on against Jewry. It is only since 1933 that the ways and means have been found to separate Jewry completely from the German masses.

The task, with a view to a solution, accomplished up until the present, may be summarized, *grosso modo*, as follows:

I. Exclusion of the Jews from the private spheres of the German people. Laws will guarantee to future generations protection against a new influx of the enemy.

II. The attempt to drive the enemy completely out of the Reich territory. By reason of the very limited living space at the disposal of the German people, it is expected that this problem can be resolved principally by an accelerated Jewish emigration.

After the declaration of war, in 1939, the possibilities for emigration diminished more and more. On the other hand, as distinct from the living space of the German people, its economic space grew rapidly, although, by reason of the great number of Jews living in those territories, a total evacuation of the Jews by emigration is no longer possible.

Since the next generation itself will no longer feel the problem so intimately and will no longer understand it as clearly as in the light of past experience, and since this question, once put, demands a definitive answer, the problem must be solved by the present generation.

The removal or the total withdrawal of the millions of Jews living in the European economic space [*Lebensraum*] constitutes an urgent need for the vital security of the German people.

Beginning with the territory of the Reich, continuing with the other European territories comprehended in the definitive plan, the Jews will be deported progressively to large camps already established, or in course of being established, where they will have to work and from whence they will be deported farther to the east.

The accomplishment of these tasks calls for a “merciless strictness,” [77] which is to say that the deportation of the Jews to the east must be total and inflexible.

Final solution of the Jewish question, then, never meant “Hitlerian plan for the extermination of the European Jews.” [78]

At the Nuremberg trial Hans Lammers, former chief of the Führer’s chancellery, interrogated by Dr. Thoma, affirmed he knew many things on the subject of the “final solution.”

In 1942 he learned that the Führer had entrusted to Heydrich — through the intermediation of Göring — the task of solving the Jewish question. In order to know more, he contacted Himmler and asked him “What exactly was meant by the final solution of the Jewish question?” Himmler answered that he had received from the Führer the assignment to bring about the final solution of the Jewish question and that “this task consisted essentially of the fact that the Jews had to be evacuated from Germany.” Subsequently this explanation was confirmed to him by the Führer personally.

In 1943 rumors, according to which the Jews were killed, circulated. Lammers tried to get at the source of these rumors, but without results, as they were founded always on other rumors, so he came to the conclusion that they were the product of enemy radio propaganda.

Nevertheless, to clarify the matter, Lammers again turned to Himmler, who denied that Jews might be killed legally: they were simply evacuated to the east, and that was the task that Hitler had entrusted to him. In the course of these evacuations aged or sick persons could have died, of course, and there could have been accidents, air attacks, and revolts that Himmler had been constrained to repress bloodily, to set an example, but that was all.

Lammers then went once more to the Führer. who gave him the same reply as Himmler:

He told me: I shall decide later where the Jews will go; at the moment they are being put there.

Dr. Thoma then asked Lammers:

Himmler never told you that the final solution for the Jews consisted in their extermination?

Lammers: There was never a question of that. He spoke only of executions..

Dr. Thoma When did you learn that five million Jews had been exterminated?

Lammers: I learned it here, some time ago. [79]

So it is only at Nuremberg that the chief of the Reich Chancellery received knowledge of the alleged “extermination” of the Jews!

The statistical report “The Final Solution of the European Jewish Question” [*Die Endlösung der europäischen Judenfrage*] by Richard Korherr summarizes numerically the results of National

Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration until 31 December 1941. 557,357~ Jews had emigrated from the Old Reich, from the Sudetenland, from the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, and from Austria. At least an equal number had emigrated from the eastern territories and from the Central Government, as the figure reproduced by Korherr, 762,593 Jews, combines emigrations and the excess of natural mortality. [80]

In conclusion, Adolf Hitler, from 1933 to 1942, had authorized the emigration of at least a million Jews who found themselves under his control.

As to the others, why exterminate them? Poliakov himself remarks on this subject:

From a more down-to-earth viewpoint, to what good? It is so much more economical to put them to work at the hardest tasks, parking them on a reservation, for example. [81]

This is precisely what Hitler did.

As the war went on, the concentration camps and the ghettos became indeed important centers for the German war economy, and this is why “the exploitation of Jewish manpower was another source of substantial revenue for the Third Reich and its men.” [82]

The concentration camp at Auschwitz, for example, the territory of which comprised a “sphere of interest” of about 40 square kilometers, was the center of gravity of a vast industrial zone. It furnished manpower to numerous German industries, among which were Farbenindustrie, Berghütte, Vereinigte Oberschlesische Hüttenwerke AG, Hermann Göringwerke, Siemens-Schuckertwerke, Energie Versorgung Oberschlesien AG, Oberschlesische Hydrierwerke, Oberschlesische Gerätebau G.m.b.h., Deutsche Gas u. Russgesellschaft, Deutsche Reichsbahn, Heeresbauverwaltung, Schlesische Feinweberei, Union-Werke, Golleschauer Portland-Zement AG.

In the course of the years 1942-1944 the central Auschwitz camp counted 39 outside camps, of which 31 were for detainees used as manpower, 19 among them employing mainly Jewish detainees. [83]

At Monowitz 16 Farbenindustrie factories employed 25,000 Auschwitz detainees, about 100,000 civilian workers, and about 1,000 English POWs. [84]

Even the ghettos were transformed into economic centers of great importance. With the revolt of the Warsaw ghetto “the German war industry in the east lost one of its important supply centers.” [85]

The second ghetto in economic importance after that of Warsaw was the Lodz ghetto: “Its manufactures of all kinds, and in particular, its textile industries, constituted support of great value to the German economy.” [86]

On 19 January 1942 there was created the SS Economic Management Head Office [SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt SS-WVHA], [87] the aim of which was precisely “to utilize on a large scale the detainee manpower.” [88] On 3 March Himmler ordered the inspectorate of the concentration camps to be transferred from the SS Main Directorate [SS-Führungshauptamt] to the SS-WVHA in order to centralize in Agency Group D [Amtsgruppe D] the direction of the war effort in relation to manpower. [89] An important modification was thus made in the

function of internment in concentration camps, as is underscored by SS-Obergruppenführer Pohl, Chief of the SS-WVHA, in a letter of 30 April 1942 to the Reichsführer SS:

The war evidently has made necessary a change in the structure of the concentration camps, and to radically modify their functions in regard to the employment of detainees. The increase in the number of detainees solely for reasons of security, of re-education, or of prevention, is no longer of primary concern. The main emphasis is placed on the economic aspect. The mobilization of all work capacity for war purposes (increase of armament) first of all and later for construction in peacetime, must be given higher priority with each day. [90]

These dispositions were equally valid for the Jews. As early as 25 January 1942 Himmler had sent the following order to SS-Brigade-führer Glücks, Inspector-General of Concentration Camps:

Inasmuch as soon we shall not be able to reckon with Russian prisoners of war, I shall send a great number of Jews and Jewesses expelled from Germany into the camps. Prepare to receive, in the course of the next four weeks, 100,000 Jews and up to 50,000 Jewesses in the concentration camps. Important economic tasks will be entrusted to the concentration camps in the coming weeks. SS Gruppenführer Pohl will inform you about this in detail. [91]

At the beginning of 1943, about 185,000 Jews were employed in war industry on territory under the control of the Reich. [92]

On 7 September 1943 all the Jewish work camps in the General Government — 10 in the district of Lublin alone — were released by the SS-WVHA and became auxiliary camps of Lublin. [93]

On 5 April 1944 in the territories under Reich jurisdiction there were 20 concentration camps and 105 work camps. [94]

In May 1944 Hitler ordered the employment of 200,000 Jews as manpower in the Jager construction program of ministerial director Dorsch. The order concerning guard personnel was issued by Himmler on May 11:

The Führer has ordered that 10,000 Waffen-SS, including officers and non-commissioned officers, be assigned to the surveillance of 200,000 Jews that the Reichsführer-SS is sending into the concentration camps of the Reich in order to employ them on the great construction projects of the Organization Todt and on other important military works. [95]

The former Hungarian Interior Minister, Gabor Wajna, reported a declaration by Himmler according to which: “Since the Jews have been employed on the Jager program, production has increased 40%.” [96]

According to an SS-WVHA letter dated “Oranienburg, 15 August 1944” it appeared that the internment of 612,000 persons — among whom were 50,000 Jews of the Hungary program — in concentration camps was imminent. [97]

The importance of the work potential represented by the Jews appears even more plainly when the pressing need of the German war industry for manpower is considered.

On 21 March 1942 Hitler named Fritz Sauckel general plenipotentiary for the employment of manpower with the assignment of providing for that need. [98] According to a report sent by Sauckel to Hitler and Göring 27 July 1942, 5,124,000 foreign workers were employed in the Reich. Despite that, the need for manpower was so great that in January 1943 Sauckel ordered the total mobilization of all Germans for the war economy. On 5 February 1943 at the Gauleiter Congress held in Posen, Sauckel declared:

The extraordinary harshness of the war has constrained me, in the name of the Führer, to mobilize several million foreigners for employment in the German war economy, in order to assure maximum output.

But at the beginning of 1944 Hitler called for 4,000,000 additional workers. [99] At the same time living conditions in the concentration camps were made easier in order to get higher production from the detainee labor force.

On 20 January 1943 SS-Brigadeführer Glücks, Chief of Agency Group D of the SS-WVHA, transmitted to the concentration camp commanders Himmler's order of 20 December 1942 [100] to reduce the deathrate in the camps by every means, and holding them "personally responsible for exhausting every possibility to preserve the physical strength of the detainees." [101]

Following that order — as is noted by SS-Obergruppenführer Pohl on 30 September 1943 in a statistical report to the Reichsführer-SS — thanks to the amelioration of hygienic conditions, nourishment, and clothing, the mortality in the concentration camps was in constant decline, having fallen from 10% in December 1943 to 2.09% in August 1943. [102]

An SS-WVHA order of 18 November 1943 to the Auschwitz command recommended giving a bonus to the detainees — even to the Jews — who distinguished themselves by their work. [103]

The "extermination;" of the Jews therefore was an economic absurdity, as Poliakov himself recognized,[104] the more so as, according to Collotti:

... it was, among other reasons, the economic necessity of making use of their labor that prevented the massive extermination of Soviet war prisoners wanted by Hitler. [105]

But if the economic need of the Germans was so pressing in regard to the Russians, why was it not equally so in regard to the Jews?

The official historians reply by maintaining that the "extermination" of the Jews, corresponding to the fundamental objective of the Führer, took precedence over no matter what economic exigency, even at the risk of assuming a clearly counter-economic character. Hannah Arendt formulated this thesis in admirable fashion:

The incredible character of these horrors is closely tied to their uselessness on the economic plan. The Nazis stubbornly pushed the useless to the injurious when, in the midst of war, despite their shortage of construction materials and of rolling stock, they erected enormous and costly enterprises of extermination, and organized the transport of millions of people. From the viewpoint of a strictly utilitarian world the contradiction manifest between that manner of behavior and the military imperatives lends the whole undertaking a crazy and chimerical air. [106]

It is only too easy to object that if the “extermination” of the Jews was so important to Hitler to the point of allowing the imperative needs of the German war economy to take second place, and even harm it, he certainly would not have permitted — up through the first two years of the war — the emigration of at least a million Jews!

In reality, the “Europa Plan,” on which talks began in official form in the spring of 1944, shows to what extent the Nazis were utilitarian in that which concerned the Jews. Himmler proposed to exchange one million Jews (children, women, old people) for “10,000 trucks, a thousand tons of coffee, and a bit of soap.” [107]

Joel Brand, who conducted the negotiations for the Jewish side, went to Istanbul and from there to Cairo:

In truth, it was the Allies who raised obstacles. Joel Brand was interned by the British authorities without having had the possibility of accomplishing his mission; and the State Department forbade Dr. Schwarz, the director of the American Jewish Joint [Committee] to deal with enemy subjects. [108]

Joel Brand succeeded in transmitting the German proposal to Lord Moyne, then British Minister of State for the Middle East, who answered him.

And what am I supposed to do with a million Jews? Where shall I put them? [109]

The fragility of the abovementioned thesis is linked closely to the fragility of the reasons that are supposed to explain “the extermination of the Jews.” Almost all the official historians are certain that it is necessary to investigate those reasons in the presumed National Socialist concept according to which the Jews “as an inferior race” were to be exterminated “for the sole fact of being Jewish.” That thesis is rejected categorically by the reality of the policy in the matter of Jewish emigration—which became even forced emigration — pursued by the government of the Reich up through the first two years of the war.

Poliakov himself acknowledges, without quibbles, the lack of foundation for that thesis. After having asked himself the throbbing question of why the decision for “extermination” was made, he goes on:

“Hatred of the Jews,” “Hitler’s madness,” are the more general terms, which, at the same time, say nothing; and Hitler — at least as long as the fate of the Reich had not been sealed — was a calculating and informed politician. For the rest, we have seen the extermination of the Jews has no part in Nazi aims. Why, then, was that decision, of which we have seen all the irrationality it comprised, taken, and why just at that given time?

Let us try then to look further ahead, always remaining fully aware of what such deductions, in the absence of all testimony, all minutes of proceedings, all irrefutable documents, can offer in the way of speculation and fragility. [110]

In other words, not only *when*, and by *whom*, but even *why* the decision to exterminate the Jews would have been taken, is unknown.

On the subject of the reasons for that presumed decision, in fact, the official historiography is able to supply nothing but “deductions” that are “speculative and “fragile” and beyond that are in

manifest contradiction with the **REALITY** of National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration, as Christopher Browning recognizes:

The assumption that Nazi Jewish policy was the premeditated and logical consequence of Hitler's anti-Semitism cannot be easily reconciled with his actual behavior in the years before 1941. For example, Hitler's view of the Jews as the "November criminals" who caused Germany's defeat in World War I was as fervently held as any of his anti-Jewish allegations. Indeed, the oft-cited passage from *Mein Kampf* lamenting that twelve or fifteen thousand Jews had not been gassed during the war makes far more sense in the context of the stab-in-the-back legend than as a prophecy or intimation of the Final Solution. The "logical" consequence of the thesis of the Jew as wartime traitor should have been a "preventive" massacre of German Jewry before the western offensive or at least before the attack on Russia

In actual practice Nazi Jewish policy sought a *judenrein* Germany by facilitating and often coercing Jewish emigration. In order to reserve the limited emigration opportunities for German Jews, the Nazis opposed Jewish emigration from elsewhere on the continent. This policy continued until the fall of 1941, when the Nazis prohibited Jewish emigration from Germany and for the first time justified the blocking of Jewish emigration from other countries in terms of preventing their escape from the German grasp. The efforts of the Nazi Jewish experts to facilitate Jewish emigration both before and during the war, as well as their plans for massive expulsions (what the Nazis euphemistically called "resettlement" or *Umsiedlung*) were not merely tolerated but encouraged by Hitler. It is difficult to reconcile the assumption of a long-held intention to murder the Jews of Europe with this behavior. If Hitler knew he was going to murder the Jews, then he was supporting a policy that "favored" German Jews over other European Jews and "rescued" from death many of those he held most responsible for Germany's earlier defeat.

It has been argued that Hitler was merely awaiting the opportune moment to realize his murderous intentions. Not only does that not explain the pursuit of a contradictory policy of emigration in the meantime, it also does not explain the long delay. If Hitler was merely awaiting the outbreak of conflict to pursue his "war against the Jews," why were the millions of Polish Jews in his hands since the fall of 1939 granted a thirty-month "stay of execution"? [111]

That this is true almost to the letter is shown by the following judgment of Robert Cecil, deputy director of the school specializing in contemporary European studies of the University of Reading in England, and since 1968 professor of history at that university:

The massacre of the Slavs, like that of the Jews, was a ritual homicide, that not only contributed nothing to the military victory, but, as we shall soon see, considerably impeded the Wehrmacht in its task. [112]

[Like that of the Jews, the "massacre of the Slavs" is without foundation, of course. — Ed]

Notes

Part I

1.  Enzo Collotti, *La Germania nazista* (Nazi Germany), Turin, 1973, p. 146.

2. [↗](#) Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale: Il tentativo di sterminio degli ebrei d'Europa 1939-1945* (The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe 1939-1945), Milan, 1965 p. 593.
3. [↗](#) William L. Shirer, *Storia del Terzo Reich*, Turin, 1971, p. xiii.
4. [↗](#) *Idem*, p. xv.
5. [↗](#) Werner Maser, *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial*, New York, 1979, p.305.
6. [↗](#) *The Trial of the Major War Criminals by the International Military Tribunal*, Nuremberg 14 November 1945-1 October 1946. Published in Nuremberg, Germany 1947. (Here after IMT, Vol. II, p. 169.)
7. [↗](#) Léon Poliakov. *Bréviaire de la haine* [Breviary of Hate], Paris, 1979, p. 134.
8. [↗](#) See note 10.
9. [↗](#) Liliano Picciotto Fargion, "La congiura del silenzio" (The Conspiracy of Silence), *La Rassegna mensile d'Israël*, May-August 1984, p. 226.
10. [↗](#) The first edition of Poliakov's book is 1951. In the 1979 edition, here is what one can read in the preface: "This complete edition of *Bréviaire de la haine* conforms to the original 1951-1960 edition. There is no place to introduce important changes or supplements into it. Indeed the knowledge we have of the 'racial' policy of the Third Reich, which sought to exterminate the Jews, and with the help of sometimes similar processes, to reduce the number of Slavs, has not been enriched perceptibly since 1951." p. xiii.
11. [↗](#) Léon Poliakov, *Bréviaire ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
12. [↗](#) *Idem*, p. 218.
13. [↗](#) Walter Laqueur *Was niemand wissen wollte: Die Unterdrückung der Nachrichten über Hitlers Endlösung* (What Nobody Wanted to Know: The Suppression of News About Hitler's "Final Solution", Frankfurt/M-Berlin-Vienna, 1981, p. 190.
14. [↗](#) Colin Cross, *Adolf Hitler*, Milan, 1977, p. 313.
15. [↗](#) Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*. An edition with commentary by Christian Zentner, Munich, 1974, p. 168.
16. [↗](#) Saul Friedländer, *Kurt Gerstein ou l'ambiguïté du bien* (Kurt Gerstein or the Ambiguity of Good), Casterman, 1967, p. 92.
17. [↗](#) Joachim Fest, *Hitler*, 1974, p. 631.
18. [↗](#) L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
19. [↗](#) *Idem*, p. 126.
20. [↗](#) Léon Poliakov, *Auschwitz*, Paris (1964), 1973, p. 12.
21. [↗](#) Arthur Eisenbach, "Operation Reinhard, Mass Extermination of Jewish Population in Poland," in *Polish Western Affairs*, 1962, Vol III, No. 1, p. 80.
22. [↗](#) Broszat, Jacobsen, Krausnick, *Anatomie des SS-Staates* (Anatomy of the SS-State), Munich 1962, Vol 2, p. 297.
23. [↗](#) Bernd Nellessen, *The Jerusalem Trial*, Dusseldorf-Vienna, 1964, p.201.
24. [↗](#) IMT, Vol 1, p. 280.
25. [↗](#) Document XXXVIII47 of the Jewish Contemporary Documentation Center, Paris, (hereafter CDJC), cited by Poliakov & Wulf, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, Berlin, 1955, p. 94.
26. [↗](#) Olga Wormser-Migot, *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi (1933-1945)*, (The Nazi Concentration [Camp] System, 1933-1945), Presses Universitaires de France, 1968, p. 544.
27. [↗](#) *Idem*, p. 13.
28. [↗](#) PS-3762.
29. [↗](#) PS-2605.

30. ☞ *Der Kastner-Bericht über Eichmanns Menschenhandel in Ungarn*, (The Kastner Report on Eichmann's trading in human beings in Hungary), Preface by Prof. Carlo Schmidt, Munich, 1961, p. 242.
31. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz* (Auschwitz Notebooks), Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 8, 1964, p. 89, note 130.
32. ☞ Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, trans. Tibere Kremer and Richard Seaver, New York, 1961, p. 139.
33. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 374, p. 328.
34. ☞ IMT, Vol. IV, p. 398.
35. ☞ Saul Friedländer, "Il dibattito storiografico sull'antisemitismo nazista e lo sterminio degli ebrei d'Europa," (The historiographical debate on Nazi anti-semitism and the extermination of the European Jews), in *Storia Contemporanea*, a XIV, n. 3, June 1983, p. 399-422.
36. ☞ *Idem*, p. 413. This thesis is called "intentionalism."
37. ☞ *Idem*, p. 417. This thesis is known as "functionalism."
38. ☞ See on this subject Martin Broszat, "Hitler und die Genesis der 'Endlösung.' Aus Anlass der Thesen von David Irving." (Hitler and the Genesis of the Final solution." Prompted by the Theses of David Irving), in *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (hereafter *VfZ*), 1977, p. 739-775, and Christopher R. Browning, "Zur Genesis der 'Endlösung.' Ein Antwort auf Martin Broszat" (On the Genesis of the 'Final Solution.' A reply to Martin Broszat), in the same review, 1981, p. 97-109.
39. ☞ Saul Friedländer, "Il dibattito ...," *art. cit.*, p. 419. See the last pages titled "On the role of the Einsatzgruppen in the framework of the genesis of the 'Final Solution' of the Jewish question" in Helmut Krausnick's and Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm's *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges. Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, 1938- 1942* (The Soldiers of the Ideological War. The Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and of the SD-Security Service 1936-1942), Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart, 1981, p. 622- 636.
40. ☞ Saul Friedländer, *art. cit.*, p. 420. The article by Saul Friedländer which appears in the proceedings of the 1982 Paris conference has been profoundly reshaped there the author has quite simply passed over in silence "the acquisitions of [Exterminationist] historiography" that we have cited. Colloquium of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif* Gallimard, Le Seuil, 1985, pp. 13-38.
41. ☞ *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif Op. cit.*, p. 177.
42. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.
43. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 190.
44. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 192.
45. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.
46. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 193.
47. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 196.
48. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 197.
49. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 200.
50. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 211.

Footnotes-Part 2

1. ☞ Eberhard Jäckel, *La concezione del mondo in Hitler* (Hitler's World Concept), Milan, 1972, p. 66.

2. ☞ Ernst Deuerlein, "Hitlers Eintritt in die Politik und die Reichswehr" (Hitler's Entry Into Politics and the Reichswehr) in *VfZ*, 1959, p. 204.
3. ☞ Reginald H. Phelps, "Hitlers 'grundlegende' Rede über den Antisemitismus" (Hitler's 'ground-laying' speech on antisemitism), in *VfZ*, 1968, p. 417.
4. ☞ PS-1708.
5. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire*_, Paris, 1979, p. 2.
6. ☞ Hebrew term meaning precisely "transfer." Properly transliterated, it reads "ha'abhârâh."
7. ☞ Broszat, Jacobsen, Krausnick *Anatomie des SS Staates* (Anatomy of the SS-State), Munich 1982, Vol 2, p. 263. Joseph Walk (editor), *Das Sonderrecht für die Juden im NS-Staat*, (The special legislation for the Jews in the NS-state), Heidelberg-Karlsruhe, 1981, p. 48.
8. ☞ NG-1889.
9. ☞ PS-1417.
10. ☞ Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale* ... (The Final Solution), Milan, 1965, p. 23.
11. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire* ..., *op. cit.*, p. 16.
12. ☞ *Idem*, p. 30. IMT, Vol XXI, p. 586.
13. ☞ PS-1816, pp. 47, 55, and 56.
14. ☞ Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale* (The Final Solution), *op. cit.*, p. 36. At Nuremberg Schacht declared that if his plan had been carried out Not even a single German Jew would have perished." IMT, Vol XX, p. 442.
15. ☞ *Les Archives secrètes de la Wilhelmstrasse* (The Secret Archives of the Wilhelmstrasse), V, book II, Paris, 1954, p. 135.
16. ☞ Erich Kern, *Die Tragödie der Juden* (The Tragedy of the Jews), Verlag KW. Schütz KG, Preussisch Oldendorf, 1979, p. 73.
17. ☞ NG2586-A.
18. ☞ *Les Archives secrètes* . .V, book II. *op. cit.*, p. 122.
19. ☞ PS-3358.
20. ☞ Reichsführer-SS to SD Führer of the SS-O.A. Re: "The Jewish question as a factor in foreign policy in 1938," 13 March 1939 in: *Brown Book: War Criminals and Nazis in West Germany*, Verlag Zeit im Bild, Dresden, n d., Document 35 (photocopy without text translation on p. 383).
21. ☞ *Ich, Adolf Eichmann. Ein historischer Zeugenbericht*, (I Adolf Eichmann A Historical Testimony), published by Dr. Rudolf Aschenauer, Druffel-Verlag, Léoni am Starnberger See, 1980, p. 99.
22. ☞ H.G. Adler, *Der Kampf gegen die "Endlösung der Judenfrage"* (The Struggle against the "Final Solution" of the Jewish Question), published by the Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst, Bonn, 1958, p. 8.
23. ☞ Mr. Mazor, "Il y a trente ans: la conférence d'Evian" (Thirty Years Ago: The Evian Conference), in *Le Monde Juif*, April-June 1968, No. 50, pp. 23 and 25.
24. ☞ *Dix leçons sur le nazisme* (Ten Lessons On Nazism), under the direction of Alfred Grosser, Paris, 1976, pp. 215-216.
25. ☞ Heinz Boberach (Editor), *Meldungen aus dem Reich: Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS 1938-1945* (Reports from the Reich The Secret Situation Reports of the SS Security Service 1938-1945), Pawlak Verlag, Herrsching 1984, Vol 2, p. 7. Compare pp. 22 and 223.
26. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire* ..., *op cit.*, p.302.
27. ☞ PS-3363.

28. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire...*, *op cit.*, p.41
29. ☞ *Ibidem*.
30. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire...*, *op cit.*, p.44
31. ☞ *Idem*, pp. 50-51.
32. ☞ PS-1816, p. 56.
33. ☞ “Denkschrift Himmlers über die Behandlung der Fremdvölkischen im Osten (Mai 1940)” (Himmler’s memorandum on the treatment of foreign population groups in the East [May 1940], VfZ, 1957, p. 197.
34. ☞ *Ibidem*.
35. ☞ T-464.
36. ☞ NG-2586-B. Compare *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945*, Series D, Vol X, London, 1957, pp. 111-113.
37. ☞ Joseph Billig, *La solution finale de la question juive* (The Final Solution of the Jewish Question), Paris, 1977, p. 58.
38. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
39. ☞ PS-2233, IMT, Vol XXIX. H. Monneray, *La Persécution des Juifs dans les pays de l'Est présentée d'Nuremberg* (The Persecution of the Jews in the Eastern Countries Presented at Nuremberg), Paris, 1949, p. 202.
40. ☞ PS-2233, IMG, Vol XXIX, p. 405.
41. ☞ NG-1838, p. 5.
42. ☞ CDJC Documents CXLVI-51 and CXLIII-229. Compare J. Billig, *Alfred Rosenberg dans Faction idéologique, politique et administrative du Reich hitlérien* (Alfred Rosenberg in the Ideological, Political, and Administrative Activity of the Hitlerian Reich), CDJC 1963, p. 196, notes 632 and 636.
43. ☞ CDJC Doc. CXLIII-229. Compare J. Billig, *ibidem*, p. 196.
44. ☞ *Idem*, p. 193.
45. ☞ CDJC Doc. CXLVI-23, pp. 83, then 67
46. ☞ IMT, Vol. XVII, p. 275-276.
47. ☞ IMT, Vol. X, p. 449.
48. ☞ NG-2586-C. Compare Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stempel hat gefehlt. Dokumente zur Emigration deutscher Juden* (A [rubber] stamp was missing documents on the emigration of German Jews), Munich-Zurich, 1977, p. 324. :
49. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
50. ☞ NG-2586-C. Compare Rolf Vogel *Ein Stempel .. op. cit.*, p. 324.
51. ☞ NG-2586-C. Compare Rolf Vogel *Ein Stempel .. op. cit.*, p. 330.
52. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Le Procès de Jérusalem* (The Trial in Jerusalem), Paris, 1963, p. 152.
53. ☞ Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale ...* (The Final Solution ...), *op. cit.*, p. 19.
54. ☞ IMT, Vol. II, p. 140.
55. ☞ IMT, Vol. I, p. 283; Vol. III, p. 635; Vol. XXII, p. 289.
56. ☞ IMT, Vol. I, p. 280. Another well-known example of this systematic travesty concerns the interpretation of the term “Sonderbehandlung” (special treatment) which is considered by the official historians to be a simple synonym for “execution, putting to death, or assassination (a).” In reality, as Robert Faurisson points out “Sonderbehandlung” can have a whole series of meanings, from the gravest to the most benign,” and it is only in context that the precise meaning can be determined (b). At Nuremberg Kaltenbrunner explained that the “special treatment to which political personalities of rank, such as François-Poncet and

Edouard Herriot, were subjected consisted in being put up in hotels under the most privileged conditions (c).

Another case where “Sonderbehandlung” indicated privileged treatment appears in Document PS-660(d). In the paragraph “Sonderbehandlung rassisch wertvoller Kinder” (special treatment of racially valuable children) it is affirmed that these children must be excluded from evacuation measures and sent into the Old Reich to be educated as Germans(e).

On p. 24, in the paragraph “special treatment of non-Polish minorities,” it says that some ethnic minorities in Poland have not adopted, on the whole, Polish chauvinism, but, on the contrary, have often placed themselves on the German side politically.. “The members of the minorities who have acted according to Polish [nationalist] thought are to be treated like Polish nationalists and deported, but the great mass of these minority populations must be left in their homeland, and not be subjected to particular restrictions.” In both cases, consequently, “special treatment” means favorable treatment.

(a) Georges Wellers, *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé* (The Gas Chambers Existed), *op. cit.*, p. 36.

(b) Robert Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (Reply to Pierre Vidal-Naquet), *op. cit.*, p. 23.

(c) IMT, VoL XI, pp. 374-375.

(d) *Die Frage der Behandlung der Bevölkerung der ehemaligen polnischen Gebiete nach rassenpolitischen Gesichtspunkten* (The question of the treatment of the population of the former Polish territories from racial-political viewpoints), report by Dr. E. Wetzel, Berlin, 25 November, 1939.

(e) PS-660, pp. 18-19.

57. [U](#) NG-3104.

57a. [U](#) *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif*, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

57b. [U](#) Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Inland II A/B, A2 83-25 Sdh. 4, Bd. 5913.

58. [U](#) NG 2586-E, P-710.

59. [U](#) L. Poliakov, *Le Procès...* (The Trial _), *op. cit.*, p. 158.

60. [U](#) Henri Monneray, *La Persécution des Juifs en France et dans les autres pays de l'Ouest présentée par la France à Nuremberg* (The persecution of the Jews in France and in the other countries of the West, presented by France at Nuremberg), CDJC, 1947, p. 358.

61. [U](#) William L. Shirer, *Storia del Terzo Reich* (History of the Third Reich), Turin, 1971, p. 1464; Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale* (The Final Solution), *op. cit.*, p. 108.

62. [U](#) NG-2586-J.

63. [U](#) NG-4583. Cf. *Le Monde Juif*, January 1952, p. 9.

64. [U](#) T-1209.

65. [U](#) *Das Sonderrecht ...* (The Special Legislation ...), *op. cit.*, p. 361.

66. [U](#) NG-1970.

67. [U](#) NG-2586-P

68. [U](#) NG-2586-G. As is known, even what is called the “Wannsee Protocol” is interpreted in the sense of “extermination” of the Jews by the official historians. We shall limit ourselves here to pointing out that if evacuations to the east really had meant the deportation of the Jews to “extermination camps” in the east, they [evacuations-Ed.] certainly would not have been described as “palliatives.” For a deeper examination of the question, v. Wilhelm Stäglich, *Le Mythe d'Auschwitz: Etude critique* (The Auschwitz Mythos: A Critical Study), La Vieille Taupe, Paris, 1986, pp. 42-62.

69. [U](#) *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945*, Series D, Vol. X, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

70. ☞ P-4025.

71. ☞ Henry Picker, *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier* (Hitler's Table Conversations at the Führer's Headquarters), Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, Munich, 1981, p. 456.

72. ☞ Wilhelm Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, Grabert-Verlag, Tübingen, 1979, p. 116-118.

73. ☞ Bernd Nellessen, *Der Prozess von Jerusalem* (The Jerusalem Trial), *op. cit.*, p. 29.

74. ☞ PS-702. H. Monneray, *La Persécution des Juifs en France et dans les autres pays de l'Est présentée par la France à Nuremberg* (The Persecution of the Jews ... in the East), CDJC, 1949, p. 78. The document, undated, goes back probably, to soon after the nomination of Rosenberg as Minister of the Eastern Occupied Territories (17 July 1941).

74a. ☞ Politische Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Politische Abteilung III 245, AZ Po 36, BdI.

75. ☞ NG-5770.

76. ☞ Adolf Hitler, *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier 1941-1944* (Monologues in the Führer's Headquarters 1941-1944), annotated by Heinrich Heims, published by Werner Jochmann, Albrecht Knaus Verlag, Hamburg, 1980, p. 241.

77. ☞ PS-3244. H. Monneray, *La Persécution ... dans ... l'Est ...* (The persecution ... in the ... East), *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

78. ☞ Given the great importance attached to Göring's letter of 31 July 1941 by Exterminationist historiography, it may be permitted us to return to this point in order to refute one of the rare attempts of explanation that it offers on this subject.

George Wellers, in his polemic against Robert Faurisson, interprets the letter in question in the sense that "the task assigned on 24 January 1939, that is *the emigration and the evacuation of the Jews*, was superseded, if not closed," and that "it must thereafter have been completed, if not replaced by another, *the total or final solution of the Jewish question*" in a manner that, in conclusion, "the *total or final solution* is thus neither emigration or evacuation, *nor the Nisko plan nor the Madagascar plan*" (a) and, in consequence, cannot be but "extermination." This interpretation is without foundation.

First of all, "extermination," being something radically different from emigration or evacuation, cannot be reasonably considered as a "complement"(b) to "the task" consistent with solving the Jewish question "by way of emigration and of evacuation."

In the second place, Jewish emigration was not officially "superseded" and "closed" until the Wannsee Conference, as is seen clearly in the "minutes" referring to it "With the prior authorization of the Führer, emigration from now on has given place to another solution the evacuation of the Jews to the east."

In his memorandum 21 August 1942, Luther, referring to the Wannsee conference, confirms: "At that meeting Gruppenführer Heydrich explained that his assignment by Reichsmarschall Göring had been given him by order of the Führer, and that the Führer thereupon had authorized the evacuation of the Jews to the east, instead of emigration."

It is evident that, on July 31, 1941, at least two months before the Führer authorized evacuation to the east, "instead" of emigration it was precisely emigration that was being practiced.

This point is confirmed further by Luther's memorandum of August 21, 1942, in which is stated that it is precisely that fact of having recognized the impossibility of resolving by emigration (legal to other countries) the overall problem of some 3,250,000 Jews from the territories occupied by the Germans, and consequently of having recognized the necessity of a "final territorial solution," that had led Göring to draw up his letter of July 31, 1941. Rademacher's informational note of 10 February 1942 explains still more clearly that Heydrich had been charged by the Führer to bring about the solution of the Jewish question in Europe conforming to the 'plan for the 'final solution' of the Jewish question,' that is, con-

forming to the “Madagascar plan” that subsequently had been abandoned, and consequently no longer could be looked to for the “final solution,” as in the meantime the war against the Soviet Union had offered the possibility of disposing of “other territories for the final solution.”

The 31 July 1941 letter was thus plainly in conformity with the Madagascar plan, and this is why, in conclusion, Görings “complement” consisted simply of the replacement of the emigration/evacuation solution — ie., legal emigration to other countries — or deportation to the east (Poland, October 1939-March 1940) or to the west (non-occupied France: October 1940) of the Reich Jews only, according to the decree of 24 January 1939, by the final territorial solution through the emigration or the evacuation to Madagascar of all Jews from the European territories occupied by the Germans, a solution which, precisely for that reason, was called the “total” solution.(d)

(a) Georges Wellers, *Les Chambres... op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

(b) *Idem*, p. 31 (Translation of Görings’s letter 31 July 1941. The German word is “Ergänzung” (which can be either “complement” or “supplement.”)

(c) The Wannsee conference had been scheduled originally for December 1941 (PS-709; NG-2586-F). The Führer decision goes back probably to the month of October, as on 23 October 1941 Jewish emigration from Germany was stopped (T-1209), and, on the following day, the evacuation of 50,000 Jews from the old Reich, from Austria, and from Bohemia-Moravia to the east was ordered (PS-3921).

(d) The term ‘Gesamtlösung’ thus was not originally a simple synonym for “Endlösung.” At the time, it had, in effect, a purely quantitative sense in that it meant that the solution of the Jewish question limited previously to the territory of the Reich was now extended to the occupied European territories.

79. ☞ IMT, Vol. XI, pp. 61-63.

80. ☞ NO-5193.

81. ☞ L Poliakov, *Bréviaire ... op. cit.*, p. 3.

82. ☞ *Idem*, p. 83. In this regard see the documentation — from the Exterminationist angle — of Joseph Billig in *Les Camps de concentration dans l'économie du reich hitlérien* (The Concentration Camps in the Economy of the Hitlerian Reich), Presses Universitaires de France, 1973.

83. ☞ *Contribution à histoire du KL Auschwitz* (Contribution to the History of the Auschwitz Concentration Camp), State Museum at Oswiecim, n d., pp. 44-57.

84. ☞ Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, *German Crimes in Poland*, Warsaw, 1946, Vol I, p. 37.

85. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire ... op. cit.*, p. 270.

86. ☞ *Idem*, p. 120.

87. ☞ NO-495; NO-719.

88. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire ..., op. cit.*, p. 84.

89. ☞ PS-1063.

90. ☞ R-129.

91. ☞ NO-500.

92. ☞ NO-5194.

93. ☞ NO-599.

94. ☞ NO-020-a.

95. ☞ NO-5689.

96. ☞ NO-1874.

97. ☞ NO-1990.
98. ☞ Enzo Collotti, *La Germania nazista* (Nazi Germany), Turin, 1973, p. 266.
99. ☞ *Idem*, p. 267.
100. ☞ G. Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale* (The Final Solution), *op. cit.* p. 149.
101. ☞ NO-1523.
102. ☞ PS-1469.
103. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz* (Auschwitz Notebooks), Auschwitz Museum, 6, 1962, p. 78.
104. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
105. ☞ Enzo Collotti, *La Germania nazista* (Nazi Germany), *op. cit.* p. 267.
106. ☞ Hannah Arendt, *Le Système totalitaire* (The Totalitarian System), Paris 1972, p. 182.
107. ☞ G. Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale* (The Final Solution), *op. cit.*, p. 544.
108. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
109. ☞ G. Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale*, (The Final Solution), *op. cit.*, p. 545.
110. ☞ L. Poliakov, *Bréviaire ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
111. ☞ C. Browning, *Fateful Months*, Holmes & Meier, New York and London, 1985, pp. 14-15.
112. ☞ Robert Cecil, *Il mito della razza nella Germania nazista: Vita di Alfred Rosenberg*, (The Myth of Race in Nazi Germany: The Life of Alfred Rosenberg), Milan, 1973, p. 199. It

An Open Letter to the Rev. Mark Herbener

MARK WEBER

The following open letter was first published in Christian News, (Box 168, New Haven, MO 63068) a traditionalist Lutheran weekly friendly to Holocaust Revisionism, on April 27, 1987. In it Mark Weber responded to several letters by the Reverend Mark Herbener, a clergyman of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches and a member of the Dallas (Texas) Memorial Center for Holocaust Studies. Weber's letter has been translated into French and published in the excellent French Revisionist quarterly, Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste (Autumn-Winter 1987, No. 3; B.P. 9805, 75224 Paris CEDEX 05, France). Readers of The Journal of Historical Review will be happy to learn that the challenge to debate the historicity of the Holocaust issue at the conclusion of "An Open Letter to the Rev. Mark Herbener" has been accepted by a group of Christian fundamentalists led by attorney Glen Peglau; as of this writing the debate is projected for early 1989, and will be held in Washington, DC. The Rev. Herbener has not replied to Mr. Weber's arguments or to his questions. — Editor

Rev. Mark Herbener
Mount Olive Lutheran Church
Dallas, Texas

Dear Rev. Herbener:

Over the years, I have written a number of revisionist articles and essays challenging the story that the German government systematically exterminated some six million European Jews during the Second World War.

I was therefore particularly interested to read your letters of March 5, 18, and 27 to Rev. Herman Otten, along with his replies, in recent issues of the weekly *Christian News*. I also felt called upon to reply with this open letter to some of the questions and points you raised.

You pose a question that you apparently believe that revisionists cannot answer. You ask "What happened to the Jews who were transported to Sobibor or Chelmno or Treblinka?"

No 'Extermination Camps' in Germany

Here is my answer to your question.

The Holocaust story has changed quite a lot over the years. At one time it was alleged that the Germans exterminated Jews at camps in Germany proper, such as Dachau, Buchenwald, Oranienburg, and so forth. That part of the Holocaust story proved so untenable that it was quietly dropped more than twenty years ago. Not even prominent Jewish Holocaust historians still claim that there were any "extermination camps" in the territory of the old German Reich

At the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946 and during the decades following the end of the Second World War, Auschwitz (especially Auschwitz-Birkenau) and Majdanek (Lublin) were generally regarded as the really important “death camps.” At Nuremberg, for example, it was alleged that four million people were killed at Auschwitz and another one and half million at Majdanek. These fantastic figures have since been drastically revised downwards. In addition, more and more striking evidence has been presented in recent years which simply cannot be reconciled with the allegations of mass extermination at these camps.

For example, detailed aerial reconnaissance photographs taken of Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944 (during the height of the alleged extermination period there) were made public by the CIA in 1979. [1] They show no trace of the piles of corpses, smoking crematory chimneys and masses of Jews awaiting death which should have been clearly visible if Auschwitz had indeed been an extermination center.

Sobibor, Treblinka, Chelmno, Belzec

During the last several years, the emphasis in the Holocaust story has been shifting once again, this time to four small camps in Poland: Sobibor, Treblinka, Chelmno and Belzec.

In keeping with this strategic shift, the question you pose does not deal with Dachau, Buchenwald or even Auschwitz, but rather with three small camps of which no trace remains and for which almost no documents are available. Virtually the only evidence presented to support the claim that these were extermination centers are a few very dubious and often contradictory post-war “testimonies.” Especially in recent years, an effort has been made to present a coherent and selfconsistent “Exterminationist” account of these camps. As a result, some of the more outrageous claims about them have been suppressed.

Lets take a closer look at each of the camps you ask about.

Sobibor

For years this camp did not figure very prominently in Holocaust accounts, but that’s no longer the case. Earlier this week, for example, the CBS television network broadcast a new “docudrama” movie entitled “Escape From Sobibor.”

Between 200,000 and 600,000 Jews were supposedly gassed at Sobibor in 1942 and 1943. Holocaust historians are not able to agree about what gas was supposedly used, how the camp was laid out, or even how many gas chambers there were.

Fortunately, a few secret documents have survived which explain the camp’s function. On July 5, 1943, SS chief Heinrich Himmler sent a personal directive to several top SS leaders. In this directive, which was issued at the same time that Sobibor was supposedly functioning as an extermination center, Himmler ordered that ...

... the Sobibor transit camp in the Lublin District is to be transformed into a concentration camp. A center for dismantling captured ammunition is to be established in the concentration camp.

In a letter dated July 15, 1943, the head of the SS concentration camp system, Oswald Pohl, explained to Himmler that a center for dismantling captured Soviet ammunition could be set up at Sobibor without having to transform it into a concentration camp. Sobibor would remain a transit

camp with a special section for dismantling ammunition. This correspondence (Nuremberg document file NO- 482) clearly shows that neither Himmler nor Pohl regarded Sobibor as an “extermination center.” [2] These documents simply cannot be reconciled with the Holocaust portrayal of Sobibor.

Sobibor’s location close to the border between German-ruled Poland and German-occupied Ukraine is consistent with its designation as a transit camp. Large numbers of Jews were in fact deported to the occupied Soviet territories in 1942 and 1943. It’s quite logical that Jews would first be brought to transit camps near the border before being transported further east

Rev. Herbener, you write that trainloads of Jews arrived at camps such as Sobibor and then returned empty to their places of origin. “What happened to them?” you ask, suggesting that these deported Jews must have been killed. The rather obvious answer is that Jews were kept in the transit camps only temporarily, and were then soon transported across the nearby Polish-Soviet border to camps and ghettos further to the east.

Like Sobibor, Belzec was a small camp located near the Polish-Ukraine border. It is now regarded [by Exterminationists] as a major extermination center. A secret German memorandum dated March 17, 1942, by an official named Reuter specifically referred to Belzec as the “furthest border station” in Zamosc county from where many thousands of Polish Jews will then be sent across the border [into the Ukraine] and will never again return to the [Polish] General Government” [3]

Polish underground courier Jan Karski (who now teaches at Georgetown University), secretly visited the Belzec camp in 1942 in order to find out what was happening to the Polish Jews who were being sent there. In his book *The Secret State*, Karski described his visit to Belzec in detail. [4] He did not see any evidence of “gas chambers.” To the contrary, he reported seeing trainloads of Jews leaving Belzec. This observation is completely consistent with Belzec’s function as a transit camp, and cannot be reconciled with its alleged role as an extermination center.

For a time, the acting commandant of Sobibor was Gustav Franz Wagner. Some years after the war, he was found living in Brazil and was put on trial there. Jewish witnesses testified in court that he was responsible for 150,000 deaths and took special delight in brutally killing women and children. Wagner, however, swore that Sobibor had been a “model” work camp, not an extermination center. The Brazilian court rejected the prosecution’s case and decided to neither convict nor extradite him. Wagner was released in 1979, but was found dead a short time later at his farm, knifed in the chest.

Chelmno

So little is known about Chelmno (or Kulmhof) that it is difficult to effectively refute the charge that it was a mass extermination center. Because there is no trace of a camp left today, even the precise location is uncertain. Shortly after the end of the war, the *American Jewish Year Book* (Vol. 47, p. 398) reported that 1,350,000 Jews were killed at Chelmno. The numbers of Jews now said to have been killed in this camp vary between 150,000 (Raul Hilberg) and 360,000 (Polish government).

Chelmo is the only camp where Jews were supposedly gassed, not in gas chambers, but in the sealed rear compartment of a large truck (“gas vans”). This story is inconsistent with the allegation that the Germans exterminated Jews as part of a well-coordinated program. Although the

German officials in charge of the “final solution” were supposedly very methodical and organized, they were never even able to decide on a single efficient means of killing Jews.

Treblinka

Holocaust historians regard this as one of the most important German extermination centers. These days, it is often said that 850,000 Jews were killed at Treblinka, although figures of 700,000 to more than a million victims are sometimes also cited.

Contrary to what many believe, Treblinka was not a secret camp. A statement published in both German and Polish in the December 2, 1941, issue of the *Amtlicher Anzeiger*, the official bulletin of the government of German-ruled Poland, announced the establishment of the “Treblinka Labor Camp.” [5] An internal German document dated July 7, 1942, likewise refers to the “Treblinka labor camp.” [6]

It is true that a number of documents exist which show that trainloads of Jews arrived at Treblinka, and that empty trains then left the camp. Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg has cited these German railway records as proof that Jews were therefore exterminated at Treblinka. But these documents prove nothing of the kind.

Although definitive evidence is not available, it would seem that Dr. Arthur Butz of Northwestern University is correct in concluding that Treblinka served both as a labor camp and as a transit camp for Jews being deported eastwards to the occupied Soviet territories. [7] Like Sobibor and Belzec, Treblinka was located near the Polish-Soviet border.

Since the war, a number of diagrams based on the memories of “eyewitnesses” have been produced which purport to show the layout of the camp. Interestingly these diagrams differ from each other in every important respect. Compare the diagrams given, for example, in these books: *Into That Darkness*, by Gitta Sereny; *The Death Camp in Treblinka*, edited by Alexander Donat; and, *German Crimes in Poland*, vol. 1, published by the Polish government in 1946.

The Contradictions of Eyewitnesses

There is considerable confusion about just how Jews are supposed to have been killed at Treblinka.

According to one wartime “eyewitness” account compiled by the OSS, the U.S. government's main intelligence agency, Jews at Treblinka “were in general killed by steam and not by gas as had been at first suspected.” [8] The *New York Times* reported on August 8, 1943, that two million Jews had already been killed at Treblinka by steaming them to death. [9]

U.S. prosecutors at the main Nuremberg trial supported the steam story. According to a Polish government report dated December 5, 1945, Jews were killed at the camp “by suffocating them in steam-filled chambers.” This report was submitted as U.S. prosecution exhibit USA-293, and was published in the official Nuremberg trial record as document

PS-3311. [10] An American prosecutor quoted from this document during his address to the tribunal on December 14, 1945. [11]

However, Samuel Rajzman, a Jew who took part in the Treblinka inmate revolt of August 1943, testified that Jews were “suffocated to death” at the camp with a machine that pumped air out of

death chambers. [12]

Shortly after the war, the Jewish Black Book Committee of New York compiled and published a lengthy volume entitled *The Black Book* which described alleged German wartime atrocities in gruesome detail. The Jewish Black Book Committee carefully calculated that Treblinka must have destroyed three million persons.” The Germans supposedly used three diabolical techniques, including poison gas and steam, to kill some 10,000 Jews daily. But “the most widespread” method “consisted of pumping all the air out from the chambers with large special pumps.” [13]

In the Nuremberg trial against Oswald Pohl (Case No. 4), U.S. Judge Michael A. Musmanno declared that “death was inflicted here [at Treblinka] by gas and steam, as well as by electric current.” Citing Nuremberg document PS-3311, Musmanno declared: “After being filled up to capacity the chambers were hermetically closed and steam was let in.” [14]

The story these days is that Jews were gassed at Treblinka with carbon monoxide from the exhaust of an engine, usually described as a diesel engine. However, as engineer Freidrich Berg has persuasively demonstrated, this story is highly improbable for technical reasons. [15] In spite of their obnoxious odor, diesel engines produce much smaller quantities of carbon monoxide than ordinary gasoline motors. It would thus be very difficult, if not impossible, to gas efficiently large numbers of people using diesel exhaust.

It’s important to keep in mind that the “evidence” presented for steaming and suffocating at Treblinka is no less credible than the “evidence” now usually cited for gassing. The steaming and suffocating stories have apparently been dropped for the sake of credible consistency and because even upholders of the Holocaust story regard them as too bizarre to be readily believed.

Where Are the Remains?

Rev. Herbener, if more than a million Jews were exterminated at Sobibor, Chelmno and Treblinka, as you and other defenders of the Holocaust story insist, where are the remains of the dead? If more than 800,000 Jews were cremated at Treblinka alone, as many claim, and each cremated corpse resulted in, let us say, six pounds of ash and residual bone, there should be more than 240 tons of remains still left at the camp site. Why has no one bothered to present this persuasive evidence of mass extermination to the world?

It is quite true that the great bulk of the many hundreds of thousands of Jews who lived in eastern Europe at the outbreak of the Second World War were no longer there at the end of the conflict.

The loss of this ancient center of Jewish life was certainly a catastrophic misfortune for the Jews of the world.

The question of what precisely happened to the Jews of eastern Europe is indeed an important one. One book that deals with this subject in some detail is Walter Sanning’s impressive analysis, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*. [16]

Compare Fate of Jews with Germans

In this regard, it is perhaps worth comparing the fate of the Jews of eastern Europe with that of the Germans in this part of the continent. Before the war there were more than nine and a half million Germans in eastern Germany, including East Prussia, Silesia, and so forth. There were

another three million in what is now Czechoslovakia, and many hundreds of thousands in Poland and elsewhere. But in just a few turbulent years (late 1944 to 1948), more than 16 million Germans vanished from their ancient homelands in eastern and central Europe. Some 14 million fled or were forcibly expelled, and about two million perished. Hundreds of thousands were killed. (On this subject, the book *Nemesis at Potsdam* by American historian Alfred M. de Zayas is worth consulting.) [17]

In support of your view of the Holocaust story, you recommend the well-known “Stroop Report” on the destruction of the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw in April-May 1943.[18] However, your quotation from the report that 56,000 Jews were apprehended in the ghetto and destroyed is misleadingly translated and taken out of context. The report refers elsewhere specifically to “about 7,000 (Jews who) were destroyed within the former ghetto in the course of the large-scale action.” In other words, these “destroyed” Jews perished during the fierce battle that raged there for almost three weeks. As the “Stroop Report” indicates, and as Jewish Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg confirms in his major study, the vast majority of the 56,000 Jews in the ghetto were transferred to various concentration and labor camps. [19]

The Mermelstein-IHR Debate?

Rev. Herbener, you reject Rev. Otten’s call for a fair and open exchange of views on the Holocaust, charging that it “has only wickedness as its intent.” You inaccurately claim that such a debate has already taken place between Revisionists and Mel Mermelstein, a former Auschwitz inmate. It is true that the Institute for Historical Review paid a substantial sum to Mr. Mermelstein in an out-of-court settlement of his law suit. But this dispute was over whether Mermelstein had filed his claim properly and during the time period specified. The basic historical disagreement was never debated or settled

It is also not true, as you assert, that “the revisionist is running as fast as his legs can carry him to dodge the law.” (Which revisionist?) It is more accurate to say that the upholders of the Holocaust story are the ones who are running away. They refuse to answer or even discuss some very serious questions. Instead, they hide behind a propagandistic smoke screen of spectacular movies and television broadcasts, expensive “memorials” and polemical “museums.”

In contrast to the situation in our country, where all that most people ever see and hear is the “Exterminationist” side, the Holocaust story has been the subject of significant controversy in Europe. It was heatedly debated for several hours on Swiss television and over French national radio. The consensus of impartial observers was that the Revisionists were the clear winners in these exchanges. The leading French daily, *Le Monde*, [20] and the respected Italian historical journal, *Storia Illustrata*, [21] have also given extensive coverage to both sides of this issue.

Who is 'Self Serving'

Rev. Herbener, you describe revisionist material as “largely self-serving.” In fact numerous revisionists have suffered terribly for daring to write what they regard as the suppressed truth about this very emotional chapter of contemporary history. One French revisionist, a teacher named François Duprat, was murdered with a car bomb. [22] Prof. Robert Faurisson of the University of Lyon in France has suffered in countless ways, including assaults by thugs. The homes and offices of American revisionists have been fire-bombed. West German judge Wilhelm Stäglich wrote an essay about his wartime experiences at Auschwitz. As a result, he was forced into early retirement and his pension was cut. Later, because he wrote a critical analysis of the Holocaust claims about Auschwitz, the West German government revoked his doctorate in law.

No, Rev. Herbener, it is not the revisionists who are self-serving, but rather those who uphold the Holocaust story. The politicians, businessmen and, yes, clergymen who support the Holocaust campaign are rewarded with acclaim and praise from powerful and influential organizations. You write that you “proudly serve” as a member of the Board of Directors of the Dallas Center for Holocaust Studies. Well, it doesn’t take any courage to join the wealthy and prominent “beautiful people” who lend their names to the lavishly funded Holocaust committees, councils and centers around the country.

No media campaign is more self-serving than the sophisticated and well-financed Holocaust blitz. Zionist leaders frankly regard the perpetual effort as crucially important for their own interests. That’s why, for example, the Israeli government provided \$850,000 to produce the Shoah film you endorse. [23] It’s also no wonder the Zionist organizations are so determined to silence anyone who challenges their portrayal of history. As Professor W. D. Rubinstein of Australia candidly acknowledged in September 1979: “If the Holocaust can be shown to be a myth, the strongest of all weapons in Israel’s propaganda armory collapses.” [24]

The Holocaust — A New Religion

Among American Jews, the Holocaust has become both a flourishing business and a kind of new religion. Jewish author and newspaper publisher Jacobo Timmerman put it this way in his book, *The Longest War*: “Many Israelis feel offended by the way in which the Holocaust is exploited in the Diaspora. They even feel ashamed that the Holocaust has become a civil religion for Jews in the United States. They respect the works of Alfred Kazin, Irving Howe, and Marie Syrkin. But of other writers, editors, historians, bureaucrats and academics they say, using the word Shoah, which is Hebrew for Holocaust; ‘There’s no business like Shoah business.’” [25] Another Jewish writer, Leon A. Jick, commented: “The devastating barb, ‘There is no business like Shoah business is, sad to say, a recognizable truth.’” [26] Well, at least a few perceptive Jews recognize this truth, even if many non-Jews do not.

Over and over again, the public is exhorted to “Never Forget.” Given the relentless media campaign to make the fate of the Jews during the Second World War the central event of human history, how can anyone ever forget? There is no end to the heavy-handed motion pictures, the simplistic television specials, the vindictive hunt for “Nazi war criminals,” the one-sided “educational courses,” the self-righteous appearances by politicians and celebrities at Holocaust “memorial services,” and so forth and so on.

Non-Jewish victims, of course, just don’t merit the same concern. For example, there are no American memorials, “study centers,” or annual observances for Stalin’s victims, who vastly outnumber Hitler’s.

Distortion of Reality

You write proudly, Rev. Herbener, of your annual participation in the “Interfaith Pleas for Soviet Jewry” in Dallas. You go on to charge that “the Soviet Union has virtually imprisoned all Jews in Russia.” This claim, like so much of what we are told regarding Jewish affairs, is a distortion of reality.

It is certainly true that the Soviet government cracks down on all expressions of anti-Soviet nationalism, including Zionism. But Soviet Jews are not oppressed any more than, say, Soviet Ukrainians. Contrary to what Americans have been led to believe, Jews are not persecuted in the Soviet Union simply because they are Jews. In fact, Jews in the USSR are generally better off

than most Soviet citizens, and Jews are well-represented among the members of the Soviet elite. This was documented, for example, in the CBS “60 Minutes” broadcast of March 22, 1987.

Moreover, in one important regard, Soviet Jews are a privileged group. They are virtually the only Soviet citizens who are allowed to emigrate to the United States (and other countries) in large numbers. About 98 per cent of the “Russians” who have moved to the U.S. in recent decades are Jews.

Since you express such concern for the victims of oppression, I would be interested to know what public action you have taken on behalf of persecuted Christians in the Soviet Union. Have you participated in any “interfaith” pleas on behalf of oppressed fellow Lutherans in the USSR? It would be interesting to see how many Jewish leaders would be willing to participate in such an event.

Questions For Herbener

In your letters to Rev. Otten, you asked several pointed questions that I have tried to answer here. Now, I have some questions that I hope you will answer

1. Do you believe that Jews were gassed at Dachau during the war years, as was alleged at Nuremberg and elsewhere, or do you agree with Jewish Holocaust historians who now concede that this story is not true? If you reject this story, why do you believe that the evidence for gassings at Dachau is less credible than the evidence for gassings at Auschwitz, Sobibor and other camps?
2. Do you believe the evidence that Jews were steamed to death at Treblinka? If so, why do you think that Holocaust historians now reject that evidence? If not, why not? Is the evidence for “Steam chambers” any less credible than the evidence for gas chambers?”
3. Do you believe the story that the Germans manufactured bars of soap from Jewish corpses during the war? If so, why do you think that Holocaust historians now reject this story? If not, are you ready to condemn those who spread this story as liars or misinformed defamers?
4. The prominent Jewish writer and former Auschwitz inmate Elie Wiesel wrote in his book, *Legends of Our Time*: “Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set apart a zone of hate-healthy, virile hate — for what the German personifies and for what persists in the German.” Do you agree with Wiesel?
5. Do you agree that spreading and supporting lies about the German nation and people is a violation of the commandment “Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor?”

If you wish, Rev. Herbener, I can readily provide documentation for any of the statements I've made in this open letter. Furthermore, I am willing to speak to any appropriate group about the points made in this letter or about the Holocaust issue in general. I am also prepared publicly to debate the Holocaust issue, as explained in the challenge recently issued by the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (P.O. Box 931089, Los Angeles, CA 90093).

As limited as it is, your exchange of letters with Rev. Otten is a rare and welcome public exchange of views about an important issue. I thus appreciate this opportunity to reply to some of the questions and points you raised.

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A Critique of the Charge of Anti-Semitism: The moral and political legitimacy of criticizing Jewry

Paul Grubach

I

As the distinguished scholar, Noam Chomsky, has noted elsewhere, even in open democratic societies such as ours, which lack the cruder forms of ideological control, there is still a public orthodoxy: a set of assumptions, ideas, and doctrines which is rarely, if ever, questioned. [1] A key aspect of the public orthodoxy is the psychosocial taboo. The latter can be defined as a private emotional aversion and a public social ban attached to certain modes of thinking and public criticism.

Specifically, if a belief deemed to be a component of the public orthodoxy is rejected, or even questioned, in public, the offender is liable to be labeled as “evil” and be subjected to social ostracism. There is a private, internal counterpart to this public inhibition if an individual who accepts the reigning public orthodoxy rejects, or questions, one of its tenets privately, he will likely subject himself to feelings of guilt approaching a kind of a holy dread.” In the words of Sigmund Freud, “The violation of the taboo makes the offender himself taboo.” [2]

Examples of societies with public orthodoxies, which are in turn protected by psychosocial taboos, are not hard to find. For instance, consider the status of the Catholic Church and its theological doctrines in Medieval Europe and during the era of the Inquisition. To question the cardinal tenets of Christian belief was to risk not only ostracism but imprisonment, torture, and death. A more contemporary example is the case of Marxism-Leninism in the Soviet Union. Every Soviet citizen is aware that to criticize the Communist party or its ideological doctrines exposes one to charges of “bourgeois corruption,” “anti-Soviet slander,” and “retrogressive counter-revolution,” and corresponding censure and punishment. Finally, every sentient, dutiful American citizen knows that to criticize Jews as a group, Jewish culture, Jewish behavior patterns, the alleged Holocaust, etc., is to partake of “immoral, anti-Semitic racism.” Carefully nurtured by the public media, the taboo on criticizing Jewry is deeply lodged in the consciousness of the great majority of Americans, directly influencing their acceptance or rejection of criticisms of Jewish attitudes and behavior, irrespective of the truth or falsity of such claims.

Is direct criticism of the Jews anti-Semitism, and, by implication, morally and politically illegitimate, and thus unworthy of serious examination? If not, what is the true meaning of the label “anti-Semitic” applied to such criticism?

This paper is directed toward those who harbor the following beliefs:

1. Criticism of the Jewish people, Jewish culture and behavior, etc., is synonymous with immoral racism;
2. At best this criticism is only to be tolerated due to First Amendment protection of free speech, or, at worst, to be censured and censored.

May the psychic chains of these opponents of taboo-free speech be broken.

II

According to the democratic political theory on which our republic is founded, the ultimate source of all political power resides in the people. Every citizen in a truly democratic state is supposedly endowed with an equal opportunity to state a case for a particular viewpoint, and to influence the decisions of the powers which govern. [3]

Concomitant to the democratic theory is the tenet that the various powers and forces — unconnected though they may be with government — which influence the social, economic, or political direction of society are subject to scrutiny and criticism by citizens of a democracy. According to the historian Bernard Bailyn, the notion that “preservation of liberty rests on the ability of people to maintain effective checks upon the wielders of power” was one of the political doctrines upon which the American Revolution was based. [4] Political and social power must be checked; otherwise, it becomes repressive. Public scrutiny and criticism are an effective check upon political and social power; immunity from criticism is tantamount to power unchecked.

Indeed, the First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees — among other forms of free speech — the citizen’s right to examine and criticize publicly the various social and political forces which influence our nation’s destiny. Granted, the First Amendment does not sanction crying “fire” in a crowded theater. It certainly does, however, safeguard criticism of ideas, theories, ideological forces, and sectarian groups which steer the sociopolitical course of society, irrespective of the fact that the criticism in question may violate the sensibilities of a powerful group. Any factor — be it a group, institution, body of ideas, set of cultural values, etc. — which affects the social system, laws, historical development, and political policies of a democratic nation is subject to public criticism by citizens of that democracy.

In short, citizens of our democracy have a moral and political right to publicly analyze, debate, and criticize the powers which influence the sociopolitical direction of the nation. It follows, then, that anything which inhibits or silences public criticism of a socially and politically powerful group amounts to an infringement of a basic democratic right.

Consider the impact, then, of a psychosocial taboo which links in the minds of citizens a sense of evil and shame with negative criticism of a socially and politically powerful group, and affixes a public label of “evil person” to anyone who criticizes this same group. The taboo then amounts to an infringement of a citizen’s right to question a group which has a decided effect upon the fortunes and fate of his society. How many will endure moral censure by their own conscience (an overwhelming sense of “I am evil”) for thinking “heretical thoughts”? Of those forthright thinkers undeterred by such self-censure, how many will publicly voice their criticism of such a group, if the end result is being tarred as “evil” and exposed to consequent social ostracism?

Let us examine different aspects of Jewish social and political influence upon the American scene.

1. Because Jews vote in disproportionately high numbers (unlike other ethnic groups, which are usually underrepresented at the polls), the Jewish vote is a significant factor in many elections. According to the author of *Jews and American Politics*, Stephen D. Isaacs, the Jewish vote is "... certainly enough to be decisive in a close election, and even more influential considering that these votes tend to be cast as a bloc and are clustered in big electoral-vote states." [5] Thus, Jewish voting power cannot be viewed merely as individual Jews exercising power individually. Rather, the Jewish vote is a type of political power which Jews exercise as a group. [6]

2. Jews are 2½ to 3 times as likely to be found in Congress than are non-Jews, in proportion to their numbers in the general population. [7] Eight members of the Senate and thirty members of the House are Jewish. [8] Regarding Jewish influence in the halls of Congress and the government bureaucracy, Jewish political commentator Wolf Blitzer wrote:

Whether in the Pentagon, the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency, the White House, the National Security Council, the Justice Department, the FBI or the Congress, there is no shortage of Jews working in very senior and extremely sensitive positions. [9]

3. Approximately 50 percent of monetary contributions to the Democratic Party come from the Jewish community. [10] There is an intimate connection between economic contributions to a political party and the overall policies which that party will espouse. The Jewish contributions to the Democratic Party are large enough to enable immense Jewish influence over a mainstay of the American political system. In the words of one Democratic strategist, "You can't hope to go anywhere in national politics, if you're a Democrat, without Jewish money." [11]

4. The Left has exerted a significant influence upon American society as a whole culturally as well as politically, and Jews have always been a major force on the Left. [12] According to a major study of the left, "From its inception, Americans of Jewish background played a key role in the Communist Party." [13] Of the New Left of the 1960s, the same authors point out that American Jews "... provided a majority of its most active members and perhaps even a larger proportion of its top leadership." [14] Jewish intellectuals Erich and Rael Jean Isaac were much more blunt: "The students [of the New Left student movement] were mostly Jews." [15]

5. The mid-1970s saw the emergence of a "neo-conservative" movement, the political impact of which, on Democrats as well as Republicans, has been profound. Jews played — and continue to play — a central role in "neo-conservatism." [16]

6. The Israel lobby is a powerful outgrowth of the American Jewish community. Its political and social power, its ability to influence American foreign policy vis-a-vis the Middle East, have been amply documented elsewhere. [17] Bernard Gwertzman, writing in the pro-Zionist *New York Times*, admits:

I don't think there is really any doubt that Israel has the most efficient, most influential domestic lobby in this country. The Reagan Administration, for instance, never makes any move in the Middle East without consulting with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the chief pro-Israeli lobby, and many senators and congressmen routinely look to that group for guidance on Middle East issues. [18]

7. Organized crime has made an undoubted impact on the social and economic history of the United States. According to *The Jewish Almanac*, in reference to Jewish gangsters, "It would not be an exaggeration to say that their influence on organized crime in the United States during the 1920's and 1930's rivaled, if not exceeded, that of their Italian counterparts." [19]

8. Jewish economic influence in the United States is significant — to put it mildly! — and no short, one-paragraph essay could possibly do it justice. For a discussion of Jewish influence in banking, finance, industry, etc., the reader is referred to one such study. [20]

9. One of the key instruments of Jewish influence in the United States has been the American mass media and book publishing industry. As early as 1936, approximately 50 percent of the taste-making and taste-influencing media (the book-publishing industry included) was Jewish-owned. [21] The pervasive Jewish ownership of major media outlets has continued to the present.

The largest commercial chain of radio stations in America today, Universal Broadcasting, is owned by a Jew, Howard Warshaw. [22] A significant number of the most influential newspapers and periodicals — such as the New York Times, Washington Post, St. Louis Post Dispatch, TV Guide, New Republic, to name just a few — are owned by individuals of Jewish background. [23] One of the largest communications empires in the United States is the Jewish-owned Newhouse chain. It encompasses twenty-one daily newspapers, five magazines, six television stations, four radio stations, and twenty cable-TV systems. [24]

In 1974, a writer who closely studied Jewish socio-political influence in the United States found that "... the (television) networks are owned and managed largely by Jews." [25] He subsequently added:

... all three commercial networks grew up under brilliant Jews — the National Broadcasting Company as part of General David Sarnof's Radio Corporation of America, the Columbia Broadcasting System under William S. Paley, and the American Broadcasting System under Leonard Goldenson, after its split from NBC's old "Blue Network." [26]

In a study published in 1973, it was estimated that 58 percent of the television news producers and editors at ABC television were Jewish. [27] A 1971 study revealed that approximately half of the producers of prime-time television shows were Jews. [28]

In a very recent study of Jews and the American cinema, a Jewish researcher concluded: Jews have had control of the means of [film] production and thus have enjoyed a protected image despite their minority status in society." [29] Fifty percent of the major book publishing houses are Jewish-owned. [30] Accordingly, the Jewish cultural establishment, through its massive influence in the mass media, is able to determine to a large degree what will and what will not be published, and can thus project its ethno-cultural beliefs upon the mass of American people.

One is therefore justified in agreeing with psychoanalyst Ernst Van den Haag, presented in *The Jewish Mystique: Jews as a group — diaspora Jewish culture in America* — are a considerable social and political force in American society. They form a cultural elite which exerts a decided impact upon the sociopolitical direction of American society. In the words of the president of the American Jewish Congress, Theodore Mann, "We 'Jews' have real political power, and have come to feel our strength." [31] In the cautionary words of Marshal Bregar, former Jewish liaison to the Reagan White House, "We must be sober and not just exult in all the Jewish power we have." [32]

To make the argument perfectly clear, it is framed in the form of a simple syllogism.

Major
premise:

Inherent in democratic political theory is the right of every citizen to publicly and privately examine and criticize those powers which influence the social,

	political, or economic life of society.
Minor premise:	American Jewry — inclusive of its cultural values — is one such powerful group which has a significant impact upon the social political, and economic life of democratic society.
Conclusion:	Therefore, it is the right of the citizen to examine and criticize, Jewry and its sociopolitical power structure.

There is, further, a direct corollary to this syllogism the existence of the psychosocial taboo by which “criticism of Jewry is synonymous with immoral racism” is an infringement of the democratic right to question any powerful sociopolitical interest. This taboo functions as a self-administered censure, making one feel guilty for thinking critically about the political and social power of Jewry, and also subjects any public criticism of the Jews to derisive labeling as “racist anti-Semitism.” Bearing these caveats in mind, how many Americans dare risk exercising their right to criticize American Jewry? How many businessmen, professionals, labor leaders, academics, intellectuals, and politicians will close their minds and abdicate their duties under the spell of this taboo, dismissing out of hand possibly truthful claims concerning Jewry merely because these claims constitute negative, unflattering criticism?

To render Jews, their cultural values, beliefs, biases, history, etc., exempt from critical scrutiny has traditionally been the chief function of the charge of anti-Semitism. It is, as we shall soon see, a politico-intellectual weapon of the powerful Jewish establishment, used to silence its critics. In a historical sense, it is similar to the charge of heresy employed by powerful theocratic powers in ages gone by, or the charge of anti-Soviet slander used by the Communist Party in the Soviet Union today. In all these cases, entrenched powers employ such charges, the very raising of which is intended to terrorize, against critics which they deem a threat. By associating a sense of evil with criticism of their power or the doctrines they promote, these politico-cultural establishments protect their power and ideological doctrines from rational criticism.

Even against the claim that Jews as a group do not have power, that only individual Jews have power, [33] the argument still applies. If particular Jewish cultural values, beliefs, customs, and the like are causing politically or socially influential Jewish individuals to make decisions which affect society at large, then it is the citizen’s right to subject these same Jewish values, beliefs, or cultural characteristics, which affect society through the decisions of individual Jews, to rational criticism. [34]

The implications of these arguments are even greater than they may appear at first glance. It is not here argued that criticism of the Jews should be “tolerated” for “freedom of speech” reasons, to satisfy a legal technicality of the First Amendment. Rather, within a society which espouses a democratic philosophy, it is indeed morally correct to examine and criticize all aspects of the sociopolitical power of the Jews. Thus negative criticism of the Jews is not immoral per se. Quite to the contrary! It is the blanket charge of anti-Semitism, raised in the face of any challenge to Jewish power and influence, which is immoral.

III

The question remains: if the taboo (“criticism of Jewry is evil”), and the manner in which the charge of anti-Semitism is utilized are incompatible with democratic principles, then why does the anti-Semitism taboo hold sway in a society such as ours which is based upon democratic principles? If neither from reason or the principles of American democracy, from where do they derive their power to influence? To which irrational proclivities of man — if not to his rational

faculties — do they appeal, in order to make them so effective and persuasive? What functions do they really serve? Whose interests or needs do they meet?

To answer these questions we must start at the beginning, with properly defined terms. According to the American Heritage Dictionary, an “anti-Semite” is defined as “a person who is hostile towards or prejudiced against the Jews.” [35] In a previous issue of this publication, L. A. Rollins alluded to the criteria used by many Jews and non-Jews to determine who fits this definition. [36] If an individual makes a statement critical of Jews, it is inferred that this person harbors a hatred of and prejudice toward Jews. These criteria, the manner in which anti-Semitism is determined (i.e., if a statement is critical of Jews, then the individual who made the claim is thereby an anti-Semite) are firmly implanted in the minds of many Jews and Gentiles. Needless to say, this outlook is a part and parcel of the public orthodoxy.

Mr. Rollins certainly exposed the *non sequitur* involved here. Critical statements of Jews do not necessarily indicate hatred and prejudice toward Jews. Indeed, critical statements directed toward Jews might equally serve to indicate that the individual who made the statements harbors within himself — rather than hatefulness and prejudice — a deep sense of humanitarianism.

For example, consider the case of John Demjanjuk, a Ukrainian-American who was accused of war crimes, stripped of his citizenship, and sent to Israel for a show trial. In regard to the Demjanjuk case, Dr. Edward Rubel made the statement: “Jewish Zionist pressure groups in Washington speak through the OSI for the U.S. government.” Quite expectedly, a Jewish member of the ADL, Yitzhak Santis, charged Rubel with “anti-Semitism.” [37] That is, Santis interpreted Rubel’s statement as being critical of Jews, and thus has inferred that he harbors a hatred of irrational beliefs about Jews. But does this latter inference necessarily follow? By no means!

On the basis of Rubel’s statement, one could justifiably make quite another inference. Specifically, Rubel could instead harbor a firm belief in Mr. Demjanjuk’s innocence, and out of deep, humanitarian concern for the latter’s plight, have spoken out against the forces which he sincerely believes are wrongfully persecuting Demjanjuk. In other words, humanitarian concern for Demjanjuk, and not hatred of Jews, may have caused Rubel to speak critically of Jewish pressure. Santis, however, has automatically assumed hostile intent on the part of Rubel. (The question now remains: what psychosocial forces have induced Santis to assume hostile intent? More on this point later.) In addition, Rubel’s claim — that the OSI functions as a governmental arm of Jewish Zionist pressure groups — is not an irrational prejudice, but rather a quite plausible view which is supported by the evidence. [38]

But even if statements critical of Jews do indicate that the expounder of such statements harbors hostility toward Jews, the statements in question may nevertheless be true. An example will serve to illustrate the point.

Ernest Dube, a black professor who at one time held a teaching position at the State University of New York (Stony Brook), taught that Zionism is a form of racism in his courses. [39] A visiting Israeli professor, Selwyn K. Troen, charged Dube with “anti-Semitism,” adding that the equation of Zionism with racism is “sloganeering that is practiced by the anti-Semite.” [40] In accusing Dube of anti-Semitism, precisely what does Troen mean? Stating that Dube is an anti-Semite, according to the dictionary definition of the term cited above, is tantamount to claiming that he harbors, deep down, a neurotic hatred of Jews. This hatred of the Jews has caused him to make irrational, derogatory, and prejudicial statements about them (“anti-Semitic sloganeering”).

Case closed, end of story. Dube should be dismissed as a neurotic crank, dismissed from his teaching job, as well, and his claim that Zionism is a form of racism should likewise be dis-

missed as an obviously false and prejudicial statement. [41]

Here we have an excellent example of an admixture of an *ad hominem* fallacy and an “emotional language” fallacy. The fact that Professor Dube may have an alleged character deficiency — a deep-rooted hatred of Jews — has nothing to do with the objective truth or falsity of his teaching that Zionism equals racism. Dube’s personal character traits are logically irrelevant to the correctness or incorrectness of his arguments or claims concerning political Zionism. That is, Zionism could indeed be a form of racism, regardless of whether Dube harbors a personal hatred of Jews.

In addition, to label the belief in question as the “sloganeering of the anti-Semite” is to do just that and nothing else. “Anti-Semitic sloganeering” is an emotion-loaded phrase attached to the claim, but it does nothing to disprove the truth of the claim. It is a linguistic artifice, the effect of which is to conjure up all the negative emotions and responses associated with the code word of “anti-Semitism” in the minds of listeners, and thus induce them to reject out of hand Dube’s statement that Zionism equals racism. In the words of the logician, Alex Michalos, “The fallacy of confusion with emotional language is committed when, without increasing the supporting evidence for a view, the view is made more persuasive by the use of emotional language.” [42]

Has there in fact been any evidence offered to demonstrate that Dube’s teaching is false? No evidence at all was offered in the statements of Dube’s accusers to disprove his teaching. (That Zionism is indeed a form of racism, according to liberal-humanitarian definitions of the term, has been convincingly argued by many authors.) [43]

The Dube case exemplifies beautifully the two-fold fallaciousness of the way in which the charge of anti-Semitism functions. On the one hand it is an argument *ad hominem*, attacking a person’s motives and character instead of his thesis. (Under objective conditions, an asserted theory or fact is to be examined quite independently of the attitude or psychic makeup of him who asserts it.) That the charge of anti-Semitism indeed functions as an argumentative bludgeon to silence all critics of Jews, Zionism, and the state of Israel has been noted by individuals — including Jews — of all political persuasions. [44] A classic diversionary tactic, it shifts attention away from a fair examination of the critic of Jewry’s claims, and casts ridicule on the critic and his character instead.

Instead of offering reasons or evidence to disprove the claims of the “anti-Semite,” the tactic places an emotive label (a code word which elicits automatic, negative responses) on the claims, thereby magically, through an illogical sleight of hand, disposing of them.

Regarding fallacies of this nature, the logician Irving Copi pointed out: “How they succeed in being persuasive despite their logical incorrectness is in some cases to be explained by their expressive function of evoking attitudes likely to cause the acceptance of, rather than supplying grounds for the truth of, the conclusions they urge.” [45] That many learned intellectuals, well-schooled in the subtleties of logic, can throw rationality to the winds and accept such outright fallacies at face value is a tribute to the psychological power of the charge of anti-Semitism.

IV

It is to the psychological essence of the charge of anti-Semitism which our analysis must now turn. Specifically, what psychological attitudes does the charge evoke to make it so potent, coercive, and persuasive an instrument in the minds of Jews who employ it and Gentiles who are subject to it?

First, why is the label of “anti-Semite” such an awesome threat, to be greatly feared by any and all social critics of the Jews? According to anthropological observation in most societies known to man, there is a stigma attached to mental illness. [46] Our society is no exception to this rule. And it is here, in the reflexive, unthinking, subliminal association of anti-Semitism (read: criticism of Jews) with psychological sickness that the charge of anti-Semitism derives its awesome power to intimidate, coerce, and silence.

It is firmly rooted in the tenets of popular psychology (read: media-promoted ideology), that anyone who criticizes Jews as a group has an underlying emotional problem, and this supplies the underlying reason for his criticism. Jews as a group are presented as blameless and powerless, an oppressed minority forever being victimized: by Arab terrorists, Soviet anti-Semites, Germans, Austrians, East Europeans — the list is endless. By this reading the “racist” critic of Jews alleviates his own intense psychological problems by criticizing and attacking the powerless Jews. Needless to say, anything said by so confused an individual need only be disregarded.

According to Paul Findley, a former Congressman who dealt extensively with Middle-Eastern issues in his tenure, the charge of anti-Semitism “... is an accusation that brings disdain and horror to just about everyone. No one wants to be accused of being anti-Semitic, and the accusation has been developed into the most odious attack that can be made on an American citizen.” [47] Jewish interests, through their pervasive influence on American thinking, have successfully programmed the popular psyche as follows: criticism of the Jews equals hatred of the Jews, which in turn equals mental sickness. [48] Those charged with “anti-Semitism are prey to the consequences of the distinctly human disgust, aversion and suspicion reserved for the mentally ill. Furthermore, the charge of anti-Semitism serves both as a Jewish sword and a Jewish shield. On the one hand, it is an ad hominem attack upon the character of a critic of Jewry. As such, it functions as a threat, used to intimidate and to coerce the critic or potential critic into silence, and to defame his character and dismiss his assertions if he speaks out. Thus it is an offensive weapon, a Jewish sword.

Now, let us see how it functions as a defensive shield for Jewish people. The charge of anti-Semitism can provide Jews psychological insulation from negative criticism, which, even though it be legitimate, is too painful for conscious acceptance. A Jew can easily sweep the criticism from conscious awareness by saying, “He [the critic of Jewry] is just an anti-Semite. Therefore, whatever he says about the Jews is false, and I don’t have to listen to him.” In a word, it is an excellent example of the Freudian defense mechanism of rationalization.

This could well be one of the major psychic forces behind this seemingly endless drive by certain Jewish organizations to “discover anti-Semitism” in the critics of Zionism and other forms of Jewish social and political influence. The charge of anti-Semitism could thus function as a conscience-salving self-deception for Jewish people.

V

Let us review some of the major points of this essay. The following cultural programming is a key part of the public orthodoxy: in America today: a) statements critical of Jews imply antipathy toward Jews, and b) antipathy toward Jews or Jewish organizations are the sign of a psychological disturbance. Previously, we have seen that statements critical of Jews do not necessarily arise from a hatred of Jews. Even if they did, this does not render the assertions false.

Let us analyze the validity of belief b. Let it be assumed, for the sake of argument, that a man bears hostility toward Jews or Jewish organizations. The public orthodoxy, the cultural conventions of our time, demand that we assume the man is either mentally disturbed or “evil.” Is this

necessarily true? Is it not possible that feelings of antipathy toward the Jews may stem from normal psychological reactions caused by the collective behavior of large numbers of Jews? Consider the following examples.

Israeli-Jewish rule of the Israeli-occupied Arab territories (the West Bank and the Gaza Strip) has been extremely oppressive. The native Palestinians living there are subject to confiscation of their lands, a wide range of legal discrimination; torture and cruel treatment of Palestinian dissidents; arbitrary arrest and deportation; administrative detention without trial for up to six months; collective punishment (the detonation of living quarters of families of individuals who are merely suspected of an offense); the placement of arbitrary curfews on whole towns; murders and political killings; violation of the native Palestinian's right to privacy; the severe restriction of the press, freedom of speech, peaceful assembly and association, and movement within the territories; and severe restrictions on academic freedom. [49] According to Congressman George Crockett Jr. (D-MI), who made a fact-finding visit to the Middle East in 1985, the Israeli military government in the occupied territories is a "... a finely honed instrument of oppression against an entire subject people." [50] Father Edward Dillon, a frequent lecturer on Middle-East-related issues, has summed up the situation perfectly when he wrote: "Palestinians have become resident aliens in their own land, without effective recourse for almost any infringement of basic human rights." [51] [The brutal repression of desperate Palestinian demonstrations over the six months following December 1987 has amply borne out these statements. — *Ed.*]

In view of what Palestinian Arabs have experienced at the hands of groups of Israeli Jews, and considering that their awful experiences are the result of the policies of a Jewish Zionist government, is not one justified in concluding that any generalized feelings of hostility they may harbor toward the Jews are, in a psychological sense, explicable? Would not similar feelings flair up in a group so oppressed by Jews, or by like oppressors with so identifiable a group character? (A psychological reaction may be explicable, even normal, but not necessarily morally justifiable, of course.)

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 provides another case in point. Post-World-War-II Hungarian society was very oppressive, a virtual Stalinist concentration camp. By 1956 at least one quarter of the entire Hungarian population had been jailed at one time or another, most often on trumped-up charges. If one's father had been a landowner or an officer during the Horthy era, university education was denied him, the higher professions closed, and his fate seemed sealed: to perform menial tasks for the rest of his life. There was additionally the full gamut of Stalinist suppression of religion and freedom of speech, as well as torture and execution of political dissidents.

As historian David Irving has pointed out, the leadership of the Communist regime, including the top echelons of the secret police, was almost entirely Jewish. [52] Working from CIA reports, Irving has demonstrated that the great majority of those Hungarians who took part in the revolution, and who subsequently were interviewed by psychologists in America, were motivated by anti-Jewish feelings. [53]

In view of the oppression that these Hungarians had experienced at the hands of a virtual totalitarian, Jewish-controlled government, may one not be justified in concluding that their hostility to Jews was a normal psychological response — in the sense that most people under the same set of circumstances would respond almost identically — caused by the collective, oppressive behavior of a large and influential group of Hungarian Jews?

The case of Jewish influence upon American foreign policy regarding the Middle East provides us with another instructive example. It has been well documented elsewhere that the Zionist es-

tablishment virtually controls the general direction of American Middle East foreign policy, and Jewish Zionist manipulation of our government for its own ends is quite extensive. In reference to this manipulation of the American government, Admiral Thomas Moorer has commented: "If the American people understood what a grip those people have got on our government, they would raise up in arms. Our citizens don't have any idea what goes on." In other words, if the American people knew how certain Zionist Jews are manipulating the American political system to the detriment of the American people, anti-Jewish hostility would become widespread — a quite normal, mass psychological response to the immoral collective behavior of a large group of Zionist Jews.

In a past issue of *The National Jewish Post and Opinion*, the Jewish columnist, Arlene Peck wrote: "I have my own feelings about the Germans and benevolence isn't one of them. I traveled to Munich briefly a few years ago and couldn't wait to get out of that country ... I can't help if I'm not a forgiving person." [54] Quite obviously, she is telling us that she bears hostility toward the Germans. Yet, the public orthodoxy demands that we sympathize with her by saying: "Well considering the oppression that Jews have suffered at the hands of Germans, it is certainly normal and understandable that Jewish people are hostile toward the Germans."

Just as hostility to Germans may be a normal psychological response for Jewish people under certain circumstances, so too, Arab, Hungarian, and American antipathy to Jews can also be a normal psychological response under certain circumstances. The equation of all anti-Jewish hostility with psychological sickness is false. Anti-Jewish feeling, at times, may be a normal psychological reaction — a reaction which could be induced in most humans given the circumstances — to the collective behavior of large groupings of Jews. (Of course, antipathy to the Jews as a group may be normal, but not morally justifiable. I am not suggesting that people who suffer at the hands of Jewish oppressors should hate all Jews, merely that, considering the psychic makeup of humankind, hostility to Jews can be a normal, not a pathological, reaction — though not an ethical reaction — given certain conditions.)

Conclusion

1. Jewry is an established social and political power in the United States. In concurrence with the democratic principles of our society, it is morally and politically correct to offer criticism of Jewry and its politico-cultural power.

2. The potency of the charge of anti-Semitism — its ability to silence critics of the Jews — derives not from the force of reason, but rather, from the force of an irrational, deeply ingrained, cultural convention specifically, the unthinking association of a sense of evil with criticism of the Jews.

3. The charge of anti-Semitism is a Jewish sword and shield. A Jewish sword, it is an ad hominem attack on any critic of the Jews. By focusing on the critic's character, it induces people to reject his assertions on Jewish behavior out of hand, without fair examination.

A Jewish shield, the charge serves as a psychological defense mechanism whereby Jewish people can insulate themselves from criticism which is too painful to confront consciously.

In a political and sociological sense, the charge of anti-Semitism is a powerful weapon of the Jewish cultural and political establishment, used in an undemocratic manner to silence its opponents and to enable that establishment to operate with impunity. Thus, the accusation of anti-Semitism is an essential tool of Jewish power and influence.

4. In our society almost every form of social and political power has its share of critics. The government bureaucracy, the so-called military-industrial complex, the CIA, Big Business, the Catholic Church, Christian fundamentalists, the oil companies, Ronald Reagan, the political Left, the political Right: all have their outspoken critics.

Americans are told from their cradles to their graves that their country is the “land of the free,” the “home of free speech,” the nation in which the citizenry is able to question and challenge all forms of social and political influence. Let one invoke this right of free speech and engage in criticism of the power and influence of American Jewry, however, the reigning cultural conventions demand that we label him “anti-Semitic.”

Our democratic philosophy allows for the political and moral legitimacy of criticism of the Jews as a group. If all forms of social and political influence have their tolerated, even respected critics, then let the critic of Jewish influence speak openly. By the canons of our free society, even Jewry should ultimately benefit from an open discussion of the power of Jews in politics, economics, and culture in modern America.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Chomsky's introduction to *Israel's Sacred Terrorism*, by Livia Rokach (Belmont, Mass.: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, 1980), p. xiii.
2. [↗](#) Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., s.v. “Taboo,” by Northcote W. Thomas, quoted in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, 6 bks., trans. and ed. Dr. A. A. Brill, The Modern Library (New York Random House, 1938), 5:823.
3. [↗](#) *The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, 1967 ed., s.v. “Democracy,” by Stanley I. Benn.
4. [↗](#) *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 65.
5. [↗](#) *Jews and American Politics* (Garden City, New York Doubleday & Co., 1974), p. 7.
6. [↗](#) See footnote 33.
7. [↗](#) “Jews in Congress show anti-Semitism reduced,” *The National Jewish Post and Opinion*, February 27, 1985, p. 3.
8. [↗](#) Wolf Blitzer, “Jewish political activists delighted at election returns,” *Cleveland Jewish News*, November 14, 1986, p. A-16.
9. [↗](#) Wolf Blitzer, “U.S. sends Jewish envoys to help deal with Israelis,” *Cleveland Jewish News*, 27 June 1986.
10. [↗](#) Charlotte Sailkowski, “America's Israel Aid Budget Grows,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 30 November 1983, p. 5.
11. [↗](#) Quoted in Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby* (Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1985), p. 47.
12. [↗](#) Arthur Liebman, *Jews and The Left* (New York John Wiley and Sons, 1979), p. 1.
13. [↗](#) Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism: Jews, Christians, and the New Left* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 98.
14. [↗](#) *Ibid.*, p. 80.
15. [↗](#) Review of *Roots of Radicalism*, in *The American Spectator*, vol. 16, no. 5 (May 1983), p. 26.
16. [↗](#) Rothman and Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism*, p. 105.
17. [↗](#) See Findley, *They Dare To Speak Out*; Cheryl Rubenberg, “The Middle East Lobbies,” *The Link*, vol. 17, no. 1 January-March 1984); Earl D. Huff, “A Study of a Successful Inter-

est Group: The American Zionist Movement,” *Western Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 25 (March 1972), pp. 109-124; Lee O'Brien, *American Jewish Organizations and Israel* (Washington, D.C.: Institute For Palestine Studies, 1986); Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection II: What Price Peace?* (New Brunswick, N.J.: North American, 1982); Morrell Heald and Lawrence S. Kaplan, *Culture and Diplomacy* (New York, 1978).

18. [↗](#) Review of *The American House of Saud: The Secret Petrodollar Connection*, by Steven Emerson, 11 July 1985, p. 17.
19. [↗](#) Richard Siegel and Carl Rheins, comps. and eds., *The Jewish Almanac* (New York Bantam, 1980), p. 58.
20. [↗](#) Wilmot Robertson, Chapter 15 of *The Dispossessed Majority*, “The Jews,” (Cape Canaveral, Florida Howard Allen, 1981), pp. 152-201.
21. [↗](#) See the short discussion of Fortune magazine’s 1936 report on Jews in America in James J. Martin’s, *The Man Who Invented Genocide”: The Public Career and Consequences of Raphael Lemkin* (Torrance, California Institute for Historical Review, 1984), p. 54.
22. [↗](#) Edwin Black, “Owned by Jews, evangelical radio spreads Gospel,” *Cleveland Jewish News*, December 1985, p. 13.
23. [↗](#) Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection II*, p. 219.
24. [↗](#) Richard Siegel and Carl Rheins, *The Jewish Almanac*, p. 99.
25. [↗](#) Stephen D. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics*, p. 46.
26. [↗](#) *Ibid.*, p. 46.
27. [↗](#) E. J. Epstein, *News From Nowhere* (New York: Random House, 1973), pp. 222-23, cited by Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism*, p. 97.
28. [↗](#) Muriel Cantor, *The Hollywood TV Producer* (New York Basic Books, 1971), cited by Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism*, p. 97.
29. [↗](#) Patricia Erens, *The Jew in American Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 28.
30. [↗](#) James Yaffe. *The American Jews* (New York Random House, 1968), p. 225.
31. [↗](#) Cynthia Dettelback, “‘Coming of Age’ 54th GA Theme,” *Cleveland Jewish News*, 22 November 1985, p. A4.
32. [↗](#) *Ibid.*, p. A4.
33. [↗](#) Hyman Bookbinder, of the American Jewish Committee, once made a claim to this effect, as quoted in Stephen D. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics*, p. 246. Among other things, he said “... But as for Jewish political power — large P partisan Power — there is relatively little organized Jewish political Power.” Based upon the evidence presented in this essay, I believe that one is justified in rejecting this claim as false. Jews as a group do have political power — and a lot of it.
34. [↗](#) The view expounded here differs significantly from that of Dr. Robert A. Hall Jr. (“[The Persecution of P. G. Wodehouse](#),” *The Journal of Historical Review* vol. 7, no. 3, Fall 1986, p. 345). Speaking of P. G. Wodehouse, he wrote: “He was very much aware that there are too many individual differences among members of any group to justify judging it en masse.” By logical extension, then, there are too many individual differences among members of any group to justify criticizing it en masse. Although there are many individual differences among members of any cultural grouping, this still does not rule out the persistence of general patterns of behavior and thought among individuals of the group, nor characteristics common to the group as a whole. The Jewish historian, Lucy S. Dawidowicz, has made this clear in *The War against the Jews: 1933-1945* (New York Bantam, published by arrangement with Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1975), p. 464. Jewish behavior during the crises of WW II, she noted, was in large part determined by “... the dominant values of

Jewish tradition and culture and a modal national character and personality. National character reflects the enduring formative influences of a people's culture and history. Through the processes of socialization during which the values of the group and patterns of behavior common to all its members are transmitted by family and peers, each individual's uniqueness is modified and seasoned by national characteristics."

35.  American Heritage Dictionary, (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1982, 1985), s.v. "anti-Semite."
36.  **Review** of *Why the Jews? The Reason for Anti-Semitism*, by Dennis Prager and Joseph Telushkin, *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol 5, nos. 2, 3, 4, (Winter 1984), pp. 375-77.
37.  Yitzhak Santis, "Supporters of Demjanjuk seeking to discredit OSI," *Cleveland Jewish News*, 3 January 1986, p. 10.
38.  For a good discussion on how some Americans are being railroaded, see Peter Carr, Susie Department, Media, KGB Pump U.S. 'Nazimania'," *The Spotlight*, 2 March 1987, p. 31.
39.  David Bird, "State U. Professor in a Dispute on Zionism Stand Is Denied Tenure," *New York Times*, 18 August 1985.
40.  Lee O'Brien, *American Jewish Organizations and Israel*, p. 219.
41.  Dube was made to leave the university. See the source in footnote 39.
42.  Alex C. Michalos, *Improving Your Reasoning* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall 1970), p. 78.
43.  United Nations, General Assembly, 2400th Plenary Meeting, 10 November 1975, Resolution 3379 (XXN Determining That Zionism is a Form of Racism; Sami Hadawi, "**Who Are the Palestinians?**," *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, (Spring 1983), pp. 43-59; Abdeen Jabara, *Zionism and Racism*, Arab World Issues, Occasional Papers: No. 3 (Detroit Association of Arab-American Graduates, 1976); Louise Cainkar, ed., *Separate and Unequal: The Dynamics of South African and Israeli Rule* (Chicago: Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 1985); Regina Sharif, *Non-Jewish Zionism: Its Roots in Western History* (London Zed Press, 1983); David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East* (Faber and Faber, 1977; London Futura Publications, a division of MacDonald & Co., 1978); for a good discussion of the close ideological affinity between National Socialist and Zionist racialism, see Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (Austin University of Texas Press, 1985), pp. 16-21.
44.  Douglas Reed, *The Controversy of Zion* (Torrance, California [Noontide Press](#), 1985), p. 174; Vladimir Begun, "The Accusation of Anti-Semitism," *Sputnik*, September 1980, p. 31; Dewey M. Beagle, *Prophecy and Prediction* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Pryor Pettengill, 1978), pp. 201-02; Fred Reed, "Intimidating the Press in Israeli," *Washington Post*, 28 June 1982; Charles M. Fischbein, "Money Talks to Media, and Media Controls Information," *The Spotlight*, 22 September 1986, p. 19; see the letter of Dr. Alfred M. Lilienthal, reprinted in Richard V. London, "Author Challenges GOP Lawmaker to Change Attitude on 'USS Liberty'," *The Spotlight*, 2 February 1987, p. 5; finally see the statements of former Undersecretary of State George W. Ball, the journalist Harold Piety, and Jewish intellectual Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht in Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out*, pp. 127, 268, 296.
45.  *Introduction to Logic*, 5th ed. (New York Macmillan, 1978), p. 88.
46.  Joseph Julian, *Social Problems*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1980), p. 48.
47.  "Congress and the Pro-Israel Lobby (Interview)," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. xv, no. 1 (Autumn 1985), p. 107.

48. ☐ Examples and evidence in support of this statement are so numerous, it would be impractical to list it all here. However, the following should suffice to illustrate the point. In reference to the legitimate criticism which [Liberty Lobby](#) (a populist institution based in Washington) has consistently advanced throughout the years, a very important ADL official Arnold Forster, has stated the following: “There is more than ample scientific basis ... for unequivocally stating that anti-Semitism is a disease, and that its disseminators are just as dangerous [as] any Typhoid Mary.” See [Liberty Lobby](#), *Conspiracy Against Freedom: A Documentation of One Campaign of the Anti-Defamation League Against Freedom of Speech and Thought in America*, ed. Willis A. Carto (Washington, D.C.: [Liberty Lobby](#), 1986), p. 106. Notice how Zionist ideologues deal with revisionist critiques of the “Holocaust.” Robert Faurisson has pointed out how Elie Wiesel uses the following terms — all of which conjure up the idea of mental illness — in reference to the revisionists: “indecent pamphleteers with morally deranged minds;” “Those hateful and vicious persons;” “it is to take leave of one’s senses;” “this entire affair arises from lunacy.” See “Revisionism on Trial: Developments in France, 1979-1983,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Summer 1985), p. 177. L. A. Rollins has uncovered other examples of the same. See “[The Holocaust as Sacred Cow](#),” *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol 4, no. 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 37-38.
49. ☐ Palestine Human Rights Campaign (U.S.A.) and Committee Confronting the Iron Fist (Jerusalem), Special Report (Chicago Palestine Human Rights Campaign, 1986); Palestine Human Rights Campaign and American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Report on Israeli Human Rights Practices in the Occupied Territories for 1985 (Chicago: Palestine Human Rights Campaign, n.d.); Washington, D.C.: American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, n.d.); Jan Abu Shakrah, “The Making of a Non-Person,” *The Link*, vol. 19, no. 2, (May-June 1986); Raja Shehadeh, *Occupier’s Law: Israel and the West Bank* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1985); Israel Shahak, “A Summary of the System of Legal Apartheid Which Is in Force in the Occupied Territories,” *Palestine Human Rights Newsletter* vol. VI, no. 4, July-August 1986), p.9; “Crockett Assails Repression of Palestinians,” *Palestine Perspectives*, October 1985, p.12.
50. ☐ “Crockett Assails Repression of Palestinians,” *Palestine Perspectives*, October 1985, p. 12.
51. ☐ Review of *Occupiers' Law: Israel and the West Bank*, by Raja Shehadeh, in “The Making of a Non-Person,” *The Link*, vol. 19, no. 2, (May-June), p.14..
52. ☐ David Irving, “On Contemporary History and Historiography,” *The Journal Historical Review*, vol 5, no 2, 3, 4, (Winter 1984), pp. 265-266; David Irving, *Uprising!* (London Hodder and Stoughton, 1981); R. V. Burks, *The Dynamics of Communism in Eastern Europe* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 163.
53. ☐ David Irving, “On Contemporary History and Historiography,” p. 266; David Irving, *Uprising!*, pp. 47-50.
54. ☐ “Arlene Gets Serious on Mr. Reagan,” *The National Jewish Post and Opinion*, May 1, 1985, p. 9.

Review article

On the Treadmill to Pearl Harbor

- **ON THE TREADMILL TO PEARL HARBOR: THE MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL JAMES O. RICHARDSON (USN RETIRED), AS TOLD TO VICE ADMIRAL GEORGE C. DYER (USN RETIRED).** Washington DC: Naval Historical Division, Department of the Navy, 1973, 471 pages.

Martin Merson

On the Treadmill to Pearl Harbor: The Memoirs of Admiral James O. Richardson (USN Retired), As Told to Vice Admiral George C. Dyer (USN Retired), with an introduction by Vice Admiral Edwin B. Hooper, (USN Retired), Director of Naval History, is a fundamental book for anyone interested in ascertaining the truth concerning the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, including the role of Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) and the Navy's state of readiness. A review of the Richardson book appeared in *Officer Review* (The Military Order of the World Wars), Vol. 27, No. 6, January 1988, page 5. [1] Although this book was completed in 1958, the publication date appearing in the book is 1973. To this reviewer's knowledge there is no satisfactory explanation for the fifteen-year delay in making the book available to the public. We have unofficial information that the delay may have been due to the fact that Harold Stark, Chief of Naval operations during the crucial early war years, did not die until 1972; the book is indeed highly critical of Admiral Stark. This writer has also been told that Admiral Arthur Radford, then serving as Chief of Naval Operations, insisted that Chapter XXII, entitled "Retrospect," be included as a condition for publication.

The reader must bear in mind that Joe Richardson, to an extent unmatched in this century, had been personally groomed by FDR for the top operating job in the Fleet. The salient facts, as developed in the book, are summarized as follows (Admiral Richardson is the narrator):

1. "I held in my hand a piece of paper [just after leaving the White House on 9 March 1939]. It had just been handed to me by President Franklin D. Roosevelt":

Office Relief

CNO Leahy retires 1 month Stark
after Congress adjourns

2. "I knew Rear Admiral Harold R. (Betty) Stark [at that time Commander of Cruisers, Battle Force, U.S. Fleet] very well. He was very capable, hard-working and one of the best-intentioned officers in the navy, as well as one of the most likeable. I believed then, and believe now, that his capacities, although marked, were not equal to those required by the Chief of Naval Operations billet, under conditions then existing.

“I believed also that few, if any, other senior officers in the Navy could have served the President so long and so satisfactorily as did Admiral Stark.”

Two and a half years later, Executive Order 8984, which prescribed the duties of the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Fleet and the Cooperative Duties of the Chief of Naval Operations, made Ernest J. King COMINCH. Stark, although remaining as CNO, had his wings significantly clipped. To all intents and purposes, King became the top uniformed officer of the Navy. King assumed his new post on 30 December 1941. This marked the beginning of the end for Harold Stark. Ultimately, he was “kicked upstairs,” to a post in London. Thus Joe Richardson’s appraisal of Stark proved prophetic.

3. On page 251, Adm. Richardson begins a discussion of War Plans, expressing this thought “ ... It has seemed to me that the very real part of our pre-Pearl Harbor War Plans played in the Pacific War has never been sufficiently pinpointed.” Richardson devotes many pages to a discussion of the evolution of War Plans — a field in which he enjoyed a recognized expertise.

On 26 January 1940, within three weeks of taking command of the U.S. Fleet, Richardson wrote to Stark and expressed the view that the Orange War Plans were unrealistic. He pointed out to Stark: “ ... You are the principal and only Naval Adviser to the boss and he should know that our Fleet cannot just sail away, lick Orange, and be back at home in a year or so. Also the probable cost (human and physical resources) of any war should be compared [with] the probable value of winning the war.”

The Orange War Plans had been in effect since 1927 and little had been done to provide the Navy with the special resources needed to project major Fleet Operations any significant distance west of Hawaii. The fact is that FDR and the bureaucrats in Washington were concerned more with events in Europe and the Atlantic Ocean than they were with the Pacific Ocean area.

In any event, by July 1941, after strenuous urging by Adm. Richardson, the Orange War Plans were shelved in favor of the Rainbow War Plans. In mid-October 1940 Richardson wrote an official letter to Stark, pointing out that it was Richardson’s firm conviction that neither the Navy nor the country was prepared for war with Japan. Two months passed before Stark replied to this letter. Richardson comments:

My own belief is that Stark was not pleased by my official letter of 22 October 1940 ... I believe my official letter of October 22, 1940, in regard to the dismal state of the Navy’s War Plans, was probably one factor which made Stark accept with equanimity the President’s urge to have me relieved.

4. The basing of the Fleet at Pearl Harbor followed Fleet Problem XXI, which began on 2 April 1940, and was to have been completed on 9 May 1940, with the Fleet projected to return to the West Coast about 17 May 1940. In fact these plans were changed in Washington and Richardson was instructed to remain in Hawaiian waters. Richardson concludes Chapter XV with this statement “ ... Basing the Fleet at Pearl Harbor in May of 1940 was undertaken under a completely false premise, in my opinion. The false premise was that the Fleet so positioned would exercise a restraining influence on the actions of Japan.”

The reviewer believes that Richardson — more than anyone in Washington — knew the state of readiness of the Fleet, and thus why it was essential that it return to the West Coast. In this regard, please note Richardson’s wisdom in pointing out:

... In 1940, the policy-making branch of the Government in foreign affairs — the President and the Secretary of State — thought that stationing the Fleet in Hawaii would restrain the Japanese. They did not ask their senior military advisors whether it would accomplish such an end. They imposed their decision upon them.

It should be noted that Richardson has not in any way suggested that FDR deliberately stationed the Fleet at Pearl in order to "bait" the Japanese to attack. Such an implication might be derived from a similar set of facts, but Richardson, to his dying day, remained a dedicated naval officer, not a politician, thereby embodying the highest traditions of the Navy. One might wish that the Washington bureaucracy had among its number more men of the caliber of Joe Richardson.

5. Richardson risked his career by making two trips to Washington in order to confront the President personally on key issues of basing the Fleet at Pearl Harbor. Richardson expressed the danger of keeping a Fleet at Pearl, in view of his serious skepticism concerning its readiness. During his second visit Richardson told Roosevelt:

Mr. President, I feel that I must tell you that the senior officers of the Navy do not have the trust and confidence in the civilian leadership of this country that is essential for the successful prosecution of a war in the Pacific.

In view of what took place on 7 December 1941, who will judge whether or not the terrible loss of life and material damage suffered could have been avoided had the President and Stark paid greater heed to Richardson? At least we know that the brave men and women who make up Pearl Harbor Survivors Association have satisfied themselves that Kimmel and Short are not to blame [see p. 250 of this journal — Ed.].

6. The CINCUS post had customarily been held by its incumbent for a period of 18-24 months. Richardson was detached after barely 12 months, on 31 January 1941. His relief was Admiral Husband E. Kimmel.

7. One of the alleged failures of Kimmel was in not conducting long-range aerial reconnaissance. Regarding this we are told by Richardson that it was Stark's adverse reaction to Richardson's practice of long-range reconnaissance that prompted calling off this practice. In fact, Richardson received a letter from Stark on 23 December 1940 in which Stark said: "... While the extent of security measures required is increasing, it has not yet reached the demand of full wartime security." Under the circumstances, it was logical for Richardson to conclude:

So, I believed that some of the responsibility for the failure to have daily long-range air reconnaissance as part of the daily routine in 1941 at Pearl Harbor lies directly on the doorstep of the CNO. Having been told by the Commander-in-Chief that daily long-range reconnaissance would be carried out, he said it "was not necessary."

8. One might profitably read, in parallel, Admiral Kimmel's story. [2] This serves to confirm how the defenses of the Pacific Fleet were short-changed significantly in favor of both the Atlantic Fleet and the Philippines, to the detriment of the Pacific Fleet

9. It will be recalled that Admiral Arthur Radford, while serving as CNO, was adamant that the Richardson book include a final chapter (XXII), "Retrospect". Readers of the Richardson book are urged to pay special heed to this final chapter. Among others points made are the following:

a. "I consider that, after Pearl Harbor, Admiral Kimmel received the rawest of raw deals from Franklin D. Roosevelt and, insofar as they acquiesced in this treatment, from Frank Knox and

'Betty' Stark."

b. "I consider 'Betty' Stark, in failing to ensure that Kimmel was furnished with all the information from the breaking of Japanese dispatches, to have been, to a marked degree, professionally negligent in carrying out his duties as Chief of Naval Operations. This offense was compounded, since in writing he had assured the (commander-in-Chief of the United States Fleet twice (both myself and Kimmel) that the Commander-in-Chief was 'being kept advised on all matters within his own (Stark's) knowledge' and 'You may rest assured that just as soon as I get anything of definite interest, I shall fire it along.'"

c. Since the Navy had expected and planned for a Japanese surprise attack for many years, it must be kept in mind that subordinates in a military organization cannot stand with their arms raised in protective alertness forever. It is the superior who must ring the bell to move subordinates into the ring. Kimmel's superiors in Washington never rang that bell. Stark could have picked up the phone and given Kimmel a last minute alert on the morning of 7 December 1941. By failing to do so, Stark committed a major professional lapse. In Richardson's opinion, Stark utterly failed to display loyalty downward. This could only be explained if Stark acted under the mistaken impression he owed no loyalty downward and this may have been due to either to influence or direct orders from above.

Richardson concludes this section with an all-important statement:

I am impelled to believe that sometime prior to December 7, the President had directed that only Marshall could send any warning message to the Hawaiian area. I do not know this to be a fact and I cannot prove it. I believe this because of my knowledge of Shrk and the fact that his means of communication with Kimmel were equal to, if not superior to those available to Marshall for communication with Short. He made no effort to warn Kimmel on the morning of December 7, but referred the matter to Marshall. [Emphasis added].

d. Placing the onus for the catastrophe at Pearl Harbor on Kimmel and Short, in effect, placed it on the Army and the Navy. For this reason it is pertinent to emphasize the extent to which, as Richardson observes: "... the seasoned officers of the navy over a twenty-year period had correctly diagnosed the aspirations and intentions and war habits of the Japanese."

As far back as 1 February 1934, when Richardson was a student at the War College, he submitted a thesis entitled: *The Relationship between Japanese Policy and Strategy in the Chinese and Russian Wars, and Its Lessons to Us*. In his thesis Richardson pointed out that in these wars the complete harmony and effective strategy of the Japanese are not to be found in the wars themselves, but in the preparations for these wars. It was in Japan's participation in conferences, peace and otherwise, that we find the harmony. Richardson predicted the same would be true with respect to naval conferences which Japan would hold with us. It would be the United States that through concessions would sink her modern fleet and bind herself not to fortify any possessions west of Hawaii. In return the U.S. would get no permanent compensating advantage. This is precisely what happened as a result of naval conferences.

To carry out the Orange War Plans, the U.S. would need a strong "train," i.e., the various auxiliaries, including repair ships, ammunition ships, refrigerator ships and above all oilers. Interestingly, during the peacetime years between World War I and World War II, the strong "peace" groups in Congress believed that the best way to keep the U.S. in its own backyard was to prevent the navy from building up an appropriate train. It is for this reason that Richardson, early on in his letters to Stark, pointed out how unrealistic were the Orange War Plans.

e. The Roberts Commission. According to Richardson it was Felix Frankfurter, then on the U.S. Supreme Court, who suggested to FDR the creation, under a carefully drawn precept, of a mixed commission composed of officers of the armed forces, with a civilian counsel and headed by a member of the Supreme Court, to investigate the attack on Pearl Harbor. Such a commission would not be led by rules of evidence governing a civilian court or a military court of inquiry. In the opinion of Richardson, the report of the Roberts Commission was: “... the most unfair, unjust, and deceptively dishonest document ever printed by the Government Printing Office.”

Richardson finds that the military members of the Roberts Commission were: “... later rewarded for their services by favorable assignment and promotion, for employment after retirement.” Richardson tells us that the decision to relieve Kimmel and Short was made prior to the initial meeting of the Roberts Commission. In effect, the Roberts Commission could not have been intended to determine culpability or blamelessness, since that had been decided beforehand.

According to Richardson:

A more disgraceful spectacle has never been presented to this country during my lifetime than the failure of the civilian officials of the Government to show any willingness to take their share of responsibility for the Japanese success at Pearl Harbor.

When reference is made in books and articles by academic historians — and even by high government officials, including the military, of dereliction of duty by men such as Kimmel and Short — without their having been given a trial, permitted to introduce evidence or being represented by counsel, we are in effect departing from those rules of jurisprudence which our constitution guarantees even the meanest criminal in our midst.

Finally, Richardson points out that he had known Admiral William H. Standely for a long time. He knew Standely as an honest, fair-minded, sincere man and valued his friendship. This is precisely why Standely was chosen to be a member of the Roberts Commission, in order to induce the United States Navy to have confidence in the justness of the Roberts Commission findings. Below we shall discuss the Naval Court of Inquiry on Pearl Harbor and an incident involving Adm. Richardson.

f. Richardson observes that while Japan commenced its war with Russia in 1904 after breaking off diplomatic relations, but before a formal declaration of war, at Pearl Harbor, Japan did not bother to break off diplomatic relations beforehand. To Richardson, FDR “... consistently overestimated his ability to control the actions of other nations whose interests opposed our own.” Richardson believes the President’s responsibility was direct, real and personal insofar as Pearl Harbor is concerned.

(When we consider the moral values of Franklin D. Roosevelt, we should not overlook his plan for judicial reorganization presented to the Congress on 5 February 1937. It was no more and no less than a plan to bring the third branch of government under popular control. Regardless of the willfulness of the justices in opposing New Deal legislation, is the step pursued by FDR one of which we can approve? The fact is that FDR was, to say the least, a willful man, who did not readily brook opposition. This quality of Roosevelt may help us understand his behavior in the Pearl Harbor controversy.)

g. In his final chapter, Richardson pays a special tribute to Congressman Carl Vinson. Richardson has this to say:

I have known the Honorable Carl Vinson since 1914 and I cannot forego the opportunity to pay my respects to him, because I firmly believe that his service to the Navy and the nation renders him one of the great living Americans.

Carl Vinson of Georgia, (1883-1981) served in Congress from 1919 to 1964, a period of 45 years. During this period two very important pieces of legislation are ascribed to Vinson. The first is the Naval Parity Act of 27 March 1934 authorizing the building of a full treaty- strength Navy within the limits set by the Washington Naval Limitations Treaty of 1922 and the London Naval Limitation Treaty of 1930. A hundred warships and more than a thousand planes were provided for. However, Congress did not appropriate adequate funds, and until 1938 construction was carried out only on a replacement basis.

On 17 May 1938 the Vinson Naval Expansion Act was passed, authorizing a “two-ocean” Navy to be constructed over the next ten years. Thus, much of what was accomplished in strengthening the Navy can be attributed to the efforts of Carl Vinson, a man known to Naval officials as “Daddy” Vinson — in many ways the father of the Navy of his day.

If Joe Richardson believed that Harold Stark was failing to present to FDR the Naval view of its own readiness for war, there is relevance in the fact that Carl Vinson, in July 1940, expressed to Richardson a grave concern as to whether or not Stark was, in fact, standing up to the president.

Revisionist Versus Anti-Revisionist

So far as the Pearl Harbor disaster is concerned, the writing in the field, especially by academicians, serves the very useful purpose of accentuating the need for a consideration of truth in history.

In Volume Four, Number Four/Winter 1983 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, the Editor’s Note entitled: “Pearl Harbor The Latest Wave,” is an excellent summation of the writing in the field. There is no need for this writer to duplicate this information in the note.

As the note points out, John Toland’s *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and its Aftermath*, [3] is remarkable for the fact that the author: “ ... had for many years been recognized as a certifiably Establishment, 'safe' historian not known to hold any brief for the Revisionists in pinning blame on FDR and his Administration.”

Soon after the appearance of Toland’s *Infamy*, one Roger Pineau was quoted in the *Foreign Intelligence Literary Scene* [4] in calling Toland’s book: “ ... a specious representation” of the case against President Roosevelt’s handling of events leading to the Japanese attack of December 1941. It so happens that Pineau is a naval historian, a former intelligence officer, a Japanese linguist, and a former aide to Samuel Eliot Morison in the writing of the naval history of World War II.

Pineau had met Edwin T. Layton, also a Japanese language officer and the Pacific fleet intelligence officer under a succession of three Pacific Fleet Commanders: Joe Richardson, Husband Kimmel, and Chester Nimitz. Following the end of the war, Edwin Layton began to put his notes in order for a possible memoir. In 1980, it so happened that a massive amount of previously classified naval records, concerning communications intelligence, was made available at the National Archives.

Pineau and John Costello, the British author of *The Pacific War*, [5] began to assist Layton, then in his early 80's. In April 1984, Layton suffered a fatal stroke and his widow turned to Pineau and

Costello to complete the task. The book was completed and published posthumously in 1985. [6] What is so very remarkable about this whole episode is the fact that two such arch anti-Revisionists were so readily transformed into champions of one of the most important accounts of Revisionist literature dealing with Pearl Harbor. In fact, it can be said that anyone seeking an understanding of what happened at Pearl Harbor can readily master the subject by reading the four books published by Joe Richardson, Ed Layton, Husband Kimmel, and finally, Kemp Tolley's *Cruise of the Lanikai*. [7]

It should be noted as well that the Layton memoirs also make mention of how the significant victory at Midway was achieved, owing to the cooperation between the brilliant Joseph Rochefort, the radio intelligence officer at Pearl and his counterpart, Ed Layton, the fleet intelligence officer.

Ironically, it is the former anti-Revisionists, Pineau and Costello, who disclose in their authors' notes just how flimsy is the foundation of Gordon W. Prange's book, *At Dawn We Slept*. [8]

The publication of the Layton memoirs has furthermore the very definite tendency to undermine the importance of Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*, [9] which had, since its publication, been hailed as "the definitive book" on Pearl Harbor.

In reality, not much remains of the anti-Revisionist attempt to enshrine Franklin D. Roosevelt in Valhalla. But the task ahead is to clear the names of Husband E. Kimmel and Walter C. Short, the Pearl Harbor commanders scapegoated to deflect criticism from FDR and his lieutenants.

Unfinished Business

The Navy Court of Inquiry, consisting of Orin G. Murfin, Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.), President; Edward C. Kalbfus, Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret), Member; Adolphus Andrews, Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy (Ret.), Member; Harold Biesemeier, Captain, U.S. Navy, Judge Advocate, met between 20 July 1944 and 20 October 1944. The net result of the Courts inquiry is the complete exoneration of Admiral Husband E. Kimmel while serving as Commander in Chief, U.S. Fleet on 7 December 1941. We single out for special mention this portion of the Opinion.

Based on Findings XVIII and XIX, the Court is of the opinion that Admiral Harold R. Stark, U.S.N., Chief of Naval Operations and responsible for the operations of the Fleet, failed to display the sound judgment expected of him in that he did not transmit to Admiral Kimmel, Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet, during the very critical period 26 November to 7 December, important information which he had regarding the Japanese situation and, especially, in that, on the morning of 7 December, he did not transmit immediately information which appeared to indicate that a break in diplomatic relations was imminent, and that an attack in the Hawaiian area might be expected soon. [10]

Appended to the Navy Court of Inquiry's Opinion and Recommendation were various endorsements, including one from Secretary of the Navy Forrestal. With specific respect to Forrestal's endorsement, we turn once again to Adm. Richardson's chapter, entitled "Retrospect," in which he states:

The Secretary of the Navy sent for me and told me that he was not satisfied with the report of the Naval Court of Inquiry on Pearl Harbor or with any preceding Inquiry, and that he had so stated to the press, adding that he would have another investigation made.

He then stated that he would like to have me undertake this investigation for him. I said, "Mr. Secretary, I am sorry but I am not available for such assignment, because I am prejudiced and I believe that no prejudiced officer should undertake the inquiry."

The Secretary asked what I meant by the statement that I was prejudiced, and I replied, "I am prejudiced because I believe that any fair and complete investigation will result in placing a part of the blame for the success of the attack upon the President." Mr. Forrestal replied substantially as follows: "In this case the President was to blame only to the extent of being a poor judge of men." The Secretary amplified his remarks by naming one or more officers whose retention in high office for some time indicated bad judgment on the part of the President, but he did not mention Kimmel.

I was not ordered to conduct the investigation.

It is my firm belief that, when the President realized the extent of the damage done by the attack on Pearl Harbor, he lost his nerve and lost his head, and ordered the convening of the Roberts Commission, believing that he would best protect his own position by focusing public attention on Pearl Harbor.

At that time, and increasingly so since, I thought that the wisest course of action for the President, from all points of view, would have been to send a dispatch to those in command at Pearl Harbor, along the following lines:

"Despite the result of the dastardly unprovoked attack of the Japanese on Pearl Harbor, the American people and I have confidence in our Army and Navy. We shall be avenged."

In Richardson's remarks which followed his colloquy with Forrestal, what, in effect, he is suggesting is that a less devious President would have faced up to a disaster which his own bull-headedness had caused by overruling Richardson, a man he had personally groomed to be Pacific Fleet Commander. Well-informed persons, including many uniformed men, knew that the Roberts Commission was a perfidious piece of chicanery, designed to put the onus for Pearl Harbor on those in command at Pearl. It is to FDR's everlasting shame that he behaved in such a dishonorable fashion. It is this deviousness which has brought on nearly a half-century of dedicated effort to bring before the American people the real truth concerning Pearl Harbor. Moreover, a careful reading of biographical material on FDR reveals that his deviousness goes back to earliest childhood, when he resorted to such behavior to wheedle things he sought from a doting mother.

It is both troublesome and inexplicable that Joe Richardson's book was withheld from public view for fifteen years, during which time the academic historians rushed to judgment with a great deal of material, obscuring the truth concerning Pearl Harbor. Moreover, even in more recent years, a book such as Admiral Layton's *And I Was There* was unmercifully criticized. This notwithstanding the fact that Layton occupied one of the most critical posts in the Pacific Fleet throughout the successful prosecution of the war under both Kimmel and Nimitz. Bear in mind that it was with the help of Layton that the communications intelligence information derived by Joe Rochefort was put to use in time to set an ambush for the attacking Japanese, which made possible the brilliant victory at Midway.

Nevertheless, those who wish to discredit any writer who has a good word to say about Kimmel will permit no obstacle to hinder their undeviating point of view. For example, one Ronald Spec-

tor was appointed Director of Naval History on 20 July 1986, placing him in a position where his views on all matters affecting naval history must be as devoid of subjectivity as is humanly possible. In a *New York Times* book review, Spector joins in the usual anti- Revisionist criticism.^[11] It is most unfortunate that a man in the official position of Naval Historian should indulge in such groundless criticism.

This brings us to a final and most important point to be discussed in this article. Reference is made to the circumstances under which the Richardson book was published by the Naval History division, the director of which was Vice Admiral Edwin B. Hooper, U.S.N. (Ret.). Admiral Hooper wrote the introduction. In the course of his introduction, Admiral Hooper has this to say:

Insofar as lessons for the future are concerned, no historical example is of greater importance than that of the decisions and events in the period leading up to the Pearl Harbor attack.

As had others before him, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt directed deployments of the Fleet as a part of his overall national peacetime strategy. Rather than deterring the Japanese from aggressive actions, the maintenance of a major portion of the fleet at Pearl Harbor was viewed by the then militaristic leaders of Japan as an opportunity to cripple U.S. naval power in the Pacific. As she decided to launch the devastating carrier air attack of 7 December 1941, Japan had memories of the decisive results of the battle of Tsushima in the Russo-Japanese War and of territorial acquisitions made possible by the diversion of the western navies to meet the needs of warfare in Europe and the Atlantic during World War I. In 1941, with Europe again in the throes of all-out war, only the American Navy could prevent fulfillment of ambitions of establishing a "Greater Asia Co- Prosperity Sphere."

In this volume, completed (except for editorial work) in 1958, Admiral J. O. Richardson records his recollections and views, concentrating mainly on the years from 1939 to 1942. He devotes considerable attention to war plans, to his efforts to obtain adequate manning for the Fleet, to his concern over the effects of the prolonged Hawaiian deployment in degrading Fleet readiness for war, and to the disagreement with the President that led to his being relieved as Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Fleet ...

While the primary value of this book has to do with decisions and events in the months before the Japanese attack, Admiral Richardson has included material on other periods of his long and eventful naval career, thus providing valuable insights with regard to a changing navy from the turn of the twentieth century to World War II.

Mr. Edward J. Marolda of our Operational Archives, working under the direction of Dr. Dean C. Allard, located and verified sources that were cited, undertook a number of editorial tasks in conjunction with Vice Admiral Dyer, and performed other functions associated with the publication of this book. However, the Naval History Division has made no attempt to pass judgment on the views expressed in this volume; they are solely those of Admiral Richardson. With the full realization that, for a complete picture or an overall evaluation of the decision and events of the time, it will be necessary to draw also upon additional source materials and the opinions of others involved, the work is published, in the expectation that it will provide valuable contributions to naval history.

Every reader of this paper will be asked to search his mind and conscience and respond to this question: Would it be ethical for the Naval History Division which accepted a manuscript from an outstanding Pacific Fleet commander in 1958 — thirty years in the past — to disavow in 1988 its imprimatur on the fundamental thesis of the work?

Notes

1. [↗](#) Martin Merson, “On the Treadmill to Pearl Harbor” *Officer Review* (The Military Order of the World Wars, 6 January 1988).
2. [↗](#) Husband E. Kimmel, *Adm. Kimmel's Story* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1955).
3. [↗](#) John Toland, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (New York, Doubleday & Company, 1982).
4. [↗](#) *Foreign Intelligence Literary Scene: A bi-Monthly Newsletter/Book Review*, Volume 1, No. 4, August 1982.
5. [↗](#) John Costello, *The Pacific War* (New York, Rawson, Wade Publishers, Inc., 1981).
6. [↗](#) Rear Admiral Edwin T. Layton, USN (Ret), with Captain Roger Pineau, USNR (Ret), and John Costello, *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor and Midway — Breaking the Secrets* (New York, William Morrow and Company, 1985).
7. [↗](#) Kemp Tolley, *Cruise of the Lanikai* (Annapolis, Maryland Naval Institute Press, 1973).
8. [↗](#) Gordon W. Prange in collaboration with Donald M. Goldstein and Katherine V. Dillon, *At Dawn We Slept* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981).
9. [↗](#) Roberta Wohlstetter, *Pearl Harbor Warning and Decision* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1962).
10. [↗](#) Opinion, Navy Court of Inquiry.
11. [↗](#) Ronald H. Spector, review of *And I Was There*, by Edwin T. Layton, with Roger Pineau and John Costello in the New York Times, 5 January 1986. p. 9.

Book review

Stalin's War

- **STALIN'S WAR: A RADICAL NEW THEORY OF THE ORIGINS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR**, by Ernst Topitsch. Translated by A. and B.E. Taylor. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987, 160 pages, \$19.95, ISBN: 0-312-0989-5.

Reviewed by Dennis Nayland Smith

Can there be any real doubt who was the prime mover in the tumultuous events of 1933-1945? From the vast majority of professional historians to Joe and Sue Sixpack glued to their boob tube, the answer is, "Hitler, of course." According to this universally accepted view, Hitler, joined by Mussolini and the Japanese warlords, cunningly orchestrated the political and military incidents which led to the outbreak of the Second World War.

But even this truism is now coming under attack by Revisionists. Prominent among those questioning the role played by Hitler is Ernst Topitsch, whose book, *Stalin's War*, has just appeared in English translation in the United States, published by the respected St. Martin's Press.

Topitsch is a graduate of the University of Vienna, a member of the Paris Institute of Philosophy, and a professor at Graz University in Austria. Simply stated, his well-argued thesis is that Stalin, not Hitler, was the central figure of the war. The author summarizes the evolution of his thinking on these matters at the outset of his study:

In line with prevailing opinion, for many years I considered Hitler to be the main character in the drama of the Second World War, and held his policy of violent expansion and aggression to be the most important cause of its outbreak. Yet a more thorough analysis of the interplay of the main events has led me to the conviction that at the very least this viewpoint needed a radical modification. It became more and more apparent that Stalin was not only the real victor, but also the key figure in the war; he was, indeed, the only statesman who had at the time a clear, broadly based idea of his objectives.

Following the end of the First World War, Lenin concluded that the war had been just a prelude to further imperialist wars, which would eventually lead to the final victory of socialism worldwide. In a speech given in 1920, Lenin outlined how Germany and Japan could be used to provoke another war within the "capitalist camp."

Stalin pursued Lenin's strategy. The Hitler-Stalin Pact of August 1939 — which granted Hitler cover by the Red Army on the Eastern Front — was intended to encourage Hitler to open hostilities. Stalin was delighted with the German invasion of France. The "imperialist war" had finally broken out in earnest; Stalin stepped up deliveries of raw materials to Germany. Topitsch observes that, "In the Kremlin it was at first expected that there would be long-drawn-out battles

with a heavy rate of attrition — as in the First World War — in the course of which the two sides would go on destroying each other until general exhaustion brought about a revolutionary situation.” However, Germany’s stunning victory over the Low Countries and France — within a matter of weeks — came as a real shock.

A new situation now presented itself to Stalin if the German Army were defeated, the Soviets could be masters of Europe. As the author points out, given the inaccessibility of Kremlin archives, “it cannot be stated exactly when the decision was made to embark on this strategy.” Topitsch is convinced that Stalin set out to provoke Hitler to attack the Soviet Union, just as Franklin Roosevelt maneuvered Japan into “firing the first shot.”

Topitsch contends that regardless of what Hitler did, Stalin was preparing to attack Germany, most likely in 1942. He is not alone in suggesting that Stalin was planning a military offensive against the West. Grigore Gafencu, Romania’s sometime foreign minister and ambassador to the USSR during the war, felt that Stalin had secretly provoked Germany into attacking. More recently, Brian Fugate, in a revision of his University of Texas doctoral dissertation, published as *Operation Barbarossa: Strategy and Tactics on the Eastern Front, 1941* (Presidio Press, 1984), makes the case that Soviet armaments production and military dispositions facing western Europe are a sure sign that the Soviets were intending to launch an offensive against the West

While “Operation Barbarossa” — as Hitler’s assault on the Soviet Union was codenamed — did not catch Stalin unawares, the German military victories during the summer and fall of 1941 were unexpected and thwarted Stalin’s ambitious plans for a rapid counterattack to the west. The war dragged on, and the British and Americans established themselves in Western Europe before the Red Army could reach the English Channel. If Stalin’s aspirations were not fully realized, the outcome of the war does not detract from Topitsch’s theory that “the Second World War was only a phase — though an important one — in the realization of Lenin’s grand strategy to subjugate the capitalist or ‘imperialist’ nations — in other words, all those which had not yet undergone the process of Sovietization.”

Topitsch’s book is not without its flaws, particularly in A. and B.E. Taylor’s translation. On page 23, one encounters the odd formulation “Faced by the notorious dwindling of party funds during the war ...” in connection with Hitler’s turning for donations to “nationalist, conservative, and ‘capitalist’ circles.” Clearly by “war” the end phase of Hitler’s struggle for political power in Germany is meant, not the Second World War, as an unsuspecting reader might reasonably conclude. One also wonders if the author believes that fascism is “the most extreme form of capitalism” (p. 27). The translators’ capricious usage in anglicizing German and Russian names is bothersome as well. For “Moldavia and Wallachia” we read “Moldau and Wallacheit while the Vistula and Narew Rivers are rendered as “Weichsel” (German) and “Narev” (?). Transliteration of Russian names generally straddles proper German and English usage, so that the reader encounters, instead of “Zhukov” or “Schukow,” the translators’ “Schukov.” There are an irritating number of typos as well such as “Nersky” for “Nevsky” and “Frisch” for “Fritsch.”

Nevertheless, *Stalin’s War* provides new and significant insights into our political understanding of World War II. Most followers of this journal will find it provocative reading.

Review

An American in Exile: The Story of Arthur Rudolph

- **AN AMERICAN IN EXILE: THE STORY OF ARTHUR RUDOLPH**, by Thomas Franklin. Huntsville, Alabama: Christopher Kaylor Company, 1987. 366 pages, \$16.95, Hb., ISBN 0-916039-04-8.

Reviewed by Robert H. Countess

In the spring of 1986 I had the pleasure of interviewing several men who played key roles in the German rocket development program and in the subsequent American space program, which has taken us to the moon and far beyond. The program was one that I named “The Marketplace of Ideas” and it aired regularly over Huntsville’s public radio station, WLRH.

My first guest was author Mitch Sharpe, who co-authored, with Fred Ordway, *The Rocket Team* (Crowell, 1979), the major treatment of Wernher von Braun and his colleagues at Peenemünde. Sharpe, who lives in Huntsville, is now at work on a manuscript dealing with “the other rocket team,” the hundred or more German scientists who were taken to the Soviet Union *under contract* for a specified time. After these “lesser lights” had fulfilled their duties, the Soviets allowed them to return to their homes.

The other guests were Drs. Georg von Tiesenhausen, Ernst Stuhlinger, and Walter Häussermann, also members of the Peenemünde team, who live in Huntsville. Stuhlinger is a four-time winner of the prestigious Humboldt Award, given by the Alexander von Humboldt Society in the German Federal Republic. He appears in the “Acknowledgments” of James Michener’s *Space*. He studied under Drs. Hans Geiger (of “Geiger counter” fame) and atomic physicist Werner Heisenberg.

In my introduction to the program with Stuhlinger I remarked that in view of the emphasis given to February as “Black History Month,” it might also be justified to denote other months for special emphasis. I suggested a “Teutonic-Germanic History Month” and indicated that, as a history teacher, if I were confronted with the dilemma of choosing which people has made the greatest contribution to Western Civilization, the ancient Greeks or the modern-to-contemporary Germans, I would have a very difficult time deciding — an infelicitous dilemma. For the modern period the Germans (to include the Dutch, *et al.*) would be selected hands down. From the ancient period, the Greeks.

I then cited the anti-German misanthropes Theodore Kaufman and Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (one could even include his father), whose infamous plan for the genocide of Germans is well known. For the former see *Time* magazine’s March 24, 1941 (page 95) review of *Germany Must Perish*; for the latter see *Germany Is Our Problem* (Harper, 1945). It is too bad that these two genocidalists are not around to be hauled into court so that the United States can implement the Senate ap-

proved “Genocide Convention” of 1986. I can hardly think of two more suitable candidates for such a trial.

Dr. Stuhlinger indicated that after he had returned from the Russian Front and joined the von Braun team, he received notice one day that he had become a member of the National Socialist Party and that about two dollars a month would be taken out of his pay. This is of interest in that after the war, these gentlemen were categorized by some U.S. intelligence officers as “ardent Nazis.” Later, their files were altered to “Not an ardent Nazi.” This alteration-insertion has been used by the Nazi-hunter vigilantes to “prove” that the U.S. *altered* the records so that these “murderers” could be brought to the U.S. to aid our rocket effort. It is most unfortunate that Neal Sher, Eli Rosenbaum, and Allan Ryan, Jr. — all highly paid zealots in the Justice Department’s OSI (Office of Special Investigations) — are not analytically minded types, or they might have been able to view matters more intelligently.

Stuhlinger noted that in his experience “ardent Nazis” were *not* sent to the Russian front. He also stated that he, Arthur Rudolph and Dr. von Braun were particularly interested in developing rockets to go to the moon. His own desire stemmed from a space fantasy movie he saw as a youth. The German Army had missiles of destruction in mind. When he came to the U.S. and to Ft. Bliss, Texas, he again wanted to work on moon rocketry, but the U.S. Army wanted missiles for destruction. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. When the Soviets put Sputnik into space and the U.S. was feverishly lamenting its second place in the space race, Stuhlinger said that the German scientists — now in Huntsville — pulled out their drawings which they had worked on over the decades (beginning at Peenemünde!) and began to work in earnest on space rocketry.

On February 23, 1987, PBS Television aired a “documentary” on the German rocket scientists that was so obviously a diatribe against these great Americans that one wonders why it was not aired on “Show Time” or “MTV.” It was called “Front Line,” and Dr. Stuhlinger watched it aghast. He remarked over my radio program that it was “full of inaccuracies and misconceptions.” One wonders why the producers did not send someone to Huntsville to interview these clear-minded scientists for their version of events, especially since Sher and Rosenbaum were either very young or not yet born at the time of the war.

I asked Dr. Stuhlinger why he thought the OSI went after Dr. Rudolph. He conjectured that it may have been his advanced age and ill health. Earlier, Neal Sher had contacted two other German scientists here in Huntsville, and asked them for statements about Peenemünde and the treatment of prisoners. They engaged an attorney, however, who informed Mr. Sher that if he had any questions, these would have to be addressed to his clients through him. The matter was dropped. Many insiders think that had Dr. Rudolph taken this approach from the beginning, he would still be a U.S. citizen, living comfortably near his daughter in California.

Shortly after interviewing Dr. Stuhlinger on “The Marketplace of Ideas,” I invited Thomas Franklin, a writer for the *Huntsville News*, whose twenty-part series on Dr. Arthur Rudolph had appeared during February-March of 1987. He had spent three days interviewing Rudolph in Wellingsbüttel, a suburb of Hamburg, in the fall of 1986. These newspaper fascicles became the first half of the book under review.

The hour-long live interview went very well, and all the phone calls were positive, except for one from a very naive man who assumed that if Rudolph had been a National Socialist, then he ought to be deported. The caller also assumed that the PBS program was accurate and true, etc.

Since I thought Thomas Franklin had just begun to scratch the surface of a topic of great interest to Huntsvillians in general and to the significant German community there, I scheduled him

(along with Dr. Walter Häussermann) to return the following Monday and continue. I had not counted, however, on a mid-course change of philosophy by the station's program director, who until then had always been friendly and supportive.

Today I hold the view that someone put inordinate pressure on him. When, the following Monday, my guests and I arrived at the station, we learned that there "had already been too much talk about Dr. Rudolph" The "M.P.I" hour that day carried a canned program instead, and my "career" as a volunteer quickly went downhill. The old reliables were trotted out I was "neo-Nazi" and, of course, "anti- Semitic."

I then sent a copy of the Franklin interview tape and the newspaper series to National Public Radio's Ann Edwards in Washington. Speaking with her over the phone, I was told that she wanted to do a segment on the Rudolph case. She assured me that she was independent of such intimidation. It is now nearly a year since she declared her interest, and after many phone calls to her, she has not yet followed through on her verbal commitment

During the month of August, 1987, I met with Dr. and Mrs. Rudolph in their small but comfortable apartment in Germany, and talked with them about their situation. The Rudolfs warmly appreciated my visit. They long to be back in California near their daughter. Most certainly they deplored the tactics by which they had been led to surrender their U.S. citizenship. Sher and OSI have targeted an octogenarian with a bad heart and few resources as a war criminal and a threat to the well-being of the U.S.A.

The Friday evening before I arrived, German television aired yet another "Holocaust" appeal for mesmerized German viewers. The Rudolfs were particularly upset over the singling out of Rudolph by name by OSI's authority, Eli Rosenbaum, who called him "a murderer."

My personal interest in the Rudolph case goes back to my high school days in Huntsville (1951-55), when the town was a sleepy, typically Southern cotton town of 16,000 people. I quickly became aware of fellow students whose first and last names I could not easily understand or spell. There were Ueter, Tschinkel, Debus, Roth, Stein, and then the hard ones like Ursula, Dieter, Wolfgang, Hans, *et al.* Some wore sandals and leather shorts and had longish hair styles and just *looked* different. But they were nice, and serious about their studies. I even dated the daughter of Dr. Kurt Debus on a couple of occasions, and I lunched at the home of the Tschinkels, where I saw, for the first time, wheat germ on the table. At first I was apprehensive about taking into my body something called "germ."

Over the years I have made a modest attempt to learn to read and speak German and have traveled to the "Germanies" (including the Federal Republics seven times, with two years in residence thanks to Uncle Sam's largesse. In recent years, however, I have made a studious effort to learn of the contributing factors to the two great wars of this century, and to understand the present legend known as "the Holocaust."

Thomas Franklin's *An American in Exile* gives readers a chance to draw their own conclusions as to the facts of Rudolph's past and as to the justice of his treatment at the hands of OSI. The book includes interviews with Dr. Rudolph, his friends, and family members, who related their experiences of trauma in Nazi Germany and the goals and challenges of the space program. There are also included complete transcripts of an OSI interrogation of Rudolph. The latter will enable, I judge, the reader to marvel OSI's audacity in bringing a case against Rudolph.

Sher and Rosenbaum attempted to paint Rudolph with the anti-semantic "anti-Semitic" brush, claiming that he held "blind hatred for inferior races." (p. 139.) Rudolph replied:

I told them in the interview that I didn't believe in the German master race. Germany, being in the center of Europe, was at the crossroads of many, many people. It was a melting pot, and the idea of a pure Aryan race is nonsense.

Sher and Rosenbaum damned Rudolph for "his taking schnapps with Camp Commandant Forschner." The reader must always realize that the "Holocaust" mentality of Sher-Rosenbaum *assumes* that the German camps were by definition "death camps." A commandant, so the syllogism runs, must by definition be a murderer of "martyrs" (if the dead and dying are Jews, that is — when have we been treated to a "Holocaust" miniseries on Gypsies martyred by the Nazis? or Jehovah's Witnesses? or Protestants? or Roman Catholic martyrs?). Lastly, the syllogism concludes that not only was the commandant a war criminal but those Germans who served with him were also murderers and war criminals as well.

Tom Bowers, in *The Paper Clip Conspiracy* (Little, Brown), describes "The Hunt for the Nazi Scientists." Unfortunately, Bower partakes of the error that "Nazi" means *per se* "criminal." This error is as faulty, in my opinion, as Adolf Hitler's equating "Jew" with "bolshevik." Hitler certainly had reasons sufficient *to himself* to view all Jews as possible enemies of his Reich, inasmuch as world Zionism had declared war on Germany. To this may be added the Jewish religious observance prayer of "next year in Jerusalem." A people who can *sincerely* keep praying that their God will deliver them to another land must see how suspicious this prayer renders them in the eyes of their "host" government.

Bower writes of Rudolph being "100 per cent Nazi, dangerous type, security threat ... Suggest internment." This characterization comes from a U.S. government document prepared right after the war. The OSI transcript that Thomas Franklin provides is not, however, available. Franklin got his copy from Dr. Rudolph. One wonders with good reason why Sher and his crew keep their "evidence" from a researcher. One may conclude from reading it that it is because there is *nothing* incriminating in it

When Franklin was asked about the Bower quotation, he replied that it was an evaluation rather than a fact (See the *Huntsville Times*, January 10, 1988, p. 7C.) Franklin is obviously correct. Would Bower conclude that a Soviet Jew should be barred from entry into the U.S. for praying "next year in Jerusalem," or for having been a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Bower claimed that Rudolph had "quite voluntarily gone to see the hanging of some inmates, and thus, Rudolph was guilty of something. The transcript of Rudolph's interrogation by the OSI reveals the context, however. At the Mittelwerk production facility there were numerous Russian inmates, some of them "Kapos" controlling other inmates, that is, an "organization within the organization," according to Rudolph (p. 240.) The order had come down to Rudolph's unit that all work was to cease and that all the inmates inside the tunnel were to assemble in main tunnel number two. The S.S. troops led the inmates to the tunnel where six convicted inmates were hanged. Dr. Rudolph also attended. The OSI claim is that they were murdered because of alleged "sabotage." Rudolph asserted that he understood them to be preparing a "putsch," to take over the facility and kill all the Germans.

The reader of at least average intelligence ought to be able to read this account mindful that a government in time of war will protect itself from putsches as well as from material sabotage of its production facilities. Apparently, Bower and OSI lawyers do not find German opposition to possible putsches and sabotage justifiable. Since the legislation which created OSI deliberately restricted itself to alleged misdeeds by the Germans and their allies during the years 1933 to

1945, we haven't been able to test what OSI's attitude might be to Soviet or Israeli residents in America who had repressed anticommunist or Palestinian sabotage or uprisings before coming to these shores.

Franklin's book is, to be sure, written in a popular style, but it clearly presents Dr. Rudolph's side of the case, as well as the transcript of his interrogation by OSI. I think that readers will marvel over how those Justice Department bureaucrats treated an American citizen. Some readers may well wonder if this could not happen to them; there are German-Americans in Huntsville who speak of the Rudolph matter reluctantly because of apprehension as to their own status.

The OSI "holy crusade" will no doubt find other victims. Readers would be well advised to learn from Rudolph's too eager willingness to cooperate with this branch of government that one should neither talk nor surrender papers to police agencies like OSI without first contacting an attorney with expertise in this sort of persecution.

One final item should be mentioned. At great personal expense and time, Dr. Friedwardt Winterberg, Professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of Nevada, studied and interrogated the so-called "witnesses" against Rudolph, having learned of the case from a newspaper. On page 158 is the box score of the nine OSI witnesses which the case was based.

Gave unfavorable testimony that was accepted:	0
Gave unfavorable testimony that was rejected:	2
Gave favorable testimony:	1
Were mentally unfit to testify:	2
Knew nothing about Rudolph	4
Total	9

The above data are from the German Federal Republic and are consistent with what Dr. Winterberg could learn. OSI has no credible witnesses and its "star witness" (p. 154) was merely the blacked-out name of Hannelore Bannasch, a secretary whose testimony has been a matter of public record for over forty years. The OSI attempted to represent her as one who could incriminate Rudolph and whose identity needed to be protected!

The Justice Department might instead wish to investigate whether or not Sher and Rosenbaum committed an obstruction of justice by its suppressing evidence from the DDR (East Germany), which, if known at the time of the proceedings against Rudolph, might have exculpated him. It has also been claimed that Attorney General Edwin Meese did not wish to see Dr. Rudolph deported, but that he was under tremendous ideological pressure to comply with the new breed of

“witch-hunters” stalking the OSI corridors. Perhaps after a new president assumes office in 1989 and Meese has left, someone can inquire of Meese his thoughts on this matter. Meese will presumably no longer be sensitive to political pressures.

After the Israelis kidnapped Adolf Eichmann and assassinated him after his show trial in Jerusalem, the handwriting should have been on the wall. Then the Rudolchs of America would have been justly suspicious of the Justice Department's new “Witch Hunt” sub-office, the OSI, established under Jimmy Carter. The Elizabeth Holtzman amendment that birthed this new era of inquisition also coincided with the demise of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a committee long opposed by Americans Left (Stalinist and otherwise). Here readers may want to consult Lydia Denjanjuk's informative two volumes, *Nazi War Criminals in America*, available from P.O. Box 31424, Cleveland, OH 44131, \$10. Her brief biographies of Holtzman, Ryan, ex-Congressman and convicted felon Joshua Eilberg, and Rosenbaum make for interesting reading, especially their pro-Soviet sentiments with reference to accepting Soviet “evidence” at face value.

What does the future hold for Dr. Rudolph? He would like very much to return to the U.S. and have his citizenship restored. He is willing to appear before a Senate committee, with a doctor present and testify as to his mistreatment at the hands of the OSI. Alabama's senior senator, Howell Heflin, has written that he is willing to aid Dr. Rudolph in this pursuit. Rudolph's supporters in Huntsville have worked diligently to this end. Senator Heflin has not carried through on his promise as of this date. One wonders if political considerations may intervene to keep the Senator from becoming involved after all, even though his Alabama constituents like to think themselves independent of the ideological sentiments of Sher and Rosenbaum and their ilk.

Dr. Rudolph is bitter toward the OSI. “I feel persecuted,” he told me. But the “Free Soviet Jewry” demonstrators will never take up the cause of Arthur Rudolph. He's merely a German and Germans cannot be persecuted — just deported, imprisoned or assassinated. Rudolph is also puzzled.

It is really hard to understand, but for one thing they have to continue to find people to persecute if they [OSI] are to continue to exist. Then too they may be after revenge. They tried to blame me for the death of Jews. They consider all Germans “Nazis” and hence criminals. I could be wrong, but what else could be the reason? As it says in the Old Testament, “An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth” (p. 160.)

Huntsville attorney Dieter Schrader wrote in a letter to the editor of the *Huntsville Times* that the reason Dr. Rudolph is now back in Germany is not because he allegedly committed crimes at the Mittelwerk, but because “we don't need him anymore.” It sounds as if the attorney has exposed something of an American pragmatist philosophy reminiscent of soldiers' romantic philosophy: “Find 'em, feed 'em, _____ 'em, forget 'em.” Harsh as that sounds to our noble ears, the rape of Arthur Rudolph sounds far harsher.

Book review

Heckling Hitler

- **HECKLING HITLER: CARICATURES OF THE THIRD REICH**, by Zbynek Zeman. Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1987, Pb., 128 pp., illustrated, \$14.95, ISBN 0-87451-403-7.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Heckling Hitler, a recent selection of the Jewish Book Club, is a collection of 178 anti-Hitler, anti-National Socialist and anti-German political cartoons of the Weimar Republic and Nazi eras. The author, Zbynek Zeman, lives and teaches in England and has written several books on the propaganda of the Second World War.

This volume of political cartoons, which is accompanied by an extensive text, will be of interest to the Revisionist solely because of its historically curious and valuable illustrations. Unfortunately, the text is riddled with anti-Hitlerian platitudes, unhistorical cliches and myths. Author Zeman displays a complete lack of objectivity throughout his textual commentary.

Zeman is clearly no Germanophile. In the introduction he brazenly claims that Germans have no sense of humor. The reader is repeatedly told that Germany was an ideologically and socially backward nation.. From the first chapter, titled “Young Hitler: The Making of a Famous Monster,” the following chapters continue in this disparaging vein to discuss chronologically the events which inspired the political cartoons in this volume.

Political caricature has traditionally flourished in mass circulation daily newspapers. The staff cartoonist, working to fight deadlines, produces a visual statement in quick response to rapidly changing news developments. In *Heckling Hitler* the reader is provided with many examples of the Allied view, in caricature, of such events as the burning of the Reichstag, the “Night of the Long Knives,” the Spanish Civil War, the Munich Agreement and the Anglo-American alliance with Communist Russia. In retrospect, these political cartoons provide today’s historian and student of popular culture with an understanding of how the National Socialist regime was represented to the daily newspaper reader, the “common man” in the Allied nations.

Many prominent English, American, European and Soviet cartoonists are introduced throughout the text in short biographies, among them David Low, Josef Capek, Paul Weber, George Grosz and Karl Arnold. Many of the artists featured were sufficiently politically organized to mount an anti-Nazi and anti-fascist exhibition of cartoons as early as April-May 1934 in Prague.

Paul Weber is representative of the remarkable careers of many of these cartoonists. Up to 1934 he produced powerfully executed anti-Nazi drawings for pamphlets and periodicals published by the “National Bolshevik” radical Ernst Niekisch, the former chairman of the Munich Workers' and Soldiers' Council of the short-lived Bavarian Soviet Republic. Weber spent much of 1937 in

the custody of the Gestapo, then emigrated to Florida in 1938. He returned to Germany in 1939 and subsequently produced a series of lithographs condemning British imperialism. Much of this work was published in National Socialist Germany in a work titled *Britische Bilder* (British Pictures) in 1941.

Perhaps because *Heckling Hitler* was originally published in Britain, the very important American caricaturist, Arthur Szyk, who produced brilliantly malicious and sarcastic covers and cartoons for *Colliers* magazine, is regrettably not represented.

Because anyone may be caricatured and ridiculed by exaggeration, political cartoons inherently lend themselves to propaganda against the leaders of other nations. Especially interesting are the many cartoons which lampoon savagely the National Socialist German leadership. As indicated by the title, Adolf Hitler is the target of the majority of illustrations.

Next to Hitler, Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, is ridiculed most often. Very effective is a cartoon by the Soviet three-man team of graphic artists called Kukriniksy (a composite of their names: Mikhail Kuprianov, Porfiri Krylov and Nikolai Sokolov). Entitled "Fascist Lie Gun," the cartoon portrays Goebbels as a Hitler-operated machine gun spouting paper (propaganda) through his megaphone-like mouth. One 1931 cartoon strip by the Czech artist Frantisek Bidlo mocks Goebbels' novel *Michael*. [Now available in English translation from the IHR.] Elsewhere Goebbels is drawn as a monkey riding on Hitler's shoulder. Alfred Rosenberg is presented as a fur-clad German barbarian with white collar, bow tie and cuffs dancing around a bonfire of books; Herman Göring as a fat, bemedaled boor or a golden-tressed Wagnerian opera singer with horned helmet; Robert Ley, the director of the German Labor Front, as a drunk; SA leader Rohm as a homosexual and so forth through the Nazi hierarchy.

Several of the cartoons in *Heckling Hitler* rely upon crude racial stereotypes of German people. Thus the Germans are sometimes drawn as beer-swilling louts in Bavarian peasant costume, sexually rapacious, dunderheaded bullies, or obese, blond *Bauernfrauen*.

After viewing the drawings in *Heckling Hitler*, many readers are likely to be curious about what sorts of political cartoons were being produced in National Socialist Germany. The average reader is not likely to find a collection of National Socialist German cartoons at the local bookstore or library. The diligent collector can gather a representative collection by making photocopies from scarce bound and microfilmed copies of Nazi-era German and National Socialist periodicals such as *Völkischer Beobachter*, *Das Reich*, or the English-language *News from Germany*.

Nor are we likely to discover a volume of cartoons by major German political artists such as "Erik," Ernst Heimer, "Groth," or E.O. Plauen. Especially forbidden would be a collection of the anti-Jewish cartoons of "Fips," the pen name of Phillip Ruprecht, who drew for Julius Streicher's *Der Stürmer*.

Hopefully the publication of *Heckling Hitler* will, if nothing else, stimulate the study of political cartoons of all the belligerent nations during World War Two. Certainly in a war as brutal and merciless as that tragic conflict, one cannot expect the political cartoonists to have pulled any graphic punches. After all, if one is going to bomb, shoot, hang and torture the enemy, then drawing degrading, savage and comical pictures of that same enemy is to be expected.

Book review

Keeper of Concentration Camps

- KEEPER OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS: DILLON S. MEYER AND AMERICAN RACISM, by Richard Drinnon. Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1987, 339 pp., \$24.95. ISBN 0-520-05793-7.

Reviewed by John P. Strang

With the exception of the few months in which Milton Eisenhower ran the program, Dillon S. Meyer, a typical New Deal bureaucrat, was the chief administrator of the WRA, the “War Relocation Authority,” which was responsible for the imprisonment of over 100,000 Japanese nationals and American citizens of Japanese ancestry (the second group making up the majority of those imprisoned). This notorious violation of our Bill of Rights has spawned a number of books, historical and popular, including Meyer’s own *Uprooted Americans*. [1] Richard Drinnon’s new book is a thought-provoking — if somewhat subjective — biography of this rather unlovable man. After the war, Meyer ended up as head of the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) where he carried out policies not unlike those in force when he was involved with Tule Lake, Manzanar, Leupp, *et al.*

Drinnon declares that his aim is to deal with Meyer as an epitome of Hannah Arendt’s phrase about the “banality of evil.” [2] The work is well-footnoted and-documented, and despite Mr. Drinnon’s subjectivity and occasional lapses into excessive emotionalism, well worth the reading, even for someone already familiar with the controversy surrounding America’s “noble experiment” with concentration-camp solutions to “social problems.”

It is Drinnon’s contention that Second World War “Jap”-hating went hand-in-hand with Indian-hating, and that both are integral parts of American mainstream culture. He is impatient with those who label either the wartime mistreatment of Japanese-Americans or the postwar treatment of American Indians as “mistakes.” [3] This does not, of course, mean that Mr. Drinnon *approves* of either sort of hating — he just tends to prefer to think that American culture is the mistake.

Indeed, the book makes a strong connection between anti-Indian and anti-Japanese racism (most convincing for me was the continuity of bureaucrats and personnel involved.) However, even Drinnon admits that much of the force behind the camps came from New Deal do-gooders eager to use the war as an excuse to engage in social experimentation. [4] (They would probably have welcomed a chance to pen up and forcefully “assimilate” and “Americanize” other minority groups such as the Chinese, Latinos, or Puerto Ricans in the same way, had a different excuse been forthcoming.) Such people are not admirable, but they are also not racists. (Presumably the last thing that diehard racists would want would be to “assimilate” or “Americanize” members of a hated and despised out-group.) Although Meyer did seem to have some quaint and stereotyped attitudes toward American Indians (a point Dillon makes a bit too much of), [5] he was hardly

one who subscribed to a “the only good ‘un is a dead ‘un,” philosophy, either with Japanese-Americans or with Indians.

This is not to defend Meyer. The picture of him painted in Mr Drinnon’s book is unlovable, and if one might doubt slightly the “evil” part of the definition (although only slightly — Mr. Drinnon does offer lots of evidence that Mr. Meyer was a liar [6]), there is little question about the banality. But how much of a defense is it to say that someone is “only a little” racist? Nor is it really a defense of either Meyer or the WRA to argue that the camps could have been a lot worse, or that allegedly worse camps have existed in other countries. [7] Thankfully, Mr. Drinnon gives short shrift to such arguments.

He also gives short shrift to Japanese-American Citizens League (JACL), and provides much disturbing information about the unholy alliance between the JACL, the government, and the “civil libertarians” of the New York City branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. This is welcome muckraking, and has not appeared in too many books before. So, too, is information about some of the bizarre racial theories of FDR, [8] and the serious doubts about the legality of the WRA and its programs expressed by none other than the FBI! [9]

The second half of the book, starting with the chapter titled “Commissioner,” deals with Meyer’s mistreatment of the American Indians as head of the BIA. Here I at first expected Mr. Drinnon to be on less firm ground — and perhaps he is, but only slightly so. Meyer was one of the chief architects of the “termination” program that sought to “free” the Indians from their reservation ways — and incidentally, to transfer millions of acres of their land to Whites. [10] Meyer fought tooth and nail any attempt by his “wards” to assert themselves, and, as he did with the Japanese-American camp internees, attributed such opposition to “troublemakers.” The case is strong that there was a continuation of policy and attitudes from the WRA days -hardly surprising, considering the continuity of personnel. (Many of Meyer’s former associates and underlings followed him from the WRA to the BIA, and many of the camp staff in the WRA days had been drawn from the BIA.)

While the connection clearly exists one may be slightly leery about attributing it all to “racism,” however real and evil the treatment of both groups seems to have been. As pointed out previously, a pernicious sentiment of assimilationism was present in the treatment of both groups, and assimilationism can’t be truly argued to be a “racist” trait

The implications of the title are also a bit unpleasant: Dillon S. Meyer once said that he did not want posterity to remember him as an administrator of American concentration camps. [11] The fact that Mr. Drinnon, aware of this quote, does entitle his book *Keeper of Concentration Camps* seem malicious, however merited it is that Mr. Meyer be so remembered. One is, in fact, reminded of some of the malicious remarks Mr. Meyer himself made about opponents such as Felix S. Cohen and Ernest Besig. [12] It is as if Mr. Drinnon deliberately chose the title that would offend Meyer’s shade the most, and, much as this reviewer has no love for Dillon S. Meyer, he finds that disturbing.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Uprooted Americans, Dillon S. Meyer, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971.
2. [↗](#) Keeper of Concentration Camps, xxviii. Unless noted otherwise, page numbers cited in this review will be from Mr. Drinnon’s book
3. [↗](#) Op. cit., p. 266, for example.

4. ☞ Op. cit., p. 60.
5. ☞ Op. cit., pp. 21-25.
6. ☞ Op. cit., p. 253, for example.
7. ☞ The loss of life in the original concentration camps set up by the British to house Boer “troublemakers” was much higher than in the WRA camps.
8. ☞ Op. cit., pp. 254-256.
9. ☞ Op. cit., p. 51.
10. ☞ The “relocation” of the Japanese-Americans also had the practical effect of transferring much of their real property to White (often actively anti-Oriental) interests — and at bargain prices, and it is a weakness of Mr. Drinnon’s book that he does not draw as much attention to this real and concrete parallel as he does to alleged parallels of philosophy and attitude.
11. ☞ Quoted by Mr. Drinnon in *op. cit.*, p. 249.
12. ☞ For example, the quote from Meyer on p. 232.

Book review

Marxism in the United States

- MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES: REMAPPING THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LEFT, by Paul Buhle. London: Verso (Haymarket Series), 1987, paperback, 299 pages, \$12.95, ISBN 0-86091-848-3.

Reviewed by Samuel Edward Konkin III

The most enjoyable treasure is that which is found in the most unlikely place. Who would have thought of looking in a history of American Marxism, written by a New Left activist, published by a British New Left press, for a neglected, if not suppressed, account of the political history of early German-American immigrants? Or how the conversion of the U.S. (Marxist) Left from its interventionist globalism in the 1940s to an anti-interventionist New Left version in the 1960s happened because, at least in part, of its birth on a Wisconsin campus, in a population center of isolationist German-American Progressives?

Paul Buhle tells us his own history in the penultimate chapter of *Marxism in the U.S.* He was the founding editor of *Radical America*, which he describes as the “unofficial journal of SDS” (the Students for a Democratic Society), as “there was no official journal.” He was one of Cold-War Revisionist William Appleman Williams’ students at the University of Wisconsin and active in SDS from its takeover from the Old-Left League for Industrial Democracy to its spectacular demise in 1970.

This reviewer came across *Radical America* in 1970 while at UW; it contained a remarkable notice (remarkable to your reviewer, who like many of you, evolved from the right) which verified something Murray Rothbard has been telling us early Libertarians (this reviewer founded the first Libertarian Alliance at UW in February 1970). Rothbard and fellow Libertarian Revisionist Léonard Liggio had been doing missionary work amongst the SDS and New Left historians, converting them to Isolationism. Many of us could not believe our old campus opponents were open to such reason, but there it was in *Radical America*: a special “Old Right” issue concerning the heroic Isolationists who had kept the faith during the New Deal, Second World War and even the Cold War, until the New Left came along. [1] It had a profound effect on our thinking and led us out of the Left-Right statist trap cramping our reason.

Buhle has continued his historical work largely Revisionist in both the historical sense and in the sense that Marxists use it, since those days; today he is the editor of *The Encyclopaedia of the Left* for Garland Publishing. [2] *Marxism in the U.S.* is one of the first in the Haymarket Series published by the still-New-Left Verso Press in England; American Revisionists and anti-imperialists should keep their eyes out for new books in this series.

The history of the Left, in particular the American Left, is fairly simple in outline, and generally agreed upon; however, once one seeks any details, the versions diverge dramatically according to

which faction is telling the tale. Buhle has his heroes and villains and many would not match ours. Furthermore, he neglects the proto-Libertarian individualist anarchists, who considered themselves of the Left, in the nineteenth century. [3] On the other hand, he covers many of the common ancestors often neglected: Jacksonian Democrats, Abolitionists, Populists, Spiritualists, Bellamy Nationalists and native Utopians. Herein lies the interest to today's Revisionist readers.

Immigrants brought Socialism to the United States, and remarkably early at that. In 1848 the U.S. was mopping up the Mexican War and native radicals had risen up against the blatantly imperialist policy. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote *The Communist Manifesto* that year, on the eve of a European-wide insurrection centered in the German states. Many of the insurgents fled to German communities in the United States, bringing with them the ideas that had led them to the barricades. Although Marx has his followers in the first wave, Ferdinand Lassalle was an even more popular German Socialist leader ("statuettes of whose countenance graced the Socialist locals and often served as raffle prizes"). [4] The '48ers supported the Radical Abolitionist cause; Adolf Douai edited a Texas Abolitionist paper and died still editing a German-language Socialist *daily* in 1888. Not surprisingly, German-Americans disproportionately joined the Union in the Civil War/War between the States.

The '48ers were the *alte Genossen* to the post-war wave of German immigrants. Editor and playwright August Otto Walster, son of a leathersmith, immigrated to America to start the German-language national weekly newspaper, *Arbeiter Stimme*. The large German-language press was disproportionately Socialist, and quite cosmopolitan. Douai worked on the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* side by side with Russian nobleman Serge Schevitsch (who brought Lassalle's mistress to the U.S., where she became an actress after Lassalle had died in a duel over her) and with German Jew Alexander Jonas, who commuted every few years between Germany and the United States, working freely in the press milieu and later, importantly, attracting Jewish immigrants to Socialism.

As the German Social Democratic Party grew in success (it became the largest party in the new German empire, though not allowed to take power until the final days of World War I), its progress was followed in the German-American press. Socialism, or social democracy, was not achieving notable success in the United States, and Germans tended to drop it as they became progressively assimilated. As they were followed by other Eastern European immigrant waves, these new groups replaced them, particularly if they were familiar with German already (Poles, Bohemians, Jews, Croats and so on). Interestingly, Buhle singles out the German-Jews (later followed by Russian Jews, though still Yiddish-speaking) and hints that their slowness in assimilating may have led to their becoming the core of U.S. Socialism:

Taking nothing away from the German-American papers, they had not (except, perhaps, the weekly anarchist *Arme Teufel* from Detroit) become the site of an avowed search for identity; Socialism and their homeland traditions provided that easily, no doubt too easily. The editorials, the headlines, the formal understanding of the Jewish press do not seem so superficially different. But to the close observer, *Tsukunft* and even more the *Arbeiter Zeitung* made that search the focus for Socialist politics. [5]

In the 1890s the immigrants reached out to an America seething with a wave of strikes, a depression, and Populist uprisings in the rural areas — seemingly ready for class revolt. A Portuguese from Trinidad, Daniel DeLeon, entered the Socialist Labor Party in the U.S. and began its first English-language weekly, *The People*, in 1891. Buhle credits DeLeon with being the first truly American Marxist; he brought theoretical rigor to the U.S. movement — and a pre-Leninist dis-

cipline and sectarianism which had the SLP in ruins by 1899. (The SLP still has a tiny organization alive today; it is perceived through the Left as DeLéon's personal cult)

What American Socialism needed was a native American standard-bearer who could appeal both to the theoretically rigorous immigrants and the Utopians, Christian Socialists, Spiritualists and radicals in the native populace — a synthesizing Socialist in the James Stewart/Henry Fonda mold. It found this in Eugene V. Debs, and the new Socialist Party reached its high point under his leadership, particularly in becoming the focus of opposition to American entry into World War I. Unlike the European Social Democratic Parties, the American Socialists remained united against American participation, from the Left to the Right ends of their spectrum (though with defectors and opportunists from all parts as well). Had not the Bolshevik Revolution occurred, it would be fascinating to consider what might have happened in 1920, at the end of the Palmer raids, when the U.S. SP and the International Workers of the World, its sometime ally, though wounded from persecution, were at the height of popularity, as the rest of the U.S. populace soured on war and intervention following Versailles.

Unfortunately, the Russian Revolution completely changed the utopian expectations of the Left, not merely in the United States but throughout the world. And V.I. Lenin's apparent success in bringing about a form of Socialist utopia granted him followers throughout every Socialist organization and, hence, instant factionalism. At its height, then, the U.S. Socialist Party split apart. In America the "Menshevik" faction really was the minority but excluded the majority delegates to hang onto control and maintain the SP as an increasingly anti-communist but ever smaller Left organization. The "Bolsheviks" split immediately into squabbling factions, arguing over which splinter was the real standard-bearer of Lenin in the U.S. [6]

All this is covered in the first three chapters of *Marxism in the United States*, roughly half the book. The next three chapters deal with the Leninist infection, its impact on culture (particularly literary) in the thirties, Eugene Lyons' Red Decade and the winning of intellectuals to the supposedly proletarian cause, then the Communist Party U.S.A.'s sudden acceptability during the World War II, followed by its anathema and persecution as the Empire-builders cranked up a "no-win," "Cold," "perpetual war for perpetual peace."

Near the end of the sixth chapter, Buhle delineates the roots of the New Left, and here is another section of interest to Isolationist-Revisionists:

Shortly after the New York Intellectuals evolved definitively toward accommodation with *Pax Americana*, a less prestigious but — from the retrospective viewpoint of the New left — more important group moved in the reverse direction for precisely opposite reasons. The University of Wisconsin had been a center of anti-monopolist, anti-imperialist thought since the days of Robert La Follette. It was shortly to regain its historic role, in New Left guise.

Many intellectuals in the old Middle Border had bowed uneasily to the inevitability of war mobilization, suspecting — with a handful of Trotskyists, unrecalcitrant pacifists, and Charles Beard — that militarization of American life would become permanent ... A new generation of scholars, mostly refugees from Old Left families and from the Henry Wallace campaign, joined these odd ducks on the Madison campus and relearned radical history with native coloring. The same youngsters were also, and not coincidentally, the first generation of immigrants' children who could fit comfortably into a field now composed not of gentlemen scholars but of middling

professionals. They took their models ... from the quasi-isolationist, anti-military tradition of Progressive historians and from the new mass student culture. [7]

A few paragraphs later, Buhle pays homage to Cold-War Revisionist William Appleman Williams and the historical school he founded; earlier C. Wright Mills gets his due for bringing class theory (or, if you prefer, conspiracy theory) back into respectable academic discourse.

Readers of the reviewer's (and Buhle's) age will find a Big Chill or horn in the seventh penultimate chapter, on the New Left. Buhle was there and tells it, honestly, first-hand, admirably dropping the detached-historian voice for that of the first person.

Buhle is weakest in his Conclusion, an eighth but unnumbered chapter. This is hardly surprising for a historian, for he is trying to assimilate the seventies and eighties even as he is still within them. The Black movement, the feminists, the literary deconstructionists and structuralists, and the liberation theologians all require analysis, which would redeem them perhaps from their status here, as undigested lumps disgorged by Buhle. But even in these chunks Buhle's basic honesty and analytic mind is evident

A favorite sport of right-wing commentators from the late 1970s has been the attack upon the New Left greybeard, the mutton-chop sideburned college professor who forces his Marxist ideas upon hapless undergraduates. This attack cannot be denied its industrial-sized grain of truth. Radicals in the academy have found themselves trapped inside a massive contradiction, not between theory and reality (as the Right claims) but between theory and practice, between (in the theoretical version) materialism and idealisms. [8]

Paul Buhle provides us with not only the first modern comprehensive overview of the American Left, even if primarily of its Marxist strand, but begins the task of re-inclusion of those strands deliberately severed, buried and covered up during the Leninist fever. Besides the value this book has in returning integrity to the Left, it contains numerous gems for the pleasure of discovery by those who consider the label "Left," let alone Socialist," fit only to hang on enemies and future targets. Even they may consider swapping their scatterguns for more accurate rifles after conferring with Paul Buhle.

Notes

1. ☺ For those interested in following up the New Left/Old Right connection, a search for the out-of-print magazine *Left & Right*, largely written by Rothbard, Liggio and their friends between 1965 and 1968; I inherited my copies from a prominent Libertarian. Somewhat more available is Carl Oglesby's excellent Cold War isolationist book, *Containment & Change*, which describes the Libertarian "Old Right" as the best allies for the New Left's coalition building against the U.S.-centered Empire. Best of the New Left, before he turned Establishment apologist, was Ronald Radosh, who wrote paeans to the heroes of most *JHR* readers: Oscar Garrison Villard, John T. Flynn, Robert A. Taft and even alleged "fascist" Lawrence Dennis, in his still available *Prophets On The Right*.
2. ☺ Who are also preparing *The Encyclopaedia of Libertarianism*, edited by this reviewer.
3. ☺ Benjamin Tucker called himself a "laissez-faire Socialist" and belonged, along with many other free-market anarchist advocates (mostly in New England), to the First Workingmen's International (which Marx dissolved rather than let the Anarchists take it over).
4. ☺ Marxism in the United States, p. 29.

5. ☞ Marxism in the United States, p. 49.
6. ☞ See the film *Reds* for a portrayal of this schism; John Reed (played by Warren Beatty) exemplified the conversions that occurred and the later feuding.
7. ☞ Marxism in the United States, pp. 215-6.
8. ☞ Marxism in the United States, p. 264.

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West Germany's Holocaust payoff to Israel and world Jewry

Mark Weber

The passions and propaganda of wartime normally diminish with the passage of time. A striking exception is the Holocaust campaign, which seems to grow more pervasive and intense as the years go by. Certainly the most lucrative expression of this seemingly endless campaign has been West Germany's massive and historically unparalleled reparations payoff to Israel and world Jewry for the alleged collective sins of the German people during the Hitler era. Since 1953, West Germany has paid out more than \$35 billion in reparations to the Zionist state and to millions of individual "victims of National Socialism."

How did this remarkable program get started? How lucrative has it been? What does it suggest about the "six million" figure? And what are its social and political implications?

Bowing to pressure

In September 1945, shortly after the end of the Second World War, Jewish leader Chaim Weizmann submitted a memorandum on behalf of the Zionist Jewish Agency to the governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France "demanding" (in the words of the Encyclopaedia Judaica) "reparations, restitution and indemnification due to the Jewish people from Germany" The western Allies lost no time in responding favorably to Weizmann's demands. ^[1] The American government was particularly eager to have the Germans pay up. ^[2] As a result, the German government set up by the western Allies at Bonn in 1949 never had any real choice but to acknowledge the alleged collective guilt of the German people during the Hitler era and pay what was demanded.

Indeed, a major provision of the treaty of May 1952 by which the United States, Britain and France granted "sovereignty" to the Federal Republic of (West) Germany obligated the new state to make restitution. ^[3] West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer laid the emotional and psychological groundwork for the reparations program when he solemnly declared to the Bundestag on September 27, 1951:

The Federal government and the great majority of the German people are deeply aware of the immeasurable suffering endured by the Jews of Germany and by the Jews of the occupied territories during the period of National Socialism ... In our name, unspeakable crimes have been committed and they demand restitution, both moral and material, for the persons and properties of the Jews who have been so seriously harmed ...

Adenauer went on to promise speedy conclusion of restitution and indemnity laws and announced that reparations negotiations would begin soon. Accordingly, delegations representing

the Bonn government, the State of Israel and an ad hoc organization of Jewish groups began talks in the Netherlands in March 1952.

The representative of the Jewish organizations was the “Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, Inc.” or “Claims Conference,” a body formed for the sole purpose of demanding maximum reparations from the German people. The 20 member organizations represented Jews in the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Argentina, Australia and South Africa. Jews in the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and the Arab countries were not represented. [4]

The West German government was under pressure to conclude quickly a reparations agreement satisfactory to the Jews. In his memoirs, Chancellor Adenauer wrote:

It was clear to me that, if the negotiations with the Jews failed, the negotiations at the London Debt Conference [which were going on at the same time] would also run aground, because Jewish banking circles would exert an influence upon the course of the London Debt Conference which should not be under-estimated. On the other hand it was self-evident that a failure of the London Debt Conference would bring about a failure of the negotiations with the Jews. If the German economy was to achieve a good credit standing and become strong again, the London Conference would have to be ended successfully. Only then would our economy develop in a way that would make the payments to Israel and the Jewish organizations possible. [5]

Zionist leader Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress and chairman of the Claims Conference, warned of a worldwide campaign against Germany if the Bonn officials did not meet the Zionist demands: “The non-violent reaction of the whole world, supported by wide circles of non-Jews, who have deep sympathy with the martyrdom of the Jewish people during the Nazi period, would be irresistible and completely justified.” [6] The London Jewish Observer was more blunt: “The whole material weight of world Jewry will be mobilized for an economic war against Germany, if Bonn’s offer of reparations remains unsatisfactory.” [7]

The talks culminated in the Luxembourg Agreement, which was signed on September 10, 1952 by West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett and World Jewish Congress President Nahum Goldmann.

A Legal Novelty

This agreement between the West German government, on the one hand, and the Israeli state and the Claims Conference, on the other, was historically unprecedented and had no basis or counterpart in international law. For one thing, the State of Israel did not exist at the time of the actions for which restitution was paid. Moreover, the Claims Conference had no legal authority to negotiate and act on behalf of Jews who were citizens of sovereign countries. Jews were represented in an internationally recognized treaty with a foreign state not by the governments of the countries of which they were citizens, but rather by a supranational and sectarian Jewish organization.

It was as if the Catholic citizens of the United States had allowed themselves to be represented in a treaty with a foreign government not by the U.S. government, but rather by some ad hoc supranational Catholic organization or by the Vatican. The Luxembourg Agreement thus legally implied that Jews everywhere, regardless of their citizenship, constitute a distinct and separate national group and that world Jewry was a formal party to the Second World War. [8]

Nahum Goldman, a co-signer of the Agreement, was one of the most important Jewish figures of this century. From 1951 to 1978, he was president of the World Jewish Congress, and from 1956 to 1958, he was also president of the World Zionist Organization. In his autobiography, the German-born Goldman recalled his role in the negotiations and the remarkable nature of the agreement:

My negotiations with German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and his associates, which culminated in the Luxembourg Agreement of 1952, make up one of the most exciting and successful chapters of my political career.

There hardly was a precedent for persuading a state to assume moral responsibility and make large-scale compensation for crimes committed against an unorganized ethnic group lacking sovereign status. There was no basis in international law for the collective Jewish claims ... [9]

In a 1976 interview, Goldman said that the agreement “constituted an extraordinary innovation in the matter of international rights” and he boasted that he had obtained 10 to 14 times more from the Bonn government than he had originally expected. [10]

The Payoff for Israel

The agreement meant economic security for the new Zionist state, as Goldman explained in his autobiography:

What the Luxembourg Agreement meant to Israel is for the historians of the young state to determine. That the goods Israel received from Germany were a decisive economic factor in its development is beyond doubt. I do not know what economic dangers might have threatened Israel at critical moments if it had not been for German supplies. Railways and telephones, dock installations and irrigation plants, whole areas of industry and agriculture, would not be where they are today without the reparations from Germany. And hundreds of thousands of Jewish victims of Nazism have received considerable sums under the law of restitution. [11]

Goldman said in 1976:

Without the German reparations, the State of Israel would not have the half of its present infrastructure: every train in Israel is German, the ships are German, as well as the electricity, a large part of the industry ... without mentioning the individual pensions paid to the survivors ... In certain years, the amount of money received by Israel from Germany exceeds the total amount of money collected from international Jewry—two or three times as much. [12]

As a result of the West German reparations program, wrote Jewish historian Walter Laqueur:

The ships laden with German capital goods began to call at Haifa regularly and unfailingly, becoming an important — ultimately a decisive — factor in the building up of the country. Today [1965] the Israeli fleet is almost entirely “made in Germany,” as are its modern railway equipment, the big steel foundry near Acre, and many other enterprises. During the 50’s and early 60’s about one-third of investment goods imported into Israel came from Germany ... In addition to all this, many individual Israelis received restitution privately. [13]

It is difficult to exaggerate the impact of the program: the five power plants built and installed by West Germany between 1953 and 1956 quadrupled Israel's electric-power-generating capacity. West Germans laid 280 kilometers of giant pipelines (2.25 and 2.5 meters in diameter) for the irrigation of the Negev (which certainly helped to "make the desert bloom"). The Zionist state acquired 65 German-built ships, including four passenger vessels. [14]

Payments to Individuals

West German reparations have been paid out through several different programs, including the Federal Indemnification (or Compensation) Law (BEG), the Federal Restitution Law (BReuG), the Israel Agreement, and special agreements with 12 foreign countries (including Austria). [15] By far the most important of these has been the BEG indemnification law, which was first enacted in 1953 and revised in 1956 and 1965. It was based on a compensation law promulgated earlier in the American zone of occupation.

In the words of a background article about the reparations program that appeared in a 1985 issue of Focus On, an official publication of the Bonn government, the BEG laws "compensate those persecuted for political, racial, religious or ideological reasons-people who suffered physical injury or loss of freedom, property, income, professional and financial advancement as a result of that persecution." It also "guarantees assistance to the survivors of the deceased victims." [16]

The BEG compensation law defined "persecution" and "loss of freedom" very liberally. It stipulated payments for Jews who had simply been required to wear the yellow star, even in Croatia, where the measure was ordered by non-Germans. Payments were also ordered for any Jew who was ever in a concentration camp, including the one in Shanghai, China, which was never under German control. The BEG law authorized payments to any Jew who was ever arrested, no matter what the reason. This meant that even Jews who were taken into custody for criminal acts were entitled to German "compensation" for "loss of freedom." [17]

The 1965 revision of the BEG specified that Germany was to be held accountable for measures taken by Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary as early as April 1941, if these actions had deprived the victims of all their freedom. The fact that these countries acted against the Jews in 1941 independently of Germany did not matter. [18]

Significantly, the many Jewish survivors living in the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries of eastern Europe were not covered by West Germany's BEG compensation program. [19] And, of course, Jewish "Holocaust survivors" who died before the West German compensation law (BEG) was enacted in 1953 or before it really became effective in 1956 also never received BEG restitution money.

The Canadian Jewish News reported in December 1981 that by the end of 1980, "The number of successful claimants is 4,344,378. Payments have reached 50.18 billion German marks." [20] The Focus On article cited above noted that between October 1953 and the end of December 1983, the West German government paid out 56.3 billion marks on a total of 4,390,049 claims from individuals under the BEG legislation. [21]

Nevertheless, the Atlanta Journal and Constitution stated in 1985 that about half of the Jewish "survivors" in the world have never received reparations money. "An estimated 50 percent" of the Holocaust "survivors throughout the world are on West German pensions," the newspaper reported. [22] In addition to survivors in Communist countries who are not entitled to West German compensation, the paper reported that many Jewish survivors living in the United States have

never received reparations money. The paper found that 79 percent of the Jewish “Holocaust survivors” living in the Atlanta area had, at one time or another, asked the Bonn government for restitution. About 66 percent received something.

About 40 percent of those receiving BEG compensation money live in Israel, the Focus On article reported, while 20 percent live in West Germany and 40 percent live in other countries. [23] It would thus appear that about 80 percent, or 3.5 million, of the 4.39 million claims are from Jews.

Although the number of BEG compensation claims is larger than the number of individual claimants, it is nevertheless difficult to reconcile these figures with the legendary “six million” Jewish wartime dead, particularly since at least half of the world’s Jewish “survivors” never received German compensation.

Conclusion

The Luxembourg Agreement obligated the West German government to pay three billion German marks to the State of Israel and 450 million marks to various Jewish organizations. Accordingly, the West German Finance Minister announced in 1953 that he expected that the reparations payments would eventually total four billion marks. Time would prove this a ludicrous underestimate. [24]

By 1963, the German people had already paid out 20 billion marks, and by 1984 the total had risen to 70 billion. [25] In late 1987 the West German parliament approved an additional 300 million marks in “restitution to the victims of National Socialist crimes.” The Bonn government announced at that time the 80 billion marks had already been paid out and estimated that by the year 2020 the payoff would total 100 billion marks which, at recent exchange rates, would be the equivalent of \$50 billion. [26]

Although the West German reparations program is accepted and often praised in the democratic West, it is also, at least implicitly, strikingly undemocratic in two fundamental respects:

First, it regards Jews not as equal and fully integrated citizens of whatever country they live in, but rather primarily as members of an alien and cosmopolitan national group.

Second, it is based on the premise that the German nation, including even the Germans who grew up since 1945, is collectively guilty of terrible crimes, contrary to the democratic notion of individual responsibility for crime.

West Germany’s lucrative and historically unparalleled payoff to Israel and world Jewry is a legacy and permanent reminder of Germany’s catastrophic defeat in 1945 and subsequent domination by foreign powers.

Notes

1. [↗](#) "Reparations, German," Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 14, pp. 72-73.
2. [↗](#) D. v. Westernhagen, “Wiedergutmacht?,” Die Zeit, No. 41, Oct. 5, 1984, p. 33.
3. [↗](#) "Restitution in Germany," Focus On, May 1985, p. 2.
4. [↗](#) K. Lewan, Journal of Palestine Studies, Summer 1975, pp. 48-49.
5. [↗](#) Konrad Adenauer, Erinnerungen 1953-55 (Stuttgart 1966), pp. 140-142. Quoted in: K. Lewan, Journal of Palestine Studies, Summer 1975, pp. 53-54.

6. [↗](#) Quoted in. K. Lewan, Journal of Palestine Studies, Summer 1975, p.54.
7. [↗](#) J. Kreysler and K. Jungfer, Deutsche Israel-Politik (Munich 1965); p. 33. Quoted in: K. Lewan, Journal of Palestine Studies, Summer 1975, p. 54.
8. [↗](#) L. Sebba, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 450, July 1980, p. 206.
9. [↗](#) N. Goldmann, The Autobiography of Nahum Goldmann, p. 249.
10. [↗](#) LeNouvel Observateur, Oct. 25, 1976, p. 120. See also interview with Robert Faurisson in The Journal of Historical Review, Winter 1981 (Vol. 2, No. 4), pp. 350, 373.
11. [↗](#) N. Goldmann, Autobiography, p. 276.
12. [↗](#) Le Nouvel Observateur, 25 Oct. 25, 1976, p. 122.
13. [↗](#) W. Laqueur, Commentary, May 1965, p. 29.
14. [↗](#) Nicholas Balabkins, West German Reparations to Israel. Cited in K. Lewan, Journal of Palestine Studies, Summer 1975, p. 42.
15. [↗](#) "Restitution in Germany," Focus On, May 1985.
16. [↗](#) "Restitution in Germany," Focus On, May 1985, p. 3.
17. [↗](#) R. Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews, Vol. 3, p. 1166.
18. [↗](#) R. Hilberg, Destruction, Vol. 3, p. 1173.
19. [↗](#) R. Hilberg, Destruction, p. 1170. The New York Times reported in 1983 that the clients of the New York office of the Conference on Material Claims Against Germany "are primarily newly arrived Russian Jewish] victims of the Nazi era" (D. Margolick "Soviet Emigre Lawyer ...," The New York Times, Thursday, March 10, 1983, p. B2.)
20. [↗](#) Canadian Jewish News, 11 Dec. 1981, p. 4.
21. [↗](#) "Restitution in Germany," Focus On, May 1985, p. 3.
22. [↗](#) The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, March 31, 1985,14A,15A,17A.
23. [↗](#) "Restitution in Germany," Focus On, May 1985, p. 3.
24. [↗](#) D. v. Westernhagen, Die Zeit, Oct. 5, 1984, p. 36.; "Restitution in Germany," Focus On, May 1985.
25. [↗](#) D. v. Westernhagen, Die Zeit, Oct. 5, 1984, p. 36.
26. [↗](#) "Bundestag Approves Additional DM 300 Million for Victims of Nazis," The Week in Germany (New York German Information Center), December 11, 1987. The dollar value of the German mark has fluctuated over the years. A recent exchange rate was 50 cents per mark.

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENT

Pearl Harbor Survivors Association honors Kimmel and Short

MARTIN MERSON

When Percy Greaves died of cancer on 13 August 1984 — eleven days short of his 78th birthday — little did he know of the seeds he had planted. No man, to this writer's knowledge, has done more to inspire others to continue along the trail he blazed; a trail beginning with his service as Chief, Minority Staff, of the 1945-1946 Joint Congressional Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack.

Undoubtedly, Percy Greaves, in preparation for the Joint Congressional Investigation — the last of nine wartime investigations, beginning shortly after 7 December 1941 — made it a point to familiarize himself with all the material resulting from the ninth as well as each of the preceding investigations: the Frank Knox inquiry at Pearl Harbor of 11-12 December 1941; the Roberts Commission of 18 December 1941-23 January 1942; the special inquiry of Thomas C. Hart of 22 February-15 June 1944; the Army Pearl Harbor Board of 20 July 1944-20 October 1944; the Navy Court of Inquiry, 24 July 1944-19 September 1944; the special inquiry of Col. Carter W. Clarke, USA of 14 September 1944 and 13 July 1945-4 August 1945; the special inquiry of Maj. Henry C. Clausen, USA of 23 November 1944-12 September 1945; and the special inquiry of Adm. H. Kent Hewitt, USN of 14 May 1945-11 July 1945.

The mastery of some 44 volumes published by the Government Printing Office, covering the material in the nine separate and distinct investigations, was essential to Percy Greaves. These volumes comprise thousands of pages of testimony, taken over hundreds of days, millions of words, and involving virtually every political and military leader of importance in the war effort; mastering this material clearly required herculean exertions. Today's Revisionist heritage of some four decades of research and writing on the subject, reflects, in large part, the dedication which Percy Greaves brought to the task. For this reason, we must acknowledge a very special debt to Percy Greaves, and, without question, a leadership position in the field.

These seeds which Greaves sowed have lately germinated and sprouted in a recent action of the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association. PHSA is an organization of both enlisted personnel and officers from the Air Corps, Army, Coast Guard, Marines, Navy, Nurses-Army, and Nurses-Navy, and is, today, approximately 10,000 members strong. Every fifth year since its founding, the PHSA has commemorated the fateful Day of Infamy by meeting in Hawaii. In 1986, the men and women of the PHSA marked the 45th anniversary of Pearl Harbor, which killed or wounded over 3,000 of their comrades, many entombed in their ships, with a special meeting in Honolulu. For the first time in the annals of American history, so far as this writer knows, the men and women of PHSA, who participated in full uniform, and who so generously and proudly laid their lives on the line at a time when most were in the flower of their youth, paused to recognize and honor their two wartime commanders, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, U.S. Navy, Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Fleet; and Lt. General Walter C. Short, U.S. Army, Commander, Hawaiian Department.

The surviving sons of both Adm. Kimmel and Gen. Short—both with distinguished military careers in their own right — were presented parchment scrolls embodying resolutions adopted by PHSA, together with specially struck medals. Here it should be noted that Manning, the elder son of Adm. Kimmel, was lost with his submarine while on war patrol in 1944. PHSA further collected monies for an education — scholarship fund on behalf of deserving descendants of Adm. Kimmel and Gen. Short.

Inevitably, it will be asked — as this writer did of PHSA's president Thomas J. Stockett — why, after the passage of nearly half century, did you see fit to honor your wartime commanders? A response was forthcoming, in his letter of 12 February 1987, exemplifying the splendid quality to which each of us strives — and so seldom attains:

Every endeavor undertaken by men certainly began with a modicum of faith, hope and expectation for its fruition. Some were excellent, many were good and a few of them weren't worth mentioning.

All of us were young on that terrible morning. It wasn't for us to either condemn or condone the actions of our immediate military leaders. But now, after over 45 years, we have learned to be more tolerant, somewhat wiser, a lot less cynical, and suddenly imbued with a faith and trust toward our fellow man. What a tremendous victory it would be for us, after all these years, to play a role and be able to accept even a small fraction of success toward the complete exoneration and restoration to rank for Adm. Husband E. Kimmel and Gen. Walter C. Short. You have my complete assurance that I will do everything I can to attain this reachable goal.

It is of interest that John Tsukano, a Japanese-American journalist who treated this 45th Anniversary Meeting in the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* of 5 December 1986, had this to say, in part.

Why? Why do they continue to subject themselves to relive their private hell, even as their ranks get thinner with the passage of time?

Perhaps the survivors themselves cannot fully answer that eternal and haunting question. Perhaps there are not enough words to accurately describe their trauma, agony and mysteries, which must still be lurking in the deepest recesses of their minds and hearts, compelling them to keep returning to the scene of their greatest sacrifice, forever searching for answers.

Tsukano provides his own answer:

Perhaps still, the answer is as simple as the known fact that each and every human being has a conscience which always demands that truth and justice must be preserved, cherished and protected. This ever present conscience was perhaps the catalyst which prompted the members of the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association to unanimously pass a resolution ... (*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 5 Dec. 1986, "The General, the Admiral, and the Pearl Harbor Survivors").

honoring their Wartime Commander, the provisions of which merit careful study by all thoughtful citizens having an interest in the opinions of those who had studied the matter for 45 years, and who, in the process, had pursued, diligently, research leading to their final action.

Notable, too, is the fact that those who are charged with directing government operations in Washington, civilian and military, have failed, as is so very often the case, to set any example

whatsoever, by refusing to adopt a course of action calculated to undo a grievous wrong.

The Journal of Historical Review

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From the Editor

Theodore J. O’Keefe

Recently the *New York Times* made it official: Revisionism has come of age in America. American historian Deborah Lipstadt has been hired by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem to study the Revisionists, of whom she fears “some of their positions could enter the mainstream.”

We at the Institute for Historical Review are proud of the role of *The Journal of Historical Review* in fostering and promoting Historical Revisionism. Since its founding in 1980, The Journal has been the world’s leading voice for bringing history into accord with the facts. And that voice is increasingly a worldwide voice.

This issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* features two substantial articles by European Revisionists, each of them another sturdy nail in the coffin of the extermination legend.

Italian Carlo Mattogno’s [conclusion of his two-part “Myth of the Extermination of the Jews”](#) is remarkable for its comprehensive bibliographical survey of Revisionist writings on the “Holocaust,” a survey which demonstrates beyond cavil the worldwide scope and power of Revisionist research. Mattogno has also accomplished a scintillating debunking of the “eyewitness” testimony to the gas-chamber murders, laying bare the contradictions and absurdities which abound in the stories of the supposed perpetrators and the self-proclaimed survivors alike.

Mattogno’s broad overview of Holocaust Revisionism is complemented by Spaniard Enrique Aynat Eknes’s [careful study of the evidence for gassings and industrial-scale cremations](#) in the two biggest crematoriums at Auschwitz. This article, meticulously documented, copiously illustrated, is certain to become a classic of Revisionist literature, and it powerfully bolsters the findings of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter (the introduction to whose groundbreaking report, by Robert Faurisson appears in this issue’s “Historical News and Comment” section).

We’re pleased to welcome Professor Jim Martin, dean of Revisionist historians, back to these pages, and readers new to *The Journal* will have a chance to sample typically acerbic Martin wit in his [review of Phillip Knightley’s new book](#) on twentieth-century espionage. Historian John Ries reviews important books on the financing of the National Socialists and on Germany’s surprisingly pro-Zionist policies during the 1930’s.

In addition to Robert Faurisson’s introduction to the pathbreaking Leuchter report, mentioned above, we’ve translated an important interview, given by French historian and Mauthausen deportee Professor Michel de Bœuard to the French newspaper *Ouest-France*. De Bœuard, no Holocaust Revisionist but a man of courage and honor, defends the famous thesis of Henri Roques, The “Confessions” of Kurt Gerstein, which was revoked on the order of the French government (but will soon be published in English by the Institute for Historical Review).

We hope this issue of *The Journal* will give Professor Lipstadt some food for thought — we know it won't make her work any easier.

Source: vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 261-302.

The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews: Part II

CARLO MATTOGNO

1. Birth and Development of Revisionism

National Socialist policy in the matter of Jewish emigration, pursued officially until the beginning of February 1942, thus posed a question that really was “throbbing,” to use again the adjective employed by Poliakov.

If it was true that *exterminating* the Jews “conformed to the fundamental objective of National Socialism” [1]; if it was true that it was not “the coming to a head of an unforeseeable explosion of violence, or of a betrayal of trust by subordinates, but the fruit of an ideology of death and of an organic design” [2]; if it was true that “according to Hitler, among the ends that had to be achieved thanks to the war, the general extermination of the Jews had a very important place, to the realization of which the German government would devote a large part of its forces,” [3] for what mysterious reason did Adolf Hitler deprive himself of at least a million victims by allowing them to emigrate?

It was thus inevitable that so atrocious an accusation, based essentially on “third and fourth hand accounts,” on “the game of psychological deductions,” knowing that “all these could offer was fragile and speculative,” and on “fragmentary and sometimes hypothetical answers,” be placed in doubt.

In the immediate post-war period and in the following years severe criticisms were formulated in regard to the trials of those who were called “Nazi war criminals” — in particular, the Nuremberg trials [4] — and concerning the behavior of the Allies during the war. [5]

The first to raise doubt about the reality of the “extermination” of the Jews was the Frenchman, Paul Rassinier, [6] who is justly considered to be the precursor of present-day Revisionism. His work was taken up and carried on by other researchers who have produced a rich Revisionist literature, the most important works of which are

- *Auschwitz ou le grand alibi* (Auschwitz or the Great Alibi), *Le Prolétaire*, bimonthly of the Communist Party International, 1960.
- *Geschichte der Verfehmung Deutschlands* (History of the Outlawing of Germany) by Franz Scheidl, Vienna, published by the author, 1967.
- *The Myth of the Six Million*, Anonymous, The [Noontide Press](#), Costa Mesa, California 1969.
- *The Big Lie: Six Million Murdered Jews*, by The Historical Research Unity, Fyshwick ACT Unity Printers and Publishers, 1970.

- *Die Auschwitz-Lüge* (The Auschwitz Lie), by Thies Christophersen, Kritik-Verlag, Mohrkirch, West Germany, 1973.
- *The Six Million Swindle*, by Austin J. App, Boniface Press, Takoma Park, Maryland, 1973.
- *Hexen Ein-Mal-Eins einer Lüge* (Witches' Multiplication Table of a Lie), by Emil Aretz, Verlag Hohe Warte — Franz von Bebenburg, 1973.
- *Did Six Million Really Die?*, by Richard Harwood, Historical Review Press, Brighton, Sussex, England, 1974.
- *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, by Arthur R. Butz, The Noontide Press, Costa Mesa, California, 1977.
- Robert Faurisson wrote his article “The Problem of the Gas Chambers” (*Défense de Occident*, No. 158, June 1978) and in *Le Monde* (29 December 1978) published “The Problem of the Gas Chambers, or the Rumor of Auschwitz,” followed by a text, making use of the right to reply, 16 January 1979.
- The excellent study *Der Auschwitz Mythos: Legende oder Wirklichkeit?* (The Auschwitz Myth: Legend or Reality?), by Wilhelm Stäglich, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, California, 1986.
- *The Six Million Reconsidered*, by the Committee for Truth in History, The Noontide Press, Costa Mesa, California, 1977.
- *El Mito de los 6 Millones: El Fraude de los Judios Asesinados por Hitler* (The Myth of the Six Million: The Fraud of the Jews Murdered by Hitler), by J. Bochaca, Ediciones BAU, S.P. Barcelona, 1974.
- *Anne Frank's Diary: A Hoax* by Ditlieb Felderer, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, California, 1979.
- *Holocaust, hoe tang nog?* (Holocaust, How Much Longer?) Haro Boekdienst, Antwerpen. [7]

In 1979, at Northrup University in Los Angeles, the first Revisionist Conference was held, organized by the Institute for Historical Review, which, since spring 1980, has published the important quarterly *The Journal of Historical Review* with the collaboration of the most significant Revisionist historians around the World. This has contributed further to making Historical Revisionism an irrefutable reality, and an unstoppable intellectual movement. Indeed the Revisionist theses are attracting ever more defenders.

Since 1980, and up to the present, several works have been published, notably in France, in the wake of the Faurisson affair. Besides numerous articles appearing in *The Journal of Historical Review*, we draw attention to:

- *Auschwitz Exit* (Vol. I), by Ditlieb Felderer, Täby, Sweden; 1980.
- *1981 Revisionist Bibliography: A Select Bibliography of Revisionist Books Dealing with the Two World Wars and Their Aftermaths*, compiled and annotated by Keith Stimely, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, California, 1980.
- *Vor dem Tribunal der Sieger: Gesetzlose Justiz in Nürnberg* (Before the Victors' Tribunal: Lawless Justice in Nuremberg), by Hildegard Fritzsche, K. W. Schütz Kg, Preussisch-Oldendorf, West Germany, 1981.
- *Auschwitz im IG-Farben Prozess: Holocaustdokumente?* (Auschwitz in the IG Farben Trial: Holocaust Documents?), edited by Udo Walendy, Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung, Vlotho/Weser, West Germany, 1981.
- *Holocaust nun unterirdisch?* (Holocaust Now Subterranean?), Historische Tatsachen (Historical Facts), No. 9, Vlotho/Weser, 1981.
- *Kenntnismängel der Alliierten* (The Allies' Defective Knowledge), Historische Tatsachen No. 11, 1982.

- *Adolf Eichmann und die "Skelettsammlung des Ahnenerbe e.V."* (Adolf Eichmann and the "Skeleton Collection of the Ancestral Heritage Association") Historische Tatsachen No. 16, 1983.
- *Einsatzgruppen im Verbands des Heeres* (Operations Groups in the Structure of the Army), Historische Tatsachen No. 16 and No. 17, 1983.
- *Alliierte Kriegspropaganda 1914-1919* (Allied War Propaganda, 1914-1919), Hist. Tatsachen No. 22, 1985.
- *Ich suchte-und hand die Wahrheit* (I Sought-and Found the Truth), Robert Faurisson. *Kritik*, No. 58, Kritik-Verlag, Mohrkirch. 1982
- *The 'Holocaust': 120 Questions and Answers*, Charles E. Weber, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 1983.
- *Nazi Gassing a Myth?* IHR Special Report, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 1983.
- *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, Walter N. Sanning, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 1983.
- *Le grands truquages de l'histoire* (The Great Frauds of History), by Hervé Le Goff, Editions Jacques Grancher, Paris, 1983. Includes a study of the Anne Frank diary imposture. [8]
- *The Man Who Invented "Genocide"*, James J. Martin, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 1984.
- *"Massentötungen" oder Desinformation?* ("Mass Killings" or Disinformation?), by Ingrid Weckert, Historische Tatsachen No. 24, 1985.
- *Macht + Prozesse = "Wahrheit"?* (Power + Trial = "Truth"?), Historische Tatsachen No. 25, 1985.
- *Amtliche Lügen straflos, Bürgerzweifel kriminell* (Official Lies Unpenalized, Citizens' Doubts Criminal), Historische Tatsachen No. 29, 1985.
- *Die Befreiung von Auschwitz 1945* (The Liberation of Auschwitz 1945), Historische Tatsachen No. 31, 1987.
- *Die Farce des sowjetischen Kommissionsberichtes vom 7. Mai 1945* (The Farce of the Soviet Commission Report of 7 May 1945), Historische Tatsachen No. 33, 1988. All the Historische Tatsachen cited, except for No. 24, are by Udo Walendy.
- *Dachau ... Buchenwald ... Belsen, etc.* Z.L. Smith, Antwerp, Vrij Historisch Onderzoek (Free Historical Research), 1984.
- *Het Dagboek van Anne Frank: een Vervalsing* (The Diary of Anne Frank A Falsification), Robert Faurisson, Antwerp: Vrij Historisch Onderzoek 1985.
- *Worldwide Growth and Impact of "Holocaust" Revisionism*. IHR Special Report, Institute for Historical Review, Costa Mesa, 1985.
- *L'onestà polemica del Signor Vidal-Naquet. A proposito dell'edizione italiana di un suo libro* (The Honest Polemic of Mr. Vidal-Naquet, on the Italian edition of one of his books), Cesare Saletta, Sala Bolognese, 1985.
- *Droit et Histoire* (Law and History), Pierre Guillaume, La Vieille Taupe, Paris, 1986.
- We add the most significant works on the Faurisson affair
- *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire*. La question des chambres à gaz (Defense Memorandum against Those Who Accuse Me of Falsifying History. The Question of the Gas Chambers), Robert Faurisson, La Vieille Taupe, 1980. A work of exceptional value.
- *Vérité historique ou vérité politique ? Le dossier de l'affaire Faurisson. La question des chambres à gaz* (Historical Truth, or Political Truth? The Faurisson Affair File: The Question of the Gas Chambers) Serge Thion, La Vieille Taupe, 1980.
- *L'Affaire Faurisson* (The Faurisson Affair), Le Lutteur de classe, November 1961.

- *Intolérable Intolérance* (Intolerable Intolerance). Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Eric Delcroix, Claude Karnoouh, Vincent Monteil and Jean-Louis Tristani. Editions de la Différence, 1981.
- *L'Incroyable Affaire Faurisson* (The Incredible Faurisson Affair), Les petits suppléments au Guide des droits des victimes, No. 1, La Vieille Taupe, 1982.
- Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet (Reply to Pierre Vidal-Naquet), Robert Faurisson. Second enlarged edition, 1962, published by the author. La Vieille Taupe, 1982.
- *L'Affaire Faurisson* (The Faurisson Affair), by Marie-Paule Mémy. Memorandum of D.U.T., University of Bordeaux III, Option Journalism 1982-1983.
- *Epilogue judiciaire de l'Affaire Faurisson* (Judiciary Epilogue to the Faurisson Affair), La Vieille Taupe, 1983.
- *Il caso Faurisson* (The Faurisson Case), Andrea Chersi, Castenedolo, 1983. Published by the author. [9]

In January 1985 the first number of the Spanish Revisionist review, *Revision* was published in Alicante.

Since the spring of 1987 the important review *Annales d'histoire révisionniste* has been published in France.

We call attention also to the Revisionist journal *Taboe. Revisionistisch tijdschrift voor kritisch en wetenschappelijk onderzoek* (Tabu, Revisionist periodical for critical and scientific research), Antwerp, Belgium.

Lastly, may we be permitted to mention our own studies:

Published by Sentinella d'Italia, Monfalcone:

- *Il rapporto Gerstein. Anatomia di un falso* (The Gerstein Report Anatomy of a Fraud), 1982.
- *La Risiera di San Sabba: un falso grossolano* (The ricery of San Sabba: A Gross Hoax), 1985. Published by La Sfinge, Parma
- *Wellers e i "gasati" di Auschwitz* (Wellers and the "Gassed" of Auschwitz), 1987.
- *Auschwitz: due false testimonianze* (Auschwitz: Two False Testimonies), 1986.
- *Auschwitz: un caso di plagio* (Auschwitz: A Case of Plagiarism), 1986.

Further:

- *Auschwitz: le confessioni di Rudolf Höss* (Auschwitz: The False Confessions of Rudolf Höss), 1987.
- *Come si falsifica la storia: Georges Wellers e le "camere a gas" di Belzec* (How History is Falsified: Georges Wellers and the "Gas Chambers" at Belzec). To be published.
- *Medico ad Auschwitz. Anatomia di un falso. La balsa testimonianza di Miklos Nyiszli* (Doctor in Auschwitz: Anatomy of a Fraud: The False Testimony of Miklos Nyiszli). To be published. [10]

This vast literature is of unequal value and ranges from superficial and often inexact declarations — rightly criticized by the Exterminationist historians, as Revisionists call those who maintain the reality of the "Extermination" of the Jews — to methodical and profound research.

This literature has aroused reactions of diverse types. [11]

On the literary plane, a number of highly passionate writings seek to discredit the Revisionists, be it by personal defamation, be it by distorting their theses in order to hold them up to ridicule, be it by trying to make Revisionism appear as an integral part of “an international neo-Nazi movement,” that is to say, of a resurgence of Nazi anti-Semitism, as is implied expressly by Robert Kempner. [12]

This attempt appears clearly in the titles that occur most frequently in this literature:

- “Criticism of the Publicity of the Anti-Semitic Extreme Right”; [13]
- “A Look at Neo-Nazi Literature”; [14]
- “The Final Solution and Neo-Nazi Mythomania”; [15]
- “The Final Solution of the Jewish Question in the Recent Neo-Nazi literature.” [16]

Among the most virulent articles, we point out

- “La politica dello struzzo” (Ostrich Politics), Augusto Segre, *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, January-March 1979.
- “La distruzione della ragione” (The Destruction of Reason), Giuseppe Laras, *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, August- September 1973.
- “Le camere a gas sono esistite!” (The Gas Chambers Existed!), reply by Enzo Collotti to Robert Faurisson. *Storia Illustrata* No. 262, September 1979. (See on this subject Faurisson Replies to Collotti, *Storia Illustrata* No. 263, October 1979).

Stefano Levi della Torre dedicated a paragraph to Revisionism in the article “New Forms of Jew-phobia” that is included in the section “Anti-Semitism Today.” [17]

In reality, the accusation is baseless, and is clearly intended as propaganda. The credentials of the man who is considered to be the founder of Revisionism, Paul Rassinier, leave no doubt in that regard: socialist, resistant, arrested by the Gestapo in October 1943, tortured for eleven days, deported to Buchenwald, then to Dora, in which camps he spent 19 months, 95 per cent invalided as a result of his deportation, bearer of the Vermilion Medal of French Gratitude (Médaille Vermeil de la Réaonnaissance Française) and of the Rosette de la Résistance.” In France, the legacy of Rassinier has been assumed by elements of the Left, beginning with the group that manages the publishing house La Vieille Taupe (The Old Mole). [18]

Other Exterminationist writers, while displaying all the emotion invariably engendered by an expression of doubt in regard to the “extermination” of the Jews, try to place themselves on the plane of objective criticism. Among the most significant, we call attention to:

- “Lies About the Holocaust,” Lucy Dawidowicz, *Commentary*, December, 1980.
- “Les redresseurs de morts.” [Translator’s note: Here the Exterminationist indulges herself archly in a “*Jeu de mots*” or, more simply, a pun on “redresseurs de torts” -“righters of wrongs”) *Chambres à gas: la bonne nouvelle. Comme on revise l'histoire.* (The Redressers of the Dead. Gas Chambers: The Good News: How History is Revised) by Nadine Fresco. *Les Temps Modernes*, No. 707, June 1980. The author undertakes to show the historiographic methods of Revisionism.
- *Les chambres à gaz ont existé. Des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres* (The Gas Chambers Did Exist Documents, Testimonies, Numbers), Georges Wellers. Editions Gallimard, 1981. A work directed against Robert Faurisson.
- *La Solution Finale et la mythomanie neo-nazie* (The Final Solution and Neo-Nazi Mythomania), Georges Wellers. Published by Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, 1979. A work directed against Paul Rassinier.

- *Six Million Did Die*, Arthur Suzman and Denis Diamond. Johannesburg, 1978. A work directed against Richard Harwood and Arthur Butz.
- “Un Eichmann de papier: Anatomie d'un mensonge” (A Paper Eichmann: Anatomy of a Lie), Pierre Vidal-Naquet in *Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent* (Jews, Memory, and the Present), Paris, 1981. Study directed against Robert Faurisson.
- “Tesi sul revisionismo” (Theses on Revisionism), Pierre Vidal-Naquet. *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, Loescher, Turin, January, 1983. A general article against Revisionism.
- *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (National Socialist Mass Killings by Poison Gas), by Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl and others. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1983. A collective work of 24 historians aimed at refuting, indirectly, the whole of Revisionist historiography.
- “A propos d'une thèse de doctorat 'explosive' sur le rapport Gerstein” (An “Explosive” Doctoral Thesis on the Gerstein Report), Georges Wellers. *Le Monde Juif*, No. 121, January-March 1986. An article directed against Henri Roques. [19]

Some attempts to affirm the Exterminationist “truth” have had the opposite effect. Particularly interesting in this respect are:

- *The Holocaust Revisited: A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex*, Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier. Central Intelligence Agency, Washington D.C., U.S. Department of Commerce, National Technical Information Service, February 1979. A work in which aerial photographs of Auschwitz-Birkenau taken by the U.S. Air Force in 1944, are published, these demolish the myth of the immense exterminations that were supposed to have been perpetrated in these camps in 1944.
- “*Les Krematorien IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz*” (Crematories IV and V of Birkenau and Their Gas Chambers), Jean-Claude Pressac, *Le Monde Juif* No. 107, July-September 1982. See the account given by Robert Faurisson “*Le mythe des chambres à gaz entre en agonie*,” (The Myth of the Gas Chambers Enters Its Death-Phase), reply to Pierre Vidal-Naquet, second enlarged edition, La Vieille Taupe, 1982.
- *The Auschwitz Album*. After an album discovered by Lili Meier, survivor of the concentration camp. Text by Peter Hellman. See the analysis by Robert Faurisson, “Les Tricheries de l'Album d'Auschwitz” (*The Trickeries of The Auschwitz Album*), typed text, unpublished, 1983.

But the reactions of the opponents of Revisionism are not restricted to the literary plane. The lawsuits brought against Revisionists — to the end of obtaining official condemnation by the courts of the adversary theses — attest to the inability of the official historians to refute the Revisionist arguments seriously and convincingly.

Certain affairs. such as those of Christophersen, of Faurisson. and of Felderer have become unhappily celebrated. [20]

Of doleful renown, too, is the Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften, a national agency for the examination and censoring of texts held to “put youth in jeopardy” in the Federal Republic of Germany, a simple method for the exercise of legal control over Revisionist literature, whose works are put on this index regularly! (Index für jugendgefährdende Schriften). [21]

The case of Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich attests to the blind intolerance practiced against those who, relying on sober documentation, deny the “extermination of the Jews.” In November 1982, the Council of Deans of the Georg-August University of Göttingen, where he had obtained his Doctorate in Law in 1951, proceeded to revoke his doctor’s title for having written the excellent *Der*

Auschwitz Mythos which, in the opinion of this not exactly objective Council, made Wilhelm Stäglich “unworthy of the title of Doctor.” [22]

Recently, Henri Roques — the case is unique in French university history — has seen the confirmation of his doctoral thesis on the confessions of Kurt Gerstein, [23] which unleashed an entire polemic [24] but remains unchallenged by any serious refutation, annulled because of presumed administrative irregularities. [25]

2. Revisionist Criticism

It would be difficult to summarize the results of Revisionist criticism in a few pages. Besides, we are concerned here not so much with presenting the results of Revisionist research than Revisionism’s reason for being, and its methodology, and that is why we devote this chapter to explaining the reasons why, in our opinion, it is necessary to doubt the reality of the “extermination” of the Jews. :

At the time of the Nuremberg trial, the English public prosecutor, Sir Hartley Shawcross, in his speech for the prosecution of 26 July 1946, accused the Germans of having killed more than six million Jews “in the gas chambers and ovens of Auschwitz, Dachau, Treblinka, Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Oranienburg.” [1]

Each one of these “gas chambers,” naturally, had its “eye- witnesses.”

Abbé Georges Hénocque described that of Buchenwald as follows:

I felt reassured and, opening the iron door, I found myself in the famous gas chamber.

The room could have been about five meters square, with a height of three and a half meters. Seventeen sprinkler heads fastened and placed at regular intervals in the ceiling. Looking at them revealed nothing of their murderous function. They resembled harmless water dispensers. The deportees employed in the crematorium forewarned me: in a touch of irony, each victim, on entering this room, was given a towel, and a minuscule bit of soap. These unfortunates believed they were going into the shower. Then the heavy iron door, bordered with a kind of rubber seal a half-centimeter thick, designed to prevent the entry of the least bit of air, was closed on them.

On the inside, the walls were smooth, without fissures, as though varnished. On the outside, one noticed, on the side of the door lintel, four buttons, placed one under the other; one red, one yellow, one green, one white.

Yet, one detail worried me: I could not understand how the gas could descend from the sprinkler outlets to the floor. The room in which I found myself was skirted by a corridor. I went into it and there I saw an enormous pipe that my two arms could not encompass completely, which was covered with rubber to a thickness of about one centimeter.

On the side, a handle that one turned from left to right released the gas. Under strong pressure, it descended to the floor, so that none of the victims could escape what the Germans called “the slow and sweet death.”

Below the spot where the pipe formed an elbow to enter the asphyxiation chamber, there were the same buttons as on the outside door red, green, yellow, and white,

which served evidently to measure the descent of the gas. Everything was really put together and organized scientifically. The evil genius could not have done better. I went back into the gas chamber to try to find the crematory room. [2]

SS-Obersturmbannführer Kaindl, former commandant of the Oranienburgdachsenhausen camp, declared before a Soviet military tribunal:

Toward mid-March 1943, I installed a gas chamber as a means for mass extermination.

Public Prosecutor On your own initiative?

Kaindl: Partly, yes, the existing installations no longer sufficed for the projected extermination. I held a conference in which the head doctor, Baumkötter, took part. He told me that the use of a poison gas, such as prussic acid, in rooms prepared for that purpose produced instant death.

That is why I considered the installation of gas chambers to be in order, and also because it was more humane, for mass killings. [3]

On the subject of the Dachau camp, Dr. Franz Blaha, in a sworn statement, affirmed:

There were numerous executions by gas, executions by firearms, and by injections, in the camp. The gas chamber was finished in 1944, and I called Dr. Rascher to examine the first victim. Of the eight or nine persons in the chamber, three were still alive; the others seemed to be dead. Their eyes were red and their faces bloated. Numerous detainees were subsequently killed in the same manner. [4]

On 19 August 1960, the German newspaper *Die Zeit*, under the headline “No Gassings in Dachau,” published a letter by Dr. Martin Broszat of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, in which he declared:

Neither at Dachau, nor at Bergen-Belsen, nor at Buchenwald, were Jews or other detainees gassed. The gas chamber at Dachau was never completely finished, nor put “into service.”

And further:

The mass extermination of Jews by gassing began in 1941-1942, and took place exclusively in a few locations chosen for that purpose and provided with corresponding technical installations, above all in the occupied Polish territories (but nowhere in the Old Reich): at Auschwitz-Birkenau, at Sobibor on the Bug, at Treblinka, Chelmno, and Belzec. [5]

The reservations expressed in this letter were made explicit by Dr. Broszat in the “Preliminary Note” to the article by Ino Arndt and Wolfgang Scheffler in *Organisierter Massenmord an Juden in national-sozialistischen Vernichtungslagern* (Organized Mass Murder of Jews in National Socialist Extermination Camps):

As we have pointed out already, the extermination of Jews in the institutional sense (accomplishment of the program of the “final solution”) by means of gassing installations took place exclusively in the aforementioned camps in the occupied Polish ter-

ritories[6]. In turn, in the concentration camps generally, there were indeed crematories (for the cremation of the detainees who died en masse or were killed during the war) but no gassing installations. However, where that was the case [the alleged presence of gas chambers] (Ravensbrück, Natzweiler, Mauthausen) they did not serve for the extermination of Jews in the sense of the “final solution” program. They served rather to ease the “work” of the execution commandos, which until now consisted in shooting the detainees, killing them by injections of phenol, and by other methods.[7]

Simon Wiesenthal confirms that “there were no extermination camps on German soil.” [8]

In conclusion, neither at Buchenwald, nor at Oranienburg- Sachsenhausen, were there “gas chambers,” while the alleged “gas chamber” at Dachau was never used, [9] as can be read also in the official publication on this camp:

The “gas chamber” at Dachau was never put into service. Only the dead were put into the crematory for cremation, never any living being for “gassing.” [10]

Or further:

As we have said already, Dachau in the last year had its own gas chamber. But its “showers” were never used. [11]

Consequently, the “eyewitness testimonies” of those who pretended to have seen “gas chambers” in these camps, or to have taken part in the “gassings” there, are false.

That state of affairs should have moved any serious historian to undertake a critical review of *all* sources concerning the “extermination” of the Jews, but nothing of the kind happened. [12]

The question that Robert Faurisson asks is more than legitimate:

Why are the “proofs,” the “certainties,” and “testimonies” gathered about the camps that, geographically, are close to us, suddenly without value, while the “proofs,” “certainties,” and the “testimonies” collected about the camps in Poland remain true? [13]

The question appears yet more legitimate when one considers what Gerald Reitlinger, who is an Exterminationist, writes about the evidence relating to the Polish “extermination camps”:

The greater part of the documentation on the death camps in Poland, for example, has been gathered by commissions inquiry of the Polish government, and by the Central Commission for Jewish History in Poland, by interrogating the physically able survivors who rarely were educated men.

Moreover, the Eastern European Jew is by nature a rhetorician, he loves to express himself in florid comparisons. While one witness declared that the victims coming from the far west arrived at the death camp in sleeping cars, he probably wanted to say they came in passenger coaches, not in cattle cars. At times their imagination went beyond all credibility, as when the food smugglers of the ghetto were described as men of gigantic stature, with pockets that went from the neck to the ankles. Even readers who do not suffer from racial prejudices may find it a bit too thick to be able to digest the details of the monstrous assassinations and are led to cry “credat Iudaeus Apella [Translator’s note: “Let the Jew Apella believe it,”] and to relegate these recitals among the fables. Basically, the readers have the right to think that it is a case

of “Oriental” witnesses, for whom numbers are nothing but rhetorical elements. Even their names, Sunschein, Zylberdukaten, (silver ducats), Rothbalsam (red balsam), Salamander — seem drawn from the imagination. [14]

In regard to the working method of the inquiry commissions and to the Testimonies” they gathered, Reitlinger states explicitly:

One cannot but agree with R.T. Paget, K.C., member of the House of Commons, when he says that the researches undertaken by the Polish Government commission after the war are of mediocre probatory value. They consists, in effect, essentially of detached descriptions, by isolated persons, very rarely confirmed by other sources. [15]

The “proof” of the existence of the “gas chambers” in the so-called “extermination camps” in the East thus consist almost exclusively of extremely suspect “eyewitness testimonies” whose truthfulness is upheld *a priori* by the historians who maintain the reality of the “extermination” of the Jews, and the intentional lack of critical spirit is the essential characteristic of their historiographic method.

The analysis of such “proofs” and their mutual contradictions, however, should lead Exterminationist historians to employ greater prudence.

The study of the genesis of the myth of the “extermination” of the Jews, at Treblinka, at Sobibor, and at Belzec, for example, is very revealing in this regard. One of the first “eyewitness testimonies” about Treblinka — the report sent 15 November 1942 by the clandestine organization of the Warsaw ghetto to the Polish government-in-exile in London — describes the “extermination” of the Jews in the camp as being carried out by water vapor (steam)!

In March 1942 — this report reads — the Germans began the construction of the new camp of Treblinka B — on the edge of Treblinka A — which was finished at the end of April 1942. Toward the first half of September it comprised two “death houses.” The “house of death No. 2” was of masonry, about 40 meters long and 15 meters wide. According to the story of one eyewitness, it contained ten rooms arranged along the two sides of a corridor that traversed the whole building. Pipes through which the steam passed were installed in these rooms. The “house of death No. 1” consisted of three rooms and one boiler. The report continues:

Inside the furnace-room is a large boiler for the production of steam, and with the help of pipes that run through the death rooms, which are provided with an appropriate number of holes, the superheated steam is injected into the interior of the rooms.

The “victims” were put into the rooms mentioned above, and killed by the steam:

In that manner the execution rooms are filled completely, then the doors are closed hermetically, and the long asphyxiation of the victims, by the steam coming out of the numerous holes in the pipes, begins. At the start, screams come from inside; they die down slowly, after 15 minutes the execution is completed. [16]

This story was taken up and raised to the rank of official truth by the Central Commission for Investigation of German crimes in Poland, which accused the former governor, Hans Frank, of having ordered the installation of an “extermination camp” at Treblinka for the massive elimination of the Jews “in steam-filled rooms.” [17]

The myth of the “carbon monoxide gas chambers” [18] was later imposed and still constitutes the official truth in regard to the three “extermination camps” of the East.

What happened is simple: the “steam chambers” of the 15 November 1942 report were simply turned into “gas chambers”!

Thus the “eyewitness” Yankel Wiernik wrote that at Treblinka Jews were killed in two buildings, one large, with ten “gas chambers,” the other small, with three “gas chambers,” [19] exactly as in the two “death houses” with ten and three “steam rooms” of the report cited above. The very arrangement of the rooms in the new buildings is drawn entirely from the report of 15 November 1942: ten chambers arranged along the two sides of a corridor that traversed the whole building. [20]

That this “eyewitness” may be little worthy of credence can already be deduced from what he affirms: in each “gas chamber,” measuring about “150 square feet” (i.e., about 14 square meters), about 1,000 to 1,200 persons were packed, [21] i.e., to a density of 71 to 85 persons per square meter!

We are, then, in the presence of one of those “eyewitnesses” for whom, as Gerald Reitlinger, put it, “numbers are merely rhetorical devices.”

In 1946 the “gas chambers” of Sobibor were described thus:

At first glance, one had the impression of entering a bathroom like any other faucets for hot and cold water, wash basins ... once everyone had entered, the doors close heavily. A black heavy substance issues in spirals from the holes made in the ceiling. One hears horrible shrieks that, however, do not last long, as they are transformed into smothered and suffocated breathing, then into final convulsions. It is related that mothers covered their babies' corpses with their bodies.

The warden of the “bathroom” observed the whole train of events through a hole in the ceiling. Everything is over in a quarter of an hour. The floor opens, and the cadavers fall into carts waiting below which, when they are full, quickly depart. All is organized according to the most modern German technology. Outside, the bodies are laid out in a certain order and sprayed with gasoline, then set on fire. [22]

The “eyewitness” Zelda Metz furnished the following description:

Thereupon they went into the barracks where they cut the women’s hair, then into the bathroom, that is to say, the gas chamber. They were asphyxiated by chlorine. After 15 minutes they were all asphyxiated. Through a skylight it was verified that all were dead. Then the floor opened automatically. The cadavers fell into a railroad car that ran through the gas chamber and carried the cadavers to the ovens. [23]

But, from 1947 the Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland opted for murder “by combustion gas produced by motors: in the ceiling were openings connected by pipes with openings situated in adjoining buildings, which produced the CO gas with which the victims were suffocated,” [24] thus recognizing that the “testimonies” mentioned above were false. But that did not keep Zelda Metz from presenting herself as a prosecution witness at the trial of the former Sobibor guards Hubert Gomerski and Johan Klier [25] on 23 August 1950, in the course of which the public prosecutor declared specifically that “executions by motor-exhaust gas had taken place.” [26]

The “eyewitness testimonies” about Belzec are even more instructive.

The first myth about the “extermination of the Jews” was born 8 April 1942, only three weeks after the opening of the camp: “The victims were assembled in a shack that had a metallic plate as its floor through which was passed an electric current that killed the Jews instantly.” [27]

A similar story appeared in the *Kronika oswiecimska nieznanego autora* (Auschwitz Chronicle by an Unknown Author) that was supposed to have been dug up on the grounds of the old Auschwitz camp: “At Belzec the Jews were electrocuted.” [28]

A report dated 10 July 1942 arrived in London in November of that year. [29] Published December 1st in the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, it describes the “extermination of the Jews” at Belzec in this way:

After unloading, the men go to a barracks on the right, the women to a barracks situated on the left, where they strip, ostensibly in readiness for a bath. After they have undressed both groups go to a third barracks where there is an electrified plate, where the executions are carried out. [30]

A variant of the myth substitutes water for the metallic plate: “The Jews were killed by passing an electric current through the water in which they were immersed.” [31]

The version of execution on a metallic plate reappeared in a report of November 1942:

The victims are ordered to strip naked — to have a bath, ostensibly — and are then led to a barrack with a metal plate for flooring. The door is then locked, electric current passes through the victims and their death is almost instantaneous. [32]

In the report of the Polish government in exile in London, dated 10 December 1942, one reads, among other things:

At first, the executions were carried out by means of shooting; subsequently, however, it is reported that the Germans applied new methods, such as poison gas, by means of which the Jewish population was exterminated in Chelm, or electrocution, for which a camp was organized in Belzec, where, in the course of March and April 1942, the Jews from the provinces of Lublin, Lwow and Kielce to the number of tens of thousands were exterminated. [33]

The story was repeated 19 December 1942 in a declaration by the “Inter-Allied Information Committee”:

Actual data concerning the fate of the deportees is not at hand, but the news is available — irrefutable news — that places of execution have been organized at Chelm and Belzec, where those who survive shootings are murdered en masse by means of electrocution and lethal gas. [34]

A report 1 November 1943 thus described the “Hell of Belzec”:

The Jews who were sent to Belzec were ordered to undress as though to take a bath. They were in fact led into a bathing facility that could hold several hundred people. But there they were killed en masse by electric current. [35]

In 1944 the myth was enriched: a new version bringing together the metallic plate and the water themes was elaborated. On 12 February 1944 the *New York Times* published the following recital of “a young Polish Jew” on the “extermination factory” at Beljec (the *New York Times*' spelling):

The Jews were forced naked on to a metallic platform operated like a hydraulic elevator, which lowered them into a huge vat filled with water to the victims' necks, he declared. They were electrocuted by current through the water. The elevator then lifted the bodies to a crematorium above, the youth said. The source of this narrative is “individuals who escaped after actually being taken inside the factory.” [36]

It came, therefore, from “eyewitnesses.”

This new form of the myth was taken up in 1945 by Stefan Szende. The transports of Jews “entered by a tunnel into the underground spaces of the execution place.” The “extermination technique” described by Szende is lifted, at the least, from science fiction.

When trainloads of naked Jews arrived they were herded into a great hall capable of holding several thousand people. This hall has no windows and its flooring was of metal. Once the Jews were all inside, the floor of this hall sank like a lift into a great tank of water which lay below it until the Jews were up to their waists in water. Then a powerful electric current was sent into the metal flooring and within a few seconds all the Jews, thousands at a time, were dead.

The metal flooring then rose again and the water drained away. The corpses of the slaughtered Jews were now heaped all over the floor. A different current was then switched on and the metal flooring rapidly became red hot, so that the corpses were incinerated as in a crematorium and only ash was left.

The floor was then tipped up and the ashes slid out into prepared receptacles. The smoke of the process was carried away by great factory chimneys. That was the whole procedure. [37]

Another version of the myth mentions an “electric oven” (!) as the instrument of execution:

Then they went into a third barrack that held an electric oven. It is in that barrack that the executions took place. [38]

In 1945 the first version of the myth was raised to the rank of official truth as far as the Belzec “extermination camp” was concerned. It was accepted in the report of the Polish government and read by the Soviet representative of the prosecution, L.N. Smirnov, at the 19 December 1945 hearing of the Nuremberg trial:

In the same report, in the last chapter, on page 136 of the book of documents we find a declaration on the fact that the camp at Beldjitz [39] was constructed in 1940; however, the special electrical equipment for mass extermination of people was installed in 1942. Under the pretext of having them take a bath the people were constrained to undress completely, and pushed into a building the floor of which was electrified; there they were killed. [40]

The myth of the “extermination” of Jews at Belzec by electricity was not the only one [regarding Belzec] to circulate in the course of the Second World War.

The “eyewitness” Jan Karski, who claims to have visited this camp in the uniform of the Estonian Guard, describes a somewhat singular “extermination” procedure:

The Jews were loaded in boxcars the floors of which were covered with quicklime. When the loading was complete, the train departed for an uninhabited area 80 miles from Belzec, where it remained unopened until all the Jews were dead through the corrosive action of the lime and suffocation. [41]

Despite the detailed “eyewitness testimonies” to which we are referred, the myth of the carbon monoxide “gas chamber” has also been imposed definitively as official truth about Belzec. This myth, which has received the official sanction of the Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland [42] appeared suddenly in 1946, in the collection *Dokumenty i Materialy*. [43]

The new version is based on the “eyewitness testimony” of Rudolf Reder, [44] testimony that is in large part a plagiarism of the famous Gerstein Report. [45]

The “eyewitness testimony” of Kurt Gerstein, SS-Obersturmführer, on the “extermination camp” of Belzec is a typical instance of the absence of a critical spirit, and of the bad faith of official historians when they choose their “evidence.”

In our study *The Gerstein Report: Anatomy of a Fraud*, we pointed out 103 absurdities, internal and external contradictions, historical falsifications, contradictions of the official historiography, hyperbolic exaggerations, and improbabilities, so that one cannot accord the least credibility to this “eyewitness testimony.”

But that does not trouble in any way the official historians, who declared almost unanimously:

The veracity of the Gerstein Report is in no doubt today. [46]

The objective plausibility of all the essential details of the report is not in question. [47]

The official historians justify the false testimonies — that they themselves recognize as such — about Treblinka, Sobibor, and Belzec, in maintaining that during the war there was precise knowledge only of the existence of “extermination,” but not of its concrete modalities and techniques. Pierre Vidal-Naquet writes on this subject:

In the flood of information that came out of the occupied territories, there was the true, the less true, and the false. Of the general sense of what was happening, there was no doubt. In regard to the methods, there was often cause to hesitate between the one and the other.

He admits also that there were “fantasies and myths” but declares that these did not exist by themselves, but rather as “a shadow cast by reality, as an extension of reality.” [48]

This argumentation is an excellent application of the methodological principle “the conclusion precedes the proofs,” which Pierre Vidal-Naquet attributes to the Revisionist historians. [49]

Indeed we encounter again, *mutatis mutandis*, Robert Faurisson’s question as to why the “eyewitness testimonies” to the “steam rooms” of Treblinka, to the “chlorine gas,” and to the “cellars” of Sobibor, and to the “extermination” of the Jews by electricity or by death-trains at Belzec, sud-

denly are held to be false, while the “eyewitness testimonies” to the “gas chambers” are considered true?

It is important to emphasize that we are dealing here with “eyewitness testimonies” strictly equivalent in their credibility (or, more exactly, in their “incredibility”) and completely contradictory as to their content, so that it is only when the existence of the “gas chambers” is postulated *a priori* — the conclusion precedes the proof — that one can speak of “fantasies” and “myths” that are “like a shadow cast by reality.”

For the rest, to touch again on the measure of that “reality,” it is enough to study the genesis of the myth of the “gas chambers” of Auschwitz.

That myth was imposed very late in the day, and that is surprising, since the largest of all the places of execution, *the death-factory of Auschwitz-Birkenau*, succeeded in keeping its secret until the summer of 1944. [50]

The reports of the Slovakian Jews (Alfred Wetzler and Rudolf Vrba) who escaped from Auschwitz 7 April [51] circulated in July 1944, reports that were published in the United States by the War Refugee Board in November of the same year, with two other reports, [52] one by two Jews who escaped from Auschwitz on 27 May (Czeslaw Mordowicz and Arnost Rosin), the other by a “Polish commander” who is not otherwise identified.

The most important of these so-called “official reports of Auschwitz,” that of Alfred Wetzler, is visibly false: this one presents a plan and a description of Crematoria I and II (II and III, according to the official numerical designation) that are in fact completely invented, as is seen by a simple comparison with the original plan. He states that in the “oven room” there were “nine ovens, each with four openings” placed around a high smokestack, which also is false in regard to the number as well as to the arrangement of the ovens; since in Crematoria II and III there were in fact five ovens each, having three openings, arranged lengthwise, one beside the other. [53]

The “gas chamber,” according to Wetzler, was on the surface, since Wetzler tells us that the SS whose job it was to introduce the gas, clamber onto the roof, which, too, is wholly false, as the mortuary chamber I, the so-called “gas chamber” was, in fact, underground. [54]

Besides, again according to Wetzler, a track led from the ‘gas chamber’ to the oven room,” [55] which also is false, in view of the fact that the oven room was on the ground level. [56]

But none of this hinders the official historians in presenting this report as though it were true. The case of Georges Wellers is typical, since he uses, stupidly, Alfred Wetzler’s false description in two works in which the correct original plan of Crematorium II in Birkenau is reproduced. [57] But that is not all. He tries painfully to minimize the very grave contradictions in the “eyewitness report” of Alfred Wetzler, writing:

That some witnesses have committed errors of detail in their various descriptions is understandable. It is thus that Wetzler speaks of three openings in the ceiling of the gas chamber; in fact it had four. [58]

And that is all. It can thus be deduced that certain Exterminationist historians are not guilty of an excess of zeal in their reading of the texts.

Before receiving its official codification in the “confessions” of Rudolf Höss, the myth of the “gas chambers” at Auschwitz had known other vicissitudes as to the locale, the technique, and

the period of the “extermination.”

At the Nuremberg trial, in the course of the hearing on 8 August 1946, Sturmbannführer Georg Konrad Morgen described, in abundant detail, “the installations of the 'extermination camp' of Monowitz”:

Then the trucks left. They did not go to the Auschwitz concentration camp, but in another direction, to the Monowitz extermination camp, which was some kilometers distant. This extermination camp consisted of a series of crematoria not recognizable as such from the outside. They could be mistaken for large bath installations. Even the detainees knew it. These crematoria were surrounded by barbed wire and were tended on the inside by the Jewish working groups already mentioned.

And further:

The Monowitz extermination camp was set apart from the concentration camp. It was situated in a vast industrial zone and was not recognizable as such. Chimneys smoked all across the horizon. The camp itself was guarded on the outside by a detachment of Balts, Estonians, Lithuanians, and by Ukrainians. The entire procedure was almost entirely in the hands of the detainees themselves, who were supervised only from time to time by a subordinate officer (*Unterführer*). The execution itself was carried out by another *Unterführer* who released the gas into that place. [59]

In reality, Monowitz, like the thirty-nine Auschwitz subcamps, never had a “gas chamber.” [60]

As concerns the technique of “extermination,” a report dated 8 April 1943 listed the following methods of murder, in addition to “gas chambers” and execution by weapons.

[...]

(b) Electric chambers: these rooms had metallic wall linings; the victims were led inside, then the high tension was switched on;

(c) the system of the so-called pneumatic hammer; this was a system of special rooms in which the “hammer” came down from the ceiling, and the victims were killed by means of a special installation under high pneumatic pressure. [61]

As Martin Gilbert comments, these two methods were “pure fantasy.” [62] On 2 February 1945 *Pravda* published an article on Auschwitz in which the following method of “extermination” was described:

The most elaborate apparatus was an electric conveyor belt on which hundreds of persons could be electrocuted simultaneously, then moved on into furnaces. [62a]

In 1945, the version of “gassing” by sham shower baths was affirmed by the most ingenious perjurers, who echoed this story. At the Belsen trial, Dr. Ada Bimko described the sprinklers, the two “pipes,” and the “huge metal containers containing gas” of the Birkenau “gas chambers” that this “eyewitness” professed to have visited personally. [63]

How these false witnesses imagined that the “gassings” had taken place can be seen clearly in the following recital by Sofia Schafranov to whom a *Sonderkommando* (special command) detainee is supposed to have recounted the following:

A shower bath was simulated to the victims, and although they knew beforehand what kind of shower it was, they were given towels and a bit of soap; after that they were made to undress, and were pushed into low cement rooms, hermetically sealed. From faucets set in the ceiling there came a poison gas instead of water. [64]

That story was repeated at the 1949 Degesch trial: one witness had heard talk that “at Birkenau the gas was introduced by fake showers.” But just as Dr. Heli, inventor of Zyklon B. as well as Dr. Ra, [65] a physician, declared that the “gassing” technique described by the witness was impossible, so the court rejected as false the story in question

The court does not doubt the inexactness of the hypothesis according to which the gas was drawn from the can of Zyklon by means of a small tube and introduced into the gas chambers so that it is no longer necessary to do the experiment asked for by one of the accused. [66]

But that did not prevent Vincenzo and Luigi Pappalettera from making the following commentary — evidently inspired by what had been maintained at Nuremberg [67] — on the photograph of the “gas chamber” at Mauthausen:

In the showers the prisoners were drenched, not with water, but with murderous gas that spurted from little holes. [68]

Mixing these myths with those relating to Sobibor and to Belzec, Leo Laptos, who had worked as a pharmacist in Birkenau, recounted that:

The gas chambers were equipped like bathrooms where people went under pretext of taking a shower, but instead of water, it was gas that came from the conduits, and the floor tipped so that the cadavers fell on to a conveyer belt that transported them into the crematory. [69]

No less fanciful was the recital of a female detainee at Auschwitz at the Degesch trial, according to which a gas, called “rotten gas” by the detainees was gathered by a “rotten gas group” in the swampy areas and was used at Birkenau for “exterminating.” [70]

Lastly, on the subject of the time-period of the “extermination,” Dr. Reszö Kastner reported a message from Bratislava, according to which the “SS were on the point of repairing and refurbishing the gas chambers at the crematories of Auschwitz, which were out of use since autumn of 1943.” [71] In a declaration made under oath in 1945, he stated precisely:

A communique stated that at Auschwitz they were working feverishly on the restoration of the gas chambers and the crematories, which had not been in use for months, [72]

while the official historiography indicated no halt in the activity of the “gas chambers” and the crematory ovens [73] during the period in question, which is why in the 1961 edition of the Kastner report the aforementioned passage has been suppressed. [74]

Even more instructive is the study of the development of the myth of the “gas chambers” at Auschwitz, the present form of which derives from the “technical survey” of the “extermination camp” made by the Soviets in February-March 1945.

The Extraordinary Commission of Inquiry into German Crimes at Auschwitz “established” that more than four million persons were murdered in this camp, [75] a number that “makes one laugh,” according to Reitlinger. [76] The fashion in which the Soviet Commission arrived at that figure makes one laugh even more! It declares:

In Crematorium No. I, which existed for 24 months, one could burn 9,000 cadavers per month, which give a total of 216,000 for the whole duration of its existence. The numbers corresponding to the other crematoria are:

- Crematorium No. II, 19 months, 90,000 cadavers per month, total: 1,710,000
- Crematorium No. III, 18 months, 90,000 cadavers per month, total: 1,620,000
- Crematorium No. IV, 17 months, 45,000 cadavers per month, total: 765,000
- Crematorium No. V, 18 months, 45,000 cadavers per month, total: 810,000

The total capacity of the five crematoria was 279,000 cadavers per month, for a total of 5,121,000 cadavers for the whole duration of their existence. Given, on the one hand, that the Germans burned a great number of cadavers on wood pyres, and, on the other, that the crematoria did not always work at full capacity, the Soviet “technical commission” “established” at just four million the number of the “murdered”! [77]

This calculation is false, if only for the reason that the maximum capacity of 270,000 cremations per month for the four Birkenau crematoria, or 9,000 per day, is about nine times greater than the actual capacity! [78] The Soviet “technical commission,” moreover, “established” that in the “gas chambers” of Auschwitz the gas Zyklon A had been employed, although this had not been used since the 1920s. [79]

The case of Katyn shows clearly the value that can be given the conclusions of the various Soviet “Commissions of Inquiry”: the Soviet commission that investigated the Katyn massacre-committed by the Russians, as everyone knows — “established” on the basis of “more than a hundred witnesses,” “medico-legal surveys,” and “documents and elements of proof,” that those responsible for the butchery were the Germans. [80]

The Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland “established” at first, as we have shown, that the Jews in Treblinka were killed in “steam chambers,” and in Belzec by “electricity”; then it “established” that they were poisoned by carbon monoxide gas in “gas chambers” — which is amply sufficient to demonstrate the reliability of that commission.

In regard to the Auschwitz camp, it “established” the incineration capacity of the four Birkenau crematoria as 12,000 cadavers in 24 hours.[81] That is impossible.

Jan Sehn, examining magistrate and member of the General Commission of Inquiry into the Hitlerian Crimes in Poland, reduces that to 8,000.[82] That figure has been taken up by a 1979 publication of the Auschwitz Museum, [83] even though a 1961 publication of the same museum alludes to a German document that would make 4,416 cadavers appear to be a maximum capacity. [84]

Topping off the speculation about the numbers, Jan Sehn does not fear to assert:

The very detailed documents gathered by the Extraordinary Soviet State Commission, as well as by the General Commission of Inquiry into Hitlerian Crimes in Poland, prove that the Outputs of the Birkenau gas chambers was close to 60,000 persons in 24 hours. [85]

Eugen Kogon more modestly contents himself with a maximum daily production of 34,000. [86]

Beginning in 1945, there is a proliferation of “eyewitnesses” to the “gas chambers” of Auschwitz; what Georges Wellers calls “an abundance of proofs.” [87]

Let us examine briefly the value of these “proofs.” In regard to the activity of the crematoria at Birkenau — five, according to Ada Bimko, [88] six, according to Robert Lévy, [89] eight, according to Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier [90] — here is what appears in the notes Rudolf Höss is supposed to have set down in Cracow:

After a very short time, Crematorium III (IV) was out of commission and it never was used again. [91]

Pery Broad stated exactly the contrary:

The four crematoria worked at full steam. But soon, after continuous overloading, the ovens broke down, and only Crematorium III (IV) continued to smoke. [92]

Dov Paisikovic, who affirmed he was a member of the *Sonderkommando* from “May 1944 until the evacuation in January 1945” contradicts them both:

The crematories were so solidly constructed that throughout this whole time I had no knowledge of any failure either of the ovens or of the crematories as a whole. [93]

These “eyewitnesses,” in turn, are contradicted by the Polish Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, which declared that in August 1944:

The crematoria were closed, and thenceforward the corpses were burnt only in pits. [94]

Contradicting all these testimonies, the *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Chronicle of Events in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp) does not show the least mishap in the functioning of the four crematoria in Birkenau until 7 October 1944 when, because of the revolt of the *Sonderkommando*, Crematorium IV was burned. [95]

In regard to the Crematoria II and III at Birkenau, Alfred Wetzler declares they had 36 ovens which each “could take three normal corpses at once,” which took “an hour and a half” to be “completely burned.” That represented “a daily capacity of about 2,000 bodies” for each crematorium. [96]

For Dov Paisikovic the ovens were 15 in number and the cadavers took about “four minutes [!] to be consumed,” so that there was a cremation capacity of 6,000 cadavers in 24 hours. [97]

Miklos Nyiszli affirms that the cadavers were put “by threes” into each of the 15 ovens and “cremated in twenty minutes” which meant “several thousand people could be cremated in a single day.” [98]

Dr. Bendel maintains there were 16 ovens, “but with a cremation capacity of about two thousand cadavers in 24 hours.” [99]

Rudolf Höss was initially made to confess that the crematories in question had 10 ovens that could incinerate 4,000 cadavers in 24 hours. [100]

The “gas chambers” of Crematoria II and III — which Alfred Wetzler places on the ground level, the others underground — were 10 meters long for Dr. Bendel, [101] and 200 meters long for Nyiszli. [102]

As to the number of Auschwitz victims proffered by the diverse “witnesses,” Georges Wellers writes that they vary between 8 million and 1½ million, i.e., in the proportion of 5.3 to 1. [103]

As will already have been seen in this necessary summary examination, there is well and truly “an abundance of proofs,” but it turns out that these proofs are false and contradictory.

There are also objective proofs that are no less embarrassing to the official historiography.

The “Auschwitz Protocols” (see above) reached the War Refugee Board in June 1944. [104]

Since 4 April, American planes had overflown and photographed Auschwitz. In the course of the mission of 26 June, the IG-Farben industrial complex, Auschwitz, and Birkenau were photographed. On the 25 August 1944 mission, photographs were taken that clearly showed the Auschwitz camp and the Birkenau Crematoria II and III.

Thus, when on 13 September 1944 the Americans staged an air raid against the IG-Farben complex, they knew the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp well;

On that occasion, two bombs fell on Birkenau, accidentally; one of them hit the railway spur that led to the crematoria. [105]

What better occasion to destroy the sadly notorious “death factory” of Birkenau?

Yet nothing of the kind was done. Why, then, was Auschwitz not bombed? [106] The only answer to that “disquieting questions” can be the following:

Analyses of the aerial photographs of Auschwitz-Birkenau showed that this camp was not concealing any horrible “secret” and, consequently, the crematoria were judged not to be worth a single bomb.

It is not by chance that the abovementioned photographs [107] were not published until 1979 (!) with explanatory texts by the CIA *ad usum Delphini*. (Translator’s note: “in Delphic style,” i.e. obscurely formulated.)

Not only did these photographs show nothing of the existence of “extermination” processes at Auschwitz, but they gave the lie categorically to an essential aspect, that of the cremation pits. The origin of this myth, taken up ultimately by diverse “eyewitnesses,” with contradictions that are not without importance, can be attributed directly to the “Auschwitz Protocols.”

One reads, in particular, in the report drawn up by Mordowicz and Rosin, that in May 1944, during the influx of Hungarian Jews, that the crematories could not manage the incineration of the cadavers of those who had been gassed, large pits, 30 meters long by 15 meters wide, were dug in the Birkenwald (“birch forest”) adjoining Birkenau (“birch meadow”) where the bodies were burned day and night. [108]

According to the “eyewitness” Miklos Nyiszli, from the two crematory pits, each 50 meters long and 6 meters wide, located in a birch forest 500 -600 meters from Crematory V, there rose a “thick twisting spiral of smoke” that was “visible from any point in the KZ” and “at every hour

of the day and night.” Nyiszli declared that “by day it covered the sky above Birkenau with a thick cloud.” [109]

Even more emphatically, Pery Broad asserts that:

In the environs of Birkenau there were about ten large incineration centers in which 200 to 1,000 persons at a time were burned on wood pyres. The light of these fires was still visible at a radius of at least 30 kilometers. [110]

The cremation pits, at first placed exclusively in the “birch forest” by the “eyewitnesses,” thereafter moved mysteriously into the courtyard of Crematorium V.

The Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland “established” that between May and August 1944:

Six huge pits were dug beside Crematorium V, and old pits were opened near the gas plant in the wood, and corpses burnt in them continuously. When operations were in full swing in August, 1944, the number of corpses burnt daily rose to 24,000. [111]

Pery Broad, according to whom, during that period, “only Crematorium III (IV) still smoked,” locates the cremation pits exactly “in the rear courtyard of Crematorium IV.” [112]

To sum up, between May and August 1944, Birkenau was claimed to be a fiery hell whose flames devoured up to 25,000 cadavers a day, and whose smoke covered the sky of Auschwitz-Birkenau in thick clouds.

Now, the aerial photographs of June 26th and of August 25th, 1944, reveal absolutely nothing of the presence of these enormous cremation pits; moreover, they show not the slightest trace of smoke, not from the phantom wood pyres, and not from the crematory smokestacks.

The most important source of the official “truth” on Auschwitz is notoriously the “confessions” of Rudolf Höss, the veracity of which are accepted uncritically and dogmatically by the official historians.

In his “autobiography” Höss writes of his first interrogation by the English:

At my first interrogation, evidence was obtained by beating me. I do not know what is in the record, although I signed it. Alcohol and the whip were too much for me. [113]

Martin Broszat remarks in a note:

This refers to a police report of 8 typed pages that Höss signed on 14, March 1946 at 2:30 (Nuremberg Document No. 1210). As far as the content is concerned, it does not differ notably on any point from what Höss declared or wrote at Nuremberg or at Cracow. [114]

Rudolf Höss’s first confession, which served as a model for all the others, therefore, was invented by the English interrogators. To be convinced of that, without a shadow of a doubt, a quick glance of the document in question will suffice. Höss “confesses” to have been called to Berlin in June 1941 by Himmler, who let him know that the Fuhrer had ordered “the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe,” that is to say, “the total extermination of all the Jews in Europe,” as he had been made to “acknowledge” in the declaration made under oath on 5 April

1946. [115] This is false not only because, as we have shown, the “final solution” meant at that time the deportation of the Jews to Madagascar, but also contradicts chronologically a cardinal element of the official historiography, as Gerald Reitlinger revealed with great embarrassment. Reitlinger eliminated the contradiction by dating the alleged summons of Höss to Berlin, and the supposed order by the Fuhrer, a year later. [116]

In June 1941, Höss’s “confession” continues, there were three *extermination camps* in the General Government Wolzek, Belzec, and Tublinka (*sic*). But the first never existed, while the second, and the third (Treblinka) became operational — according to the official historiography in March and in July 1942, respectively. [117] Höss confesses also to having visited the camp at Treblinka in the spring of 1942 and to have been present there at a gassing procedure, which is altogether impossible, since the construction of the camp began on June 1st, while the first gassing there was supposed to have been carried out on 23 July 1942. [118]

In the sworn statement of 5 April 1946 that supposed visit took place in 1941, when the Treblinka camp was not yet in existence. But this is not all. The camp commandant reported to Höss that in the course of the preceding six months he had “gassed” 80,000 persons, which meant that the “gassings” had begun in the autumn of 1941, i.e., several months before the camp had been built!

According to PS-3868, the commandant of Treblinka “had principally to occupy himself with the liquidation of all the Jews from the Warsaw ghetto”; but the deportation of these Jews to Treblinka did not begin until 22 July 1942.

The English investigators, who had a very approximate knowledge even in regard to Auschwitz, made Höss “confess” that the first two crematoria of Birkenau were finished in 1942, which is false, [119] each one having five double ovens, which is equally false, [120] which could incinerate 2,000 cadavers in 12 hours, just as false, [121] that the two other crematoria were finished six months later, which is false, [122] each with four ovens, which is yet again false. [123] Höss was forced to say three million persons were murdered at Auschwitz, two and half million of them in the “gas chambers.” [124] But in his “autobiography” in Cracow, Rudolf Höss “confesses”:

I consider in any case that the number of two and a half million is excessive. Even at Auschwitz the possibilities for extermination were limited. [125]

Subsequently, before the Polish Supreme Court, he reduced the number to 1,135,000. [126] In his sworn declaration of 5 April 1946 and of 20 May 1946, [127] Höss repeats the “confession” of Document NO-1210 in stating that a half-million persons died of hunger and sickness, a number that surpassed greatly the number of the registered detainees. [128]

The English investigators finally shifted to May 1945 the chimerical order by Himmler, which is supposed to have ended the “gassings,” [129] thereby contradicting the similarly contradictory notion of the official historiography. Extradited to Poland, Rudolf Höss continued to make the same kind of “confessions.”

The Poles (on the basis of the documents seized at Auschwitz) revised and corrected the 14 March 1946 “confession” drawn up by the English interrogators, developing it into the “autobiography” proper, and into the appendix captioned “Final solution (...)” that constitutes the official “truth” about Auschwitz.

It is only too easy to imagine by what means these “confessions” were extracted from Rudolf Höss: it is enough to recall the methods of the great Moscow trials that forced the accused to

make the desired “confessions.”

The climate of the cold war set in; the Poles permitted Höss to describe the treatment he had suffered under “bourgeois” justice:

After several days, I was led to Minden-on-Weser, the “British Zone” interrogation center. There I suffered even more brutal treatment at the hands of the military prosecutor, an English major. The regime of the prison in which I was locked up corresponded to his attitude. After three weeks I was suddenly taken to the barber who shaved me and cut my hair. I was permitted also to wash myself; this was the first time since my arrest that my handcuffs were taken off.

From Minden Höss was taken to Nuremberg:

The conditions of my stay were excellent in every respect. We had a large library at our disposal, and I could employ all my time in reading. But the interrogations ready were very painful. I was not tortured physically, but the moral pressure was very hard to endure. I can hold no grudge against my judges: they all were Jews. They were the kind of Jews who wanted to know everything that had torn me psychologically. They let no doubt remain about the fate that awaited us. [130]

It is easy to imagine of what the psychological pressures on Rudolf Höss consisted. Here is an example drawn from the vast repertory of the great Moscow trials:

The hostages provide the essential ingredient of the moral tortures. Here is one, for instance, very simple, and which will remain invisible to the foreign journalists admitted to the courtroom: the accused is shown a film depicting refined tortures; it is murmured to him that such will be the fate of his wife, or of his granddaughter, if ... [131]

Let us not believe that the “civilized” Occident has recoiled from similar methods. The American Investigation Commission, composed of Judges van Roden and Simpson, who were sent to Germany in 1948 to investigate the irregularities committed by the American Military Tribunal at Dachau — which had tried 1,500 Germans and condemned 420 to death [132] ascertained that the accused had been subjected to physical and psychological tortures of all kinds, to force them to make the desired “confessions.”

Thus, in 137 of the 139 cases examined, the accused, in the course of their interrogation, had been kicked in the testicles, and left with incurable injuries. [133]

But there is no reason to be surprised by this: it is part of the logic of the trials of those who are called “Nazi War Criminals.” The guiding principle was set forth frankly by the U.S. Attorney General, Robert H. Jackson, at the Nuremberg trial session of 26 July 1946:

The Allies are technically still in a state of war with Germany even though the political and the military institutions of the enemy have collapsed. As a military tribunal this court represents a continuation of the war effort of the allied nations. [134]

In conclusion, to doubt the historic reality of the “extermination” of the Jews not only is legitimate, it is a duty, because it is a duty to seek historical truth

by submitting testimonies, documents, and data systematically to examination by critical methods that no one would dream of challenging if they were applied to no matter what other historical problem, because it is on these methods, and on nothing else, that historical research bases its scientific character. [135]

... not by accepting any document or “eye witness testimony” whatsoever uncritically and with preconceived notions, as the official historians do regularly.

Notes

Part 1

1. ☐ Ernst Nolte, *I tre volti del fascismo*, Milan, 1971, p. 559.
2. ☐ Vittorio E. Giuntella, *Il nazismo e i Lager*, Roma, 1980, p. 46.
3. ☐ Elia S. Artom, *Storia d'Israele*, Rome, 1965, vol. III, p. 227.
4. ☐ Among the most significant Revisionist works on the trials of the Nazi “war criminals,” let us mention:
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6. ♡ Principle works of Paul Rassinier:

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12. ☐ "Nürnberg und Auschwitz-Lüge," *Freiheit und Recht*, no. 7-8, July- August 1975, p. 15.
13. ☐ Martin Broszat, "Zur Kritik der Publizistik des antisemitischen Rechtsextremismus," in *Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, supplement to the weekly *Das Parlament*, 8 May 1976, p. 3- 7.
14. ☐ Hermann Langbein, "Coup d'oeil sur la littérature néo-nazie," *Le Monde Juif* no. 78, April-June 1975, p. 8-20.
15. ☐ Georges Wellers, *La Solution Finale et la Mythomanie Néo-Nazie*, edited by Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, 1979.
16. ☐ Article by E. Kulka, *Quaderni del Centro di studi sulla deportazione e l'internamento*, no. 9 (1976-1977), p. 112-124.
17. ☐ Stefano Levi della Torre, "Nuove forme della giudeofobia" (3. Revisionismo), *La Rassegna mensile di Israel*, July-August 1984, p. 249-280.
18. ☐ Aside from *Le Lutteur de classe* already cited, we note on this subject "De l'exploitation dans les camps à l'exploitation des camps," *La Guerre sociale*, no. 3, June 1979, p. 9-31; "De l'exploitation dans les camps à l'exploitation des camps (suite et fin)," a clarification by *La Guerre sociale*, Paris, May 1981.
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20. ☐ *Inquisitionsprozesse heute: Hexenprozess der Neuzeit, Kritik* no. 22, Kritik-Verlag 1981 (Christophersen trial). On the Faurisson affair, see the works already cited. Ditlieb Felderer was arrested on 26 November 1982 and condemned in May 1983 to ten months in prison for having distributed "documents inciting to hate," that is, for having denied the reality of the "extermination" of the Jews. (*The IHR 1982 Annual Report; IHR Newsletter*, May 1983, no.19; *Revisionists' Reprints*, no. 6, Manhattan Beach, Autumn 1983).
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23. ☐ See "L'Affaire Roques," in André Chelain, *Faut-il fusiller Henri Roques?*, Polémiques (Ogmios Diffusion), Paris, 1986, p. 6-16.

24. ☞ See “L’Affaire Roques,” *Le Monde Juif*, no. 122, April-June 1986, p. 49-79; “La campagne de presse. Les principaux articles et communiqués de presse de l’Affaire Roques?” in André Chelain, *Faut-il fusiller Henri Roques?*, op. cit., p. I-XVIII.
25. ☞ See our article “Lo scandaloso scandalo Roques”, *Orion*, n.23,1986, p. 189-190. The only attempt at a scholarly refutation of the doctoral thesis of Henri Roques is the article already cited, by Georges Wellers, “A propos d’une thèse de doctorat explosive sur le Rapport Gerstein,” *Le Monde Juif*, No.121, January-March 1986, p.1-18. This article, with G. Wellers’s most important writings on the “Gerstein Report,” is refuted in detail in our work (title as in text), *Come si falsifica la storia: Georges Wellers e le “camere a gaz” di Belzec* (in preparation).

Part 2

1. ☞ IMT, vol. XIX, p. 483.
2. ☞ Abbé G. Hénocque, *Les Antres de la Bête*, Paris 1947, p.115-116. Cited in: Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire*, La Vieille Taupe, Paris, 1980, facsimile reproduction on p. 191-192.
3. ☞ Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl et al., *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat*, Editions de Minuit, 1984, p. 230-231.
4. ☞ IMT, vol. V, p. 198 (PS-3249).
5. ☞ *Die Zeit*, no. 34, Friday 19 August 1960, p. 16.
6. ☞ Meant here are the camps Chelmno, Belzec, Treblinka, Majdanek, Sobibor and Auschwitz-Birkenau mentioned on page 105 (of the article referred to in the following note).
7. ☞ *VfZ*, 24th year, 1976, booklet 2, p. 109.
8. ☞ *Books and Bookmen*, London, April 1975, p. 5.
9. ☞ In fact, there is not the slightest evidence that the place in question ever had been or was destined to be a “gas chamber.” See on this subject Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire*, op. cit., p. 197-220.
10. ☞ *Wie war es im KZ Dachau?* (How was it in the Dachau Concentration Camp?) Kuratorium für Sühnemaßnahmen KZ Dachau, 1981, p. 16.
11. ☞ Idem, p. 30.
12. ☞ A unique exception — but limited to the camps of the Old Reich — is Olga Wormser-Migot who, in her analysis of the “eyewitness testimonies” on this subject, came to the conclusion that neither at Ravensbruck nor at Mauthausen had there ever been “gas chambers,” [a] thereby arousing the anger of her colleagues. [b] Supplement: Very recently Professor Michel de Bœuard came to admit honestly: “In the monograph of Mauthausen which I wrote for *Revue d'Histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale* in 1954, in two places I spoke of a gas chamber. Reflecting on this later I said to myself: where did I acquire the conviction that there was a gas chamber in Mauthausen? It wasn’t during my stay at the camp. for neither I, nor anyone else suspected that there was one there; it was rather a rumor I heard after the war, that’s granted. Then I noticed that in my text — although I supported most of my statements with references — there was no reference concerning the gas chamber ...” [c]
a) Olga Wormser-Migot: *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi 1933-1945*, Universitaires de France, 1968, p. 541-544.
b) Germaine Tillion, *Ravensbruck*, Paris 1973, p. 235-248.
c) “La Thèse de Nantes,” inquiry by Jacques Lebaillly in *Ouest-France*, 2-3 August 1986, p. 6.

13. ☑ Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou verity politique? Le dossier de l'affaire Faurisson: La question des chambres à gaz*, La Vieille Taupe 1980, p. 87.
14. ☑ Gerald Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale: Il tentativo di sterminio degli ebrei d'Europa 1939-1945*, Milan, 1965, p. 651.
15. ☑ *Idem*, p. 71.
16. ☑ Likwidacja żydowskiej Warszawy, "Treblinka," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, Warsaw, January-June 1951, p. 93-100. Citations: p. 95 and 99.
17. ☑ PS-3311. Accusation no. 6 against Hans Frank, Nuremberg 5 December 1945. An extract of this document was read during the Nuremberg trial. IMT vol. III, p. 632-633.
18. ☑ The American engineer Friedrich P. Berg, in an excellent technical study: "The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth Within a Myth" (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984), shows that a "gassing" by carbon monoxide produced by a diesel engine [a] "couldn't be more irrational and inefficacious. While a diesel engine produces carbon monoxide at an average concentration of 0.4%, a gasoline engine normally emits 7.0% carbon monoxide and 1.0% oxygen. By adjusting the carburetor, a carbon monoxide concentration of 12% (thirty times more than that of a diesel engine!) can be attained, which is why "the diesel gas chamber story is incredible on these grounds alone." (p. 38)
a) According to official historiography, carbon monoxide for the "gas chamber" was produced by diesel engines.
19. ☑ Yankel Wiernik, *A Year in Treblinka*, New York 1944. Wiernik claims to have been deported to Treblinka on 24 August 1942, when the small building, with three "gas chambers," already existed. The new building, with ten "gas chambers," was completed in five weeks after the end of August. The Polish report on the "steam chambers" was received during the "first half of September" 1942, so that the two "eyewitness testimonies" concern the same period.
20. ☑ *Idem*, p. 18.
21. ☑ *Ibidem*.
22. ☑ Alexander Pechersky, *La rivolta di Sobibor*, Yiddish translation by N. Lurie, Moscow, Der Emes State Publishers, 1946. In Yuri Suhl, *Ed essi si ribellarono: Storia della resistenza ebraica contro il nazismo*, Milan, 1969, p. 31.
23. ☑ *Dokumenty i materialy*, opracował Mgr Blumental, Łódź, 1946, vol. I, p. 211.
24. ☑ Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, *German Crimes in Poland*, Warsaw 1947, vol. II, p. 100.
25. ☑ *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 24 August 1950, p. 5
26. ☑ *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22 August 1950, p. 4. According to the official historiography, the "gas chambers" at Sobibor didn't have cellars. (*Le Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat*, op. cit., p. 144; *NS-Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse*, edited by Adalbert Rückerl, Munich, 1979, p. 163).
27. ☑ Michael Tregenza, "Belzec Death Camp," *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, no. 41-42, 1977, p. 16-17.
28. ☑ *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, Warsaw, January-June 1954, no. 9-10, p. 307.
29. ☑ "Who knew of the Extermination? Kurt Gerstein's Story," *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, no. 9, 1955, p. 22.
30. ☑ *Polish Fortnightly Review*, 1 December 1942, p. 4.
31. ☑ Gerald Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale*, op. cit. p. 172.

32. U "News is Reaching the Polish Government in London about the Liquidation of the Jewish Ghetto in Warsaw," : Foreign Office Papers, FO 371-30917-5365, p. 79 (see also *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, New York 1943, p. 131. Report by Dr. I. Schwarzbart). According to Martin Gilbert, the report in question was written by the "eyewitness" Jan Karski and sent by him on 25 November 1942 to the Polish government-in-exile in London (M. Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Alliierten*, Munich, 1982, p. 107-109). On the "eyewitness testimony" of Jan Karski, see below.
33. U Foreign Office Papers, FO 371-30924-5365, p. 122.
34. U *The New York Times*, 20 December 1942, p. 23.
35. U A. Silberschein, *Die Judenausrottung in Polen*, Geneva, 1944, V, p. 21-22.
36. U *The New York Times*, 12 February 1944, p. 6.
37. U Stefan Szende, *The Promise Hitler Kept*, London, 1945, p. 265.
38. U A. Silberschein, *Die Judenausrottung in Polen*, Geneva, August 1944, III, p. 42-43.
39. U Deformation of the name "Belzec," as may be seen from the context, where the other "extermination" camps, Treblinka and Sobibor, are mentioned. This deformation may be due to confusion with the small Polish town of Belzyce (very similar phonetically to Beldjitz) situated about 25 kms from Lublin, or perhaps to an error in translation from Polish to Russian, or from Russian to German.
40. U IMT, vol. VII, p. 633-634.
41. U Jan Karski, *Story of a Secret State*, Boston 1944. A similar story already had appeared without referring precisely to Belzec — in the report of 25 November 1942, [a] and, with reference to Belzec, in the report of the Polish government-in-exile in London, 10 December 1942 [b] and in a report received in London in December 1942. [c]
 a) Foreign Office papers, FO 371-30917-5365.
 b) Foreign Office papers, FO 371-30924-5365. Cf. *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, op. cit.
 c) *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, op. cit.
42. U Biuletyn Główniej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich w Polsce, Warsaw 1946, III, Oboz zagłady w Belzcu, p. 3145 (English translation: Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, Warsaw 1947, vol. II, "Belzec Extermination Camp," p. 89-96). M. Muszkat, *Polish Charges against German War Criminals*, Warsaw 1948, case no. 1372 (The Camp in Belzec), p. 223- 232.
43. U *Dokumenty i materialy*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 217-224.
44. U Rudolf Reder, *Belzec*, Cracow, 1946; *Dokumenty i materialy*, op cit. vol. I, p. 221-224 (testimony of Rudolf Reder).
45. U Thus far we have summarized and combined chapters XI and XII of our work *Il rapporto Gerstein: Anatomia di un falso* (Sentinella d'Italia, Monfalcone, 1985). The "testimony" of Rudolf Reder is analyzed in chapter VIII.
46. U Saul Friedländer, *Kurt Gerstein ou l'ambiguïté du bien*, Casterman 1967, p. 109.
47. U Helmut Krausnick, *Dokumentation zur Massenvergasung*, Bonn 1956, p. 3. Olga Wormser-Migot [a] and André Brissaud [b] express a more reserved judgment on the veracity of the "Gerstein report".
 a) *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi 1933-1945*, op. cit. p. 426.
 b) *Hitler et l'ordre noir*, Geneva 1974, p. 443, n. II.
 In Chapter II "*La veridicità del rapporto Gerstein*" of our unpublished study "*Come si falsifica la storia: Georges Wellers e le "camere a gaz" di Belzec*", we enumerate 72 internal contradictions and occurrences belied by history that put the truth of the "Gerstein Report" gravely in question.

48. ☞ Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Tesi sul revisionismo," *Rivista di storia contemporanea*, Turin, 1983, p. 7 et 8.
49. ☞ Idem, p. 6
50. ☞ Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Alliierten*, op. cit. p. 9.
51. ☞ *The New York Times*, 3 July 1944, p. 3 ("Two Death Camps Places of Horror").
52. ☞ Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, Washington D.C., *German Extermination Camps-Auschwitz and Birkenau*, November 1944.
53. ☞ See our study *Auschwitz: un caso di plagio*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma 1986.
54. ☞ Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, op. cit. p. 14-16. The plan of the crematoria is on page 15. The citations are drawn from the translation. *Les Camps d'extermination allemands: Auschwitz et Birkenau*, Office français d'édition, Paris, 1945, p. 17-18.
55. ☞ Ibidem.
56. ☞ Ibidem.
57. ☞ Georges Wellers, *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé*, op. cit. p. 114-115. Georges Wellers, "Auschwitz," *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat*, op. cit. p. 207-208 (plan of crematorium II on pages X-XI).
58. ☞ Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl, *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat*, op. cit. p. 211.
59. ☞ IMT, vol. XX, p. 550 et 551.
60. ☞ Georges Wellers, *La Solution finale et la mythomanie néo-nazie*, Paris, 1979, p. 8.
61. ☞ Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Alliierten*, op. cit. p. 153.
62. ☞ Ibidem This statement does not appear in the English edition (*Auschwitz and the Allies: The Politics of Rescue*, Arrow, London, 1984, p. 130).
- 62a. ☞ *Washington Daily News*, February 2, 1945, p. 2 and 35.
63. ☞ *Trial of Joseph Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, William Hodge and Company, London-Edinburgh-Glasgow, p. 67-68. For an in-depth examination of the false testimony of Ada Bimko, we refer you to our study *Auschwitz: due false testimonianze*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma, 1986.
64. ☞ Alberto Cavaliere, *I campi della morte in Germania nel racconto di una sopravvissuta*, Milan, 1945, p. 40.
65. ☞ In the printed text of the judgment, only the first two letters of the family name of this witness are given.
66. ☞ Court of Assizes, in Frankfurt am Main session of March 1949, C.F. Rüter, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen, Sammlung deutschen Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945-1966*, Amsterdam 1968-1981, vol. XIII, p. 134.
67. ☞ IMT, vol. IV, p. 292.
68. ☞ *Storia illustrata*, special issue on the Nuremberg Trial. no. 156, November 1970, p. 78.
69. ☞ Louis de Jong, "Die Niederlande und Auschwitz," *VfZ*, 17th year, booklet 1, January, 1969, p. 9.
70. ☞ Court of Assizes Frankfurt am Main, session of 28 March 1949, C.F. Rüter, op. cit. p. 133.
71. ☞ Reszö Kastner, *Der Bericht des jüdischen Rettungskomitee aus Budapest*, Geneva, 1946, p. 30.
72. ☞ PS-2605.
73. ☞ Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, op. cit. vol. I, p. 83-90. For more details: *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo

Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 6, 1962; 7, 1964.

74.  *Der Kastner-Bericht über Eichmanns Menschenhandel in Ungarn*. Preface by Prof. Carlo Schmidt Munich 1961. The phrase “which were out of use since autumn 1943” is omitted. In our study *Wellers e i “gasati” di Auschwitz* we have brought up a grave chronological contradiction in the Exterminationist historiography on the subject of the deportation of the Hungarian Jews. In fact, while, according to certain documents, that deportation had ended on the 8th [a] or on the 10th [b] July 1944, it is seen that the “Chronicle of Events in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp” [c] records the arrival of another 32 transports of Jews from Hungary between 15 July and 18 October 1944.
 - a) *Der Kastner Bericht über Eichmanns Menschenhandel in Ungarn*, op. cit., p. 136.
 - b) NG-5573; NG-5615.
 - c) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 7, 8, 1964.
75.  USSR-8.
76.  Gerald Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale*, op. cit., p. 559.
77.  USSR-8.
78.  The cremation of a cadaver in the very modern ovens of the firm “H.R Heinicke Combustion and Smokestack Construction,” of Stadhagen, requires 60 minutes when the combustion chamber is already at a minimum temperature of 800 degrees centigrade (letter from the manufacturer to the author, 6 August 1987). The 46 ovens (muffles) of Birkenau could thus not have incinerated more than 1,104 cadavers in 24 hours.
79.  The Court of Assizes Frankfurt am Main, session of 27 May 1955, C.F. Rüter, op. cit., vol. XIII. After 1923 hydrocyanic gas was used for disinfection in Germany only in the form of Zyklon B. (Court of Assizes in Frankfurt am Main session 28 March 1949, C.F. Rüter, op. cit., vol. XIII). Zyklon B is an absorption of hydrocyanic acid in an inert porous base (diatomaceous earth, e.g.) and is packaged in hermetically sealed tins. (NI-9098).
80.  IMT, vol. VII, p. 470.
81.  Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, *German Crimes in Poland*, vol. I, p. 88.
82.  Jan Sehn, *Le Camp de concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, Warsaw, 1957, p. 147-148.
83.  *Problèmes choisis de l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, State Museum at Auschwitz, 1979, p. 45.
84.  *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 110.
85.  Jan Sehn, *Le Camp de concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, op. cit., p. 132.
86.  Eugen Kogon, *Der SS-Staat: Der System der deutschen Konzentrationslager*, Munich, 1946, p. 133.
87.  Georges Wellers, *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé*, op. cit. p. 129.
88.  *Trial of Joseph Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, op. cit. p. 67.
89.  Poliakov & Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden*, Berlin, Grunewald, 1955, p. 264 and 265.
90.  IMT, vol. VI, p. 242.
91.  *Auschwitz vu par les SS*, State Museum at Auschwitz, 1974, p. 128.
92.  Idem, p. 195.
93.  Léon Poliakov, *Auschwitz*, Julliard 1964, p. 166.
94.  Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, op. cit. vol. I, p. 89.

95. [↗](#) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum Oswiecimiu, 7, 1964; 8, 1964.
96. [↗](#) Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, op. cit. p. 14. *Auschwitz et Birkenau*, French Publications Office, op. cit. p. 17.
97. [↗](#) Léon Poliakov, *Auschwitz*, op. cit. p. 162.
98. [↗](#) *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, by Dr. Miklos Nyiszli. Translated by Tibere Kremer and Richard Seaver. Fawcett Crest, New York, 1961, p. 48. In the original Hungarian text it is not "several thousand people," but "ötezer ember," (five thousand persons). (Dr. Nyiszli Miklós, *Dr. Mengele boncolóorvosa voltam az auschwitz-i krematóriumban*, Világ, Budapest, 1947, p. 38.)
99. [↗](#) *Témoignages sur Auschwitz*, Paris, 1946, p. 161.
100. [↗](#) NO-1210/D-749-a (see below). Rudolf Höss, *Le Commandant d'Auschwitz parle*, Paris 1979, p. 273.
101. [↗](#) NI-11953.
102. [↗](#) *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, op. cit., pp. 44-45 ("about 200 yards"). The original Hungarian text says "körülbelül kétszáz méter," (about 200 meters). (*Dr. Mengele boncolóorvosa voltam az auschwitz-i krematóriumban*, op. cit., p. 33.
103. [↗](#) Georges Wellers, "Essai de détermination du nombre de morts au camp d'Auschwitz," *Le Monde Juif*, no. 112, October-December 1983, p. 138.
104. [↗](#) Erich Kulka, "Auschwitz condoned," *The Wiener Library Bulletin*, no. I, 1968/69, vol. XXII, series 14, p. 3.
105. [↗](#) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 8, 1964, p. 66.
106. [↗](#) On this subject see: Heiner Lichtenstein, *Warum Auschwitz nicht bombardiert wurde*, Cologne, 1980.
107. [↗](#) These photos are more numerous and more interesting than those published in *The Holocaust Revisited*.
108. [↗](#) Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, op. cit. p. 36. *Auschwitz et Birkenau*, French Publications Office, op. cit. p. 34.
109. [↗](#) Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, op. cit., p. 68.
110. [↗](#) NI-11984.
111. [↗](#) Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, op. cit. vol. 1, p. 88-89.
112. [↗](#) *Auschwitz vu par les SS*, op. cit., p. 195. For an examination in depth of the "eyewitness testimonies" of Dr. S. Bendel, of Ada Bimko, and of Miklos Nyiszli, more extravagant and contradictory than they appear in this summary exposé, we refer back to our studies already mentioned: *Auschwitz: due false testimonianze* and "*Medico ad Auschwitz*," *La falsa testimonianza di Miklos Nyiszli* (to be published).
113. [↗](#) *Kommandant in Auschwitz: Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen des Rudolf Höss*, edited by Martin Broszat, Munich, 1981, p. 149.
That Rudolf Höss had been given the third degree by his English interrogators in 1946 has been admitted, and proven in 1983 by Rupert Butler in his work *Legions of Death* (Hamlyn Paperbacks, 1983). Robert Faurisson shows the historic importance of that admission, of whose consequences Rupert Butler had no idea ("How the British obtained the confession of Rudolf Höss, commandant of the Auschwitz camp.") (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 7, No.4.) For a detailed refutation of the "eyewitness testimony" of Rudolf Höss, refer to our study, *Auschwitz: Le false confessioni di Rudolf Höss* (Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma, 1987.)

114. ☞ *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, op. cit. p. 149, note 1.
 115. ☞ PS-3868.
 116. ☞ Gerald Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale*, op. cit. p. 131-132.
 117. ☞ Adalbert Rückerl, *NS-Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse*, op. cit., p. 133 and 200.
 118. ☞ Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, *German Crimes in Poland*, op. cit. vol. I, p. 96.
 119. ☞ Crematoria IV and II of Birkenau were finished on the 22nd and the 31st of March 1943, respectively. (*Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 85 and 87).
 120. ☞ Crematoria II and III had five triple ovens each (*Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 110).
 121. ☞ If they had been as efficient as those of the firm H.R. Reinicke (see note 78), the ovens of Birkenau crematoria II and III could not have burned more than 720 cadavers in 24 hours.
 122. ☞ Crematoria V and III were finished April 4th and June 25th, 1943, respectively. (*Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 88 and 109).
 123. ☞ Crematoria IV and V each had one oven with eight mufflers (*Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 110. See also: *Problèmes choisis de l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, op. cit. p. 44).
 124. ☞ PS-3868.
 125. ☞ *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, op. cit. p. 167.
 126. ☞ William L. Shirer, *Storia del Terzo Reich*, Turin 1969, p. 1476.
 127. ☞ PS-3868 and NI-034.
 128. ☞ It is said that a total of 405,222 detainees were registered at Auschwitz. (*Problèmes choisis de l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, op. cit. p. 17).
 129. ☞ See Part I, Section I (*JHR*, Vol 8, No. 2, Summer 1988).
 130. ☞ *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, op. cit. p. 150.
 131. ☞ Suzanne Labin, *Staline le Terrible*, Paris, 1948, p. 138.
 132. ☞ Gerald Reitlinger, *La Soluzione finale*, op. cit. p. 617.
 133. ☞ Freda Utey, *Kostspielige Rache*, Hamburg 1951, p. 215 and following. On the tortures inflicted on the accused in the Malmédy Trial, see also: *La Vérité sur l'affaire de Malmédy et sur le colonel SS Jochen Peiper*, Editions du Baucens, 1976; Dietrich Ziemssen, *The Malmédy Trial*, Institute for Historical Review, 1981.
 134. ☞ IMT. vol. XIX, p. 440.
 135. ☞ “Note rassinieriane con appendice sulla persecuzione giudiziaria di R Faurisson,” *Alla Bottega*, March-April 1983, p. 41.
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Crematories II and III of Birkenau: A Critical Study

By Enrique Aynat

Material, criticism, and suggestions furnished by the Italian investigator Carlo Matogno have been of great value to me in the completion of this study. The author, however, assumes sole responsibility for any errors or shortcomings which may be noted in the following pages.

I. Introduction

Until a few years ago, it was a matter of practically unanimous belief that the leaders of Germany during World War II actually carried out a plan for the physical extermination of people of Jewish origin. Yet that systematic slaughter — the Holocaust — has in recent time been called into question by research scholars of a number of countries. The enormity of the accusations, the frailty of the proofs adduced, contradictions on the part of witnesses, the use of torture to exact “confessions,” and the universal absence during the war of any knowledge of something which, had it occurred, could not have been concealed: these were the principal clues that led a few serious students, after meticulous research, to deny the historicity of this supposed collective Crime. [1]

But where, in our judgment, the Holocaust legend suffers its greatest weakness is in its purely technical aspect; that is, in the instruments — the weapons of the crime — that were supposedly used to kill those millions of human beings: the gas chambers. They constitute the Achilles heel of the legend. And it is for that reason perhaps that they have up to now remained wrapped in a cloak of dense fog. Those authors partisan to the official thesis, on the other hand, have considered the Holocaust an undoubted fact. For them, it has been sufficient to show, for example, that a convoy of prisoners had arrived at Auschwitz, to consider them without further ado as “annihilated by gas.” A good example of this is provided by Martin Gilbert, [2] a reputable historian and the official biographer of Churchill who had to admit the skepticism and incredulity of the Allies during the war with regard to the stories about Auschwitz that the Zionist organizations took it upon themselves to spread. In compensation, he reminds us on almost every page of the exact number of persons who, according to the *Kalendarium* published by the Auschwitz museum after the war, were “gassed” each day. [3] Gilbert accepts these completely unverified statistics as though they were a kind of revealed truth requiring neither critical appraisal nor proof. Gilbert did not take into account that if the Allies remained skeptical and unbelieving about the rumors of a massive slaughter in a place like Auschwitz, which was crammed with basic industries serving Germany’s war effort, a place moreover subject to a strict scrutiny by the intelligence services, it was perhaps simply because no such slaughter had taken place.

For the purpose of throwing a bit of light on the question, in what follows we shall analyze information we have obtained about two of the supposed gas chambers of the Birkenau concentration camp, which was included administratively in the Auschwitz complex. We make a special point

of these installations because they were presumably — or so the official thesis claims — the largest slaughterhouses Hitler had at his disposal for carrying out his extermination plans. But if, as we conclude in this critical study, these installations were simply crematoriums for human cadavers, such as those utilized in all large cities for reasons of sanitation, and were not capable of being used for criminal purposes, then the Holocaust legend will have been undermined in one of its essential foundations.

In this work we shall limit ourselves exclusively to the specific study of crematoriums II and III of Birkenau, [4] without going into such aspects as the structure and functioning of the Auschwitz complex, the rate of the deportations, or the genesis of the Holocaust legend. Those subjects have been dealt with from various points of view and with sufficient thoroughness in the specialized literature.

Finally, we wish to make clear that our aim is not an exhaustive study, but rather, as the German researcher, W. Stäglich has said, “to set forth, to check, and to test in accordance with objective criteria the proofs presented for the claimed ‘death factory of Auschwitz.’” [5] It is for this reason that we deem this work to be a “critical study.”

II. The Site

Crematoriums II and III of Birkenau were situated at approximately fifteen hundred meters in a straight line from the railroad line linking Cracow, the administrative center of the Government-General of occupied Poland, with Ostrava (Moravia) and Vienna (see Figure 1). For that matter, it does not seem the most propitious place to set up installations designed for carrying out a plan, theoretically ultra-secret, for the extermination and cremation of some thousands of persons per day. Reitlinger’s version of things, according to which Passengers, when going past Auschwitz, customarily crowded up to the windows of the train in an attempt to see the silhouette of the crematory chimneys,” [6] is perfectly compatible with the topographical facts, but demonstrates that the placement of the crematoriums was absurd if any attempt was being made to carry out a secret activity.

Crematoriums II and III were constructed at the southwest of the Birkenau area (see Figure 2). Their situation seems logical in terms of the general plan of this concentration camp: on the east were the *Kommandantur* and billeting for the SS personnel; in the center, the large sectors BI, BII, BIII (the latter under construction) for quartering the prisoners; and on the west, the various camp installations and services such as the four crematoriums, water purification plant (*Kläranlage*), the sauna (*Zentralsauna*), and the *Effektenlager* or *Kanada*, where the personal effects of the prisoners were deposited.

Crematoriums II and III were in an open space of easy access. Their situation rendered them completely visible from the camp access platform, as can be seen in Figure 3. This is corroborated by witness testimony:

The platform itself was situated some meters from the tall chimneys of the gas chambers and crematory, whose silhouette then held no significance for us other than that of a factory. [7]

Mention has been made that the crematoriums were protected from prying eyes by a border of trees and bushes. In this connection, a document of German origin speaks of a “green border” which was supposed to serve as the natural limit of the crematorium area. [8] However, the illus-

trated documents we have examined fail to show this “green border,” which in any case would have been absolutely insufficient to conceal the alleged massive extermination (see Figure 4).

III. Description

Crematoriums II and III were identical. The plan of one corresponded to that of the other in symmetrical inversion. Each of them consisted of the following parts (see Figure 6):

a) Cremation room (see Figure 6). It was fitted with five crematory furnaces, each with three hearths or muffle furnaces. [9]

b) Annex buildings. On one side of the cremation room, according to Figure 7, were located the coke bunker, an office, the dwelling of the commanding officer, and the living quarters for the smelters of the gold teeth. On the other side — still according to the same document — the gold teeth smelting plant and the execution room were to be found. In an area adjacent to the cremation hall were to be found the chimney and the three Topf “air intake installations” (*Saugzuganlage*) that facilitated the draft and functioning of the crematories. [10] [Throughout this article, “crematory” refers to the actual ovens; “crematorium” refers to the building as a whole. — Ed.]

c) Underground mortuary 1 (Leichenkeller 1). Its dimensions were $7 \times 30 = 210$ square meters in area. [11] It has a height of 2.40 meters. The ceiling was supported by seven columns. It was almost completely below ground and covered with insulating materials to protect it against water and heat (layers of earth, gravel, and waterproof material, probably slate). It had a single entry and exit door with dimensions of 1.80×1.90 meters according to our own calculations, based on the original plan. Ventilation and renewal of the air supply was effected by a ventilation (*Belüftung*) duct and an “exhaust conduit” (*Entlüftungskanal*) built into the lower part of the side wall.

According to the official thesis, Leichenkeller 1 was in reality the mournfully celebrated extermination “gas chamber.”

d) Underground mortuary 2 (Leichenkeller 2). Its dimensions were $7.93 \times 50 = 396.5$ square meters in area. [12] It had the same characteristics regarding facing and insulation as Leichenkeller 1.

It is claimed that this was the “undressing room” where the victims, who has no suspicion of the fate which awaited them, took off their clothes before passing into the gas chamber.

e) Underground mortuary 3 (Leichenkeller 3). Of more modest dimensions than the aforementioned ones. There is no record of its purpose in the context of the official thesis.

Figure 8 provides us with an aerial view of both crematoriums, and Figure 9 a partial view of crematorium III.

IV. Documents

We will consider below a series of documents, supposedly of German origin, which are frequently alleged by partisans of the official thesis to be proof of the criminal character of crematoriums II and III.

First is an exceptional document identified under code NO-4473, the text of which we reproduce as follows:

(Copy)
Bftgb. No. 22250/43/Bi/L
Subject Crematorium II. Condition of the building.
Reference: Telegram of the SS-WVHA Nr. 2648 of 28.1.43
Attached document: 1 test report

To the chief of Amtsgruppe C,
SS Brigadeführer and Major General
of the Waffen-SS, Dr. Engineer KAMMLER,
Berlin-Lichterfelde-West
Unter den Eichen 126-135

Thanks to the use of all available forces working day and night shifts, and in spite of the immense difficulties and freezing weather, crematorium II has been completed with the exception of a few construction details. The furnaces were fired up in the presence of the chief engineer inspector of the firm of Topf u. Söhne of Erfurt, which was charged with its construction, and they are functioning perfectly. It has not yet been possible to remove the planking from the concrete ceiling of the cellar for cadavers (Leichenkeller) because of the frost. However, that is of no importance inasmuch as the gasification [or “gassing”] cellar (Vergasungskeller) can be used for this purpose.

The firm of Topf u. Söhne was not able to deliver the ventilation equipment ordered by the Central Construction Office on time because of the unavailability of freight cars. After the arrival of the ventilation and exhaust equipment, work will be started immediately on its installation, so we may anticipate that it will be completely in service on 20 February 1943. Attached is a report by the test engineer of the firm of Topf u. Söhne of Erfurt.

Chief of the Central Construction Office of the
Waffen-SS and Police Auschwitz

SS-Hauptsturmführer

Figure 10 shows a facsimile of the German original.

Supporters of the official thesis maintain that the term “Vergasungskeller” (cellar for “gassing” or gasification) proves incontrovertibly the existence of a gas chamber in Leichenkeller 1 of crematorium II and III. ^[13] Some Revisionists on the contrary argue or have argued that the term alluded to the place where the gas mixture was made that fed the furnaces. “Vergasung” would thus have the sense of “gasification” or “carburetion.” ^[14] But even within the framework of this interpretation, we do not believe that the Vergasungskeller mentioned in document NO-4473 was Leichenkeller 1 for the following reasons:

1. The designers of the installation would have to have provided a space for the carburetion process, basic in a crematory, rather than adapt to an area (Leichenkeller 1) initially designed for another purpose.
2. Crematoriums IV and V of Birkenau, both with powerful crematories of eight muffle furnaces, lacked a space of similar proportions for carrying out the operation of “carburetion.”

3. Without being specialists in the matter, it seems to us that the operation of producing the gas mixture for feeding the crematory furnaces would have to be carried out in an area immediately behind or adjacent to the furnaces, and not in an underground area separated from the cremation room.

Nor does the official thesis seem conclusive to us, since, apart from the reasons of a general nature which we set forth in section VIII, no document known to date permits the identification of Leichenkeller 1 as the Vergasungskeller. ^[15] The fact is that in the few plans of crematoriums II and III that we know of, there is no space characterized as a Vergasungskeller, which need not surprise us given the fact that they are preliminary drawings of a general type (Figure 5, for example, is a preliminary sketch). It is very probable that after a careful examination of all the detailed plans of crematoriums II and III, it would be possible to know the exact location of the Vergasungskeller. Professor Faurisson has told us, for example, that the plans of the Leichenkeller of the Sachsenhausen camp (1940) consist of around ninety pages. ^[16] It is thus our opinion that only after an exhaustive study of the documents stored in the Auschwitz museum would it be possible to come up with the solution to this precise point.

* * * * *

Another document frequently adduced as proof is that classified under code NO-4465, from which we extract the following:

We point out for the present ... that the three gas-tight doors [towers?] which were the object of our request of 18 January 1943 ... should be built exactly to the same dimensions and specifications of the doors [towers?] already delivered.

At this time we remind you of another request of 6 March 1943 about the delivery of a gas-tight door 100 x 192 for mortuary 1 of crematorium III. This door should be identical to the door of the cellar of crematorium II in the opposite location; it should be provided with an 8 millimeter peephole of double glass, reinforced, and with gas-kets of rubber. This request should be considered as of particular urgency. ^[17]

The first thing to note is that the dimensions of the “gas-tight door” (Gastür) do not coincide with those of the door of Leichenkeller 1 as it is shown in a plan (cf. Figure 7); in the latter, as we have already pointed out, the dimensions were approximately 1.80 x 1.90 meters. On the other hand, it would not be very functional to build a door scarcely 1 meter in width in a space from which it would be necessary to haul out thousands of cadavers (fifteen hundred, two thousand, three thousand, or four thousand, according to the various versions) after each spell of “gassing.” These dimensions do not square with what one would have a right to expect of a well-planned installation for mass exterminations. Moreover, the utilization of gas-tight doors was common in premises that were capable of being converted into air raid shelters, and which were then provided with protection against air attacks with poison gas. The utilization of a gas-tight door was thus not to be wondered at in an underground room capable of being used, in case of necessity, as a shelter.

So the fact that the Germans installed gas-tight doors does not necessarily prove that they installed gas chambers for killing people.

* * * * *

As for the crematory furnaces, there exists a letter of 28 June 1943 from the director of the Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police, Auschwitz (*Zentralbauleitung der Wa-*

gendS und Polizei Auschwitz) to SS-Sturmbannführer Bischoff in which he indicates the capacity of the crematoriums of Auschwitz-Birkenau. With regard to the crematoriums in which we are interested here, he says:

- II. new crematorium (Birkenau) 1,440 cadavers
5 crematories-3 muffle furnaces
- III. new crematorium (Birkenau) 1,440 cadavers
5 crematories-3 muffle furnaces [18]

The stated cremation capacity corresponds to a time span of twenty-four hours. Therefore each muffle furnace would have to consume ninety-six cadavers per day, or, put another way, one cadaver every fifteen minutes. This is an absurd figure, as a majority of the Revisionist authors have made clear. Stiglich states that “the incineration of a body in an ultramodern crematory furnace takes an hour and a half to two hours.” [19] For Italian researcher C. Mattogno, who cites as reference the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, “cremation of a cadaver lasts 60-75 minutes, with a consumption of about 300 kgs. of wood in gasoline furnaces; an hour and a half to two hours, with a consumption of 100-150 kgs. of bundles of kindling in direct combustion furnaces.” [20] For his part, Professor Faurisson states that in “the present-day crematorium of Charlottenburg-Spandau, each furnace burns no more than 15 to 17 cadavers in 24 hours.” [21] L.A. Rollins culls the following information published by the *Los Angeles Times*: “In the cremation process, a corpse is put into a furnace and subjected to a temperature of nearly 2,000 degrees for a period of two or three hours.” [22] The shortest incineration period we have been able to find is from “50 to 80 minutes.” [23]

It is symptomatic moreover that the signer of the document, Bischoff, was not bothered by the Allies after the war, despite the fact that he must have known better than anyone else about those supposed human slaughterhouses whose construction he supervised. [24]

* * * * *

Recently the French researcher, J.C. Pressac, located a document that allegedly is definitive proof of the existence of at least one gas chamber in crematorium III of Birkenau (see Figure 11). This “proof” is a requisition order — or delivery order-of materials for crematorium III. It is signed by the director of the Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police, Auschwitz (*Leiter der Zentralbauleitung der Waffen SS und Polizei Auschwitz*) and by the Chief of Administration (*Verwaltungsführer*). On the left-hand side of this document the handwritten words “Leichenkeller 1” appear, followed by the quantities of articles requested or delivered. Listed are “12 globe lights” (*Kugellampen*), “2 faucets (*Zapfnähne*), “14 showerheads” (*Brausen*), and “1 gas-tight door” (*gasdichte Tür*). This last notation is handwritten. In response to questions by a newspaperman, S. Klarsfeld, a colleague of Pressac’s, commented on this document as follows:

A document which mentions at the same time a gas-tight door and 14 showerheads. So, let’s be logical. If it’s a matter of a shower room, why this gas-tight door? This is unshakable proof.

This document proves nothing. The Germans modified those premises that were capable of serving as shelters against air attacks employing poison gas. [25] It has been proven that the Allies bombarded Birkenau at least once, on 13 September 1944. [26] Leichenkeller 1 of crematoriums II and III, being underground, could in case of necessity have served as shelters.

V. Specialist Reports

In Addendum II to his book, G. Wellers publishes a special chemical study made in Cracow on 15 December 1945 on the remains of the closure devices of the ventilation openings of Leichenkeller 1 of crematorium II; on hair from women who had been “gassed”; and on metallic objects encountered in that hair. [27] The report concludes with the affirmation that in all those materials, “hydrocyanic acid was shown to be present,” which appears to confirm the thesis of a criminal employment of the crematoriums. However, there is an incongruity in this report which leads us to consider it with the greatest reserve. Since the ventilation openings mentioned are not evident in the plan we are acquainted with, it is probable they were a later addition, possibly for the purpose of putting the premises to some other use. This interpretation might support the thesis of the air raid shelter. There was already a precedent for it. Crematorium I of Auschwitz was converted into a shelter in 1943. [28]

However, a most careful analysis of the air photo taken by the American air force in August of 1944 (see Figure 9) allows us to show that the four dark spots on the roof of Leichenkeller 1 are approximately 3.2 x 2 meters in size. [29] These measurements are not reconcilable with the size of the holes through which supposedly the gas was introduced into the chamber, according to the supporters of the official doctrine. [30]

The specialist’s report speaks of “four complete air vent closures and four damaged ones found during the visit to crematorium II of Birkenau.” In the aerial photograph taken in August of 1944, we see only four of these supposed — and enormous — openings. On the other hand, J.C. Pres-sac mentions that when the Russians reached Auschwitz, they found “the zinc openings of the overhead ventilation of Leichenkeller 1/gas chamber of crematorium II stored in the Auschwitz *Bauhof*,” [31] which contradicts the statement of the expert report to the effect that they had been found “during the visit to crematorium II of Birkenau.”

But even admitting the expert’s report to be irreproachable we could not necessarily conclude that Leichenkeller 1 was a homicidal gas chamber. It would be perfectly plausible that this building had been fumigated or disinfected with hydrocyanic acid, a not infrequent occurrence in the concentration camp installations, especially those designed for containing cadavers.

Lastly, it seems astonishing to us that together with the hair, used for industrial purposes in a war economy, “metallic objects” (eyeglass frames, zinc bodkins, and brass clasps and hairpins) were to be found. We doubt that the Germans — or their assistants — effected the haircutting with such haste and awkwardness.

Nor can we, accordingly, consider this specialists report as a conclusive and evidential proof of the existence of a gas chamber for killing people.

VI. Eyewitness Testimony

Next we shall briefly set forth the principal testimonies which, in the judgment of G. Wellers, incontrovertibly prove — “with an abundance of proofs” — the use of crematoriums II and III of Birkenau for the mass extermination of human beings. [32]

Two of the testimonies, those of Rudolf Höss and Pery Broad, come from members of the SS; the remaining two, those of Bendel and Wetzler, from Jewish internees.

We shall limit ourselves to analyzing the paragraphs in these testimonies wherein express reference is made to the crematoriums, from the point of view of their veracity, and without entering

into an analysis of their authenticity, which has been subjected to very harsh criticism by a number of Revisionist authors. [33]

a) Rudolf Höss (commander of Auschwitz until 1 December 1943).

The two large crematoriums I (II) and II (III) were constructed during the course of the winter of 1942/1943 and put into service in the spring of 1943. Each of them had five triple-hearth furnaces, and they could incinerate about two thousand cadavers in twenty-four hours ... The two crematoriums I (II) and II (III) had underground rooms for disrobing and gas chambers that could be ventilated or have the air evacuated from them. The cadavers were transported by means of an elevator to the crematory furnaces above ...

The process of extermination in Auschwitz was carried out in the following manner: the Jews slated for extermination were led to the crematoriums, men and women separately, in the calmest possible way. In the rooms set aside for disrobing, the special detail prisoners employed there told them in their own language that they had come to take a shower and be deloused . . After undressing, the Jews entered the gas chamber. This was provided with showers and water pipes, which really gave it the look of a bathroom. The women and children entered first; they were followed by the men, who were always in the minority. This almost always went calmly . . then the door was rapidly closed and the bolt thrown and the “disinfectors,” already alerted, threw the “cyclon” through the skylight and across the ceiling into the pipes through which it reached the ground. Thanks to that, the gas spread out immediately. Through the peephole in the door it could be seen that those who were closest to the pipe through which the gas arrived were falling down dead. It may be stated that death was immediate for a third of those locked in the room. The others staggered, screamed, tried to find air. But their shrieks were forthwith changed into death rattles, and in a few minutes all had fallen to the ground. At the end of twenty minutes maximum, no one was moving ... Half an hour after the sending in of the gas, the door was opened and the ventilation equipment turned on. Removal of the cadavers was begun immediately. The bodies showed no special signs; there was neither contortion nor a change in color ... The work detail immediately busied itself extracting the gold teeth from the cadavers and cutting off the women’s hair. The bodies were then immediately transported by elevator up to the crematories, which had meanwhile been ignited. [34]

Critique:

- Even though the wording is a bit confused, it may be deduced from the context that the aforementioned cremation capacity corresponds to each crematorium. However, the possibility of incinerating two thousand cadavers in five crematories of three muffle furnaces each is absurd. It would be equivalent to nearly six cadavers an hour per muffle furnace, or what amounts to the same thing, less than eleven minutes per cadaver.
- According to the plan, the dimensions of the freight elevator were approximately 2 x 1.30 meters. Not very practical, therefore, for transporting the two thousand cadavers up to the level of the crematories.
- One would hardly be able to see through the peephole of the door how those persons closest to the “pipe” which fed in the gas “were falling down dead,” since due to the crowding of the room (nearly two thousand people in 210 square meters), it would not be possible to see beyond the first row of the human mass. Apart from the fact that it would be physically impossible to “fall” in an agglomeration of nine persons per square meter.

- Höss's expression that "the door was opened and the ventilation equipment turned on" implies that these two actions were carried out *simultaneously*, which would have produced a catastrophic effect as the gas spread outside the room, putting the very lives of the executioners in danger.

b) Pery Broad (low-ranking member — *Unterscharführer* – of the Auschwitz garrison):

Construction of the four new crematoriums in Birkenau, two of which were to be equipped with underground gas chambers, was speeded up by every available means. In each chamber, 4,000 units could be gassed simultaneously ... In crematoriums I (II) and II (III), these rooms [for disrobing] were also underground. A stone staircase about two meters wide led to the underground rooms ... Crematoriums I (II) and II (III) were equipped with fifteen furnaces, each of which could hold four or five bodies. [35]

Critique:

- The simultaneous "gassing" of four thousand "units" is absolutely implausible. It would have meant cramming in 19 persons per square meter.
- Crematoriums II and III were provided with five crematories (multiple furnaces) each, not fifteen. Each crematory had three muffle furnaces. The capacity which Broad attributes to each furnace (in reality, muffle furnace) merits as much belief as the four thousand "units" introduced in the gas chamber.

c) Dr. P. Bendel (Auschwitz internee):

A double railway line brought the deportees to the very door of the twin crematoriums 1 and 2. With their spacious rooms provided with telephones and radios, an ultramodern dissection room, and a museum of anatomical exhibits, they constituted, as an SS man unashamedly told me, "the best thing of this sort ever done." Completed in January of 1943, their inauguration was honored with the presence of Himmler in person ... The convoy of those condemned to death entered, by means of a stone stairway, into a large underground room which served as a disrobing room. The instructions were that everyone had to bathe and then immediately pass on to the disinfection ... From there, completely naked, they went through a narrow corridor into the true gas chambers (two in number). Constructed of reinforced concrete, one has the impression upon entering them that the ceiling was falling on your head, it was so low. In the middle of these rooms, coming down from the ceiling, two pipes with a grating around them and an exterior valve served for the emission of the gases. Through a little skylight placed in the double door of solid oak, the SS were able to follow the frightful death throes of all those unfortunates. The cadavers were taken out immediately after by the men of the work detail and placed in an elevator that carried them back up to the ground floor where the sixteen furnaces were located. Their total capacity was around two thousand cadavers in 24 hours. [36]

Critique:

- Crematoriums I (II) and II (III) were not completed in January of 1943 but in March and June, respectively, of the same year. [37] Moreover, Himmler could not have been present at the "inauguration," since he visited Auschwitz for the last time in July of 1942. [38]
- The official thesis maintains that there was only one gas chamber (Leichenkeller 1) in each crematorium, and not two as this witness claims. These gas chambers were not "so low" as

Bendel affirms. The median height, as we previously indicated, was 2.40 meters.

- -The total number of crematories in each crematorium, as has been stated several times, was five, each with three muffle furnaces; therefore. Benders version of the sixteen furnaces is false.

d) Alfred Wetzler (Auschwitz internee):

At present there are four crematoriums in operation in Birkenau, two large ones, I and II, and two small, III and IV. Those of type I and II consist of three parts: a) the furnace room; b) the great hall; c) the gas chamber. An enormous chimney rises above the furnace room, around which are grouped nine furnaces, each with four openings; each opening can receive three normal cadavers at one time, and at the end of an hour and a half the corpses are completely consumed. That represents a daily capacity of around 2,000 bodies. Near this room there is a large reception hall arranged so as to give the impression of being the lobby of a public bath. It holds 2,000 people, and apparently there is a similar waiting room on the floor below. From there, a door and several stairsteps take you to the gas chamber, which is very long and narrow. The walls of this room appear to contain shower entrances, for the purpose of deceiving the victims. In the ceiling are fixed three little doors that can be sealed hermetically from the outside. A track leads from the gas chamber toward the crematory room. The administering of the gas is done as follows: the unfortunate victims are taken to the hall (b) where they are ordered to disrobe ... Next the victims are brought together into the gas chamber (c). In order to squeeze this crowd into the cramped space, shots are frequently fired for the purpose of inducing those who have already got to the far end to move still closer together. When everyone is inside, the heavy doors are closed. Then comes a short pause, probably to let the temperature of the room rise to a certain level, after which the SS men, wearing gas masks, climb to the roof, open the little doors, and drop a preparation in powder form taken from metal canisters labelled "Cyclon," "For use against parasites." ... At the end of three minutes everyone in the room has died. No one ever survived this treatment, whereas it was not uncommon to discover signs of life in those who had been executed in the birch forest, because of the primitive methods employed there. Next the room is opened, ventilated, and the Sonderkommando piles up the bodies on flatbed trucks and transports them to the crematory rooms where the incineration takes place. [39]

Critique:

- -We already know that each crematorium was provided with five crematories of three muffle furnaces each. The reference to the nine furnaces and four openings is pure invention.
- The "great hall" is also a product of Wetzler's imagination, just like the "waiting room" on the ground floor. The "gas chamber" and the "crematory room" were not connected by a "track" but, as we know, by an elevator.
- Accordingly, if the only means of access to the crematories from the supposed gas chamber was the freight elevator, the "flatbed truck" mentioned in the text would serve no purpose.
- It would not be necessary for the SS men wearing gas masks to "climb" to the gas chamber, since the latter was underground, and its ceiling was practically at ground level.
- But the best way of convincing ourselves that we are faced with apocryphal evidence is to compare the plan contained in Wetzler's supposed original document (see Figure 12) with Figure 5, put out by the Auschwitz museum. The conclusion is obvious: Wetzler has never seen the place he describes.

G. Wellers, in another work, deals with the testimony of Henryk Tauber, an ex-prisoner of Auschwitz, given on 24 May 1945 before the examining magistrate of the Court of Cracow. In general, this testimony is in agreement with the official thesis. However, it contains a contradiction where he states that he was assigned to the Sonderkommando of crematorium II on 4 March 1943, inasmuch as this crematorium was not turned over to the camp administration until the 31st day of that month. H. Tauber further declared:

Between these two rooms [the disrobing room and the gas chamber] there was a corridor to which there was access from the outside by way of few stairs, and a chute down which they flung the cadavers coming from the camp, to convey them to the crematories. [40]

This chute for cadavers establishes at least that the Germans had designed the crematoriums *also* for the incineration of prisoners who died from natural causes or epidemics, since, as we shall see, the “circuit” followed by those destined for extermination in the gas chambers was different. The tacit acknowledgment of the mixed use of the crematoriums that is derived from Tauber’s statement is *per se* disturbing for the credibility of the official doctrine. It is difficult to accept that the Germans had established a “circuit” for the cremation of the deceased from non-criminal causes which interfered with that followed by the victims of the gas chambers. It would have been much simpler to take the ones who died from natural causes directly to the crematory furnaces, avoiding their passage through the crowded basement of the crematorium.

Finally, it must be emphasized that all these testimonies are mutually irreconcilable. For example:

- For Höss, the capacity of the gas chambers was three thousand persons, for Broad four thousand, and for Wetzler two thousand.
- The number of crematory furnaces per crematorium was five for Höss (each with three hearths or muffle furnaces), fifteen for Broad, sixteen for Dr. Bendel, and nine (each with four openings) for Wetzler.
- Each crematorium had one gas chamber according to Höss and Wetzler, and two according to Bendel.
- The openings for the introduction of gas into the chamber were several (without specifying) for Höss, two for Bendel, and three for Wetzler.
- The doors of the gas chamber were one for Höss, one “double door” for Bendel, and several (without specifying) for Wetzler.
- The duration of the execution for “gassing” was twenty to thirty minutes for Höss and three minutes for Wetzler. .
- The duration of the cremation of one cadaver was, on the average, eleven minutes for Höss and an hour and a half for Wetzler.

In view of the foregoing, one may well ask whether there is really anything in which these testimonies coincide. That notwithstanding, G. Wellers has the audacity to offer them as proof of the existence of the gas chambers, stating that the divergencies produced are “inevitable and natural.” [41]

VII. An Absurd Extermination Process

Now let us compare the alleged extermination, just as the official thesis claims it was carried out in crematoriums II and III, with the physical configuration, capacity, and dimensions of these installations (see Figure 13).

a. Entrance to the “disrobing room.” Access to the basement of the crematorium was originally by a door located in the main building itself, since Leichenkeller 1 and 2 lacked direct access from the outside. At least that is what one deduces from the plan. But in accordance with some testimonies, a stairway was presumably built at one end of Leichenkeller 2 in order to give access to the latter directly, a matter that is confirmed upon viewing photographs of the ruins of the crematoriums. On the other hand, we find no explanation of why the Germans constructed an underground “disrobing room,” when it would have been simpler and more economical to make it at ground level. On the other hand, the location underground was perfectly logical if in reality it was a question of a mortuary, just as the plans indicate. But let us follow the official thesis. Let us accept that two thousand, three thousand or four thousand persons used the aforementioned stairway to enter the 396.5 square meters (less what it would be necessary to deduct for the space occupied by the eleven columns that supported the ceiling) of Leichenkeller 2. By straining our imagination, let us suppose that we have managed to accommodate five, seven, or ten persons per square meter, according to the various sources. Think of the discomfort and nervous strain of maneuvering and getting undressed in that mass of people, bearing in mind that the members of the Sonderkommando *also* went into the disrobing room in order to calm down the victims (testimony of Rudolf Höss). In those circumstances, the possibility for many of them to put their clothes on the racks (testimony of Dr. Bendel) would be very limited, taking into account also the existence of the “wooden benches” (testimony of Henryk Tauber), which would even further reduce the available space.

b. Once undressed, the victims would go out through a narrow corridor to reach a little vestibule (*Vorraum*) which gave access to the gas chamber. In the nature of things, the latter room, scarcely 210 square meters in area, would already be chock-full before the last victims had got out of the disrobing room. But let us put that problem aside and imagine that the Germans had succeeded in stuffing the two thousand, three thousand, or four thousand people -who still did not suspect anything — into the gas chamber. To do so, it would be necessary to press nine, fourteen, or nineteen persons respectively into each square meter. And in that precise moment, the SS would proceed to “gas” the crowd by means of a procedure which we shall describe in detail further on.

c. The “gassing” once completed, the energetic members of the Sonderkommando had to get on with the hauling of the cadavers from the jam-packed gas chamber of 30 x 7 meters with only one door approximately 1.80 x 1.90 meters (or 2 x 1.92 if we credit document NO-4465). An accomplishment that would undoubtedly have taken a great deal of time, even for the most enthusiastic Stakhanovites of extermination.

The next phase consisted in the cutting of hair and the extraction of gold teeth from the cadavers, a labor which, apart from being slow and awkward (jaws clenched by rigor mortis), would also be very dangerous, since the lethal agent (hydrocyanic acid), a very penetrating gas, would have got into the mucus and been retained in the mouth and in the folds of the body, as well as in the hair. [42]

Afterwards, so the official thesis claims, they would proceed to raise the cadavers up to the level of the cremation room by means of the little freight elevator (approximately 2 x 1.30 meters) located in the same vestibule in which the cadavers were being piled up on top of those the members of the Sonderkommando were operating on in their new assignment as barbers and dentists. Logically, the hauling of the some hundreds or thousands of cadavers to the cremation room by

means of such a small freight elevator would again have taken a great deal of time and an eternity of ascending and descending.

d. When we arrive at the moment of the cremation of the cadavers, another unsolvable problem arises. In effect, if we consider that the time it takes to cremate one corpse is fifty minutes, which is the shortest time we have been able to find (see page 309), then it would have been possible to consume only fifteen cadavers in that length of time, which gives us a daily total of 432. So that to convert Höss's two thousand cadavers into ashes, for example, would have taken more than four days, assuming that the furnaces were functioning without interruption twenty-four hours a day. Thus the process of extermination of only a single batch of victims would have jammed the system for four days at a minimum. And thus becomes quite implausible the thesis maintained by the Auschwitz museum through its scale models (see Figure 14) that while the gas chamber was being cleared and the victims taken to the crematory furnaces, the next shift was being prepared in the disrobing room.

VIII. An Aberrant Gas Chamber

Finally let us linger over the supposed gas chamber proper.

As we have already pointed out, the official thesis has it that Leichenkeller 1 of crematoriums II and III was really a gas chamber used for homicide. Now let us see why we consider that the selection of this particular place for extermination by means of poison gas is a technical aberration.

a. We can not understand the reason why the Germans constructed underground gas chambers. It makes no sense. There is no motive for doing so. Quite the contrary: not having built them at ground level entailed a series of additional problems. In the first place, the low temperature would make the evaporation of the hydrocyanic acid more difficult. In effect, even if the evaporation occurs at 0 centigrade, "HCN [hydrocyanic acid] evaporated more rapidly at a high temperature." [43] Why were the Germans stupidly going to construct an underground and therefore colder building? Why retard the evaporation of the HCN? Why make the extermination process slower? It is absurd. In the second place, if the Germans had built the gas chamber at ground level, they would have spared themselves the installation of the freight elevator, which necessarily even further delayed the hauling of the cadavers to the cremation room. A more rational arrangement would have placed the gas chamber at ground level, that is, at the level of the furnaces, so that the "traffic" between them and the gas chamber would have been enormously simplified. Thus, the concept of an underground gas chamber was not logical from the point of view of the extermination process either. On the other hand, this arrangement of the building would be perfectly logical if the German wished to utilize it as a mortuary, as indicated in the plans. Given the fact that the process of the cremation of cadavers was slow, a space, a "cold room," was designed for storing them up to the moment of incineration. This "cold room" served the purpose of retarding decomposition.. The ventilation system which is shown in the plan of the cross section of Leichenkeller 1 would serve to eliminate the odors arising from putrefaction. [44] Thus, the thesis maintained by G. Wellers and other authors that the Germans employed a code language whose key has not yet been found and according to which:

Leichenkeller 1 = gas chamber
Leichenkeller 2 = disrobing room

is based solely on groundless speculation.

With regard to the temperature, G. Wellers maintains the following theory:

In a room that is closed and airtight and also full of human beings, the temperature must have risen rapidly. The boiling temperature of hydrocyanic acid is 26 [centigrade]. Without the least doubt, under these conditions, the hydrocyanic acid passed into a gaseous state, and the various surfaces — the walls, the ceiling, the skin area of the bodies of those executed, their hair — reached or exceeded the boiling temperature of the hydrocyanic acid. Thus, a fairly powerful ventilator must have rapidly evacuated the hydrocyanic acid vapors, which did not condense on the warm surfaces. [45]

Wellers does not explain how the temperature could pass almost instantly from some degrees below zero — supposedly they continued to use the gas chamber even during the severe winters of Eastern Europe — to 26 centigrade above zero. Again, the air that was going to be used for ventilation came directly from the outside; so it was a question of a current of cold air capable of causing condensation of the HCN and thus making its evacuation more difficult. But even accepting Wellers's allegation, the reason for construction of an underground chamber would still be unexplained. On this point the official thesis is confronted with an obstacle that in our judgment is insurmountable.

b. If the Germans had wished to install gas chambers for homicidal purposes, they would naturally have proceeded in accordance with scientific criteria, based on functional designs adapted to the end in view. In other words, they would have to have provided their gas chambers with a few minimum technical requisites. Let us see, by way of example, what the professionals in the field of fumigation by means of gas demand of their installations:

Even the most toxic gases require a certain minimum period of exposure and concentration if they are to be lethal. Thus, any room devised to serve this objective regularly must be so constructed that airtightness is assured. The type of material used in its construction is of little importance, because it can be made impermeable by the application of coatings of chlorine rubber, bituminous, or plastic materials.

A well-designed fumigation chamber, besides being airtight, must have an adequate system for vaporization of the fumigants and for ventilation, as well as a system of simple functioning that reduces technical manipulation to a minimum. [46]

Nothing similar to that was to be found in the supposed gas chambers of crematoriums II and III of Birkenau. Airtightness was nonexistent, particularly in the “wells” or openings through which presumably the gas was introduced. [47] Nor is there evidence of any lining or coating whatsoever. The various testimonies and the remains themselves indicate only bare concrete walls. Nor was there a vaporization system, the executioners resigning themselves to the primitive and awkward method reported by Höss and other witnesses. As for the ventilation, we have already seen that although Leichenkeller 1 had a system available for drawing out the air (*Entlüftungskanal*), the latter, placed in the lowest part of the building, would hardly have been able to eliminate the hydrocyanic acid vapors, first because the hodgepodge of cadavers would have obstructed the air exhaust vents; and in the second place because HCN is lighter than air and would have become concentrated in the upper part of the chamber.

G. Wellers claims that the existence of this *Entlüftungskanal* is one more indication proving that Leichenkeller 1 was a gas chamber:

When you round out these facts with an attentive examination of the plans of the Leichenkeller Nos. 1 and 2 — of crematoriums II (I) and III (II), you observe that cellar No. 1 is not so long as cellar No. 2 and, above all that it is provided with a ventilation

and air exhaust mechanism that is perfectly visible and noted in the vertical section, whereas the Leichenkeller No. 2 does not have any similar equipment. [48] (See Figure 15).

Wellers is mistaken on this last point. The report of the test engineer of the Topf company, manufacturer of the crematory furnaces, dated 29 January 1943, establishes:

The delivery of the aeration and ventilation equipment of the mortuaries has been delayed due to a lack of available freight cars. [49]

Let it be emphasized that the technician uses the plural to refer to “the mortuaries,” whereby he implies that both places were provided with ventilation installations. In the same sense, J.-C. Pressac affirms that Leichenkeller 2 also had a system of ventilation “by air intake” through pipes. [50] Thus, the existence of a ventilation conduit in Leichenkeller 1 does not prove it was a gas chamber used for killing people, since Leichenkeller 2, which is supposed to have been only a disrobing room, has one as well.

In short, it appears that the Germans had omitted even the most elementary components of a simple fumigation chamber in their attempt, supposedly scientific and well planned, to construct homicidal gas chambers.

* * * * *

Fumigation or disinfestation chambers are provided moreover with a mechanism that produces an air current in a closed circuit in order to accelerate and make more efficient the fulfillment of its task. Note how the technicians explain this question:

In a simple chamber, the diffusion of the gas depends on the normal velocity of expansion. This slow process can be considerably accelerated by means of the artificial movement or better circulation of the air [emphasis in the original]. The most efficient method of circulation is to extract the gas on one side of the chamber by means of an airtight ventilator, leading it through a tube to the other side, where it is again pumped into the chamber. Circulation of the gas by this means assures the most complete distribution within the chamber [emphasis in the original]. When passing across a vaporizer incorporated in the circulatory system, the current of air will draw up and spread the fumigant. The efficiency of the gas will be increased by hooking up a hermetic heater that will gradually raise the temperature of the room. [51]

This system of circulation is demonstrably of great efficiency, as shown in Figure 15.

As we have repeatedly indicated, although Leichenkeller 1 had a ventilation-exhaust system, the system, so Höss declares, was set in operation *upon completion* of the “gassing” (“half an hour after sending in the gas, the door was opened and the ventilation equipment turned on”). There was therefore no circulatory system.

Half an hour after introduction of the *Zyklon*, the concentration of gas in the chamber would be very irregular (see Figure 15)- This fact is difficult to reconcile, for example, with the “three minutes” that Wetzler indicates as the duration of the “gassing.”

An objection will possibly be made, nevertheless, that the situation indicated in Figure 15 would only occur in the case of an ordinary fumigation or disinfestation. It is very probable that in a “gassing” of humans in a crowded room conditions might be different, but that does not prevent

us from recognizing the utility of the circulatory system, inasmuch as in both cases -fumigation and “gassing” — it was a question of applying and distributing the gas as rapidly and uniformly as possible.

The most curious thing is that the fumigation chambers we have made reference to were *in the same concentration camps*. [52] Immediately our attention is drawn to the fact that fumigation and disinfection chambers, sanitary and hygienic installations, were constructed in an “extermination camp”; and, above all, that the Germans learned nothing from them in constructing their supposed gas chambers for killing humans.

Perhaps it would be instructive to understand, if only superficially, an industrial fumigation or insect control installation such as that we reproduce in Figures 17 and 17a, in order to have a faint idea of what an establishment dedicated to the mass extermination of humans would have to have been, from a technical point of view. Alongside such an installation the crematoriums and the procedures supposedly used in Auschwitz are mere bungling.

c. The lethal agent employed, according to the official thesis, was an insecticide and fumigant known under the trade name of *Zyklon B* or *Zyklon*, which the manufacturer, the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Schädlingsbekämpfung m.b.H. (abbrev., DEGESCH), defines in the following manner:

In *Zyklon*, 98%-99% pure liquid hydrocyanic acid is chemically stabilized and absorbed in a porous and inert material. It is available in small pieces (snippets) or in disks of wood pulp. [53]

The hydrocyanic acid evaporates slowly — depending upon ambient conditions such as humidity and temperature — from the porous base used as a carrier. This slowness operates to make the action of the insect control one of long duration, as indicated by the manufacturer:

Exposure times may vary greatly, for example, from 2 to 72 hours. The different types of pests, small air leaks in dwellings, and unfavorable weather conditions, difficulties of penetration and other circumstances must be taken into account in determining the concentration and time of exposure. [54]

The application of *Zyklon* is a complex operation in that a team of several persons, technically trained, must distribute the product carefully according to the parasite to be destroyed and the volume of the premises. The operation must be carried out within the confines of the area undergoing disinfection (see Figure 19). Nevertheless, under special conditions, such as clearing a ship’s hold of rats, the *Zyklon* may be hurled from cover, without the necessity of entering the area personally (see Figure 20). [55]

* * * * *

One of the peculiarities of hydrocyanic acid is its high toxicity to humans. Minuscule quantities are sufficient to cause a person’s death. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, for example, points out that “exposure to concentrations of 200-500 parts [of HCN] per 1,000,000 parts of air for 30 minutes is usually fatal.” [56] Even Exterminationist authors admit that a dosage of one milligram per kilo of body weight “is the minimum dosage that causes death with certainty.” [57] With some seventy milligrams, therefore, one could end the life of a person of seventy kilos. That means that theoretically at least it would be possible to “gas” two thousand people with scarcely 140 grams of hydrocyanic acid.

What was the dosage employed by the Germans in the gas chambers of crematoriums II and III? According to Höss, to “gas” fifteen hundred people, a minimum of seven one-kilo cans of *Zyklon B* were needed. [58] Bearing in mind that *Zyklon B* is composed of 98%-99% hydrocyanic acid, it is apparent that the employment of at least seven kilos assumes that a minimum of 6,860 grams of hydrocyanic acid was introduced into the chamber. [Editor’s note: While the HCN accounted for a fraction of the net weight of the *Zyklon B* can, since it was absorbed in a stabilizer, normally the cans were labeled with, and thus designated by, the weight of the HCN ingredient alone.] If we accept that seventy milligrams are sufficient to cause the death of a person of average size, logic tells us that the fifteen hundred people in the gas chamber would have died on inhaling altogether no more than 105 grams. In other words, 98.47% of the lethal agent would still be in the gas chamber at the completion of the “gassing.” The statements of Wellers then are inaccurate in reasoning that the concentration of hydrocyanic acid “must have decreased rapidly in consequence of the absorption of the vapors by the lungs of those executed,” [59] and that “the ‘disinfecter’ on duty, skillful after a certain amount of experience, knew how to avoid ‘wasting’ the weapon of the crime.” [60] Besides, it is not logical that the Germans should introduce an excessive quantity of *Zyklon B* when only the smallest fraction of the same amount would have achieved their objective. The quantity indicated by Höss would have had as a result that the gas chamber would be filled with hydrocyanic acid precisely at the moment in which the victims had already died and the ventilation process was going to be started.

In any event we realize that adducing all these technical factors as proof is pointless if we accept that the Germans succeeded in cramming fifteen hundred, two thousand, or three thousand people into the approximately five hundred cubic meters of the gas chamber. Under those conditions the gas would have been unnecessary.

To put an end to this section, we do not wish to omit the contents of a letter of a professional toxicologist and judicial expert, Louis Truffert, directed to LICRA (International League Against Racism and Antisemitism) on the occasion of the trial which brought that organization into confrontation with Professor Faurisson. [61] Wellers claims that the toxicologist’s letter confirmed the official thesis. Truffert stated among other things that *Zyklon B*

rapidly releases vapors of hydrocyanic acid, without, however, achieving a considerable concentration in the atmosphere when that is maintained below the boiling point of the poison ...

That is why it does not seem to me at all impossible that the persons not provided with gas masks might without difficulty enter a gas chamber containing nude bodies whose temperature was likely still to exceed 26 degrees centigrade (therefore not capable of retaining the poison by absorption), however little it had been ventilated, even very slightly. [62]

Now let us consider some objections to Truffert’s thesis. In the first place, if the *Zyklon* does not reach a “considerable concentrations below 26 degrees centigrade, then there is no explaining why the Germans constructed underground gas chambers, ensuring lower temperatures (see page 319). In the second place, and against Truffert’s opinion, the manufacturer of *Zyklon* establishes standards that are much more strict with respect to ventilation:

Ventilation:

During this period gas masks must be worn. Ventilation takes place in the reverse direction to the application of the gas (gassing). All windows near the entrance are opened first, and later gradually those in the rest of the building. It is advisable to

work only 10 to 15 minutes at a time and to make interruptions of half an hour as a precaution against skin poisoning.

According to [Zyklon] concentration, outside temperature and climate conditions, ventilation should continue for at least ten hours. The duration also depends on the type of building, and the number, size and location of windows and other openings. [63]

The above text illustrates the exhaustive precautions that must be adopted when carrying out fumigation work with hydrocyanic acid. Although the strict instructions of the manufacturer refer to natural ventilation by means of doors and windows, the conditions present in the supposed gas chamber and its ventilation system (entry of cold air capable of condensing the gas, ventilation openings at ground level, probably sealed off by the jumble of cadavers, and high concentration of hydrocyanic acid at the end of the “gassing”) would hardly allow the entry of persons without gas masks to undertake the hard physical exertion of hauling cadavers after only a limited ventilation.

But there is more. On the occasion of the aforementioned litigation between LICRA and related organizations on one side, and Faurisson on the other, the latter visited the toxicologist, Truffert, showing him the plans and the scheme of operation of the supposed gas chamber of Leichenkeller 1. In Faurisson’s words, this was the toxicologist’s reaction:

He immediately exclaimed about the impossibility of a homicidal gassing operation in such conditions.. It is that which he wanted to confirm for us in a letter dated 3 April 1981, a copy of which was to be received by the LICRA. Here is the passage that directly concerns the question: “Nevertheless, the observation that I made, [in my response to LICRA], concerning the possibility of going into a room containing bodies poisoned with hydrocyanic acid without a gas mask, involves the case of a gas chamber at ground level, opening to the fresh air, and it is evident that important reservations must be made in the case of underground installations.. Such a situation would require a very large ventilation apparatus and draconian precautions in order to avoid pollution likely to be caused by accidents.” [64]

In consequence, we believe that the report of toxicologist L. Truffert can not be considered proof of the existence of a homicide gas chamber either.

IX. Recapitulation

And now, finally, let us summarize the conclusions we have reached in this brief study.

a. The situation of the Birkenau camp, and of crematoriums II and III within the camp, was not suitable for carrying out a massive extermination of human beings under conditions of even the most elementary secrecy.

b. Crematoriums II and III, as revealed to us in the plans, were simple installations designed for the cremation of cadavers, with all the auxiliary facilities typical of such installations: underground mortuaries to retard decomposition, dissection and autopsy rooms, coal bunkers, cremation rooms, etc. To this date there is no document known which indicates that the crematoriums were anything other than what the plans show. This fact has compelled the partisans of “orthodoxy” to invent the theory of the “secret code whereby the SS, using commonplace terms, presumably concealed the reality of the gas chambers.

c. Such documents as are available to support the official thesis offer no proof of the criminal character of these installations. The mention of “gas-tight doors” does not necessarily prove the existence of gas chambers used for homicide. Not to mention that the authenticity of some of these documents is at the very least dubious.

d. The studies and reports of the specialists do not seem conclusive either. The report of Truffert, the toxicologist, suffers from one grave deficiency: he was not acquainted with the physical situation of the gas chambers. When Professor Faurisson revealed it to him, Truffert reconsidered his position. The “specialist’s report” of Cracow is limited to recording the existence of residues of HCN on some objects which are said to have come from the crematoriums. We have already demonstrated a clear contradiction on this last point.

e. The testimonies of the survivors (internees and former members of the SS) are mutually irreconcilable, some of them even internally so. For the most part they are absurd and do not square with the physical configuration of the actual sites.

f. The aerial photographs taken during the war do not corroborate the official doctrine, but quite the contrary. There are no signs of smoke from the chimneys, nor masses of people around the crematoriums. These graphic documents, analyzed at the time by Allied photography experts, were not used in the postwar trials. That is the best proof that it was not possible to detect in them anything remotely like a mass extermination. And we emphasize that these photographs were taken at a time when the Holocausts of Auschwitz was theoretically at its culmination point.

g. The “industrial” process that would have been necessary in the extermination and incineration to accord with the physical configuration of the premises and with the testimonies is manifestly irrational. Moreover, neither the disrobing room, nor the gas chamber, nor the freight elevator, nor the capacity of the crematory furnaces was adapted to a slaughter of the proportions claimed by the official thesis.

h. The contradiction in the case of the gas chamber is particularly patent. It implies that the Germans renounced the employment of a technology in which they were world leaders (fumigation and disinfection gas chambers) in order to “engineer” instead a botched mess in which the process of annihilation by gas would have been slow, cumbersome, and fatal for the executioners themselves.

In view of all the foregoing, our conclusion is obvious: *The thesis of the extermination of great masses of human beings by means of poison gas in the gas chambers of crematoriums II and III of Birkenau is untenable.*

The official thesis, moreover, combines all the requisites of a historical hoax.

Appendix I. The Surprising Thesis of J.-C. Pressac

J.-C. Pressac, the aforementioned French Exterminationist author, after a series of investigations in Auschwitz, has arrived at the conclusion that all the crematoriums of Birkenau were conceived originally without any criminal purpose, but later “adapted” with the intent of carrying out a massive extermination:

Initially crematorium II — and consequently III — was not planned in 1941 for mass homicide. It was converted for this purpose later. This surprising conclusion derives from a study of the initial plans, correspondence, contemporary photos, and the testimonies of the survivors. [1]

And again:

Crematoriums IV and V were not conceived as criminal instruments but were converted to that end. [2]

Pressac's position, which implies a Copernican revolution in the Exterminationist doctrine, is difficult to reconcile with the memoirs of Höss, until now considered to be the principal proof of the existence of the gas chambers. Let us have a look at what Höss, the former commander of Auschwitz, states in his supposed memoirs:

In the summer of 1941, when [Himmler] personally gave me the order to prepare in Auschwitz an installation designed for mass extermination and charged me with its operation, I could not imagine the extent of this undertaking or the effect it would produce. [3]

And:

A few days after [the meeting with Himmler] I sent to the Reichsführer by special messenger a detailed plan of the location and an exact description of the projected installations. I never received an answer nor a decision in the matter. Later, Eichmann told me in passing that Himmler was in agreement. [4]

Pressac, however, maintains that crematoriums II and III of Birkenau were designed later than October of 1941. [5] Therefore, and according to the thesis of the French author, the Germans were designing their crematoria as hygienic installations devoid of any criminal character *after Höss received the order to prepare installations for mass extermination*. The sequence of events — if we follow Pressac's logic in relation with the official doctrine — would have to be as follows:

1. In the summer of 1941 Hess received the order to prepare one or several extermination installations and went so far as to prepare a plan, which Himmler approved.
2. Later, despite Himmler's instructions, Höss designed several large-capacity crematoriums of a sanitary and hygienic characters with no criminal features.
3. Finally, at some unknown date, Höss, with criminal intent converted several installations conceived for sanitary use, already under construction or perhaps completed, into extermination facilities.

In our judgment, the Exterminationist thesis at this point finds itself in a blind alley. If, with Pressac, we analyze the Birkenau crematoriums in depth, we come to the conclusion that their original conception is incompatible with the role they are given as wholesale human slaughterhouses. [6] But if we admit the commonplace character of the crematoriums — at least in their conception — we then enter into contradiction with the supposed memoirs of Höss, which until now have been considered the cornerstone of the Auschwitz legend.

As Professor Faurisson has said, with J.-C. Pressac's analysis, the legend of the gas chambers "has entered its death throes."

Appendix II: Marginal Notes to an Aerial Photograph of Auschwitz

Figures 8 and 8a have an extraordinary historical value. The photograph was taken by the U.S. Air Force on 25 August 1944 and then went completely unnoticed, without anything abnormal

being found in it by the photo interpretation specialists of the time. It was not until 1979, as a result of the telecast of the *Holocaust* series, that two specialists of the CIA, D.A. Brugioni and R.G. Poirier, rescued it from the dusty archives, interpreting it and commenting on it according to the official dogma. [1] In spite of their Exterminationist good intentions, the authors had to acknowledge that

even though the camp survivors remember a cloud of smoke and flames that issued continuously from the chimneys of the crematory furnaces and that was visible in a radius of some kilometers, the photographs we have studied do not offer any positive proof. [2]

G. Wellers comments on this grave disagreement with the official thesis as follows:

In short, the photos do not confirm the statements according to which the crematories and burial pits were in constant activity every day.

I am willing to believe that it is more a matter of an expression than a daily reality: when we say: "I'm dying of hunger," we are not really at the brink of death. [3]

The confession of Wellers is important insofar as it serves to acknowledge that it is not necessary to take the testimony of the supposed witnesses literally. It is an important concession. In order to give his argument more force, the French author remarks that on the date the photograph was taken, no convoys of Jews arrived at Auschwitz. According to Wellers,

this explains perfectly the absence, on the days indicated, of exceptional activity around the crematoria and of clouds of smoke issuing from the chimneys or from the incineration pits. [4]

As we have stated, the photograph which we reproduce is dated 25 August 1944, a date on which, according to the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz, no convoy arrived at Birkenau. But the previous day, according to the same source, yielded the arrival of five convoys destined for extermination. And it is absolutely inconceivable that several thousands of people could be exterminated and incinerated in less than 24 hours without leaving the slightest trace. In the photograph, which, according to the position of the shadows, was taken in the early hours of the morning, there is not the slightest trace of smoke, open fires, or movement of crowds of people or vehicles around the crematoriums to be detected. That the five convoys slated for extermination should have vanished into thin air in less than 24 hours without leaving any traces is one of the typical physical impossibilities that characterize the Auschwitz legend.

With regard to the photograph itself, we call attention to several aspects we find interesting. The gate to crematorium II is open, which is surprising in an installation supposedly ultrasecret. The photo interpretation specialists of 1979 explain that it was due to the fact that a group of prisoners was making its way in that direction in order to be exterminated. [5] Wellers, who knows that according to the *Kalendarium* no convoys arrived that day, has to correct the analysts of the CIA:

We have to think, with some reservations, that on the 25th of August it was a question of a transfer of a group of detainees from Birkenau to the Neuengamme camp. [6]

Therefore in the opposite direction.

On the other hand, no one has explained the function of the garden which was situated on the grounds of the crematorium. In good Exterminationist logic, it must have formed part of the *attrezzo* [stage effects] arranged on the scene by the Germans to confuse their victims about their fatal destiny.

The rectangular hole located in the upper part of the enclosure of crematorium II is characterized by the CIA analysts, inclined towards any interpretation of a sinister kind, as a “possible cremation pit,” without noting the absurdity of digging a pit to burn cadavers when the logical thing would be to burn them on a pyre.

In short, the interpretation given by the analysts of 1979 to this photograph prove the legend’s power of suggestion: Brugioni and Poirier are “seeing” the extermination process on a day when, according to the official sources themselves, there was no such extermination.

Notes

Main Text

1. ☪ These research scholars are known today as Revisionists. A good study of the development of Historical Revisionism can be found in the work of the Italian author Carlo Mattogno, *Il mito dello sterminio ebraico*, Monfalcone, Sentinella d’Italia, 1985, pp. 42-55 [Translated in this issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*].
2. ☪ Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, London, Arrow, 1984.
3. ☪ Danuta Czech, “Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz- Birkenau,” *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Nos. 2 (1959), 3 (1960), 4 (1961), 6 (1962), 7 (1964), 8 (1964). The aforementioned C. Mattogno points out that the *Kalendarium* enjoys a great reputation among Establishment historians, but in reality, rather than an historical scientific work, it is essentially a propagandistic endeavor whose principal aim is to give sanction, through a vast pseudoscientific apparatus, to the myth of the ‘death factory’ of Auschwitz” (C. Mattogno, *Wellers e i ‘gasati’ di Auschwitz*, Parma, La Sfinge, n.d., p.6). Mattogno, in the same work, gives six examples of falsehoods, inventions, falsification of sources and utilization of spurious sources in the *Kalendarium* (pp. 6-9).
4. ☪ There is no unanimity with respect to the nomenclature of the crematoriums of Birkenau. The Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police, Auschwitz (*Zentralbauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei Auschwitz*) employed a double nomenclature, giving these two crematoriums the numbers I and II as well as II and III respectively. In our work we have chosen the latter designation as being that generally accepted at the present time (cf, for example, J.z. Pressac, “Les ‘Krematorien’ IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz,” *Le Monde Juif*, No. 107, 1982, p. 97).
5. ☪ Wilhelm Stäglich, *Le Mythe d’Auschwitz*, Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1986, p. 9.
6. ☪ Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, p. 105, quoted by W. Stäglich, op. cit., p. 434, n. 108.
7. ☪ Testimony of Mark Klein reproduced in Léon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, *El Tercer Reich y los judios*, Barcelona, Seix Barral, 1960, p. 216.
8. ☪ Document NO-4463. The Americans, in the celebrated postwar trials by the Nuremberg Military Tribunal (NMT), classified evidential documents according to an alphanumeric code. This document corresponds to the “concentration camps” trial (US versus Pohl, *Concentration Camps Case*).

9. ☞ Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire*, Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1980, p. 155 (facsimile reproduction of the letter of K. Smolen, director of the Auschwitz, to the author).
10. ☞ J.-C. Pressac, loc. cit. p. 114.
11. ☞ R Faurisson, op. cit., p. 153.
12. ☞ Ibid.
13. ☞ Georges Wellers, *Les chambres à gaz ont existé*, n p., Gallimard, 1981, p. 90; AAW, *Les chambres à gaz secret d'État*, Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1984, p.198-199.
14. ☞ Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Costa Mesa, Institute for Historical Review, 1980, pp. 120-121-; R. Faurisson, op. cit., p. 85. Professor Faurisson has modified his initial position, indicating that it is not possible to determine the purpose of the Vergasungskeller inasmuch as we do not have a detailed plan of all the constituent parts of Crematorium II (personal letter from the author 17 February 1987). However, the same author has also hazarded the hypothesis that the Vergasungskeller was the place where the products employed in fumigation were stored. In France he points out, this material must be stored "in a dry basement, well ventilated and locked" ("Gas zur Vergasung," paper of Professor Faurisson, 1985?).
15. ☞ J.-C. Pressac, on the other hand, maintains that a report of the test engineer of the manufacturing company which made the furnaces, "clarifies directly" that the Vergasungskeller was Leichenkeller 1 (loc. cit., p. 107, n. 10]. However, this report confines itself to indicating that it had still not been possible to dismantle the framework from the ceiling of Leichenkeller 2 (AAW, op. cit., p. 199), so that the only thing that this text "clarifies directly" is that the Leichenkeller spoken of in document NO-4473 was Leichenkeller 2. The Vergasungskeller could have been located in any other underground space of the crematorium, not necessarily in Leichenkeller 1 (let us remember that there was also a Leichenkeller 3).
16. ☞ Personal letter from the author (19 September 1986).
17. ☞ AAW, op. cit., p. 76. There are two carbon copies of the original document preserved in the Auschwitz museum. In one of them there is mention of "three gastight towers (*drei gasdichte Türme*); the word "towers" (*Türme*) is repeated in the the document a little farther on. In the other copy, the word "towers" had been corrected to "doors" (*Türen*), leaving the second one, on the other hand, intact. Who the "corrector" was is not known. Reproduction of the documents: *Colloque de l'Ecole des hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, L'Allemagne nazie et le genocide Juif*, n p., Gallimard-Le Seuil, 1985, J.Z. Pressac, "Etude et Réalisation des Krematorien IV et V d'Auschwitz-Birkenau," pp.571- 572.
18. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 4, 1961, p. 110. Cited by C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz un caso di plagio*, Parma, La Sfinge, s.f, p. 12.
19. ☞ W. Stäglich, op. cit., p. 72. He cites as source the Central Construction Office of Hamburg," which alludes to the crematory furnace of Oejendorf.
20. ☞ C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz. un caso di plagio*, p. 13.
21. ☞ R. Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1982, p.79.
22. ☞ L.A. Rollins, "Azriel Eisenberg Presents the Greatest Sob Story Ever Told (with a Cast of Millions)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1985-1986, p. 485, vol. 6, No. 4.
23. ☞ *Gran Enciclopedia del Mundo*, Bilbao, Durvan, 1966, article "Incineration," volume 10, p. 852. In this case, a cadaver leaves from "two to three kilos of white mineral ashes."
24. ☞ W. Stäglich, op. cit. p. 73
25. ☞ Protection was also necessary against high explosive and incendiary bombs. British historian David Irving has made clear that the principal cause of death in the Allied air raids on the German cities was the emanation of poison gases, carbon monoxide above all, pro-

duced by fires, to the extent that the Germans, on several occasions, performed autopsies on cadavers, suspecting the the Allied had used poison gas. (D. Irving, *La destrucción de Dresde*, Madrid, Uriarte, n.d., pp. 43, 64 and 243).

26. ☞ M. Gilbert points out that the United State Air Force, by mistake, dropped a number of bombs on Birkenau. One of them killed thirty civilian workers (M. Gilbert, op. cit., p. 315). Let us point out in passing the difficulty of keeping secret the mass killings supposedly carried out in Birkenau, since it is admitted that civilian workers moved around within the area of the “extermination camp.”
27. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit., pp. 205-208. As incredible as it may seem, specialist reports have never been made on the buildings which supposedly served as gas chambers. For the various postwar tribunals it has been enough to recall article 21 of the statutes of the International Military Tribunal of 1945 to obviate any investigation of the physical reality of the gas chambers. Article 21 establishes:

The Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge.

28. ☞ Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*, Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1980, pp. 314-317.
29. ☞ We are indebted for this information to the Italian investigator, Carlo Mattogno, to whom, moreover, nothing indicates that these spots are openings.
30. ☞ Witness H. Tauber, for example, speaks of “the little shafts of the four openings through which the gas was thrown into the chamber” (AAW, *Les chambres à gaz secret d’Etat*, p. 208). J.-C. Pressac mentions “the little chimneys which stuck up from the roof of the gas chamber about 40-50 centimeters” (*L’Album d’Auschwitz*, n p., Seuil, 1983, p. 212).
31. ☞ J.-C. Pressac, “Les ‘Krematorien’ IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz,” p. 127.
32. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit. pp. 109-116.
33. ☞ With regard to the memoirs of R. Höss, commander of Auschwitz, see the critique of Paul Rassinier (*El drama de los judios europeos*), Barcelona, Acervo, 1976, pp. 53-63), R. Faurisson (*Mémoire en défense*, pp. 157-164; very enlightening also is his work “Comment les britanniques ont obtenu les aveux de Rudolf Höss, commandant d’Auschwitz,” *Annales d’histoire révisionniste*, No. 1, spring 1987, pp 137-152), W. Stäglich (op. cit. pp. 272-298) and, above all, C. Mattogno (*Auschwitz. le “confessioni” di Höss*, Parma, n d., La Sfinge).
34. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit. pp. 109-111.
35. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit. pp. 111-112.
36. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit. p. 113.
37. ☞ AAW, *Les chambres à gaz secret d’Etat*, p. 198.
38. ☞ W. Stäglich, op. cit., p. 219.
39. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit. pp. 114-115.
40. ☞ AAW, *Les chambres à gaz secret d’Etat*, p. 208. Chapter VII (“Auschwitz”) in this work written by G. Wellers.
41. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit. p. 129.
42. ☞ Compare with the procedure followed in removing a cadaver from the gas chamber in some American prisons: “The doctor and two assistants must enter the chamber wearing gas masks, rubber apron, rubber gloves; the doctor shakes the head of hair of the dead person in order to eliminate as far as possible the molecules of hydrocyanic acid ...; the two assistants must wash the body with a stream [of water]” (S. Thion, op. cit. p. 307).
43. ☞ [Missing in Original. Suggested reading: Das Rudolf Gutachten]

44. ☞ This interpretation seems to be upheld even by a notorious Exterminationist like J.-C. Pressac, who states that large ventilated basements had been provided in crematoriums II and III, “necessitated by an increasing mortality rate and the delay of the several days that were likely to elapse between the death and the cremation” (*L’album d’Auschwitz*, p. 212). In the same sense, “Les ‘Krematorien’ IV et V et leurs ...,” p. 108. An important contradiction derives, in our judgment, from this fact Pressac claims that crematoriums II and III were conceived initially without any criminal purpose (cf Appendix I), being converted later into human slaughterhouses. Following the reasoning of the French author, one arrives at the absurd conclusion that these crematoriums needed mortuaries when they had to attend only to the usual natural death rate of the camp, and that, on the other hand, they did not need them when they had to contend with mountains of cadavers of the “exterminated.”
45. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit. p. 134.
46. ☞ DEGESCH, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*, Frankfurt, n.d., p. 8. With regard to the installation and functioning of gas chambers for the execution of men condemned to death in some American prisons, see S. Thion, op. cit. pp. 301-309 and the newspaper *The Spotlight*, 24 September 1979 (reprint), p. 13.
47. ☞ “Above the gas chamber rose up the little shafts of the four openings through which the gas was thrown into the chamber. These openings were closed by a slab of concrete fitted with two wooden handles.” Deposition of H. Tauber, member of the Sonderkommando assigned in crematorium II, before the examining magistrate of the Tribunal of Cracow on 24 May 1945 (AAW, *Les chambres à gaz secret d’Etat*, p. 208).
48. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit. p. 90.
49. ☞ AAW, *Les chambres à gaz secret d’Etat*, p. 199.
50. ☞ J.-C. Pressac, “Les ‘Krematorien’ IV et V de Birkenau et leurs ...,” p. 128. In another work, Pressac is still more explicit, indicating that “it was possible to kill with gas (gazer) in both mortuaries since both were equipped with ventilation.” (*L’Album d’Auschwitz*, p. 214).
51. ☞ DEGESCH, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*, p. 8.
52. ☞ Friedrich P. Berg, “The German Delousing Chambers,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 1986, pp. 73-94. Document NO-18 reproduces the plan of one of these chambers.
53. ☞ DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*, p. 11. Cf Figure 18.
54. ☞ DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*, p. 17.
55. ☞ In this case exceptional precautions must be taken “Where the fumigation is restricted to the holds and stores of grain, no one is allowed to stay on board the ship until two hours have passed after the reopening of the last space fumigated. Access to the deck and the areas not subjected to fumigation may be permitted only after the chemical test has proven that the gas did not penetrate into the unfumigated parts of the ship.” (*Zyklon for Pest Control*, p. 23).
56. ☞ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, n.p., William Benton, 1970, volume 11, p. 941. Two hundred parts per million are equivalent to scarcely 240 milligrams per cubic meter.
57. ☞ AAW, *Les chambres à gaz secret d’Etat*, p. 258.
58. ☞ Documents NI-O34 and NI-036. Cited by C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: le “confessioni” di Höss*, p. 37. The argument expounded below is based on the data from this work.
59. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 135.
60. ☞ G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 136.
61. ☞ Professor Faurisson considered the story in the memoirs of Höss, to the effect that the members of the Sonderkommando could proceed with the hauling out of the cadavers from

the gas chamber immediately after the “gassing” without being provided with gas masks, physically impossible (R. Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ...*, pp. 157-164; S. Thion, op. cit., pp. 179-180).

62. G. Wellers, op. cit., p. 210.

63. DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*, p. 21.

64. R Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, p. 39.

Appendix I

1. *L'Album d'Auschwitz*, p. 212.

2. J.-C. Pressac, “Les ‘Krematorien’ IV et V de Birkenau et leurs ...,” P- 126.

3. Rudolf Höss [Höss], *Yo, comandante de Auschwitz*, Barcelona, Muchnik, 1979, p.145.

4. R Höss [Höss], op. cit., p. 192.

5. *L'album d'Auschwitz*, p. 212.

6. In studying the extermination process in crematoriums IV and V, Pressac employs expressions like “industrially the running of the operations is aberrant” (Les ‘Krematorien’ IV et V de Brikenau et leurs . ” p. 126).

Appendix II

1. Dino A. Brugioni and Robert G. Poirier, “Une Analyse rétrospective du complexe d’extermination ‘Auschwitz-Birkenau,’” *Le Monde Juif*, No. 97, January-March 1980, p. 2. The authors acknowledge having based their commentaries on the works of Kraus and Kulka, N. Levin, and “the official investigations of the Polish government”

2. D.A. Brugioni and R. G. Poirier, loc. cit. p. 15.

3. G. Wellers, op. cit. p. 127.

4. Ibidem.

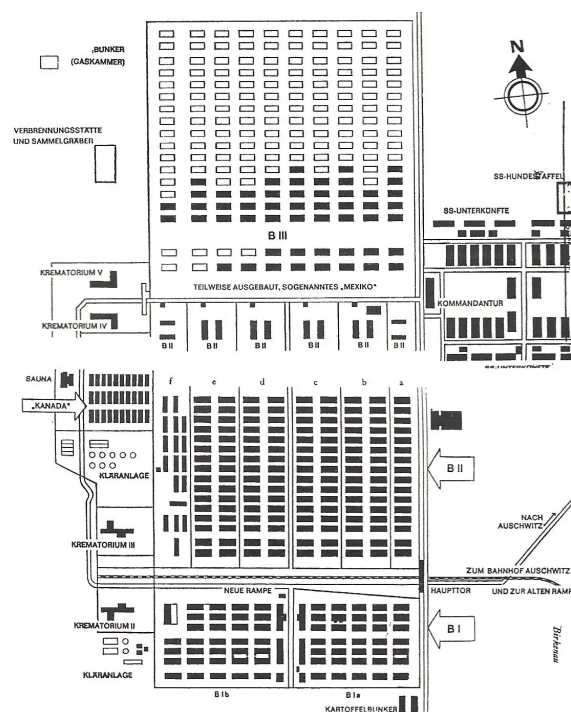
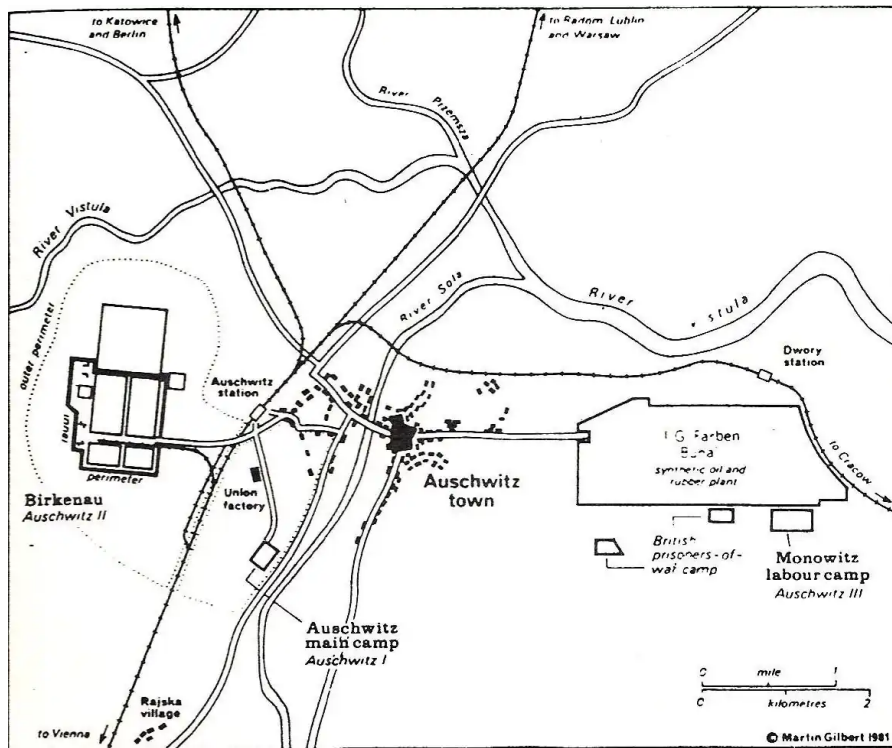
5. D.A. Brugioni and R.G. Poirier, loc. cit. pp. 8-9.

6. G. Wellers, op. cit. p. 128.

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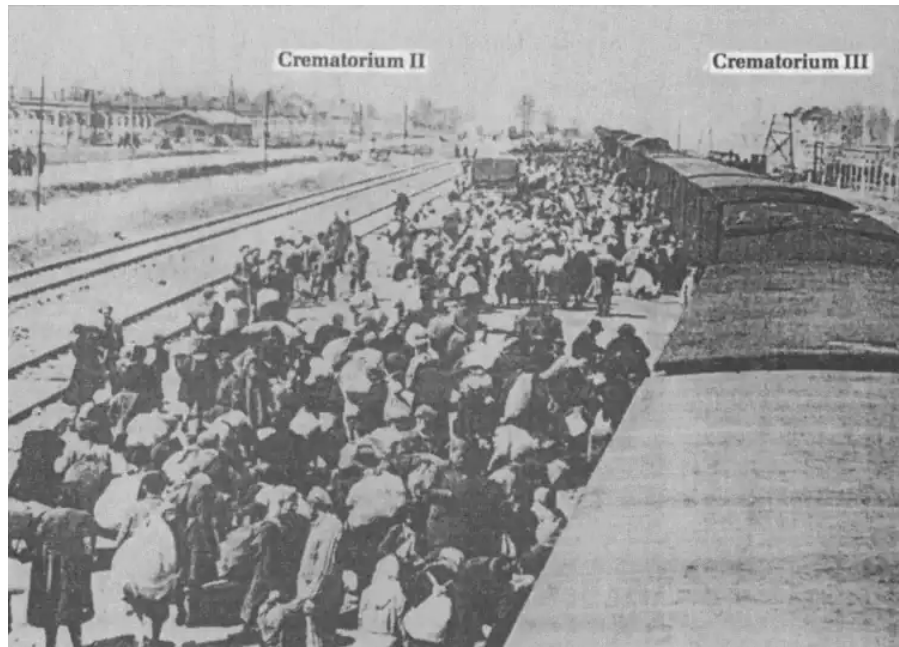


Figure 3: Arrival of a convoy at the Birkenau ramp. (from Casaril, *L'Album d'Auschwitz*)



Figure 4: Women on the Birkenau ramp. Crematorium III is in the background. (from Casaril, *L'Album d'Auschwitz*)

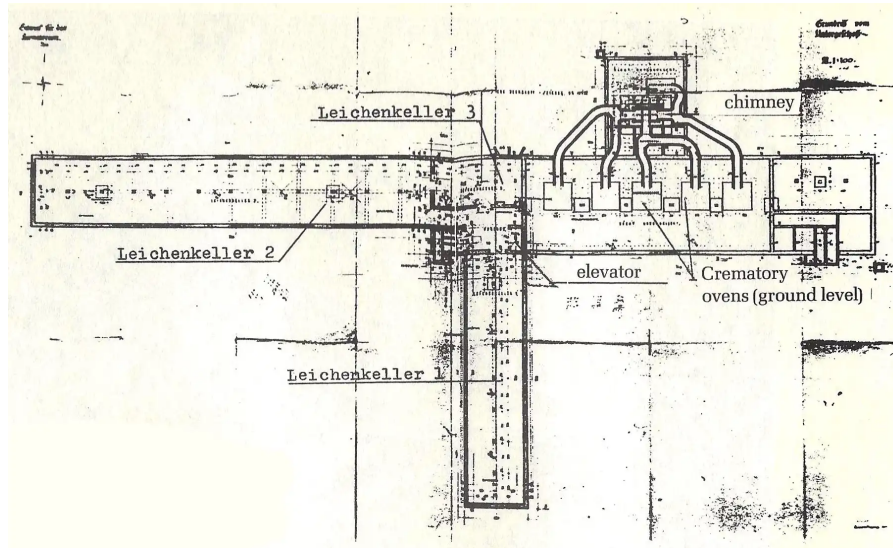


Figure 5: Plan of crematorium II at Birkenau. (from AAVV, *Les chambres à gas secret d'Etat*)

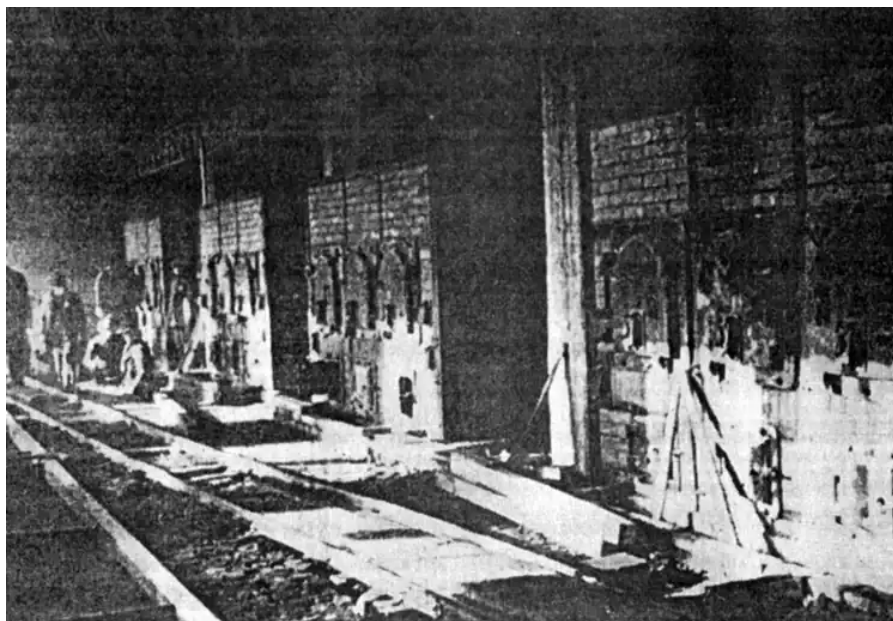
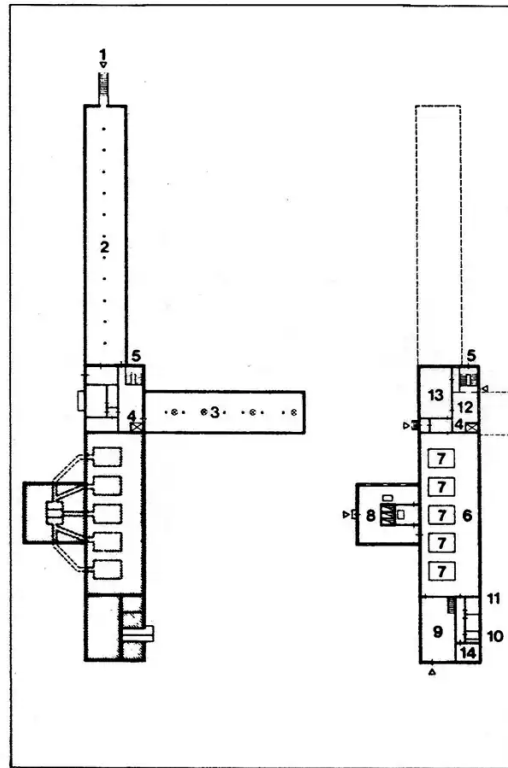


Figure 6: Crematory room of crematorium II or III (while under construction). (from *KL Auschwitz*)



1 Stairs to changing room; 2 Changing room; 3 Gas chamber; ■ concrete pillar; ⊙ gas inlet; 4 Lift for corpses; 5 Chute for remains of corpses; 6 Incineration room; 7 Ovens, each with 3 chambers; 8 Chimney; 9 Coke store; 10 Washroom WC; 11 Kommandoführer's office; 12 Execution room; 13 Room where gold fillings melted down in crematorium 2, dissecting room; 14 In crematorium 3 quarters of those who melted down gold fillings

Figure 7: Plan of crematorium III (crematorium II was its mirror image) (from Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*)

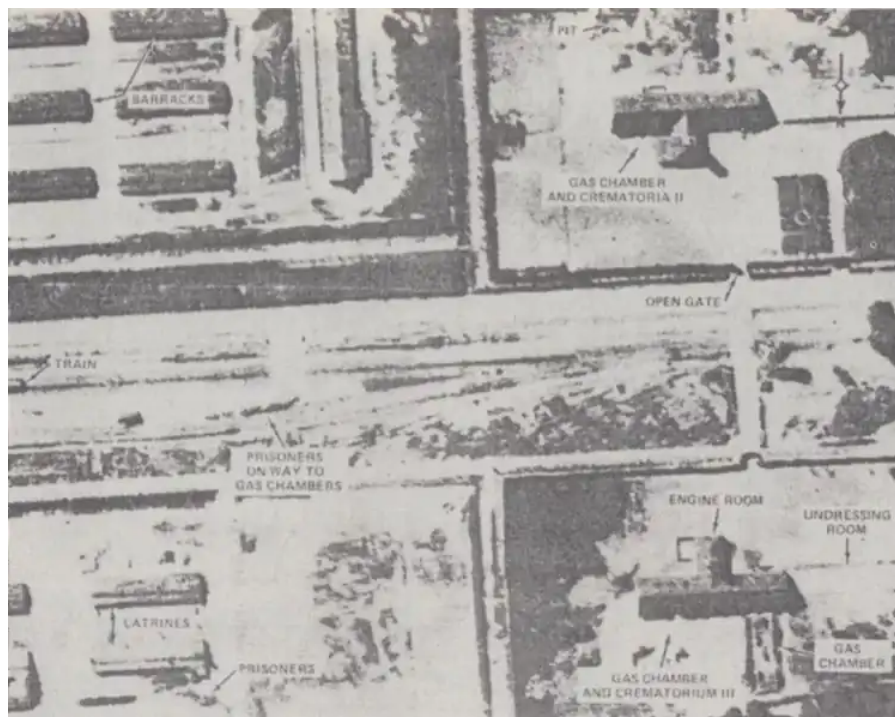


Figure 8: Aerial photograph taken by the U.S. Army Air Force on August 25, 1944. (from Brugioni and Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited*)

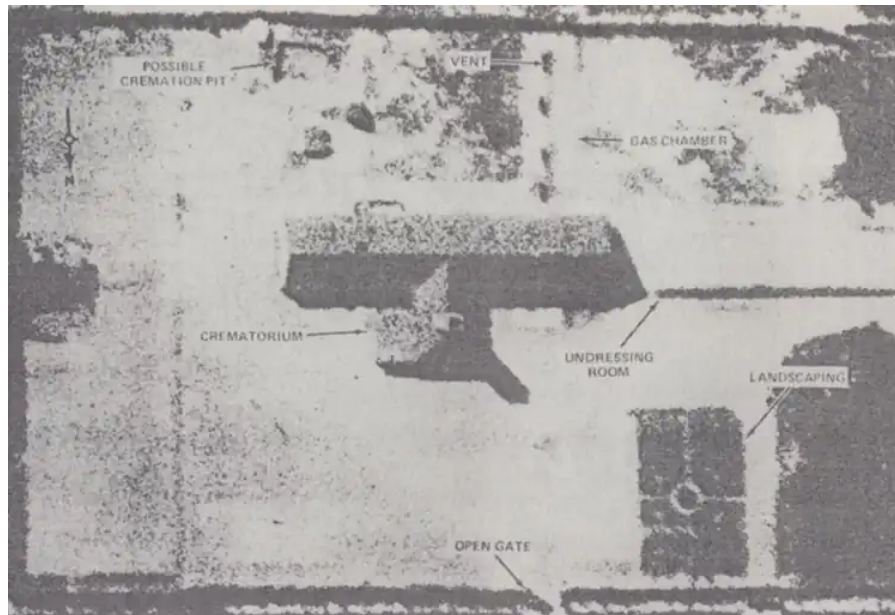


Figure 8a : Enlargement of the preceeding photograph (Figure 8) showing details of crematorium II. (from Brugioni and Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited*)

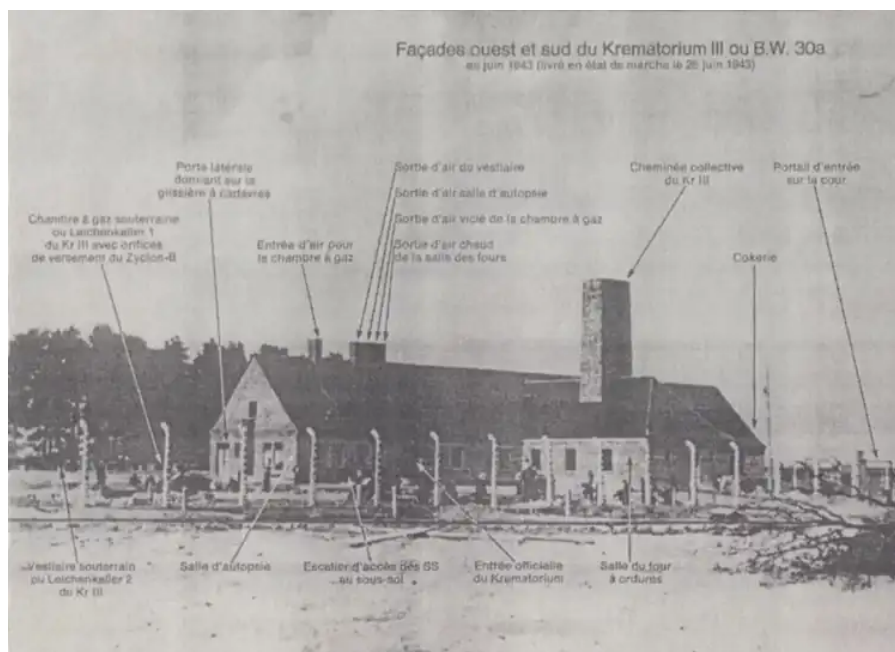


Figure 9: South and West facades of crematorium III. (from Casaril, *L'Album d'Auschwitz*)

Figure 11 : The “proof of proofs” according to Pressac and Klarsfeld. (from *VSD (Vendredi-Samedi-Dimanche)*)

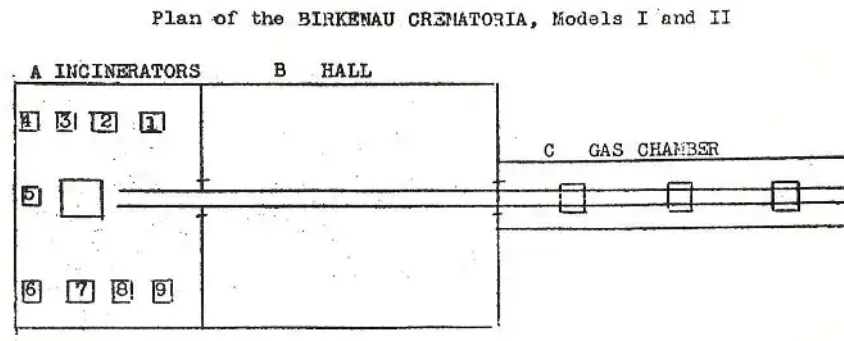


Figure 12 : Plan of crematorium II and III of Birkenau, according to Wetzler. (from the U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C OSS-C.I.D. XL8883)

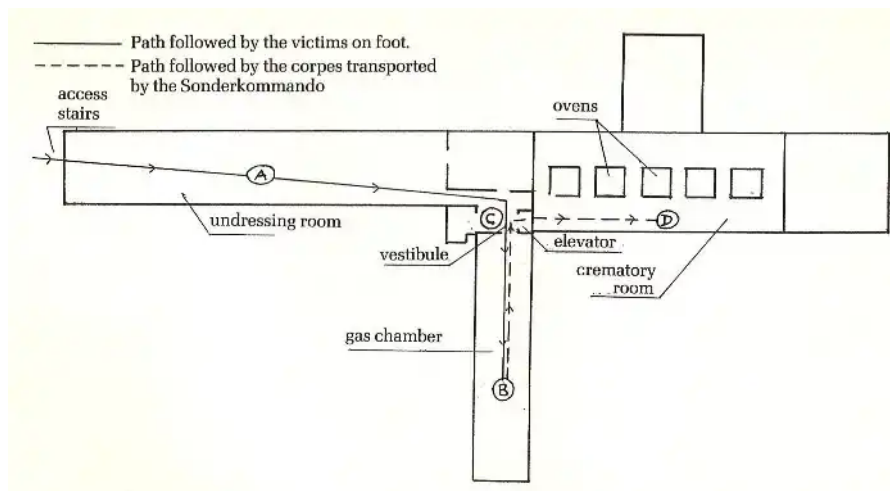
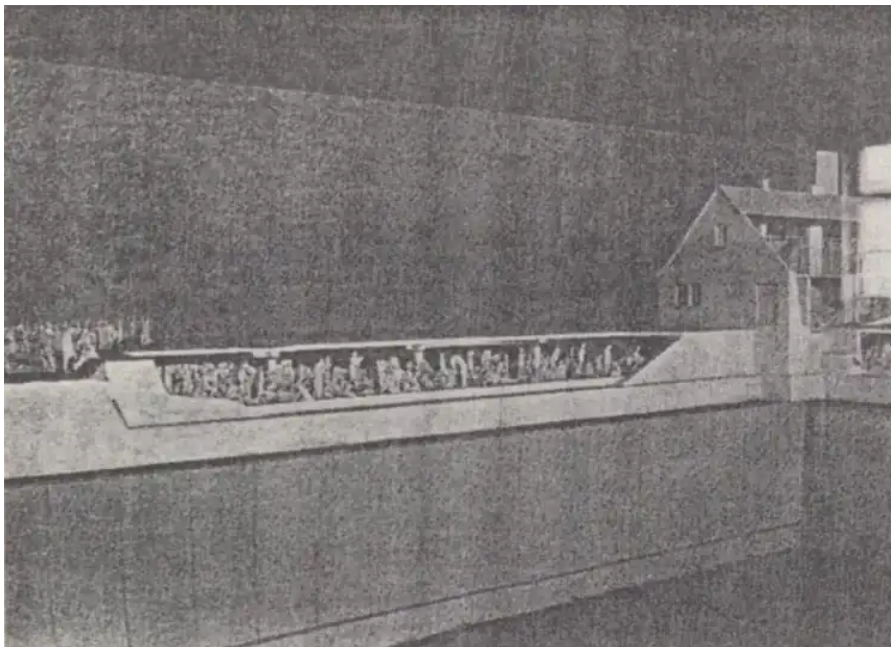


Figure 13 : Route followed by the victims, according to the official thesis. (drawing by the author)



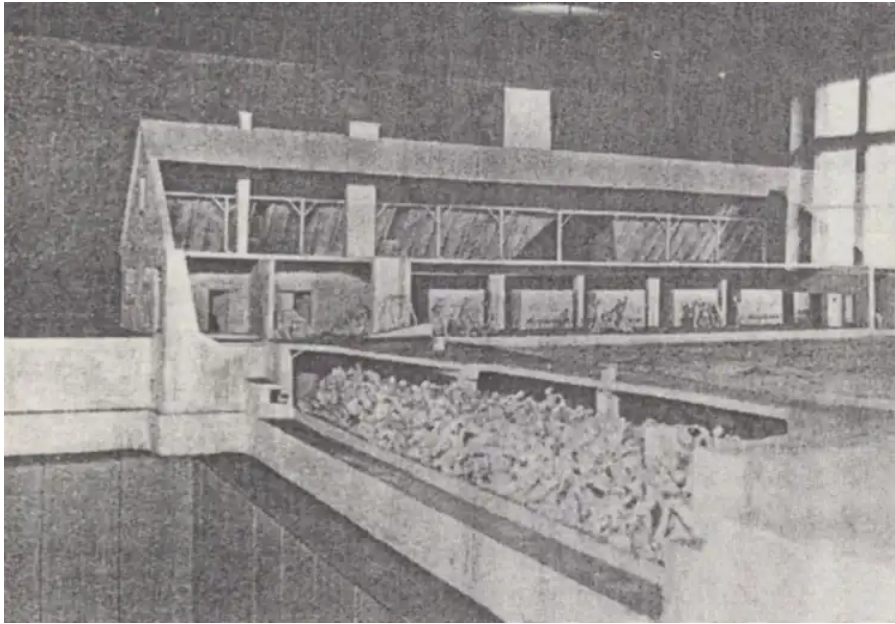


Figure 14 : Reconstruction of the “extermination process” according to the Auschwitz Museum.
(from Stäglich, *The Auschwitz Myth*)

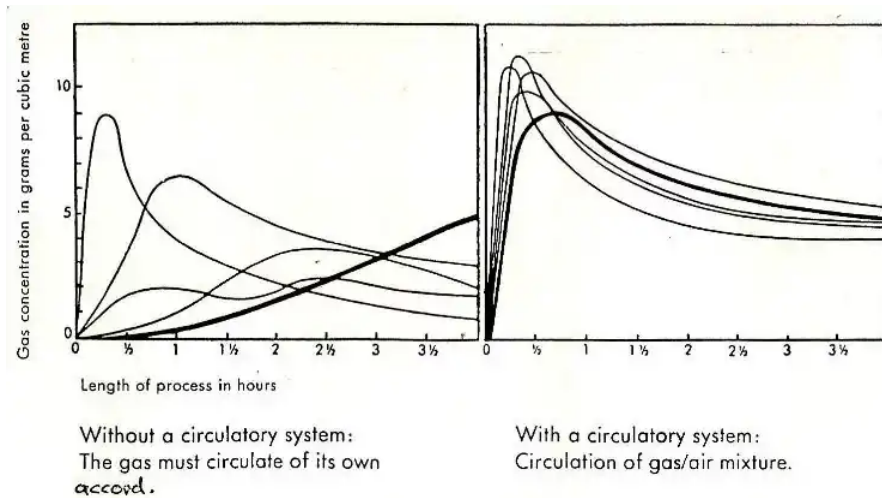


Figure 15 : Diagram illustrating the effectiveness of the circulatory system. (from DEGESCH, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*)

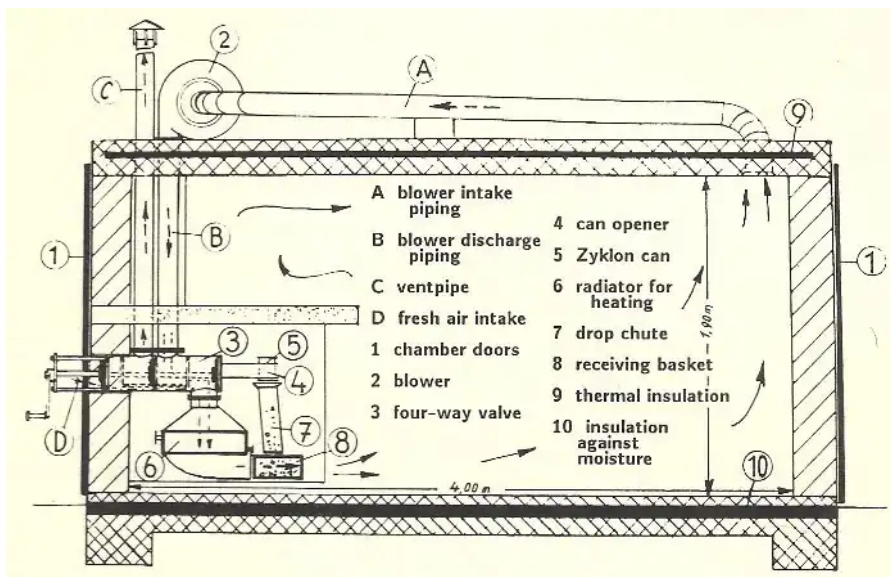


Figure 16 : Elevation drawing of a delousing chamber with a DEGESCH circulatory system.
(from F.P. Berg, "The German Delousing Chambers," *The Journal of Historical Review*)

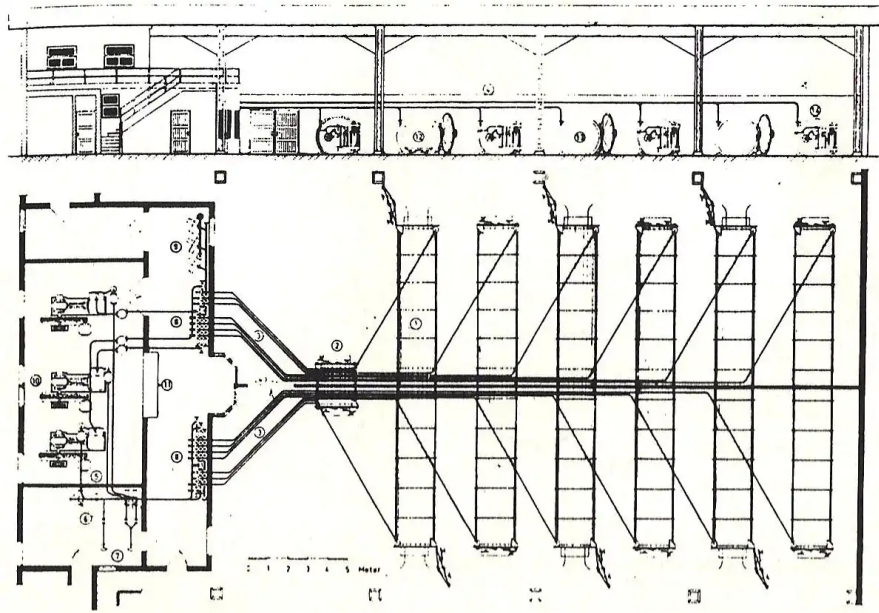


Figure 17 : Plan of a vacuum fumigation plant, Casablanca (Morocco). (from DEGESCH, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*)

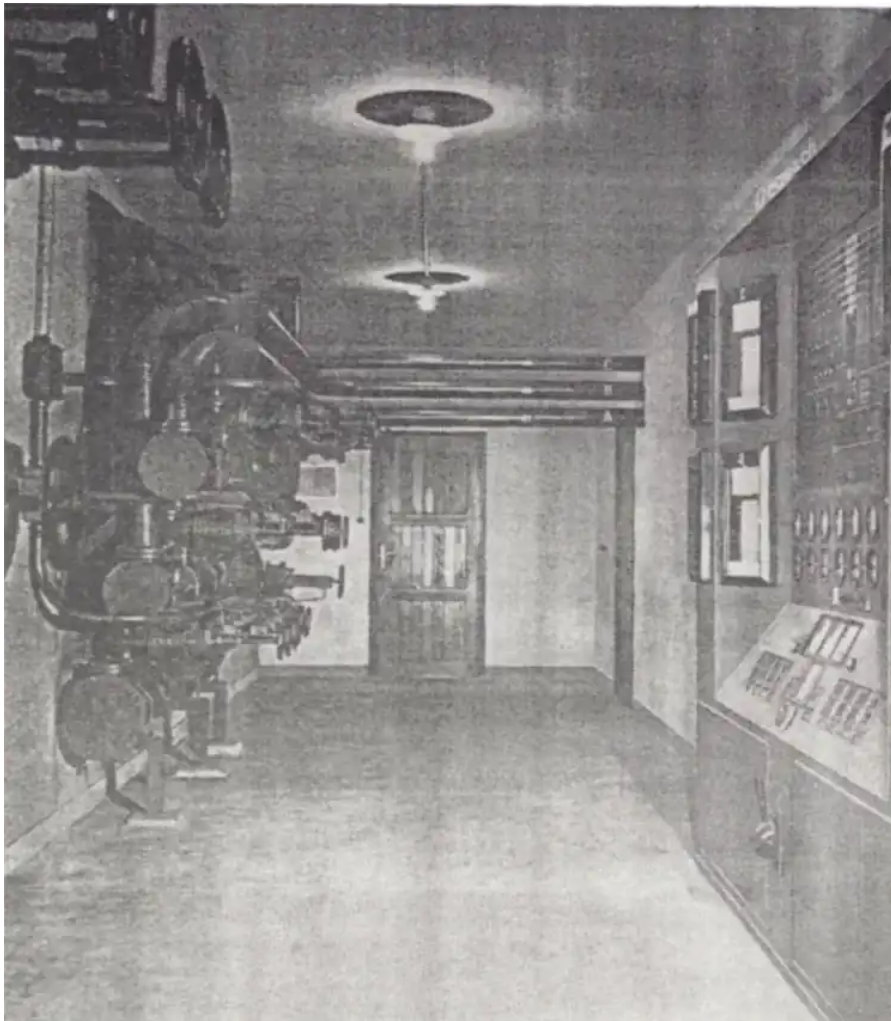


Figure 17a : Vacuum fumigation plant, Casablanca (Morocco). Control room with control panel and control valves. (from DEGESCH, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*)



Figure 18 : *Zyklon* containers and their contents: snippets and wooden discs impregnated with hydrogen cyanide. (from DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*)

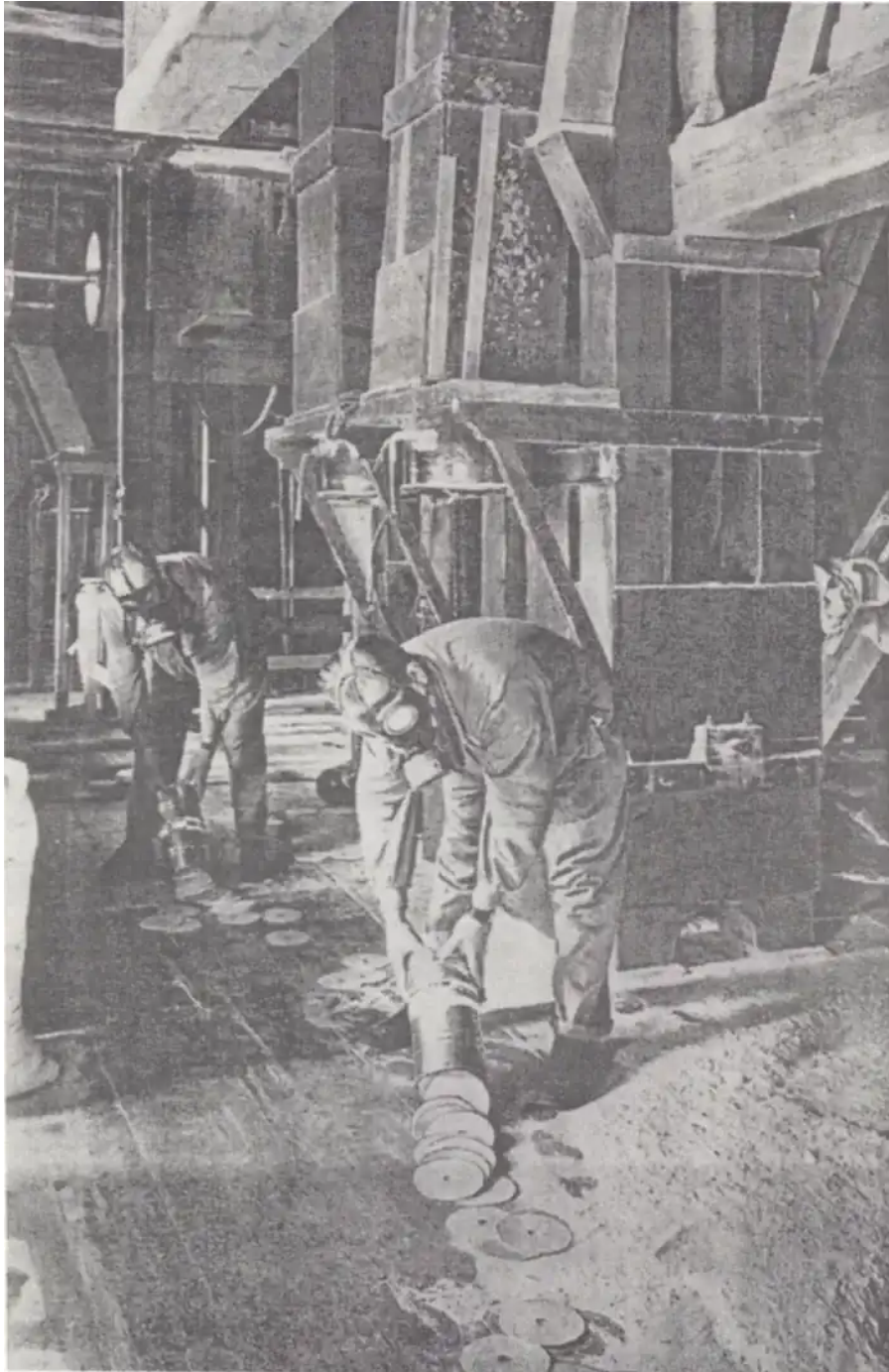


Figure 19 : Fumigation with Zyklon (from DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*)

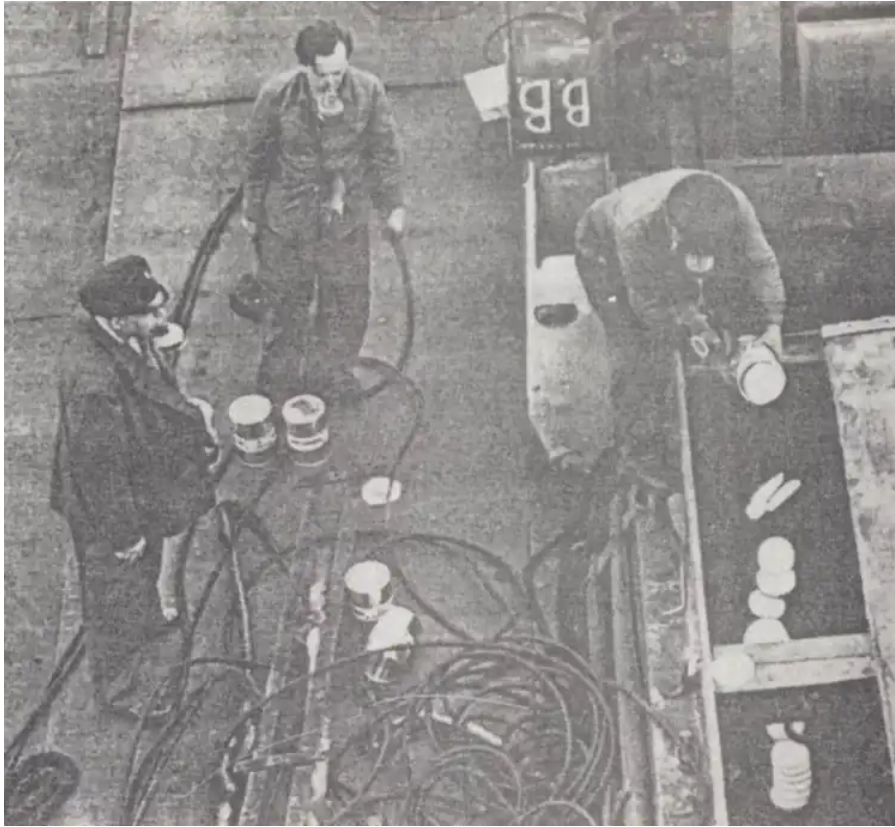


Figure 20: Fumigation of a ship's hold with Zyklon (from DEGESCH, *Zyklon for Pest Control*)

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This article was translated by Tom Kerr.

About the Author

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Book review

The Second Oldest Profession

- THE SECOND OLDEST PROFESSION: SPIES AND SPYING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, by Phillip Knightley. New York: Penguin Books edition, 1988; xii, 436 pp., photographs and index, \$7.95, ISBN 0-14-010655-3.

Reviewed by James J. Martin

People over-impressed by spies and espionage are fond of quoting the observation attributed to Napoleon that a spy “in the right place” is worth 20,000 soldiers on the battlefield. At Waterloo, Napoleon could have used 100,000 more armed men and five fewer spies. Even earlier, when he faced Imperial Russia as an adversary, Napoleon did not get anywhere near his money’s worth from spies, if anything at all, and they had the loveliest of situations for espionage agents: the Czar’s intelligence service transmitted its communications in the language of the enemy, the French Nevertheless, the catastrophe of 1812 was not averted. Apparently the failure to conquer Russia was another case of the spies not being in the “right place.”

These reflections have been inspired by contemplating some of the implications of Phillip Knightley’s new book on the occupation or enterprise of intelligence-gathering, though he has chosen to concentrate on the history of this endeavor for mainly the last 75 years. Those whose first encounter with the author was his book *The First Casualty* (1975), which dealt so engagingly and informatively with the phenomenon we call the war correspondent, will find here the same genial style and feeling for narrative, the same sure competence in mustering his sources, and the same no-nonsense direct and unequivocal judgments and conclusions.

We have long been entertained by a vast number of fictional yarns and allegedly “real” accounts about spies and intelligence operations in which the activity is enhanced by clever devices into an occupation of the highest exciting romantic nature. And its operatives invariably emerge as heroes and role models of the most stunning sort, the fictional ones maybe more glamorous than the “real life” figures; Ian Fleming’s James Bond, whose novels and films have entertained many millions, is probably the most memorable of a stream of such creations.

But a large number of the real life spies reported by Knightley are a sordid and commonplace lot, a surprisingly large number of them not very bright, few imaginative, and in the main surprisingly unproductive. If their supply of useful secret information about whomever they are supposed to report on were compared to the output of farmers, and was as crucial to human survival, the race would have died of starvation long ago. And what is specially depressing to those brought up on the glamor of film characters such as Double-O Seven and Matt Helm, as well as several other attractive sleuths in espionage in many war thrillers, the people Knightley parades by us lack most of the drama and mystery, let alone the good looks, one gets to expect of such actors. Even Mata Hari really comes down to a kind of humdrum-looking lass one can see many superior to on almost any afternoon at the shopping mall. If most of the characters populating

The Second Oldest Profession had been recruited for what we call “show-biz,” one might think many suitable to play extras in the comedies of Ben Turpin or W. C. Fields, or as inept bit players in the short-subjects buffooneries of Clark & McCullough.

It appears to this reviewer that Knightley has two main points to make: 1) spies and spying have been gravely exaggerated over the last 75 years and the total record of their production has been extremely modest, if indeed measurable, in many instances, and 2) there is an inverse relationship between production and effectiveness on the one hand, and growth in an almost exponential manner in terms of money, personnel, budgets and spread of activity on the other, especially in the last 40 years, and increasingly so by the decade.

Knightley’s drastic assessment of the various intelligence establishments in the two World Wars will be of primary interest to Revisionists, no doubt. This will be especially true for those who long ago grew weary of the constant gasbags turning out the gee-what-a-great-job-we-did espionage books, either by self-serving memoir-production factories or by people who are hardly anything but promotional flacks seeking to gild the reputation of various administrative paradises, hopeful of sustaining expanding demands for more personnel and more money, usually to produce less of what they are hired to locate.

Knightley is convinced that espionage systems are becoming better than ever, however, in one department exposing and penetrating one another and reducing relative effectiveness to the point where they might as well stay home and use the national library facilities in a thorough manner, which might result in the accumulation of far more information of a useful sort about their adversaries than they ever accumulate through cloak-and-dagger adventures wandering about in one another’s country, let alone what can be learned right at home through electronic interception and surveillance systems and the ever-increasing efficiency of satellite photographic snooping operations.

For those unfamiliar with the author, it should be understood that Mr. Knightley is a British citizen residing in London, and that his book, like David Irving’s recent biography of Sir Winston Churchill is obviously directed first of all to citizens of the United Kingdom and other parts of the world populated by descendants of those who created the British Empire. Thus there is some neglect of various areas in the subject peculiar to American concerns, though there is compensation for this in the closing chapters, where much attention is directed to a percipient overview of the CIA and the intelligence history of the last four decades. Another area examined in considerable detail along with this, but probably never detailed enough for Britons, is the astounding circumstances involving and surrounding the string of prominent British intelligence figures who have defected to the Soviet Union since the end of World War Two (most of chapters 12, 13 and 14).

Knightley might have made his book even more useful and informative if he had added two chapters, the first on the immensely complicated electronic intelligence communications involving half a dozen powers in the year and a half or so prior to the outbreak of general war in the Pacific in 1941 with the Pearl Harbor debacle (it would be very interesting to learn what Britain and Australia really knew about the entire Purple-Magic business, after all the hinting over the years), and the second on a totally neglected sector, the operations of Israel’s Mossad, with its worldwide spread of activities in half the countries of the world, it seems, in the last quarter of a century. And he should have spared us running by the Tricycle/Dusko Popov stuff and its fake omniscience concerning Japanese political and martial planning. Popov knew about as much about all that and the American situation in Hawaii as he knew about the traffic in contraband paprika on the Danube, though his German contacts knew less. Why major books on Pearl Harbor

of the last dozen years even bother to mention him is a puzzler, though one or two have really dismantled him.

Knightley may also be quarreled with for his boosting Richard Sorge as an espionage giant. For a man who could not even read Japanese he surely was a strange character to head up such an important and sensitive station as Red intelligence in Tokyo in the critical period ending with the precipitation of the Pacific War.

Sorge's fame rests on one key fortunate encounter: the liaison he made with the really significant figure in it all, Hotsumi Ozaki, the remarkable Japanese Communist who infiltrated right into the cabinet of the Japanese government. Without Ozaki, Sorge would have been lucky to report the changing of the seasons in Japan back to Moscow correctly.

The *Second Oldest Profession* gets off to a modestly paced start since there were no national intelligence organizations in existence even in vestigial shape before 1909, and that of the British, begun that year, was essentially little more than a shadow of what its innovators hoped would take shape. Intelligence in the First World War was primitive and probably comparable to what might have been recognizable a century before, except for the innovation of radio. Despite it all there were gargantuan reputations made in these times, but many were expert liars of several varieties, some of whom might have been more at home as vaudeville and circus performers, if one can believe their described idiosyncrasies. How most of them could ever have functioned as collectors of secret information useful to their home countries is not understandable. Knightley explodes a few of these pretentious frauds, and also does some puncturing of spy years involving cases which stubbornly remain as part of our cultural heritage regardless of what is done decade after decade to reduce them to proper dimensions.

The fakers of espionage drama and romance have always had a field day with Mata Hari, an alleged Javanese exotic dancer, but in actuality a passably attractive woman of Dutch ancestry named Margareta Gertruda Zelle, who had lived in Java a few years (Java was a Dutch colony in those times.) Forty-one years old at the time she was arrested in Paris by the French for allegedly spying for the Germans in 1917 (Knightley courteously concedes she was "far from beautiful"), she was tried and shot as a spy by the French (who demonstrated some arrogance in executing a female civilian of a neutral country). But no one ever established that she ever found out anything for anyone; Knightley concludes after looking at all the important accounts of it all carefully, "there was not a shred of evidence that Mata Hari had ever given the Germans any information at all, a fact that the French finally admitted in 1932" (the French historian Paul Allard in 1933 declared he had read everything ever published about the case and admitted that not only did he not know in the slightest what she was supposed to have done but that he had never met another Frenchman who knew a thing about that business either).

Another celebrated World War I espionage tale which has produced an immense literature concerned the Austrian soldier, Col. Alfred Redl, who allegedly supplied the Imperial Russian forces with much important information, which supposedly contributed heavily to Austrian military setbacks at Russian hands early in the war which began in August, 1914. Knightley's re-study revealed nothing of the kind. He found that the chief of Austrian intelligence had flatly admitted that the lack of success stemmed entirely from "military deficiencies" of the Austrian forces, while the Russian Army High Command considered Col. Redl a liability instead of an asset, and had summarily categorized what information received from him as obsolete even before the war had started.

Of maior interest to those concerned primarily with the war of 1939-1945 are chapters 8 and 10, which deal respectively with the famed British electronic surveillance apparatus credited with deciphering the German Ultra code system, and the first American central intelligence system, the ancestor of the CIA organization, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Knightley finds the reputations of both grievously inflated, if not terminally bloated into unrecognisability. By the time he gets through with them, various of their claims are discounted drastically.

Part of Knightley's interest in cutting the Ultra booster crowd down to size stems from the rise of a new historical industry within the Establishment, which originated about a dozen years ago after the publication of *The Ultra Secret* by Frederick Winterbotham in 1974 after it had been sat on officially for 30 years. This was followed by half a dozen other books, which, for the first time, exploited the concentrated enterprise based outside London at Bletchley Park. This operation became so attractive as a result of this now permitted publicity that a new kind of Establishment historical revisionism developed, characterized by the likes of Ronald Lewin's *Ultra Goes to War*. The consequence of this and related revisions was that the military commanders, so glorified in past accounts, were downgraded and the special information supplied by the Ultra-crackers at Bletchley Park was not only credited with making success in the field possible, but elevated to the top height of glitter.

These accounts come out gravely reduced as a result of Knightley's pursuit of this new round of glamorizing of intelligence-gathering in another form. He is inexact and not too clear in dealing with the analog of all this in the Pacific theater, but extremely cogent concerning the scene in Europe. Chapter 8 deserves slow and concentrated reading, and can hardly be more than outlined here. One of the persuasive lines of Ultra-pushers is that their work permitted British and American commanders (there is little if any evidence Ultra was shared with Stalin, though the Soviets may have had their own Ultra-crackers, as they were smart enough to break several British ciphers during the war) to have access to the most secret thoughts and plans of the Germans. In view of the number of spectacular disasters suffered from Dunkirk to Dieppe to North Africa to Arnhem to the Bulge the "Allied" leaders were not reading all this wondrous information too carefully, it would seem. But the whole yarn has little foundation anyway.

Knightley discovered that somewhere around 70% of German communications were not sent electronically in the first place. The use of teleprinters, special telephones, various surface cable systems, and other "landlines," immune from electronic interception, let alone the use of motor vehicle and motorcycle couriers, regular telephone, even pigeons and dogs, scrambles the legend of electronic compromising of all German communications. Sometimes two different modes were used for the same message: the question might go by regular postal telegraph, the answer, intercepted in Britain, by radio. *But* — the interceptors only had the answer, and had not the slightest idea what the question was.

Knightley further makes hash out of the yarn that Churchill permitted the bombing of Coventry to take place in order to conceal from the Germans that the British had cracked Ultra (and deciphered it via the Enigma machine, the analogs respectively of Purple and the Magic machine in the Pacific theater.) And he further demonstrates that the Germans were not fooled by some intelligence strategy about the time and place of the Normandy landings in June, 1944. (What the Germans could not cope with was holding off the legions of Western — supplied Stalin in the East and those of Eisenhower and Montgomery in the West simultaneously.)

"Ultra made a significant contribution to the war effort in a few fields only, and little or none in others," Knightley concludes, "it did not win the war and it is doubtful if it even shortened it." He goes on to drive in the final spike: "The combination of a long-held wartime secret and the

ability of articulate people to tell the story behind that secret once they were free to do so, has given Ultra an importance in intelligence history that it does not deserve.” And to make matters even more sober, Knightley quoted from another specialist on it all (p. 155), who declared bluntly, “for at least half the war poor British codes and ciphers probably gave away as much as was gained.”

[It is very probable that most code books are stolen, then copied and returned, (to prevent suspicion and thereupon rewriting or replacement), discovered in battlefield debris, salvaged from an adversary’s crashed aircraft or wrecked ship, or recovered from a sunken submarine. The real geniuses in electronic surveillance counter-intelligence are those who crack the ciphers in which coded messages are sent. Even people who should know better use the words “code” and “cipher” as though they were interchangeable or synonyms. The late Adm. Edwin T. Layton, chief intelligence officer of the U.S. Pacific Fleet for some time, once briefly distinguished between the two by summarizing it this way: encoding changes the text of a plain-language message by substituting “idea for idea,” and enciphering after encoding changes the message again by substituting “letter by letter.”]

The chapter on the OSS is complicated, and deserves more than one reading because it deals with more than this subject. Included in it is an expert deflation of the entire “fifth column” fantasy which attributed German military success in Norway, Denmark and Holland in 1940 to traitorous behavior by their nationals and collaboration with a multitude of infiltrated German spies and saboteurs. In the course of his analysis Knightley also brings in on the subject such experts as the British and Dutch historians, A.J.P. Taylor and Louis de Jong, respectively, the former describing the fifth column hysteria as “the product of panic-stricken imaginations,” and the latter after much study concluding that it was almost entirely mythical.” (But even shortly after the whole lie was spread across the world 48 years ago, one of the major liars, the American journalist Leland Stowe, admitted in Sweden that he had made up much of what he had broadcast about it all. However, it survives in popular legend to this day and gets repeated regularly by the fairy-tale peddlers.)

The origins of the OSS as told here have been dealt with in five other books on the subject read by this reviewer, but there is in this account an expert analysis of the global strategy underlying its creation and what it was expected to accomplish which stands out. Obviously many military men were repelled and angered by the planting in their midst of a collection of untrained amateurs with no proven skills in intelligence work whatever, and in the middle of a war, to boot; Gen. MacArthur would not permit them to work in his sector of the Pacific theater of operations, for example.

But what was the quality of the recruits for British counter- intelligence? Knightley quotes the Establishment historian Hugh Trevor-Roper, himself in this service for a time, on the pre-1939 class: they “were by and large pretty stupid, and some of them very stupid” (p. 87), with the leaders being of remarkable stupidity” (p. 113). In the case of SOE (Special Operations Executive), the British World War Two apparatus which became entangled in a mixture of intelligence and “covert operations” (sabotage and “destabilization” capers of varying sorts), Knightley described “many” of its agents simply as “politically illiterate.” (This was the operation from which Ian Fleming, another wartime British intelligence chief himself, drew the material which later culminated in his James Bond creations.)

From the story of recruiting and training British agents emerges another engaging anecdote. What was to be done with those who failed to make the grade as agents and operatives? They obviously shared a great many secrets with the successful, and had to be kept silent. The chances of

their becoming indiscreet, compromised or blackmailed into disastrous revelations had to be effectively blocked. A posh special detention center was created for them in Scotland, Knightley tells us, and a policy of lying was adopted, denying the detainees ever existed and concealing all traces of their whereabouts from everyone, including close relatives. In harmony with the institutional policy of “once in, never out,” they enjoyed the questionable limbo in which they were cast “for the duration.” But despite the close supervision of their overall confinement, the author reports that they passed the rest of the war “in considerable comfort.” Scraps of information as to this exotic event began to get around in the 1970s and the whole thing eventually became, among other things, the inspiration for one of television’s most successful and intelligent series, *The Prisoner*, starring the actor Patrick MacGoohan (even this writer, who generally charges a stiff fee for watching 99% of TV, confesses to having seen with great interest every episode of this show).

In the course of Knightley’s recruitment discussion he relates a number of double-agent stories, but one in particular stands out. In the chapter “Cross and Double-Cross,” Knightley mentions a British intelligence attempt to recruit a waiter on the Taurus express train running between Istanbul and Baghdad who turned out to be a major in the Turkish army, already in the employ of *four* other countries besides his own.

Getting on to the matter of wartime “cooperation” of the Anglo-American intelligence systems, it is in view of Churchill’s conception of the European war and how “victory” might eventuate that we begin to understand how this American organization (OSS) was expected to work closely with prior-organized British agencies, and hopefully perform a vital function. An innovation in the structuring of the OSS, however, is critical, and of considerable impact as it evolved after the war into the CIA. As has been noted in another context (recruiting), the British always separated intelligence-gathering from “covert operations,” a euphemism covering assassinations, sabotage and other forms of expected destructive “destabilization” of the enemy’s countryside. The British intelligence and counter-intelligence operations MI5 and MI6 (SIS) did not engage in the latter excursions; for that purpose they had separate functionaries, SOE (Special Operations Executive.) The OSS was supposed to work with SOE, but as Knightley demonstrates, they often worked at cross purposes in several areas and frequently against one another. Assigned both intelligence-gathering and sabotage objectives, the OSS mainly failed to achieve much of anything in either, in his view. (In-house official histories and accounts by their functionaries present a somewhat different picture of the OSS, of course, but they are tedious reading. In one of a set of two big sleep-producing volumes bearing introductions by their chief historian, Kermit Roosevelt, there is the revelation that they infiltrated an OSS agent into the prisoner population of the German concentration camp at Mauthausen, an interesting diversionary caper which apparently resulted in no exploitation of the achievement whatever.)

How the arts of sabotage via covert operations in cooperation with internal “resistance” elements on the Continent were supposed to be so effective in the war, as per Churchill’s idea of “setting Europe ablaze,” is succinctly stated by Knightley (p. 216):

... this was based upon the perception that Britain could not survive another war of attrition on the battle plains of Europe. Instead, Germany would be softened up by an economic blockade, strategic bombing, propaganda and subversive warfare. Then, at the right moment, resistance forces in the Occupied Countries, supplied and trained by Britain, would rise and attack the Germans as a prelude to an invasion, probably from the south, the soft underbelly of Europe.

Knightley described this Churchillian vision, to which the OSS became inescapably bound, as “almost totally illusory.” But the whole idea fit in well with the romantic notions of OSS first head and founding father, William J. Donovan, who luxuriated in the imagery of shadow warfare, secret missions, intrigue and the whole spectrum of covert cloak and dagger business. Despite the bulky productions of a platoon of flacks, it would be good to see some evidence of what conflagrations they caused in following Churchill’s exhortation “to set Europe ablaze.”

It would be hard to be less impressed by the “covert operations” aspect of Anglo-American intelligence than Knightley is; he thought the SOE-OSS actions largely ineffective and in many ways little better than imbecilic, utterly ignorant of European continental demographic, political and economic realities, and also, as a result of the two organizations’ mutual jealousies and spite, mutually destructive (there are few books with a darker estimate of the futility of the “resistance” than this one, in many ways approximating the somber views of the late Captain Basil H. Liddell Hart on it all 40 years ago). Knightley cites another prominent British wartime intelligence officer, not a member of either the OSS or SOE, whose estimate of it from an intelligence point of view was fully as critical (p. 210): “The Americans had no intelligence service to speak of. OSS was an exact parallel of SOE, drawing on the ethnic dregs of America for skill in languages and knowledge of foreign countries. Their security was non-existent, but they were in constant liaison with SIS and SOE. Thus our security was bitched one remove.”*

Knightley is simultaneously spellbound and appalled by the contemporary situation in the world international intelligence business, where he sees a new type of spy has emerged, one who spies on everybody. But more impressive is the immense scope of it all, in which an estimated million and a quarter people in spy organizations spend over \$35 billion annually, producing a stock of information only trifling in value when ranged against the investment.

The growth industry in major intelligence departments of the super-powers in the last generation or so has been uncovering the penetration of their various services by agents or “moles” of their opposition. A large literature already exists on these excursions and they have become a standard theme for movies and TV shows. And a subsidiary activity has been the “defection game,” as Knightley titles his Chapter 13 on it, in which the British have been especially prominent. The world has been regaled by one bestseller after another on the famed Burgess-Philby-Maclean-Blunt-Blake *dramatis personae*, and others, let alone further speculations of possible “moles” left behind still burrowed into the system somewhere, a nightmare which flashes past the consciousness of superiors in intelligence services everywhere. Those who may have read the two books by Chapman Pincher and that by Peter Wright and their views on the possibility of the late Sir Roger Hollis, former head of MI6, being the “fifth man” filling out the Burgess-Philby-Maclean-Blunt coterie of Comintern-recruited insiders, will note that Knightley has disagreements with both on this still undecided controversy. (Reference is to the reputed tactic of the Comintern to recruit cells of five persons among Communist helpers of Stalinism in other countries.)

He further has some disquieting observations about “double-agents” and the possibility of defectors really being undercover invaders of the espionage system of the land to which they are “defecting,” being on assignment seeking to learn from their newly adopted land of allegiance who *their* in-place men are in the falsely deserted former homeland. As Knightley goes on to say at various points, it all becomes an endless game carried on among the intelligence-espionage establishments aimed at one another, sopping up much of their energies and leaving leftover time and shreds of intellect to fulfill the job for which they were put to work on to start with.

The intelligence “community” loves to cooperate in narratives which purport to establish that the outcome of this or that war or campaign was fundamentally determined by the contribution of covert espionage and the divulgence of “secrets” enabling this or that success or insuring this or that failure as the case may be. What you get from Knightley is quite the reverse: that military success or failure derives from preponderance or deficiency in men, guns, machines, tanks, ships, planes, a substantial modicum of luck, and the proceeds from what might be called the steady evolution of the fortunes of war, and that the contribution of spying regardless of the diverse variations thereof which might be employed, is pretty modest, if at all measurable. As he concludes, “when not deep in their fantasy world, the intelligence community knows that open, published information, and that obtained through traditional diplomatic and other overt contacts, have proved this century by far the most useful source of military, political and economic intelligence for both sides,” ending up by quoting Harry Rositzke, a senior officer in the CIA’s Soviet block section at one time, as to where he would rank the role played by spying in the above categories, who frankly declared, “It’s way down there.”

The chances are high that those reading this book with care will find that their conceptions of spying and espionage will never ever be the same again. The famed writer of spy thrillers, John Le Carré, has recommended it to heads of state, but it is a chance for one and all as well, as Le Carré suggests to “discover what imbecilities are committed in the hallowed name of intelligence.”

* Among a considerable number of well-known events of this century which are brought up once more in this book, this time with special relationship to intelligence or counter-espionage considerations, is the famed flight of Rudolf Hess from Germany to Scotland in the spring of 1941, on which we all know there is an incredible literature. Knightley believes it worthy of rumination as to whether Hess was invited to come to Britain by a substantial faction interested in ending the war with the Germans, and the quarantine imposed on him by Churchill made imperative by the danger this visit presented to the Churchill regime’s policy and relationship with Stalinist Russia. Knightley notes that no British counter-intelligence officer whatever, regardless of rank, influence or prestige, was allowed anywhere near Hess, let alone be permitted to talk to him.

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Book review

German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler

- GERMAN BIG BUSINESS AND THE RISE OF HITLER by Henry Ashby Turner, Jr. New York: Oxford University Press 1985. Hardbound, 487 pages, \$25.00, ISBN 0-10-503492-9.

Reviewed by John M. Ries

A good portion of the the accepted legacy of German big business and its alleged role in the establishment of the Third Reich rests on the authenticity of the memoirs of certain key individuals who either participated in or witnessed the rise to power of Adolf Hitler from close proximity. Perhaps the two most important were Ruhr industrialist Fritz Thyssen and Hitler's press secretary Otto Dietrich. Thyssen, whose contempt for the Weimar Republic led him to support Hitler's NSDAP as early as the fall of 1923, was long considered to be one of its most important sources of funds. His memoirs, which Turner points out were ghostwritten, have been used by historians to substantiate the close connection between big business and the Nazi movement from its earliest days.

Questions arise, however, concerning the memoirs' authenticity, one particularly interesting example being a passage where Thyssen claims that he "donated 100,000 gold marks to the NSDAP in October 1923." This was a critical period not only in the life of the NSDAP but in that of the Republic as well. Separatist movements were rampant throughout the Rhineland and Bavaria, and the Communists were threatening to take over the governments of Saxony and Thuringia. Moreover, the French occupation of the Ruhr, the industrial heart of Germany, continued to exert demoralizing effects, perhaps chief of which was the incredible hyper-inflation which threatened to wipe out what was left of the German middle class.

Given the dire situation at that time, one can well appreciate the uplifting effect a sum of 100,000 gold marks would have had on the morale of the NSDAP, then just one of many right-wing extremist groups plotting the overthrows of the tottering Weimar Republic. Yet Turner states flatly that "in light of the available evidence, it seems unlikely that Thyssen gave any such sum to the Nazis." In the same paragraph of his memoirs, Thyssen claims that he did not make the payment to Hitler himself but to General Erich Ludendorff, perhaps the most important figure in anti-Republican circles at that time, "to use it as best he could." Whether Ludendorff would have favored the NSDAP more than any of the other groups operating in Bavaria at that time remains doubtful.

Otto Dietrich's 1934 memoirs of the *Kampfzeit* are likewise considered by Turner to be more propagandistic than substantial. Their self-serving nature is revealed by the contradictions between them and a later version published in 1955. Over that span of time it appears that Dietrich tempered his revolutionary ardor with a more realistic assessment of the events. This is evident

when one compares the two accounts he provides of the reactions to Hitler's speech to the Düsseldorf Industry Club on January 26, 1932. In the 1934 version, Dietrich gives the following description of the impression Hitler made with the "elite of *die Wirtschaft*" who came to hear him speak on the remedies he would propose to heal the ailing German economy:

The effect on the businessmen [of the speech], so far as they deserved the name, was profound and became evident in the ensuing difficult months of struggle.

According to Turner, this remark has been accepted by historians as proof that big business increased its subsidies to the NSDAP as a result of the speech. However, in the 1955 version, Dietrich presents a quite different picture, saying that beyond some:

well-meaning but insignificant sums [collected at the door] ... one would not speak of any support worthy of mention, much less of financing Hitless political struggle by *die Wirtschaft* or heavy industry.

An "equally embellished" account in Thyssen's memoirs has served, along with Dietrich's earlier version, as a "seminal source on the Industry Club speech and its aftermath."

What to make of this contradiction? Which version is closer to the truth?

Turner compares both to outside references and decides in favor of the 1955 version. "From all indications," he says, "neither Hitler nor any other Nazis mounted any sustained follow-up from those who had been present at his Industry Club speech or otherwise to enlist them for their purposes."

He goes on to add:

that Hitler's failure to follow up vigorously on the entree he had gained to the business community through his Industry Club speech tends to substantiate the hypothesis that he sought merely to neutralize big business, not to bring its leaders actively behind the NSDAP or to exploit its financial resources for his party.

From the preceding examples one can readily agree with the assessment Turner made of the task he faced in the preparation of this study when he said that it became "of necessity, a book that deals not only with the past but with myths about the past." These "myths" were found to be present not only in contemporary memoirs, but in press releases, the post-war testimony of witnesses at Nuremberg, — and even from Hitler himself. They all contributed to the creation of a legend involving an important yet misunderstood aspect of the origins of the Third Reich; namely, from which sources the NSDAP received its funding.

The picture of the relationship between German big business and the Nazi party which Turner provides us is one that reveals how little big business had to do with the party's success. In Republican Germany, the big business community was a loosely organized, politically ineffective interest group that was held together primarily by its opposition to the growing menace of *Sozialpolitik*, that is, the modern welfare state. Its political dealings were mainly with the so-called bourgeois parties of the center and right the DVP (Deutsche Volkspartei), the DDP (Deutsche Demokratische Partei), and the DNVP (Deutsche Nationale Volkspartei). However, the general disdain big business had for the republican form of government, a government that jeopardized the privileged position it once held under the defunct Imperial order, precluded any serious attempt to use the system to its advantage, a system where "votes, not money" were the determining factor in political success.

In this milieu the NSDAP was only one of many political parties big business considered funding. However, because of the party's anti-capitalist economic policies, evident since the proclamation of the twenty-five point program of February 1920, the big business community was never able to reconcile itself to lending more than half-hearted support, and this was invariably of a tactical, rather than an ideological, nature. This distrust of a party that seemed more often than not ready to side with the radical left on important social and economic issues became so pervasive that not even the party's strident anti-Marxism and its desire to inculcate support for national values could overcome it.

It may be true that contributions of various sorts came from big businessmen like Fritz Thyssen, the Berlin manufacturer Ernst von Borsig, and the retired coal executive Emil Kirdorf, but despite statements to the contrary, they were never a critical source of funding. Most of the NSDAP funds were derived from membership dues, interest-free loans, and the gate receipts from the many mass rallies the party held. After the parliamentary breakthrough in September 1930, sales from *Mein Kampf* skyrocketed, providing Hitler himself with a steady source of income. And during the depression the volunteer labor given by party activists helped ease the effects of the increasingly austere economic conditions.

In sum, the NSDAP was a prototypical "grass-roots" political organization able to expand and prosper during a period when most of the bourgeois parties suffered a serious loss of support. Only the Communist Party could compare in this regard, and it never attracted the mass following the NSDAP did.

Turner's book provides us with a new perspective on the origins of the rise of Hitler, one based on a critical look at the role played by German big business based on the examination of all the relevant documents rather than the rather eclectic surveys currently before the public today. This will contribute, hopefully, to the encouragement of closer reading of historical accounts dealing with essential aspects of contemporary history, as well as the development of a more discriminating attitude toward the sensationalized distortions of the truth which confront us on a daily basis.

Book review

The Third Reich and the Palestine Question

- **THE THIRD REICH AND THE PALESTINE QUESTION** by Francis R. Nicosia. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1985, Hardbound xiv+ 319 pages, \$35.00, ISBN 0-292-72731-3.

Reviewed by John M. Ries

Although Zionists today are loath to admit it publicly, the fact remains that the Zionist movement, during the period leading up to the Second World War, worked closely with the National Socialist government in Germany to solve the so-called Jewish question. Needless to say, professional historians have largely neglected this surprising cooperation. Two works by Jewish journalists, Lenni Brenner's *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* and Edwin Black's *The Transit Agreement*, have dealt with the aspects of it, but their books must now be regarded as superseded by Francis R. Nicosia's *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*, the first (and probably definitive) study of National Socialist Germany's Palestine policy in the 1930's.

On August 25, 1933, the Ministry of Economics issued a circular to all German currency control offices informing them of the recently concluded agreement with the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Known as the Haavara, or Transfer Agreement, it tied the emigration of Jews to Palestine to the sale of the German goods. By permitting each Jew who indicated a willingness to emigrate to Palestine the opportunity to take along a fixed portion of assets in the form of German goods, Germany's tight currency restrictions were circumvented, while the depressed export economy of the Reich received a much needed stimulus. Above all, the arrangement greatly promoted the removal of Jews from Germany, a principal domestic goal of the Hitler regime.

Nicosia also feels that there is reason to believe that the Jewish anti-German boycott, begun shortly after Hitler came to power in January 1933, may have been neutralized as a result of Haavara. In any event, even though Germany became the number-one exporter of goods to Palestine by 1937 due to the Haavara Agreement, its significance did not reside in its economic benefits, but in the fact that it created a consensus in the German government for Palestine as the principal destination for German Jews. This lasted until the effects of the Arab revolt beginning in 1936 and the Peel Partition Plan the following year forced a reconsideration. Thereafter, the consensus was altered, but the policy of promoting Jewish emigration remained the same.

The German Zionist Organization was employed by the government to "re-educate" the largely liberal assimilationist German Jewish community on the desirability of the Palestine option. The SS oversaw the establishment of occupational retraining centers run by the Hechalutz, the principal Zionist youth organization, to teach young Jews the necessary skills in demand in Palestine. Located throughout Germany, the centers also provided training for Jews who planned to emigrate to other countries. The British Embassy in Berlin issued its stamp of approval in a memorandum of April 3, 1936, pointing out that they "enabled the Jewish Agency to select suitable

candidates for admission to Palestine, better prepared for absorption into the economy of the country.”

The German government accorded preferential treatment to Zionist organizations at the expense of liberal/assimilationist ones. For example, in February 1935, Heydrich ordered the prohibition of speeches and activities that counseled Jews to remain in Germany. The SD (Sicherheitsdienst) attended Jewish meetings, censoring speakers who advocated the continuation of a Jewish presence in Germany while encouraging propaganda activities on the part of Zionists. By May 1935, “a general ban on all meetings and speeches of Jewish organizations in Germany was issued by the Gestapo ... although local Jewish cultural and sports activities, as well as the activities of Zionist organizations, were exempt.” Nicosia’s statement that “this was in keeping with the Nurnberg laws of September 1935, according to which all German Jews were formally placed beyond the pale of German citizenship” is in error, since the Nurnberg laws had not yet been enacted. Nevertheless, it is important to note that when they were passed on September 15, 1935, they were welcomed by Zionist groups which considered them important in breaking down the resistance of the majority of German Jews, who still regarded the Hitler regime as a temporary phenomenon. The net effect of this German-Zionist connection was to make Zionism the principal movement among Jewish youth in Germany in the 1930s, relegating support for liberal assimilationism to the older generation.

An important aspect of German Palestine policy was the relationship of Germany to Palestine’s Arab population. From 1933 on, the Arabs of the Middle East sought German help against the influx of Jews into Palestine, feeling that the anti-Jewish policies of the Hitler regime could be employed in behalf of the Arab cause for independence from the British Mandate. However, this was not to be the case. German policy in the 1930’s was based on the acceptance of two things: Zionism and British imperialism. Any official encouragement of Arab nationalism would have upset the status quo in the region, a state of affairs totally unacceptable to Germany. As a result, aside from a few insignificant shipments of arms to Arab insurgents in the late 1930s, along with a brief dalliance on the part of German Intelligence at the same time (probably without the approval of Hitler), nothing substantial was done to change this policy of willful neglect.

As mentioned earlier, the outbreak of an Arab revolt in 1936 forced a reconsideration of Germany’s Palestine policy and prompted the first genuine debate over the primacy of Palestine as the destination for German Jews. The Peel Partition Plan, an unsuccessful attempt to divide the country into Jewish and Arab sectors, conjured up the specter of a Jewish state, a state which was opposed by all German government and party figures. Nicosia points out that it was not simply for ideological reasons that National Socialism opposed the Jewish state (a section of the book is devoted to just such a discussion). Rather it was the fact that “the anti-Semitic policies of the Hitler regime would make a Jewish state a natural enemy of the Reich and a dangerous addition to the growing coalition of nations hostile to the new Germany.” However, as the chances for such an occurrence began to diminish, Hitler reaffirmed his support for Palestine as the *Zielland* for German Jews, although efforts were made to explore alternatives, such as Madagascar (Poland had already made repeated overtures to the French for its use as a site for the large Polish Jewish population). This change was prompted by the realization that Palestine had a limited capacity to absorb the growing number of Jewish immigrants, as the resistance of the Arab population and the resultant tighter restrictions placed on Jewish immigration by British authorities made increasingly clear.

Nicosia claims that by late 1937 Hitler began to “prepare for war” as the chances for British cooperation with his proposed changes in the European territorial arrangement seemed more and more remote. This thesis has been challenged by Revisionists, if for no other reason than the

meeting held between Hitler and British foreign secretary Halifax at Berchtesgaden in November 1937, at which Halifax agreed in principle to all of Hitler's territorial demands. In any event, a transfer of authority over Jewish policy in Germany took place at this time, with the SS given complete control over all its aspects. The mechanism for voluntary emigration established by the Ha'avara Agreement earlier became obsolete with the confiscation of Jewish capital from 1938 on. Henceforth, the legal niceties of the Reich's previous Jewish emigration policy were overlooked as the SS began to cooperate with the Zionist Mossad le Aliyah Bet (Committee for Illegal Immigration) with the full knowledge of both British and U.S. authorities. This policy of "compulsion" was to continue until the "Final Solution," the nature of which Nicosia is careful to avoid specifying.

Aside from a couple of minor discrepancies which in no way detract from the credibility of this book, e.g. January 27 instead of January 26, 1932, as the date given for Hitler's Düsseldorf Industry Club Speech, the main thesis of *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* is quite convincing. Perhaps Nicosia's rather strong reliance on Hitler's musings in *Mein Kampf* as a blueprint for his later foreign policy initiatives should be challenged, as they indeed have by various Revisionists, but that is more properly the subject of another study. What is important is the author's recognition that Hitler had no desire to go to war against England or to challenge the integrity of the British Empire. The German acceptance of the status quo in the Middle East is further confirmation of this fact.

Source: vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 376-380.

Historical News and Comment

The End of a Myth

Robert Faurisson

Despite the May 11 conviction of Revisionist activist and publisher Ernst Zündel in Toronto for “knowingly and injuriously spreading a false report,” the second trial of Ernst Zündel was a Pyrrhic victory for Holocaust Exterminationists. As in Zündel’s 1985 trial, Revisionist scholars and researchers presented a mass of new evidence against the Holocaust legend, evidence which, as it accumulated day by day, made a mockery of Judge Ron Thomas’s “judicial notice” of the Holocaust.

The most important testimony at the second Zündel trial was undoubtedly that of American engineer Fred Leuchter. In this article, which serves as the foreword to the report in which Leuchter presented his unprecedented findings, Robert Faurisson tells how he contacted Leuchter and explains the significance of his testimony. A condensed version of The Leuchter Report: The End of a Myth is now available from IHR for \$20. — Ed.

Fred A. Leuchter, 45, is an engineer living in Boston, Massachusetts, who specializes in the design and fabrication of execution hardware used in prisons throughout the United States. One of his major projects was the design of a new gas chamber at the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City.

In January of 1988, I was in Toronto, Canada, assisting in the defense of Mr. Ernst Zündel, a German-Canadian who was on trial for spreading false news by publishing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a booklet which challenged the prevailing view that six million Jews were killed by the Nazis during World War II, primarily through the use of gas chambers using hydrocyanic gas (Zyklon B gas).

Ernst Zündel had been previously tried on the same charge in 1985. The trial lasted seven weeks and ended with a conviction and a sentence of fifteen months imprisonment. In January 1987, the Ontario Court of Appeal overturned the judgment because of grave errors in law and ordered that a new trial be held. The retrial began on January 18, 1988 and at the time of this writing is still proceeding.

My initial conversations with Fred Leuchter took place in Boston on the 3rd and 4th of February, 1988. I was impressed with the conciseness of his answers to my questions and by his ability to explain every detail of gassing procedures. He confirmed to me the particularly dangerous nature of an execution by hydrocyanic gas.

Executions using this gas were carried out for the first time in the United States in 1924, but as late as 1988 major difficulties still existed in the construction of execution gas chambers, including the problem of leakage. I noticed that Fred Leuchter did not question the standard notion of the Holocaust.

After my return from Boston to Toronto and after I had reported to Ernst Zündel on my discussions with Fred Leuchter, Mr. Zündel decided to ask the latter to prepare an expert opinion on the alleged gas chambers in Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek.

Mr. Leuchter accepted the assignment after a weekend in Toronto reviewing wartime aerial photographs of the camps, plans of the crematoriums and alleged gas chambers, documents on Zyklon B and slides taken of the sites in the 1970's by the Swedish researcher Ditlieb Felderer.

On February 25, 1988, Mr. Leuchter left for Poland together with his wife Carolyn, his draftsman Howard Miller, cinematographer Jürgen Neumann, and Polish interpreter Tijudar Rudolf. They returned eight days later on March 3rd.

Upon return, Fred Leuchter wrote his report of 192 pages including appendices. His conclusions were clear: the evidence was overwhelming that there were no execution gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and that the alleged gas chambers at these sites could not have been, then or now, utilized or seriously considered to function as execution gas chambers.

On the 20th and 21st of April, 1988, he stood on the witness stand in Toronto. At first, he replied to the questions put to him by Mr. Zündel's defense lawyer, Douglas H. Christie, the latter assisted by Keltie Zubko. He then faced cross-examination by the Crown Prosecutor, John Pearson, an official who had been assisted throughout the trial by another Crown Attorney, a law clerk and frequent consultations with Jewish advisors sitting immediately behind him in the courtroom.

The examination and cross-examination took place in the presence of a judge and an eleven-member jury. In the courtroom, the atmosphere was one of extreme tension. I was sitting beside a number of Revisionist experts, including Dr. William Lindsey, chief research chemist for Dupont Corporation before his retirement in 1985. Everyone in the courtroom, regardless of their own personal viewpoints on the topic under examination, was acutely aware, I think, of participating in a historical event. The myth of the gas chambers was ending.

The previous day, the director of the Missouri State Penitentiary, Bill Armontrout had given testimony explaining the procedure and practical operation of a cyanide gas chamber. For every attentive listener it was revealed that if it was so difficult to execute a single person in this manner, then the alleged execution of hundreds of thousands of persons by the Germans using Zyklon B would equal the problem of trying to square the circle.

Following Fred Leuchter on the witness stand came Dr. James Roth, Ph.D. (Cornell Univ.), Manager of Alpha Analytical Laboratories in Ashland, Massachusetts. Dr. Roth reported on the analysis of samples taken from the walls, floors, ceilings and other structures inside the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz I and Birkenau. These tests revealed either no detection of traces of cyanide or extremely low levels. The only exception was the control sample number 32 taken from Delousing Facility Number 1 at Birkenau. These results were graphically produced in Appendix I of the report and displayed to the jury on an overhead projector. The difference in detected cyanide between the delousing facility, on one hand, and the alleged gas chambers on the other, was spectacular. The extremely low levels of cyanide found in some crematoria were likely, in my opinion, to have resulted from disinfection of the premises during the war.

I think I was the first to point out that all studies of the alleged German execution gas chambers using Zyklon B should commence with a study of the American execution gas chambers. As early as 1977, with the help of an American friend, Eugene C. Brugger, a lawyer in New York City, I began an inquiry into this area. During this research, I obtained information from six American penitentiaries, those of San Quentin, California; Jefferson City, Missouri; Santa Fe, New Mexico; Raleigh, North Carolina; Baltimore, Maryland; and Florence, Arizona. I was forced to conclude at that time that only an expert in American gas chamber technology could finally determine whether the alleged German execution gas chambers were capable of having been used as described in Holocaust literature.

During the next several years, my articles on German gas chambers always referred to the American gas chambers. These articles included "The Rumor of Auschwitz or the Gas Chamber Problem," published on the 29th of December, 1978 in the French daily newspaper, *Le Monde*, and a long interview published in August, 1979 in the Italian periodical *Storia Illustrata*. I visited the gas chamber in Baltimore, Maryland in September 1979, and obtained eight photographs of the chamber and additional documentation. Then, during a meeting held in New York City under the chairmanship of Fritz Berg, I showed the Gas Chamber Procedure Check Sheet of the Baltimore penitentiary and discussed its implications.

In 1980, in the first issue of the newly-created *Journal of Historical Review*, I published an article entitled "The Mechanics of Gassing," in which I described in some detail the gas chamber procedures used in the United States. In the same year, I published, in *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*, the eight photographs of the Baltimore gas chamber. My video entitled "The Gas Chamber Problem," made in 1982, began with an analysis of the American gas chambers.

In 1983, I prepared for the Institute for Historical Review, Los Angeles, a book in English on the Holocaust controversy which was to include, for the first time, a list of the questions put to the penitentiary wardens and their answers. The book, however, was never published: on July 4, 1984, American Independence Day, the archives of the Institute were destroyed by arson. This fire, for all intents and purposes, destroyed the financial viability of the Institute and a number of projects, including that of my book, were abandoned.

The Holocaust has appeared to be a subject of enormous proportion. But this "giant," as Dr. Arthur Butz has pointed out in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, is a giant with feet of clay. To see the feet of clay, one need only go to Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Poland. In the words of Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, "the extermination thesis stands or falls with the allegation that Auschwitz was a 'death factory'." And for me, the whole mystery of Auschwitz is, in turn, concentrated on the 65 square meters of the alleged gas chamber of Auschwitz I and on the 210 square meters of the alleged gas chamber of Birkenau. These 275 square meters should have been forensically examined immediately after the war by the Allies, but no such examination was ever carried out then or since. The Polish examining magistrate, Jan Sehn, ordered some forensic examinations at Auschwitz, but not of the alleged execution gas chambers themselves.

Research by Revisionists has shown that the places alleged to be execution gas chambers could not have been used for such a purpose. Ditlieb Felderer published photographs indicating the flimsy construction of vents and doors to the gas chambers and the lack of prussian blue stain on the walls. I myself had discovered in 1975, in the archives of the Auschwitz State Museum (archives which are well guarded by the Communist officials), the plans of these alleged gas chambers and was the first to publish them in various books and articles. These plans were also shown at the first convention of the Institute for Historical Review in Los Angeles in 1979, when Mr. Zündel was present. In reality, these alleged gas chambers had been mortuaries or, as indicated

on the plans, “Leichenhalle” for Krema I (later transformed into an air-raid shelter) and “Leichenkeller” for Krema II.

Nevertheless, in order to obtain an entirely scientific confirmation of what simple common sense compelled us to see and what Revisionist research work and documents had revealed, it was necessary to look for an American gas chamber specialist. I desperately tried to find such a specialist, but frankly, I had little hope of finding a man who was not only an expert in gas chamber technology, but also one courageous enough to carry out such an investigation in a Communist country and to publish the results if they confirmed Revisionist conclusions. Fortunately, I was wrong.

Fred Leuchter was this specialist. He went to Poland, conducted the forensic examination, wrote his report and testified in a Canadian court on behalf of Mr. Zündel. In so doing, he has quietly entered history.

Fred Leuchter is a modest but quietly determined man who speaks precisely. He would be an excellent professor and has the real gift of making people understand the intricacies of any difficult problem. When I asked him whether or not he was afraid of any dangerous consequences, he replied, “A fact is a fact.” Upon reading *The Leuchter Report*, David Irving, the famous British historian, said on April 22nd, 1988 during his testimony in Toronto that it was a “shattering” document which would become essential for any future historian writing on the Second World War.

Without Ernst Zündel, almost nothing of what has now transpired would have been conceivable. He sacrifices everything in his search for historical accuracy and lives under difficult conditions, facing influential and powerful enemies. The pressure on him is permanent and takes the most unexpected and sometimes the most vicious forms. But he has a strong personality and charisma. He knows how to analyze any given situation, to evaluate the ratios of forces, to turn adversity into advantage. From all parts of the world he attracts and mobilizes highly competent people. He is a profound man, a genius who combines common sense with a keen understanding of people and situations.

He may once again go to prison for his research and beliefs or be threatened with deportation. All this is possible. Anything may happen when there is an intellectual crisis and a realignment of historical concepts of such a dimension. Revisionism is the great intellectual adventure of the end of this century. Whatever happens, Ernst Zündel is already the victor. He is a pacifist-activist who has achieved this victory through the powers of reason and persuasion.

— April 23, 1988
Toronto

Source: vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 381-384.

Historical News and Comment

Interview with Michel De Bœuard on the Thesis of Nantes

This interview, which originally appeared in the French newspaper, Ouest-France (August 1-2, 1986) has been translated from the French journal Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine [Review of Modern and Contemporary History], tome xxxiv, January-March 1987. The original was written by Jacques Lebailly.

When a member of the [French] Institute, with a brilliant career as a historian, and an incontestable patriotic record (Commander of the Legion of Honor, War Cross, Resistance Medal), dares to say, in the midst of a polemic in which the minister of higher education deemed himself obliged to enter: "Had I been a member of the jury, I would probably have given a grade of Very Good' to Mr. Roques' thesis," it may seem a provocation. At the very least it can only be an act of uncommon courage. It is that indeed, and furthermore, it's an appeal to intellectual rigor in the grave debate on deportation.[1]

Michel de Bœuard, former dean of the faculty of letters at Caen, is a renowned medievalist, a member of the Committee for the History of the Second World War, who campaigned against fascism before the war. He continues to proclaim his commitments as a Catholic and a man of the Left (today he still speaks with emotion of his long service in the ranks of the Communists, which he left in 1960). A scholar and a man not prone to exaggerate, he fought in the Resistance and was deported to Mauthausen, where he was registered as number 63584, category NN.[2] He is one critic who can't be labeled either an amateur or a nostalgist for Nazism.

Hear him:

Mr. Roques' thesis defines itself in its title: *The Confessions of Kurt Gerstein. A Comparative Study of the Different Versions — Critical Edition*. [3] Gerstein's testimony has been known since 1947. There were several versions available. It is an important text because everyone who has dealt with the concentration camps has adduced this testimony. It was poorly understood and has been used with a carelessness which a historian cannot tolerate. (Embarrassing passages were excised due to things which seemed untrue, different versions were conflated, etc.) The thesis is a good critical edition. It is true that one sensed perhaps a certain ... partiality, but where is the thesis without it? A thesis is not a catechism! A thesis is to be discussed, and if I had been a member of the jury I would have discussed it with the author. I don't agree with everything, but a critical study was needed. Its been done and I say: thank you Mr. Roques. In any case, according to my reading, it is not true that this thesis denies the existence of the gas chambers."

Ouest-France: "If one were to accept, like Mr. Roques, that the Gerstein testimony is to be completely rejected, would that change anything regarding your belief in the gas chambers?" Michel

de Böuar: “Certainly not!”

And Mr. de Böuar explains that there is a distinction to be made between the conviction of the former deportee based on what he’s seen, heard, (and also believed, because that derives from logic and common sense) and the “proofs” obligatory for a historian, for whom a deportee is not to be believed merely on the strength of his word. The fact that each day thousands of deportees entered a given place and were never seen leaving is the determinative element of conviction, he says, which doesn’t prevent pointing out the danger of certain certitudes which he admits he himself was the victim of: “In the monograph on Mauthausen which I wrote for *La Revue d'histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale* [Review of the History of the Second World War] in 1954, in two places I spoke of a gas chamber. Reflecting on this later I said to myself: where did I acquire the conviction that there was a gas chamber at Mauthausen? It wasn’t during my stay at the camp, for neither I nor anyone else suspected there was one there, it was rather a rumor I heard after the war, that’s granted. Then I noticed that in my text — although I supported most of my statements with references — there was no reference concerning the gas chamber ...

“Now, I was a member of the French command of the international resistance organization at the camp and we were well informed about what happened there.

“Besides, it seems the specialists, notably those from the Institute for [Contemporary] History in Munich, have learned that gassings didn’t take place anywhere but in the camps Chelmno, Auschwitz, Sobibor, Treblinka, Belzec, and Majdanek. There weren’t any in the camps within Germany (within the borders of 1937).”

Michel de Böuar, without, however, giving in to new certitudes, remains sceptical about gassings at Mauthausen.

“It was also thought,” he continues, “that there must have been a set-up for execution by shooting. About this I can say that I once saw a group of twenty or thirty men standing at the door of the building which housed the bunker and the crematorium. They went in one by one, at intervals of several seconds, and later I noticed while looking at the registries for deaths in the camp, on which I have done a good deal of work, that the deaths were entered at intervals of one minute.”

“Whether the killings were carried out in one manner or another changes none of the horror of the camps, but it is not necessary to say anything on that. When the texts of this writer or that are invoked, let’s begin by doing what is done in the study of every historical problem: establishing all the written, oral and material sources, everything there is, and then making a critical study, source by source, and there will be no more of these polemics.”

Ouest-France: You’ve taken into consideration that your stand (which, in view of your past, can in no way be an ideological stance) could supply grist to the mill of certain ... nostalgics?”

Michel de Böuar: “I don’t disregard that. Naturally I can’t say that I give it no notice, but frankly what am I to do? I am a historian and the truth alone interests me. Besides all this won’t benefit the fascists, etc. None of that is serious.”

Ouest-France: “It’s been said that the Roques thesis was accomplished in an irregular fashion.”

Michel de Böuar: “That’s another problem. If there were irregularities in form, it is unacceptable, but then one would have to say that it was necessary to nullify the oral dissertation.”

Ouest-France: “You were president of the Association of Deportees of Calvados and you resigned. Why?”

Michel de Böuard: “I found myself torn between my conscience as a historian and the duties that entails, and my attachment to a group of comrades I love deeply but who don’t wish to recognize the necessity of treating the historical fact of the deportation in accordance with sound historical method.

“I’m haunted by the thought that in a hundred years, or even fifty, historians will submit the concentration camp system of the Second World War to investigation and by the thought of what they will discover. The file is rotten. On the one hand there is a vast amount of tall tales and inaccuracies, repeated obstinately, particularly on the numerical scale, of amalgamations, generalizations, and, on the other hand, there are very solid critical studies which demonstrate how ridiculous these exaggerations are. I fear that historians will say, finally, that the deportation itself must have been a myth. That’s the danger. This thought haunts me.”

Notes

1.  [In France the terms *déporté*, *déportation*, etc. connote more than deportation: they embrace the entire concentration camp experience. — Ed.]
 2.  The abbreviation NN is commonly interpreted to mean *Nacht und Nebel* (Night and Fog). Another interpretation has been advanced as well: *Nomen nescio* [Name unknown].
 3.  [An English translation of Henri Roques' thesis will soon be available from IHR.-Ed.]
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Source: vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 388.

From the Editor

Theodore J. O'Keefe

This issue of *The Journal* presents, for the first time in English, the complete text of Adolf Hitler's December 11, 1941, speech to the Reichstag. This important document, in which the German dictator proclaimed to the world his reasons for going to war against the United States, has long been withheld from the American people. It is telling that almost fifty years after America's entry into the Second World War the great majority of even educated Americans have scant inkling as to the facts of the months-long, one-sided naval war America waged against Germany on the high seas before December 7, 1941 (even as the U.S. was sending massive shipments of arms and supplies to the British and Soviet empires). It should also be stressed that Roosevelt's admirers among Establishment historians have long admitted that Roosevelt cynically deceived the American people and violated both American and international law in goading Germany into war, conduct these historians have praised highly. *The Journal* is proud to publish Mark Weber's expert translation of Hitler's historic speech.

Suppression of history is also the game in Canada, where Ernst Zündel has been twice tried and convicted for selling a Revisionist examination of the Holocaust. Robert Faurisson, the guiding spirit of the Zündel defense, presents a superb summary of the gains for historical scholarship which have resulted in the Canadian government's clumsy efforts at censoring the truth.

Friedrich P. Berg offers a thoroughly documented study of German efforts to battle typhus during the Second World War, and how anti-typhus measures have been distorted and falsified into the lie of a gas-chamber "Holocaust" of the European Jews. Berg's work is of vital importance in the second stage of Holocaust Revisionism: after showing what didn't happen in the German-occupied East, establishing what *did* occur.

Dr. Charles Weber provides a timely review of Ingrid Weckert's *Feuerzeichen*, a German-language Revisionist study of "Reichskristallnacht," of which we have all heard so much lately. IHR hopes to publish an English translation of this important book in the coming year.

This issue of *The Journal* is rounded out with important new information on Simon Wiesenthal's reliability about his activities during the Second World War, a tantalizing disclosure about Soviet propagandist Ilya Ehrenburg, and a courageous letter written by the inimitable George Bernard Shaw in 1945. There is also a memorial tribute to Dr. Karl Otto Braun, a staunch friend of Historical Revisionism and the Institute for Historical Review, who passed away last summer.

The Reichstag speech of December 11, 1941: Hitler's declaration of war against the United States

It has often been said that Hitler's greatest mistakes were his decisions to go to war against the Soviet Union and the United States. Whatever the truth may be, it's worth noting his own detailed justifications for these grave decisions. On Thursday afternoon, 11 December 1941, four days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hitler spoke to the Reichstag in Berlin. The 88-minute address, which he had written himself, was broadcast to the nation. In it the German leader recounted the reasons for the outbreak of war in September 1939, explained why he decided to strike against the Soviet Union in June 1941, reviewed the dramatic course of the war thus far, and dealt at length with President Franklin Roosevelt's hostile policies toward Germany. Hitler detailed the increasingly belligerent actions of Roosevelt's government and then dramatically announced that Germany was now joining Japan in war against the United States. The day after it was delivered, a very inaccurate and misleading translation of portions of the address appeared in the New York Times. But although it should be of particular interest to Americans, a complete text of this important historical document has apparently never before been made available to the English-speaking world.

This translation is my own, as are the brief clarifications given in brackets.

Following the speech, I have included Germany's formal note to the U.S. government declaring war and a short list of items for suggested further reading.

Mark Weber

Deputies! Men of the German Reichstag!

A year of world-historical events is coming to an end. A year of great decisions is approaching. In this grave period I speak to you, deputies of the Reichstag, as the representatives of the German nation. In addition, the entire German nation should also review what has happened and take note of the decisions required by the present and the future.

After the repeated rejection of my peace proposal in 1940 by the British Prime Minister [Churchill] and the clique that supports and controls him, it was clear by the fall of that year that this war would have to be fought through to the end, contrary to all logic and necessity. You, my old Party comrades, know that I have always detested half-hearted or weak decisions. If Providence has deemed that the German people are not to be spared this struggle, then I am thankful that She has entrusted me with the leadership in a historic conflict that will be decisive in determining the next five hundred or one thousand years, not only of our German history, but also of the history of Europe and even of the entire world.

The German people and its soldiers work and fight today not only for themselves and their own age, but also for many generations to come. A historical task of unique dimensions has been en-

trusted to us by the Creator which we are now obliged to carry out.

The western armistice which was possible shortly after the conclusion of the conflict in Norway [in June 1940] compelled the German leadership, first of all, to militarily secure the most important political, strategic and economic areas that had been won. Consequently, the defense capabilities of the lands which were conquered at that time have changed.

From Kirkenes [in northern Norway] to the Spanish frontier stretches the most extensive belt of great defense installations and fortresses. Countless air fields have been built, including some in the far north which were blasted out of granite. The number and strength of the protected submarine shelters that defend naval bases are such that they are practically impregnable from both the sea and the air. They are defended by more than one and a half thousand gun battery emplacements, which had to be surveyed, planned and built. A network of roads and rail lines has been laid out so that the lines of communication between the Spanish frontier and Petsamo [in the far North] can be defended independently from the sea. The installations built by the Pioneer and construction battalions of the navy, army and air force in cooperation with the Todt Organization are not at all inferior to those of the Westwall [along the German frontier with France]. The work to further strengthen all this continues without pause. I am determined to make this European front impregnable against any enemy attack.

This defensive work which continued during the past winter, was complemented by military offensives insofar as seasonal conditions permitted. German naval forces above and below the waves continued their steady war of annihilation against the navy and merchant marine of the British and their subservient allies. Through reconnaissance flights and air attacks, the German air force helps to destroy enemy shipping and in countless retaliation air attacks to give the British a better idea of the reality of the so-called "exciting war" which is the creation, above all, of the current British Prime Minister [Churchill].

Germany was supported in this struggle during the past summer above all by its Italian ally. For many months our ally Italy bore on its shoulders the main weight of a large part of British might. Only because of the enormous superiority in heavy tanks were the British able to bring about a temporary crisis in North Africa, but by 24 March of this past year a small combined force of German and Italian units under the command of General [Erwin] Rommel began a counterattack. Agadabia fell on 2 April. Benghazi was reached on the 4th. Our combined forces entered Derna on the 8th, Tobruk was encircled on the 11th, and Bardia was occupied on 12 April. The achievement of the German Afrika Korps is all the more outstanding because this field of battle is completely alien and unfamiliar to the Germans, climatically and otherwise. As once in Spain [1936-1939], so now in North Africa, Germans and Italians stand together against the same enemy. While these daring actions were again securing the North African front with the blood of German and Italian soldiers, the threatening clouds of terrible danger were gathering over Europe. Compelled by bitter necessity, I decided in the fall of 1939 to at least try to create the prerequisite conditions for a general peace by eliminating the acute tension between Germany and Soviet Russia [with the German-Soviet non-aggression pact of 23 August 1939]. This was psychologically difficult because of the basic attitude towards Bolshevism of the German people and, above all, of the [National Socialist] Party. Objectively, though, this was a simple matter because in all the countries that Britain said were threatened by us and which were offered military alliances, Germany actually had only economic interests.

I may remind you, deputies and men of the German Reichstag, that throughout the spring and summer of 1939 Britain offered military alliances to a number of countries, claiming that Germany intended to invade them and rob them of their freedom. However, the German Reich and

its government could assure them with a clear conscience that these insinuations did not correspond to the truth in any way. Moreover, there was the sober military realization that in case of a war which might be forced upon the German nation by British diplomacy, the struggle could be fought on two fronts only with very great sacrifices. And after the Baltic states, Rumania and so forth were inclined to accept the British offers of military alliance and thereby made clear that they also believed themselves to be threatened [by Germany], it was not only the right but also the duty of the German Reich government to delineate the [geographical] limits of German interests [between Germany and the USSR].

All the same, the countries involved realized very quickly — which was unfortunate for the German Reich as well — that the best and strongest guarantee against the [Soviet] threat from the East was Germany. Thus, when these countries, on their own initiative, cut their ties with the German Reich and instead put their trust in promises of aid from a power [Britain] which, in its proverbial egotism, has for centuries never given help but has always demanded it, they were lost. All the same, the fate of these countries aroused the strongest sympathy of the German people. The winter war of the Finns [against the USSR, 1939-1940] aroused in us a feeling of admiration mixed with bitterness: admiration because, as a soldierly nation, we have a sympathetic heart for heroism and sacrifice, and bitterness because our concern for the enemy threat in the West and the danger in the East meant that we were not in a position to help. When it became clear to us that Soviet Russia concluded that the [German-Soviet] delineation of political spheres of influence [in August 1939] gave it the right to practically exterminate foreign nations, the [German-Soviet] relationship was maintained only for utilitarian reasons, contrary to reason and sentiment.

Already in 1940 it became increasingly clear from month to month that the plans of the men in the Kremlin were aimed at the domination, and thus the destruction, of all of Europe. I have already told the nation of the build-up of Soviet Russian military power in the East during a period when Germany had only a few divisions in the provinces bordering Soviet Russia. Only a blind person could fail to see that a military build-up of unique world-historical dimensions was being carried out. And this was not in order to protect something that was being threatened, but rather only to attack that which seemed incapable of defense.

The quick conclusion of the campaign in the West [May-June 1940] meant that those in power in Moscow were not able to count on the immediate exhaustion of the German Reich. However, they did not change their plans at all, but only postponed the timing of their attack. The summer of 1941 seemed like the ideal moment to strike. A new Mongol invasion was ready to pour across Europe. Mr. Churchill also promised that there would be a change in the British war against Germany at this same time. In a cowardly way, he now tries to deny that during a secret meeting in the British House of Commons in 1940 he said that an important factor for the successful continuation and conclusion of this war would be the Soviet entry into the war, which would come during 1941 at the latest, and which would also make it possible for Britain to take the offensive. Conscious of our duty, we observed the military build-up of a world power this last spring which seemed to have inexhaustible reserves of human and material resources. Dark clouds began to gather over Europe.

What is Europe, my deputies? There is no geographical definition of our continent, but only a racial [vollcliche] and cultural one. The frontier of this continent is not the Ural mountains, but rather the line that divides the Western outlook on life from that of the East.

At one time, Europe was confined to the Greek isles, which had been reached by Nordic tribes, and where the flame first burned which slowly but steadily enlightened humanity. And when these Greeks fought against the invasion of the Persian conquerors, they did not just defend their

own small homeland, which was Greece, but [also] that concept which is now Europe. And then [the spirit of Europe shifted from Hellas to Rome. Roman thought and Roman statecraft combined with Greek spirit and Greek culture. An empire was created, the importance and creative power of which has never been matched, much less surpassed, even to this day. And when the Roman legions defended Italy in three terrible wars against the attack of Carthage from Africa, and finally battled to victory, in this case as well Rome fought not just for herself, but [also] for the Greco- Roman world which then encompassed Europe.

The next invasion against the home soil of this new culture of humanity came from the wide expanses of the East. A horrific storm of cultureless hordes sprang from the center of Asia deep into the heart of the European continent, burning, ravaging and murdering as a true scourge of God. Roman and Germanic men fought together for the first time on the Catalaunian battle fields in a decisive conflict [451 A.D.] of tremendous importance for a culture which had begun with the Greeks, passed on to the Romans, and then encompassed the Germanic peoples.

Europe had matured. The Occident arose from Hellas and Rome, and for many centuries its defense was the task not only of the Romans, but above all of the Germanic peoples. What we call Europe is the geographic territory of the Occident, enlightened by Greek culture, inspired by the powerful heritage of the Roman empire, its territory enlarged by Germanic colonization. Whether it was the German emperors fighting back invasions from the East by the Unstrut or on the Lechfeld [near Augsburg, in 955], or others pushing back Africa from Spain over a period of many years, it was always a struggle of a developing Europe against a profoundly alien outside world.

Just as Rome once made her immortal contribution to the building and defense of the continent, so now have the Germanic peoples taken up the defense and protection of a family of nations which, although they may differ and diverge in their political structure and goals, nevertheless together constitute a racially and culturally unified and complementary whole.

And from this Europe there have not only been settlements in other parts of the world, but intellectual [geistig] and cultural fertilization as well, a fact which anyone realizes who is willing to acknowledge the truth rather than deny it. Thus, it was not England which cultivated the continent, but rather Anglo-Saxon and Norman branches of the Germanic nation from our continent which moved to the [British] island and made possible her development, which is certainly unique in history. In the same way, it was not America that discovered Europe, but the other way around. And all that which America did not get from Europe may seem worthy of admiration to a Jewified mixed race, but Europe regards that merely as symptomatic of decay in artistic and cultural life, the product of Jewish or Negroid blood mixture.

My Deputies! Men of the German Reichstag!

I have to make these remarks because this struggle, which became obviously unavoidable in the early months of this year, and which the German Reich, above all, is called upon this time to lead, also greatly transcends the interests of our own people and nation. When the Greeks once stood against the Persians, they defended more than just Greece. When the Romans stood against the Carthaginians, they defended more than just Rome. When the Roman and Germanic peoples stood together against the Huns, they defended more than just the West. When German emperors stood against the Mongols they defended more than just Germany. And when Spanish heroes stood against Africa, they defended not just Spain, but all of Europe as well. In the same way, Germany does not fight today just for itself, but for our entire continent.

And it is an auspicious sign that this realization is today so deeply rooted in the subconscious of most European nations that they participate in this struggle, either with open expressions of sup-

port or with streams of volunteers.

When the German and Italian armies took the offensive against Yugoslavia and Greece on the 6th of April of this year, that was the prelude to the great struggle in which we now find ourselves. That is because the revolt in Belgrade [on 26 March 1941] which led to the overthrow of the former prince regent and his government determined the further development of events in that part of Europe. Although Britain played a major role in that coup, Soviet Russia played the main role. What I had refused to Mr. Molotov [the Soviet Foreign Minister] during his visit to Berlin [in November 1940], Stalin believed he could obtain indirectly against our will by revolutionary activity. Without regard for the treaties they had signed, the Bolshevik rulers expanded their ambitions. The [Soviet] treaty of friendship with the new revolutionary regime [in Belgrade] showed very quickly just how threatening the danger had become.

The achievements of the German armed forces in this campaign were honored in the German Reichstag on 4 May 1941. At that time, though, I was not able to reveal that we were very quickly approaching a confrontation with a state [Soviet Russia] which did not attack at the time of the campaign in the Balkans only because its military build-up was not yet complete and because it was not able to use its air fields as a result of the mud from melting snow at this time of year which made it impossible to use the runways.

My Deputies! Men of the Reichstag!

When I became aware of the possibility of a threat to the east of the Reich in 1940 through [secret] reports from the British House of Commons and by observations of Soviet Russian troop movements on our frontiers, I immediately ordered the formation of many new armored, motorized and infantry divisions. The human and material resources for them were abundantly available. [In this regard] I can make only one promise to you, my deputies, and to the entire German nation: while people in democratic countries understandably talk a lot about armaments, in National Socialist Germany all the more will actually be produced. It has been that way in the past, and it is not any different now. Whenever decisive action has to be taken, we will have more and, above all, better quality weapons with each passing year.

We realized very clearly that under no circumstances could we allow the enemy the opportunity to strike first into our heart. Nevertheless, the decision in this case [to attack the USSR] was a very difficult one. When the writers for the democratic newspapers now declare that I would have thought twice before attacking if I had known the strength of the Bolshevik adversaries, they show that they do not understand either the situation or me.

I have not sought war. To the contrary, I have done everything to avoid conflict. But I would forget my duty and my conscience if I were to do nothing in spite of the realization that a conflict had become unavoidable. Because I regarded Soviet Russia as a danger not only for the German Reich but for all of Europe, I decided, if possible, to give the order myself to attack a few days before the outbreak of this conflict.

A truly impressive amount of authentic material is now available which confirms that a Soviet Russian attack was intended. We are also sure about when this attack was to take place. In view of this danger, the extent of which we are perhaps only now truly aware, I can only thank the Lord God that He enlightened me in time and has given me the strength to do what must be done. Millions of German soldiers may thank Him for their lives, and all of Europe for its existence.

I may say this today: If this wave of more than 20,000 tanks, hundreds of divisions, tens of thousands of artillery pieces, along with more than 10,000 airplanes, had not been kept from being set

into motion against the Reich, Europe would have been lost.

Several nations have been destined to prevent or parry this blow through the sacrifice of their blood. If Finland [for example] had not immediately decided, for the second time, to take up weapons, then the comfortable bourgeois life of the other Nordic countries would have been quickly ended.

If the German Reich, with its soldiers and weapons, had not stood against this opponent, a storm would have burned over Europe which would have eliminated once and for all time the laughable British idea of the European balance of power in all its intellectual paucity and traditional stupidity.

If the Slovaks, Hungarians and Rumanians had not also acted to defend this European world, then the Bolshevik hordes would have poured over the Danube countries as did once the swarms of Attila's Huns, and [Soviet] Tatars and Mongols would [then] force a revision of the Treaty of Montreux [of July 1936] on the open country by the Ionian Sea.

If Italy, Spain and Croatia had not sent their divisions, then a European defense front would not have arisen which proclaims the concept of a new Europe and thereby effectively inspires all other nations as well. Because of this awareness of danger, volunteers have come from northern and western Europe: Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Flemish, Belgians and even French. They have all given the struggle of the allied forces of the Axis the character of a European crusade, in the truest sense of the word.

This is not yet the right time to speak of the planning and direction of this campaign. However, in a few sentences I would like to say something about what has been achieved [so far] in this greatest conflict in history. Because of the enormous area involved as well as the number and size of the events, individual impressions may be lost and forgotten.

The attack began at dawn on 22 June [1941]. With dauntless daring, the frontier fortifications which were meant to protect the Soviet Russian build-up against us from surprise attack were broken through. Grodno fell by 23 June. On 24 June, following the capture of Brest-Litovsk, the fortress [there] was taken in combat, and Vilnius and Kaunas [in Lithuania] were also taken. Daugavpils [in Latvia] fell on 26 June.

The first two great encirclement battles near Bialystok and Minsk were completed on 10 July. We captured 324,000 prisoners of war, 3,332 tanks and 1,809 artillery pieces. By 13 July the Stalin Line had been broken through at almost every decisive place. Smolensk fell on 16 July after heavy fighting, and German and Rumanian units were able to force their way across the Dniester [River] on 19 July. The Battle of Smolensk ended on 6 August after many encircling operations. As a result, another 310,000 Russians were taken as prisoners. Moreover, 3,205 tanks and 3,120 artillery pieces were counted — either destroyed or captured. Just three days later the fate of another Soviet Russian army group was sealed. On 9 August in the battle of Uman, another 103,000 Soviet Russian prisoners of war were taken, and 317 tanks and 1,100 artillery pieces were either destroyed or captured.

Nikolayev [in the Ukraine] fell on 13 August, and Kherson was taken on the 21st. On the same day the battle near Gomel ended, resulting in 84,000 prisoners as well as 144 tanks and 848 artillery pieces either captured or destroyed. The Soviet Russian positions between the Ilmen and Peipus [Lakes] were broken through on 21 August, while the bridgehead around Dnepropetrovsk fell into our hands on 26 August. On the 28th of that month German troops entered Tallinn and Paldiski [Estonia] after heavy fighting, while the Finns took Vyborg on the 20th. With the capture

of Petrokrepost on 8 September, Leningrad was finally cut off from the south. By 16 September bridgeheads across the Dnieper were formed, and on 18 September Poltava fell into the hands of our soldiers. German units stormed the fortress of Kiev on 19 September, and on 22 September the conquest of [the Baltic island of] Saaremaa was crowned by the capture of its capital.

The battle near Kiev was completed on 27 September. Endless columns of 665,000 prisoners of war marched to the west. In the encircled area, 884 tanks and 3,178 artillery pieces were captured. The battle to break through the central area of the Eastern front began on 2 October, while the battle of the Azov Sea was successfully completed on 11 October. Another 107,000 prisoners, 212 tanks and 672 artillery pieces were counted. After heavy fighting, German and Rumanian units were able to enter Odessa on 16 October. The battle to break through the center of the Eastern front that had begun on 2 October ended on 18 October with a success that is unique in world history. The result was 663,000 prisoners, as well as 1,242 tanks and 5,452 artillery pieces that were either destroyed or captured. The capture of Dagest was completed on 21 October. The industrial center of Kharkov was taken on 24 October. After very heavy fighting, the Crimea was finally reached, and on 2 November the capital of Simferopol was stormed. On 16 November the Crimea was overrun as far as Kerch.

As of 1 December, the total number of captured Soviet Russian prisoners was 3,806,865. The number of destroyed or captured tanks was 21,391, of artillery pieces 32,541, and of airplanes 17,322.

During this same period of time, 2,191 British airplanes were shot down. The navy sank 4,170,611 gross registered tons of shipping, and the air force sank 2,346,180 tons. Altogether, 6,516,791 gross registered tons were destroyed.

My Deputies! My German people!

These are sober facts and, perhaps, dry figures. But may they never be forgotten by history or vanish from the memory of our own German nation! For behind these figures are the achievements, sacrifices and sufferings, the heroism and readiness to die of millions of the best men of our own people and of the countries allied with us. Everything had to be fought for at the cost of health and life, and through struggle such as those back in the homeland can hardly imagine.

They have marched endless distances, tortured by heat and thirst, often bogged down with despair in the mud of bottomless dirt roads, exposed to the hardships of a climate that varies between the White and Black Seas from the intense heat of July and August days to the winter storms of November and December, tormented by insects, suffering from dirt and pests, freezing in snow and ice, they fought — the Germans and the Finns, the Italians, Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians and Croatians, the volunteers from the northern and western European countries — in short, the soldiers of the Eastern front!

Today I will not single out specific branches of the armed forces or praise specific leaders — they have all done their best. And yet, truth and justice requires that something be mentioned again: As in the past, so also today, of all of our German fighting men in uniform, the greatest burden of battle is born by our ever-present infantry soldiers.

From 22 June to 1 December [1941], the German army has lost in this heroic struggle: 158,773 dead, 563,082 wounded and 31,191 missing. The air force has lost: 3,231 dead, 8,453 wounded and 2,028 missing. The navy: 310 dead, 232 wounded and 115 missing. For the German armed forces altogether: 162,314 dead, 571,767 wounded and 33,334 missing.

That is, the number of dead and wounded is somewhat more than double the number of those lost in the [four month long] battle of the Somme of the [First] World War [in 1916], but somewhat less than half the number of missing in that battle — all the same, fathers and sons of our German people.

And now let me speak about another world which is represented by a man [President Franklin Roosevelt] who likes to chat nicely at the fireside while nations and their soldiers fight in snow and ice: above all, the man who is primarily responsible for this war.

When the nationality problem in the former Polish state was growing ever more intolerable in 1939, I attempted to eliminate the unendurable conditions by means of a just agreement. For a certain time it seemed as if the Polish government was seriously considering giving its approval to a reasonable solution. I may also add here that in all of these German proposals, nothing was demanded which had not previously belonged to Germany. In fact, we were willing to give up much which had belonged to Germany before the [First] World War.

You will recall the dramatic events of that period — the steadily increasing numbers of victims among the ethnic Germans [in Poland]. You, my deputies, are best qualified to compare this loss of life with that of the present war. The military campaign in the East has so far cost the entire German armed forces about 160,000 deaths, whereas during just a few months of peace [in 1939] more than 62,000 ethnic Germans were killed, including some who were horribly tortured. There is no question that the German Reich had the right to protest against this situation on its border and to press for its elimination, if for no other reason than for its own security, particularly since we live in an age in which [some] other countries [notably, the USA and Britain] regard their security at stake even in foreign continents. In geographical terms, the problems to be resolved were not very important. Essentially they involved Danzig [Gdansk] and a connecting link between the torn-away province of East Prussia and the rest of the Reich. Of much greater concern were the brutal persecutions of the Germans in Poland. In addition, the other minority population groups [notably the Ukrainians] were subject to a fate that was no less severe.

During those days in August [1939], when the Polish attitude steadily hardened, thanks to Britain's blank check of unlimited backing, the German Reich was moved to make one final proposal. We were prepared to enter into negotiations with Poland on the basis of this proposal, and we verbally informed the British ambassador of the proposal text. Today I would like to recall that proposal and review it with you.

[Text of the German proposal of 29 August 1939:]

Proposal for a settlement of the Danzig-Corridor problem and the German-Polish minority question:

The situation between the German Reich and Poland is now such that one more incident could lead to action by the military forces which have taken position on both sides of the frontier. Any peaceful solution must be such that the basic causes of this situation are eliminated so that it does not simply repeat itself, which would mean that not only eastern Europe but other areas as well would be subject to the same tensions. The causes of this situation are rooted in, first, the intolerable border that was specified by the dictated peace of Versailles [of 1919], and, second, the intolerable treatment of the minority populations in the lost territories.

In making this proposal, the German Reich government is motivated by the desire to achieve a permanent solution which will insure that both sides have vitally important connecting roads, and which will solve the minority problem, insofar as that is possible, and if not, will at least insure a

tolerable life for the minority populations with secure guarantees of their rights. The German Reich government is convinced that it is absolutely necessary to acknowledge the economic and physical destruction that has occurred since 1918 and to completely compensate for it. Of course, it regards this obligation as binding on both sides.

On the basis of these considerations, we make the following practical proposals:

1. The Free City of Danzig returns immediately to the German Reich on the basis of its purely German character and the unanimous desire of its population.
2. The territory of the so-called [Polish] Corridor will decide for itself whether it wishes to belong to Germany or to Poland. This territory consists of the area between the Baltic Sea [in the north] to a line marked [in the south] by the towns of Marienwerder, Graudenz, Kuhn and Bromberg — including these towns — and then westwards to Schoenlanke.
3. For this purpose a plebiscite will be conducted in this territory. All Germans who lived in this territory on 1 January 1918 or were born there before that date are entitled to vote in the plebiscite. Similarly, all Poles, Kashubians, and so forth, who lived in this territory on that date or were born there before that date are also entitled to vote. Those Germans who were expelled from this territory will return to vote in the plebiscite.

To insure an objective plebiscite and to make sure that all necessary preliminary preparation work is completely carried out, this territory will come under the authority of an international commission, similar to the one organized in the Saar territory. This commission is to be organized immediately by the four great powers of Italy, the Soviet Union, France and Britain. This commission will have all sovereign authority in the territory. Accordingly, Polish soldiers, Polish police and Polish authorities are to clear out of this territory as soon as possible, by a date to be agreed upon.

4. This territory does not include the Polish harbor of Gdynia, which is regarded as fundamentally sovereign Polish territory, to the extent of [ethnic] Polish settlement. The specific border of this Polish harbor city will be negotiated by Germany and Poland and, if necessary, determined by an international court of arbitration.

5. In order to insure sufficient time for the preparations necessary in order to conduct a just plebiscite, the plebiscite will not take place until after at least 12 months have passed.

6. In order to guarantee unhindered traffic between Germany and East Prussia, and between Poland and the [Baltic] Sea during this period [before the plebiscite], roads and rail lines may be built to insure free transit. The only tolls that may be imposed are those necessary for the maintenance of the transit routes or for transport itself.

7. A simple majority of the votes cast will decide whether the territory will go to Germany or to Poland.

8. After the plebiscite has been conducted, and regardless of the result, free transit will be guaranteed between Germany and its province of Danzig-East Prussia, as well as between Poland and the [Baltic] Sea. If the plebiscite determines that the territory belongs to Poland, Germany will obtain an extraterritorial transit zone, consisting of an auto super-highway [Reichsautobahn] and a four-track rail line, approximately along the line of Buetow-Danzig and Dirschau. The highway and the rail line will be built in such a way that the Polish transit lines are not disturbed, which means that they will pass either above or underneath. This zone will be one kilometer

wide and will be sovereign German territory. In case the plebiscite is in Germany's favor, Poland will have free and unrestricted transit to its harbor of Gdynia with the same right to an extraterritorial road and rail line that Germany would have.

9. In case the Corridor returns to Germany, the German Reich declares that it is ready too carry out an exchange of population with Poland to the extent that this would be suitable for the Corridor.

10. The special rights desired by Poland in the harbor of Danzig will also be given to Germany in the harbor of Gdynia on the basis of parity.

11. In order to eliminate all fear of threat from either side, Danzig and Gdynia will be purely commercial centers, that is, with no military installations or military fortifications.

12. The peninsula of Hela, which will go to either Poland or Germany on the basis of the plebiscite, will also be demilitarized in any case.

13. The German Reich government has protested in the strongest terms against the Polish treatment of its minority populations. For its part, the Polish government also believes itself called upon to register protests against Germany. Accordingly, both sides agree to submit these complaints to an international investigation commission which will be responsible for investigating all complaints of economic and physical damage as well as other acts of terror.

Germany and Poland pledge to compensate for all economic and other harm inflicted on minority populations on both sides since 1918, or to annul all expropriations and provide for complete reparation for the victims of these and other economic measures.

14. In order to eliminate the feeling of deprivation of international rights of the Germans who will remain in Poland, as well as of the Poles who will remain in Germany, and above all, to insure that they are not forced to act contrary to their ethnic-national feelings, Germany and Poland agree to guarantee the rights of the minority populations on both sides through comprehensive and binding agreements. These will insure the right of these minority groups to maintain, freely develop and carry on their national-cultural life. In particular, they will be allowed to maintain organizations for these purposes. Both sides agree that members of their minority populations will not be drafted for military service.

15. If agreement is reached on the basis of these proposals, Germany and Poland declare that they will immediately order and carry out the demobilization of their armed forces.

16. Germany and Poland will agree to whatever measures are necessary to implement the above points as quickly as possible.

[End of the text of the German proposal]

The former Polish government refused to respond to these proposals in any way. In this regard, the question presents itself: How is it possible that such an unimportant state could dare to simply disregard such proposals and, in addition, carry out further cruelties against the Germans, the people who have given this land its entire culture, and even order the general mobilization of its armed forces?

A look at the documents from the [Polish] Foreign Ministry in Warsaw later provided the surprising explanation. They told of the role of a man [Roosevelt] who, with diabolical lack of princi-

ple, used all of his influence to strengthen Poland's resistance and to prevent any possibility of understanding. These reports were sent by the former Polish ambassador in Washington, Count [Jerzy] Potocki, to his government in Warsaw. These documents clearly and shockingly reveal the extent to which one man and the powers behind him are responsible for the Second World War. Another question arises: Why had this man [Roosevelt] developed such a fanatic hostility against a country which, in its entire history, had never harmed either America or him?

With regard to Germany's relationship with America, the following should be said:

1. Germany is perhaps the only great power which has never had a colony in either North or South America. Nor has it been otherwise politically active there, apart from the emigration of many millions of Germans with their skills, from which the American continent, and particularly the United States, has only benefited.
2. In the entire history of the development and existence of the United States, the German Reich has never been hostile or even politically unfriendly towards the United States. To the contrary, many Germans have given their lives to defend the USA.
3. The German Reich has never participated in wars against the United States, except when the United States went to war against us in 1917. It did so for reasons which were completely explained by a commission which President Roosevelt himself established [or rather, endorsed] to investigate this issue. [This was the special U.S. Senate investigating committee, 1934-1935, chaired by Sen. Gerald Nye.] This commission to investigate the reasons for America's entry into the [First World] war clearly established that the United States entered the war in 1917 solely for the capitalist interests of a small group, and that Germany itself had no desire or intention to come into conflict with America.

Furthermore, there are no territorial or political conflicts between the American and German nations which could possibly involve the existence or even the [vital] interests of the United States. The forms of government have always been different. But this cannot be a reason for hostility between different nations, as long as one form of government does not try to interfere with another, outside of its naturally ordained sphere.

America is a republic led by a president with wide-ranging powers of authority. Germany was once ruled by a monarchy with limited authority, and then by a democracy which lacked authority. Today it is a republic of wide-ranging authority. Between these two countries is an ocean. If anything, the differences between capitalist America and Bolshevik Russia, if these terms have any meaning at all, must be more significant than those between an America led by a President and a Germany led by a Führer.

It is a fact that the two historical conflicts between Germany and the United States were stimulated by two Americans, that is, by Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, although each was inspired by the same forces. History has given its verdict about Wilson. His name will always be associated with the most base betrayal of a pledge [Wilson's "14 points"] in history. The result was the disruption of national life, not only in the so-called vanquished countries, but among the victors as well. Because of this broken pledge, which alone made the imposed Treaty of Versailles [1919] possible, countries were torn apart, cultures were destroyed and the economic life of all was ruined. Today we know that a group of self-serving financiers stood behind Wilson. They used this paralytic professor in order to lead America into a war from which they hoped to profit. The German nation once believed this man, and had to pay for this faith with political and economic ruin.

After such a bitter experience, why is there now another American president who is determined to incite wars and, above all, to stir up hostility against Germany to the point of war? National Socialism came to power in Germany in the same year that Roosevelt came to power in the United States [1933]. At this point it is important to examine the factors behind the current developments. First of all, the personal side of things: I understand very well that there is a world of difference between my own outlook on life and attitude, and that of President Roosevelt. Roosevelt came from an extremely wealthy family. By birth and origin he belonged to that class of people which is privileged in a democracy and assured of advancement. I myself was only the child of a small and poor family, and I had to struggle through life by work and effort in spite of immense hardships. As a member of the privileged class, Roosevelt experienced the [First] World War in a position under Wilson's shadow [as assistant secretary of the Navy]. As a result, he only knew the agreeable consequences of a conflict between nations from which some profited while others lost their lives. During this same period, I lived very differently. I was not one of those who made history or profits, but rather one of those who carried out orders. As an ordinary soldier during those four years, I tried to do my duty in the face of the enemy. Of course, I returned from the war just as poor as when I entered in the fall of 1914. I thus shared my fate with millions of others, while Mr. Roosevelt shared his with the so-called upper ten thousand.

After the war, while Mr. Roosevelt tested his skills in financial speculation in order to profit personally from the inflation, that is, from the misfortune of others, I still lay in a military hospital along with many hundreds of thousands of others. Experienced in business, financially secure and enjoying the patronage of his class, Roosevelt then finally chose a career in politics. During this same period, I struggled as a nameless and unknown man for the rebirth of my nation, which was the victim of the greatest injustice in its entire history.

Two different paths in life! Franklin Roosevelt took power in the United States as the candidate of a thoroughly capitalistic party, which helps those who serve it. When I became the Chancellor of the German Reich, I was the leader of a popular national movement, which I had created myself. The powers which supported Mr. Roosevelt were the same powers that I fought against out of deepest inner conviction and because of the fate of my people. The "brain trust" which served the new American president was made up of members of the same national group which we fought against in Germany as a parasitical expression of humanity, and which we began to remove from public life.

And yet, we also had something in common: Franklin Roosevelt took control of a country with an economy which had been ruined as a result of democratic influences, and I assumed the leadership of a Reich which was also on the edge of complete ruin, thanks to democracy. There were 13 million unemployed in the United States, while Germany had seven million unemployed and another seven million part-time workers. In both countries, public finances were in chaos, and it seemed that the spreading economic depression could not be stopped.

From then on, things developed in the United States and in the German Reich in such a way that future generations will have no difficulty in making a definitive evaluation of the two different socio-political theories. Whereas the German Reich experienced an enormous improvement in social, economic, cultural and artistic life in just a few years under National Socialist leadership, President Roosevelt was not able to bring about even limited improvements in his own country. This task should have been much easier in the United States, with barely 15 people per square kilometer, as compared to 140 in Germany. If economic prosperity is not possible in that country, it must be the result of either a lack of will by the ruling leadership or the complete incompetence of the men in charge. In just five years, the economic problems were solved in Germany and unemployment was eliminated. During this same period, President Roosevelt enormously in-

creased his country's national debt, devalued the dollar, further disrupted the economy and maintained the same number of unemployed.

But this is hardly remarkable when one realizes that the intellects appointed by this man, or more accurately, who appointed him, are members of that same group who, as Jews, are interested only in disruption and never in order. While we in National Socialist Germany took measures against financial speculation, it flourished tremendously under Roosevelt. The New Deal legislation of this man was spurious, and consequently the greatest error ever experienced by anyone. If his economic policies had continued indefinitely during peace time, there is no doubt that sooner or later they would have brought down this president, in spite of all his dialectical cleverness. In a European country his career would certainly have ended in front of a national court for recklessly squandering the nation's wealth. And he would hardly have avoided a prison sentence by a civil court for criminally incompetent business management.

Many respected Americans also shared this view. A threatening opposition was growing all around this man, which led him to think that he could save himself only by diverting public attention from his domestic policies to foreign affairs. In this regard it is interesting to study the reports of Polish Ambassador Potocki from Washington, which repeatedly point out that Roosevelt was fully aware of the danger that his entire economic house of cards could collapse and that therefore he absolutely had to divert attention to foreign policy.

The circle of Jews around Roosevelt encouraged him in this. With Old Testament vindictiveness they regarded the United States as the instrument which they and he could use to prepare a second Purim [slaughter of enemies] against the nations of Europe, which were increasingly anti-Jewish. So it was that the Jews, in all of their satanic baseness, gathered around this man, and he relied on them.

The American president increasingly used his influence to create conflicts, intensify existing conflicts, and, above all, to keep conflicts from being resolved peacefully. For years this man looked for a dispute anywhere in the world, but preferably in Europe, that he could use to create political entanglements with American economic obligations to one of the contending sides, which would then steadily involve America in the conflict and thus divert attention from his own confused domestic economic policies.

His actions against the German Reich in this regard have been particularly blunt. Starting in 1937, he began a series of speeches, including a particularly contemptible one on 5 October 1937 in Chicago, with which this man systematically incited the American public against Germany. He threatened to establish a kind of quarantine against the so-called authoritarian countries. As part of this steady and growing campaign of hate and incitement, President Roosevelt made another insulting statement [on 15 Nov. 1938] and then called the American ambassador in Berlin back to Washington for consultations. Since then the two countries have been represented only by charges d'affaires.

Starting in November 1938, he began to systematically and consciously sabotage every possibility of a European peace policy. In public he hypocritically claimed to be interested in peace while at the same time he threatened every country that was ready to pursue a policy of peaceful understanding by blocking credits, economic reprisals, calling in loans, and so forth. In this regard, the reports of the Polish ambassadors in Washington, London, Paris and Brussels provide a shocking insight.

This man increased his campaign of incitement in January 1939. In a message to the U.S. Congress [of 4 Jan. 1939] he threatened to take every measure short of war against the authoritarian

countries.

He repeatedly claimed that other countries were trying to interfere in American affairs and he talked a lot about upholding the Monroe Doctrine. Starting in March 1939 he began lecturing about internal European affairs which were no concern of the President of the United States. In the first place, he doesn't understand these problems, and secondly, even if he did understand them and appreciated the historical circumstances, he has no more right to concern himself with central European affairs than the German head of state has to take positions on or make judgments about conditions in the United States.

Mr. Roosevelt went even beyond that. Contrary to the rules of international law, he refused to recognize governments he didn't like, would not accept new ones, refused to dismiss ambassadors of non-existent countries, and even recognized them as legal governments. He went so far as to conclude treaties with these ambassadors, which then gave him the right to simply occupy foreign territories [Greenland and Iceland].

On 15 April 1939 Roosevelt made his famous appeal to me and the Duce [Mussolini], which was a mixture of geographical and political ignorance combined with the arrogance of a member of the millionaire class. We were called upon to make declarations and to conclude non-aggression pacts with a number of countries many of which were not even independent because they had either been annexed or turned into subordinate protectorates by countries allied with Mr. Roosevelt [Britain and France]. You will recall, my Deputies, that I then gave a polite but straightforward answer to this obtrusive gentleman [on 28 April 1939], which succeeded in stopping, at least for a few months, the storm of chatter from this staunch warmonger.

But now the honorable wife [Eleanor Roosevelt] took his place. She and her sons [she said] refused to live in a world such as ours. That is at least understandable, for ours is world of work and not one of deceit and racketeering. After a short rest, though, he was back at it. On 4 November 1939 the Neutrality Act was revised and the arms embargo was repealed in favor of a one-sided supply [of weapons] to Germany's adversaries. In the same way in eastern Asia, he pushed for economic entanglements with China which would eventually lead to effective common interests. That same month he recognized a small group of Polish emigrants as a so-called government in exile, the only political basis of which was a few million Polish gold pieces which were taken away from Warsaw.

On 9 April [1940] he froze all Norwegian and Danish assets [in the United States] on the lying pretext of wanting to keep them from falling into German hands, even though he knew full well, for example, that Germany has not interfered with, much less taken control of, the Danish government's administration of its financial affairs. Along with the other governments in exile, Roosevelt now recognized one for Norway. On 15 May 1940, Dutch and Belgian governments in exile were also recognized, and at the same time Dutch and Belgian assets [in the USA] were frozen.

This man revealed his true attitude in a telegram of 15 June [1940] to French Premier [Paul] Reynaud. Roosevelt told him that the American government would double its aid to France, on the condition that France continue the war against Germany. In order to give special emphasis to his desire that the war continue, he declared that the American government would not recognize acquisitions brought about by conquest, which included, for example, the retaking of territories which had been stolen from Germany. I do not need to emphasize that now and in the future, the German government will not be concerned about whether or not the President of the United States recognizes a border in Europe. I mention this case because it is characteristic of the sys-

tematic incitement of this man, who hypocritically talks about peace while at the same time he incites to war.

And now he feared that if peace were to come about in Europe, the billions he had squandered on military spending would soon be recognized as an obvious case of fraud, because no one would attack America unless America itself provoked the attack. On 17 June 1940 the President of the United States froze French assets [in the USA] in order, so he said, to keep them from being seized by Germany, but in reality to get hold of the gold that was being brought from Casablanca on an American cruiser.

In July 1940 Roosevelt began to take many new measures towards war, such as permitting the service of American citizens in the British air force and the training of British air force personnel in the United States. In August 1940 a joint military policy for the United States and Canada was established. In order to make the establishment of a joint American-Canadian defense committee plausible to at least the stupidest people, Roosevelt periodically invented crises and acted as if America was threatened by immediate attack. He would suddenly cancel trips and quickly return to Washington and do similar things in order to emphasize the seriousness of the situation to his followers, who really deserve pity.

He moved still closer to war in September 1940 when he transferred fifty American naval destroyers to the British fleet, and in return took control of military bases on British possessions in North and Central America. Future generations will determine the extent to which, along with all this hatred against socialist Germany, the desire to easily and safely take control of the British empire in its hour of disintegration may have also played a role.

After Britain was no longer able to pay cash for American deliveries he imposed the Lend-Lease Act on the American people [in March 1941]. As President, he thereby obtained the authority to furnish lend-lease military aid to countries which he, Roosevelt, decided it was in America's vital interests to defend. After it became clear that Germany would not respond under any circumstances to his continued boorish behavior, this man took another step forward in March 1941.

As early as 19 December 1939, an American cruiser within the safety zone [the *Tuscaloosa*] maneuvered the [German] passenger liner *Columbus* into the hands of British warships. As a result, it had to be scuttled. On the same day, U.S. military forces helped in an effort to capture the German merchant ship *Arauca*. Again contrary to international law, on 27 January 1940 the U.S. cruiser *Trenton* reported the movements of the German merchant ships *Arauca*, *La Plata* and *Wangoni* to enemy naval forces.

On 27 June 1940 he announced a limitation on the free movement of foreign merchant ships in U.S. harbors, completely contrary to international law. In November 1940 he permitted U.S. warships to pursue the German merchant ships *Phrygia*, *Idarwald* and *Rhein* until they finally had to scuttle themselves to keep from falling into enemy hands. On 13 April 1941 American ships were permitted to pass freely through the Red Sea in order to supply British armies in the Middle East.

In the meantime, all German ships were confiscated by the American authorities in March [1941]. In the process, German Reich citizens were treated in the most degrading way, ordered to certain locations in violation of international law, put under travel restrictions, and so forth. Two German officers who had escaped [to the United States] from Canadian captivity were shackled and returned to the Canadian authorities, likewise completely contrary to international law.

On 27 March [1941] the same president who is [supposedly] against all aggression announced support for [General Dusan] Simovic and his clique of usurpers, who had come to power in Bel-

grade [Yugoslavia] after the overthrow of the legal government. Several months earlier, President Roosevelt had sent [OSS chief] Colonel Donovan, a very inferior character, to the Balkans with orders to help organize an uprising against Germany and Italy in Sofia [Bulgaria] and Belgrade. In April he [Roosevelt] promised lend-lease aid to Yugoslavia and Greece. At the end of April he recognized Yugoslav and Greek emigrants as governments in exile. And once again, in violation of international law, he froze Yugoslav and Greek assets.

Starting in mid-April [1941] U.S. naval patrols began expanded operations in the western Atlantic, reporting their observations to the British. On 26 April, Roosevelt delivered twenty P.T. boats to Britain. At the same time, British naval ships were routinely being repaired in U.S. harbors. On 12 May, Norwegian ships operating for Britain were armed and repaired [in the USA], contrary to international law. On 4 June, American troop transports arrived in Greenland to build air fields. And on 9 June came the first British report that a U.S. war ship, acting on orders from President Roosevelt, had attacked a German submarine near Greenland with depth charges.

On 14 June, German assets in the United States were frozen, again in violation of international law. On 17 June, on the basis of a lying pretext, President Roosevelt demanded the recall of the German consuls and the closing of the German consulates. He also demanded the closing down of the German "Transocean" press agency, the German Library of Information [in New York] and- the German Reichsbahn [national railway] office.

On 6 and 7 July [1941], American armed forces acting on orders from Roosevelt occupied Iceland, which was in the area of German military operations. He hoped that this action would certainly, first, finally force Germany into war [against the USA] and, second, also neutralize the effectiveness of the German submarines, much as in 1915-1916. At the same time, he promised military aid to the Soviet Union. On 10 July, Navy Secretary [Frank] Knox suddenly announced the existence of an American order to fire against Axis warships. On 4 September the U.S. destroyer *Greer*, acting on orders, operated together with British airplanes against German submarines in the Atlantic. Five days later, a German submarine identified U.S. destroyers as escort vessels with a British convoy.

In a speech delivered on 11 September [1941], Roosevelt at last personally confirmed that he had given the order to fire against all Axis ships, and he repeated the order. On 29 September, U.S. patrols attacked a German submarine east of Greenland with depth charges. On 17 October the U.S. destroyer *Kearny*, operating as an escort for the British, attacked a German submarine with depth charges, and on 6 November U.S. armed forces seized the German ship *Odenwald* in violation of international law, took it to an American harbor, and imprisoned its crew.

I will overlook as meaningless the insulting attacks and rude statements by this so-called President against me personally. That he calls me a gangster is particularly meaningless, since this term did not originate in Europe, where such characters are uncommon, but in America. And aside from that, I simply cannot feel insulted by Mr. Roosevelt because I regard him, like his predecessor Woodrow Wilson, as mentally unsound [geisteskrank].

We know that this man, with his Jewish supporters, has operated against Japan in the same way. I don't need to go into that here. The same methods were used in this case as well. This man first incites to war, and then he lies about its causes and makes baseless allegations. In an offensive way, he wraps himself in a cloak of Christian hypocrisy, while at the same time slowly but very steadily leading humanity into war. And finally, as an old Freemason, he calls upon God as his witness that his actions are honorable.

His shameless misrepresentations of truth and violations of law are unparalleled in history. I am sure that all of you have regarded it as an act of deliverance that a country [Japan] has finally acted to protest against all this in the very way that this man had actually hoped for, and which should not surprise him now [the Pearl Harbor attack of 7 December 1941]. After years of negotiating with this deceiver, the Japanese government finally had its fill of being treated in such a humiliating way. All of us, the German people and, I believe, all other decent people around the world as well, regard this with deep appreciation.

We know the power behind Roosevelt. It is the same eternal Jew that believes that his hour has come to impose the same fate on us that we have all seen and experienced with horror in Soviet Russia. We have gotten to know the Jewish paradise on earth first hand. Millions of German soldiers have personally seen the land where this international Jewry has destroyed and annihilated people and property. Perhaps the President of the United States does not understand this. If so, that only speaks for his intellectual narrow-mindedness.

But we know that their entire effort is aimed at this goal: Even if we were not allied with Japan, we would still realize that the Jews and their Franklin Roosevelt intend to destroy one country after another. The German Reich of today has nothing in common with the Germany of the past. For our part, we will now do what this provocateur has been trying to achieve for years. And not just because we are allied with Japan, but rather because Germany and Italy with their present leaderships have the insight and strength to realize that in this historic period the existence or non-existence of nations is being determined, perhaps for all time. What this other world has in store for us is clear. They were able to bring the democratic Germany of the past [1918-1933] to starvation, and they seek to destroy the National Socialist Germany of today.

When Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt declare that they want to build a new social order later on, that's about the same as a barber with a bald head recommending a tonic guaranteed to make hair grow. These gentlemen, who live in the most socially backward countries, should worry about their own unemployed people rather than incite war. They have enough misery and poverty in their own countries to keep themselves busy insuring a just distribution of food there. As far as the German nation is concerned, it doesn't need charity from either Mr. Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt or [British foreign secretary] Mr. Eden, but it does demand its rights. And it will do what it must to insure its right to life, even if a thousand Churchills and Roosevelts conspire together to prevent it.

Our nation has a history of almost 2,000 years. Never in this long period has it been so united and determined as it is today, and thanks to the National Socialist movement it will always be that way. At the same time, Germany has perhaps never been as clear-sighted and seldom as conscious of honor. Accordingly, today I had the passports returned to the American charge d'affaires, and he was informed of the following:

President Roosevelt's steadily expanding policy has been aimed at an unlimited world dictatorship. In pursuing this goal, the United States and Britain have used every means to deny the German, Italian and Japanese nations the prerequisites for their vital natural existence. For this reason, the governments of Britain and the United States of America have opposed every effort to create a new and better order in the world, for both the present and the future.

Since the beginning of the war [in September 1939], the American President Roosevelt has steadily committed ever more serious crimes against international law. Along with illegal attacks against ships and other property of German and Italian citizens, there have been threats and even arbitrary deprivations of personal freedom by internment and such. The increasingly hostile at-

tacks by the American President Roosevelt have reached the point that he has ordered the American navy to immediately attack, fire upon and sink all German and Italian ships, in complete violation of international law. American officials have even boasted about destroying German submarines in this criminal manner. American cruisers have attacked and captured German and Italian merchant ships, and their peaceful crews were taken away to imprisonment. In addition, President Roosevelt's plan to attack Germany and Italy with military forces in Europe by 1943 at the latest was made public in the United States [by the *Chicago Tribune* and several other papers on 4 Dec. 1941], and the American government made no effort to deny it.

Despite the years of intolerable provocations by President Roosevelt, Germany and Italy sincerely and very patiently tried to prevent the expansion of this war and to maintain relations with the United States. But as a result of his campaign, these efforts have failed.

Faithful to the provisions of the Tripartite Pact of 27 September 1940, German and Italy have consequently now finally been forced to join together on the side of Japan in the struggle for the defense and preservation of the freedom and independence of our nations and empires against the United States of America and Britain.

The three powers have accordingly concluded the following agreement which was signed today in Berlin:

[Agreement text:]

With an unshakable determination not to lay down arms until the common war against the United States of America and Britain has been fought to a successful conclusion, the German, Italian and Japanese governments have agreed to the following:

Article 1. Germany, Italy and Japan will together conduct the war which has been forced upon them by the United States of America and Britain with all the means at their command to a victorious conclusion.

Article 2. Germany, Italy and Japan pledge not to conclude an armistice or make peace with either the United States of America or Britain unless by complete mutual agreement.

Article 3. Germany, Italy and Japan will also work very closely together after a victorious conclusion of the war for the purpose of bringing about a just new order in accord with the Tripartite Pact concluded by them on 27 September 1940.

Article 4. This agreement is effective immediately upon signing and is valid for the same period as the Tripartite Pact of 27 September 1940. The high contracting parties shall inform each other in due time before the expiration of this term of validity of their plans for cooperation as laid out in Article 3 of this agreement.

[End of Agreement text]

Deputies! Men of the German Reichstag!

Ever since my peace proposal of July 1940 was rejected, we have clearly realized that this struggle must be fought through to the end. We National Socialists are not at all surprised that the Anglo-American, Jewish and capitalist world is united together with Bolshevism. In our country we have always found them in the same community. Alone we successfully fought against them here

in Germany, and after 14 years of struggle for power we were finally able to annihilate our enemies.

When I decided 23 years ago to enter political life in order to lead the nation up from ruin, I was a nameless, unknown soldier. Many of you here know just how difficult those first years of that struggle really were. The way from a small movement of seven men to the taking of power on 30 January 1933 as the responsible government is so miraculous that only the blessing of Providence could have made it possible. Today I stand at the head of the mightiest army in the world, the most powerful air force and a proud navy. Behind and around me is a sacred community — the [National Socialist] Party, with which I have become great and which has become great through me.

Our opponents today are the same familiar enemies of more than 20 years. But the path before us cannot be compared with the road we have already taken. Today the German people fully realizes that this is a decisive hour for our existence. Millions of soldiers are faithfully doing their duty under the most difficult conditions. Millions of German farmers and workers, and German women and girls, are in the factories and offices, in the fields and farm lands, working hard to feed our homeland and supply weapons to the front. Allied with us are strong nations which have suffered the same misery and face the same enemies.

The American President and his plutocratic clique have called us the “have not” nations. That is correct! But the “have nots” also want to live, and they will certainly make sure that what little they have to live on is not stolen from them by the “haves.” You, my Party comrades, know of my relentless determination to carry out to a successful conclusion any struggle which has already begun. You know of my determination in such a struggle to do everything necessary to break all resistance that must be broken. In my first speech [of this war] on 1 September 1939, I pledged that neither force of arms nor time would defeat Germany. I want to assure my opponents that while neither force of arms nor time will defeat us, in addition no internal uncertainty will weaken us in the fulfillment of our duty.

When we think of the sacrifice and effort of our soldiers, then every sacrifice of [those here in] the homeland is completely insignificant and unimportant. And when we consider the number of all those in past generations who gave their lives for the survival and greatness of the German nation, then we are really conscious of the magnitude of the duty which is ours.

But whoever tries to shirk this duty has no right to be regarded as a fellow German. Just as we were pitilessly hard in the struggle for power, so also will we be just as ruthless in the struggle for the survival of our nation. During a time in which thousands of our best men, the fathers and sons of our people, have given their lives, anyone in the homeland who betrays the sacrifice on the front will forfeit his life. Regardless of the pretext with which an attempt is made to disrupt the German front, undermine the will to resist of our people, weaken the authority of the regime, or sabotage the achievements of the homeland, the guilty person will die. But with this difference: The soldier at the front who makes this sacrifice will be held in the greatest honor, whereas the person who debases this sacrifice of honor will die in disgrace.

Our opponents should not deceive themselves. In the 2,000 years of recorded German history, our people have never been more determined and united than today. The Lord of the universe has been so generous to us in recent years that we bow in gratitude

before a Providence which has permitted us to be members of such a great nation. We thank Him, that along with those in earlier and coming generations of the German nation, our deeds of honor may also be recorded in the eternal book of German history!

Germany's Formal Declaration of War Against the United States

About two hours before Hitler began his speech to the Reichstag, Germany formally declared war against the United States when Reich Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop delivered a diplomatic note to the American Charge d'Affaires in Berlin, Leland B. Morris.

At almost the same time, the German Charge d'Affaires in Washington, Hans Thomsen, presented a copy of this note to the Chief of the European Division of the Department of State, Ray Ather-ton. Here is the text of the note:

The government of the United States of America, having violated in the most flagrant manner and in ever increasing measure all rules of neutrality in favor of the adversaries of Germany and having continually been guilty of the most severe provocations toward Germany ever since the outbreak of the European war, brought on by the British declaration of war against Germany on 3 September 1939, has finally resorted to open military acts of aggression.

On 11 September 1941, the President of the United States of America publicly declared that he had ordered the American Navy and Air Force to shoot on sight any German war vessel. In his speech of 27 October 1941, he once more expressly affirmed that this order was in force. :

Acting under this order, American war vessels have systematically attacked German naval forces since early September 1941. Thus, American destroyers, as for instance, the *Greer*, the *Kearny* and the *Reuben James*, have opened fire on German submarines according to plan. The American Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Knox, himself confirmed that the American destroyers attacked German submarines.

Furthermore, the naval forces of the United States of America, under order of their government and contrary to international law, have treated and seized German merchant ships on the high seas as enemy ships.

The German government therefore establishes the following facts: Although Germany on her part has strictly adhered to the rules of international law in her relations with the United States of America during every period of the present war, the government of the United States of America from initial violations of neutrality has finally proceeded to open acts of war against Germany. It has thereby virtually created a state of war.

The government of the Reich consequently breaks off diplomatic relations with the United States of America and declares that in these circumstances brought about by President Roosevelt, Germany too, as from today, considers herself as being in a state of war with the United States of America.

Suggested further reading:

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- Benjamin Colby, *It was a Famous Victory*, New Rochelle: 1979.
- Thomas Fleming, "The Big Leak" ("F.D.R.'s War Plans"), *American Heritage*, December 1987, pp. 64 ff.
- Patrick J. Hearden, *Roosevelt Confronts Hitler: America's Entry into World War II*, Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Ill. Univ. Press, 1987.

- Ted Morgan, *FDR: A Biography*, New York: 1985, especially chapters 17, 18 and 20.
 - Charles C. Tansill, *Back Door to War*, Chicago: 1952.
 - A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War*, Atheneum, 1962.
 - Ernst Topitsch, *Stalin's War: A Radical New Theory of the Origins of the Second World War*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
 - Mark Weber, "President Roosevelt's Campaign to Incite War in Europe: The Secret Polish Documents," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1983, (Vol. 4, No. 2), pp. 135-172.
 - [David Hoggan's *The Forced War* will be available in English early next year (publication date February 18, 1989).¹
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The Zündel Trials (1985 and 1988)

ROBERT FAURISSON

On May 13, 1988, Ernst Zündel was sentenced by Judge Ronald Thomas of the District Court of Ontario, in Toronto, to nine months in prison for having distributed a Revisionist booklet that is now 14 years old: *Did Six Million Really Die?*

Ernst Zündel lives in Toronto where, up until a few years ago, he worked as a graphic artist and advertising man. He is now 49 years old. A native of Germany, he has kept his German citizenship. His life has known serious upsets from the day when, in about 1981, he began to distribute *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a Revisionist booklet by Richard Harwood. The booklet was first published in 1974 in Great Britain where, a year later, it was the focus of a lengthy controversy in the literary journal *Books and Bookmen*. At the instigation of the Jewish community of South Africa, it was later banned in that country.

In Canada, during an earlier trial in 1985, Zündel had been sentenced to 15 months in prison. That sentence was thrown out in 1987. A new trial began on January 18, 1988. I participated in the preparations for it and in the unfolding of those judicial proceedings. I devoted thousands of hours to the defense of Ernst Zündel.

François Duprat: A Precursor

In 1967, François Duprat published an article on “The Mystery of the Gas Chambers” (*Défense de l'Occident*, June 1967, pp. 30-33). He later became interested in the Harwood booklet and became actively involved in its distribution. On March 18, 1978, he was killed by assassins armed with weapons too complex not to belong to an intelligence service. Responsibility for the assassination was claimed by a “Remembrance Commando” and by a “Jewish Revolutionary Group” (*Le Monde*, March 23, 1978, p. 7). Patrice Chairoff had published Duprat’s home address in the *Dossier Néo-Nazisme*. He justified the assassination in the pages of *Le Monde* (April 26, 1978, p. 9) by citing the victim’s Revisionism: “François Duprat is responsible. There are some responsibilities that kill.” In *Le Droit de vivre*, the publication of the LICRA (International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism), Jean Pierre-Bloch expressed an ambiguous position: he criticized the crime but, at the same time, he let it be understood that he had no pity for those who, inspired by the victim, would start out on the Revisionist path (*Le Monde*, May 7-8, 1978).

Pierre Viansson-Ponté

Eight months before Duprat’s assassination, journalist Pierre Viansson-Ponté had launched a virulent attack against the Harwood pamphlet. His chronicle was entitled: “Le Mensonge” (The Lie), (*Le Monde*, July 17-18, 1978, p. 13). It was reprinted with an approving commentary in *Le Droit de vivre*. Six months after the assassination, Viansson-Ponté took up the attack once more in “Le Mensonge” (suite) (The Lie-Continued) (*Le Monde*, September 34, 1978, p.9). He passed

over the assassination of Duprat in silence, made public the names and home towns of three Revisionist readers, and called for legal repression against Revisionism.

Sabina Citron Versus Ernst Zündel

In 1984, Sabina Citron, head of the Holocaust Remembrance Association, stirred up violent demonstrations against Ernst Zündel in Canada. An attack was made on Zündel's home. The Canadian postal service, treating Revisionism the way it treats pornography, refused him all service and all right to receive mail. Zündel only recovered his postal rights after a year of judicial procedures. In the meantime, his business has failed. At the instigation of Sabina Citron, the Attorney General of Ontario filed a complaint against Zündel for publishing a "false statement, tale or news." The charge was based on the following reasoning: the defendant had abused his right to freedom of expression; by distributing the Harwood pamphlet, he was spreading information that he knew was false; in fact, he could not fail to be aware that the "genocide of the Jews" and the "gas chambers" were an established fact. Zündel was also charged with publishing an allegedly "false" letter, which he had written himself.

The First Trial (1985)

The first trial lasted seven weeks. The jury found Zündel not guilty regarding the letter he had himself written but guilty of distributing the Harwood booklet. He was sentenced by Judge Hugh Locke to 15 months in prison. The German consulate in Toronto confiscated his passport and the West German government prepared a deportation action against him. In Germany itself, West German authorities had already carried out a series of large-scale police raids on the houses of all his German correspondents. In 1987, the United States forbade him entry to its territory. But in spite of all that, Zündel had won a media victory: day after day, for seven weeks, the entire English-speaking Canadian media covered the trial, with its spectacular revelations. The public learned that the Revisionists had first class documentation and arguments, while the Exterminationists were in desperate straits.

Their Expert: Raul Hilberg

The prosecution expert in the first trial was Raul Hilberg, an American professor of Jewish descent and author of the standard reference work, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), which Paul Rassinier discussed in *Le Drame des Juifs européens* (The Drama of the European Jews). Hilberg began his testimony by explaining, without interruption, his theory about the extermination of the Jews. He was then cross-examined by Zündel's lawyer, Douglas Christie, who was assisted by Keltie Zubko and myself. Right from the start it was clear that Hilberg, who was the world's leading authority on the Holocaust, had never examined a single concentration camp, not even Auschwitz. He had still not examined any camp in 1985 when he announced the imminent appearance of a new edition of his main work in three volumes, revised, corrected and augmented. Although he did visit Auschwitz in 1979 for a single day as part of a ceremonial appearance, he did not bother to examine either the buildings or the archives. In his entire life he has never seen a "gas chamber," either in its original condition or in ruins. (For a historian, even ruins can tell tales). On the stand he was forced to admit that there had never been a plan, a central organization, a budget or supervision for what he called the policy of the extermination of the Jews. He also had to admit that since 1945 the Allies have never carried out an expert study of "the weapon of the crime," that is to say of a homicidal gas chamber. No autopsy report has established that even one inmate was ever killed by poison gas.

Hilberg said that Hitler gave orders for the extermination of the Jews, and that Himmler gave an order to halt the extermination on November 25, 1944 (such detail!). But Hilberg could not produce these orders. The defense asked him if he still maintained the existence of the Hitler orders in the new edition of his book. He dared to answer yes. He thereby lied and even committed perjury. In the new edition of his work (with a preface dated September 1984),

Hilberg systematically deleted any mention of an order by Hitler. (In this regard, see the review by Christopher Browning, "The Revised Hilberg," *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual*, 1986, p. 294). When he was asked by the defense to explain how the Germans had been able to carry out an undertaking as enormous as the extermination of millions of Jews without any kind of plan, without any central agency, without any blueprint or budget, Hilberg replied that in the various Nazi agencies there had been "an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus mind-reading by a far-flung bureaucracy."

Witness Arnold Friedman

The prosecution counted on the testimony of "survivors." These "survivors" were chosen with care. They were supposed to testify that they had seen, with their own eyes, preparations for and the carrying out of homicidal gassings. Since the war, in a series of trials like those at Nuremberg (1945-46), Jerusalem (1961), or Frankfurt (1963-65), such witnesses have never been lacking. However, as I have often noted, no lawyer for the defense had ever had the courage or the competence necessary to cross-examine these witnesses on the gassings themselves.

For the first time, in Toronto in 1985, one lawyer, Douglas Christie, dared to ask for explanations. He did it with the help of topographical maps and building plans as well as scholarly documentation on both the properties of the gases supposedly used and also on the capacities for cremation, whether carried out in crematory ovens or on pyres. Not one of these witnesses stood the test, and especially not Arnold Friedman. Despairing of his case, he ended by confessing that he had indeed been at Auschwitz-Birkenau (where he never had to work except once, unloading potatoes), but that, as regards gassings, he had relied on what others had told him.

Witness Rudolf Vrba

Witness Rudolf Vrba was internationally known. A Slovak Jew imprisoned at Auschwitz and at Birkenau, he said that he had escaped from the camp in April 1944 with Fred Wetzler. After getting back to Slovakia, he dictated a report about Auschwitz and Birkenau, and on their crematories and "gas chambers."

With help from Jewish organizations in Slovakia, Hungary and Switzerland, his report reached Washington, where it served as the basis for the U.S. Government's famous "War Refugee Board Report," published in November 1944. Since then every Allied organization charged with the prosecution of "war crimes" and every Allied prosecutor in a trial of "war criminals" has had available this official version of the history of those camps.

Vrba later became a British citizen and published his autobiography under the title of *I Cannot Forgive*. This book published in 1964, was actually written by Alan Bestic, who, in his preface, testified to the "considerable care [by Rudolf Vrba] for each detail" and to the "meticulous and almost fanatic respect he revealed for accuracy." On November 30, 1964, Vrba testified at the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial. Then he settled in Canada and became a Canadian citizen. He has been featured in various films about Auschwitz, particularly *Shoah* by Claude Lanzmann. Everything went well for him until the day at the Zündel trial in 1985 when he was cross-examined merci-

lessly. He was then shown to be an impostor. It was revealed that he had completely made up the number and location of the “gas chambers” and the crematories in his famous 1944 report. His 1964 book opened with a purported January 1943 visit by Himmler to Birkenau to inaugurate a new crematorium with “gas chamber.” Actually, the last visit by Himmler to Auschwitz took place in July of 1942, and in January 1943 the first of the new crematories was still far from finished. Thanks, apparently, to some special gift of memory (that he called “special mnemonic principles” or “special mnemonical method”) and to a real talent for being everywhere at once, Vrba had calculated that in the space of 25 months (April 1942 to April 1944) the Germans had “gassed” 1,765,000 Jews at Birkenau alone, including 150,000 Jews from France. But in 1978, Serge Klarsfeld, in his *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France*, had been forced to conclude that, for the entire length of the war, the Germans had deported a total of 75,721 Jews from France to all their concentration camps. The gravest aspect of this is that the figure of 1,765,000 Jews “gassed” at Birkenau had also been used in a document (L-022) at the main Nuremberg trial. Attacked on all sides by Zündel’s lawyer, the impostor had no other recourse than to invoke, in Latin, the “*licentia poetarum*,” or “poetic license,” in other words, the right to engage in fiction. His book has just been published in France (1987); this edition is presented as a book by “Rudolf Vrba with Alan Bestic.” It no longer includes the enthusiastic preface by Alan Bestic, and the short introduction by Emile Copfermann notes that “with the approval of Rudolf Vrba the two appendices from the English edition have been removed.” Nothing is said about the fact that those two appendices had also caused Vrba serious problems in 1985 at the Toronto trial.

The Second Zündel Trial (1988)

In January 1987, a five-judge appeals court decided to throw out the 1985 verdict against Ernst Zündel for some very basic reasons: Judge Hugh Locke had not allowed the defense any influence in the jury selection process and the jury had been misled by the judge on the very meaning of the trial. As for me, I have attended many trials in my life, including some carried out in France during the period of the “Purge” at the end and after World War II. Never have I encountered a judge so partial, autocratic and violent as Judge Hugh Locke. Anglo-Saxon law offers many more guarantees than French law but it only takes one man to pervert the best of systems. Judge Locke was such a man.

The second trial began on January 18, 1988, under the direction of Judge Ronald Thomas, who is a friend, it seems, of Judge Locke. Judge Thomas was often angry and was frankly hostile to the defense, but he had more finesse than his predecessor. The ruling by the five-judge appeal court also inhibited him somewhat. Judge Hugh Locke had imposed numerous restrictions on free expression by the witnesses and experts for the defense. For example, he forbade me to use any of the photos I had taken at Auschwitz. I had no right to use arguments of a chemical, cartographical, or architectural nature (even though I had been the first person in the world to publish the plans for the Auschwitz and Birkenau crematories). I was not allowed to talk about either the American gas chambers or the aerial reconnaissance photos of Auschwitz and Birkenau. Even the testimony of the eminent chemist William Lindsey was cut short. Judge Ronald Thomas did allow the defense more freedom, but at the outset of the trial, he made a decision, at the request of the prosecution, that would tie the hands of the jury.

Judge Thomas' Judicial Notice

In Anglo-Saxon law, everything must be proved except for certain absolutely indisputable evidence (“The capital of Great Britain is London,” “day follows night”...) The judge can take “judicial notice” of that kind of evidence at the request of one or the other of the contending parties;

Prosecuting Attorney John Pearson asked the judge to take judicial notice of the Holocaust. That term then has to be defined. It is likely that, had it not been for the intervention of the defense, the judge could have defined the Holocaust as it might have been defined in 1945-46. At that time, the “genocide of the Jews” (the word “Holocaust” was not used) could have been defined as “the ordered and planned destruction of six million Jews, in particular by the use of gas chambers.”

The problem for the prosecution was that the defense advised the judge that, since 1945-46, there have been profound changes in the understanding of Exterminationist historians about the extermination of the Jews. First of all, they no longer talk about an extermination but about an attempted extermination.. They have also finally admitted that “in spite of the most scholarly research” (Raymond Aron, Sorbonne Convenffon, 2 July 1982), no one has found any trace of an order to exterminate the Jews. More recently, there has been a dispute between the “intentionalists” and the “functionalists.” Both agree that they have no proof of any intent to exterminate, but “intentionalist” historians nevertheless believe that one must assume the existence of that intent, while “functionalist” historians believe that the extermination was the result of individual iniffaf-fves, localized and anarchic: in a sense, the activity created the organization! Finally, the figure of six million was declared to be “symbolic” and there have been many disagreements about the “problem of the gas chambers.”

Obviously surprised by this flood of information, Judge Ronald Thomas decided to be prudent and, after a delay for reflection, decided on the following definition; the Holocaust, he said, was “the extermination and/or mass-murder of Jews” by National Socialism. His definition is remarkable for more than one reason. We no longer find any trace of an extermination order, or a plan, or “gas chambers,” or six million Jews or even millions of Jews. This definition is so void of all substance that it no longer corresponds to anything real. One cannot understand the meaning of “mass-murder of Jews.” (The judge carefully avoided saying “of the Jews”.) This strange definition is itself a sign of the progress achieved by Historical Revisionism since 1945.

Raul Hilberg Refuses to Appear Again

One misfortune awaited Prosecutor John Pearson: Raul Hilberg, in spite of repeated requests, refused to appear again. The defense, having heard rumors of an exchange of correspondence between Pearson and Hilberg, demanded and got the publication of the letters they exchanged and in particular of a “confidential” letter by Hilberg which did not hide the fact that he had some bitter memories of his cross-examination in 1985. He feared being questioned again by Douglas Christie on the same points. To quote the exact words of his confidential letter, Hilberg wrote that he feared “every attempt to entrap me by pointing out any seeming contradiction, however trivial the subject might be, between my earlier testimony and an answer that I might give in 1988.” In fact as I have already mentioned, Hilberg had committed perjury and he may have feared being charged with that crime.

Christopher Browning, Prosecution Witness

In place of Hilberg there came his friend Christopher Browning, an American professor who specializes in the Holocaust. Admitted as an expert witness (and paid for several days at the rate of \$150 per hour by the Canadian taxpayer), Browning tried to prove that the Harwood pamphlet was a tissue of lies and that the attempt to exterminate the Jews was a scientifically established fact He had cause to regret the experience. During cross-examination, the defense used his own arguments to destroy him. In the course of those days, people saw the tall and naive professor, who had strutted while he stood testifying, seated, shrunken in size, behind the witness stand like

a schoolboy caught in a mistake. With a faint and submissive voice, he ended up acknowledging that the trial had definitely taught him something about historical research.

Following the example of Raul Hilberg, Browning had not examined any concentration camps. He had not visited any facility with “gas chambers.” He had never thought of asking for an expert study of the “weapon of the crime.” In his writings he had made much of homicidal “gas vans,” but he was not able to refer to any authentic photograph, any plan, any technical study, or any expert study. He was not aware that German words like “Gaswagen,” “Spezialwagen,” “Entlausungswagen” (delousing van) could have perfectly innocent meanings. His technical understanding was nil. He had never examined the wartime aerial reconnaissance photos of Auschwitz. He was unaware of all the tortures undergone by Germans, such as Rudolf Hoss, who had spoken of gassings. He knew nothing of the doubts expressed about some of Himmler’s speeches or about the Goebbels diary.

A great follower of the trials of war criminals, Browning had only questioned the prosecutors, never the defense lawyers. His ignorance of the transcript of the Nuremberg trial was disconcerting. He had not even read what Hans Frank, former Governor General of Poland, had said before the Nuremberg tribunal about his “diary” and about “the extermination of the Jews.” That was inexcusable! As a matter of fact, Browning claimed to have found irrefutable proof of the existence of a policy of exterminating the Jews in the Frank diary. He had discovered one incriminating sentence. He did not know that Frank had given the Tribunal an explanation of that kind of sentence, chosen beforehand from the hundreds of thousands of sentences in a personnel and administrative journal of 11,560 pages. Furthermore, Frank had spontaneously turned over his “diary” to the Americans when they came to arrest him. The sincerity of the former Governor General is so obvious to anyone who reads his deposition that Christopher Browning, invited to hear the content, did not raise the least objection. One last humiliation awaited him.

For the sake of his thesis, he invoked a passage from the well-known “protocol” of the Wannsee conference (20 January 1942). He had made his own translation of the passage, a translation that was seriously in error. At that point, his thesis collapsed. Finally, his own personal explanation of a “policy of the extermination of the Jews” was the same as Hilberg's. Everything was explained by the “nod” of Adolf Hitler. In other words, the Fuhrer of the German people did not need to give any written or even spoken order for the extermination of the Jews. It was enough for him to give a “nod” at the beginning of the operation and, for the rest, a series of “signals.” And that was understood!

Charles Biedermann

The other expert called by the prosecution (who had taken the stand before Browning) was Charles Biedermann, a Swiss citizen, a delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and, most importantly, the director of the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Arolsen, West Germany. The ITS has an unbelievable wealth of information about the fate of individual victims of National Socialism and, in particular, of former concentration camp inmates. I believe that it is at Arolsen that one could determine the real number of Jews who died during the war. The prosecution did not benefit from this experts testimony. On the contrary, the defense scored numerous points on cross-examination. Biedermann recognized that the ICRC had never found any proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the German camps. The visit by one of its delegates to Auschwitz in September 1944 had done no more than conclude the existence of a rumor on that subject. To his embarrassment, the expert was obliged to admit that he was wrong in attributing to the National Socialists the expression “extermination camps.” He had not noticed that this was a term coined by the Allies.

Biedermann said that he was not familiar with the ICRC reports on the atrocities undergone by the Germans just before and just after the end of the war. In particular, he knew nothing about the terrible treatment of many German prisoners. It would seem that the ICRC had nothing about the massive deportations of German minorities from the east, nothing on the horrors of the total collapse of Germany at the very end of the war, nothing about summary executions and, in particular, the massacre by rifle, machine gun, shovels and pickaxes, of 520 German soldiers and officers who had surrendered to the Americans at Dachau on April 29, 1945 (even though Victor Maurer, ICRC delegate, was apparently there).

The International Tracing Service included among those “persecuted” by the Nazis even indisputably criminal prisoners in the concentration camps. He relied on the information supplied by a Communist organization, the “Auschwitz State Museum.” Beginning in 1978, in order to prevent all Revisionist research, the International Tracing Service closed its doors to historians and researchers, except for those bearing a special authorization from one of the ten governments (including that of Israel) which oversee the activity of the International Tracing Service. Henceforth the Tracing Service was forbidden to calculate and publish, as it had done until then, statistical evaluations of the number of dead in the various camps. The annual activity reports could no longer be made available to the public, except for their first third, which had been of no interest to researchers.

Biedermann confirmed a news story that had filtered out in 1964 at the Frankfurt trial: at the time of liberation of Auschwitz, the Soviets and the Poles had discovered the death register of that complex of 39 camps and sub-camps. The register consisted of 38 or 39 volumes. The Soviets keep 36 or 37 of those volumes in Moscow while the Poles keep two or three other volumes at the “Auschwitz State Museum,” a copy of which they have furnished to the International Tracing Service in Arolsen. But neither the Soviets nor the Poles nor the International Tracing Service authorize research in these volumes. Biedermann did not even want to reveal the number of dead counted in the two or three volumes of which the ITS has a copy. It is clear that, if the content of the death register of Auschwitz were made public, it would be the end of the myth of the millions of deaths in the camp.

No 'Survivor' Witnesses for the Prosecution

The judge asked the prosecutor if he would call any “survivors” to the witness stand. The prosecutor answered no. The experience of 1985 had been too embarrassing. The cross examination had been devastating. It is regrettable that at the trial of Klaus Barbie in France in 1987 and at the trial of John Demjanjuk in Israel in 1987-1988, no defense lawyer has followed Douglas Christie’s example in the first Zündel trial (1985): Christie had shown that by carefully questioning witnesses about the gassing process itself, one could destroy the very foundation of the “extermination camp” myth.

The Witnesses and Experts for the Defense

Most of the witnesses and experts for the defense were as precise and concrete as people like Hilberg or Browning had been imprecise and metaphysical. The Swede Ditlieb Felderer showed about 380 slides of Auschwitz and of the other camps in Poland. The American, Mark Weber, whose knowledge of the documents is impressive, engaged in clarifications of several aspects of the Holocaust, in particular the Einsatzgruppen.* The German Tjudar Rudolph dealt with the Lodz ghetto and visits by the ICRC delegates at the end of 1941 to Auschwitz, Majdanek and other camps.

Thies Christophersen had been in charge of an agricultural research enterprise in the Auschwitz region in 1944. He visited the Birkenau camp several times to requisition personnel there and never noticed the horrors usually described. On the witness stand he repeated point by point what he had written about the camp, starting in 1973 with a 19-page report (*Kritik*, Nr. 23, pp. 14-32). The Austrian-born Canadian Maria Van Herwaarden was interned at Birkenau starting in 1942. She saw nothing, either close up or from a distance, that resembled mass murder, although she confirmed that many of the inmates had died of typhus. The American Bradley Smith, a member of a "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust," spoke about his experience in more than 100 question-and-answer interviews on American radio and television on the Holocaust issue.

The Austrian Emil Lachout commented on the famous "Muller Document," which, since December 1987, has thrown the Austrian authorities into disarray. The document, dated October 1, 1948, revealed that even then, Allied commissions of inquiry had already rejected the stories of homicidal "gassings" in a whole series of camps, including Dachau, Ravensbrück, Struthof (Natzweiler), Stutthof (Danzig), Sachsenhausen, and Mauthausen (Austria). The document specifically confirms that confessions of Germans had been extorted by torture and that testimonies by former inmates were false.

Dr. Russell Barton recounted his horrified discovery of the camp at Bergen-Belsen at the time of liberation. Until that moment he had believed in a deliberate program of extermination. Then he noted the fact that, in an apocalyptic Germany, the piles of corpses and the walking skeletons were the result of the frightful conditions of an overcrowded camp, ravaged by epidemics, and almost entirely deprived of medicine, food, and water because of Allied bombings.

The German Udo Walendy outlined the many forgeries he had discovered, in wartime atrocity photographs and other documents, either altered or forged by a team headed by a British propagandist called Sefton Delmer. J.G. Burg, a Jew who lives in Munich, told of his experiences in the war and confirmed that there had never been any policy for the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis.

Academics like the Chinese professor Dr. K.T. Fann, a Marxist, and Dr. Gary Botting, who lost his teaching position at Red Deer College (Alberta) as a result of testifying at the Zündel trial in 1985, testified that the Harwood booklet was essentially a work of opinion, and hence not subject to legal prohibition. Jürgen Neumann, a close associate and friend of Zündel, testified as to Zündel's state of minds when the booklet first was published. Ernst Neilsen testified on the obstacles he encountered at the University of Toronto to open research on the Holocaust Ivan Lagacé, director of the crematory at Calgary, demonstrated the practical impossibility of the numbers alleged by Hilberg to have been cremated at Auschwitz.

For my part, I appeared as an expert witness for nearly six days. I concentrated particularly on my investigations of the American gas chambers. I recalled that Zyklon B is essentially hydrocyanic acid and that it is with this gas that certain American penitentiaries execute those who have been condemned to death.

In 1945 the Allies should have asked specialists on American gas chambers to examine the buildings, at Auschwitz and elsewhere, which were supposed to have been used to gas millions of people. Since 1977, I have had the following idea: when one deals with a vast historical problem like that of the reality or the legend of the Holocaust, one must strive to get to the core of the problem; In this case the central problem is Auschwitz and the core of that problem is a space of 275 square meters: the 65 square meters of the "gas chamber" of crematorium I at Auschwitz and, at Birkenau, the 210 square meters of the "gas chamber" of crematorium II. In 1988, my

idea remained the same: let us have expert studies of those 275 square meters and we will have an answer to the vast problem of the Holocaust! I showed the jury my photos of the gas chamber at the Maryland State Penitentiary in Baltimore as well as my plans for the Auschwitz gas chambers and I underlined the physical and chemical impossibilities of the latter ones.

A Sensational Turn of Events: [The Leuchter Report](#)

Ernst Zündel, in possession of the correspondence I had exchanged in 1977-78 with the six American penitentiaries outfitted with gas chambers, gave attorney Barbara Kulaszka the job of getting in touch with the chief wardens of those penitentiaries in order to see if one of them would agree to appear in court to explain how a real gas chamber operates. Bill Armontrout, chief warden of the penitentiary at Jefferson City (Missouri), agreed to testify and in doing so pointed out that no one in the USA was more knowledgeable about the functioning of gas chambers than Fred A. Leuchter, an engineer from Boston. I went to visit Leuchter on February 3 and 4, 1988. I found that he had never asked himself any questions about the “gas chambers” in the German camps. He had simply believed in their existence. After I began to show him my files, he became aware of the chemical and physical impossibility of the German “gassings” and he agreed to examine our documents in Toronto.

After that, at Zündel’s expense, he left for Poland with a secretary (his wife), a draftsman, a video-cameraman and an interpreter. He came back and drew up a 192-page report (including appendices). He also brought back 32 samples taken, on the one hand, from the crematories of Auschwitz and Birkenau at the site of the homicidal “gassings” and, on the other hand, in a disinfection gas chamber at Birkenau. His conclusion was simple: there had never been any homicidal gassings at Auschwitz, Birkenau, or Majdanek.

On April 20 and 21, 1988, Fred Leuchter appeared on the witness stand in the Toronto courtroom. He told the story of his investigation and presented his conclusions. I am convinced that during those two days I was an eyewitness to the death of the gas chamber myth, a myth which, in my opinion, had entered its dead throes at the Sorbonne colloquium on “Nazi Germany and the Extermination of the Jews” (June 29 to July 2, 1982), where the organizers themselves began to grasp that there was no proof of the existence of the gas chambers.

In the Toronto courtroom emotions were intense, in particular among the friends of Sabina Citron. Ernst Zündel’s friends were also moved, but for a different reason: they were witnessing the veil of the great swindle being torn away. As for me, I felt both relief and melancholy: relief because a thesis that I had defended for so many years was at last fully confirmed, and melancholy because I had fathered the idea in the first place. I had even, with the clumsiness of a man of letters, presented physical, chemical, topographical and architectural arguments which I now saw summed up by a scientist who was astonishingly precise and thorough.

Would people one day remember the skepticism I had encountered, even from other Revisionists? Just before Fred Leuchter, Bill Armontrout had been on the witness stand, where he confirmed, in every detail, what I had said to the jury about the extreme difficulties of a homicidal gassing (not to be confused with a suicidal or accidental gassing). Ken Wilson, a specialist in aerial photographs, had shown that the homicidal “gas chambers” of Auschwitz and Birkenau did not have gas evacuation chimneys, which would have been indispensable. He also showed that I had been right in accusing Serge Klarsfeld and Jean-Claude Pressac of falsifying the map of Birkenau in the *Auschwitz Album* (Seuil Publishers, 1983, p. 42). Those authors, in order to make the reader believe that groups of Jewish women and children surprised by the photographer between crematories II and III could not go any farther and were thus going to end up in the “gas

chambers” and those crematories, had simply eliminated from the map the path which, in reality, led up to the “Zentralsauna,” a large shower facility (located beyond the zone of the crematories), where those women and children were actually going.

James Roth, director of a laboratory in Massachusetts, then testified on the analysis of the 32 samples, the origin of which he was unaware of: all the samples taken in the homicidal “gas chambers” contained a quantity of cyanide which was either unmeasurable or infinitesimal, while the sample from the disinfection gas chamber, taken for comparison’s sake, contained an enormous amount of cyanide (the infinitesimal quantity detected in the former case can be explained by the fact that the supposed homicidal gas chambers were in fact morgues for preserving bodies; such morgues could have been occasionally disinfected with Zyklon B).

David Irving

The British historian David Irving enjoys great prestige. Zündel thought of asking him to testify, but there was a problem: Irving was only partly a Revisionist. The thesis that he defended, for example, in *Hitler’s War* (New York, The Viking Press, 1977) can be summed up as follows: Hitler never gave an order for the extermination of the Jews; at least up to the end of 1943 he was kept in ignorance of that extermination; only Himmler and a group of about 70 or so persons were aware of it; in October 1944 Himmler, who wanted to get into the good graces of the Allies, gave an order to cease the extermination of the Jews.

I had met Irving in Los Angeles in September of 1983 at the annual convention of the Institute for Historical Review, where I challenged him by asking several questions about proof to support his thesis. Then I published an article entitled “A Challenge to David Irving” in *The Journal of Historical Review* (Winter 1984, pp. 289-305) and Spring 1985, p. 8 and 122). I tried to convince this brilliant historian that logically he could no longer be satisfied with a semi-Revisionist position. To begin with, I challenged him to produce Himmler’s order to stop the extermination, an order which never actually existed. Later on, I learned from various sources that Irving was undergoing a change that moved him in the direction of Revisionism.

In 1988, Zündel became convinced that the British historian was only waiting for a decisive event to take a final step in our direction. After arriving in Toronto, David Irving discovered in rapid succession the Leuchter report and an impressive number of documents that Zündel, his friends and I had accumulated over the course of several years. The last reservations or the last misunderstandings melted away in the course of a meeting. He agreed to testify on the stand. In the opinion of those who were present at the two trials (1985 and 1988), no single testimony, except that of Fred Leuchter, caused such a sensation. For more than three days, David Irving, engaging in a sort of public confession, took back all that he had said about the extermination of the Jews and without reservation adopted the Revisionist position. With courage and honesty, he showed how an historian can be brought to revise profoundly his views on the history of the Second World War.

The Zündel Story

Ernst Zündel had promised that his trial would be “the trial of the Nuremberg Trial” or “the Stalingrad of the “exterminationists.” The unfolding of those two long trials proved him right, even though the jury, “instructed” by the judge to consider the Holocaust as an established fact “which no reasonable person can doubt,” finally found him guilty. Zündel has already won. It remains for him to make it known to Canada and to the entire world. The media black-out of the 1988 trial was almost complete. Jewish organizations campaigned vigorously for such a blackout, and

even went so far as to say that they did not want an impartial account of the trial. They did not want any account of it at all. The paradox is that the only publication which reported relatively honestly about the trial was *The Canadian Jewish News*. Ernst Zündel and the Leuchter report have left a profound mark on history; both will be remembered for many years to come.

[*] Weber also clarified the meaning of the term Final Solution” (emigration or deportation, but never extermination of Jews): the testimony of Judge Konrad Morgen; the tortures of Rudolf Hoss and Oswald Pohl; the true history of Revisionism; and the concessions made year after year by the Exterminationists to the Revisionist viewpoint.

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Typhus and the Jews

Friedrich Paul Berg

In my article about the German delousing chambers in the Spring 1985 issue of this journal, I included a brief discussion of the large, well-designed gas chambers which were used to fumigate entire railroad trains, one or more railroad cars at a time, with Zyklon-B. Those chambers would have been ideal for the mass-extermination of people if the Germans had ever intended to commit mass-extermination of Jews or anyone else.

At the end of this introductory discussion I have included two articles from the German technical literature which discuss these remarkable gas chambers in some detail. Those articles are only two among many that can be found in the German literature of that period.

Delousing Tunnels

The history of large gas chambers (more than 200 cubic meters in volume) goes back to at least the early 1920s, when tunnels were used by the British to fumigate railroad trains in Russia and Poland, when the British had a military presence there during the chaotic post World War I period. The standard procedure then was to fumigate an entire railroad train at one time within a sealed tunnel with hydrocyanic acid (also referred to simply as cyanide or cyanide gas). Zyklon-B had not yet been invented and so the cyanide had to be introduced into the tunnels either from gas-filled tanks or else generated within the tunnels by the dropping of cyanide salt into barrels filled with sulfuric acid (the so-called "barrel method").

The British experience with typhus in Poland and Russia during that period was described many years later in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine as follows: [\[1\]](#)

Administrative Measures of Control of Widespread Epidemics

Though the measures taken are not likely to be applicable to Great Britain it may be of interest to outline the broader administrative steps we took when dealing with widespread epidemics of typhus fever.

The personnel of a number of units was established, including doctors, nurses, and subordinate medical auxiliaries. All were young and all were protected by the use of special clothing. Arrangements were made for the regular disinfection of the garments and for bathing the personnel. The stores required included portable baths and showers, fuel for heating water, soap, hair clippers and scissors, nail brushes, towels, etc., in addition to as good rations as it was possible to obtain. Units were sent into the various regions and were administered centrally in Poland from Warsaw, in Rus-

sia from Moscow and Kuibyshev, and, two years ago, in China from Chungking and Sian.

The next step was to put a cordon round healthy areas, with the aid of the military and barbed wire, to prevent the ingress of infected refugees. This was in many cases done locally, though eventually a cordon had to be established right across Europe, from North Poland to Rumania. Refugees were only allowed to enter this “clean” zone at certain points established on the roads and railways. Patrols watched the open country and brought stragglers into the disinfecting points. At each such point were arrangements for bathing and disinfestation, and all persons passing the cordon were thoroughly “de-loused” with their belongings. The size of the work may be gathered from the fact that at one center alone — Baranowice, on the Polish-Russian frontier in 1921 — we were for a long time disinfecting each day 10,000 refugees returning to Poland from Russia. The method of disinfestation varied according to the country and the apparatus available. In Poland, steam and cyanide were both used, the latter being employed on an extensive scale on the frontiers. At Baranowice, where the refugees arrived chiefly by train, a tunnel was built, into which hydrocyanic gas could be introduced. On the arrival of each train, all the passengers were given a blanket and told to strip, leaving their garments and all their belongings on the train. Each person was then bathed in hot water with soft soap and paraffin, while the train was backed into the tunnel, the engine uncoupled, and cyanide gas liberated in the tunnel. When the bathing of the refugees was completed, the train was pulled out of the tunnel by means of a rope attached to a locomotive and was allowed to air. In due course the passengers dressed, gave up their blankets, and continued on their journey. In Mesopotamia, we used a locomotive with waggons attached, into which steam, first saturated and superheated, could be passed. The train included accommodation for personnel and thus constituted a unit which could be moved to any point where typhus broke out.

In Russia, we utilized the Russian baths, with which every village is equipped. These are log huts in which fires are made under heaps of stones, which are thus heated to a high temperature. Buckets of water are thrown on the stones, the water immediately evaporating into clouds of steam. The population was first bathed and de-loused in the bath, and then the amount of heat and steam were increased so as to deal with the bedding and clothing. Subsequently, no further water was thrown on the stones, and the heat of the hut was allowed to dry out the material.

For furs, which are very readily infested with lice and which do not lend themselves to the ordinary methods of disinfestation, crude naphthalene was used. A large box or chest was constructed at the entrance to the house and half-filled with crude naphthalene. Into this all furs and outer garments were dropped on entry to the house and left there until the following morning. I should mention that in winter in a cold country it is, of course, sufficient to hang one's garments in the open for the night for every louse to be destroyed. Whether the nits survive or not depends on the degree of cold, but there is in any case no evidence that these can transmit the disease.

In China, where padded garments have to a great extent superseded furs, brick ovens were used ...

In spite of the difficulties, the delousing of entire railroad trains was absolutely essential to prevent the spread of typhus from infested areas to non-infested areas. Railroads could otherwise

carry typhus-infected lice throughout all of Europe within a few days. Not only the railroad trains themselves but even the railroad stations were important sources of contagious disease, particularly typhus, because it was there that people would spend hours and even days in close contact, often huddled together — an ideal environment for the spreading of lice from “lousy” persons to otherwise clean persons. By contrast, busses, trucks and automobiles were still relatively unimportant for public transportation.

The invention of Zyklon-B in 1923 was a major step forward because delousing methods employing this product could handle furs and leather goods without damage as easily as they could handle all other types of clothing. By the late 1930’s (see Appendix A), the delousing of railroads had been greatly improved with specially-constructed delousing tunnels or gas chambers. These facilities were subsequently improved even further with blowers and ductwork to circulate air and gas, and with space heaters to raise interior temperatures above the boiling point of hydrocyanic acid (78.60°). [2] Heating was especially necessary during winter — precisely the time of the year when typhus was generally most severe and when delousing was most needed — in order to be sure that all of the hydrocyanic acid from Zyklon-B would evaporate and fill the chamber interiors.

DEGESCH as an Information Source for a Technology of Mass-Murder

The technology which was employed for fumigating entire railroad trains was hardly a secret. On the contrary, before the war and throughout most of the war, the DEGESCH company had placed large advertisements for its products and technical expertise in many technical journals which were distributed throughout the entire world. Many of these advertisements clearly showed large gas chambers for fumigating railroad trains and trucks with Zyklon-B.

The half-page advertisement which follows appeared in dozens of issues of *Der praktische Desinfektor* just as an example. [3]



Figure 1: Typical advertisement (actual size) by the DEGESCH Company showing large gas chambers, including one for railroads in the lower left corner. [4]

Any German official seriously interested in using Zyklon-B for almost any purpose would have been well aware of this superb technology. The people responsible for the “Final Solution,” about

whom it is generally conceded that they were otherwise intelligent and in many cases well-educated, would have surely read the German technical literature also. Any German official responsible for the purchase of large quantities of Zyklon-B would have surely seen the DEGESCH advertisements, not just once but many times, showing large, well-designed gas chambers about which numerous technical discussions could be easily found.

The importance of circulation and heat are clearly emphasized in the relevant German literature and much of the English language literature as well. The absence of any means for circulating and heating the air-gas mixture in cellar rooms which were supposedly used for mass-murder in Auschwitz is strong and clear evidence that the extermination claims, at least with regard to Zyklon-B, are sheer nonsense. [5]

Disease in War and its Aftermath

A standard feature of the Holocaust story is the reliance upon photographs of thousands of dead bodies found in some of the German concentration camps at the end of World War II. For people who are unfamiliar with the horrors of war, which includes most of us fortunately, those photographs are more than sufficient proof of a genocidal policy on the part of the German regime. Even for many veterans from the Western Allied armies who may have spent years reading the generally available literature, those photographs constitute convincing evidence of genocide. The claims of revisionists that the bodies were the result of catastrophic epidemics of typhus, typhoid, tuberculosis, dysentery, etc., are readily scoffed at as the foolish ravings of Nazi apologists. After all, how could disease alone have possibly caused such misery as one sees in those photographs? The bitter reality is that the photographs tell only a small part of the horrors of modern warfare.

How many Americans have any idea that for every Union soldier who died during the American Civil War from combat, including those who died from wounds and injuries, there were approximately two Union soldiers who died from disease? Despite all that has been written and said in a hundred years about the Civil War and shown on film, it would be surprising if one American in a hundred has any idea as to the relative size of these numbers even though the Civil War was fought on American soil and is a major part of America's history.

Out of a total of 359,528 Union deaths from all causes, 110,070 were killed and mortally wounded but 224,586 died from disease. [6] Of the deaths from disease, 44,000 were from "diarrhea and dysentery, acute and chronic" and 34,883 were from Typhoid, typho-malarial, and continued fevers." [7] By contrast, the total number of deaths arising from combat at the Battle of Gettysburg for the Union army is only 3,155 and for the Confederate army is only 3,903.[8] Conditions in the Confederate armies were probably worse generally than those for the Union army but the statistics were apparently destroyed in a fire in Richmond. [9] As to civilian casualties from disease during the Civil War, especially in the South where most of the fighting occurred — no one seems to know.

In a well-written and moving book entitled *Civil War Medicine*, the author Stewart Brooks wrote:

Surprising perhaps to the layman but not to the student of history, disease was the great killer of the war. As one soldier wrote, "These Big Battles is not as sad as the fever." Of the Federal dead, roughly three out of five died of disease, and of the Confederates, perhaps two out of three. During the first year, a third of the Union army was on sick call, and probably an even higher figure obtained South. Intestinal infections, such as typhoid and "chronic diarrhea," and "inflammation of the lungs"

headed the list. Indeed, diarrhea and dysentery became more vicious as the fighting progressed. [10]

A major cause of the high incidence of disease was the failure to take hygiene and sanitation seriously. The prison camps were, of course, terrible but apparently the camps where regular soldiers, i.e. not prisoners, spent months in the field were not much better. Brooks gives the following description of conditions in the camps generally:

In the beginning, and to an unhealthy extent throughout the war, the typical inductee on arriving in camp felt as free as a bird and lived like one. Few recruits bothered to use the slit-trench latrines (and those who did usually forgot to shovel dirt over the feces) and most urinated just outside the tent — and after sundown, in the street. Garbage was everywhere, rats abounded, and dead cats and dogs turned up in the strangest places. The emanations of slaughtered cattle and kitchen offal together with the noxious effluvia from the seething latrines and infested tents produced an olfactory sensation which has yet to be duplicated in the Western Hemisphere. As for water — and seldom was there enough — any source would do in the early camps. Frequently, it was so muddy and fetid the men held their noses when they drank the stuff. In many instances, the heavy rains washed fecal material directly into the supply with disastrous consequences. However, in time, water came to be regarded generally as a source of disease and attempts were made to secure wholesome supplies. The better outfits even progressed to the point of boiling befouled water — visibly befouled of course.

The United States Sanitary Commission was not long in recognizing these deplorable conditions as a threat to the Cause and dedicated itself to their eradication. By placing the matter squarely before the public and military, it paved the way for the institution of corrective measures relating to sanitation and hygiene. The Commission insisted that the bulk of sickness stemmed from filthy army installations and in no uncertain terms held the regimental brass responsible. Above all, it carried through with its proposals and admonitions via publications and workers and inspectors in the field. Nothing of such force was operative among the Southern armies, nevertheless some improvement was to be noted when conditions permitted. Although the camps tended to improve, it is open to question whether the same can be said of personal hygiene. The shortage of water and soap notwithstanding, this was mainly a case of poor education, carelessness, ignorance or, perhaps more to the point, the rural ways of the time. Among the officers, who usually represented the aristocracy, the rate of sickness ran, one-half that of the enlisted men. Again, the sickness rate for the Western theater — among the men of the frontier — tended to run double that of the Eastern.

The salutary effects of good sanitation and hygiene are severely compromised in the face of poor nutrition, and bad food was the rule. [11]

It is hardly a surprise that Americans know even less about a foreign war, albeit one in which America had a major role, but where Americans were generally far removed from the areas of greatest misery except at the very end.

Those who moralize about the piles of dead at Bergen-Belsen and Dachau should consider Andersonville, where 7,712 men died in six months out of an average of only 19,453 held. The Northern prison camps were also terrible. The “average number” of Confederates held in prisons

by the North is 40,815 of whom 18,784 died. [12] Only 252 Confederates held in Northern prisons died from wounds whereas 5,965 died from diarrhea and dysentery. [13]

For the Mexican War (1846-48), the ratio of fatalities from disease to fatalities from wounds is even worse. 1,549 were killed or died from their wounds; 10,951 died of disease. [14]

During the Crimean War (1854-56), 12,604 men in the French army died from wounds whereas 59,815 died from sickness. For the English, 4,602 died from wounds whereas 17,225 died from sickness. By contrast, although 35,671 Russians died from wounds, only 37,454 died from sickness. [15]

Unfortunately, when war has ended, the misery of disease and its full extent is quickly forgotten. Medals for diarrhea and fever will not inspire new generations of young men to risk their lives for their country.

Diarrhea and dysentery, as well as typhoid, are all spread through contaminated water. Revisionists have generally not been aware of the importance of water contamination except for typhoid. In reality, all three of these diseases are extremely dangerous, especially in wartime when large numbers of people often live in camps with primitive sanitation and water supplies. During peacetime, one can afford the luxury of burial in sealed caskets or perhaps even the kind of watertight “body bags” that were used in the Vietnam War. However, in World War II this was a luxury which the Germans could not afford as a rule, even for their own people. As a preventive measure, the cremation of the dead was entirely appropriate to protect against all three of these deadly diseases.

In addition, elaborate water purification measures were employed at Birkenau, for example, where one can still see nine large water treatment tanks within 200 yards of Kremas 2 and 3. The life-saving purpose of these tanks is deliberately misrepresented by the Auschwitz Museum authorities today by a nearby placard stating that these facilities were “intended to produce driving gas from human excrements.” The seriousness of any such intent on the part of the Nazis is refuted by the absence of roofs over these tanks either today or during the war as well as by the elaborate internal structures for filtering and the settling of solids within the tanks.

The bodies of men who have died or are near death from diarrhea or dysentery do not look any different if they were in a German concentration camp or in a Civil War prison camp or were part of a disease-ridden army under Grant or Lee or Napoleon. They are not a pleasant sight. There are, unfortunately, relatively few pictures of sick soldiers from before World War II but they are available if one searches, even for the Civil War, and they are every bit as awful as anything from Bergen-Belsen.

Typhus

Typhus during the Civil War was apparently not the great problem that it has been historically in Europe.

To get some idea as to the historical importance of typhus, one should read Prinzing's *Epidemics Resulting from Wars* [16] or some of the French or German works of the last century about Napoleon's Russian campaign.

One discussion which is particularly meaningful for this analysis is by Dr. Wilhelm Pfannenstiel, who accompanied Kurt Gerstein to Belzec and Treblinka in August of 1942. Pfannenstiel was Director of the Institute for Hygiene at the University of Marburg an der Lahn and a major (Ober-

sturmbannführer) in the SS. According to the “Statement of Kurt Gerstein,” Pfannenstiel made a speech while in Treblinka in which he said the staff had performed “a great duty, a duty so useful and necessary” and “Looking at the bodies of these Jews one understands the greatness of your good work!”

That Pfannenstiel made a speech complementing the staff at Treblinka is hardly surprising. However, the meaning and content of his speech in Treblinka was probably quite similar, to the speech he gave only a year and a half later in Bremen on January 10, 1944 from which the following is an excerpt.

The accounts which we have about the spread of pestilence as a result of the Napoleonic wars are shocking:

Because of the massive movements of troops through Germany, because of the quartering of the troops in houses of the civilian population and because of the economic consequences of the continental blockade, the groundwork after 1800 was especially well — prepared for the spread of epidemics. Russian troop masses brought what was at the time called War — typhoid — which included paratyphoid, dysentery and similar diseases, but above all typhus to Eastern Germany. The French contaminated not only Western Germany but all of Western Europe including Spain with “war-typhoid”. Even in Sweden there were terrible epidemics. Only England remained untouched by the epidemics because of her position as an island.

The catastrophe which befell the army of Napoleon, which had originally numbered 500,000 men, was completely sealed with pestilence. During the initial advance, in one battle, four-fifths of the men became casualties from disease. In Moscow, which was rich in provisions, the soldiers recovered again. But then, after the burning of Moscow when the 80,000 men of the French army had to return over the infested military roads, they were almost totally wiped out from dysentery, typhoid and typhus. In Smolensk, the number of troops who had to remain behind from typhoid and dysentery rose to 15,000. In Wilna of 30,000 captured French troops, 25,000 had succumbed to disease. Among the civilian population in Wilna at that time, 55,000 fatalities were reported in half a year.

The massing of troops before Leipzig brought new heavy outbreaks of epidemic. A report from Reils to Freiherr vom Stein describes the terrible conditions which arose primarily from the lack of medical care and military hospitals:

Leipzig, October 1813. Your Excellency has assigned me to submit an account about my findings about the military hospitals for the Allied armies on this side of the Elbe ... I found approximately 20,000 wounded and sick warriors of all nations in Leipzig. The wildest imagination could not invent so lurid a picture of misery as I found in the reality before me ... The wounded were lying either in gloomy dens in which amphibians would not have found enough oxygen or in schools with windows which had no glass and in high ceiling churches in which the chill in the air increased proportionally as the foulness diminished ...

In those places they lie in layers just like so many tons of herring, all still in the bloody garments in which they had been carried from the heat of battle. Of the 20,000 wounded not a single one has a shirt, bedsheet, blanket, cover, straw sack or bedstead ... Wounded who can not raise themselves to an upright position must discharge feces and urine under themselves and putrefy in their own excrement. For those who can get up, open tubs were available but these overflow on all sides because they are not carried outdoors. In Petri Street there was one such tub next to another which was used to deliver the midday soup. This neighborliness between food and human wastes must certainly produce such nausea that it can only have been overcome by the fiercest hunger. The most hideous example of this occurred at the clothing market. The loading platform was covered with a row of such overflowing tubs whose stagnant contents were slowly oozing over the steps. It was impossible to bring oneself through this cascade of slops, and force one's way to the entrance from the streetside ...

I close my account with the most horrible scene which drove chills through my limbs and shattered my spirit. On the open field of the public school, I found a mountain consisting of garbage and the corpses of my compatriots. There they lay, naked and being eaten by dogs and rats as if they had been lawbreakers and homicidal arsonists.

I appeal to your excellency's humanity and to your love of my king and his people — help our brave ones, help soon, for every wasted minute is an act of murder.

We do not wish to deny that in this war on the enemy's side, for instance, in that hell which we inflicted upon the Poles in the pocket of Kutno, conditions in the Polish emergency hospitals were not very much different.

In all wars until the middle of the 19th century, casualties from disease were on the average six times as high as those inflicted by weapons. It was only in the War of 1870/71 that, for the first time in world history, the number of fatalities from disease was smaller. It was only half the total number killed. In the world war of 1914/18 the fatalities from disease were only one-tenth the number killed by weapons.

The recently deceased tropical hygiene specialist Muehlens comments: "If there were any victors in this war, then it was the doctors and hygienists and those who faithfully assisted them. They saved thousands upon thousands through efforts from disease and death from epidemics."

During the First World War the German army and above all the German people remained almost totally protected from larger epidemics. The reason for this astounding fact is to be found above all in the fact that even before the war, thanks primarily to the scientific work of mainly German researchers, especially Robert Koch (whose 100th birthday we already celebrated on December 11, 1943) and his students, who discovered and brought to public attention the most important disease carriers, their means of transmission and the possible ways to combat them. During the campaign it developed, thanks to the scientific work which was conducted in the field examination stations as well as in the epidemiological branch, an additional series of discov-

eries was made in the area of causative agents of diseases and their modes. So it was that Paul Uhlenhuth, the recipient of the first Behring Prize, discovered the carrier which occurs with jaundice, namely the often fatal Weil disease (a waterborne spirochete which is infected through rat feces and carried to humans in the hot summer months.) The Volhynian disease again gave us trouble in southern France where it afflicted soldiers who had been bathing in rivers even though they had been warned by the civilian population that to bathe there in the hot season would make them sick. Also it was established once and for all that humans were infected by the classical typhus as well as the Volhynian or five-day fever only through the feces of infested clothes lice. Consequently an urgent need was recognized to construct appropriate delousing facilities to work as a filter and effectively prevent the spreading of this war disease into the territory of the Reich. While studying typhus, many a scientist — for instance, the Marburg student of Emil von Behring, Paul Roemer — came to his death. The recognition that European relapsing fever which is also transmitted by lice and which can be treated with Salvarsan, which is also effective against syphilis, and which saved the lives of thousands of Turkish soldiers in the Dardanelles campaign who were treated by our present tropical hygienist in the military medical academy, surgeon general Prof. Dr. Rodenwaldt.

During World War I, a number of germs were discovered in the feces as well as the soil which (if transmitted into open wounds) would cause gasodemia and other equally serious wound infections. Without any doubt, war has here furthered bacteriological research as well. The new discoveries were of utmost importance for the armies.

However, there still were epidemics and illnesses which one could not master. Foremost among them was the bacillus dysentery which must be regarded as the “primary war epidemic of the world war.” This disease increased rather than decreased and retained its high mortality rate. Even amoebic dysentery caused considerable casualties which were so great among the English at Gallipoli that they contributed to the abandonment of this Churchill-inspired campaign.

Typhus and dysentery are the diseases which give us the most trouble in this war in addition to the venereal diseases and malaria.

During peace time, we did not have to fear the outbreak of major epidemics. But, the moment we crossed the borders with our armies, we entered areas in which (as for example in Poland) there was little trace of a prepared peacetime practice of defensive hygiene. It was only there that the first contact with the disease pathogens was found. And with the increase in the number of people who remained healthy but who carried the germs, the introduction of diseases into the Reich was assured.

Therefore, above anything else we must prevent any contact with foreign disease material through hygienic and prophylactic measures. Above all else, we must inoculate our soldiers and all medical personnel as widely as possible against all likely disease germs so that as far as possible, no casualties from illness will occur. How many millions of lives of recently wounded soldiers have been saved through prophylactic serum inoculation against tetanus cannot be measured. Today we even have vaccines which (for example, upon conscription into the Wehrmacht) could probably give lifelong immunity against tetanus. Also, in the development of vaccines against typhus and against dysentery this war has once again brought great progress. Vaccines

against typhus from lice intestines, from chicken eggs, from rabbit lungs and from mice lungs are produced in gigantic quantities in large, newly constructed institutes, for example, in Cracow and Lemberg (Lvov). The inoculated cannot be protected completely against contracting the disease but they are protected against death from the typhus. The other kinds of typhus which are occasionally observed in the south of Greece, such as the so-called “murine” typhus which is carried by the feces of rats including their other parasites, or the so-called “tick typhus” from the brown dog tick are, despite the high fever, far less harmful to people than the “classical” louseborne typhus. The vaccinations against the classic typhus have been effective against the rare rat typhus but not against the tick typhus. Here one can protect oneself best by prohibiting troops in tick fever infested areas from keeping dogs, which can be carriers of other tropical diseases as well.

German hygienic science is also in the process of developing effective vaccines against dysentery. To control dysentery it is of the utmost importance to make human waste products harmless and to not give flies any opportunity to carry dysentery bacillus from feces to food. This is an especially important consideration in the construction of latrines. The East African campaign taught us in this regard about the very useful smoke latrines, the present war about the drill hole latrines which makes the transfer of disease from feces practically impossible. [17]

Germany at War's End — the Wild West and the Hordes of Genghis Khan

Although great progress had been made in military medicine as well as medicine in general between the American Civil War and World War II, what use was all that amidst the chaos which reigned on the territory of the loser, particularly in Eastern Europe, near the end of the war? Should anyone be surprised that after years of intense bombardment of civilian targets, to the extent that journalists agreed that Germany's cities looked like the face of the moon, the conditions to which people had been reduced were comparable to those from which the world had supposedly advanced in only eighty years?

Perhaps the best discussion of conditions at the end of World War II in Germany is by John E. Gordon, M.D., Ph.D., Professor of Preventive Medicine and Epidemiology at the Harvard University School of Public Health. I hesitate to give so many details about an author, but it is probably necessary to establish the fact that the excerpts which follow are not from someone who can be easily branded as another pro-German revisionist. The passages which follow were published in 1948 by the American Association for the Advancement of Science:

(5) Foreigners in the Rhineland ...

The whole area seethed with foreign peoples, conscript laborers moving this way and that and in all directions, hoping to reach their homes, in search of food, seeking shelter. Most of the typhus was within this group and they carried the disease with them. They moved along the highways and in country lanes — now a dozen Roumanians pulling a cart loaded with their remaining belongings; here a little band of Frenchmen working their way toward France, there some Netherlanders, or perhaps Belgians; and everywhere, the varied nationalities of the East — Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Russians. They moved mostly on foot, halted, then gathered in great camps of sometimes 15,000 or more, extemporized, of primitive sanitation, crowded, and with all too little sense of order or cleanliness.

These were the people where typhus predominated, more than a half million of them in the Rhineland, wearied with the war, undernourished, poorly clothed and long inured to sanitary underprivilege and low level hygiene. Add to this shifting population the hundreds of released political prisoners, often heavily infected with typhus but happily far fewer in numbers; the German refugees, first moving ahead of our troops and then sifting back to their homes through the American lines. Rarely if ever has a situation existed so conducive to the spread of typhus.

Typhus fever in a stable population is bad enough. It has demonstrated its potentialities in both war and peace. The Rhineland in those days of March, 1945, could scarcely be believed by those who saw it — it is beyond the appreciation of those who did not. It was Wild West, the hordes of Genghis Khan, the Klondike gold rush, and Napoleon's retreat from Moscow all rolled up into one. Such was the typhus problem in the Rhineland.

The Epidemiologic Situation

The great assault of the Rhine River got under way on March 24, the British 21st Army Group and the U.S. Ninth Army to the north, the First and Third Armies in the center. and somewhat later the U.S. Seventh Army and the First French Army to the South. All found typhus fever; the British scarcely any, the Ninth some, the First and Third a great deal, while in the south the U.S. Seventh and the First French Armies again encountered relatively little.

The first really serious condition appeared when Buchenwald concentration camp was occupied by the Third Army on April 12th. The British soon uncovered Belsen camp, with still more typhus and misery. Then followed in order Dachau, Flossen-burg and finally Mauthausen, all with hundreds of cases of typhus fever and sometimes thousands.

These concentration camps with their political prisoners and their typhus fever would have been problem enough. Added to the situation were millions of conscript laborers suddenly released from employment and from camps that were many times typhus infested. They scattered throughout the country. Many were gathered in large improvised camps. They spread typhus widely ... Germany in the spring months of April and May was an astounding sight, a mixture of humanity travelling this way and that, homeless, often hungry and carrying typhus with them.

Special Epidemiological Problems

The outbreaks in concentration camps and prisons made up the great bulk of typhus infection encountered in Germany. Each presented an individual epidemiologic problem. That of Dachau is illustrative. The Dachau camp, located in Bavaria about 5 kilometers north of Munich, was one of the largest and certainly one of the most notorious of the Nazi installations housing political prisoners. It was liberated by units of the U.S. Seventh Army on May 1, 1945.

An estimated 35,000-40,000 prisoners were found in the camp, living under conditions bad even for a German camp of this kind and worse than any other that came into American hands. Extreme filthiness, louse infestation and overcrowding prevailed throughout the camp buildings. Several car-loads of human bodies were found

packed in box cars in the railroad yards adjacent to the camp, the vestiges of a shipment of prisoners from camps farther north who were transferred to Dachau in the late days of the war to escape the advancing United States troops.

The number of patients with typhus fever at the time the camp was first occupied will never be known. Days passed before a census of patients could be accomplished. Several hundreds were found in the prison hospital, but their number was small compared with the patients who continued to live with their comrades in the camp barracks, bedridden and unattended, lying in bunks 4 tiers high with 2 and sometimes 3 men to a narrow shelf-like bed; the sick and the well; crowded beyond all description; reeking with filth and neglect-and everywhere the smell of death.

During the first few days little more could be done with the limited staff that was available than make the rounds of the barracks, pulling out the dead and the dying ...

Available records failed to demonstrate how many of the 4,032 patients of the Dachau epidemic were actually ill with typhus at the time the camp came under American jurisdiction, how many developed the disease within the succeeding today incubation period,

... Even the appreciable figures cited fail to include all who contracted typhus fever in Dachau concentration camp. Freed from the sort of existence they had been living, it was no wonder that those strong enough should attempt to escape. Many did, and scattered widely through the nearby country, especially to the region south of Munich. Some were actually in the clinical stages of typhus fever and many were incubating the disease. They were later found with typhus fever in other areas.

The camp was promptly quarantined. Hospitals were moved in to augment the small prison hospital. Case finding teams initiated control work through survey of the surrounding area for former inmates developing typhus after leaving. The dusting of prisoners with DDT powder was started May 3, 1945, and completed May 8.

Summary and Conclusions

Conditions in Western Europe in many respects favored a much greater spread of typhus fever than actually occurred. Germany was in chaos. The destruction of whole cities and the path left by advancing armies produced a disruption of living conditions contributing to the spread of the disease. Sanitation was low grade, public utilities were seriously disrupted, food supply and food distribution were poor, housing was inadequate and order and discipline were everywhere lacking. Still more important, a shifting of populations was occurring such as few countries and few times have experienced.

Native Germans, dislodged from their homes and often moving long distances to escape the enemy, were finding their way back to their native lands. The roads, the countryside, were full of released German prisoners of war who lacked transportation and were their to their homes on foot ...

Two important factors served to limit the extent of the outbreak. The most significant was the time of the year that allied troops entered Germany. Had this been December instead of March, as would have happened except for disrupted military plans, the

problem would have been much more serious. Von Rundstedt's Battle of the Bulge, although of serious import militarily, had the favorable aspect of postponing contact with typhus until the spring months.

Spring brought a lower potential of louse infestation, it permitted life outdoors instead of crowding within existing habitations, and the movement of displaced persons and refugees was facilitated, with consequent greater dispersal. Dispersal of course, had advantages and disadvantages. It tended to disseminate infection broadly—it limited concentrated outbreaks.

Early repatriation of all Russian nationals, both prisoners of war and conscripted labor, was undertaken in May and completed in June. A large part of available American transport was turned to this end, with the result that thousands of Russians were repatriated every day. They were the population groups with the heaviest incidence of typhus.

Under any interpretation of governing circumstances, much credit must be given to the efficiency of recently developed methods of typhus control. The value of delousing through dusting with DDT, and the usefulness of typhus vaccine were tried and tested on a scale greater than ever before and under conditions epidemiologically more conducive to extensive and continued spread of the disease. The results attained in the Naples epidemic were confirmed and extended.

No single factor contributed more to the satisfactory end of the outbreak than that never in the course of the epidemic were the fundamental supplies of DDT powder and vaccine lacking. Occasional difficulties arose in local distribution, but the supply system was such and the stock piles so great that they were promptly remedied.

The middle of July saw Western Europe return to a satisfactory situation of low grade typhus endemicity. [18]

Because of their overwhelming air power, the Western Allies had been able to wreak enormous havoc upon Germany, particularly her cities, long before any ground troops had been engaged near those cities. Cities which had taken a thousand years to build were destroyed in a few hours long before a single Allied tank or infantryman appeared.

In a recent best-selling book by the first man to break the sound barrier, entitled *Yeager: An Autobiography*, the author described how in the Fall of 1944 his fighter group was ...

... assigned an area fifty miles by fifty miles and ordered to strafe anything that moved ... We weren't asked how we felt zapping people. It was a miserable, dirty mission, but we all took off on time and did it ... We were ordered to commit an atrocity, pure and simple, but the brass who approved this action probably felt justified because wartime Germany wasn't easily divided between "innocent civilians" and its military machine. The farmer tilling his potato field might have been feeding German troops." [19]

This was, incidentally; at a time when there was no reasonable doubt about the eventual outcome of the war nor any danger to the United States. The farmer tilling his potato field might have also been feeding concentration camp inmates or prisoners of war — how could one possibly tell the difference? How can Americans condemn Germans for not giving enough food to prisoners when they themselves were deliberately killing farmers growing potatoes in their fields? One can well

imagine that during the last months of the war — when entire German cities were destroyed almost daily — many German medical or supply personnel, who would have otherwise gone to perform assigned duties at concentration camps, simply felt that Germany's enemies could fend for themselves. How can anyone realistically blame them? How can anyone imagine that they would risk their lives under almost constant air attack to get to the camps, there to face death from disease and, sooner or later, the vindictiveness of the inmates and the liberators who had a major part, at the very least, in bringing about the atrocious conditions in the first place?

By the winter and early spring of 1945 in Germany, tens of millions of people were fleeing west into an area so small that, even in the best of times, enough food could not be produced to sustain the normal population. Casualties were in the millions. The fact that Germans facing extinction neglected the health and nutrition of many of their most bitter enemies in concentration camps should not be surprising.

Typhus in Eastern Europe

Typhus in recent centuries has afflicted primarily the countries of Eastern Europe during wartime, especially during cold weather when soldiers and civilians are least inclined to give up the warmth of their clothes to bathe or clean their clothes. The misery that arises from such personal behavior is, of course, compounded by the social upheaval and movement of large masses of people that war tends to bring with it.

The misery is probably unimaginable to a Western European or an American. Some idea may be derived, however, from the following text from the same British doctor who described the makeshift delousing tunnels:

Predisposing Conditions

Louse-borne typhus fever is an acute infectious disease lasting from twelve to sixteen days and characterized by a continued temperature, a generalized maculopapular rash which may become haemorrhagic, severe toxæmia, and marked nervous manifestations. The disease is carried by lice and spreads with extreme rapidity especially through a badly nourished population. Thus in Russia during the period 1919 to 1922 the estimated number of cases was 10,000,000, with 3,000,000 deaths, in a population of 120,000,000. These are stupendous figures. Their scale can be realized to some extent by recalling that in the much described typhus epidemic in London in 1856 only 1,062 cases were recorded as treated in the London Fever Hospital out of a population of 3,000,000 whereas in Russia in the year 1921 alone there were 4,000,000 cases in a population of 120,000,000. These figures can, of course, only be approximate, as many cases diagnosed as typhus were in reality instances of relapsing fever; on the other hand a vast number of cases of typhus were never admitted to hospital and so remained unrecorded. Of the cases admitted to hospital very many were never notified by the Russian medical officers owing to pressure of work. So uncertain were the statements that when we went into a new district to survey the amount of typhus present we found it more useful to base our estimate on the number of women with recently shaved heads seen in the streets, than to rely upon notification figures. All cases on admission to hospital for typhus were closely shaved and consequently it was possible to sit in a cafe and determine the proportion of women with closely cropped heads to the general population and so to estimate roughly the amount of typhus in the region.

Epidemic typhus fever, is, classically, associated with famine and overcrowding, but there is a third factor which, to my mind, is perhaps of even greater importance, namely, widespread movements of military or civilian populations bringing non-immunes into a district where the disease is endemic or carrying the disease into a typhus-free region. A third possibility is that such movements may introduce into an endemic region either a new strain of the disease or one of enhanced virulence. The first mode of infection I saw well demonstrated in the epidemic in North China two years ago which was due to the introduction of masses of non-immunes with the Army into areas where the disease was endemic. The second method occurred on the return of Polish prisoners of war to Poland from Siberia in 1919-1922. These men, women and children had been heavily infected with typhus in Russia, and passed into Poland at the rate of tens of thousands a day, going to regions in which the disease either was already endemic or did not exist previously; in both cases widespread epidemics resulted.

Apart from mass movements of the kinds instanced above, a striking feature of epidemics is the amount of local movements of the population that they initiate. Once typhus is really established in a district, fear of contracting the disease, combined with terror of the appearance and acts of delirious patients, is soon widespread. Transport of food and fuel quickly breaks down, starvation threatens, the sick are abandoned, often in the roads, the houses are deserted and the terrified population flees from the infected area into a neighboring village or another part of the town as the case may be, carrying the disease with them. Too often the hospital staffs may flee with the others. [20]

But there is still more horrors. During the early 1920's in Russia, for example cannibalism had become widespread. Mothers were murdering and eating their children, adults were murdering and eating their parents. 26 people who had resorted to cannibalism and 7 others who had sold human flesh were identified by one Russian doctor alone on the basis of his own personal observations. In the town of Samara, the entire mental hospital was set aside for people who had committed cannibalism. The German doctor who reported such incidents in 1923 wrote that such acts were not unusual and attributed the practice to the psychological deterioration of people suffering from protracted hunger and disease. One mother, for example, had gone into a rage as her murdered child was taken away from her and had cried out that it was her child, she had borne it, and that no one had the right to eat it except for her. Interestingly enough, the German doctor thought it significant that the people who had committed such acts were all native Russians from the lower social strata and that "there were no German colonists, no Jews and no members of any other nationality among them." [21]

Typhus Vaccine

One interesting fact which Pfannenstiel discussed in the text quoted earlier was that in 1944, the Germans still did not have a totally effective anti-typhus vaccine but only a vaccine which "protected against death from the typhus" — in other words, they only had a vaccine which reduced the severity of typhus when a vaccinated person contracted the disease. American troops were repeatedly inoculated against typhus which suggests that the American vaccine was not totally effective either. The major line of defense against typhus, for the Americans as well as for the Germans, was thorough and repeated delousing.

The SS personnel records for Dr. Josef Mengele show that he contracted typhus while at Auschwitz even though he, as a doctor, would certainly have been given preferred access to any

available vaccine. There were probably some bad experiences with the German anti-typhus vaccine which is illustrated by the fact that even after the war at Belsen where a German Army medical team had been put to work caring for the sick at the “human laundry,” at least one German doctor had refused to let himself be vaccinated by the British against typhus and had apparently told the German nurses not to take the vaccine either. About a month later, 32 of the 48 German nurses were in bed with typhus. [22]

The German wartime medical literature abounds with articles about German research into the development of anti-typhus vaccines and treatment. No doubt, there were many experiments upon concentration inmates in this regard which did provide some basis for some atrocity stories after the war. The principal beneficiaries of this research, however, were the inmates themselves, since it was they who were in the greatest danger from typhus.

Typhus and the Jews

The German wartime medical literature makes it quite clear that many Germans in positions of authority regarded the Jews as a major source of typhus infestation in Poland. Of course, because this literature is highly critical of Jews as a group and was written by Germans living under National Socialism, many readers will simply dismiss it as anti-Semitic propaganda. In any event, regardless of the motivations of the German authors, confirmation of many of their observations can be found in credible non-German sources.

In a lengthy article published by the Royal Society of Medicine, E. W. Goodall, one of the most highly regarded British epidemiologists, described his experiences in Poland in the Summer of 1919:

The city of Warsaw had at the time of the epidemic a population of about 700,000 persons. I understood that this figure did not include any of the German troops, but represented the civil, Polish, population only. The epidemic started in the Jewish quarter of the city, and at first spread chiefly amongst the Jews. According to Dr. Trenkner the same thing happened at Lodz, of which city he was medical officer before he was appointed to Warsaw in 1917, and in many other places in Poland. Dr. Janiszewski confirms this statement. In the Warsaw epidemic, 73 per cent. of the cases occurred amongst the Jews, and 23 per cent. of these in one particular part of the Jewish quarter where the population was most dense. In the other quarters the number of cases was in proportion to the number of Jews amongst the inhabitants. The Jews form 30 per cent. of the population of Warsaw. Roughly, the number of cases in the different districts was in proportion to the density of population, and the density is highest in the parts of the city inhabited by Jews.

Since the epidemic of 1917-18 typhus has become more widely diffused through Warsaw, but the 1919 epidemic, if it can be called such, was comparatively slight. Lately (1919) the Christians have been attacked in larger numbers than the Jews. The attack-rate of the 1917-18 epidemic was between 3 per cent. and 4 per cent., and the fatality was about 9 per cent. It is a curious fact that the fatality amongst the Jews was half that of the Christians, 7 per cent. as against 14 per cent. Dr. Trenkner accounted for this difference by the greater care and attention the Jews bestowed upon their sick. They also called in medical advice earlier than did the Christians, so that their patients came under treatment sooner.

As regards age-incidence I was supplied with the following figures relating to 5,747 consecutive cases occurring at the end of 1917:

Age	Cases	Deaths	[% of] fatalities
0-10	908	7	0.7
— 20	2,407	29	1.2
— 30	1,035	43	4.1
— 40	717	71	10.0
— 50	513	86	16.7
— 60	112	59	52.6
— 70	50	19	38.0
— 80	5	3	60.0
Total	5,747	317	5.5

It is evident that these figures relate to a period of the epidemic when the fatality [rate] was below the mean ...

Zawiercie

... At the time of this epidemic the population of Zawiercie was about 44,000, so that the attack-rate was about 3 per cent. From official figures which were given to me it appears that the Jews formed 19 per cent. of the population. According to Dr. Ryder the Christians were attacked in a larger proportion than the Jews, as shown in the following table, which deals with about three quarters of the epidemic and with the first six months of 1919: ...

The Jews were said to be less cleanly than the Christians, and from what I saw of them I should say that this was true. But there were reasons for thinking that there was more concealment of cases amongst the Jews; the authorities had had some trouble in getting certain of the Jewish medical attendants to notify ...

Causes of the Prevalence of Typhus

It is not difficult to account for the wide prevalence of typhus in Poland since the beginning of the war on general grounds. Constant warfare, the movements of troops, the influx of refugees from the districts which were the actual scenes of fighting, the return of prisoners of war, especially since the armistice, in both directions across the country, the lack of soap and clothing and of medical and surgical necessities in the country districts and in many of the towns the difficulty of obtaining sufficient water, would be factors conducing to the prevalence and dissemination of lice, that is to say of typhus, in a country where the disease had been endemic before the war. Medical men and nurses have been very scarce, and there has been a deficiency of food for the poorer classes, especially in the East and South-east. The figures I gave at the commencement of this paper showed that typhus had been especially prevalent since the armistice. There is no doubt that when the Germans and Austrians established themselves in Poland in 1915, they both, and especially the former, used their utmost endeavours to keep infectious diseases under control, not from any love they bore to

the Poles, but with the object of keeping their armies free from sickness. There can also be little doubt that to a certain extent, however of their efforts there was the large epidemic in Warsaw in 1917-18. Dr. Trenkner attributed the epidemic chiefly to the action of the Jews. Much smuggling, especially of food, went on from outside into the city. The smugglers, who were chiefly Jews, hid and slept together in little groups in sheds and barns. Members of the groups became infected with typhus and carried the disease into the city. Dr. Trenkner on various occasions traced fresh cases to group infection in this way. Overcrowding and want of cleanliness did the rest. In Zawiercie the action by the Germans seems to have had more effect, and there was not any great prevalence of disease before they left. In that part of Poland which I visited — viz., the county of Bendzin, typhus had become especially rampant since the armistice, as was exemplified in the Zawiercie epidemic. Directly the Germans left there was an unrestrained movement of population to and fro between the town and surrounding country; released and escaped prisoners of war began to return, especially from the East; and refugees flocked to the West from the devastated Eastern districts.

... The Germans had been severely thorough in their sanitary measures. They set up de-lousing stations and forced the inhabitants to be de-loused at the point of the bayonet. When they left compulsion ceased and personal cleanliness diminished.

Adverse, however, as the circumstances have been in Poland, during and since the war, it must not be supposed that the authorities have not attempted to deal with the epidemic. As far back as April, 1918, that is to say, six months before the Germans quitted Warsaw, Dr. Trenkner made a great effort to cleanse the houses and their inhabitants in the worst and most crowded parts of the city, a proceeding to which the Germans offered no objections, as of course such a measure was conducive to keeping their army free from infection. But the task was a very difficult one as the people were by no means anxious to help the authorities. If the inhabitants of a certain square for instance got wind that their houses were going to be visited by the sanitary squad, they cleared out and locked their rooms up. However, this obstacle was overcome by making unexpected visits very early in the morning, taking the passports away from the inhabitants, who were sent off to the de-lousing station, with the instruction that they would not receive their passports back again until they produced the certificate that they had been deloused. Meanwhile, their homes were disinfected and cleaned... [23]

The percentages given above for the incidence of typhus among Jews are actually quite close, almost identical in some instances, to the figures given by Zimmermann a generation later. It is, therefore, more than likely that the German authors were accurate also.

A possible explanation for the high incidence of typhus among Jews may be their role as merchants of old clothing. For example, in Prinzing's classic work *Epidemics Resulting from Wars*, the author discusses the possible cause for the spread of bubonic plague and typhus in Eastern Europe during the Russo-Turkish War of 1769-72. After every trace of the pestilence had disappeared except for military hospitals, the reemergence of the plague later on was traced to the purchase by a Jew of a fur coat in a military hospital in Jassy. [24] Later again, in Transylvania during the same war, Jewish pedlars, who purchased clothes, furs, and war-booty in the Russian camp, likewise helped to spread the disease." [25] At the end of Napoleon's Russian campaign, Prinzing tells us about the typhus epidemic in Vilna in 1812-13 which "In a short time spread throughout the city, not so much because the soldiers were quartered in private houses, as be-

cause the Jews got possession of the clothes of the dead. Of some 30,000 Jewish inhabitants, no less than 8,000 died.” [26]

Jewish Resistance and the Torture of Bathing

The intense resistance by the local population, by Poles as well as Jews, to the public health measures that responsible authorities intended for their welfare is also evident in a remarkable recent book, entitled *Typhus and Doughboys*, about the American military expedience in post World War 1 Poland. The book is based largely upon the internal correspondence of the American Polish Typhus Relief Expedition from 1919 to 1921. The book deals at great length with the difficulties American troops encountered when they tried a variety of methods to induce people simply to bathe and have their clothes deloused either with steam or cyanide.

The difficulties were illustrated by the following passage about the efforts of one American officer in what appears from the context to have been a predominantly Jewish community.

The school children were next bathed and deloused. Gorman observing that “if the older people were as enthusiastic as these children, typhus would no longer be a dread in Poland.” Unfortunately, the older people were content to live in the unimaginable dirt and filth, one old woman having been heard to cry out, “death here in my hovel rather than the torture of bathing.” [27]

The book is quite valuable for its insights based upon an analysis of the actual correspondence of American officers. However, one should recognize that the book was written recently in an age when the foulest rubbish can be written about Poles, Germans, Austrians and even Americans with almost no hesitation at all but when criticism of Jews is inevitably accompanied with deep apologies. The following passage is informative nonetheless, [28]

Dixon pointed out some difficulties with the Jews, revealing his own anti-Semitic bias. In the town of Busko, which he inspected, he reported “there is considerable Typhus in the town particularly among the Jews. They are afraid to go to the hospital and use all means to keep the disease among them hidden.” They believed, in fact, That at the hospital they would not be able to live according to their religion — that they would be required to eat what the others ate — that they could never eat with their hats on and that if one of them died there he could not be buried according to his religion. This belief is being overcome and the hospital now has ten Jews as patients.” Dixon also induced local authorities in Busko to impose a fine of 500 ruble on anyone who hid or attempted to hide a case of typhus. But, he recorded, “it did not prove very effective as the Jews, who were afraid of the hospital bribed the police and kept their sick hidden.” [29]

Except for Dixon’s charge that Jews bribed the police, there seems no reason to believe he was biased; he seems to be simply reporting what he saw.

The same intense resistance to the most minimal measures which any civilized society can impose for its own survival — the simple act of accurately reporting cases of a highly contagious disease — is evident in Lucy Dawidowicz’s *The War Against The Jews* for 1939-42 for the Warsaw ghetto:

In the Warsaw ghetto alone, epidemic typhus was believed to have affected between 100,000 and 150,000 persons, though the official figures were barely over 15,000.

The spread of disease was concealed from the Germans. Hospital cases of typhus were recorded as “elevated fever” or pneumonia. Mainly, the stricken were treated in their homes in a massive clandestine operation, covering up the presence of the disease from German inspection teams who periodically threatened to seal off the affected areas. [29]

The intensity of the Jewish resistance to the simple act of bathing, for the 1920’s at least, is illustrated in *Typhus and Doughboys* by the following passage about American efforts in the town of Wlodowa:

... further difficulties were in the form of considerable resistance among the population to bathe. The town’s officials also vacillated, whereupon the police had to be used to compel the people to do so. Soon the town officials devised a plan whereby those persons who had been bathed were provided with a ticket and only those who possessed one could buy bread and potatoes in the stores. However, this was rather ineffective as forged tickets soon appeared and also, as Gillespie [an American first lieutenant] contemptuously charged, “The Jews would get their tickets, alter the name on them and sell them to some other person.” Theft was not unheard of, and the Poles hired to assist the operations proved the worst offenders. This necessitated daily searches by the police. [30]

Another passage tells us just how often the people in a largely Jewish community took baths even under American administration.

It went without saying that none of the houses had any modern sanitary conveniences. All refuse was poured into the gutters at the front door, two latrines were provided by the town but were little used. Snidow [an American first lieutenant] noted that “in almost all of the house areas would be found after much search an open latrine which they jealously guarded from us by all kinds of disguises and camouflage as the product therefrom would be used after the harvest to put on their small patches in the outskirts of the town.” Most of the drinking water was obtained from a sluggish creek at the edge of the town, which a mill dam rendered more sluggish and sometimes covered the yards of some of the houses, turning them into “reeking swamps.” The people were inclined to wade in the creek, as were the cattle and geese. There were a few wells, but all of them drained directly from the nearby latrines.” Moreover, as Snidow recounted, “in the first preliminary council we were assured by the priest, the rabbi and mayor and later confirmed by two doctors that not a soul in the town had had a bath for over a year. This statement we considered conservative and I personally doubt if water had touched the persons of most of them since the departure of the Germans during whose occupation they were required to bathe at least once a week, when they could be caught.” There was a good community bath-house, but the people had “formed a horror of it” from being compelled to bathe there by the Germans, and would not use it. [31]

Confirmation of the general unsanitariness of the Polish Jews was even given by the Jewish Chairman of the Warsaw Judenrat, Adam Czerniakow. In his diary, which has been highly praised by Raul Hilberg among others, Czerniakow wrote for May 29, 1942:

I have been going through the streets with Brodt issuing reprimands or dispensing money awards to the janitors. Considering the level of civilization in this community, the ghetto cannot be kept clean. People, unfortunately, behave like pigs. Centuries of

slovenliness bear their fruit. And this is compounded by the utter misery and dire poverty. [32]

After World War II, General George S. Patton described Jews living under his military authority in southern Germany. Martin Blumenson the editor of *The Patton Papers* regarded these remarks as indicative of a growing anti-Semitic attitude. For September 17, 1945 — five months after the liberation of the last of the German concentration camps — Patton wrote:

We drove for about 45 minutes to a Jewish camp ... established in what had been a German hospital. The buildings were therefore in a good state of repair when the Jews arrived but were in a bad state of repair when we arrived, because these Jewish DP's or at least a majority of them, have no sense of human relationships. They decline, where practicable, to use latrines, preferring to relieve themselves on the floor ...

This happened to be the feast of Yom Kippur, so they were all collected in a large wooden building which they called a synagogue. It behooved General Eisenhower to make a speech to them. We entered the synagogue which was packed with the greatest stinking bunch of humanity I have ever seen. When we got about half way up, the head rabbi, who was dressed in a fur hat similar to that worn by Henry VIII of England and in a surplice heavily embroidered and very filthy, came down and met the General ...

However, the smell was so terrible that I almost fainted and actually about three hours later lost my lunch as the result of remembering it. [33]

Clearly, on the basis of the preceeding passages, there was general agreement among German doctors, British doctors, Polish doctors, American military officers and even some Jews as to the frequent aversion to cleanliness of Jews in and from Poland. To some extent, the backwardness of the Polish Jews can be explained by poverty and persecution. But, whatever the cause, it is still difficult to comprehend the hysterical resistance to minimal standards of hygiene and civilized living when a modest amount of common sense should have told them that it was necessary for their own survival. An attachment to a traditional lifestyle going back centuries, if not millennia, may have been regarded as vital to their religious and ethnic identity.

In any event, it should be understood that Jews from Western countries were generally quite different in their personal habits. When these Jews were placed in camps with Polish Jews, they were as appalled as any other Westerners would have been. It does not seem fair to attribute the behavior of the Polish Jews to religion alone — but, religion may be important, nonetheless.

Regardless of the true extent of the Jewish contribution to the spread of typhus, it is certainly safe to say that the German authorities were absolutely sincere in their statements that the Polish Jews were a major contributing factor in the spreading of the disease. They had not only the evidence of their own doctors to support this view but that of British and Polish doctors as well. They can hardly be blamed for applying severe measures to the Jews in order to control the epidemic. The severe measures included restrictions on the movements of Jews and eventually to the construction of a wall around the entire Warsaw ghetto. These measures during wartime were entirely reasonable to control the spread of typhus, and to prevent catastrophes like those which had already occurred in Poland and Russia during and after World War

One should realize also that although medicine had made great progress in the years between the world war, not much progress had been made with regard to typhus. There was still no truly ef-

fective vaccine or treatment. The means for detection of typhus had been improved but that in itself did not go very far in preventing catastrophic epidemics except to alert authorities to be more stringent in their delousing of people, or of contaminated areas or trains coming from or passing through those areas. The real breakthrough came only near the end of the war with the availability of enormous quantities of DDT from the Americans for delousing.

In any event, it is quite clear that the high incidence of typhus among Jews was not simply the result of persecution by the Germans, or of the confinement of Jews first in ghettos and then in concentration camps. One of the main objectives of the camps was to maintain strict enough control upon the inmates so that typhus would at least subside if not disappear altogether. During the last months of the war, however, when typhus reappeared with a vengeance, the Germans had no choice but to maintain as tight control as they possibly could upon the inmates, to keep any of them from escaping, even if they could do little to help them. When the British took Bergen-Belsen at the request of the SS, they were appalled at what they found and considered simply moving the inmates out of the camp into neighboring dwellings. [34] They quickly realized, however, that that would have only compounded the disaster.

Delousing as a Cover for Mass-Murder?

It is often claimed in the Holocaust literature that the Germans disguised their extermination facilities as delousing stations with showers and barbers and laundries in order to lull Jews into the gas chambers. From the material already quoted, it should be obvious that a more unlikely arrangement to lull Polish Jews into doing anything would be hard to imagine. The prospect of bathing could have only had the opposite effect. In addition to their fear of showers and bathing generally, it was inevitable that there would have also been many false rumors which could have only compounded the Jewish resistance.

Was the visit of a highly respected professor of hygiene, Professor Pfannenstiel, to Belzec and Treblinka only for the sake of putting on a convincing disguise? His visit makes no real sense unless the purpose of these camps was to do precisely what all other *Durchgangslager* or transit camps were intended to do, i.e., to delouse and medically examine and possibly quarantine people who were being moved to a new location. Although specific details about Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor may no longer be available, the planning and organization in general was not a secret. The planning and organization was thoroughly described in German wartime; technical journals such as *Gesundheits-Ingenieur* and *Arbeitseinsatz und Arbeitslosenhilfe*. [35]

Basically, each transit camp or *Durchgangslager* was divided into a “clean” zone and a “dirty” zone with a strictly enforced barrier between the two zones. A delousing station straddled the boundary between the two zones at some point. Each camp was arranged so that new arrivals could only enter the “dirty” zone. To get over to the “clean” zone, they had to pass through the delousing station. Inside the delousing station, each person had to remove all of their clothing and belongings which would then be fumigated with cyanide, or steamed, or else heated with hot air while they took a shower and underwent a thorough medical examination which might include X-rays to determine — their state of health and whether or not they had any contagious diseases such as typhus and tuberculosis. If they failed to pass the exam, they might be sent back to wherever they had come from originally or they might simply be kept in a quarantine area for several weeks. If they passed, they would eventually be sent on, usually to another camp and put to work.

Some additional details for handling people riding the trains in Eastern Europe were given by a German doctor:

The large delousing facilities worked in the last years according to the following principle: The train arrives at the unclean side of the railroad station. All passengers then give their baggage on the unclean side to the baggage handlers. They are then led into the unclean changing rooms where specially constructed iron clothes hangers and linen sacks which can be boiled with valuables and flammable objects are available. After giving up the clothes hangers with their clothing, they each each receive a control token. Now they go with their boots and the sack with valuables to a short medical examination, for the sorting out (Selection) of persons sick with infection, and after receiving a handtowel and soap to the showers. Here even the boots are disinfected with 5% creosol soap solution. After showering, one receives a linen suit. In the dressing room of the clean side, they wait for the calling of their control token number and then the deloused clothing is put on again. Upon leaving the delousing facility one receives a certificate and can then, after picking up one's baggage on the clean side of the baggage area, get on to the train which is waiting on the clean side of the railroad station for continuation of the trip. The entire facility is so constructed that it is impossible to go directly from an arriving train into a departing train without passing through the delousing facility. In all rooms of the facility there are, of course, medical personnel who, among other things, see to it that all flammable objects are taken out of the pockets and that all pieces of clothing and pockets are turned inside out before being hung on the hangers. [36]

The drawings that one occasionally sees in the Holocaust literature of Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor and which we are told were drawn from memory, usually by “survivors,” do bear some resemblance to the drawings in the German technical literature, especially with regard to the separation of dirty and clean zones and some kind of facility with gas chambers straddling the boundary between the two zones.

What has apparently happened over the years is that a certain amount of truth has filtered its way through the lies and nonsense. For example, when it was claimed that the Jews were killed at Treblinka with steam — at least until the Diesel method was supposedly developed — there was probably some truth to that story. The truth is that steam was used, but for delousing of clothing and not for murder. When the Germans referred to Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor as *Durchgangslager*, it was precisely because those places actually were *Durchgangslager* in the sense in which the Germans always used that term; the *Durchgangslager* were places which people had to “pass through” on their journey to some other destination.

Were the trains for the deportation of Jews fumigated?

As bad as the hygienic and sanitary conditions were in the Jewish ghettos, conditions on the trains carrying Jews must have been even worse. We are assured of this by the “Holocaust literature” itself. That literature abounds with stories of misery and filth on crowded railroad cars, in many cases freight cars, which were indeed used to move many Jews to the East. On the return trips to the West, these same railroad cars would logically have been used to transport freight and people, German troops prisoners and Eastern European workers.

Is it conceivable that railroad cars used on one occasion to transport Jews in conditions that were even worse than those in the Jewish ghettos would be subsequently used to transport non-Jews back to the West without thorough delousing and cleaning? The answer must be — no! It would have been madness for the Germans not to delouse these trains. If there was ever a need to delouse a train, that need would surely have been greatest for trains that had carried Polish Jews. The mere fact that a train had come from the Warsaw ghetto where typhus had been rampant

would, in itself, have been reason enough for a thorough delousing of the entire train afterwards, before using it for any other purpose.

The Budapest Fumigation Plant for Mass Murder?

How then could the knowledge of the operation of those superbly designed gas chambers, which used Zyklon-B as a matter of routine to delouse railroad trains, have been unknown to the very same Nazis who were supposedly exterminating the Jews? Furthermore, once the existence and the locations of the railroad delousing tunnels would have been known to the mass-murderers, why would they have ever again bothered to use anything else for mass-murder?

The fact that neither the Budapest gas chamber nor any other railroad delousing tunnel, either in Hungary or anywhere else, has ever been implicated by any of the Holocaust “scholars” merely shows how twisted the Holocaust story really is. Surely, the SS would have seen the logic in using the gas chamber in Budapest to exterminate the Hungarian Jews, if extermination had ever been their intent, rather than transport these same Jews to Auschwitz in mid-1944 when Germany was desperately trying to move troops and supplies to the Normandy invasion area. Surely they would have used the Budapest gas chamber rather than trying to use “gas chambers” which were hardly more than ordinary cellars with small holes in the ceilings through which the Zyklon-B granules were supposedly dumped either onto the heads of intended victims or else down perforated sheet-metal false columns with internal spirals.

Those claims are absurd for technical reasons alone. However, they are also absurd because of the superb technology which they could have easily been employed to do the terrible deed properly. Surely, Adolf Eichmann and at least some of the people around him with their expertise in railroad transportation and scheduling would have known — the Final Solution of the Jewish Problem was, after all, largely a problem of transport even on the basis of what the Holocaust “scholars” write themselves.

Can anyone believe that the Nazi murderers shipped hundreds of thousands of Jews away from a gas chamber which was one of the most advanced large gas chambers in the entire world, designed specifically for Zyklon-B, to kill them instead in cellar rooms which had been designed as cold-storage mortuaries but subsequently disguised as showers?

Conclusions

Despite great progress in hygiene and sanitation in the last century and despite German efforts throughout most of the war to practice good hygiene and sanitation in the concentration camps, conditions by the end of the war had deteriorated horribly. The history of the American Civil War and other wars of the last century shows that conditions in the regular military camps of that era, not just prison camps, were appallingly similar.

Anyone seriously interested in possible applications of Zyklon-B would have certainly read the DEGESCH advertisements showing large gas chambers for the fumigation of railroads and trucks.

Surely, anyone reading the relevant technical literature about Zyklon-B would have also read the detailed discussions of the same gas chambers and how they were constructed with blowers and ductwork for circulation, specially coated interior walls as well as heaters to raise the interior temperatures above 78.6 F.

The very idea that the Germans would have constructed showers and delousing facilities in order to lull Polish Jews into gas chambers is ridiculous. Polish Jews were probably the least likely people in all of Europe, if not the world, to react calmly or peacefully to the prospect of bathing under any circumstances.

Polish Jews lived in highly unsanitary surroundings, in which typhus had, in fact, already reached epidemic proportions and from where typhus was more than likely to spread despite a strict quarantine imposed by the Germans. Polish Jews accounted for roughly $\frac{3}{4}$ of all known cases of typhus for all of Poland not only during the early part of World War II but also during the years following World War I after German troops had left.

The Germans would have been especially meticulous in fumigating or delousing precisely those trains which were used after 1941 to move large numbers of Polish Jews to the East. On the basis of the “Holocaust” literature itself, even the Polish Jews regarded those trains as appallingly filthy. If there were ever a need to fumigate railroad trains, then it would have certainly been those trains. Regardless of the ultimate fate of the Jews at Treblinka or Belzec or Sobibor once they had stepped off the trains, the Germans would have certainly fumigated those trains afterwards before using them to carry German troops or prisoners or freight on the return trips to the West. To do less than that would have been totally inconsistent with numerous Jewish comments that the Germans were “obsessed” with cleanliness and fear of typhus.

German officials involved with the scheduling of railroads in Eastern Europe would have been well aware of the need to also schedule fumigations of railroad trains which had carried lice-infested cargo or people or which had simply passed through areas in which typhus was present such as the Warsaw ghetto area. Adolf Eichmann and many others involved with “The Final Solution of the Jewish Problem” would have been well aware of the need to delouse those trains. They would have certainly had the good sense to also recognize the obvious: that the gas chambers which were being used to fumigate empty trains with Zyklon-B could just as easily be used to fumigate trains filled with Jews. They would have certainly had the good sense to recognize that the same gas chambers used to fumigate empty trains after the Jews had stepped off could just as easily be used to fumigate trains before the Jews stepped off. What could have been simpler or more logical. What greater cover or deception could one imagine — and no fake showers or delousing stations or transit camps either. For these reasons, and many others, the Holocaust story is absurd.

Notes

1.  Melville D. Mackenzie, “Some Practical Considerations in the Control of Louse-borne Typhus Fever in Great Britain in the Light of Experience in Russia, Poland, Rumania and China,” *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. 35 (London: 1942) p. 152 [p. 12 of Section of Epidemiology and State Medicine].
2.  In German technical jargon, the term *Begasungstunnel* (in English: “fumigation tunnel”) was applied for many years to the fumigation plants even though these were not true tunnels — they were only open at one end. For example, in the article by Peters to which he refers in Appendix A-Peters, “Durchgasung von Eisenbahnwagen mit Bläusaure (Fumigation of Railroad Cars with Hydrocyanic Acid),” *Anzeiger für Schädlingskunde* Vol. 13, Heft 3. pp. 35-41-one can see two photos of the *Begasungstunnel* in El Paso, Texas as well as one of the *Begasungstunnel* in Sarajewo. The persistence of the term “tunnel” is an obvious link to the typhus control measures employed by the British, and probably others, during

the post WW1 epidemics. It is also a clear suggestion of much larger chambers that could have been employed.

3. ☞ This particular journal was probably the one which any especially interested person would have been most likely to examine for detailed information about the actual application of Zyklon-B.
4. ☞ *Der praktische Desinfektor* (Berlin Verlag Erich Deleiter, 1941), Heft 2, Inside cover.
5. ☞ F. P. Berg, "The German Delousing Chambers," *Journal for Historical Review*, (Torrance, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1986), pp. 73-94.
6. ☞ Brooks, p. 126.
7. ☞ Paul Steiner, *Disease in the Civil War* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1968), p. 10.
8. ☞ Brooks, p. 132.
9. ☞ Stewart Brooks, *Civil War Medicine* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1966), p. 125.
10. ☞ Brooks, p. 6.
11. ☞ Brooks, p. 108-9.
12. ☞ Brooks, p. 126.
13. ☞ Friedrich Prinzing, *Epidemics Resulting from Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), p. 181. Prinzing gives a slightly higher number 19,060 than Brooks for the total number of Confederate dead in Northern prisons even though both sets of figures are based upon *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, J.K. Barnes editor (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870).
14. ☞ Fielding H. Garrison, *Notes on the History of Military Medicine* (Washington: Association of Military Surgeons, 1922), p. 170 quoted from Duncan, *Military Surgeon* (Washington 1920 and 1921).
15. ☞ 15 Garrison, pp. 171-2.
16. ☞ See Prinzing above.
17. ☞ Wilhelm Pfannenstiel, "Der moderne Krieg als Lehrmeister der Hygiene (The Modern War as a Master Teacher of Hygiene)," *Bremer Beitrage zur Naturwissenschaft*, Vol. 8 (Oldenbourg: Gerhard Stalling Verlag, 1944), Heft 2, pp. 7-13.
18. ☞ John E. Gordon, Louse-borne Typhus Fever in the European Theater of Operations, U.S. Army, 1945," in *Rickettsial Diseases of Man* (Washington, DC: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1948) pp. 21-7.
19. ☞ Chuck Yeager, *Yeager An Autobiography* (New York: Bantam Books, 1985) pp. 79-80.
20. ☞ Mackenzie, pp. 144-5 [pp. 4-5 of: *Section of Epidemiology and State Medicine*].
21. ☞ Abel, "Von Hungersnot und Seuchen in Russland" ("Of Famine and Pestilence in Russian), *Müchener Medizinische Wochenschrift*, Vol. 70 (April 20, 1923) Nr. 16, pp. 485-87.
22. ☞ William A. Davis, "Typhus at Belsen," *The American Journal of Hygiene*, Vol. 46 July, 1947) p. 77 reprinted in: United States of America Typhus Commission, *Collected Reprints* No. 14 (Washington, DC: War Department).
23. ☞ Edward W. Goodall, "Typhus Fever in Poland, 1916 to 1919," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. 13 (1920) Section of Epidemiology and State Medicine, pp. 265-73. Goodall had been President of the Section of Epidemiology and State Medicine for the Society at the time of publication.
24. ☞ Prinzing, p. 86.
25. ☞ Prinzing, p. 88.
26. ☞ Prinzing, p. 118.

27. ☞ Alfred E. Cornebise, *Typhus and Doughboys* (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1982) p. 65.
28. ☞ Cornebise, p. 117.
29. ☞ Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against The Jews 1933-1945*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1975), p. 289.
30. ☞ Cornebise, p. 66.
31. ☞ Cornebise, p. 122.
32. ☞ A. Czerniakow, *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*, eds. Hilberg, Staron, Kermisz (New York: Stein and Day, 1968), p. 360.
33. ☞ Martin Blumenson, *The Patton Papers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974) pp. 7534.
34. ☞ "Typhus Causes a Truce," *Journal of the American Medical Association* (May 19, 1945) p. 220. The JAMA story explained that the reason the Germans negotiated a transfer of the camp to the British was because typhus is rampant in the camp and it is vital that no prisoners be released until the infection is checked. The advancing British agreed to refrain from bombing or shelling the area of the camp, and the Germans agreed to leave behind an armed guard which would be allowed to return to their own lines a week after the British arrival." Numerous articles in *The Lancet* over the next few months gave more details. That the food shortage in Belsen was not deliberate but had only arisen in the last months of the war is explained by Dr. Russell Barton, "Belsen," *History of the Second World War*, Part 109 (Michael Cavendish Publications Ltd. 1966) pp. 3025-9.
35. ☞ See for example: Franz Puntigam, "Hygienische Gesichtspunkte bei der Auswahl des Platzes für ein zu errichtendes Durchgangslager mit Entlausungseinrichtungen für ausländische Arbeitskräfte (Hygienic Consideration in the Site Selection for a Transit Camp with Delousing Facilities for Foreign Workers)," *Arbeitseinsatz und Arbeitslosenhilfe* (Berlin: Feb.-Mar., 1942), Heft 3/6, pp. 274,- Hucho, "Die Durchgangslager für ausländische Arbeitskräfte" ("The Transit Camps for Foreign Workers"), *Arbeitseinsatz und Arbeitslosenhilfe* (Berlin: Nov.-Dec., 1943), Heft 21/24, pp. 124-7,- H. Kayser, "Ärztliche Erfahrungen bei der Planung, dem Bau und Betrieb von Durchgangslagern für ausländische Arbeitskräfte" ("Medical Experiences in the Planning, Construction and Operation of Transit Camps for Foreign Workers"), *Arbeitseinsatz und Arbeitslosenhilfe* (Berlin Nov.-Dec., 1943) Heft 21/24, pp. 127-9. The most detailed discussion with many construction plans was given in: Franz Puntigam, "Die Durchgangslager der Arbeitseinsatzverwaltung als Einrichtungen der Gesundheitsvorsorge" ("The Transit Camps of the Labour Supply Administration as Facilities for Protecting the Public Health"), *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, Vol. 67 (1944) Heft 2, pp. 47-56.
36. ☞ Heinrich Kruse, *Leitfaden für die Ausbildung in der Desinfektion und Schädlingsbekämpfung* (Gottingen: Verlag MusterZschmidt, 1948, 4th printing), pp. 854. Although this particular printing was made after the war, it seems clear enough from the printing number and from the context that the events described occurred during the war.

APPENDIX A

A Modern Railroad-Disinfecting Plant (*Eine moderne Eisenbahn-Entwesungsanlage*)

by Dr. G. Peters

Translated by F. P. Berg and E. Kniepkamp from *Anzeiger für Schädlingskunde*, Vol. 14 (Berlin: Verlagsbuchhandlung Paul Parey, 1938), Heft 8, pp. 98-9.

In Heft 3 of this journal from the previous year, we summarized the development over the years of methods for fumigating railroad trains with hydrocyanic acid. Within that discussion, several fumigation tunnels were also mentioned, some of which are in operation in the Balkans and some in Central America. Finally, the application of vacuum plants (*Vakuumanlagen*) for this purpose was also discussed. In the meantime, another quite interesting, larger fumigation chamber for railroad cars which deserves a special discussion has been built and brought into operation in Budapest.

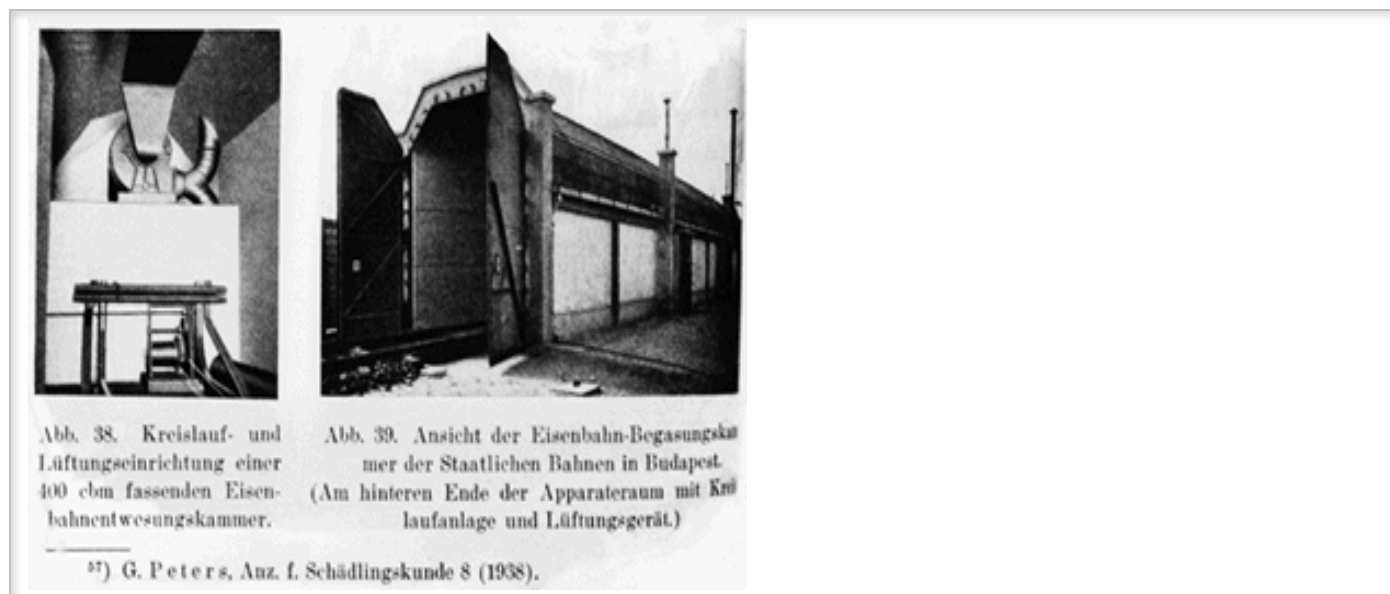
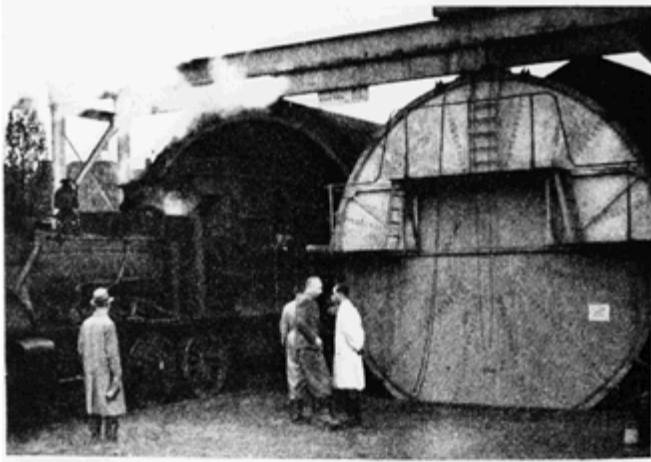


Figure 1: right: Railroad Fumigating Plant in Budapest (empty with doors open]. Left: Interior view of the chamber with three openings in the supply ductwork (on the ceiling) and a return pipe (on the floor) — at the rear wall a powerful blower for mixing and venting.

The facility which was proposed by the Hungarian State Railways and constructed in collaboration with the German Company for Pest Control, G.m.b.H. [DEGESCH], Frankfurt on the Main, is special because it is the first time that a fumigation chamber on the largest scale has been created and tested with a circulatory system. The circulatory arrangement (*Kreislaufführung*) for mixing air and gas is known to have great advantage[s]: on the one hand, the gas evolves [is driven out of the granules in the cans of Zyklon-B] more easily and, on the other hand, the gas is distributed faster. [1] We need not examine the construction of such circulatory plants in great detail—it is sufficient to point out that: circulatory gas-generating equipment (*Kreislaufvergungungsapparaturen*) allows one to easily and safely handle even the most poisonous substances; furthermore, by means of a repeated exchange of the entire air-gas mixture during the first hour of fumigation the concentration of the air-gas mixture is ideally distributed so that the losses [of cyanide] due to adsorption are minimized; and finally, because of the special design of such chambers, they can be vented with the doors closed. In this way the circulatory principle (*Kreislaufprinzip*) encompasses technical improvements which increase the likelihood of success of the fumigation procedure while, at the same time, significantly reducing the safety hazards. It was these advantages which apparently also motivated the Hungarian State Railways to make the first attempt at the construction of such a facility in Budapest. Already after several months of almost uninterrupted use of the chamber, the elegance and safety of this facility have been clearly recognized.



11. Vakuum-Eisenbahnbegasungsanlage — verlauste Wagen wet eingefahren.

Figure 2: Railroad Fumigating Plant in Budapest being loaded.

The plant is used for fumigating railroad passenger coaches as well as for disinfecting freight cars. For the first type of application, one is concerned with bugs (*Wanzen*) and vermin whereas for the second type of application, one is especially concerned with the extermination of chicken mites (*Hühnermilben*). The transport of chickens in Hungary leads to a heavy accumulation of mites in the cars used for this purpose which are, as a result, frequently infested, not only within the railroad cars themselves but, also, on the exteriors of the railroad cars. It was precisely for this reason that one had to construct a fumigation tunnel; otherwise the fumigation of only the interiors of the railroad cars would simply not have eliminated these pests.

The accompanying photographs give some idea as to the exemplary manner in which the fumigation plant was actually constructed, structurally as well as technically. (Only the construction of the large doubled door with countless screw joints is unnecessarily cumbersome.) The gas-tightness of the steel-reinforced concrete chamber is so great that when the blowers are turned on inside the closed chamber, the pressure drops almost 200 mm H₂O which is truly remarkable for a room with a volume of 350 cubic meters. The venting as well as the circulation of the air-gas mixture is achieved by a powerful medium-pressure blower which is sized large enough to permit 30 complete air-exchanges per hour. For this purpose, the supply and return ductwork are arranged diametrically, one above the other, (see Figure 1 left) with appropriate registers or louvers. For a single fumigation, two cans of Zyklon are sufficient. The cans are opened in the “apparatus room” inside special gasifiers which are built into a bypass (*Nebenschluss*) of the circulatory system so that in just a few minutes, all of the gas is drawn out of the cans so that the cans can be removed totally free of poison.

During the cold months of the year, the facility is heated by four furnaces so that the minimum temperature of 20-25 C. (68-78.2 F.) which is necessary for rapid penetration can be achieved quickly and maintained for weeks at a time. The furnaces were specially designed by the Hungarian Korompai, a member of the Board of Public Works (*Baurat*). They require no service or maintenance for days at a time and are unusually economical to operate.

The chamber operates almost without interruption and is at this time probably the most modern facility of this type.

Transportation Hygiene and Disinfestation (Verkehrshygiene und Schädlingsbekämpfung)

by Dr. Ludwig Gassner, Frankfurt on the Main

translated by F. P. Berg and E. Kniepkamp from: *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, Vol. 66 (1943) Heft 15, pp. 174-76.

One special area within the field of pest control for the control of carriers of disease pertains to the disinfestation of transportation vehicles. In this category, the most important above all else are the railroads. Practically all of the civilized nations in the world have dealt with the problem of disinfecting railroad cars, but generally only in a theoretical sense. As a rule, it is less often disinfection, in other words, the sterilization or killing of bacteria which is meant than the extermination of vermin for which, since it is primarily insects and their brood which is involved, the word “disinsection” was coined. Even in Russia, this question was discussed more than 20 years ago [1] and one arrived at the only correct conclusion that, on the basis of an experience up to that time, the disinfestation of railroad cars could only be done thoroughly if one used hydrocyanic acid.

Ever since World War I, this substance, which is gaseous at room temperature, was used as a standard issue preventive substance (flour moth control in large flour mills). Thanks to thorough preliminary studies and the receptiveness of the responsible German authorities one could no longer disregard this gas for use in the food industry. The prejudices and above all the great fear of the “devastating poison” disappeared. During this period (1916) the first hydrocyanic acid fumigation of a military-hospital train took place in Germany and in a rather makeshift manner which was replaced several years later by the German Zyklon method (absorbed liquid hydrocyanic acid) which reduced the danger for well-trained technicians to an absolute minimum. It was and still is true that of all the methods for the killing of clothes lice, bugs and fleas with larvae, pupae and eggs — the goal is achieved most ideally with hydrocyanic acid gas.

For the practical implementation of such a disinfestation, various approaches to the problem come to mind:

1. Disinfestation in the open without a cover over a thoroughly sealed vehicle which one intends to reuse.
2. Disinfestation in the open with a tent cover over the vehicle.
3. Disinfestation in a gas chamber.

Within Germany proper there was very little reason for intensive pest and vermin control of railroad coaches and freight cars. [2] But the necessity for this was extremely great in several Balkan countries, Spain, Africa and South America where, incidentally, the German methods became predominant. The elimination of disease carriers in the coaches and sleeping compartments often goes hand- in-hand with the extermination of vermin that infest foodstuffs and provisions in freight cars. Of the three methods which have been mentioned, the method which is preferred almost exclusively employs fumigation chambers.

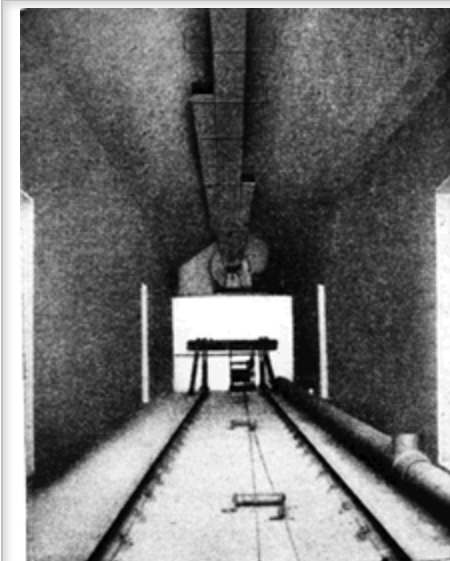


Figure 1: Facility in Budapest — Interior View

Probably the oldest published work on this subject was by Schumacher and is entitled “The Disinfection of Railroad Coaches in Repair Shops.” [3] In Europe such chambers exist in Potsdam, Cologne-Nippes, Posen, Zagreb, Budapest, Bucharest, Sarajevo, Skoplje. The most ideal arrangement is a circulatory system, which can handle even the most poisonous substance with ease and safety. There are also fumigation tunnels, as in Sarajevo for example, which can handle two railroad cars at a time. Of importance is the rapid and uniform distribution of the gas by means of circulation ducts or blowers, at least partly because the speed of the operation is the very key to its efficiency. Only relatively small amounts of the gas are necessary for this work. A Zyklon container with 500 grams of hydrocyanic acid is already sufficient to delouse a modern express passenger railroad car (approx. 200 cubic meters); larger containers are used in the fumigation tunnels where 500 to 1000 grams of hydrocyanic acid, depending upon the temperature, are used per 100 cubic meters of interior volume-the higher the temperature, the greater the effect of any given amount of the gas. [4]

Another hydrocyanic acid method which has recently been used here and there is the spreading of Calcid, a powdery cyanide of calcium (*zyanwasserstoffsäurem Kalzium*), which reacts with the moisture in the air and gives off quantities of hydrocyanic acid but which leaves traces behind whose removal is time-consuming. Because of the greater amounts of material which are needed to achieve an effective gas concentration, one must also expect longer fumigating periods (*längere Arbeitsbelastung*).

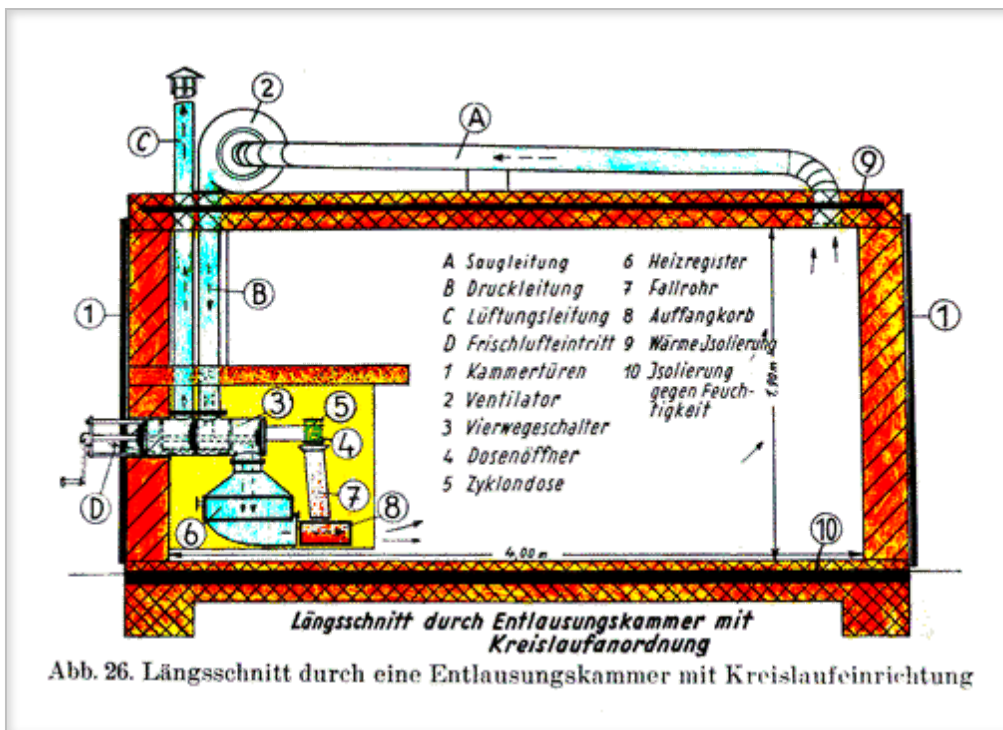
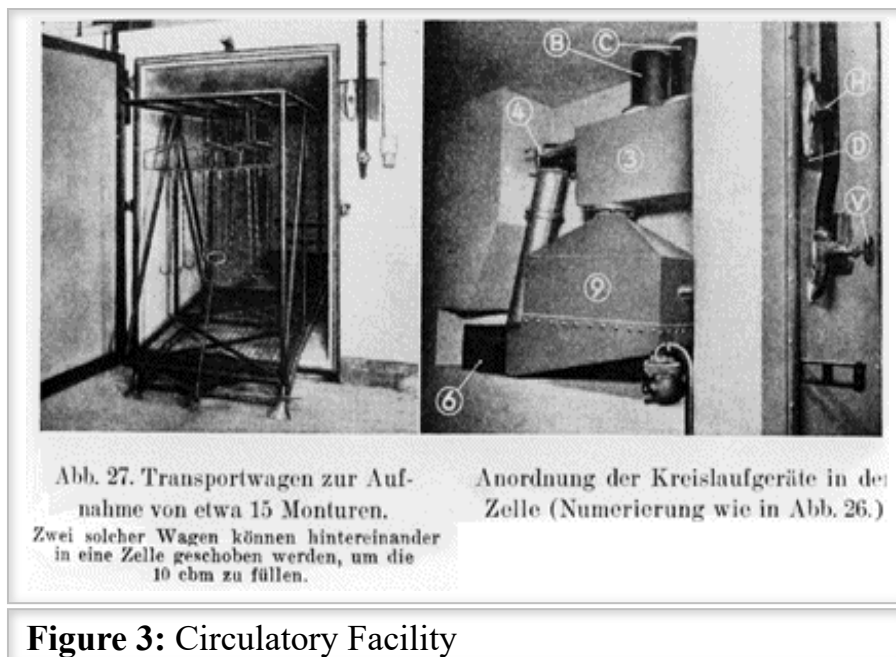


Figure 2: Schematic of a Circulatory Facility

It should also be emphasized that the use of hydrocyanic acid gas, on passenger railroad cars for example, has absolutely no effect on upholstery, leather, fabrics, metals, paints and interior furnishings of any sort.

On June 23, 1942 the Reich Ministry of Transport issued an unpublished decree to plant managers and others which specifies the measures to prevent the spread of typhus (disinfection of passenger cars and freight cars). Only a small number of disinfection substances are mentioned.

In 1941 a decree was published regarding the removal of contagious substances from trains and ships engaged in the transport of livestock within the Generalgouvernement [those parts of German-occupied Poland that were not annexed] [5] which specified precisely when and under what circumstances trains had to be immaculately cleaned and disinfected; and also, which chemicals could be used for this purpose. The chemicals which were permitted were primarily a mixture of cresol and sulfuric acid, caustic soda solution, concentrated watersoluble chloride of lime preparations or raw chloramin (*Rohchlorumin*). It can be noted also that a single certifiable cleaning and disinfestation made within the German Reich, would be sufficient [to meet the regulation].



Dry heat together with vacuum (*Unterdruck*) has been used to disinfect railroad cars. This hot air process has, however, not proven itself successful in the long run; furthermore, it only works in stationary chambers, as long as sufficient fuel is available for heating.

For all practical purposes, the best method for the fumigation of small spaces on ships is probably with T-gas (ethyloxide).

No less important, but particularly during peace time, are the methods for exterminating rats on ships. It is well known that the rats which exist on every large ocean liner can spread the plague bacillus, the germ of this terrible disease, which lives on or in the rat flea. One used to try to kill off the ship rats with makeshift methods. In America one tried at first to use poison gas. Ever since the International Sanitary Convention which was ratified on June 21, 1926 in Paris by most countries of the world [6] this despicable dangerous parasite has been fought in an organized fashion. Of course, one has tried to get rid of the rats, as already mentioned, from ships arriving from countries which may be plague-infested. At this point, the method which comes to mind is the very practical Nocht-Giemsa process (producer gas) which was formerly used in the harbor of Hamburg. The fight against ship rats became a universal responsibility only with the implementation of the international treaty mentioned above which provided for uniform procedures for the control of contagious disease and, of special importance, even went so far as to specify the actual measures for controlling the spread of diseases that are a public menace because of international shipping.

In Germany one worked a great deal with sulfur dioxide (according to the Clayton Method or through the generation of SO₂ from carbon disulfide, Salforkose, and sulfur preparations, etc.), but this was steadily replaced by hydrocyanic acid over the years. The spreading of poisonous bait had only limited success on ocean-going vessels because the rodents within the cabins, galleys, and cargo bays were able to find more suitable food elsewhere. The “rat-proofing” system which was introduced sometime ago in the United States of America did not prove itself over the long run. This method relied upon simple devices to prevent rats from climbing onto ships at dockside without considering the fact that these animals could also be brought on board with the cargo. Regarding ship disinfestation in general, hydrocyanic acid won hands down over the competition. Appropriate personnel for the intended tasks are the exterminators, health inspectors and fumigation companies. The certification of the fumigation results is the responsibility of the harbor authorities.

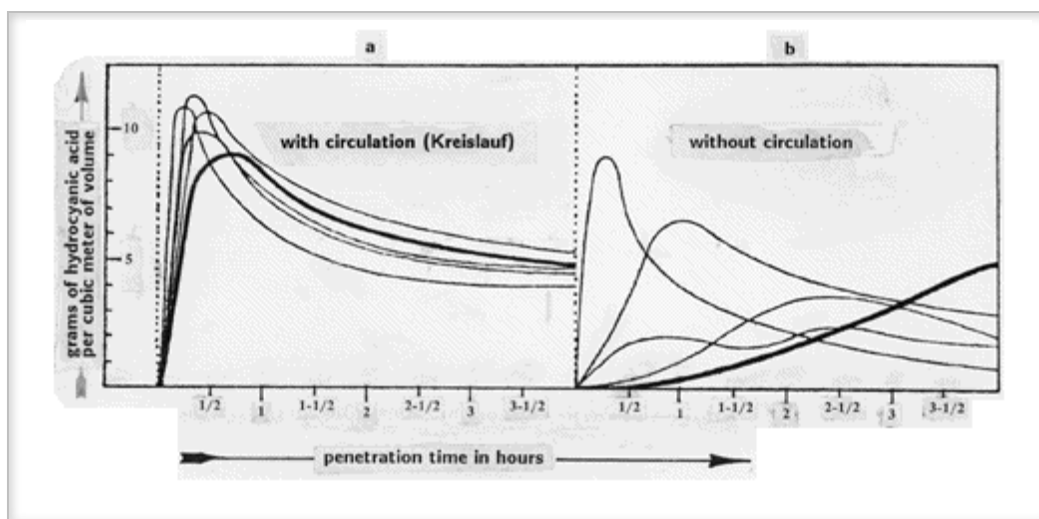


Figure 4: HCN concentration in time with and without circulation

Aside from pest rats — laboratory experiments in Algiers have shown that a single rat may at times carry as many as 2500 fleas and each flea can be the host to 5000 pest bacilli [7] — one must also mention mice (Weilsche disease), lice (typhus), mosquitoes (malaria, yellow fever), and flies (typhoid, dysentery) as carriers of disease on ships. [8] With the regular control of the most dangerous parasites, the rats, one is also controlling all other vermin on board as well; of course, this includes bed bugs, fleas and cockroaches.

Hydrocyanic acid gas kills all vermin including the brood and, because of its great ability to penetrate, is able to fill every space as well as all cracks and hiding places as no other gas available for pest control purposes and, as has already been mentioned, is harmless to furnishings and cargo because of its chemical inactivity. [9] Even foodstuffs need to be removed only if they happen to be uncovered liquids. But, live animals and plants, photographic products, raw coffee and tea must all be removed from aboard ship. For years hydrocyanic acid has been applied in the form of Zyklon. The ship being fumigated must be cleared of all people except for the ship's watch and must be distinguished until the ship is released by means of a special flag by day and by a particular light by night.

A few words are still necessary regarding rat elimination from decks with Calcid. On the basis of experience, rats are often present, for example, in the steampipe insulation, under the winches, in the potato bins, lifeboats and similar equipment. For the procedure to be successful, it is necessary to exterminate these as well. Whereas when one is working with Zyklon one simply spreads out the contents of a can upon pieces of paper, on deck one normally uses Calcid tablets [instead] which are ground into a fine powder in a pulverizer and blown onto the locations to be disinfected. Regarding the hygienic treatment of ocean-going vessels in German harbors, there is a regulation from the Reich Minister of the Interior dated December 21, 1931 [10] in which the extermination of rats is regulated in Paragraph 12.

That the field of hygiene for transportation vehicles has been extended just recently to include airplanes is not really surprising since it has been established that dangerous disease carriers can even be carried by aircraft. The danger is especially great when the airplanes land in regions which are still today a constant source for disease. [11] In the International Sanitary Treaty for Air Travel of April 12, 1933 (The Hague) a series of preventive measures have been established for the removal of vermin and rats as well as for sanitary services in airports and the possible quarantine of travelers, the treatment of the sick and under certain circumstances — the pest control of goods and mail. Foremost among the diseases which can be carried are: plague, cholera, yellow fever, typhus and smallpox. In the treaty just mentioned, the controlling substances are

not specified. However, at the conference of the International Sanitary Office in Paris in May of 1937 a report from the Quarantine Commission for Air Travel discussed pyrethrum powder, hydrocyanic acid and other fumigating substances for killing mosquitoes on aircraft and also indicated the toxicity of these gases for humans.

In reality, it is very difficult to disinfect aircraft with gas even though it has been done in the past and will continue to be done again many more times. A fumigation of a covered aircraft (often practically impossible because of the often immense proportions of the wings) or an aircraft in a hangar is possible. However, it is necessary to protect the expensive, important, often oil-enclosed and not hermetically sealed instruments in the cockpit, oils can absorb gas — they can even combine chemically with them. *Aedes* and *Anopheles*, the carriers of yellow fever and malaria, are most effectively destroyed with gas but these species of mosquitoes can also be exterminated with pyrethrum-based insecticides.. In the United States one is less particular.. Griffiths and Michel [12] recommend without any reservations the use of hydrocyanic acid preparations and Carboxide, a mixture similar to the German Cartox which is made from ethyl oxide and carbon dioxide. In South Africa and even North America, airplanes were already treated without any hesitation with Zyklon with special care for the wing interior spaces which could not be sealed. Nonetheless, the use of highly toxic gas (by the natives) in transcontinental air traffic has not yet established itself; similarly, it has not been possible, at least for the time being, to implement the plan to build mosquito-free aircraft.

Before World War II Germany had no special reason to disinfect aircraft for hygienic reasons. However, many experiments had been initiated which could not be completed under the circumstances — otherwise, German discoveries would have certainly pioneered in this field once again.

It is hardly necessary to mention the de-mothing of automobiles (passenger vehicles) and the fumigation of trucks for the extermination of vermin that infest foodstuffs. Clothes moths including their brood, as well as other vermin which infest foodstuffs and provisions can be easily neutralized with sulfur dioxide (difficult to remove), T-gas and, most of all, hydrocyanic acid. The methods are, as is apparent from the above, simple and safe; but, these measures play almost no role as far as hygiene is concerned. Delousing of passenger vehicles (carriages, streetcars, boats) is regulated by a decree from the Reich Minister of the Interior of February 13, 1941. [13]

In closing, it should be added that [supposedly] louse-infested railroad trains, airplanes, etc., are in reality often quite harmless because there simply may not even be a single louse present. As Rose [14] explains, it is not the suspected means of transportation but quite often it is the louse-infested people themselves in close proximity to one another in overcrowded vehicles who are the true source of the lice. In other words, one should not overestimate the benefits to be derived from disinfecting a totally lifeless transport vehicle.

Notes

1. U Lewinson, “On the Method of Disinfection and Disinfection of Railroad Cars,” (Russian), *Hygiene des Verkehrswesens* (1924) Heft 7/8, pp. 55-69.
2. U Gerhard Peters, “Leistungen und Erfolge deutscher Gasverfahren in der Schädlingsbekämpfung (Accomplishments and Successes of German Gas Processes for Pest Control),” *Vierjahresplan*, Vol, 3 (1939) pp. 1246-49.
3. U Schumacher, “Die Desinfektion der Eisenbahn-Personenwagen in den Werkstätten,” *Glaser's Annalen für Gewerbe und Bauwesen*, Vol. 66 (1910) Nr. 782.

4. ☞ Gerhard Peters, “Durchgasung von Eisenbahnwagen mit Blausaure (Fumigation of Railroad Cars with Hydrocyanic Acid),” *Anzeiger für Schädlingkunde*, Vol. 13 (1937) Heft 3, pp. 35-41 and Gerhard Peters, “Eine moderne Eisenbahn-Entwesungsanlage (A Modern Railroad Disinfestation Facility),” *Anzeiger für Schädlingkunde*, Vol. 14 (1938) Heft 8, pp. 98-99.
5. ☞ *Verordnungsblatt für das Generalgouvernement*, December 4, 1941.
6. ☞ L. Gassner, “La Dératisation moderne des Navires et Longements et la Désinsectisation dans la Lutte contre les Maladies Infectieuses,” *Rapport du Troisième Congrès International de Techniques Sanitaire et de l'Hygiène Urbaine* (Lyon: March 6- 9, 1932).
7. ☞ *Bull. Mens. de l'Office international d'Hygiène publique*, Vol.23 (1931) Nr. 12.
8. ☞ K. Peter, *Die Bekämpfung hygienisch wichtiger Schädlinge an Bord* (The Hygienic Control of Important Pests Aboard Ship), Vol. 32 (1940) Heft 9, pp. 157-70.
9. ☞ K. Peter. ZAus dem Aufgabengebiet des Hafenarztes (From the Field of the Harbor Doctor),” *Hansa* (German newspaper for merchant shipping), Vol. 73, (1936) Heft 28, pp. 1394-96.
10. ☞ *Reichs Gesundheits Blatt* (1931), Part 2, Nr. 29.
11. ☞ H.W., “Flugzeugentwesung in Afrika (Aircraft Disinfestation in Africa),” *Der Praktische Disinfektor*, Vol. 30 (1938) Heft 6, pp. 189-90.
12. ☞ T.H.D. Griffiths, “Procédés efficaces pour la destruction des moustiques à bord des aéronefs,” *Offices international d'Hygiène publique*, Vol. 27 (1935) Heft 3, pp. 550-53 and C. Michel “destruction des moustiques et autres insectes à bord des aéroplanes,” *Office international d'Hygiène publique*, Vol. 27 (1935) Heft 3, pp. 553-57.
13. ☞ *Ministerisblatt für die innere Verwaltung* (1941) Nr. 7.
14. ☞ G. Rose, “Fortschritte in der Bekämpfung der Kleiderlaus (Progress in the Control of the Clothes Louse),” *Reichs Gesundheits Blatt*, Vol, 18 (1943) Heft 5, pp. 53-7.

APPENDIX C

The Epidemiology of Typhus in the Generalgouvernement

by Assistant Physician Prof. Dr. E. Zimmermann (deceased at the front)

translated November 22, 1986 by F. P. Berg and I. Steinwarder from *Zeitschrift für Hygiene und Infektionskrankheiten*, Vol. 123 (Berlin Springer Verlag, 1942), Heft 5, pp. 552-7.

Typhus has always reigned as an endemic disease in the Eastern and Southeastern provinces of the former Polish state. This was especially true for the provinces of Wilna, Nowogrodek and Stanislawow. Here during severe outbreaks, about 5-10% and more of the population would fall ill annually whereas in the Western parts of Poland, the disease declined steadily over the years so that it was virtually unknown in the present Warthegau or else occurred only in isolated cases or clusters without any tendency to spread. During the last years before the present war, the pestilence had almost been eradicated within the central parts of the country, just as conditions in the Eastern parts were also improving. That the present wartime dislocations would again increase the frequency of typhus was to be expected since it had always been a typical plague of war, but the magnitude of the reoccurrence in 1940 was many times less than had been expected. If we adjust the number of previously reported cases [for all of Poland] in order to try to get numbers that only apply to the area of the present day Generalgouvernement — obviously, these values

will be only rough approximations in order to be able to make comparisons with those for 1940 — we get the following.

TABLE 1 — Typhus occurrences
per year in the present day Gener-
algouvernement

1919	44,000	1930	320
1920	34,000	1931	420
1921	10,000	1932	500
1922	8,500	1933	680
1923	2,200	1934	1,000
1924	1,500	1935	800
1925	800	1936	740
1926	700	1937	680
1927	600	1938	700
1928	500	1939	?
1929	400	1940	7,900

Obviously, the statistics cannot show all occurrences which took place because it can be assumed that, at the very least, the undiagnosed, mild cases were not reported. It is quite possible that the true morbidity rates are actually double or triple the values which have been reported.

It is well-known that previously during the world war [World War I], typhus had been wide-spread on the Eastern front and had caused sickness among our own troops. Then in 1919-1920, the Russian- Polish war came again with great troop movements, refugee treks, food shortages, great poverty and from 1921-1922, the Poles returned in great waves from plague-infested Rus-sia. And so, it is not at all surprising that *Typhus exanthematicus* developed dramatically at that

time. With the gradual consolidation of the political situation, which resulted in an improvement in the general hygienic conditions, the pestilence subsided quickly and steadily until the general economic crisis of 1930-33 with its unemployment interrupted the favorable progress and brought with it another peak in typhus mortality in 1934. After that, conditions improved once again. Although many attempts have been made to try to relate the reduction of the epidemic to the anti-typhus inoculations given by Weigl after 1930, the contribution of these inoculations to the favorable development could only have been rather modest since the decline of the typhus had already begun earlier. According to Weigl, 67,893 persons had been vaccinated but these were predominantly doctors, sanitary personnel, civil servants, people close to patients and others who might be endangered by close contact.

It was inevitable that troop and refugee movements, in addition to economic difficulties arising from the developments in 1939, would lead to a reemergence of the epidemic but an ever-increasing number of cases in strength could only be expected at the beginning of 1940 since the usual course of the typhus epidemic would produce many cases. At any rate, since the morbidity rate did not increase more than usual in 1940 and since our troops were practically unaffected by the disease, a number of favorable factors were cited: on the one hand, ideological beliefs of our troops resulted in less fraternization with the Jewish population, i.e. the carriers of the epidemic, than during the world war. On the other hand, this war was over too quickly to allow the disease to establish itself and to spread. Additionally, this time the refugee treks came, in contrast to the years after the world war, not from a center of contagion (*Seuchenherd*), but from the West, from a region which was free of the pestilence.

Although it was in the nature of earlier population figures and epidemiological statistics in Poland that there are no exact numbers available, nonetheless the Jewish share [*Anteil der Juden*] — emphasized as in the original] in the typhus phenomenon has obviously always been rather high. Normally it seems to have been about 70%-80%, but in 1940 the Jewish share in some communities was 95% or even more of all typhus cases. We personally had the opportunity to study an outbreak of the epidemic in greatest possible detail in one town with approximately 30,000 inhabitants of whom about 11,000 were Jews. Of the 303 cases of the illness, 295 were among Jews, i.e., 97% among Jews and only 3% among Poles. For our further investigations it was important that we examined the significance of age of the people in the homes affected by typhus. A total of 3,464 Jewish persons, living more or less without any non-Jewish intermingling, were evaluated statistically.

The *mortality of the disease* in all these years seems to be surprisingly low. For the years following the world war. the rate was 7%-9% with the exception of 13.4% for 1920. Thereafter, the mortality rate decreased to 5.2% in 1938 and in 1940 to 5.6%. However, many mild cases may not have been reported so that the hazards of the illness might, in fact, be even less.

If it seemed as if Jews were especially resistant to typhus, that picture changed as soon as age was taken into consideration (Table 2, Column a). More than half of all the cases of illness which were observed by us were of persons less than 20 years of age, and one quarter of the total number of cases occurred among persons between 16 and 20 years of age. It should not be necessary to explain any further that the usually favorable course of the disease for this age group lessened the mortality rate in general. Contrary to the widespread opinion that Jews are less susceptible to typhus, the mortality rate of approximately of 5% for the 16 to 20 year old group and 25-30% for middle-aged adults (Table 2, column C) is absolutely normal. This fact appears favorable only because the typhus of 1940 affected primarily children and adolescents. Perhaps this had also been the case in former years with the exception of 1920 and its higher death rate.

TABLE 2 — Morbidity and Mortality of Typhus in 1940

Age Group	(a) Age Combination of the ill in %	(b) % of ill in age groups	Mortality
1-5	5.6	6.4	0
6-10	12.4	11.3	0
11-15	15.7	10.4	0
16-20	25.7	20.9	5.2
21-25	8.6	8.2	11.5
26-30	3.6	3.5	18.2
31-35	5.4	5.7	
36-40	6.6	8.3	35
41-45	5.6	8.9	30
46-50	5.4	8.3	31
51-55	2	4.2	33
56-60	2	5.84	
61-65	1.4	4.0	

The high percentage of adolescents among the ill suggests an *immunity of adults* which might have been acquired during the epidemic years following the world war which protected them now even though typhus usually produces only limited immunity. This influence can only be examined more closely if we calculate the percentages of the affected within their respective age groups. To begin with, we can make the following estimate. The Jewish population over 20 which might have become immune after the heavy epidemics following the world war could not be more than 1.2 million in the Generalgouvernement. Assuming that 250,000 Jews had become ill at that time, then one can estimate very roughly that 25-30% of those who are 20 years old to-day would be immune while all the others in this age group and practically all adolescents in 1940 would have been susceptible. Our age calculations (Table 2, Column B) gave indeed few differentials which could have been appraised as partial immunity of the 20-year olds. The percentage of the 16-20 year olds is conspicuously high because 77 out of 369 from the age group fell ill, while the 15 year olds might either have an inborn immunity or the illness developed abortive, which is typical at this age, and remained undiscovered. It is, however, a fact that in the beginning of 1940 enough people susceptible for the epidemic were available to spread the ground for epidemics during the next year.

In the area for which we were responsible — about a quarter of the Generalgouvernement-according to statistics and reports from doctors, typhus had occurred only sporadically before the year 1940. This was also evident from the fact that the younger people among them were not personally acquainted with the clinical facts of *Typhus exanthematicus*. Only a few towns showed an unexplained slight increase of morbidity during 1938 and 1939, while only only half a dozen cases showed up in towns with 10,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.

Thus, the winter of 1939/40 started at first with only a very limited number of cases. Only in 1940 did isolated cases occur at the same time or quickly following each other, mostly in small towns, in many cases in villages which had until now been untouched by the pestilence and

which were far removed from each other. Of course a carrier of typhus-infected lice who might have caused the outbreak during his wanderings was suspected, but this explanation remained unsatisfactory for all practical purposes. Very often the villages affected were 100 to 200 kilometers apart and it seemed unlikely that at a time of unusually severe cold with masses of snow that a person might have gone wandering over such great distances. It seemed much more likely that several virus carriers were wandering around who had sought shelter because of the weather conditions and had left the infection behind. Beggars and tramps have traditionally been the most important carriers. But it also has to be remembered for the first cases of an epidemic that a virus can remain alive in the lice excrements on clothing for a long time and that the re-use of winter clothing might result in new infections. Experiments conducted by Weigl showed that the virus is capable of infecting for several months.

After only a few individual cases had occurred in January and the beginning of February, the interconnection of which was unclear, the further course of the pestilence could be observed accurately. Sometimes the illness disappeared by itself, even without special protective measures being taken. In other cases, there were cases within the vicinity or greater outbreaks, these only in towns and often it could be verified how the typhus had been carried from one community to another. Very often, but not always, beggars and vagabonds were involved, but the principle cause was the lively Jewish wandering which still prevailed at that time. The elders of the Jewish communities were supposed to care for these wanderers; but this care often failed, since Jewish solidarity was definitely not always as dependable in crisis as it should have been (*Notfest*), to include practical measures of disease prevention. Arrivals were very often considered and treated as unwanted guests in the communities. They were quickly urged to go away again with a small contribution and thereby promoted the wanderings. In other cases they were housed in mass quarters which quite frequently developed into terrible epidemic hotbeds. In extreme cases only 34 square meters of floor space and even less were made available per person.

Smaller communities with less than 7000 inhabitants and the flat countryside were generally at first hardly affected by the epidemic. Only in April and May, when under the influence of counter-measures and other factors, the *Typhus exanthematicus* started to subside in the cities, several small farming communities were affected, even if the occurrences were limited to isolated cases. Here too, it was mostly Jews who became ill, but the Polish share was greater than in the cities. With regard to the unpleasant result that the typhus spread to the countryside and therefore evaded the measures used to combat the epidemic, this was caused to a significant degree by the fact that many Jews had succeeded in breaking out of the quarantine zones in the cities. Very often the inhabitants of a community could give very exact information as to who had brought the disease. Not infrequently, however, it was the Polish farmer who brought a typhus infection upon himself when he, as was customary, without comprehending the precariousness of his acts, took a wandering Jew along on his vehicle for a ride for part of journey.

As the month of May came to an end, the illnesses in the cities decreased markedly but the countryside was still very much affected. Numerically the high point had passed but the danger that farming communities would be dangerous endemic centers of contagion was not eliminated. Contrary to expectations and without any apparent reason, the number of affected persons declined suddenly in the second half of June in the countryside. Since for a long time already, about 20-25 small towns had been identified in which new cases were reported, the number suddenly fell back to 5 or 6. Shortly before there had been an increase in the summer temperatures and perhaps the increased formation of perspiration diminished the multiplication of lice and consequently the virus. This development was of course consistent with the usual decline for the disease during the summer months but the simultaneous decline over a wide area was striking, nevertheless, on the whole, the course of the epidemic was more or less typical because the late win-

ter and early spring months had, just as during many other typhus outbreaks, brought the peak of the illnesses.

The subsequent course of the epidemic for the rest of the year 1940 was typical also. The summer months showed only isolated cases and it was only the month of November which slowly brought once again the winter rise of the pestilence.

Summary

1. The epidemiological circumstances of typhus in the Generalgouvernement in the year 1940 were examined thoroughly.
 2. The results showed that the highest number of cases occurred within the age groups of 16-20, and that the percentage of Jews affected by typhus was on the average 70-80%, in some communities even 95-97%.
 3. The mortality rate generally grew with increasing age. It was no less for Jews than for non-Jews.
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Source: vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 483-488.

Book Reviews

Kristallnacht

- FEUERZEICHEN: DIE "REICHSKRISTALLNACHT": ANSTIFTER UND BRANDSTIFTER — OPFER UND NUTZNIESSER (Fire Signal: The Reich Crystal Night": Instigators and Arsonists — Victims and Profiteers) by Ingrid Weckert. Tübingen: Grabert-Verlag, 1981, Hb., 301 pages, \$15, ISBN 3-87847-052-5.

Reviewed by Charles E. Weber

A half century ago, on the night of 9-10 November 1938, destructive riots against Jews, their stores and synagogues broke out in many German cities. The windows of many Jewish stores were broken and as a result this night is often designated ironically as "Reichskristallnacht" (National Crystal Night), referring to the glittering broken glass. The year 1938 was an eventful year in Europe. In April Austria had been incorporated into the Reich (*der Anschluss*) amidst great general rejoicing of the populace. On 29 September, Great Britain, France and Italy recognized the justification of the German desire to incorporate the areas in the periphery of Bohemia (Sudetenland) into the Reich. These areas were inhabited almost exclusively by ethnic Germans who resented oppression by the Slavic majority in Czechoslovakia. As a result of this recognition, the Munich Agreement, the Sudetenland was ceded by Czechoslovakia to Germany.

Miss Weckert's book raises many questions about the tragic, portentous events of 9 November 1938, to which she does not claim to know all of the answers with absolute certainty, even if she effectively disputes a number of widely held, erroneous opinions about these events. Who were the real instigators of the riots? What were their real motives? Who was behind the assassination of Ernst vom Rath, a German diplomat in Paris, on the morning of 7 November 1938? What were the objectives of the people who must have supported the young Jewish assassin, Herschel Grynszpan? What happened to him after the assassination? What was the extent of property damage caused by riots and what were the results of physical attacks on Jews? How did such German leaders as Hitler, Goebbels and Göring react to the riots and to what extent, if any, were they themselves instigators of the riots? What had been the policies of the German government with regard to the small but wealthy and influential Jewish minority in Germany before the riots (i.e., during 1933-1938)? How did the riots change these policies? To what extent did the objectives of the National Socialists and of the Zionists coincide? To what extent did Zionists and National Socialist Germany collaborate in achieving these objectives on the basis of formal agreements? How did the policies of the German and Polish governments clash? What characteristics of the relation of Jews to their host populations could have contributed to causing the riots?

The book is introduced by a statement (pp. 7-14) by Wilfred von Ofen, who was on Goebbels' staff during the last two years of the war. He asserts that there is no credible evidence that Goebbels was the instigator of the riots and points out that during the Spanish Civil War, in

which he served, hundreds of Christian churches were burned or desecrated by the Communists. Furthermore, von Ofen cites a conversation between Goebbels and the president of the Berlin police, Count Helldorf, which was overheard by Friedrich Christian, Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe, in which Goebbels angrily characterized the riots as “idiocy” and grist for propaganda mills hostile to Germany.

Weckert begins her text (p. 15) with the statement that her investigation has primarily resulted in a posing of questions, some of which can never be answered with absolute certainty in view of the lack of available documentary evidence.

On 15 October 1938 the Polish government, which was hostile to Jews and wanted them to emigrate from Poland, announced its intention to invalidate the passports of the many Jews from Poland residing in Germany (!) if such passports were not presented to Polish authorities. In effect, the Polish government thus wanted to prevent these Jews from returning to Poland and to make them a permanent burden on the Reich. As a result, the Jewish policies of the German and Polish governments clashed, since they both wanted Jews to emigrate. Herschel Grynszpan, whose parents were transported to the Polish border as a result of the passport crisis, went to the German embassy in Paris and shot a German official, Ernst vom Rath, on 7 November, 1938. His victim died of wounds on 9 November. Grynszpan was arrested by the Parisian police but, strangely, survived the war after postponements of trials.

Now (pp. 37 ff.) Weckert turns back to the Jewish “declaration of war” against Germany announced in the London *Daily Express* of March 1933, involving a boycott of German goods, a painful measure, since Germany had to (and still must) export or starve. Leading Jews outside of Germany, such as Samuel Untermyer, then joined the incitement against Germany, even long before the Nuremberg laws of 1935. Many Jews in Germany itself reacted in astonishment and with discomfort at such incitement against Germany and asked that Jews outside of Germany cease the incitement. The Germans undertook a mild countermeasure, a one-day boycott of Jewish businesses on Saturday (!), 1 April 1933. Jabotinsky, a leading Zionist born in Russia, joined forces with Untermyer to continue ruthlessly the boycott of German goods. In 1936 a Jew, David Frankfurter, murdered a prominent National Socialist in Switzerland, Wilhelm Gustloff (pp. 69-71). This crime had some rather striking similarities to the murder of Ernst vom Rath in 1938 and also seems to have been supported by an organization, the identity of which cannot be definitely established, but could very well be presumed to have been the LICA (Ligue internationale contre l'antisémitisme) in Paris. The influential *Völkischer Beobachter* of 8 November, 1938 called attention to the similarities of the crimes committed by Frankfurter and Grynszpan. In conjunction with the account of the murder of Wilhelm Gustloff, it might have been pointed out that Gustloff was such an important man that a large passenger ship was named for him in 1937, which was sunk in 1945 with a huge loss of life.

Much of this book seems almost like a fictional murder mystery, but of course far, far more is involved here. The question of the responsibility for the “Reichskristallnacht” is of great importance for the political, economic and psychological well-being, not only of the German nation, but of all Aryan nations because this question has to do with their unity and cooperation.

Weckert attempts to establish this responsibility, as far as that is presently possible, by various approaches, the most important of which are:

1. Examination of available information as to what German leaders (Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, Himmler, Heydrich, et al.) were doing and where they were on the night of 9 November 1938.

2. Ascertaining their attitudes toward the riots after they took place.
3. Examination of what various persons and groups (notably the Zionists) had to gain or lose by the riots and their economic effects (cui bono?).
4. Examination of the evidence and testimony from trials and investigations conducted by the National Socialist government itself shortly after the riots.
5. Examination of the evidence and testimony brought out by postwar trials conducted by Allied authorities and German courts.
6. Pointing out mistakes in logic and interpretation of evidence made by various historians and propagandists hostile to National Socialism as well as the conflicting nature of their writings.
7. Investigation of the authenticity of various key documents and the reliability of various witnesses.
8. Relating the history of the status of Jews in Germany during 1933-1938 to the events of 9-10 November, 1938.

The ninth of November 1938 was the day on which prominent National Socialists gathered in Munich to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the march on the Feldherrnhalle in 1923, but during the course of the day mysterious strangers had appeared in towns in Hesse to urge violence against Jewish property (pp. 77 ff., 125-126). An SA Standartenführer in Marburg refused to destroy the synagogue there.

Weckert pokes fun at the conflicting accounts of various historians, especially with regard to the role of Reinhard Heydrich (1904-1942; head of the Sicherheitspolizei, murdered in 1942 when he was Deputy Reichsprotektor of Bohemia and Moravia). Her discussions of the inconsistencies and absurdities of various historians' accounts of Heydrich's role, or lack of it, in the riots are written with irony and even a bit of humor (pp. 89-96). She continues in her next section (pp. 96-103) with a refutation of the writings and methods of various historians, but particularly those of Hermann Graml, whose book on the "Reichskristallnacht" appeared in 1958 and is also discussed by Weckert in many parts of her book.

One of the most important questions with which the book deals is the actual extent of property damage and the number of killings resultant from the riots (pp. 127-143, 181-188, 207). The data from various (allegedly!) German sources alone is conflicting and dependent on such questions as to what constituted a synagogue and how many were later destroyed by Allied bombings. If there were 177 synagogues destroyed and there had been 1,420, that would be approximately 12% destroyed (p. 135). One report mentions 844 destroyed shops and department stores, another report mentions 7,500. Even if the latter figure were correct, it would represent 7½% of the total. One report mentions 36 killings, another 91.

Of 28 Sturmabteilung (SA) *Gruppen*, only three are reported to have participated in destructive actions (p. 174). If 7,000 demonstrators were involved, that would be only 1/100 of 1% of the German population of that time.

The author, who studied Hebrew and later lived in Israel for quite some time, devotes a section (pp. 209-216) to the relation of Jews to their host populations. She points out the ancient religious factors causing hostility toward Jews and Jews' distancing themselves from their host populations with the resultant rise of Zionism, which, in turn, was in agreement with National Socialist efforts to help Jews to emigrate. Even today laws pertaining to citizenship in Israel have a strong similarity to the much maligned Nuremberg Laws of 1935. It seems to me that Weckert should also have mentioned two powerful sources of hostility toward Jews after 1917, the role at-

tributed to Jews in the brutality of the Communist revolution and the earlier years of Soviet government and the perception that Jews enriched themselves by the hyperinflations in many European countries in the early 1920s.

The author's conclusions are summarized on pp. 251-273:

Actually, there is no absolute certainty as to the responsibility for the "Reichskristallnacht." She argues effectively that there can be little doubt about the complicity of the LICA in the murder of vom Rath and points out the enigmatic survival of the young Jew who murdered him. The question of who paid the great costs of Grynspan's poor parents' emigration to Palestine also suggests the complicity of a financially powerful organization. There was apparently a need felt by some Zionists, such as Jabotinsky, for a murder of a prominent German official by a Jew and vom Rath just happened to be the victim. If the objective of the murder had been to precipitate a pogrom in Germany, there were a number of historical antecedents, such as the murder of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. (The reaction of the Russian government to this crime, we might note in passing, stimulated a huge migration of Jews to the United States.)

If the riots against Jews in Germany had been instigated by the National Socialist government itself, such an action would have been met with so little approval on the part of the German population as a whole that it would have caused a decline in popular support of the National Socialist Party, as its leading figures knew very well. Not only Zionists, but also other groups inside and outside of Germany looked on any trouble for National Socialism as being to their advantage. Hitler himself ordered a cessation of the violence against Jews, as is clearly shown by the teletyped message from Hitler's office reproduced on page 117. Himmler ordered the SS and German police to be responsible for protecting Jews.

One result of the riots was an intensified effort to assist Jews to emigrate by economic aid and affording them the opportunity of transferring their assets abroad. A major factor frustrating this effort was the lack of willingness of other countries to accept Jewish immigrants, as the Evian Conference had shown in the summer of 1938 (p. 227). In the summer of 1940 Heydrich, who had been made head of the Reichszentrale für die jüdische Auswanderung in 1939, wrote to Ribbentrop and acknowledged that an emigration of Jews (the real meaning of the term *Endlösung*, the "final solution") had been brought largely to a standstill and that a territorial resettlement would have to serve as a substitute measure to clear the Reich of Jews. Even the record of the Wannsee Conference of 20 January, 1942 confirms this. Many Germans witnessed the glass on the sidewalks on the morning of 10 November, 1938 and the exaggeration of the events of the previous night have been a powerful tool for instilling a feeling of guilt in the German population after the war, even though there is no proof that leading figures of the National Socialist government were the instigators.

Pages 283-301 contain notes and an extensive bibliography. There are a number of minor errors in the book which might have been eliminated by a more thorough proofreading. On page 77, line 6, the word *Vortag* would make sense after *am*. Evian is in France, not Switzerland (p. 227).

Ingrid Weckert's *Feuerzeichen* is a lucid work obviously based on years of energetic research. It is of primary significance for understanding correctly and in a proper perspective not only the details of the events of 9 November 1938, as far as that is presently possible; it also contains a wealth of incisively presented background material and analysis of the results of those events, which contributed to touching off an avalanche of suffering, far more on the part of Aryans than of Jews themselves. *Feuerzeichen* effectively refutes much careless, malicious or mendacious

nonsense that has been written and spoken about the “Reichskristallnacht.” It deserves to be translated into English.

Source: vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 489-503.

Historical News and Comment

New Documents Raise New Doubts as to Simon Wiesenthal's War Years

The Institute for Historical Review has recently received copies of a transcript of a sworn interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, which was conducted in 1948. The copies, certified as "true and correct," were obtained from the National Archives in Washington, D.C. To our knowledge this transcript has never been published or cited, in whole or in part. The interrogation contains statements by Simon Wiesenthal which may shed new light on his activities during the Second World War. A comparison of these statements with certain other sworn statements of Wiesenthal and with his account of the period 1939-1945 in his memoirs reveals a number of discrepancies which raise new doubts about Wiesenthal's credibility as to his activities during the war.

Simon Wiesenthal is the world's most famous "Nazi"-hunter. His claim to have brought Adolf Eichmann and more than a thousand other Third-Reich "war criminals" to justice has become the stuff of popular myth, familiar to tens of millions through his own writings as well as through fictionalized treatments of his career in bestselling thrillers and film and television hits. Wiesenthal's activities and example, more than those of any other man, have kept alive and institutionalized the international drive to track down and punish Germans and others alleged to have persecuted Jews during the Second World War. Few men of the postwar era have been honored as frequently as has Wiesenthal: a list of his decorations, medals, orders, and honorary degrees, including a special gold medal awarded by the U.S. Congress and presented him by a teary-eyed President Jimmy Carter, would fill two pages in this journal.

Fundamental to Simon Wiesenthal's moral authority as a "Nazi"-hunter, and serving also as the basis for his expertise on the crimes and criminals of Axis Europe, has been the story of his experiences at the hands of the Germans during the war. According to Wiesenthal's public account of his war years, as told in his *The Murderers Among Us*, and repeated in countless speeches and interviews, he endured almost continual suffering as a German prisoner from July 1941 to May 1945, when he was liberated by American troops at Mauthausen. His time as a concentration camp inmate and "slave" laborer, his numerous narrow escapes from execution by his captors, and his witness to countless crimes and atrocities carried out against other Jews stamp him not merely as a survivor but as an accuser and avenger.

While doubts and even accusations have been raised in the past as to Wiesenthal's conduct during the war years, there has so far been no hard evidence made public in support of allegations, frequently raised, that Wiesenthal "collaborated" with the Germans. Nor, to our knowledge, has an exhaustive comparison of Wiesenthal's separate statements on his wartime experiences been undertaken.

New Evidence

Last spring IHR was able to obtain a certified copy of a transcript of an interrogation which took place on two consecutive days, May 27 and May 28, 1948. [1] The interrogator was Curt Ponger; the man Ponger was questioning, Simon Wiesenthal. The interrogation is described as having been brought about by (*auf Veranlassung von*) a Mr. Niederman, and was recorded stenographically by M. Fritsche. There is no indication of the place where the interrogation took place.

The transcript of that portion of the interrogation which took place on May 27, between 11 and 12 o'clock, runs to nine-and-a-half, double-spaced, typewritten, 8½ × 11-inch pages. That of the following day, which was conducted between 11:30 and 12 o'clock (both times are presumably A.M., although this is not explicitly stated) covers nearer seven pages identical in size and format to the transcript of the first day's interrogation.

The May 27 transcript consists of twenty-eight questions and answers, that of May 28, twenty questions and answers. Answer No. 4 of the first day's interrogation is this statement by Simon Wiesenthal: "I swear by the Almighty and All-knowing God that I will say the absolute truth, conceal nothing and add nothing, so help me God". ("Ich schwore bei Gott dem Allmaechtigen und Allwissenden, dass ich die reine Wahrheit sagen, nichts verschweigen und nichts hinzufuegen werde, so wahr mir Gott helfe").

Discrepancies

Among the sworn statements made by Simon Wiesenthal during this investigation are:

- that he was employed as a "Soviet chief engineer in Lvov [in German: Lemberg; in Polish: Lwow; in Ukrainian: Lviv] and Odessa" during the Soviet occupation of September 1939-June 1941;
- that he served as first a lieutenant and then a major in a Soviet partisan unit following his escape from German custody in October 1943;
- that he was about to be executed by the Germans as a partisan leader but was able to save his life by joining a group of Jews in German custody.

These sworn statements conflict with Simon Wiesenthal's account of his wartime years presented in *The Murderers Among Us*, his published memoirs, and with certain other sworn statements Wiesenthal has made regarding his war years. The above discrepancies, and a number of others evident when Wiesenthal's several accounts of his activities between September 1939 and May 1945 are compared, raise grave doubts as to the "Nazi"-hunter's credibility, and prompt a further question: What did Simon Wiesenthal actually do during the Second World War?

Three Stories Compared

In the following pages we have attempted a preliminary comparison of three different reports, each of which is an authoritative statement by Simon Wiesenthal. The reports are:

- the 1948 interrogation of Wiesenthal described above;
- a sworn statement which Wiesenthal submitted to the West German government when applying for reparations in 1954;[2]
- and the account of his wartime years which appears in *The Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Memoirs*, published in English in 1967.[3]

It should be stated at the outset that the aim in comparing these statements is not to attempt to impeach Wiesenthal's credibility by fastening on unimportant differences in detail, or by stressing omissions which may be understandable in view of the differing length and purpose of these documents. Nor is it implied that any of Simon Wiesenthal's statements, even when corresponding in the several documents, is to be taken at face value.

The Period September 1939-June 1941

During this period Simon Wiesenthal claims to have been a resident of Lvov, the metropolis of Galicia, which had been part of post-World-War-I Poland until, in consequence of the partition of Poland agreed on by Germany and the USSR in August 1939, it was occupied by the Soviets the following month.

According to *The Murderers Among Us*, Wiesenthal, as a "bourgeois" Jew (with his own architectural practice), ran the danger of being arrested by the NKVD, the Soviet secret police. We learn that both his stepfather and his stepbrother were arrested: the stepfather later died in jail and the stepbrother was eventually shot by the Soviets. The account of Wiesenthal's time under Soviet rule continues:

The Russians issued many "bourgeois" Jews so-called Paragraph 11 passports, which made them underprivileged, second-class citizens, not permitted to live in larger cities or within a hundred kilometers of any border. They lost good jobs and had their bank accounts confiscated. Proving himself a resourceful man under pressure, Wiesenthal bribed an NKVD commissar and obtained regular passports for himself, his wife, and his mother. A few months later, all Jews with "Paragraph 11" passports were deported to Siberia, where many died. The Wiesenthals managed to stay in Lwow, but Wiesenthal's days as an independent architect were over. He was glad to find a badly paid job as a mechanic in a factory that produced bedsprings. [4]

Wiesenthal gives a rather different statement as to his position under the Soviet regime in his 1948 interrogation. There he sums up his activities during the Soviet occupation in these words: "... between 1939-1941 Soviet chief engineer working in Lvov and Odessa" (" ... zwischen 1939-1941 sowjetischer Hauptingenieur in Lemberg und Odessa"). [5]

These two contrasting statements suggest several questions. Is the evident discrepancy to be accounted for by Wiesenthal's desire to present himself in his memoirs, published during the "Cold War," as primarily a victim of the Soviet regime, who narrowly escaped the fate of his stepfamily? Has he lied about the badly paid job as a mechanic in a factory that produced bedsprings? If it is true that Wiesenthal avoided deportation to Siberia for himself, his wife, and his mother by bribing an NKVD commissar, how much more might this "bourgeois" Jew have had to pay to obtain a position as a "Soviet chief engineer"? Or, finally, are we to understand that Wiesenthal's "collaboration" with the Soviet invaders was occasioned by a mutual sympathy between the Jewish "bourgeois" and the Communist invaders?

Escape from Lvov to the Partisans (?), October 1943

On June 22, 1941 the Germans and their allies invaded the Soviet Union; eight days later the first Germans entered Lvov. Just before they left, the Soviet authorities had massacred several thousand political opponents in the city's prisons. Most of the victims were Ukrainian nationalists, and the discovery of the slaughter unleashed a pogrom of epic proportions against the Jews of

Lvov, who were hated by many of the city's Poles and Ukrainians for their Soviet sympathies and for their enthusiastic cooperation with the NKVD. [6]

Simon Wiesenthal came into the hands of the Germans in early July 1941, by his telling. The three statements compared in this article mention at least two different arrests, one by Ukrainian auxiliary police, after which Wiesenthal claims to have narrowly escaped death; the other by soldiers of the Wehrmacht, who rounded up Wiesenthal and other Jews for hard labor at the railway yard. Here is not the place to analyze the conflicting accounts or to evaluate their credibility; nor to examine in depth Wiesenthal's stories as to his activities from July 1941 to October 1943, during which time he claims to have worked, first as a sign-painter, then as a draftsman, at the Ostbahn Ausbesserungswerk (Eastern Railroad Repair Works — OAW). For the purposes of this study it is enough to state that in his memoirs, Wiesenthal claims to have been in close co-operation with the Polish underground while at the OAW, and to have supplied them with detailed maps showing the vulnerable points of the Lvov railway junction. [7] He further alleges that he became so friendly with a sympathetic National Socialist superior, Oberinspektor Adolf Kohlrautz, that Kohlrautz permitted Wiesenthal to conceal two pistols in his (Kohlrautz's) desk. [8]

According to the shortest account of his escape and recapture, Wiesenthal's 1954 sworn application for reparations:

On October 17, 1943, immediately before the imminent liquidation of the Lvov camp, I fled from the camp and hid myself in a barn at acquaintances in the vicinity of Lvov. On January 13, 1944, on the occasion of a close search of this locality by the SD and Gestapo, I was discovered and committed to the Lacki Gestapo prison in Lvov.

(Am 17. Oktober 1943, unmittelbar vor der bevorstehenden Liquidierung des Lagers Lemberg flüchtete ich vom Lager und hielt mich in einer Scheune bei Bekannten in der Nähe von Lemberg versteckt. Am 13. Jänner 1944 anlässlich der Durchkämmung dieser Ortschaft durch SD und Gestapo wurde ich entdeckt und in das Gestapogefängnis Lacki in Lemberg eingeliefert.) [9]

That there is little chance of a casual mistake in the dates is shown by an affidavit which immediately follows the reparations application:

I hereby affirm in lieu of oath that I was interned in the Lvov forced labor camp from October 20, 1941 until my escape on October 17, 1943.

I further affirm that — after I was caught — I was in custody on January 13, 1944 until March 19, 1944 in the Gestapo prison in Lvov on Lacki Street.

(Ich versichere hiermit an Eides statt, daß ich — im Zwangsarbeitslager Lemberg vom 20. Oktober 1941 bis zu meiner Flucht am 17. Oktober 1943 inhaftiert war.

Weiters versichere ich, daß ich — nachdem ich aufgegriffen wurde — am 13. Jänner 1944 bis zum 19. März 1944 im Gestapogefängnis in Lemberg auf der Lacki-Straße in Haft war.) [10]

In each of the other two Wiesenthal statements under analysis, the "Nazi"-hunter claims to have escaped from German custody in Lvov on October 2, 1943. The date of his recapture is given in both these statements as *June* 13, 1944, exactly five months later than the date claimed in

Wiesenthal's reparations application. Other than this agreement as to dates, Wiesenthal's 1948 interrogation and his memoirs differ in virtually every particular.

According to Wiesenthal's memoirs, in late September 1943 Wiesenthal and the other Jews working at the OAW were ordered to be sent under guard nightly to the Lvov (Lemberg) concentration camp. Sensing his impending doom, Wiesenthal prepared his escape. The obliging Kohlrautz, "who often permitted him to go to town to buy drafting supplies," arranged for Wiesenthal to be accompanied by a "stupid-looking Ukrainian" policeman on a shopping expedition with Arthur Scheiman, another Jewish inmate. Naturally Kohlrautz permitted Wiesenthal to retrieve the two pistols he had hidden in the "good Nazi"'s desk.

After giving their escort the slip, Wiesenthal and Scheiman repaired to the Lvov apartment of a friend in the "Polish underground" (precisely which political affiliation is left unstated). After some days of concealment there and in Scheiman's house in the country, Wiesenthal and Scheiman found shelter in an apartment of other "friends," where the two hid out under the floorboards until their recapture. Wiesenthal possessed not only arms but a diary and "a list of SS guards and their crimes that he'd compiled, believing that one day it might be useful." On the evening of June 13, 1944 Wiesenthal was discovered under the floor, in possession of his pistol, diary, and list of SS men by two Polish plainclothes detectives and an SS man. Thus Wiesenthal's story as presented in *The Murderers Among Us*. [11]

On May 27, 1948 Wiesenthal told Curt Ponger under sworn oath that: "On October 2, 1943 [having] fled from Janovska [or Lemberg] concentration camp; I [joined?] a partisan group which operated in the Tarnopol-Kamenopodolsk area" ("Am 2. Oktober 1943 vom K.L. Janovska gefluechtet, habe ich mich an eine Partisanengruppe, welche in den Raum Tarnopol-Kamenopodolsk operiert hat"). [12]

During the next day's interrogation session, Wiesenthal went into much more detail. Aside from facing Ukrainian police formations and the Ukrainian-manned SS "Galicia" division, Wiesenthal's unit fought mostly against partisans from the UPA, or Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the military arm of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. According to Wiesenthal, as the Germans fell back and the front moved nearer at the start of 1944, the situation in his sector grew so chaotic that Soviet aircraft sometimes bombed his unit by mistake. With four or five different partisan groups at large in the same territory, "In January 1944 there was such confusion that one didn't know who was for him and who was against him. Whoever so much as stuck his head out of the woods would be shot at" ("Es war im Januar 1944 so ein Durcheinander, dass man nicht wusste, wer mit wem und wer gegen wen war. Wer nur seinen Kopf aus dem Wald streckte, auf den wurde geschossen"). [13]

After informing his interrogator that his partisan unit paid local farmers in dollars for provisions, Wiesenthal was asked: "Where did you get the dollars?" ("Woher bekamen Sie die Dollar?"). He answered as follows:

The Russian partisans had dollars, usually 100-dollar bills. We buried at least 70-80 thousand dollars. In any event the Russian liaison man with us always had enough dollars available ... (Die russischen Partisanen haben Dollar gehabt, meistens 100-Dollarstuecke. Wir haben mindestens 70-80 Tausend Dollarnoten vergraben. Jedenfalls der russische Verbindungsmann, der mit uns war, hat immer genug Dollar zur Verfuegung gehabt...) [14]

Asked about the rank he held, Wiesenthal answered this way:

I had a high rank, I was immediately made a lieutenant on the basis of my intellect, then was promoted to major, and finally the commander said “If you come through this alive, then you're a lieutenant colonel.” I helped very much in building bunkers and fortification lines. We had fabulous bunker constructions. My rank was not so much as a strategic expert as a technical expert.

(Ich hatte einen hohen Rang. Ich kam direkt dorthin auf Grund des Intelligenzgrades als Leutnant, dann wurde ich zum Major befoerdert und zum Schluss sagte der Kommandierende, “wenn du die Sache ueberlebst, dann bist du Ober[st]leutnant.” Ich habe sehr viel mitgeholfen beim Bau der Bunker und Befestigungslinien. Wir haben grossartige Bunkerkonstruktionen gehabt. Mein Grad war nicht soviel als strategischer Fachmann wie als technischer Fachmann.) [15]

Although Wiesenthal never states explicitly the affiliation of his partisan unit, it seems clear from his remarks that it was part of the Armia Ludowa (People’s Army), the Soviet-organized and -manned “Polish” guerrilla force. After his unit was surrounded in February, and forced to split up and escape through the German lines, Wiesenthal describes being hidden by friends in Lvov as follows:

We knew addresses, KIGNI — was the liaison man between AK and us. The sharp differences between AK and AL didn’t exist yet. AK was nationalist and antisemitic and AL was not antisemitic. AK thus took in Jews in Lemberg, since the pressure of the Germans in Lvov was much stronger than in any other district.

(Wir wussten Adressen, KIGNI — war der Verbindungsmann zwischen AK und uns. Die krassen Unterschiede zwischen AK und AL war noch nicht. AK war national und antisemitisch und AL war nicht antisemitisch. AK hat in Lemberg deshalb Juden aufgenommen, weil der Druck der Deutschen in Lemberg viel staerker war wie in irgendeinem anderen Gebiet.) [16]

From the context, and in view of Wiesenthal’s earlier statements concerning his unit, as to “the Russian partisans” and “the Russian liaison man,” “us” in the above passage would seem to refer to the AL, the military arm of the Communist regime the Soviets were to install in Poland at the end of the war.

Whatever the precise identity of the partisan group Wiesenthal claims to have served in, the question remains: Which, if any, of Wiesenthal’s accounts of what he was doing between October 1943 and June (or is it January) 1944 is to be believed?

In the Hands of the Gestapo(?)

As has been mentioned, Wiesenthal claims in his memoirs to have been recaptured in an apartment in Lvov, with a pistol, a diary, and a list of SS men and their crimes, by two Polish detectives and an SS man on June 13, 1944. This version contrasts markedly with Wiesenthal’s affirmation in 1954 that his recapture took place in a barn near Lemberg, where he claims to have been discovered by the Gestapo and the SD (Sicherheitsdienst, the security service of the German National Socialist Workers' Party) on January 13, 1944 (see above).

That Wiesenthal’s sworn 1948 account of his recapture differs, once more, from his other stories will by now probably not surprise the reader. To be sure, his 1948 version exhibits similarities to that in *The Murderers Among Us*: he is captured, armed, hiding under the floor in an apartment in

Lvov on June 13, 1944. According to his 1948 interrogation, however, Wiesenthal had on him not a diary and a list of SS misdeeds, but “different notes,” “certain notes regarding the entire partisan area of operations” (“verschiedene Aufzeichnungen,” “gewisse Aufzeichnungen ueber das gesamte Partisanengebiet”). [17]

Both in 1948 and when composing his memoirs, Wiesenthal was quite conscious that the fate of an escaped Jew who had fallen into the hands of the Germans in 1944 armed with a pistol and either a list of SS war criminals or detailed notes on partisan activity would be regarded as rather precarious. In the memoirs, Wiesenthal is taken to a police outpost on Smolki Square, where he has his first bit of good fortune, for unbeknownst to the SS man, a venal Polish policeman relieves him of his pistol: “If a German had found the gun, he would have shot Wiesenthal at once.”

Then:

From Smolki Square, Wiesenthal was taken back to the concentration camp. Only a few Jews had survived: tailors, shoemakers, plumbers — artisans the SS still needed for a while. Wiesenthal knew that after reading his diary and his list of SS torturers with specific details, the Gestapo would have enough evidence to hang him ten times. [18]

According to both his memoirs and his 1948 interrogation, Wiesenthal staved off a quick execution by slashing his wrists. Even then, according to his 1948 version, it was his notes on partisan operations which saved him:

... I owe it especially to this circumstance that I wasn't killed immediately like so many Jews, since the notes appeared to be very valuable and therefore I entered the hospital after my suicide attempt. It was very rare that a Jew was admitted to a prison hospital.

(... diesem Umstand verdanke ich speziell, dass ich nicht gleich wie so viele Juden umgelegt wurde, denn die Aufzeichnungen schienen sehr wertvoll zu sein und darum kam ich in ein Gefaengnissspital, nach dem von mir veruebten Selbstmordversuch. Das war ein sehr seltener Fall, dass ein Jude in ein Gefaengnissspital kam.) [19]

In *The Murderers Among Us* Wiesenthal's suicide attempt is prompted by the appearance of SS Oberscharführer Oskar Waltke, “perhaps the most feared man in Lvov.” Waltke, against whom Wiesenthal testified at his 1962 trial in Germany, is described in the following chilling terms:

Waltke, a cold, mechanical sadist, was in charge of the Gestapo's Jewish Affairs Section in Lwow. His speciality was to make Jews with false Polish papers confess they were Jews. He tortured his victims until they made the admission and then he sent them to be shot. He also tortured many Gentiles until they admitted to being Jews just to get it over with. Waltke's name had been on Wiesenthal's private list, which Waltke must have studied with great interest. Wiesenthal knew that Waltke wouldn't simply have him shot. He would first submit him to his very special treatment. As Wiesenthal was led into the dark courtyard where the truck from the Gestapo prison stood waiting, he took out a small razor blade that he'd kept concealed in his cuff for such a moment.

“Get in, *Kindchen*, quick!” Waltke said.

With two fast movements, Wiesenthal cut both wrists. [20]

Thereafter, according to his memoirs, Wiesenthal is committed to the prison hospital, where two more suicide attempts fail. There he is restored to health with “a special diet of strong soups, liver, and vegetables” prescribed by the solicitous sadist Waltke so that he can get on with his “interrogation” all the more quickly.

If Wiesenthal’s memoirs and his interrogation in 1948 represent the truth accurately, this interrogation never took place, which makes the following sentence in his 1954 reparations application all the more interesting: “There [in the Lacki Gestapo prison] I was fearfully tortured by Unterscharführer Waltke and to put an end to these tortures, I cut open my veins” (“Dort wurde ich vom Unterscharführer Waldtke [sic] furchtbar gefoltert und um diese Folterungen ein Ende zu setzen, habe ich mir die Pulsadern aufgeschnitten”). [21]

How to account for the survival of a Jew caught with a gun and, to say the least, compromising documents? Is Wiesenthal’s 1954 claim to have been tortured simply one more roccoco furbelow on his story of persecution, or do his other two accounts suppress an actual event which might have resulted in Wiesenthal’s having been “turned,” and thus spared as a Gestapo agent? (One can speculate on what might have been Wiesenthal’s fate had he escaped once more to his alleged partisan unit and been trapped in such contradictions about his treatment in the hands of the German secret police.)

'I Didn't Wish to Die ...'

Wiesenthal’s 1954 story of his recovery from his suicide attempt and his evacuation from Lvov in July 1944 is short and simple. After his torture by Waltke:

Although it was somewhat unusual, I was admitted to the prison hospital and was delivered on March 19, 1944 to the Lemberg [Lvov] Concentration Camp, which was just being established. There were in all about 100 inmates and a larger camp guard, which, under the leadership of Hauptsturmführer Warzok, preferred not to go to the front. In the camp I carried out small tasks for the camp command and the camp kitchen until July 19, 1944.

On July 19, 1944—it was about 10 days before the Russian entry into Lvov — the camp was evacuated ...

(Obwohl es etwas ungewöhnlich war, kam ich in das Gefängnishospital und wurde am 19. März 1944 in das sich neu formierende Konzentrationslager Lemberg eingeliefert. Es waren im ganzen c. 100 verschiedene Häftlinge und eine grössere KZ-Bewachung, die es unter der Leitung von Hauptsturmführer Warzok, vorgezogen hat, nicht an die Front zu gehen. In dem Lager verrichtete ich kleine Arbeiten für die Lagerkommandatur und KZ-Küche bis zum 19. Juli 1944.

Am 19. Juli 1944 — es waren ungefähr 10 Tage vor dem russischen Einmarsch nach Lemberg—wurde das Lager evakuiert ..) [22]

This dry account omits a dramatic incident recounted in both Wiesenthal’s memoirs and in his 1948 interrogation, whereby the “Nazi”-hunter narrowly escaped execution thanks to a providential Soviet aerial attack.

According to *The Murderers Among Us*, Wieselthal was to be tortured at last by the fiendish Waltke on July 17, on which day he and the other prisoners were summoned to the prison courtyard. There Wieselthal was assigned to a group of non-Jews slated for execution. Wieselthal describes what happened next as follows:

“We were probably going to be buried in a large mass grave,” Wieselthal remembers. “I looked at the others the way some people on an airplane look at their fellow travelers. If there should be a crash, they are thinking, these will be one’s companions in death. On the other side of the courtyard I saw a group of Jews. I wished I could be buried with them, not with the Poles and Ukrainians, but how could I get there? Suddenly there was a roar in the sky above us, and an explosion shook the courtyard. From Sapieha Street a cloud of fire and smoke went up into the air. The files from the tables were scattered all over the courtyard, and there was terrific confusion. I quickly ran across the courtyard and joined the Jews. A minute later two SS men put us on a truck and brought us back to the Janowska [i.e., Lemberg] concentration camp.” [23]

Herewith the same incident in his sworn statements of 1948:

On July 20 I was to be released from the prison hospital. We were taken to the prison yard, where the entire Gestapo and the SS and Police-Leader of Galicia were. They sorted us out according to the crime[s] we were charged with. In this way I was immediately selected for death, as a partisan chief ...

On the same day on which we stood in the yard, 11 o'clock in the morning, where unexpectedly there was a Soviet attack and some bombs fell, there arose confusion and a cloud of dust of about 200 meters [in height?]. The Gestapo gentlemen ran away immediately and a small group stood there. I didn't wish to die and exploited this confusion and ran the 20 steps to this Jewish group. We were all driven once again into the jail and I together with this group. Then there was an air alarm. An auto with sirens was driven around for this purpose. After an hour there was again an all-clear. Then it was, Jews out. A car came from Lemberg Concentration Camp to pick up the Jews.

(Am 20. Juli sollte ich vom Gefaengnisspital entlassen werden. Am 16. Juli kam die Sowjetische [sic] Offensive. Wir wurden auf den Gefaengnishof geholt, wo die gesamte Gestapo und der SS-u. Polizeiführer von Galyzien war. Die haben uns sortiert, je nach dem Verbrechen, das uns zur Last gelegt wurde. Auf diese [sic] Weise wurde ich sofort aussortiert zum Tode, als Partisanenhauptling ...

An demselben Tag, wo wir im Hof standen, 11 Uhr vormittags, wo unverhofft ein sowjetischer Angriff war und einige Bomben fielen, entstand ein Durcheinander und eine Staubwolke von ungefaehr 200 m. Die Gestapo-Herren liefen gleich weg und da stand eine kleine Gruppe. Ich wuenschte nicht, dass ich sterben sollte und habe dieses Durcheinander ausgenuetzt und bin diese 20 Schritte zu dieser juedischen Gruppe gelaufen. Dann war Fliegeralarm. Es ist zu diesem Zweck ein Auto mit Sirenen herumgefahren. Nach einer Stunde wurde wieder Entwarnung. Dann hiess es, Juden raus. Es kam ein Auto vom K.L. Lemberg, um die Juden abzuholen.) [24]

For what it's worth, then, Simon Wieselthal's sworn testimony of 1948 is that he was saved because he was a Jew as late as July 1944!

Conclusions

A sustained comparison of his several accounts of his evacuation westward, all of them differing in numerous particulars, will not be

undertaken here. The purpose of this brief study has been to make an internal criticism of Wiesenthal's credibility on his war years as reflected in several authoritative accounts he has provided of them, two of them sworn documents and the other his published memoirs.

The evident fact that Wiesenthal has more than once altered his story of the six most important years of his life must be considered in connection with his credibility as a "Nazi"-hunter. The ongoing and intensifying hunt for World-War-II criminals (so long as they were Germans, or German allies, accused of mistreating Jews or Communists) has brought to grief more than one man unable to account for what he was doing, in minute detail, forty-five years ago.

Thus John Demjanjuk, whose inability to remember in precisely which prison camp or holding pen he was held in at any given date contributed to his framing as "Ivan the Terrible" in Jerusalem. So Frank Walus, the wartime forced laborer from Poland whom Wiesenthal claimed to have documented as a member of the Gestapo until such humanitarians as Jerome Brentar of Cleveland were able to unearth insurance records which proved otherwise. It is time that competent authorities, in the United States and elsewhere, made a determined effort to establish the facts of Simon Wiesenthal's wartime career, by whatever means necessary. It is suggested that this time, if Mr. Wiesenthal is deposed under oath, appropriate penalties be imposed for deliberate misstatements.

Notes

1. [↗](#) The Wiesenthal interrogation is contained on one of the 91 rolls at the Archives entitled "Records of the U.S. Nuernberg War Crimes Trials Interrogations, 1946-1949" (Copy 1019, No. 79). These 91 rolls contain nearly 15,000 pretrial interrogation transcripts of over 2,250 individuals, conducted by the Interrogation Branch of the Evidence Division of the Office, Chief of Counsel for War Crimes (OCCWC). The orthography of the transcript, which among other things indicates the umlaut with the letter "e" rather than by the dieresis, has been followed above. :
2. [↗](#) This statement, "Eidesstattliche Erklfirung uber die Zeit meiner Verfolgung," has been published in *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation*, by Robert Drechsler, Vienna: *Dokumente zur Zeitgeschichte*, 1/1982 (July, 1982). Drechsler's account of Wiesenthal's life presents much useful informaton, particularly in regard to Wiesenthal's sustained legal squabbles with Bruno Kreisky and others, including Drechsler himself. The document cited was submitted to the "State Pension Board" (Landesrentenbehörde in Dusseldorf (North Rhine/Westphalia), is dated August 24, 1954, and bears Wiesenthal's address in Linz, Austria.
3. [↗](#) *The Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Memoirs* by Simon Wiesenthal (edited and with an introductory profile by Joseph Wechsberg, New York; Bantam Books, third printing, 1973. Following the usage in the title, we have referred to this book as Wiesenthal's "memoirs"; purists might style it his "authorized biography." Perhaps it could be said to lie somewhere between the two genres.
4. [↗](#) *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 25.
5. [↗](#) Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 27,1948,p.1.

6. ☞ According to historian Richard C. Lucas, at the time of the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland in 1939, “Jews in cities and towns displayed Red flags to welcome Soviet troops, helped to disarm Polish soldiers, and filled administrative positions in Soviet-occupied Poland ... The Soviets with Jewish help shipped off the Polish intelligentsia to the depths of the Soviet Union. Some monasteries and convents were turned over to the Jews.” *The Forgotten Holocaust*, Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986,p.128. The new rulers of Lvov and their Jewish helpers were just as unwelcome to the city’s Ukrainians.
 7. ☞ *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 28f.
 8. ☞ *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 29.
 9. ☞ “Eidesstattliche Erklärung uber die Zeit meiner Verfolgung,” in Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal*, p. 133.
 10. ☞ In Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal*, p. 135.
 11. ☞ *The Murderers Among Us*, pp. 33ff.
 12. ☞ Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 27, 1948,p.2.
 13. ☞ Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948,p.2.
 14. ☞ Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948, p.2.
 15. ☞ Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948,p. 5.
 16. ☞ Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28, 1948,p.4.
 17. ☞ Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28,1948,p.4f.
 18. ☞ *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 35.
 19. ☞ Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28,1948,p. 5.
 20. ☞ *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 35.
 21. ☞ In Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal*, p. 133f.
 22. ☞ In Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal*, p. 134.
 23. ☞ *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 36f.
 24. ☞ Interrogation of Simon Wiesenthal, May 28,1948,p. 6
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Source: vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 504-507.

Historical News and Comment

Dr. Karl Otto Braun: A Memorial Tribute

Mark Weber

Dr. Karl Otto Braun — German diplomat, businessman and Revisionist historian — passed away in Munich on 21 August 1988, shortly before his 78th birthday. He is also remembered as an uncommonly decent and honorable man. He is survived by his wife, Elisabeth, and two daughters. The eldest, Monica, gave birth to his first grandchild, a girl, in late 1987.

Dr. Braun was born on 31 August 1910 in Wolnzach, Bavaria, the son of a physician. Young Karl Otto received his secondary education at the prestigious *Wilhelmsgymnasium* in Munich and the humanistic Gymnasium in Coburg.

He studied English, history, geography and international law at the universities of Munich, London and Berlin, including study under the great historian Dr. Karl Alexander von Müller in Munich. Braun's special areas of emphasis were Manchuria, the League of Nations and the works of Shakespeare. After receiving his Dr. phil. (Ph.D.) in 1935, he studied Japanese at the University of Berlin's center for oriental languages. (He also spoke English, Italian, Spanish and French.)

He received a year of training for the diplomatic service at the German Foreign Office in Berlin, and then, from 1938 to November 1940, he served in Japan as a cultural attache with the German embassy in Tokyo and as an economic affairs Vice Consul with the German Consulate General in Osaka. From 1941 until the end of the Second World War he was with the East Asia section of the Political Department of the German Foreign Office in Berlin. During the final two years of the war, he headed the section. During that terrible period, he also lost his brother, Major Wilhelm Braun, who was killed in action in Poland in July 1944.

In the aftermath of the war, all former German officials with university degrees were subject to "automatic arrest" under the provision of the notorious U.S. occupation directives SCS 1067, regardless of whether or not they had been members of the National Socialist Party. Dr. Braun was accordingly seized by American occupation forces in 1945 and interned at the Dachau concentration camp, which was then run by U.S. authorities. He escaped in the fall of 1946, in part to avoid being forced to testify against his former colleagues. (A common American practice at the time was to coerce former German officials into testifying against their former colleagues by threatening to turn them over to the Soviets.)

After the escape, he fled with his wife and infant daughter to South Tyrol, the ethnically German region of northern Italy, where he worked for two years as a journalist. He then moved to Argentina where he worked in Buenos Aires for the German steel industry as an independent mer-

chant, 1948-1954. He returned to Germany where he was employed by major steel corporations until his retirement in 1975.

Dr. Braun devoted the final years of his life to historical research and writing, with a special emphasis on American foreign policy toward Germany and Japan under Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt.

As a conscientious scholar, Dr. Braun combined a devotion to truth and justice with careful attention to accuracy and detail. His firm belief in the ultimate triumph of historical truth, was reflected in a Latin phrase he often quoted: "Veritas magna est et praevalebit."

Dr. Braun's work on behalf of historical justice for Germany was rooted in an abiding devotion to the heritage and culture of his people. His search for historical truth was also motivated by a heartfelt concern for world peace and international harmony.

Although he served as an important official in a government which was at war with the United States. Dr. Braun had a genuine regard for America's welfare and long-term interests. He was very troubled, for example, by the threat posed by Zionist power and influence to America's national integrity and basic values.

Like so many others of the postwar generation, I learned a great deal from anecdotes of his diplomatic career. For example, he described Hitler's historic speech to the Reichstag on the afternoon of 11 December 1941, four days after Pearl Harbor. Sitting next to Rudolf von Ribbentrop, the son of the Reich Foreign Minister, he watched as Hitler recounted the reasons for the outbreak of war and the decision to strike against the Soviet Union, reviewed the dramatic course of the war thus far, and then explained why Germany was joining with Japan in war against the United States.

Dr. Braun told about his meeting in Berlin with the legendary Indian nationalist Subhas Chandra Bose, and his role in arranging Bose's dramatic submarine voyage from Europe to Asia.

Although he played no role in Germany's wartime Jewish policy, Dr Braun told what he knew about the so-called "final solution" policy, based on his conversations with Dr. Georg Leibbrandt, a friend who has represented the Reich East Ministry at the Wannsee conference of January 1942, where the "final solution" policy was coordinated. The two men had known each other since 1934. After the war, Leibbrandt emphatically told Braun in private that the "final solution" had been a policy, not of extermination, but rather of deportation to the occupied eastern territories. (This assessment is also abundantly confirmed by other evidence, including detailed German records found after the war.)

During the final decade of his life, Dr. Braun authored numerous historical essays and reviews, which appeared in a variety of West German publication, as well as a book, *Pearl Harbor in neuer Sicht* ("A new view of Pearl Harbor"), which was published by the respected publishing firms of Ullstein and Herbig.

Dr. Braun also translated a number of essays from English into German. For example, he translated and skillfully condensed an important essay by Tyler Kent, along with my introduction, from *The Journal of Historical Review* (Summer 1983) for publication in the German monthly *Nation Europa*, February 1984. In the same issue of *Nation Europa* was his translation of a presentation by Leon Degrelle from *The Journal of Historical Review* (Fall 1982). He also translated former U.S. Congressman Hamilton Fish's book *FDR: The Other Side of the Coin*, for which he also provided a foreword and footnotes for the German edition published in 1982.

Dr. Braun remained productive until the end. Even during his final days in the Munich hospital where he died, he worked on a translation of an American book about Franklin Roosevelt and Wall Street, a task which his youngest daughter has pledged to complete.

Dr. Braun was a good friend and supporter of the Institute for Historical Review. His first contribution to *The Journal of Historical Review* (Winter 1984) was a essay on the legacy of the policies of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt on Europe. He was a guest speaker at two IHR conferences. His first presentation was an informative and partially autobiographical address, "Reflections on German and American Foreign Policy, 1933-1945," to the February 1985 conference, which appeared in the Spring 1985 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

His younger daughter, Sabine, accompanied him to the October 1987 IHR Conference, where he spoke about Richard Sorge, the Soviet master spy who obtained tremendously important secrets for the Kremlin from the German embassy in Tokyo while working as the Japan correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* newspaper. Braun knew Sorge during his posting in Tokyo.

In spite of a serious physical disability, Dr. Braun was also an active outdoorsman and mountain climber who scaled several of Europe's highest peaks.

Both in person and in his correspondence, Karl Otto Braun was invariably kind, tactful and encouraging. He patiently and selflessly encouraged many others during the final decade of his life, and it gave him great pleasure to know younger men and women who would carry on the work that was so dear to his heart. He will be remembered with admiration and affection.

Dr. Braun's character and spirit were manifest in his address to the 1985 IHR conference. Each Revisionist historian, he said, must

... weigh his words carefully, must maintain a sense of balance and, about all, must stick to the facts. Revisionism has a mission. It is to find facts. Historical fact-finding has a purifying effect because it embodies the struggle for truth ... Nations should promote a regard for history, thereby strengthening their memory and power.

The dawn of another Renaissance is approaching! Believe me: Moral values have a more enduring life than shrewd tactics! If we stoop to the level of Marxist lies and self-deception, as Franklin Roosevelt did, we fall into the hands of our more cunning enemies; whereas if we keep ourselves on a morally elevated plane, we will emerge victorious. When all is said and done, our blue shining planet, our universe, is in the hands of God ...

Source: vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 507-509.

Historical News and Comment

The Strange Life of Ilya Ehrenburg

Mark Weber

Ilya Ehrenburg, the leading Soviet propagandist of the Second World War, was a contradictory figure.

A recent article in the weekly *Canadian Jewish News* sheds new light on the life of this “man of a thousand masks.” [\[1\]](#)

Ehrenburg was born in 1891 in Kiev to a non-religious Jewish family. In 1908 he fled Tsarist Russia because of his revolutionary activities.

Although he returned to visit after the Bolshevik revolution, he continued to live abroad, including many years in Paris, and did not settle in the Soviet Union until 1941.

A prolific writer, Ehrenburg was the author of almost 30 books. The central figure of one novel, *The Stormy Life of Lazik Roitschwantz*, is a pathetic “luftmensch,” a recurring character in Jewish literature who seems to live “from the air” without visible means of support .

As a Jew and a dedicated Communist, Ehrenburg was a relentless enemy of German National Socialism. During the Second World War, he was a leading member of the Soviet-sponsored Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee.

(At fund-raising rallies in the United States for the Soviet war effort, two leading members of the Committee displayed bars of soap allegedly manufactured by the Germans from the corpses of murdered Jews.)

Ehrenburg is perhaps most infamous for his viciously anti-German wartime propaganda. In the words of the *Canadian Jewish News*: “As the leading Soviet journalist during World War II, Ehrenburg’s writings against the German invaders were circulated among millions of Soviet soldiers.”

His articles appeared regularly in *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, the Soviet military daily, *Krasnaya Zvezda* (“Red Star”), and in numerous leaflets distributed to troops at the front.

In one leaflet headlined “Kill,” Ehrenburg incited Soviet soldiers to treat Germans as sub-human. The final paragraph concludes:

The Germans are not human beings. From now on the word German means to use the most terrible oath. From now on the word German strikes us to the quick. We shall

not speak any more. We shall not get excited. We shall kill. If you have not killed at least one German a day, you have wasted that day ... If you cannot kill your German with a bullet, kill him with your bayonet. If there is calm on your part of the front, or if you are waiting for the fighting, kill a German in the meantime. If you leave a German alive, the German will hang a Russian and rape a Russian woman. If you kill one German, kill another — there is nothing more amusing for us than a heap of German corpses. Do not count days, do not count kilometers. Count only the number of Germans killed by you. Kill the German — that is your grandmother's request. Kill the German — that is your child's prayer. Kill the German — that is your motherland's loud request. Do not miss. Do not let through. Kill. [2]

Ehrenburg's incendiary writings certainly contributed in no small measure to the orgy of murder and rape by Soviet soldiers against German civilians.

Until his death in 1967, "his support for the Soviet state, and for Stalin, never wavered," the *Canadian Jewish News* notes. His loyalty and service were acknowledged in 1952 when he received the Stalin Prize.

In keeping with official Soviet policy, he publicly criticized Israel and Zionism.

The *Canadian Jewish News* further writes:

... the recent disclosure that Ehrenburg arranged to transfer his private archives to Jerusalem's Yad Vashem library and archive, while still alive, comes as a stunning revelation.

The reason this information has come to light only now is that Ehrenburg agreed to transfer his archive on condition that the transfer, and his will, remain secret for 20 years after his death.

On Dec. 11 [1987], with the 20-year period expired, Israel's daily *Maariv* related Ehrenburg's story ... "

The collection includes material about the important wartime Jewish partisan movement. Among the documents in the collection is one concerning a pogrom in Malalchovka, a village near Moscow, which took place in 1959.

This new revelation about one of the most influential figures of the Stalinist regime shows that, whatever he may have said for public consumption, Ehrenburg never privately disavowed Zionism or ever forgot his ancestry.

Notes

1. ☞ Rose Kleiner, "Archives to throw new light on Ehrenburg," *Canadian Jewish News* (Toronto), 17 March 1988, p. 9.
2. ☞ Alfred de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam* (London: Roudedge & Kegan Paul, 2nd edition, 1979), pp. 6546, 201; and, Erich Kern (ed.), *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Munich: FZ-Verlag, 1988), pp. 260-61, 353-55.

Source: vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 509-511.

Historical News and Comment

George Bernard Shaw's Letter to the Editor, May, 1945

In Respect of the Irish Prime Minister's Condolences on the News of Adolf Hitler's Death

Ronald Klett

When Shaw's pamphlet "Common Sense About the War" appeared in late 1914, [1] some three and one-half months after the war had started, it raised an angry tempest in Britannia. Although it only stated (what after the war was well-nigh universally conceded to be true) that Germany was no more to blame for the war than were Britain and her allies, "G.B.S. became intensely unpopular [in Great Britain]. His plays were no longer performed. His appearance at any public function caused the instant departure of many of those present. Some of his friends disowned him." [2]

About thirty years and six months later, when Shaw is almost 89 years old, he publicly expresses views just as outrageous to the prevailing orthodoxy. His letter to The Times, London, appears ten days after the Second World War officially ends in Europe. These views are considered so shocking even today that, when, five or six years ago I searched in the several biographies of Shaws that I could find in a university library, I discovered no author who mentions the letter. The inspiration for it is the report that the Irish Prime Minister, Eamon de Valera, has visited the German Minister, at Dublin, to convey his condolences on the news of Adolf Hitler's death. This is Shaw's letter, published May 18, 1945, The Times, London, page 5, under the title "Eire and Hitler." [3]

"The correctness of the Taoiseach's [Prime Minister's] action when the death of the head of the German State was reported has been vindicated by Commander MacDermott. [4] But his letter does not cover the whole story. In 1943 the allies called upon the neutrals to deny asylum to Axis refugees, described for the occasion as war criminals. Portugal refused. The rest took it lying down, except Mr. de Valera. He replied that Eire reserved the right to give asylum when justice, charity, or the honor or interest of the nation required it. That is what all the neutrals ought to have said; and Miss Hinkson, [5] as an Irishwoman, will, on second thoughts, be as proud of it as I am. The voice of the Irish gentleman and Spanish grandee was a welcome relief from the chorus of retaliatory rancor and self-righteousness then deafening us.

"I have not always agreed with the Taoiseach's policy. Before the ink was dry on the treaty which established the Irish Free State I said that if England went to war she would have to reoccupy Ireland militarily, and fortify her ports. When this forecast came to the proof the Taoiseach nailed his colors to the top gallant, declaring that with his little army of 50,000 Irishmen he would fight any and every invader, even if England, Germany, and the United States attacked him simultaneously from all quarters, which then seemed a possible result of his attitude. And he got away with it triumphantly, saved, as Mr. Churchill has just pointed out. by the abhorred partition which gave

the allies a foothold on Ireland. and by the folly of the Führer in making for Moscow instead of for Galway [a county of Ireland].

“Later on I hazarded the conjecture that Adolf Hitler would end in the Dublin Viceregal Lodge, like Louis Napoleon in Chislehurst and the Kaiser [Wilhelm II] in Doorn. If the report of the Führer’s death proves unfounded this is still a possibility.

“It all sounds like an act from Victor Hugo’s *Hernani*, rather than a page of modern world-war history; but Eamon de Valera comes out of it as a champion of the Christian chivalry we are all pretending to admire. Let us recognize a noble heart even if we must sometimes question its worldly wisdom.

“Faithfully,

“May 15. G. Bernard Shaw.”

The letter reminds me of the words that Shaw fortune years earlier, in his play John Bull’s Other Island, Act II, put into the mouth of his character Peter Keegan: “My way of joking is to tell the truth. It’s the funniest joke in the world.”

Notes

1. ☺ *The New Statesman*, supplement, Nov. 14, 1914. Also printed, in three installments, *The New York Times*, 1914, Section 5, on Nov. 15, pp. 1-3; Nov. 22, pp. 1 & 2; and Nov. 29, pp. 1 and 2.
 2. ☺ St. John Ervine, *Bernard Shaw: His Life, Work, and Friends* (London: Constable & Co., 1956), p. 464.
 3. ☺ *The New York Times* prints this letter, May 19, 1945, p. 6, under the title “Shaw Hails de Valera for Mourning Hitler; Sees Dublin as Haven if Fuhrer Is Alive”; but the Associated Press news story omits part of one sentence and the whole of another, without troubling to inform the reader; and changes punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing.
 4. ☺ A. MacDermott, Commander, Royal Navy, whose letter, defending de Valera’s act, appears in *The Times*, London, May 15, 1945, p. 5.
 5. ☺ Pamela Hinkson, London, whose letter, protesting de Valera’s act, appears the same day and page as Commander MacDermott’s. She identifies herself in the letter as Irish.
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From the Editor

Theodore J. O’Keefe

Hysteron proteron was the Alexandrian grammarians’ term for inverting a sequence of words or ideas by putting first what normally comes afterward, in time or in logic. In view of the dramatic events of IHR’s Ninth Conference, which came to a rousing and successful conclusion just days before this issue of *The Journal* went to press, it is fitting that these editorial remarks begin with mention of the final piece of this quarter’s *JHR*.

No IHR conference has been more imperiled, more frenetic, more intellectually productive, and more successful than the just concluded Ninth. The success was in very large measure the doing of IHR’s director, J. Marcellus, who, just as in previous conferences, handled the myriad of details, large and small, which go into arranging and conducting an international Revisionist historical conference. This February was different, however: at the last minute not one, but two hotels with which IHR had binding contracts broke their agreements at the last minute, threatening the immediate ruin of our conference, sowing confusion among our speakers and guests, and auguring ill for the fate of future conferences.

As you’ll learn by reading [his “Historical News and Comment” account](#) of how IHR pulled off this most challenging of all conferences, Director Marcellus is a man of considerable sang-froid. Tom may never have been in the military, but, just as he did in the traumatic days and weeks following the July 4, 1984, terror arson, he exhibited not a few of the soldierly virtues. More than one general has had his horse shot out from under him on the field of battle; during this past conference J. Marcellus not only survived two such incidents, but rallied his troops and led them to glorious victory. You’ll read his gripping story of the background to IHR’s historic (as well as historical) Ninth Conference here; the April *IHR Newsletter* will carry a longer, illustrated report of the affair.

Now to the rest of our Spring 1989 issue. The incomparable Robert Faurisson leads off with an updated version of [his address](#) to the IHR’s Eighth Conference. Focussing chiefly on developments in France and on the 1985 Zündel trial, Faurisson gives a sweeping overview of the rise and progress of Revisionism in his native land and at the first Toronto trial. His usual meticulous attention to scholarly detail and his measured judgments of men and events lend “My Life As a Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)” both immediate and enduring value (by the way, plans are now afoot for an updated, illustrated book containing the pick of Robert Faurisson’s revisionist writings in English).

Our [next article](#), by the late William Hesseltine, first appeared in the May 9, 1945 issue of *The Progressive*, a left-of-center journal (still published today) which nevertheless, in the tradition of Wisconsin’s Progressive Senator Robert La Follette, expressed sympathy at the plight of the German people. In “[Atrocities, Then and Now](#)” Professor Hesseltine, an American historian with particular expertise in the history of Civil War prison camps, draws, with remarkable foresight and courage, a parallel between Union exploitation of the appalling conditions which prevailed

in Confederate camps for Union prisoners at the end of the Civil War and the virtually identical use the American leaders and their allies made of similar scenes in the German camps in the spring of 1945. *JHR* readers should recall Editorial Advisor Mark Weber's excellent piece on "The Civil War Concentration Camps," which appeared in the Summer 1981 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* [Vol. Two, no. 2].) Like Hesselstine, Dr. Clarence Lang **writes of governmental cruelty and hypocrisy during wartime**. In this case the cruelty and hypocrisy were Roosevelt's and Churchill's, for these Allied leaders deliberately rejected every effort, subsequent to the highly successful Red Cross aid to Greece in 1942, to relieve the suffering of the civilian populace in the Axis-occupied countries during World War II. To do otherwise would have impeded their policy of total war: a war total not only in the ferocity with which America and Britain waged it, not only in the costly extravagance of their unconditional surrender demands, but in the calculating cruelty of their treatment of civilian populations and in the cynical exploitation of the results of this treatment by an unrelenting atrocity propaganda.

This issue of *The Journal* features two book reviews. **The first** is of Carlos Porter's debunking of the Nuremberg "evidence" and "record" in his *Made in Russia: The Holocaust*. Then frequent *JHR* contributor John Ries **reviews a book** which examines the organizational and political prerequisites for National Socialism's broad appeal in one middle-sized university town, Marburg on the Lahn.

In "Historical News and Comment" Robert Faurisson, author of IHR's *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?*, **gives us a look at four different samples** of what is alleged to be the teenager's handwriting. Seeing is believing.

Dr. Lang, a long-time Lutheran pastor, **examines a German Jesuit's study** of the reaction of prominent Catholic churchmen to the alleged Holocaust" during the latter part of the war. Lang homes in on the seeming inconsistency between the hierarchy's public condemnation of German euthanasia measures and its supposed silence in the face of what is claimed to have been a far more ambitious extermination program. Christian anti-semitism? Or healthy skepticism regarding elusive rumors and wild propaganda claims? Dr. Lang concludes with a report of a very instructive meeting with the late Ludwig Volk, S. J.

Geoff Muirden, a first-time contributor from Australia, **voices some healthy Revisionist questions** about the work of a leading historian of the French Revolution, the Englishwoman Nesta Webster (whose *The French Revolution* may be ordered from IHR). Without detracting from Mrs. Webster's immense stature as a social historian, Muirden points to evidence tending to place limits on the explanatory power of what Establishment historians and their camp followers like to deride as "the conspiracy theory of history." *Journal* readers may be mindful of the late David Hoggan's defense of France's still controversial revolution in the Spring 1985 *JHR* ("Plato's Dialectic v. Hegel and Marx: An Evaluation of Five Revolutions"); here, as on many other historical issues, there is no Revisionist party line." In this, the bicentennial year of the fall of the Bastille and the march on Versailles, *The Journal of Historical Review* eagerly awaits informed criticism of, or assent to, Mr. Muirden's argument.

My Life as a Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)

ROBERT FAURISSON

- Paper Presented to the Eighth International Revisionist Conference.

What is usually called the “Faurisson Affair” began on 16 November 1978 with the publication of an article about me in the newspaper *Le Matin de Paris*. For several years I had realized that as soon as the press made public my opinions about Revisionism I would encounter a storm of opposition. By its very nature Revisionism can only disturb the public order; where certitudes quietly reign, the spirit of free inquiry is an intrusion and shocks the public. The first task of the courts is not so much to defend justice as it is to preserve law and order. The truth, in the sense in which I use the word (i.e., that which is verifiable), only interests judges if it does not upset law and order. I never had any illusions: they would haul me into court, I would be convicted, and there would also be physical attacks, press campaigns and an upheaval in my personal, family and professional life.

I presented my last I.H.R. conference paper in September of 1983. Its title was “Revisionism on Trial: Developments in France, 1979-1983.” *JHR*, Summer 1985, Vol 6, no. 2, pp. 133-182) This paper is the continuation of that earlier one. I have entitled it: “My Life as a Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987).” The period between 1979 and 1983 was marked in France by the use of legal weapons against Revisionism. The period 1983 to 1987 has been marked by a relaxation of that activity (but I am afraid that it is going to begin again in 1987-1988). In France, the Jewish organizations which took legal action against us were disappointed and even upset by the relative lightness of my conviction in April of 1983. They had expected better from the French courts. They wanted my hide but they got only a pound of flesh. They hoped that the judges would say: “Faurisson is a falsifier of history; his work on the gas chambers is full of frivolities, carelessness, deliberate oversights and lies; Faurisson is malicious and dangerous.” But on 25 April 1983, the judges of the first chamber of the Court of Appeal in Paris in a sense said: “Faurisson is a serious researcher; we find no frivolity, carelessness, deliberate oversights or lies in his writings about the gas chambers; but perhaps he is malicious and certainly he is dangerous; we condemn him for his probable maliciousness and for the danger he poses, but we do not condemn his work on the gas chambers, which is serious. On the contrary, since this work is serious, we guarantee every Frenchman the right to say, if he thinks so, that the gas chambers did not exist”

What the Jewish organizations could not achieve in France from 1979 to 1983, they then tried to accomplish in other countries, especially with the lengthy prosecution of Ernst Zündel in Canada. In 1984 and 1985 I actively participated in Zündel’s defense. In the first part of this paper I will deal with that trial, which, in spite of everything, brought about a leap forward in historical research. The second part of my account will deal with the many so-called “affairs” which, mainly in France, have marked both the failure of those who want to block historical research and also the success of those who are involved in such research. In a third section of this paper I will try

to review the achievements of Historical Revisionism up to now and to tell you what, in my opinion, are our prospects for the future.

My general impression is this: I am optimistic about the future of Revisionism but pessimistic about the future of Revisionists. Revisionism today is so vigorous that nothing will stop it; we need no longer fear the silent treatment. But Revisionist researchers are going to pay dearly for the spread of their ideas. It is possible that in some countries we will be reduced to some kind of samizdat activity, for we face increasing political and legal dangers, and our financial resources are dwindling (especially because of the expenses of our court appearances and convictions).

I. THE ZÜNDEL TRIAL (1985), OR “THE NUREMBERG TRIAL ON TRIAL”

The year 1985 is a great date in the history of Revisionism. It will be remembered as the year of the Zündel trial (or, to be more precise, of the *first* Zündel trial since a second trial is currently being prepared [and took place in 1988 -Ed.]).

Ernst Zündel

I think I know Ernst Zündel rather well. I met him in 1979 in Los Angeles at the first conference of the Institute for Historical Review. We have remained on good terms since then. In June of 1984 I went to Toronto, where he lives, to help him in his “pretrial” activities (“pretrial” being the period in which a Canadian judge decides whether the case before him should be brought to actual trial before a judge and jury). I returned in January of 1985 to Toronto, where, for almost the entire seven weeks of his trial, I again helped Zündel. In the future I will continue to help him as much as I can. He is an exceptional person.

Up until the trial he had worked as a graphic artist and publicist. He is 50 years old. Born in Germany in 1938, he has retained his German citizenship. His life has gone through serious upheavals since the day when, in the early 1980s, he began to distribute Richard Harwood’s Revisionist pamphlet, *Did Six Million Really Die?* The pamphlet, published for the first time in Great Britain in 1974, was the occasion of a long controversy in the British magazine *Books and Bookmen* in the following year. At the instigation of the South African Jewish community, Harwood’s pamphlet was banned in South Africa.

In 1984, in Canada, Sabina Citron, the head of the Holocaust Remembrance Association, organized violent demonstrations against Zündel. A bomb exploded at his house. The Canadian post office, treating Revisionist literature as it would pornography, refused Zündel the right to send or receive mail; he recovered his postal rights only after a year of legal wrangling. In the meantime his business had failed in spite of his excellent reputation in professional circles. At the instigation of Mrs. Citron, the Attorney General of the Province of Ontario charged Zündel with having published a false statement, tale or news liable to harm a public interest. Section 177 of the Canadian Criminal Code says the following:

Everyone who willfully publishes a statement, tale or news that he knows is false and that causes, or is likely to cause, injury or mischief to a public interest, is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

The charge against Zündel followed this line of reasoning: the defendant had abused his right to freedom of expression; by selling the Harwood pamphlet, he was spreading a story that he knew to be false; as a matter of fact, he could not be ignorant that the “genocide of the Jews” and the “gas chambers” were established facts. By his actions he was likely to affect social and racial

tolerance in the Canadian community” (*Transcripts*, p. 1682). Zündel was also charged with having personally written and mailed a letter, “The West, the War and Islam,” expressing the same ideas as the Harwood pamphlet.

Judge Hugh Locke presided; the prosecutor was Peter Griffiths. Ernst Zündel was defended by British Columbia lawyer Douglas Christie, assisted by Keltie Zubko. The jury consisted of 12 people. The English-speaking media gave the trial extensive coverage. It should be noted that the expenses of bringing the case to trial were paid for by the Canadian taxpayers, and not by Sabina Citron’s Holocaust Remembrance Association.

The jury found Zündel guilty of distributing the Harwood booklet, but did not convict him of writing the letter. Judge Locke sentenced Zündel to fifteen months in prison and forbade him to talk or write about the Holocaust. The German consulate in Toronto withdrew his passport. The Canadian government initiated deportation procedures against him. Before that, the West German authorities had launched massive, coordinated police raids on the homes of all Zündel’s German supporters, on a single day, throughout West Germany.

But Zündel had won a media victory. In spite of their obvious hostility, the media in general and television in particular had shown the English-speaking Canadian public that the Revisionists possessed documentation and arguments of top quality, while the Exterminationists had serious problems.

In the forty years that have gone by since the end of World War II, a new religion has developed: the religion of the Holocaust. It took shape at the Nuremberg Trial in 1945-46, which was followed by many other such trials, some of which are still going on. Numerous historians have made careers out of this religion: most notable among them is undoubtedly Raul Hilberg. A flock of witnesses, or so-called witnesses, had swarmed to the witness stands in the courts to support the existence of the genocide of the Jews and the use of homicidal gas chambers by the Germans: one of the most important of them was Rudolf Vrba.

In 1985, at the Zündel trial, the prosecution invoked, above all, the Nuremberg Trial, and secured the appearances of both Hilberg and Vrba. Zündel had predicted that his trial would “put the Nuremberg Trial on trial” and would be “the Exterminationists’ Stalingrad.” Events proved him right. The injustice of the Nuremberg Trial was made manifest, Hilberg was shown to be an incompetent historian, and Vrba was exposed as an impostor. I will not discuss the other witnesses called to the stand by Prosecutor Griffiths, least of all Arnold Friedman, who was offered as a witness to the Auschwitz gassings. Battered by lawyer Doug Christie’s questions, Friedman ended up confessing that although he had indeed been at Auschwitz-Birkenau (where he was forced to work only once, delivering potatoes), he could report nothing but hearsay about the alleged gassings.

The Injustice of the Nuremberg Trial

“International Military Tribunal”: people have noted that those three words contain three lies. This “tribunal” was not a tribunal in the usual sense of the word but rather an association of conquerors who intended to deal with the vanquished according to the principle that might makes right. It was not “military” since, of the eight judges who presided over it (two Americans, two British, two French and two Soviets), only the two Soviets were military judges, the most important of them being I.T. Nikitchenko, a prominent Stalinist who had presided over the infamous Moscow trials of 1936-37. The “tribunal” was not “international” but inter-allied. It was based on the London Agreement, which had defined war crimes, crimes against peace (preparation and

launching of an aggressive war), and crimes against humanity. The London Agreement was dated 8 August 1945, which meant that it came only two days after the Allies' obliteration of Hiroshima, and just 24 hours before the destruction of Nagasaki, while on the very date of 8 August, the Soviet Union was launching an aggressive war against Japan. The atomic bomb had been developed originally with the intention of using it against the cities of Germany; had that happened one wonders what kind of moral lesson the Allies could claim to have taught the Germans, as one wonders by what kind of right another "International Military Tribunal" judged the Japanese in Tokyo.

The "tribunal" had recourse to *ex post facto* laws and a theory of collective guilt. It judged without the possibility of appeal, which meant that it could be arbitrary, without fear of being reversed or overruled. It was a criminal trial, but there was no jury. The prosecution had formidable resources at its disposal, especially in its control of the enemy's captured war archives. The defense has only laughable resources; it was severely limited in what it could do and it was under careful surveillance. For example, the defense lawyers had no right to bring up the Treaty of Versailles, in order to show that National Socialism had developed in part as a reaction to the effects of that treaty.

Articles 19 and 21 of the Charter of the International Military Tribunal stated:

The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence ... [and shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge, but shall take judicial notice thereof.

Even worse, the same Article 21 in a sense gave the force of law to the reports of the war crime committees set up by the Allies.

The Nuremberg trial suggests to me the following analogy. At the end of a boxing match which has ended in a knockout, there remain facing each other a giant, still on his feet: the winner; and, on the canvas, his bloodied victim: the loser. The giant pulls the victim to his feet and tells him: Don't think the fight is over! First, I'm going to the dressing room. When I come back, it will be in judicial robes, to judge you in accordance with my law. You'll have to explain every punch you threw at me, but don't bother bringing up the punches I landed on you: you'll have no right to mention them (unless I happen to be in an extremely good mood and decide to tolerate such talk)."

By acting thus in 1945, the Allies started out on the wrong foot. They treated the conquered with arrogance and cynicism. They gave themselves complete freedom to invent and to lie. But above all, they were careless. They should have attempted to prove their accusations in accordance with sound judicial procedures. There were and are established methods for doing that. For example, if the Germans had in fact ordered and planned the killing of all the Jews, it should have been mandatory for the Allies to establish the existence of victims satisfied themselves with *unverified* confessions and testimony *without cross examination on the physical nature of the facts*.

Return to Sound Judicial Methods

The charisma of Ernst Zündel lies in his understanding that the Revisionists are right when they claim that, [text missing]

But neither during the Nuremberg Trial nor in all the later trials of the same kind did the conquerors produce either a single proof of criminal intent or a single expert report on the weapon used in the crime or a single autopsy report on a single victim of the crime. Here we are dealing

with an alleged crime of gigantic proportions, yet no one seems to have found either criminal intent, a weapon, or a single corpse. The victors satisfied themselves with *unverified* confessions and testimony *without cross examination on the physical nature of the facts*.

Return to Sound Judicial Methods

The charisma of Ernst Zündel lies in his understanding that the Revisionists are right when they claim that, in order to discover the truth about the Holocaust, they need only return to the traditional methods of both jurists and historians. Zündel's genius was in being simple and direct on a matter in which, for forty years, all the lawyers or defenders of persons charged with so-called "crimes against humanity" had schemed and maneuvered. In fact, from 1945 up to and including the Barbie case in 1987, not a single lawyer dared take the bull by the horns. Not one of them demanded that the prosecution prove the reality of the genocide and the gas chambers. All lawyers for the defense adopted delaying tactics. Generally, they pleaded that their client had not been personally implicated in such a crime; their client, they said, had not been on the scene of the crime, or really had been too far away to have had a clear understanding of it, or had been actually unaware of it. Even Jacques Vergès, Barbie's lawyer, pleaded that his client, according to the traditional formula, "could not have known." That over-subtle formula means that, according to Vergès, the extermination of the Jews did take place at Auschwitz or elsewhere in Poland but that Lieutenant Barbie, living in Lyons, France, could not have known about it.

Wilhelm Stäglich, in his book *The Auschwitz Myth*, convincingly described how at the Frankfurt Trial (1963-45) the defense lawyers had in that manner reinforced the prosecution; they accepted the myth of the extermination. The motives for that kind of behavior could have been either the intimate conviction among the lawyers, as among certain of the accused, that the abominable crime had really taken place, or they could have been in fear of causing a scandal by simply seeking clarification about the reality of the crime. For almost all concerned, it would have been blasphemous to demand respect for traditional legal procedures in the trial of a "Nazi"; it must be understood that a "Nazi" is not a man "like other men" and that consequently there is no place for judging him "like other men." My personal experience with lawyers in trials of this kind leads me to think that many of them are also intimidated by their own incompetence in the historical or scientific domain. They have acquired the impression that it is impossible to answer the arguments of the Exterminationists and thus it is very difficult for them even to imagine how one would go about presenting the arguments of the Revisionists.

In Douglas Christie, Zündel was able to find a lawyer who, more than courageous, was heroic. It is for that reason that I agreed to support Doug Christie, day after day, as he prepared for and carried out his task. I must add that without the help of his friend Keltie Zubko we would not have been able to succeed in the 1985 trial, an exhausting ordeal which in retrospect seems like a nightmare. The atmosphere that prevailed in the courtroom was unbearable, especially because of the attitude of the judge, Hugh Locke. I have attended many trials in my life, including those in France during the time of the *épuration*, the postwar purge of "collaborators." Never have I encountered a judge as biased, autocratic and violent as Judge Hugh Locke. Anglo-Saxon law offers many more guarantees than French law but it only takes one man to pervert the best of systems: Judge Locke *was* that man. I remember Locke shouting in my direction: "Shut up!" when, from a distance, without saying a word, I thrust a document in the direction of Doug Christie (that exclamation and some others of the same kind did not appear in the trial transcripts).

Among the judge's innumerable rampages, I recall also the one provoked by ... a square meter. In order to make the judge understand the impossibility of placing 28 to 32 persons in the space of a square meter (which is what Kurt Gerstein said he had seen), we brought in four sticks, each

one meter in length, and we made ready to call 28 to 32 people. The judge bounced up, shouted that our procedure seemed undignified to him, and he forbade us to use it, adding, for good measure, a remark that is worth passing on to posterity:

Before I could allow the jury to accept one square meter, I would have to hear [in the absence of the jury] a lot of witnesses who measured it (*Transcripts*, page 912)

Our method upset our opponents as well as the judge; it was resolutely materialist. We had an abundance of maps and plans of concentration camps, including aerial photos taken during the war by the Allies. We had available a mass of photographs, thanks most of all to Swedish researcher Ditlieb Felderer, who knew the most remote corners of the camps at Auschwitz and Majdanek. There were plenty of technical documents about cremations in the open air or in crematories, about Zyklon B. about disinfection gas chambers. I myself brought five suitcases of books and documents to Toronto, but I was just one researcher among others whom Zündel had gathered from different parts of the world.

Locke acted to neutralize our efforts. For example, he denied me the right to talk about Zyklon, aerial photos, and crematory buildings thought to contain homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. But I had been the first one in the world to publish the plans of these buildings and to prove, at the same time, that these alleged gas chambers had in reality been only morgues ("Leichenhalle" or "Leichenkeller"). Thanks to those plans, Zündel had large mock-ups built to show to the jury; but here again the judge intervened and forbade us to display the models, which had been made by a professional. Most important, Locke forbade me to talk about the gas chambers used for executions in the United States; he said that he did not see the relevance. In fact, the relevance was the following: the Americans used hydrogen cyanide gas for their executions; but Zyklon B. which the Germans supposedly used to kill millions of prisoners, also consisted essentially of hydrogen cyanide gas. Anyone wanting to study the chief weapon supposedly used by the Germans to commit their crime, ought, in my opinion, to examine the American gas chambers. That is what I myself had done, and I had concluded from that study that the homicidal gassings attributed to the Germans were, physically and chemically, completely impossible.

Nevertheless, in spite of Locke and his orders, we (Doug Christie and myself) demolished the expertise of Raul Hilberg and the testimony of Rudolf Vrba.

The Incompetence of Their Number One Expert Raul Hilberg

Raul Hilberg was born in Vienna in 1926, of Jewish stock. He was awarded a doctorate "in public law and government" in 1955. Like the great majority of authors, both Exterminationist and Revisionist, who have written about the Holocaust, he was not educated as a historian. He was appointed a member of the Holocaust Memorial Council by President Jimmy Carter. He is a member of the Jewish Studies Association. He is the author of a reference work: *The Destruction of the European Jews*, published in 1961. A second edition ("revised and definitive") of this book was published in 1985, only a few months after its author's testimony at the Zündel trial. This point itself is important; I will return to it later.

Raul Hilberg bore the title of expert. He arrived in Toronto cloaked in his prestige, without books, without notes, without documents, apparently sure of himself, a man used to giving depositions at numerous trials against "war criminals." He testified for several days at the rate of probably \$150 an hour. Questioned by Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths, Hilberg spelled out his thesis about the extermination of the Jews: according to him, Hitler gave orders for exterminating the Jews; the Germans followed a plan; they used gas chambers; the total of Jewish losses

amounted to 5,100,000. Hilberg did not hesitate to describe himself in these terms: “I would describe myself as an empiricist, looking at the materials ...” (*Transcripts*, page 687).

As soon as the cross-examination began, Hilberg found himself out of his depth. For the first time in his life, he had to deal with a defendant who had decided to defend himself and was capable of doing so. Doug Christie, at whose side I sat, cross-examined Hilberg sharply, unmercifully, for several days. His questions were pointed, precise, relentless. Until then I had had some respect for Hilberg because of the quantity, not the quality, of his work; in any case, he stood head and shoulders above the Poliakovs, Wellers, Klarsfelds and the rest. As he testified my relative esteem was replaced by a feeling of irritation and pity: irritation because Hilberg constantly engaged in evasive maneuvers, and pity because Christie ended up scoring a blow almost every time.

In any event, if there was one clear result, it was that Hilberg was in no sense an “empiricist, looking at the materials.” He was exactly the opposite; he was a man lost in the clouds of his ideas, a sort of theologian who has constructed for himself a mental universe in which the physical aspects of the facts have no place. He was a professor, all too academic, a “paper historian” like Vidal-Naquet. He began to stumble, starting with the very first question. Doug Christie announced that he was going to read him a list of concentration camps and then ask him which ones he had examined and how often he had done so. Thereupon Hilberg revealed that he had not examined *any* of them, either before publishing the first edition of his major work in 1961 or after that date, not even for the “definitive” edition of 1985. Since he had begun research on the history of the Holocaust in 1948, we were thus confronted with a man who had acquired the reputation of being the foremost historian in the world in his own area of research without even once in 37 years having examined a single concentration camp. He had visited only two camps, Auschwitz and Treblinka, in 1979 (“One day in Treblinka, and perhaps a half a day in Auschwitz, half a day in Birkenau” [*Transcripts*, page 779]); even that was merely to attend a ceremony. He had not had the curiosity to inspect either the premises themselves or the Auschwitz archives maintained at the camp. He had never visited the areas described as “gas chambers” (*Transcripts*, pp. 771-773 and 822-823). Asked to explain the plans, photographs and diagrams of the crematories, Hilberg refused, saying:

If you are going to show me building plans, photographs, diagrams, I do not have the same competence as I would win documents expressed in words (*Transcripts*, page 826).

He estimated that more than one million Jews and “perhaps 300,000” non-Jews had died at Auschwitz (*Transcripts*, page 826), but he did not explain how he arrived at those estimates, nor why the Polish and the Soviets had arrived at a total of 4 million, a number inscribed on the monument at Birkenau (*Transcripts*, page 826).

Doug Christie then questioned Hilberg about the camps alleged to have contained homicidal gas chambers. Christie read out the names of the camps, asking Hilberg each time if that camp did or did not have one or more such gas chambers. The answer ought to have been easy for such an eminent specialist but there again Hilberg was out of his depth. Alongside the camps “with” and the camps “without” gas chambers, he created, improvising clumsily, two other categories of camps: those which had “perhaps” had a gas chamber (Dachau, Flossenbürg, Neuengamme, Sachsenhausen) and those which had had a “very small gas chamber” (for example, Struthof-Natzweiler in Alsace), so small that he asked himself whether it was worth the trouble to talk about it (*Transcripts*, page 896); he did not reveal his criteria for distinguishing among those four categories of camps.

Then Hilberg was asked if he was aware of any expert report establishing that such facilities had in fact been homicidal gas chambers. He first turned a deaf ear, then resorted to evasions, repeating the most inappropriate responses. His delaying tactics became so obvious that Judge Locke, generally so quick to rush to the aid of the prosecution, felt himself obliged to interrupt to ask for an answer. Only then did Hilberg answer, with no further subterfuges, that he was aware of no such report. There are 14 pages of transcript (pp. 968-981) from the moment that embarrassing question was asked until the moment it was finally answered.

Did Hilberg know of an autopsy report establishing that such and such a prisoner's body was the body of someone killed by poison gas? There again the answer was: "No" (*Transcripts*, pp. 983-984).

Since Hilberg, on the other hand, emphasizes the testimony of witnesses so much, he was questioned about the testimony of Kurt Gerstein. He claimed that he had hardly used the confessions of this SS officer in his book at all. To that Christie retorted that, in *The Destruction of the European Jews*, the name of Gerstein was mentioned 23 times and that document PS-1553, an alleged statement by the same Gerstein, was quoted 10 times. Then several fragments of those confessions, in various forms, were read before the jury. Hilberg ended up agreeing that certain parts of the confessions by Gerstein were "pure nonsense" (*Transcripts*, page 904). ^[1]

It was the same with the confessions of Rudolf Höss. Hilberg, upset, had to admit in one case: "It's terrible" (*Transcripts*, page 1076). About one of the most important "confessions" signed by Höss (PS-3868), he admitted that here we had a man making a statement in a language (English) other than his own (German), a totally impossible statement which "seems to have been a summary of things he said or may have said or may have thought he said by someone who shoved a summary in front of him and he signed, which is *unfortunate*" (*Transcripts*, page 1230 [emphasis mine]). About the fact that, according to this "confession", 2,500,000 people had been gassed in Auschwitz, Hilberg went as far as to say that is was ban obviously unverified, totally exaggerated number, one which may well have been known or circulated as a result of some faulty initial findings by a Soviet Polish investigation commission in Auschwitz" (*Transcripts*, page 1087).

Sensing that he had to throw some dead weight overboard, Hilberg had no trouble in agreeing with Christie that some "historians," like William Shirer, had no value (*Transcripts*, page 1202). He was asked his opinion of the testimony of Filip Müller, the author of *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*. Certain passages from the book, full of the purest sex-shop anti-Nazism, were read to him, and Christie demonstrated before the jury, thanks to an analysis by Revisionist Carlo Mattogno, that Filip Müller or his ghostwriter, Helmut Freitag, were simply guilty of plagiarism for borrowing an entire episode, virtually word for word, from *Doctor at Auschwitz*, the false account bearing the name of Miklos Nyiszli. At that point, Hilberg suddenly changed his tactics; he feigned emotion and, in a pathetic tone, he declared that the testimony of Filip Müller was much too moving for anyone to suspect his sincerity (*Transcripts*, pp. 1151-1152). But everything about this new Hilberg sounded false, since until then he had expressed himself in a monotonous tone and with the circumspection of a cat who was afraid of getting too close to the glowing embers of a fire. Christie did not consider it useful to press the point.

On two questions Hilberg really suffered: first, regarding the supposed orders by Hitler to exterminate the Jews, and then regarding what I personally call "the keystone of the Hilberg thesis." On page 177 of his book (1961 edition), Hilberg finally deals with the heart of his subject: the policy to exterminate the Jews. In a page which serves as a general introduction, he sets out the basis of his demonstration. For Hilberg, everything began with *two* successive orders from Hitler. The first order called for going out to kill the Jews on the spot, especially in Russia (the Einsatz-

gruppen were assigned that mission); the second mandated seizing the Jews and taking them to the extermination camps (this was the role of Eichmann and of his men). Hilberg did not indicate either the precise date or his sources for these two orders; on the other hand, he did furnish a precise date (25 November 1944) and a reference (document PS-3762) for an order that, according to him, Heinrich Himmler gave to stop the extermination of the Jews when he sensed that defeat was coming (*The Destruction of the European Jews*, page 631). There would be nothing wrong with Hilberg's thesis if it were true that these orders had existed. But none of the three orders (the two Hitler orders and the Himmler order) ever existed; Hilberg's entire case was based on a mental construct.

But Christie had to stage a virtual war of siege before Hilberg would finally revise his statement and admit that he could not produce these orders. It takes 31 pages of transcript (pp. 828-858) from the point at which Hilberg is asked where the two orders from Hitler are until, having lost the battle, he admits that there were no "traces" of them. Christie also reminded Hilberg of certain statements that the latter had made in February 1983 at Avery Fisher Hall in New York City. There Hilberg himself developed a thesis which would hardly be reconciled with the existence of an extermination order. He said at that time:

But what began in 1941 was a process of destruction not planned in advance, not organized centrally by any agency. There was no blueprint and there was no budget for destructive measures. They were taken step by step, one step at a time. Thus there came about not so much a plan being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy. (*Newsday* [Long Island, New York], 23 February 1983. Section II, p. 3)

This convoluted explanation plunges us into the thick of theology and parapsychology. The extermination of the Jews — a gigantic undertaking — was supposedly done without any plan, without any centralizing agency, without a blueprint, without a budget, but by a consensus-mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy, a bureaucracy being a machinery in which, in my opinion, one can expect anything but mind-reading and telepathy. [2]

As regards the order coming from Himmler, Hilberg also admitted that there remained no "trace" of it (*Transcripts*, page 860); the "reference" that he had given as well as the precise date were thus shown to be nothing more than an attempt to intimidate the reader.

But what is there to say about "the keystone of his thesis"? In *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Arthur R. Butz wrote perceptively:

Hilberg's book did what the opposition literature [Revisionist literature] could never have done. I not only became convinced that the legend of several million gassed Jews must be a hoax, but I derived what turned out to be a fairly reliable "feel" for the remarkable cabalistic mentality that had given the lie its specific form (those who want to experience the "rude awakening" somewhat as I did may stop here and consult pp. 567-571 of Hilberg). (*Hoax*, page 7)

A.R. Butz thus points out (on pp. 567-571 of Hilberg) what represents the center of the Hilberg thesis. In my turn, I wanted to seek "the center of the center," the "keystone," so to speak, of that cabalistic mental construct. I think I have found it at the top of page 570, where we read this:

The amounts of [Zyklon] required by Auschwitz were not large, but they were noticeable. Almost the whole Auschwitz supply was needed for the gassing of people; very little was used for fumigation. The camp administration itself did not buy the gas. The purchaser was Obersturmführer Gerstein, Chief Disinfection Officer in the Of-

office of the Hygienic Chief of the Waffen-SS (Mrugowsky). As a rule, all orders passed through the hands of TESTA, DEGESCH, and Dessau. From the Dessau Works, which produced the gas, shipments were sent directly to Auschwitz Extermination and Fumigation Division (*Abteilung Entwesung und Entseuchung*).

In that passage, Hilberg says clearly that at Auschwitz there were two uses for Zyklon: for gassing people and for fumigating objects. One single office directed those two activities: the one criminal and the other sanitary. That office even had one name: "*Abteilung Entwesung und Entseuchung*," which Hilberg translated as "Extermination and Fumigation Division." In other words, the Germans made no secret of the extermination of people by gas at Auschwitz since in that camp there was an office duly and clearly provided for that criminal activity. There was only one problem for Hilberg: "*Entwesung*" means "disinfection" and not "extermination" of human beings (however, "*Entseuchung*" does mean "disinfection-"). Confronted with that evidence, which we established with the help of dictionaries, Hilberg made the mistake of trying to support his own translation and, during his reexamination by Mr. Griffiths, he brought a German dictionary to prove that "*Entwesung*" is made up of "*ent-*," meaning separation and "*Wesen*" which means "being" (*Transcripts*, page 1237). This was done to confuse (or rather to try to confuse for the sake of his cause) etymology and meaning. Even Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths appeared upset by his expert witness's laborious subterfuge, by which he had gone so far as to choose a German dictionary in which the word "*Entwesung*" did not appear — merely the word "*Wesen*." A short time after the trial, I discovered that Hilberg had committed perjury. While still under the oath that he had taken in January of 1985, Hilberg dared to state before judge and jury that in the new edition of his book, then at press, he still maintained the existence of those orders from Hitler of which he had just admitted no trace could be found (*Transcripts*, page 852). But he lied. In the new edition, the preface of which is dated September 1984 (Hilberg testified under oath in January 1985), all mention of an order from Hitler was systematically removed; his colleague and friend Christopher Browning pointed this out in a review entitled "The Revised Hilberg" (*Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual*, 1988, page 294):

In the new edition, all references in the text to a Hitler decision or Hitler order for the "Final Solution" have been systematically excised. Buried at the bottom of a single footnote stands the solitary reference: "Chronology and circumstances point to a Hitler decision before the summer [of 1941] ended." In the new edition, decisions were not made and orders were not given.

This fact is important. It proves that, in order to be sure of convicting Ernst Zündel (whose thesis is that there had never been any order from Hitler or anyone else to exterminate the Jews), a university professor did not shrink from resorting to lying and perjury. That's the kind of person Raul Hilberg is, a professor and a researcher who in the coming years will have to face "the failure of a lifetime" (*Transcripts*, page 948).

The Unmasking of Their Number One Witness: Rudolf Vrba

Witness Rudolf Vrba was internationally known. A Slovakian Jew, imprisoned at Auschwitz and Birkenau, Vrba stated that he had escaped the Birkenau camp in April of 1944 along with Alfred Wetzler. When he returned to Slovakia, he said, he dictated a report about Auschwitz, Birkenau and their crematories and "gas chambers."

With the help of Slovakian, Hungarian and Swiss Jewish authorities, the report arrived in Washington, where it served as the basis for the famous "War Refugee Board Report" published in November, 1944. Thus every Allied organization charged with pursuing "war criminals" and ev-

ery Allied prosecutor responsible for trying “war criminals” would have access to this official — and fabricated — version of the history of the camps. Rudolf Vrba and his companion Alfred Wetzler are at the origin of the official acceptance of the Auschwitz myth. A.R. Butz has admirably demonstrated that (see, in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, the references to “Vrba” and to the “WRB Report”).

After the war, Vrba became a British citizen. He published the story of his life under the title *I Cannot Forgive*; published in 1964, it was actually written by a ghostwriter, Alan Bestic, who, in his preface, dared to pay tribute to Vrba “for the immense trouble he took over every detail; for the meticulous, almost fanatical respect he revealed for accuracy; ... “ (page 2).

On 30 November 1964 Vrba testified at the Frankfurt [Auschwitz] Trial.” Thereafter he settled in Canada and took Canadian citizenship. He appeared in various filmed reports about Auschwitz and, in particular, in Claude Lanzmann’s *Shoah*. Today he lives in Vancouver, where he is an associate professor in pharmacology at the University of British Columbia.

The gods smiled on Vrba until the day he faced Doug Christie. Arthur Butz’s book provided us with some excellent elements to serve as the basis for Vrba’s cross-examination. My documents (especially the Calendar of Events in the Auschwitz Camp,” the studies contained in the various volumes of the blue Auschwitz *Anthology*, Serge Klarsfeld’s *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France*, and various documents from the archives of the Auschwitz Museum) enabled us to ask Vrba some embarrassing questions. The impostor was unmasked in particular on three points: his supposed knowledge of the gas chambers and crematories of Birkenau; Himmler’s alleged visit to Birkenau in January of 1943 for the inauguration of a new crematory with, at its highpoint, the gassing of 3,000 persons; and the supposed total of 1,750,000 Jews gassed at Birkenau from April 1942 to April 1944.

On the first point, it became clear that the witness had never set foot in the crematories and “gas chambers,” for which he had even provided a plan — totally false — in his report to the War Refugee Board (November 1944), a plan that in 1985 he boldly persisted in claiming was true. Nothing corresponded to the truth: neither the arrangement of the rooms, nor their dimensions, nor the number of ovens, nor the number of muffles; for example, the witness placed the “gas chamber” and the room with the crematory ovens on the same level, with a sketch of a railway track running from one to the other for the flat car; in reality the room with the crematory ovens was located on the ground floor, while the “gas chamber” (in fact, a morgue) was located below ground, and no railway track could have linked an underground room with a room located on the ground floor.

Regarding the second point, Vrba likewise made up everything. Himmler’s last visit to Birkenau took place in July 1942; furthermore, in January 1943, the first of the new crematories at Birkenau was far from finished (we even have documents from the construction staff which mention the construction problems caused by the winter cold). Vrba’s book opens grandly with the alleged 1943 visit, described with a great wealth of detail; even the reflections and conversations of Himmler and of his entourage were reported. But all of that, too, derived from Vrba’s imagination.

The witness had an exceptional amount of nerve. He claimed to have been everywhere at once, both day and night, in the vast Birkenau camp. He had seen everything and had remembered it all, thanks, he said, to “special mnemonic principles” (*Transcripts*, page 1563). According to Vrba, the Germans had “gassed” about 1,750,000 Jews in Birkenau alone in the space of just 25 months (from April 1942 to April 1944). Of that figure, 150,000 came from France. But Serge

Klarsfeld, in 1978, in his *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France*, had concluded that, during the entire length of the war, the Germans had deported to all their concentration camps a total of only 75,721 Jews (French, foreign, and stateless) from France. Vrba was asked to explain his particular estimate of 150,000 and his general estimate of 1,750,000. He began by calling the figure of 75,721 false. “From where do you have the figure? From the Nazi newspapers?” he asked (*Transcripts*, page 1579); but the number came from Serge Klarsfeld, a “Nazi-hunter.” Then he tried to supply a justification for his own numbers, but to no avail, as we shall see below. Despite his nerve, Vrba was forced into headlong retreat regarding his book. Instead of maintaining that in the book he had shown the greatest care for truth and accuracy, he declared that it was just a literary effort in which he had had recourse to poetic license. He used the following expressions:

“an artistic picture,” “an attempt for an artistic depiction,” “a literary essay,” “an artistic attempt,” “art piece in literature,” “literature,” “artist,” “license of a poet,” “*licentia poetarum*” (*Transcripts*, pp. 1390, 1392, 1446-1448).

In brief, for the number one witness for the prosecution, this cross-examination was a disaster. We waited with curiosity to see how Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths would attempt, during the re-examination, to repair his witness’s image. To everyone’s surprise, Griffiths, probably exhausted by the trial and exasperated by the lies of the witness on whom he had counted so much, finished off Vrba with two questions that came like two rifle shots. His first question — listened to by a hushed courtroom — was the following:

You told Mr. Christie several times in discussing your book *I Cannot Forgive* that you used poetic license in writing that book. Have you used poetic license in your testimony? (*Transcripts*, page 1636)

Vrba, upset, mumbled a response, following which, without a pause, Griffiths asked his second question:

Could you tell us, Doctor, briefly, how you arrived at the number of 1,765,000? (*Transcripts*, page 1637)

In order to appreciate fully both the question in its context and also the use of the word “briefly,” we must point out that Vrba had been asked that same question by Doug Christie on several occasions and that each of his attempts to answer it had been interminable, confused, absurd and sometimes even unintentionally humorous. In responding to Griffiths’s question, Vrba was at a loss to avoid repeating himself:

I developed a special mnemonical method for remembering each transport (*Transcripts*, page 1639)

Griffiths, getting a little bit lost in his documentation, announced that he was going to ask one last question about Himmler’s visit. He asked for an adjournment of the session. When the session resumed, Vrba took his place on the stand or, more exactly, in the witness box, located on an elevated platform between the judge and the jury. He waited for the return of the jury and the question on Himmler’s visit. Then Griffiths, addressing the judge, declared:

Just before the jury is brought in, Your Honors I will have no questions of Dr. Vrba. (*Transcripts*, page 1641)

Everyone was amazed. Vrba looked completely crushed and the color drained from his face. He staggered down from the witness stand. Whereas on the first day he had seen the journalists and cameras crowding around him as befitted a witness who was going to set the Revisionists straight, on this last day he left the courthouse in the most frightening solitude. I am not pleading on behalf of Mr. Vrba; he has the arrogance of a professional impostor; he will hold up his head again, he will go back to his lies once more, I am convinced of that. [3]

Defeat and Victory of Ernst Zündel

The trial had taken a turn in our favor. I don't want to say that at that moment the jury would have acquitted Zündel; such a decision, taken in front of the judge, the journalists, and public opinion, would have demanded the kind of courage that is difficult, if not impossible, to find in a group of twelve persons picked at random from a society which has been subjected to the familiar propaganda about "Nazi crimes" for forty years. But Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths was obviously dejected. Then came the witnesses and experts for the defense. Griffiths became even more disconcerted. He had not expected such a wealth of information from the Revisionists. Judge Locke was in a constant state of anger. He threatened that at the end of the trial he would charge Doug Christie with contempt of court. This sword of Damocles remained, until the final day, hanging over our lawyer's head.

Then the tide turned again in favor of the prosecution. Doug Christie decided to use the testimony of Zündel himself. *Perhaps* that was a mistake. For Griffiths then had the chance to cross-examine Zündel and disaster loomed on the horizon.

Zündel was certainly worthy of admiration but, by his refusal to condemn National Socialism, he convicted himself. Zündel's erudition, his unstudied eloquence, his sincerity, the highmindedness of his views were all forgotten in comparison with the admiration he was shown to have for Adolf Hitler and the compassion he exhibited for his German fatherland, which had been humiliated and mistreated by its conquerors. Griffiths, weak, nervous, and, as we were to learn later, exhausted by insomnia and excessive smoking, regained hope. In his summation he described Zündel as a dangerous Nazi. Judge Locke, in his own final address to the jury, did the same. The jury followed their lead. Zündel was found guilty of distributing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, but not guilty of sending people, especially outside of Canada, a personal message entitled "*The West, the War, and Islam*." He was sentenced to 15 months in prison, and was forbidden to talk about the Holocaust.

In January of 1987, a five-person appeals court decided to throw out the verdict and to cancel the 1985 conviction. They did so for some very basic reasons: Judge Locke had not allowed the defense any voice in the choice of the jury; he had improperly forbidden our experts to use documents, photos and various other materials, and he had, in his final address, misled the jury on the very meaning of the trial. Once again, Zündel and the Revisionists lost in Judge Locke's court but won before history. As mentioned above, Zündel had predicted that his trial would "put the Nuremberg trial on trial" and would be "the Exterminationists' Stalingrad." Events proved him right. But I fear that some day his health or even his life will fall prey to this terrible legal ordeal, especially in view of the fact that the Canadian government will stage a "Zündel Trial No. 2" in 1988, an even longer and more severe trial than that of 1985 [convicted once again, Zündel is appealing the verdict once more. — Ed].

II. JUDICIAL AFFAIRS AND OTHER AFFAIRS

Between September 1983 to September 1987, the legal repression against Revisionism in France was relatively mild. The Jewish organizations, disappointed by my conviction of 26 April 1983, decided to attack Revisionism by an indirect route: they chose a German officer, Klaus Barbie, as their target and they obtained his conviction. Barbie's trial and conviction were often described as a response to the rise of Revisionism.

The print and the broadcast press both played an essential role in this situation. the journalists, acting as both policemen and judges, orchestrated such a campaign against Klaus Barbie that only a maximum conviction of the accused was possible. At the same time, during those four years, they drummed up, one after the other, what are called "affairs" (the "Roques affair," the "Paschoud affair," the "Le Pen affair" and many others) which served them as occasions to call for a new legal repression. The most violent of the newspapers was *Le Monde*. On 1 July 1987, the French Federation of Journalist Societies asked the judicial authorities to penalize and silence the Revisionists. On 20 September, Charles Pasqua, Minister of the Interior, said that the place for me was in prison. A specific law against Revisionism is being prepared: a sort of "lex Faurissonia."

During the period under consideration three other events marked the rise of anti-Revisionism: the exhibition of the film *Shoah*, the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Elie Wiesel and, finally, the beginning, in Jerusalem, of the Demjanjuk trial. With only one exception (the case of the *Dalloz-Sirey* review), the French court system continued to repress Revisionism, but with a growing embarrassment. The repression was demanded by the journalists of France, at the insistence of Claude Lanzmann.

I shall now review in detail those various judicial and nonjudicial affairs.

I Obtain the Conviction of the Dalloz-Sirey Review

The Jewish organizations were not only disappointed by my conviction of 26 April 1983; they were also disconcerted by the fact that I, on the other hand, obtained the conviction of the judicial review called *Recueil Dalloz-Sirey* (in the Court of First Instance, in the Court of Appeal, and in the Supreme Court of Appeal). In France this review has the reputation of being "the jurists' bible." It publishes, in particular, noteworthy judicial decisions with commentaries called Notes under judgment." *Dalloz-Sirey* showed eagerness to publish the text of my initial conviction of 8 July 1981 (issue of 3 February 1982, pp. 59-64); that judgment, which was to be confirmed on appeal on 26 April 1983, but significantly modified in its basis, was marked, in my opinion, by a certain desire to punish; it was drawn up by one of my three judges, Pierre Drai, who turned out to be a Jew and a faithful subscriber to *Information juive*. But apparently Judge Drai had not yet expressed himself harshly enough regarding my case.

Therefore, the editor chosen by *Dalloz-Sirey* to present the judgment of 8 July 1981 and comment on it in a long "note under judgment" decided to go much farther. He proceeded in two ways: 1) He falsified the text of the judgment so as to smear me even more; and 2) he drew up a "note under judgment" with a tone so violent and so vengeful that one would have thought it had been written by Ilya Ehrenburg. The writer in question was Bernard Edelman, a lawyer, a former Communist of Jewish stock and a friend of Pierre Vidal-Naquet. Edelman presented me in his note as a proponent of the "method of absolute lying."

Dalloz-Sirey had never been successfully taken to court since its founding at the beginning of the 19th century. This time the review was convicted for "damages" for the manner in which it had reproduced the judgment of 8 July 1981. *Dalloz-Sirey* had to publish the text of its own convic-

tion (edition of 4 July 1985, pp. 375-376) and to pay me ... one franc in damages. The initial conviction took place on 23 November 1983; the decision was sustained on appeal on 8 March 1985; and a further appeal was dismissed by the Supreme Court of Appeal on 15 December 1986. Edelman had performed the trick of cutting out 57 percent of the text of the judgment of 8 July 1981!

Ruinous Effects of My Trials

Almost inevitably, when I win my trials, I receive one franc in damages; when the other party wins, I have to pay significant and sometimes considerable sums. The attacks against my person had become so violent and so outrageously false that I decided to appeal to the courts in two out of thousands of possible cases. On the one hand, I sued Jean Pierre-Bloch, president of the International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA) and the author of a book of memoirs in which he presented me as a Nazi and a falsifier who had been convicted of as much by the French courts. On the other hand, I sued the Communist newspaper *L'Humanité*.

I lost these two trials, as well as the appeals. The judges recognized that I had been defamed, but, they added, my adversaries had done so "in good faith." Consequently, they had to be acquitted and I was forced to pay all court costs. The *Droit de Vivre* (February 1985, page 7), the publication of the LICRA, triumphantly captioned its story: "To treat Faurisson as a falsifier is to defame him, but in 'good faith.'" This was an invitation for everyone to treat me as a falsifier, and that is what happened.

By the decree of 26 April 1983, I was sentenced to pay the costs of publishing that entire verdict. The judges estimated the expenses of publication at 60,000 francs, "with the possibility of a more accurate valuation being made later in view of the estimates and bills," which meant that 60,000 francs was only a minimum. Without submitting the text to me, the LICRA arranged to have it published in the magazine *Historia*. That text was seriously falsified. I sued the LICRA and got one franc in damages. That notwithstanding, I had to pay 20,000 francs for their publication of a distorted text. About sixty thousand francs of my salary was seized. At this time LICRA is again, as ever, demanding more and more money; it gets the money but keeps it, and still hasn't published the correct text of the 1983 verdict.

The Barbie Trial

The trial of Klaus Barbie and the hysteria it provoked was the occasion for legal measures against French Revisionists. Jacques Vergès courageously defended Barbie who, at the time of the act with which he was charged in France, was only a lieutenant; it was his duty to assure the security of his comrades. In 1939 France had entered the war against Germany; in 1940, we had promised our conquerors to collaborate with them. Had Lieutenant Barbie carried out reprisals in Lyon and the surrounding district in retaliation for the actions of the Resistance, the Communists and the Jews in the same manner as the Israeli authorities retaliate against the Palestinians (i.e., with massive numbers of 500 kilogram bombs), the cost for the French population, in human lives and destruction of all kinds, would have been still more terrible than it was.

Jacques Vergès seems to have demonstrated that the famous telegram from Izieu (which is genuine and has nothing criminal about it) did not bear the signature of Klaus Barbie, but I personally do not have the documents which served as the basis for his demonstration and which allowed him to state that Serge Klarsfeld had been the source of that forgery; I therefore cannot make any judgment on that matter. On the other hand, I can say that at the Lyon trial German prosecutor Holtfort, who came to testify for the prosecution, and André Cerdini, who presided

over the court, used an altered document: the Dannecker note of 13 May 1942. This note is found at the Center for Jewish Documentaffon in Paris as document XXVb-29. In the document Theodor Dannecker mentions, in passing, a chance conversation he had with Lieutenant General Kohl, who was responsible in Paris for rail transportation; in “ the course of that conversation Kohl appeared to Dannecker to be an “enemy” (*"Gegner"*) of the Jews, agreeing 100 per cent with “a final solution to the Jewish question with the goal of a total destruction of the enemy” (*"eine Endlosung der Judenfrage mit dem Ziel restloser Vernichtung des Gegners"*). Presented this way, the sentence could give the impression that Dannecker and Kohl knew of the existence of a policy to exterminate the Jews. In reality, this sentence means that Kohl was 100 per cent in agreement with finally resolving the Jewish question; the Jew is the enemy and, by definition, an enemy must be wiped out. But it is not at all clear that he meant them to be physically wiped out; indeed the following sentence, which is always left out, provides some clarification: Kohl “showed himself also to be an enemy of the political churches” (*"Er zeigte sich auch als Gegner der politischen Kirchen."*). The “enemy” camps are here clearly delineated: on the one hand, Germany and, on the other hand, the Jews and the political churches. Kohl wanted to wipe out or eradicate the influence or the power of those two enemies of Germany. In neither case was it a question of physical annihilation. The nine-word German sentence is always left out and replaced with an ellipsis (...) since it is too embarrassing for the Exterminationists. Among the historians who have not hesitated to use such trickery, I will mention only:

- Joseph Billig, “Le Cas du SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Lischka,” *Le Monde juif*, July-September 1974, p. 29; reprinted three years later in Billig’s *La Solution finale de la question juive*, Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, 1977, p. 94;
- Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la deportation des juifs de France*, 1978, p. 28;
- Georges Wellers, “Déportation des Juifs de France, Légendes et réalités,” *Le Monde juif*, July-September 1980, p. 97;
- Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, New York, Basic Books, 1981, p. 351.

On the spot, in Lyon, I gave Jacques Vergès an urgent letter informing him of the nature of that trickery, intended to convince people that, if Kohl and Dannecker were aware of the extermination of the Jews, Barbie could not have been ignorant of it. Unfortunately, Vergès had decided not to question the dogma of the extermination of the Jews and, to the very end, he maintained that policy of prudence. Following the example of so many German lawyers, he preferred to plead that Barbie “did not know” that the Jews were being exterminated.

On the Margin of the Barbie Trial

During the Barbie trial life became difficult for Revisionists, especially in Lyon, where police and journalists set up guard. On several occasions the police called me in but I refused to attend their convocations, declaring that I preferred prison to “collaborating with the police and the French courts in the repression of Revisionism.” Threatened with arrest, I remained firm. At the movies, they were showing *Shoah*; in the theater, they presented a piece on the Auschwitz trial (Frankfurt, 1963-65); on a large square in Lyon, the Jews organized an exposition — essentially symbolic — about the Holocaust; in the schools, they vigorously indoctrinated teachers and students; in the local press they incited hatred of Barbie and the Revisionists. Around the court house, the forces of law and order were present with walkie-talkies, “just severe enough to discourage Revisionist demonstrations” (*Le Monde*, 18 June 1987, page 14).

This volatile situation was ignited by the appearance, just before the opening of the trial (only by coincidence), of the first issue of the *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste* and by a leaflet, informal

and polemical in tone, entitled “Info-Intox ... Histoire-Intox ... ça suffit. CHAMBRES A GAZ = BIDON” (Information-Intox[ication] ... History-Intox[ication] ... Thats enough. GAS CHAMBERS = HOAX) and signed by a “Collective of High School Students of Lyon, Nancy and Strasbourg”; on the reverse side, the leaflet included drawings by cartoonist Konk showing the chemical impossibility of the Auschwitz gassings.

This witch-hunt atmosphere, in which the newspaper *Le Monde* stood out by its violence of tone, sometimes had laughable results. People suddenly thought that they had found traces of Revisionism in a scholarly work published eight years ago by a Jewish publishing firm, which hurriedly rushed to announce that the book’s printing plates would be melted down at the earliest possible moment (*Le Matin de Paris*, 21 May 1987, page 12; *Le Monde*, 24/25 May 1987 page 10). A few days later, Serge July, director of *Libération*, after finding out that two Revisionist letters had slipped into the letters-to-the-editor column of his paper, ordered his own newspaper seized at the newsstands, fired the editor of the letters column on the spot, and decided to completely remake the paper’s editorial board (*Libération*, 28 May 1987, page 34; 29 May 1987, page 45; *Le Monde*, 3 June 1987, page 48). The Gaullist deputy Jacques Chaban-Delmas appealed to French youth for a new form of Resistance: resistance against Revisionism (according to *Rivarol*, 29 May 1987, page 8). The publishers of high school history books had already received advice and threats from the “Comité des enseignants amis d’Israel” (Friends of Israel Teachers Committee) (*Sens*, December 1986, pp. 323-329) which left no doubt that on the occasion of the Barbie affair “scholarly editors ought to be aware of the eventual negative impact on the sale of their publications of any failure to follow suggestions” (*ibid.*, page 325).

Journalists Demand an Immediate Judicial Repression

Claude Lanzmann was distressed by the lack of success in France of his film *Shoah*, and by the impossibility of attacking me in court for the text (full of factual proof and references) that I had devoted to that propaganda landmark. ^[4] Pierre Guillaume, in fact, published and distributed that text with a title borrowed from a slogan dating back to the days of May 1968: “Open Your Eyes, Smash Your TV Set!”. Lanzmann turned to Agence France-Presse (AFP) and got from it an initiative which will live in the history of the world press. On 1 July 1987, AFP published a long statement giving vent to its emotion about the Revisionist criticisms addressed to *Shoah* and demanding, consequently, that court authorities bring about “an immediate halt to the machinations of the Revisionists”- in the name of ... “respect for free inquiry and the Rihts of Man.”

My analysis of *Shoah* was denounced as unspeakable. The text of the statement read as follows:

The Federation believes that individuals like Robert Faurisson ought not to be able to write with impunity that which they are writing and disseminating. Unspeakable behavior and racism have their limits. The ethics of journalism forbid people to knowingly write just anything, the craziest anti-truths, with scorn for the truth and therefore for freedom to know. To smear a film like *Shoah*, which can only be seen with a terrible awe and infinite compassion, amounts to nothing more than an attack on the Rights of Man.

The Federation went on:

The journalist is always a witness to his times, and in that sense Claude Lanzmann has done an admirable job as a journalist, for ten years gathering the most frightening testimonies, not only from the victims, but from their butchers, and from the Poles

living near the camps. It is horrible, and that no doubt is what embarrasses the Revisionists, who apparently have not yet recovered from the Nazi defeat.

The Federation concluded:

In the midst of the Barbie trial, and when Revisionist activities are increasing, it is urgent that the judicial authorities in the name of respect for free inquiry and the Rights of Man punish such unspeakable tracts and their authors, while at the same time preventing them from doing it again. The French Federation of Journalistic societies includes more than twenty societies (notably *TF1*, *A-2*, *FR-3*, *Agence France-Presse*, *Le Monde*, *Sud-Ouest*, *L'Equipe* ...), more than 2,000 journalists in all.

This communique was to have serious consequences. TF-1, A-2, and FR-3 are the three principal French television networks; Agence France-Presse is our primary press agency; *Le Monde* is the most prestigious of our newspapers; *Sud-Ouest* is the daily with the highest circulation in France; *L'Equipe* is the most widely read and most popular of the sport papers. I thus found myself condemned by what amounted to the whole of the mass media in my country; even the sports journalists condemned Revisionism. The Revisionists were described as individuals with shameful arguments, spreading shameful ideas and racism, writing just about anything — the craziest anti-truths — scorning the truth and freedom of inquiry, harming the Rights of Man, still not yet recovered from the Nazi defeat. In particular, the Revisionists had smeared an unchallengeable and admirable film that one could view only with terrible awe and infinite compassion.

Seizure of the *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste* and Indictment (in Auch, France)

The mass media unanimously called on the judges for help; they demanded an immediate and permanent repression “in the name of respect for free inquiry and the Rights of Man.” *Le Monde* distinguished itself by the intemperance of its attacks; in less than two months, it mentioned the Revisionists in more than twenty articles which were uniformly hostile; Bruno Frappat, for his part, denounced the experts at lying, the gangsters of history” (*Le Monde*, 5/6 July 1987, page 31).

The judicial machinery immediately went into action. On 25 May 1987, with remarkable promptness, the Judge of Summary Procedure in Paris, Gérard Pluyette, at the instigation of Jean Pierre-Bloch, had already ordered the seizure of the first issue of the *Annales*. On 3 July someone named Legname, the investigating magistrate at Auch (department of the Gers), charged me with being an apologist for war crimes and with spreading false news on the basis of two of my articles published in the first issue of the *Annales*: one was entitled “How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss, Commandant of Auschwitz,” [5] and the other was entitled Jewish Soap.” Pierre Guillaume was charged for the same reason since he was the publisher of *Annales*. Carlo Mattogno was also charged, due to his study of “The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews.” An Italian citizen, he was, on 10 August 1987, the object of an international arrest warrant. The entire process had been set in motion by someone named Robin, the prosecutor at Auch, at the request of Madame Lydie Dupuis, an official of the League for the Rights of Man and a relation of François Mitterrand, the President of France.

On 20 September 1987, Charles Pasqua, Minister of the Interior, declared on the radio that as far as he was concerned the place for Professor Faurisson was in prison (“Charles Pasqua: Les thèses révisionnistes, véritable délit,” *Le Figaro*, 21 September 1987, page 7). A specific law against the Revisionists (a sort of “lex Faurissonia”) is currently being prepared. It is even more severe than the June 1985 German law (the “Auschwitzlüge-Gesetz”).

The Roques Affair

I will not linger on the Roques affair since Henri Roques, who is here, will make his own presentation on it. For my part I will only recall one aspect that illustrates the progress of Revisionism. In February 1979, Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, both Jewish in origin, were able to mobilize 32 persons, described as “historians,” to sign a petition, the so-called “declaration of the 34 historians,” against me (*Le Monde*, 21 February 1979, page 23). (Not all the signers were of Jewish origin.) In 1986, François Bedarida, a Christian of Jewish origin, succeeded in mobilizing against Roques only five “historians” (Pierre Vidal-Naquet and four other persons of Jewish origin), a rabbi and, finally, a media personality named Harlem Désir, who is himself perhaps also of Jewish origin (see *Libération*, 31 May 1986, page 12; *Le Monde*, 3 June 1986, page 14).

The Paschoud Affair (Switzerland)

Then, in Switzerland, came the Paschoud affair. Mariette Paschoud, 40, lives in Lausanne. She teaches history and literature in a high school in that city. Mrs. Paschoud is also a captain in the Swiss Army, and an auxiliary military judge. She visited Paris in order to preside over a conference at which Henri Roques was to present his thesis about the confessions of Kurt Gerstein. While not taking up the cudgels for the Revisionist thesis, she did plead in favor of the right to doubt and to research. The Swiss press attacked her so violently that the authorities of the canton of Vaud, her employers, felt they had to take quick action: Mariette Paschoud was deprived of the right to teach history. But Rabbi Vadnaï of Lausanne felt that punishment was not enough. A new campaign was launched: Mariette Paschoud no longer has the right to teach either history or literature; her husband has been dismissed by the private school at which he was teaching a course in law.

The Noyon Affair (Switzerland)

Pierre Guillaume and myself were invited to visit the Documentary Film Festival at Noyon, Switzerland. The organizers were setting a trap for us: they were going to invite Exterminationist historians to reply to us, and would also show the films *Night and Fog* and *Le Temps du ghetto* (The Time of the Ghetto). Learning we had arrived in town, the Exterminationists sent a telegram at the last moment; they refused to meet us. The entire operation rebounded to our advantage in spite of a scandal caused at the end by a local television celebrity who, perceiving our impact on the listeners, cried out that he found our presentation “obscene.” A few Swiss newspapers headlined the event. The organizers of the festival discovered (a little too late) the “serious and dangerous” character of Revisionism.

Later, Pierre Guillaume returned to Switzerland with Henri Roques to deliver a paper there. The conference took place in difficult conditions and, as a result, the Swiss government prohibited Guillaume and Roques from entering Swiss territory (and Liechtenstein) for a period of three and a half years (*Le Monde*, 6 December 1986, page 7).

The Konk Affair

Konk (real name: Laurent Fabre) is a famous cartoonist. He started out at *Le Monde* and went on to the weekly *L'Événement du jeudi*, published by J.F. Kahn. Konk is considered a leftist. He also showed himself to be a Revisionist. In a cartoon strip entitled *Aux Voleurs!* (Albin Michel, 1986), denouncing theft, lies and imposture under various forms, Konk summed up quite pertinently my argument about the chemical impossibility of the Auschwitz “gassings” in several drawings and

captions. I recommend the reading of the three last pages of that strip to those who want to have a striking summary of Revisionism that even young school children can understand and enjoy. [6]

Konk was barred from the pages of *L'Événement du jeudi* by J.F. Kahn. Recently, Konk gave an interview in which he delivered a sort of retraction (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 25 September 1987, page 93). On the night before the publication of that interview he telephoned me to warn me and, at the same time, to explain to me that, banned everywhere and unable to find work, he had found himself reduced to the extremity of a public recantation. From time to time *Le Figaro* still publishes a drawing by Konk but there is no contract tying the cartoonist to the newspaper. In general, when I see a new Revisionist suddenly appear on the public stage, as was the case with Konk, I ask myself how many days it will take for him to retract.

The Folco Affair

Michel Folco is a journalist and photographer. He works chiefly for a monthly satirical journal, *Zéro*, directed by Cavanna, whose inspiration is libertarian. Despite his detached appearance, he is a scrupulous and thorough investigator. Starting with an investigation of Mauthausen, he ended up gathering a great deal of new information about the controversy between the Revisionists and the Exterminationists which future historians will not be able to ignore. His interviews with Georges Wellers, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, and Germaine Tillion illuminate a completely hidden face of the Exterminationist camp. It is regrettable that Cavanna abruptly put an end to Folco's articles because of his fear of the reaction of certain persons (see in particular *Zéro*, April 1987, pp. 51-57, and May 1987, pp. 70-75).

The Union of Atheists Affair

The Holocaust is a religion. It is necessary to seek to protect oneself from its conquering and intolerant character. I wanted to know whether it was possible to lead an action against that religion among the ranks of the Union of Atheists, which in France includes about 2,500 people. I joined the Union of Atheists, which the Union's constitution states anyone can do, without any condition, even financial. The constitution also states that no one may be excluded. My membership caused a backlash, which the major press amplified. There followed a hundred resignations in protest against my entry. The president, Albert Beaughon, asked me to resign. I refused. The annual congress of the Union of Atheists took place in tumult. I persisted in my refusal to resign and awaited the results. To borrow a phrase from Pierre Guillaume, "these atheists wanted to excommunicate [me] because they did not find [me] Catholic enough." But I must say also that I have learned that a good number of atheists, within the Union, defended me out of their concern for tolerance and, sometimes, out of Revisionist convictions.

The Michel Polac and Annette Levy-Willard Affairs

Michel Polac is a star of French television. Of Jewish background, he has always struggled against Revisionism. In the past several years he has attacked me again and again. In May, 1987 he declared on television that I ought to be slapped in the face. On 12 September he showed a short excerpt from a video-film by Annette Levy-Willard, *L'Espion qui venait de l'extrême droite* (called in English *The Other Face of Terror*), devoted in part to our IHR conference in September of 1983.

In June of 1983 Annette Levy-Willard begged me to give her the address of the Los Angeles hotel where the conference was to be held. With the approval of Willis Carto, she was given the ad-

dress in September. At the conference site she conducted her interviews in such a way and with such anti-revisionist animosity that I refused to grant her an interview. Instead, I offered to make a one-minute statement before her camera. She agreed, but once I was on camera she prevented me from making that statement. I left, refusing to answer her questions. Furious, Levy-Willard confronted me in the lobby of the Grand Hotel, saying several times that she would have her revenge; J. Marcellus, the Institute's director, was present. The lady's vengeance took the form of the video-film (*The Other Face of Terror*), in which she claimed to have discovered us in Los Angeles secretly holding an assembly of neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klan members. They saw me, she said, as I was trying to hide (sic!).

Michel Polac promised at the end of his show that the following week he would give time to reply to anyone who felt he needed to defend himself. Accompanied by my two lawyers, I went to Paris the following week, to the studios where the taping of the show was taking place. Michel Polac simply had our entry barred by the guards and sent plainclothes and uniformed police after us.

The Jacques Chancel and Gilbert Salomon Affair

Jacques Chancel is another French radio and television star Chancel invited me to come and debate one Gilbert Salomon on his radio program on 18 September 1987. I gladly accepted. After arriving in Paris, I learned that my presence on that broadcast would be "intolerable"; I had to return to Vichy. The broadcast — featured only Jacques Chancel, Gilbert Salomon and several other resolutely anti-Revisionist voices. I was repeatedly insulted in absentia. Gilbert Salomon went so far as to admit that if I had been there he would probably have hit me. He was introduced by his "intimate friend, almost brother" Jacques Chancel as having been interned at Auschwitz for two years to the day, from 11 April 1943 to 11 April 1945; Salomon claimed that he had been the only escapee from a convoy of 1,100 Jews.

The truth is that Salomon arrived in Auschwitz on 1 May 1944, which is more than a year after the date that he gave during the broadcast and that he was transferred from Auschwitz to Buchenwald, where he was liberated in April 1945; Salomon's convoy included 1,004 Jews, and Serge Klarsfeld, in spite of his manipulation of statistics, was obliged to recognize in his *Memorial to the Deportation of the Jews from France* (and the additional volumes) that after 1945 at least 51 Jews from that convoy had spontaneously come to the Ministry for Prisoners to report that they were alive. Furthermore, I discovered that Gilbert Salomon was counted by Serge Klarsfeld among ... the gassed! The name of Gilbert Salomon, today a millionaire known in France as "the meat king," therefore appears, under the heading of those gassed, on a monument in Jerusalem at which all the names included in the above-mentioned *Memorial* are listed as if they were Jews who had died after being deported.

The Le Pen Affair

Jean-Marie Le Pen is the leader of the National Front, a populist movement which has more than thirty deputies in the National Assembly. ^[7] He is a candidate for the presidency of the Republic. On 13 September 1987, on the televised broadcast "RTL-Le Monde Grand Jury," Le Pen was suddenly questioned on the Faurisson and Roques theses." During his answer, he said:

I am terribly interested in the history of World War II. I have asked myself a certain number of questions about it. I do not say that the gas chambers did not exist. I myself was not able to see them. I have not made a special study of the matter. But I believe they are a footnote to the history of World War II.

One must listen carefully to the complete recording of that rather confused interview in order to understand the situation in which Le Pen found himself and what he meant to say. The transcripts which appeared in the press are faulty. I personally listened, word by word, to the statements of Le Pen and of the journalists who interrupted him on several occasions. For me, it is clear that Le Pen, beginning with the first question, lost his composure; he was aware of the seriousness of the subject broached, and an abyss opened under his feet. He collected his wits as he spoke but the interruptions by the journalists made him lose his train of thought.

Le Pen did use the expression “point de détail.” [8] The expression was unfortunate and did not accurately express what he wanted to say. What he wanted to say is what many Exterminationists end up telling me in what discussions I have with them: “Whether the gas chambers existed or not, that is a detail.” I have heard, twenty times or more, people who believe in the Exterminationist thesis use that argument when they finally realize, in the midst of our conversation, that the gas chambers, after all, can’t really have existed. Jean-Marie Le Pen, for his part, defended the opinion that the means of making the Jews disappear was only a footnote, in view of the fact of their disappearance. In effect, if one admits that there was, for example, an assassination, the weapon used to commit the crime is of relatively little import relative to the fact of the killing. It is ironic that an argument invoked by the Exterminationists to defend their thesis about the extermination of the Jews was considered a crime for Le Pen, whom people suspect — not without reason, in my opinion — of Revisionism.

Another irony was that no Revisionist would agree with Le Pen in saying that the gas chambers are a footnote to the history of World War II. In fact, without this specific weapon used to carry it out, the specific crime of genocide is physically inconceivable. Without a system of destruction there is no systematic destruction. Without the gas chambers, there is no Jewish Holocaust. The gas chambers are therefore not a footnote.

One final irony is that Claude Malhuret, the Secretary of State charged with the defense of the Rights of Man, said, in response to Le Pen, that “the gas chambers are one of the keys to the history of the 20th century” (*Libération*, 15 September 1987, page 6). Every Revisionist will agree with that statement, adding only that it is the key ... to a lie. The gas chambers are an essential myth, an essential lie. The gas chambers are less than a footnote, since they did not even exist, but the myth of the gas chambers is indeed “one of the keys to the history of the 20th century.”

Five days after his statement, Le Pen more or less retracted it. In a clarification intended for the press, he mentioned “the gas chambers” as one weapon, among others, in which he said he believed. But the press, in its excitement to crush him, did not want to hear his explanations.

On the whole, for Revisionists the result of the Le Pen affair was positive. Thanks to this politician, all the French people heard about those who doubted the existence of the gas chambers and people now know more or less clearly that these skeptics are called “Revisionists.” Today, when someone who does not know me tries, during a conversation about the Second World War, to categorize me, I can simply say: “I am a Revisionist.” Before the Le Pen affair, that term would have been understood only by a tiny number of Frenchmen.

The Exterminationists can no longer advance the argument that they have recently tended to use more and more to extract themselves from embarrassment. They can no longer say: “The gas chambers are a footnote.” The gas chambers will become the Exterminationists' shirt of Nessus; they will have to defend, to the bitter end, an indefensible thesis (the existence of the gas chambers), the fraudulent cornerstone of an edifice built with lies.

Revisionists Banned by the French Media

The bottom line on my French television broadcasts is simple: in nine years, French viewers saw and heard me once, for 30 to 40 seconds, one night in June of 1987 at 10:15 p.m. on France's third television network. The newsreader, Jacqueline Alexandre, was careful to advise the viewers that I was a sort of monster and, after my appearance, she confirmed for them that they had just seen and heard a kind of monster. The radio and the newspapers, of course, are closed to us. Rarely has such a small group of men had so much said about them, virtually all of it negative, with no chance to defend themselves.

For the past nine years, I have not been able to hold a single really public conference in France. Even some of my "invitation only" conferences have been prevented by the intervention of the police (for example, in Périgueux at the behest of Yves Guena and in Bordeaux at the behest of Jacques Chaban-Delmas, both deputies of the "Gaullist" right). In France, the Revisionists play a sort of devil role: people hear very much said about them, always bad, but people never see them. I have stopped counting the physical attacks on Pierre Guillaume, other Revisionists and myself. I believe I could qualify for listing in the Guinness Book of World Records, under the heading of "the professor most often insulted in the Western press."

Three Shoah-Business Events

Three spectacular events have sometimes been described in the French press as a reply to the rise of Revisionism: the movie Shoah, the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Elie Wiesel. and the Demjanjuk trial in Jerusalem.

Shoah

I will not return to the case of Shoah, which I treated in The [text missing]

Elie Wiesel Receives the Nobel Peace Prize (Oslo)

In December, 1986 Elie Wiesel received the Nobel Peace Prize. On page one of the 17 October 1986 issue of Le Monde, under the headline "An Eloquent Nobel," it was emphasized that such a reward came just in time since:

During the last few years there has been, in the name of so-called "historical Revisionism," the development of theses, especially in France, questioning the existence of the Nazi gas chambers and, perhaps beyond that, of the genocide of the Jews itself.

In my September 1983 IHR conference paper I said:

Elie Wiesel, if I may be allowed to use a familiar expression, is suffering from a terrible thorn in his foot the thorn of Revisionism. He has tried by every means to rid himself of it He has not succeeded. He seems less and less hopeful of ridding himself of it. In that respect, he is like the Revisionists, who do not see any more than Wiesel does how he will get rid of the thorn of Revisionism (The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1985, page 178).

In December of 1986, I published a text entitled: "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel." In it I recalled that, in his autobiography (Night), this great Auschwitz witness did not even mention the existence of "gas chambers" at Auschwitz. For him, the Germans did exterminate the Jews,

but ... by fire, by throwing them alive into open air furnaces right in front of all the deportees. I could have added that in January 1945, after being offered by the Germans the opportunity either to remain in the camp to await the arrival of the Soviets, or to leave the camp with his guards, Elie Wiesel chose to leave with the German “exterminators” instead of welcoming the Soviet “liberators.” His father and he both made the same decision, although both could have remained at one of the camp hospitals, the young Elie as a pampered convalescent in a small surgical ward, and his father in the guise of either a patient or a male nurse (Night, New York: Hill and Wang, 1960, pp. 82-87). In December 1986 Pierre Guillaume, Serge Thion and I went to Oslo (Norway) for the Nobel Prize ceremonies. The text “A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel” was distributed on the spot in French, English and Swedish, including to some political people of influence, including Mme. Mitterrand, and including Wiesel himself. [9]

The Demjanjuk Trial

The Demjanjuk trial illustrates, one more time, the generalization as to how the lawyers for “Nazis” or for their “accomplices” play into the hands of the prosecution. In this case, Demjanjuk’s lawyers refused to question the dogma of the extermination, and acted as if they really believed that Treblinka had been an extermination camp. In reality, it was a very modest transit camp, which was not the slightest bit secret. It was located 90 kilometers from Warsaw, near a small railway serving a gravel pit. One simple topographical study would demolish in a few minutes the myth of formidable secret gassings and of equally formidable open air incinerations of between 700,000 to 1,500,000 Jews. But — the “paper historians,” as well as the judges and lawyers in Jerusalem, would not dare to begin at the beginning, that is, with a study of the location of the historic “crime.” “Treblinka” is now the apex of the great historical lie, more so than even “Auschwitz.”

III. GAINS BY HISTORICAL REVISIONISM

In January 1987 a well-known Jewish weekly wrote:

For Henri Roques, Mariette Paschoud, Pierre Guillaume and Robert Faurisson, 1986 was a very successful year. In France and in Switzerland, their names were on every tongue. (Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung, 23 January 1987, page 12).

In fact, the entire period that I deal with here (September 1983 to September 1987) was good for European Revisionism. In a more general way, in Canada and in Europe, one can say that during those four years the advances of Revisionism were important while the retreat of the Exterminationists became more serious.

Advances of Revisionism

On 4 July 1984 a fire arsonists set swept through our Institute for Historical Review, located in Torrance, California. IHR’s office and stocks were virtually completely destroyed. Willis Carto, J. Marcellus and their team succeeded, at the cost of considerable effort, in bringing our institute back to life — necessarily a somewhat slower life. In spite of that criminal fire and in spite of the harmful effects of the Mel Mermelstein lawsuit, the Journal of Historical Review has by now published its 28th issue. In France, Pierre Guillaume has just created a quarterly review, the *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste*. Its first issue, seized by the courts, caused a sensation; the major newspapers and even television mentioned its content and, especially, Carlo Mattogno’s essay entitled “The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews.” In 1986 Pierre Guillaume likewise pub-

lished his own book, *Droit et histoire*, as well as the French translation/adaptation of Wilhelm Stäglich's *The Auschwitz Myth*, with a 25-page supplement in which I personally commented on photos and documents relating to that myth.

France is the first country in the world where a Revisionist academic thesis could be defended (in June 1985): Henri Roques's thesis on the Gerstein confessions. In the same year there appeared in Italy Mattogno's *Il rapporto Gerstein, anatomia di un falso* (*The Gerstein Report Anatomy of a Fraud*), a work broader and more complete than Roques's thesis (which tried to do nothing more than study the texts attributed to Gerstein). Mattogno is a learned man in the mold of his ancestors of the Renaissance. He is meticulous and prolific; in the future he will be in the first rank of Revisionists. It is possible that, in the years to come, the Spaniard Enrique Aynat Eknes will reach the same level for his work on Auschwitz. In two years, the Frenchman Pierre Marais will doubtless publish the result of his research on the myth of the homicidal gas vans. In the United States, our Institute has published the works of Walter Sanning (*The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*) and also of James J. Martin, the dean of Revisionist historians (author of *The Man Who Invented Genocide*). The English translation of the Stäglich book is being prepared. ^[10]

Tribute from Michel de Bodard

Michel de Bouard was interned at Mauthausen. A professor of medieval history and also a member of the Committee for the History of the Second World War (Paris), he ended his university career as dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Caen (Normandy). He is a member of the Institute de France. In 1986, he defended Henri Roques and, more generally, criticized Exterminationist literature and expressed his respect for the quality of Revisionist work. A journalist from Ouest France asked him:

You were president of the Calvados (Normady) Association of Deportees, and you resigned in May, 1985. Why?

De Bouard answered:

I found myself torn between my conscience as a historian and the duties it implies, and, on the other hand, my membership in a group of comrades whom I deeply love, but who refuse to recognize the necessity of dealing with the Deportation as a historical fact in accordance with sound historical methods. I am haunted by the thought that in 100 years or even 50 years the historians will question themselves on this particular aspect of the Second World War which is the concentration camp system and what they will find out. The record is rotten to the core. On one hand a considerable amount of fantasies, inaccuracies, obstinately repeated (in particular concerning numbers), heterogeneous mixtures, generalizations and, on the other hand, very dry critical studies that demonstrate the inanity of those exaggerations. I am afraid that those future historians might then say that the Deportation, when all is said and done, must have been a myth. There lies the danger. That haunts me. [Emphasis added] ^[11]

The Revisionists, whom people are at pains to denounce as negative, in fact perform a positive function: they show what really took place. They also give a lesson in “positivism” in the sense that their arguments are often of a physical, chemical, topographical, architectural and documentary nature, and because they accept as true only that which is verifiable. They defend history, while their adversaries have abandoned history for what the Jews call “memory” — i.e., their mythological tradition.

IV. THE RETREAT OF EXTERMINATIONISM

In the years 1983-1987, the Exterminationist thesis benefited from a financial, political and media mobilization which was as impressive as it was fruitless.

A Moral Disaster for Hilberg, Vrba, Wiesel and Lanzmann

For Raul Hilberg, Rudolf Vrba, Elie Wiesel and Claude Lanzmann, these four years have been rich in money, publicity and various honors but disastrous for their moral credit.

- Raul Hilberg, the best “expert” on the Exterminationist thesis, was scuttled at the Toronto trial and was guilty of such perjury that in my opinion he would run a risk in coming back to testify again in a trial of that kind; ^[12]
- Rudolf Vrba, witness number one for the Exterminationist thesis, showed himself to be a kind of impostor: he himself had had to agree at the Toronto trial that his written “testimony” was, in large part, if not perhaps in its entirety, a work of fiction;
- Elie Wiesel, the most famous of the travelling salesmen of Shoah-business, is discredited amongst his own people. A few months after the first publication and significant distribution of my text entitled “A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel,” Pierre Vidal-Naquet himself was moved to declare:

For example, you have Rabbi Kahane, that extremist Jew, who is less dangerous than a man like Elie Wiesel, who will say JUST ABOUT ANYTHING ... Reading some of the descriptions in Night is enough to make you realize that they are not accurate and that he ends up turning himself into a Shoah merchant ... And in fact he also harms, greedy harms, historical truth (Zéro, April 1987, page 57);

- Claude Lanzmann was awaited like the Messiah. For ten years he promised to respond definitively to Revisionist arguments with his film Shoah; but, in France, the film had the opposite effect; it made obvious the absence of rational arguments for Exterminationism — so obvious that, in a panic, Lanzmann, working through the French Federation of Journalist Societies, called for legal repression of the Revisionists.

Functionalism” is a major concession to Revisionism, and the “intentionalists” have virtually disappeared.

Bankruptcy Statement in Ten Points

The bankruptcy statement of Exterminationism can be drawn up in the following terms: the Exterminationists have been forced to recognize no one can find any document (either German or Allied) to support their theses. There are:

1. NO order to exterminate the Jews;
2. NO plan for carrying out that extermination;
3. NO central organization to coordinate the execution of such a plan;
4. NO budget; but nothing can be done without money or credits;
5. NO organ of control; but, in a country at war, everything must be controlled;
6. NO weapon, for there is no expert study of the weapon of the crime: either of a homicidal gas chamber or of a homicidal gas van;

7. NO body, for no one has any autopsy report proving that a single person was killed by poison gas;
8. NO transcript of the reenactment of the crime, although in France an inquest into a murder is normally accompanied by the reenactment at the scene of the crime;
9. NO witness capable of withstanding cross-examination on the very material aspects of the crime because during the Toronto trial, where for the first time someone dared to carry out that kind of cross-examination, the best “witnesses” were confounded;
10. NO verified confession, for the Gerstein confessions and the confessions of Rudolf Höss, when finally analyzed, are shown to be devoid of value and impossible to defend (even by Raul Hilberg).

I am afraid that the brevity and speed with which I have enumerated these points may conceal the importance of each of those ten elements. I will therefore pause for a moment on the first of them: the absence (today admitted by everyone) of an order to exterminate the Jews.

From 1945 to 1980, people vilified anyone who dared to express the idea that there had never been such an order. Either the order existed and its existence had to be demonstrated, or else it did not exist and it was necessary to admit that that is what common sense said but that is also what no one among the spectators to the controversy (journalists, historians, professors) dared to say. For 35 years the Exterminationists carried on a deception. They blocked historical research and they paralyzed any common-sense reaction. The lesson is worth pondering. The Waldheim affair, to take only one example, only repeats this lesson: if Lieutenant Waldheim is guilty of a “war crime” or of a “crime against humanity,” then Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, must tell us in detail what his crime was, and must then present proof of it. Anything else is just media hysteria, intellectual terrorism, or the production of false documents.

The Revision of 'Wannsee'

For more than 35 years, the Exterminationists led us to believe that the transcript of the Wannsee Conference (20 January 1942) anticipated the extermination of the Jews. Then, without a word, they abandoned this pretense. The Wannsee document in itself is suspect. Many Revisionists refuse, consequently, to grant it the slightest value. That was the case with me, but it is no longer. I believe above all that this document was poorly read, even by me. We have all been victims of such psychological conditioning that we were unable to see in the two crucial paragraphs words like “Freilassung” (release) and “Aufbaues” (revival) as well as the sentence in parentheses: “Siehe die Erfahrung der Geschichte” (See the experience of history). ^[13] In light of these words, which people sometimes leave out when they supposedly reproduce the transcript, I say that what Heydrich envisioned at the Berlin-Wannsee meeting was a release (“Freilassung”) of the Jews who survived the war and a Jewish revival (“jüdischen Aufbaues”) after the terrible time of testing through wartime forced labor.

History is full of such physical and moral trials out of which a people is said to emerge “regenerated.” The National Socialists, in this respect close to the Zionists, thought that after the war “the best” among the Jews would constitute an elite: the germ cell of a Jewish renewal in which physical labor, agricultural colonies, and the feeling of a common destiny would open the way to the creation of a Jewish national homeland; the Jews would finally constitute a nation among other nations, in place of being “parasites.” I recall that in March 1942, and perhaps later, there was at least one kibbutz at Neuendorf, in National Socialist Germany (Documents on the Holocaust, Yad Vashem, 1981, page 155).

Hilberg and Browning Reduced to 'Nothing'

The retreat of the Exterminationists over a period of 35 years can be measured in the successive explanations they have given for the order supposedly given by Hitler to exterminate the Jews. At first they gave to believe that there was a written order, then the order was described as a spoken order; today they ask us to believe that the order supposedly consisted of a simple “nod” (sic) by Hitler who, by virtue of a kind of mind-reading, supposedly had been instantly understood by a whole bureaucracy. The “nod” theory comes from Christopher Browning; ^[14] the telepathic consensus theory comes from Raul Hilberg. We are thus nearing the domain of nothingness. Hilberg, who was himself once a member of the written-order faction (even two written orders), realized early on that he could not furnish any proof of the existence of the order (or orders). At a later date, in about 1984, he realized that the theory of the spoken order was also insupportable; at the Stuttgart Conference (3-5 May 1984), he in effect adopted a Revisionist argument as his own, saying as regards the alleged spoken order received by Eichmann or Höss:

Eichmann und Höss haben nicht selbst mit dem Führer gesprochen. So hören wir nur von einem Mann wie Eichmann, der von Heydrich gehört hatte, der von Himmler gehört hatte, was Hitler gesagt hatte. Für Geschichtsschreiber ist das allerdings nicht die beste Quelle. (Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg [The Murder of the Jews in the Second World War], DVA, 1985, page 187).

(Eichmann and Höss did not themselves speak with the Führer. So we learn only from a man — Eichmann -who heard what Hitler had said from Heydrich, who had heard it from Himmler. For the historian, this is certainly not the best source.)

Klarsfeld's Trickery and an Admission

Serge Klarsfeld, the husband of “Nazi-hunter” Beate, has involuntarily contributed to the retreat of Exterminationism. In order to support the thesis of the alleged homicidal gassings at Auschwitz-Birkenau, he was forced to employ a clumsy trick.

In 1980, Klarsfeld published an album of nearly 190 photos which had been taken by a German photographer at Auschwitz in 1944. Some of these photos were already known. The whole album should have been published in 1945; it is so full of information that I personally know of nothing more enlightening about the reality of Auschwitz than these astonishing photographs. Klarsfeld entitled the first, relatively honest, publication of the photos *The Auschwitz Album/Lili Jacob's Album* (New York, The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, preface dated 5 August 1980). This edition was not offered commercially but seems to have been reserved for major libraries around the world, as well as for major Jewish organizations.

In the following year, he published the same photographs under the following title: *The Auschwitz Album/A Book Based Upon an Album Discovered by a Concentration Camp Survivor, Lili Meier*, text by Peter Hellman (New York, Random House, 1981). This time the presentation of the book and the commentary on the photos was dishonest.

It was in the French edition that Klarsfeld lapsed into trickery pure and simple. It must be said that he was helped by a strange character: a pharmacist named Jean-Claude Pressac, whose collaboration even George Wellers had ended up rejecting. The title of the French edition was: *L'Album d'Auschwitz, d'après un album découvert par Lili Meier, survivante du camp de concentration*, text by Peter Hellman, translated from English by Guy Casaril, French edition established and completed by Anne Freyer and Jean-Claude Pressac (Editions du Seuil, 1983). The order of

the photos was completely rearranged so as to illustrate the Exterminationist thesis. Titles for the various sections of the original album were transformed; new captions were even forged so as to make people believe that they were original; the commentaries turned out to be purely arbitrary. A plan of Birkenau was added (page 42), but it was a plan that had been deliberately falsified. For example, in order to convince the reader that the groups of Jewish women and children surprised by the photographer between Crematories II and III could go no further and were therefore going to end up in the “gas chambers” in those crematories, Klarsfeld and Pressac had quite neatly removed a road through there which, in reality, led to a large shower facility (located beyond the zone of the crematories, to which the women and children were proceeding). Another deception consisted of leaving out any mention of the existence of *des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres* (The Gas Chambers Existed/Documents, Testimony, Numbers) (Gallimard). In fact, what Wellers’s book demonstrated was the existence of crematories. Klarsfeld’s statement also meant that another book had been a failure: *Les Chambres à gaz, secret d'Etat* (The Gas Chambers, State Secret) (written by 24 authors, including Wellers, Editions de Minuit, 1984; original German edition, published by Fischer Verlag in 1983, entitled *NS Massentötungen durch Giftgas* [NS Mass Murders by Poison Gas]). In effect, that work was based on the following theory: since the gas chambers were the greatest of all possible secrets, a State Secret, people ought not to expect to discover proof in the usual sense of the word. The cover of the book showed ... a container of Zyklon. As I heard Professor Michel de Bouard himself say, “in this book they snipe at us with references and there is nearly no source.” Personally, I would add that these references have no scholarly value; they refer back, for the most part, to statements about Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sobibor, etc., made by German prosecutors or judges. But what is concealed from us is that all those statements have one common source: an office located at Ludwigsburg and run at the time by Adalbert Rückerl (Landesjustizverwaltung zur Aufklärung von NS-Verbrechen). In other words, Herr Rückerl, one of the main authors of the book, is constantly citing himself to prove that he is right!

In 1987 journalist Michel Folco visited me. I showed him the interview with Serge Klarsfeld. I pointed out that I have sent VSD a text in hopes of being granted the “right to reply,” a right that was finally refused to me. Folco later went on to visit, on the one hand, Georges Wellers and, on the other hand, Serge Klarsfeld. Wellers was aware of the VSD interview with Klarsfeld and found it annoying and deplorable. There followed a hullabaloo at the end of which Klarsfeld, on 23 March 1987 (ten months after the interview); drew up a denial, but a denial which amounted to a confirmation. Instead of appearing in VSD, Klarsfeld’s denial appeared in George Wellers’s magazine, *Le Monde juif* (January-March 1987, page 1). Klarsfeld wrote:

It is evident that in the years since 1945 the technical aspects of the gas chambers have been a neglected subject, since no one imagined that some day we would have to prove their existence.

This admission is significant. According to Klarsfeld himself, the Exterminationists had “neglected” the “technical aspects” of the weapon of the crime. No court, beginning with Nuremberg, had troubled to follow the procedure normally used in every such criminal trial. The gas chamber is the central pillar of the whole structure of crimes attributed to the Germans; but people had “neglected” to study it in its “technical aspects.”

Results of Admission by Jean Daniel

In France, Jean Daniel's *Le Nouvel Observateur* was the mass circulation weekly most eager to combat the Revisionists. On more than one occasion, it published photos that supposedly showed "gas chambers." But, having lost the battle, the magazine admitted on 26 April 1983 (page 33):

There is no photograph of a gas chamber.

Which means that what people today still persist in describing to tourists as gas chambers at Struthof, Mauthausen, Hartheim, Dachau, Majdanek, and Auschwitz are only intended to lure visitors. From September 1983 to September 1987, the French press in effect gave up showing photos of gas chambers, a fact which represents some improvement over the American press, which continues to publish such photos.

Fear of Revealing the Documents

In 1986 Gerald L. Posner, a Jewish lawyer from the United States, published a book entitled *Mengele: The Complete Story* (in collaboration with John Ware, New York, McGraw-Hill). The title is misleading because the author obviously conceals what Mengele happened to write, after the war, about Auschwitz. On page 48, it is said that, according to his son Rolf, Mengele appeared to be "quite unrepentant and felt no shame" about the years he spent at Auschwitz. As far as I am concerned, I am inclined to believe that Mengele felt neither repentance nor shame since he had nothing to repent or feel shame about. I am convinced that his personal papers fully confirm the Revisionist position and that, for that reason, the Exterminationists, who were able to get hold of his papers with the help of Mengele's son Rolf, refuse to divulge their contents ("In Rolf's apartment were two bags filled with more than thirty pounds of Mengele's personal writings," page 302). I am thinking in particular about one piece entitled "Fiat Lux" (mentioned on page 316); the title leads me to think that in it Mengele shed some light on what really happened at Auschwitz. I am not alone in thinking that Posner, Rolf Mengele and the whole group of supposed experts or researchers are hiding some documents from us. We read in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (Vol. 2, No. 1, 1987, page 9):

Had [Mengele], who did not repent a thing, really not written anything about these decisive years? And, if he has written about these years, who has destroyed or hidden these notes?

I believe that the treatment given to Dr. Mengele's writings constitutes an implicit proof that the Revisionists are right when they assert that essential documents are being withheld from examination by historians. The truth about Auschwitz can be found in Moscow, Arolsen (West Germany), and New York City: in New York (or somewhere in Germany) with the Mengele manuscripts; in Arolsen, at the International Tracing Service, closed to Revisionists since 1978, a place rich in invaluable documents on the individual fates of every individual interned at Auschwitz; and in Moscow, where up until now they have kept from public view the almost complete set of death registers (*Totenbücher*) drawn up by the Germans at Auschwitz from 1940 to 1945 (the other two or three registers are located at the Auschwitz Museum and perhaps also in photocopy form at Arolsen, but there again consultation of them is prohibited).

My question is: Why have the Holocaust historians approved of this systematic concealment of documents, which has gone on now for decades? What are they waiting for before they will publish the documents?

Wartime Jewish Pressure to Credit the Rumors

In 1985, David S. Wyman published *The Abandonment of the Jews/America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945*, Pantheon books (copyright 1984). This book is in the tradition of similar works in which Arthur Morse, Walter Laqueur and Martin Gilbert have explored what the Allies could have known about Auschwitz or other “extermination camps” during the war. Its author displays a credulity and even a simple-mindedness that Europeans tend to call “American.” The preface was written by “false witness” Elie Wiesel and the testimony with which the book opens comes from Hermann Gräbe, a well-known perjurer (see *Der Spiegel*, 29 December 1965, pp. 26-28). According to Wyman, the Allies ought to have believed what they heard about Auschwitz or about Treblinka, but they did not. Even in Moscow, in May 1945, the American newspaper correspondents were apparently inattentive or skeptical. He writes:

Also, apparently, the American correspondents were unaware of or disbelieved earlier reports on Auschwitz [earlier than the famous one of May 6, 1945], including the much publicized one released by the WRB [War Refugee Board] He preceding November (page 326 n. 1). ^[15]

The Allies were right not to believe either the WRB Report of November 1944, based principally on Rudolf Vrba, or the official Soviet report about Auschwitz dated 6 May 1945, also known as Nuremberg document USSR-008: two of the four signers were the biologist Lysenko and the metropolitan Nikolaus or Nikolai; the first was later shown, after the war, to be a fraud, while the second dared to sign the false expert report of 24 January 1944, attributing the Katyn massacre to the Germans (document USSR-054). Page after page, David Wyman involuntarily helps show that the Revisionists are right on two essential points:

1. The alleged “news” about the extermination of the Jews consisted of nothing more than confused, vague, contradictory, absurd rumors;
2. Jewish organizations, especially the World Jewish Congress, presided over by Rabbi Stephen Wise, constantly exerted pressure on governmental bodies and the media to present these rumors as news.

The word “pressure” comes up again and again in this book. The alleged indifference or inactivity of American Jewish organizations during “the Holocaust” is a myth. The reality is that, in spite of their incessant pressure, these organizations encountered great scepticism, which is quite normal when one considers the lack of substance of the alleged “news” about “the extermination of the Jews.” In any event, the book reveals, in spite of the author’s intention, how the myth of the Holocaust and the gas chambers began and developed during the war. Wyman could have saved himself a lot of work if he had read the marvelous text by Arthur Butz, entitled “Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust Controversy,’” presented at the 1982 Revisionist conference and printed at the end of recent editions of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (pp. 335-369).

Concessions by Pierre Vidal-Naquet

Pierre Vidal-Naquet has just republished his anti-Revisionist writings. His book is entitled *Les Assassins de la Mémoire* (Editions de la Découverte, 1987). The author makes a certain number of concessions to the Revisionists, the first one in criticizing them (in his words) not for killing history but for killing “memory.” He says they are right on all sorts of subjects:

- the more than suspect character of the testimony attributed to SS man Pery Broad (page 45);
- the value of the “material gathered at Nuremberg” (page 47);

- the fact that Simone Veil (under her maiden name of Simone Jacob) had been counted as having been gassed (page 65) (it should be noted in passing that the same thing happened to the Communist official of the largest French workers organization, Henri Krasucki, and to his mother, as well as to thousands of other less famous French Jews);
- that the Jewish people have become sacrosanct thanks to Auschwitz, and the profit that Israel and some Jewish groups derive from this (page 125, 130, 162, 214 [notes 90 and 93], 223 [note 90]);
- the testimony of SS man Gerstein which is “full of contradictions and things that are hard to believe” (page 154);
- the number of dead at Auschwitz: 4 million according to the Poles and the Soviets, “around three and a half million” for Lanzmann, but a million for Vidal-Naquet (personally, I believe that about 60,000 died but no inquest has yet been conducted and the death registers of Auschwitz are still kept hidden by the Allies);
- the “imaginary gas chambers” (page 219, n. 44).

The most interesting concession is one that relates to Auschwitz I: Vidal-Naquet no longer believes in the authenticity of the gas chamber in that camp. But the “gas chamber” of Auschwitz I is still visited by millions of tourists to whom it is described as authentic (pp. 131-132, n. 94 and page 214). I will mention here that the first person, among historians of Jewish origin, to say there was no gas chamber at Auschwitz I was Olga Wormser-Migot, in 1968 (*Le Système concentrationnaire nazi (1933-1945)*, Presses Universitaires de France). She wrote at that time “Auschwitz I [...] without a gas chamber” (page 157).

Vidal-Naquet has been active as a persecutor of the revisionists. He went so far as to testify in court against men in the Poliakov affair (see “Revisionism on Trial; Developments in France, 1979-1983,” *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 6, no. 2 [Summer 1985], pp. 155-160). In his opinion, “We must talk about the Revisionists ... we do not talk with the Revisionists” (*Les Assassins de la Mémoire*, page 10). To draw an analogy from sports, Vidal-Naquet thinks he is better than Faurisson at tennis; not only that, he claims Faurisson cheats at tennis. Should the latter suggest a match, before a referee and in public, Vidal-Naquet would respond that he would certainly like to play but only on the condition that there be no opponent. He would ask the judge to declare him the winner in advance; the public’s job would simply be to confirm that decision. Vidal-Naquet is in favor of repression against those whom he calls “the assassins,” “the little abject band,” “the shits.” But, after witnessing repression in its legal form, Vidal-Naquet regards it as dangerous; indeed, French judges do condemn the Revisionists, as they are asked to do, but not as severely as Vidal-Naquet and his friends had hoped. He writes:

Legal repression is a dangerous weapon which can backfire on those who use it. The trial brought in 1979 against Faurisson by various anti-racist associations ended in a decree of the Court of Appeal of Paris dated 26 April 1983 which recognized the seriousness of Faurisson’s work (that beats all!), and in the end convicted him only for having acted with malevolence in summing up his theses in slogans. (page 182)

Here the retreat of the Exterminationists is illustrated by the fact that they are finally forced to admit, four years after the fact, that the Court in Paris recognized the seriousness of my work and in the end punished me (severely!) simply for having, in its opinion, acted malevolently in summing up my thesis in slogans. It must not be forgotten that for four years, from 1983 to 1987, the Exterminationists succeeded in concealing the content of the decree of 26 April 1983, or else distorting it to the point of saying that I had been convicted of falsifying history.

Other Concessions

In France, certain Jewish authors no longer believe in the gas chambers, or else advise people not to dwell too much on examining the existence of that formidable weapon.

Such is the case with Joseph Gabel, who wrote that it is “with a real skill that Faurisson has been able to exploit the faults of his adversaries” and has been able “to make the debate swerve toward the least solid positions of the 'Exterminationists': the exact number of the victims and the technical problems posed by the function of the gas chambers.” He adds:

It was useless and dangerous to enter into such a debate [on the technical problems posed by the functioning of the gas chambers]. It is enough to say that mass gassing poses technical problems [...] that it is not the job of the victims to solve these problems [...] This discussion of the technical aspects of genocide, in the presence of a public wit more prejudices than knowledge, has been unwise. The Messrs. Vidal-Naquet, Wellers, and their colleagues have given battle on the field chosen by their opponent. (*Réflexions sur l'avenir des Juifs*, Klincksieck, 1987, pp. 135-136)

The periodical *Article 31* even published a letter from Ida Zajdel and Marc Ascione (January-February 1987, page 22) which developed the thesis that the gas chambers never existed; they were dreamed up in the imaginations of certain SS men, who at that time slipped into some of their “confessions” a “time bomb” against the Jews.

A university-level journal of the caliber of the recently established *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* shows that even the officials of Yad Vashem are now aware that it is no longer possible for historians to write the history of the Holocaust with the scorn for truth that up to now has been common. I advise Revisionists to carefully read this journal, edited by Yehuda Bauer and Harry James Cargas. For several years now I have paid close attention to the published writings of Yehuda Bauer. I have noted in Bauer a “Revisionist” tendency to probe the National-Socialist policy regarding the Jews, as well to take into account certain indications which suggest that throughout the entire war National Socialist Germany tried to maintain contacts with the Jews at the international level in order to facilitate the emigration, and not an extermination, of the European Jews (the “Europa Plan,” the moderating role of Himmler, the Joel Brand affair, negotiations with the Czech, Swedish, Swiss and Hungarian Jews). Even on the question of the “Einsatzgruppen,” we notice that every claim of the Exterminationists is to be looked at again, especially the number of executions (*Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol.2, no. 2. 1987, especially pp. 234-235).

V. CONCLUSION

Only persons who have just become Revisionists can imagine that Revisionism will defeat Exterminationism “just as surely as night follows day.” In reality, the lies of Exterminationism will continue to be accepted by the general public for decades to come. In order to transcend the myths of one war, it seems necessary to have another war. Without World War II, perhaps, the stories about Belgian children with their hands cut off by the “Huns” in World War I would still be believed today by the general public. As Arthur R. Butz has shown (*Journal of Historical Review*, April 1980, page 9), the legend of the Holocaust stands on feet of clay. This colossus will still be able to dominate our horizon for a long time. The more Revisionists whisper that its feet are made of clay, the more the votaries of the Holocaust religion will bang their drums to drown us out. On the university level, they will hold more and more “colloquiums” and “dialogues,” which in fact will be just nothing more than “soliloquies” and “monologues.” There have already been announcements of another “Sorbonne Conference” (10-13 December 1987) (not to be confused with the first “Sorbonne Conference,” held 29 June-2 July 1982) and more importantly the

Oxford Conference" (10-14 July 1988) [both these conferences have taken place in the meantime — ed.]. The latter will take place under the aegis of a Mrs. Maxwell or, more exactly, of her husband Robert Maxwell, the British press magnate, a billionaire of Jewish origin. Their conference is intended to focus shame on Christians for their alleged indifference to the alleged Holocaust of the Jews.

I doubt that the Exterminationist lobby will attain any success on the university level, other than the intimidation of historians. It is going to become more and more clear that this lobby adds nothing to the science of history: no new documents, no new ideas. Indeed, the only possible evolutionary direction open to historians, whatever their preconceptions, is toward Revisionism. Thus we have witnessed the rise of "functionalism" in opposition to "intentionalism," and so it is that there has developed in Germany with Hillgruber, Nolte, Fest, et al. a new appreciation (and relativisation) of the so-called Holocaust that I, for one, immediately referred to, in German, as Ersatzrevisionismus ("ersatz Revisionism").

On the borderline between this "Ersatzrevisionismus" and real Revisionism, we see crouching, awaiting better days, valuable historians like Helmut Diwald, Alfred Schickel and David Irving [the last dramatically and forthrightly announced his acceptance of Holocaust Revisionism at the 1988 trial of Ernst Zündel — Ed.]. Among the Revisionists, a new generation is arising, at the forefront of which are Mark Weber (USA), Carlo Mattogno (Italy), and Enrique Aynat Eknes (Spain). I know of other names which, for reasons of prudence, I prefer not to give yet.

"Shoah"-business will continue to prosper. The Holocaust Museums are going to multiply and Holocaust propaganda will continue to invade the high schools and universities. The concentration camps will become attractions comparable to Disneyland. It is enough to visit these camps today to realize that they will still be there two or three hundred years from now. Their touristic value is obvious. Poland scarcely attracts any tourists with "hard" currency, except to visit Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka, and other camps. Tour operators are beginning to calculate the profit they can derive from these places, at which there is in reality nothing to see but where, as a result, they will fill the void with "symbols." The less there is to see with your eyes, the more they will give you to see in your imagination. From that point of view, Treblinka is an ideal place. Everything there is symbolic: the entrance to the camp, its boundaries, the railway line, the access ramp, the path to the gas chambers," the "open air funeral pyres," and the sites of the "chambers" and "funeral pyres." At Treblinka, the Polish authorities will create, therefore, a museum all the more gigantic since the camp area proper was in fact exiguous (not even 200 × 50 m). In West Germany, East Germany and Austria, there is probably no longer a single school child, soldier or policeman who has not had to visit one or more concentration camps to understand there the horrors of National Socialism and to convince himself, by comparison, of the virtues of the "democratic" regimes in power. One cannot imagine a government that would ever renounce so easy a form of ideological indoctrination.

There is no reason for Israel and the World Jewish Congress to weaken their demands and their efforts in promoting the Holocaust religion. Such multi-millionaires of Jewish origin as Baron Rothschild in France, Robert Maxwell in Britain, Carlo de Benedetti in Italy, Rupert Murdoch in Australia, Armand Hammer in America and Moscow, and Edgar Bronfman in the United States and Canada, are probably going to collect more and more money (since it is doubtful that they will spend their own money) to counteract the effects of Revisionist skepticism. The personal fortune of Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress and the "liquor king," is estimated at \$3,600,000,000. The Revisionists have altogether about 3 francs and 6 sous. It is therefore wise not to have any illusions about the chances of success for Revisionism with a general public whose press is controlled by these magnates. People tell me a miracle is always possible.

The world political situation could evolve in a direction favorable to Revisionism. Who knows whether the Arabs, and Muslims in general, will endlessly recite the lessons they are taught and not grow tired of the "Holocaust of the Jews"? Who knows whether the Communist world, with abrupt changes in its internal and foreign policies being undertaken at the highest level, will decide that moment has come to "rectify" the official history of Katyn and of Auschwitz and to give free access, for example, to the "Totenbücher" of Auschwitz? Who knows whether the historians of the Third World, or of the former Third World, will someday try to write the history of the Second World War from their own point of view, without worrying overmuch about the taboos of the Western World?

For a long time to come it will be the lot of the Revisionists to work in obscurity and danger. Their adventure is similar to that of the Renaissance, in which certain individuals, in varying degrees throughout Europe, simultaneously and spontaneously took it upon themselves to struggle against obscurantism. Those Renaissance seekers of truth did their work by looking again at the original texts, doing critical analysis, and verifying things in terms of the physical and material world. They preferred doubt to belief. Moving away from faith, they embraced reason. It is in that same spirit that Revisionism finds itself questioning a system of religious and political taboos. In this sense Revisionism is, in the words of lawyer Pierre Pécastaing, "the great intellectual adventure of the end of this century." [17]

Notes

1.  These are some samples of the answers of R. Hilberg when cross-examined by D. Christie on Gerstein:

I would put Gerstein's statement [PS-1553] as one that one must be most careful about. Parts are corroborated; others are pure nonsense. (Transcripts, page 904).

Gerstein, apparently, was a very excitable person. He was capable of all kinds of statements which he, indeed, made not only in the affidavit but its context.

Question: He wasn't totally sane?

Answer: I am not a judge of sanity, but I would be careful about what he said (page 905).

He was capable, in his excitement, of adding imagination to fact. There is no question of that (page 906).

Question: And we know that [the statement that Hitler was there in Belzec] to be a totally false statement; right?

Answer: Exactly (page 907).

Well, [in the reproduction of his statements] I eliminated anything that seemed not to be plausible or credible, certainly (page 921).

[About another statement] Well, parts of it are true, and other parts of it are sheer exaggeration, manifest and obvious exaggeration [...] Rhetoric ... (page 923).

Gerstein was somewhat given to great excitability (page 924).

I would not characterize him as totally rational ... but that is of no value, because I am not the expert of rationality (page 925).

Question: A very strange mind prone to exaggeration?

Answer: Yes (page 928).

A far-out statement (page 934).

In the use of such affidavits, one must be extraordinarily careful (page 935).

[It should be noted that all these admissions were dragged from R. Hilberg before the publication of the works of Carlo Mattogno (Italy) and Henri Roques (France) about Gerstein].

2. [↗](#) At Ernst Zündel's house, in those rare moments of relaxation, as a dozen or so of us were sitting around a table the conversation would turn to Hilberg and his theory of the "incredible meeting of minds." We imagined how much better it would be to have a world in which the "incredible meeting of minds" would replace letters, telegrams, and the telephone, and in which, at the dinner table for example, there would be no need to ask someone to pass the salt or the water carafe since, by an "incredible meeting of the minds," the persons who had those things, practicing "consensus-mind-reading would in every case anticipate your expressed desires and would himself offer the salt shaker or the carafe at just the right moment
3. [↗](#) Here again, at Zündel's house, witness Vrba buoyed our spirits. We called him "the green duck." For several days lawyer Doug Christie had fired shots at him, each of which caused the impostor to lose some feathers, but none of which dealt him a mortal blow. It was Prosecuting Attorney Griffiths who delivered the coup de grâce to his own witness. In a sense he had asked Christie to loan him his double-barreled shotgun and, with two shots, brought down the bird. We called Vrba a "green" duck because of the color the witness turned when his story collapsed.
4. [↗](#) See Shoah, reviewed by Robert Faurisson, The Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1988, pp. 85-92.
5. [↗](#) Translated in The Journal of Historical Review, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.
6. [↗](#) See The Christian News, July 1987, page 9; also the IHR Newsletter, No. 51, August 1987.
7. [↗](#) After France changed its system for electing deputies to the Assembly from one based on proportional representation to direct election, the National Front's number of seats declined to one.
8. [↗](#) On pages 31-32 of the December 1987 issue of the American magazine Instauration, from which I have borrowed this translation, one can find an interesting discussion of the difficulty of translating the phrase "point de detail " Instauration rendered it as "footnote."
9. [↗](#) The pamphlet "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel" is currently available from The Institute for Historical Review.
10. [↗](#) Wilhelm Stäglich's The Auschwitz Myth is now available in English from the Institute for Historical Review. Enrique Aynat Eknes's "Crematoriums II and III of Birkenau: A Critical Study" appeared in the Fall 1988 Journal of Historical Review (Vol. 8, No. 3). A review of Carlo Mattogno's Il rapporto Gerstein, by Dr. Robert A. Hall, appeared in the Spring 1986 Journal of Historical Review (Vol. 7, No. 1).
11. [↗](#) A translation of the Michel de Bouard interview appeared in the Fall 1988 Journal of Historical Review (Vol. 8, No. 3).
12. [↗](#) In fact Hilberg refused to testify at the second trial of Zündel in Toronto.
13. [↗](#) Here are the two paragraphs as they appear at the bottom of page 7 and the top of page 8 of the transcript. I have underlined the words that people usually leave out or ignore.:

Unter entsprechender Leitung sollen nun im Zuge der Endlösung die Juden in geeigneter Weise im Osten zum Arbeitseinsatz kommen. In grossen Arbeitskolonnen, unter Trennung der Geschlechter, werden die arbeitsfähigen Juden strassenbauend in diese Gebiete geführt, wobei zweifellos ein Grossteil durch natürliche Verminderung ausfallen wird.

Der allfällig endlich verbleibende Restbestand wird, da es sich bei diesem zweifellos um den widerstandsfähigsten Teil handelt, entsprechend behandelt werden müssen, da dieser, eine natürliche Auslese darstellend, bei Freilassung als Keimzelle eines neuen jüdischen Aufbaues anzusprechen ist. (Siehe die Erfahrung der Geschichte).

(Under proper direction the Jews shall now, in the course of the final solution, be taken to the East and put to work in a suitable way. In big labor columns, with separation of the sexes, the Jews capable of work will be conducted to these areas, building roads, whereby undoubtedly a large part will be lost through natural decrease.

The total remnant that finally in any case will remain — since this is undoubtedly the part with the strongest resistance — will have to be treated accordingly, since the latter, representing a natural selection is to be regarded, upon release, as nucleus of a new Jewish revival. (See the experience of history.)

14. ☞ The “nod” theory makes no sense in itself and is not supported by the slightest documentation. It seems to have made its appearance with Browning in 1984, when he wrote (emphasis mine):

“... Himmler and Heydrich needed little more than a nod from Hitler to perceive that the time had come to extend the killing process to the European Jews.”

"A Reply to Martin Broszat Regarding the Origins of the Final Solution," The Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual, 1984, page 124

In *Fateful Months* (New York Holmes & Meier, 1985), Browning uses this theory on at least two occasions: first on page 22 and then on page 36, where he writes:

“If a nod from Hitler could set Himmler and Heydrich in motion, others eagerly looked for similar signs.”

In 1987 Brown declared:

“... it required not more than a nod of the head from Hitler to give the 'green light' indicating that the mass murder should now be extended to the European Jews. This was not so much an explicit order as an act of incitement. Hitler was soliciting a 'feasibility study,' he was commissioning the drawing-up of a genocide plan. How this was communicated, we do not and never will know.”

"Historians, Hitler and the Holocaust," a paper given at Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon, in March 1987, p. 24, thanks to Dr. Frankel of the Oregon Holocaust Resources Center

We might point out to Browning that if we do not know and cannot know how “this” was communicated, it is impossible to say that “this” existed.

15. ☞ I remind readers that Allied officials never mentioned the existence of gas chambers during the war. On the international stage, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill very nearly did so in Their famous November 1st, 1943 declaration on the German atrocities; They refrained from mentioning gas chambers — as we are told — at the British Government’s suggestion (Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945*, Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, 1979, p. 29).

Several months before, the Americans had planned the publication of a “Declaration of German Crimes in Poland,” which they suggested “; the British and the Soviets publish on the same day as the American declaration. This declaration contained the following paragraph;

These German measures are being carried out with the utmost brutality. Many of the victims are killed on the spot. The rest are segregated. Men from 14 to 50 are taken away to work for Germany. Some children are killed on the spot, others are separated from their parents and either sent to Germany to be brought up as Germans or sold to German settlers or dispatched with the women and old men to concentration camps, where they are now being systematically put to death in gas chambers.

Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, sent the declaration to the British. He informed the U.S. ambassador in Moscow by a telegram of August 27, 1943. Three days later, he warned the ambassador that there had been a mistake and in a telegram of August 30, he explained:

At the suggestion of the British Government which says there is insufficient evidence to justify the statement regarding execution in gas chambers, it has been agreed to eliminate the last phrase in paragraph 2 of the “Declaration on German Crimes in Poland” beginning “where” and ending “chambers” thus making the second paragraph end with “concentration camps.” Please inform the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the change in text. (Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1943, vol. 1, pp. 416-417).

This is the way The New York Times published the declaration, under the headline “U.S. and Britain Warn Nazi Killers” (30 August 1943, p. 3.). The Allied officials proved themselves to be prudent in their circumspection. Had they mentioned the alleged gas chambers in an official and worldwide declaration, world history would have been changed: the German authorities could have vigorously exposed this vile and ridiculous war canard which, then, would have plummeted to earth, since the Allies, challenged to prove their allegation, would have been confounded before the entire world. See also Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 356.

16. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi directs the Jewish and Israeli Studies Center at Columbia University in New York. He wrote in 1982:

“The Holocaust has already engendered more historical research than any single event in Jewish history, but I have no doubt whatever that its image is being shaped, not at the historian’s anvil, but in the novelist’s crucible. Much has changed since the sixteenth century; one thing curiously remains. Now, as then, it would appear that even where Jews do not reject history out of hand, they are not prepared to confront it directly, but seem to await a new, meta-historical myth, for which the novel provides at least a temporary modern surrogate.”

Zakhor, *Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1982, p. 98

17.  At the time of my Institute for Historical Review paper in 1983, I paid tribute to the courage and the wisdom of one of my lawyers: Eric Delcroix. I want to repeat that tribute here. From 1979 until today, Delcroix had defended Revisionists in court and elsewhere, through his writings and even by his physical presence when there was some danger.

Source: vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 65-69.

Atrocities, Then and Now

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

Most shocking barbarities begin to be reported as practiced ... upon the wounded and prisoners ... that fall into their hands,” read an editorial in the *New York Times*. “We are told of their slashing the throats of some from ear to ear; of their cutting off the heads of others and kicking them about as footballs; and of their setting up the wounded against trees and firing at them as targets or torturing them with plunges of bayonets into their bodies.”

The date was July 25, 1861, and the credulous editor, an ardent supporter of the Lincoln Administration, was commenting on the news which war correspondents were sending from the battle of Bull Run. A few weeks later, *Harpers Weekly*, the most popular illustrated paper of the day, carried a full page picture — presumably drawn by the artist on the spot — showing the Southerners bayonetting wounded Union soldiers on the battlefield.

The editorial, the correspondents' stories, and the illustrations might well have been published in the spring of 1945. Within recent weeks, the most popular illustrated weekly has carried elaborate spreads of border atrocities, correspondents have added solemn testimony, the State Department has promised adequate punishment for German war criminals, and Gen. Eisenhower invited a Congressional committee to visit scenes of German atrocities to gather authentic information. History — or as least the history of propaganda — would seem to be repeating itself.

In two important respects the propaganda aspects of the Civil War's atrocity stories resemble the present. One is the demand for vengeful retaliation on prisoners of war, and the other is the use of high-placed officials to verify and authenticate the stories handed out for popular consumption.

During the Civil War, when stories of suffering in Southern prison camps in Richmond and Andersonville began to spread over the North, Secretary of War Stanton prepared to use the stories to “fire the Northern heart.” The Union armies were waging a relentless war upon the South's transportation system, and the Confederates were unable to provide adequate housing, clothing, medicine, and food to the prisoners. Instead of exchanging the prisoners — the obviously humane solution — the Secretary of War preferred to allow Union soldiers to suffer from disease and privation in Southern prisons. Stanton knew that the very presence of the prisoners furnished a drain upon the Confederacy's dwindling resources.

Cloaking Their Aims

Edward M. Stanton was the Cabinet representative of the “Radical,” or “Jacobin,” faction of the Republican Party. The Jacobins represented the interests of the North's rising industrialists who

wanted a protective tariff, of the railroad promoters who wanted subsidies from the Federal treasury, and of the financiers who were using the new national banking system to get a strangle hold on the country's wealth.

Using the language of humanitarianism and freedom to cloak their predatory aims, the Jacobins wanted the war prolonged until the armies had crushed the South, destroyed its economic system, and enabled Northern exploiters to seize the South's resources. In Congress, the Jacobins controlled the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War, which fomented propaganda and formulated Jacobin policies.

Neither Secretary Stanton nor the Congressional Jacobins were willing to relieve the suffering of Union prisoners of war by modifying military policy or exchanging the prisoners. Instead, the Secretary gave encouragement to popular demands that Confederate prisoners of war, confined in the North, be made to suffer in retaliation. Northern prison officials reduced the rations of prisoners of war, failed to provide heat, and refused to issue clothing to prisoners suffering the unaccustomed severities of a Northern climate. Surgeons of Northern prison camps officially reported that men were dying from exposure, overcrowding, lack of food and bad sanitary arrangements.

"The Secretary of War is not disposed at this time, in view of the treatment our prisoners of war are receiving at the hands of the enemy, to erect fine establishments for their prisoners in our hands," replied Stanton to a suggestion that more prisons were needed. Moreover, he ordered that measures be taken to subject captured Confederates to "precisely similar treatment in respect to food, clothing, medical treatment and other necessities" as prevailed in Southern prisons.

Although the Jacobin press enthusiastically endorsed this venomous program, some prisoners of war, returning from the South, denied that Confederates were deliberately torturing prisoners. Such reports might well have caused a reaction against the policy of retaliation, and have given excuse for renewed demands for exchanges. To forestall such developments, Stanton sought "official confirmation of his policy. He asked the Committee on the Conduct of the War to visit a hospital at Annapolis and report on the condition of some sick and wounded ex-prisoners.

The enormity of the crime committed by the rebels toward our "prisoners," Stanton told the Jacobin committee, "is not known or realized by our people, and cannot but fill with horror the civilized world with the deliberate system of savage and barbarous treatment."

Thus instructed, the Congressional committee visited Annapolis. They emerged with a report which was a masterpiece of propaganda. In 30 pages of official print, they set forth a catalog of Confederate brutality. They told how the Southerners robbed their captives, how they beat them, starved them, and murdered them with fiendish glee. And, as evidence that could not be denied, the committee presented the pictures of 8 alleged victims of Confederate savagery. The 8 pictured men have hollow, unshaven cheeks, glassy eyes, protruding bones, and expressions of utter despondency.

The Government promptly circulated thousands of copies of this official report. No one noticed that two of the pictured men had been dead when the committee visited Annapolis, and no one knew, of course, that the worst case was a soldier who had never been a prisoner at all! Nor did the Committee bother to mention that the Confederates had sent these prisoners home, at their own request, because there were no proper hospital facilities for their care in Richmond. Such an admission would have weakened the Jacobin argument that the rebels had a "predetermined plan" permanently to disable all Union prisoners of war.

Bolstered by this report bearing the solemn signatures of Congressmen, the War Department continued its policy of retaliation upon the helpless Confederate prisoners of war. Before long, disease ran riot and death stalked the Northern prison camps until more than 12 percent of the prisoners were dead. Secretary Stanton had almost succeeded in administering “precisely similar treatment.” In the South where the blockade prevented getting medicines, and the war on the transportation system prevented the Confederates from feeding their prisoners, 15.5 per cent of the captives died.

The end of the Civil War did not bring an end to official propaganda on the subject of Confederate atrocities on prisoners of war. After the war, the Jacobins continued their program of destroying the South’s economic system. As they proceeded to impose military government on the South in a drastic program of “Reconstruction,” they needed to keep the prison atrocity stories alive. Unless, so their argument ran, the Southerners were controlled at the point of a bayonet, they would reestablish slavery and rise again in an effort to destroy the Union.

Accordingly, in 1869, the Jacobins in the House of Representatives appointed a committee to report again on the prisoners. “Rebel cruelty,” duly reported the committee, “demands an enduring truthful record, stamped with the National Authority.” The committee took testimony, oral and written, from 3,000 witnesses, and they issued a heavily documented volume which stamped with the National Authority” all the horror stories of the Confederate prisoners and proved conclusively the Jacobin doctrine that the Confederates were fiends, Jefferson Davis was a beast, and no rebel could ever be trusted with a ballot. To the Jacobin it was clear that the whole South should be made to suffer forever for its sins.

Experience of World War I

Such was the history of one aspect of Civil War propaganda. To it might be added a footnote from the First World War. In that war, too, atrocity stories played a major role in “firing” the Allied heart. After the war, Sir Arthur Ponsonby and others examined the stories of the Belgian babies, of the cathedral monks tied to bell-clappers, and the famed corpse rendering factory. They found the stories interesting and ingenious, but untrue.

One set of stories, however, was debunked by officers of the American Army. In 1918, the American Third Army moved in to occupy a part of the Rhineland. As Colonel I.L. Hunts Officer in Charge of Civil Affairs, tells the story:

Hardly had the guns ceased firing on the morning of November 11, when Allied prisoners began to straggle over from the German lines. These returning prisoners were in a pitiful condition. They were all ravenously hungry, and most of them in rags and indescribable filth ... The sight of the deplorable condition of the prisoners caused bitter resentment among the Allied troops. Some of these prisoners brought stories of terrible conditions of hunger in the prison camps from which they had been released.

Promptly, the Armistice Commission protested to the Germans against this brutality, and threatened reprisals. The Germans denied the charges, and said that the prisoners had muntinied in the camps and had made their way to the Allied lines without waiting for proper transportation.

Then came more stories — stories about the prisoners who were still in German camps and who were being “brutally treated by German guards after the signing of the Armistice.” Again the Armistice Commission protested, and prepared to use the stories to impart harsher retaliation on

the Germans. But then the American representatives on the Commission investigated and, says Col. Hunt, it was “discovered that the statements made by the Germans were, in fact, true.”

The prisoners had revolted, and had made their way without rations to the Allied lines. This “was sufficient to account for the deplorable condition in which they arrived.” Moreover, the camps in the interior had been deprived of supplies by the Allied victory and by internal revolution.

“As a matter of fact,” concluded Col. Hunt, “it had been established that the American prisoners were, on the whole, well treated in the German internment camps. Their rations were not good, but, thanks to the Red Cross, they actually fared better than the German troops who were guarding them.”

The memory of these cases from two previous wars should have a sobering effect at the present time. The current deluge of atrocity stories, vouched for by the State Department, and soon to be stamped with the national authority by visiting congressmen, may turn out, of course, to be true. They were not true in 1864 and in 1918, and even if they were true in 1945 they would have to furnish a rational basis for sadistic retaliation on prisoners of war or for enslaving the German people in a short-sighted surrender to the lust for revenge, that can only serve to wreck the hope for enduring peace.

Source: vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 71-88.

Red Cross Humanitarianism In Greece, 1940-45

R. CLARENCE LANG

I. Points of Reference

In the summer of 1946, I volunteered for a student assignment with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) to help war-devastated Europe. My hope was to see Germany and Austria; instead, after being shipped out of Houston with about 850 horses from Mexico on board, I ended up for a few days in Salonika, Greece, known in the New Testament as Thessalonika.

Some 15 years later, I casually mentioned this to Prof. D. Peter Meinhold at the University of Kiel, Germany, where I completed my doctorate in history. He in turn spoke of his wartime adventures in Greece. A chaplain in the German army, which occupied Greece, Dr. Meinhold served there as a liaison between the Axis occupation forces and the IRC (International Red Cross), which provided material aid for the starving Greek population during the war. Dr. Meinhold told me that this aid saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of Greeks.

Newly aware of this episode of wartime humanitarianism, I was interested to note its mention of it in a college textbook, *A History of England*, by Goldwyn Smith. Upon writing the author, I learned that Smith, a Canadian, had worked for British Intelligence during World War II. While on duty in Ottawa, Canada, he would now and then see Henry Wallace, the American vice president, walking through the Intelligence Office. After inquiring, Smith learned that Wallace was involved in implementing aid for occupied Greece. In his textbook Smith claims this aid saved the lives of “millions” of Greeks. [1]

Later, by chance, while paging through the Congressional Record for the House of Representatives for 1943 in a used bookstore in San Antonio, I discovered that the Minnesotan Harold Knutson, the Republican minority leader, had delivered a 20-minute humanitarian plea for the Allies to modify their blockade, as they did in the case of Greece, so that the IRC could alleviate the suffering and starvation of women and children in occupied Europe. Knutson used the IRC help in Greece as a model and formula which could be implemented elsewhere. Supported by some of his fellow Republicans, Knutson spoke of “those who cold-bloodedly tell us that human beings are replaceable.” Knutson claimed that “the present relief work in Greece, initiated by Turkey, and now being carried on by the Swedish and Swiss Red Cross, prove *that relief work can be extended to Poland, Norway, Denmark, and the Low Countries, where pestilence, famine, and death walk hand in hand* [emphasis added].” He insisted that just one word from either Roosevelt and Churchill “would banish all the horror of famine and pestilence” and then named the afflicted countries once more. [2]

Knutson's passionate pleas were the tip of an iceberg. For throughout the war such influential persons as former president Herbert Hoover; the noted banker Harvey D. Gibson; the English bishop of Chichester, George Bell; the congressman and former executive secretary of the European Relief Council (1920-1), Christian A. Herter, who backed Knutson in the House; and the American Quaker John Rich and the English Quaker Roy Walker all called frequently for Allied humanitarian involvement in occupied Europe. [3]

Before America entered the war, and thus before war censorship, Herbert Hoover made an appeal to the American people on radio, terming the results of the British blockade "this holocaust." He questioned: "Can one point to one benefit that has been gained from this holocaust?" The *Christian Century* of October, 1941, devoted an article to Hoover, writing, "Out of the agony and bitterness of these days, one great humanitarian figure is emerging in America." [4]

Six months later, on April 22, 1942, the Famine Relief Committee was formed — one of several such groups -with some 20 members. Its goal was to persuade the Allies to modify their blockade of all foodstuffs to the Axis-occupied countries of Europe. When the committee decided to end its activities, and hand over the balance of its funds to the Friends Relief Service for use among young children in Poland shortly before the wars end. it stated in its final report:

It would have been obvious to all intelligent people that our food blockade of the continent of Europe would bring untold torture and sufferings to our friends and allies and would do little or no harm to our enemy ... It has been possible to obtain proof that our food blockade did not shorten the war by a single hour ... History will judge our government harshly for its futile persistence in a policy of total blockade of foodstuffs. [5]

Mindful of the historical challenge presented by the Famine Relief Committees and at the same time paying tribute to the all true humanitarians of World War II, let us look at the involvement of the International Red Cross in Greece.

II. The Wartime Humanitarian Aid to Greece

The Swiss, Marcel Junod, who initially played an important role in Red Cross work in wartime Greece, devoted a chapter of his book *Warriors Without Weapons to Greece* ("Unhappy Arcadia") [6] Although the book affords valuable insights into the work of the IRC, it is, nevertheless, short, and lacks a bibliography. On the other hand, the Greek Red Cross, using as its model the final report of the IRC on its aid to Belgium during World War I, in which Hoover played such an important part, in 1949 issued, in French, its final report. An extensive report of over 600 pages, the Red Cross report abounds with charts and graphs, making the IRC aid to Greece a well-documented aspect of World War II. [7] From these two principal sources, as well as others, emerges the following historical picture of the Greek famine in the winter of 1941-42.

In October 1940 the Italians invaded Greece and the British immediately extended their blockade to include Greece. The fighting disrupted the fall planting, and created an acute shortage of farm workers as well as of horses, tractors, gasoline, and insecticides. Railroads, highways and roads were disrupted, bridges destroyed, and irrigation systems damaged. The fall of 1940 was exceedingly dry, the summer of 1941 very hot, and the winter of 1941-42 exceedingly cold. In the spring of 1941 the Germans and Bulgarians invaded Greece to support the faltering Italians. The result was more privation and more refugees as the Bulgarians occupied a rich agricultural area, while the Germans used Greece as a supply base for Rommel's army in North Africa.

Nevertheless, the Red Cross was able “to distribute 800,000 bowls of soup” in the winter of 1941, and establish “450 feeding centers for 100,000 children over seven and 130 nursery centers for 74,000 infants.” [8] The IRC report estimated that 250,000 Greek deaths were caused by the shortage of food and clothing — this out of a population of 7,300,000. Most of the deaths, however, occurred in the winter of 1941-42. [9]

According to Junod, much of this aid plan was initially worked out in the neutral Turkish capital of Ankara, in which the German ambassador, Franz von Papen, among others played an important role.

The IRC’s humanitarian breakthrough was due to the success of the Swiss Red Cross and the Swedish Red Cross in gaining the intervention of the Swedish government, which conducted the complicated but necessary negotiations with the various belligerent capitals. Noteworthy, in this connection, is the work of the IRC representative, Carl Burckhardt, a Swiss, who was the chief IRC negotiator in Berlin and elsewhere.

On August 29, 1942, in the midst of World War II, humanitarianism triumphed when the Swedish ships *Formosa*, *Carmelia* and *Eros*, chartered by the IRC, docked in Piraeus, the harbor of Athens, with some 16,000 metric tons of Canadian wheat. In the ensuing months 91 other shiploads arrived, 84 from Canada and 7 from Argentina. Before the IRC role was taken over by UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) in the spring of 1945, 610,000 tons had been shipped across the Atlantic and an additional 102,100 tons provided for the IRC. [10] From August 1942 on, then, the famine was being mastered, so that 10 months later Congressman Knutson could cite Greece as a powerful example in his plea for relaxing the Allied “total” blockade elsewhere.

Since the opponents of relaxing the blockade, no matter how slightly, contended that any aid would help the Axis militarily and thus prolong the war, a statement of several working assumptions of the humanitarians is in order. It should be stressed that the advocates of relaxing the blockade constantly challenged their opponents to substantiate their objections. Supporters of humanitarian aid maintained that while this may have seemed impossible, nevertheless objective specialists could solve the complicated problems without conferring military advantages on any of the belligerents. Or, as the final report observed, despite the many intricate complications involved, “persistence won the day and Greece was fed.”

The *modus operandi* that was agreed upon was essentially the same as the one Hoover and his team had worked out in Belgium in World War I. [11]

1. A stipulation was that the Axis were the occupiers of Greece. This was an accepted fact, devoid of moral judgments for the IRC. Since the occupiers did and would have continued in their policy regardless, they were permitted to requisition local food necessary to the occupation. No foreign aid was to go to the occupying forces and these forces were not to be directly involved in the distribution. The occupying authorities promised not to take any more foodstuffs out of Greece than they had done before the IRC aid was initiated. Since the Germans had an acute manpower shortage everywhere, they, self-evidently, kept their occupational forces to a minimum. IRC representatives could monitor food shipments to spot any violations.
2. Resistance came from the Allies, not the Axis. The Allies limited the aid to 15,000 metric tons a month. In fact, Eugene Lyons, in his biography of Herbert Hoover, went so far as to claim, “In June 1942, the Turkish government insisted on sending in food. The British and

American governments regulated this Greek relief, since they could not stop the Turks in any case.” [12]

3. The Swedish ships chartered by the IRC needed to have their voyages cleared in Berlin before leaving Canada or Argentina. The ships were clearly marked, sailed in pairs, and had to follow a strict, pre-arranged course. Any deviation could spell disaster, as German submarines were active. In the event, the Germans sank no IRC ships. However, ships hit mines in the Mediterranean and ships were sunk by erring American and Italian planes. It had been agreed that no restitution complaints could be filed.
4. The ships were inspected by the British in Gibraltar and by the Germans in Piraeus.
5. Upon arrival and inspection by the Germans, the cargo was taken over by a neutral High Administration, consisting of seven Swiss and eight Swedes, with the Swedish charge d'affaires playing an important part. [13] Any violation on the part of the occupying forces was reported to him. The aid was transported inland without charge and was custom- and tax-free. Thousands of persons, Greeks and non-Greeks, were involved.
6. Local priests and churchmen played important roles in many places, especially outside the larger cities.

Since these humanitarians, whether from the Red Cross, whether Quakers, Unitarians, churchmen or others on both sides of the Atlantic, were convinced that such aid was possible elsewhere in occupied Europe, a historical look at factors favoring this is merited.

III. The Possibility of Implementing Similar Aid Elsewhere

1. Although the tendency is to speak and write of an all encompassing war in Europe, a glance at the map indicates that there were neutral countries strategically located to facilitate humanitarian-foreign aid.

In the eastern Mediterranean there was, as seen above neutral Turkey, with a long coastline facing toward Greece, a European territory adjoining the Balkans, and a vast hinterland reaching far into Asia. This meant that what was achieved in Greece was possible in other Balkan countries. Neutral Portugal, Spain and Ireland offered way stations for aid from across the Atlantic; neutral Sweden straddled the North Sea and Baltic. Although landlocked, neutral Switzerland was in the heart of warring Europe. Switzerland had a strong humanitarian tradition; transportation of goods was free; and the cities of Basel and Zurich were close to Germany, while Geneva, the Red Cross Center, has also been the seat of the international League of Nations.

2. As pointed out, the reluctance was not from the German side. Junod, who was not overly pro-German, claimed: “Germany had no interest in stopping the supply of foodstuffs to a famished continent.” [14] Similar claims were made by many others, including Congressman Knutson, the Famine Relief Committee, and the writer of the final report of the International Red Cross in Greece. [15] In the Red Cross report one even finds subdued praise for the Germans: as is pointed out, for the Germans it was no small matter that scores of foreign delegates roamed Greece carrying out their independent administrative activities on a grand scale. The Germans showed a great trust. [16] My personal knowledge of others like Prof. Dr. Meinhold leads me to agree. Meinhold told me proudly, “The Germans didn’t want nor did they get even one kernel.”

Similarly, Philip E. Ryan, an American director of the Red Cross, writing about aid to Allied prisoners of war in Germany, claimed that the IRC handled over 300,000 tons of supplies for Allied prisoners. In 1947 he wrote that for the year 1943 “... the record of delivery of goods consigned to Americans in prison camps in Europe showed receipts of 99.93% of the goods shipped.” “Delivery,” he continues, “in 1944 and 45 was somewhat less effec-

tive,” but he hastens to add that this was “occasioned in part by losses resulting from Allied air attacks on transportation points in Germany and the general disruption in a country approaching military defeat.” [17] In the final report of the IRC one reads that this neutral commission encountered a true understanding of its work and that difficulties were smoothed out, as easily as the circumstances of the war permitted.

A similar German willingness is also apparent elsewhere, as in Poland (as long as such aid was possible, that is, before the American involvement in the war from December 1941. Thus Rabbi Abraham Shinedling, in his long article (ten pages) in the 1942 *Collier's Yearbook* covering 1941, wrote that in January 1941, “the Joint Distribution Committee of America was assisting at least 600,000 destitute Polish Jews.” [18]

Hoover, who kept up the humanitarian pressure throughout the war, in 1941 used Poland as an example that the German military could be trusted. Thus John Cudahy, former U.S. ambassador to Poland, called Hoover “the greatest expert of the world on saving famishing humanity,” and speaking of Hoover’s proposal to set up American soup kitchens in Belgium for the feeding of 1,000,000 adults and 2,000,000 children, claimed, “For a year and a half before the German-Russian phrase of the war, Hoover’s food relief functioned in Poland. There depots were set up in Cracow and Warsaw for distribution to Poles, Jews and Ukrainians, *without interference by German military forces nor has there been any attempt to seize any supplies by the Germans* [emphasis added].” “The former president,” wrote Cudahy, “points to this example as proof of what may be expected from the German Army in fulfillment of the undertaking in Belgium.” [19]

3. Just as the prisoner-of-war camps were easily transformed into Red Cross distribution centers, the same could have been done with certain German concentration camps. (As will be shown, some of this was done.)

In the 1948 *Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross 1941-46* one finds, “The distribution of relief in camps was more easily controlled than distribution among the civilian population of a country.” [20]

Simply formulated: What other wartime option did the Germans have, in the face of their massive manpower shortage, but to import large numbers of foreigners, men and women, for employment in German industry and agriculture? The problems in terms of work discipline and security were such that these millions of alien workers were housed in labor and even concentration camps, which were transformed into huge manufacturing complexes as the war progressed. The German manpower shortage, in the face of strong underground resistance which engaged in effective guerrilla operations and even more effective economic sabotage, further complicated things by encouraging resort to terror tactics in policing.

In fact this massive reliance on foreign and captive labor afforded an opportunity to thwart the Anglo-American hunger blockade through centralized distribution to millions of workers in Central Europe. At the same time this use of foreign labor, as well as the concentration of the Jews in camps and ghettos, gave Allied propagandists the opportunity to claim that these German policies were part of a grand plan to exterminate non-Germans.

Had the Anglo-American Allies been willing to allow shipping additional food and clothing, some camps were strategically located and could have at times been useful for IRC aid. Thus Stutthof was on the Baltic Sea, convenient to Sweden. Mauthausen, Dachau, and Buchenwald were immune from much of the Allied bombing, and these camps, plus Bergen-Belsen, were fairly accessible by rail from Switzerland. That this was more than an option is shown by the fact that despite Allied sabotage and hindrance of aid to the camp deportees “... from the 12 November 1943 to the 8th of May 1945, some 751,000 parcels ... were sent by the IRC to deportees in concentration camps.” [21] Beside the Allied restrictions there were also inner-camp problems in the distribution. This was so at least in Buchenwald. There much of the distribution was in the hands of the prisoners' committees. These committees were dominated by the Communists, since they had been in the camp the

longest. [22]

The prisoners' committees tended to give food to those who toed the mark for the Communists. To solve this the IRC and others insisted that parcels could be sent only to specific persons, so that reception could be acknowledged. But internees had often changed their names and were thus difficult to locate in the midst of chaotic conditions. The circumstances, and not German policy, were the problem.

4. Across occupied Europe there was a network of churches, which was left intact by the Germans, and as the IRC final report pointed out, church connections were most helpful in Greece.
5. The Americans, Canadians and others were willing to help. A bill to aid the peoples of the occupied countries was passed by the U.S. Congress as late in the war as the spring of 1944. [23] Despite Allied war demands there was no shortage of agricultural goods in Allied countries. Canada, for example, had its biggest crop in the summer of 1942. Neutral ships were available. Money was no problem, for various humanitarian organizations, in addition to the churches, were eager to help. (Also available were the financial assets and shipping properties of the occupied countries which had been seized by the Americans and Canadians.) The governments-in-exile advocated such aid. Pacifists were eager to volunteer despite the risks involved.

Despite these favorable factors, the humanitarians were frustrated in their endeavors, with the exception of Greece. Their frustrations were rooted in the deliberate intransigence of the Allies.

IV. IRC Humanitarianism Versus the 'Cloak' of UNRRA Humanitarianism

Regarding aid to occupied Europe, two basic thrusts in American political leadership are to be distinguished. One, as noted, was associated with congressmen such as Knutson. The other was that of President Roosevelt's "inner clique".

For men such as Knutson and Hoover, the overall American policy should have been one of minimizing the war's human losses without jeopardizing an Allied victory. In Knutson's approach one can also isolate a racial aspect, for in singling out Roosevelt and Churchill, he charged, "The future of white civilization in Europe rests in their hands." Knutson and his supporters, like the Red Cross, sought to provide, without much fanfare, as much aid as possible *before the actual Allied military liberation*. Thus the basic question was whether aid should be supplied before, or only after, the military liberation.

Evidently, there was a split within the Roosevelt Administration regarding such matters. Thus William C. Bullitt, although he does not mention humanitarian aid, wrote in 1946, "Few errors more disastrous have ever been made by a president of the United States and those citizens of the United States who bamboozled the President into acting as if Stalin were a cross between Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson, [these citizens] deserve a high place on the American roll of dishonor. A government of the United States would have begun in 1941 to declare as a peace aim the creation of a democratic European Federation and would have directed all its politics and policies in Europe toward the achievement of that aim." [24] Since Bullitt spoke of directing "all ... economic policies" to outflank Stalin, it would seem that he did not stand in the way of IRC aid. A masterstroke for Roosevelt's "inner clique," which excluded Bullitt, was the formation of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitational Administration clique in late 1942. Its unexpressed aim was to undermine the effectiveness of the humanitarian work of such organizations as the Red Cross and the Christian churches. [25]

Factors favoring the humanitarians were deliberately sabotaged by the Allies. Thus Jan Ciechanowski, the Polish ambassador to the United States during the war years wrote, in his *Defeat In Victory* (1947), regarding the UNRRA: “It was known to only a few people in Washington — outside the secret inner sanctum of the Big Four Powers, the United States, Britain, Soviet Russia and China — that the pattern of Power dictatorship was first secretly *introduced through the innocent looking greatest relief organization in the world — the UNRRA* [emphasis added].” [26]

What made the IRC the IRC was its helping for the sake of helping, helping human beings because they were human beings, that is, humanizing without dehumanizing. The key was to help now *and not later*. The Swiss Max Huber, who repeatedly articulated the Red Cross version of humanitarianism, pointed out that the IRC must be above all national, political and racial ties, even regarding the Fascists and the National Socialists. His model, which served as well for such other humanitarians as the Quaker Hoover, was the good Samaritan of the New Testament (the Germans speak of the compassionate Samaritan). In the New Testament that parable was spoken by Jesus in response to the question: “Who is my neighbor?” Huber was of the opinion that this was not just a parable, but that Jesus had an actual episode in mind — perhaps somewhat embellished by tradition. Without having a clear-cut future ideal or vision, the Samaritan, overcome by compassion, saw the victims need, responded immediately, and accomplished his deed of helping. [26a]

Applying the response of the good Samaritan to Allied decision-making in World War II, undoubtedly the situation in the winters of 1944, '45 and '46 would have been quite different in Europe if the Allies had cooperated more fully with the IRC. Yet, according to Red Cross documentation, “The Allied blockade control of exports from Switzerland grew” even “stricter as the years passed.” [27] For the real policy of Roosevelt and his advisors, those whom Bullitt termed bamboozlers, was one of undermining and countering the IRC approach. Their approach was based on the UNRRA version of humanitarianism: *instead of giving aid while the war was in progress, the truly humanitarian approach was to amass it and wait until the war is over*. Thus UNRRA, for example, made “mass purchases to build up stock” just to undercut the Red Cross. [28] The word “rehabilitation” was employed to justify this refusal to help during the war.

A strong element in this approach was the Morgenthau Plan for the Germans, a plan never officially adopted but nevertheless largely carried out. An American Lutheran churchman who was directly involved with church aid to Germany after the war called the Morgenthau Plan “vengeful.” [29] In other words, the UNRRA approach was closely linked with the conviction that the world had to solve forever what was termed “the German problem.” In so doing one could create a model for solving the world’s racial problems and the problem of anti-Semitism everywhere. In a way, the same mentality that ordered the bombing of Dresden and Pforzheim weeks before the end of the war also worked against the Red Cross. By allowing the adoption of the UNRRA version of humanitarianism, Roosevelt and Churchill cold-bloodedly sacrificed millions of human beings on the altar of unconditional surrender, in the same way that Stalin had done with the Ukrainian kulaks in the 1930's.

Since Huber, Hoover and others found deep inspiration in the parable of the good Samaritan, a parable closely connected with the Christian tradition, there is also a churchly aspect to this. Some may say that war is war and that therefore Christian considerations were not relevant. Yet when Roosevelt and Churchill met on the American cruiser *Augusta*, in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland in August, 1941, they formulated the Atlantic Charter, and “Frank and Winnie” sang the Christian hymn that goes “*Onward Christian soldiers marching as to war, With the cross of Jesus going on before,*” at a worship service. The American, Canadian and British armed forces

all had Christian military chaplains, paid by their governments. How can one avoid the Christian dimension?

From a Christian standpoint, regarding the two versions of humanitarianism, there is indeed a difference between those who profess faith in God and those, who devoid of this faith, aim to realize their own future idea. The disparity is evident also in the difference between the so-called religious principles and the commandments of God. Principles lack, in some ways, the urgency of God's commandments. The good Samaritan could have waited and justified his refusal to help by saying, "I'll have to report this to the police," or, "I need to protect myself so I can help other victims in the future." For this Samaritan, however, the only thing that mattered was helping now. The IRC thought and acted likewise.

Clearly at odds with the Christian imperative was the conduct of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches in actually adopting the un-Christian UNRRA policy of withholding material aid to Germany to further its preconceived postwar plan for the Germans. It was in accordance with this plan that a delegation of eight from the Professional Committee sought to establish postwar fellowship with representatives of the newly formed German Protestant Church at Stuttgart in October 1945. There, in the name of ecumenism, the PCWCC delegation, in cooperation with the British and American military, wielded the implied threat of withholding material assistance in feeding and clothing the German people unless the German churchmen complied with their demand: to formulate and sign a declaration of an all-German guilt for World War II. Thereby the Provisional Committee adopted an un-Christian unilateralism of guilt, out of step with true Christianity but quite in step with the inhuman unconditional surrender demands proclaimed by President Roosevelt at Casablanca in 1943." [30]

The World Council of Churches' action also had important theological ramifications. The notion of a unique, all-German guilt flew in the face of the universality of Christian baptism. It meant that the World Council was driven by a sectarian political obsession, thus making it a sect which pre-empted the term "church" for its sectarian purposes. This sectarian, theocratic (legalistic) spirit became further evident in the imposition of pre-conceived standards, regarding the leadership of the postwar German Protestant churches, on the Germans. That is, it was insisted on that only those who had publicly opposed National Socialism could qualify as church leaders. Such sectarianism, therefore, even set its own stipulations regarding discipleship and apostleship, pre-empting the twelve of the New Testament. A clergyman like Prof. D. Meinhold, who personally contributed in helping to save the lives of thousands of Greeks, would not have qualified as a church leader, simply because of his service as a chaplain in the German army. Thus the new sect known as the World Council of Churches prostituted not only baptism but also ordination. The World Council of Churches continues to discredit outstanding Christian theologians and church leaders of the past. This was somewhat foreseen by some at the time. In 1946 the Swiss Karl Alfons Meyer, in his article *Rotes Kreuz in Bedrängnis* (The Red Cross in Distress), wrote of the IRC version of humanitarianism: "The Red Cross, in contrast to all churches and also every form of atheism, was in every way the living model of pure Christianity." [31]

It is high time that those associated with the World Council of Churches — which spoke so nobly in 1945 of the German need for repentance — recognize the error of their ways and follow President Ronald Reagan's lead at Bitburg in 1985, where he termed the German guilt that which is in reality, i.e. "imposed."

Clearly a key reason for the Allies' frustration of IRC and others' attempts to succor occupied Europe was that the resulting privation could be exploited for propaganda purposes. Wartime aid to the people of occupied Europe would have deprived the Allied liberation of a good deal of the

impact it achieved through the flow of food, clothing, and medical supplies which followed in its wake. Furthermore, the terrible disease and hunger which afflicted occupied Europe at the war's end could be laid at the door of the "evil" Germans and their "evil" leaders. [32] The horrors caused in no small part by the Anglo-American refusal to relax the blockade would serve as much of the basis for a postwar propaganda which would slowly harden into "history." In turn this history would be harnessed to the task of "re-educating" the Germans and the rest of the world as to the virtues of certain nations and ideologies and the evils of others.

Unquestionably the IRC involvement in Greece, and other related topics, have been neglected in historical writing. One can hardly fault the IRC, the thrust of which is helping from humanitarian motives and not propagandizing for the sake of public relations. As Huber expressed it "The biblical words tell us that one does not light a lamp and put it under a bushel." Yet, for the IRC the spirit dies as soon as its workers put it above the bushel." [33] The IRC was concerned with helping, not with getting credit, quite unlike the propagandists and the politicians, whose priorities are often reversed. This explains the IRC's helplessness against UNRRA, and how its "living model of pure Christianity" could be successfully abused by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches. Yet this cannot be the case for honest historians, for as the Famine Relief Committee wrote in its final report in 1945, "History will judge our government harshly for its futile persistence in a policy of total blockade of foodstuffs." [34]

From a humanitarian viewpoint, the decisive time for the English and American leadership in World War II was the summer of 1943, when Knutson and his fellow Republicans made their dramatic plea. Before that, especially before June 1941, the blockade was virtually England's only weapon. But by the summer of 1943 the situation was changing rapidly, and central Europe was in disruption. In the face of this, who would say, realistically speaking, that the IRC aid to the Allied prisoners of war in Germany prolonged the war? Or that the 751,000 parcels to those in the concentration camps or the 714,000 metric tons of food provided for the civilian population in Greece prolonged the war? In fact, it contributed heavily in keeping Greece from falling into the Communist orbit afterwards. Might not similar aid, even if less dramatic, have changed the course of history and prevented countries like Poland from falling into the hands of the Communists? In any case the fact remains that millions of Greeks are alive today because of aid. [35]

In closing, one might ask how men such as Knutson, Hoover, Gibson, Rich, Walker, and the other members of the Famine Relief Committee felt when they read and heard of the horror scenes in the German concentration camps at the war's end. They knew that the Allies could have alleviated at least some of those horrors. But Roosevelt, Churchill, and the others who stymied humanitarian aid stood ready not merely to exploit, but to create the circumstances which led to such conditions. Whereas the humanitarians knew that Germans had no patent on man's inhumanity to man, the Allied leaders counterfeited a deceitful image of German brutality which has played a crucial role in the distortion of modern history.

The images from the camps of spring 1945 very much need to be reassessed. It is hoped that this paper is a contribution to that reassessment.

Notes

1.  Goldwyn Smith, *History of England* (Third Edition), New York Charles Scribner & Sons, 1957, pp. 782-3. Smith writes: "Without this aid, millions of Greeks would have perished."
2.  Congressional Record (1943), pp. 6681-2.

3. ☐ In *Collier's Yearbook* (1940), covering 1939, p. 277, John F. Rich is designated a secretary of the Quaker Committee in Poland.
4. ☐ *Christian Century*, Oct 29, 1941. pp. 1326 ff.
5. ☐ Ronald C. D. Jasper, *George Bell: Bishop of Chichester*, Oxford Univ., New York-Toronto, 1967, p. 266. Bell also protested "against obliteration bombings [against Germany]" in the House of Lords, cf. *Christian Century*, March 22, 1944.
6. ☐ Marcel Junod, *Warriors without Weapons*. New York Macmillan Co., 1951, pp. 164-184.
7. ☐ *Ravitaillement de la Grèce, pendant l'occupation 1941-44 et pendant les premiers cinq mois après la libération. Rapport final de la Commission de Gestion pour les Secours en Grèce sous les auspices du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge*. Imprimerie de la "Société Hellenique d'Editions," S. A. Athènes 1949. The report was edited by Bengt Helger, who was president when the commission was liquidated Nov. 1945 to Sept. 1946. Cf p. 73 (Evidently this report was never translated into another language.)
8. ☐ Junod, *Warriors*, p. 178.
9. ☐ *Ravitaillement*, p. 625.
10. ☐ *Ravitaillement*, p. 19. Of the 610,000 tons, 470,000 were wheat and wheat product and 140,000 tons dry milk, canned products, vitamins and medicines. Of the 102,100 tons, 3,600 came from Sweden, 2,100 from Turkey, 31,000 from the Axis Powers, 4,400 Greek products, 55,000 from the Military Liaison, and 6,000 was left for the Red Cross by the Germans before they departed. Not included in this total is the tonnage of the ship *Hallaren* which was allowed to operate between Italy and Greece. This ship brought in 55,000 tons of foodstuffs. *Ravitaillement*, p. 97.
11. ☐ *Ravitaillement*, p. 58 ff.
12. ☐ Eugene Lyons, *Herbert Hoover: A Biography*, Doubleday, Garden City, NY, 1964, p. 361.
13. ☐ *Ravitaillement*. The final report lists the Swiss and Swedish delegates. On this list are about 40 Swedes and 20 Swiss. The Swedish list includes 9 professors, a council of the Swedish Supreme Court, naval officers, pastors and bankers.
14. ☐ Junod, *Warriors*, p. 157.
15. ☐ Although general in nature, the *Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross, 1941-46*, Geneva, 1948, shows that the Red Cross was indeed active throughout the war. Chapter II, entitled "The Blockade," tells of aid to practically all occupied countries. Thus on p. 298 one finds that 644,900 tons of foodstuffs and clothing were shipped to Poland, and 27,885 tons of pharmaceutical products. This aid was provided, primarily, from within the Third Reich, despite the Allied blockade and deliberate Allied hindrances.
16. ☐ *Ravitaillement*, p. 81 and 87.
17. ☐ "10 Eventful Years," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol III, 1947, p.644, under the heading "Prisoners of War."
18. ☐ *Collier's Year Book*, P.F. Collier & Son, 1942. P.340 under Jews. "Early in January, the new Warsaw ghetto for Jews began to be administered by a Jewish Community Council with 1,000 Jewish policemen guarding the section, which was enclosed by an eight-foot wall Entrance of 'Aryans' into the Warsaw ghetto was discouraged. That same month, the Joint Distribution Committee of America was assisting at least 600,000 destitute Polish Jews." [Non-Jewish Poles like Germans were termed Aryans.] Walter N. Sanning, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, p. 44, claims that in the areas in Poland under German control there were 757,000 Jews.
19. ☐ John Cudahy, *The Armies March*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941, p.224 ff.

20. [↗](#) *The Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross 1941-46*, Geneva, 1948, p.14.
21. [↗](#) International Committee of the Red Cross, *The Work of the ICRC for Civilian Detainees in the German Concentration Camps (1939-1945)*, Geneva, 1975, p.24.
22. [↗](#) Noel F. Busch, *Lost Continent?*, Harper, New York and London 1945. Busch was a well-known writer. On pp. 73 and 74 he tells of his visit to Buchenwald ten days after the liberation. The one-time inmate, Robert Robertin, whose father was fairly well-known in the Czech government, showed him around “Robertin ... told me something about the internal organization of the camp and especially of the prisoners' committees, which, according to him, did most of the governing of the camp with the approval of the official Gestapo authorities ... According to him, they [the committees] were ... almost wholly Communist-controlled, since the Communists had been the first internees and thus had priority on the best jobs ... Many of the horrors attributed to the Gestapo authorities were, according to Robertin, not only encouraged by the committees but instigated by them.”
23. [↗](#) *Lutheran Companion*, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, IL: May 17, 1944. “On Feb. 15 the Senate passed a resolution, urging the Administration to send food to the Nazi dominated countries in western and northern Europe, as has already been done so successfully in Greece. The House passed it unanimously on April 17,” pp.34.
24. [↗](#) William C. Bullitt, *The Great Globe Itself*, New York Charles Scribner & Sons, 1946, p.193.
25. [↗](#) Sigrid Arne, *United Nations Primer*, New York, Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1945, p. 41. “It [UNNRA] would help Allied nationals, wherever they were found, and needed help. It would *not* help the ex- enemy. It would spend money in Germany to repatriate the French, for instance, but it would not spend money in Germany to help hungry Germans.”
26. [↗](#) Jan Ciechanowski, *Defeat In Victory*, Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1947, p. 251. He speaks of the forming of UNRRA in these words: “the veto sneaks in.”
27. [↗](#) 26a Fritz Wartenweiler, *Max Huber*, Zurich Rotapfel Verlag, 1953, p. 342 ff. (Huber also wrote the foreword for *Warriors without Weapons*).
28. [↗](#) *Report of the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross 1941-46*, Geneva League of Red Cross Societies, 1948, p. 65.
29. [↗](#) *Op. cit.*, p. 67.
30. [↗](#) Richard W. Solberg, *As Between Brothers*, Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1957, p. 27 and 57. New York: Helen Lombard, *While They Fought: Behind the Scenes in Washington, 1941-46*, Charles Scribner & Sons, 1947. This highly informed correspondent gives us a keen insight into this reeducation on page 313: “Shortly after the occupation of Germany by American troops, the education and orientation branch of the Army started producing moving pictures for the guidance of the G.I. in Germany. They were not for release within the United States but one of them was privately shown after a Washington dinner party in honor of Undersecretary of War and Mrs. Patterson. The movie portrayed the German people preparing for World Wars I and II. The 'sound' accompanying the film was a man's voice. It exhorted the American soldier to hate all Germans — from the smallest child to the very aged. Of course, someday the German people will have to be reeducated. They will have to be taught the ways of democracy. But that will be done by *one of our Allies!*” — was the ending message. The company, largely composed of War Department and administration officials, applauded vigorously.”
31. [↗](#) Cf. also R. Clarence Lang, “Imposed German Guilt: The Stuttgart Declaration of 1945,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Costa Mesa, CA Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 1988.
32. [↗](#) Karl Alfons Meyer, *"Rotes Kreuz in Bedrängnis,"* a special reprint from the *Schweizer Monatshefte* (June 1946). Meyer further stressed “We must battle and salvage the Interna-

tional Red Cross.” In 1943, a special edition article appeared entitled *Reconstruction Supplement, The Red Cross*, “The Future of the Red Cross” by Lieut-CoL L.E. Gielguid, MBD, which is most critical of the neutrality of the Red Cross. He speaks of “meaningless neutrality.” This was an attempt, like others, to politicize the organization, integrating it into the UNRRA concept of humanitarianism.

33. ☪ Regarding the “evil” of the Germans, one can easily overlook the strong Allied psychological impetus promoting the idea of “evil” that is, the Allied need for exoneration. In 1933 Jewish leaders called for an economic and financial boycott against Germans and German goods. During the war the Allies whitewashed the crimes of Josef Stalin. Late in the war the Allies needlessly bombed German cities, such as Dresden and Pforzheim, and, through UNRRA, sabotaged the work of humanitarian organizations such as the International Red Cross. Even the World Council of Churches used and is still using the idea of German “evil” for its selfish organizational purposes.
 34. ☪ Wartenweiler, *Max Huber*, p.343.
 35. ☪ Jasper, *George Bell*, p.343.
 36. Sumner Welles, *Where Are We Heading?* New York Harper, 1945. p. 171. Welles, after the war, deplored the “lack of organized force of trained personnel” He claimed, “... it can be asserted that for lack of effective organization to meet a situation which should have been foreseen, many thousands of innocent persons experienced a degree of tragedy and suffering which was altogether unnecessary.” Welles might have added, that if UNRRA had not undermined the work of such organizations as the Red Cross, much could have been alleviated. But the leaders of America, many of them emigres from the Third Reich, had reeducation on their minds. And although this was quite un-American, they were prepared to use, and did use, the chaotic conditions of the war and an imposed starvation for that purpose.
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Book Reviews

Made in Russia: The Holocaust

- [Made in Russia: The Holocaust](#), by [Carlos W. Porter](#). Uckfield, Sussex, England: Historical Review Press, 1988, Pb., 415 pages, \$10.00, ISBN 0-939484-30-7.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

A stumbling block for Revisionists, just as it was for the postwar German defendants, is the seeming wealth of documents and testimony assembled by Allied prosecutors for the Nuremberg trials. The more than sixty volumes of trial material which appeared in the wake of the "Trial of the Major War Criminals" and twelve subsequent trials before the (American) Nuremberg Military Tribunal have for many years supplied a massive compilation of apparently damning evidence against Germany's National Socialist regime. Most Exterminationists, academic and lay, believe that Germany's "aggression" in beginning the war, and the numerous atrocities and war crimes laid to the German account, above all the alleged Holocaust of European Jewry, are amply documented in the so-called "Nuremberg record."

A critique of the Nuremberg trials, from a number of different angles, has been a staple of Revisionist writing since the trials. Revisionist authors who chose not to contest directly the Holocaust charges (e.g. F.J.P. Veale) attacked the trials for their various failings in equity, jurisdiction, etc. Holocaust Revisionists, such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, have focussed on specific abuses involved in producing testimony and evidence in support of the Holocaust, from physical and psychological pressure exerted to obtain confessions and affidavits to the authenticity of certain of the documents transcribed and reproduced in the various Nuremberg volumes.

To date no Revisionist, Holocaust or otherwise, has mounted an assault on the Nuremberg "evidence" equal in intensity to that undertaken by Carlos W. Porter in *Made in Russia: The Holocaust*. Porter's technique is to confront the documents directly, by reproducing page after page from the 42-volume *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (the Blue Series).

Porter's tactic is audacious and provocative: he gives Allied prosecutors and their witnesses the floor and lets them strut their stuff for a good seventy-seven pages before deigning to answer their charges at any length. The catch is that most of the charges are so bizarre that Exterminationists have long since quietly let them lapse. Porter will have none of this, however: a stern Ghost of Holocaust Past, he puts the Nuremberg trials on trial by forcing the reader to confront the sort of tripe with which American, Soviet, British, and American prosecutors burdened the Germans and their leaders.

How many people know that at Nuremberg the Germans were accused of, along with killing about six million Jews:

- vaporizing 20,000 Jews near Auschwitz with atomic energy;

- killing 840,000 Russian POW's at Sachsenhausen concentration camp (in one month, with special pedal-driven brain-bashing machines, no less), then disposing of them in mobile [*sic*] crematoria;
- torturing and killing Jewish prisoners to the tempo of a specially composed "Tango of Death" in Lvov;
- steaming Jews to death like lobsters at Treblinka;
- electrocuting them en masse at Belzec;
- making not only lampshades and soap but also handbags, driving gloves, book bindings, saddles, riding breeches, gloves, house slippers, etc. from the remains of their victims;
- killing prisoners and concentration camp inmates for everything from having armpit hair to soiled underclothing?

Each of these grotesque claims is on display in *Made in Russia*, reproduced just as it appears in the Nuremberg volumes, and handily underlined and referenced for the convenience of researcher and skeptic alike.

After a sobering (or hilarious, depending on your point of view) survey of Nuremberg atrocity "evidence," Porter reminds readers that at Nuremberg the Soviets introduced reams of so-called evidence purporting to demonstrate that it was the Germans, not Stalins's henchmen in the secret police, who murdered over 4,000 Polish prisoners at Katyn, near Smolensk. As the author points out, an official Soviet stamp sufficed to make false affidavits, phony confessions, faked forensic reports and the like "evidence" admissible at Nuremberg under Articles 19 and 21 of the London Agreement of August 8, 1945, in which the Allied lawyers devised the rules which would bind judges and defense attorneys at the forthcoming "trial." Americans, Britons, and Frenchmen currently gloating over Soviet discomfiture at the recent insistence of the Polish regime on finally laying the blame for Katyn where it belongs should recall that the Western Allies said not a public word at Nuremberg to challenge the Soviet "evidence" on Katyn (the judges quietly glossed over the Red charges by omitting them from their verdict).

It is the special service of *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* to remind readers that the same Soviet stamp which converted the fake Katyn reports into admissible evidence at Nuremberg also provided proof of the extermination of millions of Jews at Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka, and elsewhere. As Porter emphasizes, physical and forensic evidence for the Holocaust was never introduced, nor is there any reason whatsoever to imagine it ever existed. All we have is a handful of "testimonies," and "confessions," and the reports of a number of Soviet or Soviet-controlled "investigative" commissions. If there was a Soviet Fred Leuchter, we have yet to hear from him (and probably never will). The same Red prosecutors who framed the victims of Stalin's purges at the Moscow show trials, and sent millions of innocents to their deaths in our gallant Soviet ally's Gulag archipelago, are the chief source for the vaunted Nuremberg evidence of the "Holocaust."

Porter provides numerous examples of prosecution tactics, usually allowed by the judges, which would make hanging judge Roy Bean, or even Neal Sher, blanch. He points out that the prosecution made it difficult, if not impossible, for the defense lawyers to have timely access to the documents introduced into evidence by the prosecution; that "photocopies" and "transcripts" were almost invariably submitted in evidence by the prosecution instead of the original German documents, which in very many cases seem today to have disappeared; that the defendants rarely were able to confront their accusers, since "affidavits" from witnesses who had been deposed months or even weeks before sufficed; etc., etc., etc.

The author touches on many other aspects of the Holocaust legend, from the feasibility of homicidal gassing with Zyklon-B to the ease with which atrocity photos can be faked (just supply the right caption!) to the Allied prosecutors' propensity for introducing page after page of irrelevant evidence (Porter reproduces several cartoons from Julius Streicher's anti-Jewish *Der Giftpilz* [The Toadstool] which found their way into the "Nuremberg record").

Made in Russia: The Holocaust is vulnerable to several minor criticisms. The many photographs which appear in Porter's book might have been better reproduced. Lawyers may cavil at a few of his interpretations, and doubtless other revisionist researchers will find bones to pick here and there in some of his assertions on Zyklon, gas chambers, etc.

On balance, however, *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* is a book with something of value for every reader with an interest in revisionism. Porter, a professional translator and businessman, writes with a mordant irony (the sillier Exterminationists may find a treasure trove of new atrocities to bewail here) and an admirable concision: *Made in Russia* can be gotten through in an hour and a half. After reading it, Revisionists will no longer be in the least awed by the Nuremberg trial volumes, and it is to be hoped that Porter's book will stimulate them to consult this dubious "record" for themselves.

Source: vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 92-95.

Book Reviews

Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935

- Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marburg, 1880-1935, by Rudy Koshar. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986, xviii + 395 pages, hardbound, \$35, ISBN 0-8078-1694-9.

Reviewed by John M. Ries

By focussing on the “interpenetration of organizational and political life” as it took place in one German town from 1880-1935, Rudy Koshar sets out to provide a fresh perspective on the sociopolitical development of modern Germany and its relation to the rise of National Socialism.

An important if not unique characteristic of the urban bourgeoisie in Germany, beginning in the late 19th century, was its tendency to organize in social groups, or *Vereine*. According to Mr. Koshar, these groups began to take on greater significance as the traditional political party system of Imperial Germany seemed to lose its hold over the allegiance of the local *Bürger* *tum*. This “disengagement” from national politics and the resulting sociopolitical “asymmetry,” whereby non-political organizations were able to attract a greater political following than the liberal and conservative parties, were the end result of a process which the author calls “apoliticism.” As defined here, apoliticism means a “desire to make political concerns, practices, and structures inapplicable to public life.” The principal argument of this book is that the success of National Socialism was to a great extent the result of its ability to infiltrate the intricate network of *Vereine* and replace the existing “sociopolitical asymmetry” with a national consensus paradoxically derived from the apolitical tendencies in German social and political life. In other words, the Hitler movement effected the transformation of apoliticism into a mass political party.

Mr. Koshar selected the Hessian town of Marburg an der Lahn as the focus of his study. Marburg was an important religious center dominated by its university, with little large-scale manufacturing or industry, and no significant working-class element. Although not a perfect model, he felt that its predominant bourgeois character within the confines of a small urban area would serve as a sound indicator of the development of middle-class political activity on the grassroots level.

Because of the rich matrix of local *Vereine* that dotted the social landscape of Marburg, the extent of apoliticism could be fairly well documented. One indication was the support given to the so-called traditional personalistic parties like the antisemitic party of local political agitator Otto Bockel, which became quite popular around the turn-of-the-century in Marburg. This fragmentation became so pervasive that as early as 1887 no single bourgeois party was able to establish or maintain hegemony. Within the safe confines of the club or organization, national issues could be divorced from “hateful party politics,” even though they probably remained just as divisive.

Marburg's status as an important *Universitätstadt* further underscored the significance of the local *Vereine* as foci of political activism. Student enrollment quadrupled between 1880 and 1914, witnessing a corresponding increase in membership in student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*). These organizations were particularly active centers of apoliticism, even when their numbers declined following the end of the First World War. The role played by a student paramilitary group in the killing of Communist workers in March 1920 gave Marburg the reputation of being a reactionary city, a designation which seemed to be borne out in the Reichstag elections of May 1924, when the Völkisch-Sozialer Block, in which the NSDAP played an important part, garnered 17.7% of the local vote. In light of its subsequent rapid decline, however, such a relatively concentrated show of support for the radical Right, according to Mr. Koshar, should be regarded as an anomaly. During the remaining years of the decade, apoliticism widened the gap between politics and social life in Marburg.

This was demonstrated by an increase in political party disunity as the bourgeois parties on both the national and local levels "gave way to splinter parties, municipal special interest alliances, and, in 1929, an unsuccessful mobilization of opponents of the Young Plan." By 1930, the incipient effects of the Depression on an already badly fragmented political milieu earned Marburg the description of a "political no-man's land."

Within this wide breach between social and political life, an almost paradoxical situation had been reached when the forces of apoliticism needed a "political anchor" if the energies that had been released through the disintegration of the political system were to be harnessed. The NSDAP was able to fill this need. Utilizing so-called party "joiners," the Hitler movement brought its message within the intricate organizational network. Eventually, a fusion between the political and social realms was attained which resulted in the swallowing of popular politics by the NSDAP through the absorption of local clubs. For example, white-collar workers who attended a meeting of the National Socialist Labor Front in 1935 were told by the speaker that "the commonweal, the entire *Volk* must benefit from labor, not the individual." These workers could no longer consider themselves part of the local business or club in which they belonged, since all organizations were an integral part of the community. All of this was accomplished, according to Mr. Koshar, not by Hitler's charisma or fanaticism, but by the "moral imperative of the Party, its unique standing in the tradition of bourgeois apoliticism."

Yet cracks began to reappear in the sociopolitical consensus that seemed to be established by the National Socialists. In Marburg the Bekennende Kirche (Confessional Church), founded in 1934, fought to reassert the boundary between the social and the political realms by countering the Party's strident anti-Christian measures. As a result the Protestant church remained "a fundament of local life" outside of the grasp of National Socialist control.

The growth of the Party through the increased influx of new Marburgers contributed to the dilution of fervor and ideological conviction, as it seemed to appear that the NSDAP had peaked as an eschatological movement and was not just another political party. As it turned out, the failure of the Party to gain full moral authority was caused by more than apathy, resentment, or distrust. It was also more than a result of changes in party membership after Hitler gained power. National Socialist ideology, though "suffused throughout the local culture, had not displaced *Verein* apoliticism." Although one may find fault with the essential premise of this study, that modern German society was inherently apolitical — a recasting of the well-known Weberian dictum of the German bourgeois as a "political philistine" — the logic of the author's approach must be conceded. Certainly the transcendent nature of National Socialism as a "party above politics" enabled it to take advantage of the chronic political fragmentation that beset the Weimar Republic. Yet this reviewer must take issue with the author's relative neglect of the critical nature of the de-

feat in the First World War and the ensuing peace treaty in creating the atmosphere for a national reception of the Hitler movement. It is akin to neglecting the effects of the dissolution of Parliament by Charles the First in setting in motion the events which led to the English Civil War. Nevertheless, the mounting confusion in German political life as seen through the history of the organizational life of Marburg proves quite effective. Whether the importance of social organizations is overstressed at the expense of more fundamental causes can only be resolved through a satisfactory answer to the question of the primacy of group behavior as a determinant of human action. All in all, this book is recommended for those interested in a different approach to the “problem” of modern German history.

Source: vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 97-101.

Historical news and comment

Anne Frank's Handwriting

ROBERT FAURISSON

One reason for skepticism about the famous diary attributed to Anne Frank is the existence of strikingly different samples of handwriting supposedly written by her within a two and a half year period.

My first work about the Anne Frank diary was published in French in 1980. A translation of it appeared in the Summer 1982 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* under the title "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?" (pp. 147-209).

A facsimile reprint of this article was published as a booklet by the Institute for Historical Review in 1985. Two samples of handwriting attributed to Anne Frank appeared on the front cover and on page 209. Each was written when she was about 13 years old, but strangely enough, the earlier one (dated 12 June 1942) looks much more mature and "adult-like" than the sample which was supposedly written four months later (dated 10 October 1942).

In response to growing skepticism about the authenticity of the famous diary, the State Institute for War Documentation in Amsterdam (Rijksinstituut voor Orloogsdocumentatie or RIOD) published a book in 1986 which includes a facsimile of a letter supposedly written by Anne dated 30 July 1941.

The discovery in the USA of some more samples of Anne's handwriting was announced in July 1988. This includes two letters dated 27 and 29 April 1940 and a postcard that was sent with one of the letters, all written to an 11-year-old penpal in Danville, Iowa.

These letters create a new problem for the State Institute for War Documentation because the handwriting on them is quite different than the "adult" handwriting of her letter of 30 July 1941 as well as most of the purported diary manuscript.

Sample 1: 29 April 1940: Anne was almost 11. Source: New York Times, 22 July 1988, p. A1.

Sample 2: 30 July 1941: Anne was a little more than 12. Source: *De Dagboeken van Anne Frank*, Amsterdam; RIOD, 1986, p. 126.

Sample 3: 12 June 1942: Anne was exactly 13. Source: *Journal de Anne Frank*, Calmann-Levy, 1950.

These discoveries strengthen my belief that the “adult handwriting attributed to Anne is, in reality, very likely the handwriting of one of the persons who officially “helped” Otto Frank prepare the diary for publication just after the war.

Reproduced here are four samples of handwriting attributed to Anne Frank (who was born on 12 June 1929) with their dates.

Sample 4: 10 Oct 1942: Anne was a little more than 13. Source: *Journal de Anne Frank*, Livre de Poche, 1975.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center (Los Angeles) is supposed to have bought the pen-pal letter.

Source: vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 101-109.

Historical news and comment

Wartime German Catholic Leaders and the 'Extermination of the Jews'

R. CLARENCE LANG

In West Germany doubting that 6,000,000 Jews were killed, mostly by gassing, by the Germans in World War II can lead to legal complications. Numerous personal cases demonstrate that a reissue of the censorship practices of the Third Reich is still a reality. Doubters become the target of negative publicity and ostracism. Especially hard hit are those with families. Offenders against the taboo are automatically portrayed as guilty without the right to appeal. Those doubters who refuse to keep their doubts a secret can end up in jail, lose part, if not all, of their pension and their right to gainful employment. Pastors, teachers and university professors are not exempt from these measures. This legal barrier, however, does not prohibit researchers from raising questions as to whether individuals or groups had any knowledge of the “extermination” of the Jews before the end of the war. This ray of German liberty is reflected in the research of the late Jesuit scholar, Ludwig Volk. Father Volk extensively researched official minutes, correspondences and documents of leading German Roman Catholic churchmen. His findings and his reflections were published in the highly scholarly Roman Catholic journal *Stimmen der Zeit*, 1980.

[1]

Father Volk’s article is entitled “Episkopat und Kirchenkampf im Zweiten Weltkrieg” (The Episcopate and the Church Struggle in World War II). It consists of two parts, the first of which deals with the Episcopate and the German wartime practice of euthanasia. The second part (pp.687-702) deals with “Judenverfolgung und Zusammenbruch des NS- Staats” (The Persecution of the Jews and the Collapse of the National Socialist State.) This respected scholar has cited the book *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* by the American Guenter Lewy in one of the footnotes. [2] Since Lewy’s book was translated into the German in 1965 and had some impact, it may well have been that Volk was thereupon commissioned by the Church to research this topic. Lewy scathingly attacked what he regarded as indifference on the part of the Catholic leadership in the face of what has become known as the “extermination of the Jews.”

On the basis of my hour long visit with Father Volk in 1984 and my reading of his article, I can state categorically that he was not a Revisionist, as he accepted the Exterminationist claim that Hitler and Himmler carried out, as much as they could, their alleged program to exterminate European Jewry.

Attempting to exonerate his Catholic church leaders in the face of the charge of blindness and complacency, Volk points out differences between the German euthanasia program, which the church leaders countered successfully, and the “extermination” program. Volk tells us that the paramount reason for the success in terminating euthanasia was that enough Germans were aware of the program and thereby could be unified by a common effort. Such was not the case

with the purported extermination of the Jews, since Himmler had learned his lesson from his mistakes with euthanasia, and he insisted upon as much secrecy as possible. Thus when the Jews were murdered, there were no announcements of deaths and no cremation urns for the relatives.

Volk speaks of “a thick wall” and “a secret stemming from the highest command.” All information connections with the Jews were cut after their deportation to the East. Throughout the article Volk insists, however, that the Catholic leaders were as equally zealous in countering the murder of the Jews as they had been in halting the euthanasia — based on what they knew. The list of churchmen who spoke out on this matter is impressive. It includes two German cardinals, M.F. Faulhaber (Munich), A. Bertram (Breslau), and four German bishops, K. von Preysing (Berlin), J.G. Machens (Hildesheim), W. Berning (Breslau) and H. Wienken, secretary of the Conference of Bishops.

Bishop C. Galen (Münster), the superlatively fearless spokesman against euthanasia, does not figure on Volk’s list.

Bishop Galen had to curtail his activities, seemingly for health reasons. One might mention that this vocal fighter against euthanasia died in 1946 while traveling from Rome back to Germany. Bishop Galen made a trip to Pope Pius XII on behalf of the millions of German soldiers still penned up in Allied prison and concentration camps. His untimely death on the train, supposedly from appendicitis, remains shrouded in mystery. [3] Needless to say the victorious Allies, who were then carrying out their vengeful Morgenthau Plan against the Germans, hardly wanted to heed such a voice. It is also noteworthy that after the war Cardinal Faulhaber wrote the American authorities to plead that the condemned in the Nuremberg trials be given the right to appeal after new evidence was presented. [4] He failed. (With some 20,000 Dutch out of a population of about 13 million being annually killed by peacetime “mercy-killing,” one wonders what has happened to these fearless Christian voices of yesteryear.)

On the work of alleviating the plight of the Jews, Volk mentions the founding, by Bishop Preysing, of the Bishop’s Welfare Agency in Berlin, with Frau Margarete Sommer as its hard-working leader. This agency, founded in September 1938, carried out charity work among the Jews, assisting them especially in their emigration from Germany. Besides this Catholic organ there existed official Jewish organizations of similar function while non-Aryan Protestants (that is, ethnic Jews) had the Paulusbund, named after the Apostle Paul. The latter organization functioned until 1944.

With the onset of the war and the end of Jewish emigration, Frau Sommer’s agency, beginning in 1941, became involved in helping Jews deported to the East. Many of the deportation trains either originated in Berlin or passed through the German capital.

In his article Father Volk sketches, as was noted, a relationship between the program of euthanasia and what he calls the murder of the Jews. But he might have pointed out another relationship between the two, as does the 89-year-old Regimentsarzt (regimental surgeon), Henning Fikentscher, who shared some of his thoughts with me. Doctor Fikentscher was involved in the euthanasia program, in the sense that he took mentally incurables to institutions, only to learn months later they had been eliminated. Fikentscher claims that a contributing factor in this mercy-killing was that the massive emigration and the deportation to the East of incurables and physically handicapped became a problem of sheer numbers, especially since countries allowed the entry only of healthy persons, erecting strict laws against misfits. Thus the Zionists in Palestine insisted, for example, that they could use only healthy Jews. [5]

A further dimension to the Volk article could have been added if the author had included some ideas from a book by Dr. Erwin Goldmann, *Zwischen den Völkern* (Between Two Peoples — in this case, the Germans and the Jews), written five years before Volk's article. Goldmann, who could trace his ancestry back over 500 years, was a non-Aryan (Jewish) Protestant, who had been associated with both the officially recognized Paulusbund and the Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service). Goldmann was a veteran of World War I. Although he lived in the Stuttgart area, he learned in 1938 that a fellow asset of the Security Service was Georg Kareski, a Berlin banker who was president of the Zionist Organization of Germany. Kareski was consulted by the regime in matters pertaining to Jews. As a Zionist he was concerned, above all with promoting the migration of Jews to Palestine. He thus accepted the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, knowing that a prerequisite for a meaningful migration to Palestine was to ascertain first of all who was and who was not a Jew. [6]

Likewise, in 1938, Direktor Kareski advocated that Jews be forced to wear the Jewish star. Upon hearing of this, Goldmann, during the winter of 1938, immediately took a train to Berlin having arranged a personal meeting with Kareski by telephone. Kareski let his guest wait in a bitter cold room for an hour and half, and then had a confrontation with Goldmann. As Goldmann put it, if both of them had guns, it would be difficult to say who would have shot the other one first. At one point Kareski asked "What do we have to do with you 'goyim?," [7] revealing his antipathy for converted Jews such as Goldmann.

On October 28, 1939 the wearing of the Jewish star by Jews was made law in Poland, and on September 15, 1941 in all the Third Reich.

Writing of this in 1975, Goldmann wrote: "Direktor Kareski recommended the introduction of the Jewish star, which was introduced by Admiral [Wilhelm] Canaris against the protests of most of the National Socialist leadership, including Goebbels." [8]

Father Volk discusses in some detail the issue of the so-called *Mischlinge*, that is, "half and quarter" Jews. Generally, 150,000 is given for the number of *Mischlinge*. Volk points out that the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 prohibited marriage between non-Aryans [Jews] and Germans, *but it did not break up any existing marriages*.

The *Mischlinge* problem, in its connection with the deportation of the Jews of the Reich, came to a head on February 27, 1943, when some 6,000 women, German wives of the Reich Jews, protested in the detention area in Berlin. Their protests became so embarrassing that the authorities halted the deportation, thereby raising the question: Who deserves credit for this? [9]

Lewy, who argues that this episode shows that vigorous protest could bring results even in Hitler's dictatorial Germany, credits the wives. Volk, on the other hand, terms Lewy's claim mere speculation, and would have us believe that the Catholic Church should be given considerable credit. The fact remains that a law to force the deportation of the *Mischlinge* was never enacted.

Excluding, at this point, such topics as gas chambers from our vocabulary, undoubtedly the fate of the Reich Jews who were deported was not an enviable one. In this regard one should recall Gerald Reitlinger's claim, in *The Final Solution*: "The Reich Jews were not easily assimilated to the conditions of the impoverished Jewish communities of Eastern Poland, *nor did the local Jews welcome them.*" [Emphasis added.] What Reitlinger might have added was the great spiritual, intellectual, social and religious gulf between the two Jewish groups. One had been part of a world which had experienced the Reformation and Enlightenment, while the Polish Jews lived in the world of the Middle Ages. Likewise, speaking of some 1,200 deportees, Reitlinger wrote: "The local Jewish communities would do nothing to feed these Jews from the Reich and the Governor

of Lublin, Zorner, tried to shift the responsibility on the Security Police, who had begun the action.” [10] The plight of the Reich Jews was a tragic one indeed, as they were rejected by the Zionists and by the Eastern Jews alike.

Father Volk points out that helping the Jews was difficult. For although churchmen were successful in halting the deportation of the *Mischlinge*, by doing so, without demanding more, the churchmen gave latent approval for the deportation of the “racially pure” Jews. Why, then, did church officials remain vague and general? According to Father Volk it was because general accusations were more promising than specific accusations, which required providing specific proof.

Such proof would have meant delays caused by time-consuming investigations during a situation of total war. Here lay the dilemma. The Jesuit, in this connection, speaks also of “a psychic law.” That is, the greater the monstrosity of a crime, the greater the demand for specific and actual proof. In short, the task of the Catholic leaders was not an easy one. Had charges been leveled and then disproved, the churchmen’s position would have been greatly weakened.

Volk might have augmented his argument by pointing out that the Western Allies, aided by tens of thousands of well-educated emigres, who knew the languages of Europe very well, and with a widespread underground radio network at their disposal, had a far better knowledge of what was happening in the Third Reich than even the German Catholic prelates. The Allied propagandists must have been aware that German public opinion had halted the euthanasia program. They must have known that 6,000 Christian women in Berlin had halted the deportation of tens of thousands of *Mischlinge* to the East. It is therefore wholly understandable that Volk makes a counterattack aimed at exonerating the German churchmen. As Father Volk writes, it remains “Ö unanswered why the Western Allies did not make the murder of the Jews the most dominant theme in their broadcasts to the Third Reich and use airborne propaganda bombardment leaflets over Germany.” Volk insists that by this omission the most powerful means of revealing the criminality of Hitler to the German people was neglected.

Volk makes much of the Bishops' Conference at Fulda in August 1943, the last such meeting of the war. There the deportation of the Jews was widely discussed at length; one could say it was a burning issue. For the churchmen there was no doubt that for practically two years tens of thousands of citizens of Jewish belief and origin (Reich Jews) had been taken by brute force from their homes and shipped to unknown destinations in the East. Thereafter, sooner or later, all connections were broken. Volk goes into considerable detail in explaining why no clear-cut protest emerged. Could it be that the Christian churchmen, knowing that they could not help the deported Jews, feared that their protests might endanger even the *Mischlinge*?

Three months later in 1943, Cardinal Bertram of Breslau, whose see included Auschwitz, publicly protested in writing against the living conditions in what he termed *Massenlager* (mass camps), and insisted that all internees should be regarded as worthy human beings. This led Father Volk to reflect that Bertram’s formulation was in radical contrast to the macabre results of the “Holocaust” as this came to light after the German collapse. Volk writes:

Despite the relative nearness of the extermination camp of Auschwitz — Breslau was the closest German see — Bertram did not dare [to be specific about the Jewish emigration.] The breakthrough of the truth regarding the final solution first came — and even then with some conditions — in the last general protest from the see of Breslau on January 29, 1944, in which Bertram condemned the separation of the *Mischlinge* because “they are threatened with *Ausmerzung*.”

To be sure, *Ausmerzung* can mean extermination, but not necessarily. It can also mean blotting out, culling or separating. Accordingly, bearing in mind the terrible health conditions in the overcrowded camps, the immense German manpower shortages, and the rumors spread by the underground, one might interpret Bertram's terminology as follows: Is it possible to imagine so fearless a Cardinal, so close to Auschwitz, aware of gas chambers exterminating hundreds of thousands of human beings, using a word like *Ausmerzung* in a message devoted only to the fate of half-Jews married to German women? Is there any evidence whatsoever that this Catholic prelate knew anything of "extermination"?

Father Volk concludes, in accordance with the taboos which rule German scholarship, that in contrast to the euthanasia program, which was halted because sufficient Germans knew about it, the "extermination camps remained a secret until the end of the war. In his words: as the facade of the Third Reich collapsed, the counter-world of concentration camps, mass graves, gas chambers and crematoria was revealed. It was this Jesuit historian's belief that Himmler had fooled even the highest German church officials.

As mentioned above, I visited this outstanding scholar, in a small Catholic convalescent home outside Munich. I went there after having studied his article, which was brought to my attention by a Catholic clergyman. For me the visit remains unforgettable.

Before seeing Father Volk, I had written a letter and made several telephone calls. The secretary of the convalescent home wanted to shield her patient, a very sick man, from unnecessary involvements and unpleasant topics. But I persisted, and a time was arranged.

It was a sunny but cool summer morning. I took the train, then the bus, and finally walked from my stop to the address. The home was pointed out to me by a mailman. After entering, I waited about fifteen minutes in a small room before the distinguished scholar entered. We shook hands and sat down. He began, in what I had to consider a cold and accusing voice, "*Nun, Sie kommen, uns Deutsche zu entlasten!* (You come to exonerate us Germans)." Although I did not take notes, I remember being rather shocked by his opening remark. Yet before long a much warmer and pleasant atmosphere developed.

During our conversation I was ever mindful of the Revisionist claims of such men as Robert Faurisson. Politely but persistently, I raised doubts, for, if even the highest ecclesiastical authorities in Germany had been unaware of the "extermination," perhaps the reality was radically different than today's version. The problem of the gas chambers was definitely discussed, as well as Arthur Butz's *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.

After about an hour, the secretary came in and politely asked how we were doing. I took this as a cue and assured her that I would end the conversation shortly. Before we shook hands and departed, Father Volk said, reflectively but distinctly, "*Ja, Legenden können ihre eigenen Beine bekommen* (Yes, legends can grow their own legs)." These words, from someone still regarded as a *bedeutenden* (significant) historian by his fellow clergymen, have retained a deep meaning for me. What a difference a face-to-face contact can make if *one* asks *critical questions!*

Notes

1. ☺ *Stimmen der Zeit*, Stimmen der Zeit Verlag, 1980, pp. 687-702.
2. ☺ Guenter Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*, McGraw-Hill, New York, Toronto, 1961.
3. ☺ This is based on a letter to a fellow Revisionist in Germany.

4. ☞ Unfortunately, it seems that this letter, which I have, has not been translated.
 5. ☞ This is based on my correspondence with Henning Fikentscher. He claims that he can document this. Fikentscher has written two booklets related to these topics. The first is *Prof. dr. med. Theodor Morell 1936-45*, Verlag Kurt Vowinckel, Neckar-Gemünd. (No date.) Fikentscher calls this a "*Studie*". The second booklet is *Sechs Millionen Juden, Die Opfer*, Kritik Verlag, Mohrkirch/Aarhus, Denmark, 1980. (Theodor Morell was Hitler's doctor. Interestingly, he was never tried in Nuremberg, dying from natural causes in 1948.)
 6. ☞ Erich Kern (editor), *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Concealed Documents), FZ Verlag, Munich, 1988, p. 148.
 7. ☞ Dr. Erwin Goldmann, *Zwischen Zwei Völkern: Erlebnisse und Erkenntnisse*, Helmut Cramer-Verlag, Königswinter, 1975, p. 130.
 8. ☞ Goldmann, p. 130.
 9. ☞ Lewy, pp. 288-9.
 10. ☞ Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, A.S. Barnes, New York, 1953, pp. 44-5.
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Source: vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 109-115.

Historical news and comment

Conspiracy Theory and the French Revolution

GEOFF MUIRDEN

Since 1989 is the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution this is an especially apt time to consider the conspiratorial theory of history presented in Mrs. Nesta Webster's classic, *The French Revolution*. Mrs. Webster presents not one conspiracy, but several, insisting that plots by the Freemasons and Illuminati, mixed with those by the Duc d'Orleans and foreign powers combined to produce the tragedy of the French Revolution.

Taking these in turn, Webster suggests that:

The lodges of the German Freemasons and Illuminati were thus the source whence emanated all those anarchic schemes which culminated in the Terror, and it was at a great meeting of the Freemasons in Frankfurt-am-Main, three years before the French Revolution began, that the deaths of Louis XVI and Gustavus III of Sweden were first planned. ^[1]

One argument against this would appear to be the argument of Jean-Joseph Mounier, an active participant in the French Revolution, who proposed the Tennis Court Oath and helped frame the Declaration of the Rights of Man. In his book *On the Influence Attributed to Philosophers, Freemasons, and to the Illuminati on the Revolution of France*, Mounier remarks:

Among the noble conspirators who prepared the death of Gustavus, I do not know a single one who has been desirous of playing a part in the Revolution of France, although this would have been extremely easy for them; as the French demagogues were then calling to their ranks all the madmen of Europe. But the Swedish conspirators had not the same systems; and their guilty measures were not destined to effect the establishment of a democracy. ^[2]

Mounier's book is most important, written as it was by an active participant in the Revolution, and it does serve against the conspiracy theory, since Mounier insists that neither the *philosophes*, nor the Freemasons, nor the Illuminati had any major part in creating the Revolution.

As a matter of fact, R.R. Palmer, in *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, cites Mounier's book as the major refutation of the "plot theory." It does, in fact, devote much of its space to refuting the claims of the Abbé Barruel about the Freemason and Illuminati plot, and also John Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy*. ^[3]

Mrs. Webster does not give enough attention to the challenge posed by Mounier's book to the conspiracy theory, but she does remark, in another book, *World Revolution*:

When we come to examine Mounier's attitude more closely, however, certain considerations present themselves, too lengthy to enter into here, which detract somewhat from the value of his testimony. Of these the most important is the fact that Mounier wrote his book in Germany, where he was living under the protection of the Duke of Weimar, who had placed him at the head of a school in that city where Boettiger himself was director of the college and, according to the editor of Mounier's work, it was from Bode, who was also at Weimar and whom Boettiger declared to be the head of the Illuminati, that Mounier collected his information! And this is the sort of evidence seriously quoted against that of innumerable other contemporaries who testified to the influence of Illuminism on the French Revolution. [4]

It could be added that Mounier had no first-hand experience of the Revolution from the period between May 1790, when he fled the border into exile, until he returned to France under the rule of Napoleon in 1801. [5]

For the early period of the Revolution, in 1789-1790, however, Mounier's observations are important, and he was inclined to play down the role of the Duc d'Orléans, who for Mrs. Webster plays such a dominant role in the period. Thus, Mounier remarks that:

... some vile intriguers exerted themselves to excite the ambition of the Duke of Orléans, in order to seize upon the sovereign authority in his name; and entered into a league with those who, from whatever motive, wished for a general dissolution. But in the beginning all those voluntary and involuntary agents of anarchy did not amount to the number of 80 in an assembly of 8 or 900 persons ... but ... there would have been a very great majority against the factions by the union of the Orders. [6]

At the same time, Mounier had personally experienced Mirabeau, and tends to cast doubt upon his possible dedication as a servant of the Duc d'Orléans:

The restless ambition of Mirabeau, his excessive desire of increasing his own celebrity, and of acquiring riches and power, disposed him to serve all parties.. I have myself seen him go from the nocturnal committees *held by the friends of the Duke of Orléans* to those of the enthusiastic republicans, and from their secret conferences to the cabinets of the King's Ministers: but if in the first months the ministers had agreed to treat with him, he would have preferred supporting the royal authority to joining with men whom he despised. [Emphasis added] [7]

The point made above is that Mirabeau was a man whose fingers were in a great many pies, who used the Duc d'Orléans when it served him but would just as readily jump into bed with other parties. In this case Mrs. Webster could be at fault in designating him as an "Orléanist," when that was only one of his public Faces."

Perhaps not too much importance need be made of the fact that the Duke was chosen Grand Master of the French lodges. Mounier says:

The Freemasons, notwithstanding their pretended zeal for equality, were fond of seeing at their head a man of illustrious rank. He succeeded the Prince of Conti. Be-

sides, all the Lodges of France did not acknowledge him as Chief; several were affiliated to the Grand Orient of London. [8]

Perhaps they were not so radical politically, if they preferred a nobleman, “a man of illustrious rank,” at their head, rather than one of the “bourgeois.” There may be something to be said in favor of the investigations of historians writing after Mrs. Webster, who have suggested that, though the Masonic lodges had some influence, nevertheless they were not hotbeds of revolution. For example, Albert Soboul, analyzing the situation, decides that the Freemasons of France were divided by the French Revolution. Most aristocratic “brothers” opposed it, while most bourgeois Masons at first supported it. But these initial supporters came to oppose the radicals, and many went over to the counter-Revolution. After Thermidor, there was a revival of Masonic influence in France. It was only in the 19th century that the Masonic lodges became liberal in politics. [9] This is not to say that Freemasons had no influence. Crane Brinton admits that many Freemasons were among the founders of the first Jacobin clubs in many parts of France. Many Masonic customs were used, such as the word “brother” for fellow Masons and secret votes with blackballs. Brinton concludes that:

Masons undoubtedly worked through the press and the literary societies to prepare for the revolution, to draw up the cahiers, to get people aware that political change was possible and desirable. But of an organized plot in the melodramatic sense there is no proof. Too many non-Masons were obviously active in the early societies.

He adds that:

Many Jacobin clubs, however, even in the first years of the Revolution, cannot be traced at the moment of actual establishment either to literary societies or to Masonic lodges. The circumstances of their origin vary greatly, and afford an instance — and by no means the last we shall notice — of the extraordinary diversity of French provincial life, a diversity which even the centralizing government of the Terror was never able wholly to destroy. [10]

Michael L. Kennedy comes to similar conclusions, while conceding that “there is something to be said for Gaston-Martin’s contention that the Jacobin network was modeled on that of the Masons.” [11] It could be said that the form of presentation, but not the radical content of the speeches, was influenced by Freemasonry. Soboul’s work, mentioned earlier, does not support the assumption of widespread radicalism in Masonry.

This stands against Mrs. Webster’s presentation. When it comes to Mrs. Webster’s presentation of the Orléanist conspiracy, there are also some caveats.

There is no doubt of the Duc d'Orléans' financial ability to finance a revolution. He was the second largest landowner in the Old Regime, after the King himself, with revenues of over 7 million livres. He could afford to buy “idea men” to oppose the Crown. [12]

His main problem was lack of persistence in his conspiracies. Brissot, writing of the Duc d'Orléans, said that “the prince was rather fond of conspiracies that lasted only twenty-four hours — any longer and he grew frightened.” [13]

In effect, Kelly agrees with Mrs. Webster that Madame de Genlis, who educated the Duke in republican principles, and Choderlos de Laclos, had d'Orléans in his grip. [14] Kelly speaks of the

...

... virtual certainty that [Laclos] used the duke's money to subsidize the pen of Marat for d'Orléans and against Lafayette in 1790, and his later machinations in 1791 after the king's flight to Varennes when, as permanent secretary to the Jacobins, he attempted to rally the power of the society, perhaps with the approval of Danton, to the cause of an Orleanist regency. [15]

Also according to Kelly:

... if we add together the many (often unreliable) accounts of the period, we learn that not only Brissot, but Barère, Mirabeau, Sieyès, Desmoulins, Danton, Duport, Dumouriez, and Marat all passed through the Orleanist receiving line ... we will always, however, find the names of Mounier, Lafayette, and Robespierre conspicuously absent these men were bitter enemies and not for hire. [16]

Kelly nevertheless takes the view, contrary to Mrs Webster that d'Orléans did not instigate the French people to rebellion by depriving them of bread: "The harsh winter, crop failures, and an alarming ascent of prices from 1785 on accounted for that." [17]

The Duke succeeded in fostering revolution but never in becoming regent, in which role, because of his indolence and foppishness, he would have been unsuitable.

One important event in which the Duc d'Orléans is said to have been involved is in financing the storming of the Bastille George Rudé appears to give some support to this. Writing about looting on July 11, 1789, he states, it is clear that the Palais Royal had a hand in the affair; it is no doubt significant that the posts said to belong to the Duc d'Orléans were deliberately moved by the incendiaries." [18] Later, he writes:

A more or less peacefully disposed Sunday crowd of strollers in the Palais Royal was galvanized into revolutionary vigour by the news of Necker's dismissal and *the call to arms issued by orators of the entourage of the Duc d'Orléans*. [Emphasis added] [19]

Rudé virtually agrees with Mrs. Webster's claim that "of the 800,000 inhabitants of Paris only approximately 1000 took any part in the siege of the Bastille." [20] Rudé sets the number at "between 800 and 900 persons." [21] Yet, Rudé makes a further important claim, that "at the peak of the insurrection there may have been a quarter of a million Parisians — some thought more — under arms," and in a footnote he adds that Nicolas de Bonneville, the original promotor of the *milice bourgeois*, later wrote that, on 14 July, Paris had 300,000 men under arms ... Barnave, on 18 July, wrote of 180,000. [22]

Rudé analyzes the revolutionary crowd and concludes that most were small tradesmen, artisans and wage-earners. [23] But he makes no mention of the foreigners said to have been part of the Bastille conquerors, according to Mrs. Webster. [24] And, in opposition to

That the Duc d'Orléans did play a major role in financing agitation during the Revolution is established, but there seems to be some doubt about some of the details presented by Mrs. Webster, details which are the key to her thesis of a long-term revolutionary plot.

Either modern historians are engaged in a conspiracy of their own to deny the truth about the French Revolution, or else one can concede that much of what Mrs. Webster has presented deserves modification in the light of later information. This article has only touched on a fraction of her fascinating book, but Revisionist historians who want to defend Mrs. Webster against her

critics will need to be able to show in what way she has been misrepresented. Until such time, her theory stands in need of modification.

Notes

1. ☞ Webster, Nesta H., *The French Revolution*, (n.p.), 1919 (republished by The [Noontide Press](#), Costa Mesa, CA in 1988), p. 21.
 2. ☞ Mounier, Jean Joseph, *On the Influence Attributed to Philosophers, Free-Masons, and to the Illuminati on the Revolution of France*, facsimile reproduction with an introduction by Theodore A. DiPadove. Delmar, New York, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1974, p.69.
 3. ☞ Mounier, *op. cit.*, Introductory Note, no. 4, and Mounier's book *passim*.
 4. ☞ Webster, Nesta H., *World Revolution*. London, Constable & Co., 1921, p. 81.
 5. ☞ Mounier, *op. cit.*, Introduction.
 6. ☞ Mounier, p. 90.
 7. ☞ Mounier, p. 91.
 8. ☞ Mounier, p. 155.
 9. ☞ Soboul, Albert, "La Franc-Maçonnerie et la Révolution Française (Free-Masonry and the French Revolution)," *Annales Historiques de la Revolution Française*, 1974, 46 (1), pp. 76-88.
 10. ☞ Brinton, Crane, *The Jacobins: An Essay in the New History*, New York Macmillan, 1930, pp.15-16.
 11. ☞ Kennedy, Michael L., The Foundation of the Jacobin Clubs and the Development of the Jacobin Club Network, 1789-1791," *Journal of Modern History*, 51 (Dec., 1979) p.703.
 12. ☞ Barker, Nancy N., "Phillippe d'Orléans, Frere Unique du Roi: Founder of the Family Fortune," *French Historical Studies*, Vol 13 (2), Fall 1983, p.170.
 13. ☞ Kelly, George Armstrong, "The Machine of the Duc d'Orléans and the New Politics," *Journal of Modern History*, 51, Dec. 1979, p.671.
 14. ☞ Kelly, p. 673; cf Webster, *The French Revolution*, pp. 10-11.
 15. ☞ Kelly, footnote no. 27, p.673.
 16. ☞ Kelly, p. 674.
 17. ☞ Kelly, p. 677.
 18. ☞ Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959, p.49.
 19. ☞ Rudé, p. 220.
 20. ☞ Webster, *The French Revolution*, p. 95.
 21. ☞ Rudé, p. 56.
 22. ☞ Rudé, p. 59.
 23. ☞ Rudé, p. 57.
 24. ☞ Webster, *The French Revolution*, p. 39.
 25. Rudé, p. 58.
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Source: vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 116-125.

Historical news and comment

Circuitous Suppression

J. Marcellus

This group [the IHR] is more dangerous than the skinheads.

Irv Rubin

Historians are dangerous people. They are capable of upsetting everything.

Nikita S. Khrushchev

The Holocaust was not a sacred event. It was a historical event and it should be open to routine, historical criticism.

Bradley Smith

Mr. Irving Rubin of Los Angeles leads a rag-tag association of militants who claim to serve the interests of the American Jewish community by protecting it from a variety of imagined threats. His Jewish Defense League (JDL), founded by Rabbi Meir Kahane, now an American expatriate in Israel, is the organization which, a few years back, sunk the hoary art of sloganeering to new depths by coining the phrase “FOR EVERY JEW A .22!”

According to Mr. Rubin’s mindset anyone — even other Jews — could be, and probably is, out to get his people. By his logic any Gentile is liable to be afflicted, at any time, with the dread contagion of anti-Semitism. But since Rubin’s JDL has been classified as a terrorist group by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, “defending” his people through the use of threats and violence has become increasingly inconvenient of late, and Rubin has been forced to seek more commercial means of harrassing the “anti-Semites.”

It was Rubin and his friends who, brandishing the Israeli national flag, staged two violent demonstrations in front of the offices of the Institute for Historical Review when we were located in Torrance (“NAZIS WITH PH.Ds ARE STILL NAZIS!” “SIX MILLION-NEVER AGAIN!”). And it was Rubin who appeared at the scene of the crime the day after the devastating July 4, 1984 arson destruction of the IHR’s offices and warehouse in Torrance, boasting to the press that while, of course, neither he nor his group had had a hand in the professionally-executed terrorist deed, “We applaud those who took this righteous action.” He said essentially the same thing after the home of IHR Editorial Advisory Committee member Dr. George Ashley was firebombed and severely damaged four years ago. The media loves him because he can always be counted on to offer interesting news followups, from physically violent confrontations to reward offers for the

severed ears of “Nazis.” Indeed, “Nazis” abound in Mr. Rubin’s world. And they are out “to finish the job that Hitler started.”

Rubin, like his fellow Jewish terrorist Mordechai Levy, is one of those people around whom disaster, destruction and various forms of violence swirl continuously, yet who have never been convicted of anything really serious. When things got too hot for the JDL a few years ago, Rubin was forced to officially unload his uncontrollable hatchet man, Levy, who was then set up to operate out of New York City with a new organization called the JDO (“O” for Organization).

While Rubin’s professed mission has been to safeguard Jews from the Holocaust which always lurks just around the corner, his own brutal antics and goon-like demeanor probably prompted as much anti-Jewish feeling as anyone. “NEVER FORGET, NEVER FORGIVE” is the JDL’s motto and Rubin’s own attitude toward life. This February, with his usual measure of malice aforethought and insight into the weaknesses of the human psyche, Rubin set out to torpedo the IHR’s Ninth International Revisionist Conference. He failed, of course, but not before embarrassing his group, and exposing himself, as well as two multi-million dollar commercial establishments and at least one municipal police department, to serious legal repercussions, including breach of contract and conspiracy to violate the civil rights of American citizens.

The Rumor of Auschwitz Revisited

During the afternoon of February 16, 1989, Irv Rubin held a press conference in the lobby of what was to have been the site of the Ninth International Revisionist Conference: the Red Lion Inn in Costa Mesa, California. He was after the hotel to cancel the event. He had mistakenly been informed that the IHR had booked the hotel under a phony name and thus left itself open to some form of lawful last-minute cancellation by the Red Lion. But Irv Rubin is a generous man: in the event that IHR’s booking was legally binding and the Red Lion could not be intimidated into cancelling, he offered to place the JDL’s financial resources at the disposal of the hotel’s management should it wind up as the defendant in a costly lawsuit.

The day before, the manager of the Red Lion Inn, Russell Cox, had phoned to tell me “confidentially” that he was cancelling the IHR’s contract, claiming that he had “three Jewish weddings” scheduled for that weekend and wanted no trouble. There was no convincing Cox with any rational arguments. He was not the least open either to truth or pleas for justice. I realized it wouldn’t help asking him to cancel the “three Jewish weddings” instead. The die was cast. The Red Lion was backing out, unilaterally breaching a signed contract with the Institute, a contract made some eight months earlier with a good faith cash deposit. Seventy-two hours before the IHR’s Ninth International Revisionist Conference was to commence, with 180 people scheduled to arrive from four continents, and with the Red Lion standing to gain more than \$20,000 in revenues from lodging and banquet bookings, the IHR suddenly found itself with no place to hold the event.

We at IHR, however, were not caught unawares.

Behind the Orange Curtain

On the previous Tuesday, Mr. Cox had called to tell me that the Red Lion had received several anonymous phone threats of demonstrations and protests if he allowed the IHR group to meet there. But at that time he didn’t appear to be overly concerned. He did seem a bit bewildered, however, about complaints that we were “rewriting history.” But when I explained to him that whenever any history is written, history, at that point, is being rewritten, he seemed satisfied. He

was cordial and said that he looked forward to meeting me on Saturday, the opening day of the conference.

Evidently, the Red Lion Inn decided to renege only after Irv Rubin forewarned the hotel and the media that he planned to hold a press conference there.

Mr. Cox did not have the courage to say NO to a member of an organization with a public record of intimidation and violence. Rubin, his sidekick Bruce Derflinger, and the other JDL bully boys were invited to assemble in the Red Lion's elegant marble- and brass-fronted lobby and hold their press conference in the name of freedom of speech. Meanwhile, a legitimate, peaceful, historical society with no record of ever having caused trouble or violence, after eight previous conferences, seven of them in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, was being banned from the hotel, despite a binding contract made months before.

It thus seemed clear that the hotel's devastating eleventh hour cancellation had been engineered not by one of the officially approved and influential Jewish pressure groups, such as the Anti-Defamation [*sic*] League, but by perhaps only one or two JDLers who, after having discovered the location of the conference, made a few phone calls to the hotel, hinted a threat or two, including the suggestion of adverse publicity, and announced a press conference to convince the Red Lion management to throw us out. If this supposition is correct, then all it took to prompt the breach of a valid commercial contract and leave 180 people without their pre-arranged conference site was perhaps two, maybe three, frenetic cranks with little to offer of late besides impotent threats. Then again, the JDL may have had a little help in its efforts, courtesy of the Costa Mesa Police Department.

Curiouser and Curiouser

When I was told by the Red Lion's Mr. Cox of the cancellation, I was also advised that a local Holiday Inn had agreed to accept and honor the contracts made originally with the Red Lion (the IHR's Eighth Conference had been held at another local Holiday Inn). Fobbing us off like this, from the Red Lion managements point of view, might serve to mitigate to some extent its contractual and financial liability. In other words, if the Red Lion could arrange for the IHR to hold its conference elsewhere, the IHR could be supposed to experience less of a direct financial loss than by having no place at all to hold the event.

The Holiday Inn directly across Bristol Street seemed a logical choice. It did not remotely approach the class and opulence of the Red Lion, but it was close by, and its manager, with knowledge of the circumstances of our Red Lion cancellation, with no Jewish weddings that weekend, and with a virtually empty hotel and no scheduled banquet business, seemed glad to accommodate us. It is worth noting at this point that Mr. Cox assured me that he had spoken at some length with the Holiday Inn's manager, Mr. Dick Heatherington, and had informed him of the nature of the "problem" he had with the IHR and the "three Jewish weddings," and that Mr. Heatherington was all the same happy to have our business. The Holiday Inn contracts were all drawn up and signed the following afternoon amid smiles, handshakes and repeated assurances of the best service. I handed over a \$10,000 deposit check (subsequently cashed by the Holiday Inn), and everything seemed set. Twenty thousand dollars of instant revenue had been effortlessly gained by the Bristol Street Holiday Inn. Its managers had reason to smile. All this took place on Thursday, less than 48 hours before some 180 invited Revisionists were due to descend on Orange County, proceed to the Holiday Inn via the Red Lion, and attend the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.

The Aftershock

I was at the office all day Friday; everything seemed to be going well. I called the new hotel a few times to make changes to the rooming list and to take care of all the last-minute loose ends. The hotel had given no sign of anything untoward, the conference was still on, and it was to be the largest and, by all prospects the best, conference we'd ever held. At around 5:00 p.m. I left the office with conference emcee Mark Weber, and headed home.

Prof. Robert Faurisson and another conference attendee from out of town were staying at my apartment. Mark and I arrived at my place, parked the car, walked the distance to my door and entered. What I heard in the next two seconds made my blood boil. The Holiday Inn had called the office and cancelled the contract at approximately 5:10 p.m., moments after I had left. On this Friday, the seventeenth of February, our people were already arriving by plane. Registration for the conference was less than 20 hours away. I could visualize aircraft landing with attendees and speakers from as far away as Japan and Switzerland, cars converging on the Los Angeles areas with guests from Vancouver, Seattle, San Francisco. Suddenly, as if by diabolic intervention, we were without lodging, meeting space, catering facilities, our conference; we didn't even have a place to meet and sort things out. All attendees had been notified to come to the Red Lion, and although the Red Lion promised to tell our people to go across the street to the Holiday Inn, there was now no room at the Holiday Inn, either.

Just about then, I reckon that Mr. Irving Rubin and his boys were off tossing down a few (watery) beers and laughing among themselves at the wimpish acquiescence of the managers of two major franchises, in what trade publications refer to as the "hospitality industry," smug in their confidence that the rug had been cunningly pulled out from underneath the Revisionists at the last possible minute. Bristol Street, in the fair city of Costa Mesa, California, had shattered the world record for the number of commercial contracts unilaterally breached on a single street in one 48-hour period. And it looked as if this might well portend the beginning of the end for freedom of speech for Historical Revisionists in these United States.

To Serve and Protect

It is difficult to remember a time span in my life as intense as the two hours between 6:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. that Friday evening. Phone calls were coming in and going out so fast that it was hard to believe any order could ever emerge from the apparent chaos. The IHR and Historical Revisionism were being systematically muzzled, right before our eyes, in the United States of America. We had paid half the entire hotel bill in advance. We had the signed contracts. The only thing we *didn't* have was a place to put 180 people, all of them looking forward to an enjoyable and informative three-day conference.

I placed a call immediately to Dick Heatherington, general manager of the Holiday Inn, who, not a day and a half ago, had been all smiles and enthusiasm.

Why was he cancelling us at the very last moment? On the recommendation of Captain Tom Lazare of the Costa Mesa Police Department, Heatherington said.

According to Heatherington, Lazare had called earlier to warn of the likelihood of some trouble, a demonstration, a confrontation. Heatherington had heeded Captain Lazare's advice and phoned his superiors at Holiday Inn corporate headquarters in Kansas City. Heatherington informed me that the decision to cancel was made over his head, based on the Costa Mesa Police Department recommendation. He apologized several times, saying how sorry he was and how terrible he felt that we were being thrown out, none of which, of course, alleviated my problem in the slightest.

Instructing Heatherington as to the characteristic stratagems and bluff favored by the JDL, and urging him to call his superiors back or to put me in touch with them directly, I next called the Costa Mesa Police and asked for Captain Lazare. Lazare had left his office at police headquarters and returned home. A fellow who said his name was Captain Smith fielded my call; I told him what I had been told by Heatherington. I expressed my disbelief that any police department would advise in favor of the breach of a commercial contract. And hadn't Presidents Reagan and Bush informed the nation of their resolve not to surrender to terrorist demands? Smith transferred me to the watch commander, to whom I restated my complaint. The watch commander, stonewalling at first, told me to call back during regular business hours on Monday to talk to Lazare. After my adamant insistence, however, he agreed to try to reach Lazare at home; he promised to call me back as soon as possible.

As good as his word, the watch commander soon called to say that Lazare could not be located. Gone fishing maybe, and without his pager! At this point, it was clear that the Costa Mesa police were in no mood either to serve or protect. Despite the valid commercial contracts, despite Constitutional and civil rights, our last hopes for a reconsideration and a reinstatement of the conference at the Holiday Inn seemed to be fading fast.

The Revisionists Rally

Meanwhile, I waited to hear back from Heatherington, who was presumably contacting his superiors in Kansas City. At 7:30 p.m. he called to let me know that he had been unable to reach any decision-makers. Since Conference attendees were by then pouring into the Holiday Inn to register for their rooms, Heatherington expressed a willingness to permit us at least to conduct our own registration for the conference the afternoon of the following day. No meetings and no food, however. And since our contract had been cancelled, there was to be no further direct billing to the master IHR account. Arriving attendees would have to pay for their rooms, a second time, on their own account.

This was distasteful, but we had at least secured a foothold. If we could at least meet and organize, mass confusion would be avoided, and perhaps there would still be time to find an alternative location for the Saturday night opening and the following two full days of the conference agenda.

Around 8:00 p.m. Friday evening Robert Faurisson, Mark Weber, Frank and I sat eating pizza and discussing the situation. I knew none of us would sleep that night and that the following day might well turn out to be the busiest in my life. The phone rang. It was a local conference attendee who had called the IHR office and learned of the last-minute cancellation. He had already called a friend of his who might be able to help: Joe Bischof, owner of a large restaurant and banquet hall at Old World, a European-style shopping complex in nearby Huntington Beach. In addition to some twenty speciality shops, Old World has a church with a large basement. The word from our caller was that Mr. Bischof could probably feed our group and provide us with a meeting space on Sunday and Monday, but it might be tricky because of existing bookings. I called Mr. Bischof immediately and suggested we meet first thing the following day to work out the details. He couldn't help us out for the Saturday night meeting, but he said that he could probably work something out for the following two days.

The next slice of pizza tasted awfully good. I uncapped a cold beer. Now we had a place to organize, register and make plans on Saturday afternoon, as well as a place to meet for the two big days of the conference. A half-hour before we had had nothing. Two problems down and just one to go. All we had to do now was find meeting space for Saturday night.

Freedom of Assembly and Speech Prevail

Since taking over the directorship of the IHR in 1981, I have always happily remarked to my associates at the end of every IHR conference, "We pulled another one off." I've looked at it this way only because of the character of the opposition which any dissent in this area finds itself up against: it is underhanded, defamatory, intellectually non-confrontational and utterly un-American.

Irv Rubin's remarks to the press during this brouhaha included the statement, "We will confront them on any level they wish." But of course Rubin fears to confront anything above his street-level plane of understanding. Repeated calls by the IHR and others for an open debate on the Holocaust remain unanswered. Such a debate was scheduled to occur in Torrance on the Tuesday following the conference. The Revisionists were there, as promised, but the anti-Revisionists — all four of them — bailed out.

To make a long story short, we did, in fact, pull it off. A Saturday night booking was made at almost the last minute, and on Sunday morning we moved over to Old World. This eleventh-hour organizing, briefing, and shuttling around of 180 people, many of whom were elderly and most of whom were far from their residential element, could not have been accomplished, I believe, by any other group. Everyone simply got shoulder to shoulder and pulled hard. It gave me real inspiration, and was impressive beyond words.

In the end, we all enjoyed a full conference that ran right on schedule, without a single upsetting incident. Judging from the comments of both attendees and speakers, this was, indeed, by far the best IHR conference ever. By the third day, nearly 200 people packed the bunker-like basement beneath the chapel, and professional video and audio crews recorded the entire three day-event on tape.

Rubin and a handful of sullen hangers-on did finally manage to catch up, turning in their usual pathetic performance. Irv and his gang's idea of rational discourse was to march around with placards proclaiming, e.g.: "IF THERE WAS NO HOLOCAUST, THEN THERE WAS NO VIETNAM WAR AND CUSTER'S LAST STAND." Quite a syllogism!

It may turn out that during this conference weekend they will have accomplished exactly the opposite of what they had intended to do. This time there will be a backlash. Our legal case is unmistakably clear: there have been two major, unilateral breaches of contract; violations of our civil rights; and perhaps even a conspiracy to violate our rights as well. These matters will be pursued and both actual and punitive damages sought. The only question that remains is one of financial resources. To seek remedies in the courts in these times requires sizeable funds, something the IHR simply does not possess.

But if what was done to the Institute in this case is permitted to go unpenalized or unpunished, it will set a precedent that will make our Constitutional guarantees of freedom of assembly and freedom of speech worth little more than the paper they are printed on. Thus every American who believes in these rights, and who is able to contemplate a world in which they are absent, has a vital vested interest in fully supporting the IHR in seeking a judicious and meaningful remedy.

I believe all of us Americans at IHR's Ninth Conference during the historic weekend of February 18-20, 1989 had reason to be proud of the rights and freedoms our forefathers wrung from the world's mightiest empire a little over two hundred years ago. Our foreign visitors, I think, were

impressed to see us stand up to economic sanction, open threats, and police intransigence with the casual self-assurance and unstudied pragmatism that stamps the best of our countrymen.

And we're a bit proud of ourselves as well. Once again, in modern-day “times that try men’s souls,” the men and women of the Institute for Historical Review have served notice that they claim their birthright of free speech and free inquiry with pride, not shame, in devotion to truth and in defiance of whoever would engineer or acquiesce in its suppression, be he trembling corporate “honcho,” home-grown terrorist, alien meddler, or minion of the State.

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From the Editor

Theodore J. O'Keefe

When Harry Elmer Barnes defined historical revisionism as bringing history into accord with the facts," he stated not merely the essence of Revisionism but its entire program as well. One might think that righting errors and false conceptions about the past were program enough, but there remain those among the unenlightened (and even a few misguided friends) who still imagine that IHR's work of bringing truth to history is only a front for some sinister purpose, such as, say, bringing back the Third Reich (or ushering in the Fourth).

We're not at all sorry to disappoint such folks, and banish fears and fantasies alike by letting them know that IHR's purpose is historical, educational, and as American as the mainly Midwestern populists who pioneered Historical Revisionism. We don't have the Boys from Brazil or the Spear of Destiny stashed away in some dark corner of our warehouse (and wouldn't know what to do with them if we had).

We at the IHR know one thing, however, and we know it in common with our enemies: historical fact is a mighty weapon, and a powerful solvent against ignorance, prejudice, and hatred. In this issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* researchers and analysts from four continents bring truth to bear on several different lies that have served the obfuscators in the academy and politics well in deluding the majority of our fellow Americans.

First, there's the granddaddy of all historical hate whoppers, the Auschwitz lie. Two men with very different training, American gas-chamber expert Fred Leuchter and Italian textual critic Carlo Mattogno, take the trouble to look carefully at the evidence advanced for mass murder by gassing at the one-time German concentration camp, where, according to a Soviet "investigative commission" and a flock of popes, presidents, and exterminationist scholars, four million or so human beings were murdered and then vanished into thin air. [Leuchter's dry wit and his hands-on Yankee practicality](#) are complemented by the [cold eye of the classically trained humanist, Mattogno](#). There's not much of the Auschwitz myth left after these two specialists have had their say.

Japanese scholar and retired officer Hideo Miki [deals with the military strategy](#), such as it was, that America developed for its occupation of Japan. Professor Miki's additional remarks, which followed the formal paper he presented to IHR's Ninth Conference, are so informative that we have included them here. He demonstrates rather convincingly that informed Japanese refuse to credit the historical lie that Japan was the only guilty party in the Pacific War, and reminds us that the disastrous peace which American leaders imposed in East Asia has resulted in decades of suffering, in China, Korea, Vietnam and elsewhere.

South African Ivor Benson will both surprise and inform revisionists with his [survey of the historical background](#) to Iran's Islamic Revolution, and his sensitive evaluation of the challenge and the opportunity which the rise of Muslim nationalism offers the peoples of the West. We Americans can't be reminded too often of just how much foreigners from Mexico to Vietnam to the Persian Gulf resent the meddling our leaders have indulged in for decades now, and just how harmful such interventions have proved, in the long run, for America and other imperialist powers.

Veteran journalist William Grimstad [introduces *Journal* readers to two important contributions](#) by honest Jewish historians. That there are men and women such as Noam Chomsky, Livia Rokach, and Palestinian-American Edward Said offers at least the hope that Arab and Jew, inspired by facts, not myths or lies, about the past, may work out some just and humane solution to the problems created by the zinnia prolongation of Palestine

Paul Grubach [skewers a familiar but tiresome bit of Zionist hokum](#), the canard that anyone who criticizes the collective entity of Jewry for anything at all thereby stamps himself an "anti-Semite." Young Mr. Grubach further wins our thanks for having plodded through a particularly deadly-sounding collection of tracts put together by professional anti-anti-Semites, sparing other revisionists that task. Then Jack Wikoff [informs on a particularly informative book](#) about Hollywood (times have changed: just mentioning the sort of thought embodied in Neal Gabler's book's title would have caused one to be labeled — you guessed it — an "anti-Semite" a few years ago). And finally, it gives us great pride to announce the return of the dean of Revisionist historians, James J. Martin, to the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal*, in the same issue in which he pays tribute to the late George Morgenstern, whose challenge to the Pearl Harbor cover-up over forty years ago may soon be vindicated once and for all. But we save that for the next issue of *The Journal*. Who ever said bringing history into accord with the facts had to be dull?

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The Leuchter Report: The How and the Why

Fred A. Leuchter

- Paper Presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.
- Also see [here](#) for partial presentation.

Introduction

1988 was a very informative and likewise disturbing year. I was appalled to learn that much of what I was taught in school about twentieth-century history and World War II was a myth, if not a lie. I was first amazed; then annoyed; then aware: the myth of the Holocaust was dead.

Like all American children born during and after World War II, I was taught about the genocide perpetrated by the Nazis on the Jews. By the time I had reached college, I had no reason to disbelieve any of my education, except that I had some problems swallowing the numbers of decedents, said to total better than six million persons. But there it stopped. I believed in the Nazi genocide. I had no reason to disbelieve.

Some twenty-four years later, a very believing engineer sat at his desk working one snowy January afternoon in 1988, when the telephone rang. This very believing engineer was about to receive a very shocking history lesson, one which would cause him to question that fifty-year-old Holocaust lie and the application of that lie to generations of children. “Hello, this is Robert Faurisson” — and that very believing engineer would believe no more.

Background

I have for the past nine years worked with most, if not all, of the states in the United States having capital punishment. I design and manufacture execution equipment of all types, including electrocution systems, lethal injection equipment, gallows and gas chamber hardware. I have consulted for, or supplied equipment to, most of the applicable states and the federal government.

Because of my association with the states in this capacity, I was recommended to the Zündel defense as a consultant on gas chambers by Warden Bill Armontrout of the Missouri State Penitentiary. After answering my telephone on that cold January afternoon, I met with Dr. Robert Faurisson twice in Boston and, as a result of these meetings, I was summoned to Toronto to meet with Ernst Zündel, attorney Douglas Christie and the rest of Zündel’s very able staff. Dr. Robert Faurisson had postulated thirteen years ago that a gas-chamber specialist should be sought who could evaluate the alleged gas chambers in Poland and report on their efficacy for execution purposes, something the Revisionists already knew was impossible.

Valentine's Day weekend found myself and Carolyn, my wife of two weeks, in Toronto. Two days of lengthy meetings followed, during which I was shown photos of the alleged German gas chambers in Poland, German documents and Allied aerial photographs. My examination of this material led me to question whether these alleged gas chambers were, in fact, execution facilities. I was asked if I would go to Poland and undertake a physical inspection and forensic analysis resulting in a written evaluation of these alleged execution gas chambers, some at places I had never even heard of.

After due consideration, I agreed, and made plans to leave for Poland, awaiting a time of minimal snow covering. I also stated that although the photos and documents seemed to support the view that these places were, indeed, not execution facilities, I would reserve final judgment until after my examination and, if I determined that these facilities were, in fact, or could have been, execution gas chambers, I would state this in my report. The final report was to be utilized as evidence in Ernst Zündel's defense in his pending criminal trial at Toronto, and I had to be prepared to testify under oath.

Preparations for the trip required me to take sample bags, documentation journals and tools. Because we were in a Communist country I would have to be careful with the tools. Very few tourists carry hammers, chisels, star drills and tape measures while travelling. I hid them in the lining of my valise and hoped for the best. Further, I had maps of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria, in the event that we might have to make a hasty and unscheduled exit. And finally, the gifts with which we bribed the museum people to supply us with copies of documents from the Museum Archives.

Our Staff

I was fortunate to have a competent and dependable party of professionals: my wife Carolyn, my general assistant; Mr. Howard Miller, draftsman; Mr. Jurgen Neumann, cinematographer; Mr. Tjudar Rudolf, interpreter. All knew that, if caught, the Polish government would take a dim view of our activities and purpose, let alone my removal of forensic samples from national shrines and monuments.

And the two ex-officio members of our party, Mr. Ernst Zündel and Dr. Robert Faurisson, who for obvious reasons could not accompany us in person, but who nevertheless were with us every step of the way in spirit.

The Trip

On February 25, 1988 we left for Poland. Neumann and Rudolf, the Canadian contingent, joined me and the remainder of our team in Frankfurt. We returned home on March 3, 1988.

We arrived at Cracow in the late afternoon and spent our first night at the Hotel Orbis. We consumed the first of our three decent meals while in Poland. The following day we drove to Auschwitz. We arrived at the Auschwitz Hotel and were greeted by the smell of sulphur naphthal disinfectant, a smell I had not encountered for many years. The hotel is apparently the old officers' quarters for the camp. We ate lunch at the hotel dining room, a cafeteria style facility. This was our first unidentifiable meal, starch soup and sundries.

We made a reconnaissance tour of the camp, lasting into the dim light of the Polish afternoon and several snow squalls, a common occurrence. We ate no supper, in that we found no place to eat in Auschwitz after sundown our first evening.

Auschwitz and Birkenau

The following day we began our work in the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz facility. Unfortunately, we were unable to accomplish much due to constant interruptions by both official and unofficial Sunday tours. Carolyn stood guard at one entrance and Tijudar at the other, advising myself, Jurgen and Howard of their arrival. It was too dangerous to take forensic samples and tape, so we left for Birkenau about noon.

At Birkenau we began a four-hour walk into the damp Polish cold and through snow squalls so dense we could not see each other at a distance of a few feet. Unfortunately, we did not expect to spend that much time walking through the camp and, since vehicles are not permitted within the camp, we left Carolyn behind in the car. Since we forgot to leave her the keys, she nearly froze in the cold Polish afternoon. We visited the barracks, Krematorien II, III, IV and V, the sauna and the alleged burning pits. We took samples, documented our activities on video tape and in still photos, and made scale drawings of these facilities, carefully documenting the removal locations of all the forensic samples. We had to break into the sauna building, since it was locked.

At Krema II, I descended into the depths of the alleged gas chamber, a wet, dank subterranean place not visited by man in almost fifty years, since the building had been reduced to rubble, probably by a German military demolition team. Fortunately, there were fewer guards and less pedestrian traffic, making working conditions considerably better than they had been earlier, at Auschwitz.

Having been instructed by our empty stomachs of the evening before, we found and ate at the restaurant at the bus station, the only legitimate restaurant in Auschwitz. We returned to the Auschwitz Hotel for the night.

The following day, Monday, we again began our work at Auschwitz, the Sunday tours having subsided. We were able to get our samples, tapes and documentation. We had, by this time, obtained blueprints of the alleged gas-chamber facility and were able to follow the structural changes back to the dates in question. We also verified the existence of the floor drain for the periods of alleged gas chamber usage. Upon completion at Auschwitz, we drove again to Birkenau to take our control sample at delousing facility #1. Unfortunately, the building was locked and again we had to break and enter in order to access the delousing chamber. Again we ate at the bus station, and retired early to the Auschwitz Hotel.

Tuesday morning, while awaiting Tijudar's unsuccessful attempt to obtain a can of Zyklon B. Jurgen and I made video tapes of locations within the camp. We moved from the Auschwitz Hotel to a hostel nearby, obtaining newly vacated rooms. We ate at the bus station and retired early.

On Wednesday morning we ate a very enjoyable breakfast of ham, cheese and bread (our second decent meal in Poland) and began our trip to Lublin to see Majdanek. After one final look in at Auschwitz, we set off by car for Majdanek.

Lublin (Majdanek)

Several hours later, we arrived at Majdanek, visited the museum, the reconstructed alleged gas chamber and crematory. We finally arrived at disinfection 1 and 2 and examined the facilities. It was extremely difficult to work here, in that a guard made rounds every ten or fifteen minutes. The alleged gas chambers were blocked by gates and not accessible for a detailed inspection by the general public. It was necessary for me to trespass beyond these gates in forbidden areas.

Again Carolyn and Tijudar stood watch while I made measurements and did a detailed examination in these areas. Once we were caught short: I was forced to hurdle the gate, and was still in the air and in mid-jump when the guard entered. Fortunately, he was more interested in Jurgen and his camera to see me before I touched ground.

Return

The camp closed in early afternoon and the guard rather nastily told us to leave. By three o'clock we were en route to Warsaw, a trip which would take five hours through rain and snow. Our hotel reservation had been fouled up but fortunately, with the help of an embassy attache, we were able to secure rooms at another hotel.

We had our third edible meal in Poland that evening and went to bed in preparation for our trip home on Thursday. The following morning we had breakfast and proceeded to the airport for our return trip.

We boarded the Polish airlines plane after clearing customs ... my suitcase containing twenty pounds of the forbidden samples, fortunately none of which were found. I did not breathe easy until we cleared the passport checkpoint at Frankfurt. Our team split at Frankfurt, for the return trips to the United States and Canada, respectively. Upon our return, I delivered the forensic samples to the test laboratory in Massachusetts. Upon receipt of the test results, I prepared my report, combining my knowledge of gas execution facilities and procedures with the research I had completed at crematories and with retort manufacturers in the United States. With the results of my research I believe you are all familiar.

Upon completion of my report I testified at Toronto-but that is another story, for another time.

The Findings

1. Gas Chambers

The results published in the Leuchter Report are the important thing. Categorically, none of the facilities examined at Auschwitz, Birkenau or Lublin could have supported, or in fact did support, multiple executions utilizing hydrogen cyanide, carbon monoxide or any other allegedly or factually lethal gas. Based upon very generous maximum usage rates for all the alleged gas chambers, totalling 1,693 persons per week, and assuming these facilities could support gas executions, it would have required sixty-eight (68) years to execute the alleged number of six millions of persons. This must mean the Third Reich was in existence for some seventy-five (75) years. Promoting these facilities as being capable of effecting mass, multiple or even singular executions is both ludicrous and insulting to every individual on this planet. Further, those who do promote this mistruth are negligent and irresponsible for not investigating these facilities earlier and ascertaining the truth before indoctrinating the world with what may have become the greatest propaganda ploy in history.

2. Crematories

Of equal importance are Exterminationist errors relating to the crematories. If these crematories, operated at a theoretical rate of maximum output per day, without any down time and at a constant pace (an impossible situation), and we accept the figure of at least six millions executed, the

Third Reich lasted for at least forty-two (42) years, since it would take thirty-five (35) years at an impossible minimum to cremate these six millions of souls.

No one by any stretch of the imagination would allege (or even believe) that the Third Reich ever lasted for seventy-five (75) or even forty-two (42) years, yet they would have us believe that six millions of souls were executed with equipment which could not possibly have functioned, in less than one-seventh of the absolute minimum time it could possibly have taken.

3. Forensics

Forensic samples were taken from the visited sites. A control sample was removed from delousing facility #1 at Birkenau. It was postulated that because of the high iron content of the building materials at these camps the presence of hydrogen cyanide gas would result in a ferric-ferrocyanide compound being formed, as evidenced by the Prussian blue staining on the walls in the delousing facilities. A detailed analysis of the thirty-two samples taken at the Auschwitz- Birkenau complexes showed 1,050 mg/kg of cyanide and 6,170 mg/kg of iron. Higher iron results were found at all of the alleged gas chambers but no significant cyanide traces. This would be impossible if these sites were exposed to hydrogen cyanide gas, since the alleged gas chambers supposedly were exposed to much greater quantities of gas than the delousing facility. Thus, chemical analysis further supports the fact that these facilities were never utilized as gas execution facilities.

4. Construction

Construction of these facilities further shows that they were never used as gas chambers. None of these facilities were sealed or gasketed. No provision was ever made to prevent condensation of gas on the walls, floor or ceiling. No provision ever existed to exhaust the air-gas mixture from these buildings. No provision ever existed to introduce or distribute the gas throughout the chamber. No explosion-proof lighting existed and no attempt was ever made to prevent gas from entering the crematories, even though the gas is highly explosive. No attempt was made to protect operating personnel from exposure to the gas or to protect other non- participating persons from exposure. Specifically, at Auschwitz, a floor drain in the alleged gas chamber was connected directly to the camp's storm drain system. At Majdanek a depressed walkway around the alleged gas chambers would have collected gas seepage and resulted in a death trap for camp personnel. No exhaust stacks ever existed. Hydrogen cyanide gas is an extremely dangerous and lethal gas and nowhere were there any provisions to effect any amount of safe handling. The chambers were too small to accommodate more than a small fraction of the alleged numbers. Plain and simple, these facilities could not have operated as execution gas chambers.

5. Conclusion

After a thorough examination of the alleged execution facilities in Poland and their associated crematories, the only conclusion that can be arrived at by a rational, responsible person is the absurdity of the notion that any of these facilities were ever capable of, or were utilized as, execution gas chambers.

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Iran: Some Angles on the Islamic Revolution

Ivor Benson

An exploration of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and its meaning for the rest of the world can begin with three wide-ranging generalizations:

1. The Iranian Revolution showed that religion can still be a more potent mobilizer of mass political action than can secular ideologies;
2. The revolution challenges the cultural hegemony of Western ideas, not only as a religion but as an alternative social model and way of life;
3. The Iranian Revolution thus can be regarded as one of the most important happenings in modern history, comparable to the French Revolution in the 18th century and the Russian Revolution in this century.

In the wake of the Salman Rushdie affair, and ongoing terrorism threats against aviation and other vulnerable points, Iran and its farflung adherents remain persistently in the world's eye. An exploration of the Islamic Revolution in Iran conveys two great truths with vast implications: religion can still be a more potent mobilizer of mass political action than can secular ideologies, and the longtime hegemony of Western social models has ended. The Iranian Revolution thus emerges as one of the most important events in modern history, on a par with the watershed French and Russian revolutions.

There are innumerable reasons for believing that the emergence of highly dynamic Islamic fundamentalism in Iran is a development of incalculable worldwide consequence. The Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had this comment:

"The Iranian Revolution has highlighted one of the principal religious and political developments of our time: the revival of Islamic fundamentalism from Indonesia to Morocco and from Turkey to Central Africa." [1]

Dr. Algar, professor of Persian and Islamic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, observes:

"The subject of the Islamic Revolution in Iran is one whose importance hardly needs underlining. With the passage of time, its importance will become even clearer, as being the most significant and profound event in the entirety of contemporary Islamic history. Already we see the impact of the Islamic Revolution manifested in different ways across the length and breadth of the Islamic world from Morocco to Indonesia, from Bosnia to the heart of Europe down to Africa." [2]

Dr. Kalim Siddiqui, director of the Muslim Institute, London, offers this assessment:

"Since the revolution in Iran I have been moving around some of the Sunni countries, some of the most reactionary if I might put it that way; I can assure you that the people in those countries have been absolutely galvanized and their imaginations have been captured ... Some of them take the precaution of locking their doors before they talk about it. If national boundaries were taken away, probably Ayatollah Khomeini would be elected by acclamation by the Ummah as a whole as the leader of the Muslim world today." [3]

In 1979 the mullahs in Iran overthrew the Persian monarchy, one of the oldest in the world, while at the height of its power, replacing it with an Islamic republic dedicated to the implementation of the Sharia, a law of private and public conduct prescribed in the Koran.

Since then no day has passed without news involving Islam: an ongoing revolution in Afghanistan, troubles in several Soviet republics with Islamic majorities or minorities, endless conflict in Kashmir, terrorism all over Europe traced to Islamic sources in Algeria, to name a few.

Writes Amir Taheri, a former newspaper editor in Teheran:

"No one knows which Muslim state might fall to the fundamentalists next, or when. What is certain, however, is that fundamentalist activities have been able to mobilize substantial forces in some of the key Muslim states, notably Turkey, Pakistan and Egypt. Islam also is the dominant political force in Afghanistan and has exacted numerous concessions from governments in Indonesia, Malaysia, Somalia, Nigeria, Senegal, Tunisia, Morocco and Jordan." [4]

Imperialism and Colonialism

In Iran, more clearly perhaps than elsewhere, it has been possible for the observer to isolate and study separately the major influences which have been at work in dramatically awakening an Eastern religion which long was thought to be in slow decay. In particular, we can see, step by step, how a purely religious set of ideas and values was able to inspire enough public support to topple a powerful regime backed by a great army and with virtually unlimited foreign support.

Three major factors need to be explored:

1. Islam in general as a faith;
2. Hostile influences which in Iran threatened the survival of Islam;
3. The hardened form of the Shi'ite sect of Islam with which the challenge was met.

About the broad putlines of the history of Iran during the last 150 years there can be no doubt. Foreign powers have heavily influenced the country's international affairs to suit their own economic and strategic interests, with scant regard for the opinions and interests of the citizenry. Until 1945 the foreign powers dominating Iran were mainly Russia and Britain. Russia was interested in territorial expansion, Britain in cornering the Iranian market for British trade, in securing the continental land bridge to India and later, of course, in controlling Iran's oil resources.

The Iranians continued throughout this period to demonstrate their hostility to foreign intrusion, with the clergy (ulama) invariably playing a leading role.

From 1952 the British were replaced by the Americans working in close alliance with the Israelis, drawing the Shah and the masses mobilized by the ulama into the final bitter and violent

struggle. This culminated in the 1979 overthrow of Shah Mohammad Reza, last of the Pahlavi dynasty which had been installed by the British shortly after the end of World War I.

Since what looked like a combination of America and Israel was actually something very much bigger and more complex, it is the motives and actions of the intrusive foreign powers that we need to examine before we can hope to understand what happened in Iran. Indeed, we find that what these powers had been doing in Iran was only another example of what they and other European interests had been up to during the same period in many other parts of the world, all manifestations of the phenomena known as imperialism and colonialism.

The subject was explored at depth and most comprehensively at the turn of the century by a prominent British journalist and author, J.A. Hobson, whose book *Imperialism: A Study* deserves new attention. A book that was meant to be a warning to the British people was turned to good account by Lenin in 1916, when he was preparing his own thesis on capitalism: "I made use of the principal English work on imperialism, J.A. Hobson's book, with all the care that, in my opinion, this work deserves." [5]

Writes Hobson in a prefatory note:

"Those readers who hold that a well-balanced judgment consists in always finding as much in favor of any political course as against it will be discontented with the treatment given here. For the study is distinctly one of *social pathology*, and no endeavor is made to disguise the nature of the disease." [6]

The social pathology of which Hobson writes is the debasement of politics, especially the politics of nationalism, by what he calls "Special interests," financial in character, which promote policies inconsistent with the interests of the community. In other words, the peoples of the colonizing and imperialist countries of Europe were the victims rather than the beneficiaries of aggressively acquisitive policies conducted all over the world in their name.

For a definition of nation, Hobson quotes the philosopher John Stuart Mill:

"A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nation if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and others. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various courses. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language and community of religion greatly contribute to it. Geographic limits are one of the causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents, the possession of a national history and consequent community of recollections, collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past." [7]

It is a debasement of this genuine nationalism by attempts to overflow its natural banks and absorb the near or distant territory of reluctant and unassimilable people, says Hobson, that marks the passage from nationalism to a spurious colonialism on the one hand and imperialism on the other.

Hobson pinpoints the factor of illegitimacy in politics which was to prove so destructive of the interests of the British people and cause so much conflict and dislocation around the world; he asks:

"How is the British nation induced to embark upon such unsound business? The only possible answer is that the business interests of the nation as a whole are subordi-

nated to those of certain sectional interests that usurp control of the national resources and use them for their private gain. This is no strange or monstrous charge to bring; it is the commonest disease of all forms of government.”

He quotes Sir Thomas More:

“Everywhere do I perceive a certain conspiracy of rich men seeking their own advantage under the name and pretext of commonwealth.”

Conspiracies of “the few” seeking their advantage at the expense of the community as a whole have always, of course, been endemic in human society; but very different were the usurpations of “the few” in the last century, which drew many of the nations of Europe into an insane rivalry for conquest and possession in Africa, Asia and elsewhere. Sectional interests in society — in this case big business and high finance — like a cancer in the human body, prosper while society as a whole suffers.

This was something Hobson could see with perfect clarity at the turn of the century:

“Although the new imperialism has been bad business for the nation, it has been good business for certain classes and certain trades within the nation ...It is idle to meddle with politics unless we clearly recognise this central fact and understand what these sectional interests are which are the enemies of national safety and the common weal. We must put aside the merely sentimental diagnosis which explains wars or other national blunders by outbursts of patriotic animosity or errors of statecraft ...There is, it may be safely asserted, no war within memory, however nakedly aggressive it may seem to the dispassionate historian, which has not been presented to the people who were called upon to fight, as a necessary defensive policy in which the honor, perhaps the very existence, of the state was involved.” [8]

Hobson exposes as almost wholly illusory the notion that the driving force of the new imperialism was an eagerness to find new markets for the products of Europe’s burgeoning industries. In Britain, he remarks, the manufacturing and trading classes made little out of the new markets, paying, if they only knew it, in taxation more than they got out of them in trade, but it was quite otherwise with the investor.

In other words, the driving force of the new imperialism was primarily financial and not broadly economic. Here is how Hobson saw it all before the turn of the century, while Britain was involved in a war in South Africa that was to signalize the beginning of the end of the British Empire:

“It is not too much to say that the modern foreign policy of Great Britain is primarily a struggle for profitable markets of investment. To a larger extent every year Great Britain is becoming a nation living upon tribute from abroad, and the classes who enjoy this tribute have an ever-increasing incentive to employ the public policy, the public purse, and the public force to extend the field of their private investments and to safeguard and improve their existing investments. This is perhaps the most important fact in modern politics, and the obscurity in which it is wrapped constitutes the gravest danger to our state. What is true of Great Britain is true likewise of France, Germany and the United States and of all countries in which modern capitalism has placed large surplus savings in the hands of a plutocracy...” [9]

What happened to any country which contracted a debt and was unable to guarantee payment of the interest was demonstrated again and again in many parts of the so-called undeveloped world — for what other reason did France invade and attempt to conquer Mexico? More frequently the insufficient guarantee of an international loan gave rise to some other form of interference in the internal affairs of the debtor nation. We see an example of this in Egypt, which became for all practical purposes a province of Britain and where a bloody suppression of popular revolt had the support of enormous British national fervor.

Tunis likewise became a dependency of France for no other reason than the securing of loans granted to that country. Perhaps the greatest sufferer of all was China, where all the imperialist nations established footholds, complete with extra-territorial rights which they were ready at all times to defend with armed might.

But how could the people of Europe, especially their educated classes, including even their churchmen, allow all this to happen? How did this imperialism escape general recognition for the narrow and sordid thing it was? Each nation would accuse its rivals of hypocrisy in masking greedy, aggressive and destructive behavior with pretensions of altruism, but all were permitted by these educated classes to be equally guilty.

Church and Big Business

There always existed in all the countries of Europe a proportion of people with a genuine desire to spread Christianity among the heathen and to diminish the cruelty and suffering thought to prevail among them. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that the greedy and aggressive forces that directed imperialism would make good use of such disinterested movements, some of which had worked abroad — the Catholics in China and Ethiopia, for example — long before the birth of imperialism.

Writes Hobson:

“They [the imperialists] simply and instinctively attach to themselves any strong elevated feeling which is of service, fan it and feed it until it assumes fervor, and utilize it for their ends.” ^[10]

So, too, Leopold, King of the Belgians, when taking possession of the Congo with all its natural resources, was able to proclaim:

“Our only program is that of the moral and material regeneration of the country.”

Since most of the educated classes in Europe who allied themselves with imperialism were nominally Christian, and since the church itself was an imperial component of the alliance, there can be no disguising the fact that imperialism, which helped to precipitate an age of conflict unprecedented in recorded history, was as much nominally Christian in character as it was financial. The use of the word Christian in this context, however, must be qualified with the reminder that the missionizing impulse was animated by the dynamic of an essentially power-oriented church, an institution with a strong appetite for expansion and growth, both in terms of adherents and of material advantage.

The dual character of the church nowhere was more clearly epitomized than in Winston Churchill's account of the religious service at Khartoum immediately after the defeat of the Mahdi's forces, which had sought to overthrow British hegemony in Sudan:

“... And the solemn words of the English Prayer Book were read in that distant garden... the bands played their dirge and Gordon’s favorite hymn “Abide with Me” ... A gunboat on the river crashed out a salute ... Nine thousand who would have prevented it lay dead on the plain of Omdurman ... Other thousands were scattered in the wilderness, or crawled to the river for water.” [11]

Churchill omitted the final touch: the deliberate shooting of the wounded crawlers.

Hobson saw this Janus-headed imperialism as a seeking to float Christianity upon an ocean of profitable business,” a process which excited in the baffled Chinese a fanatical detestation of the Foreign devils.” Wrote an educated Chinese:

“It must be very difficult for the mandarins to dissociate the missionaries from the secular power whose gunboats seem ever ready to appear on behalf of their respective governments ... The Chinese have watched with much concern the sequence of events — first the missionary, then the consul and at last the invading army.” [12]

The incongruity of so vast an exercise of cunning and force in the service of a cause “whose kingdom is not of this world” should need no emphasis. However, the hostile logic of a century and a half of imperialism is self-evident: those who offered any obstruction to what in the West was generally regarded as progress were held to “fully deserve” the punishment they got, however severe.

Since it is supposedly one of the main purposes of religion to help people distinguish between right and wrong, or good and evil; since a century and a half of aggressive imperialism would have been impossible without the compliance and complicity of the Christian churches; since it has always been one of the functions of the intelligence, informed by religious insights, to restrain and regulate the appetite for acquisition and power — it would seem that there was something radically faulty about Christianity as preached and practised during those decades of rampaging rival national imperialisms.

Iran's Mullahs Show Their Power

Foreign intrusion and interference during the century and a half before the revolution were experienced by the Iranians as a continuous unfolding process. But, for the purpose of in depth analysis, this needs to be considered under two headings representing the periods before and after World War II. On the one side of this divide, we find separate national imperialisms, mainly British and Russian, and on the other a consolidated global imperialism wearing the outward appearance of an alliance of America and Israel.

However, the pattern for both periods—that of mounting conflict between the foreign interest and Iran’s religious class as mobilizer of mass political action—was set quite clearly in 1892. This was a confrontation triggered by the action of the shah in selling to a British company a monopoly for the cultivation and marketing of tobacco. The leading mullah of the day, Mirza Hassan Shirazi, promptly issued an order prohibiting the use of tobacco. Not only was this order instantly obeyed — even, it is said, by the ladies of the royal household — but angry crowds took to the streets. Appalled by this show of strength, the shah backed down, cancelled the contract and paid compensation to the British company.

The message was clear: there could be no security for the foreign interests and no “progress” of the kind they offered unless the power of the religious class could be broken. It was, therefore,

with the tacit approval of the British and the Russians that the shah in 1905 yielded to revolutionary demands for representative government of the kind recently introduced in Russia, hoping no doubt that party politics could be used to undermine the power of the mullahs. A parliament (Majlis) was set up, and in 1906 Shah Musal Firudin became, nominally at least, a constitutional monarch. However, he died the same year.

The mullahs who had given their support to the demands for constitutional reform were not deceived by the rubber-stamp Majlis that emerged, and the agitation continued, involving both religious and secular elements.

At the height of this trouble, the British and Russians, without consulting the Persian government, announced that they had divided the country into two spheres of influence so as to counter any possible German threat to their interests. The Russians helped the new shah, Mohammad Ali, to suppress the revolution, occupying Tabriz in the process. A number of mullahs were hanged and the shrine of Imam Reza at Mashad, one of Iran's most famous places of pilgrimage, was shelled. Mohammad Ali was then deposed by the majlis and replaced by a regency which continued until Ali's son Sultan Achmad reached the age of 18 and was crowned in 1914-marking the commencement of a period of almost total national disintegration, as the whole country became a stamping-ground for foreign powers.

The British Install a New Dynasty

Brushing aside the young shah's declaration of neutrality at the outbreak of the 1914-18 war, British, Russian and Turkish forces invaded the country, but the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 eliminated the main patron of the Qajar dynasty. By 1919 Persia had no effective central government and separatist movements were in power in the provinces of Khuzistan, Gilan and Khorasan.

Eventually the only coherent force in the country was a Persian Cossack division which, after fighting against the Bolsheviks, had retreated through the British lines. Its leader, Brigadier Reza Khan, restored some semblance of order in Teheran and became the strongman in national politics. After the Persian government signed a treaty with the Soviet government, restoring relations with Russia, Reza Khan was encouraged by the British to stage a putsch. Shah Sultan Achmad was deposed and by 1925 the Cossack officer had been raised to the throne as shahanshah (king of kings), assuming the dynastic name Pahlavi.

In fairness to Shah Reza Khan, it should be noted that, unlike many of his predecessors, it was not in his nature to be a mere puppet of the foreign powers. On the contrary, he imagined himself destined to be the savior of his country and defender of its national independence, and he therefore patiently cultivated the fiction that he was an actual descendant of Iran's ancient kings.

With Kemal Ataturk, Turkey's great modernizer, as his model, he was convinced that the religious classes were the only real obstacle to progress; and he proceeded with the ruthlessness of a Cossack soldier to try to destroy their power. It was, therefore, mainly for the purpose of strengthening his own position against the mullahs that he sought and used the support of the foreign powers, playing one off against the others wherever possible.

The effect was a transformation of the traditional monarchy, always tyrannical but inefficient, into a modern dictatorship armed with all the expertise and appurtenances of modern totalitarianism, including a ubiquitous secret police. Writes Professor Hamid Algar:

“In so far as the word “Modernization” has had any meaning in the Iranian context, what was modernized by the Pahlavi dynasty was the apparatus of repression ... Among the few individuals to resist the imposition of the Pahlavi dictatorship in an open fashion was again one of the ulama, Sayyid Hasan Mudharris. He spoke up in the Majlis ... went into exile and was murdered in exile by agents of Reza Khan.” [13]

Early in the 1930s the shah sought to protect Iran from both the British and the Soviet Union by entering into an alliance with Germany; and by 1940 thousands of Germans were working in Iran and hundreds of Iranians were studying in German universities and technical colleges. This short-lived alliance was to prove the shah’s undoing. In 1941, as the German forces were advancing deep into Russia, the British and their Soviet allies called on him to expel all the Germans and to permit the transit of supplies and reinforcements to the Russian front. When he refused to comply, the Allied forces invaded Iran and the shah’s 120,000-strong army vanished like “snow in summer.”

Britain carried out a surprise attack on the Iranian navy at Khorramshahr, destroying all the ships and killing many of those on board. Iran was divided into two zones of military occupation and the British, who had appointed Reza Khan as shah, now sent him into exile in South Africa, where he died three years later. As his son, Mohammad Reza, was to remark later in his memoirs: “It was deemed appropriate by the Allies that I should succeed my father.”

“Although Iran was quickly declared one of the Allies,” writes Amir Taheri, “her treatment by the British and Soviet forces of occupation could not have been harsher. Worse still, they made it abundantly clear that they had no intention of leaving Iran after the war had come to an end.” [14]

Any expectations which the British and the Soviets may have had about their future role in Iran were to be disappointed, for in power-political terms World War II was to inaugurate an entirely new game in which the aims and ambitions of separate nations, like Britain and the Soviet Union, were to be of diminishing consequence.

Unnoticed, except by a few percipient observers, a new global imperium had come into existence, geographically centered in the United States, but not specifically American.

The different nations would maintain their embassies and continue to be involved in many ways, but their separate power to influence events in Iran would henceforth be only marginal.

While World War II was still in progress, the Soviets worked quite openly for the creation of independent republics in the northern province of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, hoping to be able to incorporate these later into the USSR. The British also were frantically busy trying to create conditions favorable to their future interests; they set up and financed the Khuzistan Wellbeing Party in the hope of being able to detach this oil-rich region when Iran fell apart, as expected, after the war. The Soviets organized the Communist Tudeh Party, and the British set about securing the allegiance of various dissident groups like the Bakhtiari chiefs and certain Anglophile mullahs and powerful families.

But no resistance could be offered to the United States, now by far the world’s most powerful nation—even without the atom bomb. Quietly, under pressure from Washington, London and Moscow signed a treaty with Iran under which all their forces would be withdrawn within six months of the war. In 1943 the United States set up its Persian Gulf Command and the American presence became increasingly conspicuous.

British and Soviets duly withdrew their forces in 1946, the nascent republics in the north were crushed, and the Tudeh Party was pushed into the background of public affairs. Developments continued according to program, but it was a program that remained for most people a great mystery.

The New Imperialism

It is the revolutionary change in the nature and character of imperialism which now calls for a more detailed explanation.

It rather looked as if a British imperialism which had prevailed in Iran without interruption since the end of World War I was supplanted after the end of World War II by an American one — or, rather, by one consisting of an alliance of America and Israel. Indeed, from quite early in the 1950s an American-Israeli presence was the dominating foreign influence in Iran; and it was almost exclusively against the Americans that the hostility of the mullahs and the masses was directed, culminating in the invasion of the U.S. embassy and the subsequent hostage drama.

The reality, however, was very different, for what looked so like an America-Israeli alliance was in fact only the picture presented by an altogether different imperialism which had come into existence, displacing and replacing all the separate national imperialisms. What began quite early in the present century, and proceeded at a much accelerated pace after the end of World War II, was the progressive dismantling of all the separate national imperialisms, including the American, and their absorption into something unprecedented in recorded history — a global financial imperialism.

Instead of the moral illegitimacy, or political pathology, of parasitical conspiracies of “special interests” inside the different Western societies, *now* a vast cosmopolitan parasitism of “special interests” operated on a global basis and with ends far more ambitious: nothing less than a world economic and political imperium.

Nationalist imperialisms were thus subsumed in a single international imperialism in the same way as we have seen very large commercial, industrial and financial enterprises swallowed and ingested into the concentrated ownership and control of vastly bigger, mainly financial conglomerates.

The overthrow of the tsarist regime in Russia in 1917, the dispossession of all the European powers of their colonial empires, the setting up of the United Nations as a world government-in-waiting, and much else, were all part of a power-concentrating process which began last century and continues to this day.

This change in the character of imperialism was one of the consequences of a radical change in the realm of high finance, which can briefly be explained as follows. For a long time after the beginning of the modern industrial era, finance-capital (not to be confused with private enterprise capital) existed almost entirely in national concentrations: there was a British finance-capitalism, nominally answerable to a British government, which was in turn nominally answerable to an electorate; a German finance-capitalism, a French one, a Dutch, and so on, each joined to a national government and each government nominally answerable to a national electorate.

These nations were, in fact, *plutocracies* — each one an instance of what Hobson calls “social pathology,” capable of maintaining themselves in power with a public opinion *not sought and consulted*, as before, but *created* as required, by news-media propaganda, patronage and other re-

wards of the business world. Money had become the measure of all things, with a ruling elite drawn less from the land and more and more from the factory and the counting-house.

Last century and well into the 20th, these national concentrations of financial power were in vigorous competition, a major example of this being the scramble for colonies and markets in the so-called underdeveloped world. What then happened was that the many national vortices of financial power were drawn into a global vortex of financial power.

There can be no doubt that a major factor in bringing about this change in the realm of high finance was the long-continued existence within the different nations of Europe of Jewish banking families or dynasties which had always specialized in transnational operations. ^[15] The story of how these financial dynasties consolidated their power on an international basis is explained at some length by Prof. Carroll Quigley in his 1300-page “History of the World in Our Time,” *Tragedy and Hope*.

It all began with what Quigley called “the third stage in the development of capitalism ... of overwhelming significance in the history of the 20th century, and its ramifications and influences subterranean and even occult.” He adds:

“Essentially what it did was to take the old disorganized and localized methods of handling money and credit and organize them on an international basis.” ^[16]

The truly revolutionary change was to occur in the 1930s, when the control of this international financial system passed out of the hands of those who had created it — the likes of J.P. Morgan in America and Montagu Norman in Britain — into the hands of a cosmopolitan elite no longer “high Episcopalian, Anglophile, and European-culture-conscious.” The shift occurred at all levels, says Dr. Quigley, and was evident in the decline of J.P. Morgan, which had hitherto dominated Wall Street. ^[17]

Thus it can be said that much of what was to happen in Iran and in many other parts of the world after the end of World War II had its parallel in the United States, where the great American pioneering families found themselves without the power to control their own universities, and where their national newspaper, the New York *Herald-Tribune*, fell into irreversible decline and died, like a ring-barked forest giant. The use of words like America and American in any discussion of world politics can thus be grossly misleading unless it is clearly understood that “American power” has ceased to be essentially American.

The dismantling of an essentially British oil empire in Iran and its reorganization on an international basis (as was done with Belgium’s copper empire in the Congo in 1960) was, therefore, to be expected — having much the same effect as that produced by “decolonization” in so many other parts of the world.

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) had been exploiting the oil fields in Khuzistan since 1901, and the demarcation of those fields, covering an area of 15,000 square miles, has been laid down in a 1933 agreement. This giant company, writes Vincent Monteil, trained British subjects to take an interest in Iran’s internal affairs, and “took pleasure in appointing the number of votes in the ‘free’ elections.” In return — to take only one year as an example — AIOC paid Iran royalties or rent of £10 million in 1949, compared with £28 million paid in tax on profit alone to the British treasury. ^[18]

In 1950, shortly after the shah’s visit to the United States, where he had talks with President Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson, the Americans began to show great interest in the Ira-

nian oil industry. A number of oil experts, businessmen and technicians visited Iran, and began to lay the powder-train for a political explosion which was to take place less than 12 months later; they did this by explaining how much more generously they treated their partners in Saudi Arabia, Venezuela and elsewhere.

A fiery atmosphere was thus created as AIOC began negotiating for a further renewal of its contract. In the wildly confusing situation that ensued, the weight of probability suggests that it was the British who were instrumental in persuading the shah to appoint the army chief-of-staff, Ali Razmara, as prime minister, charged with the task of handling these negotiations. However, the British were soon conducting a furious campaign of character-assassination against Razmara, while the Americans sought to bolster his regime with aid and by upgrading their embassy to first class. This little drama within a drama ended suddenly, when Razmara was assassinated, supposedly as a warning to any politician who might frustrate the growing demand for nationalization of the oil industry.

The killing was done by the Fedayen of Islam (Martyrs for Islam), but it was generally believed at the time that orders for it had come from the British by way of one of their former employees. But why? A draft bill for a renewal of the agreement with AIOC, introduced by Gen. Razmara, was defeated and a few weeks later another bill introduced by Dr. Mohammad Mussadeq, nationalizing the oil industry, was passed. Mussadeq was appointed prime minister and Iran became involved in a great struggle with the British at the World Court and also at the United Nations. A great British company with many years of experience in Iran evidently had no intention of surrendering without a struggle.

Writes Amir Taheri: "That the United States wanted Mussadeq to succeed was demonstrated by the increase in American aid from \$500,000 in 1950 to nearly \$24 million two years later." [19] However, if the Iranians expected the Americans to help them to re-establish the oil industry on a national basis they were soon to be disappointed, for American policy was to be dictated by considerations of a kind wholly inaccessible to the scrutiny of ordinary politicians and journalists.

Whether, therefore, it was the British or the Americans who were responsible for the small army revolt which dislodged Mussadeq has continued to this day to be a debatable question in Iran.

As a sincere nationalist politician enjoying much support from the religious class, himself being a practising Muslim, Mussadeq had performed the task required of him and had now to be removed. The Americans, therefore, joined willingly enough in the world-wide campaign, engineered by the British, to make it impossible for the Iranians to make a go of their nationalized oil industry. In the ensuing turmoil the shah hurriedly left the country, and as quickly returned after order had been established by the army.

President Truman's 'Point 4' Plan

The Iranians may find a key to the riddle of one of the most baffling periods in their much-troubled history in something that had happened in Washington a couple of years earlier (1949). This was a speech by Mr. Truman in Congress inaugurating his first full term as President, in which he unveiled a grandiose plan to "save the world from Communism" (so soon after America had saved the Soviet Union from Hitler!).

This plan proclaimed a "bold new program for underdeveloped areas," a program "to greatly increase the industrial activity in other nations" and "to raise substantially their standards of living." The executors and agents of this plan, which came to be known as "Point 4" and Agency

for International Development” or AID, were soon afterwards pressing American assistance and advice on all the so-called “underdeveloped” countries, including Iran. What President Truman had presented, as we now can see more clearly, was the prefiguration of a new global financial imperialism whose main purpose it would be to dismantle and dislodge all the national economic imperialisms of the preceding century and a half.

A Washington report at the time said that American officials Concerned with President Truman’s “Point 4” were working to the principle of “a new type of benevolent imperialism designed to spread prosperity without exacerbating political nationalism.” In other words, if the undertaking went through, “American nationals will serve on the governmental as well as the technical level in the politically independent countries concerned.” Although “a startling innovation” in Asia and Africa, this was to be regarded “only as an extension of a system already in operation in Latin America.” [20]

That all sounded benevolent enough, but how was it to be prevented from becoming a form of American political hegemony?

After former *London Times* foreign correspondent Douglas Reed had carefully digested President Truman’s speech and the explanatory literature that accompanied it, he had a strong feeling that he had read it all before somewhere. And so he had: as he turned over the pages of a book he had read a couple of years earlier, there it was. The book was *Teheran, Our Path in War and Peace*. Its author: Earl Browder, leader of the Communist Party in America.

Browder’s words:

“Our government can create a series of giant industrial development corporations, each in partnership with some other government or group of governments, and set them to work upon large-scale plans of railroad and highway building, agricultural and industrial development, and all-round modernization in all the devastated and undeveloped areas of the world.”

The Communist leader was referring to Africa in particular, but he went on:

“Closely related socially, economically and politically with Africa are the Near Eastern countries of Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Here also a broad program of economic development is called for.

Significantly, it was a capitalist America and not a Communist Soviet Union which the Communist Party boss called on to undertake this ambitious program of financial and economic imperialism. Douglas Reed could only marvel:

There must be in America under President Truman, as under President Roosevelt, some group or force strong or persuasive enough to sell Communist aims to political leaders and simultaneously to convince them that these will stop Communism.” [21]

Indeed. And to the same hidden source must be traced the reality of American state policy during and after the last war, as distinct from policy as publicly stated, the promotion of two causes that were never declared but simply came to pass: the advance of the Red Army to the center of Europe and to the Pacific coast of Asia, and the continuous pouring of billions of financial aid every year into the then-new state of Israel.

That should help to explain a phenomenon which seems to have baffled Amir Taheri and other observers. Writes Taheri:

“What could be described as the Kissinger style of diplomacy led, over a period of eight years, to a sharp reduction in the contributions of American missions abroad to the making of foreign policy, Kissinger clearly believed that diplomacy was too important a matter to be left to diplomats... he saw it [the bureaucracy] as no more than an instrument for implementing decisions made by a very restricted circle.” [22]

Grand Design and Counter-Revolution

The Ayatollah Khomeini’s angry young men who seized the American embassy after the revolution did not fail to notice that many of the most telling policy directives from the State Department in Washington were wholly out of register with reports and interpretations from the men on the spot, the poor wretches who afterwards had to bear the full brunt of passionate Iranian animosity. Members of the American embassy in Teheran, says Taheri, were gradually led to understand that they should not report what they saw but, rather, should see what Washington wanted them to report.

What this meant was that a grand strategy and system of tactics were being implemented to which only a tiny minority of policy-makers at the top were privy, creating an environment in which deeply clandestine purposes were heavily masked with an ostentation of innocent and benevolent intentions. The effect was an utterly baffling melange of contradictory utterances and actions. As Taheri put it:

“The behind-the-scenes drama enacted over more than eight years in Teheran, Washington, Jerusalem, London, Cairo and a dozen other cities reflected the realities of a secret world which obeyed few rules either of international conduct or of individual morality. It is in this broader context that the Irangate fiasco might be properly understood.” [23]

This hell’s kitchen of secrecy and intrigue outside Iran had its equivalent inside the country. In the aftermath of the revolution all the Freemasonry lodges in Iran were closed and their archives seized, confirming what many had suspected. Many of them were controlled by Jews or Bahais of Jewish origin, providing another channel of secret communication with Israel and Zionism in general.

So, how did the American Communist Party leader come to present in broad outline an ambitious program for Third World development, to be undertaken later at great cost by the United States and a wide network of international agencies? Another question: How did it happen, and how was it possible, for Armand Hammer, son of Julius Hammer, one of the founders of the American Communist Party, to proceed to Russia immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution and begin at once to organize a massive transfer of finance, industrial equipment and technology from the capitalist West to its supposed enemy, the Communist East? [24]

The short answer to both questions will be found in what the German historian Oswald Spengler wrote immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution:

“There is no proletarian movement, not even a Communist one, which does not operate in the interest of money, in the direction indicated by money and for the period

permitted by money, and all this without the idealist in its ranks having the slightest suspicion of the fact." [25]

Those who have penetrated the mystery of the weirdly ambivalent relationship of high finance and Communism will not be surprised to learn that the Soviet Union supported the shah to the end, and that articles in Pravda about events in Iran were almost exactly the same in tone and content as those in the New York Times.

If the unfolding history of our century can be said to be the product of an alliance of money and intellect (what else could it be?), it was the role of Earl Browder and very many of his kind, only a few of them to be identified as Communists, to take care of the intellectual half of this alliance.

Writes Professor Hamid Algar:

"The return of the shah in 1953 inaugurated the intense period of a quarter of a century of unprecedented massacre and oppression, the intensive exploitation of the resources of the Iranian people by the imperialism of the East and West, the Western camp being headed then by the United States rather than Britain." [26]

This then was the new imperialism, American and Israeli in appearance but international and cosmopolitan in character, drawing into its orbit power-wielding elements from all the previous national imperialisms, financial, political and intellectual. The Iranian oil industry, hitherto a British monopoly, was "internationalized," the nominal national ownership of it left intact but its management entrusted to a consortium owned by AIOC, renamed British Petroleum (40 per cent), eight United States oil trusts (40 per cent), Shell (14 per cent) and French Petroleum (6 per cent).

We must now try to make some sense out of the phantasmagoria of confused and seemingly contradictory facts which emerged in the struggle between the shah and his people that was to ensue.

The entire Iranian struggle after the end of World War II can be visualized in the broadest terms as a confrontation of mutually antagonistic hierarchies of ideas, values and vortices of power, actual or potential, the one belonging to the West and the other to the East, the one having modern America as its grand symbol of human progress and welfare, and the other regarding America as the arch-symbol of political illegitimacy, "The Great Satan." [27]

And the shah, because he could imagine no future for Iran except one modeled on the industrialized West, and because he, too, regarded his country's religious class as the great obstacle to progress in that direction, allowed himself to become, in every way, the main instrument of the foreign power.

As Taheri reports, a great variety of ideological forces came into existence after 1953 to combat the dictatorship of the shah and his subservience to the foreign powers; but behind all of them religious influence was increasingly discernible; so much so that even socialism, a secular ideology borrowed from the West, reappeared in Iran as "The Movement of God-fearing Socialists."

This increase in religious influence came to a climax in 1963 with the sudden emergence into prominence of the Ayatollah Rohallah Khomeini, who was to play a role in the revolution resembling in many ways that of the Prophet Muhammad in the seventh century, combining in a remarkable way the functions of a religious and secular leader. [28]

A maximization of the power of the shah to enforce his will on the population was being met with a corresponding increase in the power and influence of a religious class which symbolized

the will and instinct of the mass of the people. They could all see what was being offered, and they did not want it.

There were two ways in which the shah's power to enforce his will was enormously increased: 1) an increase in the amount of money at his disposal as oil production was resumed, and again as the price of oil rocketed; and, 2) close cooperation with the external power, especially with its Israeli component, in the sophisticated use of secret police and prisons as instruments of terror and compulsion.

Even moderate opposition after 1963 was suppressed with exile, imprisonment, torture and murder, and the army was brought in to crush mass demonstrations mounted by the ulama in Teheran and other cities, when thousands of people were killed. In 1975 the director of Amnesty International's British section described Iran as "world leader" in torture, executions after sham trials, and widespread political imprisonment.

The sharp edge of the power which the shah was able to bring to bear on his internal opponents was almost wholly supplied by his two main foreign supporters, the United States and Israel; these were, however, never really separate but only two aspects of one and the same world-revolutionary force.

In fact, American and Israeli influence were at all times inseparable. Prof. Algar says that after the coup of 1953, which ousted Mussadeq, there was cooperation at all levels, especially in intelligence and security work. He adds:

"After a certain point it appears that the task of staffing the Savak was taken over by Mossad, the Israeli security, from the CIA although the CIA always retained the right of supervision over the operations of Savak. I know of many people who report having been interrogated and tortured by Israelis while in the custody of Savak." [29]

Algar continues:

"There was overwhelming similarity between the two of utter dependence on the United States. Israel is hardly independent of the United States-or, rather, the matters are the reverse, Israel certainly commands more votes in the Senate than does the White House." [30]

This Age of Conflict

The career of Shah Mohammad Reza illustrates to perfection Lord Acton's maxim that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Through the process of unrestrained personal ambition the shah became wholly separated from his own people — the corruption of leadership in its ultimate form. He believed in what he was doing, enjoyed the support of the greatest concentration of power outside his own country, and was able to draw from his oil industry so much wealth that he needed nothing from his people except their submission. From 1970 he was even able to expand his power abroad by giving away vast quantities of money, having raised his own country to a position of power and influence unprecedented in centuries. Writes Taheri:

"Between 1968 and 1978 Iran earned more than \$100,000 million from oil exports. More than 10 percent of that was used in the form of loans or outright gifts to friendly countries. The United Kingdom received from \$1,200 million in loans ... In West Germany Iran purchased substantial shares in Krupps and Benz as a means of saving them from financial difficulties... More than seven hundred "key personali-

tites” in some 30 countries were on the secret Iranian payroll from 1979 onwards ...”
[31]

Iran’s galloping arms expenditure in the wake of the 1973-74 oil-price rise helped Western economies to avoid recession. At the same time, under the Nixon-Kissinger doctrine, Iran was seen as the regional power that would defend Western interests and act as policeman in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

The shah had assigned to himself a role in history comparable, in his imagination, only with that of the founder of the Persian Empire in 600 BC. Of this he informed the world in October 1971 when, flanked by his generals, he presented himself before the tomb of that great monarch, now little more than a pile of stones in a vast arid plain, and ceremoniously read a eulogy which began with the words: “Lie in peace, Cyrus, for we are awake!”

This was followed by a party among the grandiose ruins at Persepolis attended by more than five hundred dignitaries, including kings, presidents and prime ministers from 60 countries. All this, as the shah remarked at the time, was intended to mark “the rebirth of the Persian Empire and Iran’s return to the forefront of human experience.”

Other products of the shah’s megalomania were the proposed 1,200-acre Shahestan-e-Pahlavi architectural extravaganza at Teheran and 20 planned nuclear power plants. This kind of development favored Western economics and Western contractors who shared the pickings with a new class of Iranian monopolists and technocrats, but did little or nothing for the Iranian economy as a whole.

Carried away by this dream of national greatness, what the shah seemed unable to understand was that the role he had assigned to himself was wholly subordinate to another which had been assigned to him by those who were encouraging him in his ambitions. In other words, that the Iranian national drama, so impressive when viewed separately, was intended to be no more than an episode in a vastly bigger world-historical drama.

So, it is the motivational system of the likes of Henry Kissinger — during most of the 1970s the shah’s warmest friend and most trusted adviser — that calls for some consideration. How and for what purpose were these powerful individuals trying to use the shah?

A short but inadequate answer is that the new international cosmopolitan imperialism, spearheaded by Israel, had come to regard the Arab world and its Islamic religions as being by far the greatest hindrance to the attainment of its great objective, a one-world government which it could control at all levels; and Iran, with its considerable non-Arabic population and huge oil wealth, was seen as a possible countervailing force which could be used against the Arab world.

The first step was to make Israel virtually synonymous with America in terms of foreign support in all fields, and then, by steady progression, provide the shah with a means of suppressing all internal opposition. In fact, the shah’s security forces were virtually taken over by the Israelis and reinforced with non-Islamic personnel, largely recruited from non-Muslim population elements, especially the Bahais, largely people of Jewish descent no longer practicing the Jewish religion. This gave the shah an instrument which could be used with the utmost ruthlessness against the population and against the religious class in particular.. Prof. Algar states the position exactly:

“We find ... that immediately after the great massacre in Teheran on September 8, 1978, when an estimated 4000 people were killed, Carter left his humanitarian efforts on behalf of so called peace at Camp David to send a personal message of support to

the shah. It is noteworthy that Sadat and Begin and the other participants in these humanitarian efforts at Camp David also took time off to telephone their best wishes to the shah in the aftermath of the massacre. Given this timing of Carter's expression of support for the shah, we can do no other than regard his visit to Teheran and his proclamation of support ... at the beginning of 1978 as an implicit statement of support of the shah and of all the acts of massacre and repression that he undertook in the year of the revolution. It was not only ... an uprising designed to shake and destroy the tyrannical rule of the monarch, it was at the same time, in a real sense, a war of independence waged against a power which had successfully turned Iran into a military base and which had incorporated the military repressive apparatus of that other country into its own strategic system." [32]

The commanding importance attached to Iran as a piece on the checkerboard of global power politics was emphasized shortly after the fall of the shah when support from both sides of the so-called Iron Curtain was given to Iraq, and when the most flagrant violations of international law by Iraq, including the first attacks on neutral shipping, and even the use of poison gas, were disregarded or excused. The external powers, the USSR included, also doggedly refused to name Iraq as the aggressor.

Then when it had become clear that Iraq could not win, the combined efforts of the external powers had to be used to prevent an Iranian victory — an exercise which eventually called for direct American military action in the Persian gulf.

The Battleground of the Mind

The Iranian struggle was won and lost on the battleground of the mind.

All the ideas which the shah could muster in favor of the visible benefits of the Western social model, supported with a maximum application of force and terror, proved to be no match for a system of ideas, promoted by the mullahs, which united the people as never before and infused them with death-defying courage.

This was something the shah could never understand: an invincible unity of the people which embraced old and young, uneducated and educated, including even those who had received their schooling in the West. Thus, we learn that the shah's last visit to Washington at the invitation of President Carter in November 1977, was marred by unprecedented demonstrations by Iranian students, and that the teargas used by the police drifted across the White House lawns and caused the shah to shed a few tears.

For the purpose of study and discussion, this victorious system of ideas can be considered under two headings: populism and religion. The use of the word populism, however, calls for an explanatory note: it means what democracy used to mean and is still assumed to mean — namely, government by the people, direct or representative. However, since the word democracy is now almost universally applied to states which are not democracies as defined in the dictionaries, it can only be said to have ceased to be "lawful tender."

The nations of the West are, in fact, plutocracies, or special-interest oligarchies, wearing many of the trappings of democracy — political parties, the ballot box, all the rest.

The word populist is now used in all the English-speaking countries to designate popular movements offering opposition to the bogus democracies. The concept of populism thus establishes

common ground between political activists persecuted by the shah and those in the West now being persecuted and execrated as “rightwing extremists,” “neo-Nazis,” or “Fascists,” any debate with them being totally proscribed. [33]

All these populist movements have their origin in a deeply rooted instinct, a social or political instinct, which prompts people to react negatively to any rule which, judged by the results produced, they do not feel to be truly their own. Primitive societies which have endured down the ages can be regarded as models of legitimate rule and an example to the huge sophisticated societies of the modern world, in which the factor of legitimacy is increasingly elusive, if not wholly absent.

The actual system matters very little: it could be a monarchy, or a dictatorship, or an oligarchy or a conventional democracy; there is no system of rule which has not been known to work to the satisfaction of those ruled; any system acceptable provided that it is implemented by those who can be regarded as the legitimate nominees of those ruled, leaders who are sensitive to the feelings, values, beliefs and group memories of the ruled.

Amir Taheri, a West-oriented Iranian journalist and no friend of the mullahs, says of the shah in 1976:

“He did not need the people for their votes in a general election. He was there by divine right and parliamentary elections, organized every four years, were little more than ritualistic exercises in futility.” [34]

And the shah had long since abandoned the practice of travelling around the country to make direct contact with his people.

Other populist resistance movements in Iran since before the turn of the century, some of them modeled on similar movements in the West, were all influenced in some degree by the religious class, but the one that finally triumphed was religious through and through, inspired by a great religious leader and organized and managed throughout by the ulama.

From all of which it would seem to follow that for the West, with all its bogus democracies and its Christian church falling into disarray and demoralization, there should be much to learn from the role of religion as a mobilizer of mass political action, and about politics in general.

However, any consideration of the role of religion in Iran — a role unthinkable today in the West — needs to be preceded by a few thoughts about religion in general, not this or that manifestation of it but religion as a factor of commanding importance in human affairs everywhere and at all times of which we have any record.

Religion can be said to have two main aspects: *personal* and *social*. Religion can be a strictly personal phenomenon, joined to or wholly independent of any prevailing orthodoxy or doctrine. A sound attitude towards the totality of existence, a submission of the will to a system of cosmic law external to and superior to the intellect, no matter how such an attitude may have been acquired, is all that is needed for what C.G. Jung describes as “a religious attitude to life,” or state of psychic well-being. For most people at all times a taught religion has provided the easiest access to such an attitude, for which the only proof needed is that it works.

Religion can, therefore, also be a social phenomenon, a system of consensus belief having its origin in some prophet and offering psychic security and some measure of creative release to an entire community, even to an epoch. Consensus religions, like all other human artifacts, are ex-

posed to the vicissitudes of time and change and thus are liable to lose some of their pristine efficacy, their power to fulfil the purpose for which they came into existence.

So, what is the purpose of a consensus religion, if any, apart from that of helping the individual to find psychic orientation?

One simple but of course insufficient answer is that a consensus religion serves as a repository of values and a system of tested knowledge in respect of what is “right” and “wrong” in human relations. This implies that certain cosmic laws relative to what people do, or what is done to them, are encoded in human nature, not as ready-made ideas but only as instinctual intimations which must then be conceptualized and verbalized as ideas capable of being communicated and discussed. These laws we categorize as “moral” or “metaphysical,” laws of a most volatile and elusive kind which are easily lost and are continually having to be rediscovered and verbalized in a new way. And it is these laws which, if observed and applied in whatever form, keep a society as it were “on course,” preserving it against disintegration and disorder.

Islam and Christianity

Only blind prejudice can prevent anyone who has gone to the trouble of studying even a summary of the contents of the Koran from realizing that Muhammad the Prophet was a moral genius, a person who, under pressure of a personal crisis of the mind, gained a quite extraordinary insight into those metaphysical laws, so hard to grasp, which prevail inexorably inside the human mind and in human relations.

And it was the circumstances then prevailing that made it possible, even inevitable, that one man’s breakthrough to a rare state of enlightenment would expand quickly into a consensus religion destined to spread very quickly over most of the then known world.

Muhammad, like Jesus Christ about 600 years earlier, was living in what can be described as “end times” — much like conditions in the Western world today — when societies, no longer sufficiently in register with the unalterable realities of human nature, have begun to disintegrate. Social existence degenerates into a frantic scramble for personal survival and advantage as people cease to find in their social group a sense of shared security and mutual obligation and duty, and many begin to suffer in their minds.

What is most significant is that the Church in the West is disintegrating along with everything else, compounding rather than counteracting the process of decline in the West.

Here a clear distinction must be drawn between two aspects of Christianity as a consensus religion: the Church Extant and the Church Invisible; the church as a great property-owning and power-oriented institution and the church in its nascent form as a message of personal deliverance. Both Christianity and Islam spring from the same insights and share with the earlier Judaism the same even more ancient monotheistic symbolism. The Koran says: “Jesus the Messiah, the son of Mary, was a Messenger of God, His word which He placed in Mary, and His spirit” (IV.171). There was, thus, no fundamental antagonism between Islam and Christianity.

The big difference between the two religions is that Islam did not create a church or its equivalent, and that the Christian Church, obedient to the laws of worldly growth, was everywhere inclined to make common cause with centers of worldly power.

The failure of the church in the West is summed up in Balzac’s trenchant remark that “there can be no universal application of Christianity until the money problem has been solved.” Alas, the

church has never been at odds for long with “Caesar” in the ultimate form as concentrated financial power.

It is mainly for this reason that Islam, with its unflinching prohibition of usury, now is seen as a major threat to a vast structure of power in the West, challenging the moral foundations on which it has been reared.

The code of conduct, both for rulers and ruled, explicit in Islam’s Sharia, was largely implicit in Christianity’s basic teaching (“Do unto others as you would be done by.”). The main difference between the two faiths arose out of the fact that Muhammad was compelled by the circumstances of his time to become a political leader, administrator and soldier, as well as religious leader. The meanings belonging to “a kingdom not of this world” were thus brought into close relationship with meanings more directly relevant to the unavoidable actualities of “this world.”

Perhaps the most important fact of all in the context of the present world situation is that Islam presents in clear outline the moral configuration of Economic Man: worker, owner, dealer in the products of labor, his duties, obligations and rights. The injunction on the subject of usury may not have seemed all that important at the time when few, if any, of the Prophet’s followers might have been interested in the lending of money.

But, today, usury is the linchpin without which the greatest concentration of worldly power ever would fall apart. Centuries of antagonism between the Christian and Muslim worlds can be traced to a great variety of causes, but one of its main effects, as we can now see more plainly, was that of preventing the people of the West from recognizing and getting to grips with a corrupting principle which had been planted in their midst.

Shi’ism: Religion of the Revolution

For an explanation of the Iranian Revolution, it is not Islam in general but a particular version of it called Shi’ism that needs to be more closely examined, a kind of fundamentalism which, besides setting Iran fiercely at odds with the Western world, has had the effect of driving Iran into isolation, separated also from the rest of the Islamic world.

Writes Professor Algar:

“The revolution in Iran and the foundation of the Islamic Republic is the culmination of a series of events that began in the sixteenth century of the Christian era with the adherence of the majority of the Iranian people to the Shi’i school of thought in Islam. Indeed, one of the important factors that sets the Iranian Revolution apart from all the other revolutionary upheavals of the present century is its deep roots in the historical past.” [35]

There is no need, however, to explore the difference between Shi’ism and other schools of Islamic thought, because this difference fades into relative insignificance when compared with the change which occurred in Shi’ism itself after its introduction by the Turkish conqueror and the inauguration of the Safavid dynasty in 1502. So, it is what the Persians made of Shi’ism, rather than what they received, that now sharply distinguishes it from other schools of Islamic thought.

What has happened can be stated in a few words: Shi’ism has presented in sharper and clearer outline of the religious configurations of what we might call Political Man. This has entailed the politicization of the ulama and its involvement in public affairs to a degree unequalled anywhere outside Iran. The leaders of the other Islamic states, while sharing with Iran deep concern about

policies being implemented by the Western powers in the Middle East, see what has happened in Iran as a usurpation by the religious class that could place their own regimes in danger.

This involvement in politics by the religious class has deep roots in history and is supported with considerable scholarship. Writes Prod Algar:

“With the hindsight provided by the Islamic Revolution, it will be more appropriate to write the Iranian history of the past three or four centuries not so much in terms of dynasties as in terms of the development of the class of Iranian ulama. Dynasties have come and gone, leaving in many cases little more than a few artifacts behind to account for their existence. but there has been a continuing development of the class of Shi'i ulama in Iran which has been totally without parallel elsewhere in the Islamic world.”

Prof. Algar explains briefly how the burdens of state came to be placed on the shoulders of the religious scholars and how they learned to cope:

“With the decline of the Safavid dynasty in 1724, a period of anarchy began in Iran. At one point within the 18th century we find no fewer than 13 different contestants for the throne doing battle with each other. The total disintegration of the political authority accelerated the process of divorce between the religious institution and the monarchy. We can say that in the absence of an effective centralized monarchy throughout the 18th century the ulama came in a practical fashion ... to assume the role of local governors, arbitrators of disputes, executors at law and so forth.” [36]

This experience over an extended period produced a change in Shi'ism; for there had to be some change in theory and scholarship to accommodate an expanded range of duty and mental activity. And so there arose a great debate about the duties of the religious scholar, whether he should confine himself to the sifting of the teachings of the Prophet and its interpretations, or whether it was permissible for him to engage in independent reasoning in respect of legal questions. The first position acquired the Arabic name *akhbari* and the other the *usuli*.

It would be hard to exaggerate the profundity and far-ranging implication of this debate; the question at issue is whether a consensus religion can be a “total way of life” for any society unless its scholars and teachers are also experts in jurisprudence and other affairs of state and have been trained to exercise their intellects in secular as well as religious matters, thereby acquiring competence to monitor the performance of the rulers.

Were it not for the triumph of the usuli position in the 18th century, the religious scholars would have been reduced to an extremely marginal position in society and the Iranian Revolution of 1978 would have been impossible. The whole significance of the Ayatollah Khomeini arises from the fact that he was the living embodiment of this activist tradition, the fruition of long years of political, spiritual and intellectual development.

As the mass of the Iranian population was instinctively repelled by the conditions of existence created in the name of Westernization and progress, and after the failure of many attempts by various popular movements, like Mussadeq's National Front, to place some curbs on the shah's dictatorial power, all turned to the ulama and accepted it unreservedly as the sole legitimate authority and thereafter responded automatically to its commands. Khomeini could, therefore, feel secure in the knowledge that he had the mass of the population behind him when early in 1963 he virtually launched the revolution with a series of public declarations at Qum.

In these he accused the shah of having violated the constitution and the oath he took when enthroned that he would protect Islam. He also attacked the shah for his subordination to foreign powers, naming the United States and Israel. The secret police Savak had permitted some qualified criticism of America but had always rigorously enforced the rule that not even the name of Israel must ever be mentioned in public discussion.

After one of these addresses, Khomeini's center at Qum was stormed by paratroopers and Savak members, a number of people were killed and the ayatollah arrested. Released a few days later, the ayatollah continued to attack the shah, with the result that there followed on June 5 a vast uprising in many Iranian cities.

This was repressed with great force and it was estimated that within a few days at least 15,000 people were killed in the shooting ordered by the shah. Khomeini was arrested again and sent into exile in Turkey, whence he moved later to Iraq and then to Paris.

Two features of the ensuing revolution which culminated in the final explosion of public anger towards the end of 1978 call for special notice. The more important of these was the factor of martyrdom, that is resistance of a kind undeterred by the fear of death. The other was the communications factor, the seeming magic with which the leader of the revolution, even from distant Paris, could reach a widely distributed population with information and instruction.

The communications factor is more easily explained: the ulama represented a nationwide communications network with its mosques and madrassas, its mullahs and its students, vastly expanded and expedited by two products of modern technology, the telephone and the tape-recorder. A declaration by the ayatollah, spoken into a telephone in Paris, would be recorded in Teheran or some other Iranian city, copied and transcribed and retransmitted to other parts of the country, where the process would be repeated until within a few hours it would have reached even small and widely separated villages.

All this was possible, however, only by reason of the accumulated learning and preparatory work of four centuries which had equipped the ulama for such a role, so that all knew exactly what they were expected to do and why, a rare condition in any society. This communications system, wholly dependent on the zealous participation of thousands of individuals, proved in the end to be more than a match for a powerful press, radio and television, all vehemently supportive of the shah's regime.

All that needs to be said about the highly abstruse martyrdom factor is that in Shi'ism the concept has been more thoroughly elaborated as a main component of the Islamic faith. It is something ever present in the consciousness of the Iranians. Hence the Shi'i maxim: "Every day is Ashura and every place is Karbala" — referring to the martyrdom of the Imam Hussain.

It was this factor that gave to mass political action in Iran, especially throughout 1978, a diamond-hardness that was proof against all the ruthless and sophisticated physical force which the shah and his close Israeli ally could mount against it. During the first days of December 1978, a large number of people appeared in the streets of Teheran and other cities wearing their shrouds, prepared for martyrdom and advancing unarmed on the rows of machine guns ready to be used to deadly effect.

By no other means could the people of Iran have overthrown one of the 20th century's most powerful and ruthless tyrants.

Notes

1. ☞ Article on Iran in *Comment*, published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, May 1980.
2. ☞ Algar, Hamid *The Roots of the Islamic Revolution* (The Open Press, London, 1983), p. 9.
3. ☞ Lectures at the Muslim Institute, London, 1980, Siddiqui's Preface.
4. ☞ Taheri, Amir *Nest of Spies: America's Journey to Disaster in Iran* (Hutchinson, 1988).
5. ☞ Lenin quoted by Paul Johnson in *A History of the Jews* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987).
6. ☞ Hobson, J.A. *Imperialism: A Study* (Geo. Allen and Unwin), Rev. Ed., 1938, p. vi.
7. ☞ Hobson, op. cit., p. 5.
8. ☞ Hobson, op. cit., pp. 46-7.
9. ☞ Hobson, op. cit., pp. 53-4.
10. ☞ Hobson, op. cit., p. 197.
11. ☞ Hobson, op. cit., p. 205.
12. ☞ Hobson, op. cit., p. 204.
13. ☞ Algar, op. cit., p. 20.
14. ☞ Taheri, op. cit., p. 15.
15. ☞ Names and background of Jewish banking families are given by Howard Sachar in *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (Dell Publishing, New York, 1958).
16. ☞ Quigley, Carroll. *Tragedy and Hope* (Macmillan, New York, 1966), p. 50.
17. ☞ Quigley, op. cit., p. 937.
18. ☞ Monteil, Vincent, *Iran* (Studio Vista, London, 1965), p. 25.
19. ☞ Taheri, op. cit., p. 27.
20. ☞ Cited in Reed, Douglas, *Somewhere South of Suez* (Devin-Adair, New York, 1951), p. 399.
21. ☞ Reed, op. cit., pp. 399-400.
22. ☞ Taheri, op. cit., p. 80.
23. ☞ Taheri, op. cit., p. 5.
24. ☞ See Armand Hammer's autobiography, *Witness to History* (1987).
25. ☞ Spengler, Oswald, *The Decline of the West* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, New York, 1926), vol 2, p. 402.
26. ☞ Algar, op. cit., p. 22.
27. ☞ For a particularly forceful exposition of this viewpoint, see *Fall of a Center of Deceit*, Islamic Propagation Organization, Teheran.
28. ☞ See *The Life and Times of Muhammad*, John Bagot Glubb (Hodder and Stoughton, 1970, and *Life of Mahomet*, Washington Irving (Dent, 1911).
29. ☞ Algar, op. cit., p. 50.
30. ☞ Algar, op. cit., p. 50.
31. ☞ Taheri, op. cit., p. 63
32. ☞ Algar, op. cit., p. 101.
33. ☞ Subject of a paper on psychological warfare read by Ivor Benson at the 1977 congress of the World Anti-Communist League, in Seoul, Korea.
34. ☞ Taheri, op. cit.
35. ☞ Algar, op. cit., p. 5.

Appendix I: Islam and Economic Man

If a single all-embracing reason is to be sought for the dread of a resurgent Islam now prevailing in the highest centers of worldly power, it may be found in the Islamic moral delineation of Economic Man, a system of ideas which challenges the entire foundation of great power in the West.

Monetary reform campaigners in the West, especially in the United States, might be astonished by the quantity and quality of thinking which Muslim scholars have put into the subject of banking and of economics generally, all of it constellated by the Prophet Muhammad's simple utterances. Here are some of the key elements of the Islamic economic philosophy: *

Individual rights: These are a consequence of the fulfillment of duties and obligations, not antecedent to them. In other words, first comes: the duty, then the right.

Property: Ownership is never absolute, conferring on us the right to do with our property wholly as we please. As the Sharia puts it, all property belongs to God: we are only its temporary incumbents and trustees; there are duties and responsibilities inseparably attached to the ownership of property.

Work and wealth: Islam exalts work as an inseparable dimension of faith itself and reprehends idleness. We do not need work only in order to earn a livelihood; we need work to preserve our psychic health; we need to exercise creative skills and to spend energy in work.

Usury: The Koran forcefully prohibits the payment and receipt of interest, or *riba* as it is called. Interest on a loan is regarded as a creation of instantaneous property rights outside the legitimate framework of existing property rights.

The evil inherent in usury, however, is more recondite and elusive than that. The lending of money at interest can in many instances be advantageous to borrower as well as lender; fortunes have been made with borrowed money. It is only in the context of a total way of life of a community that the evil nature of usury becomes more clearly visible to the moral imagination.

The principle of usury, once accepted, gives rise to the regular practice of it, requiring or making possible the emergence of a class of *moneylender*; human nature being as it is, and taking into account the circumstances in which money most often needs to be borrowed, the practice of usury is seen as conferring a compounding advantage on the moneylender class.

*See "The Islamic Banking system in Iran and Pakistan" Mohsin S. Khan and Abbas Mirahker, *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, 1986.

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Thoughts on the Military History of the Occupation of Japan

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- Paper Presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.

I. Introduction

We are now on the crest of a wave of interest in America's post-war occupation of Japan; many studies of the occupation have recently appeared, both in Japan and the United States. ^[1]

Most of these works, however, are diplomatically, economically, or sociologically oriented. Studies undertaken primarily from a military viewpoint are comparatively few. That being the case, we must ask: Why study the history of the occupation of Japan from a military perspective?

- First of all, to examine how the victors attained their war objectives through the military occupation of the enemy's country;
- Second, to study how the vanquished — in this case the Japanese — attained their national objective in accomplishing Japan's reconstruction under the occupation forces;
- Third, to study the kind of relationship which developed between the victor and the vanquished after the war;
- and finally, to examine in principle how, in present or future wars or armed conflicts, a country should successfully attain her long-term national objectives.

Since ancient times the subject of war and peace has been an extremely philosophical and most difficult theme. I claim no deep insight into this subject but in the first half of my life I experienced war, and during the second half peace and prosperity. Most of my life, however, has been devoted to military service and study. Even now, through my academic courses for young military students, I continue to study war and peace. I welcome your assistance in the form of a solid critique of my ideas.

Today we are able to see the victors, on the one hand, and the defeated, on the other, studying together their own and each others policies during and after the war. I am certain that this is tremendously important both in drawing lessons for the future and in maintaining the peace-and in that spirit I present this commentary.

II. Strategies During the Final Phase of WW II

1. Strategy of the United States

The U.S. conducted its war against Japan in the Pacific area while simultaneously fighting Germany and Italy in the European theater. In June 1945, following the occupation of Okinawa, the

U.S. prepared military plans to invade the island of Kyushu and the Kanto Plain (Tokyo and its hinterland). [2] Furthermore, the entry of the USSR into the war against Japan had been agreed upon at the secret meeting at Yalta in February 1945. On the other hand, the U.S. was also studying the problems of the military occupation of Japan in the event that Japan suddenly surrendered or collapsed. [3] This has already been made clear in many studies on this subject, especially since 1976, when the U.S. declassified and released many secret documents.

Additional light has been shed on the particulars of the U.S. failure to oppose the USSR's entry into the war against Japan — ultimately unnecessary because the U.S. succeeded in testing the atomic bomb in July 1945. The key factor in allowing Soviet intervention was that America's strategy for concluding the war was not merely to defeat its enemy militarily but to force Japan into an unconditional surrender.

In principle this was the same as the strategy against Germany but in the case of Japan the American people were concerned about prospective U.S. military casualties in the invasion of mainland Japan. Therefore, in the Potsdam declaration of July 1945 the United States changed its strategy from "Unconditional surrender" to "Unconditional surrender of the armed forces of Japan." Japan was later able to accept these terms because the Japanese government, recognizing this subtle U.S. change, felt the U.S. would not fundamentally alter the structure of the nation should Japan surrender.

Dr. D. Clayton James described the American strategy in the Pacific War as follows:

"By the early autumn of 1944, Nimitz, MacArthur, and their planning staffs, together with the Joint Chiefs and their planners, were generally agreed that aerial bombing and naval blockade would not suffice to force Japan's surrender and that immense invasions of Kyushu and Honshu would be needed. Tentatively setting the first operation for November 1945 and the second for early 1946, the Pentagon and the field commanders envisaged those assaults as difficult and likely to produce high American casualties."

Nevertheless, the Roosevelt government decided to invite the USSR into the war against Japan, three months after Germany was defeated. Dr. James also writes:

"In retrospect, it seems that once the Kyushu assault plan was drafted military strategy essentially became dominant, with American national strategy bound inflexibly to it in its acceptance of Soviet intervention." [4]

According to Dr. James the policy of unconditional surrender proclaimed by FDR at Casablanca in early 1943 was viewed by most of the Washington planners working on occupation guidelines as far more flexible than the Japanese imagined. The Japanese interpretations ranged from annihilation of their people to abolition of the imperial system and punishment of the emperor as a war criminal. [5] For not only in my opinion, but in that of many Japanese scholars, FDR's unconditional-surrender strategy was not as flexible as in Dr. James's opinion. It included provisions for the occupation of Japan by four powers—the U.S., USSR, UK and China—after Japanese surrender, and the punishment of the emperor as a war criminal. [6]

As James writes:

"President Truman missed an opportunity to send a favorable signal to Japan when, on poor counsel from his close advisors, he omitted from the Potsdam Declaration in July 1945 any reference to the American government's intention to retain and use the

emperor during the occupation. Since early 1943 American propaganda had portrayed the United States as irrevocably bound to the unconditional surrender of Japan, a development that, in fact, was not anticipated in the Coordinating Committee's deliberations and did not take place. But the continuing lip service paid to the policy by top American officials and propagandists was influential in keeping both sides from direct bilateral communications that might have terminated the war well before mid-August 1945." [7]

2. Strategy of the Soviet Union

After Germany was defeated in May 1945, the Soviet Union prepared to participate in the war against Japan in accordance with the secret Yalta agreement. At Yalta in February 1945, FDR, with his military advisors' backing, agreed to Stalin's price for Soviet intervention: the Kuriles, South Sakhalin, Outer Mongolia, Dairen, Port Arthur, and Manchuria's main railways.

To this day we Japanese are very sorry that the American forces didn't occupy Japan's northern territories of South Sakhalin and the Kuriles, and we wonder why.

3. Japan's Strategy

No later than the defeat at Midway in 1942, but with increasing seriousness after the 1944 loss at Saipan, the Japanese government and the military command at General Headquarters considered possibilities as to how to conclude peace with the Allied powers. [8] In June 1945, after Okinawa was occupied, General Headquarters decided to concede the loss of Okinawa and fight a decisive battle on the mainland. After Japan had inflicted a serious blow on the U.S. forces, Japan would make a peace proposal. [9] The Japanese leaders hoped that an armistice or peace with the U.S. would follow the Battle of the Homeland. [10]

On the other hand, there were elements in Japan which sought to conclude the war as soon as possible. The government's decision to end the war came only after the atomic bombings of 6 and 9 August and Russia's declaration of war on 9 August. Until the Emperor's decision, however, the Japanese Army insisted on a strategy of a peace after the decisive battle. [11] The background to the Army's insistence was this:

- First, the Japanese Army, unlike the Navy, was not yet completely defeated;
- Second, by accepting the American strategy of "unconditional surrender," it was believed Japan could not maintain its national polity.

In other words, the Emperor's position would not be safe. [12] The change to acceptance of the Potsdam declaration was at the decision of the Emperor.

Up to this point we have looked at the strategies of the United States, Soviet Russia and Japan for concluding the war. From today's postwar vantage point, we can see that the Japanese decision to surrender spared her, in comparison to Germany, much woe. Here I would like to examine, from a military perspective, the U.S. occupation policy as well as the policies Japan adopted.

III. The Occupation of Japan

1. The Issue of Unconditional Surrender

Why did the United States demand Japan's unconditional surrender? There is no doubt that Japan declared war against the United States and launched a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Furthermore, the Japanese armed forces occupied the Philippines after defeating the American forces under General MacArthur. But in what way did Japan ever attack the U.S. homeland?

Although it hasn't been given very serious examination, I believe that America's strategy of demanding unconditional surrender stems from the American Civil War of the 1860's. [13]

According to General Carl von Clausewitz in his treatise "On War," war is an act of force, and there is no logical limit to the application of that force. Each side, therefore, compels its opponent to follow suit. [14]

But in reality, does this hold good for grand strategy? FDR's strategy against Japan in 1945 was overly harsh and I believe it should be soundly criticized from the standpoint of the proportion of violence inflicted in relation to the strategic objective. As we have already seen, however, the demand for unconditional surrender changed to one for the unconditional surrender of Japan's military forces. This change contributed to the Japanese government's decision to accept the enemy's demand. [15]

2. Demilitarization and Disbanding of the Armed Forces

Past wars supply examples of a victor limiting the armaments of the loser after the war. How many instances have there been in which the armed forces of the vanquished power are completely abolished? One example that comes to mind is Japan's disbanding of the armed forces of the Korean Empire in 1907. [16] The demilitarization of Japan carried out by the U.S. from August, 1945 was rivaled in the disbanding of the military of the Korean Empire. For a sovereign nation an imposed disarmament is unbearable. The same may be said for the indignity of an occupier-imposed Japanese constitution. On exactly what authority can this kind of thing be forced on another country?

3. The Subject of War Crimes Trials

The U.S. and other Allied powers conducted postwar trials against Japan and Germany. This, too, was a part of their occupation strategy, and is a significant issue which deserves further study as a very important theme for peace in the future. (Recently in Japan there has been criticism, from both the left and right, of the Far East trials.)

4. The Issue of the Emperor

According to the Military Government Annex of the Black List Operations, dated 6 August 1945":

The Emperor and his wife and children will be placed under protective custody and removed from the Imperial Palace in Tokyo to another suitable residence where they will be kept in seclusion. There will be no public expression of opinion concerning the future status of the Emperor or of the institution of the Emperor ... [17]

From this it is very clear that the Emperor was to be removed from Tokyo. I would like to know how the plan came to be changed and who ordered the change. [18]

It is well known that as a result of the First World War, the German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman empires were replaced by republics and the Emperors exiled or killed. Fortunately,

in Japan the Emperor remains the symbol of the Japanese people even forty-four years after the end of the war. The high command of the Self-Defense Forces visits the Imperial Palace every year to be received in audience by His Majesty. Moreover, almost a million Japanese citizens visit the palace each year to celebrate the Emperor's birthday on New Year's Day. When one considers these facts it can be said that the American military's continuation of the Emperor system was a historic decision and a major contribution to postwar Japanese stability.

What were the military consequences of the American strategy regarding the Emperor? It must be recognized that the Emperor was the Generalissimo, or the supreme commander, of the Japanese armed forces. The Emperor was the only authority empowered to command both the Japanese Army and Navy. Of course there was an Imperial General Headquarters in Japan consisting of the Army and the Navy, but in fact there was nothing resembling a joint headquarters. This was the fundamental and critical origin of Japan's defeat. ^[19]

General MacArthur said of this in his report shortly after the occupation as follows:

"Illustrating this concept, General Yamashita recently stated in an interview, explaining reasons for his defeat, that 'diversity of the Japanese command resulted in complete lack of cooperation and coordination between the services.' He complained that he was not in supreme command, that the air forces were run by Field Marshal Teruchi at Saigon and the fleet run directly from Tokyo, that he only knew of the intended naval strike at Leyte Gulf five days before it got under way and professed ignorance of its details. The great lesson for the future is that success in the Art of War depends upon a complete integration of the services. In unity will lie military strength. We cannot win with only backs and ends; and no line, however strong, can go alone. Victory will rest with the team." ^[20]

As mentioned above, no one general or admiral was empowered to integrate under a single command the Japanese armed forces; only the Emperor was authorized by the Constitution to command both Army and Navy. Only one time, however, did the Emperor exercise this authority, with his decision to accept the Potsdam declaration. ^[21] The government of the U.S. saved the Emperor because it was the only way to make Japanese armed forces surrender completely. The Japanese armed forces surrendered and allowed themselves to be disarmed only by order of the Emperor.

According to General MacArthur's report on the Japanese armed forces' surrender and disarmament, dated 15 October 1945:

"Today the Japanese armed forces throughout Japan completed their demobilization and ceased to exist as such. These forces are now completely abolished. I know of no demobilization in history, either in war or peace, by our own or any other country, that has been accomplished so rapidly or so frictionlessly. Everything military, naval or air is forbidden to Japan ...

Approximately seven million armed men, including those in the outlying theaters, have laid down their weapons. In the accomplishment of the extraordinarily difficult and dangerous surrender in Japan, unique in the annals of history, not a shot was necessary, not a drop of Allied blood was shed. The vindication of the great decision of Potsdam is complete. Nothing could exceed the abjectness, the humiliation and the finality of this surrender. It is not only physically thorough, but has been equally destructive of the Japanese spirit ..." ^[22]

Here we can appreciate the Emperor's contribution to the accomplishment of American strategy and occupation policy at the end of the war. There were, of course, minor troubles for the American armed forces to surmount after the war's end, but their effects on occupation policy were nil.

IV. For Perpetual Peace

In his famous book of 1795 Immanuel Kant advocated these three things:

1. Standing armies must be totally abolished in due course;
2. A country must not intervene with force to change another country's structure or government;
3. During war a country must not act so that it becomes impossible to be trusted during a future period of peace. [23]

1. A Change in National Structure and Government

The U.S. did not force Japan to abandon the imperial system, i.e., the Emperor continued as the total head of Japanese state. In other words, America's rulers did not demand a change in Japan's basic national policy. In reality, however, the most important element of the Emperor's prerogatives — his function as commander-in-chief of the armed forces — was completely abolished by the reform of the constitution. This was a revolutionary upheaval within the military system and, one must say, it was an interference with the government of Japan.

What of the application of Kant's second principle here? Kant's first principle on the abolition of standing armies could only be achieved by thorough violation of his second principle, by American intervention into Japanese internal affairs.

2. Demilitarization

The U.S. disarmed Japan to guarantee its war objective: that Japan never again become a threat to the U.S. In everyday language we can say that this was natural, as long as we consider lessons learned from previous wars. But insofar as we look at the changes in the state of affairs in post-war Asia, it was a big blunder. In a speech in Tokyo on 19 November 1953 Vice-President Nixon said:

"Rearmament of Japan' ... Now if disarmament was right in 1946, why is it wrong in 1953? And if it was right in 1946 and wrong in 1953, why doesn't the United States admit for once that it made a mistake? And I'm going to say something that I think perhaps ought to be done more by people in public life. I'm going to admit right here that the United States did make a mistake in 1946. We made a mistake because we misjudged the intention of the Soviet leaders." [24]

Present-day Japan's central defense problem, in reality, springs from this mistake.

3. The Purpose of War

In accordance with Kant's third principle, we must not apply limitless violence in war, and we must think about the period after the restoration of peace. In this respect, along with considering America's atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki an attempt at an early conclusion of the war, wouldn't we also say that it fits the definition of war-time conduct which makes trust impossible after the restoration of peace?

However, why is it that since the turnaround in U.S. strategy toward Japan — especially now — the U.S.-Japanese relationship has been so remarkably close and stable? Did the U.S. attain its war objective by rendering Japan powerless? It is necessary to re-examine this matter from a military perspective.

We Japanese people must not forget the reversion of Okinawa in 1972, and Iwo Jima in 1968, without bloodshed. It was a very positive contribution to U.S. — Japanese relationships, in contrast to Russia's refusal to return the Northern Territory (South Sakhalin and the Kuriles).

In 1987 and 1988, the Emperor had surgery. At that time the whole nation became worried about his health. For the first time we came to realize that there was no one who could take the place of the Emperor except his successor, the Crown Prince.

On January 7, 1989, the news of the Emperor's demise was received with a sense of the deepest regret. For the first time since the end of war the Japanese nation gave serious thought to the institution of the Emperor. This institution remains an integral part of the fabric of our society.

V. Conclusion

In this paper I have examined some points of American occupation strategy for Japan from the military aspect including unconditional surrender, the demilitarization and disbanding of the armed forces, and the issues of war trials and the Emperor. I have considered the American occupation strategy in relation to Kant's principles for world peace.

Finally, I would like to conclude that America's strategy and policy in regard to the Emperor was a brilliant contribution to the history of mankind, not only politically but also from the military point of view.

Both the U.S. and Japan contribute to the peace and security of the world as allied powers, regardless of bad feelings during and after the war.

Overall, it can be said that both the U.S. and Japan's occupation strategies have been successful. On the other hand, I have yet to establish why Japan declared war against the U.S. and why we lost the war. It will be my continuing job to study and teach the war's history.

Additional Remarks

I'd like first of all to explain why I embarked on the study of history. It is because historical education in Japan is extremely distorted. As a matter of fact, the percentage of Japanese citizens who consider their nation to be a "good" nation is quite small. In nations like the United States, the United Kingdom, or Korea, as many as 80 or 90 per cent of children and mothers think that their own nation is a good nation. In Japan the percentage is as low as 45 per cent.

Fifty years ago, the situation was precisely the opposite. At that time, Japan was a very poor nation, but 90 per cent of Japanese considered it to be a great and good one. Now we are a very rich nation, but less than half of Japanese consider Japan to be a good nation.

One of the reasons for this, it seems to me, is historical instruction, particularly that pertaining to the current interpretation of the Far East war crimes trials. At the war crimes trials, the conclusion arrived at was that Japan was the sole aggressor nation, that the other nations were all good, peace-loving nations. Furthermore, it was Prime Minister Tojo who was the criminal in this his-

torical drama. I consider this to be the war-crimes-trial point of view of history, and it to be the purpose and endeavor of historians today to correct that view.

Secondly, I would like to explain why I came to this IHR conference. Five years ago in Tokyo, Mr. Bissel explained to me about the IHR, and at that time I was very surprised to hear from him that Japan's attack at Pearl Harbor was a trick perpetrated by FDR. Last summer, by telephone, I was asked by Mr. Bissel to participate in this 1989 IHR conference.

However, my friends in Japan told me: "Be careful," and in consequence I drafted this very careful paper. However, last night, upon hearing the speakers at this conference, I was quite moved. As is well known, and is often said, in battle the first casualty is truth, so today I would like to speak the truth. Now we will switch to the unvarnished truth!

First, the original American occupation strategy in Japan was mistaken. The occupation plan was to divide Japan into four zones: one for the U.S., one for the U.K., one for the Soviet Union and another for China. If that had happened then Tokyo might very well be in a state similar to that of Berlin today.

The second point is regarding the division and occupation of Korea. As you all know this occupation strategy was the reason for the outbreak of the Korean war, and is the cause of current north-south tension in Korea. What should have happened is that just as the American forces occupied Okinawa rather than the Soviets, they should also have occupied the northern part of Korea.

Third has to do with Manchuria, chiefly the fact that Manchuria was handed over to the Soviets. At Yalta Stalin had been promised that he would be given Dairen, Port Arthur and the Southern Manchuria Railroad. What should have happened is that these be occupied by the United States and then returned to China. If that had happened we might imagine that current-day China might be a very different place from the one we find it today.

My fourth point has to do with the Kurile Islands. It is due to the fact of the continued occupation of these northern territories by the Soviet Union that there is not a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan today, and technically Japan and the Soviet Union remain in a state of war. The Kurile Islands were not occupied during the war, they were occupied by the Soviets after the surrender of the Japanese forces in the period between 18 August and September 2, 1945. In fact, according to international law, since 1855 this had been exclusively Japanese territory.

However, if we examine this from another point of view, it may be that the fact that the Kurile Islands were not returned to Japan, is in some respects, a good thing for the United States. That is because if the Kurile Islands were returned to Japan, this might result in great friendship between the Japanese and the Soviets, possibly creating a serious obstacle to Japan-U.S. relations. However, that is only my personal view and the Japanese government persists in saying: "Hand them back, hand them back."

This very day, there are in Tokyo probably as many as 50 Japanese children, left behind in Manchuria by their families, who are searching for relatives and parents. These are people whose parents were often, in fact, killed by the Soviets in Manchuria. Orphaned, reared by Chinese families, now, aged 40 and 50, they seek their blood kinsmen in Japan.

Their personal tragedies are a result of the United States decision that the Soviet participation in the Far Eastern War was necessary, whereas, in fact, that participation was not necessary in the slightest.

Next I would like to talk about the question of the war crimes trials. According to the international law of the time, war was perfectly legal. And, consequently, the fact that Japan started the war was not a crime. Therefore, the fact that the leaders of only the defeated countries were put to death was in fact illegal. If in fact we are to execute the leaders of aggressive nations, how are we to consider the invasion by the Soviet Union of Finland, of Poland, of Manchuria and the Kurile Islands.

This is something that is difficult for me to say ... but the fact of the matter is that the seven “Class A war criminals,” including Tojo — after they were hanged — it is my understanding that the bodies were thrown away in the Pacific. We don’t know the actual facts on this but that their remains were discarded in that way seems to me to run counter to the traditions to what I take to be a Christian nation.

I was only a child at the time. However, I knew General Tojo. General Tojo’s second son was my classmate at the military academy, and I can tell you that neither of these men were evil men.

There’s also another fact, namely that there are no final testaments or final documents written by General Tojo and the other six “Class A war criminals.” It is rumored, however, that there was a final testament by General Tojo in which he feared the communization of both China and Japan and the resulting difficulties for the United States. It is my personal wish that the remains of these “Class A criminals” and whatever may still exist of their final testaments and their documents be returned to Japan. However, this is something that the current Japanese government does not dare bring up.

It is also important to note that war trials did not take place only in Tokyo, they took place in Manila, in Hong Kong, in Singapore, and in China. As a consequence of these drum-head trials more than 10,000 Japanese soldiers, many of them innocent, were put to death.

The records of these trials, as a consequence of the research of people as yourselves, are finally coming to light. This is something that I feel strongly about making a request to the IHR about. I’m sure that you are all familiar with the question of the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo. However, the reason it is a problem has to do with how one interprets these Far Eastern military trials I referred to. [25]

Since we don’t have much time I shall have to hurry along here, but one last point I’d would like to make is that the accepted view of historians is that the reason Japan is at peace and prosperous today has to do with the efforts of the peace groups within Japan since the war. I do not think that is the case. I think that it has to do with the fact that the Japanese army was determined to struggle on until the end. And as a consequence of that struggle the war ended after the death of President Franklin Roosevelt on April 12. If the war had ended while FDR was still alive, it is my belief that his occupational plan for a divided Japan would have been put into effect and Tokyo would today be in a position similar to that of Berlin. It was the decision of General Anami, a man I know well, that caused Japan to struggle valiantly until the end.

Finally, I would like to talk about some of Japan’s reasons for entering the war. The reason why Japan made war against the United States and the United Kingdom was for reasons of survival and self-defense. Japan had no desire whatsoever to capture Hawaii, for example, or to occupy San Francisco or Los Angeles. Since, after all, Japan was “Country Orange” it had no need for an “Orange County.” [26]

The main reason that there was a war between the United States and Japan was the China problem. In 1937 Japan did start a war with China. However, it was Japan’s intention to achieve a

cease-fire promptly and quickly. The nations that were obstacles to, and prevented, that cease-fire, were the United Kingdom, the USSR and the United States. This is somewhat similar to the reasons why the Vietnam war and the Afghanistan war lasted as long as they did. And the reason why Japan made its final decision to go to war was that the United States had erected an economic blockade against Japan.

I've read a number of IHR publications and I'm not quite at this point prepared to believe that Japan was tricked into attacking Pearl Harbor by FDR. However, I myself happen to have a small piece of evidence on this matter that I would like to make public today.

This has to do with a diary of a major in the Marine Corps. He was on Wake Island around November 30, 1941. Wake Island was one of the islands which was bombarded by the Japanese on the opening day of the war. However, in his personal diary, Major Putnam, in his entry of November 30th, said that he had already received orders that American craft were to attack and destroy any surface air or submarine craft of the Japanese forces. This diary was captured later when the Japanese forces occupied that island. The fact that it is one major's diary, of course, makes this less than conclusive evidence.

Nevertheless, it does lead me to believe that, as IHR publications have argued, it is perfectly possible that Franklin D. Roosevelt did know about the Pearl Harbor attack in advance. In some respects I've had a difficult time making these points before an American audience. I appreciate your patience and understanding.

Notes

1. ☞ Iokibe Makoto, *The American Occupation Strategy for Japan*, Chuokoronsha, 1985. Iokibe Makoto, Editor's Introduction, *International Relations*, in Volume 85, *The Japan Association of International Relations*, May 1987, pp.1-6.
2. ☞ General Headquarters, U.S. Army Forces in the Pacific, *Staff Study Operations, "Olympic,"* 17 June 1945. General Headquarters, United States Army Air Forces in the Pacific, *Staff Study Operations, "Coronet,"* 15 August 1945
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4. ☞ D. Clayton James *American and Japanese Strategies in the Pacific War* *Makers of Modern Strategy*, Princeton University Press, 1986, pp.723-724.
5. ☞ Iokibe, Editor's Introduction," p. 50, p.258, pp.234-235. *Military History of the Occupation of Japan* 191
6. ☞ Op. cit., p. 27, pp. 216-221, pp. 256-269.
7. ☞ James, op. cit., p. 725.
8. ☞ Matsutani Makoto, "The Truth about the Conclusion of *Daitoasenso* [Greater East Asia War]", Fuyoshobo, 1980, pp. 62-70.
9. ☞ Imoto Kumao, "*Daitoasenso with the Diary of Operations*," Fuyoshobo, 1979, pp. 57-61.
10. ☞ Imoto, op. cit., p. 608.
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12. ☞ Miyazaki Shuichi, Sakusen Hiroku, 8 February 1945.

13. ☞ James Ford Rhodes, *History of the Civil War 1861-65*, The Macmillian Company, New York 1919. R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Encyclopedia of Military History*, Harper and Row, New York, 1970, pp. 880-881. February, 1862, Henry-Donelson Campaign, Grant's famous ultimatum: "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted."
 14. ☞ Karl von Clausewitz, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, *On War*, Princeton University Press, 1976, p. 77.
 15. ☞ Iokibe, Editor's Introduction," pp. 256-259.
 16. ☞ Japanese Headquarters in Korea, *Chosen Boto Tobatsushi* [The Riot Operations in Korea], 1913, pp. 33-40.
 17. ☞ Blacklist, op. cit.
 18. ☞ op. cit., pp. 42-43.
 19. ☞ Imoto, op. cit., p. 2.
 20. ☞ General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and U.S. Army Forces, Pacific, *Summary Of The Month of October 1945*, War Department Record Branch, A.G.O., The Adjutant General's Office, 15 October 1945.
 21. ☞ Matsutani, op. cit., pp. 218-220.
 22. ☞ Summary, op. cit., 1945.
 23. ☞ Immanuel Kant, translated by Utsunomiya Yoshio, *Zum Ewigen Frieden* (On Perpetual Peace), Iwanamishoten, 1987.
 24. ☞ Quoted in *Kajima Heiwa Kenkyujo*, "Nippon Gaiko Shyuyo Bunsho, II," Hara Shobo, 1983, pp. 598-599.
 25. ☞ The Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo is dedicated to the souls of Japan's war dead. The fact that General Tojo and other "war criminals" are commemorated there has provided leftist elements in Japan, and well as Japan's critics in East Asia and elsewhere, with fodder for periodic outbursts, usually occasioned by the visit of some prominent Japanese to the shrine-Ed.
 26. ☞ Japan was designated "Country Orange" in pre-war U.S. military planning — Ed.
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The First Gassing at Auschwitz: Genesis of a Myth

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- Paper Presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.

Introduction

The story of the Auschwitz gas chambers begins, notoriously, with the experimental gassing of approximately 850 individuals, which supposedly took place in the underground cells of Block 11 within the main camp on September 3, 1941.

Danuta Czech in *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Calendar of Events in the Concentration Camp Auschwitz-Birkenau), describes it in the following way:

“3.9. [September 3] For the first time, experiments in mass murder through the use of Cyclon B [sic] gas were conducted in the concentration camp of Auschwitz.

By order of the SS, the hospital attendants brought approximately 250 sick inmates from the prison hospital to the underground cells of Block 11. Approximately 600 Russian prisoners of war were also brought there (officers and political commissars were selected from the prisoner of war camps according to the operating order [Einsatzbefehl] n.8 of 17.7.41). After they were placed in the cells of the bunker, the underground vents were covered with earth, some SS poured the Cyclon B gas and the doors were closed.

4.9.[September 4] Rapportführer Palitzsch, equipped with a gas mask, opened the cell doors of the Bunker and noticed that a few prisoners were still alive. He therefore poured an additional amount of Cyclon B gas and closed the doors.

5.9. [September 5] During the evening 20 prisoners from the punishment company (Block 5a) and hospital attendants from the prisoners' hospital were brought to the courtyard of Block 11. First they were told that they had been called for a special assignment, and that no one was to discuss what they would see under pain of death. Then they were promised that after the assignment they would receive a substantially larger food ration. In the courtyard of Block 11, there were the officers: Fritzsche, Mayer, Palitzsch, the Lagerarzt Entress ^[1] and others. Gas masks were given to the prisoners, and they were ordered to go to the underground cells and to bring the cadavers that had been gassed out to the courtyard. There, the uniforms were taken off the Russian prisoners of war and the cadavers were thrown onto motor carts. The cadavers of the gassed inmates wore prisoners clothing. The transportation of the ca-

davers to the crematorium lasted until late night. Among those that had been gassed were 10 prisoners who had been shut up in the Bunker because of the escape of prisoner Nowaczyk." [2]

This account, in support of which Danuta Czech gives no documentary proof, is nonetheless accepted with an exemplary lack of criticism by all Exterminationist historians. This is even more surprising in that the alleged gassing in Block 11 of Auschwitz would constitute the very beginning of the process that would subsequently lead to the gas chambers of the crematoria of Birkenau. The intermediate steps of that process were the mortuary chambers of Crematorium I of the Main Camp and the so-called "Bunkers" 1 and 2 of Birkenau. The Block II "gassing," then, by the canons of Exterminationism, initiated the greatest murder operation of all times.

In this necessarily brief presentation, we will examine the beginning of the myth of the gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau by critically analyzing the few available sources about the history of the first gassing. At the same time, we will offer a significant example of the historiographic methodology used by the compiler of the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz.

We will begin with the exposition of these sources.

I. The Sources

1. The Sources from the War Period (1941-1942)

The first reference to the initial gassing at Auschwitz is found in a note of October 24, 1941:

"At Oswiecim (Auschwitz), at the beginning of October, 850 Russian officers and non-commissioned officers (prisoners of war) who were brought there have been subjected to die by gas in order to experiment with a new type of war gas that is to be used on the Eastern Front [jako probe nowego typu gazu bojowego, ktory ma byc uzyty na froncie wschodnim]." [3]

Until the middle of 1942, in the sources, the account of the first gassing does not appear to fall under a systematic extermination plan, but constitutes a simple scientific experiment among many others.

In one account compiled by a Czech teacher fleeing the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in May of 1942, one reads:

"The worst reputation is enjoyed by the concentration camp at Oswiecim near Cracow. Not only are the victims of German cruelty tortured and mishandled in the usual German fashion, but the efficacy of German poison gases is even tried on them and other experiments are made with them." [4]

On July 1, the *Polish Fortnightly Review* published a more detailed account of the first gassing, with not insignificant discrepancies in detail when compared to the note of October 24, 1941, but always in accordance with the theme of experimentation with toxic gases on the prisoners:

"Among the other experiments being tried on the prisoners is the use of poison gas. It is generally known that during the night of September 5th to 6th last year about a thousand people were driven down to the underground shelter in Oswiecim, among them seven hundred Bolshevik prisoners of war and three hundred Poles. As the shel-

ter was too small to hold this large number, the living bodies were simply forced in, regardless of broken bodies. When the shelter was full, gas was injected into it, and the prisoners died during the night. All night the rest of the camp was kept awake by the groans and howls coming from the shelter. Next day other prisoners had to carry out the bodies, a task which took all day. One hand-cart on which the bodies were being removed broke down under the weight." [5]

2. The Sources from the Postwar Period

Four witnesses, as far as we can determine, have confirmed the reality of the first gassing by giving specific descriptions: Josef Vacek, eye-witness; Rudolf Höss, indirect witness; Zenon Rozanski, eye-witness; Wojciech Barcz, eye-witness. To these is added the report of inquiry by the Polish Commission of Investigation on German crimes at Auschwitz.

A. THE WITNESS JOSEF VACEK

On the 8th of May, 1945, the former Auschwitz inmate Josef Vacek (detention number 15514) declared at Buchenwald the following:

"At the beginning of September, Russian prisoners of war were brought to the camp. There were more than 500. In addition to them were 196 sick inmates selected by the SS Doctor Jungen, [6] who were gassed along with the Russian prisoners of war in the gas chambers [7] of Block 11. We hospital attendants who brought them there were told that they were going to be taken away by transport and that they were going to be brought there only momentarily until the train would leave. The following night, when everyone already was sleeping and no one was allowed to leave the Block area, I was called, along with 30 hospital attendants, and for 3 nights we transported the bodies to the crematoriums." [8]

B. THE WITNESS RUDOLF HÖSS

While he remained under British arrest, Rudolf Höss ignored the first gassing. In his sworn testimony of March 14, 1946, the most detailed of this period, although he mentions the gassing in the old crematorium as relating to the Soviet war prisoners, he says only:

"At the same time transports of Russian POWs arrived from the area of the Gestapo Leitstellen Breslau, Troppau and Kattowitz, who, by Himmler's written order to the local Gestapo leaders, had to be exterminated." [9]

Only after his extradition to Poland did he speak about the first gassing. In fact, in the "Autobiographical Notes" of Cracow, Rudolf Höss wrote in this regard:

"Even before the mass extermination of Jews began, the Russian politruks and political commissars were liquidated in almost all of the concentration camps, in the years 1941 and 1942. According to a secret order by the Führer, in all the prisoners of war camps, special Gestapo units selected the Russian politruks and political commissary who were sent to the nearest concentration camp to be liquidated. This measure was explained by saying that the Russians immediately killed every German soldier who belonged to the Party or was a member of a Party organization, particularly the SS, and that the political functionaries of the Red Army had the duty, in the event of be-

ing taken prisoners of war, to create disorders in the prisoner of war camps, and other places of work, in any possible way, and to sabotage even work itself.

At Auschwitz too, these Red Army political functionaries arrived destined for extermination. The first groups, if not too large, were killed by firing squads.

But during one of my absences, my deputy, Schutzhaftlagerfahrer Fritzsche, used a gas for this purpose, and to be precise, a mixture of prussic acid, Cyclon B. which was currently being used in the camp for the disinfection of parasites and which was available there in large quantities. When I returned, Fritzsche related to me what he had done, and the gas was utilized also for the subsequent convoys of prisoners. The gassing took place within the detention cells of Block 11. I myself, protecting my face with a gas mask, observed the killing. Death would take place in the overloaded cells, immediately after the emission of the gas. A brief scream, soon suffocating, and everything was finished." [10]

In his written account, "The final solution to the Jewish question in Auschwitz," Rudolf Höss returned to the first gassing and gave a fuller description of its background and execution. Because his account has been elevated to the status of historical truth about Auschwitz, we will cite it at length:

"During the summer of 1941 — at the moment I cannot cite the exact date — I was suddenly called to Berlin by the Reichsführer, through his assistant. Contrary to the usual, Himmler received me without any assistants being present, and, in substance, told me the following: the Führer has ordered the final solution of the Jewish question, and we of the SS must follow these orders. The extermination centers currently in the East are absolutely not in any condition to deal with this grand projected task. I have therefore selected Auschwitz because its position is excellent from the point of view of communications, and because its area can be easily isolated and camouflaged. To this end, I had thought of appointing a high SS official; but in order to avoid difficulties due to incompetence from the very beginning, I have abandoned the idea. The task will, therefore, be assigned to you. It is a hard and difficult task requiring total personal commitment, whatever future difficulties there might be. You will receive further details from Sturmbannführer Eichmann of the RSHA, whom I will send to you shortly — all officers who in one way or another will participate in this task will be informed by me in due time. You have the duty to maintain the most absolute secrecy regarding this order, even from your superiors. After your meeting with Eichmann, send the plans for all required installations to me immediately.

"The Jews are the eternal enemies of the German people, and must be exterminated. All Jews on whom we can put our hands during this war must be killed, without exception. If we are not able to destroy the biological basis for Jewry now, one day the Jews will destroy the German people. Immediately after receiving so ominous an order, I returned to Auschwitz, without even bothering to report to my superiors in Oranienburg. Soon Eichmann came to see me at Auschwitz. He laid out for me the plans for the various countries. I cannot any longer remember the sequence exactly.

"In any case, Auschwitz was going to be responsible above all for Eastern Upper Silesia and for the other areas bordering and part of the Government General. At the same time, and then subsequently, depending on the possibilities, it would be the turn of the German Jews and those from Slovakia; finally the Jews from the West, from

France, Belgium and Holland He also gave me the approximate number of transports that would arrive, but these too I am unable to recall.

“We therefore began discussing the procedures necessary to carry out the extermination plan. The method would have to be the use of gas, since it surely would be impossible to eliminate the masses that would be arriving by shooting them; and, besides that, it would be above all a very difficult and arduous task for the SS soldiers to follow through the assignment since even women and children would be present.

“Eichmann spoke to me about executing by means of vehicle exhaust, which was, until then, the method used in the East. But it was a method not suitable in Auschwitz, considering the large number of people anticipated. Killing through the use of carbon monoxide gas filtered through the showers in the bathrooms (i.e., the method to exterminate the mentally sick in certain institutions of the Reich) required an excessive number of buildings; besides, obtaining such quantities of gas, sufficient for such large numbers of people, was very problematic. On this issue, it was, therefore, not possible to arrive at a decision. Eichmann promised to inquire as to the existence of a gas which could be easily produced and did not require special installation of equipment, and that he would relate this information to me. We went to inspect the camp to identify the most suitable location and concluded that the most appropriate for this use would be the building located on the northwest corner of the future 3rd sector of buildings, Birkenau [the sector BIII of Birkenau camp-C.M.]. It was a location not easily accessible, protected from the curious by trees and hedges, and still not too far from the railroad. The cadavers could be buried in long and deep ditches on the adjacent meadow.

“At that particular moment we had not yet thought of cremation. We calculated that the large existing rooms, once modified for gassing purposes, could be used to kill up to 800 individuals at the same time, by using appropriate gas. These estimates were later confirmed by actual practice. Eichmann could not yet tell me when we could begin with this assignment in as much as everything was in the planning phase, and Himmler had not yet given the order to begin. Eichmann, therefore, returned to Berlin to refer the substance of our discussion to Himmler. A few days later, by means of a courier, I sent Himmler a detailed plan on the situation, as well as an accurate description of the installations to be used. Regarding this matter, I have never received an answer or a decision from him. Later, Eichmann told me once that he [Himmler] agreed to everything. At the end of November, a meeting of the entire Jewish affairs section was held in Eichmann’s office in Berlin, at which I had been invited to participate. There Eichmann’s representatives from individual countries discussed the current status of the various operations and the difficulties being encountered, such as housing for the prisoners, the allocation of transports and trains, the determination of dates, etc. When we were to begin operations was not communicated to me, nor had Eichmann yet found the appropriate gas.

“In the fall of 1941, through a secret order issued to all prisoner of war camps, the Gestapo separated all the Russian politruks, the commissars and certain other political functionaries, and sent them to the nearest concentration camp to be liquidated. Small transports of these people continually arrived at Auschwitz, then were shot in the gravel quarry near the Monopol building, or in the courtyard of Block 11.

“Due to an official absence of mine, my deputy Hauptsturmführer Fritzsche, on his own initiative, used the gas in order to kill these prisoners of war; he filled the underground cells full of Russians, and, protected with gas masks, ordered the Cyclon B gas to enter the cells, which caused the immediate death of the victims. The Cyclon B gas was currently being used in Auschwitz by the firm Tesch & Stabenow for disinfection, and therefore the administration kept enough on hand. At the beginning, this poisonous gas, a prussic acid compound, was used only by Tesch & Stabenow technicians, and with strict precautions, but later, certain personnel attached to the sanitary services were instructed in its use by the same firm, so it was they who used the gas for disinfection purposes.

“On the next visit of Eichmann, I mentioned to him the use of Cyclon B and we decided that it would be the gas that we would use in the imminent mass slaughter.

“The killing of the Russian prisoners of war with Cyclon B. which I have already mentioned, continued, but no longer in Block 11 because, after the gassing, the entire building required aeration for at least two full days. The mortuary chamber of the crematorium next to the hospital was used as a gas chamber soon as the doors were made gas-tight, and a number of openings were made on the roof to allow the gas in.” [11]

C. THE WITNESS ZENON ROZANSKI

In a book published in 1948, the former prisoner of Auschwitz, Zenon Rozanski, described the first gassing in detail, as follows:

“On a September day, after we had finished work, they didn’t bring us back to our Block 11; instead they brought us to the unfinished pavement of Block 5. To excuse the incomprehensible change, the Blockälteste explained it in terms of the other Block being disinfested. Since the fifth Block was in the area where the common camp was located, this change was received with general enthusiasm. Here we were safe from the appearances of the Kapos during roll-call, and besides, the lack of dividing walls allowed our comrades of the common camp to give us a little food. After a very uneventful roll-call, the Kapos, the Stubenältesten and the squad leaders formed a cordon that separated our Block from the rest of the camp; nonetheless many comrades received conspicuous amounts of 'left-over food.'

“The day after, we received the news that an entire transport of Russian prisoners of war had been brought to block 11. This event was interpreted in various ways. Some said that the 'Punishment Company' would be disbanded, others knew from 'knowledgeable sources' that the Russians would be assigned to our Block, and still others put on a mysterious expression which conveyed the impression that they knew much but couldn’t say anything. However, one thing was sure: that day too, we would not return to the '11.'

“The morning of the third day, Wacek, the Stubendienst, before leaving for work, with an expression of somebody who was putting on airs, ordered those prisoners who were well-built and still appeared healthy, to fall out of the ranks. I, too, found myself among the twenty that had been selected. The company went to work, but we remained in the Block. None of us knew what it was all about. After about half an hour, Wacek caught up with us.

“You'd better watch out. You have been left in the camp and will receive another “blow” [that is, another surprise-C.M.] at dinner. But you will immediately go to do a “special job.” This will give you the chance to arrange something, but you have to keep your mouth shut. Understand?”

“No one, without doubt, had understood him; however, we all answered in unison: Yes, certainly!”

“We waited in line for another fifteen minutes, until Gerlach came up. This one inspected us very carefully, nodded his head and addressed himself to us as obscurely as Wacek: 'In a few minutes you will be attending to a confidential assignment. If any of you utter even one word of what you see,' — at this point Gerlach made a very expressive movement with his hand around the neck — 'Kaputt!... only a little pile of ashes at the crematorium! You will receive more food than you need ... Understand?'

“We continued not to understand. Only one thing seemed clear: the assignment given us could cost our lives. This was understood by everyone. However, the promise that we would receive additional food kept reassuring us. That was important.

“After some minutes we crossed, in double file, the door to main Block 11. In the courtyard there were Deputy Camp Commander Fritzsche; SS-Obersturmführer Mayer; Camp Rapportführer; SS-Hauptscharführer Palitzsch; the Lagerarzt, SS-Obersturmführer Entress ^[12]; SS-Oberscharführer Clair; SS-Unterscharführer Stark; the Kriminalassistent of the local political section, Woznica; and our two Blockführer Gerlach and Edelhardt.

“Wacek gave the prescribed order: 'Off with your hats!' and reported to Mayer: 'Twenty prisoners assembled for work detail!' He exchanged some words with the Rapportführer, and then said something to Wacek. The Stubenälteste yelled: Tes, sir,' and turned to address us: 'Each of you will receive a gas mask. Make sure to wear it properly and don't make it necessary for others to be called to pull you out. Understand?' — 'Yes, sir.'

“Near the wall there was a large crate with gas masks. These were distributed very quickly. After three minutes, we were ready with gas masks on. The SS-Oberscharführer Clair again made sure that everyone was wearing his gas mask properly.

“Everything took place so quickly that we didn't even have time to think. We only kept looking at each other, dumbfounded, totally ignorant of what was happening. Our men in uniform were also wearing gas masks. Wacek and Bunkerkapo Pennewitz were running very nervously back and forth several times to the Block, where they were talking with Palitzsch, who kept shaking his head irritably; the two would come back running and in this way they kept going back and forth.

“Finally, all of the SS drew their pistols out. The barrel of an automatic pistol glinted in Palitzsch's hands. 'They want to shoot us,' was our first thought.

“We felt a knot in the throat, and our eyelids began burning. The air inside the gas mask began getting heavy, allowing you to breathe only with much effort. Instinctively we all pushed toward each other. One began taking the mask off. For this, he is pistol whipped and falls on the ground. Time moves terribly slowly.

"They are not shooting us! Not yet ... maybe they won't shoot us at all? This thought reassures me; I look around. The SS are still holding their pistols ready to shoot, but they are not shooting. Palitzsch gives a hand sign to Wacek. Let's go! Let's do it!" The Stubenälteste comes up to us on the run.

"Have no fear, follow me!" He is going toward the Block. I find myself almost at the very rear of our group. The barrel of a 'firing instrument' belonging to the man behind me touches my back. I quickly step forward and walk just behind Wacek. He goes down to the stairs. For one moment we stop ... everyone ... Bunker! But the SS don't allow us time to think. At the rear of the group someone is already down on the ground. 'Hurry! Hurry!'

"Wacek stays in front of the door to the Bunker. He has an ax in his right hand: he grabs it with his left hand and with his right pulls a key from his pocket. He seems to be having difficulty finding the keyhole, because he is taking so long. From the rear of the group Palitzsch yells: 'Faster!' Finally he does it. The key is inserted.

"Wacek grabs the door handle. Instinctively I hold my breath. I wet my lips, which in the meantime have become totally dry. What will happen now? Wacek goes back. He again moves the ax to his right hand. What does all this mean? What is the purpose of the ax here? Why is he fearful? For the second time he grabs the door handle now with his left hand.

"He brings his right hand up while he is holding the ax as if he is about to give a stunning blow. I am cold and suddenly I am overtaken by fear. But this fear is something different than the one before. Now it's not fear for myself, no, now it is an uncontrollable fear of being in front of the door. My heart beats faster and faster, under the elastic band of the gas mask I feel each heart beat distinctly. Wacek pushes on the door handle, goes back a couple of feet and forcefully opens the door. The door is open and this very moment I feel my hair standing straight up. About three feet away from me there are men on top of each other, I don't know how, in a terrible state, with eyes sticking out of their sockets, scratched, stained with blood, motionless... Those leaning toward the door, bent in a singularly stiff manner, fall toward us and pile up very heavily, their faces on the cement floor, right in front of our feet. Bodies ... bodies that stand up, completely stiff. They fill the entire hallway of the Bunker. They are stacked in such a manner that they cannot fall. For a moment I don't feel well. But Wacek's voice brings me back. 'Done!' he yells through the gas mask to Palitzsch, and lets the ax fall on the floor. Very well! Let's take them out!"

"Now I can think clearly once more, and understand everything. The bodies are wearing Red Army uniforms. Must be that load of prisoners that had been spoken about yesterday at work. They have all been pushed inside the Bunker and gassed. It is because of this that we have had to use gas masks. The mystery is now clear! Wacek grabs the first body under his arms and passes it to us.

"So! This is it!," it dawns on me now, 'Our work is then the removal of those who have been gassed from the Bunker.'

"Fall in line!," yells Wacek again, 'Form a chain!' The 'chain' was normally a method by which one could quickly pass bricks being unloaded from a freight car from person to person. But while I had loaded bricks, it had never dawned on me that I could load bodies in the same fashion.

“We worked until late night. After emptying the Bunker, we were ordered to completely undress the bodies and place their clothing in designated piles. The next day the clothing ended up stored in the clothing storeroom and there the quantity of clothing increased significantly. We counted 1,473 Russian uniforms and more than 190 camp uniforms. These had belonged to the patients of the Camp Hospital that had been selected by Dr. Entress as being 'unable to work' and on that 'occasion' were gassed together with the Russian prisoners ...

“After completing the Work,' the twenty of us were brought a huge cauldron containing 50 liters of soup, and at the same time each of us received half a loaf of bread. The cauldron was returned to the Block almost full. “At Auschwitz this was the first time that gas was used to liquidate prisoners.” [13]

D. THE WITNESS WOJCIECH BARCZ

The testimony that follows was given by Wojciech Barcz, internee at Auschwitz from June 16, 1940 (I.D. number 754), during a West German radio transmission on Auschwitz presumably broadcast during 1963:

“The first gassing took place during the fall of 1941, a few months after hostilities [began] against the Soviet Union.

One day we hospital attendants from the infirmary received orders to transport the very sick to the cells of the Bunker of Block 11. They were locked up in these cells. Around 10 p.m. we heard a large group being pushed by the SS toward the Bunker. We heard yelling in Russian, orders from the SS, and heavy blows.

Three days later, we hospital attendants received, in the middle of the night, the order to go to Block 11. There, we evacuated the bodies from the cells of the Bunker. Thus, we were able to see that, in these cells a large number of Russian war prisoners, along with the very sick whom we had transported, had been simply gassed. The spectacle offered to us when we opened the doors of the cells was similar to that experienced when one opens an overstuffed suitcase. The bodies fell all over us. I estimate that in a small cell there were at least 60 bodies, so crowded that, even though dead, they couldn't fall and kept standing up. One could see that they had tried to reach the exhaust vent, through which, after all, the toxic gas had been poured. One could see all the signs of a horrendous agony.

We hospital attendants had to place the bodies on trucks, by which they were removed outside the camp, and then buried. Those of us involved in this work were absolutely convinced that we would be massacred right next to the ditches or would be killed later as witnesses to the secret, as was normally the case at Auschwitz. Instead, nothing happened. Later on I learned that among the SS there were continuous surprises and incongruities.” [14]

E. THE REPORT OF THE POLISH INVESTIGATION COMMISSION

In a publication issued in 1946, the Central Commission for investigation of German Crimes in Poland presented the following account of the first gassing:

“All of these methods used in killing were not enough to absorb all superfluous prisoners, and, above all, they could not resolve the problem of freeing themselves of hundreds of thousands of Jews. This method was tried out in the summer of 1941 in the coal- cellars of Block XI on about 250 patients from the hospital blocks and about 600 prisoners of war. After the victims had been put there, the windows of the cellars were covered with earth, and afterwards an SS man in a gas-mask poured the contents of a can of cyclon on the floor and locked the door. Next afternoon Palitzsch, wearing a gas-mask, opened the door and found that some of the prisoners were still alive. More cyclon was accordingly poured out, and the doors locked again, to be re-opened next evening, when all the prisoners were dead.” [15]

* * *

We now proceed to the critical analysis of all the sources so far mentioned, examining all that they claim concerning the date, the place, the time required, the number of victims, the evacuation of the bodies, and the technical procedures followed during the first gassing.

II. Critical Analysis of the Sources

1. The date of the first gassing.

According to the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz, the first gassing was carried out on September 3, 1941. This date is not only unsupported by a single document, it is categorically contradictory to all the available sources — which are additionally in total contradiction to each other — and in particular to the testimony of Rudolf Höss, considered fundamental by the Auschwitz Museum and by the entire Exterminationist historiography.

An annotation of July 2, 1942 traces back the first gassing as having occurred in June 1941:

“The first (pierwsze) utilization of gas chambers took place in June 1941 (w VI. 1941 r.). A transport of 1,700 'incurably sick' was formed and sent (ostensibly) to the sanatorium of Dresda, but in reality to a building transformed into a gas chamber (do budyńdru przebudowanego na komore gazowa).” [16]

Witness Michal Kula declared that the first gassing took place on August 15. [17] According to an article in the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, it took place during the night of September 5th to 6th"; according to witness Vacek, “beginning of September” (*Anfang September*); and witness Rozanski testifies that it was “on a day in September (*an einem Septembertage*).” The historian Filip Friedman inclines to September 15: “The first victims were gassed on September 15, 1941 in Block II [sic], in a former munition store building. A number of Russian prisoners, 600 to 700, and several hundred Polish prisoners were used for this first experiment.” [18]

According to the annotation of October 24, 1941, the first gassing occurred “on the beginning of October” (*w poszatkach pazdziernika*).

The Polish Investigation Commission generically suggests the summer, while the witness Barcz inclines toward autumn (*im Herbst*) 1941.

Lastly, the testimony of Rudolf Höss implies that the first gassing did not take place before the end of November of 1941. In effect, but the end of November,” when the conference was held in Eichmann’s office in Berlin, he had not yet been successful in finding “suitable gas.” Only after

this conference did the Lagerführer Fritzsche, on his own initiative, carry out the first gassing. It wasn't until Eichmann's later visit to Auschwitz that Höss reported to him on the experiment, and the two decided to use the Zyklon B for the projected mass slaughter.

Therefore, the date of the first gassing is absolutely indeterminate and fluctuates over a span of six months between July and December of 1941.

2. The Location of the Gassing

The *Kalendarium* entry for July 1942 declares that the first gassing occurred "in a building (*do budynku*) transformed (*przebudowanego*) into a gas chamber," therefore not in the basement of Block 11, which had not undergone any architectural modification (this is the significance of the verb "*przebudowywał*") into a gas chamber, and which, besides, according to the Auschwitz Museum, was used as such one single time. ^[19]

The article in the Polish Fortnightly Review mentions the "underground shelter" of Auschwitz, while the Polish Investigation Commission speaks of the "coal cellars" of Block 11.

The witnesses Rozanski and Barcz both locate the first gassing in the Bunker of Block 11, but for the one, the victims were gassed in the corridors, for the other, in the cells. Therefore, the sources examined are in reciprocal contradiction concerning the location of the first gassing; moreover, those sources which agree on the basement of Block 11, are also in reciprocal contradiction as to exactly which part of it.

3. The Duration of the Gassing

Rudolf Höss declared that, on the occasion of the first gassing accomplished by his deputy Fritzsche, the Zyklon B Provoked the immediate death" (*den sofortigen Tod*) of the victims. ^[20]

The article in the *Polish Fortnightly Review* reports instead that "all the prisoners died during the night. All night the rest of the camp was kept awake by the moans and screams originating from the shelter."

Finally, the Polish Investigation Commission asserts that "next afternoon" some prisoners were still alive, "therefore further cyclon was poured out and the doors again tightly closed, to be re-opened the next evening, when all the prisoners were dead."

Therefore, all the victims died immediately, or during the night, or two days later.

4. The Victims of the Gassing

The *Kalendarium* entry of October 24, 1941 asserts that the victims of the first gassing were "850 Russian officers and non-commissioned officers". Rudolf Höss, too, mentions exclusively Russian prisoners of war, stating that Fritzsche "had the cells located in the cellar [of Block 11] filled with Russians." The article in the *Polish Fortnightly Review* speaks of 700 Russian prisoners of war and 300 Poles.

Some sources agree about the fact that the victims were a mixture of Russian prisoners of war and sick inmates, but are in reciprocal contradiction as to their numbers and totals which are: for witness Vacek, approximately 500 Russian prisoners of war and 196 sick inmates, totaling 696 victims; for witness Rozanski, 1,473 Russian prisoners of war and 190 sick inmates, totaling

1,663 victims; for the Polish Investigation Commission, 600 Russian prisoners of war and 250 sick inmates, totaling 850 victims.

Finally, the *Kalendarium* entry for July 2, 1942 maintains that the victims were drawn exclusively from sick inmates, and precisely “1,700 'incurably sick.'”

Therefore, the sources examined are in contradiction as to the total numbers of victims (from 696 to 1,700) and regarding their categories (only Russian prisoners of war, only sick inmates, Russian prisoners of war and sick inmates together).

5. The Selection of the Sick Inmates for Gassing

The sources which include the sick inmates among the victims are in contradiction also as to the SS doctor who ordered their selection from the hospital blocks for gassing. This doctor is Doctor Schwela, according to Danuta Czech; Doctor Jungen, according to witness Vacek; and Doctor Entress, according to witness Rozanski.

6. The Evacuation of the Gassed Cadavers

A. THE PERFORMERS OF THE EVACUATION

Witness Vacek swears to have carried out the removal of the gassed cadavers “together with 30 male hospital attendants” (*mit 30 Krankenpflegern*); witness Rozanski declares instead to have evacuated the cadavers with a group of “20 people” (*zwanzig Mann*) of the penal company.

B. THE BEGINNING OF THE REMOVAL

The removal of the cadavers of the gassed started “the next day” according to the article in the *Polish Fortnightly Review*; “the next night” (*nächste Nacht*) according to witness Vacek; “on the morning of the third day” (*am Morgen des dritten Tages*), which is at most two days after the gassing, according to witness Rozanski; and finally “three days later ... in the middle of the night” (*drei Tage später Ömitten in der Nacht*) from witness Barcz.

C. THE DURATION OF THE REMOVAL

Removing the cadavers of the gassed took “all day” according to the *Polish Fortnightly Review* article; “Three nights” (*drei Nächte lang*) according to witness Vacek, and “until late in the night” (*bis spät in der Nacht*) according to witness Rozanski.

D. THE FATE OF THE CADAVERS AFTER REMOVAL

While witness Vacek declared that the cadavers of the gassed were brought “to the crematory” (*ins Krematorium*) to be burned, witness Barcz asserts that they were brought “out of the camp” (*aus dem Lager*), where they were buried” (*vergraben*).

In conclusion, the examined sources are in reciprocal contradiction as to the numbers and the category of the performers of the corpse removal (20 persons, 30 persons; hospital attendants, inmates of punishment company); as to the start of the removal (the day after, two days after, three days after the gassing); as to the duration of the removal (an entire day, three nights); as to the fate of the cadavers (burned in the crematory, buried outside the camp). Even more serious, these

sources are based essentially on the eyewitness testimonies of three former inmates who pretend to describe the same incident, in which each claims to have participated personally!

7. THE GASSING PROCEDURE

There exist neither eye-witness testimony nor documents on the actual gassing process. The description furnished by the Polish Investigation Commission is therefore false, for this reason alone. The Commission's description is also contradicted on a point by witness Barcz, who affirms that the Zyklon B was thrown into the cells of the Bunker, not from the door, but from the small windows. Finally, the description is technically absurd.

In this context, we limit ourselves to pointing out that the survival of some victims after a whole day of gassing, as asserted by the Polish Commission, is an impossibility. In fact, a concentration of 0.3 mg of cyanide to a liter of air — which is 0.3 grams per cubic meter — is fatal in a few minutes for a human being. ^[21] Regarding this concentration, the lethal dose would be 8 mg, according to Haber's formula. ^[22] This means that for a hypothetical gassing of 60 people — the number indicated by Wojciech Barcz — in one of the cells of the Bunker of Block 11 of Auschwitz, considering that the volume of air actually available was approximately 11 cubic meters, a little more than three grams of cyanide would have been sufficient to kill all the victims in a few minutes. In several minutes the heat from the bodies of the victims themselves would have enabled the liquid cyanide found in Zyklon B to vaporize to a gaseous state.

It is clear, however, that during a hypothetical experimental gassing, necessarily performed in an awkward manner, it would have been practically impossible to administer such a meager dosage of hydrocyanic acid. It is also clear that a larger amount, which would have been easier to handle, would have had lethal results even sooner.

The gas concentration normally used for disinfesting a room is 10 grams per cubic meter. This is the only actual benchmark available to the hypothetical perpetrators of the gassing. ^[23] It turns out that this concentration, corresponding to a total dosage of about 110 grams in a cell of the Bunker, would mean virtually instant death for a human being.

Therefore, the Polish Investigation Commission report is technically absurd. This is also admitted by the Auschwitz Museum itself, which maintains that victims' deaths occurred only 15 to 20 minutes after the emission of the Zyklon B in the gas chambers — underground, like the cells of the Bunker — of the crematoriums II and III of Birkenau. ^[24]

In summation, the story of the first gassing is neither supported by documents nor by direct testimony; the sources are indirect, contradictory and absurd. The only eyewitness testimonies available refer exclusively to the evacuation of the corpses, and are in contradiction as well.

In conclusion, the story of the first gassing at Auschwitz is historically groundless. This is further corroborated by the sworn testimony of a primary eyewitness, of importance both because of the position he held at Auschwitz in the second half of 1941, and because of the authority he currently possesses as director of the Auschwitz Museum: Kazimierz Smolen.

Smolen was deported to Auschwitz on July 6, 1940 (*am 6 Juli 1940*) and in July 1941 was employed as "recorder" (*Schreiber*) at the "Political Section" (*Politische Abteilung*) which is near the Gestapo office of the camp. In this position he was one of the better informed prisoners as to what was happening at Auschwitz. This is what he affirmed in sworn testimony which he gave in Cracow on 15 December 1947, regarding the fate of the Russian prisoners of war:

“At the beginning of October 1941 (anfangs Oktober 1941) the first (die ersten) transports of Russians arrived at Auschwitz. Because I was already at that time employed at the Political Section as a recorder, I had to handle, together with my companions, the admission of the new arrivals. In the course of a week there arrived 10,000 Russian prisoners of war from 'Stalag' VIII/B/Lamsdorf, and a number which I don't remember anymore from another 'Stalag', Neuhammer near Quais.

The prisoners of war arrived in camp in terrible physical condition, were half dead with hunger, full of lice, and had to undress naked outside of the camp. Although it was already very cold, the prisoners had to take a cold disinfecting bath and were then conducted into the camp wet and naked. In the camp of Auschwitz there were 9 Blocks separated from the rest of the camp by an electrified fence and at the entrance door was posted the sign 'Labor Camp for Prisoners of War'. The camp for Russian prisoners of war consisted of the following Blocks: Block 1, Block 2, Block 3, Block 12, Block 13, Block 14, Block 22, Block 23, Block 24. The Blocks 3,23,24 had the first floor. These were designated 3a, 23.

SS-Oberscharführer Hans Stark directed the admission of prisoners of war, and I, as a recorder of prisoners, participated in that task with several inmates.”

After having minutely described the procedures of incorporation, Smolet continues:

“The admission of the 10,000 prisoners of war went on for about three weeks. In the meanwhile, about 1,500 had died, and we forwarded their green cards to Berlin together with their identification badges.

In November 1941 (im November 1941) a special committee of the Gestapo came. They were from the main office of the State Police of Kattowitz and were led by Doctor Mildner. This committee was composed of the chief of the main office of the State Police, Doctor Mildner, and of three men of the Secret Services who knew Russian perfectly. The directorate of the camps assigned several inmates to interpret for the three men from the Secret Service. Another inmate and I were assigned to the Gestapo special committee by the Political Section. Consequently I had the opportunity to observe all the activity of the Special Committee.”

So far Smolen.

The Gestapo special committee was in charge of interrogating, one by one, all the Russian prisoners of war and of classifying them into three groups:

1. “politically intolerable,” a group including the subdivision “fanatical Communist”;
2. “politically not suspicious”;
3. “fit for reconstruction” (*Wiederaufbau*).

Smolen goes on:

“300 prisoners of war were selected as particularly important commissars and political functionaries and received the notation “fanatical communist.” These prisoners were taken immediately to the interrogation room of Block 24a, which had been converted to a Bunker. In the Bunker they were received by Oberscharführer Stark, who removed their old prisoners numbers, substituting new numbers for the old ones. These new numbers ranged from “Aul” to “Au300.” The prisoners with “Au” num-

bers got their numbers tattooed on the left side of the chest and were kept completely isolated from the other prisoners of the Russian camp.

The activity of the special committee finished after one month (nach einem Monat), and as far as I remember, the distribution of the prisoners among the above-mentioned groups was the following:

- Group Au300 prisoners
- Category A700 prisoners
- Category B8,000 prisoners
- Category C30 prisoners

By virtue of my activity at the Political Section, I know that the 300 prisoners labeled “Au” were executed (exekutiert wurden) in quite small groups (in kleineren Gruppen). The conditions of the Russian camp were so bad that on the average 250 prisoners died each day. About 8,000 had perished or had been executed (exekutiert) up to February 1942. The rest, 1,500 prisoners of war, were transferred to the camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Thus, an external camp rose at the camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau; this external camp was enlarged by small transports which, however, altogether did not add up to more than 2,000 prisoners. In the middle of 1942, all of the Russian prisoners of war, except 150, had died or had been executed.”

At the end of his sworn statement, Kazimierz Smolet summarizes the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis in Auschwitz against the Russian prisoners of war:

“Recapitulating, I declare: the conditions of life in the camp were, for the Russian prisoners of war at Auschwitz, substantially worse than the conditions in the concentration camps. The Russian prisoners of war received less and worse food, above all less bread, and they could neither write nor use the room with wash boards [sic]. It is therefore understandable that in less than two months the camp was deserted. In addition to this, there is the fact that often selections were carried out in which those unable to work were executed in groups of hundreds. Both the inmates classified as “Au” and the others who were to be put to death were either killed with a shot in the neck, or gassed (vergast) in Block 11 (im Block 11).” [25]

This is the only allusion by Kazimierz Smolet to the gassing in Block 11, which allusion, among other things extremely vague and laconic, clearly betrays its character: rumor reported by the witness only because of an obligation to report the latest gossip. In fact, two points in Smolen’s testimony demonstrate incontestably the historical groundlessness of the report of the first gassing set forth by Danuta Czech in the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz.

First of all, if the gassing in question had really happened, Kazimierz Smolen could not have been in the dark about it, because of the duty in the political section of Auschwitz with which he had been charged at the time, and in particular owing to his assignment to the special committee presided over by Mildner. Smolen, on the contrary, could have talked about it with a wealth of details, in view of the fact that he devoted a whole page of his sworn statement to such an irrelevant subject as the formalities of matriculation of Russian prisoners of war.

This witness’s ignorance appears even more incredible considering that, according to the Polish examining magistrate Jan Sehn, the first gassing was performed only in accord with the decisions of the special committee:

"In November 1941, a special committee composed of three Gestapo officers arrived at Oswiecim [Auschwitz] from Kattowitz. This committee interrogated the prisoners and divided them into four groups in compliance with an order from the chief of the RSHA (Central Security Office of the Reich) dated July 17, 1941. They were classified according to the secret files containing information about Soviet militants in administration and the [Communist] party. This committee itself decided as to the classification. We add that the fact of being recorded in the first two groups meant a death sentence. The first group — about 300 prisoners — were all shot either in the gravel pits or in the courtyard of Block 11. The order of execution was given by the second Lagerführer at the time, SS-Obersturmführer Seidler.

On the initiative of the first Lagerführer, SS- Hauptsturmführer Karl Fritzsche, the prisoners assigned to the second group (about 900) and those who were chosen from the subsequent convoys were killed with the gas Zyklon B. Fritzsche filled the underground of Block 11 with prisoners, and then, after having put on a gas mask, threw the poison inside. The Block then had to be aired for two days." [26]

The fact that Kazimierz Smolen, even at the end of 1947 knew nothing about the gassing in the Bunker of Block 11 demonstrates, therefore, that this gassing never happened.

Questioned by this writer about this point, Kazimierz Smolen, through a spokesman, declared:

"As regards the testimony given by the former inmate of the KL Auschwitz Kazimierz Smolen at the Nuremberg trial, as you certainly know, he answered the concrete questions asked by the Tribunal (odpowiadal On na konkretne, przez Sad postawione pytania), so he could not report in detail and exhaustively all the events that he had observed." [27]

This justification is definitely unsustainable. In fact, in the above-mentioned sworn statement, Smolen did not answer "concrete questions," as is usual during an interrogation, but freely expatiated on the theme of the fate of the Russian prisoners of war in Auschwitz in the years 1941-1942, dwelling, in particular, upon the crimes committed against them. His claim not to have described the first gassing because he had not been asked that specific question is, therefore, clearly captious, as confirmed by his fleeting mention of the prisoners "gassed in Block 11." With regard to this, either he did answer a concrete question, and thus did not know anything about the first gassing, or he did not answer a concrete question, and thus his answer is false.

In the second place, because the "first transports of Russians" arrived at Auschwitz *at the beginning of October 1941* [emphasis added], it is false that 600 Russian prisoners of war could have been gassed there on September 3.

Moreover, the first gassing was an execution of men condemned to death selected by the committee presided by Mildner, which arrived at Auschwitz *"in November 1941"* and concluded its work *"after one month."* Consequently, the first gassing could in no way have occurred before December.

Furthermore, since the number of prisoners of war selected by this committee and, until December 1941, assigned to the "Au" group of the condemned was 300, it is therefore *a fortiori* false that 600 were gassed on September 3.

Finally, the historical absurdity of the first gassing in Block 11 is indirectly confirmed by three researchers of the Auschwitz Museum, in their long study devoted to the register of the Bunker

of Block 11, which appeared in Number one of the *Hefte von Auschwitz* (1959). This register, the *Bunkerbuch*, contains the names of all of the inmates imprisoned in the Bunker between January 9, 1941 and February 1, 1944. It is clear that if the first gassing had actually happened, the register should have preserved some trace of it. Now, these three scholars limit themselves to a fleeting two-line allusion to the alleged gassing (p.10), and, while publishing fifty-one pages from the *Bunkerbuch*, on pages 46-68, they in fact refrain from reproducing the page regarding the records of the beginning of September. This fact demonstrates that that page — requested in vain from the Auschwitz Museum by this writer — either contains no trace of the first gassing, or even contains elements that contradict it, such as, for instance, records of admissions of inmates to the Bunker between September 3 and September 7, that is, between the beginning of the gassing and the end of the ventilation of the Bunker.

The historical absurdity of the first gassing has been — established; the various versions of that gassing have been shown to be not merely groundless, but mutually contradictory. The way remains to be examined, in which Danuta Czech elaborated those versions in her own version, which is supposedly definitive. In other words, it is the historiographic methodology of the compiler of the *Kalendarium* that remains to be examined in order to show, among other things, what methodological criteria have been employed for the compiling, and what scientific value is to be ascribed to this essential source of the Exterminationist historiography.

The account of the first gassing presented by Danuta Czech in the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz is the result of the extrapolation and of the indiscriminate fusion of sources which are all in total reciprocal contradiction.

Danuta Czech derived the number and category of the victims, as well as the description of the gassing, from the report of the Polish Investigation Commission; on the other hand, she deduced the account of the evacuation of the bodies from the testimony of Zenon Rozanski, adding elements derived from other sources.

Besides, in the description of the gassing, she arbitrarily modified the text of the Polish report, changing the “coal cellars” to “underground cells” (*Kellerzellen*) and “an SS-man” into “SS-men” (*SS-Männer*).

In the description of the evacuation of the gassed corpses, Danuta Czech substituted “the evening” (*am Abend*) for “the morning” (*am Morgen*) of Rozanski’s version, extrapolating that information from the report of the Polish Investigation Commission which says “next evening.” The evacuators of the corpses, who according to Rozanski were only 20 inmates of the punishment company, became, in the report of Danuta Czech, 20 inmates of the punishment company “and hospital attendants” (*Pfleger*). This information was derived from the testimony of Josef Vacek, who however declared that the 30 evacuators were all hospital attendants.

Finally, Danuta Czech derived the presence of Doctor Entress at the evacuation of the bodies from the testimony of Zenon Rozanski, while in fact this officer was not yet in Auschwitz at the beginning of September. [28]

From the “Annotations” of Rudolf Höss Danuta Czech derived only the duration of the airing of the Bunker: two days. As a matter of fact, the *Kalendarium* reports that the punishment company returned to Block 11 on September the 8th after it had been cleaned and aired. In other words, the punishment company returned just after two days of airing, September 6 and 7. Thus, considering that Danuta Czech said that the gassing ended on September 5, the victims’ agony consequently lasted two days, while according to Rudolf Höss they died immediately.

It is not possible to specify the sources of the report of the Polish Investigation Committee upon which is founded the description of the gassing presented by Danuta Czech. The only certain thing is that the number of the victims — 850 people, of whom 600 were Russian prisoners of war and 250 sick inmates — originated from the note dated October 24, 1941, in which they are, however, only “Russian commissioned and non-commissioned officers,” without sick inmates.

The Polish Investigation Committee did not know the “Annotations” of Rudolf Höss, dated November 1946. This fact is understandable because that committee made the inquiry in 1945 and published the results the following year, presumably before Höss was extradited to Poland on May 25, 1946.

Indeed, Danuta Czech, who conducted her researches in the late fifties, did not mention the “Autobiographical Notes.” This also is comprehensible, because the testimony of Höss about the first gassing strikingly contradicts the report of the Polish Investigation Committee.

The source for the date of the gassing proposed by Danuta Czech — September 3, 1941 — does not appear in any of the documents examined. The closest date is that in the article of the *Polish Fortnightly Review*: the night of 5-6 September.

Besides being arbitrary, the date proposed by Danuta Czech is also contradictory. The following record appears in the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz a few pages after the account of the gassing; the month is November and there is no indication of the day:

“A special committee of the Gestapo of Kattowitz arrived at Auschwitz. It was composed of three persons and presided by the chief of the Gestapo of Kattowitz, Doctor Rudolf Mildner. This committee, which was operating in compliance with Einsatzbefehl no.8 of 17 July 1941, carried out a selection of the Russian prisoners of war according to the following groups:

1. Fanatic Communist about 300
2. Group A: Politically intolerable 700
3. Group B: Politically not suspicious about 8,000
4. Group C: Fit for reconstruction about 30

The inmates belonging to the groups “Fanatic Communist” or “A” were doomed to extermination. The activity of this committee went on for at least one month.” [\[29\]](#)

The registration just mentioned is entirely derived from the sworn statement of Kazimierz Smolen previously cited. It will be remembered that in that statement Smolen maintained that “the first transports” of Russian prisoners of war arrived at Auschwitz “at the beginning of October,” and that Mildner’s committee arrived “in November” 1941 and concluded its work “after one month,” thus in December. The victims of the first gassing can therefore be no one other than the Russian prisoners of war condemned to death by the above-mentioned committee — to be exact, according to Jan Sehn, those assigned to Group “B.” Consequently, that gassing could not be happening on September 3.

Here is one more example, therefore, of indiscriminate fusion of contradictory sources and previous elimination of the contradictions in order to create among such sources an agreement completely fictitious.

One last observation. In order to be able to affirm that the first gassing took place on September 3, Danuta Czech arbitrarily anticipated the arrival at Auschwitz of the first Russian prisoners of war. In fact, the first registration of the *Kalendarium* that concerns them dates back to July and mentions the arrival of “a few hundred Soviet prisoners,” who subsequently were all murdered with small-caliber guns, with shovels, and with picks. [30] Danuta Czech did not indicate either the day of arrival, or the source of the information.

The second registration is dated September 3, and is relative to the 600 Russian prisoners gassed. Danuta Czech did not indicate the source of the information in this case either. Seven registrations follow between October 7 and November 15. [31] The one of November 15 is the last transport in 1941. The total of the Russian prisoners of war transferred to Auschwitz in that period is 9,983 people. This figure is practically identical to that indicated by Kazimierz Smole[^]. Also the date of the first transport coincides with that indicated by this witness, i.e. the beginning of October. Therefore, Russian prisoners of war did not arrive at Auschwitz before that date.

This is also confirmed by the fact that Danuta Czech reported the source regarding the transports made since October 7. That source is the file (*Kartochek*) of the Russian prisoners of war which, as a matter of fact, was initiated on October 7. However, the compiler of the *Kalendarium* was not able to indicate any source for the two previous transports, and this fact is very meaningful. Besides, considering that the first page of the “book of deaths” (*Totenbuch*), that is the death register of the Russian prisoners of war, recorded the first deaths under the date October 7, it is necessary to conclude, until one has proof to the contrary, that the first two transports recorded by Danuta Czech before October 7 are invented.

This is a meaningful example of the historiographic methodology with which the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz has been compiled.

By now, nothing remains but to draw the conclusions.

The story of the first gassing in the cells of the Bunker of Block 11 of Auschwitz is historically groundless. It is supported neither by documents nor by eyewitness testimonies. The few eyewitness testimonies available all refer exclusively to the evacuation of the corpses from the Bunker and are all in reciprocal contradiction concerning all the essential points.

The first gassing is therefore not history, but myth. This myth was shaped by the Polish war propaganda in October 1941.

The first version of the myth, which predominated until the middle of 1942, did not yet include the first gassing in the extermination process which would bring about the creation of the gas chambers of Birkenau. Instead, according to the first version, the first gassing is still a simple scientific experiment to verify the effectiveness of a gas for future wartime use.

The essential elements of this first version are contradictory.

The note of 24 October 1941 speaks of 850 Russian prisoners of war gassed in Auschwitz, without specifying where, “at the beginning of October.” The article of the *Polish Fortnightly Review* corrected the number of the victims and the date of the execution: approximately 1,000 persons, among whom “700 Bolshevik prisoners of war and 300 Poles” gassed “the night of 5-6 September.” The location is still unspecified: the “underground shelter” of Auschwitz. The note of 2 July 1942 situated the history of the first gassing within a general extermination process by means of gas chambers, which involved the Jews deported to the camp. The first gassing was presented as a starting point of this process, but was described in an even more contradictory fashion: the date

was moved back to June, the number of the victims was increased to 1,700; all sick inmates; without Russian prisoners of war; and finally the place of the execution became, anachronistically, an actual gas chamber. In this way, after having given life to the legend of the gas chamber, the myth disappeared.

The anonymous “Polish Major” is the author of one of the reports on Auschwitz published in November 1944 by the War Refugee Board. In his detailed report about the facts of 1941, while devoting a special paragraph to the Bunker of Block 11, he completely ignored the matter of the first gassing. [32] It was moreover ignored both by the witness Stanislaw Jankowski in his deposition of 13 April 1945 [33] and by the Soviet Commission of Investigation in its report of May 7. [34] As late as the end of 1947, one of the more informed witnesses, Kazimierz Smolen, did not say anything about it.

The myth reappeared suddenly on the 8th of May in the testimony of Josef Vacek. The myth was still in full literary evolution, but finally acquired a conclusive element: the location of the execution, which became Block 11. Now nothing remained but to determine the other elements, starting with the location of the gassing. At first the version prevailed that the gassing was performed in a single room which Josef Vacek anachronistically called the gas chamber of Block 11. Some months later, on July 13, Perry Broad introduced another definitive element: the cells of the Bunker. To be exact, he spoke of a single cell, in which forty Russians were gassed on an unspecified day; he did not even indicate the year. From his comment, it appears that he incontestably was talking about the first gassing: “it was the complete success of the first test for the most hateful crime planned by Hitler and his confidants, and partly carried out in a terrifying and irrevocable fashion. From that moment, the atrocious tragedy began, which victimized millions of human beings who until then had lived happily and innocently.” [35] In 1959 Hans Stark, direct superior of Smolen in Auschwitz, inspired by that version, declared he had heard from the SS of Auschwitz that the first gassing of prisoners had been experimented with for the first time “in the fall of 1941 in a cell (*in einer Zelle*) of Block 11.” [36] .

The report of the Polish Investigation Commission which carried out its inquiry in 1945, is the first attempt at historiographical systematization of the myth, which was raised by that committee to the rank of historical antecedent and necessary presupposition of the extermination process by means of gas chambers. That Commission inserted two other definitive elements: the number of the victims — 850 — evidently inferred from the note of 24 October; and the description of the gassing, evidently invented because it is both technically absurd and not founded on any eyewitness testimony. The date instead remained still indeterminate: the summer of 1941.

In 1946, Rudolf Höss completely ignored the first gassing for as long as he was in the hands of the English. Only after his extradition to Poland did he speak about it, in the so-called “Annotations” of Cracow of November 1946 and February 1947. The version that appears in them is in total contradiction to the version proposed by the Polish Investigation Commission; however, the myth acquired one more of the missing elements: the cells of the Bunker.

In 1948, Zenon Rozanski furnished the final version of the myth with the description of the evacuation of the corpses, but this description is in total contradiction to the declaration of Vacek and Barcz.

In 1959, Jan Sehn, basing himself on the “Autobiographical Notes” of Rudolf Höss and on the sworn statement of Kazimierz Smolen, related the first gassing to the activity of the special commission presided over by Rudolf Mildner and, as a result, moved the first gassing to December 1941.

In the same year, the conclusive version of the myth appeared in the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz; by cleverly manipulating the sources, Danuta Czech extrapolated from and indiscriminately blended testimonies in total reciprocal contradiction. Besides, Czech arbitrarily added the date September 3, careless of the contrary testimony of Kazimierz Smolet. which was otherwise utilized with abandon.

By then the myth had been concocted and was ready to be served to the Exterminationist historians, who are easily satisfied and favorably disposed to swallow, in an uncritical way, all that is offered them in the *Kalendarium* of Auschwitz, which is celebrated as the quintessence of factuality on that concentration camp!

Notes

1. ☑ According to another publication of the Auschwitz Museum, Hauptsturmführer Friedrich Karl Hermann Entress filled the position of camp physician (Lagerarzt) at Gross-Rosen from January 3 to December 10, 1941. On December 11 he was transferred to Auschwitz with the same office, which he held until October 20, 1943. Therefore, on September 5, 1941, he was not yet at Auschwitz. *Auschwitz vu par les SS*. Edition du Musee d'Etat a Oswiecim, 1974, p. 318.
2. ☑ Hefte von Auschwitz. Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 2, 1959, p. 109.
3. ☑ *Zeszyty oswiecimskie*. Numer specjalny (1). Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 1968, p.11.
4. ☑ Foreign Office papers, FO 371/30837 5365, "Conditions in Czechoslovakia," pp. 157-158.
5. ☑ *Polish Fortnightly Review*, London, n. 47, July 1, 1942, p. 2.
6. ☑ According to Danuta Czech, the order to select the sick inmates was not given by Doctor Jungen, but by the SS-Hauptsturmführer Doctor Siegfried Schwela: "Schwela had probably been appointed Standortarzt after August 1941 because it is by exercising that office that I gave the orders on September 3, 1941, of selecting from the Blockhospitals n. 21 and 28 all the very sick inmates and of transferring them to the Bunkers of Block 11" (*Contribution a l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, Edition du Musee d'Etat a Oswiecim, 1978, note 10, A- 9)
7. ☑ The gas chamber of Block 11 never existed. The underground of this building was provided with 28 larger cells and 4 smaller ones, none of which has been declared by the Auschwitz Museum to be the gas chamber of the Block.
8. ☑ *Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Entschlussbildung und Verwirklichung*. Edited by Eberhard Jäckel und Jurgen Rohwer. Stuttgart, 1985, p. 167.
9. ☑ NA1210/D-749a, p. 2 of the English translation.
10. ☑ *Comandante ad Auschwitz. Memoriale autobiografico di Rudolf Höss*. Einaudi, Torino, 1985, pp. 128-129.
11. ☑ Idem, pp. 171-174. Regarding the testimony of Rudolf Höss, see: Robert Faurisson, "Comment les Britanniques ont obtenu les aveux de Rudolf Höss, commandant d'Auschwitz," in *Annales d'Histoire Revisionniste*, no. 1, Spring 1987, pp. 137-152; Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz: le "confessioni" di Höss*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma 1987.
12. ☑ See note 1.
13. ☑ Zenon Rozanski, *Mutzen ab — Eine Reportage aus der Strafkompagnie des KZ. Auschwitz*. Verlag "Das andere Deutschland," Hannover 1948, pp. 40-44.

14. ☞ Wojciech Barcz, "Die erste Vergasung," in: *Auschwitz: Zeugnisse und Berichte*, H. G. Adler, Hermann Langbein, Ella Lingens-Reiner (Hrsg.). Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Köln-Frankfurt am Main, 1979, pp. 17-18.
 15. ☞ Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. *German Crimes in Poland*, Warsaw, 1946, vol. 1, p. 83.
 16. ☞ *Zeszyty oświęcimskie*, op.cit., p. 47.
 17. ☞ *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas. Eine Dokumentation*. Edited by Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Ruckerl et al. S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1983, p. 205.
 18. ☞ Filip Friedman, *This Was Oswiecim: The Story of a Murder Camp*, London, 1946, p. 18.
 19. ☞ *Auschwitz vu par les SS*, op.cit., note 113 on p. 96.
 20. ☞ *Kommandant in Auschwitz. Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen des Rudolf Höss*. Edited by Martin Broszat. DTV, München 1981, p. 159.
 21. ☞ S. Fumasoni — M. Rafanelli, *Lavorazioni che espongono all'azione di acido cianidrico e composti del cianogeno*, Edizioni I.N.A.I.L., p. 8.
 22. ☞ *Dizionario di chimica GIUA*. Utet, 1947, pp. 312-313.
 23. ☞ NI-9098, p. 31.
 24. ☞ *Auschwitz: Guide of the Museum*. Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Katowice, 1979, p. 29.
 25. ☞ NO-5849.
 26. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 2, p. 109.
 27. ☞ Letter from the Auschwitz Museum to this author, May 4, 1988.
 28. ☞ See note 1.
 29. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 2, p. 113.
 30. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 2, p. 106.
 31. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 2, pp. 111-114.
 32. ☞ Executive Office of the President. War Refugee Board. Washington, D.C. *German Extermination Camps-Auschwitz and Birkenau*. Part 2, pp. 14-19.
 33. ☞ Declaration of Stanislaw Jankowski, in, *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Sonderheft 1, 1972.
 34. ☞ URSS-8.
 35. ☞ *Auschwitz vu par les SS*, op. cit., pp. 181-182.
 36. ☞ Interrogation of April 23, 1959. Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, AR-ZZ 37/58 SB 6, p. 948.
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Book Reviews

Israel's Sacred Terrorism

- by Livia Rokach Belmont Mass: AAUG Press, 1986, third ed. Paperback, 63 pages, \$6, ISBN 0-937694-70-3.

Blaming the Victims

- Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens, eds. London: Verso/New Left Books, 1988. Paperback, 296 pages, \$15, ISBN 046091487 4.

Reviewed by William Grimstad

“Terrorism ... terrorists.” Most people who read the ugly words in the newspapers probably take them for granted, not noticing their oddly increasing frequency. After all, what else could you call people who would, say, plant a bomb on a large airliner and kill hundreds? The only thing remaining is to skim the article and see what kind they were this time: PLO, PLO faction, Iranian? Or, maybe IRA? Anything but the real originators, it seems.

Even those cynical of mass media foibles, who might ridicule the spread of a veritable terrorist *chic* among the newsies, probably will not smell a rat and suddenly realize that we now have yet another word in a very special and potent vocabulary. *Terrorism* has joined such formidable swear/smear words as *Holocaust*, *anti-Semitism*, *racism*. These fearsome epithets pack a big wallop. Just as voodoo and black magic make use of verbal mumbo-jumbo in (claiming to) conjure up varied occult powers, so have these imprecations been used for generations in the control of untold millions, perhaps billions, of people. One might call them weasel-words. They are a “psy-war” expert’s dream: they don’t cost anything and nobody notices them at work.

When Washington recently began prodding the Jerusalem government for discussions with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the response was a loud protest that Israel “does not talk with terrorists.” Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir (Yezernitsky) is less voluble, however — in fact, he has refused all comment — at recently revealed documents proving that he was directly involved in the 1948 assassination of the United Nations peacemaker, Count Bernadotte.

This certainly was one of the more heinous of the acts of murder and mayhem committed by Zionist squads during Israel’s hear of independence.” That many of these gang leaders and assassins have risen to the top of a government which now spends most of its time denouncing “Palestinian terrorism” must be grounds for the gravest reflection.

'Holocaust' Impact in the United States

To understand how and why the new “terrorism” weasel word is being built up, we must observe one of the earlier but immensely successful terms. Those of us who have pondered the stupendous clout of Holocaust” ought to study further the exact relationship between that horrific *tableau vivant* of the Forties, seen through a (television) glass darkly, and the Zionist enclave which continues to dominate the crossroads of the Mideast.

The “Six Million” legend has been a stunning tour de force of raw mass-persuasive power, ringing seemingly endless changes upon a rather modest body of lies and distortions cobbled together *ad hoc* at the finale of World War Two. It is clear that the major area of incidence is the United States: without this country, it is unlikely that the tale would have got far in the world’s estimation, or would survive long in future.

Now, a striking analog exists with the Zionist entity itself. No one denies that Israel endures only because of its “special relationship” with the U.S., demanding vast flows of our capital and armaments, and endless political intercession by Washington in world forums. Beyond this, it is an insufficiently appreciated fact that the Zionist state is a highly artificial, even illusionistic phenomenon. It is based upon one part brutal subjugation of increasingly restive non-Jews at home, to three parts misdirection and deception in the outer world, particularly in this country.

Myth Cover for Zionist Onslaught

One sees, then, that Israel and the Holocaust myth are mutually indispensable, bound up together as complementary aspects of the same political thrust, rather like the familiar Oriental yang-yin symbol. Ultimately, if the Holocaust legend falls or fades too badly, Israel will effectively be delegitimized. This is exactly the dilemma facing the Zionists: years, decades generations are slipping away and the hoax is simply growing old, now in an increasingly hectic era living more and more on the instant. Add in the relentless chipping away at the confabulation by Historical Revisionism, and the long-range implications become clear, a lesson we can be sure has not been lost upon the proprietors.

Israel’s carefully cultivated propaganda “image” is that of a heroic little American-style democracy besieged on all fronts by medieval “Arab” tyrannies. Although there never has been much patience with this idea in the Third World, and even in parts of Europe, it has continued to “play in Peoria” among the U.S. intelligentsia, from academe down through the dreariest drudges of the mass media. However, there are unmistakeable signs that even this cushy situation is finally deteriorating.

Conclusion: it’s time for new weasel-words.

International Zionism’s astounding ability to prop up the “brave little Israel” facade year after year depends upon continued concealment of the real, blatantly terroristic character of its initial seizure and subsequent expansion of territory, right up to the present. For not overly scrupulous historians and pundits, this remained a workable fantasy until the Moshe Sharett exposes. Now they must risk not only lying to themselves, but to their public — and being called to account for it. At a time when timidly increasing numbers of inquiries into Zionist doings are beginning to be seen, we can only praise Ms. Rokach’s as one of the most unique. Those of us who have spent much of our adult lives probing one aspect or another of the worldwide Zionist enterprise will recognize immediately what an utter rarity it is to be able to listen in on deliberations among the actual high command.

While there is probably little going on in the inner councils of major nations that is not monitored by the Zionists, who are legendary for the power of their espionage, these people are just as abnormally preoccupied with secrecy concerning their own affairs. That is why this study is such a revelation, based as it is on the private journals of Moshe Sharett, one of the true founding fathers of the state of Israel. No doubt the Israel Cabinet is, along with the Chinese Politburo or the *consiglieri* of the Jersey City mafia, among the world's most impenetrable executive bodies. Yet, for a brief period, we now have a glimpse of its inner workings.

Diary of Israel's Early Era

Sharett was there, in the secret planning sessions, when some of the most momentous actions and policies in the terror-ridden era that is constantly trumpeted as the “heroic” early period of Israel were planned out. Among these were- the pointless 1953 attack on the defenseless West Bank village of Kibya, led by present-day Israeli “hawk” Ariel Sharon, in which 69 Palestinians were killed; the 1954 hijacking of a Syrian airliner to Israel in the wake of Syria's arrest of five Israeli spies, admitted as such by Sharett, which was the world's first case of air piracy; the savage 1954 attack on the village of Nahlin, near Bethlehem, with dozens of Palestinian civilians killed.

The real reasons for these and others similar, routinely called “Reprisals” for “Arab terrorism” by Israel, are here explained, from the inside and from the top, as cynical and carefully calculated provocations. The goal was twofold: first, the ongoing intimidation and demoralization of the non-Jewish subject population; but second, and equally important, the creation of a desired climate of fury and amoral adventurism within the Jewish citizenry. Sharett reports that this psychological manipulation via murderous reactions to trumped-up incidents of “anti-Semitism” was justified by Chief of Staff Moshe Dayan as “our vital lymph. They ... help us maintain a high tension among our population and in the Army ... In order to have young men go to the Negev we have to cry out that it is in danger.”

This, then, is the gruesome process from which Rokach's title derives. Sharett confesses that, while early Zionists supposedly curbed “emotions of revenge,” those of his era had eliminated the Mental and moral brake” on this impulse and had come to “uphold revenge as a moral value ... *a sacred principle.*”

Sharett's Authority

Like so many Zionist pioneers, Moshe Sharett (Shertok) was born a very long way from the land he later helped seize, immigrating to Palestine from Russia in the early 1900s. He early showed political skills and advanced quickly in the Mapai (Labor) Party and in the Jewish Agency, where he became a close associate of the Agency's rambunctious head, David Ben Gurion (Gruen). After independence, he became the first foreign minister of the new state, for a time even replacing Ben Gurion as prime minister during the latter's much-ballyhooed “retirement to the desert.”

It is Sharett's participation in Israeli Cabinet sessions that the diary records, and which Livia Rokach quotes. Although the period covered, fall 1953 through fall 1956, is relatively short, Sharett's notations run to 2,400 pages in eight volumes. Something of the candor with which he documents highly sensitive Cabinet discussions, many of them still potentially embarrassing to the government today, may be gauged from the intensity with which the Israeli establishment attempted to prevent publication of the diary when Sharett's son announced his plan to do so. That, however, was the original version, in Hebrew and limited to a small edition within Israel. A surprisingly different suppressive effort ensued when the publishers readied the present study by Rokach, this time from the Sharett family itself, and a bevy of New York Zionist lawyers. So,

clearly the original publication must have been intended solely for internal Zionist edification. The effort ran aground, however, when the Israeli Foreign Ministry dropped out of the dispute, no doubt reckoning that a squabble probably would only end up promoting the book.

Confessions Damaging to Zionism

It is easy to understand the concern. Second only to the steady erosion of the “Holocaust” legend, which of course formed the propagandistic plinth of “sympathy” and moral legitimacy for the original incursion into Palestine, this testimony by a former prime minister and lifelong operative at the pinnacle of the Zionist movement seems the most damaging.

Sharett’s motives in compiling the diary can only be guessed, although assuaging of a troubled conscience may well have been a factor. He does seem to have been something of a Zionist Hamlet: a man torn by self-doubt, although conscience certainly did not make a coward of him in his spirited public defenses of Israeli excesses that he privately execrates. Most importantly, however, he clearly did not contemplate publication, and that adds greatly to the journal’s credibility.

The value of Sharett’s *mea culpa* is on two levels: he shows us the early planning stages of some of Israel’s most odious planned terrorism incidents, and he gives us his remorseful evaluations of what this atrocious record says of his own people. Coming from an “anti-Semite,” the latter observations would count for nothing; from this source, they are extraordinarily telling:

“I condemned the Kibya affair that exposed us in front of the whole world as a gang of blood-suckers, capable of mass massacres regardless, it seems, of whether Weir actions may lead to war.” (October 1953)

“I meditated on the substance and destiny of His People, who is capable of such honest aspiration for beauty and nobility, and at the same time cultivates among its best youth youngsters capable of calculated, coldblooded murder, by knifing the bodies of defenseless Beduin. Which of these two biblical souls will win over the other in the People?” (March 1955)

“I have been meditating on the long chain of false incidents and hostilities we have invented ...” (June 1955)

Real Holocaust Victims

One cannot condone the undeniable excesses and atrocities committed by desperate anti-Israel partisans in the typhoon of terror and retaliation that has arisen over the Zionist seizure of Palestine. However, we are at least entitled to a balanced perspective on the matter, and this will not be forthcoming from mainstream news and opinion media in most Western countries.

This is the great value of *Blaming the Victims*. Editors Said and Hitchens and nine other experts offer a masterly critique of the avalanche of spurious reportage on the Mideast disaster to which we’ve so long been subjected. Its overall impact left this writer thunderstruck.

What finally dawns on one, after years of mulling over these problems, is the stupendous irony of the situation. Revisionist scholarship has established beyond doubt that Jews underwent no “genocide” during World War Two, and in fact suffered proportionately far smaller losses than did the Germans and Russians. Yet, here we have it staring us in the face that these very same

people — or at least their Zionist heroes-have been carrying out a sort of gasless holocaust of the Palestinian people ever since the war!

Peters Book Deflated

This begins on the ideological level, if that is the right word, with the proposition “There are no Palestinians.” After all, if you employ your not inconsiderable money — and media-power to deny that a stateless, defenseless people even exists, how much attention will the military mop-up operations attract later on? One of the major documents in this campaign is the 1984 tome, *From Time Immemorial*, by Joan Peters. Although derided in the British press, and even in Israel where a distinguished professor, Avishai Margalit, denounced it as a “web of deceit,” the Peters volume has been welcomed with dithyrambs of praise by our savants, including, not insignificantly, the “Holocaust” experts, Elie Wiesel and Lucy Dawidowicz.

Peters’s contention is that the territory was “empty” when the Zionists moved in after World War One, whereupon the so-called Palestinians began sneaking in from surrounding Arab lands to find work as the Jews “made the desert bloom.” This, of course, is one of the oldest staples of Israeli propaganda, and indeed has largely been abandoned there; but Peters resuscitates the story with a great flurry of ostensible research, references to Ottoman Empire population statistics, and the like.

Unfortunately for her, she reckoned without Norman G. Finkelstein, a Jewish anti-Zionist historian who has become her book’s untiring nemesis. In separate essays, he and editor Said surgically deflate the vast farrago of errors, misinterpretations, half-truths and outright lies that characterize the Peters volume. Finkelstein uses a particularly effective technique of parallel columns, giving the actual original citation (which obviously cost him an enormous research effort) next to what Peters says it says. The effect is devastating. One can only agree with Finkelstein’s assessment that Peters’s book, which, in America at least, has become the “Bible” of the trendier Holocaustarians and pro-Israel blowhards, is “among the most spectacular frauds ever published on the Arab-Israeli conflict.”

Chomsky’s Valuable Insights

Blaming the Victims contains many other essays of similar Revisionist import unraveling the compounded falsification that has been visited nonstop upon the Palestinians, who share with the Germans the dubious distinction of being perhaps the most lied-about people on earth. Among these, the superb extended piece, “Middle East Terrorism and the American Ideological System,” by the noted Jewish linguist, Noam Chomsky, returns us full circle to our original forbidding subject.

Chomsky starts with the bedrock axiom of Israeli policy, voiced often through the years, but never more sanctimoniously than by future president Chaim Herzog in 1972: the Palestinians can never be “partners in any way in a land that has been holy to our people for thousands of years.” Ergo: the flat ban on (a) independent political organization in the occupied territories, and (b) discussions with Palestinian representatives, regardless of whether they agree to recognize Israel and to eschew violence. Chomsky shows what a stumbling block this incredible disenfranchisement has been, right up to the moment. As this is written, Israel’s leaders continue to tough it out against tepid U.S. urgings that they reach at least some accommodation with legitimate Palestinian spokesmen.

Israel’s Expansionism

Arguably the most valuable of Moshe Sharett's diaristic revelations are what he tells us of Israel's long-range planning, in particular its goal of a much larger territory than it currently holds and its implacable determination to become the regional superpower. It is these ambitions that have laid groundwork for the largest-scale devastation yet unleashed by the Zionist state: the ghastly evisceration of the once flourishing land of Lebanon.

What was called "Israel's Grand Design" in an important essay by the late pioneering Revisionist writer, John M. Henshaw, is a large subject unto itself. It would include such seemingly fantastic goals as controlling everything eastward to the site of ancient Babylon, in the Tigris-Euphrates area of Iraq. However, more realistic objectives lie closer to home, and in an arid region, Zionist chieftains long ago set their sights on control of key waterways to the north.

As far back as the Paris peace conference of 1919, they proposed a northern boundary for the Jewish "national home" mandated in the British Balfour Declaration that would have seized much of Lebanon up to the Litani River. At the same time, Ben Gurion and others tried to inveigle Patriarch Hayak with financial aid promises to abandon South Lebanon for Jewish settlement and set up a Christian state in the Muslim north. The patriarch indignantly refused, but that was by no means the end of the matter.

This Lebanon objective, pursued like an *idée fixe* through the decades, has formed the pivot point in one way or another for much of Israeli history. Zionist armed bands that took over Palestine in 1948 occupied much of South Lebanon, nearing the Litani River, but were forced to withdraw by international opposition. However, the military campaigns of 1967, 1978 and 1982 once again saw efforts to implement the policy, and these were successful to the point that Israel now effectively controls the Jordan, Baniyas, Wazzani, Hasbani and Litani rivers, an enormous geopolitical advantage.

Anti-Lebanese Plotting

In his February 1954 diary entries, Sharett details the strategy sessions where a beginning was made to draft plans that have only come to their full, dire fruition now, many decades later, with Lebanon in its death agonies. The overall framework for the plan was creation of a Lebanese Christian state. This was done chiefly to drive a wedge into the largely Muslim Arab League. Sharett writes:

"Then he [Ben Gurion] passed on to another issue. This is the time, he said, to push Lebanon, that is the Maronites in that country, to proclaim a Christian State ... It is clear that Lebanon is the weakest link in the Arab League ... Now is the time to bring about the creation of a Christian state in our neighborhood ... This means that time, energy and means ought to be invested in it and that we must act in all possible ways to bring about a radical change in Lebanon. Sasson ... and our other Arabists must be mobilized. If money is necessary, no amount of dollars should be spared ... This is a historical opportunity."

For various reasons, it proved unfeasible to activate this grand scheme for the dismemberment of a harmless neighbor until 1968, when Dayan was appointed defense minister. For twenty years the Lebanese border had been utterly tranquil and certainly no Palestinian guerrillas were anywhere on the horizon. Virtually overnight the situation changed, with mysterious border assaults against Israelis which were instantly avenged with savage military reprisals, escalating eventually to aerial bombing in South Lebanon. Finally, by April, 1975, the conflagration was ignited and Lebanon's civil war rages on to this day, with incalculable losses and suffering.

Chomsky on Media Liars

Yet, incredibly enough, informed opinion here has dismissed this tragedy as a happenstance that was probably inevitable, given Lebanon's "sectarian" diversity. Meanwhile, first things first, and "Israel's security" must be vigilantly looked after, with its occasional understandable excesses explained and quickly forgotten. This is the ideational framework within which the entire sorry history of Israeli destabilization and destruction has been vended to propaganda consumers in this and other "First World" countries. Looking out on especially the American intellectual class, from the philo-Zionist to the opportunistic, as they preside over "news" and other mind-molding, one thinks irresistibly of "the dull, the proud, the wicked and the mad" deplored by Alexander Pope. Nevertheless, these people and their dirtywork are still with us, and cry out to be dealt with.

It is here that *Blaming the Victims* genuinely excels, in particular the Chomsky essay on the new hullabaloo over "terrorism" as a catchall for militant anti-Zionist resistance. This exhaustively documented, trip-hammer analysis ranges, case by case, atrocity by atrocity, over the violent highlights of the past decades — particularly in southern Lebanon — as they have been served up to us, and as the full facts suggest they more likely occurred. It is hard to believe, but Chomsky's modest fifty pages seriously damage this old, vast, grotesque tissue of distortions and lies that has relentlessly screened Israeli doings, chiefly the ill-starred but indescribably brutal Lebanon invasion of 1982.

Summing up the whole sordid but still rather amazing process, Chomsky can only marvel: "Meanwhile the media are regularly condemned as overly critical of Israel and even 'pro PLO,' a propaganda coup of quite monumental proportions."

Still Revering 'Holocaust'

There the matter rests. Having noted the encouraging development that these books seem to portend, I am not sure what next to expect. These authors, and at least the Verso press, are all from the "hard Left" side of the spectrum, which of course entails a quite different set of assumptions from those of a "Holocaust" Revisionist. Marxian notions have almost no broad appeal among Middle Eastern people, but leftist partisan discipline apparently still is effective among writers who aspire to represent them.

That is the only way that I can account for the peculiar fact that the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic activists of the world, otherwise so brave in face of Israeli napalm and torturemasters, still are no less cowed than the rest of the world's "masses," and fearful of taking the first step to ridicule the strangely sanctified "Holocaust" and "anti-Semitism" shibboleths.

We shall not be rid of the word weasels who are now trying to diabolize "terrorism" as a cover for their own secret sacred mayhem until this gap can be bridged.

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Book review

Antisemitism In The Contemporary World

- *Antisemitism In The Contemporary World*. Edited by Michael Curtis. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1986, 333 pp., \$42.50. ISBN 0-81330157-2.

Reviewed by Paul Grubach

In November 1983, a conference — “Antisemitism in the Contemporary World” — was held at Rutgers University. This book, a collection of papers which were presented by renowned scholars attending the conference, deals with what its authors perceive as current expressions of anti-Semitism. According to a paragraph on the dust jacket, the volume addresses “the questions of whether there are new forms of antisemitism [sic — hereafter anti-Semitism], whether there has been a resurgence of antisemitism in the current age.” Alleged anti-Semitism in the following entities — the Soviet Bloc nations, the Arab world, the Islamic and Christian religions, American blacks, Western leftist and religious groups, opponents of political Zionism, and the Holocaust revisionist movement — are some of the more prominent subjects dealt with in the book.

Unluckily, if the reader is looking for fair and objective analyses of the causes and effects of anti-Jewish feeling, he certainly will not find it here. Instead, the analyses of alleged anti-Semitism are quite flagrantly constructed to satisfy two objectives. First, all blame (the burden of guilt) for the avowedly ubiquitous phenomenon of anti-Jewish antipathy is shifted onto gentile groups, while, simultaneously, Jewish groups are exonerated. The substantial evidence which shows that certain powerful segments of world Jewry (organized Zionism, the State of Israel, Jewish Marxists) are to a significant extent responsible for many outbreaks of anti-Semitism is totally ignored. [1]

Secondly, nearly all of the writers of the essays quite recklessly attempt to include most intellectual, social and political criticism of organized Jewry and its power and influence under the rather melodramatic rubric of anti-Semitism. This attempt would seem to reveal more about the motives of the assembled experts than about the criticism in question. For although the word “anti-Semitism” is alleged to have been coined by an “anti-Semite,” the term, with its pseudo-scientific veneer of objectivity and its shift in emphasis from Jewry (not Semitism) to its critics, has been eagerly embraced by Jews eager to stifle any challenge to their interests.

In a word, what one finds in this volume is not objective analysis, but rather, what political scientists would call ideology; that is, a body of distorted ideas and interpretations of reality which are continually promoted — not because of their inherent truthfulness — but rather, because they serve the sociopolitical, economic, and psychological needs of a power elite. [2] Not surprisingly, the ideology of anti-anti-Semitism as presented here reflects the values and interests of the major sponsors and organizers of the conference. Among these were the American Jewish Congress, the

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Bronfman Foundation, and numerous individual Zionists. (p. xi)

It would be impossible here to discuss all of the 24 different essays, the range of topics covered, and the numerous distortions and fallacies which this volume contains. However, three examples will be offered to illustrate my point.

The late Terence Prittie, British author and journalist, contributed a paper which discusses economic boycotts and discrimination directed against Jewish people. (pp. 206-213) Prittie gives one the distorted impression that, in the ongoing economic boycott wars between Jews and Arabs, the Jews are totally blameless and innocent, and the Arabs totally guilty. Jews are never aggressors, only quite saintly victims defending themselves against Arab racists. And why are the Arabs guilty of racism? Because, Prittie claims, when they utilize the boycott weapon, all Jews are targeted: the Arabs never differentiate between Zionist and non-Zionist Jews.

An ideological distortion such as this may gratify the ethnocentrism of many Zionist Jews, but it certainly does not serve the interests of truth. One is left with the false impression that only Arabs have used economic boycotts against Jews. Prittie never informs the reader that Zionist Jews, in their takeover of Palestine, utilized the economic boycott as a major weapon against the native Palestinians. [3] The economic warfare historically waged by Arabs against Zionism and Israel (e.g., Arab trade boycotts of Jewish goods or refusals to do business with firms which have Zionist Jews in management positions) is a reaction to the challenge of repeated Jewish-Zionist aggression against the Arab world and racial discrimination directed against the Arab people in Israel. [4] This is not to justify indiscriminate economic measures against all Jews, even those unsympathetic to political Zionism.

Historically, just as political Zionism never differentiated between Arabs who oppose Zionism and those who do not oppose it, [5] neither have the Arabs differentiated between Zionist and non-Zionist Jews in carrying out economic reprisals. In order to evaluate fairly Arab economic warfare against Jewish Zionism, one must acknowledge the Jewish-Zionist political, economic, and military warfare which has been and is being waged against the Arab world. [6]

Professor Michael Curtis, the editor of this collection, defines anti-Semitism as "hostility toward Jews." (p. 1) This alleged hostility, however, is often gauged by what must appear to impartial observers as highly subjective sensors. It is not only difficult to measure, weigh, or otherwise quantify: even such manifestations as the (blissfully rare) pogrom or the occasional scurrilous graffito may have been evoked by some perceived offense tendered by corporate Jewry. (Students of anti-Semitism will note additionally the disturbing tendency of the anti-anti-Semites to draw a discreet veil, at least for the multitudes, over truly hair-raising expressions of anti-Semitism emanating from such modern luminaries as Voltaire, Byron, Goethe, Carlyle, Dostoyevsky, Henry James, Henry Adams, and others too numerous to be named.)

In this volume, the criteria put forth to determine the existence of anti-Jewish hostility are nebulous and so broad and general that the charge of anti-Semitism can be utilized as the need arises. When the criticism in question is either psychologically threatening (that is, irritating to a righteous and benign collective Jewish identity), or is politically threatening (i.e., negative criticism which may give rise to demands that the power of organized Jewry be reduced), then the authors apply the anti-Semitism label to the critic and his criticism, regardless of whether the criticism may be justified. Observe how Curtis's mind works. He writes:

What distinguishes anti-Semitism from the ever-present prejudice or hostility directed against other [non-Jewish] people and groups is not so much the strength and

passion of this hatred as its many-faceted character and the range of arguments and doctrines that see Jews as best as peripheral (or as pariahs, to use Max Weber's term) in society and at worst as destructive monsters and forces of evil. In its lowest form,... antisemitism takes the form of pornography ... Elsewhere, arguments — whether of a political, economic, social, religious, or psychological nature — make a greater claim to rationality. Always the claim is that Jews, because of their religious customs or insistence on monotheism or dietary habits or tribal exclusiveness, were alien to the traditions and ways of life of the societies in which they lived or tried to subvert those societies or were able to control both these societies and other diabolical forces in the world. (p.3)

The implication here is obvious. Those who claim that certain powerful segments of organized Jewry are culturally alien to Western society and that they attempt to subvert Western culture supposedly harbor a hatred of all Jews. And, of course, it is reflexively assumed that the claim is a false, anti-Jewish slander.

All Jews are not cultural aliens to Western society, nor do all Jews attempt to subvert Western society. Yet there certainly exist powerful and influential segments of Jewry which do fit this category. A small portion of the evidences culled from Jewish sources, illustrates the point.

Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter are two political scientists who studied the relationship between left-wing radical politics and psychological development. They gathered evidence which supports the claim that the Jews of the New Left student movement of the 1960s were motivated by a hatred of European-Christian culture, and that this hostility induced them to identify with leftist movements which undermine Western society's social order. [7] Rothman and Lichter point out that Jews, occupying a marginal- alienated position in Western societies, are more prone to identify with political movements which subvert the dominant Gentile culture. In their own words:

Political radicalism ... is but one form of the attack leveled by the marginal person upon the larger society. The basic thrust is to undermine all aspects of the culture which contribute to his or her marginality. Thus Jews in the United States and Europe have been in the forefront of not only political radicalism but also various forms of cultural asubversion." [8]

Concerning the motivations of these left-wing Jews, Rothman and Lichter write:

In sum, the aim of the Jewish radical is to estrange the Christian from society, as he feels estranged from it The fact that the United States is no longer Christian" in any real sense, or that Jews have moved to positions of considerable power and influence, is of little import Its Christian base is still unconsciously identified as the decisive oppressive element ... thus many radical Jews, even when they do not identify with Judaism, unconsciously retain a generalized hostility to Christian culture. [9]

The prominent Jewish-Zionist author, Maurice Samuel, writing for a Gentile audience, accurately epitomized the feelings of these segments of alienated Jewry:

I do not believe that this primal difference between Gentile and Jews is reconcilable. We [Jews and Gentiles] may come to an understanding, never to a reconciliation. There will be irritation between us as long as we are in intimate contact For nature and constitution and vision divide us [Jews] from all of you [Gentiles] forever ... [10]

Later in the same essay, Samuel admitted that these alienated Jews do attempt to subvert the Gentile social order:

The Jew, whose lack of contact with your [Gentile] world had made him ineffective, becomes effective. The vial is uncorked, the genius is out. His [Jewish] enmity to your [Gentile] ways of life was tacit before. Today it is manifest and active. [11]

We Jews, we, the destroyers, will remain the destroyers forever. Nothing that you will do will meet our needs and demands. We will forever destroy because we need a world of our Own ... [12]

If it is true, then, that certain segments of Jewry regard themselves as cultural aliens and gleefully subvert Western culture, pointing this out does not necessarily indicate broad anti-Jewish hostility. [13] Even if the “anti-Semitic” accuser does dislike Jews, that is not sufficient to disprove his charge of deliberate cultural subversion by Jews.

In his acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize, the Jewish author, Elie Wiesel, stated: “It would be unnatural for me not to make Jewish priorities my own: Israel, Soviet Jewry, Jews in Arab lands.” [14] Can it be entirely different for Gentile intellectuals of European descent? It would be unnatural for at least a few of them not to be concerned about the forces which are undermining their society and promoting what political scientist James Burnham called “The Suicide of the West.” That which Professor Curtis would label “anti-Semitism” is in many instances only a thoughtful concern with the welfare of Western culture and a healthy vigilance in relation to those alienated segments of Jewry which attempt to undermine it. One need think only of the writings of such humane, tolerant, but culturally engaged Christian gentlemen as Hilaire Belloc, G. K. Chesterton, and T. S. Eliot. Stephen J. Roth, director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs (London), provides the reader of *Antisemitism in the Contemporary World* with a short discussion of Holocaust revisionism and the legal attempts to proscribe it. His short dissertation contains many of the distorted views which the Holocaust lobby continually promotes about Revisionism.

Mr. Roth writes:

One of the most pernicious new forms of anti-Semitism is the denial of the facts of the Holocaust by so-called Revisionist historians and neo-Nazis (the two are often identical). Their allegations that no systematic extermination of Jews occurred, that there were no gas chambers, and that 6 million Jews did not perish, propagated in an atmosphere of increased anti-Jewish activity, has become one of the most significant weapons in the neo-Nazi arsenal. (p. 222)

In other words, according to Roth’s line of thought, Holocaust orthodoxy is definitely, positively true, and thus, revisionist viewpoints must of necessity be irrational and confused falsities. Because this is so, he concludes that every revisionist must harbor a hatred of all Jews and be furthermore of an irrational, unbalanced state of mind. The revisionist refuses to accept the Holocaust orthodoxy, and thus employ the Freudian defense mechanism of “denial.”

Unfortunately, however, one cannot empirically observe psychological defense mechanisms of denial as biologist empirically observes microorganisms under a microscope. One infers that another individual is subjectively employing denial mechanisms. Failing a set of objective criteria by which it can be inferred that, if the individual in question is employing a mechanism of denial, he refuses to accept reality, the notion of “denial” is of little scientific use.

In the case of Holocaust, revisionist academics, if it could be demonstrated objectively that their reservations about a German attempt to exterminate Europe's Jews are utterly false, one might be justified in hypothesizing that they are employing some such mechanism of denial. Basic to that inference, however, would be evidence which demonstrates that exterminationism is true. Roth is obligated, by the canons of scholarly ethics, to give the revisionist school a fair hearing, and show that its arguments are irrational and unfounded. Only after so doing would he be justified in claiming that revisionist historians are irrational reality deniers who deny the facts because they hate Jews.

Roth, however, cites no studies which demonstrate that Holocaust orthodoxy is true, or demonstrate the absurdity of revisionist arguments. He doesn't because he can't. After nearly a two-year search, this reviewer has been able to find no exterminationist study which gives an accurate and honest presentation of revisionist arguments, and then refutes them. By contrast the revisionist writings are filled with studies which, in a rational, logical, and scientific manner, confront and strive to refute the major contentions of exterminationism. [15]

Because Mr. Roth's judgment has apparently not been informed by the rational procedures of modern historiography, would we not be justified in asking what irrational psychological forces shaped his thinking?

One can infer the psychological process at work here. Convinced exterminationists such as Roth can say "revisionists are irrational, unbalanced, and neurotic Jew-haters with a need to deny the reality of the Holocaust. Revisionism, therefore, need not be analyzed, except as the logical product of such an unfounded body of mentality. As such, it is not even worthy of our consideration." By such formulations can a convinced exterminationist avoid the painful experience of having his deeply cherished beliefs about the Holocaust challenged, or, God forbid, disproven, thereby freeing him from the responsibility of critically examining the whole Holocaust dogma, as well as obviating the discovery of facts about the Holocaust which would be too psychologically painful to confront consciously.

Mr. Roth next proceeds to explain why he believes that revisionism is the most effective weapon in the "neo-Nazi" arsenal:

If the crimes of the Nazis can be wiped off the record of history, if the Nazi regime can be whitewashed and made to appear as admittedly somewhat disciplinarian and tough on law and order but basically harmless and more efficient than our allegedly lax Western democracies with their growing disorder, their crimes, violence, and riots, then the neo-Nazis would have won a great victory. The system advocated by them would also look harmless and acceptable, and the ideological resistance to it, largely based on awareness of the horrors of the past, would be undermined-particularly among younger people who have no personal experience of Nazi rule. (p. 222)

Roth has fled to what in contemporary America has become the last refuge of the academic and political scoundrel: the imputation of a National Socialist agenda, a covert desire to restore the Third Reich, or bring on the Fourth, to scoffers at the regnant historical or political orthodoxy.

Should the revisionists succeed in convincing the peoples of Western democracies that the "gas chambers" never existed, however, these would still harbor considerable resistance to the philosophy, political system, and policies implemented during the Third Reich. The National Socialists advocated a command state, with one-party control of society and censorship of the press. By contrast, inherent in the modern political culture of the West is acceptance of a multiparty state, independence of the press from overt political control, and a disdain for open regimentation. [16]

One thing the acceptance of the nonexistence of the “Hitler gas chambers” does threaten is the belief that National Socialism was a greater menace to humanity than Stalinist Marxism, and that the Western democracies had to ally with the Soviet in the Second World War. Yet the realization that National Socialism was not the unremitting evil that it is portrayed to be, and that Stalin’s system inflicted far more human misery, is a very far cry from urging the National Socialist political model be adopted throughout the West. One can be a Holocaust revisionist, and simultaneously, be anti-National Socialist.

In a word, Roth’s claim — that mass acceptance of revisionism will bring about mass acceptance of National Socialism — is absurd. His argument scants the ethic of self-interested individualism prevalent in today’s West, even among self-professed “nationalists” and “racialists.” Furthermore, the populations of the democracies, particularly America, seem fixed in the belief that a certain quota of disorder and dishonor — from riots and street crime to political and economic corruption — is an acceptable price to pay for the maintenance of the democratic society. Even with mass acceptance of Holocaust revisionism in the democratic West, resistance to National Socialism still would be strong.

On ideology, the political scientist James B. Whisker has written:

Ideologies are seen by neutral commentators as illusions about real concrete experiences. The ideology does not develop as a result of the experiences themselves; rather, the ideology is born out of unusual or bizarre interpretations given to the concrete experiences. The ideology is fabricated in order to cover up distorted knowledge or interpretations of real factual situations and it acts compulsively on its true believers so that no other interpretation can be fitted to the situation. [17]

The ideology of anti-anti-Semitism as expressed in his book is an excellent example of what Dr. Whisker writes. As long as intellectuals and politicians are mesmerized and intimidated by this veil of illusions there will never be an open and honest discussion concerning the undeniable problems which burden Jewish-Gentile relations. Nor will we be able to resolve those problems in a manner which is rational, humane, and acceptable to both Jews and Gentiles.

Notes

1.  For example, see David Irving, *Uprising!* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981); William N. Grimstad, *The Six Million Reconsidered*, 2nd ed., (Torrance, CA: [Noontide Press](#), 1979); Udo Walendy, *The Transfer Agreement and the Boycott Fever 1933*; David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East* (Faber and Faber, 1977; London: Futura Publications, 1978); Paul Cossali and Clive Robson, *Stateless in Gaza* (London: Zed Books, 1986); Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians* (Boston: Southend Press, 1983); Austin J. App, *No Time for Silence: Pleas for a Just Peace over Four Decades*, with an introduction by Theodore J. O’Keefe (Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1987).
2.  The *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 1967 ed., s.v. “Ideology,” by David Braybrooke.
3.  David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch*, p. 26.
4.  *Ibid.*, *passim*.
5.  The International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, *Zionism and Racism* (New Brunswick, NJ: North American, 1979).
6.  Stephen Green, *Living by the Sword: America and Israel in the Middle East* (Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1988).

7. [↗](#) Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism: Jews Christians, and the New Left* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).
 8. [↗](#) *Ibid.*, p. 120.
 9. [↗](#) *Ibid.*, p. 125.
 10. [↗](#) Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*, p. 23.
 11. [↗](#) *Ibid.*, p. 145.
 12. [↗](#) *Ibid.*, p. 155
 13. [↗](#) To this writer's knowledge, it was revisionist writer L. A. Rollins who was the first to establish this point in a convincing manner. In reference to those particular Jews who are dual-loyalists or racialists he wrote: "But inasmuch as it is true that some Jews who live in 'non Jewish' societies do have dual loyalties, and some Jews who live in the Jewish state are racists, saying so does not necessarily indicate Jew- hatred." See his review of *Why the Jews? The Reason for Anti-Semitism*, by Dennis Prager and Joseph Telushkin, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 5, nos. 2, 3, 4, (Winter 1984), p. 377.
 14. [↗](#) "Wiesel Speaks in Oslo for All Human Rights," *Cleveland Jewish News*, 12 December 1986, p. 1.
 15. [↗](#) Time and space do not permit me to list all of them here. However, the following works, by Wilhelm Stäglich, Robert Faurisson, and Fred Leuchter (an expert on gas chamber technology), will serve to illustrate the point. Notice how Drs. Stäglich and Faurisson face exterminationist arguments in a forthright manner, and then refute those arguments — hardly the characteristic of men who are attempting to deny historical realities! Mr. Leuchter puts forth scientific evidence which disproves exterminationist claims and corroborates revisionist claims. See Wilhelm Stäglich, *The Auschwitz Myth: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* (Costa Mesa, California: Institute For Historical Review, 1986); Robert Faurisson, "The Mechanics of Gassing," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1980), pp. 23-30; "Confessions of SS Men Who Were at Auschwitz," *JHR*, Vol.2, no.2 (Summer 1981), pp. 103-36; "The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to Be Physically Inconceivable," *JHR*, Vol. 2, no. 4 (Winter 1981), pp. 311-17; *The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?*, *JHR*, Vol. 2, no. 4 (Winter 1981), pp. 319-373; "Response to a Paper Historian," *JHR*, Vol. 7, no. 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 21-72; *The Leuchter Report: The End of a Myth* (Toronto, Canada: Samisdat Publishers Ltd., 1988).
 16. [↗](#) The historian Francis R. Nicosia, considers this an important factor in England's refusal to ally with National Socialist Germany during the 1930's. He points out that there was a fundamental irreconcilability between the National Socialist and the English political philosophies and systems. See *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1985), p. 77.
 17. [↗](#) James B. Whisker, *National Socialist Ideology: Concepts and Ideas* (Greensboro, NC: W.U.N. Press, 1979), p. 28.
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Book review

An Empire Of Their Own: How The Jews Invented Hollywood

- by Neal Gabler. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1988. Hardcover, 502 pp., illustrated, \$24.95, ISBN 0-51746808 X.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Much of *An Empire of Their Own* reads like a press agent release for the stereotypical Hollywood movie producer. Having originally subtitled his book *How Zukor, Laemmle, Fox, Cohn and the Warner Brothers Invented Hollywood*, author Neal Gabler provides valuable information about those Jews who came to dominate the film industry during the nineteen-twenties, thirties and forties.

Undoubtedly the subtitle was changed to *How the Jews Invented Hollywood* to promote more effectively the myth that Jews singlehandedly created the film industry. Reading *An Empire of Their Own* may cause one to be ultra-conscious of whether a film producer, director, actor or technician is Jewish or not. One reviewer has written that "if misread, the book could provide fuel for anti-Semitism." This may or may not be true. What is certain is that the history of cinema is now old enough for us to see the extraordinary power this medium has had upon the political and moral values of the masses. Many Jews have persistently sought, and gained, this power throughout the twentieth century.

In concentrating upon the lives and personalities of these Jewish producers, mostly of Eastern European birth, the author glosses over or completely ignores the achievements of gentile, Christian pioneers of the film industry. It can safely be said that the earliest cameras, projectors, sound and lighting equipment, and raw film stock were developed primarily by gentile inventors. The same can be said of those artists who were the first to create artistic movies with true narrative content, creative lighting and special effects, panoramic scenic settings and fast-paced editing. Certainly Jews made many valuable contributions to early film, but Gabler vastly exaggerates their innovation. Creative individuals such as W.K.L. Dickson, William Friese-Greene, Thomas Armat, Georges Melies, Louis and Auguste Lumiere, and Charles Pathe are not even mentioned. Edwin S. Porter, the director of the early narrative film and first western, *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), was also an engineer who developed cameras, projectors and special effects devices. In *An Empire of Their Own*, Porter is dismissed as a Projectionist-turned-director." Thomas Edison is portrayed as a villain for his great power in the early industry. Edison and his partners created the Motion Picture Patents Company in 1908, which until 1918 held an almost complete monopoly in camera and projection equipment licensing.

What these Jewish producers did achieve was to move very quickly from owning a few nickelodeons to controlling complete monopolies consisting of production, distribution and exhibi-

tion facilities. These men acquired this control because of an excellent sense of what the public would buy, intense personal drive, group solidarity as Jews, a willingness for hard work-and — a lot of shady dealing. Gabler describes how Adolf Zukor and Carl Laemmle illegally used Edison cameras without paying the royalties and how Louis B. Mayer cheated the producers of *Birth of a Nation* by falsifying his bookkeeping, thereby making as much as \$500,000 on the exhibition of that one film in 1915.

These Jewish producers moved to Hollywood from the East Coast in the teens and twenties because of the abundant sunlight, cheap non-union labor and distance from the enforcers of the Edison Patents Company. Zukor and his associates arrived relatively late in Hollywood. A woman from Illinois had given Hollywood its name in remembrance of her native state's holly bushes; several Englishmen, the Horsley brothers and Charles Rosher, created the first film factory in Hollywood, the Nestor Studio, in 1910. The Jews did not invent Hollywood, but they certainly did come to dominate it.

Throughout *An Empire of Their Own* Neal Gabler contends that Hollywood “was founded and for more than thirty years operated by Eastern European Jews who themselves seemed to be anything but the quintessence of America” and that “above all things, they wanted to be regarded as Americans, not Jews; they wanted to reinvent themselves here as new men.”

For Gabler *The Jazz Singer* (1927), starring Al Jolson, epitomizes in cinematic terms the conflict of the Jew in America. The elderly cantor of a synagogue on the Lower East Side of New York City assumes that his only son will follow in his footsteps and retain the orthodox traditions. But the son would prefer to be an entertainer and goes against his father's wishes. Years pass and Jackie Rabinowitz, the cantor's son, has become Jack Robin, a nightclub singer. The crisis comes when the elder Rabinowitz cannot sing the “Kol Nidre” on Yom Kippur and the congregation pressures the young jazz singer to fill in for his father. But Jack's Broadway opening happens to be the same night.

As Gabler describes this situation: “Jack's quandary is that he can bring Judaism to show business, but he cannot bring show business to Judaism — which is to say that Judaism cannot be reinvigorated or revitalized in America or by America. It is alien to it.”

The Jazz Singer has a happy ending. Jack's producers allow his Broadway premier to be postponed a night so he can sing the “Kol Nidre” in the synagogue. Then, in his show business triumph, the young Jewish entertainer appears in blackface, “one minority disguised within another,” singing “Mammy” to his mother seated in the enthusiastic audience. The son of the immigrant gets the best of two worlds.

Viewed from outside the Jewish subculture, the anxiety and conflict that “assimilation” produced in these men does not seem as extreme as Gabler would have us believe. Although the Jewish movie moguls rarely kept kosher and seldom went to synagogue, it does not mean that they ever really stopped being Jews. Assimilation often simply meant acquiring ostentatious symbols of wealth and success such as country club membership, the breeding of thoroughbred racehorses, compulsive gambling and sexual highjinks in Las Vegas and Havana, season tickets at the opera and palatial mansions on both coasts. Many of these “role models” dumped their old Jewish wives and married younger gentile women. In retrospect these Jewish men never truly wanted to join the culture of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite. What they sought was entree into those domains of power and influence which had once been exclusively gentile.

The most important question in historical and political terms is to what extent the Jewishness of these movie executives affected the content of motion pictures. *An Empire of Their Own* provides

a number of valuable answers to this question. Gabler also reveals inside information on the East Coast boards of directors and stockholders who were the true powers behind the movie producers. A number of passages cite the various Jewish lobbying groups which also influenced film content. Several chapters are devoted to the Hollywood executives' response to the investigations of congressional committees into Jewish and Communist influence in motion pictures in the 1940's and 1950's.

In spite of Neal Gabler's ethnocentric prejudices (and partly because of them!) *An Empire of Their Own* will be a valuable addition to any collection of books about the political and cultural history of the twentieth century.

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Historical News And Comment

George Morgenstern, 1906-1988

James J. Martin

George Morgenstern, the author of the first Revisionist book about the December 7, 1941 Pearl Harbor attack and the complex history which preceded and followed it, died in Denver, Colorado on July 23, 1988, in his 83rd year. Morgenstern's book, titled *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*, published by Devin A. Garrity in New York in January, 1947, is in this writer's opinion also still the best, despite a formidable volume of subsequent writing by many others on the subject. A work of 425 pages in small type, it sparked a volcano of both criticism and praise, and is probably the most widely commented upon and discussed book ever produced by the World War Two Revisionist impulse in this country, which latter those newly upon the scene should understand covers many aspects of that war, its antecedents and its consequences. Everyone writing on the subject of Pearl Harbor has either consciously or unconsciously followed the "scenario" first laid down by George Morgenstern.

Morgenstern, christened George Edward, was born May 26, 1906 and spent almost all of his first 75 years, excepting war service time, in the Chicago area. He began his career in journalism as a sports reporter with his older brother William, covering basketball and track while attending suburban Oak Park High School. He subsequently enrolled at the University of Chicago, and continued his sports reportage, covering Big Ten football and others sports for the Chicago *Herald-Examiner*. A member of Alpha Delta Phi fraternity, he graduated with highest honors from Chicago in 1930, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. As an undergraduate he also served as editor of the UC campus magazine, *The Phoenix*. Actually he was not in continuous residence at Chicago, suspending studies for a time to take full time employment as a re-write editor on the *Herald-Examiner* and studying part time. He also took on other work with the paper, covering among other things the federal income tax evasion trial of the notorious Chicago area gangster Alphonse "Scarface Al" Capone.

In 1939 Morgenstern switched newspapers, going to work in the same capacities as had engaged him previously, this time on Col. Robert R. McCormick's *Tribune*, one of the world's most famed and influential daily journals. After two years of this he joined the *Tribune*'s editorial page staff in 1941, and except for his absence during American involvement in World War Two, served in this department for 30 years, retiring in 1971. In the period through the late 1960s the editorial pages of the *Tribune* became the joy of Revisionists and the despair of Revisionism's adversaries, the most prominent and wide-reaching forum the former enterprise has ever known, although matched in part by the *Tribune*'s sister papers in New York and Washington, the *Daily News* and the *Times-Herald*, respectively, with interlocking reportage and personnel on some assignments. From the outbreak of the Second World War onward the three papers were the most persistent and bothersome burr under the saddle of the war-bound Roosevelt regime, and brought

the latter's protagonists to impressive heights of fury on many occasions. But during the war Morgenstern was not part of the apparatus of any of these newspapers. He served as captain and later lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Marine Corps, as a director of the work of Marine combat correspondents.

Morgenstern never discussed just when he started writing *Pearl Harbor*, but it must have been very soon after returning to civilian life and editorial duties at the *Tribune* in 1945, because the work was already printed at the end of 1946, a substantial opus going on to a quarter of a million words. He commented substantially on it prior to its review in a communication to the New York Times on January 15, 1947, anticipating that it would raise a howling storm of abuse, though his main purpose was to explain why he had written it. Pearl Harbor was not just a disaster, he declared; it was what got the U.S.A. into the Second World War. And it was not satisfactory or sufficient to explain it away as a result of Japanese perfidy," which has dominated all discussion of it since Dec. 7, 1941. It has permitted the Roosevelt administration to "manage national policy as if it were a private show," from that time on. As a war correspondent in a strategic spot he knew that Wartime censors closed in even more tightly about the field of public policy," and FDR's Decisions" were announced to the people after the event" routinely from entry into the war ever after. And, Morgenstern pointed out, increasing secrecy led to the invention of a new category of hush-hush information which could only be described in the phrase Top Secret." "The conclusions stated in *Pearl Harbor* are those to which the author was led by the record," Morgenstern insisted, going on to say:

"Those who object to historical skepticism may complain that my book is no contribution to the political canonization of its central figure. That is no concern of mine. As to the purpose my book is intended to serve, some observations from the minority report of the Joint Congressional Committee which investigated the Pearl Harbor attack are pertinent: 'In the future the people and their Congress must know how close American diplomacy is moving to war so that they may check in advance if imprudent and support its position if sound ... How to avoid war and how to turn war — if it finally comes — to serve the cause of human progress is the challenge to diplomacy today as yesterday.'"

The first reviews of *Pearl Harbor* followed just a few days after publication, the featured ones being blockbuster attacks in the two New York flag-ship newspapers of the deep-foundation Establishment, which had already co-opted both liberals and conservatives. The assignments went to an ex-Revisionist, the expert and veteran writer Walter Millis, in the New York *Herald-Tribune*, and in the New York *Times* to a relatively unknown young academic, Gordon Craig of Princeton University's history department. The latter was not known for any expertise whatever on the subject of Pearl Harbor, but later was to become deeply entrenched in the academic groves for his critical tomes on modern Germany, noted for their polish and sophistication. Appearing simultaneously in the issues of the two papers for February 9, 1947, they gave the impression of being a coordinated offensive.

Neither contested a single fact presented by Morgenstern, but filled the function of what this writer calls the "how-dare-you?" challenge, the traditional initial affronted bellow of wounded Establishment paladins. It is not intended to undermine the author of their discomfort by demonstrating his perpetration of falsehoods, but to set the tone and stack the playing field for the future, trying to establish an out-of-bounds territory for such productions, and seeking to entrench the line that this form of approach is simply beyond the grounds of sustained civilized debate or intellectual intercourse, in Roman phraseology, *infra dignitatem*. Revisionists have encountered such ploys over and over in their tangles with Establishments in many fields. In the main this

strategy is a failure, as it tends to stimulate rather than to suffocate curiosity. Repeated endeavors and adventures of the kind that stimulated the original Establishment retaliatory salvo, the latter essentially an *ad hominem* barrage intended to intimidate readers, investigators, the curious, and possible future involvees, invariably follow. It is a rare Establishment that does not suffer eventual defeat in this kind of confrontation, regardless of how long it takes (this writer has never forgotten the story of Lorenzo Valla, first encountered reading Harry Elmer Barnes's *History of Western Civilization* in 1938.)

Prof. Craig mourned the effect Morgenson's book might have on the reputation of his hero, the deceased President Roosevelt, but could establish no cogent reason why any reader might not profit vastly from reading this substantial book. The review by Millis was more scurrilous, and sounded loudly on the horn of "respectability," suggesting it was on to low a plane for the refined and aristocratic upholders of the wartime regime's already deeply implanted legend on which to conduct future intellectual combat. Millis even had the brass to scold so eminent a figure in contemporary American historical scholarship as Charles A. Beard for his spirited endorsement of Morgenson's book, though Beard had obviously read immensely more about the subject than had Millis, including more than 10,000 pages of sworn testimony and official papers relating to the Pearl affair, which Beard had read even before he had seen the galleyproof sheets of Morgenson's book.

Pearl Harbor, though pilloried by these two reviewers and by several others as some kind of partisan broadside, actually was warmly received across the ideological spectrum, from Norman Thomas, many-times candidate for the presidency of the U.S.A. of the Socialist Party, through famed pre-war and anti-war liberals such as Profs. Beard and Barnes, on through others of many views, from liberal to conservative. It was received favorably in the religious press from the *Catholic World* to the Protestant journal of major status, the *Christian Century*, in which latter the reviewer concluded that it was "an orderly and carefully documented record of the events" of the Pearl Harbor incident, and that it left no manner of doubt that the Administration was preparing for war when the public thought it was preparing for peace."

It might be noted that the first wave of critics was appalled by what they interpreted as a grave slander of FDR for describing how he talked peace while steadily and forcefully leading the march to war, but the following cohort of defenders not only admitted this but frankly suggested that all should have been edified by the President's skill at deceiving everyone, since it had been done for their own good.

Before moving on from this necessarily abbreviated look back at the early reviews, mention should be made of at least one reaction from the nation's armed forces the leaders of the enthusiastic reception of *Pearl Harbor* by Admiral Harry E. Yarnell (1875-1959), active in the U.S. Navy service for many years, Commander of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet (1936-1939) and perhaps the inspiration for the Japanese attack of Dec. 7, 1941 on Oahu. In the Hawaii war games in 1932 Adm. Yarnell took on the role of chief of the attacking forces. A great exponent of air warfare waged from ships, still a "radical" stance among naval thinkers, Adm. Yarnell set all the fleet earmarked for participation aside except for two aircraft carriers and three destroyers. Moving his force to within 60 miles northeast of the island, on Sunday, Feb. 7, 1932, half an hour before sunrise, Adm. Yarnell launched 153 fighters, bombers and torpedo-bomber planes, which proceeded to Pearl Harbor, catching everyone by surprise, and in the opinion of the referees, theoretically destroyed both the Pearl Harbor land-based planes and installations and also "sank" every ship in the harbor. The sensational success of all this certainly impressed Japanese observers. Adm. Yarnell, repelled and gravely angered by the Administration's tactic after the Pearl Harbor disaster nine years later of scapegoating the military and especially the naval commander for it all,

had denounced this action as “a blot on our national history.” Writing of Morgenstern’s book in *Far Eastern Survey*, he forthrightly declared, “Mr. Morgenstern is to be congratulated on marshaling the available facts of this tragedy in such a manner as to make it clear to every reader where lies the responsibility.”

The immediate postwar years between “victory” in 1945 and the start of the doleful fiasco in Korea five years later saw the vast weight and impetus of the New Dispensation steadily block or wear down Revisionism in the mass public mind, despite a rising curve of critical literature. Establishment momentum nevertheless steadily mobilized hostility toward such efforts as were mounted by the growing body of critics. It was the combination of abuse and the silent treatment of Pearl Harbor, and in the following year, of Beard’s *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War*, 1941 (Yale Univ. Press 1948), among other things, that played so large a part in Barnes deciding to produce his famed essay *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout*, a work which went into nine editions (each larger than the previous one) between 1949 and 1961 and saw other service in various re-writes in a succession of periodical appearances. In the midst of this there appeared the hefty symposium edited by Barnes, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, in 1953, to which Morgenstern contributed a massive chapter of over 90 pages, and in which he further elaborated on his celebrated book of five years earlier. One could know of and use both seriatim to understand what he had to say of the Pearl Harbor attack and its consequences, though this may now be difficult in view of the situation. When the Institute for Historical Review reprinted *Perpetual War* in 1982 in an edition which included a previously-suppressed chapter by Barnes, this writer, reviewing it in the Spring 1983 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, in an effort aimed mainly at an audience born after 1941, declared that *Pearl Harbor* should never have been allowed to go out of print. Unfortunately this remarkable new and unexpurgated edition of *Perpetual War* was subjected to a new suppression in the form of the malicious arson fire which swept the IHR premises early on July 4, 1984, a great testimonial to the sanctimonious super-hypocrites who sit around sniveling and tearing their garments over the horrid crime of book-burning, but only when it involves things they approve of. (This writer lost his set of the original galleys of the suppressed chapter in this blaze, though it is now part of the published record in such copies of the new edition as were already distributed.)

In his capacity on the *Tribune*’s editorial board, which eventually led to his appointment as editor of the editorial page, George Morgenstern lent his energies and influence to many other appearances of material of important Revisionist substance, though maybe favoring the Pearl Harbor theme more than others. Another Tribune outlet for Revisionist material of great value was its remarkable book review section, edited by Frederic Babcock. It took care to report in kindly and sympathetic ways Revisionist books of several kinds which were beginning to get, elsewhere, not malicious and venomous reviews, but, in the new “blackout” strategy, no reviews at all, the Establishment’s approach to smothering the whole subject, when it could not be met very effectively.

Morgenstern won two coveted internal *Tribune* prizes, the Edward Scott Beck Awards, for two of his feature pieces on the Pearl Harbor subject in 1956 and 1966, the latter a stunning special section of 12 full newspaper pages. But he should have received a third one for his efforts the following year (1967), also published on the Dec. 7 anniversary. This was the sensational almost-fifteen column essay by Barnes titled “U.S. Entered World War II 4 Days Prior to Dec. 7.” It was based on the work of Navy Commander (ret.) Charles C. Hiles, on what we have come to refer to as the “Merle-Smith Message.” The gist of this was that the USA was already in the war in the Pacific as of Dec. 2, 1941 East Asian time, as a result of the invoking by the Dutch of part of the secret diplomatic agreement made in Singapore early in 1941. This committed those involved, which included the U.S.A., to come to the aid of any participant subjected to a Japanese attack or inva-

sion (the signatories all had colonial possessions in the Pacific). This occurred Dec. 2, 1941, when Japanese planes started landing in Holland's Dutch East Indies.

Commander Hiles's remarkable and still unpublished work on this subject; the furor and commotion it caused in Australia, where the American liaison chief, Col. Van S. Merle-Smith, engaged for four days in talks with Australian and Dutch leaders over it all, and the suppression of his report, which allegedly took four days to reach Washington, and according to conventional claims surfaced a convenient almost seven hours after the attack on Hawaii had begun, were all treated by Barnes in his long piece. It was given front-page placement by Morgenstern, and obviously enjoyed wide circulation among the many hundreds of thousands of *Tribune* readers and subscribers. It is a testament to our short memories that this has almost entirely disappeared from the record. And, in view of what has happened to *Tribune* ownership, management and editorial policy changes in recent years, it is almost impossible to imagine it would ever be recalled again, or even mentioned.

George Morgenstern was a dynamo in his thirty years on the editorial staff of the Chicago *Tribune*. He wrote almost daily, and sometimes prepared five different editorials on five different subjects for the same issue of the paper. On the occasion of political conventions he was known to "write the whole editorial page," according to his admiring superior, Clayton Kirkpatrick, the president and editor-in-chief of the *Tribune* in that time, virtually "a whole editorial staff in himself" Kirkpatrick hailed him as "a superb craftsman" in the writing of the English language, able to write with "onsiderable force" and who "could handle any subject."

Upon retirement in 1971, Morgenstern remained at the long-time family home in Lake Forest (his wife, Marcia Winn, a formidable *Tribune* columnist in her own right, had died at age 50 on August 15, 1961), and in 1981 moved to Denver to live with one of his two daughters, Nora, a medical doctor.

What has happened to the *Tribune*, the one-time chief journalistic standard-bearer of Revisionism in the entire land (veteran Revisionists know of what it did in this sphere through the work of many other writers, including Walter Trohan and Donald Day, as well as featuring the output of many other writers not in its employ) is perhaps best understood by contemplating what has happened to Chicago, and perhaps the whole country for that matter. But it may be said in closing that George Morgenstern, whom this writer has always considered a vastly skilled journalist and historian, and a great man, might be memorialized some day by a scholar who could assemble a generous-sized tome incorporating his superb talents as displayed in a generation of published production in the pages of what was once a formidable newspaper.

Source: vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 260, 304, 320.

From the Editor

Theodore J. O'Keefe

This fall the Western media have marked the outbreak of war in Europe fifty years ago, on September 1, 1939, in strident and self-congratulatory tones. To the press, and to the professional historical establishment, the Second World War is still the “good war,” American’s and its allies’ crusade against evil made manifest in the person of Adolf Hitler and his followers.

From the time that Great Britain’s “blank check” to Poland in March 1939, which made war virtually inevitable, to the present, powerful interests have been at work to insure that the subsequent history of the war differ as little as possible from the Allies’ wartime propaganda (a propaganda which, to judge from the continuing obsession with German villainy in Hollywood and elsewhere, continues). Two basic themes — the “aggression” of Germany and its allies, and their unparalleled cruelty and brutality, culminating in the Jewish “Holocaust” — have become the touchstones for historical and social orthodoxy in East and West. To challenge the historical taboos of “the good war” has resulted in professional, and even physical, peril since 1945.

We who are seeking to revise the history of the Second World War by bringing it into accord with the facts have faced and fought far more determined foes than did the historians who established the truth about the origins, conduct, and conclusion of the First World War, according to no less an authority than Harry Elmer Barnes himself, the great Revisionist of both this century’s world wars. But those of us who have had to become expert at seeing the reality behind the shadows projected for us by Big Brother can readily perceive the clear fact — and a fact becoming more clear with every day — that it is we Revisionists who have seized the offensive and begun our relentless advance, and it is the entire Establishment which is now fighting defensively.

Surely, never before have we noticed as many “revisionists” throughout the length and breadth of the intellectual landscape. It is almost as if someone, somewhere, by attaching the Revisionist label to enough people, sought to distract attention from the genuine article. No “conspiracy theory” here though. All we wish to note is that all of a sudden the “R-word” seems to be on everybody’s lips. Since the Institute which published this journal has been alone among all other journals, publicizing Historical Revisionism ever since its founding, we add one and one together.

The Mathematics of Revisionism

In spite of the monumental setbacks our publisher has experienced since its founding ten years ago, historical revisionism is steadily moving ahead, at an increasing cadence. The setbacks we speak of, of course, have been in the realm of the suppression of our works and the persecution of our contributors; of which the arson of our headquarters, with the concomitant nearly total destruction of our physical possessions on July 4, 1984, was clearly the most damaging. As far as

our findings and the quality of our research and publications we apologize only for a few typographical errors.

Historical revisionism is “an idea whose time has come.” You have heard that phrase repeated endlessly, from the typewriters of advertising writers hawking everything from dental floss bikinis to disposable finger nails. But for those of us who try to perceive the realities which move history, revisionism is clearly coming into its own, which is to say, truth is moving ahead.

Events are happening today at the speed of 186,000 miles per second — the speed at which light and electricity move. Is it really possible to bottle up historical truth much longer? If you think so, ask. Mr. Gorbachev or any of the legions of demonstrable frauds in the U.S. who are very free with their baseless assertions but who become as silent and empty as their own future when they are asked the simplest of question by any half-educated Historical Revisionist.

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This issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* features four papers which were presented to IHR's Ninth International Historical (and history-making) Conference.

David Irving, Great Britain's foremost independent historian, who has been turning his breakthroughs in the archives and in the original sources into bestsellers for the past quarter century, [previews the eagerly awaited second volume](#) of *Churchill's War* with hilarious as well as sobering glimpses of a Churchill unknown to the mythmakers. With his customary wit and verve, Irving conducts readers on a guided tour through the Churchillian years of infamy which led up to America's “day of infamy” at Pearl Harbor.

Professor Anthony Kubek [relates the almost incredible story](#) of how a Soviet agent, Harry Dexter White, authored a plan aimed at the economic and physical destruction of the Germans, and then saw his plan adopted as official U.S. policy. Dr. Kubek, the world's leading authority on the revealing official diaries of White's boss, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, examines the implications of the “policy perversion” by which Morgenthau and White helped torpedo a just peace with Germany.

Victor Marchetti, the first insider to blow the whistle on the CIA's policy of deceiving the American people, [unmasks recent American-Soviet attempts](#) to falsify the facts about the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, in which he played a key role. Then the former agent leads readers on an enlightening tour of the CIA's efforts to control and destroy recent American history.

The Reverend Herman Otten, the Lutheran dynamo who was the driving force in arranging last February's “Great Holocaust Debate” (aborted through no fault of his own), [describes his own path to historical revisionism](#). The editor and publisher of *The Christian News* presents a case for Biblical truth and historical skepticism that makes his paper surely one of the most controversial to appear in *The Journal*.

Doubtless the two living deans of holocaust revisionism are Professor Arthur Butz of Northwestern and Professor Robert Faurisson of Lyon. Due to the great importance of Professor Arno Mayer's *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* — the first book by an Establishment historian to implicitly challenge the Auschwitz myth — we are proud to feature the comments of both these learned and courageous men [[Butz](#) and [Faurisson](#)] on Mayer and his book.

Then John Ries [reviews an account](#) of the social and political history of Linz — Adolf Hitler's hometown — during the forty years which preceded the Anschluss.

And then it's onward and upward into the second decade of *The Journal of Historical Review*!

Source: vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 261-286.

Churchill and U.S. Entry Into World War II

- Paper Presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.

By [David Irving](#)

Churchill was a magnificent man, a wonderful writer, a brilliant speaker. Writing at his worst, he was better than most of us other writers writing flat-out at our best. I've said it often before and it's undoubtedly true. He had a habit of finding a cutting phrase, and when I look back on my own last 25 years of crime — my writing life as an author — I sometimes remember the sentence which I quote here in Volume II [of *Churchill's War* -- ed.]:

A man's life is similar to a walk down a long passage with closed windows to each side. As you reach each window an unseen hand opens it; but the light that it lets in only increases by contrast the darkness at the end.

Beautiful piece of Winston Churchill descriptive writing. Yet he was a man who had very, very odd facets. He was a man who was almost a pervert, who liked to expose himself to people. You don't find this in the average Churchill biography. You'll find it in mine. Such flashes of mature insight were tempered by patches of behavior that witnesses could only describe as infantile. The same general, wearily watching Winston throw yet another tantrum, remarked *sotto voce* to Hugh Dalton, minister of Economic Warfare: "One feels that a nurse should come and fetch him away."

Some of his fetishes must have had their roots in his unsettled infancy. He had a whimsical habit of exposing himself, just like a naughty child, both to his young male secretaries and to his elders and betters. Each one thought that he was being uniquely privileged, but this happened so frequently that it cannot have been fortuitous. No matter how high ranking the personage — with the exception, it seems, of His Majesty — he was likely to find himself received by Britain's prime minister in a state of total nudity on one pretext or another. Churchill frequently received his ministers or staff officers while sitting in or stepping out. of the bath — these blessed folk being referred to afterwards as Mr. Churchill's "Companions of the Bath." He resembled, in the words of Brigadier Menzies, chief of the secret service, a "nice pink pig" wrapped in a silk kimono. "Sometimes," recalled "C" in 1967, "I had to talk to the PM when he was undressed and once, when in the bath, he mentioned he had nothing to hide from me." (On another occasion Churchill cautioned him to silence and pointed to his Persian cat, Nelson, looking out of a window: "He's in touch with the pelicans on the lake," he said, "and they're communicating our information to the German secret service!")

Not even foreigners were spared this ordeal: on August 26, 1941 he asked the butler at Chequers to bring Elliott Roosevelt to him. "I knocked on his door," wrote the president's son, Wand entered. Churchill was dictating to his male secretary with a large cigar in his mouth ... he was absolutely starkers, marching up and down the room." Others were treated with scarcely greater

mercy — he would wear his white linen undergarments to receive the Canadian prime minister Mackenzie-King in May 1943: “He really was quite a picture but looked like a boy — cheeks quite pink and very fresh.” (I'm not sure which cheeks he was referring to!)

It's fun, isn't it. You see, I'm English and you're American, or recently Americanj and we have this kind of love-hate relationship. I'm sorry that I don't speak your language; perhaps I'll just lay down a bit!

This is one of the basic problems that Churchill had in the war years: persuading the Americans to come in and fight his war for him. Because by 1940 it had become *Churchill's War*. It was no longer concerned with Poland, Poland was forgotten as soon as Poland was defeated, but the war by 1940 became a matter of self-prolongation. It had become important to Churchill's own political reign that the war continue.

Less than 20 per cent of Americans felt in June 1942 that there should be closer collaboration with Britain after the war. This is what the Gallup Poll found out in June of 1942. They saw the British as aristocratic, snobbish, selfish, arrogant and cold. (Now there's nothing wrong with being arrogant, we spend a lot of money sending our boys to school to teach them arrogance.) The Gallup Poll also found how the British, at this time, saw the Americans: their image was one of conceit, cocksureness, gangsterism, graft and corruption (this sounds almost anti-Semitic, doesn't it?). Churchill generally was liked: 45 per cent liked him — 25 per cent liked Chiang Kai-shek, 7 per cent liked Stalin. Those disliking him included the Negroes, the Irish, the Midwestern farmers and people of German descent — for some odd reason!

When Churchill came to the shores of the United States he did not receive unanimously favorable fan mail. The FBI files, which I've been going through for my Churchill research, contain some prize letters which were intercepted by the FBI, including this anonymous letter from a California mother of three:

Every time you appear on our shores, it means something very terrible for us. Why do you not stay at home and fight your own battles instead of always pulling us into them to save your rotten neck? You are taking foul advantage of our blithering idiot of a president. (June 19, 1942).

You see, if I'm known for anything as a historian, apart from being a pain in the neck, it's because I uncover things. And uncovering things does not necessarily mean you go into the archives and see something and say: “Look at this, this is something quite extraordinary.” If you go into the archives long enough, ten or twenty years, you become what I would call a “gap-ologist” I can spot gaps in archives and they're much more difficult to spot, because they've been papered over and the files have been closed and it's only by going through the archives over a period of many years that you get the gut feeling that something isn't there that should be there. And you get this kind of gut feeling when you look into the American archives, and then you look in the British archives, and then you go to Australia and Canada and the other archives, and you think to yourself “Wait a minute, in the American archives I've seen a whole heap of documents on that but here I am in the archives outside of London, and yet there's a gap!” It takes a long time before you can put your finger on that gap — because, if s not there -there's not exactly a label saying “What's this gap. Try and spot what it is.” So I've become a bit of a gap-ologist — I look for what is missing from the files. And particularly in the history of how we managed to drag you in in 1941 — there are gaps. There are gaps in the files particularly relating to Japan and the United States. And there are gaps in the files all the way back to 1936, when the Americans first invaded the British Empire.

You don't know of this invasion because nobody makes a great fuss about it now, in view of the fact of our special relationship with you. There's not just one nation that has a special relationship with you, there's another one (every time that Israel is described as America's staunchest ally, Mrs. Thatcher winces!) And the fact that occasionally you've done the dirty on us is neatly overlooked. The fact that you robbed us blind in 1940-41 is overlooked. The fact that back in 1936 President Roosevelt sent U.S. Marines to invade Canton Island, at that time a British possession in the Phoenix Islands in the South Pacific peopled at that time by only one British Resident (capital "R" British Resident), who had his native wife (they lived in a grass hut and they had the Union Jack ran up on a flag pole). Pan Am needed that island for an interim stopping point on its flights down to the South Pacific — and so Roosevelt sent the Marines to throw the British out!

Now, you may find it surprising that there's no reference to this in the British archives. But it is referred to in the catalog of the British Archives. You'll find it says: "American policy: Canton Island; closed until the 21st century." All pages referring to this painful episode are closed until 2017 — so I'm not going to be able to see them! This is a typical example of the gaps you look for. You'll find the papers on them in the American archives, clearly enough, which is how I first came to find out about this — in the private papers of Harold Ickes, who was the Secretary of the Interior at that time. This was part of his purview.

I think Professor Warren S. Kimball, who is a great Churchillologist in the American university system at Rutgers University, was the first person to draw attention to the gaps in the British archives relating to the Japanese files. For all of the intelligence files relating to Japan have been withdrawn, and not just any files relating to Japan, but precisely the month before Pearl Harbor, gone: out of the British files.

I humbly add to this the fact that if you look a bit further you can see other gaps — if you look at the biography of Winston Churchill written by Martin Gilbert and published by Heinemann, he's the authorized Churchill biographer (which rather implies that nobody else ought to write about Churchill, but I've arrogated to myself, in my arrogant way, the job of writing an un-authorized biography), if you look at Martin Gilbert's biography, you'll find on one page of volume six that something has clearly been removed referring to November the 26th, 1941, which is a very important day in the history of pre-Pearl Harbor. November 26, 1941 is the day when we prevailed on the Americans to stand firm with the Japanese, thereby insuring that war would break out. And on that day in the Martin Gilbert biography, you'll find a paragraph has obviously been removed at some time because there's been reference to a letter that Churchill wrote to the president that has been taken out on that day — and we know it's gone because in the next paragraph Martin Gilbert rather foolishly continues with the words: "... on the same day such and such a thing happened!" And it no longer means the same day. So you could spot where the gap was. It's obviously all been shuffled up again and the pages have been reset, for something has been taken out relating to November 26, 1941.

If you look into the American archives under that date, and you go into the National Archives building on Pennsylvania avenue in Washington D.C., and look at all the telegrams that went between London and Washington on that date, about forty of them went through embassy channels, you can see the serial numbers of the telegrams, and suddenly there are two telegrams that had serial numbers that are not in the archives — they have vanished from the archives! And this kind of thing didn't happen. If a serial number was allocated to a telegram and that telegram number was not used, then a blank page goes into the archives with a reference number "not used."

So two telegrams have been removed from the archives, because there's a gap in the numbering. And we don't know precisely what happened on November 26th, except by odd allusions to it in the diaries of Roosevelt's staff. So the gaps begin to be significant. And then you realize what was making you unhappy about the British and American archives — and it's a huge thing — it's so big that you wonder why you didn't discover it in the first place! And it's the big things that people often don't notice. Just like, for example, in the famous case of the Adolf Hitler diaries that were published back in 1983. I was interested in the chemical test of the glue on the string and the ink and the paper, and so on — but it was the big thing that all of us overlooked, I've got to admit. This was the fact that when I saw the diaries — there was 62 of them stacked up on the table — all identical Adolf Hitler diaries in his handwriting, apparently authentic, and yet the thing that should have occurred to all of us at that time was obvious. The fact that if there were 62 diaries, all identical, on that table in 1983 this meant that back in about 1920 Adolf Hitler had gone into his local stationers and said: "I want 62 diaries please ... I'm going to write a diary!" You see? None of us spotted that. I have to admit that, although I'm rather ashamed to admit it. And so it is with the archives over the water, in London, and here in Washington.

In Washington the American government has now released all their Japanese intercepts. Everything that was decoded from the Japanese diplomatic files, and some of the naval files, and military signals and water company messages and so on, that we were decoding in 1940 and 1941 and onwards, by the famous "Magic" machines, the diplomatic code "Purple," and various other codes of that series, has now been released to the National Archives in Washington by the NSA (the National Security Agency). Millions of pages of intercepts that were generated by the Japanese and decoded by the American army and navy cryptographers during the Second World War are in the American archives. In the British archives there is not one single page of a Japanese message decoded by the British.

This is not easily spotted, because it is a gap! There is no kind of gap on the shelves with a sign saying, "Here's where the British decrypts will eventually come when they are released." They just keep very quiet about them!

For example, a few months ago, I came across a very low — level order by Churchill on security. They're looking at the movements of the Japanese foreign minister. Churchill's chief of staff, a man called Ismay, writes to Churchill, saying "Well, what do we do about the attached document?" And the attached document, which is quite obviously, from the content, an intercept of a Japanese message of February 1941, has been withdrawn by the British government. And there is a withdrawal sheet there saying that the attached document had been withdrawn but you don't know what it is. You only know from inference from the covering letters that it is an intercept of a Japanese message.

So what does all this mean? It means that we British were definitely reading Japanese signals in the years before Pearl Harbor. I will elaborate shortly upon which particular codes we were reading, and it means that we are so ashamed of what we were getting out of those signals that we dare not admit: A, that we were getting Japanese messages, and B. we dare not take the risk of releasing any of those messages in the archives in case some clever David Irving comes along five years from now and sees what inferences to draw from them. We are entitled to draw a further inference, C, from this, and this is that the people who are hiding things are doing so out of a basically guilty conscience. The Americans have not hidden any of their Japanese intercepts so far as we're aware. I think any authorized historian would go along with me on that particular claim. The Americans have been enormously up front about releasing all their intercepts now into the National Archives, in fact it's an embarrassing profusion of intercepts — we don't know what to do with them — there are millions of them. No one historian has time to go through them

all, they're so many. And yet, we British have not released a single page. You don't even find scattered misfiled pages in the archives — all have sedulously been weeded out of the files.

I think that what happened was this: back in September of 1939 we began reading the Japanese fleet operational code, JN-25 (JN: Japanese Navy), and these Japanese naval intercepts were being read by us, finally, at a much higher level than the American cryptographers were capable of. I could read out to you various documents in the course of this evening if I wanted to show the displeasure that the Americans felt with us that we were not releasing to them everything that we had. George Marshall wrote letters to the President about it. A man called McCormack was sent to Britain in 1943 to find out if there was any way of getting the British intelligence authorities to release still more of their intercepts, because the Americans had by that time realized that we were decoding more than we were releasing. And we are left with the problem of trying to work out why we have not released the JN-25 intercepts to the archives in Britain, and whether we're entitled to draw conclusions from this. It's a gap and it's an embarrassing gap. I think this is one reason why, as Warren Kimball has pointed out, certain British foreign office files relating to Japan from September-October and particularly from November of 1941 have been withdrawn completely from the British archives even though they're just about Japan, apparently, not necessarily containing intercept material. They've been withdrawn from the archives in violation of our 30-year rule and they're not going to be put into the archives until long after all of us in this room are dead. This again is the action of a guilty conscience.

My colleague, John Costello, a very fine writer, who has written detailed books about Pearl Harbor, has made formal applications to the Ministry of Defense in Britain and he has been told: "It would not be in the national interest for these files to be released." Not in the national interest! Now, nearly fifty years later, we still can't be told what happened before Pearl Harbor?

Let's have a look at some of the other gaps so you can see the way that we've all been misled and how some of your most famous historians have not found out how we've been misled. Let us look, for example, at the private diary of Henry Stimson. Henry Stimson, the American secretary of war, conservative, Republican, elderly gentleman, upright, fine, decent, wrote a very detailed diary. As did a number of cabinet members — thank God — he dictated them onto a dictaphone disk. When he retired at the end of each day he would dictate onto a disk and the next day the secretary would type up what the boss had dictated the day before. These diary entries are sometimes 25 or 30 pages long, and if you go to Yale University you can read the Henry Stimson diary in original. I do emphasize the importance to any of you who want to write or want to see what true history is: don't read "printed" versions of diaries, read the original if you can. If you can't, then get microfilm copies or photocopies, because that's the only way you're going to get a feel for where the faking has been done.

I remember reading one of Rommel's diaries: Rommel had just lost a particularly stupid battle in November of 1941, and he realized a week or two later, the stupid mistake he had made, and he had his secretary, a corporal, retype the page in the diary — correcting history after the event! The corporal sat down and religiously typed it out, and he made the mistake that all of us make on the first day of any new year, he put the wrong year at the head of the page: November 1942! This is a clear give-away.

The same thing happens in the Henry Stimson diary, in the month before Pearl Harbor. If you look in the original diary you will find clear evidence that the pages of the Stimson diary have been tampered with before Pearl Harbor. Probably by him, himself.

Every secretary has her own idiosyncrasies: they indent by a certain number of words at the beginning of a paragraph, they leave two or three spaces after a period or comma, they underline the date or they don't, they write 23 lines to a page or whatever. And Stimson's secretary, being a top-flight Washington secretary, did just that. She typed the diary meticulously. Which means, of course, that if she takes out a paragraph on a page, or takes out a sentence or two sentences and retypes it, you can spot it. And if somebody else does it, of course, retypes it two or three years later, you can spot it even better, because it's a different secretary by then.

If you look in the Stimson diary you'll find that in November and October 1941, two months before Pearl Harbor, that repeatedly passages have been taken out of the Stimson diary, and that page had been retyped by a different secretary for the reasons I just described. And on Pearl Harbor day itself, December 7, 1941, we find that from page three onward the whole diary has been retyped. Again, by the same secretary, the one who retyped it three or four years later, because it always contains the same idiosyncrasies of the second lady and not the original secretary. How many historians discovered that? And are we entitled to draw any conclusions as to what went in and to what's been taken out? Well, as luck would have it, on November 4, 1944, Stimson had a strange telephone call from Henry Morgenthau. Henry Morgenthau, secretary of the treasury, telephoned Henry Stimson, deeply troubled because the Morgenthau plan was being accused of costing the lives of two divisions of GIs. Morgenthau telephones Stimson and begs for absolution. He says: "Say it isn't so, Henry!" And if you go into the Morgenthau Diary, in the Roosevelt library in Hyde Park, you'll find this very interesting entry penciled in, which again, nobody else has spotted—not even Arthur Schlesinger Jr. so far as I know — November 4, 1944, 8:45:

"Telephoned Henry Stimson, Cold Springs, and urged him to do something [to deny Dewey's claim that the Morgenthau Plan had prolonged the war]. He sounded tired, more tired than ever. He said he was tired out from working the last two weeks on the Pearl Harbor report, to keep out anything that might hurt the president." So there you've got it! Round about the same time he was going through his diaries, thinking: My God, did I write that down in the diaries? Better cut that out" "Miss Moneypenny, can you retype these pages for me?" It's a cover-up.

Again, you can spot what's gone out of those pages. Because if you read the whole of 1941, throughout all the other months Stimson is writing down, every day, the details of the Magics that he gets, the intercepts of the Japanese messages, the diplomatic reports. Stimson is writing them down every day until suddenly, just before Pearl Harbor, around November the third, every reference to Japan dries up suddenly. From November the third onwards, right through until November the twenty-sixth, there's no reference to Japan at all in his diaries, apparently, in the edited version. Now that's a likely story. What he's done is he's gone through cutting out everything! Because he's very scared indeed, because here is piece of evidence after piece of evidence that the Japanese are up to something. So he's gone through the diaries and cut out these references. Now in the British Archives there's another gap, and again it only comes to you when you've been working on the subject intensively in the other archives. This concerns the "Winds message." I won't go into a complicated description of what the "Winds message" was. Suffice it to say that the Japanese had realized that when war broke out, they would need some cryptic way of telling their embassies abroad who was going to be the enemy and when war was going to break out. They decided to tell the various embassies abroad to watch out in the local Japanese weather forecast that was broadcast around the world — an ordinary weather forecast broadcast from Tokyo. These distant embassies in London, Rome, and Berlin, were to watch for certain messages about which way the wind was blowing, and whether it was going to rain. And this "winds message," which was issued from Tokyo on November 19, 1941, was decoded by us — this preparatory message, from November the twenty-fifth, we should say — was decoded by us, the British and Americans, on November the twenty-fifth. Messages went out to all our listening

posts: Singapore, Hong Kong, the east and west coasts of the United States, and in Britain — to listen for the slightest sign of the “Winds execute” transmission. In the American archives there are tons and tons of documents about the “Winds message,” in the SRH series in the National Archives, Record Group 457. You'll find that there are expositions on it, there are summaries of it, there are deliberations and accusations and debates and Pearl Harbor hearings about the “Winds message.” We British were asked to keep our ears open for the “Winds message” too. Because obviously we might equally likely pick up the “Winds message.” Because such are the idiosyncrasies in the propagation of radio waves that we sometimes pick up radio messages broadcast from Japan that the Americans can't pick up. So we were listening out for it, too. And yet, if you look in the British archives relating to Japan, if you look in the BBC archives too, you won't find even a reference to the “Winds message,” let alone the search for it, let alone the result. Did we or did we not pick up the “Winds execute” message which gave us sufficient warning, as it gave the Americans, in fact on December the fourth, three days before Pearl Harbor, Japan was about to attack Britain, about to attack the United States, but was not about to attack Russia.

Well, I think that we did. I think that our intelligence services did pick up the “Winds message” and that Churchill either did or did not communicate that vital information to the United States. We'll come to that matter in a minute. Churchill's great nightmare throughout 1941 was that he was going to find himself blundering into war with Japan — alone. And that the United States would hang out until the last minute and then not come in. This is written very large in all of Churchill's deliberations both inside his cabinet and in private. But of course Churchill's deliberations inside his cabinet didn't mean very much because Churchill's cabinet had about as much brains as the band on the Johnny Carson Show. You see, Churchill knew that Roosevelt wanted war, but Churchill was familiar with Roosevelt's basic problem: namely, that the American people did not want war. Churchill did all he could to help Roosevelt out of his dilemma.

We were reading the German submarine codes. We knew where the German submarines were in the Atlantic, so Churchill took pains to ensure that our convoys coming across the Atlantic, escorted by American ships, would head directly to where the German U-boats were, in the hopes that the U-boats would sink an American ship. This was the kind of thing that we can see going on now that we're gradually getting access to all the files. You now begin to understand where the British national interest is: that these things should not be released.

Back in 1941, Churchill's biggest problem was the Ambassador, Joseph P. Kennedy, the American ambassador in the Court of St. James. Joseph P. Kennedy, one of my favorite characters of World War Two, father of President Kennedy, who was probably not one of my favorite characters. Joseph Kennedy was a glorious, Irish, Catholic bigot. Roosevelt had a sense of humor in appointing him to London and he admitted that he had only done it as a bit of a joke. Churchill found it anything but a joke when he became Prime Minister.

Kennedy had a habit of reporting back to Washington the truth! When Kennedy went to ask Chamberlain, the Prime Minister, why he shouldn't have Churchill in his cabinet, Chamberlain's reply was that “the man was very unstable and he's become a fine two-fisted drinker.” Churchill knew what Kennedy was reporting because we were reading the American diplomatic codes as well, and Churchill did everything he could to get rid of Kennedy — by fair means or foul. In fact Kennedy, as his diaries make plain (we've got certain fragments of Kennedy's diaries, which are quite interesting, because he was viciously anti-Semitic). Kennedy believed that Churchill was capable of stooping to anything to bring the United States in to war. In one telegram he reports back to Washington that he thinks that Churchill is on the point of bombing the U.S. Embassy in London. He believed that Churchill, in 1940, was about to bomb the American Embassy in London and claim that the Germans had done it! Later on, in 1940, when Kennedy decides to

go back to Florida for a vacation, he takes the plane down to Lisbon, and he boards the USS *Manhattan* to sail back across the Atlantic, and in a bit of a panic because he knows who he's dealing with, he's dealing with Churchill, he sends a telegram to the State Department saying: Please, will you announce that if the USS *Manhattan* is torpedoed and sunk, it will not be considered a *casus belli*, that the United States will not declare war over this because I have reason to believe that Churchill is planning to torpedo the USS *Manhattan* knowing that I'm on board!" Now these telegrams are not contained in the published volumes of the foreign relations of the United States. I found them in the archives (they are in Suitland, Maryland) and I quoted them in the first volume of my Churchill biography as well as even more hilarious telegrams in the subsequent volume. They do show that Kennedy had correctly assessed what Churchill was up to. He was trying to drag the United States into the war by hook or by crook.

In the middle of 1940 Churchill hit on the idea of buying from the United States, 50 destroyers, World War I destroyers, which were completely useless, and exchanging them for valuable pieces of British Empire real estate. He gave to the United States bits of the Caribbean islands, that were our colonies, he gave bits of Newfoundland, and bits of British Guiana, in return for 50 destroyers, that were so useless, in fact, that not one saw action in World War Two, except, I think, for the *Campbelltown* which was only fit to be towed across the English Channel laden with dynamite and blown up in the French dock gates in St. Nazaire in March 1942. It wasn't a very good bargain, in other words. In the words of Adolf Berle, the American undersecretary of state, writing in his diary: "With one single gulp we have managed to obtain a large part of the British Empire, in return for nothing." Namely those 50 destroyers. This was one of the methods that Churchill was using in an attempt to bring the United States closer and closer to the brink of war.

Another method that he used was far more cynical. As he said to Ambassador Kennedy in June or July 1940: "You watch, when Adolf Hitler begins bombing London and bombing towns in Britain like Boston and Lincoln, towns with their counterparts in the United States, you Americans will have to come in, won't you, you can't just stand aside and watch our suffering." But he knew from code-breaking, he knew from reading the German air force signals, which were broken on May 26, 1940, that Hitler had given orders that no British town was to be bombed. London was completely embargoed. The German air force was allowed to bomb ports and harbors and dockyards, but not towns as such. Churchill was greatly aggrieved by this. He wondered how much longer Hitler could afford carrying on war like this. Hitler, as we know, carried on until September 1940 without bombing any English towns. The embargo stayed in force, we can see it in the German archives now, and we know from the code-breaking of the German signals that Churchill was reading Hitler's orders to the German air force: not on any account to bomb these towns. So there was no way that we could drag in the Americans that way unless we could provoke Hitler to do it. Which was why, on August 25, 1940, Churchill gave the order to the British air force to go and bomb Berlin. Although the chief of the bomber command and the chief of staff of the British air force warned him that if we bombed Hitler, he may very well lift the embargo on British towns. And Churchill just twinkled. Because that was what he wanted — of course.

At 9:15 that morning he telephoned personally the bomber commander, himself, to order the bombing of Berlin, 100 bombers to go and bomb Berlin. They went out and bombed Berlin that night, and Hitler still didn't move. Then Churchill ordered another raid on Berlin and so it went on for the next seven or ten days until finally, on September 4th, Hitler lost his patience and made that famous speech in the Sport Palace in Berlin in which he said: "This madman has bombed Berlin now seven times. If he bombs Berlin now once more, then I shall not only just attack their towns, I shall wipe them out!" ("Ich werde ihre Städte ausradieren!" "A very famous

speech. Of course German schoolchildren are told about the Hitler speech, but not told about what went first. They're not told how Churchill set out deliberately to provoke the bombing of his own capital. And on the following day Churchill ordered Berlin bombed again. And now of course the Germans started bombing the docks in London, the East End of London, finally the city of London and the West End on November 6 and 7, 1940. In September 1940 7,000 Londoners were killed in the bombing as the result of Churchill's deliberate provocation. The files are there, the archives are there. No wonder Harold Macmillan didn't want my book published!

Still the Americans didn't come in. Kennedy was still the ambassador. Churchill moved heaven and earth to have him dismissed and recalled to the United States. Churchill, you see, had been secretly conniving with Roosevelt ever since the outbreak of the war. In fact, we have to say that although these telegrams, from October 1939 onwards, showed Churchill conniving with Roosevelt, we have to wonder what went on between these two men in private, even before the exchange of telegrams. I think, personally, that secret emissaries passed to and fro between these two men.

We know that Roosevelt sent Judge Felix Frankfurter, one of his closest intimates and advisors, to Britain. We know that Frankfurter came over and we know the kind of advice he gave to Churchill, and that was before the war. We know that Churchill frequently sent his own intimates back to Roosevelt. More significantly we know that even though Churchill was only a minister at that time, not even Prime Minister, just the First Sea Lord, the navy minister, Roosevelt telephoned him, frequently.

I don't know, frankly, why Neville Chamberlain put up with it as the prime minister: that the president, the head of state of a neutral power, should go over the head of the Prime Minister, behind his back, behind the back of his own cabinet, in telephone conversations in time of war with a minister, with a subordinate minister, an ambitious subordinate minister, in the shape of Winston Churchill. Possibly because Chamberlain was tapping the telephone and preferred to have a devil he did know to a devil he didn't know! Unfortunately, these telephone conversations between Churchill and Roosevelt, which went on long after Churchill became prime minister, of course, are not in the archives. I have left no stone unturned to try and find the transcripts of those telephone conversations because that is the two men speaking to each other, through their own mouths and ears and the telephone system. Not through committees, not through telegrams being drafted by undersecretaries and so on, but they were really conferring, conspiring, and conniving with each other.

In the United States these telephone conversations were censored and intercepted by the Department of the Navy. It was the Navy's job to carry out the censorship of the telephone and telegraphic communications in the United States. And unfortunately Harry Truman — no great statesman, God bless him, in the best of times — at the end of World War Two ordered that the office-of-censorship records were to be kept closed in perpetuity. So if those transcripts of those telephone conversations are in those files, we're never going to know what those two men said to each other. But we need to know what they said to each other. In Britain, unfortunately, no transcripts have been released. I find it inconceivable that there isn't somewhere down the telephone line, at each end, there wasn't a shorthand secretary somewhere taking down what these two men said.

There's no doubt at all that they did their major work on the telephone. When Rudolph Hess made his misguided flight to Scotland in 1941, and Churchill kept him locked up under lock and key as the secret prisoner of the British secret service, Roosevelt was desperate to find out about what was going on in Britain and wanted to have some special propaganda movies made of

Rudolph Hess. Finally one of Roosevelt's private staff wrote him a memorandum, which I think is highly significant. The memorandum said: "I think it's time for a telephone job." A telephone job! As though it's a kind of key word --- a buzz word --- inside the White House. The memorandum goes on: "This isn't one which we can put around through the usual channels in the State Department --- it's got to be done by a telephone job." I think these are the channels that historians should start looking for when they're trying to find out about the lead up to Pearl Harbor. They've got to get those transcripts of those telephone conversations.

There's a key cabinet meeting of November 7, 1941, a cabinet meeting that was referred to in the Henry Stimson diary and in the private diary of Claude Wickard, oddly enough the secretary of agriculture. You wouldn't think you'd find military secrets in the diary of the secretary of agriculture, but that's just the kind of place that I look. I remember I was sitting in the archives next to Arthur Schlesinger, the famous writer on Roosevelt, and I drew his attention to these Wickard diaries, handwritten diaries recording Roosevelt's cabinet meetings, which are not recorded officially anywhere else. And Schlesinger's jaw dropped and he said: "Jeez, I didn't know there were these things." On November 7, 1941 Roosevelt held a cabinet meeting in which he revealed that Churchill had telephoned him a few days earlier, and recommended a preemptive attack on Japan. You see, now you're beginning to get the picture of who is pushing whom! We were trying to get the United States in the war somehow, by hook or by crook! And the methods we used in those pre-war years, and in the first years of the Second World War, to bring the United States in --- I think are methods you've never even dreamed of.

First of all, we were the ones, I'm sure, in a telephone conversation between Churchill and Roosevelt on the night of the 24th to 25th of July 1941, who persuaded Roosevelt to take the fateful step of issuing sanctions against Japan, sanctions whereby Japan would receive no more oil, no more vital raw materials, sanctions which drove Japan into a corner because oil was running out. She was fighting a war in China, and had no other way of continuing that war. Unless she went to war herself against, for example, the Dutch East Indies, where she could get hold of the oil she needed. I think that it was Churchill that took that step. We had been doing all we could in the 1940-1941 period to drag the United States in. We had deliberately routed the American convoys toward German submarines.

Sir William Stephenson, remember, the man called "Intrepid," the head of the British secret service in the United States --- Sir William Stephenson had been feeding fake documents to Roosevelt through the intelligence service of the OSS, to William Donovan, Wild Bill, the man we ourselves had appointed the head of the American secret service --- an extraordinary coincidence you might think. We were feeding documents to him to feed on to Roosevelt proving to him [Roosevelt] that Hitler was about to invade South America. For example, an unfortunate major, Elias Del Monte, who was the Bolivian military attache in Berlin, found his signature at the foot of a letter that he had written to his government at La Paz describing German plans to invade Bolivia. Fortunately Del Monte was recalled immediately to La Paz, cashiered and dismissed. Bolivia declared war on Germany. All the result of a letter which we ourselves (the British secret service) had faked. All this came about in 1942. When it came out, Del Monte, who was still alive, was reinstated with full honors, promoted to general and there was a grand parade in his honor at La Paz. One of the extraordinary episodes of World War II!

A British intelligence agent duped the governor of Dutch Guyana into believing that a German raider was busy in their waters. So that country also declared war on Germany. August 2, 1941, we passed fake documents to Bogota claiming evidence of plans to cause rioting in Bogota. The Colombians didn't play along. In 1942 we went a stage further. Now this is not a rather shaky memory presented forty years later on "60 Minutes," but is recorded in the State Department ar-

chives. In May 1942 American ambassador in Bogota sends a rather worried telegram to the State Department saying that I have been approached by our British counterpart saying that the head of their SIS section, Stagg, attached to their embassy in Bogota, has received orders from his headquarters to assassinate the Colombian foreign minister, and has requested the American embassy for technical assistance in carrying out his mission. Are we to go ahead with this? And the State Department wrote right back “You are not to go ahead with this! We totally disagree with this kind of operation and we are getting rather fed up with what British secret service getting up to in South America!”

I was puzzled about this. I thought had this unfortunate Columbian foreign minister got a record of neo-Nazi activities, perhaps? Was he a disbeliever in the Holocaust? Was there some reason to justify his being terminated — I think that’s the modern phrase — by the British secret service?

So I went to great trouble. I checked all the diplomatic books, looked up all the Staggs in the archives, and found a Louis Stagg, who had been honorary consul in Graham Greenesque fashion in Havana, Cuba, and who eventually had been posted further to South America. He was alive and well and living in Paris. I went to interview him and yes, it was true: he had been instructed to assassinate the Columbian Foreign Minister. So I contacted the Columbian authorities, could they give me a small cameo of this Prime Minister, was he particularly pro-German? “Oh no, he was very pro-British!” The plot thickens, why would we want to assassinate a pro-British Columbian Foreign Minister in May, 1942? The answer is: he was due to retire anyway, at the end of that month! And the blame was going to be put on the Germans for carrying out the assassination! This is all in volume two. Needless to say Macmillan is probably not going to publish this one either.

On Navy Day, October 27, 1941, Roosevelt issued a statement on American ship sinkings. “History has recorded who fired the first shot,” he said. Hitler has often protested that his plans of conquest do not extend across the Atlantic ocean. His submarines and raiders prove otherwise. So does the entire design of his new World Order. For example,” says Roosevelt, “I have in my possession a secret map made in Germany by Hitler’s government — by the planners of the New World Order.” Printed by Her Majesty’s Stationers office in London. “It is a map of South America and a part of Central America as Hitler proposes to organize it. Today in this little area there are fourteen separate countries. The geographical experts of Berlin, however, have ruthlessly obliterated all existing boundary lines and have divided South American into five vassal states, bringing the whole continent under their domination. This map makes clear the Nazi design, not only against South America, but against the United States itself.” I must say that since I’m an Englishman — we must take credit for this kind of thing — we printed that map, we gave it to Stephenson, the man called “Intrepid,” who gave it to Donovan, who gave it to the OSS, who gave it to the White House, who gave it to the president, who gave it eventually to the Roosevelt archives, where it is now to be seen in the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York The genuine fake Nazi map proving that Hitler was planning to invade South America. As though Hitler hadn’t had enough on his plate! At a time when he was having a lot of trouble outside of Moscow, he was apparently planning, with his left hand to invade South America and then march on up U.S. 1 to Washington.

Now, was Roosevelt being naive? The answer is no, of course. He knew perfectly well that this had been furnished him by the British secret service. He was trying to frighten his own public into wanting war.

The other people who were coming into Churchill’s court in this particular match were the Zionists. They had been giving Churchill a lot of trouble, in fact, ever since the beginning of the war.

They were rather unhappy because they had gone a long way towards financing his climb to power in the mid-1930s. But now that he was in office, as happens so often, he wanted them to go away. But they didn't. They kept on beating a path to No. 10 Downing Street, asking for a Jewish army, asking for an arsenal of munitions in Palestine, and threatening a lot of trouble if he didn't go along with their plans.

Churchill had, however, no other alternative but to ignore them for the time being. You see, there was a rising tide of anti-Jewish feeling in Britain throughout the early war years. You won't find this in the published histories, of course, but it's there in the archives: in the records of the letters censorship in Britain, in the records of the ministry of the interior, the home secretary. There's a great deal about the problems being caused by anti-Semitic feelings. Nobody in authority could overlook the rising tide of anti-Jewish feeling in Britain. I've written on this in volume two. The stereotype of the lazy, artful, racketeering Jew, is to be found in the private writings of many government officers, including Anthony Eden. In part it was an after-echo of Hitler's propaganda, in part the independent perception by the native British people themselves, who had seen the penniless immigrants arrive from Europe and rise to positions of rapid affluence. I quote from a document: "The growth of anti-Semitism in Britain is partly the result of Jewish refugees being able to fend for themselves better than other refugees," wrote Robert Bruce Lockhart, the shrewd director of Psychological Warfare, commenting on publicly reported black-market cases. He would remark in a later wartime entry in his diary on the large numbers of taxis "filled with Jews" making for the Ascot horse races. In March 1941 he learned that Lord Beaverbrook had inquired about Air Vice-Marshal John Slessor, "Was he a Jew, was he a defeatist?" In July Eden's secretary observed in his diary: "The war hasn't made people more pro-Jew," to which he added three weeks later: "The Jews are their own worst enemy by their conduct in cornering foodstuffs and evacuating themselves to the best billets," and so on.

The insidious rise of anti-Semitic feeling was something which Churchill could not ignore. So no matter how often Zionists came to him, Churchill couldn't knuckle under and say, "Very well then, you can have your own Jewish state, I promise to make a public declaration in that respect and we will already start arming a Jewish army." There were Jewish units in the British army, they fought very well in certain areas, but he was not prepared to pay more than lip-service to the Zionists at this time.

Now, I've had private access to the private papers of Chaim Weizmann, who was the first president of the State of Israel and who was the head of the Jewish agency. And it's very interesting to see from these private papers and the records of his meetings with Churchill throughout the war years, precisely how this bargaining, haggling, and blackmail, in fact, went on.

On August 27, 1941, Weizmann hinted for the first time of the leverage the Americans Jews could exert on President Roosevelt. He reminded Oliver Harvey, who was Eden's secretary, that the Jews were an influential ethnic lobby in the United States (*Quoi de neuf?* as the French say: what's new!). The U.S. secretary of the treasury, Henry Morgenthau Jr., was particularly keen, he said, that Britain should allow more Jews to settle in Palestine. "[The] president's entourage is very Jewish," noted Harvey, who made a careful note of Weizmann's remarks. However, the Zionist leader could not get near Mr. Churchill. (Ike got Churchill's appointment cards. I rented them from the man who stole them, and we can see how often Weizmann *didn't* get to see Churchill.)

By September 10, 1941, Weizmann was writing an extraordinarily outspoken letter to Prime Minister Churchill in which he again recalled how the Jews of the United States had pulled their country into war before, and could do it again — provided that Britain toed the Zionist line over

immigration into Palestine. He reminded Churchill that two years had passed since the Jewish Agency had offered to Britain the support of the Jews in Palestine and throughout the world. A whole year had passed, he added, since the prime minister had personally approved his offer to recruit Jews in Palestine, but for two years, Weizmann complained. the Jewish Agency had met only rebuffs and humiliation.

“Tortured by Hitler as no nation has ever been in modern times,” he continued, “and advertised by him as his foremost enemy, we are refused by those who fight him the chance of seeing our name and our flag appear amongst those arrayed against him.” Artfully associating the anti-Zionists with the other enemies populating Mr. Churchill’s mind, Weizmann assured him that he knew this exclusion was not of his own [Churchill's] doing. “It is the work of people who were responsible for Munich and for the 1939 White Paper on Palestine.” After describing his four-month tour in the United States, Weizmann came to his real sales pitch. There’s only one big ethnic group which is willing to stand to a man for Great Britain and a policy of all-out aid to her: the five million American Jews. From Secretary Morgenthau, Governor Lehman [of New York State], Justice Felix Frankfurter, down to the simplest Jewish workman or trader, they are conscious of all that this struggle against Hitler implies.” British statesmen themselves, he reminded Churchill, had often acknowledged that it was those Jews who has effectively brought the United States into the war in 1917. “They are keen to do it, and may do it again.”

“But,” he admonished, “you are dealing with human beings, with flesh and blood. And the most elementary feeling of self- respect sets limits to service, however willing, if the response is nothing but rebuffs and humiliation.” All that he was asking for now was a formation of a Jewish fighting force. That would be signal enough for the Jews of the United States.

This is the kind of blackmail that Churchill had to put up with from the Zionists throughout the Second World War. And of course, when the blackmail didn’t work they set about assassinating our people in the Middle East. It’s an odd thing that is often forgotten by the admirers of Begin and Shamir and the rest of them, that when the rest of the world was fighting Hitler the Zionists in the Middle East were fighting us! They had nothing better to do with their time!

Felix Frankfurter, in fact, crops up in the Japanese intercepts. Sure enough, on November 18, 1941, the Japanese found a man called Schmidt who had gone and had a long talk with Justice Felix Frankfurter. The message intercepted (by the U.S. Navy and decoded by them) is a telegram in code from Nomura in Washington to Tokyo describing his talks with Schmidt, who had seen Frankfurter on the evening of the eighteenth. Schmidt had said that only Hitler would benefit if a U.S.-Japanese war broke out. If Japan made the first move, the war would be popular in America. Frankfurter, however, said: “Germany had been smart in that she has consistently done everything possible to prevent arousing the United States. Therefore, regardless of how much the President tries to fan the anti-German flame, he cannot make the desired headway.”

Now what a scandalous statement that is! Here’s the one country, Germany, trying to prevent a war and the other country — Roosevelt — neutral — trying to fan the flames of anti-German feeling to fuel the war. Yet it is the Germans who are called the criminals, and the Americans who do the prosecuting. And it all turns up in this Japanese signal about Frankfurter and another Austrian Jew called Schmidt.

So then came the problem of Japan ... how to drag the United States in. I come back to the fact that we were very: probably reading the Japanese signals at a higher level than the Americans were capable of reading. We had been in the code breaking business much longer than the Americans. By 1940 we had 3,000 code-breakers working in our Bletchley Park installations and we

had sub-units operating, devoting themselves exclusively to breaking the Japanese signals. They were compartmented so that each group didn't necessarily know what the others were doing. At a time when we had 3,000 working on it the Americans had 180! So it's no surprise that we were doing better than the Americans at this time. We were reading, I think, the Japanese fleet code JN25. When we now go into the American archives we find the JN25 signals that the Americans managed to break several years later, signals from 3 or 4 weeks before Pearl Harbor, which show quite clearly that if anybody read those signals they would know that Pearl Harbor was going to be attacked.

I think that it is a reasonable conclusion for us to draw — a conclusion based on the fact that we are too ashamed to reveal any of our Japanese intercepts in the British archives — that we were, in fact, reading JN25 intercepts in 1941. Churchill, in whose hands all of the threads of the intelligence community came together, Churchill, with his Olympian view of what was going on around him, was the man who insisted that the war intelligence be fed to him uncensored, unedited and unscreened. Churchill knew by the middle of November of 1941 that the Japanese were about to attack America, and quite probably he knew the attack was going to be on the Pacific Fleet in Hawaii. He probably never dreamed that it was going to be so successful as it was. But we know what he did know about the other elements of the intelligence puzzle because there are references in the British and in the American archives to steps that he then took. We know that he knew that on December the first, second, third, and fourth, those days before Pearl Harbor, the Japanese had sent out signals to their embassies in London, and in Washington, and Hong Kong and Singapore, of course, to their diplomatic missions abroad to destroy their code machines.

Now, when you tell your foreign ambassador to destroy his code machines, that's a pretty final step. That means something is about to happen — something very ugly. And if you then tell him also to use special chemicals to destroy all the secret files, that falls in the same category. And that also makes plain why you are then going to rely on your foreign ambassador to listen out for a cryptic weather report message, as being the final clue to when and where that ugly thing is going to happen.

We got those messages. We intercepted Tokyo instructing the Japanese ambassador in Berlin to go and tell Hitler that war was about to break out sooner than anyone may dream. We intercepted the messages to the Japanese embassy in London, and in Washington and in Hong Kong, and in Singapore, instructing the Japanese ambassador to destroy his code machines, and to use chemicals to destroy all his secret files.

On December the 7th, Pearl Harbor day, Churchill invited the American ambassador, no longer John Kennedy, but a rather soft, flabby liberal John G. Winant, to come and see him, and have lunch and dinner with him out at his private house at Chequers, a stage where so many dramatic events in Churchill's life had taken place. The opening and closing of windows to which he referred. Lunch passed normally. When dinnertime came, Churchill, rather mysteriously, ordered his little American-built portable radio to be set up on the dinner table. It had been given to him by a visiting American, Hopkins, a few months before, a \$20 radio set of a kind that when you opened the lid, it came on. But in those days, if you remember, it didn't come right on, it took a minute or two to warm up. And Churchill didn't quite grasp these new-fangled things, portable radio-sets, and he looked at his watch for the nine o'clock news — in England always the main news time and lifted the lid. The news that finally came trickling through was of a great British operation in the Western desert Operation Crusader, a battle against Rommel. The battle is proceeding well, Montgomery expects to make fresh headway tomorrow, and the rest of it.

And Churchill couldn't understand what had gone wrong. Eventually, rather disgruntled, he closes the lid and takes the radio away. It isn't until fifteen minutes later that his butler comes rushing in, and says to the prime minister: "Have you heard the news? The Japanese have bombed the American fleet at Pearl Harbor!"

If you read Churchill's memoirs, you will see this little scene half described. If you read Winant's memoirs -which I've read in the manuscript form in his papers — you see the same scene described from Winant's point of view. But it isn't until you go to the BBC's archives and get the script of that night's broadcast that you see what's happened. The news of the bombing of Pearl Harbor has come in only a minute or two before the news broadcast. So the broadcaster has taken his first page of his script, which is all about the successful triumph of the British offensive in the Western Desert in Africa — on top of that he has written in one line saying that "We are getting reports of a Japanese attack on the American fleet in Pearl Harbor. More about this later." Then he goes straight on, a matter of 10 or 15 seconds to talk about the attack against Rommel. Right at the end of the news broadcast he says, "now back to the main item of today's news, which is coming in, about the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor." And if you look at the BBC script — the actual typescript — you can see how this happened, Churchill had expected to get that first item. That's why the radio was on the table. He didn't get it. That little scene is proof in my mind that Churchill knew about Pearl Harbor.

If you go into the Boston University Library, you'll find another little clue. This is in the private diary of British newspaper man Cecil King. He was the director and editorial chief of our tabloid, fringe newspapers, the *Mirror* and *Pictorial* group of newspapers during the war years. He wrote genuine diaries, which filled two suitcases. Little pocket diaries, written in fountain-pen-ink. You can always tell when diaries like that are genuine, for when you write a genuine diary, the ink changes a little bit from day to day: these are genuine diaries. A few days after Pearl Harbor, Cecil King writes in his diary. "Had a most interesting lunch with Hugh Cudlip." Now Hugh Cudlip was another famous British newspaper owner and proprietor. Not just a nobody, but somebody who moved in high circles, somebody who the big-wigs in Downing Street couldn't ignore. Cecil King writes in his diary: "Interesting lunch with Hugh Cudlip. He has told me the most extraordinary fact, that we knew about Pearl Harbor five days in advance!" There it is, a little clue, where you wouldn't expect to see it, that we knew about Pearl Harbor five days in advance.

Churchill telephoned Roosevelt as soon as the news came over, as soon as he had confirmation of the attack and said: "Now we are all in the same boat." If you look in the papers of those who were with Roosevelt in those days, you will find more evidence of faking. Harry Hopkins, for example, that day wrote a one page typescript description of his session with Roosevelt, and it's a glowing description of how Roosevelt turns to him and says: "I have done all I can to prevent wars. All my life I've been dedicated to preventing just what has happened today." But what you spot there is that they are retyped; all Harry Hopkin's other papers are rather messy: there are little bits of typescript on odd scraps of paper, typed and overtyped and with additions. But on Pearl Harbor it's a beautiful typescript — it has been recopied at a later date. So again you get the evidence that something is going on between these two men, Churchill and Roosevelt, that isn't quite kosher.

Frances Perkins, the labor secretary, wrote in an oral interview years later that she caught a glimpse of the old man's eyes in a cabinet meeting at the White House that night, a kind of shifty glimpse that she knew from years of working with him, an unwillingness to look her in the eye, which told her he knew that he had done something dirty. But she couldn't be precisely sure what. And so it was with Winston Churchill. Churchill was convinced that he had done the decent thing. Professor Donald Watt, one of our great English historians now, has commented that

the suspicion must arise that Churchill deliberately courted war with Japan in order to bring America in. This is true, he went over the top in pushing America towards war. I think that Churchill deliberately allowed the attack on Pearl Harbor to go ahead in order to bring the Americans in. He did everything to avoid having the Pacific Fleet warned.

Commenting on this, Sir Richard Craigie, the British Ambassador in Japan, who was horrified when war broke out, said in a memo that we had taken every step that was wrong. We could have avoided war with Japan, we could have kept the Japanese out, and yet everything that we've done has brought them in. Churchill commented in 1943 on this memorandum: "It was a blessing that Japan attacked the United States, and thus brought America unitedly and wholeheartedly into the war. Greater good fortune has rarely happened to the British Empire than this event which has revealed our friends and foes in their true light, and may lead, through the merciless crushing of Japan, to a new relationship of immense benefit to the English-speaking countries and to the whole world."

That was Churchill. But of course, the benefit was not ours or the Empire's. Within six months we had lost every single possession we had in the far east. Singapore, Hong Kong, Burma — the Japanese even seemed on the point of invading India. It was the beginning of the end of the Empire. In fact, we never got those colonies back. They were gone. So how Churchill can regard that as being a grand effort is only explicable from the point of remembering that Churchill was half American. His mother was American — he was never really a true Englishman.

The only blessing for President Roosevelt, in conclusion, was when Churchill came to the White House. That December Churchill came to the White House, where he had his first conference with Roosevelt, who was now in the same boat. Churchill would afterward say to one of his chiefs of staff, who was still using the same delicate language used in the pre-Pearl Harbor days, about the need to avoid creating a war with Japan with the United States out. Churchill had said: "We can now speak more robustly. We only had to use that kind of language when we were wooing the Americans. Now she is in the harem with us. All in one boat!" When Churchill went to the White House that month, December 1941, he bestowed on Roosevelt that same "Order of the Bath, Companion of the Bath," which he has bestowed on many of his friends. Churchill sent for the president to come see him in his room. The president was wheeled in, creaking in his wheelchair along the floorboards of the White House, and he found Churchill standing there stark naked in front of him! Thereby Roosevelt became a Companion of the Bath. He was in the hot water up to his eyeballs with Winston Churchill.

Until those gaps in the archives are filled in, we're not going to be entirely sure what dirty tricks we employed in order to drag him in, but I've given you a foretaste of what is in volume two of *Churchill's War*.

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The Morgenthau Plan and the Problem of Policy Perversion

- Paper presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.

Prof. Anthony Kubek

THE MORGENTHAU DIARIES consist of 900 volumes located at Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York. As a consultant to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, I was assigned to examine all documents dealing with Germany, particularly ones related to the Morgenthau Plan for the destruction of Germany following the Second World War. The Subcommittee was interested in the role of Dr. Harry Dexter White, the main architect of the Plan.

Secretary of the U.S. Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr. served in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Cabinet from January of 1934 to July of 1945. Before Morgenthau was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, he had lived near Roosevelt's home at Hyde Park, N.Y. for two decades and could be counted as one of his closest and most trusted friends. His appointment was clearly the culmination of twenty years of devotion to, and adoration of, his neighbor on the Hudson. According to his official biographer, Morgenthau's "first joy in life was to serve Roosevelt, whom he loved and trusted and admired." [1]

The Treasury Department under Secretary Morgenthau had many functions that went beyond anything in the Department's history. The Morgenthau Diaries reveal that the Treasury presumed time and time again to make foreign policy. In his Memoirs Secretary of State Cordell Hull described it in these terms:

Emotionally upset by Hitler's rise and his persecution of the Jews, Morgenthau often sought to induce the President to anticipate the State Department or act contrary to our better judgment. We sometimes found him conducting negotiations with foreign governments which were the function of the State Department. His work in drawing up a catastrophic plan for the postwar treatment of Germany and inducing the President to accept it without consultation with the State Department, was an outstanding instance of this interference. [2]

Actually it was Dr. Harry Dexter White, Morgenthau's principal adviser on monetary matters and finally Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, who conducted most of the important business of the Department. The Diaries reveal that White's influence was enormous throughout the years of World War II. Shortly after Morgenthau became Secretary in 1934, White joined his staff as economic analyst on the recommendation of the noted economist, Prof. Jacob Viner of the University of Chicago. Then 42 years old, White was about to receive a doctorate in economics from Harvard University, where he previously had taught as an instructor. He moved up quickly in the Treasury Department, named in 1938 as Director of Monetary Research and in the summer of 1941 acquiring an additional title as "Assistant to the Secretary." Articulate, mustachioed, and

nattily dressed, he was a conspicuous figure in the Treasury but remained unknown to the public until 1943, when newspaper articles identified him as the actual architect of Secretary Morgenthau's monetary proposals for the postwar period.

The Diaries reveal White's technique of dominating over general Treasury affairs by submitting his plans and ideas to the Secretary, who frequently carried them directly to the President. It is very significant that Morgenthau had access to the President more readily than any other Cabinet member. He ranked beneath the Secretary of State in the Cabinet, but Hull complained that he often acted as though "clothed with authority" to project himself into the field of foreign affairs. Morgenthau, Hull felt, "did not stop with his work at the Treasury." [3]

Over the years White brought into the Treasury a number of economic specialists with whom he worked very closely. White and his colleagues were in a position, therefore, to exercise on American foreign policy influence which the diaries reveal to have been profound and unprecedented. They used their power in various ways to design and promote the so-called Morgenthau Plan for the postwar treatment of Germany. Their actions were not limited to the authority officially delegated to them: their power was inherent in their access to, and influence upon, Secretary Morgenthau and other officials, and in the opportunities they had to present or withhold information on which the policies of their superiors might be based. What makes this a unique chapter in American history is that Dr. White and several of his colleagues, the actual architects of vital national policies during those crucial years, were subsequently identified in Congressional hearings as participants in a network of Communist espionage in the very shadow of the Washington Monument. Two of them worked for the Chinese Communists.

Stated in its simplest terms, the objective of the Morgenthau Plan was to de-industrialize Germany and diminish its people to a pastoral existence once the war was won. If this could be accomplished, the militaristic Germans would never rise again to threaten the peace of the world. This was the justification for all the planning, but another motive lurked behind the obvious one. The hidden motive was unmasked in a syndicated column in the New York Herald Tribune in September 1946, more than a year after the collapse of the Germans. The real goal of the proposed condemnation of "all of Germany to a permanent diet of potatoes" was the communization of the defeated nation. "The best way for the German people to be driven into the arms of the Soviet Union," it was pointed out, "was for the United States to stand forth as the champion of indiscriminate and harsh misery in Germany." [4]

Anyone who studies the Morgenthau Diaries can hardly fail to be deeply impressed by the tremendous power which accumulated in the grasping hands of Dr. Harry Dexter White, who in 1953 was identified by Edgar Hoover as a Soviet agent. White assumed full responsibility for "all matters with which the Treasury Department has to deal having a bearing on foreign relations..." [5] He and his colleagues had Secretary Morgenthau's complete approval in the formulation of a blueprint for the permanent elimination of Germany as a world power. The benefits which might accrue to the Soviet Union as a result of such Treasury planning were incalculable.

When members of the Senate Internal Security sub committee asked Elizabeth Bentley, who was a courier between White and Soviet agents, whether she knew of a similar "Morgenthau Plan" for the Far East, she gave the following testimony:

Miss Bentley: No. The only Morgenthau Plan I knew anything about was the German one.

Senator Eastland: Did you know who drew that plan?

Miss Bentley: [It was] Due to Mr. White's influence, to push the devastation of Germany because that was what the Russians wanted.

Senator Ferguson: That was what the Communists wanted? **Miss Bentley:** Definitely, Moscow wanted them [German factories] completely razed because then they would be of no help to the allies.

Mr. Morris: You say that Harry Dexter White worked on that?

Miss Bentley: And on our instructions he pushed hard. [6]

When J. Edgar Hoover testified before the Subcommittee on November 17, 1953, he affirmed this testimony:

All information furnished by Miss Bentley, which was susceptible to check has proven to be correct. She had been subjected to the most searching of cross-examinations; her testimony has been evaluated by juries and reviews by the courts and has been found to be accurate.

Mr. Hoover continued:

Miss Bentley's account of White's activities was later corroborated by Whittaker Chambers; and the documents in White's own handwriting, concerning which there can be no dispute, lend credibility to the information previously reported on White. [7]

Morgenthau hit the ceiling when he got a copy of the Handbook for Military Government in Germany, which was designed for the guidance of every American and British official upon entering Germany. The Handbook offered a glimpse of a very different kind of occupation that Treasury officials were hoping for. Its tone was moderate and lenient throughout Germany was not only to be self-supporting but was to retain a relatively high standard of living. Morgenthau wasted no time in showing the Handbook to President Roosevelt, who immediately rejected its philosophy as too soft. Impressed by the critical memorandum White had prepared, the President killed the Handbook and sent a stinging memorandum to the Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, and a copy of which was sent to Hull. "This so-called Handbook is pretty bad," Roosevelt began, and he instructed that "all copies" be withdrawn immediately because it gave him the impression that Germany was to be "restored just as much as The Netherlands or Belgium, and the people of Germany brought back as quickly as possible to their pre-war estate." [8]

Thus both Hull and Stimson were put on notice by the President that the State and War Departments must develop harsher attitudes towards Germany or be bypassed in the formulation of that policy. According to General Lucius Clay, suppression of the Handbook eventually had a "devastating effect on the morale of American officials responsible for disarming Germany." [9]

Meanwhile the State Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff had earlier completed their own prospectus and directive for postwar Germany. In the State document there was to be no "large-scale and permanent impairment of all German industry." [10] ICS 1067, as the military directive was numbered, was unmistakably akin in spirit to the "soft" State Department prospectus. Moreover, it was in "harmony" with the Handbook—that is to say, this draft not only tolerated but actually encouraged friendly relations between American soldiers and German civilians. From various inter departmental meetings with State and War, a new version of JCS 1067 finally emerged. It completely reversed the spirit of the original draft. It was largely the handiwork of Harry Dex-

ter White. It is indeed remarkable how the Treasury intervened and eventually got the State and War Departments to alter their basic policy on postwar Germany.

In the realm of finance, of course, the Secretary of Treasury would naturally be involved in the postwar treatment of Germany. But Morgenthau delved deeply into matters altogether unrelated to economics. The Germans needed psychiatry, Morgenthau told White. He said he was interested in “treating the mind rather than the body,” and in planning “how to bring up the next generation of children.” It might be wise to take the whole Nazi SS group out of Germany, he thought, and deport them to some other part of the world. “Just taking them bodily,” he told White, and he “wouldn’t be afraid to make the suggestion” even though it might be very “ruthless ... to accomplish the act.” [11]

Regarding the punishment of Nazi leaders, White suggested that a list of “war criminals” be prepared and presented to American officers on the spot, who could properly identify the guilty and shoot them on sight. Morgenthau remarked jokingly that a good start could be made with Marshal Stalin’s “list of 50,000” óa reference to Stalin’s vodka toast to Roosevelt and Churchill at the Teheran Conference. [12]

The disposition of the Ruhr Valley was one of the main topics discussed in one of the many Treasury meetings. For many years the coal fields of the Ruhr had been essential to the German economy. The British economist John Maynard Keynes had said after World War I that the Kaiser’s empire was built “more truly on coal and iron than on blood and iron.” [13] Coal was the backbone of all German industry, vital to her electric power and to her chemical, synthetic oil, and steel industries. [14] It was Morgenthau’s persistent view, therefore, that the Ruhr should be “locked up and wiped out,” and he was positive that the President was in “complete accord” on this point.

As the discussion proceeded, White shrewdly intimated that it might be better to place the Ruhr under international controls which would “produce reparations for twenty years.” This was a straw proposal that Morgenthau promptly rejected. “Harry, you can’t sell it to me at all,” he said, “because it would be under control only a few years and the Germans will have another Anschluss!” The only program he would have any part of, Morgenthau declared, was “the complete shut-down of the Ruhr.” When Harold Gaston, the Treasury public relations officer, interrupted to ask whether this meant “driving the population out,” Morgenthau replied: “I don’t care what happens to the population... I would take every mine, every mill and factory and wreck it.” “Of every kind?” inquired Gaston. “Steel, coal, everything. Just close it down,” Morgenthau said. “You wouldn’t close the mines, would you?” inquired Daniel Bell, one of the Secretary’s assistants. “Sure,” replied Morgenthau, and he reiterated that the only economic activity which should remain intact was agriculture ó and that could be placed under some type of international control. He was for destroying Germany’s economic power first, he said, and then “we will worry about the population second.”

Morgenthau seemed very confident that the President would not waver in his support of a punitive program for postwar Germany. Any effective plan, however, would have to be executed within the next six months, or otherwise the Allies might suddenly become “soft.” The best way to begin, Morgenthau advised, was to have American engineers go to every synthetic gas factory, and dynamite them or “open the water valves and flood them.” Then let the “great humanitarians” simply sit “back and decide about the population afterwards.” Eventually the Ruhr would resemble “some of the silver mines in Nevada,” Morgenthau said. “You mean like Sherman’s march to the sea?” asked Dan Bell. Morgenthau answered bluntly that he would make the Ruhr a “ghost area.” [15]

Such was the character of Secretary Morgenthau's views on the treatment of Germany. Never in American history had there been proposed a more vindictive program for a defeated nation. With the Treasury exerting unprecedented influence in determining American policy toward Germany, the fallacies of logic, evasion of issues and deliberate disregard of essential economic relationships manifest in the above conversation were incorporated in the postwar plan as finally adopted. Furthermore, no paper of any importance dealing with the occupation of Germany could be released until approved by the Treasury. The State and War Departments became virtually subservient to the Treasury in this area, normally their responsibility. [16]

At a meeting in the President's office, Morgenthau and Stimson presented their opposite views. Stimson objected vigorously to the Treasury recommendation for the wrecking of the Ruhr. "I am unalterably opposed to such a program," he declared, holding it to be "wholly wrong" to deprive the people of Europe of the products that the Ruhr could produce. [17] The Treasury Plan, if adopted, would breed new wars, arouse sympathy for Germans in other countries, and destroy resources needed for the general reconstruction of ravaged Europe. He urged the President not to make a hasty decision, and to accept "for the time being" Hull's suggestion that the controversial economic issue be left for future discussion. [18]

ree; At the Quebec summit conference between Roosevelt and Churchill in September 1944, Morgenthau was asked to explain his plan to the British. Churchill was horrified and "in ree; violent language" called the plan "cruel and un-Christian." But Morgenthau hammered on the idea that the destruction of the Ruhr would create new markets for Britain after the war. He also promised Churchill an American loan of \$6.5 billion! Churchill "changed his mind" the next morning. [19]

Although foreign affairs and military matters were discussed in depth at the Quebec Conference, neither Hull nor Stimson were in attendance. The Treasury Department took precedence over State and War in negotiations regarding Germany.

The effects of Morgenthau's victory at Quebec were quickly felt in Washington. At a luncheon with Undersecretary of War Robert Patterson, Morgenthau brought up the Quebec agreement. Patterson said jokingly: "To degrade Europe by making Germany an agricultural country, isn't that offensive to you?" Morgenthau replied: "Not in the case of Germany." [20]

Hull felt strongly that Morgenthau should have been kept out of the field of general policy, and so did Stimson. When Stimson heard of the President's endorsement of the Treasury plan at Quebec, he quickly drafted another critical memorandum. "If I thought that the Treasury proposals would accomplish [our agreed objective, continued peace)," he wrote, "I would not persist in my objections. But I cannot believe that they will make for a lasting peace. In spirit and in emphasis they are punitive, not, in my judgment, corrective or constructive." He continued:

It is not within the realm of possibility that the whole nation of seventy million people, who have been outstanding for many years in the arts and the sciences and who through their efficiency and energy have attained one of the highest industrial levels in Europe, can by force be required to abandon all their previous methods of life, be reduced to a level with virtually complete control of industry and science left to other peoples ... Enforced poverty is even worse, for it destroys the spirit not only of the victim but debases the victor. It would be just such a crime as the Germans themselves hoped to perpetrate upon their victimsóit would be a crime against civilization iLself. [21]

Word of “Morgenthau’s coup at Quebec” leaked to the press with two results. One was that Roosevelt, because of the adverse reaction, evidently concluded that his Treasury Secretary had made “a serious blunder.” The other was to stiffen German resistance on the Western front. Until then there was a fair chance that the Germans might discontinue resistance to American and British forces while holding the Russians at bay in the East in order to avoid the frightful fate of a Soviet occupation. This could have shortened the war by months and could have averted the spawning of malignant communism in East Germany.

How the Treasury officials were able to integrate basic features of their plan into the military directive, originally prepared by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and known as JCS 1067, is fully disclosed in the Diaries. White saw to it that many elements of his thinking were embodied in ICS 1067. Previous directives for guidance of American troops upon entrance into Germany, which already had undergone six or more revisions of a stylistic nature, were now brought more in line with the punitive thinking of Morgenthau and White. A new directive, which called for a more complete de-nazification, was, with some modifications, the spirit and substance of the Treasury plan. In the two full years that ICS 1067 was the cornerstone of American policy, Germany was punished and substantially dismantled in accord with the basic tenets of the Morgenthau Plan. JCS 1067 forbade fraternization by American personnel with the Germans, ordered a very strict program of de-nazification extending both to public life and to business, prohibited American aid in any rebuilding of German industry, and emphasized agricultural rehabilitation only.

Subsequently, JCS 1067 became a severe handicap to American efforts in Germany. It constituted what may be called without exaggeration a heavy millstone around the neck of the American military government. It gave only limited authority to the United States military government by specifically prohibiting military officials from taking any steps to rehabilitate the German economy except to maximize agricultural production.

Through various channels, White had gathered information concerning the kind of policy directives other departments had in preparation. This he was able to achieve through a system of “trading” which Morgenthau had initiated at his suggestion. As Elizabeth Bentley told the Internal Security Subcommittee, ‘We were so successful getting information... largely because of Harry White’s idea to persuade Morgenthau to exchange information.’ Treasury officials, for example, would send information to the Navy Department, and the Navy would reciprocate. There were, according to Miss Bentley, at least “seven or eight agencies” trading information with Morgenthau. [22]

At the Yalta Conference on February 4, 1945, the question of postwar treatment of Germany was the most important item on the agenda. The President’s conduct suggests the powerful effect on his thinking of White’s masterplan and Morgenthau’s salesmanship. On the major points regarding Germany the President easily capitulated to the Soviets. Stalin and Roosevelt were in general accord that the defeated Germans should be stripped of their factories and left to take care of themselves. But Churchill wished to preserve enough of the existing economic structure of Germany to permit the defeated nation to recover to some degree.

In his book *Beyond Containment*, William H. Chamberlain assesses Yalta as a tragedy of appeasement:

Like Munich, Yalta must be set down as a dismal failure, practically as well as morally ... The Yalta Agreement represented, in two of its features, the endorsement by the United States of the principle of human slavery. One of these features was the recognition that German labor could be used as a source of reparations ... And the

agreement that Soviet citizens who were found in the Eastern zones of occupation should be handed over to Soviet authorities amounted, for the many Soviet refugees who did not wish to return, to the enactment of a fugitive slave law. [23]

After President Roosevelt returned from Yalta, State Department officials grasped an opportunity to push through their own program for postwar Germany. On March 10, 1945, Secretary of State Edward Stettinius submitted for the President's consideration the draft of a new policy directive for the military occupation of Germany. The prime movers in this strategy were Leon Henderson, James C. Dunn, and James W. Riddleberger, the departmental expert on German affairs. They purposely did not consult with Treasury officials because they knew there would be major objections from them. The March 10 memorandum was a reasonable substitute for the rigorous JCS 1067, which was so pleasing to White and Morgenthau. It was based on the central concept that Germany was important to the economy recovery of Europe. It provided for joint allied control of defeated Germany, preservation of a large part of German industry, and a "minimum standard of living" for the German people. The memorandum had no provision for dismemberment, and Germany was to begin "paying her own way as soon.. as possible." [24]

When Morgenthau saw a copy of the State Department memorandum, he became so furious that he immediately telephoned Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy to voice his complaints. "It's damnable, an outrage!" he exclaimed. "Riddleberger and these fellows are just putting this thing across ... I'm not going to take it lying down." The State Department plan, if adopted, would have spelled complete defeat for Morgenthau and White. "It makes me so mad," Morgenthau raged, "I think the President should fire Jimmy Dunn and two or three other fellows." [25]

Several days later, armed with a memorandum drafted by White, Coe, and Glasser, he hurried to the White House. He was disturbed to find Roosevelt's daughter, Anna, and her husband, Maj. John Boettinger, caring for the President, "whose health by that time was faltering to the point where mental lapses could be expected." Roosevelt apparently no longer thought that Morgenthau had "pulled a boner" with his destroy-Germany plan and when Boettinger commented "You don't want the Germans to starve," the President replied "Why not?" Morgenthau told White he was worried about Boettinger's attitude. The question one may ask is did the Soviets know what the American people did not know that Roosevelt was close to death and liable to blackouts at any moment?

Morgenthau reported jubilantly, however, to his "team" that the President had accepted his plan as "a good tough document." He confided in his diary:

We have a good team, they just can't break the team... It is very encouraging that we had the President back us up... they tried to get him to change and they couldn't to the State Department crowd. Sooner or later, the President just has to clean his house. I mean the vicious crowd... They are Fascists at heart... [26]

The State Department was sorely disappointed that the President had rejected their March 10 memorandum. It was a severe defeat for Riddleberger, Dunn, and others who were advocating a reasonable program for Germany. Morgenthau felt that the new JCS document should declare unmistakably that the State Department paper of March 10 was officially withdrawn. White asked McCloy and General Hilldring whether everyone in the War Department would understand that the new document "superseded" the March 10 memorandum. McCloy assured him that everyone would be ree; duly notified. White then asked whether it would be perfectly "clear" in the Army that the Treasury document "took precedence over and caused the revision of any document contrary to it." General Hilldring answered there would be no problem here.

A cardinal point of dispute between the Treasury and the Department of War resided in the question of the treatment of German war criminals. Stimson advised the President to have trials rather than the “shoot on sight” policy advocated by Morgenthau. Stimson believed the accused should have a right to be heard and be allowed to call witnesses to his defense. [27] Another subject of controversy between the Treasury on the one side and the State and War on the other was the question of reparations. The Treasury believed that reparations should be limited to whatever the Allies could wring out of defeated Germany at the end of the war. Morgenthau and White were dead set against the old concept of long-term reparations payments, because such annual tribute would necessitate the re-building of industry on a large scale in Germany. They wished to make the Germans “pastoral” and then throw upon them the full responsibility for taking care of themselves. The World War I application of “reparations” would result in nothing more or less than the revitalization of German industrial might. In their thinking this specter loomed large indeed.

White and his colleagues were careful not to jeopardize postwar relations with the Soviet Union. They frequently expressed their fears of Western encirclement of Russia. They thought that those individuals in the American government who wished to restore Germany were motivated by the idea that a strong Reich was necessary as a “bulwark against Russia.” This attitude was certainly responsible for many of the current difficulties between Washington and Moscow. At one of the interdepartmental meetings a dispute developed over the question of compulsory German labor as restitution for war damages in Russia. Treasury officials were boldly advocating the creation of a large labor force with no external controls. This view was challenged by War, State and other departments as treating 2 or 3 million people as slave labor. Morgenthau reminded his opponents that the whole issue of compulsory labor had already been decided upon at Yalta. “We are simply carrying out the Yalta agreement,” he exclaimed, and anyone who is going to protest “... is protesting against Yalta ...” It is significant that five months previously, President Roosevelt had sent a memorandum to Morgenthau to the effect that if “they [Russia] want German labor, there is no reason why they should not get it in certain circumstances and under certain conditions.” [28]

White opined that if the Russians needed two million German laborers to reconstruct their devastated areas, he saw nothing wrong with it; it was “in the interest” of Russia and even Germany that the labor force come from the ranks of the Gestapo, the S.S., and the Nazi party membership. “That’s not a punishment for crime,” he stated, “that’s merely a part of the reparations problem in the same way you want certain machines from Germany...” [29]

As long as Morgenthau was Secretary of the Treasury, White performed adroitly in his strange Svengali role. But fundamental changes in the management of American foreign policy occurred after Harry Truman became President. While the President was still a Senator, he read in the newspapers about the Morgenthau Plan, and he didn’t like it. Morgenthau wanted to come to Potsdam, threatening to resign if he was not made a member of the U.S. delegation. Truman promptly accepted his resignation.

What were the final results of the Morgenthau Plan? What actual effect did it have on Germany? “While the policy was never fully adopted,” wrote W. Friedmann, “it had a considerable influence upon American policy in the later stages of the war and during the first phase of military government.” [30] Although President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill eventually recognized the folly of what they had approved at Quebec, Morgenthau, White, and the Treasury staff saw to it that the spirit and substance of their plan prevailed in official policy as it was finally mirrored in the punitive directive known as JCS 1067.

In a very definite way JCS 1067 determined the main lines of U.S. policy in Germany for fully two years after the surrender. Beginning in the fall of 1945, to be sure, a new drift in American

policy was evident, and it eventually led to the formal repudiation of the directive in July of 1947. Until it was officially revoked, however, the lower administrative echelons had to enforce its harsh provisions. "The military government officers," writes Prof. Harold Zink, "were unable to see how Germany could be reorganized without a substantial amount of industrialization. They tried to fit the Morgenthau dictates into their economic plans, but they ended up more or less in a state of paralysis." [31]

As White had certainly anticipated, the economic condition of Germany was desperate between 1945 and 1948. The cities remained heaps of debris, and shelter was at a premium as a relentless stream of unskilled refugees poured into the Western zones, where the food ration of 1,500 calories per day was hardly sufficient to sustain life. As Stimson, Riddleberger, and others had predicted, the economic prostration of Germany now resulted in disruption of the continental trade that was essential to the prosperity of other European nations. As long as German industrial power was throttled, the economic recovery of Europe was delayed—and this, in time, led to serious political complications. To nurse Europe back to health, the Marshall Plan was devised in 1947. It repudiated, at long last, the philosophy of the White-Morgenthau program.

The currency reforms of June, 1948, changed the situation overnight. These long overdue measures removed the worst restraints, and thereupon West Germany began its phenomenal economic revival.

After all this has been said, an implicit question haunts the historian. It is this: if the Morgenthau Plan was indeed psychopathically anti-German, was it also consciously and purposefully pro-Russian? The Secretary of the Treasury never denied that his plan was anti-German in both its philosophy and its projected effects, but no one in his department ever admitted that it was also pro-Russian in the same ways. In his book, *And Call It Peace*, Marshall Knappen suggested in 1947 that the Morgenthau Plan "corresponded closely to what might be presumed to be Russian wishes on the German question. It provided a measure of vengeance and left no strong state in the Russian orbit." [32]

In document after document the Diaries reveal Harry Dexter White's influence upon both the formative thinking and the final decisions of Secretary Morgenthau. Innocent of higher economics and the mysteries of international finance, the Secretary had always leaned heavily on his team of experts for all manner of general and specific recommendations. [33] White was the field captain of that team; on the German question he called all the major plays from the start. As a result of White's advice, for example, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing was ordered in April, 1944 to deliver to the Soviet government a duplicate set of plates for the printing of the military occupation marks which were to be the legal currency of postwar Germany. The ultimate product of this fantastic decision was to greatly stimulate inflation throughout occupied Germany, and the burden of redeeming these Soviet-made marks finally fell upon American taxpayers to a grand total of more than a quarter of a billion dollars. [34] White followed this recommendation with another, in May of 1944, which again anticipated the emerging plan. This time he urged a postwar loan of 10 billion dollars to the Soviet Union. [35]

Remember that, in her testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1952, the confessed Communist courier Elizabeth Bentley charged that White was the inside man who prepared the plan for Secretary Morgenthau, and "on our instruction he pushed hard." Also, J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI charged that White was an active agent of Soviet espionage, and despite the fact he had sent five reports to the White House warning the President of White's activities, Truman promoted him to a position at the United Nations. When the shocking story of White's service as a Soviet agent was first revealed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell in a Chicago

speech, it created quite a stir of public charges and counter-charges by then retired Harry Truman.

The concentration of Communist sympathizers in the Treasury Department is now a matter of public record. White eventually became Assistant Secretary. Collaborating with him were Frank Coe, Harold Glasser, Irving Kaplan and Victor Perlo, all of whom were identified in sworn testimony as participants in the Communist conspiracy. When questioned by Congressional investigators, they consistently invoked the Fifth Amendment. In his one appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948, White emphatically denied participation in any conspiracy. A few days later he was found dead, the apparent victim of a heart attack (which is questioned by some investigators). Notes in his handwriting were later found among the “pumpkin papers” on Whittaker Chambers' farm. [36] In a statement before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953, Attorney General Brownell declared White guilty of “supplying information consisting of documents obtained by him in the course of duties as Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, to Nathan Gregory Silvermaster...”[37] Silvermaster passed these documents on to Miss Bentley after photographing them in his basement. When asked before two congressional committees to explain his activities, Silvermaster invoked the Fifth Amendment.

Never before in American history had an unelected bureaucracy of faceless, “fourth floor” officials exercised such arbitrary power over the future of nations as did Harry Dexter White and his associates in the Department of the Treasury under Henry Morgenthau, Jr. What they attempted to do in their curious twisting of American ideals, and how close they came to complete success, is demonstrated in the Morgenthau Diaries, which I had the privilege of examining and which were published by the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate in 1967.

Notes

1. [↗](#) John Morton Blum, *Years of Urgency, 1938-41: From the Morgenthau Diaries* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 3.
2. [↗](#) *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948), Vol 1, pp. 207-208.
3. [↗](#) *Ibid.*, 1, p. 207
4. [↗](#) Issue of September 5, 1946.
5. [↗](#) December 15, 1941, *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments*, Final Report, July 30, 1953, p. 29.
6. [↗](#) *Institute of Pacific Relations*, pt 2, pp. 419-420.
7. [↗](#) *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments*, pt. 16, p. 1145.
8. [↗](#) August 26, 1944, Book 766, pp. 166-170. *Morgenthau Diaries*, Hyde Park.
9. [↗](#) Lucius Clay, *Decision in Germany* (New York, Doubleday and Co.1950), p. 8.
10. [↗](#) Book 777, p. 70 et seq.
11. [↗](#) August 28, 1944, Book 767, p. 1.
12. [↗](#) September 4, 1944, Book 768, p. 104.
13. [↗](#) John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York~ Harcourt Brace and Co. 1920), p. 81.
14. [↗](#) B.H. Klein, *Germany's Economic Preparations for War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 123. 15. September 4, 1944, Book 768, p. 104.
15. [↗](#) November 21, 1944, Book 797, pp. 256-258.
16. [↗](#) September 9, 1944, Book 771, p. 50.

17. ☞ Ibid.; Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (New York, Harper and Row, 1948), pp. 573-574.
18. ☞ October 18-19, 1944, Book 783, pp. 23-39.
19. ☞ September 27, 1944, Book 776, p. 33.
20. ☞ September 15, 1944, Book 772, pp. 4-9. (Italics mine.)
21. ☞ Institute of Pacific Relations, *Hearings*, pt. 2, p. 422.
22. ☞ (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1953), pp. 36-46.
23. ☞ March 10, 1945, Book 827-1, pp. 1-2.
24. ☞ March 19, 1945, Book 828-2, p. 233; March 20, 1945, Book 830, p. 24.
25. ☞ March 23, 1945, Book 831-2, p. 205, et seq.
26. ☞ September 9, 1944, Book 771, p. 50 et seq.
27. ☞ December 9, 1944, Book 802, pp. 241-248.
28. ☞ May 18, 1945, Book 847, pp. 293-299.
29. ☞ W. Friedmann, *The Allied Military Government of Germany* (London: Stevens and Sons, Ltd., 1947), p. 20.
30. ☞ Harold Zink, *American Military Government in Germany* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947), pp. 187-189.
31. ☞ Marshall Knappen, *And Call It Peace* (University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 53-56.
32. ☞ *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The First Thousand Days* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), I. 331.
33. ☞ For this strange story in detail, see *Transfer of Occupation Currency Plates* Espionage Phase, Interim Report of the Committee on Government Operations, December 15, 1953 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953).
34. ☞ May 16, 1944, Book 732, pp. 97-99.
35. ☞ *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments*, pt. 16.
36. ☞ Ibid., pt. 16, pp. 1110-1141.

Source: vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 305-320.

Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History

VICTOR MARCHETTI

- Paper presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.

In the eyes of posterity it will inevitably seem that, in safeguarding our freedom, we destroyed it. The vast clandestine apparatus we built up to prove our enemies' resources and intentions only served in the end to confuse our own purposes; that practice of deceiving others for the good of the state led infallibly to our deceiving ourselves; and that vast army of clandestine personnel built up to execute these purposes were soon caught up in the web of their own sick fantasies, with disastrous consequences for them and us.

-- Malcom Muggeridge

May 1966

That, in a nutshell, sums up what the CIA has accomplished over the years through its various clandestine propaganda and disinformation programs. It has unwittingly and, often, deliberately deceived itself — and the American taxpayer. The CIA is a master at distorting history — even creating its own version of history to suit its institutional and operational purposes. It can do this largely because of two great advantages it possesses. One is the excessively secret environment in which it operates, and the other is that it is essentially a private instrument of the presidency.

The real reason for the official secrecy, in most instances, is not to keep the opposition (the CIA's euphemistic term for the enemy) from knowing what is going on; the enemy usually does know. The basic reason for governmental secrecy is to keep you, the American public, from knowing — for you, too, are considered the opposition, or enemy — so that you cannot interfere. When the public does not know what the government or the CIA is doing, it cannot voice its approval or disapproval of their actions. In fact, they can even lie to you about what they are doing or have done, and you will not know it.

As for the second advantage, despite frequent suggestion that the CIA is a rogue elephant, the truth is that the agency functions at the direction of and in response to the office of the president. All of its major clandestine operations are carried out with the direct approval of or on direct orders from the White House. The CIA is a secret tool of the president — every president. And every president since Truman has lied to the American people in order to protect the agency. When lies have failed, it has been the duty of the CIA to take the blame for the president, thus protecting him. This is known in the business as “plausible denial.”

The CIA, functioning as a secret instrument of the U.S. government and the presidency, has long misused and abused history and continues to do so. I first became concerned about this historical

distortion in 1957, when I was a young officer in the Clandestine Services of the CIA.

One night, after work, I was walking down Constitution Avenue with a fellow officer, who previously had been a reporter for United Press.

“How are they ever going to know,” he asked.

“Who? How is 'who' ever going to know what?” I asked.

“How are the American people ever going to know what the truth is? How are they going to know what the truth is about what we are doing and have done over the years?” he said. “We operate in secrecy, we deal in deception and disinformation, and then we burn our files. How will the historians ever be able to learn the complete truth about what we've done in these various operations, these operations that have had such a major impact on so many important events in history?”

I couldn't answer him, then. And I can't answer him now. I don't know how the American people will ever really know the truth about the many things that the CIA has been involved in. Or how they will ever know the truth about the great historical events of our times. The government is continually writing and rewriting history — often with the CIA's help — to suit its own purposes. Here is a current example.

Just last month in Moscow, there was a meeting, a very strange meeting. Former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara met with former Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko and a member of the Cuban Politburo. These three men, along with lesser former officials of their governments, has all been involved in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, and they had gathered in the Soviet capital to discuss what has really occurred in that monumental crisis, which almost led to World War III.

Since I, too, had been personally involved in that crisis, I took some interest in the news reports coming out of Moscow concerning the doings of this rather odd gathering of former officials. Much to my surprise, I learned that Robert McNamara was saying that neither he nor the U.S. intelligence community realized there actually had been some 40,000 Soviet troops in Cuba in the autumn of 1962. The Former defense chief of the Kennedy administration was also saying that he and the U.S. government did not realize that the few dozen medium and intermediate range missiles the Soviets had tried to sneak into Cuba were actually armed with nuclear warheads and ready to be fired at targets in the U.S.

Furthermore, he was claiming that the U.S. did not understand that this huge military build-up by the Soviets had been carried out to protect Cuba and to prevent the U.S. from attacking the island's Communist regime. He added, for good measure, that he was surprised to learn from the talks in Moscow that the Soviets and Cubans thought the U.S. had plans to bring down the government of Fidel Castro through the use of force. According to McNamara, the entire Cuban missile crisis was a dangerous misunderstanding that came about because of the lack of communication among the governments involved in the near catastrophe.

Well, when I heard what McNamara and the band were playing in Moscow, I said to myself, “Either McNamara is getting a little dotty in his old age and doesn't remember what really happened during the Cuban missile crisis — or there's some other reason for this.” Well, it soon became apparent that McNamara was not senile. What, then, is the reason for these curious -and false — “admissions” in Moscow? The reason is that the United States and the Soviet Union have de-

cided to become friends again, and Washington wants to set the stage for rapprochement with Castro's Cuba.

It has evidently been decided by the powers that be in the U.S. to have a little meeting in Moscow and tell the world that we were all mixed up about Cuba and we didn't know what was going on there in 1962, because we weren't communicating well with the Soviets at the time. Thus, the American people would see how close to war we had come, how we should communicate more with the Soviets, and how they weren't really very bad guys after all. For that matter neither were Fidel and his gang. Therefore, it would follow that we should in a few months from now get on with disarmament and whatever else is necessary to bring about the new internationalism that is forming between east and west. At the same time, we should begin rebuilding the bridge to Cuba, too.

But to create the proper atmosphere for the coming rapprochement with Moscow and, later, Cuba, it was necessary to scare the American public and the world into thinking that the crisis of October 1962 was worse than it really was. To do that, McNamara, Gromyko, *et al.* were playing a little game — their own distorted brand of historical revisionism. They were rewriting history to suit the present purposes of their governments.

Now, I thought, what if I were a reporter. Would I be able to see through this little charade that was going on in Moscow? Probably not. I began studying the “knowledgeable” syndicated columnists. They were writing things like, “... My God, we never did understand what the Soviets were up to in Cuba. Yes, we better do something about this.” What McNamara and friends were saying in Moscow was now becoming fact. It's becoming fact that we, the U.S. government, did not really know what was going on during the missile crisis. That is a lie.

If there was ever a time when the CIA in the United States intelligence community and the United States Armed Forces really cooperated and coordinated their efforts with each other, it was during the Cuban missile crisis. The Cuban missile crisis is probably one of the few examples — perhaps the only one — of when intelligence really worked the way it was supposed to work in a crisis situation.

I was there at the time, and I was deeply involved in this historical event. A colleague and friend of mine, Tack, my assistant at the time, and I were the original “crate-ologists”—which was an arcane little intelligence art that we had developed. We had learned through a variety of tricks of the trade, and some of our own making, to be able to distinguish what was in certain crates on Soviet merchant ships as they went into Cuba, into Indonesia into Egypt, Syria, and other places. We could tell if a crate contained a MIG-21, or an IL-28, or a SAM-2 missile.

We did this in such an amateurish way that we dared not tell anyone our methods. While the National Photographic and Interpretation Center employed 1,200 people in its office in downtown Washington, using state-of-the-art equipment to analyze aerial and satellite photography, Tack and I would sit in our office, feet up on the desk, using a beat-up old ruler to measure photos taken from U.S. submarines. I'd measure a crate on the deck of the Soviet freighter, say about three quarters of an inch in the photograph.

“Tack, do you think they could fit a Mig-21 in there?”

He'd thumb through an old Air Force manual and say,

“Mig-21, fuselage length 25 feet.”

“Well?”

“Take the tail off, and we can fit it in.”

“Okay, let’s call it a Mig-21.”

We were pretty good at this. We had other aids to identification of course. We were able to learn when the Soviets were preparing shipments and from which ports they were sailing. We knew which personnel were involved, and the ships' destinations. Thus we could alert the navy, which sometimes conducted overflights, sometimes tracked them with a submarine.

We had an attaché in Istanbul row out in the middle of the night with a Turk whom he'd hired, looking for three things in a Soviet freighter: its deck cargo, how high it was riding in the water, and its name.

By these and other sensitive we were able to learn, in the summer of 1962, that the Soviets were carrying out an unprecedented arms build-up in Cuba. While some of the other agencies, namely the National Security Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency, didn't agree with us, CIA director John McCone was able to get president John Kennedy to authorize more intelligence overflights. The overflights revealed that the Soviets were building

SAM (Surface-to-Air Missiles) launching sites to protect the build-up. Further overflights revealed the construction of launching sites for Soviet MRBMs (Medium Range Ballistic Missiles) capable of carrying nuclear warheads to most cities in the United States.

We know exactly how many there were. where they were, and that they had not yet been armed, because the warheads hadn't arrived yet.

Thus McNamara is lying when he claims that the Soviet missiles in Cuba were armed and ready for launch against the United States. On the contrary, we were watching the ships which carried the warheads; American ships enforcing the blockade which President Kennedy had ordered boarded a Romanian ship (which we knew carried no arms), and the Russian ships bringing the nuclear warheads turned around in mid-ocean and went home.

It is also quite untrue that there were forty thousand Soviet troops in Cuba. We knew that there were only ten thousand of them, because we had developed a simple but effective way of counting them.

The Soviets had sent their troops over on passenger liners to disguise the military buildup. Some genius back in Moscow must have then said: “But these guys need to wear civilian clothes; let’s put sport shirts on them.” But someone at the department store said: We've only got two kinds.” So half the troops wore one kind, half of them the other. They weren't very hard to spot.

Then, too, Soviet soldiers are a lot like our own. As soon as the first group got established, the colonel sent them out to paint some rocks white and then paint the name of the unit, 44th Field Artillery Battalion or whatever, on the rocks. All we had to do was take a picture of it from one of our U-2s. So it was easy to establish a Soviet troop strength of far below 40,000. Thus, McNamara is agreeing to a second lie.

The big lie, however, is that the Soviet Union came into Cuba to protect the Cubans. That was a secondary, or bonus, consideration. The primary reason for the build-up was that the Soviets at the time were so far behind us in nuclear strike capability that Khrushchev figured he could make

a quantum leap by suddenly putting in 48 missiles that could strike every city in America except Seattle, Washington.

Nor did we come as close to war as many think, because Khrushchev knew he was caught. His missiles weren't armed, and he hadn't the troops to protect them. Kennedy knew this, so he was able to say: "take them out." And Khrushchev had to say yes.

I must admit that at the time I was a little concerned, and so was my buddy Tack. We were manning the war room around the clock, catching four hours of sleep and then going back on duty. My wife had the station wagon loaded with blankets and provisions, and Tack's wife was standing by on alert. If either of them got a phone call with a certain word in it, they were to take our children and drive to my home town in the anthracite region of northeastern Pennsylvania. We figured they'd be safe there: if you've ever seen the coal region with its strip mines you would think it had already been bombed and we were hoping the Soviets would look at it that way too.

Last month's conference in Moscow is an example of how history is being rewritten. Any historian who relies on what he reads in the newspapers, on the statements from McNamara and the Russians and the Cubans will not be learning the truth. The CIA has manufactured history in a number of ways over the years not only through its propaganda and disinformation but through the cover stories it uses for their operations, and the cover-ups when an operation falls through. Then there is "plausible deniability," which protects the president.

All these techniques have one thing in common, and depend on one thing: secrecy. Secrecy is maintained not to keep the opposition — the CIA's euphemistic term for the enemy — from knowing what's going on, because the enemy usually does know. Secrecy exists to keep you, the American public, from knowing what is going on, because in many ways you are the real enemy.

If the public were aware of what the CIA is doing, it might say: "We don't like what you're doing — stop it!," or "You're not doing a good job — stop it!" The public might ask for an accounting for the money being spent and the risks being taken.

Thus secrecy is absolutely vital to the CIA. Secrecy covers not only operations in progress, but continues after the operations, particularly if the operations have been botched. Then they have to be covered up with more lies, which the public, of course, can't recognize as lies, allowing the CIA to tell the public whatever it wishes.

Presidents love this. Every president, no matter what he has said before getting into office, has been delighted to learn that the CIA is his own private tool. The presidents have leapt at the opportunity to keep Congress and the public in the dark about their employment of the agency.

This is what was at the basis of my book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. I had come to the conclusion, as a member of the CIA, that many of our policies and practices were not in the best interests of the United States, but were in fact counterproductive, and that if the American people were aware of this they would not tolerate it.

I resigned from the CIA in 1969, at a time when we were deeply involved in Vietnam. And how did we get into Vietnam on a large scale? How did President Lyndon Johnson get a blank check from Congress? It was through the Gulf of Tonkin incident. The American people were told by President Johnson that North Vietnamese motor torpedo boats had come after two American destroyers on the night of August 4, 1964. This was confirmed by the intelligence community.

The fact of the matter is that while torpedo boats came out and looked at the U.S. destroyers, which were well out in international waters, they never fired on them. They made threatening maneuvers, they snarled a bit, but they never fired. It was dark and getting darker. Our sailors thought they might have seen something, but there were no hits, no reports of anything whizzing by.

That was the way it was reported back: a bit of a scrape, but no weapons fire and no attempt to fire. Our ships had not been in danger. But with the help of the intelligence community President Johnson took that report and announced that we had been attacked. He went to Congress and asked for and received his blank check, and Congress went along. Everyone knows the rest of the story: we got into Vietnam up to our eyeballs.

Every president prizes secrecy and fights for it. And so did President Nixon, in my case. When I came to the conclusion that the American people needed to know more about the CIA and what it was up to, I decided to go to Capitol Hill and talk to the senators on the intelligence oversight subcommittee. I found out that Senator John Stennis, at that time head of the subcommittee, hadn't conducted a meeting in over a year, so the other senators were completely ignorant as to what the CIA was doing. Senators William Fulbright and Stuart Symington would tell Stennis, "Let's have a meeting," but he was ignoring them. The other senators wrote Stennis a letter urging him to at least hear what I had to say in a secret executive session, but he continued to ignore them.

Then I would meet Fulbright — at the barber shop. He was afraid to meet me in his office. I would meet with Symington at his home. I would meet with senators at cocktail parties, as if by chance. But still they couldn't get Stennis to convene the intelligence subcommittee.

Senator Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania told me he had learned more about the workings of the intelligence community in one afternoon of conversation with me than in six years of work on the intelligence subcommittee. That didn't surprise me, because I, several years before, had done the budget for CIA director Richard Helms. It was feared that the Senate appropriations subcommittee might have some hard questions about the growing cost of technical espionage programs. Director Helms had evidently been through this before, however.

As Helms put it, he and the CIA's head of science and technology, Albert (Bud) Wheelon, staged a "magic lantern show" for the committee, complete with color slides and demonstrations of the CIA's most advance spy gadgets: a camera hidden in a tobacco pouch, a radio transmitter concealed in some false teeth, a tape recorder in a cigarette case, and so on. One or two hard questions were deflected by Senator Russell of Georgia, who chaired the committee and was a strong supporter of the agency. There were, of course, no slides or hi-tech hardware to exhibit the programs the CIA wanted to conceal from Congress, and the budget sailed through the subcommittee intact.

What I learned in my dealings with Congressmen, in the CIA and after leaving, was that the men who wanted to change the situation didn't have the power, while those who had the power didn't want any change. With Congress a hopeless case, and the White House already in the know and well satisfied to let the CIA continue to operate in secrecy, I decided to talk to the press. I gave my first interview to U.S. News and World Report, and that started the ball rolling. Soon I was in touch with publishers in New York, talking about doing a book.

I soon got a telephone call from Admiral Rufus Taylor, who had been my boss in the agency, but by that time had retired. He told me to meet him at a motel in the Virginia suburbs, across the Potomac from Washington. My suspicions aroused by the remoteness of the room from the office, I

was greeted by Admiral Taylor, who had thoughtfully brought along a large supply of liquor: a bottle of scotch, a bottle of bourbon, a bottle of vodka, a bottle of gin ... "I couldn't remember what you liked," he told me, "so I brought one of everything."

I began to make noise: flushing the toilet, washing my hands, turning on the television. Admiral Taylor was right behind me, turning everything off. I kept making noise, jingling the ice in my glass and so on, until the admiral sat down. There was a table with a lamp on it between the admiral's chair and the one which he now told me to sit down on. He looked at me with a little twinkle in his eye: the lamp was bugged, of course.

We talked, and Admiral Taylor told me the CIA was worried about what I might write in my book. He proposed a deal: I was to give no more interviews, write no more articles, and to stay away from Capitol Hill. I could write my book, and then let him and other retired senior officers look it over, and they would advise me and the agency. After that the CIA and I could resolve our differences. I told him, "Fair enough." We had a drink on it, and went out to dinner. That was our deal.

What I didn't know was that a few nights later John Erlichman and Richard Nixon would be sitting in the White House discussing my book. There is a tape of their discussion, "President Nixon, John Ehrlichman, 45 minutes, subject Victor Marchetti," which is still sealed: I can't get it. Ehrlichman told me through contacts that if I listened to the tape I would learn exactly what happened to me and why.

Whatever the details of their conversation were, the president of the United States had decided I should not publish my book. I was to be the first writer in American history to be served with an official censorship order served by a court of the United States, because President Nixon did not want to be embarrassed, nor did he want the CIA to be investigated and reformed: that would have hampered his ability to use it for his own purposes. A few days later, on April 18, 1972, I received a federal injunction restraining me from revealing any "intelligence information." After more than a year of court battles, *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* was published. The courts allowed the CIA to censor it in advance, and as a result the book appeared with more than a hundred holes for CIA-ordered deletions. Later editions show previously deleted words and lines, which the court ordered the CIA to restore in boldface or italics. The book is therefore difficult to read, indeed something of a curiosity piece. And of course all the information which was ordered cut out ended up leaking to the public anyway.

All this was done to help the CIA suppress and distort history, and to enable presidents to do the same. Presidents like Harry Truman, who claimed falsely that "I never had any thought when I set up the CIA that it would be injected into peacetime cloak-and-dagger operations," but who willingly employed the agency to carry out clandestine espionage and covert intervention in the affairs of other countries. Or Dwight Eisenhower, who denied that we were attempting to overthrow Sukarno in Indonesia, when we were, and was embarrassed when he tried to deny the CIA's U-2 overflights and was shown up by Khrushchev at Paris in 1960. John F. Kennedy, as everyone knows by now, employed the CIA in several attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro. We used everyone from Mafia hoods to Castro's mistress, Marita Lorenz (who was supposed to poison the dictator with pills concealed in her cold cream — the pills melted). I have no doubt that if we could have killed Castro, the U.S. would have gone in.

There was a fairly widespread belief that one reason Kennedy was assassinated was because he was going to get us out of Vietnam. Don't you believe it. He was the CIA's kind of president, rough, tough, and gung-ho. Under Kennedy we became involved in Vietnam in a serious way,

not so much militarily as through covert action. It is a fact that the United States engineered the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem, South Vietnam's premier, and Ngo Dinh Nhu, his powerful brother. A cable was sent out to the ambassador which said, "If Lou Conein goofs up [Lucien Conein was a key CIA operative in Saigon], it's his responsibility." So when E. Howard Hunt faked these memos and cables when he was working for the "plumbers" on behalf of President Nixon (and against the Democrats), he knew what he was doing. That was his defense, that he wasn't really forging or inventing anything. "Stuff like that really existed, but I couldn't find it," he said. Of course Hunt couldn't find it by that time the original documents were gone. But Hunt knew what he was doing.

President Nixon's obsession with secrecy led to the end of his presidency, of course. As indicated earlier, Nixon was determined to suppress my book. On several occasions after his resignation, Nixon has been asked what he meant when he said that the CIA would help him cover up the Watergate tapes, because "they owed him one." He has responded, "I was talking about Marchetti," in other words the efforts (still secret) to prevent *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* from being published.

Another instance of the Nixon administrations' attempts to suppress history is the ongoing attempt to cover up the details of the administration's "tilt" toward Pakistan in its conflict with India in the early 1970's. Although the basic facts soon emerged, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Seymour Hersh's account of the affair in his unflattering book on Henry Kissinger revealed that Morarji Desai, an important Indian political leader who later became Prime Minister, was a CIA agent. Kissinger spurred Desai to sue Hersh, and the case is still dragging on today, seven years later. I know what the truth is; Hersh knows as well, but as a conscientious journalist refused to reveal his sources. Here historical truth is caught between official secrecy and Hersh's loyalty to his informants; nevertheless, I have a great deal of admiration for Hersh for his firm stand.

It is a fact that a good many foreign leaders, including those often seen as "neutral" or even hostile to the United States, have been secretly on the CIA's payroll. For instance, when Jimmy Carter came into office, he claimed he was going to reform the CIA. No sooner than was he in the White House, they decided to test him: the news that Jordan's King Hussein had been paid by the CIA was leaked. President Carter was outraged, because now it was his CIA. His efforts to deny the relationship were defeated by Hussein's nonchalant frankness. He told the press, "Yes, I took the money. I used it for my intelligence service. And that's all I'm going to say on that subject."

There were a lot of other national leaders in Hussein's category. As I revealed for the first time in my book, Joseph Mobutu, a corporal in the Belgian forces in the Congo before its independence, went on the CIA payroll. That is why he rules Zaire today. The CIA paid the late Jomo Kenyatta, ruler of Kenya, fifty or a hundred thousand dollars a year, which he'd spend on drink and women. Therefore we ended up paying Kenyatta twice as much, telling him: "This is for you and this is for your party."

The CIA has funded individuals and movements across the political spectrum in West Germany. A prime example is Willy Brandt, former chancellor of the Federal Republic, who received much CIA support when he was mayor of West Berlin. Axel Springer, the Christian Democratic-minded press and publishing magnate, who pointed the finger at Brandt for working with CIA, was also a CIA asset, who used his publications to spread CIA propaganda and disinformation. It was a case of the pot calling the kettle black: I knew his case officer quite well.

This is the way the CIA sees its mission, the job it was created to do. The CIA is supposed to be involved with everyone, not merely the Christian Democrats or the Social Democrats. The agency is supposed to have its fingers in every pie, including the Communist one, so that they can all be manipulated in whichever way the U.S. government desires.

An obvious area of disinformation and deception exists in our relationship with a nation often represented as our closest ally, Israel. I have often been asked about the relationship between the CIA and its Israeli counterpart, the Mossad. The CIA maintains some kind of liaison with virtually every foreign intelligence agency, including the KGB. These relationships vary from case to case, but our relationship with the Mossad was always a peculiar one.

When I was in the agency, the Mossad was generally not trusted. There was an unwritten rule that no Jews could work on Israeli or near Eastern matters; it was felt that they could not be totally objective.. There was a split in the agency, however, and Israel was not included in the normal area division, the Near Eastern Division. Instead it was handled as a special account in counterintelligence. The man who handled that account, James Jesus Angleton, was extremely close to the Israelis. I believe that through Angleton the Israelis learned a lot more than they should have and exercised a lot more influence on our activities than they should have.

For his trouble, James Angleton, who died last year, was honored by the Israelis, in the way that the Israelis customarily honor their Gentile helpers. They decided to plant a whole forest for Angleton in the Judean hills, and they put up a handsome plaque in several languages, lionizing Angleton as a great friend of Israel, on a nearby rock. Israeli's intelligence chiefs, past and present, attended the dedication ceremony. Later on, a television reporter of my acquaintance sought out Angleton's memorial during an assignment in Israel. After some difficulty, he was able to locate it, but something seemed odd about it. On closer inspection, Angleton's plaque turned out to be made, not of bronze, but of cardboard. Nor was the setting particularly flattering to Israel's late benefactor: the trees and plaque were at the edge of a garbage dump. My friend's British cameraman put it best "This guy sold out his country for the bloody Israelis, and this is the way they pay him back!"

The CIA has distorted history in other ways than by outright coverups and suppression of the truth. One method was to produce its own books. For instance, one of its top agents in the Soviet Union was Colonel Oleg Penkovsky. Penkovsky was eventually captured and executed. But the CIA was unwilling to let it go at that The agency decided to write a book, which it published in 1965, called *The Penkovsky Papers*. This was purported to be drawn from a diary that Penkovsky had kept, a diary in which Penkovsky revealed numerous espionage coups calculated to embarrass the Soviets and build up the CIA.

Spies do not keep diaries, of course, and the Soviets were not likely to believe the exaggerated claims made for Penkovsky and the CIA in *The Penkovsky Papers*. Who was taken in? The American public, of course. More than once people have come up to me after a lecture and shown me the book as if it were gospel. I've told them, "I know the man who wrote it." "You knew Penkovsky?" they invariably ask, and I tell them, "No, I didn't know Penkovsky but I know the man who wrote the book."

Not just ordinary citizens were taken in by the Penkovsky deception, either. Senator Milton Young of North Dakota, who served on the CIA oversight subcommittee, said in a 1971 Senate debate on cutting the intelligence budget:

And if you want to read something very interesting and authoritative where intelligence is concerned, read *The Penkovsky Papers* ... this is a very interesting story, on

why the intelligence we had in Cuba was so important to us, and on what the Russians were thinking and just how far they would go.

Perhaps the most startling example of the CIA's manipulation of the publishing world is the case of *Khrushchev Remembers*. Khrushchev is still widely believed to have been the author. He is supposed to have dashed it off one summer and then said to himself, "Where will I get this published? Ah! Time-Life!" The tapes reached Time-Life, we all read it, and we told ourselves, "Isn't that interesting."

A little thought should be sufficient to dispel the notion that the KGB would allow Khrushchev to sit in his dacha dictating tape after tape with no interference. He certainly dictated tapes, but the tapes were censored and edited by the KGB, and then a deal was struck between the U.S. and the USSR, after it was decided, at the highest level, that such a book would be mutually beneficial. Brezhnev could use against some of the resistance he was encountering from Stalinist hardliners, and Nixon could use it to increase support for detente.

The CIA and the KGB cooperated in carrying out the operation. The tapes were given to the *Time* bureau in Moscow. Strobe Talbot, who appears on television frequently today and is *Time's* bureau chief in Washington, brought the tapes back with him. I was present in an apartment in which he hid them for a couple of days. The tapes were then translated and a manuscript developed. During this period *Time* refused to let people who had known Khrushchev personally, including White House staff members, listen to the tapes.

Knowledgeable people began to tell me. "I don't believe this." "There's something mighty fishy here." When they read what Khrushchev was supposedly saying, they were even more incredulous. But the book came out, *Khrushchev Remembers*, accompanied by a massive publicity campaign. It was a great propaganda accomplishment for the CIA and the KGB.

I touched on *Khrushchev Remembers* in my book. I did not go into any great detail, merely devoting several tentative paragraphs to the affair. Just before my book was published *Time* was considering doing a two-page spread on me until they learned of my expressed reservations on the trustworthiness of *Khrushchev Remembers*. I began to get phone calls from Talbot and Jerry Schaechter, then *Time's* bureau chief in Washington, telling me I should take out the offending passages.

I had written, correctly, that before publication Strobe Talbot had taken the bound transcripts of the Khrushchev tapes back to Moscow, via Helsinki, so that the KGB could make one final review of them. I told Schaechter and Talbot that if they came to me, looked me in the eye, and told me I had the facts wrong, I would take out the section on *Khrushchev Remembers*. Neither of them ever came by, the paragraphs stayed in my book, and in any event *Time* went ahead with the two-page spread anyway.

As I pointed out in the preface to *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* in 1974, democratic governments fighting totalitarian enemies run the risk of imitating their methods and thereby destroying democracy. By suppressing historical fact, and by manufacturing historical fiction, the CIA, with its obsessive secrecy and its vast resources, has posed a particular threat to the right of Americans to be informed for the present and future by an objective knowledge of the past. As long as the CIA continues to manipulate history, historians of its activities must be Revisionist if we are to know the truth about the agency's activities, past and present.

Christianity, Truth and Fantasy: The Holocaust, Historical Revisionism and Christians Today

- Paper presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.

Herman Otten

The early Christians were champions of the truth, not myth and fantasy. They spoke and wrote on the basis of solid evidence. Peter wrote:

We didn't follow any clever myths when we told you about the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and His coming. No. With our own eyes we saw His majesty. God the Father gave Him honor and glory when from His wonderful glory He said to Him: "This is My son whom I love and with whom I am delighted." We heard that voice speak to Him from heaven when we were with Him on the holy mountain.

And we have a more sure word of prophecy. Please look to it as a light shining in a gloomy place till the day dawns and the morning star rises in your hearts. Understand this first, that no one can explain any written Word of God as he likes, because it never was the will of a human being that brought us God's Word, but the Holy Spirit moved holy men to say what God told them. ^[1]

John concludes his Gospel: "This is the disciple who testified about these things and wrote this. And we know what he testifies is true." ^[2] John begins his first epistle: "It was from the beginning, we heard It, we saw It with our eyes, we looked at It, and our hands touched It — we're writing about the Word of Life." ^[3] He concludes this epistle: "We know God's Son came and gave us the understanding to know Him who is real, and we are in Him who is real, in His Son Jesus Christ. He is the true God and everlasting life. Children, keep away from idols." ^[4]

The prophets and apostles who write the Bible presented facts, true history, not pious myths based upon some emotional experiences. They carefully evaluated the evidence Luke begins his Gospel:

Many have undertaken to plan and write a story of what has been done among us, just as we heard it from those who from the first became eyewitnesses and servants of the World. For this reason I too decided to check everything carefully from the beginning and to write it down in the proper order for you, excellent Theophilus, so that you too will be sure what you have heard is true. ^[5]

Jesus, who said: "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life, no one comes to the Father except by Me," ^[6] emphasized the importance of knowing the truth. He declared: "If you live in My Word, you are really My disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will free you." ^[7]

Today direct revelation, the very concept of truth, doctrine, and real history which can be known are being rejected right within the established churches. The very thought that God revealed Himself or any truths to man in propositions recorded in Holy Scripture is denied. Many contend that there is no such thing as absolute truth and that no one can say with absolute certainty what really happened. A professor we had for a course in philosophy at the University of Rochester in New York held up his pencil and told our class that if we believed the pencil were a cow or an elephant it would be a cow or elephant for us. Our response was that one may very well call it a cow but it certainly would not produce any milk.

Modern liberalism contends that there is no such thing as divinely revealed, authoritative, final doctrine, *doctrina divina*. However, the idea of propositional truth and revelation is taught by the Scriptures. The Holy Scriptures contain dogma, doctrine, real history, divinely revealed truth, which can be known.

While the Bible does use the term “truth” at times to mean such things as “loyalty,” “faithfulness,” etc., the Bible also teaches the idea of propositional truth, revelation, absolute truth, which man can know and express in doctrinal statements.

To the Samaritan woman who said, “I have no husband,” our Lord replied that since she had had five husbands and since her present consort was not her husband, her answer was quite correct: “You’ve told the truth.” Obviously Christ means “factual precision.” He is not attributing “faithfulness or “loyalty” to the woman. [8]

Of another woman we read in Mark that she came to Christ and “told Him all the truth.” Again this can only mean “factual precision.” Certainly she is not preaching the Gospel to Christ. She simply narrated the prosaic facts of her case. [9]

Martin Luther and other early Reformers had an intense desire to know and proclaim the truth in all areas. Luther, in his explanation of the Eighth Commandment: “Do not lie concerning your neighbor,” noted: “We should fear and love God that we may not deceitfully belie, betray, slander, nor defame our neighbor, but defend him, speak well of him, and put the best construction on everything.”

Christians are not free to believe or spread lies and myths about anyone or any people or nation. In short: *A Christian promotes truth, not lies and hoaxes.*

Revisionism

A Christian is not a revisionist in the sense that he wants to revise real history and distort what actually happened. Rather he is interested in learning and promoting facts, not lies, in every area. He is particularly vitally concerned about the true origins of all religions. Christianity is the only religion which is founded upon actual history. Unlike all other religions, it is founded upon actual events, which really happened in ordinary calendar history, not some kind of “History” which is above and beyond real history (the realm of myth). A Christian is not out to revise true history.

However, a Christian can be a Revisionist if by this is meant that a Christian is interested in revising what many consider to be history. *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* by Harry Elmer Barnes, who was not a Christian, was one of the first books I bought by a Revisionist during my college days in the early fifties. I still have this copy. Barnes noted in *Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace* in *The Journal of Historical Review* (Spring, 1982):

During the last forty years or so, Revisionism has become a fighting term. To so-called Revisionists, it implies an honest search for historical truth and the discrediting of misleading myths that are a barrier to peace and goodwill among nations. In the minds of anti-Revisionists, the term savors of malice, vindictiveness, and an unholy desire to smear the saviors of mankind.

Actually, Revisionism means nothing more or less than the effort to correct the historical facts, a more calm political atmosphere, and a more objective attitude. It has been going on ever since Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) exposed the forged "Donation of Constantine," which was a cornerstone of the papal claim to secular power, and he later called attention to the unreliable methods of Livy in dealing with early Roman history. Indeed, the Revisionist impulse long antedated Valla, and it has been developing ever since that time. It has been employed in American history long before the term came into rather general use following the first World War.

Revisionism has been more frequently and effectively applied to correcting the historical record relative to wars, because truth is always the first war casualty, the emotional disturbances and distortions in historical writing are greatest in wartime, and both the need and the material for correcting historical myths are most evident in connection with wars.

Growing Up in New York City During World War II

The October, 1988 *IHR Newsletter* announcing this conference referred to me as a "German-American." My parents came to this country from Germany as teen-agers. However, ancestors on both my mother's and father's side came to Germany from Sweden. I mention this because some have said I am a neo-Nazi, out to defend Germany because of my background. But Mother's mother refused to say "*Heil Hitler*." She insisted that she had only one *Heiland* (Savior) and that was Jesus Christ. Some feared she would be imprisoned. My father's father was one of the first Lutherans in Germany to leave the German territorial [state] church and helped form an independent church free from any government control. He vigorously protested against the liberal anti-Christian theology taught in many German universities and schools of higher learning. Perhaps much of the suffering that Germany has had to endure is because it had to such a large extent departed from God's Word.

I was fortunate to have a father, who, although he was an ordinary housepainter in New York City, was interested in world affairs and did considerable reading, including the writings of some Revisionists. Prior to WW II he followed the work of Charles Lindbergh and the America First Committees which sought to keep the U.S. out of war. I can still recall sitting in front of our radio in a Bronx apartment on December 7, 1941 listening to reports of the bombing of Pearl Harbor — I was eight years old at the time but I remember Dad telling us that this was the beginning of the most devastating war the world had ever known and that President Franklin Roosevelt was not entirely innocent in the affair. "F.D.R.'s WAR PLANS! — Goal is 10 Million Armed Men; Half to Fight in AEF — Proposes Land Drive by July 1, 1943 to Smash Nazis" were the headlines of the December 4, 1941 *Chicago Tribune*, three days before Pearl Harbor. One of the first things we had to do many mornings during WWII was run to a local 'candy' store to buy a copy of the New York *Daily News*, which at that time was only 2 cents. In the evening Dad would come home from work with other newspapers to keep up with the latest news about the war. When the news came on the radio at supper time, the entire family had to be quiet so we could hear the reports. Dad would often comment, after coming home from a day of painting in the homes of some clergymen and college professors, that a good number of them were rather unin-

formed about what was really going on in the world. He told us that very few of them recognized that Roosevelt actually planned to get the U.S. into the war.

During our public school years in the Bronx, news and evidence of the war were constantly before us. Apartment houses near our public schools were vacated and thousands of WACS, WAVES and SPARS moved in. They regularly marched around our school and trained in what is probably one of the largest armories in the world, which was right across from our school. A few gold stars replaced blue ones in our church and as we walked to school from time to time we could observe in the windows of apartment houses where a gold star had been placed just the day before where there had been a blue one. Another American had died in the war.

Some of the forty families who lived in our apartment house were Jews who had recently come from Europe and still had relatives there. At times there were only two or three of us in some of our grade school classes who were not Jews. Many of our teachers and friends were Jews. We collected newspapers for the war effort in apartment houses where most of the tenants were Jews. Some had only been in this country for a short time and still had some contact with relatives in Eastern European countries.

Before and after the war our family helped European Jews and other refugees settle in this country. A few of them became Christians. Our congregation in New York, St. Mathew Lutheran Church, often called the oldest Lutheran church in the country, probably included more former Jews than any other Lutheran church in the U.S. At one time our pastor told us that there were about 80.

During the years immediately after the war our family sent hundreds of food packages to the destitute in Europe. Since we had no automobile, we children took many of these packages to the post office in our wagon.

We cannot recall any of the many Jews with whom we came into contact growing up in Manhattan and the Bronx from 1933-52 who acted as if he really believed that millions of fellow Jews were being gassed by the Germans.

Undergraduate Revisionist Studies

I attended Concordia College Institute in Bronxville, New York, which consisted of a four-year prep school and two-year junior college. The school had a high academic standing, and four years of Latin, two years of Greek, and four years of German were required of all students, in addition to the standard courses in English, history, mathematics, and science.

Following my Dad's example, I became an early and enthusiastic Revisionist, which got me into difficulty with some of my teachers at Concordia. During my senior year I gave a talk on Roosevelt, Pearl Harbor, and the forced repatriation of millions of Eastern Europeans back to the Communists. One of the resources I used was *The Crime of the Ages*, by Ludwig A. Fritsch. The book included a pamphlet with an endorsement from Dr. Walter A. Maier, who at that time was speaker on the "International Lutheran Hour" and a professor at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

My history professor, who was an ardent fan of Roosevelt, almost exploded after I completed the speech. I had previously expressed some disagreement with this professor's views of the causes for the war and Roosevelt's parts in the war, but this was the final straw. A few of my classmates were prepared for a confrontation. I was sent to the principal to get "straightened" out. It didn't do much good and only led me to read more books by such Revisionist historians as Charles Tan-

sill, George Morgenstern, Percy Greaves, John T. Flynn, Charles Beard, Admiral Theobald, etc. I was determined to read all I could about WW I and WW II. When I graduated from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, in 1957 I also received a Master's Degree in history from Washington University. One reason for majoring in history was because I was interested in writing a textbook on American history which would tell the truth about the origins of World War I and II.

Christian Influences for Revisionism

I. Dr. Walter A. Maier

My thesis at Concordia Seminary in 1957 was on the political and economic thought of Dr. Walter A. Maier, who was one of the best known American churchmen during the war years. 32 years ago I wrote:

From Maier's endorsement of *The Crime of the Ages* it is rather obvious that he accepted the Revisionist interpretation of World War Two. He concluded a letter of thanks to the author with the words, "It certainly tells the truth" The author of this book, Ludwig A. Fritsch, Ph.D., D.D., stated that Roosevelt and his associates led America into war in order to bring this nation out of the depression. He argues that Roosevelt was not able to solve the unemployment situation in spite of social legislation and huge spending. Since Hitler could not be induced to attack the United States, Fritsch maintains that Roosevelt had to engineer war "via the back door." Through various economic pressures Japan was supposed to have been sufficiently antagonized to attack Pearl Harbor. This was claimed to have permitted Roosevelt and his associates to stand before America and demand revenge for the sneak attack. Fritsch, whom Maier endorsed, wrote:

TELL OUR PEOPLE what Oliver Lyttleton, British Minister of Production, told the Chamber of Commerce of America June 20, 1944, as reported by the United Press: "Japan was provoked into attacking the United States at Pearl Harbor. It is a travesty of history ever to say that America was forced into the war." ... TELL OUR PEOPLE, that before God and history, the load of responsibility for the chaotic conditions and the indescribable misery all over the world rests on our conscience; because we played havoc with prehistoric brutality and saved Bolshevism, making it a world menace. Without our intervention there would have been peace and order in Europe and the world long ago. ^[10]

II. Dr. Alfred Rehwinkel

Most of my professors at Concordia College (Bronxville), Washington University, Columbia University and Concordia Seminary (St. Louis), promoted the generally accepted line about Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt and the cause of both World War One and Two. Almost all of the few who were even aware of the Revisionist position refused to accept it. Dr. Alfred Rehwinkel, one of my advisors at Concordia Seminary, was one of the few who knew what was really going on in the world. Rehwinkel had been associated with Charles Lindbergh and the America First Committee. I often visited him, even after graduating from Concordia Seminary. He was several times a guest speaker at our congregation in New Haven, Missouri. Rehwinkel had been president of Concordia, Edmonton and later St. John's College in Winfield, Kansas, founded in 1893 by J.P. Baden, a distant relative our family. My father, who was one of Rehwinkel's many admirers among the

laymen, first became acquainted with him when Dad worked in the wheat fields in Kansas in the 1920's.

Perhaps one reason The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod's Concordia Publishing House has never published an excellent well written biography by Rev. Ronald Stelzer of Rehwinkel known as "Rip," is because of his position on WW II. -This biography notes:

To Rip "The Second World War was the bankruptcy of Western statemanship, and worse than that, it was the bankruptcy of Western morality." It was the impetus behind his 400 page unpublished manuscript entitled War, The Christian's Dilemma. Herein is depicted one side of the story that likely will never appear in the textbooks of American history. Against the backdrop of American and Allied atrocities in World War II, Rip analyzes the ethical problem of war as it is dealt with in the Old and New Testaments, the early Church Fathers, medieval Church history, by the Reformers and those in recent times ...

Amidst the jubilant celebration of his countrymen over the German and Japanese surrender, Rip was profoundly unimpressed with the Allies' accomplishments on the battlefield and at the negotiating table. Fifteen years later an interviewer asked Rip, "Who do you think has had the worst influence on our modern world?" Rip spoke without hesitation, "The answer is very simple. The men who have had the most baneful influence on our whole world today are Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill." (Questionnaire prepared by Dr. William Beck of St. Louis at the request of Dr. O.A. Dorn of Concordia Publishing House.) In my own conversations with Rip he consistently referred to these two, but especially Roosevelt, as "contemptible war-mongers, deceivers and fools." On occasion he has described them as "the architects of world chaos" or "the curse of our generation" and their acts as "stupendous stupidities" or "selling us down the river." ...

Rip was a voice crying in the wilderness, a lonely prophet proclaiming God's judgment upon a nation that could see only that it had won a great war. "God's attitude regarding the dignity of human life has not changed. No government has the right to shed man's blood unless for a just cause specifically sanctioned by God Himself." Instead of sharing in the party spirit, Rip posed the rhetorical question, "What does it profit a nation if it conquers the whole world but loses its soul?" When his countrymen cheered as wave after wave of bombers pounded Dresden and Hamburg, Rip echoed the words of the prophet "Woe to the bloody city, all full of lies and booty-no end to the plunder! The crack of whip, and rumble of wheel, galloping horse and pounding Chariot! Horsemen charging, flashing sword and glittering spear, hosts of slain, heaps of corpses, dead bodies without end — they stumble over the bodies! ... Behold I am against you, says the Lord of Hosts." (Nahum 3:1-5) ...

Rip also perceived a sign of God's judgment in that the American people supported and approved the follies of their leaders. Jeremiah writes "An appalling and horrible thing has happened in the land: the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests rule at their direction; my people love to have it so." (Jer. 5:31). It was a source of constant amazement to Rip how the Americans and British still honor Roosevelt and Churchill as great heroes.

But what of Hitler? "Like Nebuchadnezzar, when he made himself to be a god, God made him to be a fool; likewise those who worshipped him." It is plain to those who

have eyes to see that God is using Russia and the rest of the Communist world as His executioners just as He used Assyria and Babylonia against an apostate Israel and Judah.

III. Professor Kurt Marquart

Not all of the students at Concordia Seminary were unfamiliar with the works of Revisionist scholars and unconcerned about the threat of Communism. One of these students, who was also greatly influenced by Rehwinkel, was Kurt Marquart, now a professor at Concordia Seminary (Ft. Wayne). Dr. Marquart is considered by many to be one of the leading theologians in all of Christendom. At the same time is well informed about what is going on in the world.

Marquart and I were roommates at Concordia Seminary in 1954-55. His mother and stepfather were born in Russia, and he was born in Estonia, escaping when the Communists took over. Marquart taught Russian during his first year at Concordia Seminary. A good number of his writings on Communism and many other matters have been included in *The Christian News Encyclopedia*.

Marquart stated in an address first presented at the Australian League of Rights in Brisbane, Australia in 1968:

It is difficult for those who have not directly experienced Communism to comprehend the horror of it all. Allied soldiers, who as a result of the infamous Yalta Agreement, had to force Soviet citizens “liberated” from German captivity at the end of World War II, to return to the Workers' Paradise, reacted with utter bewilderment and incomprehension when most of these people not only refused to go back “home,” but resorted to the most desperate measures to avoid this fate. I myself shall never forget the pathetic spectacle I witnessed in 1945, of a two-mile stream of Russians, simple workers and peasants in the main, fleeing into the woods with what few belongings they could carry, to avoid being sent back to the Soviet Union. One of our friends, a Russian engineer, went back to the camp to help rescue some others, and was caught by the British soldiers whose distasteful duty it was to enforce these inhuman mass-deportations. When the men vehemently resisted “repatriation” the British officer in charge asked him if he realized that he could be sent to gaol for five years if he refused to co-operate. Our friend explained that he would gladly go to prison rather than return to the Red hell! He served five years. In other camps, also in the American occupation zone, ever more terrible scenes took place. When the men had been herded like cattle onto trucks, the women would lie down on the road in front of the trucks, and had to be removed at bayonet point. Not infrequently mothers would kill their children, and then slash their own wrists, if there was no other way out. Such unparalleled mass desperation testifies unanswerable to the utter contempt for human life practiced in the name of the brotherhood of man by the most brutal, most cynical, most inhuman regime of modern times, if not of all history. ^[11]

Some Twentieth Century Hoaxes

The Christian News, true to its function as a Christian Lutheran paper, has, since its founding in 1962, combated a number of false beliefs which I consider to be hoaxes no less than the Holocaust. *The Christian News* has exposed the false notion that all self-professed Christian churches and sects embrace the Christianity of the Gospel, as well as the claim that Christianity is just one of the many valid religious ways to God. We have upheld the inerrancy of God's directly re-

vealed word in the Bible, and have published hundreds of articles by prominent scientists which demonstrate that the theory of evolution is a hoax.

The Christian News has stood firmly against the idea that God has picked any one particular race to be his “chosen people.” This is a hoax which is widely accepted by both liberals, with their theory of evolution, and many “conservatives,” who maintain that the Bible teaches the Jews are God’s chosen race.

There are plenty of sincere but misguided Christians who maintain that when the Bible speaks about the conversion of all Israel this means physical Israel and those who are referred to as Jews today. *The Christian News Encyclopedia* includes a good number of articles exposing the nature of this hoax. ^[12]

Even some who might consider themselves “Revisionists” and who reject the anti-scriptural notion that the Jews are God’s chosen race are guilty of racism. Here is just one recent example: An article appearing in the December, 1988 *Christian Vanguard*, newsletter of the New Christian Crusade Church, says:

First let us bear in mind that the Bible is a book about the racial history of the White Race and that Adam, our ancestor, was White and that that line remained pure until Jesus, who was God, came in the flesh. If our God was White, and we are His sons and daughters, then we may fairly say that there is nothing in the Bible for any race other than the White Race, despite the millions that Christian churches have spent overseas to “save” non-Whites. For some strange reason, the ministers who so roundly denounce Adolf Hitler, champion of the White Race, never find time to criticize Moses and the prophets who actually did what Hitler didn’t do! Deuteronomy 11:23 tips the hand in which way the Pentateuch will take the White Race: “... and ye shall possess greater nations and mightier than yourselves.” Thusly, we see that under the “Führership” of Moses, Israelite tribal ascendancy was to come at all costs, including some rough treatment of other races. Hitler was falsely accused of having put into practice the racial conceptions handed to Moses by Yahweh Himself. ^[13]

The Bible knows nothing about any chosen race. The true Christian today worships the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the Holy Trinity. Those who are called Jews today reject this God. Paul wrote to the Galatians that Abraham “believed God, and so was counted righteous. You see, then, those who believe are Abraham’s real descendants. The Bible foresaw that God would make the nations righteous by faith, and long ago He told Abraham the good news: Through you all nations will be blessed. So those who believe are blessed with Abraham, who believed.” ^[14]

According to Holy Scripture, in God’s sight there is no special race, color, nationality, sex, etc. Peter wrote to the Christians of his day: “But you are a chosen people, priests of the King, a holy nation, a people saved to be His own and to tell of the wonderful deeds of Him who called you out of darkness into His marvelous light. Once you were no people, but now you are God’s people. Once you had received no mercy, but now you have received mercy.” ^[15]

Peter noted that “God doesn’t prefer one person to another. It doesn’t matter what people you belong to; if you fear Him and do what’s right, he accepts you.” ^[16]

I have repudiated all racism as long as I can remember. As I previously mentioned, I grew up in New York City among members of numerous nationalities and races. Our church had members of all races. One of my Sunday School teachers was Japanese. I had a Chinese for a roommate my first year in Prep School. In grade school most of my schoolmates were Jews. I often worked

with my father as a housepainter in Harlem in the homes of blacks. One summer I was the only white person on a 40-man picking crew. *The Christian News*, ever since it began, has published editorials against racism. I have been invited to speak to large groups where the vast majority were non-whites. Churchmen from various races have spoken in our church. Yet the Anti-Defamation League has labeled *The Christian News* as a hate sheet, racist and anti- Semitic. ^[17]

I wrote to the National Director of the Anti-Defamation League on June 25, 1988:

Mr. Abraham Foxman, National Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017
Dear Mr. Foxman:

The Christian News has just received in a letter from Mr. Edgar M. Bronfman, President of the World Jewish Congress 501 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022, a statement from you which says in part: “we educate, persuade, demand when we have to, use the courts, do the research, and make sure the necessary information is published and distributed where it will do some good. ADL responds to the needs of individual victims of prejudice, and fights against bigotry, racism and anti-Semitism.” Attached to your statement is a report titled “An ADL Special Report — HATE GROUPS IN AMERICA — A Record of Bigotry and Violence.”

Your special reports include a section titled “List of Extreme-Right Groups.” It says: “The following is a list of extreme-right groups that have operated in the U.S. in recent years. These groups espouse racism and/or anti-Semitism: many have engaged in violence.” Under a section title “List of Extreme-Right Publications” is *Christian News*, New Haven, Missouri — (no organization).”

Christian News wrote to Mr. Harold Singer, publisher of the *Jewish Journal*, Brooklyn, New York, on March 8: “An article in the February 19 *Jewish Journal* lists *Christian News* as part of the 'Right Wing Hate Press.' Could you please tell us why *Christian News* is considered part of the 'hate press?' Could you please send us the address of Mr. Abraham H. Foxman, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith?”

Christian News wrote to you on March 29: “A report in the February 19 *Jewish Journal* says that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith lists *Christian News* as part of the Right Wing Hate Press.' Could you please tell us why *Christian News* is considered part of the 'hate press?’”

Perhaps you never received this letter. Could you now please answer these questions?

I then posed a series of questions to Mr. Foxman, asking to produce a single citation from *The Christian News* advocating or defending racial hatred, anti-Semitism, or violence. Then I put to him a series of questions on the factuality of the Holocaust, and on ADL’s willingness to engage in a debate on the issue.

The Christian News never received any response from the Anti-Defamation League and, as far as I know, *The Christian News* is still on the ADL’s list of hate and racist publications.

Two hoaxes often promoted by Christians are closely linked. According to one of them, Jesus Christ will establish a kingdom of peace on this earth and reign from Jerusalem for a thousand years. The other hoax represents the contemporary State of Israel as the fulfillment of Biblical prophecy.

Space does not permit me to show how widely Millennialism has infiltrated the fundamentalist, charismatic, evangelical and Reconstructionist movements. Such prominent churchmen as Jerry Falwell, Oral Roberts, Pat Robertson, Dave Hunt, Carl McIntire, Rousas Rushdoony, Gary North, Robert Sumner, Billy Graham, Jimmy Swaggart, Jim Bakker, Hal Lindsey, and many others are all Millennialists of one sort or another. The State of Israel has welcomed the Israel First Millennialists, who believe the State of Israel a fulfillment of Biblical prophecy, with open arms.

Millennialists often disagree with one another. Some of the hoaxes the Millennialists promote are rather bizarre. Hal Lindsey, the author of the bestselling *Late Great Planet Earth* (more than 20 million copies) says, in his *A Prophetical Walk Through the Holy Land*, that there will be such a terrific battle in Israel, involving hundreds of millions, that blood will flow up to the horses' bridles for 200 miles. Lindsey's book includes a map showing where this wide tide of blood will flow up to the horses' bridles for 200 miles. Lindsey and other Millennialists are quoted at considerable length in the *CNE*. ^[18]

Anyone who wants documents showing that the whole of Millennialism is a dangerous, anti-scriptural hoax, should consult *The Christian News Encyclopedia*. ^[19]

The Augsburg Confession, one of the confessions of the orthodox Lutheran Church, stated it well when it referred to the Millennialists of the Sixteenth Century as those who were spreading certain "Jewish opinions." The Augsburg Confession says in Article XVII:

Also they teach that at the Consummation of the World Christ will appear for judgment, and will raise up all the dead; he will give to the godly and elect eternal life and everlasting joys, but ungodly men and the devils He will condemn to be tormented without end.

They condemn the Anabaptists, who think that there will be an end to the punishment of the condemned men and devils.

They condemn also others, who are now spreading certain Jewish opinions, that before the resurrection of the dead the godly shall take possession of the kingdom of the world, the ungodly being everywhere suppressed. ^[20]

The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in its Brief Statement correctly confesses after listing numerous Bible passages: "According to these clear passages of Scripture we reject the whole of Millennialism, since it not only contradicts Scripture, but also engenders a false conception of the kingdom of Christ, turns the hope of Christians upon earthly goals, (1 Cor. 15:19; Col. 3:2), and leads them to look upon the Bible as an obscure book." ^[21]

Another widespread delusion among Christians is that today's Jews view the Old Testament in the same way as Christians, and that the Old Testament is the chief Jewish scriptural authority.

Jews today insist that the Talmud is their highest religious authority. They consider it to be far more authoritative than the Old Testament. When I was in Israel last year, various Israeli guides and leaders repeatedly told me that the Talmud was their most authoritative source of religious truth. A new translation of the Talmud is now in the process of publication. *The Christian News*

Encyclopedia includes some 160 pages from the 34-volume Socino edition of the Talmud. [22] Few churchmen have studied the Talmud. Hardly anyone at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, has checked out the edition of the Talmud in the seminary's library. Almost all the pastors and professors we asked about the Talmud say they had not read even a few pages.

Those who have read what Luther wrote about the Talmud should have at least some idea of the gross immorality and lies found in the Talmud. Fifty and more years ago some of the orthodox theologians of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, such as Lutheran Hour speaker Walter A. Maier, did not hesitate to point out the lies, racism, and immorality in the Talmud. The standard of morality promoted in the Talmud gives Israel the right to take land away from Arabs who have owned it for centuries. Today it seems that even many conservative theologians hesitate to expose the Talmud for "fear of the Jews."

The Talmud reports that the Emperor Hadrian slaughtered some 800,000,000 million Jews at a time when most historians say there were about 2,000,000 Jews in Palestine. Gentiles are said to have fertilized their vineyards for seven years with the blood of Israel without using manure. Sixty-four million Jewish children, according to the Talmud, are supposed to have been slaughtered by the Gentiles in Bethar. Another section of the Talmud says that the Romans killed 4 billion Jews or "as some say" 40 million Jews. The blood of the slain Jews is to have reached the nostrils of the Roman horses and then, like a tidal wave, plunged a distance of one or four miles to the sea, carrying large boulders along with it, and staining the sea a distance of four miles out. The bodies of Jews slain by the Gentiles were used to build a fence around Hadrian's vineyard, which is said to have been eighteen miles square and the blood that was saved from the tidal wave was used to fertilize the vineyards for seven years. [23]

Most Jews today are scarcely familiar with the Old Testament. They reject the real message of the Old Testament the Messiah, Jesus Christ, and salvation only in Him.

The Roman Catholic church has long maintained that some of its saints have been able to raise people from the dead and that the Virgin Mary appears to some of them. An advertisement of *Raised From The Dead, True Stories of 400 Resurrection Miracles* by Father Albert J. Hebert, a book which has the imprimatur of Rome, says:

The raising of the dead is a miracle which, astonishing as it is, has been performed hundreds of times since the days of Christ. Our Lord told His Apostles to raise the dead (Matt 10:8), and over the centone of the leading Charismatics of our day, says that he has spoken face to face with a 900-foot Jesus. Roberts and other Charismatics continually claim that God speaks directly to them, particularly when they are in need of money. There are millions who believe this hoax.

Some Charismatics have requested us to publish their reports about Charismatics raising people from the dead. We asked them for the evidence but they never supplied us with any. Kenneth Copeland, a Charismatic who denies the deity of Christ and speaks in tongues, reports in his April, 1987 *Voice of Victory* that a leading African Charismatic has raised seven people from the dead. [25]

Oral Roberts, one of the leading Charismatics of our day, says that he has spoken face to face with a 900-foot Jesus. Roberts and other Charismatics continually claim that God speaks directly to them, particularly when they are in need of money. There are millions who believe this hoax.

Dr. Percy Collett, who has been widely promoted by Charismatics, including the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship, claims that for almost six days he was literally in heaven. An adver-

tisment prompting Collett says: “For 5 earth days he talked with God the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit. Elijah, Elisha, Abraham, Moses, Paul and others. He viewed the mansions of the saints, and toured the buildings NOW under construction.” [26]

Dr. Richard E. Eby, who claims that after he died Jesus sent him back to earth to tell people the truth, is now being promoted by charismatics. The Charismatic Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship says that

In 1972, Dr. Eby fell two stories to his death. His blood had drained out into the ground from his crushed skull. He was instantly in a new body with the Lord. He shares this unique experience in Heaven with Jesus Christ as well as the dramatic return to life in his earthly body. He describes the marvels of life after death, and as a physician he includes a vivid description of his immortal body. Jesus sent him back to earth to tell the truth. Everyone has wondered about life after death — is it true? Where will I go? Is there really a Heaven? A Hell? This is your opportunity to meet someone who has actually experienced death and restoration, and find the truth for yourself.

Jimmy Swaggart, one of the tongues-speaking and healing Charismatics who has promoted Collett, said:

... you are going to be literally elated, excited and thrilled at what Dr. Collett is going to share. I could talk to His man for 10 years and never scratch the surface — what he saw, what has happened to him, and the move of the Holy Spirit, within his life ... He has thrilled my soul and I think he’s going to thrill yours as well .. [27]

The Christian News has for many years exposed the hoaxes promoted by such leading Charismatic preachers as Oral Roberts, Kathryn Kuhlmann, Jim Bakker, Jimmy Swaggart, Kenneth Copeland, Jack Coe, and others. [28]

God speaks to man today through His Word, Holy Scripture, which is powerful and efficacious. [29]

The Charismatics, and visionaries who accept the testimony of those who claim the Virgin Mary spoke to them at Fatima, Medujmorje, and elsewhere have been among those who accepted the Shroud of Turin as the Shroud of Jesus. However, even some conservative and evangelical Christians also believed the Shroud of Turin was the Shroud of Jesus, as we noted in a *Christian News* editorial titled: “Admit Mistakes — Even Some Conservatives Believed in Hoaxes — Recognize the Shroud of Turin is not Shroud of Jesus.” [30]

Millions of pilgrims have gone to Turin and many of them claim to have witnessed miracles. Such conservative publications as William Buckley’s *National Review*, Billy James Hargis’ *Christian Crusade*, *Human Events*, and even such scientific journals as the *American Medical News* and the *Industrial Research Development* have published articles and editorials supporting the hoax that the Shroud of Turin is the Shroud of Jesus. Some of our conservative friends took sharp issue with us for maintaining that the Shroud of Jesus was not the Shroud of Turin.

Rev. Jeff Gavin, a Lutheran Church-Missouri minister in Dacatur, Illinois, commented:

I am writing to comment on your article “The Shroud of Turin Is A Hoax,” April 12, 1982.

I never considered *The Saturday Evening Post* to be a theological publication, yet compared to your article and your “scholarship” it appears I must reconsider my evaluation of the Post.

For some years, I have been interested in the Shroud, and must agree with the Post’s conclusion “The man of the Shroud suffered, died and was buried the way the Gospels say Jesus was.” You neglect to mention that Dr. McCrone was the only dissenting scientist among the STURP team of 40 scientists. The conclusion reached by the others all indicated that the Shroud cannot be proven a hoax. What Dr. McCrone did find on the Shroud was not paint but iron oxide, a substance found in paint but also found in blood.

The amount of physical support for the authenticity of the shroud has filled many books and articles. I suggest you study some of them before you make your own conclusions.

Let me conclude by quoting a Biblical scholar far more knowledgeable than either of us. Dr. David P. Scaer of the Concordia Theological Seminary writes concerning the Shroud of Turin in an article in the C.T.Q. [*Concordia Theological Quarterly*] Jan. 1979 issue: “The image on the Shroud of Jesus portrayed in the Gospels ... there is therefore no valid theological objection to identification of the Shroud of Turin as the Shroud in which Jesus was buried.

While we have often commended the *Concordia Theological Quarterly* (formerly *The Springfielder*) and have urged readers to subscribe (*Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 6600 North Clinton Street, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46825), we still insisted that the Shroud of Turin was not the Shroud of Jesus. We did not retract our editorials on the shroud being a hoax simply because various scientists and even some orthodox Christian professors concluded that the Shroud of Turin may very well be the Shroud of Jesus. The Shroud of Turin is not the only hoax some orthodox Christians accept as fact. The October 14, 1988, *Washington Times* reported in a story titled Triple Testing Finds Shroud Medieval Fake:”

Turin, Italy-The Shroud of Turin, revered by many Christians as the burial cloth of Jesus Christ, has been shown by carbon-dating tests to be a fake from the Middle Ages, the Roman Catholic church said yesterday.

But Vatican officials said the mystery of how the blood- stained image of a crucified man has appeared on the yellowing cloth was still unsolved and the shroud would remain an object of veneration for the Church.

Turin Cardinal Anastasio Ballestrero told a news conference that tests by three laboratories — in England, the United States and Switzerland — showed with 95 per cent certainty that the cloth dated from sometime between 1260 and 1390.

The results of the carbon-dating tests should again show the folly of accepting as fact all the stories of visions, healings, relics, etc., which Rome, the charismatics, and even some misguided churchmen at times promote. Christians should not accept any hoax as a fact.

Last but certainly not least among the hoaxes exposed in *The Christian News* is the Holocaust, the alleged slaughter of some six million Jews, most of them by gassing, in a planned attempt at extermination by the German government in the Second World War. Those not familiar with *The*

Christian News may be surprised to learn that we have published hundreds of items supporting the Holocaust theory, and numerous letters defending the case for the Holocaust.

The Revisionist Side

While *The Christian News* has given those who are convinced that the Germans exterminated six million Jews plenty of space to defend their position, the paper has also published a good number of articles, letters, and reports by Revisionists who question the Holocaust story. Some of these articles, in the sections on the Holocaust, Revisionism, Israel, Jews, Germany, Millennialism, and Germany, have been reprinted in *The Christian News Encyclopedia*. We have included photographs of various documents pertaining to the Holocaust.

My father was a friend of Dr. Austin App, a Christian Revisionist honored at your conference last year. When Dr. App published his booklets on the Holocaust, he sent us copies and they were reviewed in *The Christian News* at a time when others hesitated to even mention them. ^[31] We also published a long statement from a liberal pastor who took issue with Dr. App, and then printed Dr. App's response. ^[32]

Some of the Revisionists whose writings have appeared in *The Christian News* are Mark Weber, Arthur Butz, Bradley Smith, Charles Weber, Jim Keegstra, Clarence Lang, Ernst Zündel, Walter Bodenstein, Robert Faurisson, Ratibor Ray M. Jurjevich, Martin A. Larson, William Stäglich, and Ditlieb Felderer. ^[33] We have repeatedly invited readers who disagree with the Revisionists to send us articles and letters showing where the Revisionists are in error. Many of our readers, some tell us the vast majority, including most of the thousands of clergymen and professors who receive *The Christian News*, accept as absolute fact that the Germans exterminated approximately 6 million Jews during World War II. We have noted, however, that some, particularly among our younger readers, are seriously questioning the Holocaust.

Last year when *The Christian News* reviewed Thies Christophersen's *The Truth of Auschwitz*, *The Christian News* published this special notice:

If any reader knows of someone who was at Auschwitz who is able to refute Thies Christophersen, or anyone who can show that Christophersen is either lying or sadly mistaken, please contact The Christian News. *The Christian News* is particularly interested in publishing a statement from someone who actually saw the gas chambers at Auschwitz, where some four million Jews are said to have been gassed by the Germans. ^[34]

Christophersen was at Auschwitz when the Germans were supposed to be gassing millions of Jews, and states that there were no gas chambers and no mass extermination of Jews in Auschwitz.

Fred Leuchter, one of the leading U.S. experts in the construction of gas chambers, accepted the notion that the Germans exterminated some six million Jews before he made a thorough examination of the matter last year. "The Leuchter Report — the End of a Myth — An Engineering Report on the Alleged Gas Chamber at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdenek, Poland" sets out the methodology and findings of the actual sites in Poland where the gassings were alleged to have occurred. Leuchter's conclusion, after inspecting the sites and analyzing samples taken from walls and floors for total cyanide content, was unambiguous: the alleged gas chambers could not have been used, then or now, as execution gas chambers. The publisher of the "Leuchter Report" comments (*CNE*, 2363):

David Irving, the distinguished British historian, has called the “Leuchter Report” a “shattering” document which was instrumental in hardening his belief that the whole of the Holocaust mythology was now open to doubt. It is a document which “Holocaust” historians can ignore only at the peril to their reputations as objective scholars. After the “Leuchter Report,” the allegation of genocide perpetrated by the Germans against the Jews, using gas chambers as murder instruments, can no longer be upheld.

When *The Christian News* published a report on the Leuchter document, *The Christian News* noted:

Christian News welcomes a critique from anyone who still believes the Germans gassed six million Jews after he has read the “Leuchter Report.” We have made similar offers to those who still believe in the Holocaust after they have read the words of Faurisson, Rassinier, Butz, Stäglich, and Feldereer. We have repeatedly discovered that those who believe the Germans gassed six million Jews have seldom read the writings of the scholars who maintain there were no gas chambers for the extermination of even a few Jews” (*The Christian News*, July 18, 1988).

Faurisson concludes his “The Problem of the Gas Chambers”:

There was not a single “gas chamber” in even one of the German concentration camps; that is the truth. The non-existence of “gas chambers” should be regarded as welcome news; to hide this news in the future would be an injustice. Just as there is no attack upon religion if one portrays “Fatima” as a fraud, the announcement that the “gas chambers” are an historical lie is not an attack upon concentration camp survivors. One is merely doing one’s duty by being truthful.

When *The Christian News* reviewed Wilhelm Stäglich’s *Auschwitz Myth*, we made a similar challenge:

The Christian News now invites a response from anyone who can show that Wilhelm Stäglich’s *The Auschwitz Myth* is in error. We would like to publish a review from anyone who has read the book and still believes that the Germans gassed four million Jews at Auschwitz. ^[35]

No critic of the writings of such Revisionists as Arthur Butz, Charles Weber, Robert Faurisson, Wilhelm Stäglich, and Thies Christophersen has ever sent us any statement showing where their writings are in error.

The Christian News has insisted upon careful documentation and has always been willing to publish the other side in any matter. It is possible for even a careful scholar to use an oft-quoted statement without first checking its authenticity. In the past we have noted that quotations can be spuriously transferred from one writer to another. One of the first quotations we exposed as a phony was one which anti-Communists were quoting at the time. American Communist leader Gus Hall is supposed to have said, at the funeral of Eugene Dennis in 1961, “I dream of the hour when the last congressman is strangled on the guts of the last preacher ...”

Our efforts to acquire any information which would refute the Revisionists have been sincere. We wrote to both Dr. Jacob Preus, former president of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and Rev. Richard Neuhaus, a prominent churchman, columnist for *National Review*, and editor of other publications, on April 3, 1984:

This year April 24 is the Annual Day of Remembrance of the Holocaust. Both of you have been among the Lutheran churchmen who have endorsed the idea of Holocaust Sunday ... You have insisted that it is a fact that some six million Jews were killed by the Germans.

The Christian News has published a debate on Luther, the Jews, and the Holocaust. You will note that Pastor R.H. Goetjen maintains that the Holocaust never happened. He claims that Jews say far more ruthless things about Christians in their Talmud than Luther ever said about the Jews. We are inviting you to respond to what Pastor Goetjen says. We would appreciate if you could tell us the sources of your evidence that the Holocaust did occur.

Neither President Preus nor Editor Neuhaus responded

Fostering Debate on the Holocaust

Five years ago *The Christian News* published a front page article entitled “*The Christian News* Invites Moellering and Goetjen to 'Debate' — Theologian Blasts Critics of Holocaust — Deplores Luther's 'Anti-Jewish Tirades.'” It began:

“Nothing has been more detrimental to the reformer's reputation that his anti-Jewish tirade,” says Lutheran Church- Missouri Synod theologian Dr. Ralph Moellering in the January, 1984 *Cresset* of Valparaiso University.

Writing in an article titled “Lutheranism and the Holocaust — The Question of Culpability,” the LCMS clergy- man, who is currently the pastor of Grace Lutheran Church in El Cerrito, California, takes issue with some “crazies!” These “crazies” do not believe that the Germans actually exterminated some six million Jews. They excuse Luther's harsh words against Jews because of what the Jews say in their Talmud about Christ, Gentiles, Christians, and the Virgin Mary. Moellering observes that some of these “fanatics help keep alive belief in an international Jewish conspiracy dedicated to the undermining of Gentile civilization ... [36]

One of the supposed “crazies” Moellering mentioned was Rev. Reinhold Goetjen. He referred to a letter Goetjen had written to *The Christian News*. [37] *The Christian News* invited both Moellering and Goetjen to submit essays of some 5,000 words on Luther, the Jews, and the Talmud. We invited each to submit their evidence for or against the truthfulness of the reports of the extermination of some six milion Jews. The lengthy essays both submitted have been reprinted in the *CNE*. Goetjen sent us a rebutal to Moellering's essay, but Moellering failed to respond to what Goetjen said about the Talmud and the Holocaust. [38] At the time Moellering wrote his essay, he had not read what the leading Revisionist scholars have written on the Holocaust.

Two years ago, the Rev. Mark Herbener, who is a member of the Board of Directors of the Dallas Memorial Center for Holocaust Studies and who is now a bishop in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, took sharp issue with us for publishing what Revisionists were saying about the Holocaust. He said he had been sending copies of *The Christian News* to such groups as the Anti-Defamation League. We welcomed the bishop's letter and made this proposal:

The Holocaust is being debated in various European countries. Let's set up a debate on the Holocaust which will receive attention all over the U.S. Now would be a good

time. Newspapers throughout the nation are mentioning the Holocaust in their reports of the current Demjanjuk trial in Israel.

Could your Memorial Center for Holocaust Studies get Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel, who is perhaps the chief spokesman for the Holocaust, to debate one of the leading Revisionists who claims the Holocaust is a hoax and that the Germans never gassed six million Jews? If you are unable to get Elie Wiesel or someone else to debate the Holocaust, then perhaps you or someone else familiar with the arguments of the Revisionists could debate the same subject in *The Christian News*. *The Christian News* will give each side 6,000 words to present its case, 3,000 words to respond to the opposition, and then 1,000 words for a rebuttal to the response. If you can think of a fairer arrangement, please let me know. *The Christian News* wants to be as fair as possible to both sides. [39]

Bishop Herbener refused to debate the Holocaust, declaring that “your proposition to debate has only wickedness in its intent.” [40]

In our response to the Bishop we included this statement

The next issue of *The Christian News* will include some quotations from Wilhelm Stäglich’s *The Auschwitz Myth*. An English translation of this book has just been published in this country. We welcome a thorough refutation of this book by your Center for Holocaust Studies. Perhaps you could persuade Elie Wiesel to review the book if he is unable to travel to Dallas to debate the Holocaust.

The Bishop responded:

I understand what you are after and I call it “wicked.” It is called “Jew-baiting.” It is one of the rankest forms of anti- Semitism I have seen. It is closely akin to racism, the kind of racism that produced the Holocaust in Germany ...

The Bishop complained that if we had been sincere about getting the real facts on the Holocaust we would have suggested a debate with some Holocaust historians rather than an author like Elie Wiesel. We responded:

We suggested that your Center for Holocaust Studies get Elie Wiesel to debate, since his is known as the chief spokesman for the remembrance of the Holocaust and the leader of the Exterminationist viewpoint. However, if you can get Raul Hilberg, John Pawlikowski, Eva Fleischner, Byron Sherwin, or Sybil Milton to debate with any of the leading Revisionists, that would be fine with us. Could you please contact them to see whether they would be willing to debate the Revisionists? It doesn’t make any difference to us whom you get to defend your notion that the Germans gassed some six million Jews during World War II. [41]

We asked the Bishop some questions he had previously refused to answer:

1. Do you believe that Jews were gassed at Dachau during the war years, as was alleged at Nuremberg and elsewhere, or do you now concede that this story is not true? If you reject this story, why do you believe that the evidence at Dachau is less credible than the evidence for gassings at Auschwitz, Sobibor, and the other camps?
2. Do you believe the evidence that Jews were steamed at Treblinka? If so, why do you think that Holocaust historians now reject that evidence. If not, why not? Is the evidence for

“steam chambers any less credible than the evidence for “gas chambers?”

3. Do you believe the story that the Germans manufactured bars of soap from Jewish corpses during the war? If so, why do you think that Holocaust historians now reject the story? If not, are you ready to condemn those who spread this story as liars or misinformed defamers?
4. The prominent Jewish and former Auschwitz inmate Elie Wiesel wrote in his book, *Legends of Our Time*: “Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set apart a zone of hate — for what the German personifies and for what persists in the German.” Do you agree with Wiesel?
5. Do you agree that spreading and supporting lies about the German nation and people is a violation of the commandment Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor?”

Bishop Herbener was either unable or unwilling to answer these questions. IHR editorial advisor Mark Weber’s “Open Letter to the Rev. Mark Herbener,” which appeared both in *The Christian News* and *The Journal of Historical Review* (Summer 1988), presented a brief and lucid case for Holocaust Revisionism. The April 13, 1987 *Christian News*, which published the challenges from “The Committee For Open Debate on the Holocaust,” included an editorial which said:

The Christian News is sent to many church leaders, scholars, and professors who maintain that the Germans gassed about six million Jews. We hope some of them will accept the offer to debate or urge some scholar they know to accept the offer. We would appreciate it if those who accept the offer of the “Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust” would send us a copy of their acceptance. We have no association with their committee and want to make certain that both sides receive fair treatment. Perhaps we should also note that there appears to be a growing number of informed churchmen and scholars who no longer accept the Holocaust. However, some of them have warned us that the subject is too dangerous for *The Christian News*, even if we agree to give both sides equal opportunity to express their views.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles was quick to reply. After accusing the Committee for Open Debate and the Institute for Historical Review of being “neo-Nazi,” the Center told *The Christian News* that it is an absolute historical fact that the Germans gassed some six million Jews during WW II. When *The Christian News* suggested that the Simon Wiesenthal Center accept the challenge from the Committee for an Open Debate of the Holocaust, a spokesman for the center told *The Christian News* that just as Dr. Jonas Salk, the discoverer of polio vaccine, would never debate with a witch doctor, so the reputable historians and scholars at the Simon Wiesenthal Center would never debate with anyone who questions that the Germans gassed some six million Jews. According to the center, the gassing of the six million Jews is so certain as to be beyond debate.

The Simon Wiesenthal Centers' chief response was to tell a newspaper in the New Haven area that *The Christian News* was publishing material from a neo-Nazi group when it published a challenge to debate the Holocaust from “The Committee For Open Debate on the Holocaust.”

Dr. Harry James Cargas of Webster University in St. Louis lectures widely on the Holocaust and is known as a fearless defender of the thesis that the Germans exterminated some six million Jews. Dr. Cargas wrote in the June 26, 1987 *St. Louis Dispatch*:

Adolph [sic] Hitler tried to implement the goal of eliminating all of the world’s Jews. He died on the tax rolls of the Catholic Church, never having been excommunicated ... The silence of Pope Pius XII regarding the murder of Jews is a scandal.

The Christian News wrote to Cargas:

We have been informed that you are one of the leading Holocaust scholars in the nation and that you have written several books on the subject *The Christian News* has just received the enclosed manuscript from the “Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust” and has been asked to publish it (CNE, 2018)

However, we would like to give you or some other Holocaust scholar you know an opportunity to respond. Would it be possible for you to send us a response by September 10 for our September 14 issue? Possibly you already have an essay which answers those who question whether the Germans actually gassed some six million Jews during WW II ...

Are you willing to debate the Holocaust in a forum with someone from the “Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust”? *The Christian News* would like to print the transcript of such a debate, particularly at the present time when the Holocaust and the Demjanjuk trial are so much in the news.

Dr. Cargas refused to send us an essay responding to the article we sent him from the Committee for an Open Debate of the Holocaust He wrote: “I am not stupid — which I would be if I engaged in any discussion of the validity of the Holocaust” ^[42]

Peglau Answers the Challenge

“Peglau Takes Up Gauntlet Against Revisionism — 'DEBATE OF THE CENTURY' IS ON!” A news release from the self-styled Exterminators of Revisionism, which appeared in the March 7, 1988 *Christian News*, said in part:

Defense attorney Glen Louis Peglau has informed *The Christian News* that he and a team of lawyers, theologians and congressmen are challenging the leadership of the Revisionist movement, who say the Holocaust never happened, to an open debate in Washington, D.C. in mid-February, 1989. It is already being billed as the Debate of the Century by pro-Holocaust supporters. Peglau and his team will take the position that over 6,000,000 Jews were murdered by the Nazis during the reign of the “3rd Reich” in the 1930’s and ½ of the 1940’s.

It is high time we prove beyond a reasonable doubt before the whole world, in open debate before the global media, that the Holocaust was a real part of history. This must be done now to stop the ridiculous contentions of the Revisionists that the Holocaust is only a figment of the Zionists' imagination. Their antisemitic and neo-Nazi propaganda must be stopped in this generation.

“It was because *The Christian News* began a focus on the issue of the Revisionist claims that we decided to silence their ridiculous claims for all history. To say the Holocaust never existed is like saying World War II never happened. This whole Revisionist position is motivated by a pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic mentality that can no longer be tolerated in the world. The distorting of history is an affront to the whole human race. Even though Stalin murdered more human beings than Hitler did it was Hitler’s intent to stamp out a whole race of people in one generation ...

“Two months ago the editor of *The Christian News* and I interviewed for television a fine West German pastor who confessed that the Nazis had killed over 6,000,000

Jews in concentration camps

“It is also doubtful in my mind whether the Revisionists can get one responsible theologian on their side. I assure you we will have at least four of the most responsible, conservative, Bible-believing theologians on our side. These men are godly men who are above reproach. One of them may not only be a theologian, but an attorney as well, Peglau explained ...

“History will always owe a debt to the editor of *The Christian News* for his bringing the issue of the Holocaust, and the Revisionist position, to the attention of the world, and specifically to the attention of Bible-believing Christians who haven’t fallen for the nonsense Revisionists have promulgated. [43]

This news release from the self-proclaimed Exterminators of Revisionism in the April 4, 1988 *Christian News* reported, in part:

Attorney Glen L. Peglau announced that America’s best-selling Christian author, Hal Lindsey, has agreed to be one of the debaters in the “Debate of the Century” in Washington, D.C. in mid-February, 1989, on the side of those that support the fact that over 6,000,000 Jews were slaughtered by the Third Reich” in the reign of Adolf Hitler ...

Dr. Lindsey is the most widely read Christian author in all of history ...

The Revisionists only want three or four debaters on each side of the debate. Peglau has asked for 15 debaters to be on each side of the Holocaust issue. Attorney Peglau believes that Revisionists cannot get 15 scholarly debaters for their position in the debate ...

Peglau is indeed on a course to get the greatest Christian scholars in the West to take up the cause of the Holocaust for “The Debate of the Century.” It looks like Peglau is putting together the best in Christendom. [44]

“‘Debate of the Century’ Peglau Selects Anderson As Final Debater,” a press release from the Committee to Exterminate Revisionism in the October 30, 1988 *Christian News* noted:

Defense Attorney Glen Peglau has finalized his debating team with the addition of the renowned Palm Springs, California attorney Thomas A. Anderson.

According to Peglau:

Attorney Anderson is a Christian lawyer who has served as the president of the California Trial Lawyers Association.

Anderson is a brilliant lawyer who, Peglau states, is one of the three ranking top lawyers in California, along with Melvin Belli and Marvin Michelson. Anderson is considered one of the leading debaters in modern history. Anderson is a close personal friend of Christian apologist Josh McDowell. Anderson is a lawyer’s lawyer who anybody is afraid to take on in a court room. We’ve two of the great lawyers in modern history with Anderson and Montgomery on our team. Hal Lindsey’s track record of over 50,000,000 of his books being sold speaks for itself.

Honestly Seeking the Truth

The Christian News has attempted to be fair to both sides in this debate by printing their news releases exactly as they send them to us. We commented in the March 21, 1988 *Christian News* in an editorial on the debate:

The Christian News commends both the “Exterminators of Revisionism” and the Revisionists for agreeing to debate. It is true that *The Christian News* has had much more contact with members of The Committee for Extermination of Revisionism and with others who believe the Germans gassed some six million Jews during World War II. Several of them have for years contributed many articles to *The Christian News*. On the other hand, we have not met any of the leading Revisionists and really only know some of them through their writings.. Years ago we met the top executive of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and we have spoken on the phone with a spokesman for the Simon Wiesenthal Center and with Mr. Mark Weber of the Committee for the Open Debate of the Holocaust. We have confidence in the integrity and honesty of the debaters Attorney Peglau has said will defend the position that the Germans gassed some six million Jews during World War II. We are in accord with the theological position of most of them. While we certainly take issue with the theology of some of the Revisionists who have sent us material for publication, we have no reason to question their honesty. Some Revisionists are atheists, others accept the anti-scriptural and unscientific myth of evolution and, as Peglau has correctly observed, do not believe the Bible. A good number of Revisionists appear to be taking a rather cynical attitude toward Christian theologians who insist that the evidence clearly indicates that the Germans Gassed six million Jews during World War II. They question the ability of these theologians to think clearly and properly evaluate evidence ...

We hope that both sides in this debate will keep it on a calm, low key level, where neither side resorts to emotionalism to win but where both sides carefully look at the evidence. Logic and clear facts and not feelings should govern the conduct of both sides. Honest men are persuaded by facts not by some docudramas they see on television.

Now is a good time to carefully examine the evidence for the gassing of some six million Jews. Enough years have passed to minimize the emotionalism which prevails after every war and yet we are still close enough to WW II to establish what really happened. This is not some minor peripheral issue. The support Israel receives is based to a large extent upon the reality of the Holocaust. The leadership of major denominations in our nation urge thousands of congregations to conduct worship services which call to remembrance the gassing of six million Jews by the Germans. The Holocaust is being used as one reason various Germans, Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans should be sent back to Communist nations.

Perhaps it would be well if both sides in the debate submit to the other side several months before the debate any documents they intend to introduce. This way all will have the opportunity to check the authenticity of the document. Such a policy could also save considerable time. While this may not be the practice followed in many debates, we consider the “Debate of the Century” to be different than many debates. Both sides should only be interested in the truth and not in winning some debate.

Both sides should follow The *Christian News* long-standing motto: "Put all the facts on the table and let the chips fall where they may."

After the debate is over, we hope that one side or the other will have the courage to say to the other "Thanks. We appreciate that you have shown us the truth. We regret that we have been so sadly misled all these years and we will do our best to see that from now on only the truth is told about the Holocaust." [45]

A Thwarted Proposal for Debate

February 15, 1989

Mr. Glen Peglau, Chairman
Committee For the Extermination of Revisionism
67660 Quijo
Palm Springs, California 92264

Mr. Mark Weber and Mr. Bradley Smith
Committee For Open Debate On the Holocaust
Box 931098 Los Angeles, CA 90093

Dear Gentlemen:

Mr. Glen Peglau has just informed us that there may not be a debate on the Holocaust in February 21 in Torrance. According to Mr. Peglau, a team of three members of the Police Intelligence Division visited Pastor Wilbur Wacker and Hal Lindsey and "inferred" a "bomb threat." Mr. Peglau said that this was the first time such a police committee ever visited Hal Lindsey and because of the "inferred" bomb threat Lindsey has "been through hell and back."

Mr. Peglau said he was extremely embarrassed for putting Pastor Wilbur Wacker into so much difficulty and danger. Mr. Peglau expects a riot in front of Pastor Wacker's church if the debate is held as planned. He also noted that the other members of his team will be in court the day of the debate. While Mr. Peglau said he had no evidence as to who was "inferring" the alleged "bomb threat," he repeatedly emphasized that it was not the Jewish Defense League or "the Jews." While he said some "leading Jews" asked him not to go ahead with the debate, he said there was a "small minority" of Jews who thought it would be in order for him to go ahead with the debate.

Mr. Peglau said that in no way should the refusal of his committee to appear at the debate on February 21 be interpreted as a refusal to debate the Holocaust. He told us that he was now proposing a September 23 date for the debate at a secluded place in Palm Springs where there would be no danger of any riot or of bomb threats. He said that Dr. John Montgomery and Hal Lindsey are still thoroughly convinced of their position that the Germans exterminated some six million Jews and are eager to face the Revisionists and answer their arguments. Mr. Peglau noted that perhaps Bible scholar and "genius" Walter Martin will take Attorney Anderson's place in the debate.

Since I was not entirely certain what was going to happen, I made the following proposal to Mr. Peglau. Without mentioning the dates:

Christian News in its issue of April 3, 1989 will publish a 5,000 word (approximately) statement from each of the four debaters of both sides. Each side will then have about 20,000 words.

The May *Christian News* will publish a response of approximately 10,000 words from each team to the other side. The space can be divided up in whichever way a team may decide.

The June 5 *Christian News* will then publish a rebuttal to the response of each team from the opposing team. This statement should be no longer than 5,000 words.

Christian News should have the copy six days before the publication date.

Such an approach will give each side time to contact experts for resource information to refute the other side. The Exterminationists, for example, could consult the Simon Wiesenthal Center, such authorities as Raul Hilberg, the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum or any other place which claims to have material to refute the Revisionists.

Mr. Peglau agreed to this proposal of a written “debate” whether or not you gentlemen are ever able to get together for a debate face to face.

It appears to me that a bomb threat should not prevent a debate, but Mr. Peglau said it was a life threatening matter and that he had a family to care for.

I will leave it up to you gentlemen to contact the various members of your team with this proposal. If the time schedule is not acceptable or if you have some suggestions to improve the format, please let us know. I would also appreciate it if the Revisionists would let us know if they, along with Mr. Peglau and the Exterminationists, will participate in the written debate we are now proposing.

Sincerely yours,
Herman Otten

P.S. If one side in this “debate” sends us its statements and the other does not, we will still publish the statements we receive.

[The “Exterminationors of Revisionism” did not show up for the debate. Dr. Faurisson, Dr. Countess, Mark Weber and Bradley Smith presented the Revisionist case to four empty chairs, an audience of over one hundred people, and Los Angeles press on February 21 at the Quality Inn in Torrance, California. — Ed.]

Revisionists and Exterminationists

The Christian News has probably published more material and reports from those who are convinced the Germans exterminated some six million Jews than any other religious newspaper. *The Christian News* has repeatedly invited those who are convinced that this Holocaust is a fact to send us their evidence. We have published what they have sent. Last year, when we were in Israel as a guest of Israel, we visited Yad Vashem and saw the “evidence” there for the Holocaust. Throughout our school years and entire ministry most of our teachers and associates have accepted the Holocaust as fact. As far as I know this is probably the first time I have spoken to a group where the majority probably does not believe the Germans gassed some six million Jews.

While Revisionists have responded to the writings and evidence of the Exterminationists have presented, the Exterminationists seldom respond to the writings of the revisionists. An Exterminationist like Dr. John Warwick Montgomery considers them rather unscholarly and like the works of the “flat earth” society people, even though when he made this analysis he had not yet read the scholarly writings of leading revisionists such as Arthur Butz, Wilhelm Stäglich, Robert Faurisson, Mark Weber, Charles Weber, Paul Rassinier, Harry Elmer Barnes, Clarence Lang, Ernst Zündel, Austin App, et al. Dr. Montgomery is not alone, among those who believe the Germans exterminated six million Jews, in having read very little of what the Revisionists have written.

The real Revisionist scholars, on the other hand, show in their writings that they are thoroughly familiar with the works of the Exterminationists.

I have repeatedly asked theologians and pastors who say they are convinced that the Germans gassed six million Jews, if they have read any of the writings of the Revisionists. Most admit they have not. Even a good number of our conservative friends who subscribe to *The Christian News* and who believe in the Holocaust say they don’t have time to read the articles by Revisionists in *The Christian News*. They claim they already know the truth about the Holocaust, so “why waste time” reading about it.

They tell us that they have seen enough TV programs on the subject to know that the Germans exterminated six million Jews. Forty years ago, when we tried to tell our professors and some clergymen the truth about Pearl Harbor, WW II, and forced repatriation of thousands back to the Communists, we found out how uninformed intelligent professors and pastors could be. Thirty-five years ago we discovered how uninformed church officials could be about what was being taught at seminaries and colleges they promoted. As the years went by we discovered how modern man, with all his scientific research and great learning, could still fall for the hoaxes we have mentioned in this essay, one of which is clearly what is now referred to as the Holocaust.

While most Revisionists appear to be opposed to the construction of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., right next to some of our nation’s most cherished monuments, I say let it be built! One day it will serve as a monument to the stupidity of modern man, who can still accept a hoax as a fact. Hopefully it will then serve as a reminder to study all the facts and evidence and repudiate all hoaxes.

The day is surely coming when all the evidence showing that the Germans never exterminated six million Jews can no longer be suppressed. Truth is not determined by majority vote. I learned this lesson in high school, and since then have repeatedly discovered how the majority of scholars, even within our churches, can be in error. That our presidents, senators and congressmen all are supposed to be convinced that the Germans killed six million Jews, that almost all of our nation’s professors and churchmen are said to maintain that the Holocaust is a fact, doesn’t make it a fact.

There is no dispute over the fact that large numbers of Jews were deported to concentration camps and ghettos, or that many Jews died or were killed during World War II. Revisionist scholars have presented evidence, which Exterminationists have not been able to refute, showing that there was no German program to exterminate Europe’s Jews and that the estimate of six million Jewish wartime dead is an irresponsible exaggeration. (*CNE*, 2918).

The Holocaust, the alleged extermination of some six million Jews (most of them by gassing) is a hoax and should be recognized as such by Christians and all informed, honest and truthful men everywhere.

Here are the reasons which have impressed me as particularly persuasive in coming to my own conclusion that the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story is the correct one:

- There is no convincing or substantial evidence for the allegation of mass killings in gas chambers in the wartime German camps. Careful investigation — in particular that carried out by American engineer Fred Leuchter — has thoroughly discredited the “gas chamber” extermination claims.
- A number of former camp inmates — including some who were interned in the notorious Auschwitz-Birkenau camp — have declared that the wartime German camps were not extermination centers.
- The most reliable statistics available cannot be reconciled with the legendary “six million” figure. The best evidence indicates that no more than a million or perhaps a million and a half European Jews perished from all causes during the war years.
- Neither the major Jewish organizations in the United States, nor the wartime Allied governments, nor the International Red Cross, nor the Vatican acted as if they seriously believed the wartime extermination propaganda.
- Although the German government kept extensive and detailed records of its wartime Jewish policy, not a single document has ever been found which substantiates or even refers to an extermination program or policy. Instead, the voluminous German records confiscated by the Allies at the end of the war clearly show that the German “final solution” program was one of emigration and deportation, not extermination.
- Even prominent Jewish “Exterminationist” historians now acknowledge that the stories of gassings, and extermination in camps in Germany proper are not true, in spite of the fact that such claims were once seriously made, particularly at the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946.
- The Holocaust story now centers on just six former camps in what is now Communist-ruled Poland, and the so-called “evidence” presented to prove mass exterminations in these camps is qualitatively no better than the now discredited “evidence” once cited for the exterminations in the camps in Germany proper.
- Much of the so-called “evidence” presented by the “Exterminationists” over the years has already been thoroughly discredited. For example, the well-known horrific photographs of piles of corpses taken in camps in western Germany at the end of the war are now acknowledged to be photos of victims of disease and malnutrition who perished as indirect victims of the war in the final weeks and months of the conflict. Also, so-called “confessions” — such as those of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Hoss — have been shown to be untruthful and extracted by torture. Many of the official reports and testimonies presented as “evidence” by the prosecution in the Nuremberg trials has since been shown to be lies.
- The fact that so many Jews “survived” German rule during the war — many of them even in so-called “extermination” centers such as Auschwitz-Birkenau — is enough to show that there was no German program or policy to exterminate the Jews of Europe.

Christians and the Holocaust Hoax

The Holocaust is a hoax and the time has come for Christian scholars and pastors to recognize this and stop perpetrating a hoax as the truth. A Christian is not free to believe and promote a lie about any person or nations, as we said in our introduction. True Christian scholars should at least read what the Revisionists are saying.

Many have said to us: “What difference does it make? The truth of the Holocaust is of no concern to Christians.” Nonsense! A Christian is not free to believe and promote a lie about any person or nation. A Christian is guided by truth and facts, not emotions and majority opinion.

If Christians can accept as historical fact the Holocaust, despite all the powerful evidence that it is a hoax, what does that say about their ability to evaluate evidence? What about their scholarship? Is it any wonder that some Revisionists, who have made a careful study of the Holocaust, question the scholarship of Christians, so many of whom swallow as absolute truth what is clearly a hoax?

I have been told numerous times, even by theologians who claim to be orthodox: “I don’t care whether it was six million or one Jew, even one is too many.” Such an attitude shows contempt for the truth. A Christian is to show true love and the Apostle Paul tells us that love is “happy with the truth (1 Cor. 13:6). The writing of Proverbs tells us: “Speak out for those who can’t speak, for the rights of those who are doomed. Talk up, render fair decisions, and defend the rights of the poor and needy peoples (Proverbs 31:9).

A Christian bases his faith upon facts and absolute truth, not feelings and emotion. A Christian recognizes that only God is all-knowing. A Christian is willing to listen to evidence and evaluate various viewpoints. He doesn’t close his mind to the facts and evidence. He doesn’t start out with the assumption that the Jew is right and the German is wrong or that the Jew is wrong and the German is right. He looks at the evidence. Those who say they don’t care if it was six million or one are showing a despicable attitude toward truth. They are saying: “We don’t care about the truth.” Such an attitude is sinful and worldly. Is it any wonder that so many then go on to act as if they don’t care about another man’s wife or his property? The truth as to the Holocaust is a moral issue. Those who maintain the Germans exterminated some six million Jews, most of them by gassing, are seeing to it that the Christian Church can no longer avoid speaking out. Churches are being pushed, as never before, to have special services commemorating the Holocaust.

A Christian is ready to change his opinion if the evidence shows he is wrong. This essay demonstrates how often we have afforded the “Exterminationists” opportunity to refute the Revisionists.

Some tell us that we are not showing love to the Jews and are being racists and anti-Semitic when we published articles by Revisionists questioning the Holocaust and when we insist that Jesus Christ is the only way to heaven.

We have repeatedly emphasized in many editorials that the Bible teaches that there is no special chosen race. All those, regardless of color, race, nationality, sex, wealth, etc., who trust in the merits of Jesus Christ alone for their salvation are God’s chosen people and will go to heaven. Those who tell Jews, Muslims, and any other non-Christian that they worship the true God and can get to heaven without Christ are not showing true love to the Jews and other non-Christians.

The so-called fact of the Holocaust is being used to deport innocent men in this country who served in the German army as teenagers. In some cases they have been sent back to certain death in Communist lands. The Office of Special Investigation is using the Holocaust as an excuse to force even such reputable German and anti-Communist scientists as Arthur Rudolph out of the U.S.

Israel is using the “fact” of the Holocaust as an excuse to execute such innocent men as the Ukrainian, John Demjanjuk. “The Jewish people have a long score to settle with the Ukrainian people” says Dov Ben-Meir, a deputy speaker of Israel’s Knesset. According to this top Israeli official, “Unaccounted numbers” of Ukrainians “collaborated with the Nazi regime, especially in the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of Jews.” (*CNE* 2504)

The “fact” of the Holocaust is being used by some to deny that Christianity is the only true religion and that Jesus Christ rose from the dead.

Israel is using the “fact” of the Holocaust as an excuse to kill Palestinians in Israel. This slaughter, together with the anti-scriptural notions of the Israel-first Millennialists, almost all of whom believe in the Holocaust, could lead to another bloody war.

The Holocaust is not some innocent hoax, like children’s fairy tales, which entertain and have no evil consequences.

The “chosen people” and “Holocaust” myths makes mission work among non-Christians far more difficult. Arabs, who are told that the Bible teaches that their land belongs to the Jews, find it more difficult to believe what the Bible says about Christ.

A Mighty Fortress Is Our God!

We have been warned, even by some theologians who recognized that the Holocaust is a hoax, to remain silent because of the danger involved. Some have told us to take out more insurance. God is still in control of this world, not some vast conspiracy, whether the Communists, Jews, international bankers, Illuminati, Trilateralists, etc.

For over 25 years *The Christian News* has been exposing a good number of hoaxes, even those held by many church members. Some have asked: Do you believe there is any absolute truth? Is there anything, in your estimation, that is not a hoax? You publish all sorts of opinions. Just where do you stand? Each week we state in our masthead: Christian News is not a doctrinally neutral observer, but it is committed to the full historic Christian faith, as it is authoritatively revealed in the written Word of God, the Holy Scriptures, and correctly set forth in the confessions of the orthodox Church, to wit, the Book of Concord of 1580.”

I commend to all Revisionists and everyone else nothing more nor less than historic Christianity. God by “raising Christ from the dead has given everyone a good reason to believe” (Acts 17:31).

In spite of the many attempts to falsify history, the Christian church has always struggled for the truth. This was true for the first Christians. It was also the basic issue of the Reformation. One of the greatest confessors of the faith in this century, Dr. Herman Sasse, who was also avidly anti-Nazi, points out in his book *Here We Stand* that the Reformation emphasized the profound seriousness of the truth.”

So, as an Evangelical Lutheran pastor, in the tradition of the early church and the Reformation, I stand before you today again to make a strong appeal in the struggle for the truth.

The subject of the Holocaust is not my primary concern in life. It is not my main message. As stated in the masthead the paper we founded and have served as editor for the past 26 years, we preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Nevertheless, Christians must not only strive to proclaim the saving Truth of the Gospel. We are obligated by this same Gospel to tell the truth in all areas of life, including events of political economics, war, and Church and secular government

“These are the things which you should do: speak the truth to one another; judge with truth and judgment for peace in your gates.” Zechariah 8:16

Notes

1. ☞ 2 Peter 1:16-21. All Bible quotations taken from *An American Translation of the Bible* by Dr. William Beck. Published by Leader Press and *The Christian News*, Box 168, New Haven, Missouri 63068, 1976.
2. ☞ John 21:24.
3. ☞ John 1:2.
4. ☞ 1 John 5:20, 21.
5. ☞ Luke 1:14.
6. ☞ John 14:6.
7. ☞ John 8:31, 32.
8. ☞ John 4:18.
9. ☞ Mark 5:33.
10. ☞ Ludwig A. Fritsch, *The Crime of Our Age* (Chicago: Published by the author, 5121 N. England Ave., Chicago 31, Ill 1947, pp. 74-75.
11. ☞ Kurt Marquart, "The Fate of Christians Under Communism," in *A Christian Handbook on Vital Issues* (New Haven, Missouri: Leader Press, 1973), p. 189.
12. ☞ *The Christian News Encyclopedia* (hereafter *CNE*), Washington, MO: The Missourian Publisheres, 1988, pp. 2499-2520; 1077-1104; 1060-1074:2405-2469.
13. ☞ "Was Moses The First Nazi?" *Christian Vanguard*, New Christian Church, December, 1988, 7.8. Sons of Liberty, Box 214, Metairie, Louisiana. Adolph Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* regards "racial pollution as the original sin of humanity." (Boston Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), p.624.
14. ☞ Galatians 3:8,9.
15. ☞ 1 Peter 2:8,9.
16. ☞ Acts 10:35. See "Down With All Racism" by Jim Keegstra, *CNE* 2465. "Who Are the Chosen People? Rightly Dividing The World of Truth" by Jim Keegstra, *CNE* 2981.
17. ☞ *CNE* 2517.
18. ☞ *CNE* 2708,9.
19. ☞ *CNE* 2688-2709; 2888-2895; 1306-1319.
20. ☞ *Augusburg Confession, Article XVII. Concordia Triglotta* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), 51.
21. ☞ *CNE* Appendix, volume II.
22. ☞ *CNE* 3102-3129.
23. ☞ *CNE* 2310-3129.
24. *CNE* 1920.
25. ☞ *CNE* 1948.
26. ☞ December 12,1988 *Christian News*. *CNE* 1943.
27. ☞ *CNE* 1943.
28. ☞ Index of *CNE*, under charismatic and also individual names.
29. ☞ Romans 1:16.1 Thess. 2:13.
30. ☞ *Christian News*, November 14,1988, p.9.
31. ☞ See *CNE* index, under "Holocaust."
32. ☞ *CNE* 1090.
33. ☞ *CNE* 2909-2929; 2302-3603.
34. ☞ *CNE* 2925.
35. ☞ *CNE* 2925.

36. ☞ *CNE* 2321.
37. ☞ *CNE* 1099.
38. ☞ *CNE* 2321-2329.
39. ☞ *CNE* 2336.
40. ☞ *CNE* 2337.
41. ☞ *CNE* 2339.
42. ☞ *CNE* 2348.
43. ☞ *CNE* 2356.
44. ☞ *CNE* 2357.
45. ☞ *Christian News*, March 21,1989.

Source: vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 353-356.

Book Reviews

Not Guilty at Nuremberg: The German Defense Case

- by [Carlos Porter](#). Brighton, England: Historical Review Press, n.d., pb., 22 pp., photographs, \$5.00. ISBN:

Reviewed by Karl Brecht

The Nuremberg Trials are arguably the gravest miscarriage of justice since the witch trials of pre-Enlightenment Europe and colonial America. At the close of the Second World War, the Allies arrested the entire hierarchy of the Third Reich and put its members on trial for “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity,” the latter an entirely new concept in international law. Actions taken by various governmental officials were declared, *ex post facto*, to be “crimes.” Perfectly legitimate organizations were declared to be “criminal” and all members of these organizations were subject to arrest and incarceration without writ of habeas corpus.

Normal rules of evidence were suspended and affidavits of “witnesses” were not allowed to be cross examined. The prosecution presented as evidence numerous documents which were such absurdly bad forgeries that they were disallowed by their own judges out of sheer embarrassment. Both the American judge, Biddle, and the Russian judge, Nikitchenko, made statements prior to the trial to the effect that the defendants had already been convicted. The press was invited to watch the proceedings and the trial was broadcast over the radio. It lasted nearly a year and for entertainment value it outdid the Circus Maximus and the games of the Roman Colosseum combined. It was the political show trial of the century, making the 1930’s purge trials of Stalin seem like the epitome of just law.

Not Guilty at Nuremberg is the second of Porter’s studies of the main Nuremberg trial. The first, *Made in Russia: The Holocaust*, reproduced pages from the 42-volume published record of the International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, to demonstrate that the evidence and testimony introduced at the trial was not merely questionable but often ludicrous.

Porter’s ambition in *Not Guilty* belies the booklet’s (22 pages, large format) short length: he has sought to present, in outline form, a case for the defense of Germany and its National Socialist leadership. Formulating such a case from the arguments of the defendants, both individuals and organizations, presented at Nuremberg, is not an easy task. The condemnation of Germany and its regime by the victors was implicit from the outset, in the very institution of the “International Military Tribunal”; the legal tactics of both prosecution and defense thus revolved around the innocence or guilt of the defendants as individuals. Furthermore, the charter which set up the IMT gave the Tribunal wide latitude in dismissing defense arguments and evidence as “irrelevant,” offensive, and the like.

Not Guilty at Nuremberg is a valuable booklet. It has been Porter's great service to comb the trial transcript and evidence, as presented in the IMT volumes, in order to select the strongest arguments against the prosecution's charges, including, unlike many substantive Revisionist challenges to Nuremberg justice to date, the extravagant claims for extermination of Jews by gas which became the central prop of the case against Germany and National Socialism. Porter cites chapter and verse, not merely on the best exculpatory evidence and arguments, but also on the numerous lapses of due process by prosecutors and judges. The author compares British, American, and German editions of the trial transcript to reveal key discrepancies between them. Testimony and evidence not accepted at the main Nuremberg trial are introduced as they bear on the German defense; there is also an interesting comparative section (on the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, the Japanese Nuremberg).

Valuable as it is, *Not Guilty at Nuremberg* is occasionally frustrating. Its content is organized rather confusingly. Rather than grouping the material thematically, the author has gathered it in short sections titled with the names of the more than twenty individual defendants; other sections feature important "witnesses," (e.g. Gerstein), documents, American trial psychologist G.M. Gilbert, and so forth. The title of a given section merely give notice that the defense arguments presented therein were made by the defendant or his lawyer. For instance, the section on Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, a defendant who was the highest ranking government official after Hitler, deals with the concentration camps, conscript labor, POW's, the start of the war, etc.; the author does not relate the subjects covered to Göring in particular. It might have been helpful to indicate that Göring, as head of the police forces (including the Gestapo), was the one who established the concentration camp system; that Göring, as Plenipotentiary for the Four Year Plan, authorized labor conscription; and that Göring had a considerable role in trying to negotiate a peaceful solution to the Polish question prior to the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and Poland. Otherwise, a different rubric would be called for.

The booklet lacks a scorecard; it is therefore difficult for the uninitiated to fathom who the players are. For example, the first mention of Robert Jackson states that he understood no German. This statement has no significance unless the reader already knows that Robert Jackson was a United States Supreme Court Justice and the chief prosecutor for the U.S. at the Trials. In the same vein, the mention of Martin Bormann as one of the accused is also irrelevant unless one knows that he was the personal secretary to Adolf Hitler, and chief functionary of the National Socialist party.

Missing background aside, Mr. Porter has an unerring sense of irony which allows him to sniff out and root up the most macabre incidents of the Trials and then wryly comment on them. Rudolf Hess, the Deputy Führer, who in May of 1941 flew to Britain to make peace overtures to the English personally, was rewarded for his efforts by being interned in England for the duration of the war and then sent to Nuremberg to stand trial. At the trial Hess started to evidence previously unknown erratic behavior. At first, he declared that he had amnesia, he then later declared that he remembered everything! Hess's attorney pleaded that he was insane but the tribunal ruled that he had to stand trial. Mr. Porter comments, "Hess appears to have been a man who could be totally insane one moment, and brilliantly lucid, sane, and logical a moment later. It is possible that this condition was acquired in Britain."

Of Julius Streicher, the publisher of *Der Stürmer* (a magazine which frequently ran anti-Jewish articles), Porter writes:

Streicher was hanged for "incitement to race hatred," a crime which is becoming more popular. The Streicher case is remarkable in that nations which preach separa-

tion of church and state, and freedom of speech and press should conspire with Jews and Communists to hang a man for expressing opinions which were not alleged to have been untrue.

On Baldur von Schirach, the head of the Hitler Youth movement, Porter presents us with this tid-bit:

Von Schirach was accused of conspiring with millions of children to conquer the world in imitation Boy Scout uniforms. It was pointed out in his defense that a conspiracy involving millions of members is a logical absurdity.

In *Not Guilty at Nuremberg*, Porter has compiled an unsparing critique of the prosecution case at Nuremberg, to date the most influential source for the one-sided brief against Germany that passes for today's "history" of the Second World War. More than most critiques of the victors' justice at Nuremberg, which tend to give greater weight to jurisprudential issues, *Not Guilty* reminds the reader of the often grotesque disparity between what actually happened during the war and the convenient fables so often accepted by the defense as well as the prosecution at Nuremberg. Especially notable is Porter's caveats as to the reliability of various documents placed in evidence at the trial: in many cases the German originals have disappeared — if they ever existed.

Like its predecessor, *Made in Russia: The Holocaust*, Porter's *Not Guilty at Nuremberg* offers Revisionist scholars interested in the IMT and subsequent war crimes trials powerful ammunition, backed up by precise and easily available references, on the miscarriages of justice and historical accuracy at Nuremberg.

Source: vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 357-359.

Book review

Roosevelt And Hitler: Prelude To War

- **by Robert E. Herzstein. New York: Paragon House, 1989, hardbound, 500 pages, photographs, index, \$24.95. ISBN: 1 -55778-021-8**

Reviewed by Robert Clive

Among those who are essentially sympathetic with his presidency, opinion about Franklin D. Roosevelt's role in the period leading up to Pearl Harbor is divided. During the late 1930's, FDR promised "time and again" that he would not intervene in any "foreign" war; since then, his many defenders have portrayed him as a leader who only reluctantly was compelled by forces beyond his control to take action against a world-wide fascist menace. Others, while admitting that FDR played a key role in the anti-Axis coalition even before official U.S. involvement in the war, have accused him of not doing enough to address the particular concerns of world Jewry, and cite American refusal to admit hundreds of thousands of Jewish "refugees" prior to 1941 as evidence of his lack of sensitivity. This view is summarized by Arthur D. Morse in his book, *While Six Million Died*.

Robert Herzstein, a professor of history at the University of South Carolina and consultant to the World Jewish Congress and the U.S. Justice Department, has spent many years uncovering previously "hidden" Nazi activity. He played a major part in the attempt to "expose" Kurt Waldheim. In his latest book, *Roosevelt & Hitler: Prelude to War*, he seeks to set the record straight by detailing how FDR worked relentlessly to involve the U.S. in a war against Hitler that the American people as a whole had no genuine interest in. Readers of this journal may find Herzstein's study to be remarkable in many respects, as, perhaps unintentionally, he confirms what many anti-Interventionists charged at the time, namely, that FDR was indeed dragging the United States into war and that Jews were heavily influencing FDR's policies. Herzstein boldly states in his Preface that "FDR's German policies cannot be understood apart from their Jewish context." In his view, FDR, not Winston Churchill, "was the most purposeful and consequential anti-Nazi leader of his time ..."

The author summarizes both Hitler's view of the United States and FDR's long-held Germanophobia. In his chapter dealing with "The Triumph of Neutrality," he highlights the work of Harry Elmer Barnes in helping to shape public reaction against pro-war forces in the 1930's. Two consequences of Barnes' historical revisionism with respect to American entry into the First World War were the Johnson Act, which forbade extending U.S. loans to nations defaulting on previous commitments, and the 1934 Nye Committee hearings into the origins of American intervention in 1917.

Herzstein devotes less than ten pages to discussing just why FDR and his cronies were so upset with Hitler long before the outbreak of the war in Europe. But his brief chapter, "Toward Selective Confrontation With Germany," points out how worried were FDR, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of State Hull, and others, not with German treatment of the Jews, but rather with Nazi economic policies, both internal and in the realm of foreign trade. As other historians have averred, it was actually Hitler's economic revolution that threatened the world order then controlled by London and New York that led to the creation of an anti-German coalition, not his selective persecution of unpopular minorities.

FDR's efforts to scare the American public into supporting a belligerent foreign policy are the subject of much of the rest of his book. Herzstein, who has had access to recently-released FBI files, details how the Justice Department was used to fan the flames of a phoney "Nazi threat" and how reputable anti-interventionists were smeared as anti-Semites and pro-Hitler sympathizers. The author reveals the existence of Interior Secretary Harold Ickes's private version of the ADL, which was used to collect information about opponents of FDR's policies. As Herzstein points out:

Ickes promptly turned this material over to the attorney general, and during the next year bad things happened to the subjects of the investigations ... the president permitted selective leaks to the media, and encouraged appropriate [sic] action by J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI.

Elsewhere, the author writes approvingly:

Roosevelt and J. Edgar Hoover, through persistent comments, innuendos, and leaks to journalists, were working hard to equate militant anti-Semitism and neutrality with disloyal fascist sentiments...Martin Dies, a publicity-hungry congressman [and chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities], and J. Edgar Hoover, a power-crazy bureaucrat, were useful to Roosevelt in his campaign to destroy the far right. In assisting him in his endeavor, they served their country well.

Considerable attention is drawn to FDR's efforts to provoke war and to subvert efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement to the pressing concerns of Europe. FDR prevented British Prime Minister Chamberlain from addressing the American public over radio and instructed his diplomats to undermine Chamberlain's policies abroad. Chapter 20, dealing with "FDR's Budding War Plans," outlines how Ambassador William Bullitt made promises to the Polish and French governments that FDR could not deliver on. FDR and Company were "troubled" by the thought that war might not break out. This led FDR, in Herzstein's words, "to move more quickly, as well as more deviously." War was preferable to "further appeasement." It is noteworthy that this study confirms the validity of the German charges made after the capture of Warsaw in September 1939, to the effect that Roosevelt manipulated the Poles into averting a settlement of the outstanding questions short of war.

Hitler, as the author concedes, did what he could to avoid war with the United States in the period 1939-41, despite FDR's series of provocations. This was to no avail. As Herzstein boasts in his Conclusion:

Thanks in large measure to Roosevelt's policies, the United States became involved in a faraway quarrel, among nations viewed with suspicion by a large majority of the citizenry. Roosevelt's mix of economic, ideological, ethical, and political motives led him to pursue a policy representing a violent break with recent American attitudes ...

In the interest of historical truth, let FDR also be judged on the basis of his successful antifascism at home, and anti-Nazism abroad.

Roosevelt and Hitler is a curious and revealing account of political deception and the subverting of the Constitution by our nation's highest office holder. It could well have been subtitled, this "His Critic's Suspicions Confirmed."

Book review

The Second World War

- by John Keegan. New York: Viking, 1990, hardbound, 608 pages, photographs, maps, bibliography, index, \$29.95. ISBN: 0-670-82359-7.

Reviewed by Arthur S. Ward

The latest book written by John Keegan, currently the most widely read military historian on both sides of the Atlantic, is a survey of the Second World War. Released in the U.K. on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Polish-German campaign, it made its U.S. debut this past Spring.

Keegan is undoubtedly a gifted writer who, in such earlier studies as *The Face of Battle* and *The Price of Admiralty*, succeeded in evoking the experience of warfare for his readers. *The Second World War* examines the people and events that stand out as most significant from the perspective of half a century.

The book is divided into six main sections. Each begins with an introductory essay that considers the strategic problems faced by a key decision maker: Hitler in 1941; Tojo from 1941-43; Churchill; Stalin in 1943; and Roosevelt. Keegan then provides a concise narrative of the war's main events. The major sections include an analysis of a crucial battle, which are used to illustrate a distinctive kind of warfare; the airborne battle of Crete; the carrier battle of Midway; the tank battle of Falaise; the siege of the city of Berlin in 1945; and the amphibious battle of Okinawa.

This study represents a synthesis and is not a work based on original research. Those who are already well versed in the literature of the war will find little new herein. A number of Keegan's observations will strike less advanced students of the conflict as striking, such as his contention that the Luftwaffe could have won the Battle of Britain if it had operated from the outset with a logical plan, as had the German Army when it attacked France in 1940.

In his discussion of "War Supply and the Battle of the Atlantic," Keegan notes that by October of 1943 the Allies had replaced the amount of shipping lost since 1939 with new construction. He contends that the Germans might yet have turned the tide of the war at sea with their technically advanced U-boats (the schnorkel-equipped craft and the even more remarkable close hydrogen-peroxide-system-powered subs that they brought into service in 1945). The loss of their strategic Atlantic bases, which were captured by the U.S. Army in August 1944, prevented them from gaining full advantage from their technological breakthroughs.

To his disadvantage, the author points out, Hitler "clung to his dream of winning Britain's cooperation rather than beating her into subjection," as he might have done in 1940-41. Keegan goes on to explain just how fateful for the military fortunes of the Third Reich was the alliance with

Mussolini: the Balkans and the Mediterranean theater diverted and subverted Hitler's strategic purpose in 1940-41 and drained off men and material that could have provided the margin of victory over the Soviet Union in 1941-42.

Unlike many accounts of the war, Keegan is much more even-handed in his treatment of the Japanese. He goes to some length to explain that the Japanese did not see themselves, and were not necessarily viewed by other Asians, as brutal conquerors. Keegan remarks:

The idea of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" ... clothed a genuine belief in the mission of Japan, as the first great Asian power, to lead other Asians to independence from foreign rule. Many in Asia were enthused and inspired by the Japanese triumph of 1942 and were ready, even eager, to co-operate with it.

Respecting General Tojo, Keegan writes:

Contrary to Allied wartime propaganda, Tojo was not a fascist...He did not seek revenge...He was strongly anti-communist and feared the growing power of Mao Zedong in China; but he harbored no scheme to exterminate Japan's Chinese enemies or any other group who might stand in Japan's way in Asia. On the contrary, his chauvinism was exclusively anti-Western ... His vision was of an Asia liberated from the Western presence, in which Japan stood first among peoples who would recognize the extraordinary effort it had made to modernize itself

Keegan is at his best in Chapter 26, a survey of the role played by the Resistance and the relative value of espionage and intelligence. Here he punctures a number of cherished myths. Far from setting "Europe ablaze," as Churchill instructed his Special Operations Executive in 1940, the various Allied-inspired uprisings

"all failed at the price of very great suffering to the brave patriots involved but at trifling cost to the German forces that put them down ... They must be seen by any objective reckoning as irrelevant and pointless acts of bravado."

The German system of control in Western Europe was both efficient and economical. In France, German security forces did not number more than 6,500 at any stage of the war. Likewise, the author dismisses Soviet boasting about the achievements of their Partisans. Anti-partisan sweeps "were extremely effective" and "the losses inflicted by Partisans, whether on the personnel or the material of the Wehrmacht, were a fraction of those claimed by Soviet authorities."

Nor is Keegan convinced that the SOE and OSS did much of real consequence, despite what he describes as the puffery of their "powerful lobby of historians, some of whom were its former officers." His conclusion: "The 'indirect' offensive encouraged and sustained by the Allies against Hitler — military assistance to partisans, sabotage, and subversion — must therefore be judged to have contributed materially little to his defeat."

While Keegan writes with objectivity and style on many aspects of the war, concerning the so-called "Holocaust," he is regrettably wide of the mark. Previous distinguished British histories of the war, notably those by Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller and Sir Basil H. Liddell Hart, simply ignored the "Jewish Question" altogether, rather than get bogged down in the "Final Solution" swamp. Indeed, for Liddell Hart, whose two-volume study was published in this country by Putnam's in the mid-1970's, the Holocaust was not even a "detail" of the war: Nowhere are the Jews afforded even one mention by Sir Basil. In his treatment, Keegan devotes little more than a page, out of nearly 600 pages of text, to his discussion of "The Fate of the Jews." But the former Senior Lec-

turer at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst surpasses charges made by some of the least responsible proponents of the Holocaust Thesis when he asserts that, “by the end of 1943, about 40 percent of the world’s Jewish population, some 6 million people, had been put to death.” He fails to hazard a guess as to how many more millions — or was it billions as in Old Testament times? — may have been Gassed” from late 1943 to the end of the war. Had Keegan followed the lead of Fuller and Liddell Hart and simply dismissed the issue altogether, we would have understood. By exaggerating the human cost of the conflict, he has done a great disservice to history and undermined his own credibility. What is otherwise an admirable treatment of the war is made to serve the purposes of those for whom truth is not just an inconvenience, but a threat to their own particular objectives.

The previously published, solid accounts by Gen. Fuller and Liddell Hart cover the same territory, without compromising their authors' integrity. Both include material that may be considered “revisionist” It is to these volumes that one seeking an overview of the military operations of the war should turn.

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Book review

Why Did The Heavens Not Darken? The 'Final Solution' In History

- by Arno J. Mayer. New York: Pantheon, 1988, Hb., 492 pages, \$27.95, ISBN 0-394-57154-1.

Reviewed by Arthur R. Butz

In May of this year the general public learned, through an article by Tamar Jacoby in *Newsweek*, of the “venom of the accusations” being made over Professor Arno Mayer’s new book. A few days later Jacoby’s husband, Eric Breindel, made it clear in his *New York Post* column what the occasion for the venom was: “The cranks who argue that there were no gas chambers — and that the Jews who died fell victim to poor conditions in ghettos and labor camps-have found a serious scholar who at least agrees with some of what they say. Thus, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* is a dangerous and ugly book.”

I had heard that Mayer listed my *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* in his bibliography, so as I sat waiting to receive a copy of the book I was hoping to see a worthy effort perceptibly influenced by my work. Now that I have read it, I see no such influence, and I am relieved. It is a bad book on several grounds, and on the allegation of mass gassings in the camps it expresses not the author’s conviction but his confusion.

Arno J. Mayer is the Dayton-Stockton Professor of European History at Princeton University and has specialized in twentieth-century diplomatic history. He offers considerable personal information as presumably relevant. He was born into a Luxembourg Jewish family in 1926; his father was a Zionist. Fleeing their home in May 1940, the family managed to stay a step ahead of the invading Germans, reaching North Africa, then Lisbon, and finally the United States. His maternal grandparents, not so mobile, were sent to Theresienstadt; the grandfather died there but the grandmother survived, never having heard anything about the “killing sites.”

He served in the U.S. Army in 1944-1946, in an intelligence unit that interrogated captured German generals and processed German scientists being “recruited to help America’s postwar military buildup against the Soviets.” In 1950 he spent the summer in Israel “on a kibbutz of the Marxist Hashomer Hatzair.”

The reader of Mayer’s book who has seen the reviews in advance will be puzzled as to what the fuss is about until he reaches the last chapters. Early chapters seem to place Mayer in the so-called “functionalist” (as opposed to “intentionalist”) camp, which denies that extermination of the Jews took place according to a long-standing plan centrally ordered and directed, but developed on its own out of the exigencies of events and the internal logic of the Nazi system. [1] Until

late in the book the reader perceives no equivocation, explicit or implicit, on the historical reality of the physical extermination of the Jews.

Mayer's purpose is to place the persecution of the Jews "in the historical context of its time" which is that of what he calls the "Thirty Years War of the twentieth century," 1914-1945. He is unusually diligent in making terminological distinctions relevant to his subject, e.g. among "Judeophobia," "anti-Semitism" and "anti-Judaism." He does not like "the religiously freighted word concept 'the Holocaust,' [the basis of an] embryonic creed ... which ... has taken the reflective and transparent remembrances of survivors and woven them into a collective prescriptive 'memory' uncondusive to critical and contextual thinking about the Jewish calamity." He complains that "this cult of remembrance has become overly sectarian [and] has helped to disconnect the Jewish catastrophe from its secular historical setting, while placing it within the providential history of the Jewish people to be commemorated, lamented, and restrictively interpreted." In place of "Holocaust" Mayer uses "Judeocide."

This striving for precision is admirable. For purposes of this review I will use the term 'Judeocide,' but I will indicate below why "Holocaust" is preferred.

The field has suffered from considerable abuse of terminology. The term "Exterminationists" has been used to designate those who defend the Judeocide legend, e.g. Raul Hilberg, Yehuda Bauer, etc. I notice that Mayer uses that term in the different and, in my judgment, more correct sense of one who is involved in exterminating. Here I shall call people like Hilberg and Bauer "Holo-scribes."

We who essentially deny this Judeocide have been calling ourselves "Revisionists," appropriating a word of wide application to a very narrow one (all historical writing that is worth anything is "revisionist" in some sense). For lack of a better term at hand, however, I shall use it in that sense here.

Mayer's extreme anti-German and pro-Soviet biases are rare among contemporary issues from serious publishing houses. I thought this most evident when he briefly departed from the role of historian to declare that, although the Soviets had never signed the Geneva conventions, "as a signatory, Germany was bound by them" nevertheless in its war with the Soviet Union. While this bias applies generally I shall focus here only on an instance of it that crucially concerns our subject.

Mayer makes no mention of the interwar (1918-1939) atrocities of the Bolsheviks and affiliated movements generally and of Stalin in particular. These are not irrelevant to the subject because it is clear that the German policy of disregarding the rules in the war with the Soviet Union, one consequence of which were the bloody activities of the Einsatzgruppen, was largely motivated by an assessment in which this past record weighed heavily. Indeed as the Germans swept into former Soviet controlled territory this past seemed very much alive. Mayer makes brief mention of Ukrainian massacres of Jews in the city of Lwow in early July 1941, after the Soviets withdrew and as the Germans started to arrive. The motivation for the masacres was indeed, as Mayer reports, that the Jews "were traduced for having been, and continuing to be, among the major carriers of communism and collaborators of Soviet Russia," but Mayer does not hint at the specifics. The Soviets left Lwow in such great haste that the Germans and Ukrainians were able to learn what had been going on in the NKVD prisons. The ghastly scenes they found made deep impressions on them, and are not for the delicate or fragile readers. ^[2] Since the local NKVD informer had been a Jew, the Ukrainians indulged a common human fallacy (all NKVD informers were Jews; therefore all Jews were NKVD informers) and conducted anti-Jewish pogroms. For the

Germans, encountering such scenes scarcely more than a week into their invasion, it must have seemed that the Nazi anti-Bolshevik propaganda of the period before the Hitler-Stalin pact, doubtless assumed by many of them to have been the usual hyperbole of a movement given to rhetorical extravagance, had been restrained. In any case the Lwow revelations would have dispelled any German qualms about carrying out the ruthless resolutions made before the invasion. It is interesting that the facts about the background of the Lwow massacres became available to the postwar general public only indirectly and unexpectedly as a consequence of an international brouhaha over a minister in Konrad Adenauer's government, accused of atrocities in Lwow by the Soviets, and over a Soviet agent who defected to West Germany in 1961 and confessed to carrying out two political assassinations of Ukrainian exiles in Munich.

Mayer's aim, as stated, is to place the alleged Judeocide "in the historical context of its time" and interpret it accordingly. His thesis is clear. The failure to take Moscow, and the entry of the U.S.A. into the war (even if only in an economic role), made ultimate defeat plain to Hitler in December 1941, rather than a year later after Stalingrad. Thus according to Mayer "the Nazi fundamentalists and their accomplices ... turned to venting their rage on the Jews." At this point in the book there is no doubt in the readers' mind what this "rage" would have consisted in. It was "a decision to exterminate the Jews [although no] written document containing or reporting an explicit command to exterminate the Jews has come to light ... the presumption must be that the order or informal injunction to mass-murder Jews was transmitted orally (probably by Hitler himself)." This idea is repeated throughout and is the ostensible thesis of the book (although we shall see that Mayer ought to have made another of his conclusions the thesis). The stalling of the invasion of the Soviet Union, implying ultimate defeat, made the Germans so angry that they took it out on the Jews, although originally there had been no intention to exterminate them. Mayer manages to make this "Judeocide" seem almost erratic; just another Hitler tantrum. There are even analogies to random massacres of Jews carried out by eleventh century crusaders.

Mayer's thesis accounts for certain peculiarities of his book. Although the Einsatzgruppen activities in the early phases of the Russian campaign certainly liquidated many Jews, Mayer claims, contradicting both the Holoscribes and the alleged written reports of the Einsatzgruppen, that their "methodical mass slaughters of Jews ... did not start until the fall of 1941, after the Red Army had slowed the German advance [and] the eastern campaign had begun to run aground."

It is implausible that the Germans could have viewed the Einsatzgruppen as the means of "extermination" of the Jews of the Soviet Union. For one thing, a great many Jews were evacuated by the Soviets before the Germans arrived. Numbers are of course difficult to arrive at. Mayer throws out, with no particular support, a guess of 1.5 million evacuated out of 4 million originally resident in territories occupied by the Germans and allies. Sanning [\[3\]](#) believes that more than 80% of those Jews were evacuated. In any case, "extermination" could not under the circumstances have been achieved. For another thing, the personnel of the Einsatzgruppen numbered only 3,000 men (as Mayer notes), a force that must have been quite strained in performing only its primary security and counterinsurgency functions and could not possibly have contemplated performing "extermination" activities in such a vast theater, if the Jews were there to exterminate. Mayer pauses briefly over this point, but does not demur.

As for Soviet behavior, it is hazardous to say that they literally did not until 1943 charge the Germans with attempting to exterminate the Soviet Jews, since they charged the Germans with virtually every crime they could think of, but I think that is a fair statement.

Another peculiarity of Mayer's book is that it has more military history than any other book on this subject. The reason is Mayer's thesis, which claims that the physical extermination of the

Jews was decided in “rage” over specific military reverses on the eastern front. I believe that most will agree that there is far too much military history here than is required, even for his thesis. It does not take long, e.g., to explain the military conditions of January 1942 or February 1943, as seen by the Germans. It is strange that, in a book dedicated to placing the alleged Judeocide in “context,” there is really so little historical context. What Mayer means by context are events as seen by the Nazis in terms of their own ideas. This context is primarily the military context but Mayer’s conception of Nazi ideology (“an apocalyptic movement against modern times ... an essentially syncretic ideology ... a religion in a secular guise ... intrinsically irrational and impulsive ... Hitler, determined to provide the Nazi movement with a single enemy, seized upon “the Jew” as best suited”) also plays a role. The conservatives who disdained Hitler’s populist movement but reconciled themselves with and served it also play an important role in Mayer’s account.

In any case, Mayer’s “context” is purely German. I believe the proper context of this alleged Judeocide would put in significant roles the other actors of the World War II period, viz. the western Allies, the Soviets, the Vatican, the Red Cross, the German resistance to Hitler (to which Mayer makes only brief passing mention) and of course the Jews themselves. If Mayer had considered this context then he could have answered the unanswered question which is the title of his book. Mayer explains that the title is a quote from a Jewish chronicler of an eleventh century massacre of Jews in Mainz by transient crusaders. The contemporary interpretation of the question (“Why did the heavens not darken?”) is “Why did not somebody act as though the Jews were being exterminated?” I have amplified elsewhere [\[4\]](#) on this utter lack of contemporaneous evidence for Judeocide, and the total dependence of the legend on postwar declarations, made mainly in trials, and on a few apocryphal and/or ambiguous documents, also mainly produced in postwar trials. If the “Judeocide” were real, it would be the only complex of European events of its scale to transpire in recent millennia without generating contemporaneous evidence. If Mayer had considered his own question, he might have seen that the legend is funny history, something like a war between Illinois and Indiana, whose historicity is proved by later confessions of the National Guard commanders.

In Mayer’s book Jewry does not appear as an international power at all. I was first jolted by this perspective when I read that in the aftermath of World War I the Jews of eastern Europe “were without a potential external protector.” Continuing while wondering if the diplomatic historian knew what he was talking about at all, I was relieved to read on the next page that “Jewish notables rushed to the Paris Peace Conference to help convince the Big Four to design international instruments to require the governments of the new and newly recreated nations to respect the human rights of their large ethnic and religious minorities.” In Mayer’s account these Jewish notables are not presented as doing more than rushing to the Conference. In fact Woodrow Wilson’s advisors included Walter Lippman, Bernard Baruch, and other leading Jews. The observer E.J. Dillon wrote of the tremendous influence that Jews from many countries exercised at the Conference in behalf of Jewish causes, in particular the status of east European Jews, and that “a considerable number of delegates believed that the real influences behind the Anglo-Saxon peoples were Semitic.” [\[5\]](#)

The one place where Mayer hints at an international Jewish power is in his account of the boycott of Jewish businesses that was called by the Nazis for one day only, 1 April 1933. This was in retaliation for a campaign in the U.S. and elsewhere, via rallies and pressures on governments, then being waged by Stephen S. Wise and other Jewish leaders for an unlimited trade boycott of Germany

It is, however, the late chapter on Auschwitz that provoked the vehemence against Mayer, e.g. Daniel J. Goldhagen's angry review in the *New Republic*. Starting early in the book Mayer states, unequivocally and repeatedly, that the Jewish calamity consisted in physical extermination at the hands of the Nazis. The Auschwitz chapter begins with the usual classification of Auschwitz as one of six "centers of mass killing." It goes on to describe the high "normal" death rate at Auschwitz due to unhealthy conditions, primarily typhus. To a great extent these conditions are depicted as somehow singularly Nazi. It would have helped the "context" a lot, especially in view of Mayer's "Thirty Years War of the twentieth century" construct, to have noted that the Germans had essentially the same typhus problems during World War I in their camps that quartered Russian POW's. Well into his Auschwitz chapter, Mayer perks up the reader (perhaps as bored by the book as I was at this point) by conceding that:

Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable ... there is no denying the many contradictions, ambiguities, and errors in the existing sources. These cannot be ignored, although it must be emphasized strongly that such defects are altogether insufficient to put in question the use of gas chambers in the mass murder of Jews at Auschwitz.

So, despite his explicit words, Mayer has implicitly said to the typical reader that "the use of gas chambers" is indeed a "question."

Since on the matter of the gas chambers, as on virtually all other features of the received legend, it is only necessary for one to admit the possibility of reevaluation in fundamental respects in order to become very skeptical in those respects. Mayer's critics were justified in suspecting him of being just a little bit pregnant in writing thus, but a later claim by Mayer perhaps made them view him as six months along: "from 1942 to 1945, certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes than by 'unnatural' ones" (Mayer means mainly typhus in the former category and gassing in the latter).

The "probably overall" would of course apply to the other five alleged extermination via gassing sites, which are treated in the following chapter. Again, that chapter starts with several unequivocal statements about extermination. By this time, however, the reader has been told that even when the gassings in those places are taken into account they "probably" accounted for fewer victims than natural causes, so the reader is prepared for statements to come along having the effect of nullifying or rendering enigmatic all of Mayer's previous unequivocal remarks. Indeed they come: "Because of sparse evidence, there are some uncertainties about the fiery ordeal at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka." As for "1,274,166 Jews of the General Government ... There is a strong presumption that most ... were slaughtered in Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka," whose alleged gas chambers he is very vague about. On cremation he is more than vague. He does not remark on the fact that for Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka we do not have conclusive and detailed evidence of the construction of great cremation facilities, as we have for Auschwitz (of course not; those places were transit camps, not concentration camps). Rather, he mutters that the exterminated at Belzec were first burned but later dug up "for the corpses to be burned in the open." Mayer notes that the Jews in the Polish ghettos did not believe the rumors of extermination in the camps, and kept cooperating with both the war production demands and resettlement policies of the Germans.

Mayer's critics have complained that he does not document his assertions. There are no footnotes but it is too pedantic to require that all be documented. When documentary sources are well understood, there is no need to document. Most of Mayer's book is devoted to reviewing well-known events, so references and documentation are unnecessary. When there is a thesis based on

a new interpretation of known sources, rather than on new sources (most Revisionist literature is necessarily of that sort), then the reasoning must be set forth, and the specific documents and records that are being reinterpreted should be specified. Mayer fails to do any of this on his most provocative points about Auschwitz, which should have formed his thesis.

This lapse is especially grave in view of Mayer's insistence early on that "historians are expected to ... invite critics, both friendly and hostile, to verify the authenticity and reliability of their evidence as well as to debate the logic of their constructions and the coherence of their explanations." Mayer perversely ignores his own precept in his book. Moreover, according to the *Newsweek* story, Mayer refuses to respond to his critics.

It is what Mayer does not say that is so vexing. Why is it that, despite the deficiencies in the evidence for gassings at Auschwitz, there is no question of them? That is, what is the evidence for gassings at Auschwitz? What specific faults did Mayer find in the testimonies? No hint from Mayer. If more died of natural causes than gassing, what were the numbers involved? No numbers, precise or otherwise, from Mayer, although his claim is specifically quantitative. Indeed he offers no overall numerical estimate for the number of Jews who perished in German occupied territories. This is not because the historian feels himself incompetent with numbers; the book is replete with numerical data or estimates, even where such estimates are difficult to make.

The failure to provide numbers is astonishing in that some decent idea of the numbers that perished in the concentration camps from natural causes, and in particular at Auschwitz, can be formulated. The surviving concentration camp records are held by the International Tracing Service (ITS), administered by the International Committee of the Red Cross and quartered in Arolsen, West Germany. In April 1977 the ITS published a report entitled "The Number of Victims of the National Socialist Persecution." The report says that as of the end of 1976 the ITS had 357,190 specific names of people who had died in the German camps. The report added, however, that no records were kept of the millions gassed and that even in some cases where records were kept they are missing today. For example, a "number of death cases certified" of 50,923 is given for Auschwitz, but it is stipulated that "the documentation of this camp is very incomplete." When I visited the ITS in the summer of 1977 the official I spoke to, and who gave me a copy of the ITS report, added that some analysis subsequent to the writing of the report allows us to say that there were "at least" 45,575 certified deaths at Auschwitz in 1942 and 36,960 in 1943, but the death books for 1940, 1941, 1944 and January 1945 (when Auschwitz was evacuated) are missing. The ITS has not been as free with such estimates in more recent years, but I think that Mayer could have formulated a fairly good idea of the numbers of natural deaths at Auschwitz if he had wanted to, and perhaps the ITS would have opened up for him. I feel reasonably secure in placing the total in the range 100,000-150,000, probably closer to the former, since the camp population was small in 1940-1941 and by 1944 the Germans had made some progress against typhus. Of these victims a large number would have been Jews since Auschwitz quartered proportionately more Jews than the other German concentration camps, apart from Majdanek. The number of Jewish dead of natural causes at Auschwitz seems less than 100,000. If "certainly at Auschwitz" there were fewer gassed, Mayer must be talking about less than 50,000 gassed.

This is a unique claim. Up to now we have had on the one hand the Holoscribes, who claim victims of gassings at Auschwitz in the neighborhood of a million or even millions (since after all the purpose of the alleged gassings was mass extermination), and on the other hand the Revisionists, who claim that — there were no gassings. Both sides have explanations as to why the Germans would have conducted themselves thus. Mayer gives no explanation or hint why the Germans would conduct a gassing program of the magnitude he claims and I can't imagine a motivation. I find it bewildering and appalling that a professionally trained historian could have thrown

such unsupported claims out to the public and then could have so obdurately declined to defend them. As he evidently refuses to help dispel this confusion it is our task to attempt to account for it. (Since he is now presumably back from his sabbatical in France, I wonder how he will handle questions from students, if students at Princeton ask questions).

* * * * *

Mayer has troubles writing about the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz. For example mass gassings are supposed to have started in mid-1942 when “only the two improvised gas chambers ... were functioning,” and not the carefully engineered ones said to have been integrated into the four large crematorium buildings. He does not, however, place those great gas chambers in the crematoria or anywhere else (he only says they started operating at the same time), and does not write that they operated by improvisation with the Zyklon B pesticide as did the improvised ones (the legend claims all gassings at Auschwitz used Zyklon B).

It is inviting to imagine that Mayer has balked at the ridiculous, but it is not that simple. For example, Mayer has no trouble believing that each of the 46 crematorium ovens which functioned at the Birkenau sub-camp from 1943 had a daily capacity of about 100 bodies. One would have thought that even without any technical training, and even without consulting any of the cremation literature, Mayer would have seen the impossibility of such a figure. Instead, after adding 340 per day from the old crematorium at the main camp he makes the sort of silly calculations I made [\[6\]](#) a long time ago (as an example of bad deduction) and comes up with a capacity of 1,712,160 per year. He does not say that the ovens were ever used at such a rate and, given his idea of the small numbers gassed, it is impossible to see why such capacities would have been provided (if each oven could dispose of 100 per day then two ovens would have served the whole Auschwitz complex of camps very well).

Mayer accepts the usual claim that “the SS operatives dutifully eliminated all traces of their murderous activities and instruments.” Indeed, it is true that the “traces” do not exist. Mayer continues that “care was taken to dispose of the bones and ashes of the victims.” This illustrates what happens to professors who keep their noses buried in books and documents too much, not sitting back to think just a little bit about what they are reading and writing. Does anybody imagine, for example, that we could contemplate physically exterminating the Chinese minority in the U.S. while keeping the deed secret from our immediate successors (either fellow Americans or invaders with a penchant for telling atrocity stories), by not committing the Sinocide to writing and then hiding the ashes? Mayer calls for “excavations at the killing sites and in their immediate environs.” Since there were many thousands cremated at Auschwitz then, ashes may turn up, but one must assume that the ashes of millions of victims would have turned up long ago. In any case, the Germans would never have been so foolish as to imagine they could destroy evidence of genocide on a continental scale, consuming millions of civilian victims shuttled about on long journeys over a three-year period, by hiding the ashes. It is interesting to compare this legend of concealment with the loud publicity the Germans gave to their Lidice atrocity.

* * * * *

There is another matter which did, I believe, play a role for Mayer in reaching his conclusions. He is frankly and salutarily distrustful of postwar testimonies: “Most of what is known is based on the depositions of Nazi officials and executioners at postwar trials and on the memory of survivors and bystanders. This testimony must be screened carefully, since it can be influenced by subjective factors of great complexity.” Mayer makes no mention of the “confession” of Auschwitz commandant Höss, the homologue of the confessions of the National Guard comman-

ders of Illinois and Indiana. In fact Mayer's theory stands in stark contradiction to the Hoss confession: [7]

I ... estimate that at least 2,500,000 victims were executed and exterminated there by gassing and burning, and at least another half million succumbed to starvation and disease ... Included among the executed and burnt were approximately 20,000 Russian prisoners of war ... The remainder of the total number of victims included about 100,000 German Jews, and great numbers of citizens, mostly Jewish from Holland, France, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Greece, or other countries. We executed about 400,000 Hungarian Jews alone in the summer of 1944 ... We were required to carry out these exterminations in secrecy but of course the foul and nauseating stench from the continuous burning of bodies permeated the entire area and all of the people living in the surrounding communities knew that exterminations were going on at Auschwitz.

Mayer devotes more space to the nature of the unreliability of the testimonies of Jewish survivors, especially in his Prologue chapter. As mentioned, he is bothered by the contemporary status of the "Holocaust" as a "sectarian cult," but he does not adequately describe just how sectarian it is, although I am sure he knows. He is very emphatic on this idea of the unreliability of Jewish testimonies and the historical error of ethnocentric Jewish formulations, and I believe it is the key to his problem. The 6 million legend is Talmud "providential history" refurbished for the twentieth century. The 4 billion Jews killed by the Romans under Hadrian, the ensuing tidal wave of blood that plunged down into the sea, carrying large boulders along with it and staining the sea a distance of four miles out, the 64 million Jewish school children of Bethar who were wrapped in their scrolls and burned alive by the Romans, the bodies of the martyred Jews used to build a fence around Hadrian's huge vineyard, and the blood saved over from the tidal wave to fertilize vineyards, have become our 6 million gassed and burned, the flames reaching heaven (from modern crematorium ovens no less; how many times has Elie Wiesel evoked that image?), the stench of cremation hanging over large parts of Poland, with the hair, ashes and fat being used for sundry purposes, many children being thrown alive into the flames without benefit of prior gassing (another Talmudic yarn Wiesel is fond of) [8] When a man of Mayer's ethnic and educational background reads the standard "Holocaust" tales, the Talmud must drop into his lap. The need to reformulate the subject is obvious.

Mayer is intent on offering an alternative to this "sectarian ... Holocaust" that is somehow in the context of European history. Mayer's confusion has its source in his effort to make part of European history that which is not properly part of it, and has however approached just "the providential history of the Jewish people" that he would set aside as a distorted representation of historical truth. Mayer purports to offer us a history relatively uncontaminated by unreliable testimonies, especially Jewish ones, but the reader with working knowledge of the sources sees that he is relying on the usual ones, even if only vicariously through other authors. He has, however, arbitrarily and without explanation or acknowledgment, chosen to reject only some of them, because there is in fact no "Judeocide" without the usual sources. For Mayer there is alas no escape from the sectarian "Holocaust," and confusion is inevitable. Mayer's problem is paralleled today by the problem of the many intellectuals who are fed up with Elie Wiesel but do not speak up. It is clear that Wiesel is the perfect spokesman for this "Holocaust," which is the only alleged "Judeocide" we have. That is why the right word for anybody who claims physical extermination is "the religiously freighted word ... Holocaust."

Mayer's book is a failure, not because he has not succeeded in establishing the "context" of what happened to the Jews, but because he has gotten whatever happened to them utterly confused. He

started by trying to describe the precisely framed “Judeocide” and ended with something whose incompatibility with “critical and contextual thinking” equals that of the Holocaust,” since his context is wrong, he uses the same sources, and he does not reveal a factual and logical basis for his conclusions. That reversion was inevitable, for the reasons stated.

It is true that Mayer’s book has Revisionist implications. The worth of this work is only as a symptom of that which should not have been in doubt even forty years ago, namely that serious and professionally trained historians have trouble accepting the legend’s evidence. However, Mayer shows the confusion of a historian who will not draw the conclusions indicated by that apprehension, and the embarrassment he can suffer when he offers his confusion to the reading public. In terms of basic academic and scholarly criteria, this must be one of the worst history books published by a ranking academic historian in recent years.

Notes

1. ☞ The intentionalist-functionalist (or structuralist) debate was aired at a conference in Stuttgart in 1984. See e.g. W. Carr, “Nazi policy towards the Jews,” in *History Today*, Nov. 1985. Also W. Stäglich, “Historians Wrangle Over the Destruction of European Jewry,” this journal, Summer 1986.
 2. ☞ Hermann Raschhofer, *Political Assassination*, Fritz Schlichtenmayer, Tübingen, 1964.
 3. ☞ Walter N. Sanning, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, Institute for Historical Review, Torrance, CA, 1983, pp. 103ff.
 4. ☞ Arthur R. Butz, “Context and perspective in the ‘Holocaust’ controversy,” this journal, Winter 1982. Also reproduced in Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Institute for Historical Review, Torrance, CA, printing of 1983 or later.
 5. ☞ E. J. Dillon, *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference*. Harper, NY 1920, pp. 494-508.
 6. ☞ Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
 7. ☞ *Ibid.*, p. 101.
 8. ☞ The relevant Talmud passages are reproduced in an appendix of Yigael Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, Random House, NY and Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1971.
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Source: vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 363-366.

Book Reviews

The Spanish Armada: The Experience of War in 1588

- by Felipe Fernandez-Arnesto. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, hardbound, 300 pages, index, illustrations, \$22.95. ISBN: 0-19-822926-7.

Reviewed by James Hawkins

For over four hundred years, the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 has been celebrated by the English as a glorious God-sent victory in which the Protestant David vanquished His Most Catholic Goliath. In the “Epistle Dedicatore” to the first edition of his *Voyages*, published in 1589, Richard Hakluyt voiced what would emerge as the traditional view of these events:

So in this most famous and peerless government of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects through the special assistance and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world...have excelled all the nations and people of the earth

This portrayal has at long last been subjected to review by Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, a Fellow of St. Anthony’s College, Oxford, and author of *The Canary Islands After the Conquest*, among other works. As he writes in his preface, “I challenge the notion of a Spanish defeat at English hands.” He also disputes the long-held notion that this struggle represented a turning point in the technical development of war at sea.

The author briefly considers the events leading up to the despatch of the Armada. It is true that Philip II saw this enterprise as a Crusade to re-establish Catholicism in England and as a means to relieve pressure on the Low Countries. Philip prayed two to three hours daily in the weeks preceding the departure of his fleet. Though God did not grant him a famous victory, his prayers may have limited the scope of the defeat. As Fernandez-Armesto observes, “Like most wars, the Armada campaign was fought for peace.”

As much as anything else, the makeup of the Armada limited the likelihood of its success from the outset. The Armada was largely composed of ships built for use in the quiescent waters of the Mediterranean. They proved to be too flimsy for the heavier seas of the Atlantic. The effective fighting strength of the Armada was thus limited to the 34 vessels fit for action in the Atlantic — about the size of the opposing English fleet.

Furthermore, in strategic terms, failure to secure a northern port of safety proved, in the end, to be a catastrophic oversight. For after the fighting on August 8th, 1588, the Armada had no safe harbor. It was forced to proceed home by the circuitous route round the British Isles, thus exposing itself to the ravages of the unexpected hurricane which eventually doomed the expedition.

The author draws extensively on personal accounts to give his readers a vivid portrayal of this particular “experience of war.” He cautions that, “No atmosphere more surely breeds exaggeration than that of horrors retold.” Yet there is no question that Spanish sailors who had the misfortune of being shipwrecked off Ireland, where two-thirds of the Armada came to grief, met a cruel fate (if they weren’t executed immediately upon capture, they died of disease or starvation in prison).

To support his case that the English did not defeat the Armada, Fernandez-Armesto points out that only one Spanish ship was actually reduced to sinking condition by English gunfire. After the fighting in July and early August, the Armada remained largely intact. Had not the unseasonably bad weather brewed up, the fleet should have made it back to Spain with few additional losses.

After the weather crippled the Armada, Philip II prayed even more earnestly and began to raise another fleet. Indeed, according to the author, “The Armada marked the rebirth, not the extinction, of Spanish sea power as the lost ships were replaced with better ones and the Spanish Main refortified against attack... The menace [to England] of Spanish sea power was stronger after the Armada than before.”

Professor Fernandez-Armesto believes that:

... the enduring influence of the Armada has been felt in the realm of myths ... slowly accumulated from the accretions of a long historical and literary tradition the myths of a great English victory, of English superiority over Spain; of the outcome of the Armada as a symbol of an age of English national greatness in the reign of Elizabeth I; of the Armada fight as part of a war of religion. These myths are the last stragglers of the Armada, and have still to come into port.

Perhaps he is right. But given that over a third of the Armada’s ships and equipment and one-half of her men were lost and that virtually all of the senior commanders died or were disgraced, I do not think it is an act of gross exaggeration to conclude that this was no mere imperial setback. It would seem to be a very major defeat.

However we may judge this episode in light of Fernandez-Armesto’s new appraisal, those interested in the progress of Revisionism may wish to take note that it has taken over four centuries for an honest reexamination of these events to be written by a professor at a major university and published by an internationally renowned scholarly press. As this is being written, we can report that the author of this volume, which challenges the accepted version at every point, has not been assaulted by the defenders of the memory of Sir Francis Drake; that he has not lost his tenured professorship; and that his doctorate has not been revoked. A center of controversy, Fernandez-Armesto remains safely at large. But most will agree that four hundred years is a long time for Revisionism of a sort to win a respectful hearing.

Source: vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 375-379.

Book review

Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The 'Final Solution' in History

- by Arno J. Mayer, New York: Pantheon, 1988, Hb., 492 pages, \$27.95, ISBN 0-394-57154-1.

Reviewed by Robert Faurisson

In the United States a Jewish Professor Takes the Revisionist Path

In its May 1989 issue, *Newsweek* described (pp. 64-65) a “storm over a new book” devoted to “the extermination of the Jews” during the Second World War. The book is *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The “Final Solution” in History*.

Pierre Vidal-Naquet's Friend

Its author, Arno J. Mayer, was born in 1926 into a Jewish family in Luxembourg. He is a professor of European history at Princeton University. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, in his 1987 book *Les Assassins de la Mémoire* (Editions de la Découverte), called Mayer his “colleague and friend” (page 203, note 21) and mentioned his name nine times. For example, he wrote: “I owe very much to Arno J. Mayer, whom I warmly thank” (page 216, note 12). He said that he had read the manuscript of a book that Mayer was going to publish in 1988, probably bearing the title *The Final Solution in History*.

It seems that in 1982 the American professor infuriated an Israeli colleague during an international conference at the Sorbonne presided over by François Furet and Raymond Aron (29 June to 2 July). At that time Mayer undoubtedly had the courage to express some reservations about the dogma of the Holocaust and the gas chambers.

In any event, Mayer's own conference paper did not appear in the book *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif*, (Gallimard/Le Seuil, 1985, 607 pages) that was published three years later and was supposed to contain the results of that conference. We were thus kept in ignorance of Mayer's thesis from 1982 to 1988.

According to the author, he submitted the penultimate draft of his entire manuscript, except for the prologue, to three of the leading people in the field of Jewish history: Raul Hilberg (United States), Hans Mommsen (West Germany), and Pierre Vidal-Naquet (France) (see page xiv). On the cover of Mayer's book one can read the following appreciation of the book: “The most important effort ever made by a historian to think critically about the unthinkable (Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris).”

Sources for the Gas Chambers Are Rare and Unreliable

Arno J. Mayer says that he believes there was a policy to exterminate the Jews and that the homicidal gas chambers were a reality, but at the same time he writes pages of text and makes observations with which many revisionists would agree. Furthermore, in his bibliography he even mentions two Revisionist works: *The Lie of Ulysses* by Paul Rassinier (in the edition published by La Vieille Taupe in Paris in 1979), as well as Arthur Butz's masterly study, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.

According to Mayer there is no trace of any plan for the extermination of the Jews and, as regards the gas chambers, he includes, in his chapter on Auschwitz, the following sentence, which is quite astonishing coming from a friend of Pierre Vidal-Naquet: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable" (p. 362). He adds:

Most of what is known (on this subject) is based on the depositions of Nazi officials and executioners at postwar trials and on the memory of survivors and bystanders. This testimony must be screened carefully, since it can be influenced by subjective factors of great complexity (pages 362-63).

Would it not be more correct to say that people must be suspicious of the so-called statements, confessions, and eye-witness accounts that the Exterminationists so shamelessly make use of.

Then the author adds, regarding the above-mentioned sources: "there is no denying the many contradictions, ambiguities, and errors in the existing sources" (p. 363). One would like to see Arno J. Mayer review some of these contradictions, ambiguities and errors; no doubt he is thinking about the "sources" that the same Exterminationists have used for more than forty years.

He mentions the "gassings" at Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka but those references are fleeting and are swept up in a flood of considerations foreign to the subject.

Generally speaking, throughout the book the central subject, the supposed genocide of the Jews (here called "Judeocide") and the supposed gas chambers, is buried under a mass of digressions on such things as the anti-Semitism of the Middle Ages and Hitler's campaign in Russia. This is what professors complaisantly call the study of the context; I would prefer a study of the text or, in other words, of the subject.

More Dead from Natural than Non-Natural Causes

Mayer also takes the revisionist path when he insistently emphasizes the ravages caused in the Jewish communities of the East and in the concentration camps by typhus epidemics. People too often forget that one of the most important motives for the Germans when they created the ghettos was their fear of seeing typhus spread almost everywhere in that part of the world, which was already suffering from war. Even as he is vague on the subject of the supposed "gassings," Mayer is precise and detailed on typhus. During the period from 1942 to 1945 — in other words at the very time when, according to Exterminationist historians, the fantastic "gassings" supposedly took place — he estimates (unfortunately without furnishing any figures) that more Jews were killed by so-called natural causes (starvation, disease, sickness and overwork) than by "non-natural" causes (executions of all kinds). He specifically says that this was true "certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall" (p. 365). That remark has not gone unnoticed and it has provided fuel for a lively controversy.

Elsewhere, Mayer interprets, then eliminates one by one all the documents or arguments which up until now have been used to make people believe that the Germans practiced a policy of exterminating the Jews (the Göring-to-Heydrich letter of 31 July 1941, the Wannsee Conference transcript, the conduct of the Einsatzgruppen in Russia, Himmler's speeches at Posen in October 1943, etc.).

Things that have been presented to us as definitely established facts are often described by Mayer as being uncertain or untrustworthy. The numbers and the statistics, which have finally achieved, in a sense, an official, sacred character, are greeted by Mayer with great mistrust.

Differentiating between, on the one hand, Jewish "memory" — not to say Jewish legend or mythology — and, on the other hand, "history," Mayer deplores the existence of a cult of memory which, with the distortions that it imposes on historical reality, has become "too sectarian" (p. 16). Memory, he thinks, tends to "rigidify" while history calls for "revision" (p. 18). Historians today have "the urgent task of thinking, critically, about the unthinkable" (p. 363).

Two Suggestions for the Future

Regarding the gas chambers at Auschwitz, Mayer writes:

The Soviet archives may well yield significant clues and evidence when they are opened. In addition, excavations at the killing sites and in their immediate environs may also bring forth new information.

I would remind the reader that those are two revisionist ideas for which I have personally fought. Early in 1988, during the second trial of Ernst Zündel in Toronto, I was able, working through defense attorney Doug Christie, to get one of the prosecution experts, Charles Biedermann, to confirm that the Auschwitz "death registers," left intact by the Germans, are in fact to be found, for the most part, in Moscow.

The scandal is that these registers are being kept hidden in the same way as the few volumes that remain at the Auschwitz Museum are concealed. The Americans, British, French, Germans, and Israelis cooperate in hiding these documents and even refuse to reveal how many names are contained in the several registers at the Auschwitz Museum, photocopies of which are in the possession of the International Tracing Service at Arolsen (an organ of the International Committee of the Red Cross located in West Germany, but under the strict surveillance of the Allies and of the Israelis for fear of an intrusion by Revisionist researchers). Would Mayer agree in demanding the opening of the "secret file"?

As regards excavations, here again the revisionists have taken the initiative in spite of prohibitions against it. I refer to that in my preface to the "Leuchter Report," named after the American engineer who studied the so-called homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1988, p. 37640).

In February 1989, in Los Angeles, during the 9th International Conference of our Institute for Historical Review, Fred Leuchter asked for the creation of an international commission of inquiry into the homicidal gas chambers supposedly used by the Germans. Would Mayer break with his Exterminationist colleagues by responding to the "Leuchter Report" with something other than an embarrassed silence or a hoax of the kind resorted to by Serge Klarsfeld and his disciples? What does Mayer think about an international commission of experts?

Progress in Ten Years

Ten years ago, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Léon Poliakov took the initiative in drawing up a public statement directed against me which said that, because of the abundance and reliability of the evidence, “there is not, there cannot be any debate about the existence of the gas chambers” (*Le Monde*, 21 February 1979, p. 23). Among the 34 signatories of that declaration were Philippe Ariès, Fernand Braudel, Pierre Chaunu, François Furet, Jacques Le Goff and Emmanuel Leroy-Ladurie. But René Rémond refused to sign it.

We had to wait until 1988 for an established historian like Arno Mayer to say, in his chapter on Auschwitz, that sources for the study of the gas chambers, far from being *abundant* and *reliable*, as people asserted, are only *rare* and *unreliable*. This is just a single example of the significant progress that Historical Revisionism has made in the scholarly community.

The Jewish professor from Princeton is going to learn the cost of scrutinizing the taboo of the century. He has done so with the greatest caution, without being aggressive or provocative, but he has already unleashed, along with some favorable reactions in the American press, some real attacks. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen of Harvard, in an article entitled “False Witness,” accuses Mayer of falsification, distortion, revisionism, and of having “produced a mockery of memory and history” (*The New Republic*, 17 April 1989, p. 39-44).

That sounds familiar. Fortunately for Professor Mayer, he lives in the United States and not in France, like Faurisson, in Sweden, like Felderer, or in Germany, like Stäglich.

1. Mayer’s book, more than 500 pages long, doesn’t contain a single footnote. Also, many of his quotations can only be verified by personal research on the part of the reader. At the beginning of 1981, Arno J. Mayer was still so hostile toward revisionism that he wrote:

Regrettably, Faurisson’s new book [*Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire*, 1980] has an unconscionable preface by Noam Chomsky that is being used to legitimate Faurisson as a bona fide scholar of the Holocaust. As an unqualified civil libertarian Chomsky claims — disingenuously — that he has not read the book he is prefacing! (*Democracy*, April 1981, p. 68).

Source: vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 380-382.

Book review

Hitler's Hometown: Linz, Austria, 1908-1945

- Hitler's Hometown: Linz, Austria, 1908-1945, by Evan Burr Buckey. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986, xv + 288 pages, hardbound, \$27.50, ISBN 0-253-32833-0.

Reviewed by John M. Ries

Tracing the transition of Linz, Austria from a peaceful Danubian entrepot in the waning years of the Emperor Franz Josef to one of Europe's major industrial and manufacturing centers, this comprehensive account by Evan Burr Buckey is a worthy addition to the growing list of specialized studies in Central European history. The development of Linz and the surrounding countryside of Upper Austria since the early years of this century is a sort of microcosm of the problems and solutions that have beset German-Austria. Dominated by three major political elites, the Christian Socials, the German Nationalists, and the Social Democrats, Linz became somewhat of an exception to the prevailing pattern of sociopolitical activity through the development of a "moderate political culture." This was largely the work of the provincial governor (*Landeshauptmann*) of Upper Austria from 1908 until his death in 1925, the so-called "red prelate," Johann Nepomuk Hauser. Hauser believed in democratic political rule and was instrumental in establishing the first measure toward universal manhood suffrage in Linz as early as 1908, through a phasing out of the strict property requirements for voting.. His ability to convince the competing elites of the merits of compromise assured his continued popularity, enabling him to become the only provincial governor to survive the transition from imperial to republican rule in 1918-1919.

The 1920's produced the same conflicts in Linz as in the rest of Austria, with the exception that they were kept in bounds due to the moderate, democratic tradition established by Hauser and carried on by his successor, Josef Schlegel. Mr. Buckey ably describes the state of balance that existed between Social Democratic Linz, protected by its paramilitary Republican Defense Corps (*Schützbund*), and the Upper Austrian countryside, where quasi-fascist organizations, led by Prince Starhemberg's *Heimwehr*, tried to gain control. Eventually, the forces of reaction won out, as the Austrian Civil War in February 1934 put an end to parliamentary government in Linz and Upper Austria.

From the standpoint of this reviewer, and perhaps for the readers of the *Journal* as well, it seems that the author's treatment of the less familiar, and somewhat controversial, years from the Anschluss up to the end of World War Two should bear the closest scrutiny. Accordingly, it is with the period 1938-1945 that the remaining portion of this review is concerned.

Beginning with the entry of German troops into Linz itself around noon on the 12th of March, 1938, there seemed little doubt as to where the citizens of this once "rather dull and unexciting capital" of the province of Upper Austria stood with respect to the impending re-unification. In-

deed, Hitler, who had grown up in Linz, was so struck by the “wild jubilation” that greeted his arrival later that evening, that he “impulsively decided to abandon an earlier plan for a 'personal union' of Austria and Germany and to incorporate his homeland into the Reich.” In Linz, as elsewhere in the future Ostmark, “Blumen statt Bombenn (“flowers instead of bombs” was the order of the day.

Yet how do we account for such a “torrent of enthusiasm”?” Certainly, as Mr. Buckey clearly documents, the National Socialist seizure of power in Linz was “the direct result of German pressure and intervention. It did not occur as a consequence of a deal with traditional elites nor in the wake of a mass upheaval.” Moreover, the Catholic peasantry of the surrounding countryside would remain aloof and suspicious of the Third Reich throughout the next seven years. Whatever prompted the spontaneous display of approbation at the dissolution of the Austrian state can only be explained if we take into account the years its inhabitants had spent searching for a national identity, a quest that transcended class and party lines; a stagnating economy made worse by the recent effects of the worldwide Depression; and the prevailing belief that unification with a resurgent Germany would be a major improvement over the way things had been. In the end, therefore, it was the compelling desire for change, regardless of the consequences, that ultimately sanctioned what seemed to many on the outside as the “suicide of a state.”

And the changes would, indeed, be extensive. Mr. Buckey points to the measures “relieving social distress, especially by the Strength Through Joy [Kraft durch Freude] Organization, the revitalization of the Linz economy, and above all, the elimination of local unemployment within six months of the Anschluss” as decisive factors in the establishment of a popular consensus for the National Socialist regime. Considering the latter, in March 1938, of the some 37,120 people without jobs in Upper Austria, some 12,000 resided in Linz. Seven months later, in October, the number had dropped to 3,195 and 1,098, respectively. Within two years after the Anschluss, there would be as many as 13,900 unfilled jobs in the region.

Hitler’s plans to transform his hometown into a “Second Budapest” received a great deal of personal attention, but while his patronage did not quite produce the extensive cultural changes that he had envisioned, it did contribute to the development of a major manufacturing center from the decaying remnants of a pre-industrial provincial capital. With an infusion of 60 million marks, courtesy of the director of the Four-Year Plan, a massive industrial complex arose, focusing on the appropriately named Hermann Göring Steel Works. Also, a nitrogen plant, a chemical works, and other large scale enterprises manufacturing aluminum, artificial fibers, and armaments began to spring up. The period of National Socialist rule in Linz, as “brutal and capricious” as it may have been, witnessed the creation of a modern industrial city. Outmoded structures and interest groups, recalcitrant labor unions and leftist parties — all were altered through a thorough reworking of the entire economic system. In the process, it was the Reich Germans who “played the most conspicuous role since they alone possessed the vision and the capital” to effect the desired changes.

Outside of the Hitler regime’s economic program, a great deal of local support for the National Socialist government rested on its anti-Jewish and anti-clerical policies. In an earlier section of the book, Mr. Buckey describes how the German Nationalist followers of the notorious Judeophile Georg Ritter von Schönerer gained strong support in Linz during the first decades of this century, even controlling the municipal council from 1900-1919. Anti-Semitism had also been encouraged by the Church and was perhaps reflected to a great extent in the enthusiasm demonstrated by the local peasantry in the anti-Jewish measures taken by the National Socialists following the Anschluss. Indeed, given this background, it may come as no surprise to learn that “the Nazi seizure of power in Hitler’s hometown began with a pogrom.” During the ensuing

months, the relatively small number of Jews (there seemed to be around 1000 at the time of the Anschluss) who lived in Linz was significantly reduced, many either volunteering or being forced to leave. The assertion that the remnant who decided to remain following the Kristallnacht (November 9-10, 1938) “perished in the 'final solution' in mid-summer 1942” is open to question from a Revisionist standpoint.

The anti-clerical policies of the National Socialist government were also supported strongly by the town population, going back to a long tradition of opposition to Church authority. Schools were closed, priests deported or imprisoned, and other restrictions were imposed, all against the sustained opposition of local Bishop Gföllner, who, according to Mr. Buckey, “may have been the only bishop in Germany and Austria to have opposed National Socialism for two decades.” As it turned out, these and similiar policies by the government cost the regime the allegiance and support of the region’s Catholic peasantry.

The prolonged effects of the war did not seem to weaken seriously the National Socialist consensus in Linz, at least until late 1944, when the suffering due to food shortages, disease, and repeated bombing began to take its toll. Only then did the Hitler regime begin to be perceived as an alien domination. This is perhaps underscored by the resistance movements which sprang up in Linz over the preceding few years: all seemed to be mainly concerned with ending the war rather than Nazi rule. In this sense, they should more properly be called “peace movements.”

I highly recommend this excellent study of an important city in recent Austrian history not only for its own sake but also as a valuable preparation for the eventual appearance of that definitive modern history of Austria which we are all anxiously awaiting.

Source: vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 388, 515.

From the Editor

Theodore T. O'Keefe

The Winter 1989-90 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* concludes Volume Nine of the *JHR* and launches it into the 1990s.

If this last issue of the 80s, and first issue of the 90s, may be said to have a theme, that theme is “justice denied.” Nearly every article and review bears, directly or indirectly, on the postwar “trials” with which the Second World War’s victors have attempted to consolidate their triumph by continuing the propaganda war against the defeated, above all the Germans. These courtroom events, which commenced even before the war was over and are far from ending even today, over forty years after the German surrender, have in the past two decades expanded their educational function by targeting persons whose offense is not alleged to have been a “war crime” but rather a challenge to the authorized Allied propaganda version of the war as certified at Nuremberg in 1946.

Joseph Halow, who as a very young man had a unique vantage point on the trials of German concentration camp personnel by American military courts at Dachau in 1947, [supplies a sensitive and highly personal account](#) of how he lost his innocent belief in a unique American righteousness there. The intrepid Florence Rost van Tonningen, on the other hand, herself subject to persecution in the courts of her native Netherlands for the past decade for distributing and possessing forbidden literature on the war, [tells of her quest for truth and justice](#) in the matter of her murdered husband, the noted Dutch economist M. M. Rost van Tonningen: he was killed, without even the appearance of a trial, in circumstances which the Dutch government has decreed must remain secret until the year 2069. The *JHR's* prolific editorial adviser, Mark Weber, meanwhile, [reports on his important testimony](#) at the second trial of Ernst Zündel, who, as past readers of *The Journal* know, is being punished under Canada’s retrograde laws against spreading “false news” for daring to challenge the historicity of the “Holocaust.”

Weber also [provides a thorough debunking](#) of professional “Nazi-hunter” Simon Wiesenthal, who more than any man alive has stoked the popular fever that fuels the interminable trials of alleged German war criminals. John Cobden’s thorough mining of the Revisionist truths contained in the official survivors’ history of Dachau helps elucidate many of the problems touched on in the Halow article, while Professor Henry Adams, a close associate of Revisionist founding father Harry Elmer Barnes, closes his review of David Irving’s massive biography of Hermann Goring with a reminder of Goring’s masterful performance before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg.

These articles demonstrate that the legacy of Yalta and Potsdam and Nuremberg continues to bloom in the icy minds and hearts of the West’s ruling intellectual and political Establishment, in America and Canada and Great Britain and France and West Germany. The truth about this cen-

ture's great wars — what caused them, for which interests their victims died, and how disastrously, for most of humankind, they ended — continues to be shackled and guarded in Western Europe and North America as thoroughly, and more effectively, than historical truth in the 'pre-glasnost' East.

If we at IHR may make one prediction about this final decade of the second millennium after Christ, however, it is that the coming ten years will see the triumph of Historical Revisionism around the world. As the past decade began, the Holocaust cult and its beneficiaries, the chief stumbling block to establishing the facts about the Second World War, seemed invincible. As it closes, the Soviet system in Eastern Europe is collapsing, and the USSR itself faces an existential crisis in which it has no alternative but to confront and reveal the bitter facts of its own past. The state of Israel and the Zionist movement stand exposed to most of the world as morally bankrupt; they approach intellectual bankruptcy; how long will America's prodigal subsidies be there to avert financial and political bankruptcy? The peoples of Central and Eastern Europe are tearing down the barriers to freedom of action and movement. Despite the best efforts of the ideological police of the Bundesrepublik, Austria, and elsewhere, the barriers to freedom of historical inquiry and expression are coming down, too: the handwriting is on the Berlin Wall. The pioneering work of Rassinier and Barnes and Hoggan and Irving and Stäglich and Butz and Faurisson and the many other courageous Revisionist fighters for truth will not, can not, be suppressed much longer. None of this is to suggest, of course, that the battle is won, let alone that some sort of millennium, or "end of history," is at hand. The savage and nearly fatal attack on Robert Faurisson in Vichy last September is reminder enough of how vicious the enemies of truth continue to be. The trials and tribulations of Revisionists, of those Americans and other's accused of "war crimes" long ago and far away, and of whole peoples still exposed to campaigns of hate propaganda, are not yet over. In this country, the American values for which America's revisionists have fought — the proud self-sufficiency and non-interventionism advocated by George Washington in his great Farewell Address — pose a distinct threat to the Establishment which rules America. A continuing task for American Revisionists in the coming years will be alerting their countrymen to the harsh consequences that have flown from their leaders preference for meddling abroad rather than solving problems at home. We at IHR and *The Journal of Historical Review*, after meeting the challenges of the 1980's (from sniper's bullets to hotel cancellations to nuisance lawsuits to the terrorist arson destruction of our headquarters and warehouse on July 4, 1984) are ready and willing to tackle those of the 1990s. We thank you, our subscribers, without whom our achievements would not have been possible. On to the year 2000 and victory over the historical blackout!

My Role in the Zündel Trial

Mark Weber

For the better part of five days in March 1988, [I testified as an expert witness for the defense](#) in the “Holocaust Trial” of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel. It was one of the most challenging and interesting experiences of my life, as well as one of the most emotionally grueling.

Zündel was on trial in Toronto District Court for publishing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a 32-page booklet (often called the “Harwood booklet” after the pen name of its English author) that contests the Holocaust story, that the Germans systematically exterminated six million European Jews during the Second World War.

During my time on the stand, which included a detailed examination of the booklet itself, I presented evidence which, together with the testimony of the other defense witnesses, powerfully discredits the extermination story. I also told the court about the solid achievements of Holocaust Revisionism in the years since the Harwood booklet was first published in England in 1974.

For the sake of clarity in this essay, I have reorganized and compressed my testimony into a coherent summary. I have also tried to convey something of the atmosphere in the courtroom, and have included a few personal observations.

Ernst Zündel

The defendant was born in Germany’s Black Forest region in 1939. After migrating to Canada at the age of 18, he made a successful career for himself as a professional graphic artist. Zündel was charged under a Canadian law, enacted in 1892 and used only twice before, which makes it illegal knowingly to publish “a statement, tale or news that he knows is false and that causes, or is likely to cause, injury or mischief to a public interest.”

His first trial in 1985 for publishing the Harwood booklet received intensive coverage in the Canadian media and resulted in conviction. But the verdict was set aside in 1987 by the Ontario Court of Appeal, which ruled that the judge had, among other things, improperly excluded defense evidence, permitted inadmissible prosecution evidence and had given improper instructions to the jury. The Ontario provincial government then ordered a new trial, which began on January 18, 1988. (On May 11, 1988, Zündel was found guilty and sentenced two days later to nine months in jail. His courageous and dedicated attorney, Douglas Christie, immediately appealed the verdict)

Zündel first asked me to participate in the second Holocaust Trial as a possible interpreter. William A. Curry, a Nebraska businessman who knew both Zündel and me, had strongly encouraged my participation in the trial and was instrumental in arranging our first meeting in Toronto on March 3. Zündel and his attorney quickly decided that I could actually be of greater help as a witness than as an interpreter.

I was called to the stand on Tuesday morning, March 22. Defense attorney Christie began by briefly questioning me about my competence as a historian. Among other things, he established that I had received a Master's degree in European history in 1977 from Indiana University (Bloomington), and had studied the Holocaust issue in considerable detail since 1979. Crown (prosecution) attorney John Pearson objected to my being allowed to testify, arguing that I am biased and not sufficiently "professional." But Christie pointed out that I had more academic training as a historian than Raul Hilberg, who had testified for the prosecution in the first Zündel trial. Christie said that my testimony should be admitted on the same basis as that of historian Christopher Browning, who had appeared earlier as the main prosecution witness.

Pearson suggested that my Revisionist writing is motivated by money. I have received for some of my writing on this issue from people whom Pearson called "Holocaust deniers." Christie noted in response that Browning had received infinitely more generous funding from the Israeli government's Yad Vashem center. Judge Ronald Thomas hardly hesitated in ruling that I be allowed to testify as an expert witness who could give, as he put it, "opinion evidence on the question of the Holocaust and the alleged extermination policy of the German government."

Reviewing the Harwood Booklet

Doug Christie guided me through a line-by-line evaluation of virtually the entire text of *Did Six Million Really Die?*, an often tedious chore that took up the better part of three days. I was asked to assess the accuracy and comment on the historical background of nearly every sentence of the booklet, except for portions about the International Red Cross and the Belsen camp, which had been reviewed with previous witnesses.

Despite a number of errors, the booklet is "generally accurate," I testified. I told the court that I agreed with its basic thesis, which is given in the very first sentence, "that the allegation that six million Jews died during the Second World War, as a direct result of official German policy of extermination, is utterly unfounded."

I specified the booklet's inaccurate and misleading statements, but stressed that these errors did not originate with the author. Instead, they were carried over from errors in the writings of Paul Rassinier and David Hoggan, upon which the author relied heavily. The Harwood booklet "does not purport to be a scholarly work of history," I said. It is a "journalistic or a polemical account" which should not be "held up to the same standards of rigid scrutiny" as a serious scholarly work. "Its main value lies in encouraging further discussion and thought and debate."

I also emphasized that the nature of the errors shows that the author did not write maliciously or with the intention to deceive the reader; For example, in cross-examination Pearson focussed on the booklet's assertion that the first accusation that the Germans were exterminating Jews was made in 1943 in a book by Raphael Lemkin. (p. 7) The Crown attorney made a point of getting me to acknowledge that this is not true. The first serious extermination claims were actually made in 1942 by the World Jewish Congress, I said, but stressed that this mistake by Rassinier is not critically important to his central thesis, and in any case can hardly be considered malicious or deceitful.

When Pearson asked me to agree that the booklet falsely claims that the Jews invented the extermination story *after* the war to make money for Israel, I referred him to the passage he himself had cited, which mentions the *wartime* origins of the extermination charge. Pearson and the Crown's (mostly Jewish) supporters in the courtroom seemed somewhat crestfallen by this observation.

I testified that it is not especially remarkable that Ernst Zündel did not know about the mistakes in the Harwood booklet. Zündel is not nor has he claimed to be a historian. Publishers normally rely on the basic trustworthiness of their authors, I said. Besides, the errors in the Harwood booklet are trivial compared, for example, to the enormous fraud perpetrated by several internationally prominent periodicals, including *Newsweek* magazine, which published the forged “Hitler diaries.” I pointed out that despite its vast human and financial resources, *Newsweek* magazine did not undertake even the minimum effort that would have been enough to establish that the “diaries” were phony. The author of *Did Six Million Really Die?* at least relied on previously published material that he had much better reason to believe was accurate.

I also compared the Harwood booklet to William Shirer’s bestselling volume, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, which contains numerous demonstrable errors of fact. And although the book has been reprinted many times, in many different editions, neither the author nor the publisher has ever bothered to correct these errors. For example, Shirer repeated the now totally discredited story that the National Socialist leaders themselves set fire to the Reichstag (parliament) building in February 1933. The Shirer book must be held to a higher standard of truthfulness and reliability than the Harwood booklet, which does not claim to be a scholarly work of history.

I compared the Harwood booklet to two Holocaust booklets published by the Jewish Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (*The Record: The Holocaust in History* and *Anatomy of Nazism*) which contain grotesque and demonstrable errors of fact. The prosecution objected to this comparison, and Judge Thomas agreed, declaring that “this evidence is not relevant to the charge and will not be admitted.”

I testified that “Richard Harwood” was a pen name used by Richard Verrall whom I met in England in 1977. Based on my conversations with Verrall and the booklet’s publisher, I told the court that the author graduated from the University of London with high honors, and that he had written *Did Six Million Really Die?* hastily but honestly. Verrall “did not maliciously or willfully make false statements of fact,” I told the court. When I first testified about Verrall, Pearson objected to my presentation of such information as hearsay. Later, however, during cross-examination, the Crown attorney reversed himself (apparently because the judge and jury seemed to accept what I had said on this issue), and asked for more information about my meeting with Verrall and the origin of the booklet. It seemed obvious that the prosecution knew all along just who really wrote the booklet, but had hoped to keep this information from the jury.

The 'Final Solution'

A good deal of my time on the stand, especially during the first and final days, was devoted to questions about Germany’s “final solution” policy, which prosecution witness Browning had dealt with earlier. The “final solution” was a term sometimes used by the German government for its wartime Jewish policy, I explained.

At the end of the Second World War, the Allies confiscated a tremendous quantity of German documents dealing with this policy. But not a single document has ever been found which even refers to an extermination program. To the contrary, the German documents show that the “final solution” meant removing the Jews from Europe — by emigration if possible and by deportation if necessary. Later, during cross-examination, I agreed with the Crown attorney that the “final solution” was a euphemism, although not for extermination. But after I had a chance to consult a dictionary, I said that I had spoken too hastily, and that the term was not a euphemism because the term “final solution” was actually harsher-sounding than the policy it described. It would be more accurate to describe the term as a label or description, I said.

I emphasized that the German “final solution” policy is clearly explained in three important German documents, which I quoted. The first is the letter from Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring to SS security chief Reinhard Heydrich of July 31, 1941, which orders measures for “the intended final solution of the Jewish question.” As I pointed out, the document specifically confirms that the German policy was “to solve the Jewish question by emigration and evacuation.”

The second document is the so-called “Wannsee Protocol” a record of the “Wannsee conference” of January 20, 1942, in Berlin. (Nuremberg document NG-2586-G) The document, which contains nothing about extermination, explains the policy of deporting Jews to the occupied Soviet territories in the East. “The emigration program has now been replaced by the evacuation of the Jews to the East as a further solution possibility, in accordance with previous authorization by the Führer,” it notes. The document refers to the eventual “freeing” or “liberation” of the Jews (“bei Freilassung” in German), which implicitly confirms the intention of the German government to free the Jews after the war. Interestingly, these words were deleted from the English-language translation published in the official “green series” record of Nuremberg documents issued by the U;S. government (NMT “green series,” vol. 13, p. 213) The “Wannsee Protocol” also states that elderly German Jews and Jews who had served honorably during the First World War would not be deported to the East, but would instead be housed in the special Theresienstadt ghetto in Bohemia.

I pointed out that the real nature of the “final solution” policy was also confirmed by Heydrich in a speech to German officials in Prague two weeks after the Wannsee conference (which he chaired), and by his widow, Lina Heydrich, in her memoir. Heydrich explained that the German policy was to deport the Jews of Europe to the Soviet territories. Furthermore, I added, every one of the officials who participated in the conference and survived the war (with the exception of Adolf Eichmann in Israeli custody) later testified that the conference had nothing to do with a policy of extermination. I mentioned that even the prominent West German historians Martin Broszat and Hans Mommsen had come to the conclusion in recent years that the conference did not involve an extermination policy.

Finally, the German Foreign Office memorandum of August 21, 1942, explains Germany’s wartime policy towards the Jews in clear and unmistakable language. (Nuremberg document NG2586-J.) It was written by Martin Luther, who represented the German Foreign Office at the Wannsee conference. I quoted from it at some length: “The present war gives Germany the opportunity and also the duty of solving the Jewish problem in Europe,” it notes, and refers specifically to the “territorial final solution.” The policy “to promote the evacuation of the Jews [from Europe] in closest cooperation with the agencies of the Reichsführer SS [Himmler] is still in force.” The memo mentions that, unfortunately, “the number of Jews deported in this way to the East did not suffice to cover the labor needs.”

The document quotes German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop as saying that “at the end of this war, all Jews would have to leave Europe. This was an unalterable decision of the Führer [Hitler] and also the only way to master this problem, as only a global and comprehensive solution could be applied and individual measures would not help very much.” This internal memorandum concludes by saying that the “deportations [of the Jews to the East] are a further step on the way of the total solution ... The deportation to the [Polish] General Government is a temporary measure. The Jews will be moved on further to the occupied [Soviet] eastern territories as soon as the technical conditions for it are given.” I made clear to the court that when those who uphold the Holocaust extermination story are confronted with documents like this, they interpret them to suit what I called “their preconceived notion” and “try to make the evidence fit.”

Hitler and the 'Final Solution'

I reminded the court that there is no documentary evidence that Adolf Hitler ever gave an order to exterminate the Jews, or that he knew of any extermination program. Instead, the evidence shows that the German leader wanted the Jews to leave Europe, by emigration if possible and by deportation if necessary.

Hitler sometimes spoke privately with close associates about his policy towards the Jews. I cited his remarks to colleagues at his headquarters on July 24, 1942, in which the German leader emphasized his determination to remove all Jews from Europe after the war: “The Jews are interested in Europe for business reasons, but Europe must reject them, if only out of self-interest, because the Jews are racially tougher. After this war is over, I will rigorously hold to this position: I will break up one city after the other if the Jews don’t come out and emigrate to Madagascar or some other Jewish national state.” (Source: Henry Picker, ed., *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, Stuttgart 1976, p. 456.)

In response to an Allied radio broadcast that the Jews were being exterminated, Hitler angrily commented: “Really, the Jews should be grateful to me for wanting nothing more than a bit of hard work from them.” And I mentioned that when Hitler received a report in October 1944 about Soviet reports that the Germans had killed hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Majdanek concentration camp, he dismissed the stories as baseless propaganda, no different than Allied lies during the First World War. (Source: David Irving, *Hitler’s War*, Viking Press 1977 ed., pp. 362, 787.)

Six Million?

There is no doubt that the Jews of Europe “suffered a great catastrophe during the Second World War,” I said. There is indeed “a basis for the Holocaust story,” adding that it “is not just something made out of whole cloth.” For example, the large Jewish community of Poland was essentially uprooted during that period. But the Jews were hardly the only people to suffer. When I said that more Germans than Jews perished during the Second World War, the Jews in the courtroom were noticeably upset. More than five million Germans lost their lives during the war, including more than half a million who were killed in Allied bombings of German towns and cities, many of them literally “holocausted” in flames and fire storms. I stressed that it is difficult to estimate the number of European Jews who perished during the war because reliable and complete data are simply not available. I quoted from an article, “How high is the number of Jewish victims?,” that appeared in the daily *Baseler Nachrichten* of Basel, Switzerland, of June 13, 1946, and which is cited in the Harwood booklet. This respected newspaper concluded that not more than 1.5 million European Jews could have perished (of all causes) during the war:

One thing is already certain today: The claim that this figure [of Jewish dead] runs up to 5 or 6 million (a figure which has also been assumed by the Palestine Committee, which is very difficult to understand is not true. The number of Jewish victims may vary between 1 and 1.5 million, because a higher number was not “within reach” of Hitler and Himmler. It may be assumed and hoped that the final figure of losses of the Jewish people will be even lower than this figure. But clarification is necessary, which is why an investigation by a special United Nations committee should establish the truth, which is so terribly important for the present and for the future.

It should be kept in mind that all Jews who died during the war, no matter what the cause of death, are deceitfully counted as “victims of the Holocaust.” This includes Jews killed in Allied

bombing raids on concentration camps and European cities. I mentioned the thousands of Jews who were killed in the final weeks of the war as they were being evacuated from camps in two German ships, the *Cap Arcona* and the *Thielbeck*, which were sunk by British war planes. They are counted as “holocaust victims,” even though if the policy has been to kill them, the German authorities obviously would not have bothered to evacuate them on desperately needed ships.

Wartime Propaganda

The Holocaust extermination legend began, I said, with stories circulated during the summer and fall of 1942 by the World Jewish Congress, and particularly by its president, Rabbi Stephen Wise, who also headed the American Jewish Congress. At that time, Wise preposterously charged that the Germans were manufacturing soap and lubricants from the corpses of murdered Jews, and that the Germans had given up gassing Jews in favor of extermination by systematically injecting them with air. (See, for example, the *New York Times*, November 26, 1942, p. 16.)

The prosecution attorney spent a good bit of time asking about the joint declaration issued by the Allied governments in December 1942, which: charged that the Germans were exterminating the Jews. He tried to argue that any “reasonably well-read” person would have known about this declaration, but I replied that it is doubtful if even one college-educated Canadian in a hundred had ever heard of it. Two important facts about this fateful declaration should be kept in mind, I said. First, it was issued in spite of private protests by the American and British officials responsible for Jewish affairs in Europe, who reported that there was no evidence for the Jewish extermination stories. Second, it was issued largely as a result of an intensive behind-the-scenes pressure campaign orchestrated by the World Jewish Congress, as the organization later boasted in its official history, a book entitled *Unity in Dispersion*.

The extermination stories were subsequently promoted by the Allied governments as part of their wartime propaganda campaign against Germany. The wartime German government protested against these fantastic allegations. Deputy Reich Press Chief Helmut Sündermann specifically refuted the Allied extermination claims at two press conferences in Berlin for foreign journalists, including some from neutral countries. The government of Hungary, which was a wartime ally of Germany, also protested against the Allied charge that Jews were being exterminated.

The Einsatzgruppen

Much of my first, second and final days on the stand was devoted to questions about the activities of the “Einsatz gruppen” security police units, a subject which prosecution witness Browning had dealt with earlier in some detail. The Einsatzgruppen, I explained, were special task forces responsible for quickly imposing a “sort of 'rough and ready' form of order and security” in the newly-occupied Soviet territories before the establishment of regular civil administration. I had spent quite a lot of time studying the detailed Einsatzgruppen reports at the National Archives, I said.

Contrary to the view of Holocaust historians such as Raul Hilberg and others, I said that when these reports are considered as a whole and taken in the context of other evidence, it becomes clear that these units were not established to exterminate the Jews of the Soviet Union. It is quite true that these Security Police units shot considerable numbers of Jews, I said, but that if the original reports are read objectively and in context, it is clear that Jews were shot for specific security reasons, including reprisal killings, and not simply because they were Jews. I pointed out that even Raul Hilberg, probably the most prominent Jewish Holocaust historian, acknowledges

that the Einsatzgruppen did not kill Jews without a security reason. (*Destruction of the European Jew*, 1985 ed., p. 331.)

I stressed that the German policy towards the Jews in the occupied Soviet territories cannot be understood without taking into account the merciless war that was raging at the time between regimes with mortally opposed ideologies. The grim work of the Einsatzgruppen must be evaluated within the context of the savage conflict that was being waged outside of the accepted rules of warfare. I mentioned Stalin's order of July 3, 1941, calling on the entire Soviet civilian population to conduct a campaign of terror, sabotage and guerrilla warfare against the Germans. The Jews were especially active in this campaign, as numerous Jewish historians have proudly acknowledged, I said.

History shows that only extremely harsh measures seem to work against guerrilla or terrorist forces, I said, citing the experience of the American forces in Vietnam and the French in Algeria. I also mentioned the current conflict between the Israelis and the fighters of the PLO, who are regarded as terrorists by the Israelis and freedom fighters by the Palestinians. At this point, Jews present in the courtroom noisily indicated their displeasure at my very brief reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and Judge Thomas suddenly ordered a short recess. After the jury had left the room, he angrily criticized my reference as an "attempt to smear this trial" (which it most certainly was not) and announced that he would not tolerate any further references to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. "There's no need for this witness to bring into this courtroom the present environment in Israel." I was free to make comparisons with the Vietnam war or other historical conflicts, he said, but not to current events. Although I had obviously touched a sore nerve, I was not the only one in the courtroom who felt that Thomas had over-reacted. Unfortunately, this was by no means the only time he lost control of his emotions.:

On another occasion, I compared the sometimes very severe measures taken by the Einsatzgruppen with the "free fire zone" policy of the Americans during the Vietnam war. American forces would evacuate all Vietnamese civilians from designated areas to so-called "strategic hamlets," which in their forced resettlement of civilians were not unlike concentration camps. Any Vietnamese remaining in the so-called "free fire zones" were subject to extermination on the assumption that they were hostile and dangerous.

The tasks of the Einsatzgruppen were clearly laid out in an order by Heydrich, the chief of the Security Police and the Security Service, dated July 2, 1941, I said. This order specified that the only ones to be executed in the occupied Soviet territories *as Jews* were Jews in [Communist] Party and [Soviet] government positions." It also ordered the executions of "other radical elements (saboteurs, propagandists, snipers, assassins, inciters, etc.)" as well as high-level, middle-level Communist officials along with radical lower-level Communist officials. When I mentioned that this document had only come to light in recent years, Jews in the back of the courtroom expressed audible skepticism that such an order ever really existed. So I quickly added that it has appeared in several works, including *Documents on the Holocaust*, published by the Israeli government's Yad Vashem center in 1981. The courtroom crowd seemed struck by this citation.

The basic German policy towards the Jews in the Soviet territories is also laid out in the "Guidelines for the Handling of the Jewish Question." (Nuremberg document 212-PS.) There is no mention of extermination, but instead this Security Police directive emphasized the importance of putting Jews to work, and specifically refers to the Peaceful solution of the Jewish question."

I mentioned Himmler's private conversation with Mussolini in October 1942 and his speech of December 16, 1943, when he spoke frankly to German officers in Weimar about his ruthless pol-

icy towards the Jews in the occupied Soviet territories. This speech is also important because it clarifies the meaning of Himmler's widely-cited speech of October 4, 1943, in Posen.

A rather typical Einsatzgruppen report, dated October 31, 1941 (No. 127, pp. 4-5), describes the situation in the Ukraine:

In this area the Security Police has come up against two major groups of adversaries. They are: 1) the Jews, 2) those once active in the former Soviet regime ... In this regard it should be pointed out that in the Ukraine, those who sympathized with the Soviets were predominantly Jews ... It can now be stated without reservation that the Jews were, without exception, supporters of Bolshevism.

Over and over again, particularly in the cities, the Jews are cited as the real Soviet rulers who exploited the people with indescribable brutality and delivered them to their deaths at the hands of the NKVD [Soviet Secret Police]. The [German Security Police] units have carried out approximately 10,000 interrogations during the past four months. Again and again, the Jews were cited as having worked actively for the Soviets, if not in responsible positions than at least as agents, collaborators or informers. Not a single Jewish corpse had been found in any of the numerous mass graves. In any case, it is evident that the Jews share the greatest guilt with others for the slaughter of the Ukrainian people and the ethnic Germans. For this reason, special measures against the Jews are considered necessary by the Security Police.

I also quoted from several Einsatzgruppen reports to show that there was no extermination policy. For example, the reports of July 24, 1941, and August 5, 1941, refer to the establishment of Jewish health centers in the newly-created Jewish ghettos to prevent the outbreak of diseases.

I quoted from the report of September 12, 1941 (No. 81, p. 14), which clearly suggests that the "solution of the Jewish question" was simply to get the Jews out of Europe, not to kill them. It also shows that these security units were glad when they did not have to deal with the large numbers of Jews who fled to the eastern areas still under Soviet control:

During the first weeks [of the military campaign] considerable numbers of Jews fell under our control, whereas in the central and eastern Ukrainian districts it has been observed that in many cases 70 to 90 percent, and sometimes 100 percent, of the Jewish population has fled. This can be seen as an indirect result of the work of the Security Police [Einsatzgruppen], since the removal [Abschiebung] at no cost of hundreds of thousands of Jews — most of them reportedly to beyond the Urals — represents a considerable contribution to the solution of the Jewish question in Europe.

Numerous Jewish sources also confirm that the great majority of Jews were evacuated or fled from the Soviet territories before they were occupied by the Germans.

The Einsatzgruppen report of August 25, 1941 (No. 63, pp. 6-7) also explains what was meant by "solution of the Jewish question":

Slowly but surely, one of the most important problems, the solution of the Jewish question [emphasis in original], is being tackled. In Kishinev [the capital of Bessarabia, a Rumanian-speaking province], there were approximately 60-80 thousand Jews before the war. Most of them were deported with the withdrawal of the Russians. When the city was captured, there were only about 4,000 Jews present, but that number has since increased. Upon the initiative of the Einsatzkommando the Rumanian city

commander established a Jewish ghetto in the old city which currently contains about 9,000 Jews. The Jews are being organized into work groups and assigned to various German and Rumanian units for clean-up work and other kinds of labor.

Altogether there were never more than about 3,000 men and women in the four Einsatzgruppen that operated in the vast occupied Soviet territory. And this number included administrative personnel, female secretaries, teletype and radio operators, truck drivers, and interpreters. The size and make-up of the Einsatzgruppen alone indicate that they were not organized for the purpose of killing the entire Jewish population of the occupied Soviet Union, as is often alleged.

The numbers of Jews said to have been shot in the Einsatzgruppen reports are wildly exaggerated, I emphasized, in much the same way that the so-called “body count” figures of enemy dead produced by the American military during the Vietnam war were greatly inflated. Although the Einsatzgruppen reports would indicate that 2.2 million Jews were killed, every reputable historian who has written on this subject acknowledges that this figure bears little relationship to reality. In this regard, I cited the works of historians Gerald Reitlinger, Raul Hilberg, William Shirer, Reginald Paget, and Werner Maser, as well as the most detailed work on this subject, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges*, by Helmut Krausnick and Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm. I also mentioned statements by Einsatzgruppen trial defendants Paul Blobel and Gustav Nosske.

British historian and member of parliament Reginald Paget specifically checked the accuracy of a February 18, 1942, report which claimed that Einsatzgruppe D had killed 10,000 Jews in Simferopol, Crimea. Paget found that the real number could not have been more than about 300, and that “these 300 were probably not exclusively Jews but a miscellaneous collection of people who were being held on suspicion of resistance activity.” (R.T. Paget, *Manstein: His Campaigns and His Trial*, pp. 168-173.) Raul Hilberg gives a figure of 1.3 million Jewish dead in the Soviet territories, which implies that he also acknowledges that these figures are greatly exaggerated.

I also spoke about the case of Otto Ohlendorf, the commander of Einsatzgruppe D, who told the main Nuremberg trial as a very cooperative prosecution witness that his unit had shot 90,000 Jews. Later, much to his astonishment, he found himself in the Nuremberg dock as a defendant. He repudiated much of his previous testimony, insisting, for example, that the figure of 90,000 Jewish dead was wildly exaggerated.

During my cross-examination, Crown attorney Pearson cited portions of Ohlendorf’s testimony at his trial in which he spoke about an alleged “Führer Order” to kill all the Jews in the occupied Soviet territories. I replied by pointing out that no record of such an order has ever been found and that even Hilberg no longer speaks of such a thing. Also, the Heydrich order of July 2, 1941, as well as the Einsatzgruppen reports themselves are not consistent with such an extermination policy. The fact that there were large numbers of Jews living in these territories under German control in 1942 and 1943 cannot be reconciled with the alleged extermination policy, I said, and I mentioned that during the final chaotic months of the war, the Germans actually evacuated Jews from former occupied Soviet territories back to Germany.

In evaluating the testimony of men like Ohlendorf, the circumstances and the probable motives of the speaker must be taken into account, I stressed. The apparently self-incriminating nature of much of Ohlendorf’s testimony in his own trial is understandable, I said, because he was desperately trying to make a case that was reasonably consistent with what had supposedly been established as fact in the main Nuremberg trial. A common defense strategy in Holocaust-related trials has been to agree with the prosecution claims about an extermination program, but to insist that the defendant was not involved or responsible.

Prosecution attorney Pearson raised the matter of a November 1941 order by: General Erich von Manstein which directed the German army to cooperate with the Einsatzgruppen. “The Jewish-Bolshevist system must be exterminated once and for all. Never again must it encroach upon our European living space,” Manstein ordered. (Nuremberg document PS4064.) Pearson maintained that this was equivalent to an order to exterminate the Jews. I strongly disagreed. The “extermination” of a social-political system does not mean the extermination of people, I said. We have documents showing that at least some German soldiers were even punished for mistreating Jews in the occupied Soviet territories. I added.

Katzmann's Galicia Report

The Crown attorney asked quite a few questions during cross-examination about a June 1943 report by SS Major General Katzmann on the “solution of the Jewish Question in Galicia.” (Document L-18. IMT, Vol. 37, pp. 391419.) This was a difficult session because I took the position that this document is authentic, but that many of the figures given in it are greatly exaggerated. Although it does refer, for example, to the “most severe measures to destroy Jewish banditry,” I stressed that this report, if read carefully and with an open mind, is not evidence of an extermination program, as Pearson argued. Although the prosecution cited only select portions of this report, I pointed out that a passage not cited by Pearson specifically mentions that the Jews in the 20 Jewish camps in Galicia were to receive “appropriate housing, clothing and medical care,” and that sick Jews in the camps were to continue to receive normal food rations.

Pearson quoted the document as reporting that the Germans confiscated enormous quantities of money, jewelry, gold and other valuables from the Jews, which were turned over to the Special Staff “Reinhard.” Pearson and I sharply disagreed about this “Reinhard” organization. Holocaust historians generally claim that it was responsible for exterminating the Jews of Poland, and that it was named after assassinated SS security chief Reinhard Heydrich. I strongly disputed this allegation and said that the Germans did not name units or operations after someone’s first name. The “Reinhard” group was actually responsible for processing confiscated Jewish property, not exterminating Jews.

In a sense, my testimony may sometimes have been helpful to the prosecution case because I did not deny or whitewash the severity of German measures against the Jews, particularly in the occupied Soviet territories. For example, I mentioned that Jews found outside of ghettos without the yellow star badge were normally shot. Although it would be nice to think that this kind of frankness strengthened my credibility with the Jurors, in reality it almost certainly hurt the defense case.

'Eyewitness' Testimony

Much of the evidence for the extermination story is “eyewitness testimony” of so-called “Holocaust survivors.” To support my statement that these testimonies are “notoriously unreliable,” I quoted from an article by Jewish historian Samuel Gringauz (who was interned in the Kaunas ghetto during the war) which appeared in the New York quarterly, *Jewish Social Studies* (January 1950, Vol. 12). The Jews in the courtroom were visibly upset when I read Gringauz' emphatic denunciation of what he called the “hyperhistorical” nature of these “testimonies.” He wrote that “most of the memoirs and reports are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.”

In addition, more than 10,000 of the 20,000 so-called “testimonies” of Jewish “survivors” on file at Yad Vashem in Israel are also unreliable, I said, citing a front page article that appeared in the *Jerusalem Post* newspaper of August 17, 1986. The report quoted Shmuel Krakowski, the archives director of the Israeli government’s Holocaust memorial center, who declared that “over half of the 20,000 testimonies from Holocaust survivors on record at Yad Vashem are ‘unreliable.’” The article continued:

Krakowski says that many survivors, wanting “to be part of history” may have let their imaginations run away with them. “Many were never in the place where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on second-hand information given them by friends or passing strangers” according to Krakowski. A large number of testimonies on file were later proved inaccurate when locations and dates could not pass an expert historian’s appraisal ...

Pearson objected to my quoting of this article, claiming that it was hearsay. But Judge Thomas overruled the objection, saying that an expert is permitted to cite what might normally be considered hearsay. The judge added that he assumed that I was quoting from an actual newspaper report. I also cited French-Jewish historian Olga Wormser-Migot, who wrote in her detailed study of the camps about the tendency of Jewish inmates to invent stories about gas chambers.

Gas Chambers

Although a few individuals have claimed to have personally witnessed gassings of Jews, I told the court that I did not believe these stories because they are “not consistent” with other available evidence. For example, it would not have been technically possible to cremate the vast numbers of Jews said to have been gassed and cremated at Auschwitz in the cremation facilities there. The extermination and cremation of one million persons at Auschwitz within this period of time is “virtually impossible,” I said.

In this regard, I also referred to the Allied aerial reconnaissance photos taken of Auschwitz in 1944 and made public by the CIA in 1979. These photos, taken at random during what is supposed to have been the height of the extermination period there, show no trace of piles of burning corpses, smoking chimneys and masses of Jews awaiting death, all of which have been alleged and which would have been clearly visible if Auschwitz had indeed been an extermination center. (See: D. Brugioni and R. Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited*, 1979.)

At the time they were first made public in 1979, I was struck by the fact that these photos are simply not consistent with the orthodox Auschwitz extermination story, and I was astonished by the way in which they were seized upon by Elie Wiesel and others to charge that the wartime U.S. government not only knew about mass extermination at Auschwitz, but consciously decided to do nothing to stop it. I concluded that if such gross distortion of evidence was possible so many years after the war, it is at least possible that other Holocaust claims might likewise be wrong. These remarkable photos, and the way in which they were misrepresented, first prompted me to seriously investigate this entire issue, I said.

On one occasion Zündel’s attorney presented large blow-ups of striking photographs taken from 1942 to 1944 at Auschwitz III camp (Monowitz), and I explained that what they show cannot be reconciled with the orthodox extermination story. (I had examined these photos in the Dürrfeld defense exhibit file at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.)

I quoted from an important document that came to light in 1987 which confirms that numerous stories of “gassings” at camps in Germany and Austria were inventions. This is circular notice No. 31 of October 1, 1948, of the Austrian Military Police Service in Vienna. It was issued by Major Müller and certified by his assistant, Lt. Emil Lachout, who later testified in the Zündel trial and swore to its authenticity. (Incidentally, this document also corroborates the Stephen Pinter letter quoted in the Harwood booklet, pp. 21-22.) The Muller/Lachout circular notice reads in part:

The Allied Investigation Commissions have so far established that no people were killed by poison gas in the following concentration camps: Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau. Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen and its satellite camps, Natzweiler, Neuengamme, Niederhagen (Wewelsberg), Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, [and] Theresienstadt. In these cases it has been proven that confessions were extorted by torture and that statements by witnesses were false. Former concentration camp prisoners who gave information during interrogations about the murder of people, especially Jews, with poison gas in these concentration camps, are to be made aware of the results of this investigation. If they persist with their claims, they are to be charged with making false statements.

I mentioned several claims about Treblinka that were once widely believed but which no serious historian now accepts. I cited the charge by the U.S. prosecution at the main Nuremberg trial that masses of Jews were killed at Treblinka not by gassing, as is now generally claimed, but by steam in so-called Steam chambers.” (Nuremberg document PS-3311). And at the Nuremberg trial against Oswald Pohl, U.S. judge Musmanno said that Jews were killed at Treblinka by gas, steam and electric current. (NMT “green series,” Vol. 5, pp. 1133-1134.)

On the other hand, I said, former Treblinka inmate Samuel Rajzman testified after the war that Jews were killed at the camp not by gassing or steaming, but by suffocating them to death with a machine that pumped air out of chambers. I quoted from *The Black Book*, a volume published in New York in 1946 by the “Jewish Black Book Committee,” which alleged that three million Jews had been killed at Treblinka by gassing and steaming, but that the most “widespread method consisted of pumping all air out from the chambers with large special pumps.” (See also: M. Weber, “Open Letter,” *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1988, pp. 176-177.)

At one point I criticized the deliberate confusion by some Holocaust writers of the distinction between gas chambers and crematories, and I mentioned the references in popular Holocaust literature to so-called “gas ovens.” This is “a nonsensical term,” I said, which is “typical of the kind of sensational terminology used in much of the literature about the Holocaust story.”

Camps

The Crown attorney and the Jews in the courtroom appeared visibly upset when I read a portion of the official German regulations for the concentration camps. This document was first made public many years after the war by a former Auschwitz-Birkenau inmate in a Polish medical journal. English translation in: *Anthology, Inhuman Medicine*, Vol. 1, Part 1. Warsaw: International Auschwitz Committee, 1970., pp. 149-151.)

Among other things, the regulations ordered:

The new arrivals in the camp have to be examined carefully. Those suspected should immediately be put into the camp hospital and kept there for observation ... Prisoners

asking for medical treatment should be brought before the camp doctor that same day to be examined.

The camp doctor should regularly check how the food is prepared and its quality. Any shortcomings should immediately be brought to the attention of the camp commandant. Special care should be given to the treatment of accidents, so as to avoid impairment of the prisoners ability to earn their living. Prisoners who are to be set free or transferred from the camp should be brought before the camp physician for medical examination.

Consistent with this, I testified that SS chief Heinrich Himmler, who was ultimately in charge of the concentration camp system, was so concerned about the high death rate due to disease that he issued an emphatically worded order in December 1942 to improve the nutrition of the inmates and take all necessary measures to reduce the death rate. (Nuremberg document PS-2171, Annex 2. Published in: NC&A “red series;” Vol. 4, pp. 833-834.) I quoted from a January 1943 directive from the inspector of the concentration camps, Richard Glucks, to the commandant of each concentration camp, including Auschwitz. “As I have already pointed out,” he ordered, Every means must be used to lower the death rate in the camp.” (Nuremberg document NO-1523.)

I referred to the allegation that the Germans manufactured lamp shades and other household items from the skin of murdered camp inmates. (Harwood booklet, p. 24. This story was once seriously endorsed. See, for example, W. Shirer, *Rise and Fall*, paperback ed., p. 1280.) I pointed out that General Lucius Clay, Commander in Chief of U.S. forces in Europe and Military Governor of the U.S. Occupation Zone of Germany, 1947-49, repudiated this particular horror story as early as 1948. (See: M. Weber, “Buchenwald,” *Journal of Historical Review*. Winter 1986-87. PP. 406-407.)

Asked about the photo in the Harwood booklet showing “healthy and cheerful inmates” at Dachau at its surrender to American soldiers in the final weeks of the war, I replied that it is an official U.S. Army photo, one of a series I had examined in the archives at the Pentagon. Another photo in the series, which was taken at the same time, shows Jewish mothers and their babies in the camp.

A large chart showing the monthly death rate at Dachau during the war was also presented to the court as a defense exhibit. I testified that the figures given were from a U.S. government prosecution exhibit presented at one of the postwar trials in Germany. The chart graphically showed a tremendous increase in the death rate during the final months of the war, which was the result of disease brought on by tremendous overcrowding and other unavoidable consequences of the chaotic wartime conditions. The figures implicitly confirm that there was no extermination program or policy at the camp.

A plaque placed at Dachau shortly after the end of the war proclaimed that 238,000 people had died in the camp, I noted. Today, the total number of Dachau dead is pretty universally acknowledged to have been about 20,000. In the case of other camps as well, I said, the numbers of alleged victims have been drastically revised downwards over the years, although the public is rarely ever told that these figures have been changed. New figures are given without explaining why the old ones are no longer accurate.

The German guards at the Dachau, Buchenwald and Mauthausen camps were simply murdered after the camps were taken by the Americans in the final weeks of the war, I testified. The murder of more than 500 guards at Dachau is confirmed, I said, by two eyewitnesses to the atrocity. The first is U.S. Army officer Howard Buechner, who described the killings in detail in his book,

Dachau: The Hour of the Avenger. The second is by Turkish inmate Nerin Gun, who describes the atrocity in his memoir, *The Day of the Americans*. U.S. Army records, which were declassified at my request, also confirm the atrocity.

Konrad Morgen Testimony

Quite a lot of my testimony was devoted to the Nuremberg Tribunal testimony of Konrad Morgen, an SS judicial official who is cited in the Harwood booklet. (pp. 13, 22) From July 1943 until the end of the war, Morgen investigated some 800 cases of corruption and murder within the SS, which resulted in about 200 trials. Five concentration camp commanders were arrested, and two of them were shot. For example, Buchenwald commandant Karl Koch was executed by the SS for corruption and murder. After the war Morgen established himself as a successful attorney in Frankfurt.

I quoted from Morgen's description of Buchenwald, where he lived for eight months:

The prisoners were healthy, normally fed, sun-tanned, working ... The installations of the camp were in good order, especially the hospital. The camp authorities, under the Commander Diester, aimed at providing the prisoners with an existence worthy of human beings. They had regular mail service. They had a large camp library, even books in foreign languages. They had variety shows, motion pictures, sporting contests and even had a brothel. Nearly all the other concentration camps were similar to Buchenwald. (Source: IMT "blue series," Vol. 20, p. 490)

Morgen also explained the reason for the terrible conditions in the camps in the final months of the war, which resulted in the horrible scenes filmed by the British and Americans when they overran the camps:

To a great extent the horrible conditions at times prevailing in some concentration camps did not arise from deliberate planning, but developed from circumstances which in my opinion must be called force majeure, that is to say, evils for which the local camp leaders were not responsible. I am thinking of the outbreak of epidemics. At irregular intervals many concentration camps were visited by typhoid fever, typhus, and other sicknesses caused especially by the arrival of prisoners from the concentration camps in the eastern areas. Although everything humanly possible was done to prevent these epidemics and to combat them, the death rates which resulted were extremely high. Another evil which may be considered as force majeure was the fluctuating numbers of new arrivals and the insufficient billets. Many camps were overcrowded. The prisoners arrived in a weakened condition because, due to air raids, the transports were under way longer than expected. Towards the end of the war, there was a general collapse of the transportation system. Supplies could not be carried out to the necessary extent; chemical and pharmaceutical factories had been systematically bombed, and all the necessary medicines were lacking. To top all, the evacuations from the East further burdened the camps and crowded them in an unbearable manner. (IMT "blue series," Vol. 20, pp. 498-499)

Pearson later made quite a lot of the fact the Morgen also testified at Nuremberg that he believed that mass killings of Jews were carried out. However, I was able to show that Morgen believed that these mass killings were carried out not at Auschwitz I (the main camp) or Auschwitz-Birkenau, which is supposed to have been the main Auschwitz extermination center, but instead at

Auschwitz-Monowitz, which no serious historian, including those who accept the Holocaust extermination story, now contends was an extermination center.

Pearson suggested that Morgen may have mixed up the two sites, but I was able to point out that the SS official not only referred to “the extermination camp Monowitz” several times, but that he also specifically said that it “lay far away from the concentration camp. It was situated on an extensive industrial site and was not recognizable as such and everywhere on the horizon there were smoking chimneys.” As even Pearson had to concede, this clearly refers to Monowitz and not Birkenau. (Source: IMT, Vol. 20, pp. 499, 503, 504.)

I also pointed out that Morgen was not able to complete his judicial investigation of the Monowitz extermination story and bring formal charges against Commandant Höss before the Soviets overran the camp complex. Finally, I quoted Morgen as confirming that an internal inquiry established that there was no German or SS extermination policy. In this case, I emphasized, the prosecution has failed to carefully read or understand its own evidence, which actually refutes the Holocaust story. (IMT, vol. 20, pp. 507, 510)

It is not surprising that Morgen might have made the mistake of believing that mass killings were being carried out at Auschwitz-Monowitz, I said. Apparently most Auschwitz inmates believed the same thing, and it's likely that Morgen accepted their testimony. In this regard, I quoted from an affidavit by Charles Coward, a British soldier who was interned at Monowitz in 1943 and 1944. He testified after the war that “everybody” there believed that mass gassings were being carried out. This is quite understandable, I said, when one considers the following portion of Coward's affidavit:

... At Auschwitz we got radio broadcasts from He outside speaking about He gassings and burnings at Auschwitz. I recall one of these broadcasts was by [British foreign secretary] Anthony Eden himself. Also, there were pamphlets dropped in Auschwitz and the surrounding territory, one of which I personally read, which related what was going on in the camp at Auschwitz. These leaflets were scattered all over the countryside and must have been dropped from planes. They were in Polish and German. Under those circumstances, nobody would be at or near Auschwitz without knowing what was going on. (Nuremberg Document NI-11696, printed in NMT “green series.” vol. 8, p. 606)

Torture

Rudolf Höss, the Auschwitz commandant whose “confessions” and “affidavits” have been such an important part of the Holocaust extermination story, was tortured to produce “evidence” for the prosecution, I said. Details are given in the book *Legions of Death* by Rupert Butler. (See also: R. Faurisson, *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.) The Höss affidavit of April 5, 1946 (document [3868-PS](#)), which is still widely-cited and quoted, is nevertheless “quite inconsistent with the Holocaust story” as told today, I said. It refers to a fictional extermination camp, “Wolzek,” which is not mentioned anywhere else. The affidavit also alleges that Jews were already being exterminated at Treblinka in the summer of 1941, which no reputable historian now believes.

During cross-examination the Crown attorney read aloud at length from the apparently incriminating testimony of Oswald Pohl, the head of the SS agency responsible for the concentration camp system (WVHA), at his Nuremberg trial (Case No. 4), and questioned me about this. When I first mentioned that Pohl had been tortured by the Allies, Crown attorney Pearson asked me to

cite my source for this statement. When I replied that, unfortunately, I could not remember the source off hand, Pearson seemed quite pleased with himself. However, over the weekend I was able to obtain a copy of the statement about his treatment by the British and American military that Pohl wrote after he was tried at Nuremberg but before he was finally executed by the Americans.

In this statement, which is dated June 1, 1948, Pohl described his mistreatment in 1946 by British soldiers, who kicked and repeatedly beat him. He lost two teeth in these beatings before he was turned over to the American military. Because Pohl held the rank of general in the German armed forces, his treatment by the British and Americans was therefore completely illegal according to the international agreements on the treatment of prisoners of war. "As a result of the brutal physical mistreatment in Nenndorf and the treatment in Nuremberg, I was emotionally a complete wreck," Pohl wrote: "I was 54 years old. I had served my country for 33 years without dishonor, and I did not feel that I had committed any crime."

Pohl was intensively interrogated for more than a half a year in sessions that lasted for hours. There were about 60 to 80 interrogation sessions altogether. He reported that although he was generally not physically mistreated in Nuremberg as he had been at Nenndorf, he was nevertheless subjected to the less noticeable but, as he put it, "in their own way much more brutal emotional tortures." During his interrogation by the Americans, Pohl was accused of killing 30 million people, and of condemning 10 million people to death. The interrogators themselves knew very well that such accusations were lies and tricks meant to break down his resistance, Pohl declared. "Because I am not emotionally thick-skinned, these diabolical intimidations were not without effect, and the interrogators achieved what they wanted: not the truth, but rather statements that served their needs," he wrote.

During this period of interrogation he had no access to an attorney or any other help, and he was never formally charged with anything, nor even told precisely why he was being interrogated. Pohl also pointed out that the American prosecution at his trial used false affidavits which he had been forced to sign: "This is how affidavits were produced and presented which contain provable errors of fact regarding essential points." Pohl cited specific examples of phony affidavits that had been produced for the trial by others. He pointed out that German defense attorneys were not allowed free access to the German wartime documents, which the prosecution was able to find and use without hindrance.

The total number of those who died of all causes in all the German concentration and labor camps between 1933 and 1945 was 200,000 to 250,000, Pohl wrote. They were not victims of any extermination program, he explained, and most perished during the chaotic final months of the war. The practice of using torture to produce incriminating statements was certainly not limited to German prisoners, I said. It is well established that such torture techniques have been and are being systematically used by many governments around the world today.

Changing Holocaust Story

On several occasions I pointed out that the Holocaust story has changed significantly over the years. In this regard, I mentioned the "human soap" story. Rabbi Stephen Wise, who was president of both the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress during the Second World War, charged in 1942 that the Germans were manufacturing soap from the corpses of murdered Jews. This story was also repeated at the main Nuremberg trial, and has appeared often in the popular press ever since. The Jewish Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was still making this claim in a booklet published and distributed by it during the 1980s, *Anatomy of Nazism*, al-

though, as I put it, “no reputable historian now accepts it,” not even those who generally support the Holocaust story.

At Nuremberg and for some years afterward, I said, it was seriously claimed that Jews were gassed at Dachau, Buchenwald and other concentration camps in Germany proper. American historian William Shirer wrote in his most influential work, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, that “All the thirty odd principal Nazi concentration camps were death camps and millions of tortured, starved inmates perished in them.” (Fawcett/Crest paperback ed., p. 1259. This quotation is also given in the Harwood booklet, p. 21.) The Holocaust story these days, of course, is that there were only six “extermination” camps, all of them in what is now Poland. I noted that even famed “Nazi hunter” Simon Wiesenthal acknowledged in 1975 that “there were no extermination camps on German soil.” (*Books & Bookmen*, London, April 1975, p. 5) But historians such as Hilberg have never bothered to acknowledge the profound implications of these changes. For one thing, the great shift in the Holocaust extermination story means that countless affidavits, “testimonies” and many other pieces of “evidence” are implicitly acknowledged to be invalid and untruthful.

One of these, which I cited, is a document submitted by the French prosecution at the Nuremberg Tribunal:

Everything had been provided for down to the smallest detail. In 1944, at Buchenwald, they had even lengthened a railway line so that the deportees might be led directly to the gas chamber. Certain [of the gas chambers] had a floor that tipped and immediately directed the bodies into the room with the crematory oven. (Document 274-F, in IMT “blue series” Vol. 37, p. 148.)

In his closing address to the Nuremberg Tribunal, chief British prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross described Buchenwald as a camp where “murder [was] conducted like some mass production industry in the gas chambers and the ovens.” No serious historian today believes that anyone was ever gassed at Buchenwald.

Even Raul Hilberg is, in a sense, a Revisionist, I said, and I mentioned a significant change he had made about a key aspect of the Holocaust story. In the first edition of his major work, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961), he maintained that Hitler issued two extermination orders: one in “the spring of 1941” to kill all Jews “on the spot” in the occupied Soviet territories, and a second a short time later to exterminate all European Jews. (p. 177) This passage was drastically rewritten for the revised “definitive” edition published in 1985 (p. 273). Hilberg now made no mention at all of any order by Hitler to kill Jews. As he has since explained, Hilberg’s view these days is that there was an extermination program, but that it developed “spontaneously,” without a plan or budget. Every reputable historian of this subject now acknowledges that there is no documentary evidence of a German extermination program or policy. As a result, those who basically accept the Holocaust story increasingly refer to alleged verbal orders, and the growing school of “Holocaust functionalists” maintains that there was only a “spontaneous extermination,” supposedly conducted without specific orders.

The Revisionists

Crown attorney Pearson argued that Holocaust Revisionists are not serious scholars, but merely neo-Nazis motivated by hatred who dispute the obvious in order to rehabilitate Hitler and attack Jews. I emphatically stressed that this portrayal is wrong.

I spoke about Paul Rassinier, the French professor who is now considered the pioneer of Holocaust Revisionism. He was no Nazi. To the contrary, he was a Socialist who was arrested by the Germans during the war for illegally helping Jews to flee to Switzerland. Rassinier was then sent to the Dora and Buchenwald concentration camps in Germany. When he returned to France at the end of the war, he was astonished by the stories that were being circulated about the camps, and he felt honor-bound to refute them.

For example, a French priest who had also been an inmate at Buchenwald, Jean-Paul Renard, claimed to have seen “thousands and thousands of persons” going into gas chambers at Buchenwald. When Rassinier met with the priest and pointed out to him that no one was ever gassed in the camp, Renard replied: “Right, but that’s only a figure of speech ... and since those things existed somewhere, it’s not important.” (Source: P. Rassinier, *Debunking the Genocide Myth*, 1978, pp. 129-130.)

Unfortunately, Rassinier’s writings are not free of errors, I said. But it’s important to remember that he was in poor health after the war, and particularly during the years when he did most of his writing on this subject. Furthermore, I said, his errors were neither malicious nor deceitful, which is shown by the fact that they are not critical to his central thesis. The tradition of a French Revisionism spanning the ideological spectrum did not end with Rassinier. In recent years, the director of the main French publisher of books supporting the Revisionist view of the extermination story is a Marxist who vehemently opposes racism and Nazism.

I told the court about the eminent American historian, Harry Elmer Barnes. Earlier in the trial, Pearson had talked of Barnes with respect as a reputable scholar, apparently not knowing that Barnes had included the Holocaust in his Revisionism. Barnes publicly expressed doubts about the extermination story in an article that appeared shortly before his death in the Summer 1967 issue of the libertarian periodical *Rampart Journal*. (The essay is quoted briefly in the Harwood booklet). Barnes' rejection of the Holocaust story is also confirmed in several private letters and by individuals who knew him well. Like so many others, he was understandably reluctant to publicly express his doubts about this highly emotional issue.

Contrary to what Pearson had suggested earlier, Barnes suffered tremendously for his Revisionist views, I said. His career was ruined because he sharply disagreed with the prevailing notion of exclusive German responsibility for the outbreak of the Second World War. He was effectively blacklisted, even though he had been one of America’s most widely read and highly regarded historians. During the final years of his life he was forced to finance the publication of his writings.

James J. Martin, personal friend of Barnes and a life-long fighter for freedom of expression, is a member of the IHR’s Editorial Advisory Committee. Martin brings impeccable professional credentials (University of Michigan Ph.D. in history and 25 years' teaching career) to the Revisionist cause. He is the author of the critically acclaimed *Men Against the State* and *Americal Liberalism and World Politics*, and a contributor to recent editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Another important Revisionist was the late Dr. Austin App, who wrote a booklet entitled *The Six Million Swindle*. Dr. App, was a fervent Roman Catholic and a respected professor. He was certainly no Nazi. In fact, he strongly opposed racial discrimination of any kind. Until his death in 1984, he was a staunch supporter of the Institute for Historical Review.

The most prominent Holocaust Revisionist in Australia is John Bennett, who is also president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union. He is a well-known defender of the rights of non-White immigrants in Australia. Bennett is a member of the IHR’s Editorial Advisory Committee. Samuel Konkin, a leading libertarian theorist who steadfastly opposes any and all forces of state collec-

tivism, including Nazism, is another important Revisionist who is a current member of the IHR Editorial Advisory Committee. Major articles by three Jewish writers — Alfred Lilienthal, Beza-lel Chaim, and Howard Stein — have appeared in the IHR's quarterly *Journal of Historical Review* over the years.

Even in West Germany, where Holocaust Revisionism has been subject to unrivaled legal constraint, Dr. Helmut Diwald, a senior professor of history at the University of Erlangen, has supported the Revisionist view of the extermination story. He wrote about Germany's wartime policy towards the Jews in his sweeping and well-written book, *Geschichte der Deutschen* ("History of the Germans"). The first edition was published in 1978 by the prestigious Propylaen publishing house.

I cited the two pages of his book devoted to the "final solution," in which Dr. Diwald pointed out that there were no extermination camps in Germany proper. He described the postwar Holocaust campaign as one of distortion, deception and exaggeration which is meant to morally degrade and totally disqualify the German people. Jewish deaths in the German concentration camps were not the result of an extermination policy, he wrote, but rather the consequence of chaotic and unavoidable wartime conditions. Diwald concluded his section on this issue by pointing out that in spite of all the literature that has been written on this subject, the central questions about the fate of the Jews during the war are still not clear. (Some years earlier I was, incidentally, the first person to translate this section of Diwald's book into English.)

Although his book became an immediate best-seller in Germany, which is unusual for a heavy, 760-page work of history, Dr. Diwald quickly learned what happens to even a prominent and reputable scholar who questions the official version of history. As a result of protests from Jews and others, sales of the first printing of 100,000 copies were immediately stopped, and a new edition with a hastily rewritten and "acceptable" section about the "final solution" was quickly substituted.

The Crown attorney's claim that Holocaust Revisionists are only Jew-hating, unscholarly neo-Nazis is not only completely false, but many other scholars—including some whom I know personally — would publicly support the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story if it were not for the climate of intimidation and fear surrounding this subject (as manifest by the Zündel trial).

The prosecution tried to argue that what Revisionist historians have written should be rejected out of hand because they are anti-Jewish. This view is bigoted and prejudiced. What any historian writes should be judged on its own merits, and not on the basis of any preconception. Fair consideration for even controversial views is essential to fruitful scholarship. Every fair and competent historian has a responsibility to evaluate historical writing on the basis of a careful consideration of historical evidence, and not on the basis of the historian's religion or race, or his political or philosophical views. It is just as closed-minded and bigoted to dismiss the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story on the basis of the irrelevant points raised by the Crown attorney as it would be to reject the writing and conclusions of Holocaust historians such as Raul Hilberg, Lucy Dawidowicz and Christopher Browning because they are either Jewish or affiliated with blatantly Zionist organizations.

'Holocaustomania'

During cross-examination of a previous witness, the prosecution attorney had suggested that the Holocaust media campaign is directed only against evil "Nazis" and not against the Germans. That's simply not true, I said. This perpetual campaign, which Jewish historian Alfred Lilienthal

has called “Holocaustomania,” defames the German people as a whole. To support this view, I first cited the widely-reported statement some years ago by Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin that because of the twelve Hitler years, the guilt of the German people would last until the end of time. (I was surprised at the audible expression of unhappiness by Jews in the courtroom when I made this point, which was certainly neither secret nor particularly remarkable.)

I then cited the statement by Elie Wiesel, former Auschwitz inmate and one-time chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, who declared (in his book, *Legends of Our Time*), that because of Germany’s wartime policy against the Jews, every Jew today should maintain “somewhere in his being” a “zone of hate” for the Germans. And finally, I pointed out that Israel and individual Jews around the world are still receiving vast reparations payments from West Germany, even though most of the Germans paying this money were not alive during the Hitler era.

Motives

The Crown attorney had repeatedly asserted that Revisionists claim that the Holocaust story was invented after the war by the Jews to extort money for Israel from the German people. It is certainly true, I said, that West Germany has paid out massive reparations to Israel and individual Jews around the world. The basis for these payments is the 1953 Luxembourg Treaty signed by Israel, West Germany and the “Claims Conference,” a special ad hoc international Jewish organization. The very nature of this reparations agreement, which I said “has no parallel” in diplomatic history, “presupposes that the Jews of the world are to be represented not by the governments of which they happen to be citizens, but rather by the State of Israel, of which most Jews are not citizens, and by a special international body called the Claims Conference.” I also cited the words of Australian Jewish professor W.D. Rubinstein, who wrote in 1979: “If the Holocaust can be shown to be a 'Zionist Myth,' the strongest of all weapons in Israel’s propaganda armory collapses.”

At the same time, I emphasized my belief that even more important than the financial benefits for Israel has been the role of the Holocaust story as a vehicle for promoting Jewish group solidarity. A key lesson of the Holocaust story for many Jews, I said, is that non-Jews are never completely trustworthy. If a people as cultured and as civilized as the Germans could turn into murderers, so the thinking goes, then surely no non-Jewish nation can ever be completely trusted. I noted that the well-known Jewish author Jacobo Timerman has pointed out that the Holocaust has become a “civil religion” for many Jews. The nations of the world can only live together in peace, I said, when the passions and hatreds of past wars are put behind us. Normally such passions diminish after terrible conflicts are over, but in this one case, they are artificially kept alive.

Prosecution Tactics

Pearson expended quite a bit of effort trying to discredit me because of my brief affiliation, more than eight years earlier, with an organization called the National Alliance. He had me read the entire text of an article I had written for the May 1978 issue of *National Vanguard*, the National Alliance paper. The essay, which I hadn’t seen in years, was a personal and rather heart-felt explanation of why I had joined the pro-White organization. Many people in the courtroom, I was told later, were expecting an emotional tirade. In that sense, what they heard was disappointing. I had written, for example, of my “devotion to truth, no matter where it may lead.” All the same, the essay almost certainly detracted from the overall effectiveness of my testimony in the eyes of the jury and the judge.

Pearson also had me confirm that I was the author of two articles that appeared in the weekly *Spotlight* paper. One was about the Allied torture of Germans to produce evidence for the Holocaust story (Dec. 24, 1979), and the other dealt with Zionist power and influence in the state of Nebraska (August 9, 1982).

In response to all this, I pointed out that I had not had any affiliation whatsoever with the National Alliance for more than eight years. I told the court that since that affiliation I had contributed several articles to the pro-Jewish but anti-Zionist monthly newsletter, *Middle East Perspective*, which was published by Jewish-American author and historian Alfred Lilienthal. In any case, I emphasized, what I write about history should be judged on its own merits, and not prejudicially on the basis of an affiliation eight years ago.

During my first day on the stand, Crown attorney Pearson tried to suggest that I, and by implication, other Revisionists, have taken the position we do on this issue in order to make money. During my fifth and final day of testimony, I responded to this accusation, calling it “ludicrous and contemptible.” I specifically mentioned three prominent Holocaust Revisionists who had paid a heavy price for their views. Joseph G. Burg (who later testified on Zündel’s behalf was beaten up by thugs. Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, a West German judge, had his pension cut and his doctoral title revoked. And Prof. Robert Faurisson has been beaten several times [the latest and most severe instance resulting in a broken jaw, nose, and ribs, and head injuries on September 16, 1989. — Ed.], repeatedly dragged into court by powerful and influential organizations, and had his family life thrown into turmoil.

As a result of my own support for Revisionism, I said, I had received numerous death threats. Unlike Browning, who had appeared earlier for the prosecution, I was not receiving \$150 an hour to testify. I had not received any compensation for appearing beyond the satisfaction of helping in a struggle that I said is worthy of the support of every defender of free speech. The Crown attorney objected to this reference, insisting that this case did not concern the issue of free speech. (Even the *New York Times* acknowledged that Zündel was on trial for his beliefs. March 30, 1988, p. 7.)

Crown attorney Pearson seemed to be a capable lawyer, but he was often surprisingly ignorant of the historical questions at issue in this trial. For example, I mentioned at one point that although the alleged extermination camps of Sobibor, Treblinka, Belzec and Chelmno were supposedly obliterated by the Germans to destroy all traces of their crimes, the two allegedly most important extermination centers, Lublin (Majdanek) and Auschwitz-Birkenau, were left intact by the Germans. Pearson then asserted that Auschwitz-Birkenau was destroyed by the Germans. “You are speaking in ignorance,” I replied. The camp was left almost totally intact, I said, and the barracks and other buildings are still there today. In fact, I added, the Germans left behind thousands of inmates who were too weak to be evacuated, and they were there when the Soviets took control of the camp in January 1945.

Pearson spent a good bit of time citing a recently-published book by Canadian-Jewish professor Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History*. (Marrus sometimes sat in on the court proceedings.) Apparently confident that it would impress the jury, the prosecution attorney asked me to acknowledge Marrus’ not unsurprising reference to Holocaust Revisionist historians as “malevolent cranks.” Pearson also referred to Marrus’ citation of the well-known letter by Göring of July 31, 1941, about the “final solution,” as if this is a sinister reference to extermination. But as I pointed out, Marrus does not let the reader know that the document itself specifically refers to solving “the Jewish question by emigration and evacuation.” This method of selectively presenting history, which is all too typical of Holocaust historians, is essentially deceitful, I said.

With regard to the alleged extermination program, Marrus writes that “the Nazis’ own records provide little help. Typically, Hitler and his lieutenants cloaked their most criminal activities in euphemistic language, [and] tried strenuously to keep their murderous plans secret ... “ Marrus also mentions “the absence of a clear record of Hitlerian decision making on the Final Solution ... “ This is Marrus’ roundabout way of saying that there is no documentary evidence for the alleged extermination policy. He simply ignores the numerous German documents which confirm that there was no such policy or program. Nor does he bother to explain why the highest-level German officials should deceive each other about an extermination policy that was not only supposedly well-known in Germany, but which Allied propaganda was tirelessly announcing to the entire world. Like other Holocaust historians, Marrus starts with the unproven extermination thesis, and then tries to find evidence to support it. This is precisely contrary to the methodology of an honest and open-minded historian.

Unhappy Spectators

What I said on the stand often upset the group of Jews who regularly attended the proceedings. It wasn’t long after I began testifying that they began to loudly mutter “liar!” and make other noises to indicate their displeasure. For example, this group was noticeably agitated when I spoke about conditions in the Warsaw ghetto, and made the point that while some were starving, there were other Jews in the ghetto at the same time who were very well off and spent money on expensive meals in ghetto restaurants. When I saw that the Jews in the courtroom were obviously skeptical of this statement, I quickly added that my source for this information is the well-known Warsaw ghetto diary of Jewish historian Emmanuel Ringelblum, which is often cited by Holocaust historians. Sabrina Citron, the “survivor” who brought the original charge against Zündel that started this whole legal battle, walked out of the courtroom shortly after this remark.

During a 20-minute recess on my first day of testimony, a group of mostly elderly Jews gathered together in the courtroom to verbally assault me with epithets like “liar” and “neo-Nazi.” One said to the others “he even looks like Hitler,” and another cursed me with the words “God should strike you dead.” Later in the hallway, an elderly Jewish woman rather incoherently told me that I “should be washed with human soap.”

Reflections

A major lesson I learned from this whole experience is the importance of careful preparation and close attention to detail in a trial. Although I had prepared myself as I had been asked, the duration and far-ranging scope of the interrogation was a surprise. I did not know, for example, that I would be questioned about virtually every sentence of the Harwood booklet. As a result, I had to rely heavily on memory, and it wasn’t until my second or third day on the stand that I learned that I could read from documents and other prepared material.

Probably my best day was Thursday, the 24th, which was due in large part to careful review of the material the previous night with Christie, his able associate Keltie Zubko, attorney Barbara Kulaszka, and Zündel himself. By far my most difficult session was Friday afternoon, when an almost total lack of sleep during the previous four nights caught up with me. My fatigue was apparent, I’m afraid, and I answered many of the prosecution attorney’s questions too quickly.

The adversarial nature of a trial, and especially one as emotionally charged as this one, makes it inherently almost impossible for a jury of very average men and women to arrive at a clear understanding of historical truth. The prosecuting attorney’s task was not to determine historical truth, but rather to convict Zündel by discrediting him, his witnesses and Revisionism generally.

Pearson's job was to uphold the historical doctrine which Judge Thomas had proclaimed at the outset of the trial when he took "judicial notice" of the Holocaust story.

Zündel's Achievement

Ernst Zündel announced at the outset that his main goal in this trial would be to set straight the historical record about this critically important chapter of history. He said that this task is far more important than his own personal fate.

In spite of the disappointing verdict, Zündel and his supporters are justifiably proud of what they achieved in this costly and time-consuming struggle. To wage the campaign that was forced upon him, Zündel brought together an impressive international team of Revisionist scholars, legal specialists, researchers, and many others. From numerous libraries and archives in North America and Europe, this group assembled one of the most impressive collections of evidence anywhere in the world on this chapter of history.

The dedicated Zündel legal team and the many defense witnesses presented exhaustive and compelling evidence refuting the Holocaust extermination story to the court and thereby made it part of the permanent public record. Much to the chagrin of Zündel's enemies, these lengthy court proceedings have immeasurably strengthened the conviction of the defendant and his supporters, as well as many others, that the Holocaust extermination story is a great fraud. All this is a great tribute to Zündel's organizational ability and extraordinary personality.

Zündel, who often describes himself as a "Swabian peasant," is outgoing, good-humored, confident, and blessed with a rare combination of unflagging optimism and sober realism. He maintains this infectious spirit even under very trying conditions. He is an unusually sensitive man with a keen understanding of human nature. He knows how to persuade, cajole and encourage his supporters to give their best for the greater good. He inspires confidence, loyalty and even affection. He does not ask more of others than he himself is willing to sacrifice. No one at "Zündelhaus" works more tirelessly.

Anyone who visited the Zündel headquarters during the trial could not help but be struck by the electric spirit of comradeship, purposeful activity and devotion to a righteous cause that pervades the place. At the end of each day's court session, a debriefing meeting was held in the headquarters "bunker" during which Zündel and Christie would review the day's events, sustain morale and explain the next round of tasks. A typical meeting brought together an eclectic group of individualistic men and women from half a dozen different countries — often speaking in as many thick accents — who share a common loyalty to a man and a cause.

For me, it was a tremendously challenging and instructive experience, as well as an honor to be a part of such a historically important legal battle.

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For Holland and for Europe: The Life and Death of Dr. M. M. Rost van Tonningen

- From a paper presented to the Ninth International Revisionist Conference.

Florence S. Rost van Tonningen

What is the point of speaking about the past? Why take another look at the worldview of my late husband, who was a National Socialist? Is there any point in speaking about such things in the liberal democratic era in which we live today?

My answer is that there most certainly is, for it is only through an open-mindedness toward the past that we can understand the road to the future. An understanding of history guides us on that road.

My husband, Meinoud Marinus van Tonningen, was born on February 19, 1894 in Surabaya, Dutch East Indies, to a well-respected Dutch family, many of whose members had held positions of great national importance. My husband was brought up a patriot, and at the age of 15 he decided on a military career.

His father had also chosen that path, and had been decorated more than once for his loyal military service. At the zenith of his career, my husband's father was appointed commander-in-chief of the Royal Dutch Army in the Eastern Colonies, that is, for the area now known as Indonesia. He led the three famous Bali, Lombok, and Atjeh expeditions, for which he was appointed an Adjutant-General to the Queen. He resigned in 1909, however, as a result of the parsimonious attitude of the Dutch parliament toward the armed forces.

When the youthful Rost van Tonningen told his father of his military ambitions, the latter discouraged him with the words: "Don't, my boy. This parliament will never recognize the needs of our army and will prevent it from properly carrying out its mission, which is, above all, to withstand any foreign aggression. Believe me, my son, all your efforts would be in vain." It was not until years later that my husband came to understand the wisdom and farsightedness of his father's advice, which proved to be not only correct for my husband, but prophetic for his country and for Europe as a whole.

In 1912 my husband decided to become an engineer. But the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 intervened, and he served instead in the army as an officer in the Royal Artillery. He learned a great deal by closely following the intense political controversy within the Dutch army during this period. He came to believe that only a thorough reform of the entire economic and political system could prevent the downfall of Europe. And out of that realization grew his interest in politics. Despite his father's protests, he did not resume his engineering studies after the end of the war in 1918, but instead registered as a law student at the University of Leiden.

The revolution which shook Germany and the immense economic crisis which loomed over Europe in the aftermath of the World War further strengthened Rost van Tonningen's determination to devote himself to an idealistic career in politics. In 1921 he was awarded his doctorate by the University of Leiden. His dissertation, on international law, dealt with possibilities of alleviating the economic and political distress in Central Europe, much of it in consequence of the imposed peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. At that time still a liberal by education and training, Rost van Tonningen believed that Central Europe could be rescued through the intervention of the League of Nations.

Eager to work for the League, Dr. Rost van Tonningen worked hard to improve his fluency in French, English, and German, so that he could deal with political and economic issues on a truly European basis. His understanding of international law and his close study of the operations and problems of the League of Nations made him a welcome volunteer at the League's headquarters in Geneva in 1922.

In the following year Rost van Tonningen was appointed assistant to the Commissioner General of the League of Nations in Vienna, Dr. Zimmerman, the former mayor of Rotterdam, who was attempting to revive the economy of the shriveled Austrian state on the basis of the Balfour Plan of 1922. Dr. Zimmerman, the first man of pronounced anti-Semitic opinions whom Rost van Tonningen had met, attributed a portion of postwar Austria's economic woes to the activities of Jewish speculators, many of whom had flocked to Vienna after 1918. Although Rost van Tonningen was not completely won over to the Commissioner General's standpoint, he became aware for the first time of the Jewish question in Central Europe.

In 1928 Rost van Tonningen left Vienna and the League to work as a banker at Hope & Co. in Amsterdam and New York, but the world economic crisis of 1931, which followed the New York Stock Exchange crash of 1929, led him to return to his work for the League of Nations in Vienna. The collapse of the Credit-Anstalt, Vienna's biggest bank in the spring of 1931 had been followed by financial disaster in Austria and Germany, and Great Britain's departure from the gold standard in September.

Dr. Rost van Tonningen became the representative of the Council of the League of Nations in Vienna, with a mandate to promote Austria's economic reconstruction. During the next five years he tried to work closely with the Austrian government in expanding Austrian productivity and trade with neighboring nations.

During that period Austria was beset by political as well as economic miseries. The Christian Socialists, strongly clerical and authoritarian, banned both the Marxist Social Democrats and the National Socialists, setting up a one-party state under the dictatorial rule of Engelbert Dollfuss (until his assassination in an unsuccessful National Socialist putsch in 1934) and Kurt Schuschnigg.

Rost van Tonningen, who at first worked closely with Dollfuss and opposed the National Socialists, grew horrified at Dollfuss' repression of his political enemies. At the same time, Dollfuss grew to oppose a union of Austria with Germany, which seemed to Rost van Tonningen to offer the only solution to Austria's economic problems.

Dr. Rost van Tonningen had meanwhile concluded that economic liberalism and free trade were no longer suited to Austria or to a politically balkanized Europe of small, independent states. He had come to believe that only the formation of a controlled economy, based on the just needs of a racial community occupying a large area (*Grossraum*), could enable the Europeans to compete,

in the long run, with such vast entities as the Soviet Union, the British Empire, and the United States. His idea was one of the first expressions of the need for a European economic community.

In 1935 and 1936 most European countries devalued their gold currencies and went off the gold standard, threatening monetary chaos. My husband, now a convinced National Socialist, saw that the usefulness of the League to Austria and the rest of Europe was at an end. Accordingly, Rost van Tonningen resigned his position in Vienna, resolved to return to the Netherlands to devote himself to his country's National Socialist movement.

Before his return, my husband arranged through Germany's ambassador to Austria, Franz von Papen, to meet Hitler at his mountain chalet in Berchtesgaden. They discussed the Führer's policy toward England and the Germanic nations of the Continent; Rost van Tonningen learned that Hitler favored a united European economy, and that he believed that world prosperity would only be returned with the restoration of the purchasing power of Europe, a block of over 300 million people with a high standard of living.

In the Netherlands, Anton Mussert, leader of the Dutch National Socialist movement (Nationaal-Socialistisch Beweging), appointed Rost van Tonningen editor of the movement newspaper, *Het Nationale Dagblad* (The National Daily). The following year my husband was elected to the Dutch parliament, where he was able to observe first-hand how the party politicians obstructed their own experts, and those of the other parties, in solving the nations problems.

Within the Dutch National Socialist Movement, the N.S.B., there was at first no general agreement about the importance of large-scale economic thinking, or of racial unity. For example, Jews had been members of the N.S.B. since its founding in 1931. Before long, however, Dutch Jews organized a concerted campaign against the N.S.B., and it became impossible to ignore the Jewish question any longer. Mussert and my husband met to discuss this issue, and they agreed that it had to be solved in an orderly and peaceful way. They were convinced that the only solution would have to be an independent Jewish state.

Palestine was considered, but ultimately rejected as too small. Surinam, a Dutch colony in South America, was decided upon instead. Our party presented this plan to the Dutch parliament, where it was rejected by our political adversaries.

Meanwhile, Dr. Rost van Tonningen had been sent by Mussert to Germany to promote discussion of this "Mussert Plan" in the German press. Through Heinrich Himmler's intervention, my husband was able to meet and discuss the resettlement plan with Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop. After some hesitation, the foreign minister agreed to its publication. The permission of Dr. Goebbels' propaganda ministry for press treatment of the issue was also obtained, but in the end there was little mention made of the Mussert Plan. In 1937 my husband spoke privately for the first time with Heinrich Himmler, the "Reichsführer SS," and soon became a member of his inner circle. Himmler held my husband in high esteem, and introduced him to leading German National Socialist figures in the fields of economics, sociology, and science. Next to Hitler, Himmler was the most significant personality in the Reich's leadership. His basic views can be summarized as follows:

- Unification of all Germans in a greater German Reich;
- cultivation of close ties between all Germanic people;
- unshakable faith in the greatness and abilities of the Nordic race;
- conviction that racial mixing, if carried too far, is disastrous.

From early 1940 rumors spread that Hitler planned to attack our country. My husband believed that a German invasion would make the task of the Dutch National Socialists impossible. Accordingly, he traveled to Berlin that spring to discuss his and Mussert's feelings with Himmler. Rost van Tonningen was unsuccessful in seeing the Reichsführer, but was able to speak with his chief of staff, Obergruppenführer Wolff. Despite their understanding for the dilemma of the Dutch National Socialists, it was clear that the Germans mistrusted Great Britain and France, and believed (not without cause) that the government of the Netherlands was secretly pro-Allied.

A week before Germany attacked, Rost van Tonningen was arrested by the Dutch government, and accused of high treason over the national radio. Dutch authorities shifted him from place to place, fleeing before the German blitzkrieg. My husband was taken as far south as Calais, from where the Dutch government planned to carry him across the Channel to England, but was freed when the Germans captured the city.

Rost van Tonningen returned to the Netherlands at the start of June 1940. Since not only Queen Wilhelmina but the Dutch government as well had fled to England, General Winkelman, commander-in-chief of the Dutch land and sea forces, surrendered not only the army and navy but also the Dutch civil administration to the Germans. Hitler appointed the Austrian Arthur von Seyss-Inquart as Reichskommissar; the delicate situation which Rost van Tonningen feared had come to pass.

For a year Rost van Tonningen devoted himself to working politically with the German authorities. He was entrusted with closing down the Marxist parties, including the Communists and the Social Democrats, and building up a new organization, The Workers' Front (Arbeitsfront) for labor. Rost van Tonningen assumed control of the *Het Volk* (The People), the Social-Democratic daily; as long as the paper refrained from criticizing the occupation, Rost van Tonningen did not intervene in its workings.

Several parties were tolerated under the German occupation, including Mussert's National Socialists; "De Nederlandsche Unie" (Dutch Union), made up of members of several prewar parties; and the NSNAP (National Socialist Dutch Workers Party), which advocated the total incorporation of the Netherlands into the German Reich. When it became clear to my husband, a Dutch patriot, that the initial German policy of free development of political parties (not hostile to the occupation) had been abandoned, he ceased his political work. With war against the Soviet Union looming, Rost van Tonningen volunteered for service in the Waffen SS.

To Rost van Tonningen's surprise Seyss-Inquart opposed his plans; the Reichskommissar prevailed on Himmler to reject Rost van Tonningen's application. Together with Anton Mussert, Himmler and Seyss-Inquart convinced my husband to accept the post of President of the Netherlands and Secretary-General of Finance. Rost van Tonningen's mission was a difficult one. Customs duties had been abolished between Germany and the Netherlands in January 1941; the resignation of Rost van Tonningen's predecessor, Dr. Trip, had been prompted by the abolition of the foreign exchange barrier between the two countries on April 1, 1941. Although my husband was assured that these two steps had been taken with the ultimate aim of setting up a continental free trading community, this never came to pass.

Rost van Tonningen represented Dutch interests within the German-dominated wartime continental economy to the best of his ability. Although Hitler and Himmler were broadly sympathetic to the Dutch desire for autonomy, my husband's efforts met with much resistance in administrative and business circles.

After the Dutch capitulation the Netherlands Bank had become virtually a branch office of the Reichsbank. Various occupying authorities made big demands on the Dutch treasury: Göring wanted 500 million RM per month, and so forth. In early 1942 Dr. Fischböck, Seyss-Inquart's economic adviser, reached an agreement with Count Schwerin von Krosigk, Reichminister of Finance, obligating the Netherlands to contribute 50 million RM per month, retroactive to July 1, 1941, to the fight against Bolshevism. Despite these challenges, my husband was able to institute a thorough reform of the Dutch banking system. He defended the interests of Dutch business and workingmen alike. He devoted considerable energy to building up the Netherlands East Company, which joined in German reconstruction and development in the occupied Eastern territories in summer 1942.

Capture and Murder

M.M. Rost van Tonningen and I were married on December 21, 1940. Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler was best man. Our matrimonial vow echoed the SS oath: "Our honor is loyalty."

Before the end came for the German Reich, my husband and I were given the chance to escape to Brazil. He refused, determined to see things through to the end and ready to take responsibility for his acts. Finally granted his wish, he took up arms as a member of the Dutch Waffen SS.

Although my husband had let me decide for myself whether I should flee with our two children to South America, naturally I declined. With the birth of my third child imminent, I made a perilous escape from advancing Polish troops across lands which the Germans had largely flooded to hinder the Allies' progress. A German ship then brought me to the island of Terschelling, in West Frisia, far from the front.

There, in a small room, unaided and alone, I brought my third child into the world, hale and hardy. My husband was never to learn of the birth of this son.

Soon the people of the village knew, however. My child's arrival was entered into the local register of births and, following the local custom, the town crier, after blowing on his great horn, proclaimed that the new-born child was the son of Rost van Tonningen. At virtually the same time the islanders learned of the official announcement of their country's liberation by the Allies, and the streets blossomed with little Dutch flags.

My husband was well known; his name adorned every Dutch bank note. The frenzied crowds, discovering that the wife of a notorious "collaborator" was in their midst, dragged my children and me from our room and would surely have lynched us in their wild hysteria had not the ship's doctor of the German vessel which brought me to the island happened by in his car just then. Driving into the crowd, he pulled us into the car and drove off at high speed.

Since the Kriegsmarine had capitulated, there was no chance of escaping on the ship which had brought me to Terschelling; like the rest of the German warships in the harbor, it was under embargo. Even my brave rescuer believed there was no hope for me; he offered me a poison capsule.

There was, however, one German vessel at anchor there which hadn't been seized, for it wasn't a warship. I begged the captain to help my children and me escape. Without wasting any words he weighed anchor and we sailed off into the North Sea, negotiating dangerous minefields until we reached Cuxhafen, at the mouth of the Elbe. I was eager to reach Germany because I believed, following the death of Adolf Hitler on April 30, that the Allies might cease hostilities against the

Reich and march, together with the remaining Waffen SS formations, against the Red Army. Himmler had transmitted just such a proposal, through Count Bernadotte, to the British and Americans, and my husband, close to the Reichsführer's circle, had gotten wind of it. Like my children, I was half-dead with hunger and fatigue, but I still hoped that I would meet my husband somewhere in Germany. That was not to be, however. As I was to learn later, M.M. Rost van Tonningen died brutally at the hands of his captors.

Shortly after arriving at Cuxhaven, where my children and I were admitted to the hospital, I learned that I was about to be arrested and extradited by the British. With the help of a nurse I escaped and, fleeing by foot with my children along country roads, made my way to Goslar in the Harz, where I was reunited with my family. After a few days, however, I was arrested by the British and returned to the Netherlands. It was only after returning that I learned something of my husband's fate.

At first I was kept prisoner in the subterranean dungeons of Ft. Honswijk, where I endured terrible treatment from the embittered and vengeful so-called Dutch "democrats." After my release, I was able to locate and regain custody of my three sons. but all our property had been confiscated.

My Fight for the Truth

I was then forced to make a living for my family and myself, not an easy thing for the widow of a prominent National-Socialist sympathizer in postwar Holland. Before the war I had studied biology under the great ethologist Konrad Lorenz, and my studies had brought me to China and the Dutch East Indies. Like other "collaborators." however, I was excluded from work in my own field.

At first I tried to support my sons by painting lampshades. No sooner had my persecutors learned of this than the rumor was spread that the lampshades were made of human skin (the same lie that was spread about Ilse Koch). I had to give up that enterprise. Thereafter I started an electrical equipment business. Trained as a biologist, I made myself into a businesswoman and technical expert. Beginning with 100 florins, over the course of 34 years I built up my business to a factory employing 25 men.

Since my release from prison I have worked tirelessly to establish the truth about my husband's death, of which I learned in my captivity. Due to the refusal of the allegedly "humane" and "democratic" regime which the Allies restored in the Netherlands. I have so far been able to learn very little.

In April 1945 M.M. Rost van Tonningen was captured by Canadian troops during the Allied invasion of the Netherlands. At first he was held, together with other Dutch SS officers, at a concentration camp in Elst. Following a visit by Prince Bernhard, consort of Queen Wilhelmina, my husband was transferred to Utrecht and then, on May 24, to a jail in Scheveningen, near The Hague. Thirteen days later he was murdered by his captors in Scheveningen.

I never received official notice of my husband's death, which authorities later claimed was a suicide. They have never produced any evidence to support this claim: the records pertaining to my husband have been sealed until the year 2069.

I was presented, however, with a bill from the municipal sanitation service of The Hague, for on June 6, 1945, the day of my husband's death, his remains were transferred, first from the prison

to a hospital and then to a cemetery, in a garbage truck. It was given to me by a policeman named Gross, who carried a dossier with gruesome details of my husband's mistreatment.

When I visited the hospital to which my husband had been taken, the physician-in-charge was badly rattled when he learned who I was. When I asked him about my husband's death, he stammered, "No, no, Mrs. Rost van Tonningen, I can't talk about it." Then he took off his white coat and led me out of the hospital, where he hailed a taxi and directed me to the Witte-Brug Cemetery.

When I arrived there, it was the same story. The director was frightened, for he had been told to say nothing regarding my husband. He simply pointed to a row of portfolios, labeled "Secret," on a shelf, and told me that one of them told the story of my husband's death, of which he could say nothing more. Then he showed me the grave, a mass-grave set aside for paupers, into which my husband's body, without coffin, had been tossed.

Although I tried for years to obtain permission to reinter my husband in our family plot, I was unsuccessful. My request was taken under consideration by the Council of State, which procrastinated for some time before informing me that the grave had been cleared.

In 1950, which had been proclaimed a Holy Year by Pope Pius XII, I visited the Pope in Rome. He was aware of the mistreatment and murder of my husband, and he promised to help me. On my return to Holland, I visited the papal nuncio in order to obtain a document concerning my husband's death. I was unsuccessful, however, since the Minister of Justice, a Catholic who was cooperating with the nuncio, was suddenly transferred to the West Indies, where he had been appointed governor. His successor, who was Jewish, was not friendly to my case. My attempts to present my case to the International Court of Justice at The Hague were similarly frustrated.

When I reached seventy years of age, I fell ill, and required two operations. My sons were not interested in taking over the running of my factory, and during my convalescence some of my enemies, allegedly former members of the resistance, were able through various tricks, to gain control of my business.

During the past five years I have received over one hundred bomb threats, and my windows have been smashed many times. My brake cables have been cut. For my opponents, everything is allowed.

The press has stepped up its campaign against me as well. Since my husband had been a member of the Dutch parliament, I am entitled by law to a small pension. In 1984 a Dutch magazine discovered this, and the professional "anti-Nazis" succeeded in pressuring parliament to hold a hearing on whether my pension should be cancelled. So far they have been unsuccessful.

Nevertheless, I have become something of a judicial "muscle-meter," called "the Black Widow," on whom litigants and lawyers can try their strength. After my periodical *Manuscripten* published a picture of an unknown woman in the costume of a fisherman's wife, I was astounded to receive a letter from a lawyer demanding 50,000 florins for his client, an actress. Since we had (quite unawares) used her picture without obtaining permission, I was eventually forced to pay her 2,500 florins, as well as assume the costs of the lawsuit, an additional 10,000 florins.

My home has been twice searched by police looking for allegedly anti-Jewish literature. On their first search the police found a brochure which questioned the factuality of the Holocaust. The court found that to challenge the Holocaust was anti-Jewish, and I received a three-month suspended sentence. The second search resulted in the police confiscating Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and

the *Great Holocaust Trial*. My trial for possession of these books will begin on March 9, 1989 [Mrs. Rost van Tonningen was subsequently convicted of possessing these forbidden books, each available from the IHR. — Ed.].

I hope that I have been able to communicate successfully to an American audience something of my husband's life and the ideals for which we both struggled. My husband refused to abdicate his responsibilities or abandon his people. He stayed and fought honorably, only to be butchered. Why? I believe not merely because Rost van Tonningen was a Dutch National Socialist, but because he knew too much about those of his countrymen who cooperated with the Germans in the beginning, then went over to the Allies as Dutch patriots, "heroes of the resistance," and the like. Had my husband stood trial, his defense might have proved embarrassing for many Dutchmen in high places.

In my life I have experienced many high points, as well as low points. I have tried to be equal to each situation, always attempting to live in accordance with the spiritual basis of life, the mission that is given each of us to carry out on the earthly plane. The life of each of us is merely a thread in the larger fabric or plan.

I still count our meetings with Adolf Hitler as highlights in my life. For us he was a leader who dedicated, and sacrificed, himself for his people, one who eminently fulfilled his life's mission. He united his countrymen, of all classes and stations, from the aristocracy to the farmers and laborers, as had no man before him. His soldiers fought heroically to the last, particularly the men of the Waffen SS, not only Germans but from across Europe. Like my beloved brother, who died in combat in the ranks of the SS, and my husband, I think of Adolf Hitler as the first European.

I shall close with the words of Rudolf Hess, the martyr who earned, but was never awarded, the Nobel Prize for Peace. After being sentenced to life imprisonment at Nuremberg despite his flight for peace, he told the court:

If I were standing once again at the beginning, I would act again as I acted, even though I knew at the end I would burn at the stake. No matter what people may do, one day I shall stand before the judgment seat of God Eternal. I will justify myself to Him and I know that He will absolve me.

Source: vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 439-452.

Simon Wiesenthal: Bogus 'Nazi Hunter'

Mark Weber

Simon Wiesenthal is a living legend. In a formal White House ceremony in August 1980, a teary-eyed President Carter presented the world's foremost "Nazi hunter" with a special gold medal awarded by the U.S. Congress. President Reagan praised him in November 1988 as one of the "true heroes" of this century.

He is the recipient of West Germany's highest decoration, and one of world's most renowned Holocaust organizations bears his name: the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles. He was portrayed in flattering terms by the late Laurence Oliver in the 1978 film fantasy "The Boys From Brazil," and by Ben Kingsley in the April 1989 made-for-television movie "*The Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story*."

Wiesenthal's reputation is undeserved. The man whom the *Washington Post* calls the "Holocaust's Avenging Angel" has a well-documented record of reckless disregard for truth. [1] He has lied about his own wartime experiences. He has misrepresented his postwar "Nazi-hunting" achievements, and has spread vile falsehoods about alleged German atrocities. He is certainly no moral authority.

Different Stories

Szymon (Simon) Wiesenthal was born on December 31, 1908, in Buczacz, a town in the Galicia province of Austria-Hungary (now Buchach in Soviet Ukraine). His father was a prosperous wholesale sugar merchant.

In spite of all that has been written about him, what Wiesenthal did during the war years under German occupation is still not clear. He has given disturbingly conflicting stories in three separate accounts of his wartime activities. The first was given under oath during a two day interrogation session in May 1948 conducted by an official of the U.S. Nuremberg war crimes commission. [2] The second is a summary of his life provided by Wiesenthal as part of a January 1949 "Application for Assistance" to the International Refugee Committee. [3] And the third account is his autobiography, *The Murderers Among Us*, first published in 1967. [4]

Soviet Engineer or Factory Mechanic?

In his 1948 interrogation, Wiesenthal declared that between 1939 and 1941 "he was a "Soviet chief engineer working in Lvov and Odessa." [5] Consistent with that, he stated in his 1949 declaration that from December 1939 to April 1940 he worked as an architect in the Black Sea port of Odessa. But according to his autobiography, he spent the period between mid-September 1939

and June 1941 in Soviet-ruled Lvov, where he worked “as a mechanic in a factory that produced bedsprings.” [6]

Relative Freedom

After the Germans took control of Galicia in June 1941, Wiesel was interned for a time in the Janowska concentration camp near Lvov, from where he was transferred a few months later to a camp affiliated with the repair works (OAW) in Lvov of the *Ostbahn* ("Eastern Railroad") of German-ruled Poland. Wiesel reported in his autobiography that he worked there “as a technician and draftsman,” that he was rather well treated, and that his immediate superior, who was “secretly anti-Nazi,” even permitted him to own two pistols. He had his own office in a “small wooden hut,” and enjoyed “relative freedom and was permitted to walk all over the yards.” [7]

Partisan Fighter?

The next segment of Wiesel’s life — from October 1943 to June 1944 — is the most obscure, and his accounts of this period are contradictory. During his 1948 interrogation, Wiesel said that he fled from the Janowska camp in Lvov and joined a “partisan group which operated in the Tarnopol- Kamenopodolsk area.” [8] He said that “I was a partisan from October 6, 1943, until the middle of February 1944,” and declared that his unit fought against Ukrainian forces, both of the SS “Galicia” division and of the independent UPA partisan force. [9]

Wiesel said that he held the rank of lieutenant and then major, and was responsible for building bunkers and fortification lines. Although he was not explicit, he suggested that this (supposed) partisan unit was part of the *Armia Ludowa* ("Peoples Army"), the Polish Communist military force established and controlled by the Soviets. [10]

He said that he and other partisans slipped into Lvov in February 1944, where they were “hidden by friends of the A.L. ["People’s Army"] group.” On June 13, 1944, his group was captured by the German Secret Field Police. (Although Jewish partisans caught in hiding were often shot, Wiesel reports that he was somehow spared.) Wiesel told much the same story in his 1949 statement. He said that he fled from internment in early October 1943 and then “fought against the Germans as a partisan in the forest” for eight months — from October 2, 1943, to March 1944. After that, he was “in hiding” in Lvov from March to June 1944.

Wiesel tells a totally different story in his 1967 autobiography. He reports there that after escaping from the *Ostbahn* Repair Works on Oct. 2, 1943, he lived in hiding in the houses of various friends until June 13, 1944, when he was discovered by Polish and German police and returned to a concentration camp. He makes no mention of any partisan membership or activity. [11]

According to both his 1948 interrogation and his 1967 autobiography, he tried to commit suicide on June 15, 1944, by cutting his wrists. Remarkably, though, he was saved from death by German SS doctors and recovered in an SS hospital. [12] He remained in the Lvov concentration camp “with double rations” for a time, and then, he reports in his autobiography, he was transferred to various work camps. He spent the remaining chaotic months, until the end of the war, in different camps until he was liberated from Mauthausen (near Linz) by American forces on May 5, 1945. [13]

Did Wiesel invent a past as a heroic wartime partisan? Or did he later try to suppress his record as a Communist fighter? Or is the true story altogether different — and too shameful to admit?

“Nazi Agent”?

Did Wiesenthal voluntarily work for his wartime oppressors? That’s the accusation leveled by Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, himself of Jewish ancestry and leader for many years of his country’s Socialist Party. During a wide-ranging interview with foreign journalists in 1975, Kreisky charged Wiesenthal with using “Mafia methods,” rejected his pretense of “moral authority,” and suggested that he was an agent for the German authorities. Some of his more pertinent remarks, which appeared in Austria’s leading news magazine *Profil*, include: ^[14]

I really know Mr. Wiesenthal only from secret reports, and they are bad, very nasty. I say this as Federal Chancellor ... And I say that Mr. Wiesenthal had a different relationship with the Gestapo than I did. That’s right. And it can be proven. Can I say more than that? Whatever else there is to say, I’ll say in court.

My relationship with the Gestapo is indisputable. I was their prisoner, their inmate. I was interrogated by them. His relationship was different. That’s what I say, and that will eventually come out. It’s bad enough what I’ve already said. But he can’t clear himself by charging me with defaming his honor in the press, as he might wish. It’s not that simple, because that would mean a big court case ... A man like that doesn’t have the right to pretend to be a moral authority. That’s what I say. He doesn’t have that right...

Whether a man who, in my view, is an agent, yes, that’s right, and who uses Mafia methods ... That man has to go ...

He is no gentleman, and I would say, to make this clear, so that he won’t become a moral authority, because he is not ... He shouldn’t pretend to be a moral authority ...

I say that Mr. Wiesenthal lived in that time in the Nazi sphere of influence without being persecuted. Right? And he lived openly without being persecuted, right? Is that clear? And you perhaps know, if you know what was going on, that no one could risk that.

He wasn’t a “submarine” ... that is, submerged and in hiding, but instead, he was completely in the open without having to, well, ever risk persecution. I think that’s enough. There were so many opportunities to be an agent. He didn’t have to be a Gestapo agent. There were many other services.

Mauthausen Myths

Before the “Nazi hunter” came the unscrupulous and deceitful propagandist. In 1946 Wiesenthal published *KZ Mauthausen*, a sensational work which consists mainly of his own amateurish sketches purporting to represent the horrors of the Mauthausen concentration camp. One drawing depicts three inmates who had been bound to posts and sadistically put to death by the Germans. ^[15]

The sketch is completely phony. It was copied — with some minor alterations — from photographs that appeared in *Life* magazine in 1945, which graphically record the firing-squad execution in December 1944 of three German soldiers who had been caught operating as spies behind the lines during the “Battle of the Bulge.” ^[16] The source of the Wiesenthal drawing is instantly obvious to anyone who compares it with the *Life* photos. ^[17]

The irresponsible character of this book is also shown by Wiesenthal's extensive citation therein of the supposed "death bed confession" of Mauthausen Commandant Franz Ziereis, according to which four million were gassed to death with carbon monoxide at the nearby Hartheim satellite camp. [18] This claim is totally absurd, and no serious Holocaust historian still accepts it. [19] Also according to the Ziereis "confession" cited by Wiesenthal, the Germans supposedly killed another ten million people in Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. [20] In fact, this "confession" is fraudulent and was obtained by torture. [21]

Years later, Wiesenthal was still lying about Mauthausen. In a 1983 interview with the daily newspaper USA Today, he said of his experience in Mauthausen: "I was one of 34 prisoners alive out of 150,000 who had been put there." [22] This is a blatant falsehood. The years have apparently not been kind to Wiesenthal's memory, because in his own autobiography he wrote that "almost 3,000 prisoners died in Mauthausen after the Americans liberated us on May 5, 1945." [23] Another former inmate, Evelyn Le Chene, reported in her standard work about Mauthausen that there were 64,000 inmates in the camp when it was liberated in May 1945. [24] And according to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, at least 212,000 inmates survived internment in the Mauthausen camp complex. [25]

After the war Wiesenthal worked for the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (the forerunner of the CIA) and the U.S. Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC). He was also vice chairman of the Jewish Central Committee in the U.S. occupation zone of Austria. [26]

"Human Soap"

Wiesenthal has given circulation and credence to one of the most scurrilous Holocaust stories, the charge that the Germans manufactured soap from the corpses of murdered Jews. According to this tale, the letters "RIF" in bars of German-made soap allegedly stood for "Pure Jewish Fat" ("Rein jüdisches Fett"). In reality, the initials stood for "National Center for Industrial Fat Provisioning" ("Reichsstelle für industrielle Fettversorgung"). [27]

Wiesenthal promoted the "human soap" legend in articles published in 1946 in the Austrian Jewish community paper *Der Neue Weg* ("The New Path"). In an article entitled "RIF," he wrote: "The terrible words 'transport for soap' were first heard at the end of 1942. It was in the [Polish] General Government, and the factory was in Galicia, in Belzec. From April 1942 until May 1943, 900,000 Jews were used as raw material in this factory." After the corpses were turned into various raw materials, Wiesenthal wrote, "The rest, the residual fat stuff, was used for soap production."

He continued: "After 1942 people in the General Government knew quite well what the RIF soap meant. The civilized world may not believe the joy with which the Nazis and their women in the General Government thought of this soap. In each piece of soap they saw a Jew who had been magically put there, and had thus been prevented from growing into a second Freud, Ehrlich or Einstein." [28]

In another imaginative article published in 1946 entitled "Belzec Soap Factory," Wiesenthal alleged that masses of Jews were exterminated in electrocution showers: [29]

The people, pressed together and driven on by the SS, Latvians and Ukrainians, go through the open door into the "bath." Five hundred persons could fit at a time. The floor of the "bath chamber" was made of metal and shower heads hung from the ceiling. When the room was full, the SS turned on the 5,000 volts of electric current in

the metal plate. At the same time water poured from the shower heads. A short scream and the execution was over. An SS chief physician named Schmidt determined through a peep hole that the victims were dead. The second door was opened and the “corpse commando” came in and quickly removed the dead. It was ready for the next 500.

Today no serious historian accepts the stories that Jewish corpses were manufactured into bars of soap or that Jews were electrocuted to death at Belzec (or anywhere).

Wiesenthal’s imaginative view of history is not limited to the twentieth century. In his 1973 book *Sails of Hope*, he argued that Christopher Columbus was secretly a Jew, and that his famous voyage to the western hemisphere in 1492 was actually a search for a new homeland for Europe’s Jews. [\[30\]](#)

Fraudulent “Nazi Hunter”

Wiesenthal’s reputation as the world’s foremost “Nazi hunter” is completely undeserved. His greatest achievement in more than thirty years of searching for “Nazi criminals” was his alleged role in locating and capturing Adolf Eichmann. (Eichmann headed the wartime SS Jewish affairs department. He was kidnapped by Israeli agents in Buenos Aires in 1960 and was hanged in Jerusalem after a trial that received worldwide media attention.)

But Isser Harel, the Israeli official who headed the team that captured Eichmann, has declared unequivocally that Wiesenthal had “absolutely nothing” to do with the capture. (Harel is a former head of both the Mossad and Shin Bet, Israel’s foreign and domestic security agencies.) In addition, Arnold Forster, general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, the influential Zionist organization, reported in his book *Square One* that just before the Israelis seized Eichmann in Argentina, Wiesenthal was placing him in both Japan and Saudi Arabia. When the Israeli government refused to give Wiesenthal funds to search for Eichmann, the “Nazi hunter” issued a statement to the Israeli press claiming the government was refusing to help capture the former SS man. [\[31\]](#) One of Wiesenthal’s most spectacular cases involved a Chicago man named Frank Walus. In a letter dated Dec. 10, 1974, he charged that Walus “delivered Jews to the Gestapo” in Czestochowa and Kielce in Poland during the war. This letter prompted the U.S. government’s investigation and legal campaign against Walus. [\[32\]](#) The *Washington Post* dealt with the case in a 1981 article entitled “The Nazi Who Never Was: How a witchhunt by judge, press and investigators branded an innocent man a war criminal.” The lengthy piece, which was copyrighted by the American Bar Association, reported: [\[33\]](#)

In January 1977, the United States government accused a Chicagoan named Frank Walus of having committed atrocities in Poland during World War II.

In the following years, this retired factory worker went into debt in order to raise more than \$60,000 to defend himself. He sat in a courtroom while 11 Jewish survivors of the Nazi occupation of Poland testified that they saw him murder children, an old woman, a young woman, a hunchback and others ...

Overwhelming evidence shows that Walus was not a Nazi War criminal, that he was not even in Poland during World War II.

... In an atmosphere of hatred and loathing verging on hysteria, the government persecuted an innocent man.

In 1974, Simon Wiesenthal, the famous “Nazi hunter” of Vienna, denounced Walus as “a Pole in Chicago who performed duties with the Gestapo in the ghettos of Czestochowa and Kielce and handed over a number of Jews to the Gestapo.”

The Chicago weekly newspaper *Reader* also reported on the case in a detailed 1981 article headlined: “The Persecution of Frank Walus: To Catch a Nazi: The U.S. government wanted a war criminal. so, with the help of Simon Wiesenthal, the Israeli police, the local press and Judge Julius Hoffman, they invented one.” [34] The article stated:

... It is logical to assume that the “reports received by Wiesenthal [against Walus] actually were rumors ... In other words, Simon Wiesenthal had no evidence against Walus. He denounced him anyway.

While [Judge] Hoffman had the Walus case under advisement, *Holocaust* aired on television. During the same period, in April 1978, Simon Wiesenthal came to Chicago, where he gave interviews taking credit for the Walus case. “How Nazi-Hunter Helped Find Walus,” was the *Sun-Times* headline on a story by Bob Olmstead. Wiesenthal told *Sun-Times* Abe Peck that he “has never had a case of mistaken identity.” “I know there are thousands of people who wait for my mistake,” he said.

It was only after an exhausting legal battle that the man who was vilified and physically attacked as “the butcher of Kielce” was finally able to prove that he had spent the war years as a peaceful farm laborer in Germany. Wiesenthal’s irresponsibility and recklessness in the Walus case should have been enough to permanently discredit him as a reliable investigator. But his Teflon reputation survived even this.

After Wiesenthal was ultimately proven wrong in a similar case in Canada, the Toronto *Sun* newspaper commented in an editorial: “It seems that material provided by professional Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal is wrong, but repeated anyway [in the media].” [35]

Much of the Wiesenthal myth is based on his hunt for Josef Mengele, the wartime physician at Auschwitz known as the “Angel of Death.” Time and time again, Wiesenthal claimed to be close on Mengele’s heels. Wiesenthal reported that his informants had “seen” or “just missed” the elusive physician in Peru, Chile, Brazil, Spain, Greece, and half a dozen locations in Paraguay. [36]

One of the closest shaves came in the summer of 1960. Wiesenthal reported that Mengele had been hiding out on a small Greek island, from where he escaped by just a few hours. Wiesenthal continued to peddle this story, complete with precise details, even after a reporter whom he had hired to check it out informed him that the tale was false from beginning to end. [37]

According to another Wiesenthal canard, Mengele arranged for the murder in 1960 of one of his former victims, a woman he had supposedly sterilized in Auschwitz. After spotting her, and her distinctive camp tattoo, at a hotel in Argentina where he was staying, Mengele allegedly arranged to have her killed because he feared that she would expose him. It turned out that the woman was never in a concentration camp, had no tattoo, had never met Mengele, and her death was a simple mountaineering accident. [38]

Mengele regularly dined at the finest restaurants in Asuncion, the Paraguayan capital, Wiesenthal said in 1977, and supposedly drove around the city with a bevy of armed guards in his black Mercedes Benz. [39] Wiesenthal announced in 1985 that he was “100 percent sure” that Mengele had been hiding out in Paraguay until at least June 1984, and charged that the Mengele family in West Germany knew exactly where. As it turned out, Wiesenthal was completely wrong. It was

later definitively established that Mengele had died in 1979 in Brazil, where he had been living for years in anonymous poverty. [40]

In truth, the bulging Mengele file in Wiesenthal's Vienna "Documentation Center" was such a jumble of useless information that, in the words of the London *Times*, it "only sustained his self-confirmatory myths and gave scant satisfaction to those who apparently needed a definitive answer to Mengele's fate." [41] Even Israel's former ambassador to Paraguay, Benjamin Varon, cautiously criticized the phony Mengele campaign in 1983: "Wiesenthal makes periodic statements that he is about to catch him, perhaps since Wiesenthal must raise funds for his activities and the name Mengele is always good for a plug." [42]

In the words of Gerald Posner and John Ware, co-authors of *Mengele: The Complete Story*, Wiesenthal spent years assiduously cultivating a mythical "self-image of a tireless, dogged sleuth, pitted against the omnipotent and sinister might of Mengele and a vast Nazi network." Because of his "knack of playing to the gallery," Posner and Ware concluded, Wiesenthal "ultimately compromised his credibility." [43]

Bruno Kreisky once summed up his unambiguous attitude towards the "Nazi hunter" in these words: [44]

The engineer Wiesenthal, or whatever else his title is, hates me because he knows that I despise his activity. The Wiesenthal group is a quasi-political Mafia that works against Austria with disgraceful methods. Wiesenthal is known as someone who isn't very careful about the truth, who is not very selective about his methods and who uses tricks. He pretends to be the "Eichmann hunter," even though everyone knows that this was the work of a secret service, and the Wiesenthal only takes credit for that.

Wiesenthal is not always wrong, of course. In 1975 he acknowledged in a letter published in a British periodical that "there were no extermination camps on German soil." [45] He thus implicitly conceded that the claims made at the postwar Nuremberg Tribunal and elsewhere that Buchenwald, Dachau and other camps in Germany proper were "extermination camps" are not true.

"Commercializing the Holocaust"

Simon Wiesenthal and the Los Angeles Center that bears his name "commercialize" and "trivialize" the Holocaust, according to the director of Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center. The charge was reported by the Israeli daily newspaper *Ha'aretz* in December 1988. [46] The Brooklyn weekly *Jewish Press* commented on the charge: "The displeasure of Yad Vashem over what it sees as the commercialization of the Holocaust by the Wiesenthal Center has long been well known, but this is the most open attack yet."

Wiesenthal "threw out" the figure of "11 million who were murdered in the Holocaust — six million Jews and five million non-Jews," said the director. When asked why he gave these figures, Wiesenthal replied: "The gentiles will not pay attention if we do not mention their victims, too." Wiesenthal "chose 'five million (gentiles)' because he wanted a 'diplomatic' number, one that told of a large number of gentile victims but in no way was larger than that of Jews..."

The Los Angeles Center pays Wiesenthal \$75,000 a year to use his name, the Yad Vashem director said. "The Jewish people does many vulgar things," the report added, "but the Wiesenthal

Center raised it to a complete level: The optimum use of sensitive issues in order to raise money ... “The *Jewish Press*, which claims to be the largest-circulation English-language Jewish community paper in America, went on to comment: “What Wiesenthal and the Los Angeles Center that bears his name do is to trivialize the Holocaust, to take from it its unique Jew-hatred. And of course, Jews will continue to support it because it is so fashionable.”

Wiesenthal is often asked why he does not forgive those who persecuted Jews more than forty years ago. His stock answer is that although he has the right to forgive for himself, he does not have the right to forgive on behalf of others. But this is Talmudic sophistry. On the basis of this logic, neither does he have the right to accuse and track down anyone in the name of others. Wiesenthal has never confined his “hunt” to those who victimized him personally.

It is difficult to say just what drives this remarkable man. Is it a craving for fame and praise? Or is he trying to live down a shameful episode from his past?

Wiesenthal clearly enjoys the praise he receives. “He is a man of considerable ego, proud of [his] testimonials and honorary degrees,” the *Los Angeles Times* has reported. ^[47] Bruno Kreisky has given a simpler explanation. He said that Wiesenthal is “driven by hatred” (“von Hass diktiert”). ^[48]

In light of his well-documented record of deception, lies and incompetence, the extravagant praise heaped upon this contemptible man is a sorry reflection of the venal corruptibility and unprincipled self-deception of our age.

Notes

1. ^U Quoted in: M. Weber, “‘Nazi Hunter’ Caught Lying,” *Spotlight*, Washington, DC), Oct. 26, 1981, p. 9.
2. ^U Interrogation of S. Wiesenthal on May 27 and 28, 1948, conducted by Curt Ponger of the Interrogation Branch of the Evidence Division of the Office (U.S.) Chief of Counsel for War Crimes. Interrogation No. 2820. On file at the National Archives (Washington, DC), “Records of the U.S. Nuremberg War Crimes Trials Interrogations, 1946-49,” Record Group 238, microfilm M-1019, roll 79, frames 460-469 and 470- 476. Also cited in “New Documents Raise New Doubts About Simon Wiesenthal’s War Years,” *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol 8, No.4), pp. 489-503.
3. ^U PCIRO (International Refugee Organization, Austria) “Application for Assistance filled out and signed by Wiesenthal. Dated Jan. 16, 1949. (This was a trial exhibit in the Walus court case. Photocopy in author’s possession.)
4. ^U Simon Wiesenthal, *The Murderers Among Us*, edited by Joseph Wechsberg. (New York: McGraw Hill 1967)
5. ^U Interrogation of S. Wiesenthal, May 27, 1948, pp. 1-2.
6. ^U *Murderers Among Us*, p. 27.
7. ^U *Murderers Among Us*, pp. 29-35. This account is not inconsistent with his 1948 and 1949 statements.
8. ^U Interrogation of May 27, 1948, p. 2.
9. ^U Interrogation of May 28, 1948, pp. 1-2.
10. ^U Interrogation of May 28, 1948, p. 5.
11. ^U *Murderers Among Us*, pp. 35-37.

12. [↗](#) *Murderers Among Us*, pp. 37-38. Interrogation, May 27, 1948, p. 2, and May 28, 1948, p. 5.
13. [↗](#) *Murderers Among Us*, pp. 39-44. Interrogation, May 27, 1948, pp. 2-3.
14. [↗](#) Interview with foreign journalists in Vienna, Nov. 10, 1975. Text published in: "War Wiesenthal ein Gestapo-Kollaborateur?," *Profil*, Vienna No. 47, Nov. 18, 1975, pp. 16, 22-23. See also reprint in: Robert H. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* (Vienna 1982), pp. 215-218.
15. [↗](#) S. Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen* (Linz: Ibis-Verlag, 1946). Facsimile reprint in Robert H. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* (Vienna 1982), p. 64.
16. [↗](#) "Firing Squad," *Life* magazine, U.S. edition, June 11, 1945, p. 50.
17. [↗](#) See also: M. Weber, "The Sleight-of-Hand of Simon Wiesenthal," *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984 (Vol 5, No. 1), pp. 120-122.
18. [↗](#) S. Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen* (1946). See also facsimile reprint in: Robert H. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* (Vienna 1982), pp. 42, 46. This "confession" is a somewhat altered version of Nuremberg document NO-1973.
19. [↗](#) According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* ("Mauthausen," *EJ*, Vol 11, p. 1138), a grand total of 206,000 persons were inmates of Mauthausen and its satellite camps (including Hartheim) at one time or another.
20. [↗](#) S. Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen* (1946). Facsimile reprint in: R Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation*, p. 47.
21. [↗](#) R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, p. 361. See also: Hans Fritzsche, *The Sword in the Scales* (London: 1953), p. 185; M. Weber, "Allies Used Torture ... *The Spotlight*, Dec.24, 1979 (reprint), p.8; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London Sphere, pb., 1971), p. 515.
22. [↗](#) *USA Today*, Thurs., April 21, 1983, p. 9A.
23. [↗](#) *Murderers Among Us*, p. 44.
24. [↗](#) Evelyn Le Chene, *Mauthausen: The History of a Death Camp*, (London 1971), pp. 166-168 and 190-191.
25. [↗](#) "Mauthausen", *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York & Jerusalem 1971), vol 11, p. 1138.
26. [↗](#) C. Moritz, ed., *Current Biography 1975* (New York H.W. Wilson, 1975), p. 442; Wiesenthal interrogation of May 27, 1948, p. 3.
27. [↗](#) Robert Faurisson, "La savon juif," *Annales d'Histoire Révisionniste* (Paris), No.1, Printemps 1987, pp. 153- 159. (The "human soap" myth is repeated, for example, in: H. Kamm, "Elie Wiesel's Hometown," *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 1986, p. A9.)
28. [↗](#) *Der Neue Weg*, Vienna, No. 17/18, 1946, pp. 4-5. Article entitled "RIF" by "Ing. Wiesenth" (Simon Wiesenthal).
29. [↗](#) *Der Neue Weg*, Vienna, Nr. 19/20, 1946, pp. 14-15. Article entitled "Seifenfabrik Belsetz" ("Belzec Soap Factory"), by "Ing. S. Wiesenth."
30. [↗](#) S. Wiesenthal, *Sails of Hope* (Macmillan, 1973).
31. [↗](#) S. Birnbaum, "Wiesenthal's Claim on Eichmann disputed by Former Mossad head," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin* (New York), April 4, 1989. (Dispatch dated April 3). See also: "Israeli Spy Terms Wiesenthal No Help in Finding Eichmann," Reuters dispatch from New York, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 9, 1989. Facsimile reprint in *Christian News*, April 24, 1989, p. 17.
32. [↗](#) Michael Arndt, "The Wrong Man," *Sunday, The Chicago Tribune Magazine*, Dec. 2, 1984, pp. 15-35, esp. p. 23.
33. [↗](#) "The Nazi Who Never Was," *Washington Post*, May 10, 1981, pp. B5, B8.

34. ☺ “The Persecution of Frank Walus,” *Reader* (Chicago), Jan. 23. 1981, pp. 19, 30.
 35. ☺ Quoted in: M. Weber, “The Sleight-of-Hand of Simon Wiesenthal,” *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984, pp. 120-122.
 36. ☺ Gerald L. Posner and John Ware, *Mengele: The Complete Story* (New York: Dell 1987), pp. 220-221.; Gerald Astor, *The 'Last' Nazi: The Life and Times of Dr. Joseph Mengele* (Toronto: Paperjacks, 1986), p. 202.
 37. ☺ G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele: The Complete Story* (cited above), p. 220.
 38. ☺ G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele* (cited above), pp. 179-180.; G. Astor, *The 'Last' Nazi* (cited above), pp. 178-180.
 39. ☺ *Time* magazine, Sept 26, 1977, pp. 36-38. Cited in G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele* (cited above), p. 219.
 40. ☺ “Hunting the 'Angel of Death.'” *Newsweek*, May 20, 1985, pp. 36-38. See also: M. Weber, “Lessons of the Mengele Affair,” *Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1985 (Vol 6, No. 3), p. 382. Also, on Wiesenthal’s distortion of truth in the Mermelstein-IHR case, see: M. Weber, “Declaration,” *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1982 (Vol 3, No.1), pp.42-43; M. Weber, “Albert Speer and the 'Holocaust,’” *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1984 (Vol. 5, Nos. 24), p. 439.
 41. ☺ Tom Bower in *The Times* (London), June 14, 1985, p.14. Quoted in: G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele* (cited above), pp. 222-223.
 42. ☺ *Midstream*, Dec. 1983, p. 24. Quoted in G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele* (cited above), p. 219.
 43. ☺ G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele* (cited above), pp. 222-223.
 44. ☺ “Was hat Wiesenthal zu verbergen?,” *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), Nov. 11, 1988, p. 4.
 45. ☺ Letter by Wiesenthal in *Books & Bookmen*, London, April 1975, p. 5.; he later mendaciously disclaimed this statement. In a letter dated May 12, 1986, to Prof John George of Central State University in Edmond, Oklahoma, (copy in author’s possession), Wiesenthal wrote: “I have never stated that 'there were no extermination camps on German soil.' This quote is false, I could never have said such a thing.”
 46. ☺ *Ha'aretz*, Dec.16,1988. Reported in: *Jewish Press* (Brooklyn, NY), Dec. 23, 1988.
 47. ☺ Quoted in: M. Weber, *Spotlight*, Oct. 26, 1981, p. 9.
 48. ☺ *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), July 8, 1988, p. 7.
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Innocent in Dachau: The Trial and Punishment of Franz Kofler et al.

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An unusual set of circumstances, over which I had only limited control, and timing, over which I had no control whatsoever, determined the course of my military career and led me to work as a court reporter at Dachau for the 7708 War Crimes Group in Germany after my discharge from the Army. Arriving in Germany innocent of war and politics, I found my preconceptions of right and wrong during wartime, as well as the justice of the postwar trials, challenged by what I observed and experienced during the Dachau trials. Many years later, my review of the records of those trials has only strengthened my belief that justice was not served at Dachau after the war.

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The war with Japan ended on August 15, 1945, and I reached the age of eighteen on August 20, 1945. Unhappy with my life in a small city in Pennsylvania and sure I would in any event soon be drafted into the army, when I registered for the draft on my eighteenth birthday I asked for immediate induction. I could not have enlisted, since this would have required parental permission, and the death of my eldest brother in Italy during the war against Germany had so profoundly affected my parents they would not have considered granting it. My mother, grief-stricken, could only proclaim that had George enlisted and not been drafted she would have felt she had sent him to his death.

The Army moved as rapidly on my request for immediate induction as a Federal bureaucracy is able. In this case it wasn't until October 23, 1945 before I was taken into the Army. This worked in my favor, for by fall the nation had such a backlog of servicemen awaiting discharge that thousands of men remained on terminal leave for weeks until the military service groups were able to process them.

I learned of the Army's desperate manpower situation within a few short days of my induction. At Fort Meade, Maryland, where each day thousands were being separated from the service, anyone with any office training whatsoever was immediately pulled from the ranks of the other recruits and put to work in Army Administration. The plan was to send these new recruits to basic training camps later, after the Army had been able to effect the discharge processing of so many World War II veterans.

I had grown up in Pennsylvania during the Great Depression, and, because of my father's heart condition, which would not permit him to work, we were probably even poorer than many of our neighbors. It never occurred to me that I would ever attend a university. I elected to pursue a commercial course in high school, so that I could have a well-paying job as soon as I graduated and I could begin a business career. Excelling in my studies, I broke the high school speed record in shorthand by passing a speed test at 175 words per minute.

This ability determined the course of my military service for the next two and a half years. I was not sent to a basic training camp but instead was put to work in G-4, the administrative office at Fort Meade. Hopelessly lost at a desk at which I was expected to work independently — for I had no experience and I received virtually no guidance whatever — I was pleased when, after only two or three weeks, I was asked to serve as a reporter on Army Retiring Board cases. The work was much easier than office administration, in which I was charged with responding to correspondence which I was unable to understand. Reporting required no experience, although attempting to record the proceedings faithfully is obviously stressful. This assignment lasted less than two months, for on my return to base from a Christmas furlough I learned that I was one of two enlisted men selected to go to China.

Chosen on the spur of the moment, we flew to China in propeller planes, and even under the A-1 priority assigned our travel, it was a week before we arrived in the city now called Beijing. We learned that our mission was to establish offices which would administer the negotiations the United States was then mediating between the Communists and the Nationalists. Today it is difficult for me to imagine the extent of my political naiveté during the time I was stationed in China. The intent of our mission there I found incomprehensible. It may have been because we were an immigrant family, but at home in Pennsylvania, before I entered the Army, I was not at all interested in even American politics. At that time I could not have distinguished between the Republicans and the Democrats. In China, although I worked in the Commanding General's office and had access to every bit of information available, no matter how highly classified it was, I failed to understand the differences between the Chinese Nationalists and the Communists. It seemed obvious to me then that we favored the Nationalists, but it was not until much later that I understood the reasons for establishing the Peiping Headquarters Group, as our outfit was named.

When I arrived in China I had been in the Army exactly two and a half months, and I was still completely lost in an office. Thanks to my buddy Smitty's administrative abilities and his experience, we soon earned a good reputation and were highly regarded by officers and the enlisted men alike.

My tour in China ended on the termination of the six-month period of temporary duty. Although Smitty and I could have stayed on, both of us elected to return. We were ordered to Washington, D.C., and there assigned to the Office of the Chief of Staff, European Division, at the Pentagon.

After months of bored inactivity at the Pentagon, I was discharged from the Army on December 2, 1946. I longed to see more of the world, and sought a job with the Department of the Army abroad. Since I was still only nineteen, however, I was considered to be too young for overseas employment as a civilian. I argued that I had been overseas in the Army, where I had to manage essentially alone. The Civilian Personnel office agreed (probably because of the shortage of shorthand reporters in the European Theater). Despite my trepidation about being assigned to Germany, I left New York on the S.S. *Marine Angel* on December 10, 1946, and arrived in Bremerhaven, Germany, on December 21st. From there I traveled to Augsburg, where I awaited assignment as a pre-trial reporter on a war-crimes investigating detachment. There were at least fourteen such detachments, and each of them was to assign its own pre-trial reporter.

The first few months I spent in Germany were particularly unpleasant, due to an unusually severe winter and a shortage of fuel. We Americans had to cut back on our use of heating fuel, and so we were constantly cold, inside as well as outside our quarters. If our fuel rations were limited, rations for the Germans simply did not exist, and I later learned that they would frequently awaken to find frost on their inside walls, which remained frigid all day.

When the pre-trial detachments had finished their work, I was transferred to Dachau, to serve as an official reporter in the American trials at Dachau. The German cities I had seen had been so thoroughly destroyed by Allied bombers that it was a pleasure for me to come to Dachau. There, although one could purchase nothing in any of the shops, the buildings were at least intact. The summer of 1947, following the extremely cold winter, was also unusually warm and sunny, with mild weather which lasted through the fall. This made living conditions in Dachau very pleasant for me, though this contrasted starkly with the gloom involved in the cases we tried in court.

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So many years have passed since the war crimes trials that I should perhaps explain that my unit, the 7708 War Crimes Group, was assigned the function of administering and holding the war crimes trials which took place under the aegis of the American military government in Dachau, Germany. This included trials of cases involving concentration camps in Germany and Austria, as well as trials of isolated atrocity cases. The latter involved the fates of crews from American planes shot down during bombing raids over Germany. Fliers forced to parachute from their disabled planes were often attacked by civilians from the towns in which these bombing raids had taken place. The enraged German civilians would then kill the unfortunate fliers, either by beating to death or shooting them, sometimes both.

It was on one of these atrocity cases that I was tested for my ability to report officially. Working with an experienced official reporter, I was to sit through the trial in order to understand and learn the procedure. I then had to record and transcribe the proceedings of one official court session or "take," a period of approximately one and a half hours in court. Had I failed the test, I would doubtless have been transferred to some other function. I did pass the test, which proved to be more trying to my emotions than to my skill as a reporter.

I might have been indifferent regarding this trial had it not been for a young "accused" (as we called the defendants), who sat in the dock with several other, appreciably older, German civilians. He was so much younger than the others that I took note of him as soon as I entered the courtroom. I watched him throughout, and, undoubtedly because he sensed I was his peer, he watched me. Checking the record, I learned that the defendant, Rudolf Merkel, was six months younger than I; I was still only nineteen. The crime for which he was being tried had taken place when he was fifteen, when the other accused had attacked a flier who had parachuted into an area close to his town. Two of the older men had struck the flier, and on their instruction, Merkel had struck him twice with a stick.

My excitement during the proceedings had grown to a fever pitch by the time the court announced its sentences. When young Rudolf Merkel was sentenced to life imprisonment I was stunned. On hearing his sentence, young Merkel broke down. Tears streamed down his face, and he shook as he fought back the sobs which tore through his body. Throughout the trial I had sympathized with the murdered flier, my countryman, and had been deeply shaken to hear of his pathetic attempts to escape the attacks of the infuriated German townspeople. Now I was struck by the plight of this boy, and I had to look away to avoid crying with him. Listening to the testimony, I had already concluded that in his shoes I would have acted, despite my peaceful nature, as he had. Going a step further, I soon realized that had this happened in America those who had disposed of an enemy flier would have been considered heroes. We, the victors, considered them lawless criminals. I came to the conclusion that in such cases it is invariably the winners who determine whether those involved are heroes or terrorists.

After I had transcribed this testimony, I was told I had passed the test. My response was to say that I did not feel I was emotionally able to work in court. After three days, however, I realized that I had very little choice. I was under contract with the 7708 War Crimes Group as a reporter (technically a pre-trial reporter). To the best of my knowledge, there was no other position available to me. I returned to work, where, after my baptism of fire, I soon adjusted. I could listen to the sentences given the accused, even when I thought they were harsh, without ever again having to battle tears on their behalf. Then again, Rudolf Merkel was the youngest accused whose trial I recorded (I learned later that he was the youngest prisoner interned at Landsberg prison).

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Merkel's case was not the only trial I remember clearly. There were others that have stayed in my memory, either due to the crimes alleged, the sentences handed down, or simply the notoriety the case had gained. Some cases I remembered only for specific details, sometimes personal but more often regarding one or another of the accused. It was not until recently, however, following the declassification of the American military court files, that I was able to gain access to them. (They are held by the National Archives Records Administration at the Washington National Records Center in Suitland, Maryland.) What a thrill it was to look through the documents I had myself prepared more than forty years ago! The files served not only to confirm my recollections, but enabled me to review the complete documentation pertaining to the individual cases, including the reports of the review authority and subsequent correspondence.

When I started my review, I quickly checked the file on Rudolf Merkel. I discovered that he had been released from prison after serving seven years. I noted that his release was based on the same thing that had led me, long ago, to feel such pain at his sentence: his extreme youth. When his case came under review, his German counsel presented a strong statement on his behalf, indicating other instances in which, moved by political expediency, the Americans had excused the actions of boys slightly older than Rudolf Merkel was when he struck the fallen American. On his release, Merkel, who came from a village close to the French border, returned home, married and reared a family.

Apart from satisfying my curiosity, my review of the files allowed me to gain greater insight into the cases than was possible during my time in Dachau. My review of the files aroused my interest in writing about my experiences in Dachau, which involved reporting the trials of guards and Kapos at Mauthausen, Buchenwald, and their various subcamps, or Kommandos.

The isolated flier case had been particularly difficult for me to endure, since it was much easier to identify with a single victim, usually an American, known by name, rank and serial number. The concentration camp cases provided a different challenge, since they involved many victims not identified by name or nationality. The witnesses in the concentration camp cases were virtually all of the sort we court reporters termed "professional witnesses," those who spent months in Dachau, testifying against one or another of the many accused. They were fed and housed by the Americans at Dachau in comfort they could never have hoped to attain elsewhere in Germany in those days. They were also paid a fee for each day they spent at court. Thus it was to their economic advantage to testify, and many of them made a good living doing so.

As one might well imagine, the motive of the professional witnesses was also one of spite and revenge. Those of them who had been in the concentration camps hated the Germans and would have done anything to harm them. In many instances their vengeance included relating exaggerated accounts of what they had witnessed. It also included outright lying.

To complicate matters even further, those who investigated the cases and brought them to court were often untrained. Their major qualification for these jobs was that they spoke German. In most instances this was not difficult for them, since, as Jewish refugees from Germany, German was their mother tongue. Virtually all of these investigators also hated the Germans, as did a large portion of the professional staff assigned to work in the courts. Many of the investigators gave vent to their hatred by attempting to force confessions from the Germans by treating them brutally. This frequently emerged in the testimony of some of the accused in the court proceedings, and the accompanying documents in the files contain allegations of instances of severe beatings of the accused by some of these investigators. The most famous example of this brutality was in connection with the interrogation of the suspects in the “Malmedy Case,” and was confirmed by the Army’s review board. The military courts, set up as court martial, tended, however, generally to believe those who made the accusations, paying scant attention to testimony by and for the accused.

A popular accusation against an accused in the concentration camp case was that he had “so severely beaten prisoners that they died.” Initially the “witnesses” were not even required to identify prisoners who had been so killed. Such accusations were responsible for many of the sentences which sent 229 of the 925 individuals accused in the 332 concentration camp cases to hang at Landsberg. Death sentences were, in fact, quite usual, as were sentences of life imprisonment.

There were also strong indications that the professional witnesses worked together, helping each other with their testimony. The witnesses would frequently attend sessions in a court trial, following which they would relate to their friends what had transpired. This helped their friends prepare for their own testimony.

The professional witnesses were known to the authorities in Washington, as is proved by a memorandum for the Judge Advocate General’s Office in the Pentagon, speaking of a professional witness whose testimony was to be considered to be “unreliable.” A note in the review of “The United States vs. Lauriano Navas, *et al.*” (file no. 000-50-5-25) states that:

A memorandum for the Chief of the War Crimes Branch, European Command, dated 2 April 1951, states that Pedro Gomez, although never officially declared unreliable, definitely falls into the class of a “professional witness” and that testimony from him should be considered with caution and given little weight unless corroborated.

This admonition from the Office of the Chief of the War Crimes Branch, European Command, came unfortunately too late to have had any bearing during the war crimes trials, all of which were complete by the end of 1947. The sentences meted out by the courts and the subsequent documents prepared by the review authority demonstrate what I was able to observe, that there was very little caution applied in the acceptance of such testimony.

One of the factors which disturbed me the most in the concentration camp cases was the “common cause” finding by one of the courts, to the effect that anyone who had been in a position of any authority within a camp or any of its subcamps had to have known what was transpiring in that camp and was, as a result, guilty of participation in a common cause. This finding struck me even then as being grossly unjust, since there are various reasons why one remains at a specific post. This awakens the age-old argument about whether one follows commands and performs what he is ordered to do or whether he follows the dictates of his own conscience. It is obvious that in such instances such a choice would have been very difficult even in the United States (witness the plight and the shame suffered by the conscientious objectors in the United States

during World War II and the cases of those who would not fight in Vietnam during the Vietnamese war). In a dictatorship such as the Third Reich, the latter choice would have meant certain death.

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One of the most memorable war crimes trials on which I worked was a subsidiary trial of the parent Mauthausen trial. I remember it vividly, despite its similarity to the other subsidiary concentration camp trials which I recorded; there was the usual intervention of professional witnesses and their confusion on the stand, leading, nevertheless, to the sentencing of the accused. What impressed me about this particular case was not so much the sloppy trial proceedings, the professional witnesses or any other aspect of the case, but the intervention of one witness and a single incident about which she testified. Her name was Danuta Drbuszenska. I still can see, in my mind, this young, blond, pretty Polish girl. Even her name fascinated me: a jumble of consonants so difficult to type I could not have forgotten it or her.

As in the other subsidiary Mauthausen Concentration Camp trials, the chief prosecutor required the court to take cognizance of the decision rendered in the parent Mauthausen case, "that the mass atrocity operation was criminal in nature and that the participants therein, acting in pursuance of a common design, subjected persons to killings, beatings, tortures, etc., and [the court] was warranted in inferring that those shown to have participated knew of the criminal nature thereof." The court indicated that those convicted in this case would also be considered part of this finding.

The trial was designated as "The United States vs. Franz Kofler *et al.*" Originally there were eleven accused. Kofler himself was not a German but an Austrian. The other seven accused included two men, Michael Heller and Stefan Lennert, who had been born in Rumania but were *Volksdeutsche*, ethnic Germans. These men served in the German Schutzstaffel (SS) but their foreign nationality posed no problem for them, since the *Volksdeutsche* were considered German despite having been born outside Germany proper. Another of the accused was Gustav Petrat, a Lithuanian *Volksdeutscher*, a German born in Lithuania and a citizen of that country until he became a German citizen in 1942. Gustav Petrat was also a member of the SS.

The other four were German nationals, apparently born in Germany, who gave home addresses in Germany. These other Germans accused were Hermann Franz Buetgen, Quirin Flaucher, Arno Albert Reuter and Emil Thielmann.

Danuta Drbuszenska was the first witness, called to the stand by the prosecution. Because she was Polish, the proceedings had to be translated twice, leaving me, the first reporter to begin recording testimony in this case, more time than usual to observe. I noted that she was of about medium height, blue-eyed as well as blond, with a pale oval face on which she used no makeup whatever. Drbuszenska was slim, and she wore a simple, pale pink cotton summer dress with a small print, very light in color, indicating frequent laundering. In 1947 she was, as she testified, only twenty-one, little more than two years older than I.

Danuta Drbuszenska had been taken prisoner in Warsaw when she was only sixteen. After a brief stay at an internment camp at Lodz, Poland (then called Litzmannstadt and annexed by Germany), she was moved to the Mauthausen Concentration Camp complex. She and a group of other Polish women had, I understood, been housed in a barracks which the SS had turned into a brothel. This brothel served the German military on duty at the camp, as well as those inmates who could pay for such benefits or were being rewarded for some service to the camp.

Apart from her physical good looks, I was immediately taken by Drbuszenska's calm manner from the moment she entered the court room to take the witness chair. Her simple dress gave her a casual look. Her manner of speaking, in a very measured and even tone, was unhurried, giving the impression that she had all her thoughts collected and perfectly in order. I could not help but be impressed by her, and it was obvious that the court was as well. Hearing her testimony, taken in direct examination, I was convinced that her appearance would suffice to have Gustav Petrat, against whom she testified, sentenced to hang.

Drbuszenska's speech conveyed the impression that she was not aware of the severity of the statements she made, nor did she seem to notice the impression they were making on the court. She remained the coolest, most matter-of-fact witness of all those whose testimony I recorded in Dachau, even when presenting the lurid details of the incidents to which she testified. Drbuszenska remained unshaken even during the defense counsel's cross-examination. She appeared to have taken no note of me, but I watched her closely as she testified.

After giving her name, age, address and occupation (translated as "tailor" but which must have been "seamstress"), Drbuszenska was asked if she knew any of the accused in the case. She promptly responded that she knew "number six, Petrat." She said she knew another man but that he was not among the accused. She subsequently stated that she was to serve as a witness in another of the subsidiary camp case trials.

Drbuszenska testified that at Mauthausen she and the other women prisoners had to carry heavy rails, so heavy that it took five women to carry one. She stated that Petrat was the "SS man who was in charge of the lot of us," and she quickly came to the main points in her testimony by stating that whenever they went to the washroom he would beat them. Drbuszenska said that Petrat had first of all singled her out, for what reason she did not know. She stated that as the prisoners were gathering on the roll call square "to go to work," a report was made by the block eldest, a woman, and Drbuszenska was "fetched out." Drbuszenska testified that Petrat had then struck her on the inside of the upper arm with a club constructed of wood and iron, leaving a scar about four inches long and about one inch wide. At the prosecution's request she arose calmly from the witness' chair and walked coolly toward the members of the court, where she slowly raised her right arm, turning so that each could see the scar on the inner side of the upper arm. The club, she testified, was about two and a half feet long and about as thick as her right wrist.

Following this, the witness then testified, the accused took her "back to his apartment," where he first grabbed her by the pigtailed and gave her a beating. He then took her by her pigtailed, winding them around his hands, and raised and lowered her until she fainted. While she was unconscious, Drbuszenska added, Petrat had taken her "hands back and tied them behind my back and up on a stake," where he let her hang for half an hour.

Drbuszenska said she regained consciousness only when she was back in the prisoners' block. She testified further that "My girl friends told me afterwards that I had been hanging for half an hour, but I couldn't say because I had been unconscious and I don't know if he went on beating me or not." (I was so absorbed by this girl and her manner that I did not then notice the similarity between her statements about being picked up and lowered by *her hair* and a statement made by Moses Meschel, a Polish Jewish witness in the subsidiary Mauthausen trial of the four Spanish kapos, who stated that he had been picked up by his ear and then thrown to the floor, where he landed on the ear by which he had been originally lifted!)

Something which did not occur to me then is that Drbuszenska was never asked how her friends knew she could have been hanging for a half an hour. She herself could hardly have even known

that Petrat had hanged her by her pigtails, since, according to her own statement, she had fainted before all this had happened, and, according to her own statement, regained consciousness only after her return to the prisoners' block. Only she and Petrat were present in what she said was his apartment, where all this was purported to have taken place. This glaring inconsistency appeared not to have troubled the court at the time. I recall only that I briefly questioned the statement in my own mind, but then forgot it because what then transpired in the court seemed to me bizarre.

When Drbuszenska began the account of her alleged mistreatment, I looked at Petrat, the man she was accusing, and saw he was blushing a deep red! The former SS man looked down at the floor, then looked up again. He had a sheepish grin on his face, and looked for all the world like a foolish young boy caught with his hand in the cookie jar, as though he had merely committed some petty misdemeanor!

The contrast between the two of them was startling, as though they had switched roles: the girl testifying was so calm and composed as to seem hard, unpressed by concern or any apparent emotion, while the look on the face of the man she was accusing was absolutely adolescent, if not actually puerile. I don't know if any of the court members noticed his discomfort, but I immediately guessed that there had been, not cruelty, but deep intimacy between the two. To me Petrat's blush confirmed this.

Asked if she had ever again been personally mistreated by Petrat, Drbuszenska responded "After that he didn't hit me any more because I used to say to him 'Well, when the Americans come you will be finished in any case,' and he used to say 'No, you will be finished before me.'" This type of exchange between a reputedly tough SS non-com, charged with guarding prisoners at a concentration camp, and a young and attractive female prisoner would have been incomprehensible to me if they had not been lovers. I was young, but not that young, and I couldn't forget that at the time she was in the camp she had been my age. Had Petrat so disliked Drbuszenska (which was unbelievable to me), he would have been more apt to strike her or to ignore her rather than have spent time in adolescent chit-chat about who would be "finished" first and whether or not this would be before or after the Americans liberated the camp.

My speculation was interrupted by the further questioning of Drbuszenska. The prosecutor's next question was "Now, do you know of any mistreatment of any other prisoners at Mauthausen by Petrat?" She responded "Yes." When asked to tell the court about it, Drbuszenska testified that she and her friend Zilenska were helping another friend, Wisniewska, who, because of a hernia, had been unable to walk alone to the washroom which they used. When they arrived there Petrat was standing on top of a barrel, with another SS man, against whom Drbuszenska had also "brought some charges somewhere else." Since Wisniewska could not walk unaided, Drbuszenska stated, Petrat struck her on the head with the same club with which he had earlier hit Drbuszenska, so hard that "all the brains came out and there was so much blood flowing about so that two SS men got two prisoners to clean up the blood and put her on a stretcher and carried her to the crematory."

When she was asked if her friend had been dead when she was carried away, Drbuszenska responded by saying "She was dead and she couldn't be anything else except dead because when he hit her all her brains had fallen out. She fell to the ground and didn't get up any more. We stood and cried." All this she recounted in the same, unbelievably calm manner, without any break in her voice, any change in the volume or the rate of speed at which she spoke.

Since their friend Wisniewska had been taken to the crematorium, Danuta Drbuszenska continued, she and her friend Zilenska picked up their towels and returned to the prisoners' block, exit-

ing through a door which led directly into their block. Danuta and Zilenska then went, with another friend, to the crematorium, and with her two friends acting as look-outs for her, Danuta walked quietly over to the crematorium window and watched as Wisniewska's body was "put on a huge, what you might call a tray, and shoved inside the stove to be burned." She reported that there were more people there, "and I saw how he [Petrat] was rushing them onward. He said 'Hurry up, hurry up!' There was a five-minute alert and the Americans were to come in pretty soon." Drbuszenska stated that this incident had taken place on April 15, 1945, approximately three weeks before the Americans arrived at the camp.

During cross-examination, the defense counsel, Major William Oates, asked Drbuszenska if at the time Petrat struck her she did not have something in her hands. She responded that she had been holding a carrot, which she had stolen. The block eldest had seen her steal the carrot, and it was for this reason that she had been beaten. In response to further questioning by the defense counsel, Drbuszenska said that it was at their place of work where Petrat had struck her and, when asked to indicate approximately where Petrat was standing when he struck her, she indicated that it was about a foot and a half to the *left* (the scar was on her right arm). She then added quickly that when she saw him about to strike her she had raised her arm to *scratch her head* [emphasis provided by the author]!

The defense counsel asked Drbuszenska if she had ever had a love affair with Petrat (which confirmed my own feelings about what might have been the case). She did not answer this question but responded instead by saying, again coolly, "I would kill him if I could!" The next question was "And at the time he struck you with this object, that was what you were trying to do, wasn't it?" Drbuszenska responded "What he was after was that I was swearing at him because I didn't want to have anything to do with him, and when he passed I didn't even say 'Good morning' to him." The defense counsel then asked her, "You had been stealing food stuffs from other inmates and this wasn't the first time that you had stolen from your fellow countrymen, was it?" The prosecution objected to the question, but the court president overruled the objection. The witness responded "No, we were going to peel potatoes and I picked up this carrot while peeling potatoes, so it is quite untrue."

There was another accusation brought against Petrat which I still recall, although not with the same prurient interest. This was a statement made by Andor Fried, a seventeen-year-old Polish Jew. Fried was one of several witnesses who testified that Petrat had accompanied a long column of prisoners walking to Gunskirchen from Mauthausen during the last several days of the war. He appeared to be uncertain in his identification of Petrat, since the man he saw was following the procession at a distance of about one and a half city blocks. Fried asserted, nevertheless, that it had been Petrat, and he described how he saw Petrat, at such a great distance, had been killing stragglers or those who had fallen in the ditches by the wayside. Later in the trial, Andor Fried was recalled triumphantly by the prosecution to testify that, during a court recess, he had passed relatively close to the accused, who were then in the hall, and that Petrat had called him a "jüdisches Schwein!" (Jewish swine).

If Andor Fried was lying, and his story indicates he was at least not sure what he was saying was exact, Petrat might have been so offended by his statements, either untrue or at least exaggerated, that he could have called him a "*jüdisches*" or any other kind of a swine. But a witness who will lie about one thing can be counted on to lie again, and it is possible that Petrat never said anything of the kind to Fried. At that time, however, no one would have dared question such an accusation made by a concentration camp survivor.

The accusation that Petrát had been following the forced march was thoroughly refuted — or at least cast in doubt — by the witnesses for the defense. These witnesses said that Petrát could not have been accompanying the transport, since it was not his function. They pointed out that Petrát had been assigned to the Mauthausen Camp because he had been wounded so severely on the Russian front that he was no longer fit to fight. His physical condition would not have permitted him to ride a motorcycle. One of the defense witnesses said that the prosecution witnesses might have mistaken Petrát for Hans Altfuldisch, who had been tried and sentenced to death in the parent Mauthausen case.

Prosecution witnesses further testified that Petrát had beaten and killed inmates working at the stone quarry. He was accused of once having killed a fallen inmate by stamping on his head. Petrát was a dog leader, i.e., one who guarded work crews outside the camp with a leashed dog, and his dog was described as a savage animal, which tore pieces of flesh out of the inmates when she bit them.

Defense witnesses, on the other hand, testified that Petrát's dog was a fat and lazy bitch, which might have threatened but would not attack. They also testified that Petrát would never have been permitted in the camp where the inmates were housed; yet, according to Drbuszenska, he was frequently in their washroom, which she herself admitted men were not permitted to enter.

The court evidently accepted the testimony of Drbuszenska, as well as the charges by some of the other witnesses. It found Petrát guilty and sentenced him to death by hanging. This did not surprise me at the time, for I had expected it ever since I had heard Danuta Drbuszenska's initial testimony.

The testimony presented against Quirin Flaucher, a prisoner, condemned him just as quickly as that against Petrát had condemned him. In Flaucher's case, however, testimony was presented by at least one credible witness, Jean Loureau, who had already testified in the Lauriano Navas case. He traveled to Germany from France once again for the Kofler trial. Loureau testified that Flaucher had been the block eldest of Block 8, which was the dispensary. Flaucher, a criminal inmate, had been made a kapo and given responsibility for the dispensary, which contained sick inmates of many nationalities. Some of the ill and infirm were Russians, classed as both prisoners of war and Russian political prisoners, but those in the dispensary also included Yugoslavs, Belgians, Frenchmen, Poles, Germans, Austrians, Italians and even Swedes.

Flaucher was, according to Loureau, particularly intolerant of prisoners suffering from diarrhea and unable to control themselves. If one of them attempted to get up from his bed to go to the bathroom, managed only to get out of bed and soiled the floor, Flaucher would become enraged and beat him severely.

Loureau described having witnessed one beating by Flaucher, from which his victim, an ill Yugoslav, ultimately died. Loureau said that he didn't know why Flaucher had beaten the Yugoslav, but that Flaucher had announced he was going to give the Yugoslav a beating of fifty lashes with the whip. According to Loureau, the Yugoslav was forced to bend over a stool, while Loureau(!) pinned the man's hands behind his back and an orderly held the man's head between his legs. Then Flaucher whipped him. The Yugoslav endured several lashes without uttering a sound, but he soon began to shout and try to get free. During the ensuing struggle the Yugoslav fell from the stool. When he did not obey Flaucher's order to get up, Flaucher discarded his whip, called the Yugoslav to him and began to beat him unmercifully, slapping him and striking him with his fists. When the Yugoslav again fell to the floor, Flaucher kicked him viciously, until the Yugoslav stopped shouting, for he was dead.

Loreau also testified that Flaucher was a homosexual who kept two boys, whom he used “as women,” in Block 8. When asked if he had ever witnessed this, the witness responded that he had not, but that he had seen Flaucher kiss one of them. Virtually all other witnesses made similar statements about Flaucher, testifying that he would seek out young boys of about fourteen and fifteen and attempt to use them sexually. When the boys refused he would mistreat and frequently beat them. Augusta (Gussie) Lapins (now Augusta Lukomski) returned from her “take” in this trial and told me that one of the witnesses, Herbert Wisniewski, a young Polish Jew testifying against Flaucher, had collapsed on the witness stand during direct examination by the prosecution. He had been testifying to the effect that after the Polish uprising in Warsaw (late in 1944), the Germans had arrested a large number of young boys of about fourteen and fifteen whom they then brought to Mauthausen. Wisniewski said Flaucher had wanted to sleep with them, and when they would not comply, he had beaten them. The prosecution asked the witness “Did you see these beatings?,” to which there was no response, since Wisniewski had at that moment fainted and fallen to the floor.

Two days later the prosecutor announced that he had a communication from Wisniewski, apologizing for having collapsed on the stand, but stating that he would not return to testify during the trial. The prosecutor said he had completed his examination of the witness, but the defense counsel moved his testimony be stricken from the record, since he had not had an opportunity to cross-examine the witness. Advised that Wisniewski would supply an affidavit, the defense counsel said that this would not serve his purposes. The court recessed briefly to discuss the defense’s move but returned to deny it, stating that the defense counsel had refused to accept a sworn statement by the witness in lieu of an opportunity to question him in court. Yet the defense’s motion should have been perfectly clear; it could not accept a statement which contained in it only what the witness or the prosecution wished to have in it, without any opportunity to question the witness about the points which the defense wished to raise.

The court found Flaucher guilty of the charges and sentenced him to death by hanging.

The other witnesses for the prosecution were from the groups of professional witnesses collected at Dachau. They continued to complicate the proceedings, for their testimony appeared to raise more questions than provide answers. Some of it was obviously fabricated, or so grossly exaggerated as to render it unbelievable. There were repeated instances of mistaken identity of the same accused and vague, uncertain statements about some of the others. These prosecution witnesses accused various of the other accused of indiscriminately beating and killing inmates. One witness, Simon Bressler, testified that Hermann Buetgen had continually beaten the inmates he was guarding at the stone quarry. Bressler provided a description of Buetgen which fit that of Michael Heller, another guard. The accused Buetgen had not worked at the quarry, but Heller, to whom the witness had not pointed and whom he apparently did not know, had been one of the guards stationed there. Bressler was asked “Did you ever see the accused, No. 2 [Buetgen], commit any atrocities against or upon any prisoner there at Mauthausen?” Bressler replied that “He would strike every prisoner, each individual prisoner. He would give him a blow, then another blow all the way down to the quarry.” When asked “How many prisoners did you see this accused, No. 2, beat in this fashion?” Bressler responded “All of them. We were eight hundred men in the detail, and he struck all eight hundred of them.”

Another prosecution witness, Josef Feldstein, who stated that he had been at Mauthausen from the end of 1942 until May 1945, when the camp was liberated by the Americans, pointed out accused Hermann Buetgen when asked if he knew any of those on trial. He identified him as “Wittingen,” however, also ascribing to him functions which had been performed in Mauthausen by

Michael Heller. When asked to spell the name, Feldstein said he only knew that “Wittingen” was the accused’s name; he did not know how to spell it.

Feldstein was asked “Just what makes you so sure that this is the same man that you saw at Mauthausen?” and he responded “I have a good memory, and what I see I am able to remember after thirty years.”

Jacob Szejnberg, who testified for the prosecution, also definitely identified accused No. 2, Hermann Buetgen, as performing the functions of a Block leader or guard, which one might expect to have heard of Michael Heller. He said that Buetgen had been guarding the inmates working in the quarry and that he beat them severely, frequently causing some to die. Szejnberg testified that Buetgen would beat prisoners who carried stones smaller than Buetgen wished.

In addition to testifying against Buetgen, Szejnberg testified also against Petrat and Flaucher, whose name he said he did not know properly and which he mispronounced as “Laucher.” When questioned about his testimony against Flaucher, which appeared to be vague, Szejnberg, an arrogant witness, grew testy and made caustic comments to the prosecution, which was not calling into question, but merely attempting to clarify, Szejnberg’s statement. The court president was finally forced to call Szejnberg before the court and instruct him that the court wanted “no more smart remarks,” that he was to respond to the question raised and that the court would determine what was appropriate and what was not.

During the trial, the prosecution was clearly angered by the fact that some of its witnesses against one accused might speak well of another. Feldstein had accused Buetgen of deeds which could only have been committed by Michael Heller. But Wilhelm Mornstein spoke well of Michael Heller, as he accused Emil Thielmann of having committed atrocities, saying that Heller was “the opposite of Thielmann.” He said that Heller always expressed horror at what he saw and had said he would be glad when he could get out of there.

Herbert Melching, a witness for the prosecution, testified that he had seen Franz Kofler, the Kommando leader and roll call leader, beat prisoners to death. When asked by the defense counsel how he could be sure that the prisoners had been beaten to death, he responded: “Because the blows were pretty hard.” Melching admitted he had never seen any of the dead bodies, either physically or in photographs, of the men he presumed had died as a result of the beatings.

Kofler was also accused of having taken a group of five Jews from Block 5 into the washroom, whipping them there, then attempting to drive them into the electrically charged wire. When the men refused, Kofler so harried them that, weakened, they could be forced into the wire and electrocuted. Peter Bleimüller, another prosecution witness, testified that Kofler would come into the Jewish block once a week to beat the Jewish prisoners. He said that this was during the period of January and February of 1942, when no Jew survived more than three days in the camp. The defense’s response to this was contained in testimony which Kofler presented voluntarily to the court. He asked why not one of the 180 inmates from Block 5 had testified that he forced Jews from Block 5 into the electrically charged wire. He said that the only one who had testified to this effect had been from Block 4.

One of the witnesses who testified against Kofler was a Josef Schwaiger. He testified that Kofler had beaten prisoners during roll call. During cross examination the defense counsel accused Schwaiger of having been angered because Kofler had taken away his girlfriend, and vowing that he would get even with him. The girlfriend to whom the defense counsel referred was a Mrs. von Schwertberg, who lived in a house near Mauthausen, where Schwaiger had frequently worked.

After Herbert Melching had appeared as a witness for the prosecution, he was subsequently recalled as a witness by the defense, over the prosecution's objections. Melching, who properly identified Buetgen, testified that as an electrician and as operator of the camp movie projector, Buetgen had no responsibility for guarding prisoners and could not have beaten and killed prisoners.

In the end it was obvious the court placed not only more confidence, but immediate and almost blind belief in the prosecution's witnesses, despite the confusion in their identification of the accused and their otherwise weak statements. As was usually the case in the Dachau courts, there is no indication that the testimony presented by the witnesses for the defense was even considered.

With virtually no testimony against Stefan Lennert which could even have begun to prove the charges made against him, the court found Lennert not guilty, the only one of the accused who was acquitted. Hermann Buetgen was sentenced to three years imprisonment at hard labor, and Arno Albert Reuter to two years imprisonment at hard labor. Emil Thielmann was sentenced to life imprisonment. Michael Heller and Franz Kofler, along with Quirin Flaucher and Gustav Petrat, were sentenced to death by hanging.

I saw Danuta Drbuszenska once more, quite by chance, shortly after the termination of the trial. That September there was a *Volksfest* (carnival) in Dachau, and I went to see what it might be like. Completely alone, I was wandering around the grounds when I suddenly saw Drbuszenska, who was, like me, wandering by herself through the crowd. I had thought she would not recognize me, but she did, and approached me as though we were old friends. We spent the afternoon together, hand in hand, enjoying some of what the *Volkfest* had to offer. There was no food to be purchased there, but there were side shows, a merry-go-round, and a tunnel of love. We parted late in the afternoon as friends.

Later, I regretted that I never thought to ask her about the trial, but at that time I had no interest in the accused, and my mind was on her rather than on the case. It surprises me now, but I don't even remember any discussion of what her plans might have been, whether she would continue to live in Germany or might consider returning to Poland. I never saw her again.

* * * * *

When, a few years ago, the U.S. Army declassified its files on the war crimes trials, I eagerly examined them. The records which most surprised and disillusioned me were those which dealt with the Franz Kofler trial, in which I had been so enchanted by Danuta Drbuszenska. So taken by her at the trial, I was startled when, in studying the case file, I found such discrepancies in her testimony that I could only conclude that she was an outrageous liar.

No one asked her, nor did she explain, how she could have been peeling potatoes when Petrat struck her, if she had been "fetched out" of the roll call, as she originally claimed. Nor did the defense question the differences in her statements about the work these Polish women actually performed. Drbuszenska had testified she was carrying rails at the camp, rails so heavy it took five women to carry one rail, which would suggest she was not merely peeling potatoes. Yet she could not have picked up a carrot had she been carrying rails, a job function which later witnesses testified, furthermore, was never assigned to the women. Drbuszenska, obviously, had been stealing food, and her denial of this accusation did not erase the doubts raised in my mind when I read the defense's question and her response.

At the time of the trial I was convinced she and Petrat had been intimate, and the fact that he blushed so intensely when she was testifying tended to confirm this for me. Since I could not

imagine an older man blushing, a trait usually associated with younger people afflicted with a conscience, I now checked his identification sheet. I learned that he was only twenty-two at the time of the trial, and he had been about twenty at the time of the incident. Drbuszenska had been only nineteen at the time she claimed he had struck her and subsequently killed her friend Wisniewska.

It is impossible to imagine that Petrat took Drbuszenska to “his apartments only to strike her, and I could not believe he took her there only to twist her pigtails around his arm so that he could raise and lower her! (Witnesses subsequently testified, in fact, that Petrat had no apartment but was billeted with as many as twenty other enlisted men, which sounds far more credible.) Had Drbuszenska claimed that he had raped her she would have been more believable, for he was, after all, twenty and she nineteen at the time, and also very attractive. It further struck me as odd that in a regime such as that of Hitler a twenty-year old corporal could have had so much authority he could “kill and gas people and nobody would do anything to him,” as I discovered Drbuszenska had claimed. The other SS personnel at the camps were seriously concerned about their responsibilities to their superiors. The camp commandant of Buchenwald — hardly a junior-grade officer-had been tried, sentenced and executed because of such abuses of authority, yet Drbuszenska had blithely attributed the power to kill prisoners at will to Petrat, who was then only twenty! Her statement about Petrat’s authority in the camp was obviously untrue.

Her later testimony is also completely out of harmony with her earlier statements that he apparently disliked and wanted to harm her. If this were so, he could never have engaged with her in the gossipy, teasing form of small talk she indicated they frequently shared.

If there had been a Zilenska, the prosecution appeared never to have bothered to contact her, to have her either submit an affidavit or testify in person to corroborate Drbuszenska’s story. Since there was no one else to confirm or deny the accounting, in the absence of a third party the court had to choose which account they would believe: Petrat’s or Drbuszenska’s. Given the atmosphere of the time and place, there was never any question that the court would choose her statement, even if Petrat had testified.

The court — and if not the court, certainly the Review Authority — should have questioned Danuta Drbuszenska’s statements about the fact that Petrat was always lurking around the women’s washroom, where he would be at any time of the day she appeared there. Other witnesses testified that he was a “dog leader,” testimony which must have had some degree of accuracy since it was logical and was repeated by diverse sources. Yet despite claiming she frequently encountered Petrat in camp, Danuta Drbuszenska did not once mention his dog. One wonders, if he was the dog leader, where he kept his dog when he was, as she alleges, stalking her in the camp. Drbuszenska stated Petrat was always there when she went to the washroom. This too is impossible to believe. What SS camp guard would be allowed to loiter in a woman’s washroom?

Drbuszenska’s testimony is clearly that of a woman who had been used and then rejected. Such instances are not rare (in the Army I frequently heard the cautionary expression that one “should not play around too close to the flagpole”). The defense counsel attempted to make this point in court, but in a court so biased against the accused he could not have hoped for success.

With regard to the other accused, I noted, with regret, that the court had obviously chosen not to follow the lead provided by the defense counsel, who had attempted to prove complicity among the witnesses against the accused. The fact that three witnesses, and possibly four, had so firmly identified Hermann Buetgen, but then attributed to him another function in the camp, one which applied only to Michael Heller, could hardly have been coincidental. The testimony of a fourth

witness, Wincenty Lipinski, in which he identified Hermann Buetgen as another of the accused, was stricken from the record. There exists nothing now to show either why it was stricken or with whom he had confused Buetgen. We shall, therefore, never know what Lipinski said or with whom he confused Hermann Buetgen, but it is quite likely that it was also Heller.

The prosecution had made one direct reference to the special findings during the proceedings, when toward the end of the trial the defense counsel had moved that Lennert, one of the accused, be acquitted since there was no evidence linking him to any crimes. The prosecution objected to this motion, indicating that one of the pretrial statements by Lennert had established he had been a member of the staff at Mauthausen and was, therefore, guilty under the common cause finding of the court in the Altfuldisch case.

These special findings were introduced in every subsidiary concentration camp trial and were accepted literally by the courts. It always seemed to me outrageous for anyone to assign guilt to an individual on the basis of where he worked, without taking into consideration that the individual might have been ordered to work there. Such a finding ignores the fact that an individual might have been strongly opposed, philosophically and morally, to the principles according to which he was forced to perform.

The review counsel for this particular case, Louie T. Tischer, obviously considered the special findings his authority for upholding the courts finding of guilty in each of the cases, except that of Stefan Lennert. He began and ended his review by citing the special findings. Although Tischer made mention of the witnesses, both those who testified in person and those who had provided extrajudicial statements, he clearly relied on the special findings to uphold every conviction.

At one point in the trial, the defense counsel had objected to a witness whom the prosecution had called. The defense counsel noted that this particular witness had been sitting in the courtroom two days earlier, listening to testimony presented by prosecution witness Fasel Schoeps against five of the accused. The court considered the objection and sustained it, denying use of the witness to prosecution. Evidently the court did not consider the fact that Schoeps might have been advising all the other witnesses on what was transpiring in the proceedings.

Regarding Hermann Buetgen, Tischer noted that several witnesses had confused Buetgen with Lennert, but he brushed aside their confusion and went on to rule that the incidents subsequently described by the witnesses were committed by Buetgen. This, I felt, was hardly conscionable, for the witnesses statements, as they appear in the record, clearly indicated they were lying. These false statements should at least have raised a question in the review counsel's mind. The evidence presented indicated very strongly that Buetgen was not and could not have been at the stone quarry. One also wonders how Heller could have been found guilty of the crimes the witnesses attributed to him there when these witnesses could not even identify him!

On the basis of testimony by several witnesses — Lipinski, Schmeling and Milonia, a former Yugoslav inmate — Michael Heller was sentenced to death by hanging. Peda and Lipinski had been questioned by the defense as to whether they had not discussed the case outside the court, only to have the two witnesses respond with conflicting statements. Many of the prosecution's witnesses testified in Heller's favor. It appeared, however, that all the positive testimony with regard to this accused — even that presented by the prosecution's witnesses — appeared to have been ignored. One such witness, Barzinsky, testified he had made a new uniform for Heller to wear on his furlough, which would have placed him outside the camp at the time he was alleged by some of the

witnesses to have shot and killed inmates. But this testimony, too, played no role in the court's decision.

As I had expected, Gustav Petrat had been done irreparable harm by the testimony of Danuta Drbuszenska. Not only had the court never questioned her, neither did the review authority, Mr. Tischer. He quoted her testimony entirely, although he did mention that "she appeared to be slightly confused over one of the details," which he treated and overlooked as though it were a minor incident.

Other than for his blushing in court, I had not again thought of Gustav Petrat nor ever considered him as a human being, even during the trial, but I was suddenly overwhelmed by a feeling of compassion for him when I read the file in the archives. He was a man who was sentenced to death and subsequently hanged on the basis of testimony which was, by even the admission of the review counsel, flawed, and by other testimony which failed to identify him conclusively.

According to Petrat's statement, he had been transferred to Mauthausen because of wounds he had received in the war. Certainly this could have been verified. Even if the court and the review counsel had been convinced it had indeed been Petrat who had been following the march to Gunskirchen, they might also have asked themselves if he, as a low-ranking SS soldier in a dictatorship, had not merely been obeying orders.

In my review of the file, I sadly noted a pathetic sworn statement submitted by Gustav Petrat, which appeared to me to be, so many years after he had been hanged in consequence of his duty at Mauthausen, the echo of a lonely young ghost. The statement was prepared in German but was translated for the recipient, since it was submitted to the Military Governor of the U.S. Zone of Occupation. The statement, in translation, reads as follows:

I, Gustav PETRAT, born 12 November 1924 in Wirballen/Litauen [Lithuania], presently in Landsberg/Lech, make the following sworn statement after I have been informed that this statement is to be submitted to the Military Governor of the U.S. Zone and that any false statement may be severely punished.

1. In May 1944, on account of my wound, I was transferred to the guard personnel of the Mauthausen concentration camp and served there as dog leader with the 16th Guard Company. My rank was Corporal (Rottenführer) in the Armed (Waffen) SS.

2. On 10 May 1945, I was taken prisoner by American soldiers in Ried near Mauthausen and taken to the Tittling camp. When I got there I was mistreated with whips, fists and feet, as was the general custom at that time for newly arrived prisoners.

3. Like many others I was quartered in a potato patch in the open air, so that we all were exposed to the weather.

4. On 26 May 1945 I had my first interrogation there, which was one of the most memorable of my entire captivity. Even before they asked me the first question, they struck me so that I collapsed. After I had managed to stagger upright again in spite of my weak condition and aided by the necessary kicks from the interrogator, the real interrogation began. They asked me questions that I could not have answered if I had had the best will in the world to do so. I was to state where the leader of the Mauthausen concentration camp was. It was impossible for me to give the information, since I really didn't know, and as a little corporal I couldn't know. My reply loosed a hail of blows.

The second question concerned myself. They asked me how many prisoners I had shot and beaten, to which I replied truthfully and with a clean conscience, "Not one."

The interrogator drew a pistol and threatened to kill me if I did not tell the truth immediately. He meant, however, that I should be hanged. I told him again that I only spoke the truth and he could kill me if he wanted to, that at least I would be freed from the whole mess. Then more blows, and with a push in the small of the back I fled [Sic. This may be a typographical error, since the German text in the original statement is *bin geflogen*, which means literally "flew," but should be translated "was sent out flying" or "was thrown out."]

5. On 9 May [sic] 1945 I was taken to the Moosburg internment camp with about 80 other prisoners. On 7 September 1945 I had my second interrogation, in Moosburg, at which they asked me the same questions they asked in the Tittling camp. There too, I received blows from a whip. This consisted of a wooden handle about 30 cm. long to which leather straps had been fastened. Since I had to answer the questions in the negative, they told me that there were other ways and means to force me to tell the truth. Then the interrogator left the room for a few minutes, and returned with a second interrogator. Since I had to reply to this man's questions in the negative also because I did not know of any killing, he struck me with his fists and threatened to "hang" and "shoot" me. After I stuck to my guns, I was taken back to my quarters.

On 10 February 1946 I was transferred to the Dachau internment camp.

6. There I was interrogated two times. At the interrogation on 21 June 1946 they read statements to me that said that I had shot eight prisoners in the Mauthausen concentration camp. I was to sign this, but I vigorously refused because I never shot a prisoner. After repeated requests to sign, I was struck with fists and kicked with feet. They put a paper in front of me to sign in which it said that I had never been beaten by American interrogators and soldiers. I refused, and only after repeated blows with the threat that I would never leave the room alive until I had signed, and that they would know how to break down my obstinacy, did I put my name to it.

I had never had anything to do with the court in my life and I was afraid that they would make my life even more difficult

7. In January 1947 the so-called "line-ups" commenced in the Dachau Special Camp. I was confronted with prisoners three times, yet, no one accused me of the least thing. The man in charge of the line-up, Mr. ENTRESS, told the prisoners that I was said to have shot many prisoners and beaten them to death, whereat only a burst of laughter arose. At that time I was 22 years old. When I was 19 I came to Mauthausen as dog-leader.

A former prominent prisoner, Dr. SANNER, asserted he did not know me, but if a dog leader had beaten prisoners to death or shot them that would certainly have become known in the camp. Many other former long-term prisoners joined in this exonerating testimony.

8. At mid-July 1947 I and my seven co-accused were presented for the first time to our official defense lawyer, Major William A. OATES. To his question whether I knew what I was accused of, and by whom, I could only reply that I was not con-

scious of any guilt and also had never counted on being brought to trial, since I had never mistreated or killed anyone.

Major OATES told me that he too, knew nothing, that he could not get a glimpse of the incriminating papers of the prosecution, and therefore he would have to go by my statements, the general charge sheet, and the testimony of the prosecution witnesses at the trial.

Since only the prosecution had access to the records, my lawyer did not see them, and so naturally it was very difficult for him to prepare a defense. Major OATES promised to do everything he could. Also I gave him the names of the witnesses who were important for me, and who themselves were interned in Dachau.

9. On 15 July 1947 I received a general charge sheet and was transferred with my co-accused to the Bunker I, Camp Dachau.

It was impossible for me to procure any exonerating material there. One was cut off from the outside world. Letters to relatives or acquaintances in which something was said about witnesses or the approaching trial were so cut up that the receiver received only scraps from which he could glean nothing. For that reason it was made impossible for me to procure any defense material. Requests for special letters to witnesses or prior reports to the defense lawyer were fruitless.

Already in little things they were making the procuring of exonerating material impossible. Also the time before the beginning of the trial was far too short to obtain any material.

10. On 6 August 1947 the trial began, and lasted until 21 August.

11. The prosecution witnesses had every support of the prosecuting authorities. When they were shown to be lying, up jumped the prosecutor, Mr. Lundberg, and accused the defense lawyer of intimidating the witnesses and trying to make out that they were liars.

12. In reality, the opposite was the truth. Defense witnesses were intimidated by the braying of the prosecutor or were branded as false. It happened that defense witnesses were threatened and beaten by foreign former prisoners so that the former had no more interest in appearing for the defense. They were afraid that they too would be accused of something, which the foreign prisoners were quite capable of, as they hated everything German and were out for revenge.

13. In the courtroom were Polish, Yugoslav and Jewish prisoners as spectators who served as an information bureau, that is, during the court recesses they told their comrades, who were still waiting for their interrogation, everything that had been discussed during the course of the trial. On the basis of this information the latter were then able to reinforce the accusations and bring to naught the exoneration, which was scanty enough anyway.

For this reason it was also possible to always bring out the same points in the accusations.

14. The questionnaires we had filled out were handed to the prosecution witnesses by the prosecutor or by his interpreter. In this way each exact date could be looked up in order to incriminate the accused without having to fear that a false statement was being made. In spite of this, it happened that they contradicted themselves in cross-examination. However, because the witnesses were under the protection of the American court, they had nothing to fear from perjury, which they committed repeatedly.

15. We, as accused, had no right to give our opinion. At the beginning of the trial the defense lawyer told us that we had to keep quite still and the questions we wanted to have put to the witnesses we were to write on a slip of paper and give to his interpreter, Mr. BARR. I did not understand most of the trial, since I am a Lithuanian and only know a little German. I had to find out during the court recesses, from my comrades, of what I was accused.

17. [Sic. The paragraph is misnumbered in the original document.] There was no final argument by the defense lawyer. I was sentenced to death on 21 August 1947. The sentence was approved on 26 June 1948.

Landsberg/Lech, 10 September 1948 /s/ Gustav PETRAT.

It is now late to be considering the question of Petrat's personal innocence or guilt, since he was executed in 1948. Apart from some possible exaggerations, Petrat's statement must be considered credible. His comments with regard to the witnesses conferring with one another has the ring of truth and confirms what the defense counsel had already suspected and had indicated to the court during his interrogation of the witnesses: that there was discussion among the witnesses about the testimony. The witnesses' mistaken identification of the accused Buetgen firmly and clearly indicates collusion among the Prosecution's witnesses.

There can also be no question about the use of duress and physical force by the interrogators. This was confirmed by the review of the Malmedy case, but was present in other American cases as well. There were certainly American legal personnel who were disturbed by the beatings administered to the prisoners in order to extract confessions of guilt, but for the most part they kept silent. One investigator who did know and was deeply distressed was, surprisingly enough, Fred Fleischmann, an American Jew who had been forced to flee Germany during World War II. Fleischmann later complained bitterly about the beatings the German prisoners were forced to endure.

* * * * *

I was the reporter assigned to record the last session of the Nordhausen trial, which was also the last trial session held in Dachau. Following that I left Dachau for another post in Germany before returning to the United States, one month before my twenty-first birthday. I subsequently married, fathered three children, and spent the intervening years attempting to provide for my family.

My thoughts often return to the Dachau war crimes trials. My memories of my duties there have remained strong, and, like many Americans, I continue to hear much about German misdeeds during the war.

There is a time after which all things should end. The time is long past for one-sided recriminations over German war crimes and concentration camps. As anyone who worked in Dachau, impartially, could testify, there were also injustices committed in the trials instituted to punish the Germans. The Americans gave the defendants less than due process. Jewish and Polish investiga-

tors and witnesses took vengeance on many of the accused, some of whom had done nothing to them, many of whom they did not even know.

There were many innocents in Dachau. Most of them were not permitted free departure from the camp, and many lost their lives to the executioners at Landsberg, never again to return to their homes and families.

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Review Article

Lessons from Dachau

- DACHAU: 1933-45, THE OFFICIAL HISTORY by Paul Berben. London: The Norfolk Press, 1975, Hardcover, 300 pages, ISBN 0-85211-009-X.

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Sometimes important “revisionist” works are produced, not by the revisionists, but by believers in Exterminationist theory. A case in point is Arno Mayer’s *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*, which downplays Auschwitz as a center of gassings and admits that most deaths in the camps, including the so-called “death camps,” were the result of “natural” causes and not from gassings or executions. Another book that, remarkably, helps the Revisionist case is Paul Berben’s *Dachau: 1933-45, The Official History*. *Dachau* begins by positing that Dachau was an “extermination camp,” then implicitly demolishes its own thesis. Berben’s *Dachau* was first published in 1968 in Belgium, then republished by the Norfolk Press in 1975 “on behalf and under the auspices of the Comité International de Dachau.” The C.I.D. represents the tens of thousands of deportees who were exterminated in the death camp and also those who survived.” (p. xiv) It is incontestably an official history: the 1975 edition, which is reviewed in this article, contains the statement that it was “published for sale only at the Dachau Camp Memorial Site.”

The book subscribes to what might be termed the ecumenical version of the Holocaust, according to which not merely six million Jews but millions of others — Communists, Slavs, gypsies et al. were deliberately annihilated by the Germans. The preface, written by C.I.D. leader Major General Dr. A.M. Guerisse, G.C., D.S.O. (alias Lt. Cdr. Pat O’Leary, R.N.), claims that “Many millions of people suffered the horrors of the concentration camps; millions were exterminated in them. Their crime had been to fight for freedom, for human rights, for the respect due to each and every individual.” *Dachau* begins, however, by casting some doubt on its claim that the concentration camp’s inmates were champions of freedom and human rights. The author makes it quite clear that many of *Dachau*’s inmates had been sent there because they were common criminals. Nor were they a small group. According to Berben:

The third main category of prisoners was the “criminals.” The S.S. distinguished between two groups in their statistical summaries: the P.S.V. and the B.V.; but both wore the same badges. The P.S.V. (*Polizeisicherungsverwahrte*) were criminals who had served their prison terms, in some case many years since, but they were considered to be dangerous and were held in the concentration camp as a preventive measure (*vorbeugend*) ... The second group, the B.V. (*Befristete Vorbeugungshaft*; often wrongly called *Berufsverbrecher*, professional criminal), was composed of men who were not released on the completion of their prison sentences but sent straight to the camp. (pp. 13-14)

Table 1: Number of Prisoners Who Died at Dachau and in Outside Kommandos, 1940-5

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
January		455	142	205	53	2,888
February	17	393	104	221	101	3,977
March	86	321	66	139	362	3,668
April	101	227	79	112	144	2,625
May	87	322	98	83	84	2,226
June	54	219	84	55	78	
July	34	140	173	51	107	
August	119	104	454	40	225	
September	134	73	319	45	325	
October	171	88	207	57	403	
November	273	110	380	43	997	
December	439	124	364	49	1,915	
Totals	1,515	2,576	2,470	1,100	4,794	15,384

NOTE: This, chart reprinted from page 281 of Berben's *"Dachau,"* illustrates some interesting facts. Note that the death rate in Dachau fell slightly in 1942. In 1943 the death rate fell almost

50 per cent. In 1943 the death rate was at an all-time low, yet according to Exterminationist theory the “final solution” should have been in full swing. In 1944, with the reappearance of typhus in the camp, deaths rose dramatically. Note that 66 per cent of all deaths at Dachau took place in the last 7 months. It should also be noted that in the winter months of 1942-43 another typhus outbreak hit the camp. There is also an unusually high number of deaths for March, 1944, due to Allied bombings of Kommandos which resulted in the deaths of 223 prisoners. [See p. 95).

It seems very unlikely that many men in this group (even after thousands had been transferred for various reasons out of Dachau, there were still 759 criminals in the camp on April 26, 1945) were there because they were fighters for human rights.

It also seems unlikely that many of the political prisoners, especially the Communists, were advocates of individual rights. In light of the atrocities committed by Communists throughout Europe and Asia from 1917 to 1945, and beyond, it is certainly naive at best, and a lie at worst, to paint these people as freedom fighters. Yet most of the prisoners in the camp were political prisoners, of whom a large percentage were Communists or Communist sympathizers. A camp census taken on April 26, 1945 showed that 43,401 prisoners were there for political reasons. In contrast, the number of Jews in the camp was 22,100; 128 prisoners had been purged from the Wehrmacht; 110 were incarcerated for being homosexual; 85 were Jehovah's Witnesses; and 1,066 were classed as “anti-socials.” (p. 221)

What of “the tens of thousands of deportees who were exterminated in the death camp,” according to the author's claims? In the first place, Berben, while alleging that there was a homicidal gas chamber at Auschwitz, states at the outset that “the Dachau gas-chamber was never used.” (p. 8) Like virtually all Exterminationist writers who claim that the Dachau “gas chamber” was never completed, or completed but never used, Berben neither offers believable evidence that there actually was such an installation at Dachau, nor explains why numerous Dachau inmates swore that thousands had been gassed in it.

Dachau does, nonetheless, offer a precise figure for deaths during the war years at Dachau. According to a chart (p. 281), the number of deaths at the main Dachau camp and its smaller outstations totalled 27,839 for the years from 1940 through 1945 (again, the claim that some 238,000 inmates perished at Dachau, once exhibited on a sign at the entrance to the camp, is passed over by Berben in silence).

An analysis of this figure affords some interesting insights. Of the 27,839, 2,226 are said to have died in May 1945, after the Americans liberated the camp. In other words, fully eight per cent of the wartime deaths at Dachau took place in a month that the camp was in the hands of Allied forces.

If one were disposed to citing such figures without regard to their context (i.e., disregarding the reason for the deaths), a damaging case against the American occupiers could be made. According to the figures Berben provides, during the 65 months from January 1940 to May 1945 27,839 prisoners died from all causes, working out to an average of 428 per month (see Chart 1). During the first month of Allied control of Dachau, therefore, the death rate was 400 per cent higher than average.

Doubtless someone who felt compelled to defend the American “liberators” of Dachau would quickly establish, and argue, that the cause of death was not an American extermination program, but the continuation of the contagion which had racked Dachau in the months before the camp's capture at the end of April 1945. Exactly! Dachau fell prey to a devastating epidemic (of chiefly typhus) from the end of 1944. From November of that year through May 1945, 18,296 inmates

died, 66 per cent of the deaths during the war years. If one includes the deaths which took place from November 1943 to March 1944 (another epidemic), the number of the victims rises to 19,605, or 70 per cent of the wartime victims.

If the figures in the official history are correct, and deaths during epidemics taken into account, we are left with 8,234 possible victims of extermination. But Berben makes it quite clear that sickness and disease was a constant problem, and that many people died year in, year out of such natural causes. He also points out that numerous individuals committed suicide, that some prisoners believed to be working for the Nazis were murdered by fellow prisoners, and that some were killed in Allied bombings. Bergen notes that in March 1944 one Allied bombing of a factory where prisoners worked killed 223 prisoners. In another case a tunnel collapsed in a factory, killing 22 prisoners. An Allied bombing at the same site later killed an additional 6. These two incidents alone account for another 251 deaths in the camp, almost one percent of the total deaths. Bergen also claims that some executions took place, mostly by firing squad. But these executions only account for a very small percentage of the deaths in the camps about .0087 per cent (p. 271)

Berben also notes that Himmler wanted to lower the death rate in the camps as much as possible, which seems odd if the extermination of prisoners was the goal.

The death-rate in the camps forced the S.S. to take notice. With the help of copious statistics they watched its progress, not to save human lives, but to economize on man-power. On 30th September 1943 Pohl informed Himmler that the number of deaths in August was 40 out of an average work force of 17,300, that is 0.23 per cent, whereas the previous month the percentage had been 0.32 per cent. They had achieved a reduction of 0.09. Results were obtained from other camps too. Out of a total strength estimated at 224,000 in August, there had been 4,699 deaths, that is 2.09 per cent, compared with 2.23 per cent in July: the improvement was therefore 0.14 per cent. Himmler congratulated Pohl on the results he had obtained even though they were difficult to check! (p. 94-95)

What one finds in this official history of Dachau is not confirmation of Exterminationist theory but a repudiation of it. It is quickly evident that a very high percentage of the total deaths can be accounted for in terms other than an "extermination." While we don't know how many of the remaining non-epidemic deaths fell into "natural" categories, we can rationally assume that many of them were caused by disease, accidents, suicides, and natural causes. The last category is important because Dachau housed quite a few older prisoners. "Statistics made by the camp administration on 16th February 1945 list 2,309 men and 44 women aged between 50 and 60 and 5,465 men and 12 women over 60." (p. 11) This admission is rather significant, since, according to general Exterminationist theory, older prisoners often were not even admitted to the camps, but were separated from the other prisoners immediately upon arrival, then gassed. At a camp which its official survivors' committee calls a "death camp," however, we find 2,910 prisoners of advancing years who had evidently not been exterminated.

Extermination theory, either that focussing on the Jews or the broader version, has long told us that, like the elderly, children were singled out for death immediately, because they were incapable of working. Dachau, however, also housed an unstated number of children. Berben states that a group of prisoners formed an unofficial governing body, called the International Committee, and that this group started a school in the camp for the children.

As has already been mentioned, there were times when even children were imprisoned in Dachau. The International Committee saw to it that they were not abandoned. A school was organized for Russian children under a Yugoslavian teacher, and the older ones were placed in Kommandos [subsidiary work camps of Dachau] where they were looked after by prisoners who tried not only to keep them in good health but to teach them the rudiments of a trade as well (p. 175).

While the older children were old enough to work, it is unlikely that the younger children in the school were doing so. Thus, according to Exterminationist theory, they too should have been immediately killed.

An important component of the extermination theory is the notion that prisoners not killed immediately were subject to “extermination through work,” in which brutal on-the-job drudgery and miserable living conditions made the life in the camps nasty and short. Under a regime intent on the death of all Jews and other “undesirables” we would expect very little food, medical care, and other necessities to be available to the prisoners. There would certainly be no orders to lower the death rate, just as there would be no elderly or sick prisoners sitting around: Those capable of working would work; the others would have been put to death, the sooner the better. But, as described in this official history, at Dachau the Germans were intent on keeping the prisoners alive, even the sick and the elderly.

Living conditions at Dachau, as described by Berben, offer hard evidence to counter the Exterminationist theory. Berben sketches the history of the camp from its opening on March 23, 1933. His first real reference as to living conditions concerns the kitchen at the camp.

The cleanliness of the cook-house caused visitors from the Nazi Party, from Junker schools [training schools for future highranking officers] and the Army to remark that the treatment given to men classified as the “dregs of humanity” was much too good. (p. 4)

Living conditions in the camp didn’t suddenly worsen as a result of a decision to exterminate. For most of the camp’s history conditions were fairly good, considering that it served as a type of prison. Berben quotes Wolfgang Jasper, legation counselor and member since 1935 of an S.S. cavalry unit

We found the camp [in 1937] and the huts in faultless condition and perfectly clean. The prisoners made a very good impression on us and did not seem to be at all hungry. They were allowed to receive letters and parcels and had a canteen where they could buy things. There were also cultural activities available. (p. 43)

The food situation should be investigated. While Berben constantly speaks of the lack of food, his own book contradicts his claims. Regular meals, though Berben always claims that they were inadequate, were of course provided by the kitchens. Other sources of food existed as well, and they seem to have been rather numerous. Berben notes that the camp officials actually increased the number of meals for some work groups during the war:

When manpower needs became pressing during the war supplementary food was sanctioned to increase output. Certain categories of workers were given a much-appreciated “second breakfast,” called *Brotzeit*, consisting of an eighth or tenth part of a loaf and 2 ounces of sausage. (p. 69)

It is little known that there was a canteen in the camp from which prisoners could purchase food. As Berben notes, Money brought on arrival and any that was subsequently sent to a prisoner was credited to him ... “ (p. 60) In 1942 a system of “gift coupons” was instituted and the possession of money forbidden, because it was believed that money in the hands of prisoners would make it easier for them to escape. “The money in their account had to be used for the purchase of articles obtainable at the canteen.” (p. 60) Berben lists some of the items available for purchase:

Beetroot jam, oatmeal, sauerkraut, dried vegetables, tinned mussels and fish, cucumbers, condiments, etc. were on sale ... The canteen also stocked articles such as needles and thread, and particularly lotions, creams and perfume: the close-cropped prisoner was invited to buy something to put on his hair! (p. 69)

The S.S. is condemned because it “made considerable profits” from the canteen. But even if prices were extremely high, “considerable profits” could not have been made without considerable sales. According to Berben, “A large selection of goods could be bought before the war, but the canteen gradually lost its importance, and little by little reached a state when it could offer nothing.” (p. 69)

How goods disappeared from the shelves of the canteen seems irrelevant but is actually quite important. Had the National Socialist regime decided to exterminate prisoners, it would doubtless have closed down the canteen and simply confiscated the money the prisoners had in their accounts. But the canteen didn’t suddenly close. Instead it “gradually lost its importance” and goods disappeared from the shelves “little by little.” But goods disappeared from the shelves in stores all over Germany “little by little” as the war progressed. We may conclude that the prisoners in Dachau were experiencing shortages of goods, just like those the German people experienced.

In addition to regularly scheduled meals and the second breakfast, and what prisoners could purchase at the canteen, other food was available as well. “From the end of 1942, however, large consignments of food and other useful things did reach the camp ... “ Family and friends of prisoners were sending parcels of food into the camp. In addition to these parcels, “The consignments sent to the Red Cross also brought assistance whose beneficial efforts cannot be over-emphasized.” Berben said that the Red Cross shipments alone consisted of “thousands” of parcels. Dachau served as the main camp for all prisoners who were clergy, about 2,700 prisoners. According to Berben:

Food parcels could be sent to clergy and the food situation improved noticeably. Germans and Poles particularly received them in considerable quantities from their families, their parishioners and members of religious communities. In Block 26 one hundred sometimes arrived on the same day. (p. 151)

The clergy continued to receive the “considerable quantities” of food until nearly the end of the war.

This period of relative plenty lasted till the end of 1944 when the disruption of communications stopped the dispatch of parcels. Nevertheless the German clergy continued to receive food through the Dean of Dachau, Herr Pfanzelt, to whom the correspondents sent food tickets: the priest brought bread and sausage with these and sent the parcels by the local post. (p. 151)

Thus Berben, while lamenting the lack of food, tells us that prisoners had regular meals, some had a second breakfast, that “large consignments” were mailed to prisoners, that Thousands” of

parcels arrived from the Red Cross, that food could be purchased at the canteen, that the clergy received “considerable quantities” from parishioners and that this “period of relative plenty lasted till the end of 1944.” All of this came to an end, not because the Nazis decided to starve people, but because “the disruption of communications stopped the dispatch of parcels.” Yet, in spite of these admissions that large quantities of food were available to the average prisoner, Berben says that “legitimate means of obtaining extras were available to only a limited number of privileged prisoners.” (pp. 164-165)

Berben tells us at length how the National Socialist government continually expanded medical services throughout the war. He notes that when the camp was first built in 1933 very few medical services were available. But as the camp was expanded, a hospital was included:

... Blocks A and B: they consisted of an operating theatre with modern equipment. Visitors were invariably shown these buildings, because they proved “the interest taken by the S.S. in the prisoners health.” (p. 104) As the war progressed the demand for health services in the camp increased. In 1940 the hospital was extended to Blocks 1, 3 and 5. But it was mainly from 1942 onwards that increasing numbers caused the sick block to be extended: in September of that year it comprised 7 blocks, one of which had no wards and was reserved for offices, the pharmacy, the laboratory and the rooms occupied by the experimental departments. In the second half of 1944, the seven blocks were linked by a long closed corridor, and then the three blocks. 11 to 15. were added ... (p. 104)

The hospital care given to prisoners is praised continually in Berben’s official history.

The accommodation was complete and modern, and in normal conditions specialists could have treated all the diseases efficiently. Operations were performed in two well-equipped theatres. The laboratory was well appointed, and all the necessary analyses could be made there until, at the end of 1944, the service was overwhelmed. There was an electrocardiograph and the very latest model of a Siemens X-ray apparatus. (p. 104)

The author states that the increase in hospital service was beneficial to the prisoners.

The effect of these changes on the prisoners situation was beneficial. Generally speaking, there was good understanding between the doctors and prisoner-nurses, and their co-operation achieved good results. Thanks to the doctors' initiative, backed up by the nurses and with the help of workmen, a special hut was built between Blocks 11 and 13 for the tuberculosis patients to take open-air cures. Sputum was examined in the laboratory and most of those prisoners in whom it was found to give a positive reaction were hospitalized and treated by rest and fresh-air cures and given extra rations. (p. 106)

Dachau: The Official History makes clear that the camp officials attempted to keep disease to a minimum. They attempted to enforce certain hygiene standards, which of course became increasingly difficult as the war progressed. Berben writes:

It is obvious that in a camp where thousands of men live in a far too confined area and in deplorable conditions very strict hygiene was vital. In the early years, when numbers were still relatively low and arrivals were in small groups, adequate precautions could be taken. “The newcomers went to the showers, were cropped, given clothes and underwear, wretched, it is true, but laundered.” The rooms were not over-

crowded. The orders concerning the upkeep of the premises, clothing and bodily cleanliness were irksome and prompted the bullying of prisoners, but all in all they were useful because the vast majority of the prisoners realized that if they were to stand any chance of survival they would have to conform to strict rules. They knew that they could of course expect nothing from the camp authorities; when hygienic precautions were laid down, it was merely to protect the S.S. staff and to have the maximum labour force. (p. 109)

Even a cursory read of *Dachau: The Official History* shows that conditions were fairly decent and only fell apart near the end of the war, when all of Germany was in chaos.

Besides admitting that large amounts of food and generally good medical care were available, Berben provides interesting information as to recreational activities for Dachau inmates. According to this official historian, the prisoners had Sundays off for leisure and culture. He tells us that on Sunday afternoons the prisoners were allowed to play games, but that was stopped in 1938. In 1941, however “this permission was granted again, and there were cultural activities as well. On Sundays a certain amount of freedom was allowed for amusements.”

Theatrical entertainments, concerts, revues and lectures were arranged too. Among the thousands of men who lived in the camp there were all sorts of talents, great and small, to be found: famous musicians, good amateur musicians, theatre and music-hall artists. Many of these men devoted their time in the most admirable way to gain a few moments of escape for their comrades in misery, and to keep up their morale. And these activities helped too to create a feeling of fellowship. During the last months there were also a few film shows, about once a fortnight. (page 72)

In addition to these forms of entertainment, “The camp had a library which started in a modest way but which eventually stocked some fifteen thousand volume... There was a very varied choice, from popular novels to the great classics, and scientific and philosophical works.” (p. 72) Berben also notes that “some men in spite of their miserable convicts' existence nevertheless found the energy to take an interest in the arts, in science and in philosophical problems.” (p. 73) And if the library was insufficient to meet the reading needs of the prisoner, UA prisoner could subscribe to newspapers and various publications ... “ (p. 75) Newspaper subscriptions were allowed right up until the very end of the war. (p. 180)

An interesting feature of Dachau, regarding prisoner recreation, was the brothel established for the prisoners.

During the summer of 1943 [note that the exterminations are alleged to have been going full-steam at this time] Himmler ordered the setting-up of brothels in concentration camps, called *Sonderbau* (special building). His aim was to solve the sexual problem, combat homosexual practices, and increase the workers' output ... In mid-December 1944 there were thirteen of these women in Dachau. (p.7)

Somehow, the vision of a brothel for prisoners doesn't fit in with a policy of exterminating all prisoners.

The treatment of the clergy warrants some special attention. Under general German policy most clergymen who came under arrest were transferred to Dachau, the total number reaching 2,720. According to Berben:

On 15th March 1941 the clergy were withdrawn from work Kommandos on orders from Berlin, and their conditions improved. They were supplied with bedding of the kind issued to the S.S., and Russian and Polish prisoners were assigned to look after their quarters. They could get up an hour later than the over prisoners and rest on their beds for two hours in the morning and afternoon. Free from work, they could give themselves to study and to meditation. They were given newspapers and allowed to use the library. Their food was adequate; they sometimes received up to a third of a loaf of bread a day; there was even a period when they were given half a litre of cocoa in the morning and a third of a bottle of wine daily. (p. 147)

While work was not required from clergymen, some of them did volunteer as nurses in the hospital beginning in 1943. This proved fatal, since typhus was ravaging the camp at that time. Berben notes that “several of them fell victim to their devotion, as this was the time when typhus was raging in the camp.” (p. 151)

The clergy also persuaded the camp officials to build a chapel for religious services. Prior to this, services were held in the camp’s prisoner barracks. “The patient work by clergy and lay people alike had in the end achieved a miracle. The chapel was 20 meters long by 9 wide and could hold about 800 people, but often more than a thousand crowded in.” (p. 153) Services were held all day long on Sundays, with one service immediately following another. (p. 154) In the last days in the camp the chapel became somewhat controversial. As prisoners from the camps near the front were evacuated to the interior, the camp became increasingly overcrowded. When health care broke down, typhus began to take an incredible toll. Relieving overcrowding was one way of helping stem the disease. Camp officials asked the clergy for permission to convert the chapel into housing in an attempt to improve living conditions. “... the suggestion was put to the clergy that they should give it [the chapel] up in order to combat the shortage of accommodation, which was becoming disastrous.” (p. 154) The clergy were adamant that they would not surrender the chapel even to save lives. They argued that not all the buildings in the camp were being used to house prisoners and suggested that instead of the large chapel the smaller cobbler’s shop and the brothel be converted into housing. They also argued that the chapel could only house 250, “which was nothing compared with the continuous intake of prisoners.” The clergy had the final word. The camp officials acceded to their wishes “and the chapel was retained to the last.” (p. 154)

While the day to day treatment of prisoners, as described by Berben, doesn’t seem to fit a pattern of extermination, charges of medical experiments do raise legitimate concern. The camp was a center for medical experiments studying the effects of malaria, high altitudes and freezing. Abuses in experiments should rightfully be condemned in the strongest of terms. Much of Berben’s case, however, rests on the testimony of one Walter Neff. Neff was a prisoner who worked as an assistant to Dr. Sigmund Rascher in the camp. According to Neff medical experiments were conducted on 180 to 200 prisoners. He testified that 10 prisoners were volunteers, and that most of the other prisoners, with the exception of about 40, had been condemned to death. During the course of the medical experiments, he said, 70 to 80 prisoners died. Berben does not make clear how many of these 70 to 80 prisoners had already been “condemned to death.”

Neff worked with Dr. Rascher from the beginning of 1941. He was released from camp custody as a prisoner, on the condition that he continue working with the doctor. Berben notes that Neff would regularly report to the camp for duty in uniform, and carried a pistol. In his testimony Neff claimed that he worked in the interest of the prisoners and tried to sabotage the work of the doctor. He also claimed that he helped in a “revolt” in the town of Dachau a few days before the

American forces arrived. Berben notes that Neff's "role in his dealings with Rascher never seems to be very clear, nor the part he played in choosing the subjects for experiments." (p. 127) Yet Neff is the source for much of the "evidence" of medical experiments at Dachau.

According to Berben:

The most terrible experiment at which Neff was present was one carried out on two Russian officers. They were taken from the Bunker and plunged naked into a tank [of freezing water] at about 4 p.m., and they held out for almost five hours. Rascher had leveled his revolver at Neff and a young Polish aide who tried to give the two wretches chloroform. Dr. Romberg considered the whole episode as described by Neff during the trial to be improbable; in his view, the subject of such experiments is stiff and incapable of making a movement or uttering a word after 10 or 20 minutes, whereas, according to Neff, the two officers were still talking to one another during the third hour and bade each other farewell. (p. 133)

Neff had no opportunity to face the man he charged with these crimes. Rascher was arrested by the German police and himself imprisoned at Dachau. Berben and Neff both claim that Rascher was executed by the Germans at Dachau. Both point out that he was shot to death, and not gassed.

Accepting the medical experiments as fact does not impeach the case made by Revisionists. These experiments were quite limited in scope and included a very small fraction of the prisoners. Most of the prisoners chosen had been sentenced to death.

Berben lets on that German authorities were concerned with abuses by camp personnel. Commandant Alex Piorkowski, according to Berben, "rarely entered the prisoners' camp. He was not active, and left most things in the hands of his subordinates. They were given a free reign and could treat prisoners at they wished." (p. 48) But Piorkowski was removed from his position on September 1, 1942, and later expelled from the Nazi party. He was replaced by Martin Weiss, former commandant of the Neuengamme concentration camp. Berben notes that:

Some people emphasize that he [Weiss] introduced a number of humane changes in camp administration and that he took a personal interest in seeing that his orders were carried out. He forbade Kapos [prisoners in charge of the camp] and Seniors to strike other prisoners arbitrarily; he personally inspected reports of punishments; he decided the level of these sanctions and was present when they were administered so as to prevent abuses. According to "privileged" prisoners [clergy, high-ranking individuals, etc.] he often showed consideration and obtained a good deal of relief for them (p. 49).

Weiss left the camp to take control of the Lublin camp on November 1, 1943 and was replaced by Wilhelm Weiter. Things seemed to remain in the status quo under Weiter. Berben says, "Few changes were made in the camp due to any personal action of his." (p. 50)

Conditions under Weiss must have been fairly decent. According to Berben, "In spite of the great number of witnesses who spoke for him during the postwar Dachau trial, Weiss was condemned to death and executed." It would have been highly unlikely, particularly in the highly charged postwar atmosphere, for a "great number of witnesses" too have defended Weiss if he had been a monster. It is also interesting to note that, after moving to Lublin, Weiss was promoted to the position of Inspector of Camps.

Under Weiter’s command, conditions in the camp remained fairly decent. Many of the camps did suffer under unscrupulous officers: the National Socialist government convened a special commission to investigate camp conditions and the honesty of the officers who ran the camps. The commissions' findings led to some 200 convictions. Investigations of camp conditions were held at Dachau between May and July of 1944. Berben notes that Konrad Morgen, the judge who investigated the camp, “thoroughly examined all the internal arrangements. The hospital was in perfect order. He had visited all the buildings. There was no significant overcrowding, and what was specially noteworthy was the astonishingly high number of medical instruments for the treatment of the prisoners.” (p.44)

If the prisoners, in general, were not being purposefully murdered by the Nazis and generally enjoyed tolerable food, medical care, and housing, then how did they die? The answer to that question is relatively easy to find and Berben is quite helpful. His official history of Dachau supports the Revisionist case that has been made since Rassinier, and decisively refutes ongoing attempts to make the scenes the Americans discovered at the camp the result of deliberate German policy.

As the German government, economy, and infrastructure collapsed during the last months of the war, badly needed supplies became unavailable. Berben regularly notes how food supplies and parcels almost disappeared toward the end of the war. For instance, he tells us that food shipments to the clergy “lasted till the end of 1944 when the disruption of communications stopped the dispatch of parcels.” (p. 151) Medical service was “complete and modern, and in normal conditions specialists could have treated all the diseases efficiently” but “at the end of 1944, the service was overwhelmed.” Bunk space was sufficient until the last few months of the war, when the huts became increasingly overcrowded. The key factor in the death rate for prisoners was the German breakdown.

As the Allies closed in on the center of Germany, large numbers of prisoners were evacuated from camps near the front and moved to the interior. Dachau, centrally located as the Reich contracted, became a key camp in these transfers. Thus, while food and medical supplies became more difficult to obtain, the demand at Dachau increased as prisoners were transferred there from the other camps.

From the start of the evacuation tens of thousands of prisoners arrived at Dachau in a state of terrible exhaustion, and a vast number died before the liberation and in the weeks that followed. These massive arrivals caused unparalleled difficulties and a large number of deans among the camp population, particularly as a typhus epidemic spread. (p. 101) ... When the evacuation began of camps situated in areas threatened by the victorious advance of the Allies, the horror surpassed anything that had been seen till then. (p. 100)

The overcrowding could be quite dramatic. In the blocks selected in Berben’s book as a point of illustration, the population rose by 49% in 5 months (see chart 2), this during the height of a typhus epidemic in which the number of deaths averaged 2,614 per month.

Berben describes how the disease spread throughout the camp.

Table 2: Increase in Numbers of Prisoners in Certain Blocks Between 28th November 1944 and 26 April 1945

Block	28.11.44	26.04.45
2	654	939
4	733	842
6	901	1,403
8	854	1,356
10	889	1,117
12	855	1,140
14	682	990
16	869	1,137
18	861	1,138
20	889	1,152
22	783	1,446
24	968	1,306
26	524	1,090
28	707	1,547

Finally exanthematous typhus came to this block [Block 30, where invalids and some of the older prisoners were kept] as well; it had thus jumped across the Lagerstrasse

and traveled through the unevenly numbered blocks to the west wing. In short, writes Msgr. Neuhäusler, what happened from the end of December 1944 and in January and February 1945 in the Dachau concentration camp constitutes one of the most frightful tragedies in the history of all concentration camps.” (p. 108)

But typhus wasn't the only disease camp officials had to cope with.

Digestive ailments were very widespread, especially diarrhea and persistent enteritis, which could only have been cured by an appropriate diet. Most of the prisoners suffered from oedema, which led to frequent abrasions around the feet; when infected, these caused painful phlegmons. There were all kinds of pulmonary infections, including pneumonia, and infectious diseases, of which erysipelis, very contagious, was the commonest. There were also cases of diphtheria and scarlet fever. All these illnesses accentuated the patient's general debility where there was no adequate treatment or diet, and fatal complications often set in. (p. 102)

Rampant disease killed thousands, “in spite of all efforts,” writes Berben. (p. 107) If extermination were the plan, however, why make such efforts, especially in the very last months of the war?

Even the Americans' best efforts were unable to stop the disease. As we have already pointed out, 2,226 died in May, 1945, after liberation. Berben concedes:

However eager they might be to return to their families, the thousands of liberated prisoners had to be realistic: many days would go by before repatriation could begin. The typhus epidemic which had for months reaped a daily toll of lives had to be checked, so that it should not spread to the civilian and military population. Inevitably, the camp had to be put into quarantine until further notice. (p. 197).

The Allies were hampered in their efforts for the same reasons the Germans were incapable of ending the disease: “for want of hospitals and medicines.” (p. 198) Even after the quarantine was lifted, May 12, deaths continued due to disease. This official history notes that an additional 200 died in the camp between June 1 and June 16. Berben also notes that in spite of liberation “food continued to give grounds for serious concern. “

The death toll, particularly near the end of the war, was high. According to Berben, the victims totaled 27,839 out of a camp population of 168,433 for the years 1940-45. Thus, during the years of the most devastating war ever known, the death rate at Dachau was 16.6%. This is unquestionably high, but is still probably much lower than what is assumed by the public after decades of propaganda. The Dachau death rate is rather low, compared to other wartime catastrophes. The death rate in central Hamburg, in one night of Allied bombing, more than doubled the wartime death rate for Dachau. Paul Johnson, in his massive history *Modern Times*, notes that “... in one night alone fatal casualties in the four fire-storm districts were 40,000 or up to 37.65% of the total population.” (p. 403) The infamous fire bombings of the civilian targets of Dresden resulted in an even greater percentage of casualties. David Irving, in *The Destruction of Dresden*, writes:

If a death-rate of this scale [367.5 per thousand] could have been possible in a city like Hamburg, where the most elaborate air-raid precautions had been taken, it seems not unreasonable to assume at least the same proportion and very probably a higher proportion of fatalities during the triple blow on Dresden ... (p. 229)

The death rates in these two civilian centers were quite high, as were the rates in various armed forces in Europe. For instance, the German military lost 34.3% of its personnel. Death rates were equally high, or higher, for the armies of such nations as: Poland, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Finland, Hungary, and Rumania. Since most of the prisoners in Dachau were non-Jews, we can assume that many of them, if they hadn't been incarcerated in the camp, would have been drafted into the German military. It is certainly one of the strange facts of the war that those prisoners who joined the German army to escape the camp (certain criminal and political prisoners were eventually allowed to do so) actually doubled their odds of dying.

Nor should one forget that about 16,500,000 Germans and ethnic Germans were expelled from eastern Germany and Eastern Europe by the Allies, many of them forced to flee on foot to Germany. Of some 17,000,000 eastern Germans, a total of 3,211,000 died during wartime flight and postwar expulsion, representing a figure of 18.89 percent. (*Nemesis at Potsdam*, Alfred de Zayas, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979, p. xxv)

While, as we have seen, Berben claims that the Dachau "gas chamber" was never used, he includes in his book the confession of Dr. Muthig, Chief Camp Doctor at Dachau. Like so many others after they were "interrogated," Dr. Muthig confessed that "prisoners unfit to work [were] subjected to euthanasia and transferred to Mauthausen concentration camp to be gassed." (p.275) There are two problems with this "confession." First, as Berben so amply illustrates, prisoners unfit to work were medically treated, given extra rations, offered "open-air cures," etc. Secondly, today's academic Exterminationists concede that Mauthausen was not an extermination camp. Berben does not report on Dr. Muthig's fate.

Berben also commits some eccentric errors when it comes to listing "death camps." On page 292 of the book, he prints a map based on one made by the Service of Research and Documentation of the Ministry of Public Health and the Family from Brussels. This map lists six "extermination camps," but only coincides with current Holocaust doctrine on two of them: Treblinka and Auschwitz. Berben's map lists four camps not currently claimed to be "extermination camps": Soldau, Pustkown [sic], Platzow [sic], and Theresienstadt. Majdanek is classified simply as a concentration camp, disregarding Exterminationist claims that it also functioned as an "extermination camp." Sobibor is listed as an "independent camp," a term left undefined. Amazingly enough the "extermination camps" Belzec and Chelmno don't even appear on his map. One may certainly marvel at such discrepancies in a book published under the auspices of the official committee of Dachau survivors.

Regarding mortality at Dachau, Berben informs us that before 1943 any prisoner who died in the hospital or as a result of a "medical experiment" had an autopsy performed. After 1943, "post-mortems were carried out on all prisoners who died at the sick block or elsewhere in the camp." When the typhus epidemic raged through the camp "they had to be satisfied with a few bodies picked at random." (p. 109) Yet Berben tells us that "More than ten thousand autopsies were carried out under Dr. Blaha's direction." (p. 109). Where are these autopsy reports today? And, if the Nazis were following a program of planned extermination, why would they bother to perform an autopsy? These questions are not even addressed in this official history.

All in all Berben's *Dachau, 1933-1945: The Official History* is fascinating. The book tells us that the prisoners had a brothel, a canteen, Sundays off, church services, plays, lectures, a library, newspapers, concerts, and movies. It tells us that they were given regular meals, some even receiving a second breakfast, that food came in from the Red Cross, that food parcels were sent in by relatives and that prisoners could purchase food at the canteen. It tells us they had a modern hospital with doctors and nurses who made every effort to help the prisoners, until they were fi-

nally overwhelmed by disease near the end of the war. It tells us that disease was the primary cause of death at Dachau, and that even the American liberators lost thousands of prisoners to disease. While speaking of “the tens of thousand of deportees who were exterminated in the death camp,” *Dachau: The Official History* establishes that no such extermination took place. In the face of continuing propaganda efforts to represent Dachau and other German concentration camps to the public at large as centers of annihilation, Berben’s official history if anything gives authoritative support to the revisionist position.

Source: vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 505-514.

Review article

Göring: A Biography

- *Göring: A Biography* by David Irving. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1989, 573 pages, hardbound, \$22.95, ISBN 0488-06606-2.

Reviewed by Henry M. Adams

David Irving is a British, non-academic historian, who has published many books in English and German on German historical developments in the 20th century. All his books have been based on exhaustive research. He is also a lecturer and conference speaker in English and German, well-known and well-liked for presenting the historical facts as well as destroying historical myths and legends in hard-hitting style. His oral and written presentations are dramatic. Like a dramatist, he submerges himself in his characters so that it is they who speak. Only the evidence of his sources, exhaustively footnoted, the threads of history, descriptions here, analyses there, woven into the narrative, reveal the author.

So it is in this biography of Hermann Göring, Irving's latest book in English. The book opens with a thrilling prologue, "Arrest the Reichsmarschall," and closes with his death. Throughout, those trends in German history which shaped Göring's life are impressionistically developed from Wilhelmine Germany through the subsequent periods of German history, ending with the Nuremberg Trial. The author makes clear his thorough acquaintance with all the previous biographies of Göring, from 1934 to 1986.

After the prologue, based on documents looted by an American captain from Martin Bormann's desk in a Berlin bunker, reveals the attempt of Bormann and Hitler to arrest and execute the Reichsmarschall, and Göring's fortunate capture by the Americans (based on records of the American 36th Infantry Division), the story of Göring's life begins.

Hermann Göring was born in the Marienbad Sanatorium at Rosenheim, Bavaria, on January 12, 1893. His father was a German colonial official; his mother, a simple peasant girl. His godfather, Dr. Epstein, was a Jew, whose Castle Veldenstein was the romantic setting for Hermann's boyhood. Educated at home, at boy's schools, and at officer-cadet school, Göring entered the military academy at Gross Lichterfelde, outside Berlin, in 1910. After passing his leaving exam he traveled to Italy.

Dreamy, physically brave and romantic, young Hermann Göring became an officer in the infantry, joining his regiment as a lieutenant on January 20, 1914. The contents of Göring's personal records since 1905, air reconnaissance reports, extracts from war diaries and personal-mission reports, are delineated by Irving.

When the war ended Göring was uncertain about his future. He decided to seek his fortune in Scandinavia. His dazzling good looks and courtly manner won him easy acceptance in Swedish society. There he met Carin, Countess von Fock, who was married to a Swedish officer. Göring fell deeply in love with her, she with him. The letters they exchanged, which were looted from his train at Berchtesgaden in 1945 and resurfaced in 1988, testify to the depth of their love.

In 1922, penniless, the Görings began a romantic existence outside Munich. Late that year Hermann heard Hitler speak against the Versailles Treaty and joined the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP). In February 1923, one month after the French and Belgians occupied the Ruhr, Carin and Hermann married. Later that year the famous National Socialist *Putsch* took place in Munich. Double crossed by the Munich authorities, Ludendorff, Hitler, Göring and thousands of marchers were met by a hail of bullets at the Feldherrnhalle. Göring, badly wounded, was able with Carin's help to escape to Innsbruck. Delirious with pain, Göring began taking morphine. Over the next three years, he would become an addict, then battle free of his craving.

After recovering from his wound, Göring went south to Italy: Hitler had ordered him to make contact with Mussolini. Hampered by his morphine habit and by the Duce's unwillingness to meet him, Göring decided to return with Carin to Sweden in the spring of 1925. There Göring alternately battled and succumbed to morphine, entering an asylum for the criminally insane twice. In January 1927 Göring returned to Germany for business and political reasons (he rejoined the NSDAP), while Carin, whose health was failing, stayed behind at a sanatorium in Stockholm. From Sweden Carin threw her fragile weight into the battle for her husband's survival, writing letters that are the most moving documents in their story. "Abstain as long as you can, Hermann," she wrote. But once again Göring returned to a Swedish clinic. During a three-week stay in September, 1927, he was able to vanquish his addiction. After spending Christmas at Carin's sick bed, Göring departed for Germany in January 1928.

On May 20th Göring was one of the 12 National Socialists elected to the Reichstag. His poverty was at an end, for he received 500 Reichmarks per month as a member of the Reichstag and 800 as Party orator. Carin, although still in fragile health, was able to join him.

Göring now came into contact with Erhard Milch, director of Lufthansa, and became his "consultant" at 1000 Reichmarks per month. (Irving indicates that these payments were out-and-out bribes.) The Göring-Milch relationship runs through the entire narrative. Irving's account of it is based on Milch's diaries, papers, and his interviews with the author. Soon afterwards lucrative consulting fees began to accrue to Göring from such pillars of German industry as BMW, Heinkel, Messerschmitt, and Thyssen.

As the National Socialist movement snowballed, Göring crisscrossed Germany, delivering many speeches during the election campaign of September 14, 1930. They paid off when a landslide gave his party 107 seats in the Reichstag. Göring became deputy speaker (*Vizepräsident*) of the Reichstag when it opened on October 13. The only blight on Hermann's career was the failing health of his beloved Carin, who would love him to the end. On October 3, 1932 Carin died in Stockholm.

In 1933 began Göring's, Germany's and Europe's years of destiny; they were to bring undreamed of power and wealth to Göring.

Irving supplies a brief description of the Reichstag fire and Göring's embarrassment at the subsequent trial of Dmitrov, Van der Lubbe, *et al.*, then chronicles Göring's rapid expansion of his authority. As commissar for aviation Göring, ably assisted by Milch, his deputy, built up the Luft-

Waffe, banned by the Treaty of Versailles, into a powerful air force. As Minister of the Interior of Prussia, Göring founded the Gestapo and set up concentration camps.

On April 10, 1933 Göring created the Forschungsamt, the Reich intelligence agency charged with signals intelligence, wire tapping, and cryptanalysts. Its operatives, chiefly code breakers and analysts, numbered 3500 or more, operating through Germany and later occupied Europe until the end of the war. Irving draws on his book *Breach of Security*, coauthored with Professor Donald Cameron Watt, to describe this little-known but very effective intelligence agency.

1933 also marked the building of Göring's baronial hunting lodge, named Carinhall, on his estate, northeast of Berlin, of lakes and forests extending almost to the Baltic sea. There Göring developed a wild life sanctuary for elk and buffalo. Carinhall became Göring's private home, containing crystal chandeliers, Flemish tapestries, priceless Old Masters and opulent gifts from around the world, all meticulously catalogued. Irving suggests that Göring's problem with morphine, now reappearing, may explain the speed with which he abandoned personal honesty and began to accept political gifts and bribes. Göring's waking thoughts, Irving tells us, were overshadowed by the morbid memory of Carin. On a visit to her grave in Sweden he discovered that it had been desecrated by Swedish Communists; he then had her remains shipped to Carinhall in a massive pewter sarcophagus, in which he too planned eventually to be laid to rest.

On June 30, 1934, in response to the problem of the Second Revolution, Göring, Hitler, and the SS replied with the "Night of the Long Knives," the massacre of alleged enemies of the regime — Ernst Röhm, General Schleicher, Gregor Strasser and others—some of whose intrigues were revealed by the wiretaps of Göring's Forschungsamt. 84 people are known to have been liquidated, including Gustav von Kahr, who had double-crossed Hitler and Göring at the Feldherrnhalle in 1923. After President Hindenburg died in August 1934, Hitler proclaimed himself Führer in December and made Göring his deputy and successor. On April 10, 1935 Göring married Emmy Sonnemann, with whom he had been acquainted since 1932.

By the mid-thirties, the authority of Hermann Göring was universally respected within the Reich. In 1936 he became economic overlord and began developing the Four Year Plan. The new economic plan's secret memorandum by Hitler (with Göring's help) called for a German army and a war-ready economy in four years. Göring's economic power, and his abuse of it, was illustrated at this time by his favoring the famous tobacco firm of Reemtsma for government purchases of billions of cigarettes, in exchange for which the firm contributed 15 million Reichmarks to the cultural and forest activities of Göring's estate.

At the end of July 1936 a letter from a Spanish officer, Francisco Franco, spurred Hitler and Göring to send Junkers-52 transport planes and their volunteer crews, disguised as tourists, to Spanish North Africa to ferry insurgent troops to Spain. In studying the Luftwaffe's role in the Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War, Irving makes a special investigation of the bombing of Guernica and Picasso's famous painting, unearthing startling new evidence.

Göring's permanent preoccupation, by this time, was his new enlarged Carinhall, with its own private animal kingdom for bison, elk and other fauna. Irving describes Göring's enlightened game laws, and quotes from Göring's hunting diaries of 1936-37. As international tension rises in Europe, Irving skillfully interweaves his subject's personal concerns with his political and military roles. Thus the International Hunting Exhibition, triumphantly presided over by Göring in November 1937 in Berlin, is described around the secret "Hossbach Conference," which Irving, unlike some other Revisionists (see *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, No. 3, Fall 1983), believes to be accurately summarized by the "Hossbach Protocol." Irving describes hunting visits

to Carinhall by such sportsmen as the new British ambassador to Berlin, Nevile Henderson, and by Britain's foreign minister, Lord Halifax.

Irving provides an incisive account of the Bromberg-Fritsch affair, with citations from Milch's private diaries, secret letters, and a manuscript. He details Göring's role in the Austrian Anschluss, from Göring's disapproval of Hitler's meeting with Schuschnigg at Obersalzberg to his surprise at learning, through one of the Forschungsamts telephone taps, of the Seyss-Inquart cabinets immediate approval of the union between Germany and Austria.

As the Sudeten crisis unfolded in 1938, Göring's wife Emmy gave birth to a girl, Edda. While somewhat mellowed by this event, Göring did not neglect his responsibilities in building up the war economy and the Luftwaffe. Irving recounts Göring's tough confrontation with Nevile Henderson at Carinhall, and the four-power conference at Munich which settled the Sudeten crisis peacefully.

On November 4, 1938 daughter Edda was christened by Reich Bishop Muller, with Hitler acting as godfather. A few days later, as Göring took the sleeper back to Berlin, he noted fires while passing through Halle. Göring learned the reason in Berlin, where he drove across broken glass from Jewish shops. It was the first he knew of the nationwide pogrom, which Irving attributes to Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Irving contrasts Göring with doctrinaire National Socialists, who fought the Jews at every level of their existence, whereas Göring fought only certain Jews for economic reasons. As Irving reminds us, nobody particularly wanted the European Jews. Up to October 1939, Irving points out, 300,000 left Germany, 130,000 left Austria, and 30,000 left Bohemia Moravia. 70,000 of them went to Palestine. Two thirds of the Jews under German control before the war were thus allowed to emigrate.

By January 1939, according to Göring's diaries, he was politically at odds with Hitler. He was opposed to Germany's occupation of Czechoslovakia in March 1938. The Forschungsamt taps reveal the growing animosity between Göring and Ribbentrop.

Göring doubled his efforts that summer to head off the coming war with England, which he opposed. Irving gives a solid account of his unsuccessful attempt to sway Chamberlain's men in London. In August 1939 a Swedish manufacturer, Birger Dahlerus, began to act as a secret unofficial link between Göring and Neville Chamberlain. According to Dahlerus, the British Foreign Office rejected a reasonable settlement in 1939. Meanwhile, Ribbentrop went to Moscow and reached an agreement with Stalin, while London abided by its guarantee to Poland: on 2 September Chamberlain declared war on Germany. Irving provides a detailed analysis and description of the persons and events involved.

During the war, Göring's popularity with the German public remained intact. Thanks to the Luftwaffe's achievements in the first years, his relations with Hitler were at first satisfactory. Göring detested the senseless destruction of war, and he continued diplomatic overtures to Britain, which remained unsuccessful. Irving describes the British and German invasions of Norway, (from the planning for which Göring was first excluded), then describes Göring's plans for air attacks against the Dutch, Belgian, and French fortifications.

As the German victory in the West unfolded, Göring established his luxurious special train, code-named *Asia*, and air force headquarters at Kurfurst outside Berlin. The initial success of Göring's air force was outstanding, although it failed to destroy the British Expeditionary Force at Dunkirk. On May 30, 1940 Göring left France for Potsdam, unaware of the escape of the British and French. After the defeat of France, Göring believed the war had been won. He now began

one of his major wartime pursuits, collecting art from the defeated nations. Irving describes and analyzes the collection Göring accumulated at Carinhall.

Göring was promoted to Reichmarschall by Hitler on July 19, 1940, a day on which Hitler made a peace offer to Britain; Irving mixes a description of Göring hunting in Rominten, East Prussia, with ordering the air raid on Coventry, and collecting art in Paris. He points out that Göring still longed for peace with England and was bitterly opposed to Barbarossa (for economic, not moral, reasons). According to Irving, Göring leaked the actual date of the Barbarossa plan to the British. To Irving, this was an extraordinary act, bordering on treason. In May 1941, Göring's prestige remained high. Irving describes his reaction to the flight of Hess to England and his replacement by Bormann, as well as the successful assault Göring's paratroopers carried out that month on Crete.

On June 22, 1941, Germany attacked Russia. Irving provides much data on the technical superiority of the German air force, citing Milch's diary's entries of hundreds of Russian planes destroyed each day during the first week of the war. Göring spent much of the summer of 1941 aboard *Asia* in East Prussia, mostly in poor health, Irving reveals. Nevertheless Göring found time to visit Paris to buy more paintings and to vacation in Bavaria. Göring's lax leadership of the Luftwaffe resulted in low production of aircraft. His director of air armament, Ernst Udet, committed suicide in November of that year. Leningrad and Moscow held out against the German assault, and December brought Pearl Harbor and Hitler's declaration of war against the U.S. Göring's diary shows him drained by the immense human drama on the Eastern front, causing him to flee south and west to Carinhall.

As the RAF began incendiary bombings of German cities, Göring revisited Veldenstein castle and made more than one trip to Paris. Showing favoritism, as he did often, Göring exempted Horcher's, a leading Berlin restaurant, staff from military service, receiving in return 70,000 bottles of port wine for the Luftwaffe. The British air attacks increased with the first thousand-plane raid, over Cologne, in May 1942. By the end of the year, Stalingrad was surrounded, the British were on the offensive at Alamein, and the Anglo-Americans had landed in North Africa.

In January 1943 RAF bombers, as well as American daylight bombers, began to attack Berlin. Göring's drug problem had returned, which, together with his poor health, made him a poor commander-in-chief of the German air force. Göring's popularity with the people was still undiminished, although his stock was fading with Hitler and the rest of the leadership.

Irving describes the worsening of Germany's military situation in 1943, as the Russians repelled the German Citadel tank offensive at Kursk in July. On July 9 the Allies landed in Sicily, bringing about the fall of Mussolini and the Italian government's surrender. Irving describes how, ironically, Göring's greed for art treasures led him to preserve 16 crates of masterpieces from the Allied aerial devastation of Monte Cassino in February 1944.

Throughout 1944 the British and Americans continued to pound Germany's cities and factories, badly hampering aircraft production. Göring's anti-invasion operations in Normandy were thwarted, in good part by British code breakers. His prestige was now in steep decline. Irving describes the attempt to assassinate Hitler on 20 July, from which Luftwaffe officers remained almost completely aloof. After an initial success in the Ardennes offensive, the Luftwaffe was driven from the skies. Göring's impotence was demonstrated when the RAF and American bombers destroyed Dresden in February. (Irving follows his classic account, *The Destruction of Dresden*.) When the Soviet armies approached, Göring sent Carinhall's treasures to southern Germany.

As Germany collapsed, Göring, at the Obersalzberg, attempted, prematurely, to succeed Hitler. Göring was arrested by troops from Himmler's SS. On May 7 Göring, now 52 years of age, surrendered to the Commander of the American 36th Infantry Division. Three days later he was taken to 7th Army Headquarters, where he met General Spaatz, commander of the American strategic air forces, who interviewed him over a bottle of whisky.

Parting from Emmy and Edda, whom he would not see again for 18 months, Göring was taken across Germany to Mondorf, in Luxembourg, and confined there for three months, along with fifty other prominent National Socialists. Irving describes his all-important luggage and toilet case, which contained at least three brass capsules, each fashioned from a nine millimeter cartridge case, one and one half inches long, and containing a glass vial of hydrocyanic acid. One cartridge, in a tin of American coffee, was discovered and confiscated by the Americans. Irving recounts Göring's medical examination, which revealed his drug addiction, and the constant interrogations, especially by American military historian Dr. George N. Shuster. On August 12, 1945 Göring was transported to Nuremberg. A German doctor, Ludwig Pflucker, provided injections of Vitamin B and Seconal tablets to Göring, so he could sleep.

On November 20, 1945 the "Trial of the Major War Criminals" began. The chief American prosecuting attorney, Justice Robert H. Jackson — later Göring's prominent adversary — opened the prosecution case by accusing the Germans of killing 5.7 million Jews. As the prosecution case wore on, Göring was able to strike up a friendship with Lt. Jack G. Wheelis, a hard-drinking six-foot-two Texan. Göring sought this friendship for two reasons: Wheelis was an impressive huntsman, and he held a key to the baggage room. The American officer carried Göring's letters to Emmy and Edda, and retrieved other valuables from the locked baggage room. In exchange for this, Wheelis received choice gifts from the Reichsmarschall.

The prosecution presented its case over five months. Then, on March 13, 1946, Göring, in physical prime and slimmer than ever before, took the stand. His immense ability and knowledge, his mastery and understanding of the captured documents, were impressive. Five days later Jackson began his cross examination. It was an historic duel. Noble in manner, handsome in feature once again, Göring's bearing in the witness box impressed friend and foe alike. Jackson was out of his depth, with little knowledge of history and none of German, while Göring had a good grasp of English. Göring's conviction was nevertheless a foregone conclusion.

On August 31, 1946, in his closing trial statements, Göring accepted blanket responsibility for the charges against Hitler and the Third Reich. He was sentenced to death on October 1, but one poison capsule was still in his baggage, hidden in a pot of skin cream, according to one of Göring's letters. The capsule was in all probability smuggled into his cell by Lt. Wheelis and Dr. Pflucker. This reviewer, who always thought that the vial of poison was concealed in the bowl of Göring's meerschaum pipe, found Irving's revelations on Göring's final hours surprising.

Irving's massive biography of Hermann Göring contains superb photographs, a select bibliography, comprehensive acknowledgements, and exhaustive notes. The author's notes and microfilms have been deposited at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich for others to use. Such is the generosity of this British historian.

To this reviewer Göring's life and career up to 1932, though sad, were admirable in many respects. The love story of Carin and Hermann, sensitively delineated by Irving from their letters, is a classic, like those of Romeo and Juliet or Abelard and Héloise. From 1932 onward, Göring's life and career turns megalomaniac and bizarre, in many respects not admirable. Some positive achievements are overshadowed by his greed for material things; his self-indulgence, manifested

in his obesity, his fantastic costumes, and his theatrical make-up; and his serious neglect of his military and political responsibilities. Only with Göring's arrest and trial at Nuremberg does his earlier character resurface. One can admire Göring's resolution and courage in his last days.

Irving is already at work of the second volume of *Churchill's War*; his wartime biography of Winston Churchill, as he indicated in his address at the February 1989 conference of the Institute of Historical Review (published in the Fall 1989 issue of this journal). Volume one of the Churchill biography is now available from the Institute, as is the volume under review.

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From the editor

Theodore J. O’Keefe

This issue of *The Journal*, the first of Volume 10, signals the start of a stepped-up offensive against the foes of historical truth. While two of our European contributors, IHR editorial adviser Carlo Mattogno and Spanish Revisionist Enrique Aynat, continue the assault on the Auschwitz front, William Grimstad announces the opening of a vital new campaign in his article on the implications of the death of Communism.

Mattogno’s devastating examination of the relationship between the “memoirs” of Dr. Miklos Nyiszli and Filip Müller, and the gross discrepancies between these two works and the documented realities of Auschwitz-Birkenau, is not just another debunking of dubious “eyewitnesses,” although it would be of value were it no more than that. As Aynat’s timely piece demonstrates, Filip Müller, who played a key role in Claude Lanzmann’s pseudo-documentary *Shoah*, is regarded by Exterminationist authorities at Auschwitz as the key surviving witness to the alleged “Judeocide” there. Two more untrustworthy survivors, whose false testimony helped to send Germans to their deaths following the war, fall victim to Mattogno’s implacable analysis (one of them, Ada Bimko, who now calls herself Hadassah Rosensaft, is currently chair of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum’s Archives and Library Committee!).

Journalist William Grimstad makes good his Establishment colleagues’ failure by addressing the stunning implications of the collapse of the Communist system in the USSR and its former satellites. He further suggests avenues of inquiry for Revisionists into the unanswered questions and unsolved mysteries which surround the bloody three-quarter century of Soviet Communism. Unearthing the real history of Bolshevism — its antecedents, its secret supporters, its still veiled crimes, and its possible reverberations in the future — offers a new opportunity, indeed a pressing new duty, for Revisionists: the Establishment has too much interest in keeping its own decades-old skeletons hidden away to risk opening the door to historical truth.

Then Dr. James Martin, the dean of American Revisionist scholarship, confronts Paul Fussell’s controversial, sometimes useful, sometimes maddening *War Time*, the Ivy League academic and World-War-II combat veteran’s attempt to determine what the war was really like for the Americans and Englishmen who fought it. Martin’s sweeping, acidulous, and often hilarious survey of the actual intellectual and psychological underpinnings of the combat and the home fronts is more than a review, it’s a seminar — and it trashes the idea of the Big One as the Good One once and for all.

Reviewer Thomas Jackson takes a hard look at IHR’s latest book offering, Hiroshiman Akira Kōhchi’s gripping *Why I Survived the A-Bomb*, and mostly likes what he sees. Grimstad sizes up a most welcome and unexpected video, in which the BBC lays the blame for the Pearl Harbor debacle squarely on the head of FDR: proper attention to the work of Revisionist giants who came before might have spared this impressive production some missteps, the reviewer believes. Finally, Paul Grubach examines another popular work, Jonathan Kaufman’s mass-market study of

the unraveling of the black- Jewish civil rights alliance, and takes issue with one of the book's central theses.

Besides Aynat's currently very relevant report from Auschwitz (his account of the Auschwitz Museum director's stupefaction at the news that one of his chief proteges has helped destroy the fake "confessions" of Rudolf Höss is priceless), "Historical News and Comment" focuses on things German. Otto Ernst Remer, a confidante of Adolf Hitler after his troops put down the abortive Twentieth of July plot in Berlin, shares numerous insights and opinions on Hitler's policies in war and peace, as well as candid glimpses of the Fuhrer's much misrepresented private life. Remer, a highly decorated combat veteran who ended the war as a brigadier general, has been a prescient exception to much of the German nationalist right by his willingness to cooperate with the Soviet Union to secure a united Germany, and in this interview, given privately during IHR's Eighth International Revisionist conference two years ago, he speaks frankly on the Soviet past and the German future.

Dr. Alfred Schickel, one of West Germany's leading Revisionist scholars, then receives his due in a mock scolding or diatribe from one of his colleagues, his fellow Sudeten German Dr. Heinz Nawratil. The happy occasion of Dr. Nawratil's objurgation was the award to Dr. Schickel of one of the Bundesrepublik's highest civilian honors: favorable breezes are blowing in our favor, and seem to be picking up strength.

Last but not least, IHR editorial adviser and frequent contributor Mark Weber reports on a rare, frank interview with Alois Brunner, billed in today's headlines as "Nazi war criminal number one." Adolf Eichmann's former subordinate, presently in exile in Damascus, sets the record straight on Germany's wartime Jewish policy as well as on certain statements wrongly attributed to him by the press And the revisionist onslaught continues, hard fought but inexorable, on more than one front.

Spring 1990 (Vol. 10, No. 1), page 5

Auschwitz: A Case of Plagiarism

Carlo Mattogno

The myth of “the gas chambers” is based almost exclusively on false and contradictory “eyewitness testimonies” which are accepted as authentic, in dogmatic and uncritical fashion, by the official historiography. [1]

Some “eyewitnesses,” such as Kurt Gerstein, Charles Sigismund Bendel, Ada Bimko, Rudolf Höss, and Miklos Nyiszli, furnished their delirious “testimonies” at the end of the Second World War and in the immediate postwar periods. [2]

The “eyewitness” Filip Müller, on the other hand, “waited thirty years before resolving to write,” [3] and finally, in 1979, published a detailed “testimony”: *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*. [4]

This “eyewitness testimony,” however, since it is largely the result of a shameless plagiarism, as we shall demonstrate in this study, is completely devoid of probative value, just as is that of Filip Müller’s predecessors mentioned above.

Filip Müller was allegedly “a direct witness during almost three years to the annihilation of the Jews of Europe” [5] who “miraculously escaped five liquidations of the Auschwitz Sonderkommando.” [6]

In compiling his tardy “eyewitness testimony,” he drew his inspiration largely from the classics of the literature devoted to the “extermination” of the Jews, including the *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Calendar of Events in the Concentration Camp Auschwitz-Birkenau) and the documents in possession of the Auschwitz Museum, in order to avoid the foolish mistakes committed by a large number of his predecessors.

Concerning the “gas chambers” at Auschwitz, his source is Miklos Nyiszli’s book *Auschwitz: A Doctor’s Eyewitness Account*, published in installments by the magazine *Quick* in Munich in 1961, [7] a wildly false testimony [8] which Filip Müller plagiarized unrestrainedly, as we shall show in this study.

We begin by examining the most important plagiarism, the speech of the *dayan*. [9]

Below we compare, side by side, Nyiszli’s text (on the left) and Müller’s text (on the right). [10]

Brothers! An unfathomable will has sent our people to its death.

Brothers! he cried, according to God’s unfathomable decision we now travel our final road.

Fate has imposed the cruelest duty upon us, to collaborate in the annihilation of our people, before we ourselves become ashes.

Heaven has not opened, no rain strong enough to extinguish the funeral pyres built by the hands of men has fallen.

We must submit to the irrevocable with Jewish resignation.

This is a trial which the Lord has sent us. To seek the reasons is not the business of us humans, who are nothing compared to the Almighty God.

Do not fear death!

What value would life have for us, if by chance we were spared?

Likely we would return to our towns and villages. But what would await us there — empty, looted dwellings.

Our eyes, blinded by tears, would seek in vain for our annihilated relatives.

We would be alone. Without family, without kindred. We would wander the world lost and alone. Nowhere would we find peace and quiet. Shadows of our former self and our past. And so one day we would die alone ...

A cruel and awful fate has forced us to collaborate in the extermination of our people, before we ourselves become ashes.

No miracle has taken place. Heaven has sent no avenging lightning, nor has it let fall any rain strong enough to stifle the funeral pyres built by the hands of men.

With Jewish resignation we must now accept the irrevocable. This is the last trial which Heaven ^[11] has sent us.

To ask the reasons is not for us, since we are nothing compared to Almighty God.

Do not fear death!

For what value would life still have for us, if by chance we could be saved?

We would seek our annihilated relatives in vain.

We would be alone, without family, without relatives, without friends, without a homeland, and would have to wander aimlessly about the world.

Nowhere would we have peace and quiet, until one day we would die somewhere alone and abandoned. Therefore, brothers, let us enter, strong and brave, into the death which God has now ordained.

We now proceed to the examination of other instances of plagiarism, and specify that the citations are drawn from the following works:

Filip Müller, *Sonderbehandlung. Drei Jahre in den Krematorien und Gaskammern von Auschwitz* (Special Treatment: Three Years in the Crematoria and Gas Chambers of Auschwitz), German edition with Helmut Freitag, Verlag Steinhausen, Munich 1979.

Miklos Nyiszli, Auschwitz. *Tagebuch eines Lagerarztes* (Auschwitz: Diary of a Camp Doctor), in *Quick*, Munich 1961, nos. 3-11.

Crematory Ovens

Müller:

The higher-ups had estimated twenty minutes for the cremation of three corpses and it was Stark's duty to see to it that this duration was not exceeded. ^[12]

Consequently:

p>15 massive ovens, functioning without interruption, were able to incinerate more than 3,000 corpses a day. [13]

Nyiszli:

When the last gold took has been pulled out, the corpses end up with the incineration commando. They are laid in threes on a pushcart made of sheet metal. The heavy iron doors open automatically. In twenty minutes the corpses are consumed. [14]

From these data (3 corpses x 15 muffles x 20 minutes) results a cremation capacity of 3,240 corpses in 24 hours.

According to a letter from the chief of the “Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police Auschwitz” of 28 June 1943, [15] however, the incineration capacity for 24 hours of the crematoria of Birkenau was as follows (the figures on the far right are from Nyiszli and Müller):

II.	new crematorium (Birkenau) 5 ovens-3 muffles each	1,440 corpses	3,240
III.	new crematorium (Birkenau) 5 ovens-3 muffles each	1,440 corpses	3,240
IV.	new crematorium (Birkenau) 8 muffles	768 corpses	1,728
V.	new crematorium (Birkenau) 8 muffles	768 corpses	1,728
	Total	4,416	9,936 [16]

This capacity corresponds to the cremation of one corpse in one muffle in 15 minutes or of three corpses in 45 minutes. This however is technically impossible; this document as well has been forged or doctored. According to the calculations of the firm Topf and Sons, crematoria IV and V consumed 1,120 kilograms of coke in 12 hours of use. [17] It follows that if one had been able to incinerate 384 corpses in 12 hours, the cremation of one corpse would have required less than 3 kg of coal, and that 3 corpses could have been incinerated in a single muffle in 45 minutes, which is absurd. [18]

A crematory capacity of 3,240 corpses in 24 hours in 15 muffles is a *fortiori* even more absurd; therefore Filip Müller must have plagiarized Nyiszli.

Müller:

The increase in the number of ovens by nearly eight times in comparison to those of the Auschwitz crematorium and the employment of forty times as many prisoners in the Sonderkommando enabled the incineration of up to 10,000 corpses in 24 hours, after initial difficulties in the extermination procedure had been surmounted. [19]

Nyiszli:

In all up to 10,000 men could be brought from the gas chambers into the crematory ovens every day. [20]

The original Hungarian text of Nyiszli's book does not in fact correspond to this translation. Here is the actual sense:

The bodies of the dead are consumed in twenty minutes. One crematorium operates with fifteen ovens. Its daily crematory capacity is five thousand persons. Four crematoria function in all, with an equivalent operational capacity. Twenty thousand go to their end in the gas chambers and, from there, into the incineration ovens. [21]

In reality the maximum cremation capacity of 15 muffles, according to Nyiszli's figures, would have been 3,240 corpses in 24 hours, not 5,000. Furthermore, the four crematoria could not possibly have operated at the same rate, since crematoria II and III each had 15 muffles, while crematoria IV and V had only 8 apiece. Nyiszli's German translator, then, has "corrected" Nyiszli's mistaken arithmetic, and gone on to round off the result to 10,000 (9,936 according to the actual number of muffles at Birkenau).

This cremation capacity is technically impossible, and demonstrates that, here as well, Filip Müller has plagiarized from the German text of Nyiszli published in the magazine Quick.

Müller:

[In contrast to the burning pits] intense heat could be maintained, with help of ventilators, in the crematory ovens. [22]

Nyiszli:

Fifteen such ventilators operated simultaneously; there is one beside each oven. [23]

Topf's ovens were not furnished with ventilators, but with a compressor connected to the cremation room by special tubing (Rohrleitung or Luftrohrleitung), [24] and thus, here again, Filip Müller has plagiarized Nyiszli.

'Gassings'

When the Zyklon-B crystals which had been thrown in came into contact with air, the deadly gas formed, first expanding at floor level and then rising ever higher. Because of that the biggest and strongest lay on top of the heaps of corpses, while chiefly children, the old and the weak were on the bottom. In between were mostly men and women of middle age. Doubtless those on top had in their terror of death climbed up on the ones who already lay on the floor, because they still had the strength to and perhaps had also realized that the deadly gas was expanding upwards from below. [25]

Nyiszli:

A horrible picture: the corpses aren't scattered in the room, but piled high on top of one another. That's easily explained: the Cyclon, which is thrown in from outside, releases its deadly gases at floor level first. It reaches the upper layers of air only grad-

ually. That's why the victims trample one another, one climbing on the other. The higher they are, the later the gas reaches them. [26]

The scene described can not be authentic because it presupposes that the gas in question [27] is heavier than air and thus saturates the "gas chambers" from bottom to top, as a fluid fills a receptacle. Nyiszli has evidently based it on the mistaken notion that Zyklon B consisted of "chlorine." [28] In fact "hydrocyanic acid fumes are lighter than air [specific gravity in relation to air: 0.97] and consequently rise in the atmosphere." [29] This means that hydrocyanic acid emanates from Zyklon B by rising slowly (in the absence of air currents) without first saturating the lower layers of air at ground level. It is therefore impossible that, in order to escape the gas as long as possible, the victims climbed on one another toward precisely those layers of air in the "gas chamber" in which the concentration of hydrocyanic acid was greatest (the presence of which in any case could easily be detected because it was, according to Müller, "neither odorless or tasteless. It smelled like methylated spirits and was sweet to the taste.") [30]

The plagiarism is further confirmed by the description of the tubes through which Zyklon B was introduced into the "gas chamber," a description which Müller likewise has drawn from Nyiszli.

Müller

The Zyklon B gas crystals were thrown through holes in the concrete ceiling which opened into hollow sheet-metal pillars. These were perforated at regular intervals; inside them a spiral ran from the ceiling to the floor to allow for as equal as possible a distribution of the granulated crystals. [31]

Nyiszli

In the middle of the room were pillars at thirty-meter intervals. They rose from the floor to the ceiling. Not supporting pillars, but sheet-iron pipes, the sides of which contained many perforations. [32]

The presence of such pipes for introducing Zyklon B into the interior of a homicidal gas chamber is technically absurd, since the pipes would have considerably slowed the diffusion of the gas in the room [33] — and consequently the death of the victims — as well as the evacuation of the gas from the room, [34] and therefore the evacuation of the corpses.

Moreover, most of the holes at the base of the tubes would have been obstructed by the bodies of the victims pressed against them, slowing, again, the diffusion of the gas, by channeling it upwards into the air beneath the ceiling, from whence it would descend gradually towards the floor. Thus these tubes render the scene invented by Nyiszli and plagiarized by Müller even more absurd.

Finally, the cleansing of the corpses with water hoses after each "gassing" would have allowed water to accumulate on the pillars' inner walls, and on the floor surface within their perimeters where the Zyklon B granules would land, once again retarding the emission of the gas. [35]

Filip Müller has therefore taken this scene from Nyiszli.

Müller has plagiarized the entire process of the "extermination" in the "gas chambers:"

- The Zyklon B had been brought to the crematoriums in a vehicle bearing the insignia of the Red Cross (Müller, p. 183; Nyiszli, 4, p. 29);

- The “gas chamber” of Crematorium II was able to hold 3,000 persons (14 per square meter) (Müller, p. 95; Nyiszli, 4, p. 29) [36]
- It was equipped with pillars of perforated sheet metal into which the Zyklon B was introduced from above (Müller, p.96; Nyiszli, 4., p. 29);
- After the “gassing,” the corpses were cleansed with a fire hose: Müller, p. 185, “with water hoses” (*mit Wasserschlauchen*); Nyiszli, 4, p. 29, “with a powerful stream of water” (*mit starkem Wasserstrahl*);
- Then they were dragged to the elevator [37] with a strap attached to the wrists (Müller, p. 185; Nyiszli, 4, p. 29).

Müller reports further that many Gypsies in camp BIIe died of noma. Danuta Czech alludes to this disease, widespread in the Gypsy camp at Birkenau in 1944, in her monograph “The role of the camp hospital at KL Auschwitz II,” [38] referring specifically to Nyiszli’s work, [39] and it is thus evident that here too Müller has had recourse to plagiarism.

At Mauthausen — recounts Müller — “on the third day” (*am dritten Tag*), during a roll-call, the members of the Birkenau Sonderkommando were ordered to fall out (p. 273, a scene already described by Nyiszli, who gives the chronology: “the third day” (*am dritten Tag*, note II, p. 51)!

Although Müller declared in a letter to John Bennett that he had known Nyiszli quite well, [40] he was careful not to mention this in his booker evidently from fear lest his plagiarism be discovered.

In composing his “eyewitness testimony,” Filip Müller used other sources as well.

The tragi-comic episode of his suicide attempt in the “gas chamber” (p. 176-180) [42] was entirely inspired by the May 4, 1945 Gerstein report [43] for its description of the “gassees”:

... During the agony, many still clasped hands (p. 186). [44]

Gerstein:

They still hold hands, clenched in death [45]

Müller:

... groups leaned against the walls, pressed against each other, like pillars of basalt. [46]

Gerstein:

The dead are standing straight like pillars of basalt, ranged tightly one against the other in the chambers. [47]

Müller:

For almost all were wet with sweat and urine, soiled with excrement, and the legs of many women were streaked with menstrual blood. [48]

Gerstein:

The bodies are thrown outside, damp with sweat and urine, dirtied with excrement and with menstrual blood on the legs. [49]

But the coup de grace to this “eyewitness” is supplied by Müller himself. After describing the escape from Birkenau, on April 7, 1944, of Alfred Wetzler and Walter Rosenberg (Rudolf Vrba), he states:

I had handed Alfred a plan of the crematoria with the gas chambers and a list of the names of the SS personnel who worked in the crematoria. [50]

The two fugitives wrote two reports on their purported experience at Auschwitz, which were published in the United States in November 1944. [51]

In fact, a plan of Crematoria I and II (II and III according to the official German numbering) of Birkenau with the alleged “gas chambers” [52] appears on page 15 of the report written by Alfred Wetzler, [53] but this plan is a complete fabrication, as is demonstrated by a simple comparison with the original, [54] whence it is clear that the originator of the drawing never set foot in the place he describes.

If Filip Müller actually drew the plan in question, then he never was in Crematoria II and III and his “eyewitness testimony” is a *fortiori* completely false. [55]

But most surprising of all is that he has published a fairly accurate sketch of Crematorium III, [56] obviously based on the original plan of Crematorium II.

Is it possible that he would have us believe that it was *this* sketch which he handed Wetzler?

Appendix

Der Dajen spricht jetzt:
„Brüder! Ein unerforschlicher Wille hat unser Volk in den Tod geschickt. Das Schicksal hat uns als grausamste Pflicht auferlegt, bei der Vernichtung unseres Volkes mitzuwirken, ehe wir selbst zu Asche werden. Der Himmel hat sich nicht geöffnet, kein Regen ist gefallen, der stark genug gewesen wäre, die von Menschenhänden errichteten Scheiterhaufen zu löschen. Mit jüdischer Ergebung müssen wir uns in das Unabänderliche fügen. Es ist eine Prüfung, die der Herr uns geschickt hat. Nach den Gründen zu suchen, ist nicht Aufgabe von uns Menschen, die wir ein Nichts sind gegen den allmächtigen Gott.
Fürchtet euch nicht vor dem Tod! Welch einen Wert hätte für uns noch das Leben, wenn es uns durch Zufall erhalten bliebe? Wir kämen wohl in unsere Städte und Dörfer zurück. Aber was würde uns dort erwarten — leere, ausgeplünderte Wohnungen. Unsere tränenblinden Augen würden vergeblich nach unseren vernichteten Angehörigen suchen. Wir wären allein. Ohne Familie. Ohne Verwandte. Allein und verloren würden wir in der Welt umherirren. Nirgends fänden wir Ruhe und Frieden. Schatten unseres einstigen Ichs und unserer Vergangenheit. Und so würden wir dann eines Tages einsam sterben...“
Tiefes Schweigen. Hin und wieder ein Seufzer, ein Atemholen.

Figure 1: The speech of the “dayan.” From Miklos Nyiszli, “Auschwitz Tagebuch eines Lagerarztes,” Quick, Munich, 1961, no. 10, p 47

Brü-

der!« rief er, »nach Gottes unerforschlichem Ratschluß treten wir jetzt unseren letzten Gang an. Ein grausames und schreckliches Schicksal hat uns gezwungen, bei der Ausrottung unseres Volkes mitzuwirken, bevor wir jetzt selbst zu Asche werden. Es ist kein Wunder geschehen. Der Himmel hat keine strafenden Blitze gesandt, er hat auch keinen Regen fallen lassen, der stark genug gewesen wäre, die Brände der von Menschenhänden errichteten Scheiterhaufen zu ersticken. Mit jüdischer Ergebenheit müssen wir jetzt das Unabänderliche hinnehmen. Es ist die letzte Prüfung, die uns der Himmel geschickt hat. Nach den Gründen zu fragen, steht uns nicht an, denn wir sind nichts gegen den allmächtigen Gott. Fürchtet euch nicht vor dem Tod! Was für einen Wert hätte denn das Leben noch für uns, wenn wir es durch einen Zufall retten könnten? Vergeblich würden wir nach unseren vernichteten Angehörigen suchen. Wir wären allein, ohne Familie, ohne Angehörige, ohne Freunde, ohne Heimat, und müßten ohne Ziel in der Welt herumirren. Nirgends gäbe es noch Ruhe und Frieden für uns, bis wir dann eines Tages einsam und verlassen irgendwo sterben würden. Deshalb, Brüder, laßt uns stark und tapfer in den Tod gehen, den Gott jetzt beschlossen hat!«

Figure 2: The speech of the “dayan.” From Filip Müller, *Sonderbehandlung. Drei Jahre in den Krematorien und Gaskammern von Auschwitz*, with the collaboration of Helmut Freitag, Verlag Steinhausen, Munich 1979, p. 262-263.

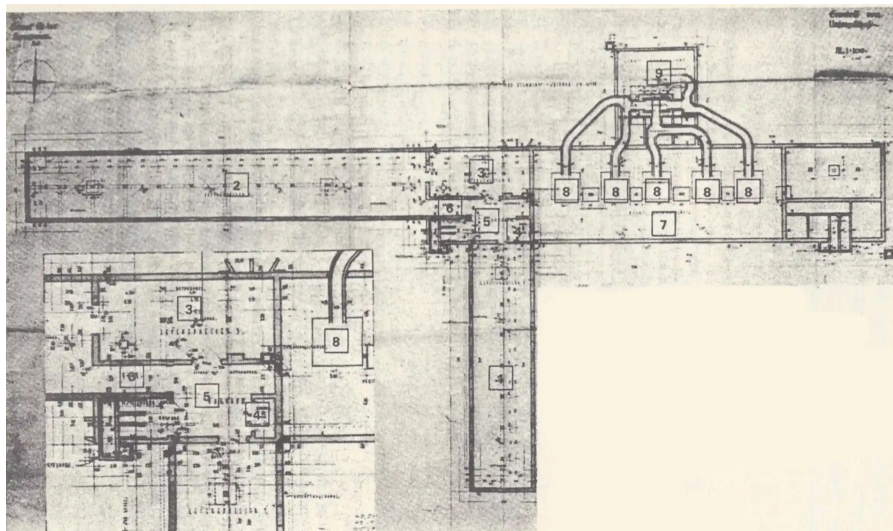


Figure 3

Original Plan of crematorium II

Basement:

1. Mortuary room 1 (Leichenkeller 1)
2. Mortuary room 2 (Leichenkeller 2).
3. Mortuary room 3 (Leichenkeller 3)
4. Elevator
5. Anteroom
6. Hall

Ground Floor:

1. Cremation room
2. Crematory ovens (five 3-muffled ovens)
3. Chimney

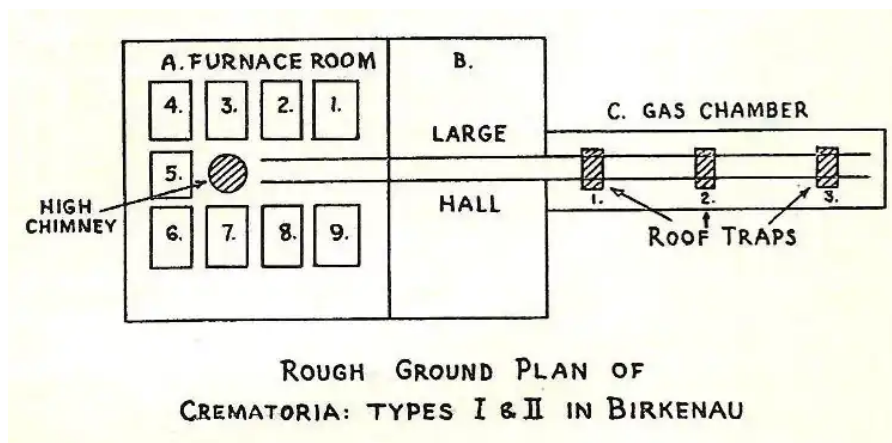


Figure 4

Plan of Birkenau Crematoriums I and II (II and III). From Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, Washington, D.C., *German Extermination Camps — Auschwitz and Birkenau*, November 1944, p. 15 (the description below is based on that of pp. 14, 16 in this report).

Description:

- a. Furnace room: Nine 4-muffled ovens are arranged around a high chimney. **False**
- b. “Large hall” or “reception hall”: “changing room” of the “victims,” located on the ground floor. **False**
- c. “Gas chamber”: Located on the ground floor and equipped with roof traps for introducing Zyklon B. **False**
- d. Rails run from the “gas chamber” into the furnace room. **False**

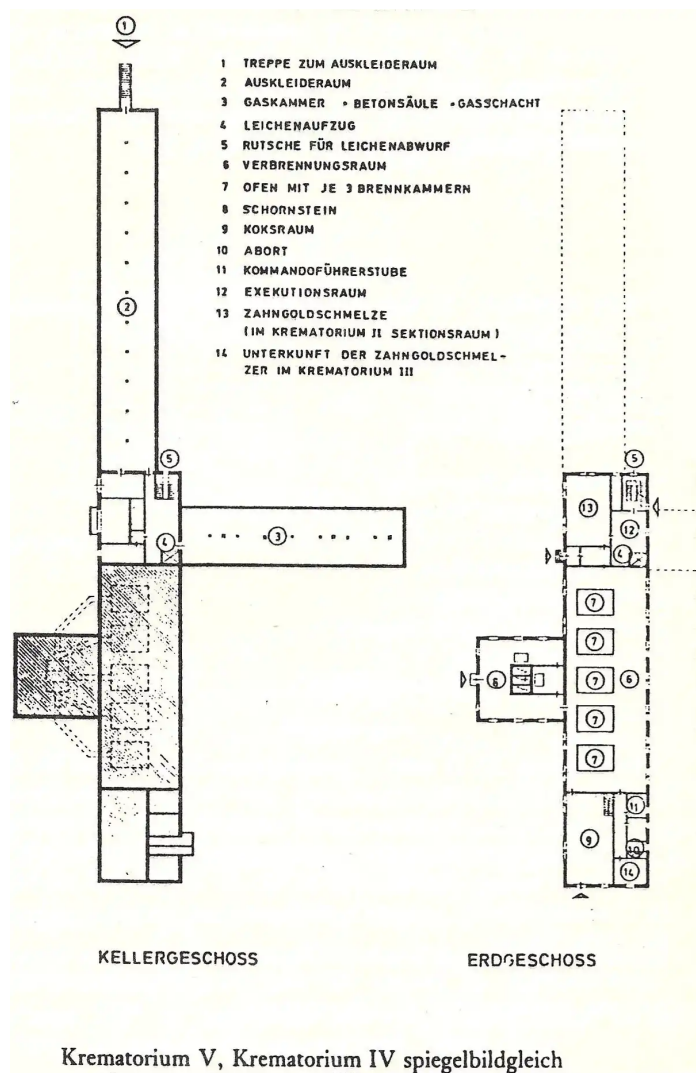


Figure 5

Plan of Crematorium III — and by symmetrical inversion — of Crematorium II of Birkenau. From Filip Müller, *Sonderbehandlung. Drei Jahre in den Krematorien und Gaskammern von Auschwitz*, with the collaboration of Helmut Freitag, Verlag Steinhausen, Munich 1979, p. 287.

N.B.: The reference to the numeration of the crematoria which appears on the plan (V and IV) is erroneous.

Kellergeschoss: Basement

Erdgeschoss: Ground floor

1. Stairs to “changing room”
2. “Changing room” (in reality *Leichenkeller* 2)
3. “Gas chamber” (in reality *Leichenkeller*). Concrete pillars. “Gas inlets.”
4. Elevator for the corpses
5. Chute for remains of corpses
6. Incineration room
7. Ovens, each with three muffles
8. Chimney
9. Coke store
10. Washroom

11. Kommandoführer's office
12. Execution room
13. Room where gold fillings were melted (in Crematorium II, dissection room)
14. In Crematorium III, quarters of those who melted down the gold fillings

The identification of rooms 12 and 13 stems from the “eyewitness testimony” of Miklos Nyiszli.

Notes

1.  For a general approach to the “gas chambers myth see our historical and bibliographic essay “[The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews](#),” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 8, nos.2 and 3 (Summer and Fall 1988), translated from *Annales d'histoire révisionniste*, no. 1, Spring 1987). The English and French are revised, corrected, and augmented versions of the Italian original, *Il mito dello sterminio ebraico. Introduzione storico-bibliografica alla storiografica revisionista*, Sentinella d'Italia, Monfalcone, 1985.
2.  On this see our studies *Il rapporto Gerstein: Anatomia di un falso*, Sentinella Italia, Monfalcone, 1985; *Auschwitz; due false testimonianze*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma, 1986; *Auschwitz: The “Confessions” of Höss*, Edizioni La Sfinge, Parma, 1987; “*Medico ad Auschwitz*”: *Anatomia di un falso. La falsa testimonianza di Miklos Nyiszli*, to appear soon.
3.  Claude Lanzmann, in his preface to the French translation of Filip Müller's book (see note 4 below), *Trois ans dans une chambre à gaz d'Auschwitz*, Pygmalion/Gérard Watelet, Paris 1980, p. 10.
4.  Filip Müller, *Sonderbehandlung. Drei Jahre in den Krematorien und Gaskammern von Auschwitz*, with the collaboration of Helmut Freitag, Verlag Steinhausen, Munich, 1979. [Excerpts from Müller and from Nyiszli in this article have been translated directly from the German texts cited, thus differing from the following published versions of their memoirs in English Filip Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz. Three Years in the Gas Chambers*, Stein & Day, New York, 1979, and Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, Fawcett Crest, New York, 1960.]
5.  Claude Lanzmann in his preface to the French translation of Müller, *Trois ans dans une chambre à gaz d'Auschwitz*, p. 9.
6.  Ibidem.
7.  Miklos Nyiszli, “Auschwitz. Tagebuch eines Lagerarztes,” in *Quick*, Munich, nos. 3-11.
8.  For an in-depth analysis of the false testimony of Miklos Nyiszli, see our study “*Medico ad Auschwitz*”: *Anatomia di un falso*.
9.  The Hebrew term *dajjân* means “judge” (in particular on a rabbinical tribunal) (M.E. Ar-tom, *Vocabolario ebraico-italiano*, Rome, 1968, s.v.

Nyiszli reports that the speech in question was held in the boiler room of Crematorium II (III according to the official German numbering) in front of 460 men of the Sonderkommando (a); Müller places it in the courtyard of Crematorium II (Nyiszli's Crematorium I) in front of around 200 men of the Sonderkommando (b).

Nyiszli relates that on this occasion 460 members of the Sonderkommando were killed by flame throwers and that the only survivors of this massacre were his three assistants and himself (c); thus, for Nyiszli, Filip Müller was killed at this time, since the latter claims to have been present and heard the speech of the “dayan”!

- a. Dr. Nyiszli, Miklos, *Orvos voltam Auschwitzban*, Bucharest, 1964, pp. 167-168. The German translation mentions Crematorium III (IV) and omits the word *kazanterem* (Boiler room) (Quick, no. 10, p. 47).
- b. Müller, *Sonderbehandlung. Drei Jahre in den Krematorien und Gaskammern von Auschwitz*, p. 262. [The speech of the dayan, and all other quotations from Müller and Nyiszli (see note 10) have been translated directly from the German of the works cited.-Ed.]
- c. *Orvos voltam Auschwitzban*, p. 170; Quick, no. 10, p. 47.
10. ☞ Nyiszli, "Auschwitz. Tagebuch eines Lagerarztes." *Quick*, no. 10, p. 47. Müller, *Sonderbehandlung.*, pp. 262-263.
11. ☞ The Hebrew term *sāmajm* (heaven) metaphorically designates God, the Lord (Hebrew: *‘adônâj*). M.E. Artom, *Vocabolario ebraico-italiano*, op. cit., s.v.
12. ☞ P. 29: "Für die Verbrennung von drei Leichen hatte man höheren Ortes 20 Minuten veranschlagt, und Starks Aufgabe war es, dafür zu sorgen, dass diese Zeit eingehalten wurde."
13. ☞ P. 94: "15 massive Öfen konnten bei durchgehendem Betrieb täglich mehr als 3.000 Leichen verbrennen."
14. ☞ No. 4, p. 29: "Nachdem der allerletzte Goldzahn herausgebrochen worden ist, landen die Leichen beim Einäscherungskommando. Jeweils drei werden auf ein Schiebwerk aus Stahl-Lamellen gelegt. Die schweren Eisentüren öffnen sich automatisch. Innerhalb von zwanzig Minuten sind die Leichen verbrannt."
15. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*. Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4, 1961, p. 110.
16. ☞ The cremation capacity of the four crematoriums of Birkenau, according to Nyiszli's data, is 12,960 corpses in 24 hours, which ignores that Crematoriums IV and V had only 8 muffle each See p.10 of his book.
17. ☞ J.-C. Pressac, "Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Elirkenau et leurs chambres à gaz. Construction et fonctionnement," in *Le Monde Juif*, no. 107, July-September 1982, p. 114.
18. ☞ The cremation of a corpse lasts from 60 to 75 minutes, consuming about 300 kilograms of wood, in gas-fired ovens; an hour and a half to two hours, consuming 100 to 150 kg of wood, in direct-combustion ovens (*Enciclopedia Italiana*, Rome, 1949, vol. XI, article "Cremazione," p. 825). In the modern Hamburg crematorium Ohlsdorf und Ojendorf, the cremation of a corpse in the course of one continuous cremation cycle takes from 50 to 70 minutes. The combustion chamber is pre-heated by a gas burner (around 8 cubic meters of natural gas) which raises the temperature to 700-750 degrees centigrade. Then the corpse, with the coffin, which is the specific combustible inserted, bringing the temperature to 800-900 degrees (letter from the *Umweltbehörde-Garten und Friedhofisamt-Hamburg* [Environmental Board- Park and Cemetery Office-Hamburg] to the author, 5 May 1987).
19. ☞ P. 97: "Die Vermehrung der Zahl der Öfen im Vergleich zum Auschwitzer Crematorium auf beinahe das Achtfache und der Einsatz Auschwitz: A Case of Plagiarism 21 von vierzigmal mehr Häftlingen im Sonderkommando machten es, nachdem anfängliche Schwierigkeiten im Ablauf der Vernichtungsprozedur beseitigt worden waren, möglich, in 24 Stunden bis zu 10.000 Leichen einzüaschern."
20. ☞ No. 4, p. 29: "Insgesamt können wohl an die 10.000 Menschen täglich von den Gaskammern in die Verbrennungsöfen transportiert werden ..."
21. ☞ Dr. Nyiszli, *Orvos voltam Auschwitzban*, op. cit., p. 50: "A holtestek husz perc alatt hamvadnak el. A krematorium tizenöt kemencevel dolgozik. Ötezer ember elégetése a napi kapacitása Összesen négy krematorium dolgozik ugyanezzel a teljesítőképességgel. Huszezer ember megy at naponta a gaskamrakon, onnan a hamvasztokemencékbe."

22. ☞ P. 217: " in den Öfen der Krematorien mit Hilfe der Ventilatoren eine Dauerhafte Glüh-hitze erhalten werden konnte"
23. ☞ No. 4, p. 29: "Fünfzehn solcher Ventilatoren arbeiten auf einmal, neben jedem Ofen ist einer angebracht."
24. ☞ NO-94448; operating instructions for the coke-heated Topf three-muffle incineration oven (an appendix to the French translation of Nyiszli, *Médecin à Auschwitz. Souvenirs d'un médecin déporté*, translated and adapted from the Hungarian by Tibère Kremer, Jul-liard, 1961). See also Georges Wellers, *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé. Des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres*, Gallimard, 1981, p. 203-204.
25. ☞ P. 185-186: "Wenn die eingeworfenen Zyklon-B- Kristalle mit Luft in Berührung kamen, entwickelte sich das tödliche Gas, das sich zuerst in Bodenhöhe ausbreitete und dann im-mer höher stieg. Daher lagen auch oben auf dem Leichenhaufen die Grössten und Kräftig-sten, während sich unten vor allem Kinder, Alte, und Schwache befanden. Dazwischen fand man meist Männer und Frauen mittleren Alters. Die oberliegenden waren wohl in ihrer panischen Todesangst auf die schon am Boden Liegenden hinaufgestiegen, weil sie noch Kraft dazu und vielleicht auch erkannt hatten, dass sich tödliche Gas von unten nach oben ausbreitete."
26. ☞ No. 4, p. 29: "Ein grauenhaftes Bild bietet sich: Die Leichen liegen nicht im Raum ver-streut, sondern türmen sich hoch übereinander. Das ist leicht zu erklären: Das von draussen eingeworfene Cyclon entwickelt seine tädlichen Gase zunächst in Bodenhöhe. Die oberen Luftschichten erfasst es nach und nach Deshalb trampeln die Unglücklichen sich gegen-seitig nieder, einer klettert über den anderen. Je höher sie sind, desto später erreicht sie das Gas."
27. ☞ Zyklon B consists of hydrocyanic acid absorbed by diatomaceous earth. Its boiling point is 25.7 degrees centigrade (about 78 degrees Fahrenheit), the temperature at which it be-comes gaseous (Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbehn, Adalbert Rückerl, *Les Chambres à Gaz, secret d'Etat*, Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1984, p. 257).
28. ☞ "ciklon vagy klor szemcsés formában," ["Cyclon (sic) or chlorine in granular form] (Dr Nyiszli, *Orvos voltam Auschwitzban*, op. cit., p. 47).
29. ☞ *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, op. cit., p. 282.
30. ☞ "Denn das Gas war weder geruch-noch geschmacklos. Es roch nach brennendem Trock-enspiritus und erzeugte auf den Lippen einen susslichen Geschmack" (Müller, p. 185).
31. ☞ "Die Zyklon-B-Gas-Kristalle wurden nämlich durch Öffnungen in der Betondecke einge-worfen, die in der Gaskammer in hohle Blechsäule einmündeten. Diese waren in gleich-mässigen Abständen durchlöchert und in ihrem Innern verlief von oben nach unten eine Spirale, um für eine möglichst gleichmässige Verteilung der gekörnten Kristalle zu sorgen" (Müller, p. 96).
32. ☞ "In der Mitte des Saales stehen im Abstand von jeweils dreissig Metern Säulen. Sie rei-chen vom Boden bis zur Decke. Keine Stützsäulen, sondern Eisenblechrohre, deren Wände überall durchlöchert sind" (Nyiszli, no. 4, p. 29).
33. ☞ The most modern disinfection chambers are based on the fundamental principle of air circulation: 'In a simple chamber the diffusion of the gases depends upon their normal rate of expansion. This slow process can be considerably **accelerated by artificial movement of air or better by air circulation**. A most efficient circulatory system is to draw off the gas at one side of the chamber by means of a gas-tight fan, leading it around by a duct to the other side, where it is blown again into the chamber. The circulation of the gas effected by this means **ensures the most complete distribution in the chamber**. When passing through a vaporiser, inserted into the circulation system, the air stream will carry the fumi-gant. The efficiency of the gases is further increased by the attachment of a gas-tight

calorifer, which will gradually raise the temperature of the chamber” (Degesch, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*, Erasmusdruck, Mainz, VIII.67, p. 8). [Boldface in original.]

There was a disinfection installation of this type (Degesch-Kreislauf- Anlage) at Auschwitz from 1942 (NI-11087). If it is thus surprising that the inventors of the homicidal gas chambers” at Birkenau did not introduce the “Kreislauf” system for a more rapid diffusion of the gas, it is absolutely incredible that they should have hampered its diffusion by introducing the sheet metal tubes which we have described above.

34. ☞ “The Circulatory System is also advantageous for aeration purposes. By means of fresh air drawn in from outside the chamber, the gas/air mixture is rapidly and efficiently expelled from the chamber and from the commodity being treated” (Degesch, *Fumigation Chambers for Pest Control*, op. cit., p. 9). On the Degesch Circulatory System, see Fritz Berg, “The German Delousing Chambers,” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 8, no. 1 (Spring 1986), pp. 73- 94.
35. ☞ Hydrocyanic acid is “very soluble in water.” “In the form of nitrile hydrocyanic acid can hydrolyze and be transformed first into formamide, then into formic acid, from which it can also be obtained by dehydration” (*Enciclopedia Medica Italiana*, Sansoni, 1951, article “Cianidrico, acido,” columns 1402 and 1403).

“Hydrocyanic acid dissolves very readily in water.” “On account of the extreme toxicity of hydrocyanic acid, combined with its solubility in water, even traces of the gas can prove fatal.” (Degesch, *Zyklon for pest control*, Erasmusdruck, Mainz, IX 64.10, pp. 5, 7.)

Filip Müller himself states: “When a little room had been made behind the door, the corpses were hosed down. In this manner the gas crystals (a) which still lay around (*herumlagen*)(b) were to be neutralized (*soften neutralisiert werden*), and the corpses cleaned as well” (p. 185).

a. We have corrected the word *Glaskristalle* (glass crystals) in the German text, undoubtedly a typographical error, to *Gaskristalle*.

b. This is in contradiction to the presence in the “gas chambers” of the tubes, described previously by Müller, within which the Zyklon B crystals were to accumulate.

36. ☞ The alleged “gas chamber” of Crematorium II was in actuality, according to the original plan, simply an underground mortuary room (Leichenkeller 1) 210 square meters in area (a). It had seven cement supporting pillars which made the actual surface area less than the theoretical 210 square meters (30 x 7) (b). The figure for the surface area indicated by Müller (250 sq. meters: p. 96) is thus incorrect

a. Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, German Crimes in Poland, Warsaw, 1946, Vol I, p. 84.

b. See figure 4 in the appendix to this article.

37. ☞ According to Nyiszli, Crematorium II was equipped with “four large elevators” (no. 4, p. 29). This is incorrect there was only one elevator (*Aufzug*) in each of Crematoriums II and III.
38. ☞ In *Contribution à l’histoire du KL Auschwitz*, Edition du Musée d’Etat à Oswiecim, 1978, p. 64.
39. ☞ Ibidem.

40. ☞ *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 1, no. 3 (Fall 1980), pp. 271-272. The letter, published in an English translation, is dated 24 January 1980.
41. As Sonderkommando physician (the duty which Nyiszli claims to have occupied, under the direct command of Dr. Mengele, from June 1944 to January 1945), Müller names Jacques Pach (pp. 100 and 238); he also mentions “three pathologists” (p. 262), without giving their names, and claims to have been friends with Fischer, “one of the autopsy assistants” (p. 265), who was however Nyiszli’s assistant! (no. 6, p. 41)
42. ☞ He was saved by a group of naked young girls, “all in the bloom of youth,” who took him by the arms and legs and threw him out of the “gas chamber”! (pp. 177-180)
43. ☞ “Augenzeugenbericht zu den Massenvergasungen,” in *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 1953, pp. 177-194.
44. ☞ P. 186: “viele hatten sich, im Tode verkrampft, noch die Hände”
45. ☞ “Augenzeugenbericht zu den Massenvergasungen,” p. 191: “Sie drunken sich, im Tode verkrampft, noch die Hände”
46. ☞ P. 186: “An den Wänden lehnten Gruppen, aneinandergedrückt wie Basaltsäulen.”
47. ☞ “Augenzeugenbericht zu den Massenvergasungen,” p. 191: “Nie Basaltsäulen stehen die Toten aufrecht aneinandergedrückt in den Kammern.”
48. ☞ P. 185: “Denn fast alle waren nass von Schweiß und Urin, mit Blut und Kot beschmutzt, und viele Frauen waren an den Beinen mit Menstruationsblut besudelt”
49. ☞ “Augenzeugenbericht zu den Massenvergasungen,” p. 191: “Man wirft die Leichen-nass von Schweiß und Urin, kotbeschmutzt, Menstruationsblut an den Beinen, heraus.”
50. ☞ P. 193: ” Ich hatte Alfred einen Plan der Krematorien mit den Gaskammern und eine Liste mit den Namen der SS-Leute übergeben, die in den Krematorien Dienst taten.”
51. ☞ Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, Washington, D.C. *German Extermination Camps-Auschwitz and Birkenau*, November 1944. This report is subdivided into two parts. The first, titled *The Extermination Camps of Auschwitz (Oswiecim) and Birkenau in Upper Silesia*, comprises three sections:
 - 1-“Auschwitz and Birkenau” (pp. 1- 26);
 - 2-“Majdanek” (p. 26-33);
 - 3-(untitled) (pp. 33-40).

The second part consists of a single report titled “Transport.” The reports are anonymous. The names of the authors of the three sections of the first part were not known until much later they are Alfred Wetzler, Rudolf Vrba, Czeslaw Mordowicz and Arnost Rosin (Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, London, 1981, p. 329).

52. ☞ See figure 3 of the appendix to this article.
53. ☞ In the section “Auschwitz and Birkenau.” On page 1 of this report, the author asserts that he arrived at Auschwitz on 13 April 1942, the date on which Alfred Wetzler was registered with number 29.162 (Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, op. cit. telegram from SS- Sturm-bannführer Hartjenstein on 9 April 1944 reporting the escape of Wetzler and Vrba [photo. 23 between pp. 192 and 193B. See *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 7, 1964, p. 87.
54. ☞ See figure 4 of the appendix to this article.
55. ☞ At this point we anticipate a possible objection from Filip Müller he didn’t prepare the plan in question, but merely transmitted it (übergeben). But are we to believe that he would have passed on so important a document without examining it beforehand? And, if he ex-

amined it, is it credible that he wouldn't have noticed that it was incorrect? And if he noticed, why did he pass it on?

56. [↩](#) See figure 5 of the appendix to this article.

From *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1990 (Vol. 10, No. 1), pages 5-24.

Source: vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 25-47.

Two false testimonies from Auschwitz

Carlo Mattogno

Introduction

In an article commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the Nuremberg trial, Robert M. W. Kempner states that the extermination of the Jews has been incontestably and unassailably proved since the time of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, and the twelve successive trials which continued until mid-1949. [1]

Kempner writes:

The history of the Holocaust written at Nuremberg bears importantly on the punishment of the guilty. The historical verification rests almost exclusively on the official records of the Hitler regime, which a faithful bureaucracy painstakingly preserved.

In addition to these documents there are the confessions of Hans Frank and Baldur von Schirach, the eyewitness testimonies of Rudolf Hoss and Otto Ohlendorf and the statements of numerous defendants heard as testimony in the Einsatzgruppen and Wilhelmstrasse trials. "A large number of other historical truths were established thanks to documents and eyewitness testimony before German courts during the past twenty years." [2]

In reality, as we have shown in our study "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews", [3] despite the enormous mass of official National Socialist documents produced during these trials, there exists not a single proof of a "plan to exterminate" the Jews, so that at this time "it is difficult to say exactly how, when, and by whom the order to exterminate the Jews was given." [4]

Even apart from that, however, to attribute historical value to the verdicts of tribunals in which the victors sat in judgment over the vanquished is at the very least naive.

In fact, as the attorney general of the United States stated during a hearing of the Nuremberg trial on 26 July 1946, the International Military Tribunal constituted simply "a continuation of the United Nations' war effort" against Germany, with which they were "technically still in a state of war" although the political and military institutions of the enemy had collapsed. [5]

At Nuremberg, as the English historian A. J. P. Taylor remarks:

The documents were chosen not only to demonstrate the war-guilt of the men on trial, but to conceal that of the prosecuting Powers.

The guilt of Germany was therefore posited at the start:

The verdict preceded the tribunal; and the documents were brought in to sustain a conclusion which had already been settled. [6]

Torture also entered into the framework of this “continuation of the war effort” directed, thanks to the trials, against the Germans. The first commandant of Auschwitz, Rudolf Hoss, interrogated by British investigators at Heide with “alcohol and the whip,” signed a deposition without even knowing its content! [7]

At the Malmedy trial, which took place at Dachau in 1946, American investigators submitted the accused to every sort of physical and mental torture to force them to sign false confessions, as the commission of inquiry presided over by Judges van Roden and Simpson established. [8]

During the proceedings, there occurred an incident which illustrates perfectly the atmosphere which prevailed during the trials of the vanquished conducted immediately after the war by the victors.

The American investigator Kirschbaum had introduced a witness, Einstein, to prove that the defendant, Metzel, had murdered his brother, who was nonetheless sitting in the courtroom! Kirschbaum proceeded to scold Einstein: “How can we bring this pig to the gallows, if you are so stupid as to bring your brother into court!” [9]

The most absurd aspect of these trials is that any “eyewitness” was able to tell the most shameless lies without the least fear of being contradicted, let alone being charged with perjury.

That this is literally true is demonstrated by the extravagant statements about Auschwitz by one Sophia Litwinska during *The Belsen Trial*. She stated that she had been “selected” for the gas chamber” — together with 3,000 other Jews at the Auschwitz hospital — on Christmas Eve, 1941 [10] or several days before, [11] although, according to the historians of the Auschwitz Museum, neither “selections” nor “gassings” of Jews had begun at that time. [12] In the “gas chamber,” Sophia Litwinska saw “fumes coming in through a very small window at the top”, [13] which is absurd because Zyklon B, the gas allegedly used to “exterminate” the Jews, is stored as a solid in hermetically sealed cans. [14] Our “eyewitness” was exposed to the gas “a minute or two perhaps”, [15] and then something extraordinary happened:

At that moment I heard my name called. I had not the strength to answer it, but I raised my arm. Then I felt someone take me and throw me out from that room. Hössler put a blanket round me and took me on a motor cycle to the hospital, where I stayed six weeks. [16]

Thus, in the middle of a “gassing” someone — without even a gas mask! -is supposed to have entered the “gas chamber” to summon Sophia Litwinska and carry her out!

This comes under the heading of lunacy, if one considers that hydrocyanic acid is one of the most powerful poisons which exist: for humans 12 milligrams per liter of air is a fatal dose; moreover, “if the concentration of hydrocyanic acid in the air is strong enough, death is almost immediate.” [17]

In this study we shall examine the Eyewitness testimony” of two other witnesses who testified at *The Belsen Trial*: Charles Sigismund Bendel and Ada Bimko.

Their testimonies, while less extravagant, are entirely false.

This, however, has not prevented Gerald Reitlinger from accepting them in his famous book *The Final Solution*. [18]

Further, the “eyewitness testimony” of Charles Sigismund Bendel has been recently dug up by Georges Wellers to demonstrate the existence of the “gas chambers” at Auschwitz. [19]

Now, the fact that these perjurers lied brazenly is doubtless shameful, but it is still more shameful that unscrupulous judges used their “eyewitness testimony” to exact a legal vengeance against the German defendants, with whom they were “technically still in a state of war,” and that biased historians have consciously used it to prop up the tottering myth of the “extermination” of the Jews.

I. The “Eyewitness”

Charles Sigismund Bendel

The Romanian-Jewish doctor Charles Sigismund Bende was a prosecution witness at *The Belsen Trial* in 1945 [1] and at the Tesch trial in 1946. [2] His “eyewitness testimony” also appeared in 1946 in the work *Temoignages sur Auschwitz* (Auschwitz Eyewitnesses). [3]

He was arrested in Paris on 4 November 1943 and interned in the camp at Drancy from which, on 10 December 1943, he was deported to Auschwitz. From there he was sent to the Buna camp (Monowitz or Auschwitz-III), then returned to the main camp at Auschwitz, from which he was finally transferred to Birkenau. [4]

Dr. Bendel does not even know when this took place, since he declares, contradictorily:

On 1st January, 1944, I was transferred to the main camp, and on 27th February, 1944, into the gipsy camp⁴ in Birkenau, where I worked as a doctor. [5]

Q: How long did you work at Birkenau?

A: From 1st January 1944 to 18th January 1945. [6]

In June 1944, Dr. Bendel was attached to the Sonderkommando [7] of the crematoriums at Birkenau, which according to him simultaneously comprised 200 [8] and 900 men, [9] and in which he helped in the “extermination” of Jews in the “gas chambers.”

At this time he observed a “gassing” for the first time:

One day in June 1944, at 6 in the morning, I joined the day shift (150 men) of Crematorium 4 ... At noon a long procession of women, children, and elderly people entered the courtyard of the Crematorium. They were from the Lodz ghetto. [10]

This is incorrect because the first convoy of Jews from Lodz arrived at Auschwitz on 15 August 1944. [11] Furthermore, this contradicts Bendel’s testimony in *The Belsen Trial*:

The first time I started work there was in August, 1944. No one was gassed on that occasion, but 150 political prisoners, Russians and Poles, were led one by one to the graves and there they were shot. Two days later, when I was attached to the day group, I saw a gas chamber in action. On that occasion it was the ghetto at Lodz — 80,000 people were gassed. [12]

In reality the execution of the 150 political prisoners is a complete fabrication [13] while his number for Lodz ghetto Jews “gassed” is greater by ten thousand than the number of Jews deported from Lodz to Auschwitz. [14]

Dr. Bendel states that there were four crematoriums at Birkenau, numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4. [15]

According to him, the construction of crematoriums 1 and 2 (II and III in the official German numeration) began in March 1942: “The foundations of these imposing red brick buildings were laid in March 1942.”

This is not correct, because the Central Construction Office [16] of the Waffen-SS and Police in Auschwitz took bids for the construction of the first Birkenau crematorium on 1 July 1942 . [17]

Once again according to Dr. Bendel, the crematoriums were completed in January 1943: “Completed in January 1943, their dedication was honored by the presence of Himmler in person”. [18]

This is likewise incorrect. The Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police of KGL-Auschwitz finished construction on crematoriums II and III on 31 March and 25 June 1943 respectively. [19]

It is also untrue that Himmler was present for the openings. [20]

According to Dr. Bendel, crematoriums 1 and 2 (II and III) each had 16 ovens, [21] which is false because 5 triple ovens were installed in the above-mentioned crematoriums, giving a total of 15 muffles. [22]

Dr. Bendel asserts that there were two “gas chambers” in each of the four crematoriums at Birkenau:

Q: How many gas chambers were there?

A: In each crematorium there were generally two gas chambers. [23]

Contradicting this, in his sworn declaration of 21 October 1945 Dr. Bendel speaks of a single “gas chamber” in each crematorium. [24] These two assertions are contradicted anew by the “official” version defended by the Auschwitz Museum, the protagonists of which assign crematoriums II and III one “gas chamber” each, while crematoriums IV and V are supposed to have had a total of four. [25] The “gas chambers” of crematoriums 1 and 2 (II and III) measured $10 \times 4 \times 1.6$ meters (40 square meters, 64 cubic meters) and at the same time $10 \times 5 \times 1.5$ meters (50 square meters, 75 cubic meters):

Q: How big were the chambers?

A: Each chamber was 10 meters long and 4 wide. [26]

Q: [by the defense attorney, Dr. Zippel]: You stated that the gas chambers had dimensions of 10 by 1.6 meters, is that correct?

A: Yes, certainly. [27]

There were 2 underground gas chambers, each approximately 10 meters long, 5 wide, and one and a half high. The 2 gas chambers supplied the corpses for the crematori-

ums. [28]

The “gas chambers” of Crematoriums 3 and 4 (III and IV) measured in turn $6 \times 3 \times 1.5$ meters (18 square meters, 27 cubic meters): “For crematoriums 3 and 4 there were 2 other gas chambers which each measured 6 meters long, 3 wide, and one and a half high.” [29]

The data supplied by Dr. Bendel are all false. According to the original plans of the crematoriums, the rooms which are supposed to have been “gas chambers” had the following dimensions:

Cremas	Designation	Dimensions	Area	Volume
II and III	Mortuary cellar	130x7x2.4 [30]	210	504
IV and V	1. Room with “Binder”	12.35x7.72x2.2	95.34	209.75
	2. Room with “Lichte Höhe 2.00m”	8.4x11.69x2.2	98.19	216.03
	3. Room without designation [31]	11.69x3.7x2.2 [32]	43.25	95.15

The capacity of the “gas chambers” described by Dr. Bendel was, if truth be told, surprising:

1,000 people were customarily put in each of the two large chambers and 500 in each of the two small ones. [33]

This is impossible and contradictory. Impossible, since the two “gas chambers” of crematoriums II and III would have held — based on the surface area supplied by Dr. Bendel-25 or 20 people per square meter, while those of crematoriums IV and V would have held 28 people per square meter! Contradictory, because Dr. Bendel asserts: “In crematoriums 1 and 2, 2,000 each; in crematoriums 3 and 4, 1,000 each; and in the bunker 1,000.” [34]

Cross-examined by the defense attorney on the possibility of cramming 1,000 people into a room of 64 cubic meters, Dr. Bendel gave an astonishing answer, which makes plain the deceitfulness and bad faith of this “eyewitness”:

Q: How is it possible to get 1,000 people into a room of 64 cubic meters?

A: That’s a good question. It could only be done with German technique.

Q: Do you seriously maintain that 10 people can be put in a space of half a cubic meter?

A: Four million people who were gassed at Auschwitz are the witnesses. [35]

This ridiculous argumentation has been taken up by the court historians who obstinately close their eyes to the flagrant technical absurdities of the “gassings” and Cremations,” pretending that because the extermination of the Jews occurred, it was therefore feasible. Thus the famous declaration of the 34 French historians:

It is not necessary to ask how, technically, such a mass murder was feasible. It was technically feasible because it took place. [36]

Dr. Bendel describes the extraordinary German technique which allowed cramming 1,000 people into a room of forty square meters:

The people were so tightly packed in there that it was impossible to fit in even a single one more. It was great fun for the SS to throw in children over the heads of those packed closely into these rooms. [37]

That was no longer possible, because the “gas chambers,” according to the “witness,” had a height of only 1.6 or 1.5 meters!

Thus it is evident that Dr. Bendel never set foot in the crematoriums at Birkenau and that what he says about the “gas chambers” is completely false.

Equally false is his description of the technique of “extermination” allegedly employed in Crematorium V. The “victims” undressed in the crematorium courtyard:

About twelve o'clock the new transport arrived, consisting of some 800 to 1000 people. These people had to undress themselves in the court of the crematorium and were promised a bath and hot coffee afterwards. [38]

This contradicts the official “truth” about Auschwitz, according to which the “victims” undressed in special rooms referred to specifically as “changing rooms” in Exterminationist literature. On the original plan of Crematorium II, the alleged changing room is actually called “Leichenkeller 2”; on the plan of Crematorium IV, the alleged changing room is not so designated: on the plan appears solely the word *Entlüftung* (aeration, ventilation). [39]

From the courtyard of the crematorium the new transport entered the “gas chamber”: “One heard cries and shouts and they started to fight against each other, knocking on the walls.”

This is not possible, because in the “gas chamber,” according to Dr. Bendel, there were 28 persons per square meter, that is to say a density preventing all movement completely. [40]

The “victims” died in two minutes; twenty minutes after the “gas chamber” was opened the men of the Sonderkommando went inside without gas masks — since Dr. Bendel says nothing of gas masks, either — and began to drag out the bodies:

This went on for two minutes and then there was complete silence. Five minutes later the doors were opened, but it was quite impossible to go in for another twenty minutes. Then the Special Kommandos started work. [41]

This is impossible. Crematoriums IV and V did not have ventilation systems. The “gas chambers” were aired out simply by opening the doors to create a draft. [42] Given the extreme toxicity of hydrocyanic acid, a room fumigated for disinfection must be aired for at least twenty hours. [43] Thus it is evident that the men of the Sonderkommando, entering, after only twenty minutes' aeration, “gas chambers” in which there lingered lethal concentrations of gas [44] would themselves have been gassed.

Consequently, it is still more impossible that the Sonderkommando could have begun evacuating the corpses five minutes after the death of the “victims,” as Dr. Bendel anomalously asserts:

For two interminable minutes, one heard blows against the walls, cries which had nothing human in them any longer. And then nothing. My head spun, I thought I had lost my mind. Of what abominable crimes were these women, these infants guilty that they had to die in so cruel a manner?

Five minutes later the doors were opened. The heaped, contracted corpses tumbled out like a waterfall. A few were so intertwined that separating them required fantastic effort. Covered with blood, they appeared to have struggled desperately against death. One who has seen a gas chamber even only once can never forget it. The corpses, still warm, passed to the barber, who cut their hair, and the dentist, who pulled out their gold teeth. [45]

Elsewhere, Dr. Bendel reports that the “victims” unable to enter completely filled “gas chambers” were shot in front of the cremation ditches:

During the time this is going on they continue to shoot people in front of these ditches, people who could not be got into the gas chambers because they were overcrowded. [46]

This is also in contradiction with the official “truth” about Auschwitz, which says absolutely nothing about executions near these alleged ditches. [47]

On this matter, Dr. Bendel asserts that during the period of maximum exterminations, Crematorium V was unable to deal with the enormous number of corpses, and so three cremation trenches were dug behind it for burning the bodies in the open:

In Crematorium No. 4 [V] the result which was achieved by burning was apparently not sufficient. The work was not going on quickly enough, so behind the crematorium they dug three large trenches 12 meters long and 6 meters wide. [48]

This is wrong, as shown by the aerial photograph of Birkenau taken 26 June 1944, [49] on which there appears not the least trace, anywhere in the camp, not merely of pyres, but of any smoke at all, including over the crematoria. Yet according to Dr. Bendel “during the month of June the number of gassed was 25,000 every day.” [50]

Dr. Bendel’s claims on these phantom ditches are not merely wrong, but impossible. He asserts that “... in the middle of these big trenches they built two canals through which the human fat or grease should seep so that work could be continued in a quicker way.” [51] In reality, corpses placed in a cremation trench (!) would have been charred, and, even if the fat had flowed off, it could not have collected in the bottom of the trench because it would have burned immediately owing to the high temperature of the pyre. For the same reason the men of the Sonderkommando would not have been able to come up to these 72-square-meter pyres to throw in the corpses of the “gassed” without being burnt themselves.

Here again, therefore, the “eyewitness” Charles Sigismund Bendel has lied.

Regarding the incineration capacity of the crematoriums, he asserts:

The corpses were then removed by the men of the Kommando and placed in an elevator which rose to the ground floor, where there were sixteen ovens. Their overall capacity was around two thousand corpses in twenty-four hours. The twin crematoriums 3 and 4 [IV and V] which were commonly called the “Forest Kremas” (being located in a pleasant clearing), were of more modest dimensions, with their eight ovens having a capacity for a thousand corpses in twenty-four hours. [52]

This is wrong too (see note 18 of “Auschwitz: A Case of Plagiarism”). Had they been as efficient as those in a modern crematorium, the 46 muffle at Birkenau could have incinerated 946 to

1,325 corpses in 24 hours, i.e. an average of 1,104 corpses and not the 6,000 which Dr. Bendel has dreamed up.

As has been seen, our “eyewitness” states that in June 1944 25,000 people were gassed a day, which amounts to 750,000 for the entire month. But, contradictorily, he asserts that during the months of May and June 1944, 400,000 people were killed:

In May and June 1944, a total of 400,000 people were gassed and in August around 100,000. [53]

In still another contradiction with the above, Dr. Bendel claims that “from 15th July to 1st September, 80,000” people were gassed. [54]

In any case it is absolutely impossible that in the month of June 1944 25,000 people per day were “gassed” for a total of 750,000 since, during this month, fewer than 70,000 persons were deported to Auschwitz. [55]

As to the grand total of “victims,” Dr. Bendel asserts that the number “gassed” was “more than 4 million” [56] but he contradicts himself by defining Birkenau as “the tomb of hundreds of thousands of victims brought from all corners of Europe.” [57]

As is well known, the figure of four million, invented by the Soviets, [58] is now considered incorrect, even by Exterminationist historiography. [59]

Dr. Bendel claims that disinfection of personal clothing and barracks in the concentration camp was accomplished “chiefly with lisoform”, [60] that is, with a substance ineffective against parasites. [61] This is to avoid acknowledging that the alleged means of “extermination” in the “gas chambers,” Zyklon B. was in fact commonly used at Auschwitz, and in all the German concentration camps, for disinfection.

Finally, the “Eyewitness testimony” of Dr. Bendel presents other deviations from the official “truth” about Auschwitz.

According to him, 17 tons(!) of gold teeth were extracted from the alleged 4 million corpses. [62]

According to the historians of the Auschwitz Museum, 40 kg of gold teeth were collected from 16 to 31 May 1944 (29 transports of Jews allegedly sent to the “gas chambers”). [63] At that rate, 12,000 transports would have been necessary to obtain the 17 tons imagined by Dr. Bendel.

Dr. Bendel claims that 4,300 Gypsies were “gassed” at the end of July 1944. [64] The Auschwitz Museum’s historians claim that the “gassing” of 2,897 Gypsies took place on 2 August 1944. [65]

To believe Dr. Bendel, in the revolt of 7 October 1944, 500 men of the Sonderkommando were shot, more precisely 100 from Crematorium 1 (I) and 400 from Crematorium 3 (IV), [66] which is false, since on 7 October 1944 the Sonderkommando of Crematorium IV consisted of only 169 men. [67]

Bendel states that 200 other members of the Sonderkommando were gassed either on 7 [68] or 27 September 1944, [69] depending on which of his two testimonies is credited.

The four detainees accused of supplying the explosives to the Sonderkommando were hanged “in December 1944”, [70] although, according to the historians of the Auschwitz Museum, this event

took place on 6 January 1945. [71]

In conclusion, Dr. Charles Sigismund Bendel has lied on every essential point of his Eyewitness testimony.

II. The 'Eyewitness' Ada Bimko

The Polish-Jewish physician Ada Bimko, deported to Auschwitz on 4 August 1943, compares to Dr. Bendel as a prosecution witness in *The Belsen Trial*. [1]

During her testimony she related that in August 1944 she had been sent into a “gas chamber” at Birkenau to recover blankets left by the “gassing victims.” No sooner had she entered the crematorium than she had the good fortune to meet a member of the Sonderkommando who came from the same town as she; he described to her the ultrasecret installations for “extermination.” Here is her account:

In the first room I met a man who came from the same town as I do. There was also an S.S. man with a rank of Unterscharfuhrer, and he belonged to the Red Cross. I was told that in the first big room the people left their clothes, and from this room were led into a second, and I gained the impression that hundreds and hundreds might go into this room, it was so large. It resembled the shower-baths or ablution rooms we had in the camp. There were many sprays all over the ceiling in rows which were parallel. All these people who went into this room were issued with a towel and a cake of soap, so that they should have the impression that they were going to have a bath, but for anybody who looked at the floor it was quite clear that it was not so because there were no drains. In this room there was a small door which opened to a room which was pitch dark and looked like a corridor. I saw a few lines of rails with a small wagon which they called a lorry, and I was told that prisoners who were already gassed were put on these wagons and sent directly to the crematorium. I believe the crematorium was in the same building, but I myself did not see the stove [sic!]. There was yet another room a few steps higher than the previous one with a very low ceiling, and I noticed two pipes which I was told contained the gas. There were also two huge metal containers containing gas. [2]

To summarize, from the changing room one could enter the “gas chamber” which opened on an adjacent room, resembling a corridor (the room with the rails), from which one passed into another room a few steps higher than the previous one and with a very low ceiling (the room with the gas containers).

If one compares this description with the original plans of the crematoriums, one notices that it is completely incorrect. Let us examine the material facts of the crematoriums II and III. [3]

From the alleged “changing room” (Leichenkeller 2) one proceeds directly to Leichenkeller 3, and, by a corridor (*Gang*), to the anteroom (*Vorraum*), in which is located the elevator (*Aufzug*) and through which the alleged “gas chamber” (Leichenkeller 1) is entered. This entire sector of the crematoriums was underground, and on a single level.

The room with the rails and the room with the gas chambers did not exist. No underground room had rails leading directly to the oven room, which was on the ground level (the corpses were transported by the elevator). No room was several steps higher than the others or had a very low ceiling: Leichenkeller 1 was 2.30 meters high and Leichenkeller 2 was 2.40 meters in height. [4]

Now let us examine crematoriums IV and V. [5]

From the alleged changing room (designated *Entlüftung*, or ventilation, on the plan) across the anteroom (*Vorraum*) one enters the first of three adjacent alleged “gas chambers.” All these rooms were on the ground floor and on the same level. The room with the rails and the room with the gas containers were non-existent. No room had rails leading directly to the oven room; besides, these rails would have had to cross the alleged “changing room.” No room was several steps higher than the others, nor did any room have a very low ceiling; the lowest place in these two crematoriums measured 2.20 meters in height. [6]

But the crowning absurdity of this “eyewitness testimony” is that Ada Bimko, not even aware that Zyklon B was contained in cans, [7] speaks of pipes and of “huge metal containers containing gas,” as if the gas in question were methane!

Dr. Bimko gives to understand that the gas passed from the metal containers into the pipes and came out the shower sprays into the “gas chamber.” [8]

Another member of the Sonderkommando reported to Dr. Bimko that “in this gas chamber” “about four million” Jews were “gassed.” [9]

In fine, Dr. Ada Bimko never set foot in any of the crematoriums at Birkenau and her “eyewitness testimony” on this subject is completely fabricated.

It is therefore not surprising that our “eyewitness” doesn’t even know how many crematoriums there were:

Auschwitz was divided into a number of camps and the five crematoria were in a portion called Birkenau, of which Kramer was commandant. [10]

Dr. Bimko’s other lies complete the tableau of her perjury:

I remember that 1st December, 1943, was a day of very large scale selections. Typhus was rampant throughout the camp and there were in the hospital 4124 sick Jewish women. Of this number 4000 were selected for the crematorium and only 124 remained. [11]

In fact, according to the *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Calendar of Events in the Concentration Camp Auschwitz-Birkenau), no selection was made in the hospitals on that date. [12]

On 27th July I remember that all those who were even suspected, who were not yet in hospital, were sent to the gas chamber. On that day big transports came in from a concentration camp called Litzmannstadt and there were quite a few cases of typhoid fever. [13]

As we have seen, however, the first transport of Jews from the Litzmannstadt (in Polish, Lodz) ghetto arrived at Auschwitz on 15 August 1944. [14]

Dr. Ada Bimko, therefore, has also lied on all the essential points of her “eyewitness testimony.”

Appendix



Figure 1: Original plan of Crematorium IV — and by symmetrical inversion — Crematorium V at Birkenau.

1. *Binder* (main beam)
2. Room without designation
3. *Lichte Höhe* (height of lights) 2 meters
4. *Vorraum* (antechamber)
5. *Kohle* (coal)
6. *Arztzimmer* (doctor's office)
7. *Entlüftung* (aeration, ventilation)
8. *Schleuse* (airlock)
9. *Geräte* (tools)
10. *Verbrennungsraum* (cremation room)
11. *Achtmuffel-Einäscherungsöfen* (eight-muffle incineration oven)
12. *Einäscherungsanlage für das K.G.L.* (incineration installation for prisoner-of-war camp)
13. *Eingetragen im Planausgabebuch unter Nr. 3616/18.9.42 Bauleitung der Waffen-SS und Polizei* (Entered in the register of programmed expenses under no. 3616/18.9.42. Construction Office of the Waffen SS and Police).

Figure 2: Two aerial photographs of Auschwitz-Birkenau, taken by the Allies on 25 August and 21 December 1944 (Gerald Fleming, *Hitler und die Endlösung*, Limes Verlag, 1982, between pages 128 and 129). Crematoriums II and III can be seen in the first photograph. In the second the same crematoriums, II and III, are shown partially dismantled, as are crematoriums IV (destroyed) and V.

Figure 3: From *KL Auschwitz. Fotografie dokumentalne*. Krajowa Wydawnicza, Warsaw, 1980, outside the text.

- K II: Crematorium II
K III: Crematorium III
K IV: Crematorium IV
K V: Crematorium V

Notes to the Introduction

1. ☞ For the trials against the National Socialist “war criminals,” see Adalbert Ruckerl *NS-Verbrechen vor Gericht*, Heidelberg, 1982.
2. ☞ Robert M.W. Kempner, “Vor dreissig Jahren in Nurnberg,” in *Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung*, 21 November 1975.
3. ☞ English translation (revised, corrected and expanded) “The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol 8, nos. 2 & 3 (Summer and Fall 1988). 4. Liliana Picciotto Fargion, “La congiura del silenzio,” in *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, May-August 1984, p. 226.
4. ☞ *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem internationalen Militärgerichtshof*, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945- 1 October 1946, published at Nuremberg, 1948, vol. XIX, p. 440.
5. ☞ A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War*, Atheneum, New York, 1983, p. 13.

6. ☞ *Le Commandant d'Auschwitz parle*, translated by Constantin de Grunwald, Julliard, (1959) 1970, p. 2.
7. ☞ Freda Utey, *The High Cost of Vengeance*, Regnery, Chicago, 1949, pp. 185-200.
8. ☞ Ibidem.
9. ☞ *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, William Hodge and Company, London-Edinburgh-Glasgow, 1949, p. 79.
10. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 79.
11. ☞ The “gassing” of Xews at Auschwitz is supposed to have begun in January 1942; the first “selection” on 4 May 1942 (*Contribution a l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, Edition du Musee d'Etat a Oswiecim, n d., pp. 178 and 180).
12. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 80.
13. ☞ Zyklon B is hydrocyanic acid (HCN) absorbed by a porous material such as diatomaceous earth — whence its granular appearance — and contained in hermetically sealed canisters (NI-9098, p. 35 and 38). Hydrocyanic acid evaporates into a gaseous state at a temperature of 25.7 degrees centigrade (about 78 degrees Fahrenheit); its vapors are lighter than air (*Les Chambres a gaz, secret d'Etat*, Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1984, p. 258).
14. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 81.
15. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 80.
16. ☞ J. Sehn, *Le Camp de Concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, Warsaw, 1957, p. 133.
17. ☞ Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution. The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe 1939-1945*, London, 1953, p. 150-152.
18. ☞ Georges Wellers, *Les chambres a gaz ont existe. Des documents, des temoignages, des chiffres*, Gallimard, 1981, pp. 113-114, 120. Georges Wellers, “Auschwitz,” in *Les Chambres a gaz, secret d'Etat*, op. cit. p. 183, 206.

Notes to Part I

1. ☞ *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, op. cit. pp.130-135.
2. ☞ NI-11953.
3. ☞ *Temoignages sur Auschwitz*, Paris, 1946, pp.159-164. The testimony in question, titled “The Sonderkommando,” is signed “Dr. Paul Bendel, 167 460,” but is undoubtedly that of Charles Sigismund BendeL
4. ☞ Sector B II e (*Zigeunerfamilienlager*) of the Birkenau camp.
5. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, pp. 130-131.
6. ☞ NI-11953, p. 1. [In the present article, Bendel’s testimony has been retranslated from the French.]
7. ☞ A special team of prisoners assigned to work in the crematoriums.
8. ☞ NI-11390, p. 1.
9. ☞ NI-11953, p. 1.
10. ☞ *Temoignages sur Auschwitz*, pp. 161-162.
11. ☞ *Contribution a l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, Edition du Musee d'Etat a Oswiecim, n.d., p. 209.
12. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 131.
13. ☞ There is not the slightest reference to these executions in the *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz- Birkenau (Hefte von Auschwitz)*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 8,1964, pp.54-62.

14. [↗](#) *Contribution a l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, op. cit., p. 209.
15. [↗](#) *Temoignages sur Auschwitz*, pp. 160-161. The official numeration at Birkenau was; II, III, IV, V (J.Sehn, *Le Camp de Concentration d' Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, Warsaw, 1957, p.132).
16. [↗](#) *Temoignages sur Auschwitz*, p. 161.
17. [↗](#) Hefte von Auschwitz, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 3,1960, p.68.
18. [↗](#) *Temoignages sur Auschwitz*, p. 161.
19. [↗](#) *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 4,1961, pp.87 and 109.
20. [↗](#) Ibidem Himmler's last visit to Auschwitz goes back to the summer of 1942 (Kommandant in Auschwitz. Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen des Rudolf Hoss, edited by Martin Broszat, DTV, Munich, 1981, p. 181). According to the Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau, he was there on 17 and 18 July (Hefte von Auschwitz, 3, pp.71-72).
21. [↗](#) *Temoignages sur Auschwitz*, p. 161.
22. [↗](#) *Problèmes choisis de l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, Edition de Musee d'Etat a Oswiecim 1979, p.44.
23. [↗](#) "In each crematorium there were generally two gas chambers," *The Belsen Trial*, p. 135.
24. [↗](#) NI-11350, pp. 1 and 3.
25. [↗](#) J. Sehn, *Le Camp de Concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, op. cit., p. 132
26. [↗](#) NI-11953, p. 2.
27. [↗](#) NI-11953, p. 4.
28. [↗](#) NI-11390, p. 1.
29. [↗](#) NI-11390, p. 2.
30. [↗](#) J. Sehn, *Le Camp de Concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, op. cit. p. 132.
31. [↗](#) This room is supposed to have been later divided into two parts, giving birth to the fourth "gas chamber" (Jean-Claude Pressac, 'Les Xrematorien' IV and V du Birkenau et leurs chambres a gaz. Construction et fonctionnement," in *Le Monde Juif*, no. 107, July-September 1982, pp. 104 and 124).
32. [↗](#) Jean-Claude Pressac, in the article cited above,pp.104-105. See appendix, figures 1-4.
33. [↗](#) NI-11390, p. 3.
34. [↗](#) NI-11953, p. 2.
35. [↗](#) NI-11953, p. 4.
36. [↗](#) *Le Monde*, 21 February 1979, p. 23.
37. [↗](#) NI-11953, p. 2.
38. [↗](#) *The Belsen Trial*, p. 132.
39. [↗](#) J. Sehn, *Le Camp de Concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, op. cit., p. 132; J.C. Pressac, in the article cited above, pp. 104-105. *Leichenkeller* = mortuary chamber; *Entlüftung* = aeration.
40. [↗](#) *The Belsen Trial*, p. 132.
41. [↗](#) Ibidem.
42. [↗](#) J.C. Pressac, article cited above, p. 125, note 21.
43. [↗](#) NI-9912: *Richtlinien für die Anwendung von Blausäure (Zyklon) zur Ungeziefervertilgung (Entwesung)* (Guidelines for using hydrocyanic acid [Zyklon] in the extermination of vermin), p. 13: "Ventilation must last at least twenty hours."

44. ☞ William B. Lindsey, "Zyklon B, Auschwitz, and the Trial of Bruno Tesch," in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (Fall 1983), p. 299, note 44.
45. ☞ *Temoignages sur Auschwitz*, p. 163.
46. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, pp. 132-133.
47. ☞ J. Sehn, *Le Camp de Concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, op. cit., p. 147.
48. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 131.
49. ☞ Dino A. Brugioni and Robert Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited A Retrospective Analysis of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Extermination Complex*, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C., February 1979, p. 8 (the captions which accompany the photographs are quite tendentious). See appendix, figures 5 and 6.
50. ☞ NI-11953, p. 3: "During the month of June the number of gassed was 25,000 every day."
51. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, pp. 131-132.
52. ☞ *Temoignages sur Auschwitz*, p. 161. t
53. ☞ NI-11390, p. 4. ;
54. ☞ NI-11953, p. 3.
55. ☞ During June 1944, 21 transports from Hungary arrived at Auschwitz i.e. about 63,000 persons, since each train contained about 3,000 (Leon Poliakov, *Le Proces de Jerusalem*, Paris, 1963, p. 199); besides those, a transport from Drancy, one from Corfu, one from Fossoli and one from 's-Hertogenbosch, bringing a total of 4,493 persons: finally, two transports from Italy without indication as to how many passengers but certainly a very modest number (a), and two from Vienna, one from Cracow and one from Sosnowitz, carrying 115 persons in all.
 - a. The average number of Jews per transport from Italy (computed from those transports for which we have figures) is less than 400 persons. *Ebrei in Italia: Deportazione, Resistenza*, Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea di Milano, Florence, 1974. A "chronological list of transports" is included.
56. ☞ NI-11953, p. 2.
57. ☞ *Temoignages sur Auschwitz*, p. 160.
58. ☞ USSR-08. The number is calculated on the basis of the duration of the crematoriums' existence and on an imaginary cremation capacity of 9,300 corpses per day!
59. ☞ 9Gerald Reitlinger, *La soluzione finale. Is tentative di sterminio degli Ebrei d'Europa 1939-1945*, Milan, 1965, p. 559. *Der Mord an den Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, edited by Eberhard Jacket and Jurgen Rohwer, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1985, p. 176. Colloquium of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en sciences sociales, *L'Allemagne nazie et le genocide juif*, Gallimard-Le Seuil, 1985, p. 253.
60. ☞ NI-11953, p. 3.
61. ☞ NI-11953, p. 4.
62. ☞ NI-11953, p. 3.
63. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 7, 1964, p. 55.
64. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 131.
65. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 8, 1964, p. 55.
66. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 133.
67. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 8, 1964, pp. 72-73.
68. ☞ *Temoignages sur Auschwitz*, p. 159. This date has used by Georges Wellers in the article "Revolte du Sonderkommando a Auschwitz," in *Le Monde Juif*, no. 18, April 1949, p. 18.

69. ☞ NI-11953, p. 3. According to the historians of the Auschwitz Museum, the event in question took place around 25 November 1944 (*Contribution d l'histoire du KL Auschwitz*, op. cit., p. 211).
70. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 133.
71. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 8, 1964, p. 94.

Notes to Part II

1. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, pp. 66-78.
2. ☞ Idem, p. 67-68.
3. ☞ See Appendix, Figure 3 of the preceding article, "Auschwitz: A Case of Plagiarism."
4. ☞ Central Commission for Investigation of German War Crimes in Poland, *German Crimes in Poland*, Warsaw, 1946, vol I, p. 84.
5. ☞ See Appendix, Figures 1 and 2.
6. ☞ Jean-Claude Pressac, article cited above, pp. 104 and 105.
7. ☞ See note 14 to the Introduction.
8. ☞ According to the official "truth" about Auschwitz, the "gassings" were achieved by emptying the contents of the Zyklon B canisters directly into the "gas chambers."
9. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 68.
10. ☞ Idem, p. 67.
11. ☞ Idem, p. 67.
12. ☞ *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 6, 1962, p. 81.
13. ☞ *The Belsen Trial*, p. 73.
14. ☞ See note 11 to Part I.

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Autopsying the Communist cadaver

William Grimstad

The present unraveling of the Soviet empire is proceeding so quickly that it seems to have left political and historical analysts breathless. One of the gruesome epochs of history seems to be evaporating from the scene, like an evil miasma, almost as abruptly and unaccountably as it arrived, three-quarters of a century ago. We may say of history but we certainly cannot say in history. If Historical Revisionism has found active dishonesty in the purveying of the Jewish Holocaust legend, for example, it has before it in the Communist issue what must be one of the most grandiose exercises in intellectual distortion and suppression of all time. Little of its true story has ever been told. Revisionism, then, faces a great challenge in exploring not only the why's and wherefore's but even-predictably-in grappling meaningfully with the Marxist issue at all.

The great floodtide of printer's ink that has sloshed futilely around this subject since 1917 is proof enough that little is to be expected now. We can trust our left-liberal, and even our Conservative," news and opinion mediators to fudge, fumble, or distort this crucial new transformation as surely as they have every other important geopolitical issue since the 1930's. The lack of the most rudimentary historical sense, to say nothing of any Revisionist awareness, in the face of these developments has been striking. We've had a steady diet of gushing over Soviet Communist Party chief Mikhail Gorbachev, a skilled media manipulator and supposed initiator of all these changes, but very little else.

This is easily the most significant rearrangement since the end of World War Two, which of course was in large measure fought because of Sovietism; but there has as yet been no public comprehension, not only of the surface events but especially of the titanic backstage power that can so effortlessly wind down a vast international enterprise which it surreptitiously helped establish and preserve in bygone decades.

The task falls to Revisionism to take up the slack, and this will be the subject of prolonged examination in these pages throughout the coming decade and beyond. If Marxism really is about to be pushed into the landfill of history, its true significance will find a thorough appraisal here.

If it were desired to range further afield than Revisionism has thus far, there would be many new avenues to explore. On the psychological dimension, one might examine the extremely pervasive condition, not a mental illness but seemingly almost as disruptive, which has made Communist takeovers and their consolidation possible. This is the widespread leaning toward statism and the instinctive reliance upon bureaucracies to resolve a vast array of asocial problems," real and imagined. The statist impulse has been accompanied by a parallel disregard for the legitimacy and efficacy of private enterprise, and an anti-human dismissal of the key role of private property in serving man's pleasures and needs.

The statist habit seems reflexive among left-liberal personality types, who have a virtual monopoly upon social activism and opinion molding today. The fact that this element is monotonously “soft on Communism” and has been since 1917 is certainly fitting when we consider that sovietism represents the extreme point of the bureaucratic syndrome, as Bruno Rizzi pointed out long ago in his prophetic *The Bureaucratization of the World*. (Statism on the American right has proliferated, in the form of almost automatic support for a bloated military and security state, since the beginning of the “Cold War.”)

Beyond the banal bureaucratic compulsion, however, lies comparatively virgin psycho-philosophical territory of great interest and depth. The Utopian delusion, or obsession with earthly paradises of one sort or another, often on the most nonsensical bases if the tenets are carefully thought out, is very widespread. A yearning after Utopian dreams by the gullible many is seemingly always played upon by the manipulative, power-grabbing few. As is so clearly visible in the Soviet arena, these latter often degenerate into extremely evil creatures, which was well-discussed by James Billington in his path-breaking study of revolutionary psychology, *Fire in the Minds of Men*.

The aspect of Marxist empire-building that always rivets attention is its systematic and often seemingly gratuitous brutality. The stupefying hecatombs piled up under “Scientific socialism” pale earlier epochs of murder and rapine like the Assyrian conquests or the Mongol invasions into paltry insignificance.

Short of access to Moscow secret police archives, which probably will not soon open up, no one knows how many millions of Russians, Ukrainians, Balts, Volga Germans, Crimean Tatars, Central Asians, and, following World War II, East Europeans, were immolated during Josef Stalin’s three decades in power. It is a number so gruesomely gargantuan that it can only be approximated in the tens of millions. A low figure would be somewhere in excess of the “ten million kulaks” casually tossed off by Stalin to Winston Churchill as after-dinner tabletalk (recorded in the latter’s *Hinge of Fate*). A maximum estimate by various refugee groups and historians such as Robert Conquest might exceed five times that many.

Since this era represents the worst outbreak of political criminality and sheer anti-human psychopathy that the world has seen, even the most generalized listing of its crimes would far exceed these confines, as the voluminous works of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn suggest. However, there have been a number of nodal points along the way which show the evolution of the movement from minute origins to a globe-girdling import:

- “Organized terror” proclaimed against the citizenry by Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolsheviks immediately after the 1917 revolution, and maintained by the Soviet secret police into the 1980’s;
- Assassination of Tsar Nicholas and his family, together with secret police administrative executions of untold thousands of former members of the aristocracy and middle and professional classes;
- Imperialist and colonialist subjugation, oppression, and dispersal of non-Russian nationalities, from the civil war to the invasion of Afghanistan;
- Murder of untold millions in Soviet collectivization of agriculture, and often-fatal imprisonment of many more in concentration camps;
- Systematic slaughter of Red functionaries, cadres, and innocents during the various Stalin purges;
- Incitement of foreign Communist revolutions, such as in Germany, Hungary and Spain, which were accompanied by torture and deaths of unknown thousands;

- Murder of 15,000 Polish military officers at Katyn Forest and elsewhere, and similar massacres of Ukrainian, Baltic, and other elites;
- Bestial crimes against captured soldiers and civilians alike during World War II, with open encouragement from the highest political level.

Exactly who inspired these horrors against the Soviet and other peoples, and with what end in view, is a proper Revisionist concern. If only within the newly liberalized captive nations, such an investigation of the slaughterhouse era, together with some effort at compensation of survivors, would seem to be the only way to build a new order under a publicly respected rule of law that has been extolled by Gorbachev.

It is natural enough to concentrate opprobrium on the furtive and enigmatic Georgian who came to personify this dire era. Yet Josef Stalin, for all of his repugnant agility at scrambling to the top of the mountain of skulls, was only one man who, had he not existed, would surely have been represented by someone else. Deeper analysis also must examine the infernal machine which had the will and found the way to unleash this genocide: the secret police cadres on the cutting edge, the Stalin clique and Communist Party directorate which set the wheels in motion, the propaganda apparatus that concealed and alibied, and supporting it all, with reserves of enthusiasm and personnel, the nomenklatura ("name list" of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Sure enough, we already have declamations from someone in the Moscow Kremlin named Yakovlev that, not only should the murdered millions be rehabilitated (they were always accused of some crime), but that their torturers and executioners also must be cleared in this beneficent wave of perestroika so that an Ethical democracy" can be established.

He is possibly speaking for those with something to be ashamed of, many of them no doubt still hesitating in the secret-police shadows. But what can be the ethical bonafides of any new order that reinstates the murdered but then liberates the murderers?

Revisionists must demand with renewed vigor that the grim Soviet reality at long last be factored into the established Western perception of the Second World War, as well as the rise of authoritarian European nationalism which preceded it. If such horrendous things were going on in the Soviet as is now suddenly and casually admitted, why on earth did we, if not join with the Germans in their epic struggle to clean out the Bolshevik pest house, not at least maintain an opportunistic neutrality? As the claim of German guilt for the fabled "Six Million" seems to be retreating ever farther from the shores of probability, more and more official academics will be emboldened to tussle with such questions as why, in view of Mussolini's comparatively benign regime (a couple of dozen executions during the eighteen years he ruled before the war), the word "fascist" evokes an obligatory and automatic shudder among educated Americans, while the word Communist" most often calls forth a programmed Civil liberties" response. And how much longer can those Westerners, from Roosevelt and Churchill on down, who not only steadfastly turned a blind eye to the atrocities of Stalin and his henchmen, but cheerily promised, then brutally delivered, millions of more victims for slavery and destruction, evade the kind of stern accounting to which our opinion leaders routinely call the likes of Kurt Waldheim?

If justice were all, such a bringing to the bar of every Communist murder apparatchik who followed orders should, according to the Nuremberg precedent, now be well underway and supported by everyone of goodwill. Interestingly, however, the "never forgive, never forget" international Zionist element, who are still relentlessly hounding octogenarian "Nazi war criminals", and indeed have recently rammed through a law in the Mother of Parliaments and home of An-

glo-Saxon justice mandating such prosecutions, are silent here. In the real world, that may be tantamount to a veto.

Indeed, we have lately been hearing a mournful new wail, in familiarly stentorian tones, about the sufferings under Stalinism of the Natan Schcharanskys, the Eleanor Lippers the Madame Sakharovs, and a legion of others of similar stripe. This sort of shameless co-optation has to be guarded against, to be sure, but in addition it introduces, or reintroduces, one of the most important questions for the new historical revisionism.

Exactly where does the trail of evil run from the Russian killing fields? What are the antecedents of this apparent blood orgy in the ruins of that vast, ramshackle Slavic empire? We know of the international ambitions of Marxism, of course: that has never been concealed since the earliest days. Deeply hidden, however, in fact never mentioned in polite discourse, are the transnational powerlines that always have run in the opposite direction, from the “free” Euro-American world into the Soviet darkness.

A working hypothesis might suggest a bipartite origin of the Russian tragedy: the Zionist Jewish and the international plutocratic. Whether the former were the working and the latter the asilentr partners is an important question but one that, again, must be left to future consideration. (We use the term Zionist here, not in its usual limited sense of an adherent of the present-day state of Israel, but in the generic meaning of a partisan of Jewry in the sense of a worldwide nation, rather than a religious group).

There are indications of a Jewish predilection for communistic movements since the ancient world, according to Nesta Webster’s *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements*, a possibility which merits further examination, along with her accompanying observation that Judaic religious literature inculcates hatred and political domination of the non-Jew in the severest possible terms.

By the nineteenth century, there was little doubt among the informed as to the Jewish bias in the nascent Marxist movement. Marx’s contemporary revolutionary, Mikhail Bakunin, who was prophetically enough a Russian prince by birth, observed of what was taking shape:

This would be for the proletariat a barrack regime, under which the working men and the working women, converted into a uniform mass, would rise, fall asleep, work and live at the beat of the drum; the privilege of ruling would be in the hands of the skilled and the learned, with a wide scope left for profitable crooked deals carried on by the Jews, who would be attracted by the enormous extension of the international speculations of the central banks _ (*Polémique contre les juifs*).

The prediction is particularly incisive in view of the rise of such characters as Armand Hammer, the American-based entrepreneur who has been a fixed star in the Soviet financial firmament since the revolution, and made a large fortune in the doing.

In the catastrophe of the Russian revolution and civil war itself, the situation becomes much more graphic, with an overwhelming proportion of the leading personnel being of Jewish extraction, many of them not even of Russian origin. This fact has been noted in a variety of sources, some of them journalistic and some confidential intelligence reports sent out to authorities in England and the U.S.A. According to one listing, by London Times correspondent Robert Wilton, of thirty top officials in the Bolshevik government at the seizure of power, only one, Lenin, was not Jewish.

The tendency was sufficiently obvious that it impressed no less a philo-Zionist than Winston Churchill, who wrote an essay with the heading of *Zionism Versus Bolshevism: A Struggle for the Soul of the Jewish People*":

There is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews. It is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others ... (Illustrated Sunday Herald, London, Feb. 8, 1920)

In practice, the Communist-Zionist split often seemed to be less of a struggle than a shrewd planting of one foot in each camp, an attitude neatly summed up around the turn of the century by Rachel Leah Weizmann in a small ghetto town of west Russia: "Whatever happens, I shall be well off. If Shmuel is right, we shall be happy in Russia; and if Chaim is right, then I shall go to live in Palestine" (Jehuda Reinharz, Chaim Weizmann, 1985, p. 12). Shmuel Weizmann was an early-day Marxist revolutionary, while his older brother, Chaim, became the first president of the state of Israel.

It is now Revisionism's task to pierce through the murk which has obscured the Jewish role in igniting the revolution, consolidating it, and spreading it to other lands. Determining the factual extent of Jewish leadership and participation depends in great part, of course, on gaining access to evidence which still reposes in Soviet archives, but also on dispelling the haze generated by the exaggerations of certain anti-Jewish polemicists, as well as the philo-Semitic reflex, far more influential, by which the totality of the Jewish experience in the USSR since its inception is classified under the rubric of "Anti-semitism".

This much, then, for the Jewish-Zionist contribution to the Russian debacle. Still to be evaluated is the precise role played by nonsectarian financial-industrial powers. The childish mythology of communism-versus-capitalism locked in an economic rivalry that has ultimately moved on to nuclear confrontation continues to the present, even among supposed informed opinion. Presumably, some more *au courant* line will now have to be hatched out, unless the entire defense industry, which has been a major engine of postwar financial activity, is also to be shut down, which seems unlikely.

Recent statistics from Russia, published by Nikolai Shmelev and Vladimir Popov in their book *The Turning Point*, reveal how long and how flagrantly the Western nations have been lied to, often by their own Intelligence" agencies, to magnify the Soviet regime into a military-industrial juggernaut that must be countered by huge outlays in the capitalist world. It now appears, according to some estimates, that the Soviet economy has never totaled more than 20 percent of the U.S. economy alone.

This points up once again, not only the utterly contrived character of the entire postwar political era, but also-if any reminder were necessary-that such a miserable failure of a system would never have been willingly selected by the inmates of a lunatic asylum, and could only have been foisted on Russia by force from without. Hard as it may be to believe, this latter fact still is not understood by the majority of our pundits and historians, who continue to romanticize about spontaneous revolts by "the workers" to throw off a fiendishly oppressive tsarist tyranny, and so forth.

The exact nature of the foisting process must also be thought on. Some scenarios that have been suggested might seem almost too fantastic, except that in these times one tends to be more tolerant of possibilities. One theory suggests that Imperial Russia was intentionally saddled with a crippling politico-economic system by British-American high finance in order to keep it from be-

coming a serious mercantile competitor. Much the same strategy seems to have been behind Britain's involvement in the First World War against Germany, as early-day Historical Revisionism has so well documented.

Whatever may be the fruits of such speculations, however, it is a virtual certainty that these vast and sinister pro- Communist financial linkages will continue to be kept in the shadows far from the feeble searchlight of official history. Again-more grist for the Revisionist mill.

Finally, we come to the question of what is to follow? This may be one of the greatest riddles. Are we seeing the miraculous end of what Germany's Josef Goebbels called iniquity with a political masks in the world, to be followed by "they all lived happily ever after," which already seems to be expected by superficial observers?

Again, is it entirely coincidental that this wondrous Soviet denouement is occurring at the same time as the new European Community is about to be set on its feet? If it is not happenstance, but part of some greater chess-like deployment of entire nations and peoples by forces unknown, then we might have to reconsider large-scale theorizing of a type that used to be familiar in traditional anti-Communist circles but which has fallen into disrepute more recently among those who try to avoid what they see as unscientific and hysterical conspiracy fantasies of an embarrassing oldguard element.

Finally, what of those in the West, both pro- and anti-communist, who have developed over the decades a virtually parasitic intellectual dependence on the Soviet Union? As to the first, the ignominious end of Communism in Eastern Europe-no embattled workers heroically giving their last on the barricades, no fiery *Gottterdammerung* beneath the ruins of the Kremlin, but at best gray-faced bureaucrats stolidly liquidating a system no one believes in anymore, and at worst, as in Romania, Ceausescu's cruel janissaries firing indiscriminately into crowds of Romanian civilians-bodes as unfavorably for the creation of a romantic communist myth as the system's economic, political, and moral bankruptcy promise for a future Marxist power drive.

Perhaps, however, it is that segment of Western "anti-communists" which has allowed their opposition to the Soviet Union to become all-controlling political obsession who have most cause to be bereft. Most of those who have fought the good (and in America unbloody) fight against Communism have gradually metamorphosed into such uncritical cheerleaders for the Western capitalist, egalitarian, agnostic, two-party Democratic" facade that they can no longer recognize just how many objectionable traits it shares with Communism, both ideologically and operationally. Unless our anti-communists, many of them Conservatives" and "neo-conservatives," can bring themselves to challenge the spiritual and cultural emptiness that rules America, to defy the academy's and mass media's Stalinoid proscription of open discussion of the Holocaust," the Middle East, and many other taboos, and to address the conundrum of a political and financial system that indulges the most swinish proletarian impulses while at the same time effectively frustrating the popular will to any kind of effective reform, the anti-communists will quickly render themselves as irrelevant to the West's current concerns as the dodo became to the ecology of Mauritius.

These are some but, we may be very certain, by no means all of the topics that a new, broader historical revisionism will have to address as this improbable century runs down to its end.

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Review Article

A 'Good War' It Wasn't

- WAR TIME: UNDERSTANDING AND BEHAVIOR IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR by Paul Fussell. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Hardbound, xiv+331 pp., photographs, notes, index, \$19.95, ISBN 0-19-503797-9.

Reviewed by James J. Martin

Of the approximately half-million titles issued by mainline American publishers in the 1980s, *War Time* by Professor Paul Fussell is one of a small selection which a Revisionist might profit from reading. It has a variety of shortcomings; parts of it are twice-told and thrice-told stories to Revisionists, and there are portions which have an eerie resemblance to a wide range of works published in 1916-1933 about the First World War. History in the broader sense in fact comes in second to other matters ranging from efforts at broad psychologizing to extended literary memorialization. But the fact that the most prestigious of the Establishment university presses would attach its signet and *nihil obstat* to such a volume as this brings up a whole range of questions and speculations from a Revisionist perspective. This includes the question of why, at this moment of global neo-imperial saturation and general immersion in the unrealistic prolongation of the homeric saga of 1939-45, assisted these days by daily gas attacks from television replays of it all (sometimes as much as 30 hours a week in some urban centers), a work from its own stronghold should come forth which in the main promotes a caustic, destabilizing assault on a substantial number of the Establishment's most reassured and oft-repeated yarns, fables, conventions and fixations, integral essentials of what we have been tirelessly reminded was the only noble, benevolent war throughout the last near- millennium.

Those familiar with the follow-up of World War One, and this reviewer was weaned on its post-hostilities disillusionist literature to the point that he became virtually traumatized and for a time suppressed that he had read much of it (he never heard a word of it mentioned in school), will dwell in memory on this background and puzzle why it took almost 45 years for the appearance of a book at least partially analogous on War No. 2. The main topics of the book at hand, insofar as they are a replay with variations on the experience of 1914-18, had been exhaustively investigated, examined and reported in the first three years after the 1918 cessation of hostilities, and the subject for another dozen years thereafter produced a literature so vast that it would take a respectable slice of a normal lifetime to read it all. But, in view of the sieve-like nature of memory, it does no harm to restate and rewrite many things while introducing so many new ones growing out of the different experiences of 1939-1945. Prof. Fussell does not try to explain why it took so long after World War Two for a book like his to appear, and, since his book is close to being totally non-political, he does not dwell upon the hard reality that such a work is actually subversive to the general world political status quo, since the latter is based almost entirely on the political settlement following the "victory" of 1945 and its outrageously unrealistic historical foundation.

Disturbing this does not seem to be the author's intention whatsoever, and one need not pursue the reason behind its production or its objective, but just enjoy its continuous perforation of dearly-held popular misconceptions, ranging over the years from the sappy to the preposterous.

As for his personal explanation of how he came to write *War Time*, Prof. Fussell in his Preface (p. ix) declared that over the last half century the "Allied" part of the war of 1939-45 had been "sanitized and romanticized beyond recognition by the sentimental, the loony patriotic, the ignorant and the bloodthirsty," and that he was just trying "to balance the scales." However, in an interview in Denver on the occasion of a visit to a large bookstore to autograph copies of his work, the author declared in the most emphatic of terms (even the reporter put the key word in *italic*) that he was without the faintest smidgin of a qualification "a *sentimental* patriot." (Denver Post, October 19, 1989, p. 2C). Having already upbraided both the "sentimental" and the "loony patriotic" for the disfiguring and distortion which they had visited upon World War Two history, he was here creating a separate category for himself out of both these, apparently convinced that sentiment and patriotism might be rescued from these unworthy pretenders, it being left unsaid that ignorance and bloodthirstiness could expect no champions regardless of the final conclusion and disposition. It might be cautionary however to keep in mind that the bloodthirsty and the ignorant are never vanquished from the field of writing about the past, and that there is *never* some "final verdict of history," which is one reason why it is extremely difficult not to react to the infectiousness of the enthusiastic, reckless arrogance of the profoundly uninformed amateur. This also partially explains why there is rarely a cause too bizarre to gain adherents and a personality so unbelievably outrageous as not to generate deeply impressed and convinced followers if not totally-captured zealots.

The Library of Congress identifies the general classification of *War Time* as principally concerned with the "psychological aspects" of World War Two (throwing in "propaganda" as a coda), but its subtitle is *Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War*. Psychology and behavior, understanding and insight are all interwoven in the individual personality, and have a substantial dependence on the amount of factual knowledge gained and present, or the lack or total absence of, as well as experience. The poverty-stricken intellect in the fields of politics, and surely economics, of the mass of the soldiery Prof. Fussell describes and serves as fugleman for, leads one to speculate how any managed any understanding whatever, wandering about mystified and in confused wonder at everything, and about as competent to analyze and sort out anything as a squirrel might be in attempting to figure out the significance of Sunday.

From internal evidence one might describe *War Time* as essentially a literary history of the war of 1939-1945, looking at things almost exclusively through the eyes of then contemporary British and American soldiers and civilians. It makes a minimum effort to summon or mobilize historians, and even for facts tends to depend on subjective contributions from others, which creep into the story from several vantage-points, sometimes almost by indirection. The primary sources are novelists, short-story writers, essayists, collections of letters published well after they were written, poets and various versifiers with output ranging from the profound to doggerel, biographers and diarists, some previously unpublished or long-delayed, with copious recourse to memoirs and random collections in productions of several kinds of literary historical consequence; materials cited from the Imperial War Museum in London were of special interest to this reviewer. (Seven decades ago, when this writer was still a pre-schooler, the famed literary critic Carl van Doren observed that biographies had been in the hand of fictioneers and moralists for many centuries, while it was increasingly obvious that auto-biographies were greater snake-pits of these distorting influences. So it cautions one in using these as sources, as is also the case with diaries. A diarist has been said to be powerless before facts, but in diaries a quiet filtering-out process tends to take place, described by the colorful and the imaginative as a kind of literary Darwinism,

with only those facts serving to defend the diarist, the “fittest,” if you will, tending to survive in the record. One has to resist the tendency to esteem all sources as of equal validity.)

It need not be stressed that there is not the faintest reference to Revisionists or Revisionism in *War Time*, nor the remotest hint or citation of or to their work, even though the latter enterprises contain much related information of the sort used here. The impression reflected here and there is one of proposing that no one has got around to treat of the matters involved in the book before. The chief drawback of this book from a historical perspective, however, is its top-heavy reliance on sources published in the 12 years prior to its publication. Anything done on any historical subject so weighted on sources or recollections that long after the event excites a succession of reservations and much reflection. As to his own subjective commentary and narrative, there is an almost Chekhovian quality to his analysis of the things that hurt him so bad 45 years or more ago that he seems to be simply restating the contemporary reactions and observations. (It was Balzac who observed, “We describe best the things that have hurt us the most.”)

War Time has no general bibliography but contains a thorough name and author index. However, checking authorities confined to source notes gathered at the back is a problem, since these authors are not indexed unless mentioned directly in the text. Several sources perform repeated service in various chapters, but, when serially cited, the page numbers may not be entered in the index, which creates additional labor for those who are not content simply to glide along with the story, which is easy to do, as it is expertly told. Prof. Fussell is a foxy and subtle writer who enjoys distinction among pedagogues; he actually is vastly readable, as against the general output of a class of users of the printed form who make about the same impression in English as they might in Sanskrit. Since the chapters of *War Time* leap abruptly from one subject to another, disturbing those who expect a sustained narrative, the style seems to change as well. Some parts appear to be written in the candid, ingenuous manner of the unpretentious wartime 20-year-old ignoramus, caught in this excruciating wartime insanity, utterly incapable of figuring out why and how he got there. Other parts are in a learned and sophisticated mode, employing here and there bits and pieces of a sense of humor which could be described as a concealed weapon, though there is the likelihood that if the general run of dunces stumbles across this work they will never realize it has been used on them.

Early chapters concerned with weaponry, tactics and strategy in the war cover familiar ground. There is interesting commentary on the gradual switch from lightness and accuracy to mass production of ever more heavy stuff, area- comprehensive saturation bombing and other recourses, drowning the enemy in continuous cloudbursts of metal; the movement from rifles to automatic weapons, flame throwers and other mass-dispersal armament requiring no more skill than the ability to point them somewhere, culminating in the ultimate mass weapon used against an entire community, the atom bomb, all in all an insightful discourse.

Prof. Fussell’s complaint about inferior weapons and related commentary about performance, accepting Max Hastings’ conclusion that when the combatants faced one another in equal numbers the Germans were invariably the best, recalls an observation made during the First World War. When General Robert Lee Bullard, one of the three top American commanders in France 1917-18, retired in December 1924, he made the remark that in the recently concluded combat one German soldier had been the equivalent of three “Allied.” This stirred up a testy controversy in the daily press for weeks, and may have been difficult to prove concentrating exclusively on the Western Front, but was surely correct if one included what had transpired on the Eastern, where the Germans had simply pulped the armed forces of the Tsar, while maintaining what was essentially a holding action in the West, as was developed by early historians of the war such as the

Briton A.F. Pollard and the American Carlton J.H. Hayes, whose works were probably the best until that of C.R.M.F. Cruttwell, published in 1934.

There may be an almost uncontrollable impulse to bulk out Prof. Fussell's account on the part of anyone who has worked this field as well in the last 40 years, though necessarily muffled in an examination such as this. This is demonstrable when it comes to matters of such fame and repute that they are long-ago established as icons, simply too numerous to memorialize. One might begin with the legendary "Battle of Britain," which in many ways set the pattern for the parade of semi or full fictions which are draped across the story of the war, a few of which are repeated in *War Time*. Especially recommended is the drastic deflation of the above by Wing Commander H.R. Allen, who took part in the saga, in the Times of London for September 15, 1978, far too long to reproduce here. Cmdr. Allen brings up an important point concerning war stories: their evolution from patent exaggerations to "emotive issues," which is worse. It has been argued for a long time that what people believe is secondary to what they want to believe, and that they are often more likely to exert themselves in the "cause" of the latter than in that of the former. (That Churchill carefully rehearsed and partially plagiarized his famous never-has-so-much-been-owed-to-so-few rhetoric and that his famed we-shall-fight-on-the-beaches etc. speech was really delivered on the radio by an actor are secondary incidentals.)

Concerning a few others, in the fiascoes-and-Pyrrhic- victories department, in the account of the unbelievable calamity of the Dieppe raid (which took place August 19, 1942 and not in the fall of that year, by the way), nothing is related that the survivors of it (which this writer has long called "a one-day Gallipoli") were considered so psychologically destroyed that they were never again committed to combat. Prof. Fussell is even more appalled by what transpired in November, 1943 at Tarawa, a three-square-mile atoll in the Gilbert Islands, just north of the Equator and about 500 miles west of the International Date Line, a part of the British Empire at least nominally since 1892 and by formal annexation in 1915. This island had been taken and fortified by the Japanese, and defended by a contingent of land-based sailors (supported by a goodly detachment of Korean laborers, incidentally). It was overcome by a formidable American invasion assisted by almost unopposed air and naval support, but at such a cost of life that it provoked a political storm in the U.S.A. It had an acrid anti-climax, not commented upon here. Two hours after "victory," the British flag was run up over the premises; what thousands of Americans had been killed and wounded to take from Imperial Japan was virtually a coconut plantation owned by a London-based soap and detergents company. Even contemporary *Time* magazine, which Prof. Fussell does not like, reported this in an issue printed after the battle.

In another department the author of *War Time* must be congratulated for a brilliant piece of Revisionist detective work. This is the disclosure that one of the war's most mawkish propaganda works of sentimental blubbery, the book *My Sister and I*, was not written by a Dutch lad describing the awful German hordes "raping" his homeland in the 1940s (a variation and new wrinkle on the similar tear-jerkers about the Germans in adjoining Belgium in 1914), but by an American editor of a major publisher right in the safe and secure haven of his New York City editorial premises, enough to make a propaganda-balloon-buster positively glow. One might hope that this would lead to a deep investigation of a hundred or so other books produced in the U.S.A. and Britain 1939-45; who knows what absorbing scandal such an enterprise might produce. The successful foisting upon the public of one knee-slapper should suggest the perpetration of others, in analogy with the conclusion that observing a rat on a farm indicates the presence of many more. And in view of the American avidity for the outpourings of mountebanks, blatherskites and snake-oil-sellers over the decades, there could be the makings of a veritable industry of disclosure of fakes (such as Leland Stowe's 1940 journalistic inventions that German success in Norway was due to a plenitude of native Norwegian traitors.)

In a book which tries to concentrate on states of mind brought about by reaction to various wartime realities, attention to the “common soldier” obviously bulks heavily, despite the score or more of substantial deviations from this expected concentration. As a consequence one might expect that various topics would get more attention than they do, especially the pathologies of armies and related wartime behavior, which after all is advertised in the very subtitle of the book. But there are some.

For those with long memories or an interest in literature, it seems obvious that the direct ancestor or inspiration for Chapter 7 is the celebrated novel by John Dos Passos, *Three Soldiers* (Doran, 1921), with its top-heavy concentration on the subject of “barracks pettiness” and the endless aggravations of the minutiae of day-to-day army life, the continuous perpetration by the lower chain of command of irksome and often enraging trivial impositions resulting in what one World War One era writer in another context described as a residue of “sullen masses of animosity.” A contemporary reviewer of *Three Soldiers* (E.L. Pearson, in *The Independent*, October 1, 1921, p. 16), remarked, “all the profanity and obscenity of talk in the barracks is reported with the pedantic accuracy of a dictaphone,” and perhaps there will be readers of *War Time* nearly 70 years later who find this same quality (though they might style it “vulgarity” rather than “profanity” or “obscenity”). Such readers may agree with the First War Establishment luminary, Coningsby Dawson, and his complaint in the *New York Times* (October 2, 1921) against Dos Passos for his “intemperance in language” and his “dismal vituperation,” in applying similar strictures to Fussell. There may, even today, be readers of this chapter in *War Time* who will react in the same way as the famed literary critic Henry Seidel Canby predicted concerning Dos Passos' work, that “dainty readers” might be “shocked” and others might forbid their youth to read it, but in view of what has transpired in domestic *mores* in the interim between these two books, the latter may be little more than the traditional “corporal’s guard.”

The brief relation on desertion in Britain at the moment of the invasion of France in 1944 merits more attention to this subject, and a note on its subsequent neglect. A related topic is the massive misappropriation of Army supplies and participation in the civilian black market in more than one region of Europe during hostilities. Carl Dreher, a widely published engineer and three-year veteran of the Army Air Force, remarked in an article in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* (Winter, 1947) that it is questionable whether any army in history ever looted itself as did that of the U.S.A. in France, presumably in the concluding calendar year of the war. *Time* reported on one occasion that AWOLs and deserters stole a whole train in the environs of Paris. It was repeatedly reported that many military personnel were known to have sent home more money than they had been paid, while Steven Linakis, in his book *In the Spring the War Ended* (Putnam, 1965), which certainly compares with the work of James Jones, buried in novel form an additional account of widespread looting of supplies for sale to Belgians by AWOLs and deserters after V-E Day. Linakis' mention of “Slovik” reminds one that Prof. Fussell does not cite William Bradford Huie’s *The Execution of Private Slovik* (Signet, 1954) and the entire subject of desertion in aspects unrelated to the exploitation of goods-starved civilian-war-zone Europe.

Fussell likewise neglects similar evidences of less than lustrous elan. Obviously in the Pacific island war a different situation existed, as there was no place to flee to upon becoming AWOL, but the New York Post writer John Hohenberg, in his book *New Era in the Pacific* (Simon & Schuster, 1972), brought up the subject of “insurrections” among American troop concentrations in the Far East in the closing weeks of the war in Asia. If someone is going to get involved in a detailed account of the bleak and melancholy aspects of the war’s underside, it is suggested that topics such as these deserve ample airing. Among sources not found in *War Time* one might review the piece by John McPartland, “The Second Aftermath,” in *Harper's* for February 1947. “This was

not a generation of heroes,” he declared in summary, having already demonstrated why he came to that conclusion.

All this brings up an umbilically-related subject for a book seriously concerned about *behavior*, but there is no substantive treatment in *War Time* about the administration of normal discipline in the Anglo-American armies, 1941-45. Since this was a matter of major concern in the First War, the silence merits attention. In testimony before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs February 13, 1919, Brig. Gen. Samuel T. Ansell testified that there had been 370,000 soldiers court-martialed 1917-1918 (*New York Times*, Feb. 14, 1919, p. 1, and the shocked and outraged editorial on this figure in *The Nation*, Feb. 22, 1919, p. 267). A vituperative controversy erupted over this, and lasted all year, with the Wilson Administration and its military establishment stoutly defending the program, and Gen. Ansell (subsequently reduced in rank) a fierce and unrelenting critic. The newspaper coverage of this battle over the military discipline program (there were many harsh sentences for really trivial offenses) would if collected make a thick volume. Apparently the situation which prevailed 1939-45 was of a somewhat different order.

Going on to other affairs, especially absorbing is Prof. Fussell's Chapter 9, "Type-casting," a recapitulation of the generally circulated stereotypes of the adversary during the war, with heavy emphasis on the Japanese, and appropriately decorated with one of the more poisonous cartoons by Arthur Szyk, unparalleled by any other caricaturist of either of the World Wars for skill in dehumanizing the enemy, putting even the formidable Louis Raemaekers of 1914-18 well in the shade. The racial nature of the war in Asia was recognized by any number of people even before it spilled over to engage the U.S.A. in December 1941, and scores of stupid views were fully aired during the nearly four years of combat thereafter. In 1945, well before its end, the famed political figure Norman Thomas described the Pacific War as "an organized race riot," and many of its outrageous excesses became widely known long ago, many spectacular examples and incidents finally being gathered together by Prof. John W. Dower in his book *War Without Mercy* (Pantheon Books, 1986); this work is cited once in *War Time* but its author is not listed in the index. An early memoir of this, at a time when the publication of such observations was deeply resented, was "One War Is Enough," by Edgar L. Jones, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1946, which this writer found most impressive. But printed references to Japanese skulls ending in the USA as ashtrays and polished shin bones as letter openers could be found (in a local example, a Colorado dentist canceled the bill of one politician's son in 1942 upon the promise of getting in return from him later a pair of Japanese ears).

People who had studied a modicum of Asian history and economics here in the decade before Pearl were aware of many preposterous stereotypes about the Japanese which are not to be found mentioned in *War Time*, and a few had more general consequences than simply feeding the superiority fantasies of the intellectually under-privileged; the latter was part of what had brought the war about in the first place, though ignorance of that was perhaps not really the fault of those doing the fighting. One nutty notion abroad in America, which this writer remembers hearing about the time of the Shanghai crisis in 1932, was that the Japanese suffered from a racial defect which made it almost impossible for them to maneuver an aircraft correctly. Several Japanese naval fliers brought down in excess of fifty U.S. and other "Allied" aircraft in the war, one exceeding the top U.S. "ace" by about 65; respect for the Japanese, as Prof. Fussell says, was very low but respect for his Zero fighter plane was quite high for some time, until Japan ran out of materials with which to make them. Another fairy tale whispered that they had been fed misleading ship-building plans, resulting in several capsizing upon launching. This must have entertained their naval architects and shipyards, which during the war built the two largest battleships the world has ever seen; the world's largest aircraft carrier; the world's largest submarine, capable of hold-

ing three aircraft; and, among other things, the world's largest and deadliest torpedo, as the British found out off Malaya (December, 1941) and later off Ceylon (April 3-10, 1942).

It is too bad Americans did not read George Bronson Rea's Shanghai-published English-language *Far Eastern Review* in the 1920s and 1930s (Franklin D. Roosevelt apparently did once in awhile, as he had an article in it in August, 1923 which was almost fulsome in its praise of the Japanese). They might have learned via thousands of photographs of the stunning urban and industrial development going on in Japan and might have been far better prepared for what happened than to go into war in 1941 thinking they were facing idiots and weaklings swishing around in kimonos, drinking tea and bowing all the time while putting together only light bulbs, Christmas tree ornaments and silk stockings. Even people who just play games know that it is a very grave mistake to underestimate an adversary.

A telephone booth might have held those American soldiers who were aware of the book-length calls for war with Japan 1906-1941, from Homer Lea through McCormick, Pooley, Millard, the American-in-China businessman-Sinophile Carl Crow, and related contributions from about forty others; the eerie prediction of 1941-45 by the British intelligence officer and student of naval architecture, Hector Bywater, in his famed bestseller of 1925, *The Great Pacific War* (Houghton Mifflin), which described a Japanese-American war raging between 1931 and 1933; and the tactical rehearsal in detail of the Pearl attack itself in February, 1932 by U.S. Admiral Harry E. Yarnell's ship-based war-games aerial assault. It had taken Walter B. Pitkin 535 pages just to summarize the subject through 1920 in his *Must We Fight Japan?* (Century, 1921). But at about the time of the 1932 Hawaii war games, Helen Keller, speaking in John Haynes Holmes's Community Church in New York City, suggested the emphasis was starting to switch from a U.S.-Japan war to a USSR-Japan war, which then dominated things for some five or six years, while a growing contingent of pro-Maoist, Stalinist and Trotskyite reporters started pounding the war drums in the American press. This was to be followed by a new wave of truculence beginning in the fall of 1937 with Pres. Roosevelt's quarantine-the-aggressors speech (Americans were starting to mobilize for the defense of the Euro-American colonial system in Asia), a virtual paraphrase of one delivered a short time before by the U.S. Communist Party chief Earl Browder, and a heightening season of tension for four years after that.

It is obvious from what Prof. Fussell relates at a number of places in his book that the American soldiery in the Pacific had not the faintest idea of what they were confronting, reflecting among other things a lack of interest in a frightfully bad education for the previous 20 or more years, and had to substitute something for nothing, hence the stultified imaginations and internalizations of the ugliest of racial propaganda insinuations, all of which made things harder and worse as the war proceeded (and many of which are still in place despite the passage of 45 years). But the young men who were to do the fighting's understanding of the buildup just before the December, 1941 showdown was fully as dim, if such were possible, as it was of all the history sketched above. If, for instance, there was a single American in Hawaii who had ever heard of Kyatsu Sato's book, *A Japanese-American War Is Imminent*, issued in Japan and reviewed here by Walker Matheson five months before Pearl (*The Living Age*, July, 1941, pp. 437-38), he would have been a Western Hemisphere intellectual standout.

Going on to other things, Chapter 13, "With One Voice," is an entertaining discourse on popular culture during hostilities, both in the armed forces and the civilian world. This also excites comparison with the First War. What a literary veteran of the 1917-18 time, James Rorty, described as the "herd rhythms" of the general public and the soldiery in those days were truly awful, and there were in excess of three score of utterly execrable "songs" perpetrated on America and the world (some sold in the millions), especially by the phonograph, to prove it (how could you beat

the likes of “Hello Central, Give Me No Man’s Land,” “When Tony Goes Over The Top,” and “Mammy’s Chocolate Soldier”?). There is no indication of it in *War Time* but in the six weeks after Pearl the composers of the land copyrighted about 300 new songs, a very large number incorporating vicious and malevolent racial and ethnic abuse, obviously directed at raising public hackles and universal murderous sentiment. But not one of them faintly approached the status of a war propaganda sing-along such as “Over There” by George M. Cohan (big in 1917, nearly ignored by the industry in 1918), and few were ever performed anywhere. It was the utterly unmarital that stuck this time, and so distressingly sentimental and treacly that the totality was an incitation to desertion. It is additionally ironic that what Prof. Fussell describes as the Second War’s “singing anthem,” the “Beer Barrel Polka,” was a pre-war importation from Czecho-Slovakia, performed by a Prague musette-orchestra, and was on the juke boxes of the country nation-wide as a wordless instrumental number well before a set of lyrics in English were supplied and generally sung in accompaniment.

A generous part of *War Time* is Prof. Fussell’s fond memorial of and tribute to wartime literature, all of Chapters 15 and 16 (and parts of others, for that matter), the former being devoted primarily to Cyril Connolly and the inception and contents of the remarkable London magazine *Horizon*, which well preceded U.S.A. wartime involvement. That this should be done is entirely proper in a volume by a distinguished professor of English literature with an education spanning the Ivy Leagues of both coasts, from matriculation in the nucleus of the Claremont Colleges in California to the terminal doctorate from Harvard.

One is again impelled to recall the 1917-18 experience while reading this charming reconstruction. The second time around the war government did not create an agency to police and censor the armed-forces reading, like the First Wares War Library Service, with its perfumed and denatured reading manual, *Books In Camp, Trench and Hospital* (2 editions, 1917 + 1918). But it had a much more sophisticated guide through the corral in the shape of the publishing industry’s self-policing and self-censoring Council on Books In Wartime, which blanketed both armed forces and home front with millions of copies of laboratory-tested and inexpensively processed books calculated to boost “morale” as well as to sell political positions and other things, including recreation and what the author designates as “diversion.”

He is far too realistic, however, to suggest that the Council’s highbrow literature was the general fare of the soldiery at large. On p. 250 he frankly declares, “the comic book was the book of the war,” “the favorite reading in the armed forces.” Even this represents an advance in literacy on the previous war, however. In 1919 the War Department released figures indicating that one out of every four of those registering for conscription in 1917-18 between the ages of 21 and 31 had been unable whatsoever to read or write, some 700,000 (*New York Times*, February 18, 1919, p. 11). Those barely able to do either undoubtedly were a much larger number, especially in view of over 24 million ultimately registered by the end of the war in a somewhat expanded age spread. This illiteracy statistic, which got wide attention in the nation’s post-war press, was responsible during the years 1919-23 for the first big drive to bring about the inclusion of a Department of Education in the federal government. (It is standard narrative that the decision to build an army out of conscriptees rather than volunteers was an idea of the Chief of Staff, General Hugh Scott, and impressed upon War Secretary Newton D. Baker, who “sold” the idea to Pres. Wilson. All dictionaries concede that the origins of the slang term for World War One American soldiers, “doughboys,” are “obscure,” but seem never to have contemplated this word in relation to the name of the key figure in the mass roundup of American manpower. One must assume dragnets of such vast scope will always uncover a lot of things those responsible for administration thereof wish they had not found out.) Whatever may be the situation, by 1941 we had a vast legion with at least a rudimentary vocabulary (word counts by specialists published in such sources

as the *Quarterly Journal of Speech* calculated that Pres. Roosevelt's famed "fireside chats" to the nation 1933-41 consisted almost entirely of the most common 900 words in the English tongue), and found that range of expression satisfied by cartoon magazines.

The author pays proper obeisance to the contemporary conventions and fixations re "race" and ethnic considerations which have loomed ever so much larger in the last 30 years, and manages to read history backward a bit in "presentist" fashion in so doing, finding sinister things in the spread magazine advertising of the 1940-45 time, in what was a quite innocent context then and of course seen as so abhorrent today, especially in the super-hypersensitive Halls of Poison Ivy. It is an aspect of unending tendencies to adjust the past to the present, reflected on an obvious level by the laying low of statues, renaming of buildings because the original designates have fallen into disrepute for something done long ago now thought to be shameful, expunging of past awards and honors, retroactive cancellation of university degrees and other similar efforts to demonstrate the higher degree of purity now prevailing in public affairs and the superior sanctity in perception of righteousness. Here it has become "trendy" not only to deplore the actions of predecessors, which is bound to take place in reassessments of what things mean, but also to make positive physical changes in the landscape and alterations in the printed record to emphasize that contemporaries have not only become penitent in their name *ex post facto* but are willing to consider them to be non-persons in the effort to make it evident that "conversion" to a more holy state of ceremonial conscience has been effected. This impulse not only encourages the alteration of the record: it subtly attempts to include in the record things that never took place.

It used to be a conviction generations ago that the only certainty upon the outbreak of war was that one side would not win. Modern wars are mainly lost by both sides, though it takes awhile for this to be realized. In first shock of apparent "victory," however, the "winners" are posed no questions nor ever expected to answer any, while the defeated ("victory is with the defeated," wrote the 16th century German scholar Sebastian Franck) have to answer for everything, including a range of things that should have happened if they did not.

(Many people have difficulty distinguishing what they have experienced from what they have *imagined*, and in wartime this becomes a widespread disability, partially reflected in such consequences as wondrous fabricated inventions conjured-up apparitions and narrative filled with fictions, left to be undone when [and if] sobriety returns and those who have lost their heads find them again.)

In dwelling on the diversions of the armed forces of 1940-45, however, Fussell does not lean backward to examine any possible relation between then and now in another pressing matter of almost total absorption on the part of those of our moment, like "racism," namely, drugs. Preoccupation with alcohol and drunkenness as a distraction is another social fact with heavy echoes of 1917-18, but Prof. Fussell fails to pick up any strain of involvement with the hard narcotics or even marijuana, already a national recreation well before the start of world hostilities in 1939. We know World War I sent home to the U.S.A. a substantial cohort hooked on morphine, largely resulting from primary exposure in French front-line medical stations and hospitals, where it was a routinely administered painkiller. And Paris police submitted a memorandum to the Wilson government in the summer of 1920, first published here in the administration's *Commerce Reports* and filtering thereafter into the general press, claiming that 1,500 U.S. deserters were making a living at criminal enterprise in Paris and vicinity supplying guns and deriving their income "chiefly from the illicit sale of drugs." Though profoundly embarrassing and outrageously unacceptable socially in the American scene (a drunk in the family was admitted as casually as one with bad eyesight, but who ever acknowledged a dope addict?), hard drugs were as big in the

Prohibition era as was booze, even if this phenomenon still lacks a decent chronicling. Maybe someone will get around to this some time, but the subject is hardly a recent topic (*vide* the famed “war on drugs” waged by the League of Nations in 1924-25 and thereabouts, while the 1909 “war on drugs” has long been forgotten).

Readers with a fair grasp of economic history will surely assess Prof. Fussell as an amateur at that kind of enterprise, and the part of his book dealing with the home front is the weakest. Only 15 when the war began and barely 20 when wounded in combat in 1945, the author obviously had no personal experience of any significance in the complex rat race of induced administrative shortages, rationing, price controls, evasion, product degeneration and alteration, black market operations, criminal expertise of several kinds and a variety of related subjects which were a part of the economic experience here (he manages to mention a couple.) *War Time* does not come within many magnitudes of the chapter-and-verse excoriation one finds in such as Prof. Fred A. Shannon’s *America’s Economic Growth* (3rd. ed., Macmillan, 1951.) (The American standard of living declined markedly 1942-45 despite the flood of money which war production bestowed upon the populace.) His brief reportage on the gray, gritty bleakness of early '40s wartime Britain is good, but another part of it sounds like a remembrance-of-upper-middle-class-dinners-past, though lacking Proust’s obsession with cauliflower.

Fussell’s strong suit is analysis of advertising in American magazines of the war era, but he neglects the part played by advertisers, not in trying to sell the war and everyone doing their part, but in trying to prime future consumers for the period after the war, a sorry ploy grossly overplayed by all. As Prof. Shannon remarked acidly, “The ‘golden postwar future’ consisted of the ball-point pen.” As for economic crime and the home front economy, we still have only a partial picture of that even now. The fortunes made by organized crime out of the war have been partially documented (see for instance the *Valachi Papers*); as the implacable Mafia-pursuer, Ralph Salerno, put it, “World War Two came as a godsend to the Mafia.” On the legitimate side we may, some decade, get as clear a picture of what happened domestically as we had of 1917-18 by as early as 1925. The Senate Investigating Committee chaired by Harry S. Truman of Missouri in 1942, while revealing some \$50 billion had already been skimmed off war contracts as “slush,” quoted one company executive testifying before it as saying, “If it had not been for taxes, we could not have handled our profits with a steam shovel.” (Shannon, *op. cit.*, p. 841.)

There have been many eloquent statements across the years describing war as the occasion for the ultimate in sacrifices. War is also the occasion for the achievement of the ultimate in swinery, and the rise to prominence, according to the famed British liberal, John Bright (1811-1889), of the worst of a nation’s leadership class or pool. Pondering this leads one to dwell for a moment upon the observation by Frank Moore Colby, this reviewer’s favorite 20th century literary critic, that “Some of the best reasons for remaining at the bottom come from looking at what is at the top.”

Prod Fussell’s concluding chapter seems to have impressed early readers most, especially the gripping episodes of carnage quoted by him from various witnesses. In the main this depiction of outrageous incidents of gore and dismemberment seems to have borne in on particularly those who have no evident reading experience in World War One literature on the subject. Recommended are the books by Ellen La Motte, Georges Duhamel, Henri Barbusse, Andreas Latzko, Philip Gibbs, Roland Dorgelés and Ludwig Renn, among thirty or more memoirs which exceed what is at hand in sustained ghastliness, all but Renn appearing in the first wave of 1916-20 literary disclosure of the 1914-18 *Schrecklichkeit*. (Later in the decade there is a second surge which really does not compare with the earliest on record, though one may suggest the later books are more elegantly written.) It may be added, however, that as gruesome as are the incidents in *War*

Time, anyone who had ever read reports of or talked to men attached to Graves Registrars' units might recall a far lengthier string of just as compelling recitations, and know that a vast number of soldiers' graves in combat lands contain only pieces of their bodies, and sometimes very little. They may also know that an uncounted multitude not only were never identified but never were reconstituted sufficiently to make possible a formal burial, as at Verdun, let alone the legions lost at sea. The World War II story, especially on the Eastern Front 1941-45 and, during much of the war, in Asia and the Pacific, may probably exceed a good part of 1914-18 if ever comprehensively told.

In a subject directly related to the above, there is no sustained discussion of the demographic impact of all the World War II loss of life upon America or Britain, let alone the rest of the world, in *War Time*, probably a reflection of its contemporary unfashionableness ("We have lost our best men," wailed a French letter writer to the editors of the American weekly *The Nation* early in 1919). Nor has anyone else since 1945 ever tried to describe the horrendous dysgenic consequences of the war to the human species as was developed with such ominous emphasis during World War I by the globally distinguished Stanford University biologist and educator, David Starr Jordan.

Since virtually no one took the time to look around after 1945 before the newest stages of perpetual war for perpetual peace set in, contemplating *demographic* consequences simply did not take place, neither in the manner of Dr. Jordan, nor the famed Red Cross figure, Homer Folks, whose *The Human Costs of the War* (Harper, 1920) was exceeded by no other memoir in exhibiting what the just-concluded conflict had done to the race, and certainly not as in the furious books of Duhamel, *The Life of Martyrs and Civilization: 1914-1917* (the English titles of the translations), published here by Century in 1919. Duhamel was so repelled and disintegrated by what he had to cope with as a front line surgeon that he exploded in the conclusion of the second title above (which won a Goncourt Prize in France in 1918), "I hate the twentieth century as I hate rotten Europe and the whole world on which this wretched Europe is spread out like a great spot of axle-grease." The somber and morose assessments of these and others did not happen a second time, while the slack was immediately taken up by "defense" and the Cold War expansion into the affairs of those who permitted it or welcomed it, or who could not do anything about it. So it was no wonder that after 1945 there developed an approach which ignored demographic arithmetic and qualitative re-considerations, while assisting the emergence of a class of ideological desperadoes and related theoretical strategic "megadeath intellectual" assassins who coolly measured how many tens of millions might conveniently be sacrificed in the sustaining or extension of what was conceived as "freedom" and "democracy." Their assumptions seemed to be that it made no difference as long as the surviving breeding stock consisted of anyone resembling humans, and that no matter how physically or mentally defective a residue, the survivors could be confidently depended upon to swell a pool of offspring incorporating the joint qualities of Hercules and Isaac Newton. The assiduous peddling of and the mindless belief in the notion that things can only go up, never down, has helped bring about the decline or demise of more than one people and nation.

In putting together this estimate and examination of *War Time* it was considered proper to leave for the last a look at the religious dimension of the war era, but this aspect, which stands so large in sketching in the final outlines of the Great War (as Prof. Fussell calls it throughout), is almost too brief to warrant a reflection, let alone a comparison with the earlier combat. There has been no *Preachers Present Arms* (1933) dealing with World War II ("Bloodthirsty Preachers: How They Fanned War Fever in 1914-18," as *Newsweek* so succinctly summarized Ray Hamilton Abrams' book). In *War Time* the subject is mainly represented by a few pages in Chapter 16's condensed literary history of the war, stressing the U.S. experience, and what perhaps the pub-

lishing industry was wishing the troops were reading, predominantly references to inspirational uplift and related morale-propping messages and narratives, mainly biblical and historical, with very little contemporary input (there were echoes of the first war to be encountered here and there, to be sure, such as the declaration in London by the Archbishop of York, quoted by *Time* of January 29, 1940, “We are fighting for Christian civilization,” along with rather frequent assertions from Anglo-American clerics about how “righteous” it all was, but in the U.S.A. there really was no Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis this time around, nor even a Rev. John Roach Straton.) And as a result there was not the exhausted mindlessness that followed November 11, 1918 and the four years of straying from the ways of peace that they were supposed to have been following, reflected in the books various theologians and preachers wrote or tried to write from 1919-21, a sad record of stupid and paralyzed incoherence which effectively baffled those who read or attempted to read this material. Essentially, what happened in the aftermath of 1918 and of 1945 was so different that dwelling on the subject is to risk starting another book.

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Early in 1958 this reviewer wrote a lengthy dispatch to the editors of the magazine *Liberation*, suggesting among other matters the necessity of a systematic and extended debunking of World War II, and that if such did not take place in the manner of 1916-36, the citizenry had better start getting themselves measured for lead underwear. The editors gave my discourse prominent disclosure in a subsequent issue, but it inspired nothing, and a few years later, in the regime of the sainted John F. Kennedy, Americans all over the country were tearing up their driveways to install atom bomb shelters. And enough has been published in the last 30 years cringing over the possibility of a planet-wide atomic barbecue to fill a substantial library.

The war in need of deflation now having taken place so long ago, peculiar problems, provoking indeed grounds for a moment of hesitation, arise. Repeated surveys made in recent years of general levels of information prevailing reveal that there are young people who have grave difficulty placing the Second World War in the right century, let alone knowing who fought it and where. Undoubtedly there may be some among them that believe the First World War was one of the 12th-century Crusades, and if pressed, on a multiple choice test, might identify Belisarius as a junior officer under General George Patton at the Battle of Waterloo, and Procopius as a saxophone player in Duke Ellington’s orchestra at the time of the 1939 New York World’s Fair. In the meantime these ignoramuses are part of those who live in a world political community which has done little for four and a half decades except react to the debris and the officially-peddled legends of 1939-45, while occasionally scratching their chins and pates wondering what it is all about.

Despite this degeneracy, every now and then a book comes along stirring up the hope once more that the campaign suggested above might start materializing. *War Time* is the latest. Though it is obvious such an intent is vastly remote from the author’s object in writing it, nevertheless it is pleasant to contemplate it as the putative initial entry of a season of similar works (maybe 30 more would seem about right) to memorialize World War II in a manner attractive to the general Revisionist impulse.

All times are disorderly. The notion that human affairs move in the direction of something called “normalcy” is a hallucination. The most profound and impressive modern sources of disorder are big, long wars, the aftershocks of which roll across the world for generations in a series of massive political tidal waves, though few of the politicians and warriors live to see the consequences of their endeavors, or understand them if they do. On the literary, artistic and intellectual level, however, the reverberations of these epic struggles last far longer and probably will never entirely vanish as long as memory activated by curiosity bulks so large a part of the human psyche

(it was Samuel Johnson who remarked that curiosity was “one of the permanent and certain characteristics of a vigorous mind.”) *War Time* embodies, at least in some measure, the inevitable, and possibly salutary, disquiet which must arise, above all for citizens of the “victorious” nations, in contemplating the reality of the Second World War.

Source: vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 81-85.

Reviews

Why I Survived the A-Bomb

- Why I Survived the A-Bomb, by Akira Kohchi. Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1989, hardbound, 230 pages, photographs, \$19.95, ISBN 0-939484-31-5.

Reviewed by Thomas Jackson

Why I Survived the A-Bomb is a moving memoir of Akira Kohchi's boyhood in war-time Hiroshima, and of the city's devastation on August 6, 1945. The heart of the book is Mr. Kohchi's keen-eyed account of his astonishing traverse of the entire city immediately after the bombing. It is a tale of suffering and bafflement that is all the more haunting for the flat, almost child-like language in which he describes a 16-year-old's encounter with the most destructive power ever unleashed by man.

The book is further useful in presenting an apologia for the course which led Japan from the Manchurian Incident of 1931 to war with China in 1937, then to the development of an East Asian empire (euphemistically styled the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" and war against the English, French, Dutch, and American empires in the Pacific. Despite its partisanship, Kohchi's survey serves to introduce an historical perspective, and many forgotten facts, that few Americans will have encountered elsewhere.

Less impressive are Kohchi's attempts to understand what he calls the how and why of the bombing. He supplies a potted history of the Manhattan project, and arguably exaggerates (though not by much) the malice aforethought in the operation itself (Kohchi claims that instruments dropped by parachute just before the bombing were intended to draw the attention of Hiroshimans on the ground, blinding them by the thousands when the blast followed seconds later). Fortunately, these sometimes tendentious summaries make up less than a fifth of the book, and do not detract from the power of Kohchi's first hand accounts.

The author's boyhood in the 1930s is an ironic commentary on the world of a half-century later. His well-appointed home was filled with American appliances: Emerson radio, Kodak camera, General Electric record player, Westinghouse fan and iron. His father, the grandson of a samurai, worked as an auto mechanic, but virtually every vehicle that came into the shop was American. Kohchi's childhood friends would gather to admire the plush seats, chrome radiators, and luxurious paint jobs of Packards, Nashs and Fords.

Japan's arms industry, however, was first rate, and the young Kohchi hardly knew a time when Japanese troops were not engaged in some far corner of the empire. When, as a sixth-grader, he learned that Japan was suddenly at war with Britain, the Netherlands, Australia and the United States, it seemed hardly different from war with China. His school principal understood the dif-

ference, and in a harangue to the assembled students, proudly proclaimed that this was real war, that Japan was the first Asian nation to threaten the white man with his own weapons.

It was, indeed, real war, and it brought great hardship. Rationing, which had already started in 1940 because of the American embargo, got worse. Stores closed because they had nothing to sell. Children scavenged for tin cans, bottles, old tires, newspapers and rusty nails. Women donated their jewelry to the war effort, and gasoline was so precious that even military officers rode bicycles.

Although the government encouraged hatred for all things American, old habits lingered. Shirley Temple movies had been enormously popular, and many young women still curled their hair. The radio started denouncing this “American” look, and children learned to jeer at waved hair, calling it “birds' nests.” Women soon shook out their curls.

After the Battle of Midway, just six months into the war, schools dropped English from the curriculum, and replaced it with military training. Kohchi and his puny classmates could barely lift the antique, oversized rifles they trained with, and he sometimes collapsed from heat exhaustion. Before the year was out, the school day was often cut short so that students could help with the harvest. By early 1944, all pretense of schooling ended, and Kohchi's class went to work in a munitions factory that had been emptied by the draft.

Late that year, American B-29s began regular bombing raids. Although Hiroshima was Japan's seventh largest city, it had little military value and was not fire-bombed, but the nearby naval base at Kure was attacked several times. Kohchi writes of watching in mortified silence as American bombers poured destruction upon his homeland, and of wishing for some kind of supernatural power so that he could stop them.

The people of Hiroshima prepared for air raids by sewing cloth dog-tags into their coats, and made thick cloth helmets. They cut fire breaks through the town, and Kohchi's house was torn down by a work crew of school children. The fire breaks would mean nothing when a single bomb fell less than a month later.

On the morning of August 6, Kohchi was 15 miles outside the city, riding a trolley to the munitions factory. The bomb blast blew the trolley off its tracks and stunned the passengers but they were unhurt. No one knew what had happened. A huge, multi-colored cloud was rising over Hiroshima, and some thought that a volcano had erupted. Others thought there had been an earthquake. Kohchi spent the rest of the day in baffled ignorance.

Rather than go to work, Kohchi decided to go back to town to look for his father. Since the trolleys weren't running, he started on foot, guided by the towering mushroom cloud that hung over the city. At first he walked through countryside that was untouched by the blast, but before long he came across evidence of destruction. Streams of people were staggering out of the city with horrible burns all over their bodies. People dropped in agony by the roadside. He tried to help a woman to her feet, but the skin from her shoulder came off in his hand in great sheets. People who had been looking up at the silvery bomber were blinded by the flash; their eyes were milky white. Others had been burned nearly naked, and blood oozed through their blackened skin. As he drew closer to the city, the road was caked with blood.

In his ignorance of the extent of the destruction, Kohchi could not understand why buildings were left to burn out of control. He marveled at the incompetence of fire fighters who were clearly not doing their jobs. Through fire, rubble, and charred corpses, he made his way to the civil defense headquarters in the hope of learning what had happened. It was only as he stood be-

fore the deserted, flaming hulk of the building that he understood that not only was there no rescue effort but there was no one to rescue. He was practically alone in the ravaged city.

He went on to look for his father, but all the landmarks in his neighborhood had disappeared. He finally realized that even if he were standing in the ruins of his own house it would be impossible to find his father in the rubble. He walked north of the city, and slept under the stars in a vegetable field. It was only the next morning — 24 hours after the bombing — that he first saw other normal, unhurt people, and learned that Americans had wrought the destruction.

Kohchi does not explain how a 16-year-old boy endured the sight of the horrors he saw that day, nor what drove him to enter the blazing city. He had a fierce, Japanese devotion to his elders, and his father had often told him of the duties of a samurai, but everyone else was fleeing the inferno. Kohchi entered the city alone; he even swam a river rather than cross a bridge, for fear that a sentry might turn him back. He covered nearly 20 miles that day, including at least three miles through the trackless hell that had been Hiroshima. His trek must surely be one of the most extraordinary efforts of that extraordinary day.

Three days later, a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, and six days later Japan surrendered. The surrender caught Hiroshima by surprise; even as thousands of apparently unhurt men and women were dying of radiation poisoning, what was left of the city was comically girding itself to fight off an American invasion.

Peace brought no immediate relief. There were virtually no doctors, medicines, or food, and the wounded continued to die. On September 17, a typhoon smashed the frail shelters the townspeople had thrown up. American occupation forces eventually arrived and brought supplies.

The atomic bombing, as the final agony of a war fought to exhaustion, has had a lasting effect on Japan. Japan is certainly the least militarist of all industrial nations, and revulsion at the prospect of war has been seared into the national character. As personal griefs fade into the past, a hatred of war and the tools of war is the most durable legacy of Hiroshima. At the same time, Japan's treatment of the survivors of the bombing — the *hibakusha* — has been ambiguous. There is a streak of Buddhist fatalism that justifies travails in this life as punishment for sins in previous lives. Japan has long tried to push the *hibakusha* into marginal lives and to forget about them. It is only recently, and especially outside of Japan, that *hibakusha* are trotted out at “peace” rallies, where they are fawned over for their sufferings.

An American professor of Japanese literature once observed that the atomic bombings are for Japanese what the “Holocaust” is for Jews: it is the thing they are proudest of. This is, however, only half true, for the Japanese are also painfully ashamed of the bombings. Although it has become fashionable among daring Japanese to explain their nation's decision to go to war as a *pis-aller* to which they were forced by American intransigence, few can bring themselves to see the bombings as anything but the terrible fruit whose seed was sown at Pearl Harbor.

Even so, when Japanese are feeling sorry for themselves, they like to describe the atomic bombing of civilians as a cruelty that America reserved only for Asians. This is Kohchi's view, though even if America had them in time, there is little reason to doubt that it would have used atomic weapons against Germans. James Bacque's recent revelations about General Eisenhower's deliberate starving of German POWs suggests that racial ties would have been no obstacle.

Whatever the morality of exterminating 130,000 civilians with a single bomb, it remains a unique and sobering event. Akira Kohchi's first-hand account brings it to life in all its horror.

Source: vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 85-91.

Review

Sacrifice at Pearl Harbor

- **One in the series “Our Century,” produced by British Broadcasting Corp., and cable-cast December 1989, on the Arts & Entertainment Network. Written and produced by Roy Davies.**

Reviewed by William Grimstad

Pearl Harbor will be Franklin Roosevelt’s Watergate. That portentous idea was expressed fourteen years ago in an article by Percy Greaves, a leading historian of the world-wrenching 1941 catastrophe (and member of this journal’s Editorial Advisory Committee until his death in 1984). Ironically, the suspicion-shrouded American naval disaster itself now may prove the opening wedge that begins to force historical revisionism into public awareness.

It must have been difficult in 1976 for Greaves to visualize how any significant depreciation of such a major ikon as Roosevelt, who enjoyed immense prestige among numberless millions of Americans in his lifetime, could occur. This past December, however, with the airing of the new television documentary, *Sacrifice at Pearl Harbor*, it now seems at least conceivable that some such process may have begun, bringing with it what appears to be the very first willing and fair-minded televised exposure of World War Two revisionist ideas.

In recent months, we have seen images of immense Josef Stalin bronzes toppled onto muddy streets by angry mobs in Prague and other East European capitals he is supposed to have “liberated.” Britain’s Winston Churchill, too, has come in for severe castigation in fairly widely read biographical work by David Irving. It remains to be seen not only what is in store for the third and most important of the “Big Three” World War Two leaders, but what any such devaluation might portend for war history, as well as for many bedrock assumptions of the contemporary era.

I believe that the video may profitably be analyzed from several perspectives: as “straight” Pearl Harbor Revisionist history, as a propaganda piece suggestive of shifts beneath the surface of contemporary opinion molding, as a development with possible implications for the “Jewish Holocaust” legend, and finally for philosophical hints we may draw as to how the world we live in really operates.

Actually, a certain Reconstruction of the lofty Rooseveltian reputation already has begun with revelations of his (and his wife’s) less-than-sterling moral character and quite active extramarital love life, among other peccadilloes. The closing minutes of *Sacrifice*, however, with their shockingly explicit chastisement of the man in terms of “culpability” for the undefended status of the base, do raise the stakes by an incalculable factor. This inevitably poses the ugly question of treason or even misprision of mass murder of the 2,403 service personnel whom Roosevelt may have

allowed to be sacrificed, although it must be stressed that there is no juridical proof of any such intent, only a chain of suspicious circumstances.

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With minor exceptions, Pearl Harbor specialists will find little new ground broken here. The program is based upon John Toland's 1982 *Infamy* and so falls heir to that book's deficiencies as well as its strengths. One gathers that the producers feared going too far, since even Toland has been reviled by some as an extremist.

Whatever their reasons, the scripters studiously ignore the pioneering and truly important Pearl Harbor Revisionists, the men who did all of this spadework decades ago, the men whom the academic-propaganda apparat still suppresses and clearly fears. George Morgenstern, Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles Callan Tansill, Percy L. Graves, Jr., William L. Neumann, James J. Martin — none of these names cross their lips. This restricts them to Toland, plus interviews with a number of the surviving military and naval participants.

When they do borrow from one of the pioneers, as for example in their discussion of the U.S. Army's secret radio intercept station on Oahu, which relayed to Washington undeciphered radio traffic of Japanese origin, it is without credit, even though this material was first developed two generations ago in Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*.

There are sins of commission as well. Following the Toland model, a great deal of emphasis is laid on a wide variety of people claiming to have become aware of Japanese communications, or at least intentions, before December 7, 1941, and suggesting with full benefit of hindsight that an attack flotilla was definitely known to be en route. These include apparently levelheaded individuals such as ex-Naval Intelligence operative Robert Ogg, who describes U.S. wiretapping of West Coast Japanese officials and the Navy's extensive radio surveillance of the Pacific area. Ogg's view now is that he had "a positive fix on the Japanese fleet" by the first days of December.

Leslie E. Grogan, a radio operator on Matson steamships also is depicted receiving Japanese fleet signals when approaching Hawaii in early December, which he then turned over to Naval Intelligence in Honolulu. However, research in naval archives by Ladislas Farago (published in his *The Broken Seal*), which first disclosed the Grogan intercepts, also concludes that nothing in the records shows radio intercepts of any significance relative to Pearl Harbor before the attack. These men certainly deserve a hearing, but the situation begins to strain credibility when the cameras swing to other figures, particularly Captain Eric Nave of the Australian Navy. The aged Nave makes expansive claims to having "broken" by late 1939 the formidable Japanese naval code, JN-25, which defied all U.S. attempts on it until well after Pearl Harbor. Concurring, the narrator intones that "it was crucial to British Naval Intelligence that every message was intercepted."

Curiously enough, though, if the British were indeed busily decoding all Japanese naval radio traffic two years before Pearl Harbor, the information did them precious little good, as was pointed out by James J. Martin when we viewed the program. In December 1941, the Japanese began blowing the Royal Navy out of the water when they deftly sank its two biggest battleships, the *Repulse* and the *Prince of Wales*, off Malaya, and sank the aircraft carrier *Hermes* and the cruisers *Cornwall* and *Dorsetshire* off Ceylon in April 1942. Where were the Eric Naves then, as Dr. Marffn asked?

This brings up a persistent tendency that increasingly colors much of the Establishment's endless and seemingly compulsive rehashing of this war, not excepting "Sacrifice at Pearl Harbor." In the publishing industry, one of the largest selling genres has always been cookbooks; however, I wonder if what we might call spookbooks may not be emerging as a serious rival, since these do seem to have become a huge sector of the Anglo-Saxon war-press output.

It has been a long time since the truly great British histories of the war, by B.H. Liddell Hart and J.F.C. Fuller, and what we are left with today are too often grandiose narratives of tide- turning, and conveniently unverifiable, exploits by one superhuman British spymaster after another. Some of that fantasizing seems to have entered in here, possibly as part of an increasingly noticeable "our finest hour" nostalgia.

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One should not belabor such failings, of course, since this is not scholarly history, after all. We should be happy that this long-suppressed material is at last coming out before the mass audience that television commands. Actually, the program does convey at least one important historical point when it notes that General Walter Short, who was in charge of U.S. Army forces at Pearl Harbor, was technically responsible for safety of the naval fleet in port. This fact always has been blurred over by Establishment hack historians trying to prop up the stubborn Roosevelt administration line that the local Navy command was to blame for losses in the raid, rather than politicians and top brass centered around Japanophobic War Secretary Henry L. Stimson and his right-hand man, Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, back in Washington.

Anyone of even cursory familiarity with Pearl Harbor Revisionism will find much of interest, as many of the leading expert witnesses whom one has read of for years are discussed and, when possible, interviewed on camera: among others, Edwin T. Layton, Joseph Rochefort and Ralph Briggs, naval officers who has much to tell about the signals intercept enigma; Joe Leib, the journalist who filed a famous wire story predicting the December 7 attack a week before it happened based, he says, on a briefing from Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Edward Hanify, longtime defense counsel to the late Admiral H.E. Kimmel, base commander, who had been incriminated by the initial, Roosevelt-staged investigation, although cleared in subsequent inquiries.

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One wonders what might come along next in this series. There would be no shortage of further Pearl Harbor material, omitted or soft-pedaled in this foray:

- The entire matter of Roosevelt-ordered sanctions against Japan, including not only the shipping blockade mentioned here, but also freezing of financial assets, resulting in immediate depression conditions and mass unemployment in Japan, an intolerable provocation that no nation could be expected to endure;
- Material developed by Gordon Prange in his *Tora! Tora! Tora!* indicating that the Japanese attack force had orders to turn back if they found Pearl Harbor defended;
- The November 25, 1941, diary entry by "hawk" Henry Stimson admitting — incredibly — that "the question was how we should maneuver them [the Japanese] into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves." Plus many other topics.

For now, however, we have more than enough to ponder when a television production aimed at a broad audience can sketch out a new epitaph for the man who, at least among Democratic Party loyalists, has been one of the most fanatically revered political leaders in American history:

For nearly fifty years, one question has been repeatedly asked: did Roosevelt allow Pearl Harbor to happen so that the surprise attack would give him the excuse to take America into the Second World War? The new evidence that has come to light strongly suggests that he did ...

If this program really is a Revisionist “opening wedge” of some sort and not a mere fluke, it might be an occasion for a rather profound meditation as to why so much large-scale falsified history has got written in the first place. One would have to look at certain aspects of modern urban society, such as the rise of centralized communications media with vast means for censorship and quasi-Pavlovian conditioning in shaping counterfeit consensuses almost to order.

A few perceptive individuals caught the drift of this process early in the game. Senator Burton K. Wheeler of North Dakota memorably denounced Roosevelt’s war jockeying in early 1941 as “the New Deal’s 'Triple A' foreign policy — to plow under every fourth American boy.” Of great value in any such study would be Charles Lindbergh’s *Wartime Journals*, with its fascinating day-to-day record of the amazing administration and mass-media teamwork in gradually swinging around public opinion from staunch noninterventionist to a confused tension in which the Pearl Harbor *coup de théâtre* could detonate a nationwide attitude switch almost in a matter of hours.

Naturally, those of us who have taken interest in the “Holocaust” problem will give close attention to what might be the effect of a discredited Roosevelt on that later and far greater confabulation. The Pearl Harbor trumpery only concludes the explosive overture to a Grand Guignol of WW2 falsification, whose absurdist finale of Jewish immolation continues to be encored in our ears almost a half-century after the supposed event.

Strictly speaking, the future of the Hoax does not stand or fall by the reputation of Roosevelt, who of course is now ungratefully muttered at for “doing nothing about the death camps.” Longer term, however, the Holocaust impresarios certainly cannot welcome a queasy climate of public skepticism that this sort of turbulence inevitably fosters. After all, if American war entry can be seen as not only duplicitous but possibly even treasonous, how easy will it be to keep up a proper aura of reverence toward the war’s most sanctified episode?

So, the question of why this piece, now, remains and goads curiosity. It is hard to understand jeopardizing the entire jerry-built design of the postwar era by dethroning its chief American architect. Surely Pearl Harbor Revisionism was still safely in the “historical blackout” deepfreeze denounced by Harry Elmer Barnes. One would think that there was everything to lose and nothing to gain by compromising Roosevelt.

In the end, one comes back to observations like Churchill’s famous and astoundingly blasé remark about the truth in time of war needing to be protected by “a bodyguard of lies,” but then one wonders why the guard would be withdrawn afterward, considering what is at stake. Perhaps there is some greater import to the old proverb that “Lies have long legs,” so that, no matter how iron-shackled, they seem eventually to get loose and start destabilizing things.

Philosophers of history might ponder whether we do not need a new research speciality to deal with the peculiarly fraud-ridden and conspiratorial character of this era. Political chicanery has always existed, to be sure: examples abound in American history. One need think only of the high-level conniving that deployed terrorist-murderer John Brown in sparking off an earlier war fever, recently explored by Otto Scott’s *The Secret Six*; or the extremely dubious ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment after the Civil War, with such dire consequences in our day. Yet, it does seem that the sleight of hand is reaching ever higher orders of magnitude.

Dare one hope that this program, in its small way, signals some sort of turnaround?

Source: vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 91-98.

Review

Broken Alliance: The Turbulent Times Between Blacks and Jews in America

- **by Jonathan Kaufman.** New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988. 311 pages, \$19.95, Hb., ISBN 0-684-18699-3.

Reviewed by Paul Grubach

Broken Alliance is an account of how the twentieth-century alliance between Jews and blacks in the United States came into being, and how it came to be broken. Concentrating on the period since the Second World War, the author describes the rise and fall of the black-Jewish coalition through biographies of three blacks and four Jews who were deeply involved in the civil-rights movement.

The author of *Broken Alliance*, Jonathan Kaufman, is a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter for the *Boston Globe*. A Jew with Zionist sympathies, Kaufman owns to an early perception of alienation from Gentile society and culture: "I knew that, as Jews, my family and I would always be outsiders." (p. 2)

Though not a scholarly work, *Broken Alliance* provides the reader with a detailed, and for so widely available a book, unusually frank discussion of the past, present, and future of a minority coalition which has decisively influenced virtually everything to do with black-white relations in America over the past four decades.

Author Kaufman, drawing an alliterative shaft from Jesse Jackson's rhetorical quiver, writes that the history of black- Jewish relations went through three phases: "Cooperation," Confrontation," and "Competition and Conflict." Late in the book, he offers the reader a short synopsis of the factors which allegedly fostered the Jewish-black alliance:

Blacks and Jews were brought together by intersecting agendas. Jews, emerging from the catastrophe of the Second World War, their recent past shaped by their experience of anti-Semitism in the United States and the legacy of Eastern European socialism, latched onto a political agenda which, they believed, would ensure their success in America: Society should not make distinctions based on race or religion. That was good for blacks — but it was good for Jews, too. Blacks, readying in the 1950's for yet another assault on segregation, emboldened by the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education* abolishing segregated schools, were willing to reach out and work with white allies. They accepted the help of Jews as people who could make a difference. There was genuine love and cooperation in the civil rights move-

ment, but for some blacks and Jews, the main motivation was not an alliance but success. The alliance was a means to an end, not an end in itself. (p. 268)

Interestingly enough, the book fully vindicates claims which just a few years ago would have evoked the dread “anti-Semite” label. *Broken Alliance* shows that Jews were a ubiquitous and pervasive force within “black” organizations and the civil rights movement, often exercising significant authority over the black rank and file. “It was Jewish intellectuals, as well as lawyers and fund-raisers, who made the greatest contributions to the civil rights movement.” (p. 108)

Several prominent Jews, including America’s leading Reform rabbi, Stephen Wise, were among the founders of the NAACP in 1909. Joel Spingarn, an English professor at Columbia, became the NAACP’s chairman in 1914 and served off and on in that role until his death in 1939. His brother, Arthur Spingarn, headed the NAACP’s legal struggle; he drew upon the expertise of Jewish legal scholar Felix Frankfurter. The head of the American Jewish Committee, Louis Marshall, argued on behalf of the NAACP before the Supreme Court. Kaufman points out:

At a time when the cause of black rights was far from popular, Jewish givers gave tens of thousands of dollars to keep the NAACP on its feet. In 1930, the onset of the Depression threatened the NAACP’s future. William Rosenwald, son of Julius Rosenwald, the founder of Sears, Roebuck, offered to donate \$1,000 annually for three years if four others agreed to match the gift. Four did, three of them Jews — Herbert Lehman and Felix Warburg, financiers, and Harold Guinzburg, head of the Viking Press — and one non-Jew, Edsel Ford. (pp. 30-31)

In the summer of 1964, over half the white students heading south to engage in “civil rights” work were Jewish (p. 19). Kaufman adds:

Jews wrote most of the checks that bankrolled the fights of Martin Luther King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); of SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; and the Freedom Rides of James Farmer and CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality). Ever since the early years of the NAACP more than fifty years before, with a Jewish president and, a few years later, a black national organizer, leading Jews on the board of directors, and a vocal black membership, blacks and Jews were linked in the fight to end racial discrimination. (p. 19)

An examination of the top leadership of the civil rights organizations in the 1960’s shows that where there was a black-white alliance for civil rights, it was often a black-Jewish alliance. In addition to Jack Greenberg, director of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, who is profiled in the book, Kaufman points out that:

[Martin Luther] King’s top white adviser was Stanley Levison, a Jewish lawyer whom the FBI believed was a communist agent but whom King relied on to handle his finances, edit his books, and give counsel during some of the crucial crises facing the movement. The president of the NAACP and one of King’s top contributors was Kivie Kaplan, a retired Boston businessman who — personally and through friends — gave hundreds of thousands of dollars, often after a hurried phone call from King or one of his lieutenants. Over at CORE, James Farmer’s top fund-raiser and a key speech writer was Marvin Rich, later succeeded by another Jewish civil rights advocate, Alan Gartner. Jews made up more than half the white lawyers who went south to defend the civil rights protesters. They made up half to three-quarter of the contributors to civil rights organizations, even to the more radical organizations, like SNCC. (pp. 85-86)

Kaufman points out what he believes gave rise to the coalition: “Both [blacks and Jews] shared a common desire to break down the barriers of prejudice. Both shared a common enemy: the prejudiced white Gentile.” (p. 268)

Ultimately, according to the author, the alliance broke up because the expectations and interests of blacks and Jews began to diverge and conflict. Every major Jewish organization, with various degrees of hostility, opposed affirmative action, whereas blacks supported it.

There have been disputes over foreign policy as well. Since the 1970's, some Black leaders have emerged as major critics of Israel and political Zionism. Blacks are unhappy with Israelis intimate relations with South Africa, and the tendency of American Jews to rationalize these. As one politically active, thirty-five-year-old black lawyer, Melanie Lomax, put it, many younger blacks “ don’t respect my parents' generation that was so much in the pocket of the Jewish community. Younger blacks are intent on breaking that stranglehold.” (p. 280) Kaufman adds: “For blacks like Lomax, Jews have become the enemy, the obstacle they must overcome in fighting for political and professional success.” (p. 280)

Despite Kaufman’s careful documentation, which does not detract from his breezy style, one of his central theses, ie. what it was that gave rise to massive and enthusiastic Jewish involvement in the civil rights movement, appears flawed.

The author claims that three factors promoted Jewish devotion to creating a racially integrated society in America. According to Kaufman, “Jews had turned to black causes out of sympathy fueled by the radical politics of Eastern European immigrants, by their own experience with discrimination, and by the horror of the Holocaust.” (p. 33)

Since Kaufman has demonstrated that the central Jewish role in the civil rights movement antedated the “Holocaust” by at least two decades, this factor may easily be subsumed in that of Jewish “experience with immigration.” But even if the “Holocaust” is left to figure as an independent factor, Kaufman’s tripartite explanation for Jewish behavior in America collapses when put to the test elsewhere: specifically, in Israel.

The Zionist state and nation which arose in 1948 might be said to have owed its existence to the “Holocaust,” if that label be attached to the actual German policy of promoting immigration and then turning to expulsion of the Jews of Europe rather than to a fictitious extermination attempt. Modern Zionism, of course, is supposed to have derived much of its impetus from the recognition of leaders like Theodore Herzl that Jews could never hope to be free from discrimination and the threat of persecution in Gentile nations. Finally, among the Zionists who settled in Palestine before the war and flocked there afterwards, there were East European radicals aplenty, and “labor Zionists” of various socialist hues, including Marxists and sometimes even Marxist-Leninists on the far left, first established, then, until a little over a decade ago, governed Israel. [1]

By Kaufman’s criteria, the Jews of Palestine should have championed the rights of the native Arab population. As Revisionists have long known, thanks in good part to courageous Jews such as Alfred Lilienthal, the Zionists did anything but that, and have rather intensified their mistreatment of the Palestinians to the extent that by now every sentient American is aware of it. Far from working for and integrated society in which Jews and Arabs functioned as social and political equals, the Jews who founded Israel created a society in which Israeli Jews dominate “israeli” Arabs, a separate and unequal society in which discrimination is part of the established social order. [2]

For example, ninety per cent of Israel's territory has been legally defined as land, which can be leased and cultivated only by Jews. Key institutions such as the kibbutz are reserved exclusively for Jews, as the Israeli scholar Uri Davis has recently reminded us in his thorough study, *Israel: An Apartheid State*. [3]

Were Jews around the world, and as Kaufman amply demonstrates, particularly in America, not such overbearing critics of national, racial, and religious exclusivity all this might seem like carping. But this stridency, coupled with the fact that the Zionist ideology is a product of more than visceral ethnocentrism, prompts one to wonder if what is sauce for the Gentile goose shouldn't be the same for the Jewish gander, and to ask, more pointedly, why the Zionists opted for national socialism in Israel while so many of their kinsmen were promoting international socialism from America to Russia.

The failure of *Broken Alliance* to offer credible grounds for the vital leadership and support Jews have lent the civil rights and integration struggle is disappointing. Unanswered and unrefuted, the claims of black nationalists, and recently of more than a few black assimilationists, that the Jewish role was prompted by a desire for Jewish control, stemming originally from the commanding role of Jewish merchants and renters in black economic life, and prompted more recently by murkier motives linked to Jewish nationalism, will continue to work their mischief. Nor does this exhaust *Broken Alliance's* failures of insight.

Kaufman never seriously addresses the possibility that active Jewish hostility toward Gentile society and values might have been a factor in taking the part of a group largely shunned by American whites at the start of this century. As Jewish political scientists Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter have shown, this seems to have been a motive for many Jewish civil rights activists. In the words of one of their informants:

... my activity in the civil rights movement was maybe less in terms of a genuine love, say, for black people at the time than with some kind of identification with white people who were disaffected from white society. [4]

The author's openness about the effects of the encroachment of the urban black underclass on old Jewish neighborhoods is instructive not only for its frank sympathy for Jews, but by its contrast with Kaufman's evident attitudes toward non-Jewish Whites in similar situations. As he points out:

In the wake of the urban shifts of the 1960s, Jewish neighborhoods in city after city in the North became black. The shift was often accompanied by a rise in crime and a decline in the neighborhood, often the result of city governments cutting back police protection and other city services For a time in the 1960s, there seemed to be no Jew who did not have a grandmother, a cousin, an elderly aunt, a family friend living in a once Jewish, now black ghetto, hemmed by crime and fear. (p 8)

Dealing with these traumas in microcosm, in his chapter on Jewish Chicagoans Bernie and Roz Epstein, who moved to the suburbs after repeated incidents of black hostility, Kaufman writes of their "struggling over to stay or leave. It wasn't a question of racism." (p. 184) Yet his image of Gentile disinclination to be driven from their neighborhoods is provided by a lurid evocation of white resistance to Martin Luther King's stagey march through Chicago's Marquette Park in 1966, which Kaufman blows up into something approaching a combined pogrom, Nuremberg rally, and lynching bee (fatalities: 0; two were killed and fifty-six injured in a riot in a black Chicago neighborhood three weeks before). Surely there is no question that black Americans have suffered discrimination and oppression, and given that American blacks are citizens of a

country which their ancestors have inhabited for centuries, the civil rights movement was often inspired by legitimate concerns. Kaufman's heavy investment in universalism (outside Israel) blinds him, however, to the possibility that blacks may legitimately seek not merely self-determination — "black control over black lives" — but separatism, obviating the need for white and Jewish mentors to shepherd them to integrated pastures. Likewise, he blinds himself to the possibility that America's white majority might have a legitimate interest in preserving its own identity.

Notes

1.  See Ben Halpern, *The Idea of the Jewish State*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1969); Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, *Origins of the Israeli Polity: Palestine under the Mandate* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); Israel T. Naami, *Israel: A Profile* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972); Baruch Kimmerling, *Zionism and Territory: The Socio-Territorial Dimensions of Zionist Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1983); Mitchell Cohen, *Zion and State: Nation, Class and the Shaping of Modern Israel* (New York: Basil Blackwell 1987); Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time* (New York Alfred A. Knopf, 1979).
 2.  Ian Lustick, *Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel's Control of a National Minority* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1980).
 3.  Uri Davis, *Israel: An Apartheid State* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1987).
 4.  Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism: Jews, Christians, and the New Left* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).
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Source: vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 99-107

Historical news and comment

A Visit to Auschwitz

Enrique Aynat

From the 18th to the 25th of June of 1989 I was in Poland with the aim of visiting the State Museum of Oswiecim (the old German concentration camps of Auschwitz and Birkenau) and carrying out research in the Museum's archives.

Arrival at the Camp

I arrived at the camp on June 19, 1989, and immediately contacted one of the secretaries, telling her the purpose of my trip. The secretary immediately telephoned Mr. Kazimierz Smolen, the director of the Museum, and then, I suspect at the request of Mr. Smolen, asked for my academic qualifications. I showed her various credentials I had brought with me from Spain (one from the library of the University of Valencia and another identifying me as a researcher in the archive of the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs). She appeared to be impressed by these documents but told me that before gaining access to the archives I must have an interview with Mr. Smolen.

First Interview with Mr. Smolen

The interview took place at 12 o'clock the same day, June 19, and lasted approximately 30 minutes. Mr. Smolen seemed to be distrustful. The conversation was carried on through an interpreter who spoke English (other than Polish, Mr. Smolen speaks only German). I explained to him that I was doing research on the "Auschwitz protocols" ^[1] and on the crematory furnaces of Auschwitz-Birkenau.

First of all I asked him if there were any documents in the archives relating to the arrival, stay, and escape of the supposed authors of the "protocols." It is known that the Germans kept daily Admittance lists" (*Zugangslisten*) in which they entered personal data on the prisoners. They likewise kept a "prisoner count book" (*Stärkebuch*) in which, among other information, they entered every day the names of prisoners who had escaped. Mr. Smolen answered me by saying that the "admittance lists" and the "prisoner count book" corresponding to the dates of the arrival and escape of the five supposed authors of the "protocols of Auschwitz" no longer existed, doubtless because they had been destroyed by the Germans or been lost.

I also asked him if he knew the identity of the fifth escaped prisoner, a Polish commanding officer who was still unknown at least to all the specialists. He replied that yes, he knew the man in question, a Doctor Jerzy Tabeau, who was still alive and a cardiologist and professor on the medical faculty of the University of Cracow. He told me that Tabeau has not written anything regarding his stay in Auschwitz since the end of the war.

I next asked him what opinion he held regarding the thesis of the French “Exterminationist” Jean-Claude Pressac, who maintains that the Birkenau crematoria were conceived without any criminal intent, but were merely later modified for use as instruments of extermination. [2] Smolen made it clear that he was decidedly not of that opinion. Smolen said he was personally acquainted with Pressac, who has been doing research in the museum archives. He indicated that he would like to know more about Pressac’s thesis, and since I had brought along photocopies of his articles, we made an appointment to meet the following day, when he would bring along a French language interpreter.

Second Interview with Mr. Smolen

The interview took place at 10:15 a.m. on June 20 and lasted approximately 45 minutes. As expected, it was carried on through an interpreter in French.

Mr. Smolen said that he had not read Pressac’s writings. He stated that at no time had Pressac ever conveyed to him his conclusion that there was nothing out of the ordinary in the original conception of the crematories. Naturally, Smolen did not agree with the thesis. In his opinion, Pressac had come to a false conclusion from the fact that the designation “gas chamber” does not occur in the crematory plans. I pointed out to him that Pressac bases his thesis on the fact that the plan of the crematories is ridiculously ill-suited for carrying out a massive, industrial-type extermination of human beings. Mr. Smolen said that Pressac was a pharmacist rather than a professional historian and implied that he lacked competence in historical matters. I believe Mr. Smolen was thinking, about then, that it had been a mistake to permit Pressac free access to the archives.

I find Smolen’s opinion to be most significant in that it sees the thesis of Jean-Claude Pressac — considered by some “Exterminationists” to be the foremost expert in the matter of the Birkenau crematories — as a head-on challenge to the official thesis defended by the authorities of the State Museum of Oswiecim.

I also questioned Smolen about a document of the “Central Construction Office of the Waffen-SS and Police of Auschwitz” (*Zentralbauleitung der Waken SS und Polizei Auschwitz*), dated the 28th of June of 1943, which gives the daily cremation capacity of the crematories of Auschwitz and Birkenau. According to this document, Crematoriums II and III of Birkenau were each capable of cremating 1,440 cadavers per day. I pointed out to him that this was a greatly exaggerated figure, not even within the capacity of the most modern of today’s crematories. Mr. Smolen replied that the document was indeed authentic and confirmed by the testimony of a survivor, Filip Müller. I raised the objection that the testimony of Filip Müller, who was supposedly assigned to the crematories during this time at Birkenau, could hardly be considered a trustworthy historical source, firstly because it had been written 34 years after the war, and secondly because it contained passages that were not worthy of any credibility whatsoever. [3] Mr. Smolen nonetheless affirmed that Filip Müller’s testimony was irrefutable.

It is very significant that in order to uphold the veracity of this document from the *Zentralbauleitung* of Auschwitz the museum director should cite testimony so little worthy of credibility as that of Filip Müller.

I next asked him for the register numbers of the supposed authors of the “Auschwitz protocols,” [4] a subject we had discussed the day before. I asked him to explain where the register numbers had come from that were published in the “calendar” of the Museum, [5] if, as he had said the day before, the Germans had destroyed all the documents pertaining to the matter. Smolen hesitated a

moment, then answered that he would have to study the question and that I should put it in writing. He said he would answer me by letter. [6]



Figure 1: Inscription on the Birkenau monument

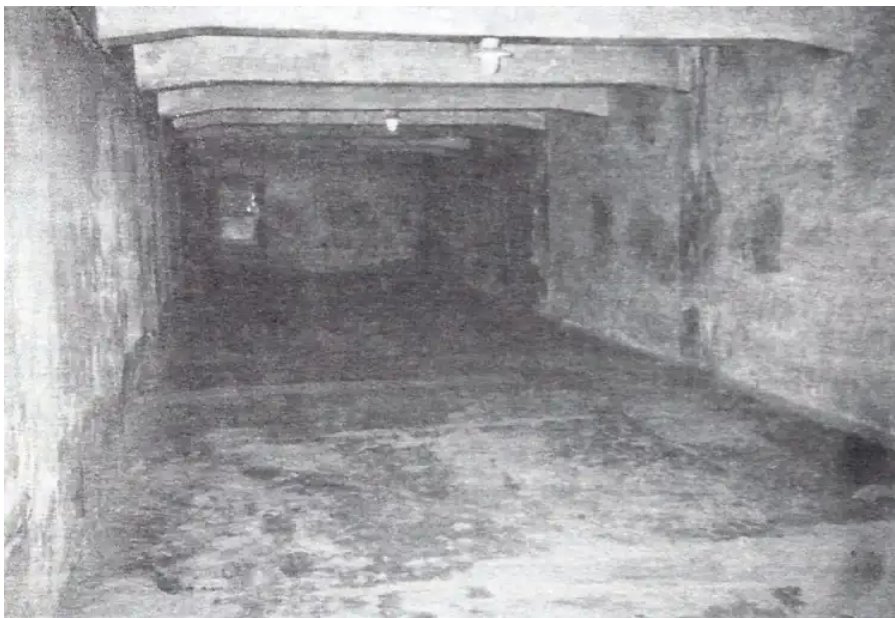


Figure 2: Auschwitz. Alleged gas chamber in Crematorium I

At this point Mr. Smolen declared that he was in a hurry, since he had to attend a meeting. He told me to put any other question I had for him in writing. I nevertheless asked him for the number of deaths that had occurred in Auschwitz-Birkenau during the entire war. He replied that this number was now subject to discussion, that the exact number of victims could not be determined, but that it was somewhere between a million and four million. However, this uncertainty with respect to fixing the number of the victims of Auschwitz-Birkenau contrasts sharply with that of the Birkenau monument, which sets the figure of those slain unequivocally at four million (see Figure 1).

Finally, I asked Mr. Smolen for authorization to carry out research in the archives on the plans of the Birkenau crematoriums, as Pressac has done. He answered by saying that the keeper of the

archives was on vacation and that it was impossible. I pointed out to him that I had come from Spain for the express purpose of research in the archives. He replied that I should have written beforehand announcing my arrival. Nevertheless, he said, I could request the plans by letter and he would send me photocopies. After some insistence, I did obtain permission to go into the archives for the sole purpose of studying the telegrams sent to the Gestapo reporting the escape of four of the supposed authors of the “Auschwitz protocols.”

The Telegrams to the Gestapo

In the archives (block 24), I could see that I was the only visitor and that there were several employees who appeared to be idle. I was provided with a volume containing the telegrams received by the *Staatspolizeistelle* of the Gestapo in Hohensalza. These were original documents. Among them were the telegrams reporting the escape of Rosenberg, Wetzler, Mordowicz and Rosin. I studied them for 45 minutes, comparing them with the other telegrams. In outer aspect (paper, seals, ink) they seemed authentic, although since I lack the qualifications of an expert, I am not really the one to express an opinion as to their authenticity. As for the content, it surprised me that they offered no marks of identification for the prisoners, not even their camp register numbers.

I obtained photocopies of the documents.

Trip to Cracow

On June 22, 1989, I traveled to Cracow with the intention of finding Doctor Jerzy Tabeau. I checked the telephone directory and got the address and telephone number of Doctor Tabeau, although a taxi driver later told me that there was no such address, as I could verify from a map of the city. No one answered the telephone.

The information given in the telephone directory was as follows:

Doctor Jerzy Tabeau
Buczynskiego 7
Telephone: 37-99-43.

Visit to the Museum Installations

I spent three days looking over the remains of the Auschwitz and Birkenau concentration camps.

At Auschwitz, the supposed gas chamber of Crematory I (see Figure 2), which is the place most frequently visited, merits special attention. This area was initially a mortuary (*Leichenhalle*); in June of 1943 it was converted into an “anti-aircraft shelter for the SS infirmary, complete with an operating room” (*Luftschutzbunker für SS Revier mit ein em Operationsraum*). ^[7] The Germans then constructed a number of partition walls within the room to protect it against shock waves from the bombs. After the war, the Museum authorities tore down the partitions in order to give the area a feeling of greater capacity. However, traces of these partitions are still visible on the walls and floor. The miserable dim lighting of the place is no doubt for the purpose of hiding the modifications made after the war.

There was also a swimming pool within the Auschwitz camp area for the use of the internees (see Figure 3). This swimming pool is situated on the south side of the camp and outside the tour route established by the Museum authorities for visitors. The reason for this, in my opinion, is

that the presence of a recreation installation doesn't fit in very well with the image they attempt to give Auschwitz as a "death camp."

As for the Birkenau camp, it contains the remains of four crematories wherein allegedly the extermination of most of the Jews transported to Auschwitz was carried out. These crematories were destroyed by the Germans shortly before their evacuation from the camps. All that is preserved of Crematories II and III are the ruins of the buildings and the half-buried remains of the mortuaries (see Figure 4). [8] The scanty remains of Crematory IV are completely covered by vegetation, and all that is left of Crematory V is the cement floor, a few traces of the interior brick partition walls and a jumble of scrap iron in place of what was once the ovens (see Figure 5).



Figure 3: Auschwitz Swimming pool



Figure 4: Birkenau. Remains of Leichenkeller 1 (Crematorium III)

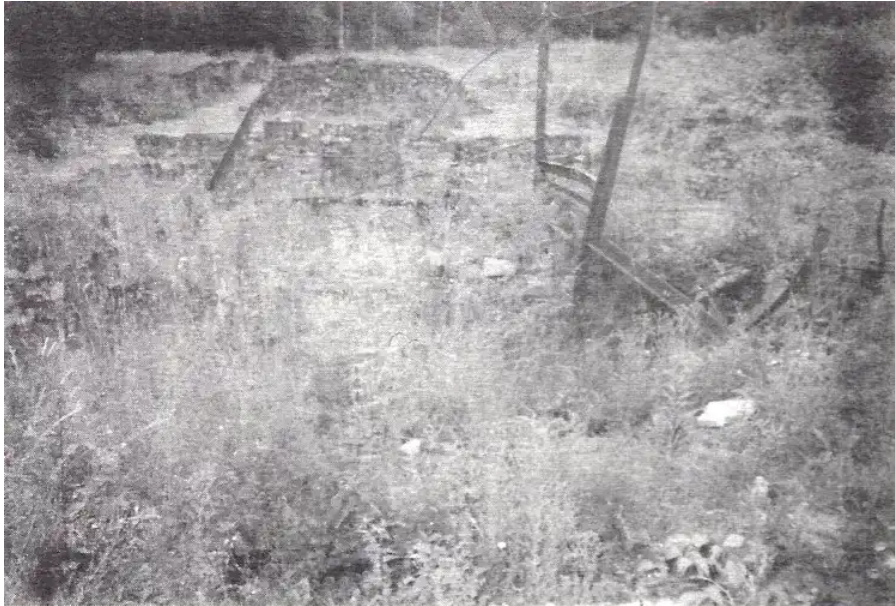


Figure 5: Birkenau. Remains of Crematorium V

'Remake' of Crematories II-III

The Museum authorities are putting together a “remake” of Crematories II-III in sector B II f of Birkenau, where formerly the sports field was located. At a glance, it appears to be a full-size reconstruction. The crematory building is made of “papier-maché” held up by beams and strips of wood. The half-buried mortuaries (*Leichenkeller*) are made of concrete and do not follow the dimensions of the plans. On June 21, 1989, the construction was encountering considerable difficulties. The concrete ceiling of Leichenkeller 1 had great cracks in it, and Leichenkeller 2 was under several inches of water. Part of the “papier-maché” structure had collapsed a short time before.

Notes

1. ☺ The “protocols of Auschwitz” are three affidavits, supposedly written by five escapees from Auschwitz, which were circulated secretly beginning in the spring of 1944. In them are delineated the principal aspects of what is now the official Auschwitz thesis.
2. ☺ J.-C. Pressac’s thesis appears in “Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz. Construction et fonctionnement,” [The “Crematoriums” IV and V of Birkenau and their gas chambers. Construction et Fonctioning], *Le Monde Juif* (Paris), No. 107 (1982), pp. 91-131; “Les crématoires II, III, IV, et V,” in *L'Album d'Auschwitz. D'après un album découvert par Lili Meier, survivante du camp de concentration* [The Auschwitz Album. From an album discovered by concentration camp survivor Lili Meierl, (Le Seuil, s.l., 1983), pp. 207-220; Étude et Réalisation des Krematorien IV et V d'Auschwitz- Birkenau” (Plan and Realization of Crematories IV and V of Auschwitz-Birkenau], in *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif* [Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews], (Gallimard-Le Seuil, s.l., 1985), pp. 539-584.
3. ☺ Müller, Filip, *Trois ans dans une chambre à gaz d'Auschwitz* [Three Years in an Auschwitz Gas Chamber], (Pygmalion/Gerard Watelet, Paris, 1980). The Italian researcher, Carlo Mattogno, in his *Auschwitz: un caso di plagio* [Auschwitz: A Case of Plagiarism] (La Sfinge, Parma, no date) has proven that Müller’s testimony is in part a plagiarism of the

work of Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz. Tagebuch eines Lagerarztes* [Auschwitz: Diary of a Camp Doctor]. [See pages 5-24 of this issue of *The Journal*. — ed.].

4. ☞ The supposed authors of the “protocols of Auschwitz” were Alfred Wetzler, Rudolf Vrba, Arnost Rosin, Czeslaw Mordowicz and a “Polish officer” identified by Smolen as Jerzy Tabeau.
5. ☞ Czech, Danuta: *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau* [Calendar of Events in the Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp], *Hefte von Auschwitz*(Oswiecim, No. 7, 1964, pp. 87 and 97).
6. ☞ I put this question to Mr. Smolen in writing. Up to the moment of writing these lines I have had no response.
7. ☞ Thion, Serge: “Vérité historique ou vérité politique? Le dossier de l'affaire Faurisson” (La Vieille Taupe, Paris, 1980), pp. 314-317. The text comprised in the indicated pages is actually by Robert Faurisson.
8. ☞ A study of these crematoriums may be found in an article by Enrique Aynat Eknes: “Crematoriums II and III of Birkenau: A Critical Study, *The Journal of Historical Review* (Torrance), VIII, No. 3 (1988), pp. 303-358.

(All photographs are by the author.)

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An Interview with General Otto Ernst Remer

Conducted by Stephanie Schoeman

Translated by Mark Weber

Q: General Remer, what was your role in the Second World War?

A: ... I was a front-line commander, and I led combat units throughout the war years. The only exceptions were a three- month period in Berlin as commander of the Berlin guard regiment and another three months as commander of the bodyguard brigade of Hitler's headquarters.

Eventually I became a general and division commander. By personal order of Hitler, my division was sent into combat on the Eastern front only in the most critical areas, as a kind of fire brigade. And I remained a combat commander until the final day of the war.

Q: What is your view of the Polish Corridor crisis and the outbreak of the war in 1939?

A: In September 1944, when I was commander of the guard unit at Hitler's headquarters, I spoke with Hitler during a walk together outside. I asked him: "My Fuhrer, may I speak frankly with you for a moment?" "Of course," he replied. I then asked him: "Why did you really attack Poland? Couldn't you have been more patient?"

Hitler had only asked for an extra-territorial highway and rail line across Polish territory, and he wanted the return of Danzig to the Reich. These were really very modest demands. With a bit more patience, couldn't he have obtained these, in much the same way that Austria and the Sudetenland had been united with the Reich?

And Hitler replied: "You are mistaken. I knew as early as March 1939 that Roosevelt had determined to bring about a world war, and I knew that the British were cooperating in this, and that Churchill was involved. God knows that I certainly did not want a world war. That's why I sought to solve the Polish problem in my own way with a kind of punishment expedition, without a declaration of war. After all, there had been thousands of murders of ethnic Germans and 1.2 million ethnic German refugees. What should I have done? I had to act.

"And for that reason, four weeks after this campaign, I made the most generous offer of peace that any victorious leader could ever have made. Unfortunately, it wasn't successful."

And then he said: "If I had not acted as I did with regard to the Polish question, to prevent a second world war, by the end of 1942 at the latest we would have experienced what we are now experiencing in 1944." That's what he said.

Q: Was Hitler too soft on England?

A: ...That was a mistake of Hitler's. Hitler always pursued policies based on ideology. One result was the alliance with Fascist Italy, which ended in the betrayal by Italy. And Hitler always believed in the Nordic-Germanic race and in the Nordic people, which included the English. That's why he made repeated offers of peace to Britain, which were always brusquely rejected. That's an important reason why we never occupied Britain, which would have eliminated Britain from the war. But for ideological reasons, Hitler did not do that, which was certainly a mistake. But, after all, who does not make mistakes?

Hitler once said to me: "Every day that this war continues keeps me from doing the work that I am still destined to accomplish for the welfare of the German people."

He was referring to his domestic policies and programs. Hitler was terribly unhappy that he couldn't accomplish these things, but instead had to devote himself to the war. The period of peace lasted only six years, but what a great transformation was achieved during that short time!

Q: What about Dunkirk?

A: Treasonous officers, who knew about the German plan to invade Britain, which was known as operation "Sea Lion," reported to Hitler that a sea invasion of England was not militarily possible. They made this report, even though they knew it was not true, in order to prevent the invasion for political reasons. All this came out after the war. [Fabian von] Schlabrendorff testified to this effect at my trial.

Q: Did you agree with Hitler's policies, particularly his policy toward Russia?

A: Regarding the military campaign against the Soviet Union:

First of all, it should be clearly understood that at the time of the Balkans campaign in Yugoslavia and Greece in early 1941, when we had ten divisions on the entire length of the Soviet border, the Russians had stationed 247 major military formations on our border. After the conclusion of the Balkans campaign, we then quickly placed at most 170 major military units on the border with the Soviet Union. The Russians had readied themselves for an attack.

The initial successes of our forces against the Soviets were due to the fact that the Russians were not stationed in defense positions, but were instead positioned right at the front for attack, which made it possible for us to quickly encircle large Soviet forces. Thus, in the first weeks of the war, we were able to capture more than three million prisoners of war as well as enormous quantities of war equipment, all of which was on the frontier, positioned for attack.

That's the truth of the matter, which can be proven. I recently spoke with a Mr. Pemsel, who was a long-range aerial reconnaissance pilot. In the period before the beginning of the Soviet campaign, he flew as far as the Don River and observed and reported on this enormous concentration of Soviet forces on the border.

I also know from my own experience in the Russian campaign, and with the Russian prisoners, about the preparations by the Soviets for an imminent attack against Europe. The Russians were hoping that we would move against Britain so that they could then take advantage of the situation to overrun Europe.

Q: Do you believe war with the Soviet Union was inevitable following Hitler and Molotov's meeting in November 1940?

A: Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov demanded the Dardanelles. That is, we were supposed to approve the turning over of foreign territory which belonged to the Turks. Molotov thus made provocative demands which simply could not be met. Hitler was also conscious of the Soviet takeover of territory in Romania, at a time of supposed peace. Hitler also knew that the anti-German uprising in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, was organized by the Soviets. It was the Russians who wrecked the relationship between Germany and the Soviet Union.

And after he received more and more reports of Soviet preparations for an attack against Germany and Europe, Hitler reacted. I am thus absolutely certain that Hitler did not originally plan to attack the Soviet Union. Instead, he acted as the changing situation demanded.

Q: Is it true that the Germans referred to the Russians as “subhumans”?

A: Nonsense! The Russians are human beings just like everyone else.

Your question, whether we called the Russians “subhumans,” is nonsense. We had a first-class relationship with the Russian people. The only exception, which was a problem we dealt with, was with the Soviet Commissars, who were all Jews. These people stood behind the lines with machine guns, pushing the Russian soldiers into battle. And anyway, we made quick work of them. That was according to order. This was during a war for basic existence, an ideological war, when such a policy is simply taken for granted.

There was sometimes talk about the so-called Asian hordes, and ordinary soldiers sometimes spoke about subhumans, but such language was never officially used.

Q: Wouldn't the Russians have fought with the Germans if they had not been so badly treated?

A: The Russians, that is, the Ukrainians and the people from the Caucasus, volunteered to fight, but we were not in a position to take advantage of this. We didn't have enough weapons. In war, there is a lot that ideally should be done, but we simply couldn't do it.

The Arabs also wanted weapons from us so that they could liberate themselves. And the Spanish leader Franco also wanted weapons as a condition for entering the war, but we simply didn't have enough ourselves.

The German armaments program did not really get going until after the war against the Soviets was underway. We started with 3,260 tanks. That's all we had, but the Soviets had 10,000. At that time our monthly production was 35 tanks. Imagine that! It wasn't until October 1944 that we reached the high point of our production of 1,000 tanks per month. So, our monthly production of tanks went from 35 in 1941 to 1,000 in late 1944. That's quite a difference, and it's proof that we were simply not militarily prepared for a world war.

Q: Where were you serving when the Soviet forces reached Germany?

A: I was the guard commander at the Wolfsschanze, Hitler's headquarters in East Prussia. I was there with part of my unit. It was still being organized, and wasn't yet ready. I participated in the counter-attack near Goldap, which was meant to throw back the Russians. However, that action lasted only eight days.

Q: Can you say something regarding Soviet atrocities against German civilians?

A: I myself saw cases involving women who had been killed, their legs spread apart and sticks thrust in, and their breasts cut off ... I saw these things myself, in Pomerania.

I spoke about this on the radio, and described it. Dr. Goebbels asked me to describe this in detail, and he sent a radio team to interview me for that purpose. That was in the area around Stargard, where I saw this.

Q: What of the Soviet “Asiatic” troops?

A: It was terrible. The soldiers who did those things were at the front ... Asians, Mongols, and so forth.

Q: Were these atrocities part of conscious policy?

A: These things were done very consciously. They sought, in this way, to break our so-called class or elite mentality.

Q: Before you spoke of the Jewish commissars ...

A: The problem was that in the Soviet army, in contrast to our army and all other armies, the Russians had political commissars who, along with the military commanders, had authority to give orders. Almost all of them were Jews.

For example, in this regard, I observed something in Tarnapol and in Zolochiv, which are east of Lvov [in Ukraine], during the course of a very rapid and successful military offensive.

We had captured Zolochiv and a couple of my tanks were stuck behind. The troops took a rest on the edge of the town because we didn't yet know if there would be an enemy counterattack or if we were to continue our own attack. I wanted to call back my tanks. Anyway, in that little town I saw small children who had been thrown out of windows, and I saw women lying on the street who had been beaten to death with clubs. They were Jews.

I called to a [local] woman, and she came into my vehicle. And she said to me: “I'll show you why we did this.”

We drove to the local prison. There was an area surrounded by a wall for the prisoners to walk around in. And in that area corpses were lying there this high ... The blood was still flowing from the corpses.

Just two hours earlier, as the Russians were leaving the town, they had used machine guns to kill all of the local Ukrainian nationalists who were prisoners there.

In this case as well, it was the Jewish commissars who had done this. And that's why the local Ukrainians had carried out pogroms against the Jews. And so, whenever a Ukrainian saw a Jew, he immediately killed him. But we were blamed for these deaths, even though we had no influence at all locally at that time. We weren't able to establish order until later.

Q: Was this done on purpose to discredit the Germans?

A: No, these anti-Jewish pogroms were an expression of the outrage of the people. They hated the Jews.

In Poland as well, there were often pogroms. As you may know, in Poland there were even pogroms against the Jews after the war. That was really something. The outrage of the people in the East against the Jews, who always portrayed themselves as decent people and good merchants, is indescribable.

We Germans did not have this hatred of Jews, of ordinary Jews. The Jews lived among us without any problem. We had the Nuremberg racial laws because we didn't want any racial mixing. In Israel, of course, such laws are even more strict. At the time, the Zionists welcomed the [German] racial laws, because they were in keeping with their outlook. The Zionists were against racial mixing. Instead, they wanted all the Jews to migrate to Israel.

Q: What was Hitler like socially?

A: He was a perfect host. When I was at Hitler's headquarters in the Wolfsschanze, I often observed that he would always pay special attention whenever anyone was scheduled to arrive as a guest.

And before he would meet a guest at the train station, he would always make sure that everything was just right in the headquarters.

He would check to see if the carpet did not match the silverware, or whatever, and he would drive everyone crazy making sure that everything was tastefully done in preparation for the guest. He had a real personal concern for his guests.

Hermann Geisler, Hitler's architect, wrote a book about Hitler. [This is *Ein anderer Hitler*, a memoir]. It's a fantastic book that you ought to read. He [the author] was a really great guy, and he could imitate very well, especially Robert Ley [head of the Reich Labor Service] And Hitler knew this. Hitler would urge him to imitate Ley's way of speaking. And he would [humorously] say: "My Führer, I can't do that, he'll put me in a concentration camp." "Ah, go ahead," Hitler would jokingly say, "I'll get you back out again." And that's what Hitler was like. And he would imitate Ley. [Remer imitates the imitation of Ley.] And Hitler would laugh so hard that tears came to his eyes.

Q: What about Hitler's love life?

A: Hitler had no time for that. He always said that he didn't have time for a wife. And Eva Braun played her part very well. No one knew about their relationship, which was kept private. She handled herself well when there were many guests around.

I don't think he was a great lover. I don't think so. He had a cousin, Geli Raubal, during the period of struggle before he became Chancellor. Hitler wasn't able to pay enough attention to her, but she loved him, and she took her own life. I think she was the only woman that Hitler really loved.

Q: Did Hitler father any children?

A: Nonsense. He didn't want any children.

Hitler thought of himself as a representative of the nation, and he rejected anything in his personal life that was inconsistent with that image. He always thought of himself as a statesman and he accordingly made very sure that his image was completely consistent with what the people expected of him.

Q: And didn't the people want their Fdhrer to have children?

A: Yes, but for that he would have had to marry and become a husband. But he always said that he didn't have time for that.

I was with Hitler when he was just moving into his new Wolfsburg headquarters, which was protected with concrete seven meters thick. And he entered his new bedroom where there was an ordinary soldier's bed there for him, except that it had two mattresses on it. And when he saw that, he curtly asked: Since when does a soldier sleep on two mattresses?" An adjutant present looked embarrassed, and then Hitler said: "You can take away one of them." And that's what Hitler was like. He did not ask for any special consideration for himself.

He paid for the entire defense perimeter around his general staff headquarters with his own money. He never received a penny of salary from the government. And until the end of the war, he paid for the defense perimeter himself, including the six kilometers of roadway, which cost a lot.

Hitler was a wealthy man, particularly from royalties from the sale of his book, *Mein Kampf*, which sold more than a hundred million copies. But he never took a penny of government money.

Q: General Remer, you have called for German-Soviet cooperation. Can you tell us about that?

A: We Germans must leave the NATO alliance, we must be militarily independent, we must create a nuclear-free zone, we must come to an understanding with the Russians. That is, we must obtain reasonable borders from the Russians. They are the only ones that can do that. The Americans don't have any influence at all in that regard.

In return, we will guarantee to buy [Russian] raw materials, and cooperate on hundreds of projects with the Russians, and that will eliminate our unemployment. All this has nothing to do with ideology. The Russians are so economically backward that they will readily and happily agree to this, and they'll be free of ideology.

Q: How would the French react to this?

A: France will have to work together with us. France is so much economically weaker than we are that it must trade with us in the West or not at all. The Americans are our mortal competitors.

Q: Might not a German-Soviet alliance lead to war?

A: No. On the contrary, we would prevent war. The Russians do not need a war. That's why Gorbachev makes his proposals. It's America that wants war.

Q: Wouldn't America try to provoke hostilities?

A: If we really come to an understanding with Russia, then it's all over for America.

Let me say frankly: the government of Adenauer [the first postwar West German chancellor] retained the entire wartime staff of Goebbels, and put them in government positions in Bonn. And as a result, the wartime anti-Communist outlook of Dr. Goebbels, which was quite proper during the war, was continued right up to the present. They were all Goebbels' people ... Who still really believes in Communism these days? We are really against Communism.

Q: What role do Jews play in the Soviet Union?

A: I can tell you that the Soviet leadership under Lenin was paid for by the Jews, who spent 220 million dollars. At that time, [German General] Ludendorff also gave Lenin money in order to end the war, and that was understandable.

Among the Soviet leaders at that time, 97 percent were Jews. And then Stalin came to power, and politicians who pursued a [non-ideological] policy in the interests of Russia, including the “great patriotic war” [that is, the Second World War], which he won.

Stalin not only had millions killed who were on the periphery of power, such as peasants, but he also had 1.6 million of Lenin’s followers, including Trotsky, systematically shot as well. And as a result, Russia today is regarded as the only country that is anti-Jewish or free of Zionist influence. We Germans ought to be glad for the rivalry between Washington and Moscow. We have to take advantage of these differences.

Q: What sort of Jewish influence was there in the U.S.S.R. during the Second World War?

A: After the war, many Jews were deported to the Ural area, and the Polish Jews fled. The Russians needed soldiers, and some of the Jews were used as partisans. And the Russians saw that the people didn’t want them. They weren’t happy with them, and they deported them. During the war we estimated that there were perhaps 1.8 million, or perhaps 2 million, I don’t know for sure, Jews in the Soviet Union. There weren’t that many.

Q: And Jewish influence in the Soviet Union today?

A: There are certainly [still] a few, but their influence has decreased drastically. In the Supreme Soviet today less than four percent are Jews, as opposed to 97 per cent [in Lenin’s time]. So you can see how things have changed.

Q: What of Jews in Soviet professional life?

A: Yes, but they don’t matter. They don’t have any political influence.

Q: Have you spoken with the Russians?

A: Yes, I’ve spoken with the Soviet ambassador Valentyn Falin. I meet with him when I visit Bonn, or with the press secretary in Cologne. They welcome me, and we speak together as freely as you and I do here. It’s completely normal for someone in political life to speak freely with his adversaries.

Q: Do you think the Russians will really cooperate?

A: For the time being, we don’t count. We are not a political force. We can only act as a political factor when we are a political power.

I’ve written a pamphlet which I sent to Moscow and which I discussed with the Soviet embassy. They were in agreement and said that if all Germans thought like I do, political relations would be a lot simpler. However, [they said] we have to deal with Bonn, and because Bonn is in the NATO alliance, Bonn is our adversary. So that’s the situation.

Q: Why is the publication of your organization called *The Bismarck German*?

A: That's because Bismarck pursued a policy oriented toward the East, and as a result of his "re-assurance" treaty with Russia, we had 44 years of peace.

- *General Otto Ernst Remer was a distinguished speaker at the Eighth International Revisionist Conference of the Institute for Historical Review. A version of his lecture at that conference, "[My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944](#)" appeared in Volume Eight, number 1 of *The Journal of Historical Review*.*
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A 'Diatribes' in Honor of Dr. Alfred Schickel

Heinz Nawratil

Dr. Schickel is the founder and head of the Zeitgeschichtliche Forschungsstelle (Research Office for Recent History) Ingolstadt, which since he established it in 1981 has become one of the leading centers of Historical Revisionist scholarship in West Germany. While Dr. Schickel's ZFI has steered clear of attacking the Bundesrepublik's regnant taboo, the extermination myth, ZFI scholars have effectively exposed such historical impostures as Hermann Rauschning's fraudulent Conversations with Hider, and thrown new light on historical problems ranging from Hitler's various relations with the Soviet Union to the failure of the Third Reich's atomic-bomb program.

But it has been above all for its focus on the long veiled crimes of the Allies against the Germans, during and after the war, that Dr. Schickel's ZFI has become celebrated. This is not surprising in that Dr. Schickel himself was born at Aussig, in the Sudetenland, and thus experienced the expulsion of over three million of his countryman in 1945. A prolific scholar, Dr. Schickel is the author of Die Vertreibung der Deutschen (The Expulsion of the Germans), Sudetendeutsches Schicksalsjahr: 1938 (Sudeten German Year of Destiny: 1938), and Von Grossdeutschland zur Deutschen Frage, 1938-1946).

Dr. Schickel's measured objectivity has gained him and the ZFI a sympathetic ear in unusual places in West Germany and abroad, and ZFI publications have been favorably reviewed in Der Spiegel, Frankfurter Allgemeiner, Süddeutsche Zeitung (Munich), London Times, and Il Giornale (Milan). His church and political connections, partly through his activities as a leader of the Katholisches Bildungswerk (Catholic Educational Guild) contributed last year to Dr. Schickel's being awarded the Bundesverdienstkreuz (Federal Service Cross), one of West Germany's highest civilian honors. The following "diatribe" delivered in his honor by Dr. Heinz Nawratil, in his own right a scholar of the Allies' "war (and postwar) crimes discreetly veiled," is a good-humored accounting of the inconveniences and lurking perils which even so moderate and judicious a Revisionist as Alfred Schickel must face in the Federal Republic, as well as a reminder of the pervasive influence of leftists and Communists in the West German intelligentsia even today.

Dear Friends of Historiography:

After our Honorable Dr. Schickel received the Federal Service Cross two weeks ago, I should normally at this time deliver the traditional *laudatio* in his honor. On this occasion, however, I find it more appropriate to deliver a diatribe in which I shall stigmatize the honoree, omitting none of his numerous vices. The least of his vices remains his *unhealthful* mode of living. Instead of reading five books about the Second World War and then writing a sixth, as do other authors, he plows through thousands of original records and documents. I warn Dr. Schickel: Too much reading is bad for the eyes! For all of you should know that Dr. Schickel is one of the few German historians who ventures to make use of, for instance, the huge documentary holdings of the National Archives in Washington. Our honoree will surely remember what the director of the National Archives told him during an earlier visit to the United States: One sees scarcely any of the

established historians from West Germany here. And precisely because so few read the original documents, they're covered with dust. The more dust, the greater the danger to the lungs. Therefore my well-meaning advice to Dr. Schickel: Spare your eyes and your lungs! May is almost upon us: enjoy the spring sunlight on a peaceful stroll, go to a health club if it's raining, but stop this perfectly insane obsession with original sources! There's no need for it, as is proved by countless bestsellers.

The next vice of our laureate is his *profligacy*. Instead of paying off his mortgage as befits a respectable head of his family, he squanders his money on trips across Europe and to America, interviewing historical participants and buying whole mountains of documents on microfilm. Oh, what extravagance! Consider, for example, scriptwriters of historical documentaries for television. Here a certain Ralph Giordano comes to mind, because I read his book *Der zweite Schuld* (The Second Guilt) a little while ago. His bibliography encompasses five or six authors. As I read, I wondered whether the author had read even these few books, so many mistakes does his magnum opus include. Such deficiencies, of course, were no obstacle to enthusiastic reviews in *Der Spiegel*, *Der Stern*, *Die Zeit*, and on public television. Speaking of television, Mr. Giordano has to date already inflicted more than a hundred TV documentaries on us.

While Dr. Schickel is receiving perhaps 100 marks for a lecture before the Catholic Educational Guild, Mr. Giordano collected, by my estimate, at least 150,000 marks for his last production, *The Bertinis*.

Thus, my second counsel to Dr. Schickel: Forget scholarship and this obsession with objectivity, opt for television and ideological correctness, and at our next conference you'll be sporting a gold Rolex, not the inexpensive Japanese watch with the stainless-steel wristband I see on your desk.

With that, we're nearly at the third point of criticism: *Dr. Schickel has the wrong friends and relatives*. He heads the Catholic Educational Guild in Ingolstadt; what on earth is that? He's related to a bishop: So what? He's no match for the television scriptwriter I spoke of just now. While Mr. Giordano is at the moment without political affiliation, he was for years a member of the Communist Party, and he did time in prison for violent offenses: that makes an author interesting, it gives his friends and admirers a piquant sense of liberalism and tolerance; for who wants to be a primitive anti-Communist, a mindless cold warrior?

The same thing goes in other areas. One of many I could name is the Viennese sculptor and veteran Communist Hrdlitschka, who collects million-mark commissions from local governments of leftist persuasion up and down the Rhine and Danube. How could he stay in business if he didn't now and then-as just a few months ago in an Austrian Communist newspaper-characterize Stalin as a "not unnecessary phenomenon"?

If our Dr. Schickel is therefore not afflicted with political blindness, he'll join a discreet little Communist group-not necessarily the German Communist Party, that won't be necessary — and he'll take part in a few militant demonstrations, for instance blocking military bases. But in moderate dosages, please: not too many, not too few. Once he exhibits the necessary delicacy, meditates a bit on collective guilt and warns a bit against the aggressive aims of NATO and the impending seizure of power by the fascists, his name will shortly receive respectful mention in progressive media outlets, and everybody, everybody will admire him: some with the enigmatic smiles of the initiated, others with open-mouthed bourgeois simple-mindedness. Dr. Schickel, what are you waiting for?

There remains the last reproach: Dr. Schickel's crass ignorance.

To be sure, this man knows unbelievably many historical details, but he overlooks the most important things. For example, he lives in the childish belief that in this country one can simply research away and make public demonstrable facts wherever he goes. How naive these scholars are! Just think of Galileo Galilei, for one. He too could prove his new findings, but what good did it do him? The Inquisition had many better arguments. Bringing out the implements of torture was enough to convince the scholar of the error of his computations in short order. Now you'll probably object that we're living in the twentieth century and we've got a democracy as well. You'll soon be better instructed. For example, Dr. Schickel, just try to deliver the lecture you'll shortly present to us at a university, at the Free University in Berlin, say. Then the same friendly folks who staged virtual pogroms just last week would doubtless put in an appearance. To be sure, you won't be shown thumbscrews and irons, more likely (I refer to the Berlin police report of last Friday) knives and Molotov cocktails, blackjacks and bicycle chains and baseball bats with nails driven through them. I'll wager any amount that you couldn't resist the persuasive power of these arguments. Think also of Graf Spee, who carelessly wrote a book on the belief in witchcraft. They tried to exclude him from the Jesuit order, and he barely escaped the stake, to which, as is well known, not only witches but their accessories are consigned. Such practices are far from superseded. Rudolf Augstein [publisher of *Der Spiegel*] took thought, in the matter of Professor Hillgruber, as to whether his writings didn't provide good grounds for his dismissal; in the case of Professor Nolte the heretic wasn't personally for burning, but his car was. [See *IHR Newsletter* No. 59, (July 1988).]

Let's assume that the mass murder at Katyn was still unsolved, and that Dr. Schickel was the first historian to discover that Stalin and not Hitler was the author of the crime. What would in all probability happen?

No doubt *Der Spiegel* would be the first to proclaim the scandal. One week later West German Broadcasting would devote itself to the fascist goings-on in Ingolstadt, and the next week would see a polite visit from the friendly folks with the blackjacks and the Molotov cocktails. Five years later, if Gorbachev hasn't fallen in the meantime and if our researcher hasn't died of a heart attack, a historical journal from Moscow will breeze across his desk, with an announcement that surprising new documents on Katyn have surfaced ... Well, you can fill in the rest of the story. As the poet of liberty, Ludwig Börne, put it: "O foolish people, o comical world!"

Here my last advice for Dr. Schickel: Take the world for what it is, be flexible, write what the Establishment wants to hear. Augstein is more powerful than Kohl, as the late Franz Josef Strauss already said. Not without foundation, for chancellors come and go, but *Der Spiegel* remains, and steady droplets hollow the stone. Write things that a hundred have written before you, put your pen to ideological flackery, and with all your talent you'll have it made. Remain obstinate, like the Dr. Schickel I know, and he'll prove ineducable and pass by his good fortune blindly. Perhaps *this* Dr. Schickel has in mind a verse from the Sermon on the Mount: "Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you! For so did their fathers to the false prophets" (Luke 6, 26). And perhaps he's right.

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Alois Brunner Talks About His Past

by *Mark Weber*

“I first heard about gas chambers after the end of the war,” says Alois Brunner, the “most wanted Nazi war criminal” still at large.

Following the Anschluss with Austria in 1938, SS Captain Brunner directed the Central Office for Jewish Emigration in Vienna, through which large numbers of Jews migrated to foreign countries.

The man known as “Eichmann’s right hand” later organized deportations of Jews from Berlin, France, Slovakia and Greece to ghettos and camps in eastern Europe.

Since the 1950s he has been living in exile in Damascus, Syria, under the name of “Georg Fischer.” Letter bomb attacks in 1961 and 1980 cost him one eye and the fingers of his left hand. Bodyguards constantly protect Brunner, who is now 76 or 77 years old; West Germany, Austria and France have asked for his extradition.

In 1985, the West German magazine *Bunte* published an interview in Damascus with Brunner, accompanied with color photographs. He told the Munich weekly that he had “no bad conscience” about his wartime work. Two years later, a rather widely reported *Chicago Tribune* interview gave the impression that an unrepentant Brunner admitted involvement in exterminating Jews.

What are the facts? Was Brunner really a mass murderer?

To pin down the truth, Austrian journalist Gerd Honsik flew to Damascus to interview Brunner. Honsik publishes the Austrian periodical *Halt*, which first made public the important 1948 Müller/Lachout document. (See the *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988.)

Honsik met and talked at some length with Brunner in August 1987 in his apartment in the Syrian capital. Honsik reported in some detail on the meeting in his book, *Freispruch für Hitler?*, which was published last year in Vienna. The illustrated work, which has been banned in Austria, is a collection of statements by 36 “witnesses,” including six former concentration camp inmates and several historians.

Brunner is a bitter and temperamental old man, reports Honsik, and it took some time to win his confidence.

“When did you learn about the gassing of Jews?” Honsik asked. Brunner’s reply: “After the war, from the newspapers!”

Honsik asked about widely reported remarks by Brunner in recent years, such as apparently incriminating comments like “I would do it again.” Actually, this is a reference not to extermination but to deportation work, Honsik relates.

Brunner described his rather cordial relations with Dr. Josef Löwenherz, the wartime head of the Jewish community in Vienna.

With official German authorization, Löwenherz visited Lisbon in neutral Portugal (apparently in 1940 or 1941) to meet with representatives of the World Jewish Congress, including Dr. Parlas, secretary to Chaim Weizmann, and WJC financial affairs director Tropper. Löwenherz wanted to negotiate an agreement for mass emigration of Jews from German-controlled Europe.

After he returned from the Lisbon meeting, Löwenherz “wept when he entered my office,” Brunner told Honsik. The World Jewish Congress officials had told him that the Allies wanted to keep the Jews under German control to increase Germany’s logistic problems. (This is also confirmed in David Wyman’s detailed study, *The Abandonment of the Jews*, pages 99, 114-115.)

An offer by Löwenherz to exchange Jews in German internment for the 200,000 German nationals who were being held by the British was met with silence.

In reply to a question about Löwenherz’s personality and character, Brunner said that the Jewish leader was “a distinguished character.” To test him. Honsik then asked: “Even though he was a Jew?” Brunner shot back: “There are exceptions! Spare me your sophistry.”

Brunner made sure that the Jewish leader and his family were not interned, and after the war Löwenherz publicly expressed his appreciation for Brunner’s support for a Jewish state by publicly intervening on his behalf. Honsik is not able to be “more specific about this,” he writes, but he adds that this is confirmed in an Austrian court case.

“In addition,” Honsik goes on, “there are five persons living in Austria with whom I am on friendly terms who have confirmed this information in similar conversations with Alois Brunner.”

Brunner is “an innocent man,” and those who believe that he is a mass murderer or criminal are “victims of a great Allied propaganda lie,” Honsik insists.

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 132, 148, 160, 176, 186, 194.

From the Editor

Theodore J. O'Keefe

We hear a lot about censorship these days. Our opinion- and taste-makers like to inform us that various attempts to constrict “freedom of expression,” understood to include the dissemination of pornography involving children and the burning of the American flag, will have “a chilling effect” on our First Amendment rights if they come to pass. Some of our artists, and their influential patrons, seem to believe that freedom of expression involves extracting subsidies from our already hard-pressed taxpayers to finance the creation and exhibition of art that outrages the sensibilities and the deepest-held beliefs of our people. Indeed, some pundits and promoters have gone so far as to imply that even to protest the exhibition and distribution of works that are arguably obscene or sacrilegious, or both, is to deny freedom of speech.

As readers of this journal know, Historical Revisionists and their allies in many countries that pass for “Western democracies” have been enduring, not a “chill,” but a veritable Ice Age as to rights which one thought had been won, after centuries of brave and bloody combat, in the academies and the public arenas of Europe and America by the mid-nineteenth century. By that time, any attempt by prince or potentate, cleric or policeman, to muzzle free expression among adults on subjects of public interest was liable to be decried around the civilized world as bigotry and obscurantism, and the censor to risk eternal ignominy at the pens of the best minds of the age.

A century and a half later, censorship is not merely alive and well, but more powerful than ever. Often eschewing prior restraint and police raids, (although not in France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada, and certain other “democracies”), today’s censors work quite as effectively by clamorously proclaiming their devotion to every kind of free expression, while working behind the scenes not merely to deny dissenters access to the local, national, and global media market, but to silence and terrorize them with the threat of social and professional embarrassment and financial ruin should they deviate publicly in the slightest from the *Journal of Historical Review*, which is dedicated to all the Revisionists, men and women, from around the world who have battled to establish the truth about the history of this century and to make that truth known to mankind.

* * * * *

While every issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* might properly be called a “free speech issue,” this one goes a bit further than most in justifying that name. It leads off with an [excerpt from an important recent book](#) by Dr. Jim Martin, the dean of living American Revisionists. Dr. Martin, a bibliophile as well as a historian of “men against the state,” takes careful aim at the insidious program of “self-censorship” undertaken, in the service of Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt, by the American publishing industry during the Second World War. After reading “Other Days, Other Ways,” one can only smile wanly at the effrontery of a segment of our contemporary

book producers and marketers in wailing over this or that housecleaning or changing of the guard in the self-policing publishing houses of New York.

There follows an **excerpt** from Francis Parker Yockey's famous (or at least notorious) *Imperium*, self-published by its author, under the name Ulick Varange, in 1948. Here Yockey, who served as a lawyer with the war crimes inquisition at Wiesbaden in 1946, reveals what an intelligent and informed person was able to perceive about the "Holocaust" and the associated Allied propaganda against Germany three years after the war had ended, i.e., forty-two years ago.

Then Robert H. Williams, a wartime American counter-intelligence officer, **reveals the real story** of the murder of the Romanovs — Nicholas and Alexandra, their five children, several servants, and the family dog — at the order of the highest Bolsheviks in 1918. Of interest is the fact that, as Major Williams emphasized, the truth has been clear and public since 1920, but has been effectively denied the vast majority of persons, on this side as well as the other side of the old "Iron Curtain," despite the great interest generated by such works as Robert Massie's spectacularly bestselling *Nicholas and Alexandra*. Of further interest is the fact that Williams's attempt to publicize long-known facts was undertaken thirty-three years ago.

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Our usual feature section **begins** with testimonies from three men who experienced what the Canadian magazine *Saturday Night*, summarizing James Bacque's *Other Losses*, has called "Eisenhower's Death Camps." Recognizing that the debate over the fine points of Bacque's methodology, and in particular his ascription of blanket responsibility to General Eisenhower, is likely to continue for some time, we are pleased to introduce these memoirs, two by German survivors and one by an American guard, into the discussion. Each text was submitted in English and has been lightly edited for style. We anticipate study and criticism of these accounts in accordance with the traditional historiographic method, and cheerfully encourage comparison of these documents, as to authenticity, veracity, and outlook, with the accounts of such "Holocaust" survivors as Elie Wiesel, Simon Wiesenthal, and others. Let it be noted that to date Bacque's important book has been unable to find a publisher in the United States, despite its bestseller success north of the border and in Germany, and its burning topicality in this centennial year of the birth of Dwight David Eisenhower.

The admirable Robert Faurisson has supplied us with an **updated version of the preface** which he wrote to Dr. Wilhelm's Staglich's *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (first published in English by the Institute for Historical Review, as *The Auschwitz Myth*, in 1986). As usual, Dr. Faurisson handles the issues raised in Dr. Staglich's book with courage, intelligence, and humanity. One should be reminded that this book was first placed on the Federal Republic of West Germany's "index" of "Publications Harmful to Young People," then seized, with the equipment used for its production, after which the author's doctorate in law, duly awarded by the University of Gottingen in 1951, was revoked on the authority of a law originally promulgated by Adolf Hitler.

Next comes Carl Nordling's **remarkable study** of the fates of members of the Jewish establishments of twelve countries occupied by the Germans during the Second World War. While demographers, both Revisionist and Exterminationist, have long sought to examine the problem of the "dissolution" of East European Jewry through a telescope, so to speak, to our knowledge Mr. Nordling's study is the first by a professional demographer to assay the problem microscopically. After reading "The Jewish Establishment under Nazi Threat and Domination," you won't be surprised to learn that this study was rejected for publication by media czar Robert Maxwell's Perg-

amon Press (Elmsford, New York) and its journal, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (published in association with the official U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and Yad Vashem in Jerusalem).

“A. Dibert” is the *nom de guerre* of an east-coast academic who has **analyzed** what he takes to be “Our Established Religion,” in its consequences for freedom of speech, thought, and even life and limb in these United States today. “Secular humanists” in particular may be traumatized by the shock of recognizing that they have allowed themselves, bit by bit, to be converted into slavish devotees of a cult that attempts to proscribe mercilessly any resistance to its tenets and sway.

The same writer **deftly reviews** Frenchman Henri Roques’s dissertation on the remarkable “confessions” of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, the fabulous figure who gave rise to the “Deputy” story, the allegation that Pope Pius XII knew of mass German exterminations of the Jews but refused to denounce them, presumably out of ecclesiastical “anti-Semitism.” According to our reviewer, there is not much left of Gerstein’s believability as a “Holocaust” eyewitness after Roques has finished with his minute investigation of the Gerstein texts. (For his pains, Henri Roques was stripped of his doctoral degree, duly awarded him by the University of Nantes, by the unprecedented ukase of a French Socialist minister.)

Canadian author and editor James Bacque’s *Other Losses* is then reviewed by Arthur Ward, a previous contributor to *The Journal*, who gives ample tribute to Bacque’s insight, industry, and tenacity in unearthing a mass atrocity which, although of course known to the victims and the perpetrators, had remained obscure as to its authorship, execution, and anything approaching the real number of deaths. (Bacque, while continuing to distance himself from the Institute for Historical Review’s skepticism toward the “Holocaust,” recently told a newspaper reporter that IHR was the closest thing in the U.S. to a “samizdat,” the underground publishing operations which served such writers as Solzhenitsyn during the years of suppression under Brezhnev and his henchmen.)

JHR editorial adviser and frequent contributor Mark Weber **examines** Frenchman Jean-Claude Pressac’s *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, and finds that this study, swarming with reproductions of Auschwitz documents never before published, powerfully bolsters the Revisionist case, whatever its author and publishers’ (the well-known “Nazi-hunters” Beate and Serge Klarsfeld) intentions. It is perhaps worthy of note that although written in French, the book has not yet appeared in France, and that only 1,000 copies have been “offered for sale” in the United States. (That last in quotation marks because in certain cases Revisionists, upon identifying themselves, have not been allowed to buy the book from its American distributors: for the Pressac book there seems to be an *index prohibitorum lectorum*.)

One of the most praiseworthy World War II histories of recent years, *The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau, 1939-1945*, is at last available in English. Originally published in Germany as *Die Wehrmacht-Untersuchungsstelle*, it is a brilliant study of how the German armed forces went about investigating alleged Allied war crimes, and includes a disturbing survey of some of the worst offenses committed by Germany’s enemies. Such a book could perhaps only have been researched and written in the West Germany of that time (1979) by an American, such as lawyer and historian Alfred M. de Zayas, for then, as to a large extent now, a small number of Establishment West German historians, Professor Unraths who had unmanned themselves in whoring after the Lola-Lola of “volkspädagogisch erwünschte” (folk-pedagogically desirable) historiography, held tyrannical sway over their profession. Such books as de Zayas’s, expertly **reviewed** by the pseudonymous Professor Robert Clive, will soon elicit a last despairing “Cock-a-doodle-doo!” from the liars and cowards (David Irving’s words) who dominate the West German historical profession, it is to be hoped. Dr. Charles Weber **assesses** *Aspects of the Third Reich*, an important

collection of essays edited and commented on by H. W. Koch, and finds that, the current historical scene being what it is, the book is of value. On the other hand Exterminationist Christopher Browning, the chief academic witness against Ernst Zündel in 1988, found, in a review published not so long ago in a prominent “Holocaust” journal, that the “stench of apologetics” arose from the Koch collection. Long live the diversity of opinions freely expressed!

To close this issue of *The Journal* appear two highly competent reviews, by Robert Clive and Englishman James Hawkins, of military studies, one of Hitler’s generals edited by Correlli Barnett, the other by John Keegan, which would scarcely be out of place in other American journals were it not for their objectivity of tone. In particular we think that Professor Clive is to be commended for his omission of the St Vitus’s dance, the *grand mal seizure*, that normally afflicts academics who chance to utter the dread name of Adolf H. Perhaps that is why he writes under a pen-name.

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 133-141.

Other Days, Other Ways: American book censorship 1918-1945

James J. Martin

When Secretary of War Newton D. Baker issued his directive of late summer and early fall of 1918 ordering the removal of 47 published works from U.S. Army post and camp libraries as unfit for the soldiery to read, he opened up an immense subject, potentially. This was especially true after his action spilled over into the civilian sector, and public libraries about the land, without official direction, began to weed out, impound and/or destroy these same 47 publications. The Army's action was obviously not intended to have this result, but, as it worked out, it had perhaps an unexpected public-sector compliance with serious implications for general civil rights and civil liberties, even if public awareness of this at the time was almost imperceptible. What Secretary Baker really achieved was to open up the vast topic of what the citizenry of the United States might read about many aspects of the war-during the war. It is amazing that there was no real measurable contemporary reaction to this, no extended speculation as to its possibilities and general implications. It is equally alarming that the whole matter was settled simply by neglect, undoubtedly assisted by the general feeling of relief and euphoria set loose by the ending of the war just a few weeks after the entire incident was initiated and precipitated.

One of the more obvious implications of the Army's move against the stipulated 47 published works was that what remained in libraries or elsewhere after these had been removed were perfectly satisfactory for the armed forces to read, and that the book stacks had been officially cleansed. An active enemy propaganda ministry, had there been one, would have exulted in high glee over this entire affair, as the censorship decision overlooked a formidable library of works with a far greater potential for infecting the readership with unwanted views and convictions than what had been formally suppressed. In this number of the submerged and the low profile were at least three dozen books with known or suspected sponsorship by the German government through American representation itself, let alone an immense swath of publications by Americans with no known German sympathies at all who simply expressed views and convictions mainly or entirely out of sympathy with the war, the way it was being conducted, and those who were conducting it. The political and ideological variations in all this literary product were astounding, and bewildering; the variations emanating from the pacifists and the "Peace" movement alone almost defied analysis and categorization. One stands in amazement and amusement at the pretensions of these essentially political-amateur dabblers in censorship, upon contemplating what a mere scratch on the surface of the problem they were etching. However, what should have disturbed and unsettled contemporaries was the potential for what was not done, and what might have been done, had there been in charge an element which really knew and understood what they were doing.

The failure of this incident to arouse interest from chroniclers of the war may be due in part to the relatively undramatic nature of the episode when ranged against the far more absorbing and distracting contemporary tales of combat, and, later, the complicated postwar world politics

which captured popular attention. Secretary Baker and the entire cast of this intellectual interlude are missing from the substantial book by H.C. Peterson and Gilbert Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917-1918*, though there is excellent coverage of other aspects of censorship during the 19 months of American war involvement. The entire incident is also missing from the famed compendium *Banned Books* by Anne Lyon Haight (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1955). Though this is here and there interested in books banned in wars, in the main it is concerned with censorship for other reasons and at other times. Some later compilers of bibliographies of suppressed books are also completely ignorant of this affair. The whole business quickly slipped away and interest in the momentarily notorious book lists evaporated to the point where one might imagine they ended up in an Orwellian “memory hole” designed just for them. It would be a very tiny club indeed were one to gather together whatever industrious souls as could be found who had recollections of these authors and their forbidden works.

Despite the feebleness of memories and the abysmally short fashion of historical memorialization, there is a recurring psychologico-political phenomenon involved which should attract attention. Wars follow wars, and there are broad general courses of action which reappear even if they never quite follow in precise details. Differences may induce those who experience them and the intellectual impositions they incur to think that nothing previous to their time matched what they went through, which may be one of the reasons that during the “light-switch” statecraft of the adversarial-confrontational state system the same impositions or even worse variations thereof can be made generation after generation as the war seasons come and go. What gets banned or suppressed may change profoundly in content but the procedures remain the same. There is a tendency for them to become more sophisticated with aspects of covert psychic intimidation of varying degrees of subtlety carried out in such a way that there is little awareness that censorship and suppression of intellectual freedom is taking place at all. There are analogous things taking place in war propaganda itself, changing from a bald-faced telling of lies to a telling of just part of the truth, or a simple total suppression of news or fact without any perceptible indication of this one way or another.

We might for instance examine a few of the on-going tendencies in book suppression in the quarter of a century or more after the events we have concerned ourselves with above. Mrs. Haight did devote parts of two pages of her treatise on book-burning-and-banning to the famed ceremonial conflagration in National Socialist Germany, initiated on May 10, 1933 (*Banned Books*, pp. 121-122), while the purely political gesture involved was underplayed. One of history’s outrageously over-exaggerated events, looked at from the perspective of 55 years, surely has been this incident in 1933, immensely exploitable because it was so explicit. But compared to the conflagrations involving literature across the centuries including the era previous to printed books, which have involved countless libraries in many lands burned to the ground (a fire in the U.S.S.R. National Academy of Sciences in Leningrad on February 14, 1988 destroyed or badly damaged 4,000,000 books), this event in Germany would barely rate a footnote. The exigencies of world politics since then have resulted in the assigning of a value to this incident as though it were the only event of its kind. Like other footnotes in history which have been tortured and bent out of shape to replace the main text it persists in the repetitious conditioning so peculiar to the photographic 20th century, gawked at over the decades of television-watching, and less understood every year it is recalled. Against the total backdrop of literary suppression for all reasons across the ages it is a mere curiosity. However, as do all suppressions, for whatever reason, this one has given some of its targets an intellectual life far beyond what several of them had any right ever to expect.

But Mrs. Haight went on to demonstrate indirectly that this event in terms of total achievement in the destruction of politically undesirable books was an inconsequential bagatelle when compared

to the achievements a decade later of the Anglo-American adversaries of Germany in yet another war, when “Allied” saturation bombing of the famed German “book city” of Leipzig destroyed a vast number of books, far more than any zealous supporter of Adolf Hitler had ever dreamed of torching in May, 1933. Mrs. Haight also proceeded to discuss actions of the Coordinating Council of the American Military Government in postwar Germany in directing wholesale removal and pulping of books, from stores and libraries, which reflected favorably upon the defeated National Socialist regime, or even upon the older traditional German nationalism, for that matter. However, her prize commentary was reserved for the Communist regime of East Germany two decades after the 1933 bookburning incident, in 1953, when Communist cultural watchdogs removed from book stores, schools and libraries *five million* books, an action which reduced the Nazi ceremony of May 10, 1933 to the level of a mere prank by comparison (*Banned Books*, p. 123).

Americans were not total strangers to the practice of suppression and large-scale destruction of books, but for reasons quite apart from the political. The career of Anthony Comstock (1844-1915) had ended just a short time before the U.S. Army action was precipitated in 1918; he was the most zealous and indefatigable pursuer of “immoral” or pornographic literature the land has ever known. As a special agent for the U.S. Post Office between 1874 and 1915, Comstock had been known to confiscate such printed works at the rate of over 30 tons in one year or another, probably much of it borderline or questionable when it came to being explicitly offensive according to the standards maintained by the postal services in harmony with public law of the time, particularly in the quarter of a century after Reconstruction.

But this was part of a long, ongoing program, and though execrated by recent generations of liberal critics it did have extended and broad public support in the time it was sustained as public policy. This campaign resulted in constant trials of authors, publishers, distributors and dealers of literature considered morally reprehensible. Comstock claimed to have prosecuted and secured the conviction of almost 4,000 persons in four decades, though publicity also sharply increased sales and demand for titles, which drew public attention during all these proceedings in court.

These legal actions also had a long period of influential impact afterward, especially in the operations of various urban organizations enforcing “decency” by pursuing “vice” incorporated in books, best known through such as Boston’s Watch and Ward Society and the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. At the time of the furor over the political action against Communist and other books in Germany in 1933 there was simultaneously an intense campaign being waged against “obscene” books in New York City and State, by the Legion of Decency. It was the New York City Public Library which had removed George Bernard Shaw’s *Man and Superman* from its shelves in 1905, and it was in the same city where the most vigorous efforts were being made to prevent the publication of James Joyce’s *Ulysses* in 1933.

In the U.S.A. the relatively coarse and inexact pursuit of political and ideological sin imbedded in books which has been observed in the narrative of the transactions in the closing months of World War I was not repeated in the war of 1939-1945, about 30% of which was also sat out of as a non-belligerent. But there occurred a silent attack on literature this time which started almost with the European war declarations of September 1939 and which program still needs its chronicler. Just between December, 1940 and December, 1941, the last calendar year of American “neutrality,” U.S. postal authorities seized over 600 tons of foreign publications at West Coast ports alone, which were “destroyed at these ports of entry,” according to the bible of the publishing industry, *Publishers Weekly* (September 5, 1942, p. 832). The story went on to complain that, in addition, “Many libraries, particularly university libraries, had consignments of books from abroad seized and destroyed from September, 1939 down to Pearl Harbor” [Decem-

ber 7, 1941]. This separate annihilation of books obviously dwarfed anything attributed to the German enemy this second time around in less than a generation.

In addition to the remarkable diligence and energy of the Post Office Department in destroying books from abroad at U.S. ports of entry, there was another form of interference, again hitting the university and research facilities: the quarantining indefinitely of periodicals, with nothing said as to when they might possibly be received by addressees. Porter Sargent, in No. 35 of his famous *Bulletin* newsletter (February 9, 1940), revealed:

Scientific periodicals now, as during the last war, are cut off from us. The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, which customarily acts as a clearing house for foreign exchanges, has forwarded no periodical since August, 1939. The War Documentation Service, Philadelphia, R.H. Heindel, Director, tells us that a Joint Committee on Foreign Relations, N.Y. Public Library, has arranged for foreign agents to hold in storage scientific and scholarly periodicals that cannot be forwarded because of the embargo.

And the country was still almost two years away from involvement in the war as a formal belligerent. From belligerency onward, the interception and destruction of vast quantities of printed works from abroad at all ports of entry can only be imagined in terms of scope and volume, let alone value.

Domestically, however, the program ran quite in the opposite direction, operationally. During 1941-1945, American books were not amassed and destroyed *after* publication. They were “burned” in manuscript, *i.e.*, they were simply suppressed by prospective publishers while in typescript or holograph form, and did not get loose to illuminate the citizenry and bedevil and upset or anger the wartime establishment (several books critical of America’s Stalinist “ally” did not make the light of day until well after the end of this war). This of course was a policy of self-censorship on the part of the publishers; there was no official policy requiring this.

A major statement in how this was to work was made as early as March, 1942 by Bennett Cerf, president of two major publishers, Random House and Modern Library, and head of the largest book-distribution organization in the United States, the Book of the Month Club. Part of his effort was in laying down the ground rules for the coming brainwash of the country with respect to Stalinism and the Soviet Union, now that the fortuitous course of hostilities had thrown the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. into their queasy comradeship of an unstable military alliances of sorts. On the general book business in war and the agency of self-censorship in behalf of political and military compliance, Cerf had this to say:

Book publishers, in single contrast to some of our most powerful newspaper proprietors, have been meticulous so far in keeping from their lists any new titles that might contain sly or poisonous propaganda. Scripts are read with rigid care. In some cases, books already printed and bound have been junked at the last minute, and the resultant losses written off without a murmur. Booksellers, too, should maintain a constant vigil over new publications. If any one publisher inadvertently or by design, slips through a single book that preaches a creed inimical to the war effort, the retailer will be performing a service to his country by deliberately sabotaging that book. (Cerf, “War and the Book Business,” *Publishers Weekly* [March 28, 1942], p. 1248.)

And following up that ferocious totalitarian credo, Cerf delivered himself of this closing testimonial which helped readers of *Publishers Weekly* to understand the ideological origins of his entire position in support of his bid to become our prime literary commissar:

The publishers and the bookseller should check backlists carefully. The fortunes of war have brought into being alliances that looked incredible only a short time ago, and have proven that some of our most cherished theories were utterly false. Our old conceptions of the Russian purges and trials, for instance, and the Russo-Finnish war, evidently, were mistaken, and books that encourage those beliefs should be taken off sale immediately. Russia is a friend in need to us today. People who dangle the menace of Russian Communism constantly before us are increasing our chances of losing the war. Let us deal with our so-called menace of American Communism after the war is over. I say, "so-called," because, in my opinion, American Communists are a singularly ineffective and insignificant minority. (Cerf, *op. cit.*, p. 1249.)

With people such as Cerf in control of the book publishing business, one need not wonder that the U.S.A. in World War Two needed no censorship apparatus nor a corps of printed word bloodhounds to sniff out and destroy anything within book covers which might incense or affront the sensibilities of those directing the "war effort," whether Stalinophiles or not. Six months later the editors of Publishers Weekly felt that the message needed to be re-asserted in general terms, while pointing out that just negative repression had been abandoned as a control device in favor of a positive employment of the publishing business to sell the wartime Government's program rather than as a damper upon the expression of independent ideas on that or any other view which might come up in this land of irrepressible individualism:

During the course of the war much of the book censorship which will be brought to bear will be silent and inarticulate ... The book trade will wisely try as much self policing as possible, and make official action unnecessary. The democratic censorship of responsibility can be made to work in the Second World War as it did in the first ... Publishers will keep a sharp eye on books which might run afoul of the censor, but their main emphasis will be on books as morale building agencies. This dynamic and positive aspect of the role of publishers in wartime is instanced in the creation of non-governmental organizations, of which the Council on Books in Wartime is an important example. (*Publishers Weekly* [September 5, 1942], p. 833.)

The First World War in the U.S.A. was an era of the wildest proliferation of intellectual freedom imaginable compared to World War Two. Nothing within a light year of the Government's program in the First was ever dreamed of in the Second, as the expert techniques in the formation of lock-step perfected in the 25-year interim precluded any possible independence of mind to get loose for more than a few moments, let alone flourish even to the degree in which it did in 1917-1918. The relatively chaotic unconformity of the former time never came within a peep of repeating in the latter. The mass compliance which prevailed, had it taken place in an era or a land with a social system based on chattel slavery, would have been looked upon by its main political beneficiaries as the answer to a slave-holder's dream. Americans will be a very long time getting over the psychic drag created and built in by World War Two, let alone hope ever to live in a political world which has escaped its shadow.

If one chooses to retreat deeper into the past instead of working forward while examining the phenomenon of book destruction, perhaps a different perspective will be gained, and a somewhat more genial estimation of one's own time may result. Since we are dealing with a brief incident in a topic which would result in a library-sized stream of volumes if the entire subject were examined by the required multitude of investigative scholars, the total picture since the perfection of any kind of writing probably could not be even read in a lifetime, let alone written in the lifetimes of the many hundred who might be required to have done the writing. What can we make for instance of the campaign of the Manchu emperor Kao Tsung, who undertook to expunge to-

tally from the literature of China all works containing critical or derogatory references to the Manchus and their “northern predecessors”? Between 1774 and 1782 he is credited with the direction of a book-hunt which resulted in the extirpation of over 2,000 titles from the book collections of the country; the total number of individual volumes involved cannot even be wildly guessed at (*An Encyclopedia of World History* [Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1948], p. 541). Hoping to learn of every such event since anyone ever recorded anything for posterity is undoubtedly just one of many possible intellectual exercises which would dizzy even the most imaginative. Stopping grievously short of such an achievement, in full understanding of what might possibly be the “full” story, is a practical way of concluding such an investigation as this.

(The above article appears as the Afterword [pp. 66-75] to *An American Adventure in Bookburning in The Style of 1918*, which is available for purchase from [Noontide Press](#).)

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On Propaganda in America

Francis Parker Yockey

Far more important to Europe than the propaganda about domestic affairs in America is that about foreign affairs.

The numen “democracy” is used also in this realm as the essence of reality. A foreign development sought to be brought about is called “spreading democracy”; a development sought to be hindered is “against democracy,” or “fascistic.” “Fascism” is the numen corresponding to evil in theology, and in fact they are directly equated in American propaganda.

The prime enemy in the propaganda picture was always Europe, and especially the Prussian-European spirit which rose with such self-evident force in the European Revolution of 1933 against the negative view of life, with its materialism, money-obsession, and democratic corruption. The more surely it appeared that this Revolution was not a superficial political phenomenon, a mere transfer of one party-regime for another, that it was a deep *spiritual, total* revolution, of a new, vital spirit against a dead spirit, the more violent became the hate propaganda directed against Europe. By 1938, this propaganda had reached an intensity, both in volume and in emotional frenzy, that could not be surpassed. Ceaselessly the American was bombarded with the message that Europe was attacking everything worth-while in the world, God.” Religion,” “democracy,” “Freedom,” “peace,” America.”

This excessive use of abstractions was itself indicative that there was a lack of concrete realities to use. The failure to arouse excitement, despite the propaganda bombardment, led to the thesis that Europe was planning to invade the United States with fleets and armies. Ideas like these indeed conquered the intellectual side of the American mass-mind, but did not penetrate to the emotional level of rousing genuine apprehension or effective hate. “Aggressor” was another leading word in the intellectual assault. Again, it did not relate to facts, and was only allowed to work one way as a term of abuse. “International morality” was invented and formulated so that the enemy of the Culture- distorter became *ipso facto* immoral. If they could not find political reasons for their politics, they were all the more resourceful in creating moral, ideological, economic, and esthetic reasons. Nations were divided into good and bad. Europe as a whole was bad when it was united, and if Culture distortion was able to secure a foothold in any European land, such land became thereby good. The American propaganda machine reacted with venomous hatred against the European partitioning of Bohemia in 1938. Every European power which had participated in the negotiations was denounced as evil, aggressive, immoral, anti-democratic, and the rest of it.

Fundamental in this political picture was the thesis that politics was a matter of “forms of government” struggling against one another. Not nations or States, but abstractions like “democracy” and “fascism” were the content of the world-struggle. This imposed the necessity of calling the

opponent of the momentary situation as “democratic” or “fascistic,” and changing it from month to month, year to year. Serbia, Poland, Japan, Russia, China, Hungary, Rumania, and many other units, have been both “fascist” and “democratic,” depending upon precisely what treaty they had made, and with what power.

The division into “democratic” and “fascistic” corresponded exactly with that into *treaty-breaking* and *treaty-observing* powers. Supplementing it was the dichotomy: peace-loving nations, and — the other kind. The phrase “international law” was popularized, and it was used to describe something which has never existed, and cannot exist. It had no connection whatever with the real international law of 500 years of Western practice. It was popularized to mean that any change in the international territorial *status quo* was “forbidden” by “international law.” Any words whatever that had good connotations were linked with the leading catchwords of the picture. Thus *Western Civilization* was too impressive to treat as a hostile term, and it was used to describe parliamentarism, class-war, plutocracy, and finally — Bolshevik Russia. It was insisted by the propaganda machine during the time of the battle at Stalingrad in the Fall of 1942 between Europe and Asia that the Asiatic forces represented Western Civilization while the European armies were the enemies of Western Civilization. The fact that Siberian, Turkestani, and Kirghizian regiments were being used by the Bolshevik regime was adduced as proof that *Asia had saved Western Civilization*.

To Europeans, this sort of thing testifies to two great facts: the *total* lack of any political or cultural consciousness whatever in the masses of the American population, and the deep, total, and implacable enmity toward Europe of the Culture-distorting regime in America. Japan was also treated in the propaganda picture as an enemy, but not as an irreconcilable enemy, like Europe. The propaganda against Japan was never allowed to take a *racial* form, lest the racial instincts of the American population be awakened into a storm that would sweep away the distorter. The generally milder tone of the anti-Japanese propaganda was owing to the fact that Japan had not experienced, and could not possibly experience, anything like the great European Revolution of 1933.

Because of the primitive intellectuality in a country whose population had been mentally uniformized, this propaganda was able to adopt extremely crude expedients. Thus during the war-preparation, 1933-1939, the press, cinema, and radio were filled with stories of insults to the American flag abroad, of secret documents accidentally discovered, of conversations heard over tapped wires, of discoveries of arms caches in the possession of American nationalist groups, and the like. “Newsreels” purporting to have been filmed abroad were actually made in some cases in Hollywood. So fantastic did it all become that when, a year before the Second World War, a wireless program carried an imaginative story of an invasion from Mars, there were symptoms of widespread panic among the propagandized masses.

Because America had never come strongly under the impression of the Spanish cabinet-politics usages which became engrafted on the European spirit, the Culture-distorting regime was able to engage in propaganda attacks of an extremely repulsive and vile kind directed against the private lives and characters of European leaders who represented the 20th century world-outlook. These leaders were represented as having been panders, homosexuals, dope-fiends, and sadists. The propaganda was entirely free from any cultural basis, and was completely cynical with regard to facts. Precisely as the cinema-factories of Hollywood ground out lying plays and “newsreels,” the propagandists of the press created what “facts” they needed. When the Japanese air forces attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, the Culture-distorters did not know that Europe would take this occasion to retaliate against the undeclared war which the Culture-distorting regime in Washington had been waging against Europe. The regime therefore at once decided to exploit the Japanese attack as a European military measure. To this end, the pro-

paganda organs at once spread the “news” that European planes with European pilots had participated in the attack, and had even led it. Although every capital ship in the base was sunk in this attack, the regime officially announced that only slight damage had been done. These fact-creations were as nothing, however, to the massive, post-war, “concentration-camp” propaganda of the Culture-distorting regime based in Washington.

This propaganda announced that 6,000,000 members of the Jewish Culture-Nation-State-Church-People-Race had been killed in European camps, as well as an indeterminate number of other people. The propaganda was on a world-wide scale, and was of a mendacity that was perhaps adapted to a uniformized mass, but was simply disgusting to discriminating Europeans. The propaganda was technically quite complete. “Photographs” were supplied in millions of copies. Thousands of the people who had been killed published accounts of their experiences in these camps. Hundreds of thousands more made fortunes in post-war black-markets. “Gas-chambers” that did not exist were photographed, and a “gasmobile” was invented to titillate the mechanically-minded.

We come now to the purpose of this propaganda which the regime gave to its mentally-enslaved masses. From the analysis in the 20th Century Political Outlook, the purpose is seen to be only one: it was designed to create a total war in the spiritual sense, transcending the limits of politics, against the Western Civilization. The American masses, both military and civilian, were given this mental poison in order to inflame them to the point where they would carry out without flinching the post-war annihilation-program. In particular: *it was designed to support a war after the Second World War, a war of looting, hanging, and starvation against defenseless Europe.*

(The above article was excerpted from *Imperium* [pp 529-534], which is published by [Noontide Press](#).)

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 149-158.

The End of the Romanoffs: Nicholas, Alexandra, & Their Children

Robert H. Williams

With the threat of “international Socialism,” the textbook name for Communism, so imminent in the Western world, nothing could be more important to the future survival and freedom of our children than to show them who set up the bloody Communist regime over the Russians and how they did it.

But you can hardly find the facts in the libraries any more and the big publishing houses no longer dare publish such life-saving information. Great hordes of the Marxist indoctrinated internationalists who secretly engineered, or whose associated and racial kinsmen engineered, the rise of Bolshevism in Russia, poured into America, both before and since the 1917 Communist revolution; and these revolutionaries are so well entrenched in Washington, they have such a powerful propaganda and smear machine and they control so much of the department store advertising — that hardly a single politician or publisher will dare relate the significant facts about how their machine destroyed Russia.

Eye-Witness Report

I want to quote at some length from one of the best books ever written on the Bolshevik Revolution, *The Last Days of the Romanoffs* [sic], by George Gustav Tellberg, Professor of Law in Saratov University and former Minister of Justice of the Russian Government at Omsk, and Robert Wilton, long-time Russian correspondent to the *London Times*. The book was published in the United States in 1920 by George H. Doran Company.

I believe one of the most valuable contributions I could make to human freedom would be to make this information available again to all who will read it.

The fly leaf shows that the book was copyrighted in 1920 by both the George H. Doran Company and the Curtis Publishing Company (publisher of the *Saturday Evening Post*).

This book gives transcripts of a court of inquiry and photostatic evidence identifying the murderers of the Czar and his family, and shows incidentally, but authentically, that a certain small group of less than a dozen Jews, by controlling the secret police, held the whip hand over the entire Soviet regime.

It may be news to you that there ever was such a thing as a court of inquiry held on the scene of the murder of the Czar and his family. There was such a court, and Wilton, the co-author of the book, was present throughout the inquiry as correspondent of the *London Times*.

It came about this way: The White Russian army, the army of the anti-Bolshevik government set up in Siberia, recaptured the town of Ekaterinburg a few days after the royal Romanoffs were murdered in that town; and the Siberian Government set up the court to find the murderers. The investigators got several signed confessions from some of the guards who participated, one in the actual murder, the others in scrubbing up the bloody floors and walls after the assassination.

Before the Siberian Government could apprehend more than a handful of the guilty — these only the indoctrinated, propagandized soldiers on guard who did only what they were told — the Red Army again took Ekaterinburg; but fortunately for the world, Wilton escaped with the entire court dossier. He released its essentials in the book I quote herein. The official record is here; but where can you find a copy of this valuable book today? To get one you have to make a deliberate search, whereas it ought to be required reading in every high school. Not three teachers, preachers or political “leaders” out of a hundred know these facts — yet to know them might enable us to prevent the international revolutionaries from destroying America.

Soviets Seized Power

The Royal family, including Czar Nicholas II, Empress Alexandra Feodorovna, their son and their four daughters, together with such servants as had been permitted to remain with them, were held prisoners in the province of Omsk. Czar Nicholas, a highly religious Russian of kindly but weak character, had been hoodwinked into resigning in the “February Revolution” of 1917. After his resignation the “soviets” or committees of Marxist indoctrinated, unionized workmen sprang up like poison mushrooms, everywhere, organized almost overnight by some unseen force. All these soviets were bent on destroying the existing order and establishing a socialistic government. They seized or dominated the governments of many cities and towns and out of this revolutionary force rose the weak Socialist leader, Kerensky.

For nearly half a century Zionist agents had been indoctrinating the seven or eight million Jews in Russia with Marxism. (The late Chaim Weizmann, one of the principal leaders of these agents, in his autobiography, *Trial and Error*, tells us that the Pale of Settlement, the vast area which was virtually a Jewish land, was seething with revolutionaries of all varieties, those who wanted to seize the government of Russia and those who held that the best course for the Jews was to establish a nation of their own in Palestine.)

The soviets were themselves a Jewish innovation, and as their power grew in the cities, towns and villages, they seized telegraph and telephone exchanges and railroad centers and though some of them, notably east of the Urals, resisted Jewish domination, generally these committees were dominated, openly or covertly, by their Jewish inspirers, and thus they put the Jewish revolutionaries in a powerful position to terrorize any opposition.

Throughout most of 1917 — to the October Revolution — Kerensky remained head of the new government, but the German government, being at war with Russia, France, Britain and the United States, wanted to put Russia out of the war; so that government allowed the Bolshevik leaders, Lenin, and associates, to pass in a sealed train from Switzerland through Germany into Sweden, whence they infiltrated Russia. With support from inside the Social Democratic party and many of the Jewish-run soviets, Lenin, joined by Trotsky from New York, and other world Bolshevik leaders, gained the upper hand over the Kerensky government. Wilton touches on these historic events as he unfolds the tragedy of the Romanoffs.

German Government Soon Regretted

By the spring of 1918 the German government (as well as the Allies) was alarmed at the rise of Bolshevik power and its blood-letting, as well as its threat to spread throughout Europe. The Bolsheviks had obliged Germany by taking Russia off her back, signing the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty. Now the Kaiser's government secretly decided to try to restore Nicholas II to the throne if he would endorse the peace treaty. It was necessary to get him back in Moscow, if the plan was to succeed.

Wilton claimed that Mirbach, the German agent in Moscow, still had great influence over the Red government, especially since so many military leaders and former government officials, and provincial governments not yet destroyed, were willing to work with any force that might counter the Bolsheviks and perhaps restore the monarchy.

On some ruse, Mirbach persuaded Sverdlov to send an envoy to bring Nicholas to Moscow. After all, it would strengthen the position of the Bolshevik usurpers if the Czar could be "tried" and found guilty of treason or anything. Or if the Czar would agree to endorse the peace treaty, the Allies would then no longer try to restore Nicholas as a means of getting Russia back into the war.

Sverdlov sent one Yankel Yakovlev [as] "Bolshevik commissar to the imperial family." He arrived at Tobolsk, where the Romanoffs were held, April 22, 1918. He could not persuade Nicholas to agree to sanction the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, which Nicholas considered an eternal disgrace to Russia, but he did persuade the ex-Czar to return to Moscow. They got as far as Ekaterinburg, in the Urals, where the train was halted by the Viral Regional Soviet, or revolutionary committee.

The Red Power Jewish

The soviet was dominated by "Goloshchekin, Safarov, Voikov and Syromolotov, all four Jews." They used a Russian named Beloborodov as figurehead president, a criminal, threatened by them with exposure and death for his crime. "He was henceforth a mere straw man, kept in his place to deceive the obstreperous Uralian miners, who did not wish to be ruled from Moscow, much less by Jews."

Goloshchekin was a member of Sverdlov's secret police, the Chrezvychaika, [and] an old comrade and fellow revolutionary of Sverdlov's. Telegrams and records at the telephone exchange, seized by the court of inquiry after the White Russian army captured Ekaterinburg, showed that the soviet was at all times in touch with their Jewish boss, Sverdlov in Moscow.

It was Sverdlov, master of the Chrezvychaika and head of the Tsik, strong man of the Red government, who ordered Yakovlev to take the Romanoffs via Ekaterinburg. Wilton suggests that Sverdlov must have been tipped off by friends in Germany that the German government was secretly planning to oust him and restore the monarchy.

Wilton might have been more specific, for it was well known by the time his book was published that [it was] the German Jewish bankers, the Warburgs (the family which now is so influential over the White House) and the Jewish prime minister of Germany, who induced the Kaiser's government to let the exiled Bolsheviks, Lenin and party, return to Russia through Germany in a sealed train. Sverdlov himself had been associated with the group in Germany and evidently was chosen by them.

Sverdlov, as president of the Tsik, was over the foreign as well as domestic affairs of Sovietism, being in fact, Prime Minister. Taken according to numbers of population, the Jews represented one in ten (in Russia); among the komisors [commissars] that rule Bolshevist Russia they are nine in ten. In addition to Sverdlov, the Chrezvychaika (inquisition) was run by Goloshchekin, Yurovsky, Efremov, Chustkevich and three other Jews.

The Ural Regional Soviet relieved Yakovlev of the prisoners and held them in a local mansion. Presently the commander of the guard, who had been a fanatical anti-Czar revolutionary, began to change, seeing the modest nature of Nicholas and his devotion to Russia and especially his concern for the peasants. He let sisters from a local Catholic institution bring fresh eggs and vegetables to the royal family.

Sworn Confession

But Sverdlov had other plans for the royal family. He put Yurovsky in charge. Yurovsky is described as a drunken Jewish criminal, whose own mother opposed and feared him. Yurovsky relieved the Russian commander and moved all Russian soldiers off the premises, to adjoining houses, replacing them inside and immediately outside the prison house with foreign revolutionaries.

Count Mirbach, the agent of the German government in Moscow, was killed the second week in July. His murderers later were identified as men from Sverdlov's secret police.

On July 17 (by the western calendar) Yurovsky took all pistols away from the Russian soldiers and told them if they heard firing during the night not to be alarmed.

Here is part of the sworn confession by one of the guardsmen who participated in the murder, one Pavel Medvedoff:

A new commandant was assigned: his name was Iourovsky (Yurovsky) ... In the evening of July 16 ... Iourovsky announced to me: "We will have to shoot them all tonight; notify the guardsmen not to be alarmed if they should hear the shots."

About midnight Iourovsky woke up the czar's family ... In about an hour the whole family, the doctor, the maid and two waiters got up, washed and dressed themselves ...

Shortly after 1 o'clock in the night the czar, czaritza, their four daughters, the maid, the doctor, the cook and the waiter left their rooms. The czar carried the heir in his arms. The emperor and heir were dressed in "gimnosterkas" (soldiers' shirts) and wore caps ... During my presence nobody of the czar's family asked anybody any questions. They did not either weep or cry. Having descended the stairs to the first floor, we went out into the court, and from there by the second door ... we entered the lower floor of the house ...

One chair was given to the emperor, one to the empress, and the third to the heir. The empress sat by the wall with the window, near the back pillar of the arch. Behind her stood three of her daughters. (I knew their faces very well because I saw them every day when they were walking, but I didn't know them by name). The heir and the emperor sat side by side, almost in the middle of the room. Dr. Batkin stood behind the heir. The maid, a very tall woman, stood by the left post of the door leading to the storeroom; by her side stood one of the czar's daughters (the fourth). Two servants

stood at the left from the entrances of the room, against the wall separating the store-room ...

None Asked for Mercy

It looked as if all of them guessed their fate, but not a single sound was uttered. At the same time eleven men entered the room: Iourovsky, his assistant, two members of the extraordinary commission, and seven Letts. (Note: Wilton did not believe they were Letts, as they wrote notes in Magyar, mysteriously poor Magyar — RHW). Iouravsky ordered me to leave, saying, "Go to the street, see if there is anybody there and if the shots can be heard."

I went out to the court which was enclosed by a fence, and before I could get out to the street I heard the firing. (Note: The court of inquiry had evidence that the witness was lying at this point; that he himself participated in the murder — RHW). Immediately I returned to the house (only two or three minutes having elapsed), and on entering the room where the execution took place, I saw all the members of the czar's family lying on the floor, having many wounds in their bodies. The blood was running in streams, the doctor, the maid and the waiters were also shot. When I entered, the heir was still alive and moaning. Iourovsky went up and fired two or three more times at him. The heir grew still ...

After the assassination Iourovsky said to me that I was to bring some guardsmen to wash up the blood in the room ... At three o'clock in the morning everything was in order. Then Iourovsky went to his room and I went to the guardroom.

I woke up at eight o'clock and went to the commandant's room. I met there the president of the district soviet, Beloborodoff (the figurehead president — RHW) and Commissar Goloshchekin and Ivan Starkoff ... All the rooms in the house were in disorder ... Suitcases and trunks were opened. Piles of gold and silver things were laid on the tables of the commandant's room. Objects of jewelry which were taken from the members of the czar's family just before the murder, were also there; as well as things that were on them after their death ... I took also several silver rings and a few other trifles.

Answering the question as to where the bodies of the killed were taken ... Ermakoff explained to me that the bodies were thrown down the shaft of a mine near the Verkh Issetsk works and after that the shaft was destroyed by bombs or explosives in order to fill it up.

One of the Russian soldiers, Philip Proskouriakoff, signed a sworn statement that he was called in immediately after the assassination to help scrub up the floors. He described the scene as he found it; and said Medvedoff told him immediately after the crime that Yurovsky had told the czar just before shooting him, "Your race must cease to live."

Other witnesses gave other versions of Yurovsky's last words to the czar. Wilton reports: "Voikov, the Jew, boasted to his 'lady' friends in Ekaterinburg after the murder that 'the world will never know what we did with the bodies.'"

Fragments of Bodies Identified

The bodies were so completely destroyed that the investigators found only fragments of them. But identification was positive. False teeth, crown jewels overlooked by the murderers and readily recognized personal possessions were found both outside and inside the mine shaft, with finger bones and other body fragments, and fragments of clothing.

Wilton's comments (early in his book) on the seat of power in the Red government are of special interest because Wilton had spent many years in Russia as a newspaper man, his business that of gathering information; and he had the benefit of the anti-Communist officials and ex-officials and agencies. He states:

As there was no apparent authority, the local bodies [soviets — RHW] often acted independently; indeed, Lenin encouraged this tendency. *Vlast na mestakh* (every place its own master) was his motto. Lenin did not rule; the Soviet system was governed by other people, the fellow-passengers who came with him under German auspices. Though he delivered impassioned harangues before the Sovnarkom and received deputations from minor soviets, the real power was elsewhere — in the Tsik and Chrezvychaika.

Mirbach [the agent of the German government in Moscow — RHW] received his daily report from the Chrezvychaika. He was murdered by two men who said they came from that office. Lenin had as little to do with his death as he had with the murders, a week later, of the ex-Tsar and his family. The Red Okhrana and the inner circle of the Tsik were the veritable authors of the crime of Ekaterinburg, and probably of Mirbach's assassination.

Nonentities, figureheads of the sovnarkom, do not interest us. We are concerned with great, if maleficent, personages in the Red world. Most of them are still unknown outside the ranks of the professional revolutionaries. A goodly proportion of the hundred Jews who came out of Germany with Lenin, and the hundreds who came from Chicago, deserve to be included in this gallery, for they ... held Russia under their sway. To enumerate and describe them would require a small volume. I need sketch only those who act prominently in the drama of Ekaterinburg. The most important were Sverdlov, Safarov, Voikov and Goloshchekin, and the murderer-in-chief Yurovsky.

Sverdlov Supreme

The names of Safarov and Voikov figure in the list of Lenin's fellow passengers [from Switzerland through Germany in 1917 — RHW]. Both are very powerful Bolsheviks, holding high places in the executive and police branches. Sverdlov is — I use the present tense because all these persons continue to wield their influence to the present day — the uncrowned Tsar of the Soviets. His authority is really much higher than that of Lenin or even Trotsky. He dominates the Tsik and his creatures rule the Chrezvychaika.

(Wilton evidently wrote the above paragraph a short time before Sverdlov's assassination and finished the manuscript after the assassination — RHW.)

The closest personal bonds had existed for many years between Goloshchekin and Sverdlov. They had been together in prison and exile. Goloshchekin ranked as an internationalist of the most pronounced type ... He was bloodthirsty to an abnormal degree, even for a Red chieftain. People who knew him at Ekaterinburg described Goloshchekin as a homicidal sadist. He never at-

tended executions, but insisted upon hearing a detailed account of them. He huddled in bed shivering and quaking till the executioner came with his report, and would listen to his description of tortures: with a frenzy of joy, begging for further details, gloating over the expressions, gestures and death-throes of the victims as they passed before his diseased vision.

The origins of Yurovsky have been fully investigated. His parents and relatives — all poor Jews — remained in Siberia after the murderer and his chiefs and accomplices had fled from Ekaterinburg. He had been a watchmaker at Tomsk, scarcely able to make ends meet. Naturally ambitious, he despised the people around him. He was waiting for an opportunity. It came suddenly and mysteriously. Yurovsky disappeared. This was before the war. He is next heard of in Ekaterinburg as a photographic dealer. It leaked out that he had been to Berlin and became possessed of some capital. When war came he evaded service in the trenches by qualifying as a Red Cross assistant (feldsher) and remained in Ekaterinburg. When the Bolsheviks seized the government, Yurovsky became one of the local agents of the new power.

Yankel (Jacob) Sverdlov, the Red Tsar ... was despised and later killed by Russian workmen. There were upwards of seven million Jews in Russia at the time of the Bolshevik revolution, according to Jewish writers. There are today, in America, “a good two-thirds of all the Jews of the world,” according to one of their most eminent leaders — which means ten to twelve million.

Many of these Jews have found such wealth and freedom in America that they do not want Communism or any advanced system of Socialism. But others band themselves together in the most powerful smear and terrorist organizations that ever existed in any nation in history, evidently determined to rule or ruin.

Potential 'Soviets' in U.S.

How will they bring about the destruction of the benevolent republic, the nation of free men which is the last hope of this age?

We are not wise enough to foresee which of the several systems of potential Red “soviets” they will use — perhaps the labor union or the Anti-Defamation League locals or the “civil defense” police.

We must be on guard against all of them. And the only way to guard against them is to make enough people understand the origin and nature of the world revolution in which we of this generation are caught. This brief glimpse of the tragedy of Russia might help alert our people.

(The above article has been reprinted, with the author’s permission, from the January 1957 issue of the *Williams Intelligence Summary* [Vol. 9, no. 2].)

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 161-166.

In 'Eisenhower's Death Camps': Part I — A U.S. Prison Guard's Story

Martin Brech

In October 1944, at age eighteen, I was drafted into the U.S. army. Largely because of the “Battle of the Bulge,” my training was cut short. My furlough was halved, and I was sent overseas immediately. Upon arrival in Le Havre, France, we were quickly loaded into box cars and shipped to the front. When we got there, I was suffering increasingly severe symptoms of mononucleosis, and was sent to a hospital in Belgium. Since mononucleosis was then known as the “kissing disease,” I mailed a letter of thanks to my girlfriend.

By the time I left the hospital, the outfit I had trained with in Spartanburg, South Carolina was deep inside Germany, so, despite my protests, I was placed in a “repo depot (replacement depot). I lost interest in the units to which I was assigned and don’t recall all of them: non-combat units were ridiculed at that time. My separation qualification record states I was mostly with Company C, 14th Infantry Regiment, during my seventeen-month stay in Germany, but I remember being transferred to other outfits also.

In late March or early April 1945, I was sent to guard a POW camp near Andernach along the Rhine. I had four years of high school German, so I was able to talk to the prisoners, although this was forbidden. Gradually, however, I was used as an interpreter and asked to ferret out members of the S.S. (I found none.)

In Andernach about 50,000 prisoners of all ages were held in an open field surrounded by barbed wire. The women were kept in a separate enclosure I did not see until later. The men I guarded had no shelter and no blankets; many had no coats. They slept in the mud, wet and cold, with inadequate slit trenches for excrement. It was a cold, wet spring and their misery from exposure alone was evident.

Even more shocking was to see the prisoners throwing grass and weeds into a tin can containing a thin soup. They told me they did this to help ease their hunger pains. Quickly, they grew emaciated. Dysentery raged, and soon they were sleeping in their own excrement, too weak and crowded to reach the slit trenches. Many were begging for food, sickening and dying before our eyes. We had ample food and supplies, but did nothing to help them, including no medical assistance.

Outraged, I protested to my officers and was met with hostility or bland indifference. When pressed, they explained they were under strict orders from “higher up.” No officer would dare do this to 50,000 men if he felt that it was “out of line,” leaving him open to charges. Realizing my protests were useless, I asked a friend working in the kitchen if he could slip me some extra food for the prisoners. He too said they were under strict orders to severely ration the prisoners' food

and that these orders came from “higher up.” But he said they had more food than they knew what to do with and would sneak me some.

When I threw this food over the barbed wire to the prisoners, I was caught and threatened with imprisonment. I repeated the “offense,” and one officer angrily threatened to shoot me. I assumed this was a bluff until I encountered a captain on a hill above the Rhine shooting down at a group of German civilian women with his .45 caliber pistol. When I asked, “Why?” he mumbled, “Target practice,” and fired until his pistol was empty. I saw the women running for cover, but, at that distance, couldn’t tell if any had been hit.

This is when I realized I was dealing with cold-blooded killers filled with moralistic hatred. They considered the Germans subhuman and worthy of extermination; another expression of the downward spiral of racism. Articles in the G.I. newspaper, Stars and Stripes, played up the German concentration camps, complete with photos of emaciated bodies; this amplified our self-righteous cruelty and made it easier to imitate behavior we were supposed to oppose. Also, I think, soldiers not exposed to combat were trying to prove how tough they were by taking it out on the prisoners and civilians.

These prisoners, I found out, were mostly farmers and workingmen, as simple and ignorant as many of our own troops. As time went on, more of them lapsed into a zombie-like state of listlessness, while others tried to escape in a demented or suicidal fashion, running through open fields in broad daylight towards the Rhine to quench their thirst. They were mowed down. Some prisoners were as eager for cigarettes as for food, saying they took the edge off their hunger. Accordingly, enterprising G.I. “Yankee traders” were acquiring hordes of watches and rings in exchange for handfuls of cigarettes or less. When I began throwing cartons of cigarettes to the prisoners to ruin this trade, I was threatened by rank-and-file G.I.s too.

The only bright spot in this gloomy picture came one night when I was put on the “graveyard shift,” from two to four A.M. Actually, there was a graveyard on the uphill side of this enclosure, not many yards away. My superiors had forgotten to give me a flashlight and I hadn’t bothered to ask for one, disgusted as I was with the whole situation by that time. It was a fairly bright night and I soon became aware of a prisoner crawling under the wires towards the graveyard. We were supposed to shoot escapees on sight, so I started to get up from the ground to warn him to get back. Suddenly I noticed another prisoner crawling from the graveyard back to the enclosure. They were risking their lives to get to the graveyard for something; I had to investigate.

When I entered the gloom of this shrubby, tree-shaded cemetery, I felt completely vulnerable, but somehow curiosity kept me moving. Despite my caution, I tripped over the legs of someone in a prone position. Whipping my rifle around while stumbling and trying to regain composure of mind and body, I soon was relieved I hadn’t reflexively fired. The figure sat up. Gradually, I could see the beautiful but terror-stricken face of a woman with a picnic basket nearby. German civilians were not allowed to feed, nor even come near the prisoners, so I quickly assured her I approved of what she was doing, not to be afraid, and that I would leave the graveyard to get out of the way.

I did so immediately and sat down, leaning against a tree at the edge of the cemetery to be inconspicuous and not frighten the prisoners. I imagined then, and still do now, what it would be like to meet a beautiful woman with a picnic basket, under those conditions as a prisoner. I have never forgotten her face.

Eventually, more prisoners crawled back to the enclosure. I saw they were dragging food to their comrades and could only admire their courage and devotion.

On May 8, V.E. Day, I decided to celebrate with some prisoners I was guarding who were baking bread the other prisoners occasionally received. This group had all the bread they could eat, and shared the jovial mood generated by the end of the war. We all thought we were going home soon, a pathetic hope on their part. We were in what was to become the French zone, where I soon would witness the brutality of the French soldiers when we transferred our prisoners to them for their slave labor camps.

On this day, however, we were happy.

As a gesture of friendliness, I emptied my rifle and stood it in the corner, even allowing them to play with it at theirs! request. This thoroughly “broke the ice,” and soon we were singing songs we taught each other or I had learned in high school German ("Du, du liegst mir im Herzen"). Out of gratitude, they baked me a special small loaf of sweet bread, the only possible present they had left to offer. I stuffed it in my “Eisenhower jacket” and snuck it back to my barracks, eating it when I had privacy. I have never tasted more delicious bread, nor felt a deeper sense of communion while eating it. I believe a cosmic sense of Christ (the Oneness of all Being) revealed its normally hidden presence to me on that occasion, influencing my later decision to major in philosophy and religion.

Shortly afterwards, some of our weak and sickly prisoners were marched off by French soldiers to their camp. We were riding on a truck behind this column. Temporarily, it slowed down and dropped back, perhaps because the driver was as shocked as I was. Whenever a German prisoner staggered or dropped back, he was hit on the head with a club until he died. The bodies were rolled to the side of the road to be picked up by another truck. For many, this quick death might have been preferable to slow starvation in our “killing fields.”

When I finally saw the German women in a separate enclosure, I asked why we were holding them prisoner. I was told they were “camp followers,” selected as breeding stock for the S.S. to create a super-race. I spoke to some and must say I never met a more spirited or attractive group of women. I certainly didn’t think they deserved imprisonment.

I was used increasingly as an interpreter, and was able to prevent some particularly unfortunate arrests. One rather amusing incident involved an old farmer who was being dragged away by several M.P.s. I was told he had a “fancy Nazi medal,” which they showed me. Fortunately, I had a chart identifying such medals. He'd been awarded it for having five children! Perhaps his wife was somewhat relieved to get him “off her back,” but I didn’t think one of our death camps was a fair punishment for his contribution to Germany. The M.P.s agreed and released him to continue his “dirty work.”

Famine began to spread among the German civilians also. It was a common sight to see German women up to their elbows in our garbage cans looking for something edible — that is, if they weren’t chased away.

When I interviewed mayors of small towns and villages, I was told their supply of food had been taken away by “displaced persons” (foreigners who had worked in Germany), who packed the food on trucks and drove away. When I reported this, the response was a shrug. I never saw any Red Cross at the camp or helping civilians, although their coffee and doughnut stands were available everywhere else for us. In the meantime, the Germans had to rely on the sharing of hidden stores until the next harvest.

Hunger made German women more “available,” but despite this, rape was prevalent and often accompanied by additional violence. In particular I remember an eighteen-year old woman who

had the side of her faced smashed with a rifle butt and was then raped by two G.I.s. Even the French complained that the rapes, looting and drunken destructiveness on the part of our troops was excessive. In Le Havre, we'd been given booklets warning us that the German soldiers had maintained a high standard of behavior with French civilians who were peaceful, and that we should do the same. In this we failed miserably.

“So what?” some would say. “The enemy’s atrocities were worse than ours.” It is true that I experienced only the end of the war, when we were already the victors. The German opportunity for atrocities had faded; ours was at hand. But two wrongs don’t make a right. Rather than copying our enemy’s crimes, we should aim once and for all to break the cycle of hatred and vengeance that has plagued and distorted human history. This is why I am speaking out now, forty-five years after the crime. We can never prevent individual war crimes, but we can, if enough of us speak out, influence government policy. We can reject government propaganda that depicts our enemies as subhuman and encourages the kind of outrages I witnessed. We can protest the bombing of civilian targets, which still goes on today. And we can refuse ever to condone our government’s murder of unarmed and defeated prisoners of war.

I realize it is difficult for the average citizen to admit witnessing a crime of this magnitude, especially if implicated himself. Even G.I.s sympathetic to the victims were afraid to complain and get into trouble, they told me. And the danger has not ceased. Since I spoke out a few weeks ago, I have received threatening calls and had my mailbox smashed. But its been worth it. Writing about these atrocities has been a catharsis of feeling suppressed too long, a liberation, and perhaps will remind other witnesses that “the truth will make us free, have no fear.” We may even learn a supreme lesson from all this: only love can conquer all.

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 166-175.

In a U.S. Death Camp — 1945

Werner Wilhelm Laska

I was born August 31, 1924, in Berlin. When the National Socialists came to power, I was eight years old.

From 1930 until 1940 I attended school in Berlin. I did not join the Hitler Youth, but suffered no disadvantages because of that. At age twelve I became an altar boy at a Catholic church in Berlin. In fall 1942, I was drafted, like virtually all German men born in 1924, into the German Wehrmacht. After 10 weeks of training I was transferred to Infanterie-Lehr-Brigade 900, which had just been assigned to Russia. From December 1942 until April 1943, we fought the Red Army in southern Russia. After that we were regrouped and christened “Panzergrenadiers.” Our next action was in northern Italy and in Yugoslavia. At the beginning of 1944 my unit and others were assembled in France in order to form the new “Panzer-Lehr-Division.” On March 15, 1944 we went to Hungary to foil a coup d’état. In May 1944 we moved to France, near Chartres, awaiting the Allied invasion. We were in action from the beginning of the invasion of June 6, first against the British, from July 1944 against the Americans. I myself always fought in the front-line. With great luck I suffered only two injuries, to the knee and to the head, but approximately eighty percent of my comrades were killed or wounded. The remnants of the Panzer-Lehr-Division fell back fighting to Lorraine, where we rested, then fought again, in the Battle of the Bulge. We passed Bastogne and reached St Hubert, but then we ran out of gasoline and ammunition. The Allies' total air supremacy was for us deadly and terrible. Again we had to retreat, after suffering very heavy losses. The Allies pushed us back just across the Rhine River. Unfortunately, the Americans were able to seize the bridge at Remagen and form a bridgehead on the other side of the Rhine.

My unit then consisted of a sergeant and about 40 men, from four or five different companies of our “Panzergrenadier- Lehr-Regiment 901.” The situation was already chaotic. Our 40 men were completely cut off from company, battalion, and regimental headquarters. Our next action was against the Remagen bridgehead. Since we were all experienced soldiers, we worked according to the following plan: in the morning-we always stayed in the next village from the American camp — we destroyed the first American tank when their armor began to move. We still possessed a 7.5 cm gun on an armored car. Then the Americans would stop, and we would retreat. The Americans would call in artillery and aircraft to bombard the point from which we had fired on the lead tank, but we would no longer be there. We played this game for a while. But the Ruhr Pocket became smaller and smaller; our regimental staff retreated from the north and we from the south. Smoke and fire were in the air everywhere.

We soon knew that our time had come! The roads were packed, and the Allied fighter planes were strafing everybody non-stop! They made no distinction between soldiers and civilians. Anything that moved was fair game.

On April 12, 1945 our unit decided to give up, not to die in the last minute. There were about 30 or 35 of us. On that day, in late afternoon, we arrived at a house, standing isolated near a creek. We parked our five vehicles, and then went down into the cellar of that home. Some bottles of “hard stuff” went with us, so that we could welcome the Americans in a friendly mood.

I myself did not go down to the cellar; I stayed outside to have a look around. I wanted to be alone. My entire time in military service passed before me; the final step remained to be taken. I remembered all the things that had happened, the good and the bad, on and off duty. We had met nice people, and above all, nice girls. In Hungary, in Italy, in Croatia and in France I had served Mass in Catholic churches, an altar boy in German uniform. Of course, my belt and my pistol had to stay in the sacristy during the Mass. In those days, the Mass was said in Latin. The native priests were always delighted.

I was interrupted in my reveries by shooting and explosions near the house and the creek, in which I took shelter under a small bridge. After that I heard tracked vehicles rolling over the bridge. Then silence. My only weapon was my pistol, but we had decided to surrender. When it was completely dark I approached the house, where the others had been in the cellar. But I must admit that I had not much hope of finding them still there. The vehicles did not allow me a clear view. I heard a voice, but I could not recognize the language. It was unlikely that these soldiers were my comrades. I climbed up through the garden and approached the voice. I heard something like “Anthony world, Anthony world,” so by now I knew: “Americans”! I approached the soldier from the back and got around him. Suddenly he discovered me and was very much alarmed, rather than frightened, because I didn’t have a weapon in my hand. Seeing my pistol on the belt, he said to me: “Pistol, pistol.” I took it off my belt and gave it to him and noticed that he was relieved. He told me then to wait in the garden, while he went into the house to inform his company commander. After a short while he came back and ordered me to enter the house, then follow him. We went upstairs into a room where what looked to be a company staff was assembled. All the men had short haircuts -much shorter than in the German Army — and looked like farm boys. They asked me only whether I belonged to the same unit they had found in the house.

Another soldier led me into a little closet in which I had to pass the night. I could not sleep at first because of the new situation and my feelings; later I fell asleep anyway. The next morning the same fellow woke me up and directed me downstairs to wait in front of the house for a truck.

The American guards who arrived with the truck were nasty and cruel from the start. I was forced in with kicks and punches to my back. Other German soldiers were already on board. After a drive of an hour or two we arrived at an open field on which many German servicemen were already assembled, in rank and file. As we got off the truck, a large group of Americans awaited us. They received us with shouts and yells, such as: “You Hitler, you Nazi, etc...” We got beaten, kicked and pushed; one of those gangsters brutally tore my watch from my wrist. Each of these bandits already possessed ten or twenty watches, rings and other things. The beating continued until I reached the line where my comrades stood. Most of our water-bottles (canteens), rucksacks etc. were cut off, and even overcoats had to be left on the ground. More and more prisoners arrived, including even boys and old men. After a few hours, big trailer-trucks — usually used for transporting cattle — lined up for loading with human cattle.

We had to run the gauntlet to get into the trucks; we were beaten and kicked. Then they jammed us in so tightly that they couldn’t even close the hatches. We couldn’t even breathe. The soldiers drove the vehicles at high speed over the roads and through villages and towns; behind each trailer-truck always followed a jeep with a mounted machine gun.

In late afternoon we stopped in an open field again, and were unloaded in the same manner, with beating and kicking. We had to line up at attention just like recruits in basic training. Quickly, the Americans fenced us in with rolls of barbed wire, so there was no space to sit or to lie down that night. We even had to do our necessities in the standing position. Since we received no water or foodstuffs, our thirst and hunger became acute and urgent. Some men still had tea in their canteens, but there was hardly enough for everyone.

Next day the procedure began as on the day before; running the gauntlet into the cattle-trailers, then transport to the next open field. No drinking and no eating, but always fenced in — there is an American song: "... Don't fence me in ..." — as well as the childish behavior of most of the Americans: Punishing the Nazis! After the first night, when we were loaded again, some of us stayed on that field, either dead or so weak and sick that they could not move any more. We had been approaching the Rhine River, as we noticed but we had still one night to pass in the manner related. It was terrible! All this could not have been a coincidence. It must have been a plan, because, as we later learned, there was nearly the same treatment in all camps run by American units. During the war we heard about the "Morgenthau-Plan" and the "Kaufman-Plan," and exactly that seemed to have been happening to us in those moments: the extermination of an entire people!

The next afternoon we crossed a bridge and were unloaded at an almost completed camp near Andernach (a small town on the Rhine River). There were already barbed wire fences around the enclosure. Within it were cages for several thousand people. We were driven into the cages and left alone. Water-pipes were installed in each cage to pump water from the Rhine into the camp. We had to wait many hours before we could drink it. The problem now was the lack of cups or containers among all but a few. We almost fought for the first drink, which really stank from the chlorine which had been added. After the first drink our hunger became enormous. The little grass in the cages was eaten immediately away by the human cattle.

I was with two comrades of my former company; we decided to stay together. Our possessions were one overcoat and one tent-cloth. In order to prepare for that first night, we had to scrape out a hole in the ground, in the earth, to get some cover against the wind. Against the rain we had none.

The weather in April/May/June/July 1945 was pretty bad: hot days, plenty of rain, and even snow and frosty nights. There at Andernach we had more space than on the three previous nights, but only enough to lie down on.

We did not sleep much that night, but discussed our future and the chances of survival under those circumstances.

Nobody can imagine how human beings can live in open air, on a field with little space, bad water and hunger rations for days, weeks and months. Concentration camps had, at least, barracks with heating, with beds, with blankets, with washrooms, with toilets, with warm meals, with bread, etc ...

The men in the cages were divided into thousands, then into hundreds, and finally into tens for better distribution of rations. In one corner of each cage the inmates had to shovel a ditch as a toilet for all the men in the cage; of course, in standing or crouching position in open air. A layer of disinfectants had to be added every day. Facilities for washing were non-existent. Passing the nights was a great problem for each of us. None could sleep all night through — the longest one could do so uninterrupted was three or four hours. Every night 30 or 40 per cent of the inmates were walking around at any given time. The ground had been frozen and wet; we three comrades

had only a tent-cloth and an overcoat for lying on and for cover. Sometimes in our hole there would be a few inches of rain water, in which we had to lie throughout the night. All three of us had to lie on one side; turning over on to the other side had to be done in unison. The position in the middle was the best, so every three days each of us got it once.

On the second day in Andernach, we received our first food ration. After hours of desperate waiting, each of us at last received a spoonful of raw beans, a spoonful of sugar, a spoonful of raw wheat, a spoonful of milk-powder and sometimes — not every day — a spoonful of corned-beef. If somebody “organized” a few boxes he could perhaps cook or warm up some of these raw foodstuffs. But for these empty boxes one was almost murdered. Of course, all the raw beans and wheat-corns were counted on distribution, as was everything else, too. In such situations a human being can easily become animal-like. Everybody was waiting the whole day long for the moment of the ration distribution. Then the battle for each tiny corn began; it must have been the organism’s survival instinct. One’s only interest was in food and water; how low can human nature sink?

After two or three weeks in Andernach, a large part of the inmates was transferred to the two camps of Sinzig/Remagen, north of the camp at Andernach. We were packed in box-cars and transported along the Rhine by train. The final capacity of Sinzig was about 180,000 prisoners, that of Remagen approximately 120,000. Both camps were almost adjacent, and were called “The Golden Mile.”

Sinzig was 4 kilometers long and 800 meters wide, with two rows of thirteen cages each, and in the middle a passageway; the cages were approximately 300 by 300 meters. All four sides of every cage had two barbed-wire fences, almost 3 meters high; in between those two fences ran a barbed-wire roll. Watch-towers with mounted machine guns were posted at all four corners. The Rhine River was just 100 yards away. Each cage held 7,000 people.

The “open-air” situation was exactly the same as in Andernach; likewise the water distribution, the toilets, the holes in the ground and the food-rations. Inside, all inmates had to keep 3 meters from the fences. Several prisoners who had come too close to the fences were shot; the guard did not shoot only once, they shot ten or twelve times — so those who infringed the 3-meter line invariably died.

My two comrades and I were put in cage 17, on the Rhine side; when we first entered, there was still grass and some clover on the ground but only for minutes — the hunger was too enormous!

After that, there was mud and only mud all around! We had to scratch a new hole as a bed for the three of us.

Every morning a truck passed by the cages to pick up the dead from the previous night, those who were either shot within or on the fences, or dead from hunger or typhoid, dysentery and other sicknesses. Of every ten attempting to escape, eight were shot and two got through. The youngest inmates were 13 or 14 years old, the oldest around 80. Sometimes the Americans picked up everybody whom they could find in the streets. Our impression of the Americans was that of gangsters, even worse than the Nazis had described them in their propaganda. We knew that the treatment of the American prisoners in Germany during the war had been excellent, unless they tried to escape. We did not occupy America, we did no harm to the Americans; why this hatred and this revenge? To play the savior for the suffering peoples in Europe would have been worthy. If only America had done the same before the last war, and also after 1945 throughout the world. Torturing defenseless children, women and men has nothing to do with glory!

One should not forget that the Germans treated the Jewish American prisoners in the German camps exactly as the other Americans.

The month of May in 1945 was rainy and cold, snow fell on at least two days. Sleeping in our holes became a horror for all of us. We got weaker and weaker, our bodies consisted almost of skin and bones.

At the main gate there was one cage with girls and women who were suffering even more than we did. These were females who had been in the Wehrmacht in the administrative or medical services. Everybody in the camp was trembling and shivering that May 1945. The youngsters, of whom a few thousand were in the the camp, had to walk the central alley (4 km long) and back every day with several bricks in their hands, just for the sport of the Americans. Many of those kids collapsed and could not stand up anymore.

On several days we saw injured prisoners who had been chased out of military hospitals and put in our camp. A ghostlike parade of men with crutches, empty sleeves, blind eyes marched the alley. We first thought these must be phantoms, but they were no spooks! One could also find in Sinzig former KZ-inmates, anti-Nazis, deserters, et al.

Occasionally, American soldiers came to the fences and traded cigarettes and C-rations for jewelry and watches-only a few of us possessed such things — and some conversations took place. When the Germans asked them why such treatment was administered, the answer was always because of the concentration camps — no mention of gassing at that time. Our men argued that the situation in the concentration camps and the one in our camp could not be compared, because one day in Sinzig was the equivalent of twenty days in a concentration camp. They had barracks, beds, wash-rooms, toilets, heating, hospitals, warm meals etc., etc. As our punishment for the killing of Jews we had none of these facilities, the Americans told us. Therefore, they treated us like cattle or beasts. Many deaths in our camp resulted from the collapse of our holes dug for shelter, as well as from typhoid, from dysentery, from hunger, from approaching the fences, from attempts to escape, etc.

Our day's work waiting a few hours in a line for water in the morning; waiting many hours for the food-ration in the afternoon. In general, waiting for death.

Those who had not hated Americans before now changed their minds completely.

After three or four weeks we received our first ration of bread. But one loaf of bread for 40 men; several days later we got two raw potatoes.

Outside the camp the Americans were burning food which they could not eat themselves.

The attempts to escape and the shooting by the fences increased the longer we were in the camp; the desperate situation must have been the reason. In the middle of June 1945 the Americans began to release some prisoners. People who lived in the Rhineland could get discharged. At the end of June 1945, our cage 17 and the opposite one, 16, became the last in the entire camp, as cage 19 was emptied.

We speculated that the Americans must release everybody soon, or all of us would die in the next one or two months; there was no other alternative!

In the first days of July — after being in this hell for over 80 days — I got a fever and fell very ill. All others in the cages who had displayed those symptoms died shortly afterwards. My fever

must have reached over 40C (104F); I had to refuse the daily ration because I couldn't eat anything. I knew that my chances of surviving in the camp were nil: there was no hospital. I had survived all the battles and combat in the war with two small injuries, but now my hour had come! I then decided not to die slowly within two or three days, but instead to die quickly, on or at the fence. The chances of getting through were 2 in 10. I let two of my comrades know that they should see next morning whether I had been shot or whether I had been lucky. Giving them the address of my parents, in order to notify them in the first case, I made ready to escape or to die a quick death that night. After 84 days under these conditions, death might be a relief

After sunset I loitered near the fence of the former cage 19, at a place where the barbed wire seemed to be a little looser than at other points. Along the whole length of the fence there marched four single American sentries, each with about 70 meters to guard. Beside the four guards a jeep — with headlights and a mounted machine gun — drove back and forth along the entire length. At both ends of the fence were the watchtowers, also with machine guns. At that moment there were many bullets in store for me. At a point shortly after midnight, when the guards and the crew of the jeep had just been relieved, one guard passed me, just as the jeep came from the other side and blinded, for a moment, the next guard coming up. Now I went, or better, tore through the first fence, then jumped over the concertina wire and through the second fence — my fever forgotten, and bleeding all over my body from the barbed wire. I left most of my uniform on the wire, but at the moment I felt nothing. Yet I was awaiting any second the hits in my body, then the sounds of the gunfire. Behind the fence I crept meter by meter, across the path of the jeep, still awaiting the shots. Suddenly I fell in a hole. It must have been 20 or 30 meters past the guard-line. By now, I could not move; I just lay in that hole shaking. I could hear the guards and the jeep going back and forth. My uniform was in rags and shreds, my hands, my chest, my legs, my back and my chin were bleeding. There were shots, but from other cages. After an hour I was able to creep out of my hole. I reached the other end of the cage, about 300 meters away. It took me about two hours to negotiate the different fences and escape the camp.

I had to cross railway tracks and a main road to reach the hills. I climbed on all fours, and had to rest again for four hours. A woman found me and told that there was an isolated farm in which escaped prisoners could always find first-aid. I finally reached this farm and found experts who knew how to treat men like me. There were seven or eight other fellows there, all escaped from Sinzig or Remagen. We were put up with blankets in the stable. As my first nourishment I got tea, then oatmeal gruel, and after several days, bread, milk and some meat. After 3 or 4 weeks I could leave my saviors with gratitude.

I learned during that time that a few days after my flight the French had taken over the camps and transported all the prisoners to France for slave-labor.

After approximately six weeks of freedom, the French caught me in a village and sent me to France to work in coal mines and other nasty places, where my ordeal continued. In 1948 I escaped to Spain, where I was again imprisoned in the famous concentration camp “Nanclares del la Oca” and returned to France.

On January 7, 1950, the French discharged me to Germany. Shortly afterwards I immigrated to Canada, where I lived until 1960.

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From the Allied Camps to the Revisionist Camp

Hans von der Heide

I spent most of my time as P.O.W. in Great Britain (from 1944 to 1948), so I cannot say very much about American P.O.W. camps, except for a period of roughly seven weeks, most of which time I spent in a camp several kilometers outside of Cherbourg in northwest France.

This was not the first time that I had come into “close contact” with G.I.’s. On returning from the eastern front, the unit I was in at the time was posted right into the “Hauptkampflinie” (main front — line) alongside the Albert Canal, not too far from Lüttich (Liège). The “Yanks” and the 51st Highlanders (a Scottish regiment) were on the other side of the canal, and gave us a very hard time for about two weeks, literally plowing the ground with artillery shells and bombs on our side, until they threw a pontoon bridge across the canal and overran us. Of 160 comrades of our No. 4 machine gun company, only 16 survived, including myself. Together with a few “stragglers” from other units, we “survivors” were picked up by Feldgendarmarie (Military Police) and later ended up in Arnhem (9th and 10th [SS] Panzer Divisions).

Somewhere on the road to Arnhem, not too far from the city of Maastricht, we were ordered to cross the Maas (Meuse) river. Since all the bridges had been blown up, we crossed the river on a make — shift cat — walk consisting of a few lengths of wooden planks tied to metal barrels. Each of us carried two boxes of ammunition, one in each hand, walking single file over this rather treacherous “bridge.” We moved waist — deep through the water on our way to the opposite bank, only to find ourselves on a strip of land about 1.5 kilometers wide between the river Maas and another canal (the Juliane Canal). We were ordered “get into the ground by all means.” Since not everybody could still boast of being in possession of a spade, we used steel helmets and even jam cans to dig in.

While we were still digging away like maniacs, the Americans on the other side of the Juliane Canal had quickly thrown a pontoon bridge over the canal, unseen by us, and the next thing we knew they were right among us, so it was high time to make it back to the river and get across it into provisional safety. The Americans seemed to work according 1 to a regular working schedule, like in Civvy Street, and around 1800 hours it was “finish time” for them. I said before that there was no bridge left intact. There was a small number of rubber dinghies available but they were being used to get as many badly wounded as possible across the river, under heavy shell fire from our “Kameraden mit der anderen Feldpost — Nummer.” For most of us, including myself, there was no other option but to get the hell out of that strip of land by swimming across the river. Unfortunately, those who either could not swim or were wounded or too exhausted to swim had to stay behind.

Now, the river is not very wide at this point. It was nearly “finish — time” for the Yanks, but from what we experienced while still on that strip of land, and from what was observed from the

other side of the river, the Yanks took no prisoners at all. Instead my unfortunate comrades who could not make it to the river to get across were machine — gunned down on sight by the “sugar — daddies”!

It is therefore not very surprising that we had great reservations from that day on against being captured by the Yanks, although we had no reason to believe that it was general practice in the U.S. Army not to take prisoners. I was finally captured on October 7, 1944, after Arnhem, where we had been engaged in house — to — house combat with Brits and Yanks and Poles and where we had P.O.W.’s in our basements, some of them badly wounded. Our medics attended to all the wounded as best as they could under the circumstances, and no preference was given to German soldiers. The choice of who was to be taken care of first was according to the seriousness of his wounds, not according to his nationality. The British were even granted a cease — fire of one or two hours on a certain day to get their wounded over to our side to be hospitalized in our military hospitals

From the spot at which we were captured, not too far from Aachen, the Yanks hurriedly marched us across the Belgian border. We had to march quickly, with our hands folded behind our necks, because we were already coming under heavy artillery fire from our own side. It was not until we had arrived in a village across the border that the Yanks had their first opportunity to search us and take us away to a make — shift prison cage. On this occasion we were deprived of our watches and other valuables, including wedding rings! But it was on this very first day of my captivity that I was offered a Lucky Strike, the first American cigarette I ever had in my life. These G.I.’s were front — line soldiers and treated us decently, regardless of our SS uniforms.

From Belgium we were taken all the way to Compiègne, France, in cattle cars. We spent a day or two in a stable in Compiègne, with little or no food, depending on who still had something to “bribe” the Yanks with, before we were even moved to Cherbourg camp. Prior to boarding the train, we received K — rations and C — rations, which the Yanks had just unloaded from a car right behind the engine. This food was not distributed in a proper manner, but flung at us by the soldiers, most likely because it was absolutely insufficient in quantity. Whoever was close to the railroad car could perhaps catch one or two or even three packages, while others got nothing. However, our guards reassured us by saying: “Don’t worry, the trip to your next location will take only about four hours, and then you will be fed again.”

Well, it being wartime, the train was shunted around many times, with long halts in between, and the “journey” to Cherbourg lasted not four hours, but four days! Needless to say, quite a number of my *Kameraden* did not make it to Cherbourg alive. Most of us had already been half — starved prior to being captured. I have no precise idea about how many died on the way. We had four dead in the car I was in, there were more in others, but I really could not say with any amount of certainty how many were dead and buried somewhere in Normandy without any ceremonies. We were a mixed crowd from different units — Wehrmacht, Luftwaffe and what have you — so that most of us did not know one another at all.

In the car I was in there were five or six members of Strafbataillon 999, which was a unit consisting of either convicts or former concentration camp inmates. These guys told us frankly that they had been in Dachau until shortly before they joined the Strafbataillon and were sent to the front to fight the Yanks. I can still hear their typical southern dialect, since they came from Styria (Steiermark) and Carinthia (Karnten), Austria. They were happy to be alive, and singing away most of the time. They had heard rumors about Dachau, about “mountains of dead bodies” (in 1944!), but they laughed at this “B.S. propaganda,” and said that the treatment they were getting from the Yanks was far worse than in Dachau. “At least we did not starve there,” they said.

On the way to Cherbourg, during an exceptionally long involuntary stop somewhere in Normandy, our guards collected in their steel helmets some bitter wild apples, unfit for human consumption, which were growing on nearby trees. By that time there was no food on the trains, so the G.I.s “sold” those bitter apples to us for wedding rings or such other valuables as had escaped their attention during previous searches. God only knows how some of my fellow — sufferers had been able to hide these items, but now hunger forced them to surrender whatever possessions they still had.

No one was allowed to leave the train for any reason. “Toilet facilities” consisted of jam cans that were emptied once in a while. Even our dead comrades had to stay with us until we arrived at our destination, Cherbourg railroad station. To “tease” us a little, the guards would eat sandwiches with thick layers of cheese or corned beef, right in front of us for every — body to see, finish half or three quarters and throw them carelessly away, out of reach of their hungry captives. From what we could see from their nicely pressed pants and polished boots, these were no front — line soldiers.

On our arrival in Cherbourg, we were marched six to eight kilometers to the camp. In the streets of the town we were cursed, spat upon and even physically attacked by the French population, especially the women. (I bitterly recalled scenes from the spring of 1943, when we marched American P.O.W. through the streets of Paris. They were threatened and insulted no differently by the French mob. Apparently, at times, French people tend to be very emotional and easily excited.) To the honor of our guards in Cherbourg, I must say that they protected us as best as they could from this violent crowd, even using their guns to keep them at bay.

Cherbourg “camp” consisted of various compounds of mud surrounded by barbed wire. There was no accommodation or shelter whatsoever for the first two weeks or so. Then a few wooden shacks were put up, in which we had to sleep on the ground, packed together like sardines in a can. There was so little space to turn around in one’s sleep that one’s neighbor to the left and right was bothered each time. So we agreed to turn around every half hour or so on “command.” It sounds funny to speak about this today, but it certainly was not very funny in those days.

This was to be our “abode” for roughly six weeks. They kept us alive with a daily tin can of watered soup and a slice of bread, plus the occasional C — ration or K — ration. It was not enough to live and stay healthy on for any length of time, and just a little bit too much to die outright. I can assure you that by the end of November, when about 3,000 of us were moved away, most of us looked like walking skeletons.

“Sanitary facilities” in Cherbourg camp consisted of square or rectangular dugouts flush with the ground, 5×5 or 4×6 meters large, on the edges of which we had to sit down and hold our hands to support one another so we would not fall into the 6 foot deep pits right away, weak and unsteady on our feet as we were. A number of my comrades were too weak to hold themselves in position until they had relieved themselves, and actually fell into the latrine (the ground being very slippery most of the time). This was the moment certain photographers from the U.S. Army newspaper *Stars & Stripes* had waited for. They shot pictures of “Hitler’s soldiers in deep s — t!” I should mention in this connection that the Americans sporadically issued whole cans of corned beef per person, or one can for two (not everybody at the same time), so it was no surprise that diarrhea was rampant and many of us had to “go to the bathroom” for hours on end, day and night.

As we had been registered during the first days, every “activity” in the camp, including the grabbing of food, went according to the alphabet. They had put my name von der Heide under the let-

ter “V,” so my turn for “Breakfast” (a euphemism) would come around noon, and for “lunch” (another euphemism) at about 1800 hours every day. When I tried to protest at the Orderly Room, explaining to the clerks that my name came under “H” and not under “V,” they told me in no uncertain terms to “shut my dirty Nazi trap.”

Once in a while the Yanks would amuse themselves a little by leafing us run the gauntlet between two rows of G.I.’s armed with clubs. If one was still quick enough on one’s feet, one would receive one or two blows on the head or on the shoulders, if not, three or four blows. It was nothing very serious, nobody died from these blows, it was just something to humiliate us and make us realize that we were no longer soldiers but prisoners. Verbal injuries did not hurt us any more. Such were conditions in Cherbourg camp, but I must say in all fairness that although prisoners died from starvation and other diseases, the number of dead was nowhere near the; figures from Bad Kreuznach, Rheinwiesen or Sinzig later on. We were all very weak and undernourished, there was no doubt about that, but we survived somehow, mostly by helping one another as best we could. Nights were cold and it rained for long hours, so it was not very comfortable to “sleep” in deep mud or later on the ground barely covered with straw.

As I mentioned before, 3,000 of us were transferred to another camp by the end of November. Two of those Liberty ships were to take us across the Channel to Southampton where the *Queen Mary* (or was it *Queen Elizabeth*?) was supposed to be waiting to take us to America. The first attempt to get these ships close enough to the beach to enable us to board failed, however. The harbor facilities were all but destroyed and there was a strong gale blowing on this particular day, so we were marched back to the camp. A day or two later we tried again. This time the ships were ashore, so we finally went on board, 1,500 in one boat flying the Union Jack and 1,500 in the other one flying the Stars & Stripes. Since everything went by the alphabet here, too, I boarded the second ship (letters I to Z), while the others boarded the first one (A to H).

Why do I mention this seemingly insignificant detail? Because it was not exactly insignificant for me: the first boat was sunk by a German submarine on the way to England. (The guy who told me to shut up in Cherbourg camp inadvertently saved my life!) This was my second “close shave,” the first being my escape from that strip of land in Holland. This time I had American assistance. I never complained about anything else for the rest of my time in captivity.

On arrival in Southampton we were informed that the big ship had departed on schedule, and that 3,000 other prisoners had been taken out of a nearby camp and shipped to America instead of us. So I stayed in Great Britain until 1948.

To a certain extent we went from the fire right into the frying pan, for Devizes in Wiltshire was a horrible camp, too, especially during the winter months. A transit camp, it comprised roughly 7,000 prisoners. We were housed in large structures built of corrugated sheets, similar to Nissen huts, but much larger. They had served as garages for Canadian units. Although there was a large stove in each shack, there was no heat, for there was no fuel. A candle standing on the stove served to warm our fingers. In winter time the icicles would hang down from the “ceiling,” and in summer time the tar in the joints between the metal sheets would melt and drip down on our heads. Food was not too bad in quality but insufficient in quantity, and sanitary facilities were beyond description, although not quite as bad as in Cherbourg.

There was a U.S. convalescents' hospital not too far away from Devizes camp, and working parties used to be marched there to work in and around the hospital. Due to my knowledge of English, I would often be sent as an interpreter. The Yanks asked us how conditions were in the camp and we told them. So it became normal practice for them to give us sandwiches and other items

of food “to take home” at night, sometimes even extras for distribution to other comrades who had no chance to get out of the camp. The first day we were searched by the Brits before — entering the camp, and they took everything away from us. We complained to the cook sergeant the next day, and — wonder over wonder — from that day on the U.S. guards would march us right into the camp, past the dumfounded British sentries at the gate, so they had no chance to search us.

It was in the U.S. military hospital where I found a copy of *Reader's Digest* dated May 1943, containing the article “The Inside Story of the Hess Flight” (see *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1982). I translated it into German and read it out loud to about 1,200 prisoners in January, 1945. Naturally, the Brits took the book away from me and my name was entered in their black book. In 1981 — with the aid of my learned friend Mark Weber — I was able to retrieve not only a copy of *Reader's Digest* (May 1943), but also a copy of the *American Mercury*, dated April 1943, which contained the unabridged story.

It is only fair to mention, by way of conclusion, that Devizes camp was an exception to the rule in Great Britain, so far as I have been able to learn. I also put it down to general conditions in Britain during the war that food was short. Corruption was also involved, for the “comrades” in the so — called “administration camps” (not only in Devizes) — all of them hand — picked by the Brits for “political reasons” — were actually professed or self-professed anti-Nazis (who could tell the difference?): former concentration camp inmates, Communists, but also turncoats from the ranks of the former NSDAP and Hitler Youth. (I met some of them who were born in Dortmund, where I come from, and whom I had known before). They had no complaints whatsoever and jeered at us across the barbed wire separating their compound from ours. As in the German concentration and relocation camps, the administration in P.O.W. camps was in German hands, and it was generally the German Lagerführers and their stooges who gave us a hard time, not the Brits.

But the British camp commander also had a great influence on the way we were treated. If a commander hated the Germans, then God help you. In January 1945, in Devizes camp, a British interrogator attempted to make me sign a declaration to the effect that I would “distance myself from the present regime in Germany and help in building up a new democratic Europe.” It being wartime, this was a cheeky summons on the part of the Brits to commit high treason. Naturally, I refused to sign.

General conditions varied all across the country, and we were certainly not “pampered” anywhere, but Devizes did not occur again.

Now I had better stop moaning and groaning about my time in captivity. I survived, that's the main thing, and conditions were horrible in Germany at that time, too, particularly in the Ruhr district — I was moved “all over the shop” as the British used to say — for ten months as far as the north of Scotland, John O'Groats, with a commanding officer who was like a father to us — and in due course I really picked up the English language in various dialects, including the Army lingo. This greatly facilitated my start in Civvy Street later on.

I became a Revisionist in August 1945 in a camp in Cumnock, Ayrshire, Scotland. We were forced to watch the infamous Hollywood propaganda film about “gas chambers” in Buchenwald and Dachau. We saw huge piles of dead bodies being cremated on pyres, allegedly at Buchenwald. Comrades from Dresden recognized the area and loudly protested that this was certainly not Buchenwald, but the city of Dresden! (It is well known that many bodies were disposed of in the streets of Dresden after the disastrous air-raid.) The protesters were quickly whisked away

and put into close custody for a while. Did this banish my doubts? The answer is “no.” I never was even near a concentration camp, so I could not say very much to my interrogators. It was no use to spend most of the time in the “calaboose,” so it was better to shut up about the subject. I waited until I got back home in 1948 to start studying contemporary history all by myself, starting with Harry Elmer Barnes, Austin App, Peter J. Kleist, to name only a few Revisionist pioneers.

In 1985, I saw the same film once again, on a televised documentary while at Ernst Zündel’s house in Canada, but I waited in vain for the Dresden scene. It had been cut out. As you all know I have now been a confirmed revisionist ever since 1948-49.

[The above text was taken from a letter written to the IHR by the author, in Kamen, northern Germany. — Ed.].

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 187-194.

A Revised Preface to Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence

Robert Faurisson

Although I may not agree with every observation made in *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, I must nevertheless state that it is a profound book, particularly in its analysis of the Frankfurt Trial (1963-1965), in which the author reveals to us the phenomenon, still so obscure and disquieting, of the human “will to believe.”

The Frankfurt Trial involved officers and guards of the Auschwitz camp. If we are to believe the official thesis underlying the charges against the defendants, the camp of Auschwitz I had a crematory (Krema-I) with a homicidal gas chamber which was supposed to have functioned from fall, 1941 to the end of 1942. The camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau was supposed to have had four crematories (Krema-II and -III and Krema-IV and -V) with their own homicidal gas chambers, which were alleged to have functioned from approximately the spring or summer of 1943 until the fall of 1944, that is, from 17 to 19 months, depending on the crematory involved.

Today, Krema-I is presented to tourists as being “partially” reconstructed, but it is in fact nothing more than a gross deception perpetrated by the Polish Communist authorities. The four crematories of Birkenau are in ruins, which Holocaust scholars, exercising great circumspection and self restraint, have not yet begun to study. I myself have studied all five crematories, from every possible on-site perspective and from the many existing German plans for their construction, which I discovered in 1976. My conclusion is that none of the crematories in Auschwitz-I or Birkenau contained homicidal gas chambers. In reality Krema-I had, until June 1943, a morgue (“Leichenhalle”), which at that time was transformed into a bomb shelter protecting several rooms housing an SS aid station, including one room where surgery was performed (“Luftschutzbunker mit einem Operationsraum für SS-Revier”). Krema-II and -III had “Leichenkeller” (underground morgues). Krema-IV and -V had several small rooms, two of which contained ordinary coal-fed stoves, and appear to be entirely inappropriate, if not ludicrous, for the purpose of mass homicidal gassings.

At the Frankfurt Trial the existence of the alleged gas chambers should have been the center piece of the proceedings. The Court should have required exhibits of all the plans, drawings, photographs and documents, which were in fact available to it in great numbers, if only the German investigators, judges and attorneys had tried to find them at the beginning of the 60’s before the Frankfurt trial, as I did myself in 1976, successfully. The prosecution and defense teams should both have demanded this information. Nothing of the sort happened. The alleged weapon of the alleged crime was not studied in that court; it was not even presented. During the trial the Court and several of the attorneys did carry out on-site judicial investigations at Auschwitz, but it appears that those investigations were never directed toward the gas chambers themselves.

It is possible that the participants in the Frankfurt Trial believed that *any* room could be used for homicidal gassings. That is a mistake. For example, the agent of death supposedly used at Auschwitz and Birkenau in the alleged gas chambers was hydrocyanic acid (in its form as a commercial pesticide called Zyklon-B), the same agent used in certain American prisons to carry out executions. I studied the American gas chambers and discovered that the execution of a single prisoner by that process was extremely complicated, necessitating a substantial amount of equipment and technical expertise. The German court ignored all of that, and did not consider asking for an expert report demonstrating that one or another room at Auschwitz could have been used as a homicidal gas chamber.

In order to discover which of the accused camp personnel had participated in the alleged gassings, the Court chose to determine only if the accused had been stationed on the loading dock where the deportees disembarked from the trains. Here we arrive at a method of reasoning by successive suppositions and postulation that can be described as completely abstract, even mad. The Court stated that if the accused had simply been stationed on the loading dock he was guilty of participating in the crime of a "selection." The "selection" *supposedly* consisted in dividing the deportees who were going to live from those who were *supposedly* going to be "gassed." Some of those who supposedly were going to be "gassed" were sent along a road leading between Krema-II and -III, while the remainder were sent along a road leading between Krema-IV and -V; the Court did not care to note that these two roads led past the crematories and joined again behind them, at the entrances to the central bath house, where in fact the deportees were showered and disinfected. As the Court had *postulated* that the crematories contained gas chambers, it now *postulated* that those deportees who *supposedly* had been "selected" for "gassings" did not follow the two roads between the crematories to the bath house, but were instead herded into the *alleged* gas chambers inside the crematories.

Therefore, following a sequence of assumptions and totally unsupported "reasoning," the Court postulated that those Germans stationed on the loading dock at Auschwitz when deportees left the trains were guilty of complicity in homicidal gassings.

I do not believe we should accuse the German judiciary here of partiality, cowardice or incompetence. Theoretically and abstractly, the reasoning of the Court may be viewed as irreproachable. But, if one considers topography and the reality of material things to be of some consequence in proving a crime which by definition is concrete and material, the Court's reasoning was absurd. I would prefer in this instance to say that the German judges, as well as the attorneys and the many other persons involved with this trial, were the victims of blindness and naiveté, psychological and intellectual attributes which oftentimes are observed in certain religious contexts.

So here we had judges who each day after the trial would return to their comfortable houses, where they would sleep with tranquil consciences. Here were men who would have been terribly surprised to be told that earlier that day they had behaved precisely as had their predecessors during the witchcraft trials of the sixteenth, the seventeenth and even the eighteenth century. At that time men and women were accused of having met Satan, for example, on the top of a hill, in the middle of fire and smoke, amid cries and shouts and specific odors. If at his trial for witchcraft the accused had replied; "But I did not see Satan, because Satan does not exist," he would have broken taboo and thereby assured his own death. In fact, he could try to save his life by saying that he had indeed seen, as some witnesses testified, at a distance, at the top of the hill, the fire and smoke of Satan, had heard the cries of his victims and had noticed strange and terrible smells, but that he himself was at the foot of the hill and had nothing to do with any of that.

The same for the Frankfurt trial. The accused would not challenge what the witnesses said about fire, smoke, cries and smells at the top of the Birkenau camp, where the four crematories with their alleged gas chambers were located. The defendants, according to their confessions, were in the middle of the camp, stationed at the loading dock, where they met crowds of people who then went 300 to 500 meters farther, where Hitler's henchmen are supposed to have been carrying out their murderous duty; the accused at Frankfurt argued that they bore no direct responsibility for these horrors.

This line of defense was comfortable for everyone: the accusers, the witnesses, the journalists from around the world, the judges, the German government and, last but not least, the accused themselves and their attorneys, who otherwise would have refused to defend them. No "conspiracy" here but a general agreement between "reasonable" people. In past centuries it was "reasonable" to believe in the existence of those Satanic horrors, as in our century it is reasonable to believe in such Hitlerian horrors as the magical gas chambers. The only trouble is that there is no factual proof for any of the above, which have been, let us say in passing, shaped by the same mold.

This characteristic ensemble of fire, smoke, cries, shouts and specific odors constitutes a kind of cliché arising, not from the individual imagination, but from ancestral traditions and fears. An additional characteristic of false testimony is this: when the alleged witness has *not seen clearly* what he claims to have seen, when he has *not touched* what he says he saw, there develops a kind of sensory compensation in which *hearing, taste and smell* rush to the aid of clear sight and actual touching. One has not touched, one has not really seen, but one is supposed to have, by way of compensation, heard, smelled and tasted. Furthermore, if he has not really seen, it is for an excellent reason: his eyes have been dazzled by the flames and obscured by smoke. Add to this the circumstance that, so overwhelmed by the horrors of Auschwitz and Birkenau, in the end the witness could not really see them at all.

In French we have a saying: "*Plus cela change et plus c'est la même chose*" (The more things change, the more they are the same). Why should atavistic fears and superstitions disappear? Only their outward form is changing. The twentieth century has had plenty of "witchcraft" trials, in the "Free" as well as Communist world. The Frankfurt trial was, if you will, a kind of perfect witchcraft trial, with no expert report on the gas chambers and with a system whereby $\frac{1}{4}$ of a proof + $\frac{1}{2}$ of a proof = 1 proof. The trial itself, staged in a theater, was conducted like a religious ritual. The participants came together and took communion in their sacred horror. It is symptomatic that, in the courtroom, the very location of the horror was represented symbolically, almost abstractly, by the plans of Auschwitz and Birkenau, on which one could barely make out the location of the weapon of the crime *par excellence*: those horrific slaughterhouses for men, women and children. Hard to believe as it may be, no drawing, no technical sketch, no photos of the gas chambers were displayed in the big courtroom (a theater, in fact), only a plan on which the crematories (not even the gas chambers) were represented by tiny black rectangles. No one tried to inquire any further about these ridiculous specks. That was taboo. Anyone who had dared to look at the matter more closely would have made himself an utter heretic, a minion of Satan, a "Nazi."

This took place in Frankfurt (1963-1965), in the middle of the twentieth century, in a country professedly endowed with a democratic constitution, with an independent judiciary, with a free press, and, finally, in a country teeming with so many minds noted for their love of learning and detail. Moreover, German historians have derived most of their information from that kind of trial; from this comes the rather vague, intangible and magical nature of their statements about the gas chambers and the genocide. The accused and their lawyers, in their own way, all contributed to the religious character of that lengthy trial, either because they believed in the existence

of the magical gas chambers, or because they preferred, out of prudence, not to cause a great scandal by asking to look at matters in more detail. All parties adhered to the ritual to the bitter end.

The same ritual was followed in a series of identical “war crimes” for the next twenty years, until the Barbie trial in France. -That trial was even more hysterical, because the fears of the devout inquisitors who defend the Holocaust cult had grown. They were frightened by the prospect that the discoveries made by the Revisionists about the “Big Lie” might be exploited by Jacques Vergès, Barbie’s defense lawyer. I can reveal here that Vergès was tempted to take a Revisionist stand on behalf of his client and to ask a quite normal question, which would have gone as follows:

My client is accused of having sent Jews, not to simple concentration camps, where they could have survived, but to what you call “extermination camps,” where at least most of them would be put to death in human slaughterhouses called “gas chambers.” Bring us the proofs that such camps and such slaughterhouses existed, and the proofs that every Jew you claim has been murdered has *in fact* been murdered.

Very courageous, but no hero, Vergès drew back. No one has the right to criticise him. On the night that Barbie was sentenced in Lyon, the crowd went mad after Vergès left the courtroom; without strong police protection, he would have been lynched. I don’t doubt that, had he taken a Revisionist stand, Vergès would have been killed no matter what the protective measures.

In this light Ernst Zündel and his lawyer Douglas Christie appear all the more heroic. During the extraordinary Toronto trials of 1985 and 1988, they dared to break the taboo and ask normal questions of prosecution witnesses and experts; they introduced plans, photos, and documents which demonstrated the absurdity of the stories of genocide and gas chambers; and they produced an expert report about the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek: the now famous *Leuchter Report*.

In 1988, the Toronto judge, Ronald Thomas (this name should be forever remembered) found but one way to protect the taboo: he instructed the jury that in spite of what Leuchter and the experts and witnesses on behalf of Ernst Zündel had said, the jurors were to remember that *he*, Ronald Thomas, had taken judicial notice of the existence of what the accused said had not happened. No “responsible” man could doubt the Jewish Holocaust, just the way the Jews say it happened. The only possibility for acquitting Zündel left to the jury would have been to consider that the defendant was so stupid that he could not even fathom what every “reasonable” man (like Ronald Thomas) could see, understand and believe. The jury convicted Zündel, and the Canadian Court of Appeals in February 1990 upheld Ronald Thomas’s decision. The names of the “reasonable” men of that Canadian court follow: Brooke, Morden and Callighan.

Anyone who attended the two Toronto trials could see why at the second trial, in 1988, the media almost totally blacked out what happened there: as Zündel had predicted, it was the Stalingrad of the Big Lie. The tide has turned and now, everywhere in the world, what the Revisionists disclosed in those Canadian courtrooms is slowly but surely being divulged to the public at large.

Wilhelm Stäglich, himself a judge, was heroic to publish his book on Auschwitz as early as 1979. But there recurred yet another phenomenon which we believed had ended in the eighteenth century; The University of Göttingen, through a long judicial procedure, succeeded in obtaining court decisions which “withdrew” the doctorate in law which this famous German university had conferred upon Stäglich in 1951. I do not wish to enumerate here everything which this extremely honest man, whom I admire, suffered in addition to that. Suffice it to say that Wilhelm

Stäglich, I should say Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, German judge and historian, has saved the honor of the judges and historians of Germany. He has lost everything, but not his honor.

(This article was written for the German edition of Dr. Stäglich's book, *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*.)

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The Jewish Establishment under Nazi-Threat and Domination 1938-1945

Carl O. Nordling

The millions of Jews persecuted by Nazi Germany and to a certain extent also by the Romanian government, by Vichy France, by the Arrow Cross Corps in Hungary, etc., are generally regarded as anonymous “masses” of people, too numerous to be perceived as individuals. Admittedly, some books have been written by persons subjected to these persecutions. Such books as *Anne Frank's Diary*, *Si questo é un uomo* [If This Be a Man] (by Primo Levi), *I Cannot Forgive* (by Rudolf Vrba) and *La Nuit* (by Elie Wiesel) certainly present accounts of persecution under its individual aspects, but on the other hand it is obvious that the authors of these books had too narrow a range of vision to permit drawing any general conclusions.

There is, however, a certain substantial group, consisting of Jews whose individual fates are all fairly well known, so that the entire group may be studied statistically. From such a study, at least some general conclusions may be drawn. For convenience, this group will be called here the “Jewish Establishment Group,” or EstG, as it is limited and defined below. The group consists of all the Jews whose biographical data are recorded under individual entries in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House and New York: Macmillan, 1971). For the purpose of the following investigation the group has been limited to Jews from 12 countries, who were born in the period of 1860-1909 and alive on January 1st, 1939. A further limitation is caused by the difficulty of finding every applicable entry in the encyclopedia. (On going through the encyclopedia the first time, I found 590 applicable persons. A second survey added 132 persons, but the general view didn't change very much.) To qualify for inclusion in the EstG, an individual Jew must have been living in one of the following countries on January 1st, 1938: France, Poland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Denmark Yugoslavia or Belgium. In the case of Poland, Jews from the Vilna district have been excluded.

Although the Jews in the Soviet Union, the Baltic states and the Vilna district were also persecuted by the Nazi regimes they have not been included in the present study because of the difficulty of determining whether the Nazis or the Soviets were responsible for the fate of each individual. The great majority of the 96 Polish Jews included were living in the German zone in 1939.

Two Norwegian and three Greek Jews were excluded as being too few to represent any “Establishment” of their respective countries. There were no Jews from Finland, Bulgaria, Albania or Luxembourg to qualify for inclusion. Within the limitations mentioned, altogether 722 Jews were found to satisfy the requirements, distributed according to last country of voluntarily chosen residence, as follows: France 170, Poland 96, Germany 93, Austria 85, Hungary 64, Italy 63, The Netherlands 49, Czechoslovakia 42, Romania 29, Denmark 13, Yugoslavia 9 and Belgium 9. This group of 722 will be referred to as EstG for brevity's sake.

Out of the entire EstG, 317 persons (44%) emigrated or fled from the twelve countries studied at some time between January 1938 and April 1945. This figure of 317 does not include persons who emigrated to the Baltic states and were later caught by the Germans, nor persons who emigrated after liberation from German occupation. The emigration in most cases took place in the years 1938-41, although later cases of escape, notably among Danes, are also recorded.

Out of the 405 non-emigrated Jews, or “remainers,” 256 (63% of the remainers, 35% of the EstG as a whole) were fortunate enough to escape seizure by the SS, the Gestapo, the Arrow Cross and like organizations. The 256 non-captured remainers also include Polish Jews living in ghettos throughout the war. The number of cases of those who hid cannot be determined because the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* does not give such details except in a few odd cases.

Out of the 256 non-captured remainers, 88 (34%) died before May, 1945, and 168 (66%) survived the war. The harsh treatment inflicted on Jewish people was especially detrimental to the elderly. The death rate was 67% among those born 1860-79 as against 6% among those born 1890-1909 (non-captured persons).

149 of the remainers were captured by Nazi organizations or by individual Nazis. However, 17 of the captured Jews (11%) were released (or escaped) to freedom outside Nazi controlled territory, thus became “secondary emigrants.” 18 were murdered or executed without previous imprisonment of any kind. 18 were detained in custody or in POW camps — some of them released before the end of the war without subsequent emigration. Five of these 18 died in confinement. All the other 96 persons were sent to some kind of concentration camps, as far as is known. (A few may have died in route.)

The most fortunate among the concentration camp group were the 15 Jews who were permitted to stay at Theresienstadt (which was not a concentration camp proper). Four of these died (three of them 72-74 years old) and 11 survived until liberation. Next comes a group of 20, who were detained in a number of identified camps in Germany, Austria, France and the Netherlands. 11 of these died, 9 survived. (Some of the 17 “secondary emigrants” were in fact also survivors from the categories mentioned.)

The remaining 61 Jews of the “camp group” were either sent to Auschwitz (33 persons), to camps in Poland (13 persons), or to destinations unknown (15 persons). Only four returned alive, all of them from Auschwitz. The other 57 perished or disappeared. What really happened to every one of the 57 missing persons is, of course, impossible to ascertain. The notorious cause of death in these Eastern camps was, of course, organized mass murder. There are, however, also noted seven cases of individual murder or executions. It is also well known that typhoid fever and other diseases took a heavy toll among the internees in the Eastern camps — just as in the Western ones. (About half of the EstG who died in the Eastern camps were 60 years old or older.) According to Elie Wiesel, an enormous number of evacuated Auschwitz internees died during the 10-day transport in open railway trucks to Buchenwald in January 1945. In Wiesel’s truck only a dozen out of a hundred are said to have survived the transport. For every one of the four survivors of the EstG, one would expect several transport victims. We must also consider after-effects of torture, accidents and suicide as occasional causes of death in any concentration camp. Finally there is the possibility that some of the 57 missing ended up in Soviet captivity. Except for the 7 cases of individual murder, no precise figure can be given for the various other causes of death.

Contrary to what would have been expected, it is obvious that only a minor part (fewer than 50) of the EstG Jews who died in Nazi territory (183 in all) were subjected to organized mass mur-

der.

Ridding Europe from Jewish influence on cultural life was one of the declared aims of the anti-Semitic policy of the Third Reich. It appears that primary and secondary emigration — totalling 334 EstG Jews — was a much more effective means of attaining this end than was the killing of prominent Jews. However, none of these means was entirely effectual in eliminating the Jewish Establishment on the Continent. When the Third Reich perished, no less than 205 Jews of the EstG (28% of the original number) were still alive in the 12 countries that had been targets of anti-Semitic persecutions on a scale that the world had never beheld.

Auschwitz and the Eastern camps certainly proved to be much more fatal than the rest. Therefore it is noteworthy that as many as about 30% of the EstG remainers from Poland and Czechoslovakia were sent to these camps (including unknown destinations), while only about 18% of those from Austria and Hungary suffered the same fate. And among the EstG from France, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands the proportion was 10-14%, a fact that differentiates those countries from Romania, Denmark, Yugoslavia and Belgium, none of which supplied any EstG internees to the Eastern camps.

Another seeming difference applies to professions. A check on the professions of the 95 persons who died as victims of Nazi activity (Table 5) reveals a higher number of rabbis among them (15) than would have been expected from the fact that only about 10% of the EstG Jews are rabbis. The reason may be that the rabbis in most cases remained with their community and therefore are seldom to be found among the large, victim-free group of emigrants.

Apart from the differences mentioned above, the German authorities seem to have paid little attention to the standing (in the world of letters, etc.) of the specific Jewish individual. In spite of this, the group of 722 Jews studied here cannot be regarded as a random sample of European Jews in general — for several reasons.

First, inclusion in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* may have been influenced by what happened to these individuals during the war.

Secondly, some who wouldn't have qualified for inclusion in 1945 may have been able to distinguish themselves enough — afterwards — because they happened to survive. (This applies to the youngest category.)

Third, internationally known Jews must have had considerably better opportunities for emigration than Jews without foreign relations. (The best-known Jews are not among the 722 either, because they emigrated long before 1938.) Still, in the countries noted for the highest and the lowest proportion of Jewish emigration, these proportions differ very little between EstG Jews and Jews in general. About 70-80% of all EstG Jews in Austria and Denmark emigrated in 1938-44, and roughly the same percentage applies to the general emigration in the same period of time. In Hungary and Yugoslavia, Jewish emigration reportedly was insignificant, and so was emigration among the EstG from these countries (about 15%).

Fourth, if a well-known Jew left his country (even if secretly) and entered another country (even if illegally), his migration certainly was disclosed in public, sooner or later — contrary to what might have happened in the multitude of cases of clandestine and illegal migration in general. For similar reasons, the noted Jews could hardly seek rescue by means of changing their identity — a means that was most certainly used by a great but indeterminable number of ordinary Jews.

Finally, Jews of the “Establishment” category (and especially politicians, Zionists and rabbis) often protested or took action against the persecutions. (Many such cases are reported in the *Encyclopaedia*.) Consequently, they may have been arrested and treated according to such political offenses in the first place.

The group of 722 treated above consist mostly of Jewish authors, scholars, artists, scientists, rabbis and politicians — all with some reputation, at least in 1970. They probably are typical for an even larger number of Jews belonging to these same professions, but somewhat less distinguished in 1970. As far as their fates under the Nazi persecutions are concerned, the following general conclusions may be drawn from the present investigation: The members of the group apparently had relatively good 9 opportunities to emigrate or flee in the years 1938-41, and many used them. About one third of those who did not emigrate were taken prisoners by the Nazis. As prisoners they were treated in various ways. It turns out that 13% were released, 28% survived imprisonment and 21% died under circumstances demonstrably excluding organized mass murder. The remaining 38% (7% of the EstG total) probably died from a variety of causes, possibly including gas chambers and most certainly also typhoid fever, starvation, ill-treatment and hypothermia.

It is obvious that wholesale extermination was *not* decreed by the Nazi leadership as a means to rid occupied Europe of prominent Jews, capable of influencing public opinion.

TABLE 1: Rescue by emigration among 722 “Establishment Group” Jews from 12 European countries

Country	No. of Jews	No. of emigrants according to year of emigr.								
		All	-38	-39	-40	-41	-42	-43	-44	-45
France	170	75	1	5	39	23	3	3	1	—
Poland	96	42	1	28	8	5	—	—	—	—
Germany	93	54	17	22	7	6	—	1	1	—
Austria	85	66	50	11	3	2	—	—	—	—
Hungary	64	10	6	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
Italy	63	21	9	10	—	1	—	1	—	—
The Netherlands	49	7	3	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
Czechoslovakia	42	20	6	14	—	—	—	—	—	—
Romania	29	6	—	—	4	2	—	—	—	—
Denmark	13	9	—	1	—	—	—	8	—	—
Yugoslavia	9	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Belgium	9	6	—	—	5	1	—	—	—	—
All 12 countries	722	317	93	96	68	42	3	13	2	0

Thereof:

to USA	30	35	36	26
to Engl.	30	23	12	1

to Pales.	20	20	13	5
to USSR	—	16	2	5

TABLE 2: National Socialist treatment of 405 Jews of the “Establishment Group” from 12 European countries

Country	No. of non-emigrants	Unmolested	Murdered, executed	Arrested (seized)
France	95	68	1	26
Poland	54	23	10	21
Germany	39	22	2	15
Austria	19	6	—	13
Hungary	54	38	3	13
Italy	42	38	—	4
The Netherlands	42	24	1	17
Czechoslovakia	22	9	—	13
Romania	23	20	1	2
Denmark	4	3	—	1
Yugoslavia	8	2	—	6
Belgium	3	3	-	-
All 12 countries.	405	256	18	131

TABLE 3: National Socialist treatment of 131 arrested Jews of the “Establishment Group” from 12 European countries

Country	No. of Jews arrested	Released to foreign country	Taken into custody and POW	Western camps & Theresi.	Eastern camps & unknown
France	26	4	6	5	11
Poland	21	1	2	2	16
Germany	15	6	3	2	4
Austria	13	3	1	5	4
Hungary	13	—	1	3	9
Italy	4	—	—	—	4
The Netherlands	17	—	1	10	6
Czechoslovakia	13	1	—	5	7
Romania	2	1	—	1	—
Denmark	1	—	—	1	—
Yugoslavia	6	1	4	1	—

Belgium	—	—	—	—	—
All 12 countries	131	17	18	35	61
Thereof					
Died as interned	77	—	5	15	57
Survived	54	17	13	20	4

Note: The heading “Released to Foreign Country” also covers a few POWs who escaped to a foreign country.

The heading “Taken Into Custody and POW” covers POW-camp internees, inmates of jails, hospitals and penal institutions, and persons kept as hostages (notably Léon Blum).

TABLE 4: Presumed year of death of 95 “Establishment Group” Jews from 12 European countries who died as victims of National Socialist action or imprisonment in the period from January, 1939, to April, 1945.

Country	All	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
France	17	-	1	-	2	5	8	1
Poland	27	-	-	2	11	8	3	3
Germany	8	-	-	1	3	2	2	-
Austria	5	-	-	1	2	-	2	-
Hungary	13	-	-	-	-	-	10	3
Italy	4	-	-	-	-	2	2	-
The Netherlands	11	-	-	1	3	4	1	2
Czechoslovakia	8	-	-	1	1	-	6	-
Romania	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Denmark	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

Yugoslavia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belgium	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
All 12 countries	95	0	1	7	22	22	34	9

Note: The “Presumed Year of Death” may not always represent the real year of death but instead the last year when something was known about the person in question.

(tables 5 & 6 to be completed)

Note: The heading “Western Camps” covers the deaths among the 35 Jews who were sent to Theresienstadt and to concentration camps outside Poland. The heading Eastern Campsn covers the deaths among the 61 Jews who were sent to Auschwitz, to concentration camps in Poland and to destinations unknown

APPENDIX I

Names and relevant facts of the first 25 EstG Jews:

- Abel, Emil, 1875-1958, Austrian chemist, to England in 1938.
- Abeles, Otto, 1879-1945, Austrian author and Zionist living in the Netherlands, taken to camp, died after liberation.
- Abramowitz, Raphael 1880-1963, Latvian-German politician, to France in 1939, to U.S.A. in 1940.
- Adler, Friedrich, 1879-1960, Austrian politician, to U.S.A. in 1939..
- Adler, Hugo, 1894-1955, Dutch composer, to U.S.A. about 1938-39.
- Adler, Jules, 1865-1952, French artist.
- Adler, Paul, 1878-1946, German author, hiding in Czechoslovakia.
- Algazi, Leon, 1890-, Romanian composer, living in France.
- Almagia, Roberto, 1884-1962, Italian geographer, living in the Vatican.
- Almanzi, Joseph, 1901-1960, Italian author.
- Alter, Victor, 1890-1941, Polish politician and Jewish leader, to USSR in 1939 (executed there).
- Altman, Moishe, 1891-, Romanian poet, to USSR during or after WW II.
- Altmann, Alexander, 1906-, Hungarian rabbi, to England in 1938.
- Arendt, Hannah, 1906-, German philosopher living in France, to U.S.A. in 1941.
- Aronson, Grigori, 1887-1968, Russian author, living in France, to U.S.A. in 1940.
- Aronson, Naum, 1872-1943, Latvian sculptor, living in France, to U.S.A. in 1940.
- Artom, Elia, 1887-1965, Italian rabbi, to Palestine in 1939.
- Ascarelli, Tullio, 1903-1959, Italian jurist, to England in 1938.
- Aschaffenberg, Gustav, 1866-1944, German criminologist, to U.S.A. in 1938.
- Aschheim, Isidor, 1891-1968, German painter, to Palestine in 1940.
- Ascoli, Ettore, 1873-1943, Italian lieutenant general, fell as partisan.
- Ashendorf, Israel, 1909-1956, Polish author, to USSR about 1939-40.
- Asscher, Abraham, 1880-1955, Dutch Zionist, to Bergen-Belsen camp in 1943.

- Bab, Julius, 1880-1955, German literary historian, to U.S.A. in 1940.
- Bachi, Armando, 1883-1943, Italian lieutenant general, to Auschwitz in 1943, died there.

APPENDIX II

List of 33 known Jews who were interned in Auschwitz Concentration Camp during part of World War II (name, age and manner of death as given in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*).

- Bachi, Armado, 60, “died”
- Bernstein, Béla, 76, “died”
- Blum, René, 66, “died”
- Borchardt, Georg, 72, “died” (Entry: Hermann, G.)
- Buchler, Alexander, 74, “died”
- Cohen, Ernst Julius, 75, “transported to gas chambers”
- Cohen, Isaac Kadmi, 52, “died” (actually at Gleiwitz)
- Duckesz, Eduard, 76, “perished”
- Edelstein, Jacob, c. 50, “shot”
- Fleischman, Gisi, 47, “killed on arrival”
- Fondane, Benjamin, 46, “murdered”
- Frankl, Victor, born 1905, alive in 1970
- Friedemann, Desider, 64, “sent to gas chambers”
- Heyman, Fritz, 44, “killed”
- Hirschel, Levie, 49, (no mention of his death)
- Hirschler, Pal, 37, “died”
- Hirschler, René, 39, “perished”
- Hoffmann, Camill, 66, “died”
- Jakobovits, Tobias, 57, “deported to his death”
- Katzenelson, Itzhak, 58, “perished”
- Lambert, Raymond, 49, “gassed upon arrival”
- Lohner, Fritz, 59, “died” (Entry: Beda, F)
- Nadel, Arno, 65, “murdered”
- Pollak, Miksa, 76, “killed”
- Salomon, Erich, 58, “died in the gas chambers”
- Spiegel, Isaiah, born 1906, alive in 1970
- Stein, Edith, 51, “died in the gas chambers”
- Steiner, Hannah, 50, “died in the gas chambers”
- Stricker, Robert, 65, “Transported to the gas chambers”
- Szenes, Erzsi, born 1902, alive in 1970
- Taussig, Friedrich, 35, “died after torture” (Entry: Fritta)
- Varshavsky, Oizer, 46, “sent to Auschw. for extermination”
- Wygodzki, Stanislaw, born 1907, alive in 1970

(The encyclopedia gives 1942 as the year of death in three cases, 1943 in five cases and 1944 in 21 cases.)

Note: This list contains real names wherever possible; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* has entered three Jews who were interned at Auschwitz under the pen names noted above (after “Entry:”).

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 211-222.

Our Established Religion

A. Dibert

“What do you mean, our established religion? We have no established religion in this country. Our constitution forbids any such thing. Look, it says right here in the First Amendment, right at the very beginning: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise of religion.' It is contrary to our whole tradition of freedom of worship to have anything like an established religion.”

My answer to that has to be “*De jure*, we certainly haven’t got any established religion, as they do in (say) England, Japan, or Israel — but we do have one *de facto*, although it is not acknowledged openly. You ask what it is? Zionism, as a secular religion, which has by now become a set of beliefs which nobody must dare question, and which therefore qualifies as established, although unofficially. You don’t believe it? Well, let’s look at the matter in more detail — first of all, at what constitutes an established religion, and then how Zionism has to be regarded as meeting the criteria for being considered as one.”

I. THE NATURE OF AN ESTABLISHED RELIGION

There are, of course, a great many definitions of religion. For our purposes, the best definition would be something like this: a *Religion* is a set of beliefs which do not need objective confirmation but which brook no contradiction (*dogmas*). Those who adhere to a religion are its *faithful*, its true believers. Adherence to the commonly held beliefs of a religion is *orthodoxy*; unlicensed variation therefrom is *heresy* and any contradiction or denial of orthodox dogmas is *blasphemy*. The writings which set forth the basis of a religion are its *scriptures*. Many a religion has its *fanatics*, who will go to any lengths to enforce its beliefs on all, whether faithful or infidel.

An Established Religion Has Three Main Characteristics:

A: Governmental support, both legal and financial. In England, for instance, the Church of England is, by law, the official religion of the country, with the ruling monarch as its head. In Spain and (until recently) in Italy, the Roman Catholic faith is the only religion recognized by the state. In Japan Shintoism, with worship of the Emperor as its head, enjoyed a similar status until after the war.

These examples are not typical of the modern world, as a whole, since most modern countries have followed the example of the United States in abolishing established religion. In earlier times, it was the rule, rather than the exception, for a country to have a monarch, and an established religion of which he (or she) and the population at large were true believers. In modern times, the only country to set up an established religion has been Israel, in which, following the

doctrines of Zionism, the Jewish religion has been declared in the constitution to be the official faith of the nation.

B: An obligation of the citizens of the country to adhere to the beliefs and dogmas of the established religion. Especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, during the disputes of the Reformation, the ruling monarch set the officer “party line,” as it were, which his or her subjects were obliged to follow. This principle was summarized in the Latin tag *cuius regio, eius religio* (whosoever rules the country sets its religion). The citizens are expected to attend whatever worship-services the established religion may require, and to make financial contributions both as individuals in connection with their membership in the church or other type of religious organization, and also through the taxes they pay to the state, which are then channeled to the ruling body of the established religion.

C: Dissent is, in theory, prohibited, and sanctions may be invoked against any who dare to express disagreement with official doctrines (heretics and, on occasion, adherents of other religions). In earlier times, dissenters were punished with extreme severity, which could extend even to the death penalty, often inflicted with especial cruelty. In some instances, punishment for blasphemy was extended beyond the individual dissenter to his possessions, his family, and even relatives and descendants. (This procedure has always been repugnant to Americans' sense of fairness and legality, so that our Constitution specifically forbids “acts of attainder,” by means of which the government imposes a “taint” of criminality on an offender’s family and descendants when they had no part in whatever actions may have brought punishment upon him.) In almost all civilized countries in modern times, repression of dissent in religious matters has been greatly relaxed or almost eliminated. In England, for instance, non-Anglicans are now subject to no disabilities on account of their religious beliefs. In Israel, however, where no religion other than Judaism is accorded legal recognition, only adherents of that faith are completely free of disabilities or restrictions.

Censorship is often imposed on the writings of heretics and adherents of any other than the official established religion. In this respect, also, ancient and medieval practice was often extremely savage, with legally sanctioned seizure of books and destruction of writings, visual representations (pictures, statues) and the like. In modern times, virtually all civilized countries have abolished any official censorship or criticism in religious matters, even where there is still an established church. In this, also, the state of Israel constitutes a glaring exception. There, for instance, no Christian missionary activity is permitted (since, from the orthodox Jewish point of view, Christians are *minim*, “heretics”), and it is forbidden to have copies of the New Testament available to the public in schools or libraries.

II. ZIONISM, A SECULAR RELIGION

Zionism qualifies as a religion on all the counts just mentioned. Its central tenet is that all Jews have a God-given right to regard Palestine as their home, the “land flowing with milk and honey” that Jehovah promised the Hebrews as they wandered in the desert after their escape from Egypt. Not only is this, according to strict Zionism, a right which all Jews have by virtue of their (presumed) descent from the ancient Hebrews, but it is a duty incumbent on them to adhere to its principles and to further its aims. If anyone dares to disagree with its fundamental assumptions and their realization in the modern state of Israel, such a person is to be regarded as an enemy of Jewry. A Jew who is not a Zionist is, for the true believers of this religion, a traitor. There are many Zionists for whom the supernatural aspect of Judaism is no longer meaningful; for them, Zionism is a purely secular religion, an ersatz Judaism, and (as the Jewish philosopher Will Her-

berg pointed out) the state of Israel has become an idol. Zionism has its fanatics, both Jewish and non-Jewish, who are ready to attack its enemies without mercy.

III. THE DE FACTO SITUATION

In the United States and many other countries, however, even where there is *de jure* no established religion, we have de facto such an “establishment,” as the Constitution phrases it. The great majority of the public is almost totally unaware of the situation, since we have been subjected for almost half a century to an incredibly immense distortion of the facts of the situation, imposed on us by the news and entertainment media. Let us take a quick look at the characteristics of an established religion, which we set forth in Section I, as they are manifested in the status of Zionism in the world in general and in the United States in particular, at present.

A. The United States has given extensive financial support to both the state of Israel and Zionist-related projects in this country and abroad. It is well known that Israel has received much the largest amount of foreign aid, especially in the supply of aeroplanes and military resources, of all the countries to which the United States has given assistance.

In domestic matters, Zionist propaganda-aims have been extensively assisted by governmental financing, for instance in the building and equipping of “Holocaust”-museums, and in the widespread provisions of courses in schools and colleges to spread Zionist disinformation concerning the alleged “Holocaust.” Similar support for Jewish educational projects outside of the United States has been given by government grants. The most notorious of these instances was the proposal, sponsored by Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, for an eight-million-dollar subsidy for a “parochial school” to be provided for a Jewish community from Northern Africa which was located in southern France. The out-cry over this proposal was such that it was withdrawn, but similar grants were made without publicity or opposition. Not only the educational, but the military resources of the United States have been placed at the disposition of Jewish groups, such as the Falasha of Ethiopia, who were given air transport from that country to Israel by the U.S. Air-Force. That may have been a worthy humanitarian project, but one which did not concern the United States at all, and to which there was no justification for using a service supported by the American taxpayers' money. We might also keep in mind that this was done for the benefit of Israel, a country whose air-force had wantonly attacked and sunk the U.S. Navy's ship *Liberty* without provocation at the time of the “Six Days' War” between that nation and Egypt.

B. In not only financial, but legal matters as well, the United States has afforded support for Israeli and Zionist aims. The notorious “Holtzman Amendment” authorized the exclusion from the United States of anyone who had been involved in any German actions against Jews during the “Nazi period” (an ill-defined concept) and the withdrawal of American citizenship from any immigrant who had come to this country in the post-war period and had, for any reason, concealed his involvement with the German army or other German organizations. To put these provisions into effect, a bureau was established in the U.S. Department of Justice, entitled the “Office of Special Investigations” (OSI), which collaborated closely with the two most efficient, brutal and ruthless secret services of the modern world — the Soviet KGB and the Israeli Mossad. The OSI has thus functioned as if it were a branch of the Mossad ensconced in the heart of our Department of Justice, dedicated to pursuing persons who were *non gratae* to the state of Israel and to the U.S.S.R. (whose desires for unlimited vengeance for alleged “war-crimes” seem boundless).

Using materials (many of them demonstrably forged) obtained from the Mossad and the KGB alleged to prove complicity in Nazi anti-Jewish “atrocities” in the 1930's and 1940's, the OSI has taken action against a number of persons who had come to the United States after 1945 and who

had behaved with complete correctness from then on. By the time these actions were undertaken, the alleged war criminals were old men, in their late sixties or their seventies.. Among the victims of this type of “railroading” were the Ukrainian John Demjanjuk, the Estonian Karl Linnas, and the German scientist Arthur Rudolph. Demjanjuk was extradited to Israel in violation of American law (which provides that a person accused of a crime in another country may be sent only to the country where the alleged crime was committed, in this case Poland). He was tried in Israel by a kangaroo-court and was convicted, on the basis of obviously faked documents supplied by the KGB, of having sent a million (!) Jews to their deaths at Treblinka or Sobibor. It has now become an item of faith in Israel and among Zionist sympathizers in the United States that he was one of the worst war-criminals of the Nazi period, worse even than Adolf Eichmann. To query this dogma is blasphemy, as was made evident when, in the American presidential campaign of 1988, a man named Jerome Brentar was required to resign from the staff of the Republican candidate George Bush’s “nationalities” committee because he considered Demjanjuk innocent. The “Jewish vote” was much more important, in both its numbers and its financial support, than that of the Ukrainian-American constituency — or, for that matter, any considerations of fairness or justice.

A similar miscarriage of justice, less bad in that it did not involve depriving an innocent man of his life, but putting the United States in a bad light with regard to its conduct of international relations, took place when the president of Austria, Kurt Waldheim, was denied admission to the United States in 1986. This action was taken by the U.S. Department of Justice, clearly in line with the principles of the Holtzman Amendment as enforced by the OSI, on the grounds that Waldheim had been a member of the German army in the 1940’s (Austria was not a separate nation at that time, of course, having been made part of Germany in 1938), and had knowingly taken part in the perpetration of anti-Jewish atrocities. The documents on which these allegations were based were later shown to have been falsified. This fact was reported in the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, but was not communicated to the public in the American news-media. Actually, any person who had been in the German army from 1939 to 1945 could, technically, have been charged with “perpetrating Nazi atrocities,” since the Zionist view is that all members of the German armed forces were fully guilty of whatever had been done during that period — a sentiment which, as we have observed, is wholly foreign to our American view of individual responsibility and of fairness.

C. Propaganda for the Zionist cause is made incessantly in the American news and entertainment media. which are extensively under Zionist control. The group which determines the over-all policy of the media is largely, though of course not wholly, Jewish, as in the case of such major opinion-moulding newspapers as the New York Times and the Washington Post, as well as several major nationwide chains, and also of virtually all the entertainment media (radio and television). The latter are coming more and more under Zionist control throughout the world, as in the huge communications-empires of such men as Robert Maxwell (originally a Czech Jew named Jan Ludwig Hoch) and Rupert Murdoch (an Australian Jew). In this way, so far as the rights and wrongs of the theoretical basis of Zionism and the justification for the existence of the state of Israel are concerned, only one side of the picture is presented, and the public is given the wholly false idea that “brave little Israel” is the only democratic state in all the Near and Middle East, with a “special relationship” (of exactly the type that George Washington warned against two hundred years ago) with the United States. The maltreatment given the Palestinians by the Israeli government and its troops in the occupied territories is, by and large, played down and, wherever possible, presented as justified punishment for illegal attacks on Israeli soldiers. From this point of view, for instance, it is quite permissible for an Israeli soldier to shoot and kill a three-year-old Palestinian boy because he threw a stone at the soldier; and this is the only point of view normally presented to the American public. On occasion, the excessive savagery practised by the Is-

raelis has been shown on television, arousing protests by Jews and non-Jews alike — whereupon the Israeli authorities have forbidden further photographing of such scenes and the American television networks have obligingly refrained from telecasting anything of the sort any further.

The strangle-hold that Zionists have on the multi-billion-dollar communications-industries has made it possible for them to create a widespread, uncritical belief in the rightness of their cause and in the unquestionability of Israeli rule in Palestine. They have also taken advantage of the belief of many fundamentalist Christians that the second coming of Christ must take place in Palestine among Jews, and that therefore the existence of the state of Israel is a necessary prerequisite for His second coming. (Other Christians, less fixed in the notion that the second coming has to come about among Jews, consider it equally likely that He might appear on earth as a Bombay street-sweeper, or a Latin American *campesino*.)

To fix these ideas still more firmly in the public's mind, the writers of novels and the motion-picture- and television moguls have flooded the market with novels and "docu-dramas" heavily slanted in the direction of Zionism and Jewry in general. There has been an avalanche of fiction purporting to portray the "Holocaust," with an incredible amount of emphasis on imaginary details of alleged maltreatment of Jews by Germans (all of whom are portrayed as demons, totally inhuman and devoid of any decency at all). The sado-masochism of the cheaper brands of "Holocaust"-literature has been such as to arouse revulsion even among the more reasonable Zionists themselves. A lengthy series of fictional portrayals of the events of the alleged "Holocaust" has been shown on television, including one with the title *Auschwitz* and another involving the reminiscences of "Holocaust"-survivors" entitled *Shoah*. Sequences with staged representations of Jews being herded into gas-chambers have been inserted into such evocations of the 1939-1945 conflict as *War and Remembrance*.

IV. THE "HOLOCAUST" MYTH

Virtually every religion has a central myth, on which its beliefs and dogmas are based. For religious Jews and Christian ultra-fundamentalists, the Biblical story of Jehovah having promised Palestine to the ancient Hebrews is sufficient. For non-religious Jews, however, a basis for the secular worship of the state of Israel has been found in the myth (in all senses of that term) of what is universally termed "the Holocaust," a myth which has by now been so extensively proclaimed and imposed on the public as to be believed by virtually everyone.

A. The conventional form of the "Holocaust" myth involves the acceptance, as a historical fact which is one hundred percent true and beyond all questioning, of the story that during the period when the National Socialist party was in power in Germany (1933-1945) and especially during the war-time from 1939 to 1945, Jews were made the object of relentless persecution, placed in concentration camps under inhuman treatment and near starvation, and that millions of Jews (the standard figure of six million, although numerous other figures are often given, ranging from twenty-five million (!) to one-and-a-half million) were put to death in various ways, but for the most part in gas chambers either constructed for the purpose or adapted from crematoria. Their corpses were, we are told, dragged out of the gas chambers immediately after their deaths, and burned either in the same crematoria or in immense heaps out of doors. In Hebrew, the word *Shoah* 'burnt offering, holocaust — massacre' has come to be used to refer to this sequence of events, and its translation *Holocaust* is similarly used in other languages. In the immediate post-1945 period, it was claimed and widely believed that there had been mass executions, in general with gas chambers, in all regions under German control. More recently it has been shown, and admitted even by such prominent Zionists as Hannah Arendt and Simon Wiesenthal, that there were no extermination camps at all in Germany. The entire burden of the "Holocaust"-story has

thus been thrown upon eastern Europe, principally Poland, where, it is currently asserted, there were huge murder-installations at such places as Treblinka, Sobibor, and especially Oswiecim (Auschwitz, including the Camp" at Birkenau or "Auschwitz II').

By now, the place-name Auschwitz has come to be a universally accepted symbol for these alleged mass executions carried out under secret orders from the Nazi Fuhrer Adolf Hitler. The sacred Scriptures on which the story of the "Holocaust" is based are principally a batch of self-serving affidavits ascribed to "survivors" from various concentration camps (in reality, largely fabricated by Soviet disinformation factories for presentation at the Nurnberg trials) and the testimonies, down the decades, of other individuals, characterized by manifold internal discrepancies and mutual contradictions. The universally used expression "the Holocaust" contains deceptive linguistic features: the use of the definite article the, which tells the listener in advance that whatever noun it modifies refers to something which exists or has existed; the use of the singular form of the noun, implying that it refers to the only phenomenon of its kind; and, at the same time, the vagueness of reference of the term *Holocaust*, which is used with widely varying meanings, to signify anything from the entire persecution of Jews between 1933 and 1945 (which no-one denies) to the existence of gas chambers, especially at Auschwitz. Hence "to deny the reality of the Holocaust" has become a stock phrase, used to discredit anyone who questions any aspect of the story.

B. Heresies and Blasphemies. Doubts as to the nature and the extent of the "Holocaust" surfaced soon after the "war crimes" trials held at Nurnberg in 1945-1946, which were immediately perceived by many observers as being simply "kangaroo courts" held by the victors to enforce a Russian and Jewish vendetta. As information has gradually been made available over the decades, it has become more and more clear that there are "holes" at all points in the standard version of the "Holocaust"-story. There has arisen a sharp conflict between those who believe implicitly that an immense number of Jews were massacred ("Exterminationists") and those who consider that the traditional story is inaccurate and needs to be revised ("Revisionists"). Even among the former group, there has arisen a heresy, among historians who consider that, since there is no proof that Hitler ever gave any order for mass executions, the initiative for such massacres came from individual camp commanders.

The major threat to the established "Holocaust" story has come, however, from those who, on examination of available documentation, refuse to accept the story at all, and consider it a tissue of falsehoods that has been built up over the decades. The "Revisionists" arguments are based on a number of considerations, especially the chemical and electrical impossibilities inherent in the descriptions of the gas-chambers or other installations alleged to have been used for these mass executions; the non-availability, in war-time conditions, of the immense quantities of coal or gasoline necessary to burn millions of corpses; and the impossible load that the transport of all these millions of people to the "death- camps" (now restricted entirely to Poland) would have imposed on an already tremendously over-burdened railway system. Definitive proof that there were no gas-chambers at all at Auschwitz (including Birkenau) or Majdanek has now been furnished by a forensic chemical engineering study made in situ by a major expert on execution by gas, Fred A. Leuchter. At present, the arguments and attested documentation presented by the "Revisionists" are decidedly more persuasive than those of the "Exterminationists."

V. THE BLACKOUT

These blasphemies are of course, in the view of the True Believers, not to be tolerated, because if the "Holocaust" myth is shown to be untrue, the central support of non-religious Zionism and with it the worship of the state of Israel as a secular idol collapses entirely. As part of the unoffi-

cial, *de facto* established religion of Zionism, all dissent must be suppressed. To this end, various measures have been and are being taken, in contravention of United States law and our American sense of honesty and fairness, but nevertheless with impunity.

A. Defamation is a widely used practice for silencing any who dare to espouse or even report on the arguments of the “Revisionists” (as the present writer knows from first-hand experience). The ADL (“Anti”-Defamation League) of the Jewish organization B’nai B’rith is especially active in denouncing as “anti-Semitic” (i.e. anti-Jewish) any effort at revising current views of the sacrosanct “Holocaust” story. Anyone who suggests that there were no six-million (or any other immense number) of Jews slaughtered by the German government during the 1933-1945 period, or who points out that it has now been shown that there were no gas-chambers at Auschwitz (which was in reality a large industrial complex with a few crematoria) is immediately denounced as a “Neo- Nazi,” a “Fascist,” and accused of admiring the late Adolf Hitler and wanting to revive his doctrines and perhaps his party. (There are indeed a few such people, but to accuse all “Revisionists” of having such ideas is what is known in elementary logic as reason by converses, an unsound procedure.) In addition to institutions like the B’nai B’rith and the Simon Wiesenthal Foundation of Los Angeles, there are always a number of individual “Holocaust”-fanatics who are ready to pitch in and help defame any blasphemer against the True Faith.

B. Attacks on persons and property are not unknown. Individuals known for their “Revisionist” activities have been beaten, shot at, and even murdered. The most notorious such attack was made on the offices and warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review in Torrance, California on July 4, 1984, when most of their stock of books was burned in what was a clear instance of arson.
C. Legal action has so far not been possible in the United States, but has been taken in other countries. In Israel naturally, no expression of doubt or contradiction is permitted, and Israeli pressure has succeeded in making anything of the kind illegal in West Germany. Even in countries where one might expect the Anglo-Saxon concept of freedom of speech and of the press to prevail, such as Canada, “Revisionists” like Ernst Zündel and James Keegstra have been haled into court and prosecuted. It is illegal to bring into Canada such books as Arthur Butz’s *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, on the grounds that it comes under the heading of books which may not be imported if they are treasonable, seditious, immoral, or obscene (!). Efforts to deprive American citizens of the right to publish, read, or discuss the “Holocaust” have not yet succeeded, but we do not know how long the present situation will last

VI. THE REMEDY (IF ANY)

The question that inevitably arises at this point is: What can be done to improve matters? Specifically, how can one create a situation in which it can be pointed out that we have a *de facto* established religion, Zionism, which has been instrumental in making the United States into a vassal state of Israel, in both domestic and foreign policy? (If anyone doubts the validity of this assertion, consider the situation in the United Nations, where virtually unanimous condemnation of the Israeli anti-Palestinian savagery is routinely vetoed by the United States; and our domestic politics, in which both major parties vie in their efforts to pander to “the Jewish vote.”)

From the short-range point of view, it would seem to be nearly impossible to combat the huge political and especially financial forces which support the United States’ “special relationship” with Israel and the on-going saturation of our news-and entertainment-media with the myth of the “Holocaust.” In these times, it is very hard indeed to fight the multi-billion-dollar resources of financiers and liquor-barons. We must take a grass-roots approach, and do our best to arouse a better understanding of the facts of the case and of the dangers which face, not only the non-Jews, but the Jews in this country if matters suddenly take a bad turn and Jews are unfairly

blamed for what is, in the majority of cases, not their fault. We have all, Jews and non-Jews alike, been lied to for the last half-century. It is time for the truth to be known, even though it may take another half-century or more for it to prevail.

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 223-227.

Book review

The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein

- **by Henri Roques, translated from the French by Ronald Percival. Costa Mesa, California: Institute for Historical Review, 1989, \$11.00, [iv +] xv + 318 pages + 11 foldout pages A-K, ISBN 0-939484-27-7.**

Reviewed by A. Dibert

Rezeptionsgeschichte, or “history of reception,” has been a significant concept in German literary studies in recent decades. This notion can well be extended to other lines of investigation, including the study of the documents on which political and social history is based, in conjunction with such approaches as textual analysis and criticism. In the present instance, the narratives left by the SS officer Kurt Gerstein after his death in 1945 have served for almost half a century as the chief evidence for the existence of “death-camps” at Belzec and Treblinka (and to a lesser extent Sobibor and Majdanek) in Poland, at which many millions of Jews are said to have been gassed or otherwise exterminated. In this French doctoral thesis, Henri Roques examines critically the Gerstein texts themselves, their internal consistency, their conformity to what is known from other sources, and the history of their reception down the decades (of which the story of Roques' thesis itself forms a part). In so doing, Roques thoroughly demolishes the credibility of Gerstein's affirmations and hence of the existence of any extermination programs at these locations.

In a “Foreword” (p. i-xv), the translator Ronald Percival provides a brief history of the underhanded methods by which Roques' doctoral degree was revoked after he had passed his examination, his thesis had been accepted and the degree granted at the University of Nantes in 1985. Roques' treatment of Gerstein's “confessions” begins with his Introduction (pp. 1-17), presenting the reasons for discussing them critically. The core of the book (pp. 18-168) consists of four chapters. In the first, “Establishment of the Texts” (pp. 18-119), Roques presents the six (not five, as previously believed) versions of the texts in which Gerstein narrates his alleged observations at Belzec and Treblinka (with mention of Sobibor and Majdanek) in Poland in 1942. There are four texts in (rather poor) French, to which Roques gives the numbers T I, T II, T IV and T V, and two in German (T III and T VI). In this edition, they are all given in English translation; in the French edition, they are presumably transcribed from the French originals and translated from those in German.

The translations of these six texts occupy the first half of Chapter I (pp. 19-89). Photostatic reproductions of the original documents are given, for T I through T VI, in an appendix (pp. 210-287), but for the “Additions and Drafts” which occupy the rest of the chapter (pp. 89-119), they are intercalated in the body of the discussion, a procedure followed in later chapters as well. In a highly important section containing eleven comparative tables (A — K), Roques contrasts and evaluates Gerstein's allegations in texts T I through T VI. These tables are printed on six long

fold-out sheets tipped in between pp. 117 and 118, with a photostatic reproduction of a letter from Pastor Martin Niemöller to Frau Gerstein on an unnumbered page (recto preceding 118).

The “Authenticity of the Texts” is Roques' topic in Chapter II (pp. 121-142). Was Gerstein the author of all six, or of only some? On the basis of their content, style, and typing, Roques concludes (p. 137) that the two texts in German (T III and T VI) were not by Gerstein, but were fabricated after his death on the basis of various documents left by him. Comparison of the typewritten versions shows that at least three different machines must have been used, one with a French keyboard and two with slightly variant German keyboards. Roques considers the hand-written texts in French to be authentic.

Chapter III treats “The Veracity of the Texts” (pp. 143-156). Since Gerstein's assertions have been widely accepted as a major keystone in the evidence for the existence of homicidal gas-chambers in Nazi concentration camps, Roques observes (p. 143) “Such a keystone should have the quality, accepted by all, of an historic document” and asks “Do the 'confessions' of Gerstein have this indisputable quality?” His answer is strongly negative, based on a summary of the “Confessions” (pp. 144-146) and a statement of the improbabilities and peculiarities which they contain (pp. 147-153). There are, Roques suggests (pp. 153-156), degrees of improbability, diminished somewhat in the German texts (T III and T VI), which strengthen the hypothesis that these were fabricated to lessen their readers' skepticism. Even these, however, contain sufficient impossibilities to cast the gravest doubt on Gerstein's entire narrative.

The posthumous reception of the Gerstein story is Roques' topic in Chapter Four, “Gerstein's 'confessions' and the views of their readers” (pp. 157-168). Before their publication, they were accessible only to the Allied military authorities, who were not sufficiently impressed to use them as evidence at Nurnberg or in other courts, although not doubting the existence of the gas-chambers and related phenomena (p. 167).- After they were published, readers' reactions varied, and Roques divides those who have discussed them into three groups. Chief among those who do not doubt” (pp. 158-159), Roques names Pierre Joffroy, “Gerstein's hagiographer.” Of “those who do not believe” (pp. 159-161), the leader was the late Paul Rassinier, followed in more recent times by Robert Faurisson. The great majority of current discussants fall into the category of “those who believe the essential points” (pp. 162-166), i.e. admit that some of Gerstein's statements and particularly his statistics are exaggerated, but consider that he actually saw the events he describes. Among the last-mentioned group are Léon Poliakov (whose many alterations of Gerstein's text are notorious) and such other Holocaust-mongers as Saul Friedländer, Raul Hilberg, Lucy Dawidowicz, Gerald Reitlinger, *et hoc genus omne*.

In his “Conclusion” (pp. 169-174), Roques sums up the manifold “incoherencies, improbabilities, and inconsistencies” (p.174) which he finds in Gerstein's tales, to emphasise their total un-dependability. Ronald Percival supplies an “Afterword: The Gerstein Story: Questions and Comments” (pp.168-206), dealing with further aspects of Gerstein's highly unstable, schizoid personality; his incompetence in technical matters; and his (partly unlikely) life-history which did not form part of Roques' critical evaluation of the texts themselves. An interesting suggestion (pp. 191-194) is that his possession of invoices for Zyklon B may indicate that Gerstein was engaging in some black-market activity connected with this pesticide, and that his “confessions” may have been a mystification aimed at covering up such activities.

The final third of the book contains supplementary material.

In a long “Appendix I: Map and Gerstein Confessions Photocopies” (pp. 207-287), a sketch-map showing the location of various concentration camps (p. 209) is followed by the already men-

tioned reproductions of Gerstein's six texts (pp. 210-287). A second, much shorter appendix, "Kurt Gerstein: His Life, His Death, His 'Confessions'" (pp. 289-294) provides not only a *curriculum vitae* (pp. 289-291), but also a chronology of the reception of Gerstein's "Confessions" from 1945 to 1983 (pp. 291-294), with critical remarks on the way in which they were garbled and misrepresented by Holocaust-maniacs."

A brief "Bibliography" (pp. 295-298) is followed by two "Postscripts" dealing with persons whom Gerstein mentions as having been involved in his trip to Poland and back and as knowing (at either first or second hand) of the situation and events he narrates. The first of these (pp. 297-308) deals with Wilhelm Pfannenstiel, with whom Gerstein travelled to Poland in 1942, and who was for many years cited as a witness to "authenticate" Gerstein's account. Roques characterises Pfannenstiel as "a reticent witness but cooperative as to essentials" (p. 299), but suggests (pp. 304-308) that, according to correspondence between Pfannenstiel and Rassinier dating from 1963, the former may have "grown weary of the role he was asked to play" (p. 304). The second postscript (pp. 309-315) is entitled "Von Otter, or the Prudence of a Diplomat." Gerstein claimed that, on the train returning from Poland, he met a Swedish legation-counsellor, one Baron von Otter, to whom he recounted the horrors he asserted he had witnessed, begging von Otter to report this to the Swedish government. The outcome of the whole matter is still unclear, because of von Otter's extreme caution in confirming Gerstein's assertions. A brief, incomplete and not wholly accurate index of personal names (pp. 316-318) concludes the book, which is reasonably well printed, with relatively few misprints. Unfortunately, several pages have not been given numbers, so that in certain sections the odd numbers are on the left-hand pages and the even on the right.

Although Roques modestly disclaims (p. 1) that he is "here concerned with an historical study," he has in fact combined two types of criticism, the textual and the historical, which are normally the province of specialists in separate fields. All writing of history depends on reliable sources, especially accurate texts. These latter have to be established through careful evaluation of original writings (manuscript, printed, or typed) and of the language(s) involved. The transmission of the writings often casts light on the metamorphoses which the original may have undergone, and the textual critic's task is to reestablish the latter as well as possible. If there are multiple versions, they must be compared, and if (as here) there are too many different versions to establish a single archetype, the critic must reproduce the various forms in which the texts occur. Roques has done this with a high degree of competence, in accordance with the best methods of textual criticism as established by Lucien Havet and others.

Roques' demonstration of the internal inconsistencies and discrepancies between the six texts and what we know from other sources (especially as shown in Tables A — K) is in itself a piece of devastating historical criticism. After a careful reading of Roques' work, even without Percival's valuable additions, no-one can grant any credence to Gerstein's stories about millions of Jews being exterminated at Belzec or Treblinka, nor his assertions concerning the mass burnings of corpses; the killing of millions of children at Auschwitz (which he did not see) by means of a pad soaked in prussic acid (!) held under their noses, and the like. To continue believing utterly fantastic stories like these, the "true believers" of the Holocaust faith have to follow the example of those religious fanatics who said *credo quia impossibile*, "I believe it because it is impossible." No wonder that the L.I.C.R.A. (Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Anti-Sémitisme) and other Zionists pressured the French government into illegally cancelling Roques' degree!

Summer 1990 (Vol. 10, No. 2), page 227.

Book review

Other Losses: An Investigation Into the Mass Deaths of German Prisoners at the Hands of the French and Americans after World War II

- *Other Losses: An Investigation Into the Mass Deaths of German Prisoners at the Hands of the French and Americans after World War II*, by James Bacque. Toronto: Stoddart, 1989, hardbound, 248 pages, bibliography, index, photographs, \$26.95. ISBN: 0-7737-2269-6.

Reviewed by Arthur S. Ward

The closing months of World War II, well after German military personnel knew that they had lost the war, witnessed some of the most bitter resistance put up by the Wehrmacht. The soldiers of the Reich fought desperately against the advancing Red Army in an effort to permit as many civilians and soldiers as possible to flee to the West. Although the policy of “Unconditional Surrender” had been announced two years before, the Germans hoped that the Western allies would not treat their prisoners as brutally as the Russians were likely to.

What actually befell the German POWs has been succinctly stated by Col. Ernest F. Fisher, a former senior historian with the United States Army, in the foreword to James Bacque’s explosive new book, *Other Losses*:

More than five million German soldiers in the American and French zones were crowded into barbed wire cages, many of them literally shoulder to shoulder. The ground beneath them soon became a quagmire of filth and disease. Open to the weather, lacking even primitive sanitary facilities, underfed, the prisoners soon began dying of starvation and disease. Starting in April 1945, the United States Army and the French Army casually annihilated about one million men, most of them in American camps.

Although hundreds of books have been written about the end of the Third Reich, including biographies of the major Allied political and military figures, this especially ugly chapter in the history of the Second World War came to light over 40 years after the war concluded. And it took a Canadian novelist to stumble across, then organize, the pertinent evidence, not an academic historian or one of the Armed Forces staff writers.

In 1986, James Bacque was doing research for what was intended to be his first non-fiction work, a book on a hero of the French Resistance, Raoul Laporterie. Bacque interviewed a former German POW, who credited Laporterie with saving his life. The POW went on to note that in just one month, 25 per cent of his comrades had died while in French captivity. This set Bacque on a new trail. The results of his careful investigation is the work under consideration here.

The term “Other Losses” was used in the U.S. Army “Weekly Prisoner of War & Disarmed Enemy Forces Reports,” to cover deaths and escapes. U.S. Army officials have admitted that escapes accounted for less than 2 per cent of these “other” losses. The rest died.

After sifting through U.S. Army files stored at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., where he was assisted by Col. Fisher, as well as relevant Canadian, British, and French records, Bacque has come to the conclusion that:

... enormous numbers of men of all ages, plus some women and children, died of exposure, unsanitary conditions, disease and starvation in the American and French camps in Germany and France ... The victims undoubtedly number over 800,000, almost certainly over 900,000 and quite likely over a million. Their deaths were knowingly caused by army officers who had sufficient resources to keep the prisoners alive.

Bacque’s research indicates that Germans who surrendered to the British or Canadians shared a different fate from that of the Germans in American, French, or Soviet hands when the war ended. The Canadian Prime Minister, Mackenzie King, early on issued a protest to the American authorities—which was ignored. Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, who had no love for the Germans, seemed to reflect the views of many British, when he remarked, “I hold no brief for the Germans except humane treatment ... I do not think we should provide a ration less than Belsen.”

Under the Geneva convention, German prisoners should have received adequate food, shelter, and medical attention. As the war-time records disclose, food and other needed supplies were available in abundance in the Western occupation zones. But thousands of POWs were kept for months in wire cages with little food and virtually no shelter.

By arbitrarily classifying their captives as “Disarmed Enemy Forces” rather than “Prisoners of war,” American military authorities were able to keep the Red Cross from monitoring conditions in the holding pens and to prevent the IRC from delivering surplus food and supplies to the German POWs. Train loads of provisions were actually turned away.

Since SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces) imposed stricter censorship after VE-Day than during the war, the general American public was largely kept ignorant of conditions prevailing in post-war Europe (opinion polls clearly indicated that, despite years of propaganda, the American public did not favor a vengeful peace).

When rumors began to circulate about the treatment received by prisoners in some of the camps, the French stated that the POWs were well treated. The American authorities planted stories in the New York Times blaming the French. Later, both the French and Americans denied having as many prisoners as they actually had captured. They said that missing soldiers were undergoing Soviet captivity (the existing U.S. records put paid to this lie).

Who was responsible for these crimes? Bacque blames the Supreme Allied Commander, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, as well as General Charles De Gaulle. Ike is portrayed as the architect of the policy which resulted in “slow deaths,” since it was he who implemented general directives that originated with Franklin Roosevelt and Henry Morgenthau. Care of the POWs was among Eisenhower’s official responsibilities. The author presents evidence that Ike knew what was going on and took active measures to reduce rations and prevent other necessities from reaching German detainees. As stated above, many prisoners were reclassified as Disarmed Enemy Forces

(DEFs). They remained in captivity. But since they were no longer recognized as POWs, their treatment was not conditioned by provisions of the Geneva Convention.

Bacque's detective work has resulted in what amounts to a terrible indictment of U.S. and French policy. Professor Stephen E. Ambrose, an Eisenhower biographer and editor of his official papers, admits that Bacque "has made an important discovery."

Yet, *Other Losses*, for several months now a best-seller in Canada and Germany, has been rejected by over thirty publishers in this country. It is currently available only by mail from the IHR and to those who are able to visit Canada.

Bacque's book, and the reception it has been accorded in the United States, raises a number of questions. It highlights the failure of international law to protect combatants and non-combatants, alike. And it shows the consequences of over thirty years of anti-German propaganda, dating from before the outbreak of World War I. The "German as Beast" was a familiar theme and if Eisenhower and his associates had little regard for the Germans, they were reflecting views nurtured by the Allies during both world wars.

Bacque, who is not an academic historian, has embarrassed the Establishment here. His book reflects the low state of academic and officer government history in this country. "And" the fact that he can't find a U.S. publisher is another example of how censorship works in "the land of the free and the home of the brave." His book has not been banned. Like other important works that deal with what James J. Martin characterizes as "inconvenient history," *Other Losses* simply has not been printed. After all, you don't have to go to the trouble of "banning" what never gets into print in the first place.

Other Losses is a fine example of historical investigation, which also serves as a reminder of what sort of country Americans really live in.

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 231-237.

Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers

- *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, by Jean-Claude Pressac. Preface by Beate and Serge Klarsfeld. New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989. 564 pages, paperbound, \$100.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

This useful and enlightening work by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac is an ambitious defense of the Auschwitz extermination story against growing criticism from Holocaust revisionists. The author and the publishers — “Nazi hunters” Beate and Serge Klarsfeld — realize very clearly that Holocaust revisionism is not some temporary or frivolous phenomenon, but is a serious and formidable challenge that has already found many thoughtful adherents.

This book is being promoted by the publishers as “a scientific rebuttal of those who deny the gas chambers.” An article about it in *The New York Times* (Dec. 18, 1989) appeared under the heading “A New Book Is Said to Refute Revisionist View of the Holocaust” or (in other editions) “Auschwitz: A Doubter Verifies the Horror.”

Printed on 564 oversize pages of 17 by 11 inches, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* includes hundreds of good-quality reproductions of original German architectural plans and diagrams, photographs taken both during and after the war, and many documents, with translations. About half of the one thousand copies that were printed have been donated to major libraries and research centers around the world. Remaining copies are being sold for \$100 each, in the hope that they will be donated to smaller libraries.

Pressac presents two kinds of evidence for mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers:

- First, he cites a few “eyewitness testimonies,” including the well-known ones of Miklos Nyiszli and Charles (Paul) Bendel (treated by Carlo Mattogno in the Spring 1990 *Journal of Historical Review*). At the same time, though, Pressac frankly acknowledges that these testimonies are riddled with “errors,” absurdities, “inventions” and contradictions. (pp. 469-479.)
- Second, Pressac cites what he calls documentary “criminal traces” of extermination at Auschwitz and Birkenau. These “traces” are presented as a kind of answer to Dr. Robert Faurisson’s insistent demand for “one proof, just one proof” of homicidal gassings. Pressac admits that these are not really “proofs,” and adds that no real proofs exist. At least some of Pressac’s dubious and inconclusive documentary “traces” are already well known to Revisionists. (Enrique Aynat Eknes provides an excellent Revisionist critique of these “traces” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1988.)

Pressac's book actually strengthens the Revisionist view of the Auschwitz extermination story and, by extension, of the entire Holocaust legend. For one thing, in presenting his central thesis, Pressac is obliged to make many significant concessions to the Revisionist position. Both explicitly and implicitly, he discredits countless Holocaust claims, "testimonies" and interpretations.

Of his book and its relation to the "orthodox" extermination story, Pressac writes:

This study already demonstrates the complete bankruptcy of the traditional ["Holocaust"] history ... a history based for the most part on testimonies, assembled according to the need of the moment, truncated to fit an arbitrary truth and sprinkled with a few German documents of uneven value and without any connection with one another. (p. 264)

Pressac thus implicitly rejects the work of Holocaust historians such as Raul Hilberg, Lucy Dawidowicz and Nora Levin as "bankrupt." Indeed, one may regard Pressac and the Klarsfelds as comparable to hard — pressed military commanders who have decided to respond to the relentless Revisionist advance by abandoning vast but untenable lowlands of the orthodox Holocaust story, and retreating to a small but seemingly more defensible fortress.

Among Pressac's many specific concessions to truth are these:

- There is no conclusive or documentary evidence for the widely claimed homicidal gassings in the Auschwitz main camp crematory building. The entire building was drastically "re-structured" and "reconstituted" after the war, and the crematory chimney there is phony. (pp. 123, 131-133, 144-146, 551.)
- The often — quoted "autobiography" of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Hoss is riddled with errors. What's more, the handwritten "manuscript" of several hundred pages contains not a single correction or crossing out, suggesting that it was copied out. (pp. 127-128, 551.)
- A 1945 Soviet film that "documents" extermination gassings in the "Kanada I" section is a "completely put up job." No homicidal gassings were ever carried out there. (pp. 46, 47, 49, 264.)
- The 1946 British military trial of Zyklon suppliers Dr. Bruno Tesch and Karl Weinbacher, which resulted in death sentences and hangings, was unjust and probably a "masquerade." (p. 17.)
- The widely quoted figure of four million Auschwitz deaths is "propaganda" and "symbolic." (pp. 13, 501.)
- Cremation is much more problematical and time — consuming than Holocaust historians have claimed, and the widely repeated stories about cremating 10,000 or even 25,000 corpses daily at Auschwitz are absurd and impossible. (pp. 244, 247, 253, 334, 384, 413, 420.)
- "*Sonderaktion*" ("special action" was not a euphemism for killing or extermination. (pp. 210, 213.)
- The diagram of "gas chambers" at Birkenau in the widely circulated 1944 War Refugee Board Report is "inaccurate." (pp. 459, 461-)
- An architectural plan of Auschwitz — Birkenau from August 1942 shows that the German authorities anticipated a camp large enough eventually to hold 200,000 inmates. (p. 203.)
- Photographs and diagrams show extensive quarantine and recuperation facilities for sick and injured Birkenau inmates. (pp. 510-513.)

Birkenau's four crematory buildings (Kremas II-V) are the core of the Auschwitz extermination story. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were allegedly gassed in these buildings between March 1943 and November 1944. However, the documentary evidence presented in this book simply cannot be reconciled with any kind of organized, systematic extermination plan or policy.

As the German records clearly show, these four buildings were constructed in late 1942 and early 1943, and were completed between March and late June 1943. Pressac believes that a "plan" to systematically exterminate Jews at Birkenau therefore must have been decided upon between June and August 1942, and was first implemented between March and June 1943. (pp. 212-213, 246, 348.)

This is a radical departure from the "standard" extermination story. Most Holocaust historians have maintained that a decision to exterminate Europe's Jews was made between mid-1941 and early 1942. For example, the Berlin "Wannsee Conference," where German officials coordinated the "final solution" policy, was held on January 20, 1942. And according to the widely cited post-war "testimony" of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Hoss, "mass executions by gassing" began at Auschwitz in the summer of 1941. Based on the copious documentary evidence presented in this book, Pressac properly concludes that crematory buildings (Kremas) II and III in Birkenau were designed and built as ordinary crematories. The alleged "gas chambers" there were designed and built as normal morgues ("*Leichenkeller*"), just as indicated on the architectural diagrams and as specified in numerous documents. These "corpse cellars" were built partially underground so that the bodies stored there would remain cold thus retarding decomposition. (pp. 284-285.) Only later, Pressac contends, were these buildings improvisationally modified or transformed into extermination facilities. (pp. 184, 224, 264, 285, 289, 415, 429.)

But this contention is highly improbable on the face of it. Hydrocyanic acid (from Zykon B) naturally adhered to moist surfaces, and the dampness of these underground morgues would have insured that the deadly gas would cling to the walls and floors, and thus endanger the lives of anyone trying to remove gas-drenched corpses.

In the case of Birkenau crematory buildings (Kremas) IV and V, Pressac has a slightly different theory. The decision to build these two additional crematories was apparently made in August 1942, Pressac concludes, almost certainly in response to the devastating epidemic that was raging in the camp. These buildings were not "conceived" as extermination facilities, he writes. (pp. 384, 392, 398.) But Pressac illogically contends that these two buildings — unlike Kremas II and III — were constructed as extermination facilities, even though all four buildings were under construction at the same time. (p. 448.) In spite of this, the technique whereby Jews were supposedly gassed in Kremas IV and V was illogical and absurdly awkward. Pressac describes the alleged gassing procedure this way:

Although the operating sequence looks simple enough, it had become [?] irrational and ridiculous. It was irrational to have victims going from the central room to the gas chambers, [and] then being brought back, thus destroying the linear logic of the initial design. It was ridiculous to have an SS man in a gas mask balancing on his short ladder with a one kg can of Zyklon B in his left hand while he opened and then closed the 30 by 40 cm shutter through which he introduced the pellets with his right hand. This performance was to be repeated six times ... A few steps installed beneath each opening would have avoided all this performance. (pp. 384, 386.)

As it turned out, completion of Krema buildings IV and V had to be delayed several weeks, and they were not finished until May and late April respectively. (pp. 348, 349, 384.) They were also

so hastily and poorly constructed that Krema IV was soon shut down for good, and Krema V could be used only intermittently. (pp. 413, 420.)

Even though they were supposedly built as extermination facilities, the “gas chamber” rooms of crematory buildings IV and V had no ventilators, Pressac concedes. But this fact alone means that these rooms would have been absolutely unsuited for gassing people. Without powerful fans to remove the deadly poison, many hours of “natural” airing would have been necessary before anyone, even with gas masks, could have safely entered the gas — saturated rooms. Pressac is aware that this awkward fact poses some difficulty for his basic thesis, but lamely mentions only that “ventilation of the premises was a serious problem.” (pp. 386, 416, 498.)

(The supposed “gas chamber” rooms of Kremas II and III did have ventilation systems, Pressac writes, but concedes that these were clearly “designed for a cool morgue, not for a warm gas chamber.” pp. 224, 285, 289.)

The danger of Zyklon, and its importance in Auschwitz, is underscored in an important “special order” by commandant Hoss dated August 12, 1942. (p. 201.) Forty copies were distributed to officials throughout the camp:

Today there was a case of illness due to slight symptoms of poisoning with hydro-cyanic acid [Zyklon]. This makes it necessary to warn all those involved with gassings, as well as all other SS personnel, that especially when opening gassed rooms, SS personnel not wearing gas masks must wait at least five hours and keep a distance of at least 15 meters from the chamber. In this regard, particular attention should be paid to the wind direction.

Outside civilian workers were brought in to help construct Birkenau’s four crematory buildings, which would have been astonishing if they had actually been built as top secret mass extermination facilities. For example, workers from nine outside civilian firms helped construct Kremas IV and V. (pp. 350, 384.) There also does not seem to have been any abnormal urgency to finish these four facilities, because all work on them was halted between Dec. 23, 1942, and Jan. 4, 1943, so that the civilian workers could go home to spend Christmas and New Year’s with their families. (pp. 210, 213.)

At no time were any of Birkenau’s four crematory buildings ever hidden, concealed or “camouflaged.” They were in plain view of everyone, including newly arriving Jews. Krema buildings II and III were especially visible. (pp. 247, 250, 251, 464, 556.) On this point alone the Auschwitz extermination story defies belief. It is simply incredible to suppose that the authorities would not have tried to hide or conceal their alleged mass extermination facilities.

Pressac is sometimes surprisingly ignorant. For example, he attributes six photos that show humane conditions in the Auschwitz-Monowitz camp to an unspecified “Revisionist source.” (pp. 506-507.) Actually, they are from the Dürrfeld file in the records of Nuremberg trial No. 6, in the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Pressac briefly mentions the important report of American engineer Fred Leuchter, who carried out the first forensic investigation of the “gas chambers” of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. But he misrepresents the report, and ignores Leuchter’s categorical conclusion that none of the alleged “gas chambers” could have been used for homicidal gassings. (p. 133.)

Pressac’s book is not easy to read. His writing is disorganized, needlessly convoluted and frequently unclear. It is often necessary to consult passages from widely divergent pages to under-

stand this or that point he is trying to make. But perhaps we should be grateful for this confusion, because if Pressac were a clear and logical writer, the Klarsfelds might well have refused to publish his book.

Pressac does not seem to be a psychologically sound person. For example, he confesses that he “nearly” killed himself in the Auschwitz main camp in October 1979. (p. 537.) His relationship with Dr. Faurisson and French Revisionist publisher Pierre Guillaume — to which he devotes several pages — changed from a kind of admiration to bitter personal animosity. He cites nothing about Faurisson’s treatment of him that would justify such visceral enmity, even granting the intensity of his disagreement about the Holocaust issue. The emotional and even vicious nature of Pressac’s furious hostility toward Faurisson suggests an insecure and unstable personality.

In spite of its defects, Pressac’s book is an important and enlightening work, even if not for the reasons intended by either the author or the publishers.

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 237-241.

The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau, 1939-1945

- by Alfred M. de Zayas. Nebraska University Press, 1989, Paperbound, 364 pages, bibliography, index, photographs, \$15.95. ISBN: 0-8032-9908-7

Reviewed by Robert Clive

When the topic of atrocities committed during the Second world War is discussed, such places as Babi Yar, Lidice, Malmedy and Oradour-sur-Glane almost immediately come to mind. But few will mention — or even have heard of — Bromberg, Bassabetovka, Goldap, Hohensalza, Nemmersdorf, or St. Pierre de Rumilly. The first group of names are associated with war crimes attributed to the Nazis. In the second list, the victims were Germans murdered by anti-Axis forces.

That atrocities were committed by the Allies against Germans and non-combatant civilians on both the Eastern and Western fronts is not often acknowledged. In large measure this reflects the fact that “victors write the history.” As a recent spate of popular books attests, the Second World War has been established in the public consciousness as “the last good war,” in which the forces of Evil were vanquished, despite the enormous costs involved, both material and moral.

In an important book only now available in English translation, Alfred M. de Zayas, a graduate of Harvard Law School, outlines the history of the Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau, which from September 1939 until May 1945 kept a running record of war crimes committed against the Germans, their allies, and civilians.

The study grew out of research de Zayas undertook among previously unexamined German wartime legal records while he was director of the “Working Group on the Laws of War” at the Institute of International Law at Göttingen University (from which institution he also holds a Ph.D. in history). First published in 1979 as *Die Wehrmacht-Untersuchungsstelle* by Universitas/Langen Müller, the book was very favorably received throughout German-speaking Europe and served as the basis for a highly acclaimed two-part television documentary broadcast in Germany in 1983.

All belligerents investigated reported breaches of the laws and customs of war. When hostilities ended in 1945, Axis political and military leaders were imprisoned and many were executed for their alleged involvement in war crimes — a process that continues to this day. Allied officials who were responsible for committing atrocities against Axis personnel have not been similarly dealt with.

The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau was the direct successor to the Prussian Bureau of Investigation of Violations of the Laws of War, which conducted investigations until after the end of the First World War as an arm of the Reich War Ministry. There was a remarkable degree of continuity between the two organizations. Johannes Goldsche, a military judge who served as deputy chief of the Prussian Bureau, was appointed director of the Wehrmacht Bureau and served in this

capacity throughout the Second World War. Both bureaus had the identical mission: to document allied offenses and submit reports. Some of their findings served as the basis for diplomatic protests lodged by the German Foreign Office against the Allied powers. But as we know, during and after the two wars, international public opinion tended to dismiss out of hand German allegations of Allied war crimes. Thus far, the one exception has been the case of Katyn, where thousands of Polish officers and intellectuals were murdered by the Soviets near Smolensk.

The author did not accept German allegations at face value. After sifting through several hundred volumes of official records, he interviewed more than 300 judges, witnesses, and victims. He cross-checked events mentioned in Bureau reports by consulting other German record groups and relevant American, British, French, and Swiss files (Soviet records remain largely unavailable to scrutiny by Western researchers). De Zayas's research "confirmed the correctness of the protocols." He goes on to forthrightly state:

All in all the coherency of the War Crimes Bureau files, the confirmation of persons involved, and the comparison with other historical sources justify the conclusion that the Bureau did function in a trustworthy manner, that its investigations were authentic and its documents reliable ... the Bureau was not a propaganda arm of the Nazi regime ...

De Zayas divides his study into two parts. The first twelve chapters outline the history of the Prussian bureau and then relate why and when the Wehrmacht agency was started. The Bureau's personnel and methods of operation are delineated.

Part Two presents details on specific cases. A careful line is drawn between historical events and mere propaganda. To those who have been brought up on a steady diet of Nazi atrocity stories, it is this second section that contains real eye-openers.

The Wehrmacht Bureau established that Polish military personnel and civilians committed numerous atrocities against ethnic Germans living within Poland's pre-war frontiers, and against German civilians and soldiers after the war commenced. On the Western Front, the Bureau determined that the British were guilty of plundering the French and Belgian populace. The famous Belgian cyclist Julian Vervaecke was among the civilians killed by British soldiers. The French likewise executed Belgian non-combatants, Jewish refugees, and prisoners of war.

In his discussion of atrocities committed by the Allies in the West, de Zayas affirms that

"there was no fabrication of atrocity stories [by the Bureau] but rather the methodical collection and evaluation of evidence. Nor was there any attempt to blame the Allies for destruction that may have been caused by the Germans themselves."

Most of the existing records deal with atrocities committed on the Eastern Front by the Red Army and Soviet secret police (the NKVD). From the outset of the war in the East, the Bureau received reports of atrocities and wholesale violations of the internationally accepted rules of warfare. And as the Axis armies advanced, Soviet subjects came forward to reveal additional acts of barbarism perpetrated by the Soviet authorities.

POWs, whether Germans or Axis allies, were often shot out of hand, or shortly after they had been questioned. At Feodosiya, on the Black Sea, wounded soldiers were drenched with water and then left on the beaches to freeze to death. Captured soldiers were not merely executed, but frequently subjected to torture and mutilation first, then left where their remains could be easily discovered.

When the Red Army invaded German territory in late 1944, civilians who had been unable to flee before their advance were condemned to undergo a regime of ferocious brutality. At such towns as Goldap, Gumbinnen, and Nemmersdorf, even children were raped before being murdered by Russian soldiers (the book includes photographs of these deeds). Alexander Solzhenitsyn is cited by de Zayas for his testimony on this topic. The famous Russian author, who fought as a captain in the Red Army, confirmed that, “all of us knew very well that if the girls were German they could be raped and then shot. This was almost a combat distinction.”

The Bureau also documented Soviet crimes against non-Germans. Chapters deal with Lvov, where thousands of civilians were found murdered in the prisons of the NKVD; Katyn; and Vin-nitsa, a Ukrainian town where mass graves dating from 1936 were discovered. De Zayas reiterates that “the War Crimes Bureau was not established to fabricate documents on Allied war crimes: its records are genuine; its investigations were carried out methodically, in a judicial manner.”

This study does not consider atrocities attributed to the Germans and their allies. De Zayas does point out, however, that the Soviets conducted the first war crimes trials against members of the German armed forces when three soldiers captured at Stalingrad were hanged in 1943, after being found “guilty” of liquidating Soviet citizens in specially constructed gas vans.

With respect to the alleged Nazi “Final Solution” to the Jewish Question, in a footnote de Zayas concedes:

Without exception, all the German military judges interviewed by the author claimed not to have known about exterminations at any of the concentration camps until after the end of the war. A few admitted hearing rumors of executions on the Eastern Front but claimed that they had been unable to obtain corroborative evidence.

Elsewhere, de Zayas remarks:

The investigations described in this book manifest again and again the subjective conviction of the German military judges in the field and of the staff members of the Bureau that the German armed forces were fighting honorably, in compliance with the Hague and Geneva Convention, while those on the other side were violating those Conventions.

De Zayas has opened a new chapter in the study of the conduct of the Second World War. Now that his book is available in English translation, and published by a distinguished university press, its appearance hopefully will generate discussion of the topics it has raised, and inspire others to further research.

Book review

Aspects of the Third Reich

- by H. W. Koch, (editor and author of the five introductory sections and two other sections). New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985. Paperbound, 619 pp., bibliography, index. \$15.95. ISBN: 0-312-00381-1.

Reviewed by Charles E. Weber

For the sake of understanding the general nature of this book, which is a sort of anthology by various specialists on a number of aspects of the history of Germany during the National Socialist period, we must first look at the structure of the book. It is divided into five parts, each with an introduction by the editor, H. W. Koch, a professor at the University of York. These introductions, which are perhaps the most valuable parts of the book, occupy about one-tenth of its pages. In addition to the introductions by Koch, there are sixteen individual studies of various aspects of the Third Reich:

Part I

1. E. Nolte, "Between Myth and Revisionism? The Third Reich in the Perspective of the 1980s" (22 pages)
2. H. W. Koch, "1933: The Legality of Hitler's Assumption of Power" (23 pages)
3. Hans Mommsen, "The Reichstag Fire and Its Political Consequences" (34 pages)
4. Lothar Klettenacker, "Social and Psychological Aspects of the *Führer's* Rule" (37 pages)
5. Klaus-Jurgen Muller, "The Structure and Nature of the National Conservative Opposition in Germany up to 1940" (46 pages)

Part II

1. E. M. Robertson, "Hitler's Planning for War and the Response of the Great Powers (1938-early 1939)" (39 pages)
2. H. R. Trevor-Roper, "Hitler's War Aims" (16 pages)
3. Dietrich Aigner, "Hitler's Ultimate Aims — A Programme of World Domination?" (16 pages)
4. Wolfgang Michalka, "From the Anti-Comintern Pact to the Euro-Asiatic Bloc: Ribbentrop's Alternative Concept of Hitler's Foreign Policy Programme" (18 pages)
5. H.W. Koch, "Hitler's 'Programme' and the Genesis of Operation 'Barbarossa'" (38 pages)

Part III

1. Alan S. Milward, "The Reichsmark Bloc and the International Economy" (29 pages)

2. Burton H. Klein, "Germans Economic Preparations for War" (11 pages)

Part IV

1. . Martin Broszat, "Hitler and the Genesis of the 'Final solution': An Assessment of David Irving's Theses" (40 pages)
2. Bernd Wegner, "The 'Aristocracy of National Socialism': The Role of the SS in National Socialist Germany" (21 pages)

Part V

1. William Carr, "The Hitler Image of the Last Half-century" (27 pages)
2. Thomas Nipperdey, "1933 and the Continuity of German History" (20 pages)

Following the sixteen sections there are detailed notes and references (pages 509-572), a bibliography (pages 573-592) and an index (pages 593-611). Notable listings of a revisionistic nature in the bibliography are those by Hänel on the book by Rauschning, David Irving on the trial of Rommel, Remer on the conspiracy against Hitler, Hoggan's *Der erzwungene Krieg, The Forrester Diaries*, Tansill's *Backdoor to War* and Rassinier's *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse*. Such important works pertaining to the history of Jews during the war as those by Christophersen, Butz, Mayer (reviewed in our Bulletin 38), Leuchter, Sanning and Stäglich are missing from the bibliography, in some cases because they were published after 1985.

Of the fourteen contributors to the book, six were active in England (Carr, Kettenacker, Koch, Milward, Robertson and Trevor-Roper), one in the United States (Klein) and seven in Germany (Broszat, Michalka, Mommsen, Müller, Nipperdey, Nolte and Wegner).

Of the sixteen sections, numbers 1, 2, 5, 6, 14, and 15 are original contributions, no. 16 is a lecture made available for the volume, while the others are from various sources, including 3, 7 and 13 from the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, published in Munich in 1971, 1960 and 1971.

I shall now attempt to give an idea of the varied contents of this book by selecting and commenting on individual passages and arguments, although the reader must bear in mind that these selections represent only a rather thin sampling from this rather large volume.

Contrary to popular opinion, the phrase "entartete Kunst" (degenerate art) was originated not by the National Socialists, but rather by the early Zionist, Max Nordau (pages 3-4).

On page 4 there is mentioned the role played by "almost a quarter of a million western and northern Europeans fighting in the ranks of the Waffen-SS against the Russians" by the end of 1944. Koch asserts that Hitler "looked at the volunteer movement with disdain, suspicion and even contempt," but does not document this assertion, which is not borne out by the reproductions of photographs and documents in such a work as *Europäische Freiwillige im Bild* or the lavish praise which Hitler had for the Belgian General Léon Degrelle.

A particularly interesting point is made on page 16 in a quotation from the chief of the French general staff, General Gamelin, who predicted in August 1939 a quick and easy victory over the German armed forces. The Poles were also remarkably overconfident at that time. (See the excellent little book by Alfred Schickel, *Vergessene Zeitgeschichte*, Frankfurt, 1985, reviewed in *Bulletin 18* of the Committee for the Re-examination of the History of the Second World War.) Such attitudes in high places in France and Poland go a long way in explaining the origins of the Second World War.

On page 55 the books *I Paid Hitler*, attributed to the industrialist Thyssen, and Rauschning's *Hitler Speaks* are correctly designated as fabrications. The latter book played a particularly important role in the anti-German propaganda activities at the beginning of the war and was reprinted innumerable times in various languages. (See Wolfgang Hänel, Hermann Rauschning's '*Gespräche mit Hitler*' — *Eine Geschichtsfälschung*, published by the Zeitgeschichtliche Forschungsstelle Ingolstadt in 1984.) The book falsely attributed to Thyssen is a favorite of Marxists.

On page 115 there is a statement which seems to imply that Hitler contemplated that the Kristallnacht (riots against Jews on 9 November, 1938) would be a popular event. Ingrid Weckert, in her definitive book on this topic, *Feuerzeichen* (1981), presents convincing evidence, some of it documentary, that such leaders as Hitler himself, Göring and Goebbels were deeply concerned about the riots and their potential for damage to Germany. Although *Aspects of the Third Reich* mentions the Kristallnacht in a number of places, there is not a single mention of Weckert's book, one more demonstration that some of the authors are either biased or woefully ignorant of literature pertaining to the topics they discuss. (See my review of Weckert's book in the Winter, 1988-1989 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*.)

Since 1985 at least two sections of *Aspects of the Third Reich* have been made at least partially obsolete by subsequent publications. The somewhat revisionistic section on the genesis of Operation "Barbarossa" by H.W. Koch (pages 285-322) is now confronted by the important article by Viktor Suvorov, "Who Was Planning to Attack Whom in June 1941, Hitler or Stalin?" This article was published in the June 1985 issue of *The Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies* in London. Suvorov (a pseudonym) shows, on the basis of histories of Soviet military units and other sources, that a Soviet thrust toward the west was imminent before the beginning of Operation "Barbarossa" on 22 June 1941. Suvorov's article acts at least as a supplement to some aspects of "Barbarossa" brought up by Koch, such as the large build-up of Soviet forces in the west of the USSR as early as the spring of 1940 and the occupation of the Baltic republics (pages 290ff.).

Another section, which was first published in 1977, the section by Broszat on the "Final Solution" (pages 390-429), must be contrasted with the *Leuchter Report*, which disproves the assertion that mass, factory-like executions of Jews took place in Auschwitz in lethal gas chambers there. The author of the *Leuchter Report*, Fred A. Leuchter, is an American engineer who specializes in the construction and operation of execution gas chambers in American prisons. In connection with the trial of the publisher Ernst Zündel in Toronto, Leuchter and several other persons went to Poland in February 1988 and obtained actual samples of brick in buildings alleged to have been used as lethal gas chambers and later had them analyzed chemically for traces of the cyanide radical. He concluded that these buildings could not have been used for mass exterminations by the commercial pest control product, Zyklon-B. Broszat attacks David Irving, the prolific British historian, for claiming that there is no evidence that Hitler ordered the mass extermination of Jews under his control. Broszat's arguments now seem completely invalidated by the *Leuchter Report* and David Irving himself has since joined those who assert that the Extermination Thesis is false. (Leuchter's account of his perilous experiences in Poland and his conclusions are summarized in the Summer 1989 issue of the *Journal of Historical Review*, pages 133-139.)

On pages 373-374 Koch presents a devastating discussion of "psycho-historical" explanations of Hitler's hostility toward Jews. Koch states that the first documentary evidence of Hitler's hostility toward Jews turns up in September 1919 and conjectures that it might have been caused by the role Jews played in the "revolutionary upheaval" in Germany in 1918-1919, in Bavaria in particular. Koch does not, however, mention the brutal Communist tyranny of Bela Kun (Cohen)

in Hungary in 1919, which had wide-spread effects on European attitudes toward Jews during subsequent years. (See Cécile Tormay, *An Outlaw's Diary*, first published in English in 1923 and subsequently reprinted.)

Still another book, published as recently as late 1989, has a bearing on an aspect which is only peripherally dealt with in *Aspects of the Third Reich*, the genocidal threat against the German nation. That book is James Bacque's *Other Losses*, which claims that Eisenhower's vbecome known to the German government no later than September, 1944. This knowledge must have had an important influence on the German will to continue resistance, even in spite of the desperate situation during the final months of the war. See Prof. Anthony Kubek's important article on the Morgenthau Plan in the Fall 1989 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

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close associate and Secretary of the Treasury, whose genocidal plan for postwar Germany must have become known to the German government no later than September, 1944. This knowledge must have had an important influence on the German will to continue resistance, even in spite of the desperate situation during the final months of the war. See Prof. Anthony Kubek's important article on the Morgenthau Plan in the Fall 1989 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* (pages 287-303).

In a confusing sentence on page 381 Koch gives the date for the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, deputy Reichsprotektor of Bohemia and Moravia, as 1943. Actually, Heydrich died on June 4, 1942. (On the subsequent retribution against the town of Lidice, see the translation from *Lüge und Wahrheit* in our Bulletin 34.) Such simple factual errors must always arouse a tendency to distrust an author.

In the introduction to the last sections, numbers 15 and 16, which deal with evaluations of Hitler's life as an individual, Koch makes an interesting observation on the writings of non-German writers of the history of the Third Reich. He points out (page 459) that historical debate about the Third Reich in West Germany is "much more constricted than in the Anglo-Saxon world." In section 15 Carr adheres to the myth, not just of the six million murdered Jews, but even increases it to 6 million (page 462). He should have known better than that in 1981, when his essay was written. Even Jewish historians who want to make some pretense of objectivity have been forced to shy away from such numbers in the face of facts that make them seem ridiculous, such as the statistics presented in Sanning's *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, or for that matter just prewar statistics available in standard reference works on prewar Jewish populations and statistics on the Jewish population of Palestine. (See the answers to questions 46 and 58 in my propaedeutic booklet, *The 'Holocaust': 120 Questions and Answers*.)

Although the book under consideration is modestly titled *Aspects of the Third Reich*, it does indeed cover a broad range of aspects of the history of Germany during 1933-1945, especially those that have attracted the most public attention. There are, however, some important aspects which are mentioned only peripherally. Of these we might mention the eugenic measures of National Socialist Germany, which, contrary to widely held impressions, were strongly influenced by eugenic laws and scientific research in foreign countries, especially the United States. Henry Ford, whose *International Jew* was published during 1920-1922 and soon translated into German, had an influence on Hitler's thinking. Ford's influence on Hitler is not mentioned anywhere in the book and the widespread hostility toward Jews in countries other than Germany (notably in Poland and Hungary) is hardly mentioned. Still another American influence on National Social-

ism was expressed by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, his admiration of the accessibility of higher education to all classes in the United States.

Although parts of this book have been written with an obvious anti-German bias and parts of it need updating as a result of research published just during the past lustrum, there are a number of fresh insights in this book, especially in Koch's introductions to the five main divisions. This book could certainly be recommended more strongly to university students of history than Shirer's journalistic, propagandistic *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1960), which is rightly designated as a "trivial anti-German book" which, even in 1960, "was some ten years behind the current state of research" (page 20). Shirer's book has had an all-too important influence, even in academic settings, where a more objective approach should be the normal one. If any sort of objectivity in treating the history of the Third Reich is going to come about in the future, this book will be read long after Shirer's book will have been discarded. However, even just on the basis of the status of present research, *Aspects of the Third Reich* should be recommended only with admonishments such as those we have expressed above. An all-encompassing, objective book on the history of Germany in English for the period 1933-1945 remains to be written in spite of the plethora of studies of particular aspects of the history of Germany during 1933-1945.

Source: Reprinted from *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 241-248.

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 248-251.

Review

Hitler's Generals

- edited by Correlli Barnett New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1989, hardbound, 497 pages, index, photographs, \$24.95. ISBN: 1-55584-161-9.

Reviewed by Robert Clive

In *Hitler's Generals*, an international team of widely-published historians explores the characters and careers of twenty-six leading German military leaders who translated Hitler's directives into the stunning victories of 1939-41 and who held out against overwhelming odds into the spring of 1945. These portraits weigh each man's military abilities, discuss his social and professional background, and depict how he reacted to the Fuhrer's personality and style of leadership.

A review of Hitler's role is included in Correlli Barnett's introduction. During the period 1939-40, Hitler was content with deciding matters of state policy. He played no role in the decisive victory over Poland, which, by the way, surprised many military analysts at the time — including the British, French, and Polish leaders. Thereafter, Hitler took an increasingly active part in the direction of the Third Reich's military operations.

Hitler threw his support behind the innovators and gamblers among his top commanders. This was critical in the spring of 1940, when, on the advice of his navy chief, Admiral Raeder, the lightning occupation of Norway was accomplished a mere ten hours ahead of a combined Anglo-French invasion force. And, again, it was Hitler who overruled his own Army general staff, and ordered that General von Manstein's plan to cut through the Allied center to the Channel Coast be implemented, rejecting a replay of the Schlieffen Plan that had failed at the outset of World War I. It is noteworthy that the conservative Army leaders, represented by Brauchitsch and Halder, felt that Germany could not hope to do better than reach a stalemate in the West. Operation *Sichelschnitt* (Sickle-Cut) proved to be an unimagined triumph and appeared to mark Germany's victory in the war; during the last months of 1940, munitions production was actually scaled back.

Having defeated the Western Allies on the Continent, Hitler seemed to have no clear aim. The attack on Soviet Russia, viewed by an increasing number of historians as a preemptive strike, was launched without a guiding objective. The 1942 campaign, *Fall Blau*, likewise was marred from the outset by dual, conflicting goals. By the end of that year, Hitler had lost the initiative in the East and in the Mediterranean, where, with more support at the right time, the British could likely have been defeated.

The generals considered here are grouped in five categories: anti-Nazi Generals, including Fritsch, Beck, and Witzleben; the Staff Officers, among them Brauchitsch, Halder, Blomberg,

Keitel, and Jodl; Field Commanders, such as Rundstedt (who advised Hitler to halt the Panzers outside Dunkirk during the Battle for France in 1940), Reichenau, Manstein, Kleist, and Kesselring; Battlefront Commanders: Rommel, Model, Paulus, Sepp Dietrich, and Manteuffel; and the Military Innovators, Guderian and Student, creator of the airborne armies.

A point that strikes the reader is how poor the Nazi security services must have been. In 1938 and 1939, conspiracies were undertaken to oust Hitler. Not only were opponents of Hitler appointed to key commands, but a number of them continued to hold positions of influence until late in the war.

It has been popular, starting with the Nuremberg trials, to criticize Germany's military leaders for obeying orders and not having overthrown Hitler. Yet, as one of the contributors to this volume, Field Marshal Lord Carver, reminds us: One must bear in mind that Hitler, who was undoubtedly democratically elected, retained popular support, certainly until the Anglo-American landings in France had achieved victory.

Without exception, the authors reject the notion that the German generals should have been judged guilty of crimes by the wartime victors. For example, in his essay on the paratroop General Kurt Student, General Sir John Hackett commends Student for his "measured and rational approach" to partisans, who engaged in terrorist attacks on the island of Crete, and elsewhere. Indeed, in this instance, it was the Greek king, who fled to Egypt on May 24, 1941, who was guilty of inciting his subjects:

... to use every possible means, not excluding assassination, to carry on unrestrained partisan warfare against the German occupation. Cretans, men of mountain and shore, can be very tough and also very cruel. Their actions, often against unarmed parachutists, included mutilation and nailing up on barn doors ... In spite of having signed the Hague Convention condemning partisan warfares the Greek government, it was claimed, had now deprived the civilian male inhabitants of Crete of any claim to non-combatant status.

One of the most tragic figures was Field-Marshal Ewald von Kleist. Commander of the principal Panzer forces in the Western offensive of 1940, it was Kleist who, in 1941, led the brilliant campaign that subdued Yugoslavia after the pro-Axis government was overthrown. Kleist fought with distinction on the Eastern Front. He actively sought to win over the ethnic minorities within the Soviet Union and succeeded in recruiting 825,000 volunteers from among the non-Russian populace to fight with the Germans, over the objections of Labor Plenipotentiary Fritz Sauckel and Gauleiter Erich Koch. As his biographer, Professor Samuel Mitcham, observes, "Had Kleist's ideas been implemented throughout the east, they very conceivably could have changed the course of the war." At the end of the war, Kleist was turned over to the Yugoslavs, who sentenced him to prison as a "war criminal." Tito shipped him to Stalin in 1948, where he was charged with having "alienated through mildness and kindness the population of the Soviet Union." He spent the rest of his life in Soviet prisons, dying at Vladimir in 1954 — the only one of Hitler's field marshals to die in Soviet captivity. Those who are curious about Germany's war effort will find much of interest in *Hitler's Generals*.

Source: vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 251-253.

The Price of Admiralty: The Evolution of Naval Warfare

- by John Keegan. New York: Viking, 1989, hardbound, 292 pages, index, photographs, \$21.95. ISBN:0-670-81416-4.

Reviewed by James Hawkins

Since the publication of his book *The Face of Battle* (1976), which skillfully blended letters, diaries and reminiscences of those actually present at the battles of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme to reconstruct a “soldier’s eye view,” John Keegan has emerged as one of the most widely read historians of warfare. In a subsequent volume, *The Mask of Command* (1987), he reviewed the careers of Alexander the Great, Wellington, Grant, and Hitler.

Now, Keegan, a former lecturer at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst and presently the defense correspondent of the Tory London *Daily Telegraph*, explores the changing nature of war at sea by dissecting four crucial sea battles, each featuring a different type of warship: Trafalgar (wooden sailing ships); Jutland (ironclad dreadnoughts); Midway (aircraft carriers); and the Battle of the Atlantic (submarines). The author focuses on how technology, tactics, strategy, and training influenced combat operations in the battles.

The longest and best chapter deals with Trafalgar, in which a British fleet led by Horatio Nelson defeated a French-Spanish force under the French Admiral Pierre Villeneuve. Keegan explains the mechanics of naval warfare in the age of sail, observing that wooden ships-of-the-line were “astonishingly efficient” and represented “a monument to human ingenuity of a unique sort. Nothing else made by man to coax power from the elements while defying their force has ever so perfectly embodied his intentions.”

Keegan gives short shrift to impersonal “historical forces” by demonstrating the importance of personalities. He contrasts Nelson as a “revolutionary tactician” who was a “master of ship and fleet management,” with his French counterpart, Villeneuve, a survivor of revolutionary politics. After sparring for five months over 7,000 miles of ocean, what finally provoked Villeneuve to offer battle on October 21, 1805, was the news that an exasperated Napoleon had dispatched his rival, Vice-Admiral François Rosily, to replace him. On paper, the combined fleet was powerful and might have proved a match for the British. But the effects of the Revolution had taken its toll: the French navy lacked experienced officers, and a 1793 decree had abolished the corps of naval gunners on the grounds that they constituted “an aristocracy of the sea.”

The battle fought off Cadiz was a massacre. The French never again attempted to challenge the British at sea. And for the next century the oceans were dominated by the Royal Navy.

In a number of important respects, the Kaiser’s High Seas Fleet was superior to the Royal Navy. German ships were better built; the magazines of British battleships proved to be especially vul-

nerable. And when the battle of Jutland was fought on May 31, 1916, the British commanders, Jellicoe and Beatty, showed that they lacked strategic and tactical insight. But the German naval chief, Admiral Scheer, was unable to translate technical excellence into a strategic advantage over a declining economic power — Britain — due to the Kaiser's concentration on Army concerns.

Along with fine narration, Keegan is able to give his readers a feel for combat. At the battle of Jutland, he points out:

... casualties suffered wounds almost unknown to an earlier generation of naval surgeons; metal fragmentation wounds, scouring trauma by shell splinter which carved strips of flesh from the body and, most painful and hardest of all to treat, flash and burn effects and flaying by live steam.

At Midway in 1942, Admiral Yamamoto ignored orthodox naval practice and failed to concentrate his forces, which outnumbered the U.S. Pacific Fleet. Chester Nimitz, the American C-in-C, ordered his subordinates to press on with their counterattack. The result was, as Keegan observes, "one of the truly crucial 'moments of decision' which can be isolated in the whole course of warfare." The loss to Japan of four carriers and their pilots could never be made up (the Japanese trained only one hundred replacement pilots annually). In the Battle for the Atlantic, Hitler's ignorance of naval matters, reinforced by his general-staff-dominated command, caused the Führer to shortchange a potentially war-winning weapon in the U-boat. Even so, Dönitz's wolf-packs came within an ace of severing Britain's sea lifelines.

The Price of Admiralty is not only good history. It is also good reading.

Source: vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 260-366.

From the Editor

Ted O'Keefe

In this issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* we are proud to publish, for the first time in English, the [Second Leuchter Report](#), which has just appeared in a French translation, in the premiere issue of *Revue d'histoire révisionniste* (B.P. 122, 92704 Colombes Cédex, France). Just as Fred Leuchter's minute investigation of the remains (and in some cases the postwar "reconstructions") of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek was the first forensic study of these facilities, so is Leuchter Report No. 2 the first published expert report on facilities still widely maintained to have been constructed, if not used, for homicidal gassings at Dachau, Mauthausen, and Hartheim Castle. Robert Faurisson's [introduction and annotated bibliography](#) supply the perfect historiographical counterpoint to Mr. Leuchter's technical expertise.

As the Soviet empire unravels, an historiographical drama of world-historical import begins. In the USSR since its inception, in the Western "democracies" for decades, the fact that the "Russian" Revolution was anything but Russian has been a taboo punishable by ostracism or imprisonment. Ivor Benson, long a distinguished analyst of the practical alliance between Capitalism and Communism, here [contributes](#) a suggestive and certain to be controversial essay on the key, but neglected, role of the most dynamic of all Soviet nationalities, the Jews, in the origins and rise of Bolshevism. Nothing could be more timely in elucidating the riddle of why this turbulent minority is embarking on yet another dramatic exodus, just as unprecedented freedoms and opportunities unfold for the rest of the USSR's long-oppressed peoples.

Our reviewers greet new studies of Nuremberg, of how FDR illegally inveigled America into war, of the course of that war, and of a long overdue revision of a cherished national myth — England's "defeat" of the Spanish Armada-positively, all in all. The revisionist content of these books is perhaps a sign of our movement's progress, for only one author would cheerfully accept the title of revisionist.

He is Carlos Porter, one of the closest students of the absurdities as well as the injustices which crowd the transcripts of the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials. With his usual mordancy, Mr. Porter has [contributed](#) an unusual comparison and analysis of three testimonies of concentration-camp guards and capos: it is out of such questionable building blocks as these that the Holocaust edifice has been constructed.

Two of IHR's embattled editorial advisors, each of whom has been subjected to the Orwellian indignity of having an earned doctorate allegedly "revoked," contribute news and commentary on matters French and German, Dr. Henri Roques (who has just joined our masthead) on his [efforts to compel the French government](#) to recognize his degree, Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich in [two frank letters](#) to West German President Richard von Weizsäcker which bring to that preacher of eternal German guilt the glad tidings of the first Leuchter Report. From France comes a report of yet an-

other “affair” in Lyon, where university teacher Bernard Notin has been subjected to a ferocious campaign to ruin him legally, professionally, and financially for daring to question the dogma of the gas chambers (recently made a crime by the French National Assembly).

As the above news from Europe indicates, our enemies are running scared. Reports, published just as this issue of *The Journal* went to press, disclosed that the Polish authorities who run the atrocity museum in the former concentration camp at Auschwitz have reduced the number of alleged victims to one fourth of the figure previously given out as official. The full implications of that must strike the public as the wholly arbitrary resurrection of some three million “victims” will be explored in future issues of this journal. Suffice it to say that at least the progress of Historical Revisionism is being registered, however grudgingly, in other ways than the persecution of Revisionist scholars and publicists.

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The Second Leuchter Report

Fred Leuchter & Robert Faurisson

FOREWORD

Fred A. Leuchter is a 46-year old engineer who lives in Boston. He is a specialist in planning and building execution facilities for American penitentiaries. One of his achievements was the modernization of the execution gas chamber in the penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri.

Ernst Zündel is a 50-year-old German who lives in Toronto, where he had a brilliant career as a graphic artist and advertising man, until he was boycotted because of his Revisionist opinions. Since then, he has spent almost all his time struggling against lies about the “Holocaust” I have helped him in this struggle, especially during the two trials which a Canadian Jewish organization initiated against him in 1985 and 1988.

Zündel’s first trial lasted seven weeks and ended with his being sentenced to 15 months in prison for “publication of false news.” The verdict was thrown out on appeal because of serious errors made by District Court Judge Hugh Locke.

The second trial lasted four months. This time Ernst Zündel was sentenced to nine months in prison by District Court Judge Ron Thomas. This second verdict, too, may eventually be successfully appealed on the same grounds.

In 1988, Ernst Zündel asked Fred Leuchter to visit Poland to examine “the alleged execution gas chambers” in the three concentration camps at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. The conclusion of the first Leuchter Report was quite clear: no such gas chambers ever existed in those three places

In 1989, he asked Leuchter to visit West Germany and Austria to examine “the alleged execution gas chambers” at Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim Castle. The conclusion of the second report, as you will read below, is just as clear: no such gas chambers ever existed in those three places.

People have called Revisionism “the great intellectual adventure of the late twentieth century.” That adventure really began shortly after the Second World War with the publication of the works of Maurice Bardèche and Paul Rassinier. It continued in 1976 with a masterful work *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, by Dr. Arthur Butz of the United States, and in 1979 with the publication in Germany of Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich’s book, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, and the creation of the Institute for Historical Review in Los Angeles.

During the 1980's, thanks in particular to the activities of Ernst Zündel, Revisionism worldwide has developed to such an extent that future historians will probably speak of Revisionism before and after Zündel. In a way, these politically motivated trials — which are a disgrace to Canada — will change everything. Zündel promised in 1985 that his trial, even if he were to lose, would put the Nuremberg Trial on trial, and that the slanderers of Germany would meet their “Stalin-grad” there. He was right.

Before Ernst Zündel

Before Ernst Zündel, Germany’s accusers never gave a thought to proving the existence of the “gas chambers.” They treated their existence as “proven.”

According to Exterminationist Serge Klarsfeld:

It is clear that during the years after 1945 the technical aspects of the gas chambers were a subject that was neglected since no one imagined that someday we would have to prove their existence. (*Le Monde Juif*, January- March, 1987, p. 1)

At the Nuremberg trials, the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem, and the Frankfurt trial as well as at many other famous trials, including the Klaus Barbie trial in 1987, there was no attempt to prove this horrible accusation, which has so long weighed on the vanquished German nation. These judicial travesties were similar to the witchcraft trials, in which the accused and their defense lawyers did not question the existence of the Devil and his supernatural doings. In these modern witchcraft trials, it has been taboo to question the existence of “the gas chambers” and their supernatural accomplishments, which defy all laws of physics and chemistry.

Even Klaus Barbie’s French defense attorney, Jacques Vergés, in spite of his courage, refrained from asking for even the slightest proof of the existence of the “gas chambers” to which Klaus Barbie allegedly sent the Jewish children from their refuge in the town of Izieu, near Lyons.

In all these trials of so-called “war crimes” or “crimes against humanity,” the supposedly civilized nations have ignored the elementary rules of criminal law for nearly a half century.

To understand what I mean, let us take, for example, a crime committed in France. Let’s suppose that in this case there is a weapon, a body, and a killer (or presumed killer). Normally the French court would demand four routine reports:

1. A report of on-site forensic examination of the body and any suspect item;
2. A technical study of the weapon used to commit the crime;
3. An autopsy report on the victim, showing how and by what means if death occurred;
4. A report on the reenactment or simulation of the crime, in the presence of the accused, at the scene of the crime.

Even if the defendant has confessed, the judges never decide that further investigations need not be carried out; a confession, to have much judicial value, must be *verified* and *confirmed*.

In nearly half a century, however, no one has ever met these elementary standards, in a case which involves not just an ordinary crime perpetrated by a single person with an ordinary weapon (whether blade or bullet), but a supposedly unprecedented crime committed against millions of people with an extraordinary weapon that no judge had ever seen before: a “super gas chamber” for thousands of victims, a virtual mass-production chemical slaughterhouse!

The first trials of Germans accused of having used “gas chambers” or “gas vans” to kill people began in 1943 in the Soviet Union (trials of Kharkov and Krasnodar). They continue to this day, especially in Israel with the Demjanjuk trial. Today, after 47 years of such trials we still do not have:

1. A single on-site forensic examination of “gassed” bodies or “gas chambers” or “gas vans”;
2. A single expert report concluding that a given room or a given van was used for homicidal gassing;
3. A single autopsy report concluding that the victim had been killed by any type of poison gas;
4. A single report on the re-enactment or simulation of a gassing operation, using the thousands of victims claimed and the steps taken, and taking into account the dangerous chemicals involved.

In the course of the trial concerning the Struthof-Natzweiler camp, in Alsace, an expert study was in fact made of the “gas chamber” and of the “gassed” bodies (kept at the civilian hospital in Strasbourg), but in each case, Professor René Fabre, a toxicologist, found no traces of gas. As regards Dachau, there was in fact a kind of expert report carried out by Captain Fribourg, of the French army, but although the report concluded that it would be necessary to examine the room provisionally called the “gas chamber,” no such examination was carried out.

During his preliminary investigation in the trial of Rudolf Höss and other Auschwitz officials, examining magistrate Jan Sehn ordered the Institute for Forensic Examination, Copernic Street, Krakow, to test six zinc closures allegedly obtained from ventilation openings said to have been part of the “gas chamber” of Krematorium II in Birkenau, and also 25.5 Kilos of hair with metallic items in them. Traces of hydrocyanic acid and its compounds were found (expert reports by Dr. Jan Z. Robel, dated December 15, 1945).

There is nothing out of the ordinary in this. The Germans made frequent use of hydrocyanic acid, in the form of Zyklon B for the disinfection of premises, clothing, and personal effects. In Poland, as well as throughout wartime Europe, hair was collected, even in commercial barber shops, for use in clothing (after it was disinfected). What is paradoxical is that, despite having a forensic institute at its disposal, it appears that the Polish justice system never undertook basic, thorough research into the rooms alleged to be “execution gas chambers.” (See R. Faurisson, “Response to a Paper Historian,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1986, p. 37)

On-site visits by the courts took place during certain trials, notably the Frankfurt trial (1963-65). The scandal is that parts of the Auschwitz camp were viewed by the visiting official party, but not the supposed “gas chambers,” in spite of the fact that they were there, either in their original condition (as claimed to this day by Polish Communist officials and publications) or in ruins from which much could be determined (see Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, *The Auschwitz Myth*, Institute for Historical Review, 1986).

A reenactment, which is by definition a simulation, would have been easy to carry out at Birkenau. It would have immediately shown the foolishness of the gassing accusations. Filmmakers sometimes shoot Hollywood-style “docudramas” at Birkenau, claiming to re-create the arrival of the Jewish convoys on the ramp at Birkenau, near the two crematory buildings that were each supposed to contain (1) a changing room where the victims would take off their clothes; (2) a homicidal gas chamber; (3) a room containing five crematory ovens with three retorts each. We are told that each group of victims numbered some 2,000 people and there were several such groups burned each day in each crematory. We can see from the size of the buildings and the ar-

ramangement of the surrounding areas that any re-enactment would immediately result in fantastic bottlenecks. The overcrowding at the crematories would be spectacular. Decomposing, rotting bodies would pile up all over the areas. Assuming that it took one and a half hours (the average funeral industry time) to incinerate one body, it follows that after one and a half hours had passed we would find ourselves with the original 2,000 bodies minus the 15 that had been burned, still leaving 1,985 bodies with no place for storage before burning! The “machinery of death” would break down with the first gassing. It would take eight days and eight nights to incinerate 2,000 bodies, assuming continuous operation of the crematoriums. According to cremation experts and crematory operating manuals, however, no crematory can operate continuously, day and night.

Let’s talk about the witnesses who testified at these trials. In all of them, persons have come forward to offer themselves as living witnesses to the “Holocaust” and to the “gas chambers.” How did they, according to their own stories, escape the gas chambers? The answer was very simple: every one of them had benefited from a miracle. As each survivor passed through one so-called “death camp” after another, he considered his life a sum of miracles. The members of the “Sonderkommandos” broke all records. According to their stories, the Germans usually gassed the personnel of these units every three months, which means that two years spent at Auschwitz and Birkenau would mean a total of seven or eight consecutive miracles for those champions at surviving. Only rarely have the lawyers or judges at such trials dared to betray their surprise at so many miracles.

The Olympic champion of gas chamber survivors, Filip Müller, the immortal author of *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*, had some problems with this question at the Frankfurt trial, but he found the perfect answer: he disdainfully explained that the story about the regular liquidation of the “Sonderkommando” was merely a legend. The extent to which the general public, historians, and judges let themselves be bamboozled by these supposed witnesses to the “Holocaust” is disturbing.

Simone Veil, former French Minister and head of the European Parliament, often offers herself as a living witness to, and as living proof of, the extermination of the Jews at Auschwitz. If she is living proof of anything, it is that the Germans did not exterminate the Jews at Auschwitz. Simone Veil, her mother and one of her sisters were always together: at Drancy (a French transit camp), at Auschwitz, at Bobrek (a sub-camp of Auschwitz), and at Bergen-Belsen. In the last camp they contracted typhus, usually considered a deadly disease at that time. Veil’s mother died there. Like her two daughters, she too had survived Auschwitz. Another daughter survived Ravensbruck.

Personally, I do not consider anyone a “eyewitness” unless he or she successfully passes the test of being cross-examined about *the physical aspects of the facts which he or she reports*.

Please read what I say here carefully: in no trial has a supposed witness to the “gassings” been cross-examined about the physical aspects of the gassing he said he had seen or participated in. Even in the trial of Tesch and Weinbacher, sentenced to death and executed for having made or sold Zyklon B, prosecution witness Charles Sigismund Bendel on whose testimony the two were largely condemned, did not undergo such a cross-examination (see William Lindsey, “Zyklon B. Auschwitz and the Trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1983, pp. 10-23). As a matter of principle and as a defense tactic, lawyers for the accused have avoided the taboo of the “gas chambers” by limiting themselves to saying that, while gas chambers existed, their clients did not gas anyone.

After Ernst Zündel

With the arrival of Ernst Zündel the veil of trickery was torn asunder. Zündel had the daring not to let himself be intimidated. He showed that indeed, the emperor had no clothes. He confounded the rascals with his direct, no-nonsense approach. Consequently, the prosecution's experts and witnesses suffered a severe defeat at his trial. And Ernst Zündel, moving to the counter-offensive, taught historians and judges a superb lesson. He showed them what they ought to have done all along. They should have, in a sense, begun with the beginning, which, as we all know, is sometimes very difficult to do. Trying first and foremost to establish what had taken place physically, Ernst Zündel, at his own expense, sent a U.S. expert on execution gas chambers, along with his team, to Poland. This expert, Fred Leuchter, took samples from the ground, the walls, and the floors of the alleged gas chambers and then had them analyzed by an American laboratory.

I have described elsewhere how the experts and witnesses for the prosecution were routed during the 1985 and 1988 Toronto trials [see Robert Faurisson, "The Zündel Trials (1985 and 1988)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89, pp. 417-431]. I am not going to return to that subject. I would only like to make it clear that this is not simply my subjective judgment. The proof that I am telling the truth is that, at the 1988 trial, Exterminationism's number one expert, Raul Hilberg, the "pope" of the Holocaust Legend, refused to testify again, since he still had painful memories of his defeat in 1985 at the hands of Zündel's defense attorney, Douglas Christie. He said as much in a letter to Prosecutor John Pearson, a letter which was supposed to have remained confidential but which the defense learned of and caused to be made public. Nor did Dr. Rudolf Vrba, and other star witnesses of the 1985 trial return for the 1988 trial either. Prosecutor Pearson, asked by Judge Ron Thomas whether any "survivors" would testify, had to respond pitifully (I was present) that at this time they would not.

Out of my pity for them, I will not refer here (as I have already done in the above-mentioned article) to the statements made in 1988 by Red Cross representative Charles Biedermann, an apparently honest and intelligent man who nevertheless frequently gave evasive and misleading answers, and by Professor Christopher Browning, who gave a distressing display of what an American university professor can be like: an ignoramus of boundless naiveté, a lover of money and a man without scruples. In him, we had a university professor who accepted \$150 an hour from the Canadian taxpayer to come to Toronto to crush a man — Ernst Zündel — because of an opinion and to help throw him in prison: the crime of this man was that he had published in Canada a 14-year-old essay which had been freely distributed in Great Britain and in Browning's own country.

To me, one of the principal results of the first Leuchter Report was just that it made one simple fact strikingly clear: that no forensic expert study of the "weapon" used to carry out the "Holocaust" crime had previously been done. Since his report was made public, in April of 1988, Leuchter has not found a single person, including those who have shown their anger about his findings, who could refute his report with any other report that had previously been drawn up. As regards those who would criticise some parts of the Leuchter Report, I invite them to make their own investigation and get their own laboratory reports.

There still remains one solution outlined by Fred Leuchter himself in his paper given in Los Angeles in February 1989 during the Ninth International Conference of the Institute for Historical Review: the establishment of an international committee of experts on the problem of the gas chambers. As early as 1982, French historian Henri Amouroux, with whom I had discussed my research, confided to me that he hoped for such a solution. He told me in so many words that what he wanted was an "international" commission, "definitely not a national" commission, since the French seem incapable of any open-mindedness on the question of the gas chambers.

The Polish authorities, unless they develop a sudden appetite for glasnost, will oppose with all their strength any inquiry of that kind, just as they oppose all normal access to the archives of the State Museum of Auschwitz, especially to the death registers (*Totenbücher*), left behind by the Germans, which would give us an idea of the real number of those who died at Auschwitz and the cause of their deaths. In 1987, Tadeusz Iwaszko, the director of the Archives in the Auschwitz Museum, told French journalist Michel Folco (in the presence of pharmacist Jean-Claude Pres-sac, one of Serge Klarsfeld's friends) that, "If we were to carry out excavations that did not uncover any proof of the existence of the gas chambers, the Jews would accuse us other Poles of having suppressed the evidence." [Note: *On August 8, 1989, Ernst Zündel wrote to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, informing him that he had received confirmation of the capture of the Auschwitz death registers by the Soviet Union from the cross-examination of Red Cross delegate Charles Biedermann. He requested access to the registers and suggested that it would be a gesture of good will if the registers were released. In what was perhaps a happy coincidence, the Soviet Union released the register one and a half months later.*]

The Second Leuchter Report

It is likely that the first Leuchter Report will for a long time remain the last word about the gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. As a pioneering effort, it has opened a particularly fertile field of research for others to follow and expand upon.

The second Leuchter Report, 1989, is also a pioneering work, this time on the question of the alleged gas chambers at Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim.

I did not accompany Leuchter and his team to Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek, but I had thought since 1977 that the American gas chambers which use cyanide gas had to be studied to know the absurdity of the alleged German gas chambers which allegedly used Zyklon B, an insecticide whose base is hydrocyanic acid. I hoped, without really believing it, that some day an expert on the American gas chambers would visit Auschwitz and carry out the kind of physical and chemical study that ought to have been carried out by any honest judicial or historical inquiry.

In 1979, at the time of the first international conference of the Institute for Historical Review, I myself mentioned that idea to several people, especially to Ernst Zündel. In the years that followed, I abandoned all hope. I must say that even among some Revisionists I did not find very much interest in my idea. Perhaps it appeared too bold or too unrealistic. But Ernst Zündel abandoned neither the idea, nor the hope of succeeding. In the preface to the first Leuchter Report, I told how, thanks to Ernst Zündel and to Canadian attorney Barbara Kulaszka, I was able to meet Fred Leuchter in Boston, and how the expedition to Poland was organized.

For the expedition into West Germany and Austria, I was part of the Leuchter team. In the report that you are about to read, Fred Leuchter gives us all the important information about the members of that team and about the nature and result of his mission.

1. Dachau

From 1945 to 1960, Allied propaganda and the Allied courts told us that homicidal gas chambers had been used at Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim. Apparently, there was no lack of evidence, of witnesses and of confessions to that fact.

They especially emphasized the Dachau “gas chamber” and its victims.. American propaganda was so fulminant that, if there is any country in the world today where the “gassings” at Dachau are considered to be as well proven as the existence of the pyramids in Egypt, it is the U.S.A.

One of the decisive days at the Nuremberg show trial was that on which the prosecution exhibited a film about the German concentration camps. The ultimate horror came with a view of the “gas chamber” at Dachau. The narrator explained the functioning of the machinery which supposedly gassed “probably a hundred men at one time.” We cannot overemphasize how much that film on “Nazi Concentration Camps” — 6,000 feet selected from the 80,000 feet that had been shot — captured and influenced the popular imagination, including most of the German defendants.

It is likely that the two events which helped most to stir up public opinion against the vanquished Germans were, first, the showing of that film, and second, the sort of public confession of Rudolf Höss, “the Commandant of Auschwitz” made before the tribunal. Today we know that his confession was “dictated.” The substance of it flowed from the sick imagination of a British Jew who was one of the men who tortured Höss after his capture (see R. Faurisson, “How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter, 1986-1987, p. 389-403).

But the story of the Dachau “gassings” was also made up out of thin air. We had to wait until 1960 for the liars to admit it.

On August 19, 1960, in *Die Zeit*, the notorious Martin Broszat admitted that there had never been any homicidal gassings at Dachau. Two years earlier this same historian, to his everlasting shame, had published the “confession” of Rudolf Höss, supposedly written in prison after Höss was turned over to the Polish Communists by the British. In so doing, he had presented it as genuine and trustworthy, yet these “confessions” were essentially the same confessions obtained by the British, and were nothing more than a re-organized and expanded version of the British inventions, with a bit of a Polish flavor added! (In 1972, Martin Broszat became the director of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich.)

Today, every visitor to the “gas chamber” at Dachau can read on a mobile panel the following statement in five languages:

“GAS CHAMBER — disguised as a 'shower room' — never used as a gas chamber.”

Since the panel is mobile, the film makers who sensationalize evil, as well as other professional liars, can roll it out of view and film or photograph the room from all angles while persisting in saying that it was a gas chamber that was actually used to gas prisoners.

I am amazed at the cynicism of the officials of the Dachau Museum and the naiveté of the museum’s visitors. The words on the panel are not based on reality. In 1980, in my *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire* (1980, pp. 197-222), I think I illustrated this point. I recounted how I completely embarrassed Barbara Distel, the director of the Museum, and the late Dr. Guerisse, then president of the International Dachau Committee, headquartered in Brussels, by asking them why they called this room a “gas chamber.” When people asked these two how it came to pass that the Germans did not find the time to finish this little “gas chamber” that they began in 1942, they said that the prisoners employed to construct it either sabotaged it or refused to work on it.

But how could the prisoners, unable to have seen something that had never existed anywhere in the world (a gas chamber for 100 people at a time), know from the outset of their work that once the work was completed, they would have constructed a homicidal gas chamber? Do we have here yet another miracle, one of divination and mental telepathy? Did successive prisoner work details pass on the word about this for three years? Would the Germans have given the prisoners an ultra-secret mission, to construct a lethal gas chamber for Dachau inmates, without being concerned about their carrying it out?

Furthermore, how did Barbara Distel and Dr. Guerisse know that the room was an uncompleted gas chamber? Can they explain — to us what needs to be added to the “uncompleted” little gas chamber in order to complete it? Where did they get their technical information? Do they have building plans for “gas chambers” in their archives? Have they already seen some “completed” gas chambers? Where and when?

At the time of our visit to Dachau on April 9, 1989, Fred Leuchter, Mark Weber and I were videotaped by cameraman Eugen Ernst, first in the “gas chamber,” and then, after leaving it on a sort of parade ground outside. It was on this parade ground that we decided to record our comments about the visit. The tourists who had just visited the room saw us and some stopped and listened. Fred Leuchter was able to make his report in peace, except for one not too serious incident provoked by one tourist who aggressively asked me if we doubted the reality of the “gas chamber.”

When it was time for historian Mark Weber and myself to comment on camera about our visit and observations, the tourists began to gather. Some of them betrayed a little nervousness. We could have interrupted our report and continued it somewhere else in the camp, but I decided to remain where we were and try to exploit the situation. After all, we had there in front of us the best possible audience: all of them had just “seen a gas chamber” and they later would probably tell their friends: “No one can deny the existence of the gas chambers; I saw one myself at Dachau.” I therefore engaged in an improvised debate with the visitors. I made it a point to say that they had not visited a gas chamber at all but merely a room to which Mrs. Distel, director of the Museum, had given that designation. In so doing, she had made a serious allegation for which she offered no proof (the few photos and documents hung in a room next to the alleged gas chamber proved nothing at all). But who dared to ask her for any proofs? Apparently no one. I warned the tourists not to be tempted to go and tell their family circle that they had seen a gas chamber at Dachau. In reality, they had seen nothing of the kind. In the midst of my presentation I let them know that, as far as we Revisionists are concerned, there had been no homicidal gas chambers anywhere, including Auschwitz, nor had there been any German policy to exterminate the Jews.

The whole thing began to look like a sort of 1960's-style “happening.” Some visitors reacted angrily, others agreed with us. All of them appeared either indignant or interested. One young German thought that I deserved to be thrown into prison for such statements. The most hostile ones resorted to the usual evasion: “Gas chambers or not, it doesn’t make any difference.” This is an argument which I, as a Frenchman, particularly enjoyed, since in France Jean-Marie Le Pen had been severely condemned by the courts, in response to complaints by Jewish groups, for having said exactly the same thing.

The magical “gas chamber” is the central pillar of the new Holocaust religion. It is not the Revisionists, but rather the adherents of the new religion who make such a fuss about the “gas chambers.” Consequently, we must ask them for some explanation of their attachment to these myths. Of course, they must cling to the gas chamber, for without a specific and systematic means of de-

struction, it becomes impossible to prove the existence of a specific and systematic programme for the destruction of the Jews. Without the “gas chamber,” there is no “genocide.”

Camera man Eugen Ernst was able to tape a good part of this “happening,” which allowed me to give my first public presentation in Germany about the taboo of the “gas chambers” and the “genocide” claim, right across from the fake gas chamber of Dachau, one of the most important shrines of the Holocaust cult.

2. Mauthausen

The minuscule gas chamber at Mauthausen has never been defended by very many of the Holocaust faithful. It is indefensible. In nearly a half century, only two people have really tried to make us believe in it: Hans Marsalek of Austria and Pierre-Serge Choumoff of France. In their various publications they wisely refrain from showing a real photo of the interior of the room. The reason is simple: the room looks like nothing more than a simple shower room and one can see nothing that would lead one to think that it was a homicidal gas chamber with all the equipment which in such a case would have been indispensable. Marsalek and Choumoff usually don't show any photo; very rarely they will show an exterior photo of one of its two doors (two doors to a gas chamber, a fact that would definitely double the problems of keeping the chamber airtight); or, sometimes, they allow the reader to vaguely see a small part of the interior.

At the time of my first visit to Mauthausen in 1978, I asked two officials of the museum, particularly the director, a former Spanish inmate, why amongst all the postcards of the camp that were on sale to tourists there was not a single one showing the so-called gas chamber. The answer was: “That would be too cruel.” That is a rather surprising answer when you remember that all the concentration camp museums, including the one at Mauthausen, are reminiscent of the “chambers of horrors” that can be seen at country fairs and exhibitions, and when you realize that a sort of “sex-shop anti-Nazism” is one of the most flourishing commodities in “Shoah Business.”

During that same visit, I also wanted to know why they did not display, either in the “gas chamber” itself or in the museum, any document or any expert report proving that what looked like a shower room was in fact a homicidal gas chamber. The camp's director dared to reply that the text of such an expert report was in fact on display in the “gas chamber” itself. That was not true. Forced to acknowledge that, he then told me about an expert report that could be found in Linz, but he gave no further details about it. It is clear that, if there were any such expert report, it would be reprinted in all the works devoted to Mauthausen and that it would be mentioned in all the “Holocaust” bibliographies.

During our inspection of Mauthausen on April 10, 1989, an incident took place involving the camp authorities.. We visited the place at an early hour in the morning to allow Fred Leuchter to take his samples without too much risk. No sooner had he finished his task (which caused a great deal of noise) than some groups of visitors began to go through the “gas chamber.” They were mostly children from schools which indoctrinate them systematically to feel shame and hatred for what previous generations of Germans and Austrians supposedly did during the war (Austria is the chosen home of the malevolent Simon Wiesenthal). The guides, either museum officials or teachers, talked at length about the “gas chamber” and how it worked, giving the usual, typical explanations found in popular “Holocaust literature,” that contradicted each other on many points.

Without any previous agreement between both of us, Mark Weber and I, under the watchful eye of Eugen Ernst's rolling camera, began to ask questions of the museum tour guide, who seemed

to be the highest ranking on the scene. After being at first very sure of himself,- the poor man, bombarded with questions, finally had to admit that no one knew very much about how that “gas chamber” had worked. It appeared that over the years the story had taken extremely varied forms. They had given visitors three successive contradictory versions of the gassing procedure:

Version No. 1 -

The gas came from the ceiling through shower heads (still in existence): that version, the official told us, was abandoned when people noticed that, considering the low ceiling, the victims could have simply put their hands over the shower heads to block them up and prevent the spread of the gas;

Version No. 2 -

The gas came in from the ceiling and was vented at the time of the airing-out process through a sort of chimney opening, still in existence, located on the west side: the official was not able to tell us why that version of the story also had to be abandoned;

Version No. 3 -

The gas came through a thin, perforated pipe located on the east wall, about 80 centimeters above the ground. That is, it came from the part of the room diametrically opposite to where it had been in Version No. 2. There is no longer any trace of that pipe, or even of the opening through which it supposedly came from the adjacent room, where the gas was generated. The adjacent room is completely empty and contains nothing that gives any hint of what it had been used for.

All of that was already troubling, but perhaps the most troubling thing was that the whole explanation given on a metal plaque inside the gas chamber was that of Version No. 2. I mentioned that to the official, who explained that the text of the plaque was a mistake and that the procedure described there was no longer the right one.

I observed that Version No. 3, the one currently considered to be authentic, had the problem of being, physically, extremely unlikely. Since it was located 80 centimeters above the ground, the perforated pipe, even if it had been partially embedded in the wall to resist the pressure of the bodies inside, would have been blocked up by the bodies of the victims jammed into the gas chamber. How would the gas have spread itself normally in the “gas chamber” so as to kill all the victims throughout the room’s entirety? The official finally said that he was not a scientist and that his explanation was that given in the book written by ... Hans Marsalek.

A few minutes after the museum tour guide left, two police officers appeared and ordered us to stop all filming. They informed us that we could photograph all of Mauthausen except ... the “gas chamber” and the crematory oven! However, there was no announcement advising tourists of that. In any event, thousands of visitors have photographed the two places without any warnings from the camp authorities.

At Mauthausen, I had the feeling that the camp authorities lived in something of a siege mentality. They appeared to be haunted by the progress of Revisionism in Austria and by the Revisionist work of people like Emil Lachout, Gerd Honsik and Walter Ochensberger. (In passing, I would like to pay homage to the memory of another Austrian, Franz Scheidl. In the 1960's, at his own expense, he published a whole series of studies bearing the general title *Geschichte der*

Verfemung Deutschlands [History of the Defaming of Germany]. It has remained largely unknown, even to many Revisionists).

3. Hartheim Castle

Hartheim Castle can be seen from a great distance, sitting as it does in the middle of a plain. For an area that allegedly served as a place to carry out the most secret of crimes, it is quite impossible to hide. The castle was, before and after the war, a sort of asylum. It still is today. Hartheim Castle contains a small, inoffensive-looking room that makes one wonder why the practitioners of the Big Lie decide to call it a homicidal “gas chamber.” It is one of the most insulting and most baffling inventions of the Holocaust religion. Today I can see only one use for it: to those who mock the religious superstitions of the past as if our era were more enlightened and more intelligent than in past centuries, I would gladly say:

Go visit the “gas chamber” at Hartheim Castle and then come tell me whether you feel humiliated to be treated like imbeciles by people who dare to say that it was once a gas chamber.

I do not know of any publication that reproduces a photo of this minuscule “gas chamber.” It was identified as such by Hans Marsalek, in the English version of the confession that he supposedly took from Franz Ziereis, Commandant at Mauthausen, regarding the:

... large gassing establishment where, in Ziereis' estimate, between 1 and 1.5 million people were killed (!).

The Revisionist Intifada

The current disarray of the defenders of the “Holocaust” has its curious effects. Up to the end of the 1970's, they believed that in Auschwitz, Birkenau and other camps located in Poland they had “solid proof” of the existence of the “gas chambers” and therefore of the “genocide” of the Jews. Up until that time they went so far as to say that there were some exaggerations and that the camps located outside present-day Poland probably or certainly did not have any gas chambers. Beginning with the start of the 1980's, under the pressure of Revisionist writings, the “gas chambers” in Poland and in particular those at Auschwitz and Birkenau seemed more and more doubtful. This then produced a reaction motivated by fear. In a movement comparable to that of religious or political fundamentalism, the Exterminationists called for a return to the original faith and doctrine. They “re-established” the gas chambers that had been abandoned. They set out to reaffirm that there had indeed been “gas chambers” at Mauthausen, Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, Neuengamme, Struthof-Natzweiler, and perhaps even at Dachau. I refer here to the book by Adalbert Rückerl, Hermann Langbein, Eugen Kogon and 21 other writers: *NS-Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (Fischer Verlag, 1983).

As regards Mauthausen, some people, including Claude Lanzmann and Yehuda Bauer, went so far as to retract the story. In 1982, Bauer clearly wrote that “no gassings took place at Mauthausen.” Lanzmann was just as clear. In 1986, during a bitter debate about the Roques affair on Europe 1 (a French radio network), he corrected cabinet member Michel Noir, who had mentioned the Mauthausen “gas chamber.” Lanzmann firmly contradicted the Minister on this score: never had there been a gas chamber in that camp. But all of that did not prevent our two fellows from stating later on that there had indeed been a “gas chamber” at Mauthausen! (For Bauer's retraction, see pages 33-34 of the absurd book published in Vienna in 1989, by the Dokumentations-Archiv des österreichischen Widerstandes under the title *Das Lachout-"Dokument," Anatomie einer Fälschung*. As regards Lanzmann's retraction, read his letter published in *Le*

Monde Juif, July-September 1986, p. 97). All those retractions, sudden changes of direction and constantly shifting explanations add up to one further proof that the “gas chamber” and the “genocide” are nothing more than a myth. A myth constantly mutates under the influence of the dominant opinions and the necessities of the moment.

The Exterminationists of today have only two refuges left them, two points where they hope to be able to anchor their faith: the “gas van” and “Treblinka.”

As regards the first point, I can tell them that the Frenchman Pierre Marais will soon publish a book entitled *Le problème des camions à gaz* (The Problem of the Gas Vans). On the second point, I can tell them that they are going to lose “Treblinka” as they have already lost “Auschwitz.”

The promoters of the Holocaust, for the foreseeable future, will keep their money, their power, their capacity to produce films, to stage ceremonies, to build museums, but those films and ceremonies and museums will be more and more devoid of meaning. They will be able still to find more and more ways of repressing the Revisionists through physical attacks, press campaigns, the passing of special laws and even murder. Fifty years after the war they will continue to prosecute all those they call “war criminals” in show trials. The Revisionists will reply to them with historical and forensic studies, scholarly and technical books. Those books and those studies will be our stones, in this our intellectual Intifada.

The Jews will have a choice: they can either follow the example of the rare few among them who have been courageous and honorable enough to denounce the Big Lie, or they can support the melodramatic activities of people like Elie Wiesel and Samuel Pisar and the shameful witch hunts carried out by people like Simon Wiesenthal, Serge and Beate Klarsfeld and the O.S.I. in the United States.

David Irving, who rallied to the support of the Revisionist position in 1988, recently said:

The Jewish community have to examine their consciences. They have been propagating something that isn't true.” (*The Jewish Chronicle*, London, 23 June 1989).

I couldn't have said it better.

- Dr. Robert Faurisson
July, 1990

INTRODUCTION

In March of this year (1989), I was asked by Mr. Ernst Zündel of Toronto, Canada, to investigate three (3) alleged execution gas chambers and crematoria in Germany and Austria. These locations, allegedly operated by the Germans in World War II, were Dachau, in Germany, and Mauthausen and Hartheim Castle, both near Linz, Austria.

The findings of these investigations and forensic analyses at Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim were to result in an engineering report and forensic study on the efficacy of these aforementioned facilities to function as execution gas chambers. Although these facilities seem now accepted by many established historians to have never functioned as execution gas chambers, Mr. Zündel wanted to dispel any future doubts and scientifically prove beyond any question whether these facilities were or were not used, and if they could ever have been utilized, as gas execution facilities. Resultant to Mr. Zündel's direction, I undertook this scientific investigation and evaluation.

On Sunday, April 9th of this year, I arrived at Dachau with the following team: Carolyn Leuchter as secretary/technician; Dr. Robert Faurisson, advisor and consultant; Mark Weber, historian and author of contemporary European history; Tjudas Rudolf, interpreter; Steven Devine, technician; Eugen Ernst, cinematographer, and Kenneth Ernst, assistant cinematographer. The following day, Monday, April 10th, we inspected Mauthausen and Hartheim Castle, near Linz, Austria. This report and my findings are resultant to these investigations conducted at Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim.

Purpose

The purpose of this report, and the investigations antecedent to it, is to determine whether the alleged gas chambers at three (3) specific locations, one (1) in Germany and two (2) in Austria, specifically, Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim Castle, respectively, could have operated in any manner resulting in single or multiple gas executions. Although cognizant of the fact that many established historians presently seem to concur that none of these installations ever functioned as a gas execution facility, the author is also aware that immediately after American capture of these locations during World War II a mass gas execution function was ascribed to these facilities, an assertion which was widely published in the international mass media at the time. It is to eliminate any further doubt or question that this investigation was undertaken and this report written.

The purpose includes the investigation and on-site inspection of physical facilities, design of these facilities and a description of the alleged gassing procedures utilized at the alleged executions. The purpose also includes estimates of the maximum number of inclusions (persons) who could possibly have fit into these alleged gas chambers and estimated venting times. This purpose does not include a determination of any numbers of persons who died or were killed by means other than gassing, or as to whether an actual "Holocaust" occurred. It, further, is not the intent of this author to redefine "Holocaust" in historical terms, but simply to supply scientific evidence and information obtained at the actual sites and to render an opinion based on all available scientific, engineering and quantitative data as to the purpose and usages of the alleged execution gas chambers and crematory facilities at the investigated locations.

Background

The principal investigator and author of this report is an engineer and a specialist on design and fabrication of execution hardware and specifically has worked on and designed hardware in the United States used in the execution of condemned persons and by means of hydrogen cyanide gas ("Zyklon B" gas).

The investigator has inspected the alleged execution gas chambers in Poland and is the author of the report on these facilities: *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland* (1988), Samisdat Publishers Ltd. The author has been recognized by a Canadian court as an expert on gas chamber technology, and has testified as to the non-existence of execution gas chamber facilities at these sites.

The investigator has inspected the facilities at Dachau, in Germany, and Mauthausen and Hartheim Castle, in Austria, made measurements and taken forensic samples. Further, he purchased official printed brochures published and offered publicly for sale at the three (3) museum sites and reviewed this literature. He also reviewed the procedural literature on delousing with hydrogen cyanide ("Zyklon B") gas.

Scope

The scope of this report includes a physical inspection and quantitative data obtained at Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim, literature obtained at the three (3) museum sites, and a consideration of forensic samples taken at Mauthausen. For reasons explained below, no samples were removed from Dachau or Hartheim. Further, data on the design of U.S. gas chambers and the operational protocol utilized in gas executions in the United States coming from the investigator's own personal knowledge and experience in the field, as well as knowledge gained in the investigation of the alleged Polish gas chambers, were utilized in the production of this report. Additionally, operational procedure and equipment utilized at delousing facilities were considered. Utilizing all of the above data, the investigator has limited the focus of this study to a determination of the capability of the alleged gas chambers in question at Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim Castle to accomplish the mass murder (extermination) of human beings by the use of "Zyklon B" (hydrogen cyanide) gas.

Synopsis and Findings

After a study of available literature, examination and evaluation of the existing facilities at Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim Castle, with expert knowledge of the essential design criteria for gas chamber operation and the expert knowledge gained in the production of the previous study on the alleged gas chambers in Poland, the author finds no evidence that any of these installations, i.e., Dachau, Mauthausen or Hartheim Castle, frequently alleged to have been gas execution facilities, was ever utilized as such, and further finds, that because of the design and fabrication of these installations, they could not ever have been utilized as execution gas chambers.

Methodology

The procedures involved in the study and forensic analysis which resulted in this report were as follows:

1. A general background study of available material.
2. An on-site inspection and forensic examination of the facilities in question, which included the taking of physical data (measurements and construction information), and a considered removal of physical samples (tile and mortar) which were returned to the United States for chemical analysis.
3. A consideration of recorded and visual (on-site) logistic data.
4. Data acquired on the previous study of the alleged gas chambers in Auschwitz I, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland.
5. A compilation of the acquired data.
6. An analysis of the acquired information and comparison of this information with recognized and proven design, procedural and logistic information and the requirements for the design, fabrication and operation of actual gas chambers currently in use in the United States.
7. A consideration of the chemical analysis of the materials acquired on-site.
8. Conclusions based on the acquired evidence.

THE LEUCHTER REPORT

The *Leuchter Report*, which formed the basis of the author's expert testimony at the trial of Ernst Zündel, Toronto, Ontario, given on April 20, 1988, is a study of the existing alleged gassing facilities in Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland. This report contains the definitive data for

gas chamber application purposes for hydrogen cyanide, “Zyklon B.” fumigation design and procedures, execution gas chamber design and protocol, U.S. gas chambers, medical and toxic effects of hydrogen cyanide, a brief history of the alleged German gas chambers with an emphasis on design characteristics, and a consideration of crematory technology, including a discussion of maximum cremation rates. Additionally, there is a discussion of forensic considerations of cyanocompounds and crematories.

The materials contained in the above paragraphs of the *Leuchter Report* (1988) are a necessary complement to this report.

The Sites: Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim Castle

These sites are considered separately and together, in that Dachau and Mauthausen have been at times described as camps which supplied prisoners to the Hartheim Castle site where they were allegedly executed.

Dachau

The alleged execution facility at Dachau is located in a building called “Baracke X.” This installation was erected in 1942 and contained a crematory consisting of four (4) retorts. It was constructed primarily as a replacement for the older and smaller two (2) retort crematory located nearby. The facility also housed a morgue, fumigation cubicles (delousing chambers), related work areas and a room identified by a sign over the door as a “Brausebad” (shower room). It is this shower room which has been alleged to be the gas chamber and which tourists today are informed was the “gas chamber.”

The alleged gas chamber has an area of some 427 square feet and a volume of some 3,246.7 cubic feet. It originally was a shower room but appears to have been modified sometime after Dachau’s capture by the Americans. The present ceiling is some 7.6 feet in height and contains some seventeen (17) pseudo-shower heads, fabricated out of what appears to be soldered sheet zinc. Additionally, it contains some eight (8) recessed lighting fixtures which were/are not explosion proof. It also contains two (2) alleged gas inlet ports (dumps) with internal grates measuring 15.75 inches × 27.25 inches which are welded open to the outside. This alleged gas chamber also contains a ventilation port clearly added after construction. The walls are of tile and the ceiling of concrete painted white. There are two (2) 20.5 inch × 26 inch floor drains connected to the other floor drains throughout the building and the camp. It has two (2) doors with provision for gasketing, as do many European doors.

It appears from construction that the alleged gas chamber was originally a shower room, as found in all the other investigated camps. The pseudo-shower heads are fabricated from sheet metal of a cylinder and a cone with a sprinkler type head as found on a garden type watering can. The end is sealed and not threaded. They are not connected, nor are they capable of being connected to any piping system. They are designed to appear as functional shower heads when observed from below. The ceiling with the phoney shower heads seems to have been added at a time later than original construction. The ceiling is fabricated of poured concrete, cast around the pseudo shower heads. It is typical suspended-slab concrete construction. Document No. 47 of the 79th Congress, 1st Session, of the United States, includes an investigation of Dachau. In this document, the gas chamber is described as having a 10 foot ceiling containing brass fixtures for introducing gas into the chamber. The present ceiling, as noted, is only 7.6 feet high and has none of the gas inlet fixtures described in Document No. 47.

Directly over the shower room are the steam and heating pipes, which is consistent with good and standard design for supplying hot water to the shower area. These pipes cannot be seen in the shower room today. Their existence, however, can be confirmed by observing the pipes entering into the shower room area from an off-limits corridor behind the shower room and visible only from a rear window of the building. It is an inept and extremely dangerous design to put hot, high pressure steam pipes over a chamber containing potentially explosive gas. At one end of the chamber the ventilation port was clearly added. The ports allege to have been “Zyklon B” introduction ports, no different from apartment incinerator garbage chutes, were obviously added after the original tiling. Both these modifications are clearly discernable from the uneven replacement of the interior tiles and the exterior brick. At one end of the room there are two (2) recessed electrical boxes with grates, something which should not be in a room containing potentially explosive gas. There is no means for sealing the room to prevent gas leakage and there is no system for exhausting the gas after use or any suitable (40 foot minimum is standard) vent stack. The doors are not gas proof, or even water proof. They are only water resistant. There is no system for evaporating (heating) or distributing a gas into or within the chamber. The use of the improperly designed “Zyklon B” introduction port would prevent proper evaporation of the gas from the “Zyklon B” pellets because of insufficient surface area exposure. Most, if not all, of the “Zyklon B” pellets would remain in the dumping mechanism due to insufficient angular motion of the gas pellet dump.

On a sign posted within the alleged gas chamber, Dachau Museum officials state:

“GAS CHAMBER — disguised as a 'shower room'
- never used as a gas chamber.”

An examination of the alleged gas chamber clearly shows, however, that this facility was constructed as a shower room, used only for this purpose. The modifications to the room, which include the addition of the ceiling, pseudo-shower heads, air intake and gas inlet ports, were made at a time much later than the original construction of “Baracke X” and the shower room, and for reasons and by persons unknown to this author. No samples were taken at this location due to excessively heavy tourist traffic inside the alleged gas chamber.

For the record, this alleged gas chamber would have held only forty-seven (47) persons utilizing the nine (9) square foot inclusion rule as accepted by standard engineering practice for air-handling systems. Without an exhaust system or windows, it would require at least one week to vent by convection. This estimate is based on American gas chambers requiring twenty (20) minutes to vent with two complete air changes per minute, and a minimum of forty-eight (48) hours to vent a fumigated building with an abundance of windows.

An inspection of the four (4) new crematory retorts at “Baracke X” revealed that, although fired, none of these ever experienced much use, if any. These retorts were coal fired.

After an in-depth investigation of the alleged gas chamber at “Baracke X,” Dachau, this investigator, in his best engineering opinion, categorically states that this installation could not have ever been utilized as an execution gas chamber. It was in fact a shower room (Brausebad) as originally labelled by the Germans.

Mauthausen

The alleged gas chamber at Mauthausen Concentration Camp was located between the hospital, the crematory and the jail. Like Dachau, it is generally considered by some established historians

and the Revisionists to have never been utilized for executions.

The alleged gas chamber has an area of some 150 square feet and a volume of 1,164 cubic feet. It has a ceiling height of some 7.8 feet containing piping and working shower heads. It has a floor drain of some eight (8) inches by eight (8) inches and steam pipes on the north-west wall for heating. The walls are finished in ceramic tile. It has two doors and provision for gasketing, as do many European doors. It has an alleged gas vent in the ceiling of the west end of the northwest wall but the purpose of this alleged gas vent cannot be verified since the ground above has been repaved. Additionally, an adjacent room is alleged to have been a control room for inletting gas (apparently not solid “Zyklon B” but actual hydrogen cyanide gas). There is no hardware in place for this function nor is there any evidence of its removal. The museum officials are very confused and incoherent about the operating function, and offered a succession of varying explanations on how the gas was introduced into the chamber. It has been successively stated by museum officials that the gas was introduced: (1) through overhead shower heads; (2) through a shaft in a remote corner of the room; and (3) through a perforated pipe, which does not exist today. The lighting is not explosion proof but merely water resistant. There is nothing to indicate the alleged control room ever existed. The facility is entirely underground, as is the morgue, the hospital and the jail. The facility also housed the area for the condemned prisoners where they were executed by shooting.

It appears from the construction that this facility was constructed as, and further was utilized only as, a shower room. The installation has no provision to prevent gas leakage, the lighting is not explosion proof, the floor drain would allow leakage into the sewer system and there is no provision for inletting gas or for exhausting the air gas mixture after an execution. Further, there are steam heating pipes (radiator) on the *northwest* wall of the chamber, which would most likely result in an explosion if hydrogen cyanide gas were deposited in the room. Additionally, all shower heads are working and the overall design is unquestionably that of a shower room.

Forensic Considerations at Mauthausen

Four (4) forensic samples were selectively removed from the alleged gas chamber at Mauthausen and returned to the United States for chemical testing. Detailed analysis was completed on each sample for both iron and cyanide in accordance with the standard procedures utilized in the prior testing of samples from Auschwitz I and Birkenau. Resultant to this testing and comparison with known test results for insoluble iron cyanide compounds, it is demonstrated that this alleged gas chamber facility has never been exposed to repetitive concentrations of cyanide necessary for execution: referencing the delousing chamber control sample No. 32 (from Birkenau) as having 1050 mg/kg, the greatest concentration found at Mauthausen was 32 mg/kg, indicating fumigation of the building at some point in its history. This clearly indicates that this facility was not a gas chamber.

Resultant to an in-depth investigation of this installation, this investigator has determined that this facility was not capable of conducting executions by gas. In the best engineering opinion of this investigator this facility could never have supported gas executions and was never utilized as a gas execution chamber.

Adjacent to this facility is the morgue area, which contains a refrigeration unit for cooling the cadavers. This morgue also contains a dissection room and a crematory, all adjacent and connected to the hospital. The existing crematory contains a furnace with one (1) retort. In an adjacent room, there are indications of another crematory furnace of one (1) retort which has been re-

moved. This existing retort shows signs of considerable use, which is expected in a camp of this size with only two (2) retorts. Both units were coal fired.

For the record the alleged gas chamber would have held only seventeen (17) persons, utilizing the nine (9) square foot rule. Without an exhaust system, this investigator estimated that it would require at least a week to vent for the same reasons as explained for Dachau.

Hartheim Castle

This facility consists of a masonry room adjacent to a tower of a centuries old castle. This castle was donated by the monarchy to the mental health service of Austria and was also placed under the control of the German Government when it acquired control of the Austrian Government and the mental health service. The facility had been utilized as a mental hospital and under German control it continued as such. Allegedly, mass gas executions were conducted at this location on prisoners transferred from Dachau and Mauthausen for this purpose.

The alleged gas chamber was a lower level room adjacent to one of the castle towers. This room has an area of 192 square feet and a volume of 1,728 cubic feet. It has a vaulted ceiling of some 8.9 feet at the highest point. The installation had one (1) door and one (1) window, although a rectangular aperture has now been made into an adjacent room. There are no facilities to inlet "Zyklon B" or evacuate the gas after use. The room now has been completely remodeled. It has recently plastered walls and ceiling. There are three (3) new floor surfaces, one on top of the other. Even the door has been changed to a modern conventional mental institution cell door with a shuttered view port. The window is alleged to have been original, but would leak gas if used for this purpose. Neither the door nor the window has any provision for gasketing. Allegedly, all gassing apparatus was removed by January, 1945. In truth, there was no gassing equipment in that the walls are very thick, as characteristic of castle architecture and construction, and not easily cut to accommodate the installation of gas vents or gas inlet ports. It and the adjacent room contain memorial plaques to those who allegedly died in gassings here. The castle is presently used as an apartment building.

It appears by construction that this facility would not lend itself for use as a gas execution installation, the walls being too thick for the installation of gassing equipment. Certainly, because of the construction, any changes would be visible, and not easy to conceal. There is no provision for a gas stack for evacuation of the gas-air mixture and no way to install one. The window would certainly leak, allowing large volumes of deadly gas to escape. No samples were taken at this location because of the extensive remodelling to the facility which decidedly would obscure any test results.

For the record, the alleged gas chamber would have held only some 24 persons, utilizing the nine (9) square foot rule. Without an exhaust system this room would require at least one week to vent (refer to Dachau).

Resultant to an in-depth investigation of this installation, this investigator categorically states that in his best engineering opinion this facility was not ever utilized for, and could never have supported, gas executions. The actual use of this room is unknown to the investigator. Based on a comparison with its mirror image on the other side of the facility, it could have been a store room.

There are no crematoria extant at this location.

It is perplexing to note that the official museum literature states that Dachau and Mauthausen, both having facilities equal to, or better than those at Hartheim Castle, sent inmates to Hartheim for gassing. It is unclear why this should occur since Hartheim's alleged facility would have been so difficult to construct, was so small and so distant from Dachau (200km). Based on all the available evidence it becomes abundantly clear that no gassing facilities ever existed at any of these locations.

Specialized Hardware: Non-existence

In all the author's investigations in Poland, Germany and Austria, hardware or construction remarkable to gas chambers has never been found. There are no stacks of the necessary height, no ventilators, no gas generators, no intake air preheaters, no special paint or sealants on walls, floors or ceilings, no safety devices for the operators, and no coherent design consistently utilized throughout the alleged gas chambers. It is inconceivable that the Germans, having the highly developed technology utilized on the delousing chambers, would never have applied this technology to the alleged execution gas chambers.

Conclusion

After reviewing all the material and inspecting all of the sites at Dachau, Mauthausen and Hartheim Castle, this investigator has determined that there were no gas execution chambers at any of these locations. It is the best engineering opinion of this investigator that the alleged gas chambers at the above inspected sites could not have then been, or now be, utilized or seriously considered to function as execution gas chambers.

Prepared this 15th day of June, 1989, at Malden, Massachusetts.

- Fred A. Leuchter Associates, Inc.
Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.
Chief Engineer

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compiled by Robert Faurisson

(I. The First Leuchter Report — II. Dachau — III. Mauthausen — IV. Hartheim

- V. 1988: Jewish Historians Face the Problem of the Gas Chambers)

I. The First Leuchter Report

- Fred A. Leuchter, *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland*, 1988, 193 pages. This report was prepared for Ernst Zündel; it was entered as a lettered exhibit at the "false news" trial of Ernst Zündel in Toronto, Canada, in 1988; contains copies of the original Certificates of Analysis of fragments of brick and mortar samples gathered at Auschwitz and Birkenau.
- Fred A. Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report: The End of a Myth*, Foreword by Robert Faurisson, Samisdat Publishers Ltd., 1988, 132 pages, printed under license in the United States, P.O. Box 726, Decatur, Alabama 35602, U.S.A. Illustrated edition of the original report; the results of the analysis of the bricks and mortar are presented with charts in condensed format

- Fred A. Leuchter, “*Rapport technique sur les présumés chambres à gaz d'homicides d'Auschwitz, de Birkenau et de Majdanek*,” Foreword by Robert Faurisson, *Annales d'histoire révisionniste*, no. 5, Summer-Fall 1988, pp. 51-102. This article reproduces only the essential part of the report as well as one chart and eight tables.

II. Dachau

Document L-159: Document No. 47 of the 79th Congress, 1st Session, Senate: Report (15 May 1945) of the *Committee Requested by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower [...] to the Congress of the United States Relative to Atrocities and Other Conditions in Concentration Camps in Germany*, carried out by a Special Committee of Congress after visiting the Concentration Camps at Buchenwald, Nordhausen, and Dachau (Exhibit No. USA-222), IMT, [see NOTE 1] XXXVII, p. 621:

A distinguishing feature of the Dachau Camp was the gas chamber for the execution of prisoners and the somewhat elaborate facilities for execution by shooting. The gas chamber was located in the center of a large room in the crematory building. It was built of concrete. Its dimensions were about 20 by 20 feet, and the ceiling was some 10 feet in height! In two opposite walls of the chamber were airtight doors through which condemned prisoners could be taken into the chamber for the execution and removed after execution.. The supply of gas into the chamber was controlled by means of two valves on one of the outer walls, and beneath the valves was a small glass-covered peephole through which the operator could watch the victims die. The gas was let into the chamber through pipes terminating in perforated brass fixtures set into the ceiling. The chamber was of size sufficient to execute probably a hundred men at one time.

OSS Section, United States 7th Army, *Dachau Concentration Camp*, Foreword by Col. William W. Quinn, 1945, p. 33:

GAS CHAMBERS [plural]: the internees who were brought to Camp Dachau for the sole purpose of being executed were in most cases Jews and Russians. They were brought into the compound, lined up near the gas chambers, and were screened in a similar manner as internees who came to Dachau for imprisonment. Then they were marched to a room and told to undress. Everyone was given a towel and a piece of soap, as though they were about to take a shower. During this whole screening process, no hint was ever given that they were to be executed, for the routine was similar upon the arrival of all internees at the camp. Then they entered the gas chamber. Over the entrance, in large black letters, was written “Brause Bad” (showers). There were about 15 shower faucets suspended from the ceiling from which gas was then released. There was one large chamber, capacity of which was 200, and five smaller gas chambers, capacity of each being 50. It took approximately 10 minutes for the execution. From the gas chamber, the door led to the Krematory to which the bodies were removed by internees who were selected for the job. The dead bodies were then placed in 5 furnaces, two or three bodies at a time.

French Military Mission with the Sixth Army Group, Chemical Warfare, nr. 23/Z, *Chambre à gaz de Dachau, Rapports du capitaine Fribourg*, 5 and 17 May 1945, five pages, 6 plates, one photo (25 May 1945) (original language: French). Captain Fribourg, after a one-day examination of

Dachau, did not reach any definitive conclusion in his report. He felt that a second visit would be necessary to discover the system for circulation of the poison gas and the possible connections with the disinfection gas chambers located nearby. He also recommended an investigation of all the walls.

Captain P.M. Martinot, 23 May 1945. *Report on the Conditions in the Prison Camps*, dictated by Capt. P.M. Martinot on 23 May 1945, p. 226. U.S. National Archives at Suitland, Maryland, Record Group (RG) 153, 19-22 BK37, U.S. War Department, War Crimes Office, Judge Advocate General's Office (original text English):

I was told by an eye-witness of the mass extermination of Jews who were sent in a gas chamber 500 at a time and from there into the crematorium and the operation repeated until the whole convoy of several thousand people was disposed of. In the camp of Auschwitz the same thing took place but on a much larger scale with six crematories working night and day for several days. Witness: Wladislaus Malyszko.

Headquarters Third United States Army, Enemy Equipment Intelligence Service Team Number 1, Chemical Warfare Service, 22 August 1945, Report by Sgt. Joseph H. Gilbert to Major James F. Munn: Subject. Dachau Gas Chamber (3 pages; enclosures), page 3:

Based on the interviews noted above, and further, based on actual inspection of the Dachau gas chamber (it has apparently been unused), it is the opinion of the undersigned that the gas chamber was a failure for execution purposes and that no experimental work ever took place in it. In view of the fact that much reliable information has been furnished the Allies by former inmates regarding the malaria, air pressure and cold water experiments, it is reasonable to assume that if such gas experiments took place, similar information would be available.

Document PS-2430: *Nazi Concentration and Prisoner-of-War Camps: A Documentary Motion Picture*, film shown at the Nuremberg Trial, 29 November 1945, *IMT*, XXX, p. 470:

Dachau- factory of horrors. [...] Hanging in orderly rows were the clothes of prisoners who had been suffocated in the lethal gas chamber. They had been persuaded to remove their clothing under the pretext of taking a shower for which towels and soap were provided. This is the Brausebad — the showerbath. Inside the showerbath — the gas vents. On the ceiling — the dummy shower heads. In the engineers room — the intake and outlet pipes. Push buttons to control inflow and outtake of gas. A hand-valve to regulate pressure. Cyanide powder was used to generate the lethal smoke. From the gas chamber, the bodies were removed to the crematory.

Philipp Rauscher, *Never Again/Jamais Plus*, Munich, 1945 (?) (original languages: English and French); contains a plan of the crematory area; p. 24:

The gas chamber was built for mass executions. There they used the asphyxiating gas Zyklon B.

Document NO3859/64 and 3884/89 (original language: German): 28 pages of documents and plans (1942) for "Baracke X" (Staatsarchiv Nurnberg). None of those documents leads one to believe there was a gas chamber there.

Document PS-3249 (original language: German): testimony under oath of the Czech prisoner, Dr. Franz Blaha, MD, 9 January 1946, *IMT*, XXXII, p. 62, also quoted in *IMT*, V, p. 173:

Many executions by gas or shooting or injections took place right in the camp. The gas chamber was completed in 1944, and I was called by Dr. Rascher to examine the first victims. Of the eight or nine persons in the chamber there were three still alive, and the remainder appeared to be dead. Their eyes were red, and their faces were swollen. Many prisoners were later killed in this way. Afterwards they were removed to the crematorium where I had to examine their teeth for gold.

Two days later, on 11 January 1946, Dr. Blaha testified at the Nuremberg Tribunal. The American Executive Trial Counsel, Thomas J. Dodd, read his testimony. Neither the prosecution nor the defense asked the witness for clarifications on the subject of the gas chamber. Very likely the Presiding Judge of the Tribunal the British Lord Justice Lawrence would not have allowed any such request for clarification, since, implicitly, “judicial notice” had been taken of the existence of the gas chambers as is indicated by the official reports of the various Allied commissions of inquiry on “war crimes” (Article 21 of the *IMT* Charter) and since questions thought to be too indiscreet were not really allowed. For example, when Dr. Blaha was asked a difficult question by Dr. Alfred Thomas, Alfred Resoenberg’s defense lawyer, Lord Justice Lawrence interrupted him to say: “[...] this is intended to be an expeditious trial [...]” (*IMT*, V, p. 194). Article 19 of the *IMT* Charter said: “The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence. It shall adopt and apply to the greatest possible extent expeditious and non-technical procedure, and shall admit any evidence which it deems to have probative value.”

On 26 July 1946, Sir Hartley Shawcross, the British Chief Prosecutor at the Nuremberg Tribunal, mentioned “the gas chambers and the crematories” not only at Auschwitz and Treblinka but also at **Dachau**, Buchenwald, Mauthausen, Majdanek, and Oranienburg (*IMT*, XIX, p. 434). Shawcross is still alive in 1990, living in London and serving in the British House of Lords.

Lieutenant Hugh C. Daly, *42nd “Rainbow” Infantry Division/A Combat History of World War II*, Army and Navy Publishing Company, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1946:

Prisoners (were) herded into the gas chambers to die [...]. Thousands of men, women and children died this way in Dachau [...]; the business of murder by gas continued (p.99).

On page 105, a photo caption says:

Killed by gas, these bodies are piled in a “storage room” awaiting cremation, but furnaces were shut down for lack of coal.

M.G. Morelli (Dominican priest), *Terre de détresse*, Bloud and Gay Publishers, 1947, p. 15 (original language: French):

I look fearfully at that sinister porthole through which the Nazi executioners could peacefully watch the miserable people suffer after they were gassed.

On page 73:

From time to time, they would pick out, from that crowd of unfortunates (in the sick block), the elements of a convoy which were sent to some gas chamber.

Msgr. Gabriel Piguet (Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand), *Prison et déportation*, Spes Publishing House, p. 77 (original language: French):

I made a short stay in Block Z8, occupied by 800 Polish priests [...]. Several of the old priests, judged to be useless, were sent to the gas chamber.

“The Müller Document.” 1 October 1948 (original language: German). See R. Faurisson, “The Müller Document,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988, pp. 117-126. According to the Austrian Emil Lachout, the Allied military police and its Austrian auxiliaries regularly received copies of reports drawn up by the commissions of inquiry on the concentration camps. Those reports were used for research on “war crimes;” On 1 October 1948, Commander Anton Muller and his second-in-command, Emil Lachout, sent the following memo from Vienna to all interested parties:

Military Police Service

Circular Letter No. 31/48.

Vienna, 1 Oct. 1948.

10th dispatch.

1. The Allied Commissions of Inquiry have so far established that no people were killed by poison gas in the following concentration camps: Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen and its satellite camps, Natzweiler, Neuengamme, Niederhagen (Wewelsburg), Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, Stutthof, Theresienstadt.

In those cases, it has been possible to prove that confessions had been extracted by torture, and that testimonies were false. This must be taken into account when conducting investigations and interrogations with respect to war crimes. The result of this investigation should be brought to the cognizance of former concentration camp inmates who at the time of the hearings testified about the murder of people, especially Jews, with poison gas in those concentration camps. Should they insist on their statements, charges are to be brought against them for making false statements.

Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945*. London, Jason Aronson, Inc., 1987 (the first edition appeared in 1953), p. 134:

Thus, eventually every German concentration camp acquired a gas chamber of sorts, though their use proved difficult. The Dachau gas chamber, for instance, has been preserved by the American occupation authorities as an object lesson, but its construction was hampered and its use restricted to a few experimental victims, Jews or Russian prisoners of war, who had been committed by the Munich Gestapo.

Stephen F. Pinter, Letter on “German Atrocities” in *Our Sunday Visitor*, 14 June 1959, p. 15:

I was in Dachau for 17 months after the war, as a U.S. War Department Attorney, and can state that there was no gas chamber at Dachau.

Martin Broszat, Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, letter to *Die Zeit*, 19 August 1960, p. 16 (original language: German):

Neither in Dachau, nor in Bergen-Belsen, nor in Buchenwald, were Jews or other inmates gassed. The gas chamber in Dachau was never completed and put “into opera-

tion.”

Common Sense (New Jersey, USA), 1 June 1962, p. 2, republished from *Combat*, London, England, “The False Gas Chamber”:

The camp had to have a gas chamber, so, since one did not exist, it was decided to pretend that the shower bath had been one. Capt Strauss (U.S. Army) and his prisoners got to work on it. Previously it had flag stones to the height of about four feet. Similar flag stones in the drying room next door were taken out and put above those in the shower bath, and a new lower ceiling was created at the top of this second row of flag stones with iron funnels in it (the inlets for the gas).

Nerin E. Gun, *The Day of the Americans*, New York, Fleet, 1966, between p. 64 and p. 65, three photo captions read:

1. The “shower.” Photographed by Gun [a former inmate] with stolen camera. This was, of course, the gas chamber;
2. Inside the gas chamber. The Zyklon B bomb [*sic*] made by the German industrial giant, I.G. Farben, was dropped on the floor. Prisoners were told they were going to take a shower;
3. The gas chamber. At the moment of the liberation, the hour of the last operation was still written on the door. Since then, Germans have tried to deny that there was a gas chamber in the camp. This photograph is proof: it was taken the day of the liberation.

On p. 129, the author indicates that in Dachau “3,166 were gassed.” (Paul Berben, *Dachau 1933-1945, The Official History*, London, The Norfolk Press, 1975 (original language: French; first published 1968). As the book jacket indicates, this is the “Official History” of the camp. This 329 page work contains only a few, very confused paragraphs about the gas chamber, on pages 13 and 201-202. The gas chamber had allegedly been designed, for homicidal purposes (?), at the beginning of 1942, but in April 1945, at the time the camp was liberated, it had not yet functioned as such “because, **to a certain extent, it seems** [emphasis added], of sabotage carried out by the team of prisoners given the job of building its (p. 13 of the French edition; this does not appear in the English edition of the book [London, The Norfolk Press, 1975], p. 8)!”)

What is confusing is that this team of prisoners seems to have been given the job of building, in that location, a **disinfection gas chamber** in October 1944: “In October 1944, the 'Construction and Repair Commando' chosen from that of the heating plant (*Kesselhaus*) was given the job of installing the pipes in the gas chamber” [p. 202 in the French edition, but left out of the English edition, p. 176]. “During the winter of 1944-45, the disinfection squad, under the authority of the chief S.S. doctor, started disinfecting [in that location], by gas, the piles of vermin-ridden clothes” [English translation, pp. 8-91].

Please allow me one hypothesis and a few questions:

HYPOTHESIS: That mysterious room at Dachau which, for the obvious reasons given by Fred Leuchter, could not have been used to gas humans, could it not have been, in the first place, a shower (thus explaining the inscription “Brausebad” on the outside), and, later, starting at the end of 1944, a disinfection chamber? Couldn’t the heating team have changed a shower into a disinfection gas chamber (and the inscription “Brausebad” been left on the outside)? Couldn’t that disinfection have been done with steam? At Auschwitz, the disinfections were carried out either in gas chambers (using, for example, Zyklon B) or in steam chambers; all for the disinfection of clothes.

QUESTIONS:

1. A panel located on the door to the room, for the benefit of visitors, bears an inscription. Until the beginning of the 1980s the English text was: "GAS CHAMBER disguised as a 'shower room' — never used." Then, probably about 1985, it was changed to: "GAS CHAMBER disguised as a 'shower room' — never used as a gas chamber." Why are visitors not told straightforwardly that the room has been used, but ... for the disinfection of clothes?
2. Behind that chamber, they have shielded from the curiosity of visitors the entire part of the building where there is an enormous insulated pipe, a hand-wheel like that of a boiler, and other heating elements; there is a vague glimpse of it in the Nuremberg film (see above, PS-2430) and today one can see that part of the building through the windows of the rear part of the building. Why do they deny visitors normal access to that part of the building? Is it because it would be too obvious to specialists in insulation and heating that the whole installation is relatively commonplace? Why is it not possible to visit the room from which the enormous insulated pipe apparently originates?
3. Paul Berben obviously does not mention all the sources that he has used to sketch, in his fashion, the story of that mysterious room. He is satisfied to refer people especially to one testimony, that of someone named Karl Nonnengesser. Why?

Encyclopedia Judaica, Jerusalem, 1971, article on "Dachau":

Gas chambers [plural] were built in Dachau but never used.

Earl F. Ziemke (professor of history at the University of Georgia), *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, Washington, D.C., Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1975, p. 252. mentions "the gas chamber as if it had functioned.

Germaine Tillion, *Ravensbrück*, New York, Doubleday, pp. 221-222 (original language: French). G. Tillion firmly maintains that there was a gas chamber at Dachau and that it was used. She criticizes Martin Broszat for having written in *Die Zeit* that there was no "Brausebad" inscription, but Broszat wrote nothing of the kind (see above). She presents the report of Capt. Fribourg as if it established without any doubt the existence and operation of that gas chamber, but Capt Fribourg also wrote nothing of the kind (see above).

Paul W. Valentine, "WWII Veteran Recalls His Sad Duty at Dachau", *Washington Post*, 21 April 1978, p. B3: an interview with "George R. Rodericks, a young U.S. Army captain in May 1945 when his unit was assigned to count the bodies at Dachau [...], a assistant adjutant general for the 7th Army in Germany [...], commanded the 52nd Statistical Unit responsible for maintaining U.S. personnel inventories." This G.R. Rodericks, supposedly a statistician, gives incredible numbers of bodies (20,000 piled in a warehouse) and of gas ovens (50 to 60) and talks about 'shower' facilities where prisoners] were gassed to death."

Arthur Suzman and Denis Diamond, *Six Million Did Die/The Truth Shall Prevail*, Johannesburg, publication of the Committee of Jewish Representatives of South Africa, 1978, 2nd edition. On page 117 there is a quotation taken from a Report on Dachau concentration camp [...] signed by C.S. Coetzee and R.J. Montgomery, who visited the camp on or about 7th May, 1945":

The gas chamber, about 20 feet by 20 feet, bears all the characteristics of an ordinary communal shower room with about fifty shower sprays in the roof, cement ceiling and cement floor. But there is not the usual ventilation, and the sprays squirted poi-

son gas. One noticed that the doors, as well as the small window, were rubber-lined and that there was a conveniently situated glass-covered peephole to enable the controller to see when the gas could be turned off. From the lethal chamber a door leads to the crematorium. We inspected the elaborate controls and gas pipes leading into the chamber. Behind the crematorium there was an execution place for those who had to die by rifle fire; and there were ample signs that this place had been in frequent use.

On page 122, the caption reads:

Victims of the Dachau gas chamber lie piled to the ceiling in the crematorium.

Document L-159 is quoted on pages 127 and 129.

- International Dachau Committee, *Konzentrationslager Dachau, 1933-1945*, 1978, 5th edition (original language: German); p. 165:

The gas chamber, disguised as a shower room, was never put into operation. Thousands of inmates destined for annihilation were sent to other camps or to Hartheim Castle near Linz for gassing.

- Robert Faurisson, *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire*, La Vieille Taupe, 1980 (original language: French). The author discusses, on pages 204-209, the correspondence that he exchanged in 1977 and 1978 with Barbara Distel, Director of the Dachau Museum, and with Dr. A. Guerisse, President of the International Dachau Committee in Brussels, and deals with the impasse in which those people found themselves when asked to provide the slightest proof of the existence of a Dachau gas chamber used for executions.
- Robert Faurisson, *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, 2nd edition, Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1980. On page 62, the author analyzes the testimony of Fernand Grenier, contained in his book, *C'était ainsi* (1940-1945), published by Editions Sociales, 7th edition, 1970, and reported in these terms (p. 267):

To the side of the four crematory ovens which never stopped working there was a room. some showers with sprinkler heads in the ceiling. In the preceding year [1944] they had given a towel and a piece of soap to 120 children, from 8 to 14 years of age. They were quite happy when they went inside. The doors were closed. Asphyxiating gas came out of the showers. Ten minutes later, death had killed these innocents whom the crematory ovens reduced to ashes an hour later.

- René Levesque, *Memoirs*, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1986, pp. 192-193:

Before putting their prisoners to work [at Dachau], the Germans always stripped them of all their possessions, including their gold teeth. Then they worked them to death, especially the last year when rations were becoming scarce. At the end of the road they were sent to the "baths" (Baden), shabby-looking sheds linked to a reservoir by a couple of pipes. When the baths were full to the seams they opened the gas, and then, when the last groans had ceased, the bodies were taken to the ovens next door.

When news of this reached Quebec, and for some time after, people refused to believe. Heavy scepticism greeted such stories, which surpassed understanding ... I can assure you that it was real, all right, that the gas chamber was real in its nightmarish unreality. The loaders had gone, trying to save their skins, leaving behind their last load of corpses, naked as worms in their muddy pallor.

These 28 references amount to only a sketch of a bibliography of the supposed “gas chamber” at Dachau. A researcher would have to do research in the Dachau Museum and in various research centers in the United States or Germany to study the transcripts there of the pre-trial investigation and the trials of such people as Martin Gottfried Weiss or Oswald Pohl. One could likewise compare photographs thought to represent the gas chamber or gas chambers of Dachau: three of those photographs are well known:

1. That of a G.I. wearing a helmet and looking at the disinfection gas chambers, thought at the time of the photograph to be homicidal gas chambers at Dachau;
2. Two G.I.s wearing police headgear and looking at the “shower” (Brausebad), then thought to have been the “gas chamber;”
3. G.I.s along with several American senators or congressmen visiting the interior of the so-called “gas chamber.”

NOTE 1. The term IMT (International Military Tribunal) refers to the American edition of the transcripts and documents of the *Trial of Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuremberg, 1945-1946; published 1947-1949), which is not to be confused with the British edition.

Addition (1990):

- **Yad Vashem**, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, New York, MacMillan, 1990, article on “Dachau,” written by Barbara Distel, Director of the Dachau Museum:

In Dachau there was no mass extermination program with poison gas [...]. In 1942 a gas chamber was built in Dachau, but it was not put into use.

III. Mauthausen

Document PS499, 8 May 1945. A part of this document consists of a “List of the Different Methods of Killing Inmates in Concentration Camp Mauthausen” (original language: German), p. 2:

Gas chamber.

The sick, the weak and those inmates unfit for work were from time to time gassed in the gas chamber, in addition to political prisoners who were to be eliminated. Up to 120 inmates, naked, could be fit into the gas chamber and then Zyklon B was introduced. It often took hours for death to occur. The SS murderers watched the proceedings through a glass window in the door.

Document PS-2285, 13 May 1945. Deposition under oath by Lieutenant-General Guivante de Saint-Gaste and by Lieut. Jean Veith, both members of the French army (*IMT*, XXX, p. 142):

The K prisoners were taken directly to the prison where they were unclothed and taken to the “bathrooms.” This bathroom in the cellars of the prison building near the crematory was specially designed for executions (shooting and gassing).

The shooting took place by means of a measuring apparatus. The prisoner being backed towards a metrical measure with an automatic contraption releasing a bullet in his neck as soon as the moving plank determining his height touched the top of his head.

If a transport consisted of too many “K” prisoners, instead of losing time for the “measurement” they were exterminated by gas sent into the bathroom instead of water.

It is odd that two *French* officers would have given a deposition under oath in *English*. The authors were neither questioned or cross-examined about it. The American Executive Trial Counsel, CoL Robert G. Storey, read it into the record on 2 January 1946. The official French translation is faulty (*TMI*, IV, p. 270).

- Document PS-1515, 24 May 1945 (original language: German). The so-called “Deposition of the Camp Commander of Mauthausen Concentration Camp, SS Colonel (Standartenführer) Franz Ziereis.” In its original form, this ten page document, typewritten in German, does not bear any signature. It says: “Franz Ziereis, lying on a straw pallet, wounded in the stomach and the left arm by two shots made the following declaration to questions put to him by two persons of Intelligence.” Franz Ziereis was interrogated for six to eight hours, then he died. That torture session took place in the presence of the American General Seibel, Commandant of the 11th Armored Division (still living in 1989, in Defiance, Ohio). One of the two interrogators was Hans Marsalek, a former prisoner, who now lives in Vienna, Austria, a high official of the police and the author of numerous works on Mauthausen:

By order of the SS-Hauptsturmführer Dr. Krebsbach, a chamber camouflaged as a bath-room was built in Mauthausen Concentration Camp. The prisoners were gassed in that camouflaged bath-room [...]. Actually the gas chamber was constructed in Mauthausen by order of SS-Obergruppenführer Glucks, who advocated the viewpoint that it was more humane to gas prisoners than to shoot them.

This “deposition” is sometimes interrupted by remarks on the part of the interrogators, e.g., about the “insolent arrogance” of Ziereis. It ends with the following words: “Furthermore, Ziereis declares that, according to his estimation some 16,000,000 (??) people have been murdered in the entire territory of Warsaw, Kowno, Riga and Libau.”

For the comments that Ziereis supposedly had on Hartheim Castle, see below, “Hartheim Castle.”

An extra page says:

Do not use 1515-PS — This statement has been corrected and superseded. — See: 3870-PS. — [Signed:] D. Spencer.

- Document PS-2176, 17 June 1945. “Report of Investigation of Alleged War Crimes” by Major Eugene S. Cohen, Investigating Officer, Office of the Judge Advocate General (American Third Army). One finds some extracts from this in *IMT*, XXIX, pp. 308-314. This report seems to be the principal document concerning Mauthausen and Hartheim Cas-

tle. One can find it in the National Archives in Washington, Record Group 238, “U.S. Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality Nuremberg Papers,” Box 26, but a large number of the documents or exhibits were not available at the time of our research. Exhibits 75 and 77 are supposed to be declarations made by Ziereis. Exhibit 216 is a “Specimen of poison gas used in the gas chamber at Mauthausen and Gusen No. 1 and No. 2” (actually, a can of Zyklon B disinfectant).

Document F-274, before October 1945 (original language: French). Official report of the French government, *IMT*, XXXVII, p. 118:

[...] political prisoners [killed] in the gas chambers [plural] at MAUTHAUSEN, [...]

Document PS-2223, 3 August 1945 (?). “Report of Investigation of Alleged War Crimes.” Among twenty reports or depositions under oath, a report dated 13/14 February 1945 on the interrogation of two Polish deserters, both former members of the Polish Army, who relate their experiences at Mauthausen and Gusen:

A gas chamber with a capacity of 200 took care of many other victims; many women, among the Czech patriots, suspected of sabotage and refusing to give information, were gassed there.

Document PS-2753, 7 November 1945 (original language: German). Testimony of an SS-man Aloïs Höllriegl, *IMT*, XXXI, p. 93:

The noise that accompanied the gassing process was familiar to me.

On 4 January 1946, at the trial, the American Associate Trial Counsel, Col. John Harlan Amen, questioned Alois Höllriegl. Amen did not ask him any questions about the gassing mechanism. The “confession” by Höllriegl about the Mauthausen gassings played the same role as the “confessions” of Rudolf Höss on the gassings at Auschwitz. In both cases, the interrogation was conducted by Amen for the purpose of incriminating Ernst Kaltenbrunner.

Summary of instruction, *IMT*, 20 November 1945. Some French officers, after their attempt to escape the prisoner of war camps, were transferred to Mauthausen, *IMT*, II, p. 51:

When they arrived in the camp, they were either shot or sent to the gas chambers.

Document PS-2430: *Nazi Concentration and Prisoner-of-War Camps: A Documentary Motion Picture*, a film shown on November 29, 1945, *IMT*, XXX, p. 468. In contrast to the excerpt from the film that deals with Dachau, the excerpt dealing with Mauthausen does not contain any view of a “gas chamber.” The film limits itself to showing a naval lieutenant from Hollywood, California, who states that people had been executed by gas in the camp: among those was an American Army officer taken prisoner by the Germans.

Document PS-3846, 30 November and 3 December 1945. Interrogation of Johann Kanduth, former prisoner, *IMT*, XXXIII, pp. 230-243:

They were shot in the back of the neck. There were also women. Some were killed in the gas chamber [...] Gissriegel/ he had led the sick to the gas chamber [...]. Alt-

fudish [...] led the women to the room where they undressed, afterwards he brought the next 30. They had to go to the gas chamber [...]. A record [was] made of the prisoners of CC Mauthausen who were killed by shooting, gassing, cremating or by injections [...]. [These notes] are true, that 2-3,000 were killed in the gas chambers or on transports, we don't know the exact number [...]. Kaltenbrunner [on a visit] went laughing in the gas chamber. Then the people were brought from the bunker to be executed and then all the three kinds of executions: hanging, shooting in the back of the neck and gassing were demonstrated. After the dust had disappeared, we had to take away the bodies.

This testimony was read by U.S. Associate Trial Counsel Col. John Harlan Amen on 12 April 1946 in order to incriminate Kaltenbrunner (IMT, XI, p. 324).

Document PS-3845, 7 December 1945 (original language: English). A deposition under oath by Albert Tiefenbacher, former prisoner, *IMT*, XXXIII, pp. 226, 227, 229:

Answer: There were Czech women gassed but we did not get the list of their names. I did not have anything to do with the books [...].

Question: Do you remember the gas chamber camouflaged as a bath house?

A. Yes, we always helped to carry the dead from the gas chamber.

Q. There were no shower baths in the chamber?

A. Yes. Cold and warm water was supposed to come out of them, but the flow of the water could be regulated from the outside of the room and mostly the water was turned off. On the outside of the room was the gas reservoir and two gas pipes led from the outside into the room. There was a slot at the back and the gas emanated from this slot.

Q. Gas never came from the showers?

A. All the showers were plugged. It was just to make the effect that the prisoners were entering a bathroom.

Q. [...]. Do you remember the last 800 people who were killed by a club or through drowning?

A. Yes, I know how people were led into the gas chamber and hot and cold water applied to them, and then they had to line up and were beaten until they died [...].

Q. Was Kaltenbrunner with [Himmler visiting Mauthausen]?

A. Kaltenbrunner is a dark fellow, I know him from the crematorium, but I cannot say whether he was with Himmler. I remember Himmler by his monocle. [NB: Himmler wore glasses.]

On 12 April 1946 Col. Amen read to Kaltenbrunner, in court, a very short statement of A. Tiefenbacher's sworn statement. In it Tiefenbacher claimed that he had seen Kaltenbrunner three or four times in Mauthausen. Kaltenbrunner replied that it was

“absolutely false” (*IMT*, XI, p. 325). Tiefenbacher was not summoned to testify in court.

IMT, VI, pp. 270, 276, 29 January 1946 (original language: French). Testimony of F. Boix, a Spanish refugee in France deported to Mauthausen. Mentions “the gas chamber” at Mauthausen.

Document PS-3870, 8 April 1946 (original language: German). A statement by Hans Marsalek, made more than ten months after the death of Ziereis, 23 May 1945. See above, PS-1515. *IMT*, XXXIII, pp. 279-286. Hans Marsalek swore that:

Franz Ziereis was interrogated by me in the presence of the Commander of the 11th Armored Division [American Armored Division] Seibel; the former prisoner and physician Dr. Kopszeinski; and in the presence of another Polish citizen, name unknown, for a period of six to eight hours. The interrogation was effected in the night from 22 May to 23 May 1945. Franz Ziereis was seriously wounded — his body had been penetrated by three bullets — and knew that he would die shortly and told me the following. [...] A gassing plant was built in Concentration Camp Mauthausen by order of the former garrison doctor, Dr. Krebsbach, camouflaged as a bathroom [...]. The gassing of the prisoners was done on the urging of SS Hauptsturmführer Dr. Krebsbach [...]. The gassing plant in Mauthausen was really built by order of SS Obergruppenführer Glucks, since he was of the opinion that it was more humane to gas the prisoners than to shoot them.

Parts of this affidavit were read by U.S. Associate Trial Counsel Col. Amen on 12 April 1946 (*IMT*, XI, p. 330-332). Kaltenbrunner protested and insisted on having Hans Marsalek on the witness stand for a confrontation but the latter never came. This is especially odd since in 1945-46 Marsalek was the number one witness and the number one expert on Mauthausen. Today he is the official historian of the camp. He was never examined and cross-examined in court about the mechanics of gassing in Mauthausen.

As for what Ziereis, according to Hans Marsalek, is supposed to have said about Hartheim Castle, see below, “Hartheim Castle.”

Sir Hartley Shawcross, British Chief Prosecutor at the IMT 26 July 1946, mentions “the gas chambers and the ovens” not only at Auschwitz and Treblinka but also at Dachau, Buchenwald, **Mauthausen**, Majdanek, and Oranienburg (*IMT*, XIX, p. 434). Shawcross is still alive in 1990, living in London and serving in the British House of Lords.

Simon Wiesenthal, *KZ-Mauthausen*, Linz & Vienna, Ibis Verlag, 1946 (original language: German). The author reproduces what he calls the “confession” of the commandant of Mauthausen, pp. 7-13. In reality, he reproduces document PS-1515, but only in part and with strange changes; for example, the number of 16,000,000 persons put to death in the whole of the territory of Warsaw, Kowno, Riga, and Libau is reduced by Wiesenthal to “10,000,000” (p. 13).[Note 2] Likewise, see below, “Hartheim Castle.”

Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, *op. cit.*, p. 474:

On May 8th, when Patton’s troops entered the camp, Ziereis was identified in the camp precincts and shot in the stomach. His dying confession, having been taken

down by an inmate in the presence of American officers who could not understand German, is not very reliable.

Olga Wormser-Migot, *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi, 1933-1945*, Presses Universitaires de France, 1968 (original language: French). On page 541, the author of that doctoral dissertation, who is Jewish, wrote that, in spite of the confessions of the SS after the war and some “testimonies” claiming there was a gas chamber in the camp at Mauthausen, she does not believe it and thinks that such allegations “seem to be nothing more than myths.” She says also that a large number of prisoners denied the existence of such a gas chamber but unfortunately she does not give the name of those prisoners. As a result of her scepticism, Olga Wormser- Migot was severely persecuted; she was especially denounced by Pierre-Serge Choumoff.

Vincente and Luigi Pappaletta, November 1979, *Storia Illustrata* (an Italian monthly magazine), p. 78 (original language: Italian). They claim that in the showers the prisoners were drenched not by water but by a deadly gas which squirted from small holes. The nature of the gas is not specified.

Encyclopedia Judaica, Jerusalem, 1971, article on “Mauthausen”:

Prisoners were also killed by phenol injection at the euthanasia installation at Hartheim until a gas chamber was constructed at Mauthausen.

Evelyn Le Chene, **Mauthausen**, Pierre Belfond, 1974 (original language: English), p. 74:

The gas chamber at Mauthausen was filled with carbon monoxide, which was pumped down from the gas van when required.

Edith Herman, Thirty Years Later Death Camp' Horror an Indelible Memory", *Chicago Tribune*, 4 May 1975, Section 1:

[Mayer] Markowitz was 26 years old on May 4, 1945, three years after he had arrived at Mauthausen, a Death camps in Austria. There was no gas chamber there, and perhaps in a way that made it worse.

Dr. Charles E. Goshen, M.D. (Professor of Engineering Management at the Vanderbilt University School of Engineering, “was a captain in the U.S. Army Medical Corps when the events he relates occurred”) *The Tennessean*, 23 April 1978:

The deaths of the Jews led to examining the gas chambers. We found in the basement of the main prison building a small air-tight chamber and within it several empty and full tanks of HCN, a very lethal gas.

Our prisoner-friends told us that the chamber had been used for two different purposes. Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays to de-louse bedding and clothing; Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays to execute prisoners. The three gas chamber victims [who] we found there obviously had been killed just before the SS troops fled.

Pierre-Serge Choumoff, *Les Chambres à gaz de Mauthausen: La vérité historique, rétablie par P.S. Choumoff, à la demande de l'Amicale de Mauthausen*, Paris, Amicale, 1972. On pages 17-28, the author deals with the gas chamber. The adjacent room had been a control room for allowing gas into the chamber. The nature of the gas is not specified. A warm brick was brought into the gas cell. The gas was introduced into the gas chamber through a white lacquered perforated

pipe (p. 19). It is significant that the author, like all those who deal with this subject, avoids furnishing photos of the so-called gas chamber, with two exceptions: one shows the **exterior** of one of the two doors and the other, blown up to make it more dramatic, shows a **very small** part of the inside of the gas chamber. There is also a photo of a can of Zyklon B. On pages 8347, the author strongly attacks Olga Wormser-Migot.

Hans Marsalek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen: Dokumentation*, Mauthausen Austrian Camp Organization, Vienna, 1980, republished, first edition in 1974 (original language: German); p. 211:

Before the gassings, an SS N.C.O. heated a brick in one of the Krema ovens and brought it into a small, divided room, located next to the gas chamber. This gas chamber contained a table, gas masks and the gas introduction unit connected with the gas chamber by means of a pipe. The hot brick was then laid on the bottom of the gas introduction unit this served to accelerate the process of “Zyklon B” crystals changing into liquid gas. With sufficient gas in the chamber, death by suffocation occurred in about 10-20 minutes.

When an SS doctor, watching through an observation “peephole” in one of the two doors of the gas chamber, ascertained the onset of death, the gas chamber was cleared of gas by ventilators sucking it out into the open air.

The whole gassing process for one group, consisting of approximately 30 persons, beginning with undressing, the so-called medical examinations murder, clearing the gas chamber of gas and removal of cadavers took about one and half to two and a half hours.

Hans Marsalek is considered the “official” historian of Mauthausen. See above, PS-1515 and PS-3970.

Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust*, Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, assisted by Nili Keren, Toronto, Franklin Watts Publisher, 1982, p. 209:

Although no gassings took place at Mauthausen, many Jews, as well as non-Jews, died there in a process the Nazis called “extermination through labor.”

In 1988 Yehuda Bauer stated that he had made an “error” which would be corrected in the future editions of his book (Documentary Archive of the Austrian Resistance, *Das Lachout “Dokument,” Anatomie einer Fälschung*, Vienna 1989, pp. 33-34, which quotes a letter from Yehuda Bauer dated 2 September 1988).

Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, Frankfurt, S. Fisher, Publisher, 1983 (original language: German):

At the main camp, which had been established east of Linz in August 1938, the construction of a gas chamber began in the fall of 1941. The gas chamber was located in the basement of the hospital building, with the crematoria close by. It was a windowless room, camouflaged as a shower room, 3.8 meters in length and 3.5 meters wide. A ventilation unit was installed, the side walls consisted partly of tiles. There were two doors which could be closed airtight. All switches for electrical lighting, ventila-

tion, water supply and the heating unit were located on the outside of this room. From an adjacent room, called the “gas cell,” gas entered through an enamelled pipe that had a slot approximately 1 meter long cut into it on the side facing the wall, which was therefore invisible to the occupant of this room.

Remnants of this gassing unit are still discernable today.

It is not true that “Remnants of this gassing unit are still discernable today.”

Pierre-Serge Choumoff, *Les Assassinats par à gaz Mauthausen et Gusen, camps de concentration nazis en territoire autrichien*, Society of Mauthausen Deportees, 1987 (original language: French). Essentially this is the same study as the one published in 1972, but its confusion is greater. P.S. Choumoff, engineer by trade, shows great confusion regarding the gas chambers. He does not furnish any proof nor any technical details of the kind one could by rights expect on the part of an engineer, but he is satisfied to call on the usual stories of “witnesses” (Kanduth, Ornstein, Roth, Reinsdorf, ...). He seems to consider the simple presence of the insecticide “Zyklon B” in the camp to be a proof of the existence of homicidal gassings. Choumoff estimates that at least 3,455 persons were gassed in the alleged gas chambers at Mauthausen.

Michel de Bouard (former prisoner at Mauthausen), honorary dean of the faculty of letters at the University of Caen, member of the French Committee for the History of World War II, member of the Institut de France: statement made in an interview granted to *Ouest-France*, 2-3 August 1986, p. 6 (original language: French):

In the monograph on Mauthausen that I presented in *La Revue d'histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale* in 1954, I spoke twice about a gas chamber. Having had time to think about that, I have said to myself: where did I get the idea that there was a gas chamber at Mauthausen? It was not during my time in the camp because neither I nor anyone else suspected that there could have been one there, so it is therefore a bit of “baggage” that I received after the war; it was generally admitted. Then I noticed that in my text, although I supported most of my statements with footnotes, there were none regarding the gas chamber ...

The plaque displayed in the Mauthausen gas chamber (in April 1989) says the following (English version):

The gas chamber was camouflaged as a bathroom by sham showers and waterpipes. Cyclone [sic] B gas was sucked in and exchanged through a shaft (situated in the corner on the right) from the operating room into the gas chamber. The gas-conduit was removed shortly before liberation on April 4th, 1945.

When the Fred Leuchter team inquired about the Mauthausen gas chamber on 10 April 1989, a staff member of the museum stated that the explanation given on the plaque regarding the shaft was not accurate. He explained that the gas had actually been introduced through a perforated pipe coming from a neighboring room. The pipe was no longer there and one could no longer find traces of its existence. The staff member said that the first explanation furnished about the functioning of the chamber came from the prisoners, who had said that the gas entered the chamber through shower heads; that explanation, he said, had long since been abandoned.

These 29 references amount to only a sketch of a bibliography of the supposed Mauthausen “gas chamber.” A researcher would have to work in the archives of the Mauthausen Museum and in

various archival sources in the United States and Germany.

NOTE 2. On page 53 of that same book, the author reproduced a drawing that he himself had done and that supposedly showed three prisoners executed by the Germans at Mauthausen. It is a fabrication. The drawing was made from a photo of three German soldiers shot as “spies” by an American firing squad and published in Life magazine, 11 June 1945, p. 50.

Addition (1990):

- Yad Vashem, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, *op. cit.*, article on “Mauthausen.” This recent encyclopedia is extremely vague on the subject of the Mauthausen gas chamber; pp. 948, 950:

[...] the gas chamber [...] was disguised as a shower room [...]. [Some Czech women] were taken in groups to the gas chamber.

IV. Hartheim Castle

Document PS-1515, 24 May 1945, *op. cit.*: [Franz Ziereis is alleged to have stated:]

By order of Dr. Lohnauer and of Dr. Re[na]ult, professional criminals, non-reformable, were classed as mentally ill and sent to Hartheim near Linz, where they were exterminated by means of a special system by Hauptsturmführer Krebsbach [...]. SS Gruppenführer Glücks gave the order to designate the weak prisoners as sick and to kill them by gas in a large installation. There, around 1-1½ million persons were killed. The area in question is named Hartheim and is located 10 kilometers in the direction of Passau [...]. The [insane] were taken to the provincial institution [Landesanstalt] of Hartheim near Linz. I [Franz Ziereis] found that with at least 20,000 prisoners, at the same time as the real mentally ill, it was necessary to have in the course of the year, according to my estimate (for I have seen the piles of files in the cellar) around 4 million persons gassed. The establishment in question at Hartheim used carbon monoxide. The room in question was laid out with tiles and camouflaged as a bathroom. The execution of this work was not entrusted to the SS, with the exception of Dr. L[ohnauer] and Dr. Rena[u]d, but to police officers.

Document PS-2176, 17 June 1945, *op. cit.*, Exhibit 213. That document can no longer be found at the National Archives in Washington. It came from a prisoner named Adam-Golebski or Adam Golebski. Evelyn Le Chene mentions it (*Mauthausen*, 1971, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-107) and Pierre-Serge Choumoff is supposed to have reproduced it in a French translation (*Les Chambres à gaz de Mauthausen*, 1972, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-42). According to what Evelyn Le Chene and Pierre-Serge Choumoff say, the author of that document claims that on 13 December 1944 he came, along with 20 prisoners from Mauthausen, to Castle Hartheim to transform the entire place into a children’s home. Their work lasted 18 days. He saw a room which looked like a small bathroom; the iron door was isolated with rubber; its locks were massive, with a sliding bolt and there was a small round slot. The lower half of the walls were covered with tiles and there were six showers. From that room a similar door led to another small chamber where there was a gas apparatus, gas bottles and several meters.

Document F-274, prior to October 1945, *op. cit.*, p. 176:

Some prisoners were taken from Mauthausen to Castle Hartheim to be gassed there.

Document PS-3870, 8 April 1946, *op. cit.*: [Franz Ziereis is supposed to have stated:]

On the order of Dr. Lohnauer, professional criminals, non-reformable, were sent as mentally ill to Hartheim near Linz where they were exterminated by means of a special system of SS-Hauptsturmführer Krebsbach [...]. SS- Gruppenführer Glücks gave the order to classify the weak prisoners as mentally ill and to kill them in a gassing installation that existed at Castle Hartheim near Linz. There, about 1-1½ million human beings were killed [...]. The number of prisoners who were put to death at Hartheim is not known but the number of victims of Hartheim is around 1-1½ million when you consider the civilians who were sent to Hartheim.

Simon Wiesenthal *KZ Mauthausen*, 1946, *op. cit.* Just as for Mauthausen, the author reproduced PS-1515 but with some strange differences, similar to his views of the same document in regard to Mauthausen (see listing under “III. Mauthausen” above).

Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, 1971 (originally published in 1953), *op. cit.*, p. 141:

Hundreds of prisoners at Dachau, Aryan or Jewish, were gassed at Schloss Hartheim at the beginning of 1942, after having been judged only on their political past.

Olga Wormser-Migot, *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi 1933-1945*, 1968, *op. cit.* The author mentions Hartheim in an extremely vague manner as a place of “extermination” (pp. 154, 538, 540).

Encyclopedia Judaica, 1971, *op. cit.*, article on “Mauthausen.” See the citation above, p. 312.

Evelyn Le Chene, *Mauthausen*, 1971, *op. cit.* See above document PS-2176, Exhibit 213. A floor plan of Hartheim, done by the author, is located on page 105.

Pierre-Serge Choumoff, *Les Chambres à gaz de Mauthausen*, 1972, *op. cit.* See above document PS-2176, Exhibit 213. A floor plan for Hartheim is on page 38. It is supposed to come from a Mauthausen prisoner named Bahier. It is dated “Linz, 6 September 1945” and is located in the files of the Criminal Police in Linz (reference number T.G.B. N.R.K. 2081/85).

Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945*, New York, Bantam Books, 1975, pp. 178-179:

Patients slated for killing [...] were then transferred to one of six “euthanasia” installations (at Bernburg, Brandenburg, Grafeneck, Hadamar, Hartheim, and Sonnenstein) [...] The procedure was pragmatically simple and convincingly deceptive. In groups of twenty or thirty, the patients were ushered into a chamber camouflaged as a shower room. It was an ordinary room, fitted with sealproof doors and windows, into which gas piping had been laid. The compressed gas container and the regulating equipment were located outside. Led into the chamber on the pretext that they were to take showers, the patients were gassed by the doctor on duty.

The author gives no source for the description of that procedure.

- Hans Marsalek, *Die Geschichte ..* 1980, *op. cit.*, p. 213:

As soon as a group was in the gas chamber, the steel doors were closed, the gas allowed in, and the victims killed. Then the room was ventilated with the help of ventilators..

The author does not specify the nature of the gas used. He adds that a German named Vincenz Nohel had sworn, before being hanged by the Americans, that 30,000 persons had been killed at Castle Hartheim in the course of the “Euthanasia Action.”

- Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein, Adalbert Rückerl *NS Massentötungen...* 1983, *op. cit.* In this book which is supposed to have reviewed all of the mass gassings, Hartheim is mentioned only in the chapter about “euthanasia” (pp. 62, 76-79); neither the type of gas supposedly used (CO?), nor the total amount of victims is clearly indicated.
- Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 1985, *op. cit.*, pp. 872-873. The author, who does not mention any gas chamber at Mauthausen, states that Hartheim was one of the several “euthanasia stations equipped with gas chambers and bottled, chemically pure carbon monoxide gas.”
- Pierre-Serge Choumoff, *Les assassinats par gaz [...]*, 1987, *op. cit.*, gives no data about the gas chamber at Hartheim. He says that, according to the confessions of the German Vincenz Nohel, 8,000 inmates from Mauthausen and Gusen were gassed in Hartheim Castle.
- Hans Marsalek, Hartheim, *Establishment for Euthanasia and Gassing: Accessory Camp to the KZ (Concentration Camp) of Mauthausen* (abridged version for the Austrian Mauthausen Camp Community, translated by Peter Reinberg), 4 pages. Available at Hartheim Castle (1989). This pamphlet states that approximately 30,000 people were gassed at Hartheim by “Zyklon B” gas.

Addition (1990):

- Yad Vashem, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, *op. cit.* This four volume encyclopedia does not contain any entry for “Hartheim,” but only mentions it on pages 342, 452, 632, 952, 968, 1129, and 1408. The type of gas used at Hartheim supposedly was not Zyklon but carbon monoxide (p. 1129). The victims, especially the mentally ill, supposedly were prisoners transferred from Dachau (p. 342) and from satellite camps of Mauthausen like Gusen (p. 632) or Melk (p. 968).

V. 1988: Jewish Historians Face the Problem of the Gas Chambers

- Olga Wormser-Migot, *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi (1933-1945)*, Paris, 1968 (original language: French). A section of that thesis is entitled: “The Problem of the Gas Chambers”; it is equivalent to three pages long (between p. 541 and p. 545). The author does not believe in the existence of gas chambers at either Dachau or Mauthausen.
- Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews 1933-1945*, New York, Bantam Books, 1975. The author does not mention gas chambers or gassings at either Dachau or Mauthausen.
- Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, revised and definitive edition, New York, Holmes & Meier, 1985. In that “definitive” work of three volumes and 1,274 pages, Hilberg makes no mention of gas chambers or gassings at either Dachau or Mauthausen.
- Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? — The “Final Solution” in History*, New York, Pantheon Books. 1988, pp. 362-363:

Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable [...]. Most of what is known is based on the depositions of Nazi officials and execu-

tioners at postwar trials and on the memory of survivors and bystanders. This testimony must be screened carefully, since it can be influenced by subjective factors of great complexity. Diaries are rare, and so are authentic documents about the making, transmission, and implementation of the extermination policy. But additional evidence may still come to light. Private journals and official papers are likely to surface. Since Auschwitz and Majdanek, as well as the four out-and-out killing centers, were liberated by the Red Army, the Soviet archives may well yield significant clues and evidence when they are opened. In addition, excavations at the killing sites and in their immediate environs may also bring forth new information.

Source: vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 323-352.

Russia 1917-1918: A key to the riddle of an age of conflict

Ivor Benson

While all are agreed that the overthrow of the Russian Empire in 1917 was one of the most important happenings in recorded history, honest attempts to find out exactly what did happen, how it was planned and carried out, have always been attended by difficulty and danger. In the Soviet Union the propagation of any opinions and ideas not approved by the state was for many years a punishable offense, incurring even the death penalty. And in the West methods of persuasion, pressure and intimidation have been used consistently to sustain the fiction that all that happened in Russia was the overthrow of a harsh Tsarist tyranny by Russia's long-suffering masses.

There was a *Russian* revolution with Bolshevik involvement; but that does not make it a *Bolshevik* revolution, as shall be explained. Indeed, there is as yet no word in any languages which represents exactly the complex meaning of what happened; so we are compelled to use expressions like "Russian revolution" and "Bolshevik revolution" in this article until the long-concealed full meaning can be unfolded.

Historical Revisionism on the subject of the Revolution has made more progress in the Soviet Union than in the West, for a reason which can be stated quite simply: the populations of that vast empire, and especially of Russia, know more and think more about it because they have suffered most; and there is nothing like suffering to awaken and enliven the mind.

Recently Britain's Cambridge University cancelled plans to award an honorary degree to Soviet mathematician Igor Shafarevich after it became known that in Russia, he had publicly expressed views which are still held to be unacceptable in Western academic circles. And in the United States there was an outcry in the media when it was discovered that a group of Soviet editors and writers on a state-sponsored visit included three who had appended their signatures, along with those of 70 other leading intellectuals, to a letter about the Revolution published in the respected journal *Literaturnaya Rossiya*.

The essential facts about the Revolution and the reign of terror to which it gave rise, including the cold-blooded murder of the Royal Family, were always accessible to anyone who insisted on knowing the truth; it was, therefore, only the systematic suppression of information and debate on both sides of the so-called Iron Curtain which could have kept almost the entire world in ignorance on the subject for more than 70 years. Indeed, it is because the available facts are unassailable and their meaning virtually self-evident, that they could be combated only by suppression.

Therefore we are powerless to understand what is happening in the Soviet Union today and in all other countries which were under Communist totalitarian rule unless we first find out exactly what happened in Russia in 1917 and 1918, when it all began.

Another major political phenomenon of the present time for which explanation and elucidation must be sought in the past is a massive Jewish exodus from the Soviet Union — a sharp reversal of the trend in 1917 and the years immediately following, when Jews from all over the Western world were streaming into Russia.

“Antisemitism is forcing the biggest exodus in 500 years,” cries a headline in the *London Financial Times*. According to Nathan Shcharansky, a much-publicized Soviet dissident now living in the West, Jewish families have been applying for permits to leave the Soviet Union at a rate of 2000 a day and the queue of would-be emigrants could be as long as one million. Other Jewish spokesmen have put the figure at anything between two million and four million.

There is no mystery about their reasons for wanting to leave; the Jews are being blamed for the Revolution and for the population massacres that followed.

Shcharansky said in an interview with the *London Times*:

This is something quite different from the street-level antisemitism of the past. For the first time the Russian people have realized what an awful history they have had. It is no longer Solzhenitsyn saying there were 60 million victims of state terror; now conservative Soviet historians are estimating 40 million. So the Russians have found that it was their regime that destroyed all the cultural institutions, all the moral values, and every day they see it discussed on television, and their historians tell them, and new graves are discovered. And, of course, they remember who was Karl Marx, and someone is saying that the grandfather of Lenin was Jewish... It is mother nature that the scapegoat becomes the Jew.

What Shcharansky and other Jewish leaders find most disturbing about the new antisemitism, “no longer just street-level,” is the fact that it is to be found in *intellectual* circles. Here, he says, it takes the form of a debate around the question of Jewish responsibility for the years of Bolshevism.

Indeed, that was the charge levelled at the Soviet mathematician, Igor Shafarevich, forcing Cambridge University to cancel a plan to award him an honorary degree. In a manifesto entitled “Russophobia,” Shafarevich claimed that what he called “a very active Jewish component” was among those who “slander the Russian nation.” He also stated that in the revolutionary movement, which he blamed for having destroyed Russian values, “Jewish revolutionaries were motivated by a desire for revenge instilled by 2000 years of Jewish religious heritage,” and that “a radical Jewish nationalism was present in the Revolution and is still present.”

So too, the letter signed by 77 leading Soviet intellectuals and published in *Literaturnaya Rossiya* spoke harshly of the Jewish role.

There was nothing “primitive” or “street level” about the three Soviet visitors who were castigated by the Washington Post and other American papers. One is a popular author, another a prominent scholar at the World Literary Institute in Moscow and the third chief editor of the literary journal *Nash Sovremennik* (Our Contemporary). Another member of the visiting group, Stanislav Kunayev, who is editor of *Literaturnaya Rossiya* explained that the criticism is not aimed at Jews as such but at Zionists. Americans were reminded, however, that this Mr. Kunayev had declared in his paper in June the previous year that the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* was not a forgery as alleged by Jewish leaders, but a genuine document, the product of what he called “an anti-human intelligence and an almost unnatural satanic will.”

The American press could have been more explicit about the eagerness of Jews to get out of the Soviet Union. Moscow's Maly Theatre had been drawing packed houses, standing room only, with a play by Sergei Kuznetzov, entitled "I Will Repay" (a variation of the Lord's "Vengeance is mine") in which the last moments of the Royal Family at Ekaterinburg are movingly reenacted. In this play the Jewish role is handled obliquely, with the Tsar's doctor Botkin saying to one of the revolutionaries, evidently a Jew, "The time will come when everyone will believe that it was the Jews who were responsible for this, and they will be the victims."

But Russians did not have to wait for the play in order to find out what happened to their former monarch; months earlier one paper, *Soviet Press*, had published a grisly account of events at Ekaterinburg drawn from only one possible source, namely the exhaustive archive prepared by Nikolai Sokolov, the brilliant young investigator appointed by Admiral Kolchak after the White Army had recaptured Western Siberia from the Bolsheviks. In this newspaper report the chief executioner, a Jew, Yankel Yurovsky, is described as he silenced the wounded and moaning Tsarevich, Alexis, with two revolver shots.

It is therefore not without reason that many Jews in the Soviet Union now regard themselves as an endangered species. The former Moscow correspondent of the *London Jewish Chronicle*, on her way to settle in the United States, declared that the only help which Soviet Jews could appreciate was that which would enable them to leave the country. And the Israeli government has announced that it will need an extra 1.1 billion pounds a year in aid from around the world to enable it to cope with an unprecedented rush of immigrants, of whom 200,000 were expected in the ensuing 12 months.

In 1917 and during the years immediately following, there was a flood of Jews moving in the opposite direction, all eager to assist in the Revolution and to share in the spoils of victory.

Writes Robert Wilton, then *London Times* correspondent in Russia:

...a lamentable feature of the revolutionary period was the constant passage of Russian and pseudo-Jew revolutionaries from Allied countries. Every shipload that came from America, England or France gave trouble. They all considered themselves to be entitled to a share in the spoils and had to be provided with fat places in the Food, Agrarian and other Committees.

With few exceptions, all these immigrants were Jews.

The German Role

How, where and when the professional revolutionaries, led by Lenin, were set in motion can be pinpointed exactly: it was in Vienna in the autumn of 1915, when the German and Austrian General Staffs came together to plan an operation designed to knock Russia out of the war as an ally of Britain and France. If that could be achieved, not only would many more troops be available on the hard-pressed Western Front, but the German and Austrian people, threatened with starvation by the Allied blockade, would gain immediate access to the Ukraine's vast food supplies.

It was at that meeting that the broad outlines of the revolution were worked out and leading actors in it chosen — Lenin with Sverdlov and other experienced Jewish activists, many of whom had fled from Russia during the preceding decade to escape arrest by the Tsar's secret police organization, the Okhrana, and were then congregated in Zürich, Switzerland, and elsewhere in Europe. About one hundred of these were permitted to travel through Austria and Germany in a

sealed train and to infiltrate Petrograd when the revolutionary process was already well advanced. An entire shipload of other Jewish revolutionaries, including Leon Trotsky (Bronstein), travelled from New York and caused a momentary international stir when their ship was stopped at Halifax, Nova Scotia by the Canadians, who were astonished at finding so many of the world's most notorious political agitators all travelling together. However, under pressure from high quarters in the United States, the ship was permitted to continue on its way.

Lessons of History

When the main facts of the Russian Revolution period are brought together there are meanings of the greatest historical importance to be found, meanings which cannot be found in the facts when considered separately.

The Revolution period can thus be compared with a giant jigsaw puzzle, the main difference being that facts of history must be assembled in the mind and their mutual intelligibility explored by a mental process we call induction. Facts which belong together are then found to come together, and we understand them as we could not understand them before.

An example of the exercise of this mental function is provided by three modern American scholars:

Two world wars and their intervening wars, revolutions and crises are now generally recognized to be episodes in a single age of conflict which began in 1914 and has not yet run its course. It is an age that has brought to the world more change and tragedy than any other in recorded history. Yet, whatever may be its ultimate meaning and consequence, we can already think of it and write of it as a historical whole [emphasis added]. ^[1]

Those scholars were unable to find the “ultimate meaning” of our age of conflict but were able to put together enough of the pieces of evidence to be left in no doubt that they all *belong together*.

As a total mind picture of our age of conflict must necessarily absorb and fully explain the Russian Revolution period, so too a vividly clear mind-picture of the Russian Revolution period must throw some light on an age of conflict which has so much in common with what happened in Russia.

If one portion of a jigsaw puzzle is correctly assembled, it is bound to be easier to assemble the rest of the pieces. Thus, if we can get a sharp and clear picture of only one portion of the Russian Revolution period, we could be well on the way to an understanding of the entire Revolution period and of an age of conflict of which wars and revolutions were only so many “episodes.”

Genocide at Ekaterinburg

One portion of the Revolution period which offers itself at once for concentrated attention is that which surrounds the assassination of the Royal Family and all the other Romanovs on whom the Bolsheviks could lay their hands. The killing of the Tsar at Ekaterinburg on direct orders from the Bolshevik leaders in Moscow was an event of supreme historical importance, and was more thoroughly investigated and documented than any other during the entire Revolution period.

On April 5, 1990 Sothebys, London, offered for sale by public auction what the *Daily Telegraph* had described a few days earlier as “dynamite papers,” these being an almost complete record of

an investigation carried out after the White Army under Admiral Kolchak recaptured Ekaterinburg from the Bolsheviks early in July 1918.

An earlier attempt to investigate the crime having made very little progress, the Kolchak administration gave the task to Nikolai Sokolov, with all the assistance he would require. The complete record, of which five signed copies were made; came to be known as the Sokolov Archive and was supplemented with the depositions of many other persons about other aspects of the Bolshevik reign of terror.

One copy of the complete dossier was given to Robert Wilton, the *London Times* correspondent who was attached to the White Army, and formed the basis of his book *The Last Days of the Romanovs*.

Another set of the papers was given to General Diterichs, the officer in charge of the inquiry, and was the main source of a now-rare two-volume work by Diterichs, published in Vladhostock in 1922. Sokolov's own book, *Les Derniers Jours des Romanov*, was also published in a Russian version in Paris in 1924. The most complete compilation of information about the massacre of the Royal Family and other Romanovs, drawn from the Sokolov Archive and other sources, was prepared by Nikolai Ross and published in two volumes in West Germany in 1987.

What this means is that a vitally important chapter of Russian history, including a most detailed account of the actual killing, supported with the sworn depositions of key witnesses, as well as copies of crucial messages recovered from the post office at Ekaterinburg, was rescued from oblivion and is no doubt already circulating among Russia's anti-socialist intellectuals.

The Sokolov Archive also uncovers completely the elaborate measures taken by the Bolsheviks to conceal their crime, including the burning of the bodies, the dissolution of the remaining bones with sulphuric acid and the dumping of the entire residue in a disused iron ore shaft in the forest outside Ekaterinburg.

If any doubt remained about final responsibility for the crime, it would have been dispelled by a telegram in code addressed to Yankel Sverdlov, head of the Cheka secret police and then more powerful than his close associate Lenin. This states simply that the entire Royal Family, and not only the head of it, had died.

One fact of major importance is revealed: the Tsar was not killed by the Russian revolutionaries.

Wilton says that at the beginning of July (1918) "suspicion must have arisen among the Jewish camarilla" that the Russian soldiers guarding the Imperial Family were undergoing a change of attitude. Avdeiev, a Russian who had been in charge of the prison-house and had permitted local nuns to bring a small supply of eggs and milk to the prisoners, was dismissed and the Russian guards moved out of the house to other premises on the other side of the lane. Only one of the Russians remained, the fanatical Bolshevik Pavel Medvedev, who retained his post as chief warder.

These changes were made by Yankel Yurovsky, son of a local Jewish ex-convict and head of the local Cheka. Yurovsky brought with him a squad of ten "Letts" — so the locals described them — to mount guard in the crowded prison, hitherto the stately house of a wealthy Jewish merchant, one Ipatiev. They were, in fact, not Letts at all but men of mixed Magyar-German descent, probably brought from Hungary, as their scribbings on the walls indicated.

The Russians were given the task of mounting guard outside the house until the evening of July 16, when all their weapons, Nagan pistols, were collected by Medvedev and handed over to Yurovsky.

Wilton provides a vivid account of the last moments of the Imperial Family and their few trusted servants, drawn from eye-witness depositions, of which the following are extracts:

When midnight by solar time had gone some minutes Yurovsky went to the Imperial chambers. The family slept He woke them up and told them that there were urgent reasons why they should be removed... All rose, washed and dressed themselves... Yurovsky led the way downstairs... Alexis could not walk His father carried him in his arms. Dr. Botkin came directly after the family and after him came the chambermaid Demidova, the cook Haritonov and the footman Trupp... The family were ushered into a semi-basement chamber and told to wait.. Yurovsky advanced into the death chamber and addressed the Tsar "Your relatives have tried to save you, but it could not be managed by them, so we are compelled to shoot you." Twelve revolvers volleyed instantly. The parents and three of the children, Dr. Bodkin and two servants died instantly. Alexis moaned and struggled until Yurovsky finished him off with a pistol shot in the head. The youngest girl Anastasia, fought desperately before being killed. The maid servant lasted longest and had finally to be bayoneted to death.

Medvedev afterwards told his wife exactly what had happened, boasting that he was the only Russian "workman" who had participated, all the others being "not ours," meaning they were foreigners. Captured later by the White Army, he confirmed what he had told his wife, except that he denied having joined in the shooting.

Trotsky, in his diary, now kept at Harvard University, records that on a visit to Moscow shortly after the fall of Ekaterinburg to the White Army he asked Sverdlov, "And where is the Tsar?" Sverdlov replied that he had been shot, "And the family?" "Shot also," replied Sverdlov. "What of it?". "Who decided it?" asked Trotsky. Sverdlov's reply: "We decided it here. Ilyich (Lenin) considered that we should not allow them to have a living banner."

The purely political objective of depriving the Russian people of the unifying principle of their monarchy was compounded by a kind of fiendish vengefulness lusting incessantly for gratification. This is almost certainly what was meant by the mathematician Shafarevich when he wrote of the Bolshevik "desire for revenge instilled by 2000 years of the Jewish heritage," and what the editor of *Literaturnaya Rossiya* referred to as an "anti-human intelligence and an almost unnatural satanic will."

Here is a glimpse of the conditions visited on the Tsar, his wife Alexandra, his ailing and suffering son and four lovely young daughters by order of Isai Goloshchekin, the Cheka chief in the Ural region and their jailer-in-chief at Ekaterinburg.

The men (guards) were coarse, drunken criminal types such as a revolution brings to the surface. They entered the family's rooms at all hours, prying with drunken leering eyes into everything they might be doing; but picture the torments of the captives to have to put up with their loathsome familiarities. They would sit down at the table when the family ate, put their dirty hands into the plates, spit, jostle and reach out in front of the prisoners. Their greasy elbows, by accident or design, would be thrust into the Tsar's face ...

However, it was these Russian guards, coarse and drunken as they were, who began at last to show signs of being sorry for the suffering family in the crowded Ipatiev house, and had to be replaced with complete foreigners in readiness for the final act of regicide.

Writes Wilton:

The last week of their lives must have been the most dreadful one of all for the Romanovs. Brutal and bestial as the Russians had been in the early part of their wardenship, they were preferable even at their worst to the silent relentless torture applied by Yurovsky, who was also a drunkard... The man and his executioners only waited for the signal that was to come from Yankel Sverdlov.

The purely Jewish character of the regicide was masked only by the figure of the Russian workman Beloborodov. This man, a leader of the local mineworkers, had been arrested for the theft of funds, an offense for which under Soviet law he could have been executed. Instead of having him shot, however, Goloshchekin, the Urals Cheka chief, installed him as president of the Urals Regional Soviet in order to deceive the local workers, who were a tough and self-willed lot much averse to being ruled from Moscow and even more strongly averse to being ruled by Jews. Beloborodov, a fervent Mazist revolutionary, thus made the perfect puppet, and it was in his name that the crucial telegram in code was sent to Sverdlov.

By this time the Provisional Government had been taken over entirely by the Bolsheviks and power was fast slipping out of the hands of the Germans who had sent them in, a development signalized by the assassination in Moscow of the German ambassador and chief representative Mirbach.

There is reason to believe that the Germans had been planning secretly to bring the Royal Family back to Moscow from Tobolsk, where they had lived in exile since the year before, dislodge the Bolsheviks, and set up a government of their own under Alexis or one of the other Romanovs. This they failed to accomplish. The Tsar, on his way back to Moscow, was halted at Ekaterinburg, where he was joined soon afterwards by the rest of his family and held captive until all were assassinated.

It had always been the intention of the Germans, only to impose their will on Russia and not destroy it as a nation; and that is certainly what would have happened if General Ludendorff's proposal had been put into effect when direct German armed intervention was still possible. [2]

A Holocaust Exposed

The Bolsheviks were desperately anxious to conceal from the Russian people and from the whole world the truth of what happened at Ekaterinburg, and it was only by a wholly unexpected combination of circumstances that they did not succeed. One factor was the recapture of the Urals area by the White Army only nine days after the crime was committed, and another was the availability of so gifted and dedicated an investigator as Nikolai Sokolov. Moreover, like so many murderers before them, Goloshchekin, Yurovsky and their acolytes failed, even with the use of petroleum and sulphuric acid, to eliminate all the visible and tangible evidence; nor could they prevent the inquisitive local peasants from rushing to the site of the burning at the first opportunity and of talking about the bits and pieces of jewelry and precious stones they had found scattered in the grass or pressed into the mud.

Miners brought in by Sokolov found a false floor under a layer of ice at the bottom of the shaft, and when this was removed the first thing that came to view was the body of Jemmy, the little King Charles spaniel which had accompanied its master, the Tsarevich, to the death chamber and had evidently been dispatched with a blow on the head.

Concealment of the real nature of the crime outside Ekaterinburg was much easier.

In the *London Times* of July 22, 1918, an official Bolshevik version of what had happened at Ekaterinburg was published as news of the day.

Recently, it was stated, “a counter-revolutionary conspiracy was discovered, having as its object the wresting of the tyrant from the hands of the [Ural] Council’s authority by armed force.” In view of this fact, the President of the Urals Regional Council decided to shoot the ex-Tsar. On the strength of what was described as “extremely important material,” including the ex-Tsar’s diaries, the Central Executive Committee in Moscow had accepted the decision of the Urals Council.

“The wife and son of Romanov,” the *Times* report added, had been sent to a place of security.

In the English press the former Tsar, friend and ally of the British and cousin of King George V, is already only “Romanov” and “the tyrant.”

This report, virtually every sentence of it a lie, as Wilton explains, reflects what was to be the attitude of the entire “capitalist” world towards a supposedly anti-capitalist revolutionary movement which had so recently robbed Britain and France of a valued ally in their struggle with Germany.

An altogether new story had to be improvised by the Bolsheviks when they realized that the White Army had proof that the entire Imperial Family had perished. So a year later, totally disregarding their own previous official pronouncement, they issued another statement (quoted in full by Wilton) to the effect that the Soviet at Perm had brought to trial 28 persons accused of having murdered the late Tsar, his wife and family and suite, eleven persons in all. One Yakhonov was said to have admitted that he had arranged the murder in order to bring discredit on the Soviet authorities.

This account of a mock trial, based possibly on the trial of 28 persons on a wholly different charge, was widely quoted at the time by Jewish organizations in the West, with the aim of absolving the Bolsheviks of any blame for the murder of the Imperial Family and dispelling the notion of a “Jewish racial vendetta.”

In a further attempt to suppress the details of a vitally important chapter of history, the Joint Foreign Committee of the Jewish Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association in Britain published an interview with the man who was first entrusted by Admiral Kolchak with the task of finding out exactly what had happened to the Imperial Family. This was Starynkevich, a Jewish lawyer, then Minister of Justice in the Urals region installed by Kerensky’s Provisional Government. Starynkevich had appointed one Sergeiev, believed to be another Jew, to carry out the actual investigation. And it was because Sergeiev was making no progress that he was brushed aside and replaced with the magistrate Sokolov.

The former Minister was now quoted as saying that his team of investigators had found no trace whatever of any Jewish involvement in the killing. This was a brazen falsehood and was evi-

dently intended, *since it proved nothing*, to give Jewish organizations abroad a means of confusing and obscuring the whole issue.

This Starynkevich would have been well aware that the Board of the Ural Regional Council of Deputies responsible for the fate of the Imperial Family consisted of five members: Beloborodov, the Russian “dummy” as president, Goloshchekin, Safarov, Voikov, and Syromolotov, all four Jews, and that the Cheka (Chrezvychaika) was run by Goloshchekin, Efremov, Chustkevich and three other Jews. It was these men who were entrusted with the task of wiping out the Tsarist family; the local Council “representatives of the people,” only learned about it four days later.

By a weird quirk of fate, one of the regicides seems to have yielded to an impulse to leave his racial and national signature in the death chamber in the Ipatiev house. Or could it have been purely fortuitous that words written on the wall placed this latest act of regicide firmly in the context of those “2000 years of Jewish religious heritage” mentioned by a modern Russian scholar?

The words, carefully inscribed in pencil, were an adaptation of the Jewish poet Heine’s lines on the fate of Belshazzar, King of the Chaldeans:

Belsatsar ward in selbiger Nacht

Von seinen Knechten umgebracht.

The writer seems to have tried to bring the words a little closer to the occasion, changing the poet’s “Belshazzar” to “Belsatsar” and replacing “selbigen” in the second line with “seinen,” signifying that it was his *own* people who had murdered the monarch.

More Romanovs Butchered

The murder of nationhood itself being purposed by the Bolsheviks right from the start, anything that could arm the Russian people with a sense of identity, anything that could serve as a “banner,” as Lenin called it, had to be eliminated. Hence the hunting down of the entire Romanov family, the possible repository of a future claimant to the throne around whom a revived national sentiment might cluster.

First of the Romanovs to go, a month before the Tsar, was Grand Duke Michael, the ostensible heir, named by Nicholas when he abdicated. Michael, who had publicly renounced all claim to the throne, had been exiled to Perm in the Urals, where he had been free but under close surveillance. Received with ovations when he first appeared in the streets in Perm, Michael Romanov had decided thereafter to avoid being seen, for fear of angering the local Cheka. On about June 12 he was awakened in the middle of the night and, with his secretary, Nicholas Johnson, taken away by three armed men, never to be seen again.

The neighborhood of Perm was to witness many more horrors, says Wilton, who researched this area very thoroughly with Sokolov. Other members of the Romanov family who were interned there included the Empress’s sister, the Grand Duchess Elizabeth, the Grand Duke Sergius Mikhailovich and the Princes Igor, Ioan, Constantine and Vladimir. The murder of the Romanovs at Perm, none of whom had been involved in politics, occurred almost exactly 24 hours after the killing at Ekaterinburg. Informed that they were to be moved to a place of greater safety, they left Perm in small horse-drawn carriages, were transported eight miles into the forest and there shot or bludgeoned to death. The site had been well chosen, for nearby were more iron ore mine

shafts down which the bodies were flung. The killers this time, as Wilton reports, were “simply Russian criminals, escaped convicts who worked for the Red Inquisition.”

It was clearly established, too, that the order for the killings came from Sverdlov in Moscow and was carried out by the leading Jewish Commissars of Perm, among them Commissar of Justice Soloviev, Goloshchekin and their Russian puppet Beloborodov. Again the Bolsheviks announced that a conspiracy had been frustrated, and they tried to strengthen their story by dumping the body of a murdered peasant at the school building where their prisoners had been held, describing it as that of one of the “White bandits.”

Another group of prisoners, all of them members of the Royal household, who had been transferred to Perm from the jail at Ekaterinburg as the Bolshevik forces quit that town, were slaughtered. They included three women of distinction and four men. The Tsar’s former valet, Volkov, was to have been included but escaped and was able to supply an exact account of what happened.

On January 29, 1919, half a year later, four more Romanovs, including the historian Nicholas Mikhailovich, long held in captivity in Petrograd without any charge, were transferred to the Fortress of SS. Peter and Paul and shot. Other members of the Tsar’s former staff, including the faithful Prince Dolgoruky, imprisoned at Ekaterinburg, were never heard of again.

The tragedy that befell the Romanovs epitomizes the greater tragedy which engulfed all the people of the Russian empire, as the history of the Revolution epitomizes the global tragedy of an age of conflict and suffering without precedent in recorded history.

The Red Terror which, in one form or another, was to cost the lives of an estimated 50 million people, was proclaimed on September 1, 1918, less than two months after the Ekaterinburg massacre. The immediate excuse for it was the murder of Uritsky, the bloodstained Jewish Cheka chief in Petrograd — by another Jew, as it turned out — and an attempt on the life of Lenin.

The official journal *Izvestia* declared that “the proletariat will reply in a manner that will make the whole bourgeoisie shudder with horror.” *Kraznaya* [Red] *Gazeta* announced: “We will kill our enemies in scores of hundreds... Let them drown in their own blood.” The Cheka, now presided over by another Jew, Peters, blamed the Socialist Revolutionary Party, which had been responsible for the first stage of the Revolution, and Peters predicted all that was to follow down the years: “This crime will be answered with mass terror... representatives of capital will be sent to forced labor... counter-Revolutionaries will be exterminated.” Zinoviev (real name Apfelbaum) declared that 90 million of the Russian people would be “won over and the rest annihilated.”

All this terror was necessary if Russia’s new rulers were to remain in power. There had been too many signs already of the Russians’ lingering attachment to the magic of their Royal Family, and not enough enthusiasm for the revolutionary change everywhere being put into effect. At Perm, to take one example at random, a large crowd had turned out to pay their last respects at a public burial of the bodies of the Romanovs recovered by the White Army authorities from the iron ore shafts.

There was no way in which honest common purpose could be established between the Bolsheviks and the mass of the Russian people. The Jewish revolutionaries were chosen by the Germans for the task of destruction precisely because they were Jews and not Russians.

Wilton sums up:

The whole record of Bolshevism in Russia is indelibly impressed with the stamp of alien invasion. The murder of the Tsar, deliberately planned by the Jew Sverdlov and carried out by the Jews Goloshchekin, Syromolotov, Safarov, VoLkov and Yurovsky, is the act-not of the Russian people but of this hostile invader.

Mystery of Iniquity

There can be only one valid reason for recovering and reviving information about the past which could excite strong feelings of animosity or fear: when it is knowledge of the kind we must possess before we can possibly understand what is happening today inside and outside the Soviet Union.

It is not enough to know that the Bolshevik Revolution had all the worst characteristics of a foreign invasion; it is necessary to find out also how the seemingly impossible was accomplished, the overthrow by a tiny foe of one of the world's great empires.

If the reader is astonished to find the Jewish hand everywhere in the assassination of the Russian Imperial Family, writes Sokolov, he must bear in mind the formidable numerical preponderance of Jews in the Soviet administration.

Lists of the family names and cognomens, or party names, of the ruling bodies of the Soviet administration in 1917/1918 are included in Sokolov's book *Les Derniers Jours des Romanov*, published in Paris in 1921 and also in the French edition of the Wilton book. Here we see what they reveal:

Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party: 12 members, nine of them Jews.

Council of People's Commissioners: 22 members, 17 Jews.

Extraordinary Commission of Moscow: 36 members, 23 Jews.

Central Executive Committee: 61 members, 41 of them Jews.

But who are the 51 non-Jews in these bodies? Only 12 of them are identified by Sokolov as "Russian"; the rest are described as Armenians, Georgians, Germans, Czechs, Ukrainians, Letts, etc.

From data supplied by the Soviet press at the time, Sokolov found that out of 556 of the most important functionaries of the Bolshevik state in 1918/1919, there were 17 Russians, two Ukrainians, 11 Armenians, 35 Letts, 15 Germans, one Hungarian, 10 Georgians, three Poles, three Finns, one Czech, one Karaim and 457 Jews.

The other Russian socialist parties were similarly composed at leadership level: Menshevik Social Democrats, 11 members all Jews; Communist of the People, five Jews, one Russian; S.R. (Rightwing), 13 Jews and two Russians; Anarchists of Moscow, four Jews and one Russian; Polish Communist Party, all 12 Jews.

Out of 61 individuals at the head of all the leftist or progressive "opposition" parties, there were six Russians and 55 Jews.

These parties, all supposedly anti-Bolshevist, had the effect of preempting any serious attempt by the Russians to pull themselves together and mount an effective opposition to the Bolsheviks.

And we see how use was made of members of minority groups within the Russian Empire, many of them traditionally hostile to the Russians in an effort to mask the essentially Jewish character of the Revolution.

The actual Jewish preponderance may have been even higher than stated by Sokolov, there being a strong likelihood that other Jews were passed off as Russians, Letts, etc.

An Identity Problem

The whole subject of the Jewish identity has remained to this day shrouded with deliberate mystification.

Are we so sure that Lenin — real name Ulyanov — was a Russian? Can we be sure that Lenin, the spiritual and intellectual “banner” offered to the Russian masses as a replacement for Tsar Nicholas, was not a Jew like most of the other Bolshevik leaders?

Lenin’s background is one of the Revolution’s most jealously guarded secrets. His father was a Russian with some Tartar or Kalmuck blood and was a practising Christian. It is over his mother, born Maria Blank, that a heavy fog of official reticence descended right from the start. There is evidence that Maria’s father, Alexander Blank, was a Jew from Odessa who prospered considerably after accepting conversion to Christianity. The identity of Lenin’s maternal grandmother, born Anna Grosschkoph, daughter of a wealthy St. Petersburg merchant, is not so clear. There is, to say the least of it, a strong likelihood that she was also Jewish. Lenin’s friend N. Valentinev, who wrote in friendly tones about Lenin after he had broken with the Bolsheviks, remarks that Lenin’s father, in contrast with his wife Maria, was deeply religious and attended church regularly, and that his wife avoided going to church. Lenin claimed to have been an atheist since he was 16. ^[3]

If Lenin’s maternal grandmother was Jewish, that would have sufficed to make him acceptable as a Jew in Jewish circles. It is not generally known among gentiles that the transmission of the Jewish identity is exclusively matrilineal and that Jewishness on the father’s side alone is wholly unacceptable. Indeed, the Jewish line can continue indefinitely from mother to child with a succession of non- Jewish fathers. ^[4]

This fact has other important implications: a gentile with a Jewish wife could — and generally does — find himself with children being brought up as Jews and whose destiny as Jews he will be inclined to share, while he is never accepted as a Jew.

Many Soviet leaders down the years belonged to these two categories of crypto-Jew either the sons of Jewish women married to gentiles, or gentiles with children being brought up as Jews.

A Double Triumph

Any account of what happened in Petrograd and Moscow in 1917 would be incomplete without some reference to what was happening outside Russia, as Zionism and Communism triumphed simultaneously.

In Russia in September 1917 power passed finally into the hands of Lenin and his fellow Jewish conspirators, and in the same week Prime Minister Lloyd George and President Woodrow Wilson, yielding to pressure exerted by Jewish leaders, committed Britain and the United States to the recognition of a future state of Israel and of its people as a nation.

This most crucial period in world history is summed up by Douglas Reed, former *London Times* East European correspondent:

In the very week of the Balfour Declaration, the other group of Jews in Russia achieved their aim, the destruction of the Russian nation-state. The Western politicians thus bred a bicephalous monster, one head being the power of Zionism in the Western capitals, and the other the power of Communism advancing from captive Russia. Submission to Zionism weakened the power of the West to preserve itself against the world-revolution, for Zionism worked to keep Western governments submissive and to deflect their policies from national interests; indeed, at that instant the cry was first raised that opposition to the world-revolution, too, was “antisemitism.”

[5]

There must be few periods of great historical change — if any — for which we have a more trustworthy, complete and accurate account than that which witnessed the overthrow of a largely autocratic monarchy in Russia and its replacement with a totally alien reign of tyranny and terror.

Robert Wilton was no ordinary historiographer, putting together a story from what other investigators have written, nor even one of the better kind, whose material is drawn from original sources. He writes in the preface to his book *Russia's Agony*, published in 1918:

During the past 14 years I have been an eye-witness of events in Russia and able to study at first hand the manifold aspects of Reaction and Revolution... I was the only non-Russian civilian who participated in all the phases of the collapse of Socialism as a national force in July last... The men who have figured in Russian affairs during that lengthy period are personally known to me.

Wilton, moreover, was no ordinary foreign correspondent like many others sent out by leading Western newspapers and news agencies; having spent 40 years in the country, he had acquired a perfect command of the language and a scholar's deep and extensive knowledge of the peoples of that vast territory and their history.

It was, therefore, only a rigorous ban placed on all information and public debate which could have prevented the true story of the Russian tragedy from becoming common knowledge in the West.

There has been Russian revolutionary activity long before the events of 1917-1918, one early example of this being the conspiracy of army officers who had served in the Napoleonic War and had borne the brunt of national disaster and humiliation during the conqueror's march on Moscow in 1812. These young men had become acquainted with the ideals of the French Revolution and were incensed by the obscurantism, corruption and inefficiency of their own government.

This revolutionary activity, however, was only an aspect of an essentially evolutionary process aimed at reform rather than a total overthrow of the existing social and political order, a yearning for change inspired by a new educated class drawn largely from the gentry and embodied by writers like Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Turgenev, Gogol and Leo Tolstoy.

There was considerable evolutionary development after the first semi-popular Socialist revolution of 1905, one of the major concessions it produced being the setting up of the first parliament or Duma, elected by a wide peasant suffrage, and with Stolypin as Prime Minister.

Underground revolutionary activity, however, continued apace, with three ministers in a row being assassinated. Many of the assassins were young Jews who also carried out hundreds of murders of policemen and the robbing of banks, ostensibly to raise funds for the revolution. Terrorist crimes, in turn, gave rise to a series of pogroms.

After the assassination of Stolypin progress continued at much the same rate under his successor Kokovtsov, and Russia enjoyed an unprecedented decade of material prosperity in which the new local authorities, or zemstvos, and the co-operative movement played a main part. Thousands of miles of main railway line and hundreds of miles on either side opened up vast areas for settlement and agrarian development, especially in Siberia.

But always there remained the ulcer of a seemingly insoluble political problem — a resolutely unassimilable and passionately rebellious Jewish minority.

In a word, the Russians had for a long time been unhappy about social and political conditions in their country. Their educated class had become infatuated with Marxism, both as a life philosophy and as a program for political reform, and therefore welcomed to their ranks Jewish fellow citizens who seemed to have embraced the same utopian faith.

The words used by that classic political authority Lord Acton in his comment on the French Revolution fit the Russian Revolution exactly:

The appalling thing in the revolution is not the turmoil but the design; through all the fire and smoke we perceive the evidence of calculating organization. The managers remain studiously concealed and masked, but there is no doubt about their presence right from the start.

In both great disturbances of the existing order cunning use was made of confusion as a weapon of war, creating in each case a situation which could make sense only to its secret managers.

One of the keys to the Russian riddle was the conference of that country's Social Democrats in Stockholm in 1908, at which the word "Bolshevik" first came into use. All the delegates were agreed in their attachment to the teachings of Karl Marx but were divided, or so it seemed, on the question of ways and means. One lot, led by Lenin, insisted on radical activism, propaganda and sanguinary conflict, and were called the Bolsheviks because they formed a majority. The others argued for the elimination of capitalism and inauguration of a workers' paradise by slower and less destructive means; these being the minority at the conference were called (in Russian) the Mensheviks. More precisely, "larger" (Bolshevik) and "lesser" (Menshevik).

The truth, however, as we should now be able to see, is that the setting up of two rival groups was part of a single revolutionary enterprise, with Leninist hardliners firmly ensconced in both of them.

Basically, this is the Trojan Horse trick in a modern sophisticated form. The Russians and their real leaders were disinclined to use violent measures against the monarchy and ruling class. So how could this wall of natural national resistance be pierced? The answer: give them a great Menshevik political toy, its capacious belly packed with Bolsheviks with Russified names, or party cognomens, all pretending to be good Mensheviks. That is, in fact, exactly what did happen. Hence the appalling confusion — and the deadly precision with which the secret plan was put into effect.

The Chinese sage Confucius once remarked that if given the power he would command that all things should be called by their proper names. Because, said he, there can be no proper communication and no order in society unless correct words are used.

If that test is applied before we consider more closely the detailed and graphic account of the final stages of the revolutionary drama, some unexpected results are produced.

Wilton's "pseudo-Jews" were, in fact, pseudo-Russians concealing their true identity behind Russian names, as Trotsky for Bronstein, Stekhov for Nahamkaz, Zinoviev for Apfelbaum, etc. They were, as Wilton himself defines them, "the hate-laden products of the Pale," different from other Jews only insofar as they were of the leadership, better educated and in constant communication with the Jewish leadership abroad.

There is need, also, to take a closer look at the "Socialist". This word, we find, is made to represent two radically different phenomena: 1 — Those who passionately *believe* in Socialism as a philosophy and program of political change, and: 2 — Those who know it is nonsense but recognize it as something to be used as a political weapon.

What occurred in Stockholm in 1908 was, therefore, not a conference of Socialists and pseudo-Socialists. To be more exact, the pseudo-Socialists were Jewish *nationalists*. And nationalism is actually the antithesis of Socialism, the first group-conscious or particularist, the other internationalist and universalist, the one demanding group identity and the other wholly against it; the one the negation of the other.

So the "Bolsheviki" never were the "majority" and are more accurately described as the pseudo-Russian minority.

Strictly speaking, therefore, there was no such thing as a "Bolshevik Revolution." There was a *Jewish war of national aggression* carried out under cover of a Russian Socialist revolution. In other words, the Russian Socialists with some assistance from the Jews and with the great numbers of the discontented on their side, achieved an overthrow of the old order, only to have victory snatched from their hands in the appalling disorder that ensued by a highly organized Jewish *nationalist* minority.

We thus find that by substituting the right words and names, there emerges a clear and coherent mind-picture of what happened in Petrograd — and the innumerable separate pieces of information then fit snugly together like the parts of a correctly assembled jigsaw puzzle.

But that leaves an important question unanswered: How was it possible for all those Russian Socialists, most of them well-educated to be used for the purpose of destroying their own nation-state? The complete answer to that question lies deeply hidden in the real meaning of the concept of "Socialism," a meaning of profound significance for which no word as yet exists. The dictionaries give us only some of the meanings which have been put into the word, leaving the real meaning to be learned only through suffering.

Solzhenitsyn was correct when he said that the real evil is Socialism, not Communism, which is no more than a by-product of it. Painful experience has taught millions of people what Socialism means, nowhere more so than in the Soviet Union and East Europe. But their experience teaches little or nothing to those who have not had the experience or have experienced it only in an attenuated form. What is much needed, therefore, is some attempt at least by those who do know to conceptualize it and put it into words.

It can thus be said of Socialism that it is a perversion of the concept “society” — in much the same way that homosexuality is a perversion of sex. In both cases there is a deviation from the natural, the one unnatural sex and the other unnatural politics. Socialism as believed in and practised in our century, like homosexuality, is *contra naturam* and unalterably *unprocreative*.

It was thus an intellectual sterility engendered by the false gospel of Karl Marx which in Russia had the effect of an acquired immune deficiency syndrome, depriving many of the Russian educated or intelligentsia of the power to combat the virulent infection of a covert Jewish nationalism. Rendered insensitive to a life-threatening evil in their midst, the Russian intellectuals lacked any power to fight it. Socialism can be described as a modern manifestation of Plato’s “lie in the soul”. [6]

Ripe for Revolution

Conditions in Russia early in 1917 met all the requirements of revolutionary change. Discontent had long been fermenting, the country had been involved for two and a half years in an unsuccessful and appallingly mismanaged war, and the unifying influence of the monarchy had been gravely disturbed by the Rasputin scandal. Hence the revolution had a great army of adherents among soldiers and civilians.

An immediate and most keenly felt cause of discontent in Petrograd was a scarcity of bread and other provisions which could have been, at least partly, engineered. A scene had thus been set for which the Russian Socialist revolutionaries had been waiting and preparing.

Speaking in the Duma on February 27 Kerensky announced the approach of the storm: “It’s lightnings already illumine the horizon.” He demanded the termination of Russia’s involvement in the war. While he was making this speech there were labor demonstrations in the streets, and people waiting in queues outside the shops grew more restive.

The tiny spark that started a blaze of public disorder that was to destroy a great nation occurred on Wednesday, March 7, when an angry old woman threw a stone and broke a baker’s shop window. Others joined in, and next day more shops were stoned and looted. Police and Cossack patrols intervened, but the disorder continued to escalate.

The *London Times* correspondent lived in a house adjoining the Prefecture in the center of Petrograd, knew all the principal civil and military officials and political leaders involved, and was thus able to watch and record all the final stages of the revolutionary capture of the nation’s legislative and administrative nerve center.

Generalizations about what happened would be of little historical value unless supported with a vast quantity of factual eye-witness evidence of the kind supplied by Robert Wilton in his book *Russia’s Agony* further endorsed by the contents of the Sokolov Archive.

Wilton has described exactly and in great detail how a genuine reformist movement in Russia was first taken over by an enthusiastic Russian Socialist element and finally by pseudo-Russian and pseudo-Socialist Bolsheviks. We see how a well organized minority of trained operators, armed with a vast accumulated expertise in underground activity and knowing exactly where they were going, were able to impose their will on a majority who never fully understood what was happening and were divided about the reform they wanted.

A very complex and deliberately confused process of enforced political change can be briefly summarized as follows: a Provisional Government made up entirely of elected representatives of

the Duma, nearly all of them non-Socialists but all strongly reformist, succeeded in dislodging and replacing a grossly incompetent autocratic regime. The Tsar had been prevented from returning to Petrograd and had abdicated after appointing Prince Lvov as Prime Minister of a Provisional Government.

The Bolsheviks, having launched a mutiny in several of the Guards Battalions and plunged Petrograd into total disorder, created a "Council of Workers and Soldiers" of their own, the "Soviet". This Soviet, with its Russian Socialist majority, co-operated with the Provisional Government until the Bolsheviks in their midst were able to gain full control, first of the Soviet and then of the Provisional Government.

Destruction of Nations

So what is the historical meaning to be distilled out of the countless particulars of that great happening which has always been known as the Bolshevik Revolution but was, in fact, a war of national aggression carried out under the disguise of a revolution?

As the massacre of the Imperial Family epitomizes the entire Revolution period, so does the "Bolshevik Revolution" with its misleading name epitomize for the whole world a century of conflict without precedent in recorded history.

In all three we see the same powers, influences and motives at work with everywhere the same result being sought, namely the *destruction of nations*. Instead of competitive strife among nations as hitherto, a genocidal extermination of nations is attempted; not war against all nationhood but by one against all others.

Thus we cannot fully understand the assassination of the Russian Royal Family without also understanding the entire Russian Revolution period; and we cannot understand that without also understanding an entire century of strife.

So, too, if by other means we have managed to discover the meaning of our age of conflict, we can easily understand all that happened in Russia in 1917 and 1918.

In other words, the so-called Bolshevik Revolution can be for millions in the West a key with which to unlock the mystery of unfolding contemporary history; it is what they need to know if they are to understand their present situation and prospects.

For the whole purpose and meaning of life is inseparably bound up with knowing. If we don't know what happened, we cannot know what to do.

Two major developments in the countries of the West had combined to confer on a geographically dispersed Jewish nation a worldly power it had never enjoyed before in more than 2000 years of its separate existence. One of these was an explosive development in the realm of technique or tools, resulting in a compounding increase in economic productivity; i.e., in the creation of wealth. The other was a progressive decay in shared religious belief, one of the consequences of the so-called "enlightenment"; i.e., the triumph of rationalism over faith as a foundation for all social and political thought.

Moreover, all the circumstances which had prevailed in mainland Europe, especially in Germany, Poland and Russia, while permitting the Jewish people to multiply as possibly never before, had generated in them a feverish group consciousness as they struggled incessantly to resist assimila-

tion; it was a group consciousness long cemented by religious belief and practice and later, as the Jews too came under the influence of the “enlightenment,” by a fierce secular nationalism.

The Jews thus found themselves ideally equipped to exploit the opportunities offered by the new age of plenty which began to unfold in the West from the middle of the 19th century. *Self-excluded* from any activity of a kind conducive to assimilation, they steered clear of invention and wealth- production and concerned themselves almost exclusively with *dealing in things*, especially in money, activity of a kind that made it easier for them to stay apart. Moreover, the preservation of a separate group identity called for the implementation of a dual moral code, one of shared loyalty and mutual support among “us” (the Jews), and of indifference, hardening from time to time into enmity, against “them” (the host population). The Jews were thus a nation perpetually at war.

All warfare requires the practice of secrecy and deception, but none to the same degree as warfare conducted almost entirely on the battleground of the mind by a nationhood which must itself be studiously concealed.

Jewish national integrity being, therefore, wholly of the mind, a boundless use of the arts of concealment, camouflage and deception was required for its preservation, and one of its most remarkable inventions was falsehood of a kind against which the populations of the West seem to have no natural defense. This takes the form of the truth turned upside down or pulled inside out, producing a lie which most plausibly mimics the truth.

Thus anti-gentilism becomes “antisemitism”; self-exclusion from the host population becomes hurtful discrimination and rejection; and aggressive finance-capitalism takes the form of Socialist and Communist “anti-capitalism”; the practitioners of genocide are represented as the greatest victims of genocide; etc., etc., and most audacious of all, a nation of atheists claims the land Palestine “in fulfillment of God’s promise.”

Finding and putting together facts which belong together is, therefore, not always enough; sometimes it is facts which have been stuck together *but don’t belong together* that need to be separated before the truth can be set *free*.

Prof. Hannah Arendt recognizes the enormous significance of the Jewish presence in 20th century history, but makes no attempt to explain:

Twentieth century political developments have driven the Jewish people into the storm centre of events... the Jewish question and antisemitism... became the catalytic agent first for the rise of the Nazi movement and the establishment of the organizational structure of the Third Reich... then for a world war of unparalleled ferocity ... [7]

Jewish high finance was deeply involved in the Russian Revolution from the beginning, and even earlier in the funding of revolutionary activity; and a non-Jewish high finance, also very large but not politically motivated and controlled to the same degree, promptly fell in behind it, glad to be granted a “piece of the action.” Thereafter both worked hand-in-hand in marshalling the forces of a spiritually disinherited Western educated class or intelligensia, its Utopian religion-substitute articulated by the likes of George Bernard Shaw, the Fabian who did not scruple to legitimize falsehood as an instrument even of domestic politics. And all the social sciences, — history, economics, anthropology, etc. — were vitiated, now, like fungus, requiring darkness for their continued cultivation.

The sum total of it all: a 20th century Age of Untruthfulness unprecedented in recorded history.

From Russia, after the end of World War II, the terrorism and tyranny of Jewish nationalism spread like a cancer over the body of all eastern Europe.

In Communist Poland U.S. Ambassador Bliss Lane recorded the predominance of Jews, many of them aliens, in the key posts of population control.

In Hungary Mattyas Rakosi (born Roth in Yugoslavia) was installed as Prime Minister with Red Army support, the *London Times* reporting that his cabinet was “predominantly Jewish.”

At about the same time the London paper *New Statesman* recorded that “in Czechoslovakia as elsewhere in south- eastern Europe, both the party intellectuals and the key men in the secret police are largely Jewish in origin.”

Of Romania the *New York Times* reported in 1953: “Romania, together with Hungary, has probably the greatest number of Jews in the administration.” In Romania the terror raged under Anna Pauker, the daughter of a rabbi.

And in East Germany the Communist reign of terror was presided over by one Hilde Benjamin, at first vice-president of the Supreme Court, then Minister of Justice. Under the direction of “the dreaded Frau Benjamin,” as she was described by the London Times, 200,000 East Germans were in two years convicted of the “crime of political opposition.”

Such has been the Jewish nationalist role to this day, with any manifestation of local self-rule, whether in Europe, Latin America or anywhere else, caught between the upper molars of huge financial power with its media and manipulation of party politics, and a lower jaw of subversion, terrorism and revolution.

There is no better present ongoing example of this than in South Africa where the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, masquerading as “Black liberation,” are only other names for a chauvinist Jewish nationalist imperialism.

In the long haul of history what does all this mean? One fact of supreme importance emerges: The Jewish role in history has been undeviatingly *destructive*, the very opposite of *creative*. Any Jew who finds personal salvation in a creative relationship with the rest of mankind — Spinoza, Mendelssohn, Disraeli, etc. — ceases at once to be a Jew. For only they can create, making things and making them work, who can achieve a sympathetic identification with things and with people, loving them for their own sake and not only as a means of gratifying an appetite for possession and power.

It would have needed a love of Russia and its people to make any political system work in that vast country. So there was no way in which the Soviet system could ever have been made to work; and there is likewise no way in which a Jewish nationalism, with its militant alienation from the rest of mankind, can ever achieve lasting viability. A nationhood purely of the mind, in order to survive at all must remain forever nature-unfriendly and spiritually sterile, an object of aversion and reproach to the rest of mankind — hence the so-called antisemitism everywhere and always.

Nevertheless, in a paradoxical and most mysterious way, the Jew does seem to have one positive role in the human evolutionary process, comparable with that of the catfish in the tank which quickens and enlivens all the other fish. In Russia already we see how, out of the awful suffering

of its people, there is brought forth among the Russians not only a clearer understanding of the Jewish role in history but also, a more profound knowledge of themselves, more and deeper insights into the meaning of life itself, of good and evil-progress of a kind, but at what a price! At what a price!

Notes

1. ☞ *This Age of Conflict*, F. P. Chambers, C.P. Harris & C. C. Bayley (Harcourt, Brace).
2. ☞ General Ludendorff's *War Memoirs*.
3. ☞ *The Zionist Factor*, Ivor Benson (Veritas).
4. ☞ The *London Jewish Chronicle* reported on its front page on December 22, 1989, under the heading "New Jew Checks In", that Nigel Davies, 29, a well-known chess player, had learned only the year before that his maternal grandmother was Jewish and that consequently his mother and he were Jewish; he had then been circumcised and accepted.
5. ☞ *The Controversy of Zion*, Douglas Reed (Dolphin Press and Veritas).
6. ☞ It is the function of religion to preserve the mind against this "Lie in the soul," the product of hubris, which is the notion that the intellect is capable of making its own law. This hubris exposes the mind to the vice of unregulated fantasizing, at the same time desensitizing the mind against falsehood. In Miltonian terminology, it is the "revolt in Heaven." Jung refers to its modern prevalence in the West as a "psychic epidemic."
7. ☞ *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hannah Arendt (Harcourt, Brace, Tovanovich).

Main Reference works

- *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, Robert Wilton (Edward Arnold, 1920) [Available from [Noontide Press](#)]
 - *Russia's Agony*, Robert Wilton (Edward Arnold, 1919).
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Source: vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 367-370.

Historical news and comment

The Notin Affair

Robert Faurisson

Bernard Notin, forty years old, married with five children, senior lecturer at the University of Lyon-III (titled Jean Moulin) was denounced in the newspaper *Le Monde* January 28-29, 1990, p. 9) by Edwy Plenel for an article published in the review *Economies et Sociétés* (no. 32 of a review published by Presses Universitaires de Grenoble with financial support from the CNRS [Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique], August 1989 [printed December 1989], pp. 117-133). Notin's article was condemned as racist, anti- Semitic, and Revisionist by the journalist. In particular the article contained the following passage on the gas chambers:

The real passes in judgment before the unreal. The historical theme of the homicidal gas chambers is quite revealing of this process. The proofs offered to demonstrate their existence evolved according to circumstances of time and place, but issued forth from a Pandora's box having three drawers: at the bottom, the visit to the site (slightly credible); in the middle, the assertion of the victors (= the gas chambers existed); on top, rumor (story of the man who saw the man who saw the man who ...). The existence [of the gas chambers] has been postulated *in toto*, no matter the reality of this reality.

Here one will recognize the origin of every tyranny.

The review's editor-in-chief, Gérard Destanne de Bernis, also denounced the article, declaring, "In my opinion some kind of ban is necessary"; the administration of the ISMEA (Institut des Sciences Mathématiques et Economiques Appliquées) similarly denounced Notin's piece. On the other hand, Frédéric Poulon, professor at the University of Bordeaux-I, responsible for editing the issue in question, declared:

I regret this affair profoundly. But there is a serious question of freedom of expression. I am not dissociating myself from Bernard Notin.

A petition against Bernard Notin, originating from readers employed at the Bank of France, is circulating at all the universities. Antoine d'Antume, professor of economics at the University of Paris-I, deplored that a scientific journal gave echo to theses that are completely unscientific. Oliver Favereau, professor of economics at the University of Paris X-Nanterre, declared:

... the Faurissonians are looking for academic recognition. They want to legitimize We notion that these are issues which scholars debate. That this article was published in a university context is a grave matter.

Frédéric Poulon has been “put on the shelf” and his seminar suspended. The MRAP (Movement against Racism and for Friendship among Nations) made a criminal complaint, specifying that “this decision was taken at the request of Gérard Destanne de Bernis, editor-in-chief of the review and member of the Movement.” Destanne de Bernis has asked libraries cease lending the offending issue of *Economies et Sociétés* to readers and to tear out Bernard Notin’s article. The University Press of Grenoble is working on a new printing of the issue which omits the article under attack; it will be replaced by a page explaining the scandal.

Notin’s class was disrupted by young Jews. They were accompanied by two former concentration camp inmates and Jewish notables from Lyon, including Dr. Marc Aron, who had organized demonstrations against Professor Faurisson in 1978-79. Cameras filmed the incident. Notin was held against his will and insulted. He remained silent.

Michel Noir, mayor of Lyon, condemned the senior lecturer and declared that, for his part, he could not remain indifferent to the idea of falsification of history as a “Lyon specialty,” alluding to the Faurisson affair in 1978-79, the Roques affair of 1985 (two members of the jury which graded his thesis, Father Pierre Zind and Jean-Paul Allard, were from Lyon) and to certain student newspapers and pamphlets on the Barbie trial in 1987.

It was discovered that Bernard Notin was a member of the scientific advisory council of the National Front.

François Kourilsky, director general of the CNRS, decided to discontinue CNRS’s support for the *Economies et Sociétés*.

In a letter to *Le Monde*, Madeleine Rebérioux, professor of history at the University of Paris-VIII and vice-president of the League for the Rights of Man, condemned the increasing support for the National Front in the universities.

Bernard Notin has maintained his calm. He protested the disruption of his class. Notin makes clear that, for him:

It has never been a question of denying the sufferings of the Jews and many others during the Second World War. Neither the events of the past nor the occurrences of the present, however, can be safe from debate and criticism in the reviews provided for that.

The Union of French Jewish Students demanded that Notin be “expunged from the faculty.”

The administration, then the administrative council, of the University of Lyon-III condemned Notin’s Revisionist stance. the council of the faculty of law (under which Notin’s course comes), declared that:

... respecting completely liberty of expression inherent in the university, [the council] is all the more comfortable in condemning his deviations, which are conducive to racism and to Revisionism and, in the case in point, the content of an article which was inspired by this miserable ideology.

Notin’s courses were cancelled by Laurent Boyer, dean of the faculty of law: the financial penalty thus approaches 30,000 francs a year [over \$5,500 U.S. as this issue went to press].

Pierre Vialle, president of the University of Lyon-III, informed Bernard Notin that he did not intend to lodge a complaint against the Jewish demonstrators. In a communique he expressed the university administration's consternation and his "condemnation of the Revisionist theses and of racism."

Bernard Notin has decided not to compete for his *agrégation* [the highest teaching diploma in France] in economics. He has been forced to submit his resignation to the scientific council of his university, on which he represented the IAE (Institut d'Administration des Entreprises). His resignation was necessary so that the city of Lyon could resume seating one of its representatives on the administrative council of the IAE. The municipal council has appointed attorney Alain Jakubowicz, assistant delegate for the rights of man and one of the lawyers for the civil parties to the Barbie trial in 1987.

The rabbi of Lyon gave a discreet promise that, if Notin withdrew his complaint against the Jewish agitators who briefly took him prisoner, they would refrain from further demonstrations. The rector allowed this group to rent the large amphitheater shared by the Universities of Lyon-II and Lyon-III for an exhibit devoted to the *Shoah*.

Bernard Notin has received support from colleagues across France. As for his financial situation, he is up against the MRAP by himself and must bear the considerable expense of a litigation which requires two lawyers, one in Lyon and one in Paris.

[This article is a translation of the French original, which appeared in *Revue d'Histoire Révisionniste* (No. 1, May-June-July 1990). On July 18, the disciplinary committee of the University of Lyon-III suspended Bernard Notin for one year; during that time he will draw only half his salary.]

Source: vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 371f.

Historical news and comment

How Fares the Roques Thesis?

Henri Roques

On January 18, 1988, the administrative tribunal of Nantes confirmed the annulment of my defense of my thesis, an annulment decided by Minister of Research and Higher Education Alain Devaquet and announced at a press conference held on July 2, 1986.

I immediately appealed to the Council of State.

Two years have passed, and the highest administrative jurisdiction in France has not yet reached a decision. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note the opinion expressed publicly by Didier Truchet, professor at the faculty of law at Rennes:

... the administration acted too slowly; it had made a definitive invitation to the candidate to pick up his diploma. The decision being appealed is in my opinion illegal.

Revue juridique de l'Ouest, 1988, 1, p. 25

Therefore, at the beginning of 1988, the University of Nantes's defense seemed weak. Since then it has become even more fragile.

The affair of the Roques thesis has even entered into an electoral campaign: Revisionism is pre-occupying our politicians. During the February 1989 municipal campaign Paris, 11th arrondissement), Devaquet ran against Socialist Georges Sarre, who has proposed the law of April 2, 1988 to suppress Revisionism. Devaquet shamelessly boasted of his decision to cancel my thesis defense, in a tract titled "An Open Letter to Beate Klarsfeld" (president of Sarre's campaign committee). Curiously, Devaquet made no mention of his ordering an administrative investigation by the rector, and the alleged procedural irregularities unearthed by the investigation and punished by the university, thereby providing flagrant proof of his arbitrary abuse of power.

Devaquet is no longer minister. The University of Nantes will confront two new facts when the Council of State hears my appeal: the opinion of Professor Truchet and the improper intrusion by the former minister.

Meanwhile, in a spiteful move, the University filed charges, in 1989, against me for "fraud in examinations and public competitions," belatedly implicating me in an action already under way against Professor Jean-Claude Rivière, my thesis director, and against an employee of the university administration; the university later let the charges against them lapse.

On September 12, 1989, the office of the public prosecutor urged that charges be brought against me on the grounds that my appeal before the administrative court involved me “in a procedure aimed at wrongly acquiring a university degree.”

On September 14, 1989 the examining magistrate “said there was no cause for further investigation.”

The prosecutor general disagreed and decided to open an investigation. The criminal appeals section of the Rennes Court of Appeals rejected the prosecutor’s request and, in its decision of January 11, 1990, upheld the ruling of September 14, 1989, closing the affair.

Now I have nothing to do but calmly await the Council of State’s decision.

Source: vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 373-377.

Historical news and comment

An Open Letter to the President of West Germany

WILHELM STÄGLICH

(Translated by R. Clarence Lang)

23 November 1988

The President of the Federal Republic

Richard von Weizsäcker

5300 Bonn

Mr. President:

You have repeatedly expressed yourself publicly on questions pertaining to Germany's history in this century (the first time was in your speech of 8 May 1945 before the West German parliament). The content and tone of your statements shows that you have based them on what is at best a partisan outlook, namely that of the victors of the two world wars. In his pamphlet *On Von Weizsäcker's Speech of 8 May 1945* (J. Reiss Verlag, 8934 Grossaitingen, 1985), of which you are no doubt aware, the publicist Emil Maier-Dorn demonstrated this convincingly, providing many examples of this bias. Evidently unimpressed, in the following years you continued, if anything even more stridently, to accuse the German people at almost every opportunity. Finally you even thought it necessary to provide the historians attending the 37th Historians' Conference in Bamberg with guidelines, so to speak, for treating the Auschwitz problem, which has been the object of scholarly discussion for at least the past decade. Can it be that you are unaware of Article 5, Paragraph 3 of the Basic Law, which guarantees freedom in scholarship, research, and instruction? The applause for your unqualified and utterly biased remarks from our enemies in the world wars, and from a West German mass media which evidently still follows their orders, should have reminded you of a saying of Bismarck, who once remarked that when his enemies praised him, he had doubtless committed a blunder.

Unfortunately, Maier-Dorn had to omit from his pamphlet any treatment of your statements on the question of the extermination of the Jews, since the official version of this is in his words "legally protected" in West Germany. Although this is not entirely correct, Maier-Dorn's assessment is on the mark insofar as a justice system undoubtedly subject to political pressure, and thus not independent, manipulates the facts and the law to prosecute and otherwise harry those who doubt or even contest the annihilation of the Jews in alleged "gas chambers" in so-called "extermination" camps. This phenomenon is no doubt a unique one in the history of justice.

Now, however, an event which took place about six months ago has forced a rethinking of the official history. The defense in the trial of Ernst Zündel, a German-Canadian, in Toronto, Canada

submitted expert testimony by the American gas-chamber expert Fred A. Leuchter (as is well known, executions are still carried out in gas chambers in certain states of the U.S.A.) according to which those places at Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek which were identified by alleged eyewitness as gas chambers could not have functioned as such. This expert study, which has meanwhile become famous around the world, can in the future no longer be ignored by any serious historian with a claim to scholarly objectivity. Besides gas-chamber technology, Leuchter's report deals with the composition and mode of operation of the pesticide Zyklon-B, allegedly used for killing Jews, as well as crematory technology. I specified these questions as urgently in need of clarification for the treatment of the extermination problem as early as 1979, on page 336 of my study *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, which, significantly, was confiscated at the order of a court which followed directives from higher up. Neither historians nor judges have worried about this state of affairs, not to mention the politicians, including yourself.

Unfortunately the Leuchter report, like everything which could exonerate our nation historically, is passed over in dead silence officially. Therefore I take the liberty to submit this important document in the original English text to you, Mr. President, so that at last you can obtain a clear understanding of things. This text differs from that of the original report only in the omission of chemical analyses performed by the American chemist Professor Roth, whom Leuchter engaged to study the samples he had gathered during his personal inspections at those sites at Auschwitz and Birkenau officially designated as "gas chambers," as well as, for purposes of comparison, at the former delousing chambers. These analyses are included only in summary form (on page 16) in the text of Leuchter's report intended for mass distribution.. Mr. President, now you can acquaint yourself with the most up-to-date, authoritative research on this matter of such consequence to our nation.

I dare say I may assume that thereafter, even if you won't correct your past accusations, you will at least refrain from unjustifiably imposing guilt on our nation in the future. The high office you occupy requires, in conformity with the oath you took on assuming it, that you serve as a protector of the German nation, rather than depriving it of the last bit of political self-confidence. In your speeches you have repeatedly demanded "courage to face the truth," notwithstanding that the "truth" which you proclaimed was already questionable, at the very least, for being so one-sided. Now is the time to demonstrate your own courage to face the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, Mr. President! Otherwise you must later face, with good reason, being reproached for your hypocrisy.

With the regards of a citizen,
Wilhelm Stäglich

15 December 1988

Dear Mr. Stäglich:

The President has asked me to acknowledge receipt of your letter. Clearly you have not yet been able to read his speech at the 37th Historians' Conference in Bamberg in its full context. Neither at Bamberg or on any other occasion has the President expressed himself in favor of the thesis of the German people's collective guilt. He has steadily maintained the exact opposite. As he put it in his address to the German parliament of 8 May 1985, the fortieth anniversary of the end of the war, Guilt, like innocence, is always personal. I have taken the liberty of sending you the text of that speech as well as of the Bamberg speech for your information.

Cordially,
Dr Kühnhardt

The President of the Federal Republic
Richard von Weizsäcker
5300 Bonn

Mr. Bundespresident:

You were obliging enough to have Dr. Kuhnhardt answer my letter of 23 November 1988, although in fact a reply was neither required nor expected. I don't know whether the reply of 15 December 1988 embodies your explicit instructions, but in any case its content is entirely beside the point

My letter of 23 November nowhere insinuated that you had ever professed the theory of the German people's collective guilt, but rather objected to your partisan historical views, which, to be frank, must be similar in their effect to the collective guilt theory. My own and, in my opinion, clearly stated purpose was to convince you, in reference to the Leuchter report, which I enclosed, that the version of Auschwitz which you have repeatedly publicized must now at the very least be subjected to verification. For when America's leading gas-chamber expert concludes in his expert report that, after exhaustive on-site investigations, there were no gas chambers capable of mass murder either in Auschwitz or in Birkenau and Majdanek, it appears to me that your statements to the contrary, given out as "irrefutable truth" at the Bamberger Historians' Conference, will in the future be untenable.

The existing Auschwitz story is therefore false! A false version of history, however, as you yourself rightly stressed at the historians' conference, possesses significant "political and moral" importance. We Germans are reminded of this importance every day, whether by the image of the "evil German" incessantly pushed in the mass media, or by the reparations paid to Jews in Israel and throughout the world today and demanded by them for tomorrow, with no end in sight. I need not mention the inferior political status which continues to accrue to us Germans through the division of our people into different states and the theft, presented to us as final, of the Eastern Territories of the German Reich, which still exists in international law and according to the West German constitution, as the Federal Republic's supreme court has ruled. If we desire a continued national existence (sometimes, hearing our politicians talk, one has doubts about that), it is high time for us to correct false versions of history emanating from the anti-German propaganda arsenal. This, and nothing else, was what I wanted to make clear to you by my letter and the enclosed report.

One scarcely assumes that my letter could be as thoroughly misunderstood as seems to have been the case, judging from the Dr. Kühnhardt's reply. Mr. President, can it be that certain relationships prevent you from even taking notice of those findings which, like the Leuchter report, exonerate Germany? That might well explain Dr. Dr. Kühnhardt's evasive answer. After the Jenninger "affair" such a suspicion seems in no way unfounded, since after his disgraceful dismissal the former president of the Bundestag is said to have told journalists that in this country, on certain issues, you can't call a spade a spade. Not even if it's the truth, Mr. President? In that case, we haven't really made all that much progress in what you never stop glorifying as the "liberation" of 1945!

With the regards of a citizen,
Wilhelm Stäglich

[These letters were originally published in *Die Bauernschaft*, Nordwind Verlag, Molevej 12, 6430 Denmark.]

Source: vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 380-382.

Historical news and comment

If You Can't Eat Em, Beat 'Em, Or, How I Killed Thousands With My Bare Hands

Carlos W. Porter

In the Far Eastern war crimes trials, Japanese defendants were commonly convicted of killing POWs by fiendish torture (possibly for tenderizing purposes), after which the victims were eaten. Today, of course, it is recognized that the Japanese are a nation of fastidious eaters who consume little meat; nor do they devour dogs, cats, rats, and bird's spittle, like many Chinese.

In the German war crimes trials, the evidence concerning fiendish torture is much the same, except that we are spared this final culinary insult (or perhaps the food was less appetizing).

Certainly no one familiar with the average year's "Holocaust survivor" crop (even in a good year) could get his taste buds in a twist for such cuisine-on-the-hoof (or even pre-prepared). In addition to its often unsavory appearance, there is the danger that such fare, like polluted shellfish, might prove toxic to the eater.

With "eating" eliminated, there remains "beating." A survivor, like an egg, spends a great deal of time being beaten (when he is not being steamed, fried, or poached); this may explain the scrambled nature of his testimony.

The evidence in prison camp trials (both Japanese and German) is very repetitive. Dozens of witnesses appear and describe horrific tortures in which inmates are beaten to a pulp with hands, fists, boots, and a variety of objects.

The defendant then appears and testifies, in effect: "I slapped them; sometimes I hit them with my fist; once in a while I kicked them. But I never hit them with an object, or beat them so badly as to cause serious injury. But if I am serving food and they are all trying to steal it, what am I supposed to do? Write out a written report, in which case they will all be punished more severely later, or just hit them and make them stop?"

This, of course, is taken as a "confession." "Hit" is translated as "beat," giving the impression of repeated blows and serious injury. Since thousands of inmates died of disease (this is always admitted by the prosecution somewhere or other), many of those he "hit" have died; therefore, he has beaten thousands of people to death." He is then hanged on the basis of his "confession," corroborated by "eyewitness evidence."

The following testimony, from the Trial of Martin Gottfried Weiss, is probably typical of thousands of cases:

A: I used the whip once that I can remember ... seven bottles of wine were stolen ... each block elder received three over his buttocks. There was no report handed in ... I always hit them with the hand. I was strict but just. It was entirely necessary, because ... these block elders and the capos took their own rations from their own people. Butter and other things were stolen from the kitchen or taken outside and sold, and in some instances cases of eggs were missing ...

Q: ... you slapped prisoners every time you came into contact with them, did you not?

A: No, prisoners weren't beaten without a reason.

Q: ... you always had a reason for beating them, didn't you? ... you beat prisoners, slapped them in the face and hit them in the head? Is it not true that you broke bones and hit them in other places besides their buttocks?

A: No, it never happened that I hit a prisoner in the face or broke bones or drew blood.

(Above is the testimony of Tempel, microfilm pages 000445-50. Tempel was a member of the SS. The SS overseers claimed that the prisoners beat each other, since most of them were criminals and there were not enough guards. Tempel was hanged.)

Q: Did you ever beat, or beat to death, prisoners?

A: I never beat anyone to death, or else I would be in jail today. Now and again I administered a slap in the face as a reprimand, but that was necessary to avoid punishment reports to the SS ...

Q: Did you ever kick with your feet?

A: I never kicked with my feet, but I told people while marching "get up, see that you get up."

Q: The witness Siebold said that you beat Russians to such an extent that their noses bled as a result. Is that correct?

A: It is possible that a slight bleeding of the nose occurred on a person whom I slapped on the face. I cannot remember any such case ...

Q: ... Becher, there was a witness who testified that you beat another prisoner, Kowalski, to such an extent that he had to be sent to the hospital, and died.

A: I can remember the case of Kowalski exactly ... I gave him two slaps in the face, and he had to go to the plantation for easy work. When he came back he had dysentery. He remained in the block for three days, made the beds filthy, and then I took him over to the hospital. After five or six days, the report came in that he had died of dysentery ... it sometimes happened that certain prisoners attempted to make homosexual advances on other prisoners, and, naturally, these people had to be corrected. It happened that people stole. For example, the smoking tobacco of a man was stolen. Thereupon I asked him whether that was true. He said, "No, it was not true, I could swear to it." Then the other prisoner told me to search him, he had the tobacco in his

pocket. And that was actually true. I found the tobacco belonging to the other man in his pocket.

Q: ... and you beat Kowalski in the face, did you not?

A: With the flat of the hand.

Q: And you beat Kowalski in the body, did you not?

A: No, only in the face ...

Q: ... now Becher, how many of these men did you beat while you were block eldest?

A: Me, beat people? I didn't beat people. I only corrected them. If somebody stole from his companions, or if he was a homosexual. What else could I do?

Q: It is a fact, isn't it, that you corrected them by beating them?

A: Yes. With the hand. I beat them with the hand, and never with an object, and never so that they would be injured or go to the hospital ...

(Above is the testimony of Becher, microfilm pages 000608-9, 000615-6. Becher was a Communist who claimed that the SS had beaten people, but denied beating people himself.)

Q: Do you admit to having beaten people?

A: No. But I did give out slaps in the face, where, according to my feeling, I had a right to do so. Or else, if I didn't, I would have to make a report to the SS. Or in order to save the prisoner from getting the twenty-five and the usual things that accompanied it, because I myself experienced the twenty-five and the other things.

Q: You said before that you did that in order to correct them.. What made you correct them?

A: In order to tell that to the court I would have to talk until tomorrow, in order to explain all those things that could happen in a block with one thousand people. I would like to tell you only one case. One evening, while passing by a block, I see somebody there using a newspaper instead of the toilet. I wanted to look in to see what he is doing, but I didn't look in for long, because the whole mess flew in my face ... or else if the room eldest gave jam and bread to somebody else for distribution, at noon when they fall in again, ten or twelve complain that they didn't have any marmalade ... or else when you were trying to select fifty or sixty people for work, you picked out ten because they were the strong ones. By the time you picked out ten more, the first ten would have disappeared. And these various cases, I could continue to tell about them into tomorrow morning ...

(Above is the testimony of Kick, microfilm pages 000619-20. Kick was another Communist. Kick was hanged for making mole-skin coats out of Jewish inmates.)

Source: vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 387, 486, 508.

From the Editor

Ted O'Keefe

This fortieth issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, capping a decade of publication (with one year's "sabbatical") could be called the "David Irving issue." In three separate, full-length articles the Englishman gives a masterly display of his versatility as an historian. The dogged prospector for original sources, the merciless discreditor of the forgeries on which the Establishment has based its historical distortions, the defier of censorship and repression, and the dazzling public performer: all these Irvings are on display in this issue of *The JHR*.

Irving's revised introduction to the new, condensed American edition of *Hitler's War*, [reprinted here](#) with his permission, cuts a wide swath through an array of documentary fakes long relied on by other Hitler biographers. Just as important, it covers a good deal of the giant step Irving has taken over the past two years, from his already dissident position on Hitler's ignorance of the alleged Holocaust to the full-fledged Revisionist position on the gas chambers.

Just as Irving's unconventional findings on the Hitler years will challenge revisionist and non-revisionist alike, his bravura [account of the last days of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel](#) will again stoke the fires of controversy ignited by his *Trail of the Fox*. That brilliant biography was hailed by serious researchers when it appeared in 1977 for its exploitation of new sources and its relentless debunking of the myth, fostered by West German and Anglo-American circles, of Rommel the unreservedly anti-Hitler plotter and (uniquely) upright opponent. (Readers should note that citations in smaller type size are taken directly from *The Trail of the Fox*; in other cases, Irving has condensed or paraphrased his sources.)

Then Mark Weber, who will be joining IHR's staff in Southern California in the new year, [re-views](#) a period of extraordinary gains for Historical Revisionism in his keynote address to the Tenth Conference. As Weber demonstrates, the collapse of the Soviet system in East-Central Europe and the impending break-up of the Soviet Union, with the complete discrediting of Communism as its concomitant, have momentous implications for setting straight the past record, in the "democratic" West as well the East. No less important, as Weber shows, has been the steady advance of Holocaust Revisionism, which has won new allies and new influence, and the corresponding retreat of the Exterminationists, who have been driven to unheard-of concessions during the past year.

Fred Leuchter, who changed history with the two reports that bear his name, [reveals](#) the full extent of the frenzied persecution which alien terrorist Beate Klarsfeld has whistled up against him: economic boycott, punitive legislation, and prosecution for daring to give his professional assessment of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Dachau, and Mauthausen. America's leading expert in the design and maintenance of execution systems shows the mettle and reveals

some of the strategy by which he intends to hang tough (sorry, but no pun intended) against Klarsfeld and her coven of witch-hunters.

As Mark Weber pointed out in his review of French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (in the Summer 1990 JHR), Pressac's attempt to defend the Auschwitz myth by publishing and analyzing a wealth of never-before-published documents from Auschwitz has rendered important, if unintentional, service to Revisionism. Carlo Mattogno **supplies** what will be the first of several in-depth examinations of Pressac's findings to appear in the *JHR* with a painstaking analysis of Pressac's procrustean efforts to square some of the most influential "eye-witness" testimony on the alleged gas chambers with the facts. Mattogno's demolition of both the celebrated Vrba-Wetzler testimony and of Pressac's attempts to salvage it by explaining away some of its manifest absurdities is a tour de force, the initial revisionist counter to an exterminationist gambit that portends eventual checkmate to the exploiters of the gas-chamber lie.

Nor is that the only battering the Auschwitz myth takes in this fortieth issue: David Irving (whose father was a Royal Navy admiral) turns his guns on what he calls the "Battleship Auschwitz" (we can't italicize "Auschwitz" until it's properly commissioned by breaking a bottle of champagne against the wall of Crematorium I). In his informal, and often hilarious **remarks** to the Tenth Conference, Irving shares a few of the secrets of the lonely trade of the independent historian, above all eye-opening revelations from the mouths of the court historians on the phoni-ness which enshrouds the official version. Sink the Auschwitz! (By the way, we hope readers will profit from the entertaining and informative rundown of David Irving's career with which conference emcee Mark Weber introduced our extraordinary guest.)

These important articles left room for a single review, Jack Wikoff's **deft deflation** of a pop-psychological attempt to grapple with wartime propaganda, which is nevertheless, according to our reviewer, not without its merits.

Last but not least is a tribute to the late A. J. P. Taylor, the immensely influential English historian whose classic *Origins of the Second World War*, published in 1961, was the first attempt by an Establishment historian to apportion responsibility for the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 objectively. According to Harry Elmer Barnes, the publication of that classic (still available for purchase from the Institute for Historical Review) "must be regarded as one of the most courageous acts in the whole history of historical writing." Sam Konkin's **brief valedictory** pays homage to the virtues of this last exemplar of the values of classical liberalism.

Hitler's War. An introduction to the new edition

by [David Irving](#)

“To historians is granted a talent that even the gods are denied—to alter what has already happened.” I bore this scornful adage in mind when I embarked on this study of Adolf Hitler’s twelve years of absolute power. I saw myself as a stone-cleaner — less concerned with architectural appraisal than with scrubbing years of grime and discoloration from the facade of a silent and forbidding monument. I set out to describe events from behind the Fuhrer’s desk, seeing each episode through his eyes. The technique necessarily narrows the field of view, but it does help to explain decisions that are otherwise inexplicable. Nobody that I knew of had attempted this before, but it seemed worth the effort. After all, Hitler’s war left forty million dead and caused all of Europe and half of Asia to be wasted by fire and explosives; it destroyed Hitler’s “Third Reich,” bankrupted Britain and lost her her Empire, and it brought lasting disorder to world affairs; it saw the entrenchment of Communism in one continent, and its emergence in another.

In earlier books I had relied on the primary records of the period rather than published literature, which contained too many pitfalls for the historian. I naively supposed that the same primary-sources technique could within five years be applied to a study of Hitler. In fact it would be thirteen years before the first volume, *Hitler’s War*, was published in 1977 and twelve years later I am still indexing and adding to my documentary files. I remember, in 1965, driving down to Tilbury Docks to collect a crate of microfilm ordered from the U.S. government for this study; the liner that brought the crate has long been scrapped, the dockyard itself leveled to the ground. I suppose I took it all at a far too leisurely pace. But I hope that this biography, now updated and revised, will outlive its rivals, and that more and more future writers find themselves compelled to consult it for materials that are contained in none of the others. Traveling around the world I have found that it has split the community of academic historians from top to bottom, particularly in the controversy around the “holocaust.” In Australia alone, students from the universities of New South Wales and West Australia have told me that there they are penalized for citing *Hitler’s War*; at the universities of Wollongong and Canberra students are disciplined if they don’t. The biography is required reading for officers at military academies from Sandhurst to West Point, New York and Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and has attracted critical praise from the experts behind the Iron Curtain and from the denizens of the Far Right.

I, as its author, have had my home smashed into by thugs, my family terrorized, my name smeared, my printers firebombed, and myself arrested and deported by tiny, democratic Austrian illegal act, their courts decided, for which the ministerial culprits are to be punished. A journalist for *Time* magazine dining with me in New York in 1988 remarked, “Before coming over I read the clippings files on you. Until *Hitler’s War* you couldn’t put a foot wrong, you were the darling of the media; after it, they heaped slime on you.”

I offer no apology for having revised the existing picture of the man. I have tried to accord to him the kind of hearing that he would have got in an English court of law-where the normal rules of evidence apply, but also where a measure of insight is appropriate. There have been skeptics who questioned whether the heavy reliance on-inevitably angled-private sources is any better as a method of investigation than the more traditional quarries of information. My reply is that we certainly cannot deny the value of private sources altogether. As the *Washington Post* noted in its review of the first edition in 1977, "British historians have always been more objective toward Hitler than either German or American writers."

My conclusions on completing the manuscript startled even me. Hitler was a far less omnipotent Führer than has been believed, and his grip on his subordinates had weakened with each passing year. Three episodes-the aftermath of the Ernst Röhm affair of June 30, 1934, the Dollfuss assassination a month later, and the anti-Jewish outrages of November 1938-show how his powers had been preempted by men to whom he felt himself in one way or another indebted. While my Hitler's central and guiding prewar ambition always remains constant, his methods and tactics were profoundly opportunistic. Hitler firmly believed in grasping at fleeting opportunities. "There is but one moment when the Goddess of Fortune wafts by," he lectured his adjutants in 1938, "and if you don't grab her then by the hem you won't get a second chance!" The manner in which he seized upon the double scandal in January 1938 to divest himself of the over-conservative army Commander in Chief, Werner von Fritsch, and to become his own Supreme Commander too, is a good example.

His geographical ambitions remained unchanged. He had no ambitions against Britain or her Empire at all, and all the captured records solidly bear this out. He had certainly built the wrong air force and the wrong navy for a sustained campaign against the British Isles; and subtle indications, like his instructions to Fritz Todt (page 43) to erect huge monuments on the Reich's western frontiers, suggest that for Hitler these frontiers were of a lasting nature. There is equally solid proof of his plans to invade the east-his secret speech of February 1933 (page 46), his memorandum of August 1936 (pages 57-58), his June 1937 instructions for the expansion of Pillau as a Baltic naval base (page 66), and his remarks to Mussolini in May 1938 (page 100), that "Germany will step out along the ancient Teutonic path, toward the east." Not until later that month, it turns out (page 104), did Hitler finally resign himself to the likelihood that Britain and France would probably not stand aside.

These last prewar years saw Hitler's intensive reliance on psychological warfare techniques. The principle was not new: Napoleon himself had defined it thus: "The reputation of one's arms in war is everything, and equivalent to real forces." But using the records of the Propaganda Ministry and various editorial offices I have tried to illustrate how advanced the Nazis were in those "cold war" techniques. Related to this theme is my emphasis on Hitler's foreign Intelligence sources. The Nazis' wiretapping and code-breaking agency, the Forschungsamt, which destroyed all its records in 1945, holds the key to many of his successes. The agency eavesdropped on foreign diplomats in Berlin and-even more significantly-it fed to Hitler hour-by-hour transcripts of the lurid and incautious telephone conversations conducted between an embattled Prague and the Czech diplomats in London and Paris during September 1938 (pages 127-135). From the time of Munich until the outbreak of war with Britain Hitler could follow virtually hourly how his enemies were reacting to each Nazi ploy, and he rightly deduced by August 22, 1939, that while the western powers might well formally declare war they would not actually fight-not at first, that is.

The war years say Hitler was a powerful and relentless military commander, the inspiration behind great victories like the Battle of France in May 1940 and the Battle of Kharkov in May 1942; even Marshal Zhukov later privately admitted that Hitler's summer 1941 strategy-rather

than the general staff's frontal assault on Moscow-was unquestionably right. But at the same time Hitler became a lax and indecisive *political* leader, who allowed affairs of state to stagnate. Though often brutal and insensitive, he lacked the ability to be ruthless where it mattered most. He refused to bomb London itself until Mr. Churchill forced the decision on him in late August 1940. He was reluctant to impose the test of total mobilization on the German "master race" until it was too late to matter, so that with munitions factories crying out for manpower, idle German housewives were still employing half a million domestic servants to dust their homes and polish their furniture. Hitler's military irresolution sometimes showed through, for example in his panicky vacillation at times of crisis like the battle for Narvik in 1940. He took ineffectual measures against his enemies inside Germany for too long, and seems to have been unable to face effectively against strong opposition at the very heart of his High Command. In fact he suffered incompetent ministers and generals far longer than the Allied leaders did. He failed to unite the feuding factions of Party and Wehrmacht in fights for the common cause, and he proved incapable of stifling the corrosive hatred of the War Department (OKH) for the Wehrmacht High Command (OKW).

I believe that I show in this book that the more hermetically Hitler locked himself away behind the barbed wire and mine fields of his remote military headquarters, the more his Germany became a Führer-Staat with a Führer. Domestic policy was controlled by whoever was most powerful in each sector-by Hermann Göring as head of the powerful economic agency, the Four-Year Plan; by Hans Lammers as chief of the Reich Chancellery; or by Martin Bormann, the Nazi party boss; or by Heinrich Himmler, minister of the interior and Reichsführer of the evil-famed SS.

Hitler was a problem, a puzzle even to his most intimate advisers. Joachim Ribbentrop, his foreign minister, wrote in his Nuremberg prison cell in 1945:

I got to know Adolf Hitler more closely in 1933. But if I am asked today whether I knew him well-how he thought as a politician and statesman, what kind of man he was-then I'm bound to confess that I know only very little about him; really, nothing at all. The fact is that although I went through so much together with him, in all the years of working with him I never came closer to him than on the first day we met, either personally or otherwise.

The sheer complexity of that character is evident from a comparison of his brutality in some respects with his almost maudlin sentimentality and stubborn adherence to military conventions that others had long abandoned. We find him cold-bloodedly ordering a hundred hostages executed for every German occupation soldier killed; dictating the massacre of Italian officers who had turned their weapons against German troops in 1943; ordering the liquidation of Red Army commissary Allied commando troops, and captured Allied aircrews; in 1942 he announced that the male populations of Stalingrad and Leningrad were to be exterminated. He justified all these orders by the expediencies of war. Yet the same Hitler indignantly exclaimed, in the last week of his life, that Soviet tanks were flying the Nazi swastika as a ruse during street fighting in Berlin, and he flatly forbade his Wehrmacht to violate flag rules. He had opposed every suggestion for the use of poison gases, as that would violate the Geneva Protocol; at that time Germans alone had manufactured the potentially war winning lethal nerve gases Sarin and Tabun. In an age in which the government of the democracies engineered or condoned the assassinations, successfully or otherwise, of the inconvenient-from General Sikorski, Admiral Darlan, Field Marshal Rommel, and King Boris of Bulgaria to Fidel Castro, Patrice Lumumba, and Salvador Allende-we learn that Hitler, the world's most unscrupulous dictator, not only never resorted to the assassination of foreign opponents but flatly forbade his Abwehr to attempt it. In particular he rejected Admiral Canaris's plans to assassinate the Red Army General Staff.

The biggest problem in dealing analytically with Hitler is the aversion to him deliberately created by years of intense wartime propaganda and emotive postwar historiography. I came to the subject with almost neutral feelings. My own impression of the war was limited to snapshot memories-1940 summer picnics around the wreckage of a Heinkel bomber in the local Bluebell Woods; the infernal organ note of the V-1 flying bombs passing overhead; convoys of drab army trucks rumbling past our country gate; counting the gaps in the American bomber squadrons straggling back each day from Germany; waving to the troopships sailing in June 1944 from Southsea beach to Normandy; and of course, VE-day itself, with the bonfires and beating of the family gong. Our knowledge of the Germans “responsible” for all this was not profound. In *Everybody's* magazine, long defunct, I recall “Ferrier’s World Searchlight” with its weekly caricatures of a clubfoot dwarf called Goebbels and the other comic Nazi heroes.

The caricatures have bedeviled the writing of modern history ever since. Confronted by the phenomenon of Hitler himself, historians cannot grasp that he was a walking, talking human weighing some 155 pounds with graying hair, largely false teeth, and chronic digestive ailments. He is to them the Devil incarnate; he *has* to be, because of the sacrifices that we made in destroying him.

The caricaturing process became respectable as the Nuremberg war crimes trials. History has been plagued since then by the prosecution teams' methods of selecting exhibits and by the subsequent publication of them in neatly printed and indexed volumes and the incineration of any document that might have hindered the prosecution effort. At Nuremberg the blame for what happened was shifted from general to minister, from minister to Party official, and from all of them invariably to Hitler. Under the system of “licensed” publishers and newspapers established by the victors in postwar Germany the legends prospered. No story was too absurd to gain credence in the history books and memoirs.

Among these creative writers the German General Staff take pride of place. Without Hitler few of them would have risen above colonel. They owed him their jobs, their medals, their estates and endowments, and not infrequently their victories too. After the war those who survived—which was sometimes because they had been dismissed and thus removed from the hazards of the battlefield—contrived to divert the blame for final defeat. In the files of Nuremberg prosecutor Justice Robert H. Jackson I found a note warning about the tactics that General Franz Halder, the former chief of General Staff, proposed to adopt: “I just want to call your attention to the CSDIC intercepts of Halder’s conversations with other generals. He is extremely frank on what he thinks should be suppressed or distorted and in particular is very sensitive to the suggestion that the German General Staff was involved in anything, especially planning for war.” Fortunately this embarrassed interplay of conscience and memory was more than once recorded for posterity by the hidden microphones of the CSDIC (Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Center). Thus the cavalry general Rothkirch, the III Corps commander, captured at Bitburg on March 6, 1945, was overheard three days later describing how he had personally liquidated Jews in a small town near Vitebsk, Russia, and how he had been warned not to disturb mass graves near Minsk as these were about to be exhumed and incinerated so as to destroy all traces. “I have decided,” he told fellow prisoners, “to twist every statement I make so that the officer corps is white-washed-relentlessly, relentlessly!” ^[1] And when General Heinz Guderian and the arrogant, supercilious General Leo Geyr von Schweppenburg were asked by their American captors to write their own history of the war, they first sought Field Marshall Wilhelm Leeb’s permission as senior officer at the Seventh Army’s CSDIC. Again hidden microphones recorded their talk:

Leeb: Well, I can only give you my personal opinion ... You will have to weigh your answers carefully when they pertain to objectives, causes, and the progress of opera-

tions, in order to see where they may impinge on the interests of our Fatherland. On the one hand we have to admit that the Americans know the course of operations quite accurately; they even know which units were employed on our side. However they are not quite so familiar with our motives. And there is one point where it would be advisable to proceed with caution, so that we do not become the laughingstock of the world. I do not know what your relations were with Hitler, but I do know his military capacity ... You will have to consider your answers a bit carefully when approached on this subject so that you say nothing that might embarrass our Fatherland ...

Geyr von Schweppenburg: The types of madness known to psychologists cannot be compared with the one the Fuhrer suffered from. He was a madman surrounded by serfs. I do not think we should express ourselves quite as strongly as that in our statements. Mention of this fact will have to be made, however, in order to exonerate a few persons.

After agonizing over whether and which German generals advocated war in 1939, Leeb suggested: "The question is now whether we should not just admit openly everything we know."

Geyr: Any objective observer will admit that National Socialism did raise the social status of the worker, and in some respects even his standard of living.

Leeb: This is one of the great achievements of National Socialism. The excesses of National Socialism were in the first and final analysis due to the Führer's personality.

Guderian: The fundamental principles were fine.

Leeb: That is true.

In writing this biography I therefore adopted strict criteria in selecting my source material. I have used not only the military records and archives; I have burrowed deep into the contemporary writings of his closest personal staff, seeking clues to the real truth in diaries and private letters written to wives and friends. For the few autobiographical works I have used I preferred to rely on their original manuscripts rather than the printed texts, as in the early postwar years apprehensive publishers (especially the "licensed" ones in Germany) made drastic changes in them—for example in the memoirs of Karl-Wilhelm Krause, Hitler's manservant. Thus I relied on the original handwritten memoirs of Walter Schellenberg, Himmler's Intelligence chief, rather than on the mutilated and ghostwritten version subsequently published by Andre Deutsch. I would go so far as to warn against several works hitherto accepted as "standard" sources on Hitler—particularly those by Konrad Heiden, the Abwehr/OSS double agent Hans Bernd Gisevius, Erich Kordt, and Hitler's dismissed adjutant Fritz Wiedemann. (The latter unashamedly explained in a private 1940 letter to a friend, "It makes no difference if exaggerations and even falsehoods do creep in." Professor Carl-Jakob Burckhardt's "diary" quoted in his memoir, *Meine Danziger Mission 1937-1939*, is impossible to reconcile with Hitler's actual movements; while Hermann Rauschning's *Conversations with Hitler* (Zurich, 1940) has bedeviled analysis of Hitler's policies ever since it was published by the evil propagandist Emery Reves (Imre Revész) along with a host of other fables. Rauschning, a former Nazi Danzig politician, met Hitler on only a couple of formal occasions. It was being republished in Vienna as recently as 1973, although even the otherwise uncritical West German historian Professor Eberhard Jäckel—who carelessly included 78 forgeries in a serious volume of Hitler's manuscripts, and then dismissed this poisonous injection as making up less than 5 percent of the total volume!—emphasized in a learned article in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* (No. 11, 1977) that Rauschning's volume has no claim to credibility at

all. Reves was also publisher of that other famous “source” on early Nazi history, Fritz Thyssen’s “memoirs,” *I Paid Hitler* (London, 1943). Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., has pointed out in a paper in *Vierteljahrsheft für Zeitgeschichte* (No. 3, 1971) that the luckless Thyssen never even saw eight of the book’s nineteen chapters, while the rest were drafted in French! The list of such spurious volumes is endless. The anonymous “memoirs” of the late Christa Schroeder, *Hitler Privat* (Düsseldorf, 1949) were penned by Albert Zoller, a French army liaison officer to the U.S. Seventh Army. Martin Bormann’s alleged notes on Hitler’s final bunker conversations, published with an introduction by Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper in 1961 as *The Testament of Adolf Hitler* and regrettably-published by Albrecht Knaus Verlag in German as *Hitlers Politisches Testament: Die Bormann Diktate* (Hamburg, 1981) are in my view quite spurious: a copy of the partly typed, partly handwritten document is in my possession, and this leaves no doubt.

But historians are quite incorrigible, and will quote any apparently primary source no matter how convincingly its pedigree is exposed. Albert Speer’s *Inside the Third Reich* made him a personal fortune after the West Berlin firm of Propyläen published the book in 1969. They earned him wide respect for his disavowal of Hitler. But some critics were puzzled that the American edition differed substantially from the German original *Erinnerungen* and the British edition. In fact I learned the truth from the horse’s mouth, being one of the first writers to interview Speer after his release from Spandau prison in 1966. The former Reichsminister spent an afternoon reading out loud to me from his draft memoirs. The book subsequently published was very different, having been written, he explained, by my own in-house editor at the Ullstein publishing house (Annette Engel geb. Etienne), by their chief editor Wolf-Jobst Siedler, and by historian Joachim Fest, editor of the prestigious *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Miss Etienne confirmed this. When I challenged Speer in private at a Frankfurt publishing dinner in October 1979 to publish his original memoirs, he replied rather wistfully that he wished he could: “But it would be impossible. That manuscript was quite out of keeping with the modern nuances. Even the captions to the chapters would have caused difficulties.” A courageous Berlin author, Matthias Schmidt, later published a book [2] exposing the Speer legend and the “memoirs”; but it is the latter volume which the lazy gentlemen of my profession have in their libraries, not Schmidt’s, thus proving the opening words of this introduction true.

It was symptomatic of Speer’s truthfulness to history that while he was in Spandau he paid for the entire wartime diaries of his office (Dienststelle) to be retyped omitting the more unfortunate passages, and donated these faked documents to the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz. My comparison of the 1943 volume, housed in the original in British Cabinet Office archives, with the Bundesarchiv copy made this plain, and Matthias Schmidt also reveals the forgery. In fact I have been startled by the number of such “diaries” which close scrutiny proves to have been faked or tampered with-invariably to Hitler’s disadvantage.

Two different men claimed to possess the entire diaries of Vice Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, the legendary Abwehr chief hanged by Hitler in April 1945. The first, Klaus Benzing, produced “documents of the postwar German Intelligence Service (BND)” and original papers “signed by Canaris” in his support; the second, the German High Court judge Fabian von Schlabrendorff, announced that his set of the diaries had recently been returned by Generalissimo Francisco Franco to the West German government. Forensic tests on the paper and ink of a “Canaris document” supplied by the first man, conducted for me by the London laboratory of Hehner and Cox Ltd., proved them to be forgeries. An interview with Franco’s chef de bureau-his brother-in-law Don Felipe Polo Valdes-in Madrid disposed of the German judge’s equally improbable claim. Similarly the Eva Braun diaries published by the film actor Luis Trenker were largely forged from the memoirs written decades earlier by Countess Irma Larisch-Wallersee; the forgery was established by the Munich courts in October 1948. Eva Braun’s genuine diaries and voluminous

intimate correspondence with Hitler were acquired by the CIC team of Colonel Robert A. Gutierrez, based in Stuttgart-Backnang in the summer of 1945; after a brief sifting by Frau Ursula Gohler on their behalf, these papers have not been seen since. I visited Gutierrez twice in new Mexico-he subsequently released Eva Braun's wedding dress and silver flatware (which he admitted having retained) to my research-colleague Willi Korte, but he has not conceded an inch over the missing papers and diaries.

The oft-quoted diaries of Himmler's and Ribbentrop's Berlin masseur Felix Kersten are equally fictitious-as for example the "twenty-six-page medical dossier on Hitler" described in chapter XXIII (pp. 165-171 of the English edition) shows when compared with the genuine diaries of Hitler's doctor, Theo Morell, which I found and published in 1983. The genuine Kersten diaries which Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper saw in Sweden were never published, perhaps because of the political dynamite they contained on Sweden's elite, including publisher Albert Bonnier, alleged to have offered Himmler the addresses of every Jew in Sweden in return for concessions in the event of a Nazi invasion. Similarly the Zdiariesw published by Rudolf Semmler in *Goebbels-the Man Next to Hitler* (London, 1947) are phony too, as the entry for January 12, 1945, proves; it has Hitler as Goebbels's guest in Berlin, when the Führer was in fact still fighting the Battle of the Bulge from his headquarters in West Germany. And there are obvious anachronisms in Count Galeazzo Ciano's extensively quoted "diaries": for example Marshal Rodolfo Graziani's "complaints about Rommel" on December 12, 1940-two full months *before* Rommel was appointed to Italy's North Africa theater! In fact Ciano spent the months after his dismissal in February 1943 rewriting and "improving" the diaries himself, which makes them readable but useless for the purposes of history. Ribbentrop warned about the forgery in his prison memoirs-he claimed to have seen Ciano's real diaries in September 1943-and the Nazi interpreter Eugen Dollmann described in his memoirs how the fraud was actually admitted to him by a British officer at a prison camp. The OSS files on this are in the Allen W. Dulles papers (unfortunately still closed) at the Mudd Library, Princeton University; but even the most superficial examination of the handwritten original volumes reveals the extent to which Ciano (or others) doctored them and interpolated material-yet historians of the highest repute have quoted them without question as they have Ciano's so-called "Lisbon Papers," although the latter too bear all the hallmarks of subsequent editing. (They have all been retyped on the same typewriter although ostensibly originating over the six years 1936-42.)

Some diaries have been amended in relatively harmless ways: the Luftwaffe Chief of Staff Karl Koller's real shorthand diary often bears no resemblance to the version he published as *Der letzte Monat* (Mannheim, 1949). And Helmuth Grenier, keeper of the official OKW operations staff war diary until 1943, seized the opportunity in 1945, when asked by the Americans to retranscribe his original notes for the lost volumes from August 1942 to March 1943, to excise passages which reflected unfavorably on fellow prisoners like General Adolf Heusinger-or too favorably on Hitler; and no doubt to curry favor with the Americans, he added lengthy paragraphs charged with pungent criticism of Hitler's conduct of the war which I found to be missing from his original handwritten notes. This tendency-to pillory Hitler after the war-was also strongly evident in the "diaries" of the late General Gerhard Engel, who served as his army adjutant from March 1938 to October 1943. Historiographical evidence alone-e.g., comparison with the 1940 private diaries of Reichsminister Fritz Todt or the wife of General Rudolf Schmundt, or with the records of Field Marshal von Manstein's Army Group Don at the time of Stalingrad-indicates that whatever they are, they are not contemporaneous diaries; tests on the age of the paper confirmed it. Regrettably, the well-known Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich nonetheless published them in a volume, *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler 1938-1943* (Stuttgart, 1974), rather feebly drawing attention to the "diaries" inconsistencies in a short introduction. With the brilliant exception of Trevor-Roper, whose book *The Last Days of Hitler* was based on the records of the era

and is therefore virtually unassailable even today, each successive biographer repeated or engrossed the legends created by his predecessors, or at best consulted only the most readily available works of reference themselves. In the 1960s and 1970s a wave of weak, repetitive, and unrevealing Hitler biographies had washed through the bookstores. The most widely publicized was that written by a German television personality, Joachim Fest; but he later told a questioner that he had not even visited the magnificent National Archives in Washington, which houses by far the largest collection of records relating to recent European history. Stylistically, Fest's German was good; but the old legends were trotted out afresh, polished to an impressive gleam of authority. The same Berlin company also published my book shortly after, under the title *Hitler und seine Feldherren*; their chief editor, Siedler, found many of my arguments distasteful, even dangerous, and without informing me suppressed or even reversed them. In their printed text Hitler had not told Himmler (on November 30, 1941) that there was to be "no liquidation" of a consignment of Jews from Berlin; he had told him not to use the word "liquidate" publicly in connection with their extermination program. Thus history is falsified! I prohibited further printing of the book, two days after its appearance in Germany, and litigated for ten years to regain the right to publish it in its original form. To explain their actions, the Berlin publishers argued that my manuscript expressed some views that were "an affront to established historical opinion" in their country.

My idle predecessors had gratefully lamented that most of the documents had been destroyed. They had not—they survived in embarrassing superabundance. The official papers of Luftwaffe Field Marshal Erhard Milch, Goring's deputy, were captured by the British and total over 60,000 pages; the entire war diary of the German naval staff, of immense value far beyond purely naval matters, survived; it took many months to read the 69 volumes of main text, some over 900 pages long, in Washington and to examine the most promising of the 3,900 microfilm records of German naval records held in Washington. After the first edition of this book appeared in 1975 the diaries of Joseph Goebbels were released in the west; I had some qualms that they might reveal some of my more dangerous hypotheses to have been hollow. (They did not, in my opinion.)

Many sources of prime importance are still missing. That diplomatic historians never once bothered in thirty years to visit the widow of Joachim von Ribbentrop's Staatssekretar von Weizsacker, father of the present West German president, was a baffling mystery to me. Had they looked for the widow of Walther Hewel, Ribbentrop's liaison officer to Hitler, they would have learned about his diaries too. And who are these overemotional historians of the Jewish holocaust who have never troubled themselves even to open a readily available file of the SS Chief Heinrich Himmler's own handwritten telephone notes, or to read his memoranda for his secret meetings with Adolf Hitler? Alas, apart from one 1935 diary now in the United States, of which I have donated a copy to the Bundesarchiv, the diaries of Himmler have vanished—partly said to be in Moscow, and partly known to be in Tel Aviv, Israel; Chaim Rosenthal, a former attache at the Israeli Consulate in New York, obtained the Himmler diaries by the most questionable means and donated them to the University of Tel Aviv in 1982, but following extensive litigation against Rosenthal—now non grata in the U.S.A.—the university returned the volumes to him.

Other diaries are also sorely missed. Those of former Gestapo executive Werner Best were last seen in the Royal Danish Archives in Copenhagen in 1945; those of Karl Wolff were last seen at Nuremberg. The diaries of Hans Lammers, Wilhelm Bruckner, Karl Bodenschatz vanished into American or French hands; those of Professor Theo Morell too, to turn up miraculously in my presence in Washington in 1981. Nicolas von Below's are probably in Moscow. Alfred Rosenberg's remaining unpublished diaries are illicitly held by an American lawyer based in Frankfurt. The rest of Milch's diaries, of which I obtained some five thousand pages in 1967, have vanished, as have General Alfred Jodl's diaries covering the years 1940 to 1943; they were looted

along with his private property by the British 11th Armored Division at Flensburg in May, 1945. Only a brief fragment of Benito Mussolini's diary survives: the SS copied the originals and returned them to him in January 1945, but both the originals and the copy placed in Ribbentrop's files are missing now. The important diaries of Rudolf Schmundt were, unhappily, burned at his request by his fellow adjutant Admiral Karl-Jesco von Puttkamer in April 1945, along with Puttkamer's own diaries. The diary of Dr. Stephan Tiso, the last Slovak premier (from August 1944), is held in the closed files of the Hoover Institution, Stanford, California; they also hold the diary of SS Obergruppenfuhrer Friedrich-Wilhelm Kruger-another item willfully overlooked by West Germany's historians.

My search for sources that might throw light on Hitler's character was sometimes successful, sometimes not. Weeks of searching with a proton-magnetometer-a kind of supersensitive mine detector-in a forest in East Germany failed to unearth a glass jar containing stenograms of Goebbels's very last diaries, although at times, according to the map in my possession, we must have stood right over it. But in writing this biography I did obtain a significant number of authentic, little-known diaries of the people around Hitler, including an unpublished segment of Jodl's diary; the official diary kept for OKW chief Wilhelm Keitel by his adjutant Wolf Eberhard, and Eberhard's own diary for the years 1936 through 1939; the diary of Nikolaus von Vormann, army liaison officer to Hitler during August and September 1939; and the diaries kept by Martin Bormann and by Hitler's personal adjutant Max Wunsche relating to Hitler's movements. In addition I have used the unpublished diaries of Fedor von Bock, Erhard Milch, Erich von Manstein, Wilhelm Leeb, Erwin Lahousen, and Eduard Wagner-whose widow allowed me to copy some two thousand pages of his private letters. Christa Schroeder, one of Hitler's private secretaries, made available exclusively to me her important contemporary papers. Julius Schaub's family let me copy all his manuscripts about his twenty years as Hitler's senior aide, as did Wilhelm Brückner's son. I am the first biographer to have used the private papers of Staatssekretar Herbert Backe and his minister, Richard Walter Darré and the diaries, notebooks, and papers of Fritz Todt. The British government kindly made available to me precious fragments of the diary of Admiral Canaris. Scattered across Germany and America, I found the shorthand and typed pages of Erwin Rommel's diaries, and the elusive diaries and notebooks that Reichmarschall Hermann Göring had kept from his childhood on. Among the most revealing documents used in this biography are the manuscripts written by Generaloberst Werner Freiherr von Fritsch in 1938 and 1939; this I obtained from a Soviet source. Jutta Freifrau von Richthofen allowed me access to the voluminous unpublished diaries of her husband, the late field marshal.

In short, every member of Hitler's staff or High Command whom I located seemed to have carefully hoarded diaries or papers which were eventually produced for my exploitation here. They were mostly in German, but the research papers on the fringe of my work came in a Babel of other languages: Italian, Russian, French, Spanish, Hungarian, Romanian, and Czech. Some cryptic references to Hitler and Ribbentrop in the Hewel diaries defied all my puny code-breaking efforts, and then proved to have been written in Indonesian! All of these records I have now donated to the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, where they are available as the Irving Collection to other writers. Second World War researchers will find microfilms of all the materials that I collected while researching this and other books available from Microform Ltd., East Ardsley, Wakefield, Yorkshire, WF3 2JN (telephone 0924-825 700) and Altair Publishing, 21 Scott Green Drive, Gildersome, Yorkshire LS27 7BZ (telephone 0532-536 615).

Of the newly available collections of records three are worthy of note-the formerly Top Secret CSDIC-series interrogation reports in Class War Office 208 at the Public Records Office, Kew, London; the "Adolf Hitler Collection," housed in three file boxes at the Seeley G. Mudd Library, Princeton University, New Jersey; and some five hundred pages of Joachim von Ribbentrop's

preministerial letters and memoranda to Hitler, 1933-36, found in the ruins of the Reich Chancellery and now in the Louis Lochner papers at the Hoover Institution's archives, Stanford, California.

The "Hitler Collection" was purloined by Private First Class Eric Hamm of the U.S. Army's war crimes branch from Hitler's residence in Munich, and eventually sold by a Chicago auction house. It reflects Hitler's career well-archive photographs of his sketches and paintings, ambassadors' dispatches, reports on the shooting of "professional criminals" while "resisting arrest," a 1925 hotel registration filled out by Hitler (who entered himself as "stateless"), documents on the Spanish civil war, Rohm's preparations for the 1923 beer-hall putsch, an instruction by Martin Bormann that Hitler had agreed to cover bills run up by the peripatetic Princess Hohenlohe but would pay no more, extensive documentation on the Party's relations with the Church; on December 20, 1940, Pierre Laval wrote to Hitler "desiring from the bottom of my heart that my country shall not suffer," and assuring him: "The policy of collaboration with Germany is supported by the vast majority of the French." Hjalmar Schacht several times protested to Hitler about the economic damage caused by anti-Jewish strictures; on August 24, 1935, he wrote that Robert Ley's instruction that Woolworth & Co. was not to buy from Jewish suppliers would result in the company's head office canceling ten million marks of orders from Germany annually "It is not clear to me, and never has been, how I am supposed to bring in foreign currency in the face of such policies." On March 30, 1936, Schacht asked Hitler to receive a certain American silk manufacturer who had been requested by President Roosevelt to "convey personal greetings to the Führer." On June 20, 1938, Count Helldorf, police chief of Berlin, sent to Hitler a report on organized anti-Jewish razzias in Berlirl. Later that year the police sent to Hitler a file on the Jewish assassin Herschel Grynszpan, confirming that his parents had been dumped back over the Polish border at Neu Bentschen on October 29-a few days before he gunned down a German diplomat in Paris-pursuant to the Reich's drive against Polish Jews who had settled in Germany. In February 1939 Hitler endorsed the refusal of his embassy in Washington to pay Danegeld to Kurt Ludecke, a former Nazi who had invited the Party publishing house or some other Reich agency to buy up all rights in his scurrilous memoirs to prevent their publication. The same file shows Hitler acting to stop the Nazi heavyweight Max Schmeling staging a return fight against the Negro Joe Louis. ("As you know," Julius Schaub wrote to the sports minister on March 2, 1939, "the Führer was against the fight in the first place.")

Most enigmatic of these documents is one evidently originated by the Gestapo after 1940, typed on the special "Führer typewriter," reporting ugly rumors about Hitler's ancestry-"that the Führer was an illegitimate child, adoptive son of Alois, that the Fuhrer's mother's name was Schicklgruber [3] before the adoption and that the Schicklgruber line has produced a string of idiots." Among the latter was a tax official, Josef Veit, deceased in 1904 in Klagenfurt, Austria. One of his sons had committed suicide, a daughter had died in an asylum, a surviving daughter was feeble-minded. The Gestapo established that the family of Konrad Pracher of Graz has a dossier of photographs and certificates on all this. Himmler had them seized "to prevent their misuse."

The Ribbentrop files reflect his tortuous relations as "ambassador extraordinary" with Hitler and his rivals. He had established his influence by making good contacts with Englishmen of influence-among them not only industrialists like E.W.D. Tennant and newspaper barons like Lord Rothermere, Lord Astor, and Lord Camrose, but also the Cabinet ministers of the day, including Lord Hailsham, Lord Lloyd, Lord Londonderry, and young Anthony Eden, in whom Ribbentrop rightly saw the rising star of the Conservative Party. The files contain records of Ribbentrop's meetings with Stanley Baldwin and Ramsay Macdonald in 1933 and 1934-which the latter would probably wish had gone unrecorded, as events turned out. They also reflect the tenuous links established between Sir Oswald Mosley and his lieutenants with the Nazi party leadership in

Berlin. Typical of the many handwritten letters from Ribbentrop to Hitler was one dated January 6, 1935, thanking him for the show of confidence betokened by his new appointment to Reichsleiter-"Not only does this clearly define my status in the Party, removing any doubts as to your views on me and my activities, but the appointment also gives me a different position vis-à-vis the foreign ministry both externally and internally." He signed it "your trusty Ribbentrop."

Nothing created such agony when this biography was first published as my analysis of Hitler's role in the Jewish tragedy. Pure vitriol spilled from the pens of my critics, but I see no reason to revise my central hypothesis, which is based on the records of the day: that Hitler grasped quite early on that anti-Semitism would be a powerful vote-catching force in Germany; that he had no compunction against riding that evil steed right up to the portals of the Chancellery in 1933; but that once inside and in power, he dismounted and paid only lip service to that part of his Party creed. The Nazi gangsters under him continued to ride to hounds, however, even when Hitler dictated differently, e.g., in November 1938. As for the concentration camps he comfortably left that dark side of the Nazi rule to Himmler. He never visited one; those senior officials and foreigners who did obtain privileged access, like Ernst Udet or General Erhard Milch or British Members of Parliament in 1933 and 1934, were favorably impressed (but those were early days). Himmler is known to have visited Auschwitz in 1941 and 1942. Hitler never did.

The scale of Germany's Jewish problem is revealed by an unpublished manuscript by Hitler's predecessor as Chancellor, Dr. Heinrich Brüning. Writing in American exile in 1943 he stated that after the inflation there was only one major German bank not controlled by Jews, some of them "utterly corrupt." In 1931 he had brought the banks under government supervision, and had had to keep the government's findings of dishonesty in the banks secret "for fear of provoking anti-Semitic riots." Brüning blamed foreign correspondents for exaggerating the "occasional ill-treatment of Jews" at the beginning of the Nazi regime: "In the spring of 1933 foreign correspondents reported that the River Spree [in Berlin] was covered with the corpses of murdered Jews. At that time hardly any Jews except for leaders of the Communist party ... had been attacked ... If," he pointedly added, "the Jews had been treated so badly from the beginning of the regime, it could not be explained that so very few of them left the country before 1938." In 1948 Brüning would write to the editors of *Life* forbidding them to publish an August 1937 letter he had written to Winston Churchill revealing that "from October 1928 the two largest regular contributors to the Nazi party were the general managers of two of the largest Berlin banks, both of Jewish faith, and one of them the leader of Zionism in Germany." [4]

I had approached the Nazi maltreatment of the Jews from the traditional viewpoint prevailing in the 1960's. Supposing Hitler was a capable statesman and a gifted commander, the argument ran, how does one explain his "murder of six million Jews." If this biography were simply a history of the rise and fall of Hitler's Reich it would be legitimate to conclude "Hitler killed the Jews." He after all had created the atmosphere of hatred with his speeches in the 1930's; he and Himmler had created the SS; his speeches, though never explicit, left the clear impression that "liquidate" was what he meant. For a full-length war biography of Hitler, I felt that a more analytical approach to the key questions of initiative, complicity, and execution would be necessary. Remarkably, I found that Hitler's own role in the "Final Solution"-whatever that was-has never been examined. German historians, the epitome of painstaking essaying on every other subject, had developed monumental blind spots when Hitler himself cropped up: bald statements were made, and blame was laid, without the shadow of historical evidence in support. British and American historians followed suit. Other writers quoted them. For thirty years our knowledge of Hitler's part in the atrocity had rested on inter-historian incest.

Many people, particularly in Germany and Austria, had an interest in propagating the accepted version that the order of one madman originated the entire tragedy. Precisely when this order was given was, admittedly, left vague. Every document actually linking Hitler with the treatment of the Jews invariably takes the form of an embargo, from the 1923 beer-hall putsch (when he disciplined a Nazi squad for having looted a Jewish delicatessen) right through to 1943 and 1944. If he was an incorrigible anti-Semite, what are we to make of the urgent edict issued "to all Gau directorates for immediate action" by his deputy, Rudolf Hess, during the infamous Night of Broken Glass in November 1938, ordering an immediate stop to such outrage "on orders from the very highest level"? Every other historian has shut his eyes and hoped that this horrid, inconvenient document would somehow go away. But it has been joined by others, like the extraordinary note dictated by Staatssekretar Schlegelberger in the Reich Ministry of Justice in the spring of 1942: "Reich Minister Lammers," this states, referring to Hitler's top civil servant, "informed me that the Führer has repeatedly pronounced that he wants the solution of the Jewish Question put off until after the war is over." Whatever way one looks at this document it is incompatible with the notion that Hitler had ordered an urgent liquidation program. (The document's original is in Justice ministry file R22/52 in the archives at Koblenz.) And Hermann Göring himself is on record as stressing at a Berlin conference on July 6, 1942, how much the Führer and he deprecated the doctrinaire harassment of Jewish scientists for example:

I have discussed this with the Führer himself now; we have been able to use one Jew two years longer in Vienna, and another in photographic research, because they have certain things that we need and that can be of the utmost benefit to us at the present. It would be utter madness for us to say now: "He'll have to go. He was a magnificent researcher, a fantastic brain, but his wife is Jewish, and he can't be allowed to stay at the University," etc. The Führer has made similar exceptions in the arts all the way down to operetta level; he is all the more likely to make exceptions where really great projects or researchers are concerned. [5]

On several occasions in 1942 and 1943 Hitler made-in private-statements which are incompatible with the notion that he knew that a liquidation program had begun. We shall see how in October 1943, even as Himmler was disclosing to privileged audiences of SS generals and Gauleiters that Europe's Jews has been systematically murdered, Hitler was still forbidding liquidations-e.g., of the Italian Jews in Rome-and ordering their internment instead. (This order his SS also disobeyed.) In July 1944, overriding Himmler's objections, he ordered that Jews be bartered for foreign currency or supplies; there is some evidence that like contemporary terrorists he saw these captives as a potential asset, a means whereby he could blackmail his enemies. Wholly in keeping with his character, when Hitler was confronted with the facts he took no action to rebuke the guilty; he would not dismiss Himmler as Reichsführer SS until the last day of his life. It is plausible to impute to him that not uncommon characteristic of heads of state who are overreliant on powerful advisers: a conscious desire "not to know." But the proof of this is beyond the powers of a historian.

For the want of hard evidence-in 1977 I offered, around the world, a thousand pounds to any person who could produce even one wartime document showing explicitly that Hitler knew, for example, of Auschwitz-my critics resorted to arguments ranging from the subtle to the sledgehammer (in one instance, literally). They postulated the existence of Führer orders without the slightest written evidence of their existence. John Toland, Pulitzer prize-winning author of a Hitler biography published in the United States, appealed emotionally in *Der Spiegel* for historians to refute my hypothesis, and they tried by fair means and foul. Perplexed by Himmler's handwritten note about a call to Heydrich after visiting Hitler's bunker on November 30, 1941-"Arrest [oft Dr. Jakelius. Alleged son Molotov. Consignment [transfer] of Jews from Berlin. No liquidation."-

these wizards of modern history scoffed that probably Molotov's son was believed to be aboard a trainload of Jews from Berlin concealed as "Dr. Jakelius" and was on no account to be liquidated. In fact Molotov had no son; Dr. Jakelius was a Viennese neurologist involved in the Euthanasia program; [6] and the consignment of Jews from Berlin had that morning arrived at Riga and had already been liquidated by the local SS commander by the time that Himmler scribbled down Hitler's injunctions. [7]

So far the German historians have been unable to help Mr. Toland, apart from suggesting that "of course" the whole project was so secret that only oral orders were issued. But why should Hitler have become so squeamish in this instance, while in contrast he had shown no compunction about signing a blanket order for the liquidation of tens of thousands of fellow Germans (the Euthanasia program); his insistence on the execution of hostages on a one-hundred-to-one basis, his orders for the liquidation of enemy prisoners (the Commando Order), of Allied airmen (the Lynch Order), and Russian functionaries (the Commissar Order) are documented all the way from the Führer's headquarters right down the line to the executioners.

Most of my critics relied on weak and unprofessional evidence. For example, they offered alternative and often specious translations of words in Hitler's speeches (apparently the Final Solution was too secret for him to sign an order, but simultaneously not so secret that he could not brag about it in public speeches!); and quotations from isolated documents that have however long been discarded by serious historians as worthless or fakes, like the Gerstein Report [8] or the "Bunker conversations" mentioned earlier. Of explicit, written, wartime evidence, the kind of evidence that could hang a man, they have produced not one line. Thus, in his otherwise fastidious analysis of *Hitler and the Final Solution* (London, 1983) Professor Gerald Fleming relied on war crimes trial testimonies, which are anything but safe; reviewing that book, Professor Gordon Craig concluded that even Fleming had failed to refute my hypothesis. Professor Martin Broszat, director of the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, crudely assailed my biography in a 37-page review in the institute's journal, then refused space for a reply. Unfamiliar with my sources, and unaware that I had in several cases used original files which he and other historians had read only in English translation, he accused me of distorting and even inventing quotations. [9] Amidst such libels and calumnies Broszat was, however, forced to concede: "David Irving has perceived one thing correctly when he writes that in his view the killing of the Jews was partly a *Verlegenheitslösung*, 'the way out of an awkward dilemma.'"

Broszat's corollary, that there was no central Hitler Order for what happened, caused an uproar among the world's historians, a *Historikerstreit* which is not politically limited to Left versus Right. My own conclusion went one logical stage further: that in wartime, dictatorships are fundamentally weak-the dictator himself, however alert, is unable to oversee all the functions of his executives acting within the confines of his far-flung empire; and in this particular case, I concluded, the burden of guilt for the bloody and mindless massacres of the Jews rests on a large number of Germans (and non-Germans), many of them alive today, and not just on one "mad dictator," whose order had to be obeyed without question.

I also found it necessary to set very different historical accents on the doctrinaire foreign policies which Hitler enforced-from his apparent unwillingness to humiliate Britain when she lay prostrate in 1940, to his damaging and emotional hatred of the Serbs, his illogical and over-loyal admiration of Benito Mussolini, and his irrational mixtures of emotions toward Josef Stalin.

For a modern English historian there was a certain morbid fascination for me in inquiring how far Adolf Hitler really was bent on the destruction of Britain and her Empire-a major *raison d'être* for our ruinous fight, which in 1940 imperceptibly replaced the more implausible reason prof-

ferred in August 1939, the rescue of Poland from outside oppression. Since in the chapters that follow evidence extracted again and again from the most intimate sources-like Hitler's private conversations with his women secretaries in June 1940-indicated that he originally had neither the intention nor the desire to harm Britain or destroy the Empire, surely British readers at least must ask themselves: what, then, were we really fighting for? Given that the British people bankrupted themselves (by December 1940) and lost their Empire in defeating Hitler, was the Führer right after all when he noted that Britain's attitude was essentially one of "Après moi le déluge-if only we can get rid of the hated National Socialist Germany"?

Unburdened by ideological idealism, the Duke of Windsor suspected in July 1940 that the war was continuing solely in order to allow certain British statesmen (he meant Mr. Churchill and his friends) to save face, even if it meant dragging their country and Empire into financial ruin. Others pragmatically argued that there could be no compromise with Adolf Hitler and the Nazis. But did Britain's leaders in fact believe this? Dr. Bernd Martin of Freiburg University has revealed the extent to which secret negotiations on peace continued between Britain and Germany in October 1939 and long after-negotiations on which, curiously, Mr. Churchill's files have officially been sealed until the twenty-first century, and the Cabinet records blanked out. Similar negotiations were carried on in June 1940, when even Mr. Churchill showed himself momentarily willing in Cabinet meetings to deal with Hitler if the price was right.

Of course, in assessing the real value of such negotiations and of Hitler's publicly stated intentions it is salutary to know that on June 2, 1941, he admitted to Walther Hewel: "For myself personally I would never tell a lie; but there is no falsehood I would not perpetrate for Germany's sake!" Nevertheless one wonders how much suffering might have been spared if both sides had pursued the negotiations-might all that happened after 1940, the saturation bombing, the population movements, the epidemics, even the Holocaust itself, have been avoided? Great are the questions, yet modern historiography has chosen to ignore the possibility, calling it heresy.

The facts revealed here concerning Hitler's recorded actions, motivations, and opinions should provide a basis for fresh debate. Americans will find much that is new about the months leading up to Pearl Harbor. The French will find additional evidence that Hitler's treatment of their defeated nation was more influenced by memories of France's treatment of Germany after World War I than by his respect for Mussolini's desires. Russians can try to visualize the prospect that could conceivably have unfolded if Stalin had accepted Hitler's offer in November 1940 of inclusion in the Axis Pact; or if, having achieved his "second Brest-Litovsk" peace treaty (as momentarily proposed on June 28, 1941) Stalin would have accepted Hitler's condition that he rebuild Soviet military power only beyond the Urals; or if Hitler had taken seriously Stalin's alleged peace offer of September 1944.

What is the result of these twenty years' toiling in the archives? Hitler will remain an enigma, however hard we burrow. Even his intimates realized that they hardly knew him. I have already quoted Ribbentrop's puzzlement; but General Alfred Jodl, his closest strategic adviser, also wrote in his Nuremberg cell on March 10, 1946:

... But then I ask myself, did you ever really know this man at whose side you fed such a thorny and ascetic existence? Did he perhaps just trifle with your idealism too, abusing it for dark purposes which he kept hidden deep within himself? Dare you claim to know a man, if he has not opened up the deepest recesses of his heart to you-in sorrow as well as in ecstasy? To this very day I do not know what he thought or knew or really wanted. I only knew my own thoughts and suspicions. And if, now that the shrouds fall away from a sculpture we fondly hoped would be a work of art,

only to reveal nothing but a degenerate gargoyle-then let future historians argue among themselves whether it was like that from the start, or changed with circumstances.

I keep making the same mistake: I blame his humble origins. But then I remember how many peasants' sons have been blessed by History with the name, The Great.

“Hitler the Great”? No, contemporary History is unlikely to swallow such an epithet. From the first day that he “seized power,” January 30, 1933, Hitler knew that only sudden death awaited him if he failed to restore pride and empire to post Versailles Germany. His close friend and adjutant Julius Schaub recorded Hitler’s jubilant boast to his staff on that evening, as the last celebrating guests left the Berlin Chancellery building: “No power on earth will get me out of this building alive!”

History saw this prophecy fulfilled, as the handful of remaining Nazi faithfuls trooped uneasily into his underground study on April 30, 1945, surveyed his still-warm remains-slouched on a couch, with blood trickling from the sagging lower jaw, and a gunshot wound in the right temple-and sniffed the bitter-almonds smell hanging in the air. Wrapped in a gray army blanket, he was carried up to the shell-blasted Chancellery garden. Gasoline was slopped over him in a reeking crater and ignited while his staff hurriedly saluted and backed down into the shelter. Thus ended the six years of Hitler’s War. We shall now see how they began.

David Irving
London, January 1976
and January 1989

Notes

1.  CSDIC (UK) report SRGG.1133, March 9, 1945, in Public Records Office, London, file WO.20814169.
2.  Matthias Schmidt, *Albert Speer: The End of a Myth* (New York, 1984).
3.  In fact Hitler’s father was the illegitimate son of Maria Anna Schicklgruber. Nazi newspapers were repeatedly, e.g., on December 16, 1939, forbidden to speculate on his ancestry. Werner Maser states in *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP* (Bonn, 1965) that on August 4, 1942, Heinrich Himmler had instructed the Gestapo to investigate the Fuhrer’s parentage; their bland findings were graded merely geheim (secret). The document quoted above is, however, stamped with the highest classification, Geheime Reichssache (top secret).
4.  Bruning’s 1943 manuscript is in the Dorothy Thompson collection of the George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University, New York. His letter to Daniel Longwell, editor of *Life*, dated February 7, 1948, is in Longwell’s papers in the Butler Library, Columbia University, New York.
5.  First session of Reich Research Council, July 6, 1942; a stenographic record is in Milch documents, vol 58, pp. 3640ff.
6.  Cf. Benno Müller-Hill, *Tödliche Wissenschaft. Die Aussonderung von Juden, Zigeunern und Geisteskranken 1933-45* (Rowohlt, Hamburg), p. 107.
7.  The most spine-chilling account of the plundering and methodical mass murder of these Jews at Riga is in CSDIC (UK) report SRGG.1158 (in file WO.208/4169 of the Public Record Office): Major General Walther Bruns, an eyewitness, describes it to fellow generals in British captivity on April 25, 1945, unaware that hidden microphones are recording every word. Of particular significance: his qualms about bringing what he had seen to the

Führer's attention, and the latter's renewed orders that such mass murders were to stop forthwith.

8.  On which, see the fine doctoral dissertation by Henri Roques: "Les 'confessions' de Kurt Gerstein. Etude comparative des différentes versions," submitted at the University of Nantes, France, in June 1985. This reveals the extent to which previous historians had been deceived by the various versions of the "report." Such was the outcry aroused that Roques was stripped of his doctoral degree! I have ensured that his 372-page thesis is freely available in the Irving Collection at the Institute of Contemporary History, Munich. [The Roques thesis has been translated and published in English by the Institute for Historical Review.-Ed.]
9.  "Hitler and the Genesis of the Final Solution, an Assessment of David Irving's Thesis," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, No. 25, 1977, pp. 739-75; republished without correction in *Aspects of the Third Reich* (ed. H.W. Koch, Macmillan, New York, 1985) pp. 390-429, and in *Yad Vashem Studies*, No. 13, 1979, pp. 73-125, and yet again, still uncorrected, in *Nach Hitler: Der schwierige Umgang mit unserer Geschichte* (Oldenburg, 1988); and extensively quoted by Charles W Sydnor in "The Selling of Adolf Hitler," in *Central European Historic* No. 12, 1979, pp. 169-99, 402-5.

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The Trail of the Desert Fox: Rommel Revised

By [David Irving](#)

- Paper presented to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference.

Finding out what was the truth about Erwin Rommel means finding out what was going on in his brain. And to do that, you're not going to get much wiser if you look at the movies with James Mason and the books written by the British and American historians and biographers after the war. Because, what have they had to go on? During my research in the archives, particularly on the Adolf Hitler biography, on which I worked for thirty years, I found that Rommel had written a large number of letters to his wife, Lucie.

What sort of career did Rommel have in the German Army? During World War I, he was a lieutenant in the German infantry, fighting the Italians in the Alps around Venezia Giulia. He fought very well, but much to his outrage, he found that he wasn't decorated with Germany's highest World War I decoration, the famous Blue Max, the Pour le Merite, the blue enamel cross worn on a ribbon around the neck. Lieutenant Schorner, later Field Marshal Schorner, won the medal, and Rommel thought that he should have got it. Then Rommel did the unthinkable: he appealed. He wrote letters to every successive higher command and headquarters demanding an identical medal for himself. Eventually he got the Pour le Merite in this rather unorthodox way, and he was very proud thereby to join the ranks of legendary heroes of World War I like Ernst Udet, Manfred von Richthofen, and Hermann Goring.

Rommel's acquisition of the Blue Max put him a cut above most of his fellow officers in the interwar years, particularly since Rommel, unlike a lot of his contemporaries, had never gone through the German General Staff. It is very important to know this, because it has a bearing on his last days. Rommel was not a general staff officer, although he rose to the highest rank in Germany short of Reichsmarschall: Field Marshal. He had little book learning, he had none of the knowledge of logistics, the build-up, the sense of time and space that a general staff officer acquires when he learns how to conduct successful battles. Rommel won his battles by other means, he did the unexpected. But this earned for him a lot of envy and a lot of distaste among the officer corps. It's rather like those who have been to West Point and those who haven't in this country. The word rivalry isn't strong enough. There's an element of mutual distrust between the insiders and the outsiders.

Rommel was to remain all his life, until the bitter end, an outsider. The more successful he was in World War I, the more successful he was between the wars (he was one of the exalted few who stayed in the German professional army war to war), the more military triumphs he won in World War II, the more he was envied and resented by the generals and officers who had served on the German General Staff.

He had paid no attention to politics during the interwar years. He was part of the 100,000-man German Army allowed by the Treaty of Versailles. In the aftermath of the Nazis' seizure of power in 1933, he remained in the army, continuing to hold a comparatively low rank. In 1934 he was still a major, commanding a Jagerbataillon, a kind of light infantry battalion, in Goslar when Adolf Hitler paid his first visit there, in connection with the annual harvest festival. A surviving photograph shows Major Rommel escorting his Führer with drawn sword, wearing a massive coal scuttle helmet, in the grounds of the Goslar castle.

Something about Rommel must have attracted Hitler's attention, because in 1936 Hitler put him in charge of security arrangements at the Nuremberg party rally, which Rommel did very well. When the usual gaggle of Gauleiters tried to follow Hitler in their motorcars when he drove off, Hitler told Rommel to make sure that no more than six cars followed him. Rommel obtained privacy for his Führer by planting two tanks across the road until the Führer had driven out of sight.

Two years later, when Hitler marched into the Sudeten territories, and in 1939 when Hitler entered Prague, Rommel was right at his side: Hitler had appointed him commandant of the military escort which traveled with the Führer's Headquarters. Because he was the officer in charge of Hitler's railway train he obtained a proximity to Hitler which most general staff officers didn't. Hitler, the Austrian, and Rommel the Swabian, somehow got on well with one another, and they talked a great deal. Rommel was able to write letters back to Lucie saying, Today I had lunch with the Führer again and I had some very interesting discussions with him about tactics."

Erwin Rommel used the influence he won through these close contacts with Hitler very cleverly. After the invasion of Poland, during which he accompanied Hitler to Warsaw, Rommel saw that commanding the Führer's headquarters wasn't going to win him any medals. Career army officer that he was, Rommel needed medals: his colleagues from the infantry college and the training academies were coming back from the Polish front with new decorations, and he wanted his own. Rommel asked Hitler for command of a division. When the Führer asked him what kind, Rommel told him: a panzer division, the creme de la creme. So great was mutual respect and admiration between the two that Hitler readily agreed.

Hitler was right! Because Hitler had somehow identified in Rommel a typical, thrusting armored commander who would succeed where the slow, hesitant, prevaricating general staff officers would hesitate, and fumble, and fail. So Rommel got the Seventh Armored Division, and he spent the next few months training it for the campaign against France. He developed new tactics, he devised new methods of using armor en masse. Rommel read everything there was to read about armored warfare tactics: the works of men like Liddell Hart and General J. F. C. Fuller and of course General Charles De Gaulle. Although he'd never been in a tank in his life before, he climbed into one and was delighted by its power and mobility. He felt invulnerable.

In fact, Rommel was the ideal commander, because in a way he was invulnerable. He had that rare, almost magical spirit. He could stand on top of a railway embankment in full view of the enemy artillery, in full view of the enemy infantry, with machine gun fire thudding into the embankment all around him, or with shells crashing down one or two yards away, killing his adjutant, in the French campaign, and remain untouched. Rommel, like Hitler himself, had a kind of magical quality that protected him in some way from harm, from the enemy, that in turn engendered an enormous loyalty among their followers: the men who served under Rommel swore by him.

In the French campaign, Rommel led his division at breakneck speed right through to the Channel coast, then down to Cherbourg. During the summer that followed, the German Army put him

in charge of producing a propaganda film called *Victory in the West*, in which his troops re-staged their campaign against France: he was able to persuade Moroccan French troops to die gallantly for the cameras.

When the choice came, in the winter of 1940-1941, to send a commander to North Africa to help bail Mussolini out of his predicament there, Hitler, as he later said, found himself confronted with two or three names: Manstein, who had greatly impressed him in the French campaign; or Eduard Dietl, who had impressed him in the Narvik campaign in Norway; or Rommel. Hitler saw Manstein as a general staff officer lacking in the inspirational force of either Rommel or Dietl. Hitler said, "I picked Rommel because he knows how to inspire his troops, just like Dietl up in Narvik. This is absolutely essential for the commander of a force that has to fight under particularly arduous climatic conditions as in North Africa or the Arctic."

Rommel was ordered to bring a light infantry division (the 5th) down to North Africa in February-March 1941. Rommel's troops sneaked into North Africa behind the Italian position in Tripoli just as the British advance right across the North African Mediterranean coastline was entering Tripoli. If the British forces had entered Tripoli and thrown the Italians out of their Libyan colony at that point, it would have produced very severe repercussions for Germany's ally.

At this fateful moment, however, Winston Churchill, who still had no idea that Rommel had gone down to North Africa with his forces, wavered: he ordered vital components of the British forces in North Africa off to a hopeless campaign in Greece instead. Thus the British offensive faltered just before Tripoli, giving Rommel time to get established. Now, Rommel's instructions from the Italian High Command and from Berlin were that he should not in any circumstances launch an offensive against the British; he was to build up a purely defensive line at such and such a point and to proceed no further to the east.

About that time we British began reading that particular code and realized to our horror that not only were the Germans there but that General Rommel was in command—we had already come up against him at Dunkirk. So Rommel already meant something to us at that time. But we knew that Rommel was under orders on no account to launch an offensive, and we believed that a German general would obey orders. So we were quite happily sitting back with our arms folded when he attacked, totally disobeying orders. Rommel cut right across Cyrenaica, cut off thirty or forty thousand British troops, capturing three British generals in a week's time, one of his most glorious and gallant exploits. Within a few weeks he had come almost as far as the Egyptian frontier.

Rommel had restored the Italians' pride, and he had made it plain to Adolf Hitler that with a little more effort the Axis could in fact capture the whole of Egypt, advance across the Suez Canal, come up through the Middle East and join hands with the offensive which he was at that time planning against Russia. Rommel might join forces somewhere in the Middle East with forces coming down through the Caucasus: for Hitler Rommel had opened up new vistas, and became the Führer's favorite general.

From mid-1941 on, Rommel's face was on the front cover of every German illustrated magazine and on the front cover of quite a few Allied newspapers and magazines as well. There's a reason for this: to explain our setbacks, our failures and our reverses in North Africa we British had to represent that we were against a superhuman force who couldn't be stopped, namely General Rommel. Later on, of course, when the tables were turned at El Alamein, we wanted to build up our enemy again to make out that we hadn't defeated just anybody, we had defeated the unstoppable General Rommel. Our own propaganda built him up to an unstoppable, brilliant, tactically

sound German general, more than a match for any American, more than a match for any British general-but we would defeat him somehow. Such was the tone of the stories that filled the British newspapers from 1941 through to 1943.

November 1942 saw the first crisis of confidence between Rommel and Hitler. At that time, after the British offensive at El Alamein, Rommel experienced something of a nervous breakdown. He couldn't understand why he wasn't getting the oil and the supplies and the ammunition he needed to defeat Montgomery. He didn't realize that he was his own undoing, because he was constantly radioing back to Berlin asking when he was going to get more oil and ammunition and supplies, and telling the High Command that the morale of his troops was at the breaking point. Berlin would radio back saying inquiries had been made of the Italian authorities and the supertanker *Prosexpina*, for example, was leaving Naples harbor and would arrive at Tobruk three days later.

But of course we were reading the messages, we British were reading all these code signals! So we'd have submarines waiting outside the harbors and every single ship that was sent out to Rommel with oil or with ammunition was being sunk, and he grew more and more desperate. And we know that in the battle of El Alamein, which began on October 23, 1942, Rommel was in such a desperate position that he said he couldn't hold out for more than a few days.

But Montgomery was in an even more desperate condition. The British commander, Field Marshall Montgomery, sent a telegram to Winston Churchill on October 25 saying, "I think we're going to have to pull back. My offensive has failed." And at that moment he was told by the British code-breakers on a secure line, bHold on, because we know from Rommel that he can only hold out for two days himself He's collapsing under your weight."

So Rommel, in a sense, was his own undoing. Because of his garrulousness on what he thought were secure coded transmissions, he was his own undoing. His oil ships were sunk, and he ended up being hounded across North Africa. Rommel's retreat was an amazing military feat, it is true: he had Montgomery's entire Eighth Army after him, and yet he managed to rescue two or three hundred thousand German and Italian troops and bring them all the way across the North African coastline to Tunisia, where he formed a new bridgehead after the loss of very few men and hardly any of his equipment, an incredible feat of generalship. It illustrates what a poor general Montgomery actually was. He repeatedly tried to outflank Rommel and take him from behind, arriving again and again only to find that the bird had already flown. Like Churchill, Adolf Hitler realized that the name Rommel was worth a lot. When Rommel fell ill after arriving in Tunisia, when it was quite plain that the German forces were going to be defeated, Hitler arranged for Rommel to be evacuated back to the continental mainland, but nobody was told. The public was left in the belief that Rommel was still there in the pocket, fighting on. His name fought on, even though the general himself had been evacuated to safety.

On his return to Germany Rommel regarded himself, as we know from his diaries and his letters, a failure. For six months he slouched around Berlin in plain clothes, wearing a trilby hat, unrecognized by the Berlin population out of his famous uniform. He hankered after a new job.

In October 1943 the Field Marshal von Rundstedt, the German Commander-in-Chief West, sent a report to Adolf Hitler on the weakness of the defenses against an Allied landing in France, causing Adolf Hitler to take serious note of the problem for the first time. He realized that something had to be done quickly, because the failure to secure a rapid victory over Russia meant that the Germans had to count on meeting the full weight of the British and the American troops in the West. A landing was going to come somewhere, and Hitler was convinced it would be in France.

It was time to put a tough tactical commander in charge of strengthening the Atlantic Wall. On November 5, 1943, Hitler sent for Field Marshal Erwin Rommel.

Hitler let Rommel know that although he would be under Field Marshal Rundstedt, the commander-in-chief, the moment the British and Americans set foot on the coast of France Rommel would be in tactical command of the Battle of France. Thus he told Rommel in effect, "I'm giving you a last chance of glory. You've lost Libya, you've lost North Africa for the Italians, and now we've got the worst possible problems in Italy: the Italians have defected, they've come out on the Allied side against us. And effectively we have you to thank for that, Field Marshall Rommel. If we were still fighting in North Africa, the Italians wouldn't have defected. However, I am such a friend of yours that I am going to give you this one last chance of glory."

From November 1943 on, we see in Rommel's private letters his conviction that he is going to pull it off, that he is going to defeat the Allied invasion and win victory for Hitler in France. He writes to Lucie: 'I am convinced of victory. Every morning I get up and I look in the mirror and I think to myself, There's no way we can fail.' Every week that passes we strengthen our invasion defenses."

Rommel ordered gigantic pointed stakes driven into the beaches all along the French coast. The stakes themselves were spiked with mines. Immense minefields, containing millions of mines, were sown in a broad belt along the French coastline. The whole of a coastal belt was evacuated of people, towns were leveled to the ground to provide a field of fire for the guns, new guns were emplaced, huge areas were prepared for flooding the moment the Allies set foot on the French coastline: Rommel did in fact what the German General Staff should have been doing for three years, but hadn't. For three years they'd been in France, and for three years they had done virtually nothing.

Rommel put a new spirit into the defenders there. He made it plain that they not only could, but would, defend France and prevent the Anglo-Americans from landing. And Hitler said to him: "You can be sure of one thing, Field Marshall. If we throw the British and the Americans off the beaches, then within two or three weeks I will have pulled out a half dozen or a dozen German Panzer divisions from the battlefield area, and sent them straight back by train to the Eastern Front. We will mop up the Russians, and then the war will be over. So Germany's final victory relies on you, Field Marshal Rommel."

Now, put yourself in Rommel's shoes. You've lost the battle for North Africa-you've lost an entire continent. The Italian allies point the finger at you, Field Marshal Rommel, as responsible for this defeat. You are not going to go down in the history books as Germany's greatest strategic commander unless you can pull a victory out of the hat. And your beloved Führer has given you a chance: the forthcoming battle of France. You are not, under these circumstances, going to make common cause with the traitors who are plotting against Adolf Hitler at this time, because if you do, you will not restore your reputation as a great military commander. This is one reason why all indications are that Rommel was not a traitor. During the spring and summer of 1944, he was doing everything he could to prepare his forces in France for a victorious battle when the invasion came.

Then something happened in April 1944 which was to change Rommel's life, and in fact hurry on his death. His wife Lucie was by this time a bit of a virago. In the early years she was a lovely thing to look at, by the photographs, but by 1944 she had him under her thumb. Unfortunately, she had picked a fight with the wife of her husband's chief of staff, General Alfred Gause, so Gause had to go. Thus at the beginning of April, 1944 Rommel replaced Alfred Gause, who'd

been his chief of staff throughout the entire North African campaign, with an educated, piano-playing, general staff officer by the name of General Hans Speidel.

All my books, ladies and gentlemen, have a villain, and the villain of the Rommel piece is Hans Speidel, who later rose to become supreme commander of NATO land forces in Europe. So with a certain relish I reveal in *The Trail of the Fox* what I found out about him and about his role in Rommel's death. Speidel arrived to take command of Rommel's staff on April 1, 1944. He came directly from Hitler's headquarters, where Hitler had given him the Ritterkreuz — the Knight's Cross — for his work as the chief of staff of the Eighth Army on the Eastern Front.

Speidel was an intellectually gifted man, a very clever man, but he was also up to his neck in the anti-Hitler plot. He was plotting Hitler's overthrow-and Rommel didn't know it. In fact, if you look closely at the Army side of the anti-Hitler plot, you find how much it was very much a plot of chiefs of staff, people like Stauffenberg, who was the chief of staff of General Fromm, and so on. It was the chiefs of staff who were plotting, without their superiors really knowing what was going on, and it was the chiefs of staff who would later accuse their superiors of leading the plot. That's exactly what we'll find is going to happen with Field Marshal Rommel.

While Speidel and his associates were plotting, Field Marshal Rommel was immersed in preparing France for the coming Allied invasion. As we learn from his diaries, he drove to inspect the coastal defenses nearly every day.

But Rommel was in a dilemma as to where the invasion would strike. On the one hand there was Adolf Hitler, who on March 20, 1944, had told him and the other commanders from the West whom he had called to the Obersalzberg that the invasion was going to come in one of two places, either in Normandy or close by in Brittany. Hitler said he was almost certain the Allies were going to invade Normandy, and of course he was quite right. Whereas the General Staff said, My Führer, it's not going to come in Normandy at all, it's going to come at Pas de Calais. That's the shortest route. Have a look at the map, my Führer. It's only 20 miles."

In other words, the German general staff was telling him that the British and the Americans were going to come the shortest possible route, then head straight for the Ruhr. And Hitler was saying, aNo, they won't do that, they'll take the indirect route. They'll seize Cherbourg first, they'll use the Cotentin Peninsula as a landing base."

So Rommel was torn between reinforcing the Seventh Army, as the Führer had ordered, and reinforcing the Fifteenth Army in the Pas de Calais, as the General Staff's Speidel and the German High Command were instructing.

Around June 1944, the anti-Hitler plotters in Paris decided it was time to try and win over some big names for the putsch. They sent Lieutenant Colonel Cesar von Hofacker, adjutant to General Karl Heinrich von Stülpnagel, the military governor of France, to have a chat with Rommel on July 9, 1944. In fact, after Hofacker had gone back to Paris, Rommel turned to his staff and said, Strange chap. What was he after? Couldn't make head or tail of him." That's the way an English officer would say it, but that's exactly what Rommel said to his staff.

For Hofacker had been very worried. He was only a lieutenant-colonel in the German Air Force, yet there he was trying to win over Field Marshal Rommel, one of the top Nazis, one of Hitler's most important generals, for a plot against Hitler.

So in fact Hofacker didn't say anything explicit he just talked in general terms. But human nature being what it is, when Hofacker went back to Paris, he said to Stülpnagel, the military governor,

who was in the plot, "I've won him. Er ist Feuer und Flamme (He's fire and flame on our side). I've won Rommel right over. Couldn't hold him back." We know all this, because I know what Stülpnagel said later on.

But one can see how fate is beginning to wind up dark clouds over the future career of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel!

The Allied invasion began on June 6, 1944. I'm not going to go into detail here, ladies and gentlemen, as to how the intelligence on that was fumbled by the Germans. On June 1, 1944, the German intelligence service gave warning that the invasion would come within 24 hours of the BBC broadcasting a certain message, the second line of a poem from Paul Verlaine. Their intelligence proved to be entirely accurate.

On the night of June 5, 1944, at 9:15 p.m., the BBC was heard broadcasting precisely that line. After Fifteenth Army's intelligence officer learned this from his radio reconnaissance officers, he telephoned Seventh Army's intelligence officer. Seventh Army said, "We don't know what to do. We haven't been told by Rommel's staff at Army Group B." Fifteenth Army telephoned Army Group B. and spoke to Colonel Staubwasser, who was the G-2, or the intelligence officer, of Rommel's staff. Staubwasser took it to Speidel. "Herr General, we've been told that the BBC has broadcast a message which indicates that the invasion is going to start within 24 hours." Speidel said, "Oh, telephone Rundstedt in Paris and ask what he advises." Rundstedt's headquarters in Paris said, "Do nothing." And nothing was done!

Fifteenth Army went onto maximum alert, because it was within its own province to do so. Seventh Army in Normandy remained off the alert. Speidel and his gang were having a little convivial party that evening with some of the anti-Hitler plotters, because the Old Man, Rommel, had gone back home to Germany a couple of days earlier on leave, assured by Berlin that the invasion wasn't imminent.

Rommel had gone back to Germany, Speidel was in charge, and he had invited all the plotters around for an evening's drinking. They had a lot of wine and a lot of cognac that evening. We know that, because I have the private diary of Admiral Ruge, who was the naval officer on Rommel's staff, and he describes in his short and secret diary how they all got drunk that evening at Speidel's headquarters, then went to bed at 1:00 a.m., although the first notices of massive parachute landings in Normandy had already arrived. Speidel said, "Unimportant," and they all went to bed.

Round about 6 a.m., things were beginning to get tense, because they were getting more warnings of parachute landings over the whole of the Normandy area, dummy parachute landings elsewhere, and as the dawn is beginning to rise a huge invasion fleet could be seen on the horizon. Speidel remained unconcerned. Three decades later, I went to see Speidel, and I put all this to him. I said, "Herr Speidel, I've read the private papers of the commanding general of the Fifteenth Army, General von Salmuth — his widow gave me his diaries — and he describes how on the morning of the 6th of June, at 6:45, the chief of staff of the Fifteenth Army had a telephone conversation with the chief of staff of the Seventh Army down in Normandy, and he was told about the invasion fleet on the horizon. And the Fifteenth Army says to the Seventh Army, "Yes, but have any ships actually hit the beaches? Have any landing craft come?" Answer: "No, they're just on the horizon and they're beginning to open fire on us." "Swell, if there's no invasion started yet and there are no landing craft on the beaches this means the invasion has already failed," says the Fifteenth Army. And as General Salmuth writes in his diary, "I thereupon went back to bed."

I read this out to General Speidel at his home in Bonn and said, "Herr General, I assume that you too went back to bed when you got these reports." And he said, aHerr Irving, you may be right." Because in the war diary of Speidel's staff, for three and a half hours there are suddenly no entries at all. They've all gone to bed for three and a half hours between 6 a.m. and 9:15 a.m. that morning, as though nothing at all had happened.

What had happened? What had happened was that a hundred tanks had already landed by the time Speidel got up, a hundred thousand men had hit the beaches, and the Seventh Army was under a colossal onslaught from the initial waves of the Anglo-American invasion. By that time the invasion was virtually impossible to ward off.

Rommel got the news at 10 a.m. that morning at his home in Herrlingen, near Ulm. He had to drive 700 kilometers back to his headquarters. By the time he got there, at 10 o'clock that night, the battle was already lost. He could no longer win it, but he put up a colossal battle. Those who have followed the invasion fighting in Normandy will know the courage that was displayed on both sides. To try and make a breakthrough at Caen, where Montgomery had the job of advancing through the town and establishing a bridgehead beyond it, we sent over a force of 2,000 bombers to bomb a one-mile-square patch of the German front lines. Now, imagine you're a German infantryman, or an anti-aircraft gunner, with an 88-mm gun, manning an anti-tank line and 2,000 enemy bombers come over and attack a one-mile-square patch of your front line. And yet still the British couldn't get through.

That was Operation Goodwood, in the middle of July 1944. These were the troops that Rommel had trained and put in place. They suffered appalling casualties, but when the bombardment had died down, the surviving German soldiers, many of them young lads of 15, 16, and 17 years old, crawled out of the rubble, reerected the guns that had been tipped over in the blast, and had them firing before the first British tanks rolled forward. The British just couldn't break through the German lines.

The Americans tried to do the same thing in Operation Cobra at their end of the line, with massive bombardment by Flying Fortresses and Lancasters and Liberators, again, on tiny one-mile-square patches of the German front line-that was the only way they were finally able to break through at the end of July. But in the meantime the following had happened: on the 17th of July, 1944, Rommel was driving in his large, open Horch motorcar (rather like a grand-touring sports car) behind the front lines, when a British Spitfire came down out of the clouds and machine-gunned the road. His driver was killed, the car ran off the road into a ditch, and then crashed into a tree. Rommel was knocked unconscious, seriously injured.

When Rommel came to a day later, he was in a French hospital being looked after by a French medical team. They feared for his life: he had suffered a quadruple skull fracture. A couple of days later, Rommel was evacuated to a rear hospital.

On July 21, Rommel heard for the first time of the attempt on Hitler's life the day before. A German staff officer had left a bomb under Hitler's conference table in East Prussia, then promptly quit the room. Four of Hitler's staff had been killed outright in the blast. Hitler himself, by a miracle, emerged with a few splinters in his arm, a bit bruised and dented but otherwise unscathed. A witch hunt began to find out who had perpetrated this appalling attack.

Now we can say with great certainty that up to the moment of his injury Rommel's fanatical loyalty to Adolf Hitler was unchanged. In his private conversations, which Admiral Ruge wrote down in shorthand in his diary, which I had when I wrote my book *Trail of the Fox*, Rommel continued right up to the middle of July, even in his private circle of friends, to express the ut-

most fanatical loyalty to Adolf Hitler. When Admiral Ruge said to him on one occasion, "Couldn't it be the right thing now to try and make some kind of deal with Montgomery before the big breakthrough comes, do a deal with Montgomery whereby we just open up the Western Front and then advance side by side, shoulder to shoulder with the British and the Americans on Berlin and throw the Russians back?" Rommel told him, "Well, I'm convinced this is going to be the ultimate solution, but I am also certain of one thing: the Führer is a genius and a man of sound political instincts, so he ought to be able to hit on the right decision himself."

Now a man who says that on July 14, 1944 is not a man who knows anything at all about a bomb being put under that genius's table just six days later. But you won't find these quotations in other people's biographies of Rommel, because they just haven't done the work. They haven't found these diaries.

When Rommel was told about the attempt on Hitler's life, suddenly the scales fell from his eyes. "The crazy lunatics! What on earth are they up to! Killing the Führer! They must have been out of their minds!" he cried.

And when General Speidel comes to see him, stricken with a guilty conscience, of course, a couple of days later still, Rommel turns angrily to Speidel and says, "I now understand what that guy Hofacker was talking about! I now understand what he was getting at! They must have been out of their minds." "Well," he says, "I'm glad I had nothing at all to do with it."

That, however, was not the perception in Hitler's headquarters, because Hofacker was arrested almost immediately after the bomb plot. Somebody talked. The only way the Luftwaffe lieutenant colonel saw to save his skin was to play Scheherezade. He began singing, he started telling tales on every name he can imagine. Every time they were just about to take him off and hang him, Hofacker would say, "Wait, there's a few more people I can mention, if you'll give me a couple of more days."

So Hofacker was singing. And on August 1, 1944 Adolf Hitler sent for General JodL the chief of the German Armed Forces Operations Staff (I've got his diary):

5 p.m. The Führer has read out to me the report that Kaltenbrunner now has about the testimony of Lieutenant Colonel Hofacker on his talks with K. and R. [K. = Field Marshal Gunther Hans von Kluge, the new Commander-in-Chief West who has replaced Rundstedt only a few weeks earlier; R. = Rommel.] The Führer says he's going to look for a new Commander-in-Chief West. He's going to have R. questioned after his convalescence, and then he's going to retire him without any further fuss.

Interesting—the old friends, Rommel and Hitler. Hitler didn't want anything unpleasant to happen to Rommel. He was going to question him about his involvement in the July 20 plot, and then retire him without any further fuss.

But things didn't go like that, because Hofacker continued to talk. In further testimony, Hofacker stated, "When I went to see Rommel, he couldn't be restrained. He said, 'Tell your gentlemen in Berlin that when the time comes they can count on me.'" All of which was totally untrue.

General Stülpnagel, the military governor of France, reported precisely the same thing. Stülpnagel had been fetched by the Gestapo from Paris and called back to Germany for questioning. As he crossed the German frontier, he shot himself in the eye. But his attempt at suicide failed: he had merely blinded himself. With sufficient blood transfusions, he was brought back, a rather

pathetic figure, to Germany. There he was subjected to Gestapo interrogation. Stülpnagel said he understood that Rommel was on their side, that Rommel was part of the plot.

You see, the tendency, ladies and gentlemen, is these people know that unless they play their cards very carefully, they're for the hangman, and the only way they can save themselves is to say, "Well, if they're going to hang me, there are one or two people who are going to hang too. How about Field Marshal Kluge? How about the big one, Field Marshal Rommel?" And this is an awkward one for the Germans, for Hitler, because he can't really hang Rommel. So he picks up everybody else: he picks up Kluge's chief of staff, Gunther Blumentritt, who seems to have known of the plot-and then again he doesn't seem to have known of the plot.

Then, on September 4, 1944, he has our arch villain, Hans Speidel, picked up and arrested by the Gestapo for questioning. Speidel also sings like a canary. It's very interesting: if I go to the National Archives now, ladies and gentlemen, and say I want to see the Gestapo interrogations the famous Kaltenbrunner reports, on the people of the twentieth of July, they'll give me a whole fistful of the reports of the interrogations of everybody who was unimportant, but the interrogations of Speidel and Heusinger and the German generals who became top NATO generals are not in the files anymore, they've vanished, you can't see them any more.

But I know what Speidel said, because one of the documents that General Heinrich Kirchheim's widow gave me was a report from General Kirchheim, who sat on the Court of Honor, which was held by the German Army to consider the case of Hans Speidel and the other alleged conspirators. You see, in trying to preserve its traditional privileges after the appalling catastrophe of the twentieth of July, which was a terrible blot on the name of the German Army, the German Army said, aWell, at least let us try our own criminals. Before these people are to be turned over to the People's Court to be tried and hanged, let the German Army try them first to decide whether they are worthy of being put on trial, to see whether there is a case to answer."

The Court of Honor, in the case of Hans Speidel, met on October 4, 1944. I know exactly what happened there because the one of the German generals who sat on the army's Court of Honor was General Heinrich Kirchheim (the others were General Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, the chief of the High Command, who presided; General Guderian, the famous Panzer commander; Field Marshal Rundstedt; and two others [Kriebel and Schroth]).

Kirchheim was a staff officer who had already rubbed Rommel the wrong way in the North Africa campaign of 1941. He didn't really like Rommel, but he wrote an account of the Court of Honor in his private papers. Kirchheim writes that the prosecution, which was directed by Ernst Kaltenbrunner, the chief of the Gestapo, said that Speidel had admitted under testimony that he knew in advance of the plot on Hitler's life, but that Speidel also claimed that Hofacker, who had come and told him about the plot on Hitler's life, had informed him that he-Speidel-had done the proper thing by reporting it to his superior, Field Marshall Rommel. gAt this," writes Kirchheim in his report, "an embarrassed silence fell on the Court lbelclommenes Schweigen)."

An embarrassed silence because they realized that either they were going to have to exonerate Rommel or exonerate Speidel-one or the other. If Speidel was telling the truth, he had done his duty and reported it to Rommel. Rommel had told nobody. If Speidel was lying, then Rommel was in the clear. They decided that the correct thing to do was to ask for further inquiries to be made in the case of Speidel. And in that way they saved Speidel's life, effectively, because his case was then put on the back burner, but at that moment the problems for Rommel started.

This is quite plain. Rommel already had problems. With a quadruple skull fracture, he'd been evacuated back to a hospital in Germany, and he became gradually aware of the rumors and the

whispers going around that he was supposed to have been involved in the twentieth of July. Gestapo cars were shadowing him.

When he went walking in the fields with his son Manfred, who is now the Lord Mayor of Stuttgart, he would take a loaded gun with him. He would also take along, in his inside breast pocket, a fistful of papers, copies of telegrams which he sent to the High Command during the battle of France, to show how he pleaded for reinforcements, and how he had pleaded for reinforcements even before the invasion of Normandy.

For Rommel thought that the problem building up around his name was not so much connected with the twentieth of July, because he knew he was in the clear-he had known nothing about it-but that he was going to be made the fallguy, the scapegoat for the collapse in France. Just in case he was arrested there, walking with his son in the fields, he wanted to have the papers in his pocket so that he could defend himself in the court martial when the time comes. The Normandy dossier: he carried it with him at all times, so he told Manfred.

On October 1, when Rommel found out that Speidel, not only his chief of staff, but a Swabian like himself and a close friend, had been arrested, he sat down and wrote a letter to his Führer, Adolf Hitler. I found this letter among the private papers of Helmut Lang, his Ordonnanz [personal aide], and I'll read out one or two paragraphs, because it shows again that Rommel was totally in the dark about the twentieth of July, and that he was an upright, decent man who, even at this moment, did what he could to protect Speidel, regardless of what was happening, regardless of what Speidel was saying about him, and regardless of what Speidel would eventually do to help kill him. "My Führer," wrote Rommel on the first of October, 1944:

Unfortunately my state of health is not as good as I would have wished: the quadruple skull fracture, the unfavorable turn of events in the West since my injury, and not least the dismissal and arrest of my own former chief of staff, Lt. General Speidel, of which I learned only by chance, have all placed an intolerable burden on my nerves. I just don't feel capable of putting up with any kind of fresh burden. General Speidel was attached to me in the middle of April 1944 as the successor to Lt. General Gause as my chief of staff. He was warmly recommended by Col. General Zeitzler and his previous army commander, Infantry General Wohler. Shortly before he arrived at Army Group B. he received from you personally the Knight's Cross, and he was promoted to Lieutenant General. In the West, Speidel in the very first weeks showed himself to be a remarkably capable and energetic chief of general staff. He ran a tight ship, showed much understanding for the troops, and loyally helped me to get the Atlantic Wall ready for the invasion battle as rapidly as possible with the means available. When I drove to the front-which was almost every day-I could rely on Speidel to transmit my orders to the armies as arranged between us beforehand, and to deal with superior and equivalent echelons as I would have myself.

Then he goes on:

Unfortunately it proved impossible to fight the defense of Normandy because that's what he's worried about, the fact that he's going to be made the scapegoat-D.I.] so that the enemy could be destroyed while still afloat or at the latest while setting foot on land. I set out the reasons for this in the attached letter of July 3. which General Schmundt no doubt showed you at the time.

In the final paragraph Rommel writes:

Up to the day of my injury, July 17, Speidel was always at my side, and Field Marshal Kluge, Commander-in-Chief West, also seems to have been very satisfied with him. I cannot imagine what can possibly have resulted in Lieutenant Speidel's dismissal and arrest

His final words are:

You, my Führer, know how I have always done everything in my power and capabilities, whether in the Western campaign of 1940, or in Africa 1941/1943, or in Italy in 1943 or again in the West in 1944. I've had only one thought uppermost in my mind, always, to fight and win victories for your new Germany.

The last letter we have from Rommel to Hitler-I have quoted it in full in my book-is a very interesting letter.

A few days later Rommel was told that he's got to turn up in Berlin for questioning. He didn't understand what was going on. He was still seriously ill: he had been unable to sleep for months because of the skull fractures. He sent back a message to the Army Personnel Office saying, "I'm afraid I can't come. I've an appointment with my specialists on the tenth, and they say I mustn't make long journeys in my condition."

Finally, on October 12, Hitler sent for Field Marshal Keitel, the chief of the German High Command, and dictated for him a letter from Keitel to Rommel, which ran as follows:

Field Marshal Rommel, you will see from the enclosed testimonies of General Speidel, General Stülpnagel, and Lieutenant Colonel Hofacker that you have been incriminated in the attempt on the Führer's life. You alone can know whether this is genuine or not, whether there is any truth to these allegations or not. If you consider you are innocent, it is up to you to come to Berlin and answer eventually to the People's Court. If you know that you cannot put up a defense, then you as a German officer know what is the best thing for you to do.

There's a very clear hint what he's got to do.

Keitel sent for two German Army personnel officers, General Burgdorf and General Maisel, the head of the Personnel Office and his deputy, and says: "Carry this letter down to Rommel and show it to him and tell him what he's got to do." The two German officers arrived at lunchtime on October 14. Rommel knew the generals from the Personnel Office were coming, because they had telephoned on the day before. Optimistic, as he sometimes was, he thought they might be going to discuss with him a new army group command, perhaps, the Kurland or somewhere else on the Eastern Front. But the pessimist in him said, "It might just be bad news. It might be that now they're going to call me in for questioning over the collapse in France."

"Have that Normandy dossier ready, Aldinger," he told his adjutant. "It may need it." And he awaited the arrival of the two generals at lunchtime.

They arrive in a very small, modest car. Rommel doesn't know it, but his funeral wreath has already arrived, that morning at the local railroad station. He doesn't know it, but for twenty miles around every Autobahn has been sealed off to prevent his escape. The two German generals come in. Rommel invites them for lunch, but they tell him, "No, we can't stay for lunch. This is business."

Rommel, rather shocked, invites them into the smoking room and says, “How can I help the gentlemen?” By way of answer General Burgdorf hands to him the letter which tells him that he has been accused of complicity in the plot on the Führer’s life in the testimony of Speidel, Hofacker, and Stülpnagel. Rommel learns the two courses open to him: to face the People’s Court if he is innocent, or to carry out his duty as an officer if he cannot answer the charges.

What can Rommel do at this time? What are the thoughts that go through his sleep-wracked, fractured skull, his tortured, painful brain? He could only have thought to himself, “This is the end. I can’t really go to Berlin and say I knew nothing about the Führer plot, nothing about the attempt on his life, I knew nothing about this treachery — all I was planning to do in discussions with my colleagues and my staff was possibly to open up the Western Front and make common cause with Montgomery and Eisenhower and march against the Russians. I can’t do that! If I do that, I’m a dead man anyway. My life is over! If I admit that I knew about the plot, then I can save General Speidel’s life — my good friend Speidel.”

It’s ironic, isn’t it?

So in that moment Rommel makes a quite admirable decision, the most upright and honest decision that any German general has taken, certainly, in World War II. He turns to General Burgdorf and he says, “Jawohl, ich habe mich vergessen (Yes, I must have forgotten myself.). It’s all true.”

Burgdorf then says, “If you now do as an officer would have to do under the circumstances, the Führer makes the following guarantee to you: A state funeral as a great hero. The German public and the world will be told that you have died from your injuries received in the strafing attack in July. Even your wife will not be told the truth. Nobody will ever find out-you have the Führer’s word for that.”

And in fact Hitler kept his word, as has been subsequently found out.

Rommel says, “But I can’t shoot myself.”

Burgdorf says, “Oh, no, no! You mustn’t shoot yourself-we can have no damage to your skull, nothing that will show. We’ve brought a substance with us that works in twenty seconds.”

Rommel says, “Can I take leave of my wife and son?” And they grant him that request, and he goes upstairs to see his wife Lucie, who’s lying in bed, and he says to Lucie — we know this because Lucie wrote a graphic account of it, in an affidavit subsequently, when she was trying to establish what had actually happened:

It’s extraordinary. Speidel, Stülpnagel, and Hofacker have said that I was involved in the plot of the twentieth of July. They said that if it hadn’t been for my head injury, I would have been put in command. I have no possible salvation. So in twenty minutes I will be dead.

Manfred, his son, at that time fifteen years old, comes into the room, bustling in and rather puzzled by the extraordinary atmosphere he finds between mother and father. And the father says the same to Manfred. Manfred and Rommel, the field marshal, leave the bedroom together and go downstairs and Rommel puts on his great leather topcoat and walks out into the garden followed by General Burgdorf and General Maisel. Manfred still can’t understand what is happening. Rommel, putting on his coat, finds he’s got the housekeys and his wallet in his pockets. He takes the wallet out and gives it to his son and takes the housekeys out and gives these to his son as well and says, “I don’t need these any more.”

Rommel climbs into the back seat of the little car and the two other generals pile in beside him. They shut the doors. Manfred stays outside. Rommel, the field marshal, sitting inside, winds down the window, and says to Manfred, “Manfred, look after Frau Speidel. I don’t think I’ve managed to save her husband.”

The car drives off down the lane. It drives off down the lane a couple of hundred yards—we know this because I’ve got the eyewitness account written immediately afterwards by the SS corporal who was driving the car—a corporal from the Führer’s motor pool in Berlin, named Heinrich Doose—Heinrich Doose said, “We drove down the road a couple of hundred yards and then Burgdorf tapped me on the shoulder and told me to stop the car and get out. Then he told me to go for a walk for five minutes. When I came back,” writes Doose, “I found Field Marshal Rommel slumped on the back seat of the car. He wasn’t groaning—he was sobbing (Schluchzend). I sat him upright, but his hat had fallen off, so I put his hat back on again.

And thus died Field Marshal Rommel. He died a hero, really, to the last moment of his life. He had fought his battles cleanly. He had always preferred to fight with tactics that saved lives on both sides. He didn’t like to see soldiers being killed. He told his own troops to dig in. He tried to outwit and trick the enemy into surrender.

And he died in a way that saved the life of his close friend General Speidel, although by that time he knew that he had precisely that man to thank for the fact that he had been handed the Socratic dish of poison. I must say that the Rommel biography was one of the most rewarding books that I have ever written, not financially, but it was a rewarding book because it’s always nice to write a book about a hero. And he was a hero. As Winston Churchill himself said in 1942, at a time when things stood very darkly for us — we had lost Singapore, we were losing the whole of our empire in the East — Churchill stood up in the House of Commons and said, “We have a very daring and skillful opponent against us, and, may I say across the havoc of war, a great general.”

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Reviewing a Year of Progress

Mark Weber

- Keynote address presented October 13, 1990, to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference.

Since our last conference in February 1989, the entire world has been joyful witness to dramatic and almost unbelievable historical events in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Above all, we have seen the breakdown of Soviet Communism, and with it, the end of Soviet domination of eastern Europe.

These world-historical events, which were all but unthinkable just a few years ago, mark the welcome end of the Cold War and of the postwar era in Europe, including the artificial division of the continent. Along with these developments, including the steady withdrawal of both American and Soviet military forces from Europe, a new age of freedom is dawning in Europe. The peoples of that continent are on their way to once again being masters of their own destiny.

Perhaps the most dramatic and symbolic expression of these changes was the opening of the Berlin Wall last November 9th. Just ten days ago, we witnessed the formal unification of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic into a unified state of almost 80 million people.

We are witness to not only the collapse of the Communist political order, but also to the complete bankruptcy of an ideology, Marxism, that tried to impose an artificial equality in social and economic life, and which tried to stamp out national consciousness and national freedom.

It will not be long before long-suppressed national feelings will find expression in the re-birth of the independent nation states of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Croatia, and perhaps Ukraine, Slovakia and Slovenia. The breakup along ethnic national lines of artificial multi-ethnic states such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union is likewise inevitable.

Anyone who does not understand the importance of historical revision, or the relationship between political freedom and historical awareness, should look to the full-scale historical revisionism that has swept across eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during the past year. This process of historical revision is an inseparable part of the radical political and social transformation in that part of the world.

In schools and universities throughout eastern Europe and the USSR, the subject in the curriculum that has undergone the most radical transformation has been history. In the Soviet Union, school exams were even postponed until after old history textbooks could be thrown out and replaced with rewritten new ones purged of the accumulation of 70 years of official lies and distortion.

Soviet newspapers and magazines have been casting new light on one suppressed chapter of history after another, revealing in horrible detail the full scale of what Soviet Communism has meant in practice, particularly during the Stalin era. What has been emerging is a story of terror, mismanagement, death and suffering on a scale even more terrible than most of us here in the West had ever realized.

The Soviet government finally admitted last April that the thousands of Polish officers killed in the Katyn forest near Smolensk during the Second World War were victims not, as had been claimed for decades, of German forces, but rather of the Soviet secret police, the NKVD. In Germany, the full extent of the terror of Stalinist rule in the Soviet zone of occupation in the years after the end of the war was brought to light. Earlier this year, mass graves were uncovered of tens of thousands of German civilian victims of Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and other postwar Soviet-run concentration camps. In Buchenwald alone, it was confirmed, at least 16,000 people perished in the years after the war.

Of course, this process of historical revision has been, for the most part, confined to a drastic re-evaluation of the history of Soviet or Communist rule. A similar reassessment of American history has not been undertaken. For example, almost nothing has appeared in the American media about the implications for our society of the truth of the Katyn massacre.

Next to nothing has been said about the U.S. role in the historical coverup.

The four Allied governments, including the United States, that staged the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46 accused Germany of responsibility for the Katyn massacre in their joint indictment of the surviving German leaders. Witnesses and official reports — the same kind of evidence used to “prove” German responsibility for the murder of millions of Jews at Auschwitz and Majdanek — were presented at Nuremberg to supposedly prove German guilt for the Katyn killings. To point up the truth about the Katyn massacre is thus implicitly to discredit the entire Nuremberg process.

It is perhaps natural for people to want to suppress embarrassing chapters of their own past. A kind of self-righteousness about our history, similar to that which prevailed in the Soviet Union until very recently, still holds sway here in the United States.

One of the most important works of Revisionist history to be published since the last IHR conference is *Other Losses*, a book published in September 1989 in Canada. In this work, Canadian author James Bacque presents compelling evidence to show that American and French military forces were responsible for the deliberate deaths of about a million German prisoners of war.

The principle figure responsible for this atrocity, Bacque shows, was Allied commander, and later U.S. president, General Dwight Eisenhower. By removing German prisoners of war under American control from the protection of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Eisenhower broke international law and committed an act for which, under the standards of the Nuremberg Tribunal, he could have been hanged. Bacque’s book also documents the complicity of the *New York Times* and the International Committee of the Red Cross in suppressing the truth of this atrocity. *Other Losses* has prompted a flood of letters and reminiscences by many former German prisoners and American GIs who have provided detailed further confirmation of the essential truthfulness of Bacque’s book.

I mention this Revisionist book not merely because of its important revelations about a suppressed chapter of history, but for its implications about the social climate that makes the work of the IHR so important. It is significant that *Other Losses* was written not by a well-known and

tenured professor at Harvard, Yale, Stanford, or the University of Wisconsin, or by an established historian at any major American university but was instead the work of a non-professional. In the forty years since the end of the war, no establishment historian dug up what James Bacque was able to find.

The reason, it seems, is that all too many American historians are simply not able to conceive that such an atrocity could have been carried out by the people who are assumed to have been the “good guys” of the Second World War. Each one of us operates on the basis of certain assumptions about life and society, and most historians of twentieth century history seem to operate on the basis of certain set assumptions about historical morality in the history of this century.

James Bacque’s book is an indictment, therefore, not merely of Eisenhower or the U.S. government forty-five years ago, but also of the American historical establishment today.

Other Losses has been or soon will be published in Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Britain and Turkey. It has been a best-seller in Canada, and in both Canada and Germany it has received widespread attention in newspapers and on television. Here in the United States, it has been the subject of numerous newspaper reports, and even the “CBS Evening News with Dan Rather” presented a rather fair report about it during its broadcast on October 10th, 1989.

And yet, in spite of virtually certain substantial sales and profits, at least thirty U.S. publishers have turned down the book. *Other Losses* has so far been effectively banned here in America, the victim of a spirit of bigotry and prejudice that seems pervasive in the American publishing establishment.

The editor of one U.S. publishing firm considering the manuscript wrote that his superior “felt he simply couldn’t muster enough sympathy for all those dead Germans to want to publish the book.” Another major U.S. publisher responded to Bacque’s description of how German prisoners had little to eat and almost no shelter by stating, “They should have taken their God damn clothes away as well.”

Lewis Lapham, editor of *Harper’s* magazine, declined to publish anything about Bacque’s book because Americans are, he wrote, “future-oriented,” and are not interested in what happened forty years ago. I wonder what Mr. Lapham would think of the millions of Americans who avidly followed the recent sweeping public television series on the Civil War, or of those who insist that we must never forget what happened forty-five years ago to the Jews of Europe.

Another expression of the prejudiced spirit that seeks to suppress Bacque’s book appeared in the September 1989 issue of the journal of the Canadian section of the B’nai B’rith organization: “Is a possible motive behind the writing of this book an attempt to belittle the Holocaust by concocting a similar genocidal catastrophe directed against Germans, so that somehow, the Jewish Holocaust loses its uniqueness? Is this book merely another form of Holocaust denial?”

Thirty-five years ago, the great American Revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes protested against the “blackout” tactics practiced against Revisionist history by the group of people he called the “Smearbund.” Sadly, it seems that little has changed since then in the publishing or academic history establishment.

While it is difficult to believe that the informal boycott will succeed in permanently preventing an American edition of Bacque’s book, particularly in light of the almost certain profits to be made, what has already happened reconfirms the importance of the work of the IHR, and of inde-

pendent scholars such as Bacque and the historians whom we are pleased to welcome here this weekend.

Since the last IHR conference, there have been significant developments on the Revisionist history front, both here in America and abroad. A family in a Chicago suburb made headlines last May when they publicly protested against an Illinois state law that requires compulsory “Holocaust studies” throughout the state. Mr. and Mrs. Sarich withdrew their daughter, Sanya, from the objectionable classes, and circulated 6,000 copies of an articulate open letter in which they explained the reasons for their decision. Their brave stand resulted in newspaper articles around the country, including a lengthy and relatively objective piece in the *Chicago Tribune*.

In recent months, Holocaust Revisionism has received a good bit of attention as a result of an acrimonious dispute involving Patrick Buchanan, a nationally-syndicated journalist and former White House speech writer and communications director. In a column published in March, Buchanan wrote that the story that Jews were gassed at the Treblinka camp with exhaust from a diesel engine is not credible because such engines do not emit enough carbon monoxide to kill. Harvard university professor Alan Dershowitz responded with a vitriolic syndicated column charging that Buchanan has “apparently become a full-fledged, card-carrying member of the 'revisionist' school.”

More recently, Buchanan was attacked as evil and dangerous by *New York Times* editor and columnist Abe Rosenthal setting off a furious debate that is still going on. Commenting on the dispute, the weekly magazine *U.S. News and World Report* claimed a couple of weeks ago that Buchanan’s writings have been “providing aid and comfort to those who still consider the Holocaust a myth.” The daily *New York Post* also attacked Buchanan, and in this context, referred to Holocaust Revisionists as “flat earth types.”

Every friend of the IHR is aware of the importance of the investigations by American engineer Fred Leuchter of the alleged extermination gas chambers in Poland. In the months since he addressed the last IHR conference, there have been significant developments in the Leuchter case, which will be described in detail tomorrow afternoon. (An important sign of this is the lengthy article in today’s issue of the *New York Times*, which includes a photo on the front page of Mr. Leuchter. This article confirms that he is the foremost American expert on execution hardware, including gas chambers.)

Earlier this year, a teacher of history at Indiana University — Purdue in Indianapolis, Donald Dean Hiner, was dismissed from his teaching post because he had questioned the standard view of the Holocaust story in his classes. Here in America, in the name of free speech and academic freedom, we permit university professors to spout the most absurd nonsense in their classrooms. For example, some professors seriously claim that the AIDS epidemic was invented by the U.S. government as part of a genocidal plot to exterminate Americans of African origin. But casting doubt on the Holocaust extermination story is not tolerated, and it is worth noting that the normally so vociferous defenders of free speech have had nothing to say about this case.

Nevertheless, as a result of these and other developments in recent years, most well-informed Americans are now at least vaguely aware of Holocaust Revisionism. More importantly, a small but steadily growing minority of Americans now sympathizes with the Revisionist view of the extermination story, and growing numbers are at least skeptical of the more sensational Holocaust claims.

Since the last IHR conference, Historical Revisionism has continued to make steady progress in other countries.

New Revisionist periodicals and new translations of IHR leaflets have appeared in a number of nations. In France, where Holocaust Revisionism has made the most impressive inroads, a handsome and well-edited new Revisionist quarterly was launched earlier this year. In Belgium, an attractive Flemish-language Revisionist quarterly journal has been launched.

Holocaust Revisionism has taken root in Poland, where a professor of social sciences at the University of Radom has launched a new pro-Revisionist periodical. A growing circle of bright young Polish academics has been laying the foundation for solid Revisionist growth in that country.

Important Revisionist work has also been quietly going on in other eastern European nations and in the Soviet Union. British historian David Irving has spent a good bit of time this past year speaking to packed halls in different European countries.

Since the last IHR conference, the impact of Holocaust Revisionism has been acknowledged in a backhanded way by some prominent Holocaust historians. We have seen drastic concessions by historians who might be called "Establishment Revisionists."

For one thing, the supposedly authoritative claim that four million people were put to death at Auschwitz was acknowledged to be a propaganda myth. In September 1989, Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer declared that not four million, but perhaps 1.6 million died at Auschwitz. To maintain the completely untenable four million figure, he warned, would play into the hands of Revisionists, because, he conceded, the Revisionists can easily demonstrate that this figure has absolutely no basis in reality. Bauer went on to pin the blame for the phony four million figure on the Poles, who were motivated by what he called a misguided Polish "national myth."

Last July, the historical director of the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland announced that instead of four million, one million or perhaps one and a half million died at Auschwitz. He did not say just how he had calculated these figures, nor did he say how many of these people he thought it were killed, and he gave no figures of the numbers of supposedly gassed.

The tone of American newspaper reports about this drastic revision tended to pin blame on the Soviets or the Poles for the mythical four million Auschwitz figure. What was routinely suppressed in American papers is the fact that this four million figure was certified by not merely the Soviets, but also by the governments of the United States, Britain and France at the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-46. The joint Nuremberg indictment by the four Allied governments charged that four million were killed at Auschwitz alone, and that another one and a half million were killed at Majdanek. These figures were also widely and uncritically repeated in the American press.

What was also suppressed in the media accounts is that the newly revised Auschwitz figure implicitly discredits the postwar statements of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Hoss. He supposedly "confessed" to killing two and a half or three million at Auschwitz. Hoss' statements have been and still are widely cited as key evidence for the Holocaust extermination story. But if fewer than two million died at Auschwitz, as is now officially conceded in Israel and Poland, the Hoss "confessions" are implicitly fraudulent.

Even though two and a half or three million people have now been officially "un-gassed," as it were, at Auschwitz, and perhaps another million or so have been "un-gassed" at Majdanek, not even Yehuda Bauer has yet had the courage to draw the obvious conclusion that the magic six million figure cannot possibly be correct. For the time being, anyway, this figure continues to be treated with great reverence.

Last April, the infamous “human soap” story was also officially repudiated. Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer, and the director of Israel’s Yad Vashem Holocaust center, Shmuel Krakowski, conceded that, contrary to what has been alleged for years in countless periodicals and supposedly authoritative history texts, the Germans did not manufacture bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews. If the story is not true, one might reasonably ask, how then did it ever get started? Yehuda Bauer had a ready answer. He said that the Nazis invented the story.

This is completely untrue, of course. In fact, this slanderous story was first widely circulated in 1942 by the World Jewish Congress, and in particular by its president, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. Yehuda Bauer was right about one thing. It is not hard to disprove some of the more obvious Holocaust frauds.

One need only consider a widely circulated publication of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. With the authoritative-sounding title, *The Record: The Holocaust in History*, it purports to be a reliable account of how Europe’s Jews were treated between 1933 and 1945. It is one of the most widely distributed pieces of Holocaust propaganda in America. The *Record* was first published in 1978, when it appeared as a supplement in Sunday newspapers across the United States. In the years since, it has been distributed in mass quantity. I am holding a copy of the second, revised edition of 1985, which is still being distributed by the ADL.

On the front page is an article attacking Revisionism. It specifically condemns Dr. Arthur Butz’s book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. This article is written by Elie Wiesel, a man who has written, “Ukrainians have no head for figures,” and that Jews should have a “healthy, virile hate” for Germans.

Just three pages of this tabloid are devoted to articles about extermination of Jews. Let’s take a closer look at the evidence presented here for extermination.

On page ten there is an article that reports on the killing of no less than two million Jews at the Treblinka camp alone. But this article does not claim that the victims were shot or gassed, which is the generally accepted story these days, but maintains instead that victims were steamed to death — a story that no reputable historian now accepts.

On the same page is a story about mass killings of Jews at the Belzec camp. Here again, we find more ADL disinformation. Citing a supposed “eyewitness account,” Jews were put to death at this camp, the ADL claims, not by gassing, but by electrocuting the victims in a special hydraulic electrocution device. This is yet another phony story that no serious or reputable historian of the subject now accepts.

In an effort to lend credibility to this publication, there is a photograph on page eleven of a door with a sinister skull and crossbones emblem and the words in German: “Caution! Gas! Dangerous to Life! Do Not Open!” Underneath this photograph is a caption: “Door of a gas chamber, typical of ones through which millions of Jews passed to their deaths.” In fact, what is shown in this photograph is the door of a non-homicidal gas chamber at Dachau used to kill lice in clothes. It was never used to kill people.

On the next page of this tabloid is reprinted an article written in 1945 by *New York Times* journalist C.L. Sulzberger claiming that “more than four million persons were systematically slaughtered in a single German concentration camp,” referring to Auschwitz. As already mentioned, this once authoritatively made claim of four million Auschwitz victims has now been officially consigned to the trash heap of history.

Since the ADL is usually so keen on keeping track of what is said here at IHR conferences, whoever is monitoring this for the ADL might want to take a note to clean up this act a little bit, or run the risk of looking even more ludicrous than usual.

But perhaps I'm too optimistic. This ADL publication calls to mind an apt quotation from the Talmud: "How many pens are broken, how many ink bottles consumed, to write about things that have never happened."

Of course, our friends at the ADL are not the only ones who practice this kind of deceit with regard to twentieth century history, including attaching false or misleading captions to photos that actually show something quite different.

When it comes to movie stars, Elvis Presley, and anything having to do with Hitler and the Third Reich, it seems that many people are ready to believe just about anything. A few weeks ago, the supermarket tabloid *Weekly World News* provided a memorable example of such sensationalism in its issue of September 18th. A big front page headline proclaimed: "Hitler Captured! Nazi madman trapped on way to Iraq to help Saddam Hussein. Nazi hunters catch Führer boarding ship in Peru!"

If you don't believe this story, just take a look at the proof provided inside. There's a photo here of a bungalow and yacht, which, the caption explains, is the house where the one-hundred-year old Führer was hiding out, and the boat that he was getting ready to board when he was captured. Photographic proof! And just as authentic as that photograph of the gas chamber door in the mass-circulation ADL tabloid.

Because we are meeting for the first time here in Washington, D.C., it is appropriate to mention the great Holocaust Museum that is being built not far from here, in the shadow of the Washington Monument. Interestingly, the initial decision in 1977 to build this museum was motivated, as the influential business magazine *Regardie's* reported in its November 1988 issue, by fear of the growing influence of Revisionist historians.

The U.S. government may have trouble these days finding money to maintain our National Parks or to keep them open to the Library of Congress. And the government seems utterly unable to clear the streets of what are euphemistically called the "inner cities" of armed street gangs. But priorities are priorities, and the crowd here in Washington that makes our laws has decided, in its great wisdom that taxpayer money must be kept flowing to keep in operation the "United States Holocaust Memorial Council," the taxpayer-funded federal agency that is putting up the \$150 million dollar Holocaust museum.

In the July 1990 issue of its monthly newsletter, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council expressed alarm at the growing impact of Holocaust Revisionism. "The educational danger inherent in the dissemination of its pseudo-scholarly literature must not be underestimated," it warned. The federal government newsletter went on:

It is this literature of denial that compels the Museum to present the history of the Holocaust not only in a coherent and easily understandable way, but also in one that is historically unquestionable. It must not only tell the story, it must also prove the historical veracity of the story by using exhibits as evidence.

To that end, the newsletter reports, the Holocaust Museum people have been busy collecting such convincing exhibits as: a few bricks from the Warsaw ghetto wall, a boat used to ferry Jews from Denmark to Sweden in 1943, some wartime toothbrushes, an eating table and some stools from

an Auschwitz camp barracks, the entrance door to the Lodz ghetto hospital, and some Jewish wartime identity cards.

Well, all this is very interesting, but not quite evidence of extermination in gas chambers of millions of Jews. This effort reminds me of the Georgia backwoods story of the “good ole boy” hunter, who bragged to his friends: “Last week I treed me a 300-pound possum, and if you don’t believe me, I’ll show you the tree.”

To be fair, the Holocaust agency has announced one exhibits that will be displayed in the Museum as evidence of extermination. What is it? To quote the March issue of the Council’s newsletter, it is “a casting of the door that sealed one of the gas chambers as the Majdanek killing center in Poland.” The newsletter includes a photograph of the sinister door.

Well, what about that?

When we consult the thick book published late last year by “Nazi hunters” Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, we learn from the author, French Holocaust historian Jean-Claude Pressac, that this door did indeed close on a gas chamber at Majdanek. However, as Mr. Pressac concedes on page 557 of his book, this chamber was used only to gas clothing. Pressac acknowledges that the only living things killed in this gas chamber were lice.

Oh, these poor Holocaust Museum people. The Museum is months away from completion, and already they're having trouble getting their story straight. We will have fun with this Museum because we intend to do what we can to help visitors to better understand what is on display. When the Museum finally opens its doors to the public, we do not intend to be merely watching passively from the sidelines.

There is no question but that Jews suffered terribly during the Second World War. They were rounded up, taken from their homes, and deported to horribly overcrowded ghettos and camps. Many died and many were killed.

No one of good will can object to a museum or monument in memory of those who died. It is right and proper to memorialize the dead, and it is fitting to remember the victims of terror, prejudice and oppression, whether in this century or another, whether they be victims in Europe, North America, China, Japan, or even Palestine.

But this Holocaust Museum will be much more than a sincere memorial to the dead. It will be the centerpiece of the seemingly perpetual campaign that Jewish American historian Alfred Lilienthal has very appropriately called “Holocaustomania.” This Museum will ultimately be remembered most of all, not as a memorial to the suffering of six million innocent victims, but rather as a manifestation of the illicit power and influence of the small minority group that pushed for it, and of the political expediency and twisted priorities of the venal and unprincipled politicians who sanctioned it.

This U.S. government museum is dedicated to the memory, not of dead Americans, but of dead Europeans. There is no comparable national museum here in Washington dedicated to keeping alive the memory of the American Civil War. There are no imposing monuments or vast museums dedicated to the tens of millions of victims of Soviet Communism even though, as is well known, Stalin’s victims vastly outnumber Hitler’s. I am sure that if they are given the plain facts, most Americans would agree with us that this entire “Holocaustomania” campaign is out of line and entirely inappropriate, that it is a betrayal of our traditions and, in short, un-American.

Three years ago, in the summer of 1987, a syndicated article that appeared in newspapers around the country reported that the IHR was on the ropes, and suggested that it was only a matter of time before the IHR would either collapse or become utterly ineffectual. The article quoted an official of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, who said that the IHR "is not fooling many people anymore."

Well, these days the ADL is singing a very different tune. Since our last conference, the very inappropriately named Anti-Defamation League has issued two propaganda booklets designed to discredit the IHR. The latest of these, which is entirely devoted to a misrepresentation of the last conference, all the same acknowledges that the impact and influence of the IHR is now greater than ever.

Since the last conference, the IHR has indeed continued its steady progress. Our popular series of envelope-size leaflets has been expanded and are circulating by the hundreds of thousands, in greater quantities than ever. The IHR's mailing list is larger than ever.

Since the last conference, several important new books have been published, including, a moving memoir, *Why I Survived the A-Bomb*, by Mr. Albert Kawachi, whom we are pleased to welcome here this weekend. An attractive new edition of Dr. Staglich's book about Auschwitz and a new edition of Paul Rassinier's pioneering work on the extermination question have also been published. A translation of Henri Roques's brilliant doctoral dissertation has been brought out under the title, *The Confessions of Kurt Gerstein*.

The IHR's quarterly *Journal of Historical Review* has reached an impressive level of editorial quality, giving it greater influence among those who influence others.

IHR media director Bradley Smith has continued to reach many hundreds of thousands of new people across the country with the IHR's "glasnost" message of historical awareness.

One sign of the continuing progress and steadily growing influence of the Institute for Historical Review is this conference. Our roster of guest speakers for this year's gathering is at least as impressive as any we've been privileged to present. In particular, we are very pleased to welcome Mr. John Toland, the Pulitzer prize-winning American historian.

The Institute for Historical Review is dedicated to furthering historical truth, historical awareness and understanding among nations. The IHR is not an enemy of any ethnic, racial or religious group. Our enemies are ignorance, prejudice, close-mindedness and intolerance.

As I believe the presentations of this weekend will confirm for any intelligent and open-minded person, the work of the IHR deserves the support of all men and women of good will. We have no illusions about the great obstacles still before us. But at the same time, we are gratified by the measurable progress that has been made during the last several years.

With pride in what we have accomplished, and with confidence that together we will achieve even more during the months and years ahead, we meet together this weekend, here in the nation's capital, in a spirit of fellowship and solidarity.

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Witch Hunt in Boston

Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.

- Paper presented to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference.

Boston is historically famous for an atmosphere conducive to free thinking. Boston is no less historically infamous for an atmosphere of social and political intolerance, the like of which is unrivalled in the annals of repressive thoughts. The witch hunt originates from the very bedbolts of Boston's fiber and, although perfected in Salem, one of Boston's more notorious suburbs, the roots of the witch hunt go back some twenty-five years prior to the Salem Witchcraft Trials to the little-known case of Mary Dyer.

Mary Dyer now stands on the lawn of Boston's new State House, the center of Massachusetts's sometimes enlightened, but generally befuddled government. She stands as a statue to remind the people of Massachusetts "Never Again!" (It seems we have heard these words somewhere before.) She's there to remind the people of Boston of their ancestors' disgrace, their crime against humanity: the murder of free thought in Boston, the execution of Mary Dyer.

Mary Dyer was a Quaker who, because of bearing witness to her faith, was accused of being a witch, being possessed of the devil. (note) Boston, however, notwithstanding events a quarter of a century later at Salem, in the end could not bring itself to persecute, excuse me, I mean prosecute, the poor woman for her religious beliefs by way of an accusation that she was possessed by Satan and, therefore, a witch (although that was attempted), but instead charged her with sedition, a charge broad enough to cover its shame. In 1660 Mary Dyer was convicted and summarily hanged at the old gallows at Boston Neck. But at length Boston recovered its sanity and, displaying the true Puritan ethic, in the tradition of Hester Prynne, emblazoned an *A* on its breast, by planting Mafia directly in front of the Massachusetts State House. "Never again."

Today, hypocrisy again reigns in Boston. On the eighteenth of September, 1990, some three hundred and thirty years after the disgrace of Mary Dyer, the Massachusetts court system, directed this time by something other than the Puritan ethic, prepares again for another consummate disgrace. It has issued Criminal Complaint Number 9050 CTR 3294, against Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. and is preparing to try him for practicing as an engineer without being registered. Today's sedition?

Maybe I can get the contract to build the gallows.

The problem is greater. I'll start at the beginning. Most everyone here knows that in 1988 I was sent to Poland by the defense team of Ernst Zündel to investigate the alleged execution gas chamber facilities at three Nazi-run concentration camps: Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. My subsequent report and forensic analysis proved beyond any shadow of a doubt that there

were no gas execution facilities operated by the Nazis at these three camps. I later entered my findings into the court record as testimony as a court-qualified expert at Toronto. I was chosen for this task from a field of experts numbering one, recommended by those states in the United States having lethal gas chambers as a mode of execution.

I came, I saw, I testified. There were no homicidal gas chambers. Q.E.D. It was over, I thought. Chapter two was in the drafting. But not by me.

After I completed my assignment for Mr. Zündel and the Canadian court system, exporting some of Thomas Jefferson's ideals of constitutionally guaranteed free speech and the right to a fair trial, I returned to Boston to resume my work as the only execution expert and manufacturer of execution equipment: electric chairs, lethal injection machines, gas chambers and gallows. It was back to business as usual, I thought.

While I contacted the various prison wardens with whom I deal, an insidious plot was being fomented by various Jewish groups, namely the Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice, headed by Shelly Shapiro and based in Latham, New York, and its parent organization. the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, headed by Beate Klarsfeld and based in Paris. Additionally, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith joined, forming a rather unholy and anti-American trinity. Apparently, after unsuccessfully attempting to impugn the scientific truth contained within and upon which the Leuchter Report of 1988 is based, through the incompetent analysis of an unqualified pharmacist, J.C. Pressac, the Klarsfeld Foundation, whose much proclaimed purpose is "Nazi hunting," has switched to witch hunting. The reason for this switch is unknown to me at this time, although I might speculate that it is due to slim pickings in the area of Nazis. I don't know if pickings are better for witches, but with the approach of Halloween, who knows, things might improve.

These organizations had determined that if The Leuchter Report was unassailable, Leuchter wasn't. But I'm sure they found, much to their dismay, that Leuchter was as he said he was. And his shirt was clean too. The next step, if they intended to target Leuchter, was to destroy him economically. They set out with a very workable, but very clandestine plan. The plan must have been very well organized, for it has apparently succeeded very well.

A five pronged-attack has been initiated against me by these groups, aimed at depriving me of my civil rights and the right to make a living at my chosen profession. This has consisted of the following:

1. Political threats to prison officials who choose to deal with me.
2. Vilification by private contacts as well as in news- print and on television.
3. Legislation to prohibit my working at my profession.
4. Criminal prosecution for working at my profession.
5. Lies spread by public officials, both officially and privately.

Sometime around November or December of 1988 representatives from various Jewish organizations began contacting the prison wardens and other Department of Corrections officials in states having capital punishment, threatening them with political consequences if they dealt with Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. or Fred A. Leuchter Associates, Inc thus, almost a year after the writing of *The Leuchter Report*, a treacherous plan was implemented. I continued to work now knowing what was happening, but seeing the beginning of my business decline. Orders seemed to stop, but I was unable, or unwilling, to read the handwriting already appearing on the wall. That fall I was contacted by a writer who asked me if I would permit her to interview me on the obsolete and de-

fective execution equipment around the country and my efforts to replace it with humane and competent equipment. The article was finally written and appeared in the February 1990 edition of the *Atlantic* magazine. The article dealt only with execution equipment in the United States. It never mentioned the existence of *The Leuchter Report*. That had never come up in my discussions with the author, and was beyond the scope of the article. Both the magazine and the author received many adverse comments from various elements of the Jewish community.

Resultant to this article, I was contacted by *Prime Time Live* of ABC News to do the special which was broadcast in May of this year. I was advised by personnel at ABC News that at various locations at which we had taped, prison officials had been contacted and threatened with political consequences if we were allowed to continue. Fortunately, by that time we had completed taping. ABC News was pressed by the same groups not to air the show. Feeling that this pressure was interference with the news, the ABC people refused to give in. They were also criticized for not condemning me for writing the Report. ABC *Prime Time Live* felt that the Report was beyond the scope of its programming and failed to mention it, even in passing. At least one periodical condemned them for the broadcast. ABC News also told me that these groups were actively attempting to interfere with my livelihood as an engineer.

My work continued to fall off. More and more wardens were refusing to speak to me or return my calls. Even states where I had major friendships had stopped discussions relative to execution equipment. One warden reported to me that he had been called by someone purporting to be the head of the Massachusetts Republican Party, requesting information on myself so they might draft capital punishment legislation. Being uncomfortable with the call, he advised me of the caller's telephone number. I called this party and he lied to me as well, claiming a misunderstanding with the warden in question but telling me he was head of a group of concerned Republicans wishing to restore the death penalty in Massachusetts. His real name is Eric Redack. I too, sensing a fishing expedition, gave him no information. Two days later I was contacted by Channel 2 WGBH Television, in Boston, advising me that he had filed legislation, along with the Massachusetts Black Caucus, a group of black Massachusetts legislators, and others, to put me out of business and prevent me from manufacturing execution equipment here in Massachusetts. Channel 2 asked me my opinion of this bill (Senate No. 95), which has been effectively killed by the Massachusetts Legislature. I explained that the bill was unconstitutional because it violated Article I, Section 10 of the United States Constitution in that it was a bill of attainder, *ex post facto* legislation, and a restriction of free trade. Mr. Redack appeared on television as a representative of Amnesty International, stating that it was his intention (and that of those he represents) to "put Fred Leuchter out of business."

Channel 2 Television in Boston had previously interviewed me under the pretext of a program on inadequate execution equipment in use across America, but subsequently spent most of the interview on *The Leuchter Report*. The broadcast included interviews with Shelly Shapiro and Beate Klarsfeld of the conspiratorial organizations mentioned above. I was vilified as a Nazi in these interviews, without the opportunity to respond. I protested this to the reporter, Christie George, who quickly apologized for her omission. But the damage had already been done.

I have been further interviewed, often in a very unflattering light, by both television and print media in recent months, most recently by the *New York Times*, where reporter Michael Hinds has even misrepresented the facts.

In early May I was contacted by the Engineering Board of the State of Massachusetts regarding a complaint filed with them by the Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice. (The name of the complainant was not made available to me until the matter was brought before the

court.) Subsequent to this contact, I was advised that I would have to go out of business or face criminal charges. I responded to the Board's threat with a denial that any law had been violated. There was a subsequent hearing of fact to determine if a complaint should be issued before a clerk-magistrate in Maiden District Court, Middlesex County. The clerk had determined that for numerous reasons the complaint should 'not be issued, but when advised that the Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice had made the initial complaint, the clerk said that it would be better that he issue the complaint and allow the judge to dismiss it at a later time.

Although a representative of the ADL tried to force her testimony on the hearing, she was denied access based on the fact she had no evidence pertinent to the matter. I will be arraigned on the 23rd of October, in Malden.

The Massachusetts General laws, Chapter 112 clearly states that registration is required of engineers engaged in construction and who "assure compliance with specifications" for that purpose. Most engineers in Massachusetts (except those in construction) are not registered, and never have been. Additionally, I have not done any work in, or for, the State of Massachusetts. This is clearly a misapplication of the statute for the above stated, and for many other reasons.

Conviction under this statute is punishable by three months in jail and a five-hundred dollar fine.

While all this was in progress, I was awarded two contracts by the State of Illinois. The first was to clean and inspect the lethal injection machine I sold them several years ago, at Stateville Prison; the second, to repair the abuse the machine has suffered in the past three years, to test and certify the machine, and to supervise the upcoming execution of Charles Walker. Again, the unholy trinity — the Association of Holocaust Survivors etc., the Klarsfeld Foundation, and the ADL — reared its ugly head. This time several Jewish legislators threatened to introduce special legislation to prevent the Department of Corrections of the State of Illinois from dealing with me. After the vise of political threats had been applied, the Department of Corrections yielded and broke contracts with Fred A. Leuchter Associates, Inc.

Furthermore, corrections officials were pushed into vilifying me in the press and questioning my competence, all the while maintaining that the now defective lethal injection machine, which I had designed and built, was capable of a competent execution. In fact, the machine needed repair from the three years of abuse it had sustained (it demonstrated a seventy-percent failure rate). This was the State of Illinois's greatest sin: proceeding with the execution of Mr. Walker aware of the great chance of failure. They not only violated my civil rights but those of Mr. Walker, whose rights they were sworn to uphold. In the course of events I advised Illinois that it was proceeding with the execution over my recommendations and objections and that I would not be responsible for the outcome. The State of Illinois would be accountable. Illinois's response was that I would be held accountable for the execution in any event.

As the battle proceeded in Illinois, Ed Carnes, the Assistant Attorney General for the State of Alabama, generated a memorandum which he sent to all capital punishment states stating that I was dangerous, should not be dealt with and that I had unorthodox views on executions. Upon investigation, I found that my unorthodox views on executions meant that I support only humane executions (he apparently supports painful and inhumane executions) and further that, if the states that I deal with do not buy equipment from me, I go to court to stop executions in that state, an allegation that is ludicrous. In fact it is Mr. Carnes who is the problem. He lied to me in order to get me to support an upcoming execution and misrepresent the facts before an Alabama court, causing me to believe the last execution was humane. His conduct is a disgrace to the State of Alabama, which he represents.

I had received a contract to replace Alabama's electrocution system first through a proposal and then via the bidding process. The finance department, apparently working with the office of the Attorney General, improperly wrote the contract but promised to correct the problem quickly. I was subsequently asked to support the next execution relying on the fact that prior problems in equipment had been corrected and that new equipment would be available for the next execution. I was informed that no correction would be made two days prior to the execution, putting me in a position of having misinformed the court and cancelling the contract. My failure to correct the misinformed court would be as embarrassing as my advising the court that I had been misinformed. I was also told that someone else wanted to re-bid the contract but without the support guarantees of humanity for the executee: i.e., training, test and certification. Coming as it did in coordination with the activities of the Office of the Attorney General, one has to assume the same perpetrators.

I have recently been informed that an unidentified source is spreading the lie that the lethal injection machine that I installed in Missouri, which has provided the five most humane and flawless executions in history, had failed during an execution, furthering the fear and distrust that has been spread throughout the past year.

So successful has this personal attack on me been that I have not received any equipment orders for more than a year. I estimate that more than three hundred thousand dollars have been lost to date. The only work I have been able to obtain is that of court expert in various states. If this continues, I will have been effectively put out of business. I have, however, been approved as an expert in execution technology and specifically electrocution technology in Federal District Court, the world's only such expert recognized by a court.

Mr. Kirk D. Lyons, Esq., of Houston, Texas, the executive director of the Patriots Defense Foundation, Inc. will be representing me on the criminal charge and in the civil rights actions. He will also file a major civil action at a later date in Federal Court.

Editor's note — 11/26/2002: According to Ken Brown (member NEHGS, e-mail [tiphys at chartermi dot net](mailto:tiphys@chartermi_dot_net)), Mary Dyer, Marmaduke Stevenson, and William Robinson were all hung for violating the law which forbade Quakers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, not because they were "witches" but because they challenged the authority of the established Puritan church.

Review

Jean-Claude Pressac and the War Refugee Board Report

Carlo Mattogno

In his monumental study *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, ^[1] Jean-Claude Pressac proposes a “critical study of the War Refugee Board' report of November 1944 on KL Auschwitz-Birkenau” (pp. 459-468), purporting to “demonstrate the authenticity of the Rosenberg/Wetzler testimonies regarding Krematorien of type II/III” (p. 459), the accuracy of which, he concedes, is not great in the light of current knowledge.

Walter Rosenberg, who subsequently assumed the name of Rudolf Vrba, and Alfred Wetzler escaped from the camp of Birkenau on April 7, 1944 and later compiled a report about their experiences in Auschwitz-Birkenau, ^[2] which was published, together with the joint report of Czeslaw Mordowicz and Arnost Rosin, escapees from Birkenau on May 27, 1944, and that of Jerzy Wesolowski, who escaped from Birkenau on November 19, 1943 (he later changed his name to Tabeau), by the U.S. government's War Refugee Board in November 1944. ^[3]

This is the version of the report which Pressac prefers, and upon which he bases his critical study.

Pressac declares, in the first place, that excerpts of the War Refugee Board report:

... were published in the New York Times on 26th November 1944, the day when Himmler, it is thought, ordered the dismantling of the three remaining Birkenau Krematorien. The concordance of dates, though perhaps due to chance, amply justifies the action of these five witnesses whose accounts formed the basis for the report (p. 459).

In reality no “concordance of dates” exists here. To begin with, the first excerpts of the testimonies of Vrba and Wetzler were published by the *New York Times* more than four months before, to be exact on the 3rd and the 6th of July, 1944. ^[4]

As for the Himmler order, Pressac derives the date of November 26, 1944 from the *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau*, by Danuta Czech, in which, under that date, one reads:

“The RF-SS Himmler ordered the destruction of the crematoria in the Auschwitz concentration camp.” ^[5]

As her source, Danuta Czech cites the testimony of the former SS Standartenführer Kurt Becher, ^[6] to be exact, document PS-3762. In this document, however, Becher makes no mention of the date in question, stating merely that Himmler issued the order “between the middle of September

and the middle of October 1944." [7] According to Becher, there were two originals and one copy of Himmler's order, but not a trace of these documents has been found.

Before examining Pressac's arguments in detail, it is necessary to clarify their methodological premises. Pressac certainly deserves praise for recognizing that in the camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau nothing was static: the plans and the buildings to which they pertained were constantly evolving. An architectural designation correct for 1944 might be false for 1942. Therefore, a testimony must be analyzed on the basis of the architectural structure of the camp as it existed in the period to which that testimony refers.

Pressac is also to be commended for subjecting testimonies which had always been accepted, *a priori* and dogmatically, as truthful by the Exterminationist historiography, to critical analysis. Although Pressac sought to bring the same critical rigor, which we accept without reservation, to the analysis of Vrba and Wetzler's testimony, here he failed, for he arbitrarily limited his analysis to that portion of their testimony covering the period between the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943.

Pressac's arguments for the authenticity of Vrba and Wetzler's testimony are based on the following two assumptions (it being universally conceded that the two witnesses never saw the interiors of the crematoria at Birkenau):

1. that their direct observations of the exterior of the crematoria do not go beyond March 1943;
2. that the indirect information presented in their report is provided principally, if not exclusively, by inmates of the "Sonderkommando" assigned to the "Bunkers" 1 and 2. This information can not be dated later than the end of 1942 because these inmates were "liquidated" on December 17 of that year.

Both these assumptions are completely groundless.

Pressac has committed another methodological error: by restricting his study to the Vrba-Wetzler report of 1944, he has neglected its authors' subsequent testimony, which contradicts the French writer's two assumptions categorically.

Rudolf Vrba appeared as a prosecution witness against the accused in the 1985 trial of Ernst Zündel. There he testified to having drawn the plan of crematoria I and II (= II and III according to the usual numeration) which appears on page 16 of the first part of the War Refugee Board report, [8] and to having observed crematorium II from the window of the mortuary connected to Block 27 of camp BIb, at that time still a men's camp, from a distance of about 5040 yards. [9]

Vrba went to the mortuary barracks "frequently," he told the court. Since Alfred Wetzler was registrar there, [10] at a position he held to June 8, 1943, [11] Wetzler and his friend Vrba could have observed crematorium II from a very close distance until that date. Vrba also testified that he had seen the crematoria and the surrounding area over a period "from January 1943 until April 7, 1944." [12]

Vrba's sworn testimony, therefore, categorically contradicts Pressac's assumption that the two witnesses did not see crematoria II and III after March 1943.

Pressac's premise is all the more unjustifiable in view of the clear statement in the text of the Vrba-Wetzler report that the description of the crematoria refers to 1944:

At present there are four crematoria in operation at Birkenau, two larger ones, I and II, and two smaller ones, III and IV. [13]

Because Vrba and Wetzler escaped from Birkenau on April 7, 1944 and composed their report a couple of weeks later, it is clear that the expression “at present” cannot refer to March 1943, when, moreover, only two of the four crematoria were functioning.

Vrba has categorically refuted Pressac’s second assumption, according to which the two witnesses received information concerning crematoria II and III principally, if not exclusively, from detainees of the “Sonderkommando” of the Bunkers 1 and 2, and then only until December 1942. In the book *I Cannot Forgive*, Vrba wrote:

I met other Registrars as well, and renewed contact with Philip Müller, who became one of my most valuable sources of information. Philip stoked the furnaces in the crematoriums. [14]

Vrba received “further information” from Philip (Filip) Müller when, at the beginning of 1944, he discussed with him the new situation in the camp. [15]

At the Zündel trial, Vrba confirmed having frequent contacts with members of the “Sonderkommando” who were working in the crematoria, stating that he drew the plan of crematoria II and III in exact accordance with their information. To attorney Christie’s question as to whether the plan was accurate, Vrba answered:

This I cannot say. It was said that as we were not in the large crematoria, we reconstructed it from messages which we got from members of the Sonderkommando working in that crematorium, and therefore, that[was] approximately how it transpired in our mind, and in our ability to depict what we have heard. [16]

After denying that either he or Wetzler had ever entered any of the crematoria of Birkenau, Vrba confirmed that:

Consequently, we had to rely on rough information which we got from the Sonderkommando who worked inside; and to reproduce a map without being trained in architecture, from hearsay descriptions of the other eye witnesses, of course, is not such a simple thing. [17]

Nevertheless, Filip Müller, whom Vrba cited in his testimony as one of his most valuable sources of information, expressly stated that in 1944 he handed Alfred Wetzler, among other documents, “a plan of the crematoria with the gas chambers.” [18]

The above amply demonstrates that Pressac’s two working assumptions are unfounded and can only lead to erroneous conclusions. It follows that his entire case, which is derived from these assumptions, is devoid of probative value.

This by itself would be sufficient to invalidate completely Pressac’s attempt to demonstrate the veracity of the material at the core of the Vrba-Wetzler report. In the interests of methodological thoroughness and precision, however, we shall present a detailed refutation of Pressac’s individual arguments.

To begin, however, another premise is necessary. The Vrba-Wetzler report evinces numerous and important discrepancies regarding the architectural structure of the crematoria in the period to

which it refers, April 1944, the very reason that Pressac surmises that their information refers to the state of the crematoria in March 1943.

Below, we summarize the chief discrepancies between the crematoria as reported by Vrba and Wetzler and as they actually were in April 1944, for the reader's convenience in following Pressac's attempts to reconcile the contradictions, and our refutations of his efforts. To make things clearer, we publish Vrba's sketch of the plan of crematoria II/III from the War Refugee Board report, the actual blueprint of the same, and Pressac's artistic attempts to reconcile them (Figs. 1-3).

I. Furnace room

1. Number of furnaces: 9 (Vrba-Wetzler) instead of 5 (Pressac).
2. Number of muffles for each furnace: 4 (V-W) instead of 3 (P). (Vrba and Wetzler's figures for furnaces and muffles result in a total of muffles, 36, which is more than twice the documented figure.)
3. Architectural disposition of the furnaces: in a semicircle around the chimney (V-W) rather than in a straight line along the longitudinal axis of the furnace room (P).
4. Cremation capability: 2,000 corpses per day for each of the crematoria of type II and III (V-W), instead of 1,000-1,100.

II. Undressing room

5. On the ground-floor of the crematorium (V-W) rather than in the basement (P).

III. "Gas chamber"

6. On the ground-floor, although a little lower than the two previous rooms (V-W), rather than in the basement (P).
7. Number of the "roof traps" for inserting the Zyklon B: 3 (V-W) instead of 4 (P).
8. Rails that connect it to the furnace room passing through the undressing room (V-W): non-existent.

IV. First "gassing"

9. 8,000 Jews from Cracow (V-W) instead of 1,492 (according to the "Kalendarium" of Auschwitz).

For greater clarity, we will present the arguments of Pressac according to the above order.

I. Furnace room

Contradictions 1, 2, and 3: number of furnaces, number of muffles, architectural arrangement of the furnaces (see Fig. 1-3).

Pressac writes:

The number of furnaces cited per Krematorium is wrong. Those of type II/III had only 15 cremation muffles, not the 36 announced. This error is understandable if we assume that the witnesses themselves had never entered a Krematorium and all of their observations were from the exterior or based on the accounts of other prisoners,

in particular, though we cannot prove it, Sonderkommando members working in December 1942 at Bunkers 1 and 2 who would have been able to watch the building of what they believed would be their future place of work. Document 9 enables us to understand the assumed disposition of the furnaces around the chimney, and with this arrangement the number of furnaces would be a multiple of three. (p. 459)

In other words, detainees attached to the “Sonderkommando” assigned to Bunkers 1 and 2, seeing the chimney rising from a broad quadrangular wing of crematorium II, which measured 10x12 meters (Pressac’s “document 9” is a photograph of crematorium II with this wing in evidence), supposed that the furnaces were arranged around the chimney and communicated this hypothesis to Vrba and Wetzler.

So far as we can see, this explanation explains nothing. It does not explain on what basis the detainees of “Sonderkommando” deduced the number of furnaces and of muffles and their architectural disposition. Indeed, as is plain from the photograph of crematorium II published by Pressac, from looking only at the exterior nothing of the sort could be deduced: one could only “imagine,” which is very different.

Pressac makes no attempt to explain why the detainees of the “Sonderkommando” should have “imagined exactly nine furnaces with four muffles, arranged around the chimney. His contention that, had the furnaces been arranged around the chimney in a semicircle, their number would be a multiple of 3, we must confess, is to us incomprehensible. We can’t see why the number of furnaces could not be, for example, 5, or 7, in such an arrangement.

As we have shown above, Pressac’s attempt to explain this anomaly is totally unfounded: Vrba declared under oath that he received the information regarding the inside structure of the crematoria, *not* from the detainees of the “Sonderkommando” working in the Bunkers in 1942, but from those working in the crematoria of Birkenau in 1943 and 1944, in particular from Filip Müller.

It seems quite absurd to us that detainees assigned to service the furnaces would not have known the number and arrangement of the furnaces and muffles. The conclusion is obvious. If one allows Rudolf Vrba’s *bona fides*, one is thereby obliged to deny that of the “Sonderkommando” members who provided him his information: one has to assume that they deliberately lied to him. But this hypothesis is obviously insupportable.

The importance of the discrepancies between the Vrba-Wetzler report and Pressac’s documents as to the number of furnaces, the number of muffles, and the architectural arrangement of the furnaces is thus fully established.

Contradiction 4: cremation capability.

The cremation capability of each of crematoria II and III as stated by the Vrba-Wetzler report — 2,000 corpses in 24 hours — is about twice the figure settled on (without any objective foundation, however) by Pressac: 1,000-1,100 corpses in 24 hours (p. 244). Pressac attempts to explain this discrepancy as follows:

In the [Vrba-Wetzler] report the throughput of the four Krematorien per 24 hours is fairly reasonably estimated at 6,000, though this is one third higher than the 4,416 units a day reported in a letter of 28th June 1943 from the Bauleitung to the SS Economic and Administrative Head Office in Berlin. Even this I consider to be a purely administrative document, calculated on the basis of the original estimated throughput of the furnaces, the true daily rate for the four cremation instal-

lations being no more than 3,000. If we take the rate of incineration given by the witnesses — three corpses per muffle in one and a half hours — and apply this to the true number of furnaces, the daily figure for the four Krematorien is about 2,200 (p.459).

We state at the outset that the cremation of 3 normal corpses in 90 minutes in the furnaces of crematoria II and III of Birkenau — as well as the cremation capability adduced by Pressac — was technically impossible, as we shall show in a study of this question to be published shortly.

Pressac's argument is, in any case, methodologically incorrect, because it arbitrarily eliminates, instead of explaining, a contradiction in the text of the report one related to the number of muffles. According to Pressac's logic, it could be demonstrated, that, for example, Dov Paisikovic, allegedly a member of the Sonderkommando, told the absolute truth when he stated that "it took about four minutes for the corpses to be consumed" (*les cadavres mettaient environ quatre minutes à se consumer*). [19] Yes, if we take the number of muffles given by this witness and apply it to the correct time needed for cremation, we obtain a crematorium's true cremation capacity!

We add that the data in the Vrba-Wetzler report for a crematorium of type II/III furnish a daily cremation capacity of 1,728 corpses, not 2,000. Furthermore, the result obtained by using Pressac's figures (3 cadavers × 15 muffles × 90 minutes) — 720 corpses in 24 hours — is lower by about one third than the average figure admitted by Pressac himself; 1,050 corpses in 24 hours. If Pressac accepts the Vrba-Wetzler figure for the time needed to cremate 3 corpses in one muffle (90 minutes), one is at a loss to understand how he could simultaneously maintain that a crematorium of type II/III could cremate 1,000-1,100 corpses in 24 hours.

The conclusion follows that the members of the "Sonderkommando" working in the crematoria told Vrba the truth about the time needed for cremation and about the loading capacity of the furnaces, but lied to him about the number of furnaces and of muffles!

Nor is that all. In his book *Cannot Forgive*, published in 1964, Rudolf Vrba changed his version completely. He stated that crematoria II and III each had 5 furnaces, with 3 muffles for each furnace, and that in each muffle 3 corpses could be cremated in 20 minutes. [20] The incineration capacity of each crematorium thus jumps to 3,240 corpses in 24 hours. Filip Müller, Vrba's valuable source of information, confirmed these technically impossible data exactly — 3 corpses per muffle in twenty minutes time 15 muffles. [21] It follows that the information passed to Vrba must not have agreed with the "90 minutes" claimed in the Vrba-Wetzler report, nor with the "36 muffles."

The importance of the discrepancies between the data given by the Vrba-Wetzler report and those of Pressac on the cremation capacity of crematoria II and III is thus not only confirmed, but enhanced.

II. Undressing room

Contradiction 5: location of the room (see Fig. 4)

On this Pressac writes:

In light of the drawings of type II/III Krematorien now known, it might be thought that there was no undressing room at ground level, but drawing 2216 of 20/3/43 (Documents 5 and 6), a plan of the entire POW camp, confirms the reality. As to this date, only Krematorium II AND [sic] its gas chamber were completed. Its future underground undressing room is shown only as "planned." It had in fact already been

built, but was not yet operational. Krematorium III was under construction. Its undressing room and gas chamber were also shown as “planned,” which is not quite true — they were almost complete, but not yet usable. A “Pferdestallbaracke OKH Type 260/9,” a “stable-type” hut, was erected as a provisional undressing room in the north yard of Krematorium II. Two reasons may be advanced for this. First, the SS intended to use both Leichenkeller (basement morgues) of Krematorium II as gas chambers, operating them alternately, which would have been possible after making only minor modifications to Leichenkeller 2 (the undressing room) as it was already ventilated. Second — and this is more likely — a temporary undressing room was required because the access stairway to the basement undressing room was not yet built and work was still going on in this room, making it unavailable for “special treatment” operations (p.459).

Pressac furnishes further details:

We know little about this hut, except that after serving as an undressing room for the first batch of Jews to be gassed in this Krematorium, it was quickly dismantled — only a week later according to the Sonderkommando witness Henryk Tauber. The first mention of an access stairway through Leichenkeller 2 found in the PMO archives, BW 30/40, page 68e, is dated 26/2/43 (Document 7a). As soon as this entrance was operational, the undressing hut was no longer required (p. 462).

To summarize, Pressac deems Vrba and Wetzler’s claim that the undressing room of crematorium II/III was on the ground floor to be accurate because, for about a week in March 1943, there was a hut in the north yard of crematorium II which was employed as an undressing room for the “victims of the gas chamber” (Pressac claims the hut was torn down after a week) Since this hut was clearly above ground, Vrba and Wetzler were in good faith in claiming that the undressing room was on the ground floor.

This position cannot be sustained. As we have already demonstrated, the description in the Vrba-Wetzler report refers to the state of the crematoria in April 1944, not that of March 1943. In addition, the Vrba-Wetzler report makes no mention whatsoever a dressing-room “hut.” No such hut appears either in the sketch of type II/III crematoria or in the plan of Birkenau which were drawn by Vrba. This indicates that the two witnesses never saw or heard of the hut in question. According to Vrba and Wetzler’s account, the undressing room was actually located inside the crematorium, of which it is an integral part.

But let us suppose that the two witnesses or their sources had actually seen the hut in question: how does one explain the transformation, in their report, of this external hut into an internal room? Once again, Pressac’s explanation explains nothing.

The importance of the discrepancy as to the location of the undressing room, therefore, is fully confirmed.

III. 'Gas chamber'

Contradiction 6: “gas chamber” on the ground floor (see Fig. 4-5.)

Pressac doesn’t take note of this discrepancy, due to his mistaken reading of the text of the Vrba-Wetzler report and, more importantly, to his neglect of the additional sources (Vrba’s subsequent writings and testimony). Pressac, who identifies the subterranean Leichenkeller (basement mor-

tuary) No. 1 as the “gas chamber,” credits the report with accuracy on this point, since by his interpretation it locates room C, the alleged gas chamber, “at basement level.” (p. 459)

This interpretation is incorrect. The Vrba-Wetzler report states:

“From there a door and a few steps[emphasis added] lead down into the very long and narrow gas chamber.” [22]

Thus this room was undoubtedly lower than the furnace room and the undressing room, but one cannot, on the basis of the report, equate it with Leichenkeller 2, because, further on, the report states that, in order to carry out the “gassing,” “SS men with gas masks *climb on the roof*[emphasis added] [23] of the “gas chamber,” which locates the roof well above ground level.

This interpretation is expressly confirmed by Rudolf Vrba’s testimony at the Zündel trial. As we noted above, Vrba claimed to have observed crematorium II, looking out the window of the morgue attached to Block 27 of camp BIb, from a distance of 50-60 yards, specifying that:

This Krematorium no. II had, apart from buildings, long bunkers which were approximately the height of two such tables. Say the bunker was about this height, above the head of a human being.

Attorney Christie: All right. You are indicating about six and a half, seven feet?

Rudolf Vrba: I would think so. In other words, a man who would climb on it would have to lift his hands and sort of make an exercise in order to swing himself on top of the bunker. [24]

Rudolf Vrba further stated that he himself saw, from the window of the morgue, a corporal of the SS Health Service climbing in the manner described on to the roof of the “bunker” in order to carry out the “gassing”:

And then he climbed on the bunker by holding on his hands and in a sporty way swinging himself over, which attracted my attention because it was not usually the demeanor of S.S. men to make sport. [25]

In the course of Christie’s cross-examination, Vrba confirmed previous testimony to the effect that while he certainly hadn’t measured the height of the “bunker” with a ruler, he was nevertheless sure that it was about as tall as an adult, possibly taller, and that, in order to get on to the roof, one had to climb up in the way he had described. [26]

Now, as Christie pointed out in his cross-examination, the original plans of the “bunkers,” that is of Leichenkeller 1 and 2 (HUTA drawing 109/13A and 109/14A of 21/9/1943, published by Pres-sac on page 322 and 324 of his work), show two basement rooms, the roofs of which protrude 54 centimeters[21.2 inches] above ground level. An earthen embankment, sloping up from the ground, enabled one to climb to the roof of the alleged gas chamber by taking merely two steps. Since Rudolf Vrba claims that this room rose about two meters[6.56 feet] above ground, it is clear that he wasn’t telling the truth.

The importance of the discrepancy as to the location of the “gas chamber” is thus fully confirmed.

Contradiction 7: number of roof openings for insertion of Zyklon B.

Pressac's explanation for this discrepancy is as follows:

It is difficult to accept at face value the descriptions of the interiors of the undressing rooms and gas chambers, for the installations varied over time. Those of summer 1944 are well known, for they have been described or sketched many times by former members of the Sonderkommando. On the other hand, those of the early days have virtually not been described at all. The witnesses may have described the strict truth — which already fluctuated according to the version — but I doubt this, since they never entered Krematorium II themselves, or they lied, which is also most unlikely in view of the exact details given elsewhere, or — and this is far more probable — they invented a little to fill in the gaps in a story whose endings they knew only too well.

The gas chamber of Krematorium II was fitted with four openings for pouring Zyklon-B[sic]. The witnesses state that there were only three, and a photograph of January 1943 does indeed show this gas chamber as having only three devices for introducing the toxic product at that time. (pp. 459 and 464)

According to Pressac, when on 31 March 1943 crematorium II was officially turned over to the camp command by the “Zentralbauleitung der Waffen SS und Polizei” of Auschwitz, the alleged “gas chamber” was outfitted with four openings for the introduction of the Zyklon B. (p. 430)

It follows that Vrba and Wetzler, or their informants, cannot have made their observations after this date. As we have shown above, however, this is contradicted by Vrba's later sworn statements. Let us merely add that another photograph of crematorium II, which Pressac ascribes to the period “between 20th and 22nd January 1943” (p. 335), in which Leichenkeller I is distinctly visible, does not show the least trace of “openings for pouring Zyklon-B.” The photograph to which Pressac refers above (which he publishes on p. 340), on the other hand, offers a distant and indistinct view of Leichenkeller I; on its roof are discernible three vertical shapes. Evident only by their shadowy contrast against the bright facade of crematorium I, the shapes are so indistinct that it is, to say the least, rash to affirm confidently they were devices for introducing Zyklon B.

But what was actually on the roof of Leichenkeller I in January or February 1943 is, in the last analysis, not very important here. What is important is that Rudolf Vrba testified in the Zündel trial that he repeatedly observed crematorium II at later dates, during the time it is supposed to have served as an instrument of extermination. Vrba even described a “gassing,” allegedly carried out by the corporal of the SS Health Service who had climbed on the roof of Leichenkeller I, which he claimed to have watched from about 50-60 yards away. This alleged event occurred at a time when Leichenkeller I, according to Pressac, had four of these devices for pouring in the Zyklon B. Finally, as noted above, Vrba testified in Toronto that he and Wetzler could calmly observe, from about 50-60 yards, Leichenkeller I until the beginning of June 1943.

The two witnesses, therefore, should have seen four devices, not three. Aware of this discrepancy at the Zündel trial, Vrba elegantly liquidated it by stating that he had seen “three or four” openings on the roof of Leichenkeller I. [27]

Only three such openings, however, are mentioned in the 1944 report. Neither insufficient observation — it was carefully carried out from about 50-60 yards away for almost five months — nor faulty memory — that of Vrba at that time being (according to him) absolutely exceptional-can account for the disparity: here again, Pressac's attempt at explanation explains nothing, and the discrepancies importance is clear.

Contradiction 8: rails connecting the “gas chamber” and the furnace room, by passing through the undressing room.

Pressac writes in this regard:

There remains the problem of the rails. According to the witnesses, they ran from C (the gas chamber) to A (the furnace room), connecting two different levels, the basement and the ground floor. This can be done only if there is a shallow slope between the two levels. This is the most dubious part of the testimony, for the corpses in Krematorium II/III were in fact brought up from the underground gas chamber to the ground floor furnace room by means of a goods lift[freight elevator]. There were no rails or wagons involved in this process. Three Bauleitung photographs (Documents 11, 12 and 13) confirm that in late 1942 and early 1943 there were narrow-gauge rails running between the furnace room and the future undressing room, Leichenkeller 2, apparently to facilitate the transport of building materials between these two places (Document 10[“Schéma 3”]). This railway was visible from outside the two Krematorien — However, it did not run between the gas chamber and the furnace room. The witnesses' confusion between C and B is all the more understandable in that they could see only the outside of Krematorien II and III. To show just how easy is to be mistaken, I would simply refer to the book *KL Auschwitz: Documents photographiques*, published by the Warsaw national publishing agency in 1980, where, 35 years after the event, Photo 61, identical to PMO neg. no.286, is captioned “construction of the gas chamber: of Krematorium IV or V,” and Photo 62, showing concrete being poured from the roof of the undressing room of Krematorium II, is captioned “Prisoners concreting the ceiling above the gas chamber of Krematorium II or III.”

The presence of rails during the construction of Krematorien II and III, easily visible to witnesses outside, first led the witnesses into error because they thought they were a permanent feature and found them difficult to explain, then subsequently confused the translators, who had just as much trouble in inserting them logically in the text. Some — the version in G. Wellers's book — got round the problem by talking of “path” and “lorries” for track and trucks, without bearing in mind that they were describing a building, the Krematorium, that they had never seen and whose overall dimensions did not exceed 50 × 100 meters. The same type of “vagueness” can be seen in all versions on the subject of the interior of the gas chamber — an indirect proof that the witnesses had never seen it. Version 1 describes it as “masked by hangings,” Version 2 has “shower installations ... painted on the wall,” and version 3 “the walls ... are also camouflaged with simulated entrances to shower rooms.” The details that were clear and well established in the report were well understood and rendered by the translator. Those that were less clear gave rise to different interpretations and hence to the different “versions.” (p.464)

To recapitulate, Vrba and Wetzler, or their sources, during late 1942 and early 1943, saw rails connecting Leichenkeller 2 to the furnace room and “imagined” that they were a permanent installation. Because at that time it was not known what the function of the two Leichenkeller would be, they imagined moreover that Leichenkeller 2 was the “gas chamber,” and that this premise was still connected to the furnace room by means of the rails.

Pressac's arguments have no basis. First of all, his interpretation of the Bauleitung photographs is open to

question. None shows rails connecting Leichenkeller 2 to the furnace room. Pressac has published a photograph of Leichenkeller 2 during its construction, showing double rails, and a photograph of the furnace room showing double rails, but no proof exists that these rails were connected (documents 11 and 12 on page 466).

In the latter photograph, the two rails on the right, according to Pressac, descend “on a shallow slope toward Leichenkeller 2” (p.466). This interpretation seems to us rather daring. In reality the rails cross the furnace room obliquely which can lead to an optical illusion, that they descended in a gentle slope. If in fact the rails had sloped, the floor of the furnace room would have likewise sloped down toward Leichenkeller 2, for the track is clearly at floor level. In this case, since the distance from the entrance to Leichenkeller 2 to the entrance to the furnace room was about 43 meters (as is shown by Bauleitung drawing 933, published by Pressac on p. 276), and because the floor of Leichenkeller 2 was 2.60 meters (c. 8.5 feet) lower than that of the furnace room (drawings 1173-1174[r], p.274), even if one allows that the sloping tracks from the furnace room reached floor level about 9 meters into Leichenkeller 2 (according to Pressac’s attempt to reconstruct the path of the rails in crematorium II; “Schéma 3” on p.465), the slope of the resulting inclined plane would be 5 per cent.

Such a slope would mean that the floor level at the far end of the furnace room was 1.5 meters (almost 5 feet) higher than floor level adjoining (or entering) Leichenkeller II! It seems to us scarcely believable that architects would have floored a room of about 360 square meters at a 5% inclination — which would require about 270 cubic meters of material to restore the floor to a horizontal plane — and installed five three-muffle furnaces on this inclined plane. The hypothesis of a sloping floor in the furnace room — in our opinion clearly disproved by

Pressac’s document 12 — evidently does not seem very credible even to Pressac, who, in the aforementioned “schéma”, depicts the floor of the furnace room as horizontal and decreases the length of his inclined plane to about 15 meters, running from the near end of the crematorium floor to the adjacent Leichenkeller 2.

These computations are, once again, not so important, for Pressac’s explication is directly contradicted in two different ways: the first is Vrba’s sworn statement that he witnessed a “gassing” in Leichenkeller 1 of crematorium II, from which would follow that he knew perfectly well which of the two Leichenkeller was the “gas chamber.” Vrba’s supposed confusion, according to Pressac, between Leichenkeller 2 and Leichenkeller 1, was therefore impossible. The second is the Vrba’s sworn testimony that he drew the sketch of type II/III crematorium which appears in his and Wetzler’s report based on information from members of the Sonderkommando working there. That these inmates, who worked daily in the “undressing room,” in the “gas chambers” and in the furnace rooms, were unaware of the layout and the contents of these rooms, is equally impossible.

Pressac’s attempts to explain the presence of a railway track in the crematorium explains nothing, and the importance of this discrepancy is once again fully confirmed.

IV. First 'Gassing'

Contradiction 9: the number of “victims” of the first “gassing” in crematorium II.

Pressac writes:

The gassing of the 8,000 Cracow Jews described by the witnesses corresponds fairly closely in date with the known history of the month of March 1943. The first tests of the Krematorium II furnaces took place on 4th March according to the deposition of former Sonderkommando member Henryk Tauber, a day on which 45 “well-fleshed” bodies, especially selected from a batch gassed at Bunker 2, were cremated. The furnaces were subsequently kept going for another ten days without any further cremations. On 13th March, Messing, the Topf fitter who installed the ventilation systems, announced that he had furnished that of Leichenkeller 1, which meant that the gas chamber was now operational. And on the 14th, apparently in the evening, about 1,500 Jews from the Cracow ghetto — rather than the 8,000 of the report — were led to the undressing hut erected perpendicular to Krematorium II in its north yard. Preparation and gassing lasted two hours.

Cremation proceeded at full pace for 48 hours. On 20th March, six days later, 2,200 more victims, His time from Salonika, arrived to join the remains of the first 1,500 victims of Krematorium II (Documents 14 and 15) (p.464).

The page of the “Kalendarium” of Auschwitz relative to 14 March 1943, which Pressac reproduces from the Polish edition as his document 14 (p.467), reports that on that date a transport of about 2,000 Jews reached Auschwitz from ghetto B of Cracow. Of these, 484 men (numbers 107990-108409 and 108467-108530) and 24 women (38307-38330) were registered. Although this secondary source claims (without foundation) that approximately 1,500 of the Jews not registered for admission to the camp were gassed, it makes no mention of a first “gassing” in the new crematorium.

Indeed, it is simply Pressac’s conjecture that 14 March 1943 was the date of the first “gassing” in Crematorium II. This supposition is definitely disproved by the testimony of both Vrba and Tauber, whom Pressac advances as an eyewitness to the first “gassing” and whose 1945 deposition to the Polish war crimes commission he publishes in translation (pp. 482-502).

We state at the beginning that Tauber says neither that the number of victims was 8,000, nor that they came from Cracow (p. 489). This information is derived from the Vrba-Wetzler report. Vrba, however, in his *I Cannot Forgive*, states that the first “gassing” in crematorium II took place one morning in “January” 1943: “by eight forty-five” the “gas chamber” had been filled with “3,000 Polish Jews” and “by eleven o’clock” the “gassing” began. [28] We pass over the other contradictions to focus on the time of the “gassing”: eleven o’clock in the morning.

Tauber, in contrast, declared that the trucks loaded with victims arrived in the crematorium “at nightfall” (p.489). It follows that the morning “gassing” reported by Vrba and Wetzler is not the same as the one reported by H.Tauber. Since, according to Pressac, Tauber’s account takes precedence, the first “gassing” in crematorium II cannot have been of approximately 1,500 Jews from ghetto B in Cracow; therefore, the statement in the Vrba-Wetzler report that Jews *from Cracow* were killed during the first “gassing” must be false.

As far as the number of “gassed” is concerned, at the Zündel trial Vrba stated:

What I could see was the following, that a transport of eight thousand Jews from Cracow on that occasion ..

Attorney Christie: Eight thousand, eh? You counted them?

Vrba: By knowledge of the trucks, as I explained to you yesterday, and by knowledge of the number of[railroad] wagons which arrived to Auschwitz, we knew reasonably well how many of the victims arrived on which day. [29]

Vrba claimed to have established the number of the alleged victims of gassing at Auschwitz during his stay at the camp by counting the trains and the trucks by which — before the construction of the “ramp” at Birkenau — the selectees were sent to the “gas chambers.” In particular, since he knew that 100 people were loaded in each of these trucks, [30] Vrba supposedly ascertained — having counted 3,000 trucks — that 300,000 Jews from the Polish ghettos near Auschwitz had been gassed. [31]

It follows that on the day of the first gassing, Vrba must have counted 80 trucks filled with Jews from the Cracow ghetto. This confirms and reinforces the importance of the disparity as to the facts of the first “gassing” in crematorium II, which cannot have been the one described by in the Vrba-Wetzler report, cannot have been of approximately 1,500 Jews from Cracow and cannot have happened on March 14.

Jean-Claude Pressac’s attempt to demonstrate the veracity [32] of the Vrba-Wetzler report regarding crematoria II/III fails from the start, thanks to Vrba himself, in testimony subsequent to the report thus, in terms of the Vrba-Wetzler report, authenticity and veracity are mutually exclusive. Therefore, one can seriously discuss the veracity of the report only on condition that its authenticity be excluded, which would mean admitting that Vrba and Wetzler are not the true authors of the report, but only impostors.

The conclusion is that the Vrba-Wetzler report is objectively false, and those who want to attempt to prove its *bona fides* should previously declare it apocryphal.

These considerations lead us to the crux of the matter, which we have identified in a previous article, pointing out:

It is an indisputable fact that the 'Protocols of Auschwitz,' as written, do not withstand serious criticism and cannot constitute a reliable historical source. While from the standpoint of sound historical criticism, the problem of the reliability of the 'Protocols of Auschwitz' is certainly solved, the fundamental problem, regarding the historical reality of the extermination of the Jews in gas chambers by means of Zyklon B. remains. [33]

Toward a solution of this problem, we are able here to submit an initial contribution.

Vrba claimed he decided to escape from Auschwitz above all to warn the Hungarian Jews and prevent their extermination:

For almost two years I had thought of escape, first selfishly because I wanted my freedom, then in a more objective way because I wanted to tell the world what was happening in Auschwitz; but now I had an imperative reason. It was no longer a question of reporting a crime, but of preventing one; of warning the Hungarians, of rousing them, of raising an army one million strong, an army that would fight rather than die. [34]

Obviously, the indispensable premise of his mission was to convince the Hungarian Jews and the world of the reality of the alleged extermination of the Jews.

Yet despite the Vrba's claim to have been in direct contact with the members of the "Sonderkommando," in particular with Filip Müller, one of his "most valuable sources of information," the Vrba-Wetzler report, as far as the "gassings" in the crematoria are concerned, cannot originate from information supplied by members of "Sonderkommando," unless these had deliberately lied to the report's authors.

This means that the story of the extermination of the Jews presented in the Vrba-Wetzler report was worked out by persons unfamiliar with the crematoria, and above all unknown to the "Sonderkommando" members themselves.

The study of the genesis of the extermination story, based on the documents available, cannot but confirm this fact.

Notes

1.  Published by the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York 1989. Quotations and references with no further indication refer to this work.
2.  E. Aynat believes that Vrba and Wetzler are not the true authors of the report. See his *Los "Protocolos de Auschwitz": ¿Una Fuente Histórica?*, Alicante, Spain: Garc'a Hispán, Ed., 1990.
3.  Executive Office of the President, War Refugee Board, Washington D.C., *German Extermination Camps — Auschwitz and Birkenau*, November 1944.
4.  "Inquiry confirms nazi death camps. 1,715,000 Jews said to have been put to death by the Germans up to April 15," *The New York Times*, Monday, July 3, 1944, p.3; "Two death camps places of horrors. German establishments for mass killing of Jews described by Swiss," *The New York Times*, Thursday, July 6, 1944, p.6.
5.  *Hefte von Auschwitz*. Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu, 1964, p.89.
6.  *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 8, 1964, p.89, note 125.
7.  PS-3762.
8.  *In the District Court of Ontario. Between: Her Majesty the Queen and Ernst Zündel. Before: The Honourable Judge H.R. Locke and a Jury* (from this point on Records of the Zündel trial), vol. VI, pp.1260, 1266 1316; this drawing was accepted as proof no.15 (p. 1318).
9.  Ibidem, p.1322.
10.  Ibidem, p. 1321.
11.  Ibidem, vol. VII, p. 1428.
12.  Ibidem, vol. VI, p. 1329.
13.  War Refugee Board Report (see note 3), first section, p. 14.
14.  *I Cannot Forgive*, by Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic. Sidgwick and Jackson and Anthony Gibbs and Phillips, 1963, p. 175.
15.  Ibidem, p. 197.
16.  Records of the Zündel Trial, vol. VII, p. 1479.
17.  Ibidem, p.1540.
18.  Filip Müller, *Sonderbehandlung. Drei Jahre in den Krematorien und Gaskammern von Auschwitz*. Deutsche Bearbeitung von Helmut Freitag. Verlag Steinhausen, Mdnchen 1979, p.193.
19.  *Auschwitz présenté par Léon Poliakov, René Julliard* 1964, p. 162.
20.  Vrba and Bestic, op. cit., p. 16.

21. ☞ Müller, op.cit., p. 29 and 94.
22. ☞ War Refugee Board Report, p. 16.
23. ☞ Ibidem.
24. ☞ Records of the Zündel Trial, vol. VI, p. 1328.
25. ☞ Ibidem.
26. ☞ Ibidem, vol. VII, p. 1444.
27. ☞ Ibidem, vol. VI, p. 1328; vol. VII, p. 1432.
28. ☞ Vrba and Bestic, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
29. ☞ Records of the Zündel Trial vol VII, p. 1409.
30. ☞ Ibidem, p. 1562.
31. ☞ Ibidem, p. 1571 and 1573.
32. ☞ This is the actual meaning which Pressac intends when he misuses the term “authenticity.”
33. ☞ From the author’s foreword to Aynat, op. cit., p. 12.
34. ☞ Vrba and Bestic, op.cit., p.198.

Figure 1. “Fundamentplan” of crematorium II. Drawing 1301. An original German blueprint reproduced in J.C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chamber*; p. 293.

Figure 2. Plan and description of Birkenau crematoria of type I and II (= II and III according to the more usual numeration) according to the Vrba-Wetzler report published by the War Refugee Board. From: J.C. Pressac, op.cit., p. 461. At the Zündel Trial of 1985, Vrba testified that he was the author of the plan.

Figure 3. “Schéma (diagram) 1” of J.C Pressac (op.cit., p 463), “Arrangement proposed for Krematorien of type II/III, explaining the War Refugee Board Report and based on an Auschwitz Bauleitung drawing and contemporary photographs.” (A = Furnace room; B = ground-floor waiting room; C = underground waiting room; D = gas chamber.)

Pressac’s diagram explains nothing. In the plan drawn by Vrba, “large hall B” is located between the “gas chamber” and the “furnace room,” and is crossed by rails which connect these two rooms.

In Pressac’s diagrams 1 and 2 (cfr. document 4) the same room ("large hall B") is a “hut” located outside the crematorium.

Figure 4. “Schéma (diagram) 2” in Pressac (op.cit, p. 463), Crematorium II with the stable-type hut erected in the yard to serve as a provisional undressing room, as per drawing no. 2216 of 20/3/43. (A = Furnace room; B = stable-type hut/provisional undressing room; B' = morgue 2/undressing room; C = gas chamber or morgue 1; e = future location of stairway leading to underground undressing room [not indicated on Pressacss diagram]; E = elevator; R = narrow-gauge railway.

Figure 5. “Schéma (diagram) 3” in Pressac (op.cit, p. 465), “Attempted reconstruction of the path of the rails in crematorium II (south facade).” The reconstruction is purely hypothetical and contradicts Pressac’s comment about his document 12 that the rails on the right, inside

the furnace room, descend “on a shallow slope towards Leichenkeller 2.” (p. 464) There is no proof that the rails in the furnace room were connected to the rails of Leichenkeller 2.

Source: vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 487-490.

Book review

Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Imagination

- **FACES OF THE ENEMY: REFLECTIONS OF THE HOSTILE IMAGINATION**, by Sam Keen. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986. Hb., 199 pp., illustrated, \$19.45; ISBN 0-06-250471-1. (Pb., 1988, illustrated, \$12.95; ISBN 0-06-250467-3.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Faces of the Enemy is a collection of over three hundred political cartoons, posters and artwork showing how enemies have been depicted in twentieth century war propaganda.

Accompanying these illustrations is an extensive text by Sam Keen, contributing editor to *Psychology Today*. Mr. Keen's idealistic message is that war can be abolished if human beings "change the way we think about enemies and warfare."

In the first paragraph of the introduction he writes:

In the beginning we create the enemy. Before the weapon comes the image. We think others to death and then invent the battle-axe or the ballistic missiles with which to actually kill them. Propaganda precedes technology.

In chapter after chapter, Keen elaborated upon this theme referring to what he calls "archetypes of the hostile imagination." Sections and illustrations are divided into groups such as "The Enemy as Stranger," "The Enemy as Aggressor," as "Barbarian," "Criminal," "Tortured," "Enemy of God," "Rapist," "Death," "Worthy Opponent," and so forth.

Keen's theory that we can "think" away warfare and conflict will have great appeal to many people today, especially the politically immature. But the reader who retains the ability to think rationally will see through Keen's pop psychology.

Keen erroneously labels as "paranoia" all consciousness of "enemies" as in the following passage:

Consensual paranoia — the pathology of the normal person who is a member of a war-justifying society — forms the template from which all the images of the enemy are created. By studying the logic of paranoia, we can see why certain archetypes of the enemy must necessarily recur, no matter what the historical circumstances.

Paranoia involves a complex of mental, emotional, and social mechanisms by which a person or a people claim righteousness and purity, and attribute hostility and evil to the enemy. The process begins with a splitting of the "good" self, with which we consciously identify and which is cele-

brated by myth and media, from the “bad” self, which remains unconscious so long as it may be projected onto an enemy.

Keen defines the normal person’s thinking about warfare as “paranoia.” He is saying that everyone is “sick” and that he has the solution to our mental illness. While it is true that war propaganda frequently contains paranoia and self-deception, it is an error to think that political conflict arises entirely from negative aspects of the so-called “collective unconscious.”

Keen’s postulation that all manifestation of the “warrior psyche” is “paranoia” contains an inherently hypocritical contradiction. In a section he calls “the normal citizen’s version of the Paranoid’s Confession,” we find this confession of the author:

If some incarnation of evil as unambiguous as Hitler appeared again, I would have no moral qualms about killing the enemy. But in the modern world of moral murkiness, I prefer to keep my hands as clean of enemy blood as possible.

In later chapters he claims:

Any depth understanding of the social function of war leads to the conclusion that it was the “good” Germans who created the social ecology that nurtured the Nazis.

It is not difficult to see the roots of the Nazi sadism in the normal methods of German child rearing. I recently did seminars in Germany and found that almost every one in my group had been beaten as a child.

Thus we find that even Sam Keen, the committed peacemaker, ultimately cannot abandon the concept of the “good war” fought against an “evil madman” like Adolf Hitler (or Saddam Hussein).

Faces of the Enemy could have been a valuable book on the methods of propaganda and disinformation if the author had left out his utopian schemes for eternal world peace. The book does contain informative examples of how war propaganda can distort people’s thinking.

One illustration demonstrates how “The first casualty when war comes is truth,” as U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson said in 1917. A six-panel cartoon depicts a spy in trenchcoat and hat saying:

Our enemies make nerve gas. So will we.
They squander their wealth on armaments. So will we.
They spy on their own citizens. So will we.
They prevent their people from knowing what they do. So will we.
We will not let our enemies impose their evil ways on us. We’ll do it for them.

Propaganda is created and distributed just like any other industrially manufactured consumer product. Those who “manufacture” propaganda are usually far more sophisticated in the technique of psychological warfare than those who are being targeted.

Modification of normal language into euphemism is one kind of psychological warfare. Killing civilians becomes “collateral damage,” defoliating entire areas with Agent Orange is “an environmental adjustment,” a nine-megaton warhead is transformed into “a potentially disruptive re-entry system.” The United States invasion of Grenada was described first as a “rescue mission” and then as “a pre-dawn vertical insertion.”

Keen gives examples of how we demonize the enemy. War propaganda tends to claim that only the enemy kills civilians, tortures POWs, and practices aggression and imperialism. The news and entertainment media, which have great power in creating public opinion, tend to suppress all reports that “our boys” are committing similar atrocities to win a war.

Faces of the Enemy is ultimately a disappointing and disturbing book. Some naive and unsophisticated souls will wholeheartedly believe this misguided manifesto for “world peace.” Keen’s preaching fails to recognize that conflict is a perpetual reality in this world. Conflict precedes propaganda and the technology of warfare. Not all enemies are figments of our imagination.

True pacifists are extremely rare in this world. The reason for this is that aggression, a competitive nature, and group solidarity are traits that confer distinct advantages for survival to animals and Homo sapiens alike.

The existence in the modern world of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons does not change the dynamics of conflict and competition. What is changed is that the “game” of politics is now a lot more serious and dangerous. This is made abundantly clear by the current situation in the Middle East

Certainly there are often ways in which conflict between individuals, groups or nations can be resolved peacefully. Yet the psychological and political solutions advocated in *Faces of the Enemy* are ultimately subversive. At one point the author proposes that we should “let the familiar become strange and the strange familiar — the two rules of creativity.” He is advocating the total inversion of all values.

In addition to his radical program of “behavior modification,” Keen recommends “effective world government and international law” as the political solution to warfare. The subversive character of Keen’s thesis comes in his psychological undermining of the organically structured groups in which people normally function. These are family, religion, community, race and nation. His sugar-coated proposals would eventually destroy these, leaving only the alienated individual and the all-powerful world superstate. This “new world order” would be the end of Western Civilization.

Battleship Auschwitz

by [David Irving](#)

- Remarks presented to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I'm sure that in the first part of my talk this evening, nobody is going to accuse me of having any respect for taste! One or two things that Mark Weber didn't mention — that I'll bring out in some detail — is my criminal career over the last 12 months.

It began almost exactly a year ago, October the 3rd, in Berlin. I was invited to go to Berlin by Sender Freis Berlin, the biggest government television station in Berlin, to take part in a round table discussion with Germany's leading historians on some historical matter (I forget what the exact detail was), on a television program called Berliner Salon. The producer of the program had telephoned me in London and said: "Mr. Irving, I attach very great importance in your coming to take part in this program, I've always been a huge admirer of your works and I've been wanting for years to have you as a participant in our round table weekly discussion program." And I said, "who else is going to be present?" And he said: "Oh, Eberhard Jackel of the University of Stuttgart and Professor Arno Mayer of the University of Princeton ...," and he reeled of a list of names and I had to say to him: "Excuse me, but do these gentlemen know that I am invited too?" "No problem," he said, "no problem!"

"Well," he said, you're going to be staying in the Hotel Kempinski and we want you to fly down to Berlin on such and such a flight with British Airways, and you can stay there a couple of days. We have everything laid on." So I made the bookings, and made the reservation for the Hotel Kempinski, and a week later, shortly before the program was due to go on, I got an embarrassed phone call from Sender Freies Berlin saying: "I'm sorry, Mr. Irving, I'm going to have to un-invite you, because all the German historians invited have refused to sit at the same table with you."

This is, of course, not a new phenomenon. They know they can't debate. They can debate with each other because they're all on the same wave-length. They all speak the same lies. But they are not prepared to debate with somebody who comes from outside their particular mafia. So I said to Sender Freies Berlin: "Well, I'm very sorry for my part, because I have bought the airline ticket already, and I made the booking to the Hotel Kempinski, and I'm going to be there!" He said: "No, no, Herr Irving, you don't understand, we are not inviting you on to the program!" So I said: "That's all right, you don't have to worry about that, I won't be in the studio." And he said: "Where will you be then?" and I said: "Outside the studio, with my friends."

And so I staged a demonstration in Berlin's Masurenallee outside the headquarters of Sender Freies Berlin with a few of my friends. Mr. Ernst Zündel had a major part in providing these friends, whom I didn't know previously, for me, and we paraded up and down for an hour outside the television headquarters with all the press watching. We were carrying banners and placards which read, in English and in German: "German Historians — Liars and Cowards!" in English

and German, so that even the thickest German journalists could understand what the message was.

I only mention this fact to legitimize myself as some kind of prophet. Because that day was October the third — not this year, not the famous historical October the third, 1990, but October the third, 1989. On that morning, in order to rub salt in the wounds of the German historical profession, I had arranged a press conference in the Hotel Kempinski in Berlin, with all the German press invited: the television, the radio, and the print media and thirty or forty journalists did turn up.

So with them all sitting in front of me around a table at the Hotel Kempinski, (I don't know what came over me, I wanted to make them feel really awkward), I said: "You know, you're not going to believe what I'm about to tell you, but twelve months from now, Germany will be re-united."

I thought, I know these journalists, there's no thought that they would loathe more than the idea of Germany being united and great once again. So I said to them, October the third last year: "Twelve months from now, Germany will be united," and by jove, I got it right down to the last conjuring second!

A few weeks later I was making a speaking tour around Austria, and our last couple of speaking events were going to be in Salzburg, and, I think, and Innsbruck. By that time the Austrian police were hot on my trail: there were police down at the reception desk off the hotel looking for me, so I managed to get out through the restaurant in the back. We rearranged the meeting, not in Salzburg, but over the border in Freilassing. But hardly anybody turned up!

This really baffled me. But the reason was that that evening was November the ninth last year, and everybody was at home glued to the TV set because the Berlin Wall had come down. A couple of weeks after that, the Daily Telegraph in London, reported for the first time what I had said on October the third at the press conference, printing in a gossip column that Mr. Irving was the only person who said, at a press conference on October the third, that Germany would probably be re-united within twelve months.

Even at that time, in November of 1989, nobody was talking about re-unification of Germany. The Daily Telegraph asked me: "Mr. Irving, why didn't any of the German newspapers report, at the time, what you had said?" And I said: "Journalists everywhere have the same unifying feature, they all have all the horizon of a lavatory lid. They can't see that far. They can't see the way that historians can." And I mentioned this fact to the head of the West German Military Archives, Manfred Kehr — remember that name, Major Manfred Kehr — head of the Military Archives in Freiburg. One of Germany's leading military historians, he wrote the standard history of Stalingrad — a first-rate German historian. I saw him at the beginning of September of this year, and he said: "Well, Irving, I came to the same conclusion that you did, about six months before you. I was in Potsdam too, at the East German Military Archives, and I saw the way the East German soldiers were behaving." They actually stayed out all night just drinking beer in the local park — the first signs of total breakdown of the system. Major Kehr also predicted that German unity was ahead, but he didn't put an exact time limit on it.

I think that this shows what I have always maintained, that if you keep your nose glued to the archives — if you keep your nose glued to the documents — then you are going to be that much closer to getting things right.

Just picture me seven years ago, in 1983. I'm at the press conference of the West German magazine Der Stern, in Hamburg. I've been smuggled in disguised as a reporter for Bild-zeitung,

which is the opposition newspaper group in Germany. I was very familiar with the Hitler case: I'd spent twenty years of my life studying the story of Adolf Hitler. I'd built up a personal card index on his life — about 30,000 index cards — and when they told me that they were about to publish the Hitler diaries, I knew it was phony! So Bild-zeitung [1] said: "Will you come along disguised as our press correspondent and attend this damned press conference and blow it up for them?" So I went along. I was the first one at the microphone, and I was the first one to have the chance to ask the people at Der Stern certain questions. I said right out: "The diaries are fake — the Adolf Hitler diaries are fake!" They'd spent nine million deutschmarks on them! And all the German historians had said they were genuine. Eberhard Jackel had said they were genuine, so they must be genuine — but they weren't.

I got the same kind of feeling about the Holocaust. (I'm going to come to Rommel further on). But it's the same story, because when we come to look at the story of Field Marshall Rommel, and the legend that he was a member of the anti-Hitler resistance movement, that he was a hero of the twentieth of July, 1944, a story that has come down for forty years, since World War Two — we find that nobody has bothered to go back and look at the actual records. They all believed what everybody else had written about him. And it isn't until you go back and look at the records that you realize that the truth is somewhere else.

This is how it was when I was in Toronto a couple of years ago. I was called as an expert witness as a historian to give evidence at the Ernst Zündel case, where Zündel's researchers showed me the Leuchter Report, the laboratory tests on the crematoria and the gas chambers. As a person who, at University in London, studied chemistry and physics and the exact sciences, I knew that this was an exact result. There was no way around it. And suddenly all that I'd read in the archives clicked into place. You have to accept that, if there is no evidence anywhere in the archives that there were any gassings going on; that if there's not one single German document that refers to the gassings of human beings — not one wartime German document; and if there is no reference anywhere in the German archives to anybody giving orders for the gassings of people, and if, on the other hand, the forensic tests of the laboratories, of the crematoria, and the gas chambers and Auschwitz and so on, show that there is no trace, no significant residue whatsoever of a cyanide compound, then this can all only mean one thing.

So how do we explain the fact that for forty-five years since the end of World War Two, we have all, internationally, globally, been beset by a common guilt: the idea that the human race was responsible for liquidating six million human beings in gas chambers? Well, the answer is: we have been subjected to the biggest propaganda offensive that the human race has ever known. It's been conducted with such finesse, with such refinement, with such financial clout, that we have not been able to recognize it as a propaganda offensive — from start to finish. And yet there are these weapons cruising past us on the horizon — in all their ugliness — and the biggest weapon, of course, of all in this propaganda campaign against the truth. Since 1945 there has been the great battleship Auschwitz! And we have now, at last, the historical profession — above all, the Revisionist historical profession — have found as our own task, the major task: "Sink the Auschwitz!"

I warned you I was going to show no respect for taste in the first part of this talk. Sink the Auschwitz! But we haven't had to sink the Auschwitz, because the crew of the Auschwitz, Beate Klarsfeld, the Wiesenthals, Eli Wiesel and the rest of them, have been struggling on the bridge and battling with each other — boxing and engaging in fisticuffs — and the Auschwitz has been steering amongst the icebergs, and finally it has begun to scuttle itself. They've begun to haul down the flag of the battleship Auschwitz. They've taken down the placard, they've taken down

the memorial to the four million, and they've replaced it with a rather smaller memorial to one million.

Of course that's not the end of the story, I'm convinced that it's just the "interim memorial." I think it's on cardboard, if you have a close look, because why waste money on an expensive memorial when you're only going to have to change it again in a few months time! They're going to have to change it because it's quite obvious. I'm not going to say only a million — I'm not going to say only any figure died in Auschwitz. We don't know the exact figures of how many people died in Auschwitz.

The Russians have helped us: the Russians released in September last year, September 21, the Auschwitz death books. That was an ugly blow for the battleship Auschwitz and its crew. Because the Russians, by releasing the forty-six death books of Auschwitz — which cover the years 1942 completely, 1943 almost completely, and 1944 incompletely — the Russians have revealed that the set of Auschwitz death books, which they have released, now show a total of 74,000 deaths. 74,000 deaths by all causes.

Now the Jewish professor, Arno Mayer, whom I greatly respect, who is one of those who managed to get through to the Sender Freies Berlin television program — who wasn't uninvited so he must be ok — Arno Mayer, of Princeton University tells us in his book *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* that of those who died in Auschwitz and other concentration camps, probably far more than half died of natural causes — whatever you can call natural causes in wartime. Of course the very phrase is suspect. But that means — whatever it does mean — that less than half was killed. Which means less than half of 74,000 people were killed in Auschwitz. Let's be generous and say 40,000 may have been killed in Auschwitz over the three years — that's a bad figure! That's a grave crime, it's almost as many people as we British killed in Hamburg in one night.

This is cutting things down to size. When the Germans use that dreaded word, *relativieren*, meaning you are trying to compare things, you are trying to belittle things, the answer is: "Yes, I'm trying to cut legends down to size because that is the job of the historian." Winston Churchill himself said the job of the historian is to find out what happened and why. The German historians haven't even begun to take the first step on the bottom rung of the ladder. They haven't really found out what happened. There they were, all believing the four million figure, until somebody down in Israel said: "Oh no, not four million, there's only one million." Oh yes, one million! The Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich: "One million! Wir sind immer davon ausgegangen! (We always assumed it was one million.)" That was what they told the press, they always assumed it was one million. They just forgot to tell their own government. And, of course, they didn't tell the German people. And now, of course, the German people say yes, but what about the six million! Oh, the six million ... and that figure stays.

Now if you go to a grocer's shop and you buy six kilos of potatoes, and all you get is two kilos left in the bag and the grocer still charges you for the six ... Which is what happened to the Germans: they've had to pay 150 billion deutschmarks, in compensation. So the grocer says: "You're still going to have to pay for the six kilos," then you're entitled to call that a bit of a rap! You buy six liters of milk and you find that the jug's only got 2 liters in it and the milkman says: "I'm sorry, madam, you're still going to have to pay for the six, and that's the way it is." That, too, is a swindle.

That's what's happening in Germany now. They're still sticking to the six million figure. And they're still being told that they are gassed. Although all the evidence runs the other way. To me,

Auschwitz is unimportant — I'm happy that the ship is scuttling itself. It's vanishing. It's going to be left like the battleship Arizona at Pearl — if you ever go to Hawaii and have a look at it — with just its mast sticking out of the water to mark where once a great legend stood. And when people go there a hundred years from now and say: "Down there is the most incredible legend that people believed for fifty years: it's the great battleship Auschwitz, it was scuttled by its crew! Why don't we have to believe it? Well, you know about the Leuchter Report.

Let me give you a few other reasons why you don't have to believe it. There's a British official government historian, Professor F.H. Hinsley. Now Professor F.H. Hinsley, a professor of history at the University of Cambridge, was in our intelligence service during World War Two at the code breaking establishment, GCHQ (Government Communications Headquarters). You might wonder what that's got to do with Auschwitz. Well, it answers one problem. People will come along from now until eternity, particularly the Holocaust historians, and they'll say: "How do we know the Germans haven't destroyed all the records of their gassings?"

Suppose they did — and believe me that isn't easy. Go down the road to Pennsylvania Avenue to the National Archives, have a look at the existing German records there: 30, 50, 100 thousand tons of records — you can't destroy records. Even if you destroy the top copy, there are half-a-dozen carbon copies — there are half-a-dozen teleprinter print-outs that have gone all down through the chain of command. There are people who have kept private diaries. There are the private letters that people have written home. That's why for twenty years I've been saying: "I'll give a thousand pounds to anyone who can find one single war-time document showing that Adolf Hitler even knew about Auschwitz, or whatever was going on, whatever it was!" And I repeated that challenge all the way around the world on television programs. I used to take the trouble of actually taking the thousand pounds out of my inside pocket and show it on the screen — they can't find any evidence!

But then people would say: "But suppose the Germans did destroy it all?"

All right, how about this: suppose we British were reading all the German signals. Suppose we British had an organization called GCHQ with 3,000 code-breakers taking every single German teleprinter message — everything that was sent by radio. And we did. Suppose we were managing, from 1942 to the end of 1943, to read the entire radio coded traffic between Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen and seven other concentration camps, on the one hand, and the headquarters in Berlin, Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt, Oswald Pohl's unit, on the other hand.

We were doing it, ladies and gentlemen. We British were breaking and reading the codes of the SS, reading the daily reports between the commandant of Auschwitz and the headquarters in Berlin and all the other concentration camps! And we knew exactly what he was reporting to Berlin about what was going on.

The German text of these decoded telegrams are in the British secret service archives now. I'll tell you what they say in sum; I don't exactly know what they say verbatim because the British government, for reasons we in this room could only surmise, is refusing to release the exact text of the telegrams. But they've been good enough, in an appendix to Volume II of the British official history, the government history of the British secret service, to tell us what we can learn from these telegrams.

Each day the daily telegrams reported back to Berlin: the number of prisoners who had arrived that morning at each camp; The number of prisoners who left that day from each camp; the number of prisoners left in each camp at the end of the day. In addition, under a fourth heading was a

category described, oddly enough, as “other losses” — Abgange aller Art. And the British secret service deduced that “other losses” were mostly losses caused by deaths. According to the British official history says, “in the case of Auschwitz, most of these other losses turned out to have been due to illness. The remainder were partly accounted for by executions, which are described as having been executions by hanging and executions by shooting. There are no references to any gassings in Auschwitz.”

But on the other hand, the great big battleship Auschwitz, this lie that's been cruising around for the last 45 years, has told us that that's what Auschwitz was about! That Auschwitz was there purely as a kind of Endstation, or terminus. That the trains arrived in Auschwitz, and disgorged their masses of helpless, pitiful humanity, all of whom were Jews, of course, in the present perception. And they were then kind of channeled through the extermination procedure, where they were gassed. Not a single word of this is in the messages that the British government was decoding throughout the years 1942 and 1943. And have you seen any reference to this British government finding anywhere in the newspapers? No.

I think it's courageous enough of Professor Hinsley that he's allowed himself that one dangerous sentence. He could quite easily have gotten away without putting it in at all. “There are no references to any gassings in Auschwitz.” A brave man. That, unfortunately, is the situation. We who venture much further out along that particular gangplank, we know that at any time we're liable to be prodded off into the crocodile-infested seas, where the crocodiles swimming around all look remarkably like Simon Wiesenthal.

But what about the eye-witnesses? The eye-witness who saw it all happening? Well, we account for them — we've got equal amounts of eye-witnesses who saw gas chambers in Dachau, happening. Well, we know there weren't any gas chambers operating there.

What about the photographs? Well, I know that there are a number of Germans here in the audience tonight, so I would like to tell you one particular episode that has caused me great pleasure in the last few days.

It is this: you were subjected to a series of films in Germany, I think there were four or five television films during last spring, May, this year. A particular nasty couple, Leo Reusch and Eberhard Jackel. Leo Reusch, is a very well-known Jewish television journalist in Germany, and only marginally more beautiful than Simon Wiesenthal himself. On the other hand is Eberhard Jackel, the head of the University of Stuttgart history department. Eberhard Jackel was historical consultant and advisor and Leo Reusch was the person who no doubt pieced this appalling four-part series together.

It had the title *Der Tod: Ein Meister aus Deutschland* (Death: A Master From Germany), and it dredged through and crawled through all the slime. All the propaganda slime that's been churned up by this particular propaganda campaign for the last forty-five years! And one particular episode that was screened, the 35th minute of the second episode in May of this year, showed trainloads of Jews being hauled out of a station in Rumania. A picture was flashed on the screen of the trainloads of Jews in open coal cars. These people standing pitifully packed into open coal cars, and the voice-over said: “Here they are, being shipped off to the extermination camps at Treblinka and Auschwitz.” Well, I had to write a letter to Eberhard Jäckel now, saying:

Dear Professor Jäckel, dear colleague:

It's come to my attention that the picture you've used in the film does not show Romanian Jews being packed into coal cars and shipped off to extermination camps at

Auschwitz. If you look in the railway archives at the Hamburg Hauptbahnhof [Central Station], you'll find that it is, in fact, a platform of Hamburg Hauptbahnhof in 1946, one year after the war was over. And the correct caption on the photograph is: "Germans from Hamburg packing into a coal train to go on a shopping expedition to the Rhur."

That's the truth! And I wrote to Professor Jäckel:

If you don't believe it, next time you're in Hamburg, call in at the inner city restaurant, the railway station restaurant at Hamburg central station, and you'll see that picture's displayed on the wall there among a series of photographs of life in Allied occupied Germany. [And there it is, in display showing nostalgic views out of the immediate post-war period]. Or perhaps that was your original source! May I recommend in the future that you restrict your research to the archives and less to the railway station restaurant.

It's great fun being a historian, as you can see, you have little jolly moments.

Working in the British Public Records Office, I noticed in a catalog, a file on Zyklon B. So, I thought, let's have a look at that. And it comes out to me, a British Intelligence file on Zyklon B from the War Department files in Britain. It's a file of correspondence between MI6, the British Secret Service, and the London Fumigation Company in the post-war years, in which MI6 is trying to find out what the links were between the London Fumigation Company, on the one hand, which manufactured Zyklon B as a fumigation and dis-infestation poison, and I.G. Farben and Degesch, on the other hand, in Germany. They wanted to find out which was the corporation which first invented this substance, this cyanide-based compound, and which was the one that had just bought the license, and so on. Unimportant for me, but there are some very nice photographs of some tins of Zyklon B in the file. But what caught my eye was the fact, that, in 1946 the London Fumigation Company had as its telegraphic address: ZyklonLondon!

When in Freiburg at the beginning of last month, in September, I called on a very old friend of mine, the head of the history department at the University of Freiburg, in Germany. They're all my friends, you see, all these German historians in private.

He invited me up for a bottle of wine, and we sat up talking til 2 or 3 in the morning, exchanging notes and comparing sources. In public, of course, they won't be seen dead with me, but in private, they need me. And dear Professor Berndt Martin, who's been a friend of mine for twenty years, said: "Irving, the problem with you is that you've never been to Auschwitz. I have been to Auschwitz two or three times." And I said: "So?" He said: "Now the head of the museum and archives at Auschwitz is a personal friend of mine over many years now." I said, "Oh, you mean Franciszek Piper." He said: "Oh yes, Franciszek Piper, a very close friend of mine over several years — and I remember the last time I went to see Auschwitz I, which is where the tourists are shown, and you're completely wrong about the gas chambers, Irving. There are gas chambers — there were gas chambers — there's no question at all."

He said, "Auschwitz I, of course, is a bit of a problem, and I did point this out to Franciszek Piper. I said: 'Herr Piper, you know I'm an intelligent man, I've had a look at the crematorium here, and the thing that you're showing to the tourists as a gas chamber, between you and me, it is phony, isn't it?'"

And Martin said to me (this conversation actually did occur in September — the third, this year) Martin said to me: "But Piper, [who is the man who ordered the reduction of the figure from four

million to one million] said, 'Well, between you and me, you're right! We have built this purely for the tourists.'"

How about that! An admission, ladies and gentlemen, that in Auschwitz I, der Stammlager Auschwitz, the crematorium and the gas chambers that are shown to tourists from all over the world, is a post-war dummy, put up for the benefit of the tourists! Something that we've always suspected, something that we've particularly suspected since the Leuchter Report came into our hands. But Professor Martin, bless his heart, this German historian said: "Mr. Irving, but of course, that's just in Auschwitz I. In Birkenau [3 or 5 kilometers away], that's where the genuine gas chambers were!" It never occurred to him to ask the logical question: why show dummies to the tourists, when you've got the genuine ones 3 to 5 kilometers away? So who are the dummies now? Not just the gas chambers, but the tourists, too!

But I have to admit that it wasn't until the next morning that I'd wrote a note on the conversation with Martin, and it suddenly occurred to me, the gravity of what he'd said. Here's a German historian who accepts this quite absurd abomination that it's perfectly obvious that the gas chambers shown to the tourists are, in fact, dummies! It's a criminal offense to say that in Germany now. I have a case pending against me in Munich, now because I'd said that to a mass-meeting of a thousand people at Loenbrau beer hall in Munich. (Well, that's not the only reason. I'm also supposed to have led a demonstration out from the Hotel Hohenzollern in Munich; according to the police allegation, the docket on me: "David Irving staged a street march to celebrate Adolf Hitler's birthday on April the 21st." Now the experts among you will notice a small anachronism there.)

Anyway, I'd written to Professor Martin and said: "Will you confirm this please, in writing: that my understanding of what you've told me is correct?" I'm waiting for a reply.

I don't think he's going to venture that far out along the gangplank behind me. As, I say the battleship is scuttling itself. We can leave it — it will quietly founder all by itself, like the Bismarck went down. We can continue firing our torpedos at it. Hardly any need! Or to make another analogy, they realized they are way out of line with the Auschwitz story and they are frantically engaged in damage control at present. They're pulling their entire army of liars back from the main battlefield into the second line. Because all the artillery is coming down on the frontline now and it's making it too dangerous for them.

When I went to see Professor Martin, he asked: "What are you working on now?" And I said: "Well, Professor Martin, I'm working in fact, on the biography of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi Propaganda Minister." In fact, I can tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that I have now received from the Russians — I'm the only person to have it — the Goebbels diaries for the whole of 1938! It's a beast, it's written in hand-writing, it's a thousand pages of hand-writing — but it's worth it. Because when you read Goebbels' diary — it contains real insights into Hitler's character!

For example, a few days after the Anschluss between Germany and Austria, Goebbels writes in his diary a complaint: he says Heydrich, the Chief of the Gestapo, is now down in Vienna, and that Heydrich has ordered the carrying out of a number of forbidden executions and that the Fuhrer is hopping mad at this. It's an interesting point. It's what we all have suspected was going on: that the underlings were carrying out certain orders and carrying out executions and Hitler was only finding out about these things far too late.

Berndt Martin, the professor at the University of Freiburg, said: "Mr. Irving, very interesting. Do you know who's buried here in the local village churchyard, near Freiburg?" I said: "Who is

that?" He said: "Goebbels's first mistress. She was buried here 30 years ago. They just leveled in the grave two years ago when they found out who she was." That's how things are in Germany. It's criminal. So I said, "You mean Ancha Starhelm." He said, "Yes, that's right, she died here thirty years ago."

Down in Freiburg lives an old woman who was a friend of hers, and Ancha Starhelm, Goebbels's first girlfriend, gave to this old woman, all her letters. Aha! Needless to say, 24 hours later I was the proud possessor of all the letters and all the photographs. That's the way it works.

Because, once again, I'm not going to read other peoples's books. I'm just interested in what the documents show.

Source: vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 509-510.

Historical news and comment

The Last Liberal Historian: A. J. P. Taylor, March 25, 1906–Sept. 7, 1990

Samuel Edward Konkin III

Alan John Percivale Taylor, Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, may not have shared the religion of his co-Fellow, C. S. Lewis, but he turned into a similar lamp-post of unyielding virtue. For Taylor, a Labour Party supporter and vigorous supporter of “preparedness” and opposition to Third Reich aggression, his moment of conversion came as he rummaged through the files of the captured Reichstag, trusted by the new Atlee government to come to the correct conclusions concerning responsibility for the largest orgy of death and destruction in mankind’s history, known as World War II. Taylor found that nearly everything that had been told to him up through 1939 by the English Establishment was a lie.

He said so, and published the exhaustive analysis of British and German diplomacy leading up to the conflagration in *The Origins of The Second World War* in 1961. Diehard Isolationists and revisionist historians, such as Harry Elmer Barnes, were thunderstruck that such a work could come from the highest court of the Court Historians. Taylor himself was uneasy with the embrace of these unpleasant “American” revisionists, but stuck to his guns and fearlessly used his *cachets* in Polite society to defend his thesis in academe and even on the BBC. His well-established dislike of Germany made his heresy toward casting sole blame on it for World War II impossible to dismiss.

Amazingly, he survived and continued to publish one of the longest lists of historical works — and one of the broadest, ranging throughout British history (*Beaverbrook, Lloyd George, Essays in English History*) to Russian, German, Italian and Austrian histories.

Taylor seemed a paradox (he loved and used paradox stylistically as much as Lewis and G. K. Chesterton), but the solution was to realize he was a classical liberal who had survived into an age where the few remaining political Liberals could not make up their minds whether to emulate Conservatives or Socialists. *The Economist* portrayed him, in their obituary, as a useful gadfly or “troublemaker.”[1] It dismissed his devastating critique of the Western responsibility for World War II with “A bad-tempered controversy over the origins of the second world war did not seriously dent his reputation.” It does note his support for “radical causes, notably the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament,” but mentions nothing about his on-the-money analysis in the *Guardian* (read by this writer when it was published) of the Irish Question, concluding that the British go home and leave the Northern Irish to resolve their own political fate.

Taylor won no favor with Establishment Left or Right Oxford refused to promote him to a professorship and terminated his special lectureship in international history. When asked if history is

cyclical (Oswald Spengler's view), Taylor replied that it was not history which repeats itself but historians who repeat each other.

It is highly doubtful as to whether History will repeat itself with anyone else like A.J.P. Taylor, who gave up the struggle with Parkinson's disease on September 7, but never gave up the struggle for historical accuracy and truth.

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1. "Puck of Magdalen," *The Economist*, September 15, 1990, page 119
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Source: vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 4, 66, 120.

From the editor

Ted O'Keefe

This issue of *The Journal*, the forty-first since publication was begun in 1980, opens Volume 11 with a long-sought contribution: Pulitzer-Prize winning historian John Toland's **autobiographical remarks** to IHR's Tenth Conference at Washington, D.C. last fall. IHR had sought out the best-selling author as a speaker for several years after the appearance of his *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath*, Toland's Revisionist study of the cover-up by successive American presidential administrations, Congress, and the military (late IHR editorial adviser Percy L. Greaves played a key role in leading Toland through the maze of available proceedings and evidence from the nine official "investigations" by the government, on which Greaves was the pre-eminent expert).

Persistence pays, for here John Toland outlines the extraordinary story of how an intelligent, educated young American of literary bent, with a pronounced sympathy for the underdog that found its first reflection in a youthful affinity for Communism, grew into a marvelous historian dedicated to showing "how it actually was" in the experience and memory of historical participants, on all levels and all sides, of the mighty happenings he investigates and chronicles. Toland's road to a broadly revisionist perspective on the Twentieth century's great wars and their actual origins, you will see, was marked by no Damascene crises, but by his taking the pains to seek out, talk and listen to, and even befriend men and women whom Toland's colleagues in the literary establishment, peering into the dark and silent glass of their own enlightened prejudices, could view only as orgres. We eagerly await the appearance of the autobiography which he and his lovely wife and collaborator Toshiko are presently writing.

In the previous issue we promised further analysis of Jean-Claude Pressac's gigantic and unintentionally revealing attempt to substantiate homicidal gassings at Auschwitz by publishing a wealth of documents, photographs, sketches, and plans hitherto unavailable to all but the small number of researchers who have had access to the archives at the Auschwitz State Museum and other Polish institutions. Who better to help revisionism profit from Pressac's Gargantuan appetite for the *minutiae* of the planning, construction, and operation of the Auschwitz crematoria and de-lousing facilities than IHR editorial advisor Robert Faurisson, who preceded Pressac into the Auschwitz archives and served as the strange French pharmacists' first mentor in the on-site, material study of the realities on the ground (and underground) in the famous concentration camp. Here, in the first part of a monumental study of the Pressac thesis and its import for revisionism (translated from the original French as originally published in *Revue d'Histoire Révisionniste*, no. 3, November-December 1990 January 1991, pp. 65-155), Dr. Faurisson spares all but the masochistic the chore of moiling through Pressac's mammoth (and all but unavailable) tome by reducing its author's unprecedented efforts to exploit the material evidence to so much grist for the revisionist mill.

Seeing is believing, especially for revisionists. Our new associate editor, Mark Weber, has **selected and commented** on just a few of the many revelatory, “tell-tale” documents and photographs which make Pressac’s *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* a windfall for revisionism. The relief one feels at the restoration of the architecture and equipment of Auschwitz to its original banality is a measure of just how bizarre and sinister a phantasmagoria the wizards of Exterminationism have conjured up. Truly Mark and Dr. Faurisson and their colleagues are benign magicians, wielding their restorative powers to dispel the hateful projections of the liars of Auschwitz!

The Journal of Historical Review is proud to publish, for the first time ever, the **final plea of the defense lawyer** in the 1947 trial of nineteen Germans for their role in alleged war crimes at the Nordhausen-Dora concentration camp complex. Major Leon Poullada’s informed, thoughtful, yet impassioned pleas to the American officers who sat in judgment on the case in Dachau is noteworthy not merely for its impressive marshalling, just two years after the war, of arguments and insights which even the most informed Revisionist can profit from today, but also for its evidence that an American officer of unquestioned patriotism and probity made a case for which, in its essence, men and women of good will are being witch-hunted and scape-goated in Europe and America today, nearly 45 years later.

Frequent *JHR* contributor Bill Grimstad, a practiced journalist and long-time observer and connoisseur of the outlandish and inexplicable, from flying saucers to Zionism, **considers a new look** at the “occult roots of Nazism,” and gives it qualified approval. Here at last, it seems, is an author, Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, who, despite his own “metaphysical” leanings and reflex anti-Hitlerism, does a measure of justice to the Führer’s alleged “Ariosophist” influences and who leaves the “Spear of Destiny” to molder in the impotent obscurity to which he properly consigns it.

We wish to apologize to our subscribers for the belatedness of this issue of *The Journal*, which is due in some part to an imminent trial, occasioned by the complaint of Mel Mermelstein, who claims to have proved the Holocaust took place and has found a second judge to decree that event need not have been proved at all: it is simply beyond dispute. Nevertheless, we at IHR are confident, resolute, and determined to combat this renewed attempt to torpedo historical dissent to the best of our ability. Despite the approaching trial, we promise to be back on schedule this summer.

Source: vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 5-24.

Living History

John Toland

- From remarks presented to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference, October 1990.

What am I? I've been called everything from an extreme liberal to an ultra-conservative. I am neither. I have been labeled a "Nazi" because of my numerous interviews with Hitler's adjutants, secretaries, doctors, and military leaders, both SS and Wehrmacht. I loved the remark the Soviets made in 1976 about me being "the leading Western running-dog, lacky historian." I would have put it on my stationery, if I bothered to have stationery. On the other hand, the People's Republic of China has published five of my books.

I fell for Communism when I was a young man, like so many others in those days who were idealistic and thought a lot about the world and people. We were attracted by the humanitarianism in Communism, and we were innocent. By being with those people, I learned more about Communism, and saw how they distorted the truth. For example, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, we were called in and told that we were no longer the American peace mobilizers, but were now part of a united front against the peace campaign. "The hell you say," I replied. "I'm still against the war." I was criticized for that, but after the Japanese attack against Pearl Harbor, I changed. I went down and enlisted in the air force.

Well, what am I? God knows! I belong to no school of history. I'm not a conventional historian, but primarily a teller of tales without thesis. I deal with history's human side, portraying history through the experiences of participants of all ranks. I write what I call li that you've been Japanized." I replied, "Yes, and it's about time."

She then asked me why I was writing about Hitler, and I said: "I think that he was the greatest mover and shaker of our century. He changed all of our lives, and I'm going to try to tell the objective story of Hitler." She then said to me: "Toland, nobody is objective." And I replied, "Speak for yourself, Barbara."

As a matter of fact, I liked her work, and I have never criticized her books. I just couldn't understand why she thought I was a Nazi. Was it just because important Nazis visited me at our home?

One of them was Hitler's SS adjutant, Richard Schulze-Kossens. I interviewed him in his home in Germany, and I got great stuff from him. He visited our house three times on lengthy stays — he was always bringing me new information. I would invite my friends over to meet these Nazis, whom they also found to be human beings. Much of my information came from people who still believed in Hitler. But why should I have relied only on Germans who were against Hitler? In fact, I just couldn't trust those Germans who said after the war, "I never liked Adolf Hitler!"

As a playwright who has written twenty unproduced plays, I look upon each of my histories as a drama. I strive to let the contestants on all sides act freely, uninhibited by my own conclusions. I simply observe them and try to make some meaning out of the drama. I take no sides and I treat all the actors equally, regardless of nationality. I try to understand the motivations of those involved, regardless of rank or status.

This is “living history.” I tell it as it happens, without giving any hints or foreshadowings of how the drama will end. To accomplish this, I must first spend many months reading other histories and accounts, and working in archives and libraries. Then I start mass-interviewing. I will go anywhere to get a good story, to get as close to the truth as possible. I must go to the places where the battles were fought, where critical conferences were held. I've got to learn what the characters were wearing, what the weather was, what they thought — everything in order to gain insight. And that is living history.

My concept of living history had its beginnings when I was fourteen years old. My father was a singer, a fine baritone, and my mother was an artist. All our friends were writers, dramatists, artists, and so forth. I had no idea what bankers or businessmen were like, and by the age of twelve I had decided to be a writer.

When I was fourteen a man named Porter Emerson Browne came to live with us. Porter had been a very successful playwright, but when his wife died he'd become an alcoholic. (My father, like most Irish, was sure he could cure anything.) Within a week, Porter was my idol. He was a little fat guy with false teeth, which he used to take out of his mouth and twirl as he talked to me. He once taught me to cheat at cards while twirling his false teeth. (He told me that if I was going to be a writer, I would have to know how to cheat, so that I wouldn't be cheated by others.)

Porter's most famous play was *The Bad Man*, a very successful comedy. It ran on Broadway for two years and was made into a motion picture with Wallace Beery. It was about Pancho Villa. But the *Bad Man* was not a “bad man” — he was really a good man.

I asked Porter why his play was such a success, and he replied: “I rode with Pancho Villa for two years. I knew him. I knew that he was a great patriot. I wanted to write a play about him and I knew that if I wrote a serious play, no one would take it seriously. So I decided to present him in this way so that for the first time the real truth about Pancho Villa could be understood by the average American, who was convinced that he was simply a criminal.” Well, this touched me, and I wanted to do the same thing. Porter Browne began to teach me about playwrighting.

He stayed with us for two years. And before he left, he told me: “John, there's one thing that I must imprint in your mind — never forget, no matter what you write: don't tell it, show it.” I've been showing it ever since. In other words, most historians talk about and describe everything as if it were not even part of life. I use my playwrighting experience to show it from an objective point of view, to bring it to life. And because I interview so many people, I have sometimes been severely criticized.

While I was doing research on the dirigible, *Hindenburg*, I interviewed ten people who had survived the disastrous fire and crash. Do you think any of them will ever forget that day? Do you think that anyone who was in any of those great battles of World War II will ever forget what happened to them? Nowadays, of course, everybody goes around with a tape recorder and interviews people, but when I first began writing, they didn't realize this.

When I graduated from high school I was in no shape to go to college. So I worked in the Norwalk Tire Factory in order to go to Phillips Exeter Academy to learn how to study. Best thing I

ever did. From there I went to Williams College, a wonderful school. It was very conservative, but they had two or three left-wing professors so you could hear both sides of every issue.

They also had a system whereby if you received a certain mark by your junior year, you could go into honors work, working with one teacher. I strove to do my best, and as a result my marks were high enough that I had two honors work teachers. One French, with whom I did French literature and drama, and the other was a delightful fellow in English who taught me playwrighting.

While going to school, I managed, my senior year, the Williams Christian Association Book Store. After finding out what books the professors would be assigning in their classes, I would send my spies to two competing book stores, where they would buy up all the books for a third of the price that I sold them for. As a result, by graduation day in 1936 I had made more than \$5,000 — which was big money in those days.

That day a guy from Esso corporation [now Exxon] came up. The man who owned Barnes & Noble (a Williams man) had told him about me. So the man from Esso told me that he wanted me to begin as a junior executive with a very good starting salary. My first assignment would be in the South Pacific. I told him that I was honored by his offer, but that I would be going to the Yale Drama School because I was going to be a playwright. He looked at me and said, “What a waste of talent!” He didn’t realize that I made money so I could write — it wasn’t for the desire of making money. Otherwise, I might have eventually become head of Exxon. Wouldn’t that be terrible?

I didn’t want to go back home, so I went to New York. I packed a knapsack and went riding freight trains. I loved it, and I had a marvelous time. You meet a better class of people riding freight trains. The first time I went to California I hitchhiked. But hitchhikers are a low breed. On the way I saw a freight train loaded with guys sitting on top, all waving to me to get on. They ranged in age from about 12 to 16 years, all young farmers. They were wonderful people, guys you could trust, and they taught me how to ride freight trains. So for the next three years I had a wonderful time seeing the best part of America.

Traveling like that, you take along water and newspapers, which you use as blankets. You usually go with three guys. The older fellow would guard our bindles. (We were called bindlestiffs in those days.) Another guy would set off and hit all the bakeries for day-old bread and meat ends. The third guy would be the star of the show. He would hit up people for ten or fifteen cents, which would last us until the next stop.

I was Phi Beta Kappa, and that became my job. By studying how it was done, I became a terrific panhandler. I didn’t whine or anything like that. But I knew how to pick ‘em. If a guy looks prosperous, leave him alone. I’d stay away from neighborhoods where the lawns are cut clean and neat. People there don’t like panhandlers. But where lawns are neglected, and there are dogs and children, they’ll help you. And if you’re really desperate, go to the very poor. They will always give you something to eat.

All this taught me so much, and I wrote all about it. The concept of seeing human beings observing them and seeing how they act and interact, not caring about their religion or rank or anything, but letting them act, instead of forcing them to do something they don’t do I found this fascinating.

By the time I was 41 I had written thirty-five plays none produced; hundreds of unsold short stories and four unpublished novels. Two years later I had published a dozen factual articles and my book on dirigibles, *Ships in the Sky*. Then I visited Washington to research a book on the depres-

sion. The Army was wonderfully helpful — they gave me so much material. Well, that afternoon, I was called by Ted Clifton, who later became John Kennedy's right-hand man. He told me that he had read my book on dirigibles, and liked the way I treated enlisted personnel. He said that he wanted me to do the same for the GI. He turned over to me all the materials about the Battle of the Bulge that the historians were working on, and he said that he would send me over to the Seventh Army in Germany with orders, and that it wouldn't cost me anything. So I set off. I didn't know I was going to be a historian. I was just going to write a story.

I hated all Germans! Naturally, a good American should. And then I arrive in Germany, where General Bruce Clarke ordered people who had been in the Battle of the Bulge to meet and talk with me. Some of these fellows told me about their experiences with the Germans. Then, after a while, Bruce said, "Now I want you to really get to know the enemy."

General Hasso von Manteuffel was one of the main commanders in the battle. He was a famous German commander, and his grand uncle had been a Prussian field marshal. Well, Clarke phoned him in Bonn where he represented the "lost" province of Prussia, and he said: "Manteuffel, Clarke here. I'm going to send an American up to see you, and I'd appreciate it if you would see him for the next five days."

So I went to the U.S. Embassy, where we met. Manteuffel was wearing civilian clothes, but he still looked like a soldier. He was only five foot, two inches, but he was a great athlete. I hated him. He was the most Prussian of Prussians. He looked at me, in my sloppy clothes, and so forth, and he hated me. Well, then we started in. As I went after him, I began to see that this man was honest. He was telling me the truth about his relations with Hitler. And he said to me, "Toland, you only want to know what happened!" And I said, "Yes." Well then he really opened up and told me everything.

After we got to know each other better, he told me that he was planning to run for public office, and he asked me what I thought about a campaign poster that showed him in uniform. "Forget it," I said. "No one is going to vote for you now. You ought to go down to southern Germany and live and enjoy yourself." "But," he said, "they tell me I'll win." "You won't," I replied. Well, he didn't. Instead, he went south and enjoyed life, and we remained fast friends for the next twenty years. He was also my conduit to former Wehrmacht people because, he said, I could be trusted.

Then I heard from an American about a man named Otto Skorzeny, an Austrian who became famous by rescuing Mussolini in a commando operation. This American had been a GI where the Malmedy massacre [during the Battle of the Bulge] took place. He and a dozen other Americans were stuck during the battle in a hotel, and thought they were go to be killed. Then one night this big face looked down at them and said, "You are now my prisoners."

It was Skorzeny, who commanded a special regiment of German soldiers dressed as American GIs. He took the Americans prisoner and thereby saved them. The former GI said that Skorzeny now lives in Madrid, and he asked if I would like to talk to him. I said, "You're talking about 'Scarface,' the guy that was going to kill Eisenhower, a criminal whom you say saved your lives?" In those days, everyone was trying to find Skorzeny, but this former GI was ready to direct me to him.

So I went down to Spain and found him in two hours! I met this huge man, like a mountain, who had a big scar. Wow! I had to tell him that I was John Toland, and that I was going to write a book about the Battle of the Bulge. And he replied, "I've been waiting for you."

Well, he took me home, cooked me dinner, and we had a marvelous time. I could see what a marvelous, historical artifact I had found. He loved Hitler! He wasn't like those other characters who talked about how terrible Hitler had been. Skorzeny offered to put me in touch with former SS men living in South America and elsewhere, people like former Belgian SS commander Leon Degrelle. "Fine," I replied, I'll listen to anybody." And so he became my conduit to the SS.

I had all these things going for me, and the book itself was a success. You know, we really screwed up in the Battle of the Bulge, but people love to see us screw up, because we always come out ahead in the last minute of play.

After talking to people like Skorzeny, my perspective and thinking changed. I saw that the Germans had a point, too, and I presented them as human beings. Similarly, I never used pejorative adjectives. You know, it worked!

Fortunately, the people who loved my book, like the GIs who were there, and most of the army brass, wanted to know what the enemy was really like. You see, when two peoples are fighting like this, do you know who the real enemy is? It's often behind them — the guys who are pushing them to fight. The poor birds who have to do the actual fighting have no concept of what is really going on.

I had never been west of Los Angeles, and so I decided to visit the Far East. With my new perspective on history, I decided to write about the first six months after the Pearl Harbor attack. I visited Pearl Harbor, Wake Island, Saipan, and the Philippines, and I learned about the Filipinos.

In the Philippines, I was seeing more Filipinos than Americans, because the Americans had stopped helping me. I complained, and as a result the American officer (who was like the "ugly American" character in the novel and motion picture of the same name) asked me if I wanted to meet President Garcia. After hearing my story, President Garcia told a young fellow, Major Ramos, "I want him taken all over the Philippines." Imagine that! Here I was, a nobody, and I didn't have to pay a cent. I was taken all over. For example, within an hour after landing at Cebu, a young man told me that former President Osmaña wanted to see me the next morning.

Well, Osmaña was dying when I saw him, and he said to me: "I must tell you the secret that [former president Manuel] Quezon told us never to reveal about the so-called collaborationists." [That is, Filipino officials who cooperated with the Japanese occupation authorities during the war years]. He told me: "Just before Quezon left to go to America, he called together the six most prominent men in the Philippines, and he ordered them to pretend to collaborate with the Japanese in order to save the country." They were never to tell the story, and it caused a great sensation when it came out.

I got to meet the Aquinos, whom I've now known for years. I knew Mrs. Aquino [who is now the country's president] when she was a housewife. I never imagined that she would be head of anything. Her husband was the half-brother of my friend, Tony Aquino, who was a playboy. Tony was a wonderful guy, but his life was for pleasure. On the other hand, his younger brother was, at 26, governor of Pampanga. I met all these people, had a wonderful time, before going on to Hong Kong, Taiwan and, finally, Japan

I hated the Japanese, of course, but after arriving in the country, I thought that I'd been had. While observing women clogging along the road with their kids, I thought to myself, "Are these the people I'm supposed to hate? I think I'm wrong."

Although I was a virtual nobody — I had written only two books — I arrived at the Sanyo Hotel for interviews with Japanese army and navy figures, the most important of whom was General Nara. He had brought along a copy of my book, *Battle: the Story of the Bulge*. He opened it to the biographical information about myself, and then his interpreter said that Nara wanted to tell me something that no officer should reveal, the general said: “You Williams, me Amherst. Must tell secret of Bataan.” I said, “Back in three days, same place, good interpreter.”

So, that evening I went to the press club and told my tale of woe to all the boys sitting around, and someone pointed to a very attractive young lady named Toshiko Matsumura, who was coming across the room to where we were. They said that she was a very good interpreter. After we met, she asked, “Mr. Toland, are you writing factual book or fiction?” She later often reminded me of my answer, which was: “Only the facts, girl!” At any rate, she liked the idea and offered to help me evenings when she wasn’t working.

With her help I got a good story from General Nara. He told me about how he had ordered a colonel to carry out an attack against the American lines, which were protected on one side by a mountain, and on the other by water. The colonel took his troops over the mountain to get them to the rear. They had almost reached the top when they had to come back. The colonel asked General Nara to try again, but Nara refused. Nevertheless, they sneaked out and this time they made it. They got behind the Americans, and that’s how they cracked the American line. I tell this story in honor of all those who were involved in this campaign.

Toshiko and I then went to see Admiral Genda, who had been in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. He was now a general, and he headed the Japanese self defense forces. I became excited as he told me about the attack, and I began to feel like a Japanese participant in the campaign, which was wonderful.

After that, I talked with a flier who had taken part in the sinking of the *Prince of Wales*, a great British battleship. The Japanese felt so terrible about sinking such a beautiful ship that the next day they flew out and dropped flowers over it! During those days, as I listened to all these things, I thought to myself that these are not the Japanese I had heard so much about. I told these stories in my book *But Not in Shame*, and I felt that I was beginning to get in touch. And all the time I was thinking of Porter Emerson Browne.

Another hero of mine was Edgar Snow, an editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*. He had gone to Asia to get the real story about China, which he told in his book, *Red Star Over China*. I was very glad to finally meet Snow in New York, through my Chinese friends. His book inspired me, and I also wanted to uncover suppressed truth. Instead of the usual bull that you get from the media, I wanted to find out what really happened. I didn’t realize it at the time, but I was forming “living history.”

The next book I wanted to write would be about the last one hundred days of the war in Europe. To research it, Toshiko and I spent about eight or nine months driving around in Europe. We toured 21 countries, including five countries behind the Iron Curtain.

We had incredible luck. In Hungary, for example, we got to know that country’s most prominent opera singer, who was in charge of foreign travelers. He was a baritone like my father, and so we became friends right away. He warned Toshiko, “Please, madam, don’t take so many pictures because the Soviets get very upset if you do that.” He introduced us to Hungarian historians, who told us inside stories about the Soviets. After one such meeting, we found that our car had been broken into and that all of our photographs had been destroyed. However, we continued on our

journey. Everywhere, we found people who helped us and provided useful information for my book. In Poland, we were given assistance everywhere.

Probably the most fantastic leg of our journey was in East Germany. This was in 1963, when Americans were not permitted to travel there. It said so in our passports. While we were in West Berlin, I interviewed an American journalist who had been born in Germany. He has been a young boy at the time of the bombing of Dresden in February 1945.

During this interview he made a passing reference to Dresden that moved me to ask if he had been there recently. He begged me not to tell anybody, and I promised that I would keep the secret only if he would tell me how I could also get into the country. So he told me how, and he gave me a letter for a friend of his who was an official in the East German government. We crossed over, met the woman, and gave her the letter. I told her that I was working on a book about the final hundred days of the war from every side, and that we wanted to visit East Germany. She told me to return in four days, but not to tell anybody that I was coming. The night before we left, General Polk, the commanding general in West Berlin, had us over for dinner. When he asked what we would be doing the next day, I told him that we would be returning to West Germany.

Of course we crossed over the border instead, in our Volvo. We met with a young man in the foreign tourist agency who was a devoted Communist, and who was very glad that we wanted to learn about the German Democratic Republic. And so it was that we spent three of the most marvelous weeks of our lives going through East Germany, where we were given every possible help.

The only ones who tried to stop us were the Soviets. For example, Toshiko was always taking pictures of key bridges and buildings. While she did, our young Communist friend would talk to guards to distract them. On one occasion, we visited a location that I wanted to see in order to better tell the story of American prisoners of war. As we were coming down from the hill, where I had noticed that the ground was all torn up, we heard the wail of quickly approaching police sirens. Our young Communist friend told the police that he represented the government, that we were guests of the government, and so forth. (And he told Toshiko, "For God's sake, hide your camera!") So we got away free from there. When I later asked what the police had been so upset about, he told us that the location, of which Toshiko had taken many photos, was a military tank exercise ground.

How did we get back into West Germany? We were waved through a seldom-used crossing point by the West German border police, who assumed that a couple like us — one who looked like a Swede and the other Oriental — driving a Volvo with West German license plates for foreigners must be okay. We simply drove through, all the time smiling and waving.

The first man we interviewed after returning was Gero von Gaevernitz, who had worked with American OSS official Alan Dulles. He had told us the story of how SS General Wolff had turned over all of the German troops in a famous operation [the German surrender in Italy], without any loss of life.

During our final meeting with von Gaevernitz, he said, "John, where did you come from? We got word from General Polk that you disappeared. What happened?" We told him that we had been in East Germany. He pretended that he wasn't in the CIA at that time, but we knew that he was. And he said to us, "East Germany? You know, you're in real trouble. You'll have to report to this office in the capital. There's no name on it, just a number. It's the CIA, and they'll handle this

thing.” Well, nothing ever happened to us. But I'm not going to tell you how we got away with it. You'll have to read our autobiography!

Our history books portray SS General Karl Wolff — whom I've mentioned — as a real swine. Even though he had willingly worked with von Gaevernitz and the Americans in the surrender, he was held prisoner in Stadelheim prison, near Munich. Well, I decided to meet with Wolff, even though no journalist had been permitted inside Stadelheim. I met this commandant, who spoke English, and I told him, “Sir, I want to see General Wolff.” He replied, “You have three minutes.” Well, I knew that the commandant would be interested in my story, so I told him all about it. As a result, I was there for almost three hours, and I got the whole story from Wolff, who explained why he had done what he did, for for which he never got any credit.

Day after day, we had similar experiences in working on *The Last Hundred Days*, which became our first big bestseller. After that I decided to rewrite my experiences about Japan. I had only been there for six weeks, and I now felt that I knew nothing about the country. I wanted to dig deeper, and so I said to Toshiko, “Let's spend five or six years doing a book.”

I went to my editor at Random House and I told him, “I've got a great idea. I'm going to write a book called *The Rising Sun*.” He replied, “About Japan? But no one is interested in Japan.” I said, “I don't give a damn. I'm going to write a book and if you want to publish it, all right.” They reluctantly told me to go ahead. So after much research in the United States, we went to Japan, Okinawa, Iwo Jima, Saipan and Thailand, where we spent a year and a half. That was probably the most fruitful time of my life. Moreover, I was finally getting to understand things and people.

I learned that Toshiko's father knew many key officials in Japan. The most important of these was Marquis Kido, the Privy Seal who had been the chief advisor to the emperor. He had also kept the so-called Kido diaries. Even though he had worked with the emperor for peace, he was sentenced to life imprisonment as a war criminal. And because the Americans had taken his diary and had defectively translated it, and would not pay attention to his corrections, hated Americans. I told my father-in-law that I had to see him. So he phoned Kido who agreed to meet with me.

He was a short fellow, about five feet tall, but he had tremendous authority. For two days he seemed to look right through me as we talked. And then suddenly he said to me, “You only want to know what happened!” I said, “Yes, I only want to know what happened!” He responded, “Why didn't you tell me?” He then opened up and during the course of my six or seven interviews, we got to the heart of this whole story.

Whenever I interviewed someone, whether they were a president or a private, and regardless of nationality — I treated everyone the same — I routinely sent the material back for checking. Other authors I knew warned me that I was crazy to do this, and that I would lose every good story this way. In fact, I never lost a good story. In the case of Marquis Kido, for example, he sent us numerous pages. For one thing, I had got his religion wrong, his name wrong, and about ten other things like that. Most importantly, he explained that I had not understood what his special relationship with the emperor was. He then explained this in great detail, and told me many things he had not previously related.

The Germans were astounded by this practice of mine, which I followed in each case, no matter who the person was. The person was able to see that I could be trusted. The few things that people wanted removed were personal matters.

It took me a week to persuade Hitler's youngest secretary, Traudl Junge, to really agree to an interview. After several unproductive hours, her sister said to her in German, "Why don't you give it to him?" I wondered what she meant. Finally with a pleading look, I told her I would send back everything and she could check it. In her case, it came back as a thick manuscript about her personal relationship with Adolf Hitler — a gold mine. I had my interpreter make copies, and I returned her material before the time she had specified.

In the book's section about her, I included a portion telling how Hitler liked to arrange romances in the office. He'd had arranged a romance and a marriage with a young SS officer, for example. Well, she blew her top and wrote me a scathing letter. I replied by asking what she was kicking about. I told her that if she didn't want it, I would cut it out. So we cut that out. However, she never cut anything about Hitler.

I respect the right of whomever I interview, and I accurately relate what I'm told. As a result, I was trusted by both Nazis and anti-Nazis — they all knew that I knew everybody else. It's crazy, but I don't know anybody else who does this, and I don't understand why.

Well, I was very unhappy about what I'd written about Hitler in my two previous books. I regarded it as two-dimensional, and not the real Hitler. So I decided to write a book about him. After talking to my wife about this project, I spent six years working on the book. I returned to Germany, where I interviewed many people. Manteuffel and Skorzeny were very helpful.

Let me tell you about Otto Skorzeny. While working on *The Last Hundred Days*, we met with him in Spain, where he told us the marvelous story about Hungarian leader Horthy's secret deal with the Soviets to switch sides. Hitler found out about this and called in Skorzeny, who was his favorite troubleshooter. He told him that he could have a regiment to take care of the situation in Hungary. Skorzeny replied, "Sir, I want one tank and 25 men. And I want a truck." So he went to Hungary and successfully carried out "Operation Mickey Mouse." (Horthy's son was called Miki.)

Skorzeny had been inspired by reading George Bernard Shaw's play *Caesar and Cleopatra*, in which Cleopatra (as a young girl) is stolen away from a kind of lighthouse by wrapping her in a carpet. So Skorzeny got a big rug and took it to young Horthy's apartment on Castle Hill, the huge government headquarters. After saying to him "Miki, I've got a present for you," he shot him in the arm, rolled him up in the rug, packed him in the truck, put him on a plane and sent him off to Hitler. Skorzeny then phoned Horthy and told him, "Your son's about to be sent to the Fuhrer's headquarters. What would you like me to do with him?" Horthy said, "I never wanted him to do this, tell me what you want me to do." Skorzeny told him that he wanted his cooperation in taking over Castle Hill. And so with just one tank and 25 men, Skorzeny took over the entire citadel within an hour. He was most proud of the fact that he had accomplished it without almost no deaths — he killed four Hungarians and lost two of his own men. Otto Skorzeny also told me about his great friend Hans-Ulrich Rudel, who was one of the Fuhrer's greatest heroes. He was a Stuka pilot who had sunk a Soviet battleship and destroyed more than 500 Soviet tanks. A superman. Skorzeny told me the story of how Rudel had lost one leg during the last hundred days, was grounded and told that he would never fly again. When Skorzeny heard that this great athlete had lost his leg, he was very unhappy and visited his friend. When he arrived, he heard strange thumping noises coming from Rudel's room. He opened the door and found Rudel banging his stump against the table. Otto shouted, "Oh God, don't do that!" Rudel said, "Hi Otto, how are you doing?" and Otto responded, "What the hell are you doing?" Rudel answered, "Getting my leg tough so I can go back in my Stuka. My mechanics are fixing it so that I can fly it with one leg." And do you know that this guy went back to his plane? Can you imagine the pull of

diving like that, the pain? Hitler was furious when he heard, because he had ordered Rudel never to go up again. He regarded him almost as a son.

To get back to my story, Otto asked me if I had communicated with Rudel, who lived in Chile. After I told him that he would not answer my letters, Otto picked up the phone, reached Rudel in Chile, and told him “Toland says you're afraid to see him.” Skorzeny then looked at me and said, “He'll be here tomorrow.”

Otto told me more about his friend. “Do you know Rudel has become a champion skier? With one leg? And not only that, did you know that last year he went on a climb of the highest mountain in Chile? He went up with ten people and was abandoned, with no skis and one leg, and after three weeks he came down again?” This was a superman; I was eager to talk with him.

And that's how Otto, Toshiko and I found ourselves at the airport waiting for this man with one leg. All of a sudden we saw this youngish man running as if he had three legs. It was Rudel. Otto served as our translator. Even though he had a curious English that was entirely his own, we managed to get a terrific story from Rudel.

I later became very friendly with Rudel. You may know he was one of the leaders of the neo-Nazi group. I visited him and his beautiful new wife and their two-year-old child at his new home on the border of Austria and Germany. When he told us of all his ideas about changing Germany, I said, “Gee, why don't you just enjoy life.” He simply said, “No. What can I do for you?” I told him about Hitler's air force adjutant, a snob who was the only Hitler adjutant I was not able to meet. So Rudel phoned this fellow and told him, “Rudel here. Toland is here and he's going to tell our story. You are going to see him.” And that's how he got this air force snob to see me.

Meeting a man such as Rudel was really something. For example, as he told me, at the end of the war he refused to let the enemy capture him. He flew directly to an American airfield in spite of their guns and so forth. Later, British airmen treated him chivalrously and were glad to shake the hand of the great Rudel. Doug Bader, a great British ace and his country's most popular airman, lost both legs during the war, but flew with artificial limbs. He sent Rudel his first artificial leg.

After completing my biography of Hitler, I was disgusted with this whole subject, and I wanted to get away from it. What made Hitler do all these things? So I decided to look into the First World War, and I began to work on a book entitled *No Man's Land*.

In response to my book *The Rising Sun* I received many letters — mostly from naval officers — who told me that I was mistaken in writing that Roosevelt did not know in advance that the Japanese task force was on its way to attack Pearl Harbor. I received so many letters that I told Toshiko that I might have made a terrible mistake. I decided to write another book and find out if I had been wrong. Well, I went at it in my usual manner and within a year found out that I had been mistaken. Franklin Roosevelt did know. For example, after a two-year search I had located a certain Admiral Ranneft, a Dutchman. In late 1941 he had been a captain, and was serving as the Dutch naval attaché in Washington.

After we established contact, he wrote to me: “You might be interested in my story. Did you know that I was the one who brought the plan for the Bofors anti-aircraft guns to the U.S. Navy, and because of that they used to let me into the Navy secret intelligence office all the time? And on December 3, 1941, I went in there and they told me they had discovered two apparent carriers, obviously Japanese, heading towards the east. When I returned there on the afternoon of De-

cember 6, I asked where the two carriers were now. The commanding officer motioned to a man who went up to the board and pointed to an area two hundred miles from Pearl Harbor".

"Wow! That's a great story," I told Ranneft, "but I just can't just take your word for it. What about some documentation?" It's in my war diary," he replied. "You know, some of it burned up here, but I sent the rest to The Hague. Why don't you inquire there?"

Two weeks later, I received the entire December 1941 portion of his diary. Everything he told me was right there, proving that we knew that the Japanese were coming. By the way, that evidence has been pooh-poohed by those who can't believe it.

Another great lead: one evening a man phoned me to tell me that he had been the person who had located the Japanese force in the Pacific. He was just a young navy enlisted man at the time, but he was a brilliant electronics specialist and eventually became a millionaire because of his inventions. (For example, he invented the anchor that is used by all of our small craft. Everyone who has a yacht uses one.) So after listening to what he had to say, I said, "Fine. I'll come up to Maine and see you." After spending an entire day with him, I believed him. But I told him that I would come back the next day with my wife. I returned with Toshiko, and after we spent another whole day with him, she said to me: "He's telling the truth."

Well, about six months later, he called up in a jovial mood and said, "Oh, John, I'm getting married! You know, I'm marrying a woman who owns almost all of California and she doesn't like publicity. Do you mind not using my name?" I said, "Okay, I'll call you Seaman Z." I then asked about the photographs he had given me of himself. "Oh, use the pictures," he said, because, you see, he really did want to be uncovered.

Well, when my book *Infamy* was published, the Washington Post claimed that I had invented "Seaman Z." About a year later he came out in the open and publicly confirmed what I had written, but this was not mentioned in the media.

The most important part of my book was my treatment of the various trials and investigations into the Pearl Harbor affair. I was floundering because I had all this great stuff, but I was not able to put it all together. I was trying to support Captain Safford, the naval genius who realized that all his information had been destroyed. So he went to a Boston lawyer named Rugg, who was representing Admiral Kimmel, who was getting the blame for Pearl Harbor.

I was saved by a man named Percy Greaves. I had heard about this strange fellow up in Dobbs Ferry (New York), who had been collecting material about Pearl Harbor for years. After talking to him by phone, I went to see him. We got along well together, and I visited him dozens of times during the next six months. He allowed me free access to his dank, dark cellar, where he fed his dog and where he kept all this precious material. I owe a great deal of the quality of *Infamy* to Percy Greaves.

[Editor's note: Until his death in 1984, Greaves was a frequent contributor to *The Journal*, served as an IHR editorial adviser, and addressed the Third IHR Conference (1981). See the JHR issues of Fall 1982 (pp. 319-340), Winter 1983-84 (pp. 388-474), and Winter 1984 (pp. 444-445).]

Finally, I would like to tell you about the book we've been working on for the last three years. It's a history of the Korean War. We've done a great deal of research on this in Korea, Taiwan and China. Through our contacts, we were finally invited to China itself, and our visit there was one of the most important times of our lives.

When we arrived in Beijing in late April 1989, the Chinese historians I had been in touch with were very excited because the students were organizing a revolt. They were protesting against the corruption of the fat cats in power, and were receiving tremendous public support.

Well, on the fourth of May, we were interviewing a young lieutenant colonel from the People's Liberation Army who had written a book about the Korean war. Unfortunately, I got nothing from him because he would not let me tape him and he refused to answer any of my tough questions. When we went out for lunch, we saw this great flood of students coming back from the first demonstration at Tienanmen Square. It was most exciting. When we returned to the young lieutenant colonel after lunch, he was very excited and said, "I'm going to bring my old professor to see you. He was the first to write about the Korean War. He was a top commissar there. Maybe he will be willing to tell you about it."

Two days later he introduced us to this large man. Dressed in a dark Mao uniform, he looked like a bear. When we sat down, I asked him if I could tape him, and he said, "Yes. I'm not going to tell you about my book. I'm going to tell you things I couldn't put in my book." He then began revealing all this marvelous information. Toshiko asked him if she could take his picture, and he readily agreed. He put a big arm around me for a picture that we could use for publicity if we wanted. All this was a great breakthrough.

The next day we were invited to lecture on living history at the Academy of Military Science. It turned out that the entire staff had read my books, five of which have been published in China. Our lecture was very well received. Afterwards, the commanding general allowed us to take his picture. And then they opened up this archival material to us, which told what the Korean War was like, what Mao was like, and so forth.

The media horribly misrepresented the Chinese students' revolt. This was only a limited revolt against corruption by the top officials, but the TV circus turned it into a demonstration for democracy, which they did not understand at all. Their older professors told them "You have won. Now leave Tienanmen Square." But no, they were told to put up a kind of statue of liberty, and the media turned the thing into a tragedy. No one has written the truth about what really happened. The young Chinese were doing something very Chinese. It was not like we all saw on television, and turning it into a Western thing corrupted the spirit of the entire campaign.

Fortunately, we managed to get out of China with all our material, and as soon as we got out, the doors closed again.

After writing seven histories of war in the twentieth century, I've come to a number of conclusions. It is human nature that repeats itself, not history. In fact, we often learn more about the past from the present, than the reverse. I have also discovered that a vile man can occasionally tell the truth, and a noble man can tell a lie. And that men don't make history as often as history makes men. That the course of history is not only unpredictable, but inevitable. Finally, I've learned that the writing of history can never be definitive.

I have tried to approach history as a non-partisan, ignoring nationality and ideology, and to portray the horrors of war through the sufferings of ordinary people as well as in the imaginations of the mighty. Throughout it all, I have tried to present living history, human history, with subjective objectivity, in my obsessive search for reality.

Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers Or, Improvised Gas Chambers & Casual Gassings at Auschwitz & Birkenau, According to J.C. Pressac (1989) Part 1

Robert Faurisson

Translated by T.J. O'Keefe

- [*Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*](#). Jean-Claude Pressac. New York: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation; 1989.

Jean-Claude Pressac's massive study of the homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau appeared two years ago. Had it actually presented the slightest proof for the existence of the alleged gas chambers, media throughout the entire world would have resounded with the news. But instead of an uproar, there has been silence. The explanation for this silence lies in the fact that the author, far from presenting the expected proof, has unintentionally proved that the Revisionists were correct to conclude from their research that the gas chambers were only mythical. As will be seen, the Pressac book is a calamity for the Exterminationists, a windfall for the Revisionists.

Since 1978, there have been innumerable books, documents, and films supposed to prove, once and for all, the reality of the Hitlerian gas chambers. For their part, the professors and researchers, who made the rounds from conferences on the "Holocaust" to colloquia on the Shoah, promised us that, on this subject, we were about to hear the last word. But when all was said and done, nothing surfaced in fulfillment of the expectations that had been created. Nothing. Ever.

Nevertheless, the appearance of these books, documents, and films as well as the staging of the conferences and colloquia were usually accompanied by an ephemeral media brouhaha or the appearance of intellectual ferment, as if something new had actually been produced. The fever fell rapidly, but for some days at least the illusion of an event had been created. Nothing of the sort with Pressac's book. This time the silence was shattering. A single journalist remarked upon the book: Richard Bernstein, whose article appeared in *The New York Times* of 18 December 1989 (section C, page 11, 14). The title of this article and the photograph taken from Pressac to illustrate it are indicative of the reporter's confusion. The headline reads: "A new book is said to refute Revisionist view of Holocaust."

The photograph shows a wooden door with a metal frame and, in the center, a peephole; moreover, one sees chalked on the door German and Russian words. The *Times* caption reads:

A photograph of a gas chamber door from the book "Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of Gas Chambers." A warning written on the door after the camp's liberation reads "Attention! Danger! No entry!"

The journalist is honest enough to stress that the writing on the door stems from after the war but doesn't reveal to the reader that this photograph is presented by Pressac himself in the chapter on gas chambers for disinfection (page 50). Truth to tell, the unfortunate journalist could have found none better: among the hundreds of photographs and documents in this tedious tome, it is impossible to find a single one that could be decently presented as proof of the existence of a single gas chamber.

In a different edition of The New York Times published on the same date, an identical article (Section B, page 1, 4) appeared under a different title: "Auschwitz: A Doubter Verifies the Horror."

This time, Bernstein chose a photograph of a blueprint of a crematorium and a photograph of prisoners carrying their shoes after showering. The first photograph comes from page 141 of the book, on which the blueprint is said to concern a crematorium with a homicidal gas chamber. The second photograph is taken from page 80, where the naked men are said to be prisoners who, with their shoes in hand, are leaving the shower room for the "drying room; clean side," both rooms in a large installation for showering and disinfection.

The contents of this article would bear reproduction in full for its author's circumspection regarding Pressac. And, as we have seen, none of the three photographs supports the thesis of an extermination in gas chambers.

In France there has been brief mention, here and there, of the Pressac book, with the air of a drowning man's last grasp at a straw. In this regard, the case of Pierre Vidal-Naquet is heart-rending. This professor has, in recent years, championed two authors whom he counted on to answer the Revisionists: Arno Mayer and Jean-Claude Pressac, or, as he described them, an American Jewish historian "teaching at the very elitist Princeton University" and a Frenchman, "suburban pharmacist, trained in and practicing chemistry." (Arno Mayer. *La "Solution finale" dans l'histoire*. Preface by Pierre Vidal-Naquet, La Découverte, 1990, page viii).

His colleague and friend Arno Mayer had just done him a nasty turn by writing:

Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable. (English original text: *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The Final Solution* in *History*. New York: Pantheon; 1988; page 362).

Which led Pierre Vidal-Naquet to write:

Nobody at all, from now on — I mean after Jean Claude Pressac's book — will be able any longer to speak, regarding the gas chambers of Auschwitz, like Mayer of "rare and unreliable" sources. (French edition, page ix)

But what Vidal-Naquet prefers to ignore is that Pressac, too, has unintentionally made a fool of him (see note on below).

Neither Arno Mayer nor Jean-Claude Pressac has succeeded in discovering the slightest proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz or at Birkenau.

An author and a book that are concealed from us

So, J. C. Pressac is a pharmacist. He practices in the Parisian suburbs, at La Ville du Bois (Essonne). Around 1979-1980, he first offered his services to the Revisionists, who ended up in dis-

missing him; about 1981-1982, he beseeched Georges Wellers, director of Le Monde Juif, who finally sent him on his way; then he presented his services to the Klarsfelds, who still use him today, but in an odd manner. Serge and Beate Klarsfeld have not published his book in its original French version, but in an English translation in America. It is unobtainable from the indicated address: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10002. One might say that this odd work has been placed under lock and key, in a few tabernacles, and is accessible only to a handful of the elect. In January 1990 I was able to obtain a copy by chance.

In October 1990, during my trip to Washington, I visited those two sanctuaries of international research, the Library of Congress and the National Archives, and, out of simple curiosity, asked to see the book. Impossible: it was, to be sure, listed in the general catalogue, but oddly absent from the shelves, with no one able to explain its absence.

When Pressac, who has a burning desire to speak on the radio and at conferences, makes an appearance, one has the feeling that his handlers are attempting either to cut him short or to keep him altogether silent. Thus he was recently forbidden to speak at an anti-Revisionist colloquium organized at Lyon by the Union of Jewish Students of France and the Council of Representatives of Jewish Institutions of France; a journalist wrote: “[J. C. Pressac], who was present, could not even present his work yesterday, and he took it badly” (Lyon Matin, 24 April 1990, page 7).

His friends have good reasons for confining him to a minor role; they know that, as soon as Pressac opens his mouth, they must fear the worst for their own cause: the whole world could then become aware that the unfortunate pharmacist suffers grave difficulties in expressing himself, that he advocates a horribly confused thesis and that he takes a real joy in making blunders.

A windfall for the Revisionists

I will consider Pressac's book at some length for the following reasons:

1. The work is absurd to the point of zaniness and on that ground constitutes a historical and literary curiosity that the historian has no right to ignore; the author's mental fragility, combined with his taste for cooking his data, for padding his figures, for strewing sand in his critics' eyes and for making assertions without evidence provides a treat in itself for the connoisseur of eccentricity;
2. The thesis defended by Pressac illustrates the state of decomposition into which the theory of the extermination of the Jews has fallen; according to our pharmacist, one can no longer maintain, as did the judges at Nuremberg and the authorities at the Auschwitz State Museum, that the Germans deliberately built vast gas chambers, veritable factories for gassing at Auschwitz, which functioned impeccably for years; for Pressac, the Germans tinkered with innocent rooms to transform them, for better or worse, into homicidal gas chambers (in the case of two large crematoria) and carried out improvised and episodic gassings (in the case of two other crematoria); in short, to use expressions I've heard many times from the mouth of our subject, at Auschwitz and at Birkenau there was a good deal of “improvisation” and “casual gassing”: these words sum up Pressac's book in its entirety;
3. This voluminous compilation is like a mountain that gave birth to a mouse, and the mouse is Revisionist; indeed, the little of substance that one draws from reading Pressac fully confirms that the Revisionists were — and are — right;
4. For the first time, an Exterminationist agrees, apparently at least, to a debate with Revisionists on terrain dear to them: that of scientific and technical argumentation; the opportunity to demonstrate the impotence of the Exterminationists on this terrain as well is too good to be missed.

A deceptive title

Pressac has chosen a deceptive title for his book. He devotes not a single chapter to homicidal gas chambers and even less to the “technique” or to the “operation” of such chambers. He never stops asserting that these chambers existed, but nowhere does he demonstrate this. Often I've done the following: opening the book to a half-dozen different pages, I've invited people to confirm that each time, without exception, either there's no question of homicidal gas chambers, or the question of the homicidal gas chambers is conflated with something different; or finally, according to the author himself, it's a matter not of “proof” but of “clues” and “traces” of the gas chambers. Chapters are allotted to Zyklon B, to delousing installations, to the Zentral Sauna (a large complex of showers and disinfection equipment located at Birkenau), to crematories, to testimonies, to the Revisionists, to the town of Auschwitz and to the private life of J.-C. Pressac. There are treatments in detail, invariably confused, of faucets, of plumbing, of ventilation, of stairs, of masonry, of heating, and even fairly intimate personal revelations, all in the worst disorder and in a style never anything but baffling. On the gas chambers described as homicidal, however, one finds not a single chapter nor even so much as a single autonomous treatment that can be detached for a second from the whole for study on its own.

Pressac wishes to deceive us utterly; or more specifically, to mistake showers, disinfection gas chambers, and morgues for homicidal gas chambers.

Scribbler's methods: Disinfection gas chambers or homicidal gas chambers?

Pressac in no way respects his book's plan. The disorder is general. The book swarms with needless repetitions. The technical discussions are disjointed. The book's title justified one in expecting a technical treatment, thoroughly documented, of the “murder weapon.”

Because (according to the author) at Auschwitz and at Birkenau there was a considerable number of disinfection gas chambers (page 550) and because such chambers could not, for obvious physical reasons, be used for killing people, how is a homicidal gas chamber to be distinguished from a disinfection gas chamber?

And because (again according to the author) in one document (page 28) the words Gaskammer (gas chamber), Gastür or gasdichte Tür (gas-tight door), Rahmen (frame), and Spion (peephole) are all employed for a disinfection gassing, how are the words gasdichte Tür alone suddenly able, in another document, to supply proof of a homicidal gassing?

Doesn't one risk, at every moment, believing he has discovered a homicidal gas chamber where, in reality, the German document speaks only of a disinfection gas chamber?

Left with no criterion, without the least direction, we are condemned, from the opening pages of this utterly disorganized book, to doubt, to uncertainty, to the worst errors, and all that while wandering through a maze of heterogeneous reflections by the author.

I awaited with curiosity Pressac's response to these elementary questions. Not merely did he fail to give us answers, but he confessed his own embarrassment and, as we shall see, he devised a pitiful technical explanation to extract himself from the mess. Here is what he has written:

Since the homicidal and delousing gas chambers using Zyklon-B [sic] had been installed and equipped according to the same principle, they had identical gas-tight doors fabricated in the same workshops [at Auschwitz]. Confusion ... was inevitable,

since at this time it was not known how to distinguish between the two types of gas chamber ... The only difference is in the gas-tight doors: there is a hemispherical grid protecting the peephole on the interior of the doors of homicidal gas chambers (page 41).

The author returns to this subject on page 49 and above all on page 50, as if there he had a technical proof, a material proof of the existence of the famous homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. This apparent proof is based on two photographs of poor quality. On the left is the exterior of a gas-tight door with a peephole and, on the right, the interior side of this same door with a peephole protected by a hemispherical grid. It is this grid that makes the difference between the door of a homicidal gas chamber and the door of a disinfection gas chamber: it protects the peephole; thanks to it, the victims could not break the glass through which the SS were watching them! On page 50, Pressac is not so affirmative; he writes that this protective grid “makes it reasonable to conclude a homicidal use.” But, nearly 200 pages later, he reproduces the two photos again, but with a different caption; this time, more boldly, he states plainly that it concerns (indisputably) “a gas-tight door from a homicidal gas chamber (as can be seen by the heavy hemispherical grill protecting the inspection peephole on the inside)” (page 232). There one sees a characteristic example of Pressac’s inability to put his thoughts in order, of his endless repetitions, of his mania for passing from hypothetical statement to pure affirmation on the same subject. The reader’s confusion grows when, another couple of hundred pages further, he discovers a photograph of a wooden door with the following caption:

An almost intact gas-tight door found in the ruins of the western part of Krematorium V ... This door has no peephole [emphasis in the original] even though it was used for homicidal gassings (page 425).

But how does Pressac know that this door was used [sic] for such gassings?

The Pressacian confusion reaches its height when, at the end of the book, the photograph of a small brick building at Stutthof-Danzig is presented to us in these terms:

... This chamber, originally used for delousing effects, was later used as a homicidal gassing chamber. This mixed usage is an extreme example of the confusion created over a period of thirty years and more by the difficulty of distinguishing between, or the deliberate refusal to distinguish between, disinfection and homicidal gas chambers (page 541).

In the end the reader is unable to understand what, for Pressac, constitutes the physical characteristics of a homicidal gas chamber at Auschwitz, or of even a mere gas chamber door at the camp. It is the author who, according to his whim, decides to class as homicidal this chamber or that door, which in fact could have been entirely innocent.

But, to return to the grill that so preoccupies him, our pharmacist ought to have consulted an expert in disinfection gas chambers and asked him, for example, the following question: didn’t the grill simply protect either the extremity of a device to measure the temperature of the chamber, or a cylinder for chemically testing the density of the gas? (See The Leuchter Report (David Clark, P.O. Box 726, Decatur, Alabama 35602, 1989, page 16, column C, and J.-C. Pressac himself, “Les Carences et Incohérences du Rapport Leuchter,” *Jour J*, La lettre télégraphique Juive, December 1988, page viii, where there is mention of the “thermometer” of a disinfection gas chamber at Majdanek.)

The confusion between disinfection gassings and homicidal gassings continues with the business of the trucks that left Auschwitz to pick up Zyklon B at the factory in Dessau, a city south of Berlin. Pressac cites “movement authorizations,” of which Revisionists are perfectly aware (page 188). In my *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (La Vieille Taupe, 2nd ed., 1982, page 49), I reproduced the text of a radio message dated 22 July 1942, signed by General Glücks and addressed to the Auschwitz concentration camp:

By this [radio message] I authorize a round-trip journey from Auschwitz to Dessau by 5-ton truck in order to pick up gas intended for gassing the camp to combat the epidemic that has broken out.

The German words are Gas für Vergasung: gas for gassing. There, and in two other documents of the same type, it is expressly a question of gassing for disinfection (22 July and 29 July 1942 as well as 7 January 1943). In the meantime, on 26 August and 2 October 1942, two other documents of the same sort speak of “material for special treatment” and “material for the transport of the Jews.” There Pressac sees proof that, both times, what is meant is gas for killing the Jews! This is no proof at all. As the general context (three other texts of the same sort) demonstrates, the gas was for disinfecting clothing or rooms on account of the arrival of the Jews who had been deported. The term “special treatment” (Sonderbehandlung) here designates transport (Transportierung) of the Jews (*Réponse à Vidal-Naquet*, op. cit., page 24). The more people arrived at Auschwitz, which functioned as a turntable for redistributing a large number of deportees to other camps after a quarantine period, the more necessary was Zyklon B.

The six gassing locations according to Pressac

These six places are, first, Krematorium I or Krema I (also called Altes Krematorium [old Crematorium]), located in the main camp of Auschwitz and visited by innumerable tourists (it is presented as if in its original state); then, located at Birkenau, Bunkers 1 and 2 (their locations are not very certain); Kremas II and III (in ruins that can be investigated) and Kremas IV and V (of which there remain only traces).

According to Pressac, Krema I was planned with criminal intent and the homicidal gassings in the crematorium constitute an “established fact.” But he offers only assertions unsupported by any arguments, any documents, and, in the 38 pages he devotes to this building (pages 123-160), he is content essentially to report testimonies of gassings rather than proof. These testimonies, to which I shall return, leave one absolutely unsatisfied. He recalls, following the Revisionists, how after the liberation of the camp the Poles altered and disguised this crematorium so better to convince visitors of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber. The tricks were many. It was, for example, to conceal some of them that the Poles, Pressac tells us, covered the roof with “roofing felt” (page 133). The loveliest of these ruses, discovered by the Revisionists and reiterated by Pressac (page 147), is the pretended door for victims entering the gas chamber; in reality, this door was constructed much later by the Germans to give access to the air-raid shelter into which the structure had been converted. In short, for Pressac, what the tourists visit today is to be considered an “authentic symbol of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz” (page 133), which is to say an imaginary representation, because, here, a symbol is not a reality and an “authentic symbol” is still further from reality.

In the conclusion to this section, he plays a real sleight-of-hand trick. He appeals to the Leuchter Report as the material proof — the only one — of the reality of homicidal gassings in that place. He says that Fred Leuchter, whose qualifications he cites, removed seven samples of brick and

cement and that upon analysis six of them revealed the presence of cyanide; then he writes in bold-face type:

These results, virtually all (6 out of 7) positive, prove the use [of] hydrocyanic acid in the “Leichenhalle” of Krematorium I, hence its use as a homicidal gas chamber.

Pressac omits stating that Leuchter:

- Came to exactly the opposite conclusion: for Leuchter, a gas chamber did not exist and could not exist there;
- Based his findings on physical inspection;
- Reinforced this finding with chemical analyses entrusted to an American laboratory; these analyses revealed that, in the alleged homicidal gas chamber, the amount of ferric-ferrocyanide was either zero or infinitesimal by comparison with samples from a disinfection gas chamber (recognized as such by the authorities of the camp museum), which had quantities of ferric-ferrocyanide equal to 1050 mg per kilo, that is, at least 133 times that of the quantities found in the alleged homicidal gas chambers.

I shall return later to the Leuchter Report and the use to which Pressac puts it. Let us note for the moment that our author exploits the report and the chemical analyses it contains to his own profit. Georges Wellers does the same (see “A propos du 'rapport Leuchter' et les [sic] chambres à gaz d'Auschwitz,” *Le Monde Juif*, April-June 1989, page 45-53), judging that “the results of the chemical analyses were obtained by a very competent and conscientious specialist [Fred Leuchter]” but that “his understanding of the problem posed is minimal” (*ibid.*, page 48). Vidal-Naquet thus took advantage of general credulity when, before an assembly of students of the Lycée Henri IV, in Paris, on September 24, 1990, he stated regarding the Leuchter Report:

This is a grotesque document which proves nothing. Wellers and Pressac have expressed what is to be thought of it.

Let it be added that Pressac states that Leuchter was “commissioned” by the Revisionists, thus implying that these had been beaten at their own game and that the American engineer had cruelly deceived his “silent partners.” Leuchter, however, has in fact demonstrated that the Revisionists were correct. Furthermore, he functioned in a completely independent spirit, as a man who had up to then believed in the reality of the German homicidal gas chambers.

As Pressac admits that the Poles drastically altered the site, it is incumbent on him to study the question of gassing in the alleged gas chamber as it originally was before all alterations, according to the plans that he presents to us, plans which I discovered in 1978, published in 1980, and for which he is indebted to me. However, he hasn’t done so because then he would have to admit the obvious: vast gassing operations, right beside the oven rooms and twenty meters from the SS hospital, would have resulted in a general catastrophe.

The premises could have been disinfected with Zyklon B, as suited a storage place where in particular corpses of those who had died from typhus were piled; whence, doubtless, the infinitesimal traces of ferric-ferrocyanide.

Neither Gerald Reitlinger nor Raul Hilberg nor Pierre Vidal-Naquet seems to believe that there was a gas chamber there; as for Olga Wormser-Migot, she stated expressly in her dissertation that Auschwitz I had no (homicidal) gas chamber (*Le système concentrationnaire nazi (1933–1945)*, PUF, 1968, page 157).

Pressac is thus perhaps the last believer in the “homicidal gas chamber of Krematorium I.” At least publicly, for I recall that in private, in the company of Pierre Guillaume and me, he ridiculed the idea. As for Bunker 1, he admits that in the last analysis even the physical site is unknown to us (page 163). He adds that no one has either physical traces or an original plan (page 165). As for the mass graves that were supposedly alongside this bunker and whose odor was allegedly unendurable, he considers them to be a product of the imaginations of the “eyewitnesses” and the odor in question to have arisen from decantation basins for sewage (page 51, 161).

Regarding Bunker 2, there is no more evidence. Pressac believes he has found traces of this house but he furnishes only “testimonies” that he himself considers implausible; these testimonies are sometimes accompanied by drawings; in addition there are vague area plans owing to a Soviet commission (page 171-182).

The factual balance established by Pressac up to this point is pitiful, if one considers that a good portion of the history of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz is founded on the certitude that the Germans carried out massive gassings at these three places (Krema I, Bunker 1, Bunker 2). This certitude, which one sees today as based on no evidence, has invaded the history books and the court dockets: goodly numbers of Germans have been convicted of the alleged gassings in Krema I, in Bunker 1 and in Bunker 2.

Krema II is supposed to have been planned without a homicidal gas chamber (page 200). It is here that the Pressac thesis differs totally from the traditional thesis. According to him, the Germans transformed a harmless, half-underground morgue (Leichenkeller 1) into a homicidal gas chamber. To that end they improvised, but without modifying the ventilation; this is supposed to have remained in conformance with that of a morgue, evacuating contaminated air at the bottom; that would have contradicted the ventilation of a hydrocyanic gas chamber, in which the warm air and the gas would have necessitated removing the contaminated air at the top.

Krematorium II is supposed to have functioned as a homicidal gas chamber and a crematorium starting on 15 March 1943, before its entry into official service on 31 March [1943], to 27 November 1944, “annihilating a total of approximately 400,000 people, most of them Jewish women, children, and old men” (page 183).

Pressac offers no proof in support of such statements. He even states that the “industrial” extermination of the Jews at Auschwitz-Birkenau was “planned between June and August 1942 and actually implemented between March and June 1943 by the entry into service of the four Krematorien” (page 184). These dates are known to be those on which the Germans, alarmed by the spread of typhus, decided to build these crematoria, and later completed the construction, but one cannot see what allows Pressac to assert, additionally, that these dates coincide with a decision to gas and an employment for gassing! Nowhere does he reveal to us who made such a decision, when, how, why, what were the authorizations, the instructions, the funding, and, as well, who, on the spot, was questioned for such an undertaking and what it must have taken to set in motion the modalities of this gigantic murder. He states that documents specifying the date of the decision to modify the crematorium for “criminal” ends are lacking (ibid.)!

Krema III, too, is said by Pressac to have been planned without a homicidal gas chamber (page 200). The Germans are supposed to have carried out the same “do-it-yourself” improvisation as in Krema II. Krema III is supposed to have operated from 25 June 1943 to 27 November 1944, “killing about 350,000 victims” (page 183).

Kremas IV and V are supposed to have been planned with homicidal gas chambers (page 384). They are supposed to have functioned, one beginning on March 22, the other on April 4, 1943

(page 378), but to have been scarcely used. “After two months, Krematorium IV was completely out of service. Krematorium V did not enter service until later, but was scarcely any better.” (page 384, 420). The gassing procedure is described as “illogical to the point of absurdity” (page 379) and as “constituting a circus act” for the SS man carrying out the gassing (page 386; see page See The “circus act” of Kremas IV and V below).

It is important to recall here that in 1982 Pressac maintained that Kremas IV and V had been planned without homicidal gas chambers; the Germans had, according to him, transformed harmless rooms into homicidal gas chambers (“Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz, construction et fonctionnement,” *Le Monde Juif*, July-September 1982, page 91-131). He never lets us know why he renounced that thesis in order to adopt one diametrically opposed now.

To sum up, if one is to believe our guide, one obtains, as to crematoria planned with or without homicidal gas chambers, the following sequence, arranged in chronological order according to initial date of operation:

Krema I: planned with homicidal gas chamber

Krema IV: planned with (Pressac’s thesis in 1982: without)

Krema II: planned without.

Krema V: planned with (Pressac’s thesis in 1982: without)

Krema III: planned without

Neither logic nor chronology can be served by such caprice and such incoherence.

For Pressac, almost no Zyklon B used to kill people

According to our author, more than 95 per cent of the Zyklon B was used to exterminate vermin, which take time to kill, and less than 5 per cent to exterminate people, who are easy to kill (page 15). He doesn’t let us know how he has arrived at these figures. Here, we are at a far remove from the claims of the run of Exterminationists, in particular Raul Hilberg, who assures us that:

Almost the whole Auschwitz supply was needed for the gassing of people; very little was used for fumigation (The Destruction of the European Jews. New York: Holmes and Meier; Revised and Definitive Edition; 1985; page 890).

One can imagine the consternation of Exterminationists on this point, as on many others, if, instead of vaunting the book without having read it, they should happen to open it up and start reading.

He cannot explain the absence of blue stains

According to our pharmacist, if the Germans used so little Zyklon B to murderous ends, that’s because in order to gas a million men (750,000 in Kremas II and III and 250,000 elsewhere, page 475), only tiny quantities were required, whereas much more was needed to kill insects. Pressac holds to his belief in this matter because it is for him the only way to explain a stupifying physical-chemical anomaly: the complete absence of blue stains in the places at Auschwitz and Birkenau at which, supposedly, Zyklon B was used to kill human beings on an industrial scale, while, on the other hand, one notices the presence, today, of large blue stains on the walls of the disinfection gas chambers at Auschwitz, at Birkenau, or in other concentration camps. These blue stains in the disinfection gas chambers are due to the presence, at one time, of hydrocyanic (or

prussic) acid; this acid has remained in the walls where, combining with iron contained in the bricks, it has produced ferric-ferro-cyanides.

Pressac dares to state (page 555) that, in the case of homicidal gassings, the hydrocyanic acid went directly into the victims' mouths before it could spread elsewhere and impregnate the ceiling, the floor, and the walls. The gas was not even deposited on the bodies of the victims, from which it could have emanated throughout the room. This naive explanation amounts to supposing that the hydrocyanic gas, in this case and this case only, consisted of molecules with homing devices, so organized that these molecules divided up the job of being inhaled, each vanishing into its own particular mouth.

According to even its manufacturers, Zyklon B (employed since the early 1920's and still used around the world today under other trademarks) presents the inconvenience of needing "difficult and lengthy ventilation, due to the gas's strong capacity for adhering to surfaces" (doc. NI-9098). Pressac forgets that, according to his own theory, in Leichenkeller 1 (less than 210 sq. meters) of Krema II alone 400,000 persons were gassed in 532 days (see See Krematorium II is supposed to have functioned as a homicidal gas chamber and a crematorium starting on 15 March 1943, before its entry into official service on 31 March [1943], to 27 November 1944, "annihilating a total of approximately 400,000 people, most of them Jewish women, children, and old men" (page 183), which implies that gassings of human beings were carried out with great speed and in nearly continuous fashion. He knows that hydrocyanic acid is absorbed through the skin (page 25). So many corpses, representing a skin surface far larger than that offered by the insects and impregnated, like it or not, by hydrocyanic acid, would have constituted no less a source of emanation of the dread gas, which would have gone on to settle all over the room. These corpses would have been, further, impossible to handle in the way we have been told, and I shall not recall here the extreme precautions that, in today's American penitentiaries, are required of the doctor and his two helpers in order to remove a single cyanic corpse from a hydrocyanic gas chamber.

The ruins of Krema II are eloquent: they do not bear the least stain of blue ferric-ferro-cyanide. Therefore, the Germans certainly never used Zyklon B there in the quantities needed to gas 400,000 persons.

He admits that the Germans' code language is a myth

Pressac opens an enormous breach in the edifice of the traditional historians and especially in that of Georges Wellers when he rejects the thesis according to which, in order to camouflage their crime, the Germans used a secret language or "code." He states twice that this is a "myth," explaining himself at length (page 247, 556). He well sees that the secret of such a massacre would be impossible to conceal. Following the Revisionists, he submits documents that prove that the camps at Auschwitz and Birkenau were, if one may say so, transparent. Thousands of civilian workers mingled each day with the prisoners (page 313, 315, 348 ...). Numerous civilian firms, located at different places in Germany and Poland, received orders for the construction of the crematories, the disinfection gas chambers or the gas-tight doors. The Bauleitung alone comprised around a hundred employees; photographs show engineers, architects, and draftsmen in their offices (page 347) where — as was known long before Pressac — the plans of the crematories were displayed for all to see. The aerial photographs taken by the Allies show that at Auschwitz, as at Treblinka too, the farmers cultivated their fields right up to the camp fences. On the other hand, it is certain that the Germans sought zealously to conceal their industrial operations at Auschwitz (in vain, by the way). Thus the following paradox would arise: at Auschwitz, the Germans strove to hide what was going on at all their factories (armaments, synthetic petro-

leum, synthetic rubber, etc.) except at their “death factories,” supposedly located in the crematories.

Unsubstantiated statements and manipulations

The book abounds with unsubstantiated statements and manipulations throughout.

What evidence does the author have to support the claims, hitherto unproved, according to which on 3 September 1941 Zyklon B was used, for the first time, to kill 850 people in the basement of Block 11 at Auschwitz I (page 132)? He states that, shortly afterwards (?), Russian prisoners were gassed in the morgue (Leichenhalle) of Krema I. He provides not a single bit of evidence. He states that, according to the “confession” of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, these prisoners numbered 900, then slips in the following words: “in fact between 500 and 700.” The method is characteristic of Pressac: undoubtedly recognizing that the figure 900 is impossible in view of the dimensions of the room, he “corrects” it, and instead of making clear that his lower number is hypothetical, he asserts that in fact there were 500 to 700 victims. I believe I could cite a good fifty examples of this process, which consists of introducing an unbelievable testimony, altering it to make it credible, and finishing up by according the result of this transformation the status of an established fact a little further on in the text, without reminding us that the original text was changed on the basis of a hypothesis.

Pressac alters words, numbers, dates, sometimes informing the reader of these changes with laborious justifications, at other times leaving him in the dark. Page 18 offers an example of this procedure. There the author sets forth the different characteristics of hydrocyanic acid (HCN, principal component of Zyklon B): molecular weight, etc. Suddenly, in a list of fifteen characteristics, he slips in the following “Concentration used in homicidal gassing at Birkenau: 12 g/m³ (1%) or 40 times the lethal (or mortal) dose.” By so doing, he gives to understand, from the outset of his book, that the homicidal gassings at Birkenau are a scientific fact of equal standing with the molecular weight of the gas under discussion; and he would have us believe that the amount of Zyklon used to kill people at Birkenau can be, almost to the gram, scientifically established!

This technique, a mixture of guile and aplomb, is standard operating procedure throughout the Pressac book. Page 227 includes surprising assertions. Without providing the least justification, the author declares that Krema II “was used to gas Jews before it was even completed (the dressing room was not finished) and before it was handed over to the camp administration on 31 March 1943. He lets fly, as self-evident, that that around 6,900 Jews were gassed in twelve day. And he specifies the exact numbers and dates: 1,500 Jews from the Cracow ghetto on Monday evening, 14 March; 2,200 Jews from Salonika on 20 March; nearly 2,000 more Jews from Salonika on 24 March; and 1,200 more the day after. None of these dates is accompanied by the citation of any source other than “The Auschwitz Calendar,” compiled by Polish Communists. If indeed these Jews arrived at (the camp on these dates, on what authority does Pressac tell us they were gassed? The accusation made here against Germany is exceptionally grave and would require a sheaf of evidence of extreme precision.

Repeatedly Pressac mentions “Himmler’s order of 26th November 1944 to destroy Birkenau Kremas II and III,” “thus making the end of the gassings official” (page 115, 313, 464, 501, 533, etc.) but our autodidact can only repeat here, without verification, what leading Jewish authors have stated (with some variation as to the date). This order never existed, but one understands why it had to be invented: in the first place to explain why, when the camp was liberated, there

were no traces whatsoever of the crime; further, to make up for the absence of any order to begin the gassings.

On what authority does Pressac assert that Himmler was present in person at a homicidal gassing at Bunker 2, on the day of 17 July 1942 (page 187)? How can he accuse Dr. Grawitz, "Head of the German Red Cross," of having seen the extermination of the Jews (in gas chambers, from the context) with his own eyes (page 206)?

To begin with, whence has he derived his summary of the homicidal gassing procedure at Auschwitz such as it appears, fragmentarily, on page 16? His sketch surprises one.

What the reader of a work entitled *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* would expect is an in-depth study bearing on the technique and operation of these extraordinary chemical abattoirs without precedent in history, then a complete description of the process by which a million victims were gassed. But the author evades the subject. He furnishes nothing but vague, fragmentary hints, with the reader unable to determine whether they are based on "testimony," documentation, or are simply the result of further extrapolations. Nowhere in his book does he reveal the natural subject of gassing procedure. To be sure, he mentions, but only in the context of Kremas IV and V, the procedure peculiar to the gassings in these two locations, a procedure so absurd that he speaks of it as "a circus act" (page 386).

How is he able to write "In May 1942, the large-scale gassings of arriving transports of Jews began in Birkenau Bunkers 1 and 2" (page 98), especially given that, as we have seen above, he acknowledges knowing nothing about Bunker 1 (appearance, make-up, and even site)? How does he know that, when the Zyklon B was poured through the openings in the roof of Krema I, the SS men in the hospital located right next door avoided watching the operation because "at such times it was forbidden to look out the windows" (page 145)?

In what way does a pile of shoes offer proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers (page 420)?

How is he able to maintain that the SS envisaged the possibility of alternately using Leichenkeller 1 and Leichenkeller 2 as gas chambers (page 303)?

How could anyone serve up the enormity enthroned at the top of page 188 (column 2)? There Pressac declares that the "terrible hygienic conditions in the camp" required enormous deliveries of Zyklon B and that the SS, in order to hide these conditions pretended to order Zyklon B for exterminating the Jews; these requests were addressed to superiors who had "a general knowledge" of the extermination "without being informed of the practical details"!

The 'circus act' of Kremas IV and V

Had he been honest, the author would have begun the section he devotes to Kremas IV and V by recalling his interpretation of 1982. At that time, he maintained to *Le Monde juif* (op. cit.) that these two Kremas had been planned without criminal intent, as simple crematoria; then, later, the Germans had carried out improvisations in order to transform certain rooms there into homicidal gas chambers. In 1985 the author was still sticking to his thesis (*Colloque de l'École des Hautes Études en sciences sociale* [François Furet and Raymond Aron], *L'Allemagne nazi et le génocide juif* Gallimard/Le Seuil, 1985, page 539-584).

But in the present work Pressac makes a 180-degree turn, giving his reader no warning other than after the fact, in veiled terms at that (page 379, 448). Because Pressac is always confused, read-

ers will be unaware of why he held his former thesis (that these Kremas were planned without criminal intent), or what led him to adopt a new thesis, diametrically opposed to the earlier one (these Krema were planned with criminal intent).

The author's embarrassment is considerable. One wonders if he wouldn't be happy to send to the devil the history of Kremas IV and V that — he insists on this point — should not have worked because they were so badly designed and constructed that the ovens were quickly out of service (page 384, 420). He writes that at the end of May 1944 most of the members of the Sonderkommando who lived in a section of the Men's Camp at Birkenau — and therefore, he adds in passing, openly and publicly — were transferred “to Krema IV, which was converted into a dormitory for them” (page 389). In the Holocaust literature the revolt of the Jewish Sonderkommando, which set fire to Krema IV out of despair at having gassed and burned masses of their co-religionists, is presented as a page of heroism. For his part Pressac doubts the “veracity” of this story and writes that Krema IV was only a dormitory site that time and that

this rebellion was an act of despair on the part of prisoners who were overcrowded and underoccupied, who had seen too much and felt that their end was near (page 390).

As one will see right away, the layout of the premises was such that, at Krema IV and V, it would have made a mockery of a homicidal gassing operation.

Let us take either of these two Kremas. To start with, because there was no undressing room, the crowd of victims is supposed to have been led into the morgues, where bodies were already piled up. There, the victims undressed with the corpses in full view. Then they were led into an antechamber, and next a corridor. Wisely, they passed the doctor's office, then a coal storage room. Next, at the end of the corridor, they were divided up between two “homicidal gas chambers,” each equipped with a coal stove that was fired from the corridor. Then an SS man, stationed outside the building, is supposed to have poured the granules of Zyklon B through shutters on the roof. Due to the height, he had to use a ladder. He had to position the ladder and climb up for each shutter; he would open the shutter with one hand and empty the contents of the Zyklon can with the other. Quickly, he would close the shutter and go on to the next. At the next he would move all the more quickly because, HCN being lighter than air, the emissions from the granules from the first made the operation more dangerous, even if our SS man was wearing a gas mask.

At the end of the operation, he would have had to ventilate these rooms at length and with care. Given the small size of the shutters and the absence of any sort of equipment for ventilation, one cannot see how the operation could be carried out. The doors would have to be opened, and thus the antechamber, the doctor's office, etc. The corpses would have to be removed from each of the two gas chambers; then dragged the length of the corridor and past three successive doors to end up in the morgue, where presently other prospective victims would be arriving.

In his 1982 study in *Le Monde juif* (op. cit., page 126), Pressac wrote “this improvisation is stupefying,” concluding:

So, it becomes obvious KREMATORIUM IV AND V WERE NOT PLANNED AS CRIMINAL INSTALLATIONS, BUT WERE CONVERTED INTO SUCH [Pressac's capitals].

In the great opus under review, he makes obscure reference to his feelings of “1980;” he says that at that time he found that the operation was “illogical to the point of absurdity” (page 379).

Nine years later, has our pharmacist finally arrived at either explaining this operation, “illogical to the point of absurdity,” or discovering that the Germans in fact used a different procedure, one logical, sensible, explicable? Not at all.

He begins by relating that the SS took note of the fact that their procedure “had become irrational and ridiculous” (page 386). The SS gasser had to pour the Zyklon B through six openings (Pressac considers that there were three gas chambers, the hall doing service as the third!). This SS man, he states, had to go up or down his ladder no fewer than eighteen times while wearing his gas mask.

According to our guide, after two or three gassings carried out in this fashion, the Bauleitung (Construction Office) determined that natural ventilation was dangerous and that the method of introducing the poison resembled “a circus act.”

For ventilation a door was installed that resulted, Pressac assures us, in preventing the west wind from blowing the gas in a dangerous direction and that allowed the rooms to be ventilated only by the north or south winds.

As to the procedure for introducing the gas (the “circus act”), that remained the same, except that the shutters were widened by 10 centimeters. Pressac writes, in all seriousness, that

The method of introduction remained the same, however, the camp authorities considering that a little physical exercise would do the medical orderlies responsible for gassing a world of good (page 386).

Here, as elsewhere, our pharmacist shows marvelous aplomb, telling his story without supplying his reader a reference to any evidence whatsoever. Where has he seen, for example, that the camp authorities (which? when?) decided that the “circus act” was absurd but that “a little physical exercise would do the medical orderlies responsible for gassing [the Jews] a world of good”?

One of the constants in Pressac’s writings is the stupidity that the SS demonstrated by its boasts. He uses this to explain many of the anomalies, absurdities, and ineptitudes in the stories of homicidal gassing. It is curious that he apparently doesn’t suspect that this “stupidity” could be attributed precisely to those who describe to us the activities of the SS gassers in such fashion. Or yet again, because all these operations are supposed to be tinged with stupidity, is it the SS’s stupidity or that of Pressac himself?

Lastly, it is surprising that before concluding that Kremas IV and V definitely had homicidal gas chambers, he didn’t wonder whether they didn’t simply house showers or delousing chambers. I have in my archives a sketch of Kremas IV and V, after a plan that I entrusted to him; I see written plainly in our subject’s handwriting the words “Showers 1” and “Showers 2” at the places he calls the homicidal gas chambers today. And, on his third gas chamber, I read “Corridor.”

Instead of one proof, thirty-nine criminal traces

In his chapter on proof, Pressac capitulates immediately. He is aware of his failure; despite his rodomontade, he admits:

The day when a newly discovered drawing or letter makes it possible to explain the reality in black and white the revisionists will be routed (page 67).

This statement, which he lets slip regarding a detail, could be applied to the work as a whole: Pressac hopes one day to discover a “specific German document” that will prove the Revisionists wrong, but as of now, he hasn’t yet found anything.

He recalls that in 1979 I launched a challenge. I was asking for proof, a single proof of the existence of a single homicidal gas chamber. He is not up to this challenge. His title for Chapter 8 speaks volumes. It reads:

“One Proof ... One Single Proof”: Thirty-Nine Criminal Traces (page 429).

For my part, I was expecting to find a chapter entitled “One Proof ... One Single Proof? Thirty-Nine Proofs.”

By “criminal traces” he intends “traces of the crime” or “clues to the crime.” That is to say, as the author specifies, “presumptive evidence” or “indirect proofs.” Pressac tells us that “in the absence of any 'direct,' i.e. palpable, indisputable and evident proof,” an “indirect” (author’s quotation marks) proof “may suffice and be valid.” He adds:

By “indirect” proof, I mean a German document that does not state in black and white that a gas chamber is for HOMICIDAL purposes, but one containing evidence that logically it is impossible for it to be something else (page 429).

And at this point the reader is offered thirty-nine indirect proofs.

Let us return for a moment to my challenge, in its meaning and its rationale. And let us also see in what terms Pressac admits that he is unable to provide what he himself calls a “direct proof” or a “definitive proof.”

On 26 February 1979, exercising my right of response, I sent a letter on this matter that *Le Monde* refused to publish and which is reproduced in my *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire* (La Vieille Taupe, 1980, page 100). At that time I wrote:

I know a way of advancing the debate. Instead of repeating ad nauseam that there exists an abundance of proofs attesting to the existence of the “gas chambers” (let us recall the value of this alleged abundance for the — mythical — “gas chambers” of the Altreich), I propose that, to begin at the beginning, someone supply me with one proof, one single precise proof of the actual existence of one “gas chamber,” of one single “gas chamber.” Let us examine this proof together, in public.

It goes without saying that I was prepared to consider as “proof” what my opponents themselves chose to designate as such. My challenge is explained by an ascertainment: the Exterminationists all employed the all-too-facile system of “converging bundles of presumptions” or again, as it was called in past times, “adminicles” (parts of a proof, presumptions, traces). Each of their alleged proofs, rather shaky, was supported by another proof, itself rather fragile. There was much use of testimonial proof, which is the weakest of all because, as its name indicates, it is based only on testimony. The “essence” of the testimony of Kurt Gerstein was called on, supported by the “essence” of the confession of Rudolf Höss, which rested on the “essence” of a personal diary in which, they say, in veiled language, Dr. Johann Paul Kremer revealed, and at the same time concealed, the existence of the gas chambers. In other words, the blind man leans on the cripple, aided by a deaf man. In the past, at the time of the witchcraft trials, judges made great use of adminicles and, in order to condemn witches and wizards, relied on a strange accounting method whereby a quarter of a proof added to a quarter of a proof, itself added to half a proof,

are considered to equal a real proof (the film *Les sorcières de Salem* [the French version of Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*] depicts a judge practicing this type of arithmetic). Naturally, one couldn't provide definitive proof of the existence of Satan and of a meeting with him. It was impossible to prove his existence as one would prove that of a human being. That wasn't the fault of the judges, the thinking went, but precisely that of Satan, who, it was no doubt thought, was too naughty to leave traces proving his misdeeds. Intrinsically perverse by nature, Satan left at the most only vague traces of his passing through. These traces did not speak by themselves. One had to make them speak. Especially wise intellects were skilled at detecting them in places where ordinary people saw nothing. For minds such as these, Satan had tried to cover his tracks but had forgotten to hide the traces of his so doing, and, beginning there, learned magistrates, helped by scholarly professors, were able to reconstruct everything.

It was no different from any of the trials in which, since 1945, SS men have been tried for their participation, always indirect, in the homicidal gassings. The adepts of Satan, these SS men allegedly left not a single trace of the gassings, but trained minds (the Poliakovs and the Wellers), testifying in their writings or at the bar of justice, have known how to foil their tricks, unravel the mystery and reconstruct the crime in all its Satanic horror; they have interpreted, deciphered, decoded, and decrypted everything.

No “direct proof,” he finally concedes

Pressac writes:

The “traditional” historians provided him [Faurisson] an “abundance of proofs” which were virtually all based in human testimony (page 429).

He also states that there have been photographs of which certain have traditionally passed as proof of the existence of homicidal gassings, but he admits that not a single one of these can be “presented as definitive proof” (ibid.).

Not a single one of the numerous plans of the Krema of Auschwitz and Birkenau in his possession indicates “explicitly,” he writes, the use of homicidal gas chambers, although in the trials certain of these plans were employed as though they were explicitly incriminating (ibid.).

There remain, he writes, only the various items of correspondence and official documents of German origin, which have, for example, been used in the “Faurisson trial;” but which, according to him, have never formed more than a convincing body of presumptive evidence (ibid.).

The list of thirty-nine “criminal traces” brings to mind an enumeration (in the style of François Rabelais or Jacques Prévert) of disparate objects. One sees a parade of harmless technical terms drawn from the realms of the architect, the heating engineer, or the plumber, over which our pharmacist from La Ville du Bois wracks his brain to uncover darker designs. Pressac is without equal in making screws, nuts, bolts, and even the very screwheads speak. It would be tedious to go through all thirty-nine clues. I shall restrict myself to the ones that, according to him, are essential.

Harmless technical terms

But beforehand I would like to call to the English-speaking reader's attention several German technical terms in fairly commonplace usage.

In order to designate a delousing gas chamber (or a gas chamber for training recruits in the use of gas masks), the Germans use the word Gaskammer and, when the context is sufficiently clear, simply Kammer. A gas-tight door is a Gastür or gasdichte Tür; English speakers use “gas-proof door” as well as “gas-tight door;” this type of door can be used either for delousing gas chambers or for airlocks (for example, airlocks in an oven room or in an air raid shelter). In a more general fashion, a gas-tight door may be found anywhere in a building where there is a risk of fire or explosion; this is so in a crematorium, where high temperature ovens are in operation. I believe that in Germany — this has to be verified — doors to basements with central heating installations are, generally if not compulsorily, gas-tight to contain fire, explosion, or gas leakage. Gasprüfer means “gas detector.” Brausen means “shower heads” (for watering, spraying, showering). Auskleideraum means “undressing room” and, in delousing installations, refers to the room in which, on the “dirty side” unreine Seite, persons undressed; it is not impossible, but I haven’t been able to verify, that in a morgue the same word is applied to the room in which clothes were removed from the carcasses. Pressac introduces into evidence the existence of words such as Drahtnetzeinschiebvorrichtung, which he translates as “wire mesh introduction device,” and Holzblenden (wooden covers); I do not think these words call for any special comment.

On the other hand, it is inadmissible that at the very start of his book, where he claims to enumerate all terms used by the Bauleitung in order to designate “delousing” or “disinfection,” he noted the words Entlausung, Entwesung, and Disinfektion without taking the chance to recall that one of the terms most frequently used by the Germans to designate this type of operation is Vergasung, which is translated by “gassing.” For example, to stick to those documents cited by Pressac, Nuremberg Document NI-9912, which I was the first to publish and for which he is indebted to me, designates gassing only by Durchgasung or Vergasung; this last word, which figures in the first paragraph of Section III, was translated into English as “fumigation” (page 18, col. D). In a document cited by Pressac himself, General Glücks speaks of “gas for gassing” the camp due to the typhus epidemic Gas für Vergasung (see See The German words are Gas für Vergasung: gas for gassing. There, and in two other documents of the same type, it is expressly a question of gassing for disinfection (22 July and 29 July 1942 as well as 7 January 1943). In the meantime, on 26 August and 2 October 1942, two other documents of the same sort speak of “material for special treatment” and “material for the transport of the Jews.” There Pressac sees proof that, both times, what is meant is gas for killing the Jews! This is no proof at all. As the general context (three other texts of the same sort) demonstrates, the gas was for disinfecting clothing or rooms on account of the arrival of the Jews who had been deported. The term “special treatment” (Sonderbehandlung) here designates transport (Transportierung) of the Jews (Réponse à Vidal-Naquet, op. cit., page 24). The more people arrived at Auschwitz, which functioned as a turntable for redistributing a large number of deportees to other camps after a quarantine period, the more necessary was Zyklon B; as for Commandant Höss, he referred to disinfection gassings as Vergasungen (see See On 12 August 1942, Commandant Höss distributed 40 copies of a Sonderbefehl (special order) drafted as follows:

In passing I wish to specify that, for the reader’s convenience, I have translated Entlausung and Entwesung the same, that is, by “disinfection.” I note moreover that in the language used by the Bauleitung or in the ledgers of the locksmith of Auschwitz, there is a tendency to use the words interchangeably, without always distinguishing between “delousing” and “disinfection.”

In Krema II and III, the ventilation of the area that Pressac dares call a gas chamber, whereas it was a morgue, was exactly the opposite — and he admits this — of the way it must have been if Zyklon B had been employed there. Zyklon B is essentially hydrocyanic acid, a gas lighter than air. Therefore ventilation would have had to proceed from the bottom to top, with air blowing in at ground level and being extracted at ceiling level. But it was done from top to bottom as in a

morgue. Pressac does not try to explain this anomaly, which destroys his thesis, at its foundations, one could say. He makes note of it, then does not even attempt to come up with an explanation.

Fourteen shower heads and a gas-tight door

A discovery on which he prides himself, truth to tell the only one which he presents as “definitive” (page 430) before declaring that it “indirectly” (page 430) proves the existence of a homicidal gas chamber, is an inventory from Krema III for 14 shower heads (Brausen) and a gas-tight door (gasdichte Tür). Giving in to enthusiasm at first, our inventor writes on page 430:

[THIS] DOCUMENT ... IS DEFINITIVE PROOF OF THE PRESENCE OF A HOMICIDAL GAS CHAMBER IN LEICHENKELLER 1 OF KREMATORIUM III.

In 1986, the magazine VSD had published an interview with Serge Klarsfeld under the title “Les historiens du mensonge” (“The Historians of the Lie”), May 29, page 37). There Klarsfeld admitted that until then “no one had bothered to compile the material proofs” of the existence of the gas chambers. To the question “Why were there no longer real proofs?” he answered:

There were beginnings of proofs which embarrassed the Faurissonians but had not yet silenced them. In particular, two letters analyzed by Georges Wellers, dating from 1943, which spoke, one of a gassing cellar, the other of three gas-tight doors to be installed in the crematoria.

Klarsfeld announced that he was eventually going to publish “a monumental work on Auschwitz-Birkenau by Jean-Claude Pressac.” He added that the author had discovered the “proof of proofs”:

In all he has found 37 proofs, one of them definitive, of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber [in Krema III] at Birkenau.

The interview was accompanied by “the irrefutable proof” in the form of a reproduced document described as follows:

On this receiver from [Krema III] signed by the camp commandant of Auschwitz, one reads at the top of the last two columns: 14 shower heads (Brausen), 1 gas-tight door (gasdichte Tür).

Regarding this “definitive” or “irrefutable” proof, Klarsfeld declared that it concerned

A document which mentions both a gas-tight door and 14 shower heads.

To which he added by way of commentary:

Come, let us be logical, if this was a shower room, why this gas-tight door? The logic is flawless.

The logic is certainly not flawless and besides, as is obvious, here Klarsfeld makes use of a rhetorical technique dear to Pressac: preterition (and what’s more, in the interrogative form.)

To begin with, this interview is actually a confession. In it Klarsfeld acknowledges that, until then, nobody had bothered to gather the material proofs. For his part Pressac declared at about

the same time: “until now there have been the testimonies and only the testimonies” (Le Matin de Paris, 24-25 May 1986, page 3). In other words a terrible charge, an atrocious accusation against Germany had been broadcast throughout the world up to that time with no real proof, merely with the “beginnings of proofs” or with “testimonies.” The murder weapon had never been subjected to expert examination.

The text I submitted by right of response recalled that the gas-tight doors were commonplace and that, for example, before and during the war it was compulsory to equip every place that could serve as a bomb shelter with gas-tight doors. I added that the gas-tight doors did not imply, any more than do gas masks, a homicidal gassing.

Serge Klarsfeld, embarrassed by my use of citations from his interview in a text I devoted to Elie Wiesel (“Un grand faux témoin Elie Wiesel” [A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel], *Annales de Histoire Révisioniste*, no. 4, 1988, page 163-168 [published as a leaflet by the Institute for Historical Review]), blundered by publishing a letter in *Le Monde Juif*, January-March 1987, page 1) in which he stated that his interview was “mistakenly edited” at certain points. But there are denials that are as good as confirmations, and such was the case here, because Klarsfeld, compounding his mistake, was then impelled to write:

It is evident that in the years following 1945 the technical aspects of the gas chambers have been a neglected topic because back then no one imagined that their existence would have to be proved.

Pressac had before his eyes a typed form, probably mimeographed, in numerous copies. Headings down the side of the page listed various parts of a building (rooms, elevator cage, hallway, toilet, etc.); across the top were headings for different fittings (lamps, chandeliers, lanterns, ovens, electrical plugs, etc.). Both horizontal and vertical listings left blank spaces for additional headings. The form in question referred to rooms in Krema III, among them Leichenkellers 1 and 2. Regarding Leichenkeller 1, alleged to have been the homicidal gas chamber, the following had been entered: 12 of a certain type of lamp, 2 water taps, 14 shower heads and (handwritten in ink) 1 gas-tight door. For Leichenkeller 2, allegedly the undressing room, 22 lamps and 5 faucets have been noted.

From the juxtaposition of 14 shower heads and a gas-tight door in the same room (part of a morgue), Pressac concludes that he is confronted with a homicidal gas chamber (!) outfitted with dummy shower heads; these shower heads, he adds with admirable composure, were “made of wood or other materials and painted” (page 429; see also page 16)!

The reasoning here is disconcerting. Pressac frames it in expressly the following terms:

- A gas-tight door can be intended only for a gas chamber [implying a homicidal gas chamber];
- Why does a homicidal gas chamber have showers in it?

This reasoning evinces, aside from its innuendoes, a grave error. A gas-tight door can be found, as I have already stated, at any place in a structure in which, as is the case in a crematorium, ovens operate at high temperatures, with the risk of fire, explosion, and gas leakage. They may also be in air-raid shelters, in disinfection gas chambers, in morgues, etc. Finally, Krematorium III could have had, in all or in part of its Leichenkeller 1, a shower or wash room (every crematorium has a room for washing corpses). Furthermore, in another passage, Pressac writes that Bischoff, head of the construction office, requested, on 15 May 1943, the firm of Topf & Sons, specialists in the construction of crematoria, “to draw up the plans for 109 showers using water

treated by the waste incinerator of Krematorium III” (page 234); we know that there was a shower room on the ground floor because the plan is detailed enough to show it; on the other hand, the plan of the basement is not detailed and indicates only the general layout of Leichenkellers 1 and 2.

But Pressac must sense the frailty of his argument because once his enthusiasm has receded, he writes, nine pages later, in regard to this same document:

This document is the only one known at present that proves, indirectly [my italics], the existence of a HOMICIDAL GAS CHAMBER in Leichenkeller 1 of Krematorium III (page 439).

Let us observe, in consequence, that at issue here is the sole real proof and this proof is now indirect, although earlier it was decreed to be “fundamental” (page 429) and “definitive” (page 430). Georges Wellers himself, despite his readiness to entertain the most tainted “proofs,” has conceded, since 1987, his total skepticism regarding the probative value of the document disclosed in VSD the year before. He told Michel Folco:

Good, and the story of the shower heads on the form, you know, that isn’t proof of what it was (Zéro, Interview, May 1987; page 73).

As long as one refuses to carry out complete excavations of Krema II and III or to publish other explanations as to the function of these places furnished by the architectural engineers Dejaco and Ertl at the 1972 trial in Vienna, the matter can only be speculated on.

Four 'introduction devices'

When Pressac discovers on another inventory that four “wire mesh introduction devices” and four “wooden covers” for Leichenkeller 2 are mentioned, he puts forward the hypothesis that the inventory is in error and that it should read Leichenkeller 1 (page 232 and 430). His hypothesis is not gratuitous; it is founded on a material observation an aerial photograph showing, apparently, four openings on the roof of Leichenkeller 1. But he is wrong to present subsequently his hypothesis as a certainty and to decide that the wooden covers belong to Leichenkeller 1 (page 431). If these devices were used to convey the Zyklon B granules to the floor of the alleged gas chamber, how would they have been protected from the pressure of the crowd of victims and how would the gas have been able to spread through the room? I recall that, in the procedure for disinfection gassing, the granules were not piled together or thrown in bunches but rather spread out on matting so that the gas could rise from the floor to the ceiling without hindrance or obstacle; after the gassing, the personnel, always wearing gas masks equipped with a particularly powerful filter, entered, following a long period of ventilation, to recover the dangerous granules, taking great care that none were left behind. Finally, Pressac seems to ignore that in 1988, at the Zündel trial in Toronto, the Revisionists were able to show that, if the four apparent openings are present in Brugioni and Poirier’s work at the date of the aerial reconnaissance of 25 August 1944, curiously they no longer appear on the aerial photograph “6V2” of 13 September 1944, which Brugioni and Poirier didn’t publish. Are they patches? Retouchings? Discolorations? On this matter one must read the expert testimony of Kenneth Wilson (Robert Lenski. The Holocaust on Trial. Decatur, Alabama: Reporter Press; 1990; page 356-360, with a photograph of the expert at work, page 361). The imposing block of concrete that constituted the roof of Leichenkeller 1 and which can be inspected today on its outer as well as its inner surface bears not a single trace of these mysterious openings. As for the support columns, they were entirely of concrete and were not hollow. To conclude, if the inventory shows that these “devices” and “covers” belonged to

Leichenkeller 2, it is dishonest to transfer them arbitrarily to Leichenkeller 1 as Pressac has done in his “recapitulatory drawing for Krematorien II and III” on page 431.

Vergasungskeller

Pressac makes use, but not without hesitation, of the shopworn argument based on the presence of the word Vergasungskeller in a routine letter that the Auschwitz Construction Office addressed to the competent authorities in Berlin (doc. NO-4473). This letter, dated 29 January 1943, which contained nothing confidential and was not even stamped “secret,” states that in spite of all kinds of difficulties, and in particular, despite the frost, the construction of Krema II was nearly completed. In fact this Krema would not be operational until two months later. The letter states specifically that due to the frost it has not yet been possible to remove the form-work from the ceiling of the corpse cellar (which isn’t assigned a number), but that this is not serious because the Vergasungskeller can be used as a provisional morgue (page 211-217, 432). For Pressac the use in this letter of the word Vergasungskeller involves an “enormous gaff [sic]” (page 217), revealing the existence of a homicidal “gassing cellar” that could only have been Leichenkeller 1.

Because the word Vergasung is standard in German technical language to designate either the phenomenon of gasification, or carburetion in a motor, or disinfection gassing (translated in English as “fumigation;” see See On the other hand, it is inadmissible that at the very start of his book, where he claims to enumerate all terms used by the Bauleitung in order to designate “de-lousing” or “disinfection,” he noted the words Entlausung, Entwesung, and Disinfektion without taking the chance to recall that one of the terms most frequently used by the Germans to designate this type of operation is Vergasung, which is translated by “gassing.” For example, to stick to those documents cited by Pressac, Nuremberg Document NI-9912, which I was the first to publish and for which he is indebted to me, designates gassing only by Durchgasung or Vergasung; this last word, which figures in the first paragraph of Section III, was translated into English as “fumigation” (page 18, col. D). In a document cited by Pressac himself, General Glücks speaks of “gas for gassing” the camp due to the typhus epidemic Gas für Vergassung (see page 348 above); as for Commandant Höss, he referred to disinfection gassings as Vergasungen (see page 371 below). It is impossible to see how, on the part of the author of the letter at Auschwitz, or on the part of the addressee in Berlin, a meeting of minds could result in the understanding that, for the first and last time, a homicidal gassing was at issue here. If Pressac, relying on another document, is correct in saying that the Leichenkeller in question here can’t be Leichenkeller 2, he is wrong to deduce that consequently it can only be Leichenkeller 1 that recalls a homicidal gas chamber. He doesn’t examine seriously another hypothesis: Leichenkeller 3 with its three rooms.

To place myself in the framework of his hypothesis, if the word Vergasung is to be taken here in the sense of “gassing,” Pressac must, before jumping to the conclusion of a homicidal gassing, consider the possibility that the word may refer to a disinfection gassing and because (locating myself throughout in the framework of his book) he makes great play of the testimony of the Jewish cobbler Henryk Tauber, I remind him that, according to this testimony, such as Pressac reads it himself, Zyklon B cans were stored in one of the rooms of Leichenkeller 3. According to him, the room of which Tauber speaks would have been the one that, on plans in our possession, is labeled Goldarb[eit]; perhaps he considers that this room, before it was used for melting down the dental gold, served as a storage room for the Zyklon cans (see page 483 and the annotated plan on page 485, number 8) but perhaps another room of Leichenkeller 3 is meant. What is certain is that materials for gassing (Vergasung) were stored, if possible, in locations protected from heat and humidity, well-ventilated, and locked; a cellar was recommended.

Expressed otherwise, again in Pressac's frame of reference, the letter of 29 January 1943 might mean that the morgue couldn't yet be used but in the meantime the corpses could be placed in the storage room provided for the gassing materials; in the Vergasungskeller, that is the "cellar for gassing [material]" (as Vorratskeller means "cellar for provisions").

On the other hand, if one makes of Vergasungskeller a cellar for homicidal gassing, if this cellar was Leichenkeller 1, and if the Germans contemplated making it into a provisional morgue, where would the victims have been gassed? Leichenkeller 1 could not have been simultaneously a homicidal gas chamber and a morgue.

I notice on pages 503 and 505 that Pressac believes that I have given three successive and differing interpretations of Leichenkeller 1. I am supposed to have seen this room as first a room for carburetion, then as a morgue, and finally as a disinfection gas chamber. Not at all. In the first case, I recalled Arthur Butz's interpretation of the word Vergasung in the sense of "gassification" or "carburetion" but neither Butz nor I located this Vergasungskeller that, in any case, would have had to be close to the oven room and not in a dependency far-removed from the ovens. In the second instance I reminded Pierre Vidal-Naquet that the word Leichenkeller meant morgue or cold room and I specified: "A morgue has to be disinfected" (*Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, op. cit., page 35). I added that chemical analysis would be able to reveal traces of cyanide because Zyklon B is an insecticide with a hydrogen-cyanide base. Rooms designated to hold corpses, in particular corpses of those dead of typhus, would have to be disinfected. (I remind here that I use the word disinfection for "disinfestation," fumigating for insects, as well as for disinfection proper).

One will remark that Raul Hilberg mentions this document (NO-4473) and cites three extracts in German, but avoids reproducing the word Vergasungskeller (*The Destruction of the European Jews*, op. cit., page 885). I imagine that as someone with a good command of the German language he saw that, had the Germans wanted to speak of a gas chamber, they would have used the words Gaskammer or Gaskeller and not Vergasungskeller, which one cannot translate as "gas chamber" without dishonesty. Besides, at the end of his book, Pressac himself is resigned to writing that the Vergasungskeller document "does not in itself constitute the absolute proof of the existence of a HOMICIDAL gas chamber in the basement of Birkenau Krematorium II" (page 505.)

Four gas-tight doors

On page 447, as "criminal trace" number 22, Pressac cites a document that makes mention of, regarding Krema IV, four gas-tight doors. This time, for reasons that are not clear, he judges that this document does not amount to a "conclusive" proof of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber. This admission tends to reduce much of the value of his initial and fundamental "criminal trace," on which he cites the mention of a single gas-tight door on an inventory from Krema III as if it were a conclusive proof (see *See Fourteen shower heads and a gas-tight door*).

A key for a gas chamber

On page 456 he offers us as the 33rd "criminal trace" a document dealing with a "key for gas chamber." He does so with some embarrassment. That is understandable. Can one imagine a key-hole in a door, gas-tight, to a room that itself is supposed to be gas-tight? He writes that this is "incomprehensible with our present state of knowledge," but why then represent this document as a "criminal trace?" The key might have been the one to the room in which the cans of Zyklon B were stored.

A peephole for a gas chamber

Still on page 456, he confesses that the 34th “criminal trace” is nothing of the sort, whatever may have been believed. In question is an order regarding “The fittings for one door with frame, air tight with peephole for gas chambers” (Die Beschläge zu 1 Tür mit Rahmen, luftdicht mit Spion für Gaskammer). In 1989, during proceedings brought against me by the LICRA (International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism), LICRA and all the rest offered this document as proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers. Pressac, however, concedes that the document at issue was a command concerning a disinfection gas chamber, as I had already indicated in my *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (op. cit., page 80).

Other false findings

“Criminal traces” numbers 33 and 34 ought never to have figured on Pressac’s list of the 39 “criminal traces.” Indeed, he presents number 33 to us as “incomprehensible with our present state of knowledge,” while number 34 proves, as Pressac admits, the existence of a disinfection gas chamber, not that of a homicidal gas chamber.

The business of the ten gas detectors, which he brings up on page 432, has already been scotched on page 371, where Pressac reveals that the firm Topf & Sons, manufacturers of crematory ovens, routinely supplied detectors for CO and CO²; why try to convince us that this type of company, on receipt of an order for “gas detectors,” would have understood by way of telepathy that in this case it was to supply detectors for HCN (and not of CO and CO²) and ... that it would be in a position to furnish an item that it did not manufacture?

On pages 223 and 432, Pressac reveals what he believes is a document, dated 8 March 1943, according to which Leichenkeller 1 of Kremas II and III had to be “preheated.” Pressac is triumphant. Why would one bother to preheat a morgue? And he implies that what they wanted to preheat was a homicidal gas chamber. But nineteen days later, on 25 March 1943 to be exact, the authorities learned that such a preheating wasn’t possible (page 227).

On page 302 Pressac regales the reader with an account of how a corpse chute was replaced by a stairway, but toward the end of his book he abandons any attempt to include this in the “39 criminal traces.”

He ought to have pondered the lesson of the Dejaco/Ertl Trial (1972)

I have had occasion to say that the real “Auschwitz Trial” was not that of certain “Auschwitz guards” in Frankfurt (1963-1965), but the trial in Vienna, in 1972, of two men responsible for constructing the crematoria of Auschwitz, above all those at Birkenau, Walter Dejaco and Fritz Ertl, architectural engineers. Both were acquitted. If the scantiest of the fragments presented here by Pressac and, as he admits, already known at the time, could have proved the existence of homicidal gas chambers, this trial would have been played up with great fanfare and the two defendants been crushingly condemned. The trial, which was long and meticulous, and that was at first noisily heralded, above all by Simon Wiesenthal, demonstrated — as Pressac concedes — that the prosecution’s designated expert was unable to trouble the two defendants; the expert “virtually admitted defeat” (page 303). In July 1978 I paid a visit to Fritz Ertl (Dejaco had died that January), in hope that he could clarify certain points regarding the plans of the crematoria that I had found at the Auschwitz Museum. I discovered an old man, panicked by the prospect that his troubles were beginning anew. He was obstinate in refusing me the slightest information

but he told me all the same that, for his part, he had never laid eyes on homicidal gas chambers either at Auschwitz or at Birkenau.

It is no secret that I would be delighted to have access to the documents from the pre-trial investigation as well as the transcripts of the Dejaco/Ertl trial. I am convinced that these would include detailed answers on the architecture of the Birkenau crematoria, on their internal layout, on their purpose, and, lastly, on their possible modification. This Dejaco/Ertl trial, the preliminary investigation of which began in 1968 at Reutte (Tirol), is all too often forgotten: it prompted, for the first time, a general mobilization to prove the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. It marked the first time that the Soviet Union really played a role in furnishing valuable documents, and it witnessed the establishment of a sort of direct conduit between Moscow and Vienna through the intermediacy of Warsaw (Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland) and Auschwitz (archives of the Auschwitz Museum) (page 71). Officials from the Jewish community throughout the world, alerted by Simon Wiesenthal, spared no effort. The two unlucky architectural engineers thus saw massive forces combined against them. Let it be added that, because they were quite unaware of the chemical and physical impossibilities of homicidal gassing in the facilities they had built, their plea was that the buildings' construction was perfectly normal, but that surely it was possible that certain Germans had used them to commit crimes. Dejaco went as far as to say: "And every big room could serve as gas chamber, Even this hearing room" (Kurier, 29 January 1972). Dejaco was greatly mistaken, as a homicidal gas chamber can only be a small room requiring a very complex technology and specific equipment, but nobody caught the error. It was during this trial 18 January–19 March 1972 that the only Jewish "witness" to the gassings, the all-too-renowned Szlamy Dragon, "fainted" on the stand, and gave no further testimony. (AZ, 3 March 1972). Pressac says that he demonstrated "total confusion" (page 172).

The *Leichenkeller* at Sachsenhausen deserved a visit

In order to get an idea of the several *Leichenkeller* at Birkenau, Pressac ought to have visited the *Leichenkeller* at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, that is still intact and which, modernized in 1940/1941, offers a standard model of this type of building: on the ground floor there was a dissecting room, a doctor's office etc., and in the basement three rooms occupying about 230 a square meters. They could hold 200 corpses. Each room had its own function. One was designed for the undressing and laying out of 80 corpses; the next for laying out 100 corpses; the third was for 20 infected corpses. It is not claimed that there was a homicidal gas chamber in the Sachsenhausen crematorium. Pressac could have verified on the spot that a *Leichenkeller*, which has to be cool, possesses as well heating vents, humidification equipment, a special system for the isolation of the infected corpses (no direct drainage into the sewage system), a chute (*Rutsche*) very similar to those in Kremas II and III at Birkenau with, on both sides, steps for the personnel who ran the elevator for transporting the corpses. Finally, at Sachsenhausen it is confirmed that the very word *Leichenkeller* is generic and is used of the building, ground floor, and cellar, as a whole. This point of nomenclature alone should make us cautious regarding every invoice, every work sheet, every accounting record, which, apparently referring to a basement room, perhaps actually concerns a room on the ground floor. For example, at Sachsenhausen the well-lit dissecting room and the doctor's office, both located on the ground floor, are described as belonging to a *Leichenkeller* (underground morgue).

He ought to have done work in the archives at Koblenz

In the German Federal Archive at Koblenz, Pressac could have discovered, as I did, the extraordinary collection of documents NS-3/377, relative to the 1940 modernization of the Le-

ichenkeller at Sachsenhausen. The three plans — of the foundations, the basement, and the ground floor — might have been done by an artist. There is an additional collection of 90 pages itemizing the materials supplied and the expenses accrued; Pressac could perhaps have found in these pages the actual sense of words that he unjustifiably invests with sinister meanings when he finds them in the records of the workshops at Auschwitz. By the way, I also have in my possession extracts from these records, carefully selected by the Polish prosecution. From them one can determine that the Germans and the internees under their discipline were scrupulous in entering the slightest order and job; reference is often made to disinfection gas chambers.

He ought to have visited a Leichenkeller in Berlin

Pressac, who in his book speaks more of the crematories and the ovens than of the gas chambers, should have visited the Ruheleben crematorium at Berlin-Charlottenburg to see a contemporary Leichenkeller capable of receiving 500 bodies at a time. (See Hans-Kurt Boehlke. *Friedshofsbauten*. Munich: Callway Verlag; 1974; page 117; which shows a plan of the above.)

He should have considered the example of Stutthof-Danzig

Toward the end of his book (page 539-541), Pressac devotes some attention to a small brick building that, at the camp in Stutthof-Danzig (not to be confused with the camp at Struthof-Natzweiler, in Alsace), is occasionally represented in the “Holocaust” literature as a homicidal gas chamber although it was obviously, as shown by its external stove, a disinfection gas chamber.

Pressac’s discussion is incoherent. He begins by stating, correctly, that given the presence of the stove, the building was a gas chamber for delousing prisoners’ effects (page 539). Then suddenly, with not a shred of supporting evidence, he declares that from 22 June 1944 (one admires his precision) to the beginning of November 1944 the building was used as a homicidal gas chamber for executing groups of about 100 people. Finally on the next page (page 540), Pressac changes his mind and concludes that no scientific examination of the “murder weapon” was ever made. From this he concludes, judiciously:

which means that we do not know how the chamber functioned as a delousing installation and are unable to provide material proof of its criminal use.

It should be brought to Pressac’s attention that therefore he had no right, a few lines earlier, to charge anyone with homicidal gassing. What is more, what holds for the camp near Danzig is just as valid for Auschwitz and it is inadmissible, there as elsewhere, to accuse the Germans of having used an abominable weapon without even having the weapon submitted to expert examination.

No expert report on the weapon; no real excavation

Until 1988 there had been no expert report on the gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau. We had to wait until April 1988 for Fred Leuchter, a specialist in execution gas chambers at American penitentiaries, to publish a 196-page report on “the alleged execution gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek.” Ernst Zündel, a German resident of Toronto, Canada, had hired Leuchter to examine those gas chambers and to gather samples there. The result was spectacular: there had never been any homicidal gas chambers in these camps. Only the sample taken from a gas chamber at Birkenau — officially recognized by the present camp authorities as having been used for disinfection with Zyklon B — contained meaningful, and even considerable,

traces of cyanide; moreover, this chamber had the blue blotches that reveal that a gas containing hydrocyanic or prussic acid had been used in the past.

Pierre Vidal-Naquet dared to state in 1980 that an expert report had been “accomplished in June 1945 on the ventilation orifices of the gas chamber at Birkenau (Krema III) on twenty-five kilos of women’s hair and on the metallic objects found in the hair” (re-edited in *Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent*, Maspero, page 222, n. 41) I replied to him:

I am familiar with the expert reports ordered by examining magistrate Jan Sehn and carried out by the laboratory located on Copernicus Street in Cracow. They are not reports establishing specifically that such and such a building was a homicidal gas chamber (*Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet*, op. cit., page 35)

I shall not deal here with the explanations that I have advanced for the possible presence of traces of hydrocyanic gas in the vents, in the hair or in other objects. S. Klarsfeld knew of this expert report but he knew its limitations as well because, in his 1986 interview (see *In 1986*, the magazine *VSD* had published an interview with Serge Klarsfeld under the title “Les historiens du mensonge” (“The Historians of the Lie”), May 29, page 37). There Klarsfeld admitted that until then “no one had bothered to compile the material proofs” of the existence of the gas chambers. To the question “Why were there no longer real proofs?” he answered: he admitted that up to that time real proof had never been published; but an expert report would have constituted real proof. Pressac mentions the expert report of 1945 but is a long way from sharing Vidal-Naquet’s views because he points out that, while scrapings from certain metallic objects described as galvanized plates originating from Leichenkeller 1 of Krema II were analyzed, this analysis, which revealed the presence of cyanide compounds, is only qualitative (Pressac’s own emphasis — page 233), although to serve as proof the analysis would have had to have been qualitative and quantitative.

Pressac informs us that the German association for “reconciliation with the Jews” and for “repentance,” *Sühnzeichen* (Sign of Atonement), had in 1968 begun excavations in the ruins of the “gas chamber” of Krematorium II; I would be curious to know why these excavations were almost immediately broken off. In 1987 I received a revelation from French journalist Michel Folco. During a trip to Auschwitz organized together with Pressac, the two of them had met with Tadeusz Iwaszko, chief of the Auschwitz Museum archives, with whom I became personally acquainted in 1976. Folco asked him why the Poles had never resolved to carry out excavations and an expert examination, the results of which would have enabled them to silence the Revisionists. Iwaszko’s response was that if proof of the crime were not discovered, the Jews would accuse the Poles of having suppressed it. Pressac wrote that in 1980 Iwaszko had already told him that excavations would have been of no value because in any case, whatever the results, the Poles would be accused of having “arrange[d]” the site (page 545).

That’s where the shoe pinches the accusers: they dread the results of excavations and analyses. The Revisionists, for their part, have risked undertaking such researches; their reward for doing so has been the Leuchter Report, which proves that there were no homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, at Birkenau, or at Majdanek (“The Leuchter Report: The How and the Why,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1989, page 133-139).

Part 2

The lessons of a soccer field and a swimming pool

In 1983, Klarsfeld and Pressac published a French version of the Auschwitz Album (published by Seuil). Pressac drew up a misleading plan of Birkenau (page 43) on which, in particular, he obscured the surroundings of the large Birkenau crematories. Specifically, he concealed from his readers that, immediately next to Krema III, there was a Sportplatz (playing field) that served as a soccer pitch for the inmates, and that right next to the Sportplatz there was a large hospital area. These simple topographical specifications about which Pressac is rather discreet in his large book) render absurd the thesis that the crematoria were supposedly the culmination of a horrible extermination process accompanied by cries, fire, flames, and the smell of burning flesh. Can you imagine teams of soccer players and crowds of spectators at the various matches, just a few steps away from those horrors?

Pressac is careless when he challenges the Revisionists to prove that in the central camp the swimming pool was used by the inmates. I will let a former Auschwitz prisoner answer for me. He was a professor in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Strasbourg who, while affirming in a rather vague way the homicidal gassings at Auschwitz, was just as willing to write about the distractions available to the inmates:

On Sunday afternoons, there were soccer, basketball, and water polo matches [my emphasis] to the ardent cheers of the spectators: people needed very little to distract them from the dangers that threatened them! The SS administration allowed regular amusements for the prisoners, even on weekdays. A movie theater showed Nazi newsreels and sentimental films and a very popular cabaret gave presentations often attended by the SS authorities. Finally, there was a very creditable orchestra, made up originally only of Polish musicians and replaced later by a new, high-quality group made up of musicians of all nationalities, mostly Jews (Marc Klein, *Observations et réflexions sur les camps de concentration nazis*, taken from the journal *Études germaniques* (no. 3, 1946), 1948, page 31)

I could cite many other examples of such activities, but I shall refrain from doing so, because where human beings are so “concentrated,” life becomes unbearable in spite of all; promiscuity, epidemics, the struggle to live and to gain individual advantage make such an existence frightful, especially in time of war. But we must not add false horrors to the real horrors. Furthermore, the camps run by the Soviets, including the ones they “liberated” in Germany before filling them again with their political adversaries (beginning with the National Socialists), were even more horrible, according to the statements of people such as Margaret Buber-Neumann, who experienced them both.

Pressac entitles one of his chapters “Auschwitz According to the Revisionists. Photographic Exhibition of the Famous Holiday Camp KL Auschwitz” (page 507). The irony and the slanderous insinuation here conceals his embarrassment at reproducing photographs that are not consistent with various kinds of horrors supposedly found in the camp. He tries to cast suspicion on certain of these photographs by pointing out that many of them come from “Revisionist sources.” He is obviously unaware that many of them are from the album kept by Dürrfeld, an engineer who was one of the leading executives in the factories at Auschwitz. The file reference “DUE” (for Dürrfeld) ought to have alerted him: the Dürrfeld trial is well-known to historians of Auschwitz, but apparently not to our pharmacist-turned-amateur-historian.

Involuntary contributions to Revisionism

Here and there throughout the text, one finds information (very often in the form of photographic documents) that tends to reinforce the position of the Revisionists. Here are some samples:

- The story of one Rablin, a prisoner employed in disinfecting with Zyklon B, proves just how dangerous this terrible gas was to use. Rablin, only slightly exposed to the gas, was hospitalized and took two months to recover (page 25); it is paradoxical that the Germans tried to cure of gas poisoning a man whom, the story goes, they should have killed with precisely that gas;
- The deposition of inmate Joseph Odi describes the procedure for using Zyklon B in the disinfestation gas chambers, a procedure that has often been described by the Revisionists, and that shows the dangers of the operation. Although suitable for clothing, this method would not work with human beings. Above all, the witness reveals that the cases containing the cans of Zyklon B were stored in the Theatergebäude (theater building) and that transporting it from there to the gas disinfection chambers was done with a Health Service vehicle standing by. The Revisionists know all this, but it is interesting to see Pressac's book reminding us of two points that should help clear both the Carmelites of Auschwitz and the Red Cross of the charges too often made against them. Today the Carmelites are often reproached with occupying a place in which the Germans are supposed to have warehoused gas to kill human beings. In reality, the gas was used to kill lice and protect human health. The Red Cross vehicle was there to protect against the accidents that were always possible with Zyklon B. It played no role in murder; it, too, was there to safeguard men's health (page 41); it is noteworthy that J. Odi is precise when he talks about the disinfection gas chambers and very vague on the subject of the homicidal gas chambers; besides, he believes that men were gassed in the disinfection gas chambers!;
- The beautiful photograph showing an impressive complex of eight disinfestation gas chambers in that part of the Birkenau camp traditionally called "the Gypsy camp" (Entwungsanlage Ziguenerlager) contradicts the thesis that the Germans intended to exterminate the Gypsies (page 63);
- An astonishing photograph taken in the Zentral Sauna shows a group of naked inmates, apparently in good health, carrying their shoes from a vast shower room (50 shower heads) to the "drying room" on the "clean side" of the disinfection area (Trockenraum, reine Seite): an unthinkable scene in an "extermination" camp (page 80; see See This time, Bernstein chose a photograph of a blueprint of a crematorium and a photograph of prisoners carrying their shoes after showering. The first photograph comes from page 141 of the book, on which the blueprint is said to concern a crematorium with a homicidal gas chamber. The second photograph is taken from page 80, where the naked men are said to be prisoners who, with their shoes in hand, are leaving the shower room for the "drying room; clean side," both rooms in a large installation for showering and disinfection.
- One photograph shows some inmates in their striped uniforms employed in disinfecting clothes in front of a battery of three autoclaves; here the disinfection is done by steam; elsewhere, it may be done with warm air, with Zyklon B, or even with other gasses; the true concern of the Germans was to exterminate vermin, not men, by any and all means (page 82). Enough can never be said about their obsessive fear of Typhus; "there were in fact about 25 Zyklon-B delousing chambers of different sizes operating in the camp" (page 550), and a great number of disinfection chambers that operated in other ways, without using gas;
- A sheet of operating instructions for coke-fired incineration furnaces points out that the furnace fire bars must be cleared of clinker and the cinders removed every evening; these

ovens, Pressac tells us, could only operate 12 out of 24 hours, not 24 hours a day as claimed by the believers in the extermination myth (page 136, 224, 227);

- To replace Krema I, the Germans had considered constructing a “new Krema,” to be built a short distance from its predecessor, near the SS hospital and the Kommandatur. Pressac acknowledges that this “new Krema” had no homicidal gas chamber. He says that the construction was finally transferred to Birkenau and that Krema II and Krema III at Birkenau were, in effect, replicas of what had originally been planned for Auschwitz I; the plan remained the same. As a result, Kremas II and III were designed without homicidal gas chambers (page 33, 140-143);
- Page 143 is particularly interesting. Pressac sees only inoffensive Leichenkeller in this plan, but when the same plan serves for the construction of the Birkenau Krema, here he arbitrarily dubs the Leichenkeller either “disrobing rooms” for the victims, or “homicidal gas chambers.” As a matter of fact, the existence of this plan proves that in the minds of the Germans and, in particular, of Walter Dejaco, Kremas II and III at Birkenau, simply replications of the Kremas that had originally been intended to be near the Kommandatur and the SS hospital in the main Auschwitz camp, could not have had any homicidal purpose (this is confirmed on page 200, where we read that Kremas II and III were “designed without homicidal gas chambers”);
- A surprising photograph, dating probably from May 1945, proves that the roof of Krema I was used as a dance floor, decorated with a red star and hammer and sickle as well as Polish and Russian flags; people, says Pressac, danced on the roof of the “gas chamber;” I suggest that, if at that time anyone had given credence to the myth of the gassings, such a profanation would not have been permitted. Some months after the liberation of Auschwitz, evidently, the myth of the gas chambers had not yet taken the form in which we know it today (page 149);
- Pressac reproduces a whole series of documents from the Weimar archives relating to engineer Kurt Prüfer, responsible for the design and construction of the “Topf & Sons” ovens; Prüfer was arrested, imprisoned, and interrogated after the war; nothing, in either his papers or his interrogations, provided the slightest proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the crematoria (page 93, 94, 191, and 371); if the documents that Pressac used contained so many criminal traces, Kurt Prüfer and other members of the firm’s staff could have been easily broken down;
- On 12 August 1942, Commandant Höss distributed 40 copies of a Sonderbefehl (special order) drafted as follows:

A case of indisposition with slight symptoms of poisoning by hydrocyanic gas which occurred today makes it necessary to warn all those participating in the gassings (Vergasungen) and all other SS members that in particular on opening rooms used for gassing SS not wearing masks must wait at least five hours and keep at a distance of at least 15 meters from the chamber. In addition, particular attention must be paid to the wind direction. — The gas being used at present contains less odorous warning agent and is therefore especially dangerous. — The SS garrison doctor declines all responsibility for any accident that should occur in the case where these directives have not been complied with by the SS members (page 201).

The word used to designate the disinfection gassings is Vergasungen. The above directive confirms what the Revisionists have consistently said about the danger of using Zyklon B. If at Auschwitz incessant and massive gassing operations had been carried out, especially under such conditions as we have been told, accidents involving the SS personnel would have been innumerable. Neither the camp commandant, nor the chief medical officer responsible for the garrison,

nor the other doctors, nor the SS would have tolerated such accidents (page 201); and if we must look at it from the point of view of the legend, the “homicidal gassings” could not have gone off normally inasmuch as the Jewish personnel would not have been able to accomplish the task of entering a cyanide-treated space to drag out thousands of cyanide-impregnated corpses; and the criminal enterprise would immediately have ground to a halt for lack of personnel to carry it through successfully;

- A telex dated 18 December 1942 reveals that during the month of December the work of both the inmates and the free civilian laborers had to be interrupted several times for de-lousing and disinfection (Entlausung und Entwesung). The camp had to be isolated, and civilian laborers had not been able to leave for six months. A period of leave from 23 December 1942 to 4 January 1943 was therefore essential (page 210);
- In the archives of the Yad Vashem Memorial in Jerusalem, there is an album of 397 photos, taken by the Germans themselves during the war, which show construction of Auschwitz, including that of the crematoria. This is the most important information in Pressac’s book. It is outrageous that this album has been kept hidden for so long, and that the publication of the photographs is being done in dribbles, so to speak, as was the case with the photos from the Auschwitz Album. The album of which I speak is the Bauleitung Album (the construction office album). The photographs therein confirm that Auschwitz was a prison or internment camp with nothing out of the ordinary about it. Pressac acknowledges that all the inmates we see at work appear to be as healthy as the civilian workers (page 331, 339). Is he perhaps concealing from us photographs from this album that would give us a clearer idea of what went on at Auschwitz, or that would correct what we think we know about each room of the large Kremas and about the changes eventually made in those rooms?;
- Regarding a time sheet indicating the make-up of a crew constructing a chimney for Krema IV or V, Pressac comments that “the composition of the gang employed is typical, with 12 civilians and 20 prisoners working as bricklayer’s laborers” (page 412); so there is no possibility of secrets on that side either;
- One plan proves that the Germans planned to construct an enormous hospital sector covering all of the section of Birkenau known as “Mexico.” Pressac says this in fact is “a real godsend for the Revisionists.” He admits that “there is an INCOMPATIBILITY [his capitals] in the creation of a health camp a few hundred yards from four Krematorien where, according to official history, people were exterminated on a large scale” (page 512). And his commentary continues in the same direction. We await his parry. It does not come. Pressac’s embarrassment is plain to see. He thinks perhaps he can manage to get out of the difficulty by saying that we ought not to underestimate the capacity for “doublethink” of the SS hierarchy, which blindly executed orders even when they were totally contradictory. I note that, as I said above (see See In 1983, Klarsfeld and Pressac published a French version of the Auschwitz Album (published by Seuil). Pressac drew up a misleading plan of Birkenau (page 43) on which, in particular, he obscured the surroundings of the large Birkenau crematoria. Specifically, he concealed from his readers that, immediately next to Krema III, there was a Sportplatz (playing field) that served as a soccer pitch for the inmates, and that right next to the Sportplatz there was a large hospital area. These simple topographical specifications about which Pressac is rather discreet in his large book) render absurd the thesis that the crematoria were supposedly the culmination of a horrible extermination process accompanied by cries, fire, flames, and the smell of burning flesh. Can you imagine teams of soccer players and crowds of spectators at the various matches, just a few steps away from those horrors?), Pressac is silent about the existence, near the crematoria, of a large hospital area containing 18 barracks; more important, in his large book he persists in concealing the existence of this hospital area. A site plan dated 21 June 1944 shows that the Germans planned to construct, alongside the Birkenau railroad ramp, a total of six veg-

etable halls, each with a capacity of 930 cubic meters in size — a curious initiative in an “extermination camp” (page 533-534).

The 'bankruptcy of the traditional history'

Pressac draws up a bankruptcy report: no one before him has been able to prove the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau. He recognizes that the historians, the judges, the Soviets, the Poles, the arraigners of the “war criminals,” as well as the accusers of the Revisionists have accumulated false proofs and worthless arguments (the Revisionists, too, are supposed to have failed in their endeavors). He writes at the end of his study, just before the appendices:

This study already demonstrates the complete bankruptcy of the traditional history (and hence also the methods and criticisms of the Revisionists), a history based for the most part on testimonies, assembled according to the mood of the moment, truncated to fit arbitrary truth and sprinkled with a few German documents of uneven value and without any connection with one another.

The celebrated work of Eugène Aroneanu, which has for so long been a sort of Exterminationist bible (*Camps de concentration*, preface by Jacques Billiet, director of France’s War Crimes Information Service, Office français d’édition, 1946), he calls “an historical monstrosity,” “an incoherent and self-contradictory whole” (page 15). On the post-war trials, he writes that “the tons of Zyklon B ordered by the camps were attributed to homicidal use without any verification.” And, as I mentioned above (see See For Pressac, almost no Zyklon B used to kill people), he makes the following remark, which will likely upset his Exterminationist friends:

By far the greater part [of Zyklon B] (over 95 per cent) was destined for delousing (effects and buildings) while only a very small quantity (less than 5 per cent) had been used for homicidal gassings (ibidem).

He is of the opinion that the American-conducted trial of Bruno Tesch, one of the officials of the Degesch company and thus responsible for the production of Zyklon B, was a “masquerade;” the court was not concerned with the technical question, merely with the verbal testimony of his employees. In 1946, Pressac writes, simple malicious gossip could easily lead to someone being hanged. That was the case with Bruno Tesch (and, I would add, with his associate, K. Weinbacher) (page 16-17); see in this regard the revealing article by William B. Lindsey, “Zyklon B, Auschwitz and the Trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Autumn 1983, page 261-303.

The Soviet film *Chronicles of the Liberation of the Camp*, 1945 shows a gas-tight door as belonging to a homicidal gas chamber; in view of its location, says Pressac, it was a door to a disinfection gas chamber (page 41). Further on, he talks about the work of the Soviet Commission of Inquiry as a “completely put-up job” and an “historic [sic] montage” (page 46); the unfortunate thing is that the Nuremberg Tribunal “took judicial notice” of that work in the name of Article 21 of its charter.

At Birkenau, the vast hall of the Zentral Sauna, where the inmates disrobed (*Auskleideraum*) before showering, possessed an impressive number of tubular radiators. The Poles removed these radiators because, according to Pressac, this concern for the comfort of the inmates conflicts, in the minds of present-day visitors, with the location of the ruins of Krema IV and its “gas chambers,” only 100 meters away (page 78). He might have added that the Poles had dealt in the same

manner with the “arrest cells” in Block 11, which the tourists visit in great numbers. I am the one who called Pressac’s attention to this mania of the Poles for removing heating apparatuses, whether for their own use or to give a crueler impression of the conditions under which the inmates were supposed to have lived.

At the Nuremberg Trial, a perfectly ordinary German document dealing with the crematory ovens was presented as proof of the extermination. Pressac sees there an example of “the stupid way in which the documents of the defeated were ‘evaluated’ by a tribunal of the victors” (page 106).

A certain reconstruction by the Poles after the war is “far from being a faithful reproduction of the original state” because of its exaggerations and its simplifications (page 108).

The fact, according to Pressac, that at a given time in 1942 the Germans used 2 to 3 per cent of the Zyklon B for murder and 97 or 98 per cent for disinfection “totally invalidates” the interpretation of certain documents by “the traditional historians” (page 188).

Sometimes naming him and sometimes not, Pressac underscores the errors or the deceptions of Georges Wellers. The latter’s argument based on the ventilation system of the Leichenkeller is, for Pressac, contradicted and indeed completely demolished by the facts (page 289). Wellers’ “quite erroneous” and “quite unfounded” interpretation deceived the lawyers of LICRA (the International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism) who pleaded against Faurisson (page 355). In citing transcripts of eyewitness testimony, Wellers has made cuts when those testimonies contain improbabilities, without any indication to the reader that he has done so (page 479). The plan he gave of Auschwitz (*Les Chambres à gaz ont existé/Des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres*, Gallimard, 1981, page 12-13) is of “a very mediocre quality as regards many details,” although Pressac doesn’t go so far as to use the word “falsification” (page 165-166). What is striking is that this was the plan that hung for all to see in the courtroom at the Frankfurt trial and that Hermann Langbein reproduced in his book about that trial (*Der Auschwitz Prozess, Eine Dokumentation*, Frankfurt, Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1965, page 932-933 [not 930-933 as Pressac mistakenly indicates]).

The supposed camouflage around Kremas II and III is, according to Pressac, a product of the imagination of the “traditional historians” (page 341).

Jan Sehn, the Polish investigative magistrate who prepared the trials of Rudolf Höss and many of the SS men, “made a change” in a German document while reproducing it as a copy allegedly identical to the original (page 454). Nevertheless, Pressac is careful not to be too harsh with this investigative magistrate, to whom we owe a hundred lies about Auschwitz — to name one, the lie of the “nearly 60,000 persons in 24 hours” gassed at Birkenau (Jan Sehn, *Le Camp de concentration d'Oswiecim-Brzezinka*, Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, Warsaw, 1961, page 132). It is also to Sehn that we owe the “gigantic ditches” in the open air (with or without crematoria?) (*ibid.*, page 148). However, the aerial photos taken by the Allies on 25 August 1944 show absolutely nothing of the kind (D. Brugioni and R. Poirier, *The Holocaust Revisited*. Washington: CIA; February 1979; pages 9-11).

In 1981 I was brought to trial in Paris by the LICRA and many other organizations. The principle lawyer for the LICRA was Maître Bernard Jouanneau. From the pages Pressac devotes to this trial and to this lawyer it is evident that the author believes that many of the documents that they used against me do not, in reality, prove the existence of the homicidal gas chambers in the least. Not one of the eyewitness testimonies that Jouanneau introduced had any real value. As for the technical arguments offered by Jouanneau, all of them were worthless, and sometimes “disas-

trous.” Lastly, the lawyer outrageously abused the theory according to which the Germans, to hide their crime, used a “code” or “camouflage” (page 554-556).

Pressac’s inconsistencies have their amusing aspects. He remarks on the dishonesty or incompetence of the Exterminationists but, at the same time, wants at all costs to save the Exterminationist theory. Thus he is reduced to flattering his friends for qualities that supposedly make up for their faults. And when he flatters, he does not do it by halves — he bootlicks: Jouanneau’s demonstration was based on a mass of errors but it was “superb” (page 556).

Manipulation of testimonies

In a work that professes to be technical, one ought first to describe the scene of the crime, then examine the weapon used in the crime and the material proofs of the crime, in order, finally, to review the testimonies. Pressac, who has no understanding of method, opens all his chapters with the testimonies. It must be said that this is a way of clouding the reader’s normal capacity for judgment, because these “testimonies” posit the existence of the homicidal gas chambers as a basic principle.

The quality of the testimonies that Pressac invokes is pitiful. Sometimes he acknowledges that himself, but he often seeks to save those testimonies from discredit, by means of the most over-subtle devices.

Rudolf Höss is presumed to have written *Commandant at Auschwitz* and Miklos Nyiszli supposedly wrote *Auschwitz: An Eyewitness Account of Mengele’s Infamous Death Camp*, two testimonies offered as essential. Höss lived for several years at Auschwitz, and Nyiszli supposedly lived there for six months as an inmate. But what these two “witnesses” write, for example, about the ventilation of the homicidal gas chambers, constitutes, according to Pressac, an enormous technical error. On this point they told the opposite of “the truth” (page 16).

Alter Fajnzyblberg, Filip Müller, and Rudolf Höss affirm things that are “practically impossible,” or “not corresponding to the facts,” that “cast a doubt,” are “wrong,” “contrary to reality,” “unlikely” (page 126-127). The “errors” committed by Höss “throughout his autobiography” have an explanation that Pressac brandishes proudly and emphasizes in bold-face type: He was present, without seeing (page 128). But if that is the case, he wasn’t a witness! How could he be present and not see? How can one be commandant of an “extermination camp” and not see the instrument of “exterminating” at least a million (?) people? How was the commandant able to stress the dangers of Zyklon in 1942 (see *See On* 12 August 1942, Commandant Höss distributed 40 copies of a *Sonderbefehl* (special order) and then in 1946 decree that the dangers were non-existent (see note below)?

As for the eyewitness testimony, so often invoked, of SS man Pery Broad, the form and the tone of it, Pressac tells us, “sound false.” Broad’s writings, which we owe to the Poles, cannot be sincere. They are “colored by a rather too flagrant Polish patriotism.” The Broad manuscript is not known. It has all been “slightly” reworked by the Poles (his quotation marks around “slightly” imply that the rework was not slight!). But what does it matter, asks Pressac: despite the discrepancies between the various witnesses, some homicidal gassings did take place in Krema I — that is an established fact (page 128). “Established?” By whom? He does not say.

The testimony of Szlamy Dragon elicits the following commentary:

This is physically impossible ... I do not think that this witness was intentionally misleading, but he was following the tendency to exaggerate which seems to have been the general rule at the time of the liberation and which is what gave rise to the figure of 4 million victims for K.L. Auschwitz, a figure now considered to be pure propaganda. It should be divided by four to get close to reality (page 171).

In 1972, at the Dejaco/Ertl trial, witness Dragon showed “total confusion” (page 172; It is no secret that I would be delighted to have access to the documents from the pre-trial investigation as well as the transcripts of the Dejaco/Ertl trial. I am convinced that these would include detailed answers on the architecture of the Birkenau crematoria, on their internal layout, on their purpose, and, lastly, on their possible modification. This Dejaco/Ertl trial, the preliminary investigation of which began in 1968 at Reutte (Tirol), is all too often forgotten: it prompted, for the first time, a general mobilization to prove the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. It marked the first time that the Soviet Union really played a role in furnishing valuable documents, and it witnessed the establishment of a sort of direct conduit between Moscow and Vienna through the intermediacy of Warsaw (Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland) and Auschwitz (archives of the Auschwitz Museum) (page 71). Officials from the Jewish community throughout the world, alerted by Simon Wiesenthal, spared no effort. The two unlucky architectural engineers thus saw massive forces combined against them. Let it be added that, because they were quite unaware of the chemical and physical impossibilities of homicidal gassing in the facilities they had built, their plea was that the buildings' construction was perfectly normal, but that surely it was possible that certain Germans had used them to commit crimes. Dejaco went as far as to say: “And every big room could serve as gas chamber, Even this hearing room” (Kurier, 29 January 1972). Dejaco was greatly mistaken, as a homicidal gas chamber can only be a small room requiring a very complex technology and specific equipment, but nobody caught the error. It was during this trial 18 January-19 March 1972 that the only Jewish “witness” to the gassings, the all-too-renowned Szlamy Dragon, “fainted” on the stand, and gave no further testimony. (AZ, 3 March 1972). Pressac says that he demonstrated “total confusion” (page 172).

The testimonies of Pery Broad, of Rudolf Höss, of Dr. Johann Paul Kremer, and of SS man Höblinger (which Pressac writes as Höblinger) on the several Bunker are subject to reservations expressed in the following terms: “entirely imaginary,” “physically impossible,” “impossible to situate this scene,” (page 174).

The testimony of Nyiszli would be valid providing that his figures be divided by four — but not always. Pressac speaks of Nyiszli’s “number four,” and says that his figures are “worrying” (page 179).

In 1980, a great fuss was made about Filip Müller’s book, *Trois ans dans une chambre à gaz d'Auschwitz* (Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz), foreword by Claude Lanzmann, ed. Pygmalion/G. Watelet. [The English version, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz*, New York, Stein and Day, 1979, is somewhat different than the French edition.] In France Jean Pierre-Bloch awarded the book the LICRA prize. Filip Müller was one of the star witnesses at the Auschwitz trial (1963-1965), and in the film “Shoah.” In reality, he was a mythomaniac, which even Pressac realizes, for he writes:

[in his book, Müller] has accumulated errors, thus making his account historically dubious. The best approach is to read it as a novel based on true history (page 181).

If the members of the Sonderkommando affirm that 5 or 7 or 12 bodies were burned in a single muffle of a crematory oven at one time, Pressac suggests that this is an exaggeration, and that

probably only three bodies at a time could have been incinerated, and skinny ones at that (page 229). He says that today's tourist "after a silent prayer" (sic) in front of Krema I, must surely realize that "We find here the famous multiplying factor of four used by Dr. Miklos Nyiszli" (page 483).

At Auschwitz visitors can see in the former "Block 4" a model that professes to show a Krema in the midst of a gassing. This reconstruction, it must be said, inadvertently demonstrates the physical impossibilities of the homicidal gasings, in particular the cramped premises and the congestion that would have resulted from the first "gassing." Add to that the fact that documents that have subsequently come to light, especially the aerial photos taken by the Allies in 1943/44 and published in 1979, underscore the "faults" of this model. Of small import to Pressac, who sees in the reconstruction the "powerful evocation of a mass gassing" (page 378).

Beginning on page 459, the author attempts to save from disaster the absurd War Refugee Board Report of November 1944, sometimes known as the Protocols of Auschwitz. Just the criticism of it that Pressac himself is obliged to make totally discredit this mendacious work, which is due largely to Rudolf Vrba, today a professor of pharmacology at a university in Vancouver.

The drawings of one David Olère are in favor with Pressac, who knew the artist personally, but these drawings, altogether grotesque, seem inspired chiefly by a sort of sex-shop anti-Nazism. Pressac considers them "masterpieces of authenticity" (page 554) but has reservations as to their documentary worth and about the sincerity of the witness (page 493-497, 554-556). Playing the prude, he goes so far as to refrain from reproducing certain drawings (page 498). This same David Olère asserts that the SS made sausages they called "Kremawurst" (crematorium sausages) out of human flesh (page 554). His memory suffers from a certain "deterioration" (page 493), and he is subject to what Pressac calls the "Krematorium delirium" (page 556).

The author's favorite witness is the Jewish shoemaker Henryk Tauber. But this witness, too, tends to use "the famous multiplying factor of four" (page 483). He has never seen a gassing but either he was told about it (ibid.) or else he has seen the bodies of those whom he calls gassed (page 489). One day, through a window, he saw an SS man pouring Zyklon B into a gas chamber (page 494). If over so many years he saw nothing more than that, it was because during the gassing operations the SS systematically locked up the members of the Sonderkommando in the coke store. This is also Alter Fajnzyblberg's explanation. The SS wanted to conceal the existence of the gasings but not the existence of the people gassed!

Tauber tells the story of a Jew named Lejb. One day, the Germans hung Lejb, hands tied behind his back, from an iron bar above the firing hearths, for an hour. Then, after untying his hands and feet, they threw him into a cold crematorium furnace. Gasoline was poured into the lower ash bin and lit. The flames reached the muffle in which Lejb was trapped. A few minutes later, they opened the door of the furnace. The condemned man came running out, covered with burns. Next, he was ordered to run round the yard shouting that he was a thief. Finally, he was forced to climb the barbed wire fence, where he was killed with a gunshot!

Tauber speaks also of an open-air pit filled with human fat. The fat ran from the corpses into a separate reservoir, dug in the ground. This fat was poured over the corpses to accelerate their combustion. One day, the SS men threw a man into the boiling fat, then pulled him out, still alive, and shot him. "The next day, the corpse was brought back to the crematorium, where it was incinerated in a pit [!]" (page 494).

Tauber says that around 2,500 bodies a day were incinerated in a single crematorium. Here is Pressac's commentary:

This figure is unrealistic (and it is connected with the propaganda of the immediate post-war period) ... Here we find almost the famous multiplication factor of four, of which Dr. Miklos Nyiszli made such abundant and lamentable use in his book that his credibility was long contested. Henryk Tauber is far from being the only witness to say in substance “I don’t know the number of dead” or “I think it was so many” and then coolly say one or two sentences later, that after due consideration, we do arrive at the (standard) figure of 4 million victims in all. This type of imposed falsehood has to be excused, I would stress, because of the political climate of the period 1945-1950 (page 494).

In just one passage on page 498, Pressac, to qualify the assertions of his favorite witness, uses the word “dubious,” “incorrect” (twice), “not certain,” “[made up] story,” and “pure myth.” And if at the end of his testimony Tauber is so weak and so vague about Kremas IV and IV, no one can reproach him for this, says Pressac, who supposes that the witness “must have been exhausted by the end of his deposition” (page 502).

In short, all these witnesses seem to be suffering greatly, just like David Olère, from what pharmacist Pressac calls Krematorium delirium (page 556).

A witness meticulously describes the room called a gas chamber, and sees three pillars when there were really four: Pressac tells us it’s because he didn’t go clear to the end of the room. The same witness speaks of an entrance door and an exit door, when there was only one door to the room, with no other exit; this error, Pressac says, can be explained by the route taken by that witness during his visit (!). The witness talks about ten cremation ovens when there were five (each with three muffles): Pressac says that’s because “probably he had not not walked down the entire length of the oven room but instead remained at the west entrance.” The number of victims that the witness gives is incredible: that, Pressac reassures us, is because here it’s a question of an “inflated number” given by an SS man who served as the witness’s guide; or there, it is an “SS propaganda figure” (page 239).

If a witness sketches the crematory room while forgetting to note the presence of rails, Pressac says that because the rails served no purpose, the witness’s “visual memory did not retain them” (page 229). Should the same witness commit four grave material errors, it is because “the visual memories of a survivor deteriorate with time” (page 493). If this witness adds imaginary details to his sketch, no matter: it was done “to make it better” (ibid.).

Throughout this book, Pressac does his utmost to discover excuses for the innumerable “errors” of his witnesses, errors in the location, the color, the material, the form, the distance, the number of whatever is being discussed.

But his favorite explanation is that all these “errors” are the fault of the SS and the “usual SS exaggeration” (page 108), and that, if in their confessions taken by the Allies, the SS confessed to enormities, it was due to “professional pride” (page 161).

Thanks to this method, Pressac’s witnesses, Jewish or otherwise, win incessantly, while the SS men can only lose every time.

Pressac’s involuntary drollery apropos M. Nyiszli

At this point I would like to return to a case already mentioned, that of Dr. Nyiszli. One of the best known false testimonies in the concentration camp literature, next to Martin Gray’s For

Those I Loved, is that of Dr. Miklos Nyiszli: *Auschwitz: An Eyewitness Account of Mengele's Infamous Death Camp*, translated and adapted from the Hungarian by Tibère Kremer (New York: Fell Publishing Co., 1960).

Paul Rassinier often denounced this forgery (see *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses* [Costa Mesa, CA: The Institute for Historical Review; 1988; page 244-250]), as has Carlo Mattogno. Neither the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), nor the recent *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (1990), mentions Nyiszli's book, which has long been discredited.

Nevertheless, at the recent trial of the Revisionist Michel Konen at Meaux, Hubert Heilbronn, president of the Lazare Bank, had the effrontery to mention only one testimony in support of the existence of the Auschwitz gas chambers: that of Miklos Nyiszli (*Le Figaro*, 6 July 1990, page 8).

Pressac, too, resuscitates Nyiszli. But it is fair to say that in so doing he has, in his comments on Nyiszli's testimony, inadvertently written two exceedingly funny pages (page 474-475). I will let the reader be the judge.

Miklos Nyiszli, a Jew, allegedly lived for six months in a Birkenau crematorium serving as an assistant to Dr. Josef Mengele in the dissection room. Pressac selects from Nyiszli's book only Chapter VII, in which this witness supposedly describes a gassing operation in Krema II. At first Pressac affirms that this description is "entirely accurate, EXCEPT for certain FIGURES that are very WRONG indeed [Pressac's capitals]" (page 473). Next, he comments on the text, and here one realizes that, even for a Pressac, almost all the data in Nyiszli's book, whether numbers or physical details, are erroneous.

The witness declares that the gas chamber was 500 feet (150 meters) long; but, Pressac says, a plan (that I discovered and that is borne out by the building's ruins) shows that the length of the room under discussion could not have exceeded 100 feet (30 meters). How to explain? It is simple, says Pressac: the witness told the truth, but he used a multiplier of five.

The witness states that the undressing room was 200 yards (about 200 meters) long; well, says Pressac, everything shows that room measured 50 yards (around 50 meters) in length. For here, according to Pressac, Nyiszli has used a multiplier of four.

Because the average of the various multipliers is four, Pressac, proud of his discovery, gets to talking in his book, whether regarding Nyiszli or other affirmations and testimonies, of the "famous multiplying factor of four" (see page 483, 494).

Accordingly, following our pharmacist, if we wish to find the real figures, it behooves as we read to divide all the numbers by four.

As for me, I should say that by that reckoning, every false witness would be in the clear. Supposing a "witness" states that in six months (the duration of Nyiszli's stay in Auschwitz) he saw four men who were all 7 meters tall and 200 years old. Anyone else would dismiss such a witness. Anyone but Pressac, who, applying the rule of the famous divisor of four, would say: this witness is telling the truth: he saw one man, who was 1.75 meters tall and 50 years old.

But Pressac's gymnastics do not end here. I have made a critical review of his comments on the Nyiszli testimony only regarding the short passage that Nyiszli has written on the gassings. Here we have, on the one hand, the multipliers Pressac says Nyiszli used; and, on the other hand, a

sampling of Pressac's comments regarding such and such a fact, physical reality, or figure reported by Nyiszli (page 474-475):

– PRESSAC'S COMMENTS ON NYISZLI'S COEFFICIENTS:

1. Nyiszli, says Pressac, has divided by 2.
2. Nyiszli, says Pressac, has multiplied by 3; by 5; by 4; by 2.5; by 6.7; by 4; by 4; by 2.5; by 4; by 2 to 3.

– PRESSAC'S EVALUATIONS OF NYISZLI'S STATEMENTS:

Wrong

Wrong

Wrong

Wrong

Wrong and deliberately misleading ... Whom is Dr. Nyiszli trying to mislead and why?

Lack of familiarity with the premises

"War story" pure and simple

Pure invention

Legend

... (and let us add that, when the witness talks about "concrete," we must read "wood;" when he talks about "chlorine," we must read "hydrocyanic acid").

Pressac's conclusion is delectable. He proudly entitles it "The Multiplier." Here Pressac, far from dismissing his witness for his exaggerations and fables, discovers in the use of the multiplier 4 (the average of the various figures is 3.8) the sign that Dr. Nyiszli, for all his not being scientific and rigorous, is manifestly an academic who bears the stamp of intellectual training of the most serious kind. He writes:

The average of the different multipliers is almost exactly four. If we apply this to the official total of 4 million victims we arrive at a figure much closer to reality: 1 million. This calculation is by no means scientific but it shows that Doctor Nyiszli, a respected academic, trained in Germany, multiplied the figures by four when describing the interior of Krematorium II and when speaking of the number of persons or victims (page 475).

In short, Pressac understands that the "credibility" of Nyiszli's book has been "long contested" (page 494); that was due to "the famous multiplication factor of four of which Dr. Miklos Nyiszli made such abundant and lamentable use" (ibid.). But fortunately Pressac has arrived; he has discovered the key needed by anyone reading Nyiszli's book and, thanks to that key, everything is deciphered. There is no longer any reason to challenge the credibility of an honorable academic, educated in Germany. Pressac has saved Nyiszli.

But the reader, on seeing any figure at all from the pen of this astonishing witness, can never know whether the number is to be considered exact, or whether it is necessary to multiply or divide it, and if so, by exactly how much.

'Faurisson and his clique' (page 12)

I shall forgo counting the number of times that Pressac attacks the Revisionists in general and me in particular. Mark Weber writes:

Pressac does not seem to be a psychologically sound person. For example, he confesses that he “nearly” killed himself in the Auschwitz main camp in October 1979 (page 537). His relationship with Dr. Faurisson and French Revisionist publisher Pierre Guillaume — to which he devotes several pages — changed from a kind of admiration to bitter personal animosity. He cites nothing about Faurisson’s treatment of him that would justify such visceral enmity, even granting the intensity of his disagreement about the Holocaust issue. The emotional and even vicious nature of Pressac’s furious hostility towards Faurisson suggests an insecure and unstable personality (“Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1990, page 231-237).

Here I must provide an explanation. Pressac has a specific reason for not liking me: in the early 1980s, I was led to show him to the door of the home of Pierre Guillaume (where he had come to see us once more without announcing his arrival beforehand). That is the kind of humiliation that is not forgotten, especially by someone who, afflicted with a sense of inferiority, seeks approval, fishes for compliments, offers his services insistently and wishes to be taken seriously. Pressac ended up exhausting my patience. His obsequiousness, his mental confusion, his panicky fears, his horror of clarity and of unequivocal positions, his propensity to lie and to cheat made his visits more and more undesirable. He makes no allusion to that humiliating episode in his book; on the contrary, he states that in March or April 1981 he took the initiative and “broke completely with Faurisson” (page 554). That is quite simply false. He was ushered to the door, and, I must say, in no uncertain terms.

Jean-Claude Pressac was an admirer of Hitler, of Degrelle, and of militaria. He had a bust of Hitler in his home, in a place of honor, and, fearing our reaction at the time of a visit to his home, had forewarned Guillaume and myself about it, not without some apprehension. He had dreamt of writing a novel showing the victory of his hero and the triumph of National Socialism (see, in this regard, page 541). He had been educated at the military academy of La Flèche and, according to Guillaume, himself a former student at that establishment, had in 1959 received a reprimand from the school’s administration due to a sketch of Nazi inspiration that he had displayed at the time of a school celebration. He said that he was a supporter of Pierre Sidos, a French far-rightist. The extreme right, or what is called that, has, side by side with strong personalities (as in the case of Leon Degrelle), poor wretches who admire force because they are weak. Such was the fact with Pressac who, moreover, had certain medical problems that, I must say, increased my pity for him.

Guillaume devoted several pages to Pressac in his book *Droit et histoire* (La Vieille Taupe, 1986, pages 118-125). I recommend those pages, which are both lively and penetrating.

Before meeting us, Pressac believed in the gas chambers. I showed him my documentation. He was staggered by it, and recognized his error. Believing he knew how to read the plans that I had discovered in the archives of the Auschwitz Museum, he offered us his services. Half-serious, half mocking, we took to calling him “Schliemann,” from the name of the discoverer of the ruins of Troy. Pressac had a peculiar habit: at each encounter, his first words were: “I’ve blown it.” He “blew it” — he made a mistake — repeatedly. Easily influenced, easily anguished, he perpetually changed his opinion on details and each time adopted the most peremptory tone in articulating his thesis of the day. Another of his eccentricities: as soon as the simplest question put him in a quandary (and his life was a perpetual quandary), he would answer: “Yes/No.” Not “Yes and no” but, in a single breath: “Yes/No.” And it was impossible for him to clarify his answer, which served him as a refuge, as with a child caught being naughty. He had the irritating habit of pretending, from one minute to the next, that he hadn’t said what he had just said. I invited him ac-

cordingly to record our conversations with a tape recorder to avoid misunderstandings. With childish fear, offering no explanation, he refused to be recorded.

But he no longer believed in the gas chambers. He began to feel called to be a Revisionist; wishing it is not enough, however. My life and that of Pierre Guillaume became more and more difficult. Pressac grew frantic. The cumulative effects of the trials and of the attacks of all sorts, the progressive deterioration of my physical health, our financial problems, a general atmosphere of doom (it should be recalled here what happened at the time of the blast on the “Rue Copernic,” much worse than that of the “Carpentras cemetery”) left our neophyte more and more feverish and hesitant. He pleaded with me to give up so dangerous an enterprise. For his part, he began to take his distance from us. “Jewish friends” had made him understand that there were limits to skepticism that could not be transgressed (page 548). Upon reading the plans of Auschwitz and Birkenau that I had furnished him in abundance, he saw well enough that the gassings were impossible. But, you never know, he began to say, perhaps there really did take place here and there a few small homicidal gassings, discreet, furtive, improvised: what he called “casual,” or “itty-bitty,” gassings.

Before his first departure for Auschwitz, following our meeting, he had asked me what research he could undertake there for me. I had told him that I was interested in the question of the cremations: the officially recorded number of the bodies incinerated; status of persons cremated (inmates/guards/German soldiers and officers and members of their families); number of employees assigned to cremation of corpses and to the incinerations in the rubbish ovens; the duration of the cremations; time cards, etc. I thought, as a matter of fact, that those numbers alone would demonstrate the impossibility of the stupendous number of cremations that would have been required by the gassing of hundreds of thousands of victims, over and above the cremations necessitated by the ravages of the epidemics in the camp.

On his return from Auschwitz, Pressac told me with an air of embarrassment that he had not found the time to occupy himself with the question that interested me. He had had too much work to do, and then, he added, a young Polish girl had taken a great deal of his time: innocent boasting by the timid.

Before his second journey to Auschwitz, he asked me the same question and I gave him the same answer. Upon his return, he again stated that he had not had the time to undertake the necessary research. Let me note here parenthetically that in his large book Pressac continues to evade my questions.

Pressac wound up by telling us that he no longer wanted to take sides between the Revisionists and the Exterminationists. He said he wanted to have relations with both camps and to content himself with purely technical work. I encouraged him in that path and, in a dedication the text of which he reports (page 554) but the context of which he distorts, I urged him to seek, to discover, to be cold, impartial and scientific. But that was too much to ask of him. Finding that he was unable to buckle down to methodological and austere work that would have let him put a bit of order into his thoughts, I sent him on his way. I had introduced him to the study of the supposed gas chamber at Struthof (Alsace). Later on, he published, under the auspices of Serge Klarsfeld, a small book in English — poor and confused — on the subject. I see that, in his large book, he treats the subject anew. But he takes care not to reveal a discovery I had made virtually in his presence when, at the Palace of Justice in Paris, together with Pierre Guillaume and Maître Eric Delcroix, we examined the archives of the “Struthof trial,” archives provided at LICRA’s request by the headquarters, in Paris, of the Gendarmerie and Justice Militaire. In those archives I found a document revealing that in December 1945 Professor René Fabre, Dean of the Faculty of Phar-

macy at the University of Paris, had signed an expert report of the greatest interest. The professor had successively examined the scrapings done around the chimney of the alleged homicidal gas chamber and, in the public hospital of Strasbourg, the well-preserved corpses of the persons supposedly gassed. His finding in both cases was negative: there was no trace of gassing.

In reality, that particular gas chamber, which was only relatively air-tight, had served chiefly for the training of German army recruits in the wearing of gas masks; in that case, the gas presented nowhere near the same danger as hydrocyanic acid (Zyklon B). Pressac had been happy to be able to demonstrate that for us. He had gone to take some photos of a training session in a French army gas chamber not far from Paris. I have a set of those photographs.

Three little secrets of Jean-Claude Pressac

A legend that is dear to the heart of Elie Wiesel, Filip Müller, and Georges Weller maintains that the Germans dug gigantic pits at Birkenau in which they burned thousands of bodies in the open air. I had drawn Pressac's attention to the fact that the Birkenau camp was located in an area of vast marshes alongside a tributary of the Vistula River and that, despite their drainage work there, the water table continued of necessity to rise to just a short distance below ground level. It was difficult, therefore, to imagine such pits being dug, and I added that in any case it must have been complicated to burn corpses in pits due to the lack of oxygen. Then Pressac, whom I was always advising to get physical verification, dug a small hole in his garden and tried to incinerate the body of a rabbit. He never succeeded. When we visited the site of his "incineration ditch," he was full of quips about the myth of the "incineration ditches" at Birkenau, and the tale of the rabbit became for us a standing joke.

Visitors to Struthof can see, on the one hand, the Natzweiler camp itself, with its crematorium and, far from the camp, a small building containing the supposed homicidal gas chamber. Pressac pointed out to me that, if they had decided to lie about Natzweiler as they had lied about Auschwitz [sic], they could have made people believe there was a homicidal gas chamber in the crematorium. To prove it, he made up for me a sort of false plan of that building, based on the true plan that we had discovered in the archives of the Gendarmerie and the Justice Militaire. I still have that false plan, drawn by Pressac, and bearing his explanatory notes. He doesn't breathe a word of this little job in his large book.

I also have, by Pressac, a two-volume study that he entitled Auschwitz, architecture paisible (Auschwitz, Peaceful Architecture). It concerns Kremas IV and V. It is extremely disordered and has never been published. My copy is marked No. 2. The dedication page is laughable: Pressac, offering his services to all comers, launches into flattery addressed to certain Exterminationists as well as certain Revisionists. I come in for my share of these compliments, which are laid on too thick to be sincere.

A few borrowings and a few lies

In his shorter studies, as in his big book, Pressac has plundered my work outrageously. He is indebted to me for a large part of the plans, documents and photographs that he has published; the remainder comprises, most of the time, plans, documents and photographs from the same source or of an identical character. Only the photos from the Bauleitung Album, which is in the possession of the Israelis, are an original contribution.

The baseness of Pressac's attacks on me, his deceptions and lies in the presentation of certain facts, would oblige me to correct far too many of his allegations than I am able to here. I am de-

scribed as a coward, too afraid, “of course,” to appear at my trial (page 554); but he knows I was seriously ill at the time. He says that one day, in 1982, he telephoned me and found me a “human wreck;” he writes: “I was shocked and disgusted to find [Faurisson] had reached rock bottom, dragging his family down with him” (page 558). It is true that in 1981 and 1982 I believed I had reached the depths of physical, moral, and financial distress, and that my wife and children shared that distress with me; I did not for all that speak of my “martyrdom” (ibid.) and I do not see what is “shocking” and “disgusting” about my fighting as I did to the limit of my strength. I frightened Pressac. I had always frightened him by my fierceness in defending myself and by my refusal to bow my head.

He ventures to write:

Confronted with the new evidence, Faurisson and Guillaume had a moment of indecision, seeing the possibility of throwing in the sponge and officially declaring that it did appear that some homicidal gassings had taken place at Birkenau (page 554).

Here, he lies and he knows that he lies, at least as regards me. He never presented me with the slightest proof of what he called the “casual gassings;” and I personally have never considered the possibility of a retraction of any kind.

Pressac knows that the trials that were forced on me and that brought me condemnation unprecedented in the contemporary history of France were nothing but stage productions, and the documents with which they tried to crush me were valueless. He knows it and he says it, whether explicitly, as when he alludes to the role of Maître Jouanneau, the LICRA lawyer, or implicitly, when he happens to analyze a “proof” used against “Faurisson” at the time of a trial and admits that said “proof” does not possess the value attributed to it in the slightest (page 49, 554-556).

Questions evaded

Pressac has evaded a good twenty essential questions of a technical nature that have been posed by the Revisionists. I shall cite only a few of them:

- Krema I: How can one explain the presence of a homicidal gas chamber using Zyklon B (an explosive gas) that opened onto a room where six crematory ovens were in operation, sometimes reaching temperatures of 800 degrees? How could the supposed gas chamber have had a fragile door, one fitted with glass and without a bolt and that, opening as it did to the inside, would have been blocked by heaps of corpses? How could the daily ventilation process have been carried out just twenty meters away from the windows of the SS hospital?
- Kremas II and III: As it would appear that the victims came in batches of 2,000 persons, and it took an hour and a half to incinerate one body in each of the 15 muffles, at the end of this period of time there would still have remained 1,985 bodies to incinerate. Where were they stored in the meantime? How could the ventilation be done from the floor to the ceiling (Zyklon is lighter than air) when everything was set up for ventilation in the opposite direction? Where did they store the bodies of those who, day in and day out, died of natural causes? In general, how do we reconcile the scanty dimensions of the premises (the little elevator) with the immensity of the massacres to be carried out there?
- Kremas IV and V: What were coal stoves doing in the gas chambers?
- Where were the crowds waiting to enter the crematoria able to gather, considering that the aerial photos taken by the Allies never show even the slightest trace of such crowds; and

that the area around the crematoria, far from having been trampled by any crowds, was occupied by well-laid-out gardens?

- How is it that the gas slaughterhouses would be located right in the middle of such a variety of other facilities, which, in striking contrast to killing centers, include: a soccer field, hospital buildings, decantation basins, and buildings for showering and disinfection?
- Where are the countless scientific, technical, and medical documents that prove that before, during and after the creation and operation of those chemical slaughterhouses (unprecedented in the history of science and technology) the Germans supposedly prepared, constructed and surveyed those pharaonic undertakings for the terrible purpose alleged, at a time when circumstances required people to get written authorizations and submit detailed budgets to get even a screw or a brick or a kilo of coal?

Deliberate omissions

It will be remembered that the only task I assigned to Pressac was that regarding documents relevant to the cremations (see See Before his first departure for Auschwitz, following our meeting, he had asked me what research he could undertake there for me. I had told him that I was interested in the question of the cremations: the officially recorded number of the bodies incinerated; status of persons cremated (inmates/guards/German soldiers and officers and members of their families); number of employees assigned to cremation of corpses and to the incinerations in the rubbish ovens; the duration of the cremations; time cards, etc. I thought, as a matter of fact, that those numbers alone would demonstrate the impossibility of the stupendous number of cremations that would have been required by the gassing of hundreds of thousands of victims, over and above the cremations necessitated by the ravages of the epidemics in the camp.). Neither at the time of his first sojourn at Auschwitz, nor during his second stay, it appears, had he been able to find time to study the matter. Now that his book has appeared, his continued silence on this point is striking.

One will note that he is very careful not to say that such documents do not exist. He knows all too well that they do exist. He prefers to avoid talking about them. Why does he conceal from his readers the existence of a host of documents that prove that a record was made of each cremation? In the case of teeth extracted from a corpse before its cremation, the usual German attention to detail went so far as to demand the completion of a printed form, with the heading “Dental Station of the Auschwitz Camp,” supplying the date of cremation, the complete identity of the internee, his registration number, the number of teeth (right, left, upper, lower), etc. (see Contribution à l'histoire d'Auschwitz, Auschwitz Museum, 1968, the photograph of the document between pages 80 and 81).

Why does Pressac not mention this type of document, or a single one of the documents required by the Auschwitz chancellery on the death of anyone, with twenty or so signatures for deaths from natural causes and about thirty signatures for deaths from non-natural causes (Dr. Tadeusz Paczula, former prisoner, “The Organization and Administration of the Camp Hospital in the Concentration Camp Auschwitz I,” International Auschwitz Committee, [Blue] Anthology, Vol. II, Part I, Warsaw, 1969, page 45)?

Why does he not make the slightest mention of the “death registers” in which the Germans collected, with a separate page for each decedent, all information relevant to each death? The Revisionists had pointed out the existence of two or three volumes of those Totenbücher, or Sterbebücher, in the Auschwitz Museum, and of forty or so in Moscow: all of them, naturally, inaccessible to independent researchers. It was only under pressure from the Revisionists, notably at the time of the Zündel trial in Toronto in 1988, that the decision was made in 1989 to reveal the exis-

tence of the registers to the general public. Pressac was unlucky. His book, in which he conceals the existence of the registers, was no sooner finished than the Soviet Union revealed that, for its part, it retained a large number — but not all — of these precious documents, which strike a lethal blow to the extermination legend. Pressac, by failing to mention that there were also two or three of these death registers in the archives of the Auschwitz Museum — to which he had free access — lied by omission.

Regarding the amount of coke necessary for the cremations and incinerations, Pressac's vagueness is such that I find it suspect (see microfilm 12,012 mentioned on page 87, the table on page 224, and the remarks on page 227). It is evident that the consumption of coke was certainly ridiculously low in comparison to the amount that would have been required for the gigantic cremations spoken of by the legend, but Pressac has so muddled everything that it is not possible to get a precise idea of it. It is probable that each muffle burned no more than an average of 6 or 7 bodies each day, like the oil-fired furnaces at Buchenwald (page 106), and it is plain that the German document of 28 June 1943 indicating an incineration capacity of 4,756 bodies a day for Auschwitz (with the ovens operating 12 hours each day) is unacceptable. Moreover, Pressac does not hesitate to justify a figure just as extravagant (340 for Krema I, 1,440 for Krema II, 1,440 for Krema III, 768 for Krema IV and 768 for Krema V) and, by a method dear to him, he puts these exaggerations down to the "bragging" of the SS men, who, at any rate in similar instances, must have "multiplied the real figures by a factor of 2 to 5" (page 110).

But his most unforgivable lie by omission concerns the daily activity of the Auschwitz and Birkenau crematoria. The reader who has just finished his book may believe that the five crematoria were devoted to the cremation of people who had been gassed. Day after day, however, these crematoria received the bodies of victims of various epidemics, of persons who had died of natural causes, of inmates, guards, soldiers, civilians. And if, for example, Krema I was near the SS hospital, that was, in the first place, to cremate the SS dead. Dr. Popiersch, the chief surgeon, died of typhus and was cremated at Auschwitz. The same was true of the wife of SS man Caesar, who was in charge of agricultural work, and of Alma Rosé, the German Jewess who conducted the women's orchestra of the Birkenau camp, and, if we are to believe Fania Fénelon, was accorded an extraordinary funeral (Fania Fénelon, *Playing for Time*. New York: Atheneum; 1977; page 208). Pressac never tells us how the normal activity of the crematoria could be combined each day with the activities surrounding the alleged gassings: transport to the morgues, storage of the bodies, cremation, collection of ashes, transferral to urns, dispatch of the urns, etc.

Conclusion

In 1982, I reviewed Pressac's study on Krema IV and V at Birkenau. I entitled that review: "The Myth of the 'Gas Chambers' Enters Its Death Agony."

To this review, which I wrote in 1990, I could give the following title: "The Death of the 'Gas Chamber' Myth."

In the media, this myth somehow manages to survive; in academic or scientific circles, it is dead. Our "suburban pharmacist," as Vidal-Naquet calls him, had offered himself as a savior; his magic potions, in 1982, aggravated the patient's condition; in 1989, that is, seven years later, they have finished him off.

I know Revisionists who, confronting a thesis so disastrous for Exterminationism, wonder whether Pressac could be one of their own, and working undercover, have hoodwinked the Klarsfelds. I don't believe that in the least. Pressac is a neophyte, an autodidact, an innocent crossed

with a fox. His personality is unstable; he is inconsistent, a weathercock that turns with every wind. He argues illogically and does not know how to express himself either in speech or writing — a deficiency that would be merely annoying in the exposition of a coherent thesis, but that here, with an incoherent and hybrid thesis, becomes absolutely catastrophic. Pressac isn't wearing any mask; it is his real face that we find disconcerting. For their part, the Klarsfelds lack discernment; they are even blind. They find it "normal" that, in certain cases, persons who displease the Jewish community should be killed or seriously injured (Radio J, 17 September 1989, Agence France Press, 1:36 p.m.; La Lettre télégraphique juive, 18 September, page 1; Le Monde, 19 September, page 14). The anguish of Serge and Beate Klarsfeld at the rise of Revisionism — despite their awareness that it has access neither to money nor to the public forum — is causing them to lose their judgment and their self-control. To the Klarsfelds, all means seem justified; every assistance is welcome; any media operation can serve. Pressac, driven away by Faurisson, dismissed by Wellers, went on to offer his service to the Klarsfelds. He was hired. This tedious tome must have cost them plenty. But, if friends of the Klarsfelds paid for it dearly in money, its results will cost them even more, results that will be fatal for the Exterminationists and providential for the Revisionists.

In 1979, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Léon Poliakov proclaimed, with thirty-two other French historians, that it was unnecessary to ask questions about the technique and the operation of the homicidal gas chambers. They stated precisely:

It is not necessary to ask how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically since it took place. That is the necessary point of departure for any historical inquiry on this subject. It is our function simply to recall that truth: there is not, there cannot be any debate about the existence of the gas chambers (Le Monde, 21 February 1979, page 23).

In above, I spoke of the silliness of that declaration, and I added:

... The text in Le Monde had been conceived to ward off a very pressing problem. In the confusion that was provoked by my article on "The Rumor of Auschwitz" [Le Monde, 29 December 1978, page 8], Vidal-Naquet and Poliakov hastily drew up a manifesto, and then took it to some signers, saying to them: "We say there cannot be any debate, but it is very clear that you must not pay any attention to that phrase and that you all have to get busy replying to Faurisson." That is how Vidal-Naquet ingeniously puts it on page 196 of [Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent, Maspero, 1981] when he writes: "A good number of historians signed the declaration published in Le Monde on 21 February 1979, but very few got busy, one of the rare exceptions being F[rançois] Delpech."

Vidal-Naquet, Poliakov, and the other survivors of the "declaration" of the thirty-four historians have thus had to wait ten years (1979-1989) to see appear at last an attempt at refutation of my Le Monde article on "The Rumor of Auschwitz." Had my article been based on mere foolishness, its refutation wouldn't have required so long a time, nor so voluminous and, as we have established, so feeble a response as that made by Pressac.

Pressac has put his name to a masterpiece of inanity. His intellectual capacities did not permit the hope of anything better. His propensity for deception and for manipulating documents, already so remarkable in his presentation of the Auschwitz Album (Le Seuil, 1983) is here confirmed.

But the pharmacist from La Ville du Bois is only a miserable wretch. Pierre Vidal-Naquet and the Klarsfelds are cut from a different cloth.

These are people who had time enough to determine just how empty-headed their “suburban pharmacist” was. They used him nonetheless. But could they have found better? In any case they have brought discredit on their cause. Now they are burdened with this monstrous book, totally unusable, and nothing to be done about it. Let any journalist in search of a scoop ask them, as did Richard Bernstein of the New York Times, to point out a single paragraph or a single photograph in this wearisome tome that rebuts the Revisionists: Vidal-Naquet and the Klarsfelds will be unable to offer anything at all.

I see hardly anyone but the Revisionists showing interest in Pressac and his masterwork, and then only as scientists would do, musing over a phenomenon of teratology, a monster. The “Holocaust” religion has certainly given birth to more than one monstrosity; Jean-Claude Pressac’s misshapen work is one example.

In his paper presented at IHR’s Fourth International Revisionist Conference in 1982 (“Context and Perspective in the ‘Holocaust’ Controversy,” reproduced as “Supplement B” in recent editions of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, page 335-369), Arthur Butz put the Revisionists on guard against one danger: that of wasting their time in idle technical discussion that make us fail to see the forest for the trees. If we become preoccupied with such details as Zyklon B or crematory ovens, we may end up forgetting the essential point, which is that an extermination so gigantic would have left behind a superabundance of physical and documentary proofs, not merely infinitesimal traces of domestic tinkering and puttering. Our adversaries, Butz added, will seek to enmesh us in cabalistic discussions because, on the level of establishing basic facts, they know they have already lost. As Butz also pointed out, however, a Revisionist must nonetheless show himself capable of confronting the cabalists right down to trifling details. Whatever the ground chosen, the defenders of the “Holocaust” thesis must realize that all avenues of escape are closed to them. It is thus that they find themselves today in a total impasse. Their gang plank to safety — Pressac’s book — is made of rotted wood.

The Jewish community has had some bad shepherds. It should have jettisoned the dogma of the Auschwitz gas chamber a decade ago. In December 1978, *Le Monde* published, at the same time as my article on “The Rumor of Auschwitz,” several articles that were supposed to refute me. I think that certain French academics, of Jewish origin, immediately perceived that a grave event had just occurred: in a few lines, I had just reminded them, like previous Revisionists, that the emperor was wearing no clothes. Confronted with this, a group of Establishment historians endeavored, in vain, to pretend the contrary. On 16 January 1979, *Le Monde* published my “right of response.” That would have been a fitting time, I think, for the Franco-Jewish academics to have urgently prepared a “declaration of historians” stating that there could and must be a debate on the existence or nonexistence of the Auschwitz gas chambers.

Fate declared otherwise. On 21 February 1979, then, appeared the “declaration” drawn up by Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Léon Poliakov. By it the Exterminationists ratified their ruin. Ten years later, with this book by Jean-Claude Pressac, they are reaping the fruits of their blindness. They appear to me to have been inspired by an altogether too narrow conception of their self-interest. They ought to have looked farther ahead, to have given thought to their obligations as historians and to the interest, truly understood, of the Jewish community. Then, instead of dogging the heretics with press campaigns, physical attacks, and the police and the courts; instead of staging one incestuous colloquium after another; instead of churning out an endless stream of bad books (Pressac’s being the worst), they ought to have opened their minds and hearts to discussion and reflection.

They would have done well to have done some work.

The Revisionists have been at work. It's a pity the Exterminationists haven't followed their lead.

Appendix I: Pressac versus the *Leuchter Report*

At the end of 1988, Serge Klarsfeld published, in *Jour J/La Lettre télégraphique juive*, a study by Pressac of the Leuchter Report. The title was: "Les carences et les incohérences du 'Rapport Leuchter'" ("The Deficiencies and Inconsistencies of the Leuchter Report").

"Deficiencies" and "Inconsistencies:" Pressac is a master there! The sole proof he could find of homicidal gassings in Krema I he owes to this report (see See In the conclusion to this section, he plays a real sleight-of-hand trick. He appeals to the Leuchter Report as the material proof — the only one — of the reality of homicidal gassings in that place. He says that Fred Leuchter, whose qualifications he cites, removed seven samples of brick and cement and that upon analysis six of them revealed the presence of cyanide; then he writes in bold-face type)! His study, plainly hurried, blends emotive reflections about Fred Leuchter with an exposition on the Auschwitz gassings, a summary on the Auschwitz crematory ovens, and a final discussion on Majdanek. On Auschwitz, he repeats what I call his theory of "molecules with homing devices" (see See Pressac dares to state (page 555) that, in the case of homicidal gassings, the hydrocyanic acid went directly into the victims' mouths before it could spread elsewhere and impregnate the ceiling, the floor, and the walls. The gas was not even deposited on the bodies of the victims, from which it could have emanated throughout the room. This naive explanation amounts to supposing that the hydrocyanic gas, in this case and this case only, consisted of molecules with homing devices, so organized that these molecules divided up the job of being inhaled, each vanishing into its own particular mouth.), a theory that tries to explain the absence, so embarrassing for Pressac, of ferric-ferro-cyanide stains there where so many human beings were supposedly gassed.

About Majdanek, I believe it's not too much to say that Pressac does not believe in the existence of homicidal gas chambers in this camp. He writes:

Lacking any precise technical study, those gas chambers remain poorly known (page vii);

The use of [such places] as homicidal gas chambers with HCN appears difficult and remains risky ... the technique would seem possible, but an actual use is risky (page viii);

[There were some] modifications ... after 1945 [which give a] false impression (page ix);

a regrettable confusion during the 1950s results in the shower room often being presented as a homicidal gas chamber (with toxic gas thought to be dispersed through shower heads) (ibid.);

The use of this place for homicidal purposes is only conceivable under two conditions: the removal of a fanlight that could have been broken by the victims and the addition of a mechanical ventilator (ibid.);

the homicidal function which the author [Pressac] cannot presently discuss (ibid.);

the deputy director of the Museum told the author [Pressac] that this gas chamber had very, very seldom been used, which really means that it had not been used at all. That

fiction is maintained in order not to shock popular belief which wants it that way ... (ibid.);

etc.

In his big book, Pressac manifests the same skepticism. He considers that no one has yet undertaken a “serious study” of the Majdanek gas chamber (page 184). Writing of Auschwitz, he lets slip a remark that implies that Majdanek was perhaps not really “criminal” (page 218). Denouncing the methods of the “officials of the Majdanek Museum,” he writes,

I am sorry to say, and I am not the only one in the West, that the Majdanek homicidal and/or delousing gas chambers are still waiting for a true historian, which is mildly upsetting in view of the fact that the camp fell into the hands of the Russians intact in 1944 (page 555).

On page 557, a photograph shows the exterior of one of the “disinfection gas chambers thought to be a homicidal gas chamber.” The photograph comes from Maître Jouanneau, attorney for LICRA, who was duped, Pressac tell us, by the camp authorities (the lawyer used this photograph before the Paris court to prove that Faurission was a falsifier denying the historical evidence).

Appendix II: How many cremations a day at *Krema II*?

How many cremations, on the average, were there per day in the five three-muffle crematory ovens of *Krema II*? To that question, Pressac ought to give one answer and one answer only, but instead he gives at least five, ranging from 288 a day to 1,500 a day.

- First answer: 960 or 288 or 720! Those three contradictory answers all appear on page 110 where speaking of a German document dated 28 June 1943 that indicates 1,440 cremations per day, he says that this “official” number, even if reduced by a third (that would be 960 cremations), is barely credible; and he adds that, given the SS penchant for boasting, it is better in general to divide their numbers by “a factor of from two to five” to obtain the truth in such matters. So that would give us a minimum of 288 cremations and a maximum of 720 cremations.
- Second answer: 752! This emerges from page 183, where Pressac writes that the *Krema* in question “functioned as a homicidal gas chamber and incineration installation from 15th March 1943, before its officially coming into service on 31st March, to 27th November 1944, annihilating a total of approximately 400,000 people, most of them Jewish women, children and old men.” Pressac does not justify any of his statements. We don’t know why he claims that this *Krema* operated in a homicidal manner before 31 March, nor why he declares the final date of operation to have been 27 November 1944, unless because the self-taught Pressac takes at face value the legend that on 26 November 1944 Himmler ordered the slaughter stopped. No matter. Let us take him at his word. From 15 March 1943 to 27 November 1944, there elapsed 624 days, a figure that must be reduced to 532 if we take into account that, because of a repair of its chimney, *Krema II* is supposed to have halted operations for three months, from May through July of 1943 (page 227). Over a period of 532 days there would thus have been 400,000 cremations, or 752 per day.
- Third answer: a “practical ‘throughput’ being closer to 1,000.” That is what the author says on page 470 when he judges that the figure of 2,000 cremations that was given by the witness, Dr. Bendel, cannot be accepted (see page 334).
- Fourth answer: “between 1,000 to 1,500.” That is what the author says on page 475 regarding an estimate by Dr. Nyiszli.

- Fifth response: nearly 625. This is derived from page 494, where the author indicates that the number of bodies cremated, according to the witness Henryk Tauber, was about 2,500 per day, concerning which figure he writes: “Here we find the famous multiplication factor of four [of Dr. Miklos Nyiszli].”

In sum, Pressac gives completely divergent answers in this matter; his estimates of the cremations per day in Krema II, in ascending order, are as follows: 288, 625, 720, 752, 960, 1,000, and between 1,000 and 1,500.

This Krema had 15 muffles, and the crematory ovens, Pressac admits, functioned only 12 hours a day. For each muffle, therefore, the cremations per day would have been, respectively, 19, 42, 48, 50, 64, and from 67 to 100. These figures, varying from 19 to 100 per day, would represent performances beyond the capabilities of our most modern crematoria. They are all the more unacceptable when we consider that Pressac is counting only the corpses of those who are supposed to have been “gassed,” to which must be added the cremations of bodies of the inmates, guards, and soldiers who died every day of various causes, especially when typhus was raging in the camp.

Appendix III: Pressac's tricks in the *Auschwitz Album*

In 1983, Pressac and Klarsfeld jointly published a French edition of what is called the *Auschwitz Album* (translated from English by Guy Casaril, Editions du Seuil, 1983, 224 pages). It was a collection of 189 extremely interesting photos, taken in 1944 by a German from the photographic staff of the Auschwitz camp — possibly Ernst Hoffman. No one, whether Exterminationist or Revisionist, has contested the authenticity or the veracity of these photographs, which were taken at the time of the mass arrivals of Hungarian Jews in 1944. These photographs supply a providential confirmation of the Revisionist thesis, and it is shocking that we had to wait until the early 1980s to see all of them published. Serge Klarsfeld, embarrassed by what they revealed, could offer but a single parry in response: fabricating a moving account of the pretended discovery of the album by a certain Lili Meier.

Klarsfeld and Pressac went to even greater lengths for the French edition of this album. In a twenty-page typed analysis that I completed in December 1983, but did not publish at that time for lack of money, I described their subterfuge. I showed that in the French edition, which I compared with the two original editions published in the United States, Pressac had drastically changed the original order of the album's sections, an order that had reflected a logical sequence of events for the newly arrived inmates of the Birkenau camp. In place of that order, our man had substituted an arrangement that would give one to understand that most of the people pictured would end up dying in the mysterious homicidal gas chambers. He also changed the number of photographs in each section and proceeded to switch photographs from one section to another! He removed one group of photos and then, to restore the original number of sections, he made use of the same caption from the original twice, but gave it two different translations. I wrote:

Without breathing a word of it to the reader, Jean-Claude Pressac acted like a pharmacist who would surreptitiously change the contents of his bottles, change their number, and switch their labels, not to mention committing two forgeries in the process (page 7).

But the most spectacular of his manipulations was to be found on pages 42 and 43 of the *Album*. Under the title “The Trickeries of the *Auschwitz Album*,” I circulated a short piece devoted to that deceit. I did not fail to send a copy of it to Editions du Seuil. Here is what our pharmacist

had devised: in order to try to make us believe that the route taken by certain groups of deportees (women and children) ended at Kremas II and III and therefore, according to him, in the homicidal gas chambers, he had provided, on page 42 of the Album, a plan of Birkenau from which he had made a careful deletion to prevent the reader from seeing that in reality these groups of deportees actually passed between the two Krema, staying on the road leading to the large shower and disinfection center called the Zentral Sauna until their arrival there. Caught red-handed, Pressac followed a policy of silence for the next six years (1983-1989). To those who had read my article and stubbornly demanded an explanation from him, even to the point of telephoning him, his answer was to feign ignorance: he claimed he knew nothing of my article. Now, with the publication of his big book, he is forced to provide an explanation: by doing so he just makes his case worse.

The plan in which he deceptively made a cut in the route to the Zentral Sauna is reproduced on page 421 of his big book. On pages 514 and 515, he tries to explain. He begins by saying that in 1983 he had easily been able to answer my criticism “in an article whose publication was not deemed necessary.” He does not reveal to us who decided not to publish it, and why. I suggest that Pressac’s answer was quite simply judged dreadful. If I allow myself that suggestion, it is because the response that he finally consents to give us in 1989 in his big book is pathetic and proves his trickery. Pressac answers in effect that, in order to draw the plan for which I reproached him, he had used “as a basis [emphasis added]” (page 515) an authentic plan: plan 3764 (page 514). I don’t doubt it: he did take that “as a basis” and added to it lines representing the avenues in and around the camp, but taking great care to truncate the route leading to the Zentral Sauna, in order to make us believe that the Jewish women and children who took that route could go no farther than the crematoria. The deletion is flagrant. The subterfuge is obvious.

But there’s more. In the original version of the Auschwitz Album, the American edition, there was a photograph that may be described as follows: in the foreground, a group of four elderly Jews, three men and a woman, are plainly having an altercation, while in the background, indifferent to the scene, a scattered few German soldiers, wearing garrison caps, are walking by. This is photograph 109. Pressac, deciding to make this photograph “speak,” moves it to the 189th and last place in the sequence, where it is supposed to mark the acme of the extermination horror. And here, in his usual jargon, is the explanation of the photograph:

That photo is unique, terrible, and to be added to the file on the extermination of the Jews as evidence for the prosecution ... The footpath down which this woman is refusing to go ends at the door of [Krema] V, leading to the disrobing room and the gas chambers. If the three men who are dragging her do not seem to suspect the fate that awaits them, she knows that the building which she is turning away from, that red brick building with its black roof and its two 16 meter-high chimneys, has become the negation of life and stinks of death (Auschwitz Album, page 204).

In my 1983 article (page 9), I observed:

All that pathos cannot blind us to this: there is no footpath, and we cannot predict the direction this or that person might take; [Pressac] tells us nothing about the presence and the indifference, or inattention, of the German soldiers; how could the woman know that she is going to be gassed and the men not know that they are going to be gassed? Finally and above all, it is plain to see that the woman is trying neither to get away from the man on the right nor to resist him: she is clasping his hand in her own left hand.

On page 421 of his big book of 1989, the subject of this review, Pressac has changed his commentary on the photograph, writing:

As for the woman's attitude, it could simply be that she, with no illusions about what is to happen and having seen the SS photographer, suddenly turned away, saying in effect: "I don't want that [bastard of an] SS to photograph me!" Such a reaction would not be surprising, for some of the Jewish children, less polite and more spontaneous than their parents, instinctively feeling that the SS wished them no good, pulled faces at the photographers.

In other words, for one story Pressac substitutes another, and his entire interpretation of the Auschwitz Album collapses, because the photograph deemed to represent the acme of horror has been reduced, according to our manipulator himself, to showing us an old woman who does not want her picture taken!

Pressac reproaches me for not saying that the scene takes place near Krema V. As a matter of fact I did say so, because I quoted his mention of that. And I find it interesting that there is nothing secret about the place: as in many other photographs, both in that album and in his large work, we see small groups of Jews, Germans, and civilian workers all peaceably rubbing elbows with each other.

Pressac leaves unanswered in *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* all the other rebukes of his trickery I addressed to him in 1983 apropos the Auschwitz Album. He thus compels me to repeat my accusations today.

Appendix IV: The truncated testimony of Hanna Reitsch

Pressac takes note of the testimony of the German air ace, Hanna (and not Hannah) Reitsch (1912-1979) as though it were evidence of the existence of the gas chambers (page 486). In reality, Hanna Reitsch, at the end of 1944, saw an Allied pamphlet that mentioned gas chambers; she didn't believe it. After the war, she came to believe it. By the end of her life, she no longer believed; Pressac is either ignorant, or pretends not to know, of this last development. The details of the case are interesting.

In October 1944, Peter Riedel, an aviator friend of Miss Reitsch, who was then working in the German Embassy in Stockholm, received an Allied propaganda pamphlet that touched on the gas chambers. Deeply affected, he brought it up to Hanna Reitsch at the "Aviation House" in Berlin. The latter, furious, told him that it was obviously a war propaganda fabrication comparable to the enemy propaganda lies about the Germans during World War I. Riedel urged her speak to Heinrich Himmler about it. She went to see Himmler, who leafed through the brochure, without registering the slightest emotion. He asked her, "And you believe this, Frau Hanna?" She told him no, but added that countering it was imperative. Himmler told her she was right.

Pressac specifies that the English version of Hanna Reitsch's memoirs (*Fliegen — mein Leben*) stops there, but remarks that in the French version the text continues: "A few days later, the information was denied in one of the main German newspapers. I learned from Peter Riedel that the same denial had appeared in a Swedish newspaper. It was only after 1945 that I found out, and with what horror, that Himmler had lied to me, and that the awful news was true."

If Pressac had pursued his investigation a little further, and especially if he had read Gerd Honzik's *Freispruch für Hitler? 36 ungehörte Zeugen wider die Gaskammer* (Acquittal for Hitler? 36

Unheard Witnesses Testify Against the Gas Chambers) (Burgenländischer Kulturverband Wien, Postfach 11, 1142 Vienna, 1988), he could have discovered that (pages 132-138):

1. Himmler also said to Reitsch concerning that Allied accusation: "That [the gassing accusation] is the rope they'll hang us with if we lose";
2. Hanna Reitsch had so far returned to her good sense that at the end of her life she supported the efforts of the Revisionists and, in particular, those of an Austrian (whom she called "the courageous Friedl Rainer") "against all the terrible atrocity lies" (letter dated 15 September 1977, reproduced by Gerd Honsik on page 138 of his book).

According to David Irving, the State of Israel is holding the manuscript of Himmler's memoirs. If that is true, why is this document being shielded from the curiosity of historians and researchers?

Tell-tale documents and photos from Auschwitz

Jean-Claude Pressac's book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, is the first serious and detailed response to the revisionist critique of the generally accepted Auschwitz extermination story. This 564-page work is itself evidence that Holocaust Revisionism can no longer be dismissed as a temporary or frivolous phenomenon, but is a formidable challenge that must be taken seriously.

As Robert Faurisson and Mark Weber have pointed out in their reviews of his book, Pressac fails to prove his case. But in his ultimately unsuccessful effort to shore up the crumbling "exterminationist" view, Pressac is obliged to make many highly significant concessions to the revisionist position. Both explicitly and implicitly, he discredits countless Holocaust claims, "testimonies" and interpretations.

His book features hundreds of valuable illustrations, including many good-quality reproductions of previously unpublished original diagrams and documents that simply cannot be reconciled with the generally accepted Holocaust extermination story. Reproduced on the following pages are a few of these illustrations, which were selected from Pressac's book by Mark Weber, who also provided the captions. (See also [Weber's review](#) of Pressac's book in the summer 1990 *Journal of Historical Review*.)

"One Louse, Your Death!" This bilingual (German-Polish) poster graphically warned Auschwitz inmates of the danger of typhus bearing lice. (p. 54) Other measures taken by camp authorities to combat typhus included camp quarantines, routine delousings of barracks and clothes with "Zyklon" gas, quarantine of newly arriving prisoners, disinfection baths for inmates, and inspections of barracks. The dread disease claimed the lives of many tens of thousands of inmates. German camp personnel also fell victim, including SS garrison physician Dr. Siegfried Schwela and other high-level SS officers.

"Zyklon" (hydrocyanic acid gas), a widely available commercial insecticide and rodent killer, was used extensively at Auschwitz to kill typhus-bearing lice. It was used, for example, to fumigate clothes in delousing gas chambers, and to kill vermin in barracks and other buildings.

Commandant Rudolf Höss emphasized its deadliness when not used properly in this "special order" of August 12, 1942. (p. 201) Forty copies were distributed to officials throughout the camp. Höss warned:

Today there was a case of illness due to slight symptoms of poisoning with Prussic acid [Zyklon]. This makes it necessary to warn all those involved with gassings, as well as all other SS personnel, that especially when opening gassed rooms, SS personnel not wearing gas masks must wait at least five hours and keep a distance of 15 meters from the chamber. In this regard, particular attention should be paid to the wind direction.

The gas now being used contains less [protective] odor additive, and is therefore especially dangerous.

The SS garrison physician refuses to accept responsibility for accidents that may occur in cases where SS personnel do not obey these guidelines.

Shown on this March 1944 Auschwitz construction department diagram of the Birkenau camp are crematory buildings II and III (at upper left), and IV and V (at upper center). Between them is the "Disinfection and disinfestation facility" ("Desinfektions u. Entwesungsanlage"), which was also known as the "Central Sauna" ("Zentralsauna"). (p. 514.)

This August 1942 architectural diagram of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, supposedly the Third Reich's main "extermination" center, shows that German authorities planned to enlarge the camp so that it would eventually hold 200,000 inmates. (p. 203) The "Mexiko" section at the top, which would hold 60,000 people, was only partially completed, and the comparable section at the bottom was never begun. This document cannot be reconciled with the camp's alleged function as a top secret extermination center.

Auschwitz-Birkenau was greatly enlarged in 1943 and 1944 to accommodate the arrival of more and more Jews. Accordingly, plans were made for more extensive hospital and quarantine facilities.

This plan for a new "Prisoner hospital and quarantine section" ("Haftlings-Lazarett u. Quarantäne-Abt.") in the Birkenau camp's "Mexiko" section was prepared in June 1943 by the WVHA agency in Berlin that administered the concentration camp system. It was quickly approved by the Auschwitz camp construction department. This "hospital and quarantine" section for 16,596 inmates included surgery, x-ray, delousing, and laundry facilities, as well as barracks for severely ill inmates.

Pressac acknowledges (p. 512) the difficulty of reconciling these plans with the camp's alleged function as an extermination facility:

There is incompatibility in the creation of a health camp a few hundred yards from four Krematorien [crematory facilities] where, according to official history, people were exterminated on a large scale ... It is obvious that KGL [concentration camp] Birkenau cannot have had at one and the same time two opposing functions: health care and extermination. The plan for building a very large hospital section in BA III ["Mexiko" section of Birkenau] thus shows that the Krematorien [facilities] were built purely for incineration, without any homicidal gassings, because the SS wanted to "maintain" its concentration camp labor force.

The "Mexiko" section was only partially completed and "became a transit camp in May-June 1944 for the Hungarian transports," Pressac reports.

Architectural diagram of an Auschwitz "barracks for sick inmates." (p. 513) The barracks has 144 beds, large wash and toilet rooms, and a room for medical staff. (This June 1943 diagram is also Nuremberg document NO-4470.) Photos of hospital facilities for inmates are also reproduced in Pressac's book. (pp. 510-511)

At no time were any of Auschwitz-Birkenau's four crematory buildings ever hidden, concealed or "camouflaged." They were in plain view, and even newly arriving Jews could easily see them. Crematory buildings II and III were particularly visible. In this photograph, taken in May or June

1944, crematory building (Krema) III can be plainly seen in the background. (p. 251) In the foreground are Jews who have just arrived at Birkenau from Hungary.

Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory building (Krema) IV shortly after its completion in late March 1943. (p. 418) This building, supposedly one of the principal extermination gassing centers, was actually built very hastily in response to the terrible typhus epidemic that raged during the summer of 1942. (pp. 392, 398) This facility was so quickly and so poorly constructed that it could be used only intermittently for a short time, and was shut down for good in May 1943. (pp. 413, 420)

Were thousands of Jews murdered here? This is the inside of the alleged extermination gas chamber in the Auschwitz I main camp. (p. 155) German camp authorities never bothered to obliterate the incriminating “evidence” by destroying this structure. As Pressac acknowledges in his book (pp. 123, 133), there is no hard evidence that this room was ever an extermination facility.

Not long after the Allied liberation of Auschwitz in January 1945, Soviet and Polish officials organized a dance on the roof of the supposed extermination gas chamber in the main camp. Apparently they did not regard it as a mass extermination facility. In his book about Auschwitz (p. 149), Pressac expresses astonishment and regret over this incident:

Above the stage, dominated by a red star with the hammer and sickle, fly the flags of Poland (left) and the Soviet Union (right), with lamps mounted above them. This photograph proves that a dance was organized in 1945 on the roof of Krematorium I, and that people actually danced above the homicidal gas chamber. This episode appears almost unbelievable and sadly regrettable today, and the motives for it are not known. This photo also proves that the present covering of roofing felt and zinc surround [sic] of the roof are not original.

Eating hall for inmates at the Auschwitz III (Monowitz) camp. (p. 506) Inmates from Birkenau and the rest of the camp complex were routinely transferred to and from Monowitz, which hardly makes sense if Auschwitz had been an extermination center.

Ukrainian women’s choir at the Auschwitz III (Monowitz) camp. (p. 506) A surprisingly wide range of free-time activities, including entertainment, was available to forced-labor inmates.

Partial overview of the extensive “Buna” industrial works at Auschwitz III (Monowitz) camp, where gasoline was produced from coal. (p. 506). This photo, as well as the two previous ones, are from the Duerrfeld document file in the National Archives (Washington, DC).

Major Poullada's final defense plea in the Nordhausen-Dora concentration camp case

by Leon B. Poullada

Introduction by Mark Weber

Published here for the first time is the informative and thought-provoking final defense plea in the postwar Nordhausen-Dora concentration camp case. U.S. Army Major Leon B. Poullada, chief defense counsel, made this presentation on December 23, 1947, to the seven American Army officers who served as judges. The text has been slightly edited for reasons of style and grammar.

The wartime Nordhausen-Dora or “Mittelbau” camp complex consisted of the Dora main camp and 31 satellite subcamps clustered around the town of Nordhausen (Thuringia). By far the most important part of this complex was the underground “Mittelwerk” factories where from the summer of 1943 until April 1945 tens of thousands of concentration camp inmates, forced laborers from foreign countries, and German workers were employed manufacturing the high-priority V-2 guided missiles.

The Nordhausen trial opened on August 7, 1947, and concluded on December 30, 1947. It was one of 489 cases, involving a total of 1,672 defendants, conducted by U.S. Army military courts and commissions in the American zone of occupation in Germany.

Along with the trials organized by the other victorious powers, and particularly the inter-Allied Nuremberg IMT trial of 1945-1946, these postwar proceedings lent an aura of legal and historical legitimacy to the victors' version of history, and thereby played a key role in the shaping of our official mythology about the Third Reich and the Second World War.

In his plea, Major Poullada systematically confronts one emotion-charged issue after another, calmly but persistently challenging the judges to set aside prejudice and presumption to consider all the evidence with an open mind. Poullada concludes with an eloquent defense of traditional Anglo-American standards of justice.

As Poullada repeatedly emphasizes, these postwar “war crimes” trials violated basic principles of justice. With specific examples, he shows how the prosecution has encouraged witnesses to give clearly false hearsay testimony evidence. With prosecution connivance, Poullada establishes, some witnesses gave demonstrably perjured testimony. He cites the case of a witness named Birin who helped to popularize the infamous lie that German women selected inmates to be killed so that their tattooed skins could be used as ornamental decorations.

Readers will note that many of the points and arguments presented here by Major Poullada are strikingly similar to those made over the years by revisionist historians about the Holocaust ex-

termination story.

Poullada was by no means the only American who was outraged at the great miscarriage of justice conducted in the name of the United States in these “war crimes” trials, in which the same victorious powers served as both judge and prosecutor. Charles Wennerstrum, for example, presiding judge in one of the Nuremberg trials, spoke out against the unwholesomely vindictive character of these proceedings, which served the purpose of vengeance much more than the cause of justice.

Fortunately for the defendants, the wartime American-Soviet alliance was already breaking apart by the time of the Nordhausen-Dora trial. German sensibilities had become more important and, as a result, defendants were treated more justly than had been the case in earlier postwar trials. Certainly the worst of all had been the great Nuremberg IMT trial of 1945-1946, in which Stalin’s minions participated as equal partners with their American, British and French colleagues.

The American Army officers who served as judges in this case apparently were not unmoved by Major Poullada’s arguments. Four of the 19 Nordhausen defendants including “Mittelbau” general director Georg Rickhey were found not guilty and acquitted. One defendant SS First Lieutenant Hans Moeser was sentenced to death by hanging. The remainder were sentenced to prison terms ranging from five years to life.

An interesting footnote to this case: “Mittelwerk” operations director from September 1943 until April 1945 and Rickhey’s subordinate was Arthur Rudolph. After the war he moved to the United States, where he worked for the NASA space program. In 1969 he was honored with the NASA Distinguished Service Medal for his key role in developing the Saturn V rocket that put the first man on the moon. Some years later, in a case that attracted worldwide attention, the federal government’s “Office of Special Investigations” threatened to prosecute Rudolph as a “war criminal” for misdeeds allegedly committed forty years earlier. He was obliged to give up his American citizenship in 1983 and was forced into exile in Germany. For more on the Rudolph case, see: Thomas Franklin, *An American in Exile* (1987) [available for purchase from IHR (\$16.95)].

We are grateful to Mr. Joseph Halow for bringing Poullada’s defense pleas to our attention. Halow had obtained a copy of this document while working as a young Army court reporter in the “war crimes” trials. Halow spoke about his experiences at the October 1990 IHR conference. His memoir, *Innocent in Dachau* (which deals at length with the Nordhausen case) will be published later this year by IHR.

If it please this honorable court, this court has heard very I patiently the evidence in this case for the past eighteen weeks, and now it becomes the duty of this court to appraise, to ponder, to weigh this evidence carefully in arriving at its decision.

The proof in this case has been voluminous. It is of course necessary for the court to reject some of this evidence and to accept the remainder of this evidence with great caution. It would be folly for counsel for the defense not to imitate counsel for the prosecution and not discuss at great length the individual pieces of evidence which have been presented to this court. It is the opinion of the defense that when confronted with such a multitude of proof as this court has been presented with, it is necessary to resort to basic principles of justice and to obtain an overall picture of the proof as it has been presented according to whether or not each piece of proof tends to tighten or to lessen the necessity of judicial proof. It is necessary for us not to lose sight of the forest because of the trees, it is necessary for us to avoid the fate of the inebriated man who, hav-

ing run into a lamp post and was knocked down by the force of the blow, immediately arose and as he tried to leave, ran into the same lamp post again, repeating this procedure over and over until finally he was found by a policeman leaning against this post in great desperation muttering to himself, "Lost, lost in an impenetrable forest." We must avoid this "impenetrable forest" of only one pole and we must see our way clearly around the obstacles which have been presented in this case. Therefore it would be my endeavor to discuss the overall principles and general aspects of evidence, and I will tend to do so under five general topics.

Concentration Camps in Law

I will discuss first of all the general nature and the problems incident to the operation of any concentration camp such as Dora. Secondly, I will discuss the organization and background of Dora itself and of Mittelwerke, without appreciation of which it is not possible for this court to arrive at a just decision. Thirdly I will discuss those factors affecting the credibility of the prosecution witnesses. In the fourth instance I will discuss the errors of presentation made by the prosecution, which the court should consider in arriving at a decision in this case. Lastly I would very briefly like to touch upon the principles of law and justice which must concern this court as they cover the immediate case involved.

Coming then first to the topic of the nature and the problems of the operation of a concentration camp such as Dora, I believe it is pertinent to discuss briefly some basic misconceptions which War Crimes courts have indulged in the past in considering these concentration camp cases. There seems to be something abhorrent about the term "concentration camp" in the connotation which this term has acquired for all of us which somehow is translated into the conception that a concentration camp, or the operation of a concentration camp, in and of itself, is illegal per se. Now, this is not the case. International law recognized fully the right of a sovereign state to intern those persons whom, in the opinion of the authorities of this state, are inimical to its purpose and threaten its welfare. We have done so in the case of the Japanese on the west coast when we removed them in large numbers into so-called relocation centers — a more euphemistic title perhaps — but nevertheless, a concentration camp. We did so without giving them any trial, we confined them and we restrained their liberty. We did not consider that to have been an illegal act. It was a perfectly legal thing to do because our safety and our welfare were threatened by their presence on the Pacific coast.

Many states in the union keep prison labor camps. These prisoners are farmed out to industrial firms and they work for industrial firms and these firms in turn repay the state for the work of these prisoners. It is not the operation of a concentration camp or a relocation camp or whatever name we call it that is illegal, but it is the manner in which it is performed that may become illegal, and it is important to keep that distinction in mind.

Legality of Execution

The same type of misconception arises in connection with the term "executions." As my associate, Mr. Brook, has gone into this in some detail, I will cover it only briefly. However, it must be evident that each sovereign state has a right during the period of its sovereignty to set up its own constitution and its own laws, and executions which are prescribed pursuant to such constitution and such laws are perfectly valid and legal. The mere fact that their system does not accord or is abhorrent to our particular morals or principles or standards of conduct does not make the punishment which was ordered administratively illegal per se.

Perhaps I could illustrate that by an example. If we were at some time to occupy a country in which polygamy was lawful it would be a very, very strange thing indeed if we should declare that all marriages in that country were illegal because they conflicted with our Christian ideas and standards of morals. The legal expert, Dr. Pinder, has testified before this court that punishments ordered by the Reich Security Main Office through the administrative determination of guilt were perfectly valid under the German codes of justice and the constitution as they existed at that time. Now an execution may be illegal if it is conducted without color of right, in that case it may be extremely illegal, but that is a distinction which the prosecution has failed to make in this case. This is intimately connected with the question of the defense of superior orders. The worthy prosecutor defended a case involving superior orders so that I am sure that he is fully conversant with the law in this connection, that even under our strict interpretation of the defense of superior orders it is not correct to say that superior orders is never a defense and always only mitigation. Superior orders is mitigation when the order which was to be executed was flagrantly illegal in itself, but superior orders is a complete defense when the order given has the color of right and appeared to a reasonable person to have been a reasonable order.

For example, in the case of the six or seven Italians, these accused were subject to military control and were ordered to perform an execution which in all its appearances and trappings had the obvious flavor of a perfectly legal military execution. Superior orders in that case under our own law is a complete defense. Unless by some means those involved were put upon a warning that the execution flavored of illegality superior orders must be a complete defense to this case. Now if the camp commander had come to one of the accused and said, "I am giving you an order to strangle a prisoner tonight in the dark when he comes around the corner of this house," and if that accused had executed the prisoner in this manner, superior orders would not be a defense to that type of execution because, by its very nature, by its very essence, it is not clothed with any color of right or with any semblance of that right. Those distinctions are important. The prosecution has accused us of making fine distinctions and, in our opinion, they are very important distinctions, and that is something which the prosecution does not do, and it is one of the fatal errors of their presentation, that they did not make distinctions but threw everything together in one pot and tried to come out with a total answer for everyone. If the court please, it is not possible to administer justice in that way.

Now as to whether or not the executions which were ordered for Dora were legal or not legal it is not difficult for us to say. We can say that the burden is on the prosecution to prove that they were not legal. Since they were colored with every vestige of that right and were trapped with all the panoply of that right, the burden is on the prosecution to show that they are illegal. There certainly was ample justification for them, if the court pleases.

The evidence before this court is clear that there was an armed and violent resistance movement at Dora. There is no question in anyone's mind on that. The people possessed weapons and possessed explosives and they intended to use them.

A question came up which I should like to discuss. That is whether an execution is justified when the sabotage is a mere plot and threat but is not actually committed. It must be evident to the court that in a top secret project such as the V-weapon plant, plotted sabotage, whether actually committed or not, was a severe offense. It is more than ample justification for a death sentence.

I would like to call this court's attention to a case which occurred in the United States with the avowed intention of committing sabotage of our war plants. These people never got any further than the beach before they were arrested. They did possess papers which showed their avowed aims and it was possible to prove that they intended to sabotage the war effort in America. The

court will recall that by the fair and complete judicial process of the United States these people were tried and sentenced to death and they were executed. They never committed an act of sabotage and they never got as far as inside or near a top secret project. I dare say that if they ever did get near the atomic bomb plant with their plans they would have also been executed promptly.

Now in connection with the executions we should consider the subject of the mercy shot. It is an accepted, established military procedure and has never been considered or construed as an act of crime. It is what the name implies, an act of mercy to someone who has been tried, sentenced and executed but who, for some reason, has not been completely killed, perhaps, by the act of execution. The only question then is whether the execution was legal in the first place. If the execution was legal then the act of mercy must also be legal, so we come back in a circle to the question of the legality of those executions and, if the court please, in view of the evidence, in view of the fact that the sentence was already read, in view of the fact that the witnesses were always present, a doctor was always present, an interpreter was always present, and they had all of the semblance of a legal execution, the burden of proof is upon the prosecution to show that those sentences under execution were illegal and that the accused knew of it or had reason to know. As to the extra rations which were issued in connection with those executions, about which so much fuss was made, I believe the court has heard sufficient evidence to know that those were normal rations issued in the Wehrmacht as a matter of general custom and tradition to all persons who participated in the executions for the alleged reason to be able to counteract after a shot. It was not a war crime by any means but a custom and tradition.

Legality of Corporal Punishment

Now a similar misconception arises on the subject of beatings and corporal punishment. The defense readily admits that beatings and corporal punishment is abhorrent to our Anglo-American system of justice, although England used flogging to a very recent time as a method of punishment and still does so in the armed forces for some offenses. Some of our own southern states recognize corporal punishment as a proper means of discipline even at this date. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that in the overall picture the AngloAmerican system abhors this subject of capital punishment. This naturally creates a prejudice in our minds against any such act. However, we must come back to the subject, which is similar to the one of executions, that the Europeans have and have had a different attitude towards corporal punishment. There is a distinction, a very definite distinction, that we want to make between beatings and beatings.

There are beatings which were made for official reasons, for punishment prescribed by the Reich Security Main Office. The court has heard evidence that there were even forms which were made out and had to be signed by the physician. Now we certainly cannot quarrel with that system of punishment. We may not like it, we may not want to adopt it, but we cannot call it illegal just because we do not like it. If it was legal during the time it was perpetrated then it was legal. Further, there are differences between beating a person with a weapon and merely beating with the hand. There are very distinct differences which we make in our law between assault with a deadly weapon and assault and battery and simple assault and battery. Those are important distinctions and we do not want to make them.

Thus we saw, for example, that the beatings which the accused, Buehring, admitted administering to those prisoners during the course of these interrogations were authorized by Berlin as a means of breaking up this resistance movement and they were perfectly legal at the time, and the fact that we do not like them doesn't make a war crime out of it by any means. Furthermore, we must remember that these beatings were made under superior orders so that the accused Buehring, for example, had the double defense of the legality of the punishment he was adminis-

tering and the fact that it was administered by superior orders and directly under the supervision of his superior, who was physically present or in the vicinity at all times. There has been evidence that in administering those punishments there were strict orders that no fatal injury should be inflicted and it was only natural in the course of these interrogations, as a dead witness was not a good witness. It is only natural that they should want him to live and not to injure him to the point of causing his death. The evidence has proved that the deaths which occurred in the bunker such as the death of Skinter and the four Russians, which were admitted by everyone in this case, were definitely proved to be committed by other people, and without the authority and consent of Sander, and in no way involved any of those accused in this case.

We have some curious quirks in our minds about this subject of beatings in connection with these war crimes. In war crimes courts in the past, the ability to show that an accused had been carrying a club at all times or at some time was equivalent to a conviction. If the court would care to cast its eyes around this room they will see at least two guards, American guards, with clubs in their hands. I dare say if these prisoners became unruly our American guards would use those clubs to keep them in line. So it is not, again, the carrying of a club which is wrong in any way, it is not equivalent to a conviction to show that a man carried a club. The question is, how did he use that club and on what occasions did he use that club, and that must be proved by individual acts and by witnesses testifying to individual acts and not by simply making a sweeping accusation because a person carries a club, therefore he is a beater and he should be convicted.

Also, an interesting thing in connection with these cases has to do with the developing of testimony in this case. In the early cases, when the courts were giving very severe sentences for beatings, witnesses would get on the stand and testify as to beatings. The courts began to get weary about this type of testimony, and they usually demanded, an order to give a severe sentence, that the element of death be involved as a result of such beatings. Immediately the testimony changed. The witnesses would get up on the stand and they would always have been witnesses to a beating which was so severe that they resulted in a person being carried to the dispensary and he was never seen again. The testimony always followed whenever the courts required it to get a conviction. Now we must remember, if the court please, that the penalty for even an aggravated battery with a deadly weapon in our own American courts would hardly ever merit more than a 10-year sentence.

The same type of misconception develops with the subject of cremation. Cremation always seems to be connected with something abhorrent and horrible. The prosecution has made a great case against the accused Maischein because he was supposedly present at cremations. Nothing is the matter with a cremation, if the court please. The finest cemeteries in America use cremations as a perfectly legal means of disposing of the remains of deceased individuals. Whether it is secret or whether it is public what difference does that make, if the court please. If the person is dead and he is cremated it is not a crime. It can be no war crime to cremate anyone. The question must be, how did that person die, not how he was cremated. If any of the accused had something to do with the illegal death of an individual then he may be guilty of a war crime, but participation and attendance at a cremation in and of itself can certainly be no war crime or a crime of any kind. As we say, these distinctions are important.

Individual Responsibility

We have also been of the opinion at some time or another in the course of our lives that in concentration camps all prisoners were victims and martyrs and that all SS men spent all of their time swinging clubs beating prisoners brutally like sadists and that all of the prisoners were innocent victims. Well, the prosecution has made some statements about the fact that some of the

guilty participants, in our opinion, are prominent prisoners. We do not wish to shift any of the blame which any of the accused may have over to the prominent prisoners, but we do believe it is important to the court in arriving at a just decision in this case, to realize that not all is just the way it appears on the surface, but that there were feuds between the greens and the reds, that these resulted in secret murders and resulted in secret courts which these prisoners themselves had, that everything became a racket in these concentration camps, that there was favoritism and bribery at every hand, that many prisoners lived at the expense of other prisoners, that the favored prisoners were assigned to cushy jobs such as in labor statistics and the dispensary, and that as a result a very vast black market arose in these camps.

Now perhaps it could be said that the SS are responsible for the system. That is true. We do not deny that. The persons who made the policies of these camps are certainly responsible. Pohl and others who made the policies of these camps are certainly responsible. Pohl and others who made the policies for these camps and were tried at Nuremberg are undoubtedly responsible for a policy which would throw into the same camp individuals of varying nationalities and backgrounds, habitual criminals and political prisoners. It is obvious that under such a system a terrible situation would develop, but to say that and to say that these individual accused, the highest ranking of whom is a first lieutenant, are responsible for this system and are responsible for the conditions which arose as a result of this system that, if the court please, is an entirely different matter. These people had very limited authorities. They could certainly not abolish the system. They could not say, "From now on the green prisoners will be in one camp and the red prisoners in another, and we will segregate these people." They could not stop the black market any more than we could stop the black market in Germany with the entire resources of our occupation army behind us. We cannot stop it. Those things arise as a result of conditions and once they arise the people in it cannot put a stop to it. They can try, and so these accused did try, but they certainly cannot be made to bear the entire brunt of the system as it existed.

We will leave the subject of the misconceptions which have arisen and I believe are important for the court to bear in mind. We must realize, just to summarize briefly, that the operation of a concentration camp or an internment camp, is not illegal per se, that executions which were not illegal according to the laws and the constitution of the country at the time they were perpetrated could not become illegal by subsequent occupation of that country, and lastly that a large proportion of the unsavory picture of a concentration camp was brought about by the acts of prisoners themselves. If the court would keep these things in mind in arriving at their decisions they would have gone a long way towards eliminating the common misconceptions.

Importance of Dora to the War Effort

Let us consider, if the court please, the organization of Dora and Mittelwerke, and what the V-weapon program meant to Germany. It was the last hope of Germany. Göring's Luftwaffe had failed in its proud boast that not one bomb would fall upon German soil. The German armies were in full retreat in Africa and Russia. This resulted in a struggle for power between the high ranking officials in the German government, among them Speer and Himmler. It was obvious that if the war was won by means of this secret weapon, this V-weapon, the individual who could hold himself as responsible for successfully bringing this weapon to bear would have earned the undying gratitude of the German people and would have assured himself of a position as successor to Hitler. This resulted in a struggle for power over this weapon. There is no question about that. Officially the V-weapons belong to Speer, the Minister of Armaments, but Himmler had an ace up his sleeve in connection with this program. He had at his command a source of cheap labor, and cheap labor in the then German Reich, which had already scraped the bottom of its manpower barrel, was at a premium, so, using this cheap labor as a wedge, Himmler was also to get a

stranglehold on the production of the V-weapons, and, although not officially, nevertheless through the means of men like Kammler and Sawatzki he was able to get a dominant position in the V-weapon production. The Speer minister, [Rt]who appointed Rickhey, very definitely was being pushed into the background and into second place. It was Himmler's men who really pulled the strings and called the pace.

Now, this was a very important program. The policies for this program were not made by people such as these but were made by the top men in the German Reich. To say that for a program of this kind a technical sergeant was going to be made responsible for all labor allocation is ridiculous, if the court please. Or the same is true of construction: to say that a master sergeant like Jacobi was to be placed in responsibility for all construction in a project of this kind is completely ridiculous. The evidence has shown that there were frequently inspections from Berlin, medical inspections, all types of inspections. Kammler came over often. Everything that came off in this camp as far as policy making was concerned was of the utmost interest to the top men in the German Reich. These people here were small fry. They were all placed in the position where they had to carry into effect these policies, and that is always an unenviable position for anyone. To say that a man like Detmers, who was a first lieutenant, had the power to declare executions and punish and discipline the prisoners, is like saying that some little security officer in the atom bomb plant would be given the authority to punish violators of security rules at his discretion.

Wartime Conditions

Now these policies which were made at top levels resulted in some very bad conditions. The defense has willingly admitted that. We have never claimed Dora to be a sanatorium, no question about it. It was a high priority project. German resources were pushed to the utmost to get this program started and as a result of that there was constant rush, they were in a hurry, and these bad conditions resulted, especially at the inception, because of the rush and hurry. But it is another thing to say that these bad conditions existed and another thing to say that because a certain individual was placed in the midst of these bad conditions he is responsible for them. Another lack of distinction. It is a very nice technique to make such a lack of distinction, no question about it. Prove bad conditions, that is the thing to do. Show that things are in a terrible state, then find a scapegoat for it and say, "He was there, therefore he was responsible." The court is expected to make the necessary logical connection between the two things, but is the connection there? That is the question which the court must ask itself. It is a funny technique. Hitler used it. That was exactly Hitler's technique to show that the Jews after the last war were responsible for all the evils which befell Germany. There were very bad conditions in Germany. The Jews were present. They made a good scapegoat. You keep hammering away at that subject long enough and eventually the listeners will make the necessary connections. The Jews will be responsible. We say the prosecution has not met that burden of proof. It is not only necessary to place two things together and to assume that there is a connection; the connection must be proved. A very insidious note crept into the prosecution's case in this connection, in my opinion. It was stated and the court was led to believe that it was not only a matter for this court what the accused did or did not do, but what they should have done. That is the thing, the prosecution said, which condemns these people what they should have done. Well, if the court please, that is a rather noble approach to any judicial problem. Unfortunately the principles of American criminal law do not support such a contention by the prosecution. A person is not guilty of a crime merely because his conduct is reprehensible or because he fails to act. He must have a duty to act, a very clear and definite duty to act. If he fails to act he may be a normal heel, but he is not a criminal. That is the law; it is very clear. I can see a beggar in the street in the most desperate condition of hunger and I can pass by without giving him a second look. Clearly, morality would demand that I help him, but I am not a criminal because I fail to do so. Some of the so accused did do a great deal

towards helping prisoners, but if any of them had failed to do any of that, they certainly would not have been war criminals because of it. It so happens that a man like Fuchsloch followed his moral inclinations and did try to help. But he is not under absolute duty to do so by any means. The fact that he did do so is more to his credit, but so long as he would act within his proper sphere of duty and so long as he would refrain from a criminal act, that should be the determining factor before this court as far as any of these accused are concerned. They are under no legal duty to go out of their way and become proclaimers of the welfare of the human race. The law does not demand that of you, it does not demand that of me, and we should not demand that of these accused.

Now, the prosecution tried desperately to show that Dora was an extermination camp. Well, unfortunately the evidence just does not hold up. There are no gas chambers at Dora as in an extermination camp. We did not hear any evidence of medical experiments, such as have been put forth in all the concentration camps practically so far. There were no wholesale executions at Dora such as Commando 99. The executions which took place at Dora were a result of this resistance movement and were not merely an attempt to exterminate in any way. Well, the reason is obvious, if the court please. I think Rickhey put it better than I could possibly do when he said it would be impossible to produce the weapons and destroy the workers. This was an important program. I do not say that it was not an extermination camp out of the good heart of the people who were making the concentration camp policies. It was a selfish thing of course, but it was not an extermination camp. It is true that in its inception bad conditions existed. There is no doubt about that. We are willing to concede that at any point in our argument, at any point in the case we are willing to concede that in the inception conditions were very bad, but I believe we should try to understand the normal point of view at that time. This project was a matter of vital military necessity. Under the guise of military necessity, a commander does not hesitate to send his own men to death if necessary. When it becomes a question of national survival we do not stop to ask fine questions. The prisoners were asked to make sacrifices, definitely.

They were put into a place where the work was hard. It was mining work, work which is hard even under the best situations of freedom. If the court would care to examine the insurance risk rates for miners, underground workers, it would realize that it is always hazardous work, and I am not here to defend the morality or legality of demanding sacrifices from these prisoners. That is beside the point and not an issue in this case. I am simply trying to show the court why these bad conditions existed, and I do say that showing these bad conditions in itself is not enough, nor is showing why they existed enough. These accused did not make the policies which created these bad conditions. It is furthermore extremely necessary for the court to distinguish another distinction, between the period of early construction of prisoner work and the latter period when production got under way. The two things are very dissimilar and more and more different in more than one respect. The prosecution, of course, has attempted to show that it is all the same thing, but it is not.

So, if the court please, before passing on the next subject we have seen that certain misconceptions were prevalent as to the operation of all concentration camps in general, and I have tried to give the court a brief background of the operation of Dora, of the importance of the V-weapon project, and the reasons which caused the German state to embark upon such a project, and I have attempted to distinguish between the periods of time in the operation of this project, which the court should keep in mind.

Witness Bias

Now, I would like to discuss briefly, if the court please, the questions of the factors which affect the credibility of the prosecution witnesses. That question, of course, in the last analysis is the function of the court, but what criterion, what yardstick should the court use? Well, certainly a careful review of the testimony of the witnesses is called for, and examination of the motives of their testimony is certainly called for, and I believe we should consider briefly the principles of scientific criminology dealing with the unreliability of the human memory when testifying as to events which took place in the distant past.

Let us consider first the motives. That the witnesses for the most part were prejudiced I assume the court takes for granted. Is it possible for former prisoners to testify against their former jailers and not be prejudiced? Of course we can sympathize with them. I would be prejudiced myself. I am sure every member of the court would be prejudiced. But, if the court please, we must not let that affect the justice of the case. We must sympathize with them, yes, but the court must look upon this through the eyes of justice, not through the eyes of sympathy.

There is another element which is quite important in this case and quite evident, that is, the element of nationalities. Even under the best of conditions it is very difficult for a European of one nationality to testify against a European of another nationality and maintain a balanced attitude. It is difficult for us to realize the prejudice which existed in these countries national hatred, biases, suspicions. We in America do not know anything about that. It is difficult in coming into a situation like this to understand the power behind such prejudice and bias. However, these war crimes courts must ask themselves: Are we instruments of justice or are we instruments of national discriminations? Now in these concentration camps, these national hatreds were fomented. Prisoners from all countries in Europe were thrown in together in a dog-eat-dog situation and, unfortunately, these hatreds which grew up during the period of these concentration camps have not been allowed to subside, but former concentration camp inmates have formed themselves into organizations which, under the guise of being societies for mutual aid, actually have as their avowed purpose the preservation of these hatreds, this rancor which grew up before these concentration camps and during these concentration camps. These societies have a quasi-official status in a good many of these countries. Their officials hold key positions in the government of some of these countries, such as France and Czechoslovakia. We have seen some examples of these societies exercising pressure upon their members in testifying before courts where their former jailers are involved. They bring personal pressure, economic pressure and political pressure to bear on these witnesses. In America we would call that intimidation. In Europe it is realism. We saw during the trial the example of one witness who was intimidated to the point where he would not even testify before this court. I had asked this same witness to come back and had requested his presence through proper channels when we thought we would put on a rebuttal in this case. I received a letter from him of which I have a certified translation here. It is addressed to me, and he says:

When I left Dachau on 20 November 1947, I was handed a written information by the defense reading that I was to report back as a witness to Dachau on 7 December 1947.

I cannot appear as a witness for the following reasons:

My passport was valid until the end of November 1947 only, for this reason I had to apply to the "Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes" at this place in order to obtain a recommendation for the Prague passport department to issue me a new passport valid until the end of December 1947.

The “Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes” of this place, however, found out that I intended to go to Dachau as a defense witness. Since the above-mentioned commission is not in the least interested in these witnesses who go there to testify for the defense, it took a negative point of view as of the issue of my passport and did not give me the recommendation.

Consequently, the passport department did not issue me that passport without this recommendation.

For the above reasons I cannot come, and ask you to kindly arrange for the issue of my passport with our governmental agencies.

Hoping you will be so kind as to comply with my request, I remain

Very truly yours,

Josef Silvestr.

There we have an example of these national prejudices and how they have been used. It is only natural, I suppose, that these things would be as they are but nevertheless we must consider them. The prosecution witnesses have no such difficulty in appearing before this court. Two important things in my mind, if the court please, is that these societies condemn the accused not for their individual crimes but simply for the reasons of being Germans and having belonged to a certain class, the class who were their jailers. That to my mind is the insidious thing about them, not that they are prejudiced against individuals, that is only a natural thing when an individual has been guilty of some act of barbarism against you, but simply that they make these sweeping decisions that all of the people who belong to that class, regardless of innocence or guilt, fall within that prescribed category. Now, of course, these sweeping prejudices against people because of belonging to a class is one of the abhorrent principles of Hitlerism.

People like Cespiva and other officials of these societies do not know anything about sportsmanship. Hitler didn't invent this theory of condemning entire classes by reason of nationality or by reason of race or creed. He applied what was already a favorite European position. In addition to these national rancors, which resulted in matters such as the one I brought before this court, there is also this certain enmity that grew up in these camps as a result of membership in certain cliques in these camps. You either play ball or else you are an enemy. Thus we see that some prisoners who played along with them were placed in easier jobs, such as in labor statistics or in the dispensary.

Let us take Helbig for example. He was a fine man, Cespiva said when testifying against him, “He helped one of my friends,” he testified. On the other hand Dr. Kahr testified against Jacobi viciously because Jacobi hadn't played ball when Dr. Kahr wanted to furnish himself with a swanky apartment and Jacobi didn't want to let him have the materials. These things are retained in their minds, and petty minds bear petty grudges for a long time.

Witness reliability

In addition to the prejudices which I have already named, that is the prejudice of former prisoners of their jailers, the national hatred and these prejudices which arise by reason of membership in societies destined to foment national hatreds, and membership in camp cliques, we must realize that very little credibility can be given to the prosecution witnesses by reason of the fact that all the events that they testified to happened a very long time ago. The fragility of the human

memory has almost been commented upon by the prosecution when the prosecutor admitted that five minutes after an incident had occurred it would hardly be remembered afterwards, and with him all psychological criminologists are in complete agreement.

I am sure this court is familiar with the classroom experiment, the classical experiment in which the professor is droning away, lecturing to the class and suddenly two men burst into the room. One flashes a gun, another has a knife. There is a great commotion. The two men leap out of the window. The professor is knocked down on the floor. Then immediately thereafter he arises and explains to the class that this was all prearranged, and then a set of questions is asked of the class as to just what happened. "Describe the men. Describe what they did." Well, I have seen the results of such an experiment myself and I know that these members of the court who have seen the results of such an experiment would remember the amazing results, the amazing discrepancies. Some people will answer that there were three women involved, and others will say the professor was the one who drew the knife. Completely unbelievable answers. The reason for that is very simple.

I should like to read just briefly to the court volume 29 of The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, page 371. There is a report of a carefully controlled experiment in which a crime is staged and a large number of witnesses were immediately divided into a smaller number of groups. Each group is asked that they make a report which consisted of answering questions similar to the ones they would have to answer if they would appear in court to testify. Each group, however, was questioned at different intervals of time. The purpose was to test the effect of the passage of time on the powers of observation and memory. Among the scientific conclusions quoted in this journal are the following, and I quote:

The number of correct answers to all types of questions was decidedly low, irrespective of the time elapsed between the event and the reporting thereof. However, testimony given seven weeks after the event was much more variable than that given one week after. Of the factors tested, the ability to recollect who the participants in the crime were and to describe them was the least reliable and the most likely to be effaced by the passage of time.

If justice in our courts is to depend upon the testimony of witnesses, that testimony must be brought in early and even then accepted with wide allowance for error explainable in terms of faulty sense perception and memory. In our present system, days, and even months sometimes intervene between an accident or crime and the witnesses' appearance in court.

End of quote.

To which, if the court will permit, I would like to add, too, the events about which the prosecution witnesses testified did not happen days, weeks or months, but years ago, and yet we have had prosecution witnesses sit in this chair behind me, and they have identified accurately individuals whom they have seen only once, and they describe everything in detail, exactly what he did, what he said.

Well, the legal authorities, the psychological scientists, the sociologists all have given their earnest effort and study to this problem, the unreliability of witnesses' testimony after the passage of time. I could cite authority to this court for hours on end and all of them would be unanimous in saying to this court: "Beware the testimony of witnesses who purport to remember with any degree of accuracy events which happened two or three years ago."

Here is an extract from volume 28 of the American Sociological Society Publications, page 45, and I quote:

Nearly all studies indicate that memory loss is greatest within the first few hours after observation, and that two-fifths of the personal experiences are totally lost in a two week period.

Robert M. Hutchins and Donald Slesinger, writing in the law review of the Law School which our worthy prosecutor attended, in an article entitled "Some Observations on the Law of Evidence," 41 Harvard Law Review, 860, stated their conclusion at page 864 as follows:

Turning now to past recollection recorded and the psychological theory of the fallibility of memory on which it rests, we discover the psychologists, like the judges, emphasizing the importance of the time between an experience and its report both agree that as time goes on an experience is forgotten until little remains in most cases but conjectures and surmisals.

Now, doesn't that describe the testimony of the prosecution witnesses conjectures and surmisals?

The distinguished psychologist William H. Roberts, writing on the subject of memory, says, and I quote:

When we try to recall past experiences our images are limited in most of us to items to which we have given definite attention. That is one reason why testimony in court is so often inaccurate. The witness has rarely had any warning that something important was about to happen. He has not been instructed for what he should watch; so very often he fails to observe the crucial point. No determination to tell the truth (very often he fails to observe the crucial point), no agonized going over the scene again and again can recover the essential point that the witness simply cannot recall because of faulty observation and faulty recollection.

Then Mr. Roberts quotes Mr. Wigmore. Mr. Wigmore is perhaps the world's greatest authority on evidence. He wrote the evidence section in our Manual for Courts Martial. He says:

In the last analysis, as Mr. Wigmore so often says, the reliability of the testimony of a witness depends on two factors: "Does the witness want to tell the truth, and can he tell the truth?" The first depends on the bias, interest and prejudices of the witness, the latter depends on psychological laws of observation which are entirely beyond the control of the witness. Memories play strange tricks on witnesses. Details are both lost and added. Sometimes they honestly remember things that never happened. Honest witnesses before trial often say "I do not know whether I actually remember this, or only think I do, because I have been told about it so often." Interesting stories frequently grow with successive tellings, though witnesses have no intention to embellish them.

And I close the quote.

Now, I take the liberty of putting this question to the court: Taking into consideration the elements which I have discussed, the obvious and which are set forth before the court after a long interval of time from the events about which the testimony deals with.

Use of Hearsay

Well, as if these factors were not enough to make this testimony unreliable, we here in War Crimes have opened the door wide to the greatest perverters of justice our friends here say “evidence.”

In ordinary trials before American or English courts the dangers of fabrication and invention and perjured testimony are to some extent restrained by making a witness testify only what he personally knows. Centuries of trial have shown the wisdom of these courts. It has been said that this hearsay rule has been relaxed in administrative cases in America, and therefore, it should be perfectly proper to relax it in this case. If the court please, that could not deal with criminal matters, in the first place; and in the second place, lives of men are now at stake. Every civilized country in the world requires in a murder case that at least the death be proved by first-hand official evidence. This is the so-called and much misused phrase *corpus delicti*. You must show that a death occurred, and hearsay evidence in every civilized country in the world is not admissible to show the death.

In these courts prejudice, bias, passage of time, hearsay, are combined to encourage a witness to rationalize, to invent testimony. The way that rationalization works is very simple. Just assume for a minute that I am a Polish witness and I am called upon to stand and testify against Jacobi, let's say. Now I don't remember Jacobi. I only saw him once, but I do remember something about the construction details of Camp Dora. There were such details. I remember that beatings occurred. I remember that somewhere along the line two or three of my friends had been beaten in the course of his detail. Naturally, I am prejudiced. Centuries of national hatred are in me, and with some reason. I don't like Germans in general, and I don't like SS men in particular; so it is a very simple matter to rationalize. I know that Jacobi was in charge of these construction details. He must have beaten somebody. I can sit on this stand and say “Yep, definitely, Jacobi beat one of my friends.” Well, of course, I have to make the story good, so, “He beat them so they fell down. He was taken to the dispensary, and I never heard of him again.” Oh, my conscience may bother me a little at nights, that I testified against an individual who perhaps was innocent, but after all, he is an SS man, he is a German. Maybe if he didn't do that he may have done something else which was just as bad.

Now, that is the way people rationalize these things. Is there any doubt that many of these stories have been concocted just that way? And unfortunately, I have not only heard witnesses talking that way, but I have heard American officers talking exactly the same way. That may be mass-scale revenge. It is not justice the individual innocence or guilt of one of these accused.

Now, in any trial which was conducted before an American court, the rules of evidence which pertain in the Anglo-American system, this story could be checked. It wouldn't stand up for the simple reason that they couldn't prove that the death ever occurred. But in War Crimes trials our Polish witness, whom I used for my example, is perfectly in the safe. He can spin his yarn with complete impunity. Does he have to describe with exactitude the cause of the death? No. Is it necessary for him to even have seen the body? No, certainly not. Does he even have to know the name of the victim? Oh, no, just his nationality, and he knows that because he is a Pole. The gates are wide open and prejudice and faulty memory can run rampant. You can chalk up one more hanging in the game of hate and revenge. It has been suggested that it would not be possible to get convictions without admitting this type of evidence. I say to the court “Do we seek convictions or do we seek justice? Must we sell our birthright? Must we emasculate our legal system in order to convict a few men and obtain revenge?” This choice, this choice, if the court please, with convictions at any price, “are they worth dispensing without judicial safeguards?” is as old as the history of tyranny.

Every policeman who has ever aspired to become a dictator has urged that criminals will escape if the safeguards are not swept away. It is exactly the same thing which the Gestapo and the GPU and the NKVD urged and continue to urge today. It is the very thing that these war crimes trials were set up to condemn. Now, this court can't change the ground rules upon which these courts are held, I realize that, but it can exercise its God-given right to recognize the insidiousness of such hearsay proof, and to reject the evidence based upon them as worthless. I say you not only can, you should, you must refuse to become the instruments of revenge, and maintain your integrity as instruments of justice. If there are any lengthy doubts in the mind of any member of this court as to the worthlessness of this type of hearsay evidence, we can dispel them by saying in this trial, "where it was possible to test this hearsay evidence, we did." We had such cases in this very trial. I will mention only a few.

Zwiener said that he had heard from Finkenzeller that Rickhey had given capos orders to beat prisoners. It was possible for the defense in this case to bring Finkenzeller on the stand. Did Finkenzeller remember any such thing? No. Bouda said that he heard from Kurzke that Kurzke was the doctor who had treated the two men who died as a result of a shot from Helbig. Kurzke got on the stand and didn't remember saying anything like that to Bouda. He never treated anybody who died. Why he saw Helbig at Belsen, but completely failed to substantiate Bouda's testimony. There are many other cases, but I won't burden the court with them at this time; but in every single case in which it was possible during this trial to pin down the sources of hearsay evidence, it failed to pass the test completely. Is there any doubt, if the court please, that fabrications based on these elements, national prejudice, faulty memory, and supported by hearsay evidence should be thrown out of this court, as they should be thrown out of any court in the land which pretends to dispense justice.

There is one thing about this testimony that is doubly dangerous. It is not like pure fiction, it is more like a historical novel, because it has a certain foundation in fact, and thereby it gets a certain amount of credibility attached to itself. These witnesses do know the conditions, general conditions, they do know the place, they know the time, they can give, in general, evidence which sounds credible, so it isn't pure fiction it is a historical novel. That terminates my discussion of the factors which affect the credibility of the prosecution witnesses.

Credibility of Individual Witnesses

This consideration, however, of these factors enables us to classify these witnesses, as the prosecution attempted to classify the defense witnesses, drawing those contrasts which the prosecution attempted to draw. First of all, in classifying the prosecution witnesses, I would say that we would have to come to the deliberate liars, of whom there were some.

Maubert "There were no beds in the TB block." A conscious, deliberate lie for the purpose of revenge.

Rozin Heinrich was supposed to have beaten people to death. Of course he made two mistakes. He mistakenly coupled that testimony with the fact that the air-raid shelter was under construction, and it was possible to prove that the air-raid shelter had been built for several months; and also, he made an important mistake. He forgot the nationality of these people, he said they were Hungarian Jews. Well, if the court please, the law on the question of the nationality of these victims is quite clear. In the review of the parent Dachau case, the reviewing authorities said the following: "Be it noted that this testimony is general, and we are only concerned with cases where Allied or co-belligerent nations were subjected to offenses against the laws of war."

Here it must be said that an error was definitely committed by the court in taking judicial notice of the fact that Hungary and also the Gypsies were at war with Germany. Furthermore, the question of whether given victims were subject of Allied or cobelligerent powers was not properly considered by the court on many occasions, since it took notice of the war between Germany and other powers, some of which, such as Austria and Czechoslovakia, had disappeared as sovereign states.

So our witness Rozin didn't get the right nationality because Hungarian Jews, if the court please, cannot be considered as proper victims in these war crimes cases. They are outside the jurisdiction of the court because they still mention their Hungarian nationality; because Hungary was an Ally of Germany, and not a cobelligerent or an Ally of the United States.

So our witness Rozin didn't get the right nationality because Hungarian Jews, if the court please, cannot be considered as proper victims in these war crimes cases. They are outside the jurisdiction of the court because they still maintain their Hungarian nationality; because Hungary was an ally of Germany, and not a cobelligerent or an ally of the United States.

And then we come to the third deliberate liar, Drung. After the man had been proved a perjurer, the prosecution still maintains that he was their star witness, the man who sat here and mocked the justice of this court by telling deliberate lies under oath. The prosecution says that this man who sat here for three days and whose every answer was "Ja, aber" gave very clear and succinct answers, a deliberate liar without a shadow of doubt.

Doctor Kehr, another deliberate liar. Of course his motivation was slightly different. He said that he had never interrogated witnesses. We confronted him with a record of his interrogation of an accused. He, of course, was buying his life and he had to do it with lies. He knew that he and Doctor Kurzke personally had selected thousands of people on these transports, and it was only by reason of the fact that he had purchased his liberty that he was not sitting in the dock.

Doctor Kurzke, of course, deliberately lied about some points, but this particular witness was not malicious. He was just afraid, testified from fear.

Doctor Cespiva, the deliberate liar. We must classify him as such. That witness feels a compulsion to destroy any witness who was present at the times he betrayed his Russian comrades. His position in Czechoslovakia demands this. He can't afford to have witnesses alive who knew he was guilty of betrayal of those Russians. He showed his true color when he tried to intimidate and interfere with the defense witnesses. He went a little too far.

I am not going to attempt to list all these witnesses by class, but just give outstanding examples.

The second class I call "the exaggerators." Not deliberate liars, they are just dramatists. They dramatize their concentration camp experiences. They were martyrs, heroes. All their accounts are surrounded by an aureola and glamor of fiction, and to a large extent that is what it is, too, fiction.

Jay, the Englishman. He was dying of thirst. He had to drink urine. For the first six months nobody had anything to drink. No one could take a bath. All this matter is completely contradicted by the prosecution witnesses at a later time.

Ackermann, the pseudo-doctor. He had performed thousands of autopsies, Ackermann had. He could tell by looking at the cell tissues whether a man died of exhaustion or not, a feat which

even the finest histologist with all the resources, with all the resources of a well-equipped laboratory would find difficult to do.

Michel, a man of iron. He was beat over the head with clubs by two men, kicked in the genitals, his spine was broken, lay a cripple, beaten until he was bloody, when he walked by himself without any help for over 500 meters, which is about half a kilometer into the tunnels.

To this class also belongs Kassimatis, the Greek. He went everybody a little better. Not only weren't there any trials at these executions, there weren't even any interrogations, nothing. A man was caught with a piece of wire on his shoe laces and he himself saw two SS men string them up from a beam which does not exist in the ceiling.

Cespiva himself falls into this class of exaggerators and dramatists. He was attacked by this ferocious dog Ajax, which turns out to be a puppy who went around pulling people's cuffs.

There is another example of these exaggerators and dramatists, and that is my worthy co-religionist, Brother Birin. This man, cloaking his hatred, his national hatred, under a hypocritical air of Christian charity, indulged in the wildest speculation, in flights of fancy, that it has ever been my privilege to hear. He gave accurate testimony of the death rates for the first six months of Dora. Of course, he arrived in March 1944, by his own testimony. We present him with a copy of the prosecution's exhibit on death rates, and he promptly pronounced it false.

Of course, minor inconsistencies never trouble the mind of a man who is intent on producing, not inconsistent facts, but fiction. I would like to read to you just a brief excerpt from this little book written by friend Birin. It is called Sixteen Months of Imprisonment. It is widely circulated in France. It is in French. It tells about his experiences in Dora. The part that I have selected is the part in which he describes roll calls at Dora. He says:

During roll calls, the wives of the SS also selected their victims and they did so with even more cynicism than their husbands. They sought beautiful human skins artistically tattooed. In order to please them, a special roll call was often held on the roll call square at which all prisoners had to be present, dressed like Adam. Then these ladies passed in review through the ranks making their selections as in a fashion show. One could hear their titters, their exclamation, their small laughter of satisfaction. They would murmur, "Das ist sch on," and they would point their fingers at the object of their choice.

The prisoners thus selected had to leave the ranks and soon thereafter their skins were adorning the living rooms of these ladies or were added to the camp collection.

Now that is a verbatim translation. This book was written by friend Birin, that exaggerator and dramatizer. Now, we have heard voluminous testimony in this case. Certainly if any such a thing would have happened in Dora it would have been presented to this court. Most of us recognize the Ilsa Koch incident at Buchenwald, and he passes it on as Gospel truth in France, and they read this book and they have it on the same level as the Gospel of St. Mark.

I ask the court what credibility can be given to the testimony of such witnesses who put such stuff like that out as fact? It shows what a clever dramatizer can do. This is just an example of the dishonest testimony of this witness. The book is full of them, and it is recommended reading for this court.

The next class that I would like to mention are the guilty ones. These people who were so guilty themselves that they felt compelled to come before this court and accuse the people in this dock in order to satisfy their own sense of guilt. We come to some of them, Drung, Cespiva very definitely in an attempt to pass off their guilt on to these accused. Mittermüller, who had to be dragged out of the Dachau jail in order to testify before this court. Müller, known as the Tiger of Eschnapur, given 25 years by another war crimes court, Wyglondaz, known in Dora as Aunt Johanna, notorious spy for Sander.

And Doctor Kehr again, very definitely trying to hide his guilt by assisting the prosecution in obtaining convictions. We just have to look at one testimony of Doctor Kahr to see the extent to which he will go. That was the testimony in regard to the conditions of the transports which were sent from Buchenwald to Dora. In the Buchenwald case, where he was still trying to buy his liberty, it was Buchenwald's fault; ninety percent of the people who were sent to Dora were so far beyond recovery they were destined, doomed to die. It was well known that Buchenwald was the principal source of prisoners for Dora. If that was so, then the death rate of Dora is completely exonerated. These accused can't be held responsible for a death rate in a camp where ninety percent of the people who were sent to them were already dying. The Dora case is entirely different. These people arrived in fine condition from Buchenwald. Only subjected to the torturous hours and the hard work at Dora is why they developed a high death rate and died. It was the work in the tunnels that killed them. You see, gentlemen, it just depends on which case you testify for a witness like that.

The next class of witnesses for the prosecution is the ignorant, the confused, little man who had no sense of perspective, no background, no education. Ordinarily we would speak of them as having a worm's eye view, but in the case of the prosecution it was more a snake's eye view.

These people are not deliberate liars. They just can't tell the difference between truth and falsehood. You just can't blame them for not testifying accurately, but I certainly blame an intelligent and enlightened prosecution for encouraging such types to appear before a court and give testimony as to matters entirely beyond their possible knowledge. Look at their names: Seidel admitted, punch-drunk — admitted he was confused in three languages. Bloch and Stern, two nice Jewish boys, cooked up their story on the train coming down. Bernhardt, he was certain that Brinkmann was the official hangman. That was the point he had. No other witness ever saw Brinkmann acting as official hangman during the time he was at Ellrich. Junk, from his exalted position in the kitchen, testified as to all the inner workings of the Mittelwerke, all of the secret work that went on in the Gestapo office, knew exactly what Rickhey was doing every period of the day. This type of witness can testify with great authority about all the secret works, the exact details of administrative channels as high as Berlin, thus demonstrating their ignorance.

Another class of witnesses, those which were compelled by just pure national hatred such as Bouda, a Czech who was known as "Lucy" in Dora, showed that he was prompted by hate and malice. The same is true for the French witnesses. Rozin, Maubert, and Chamaillard, the latter being the witness who was so blinded by hate that he definitely identified the accused Ulbricht as being one of the perpetrators of the Gardelegen affair, though, fortunately, we were able to prove to the contrary. That is not always possible with this type of witness. We can't always do that. In this particular case we were able to bring documents and witnesses to show how completely wrong he was. If it hadn't been for that, I am sure he would have had Ulbricht as being at this Gardelegen massacre. It shows the danger of accepting the statements of any of these witnesses at their face value.

Well, there they are, if the court please, the witnesses for the prosecution on parade, the deliberate liars, the exaggerators, the stupid, the ignorant, the guilty ones who are trying to hide their own guilt, these who are blinded by national hate. It is not a very pretty picture. "Let he who is without sin throw the first stone." But candor compels and justice does require that we recognize a small residue of the prosecution witnesses. They are at the rear of the parade. They are not very glamorous. They have the exotic virtue of trying to tell the truth. These men showed themselves to be men of balance by their attitude, by the positions which they have acquired after they have been released from the concentration camp. They are not out for revenge. This residue is insignificant, it is true, in numbers; but by contrast, it emphasized the worthlessness of the rest of the prosecution witnesses. I will refer to just a few. Colonel Leschi, who is now chief of the radio communications for all of France. The Polish witness Vincent Hein, the Polish reparations commissioner, Dr. Groenveld, the Mennonite. The religious steadfastness of this man compelled him to tell the truth as far as he knew it.

Dr. Groenveld even accused himself as being responsible for selecting prisoners to go on transports, which he did. He also accused himself of keeping his friend Ives in the hospital for the major part of his time in Dora when only other people who were really dying were kept out, because of friendship. This witness was making an attempt to tell the truth.

The interpreter Patzer, now at the University of London, this man confirmed that not one single death occurred as a result of interrogations in the bunker.

Now I implore the court to review carefully the testimony of that type of witness for the prosecution they at least made attempts to present a balanced and sane picture. Of course they were mistaken in many cases. We have already seen what the frailties of human memory will do. We must conclude, if the court please, that except for a small residue of prosecution witnesses, this court should reject as mistruth the testimony of the remainder because of the fact that they were prejudiced, because of the fact of faulty memory and of the time which has elapsed, because most of the testimony was based on hearsay, most of them either deliberate liars, exaggerators, guilty themselves and covering up, guilty and confused, or blinded by national hate. All of these above factors in connection with the incredibility of prosecution witnesses should be considered.

Prosecution Errors

But there is even more. There are fatal errors in the manner in which the prosecution presented its case, which must throw very great doubts on the testimony presented. In the first place, it is evident that the prosecution was overzealous in presenting its case, to say the least. I think, as Buehring so aptly put it, the prosecution was interested in hearing accusations, not the truth. I won't review for this court the ways in which the statements were obtained from these accused. The court heard enough about that from Buehring during the trial, the witnesses who were permitted to, who were interrogated, and explanations which were omitted.

Now the prosecution also withheld favorable evidence when it is the duty of the prosecutor to present all of the evidence in order to give a clear picture. Of this there can be no doubt. On several occasions when due to our objections the prosecution inadvertently was forced to present a subject as the Gardelegen report, it presented to the court an entirely different picture from what the prosecution was trying to make. It showed where the real responsibility for the Gardelagen incident lay. It showed that Brauny certainly could not be held as the principle character for that incident, if at all.

In the case of Brauny, of course, it is a case of “Damned if you do, and damned if you don’t.” If he stayed with the transport and massacred them you were guilty, then you couldn’t win. If you left them, then you are a coward. You shouldn’t have left them. That is a position in which I hope no member of this court or I want to be put.

That the prosecution indulged in over-exaggerations, is, of course, evident to everyone. He maintained this position during the entire case and maintained this position yesterday in his argument. According to the prosecution every single one of those accused is a mass murderer, every one of them, without any qualification, for one reason or another.

If the court please, that weakens any case when a man makes up his mind to hang every individual, then he is going to fall into some fatal errors in his presentation, and the prosecution did just that. The prosecution took the attitude that they should make no attempt to differentiate between places and names, in order to use casual words like “tunnels” to include construction sites, the “Mittelwerke factory” every place where prisoners worked were “the tunnels,” they made no attempt to distinguish between dates.

Even yesterday in its final argument it was said that Rickhey’s witnesses were complaining about the long roll calls, and therefore that showed that Koenig was guilty.

The court knows very well that Koenig was in the motor pool at the time Rickhey came to the Mittlewerke. Rickhey came to the Mittlewerke in May, and at that time Koenig had been in the motor pool for four months.

No attempt to distinguish Jews, and an attempt to show up a smoke screen of accusations this constant repetition of an error. That is a theory constantly repeat an error and eventually that makes it true. That was Goebbels' technique. Keep piling up accusations no matter whether they are true or false. Eventually they will be believed.

Now, accusations are easy to make. They are very difficult to disprove. Just keep calling the accused a murderer over and over again. That is the way to do it. This shows how easy it is to make sweeping accusations, if the court please. The same thing is true with the way they couple prejudicial matter which is entirely irrelevant. The horror picture of the bombing victims of the Boelke Kaserne; deliberately introduced to build up a prejudice against the accused Schmidt, in the hope that somehow the accused Schmidt would be found to have some participation in these deaths, which were actually the result of our own bombings.

It is this desire, if the court please, this desire to exaggerate, at all costs, to present evidence at all costs, no matter how worthless it is, that led witnesses such as Zwiener to appear before this court and testify invented testimony.

Now, the prosecution, of course, claims that they had no connection with the testimony which Zwiener invented, that they had nothing to do with his inventing that testimony, but I believe an interesting parallel can be drawn here. Very briefly, I would like to draw this parallel. The prosecution says, “We are completely innocent of having participated in inventing testimony.” I do believe it. I know the court believes it. But we must recognize that a much stronger case could be made against the prosecution to prove that they did assist in inventing this testimony than any case that they have prosecuted against any single one of those accused, and that shows the danger of just making accusations and it should show the prosecution the danger and how easy it is, by hearsay testimony and by appearances, to show that a guilt exists.

Let us look at the facts. The facts are as admitted before this court. The prosecution and Zwiener were in contact through Mr. Aalmans that is admitted. Zwiener told another member of the accused of his inventions, of what he intended to do and if the Big Four didn't hang, that then, the little prisoners would hang. Zwiener did, in fact, manufacture the testimony. He passed it actually that is admitted by the prosecution through Captain Ryan. Zwiener made other attempts to pass this information to the prosecution. Then, when the prosecution brought this testimony forth in open court through the accused, Zwiener, by means of a very clear and smooth presentation on direct examination that the prosecution made of Zwiener, in cross examination it was very evident to every member of this court.

There it is a much stronger case than anything that has been presented by the prosecution against any of these accused. If the prosecution is innocent, as I am sure it is, one may well judge how easy it is for a miscarriage of justice to occur and how easy it is to be thought guilty on evidence based upon accusations of prejudiced witnesses, which is buttressed by hearsay. All the elements are there and admitted, just as the prosecutor said yesterday before this court, that all the elements in Helbig's case were admitted because he was present at Belsen, because he had a pistol in his hand, because he was seen by Dr. Kurzke every single element is present.

A Plea for Justice

I would like to close now, if the court please, with a sincere plan for the court to give those accused justice in this case. I do not want to make a plea for mercy because justice metes out the punishment that is deserved, no more, no less. The defense is not so naive and has not been so naive during this entire case as to claim that all of these people were completely innocent. We do not so claim now. Many of them have been guilty of criminal acts. Many of them have admitted it before this court, such as beatings, but they are not all murderers. Some of them are completely innocent and we respectfully request this court to take into consideration in bringing in their verdict these exaggerations that have been presented against these people against these people who have not received a fair trial.

Now, I do not want to be misunderstood. I am proud to say that every one of these accused has had a fair hearing before a court which has been scrupulously fair, but in our Anglo-American system, a fair hearing before a fair court is not an entirely fair trial. It is only part of a fair trial. What goes on before the trial is just as important as a fair hearing before a fair court. We cannot speak of a fair trial, when accused are denied the elementary rights pretrial rights I am speaking of which any gangster or any common criminal would enjoy before an American court. What takes place before the trial and the type of evidence admissible at the trial are just as important as a fair-minded court. The argument that if the positions were reversed and that if we were being tried by them, we wouldn't get as fair a trial as they did, is cowardly as an answer. Two wrongs have never made a right. It is just the pot calling the kettle black. Regardless of what they would have done, it is not justified of us to do likewise. How can we demand, if the court please, the strictest standard of conduct and morality which the prosecution has said we must use in judging these men? How can we demand these standards which we have inherited from our free laws and our free institutions and at the same time deny them the fundamental rights which our free laws and our free constitution give to people who must live by these strict standards? These people didn't learn their standards of conduct in baseball fields or cricket fields or the football fields of free countries. They learned them in an atmosphere of terror. We refuse to take this into consideration and if we do so, we then are consciously lowering our standards of justice in order to get a transitory revenge on a few suspected criminals.

Duty to History

In these War Crimes trials, this being the last one, we are writing history. We forget this it is easy to forget in the daily grind, the routine, the heat of the case it is easy to forget that we are writing international law and history in these trials. I ask this court to rise above the daily grind, to separate themselves from this particular trial and the day-after-day hearing of this evidence and to see itself in the position and the perspective which history gives to it. The precedents that we set in this court will outlive every member of this court. The lives and the fortunes of those accused are unimportant. The great cases in the law which have assured our great rights have always involved little people, little people who have long since departed from our field of view. The right of redress against a sovereign state was laid down in the Winslow Case, the case of a small boy who was accused of stealing some postage stamps from another boy; the case which upheld the freedom of the press was the case of an obscure publisher in the colonies of a magazine which has long since ceased even to be read in the United States. The freedom of religion was upheld in a case in which an obscure sect was involved, whose name is no longer even known.

I dare to utter a prophecy to this court. The decision to try these War Criminals under rules which offered them less protection than those which we extend to our own citizens when accused of crime, established a precedent in international law which will live to haunt the world.

The argument is made on the basis of expediency. It is said that those people could not be tried if we did not deprive them of these safeguards. To this, the wise men of the law have always answered that expediency is not a substitute for justice. Expediency is always the first stop on the road to totalitarianism. This philosophy that the ends justify the means that is the philosophy of Machiavelli and of Hitler.

I am most grateful for the opportunity to be able to stand before this court and repudiate this philosophy as abhorrent to our free institutions, which have been nurtured by our Anglo-American tradition and our American system. I do not believe in one law for our friends and a different law for our enemies. I hold no personal grief for these men. They were my enemies for a short while ago. What their fate is, is entirely immaterial to me, but historically such distinction results inevitably in invasions of our most precious liberties. The law means the same for all. We must extend the same protection to the criminal, to the innocent, to the citizen, to the alien, to the Christian, to the Jew. A denial of these basic rights to any group on whatever grounds, expediency or otherwise, in order to produce quick results, destroys the foundations of the law and its strength. I say I am happy to have the opportunity to repudiate this theory before this court because I know that as surely as we deprive this group today of the basic safeguards which we grant our own citizens, tomorrow we will deprive it from the Jew or from the Catholic, as I am, and I oppose it with all my strength.

Historically the law did not become a shield or sword for freedom until it became a way which was common to all men, to the prince, to the pauper, to the Jew, to the Christian, until it became known as "The Common Law," without distinction as to race or creed or the fact that they were former enemies.

These small perversions which are introduced and which have been introduced into these War Crimes Trial cases may seem unimportant. Suppression of liberty always brings with it small invasions of basic rights. The Nazi whom we are trying in Germany today began in that way, by invading a few basic rights to a very insignificant extent, as any German can now tell you before they knew it, their entire system had snowballed into a murderous avalanche which buried freedom. I report, when we consciously abandon our strong moral position as a democracy by laws in order to assure a few convictions, then we, and not the accused, are on trial, are the real betrayers of our system and our ideals. I report, I don't care what happens to those accused. I have

no personal grief[Rt] for them of any kind but I, you and everyone here do have very high stakes in the birthrights which this court is here to guard and to preserve and to enforce. I feel inadequate to impress upon this court the importance of these principles. I wish that I could summon up the wise men of the law who have preceded me. Coke and Allenborough and Marshall and Holmes, and have them appear before you and say these things to you in a way far superior to anything which I can utter. I wish that I could summon the conscience of the American people, the voice of their conscience, to speak through me to tell you these things.

The defense is often accused of flag-waving. I am not a flagwaver. A flagwaver uses hypocritical patriotism to cloud the real issue. Here the real issue is not clouded. It is clear, it is expediency or justice. The strength of our democracy lies in the very fact that I, an American, am called upon to defend, through no personal desire of mine, these Germans, my former enemies, and that I can criticize the case which has been presented against them. But it also lies, if the court please, in the ability of each court member to follow the dictates of its own conscience. This court cannot give these men a fair trial. I have made that plain. But they can give them and I know they will give them a fair decision. Your duty is very simple. It may seem complicated but it is simple. Just ask yourself would you be willing to be placed on trial for your life and would you be willing to stake your life upon the type of evidence that has been presented by the prosecution before this court? Would you be willing to have your citizens, citizens of your own country, appear before a court martial or before an American court, and subjected to the kind of prejudice and perjured evidence which has been presented against these accused? Do you consider that the evidence produced by the prosecution against each of these accused would find them guilty beyond reasonable doubt before an American court, using the system and the principles of our Anglo-American free system of laws? Using that criterion, if the court please, it is clear that nearly all the accusations of the prosecution must fall below such standards of proof.

Historically the law did not become a shield or sword for freedom until it became a way which was common to all men, to the prince, to the pauper, to the Jew, to the Christian, until it became known as “The Common Law,” without distinction as to race or creed or the fact that they were former enemies.

Notes

Major Poullada’s final plea in the Nordhausen-Dora trial (U.S. vs. Kurt Andrae, et al. File number 000-50-37) is on record in the National Records Center, Suitland, Md. Record Group (RG) 338, Vol. 86, (Dec. 23, 1947), pp. 7723-7769. It is also on microfilm at the National Archives, Washington, DC. RG 338, Roll 11, 1079/ 7723-7769.

*Neither historiography-project or ihr.org copies
show corresponding numbers for these in the text.*

1. Probably “attempt.”
2. Top U.S. officials, including Franklin Roosevelt and Dwight Eisenhower, did refer to the American wartime camps for Japanese-Americans as “concentration camps.” See: Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America’s Concentration Camps* (New York: 1976), pp. 74, 114, 175, 217, 314, 316.
3. Possibly should be Stephen Pinter. He considered the story of six million exterminated Jews to be a myth. See Arthur Butz, *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 47.
4. Probably “savored.”
5. Probably “corporal.”

6. Probably “mistake.”
7. Probably “wary.”
8. Apparently a reference to “Prominente,” or well-known individuals who were held in custody in the concentration camps, generally under privileged circumstances.
9. “Greens” were ordinary criminals. “Reds” were political prisoners, mostly Communists. These designations referred to the colored identification badges they were obliged to wear in the camps. “Greens” and “Reds” struggled for internal control of the camps. By the final year of the war, Communist (“Red”) inmates had wrested from the SS complete mastery of the day-to-day internal operations of several of the most important concentration camps.
10. Obergruppenführer Oswald Pohl was head of the SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt (WVHA) (Economic and Administrative Main Office of the SS), to which the inspectorate of the concentration camps was transferred in 1942. Despite Pohl’s efforts to ameliorate prisoner conditions and to minimize deaths, above all in the interests of wartime production, he was convicted by an American military tribunal and hanged in 1951.
11. SS Gruppenführer Hans Kammler, head of Amtsgruppe C, the construction department of the WVHA, was in charge of the entire V-2 development and production program. Albin Sawatzki was Arthur Rudolph’s superior at the “Mittelwerk.”
12. Probably “ministry.”
13. Perhaps “which are” instead of “the.”
14. Usually “Kapo.” Although the origin of the term is disputed, it was generally used to describe prisoners who were appointed by the German camp command to supervise prisoner labor, and often extended to other members of the official prisoner hierarchy.
15. Frere Birin’s testimony is dealt with at length by Paul Rassinier, who knew him at Dora/Nordhausen, in *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*, pp. 121-129.
16. The notorious incident at Gardelegen, in which several hundred concentration camp inmates being evacuated from Nordhausen were locked in a barn and burned to death, had been presented by the prosecution as the deed of defendant Ulbricht and Braun, but the defense was able to show that they had not been involved. The massacre was evidently carried out by members of the Volkssturm, the wartime militia, at the order of a local party official. Claims by the prosecution and by later writers that the atrocity had been in response to an alleged order by Heinrich Himmler to liquidate all concentration camp inmates on the approach of the Allied armies have never been substantiated. As with a presumed Hitler order to exterminate the Jews and an alleged Himmler order in 1944 to stop the extermination program, no such Himmler liquidation order has ever been found.
17. Perhaps “all the ...” instead of “only.”
18. Boelke Kaserne, a sub-camp of Nordhausen, was bombed by Allied planes in April 1945, killing several hundred prisoners who worked in a munitions factory.
19. Probably “brief.”
20. Probably “before.”
21. Probably “repeat.”
22. See note 20.

Source: vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 121-127.

Book review

The Occult Roots of Nazism

- by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, U.K.: Aquarian Press, 1985. Hardbound, 293 pages, illustrations, \$23.50, ISBN 0-85030-402-4.

Reviewed by William Grimstad

Although the gas chamber mythos has been the center-piece of ongoing Establishment efforts to diabolize the Third Reich, there has been a parallel attempt to remove that epoch from objective consideration by casting it in a less homicidal but more bizarrely demoniacal light. Linking National Socialism to occultism has served several purposes: making the Hitler period look spooky, or at least a bit “kooky”; alienating people of traditional religious outlook, and not least, cashing in on the lucrative bookselling fad of recent years sometimes called the “occult explosion.”

Such books as *The Morning of the Magicians* or *The Occult and the Third Reich* first broached the notion that the National Socialist era, in addition to its multifarious other evils, had actually been conjured up by wicked wirepullers behind the visible leaders. We were introduced to the enigmatic figures of Rudolf von Sebottendorf and other supposed adepts of the fabled Thule Society, which now have become household words among even casual students of the period; and behind them an earlier strain of philosophers who, shockingly enough, had erected a religious worldview upon “Aryan” racialism.

Conveniently, the German regime’s avowed pro-Aryan policies now could be faulted not only as leading to the Holocaust. They also became the butt of ridicule for travestying science or of opprobrium for trying to harness powers of evil. Still better, the always awkward fact of broad electoral support for the National Socialist program in one of the world’s most advanced countries likewise could be explained: an entire nation had been mesmerized by baleful cultic Svengalis.

Goodrick-Clarke’s book was published several years ago in England, but has begun finding its way into the book trade here. As it represents a substantial research effort, one naturally wonders about the author’s inclinations. Little biographical information is furnished, but the acknowledgments do contain a couple of names of interest. The first one thanked is Ellic Howe, a leading personality within the United Grand Lodge of England, reputedly the world’s predominant Masonic organization. Howe writes frequently in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, the controlled circulation research journal of the lodge, whose enmity to National Socialism is glaring.

The author next salutes Norman Cohn, the British Holocaustorian who has made a career of microscopically analyzing the sensational *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* as a literary impetus for the later Holocaust. On the strength of such thinly veiled pro-Zionist essays as his *War-*

rant for Genocide, Cohn worked his way to the top of the historical hierarchy at Oxford, and there supervised Goodrick-Clarke's studies, where the present volume began as a Ph.D. thesis.

Revisionists may raise eyebrows at such auspices, but my impression is that Goodrick-Clarke generally avoids the tendentiousness of his mentors. Although marred by annoying knee-jerks and tics of minor residual bias, this remains a thorough and levelheaded inquiry into a topic severely mauled by hacks. It also offers, for the first time known to me in English, a window into the amazingly extensive and frankly quite fascinating German nationalist literature of the period.

His subtitle, "The Ariosophists of Austria and Germany, 1890-1935," refers to a body of ideas which once had a substantial following in the German-speaking world. The ideas centered on the writings of two Austrians, Guido von List (1848-1919) and Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels (1874-1954). Ariosophy is used by the author as a generic for this "lore of the Aryans" that was expounded by the two men.

Guido von List (the aristocratic von was self-assumed) was raised a Catholic but early took interest in Nordic paganism, which he coupled with a profound attraction to nature. An ardent rebel against modernity, which he associated with the spreading metropolis of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna and all its decadent ways, List's happiest moments came on rambles through the Austrian countryside, and he began his literary career with newspaper pieces on the rural scene, depicted as highly spiritualized. He was concerned to furnish an ideological backdrop to the pan-German movement led by such nationalist politicians as Georg von Schoenerer and Vienna Mayor Karl Lueger.

Later, List worked out what was essentially a clairvoyant reconstruction of the distant past, elaborating a vast mythology of an ancient Wotanist priesthood, the *Armanenschaft*. They supposedly held sway in Europe until the Christian conversion, but now were confined to clandestine status, perpetuating the ancient Aryan lore through a small élite, among whom he numbered himself.

Eventually, List built up a fairly wide readership and a Guido von List Society, sponsored by prestigious people, was established. With the coming of the First World War, the appeal of such a philosophy grew greatly, especially in Germany, and List also found a wider field for analysis of the destructive elements arrayed against the Central Powers. He dubbed these the Great International Party, in a fair anticipation of the World Zionist Organizations and Trilateral Commissions of our own day.

Adolf Josef Lanz also was born in Vienna, of middle-class Catholic parents. Like List, he assumed an aristocratic pedigree and the pompous Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels moniker, although his claim to this title was never disproven. He was inspired by List and became one of the older guru's early backers, but Lanz's Ariosophical interests were different. As a young man he had entered a Cistercian abbey as a novice monk, and although he left after a time, he remained enthralled by medieval Catholicism.

Lanz was disinterested in Listian oracular recreations of the German past, but he did have his own candidate for an ancient Aryan secret priesthood that supposedly had survivors in the modern era: the Knights Templar, a Catholic order suppressed for heresy in the 1300s. He founded his *Ordo Novi Templi* (Order of the New Temple) around 1907 in the medieval castle of Burg Werfenstein, which perched dramatically above the Danube with a swastika and *fleur-de-lis* flag over its tower. Goodrick-Clarke is much perturbed at the racialist slant of this literature. Actually, such material was commonplace in many Western countries at that time: imperial Britain had its "white man's burden" ethic purveyed to a huge audience by poet Rudyard Kipling; and here in

America, anthropologist Lothrop Stoddard could publish a best-selling book entitled *The Rising Tide of Color*.

As the author's exhaustive analysis, if not his own conclusions, makes clear, however, Ariosophy played only a very incidental role in the rise of National Socialism. Although Hitler may have known of List, there is no proof of it, and only an indication that he had read Lanz's *Ostara* magazine as a young man. He was not impressed, to judge by his ridicule of "völkisch wandering scholars" and antiquarian cultists in *Mein Kampf*.

Of far greater import in the political arena was Baron Rudolf von Sebottendorf von der Rose (born Adam Alfred Rudolf Glauer in 1875), although his role too has been distorted. Goodrick-Clarke has done an excellent job of analyzing the available material on this colorful international adventurer. Once again, however, Sebottendorf's involvement with Freemasonry, Muslim dervishes and the Turkish revolution cannot be convincingly tied to his pan-Germanism, except that they may have predisposed him to backstage activism. What he does deserve credit for is having the political savvy, virtually alone among a welter of confused nationalists and anti-Communists in southern Bavaria, to see what was needed in Germany and the conviction to stake his personal resources on that.

After joining the moribund *Germanenorden* in 1916, Sebottendorf quickly revived the Bavarian section and began using the nominal cultural society as a center for political action during the brewing Marxist revolution, adopting the Thule Society name as a "cover" to divert Red suspicions. He purchased the *Beobachter* newspaper (later the National Socialists' *Völkischer Beobachter*); stockpiled weapons; schemed to kidnap the Communist leader, Kurt Eisner; infiltrated spies into the Communist cadres, and organized the *Kampfbund Thule* paramilitary group which joined with other Free Corps units in the successful attack on Munich's Communist government on April 30, 1919.

Most important, of course, was Sebottendorf's recognition of the need for a new type of worker-based party to deal with the unprecedented Red threat. He founded the German Workers Union in 1918, the most active member of which was Anton Drexler, who went on to start the German Workers Party, which was joined, taken over, and renamed the National Socialist German Workers' Party by Adolf Hitler in 1919.

Meanwhile, Sebottendorf's political career ended abruptly that same year, when Communists seized seven Thule Society members and executed them on April 30, triggering international outrage and at last galvanizing the Munich citizenry into ousting the Marxists. Sebottendorf was blamed for having allowed the Thule membership list to fall into the Reds' hands, although there were those who suggested that this was his Machiavellian intent all along, as the ensuing creation of martyrs played a key role in the nationalist victory.

In any case, Rudolf von Sebottendorf was in no way a puppet-master of the much later Third Reich, which indeed treated him with some hostility. Rather, he was an unusually shrewd political operative at a critical formative period, whose personal courage kept him battling in Red Munich long after many others had retreated. One wonders exactly what situation would have awaited the inexperienced Hitler had Sebottendorf not laid this groundwork.

* * * * *

Anyone trying to arrive at a rational understanding of this important period has been painfully aware of the jabberwock literature that has held the floor since the Second World War, ranging

from popular novels through journalistic exposes to solemn histories, and treating of everything from “Holocaust studies” through postwar “Nazi war criminal” skullduggeries.

Although it may seem extreme to link a Lucy Dawidowicz with the latest Hitler-is-alive tabloid tale, the fact is that they are on a continuum of literature which enforces a Manichean, total-evil view of the National Socialist era, from the academic down to the comic-book levels, a peculiar situation that does not exist in any other known area of inquiry.

Moreover, it is not that the literary establishment simply neglects to repudiate this trashier output. In fact, it has actively promoted it. The books in question are published by major houses, and get conventional review and promotional attention. Such a state of affairs would never exist in regard to sensationalized titles critical of Israeli Zionism, for example. Clearly, then, a Revisionist laying to rest of this material is long overdue; the present book, despite its lacks, is a start.

Goodrick-Clarke traces the origin of the Lovecraftian school of Third Reich historiography to the self-proclaimed German rocket engineer, Willy Ley, who emigrated here in 1935 and spent the ensuing years working on Hollywood science fiction films. In 1947, Ley wrote an article for a “pulp” fantasy magazine ridiculing pseudoscience in Germany, which he claimed included a Berlin sect attempting to conjure up the mysterious *vril* force described by British novelist Edward Bulwer-Lytton in his *The Coming Race* (1871), supposedly conveying to its adepts total power over the world.

This was sufficient to spark off, in 1960, the first and probably most enduring of the genre, *The Morning of the Magicians* by French journalists Louis Pauwels and Jacques Bergier. A vast far-rago of misquotations, sheer fabrications and exclamation points, this opus touched base on the major points that were to become standard for the type:

- The rise and early success of National Socialism were due, not to sober choice by the German electorate, followed by hard work of a capable people, but to supernatural forces;
- The forces are described as either discarnate, like Bulwer’s *vril*, or as the doings of godlike “ascended masters” in some remote and exotic location, usually Tibet;
- It is possible to get into contact with this power, identified by Pauwels and Bergier as “the Master of the World or the King of Fear,” and as it were plug in on the current for one’s own ends in the mundane world;
- Such liaison was a top-priority project of the German government, despite its other distractions;
- The government’s channel was the Thule Society, which in turn was the creature of the two evil geniuses, the playwright and early Hitler friend, Dietrich Eckart, and a professor of geopolitics at the University of Munich, Dr. Karl Haushofer. They used the Thule Society to control the state through Hitler, who is invariably described in the canon as a semi-hysterical “mediumistic” personality.

Later savants, such as Dietrich Bröndel in his *Before Hitler Came* (1964), with its title rather crassly lifted from Sebottendorf’s 1933 memoir, introduced the Ariosophical dimension of List and Lanz, including the pair in the Thule clique, along with Hitler, Mussolini, Göring and a who’s who of Axis luminaries. With this, the menu was complete and numerous others could begin rehashing it, most notably Michel-Jean Angebert, *The Occult and the Third Reich* (1971); Trevor Ravenscroft, *The Spear of Destiny* (1972), and J.H. Brennan, *Occult Reich* (1974).

Placing his magnifying glass on the “MOM” genre, Goodrick-Clarke reports as follows:

- There was no Vril Society or “Luminous Lodge,” as the fabulists call it, although there was a “Lumenclub” in Vienna for some years after 1932, acting as a front for the banned National Socialist Party;
- Prof. Haushofer did endorse a thrust to the east, into Soviet territory, but strictly for obvious geopolitical reasons; his alleged goal of reaching the ascended masters in the Orient is “entirely false;” according to Goodrick-Clarke;
- Dietrich Eckart (who died in 1923), along with the young Alfred Rosenberg, attended a few early Thule meetings as guests but there is no evidence linking other Party leaders, or List, Lanz or Haushofer, with the group;
- The Thule Society was disbanded around 1925 because of declining membership and was never reorganized.

We certainly owe something to Goodrick-Clarke for so expertly skewering this pernicious nonsense, which has even tripped up major-league historians like Joachim Fest, although he does not follow through on the truly important question. The inimitable Holocaust, spotlighted by all these “schlock” authors as the result of the national demonic possession, still sits enshrined in its increasingly shopworn hideousness, even here.

Source: vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 132, 176, 249, 250.

From the Editor

Ted O'Keefe

This issue continues, and completes, the *JHR*'s exploitation of that marvelous godsend from the Klarsfelds and their monied supporters, Jean-Claude Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*. Pressac's massive study is the first attempt by Exterminationists to come to grips with the revisionists' technical arguments against mass murder at the Auschwitz crematoria. As three previous treatments (by Mark Weber, Carlo Mattogno, and Robert Faurisson) have demonstrated, however, Pressac's lucubrations have if anything made the Revisionist case against homicidal gassing at Auschwitz more powerful than ever.

In Part II of his review of the Pressac book, Dr. Robert Faurisson concludes his masterful dissection of Pressac's attempts to shore up the gas-chamber thesis. More than just a demolition of Pressac's errors and a harvest of the windfall of the new evidence for Revisionism that the French pharmacist has unwittingly provided, Faurisson's study, which first appeared in the French Revisionist journal *Revue d'Histoire*

Révisionniste (no. 3, November-December 1990-January 1991; address: B.P. 122, 92704 Colombes Cedex, France) bristles with new evidence from Faurisson as to what really happened at Auschwitz during the Second World War.

Then Enrique Aynat, who, like Dr. Faurisson, is a frequent contributor to the *JHR* as well as a member of its Editorial Advisory Committee, comes at the Pressac book from a slightly different direction, **meticulously analyzing** Pressac's evidence documentary, technical, and testimonial at each of the seven Auschwitz sites claimed by Pressac and other Exterminationists to have served as homicidal gas chambers. Aynat's study is a concise, state-of-the-art debunking of not merely Pressac, but every Exterminationist who contends that the famous crematoria and the elusive "bunkers" of Auschwitz were used for murder by gas.

As noted above, *The Journal* plans no further studies of Pressac's *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* for the near future. With this issue we shall have devoted more than 160 pages to this book, which was hailed by its publishers (and in the pages of the *New York Times*) as definitive, technical proof at last of the exterminationist gas chamber thesis. So far as we have been able to determine, the *JHR*'s coverage alone currently exceeds the total space given Pressac's important study in other scholarly journals combined: an indication not merely of the import of Pressac's book for Revisionism but of the reluctance, if not inability, of Exterminationist scholarship to grapple with the physical and technical properties of the Auschwitz crematoria and their alleged gas chambers.

Further evidence of the implacable advance of Holocaust Revisionism is provided by a translation into English — the first to be published in America — of a forensic report on the purported

Auschwitz gas chambers, undertaken by the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow, Poland, at the request of the authorities of the Auschwitz State Museum. This translation, the result of the efforts of several technical experts with native fluency in Polish, whose efforts were coordinated and checked by *JHR* Associate Editor Mark Weber, gives implicit corroboration to the findings of gas-chamber expert Fred Leuchter in 1989, as presented in the *Leuchter Report*, the first expert, quantitative study of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz. Furthermore, as the director of Krakow institute, Professor Dr. Jan Markiewicz, confirms in a letter to the Institute for Historical Review which appears immediately following the translation of the report, the Polish investigation was undertaken in response to the famous Leuchter Report. The IHR and *The Journal* welcome Prof. Dr. Markiewicz's cordial response to our inquiry, and hope that it augurs a determination on the part of honest scholars in Poland and elsewhere in the former Soviet bloc to cooperate with Revisionists in working to bring history into accord with the facts in a spirit of civility, tolerance and objectivity sadly lacking in academic circles in the West.

Next, Mark Weber has delved again into the Second World War's tawdry soap story, the lie that the Germans made soap from human remains, chiefly those of Jews. As Weber shows in this study, to our knowledge the most thorough yet of the soap canard, its obvious derivation from similar propaganda lies of the First World War did not prevent Jewish organizations, and then Allied governments, from giving it the seal of authenticity in the press and at Nuremberg. Of particular value is Weber's demonstration of the bad faith underlying recent attempts by historians who subscribe to the orthodox version of the Holocaust to distance themselves from the soap lie by representing it as nothing more than a "rumor," rather than the "established fact" (by the International Military Tribunal) that it, most embarrassingly for them, has been since 1946. Revisionists themselves often make as well as revise, history. Making history has mostly been the province of such active researchers and combatants as, for instance, Robert Faurisson, Ernst Zündel, and Fred Leuchter, but every once in a while it falls to someone at the Institute itself to play a role, as did IHR Director J. Marcellus in the first Mermelstein suit. Since the recent docudrama, *Never Forget*, Ted Turner's TNT distortion of the suit and its settlement, gave Director Marcellus (among IHR staffers) the lions share of attention in the production, it's only fitting that he be allowed to set the legal and historical record straight, as he does in his punchy review.

As even J-C Pressac, for all his exploitation of blueprints, sketches, and other technical documents on the so-called gas chambers, is constrained to admit, eyewitness testimony remains the sine qua non of the Holocaust myth. That is why the starting point for Revisionist inquiry, from Paul Rassinier on, has been the careful examination of the claims and accusations of self-proclaimed eyewitnesses to gassing. John Cobden offers a careful review of a book by one of America's leading experts on the frailties and inconsistencies of human memory, psychologist Elizabeth Loftus, who has many times given expert court testimony on memory, psychologist Elizabeth Loftus, who has many times given expert court testimony on memory's limitations. Cobden draws the full implications from Dr. Loftus's awareness of the frailty of the "eyewitness" testimony against John Demjanjuk her recognition of clear evidence that eyewitness identification of Demjanjuk was fabricated with the help of Israeli authorities, and her frank admission that her disheartening refusal to aid the Demjanjuk defense was based on tribal loyalties at the expense of justice and truth.

Professor Arthur Butz, whose brilliant *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has defined the shape of Holocaust Revisionism since its appearance in 1976 returns to the pages of the *JHR* with a succinct restatement of his book's thesis. Butz's article first appeared in the *Daily Northwestern* a student newspaper of the university at which he is a tenured professor.

This issue of The Journal concludes with Robert Faurisson's call for additional information on the first known precursor of the gas extermination accusation of the Second World War, the Allied claim that the Austrians and Bulgarians had gassed some 700,000 Serbs as of March 1916. Study of this little-known, and scarcely studied atrocity story may open an important new front against its evident successor articularly since it is known that all sides in the Serbian campaign took strenuous measures to contain an epidemic that broke out in Serbia in 1915.

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Last issue we promised in this space to have *The Journal* back on schedule with this issue. Regrettably we have not succeeded, and have even lost another week or two.

Although we shall redouble our efforts to bring you the next issue of the JHR in a timely fashion, we cannot promise that it will be back on schedule: the exigencies of the Mermelstein trial, which is scheduled to begin August 9, and which will demand full attention from the staff of the IHR, will make that impossible. Look for the Winter issue of the JHR, which, barring the necessity of an appeal, will contain a comprehensive report on the trial, to be in your hands, on schedule once again, around Christmas or New Year's Day.

Source: vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 177-206.

Neither trace nor proof: The seven Auschwitz 'Gassing' sites According to Jean-Claude Pressac

By ENRIQUE AYNAT
Translated by Tom Kerr

The French author Jean-Claude Pressac has written a monumental work — 564 pages in large format, with hundreds of photographs, plans, sketches, drawings and reproduced documents on the creation, utilization and destruction of seven Auschwitz-Birkenau installations which supposedly once housed execution gas chambers.

J.-C. Pressac carried out an exhaustive on-site investigation. During the course of fifteen visits between 1979 and 1987, he spent some three months in Oswiecim (the present name of Auschwitz). He had complete freedom of research in the State Museum of Auschwitz, as well as the full collaboration of the museum authorities, in particular that of the chief archivist, Tadeusz Iwaszko, to whom his book is dedicated. Pressac further obtained the support of Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, who wrote the introduction to his book and who conducted research for him in the archives of the USSR and the German Democratic Republic.

Pressac's book is ostensibly a "scientific rebuttal of those who deny the gas chambers" (p. 12) and is in effect directed against the Revisionists, whom he describes as "maniacs who spend their lives trying to demonstrate that something never existed" (p. 16). Despite his pretensions to cold objectivity, the author's animosity towards the Revisionists is in constant evidence throughout the book. He goes so far as to assert that the judicial actions brought against Revisionists, which he himself admits "smacked of witch-hunting" (p. 556), are the only "defensive option open to the people who felt they were being 'attacked' by Faurisson's thesis" (p. 556).

The present piece does not pretend to be an exhaustive critique of Pressac's voluminous work; that would require a book of the same dimensions. This article will deal briefly with the supposed execution gas chambers which, according to Pressac, were to be found in seven distinct locations in Auschwitz-Birkenau (Crematoria I, II, III, IV and V, and Bunkers 1 and 2) and which he claims killed a million Jews. My article focusses in particular on Pressac's arguments concerning the "technique" and "operation" of the gas chambers, which are precisely the aspects that figure in the title of his work.

In fine, the aim of my article has been to ascertain whether or not Pressac's book provides anything at all with which to shore up the faltering thesis that there were execution gas chambers at Auschwitz. We must emphasize the great importance of the French author's work in this connection, since if the answer to the above question is no, it would be clear that, 44 years after the war, and after examination of all available documentation, there exists no single solid or valid piece of evidence establishing the reality of any such homicidal installations.

Crematorium I of Auschwitz

Crematorium I was installed for the purpose of incinerating the corpse of inmates who died of natural causes, a matter, therefore, of a sanitary installation. According to the official thesis, at the end of 1941 the mortuary of this crematorium was transformed into an execution gas chamber.

Pressac acknowledges that there are very few German documents relating to Crematorium I and that none of them provides any formal proof of homicidal gassings in its mortuary. So that “as evidence to establish the reality of homicidal gassing there remain only the testimonies of the participants” (p. 123).

The testimonies selected by Pressac to prove the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in Crematorium I are as follows:

a) Alter Fajnzyllberg, a former prisoner at Auschwitz and a member of the *Sonderkommando* (a group of prisoners charged with transporting and incinerating the corpses).

In his statement made in 1945, after the liberation of Auschwitz by the Soviets, this witness made no allusion to a gas chamber. According to Fajnzyllberg, the place where it was supposedly to be found was a “mortuary” (*Leichenhalle*) which in fact served for storing cadavers and also on occasion for the execution of prisoners by means of firearms. Moreover, in the brief text reproduced by Pressac (p.124), there are two gross errors relating to the dimensions of the place and the capacity of the crematory ovens. These errors, as the French author himself admits, demonstrate “the general tendency to exaggerate at that time (in the years 1945-50)” (p. 126).

In a new statement made before a notary in 1980, Fajnzyllberg declared that he “saw” a gassing in the *Leichenhalle* of the crematorium, even though a bit further on he contradicts himself by admitting that he and his companions had been locked up in a coke bunker (pp. 124-125). In this declaration, Fajnzyllberg repeated exactly the same dimensions for the gas chamber that he had given in 1945, which for Pressac is “a proof of the sincerity and authenticity of his statements” (p. 126).

b) Filip Müller, former prisoner of Auschwitz and member of the *Sonderkommando*.

In the brief commentary that Pressac devotes to Müller’s testimony (pp. 126-127), the supposed gas chamber is not even mentioned. Instead, what merits the author’s attention is the statement of the witness regarding the cross-section of the crematorium chimney. Reading Pressac’s text, we derive the following:

- F. Müller stated that the chimney was circular in cross-section.
- The German documents indicate that the chimney was square in cross-section.
- Despite that, F. Müller “is a valuable witness”(p. 127).

Most important to emphasize, however, are the opinions that Pressac himself holds with regard to F. Müller:

- “Filip Müller is an important witness, but in choosing to describe material and precise facts in a book and in 1979 (1st German edition) he has accumulated errors, thus making his account historically dubious. The best approach is to read it as a novel based on true history” (p. 181).

- “... Filip Müller’s account was recorded too late and included involuntary errors and embellishments, and perhaps even lies ...” (p. 380).

After taking the foregoing into account, I find it incomprehensible that Pressac should have presented this witness “as evidence to establish the reality of homicidal gassing.”

c) Rudolf Höss, the first commander of Auschwitz. In the memoirs written during his captivity in Poland, R. Höss stated that he had been present at the gassing of 900 Russian war prisoners in the mortuary of Crematorium I. Höss explains that while the trucks were unloading, a number of holes were made in the stone and concrete walls of the morgue.” [1] These details seem “unlikely” to Pressac (p. 127). Actually, to maintain that it was possible to put 900 people in the 78.2 square meters of the gas chamber and that holes for introducing poison gas were drilled at top speed through the 10-to-15-centimeter-thick concrete walls while the victims were getting off the trucks goes beyond rationality. But Pressac attempts to justify Höss’s statement in the following manner:

Höss participated in the “special actions” strictly in accordance with the almost insurmountable tasks imposed by the exponential growth of his camp, thus not allowing his conscience to dwell on the moral questions. He was present, *without seeing*. In the author’s opinion, this attitude explains the involuntary errors found throughout his autobiography (p. 128, emphasis in the original).

Against Pressac’s attempted justification, we may advance the following objections:

- Höss himself stated in his memoirs that:

the prisoners were killed by means of gas in the cells of block 11. I was present at the scene, protected by a gas mask. So great was the crowding in the cells that the gas had hardly entered before the victims died. A brief half-smothered scream and it was all over. I was perhaps too moved by this first sight of killing with gas to become clearly and fully aware of what I was seeing. On the other hand, I remember *with the greatest exactness* the way in which, a bit later, the nine hundred Russians were killed with gas [in Crematorium I] [2] (emphasis added).

- Elsewhere in his memoirs, R. Höss repeats 900 as the number of Russians gassed. [3]
- No less untenable is the thesis that R. Höss was so occupied with the tasks deriving from expansion of the camp that he lost his capacity for observation. Höss himself says that it would be

... a mistake to imagine that taking part in this extermination, with everything that it involved, was accepted as an ordinary happening, like any other. With very few exceptions, all those who took part in it, and I most of all, came away with indelible impressions and plenty of material for reflection. [4]

Furthermore, exterminating Jews was the most important of all the tasks entrusted to R. Höss, and it could scarcely take second place to work proceeding from expansion of the camp. As a matter of fact, it was Himmler in person who had given him the order: “It is you who will take over the task. It is a tough and painful job that awaits you: put your whole being into it and the difficulties that present themselves will be as nothing.” [5]

Consequently, Pressac's justification of Höss's testimony, teeming as it is with these incongruities, is just not convincing.

In any event, the important thing here is that Pressac offers, as proof of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in Crematorium I, testimony containing at least two obvious falsehoods. In the last analysis, it should suffice to point out that if R. Höss was in reality present "without seeing," why is he presented as a witness?

d) Pery Broad, former member of the SS garrison of Auschwitz.

Pressac acknowledges that the testimony of this one-time SS member "raises problems yet to be solved" (p. 128). Specifically, "the form and tone of his declaration sound false. His writings can not be the faithful reflection of the thoughts of an SS man and indeed reading them gives the impression that they were written by a former prisoner" (p. 128). It is Pressac's opinion that Pery Broad's declaration "has been 'slightly' reworked by the Poles" (p. 128, quotation marks in the original). Should any doubts remain, Pressac later on hammers home the point:

"Historically, this account is not exploitable in its present version [...] After assessing its reliability, no conscientious historian will be able to use it unless and until the 'declaration' has been stripped of the Polish influence, or in other words until the original is published" (p. 162, emphasis in the original).

Why Pressac, the above reservation notwithstanding, has offered this testimony as proof of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber, remains to this writer an enigma.

To sum up, Pressac acknowledges that there is no documentary evidence to establish a homicidal gassing in the supposed gas chamber of Crematorium I of Auschwitz. In lieu of that, the French author provides the testimonies of four witnesses. These testimonies, however, all either show "the general tendency to exaggerate at that time" (A. Fajnzyblberg); include "involuntary errors and embellishments, and perhaps even lies" (F. Müller); come from someone who "was present, without seeing" (R. Höss); or "have been 'slightly' reworked by the Poles" so that they are not serviceable in their present version [P. Broad].

The conclusion follows that, insofar as concerns the sources provided by Pressac, the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in Crematorium I of Auschwitz must be considered historically unfounded.

Lastly, Pressac offers the results of the chemical analysis of samples taken by the American engineer Fred Leuchter ^[6] in the supposed gas chamber of Crematorium I as proof of the practice of homicidal gasings (p. 133). Leuchter had found in 6 of the 7 samples a trace presence of cyanide. ^[7] To be sure, our author ought to have pointed out that the report of the American engineer categorically denies the existence of any execution gas chamber either in Crematorium I of Auschwitz or in the four crematoria of Birkenau. The most important thing to be emphasized, however, is that Leuchter took one of his samples in an area that had been a washroom, which had never been part of the supposed gas chamber, and was separated from it by a gas-tight door. The partition wall that separated the washroom from the supposed gas chamber was eliminated by the Poles after the war. The analysis of this sample reveals a presence of cyanide *comparable* to that of most of the other samples. In short, the amount of cyanide found in a sample taken from a place that had *never* served as a gas chamber was *similar* to that detected in the samples taken from the supposed gas chamber. If the mortuary had really been a gas chamber, cyanide ought to have been detected in the samples taken from there, and by the same token nothing should have been detected in the sample obtained from the former washroom; or rather a minute

amount of cyanide should have been found in the former washroom (from contingent disinfection with hydrocyanic acid) and a much larger quantity in the gas chamber. What proves to be inexplicable from the Exterminationist point of view is the finding of *similar* amounts of cyanide in both places.

Therefore, and contrary to what Pressac tells us, the results of the Leuchter report constitute solid evidence of the *nonexistence* of a gas chamber in Crematorium I of Auschwitz.

Bunker 1

As Pressac himself acknowledges, there remain no ruins, and neither documents nor plans of this supposed installation with its homicidal gas chamber. Consequently, the “information that has reached us on this provisional installation is scanty and based only on the testimonies of the few survivors” (p. 162).

Pressac cites six testimonies. Four of them come from former prisoners (Szlam Dragon, Maurice Benroubi, Milton Buki and Moshe Garbarz) and two from members of the SS (Pery Broad and Rudolf Höss).

Let us first look at the description of the supposed homicidal installation given us by the witnesses.

1. S. Dragon: “a small brick house divided into just two parts and able to contain altogether 2000 naked persons. These rooms each had one entrance door and a small window” (p. 161).
2. P. Broad: according to Pressac, P. Broad never described Bunker 1 (p. 165).
3. M. Benroubi: “There were two big concrete blocks [the buildings known as 'Bunker 1' — Pressac’s note] at least 20 m. wide and perhaps as many long [...] One morning, the doors of the Bunkers, as they called them, were open. I noticed that there were shower heads and along the wall clothes hooks” (p. 162).
Further on he indicates that the “Bunker was a brick-built house, with the windows filled in” (p. 163).
4. M. Buki: the Bunker was “a brick farmhouse” (p. 163). The lethal gas was introduced through “a little chimney” (p. 164).
5. M. Garbarz: “a sort of barn closed on three sides, identical to those where our farmers keep the hay” (p. 164).
6. R. Höss: “All the rooms — there were five in all — were filled at the same time; the air-tight doors were locked with a key, and the contents of the cans of gas were put in through the skylights.

“At the end of half an hour, the doors were opened — there were two in each room — and the dead were removed and taken to the ditches.” [8]

7. Bunker 1 could hold 800 persons. [9]

Contradictions abound in these testimonies. Thus, regarding its exterior aspect, Bunker 1 was:

- “a small brick house” (S. Dragon)
- “two big concrete blocks” (M. Benroubi)
- “a sort of barn closed on three sides” (M. Garbarz).

And as for its capacity, it had room for:

- 2,000 persons (S. Dragon)
- 800 persons (R. Höss).

The lethal agent was introduced:

- through “a small window” in every gas chamber, according to S. Dragon, even though the plan of this installation made on the basis of his testimony has two windows in each chamber (p. 161).
- “through a little chimney” (M. Buki).

Bunker 1 had:

- two gas chambers (S. Dragon)
- five gas chambers (R. Höss).

The gas chambers had:

- one door each (S. Dragon)
- two doors each (R. Höss).

Pressac concludes by affirming that the purpose of Bunker 1, “the extermination of human beings by gassing, cannot be called into question, if only because of the constant repetition of an identical process in the accounts of former prisoners, unless like certain Revisionists of bad faith we claim that the witnesses were all lying, including the SS” (p. 165).

This conclusion can not be defended. In the first place, the testimonies of the former prisoners all share a great vagueness. We can scarcely speak of “an identical process” when Pressac himself admits that it “is impossible to make a synthesis of all these accounts” (p. 165). Secondly, revisionists do not say that the witnesses lie in every case. It is enough for them to observe that some testimonies, like that of P. Broad (as Pressac himself acknowledges), have been “slightly’ re-worked by the Poles.”

In short, as authority for the existence and functioning of a gas chamber in Bunker 1, Pressac provides only six testimonies. These testimonies are generally very vague, and when by exception they are specific on some point or another, contradictions arise. Ergo, based on the sources provided by Pressac, it is not possible in the case of Bunker 1 to maintain the historic reality of any execution gas chambers.

Bunker 2

According to the official thesis, Bunker 2 was a farmhouse in which a number of homicidal gas chambers had been installed. It was in operation from the summer of 1942 until the spring of 1943. In the summer of 1944 it was again put into operation in order to assist in the extermination of the Hungarian Jews.

Pressac cites the following testimonies in his treatment of Bunker 2:

1. Szlam Dragon, considered the principal witness by the French author.
In 1945 Dragon described Bunker 2 as “a cottage covered with thatch, its windows bricked in [...] The interior of the cottage was divided into four parts by partition walls running

across it, one of which could contain 1200 naked people, the second 700, the third 400 and the fourth 200 to 250” (p. 171).

Two items in the testimony, the interior division and the capacity, are demolished by Pressac himself. With regard to the number of rooms, the French author exhibits a reconstruction of Bunker 2 based on the actual ruins which clearly shows eight of these rooms (pp. 174 and 175). With reference to the number of persons put into the Bunker, from 2500 to 2550, Pressac reckons that a physically impossible density of 28 persons per square meter (Bunker 2 had an area of 90 square meters) and so believes that the witness was following “the tendency to exaggerate which seems to have been the general rule at the time of the liberation” (p. 171).

Nonetheless, 27 years later, in 1972, S. Dragon again testified in a celebrated trial against two former SS men, and his declaration was so disordered (he confused the Bunker with a crematorium) that the session had to be interrupted. Pressac justifies this by saying that the “intervening time had done its work, a blessing for the witness, a disaster for justice and for History. I have added this anecdote to show the irreplaceable value of early testimony. Afterwards, witnesses constantly go over the same story, altering it as the years go by” (p. 172).

In short, Pressac finds it easy to justify the errors, falsehoods and absurdities of the testimonies. If the latter are from the immediate post-war period, they demonstrate “the tendency to exaggerate” characteristic of that era; but if they were given many years later, it turns out that time has altered the memory of the witnesses. Moreover, it is not to be understood that Pressac is alluding to the “irreplaceable value of early testimony” when he has just said that it suffers from a “tendency to exaggerate.”

2. Pery Broad.

Even though Pressac had made clear that the account of this former member of the SS “is not exploitable in its present version” (p. 162), he does not hesitate to “exploit it” now and again.

3. Rudolf Höss.

There is only one reference in the memoirs of R. Höss to Bunker 2: “Bunker 2 was the larger and could hold about 1200 people” (p. 174). This information is refuted by Pressac himself when he says that the stated capacity corresponded to 13 persons per square meter, “a physically impossible density” (p. 174).

4. Miklos Nyiszli, a Hungarian Jewish doctor deported to Auschwitz.

Dr. Nyiszli’s declaration makes reference to the functioning of Bunker 2 in its final stage, during the summer of 1944. In contradiction to all the other testimonies, Dr. Nyiszli affirms that there were no gas chambers in Bunker 2, but rather a dressing room where the people who were going to be shot and incinerated in an adjacent trench could leave their clothes (p. 177). Despite that, Pressac acknowledges the “validity” of Dr. Nyiszli’s account (p. 179).

5. David Olére, former prisoner of Auschwitz.

Pressac reproduces a sketch by D. Olére showing the operation of Bunker 2 as a gas chamber in the summer of 1944.

Pressac admits that the little hill that appears in the sketch is fictitious and was introduced by the witness “for artistic reasons only” (p. 178). One notices as well that although this is supposedly a summer scene, the SS men are wearing overcoats. None the less, for our author the scene is “of such remarkable precision as to be almost as good as a photograph” (p. 178).

We need to call attention to a contradiction that Pressac falls into here: the scene sketched by D. Olére, which represents, so to speak, the prolegomenon to a homicidal gassing, is of photographic fidelity; at the same time, Dr. Nyiszli’s description, which is contemporane-

ous with that of Ol ere and yet reflects a totally different extermination procedure, is also valid.

6. Filip Müller.

Here it will suffice to note Pressac's opinion of this witness: "Filip Müller is an important witness, but in choosing to describe material and precise facts in a book and in 1979 (1st German edition) he has accumulated errors, thus making his account historically dubious" (p. 181).

Conclusion: as in the two previous cases, it is not possible to establish historically the existence of a homicidal gas installation at Bunker 2 on the basis of the testimonies provided by author Pressac.

Crematoria II and III of Birkenau

The official thesis holds that an execution gas chamber was in operation in Crematorium II from March of 1943 until November of 1944, and that in Crematorium III, the former's twin, there was likewise a homicidal gas chamber, which operated from June of 1943 to November of 1944. According to Pressac, around 750,000 Jews, three fourths of the victims of Auschwitz, were murdered and cremated in these two installations.

The initial plan for one of these crematoria was laid out in November of 1941. A normal crematorium, with no criminal implications, was contemplated (p. 183). Later, the Germans presumably made the decision to construct two of these crematoria, but to modify them for criminal purposes by converting one of their underground mortuaries (*Leichenkeller 2*) into a dressing room where the victims would disrobe, and the other (*Leichenkeller 1*) into an execution gas chamber (p. 184). This decision was supposedly made at the end of June of 1942. According to Pressac:

30th June 1942 marks a turning point in the history of Birkenau, for while there may have been some extermination of Jews before this, it was on an ad hoc and totally improvised basis, whereas henceforth it was to be carried out on an industrial basis (p.184).

And yet the true "turning point" in the history of Auschwitz surely came about *a year before that*, on the 29th of July of 1941, when R. Höss, the first commander of Auschwitz, supposedly received the order to exterminate the Jews. ^[10]

Contrary to what Pressac says, the extermination of the Jews was not carried out in a makeshift way before June of 1942. Quite the contrary, after receiving the order to exterminate the Jews, R. Höss immediately set about planning the procedure to be followed together with a high SS functionary and specialist on the Jewish question, Adolf Eichmann. Höss had anticipated that "multitudes," "considerable masses" and "massive convoys" of Jews would be annihilated in Auschwitz. It was agreed that a farmhouse near Birkenau (Bunker 1) would be "especially appropriate for the purpose in question." ^[11] A little later Höss sent Himmler "a detailed plan of the site and an exact description of the projected installations." ^[12] Himmler gave this his approval. ^[13] All of this, according to the context, occurred between August and November of 1941.

So we have the Germans on the one hand making preparations to annihilate great masses of Jews in an installation specifically got ready for the purpose (Bunker 1) and on the other hand designing a large crematorium without criminal intent. Pressac's thesis thus brings us to the paradox that on June 30, 1942 the Germans decided to change over from a "makeshift" extermination,

which they were carrying out in an installation specially set up for mass killing, to an “industrial” extermination that they would carry out in crematoria conceived with no criminal purpose.

Pressac’s thesis leads, moreover, to another paradox. It is known that the Germans built crematoria to incinerate corpses and thereby avoid the less hygienic burial process, which could facilitate the spread of epidemics. Yet they envisioned burial for the victims of Bunker 1. ^[14] Thus, the Germans had planned on a crematorium to incinerate the comparatively small number of prisoners who died of natural causes, and at the same time they omitted this hygienic measure for the presumably much larger number of corpses which would result from the extermination by poison gas.

On the other hand, Crematoria II and III had been planned with three basement mortuaries (*Leichenkeller*) each, in which the dead were kept prior to cremation. Pressac assumes these mortuaries were employed as follows:

1. *Leichenkeller* 3 was to be the reception morgue, where the prison numbers of the corpses would be recorded;
2. *Leichenkeller* 2 was to be temporary storage for newly arrived and recorded corpses awaiting cremation (delay of 3 or 4 days);
3. *Leichenkeller* 1 was to take corpses several days old, beginning to decompose and thus requiring the room to be well ventilated, to be incinerated as soon as possible (p. 284).

Pressac maintains that the crematoria were later modified for criminal purposes. As has already been indicated, the basement morgues were converted, one into a dressing room (*Leichenkeller* 2) and another into a homicidal gas chamber (*Leichenkeller* 1). *Leichenkeller* 3 disappeared. So, according to the French author’s thesis, the crematoria needed mortuaries for storing corpses until cremation only when they had to be concerned about natural deaths in the camp; and on the other hand, they didn’t need them when they had to contend with the much greater number of cadavers “produced” by the gas chamber. In other words, following Pressac, cremation was a slow process when it involved prisoners who died of natural causes, since space was lacking to store the cadavers prior to cremation; and yet it was a super-fast process in the case of extermination, because then, despite a much larger number of cadavers, there was no need to store them. Let us now take a look at the extermination process that was supposedly carried out in these crematoria.

The first thing that gives surprise is the scant space Pressac allots to this matter, since, according to the title of his work ("Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers"), it ought to have received a much more extensive treatment. Of the 196 pages which Pressac devotes to the study of Crematoria I and II, there is less than half a page of text ("The use of the Krematorien for the 're-settlement' of Jews unfit for work," p. 253) and a page of drawings (p. 258) focussing specifically on the method of extermination.

Pressac indicates that the extermination proceeded in groups of 1,000 to 1,500 people at a time (p. 253). However, all the testimonies reproduced by the author cite much higher figures: 3,000 according to R. Höss ^[15] and M. Nyiszli (p. 473), 2,500 according to H. Tauber (p. 494) and 2,000 according to C. S. Bendel (pp. 469 and 471). Pressac does not tell us on what sources he bases his own figures, so that they must be considered mere suppositions. And since he is making suppositions, why pick a figure of 1,000 to 1,500? Why couldn’t it be 500? Or 100? Or any other number?

According to the French author, the route followed by the victims within the crematorium was as follows: first they entered the dressing room, where they disrobed. Then they passed through a

little vestibule and entered the gas chamber. Once the 1,000 or 1,500 persons were within the 210 square meters of the gas chamber, then came the introduction of the lethal agent, *Zyklon B* (an insecticide composed of hydrocyanic acid) through four holes in the roof. The amount of *Zyklon B* introduced was 40 times the lethal dose per person. In five minutes at most the victims were dead (p. 253). Immediately there after the ventilation began:

The air extraction system was then switched on for at least 20 to 30 minutes, for there was a great deal of poisoned air still in the chamber, the amount absorbed by the victims being minimal. The gas-tight door was then unbolted and opened, and the work of extracting the corpses began immediately (p. 253).

Elsewhere Pressac states that after “15 minutes of ventilation the air in the room would be completely renewed” (p. 16).

It is my opinion that, on the contrary, not only would the supposed gas chamber be full of hydrocyanic acid even after 20 or 30 minutes of ventilation, but that even the structure itself presented such difficulties for carrying out mass homicidal gassings on a habitual basis, that the actual practice of such an operation would certainly have ended disastrously, for the following reasons:

- The ventilation system of the supposed gas chamber was in reality appropriate for a mortuary that needed to be aired out in order to eliminate the bad odor produced by the decomposition of the corpses. But as Pressac acknowledges, the system was not the most appropriate for ventilating a gas chamber:
- The ventilation system of *Leichenkeller 1* had initially been *designed for a morgue*, with the fresh air entering near the ceiling and the cold unhealthy air being drawn out near the floor. Its use as a gas chamber really required the reverse situation, with the fresh air coming in near the floor and warm air saturated with hydrocyanic acid being drawn out near the ceiling (p. 224, emphasis in the original).

This system presented yet another difficulty. The poison gas had to exit through holes, located just above the floor, which led to a “ventilation conduit” (Entlüftungskanal). According to the testimony of H. Tauber, former member of the *Sonderkommando* (p. 484). Given the crowding that existed in the gas chamber, with from 1000 to 1500 people in 210 square meters of space, the welter of corpses brought about by the gassing might easily have obstructed these little holes, so that the ventilation would have become difficult or impossible.

These two problems could easily have been avoided had the Germans merely reversed the intake and exhaust airflow when they converted the morgue into a gas chamber.

- *Leichenkeller 1* and 2 were each equipped with a ventilation system powered by electric motors. — *Leichenkeller 2* the “dressing room” with a volume of 902.7 cubic meters, was equipped with a 7.5 horsepower motor; — *Leichenkeller 1* the alleged gas chamber with a volume of 506 cubic meters, had a 3.5 horsepower motor (pp. 286, 360 and 361). From this it follows that the dressing room had a ventilation system that was, actually as well as proportionately, faster and more powerful than that of the gas chamber. This situation would have been normal for morgues (or mortuaries), from which the odor of the decomposing bodies has to be removed. — *Leichenkeller 2*, the larger of the two mortuaries, would have been equipped with a larger motor. What is not logical is that the Germans should have installed a faster and more powerful ventilation system in the dressing room, where it wouldn’t have been strictly necessary, rather than in the gas chamber, where it would have been essential to eliminate rapidly — in 20 or 30 minutes — all traces of hydrocyanic acid in order to enable the removal of the bodies. Comparing the power of the two motors thus

gives a strong indication that the Germans did not convert *Leichenkeller* 1 into a gas chamber.

- Ventilation of the gas chamber within 15, 20, or 30 minutes is highly improbable. Pressac cites the testimony of a former prisoner of Auschwitz, A. Rablin, who participated in delousing with *Zyklon B*. This was done in an improvised gas chamber located in Block 3 of Auschwitz. The delousing chamber was approximately 300 cubic meters in volume and was equipped with an exhaust fan and seven windows for ventilation. The concentration of hydrocyanic acid used in the delousing process was from 0.05 to 0.1 per cent. Under these conditions the ventilation lasted *two hours* (p. 25).

Let us compare these circumstances with those of the supposed homicidal gas chamber of Crematoria II and III. In this case the area was larger, some 506 cubic meters, and the ventilation system, as we have seen, functioned in a way that was the opposite of what would have been desirable. The vents for exhausting the toxic agent were next to the floor, so that they could be partially or totally obstructed by the hodgepodge of corpses. There were no windows in the place. The concentration of hydrocyanic acid employed was 1 per cent (p.18), ten to twenty times stronger than that used in the delousing process.

The above comparison thus gives rise to another anomaly: the delousing chamber, of smaller volume, with an exhaust fan and seven windows, and contending with a far weaker concentration of hydrocyanic acid, presumably required more time to be ventilated than the supposed homicidal gas chamber, which was larger, which had an inadequate ventilation system, which lacked windows and which used a far higher concentration of hydrocyanic acid.

The nature of the presumed toxic agent, *Zyklon B*, would have involved a grave problem when the time came to remove the corpses.

Zyklon B consists of pure hydrocyanic acid in liquid form, chemically stabilized and absorbed into a porous and inert base, generally in the form of disks or small cubes of wood pulp. [16]

The hydrocyanic acid evaporates from the porous base, its rate of evaporation rate varying under different conditions of temperature and humidity. The process is a relatively slow one. Exposure times for *Zyklon B* vary greatly. Its manufacturers have established a *minimum* of two hours and a maximum of 72. [17] Because of the possibility that the inert base containing the *Zyklon* may go on emitting hydrocyanic acid even after many hours of exposure, the manufacturers insist that the tins (*Zyklon* is marketed in tins) and all traces of base must be removed before the treated area can be reoccupied. [18]

Therefore, on opening the door of the gas chamber to remove the dead bodies, an operation that was carried out approximately 20 minutes (p. 16) or 30 minutes (p. 253) after the introduction of the *Zyklon B*, the base would go on emanating hydrocyanic acid, thereby contaminating the rest of the building. And if the Germans had wished to avoid this situation by removing the disks or little cubes of wood immediately after opening the door, they would have faced two more problems. In the first place, the jumble of corpses, from 5 to 7 bodies per square meter according to Pressac's estimate, would make access to the scattered residues very difficult. And in the second place, the porous base of the *Zyklon B*, which was supposedly thrown into the interior of four columns of wire mesh, could not be removed after the gassing anyway. Pressac's own reconstruction of one of these mesh columns includes no opening through which to extract the base (p. 487).

- After removal of the corpses from the gas chamber, the next procedure was hauling them to the crematory room for incineration. Given that *Leichenkeller* 1 was below ground and the

ovens were at ground level, a freight elevator had been installed. According to Pressac, at first a provisional elevator with a capacity of three or four cadavers was used. Later the workers used a permanent elevator, capable of lifting 10 or 15 bodies at a time (p. 253). From that we may infer that in order to take 1,000 or 1,500 corpses up to the ovens with the provisional freight elevator, 67 to 100 trips would be required. If we consider hypothetically that the process of loading, ascending, and unloading the cadavers and taking the freight elevator back down took five minutes, it would have required a half day's incessant labor to get all the corpses to the ovens. In any case, it is evident that the work of hoisting so many bodies in such a small freight elevator would have been most cumbersome, and that the Germans could easily have avoided such a nuisance by building the gas chamber at ground level. Besides, building a gas chamber below ground was harder work and more expense. The excavation and construction took place in marshy ground, requiring that the floor, ceiling and walls all be waterproofed with a material which was both scarce and costly during the war.

Thus we are confronted by a train of evidence that gives very strong support to the hypothesis that the Germans not only designed *Leichenkeller* 1 as a mortuary, but also constructed it and used it as for just that purpose.

Conclusions:

- The results that follow from Pressac's thesis are neither logical nor credible. According to the French author, the Germans designed Crematoria II and III with no criminal intent, even though they were later converted to carry out mass extermination. This criminal transformation was indeed peculiar, in that no modification was made in the ventilation system of the mortuary, although it was anything but adequate for a gas chamber. In spite of this, and notwithstanding that the Germans had conceived other installations expressly for extermination purposes, Crematoria II and III were used to annihilate and incinerate 750,000 Jews, three quarters of the alleged victims of Auschwitz.
- Several indications reinforce our hypothesis that not only was *Leichenkeller* 1 conceived as a mortuary — which even Pressac admits — but that it was also constructed as such, and in a form that would have made its utilization as a homicidal gas chamber difficult, if not impossible.

The procedure for the ongoing mass extermination of human beings in Crematoria II and III, as described by Pressac, would have been impracticable.

Crematoria IV and V of Birkenau

Crematoria IV and V were twins. According to Pressac, three or four homicidal gas chambers functioned in each of them. Crematorium IV went into service in March of 1943 and operated until October of 1944, when it was set on fire during a prisoner revolt. Crematorium V was in operation from April of 1943 to January of 1945 (p. 379).

Unlike Crematoria II and III, Crematoria IV and V “were designed as criminal instruments,” although “modifications introduced in the course of their construction and operation made their operating sequence absurd” (p.447). This is an astonishing revelation. Accepting it would result in the following paradox: Crematoria II and III were designed with no criminal aim, although modifications introduced during the course of their construction made them both into such efficient human slaughterhouses that they annihilated three quarters of the victims of Auschwitz. On the other hand, Crematoria IV and V were designed as criminal instruments, although the modifica-

tions introduced during the course of their construction transformed their sequence of operations into an absurdity. In other words, the architects and technicians of Auschwitz were simultaneously very stupid and very clever. Very clever when they transformed ordinary crematoria into prodigious instruments of mass extermination, and very stupid when they made alterations in facilities expressly for mass slaughter, rendering them unusable.

Moreover, if — as Pressac points out — the procedure followed in these crematoriums was “irrational and ridiculous,” and if the “natural ventilation was badly oriented and dangerous,” and if the introduction of the poison “resembled a circus act” (p. 386), then it is not difficult to imagine that the extermination process would have been, of necessity, a disaster.

The annihilation was carried out in groups of 2,400 people at a time (p. 384). Pressac does not explain why in these crematoria, with gas chambers 240 square meters in area and a crematory oven with eight muffle furnaces, the operation proceeded in groups of 2,400 people, whereas in Crematoria II and III, with gas chambers of similar dimensions (210 square meters) and practically twice the cremation capacity (15 muffle furnaces), it was carried out in groups of 1,000 to 1,500 victims.

According to Pressac, the extermination process followed this sequence: The Jews entered into a large hall and disrobed. Once undressed, the 2,400 victims were directed to the three gas chambers, into which they were packed until there were 10 persons to each square meter

According to the testimony of a survivor, Dr. Bendel, the process was somewhat different. The victims disrobed outside the crematorium and entered the large hall (for what purpose?). Later they turned and went back the way they had come and were directed to the gas chambers. The 2,400 victims traversed the narrow passageway between the large hall and the gas chambers amidst an “indescribable chaos,” since they had a premonition of “the death that awaited them” (p. 470).

Once the victims were in the gas chambers and the doors locked, the SS men flung in *Zyklon B* through windows that were reached with a stepladder. The SS on duty would open the window with one hand and throw in the contents of the tin with the other, which, in Pressac’s words, constituted a “circus act.” This operation had to be repeated six times for each gas chamber, since each one had six windows (p. 386). Notwithstanding that the installations were conceived for criminal purposes, no such devices as the wire-mesh columns of Crematoria II and III had been provided.

About 30 minutes after the *Zyklon B* was dropped in, the doors were opened, Pressac says, for ventilation (p. 384). Inexplicably, these gas chambers had only natural ventilation (p. 16), which means that they ought to have been aired out for a period of at least 10 hours. Nevertheless, the removal of the corpses followed *immediately*, since, according to Dr. Bendel’s testimony, they were still warm (p. 470).

Under these conditions, however, a catastrophe would have taken place. 30 minutes after the *Zyklon B* had been thrown in, there would still have been a high concentration of hydrocyanic acid in the gas chambers. On an average, the amount of *Zyklon B* that the Germans employed was 40 times the fatal human dosage (p. 18). Accordingly, when the *Sonderkommando* opened the door to remove the dead bodies, dispersion of the hydrocyanic acid and contamination of the entire building would have occurred inevitably. In short, under the stated conditions the extermination process in Crematoria IV and V would have been impossible.

Furthermore, Pressac points out that the delousing chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau, which also functioned with *Zyklon B*, had at least one fan for ventilation (pp.24, 25, 27, 31, 41 and 53), making it even more incomprehensible that the SS failed to equip the gas chambers of Crematoria IV and V with the same.

As if it didn't matter, although natural ventilation was all that was available, in their construction the Germans had taken no account of the prevailing winds, so that, as Pressac acknowledges, ventilation "was slow and inefficient, with the attendant risk of contaminating the rooms giving onto the vestibule if there should be a sudden gust of wind from the west" (p. 386).

From all the foregoing, two conclusions may be drawn:

- Pressac's thesis that the SS made so many clumsy mistakes in designing and constructing these crematoriums that the extermination process became absurd and ridiculous lacks credibility. The evidence indicates, on the contrary, that the Germans did not design these installations for a criminal purpose and did not provide them with gas chambers of any kind.
- The habitual mass extermination of human beings in Crematoria IV and V, as Pressac presents it, would have proven completely impracticable.

The Cremation Capacity of the Crematoria

On the momentous question of the cremation of the corpses, Pressac states the following:

The real throughput of a type II/III Krematorium was from 1,000 to 1,100 corpses per 24 hours and the maximum for a type IV/V was about 500 a day. The total capacity for the four Krematorien was therefore about 3,000 a day (P. 244).

Pressac indicates no source as a basis for his estimate, which is purely hypothetical. To begin with, the figures given by the French author can not be reconciled with those of all the testimonies cited in his work. Thus, according to Dr. Bendel, the daily incineration capacity of Crematoria II and III was 2,000 corpses each, with a corresponding figure of 1,000 each for Crematoria IV and V (p. 469); for Dr. Nyiszli, the total capacity of all the crematoria together was 20,000 corpses per day (p. 474); for H. Tauber, the capacity of Crematorium II was 2,500 per day (p. 494); according to the War Refugee Board report (a secret report on Auschwitz drafted in 1944), the four crematoria were able to consume 6,000 bodies a day (p. 461); according to a report ascribed to SS officer Franke-Gricksch, who visited Auschwitz in 1943, the total capacity was 10,000 corpses a day (p. 238).

Pressac's estimate does not square with the data given in a document of the "Headquarters Construction Office" (*Zentralbauleitung*) of the Auschwitz SS, which establishes the capacity of the crematoria as follows:

Crematoria II and III: 1,440 corpses each in 24 hours

Crematoria IV and V: 768 corpses each in 24 hours (p.247).

Pressac's estimate is likewise irreconcilable with the "revision" which he himself makes in the document cited. According to the author, the figures in this document "had no basis in practice, and probably has to be divided by two or three to arrive at the true figure" (p. 244). This means that a crematorium of type II-III would have had an incineration capacity of 480 to 720 corpses in 24 hours and one of type IV/V a capacity of 256 to 384.

One conclusion which can be drawn from the above is that the cremation figures reflected in the testimonies, as well as those in the *Zentralbauleitung* document, strike Pressac as greatly exaggerated. He has thus estimated a hypothetical cremation capacity which, as we shall see, bears no relationship to the capacity which can be inferred from evidence he himself publishes in his work.

From documents published by Pressac, we derive an incineration capacity that is greatly reduced and assuredly much closer to the true figure. Thus, a German document which provides operating instructions for the crematory ovens indicates that the corpses had to be inserted in the individual cremation chambers or muffles “one after another” (*hintereinander*) (p. 136). This detail is in explicit contradiction to those testimonies which affirm that several corpses were put into a muffle furnace at the same time, with the number varying between three and twelve.

Another German document, which tabulates the consumption of coke by the crematory ovens, starts from the assumption that they operate twelve hours per day (p. 224), in disagreement with various testimonies stating that they functioned continuously, without interruption.

Pressac also reproduces a patent, registered in 1953, of an oven made by the Topf company — the same one that made the ovens of Auschwitz — which incorporated “much of the experience gained by Topf in the concentration camps” (p. 105). The estimated time for incinerating a body in this oven was from 30 to 45 minutes (p.105). ^[20]

If we assume, then, that the Birkenau ovens were as fast as that of the 1953 patent, that the corpses were incinerated one after another and not several at a time, and that the ovens operated twelve hours a day, we get the following result:

- Crematoria II and III (with 15 muffles each) could have incinerated from 128 to 360 corpses a day.
- Crematoria IV and V (with 8 muffles each) could have incinerated from 128 to 192 corpses a day.
- In total, the Birkenau crematoria could have incinerated 736 to 1,104 corpses per day.

Therefore, by using of the information which Pressac himself has provided, we arrive at an estimate of the capacity of the Birkenau crematoria which is three or four times inferior to that indicated by the French author.

Pressac also publishes data on the capacity of certain crematory ovens constructed by the Topf company and installed in other concentration camps. Thus, in the Buchenwald crematory, an average of six or seven corpses per muffle were incinerated each day (p. 106). At Gusen (a subsidiary camp of Mauthausen), according to prisoner notes, 600 corpses were incinerated in twelve days, which means an average of 25 corpses per muffle furnace per day (p. 110).

Pressac acknowledges that these ovens and those of Birkenau “must have had roughly the same performance,” since they “were virtually identical as regards design and construction” (p. 110). In consequence, if we apply the Buchenwald and Gusen references to the four crematoria of Birkenau, which had a total of 46 muffle furnaces, we arrive at a capacity of 322 corpses per day according to the Buchenwald ratio and of 1,150 according to that of Gusen. Figures, therefore, that are also much lower than those given by Pressac.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the incineration capacity was further limited due to breakdowns. Crematorium II was out of service for two or three months in the second half of 1943 for

various repairs. Crematorium IV was soon closed for good, and Crematorium V operated only intermittently (p. 247).

Moreover, there are indications that at least during certain periods of time the Birkenau crematoria operated at low capacity. For example, Pressac states that, according to German documents, the coke consumption of the crematoria from April to October of 1943 was only a third or fourth of what one would expect if they had been operating at full capacity twelve hours per day (pp. 224- 227).

In short, the cremation capacity given by Pressac:

- is reconcilable neither with the testimonies of former prisoners nor with the information contained in available German documents;
- is arbitrary, inasmuch as he cites no reference in its support;
- and, finally, is highly exaggerated, since all the evidence points strongly in the direction of a substantially lower cremation capacity.

The “Indirect” Proofs

At the end of his investigation, Pressac is forced to acknowledge the lack of proof of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the Birkenau crematoria. Nevertheless, he says, in:

the absence of any “direct”, i.e. palpable, indisputable and evident proof (lacking so far as we know at present) such as a photograph of people killed by a toxic gas in an enclosed space that can be perfectly located and identified, or of a label on a Krematorium drawing of a “Gaskammer um Juden zu vergiften/gas chamber for poisoning Jews,” an “indirect” proof may suffice and be valid (p. 429).

And so, after having done research for some years in the principal archives — to which generously access was given him — and after having examined hundreds of documents, photographs and plans, Pressac admits to not having encountered a single “palpable, indisputable and evident” proof — that is to say, a real proof — of the existence of homicidal gas chambers in the crematoria of Birkenau. In other words, Pressac — and with him, all the Exterminationist authors — has been unable up to now, 44 years after the war, to find one single proof of the criminal character of installations which supposedly brought about the destruction of hundreds of thousands of people during a 21 month period of operation (the greatest crime in history); installations whose design and construction gave rise to an enormous amount of documentation. This is a fact of great significance.

Nevertheless, Pressac reckons that in the absence of real proof, an “indirect” proof may suffice. His argument is invalid, for with “indirect proofs” it would be possible to prove the existence of almost anything. Let us imagine, for example, the case of someone who intended to demonstrate that centaurs really existed in antiquity. Naturally it would not be possible for him to present any real proof, such as a skeleton or fossil remains, but he would still be able to argue that the artistic representations of centaurs found in archaeological excavations in Greece, Cyprus and Italy constituted an “indirect” proof of their existence.

Let us examine Pressac’s “indirect” proofs of the homicidal gas chambers:

In the final analysis, there remain only the various items of correspondence and official documents of German origin. Through the “slips” that can be found in them, they form a convincing body of presumptive evidence and clearly indicate the presence in the four Birkenau Krematorien

(II, III, IV and V) of gas chambers using a prussic acid disinfestation agent sold under the name of “Zyklon-B” (p. 429, emphasis in the original).

Or rather, in the final analysis, the “indirect proofs” would seem to be — according to Pressac — lapses committed by the civilian workers who built the crematoria (a dozen civil firms participated in their construction) and by SS personnel when they drafted their notes and documents. In other words, both the civilian workers and technicians and the SS knew the real, homicidal purpose of the crematoria, but had reached a tacit agreement to omit all “criminal” references in their correspondence and documents in order to keep up appearances (for whom?). The Germans from time to time, however, committed indiscretions, mentioning in their letters and on their worksheets such things as “gas-tight doors,” “as detectors” and “basement disrobing rooms.” Still, the Germans were prudent even in their lapses, for although they could use the term “Auskleidekeller” for the place where the victims supposedly disrobed, on the other hand they did not have “the courage, or perhaps the desire or the occasion to write that *Leichenkeller* 1 was a gas chamber” (p.434).

Let’s turn now to enumerating the different expressions found in the German documents and which, according to Pressac, constitute “indirect” proofs or, as he also likes to call them, “criminal traces” of the existence of homicidal gas chambers.

a) In Crematoria II and III.

- “Vergasungskeller/gassing cellar” (“trace” No.1, p. 432). The German word “Vergasung” has several meanings, such as “gasification” or “carburetion.” I do not know which of three would be applicable in this context. Neither do I know the exact location of the place. Contrary to what Pressac believes, there is no document that expressly establishes that the *Vergasungskeller* is *Leichenkeller* 1.
- “10 Gasprüfer/gas detectors” (“trace” No.2, p. 432). Pressac himself allows a non-sinister interpretation: they could have served to detect gases produced by the combustion in the ovens, such as carbon monoxide or carbon dioxide (p. 371).
- “Auskleideraum/undressing room” and “Auskleidekeller/undressing cellar” (“traces” Nos. 4, 5, 10 and 12; pp. 432, 434 and 438). Why do these terms necessarily have to be given a criminal interpretation? They could refer to the place in which clothes were removed from the corpses.
- “Gastür 100/192 für *Leichenkeller* 1/gasdoor 100 by 192 for underground morgue 1” (“traces” No. 6 and 11, pp. 434 and 438). The document is dated 6 March 1943. However, in a plan of the crematorium of a later date, No. 2197 of 19 March of the same year (p. 311), the door of *Leichenkeller* 1 has the dimensions of 1.90 × 1.90 meters. How is this discrepancy to be explained?
- “4 Drahtnetzeinschiebvorrichtung/4 wire mesh introduction devices” and “4 Holzblenden/4 wooden covers” (“traces” Nos.8 and 9, p. 436). Supposedly they served for the introduction of the Zyklon B, although according to the German document they were to be found in *Leichenkeller* 2 and not in the gas chamber, as one would expect. This was an “error” according to Pressac.
- “Criminal traces” connected with “gastight doors” (*Gasdichttüre*) and accessories for the latter (Nos. 3, 7, 13, 14 and 15; pp. 432, 436, 438 and 439). Pressac thinks that a gastight door necessarily has a criminal connotation. However, these doors could have been installed, for example, to prevent the stench coming from the decomposing corpses from going clear through the whole crematorium. Pressac himself makes mention of the existence of hermetic doors in a crematorium without sinister implications. These doors were in Cre-

matoria IV and V, in an area was intended to isolate the crematory room from the mortuary. [21]

- “14 Brausen/14 showers” (“trace” No. 16, p.439). As ordinary showers, their presence would not have a criminal character, so Pressac claims that they were dummy showers, installed for the purpose of fooling the victims, who believed that they were entering into the gas chamber to take a shower. The French author considers that the presence of these showers *together with* a gastight door is the definitive proof of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber. However, Pressac does not prove that the showers were actually sham. Besides, the installation of showers could have been counterproductive in effect, in as much as the victims might have asked themselves what was the need of a gastight door in a room in which they were simply going to take a shower.
- One German document speaks of *Leichenkeller* 1 as having to be “preheated” (*vorgewärmt*) and of an installation for that purpose (“traces” Nos. 30 and 31, p. 454). Pressac affirms, with reason, that the preheating of the *Leichenkeller* cannot be reconciled with the existence of a “cold room” created to retard the decomposition of the corpses. The preheating, according to Pressac, would have been for the purpose of speeding up the evaporation of hydrocyanic acid.

At present I am unable to give an explanation of these “traces,” but I do wish to point out that the document in question refers to a letter from Prüfer, the engineer who designed the ovens, in which he suggested preheating the room. This letter has disappeared. It is curious that a civilian, a cremation expert, should have given the SS a suggestion on how to make a gassing more effective. In any case, Pressac must know that this system of preheating was never put into practice (p. 227).

b) In Crematoria IV and V.

- “betonieren im Gasskammer sic /concrete in gas chamber” (“traces” Nos. 19 and 21, pp. 446 and 447).

The document is a civilian employee’s work slip and is dated 2 March 1943. The following day the same worker notes: “level and flatten in both rooms” (*planieren und stampfen in beiden Kammern*), and on 4 March: “concrete and finish the floor in both rooms and ante-room” (*Fussboden betonieren und reiben in beiden Kammern u. Vorraum*). [22] According to Pressac, the worker was referring by these “Kammern” to the rooms at the extreme west of Crematorium IV, that is, to the gas chambers. From that we deduce that either the “Gasskammer” was not in either of those two rooms or that it was concreted twice. Moreover, a later document suggests that in the two rooms where the gas chambers were supposedly to be found, there were “installations for water” (*Wasserinstallationen*). [23]

- The rest of the “criminal traces” (Nos. 17, 18, 20 and 22 to 29; pp. 443-454) are references to gastight doors and windows and accessories for them. In this regard, see my prior comments on the gastight doors.

c) Other “traces.”

- “Beschlüge für gasdichte Tür/fitting for gas-tight door” (“trace” No. 32, p. 456).
Use unknown. See comments on gastight doors.
- “1 Schlüssel für Gaskammer/1 key for gaschamber” (“trace” No. 33, p. 456).
According to Pressac, this is a dubious type of “trace.” The ordering of this item, the author says, is “incomprehensible with our present state of knowledge.”
- “Die Beschlüge zu 1 Tür mit Rahmen, luftdicht mit Spion für Gaskammer/The fittings for 1 door with frame, air-tight with peephole for gas chamber” (“trace” No. 34, p. 456).

According to Pressac, this order has nothing to do with the Birkenau crematoria, but was intended for one of the delousing chambers.

It is important to emphasize that Pressac has presented the documents he cites out of context. In my opinion, in order satisfactorily to explain the commonplace character of these “criminal traces,” meticulous study of all the documents relating to the construction of the crematoria is essential. It is very possible that with a wider perspective we should then obtain an answer to the questions raised by these “traces.” An isolated knife can be a criminal weapon, but a knife together with a spoon and fork is simply a place setting.

Pressac concludes this fundamental part of his work as follows:

Summarizing, a study of the files concerning the construction of the four Birkenau Krematorien reveals 39 (THIRTY NINE) “slips” or “criminal traces” of different sorts, the majority of which constitute material proof of the intention to make certain rooms IN THE FOUR KREMATORIEN “Gasdichte” or gas-tight. The incompatibility between a gastight door and 14 shower heads indirectly proves the use of one of these rooms as a HOMICIDAL GAS CHAMBER (p. 456, capitals in the original).

As Pressac acknowledges, the majority of the “criminal traces” only demonstrate the Germans' intention to make certain parts of the crematoria airtight. This fact, by itself, proves nothing. Nor do the rest of the “traces,” by themselves, prove the criminal character of the crematoria. It is only the combination of two or more of these “traces” that lets Pressac say that they “indirectly” prove the utilization of homicidal gas chambers.

The fact is that after his monumental investigation into these crematoria, which supposedly exterminated around a million persons over a period of nearly two years, crematoria the design and construction of which left behind hundreds of plans, notes, records of meetings, contracts, work orders, bills and photographs — in short, an immense documentation — Pressac can present **not a single proof** of their criminal nature. In the last analysis, the French author can only allege a presumed incompatibility between a gastight door and 14 supposedly fake showerheads that, according to him, would prove — even though only “indirectly” — the existence of gas chambers.

In sum, Pressac's work not only fails to refute the Revisionist thesis, as he intended, but on the contrary makes clear how very justified are the criticism and skepticism of the Revisionists with regard to the supposed homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz.

Notes

1. ☞ Höss, Rudolf: *Yo, comandante de Auschwitz* (Autobiografía), Commandant of Auschwitz (Autobiography) (Muchnik, Barcelona 1979, p. 148.
2. ☞ Rudolf Höss, *op. cit.*, pp.147-148.
3. ☞ Höss, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
4. ☞ Höss, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
5. ☞ Höss, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
6. ☞ Fred A. Leuchter, *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek — Poland* (Boston: Fred A. Leuchter Associates, 1988). Unpublished in the complete version, which is the one cited.
7. ☞ Fred A. Leuchter, *op. cit.*, p.35 (my own numbering).

8. ☞ Höss, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
9. ☞ Höss, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
10. ☞ Czech, Danuta: *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Rowohlt, Reinbek 1989), pp. 106f.
11. ☞ Höss: *op. cit.* p. 191.
12. ☞ Höss: *op. cit.*, p. 192.
13. ☞ *Ibid.*
14. ☞ Höss: *op. cit.*, p. 191.
15. ☞ Höss: *op. cit.*, p. 200.
16. ☞ Degesch: *Zyklon for Pest Control* (Frankfurt am Main), p. 11.
17. ☞ Degesch: *op. cit.*, p. 17.
18. ☞ It is imperative that not a single tin be left about!" (Degesch: *op. cit.*, p. 21).
19. Degesch: *op. cit.*, p. 21.
20. ☞ I accept this with reservations. During the '60s, cremation of a cadaver took 50 to 80 minutes (*Gran Enciclopedia del Mundo*, Durvan, Bilbao 1966, article "Incineration," vol. 10, p. 852).
21. ☞ Pressac, Jean-Claude: Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres a gaz. Construction et fonctionnement, "*Le Monde Juif*" (Paris), No. 107 (1982), pp. 119-120.
22. ☞ Pressac: loc. cit., p. 111.
23. ☞ Pressac: loc. cit., p. 118.

Source: vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 207-216.

An official Polish report on the Auschwitz 'gas chambers'

Krakow Forensic Institute Confirms Leuchter's Findings

A recent investigation by a Polish government agency has authoritatively corroborated the findings of Fred Leuchter from his detailed 1988 on-site forensic examination of supposed German wartime extermination gas chambers. The American execution expert concluded that the “gas chambers” in the former concentration camps of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek were never used to kill people. (On Leuchter’s findings and the resulting international controversy, see his detailed *Report*, which is available from the IHR, as well as *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1989 and Winter 1990-91, and the *IHR Newsletter*, October 1990 and January 1991.)

Concerned at the impact of Leuchter’s widely-circulated Report, the Auschwitz State Museum, a Polish government agency, commissioned the Institute of Forensic Research (Instytut Ekspertyz Sadowych) of Krakow to carry out its own investigation. The result: In a carefully worded six-page internal forensic report, the Institute’s experts essentially replicated Leuchter’s findings and implicitly corroborated his conclusions.

Consistent with Leuchter’s investigation, the Institute’s specialists detected absolutely no traces of cyanide (or ferro-ferri-cyanide compound) in most of the plaster and brick samples taken from the alleged extermination gas chambers. Traces of cyanides were detected in eight samples, seven of which were rooms in Block 3 of Auschwitz main camp where -as the Institute’s experts acknowledge — inmate clothing was disinfected by “gassing” with Zyklon.

A barely detectable trace of cyanide compound was found in the eighth remaining “positive” sample, which was sample No. 15 from the alleged homicidal “gas chamber” in Krema building II in Birkenau. Significantly, this is the only sample taken from any of the supposed extermination gas chambers that showed any trace of cyanide. The presence of an almost undetectable trace in this sample is entirely in keeping with Leuchter’s conclusion that the room from which it was taken must have been deloused with Zyklon at one time or another.

In an apparent attempt at “damage control,” the authors of the Institute’s report sought to play down or negate the significance of their own findings by asserting that any cyanide traces would have disappeared long ago under the impact of the weather and the elements. This assertion is simply not true, as Leuchter and other specialists have pointed out:

- Precisely speaking, it is not hydrogen cyanide itself that leaves a trace, but rather the compounds that result from the interaction of hydrogen cyanide with iron and other heavy metal ions. The resulting ferro-ferri-cyanide compounds are very stable as James Roth, chief chemist of Alpha Analytical Labs in Massachusetts, testified in the 1988 “Holocaust” trial of Ernst Zündel. Even after 45 years, the compounds would not have “weathered away.”

- It is not true that all of the alleged gas chambers were exposed to the elements, as the Institute's experts contend. Specifically, the entire crematory facility (Krema) I in the Auschwitz main camp, including the alleged homicidal "gas chamber" there, has been completely intact since the camp was liberated by Soviet forces in January 1945. The authors of the Krakow Institute report make no effort to explain the absence of cyanide traces in this "gas chamber." Similarly, the alleged extermination gas chamber of crematory facility (Krema) II in Birkenau is protected by the collapsed concrete ceiling, and is otherwise in its original condition.

It is worth noting that the Krakow Institute's report did not respond at all to other compelling reasons given by Leuchter for doubting the orthodox extermination story. As he points out, for example, the alleged homicidal gas chambers he examined were not properly sealed or vented for use as killing facilities.

Auschwitz State Museum officials initiated this investigation rather obviously hoping that the Institute's report would discredit Leuchter's findings and corroborate the orthodox extermination account. And just as obviously, if the Institute's report had, in fact, discredited the American engineer's conclusions, the Auschwitz State Museum and Holocaust organizations around the world would certainly have wasted no time in giving it maximum publicity.

Although neither the Auschwitz State Museum nor the Krakow Institute has (so far) made this September 1990 report public, revisionists were nevertheless able to obtain a copy of the original document. Professor Robert Faurisson in France and Fred Leuchter in the United States were quick to cite this "Polish Leuchter Report" as corroboration of the Revisionist view of the Auschwitz extermination story. (See the *IHR Newsletter*, April 1991.)

Published here for the first time in English, a translation of the Krakow Institute's report follows:

INSTITUTE OF FORENSIC RESEARCH

In the name of Prof. Dr. Jan Sehn, Krakow

Division of Forensic Toxicology

Krakow, 24 Sept. 1990

Westerplatte 9 / Code 31-033

Tel. 505-44, 592-24, 287-50

Telex 0325213 eksad

Ref. No. 720 / 90

[rubber stamp:]

Received at the Auschwitz State Museum,

11 Oct. 1990 / filed: I 4998

To the

State Museum in

Auschwitz-Birkenau

Re: Ref. No. I-8523/51/1860/89

The Institute of Forensic Research,
in the name of Prof. Dr. Jan Sehn, Krakow,
herewith presents this

Forensic Report,

prepared by the court-approved experts

Prof. Dr. Jan Markiewicz, Dr. Wojciech Gubala, engineer Jerzy Labedz, and Beate Trzcinska, M.S.

In response to publications and court proceedings in the West, according to which Zyklon B gas was not used to kill people in the Auschwitz concentration camp, the Auschwitz [State] Museum asked us to take samples of wall plaster from the gas chambers and analyze them for the presence of hydrogen cyanide.

On the basis of an agreement in writing and by telephone, the team of experts of the Institute of Forensic Research, consisting of Dr. Wojciech Gubala and engineer J. Labedz, arrived on 20 February 1990 at the camp and Museum in Auschwitz-Birkenau for the purpose of taking samples for investigation, in order to determine the presence of hydrocyanic acid compounds.

In accordance with agreed-upon procedure, the material samples, consisting primarily of pieces of wall plaster and brick, were taken in the presence of Dr. Franciszek Piper, senior curator of the Museum, from the rooms of Block 3, from crematory [building] 1 in Auschwitz [main camp], as well as from crematories [buildings] 2, 3 and 5 in Birkenau. Wall plaster samples were also removed from Block 11 in Auschwitz [main camp] in the presence of Piotr Setkiewicz, M.S., an employee of the Museum.

Altogether, 22 samples were removed, including two control samples from a distant place where contamination with HCN [hydrocyanic acid] would not be possible.

Of the 20 samples removed, ten were taken from rooms in Block 3 in Auschwitz [main camp] (from rooms 1, 2, 3 and 4) where inmate clothing was disinfected with Zyklon B. According to our information, these rooms were white-washed during the war years. In some spots, a blue or dark blue stain shows through.

Five samples were also taken from the ruins of the gas chamber of crematory [building] 2 in Birkenau, as well as one sample each from the ruins of crematory [building] 5 and the wall of crematory [building] 1 in Auschwitz [main camp]. No samples were taken from the ruins of crematory [building] 4, because the 30-40 centimeter high wall structure there was reconstructed after the war.

In addition, the above-mentioned employees of the Institute of Forensic Research were given an envelope containing about 150 grams of human hair (marked PMO II-6-476), which had been obtained by a Museum employee, as well as four pieces of pulverized horse hair material ["włosianki"] which had likewise been obtained by an employee of the Museum (marked PMO II-6-477 to 480).

Individual samples of the secured material (wall plaster, brick, hair and horse hair material) were reduced to small particles and placed in a micro-diffusion chamber. These samples were then treated with sulfuric acid and exposed to diffusion for 24 hours at room temperature in a Conway chamber. The resulting vapors and gases were absorbed in a sodium-hydroxide solution.

After this diffusion process was completed, the samples were subjected to color intensity analysis using pyridine-pyrazolone reagent, and the resulting color intensity was measured with a spectrophotometer (630 nm).

The corresponding concentration of hydrocyanic acid compound was measured against the calibration curve, which had been calibrated from an appropriately prepared sample of a known concentration.

The Results

Of the ten samples taken from the rooms of Block 3, where Zyklon B disinfection was carried out, traces of hydrocyanic acid compounds were found in seven of the samples in a concentration of nine to 147 micrograms per 100 grams of the sample material, calculated on the basis of the curve calibrated with potassium cyanide.

Concentration of Cyanide in the analyzed material:

Sample number as per the procedure of 20 February 1990	Concentration of Cyanide expressed as potassium cyanide (micrograms per 100 grams of material)
Sample No. 1	17
Sample No. 2	9
Sample No. 7	19
Sample No. 8	35
Sample No. 9	101
Sample No. 10	132
Sample No. 11	147
Sample No. 15	6
Note: No cyanide was found in any of the other samples.	

Each sample that showed a positive result was then subjected to infrared spectrophotometric analysis in a Digilab company model F TS 15 B spectrophotometer. In five samples analyzed with this technique, the presence of cyanide was detected corresponding to spectral bands with frequencies of 2000 to 2200 cm. [1]

In each of the five “positive” tested plaster samples, a more or less distinct blue deposit could be detected. This kind of deposit, which is known as Prussian blue, may result from the interaction of cyanide with iron-based compounds.

Of the samples taken from crematories 1, 2, 3, and 5, only sample number 15 showed almost undetectably small traces of cyanide compounds (6 micrograms per 100 grams of wall plaster). This sample was taken from a column that stands in the middle of the gas chamber of crematory [building] 2 in Birkenau.

The analysis of the hair and hair weave produced a negative result. The result of the analysis of the two control samples was also negative.

On 18 July 1990, Dr. W. Gubala returned to the former Auschwitz concentration camp and took seven further samples from the wall plasters where the presence of hydrocyanic compounds had been detected by chemical analysis. These material samples were once again subjected to the analysis procedure described above, and once again the results were positive.

The hydrocyanic acid (HCN) that is released from the Zyklon B preparation is a liquid with a boiling point of about 27 degrees Celsius. It has an acidic character, and therefore forms compounds with metallic salts, which are known as cyanides. The salts of alkaline metals (such as sodium and potassium) are water soluble.

Hydrocyanic acid is a very weak acid, and accordingly its salts dissolve easily in stronger acids. Even carbonic acid, which is formed as a reaction of carbon dioxide with water, will dissolve ferro-cyanide.

Stronger acids, such as sulfuric acids, easily dissolve the cyanides. The compounds of cyanide ions with heavy metals are longer lasting. This includes the already mentioned Prussian blue, although this will also slowly dissolve in an acidic environment.

Therefore, one can hardly assume that traces of cyanic compounds could still be detected in construction materials (plaster, brick) after 45 years, after being subjected to the weather and the elements (rain, acid oxides, especially sulfuric and nitrogen oxides). More reliable would be the analysis of wall plaster [samples] from closed rooms which were not subject to weather and the elements (including acid rain).

The analysis of the wall plaster taken from the rooms of Block 3 did indicate the presence of hydrocyanic acid compounds, although only in very small amounts. This result is a confirmation of the fact that in these rooms of Block 3, preparations of hydrogen cyanide such as in Zyklon B were used for disinfection.

The discovery of hydrocyanic acid compounds in samples of material which had been subject to the elements can only be accidental.

The macroscopic and microscopic examination of the hair weaves (PMO-II-6-477 to 480) showed hair in the woven material with the properties of human hair, as shown in photos 1, 2, and 3.

[Photos not reproduced here]

The Experts:

Director

Prof. Dr. Jan Markiewicz

Specialist for Technical Testing

Engineer Jerzy Labedz

Director of Toxicology

Dr. Wojciech Gubala

Senior Assistant

Beata Trzcinska, M.S.

[rubber stamp]

Dr. Markiewicz Responds

In late April, IHR Associate Editor Mark Weber wrote to Dr. Jan Markiewicz, director of the Institute of Forensic Research, to ask for a comment on his agency's September 1990 report. He was specifically asked to comment on the significance of his institute's report in light of Leuchter's 1988 investigation and report. A copy of the April IHR Newsletter, which told about

the Krakow Institute's investigation and report, was mailed along with Weber's inquiry. In a letter dated June 7, 1991, Dr. Markiewicz responded:

I received your letter with enclosure on 16 April 1991. I agree with you that a commentary should necessarily be affixed to our report of 24 Sep. 1990, which is called for by the straightforwardness of information, so essential to any scientific studies. Our Institute of Forensic Research is a scientific-research establishment attached to the Ministry of Justice. Investigations of material evidences are carried out in it independently of the parties to the suit and expert opinions are expressed in civil and criminal cases for the purposes of the administration of justice.

In a letter of 17 May 1989 the then Director of the State Museum at Auschwitz, Mr. Kazimierz Smolen, asked me to make "an analysis of plaster samples from the walls of the gas chambers for the presence of hydrogen cyanide." In connection with the question posed in that letter I qualified the chances of detecting hydrogen cyanide in such samples as nearly none. As a chemist engaged in forensic chemical toxicology for 45 years, I am familiar with the properties of this volatile substance. Hence my reply. Anyway, I stated that, if only such investigation was considered to be expedient, I was ready to undertake it. As my partner in further talks and possible study I named Dr. Wojciech Gubala of the Forensic Toxicological Laboratory of our Institute. At the same time I referred to the expert appraisal made by Dr. Jan Robel in this Institute in 1945, closely connected with the problems in hand ...

Having communicated by phone with the Management of the Museum at Auschwitz, Dr. Gubala went there together with his co-worker, Mr. Jerzy Labedz on 10 Feb. 1990. Both these workers were taken round the Camp territory by the curator, Dr. Franciszek Piper, and toward the end of their visit by Mr. Piotr Sethkiewicz and they took samples of plaster in places indicated to them, in compliance with the wish expressed by the Director earlier. I was not informed then about the so-called "Leuchter's Report" or about the publications coming out at that time, and nor were my co-workers. Their investigations and results are known to you from the expertise the copy of which is in your possession. I'd like to mention that the Management of the Museum did not inform us about the copying of this expert appraisal and its propagation.

Now, in the light of letters and publications coming to us from different countries, I have arrived at the conclusion that our investigations aiming at the confirmation, if possible, of the use of cyanic preparations in the rooms that survived whole or only in the form of ruins, were rather preliminary in nature and incomplete. We are bent on widening and deepening these investigations and have already been preparing for them. It is only now when suitable materials from literature have become accessible to us that we see the purpose and sense of such studies. Naturally, we shall publish their results and make them accessible to you and your Institute.

The IHR is naturally gratified by Dr. Markiewicz's open-minded and cooperative attitude, which serves the cause of honest scholarship and historical truth.

We are pleased that the Krakow Institute will continue its investigation into this very important aspect of the Auschwitz extermination story, and we appreciate his pledge to keep us informed of the results.

In response to a couple of issues raised in this letter:

- As Dr. Markiewicz mentions — and as Dr. Faurisson and others have repeatedly stressed — hydrogen cyanide is indeed a volatile substance. However, this point is not directly relevant to the investigations conducted by Leuchter or the Krakow Institute. In contrast to the volatility of hydrogen cyanide, the ferro-ferric-cyanide compounds ("Prussian blue") produced as a result of the interaction of hydrogen cyanide and iron are remarkably stable, as authoritative chemistry reference works confirm.
- The IHR is familiar with the 1945 forensic report referred to by Markiewicz in his letter, and more will be said about it in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal*.

[A letter similar to the one sent by Weber to Dr. Markiewicz was also sent to the Auschwitz State Museum. So far, though, no response has been received to that inquiry.]

'Jewish soap'

By [Mark Weber](#)

One of the most lurid and slanderous Holocaust claims is the story that the Germans manufactured soap from the bodies of their victims. Although a similar charge during the First World War was exposed as a hoax almost immediately afterwards, it was nevertheless revived and widely believed during the Second. More important, this accusation was “proved” at the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, and has been authoritatively endorsed by numerous historians in the decades since. In recent years, though, as part of a broad retreat from the most obviously untenable aspects of the “orthodox” extermination story, Holocaust historians have grudgingly conceded that the human soap tale is a wartime propaganda lie. In their retreat, though, these historians have tried to dismiss the soap story as a mere wartime “rumor,” neglecting to mention that international Jewish organizations and then Allied governments endorsed and sanctioned this libelous canard.

Wartime rumors that the Germans were manufacturing soap from the corpses of slaughtered Jews were based in part on the fact that soap bars distributed by German authorities in Jewish ghettos and camps bore the impressed initials “RIF,” which many took to stand for “Rein juedisches Fett” or “Pure Jewish Fat.” (It did not seem to matter that the letters were “RIF” and not “RJF.”) These rumors spread so widely in 1941 and 1942 that by late 1942 German authorities in Poland and Slovakia were expressing official concern about their impact.

According to a Polish source quoted in a secret wartime U.S. Army military intelligence report, for example, the Germans were operating a “human soap factory” in 1941 at Turek, Poland. “The Germans had brought thousands of Polish teachers, priests and Jews there and after extracting the blood serum from their bodies, had thrown them on large pots and melted off grease to make soap,” the intelligence report added.

Macabre “Jewish soap” jokes became popular in the ghettos and camps, and many non-Jews on the outside came to believe the story. When trains loaded with Jewish deportees stopped temporarily at rail stations, Poles reportedly would gleefully shout at them: “Jews to soap!” Even British prisoners of war interned at Auschwitz in 1944 testified later about the wartime rumors that corpses of gassing victims were being turned into soap there.

In spite of its inherently incredible character, the soap story became an important feature of Jewish and Allied war propaganda. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, wartime head of both the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress, publicly charged in November 1942 that Jewish corpses were being “processed into such war-vital commodities as soap, fats and fertilizer” by the Germans. He further announced that the Germans were “even exhuming the dead for the value of the corpses,” and were paying fifty marks for each body.

In late 1942, the Congress Weekly, published by the American Jewish Congress, editorialized that the Germans were turning Jews “by scientific methods of dissolution into fertilizer, soap and

glue.” An article in the same issue reported that Jewish deportees from France and Holland were being processed into “soap, glue and train oil” in at least two special factories in Germany. Typical of many other American periodicals, the influential New Republic reported in early 1943 that the Germans were “using the bodies of their Jewish victims to make soap and fertilizer in a factory at Siedlce.”

During June and July 1943, two prominent representatives of the Moscow-based “Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee” toured the United States and raised more than two million dollars for the Soviet war effort at a series of mass meetings. At each of these rallies, Soviet Jewish leader Solomon Mikhoels showed the crowd a bar of soap that he said was made from Jewish corpses.

After the war the soap story was given important legitimacy at the main Nuremberg trial. L. N. Smirnov, Chief Counsellor of Justice for the USSR, declared to the Tribunal:

... The same base, rationalized SS technical minds which created gas chambers and murder vans, began devising such methods of complete annihilation of human bodies, which would not only conceal the traces of their crimes, but also to serve in the manufacturing of certain products. In the Danzig Anatomical Institute, semi-industrial experiments in the production of soap from human bodies and the tanning of human skin for industrial purposes were carried out.

Smirnov quoted at length from an affidavit by Sigmund Mazur, an Institute employee, which was accepted as Nuremberg exhibit USSR-197. It alleged that Dr. Rudolf Spanner, the head of the Danzig Institute, had ordered the production of soap from corpses in 1943. According to Mazur’s affidavit, Dr. Spanner’s operation was of interest to high-ranking German officials. Education Minister Bernhard Rust and Health Leader Dr. Leonardo Conti, as well as professors from other medical institutes, came to witness Spanner’s efforts. Mazur also claimed to have used the “human soap” to wash himself and his laundry.

A human soap “recipe,” allegedly prepared by Dr. Spanner (Nuremberg document USSR-196), was also presented. Finally, a sample of what was supposed to be a piece of “human soap” was submitted to the Nuremberg Tribunal as exhibit USSR-393.

In his closing address to the Tribunal, chief British prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross echoed his Soviet colleague: “On occasion, even the bodies of their victims were used to make good the wartime shortage of soap.” And in their final judgment, the Nuremberg Tribunal judges found that “attempts were made to utilize the fat from the bodies of the victims in the commercial manufacture of soap.”

It is worth emphasizing here that the “evidence” presented at the Nuremberg Tribunal for the bogus soap story was no less substantial than the “evidence” presented for the claims of mass extermination in “gas chambers.” At least in the former case, an actual sample of soap supposedly made from corpses was submitted in evidence.

After the war, supposed Holocaust victims were solemnly buried, in the form of soap bars, in Jewish cemeteries. In 1948, for example, four such bars wrapped in a funeral shroud were ceremoniously buried according to Jewish religious ritual at the Haifa cemetery in Israel. Other bars of “Jewish soap” have been displayed as grim Holocaust relics at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, the Stutthof Museum near Gdansk (Danzig), the Yivo Institute in New York, the Holocaust Museum in Philadelphia, the Jewish Holocaust Centre in Melbourne (Australia), and at various locations in Israel.

Numerous Jews who lived in German ghettos and camps during the war helped keep the soap story alive many years later. Ben Edelbaum, for example, wrote in his 1980 memoir *Growing Up in the Holocaust*:

Often with our rations in the ghettos, the Germans had included a bar of soap branded with initials R.J.F. which came to be known as “RIF” soap. It wasn’t until the war had ended that we learned the horrible truth about the bar of soap. Had we known in the ghetto, every bar of “RIF” soap would have been accorded a sacred Jewish funeral in the cemetery at Marysin. As it was, we were completely oblivious to its origin and used the bones and flesh of our murdered loved ones to wash our bodies.

Nesse Godin was transferred from a ghetto in Lithuania to the Stutthof concentration camp in the spring of 1944. In a 1983 interview, she recalled her arrival there:

That day they gave us a shower and a piece of soap. After the war we found out the soap was made out of pure Jew fat, Rein Juden Fett, marked in the initials on the soap that I washed with. For all I know sometimes maybe there was a little bit of my father’s fat in that soap that I washed with. How do you think I feel when I think about that?

Mel Mermelstein, the former Auschwitz inmate who was featured in the sensationalized April 1991 cable television movie “Never Forget” (and who sued the Institute for Historical Review and three other defendants for \$11 million), declared in a 1981 sworn deposition that he and other camp inmates used soap bars made from human fat. It was an “established fact,” he insisted, that the soap he washed with was made from Jewish bodies.

Renowned “Nazi hunter” Simon Wiesenthal repeated the soap tale in a series of articles published in 1946 in the Austrian Jewish community paper *Der Neue Weg*. In the first of these he wrote:

During the last weeks of March the Romanian press reported an unusual piece of news: In the small Romanian city of Folticeni twenty boxes of soap were buried in the Jewish cemetery with full ceremony and complete funeral rites. This soap had been found recently in a former German army depot. On the boxes were the initials RIF, “Pure Jewish Fat.” These boxes were destined for the Waffen-SS. The wrapping paper revealed with completely cynical objectivity that this soap was manufactured from Jewish bodies. Surprisingly, the thorough Germans forgot to describe whether the soap was produced from children, girls, men or elderly persons.

Wiesenthal went on:

After 1942 people in the General Government [Poland] knew quite well what the RIF soap meant. The civilized world may not believe the joy with which the Nazis and their women in the General Government thought of this soap. In each piece of soap they saw a Jew who had been magically put there, and had thus been prevented from growing into a second Freud, Ehrlich or Einstein.

In another article he observed: “The production of soap from human fat is so unbelievable that even some who were in concentration camps find it difficult to comprehend.”

Over the years, numerous supposedly reputable historians have promoted the durable soap story. Journalist-historian William L. Shirer, for example, repeated it in his best-selling work, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.

Leading Soviet war propagandist Ilya Ehrenburg wrote in his postwar memoir: “I have held in my hand a cake of soap stamped with the legend 'pure Jewish soap', prepared from the corpses of people who had been destroyed. But there is no need to speak of these things: thousands of books have been written about them.”

A standard history studies textbook used in Canadian secondary schools, Canada: The Twentieth Century, told students that the Germans “boiled” the corpses of their Jewish victims “to make soap.” *The Anatomy of Nazism*, a booklet published and distributed by the Zionist “Anti-Defamation League” of B'nai B'rith, stated: “The process of brutalization did not end with the mass murders themselves. Large quantities of soap were manufactured from the corpses of those murdered.”

A detailed 1981 work, *Hitler's Death Camps*, repeated the soap story in lurid detail. While noting that “some historians claim that the Nazi manufacture of soap from human fat is just a grim rumor,” author Konnilyn Feig nevertheless accepted the story because “most East European camp scholars ... validate the soap stories, and other kinds of bars made from humans are displayed in Eastern Europe — I have seen many over the years.”

New York Rabbi Arthur Schneier repeated the tale at the opening ceremony of the largest Holocaust meeting in history. In his invocation to the “American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors,” held in Washington in April 1983, the Rabbi solemnly declared: “We remember the bars of soap with the initials RJF — Rein jdisches Fett, Pure Jewish Fat — made from the bodies of our loved ones.”

In spite of all the apparently impressive evidence, the charge that the Germans manufactured soap from human beings is a falsehood, as Holocaust historians are now belatedly acknowledging. The “RIF” soap bar initials that supposedly stood for “Pure Jewish Fat” actually indicated nothing more sinister than “Reich Center for Industrial Fat Provisioning” (“Reichsstelle für Industrielle Fettversorgung”), a German agency responsible for wartime production and distribution of soap and washing products. RIF soap was a poor quality substitute that contained no fat at all, human or otherwise.

Shortly after the war the public prosecutor's office of Flensburg, Germany, began legal proceedings against Dr. Rudolf Spanner for his alleged role in producing human soap at the Danzig Institute. But after an investigation the charge was quietly dropped. In a January 1968 letter, the office stated that its inquiry had determined that no soap from human corpses was made at the Danzig Institute during the war.

More recently, Jewish historian Walter Laqueur “denied established history” by acknowledging in his 1980 book, *The Terrible Secret*, that the human soap story has no basis in reality. Gitta Sereny, another Jewish historian, noted in her book *Into That Darkness*: “The universally accepted story that the corpses were used to make soap and fertilizer is finally refuted by the generally very reliable Ludwigsburg Central Authority for Investigation into Nazi Crimes.”

Deborah Lipstadt, a professor of modern Jewish history, similarly “rewrote history” when she confirmed in 1981: “The fact is that the Nazis never used the bodies of Jews, or for that matter anyone else, for the production of soap.”

In April 1990, professor Yehuda Bauer of Israel's Hebrew University, regarded as a leading Holocaust historian, as well as Shmuel Krakowski, archives director of Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center, confirmed that the human soap story is not true. Camp inmates "were prepared to believe any horror stories about their persecutors," Bauer said. At the same time, though, he had the chutzpah to blame the legend on "the Nazis."

In fact, blame for the soap story lies rather with individuals such as Simon Wiesenthal and Stephen Wise, organizations like the World Jewish Congress, and the victorious Allied powers, none of whom has ever apologized for promoting this vile falsehood.

Why did Bauer and Krakowski decide that this was the appropriate time to officially abandon the soap story? Krakowski himself hints that a large part of the motivation for this "tactical retreat" has been to save what's left of the sinking Holocaust ship by throwing overboard the most obvious falsehoods. In the face of the growing Revisionist challenge, easily demonstrable falsehoods like the soap story have become dangerous embarrassments because they raise doubts about the entire Holocaust legend. As Krakowski put it: "Historians have concluded that soap was not made from human fat. When so many people deny the Holocaust ever happened, why give them something to use against the truth?"

The bad faith of those making this calculated and belated concession to truth is shown by their failure to note that the soap myth was authoritatively "confirmed" at Nuremberg, and by their unwillingness to deal with the implications of that confirmation for the credibility of the Tribunal and other supposedly trustworthy authorities in establishing other, more fundamental aspects of the Holocaust story.

The striking contrast between the prompt postwar disavowal by the British government of the infamous "human soap" lie of the First World War, and the way in which a similarly baseless propaganda story from the Second World War was officially endorsed by the victorious Allied powers and then authoritatively maintained for so many years not only points up the dispiriting lack of integrity on the part of so many Western historians, but underscores the general decline in Western ethical standards during this century.

The "human soap" story demonstrates anew the tremendous impact that a wartime rumor, no matter how fantastic, can have once it has taken hold, particularly when it is disseminated as a propaganda lie by influential individuals and powerful organizations. That so many intelligent and otherwise thoughtful people could ever have seriously believed that the Germans distributed bars of soap brazenly labeled with letters indicating that they were manufactured from Jewish corpses shows how readily even the most absurd Holocaust fables can be — and are — accepted as fact.

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Review

A Forgettable, But Survivable Hatchet Job on IHR

- *Never Forget*. Produced by Robert Radnitz. Directed by Joseph Sargent. Turner Pictures, Inc. 1991. 2 hours.

Reviewed by J. Marcellus

Never Forget, Turner Broadcasting's version of the "Mel Mermelstein story," which hit the airwaves nationwide via the TNT cable network on the evening of April 8, 1991 — and in at least seven airings during the week that followed — was a pretty forgettable effort. The drama fell far short of both poetry and truth. Nevertheless, *Never Forget* did serve as a timely reminder to many — and an introduction to many more — that there is a Revisionist movement, and an Institute for Historical Review, which challenge a version of the Second World War, and its sacrosanct "Holocaust," that until the appearance of *Never Forget* were presented as uncontested truth on America's most influential mass medium.

As *Never Forget* begins, this disclaimer rolls across the screen:

While certain scenes are adapted from incidents in the lives of the Mermelstein family and other individuals, all legal proceedings portrayed are based on actual transcripts and documents.

Like much that follows in the docudrama, these words are deceptive. In fact *Never Forget* materially falsifies testimony and court proceedings, as well as fracturing history and truth in fact and in spirit from start to finish.

The story of the Mermelstein affair has been truncated, partly to keep production costs down (ergo, no Auschwitz stage sets) but also to represent the judicial notice taken by Judge Thomas Johnson that "Jews were gassed to death at the Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Poland in 1944" as a signal legal and historical victory which effectively ended the lawsuit. Thus, viewers are spared the dull story of the nearly four years of legal maneuvering which followed, by which Mermelstein and his lawyers sought to destroy IHR, and thus Historical Revisionism, in America.

The Mel Mermelstein of *Never Forget*, as played by Leonard Nimoy of Star Trek notoriety, is a prosperous businessman, happy family man, and pillar of the community, not the man whom a Los Angeles Jewish newspaper, quoting "members of the Jewish community" and a "close friend" of Mermelstein, described as "a difficult moody man" and "his own worst enemy" ("*Mermelstein, Hailed As a Hero, Stood Virtually Alone During Holocaust Trial*," *Israel Today*, August 2, 1985, pp. 6, 18). His wife Jane, as played by Blythe Danner, is a nothing less than a trans-

planted Southern belle, while his three sons and one daughter make a convincingly half-Jewish, all-American brood (for reasons which are obscure, daughter Edie is presented in *Never Forget* as a 12-year-old, rather than the high-school graduate she actually was at the time).

When he receives a letter from the Institute challenging him to, in effect, put up or shut up following his public challenge to lead IHR's Editorial Advisory board to the exact spot at which he witnessed "the actual gassings of men, women, and little children in gas chambers disguised as shower rooms," Mermelstein-Nimoy's earlier bravado seems to crumble. But he is nonetheless determined to call IHR's bluff by providing proof that yes, Jews were gassed at Auschwitz, and thus claim the \$50,000 reward which had been offered, withdrawn when nobody complied with the stated rules of evidence (those of American criminal courts), and then offered again to Mermelstein (without authorization from IHR's Board of Directors) by Director **David McCalden**, writing under the name "Lewis Brandon."

Mermelstein-Nimoy calls first on the Los Angeles office of the Anti-Defamation League, then on the Simon Wiesenthal Center for professional advice and legal help in getting the best of the Institute. But both groups turn him away, assuring him that although the IHR is composed of "professional liars and haters," he is likely to cause American Jewry more harm than good by giving them a public forum. Besides, both groups have busy schedules (Rabbi Hier's Wiesenthal Center alone is on the trail of 400 "Nazi war criminals"!). Mermelstein-Nimoy goes away dispirited, sadder if not wiser, still resolved to confront and beat IHR.

These scenes have a double meaning for the perceptive revisionist, and the second meaning is by no means deleterious. Most readers of these pages should take heart from the glad tidings that Holocaust Revisionism "is cropping up every place," according to Rabbi Hier of the SWC, who also notes that "we see this sort of thing all the time," and "[the IHR] is the largest racist and anti-Semitic group in the country ... well-funded, spread out all over the country, with newspapers, radio and television outlets ... just the tip of the iceberg." (Elsewhere in the movie, IHR is referred to in no less flattering terms: as part of "an empire of hate — connected, well-funded," and a group of "liars and bullies," whose books "you find when you look under rocks.")

Still, the obsessive (he's embarrassed even his eldest son with his fixation on Auschwitz) Mermelstein-Nimoy is not about to give up. He draws up a list of 16 lawyers whom he contacts one by one, all of whom also turn him down. Through all this, the hero is given spiritual sustenance by visits to his homemade Holocaust museum, where he reminisces in view of the old shoes, artifacts made from barbed wire, cakes of soap, pictures and other memorabilia he has accumulated over the years.

Then wife Jane has an idea: why not contact William Cox, a Gentile lawyer who has done business with Mermelstein in the past but curiously was not on his list of potential attorneys. Cox, who is portrayed by Dabney Coleman as the very stereotype of the "lovable curmudgeon" into which TV alchemy can always be counted on to transform ideologically acceptable cranks, ultimately accepts, after the required drama of first turning Mermelstein-Nimoy down and then waking him up at 2 a.m. saying he'll take the case, supposedly *pro bono*, i.e., without fee. And although Cox doesn't know "how much these liars and bullies are willing to pour into the case," after communing with himself among the paraphernalia of his Holocaust museum Mermelstein-Nimoy courageously decides to go ahead with the task of making everyone remember the last words he ever heard from his father, the plea to son Mel to "never forget" (oddly enough, Mermelstein seems to have forgotten these words when writing his allegedly autobiographical *By Bread Alone* ... they appear nowhere therein).

On December 18, 1980, Cox writes IHR to tell the Institute of his client's acceptance of the reward offer, enclosing Mermelstein-Nimoy's "evidence" of gassing ...a sworn statement in which he details his witnessing his mother and three sisters enter an Auschwitz "gas chamber," and a list of other alleged witnesses to bolster his story.

A ploy is hit on by which IHR will be sued for breach of contract if it does not respond within thirty days, and Mermelstein-Nimoy sweats out the waiting period, dogging his family, Cox, and bemused letter carriers to make sure that the all-important IHR response (which in any case would be addressed to Cox) has not come. It doesn't (not by the Cox-Mermelstein deadline, anyway), and it's off to the courts.

What does come to Mermelstein-Nimoy's home through the mail in this deceitful drama, however, is some "hair of gassed Jewish victim" and "pure Jewish fat" (a piece of soap). The clear implication of this emotive scene (Mermelstein's young daughter opens the envelope and shrieks in terror) is that the "haters and deniers" have violated the sanctity of Mermelstein's hearth and home with something base and obscene. That the Germans made soap neither from Jews nor anyone else during the war, and that there would be no way to distinguish the hair of a "gassed" concentration inmate from that of a "survivor," since the Germans customarily deloused the shorn hair of inmates, are facts lost on television audiences, most of whom must think: "What despicable monsters these Revisionists must be!"

By now Mermelstein-Nimoy is reeling from the (imaginary) onslaught of the "bigots." His family is buckling too: the kids (except for his adoring daughter) haven't been supportive enough, and even his wife is dubious about pursuing the case against the Institute. By now the television Mermelsteins are convinced they're dealing with the whole phantasmagoria of "extremists" and "terrorists," and that their very property and lives may be in danger.

There are other reverses as Mermelstein-Nimoy begins to search for other "eyewitnesses" to corroborate his story. His first choice, an old woman of evidently long-standing acquaintance, comes unglued at the mention of Auschwitz: the Gestapo still has the habit of dropping in on her in the dead of night (he doesn't find a better "eyewitness" in the drama, although in real life Mermelstein offered Miklos Nyiszli, dead for some thirty years, to back up his reward claim).

There are still more pressures on Mermelstein-Nimoy. His pallet manufacturing business begins to suffer because he can't remember delivery promises, so consumed he is by his obsession with the case. Next, an anonymous miscreant throws a dead pig on his doorstep, and Mermelstein-Nimoy receives an anonymous phone call one night to inform him that his business is on fire (after Mermelstein-Nimoy and son race to the pallet company, the call proves to be a false alarm).

Nerves wearing thin, Mermelstein-Nimoy and Cox infiltrate a meeting of the "National Legion of Patriots," at which the speaker (conveniently at that very moment) is in the middle of a harangue about the myth of the Holocaust. Mermelstein-Nimoy, enraged by what is in fact a pretty fair summation of the basic Revisionist case, tries to shout him down. Cox wrestles him out of the meeting as the audience, faces red with bulging veins and contorted with hate, scream insults and slurs — it's a far trek from Star Trek for the poker-faced icon who was Mr. Spock.

Then it's on to the IHR's first deposition of Mermelstein-Nimoy, in which he is sworn to answer questions from the Institute fully and truthfully. This is of course represented as a sadistic ordeal, with both IHR's counsel, Richard Fusilier, and this reviewer (both of us named) harassing Mel with cruel questions about his experiences at Auschwitz. To show how sneaky IHR's director is, I am chastised for smuggling a microcassette recorder into the deposition in my jacket pocket, which Mel discovers...a real feat since microcassette recorders were not even on the market at

that time. (And I cannot let it pass that the actor who played me was plump, gray-haired, 25 years too old, and decidedly uglier than me...a personal insult for which I'll forgive Mel if he will only let us alone.)

After the harrowing ordeal of the exhausting deposition (the plaintiff was suffered the indignity of having to answer hard questions about his concentration-camp experiences), Mermelstein-Nimoy confesses to his family that he might lose the case because of Fusilier's tricky questions or because, at a key moment, he might forget or get crossed up on some tiny detail about the gas chambers. But finally there comes the great and historic day in the courtroom of Judge Thomas Johnson, who after hearing a heart-rending witness-stand account of Mermelstein's personal experiences at Auschwitz, and his promise to his father "never to forget," takes judicial notice that the Holocaust is a fact not subject to reasonable dispute. Much joy and celebration. The End (of this docudrama, anyway).

If the viewer has remained awake through this dishwater-dull, soap-operatic nonsense, he or she may be interested in an accounting of what was actually true and what was demonstrably false in *Never Forget*. In fact, a lengthy list of material distortions and falsehoods, as well as lesser violations of the truth made in hopes of livening up the turgid Melodrama could be compiled. Here are just a few of them:

- The drama represents the initial letter sent to Mermelstein as part of a deliberate IHR plot to harass the "survivor." In fact the letter re-opening the reward offer was undertaken entirely on the initiative of the late [David McCalden](#), then director of IHR, who consulted neither the Institute's board nor its founder. (The announcement that the \$50,000 reward offer for proof of gassings at Auschwitz had officially expired was made at the Second International Revisionist Conference. The full and detailed story of the reward offer is told in the booklet *Worldwide Growth and Impact of Holocaust Revisionism*, which is still available from IHR.) McCalden was shortly discharged, after subsequent incidents gave further evidence of irresponsibility, and even hostility, to the interests of IHR.

All the same, in regard to the initial letter to Mermelstein, *Never Forget* veers, briefly and unexpectedly, toward something of the truth, as opposed to his counsels' representations at the time and subsequently. In his actual letter of December 18, 1980, Cox represented that the way in which the evidence submitted to claim the reward would be judged was still undecided, suggesting that the proceeding be televised and then voted on by the TV audience. Thereafter, Mermelstein, Cox, and their successors swore ignorance of any other proposed method of judgment — *including the specification that IHR would choose the judges* — *despite the fact that a sheet of rules including IHR's choice of the judges was routinely sent with every reward application*. *Never Forget*, however, has Cox speaking dismissively of the Institute's "kangaroo court," and not tailoring his case to a jury of couch potatoes; and Cox makes quite clear in the drama that his strategy is based on luring IHR into the courts.

- Never in any of his depositions has Mermelstein ever referred to "gassed" hair, "Jewish fat" or a dead pig being delivered to his home. In fact, the closest such incident this reviewer can recall was the depositing of a dead pig, owned up to by one Irv Rubin, on the porch of a Jew who'd run afoul of Rubin through his alleged sympathies for the Palestinians, about five years ago. Rubin, chief of the terroristic Jewish Defense League, once stated on Los Angeles television (April 6, 1981) that "Mermelstein is one of our financial supporters," although Mel denies supporting the JDL or ever meeting Rubin.
- The reviewer has never heard of a "National Legion of Patriots," nor is there any record of Mel ever crashing any meeting at which Holocaust Revisionism was being promoted. Out of exemplary fairness, however, IHR did invite William Cox to speak briefly at the Third International Revisionist Conference held in Los Angeles in November of 1981. Cox ap-

peared, said his piece (chastising the audience for attending a conference sponsored by a group with such anti-Semitic views), and was treated politely.

- The claim put in Nimoy-Mermelstein's mouth during his deposition, that his brother, like his father, was "worked to death" in the coal mines of the Auschwitz sub-camp at Jaworzno, is a fabrication of the docudrama. In the actual deposition Mermelstein says nothing of the circumstances of his brother's alleged death; elsewhere, Mermelstein has claimed that his brother was shot for refusing to take part in an evacuation march (which to the German guards could only have been tantamount to an escape attempt). A small thing, perhaps, but an irrefutable indication of the liberties *Never Again* has taken with the legal record — and perhaps a sign of Mermelstein's continuing inclination to alter his stories, or at least acquiesce in errors made by others (during the deposition in question, Mermelstein claimed his father died "of torture, hunger, and also because of inability to see his son suffer and being beaten and tortured," but in an article which appeared in the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* on February 15, 1981, reporter Timothy Carlson quoted Mermelstein as saying that he had seen his father as well as his mother and sisters led off to the gas chambers. And there is solid evidence for other Mermelstein versions of his father's death.)
- There is no record of Mel ever receiving a crank call that his business had been set aflame. However, on the night of July 4, 1984 the office and warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review was totally destroyed by arson, a crime that the authorities have never seriously investigated and which set the IHR back by years and some \$400,000.
- Whatever were the difficulties Mermelstein had in recruiting an attorney at the outset (and they seem overdrawn to say the least), there has been no shortage of free legal help through most of his ten-year crusade against IHR and Revisionism: there has been a legion of top-flight lawyers at his beck and call. He has enjoyed important support from important segments of the Jewish community (despite his initial dismissal by those influential Jewish groups he first turned to for help). Nor has the judiciary of Los Angeles County and the press been anything except extremely supportive of him. The alleged "facts" dramatized in the film are directly contradicted by the actual record. It was IHR that was almost unable to file a timely answer to Mermelstein's original complaint in 1980 because no lawyer, even noted "civil rights" advocates in the area, would touch the case. Fortunately, one attorney was found, Richard Fusilier, who agreed to represent the IHR because no other attorney in the state of California would take its case.
- In real life Mermelstein is not precisely the normal personality portrayed by Leonard Nimoy. Nowhere in the film is there any mention of the fact that he had been under psychiatric care long before IHR, and the emotional distress its actions allegedly caused him intruded into his supposedly well-balanced mind and life.
- The drama portrays Mermelstein as a cooperative witness willing, if not eager, to answer Fusilier's questions honestly and completely during the first deposition. *Never Forget* also depicts Mermelstein-Nimoy as finally breaking down into heart-wrenching sobs when the attorney's probing questions become just too much for an Auschwitz "survivor" and "eye-witness" to his mother and sisters' "gassing" to bear. But what in fact took place at that deposition (I was present) was that Mermelstein proved a most elusive respondent: often he seemed unwilling to give a straight answer to even the simplest questions, misunderstanding them, waxing broadly philosophical, forgetting inconvenient details, duelling back and forth with Fusilier and all in all leading IHR's lawyer on a merry chase. At no time during the entire deposition did Mermelstein shed a single tear. On the contrary, he struck me as hostile, combative, and evasive throughout the entire deposition.
- At the dramatic conclusion of *Never Forget*, Mermelstein-Nimoy takes the witness stand during the crucial hearing at which Judge Johnson ruled on Mermelstein's request for judicial notice of that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz during the summer of 1944. The docudrama has Mermelstein touchingly recount the story of his promise to his father to "never

forget,” whereupon Judge Johnson makes his historic ruling and the movie ends reminding viewers that the fight against bigotry and racism goes on. But the drama’s initial assurance that “all legal proceedings portrayed [have been] based on actual transcripts and documents” to the contrary, Mermelstein neither took the stand at that hearing nor gave any testimony whatsoever — the entire scene is pure invention, devised to provide something of an emotional catharsis to what remains a weak, and for the millions undoubtedly soporific, made-for-television movie.

What has been the likely impact of this film on IHR and Revisionism? To be sure, every trick in the smearer’s arsenal has been employed (subject to budget limitations, of course). Old hands at Revisionism will immediately note the old trick of ascribing to their enemies that which the Holocaust lobbyists, themselves, are guilty of, thereby turning the truth right over onto its head. Reversed is the fundamental fact that the purpose of Historical Revisionism is not to hector the Mel Mermelsteins and similar blustering Holocaust small-fry but to challenge the mighty, the entrenched establishments and interests which profit from historical falsehood. IHR’s only goal, and its only weapon of self-defense, is “to bring history into accord with the facts.” In the longer view, Mermelstein and his allies will appear simply as pawns of those much larger and more sinister entities.

That is why, despite *Never Forget’s* portrayal of Mermelstein as a sympathetic underdog, it is not the Exterminationists who have trouble recruiting lawyers or raising funds to exist, or who are subjected to continuous barrages of threats, intimidation, assaults, arsons, and even cold-blooded murder. Nor, despite the docudrama’s dark murmurings of IHR well-connectedness and far-flung resources, do real-life Revisionists encounter the least bit of objectivity, let alone sympathy, toward their concerns in the press or the entertainment media — in contrast to the automatic acceptance that even the woolliest and most mean-spirited “survivor” accusations win from these industries.

Above and beyond the Auschwitz lie itself, this is the Big Lie of *Never Forget* — the whopper that the revisionists are somehow politically powerful, shrewd, bigoted, sadistic and well-connected, while the Exterminationists are weak, innocent, and morally upright.

Not to worry, though. *Never Forget’s* liberties with fact are so multifarious that it must fall of its own weight in the eyes of anyone with the slightest knowledge of the facts of the case. Even Gloria Allred, LA law’s far-left, fervidly Zionist, cartoonishly “feminist” firebrand, whose firm took over Mermelstein’s case from Cox, angrily denounced the film as “historically inaccurate,” adding her own brand of Revisionism to the stew.

And now comes the glimmer of truth, the blinding flash of the obvious, as the great American political thinker Lawrence Dennis would have put it. Clearly, the intended purpose of trying to slam, smear and isolate the Revisionists is counterbalanced by two quite unintended messages to the viewer: 1) Historical Revisionism is strong and growing, and 2) the embattled but still mighty IHR is leading this movement, which is of the gravest concern to the Establishment.

Source: vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 238-249.

Review

An Expert on 'Eyewitness' Testimony Faces a Dilemma in the Demjanjuk Case

- WITNESS FOR THE DEFENSE by Elizabeth Loftus and Katherine Ketcham. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. Hardbound. 288 pages. Illustrations. \$ 19.95. ISBN: 0-312-05537-4.

Reviewed by John Cobden

Eyewitness testimony is the cornerstone of the Holocaust story. Much more than physical or documentary evidence, the accounts of "Holocaust survivors" have been crucial in convincing people that millions of European Jews were systematically exterminated in gas chambers during the Second World War.

What few realize is that such "eyewitness" testimony is notoriously inaccurate, biased and, in many cases, blatantly and demonstrably wrong. Jewish historian Samuel Gringauz, for example, once pointed out that:

... most of the memoirs and report [of "Holocaust survivors"] are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.

The inaccuracy of Holocaust testimony is not unique, of course. Defective memory and false testimony occur in all aspects of life. It is to this fascinating subject that Dr. Elizabeth Loftus has dedicated her career. As she relates in *Witness for the Defense*, what began as a research project at Stanford University became her life-long calling:

The study of memory has become my specialty, my passion. In the next few years I wrote dozens of papers about how memory works and how it fails, but unlike most researchers studying memory, my work kept reaching out into the real world. To what extent, I wondered, could a person's memory be shaped by suggestion? When people witness a serious automobile accident, how accurate is their recollection of the facts? If a witness is questioned by a police officer, will the manner of questioning alter the representation of the memory? Can memories be supplemented with additional, false information? (p. 7)

This passion led Loftus to a teaching career at the University of Washington and, perhaps more importantly, into hundreds of courtrooms as an expert witness on the fallibility of eyewitness accounts. As she has explained in numerous trials, and as she convincingly argues in this absorbing

book, eyewitness accounts can be and often are so distorted that they no longer resemble the truth.

An understanding of human memory, and how it works, is obviously of crucial importance in comprehending the Holocaust issue. In this regard, Loftus' treatment of how human memory works is relevant in two important ways.

First, she explains how memory works and how it fails. After presenting her general views, she shows how they apply in specific criminal cases. While this treatment does not deal directly with the Holocaust issue, she makes general points and draws relevant lessons that are crucially relevant.

Second, Loftus tells of her personal involvement in the well-known case of John Demjanjuk, the Ukrainian-born Cleveland auto worker who was tried in Israel and sentenced to death for allegedly helping to kill hundreds of thousands of Jews during the Second World War in the Treblinka camp. In her analysis of the trial, Loftus presents compelling reasons to doubt Demjanjuk's guilt. And even though, as she explains, she felt a professional obligation to come to the aid of the defendant, she ultimately decided not to do so.

As Loftus shows, innocent persons are regularly convicted of crimes they did not commit on the basis of faulty eyewitness testimony. In these cases, the eyewitnesses do not commit perjury. They do not willfully lie, but rather they tell the truth as they have come to believe it. She explains:

Why, after all, would they lie? Ah, there's the word — lie. That's the word that gets us off track. You see, eyewitnesses who point their finger at innocent defendants are not liars, for they genuinely believe in the truth of their testimony. The face that they see before them is the face of the attacker. The face of innocence has become the face of guilt. That's the frightening part — the truly horrifying idea that our memories can be changed, inextricably altered, and that what we think we know, what we believe with all our hearts, is not necessarily the truth. (p. 13)

Loftus provides a striking example of how memories can be distorted. Jean Piaget, the famed child psychologist, tells in his book *Plays, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood* of his vivid memory of a violent attempt to kidnap him as a child. Piaget's nurse saved the boy by fighting off the attacker. Throughout his childhood and early teen years, Piaget had explicit memories of this traumatic event. But when he was fifteen years old, the nurse confessed in a letter to the family that she had created the entire story out of thin air, and that no such kidnapping attempt had ever taken place. Because Piaget had grown up hearing the kidnapping story told to him so vividly, he came to believe it with such certainty that he actually remembered witnessing it himself.

Memory, Loftus tell us, is not a video camera that records events and then later plays them back exactly as originally recorded. Instead, it is an "evolutionary" or evolving process. Memories are lost and replaced with new memories. Some memories, while retained, change over time and become a pale imitation of the original. As Loftus points out:

As new bits and pieces of information are added into long-term memory, the old memories are removed, replaced, crumpled up, or shoved into corners. Little details are added, confusing or extraneous elements are deleted, and a coherent construction of the facts is gradually created that may bear little resemblance to the original event.

Memories don't just fade, as the old saying would have us believe; they also grow. What fades is the initial perception, the actual experience of the events. But every time we recall an event, we must reconstruct the memory, and with each recollection the memory may be changed — colored by succeeding events, other people's recollections or suggestions, increased understanding, or a new context.

Truth and reality, when seen through the filter of our memories, are not objective facts but subjective, interpretative realities. We interpret the past, correcting ourselves, adding bits and pieces, deleting uncomplementary or disturbing recollections, sweeping, dusting, tidying things up. Thus our representation of the past takes on a living, shifting reality; it is not fixed and immutable, not a place way back there that is preserved in stone, but a living thing that changes shape, expands, shrinks, and expands again, an amoeba-like creature with powers to make us laugh, and cry, and clench our fists. Enormous powers — powers even to make us believe in something that never happened. (p. 20)

Loftus describes some of the subtle ways in which human memory can be transformed. For instance, an individual's memory can be distorted by information received after the event in question. New information acquired after the event can be fused with the original memory. A person eventually remembers the "new" information so vividly that he cannot distinguish it from the original recollection. The new information, Loftus tell us, may "not only enhance the existing memory, but actually change their memory, even causing non-existent memory to become incorporated into the previously acquired memory (p. 85)." In one study, Loftus showed a cartoon to a group of children, and then asked them about the bear that appeared in it. Even though no bear had appeared in the cartoon, many children had "memories" of it once they were asked about it.

Adult memories operate in fundamentally the same way. While an adult may not suddenly come to "remember" a non-existent experience that never happened, adults can and do come to "remember" non-events over time, and in a more subtle way.

Loftus gives numerous examples from criminal cases of how eyewitness testimony has changed. In one case, a rape victim distinctly remembers that her attacker had no distinguishing mark on his face. The police then arrest a suspect with a scar on his cheek that would hardly have gone unnoticed. Except for this important difference, the suspect fits the description given by the victim. After the victim is called in for further questioning and is asked about a scar, she continues to maintain quite confidently that her attacker had no scar. A few minutes later, she is shown a photo line-up that includes the suspect. In this way, the police have unintentionally planted the idea in the victim's mind that the rapist may have had a scar. Unless every person in the line-up has a scar, the victim will naturally pay greater attention to the man with the scar. After all, the police would not have asked about the scar if they had not been pretty sure that this man was the rapist.

The victim might still not be sure. A few days later, the police ask her to come in again to view another line-up, which includes the suspect with the scar. This time, as she carefully looks over the line-up, her stomach tightens and she becomes fearful when she sees the scar-faced suspect. He seems so familiar. She begins to doubt her own story, and considers the possibility that the rapist did have a scar after all. Soon she is telling the police that he might be the suspect after all. By the time of the trial, she has completely forgotten her initial disavowal of a scar. On the witness stand, she points with considerable confidence to the suspect as the man who raped her, and now even remembers the scar.

The level of confidence with which a witness tells his or her story is a powerful persuader. The actual factuality of a story is practically irrelevant, Loftus explains.

“Like most people,” she points out, “jurors tend to believe [that] there is a strong relationship between how confident a witness is and how accurate he or she is. A witness who says 'Yes, that is absolutely, positively the man I saw' would clearly be more convincing than someone who says 'Well, yeah, I think that's the guy (p. 170).”

Loftus relates the case of a young woman who positively identified an innocent man as her rapist. It was only after he was convicted, and the real rapist was found, that she suddenly realized that she had helped convict an innocent man. She had firmly believed her own false testimony, and so had the jury.

As Loftus explains, we are so willing to accept unreliable eyewitness accounts because we do not understand how memory actually works. Most people believe the “video camera” scenario instead of the “evolutionary” scenario. Because of this misconception we are very strongly inclined to believe eyewitness accounts. In general, our memory serves us well. In most cases, it is not crucially important that we remember specific details with a high level of accuracy.

Generalized memories, even if distorted, tend not to matter a great deal except, as Loftus points out, in a court of law where someone's life or liberty may be at stake. The danger of eyewitness testimony is clear:

Anyone in the world can be convicted of a crime he or she did not commit, or deprived of an award that is due, based solely on the evidence of a witness who convinces the jury that his memory about what he saw is correct. Why is eyewitness testimony so powerful and convincing? Because people in general and jurors in particular believe that our memories stamp the facts of our experiences on a permanent, nonerasable tape, like a computer disk or videotape that is write-protected. For the most part, of course, our memories serve us reasonably well. But how often is precise memory demanded of us? When a friend describes a vacation, we don't ask, “Are you sure your hotel room had two chairs, not three?” ... But precise memory suddenly becomes crucial in the event of a crime or an accident. Small details assume enormous importance. (p. 21)

In *Witness for the Defense*, Loftus recounts her personal involvement in numerous criminal cases, including the trial of serial killer Ted Bundy. She has testified in cases of murder, rape, and child abuse. In each criminal case dealt with here, she tells the story of her trial testimony. That is, with one notable exception: In the case of John Demjanjuk, she tells why she ultimately refused to testify.

Demjanjuk had been deported from the United States to Israel, where he was on trial for his life. He was accused (and eventually found guilty) of being a “Nazi war criminal” who helped murder hundreds of thousands of Jews in the German wartime camp of Treblinka. In 1987 Loftus received a phone call from Mark O'Conner, Demjanjuk's attorney, asking her to testify for the defense. If anyone could authoritatively explain just how unreliable an “eyewitness” can be, especially after 35 years, it was Dr. Loftus. Nevertheless, she didn't hesitate to reject O'Conner's plea: “I have three other cases right now. I have classes to teach. And I'm Jewish (p. 211).”

O'Conner refused to accept this answer. He flew across the country to meet Loftus in person, and spent two days going over the evidence of the case with her. Loftus recounts the evidence he presented to her, and in doing so makes a persuasive case for Demjanjuk's innocence. The prosecu-

tion's only piece of documentary evidence, a photocopy of an identification card supplied by the Soviets, may well have been a forgery, she relates. For one thing, vital bits of information were missing from the document.

She also tells how Israeli authorities found the “eyewitnesses” who were so important in their case. Israeli officials had placed advertisements in newspapers “asking Treblinka and Sobibor survivors to contact them. O'Conner pulled a sheet of paper from a file and read the advertisement to me: 'The Nazi Crime Investigation Division is conducting an investigation against the Ukrainians Ivan Demjanjuk and Fedor Fedorenko (p. 216).'" Already the testimony of potential witnesses was corrupted by this advertisement. By giving the names of the suspects, it naturally encouraged prospective “eyewitnesses” to modify their memories to incorporate this new information.

It wasn't long before “eyewitnesses” began lining up to help convict these two Ukrainians. At first, their memories were faulty, and some were not at all sure of themselves. Abraham Goldfarb, for example, first testified that Demjanjuk looked “familiar.” But after further questioning by Israeli authorities, he suddenly “remembered” that Ivan Demjanjuk was the Treblinka guard known as “Ivan the Terrible.”

Goldfarb's testimony was the first to place Demjanjuk at Treblinka. But, as Loftus notes:

“Mr. Goldfarb must have been shocked by his tentative identification of Ivan, O'Conner explained, because in a memoir published right after the war he'd written that Ivan [“the Terrible”] was killed in the 1943 uprising. Goldfarb's identification must have shocked the Israeli investigators too, because they had been told by the U.S. government that Ivan was at Sobibor, not Treblinka (p. 217).”

When another “eyewitness,” Eugen Turowski, was first questioned, he recognized Fedorenko but not Demjanjuk. However, when Turowski returned the next day for further questioning, and was again shown the photos, he announced that the picture of Demjanjuk was that of “Ivan the Terrible,” the Treblinka sadist.

Why, O'Conner asked me, did Turowski recognize Ivan immediately and with full assurance, when the day before he didn't recognize him at all? Isn't it reasonable to assume that because Goldfarb and Turowski knew each other, and because they testified within hours of each other, they talked about this astonishing discovery: Ivan is still alive! (p. 218)

Loftus goes on to relate:

The next positive identifications were obtained in September and October 1976 — at least four months after Turowski, Goldfarb and Rosenberg testified, and only a month or two after the August reunion of Treblinka survivors held every year in Tel Aviv on the anniversary of the uprising. All the witnesses who identified Demjanjuk lived in Israel and attended that reunion. (p. 219)

In all, just five witnesses identified Demjanjuk as “Ivan the Terrible.” At least 23 former Treblinka inmates failed to identify him.

Loftus was confronted with a dilemma. She was one of the world's leading authorities on the crucial aspect of human memory and eyewitness accounts. She knew from her own research and experience that Israeli methods were corrupting the testimony of their witnesses, and that the evi-

dence presented by the Israelis was emphatically not enough to convict Demjanjuk beyond a “reasonable doubt.” An innocent man’s life was a stake. She had been willing to testify on behalf of accused murderers, rapists and child molesters. Was the case of this Ukrainian immigrant and retired auto worker really any different?

On the outside, assessing the facts, taking notes, asking detailed questions, was Dr. Elizabeth Loftus, professor at the University of Washington and expert witness in hundreds of court cases. She wanted to say, “Yes, of course I’ll take the case.” The Israeli police interrogation practices were, indeed, questionable, and the prosecution was depending on memories that were thirty-five years old. If these memories were to be believed, and John Demjanjuk was found guilty, he would be sentenced to death. It was a case that cried out for expert testimony. (p. 222)

Recalling her feelings as she grappled with this dilemma, Loftus confesses:

The file should have convinced me. A case that relied on thirty-five-year-old memories should have been enough by itself. Add to those decaying memories the fact that the witnesses knew before they looked at the photographs that the police had a suspect, and they were even given the suspect’s first and last name — Ivan Demjanjuk. Add to that scenario the fact that the Israeli investigators asked the witnesses if they could identify John Demjanjuk, a clearly prejudicial and leading question. Add to that the fact that the witnesses almost certainly talked about their identification afterward, possibly contaminating subsequent identifications. Add to that the repeated showing of John Demjanjuk’s photograph so that with each exposure, his face became more and more familiar and the witnesses became more and more confident and convincing.

Then factor into all of the above the intensely emotional nature of this particular case, for the man these people were identifying was more than a tool of the Nazis, more, even, than the dreaded Ivan who ran the diesel engines and tortured and mutilated prisoners. This man, if he was Ivan the Terrible, was personally responsible for murdering their mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, wives, children.

Dr. Loftus would have stopped with the file. She would have added up all the factors, assessed the problems, calculated the numerous possibilities for error and responded, “Yes, of course, I’ll testify about the general workings of memory, and discuss how and why it can fail.”

But Beth Fishman [Loftus’ maiden name] couldn’t stop with the file. (p.224)

In the end, Loftus decided not to testify on behalf of a man she believed was very possibly innocent because she didn’t want to offend her relatives, her friends, Jewish survivors and Jews everywhere. In short, as she acknowledges, Loftus put her Jewishness ahead of her regard for truth and justice.

“If I take the case,” I explained, having talked this out with myself hundreds of times, “I would turn my back on my Jewish heritage. If I don’t take the case, I would turn my back on everything I’ve worked for in the last fifteen years. To be true to my work, I must judge the case as I have judged every case before it. If there are problems with the eyewitness identifications I must testify. It’s the consistent thing to do.” p. 232)

Loftus recounts an exchange with one of her closest friends, who is also Jewish:

"Ilene, I need your advice," I said when we were seated at a booth in a back corner of the restaurant. "A lawyer called a few weeks ago and asked me to testify in the John Demjanjuk trial in Israel."

"Demjanjuk," she said, looking at me. Her voice changed, becoming flat, emotionless. "You mean Ivan the Terrible."

"He is accused of being Ivan the Terrible," I said.

"Beth, please. Tell me you said no. Tell me you will not take this case."

"This lawyer came to see me. He flew out from New York and spent two days with me, trying to convince me that this is a case of mistaken indietification. He believes Demjanjuk is innocent."

"He's being paid by the man, is he not?"

"I told him I'd review the file."

"How could you?" I felt the words, so heavy with contempt, settle like a stone in my heart.

"Ilene, please try to understand. This is my work. I have to look beyond the emotions, to the issues here. I can't just automatically assume he's guilty."

"He is guilty. People who were at the death camp, people who watched him, who knew him have pointed their fingers at him and said positively and with no hesitation — That's Ivan."

"You've made up your mind that he's guilty before he's even had a trial," I said.

"Are you telling me that you would do that, Beth?"

We argued through lunch, and when we walked into the psychology building for our 1:30 p.m. classes, Ilene wasn't speaking to me. I watched her walk down the hallway, her back straight and stiff, and I knew that in her heart she believed I had betrayed her. Worse than that, much worse, I had betrayed my people, my heritage, my race. I had betrayed them all for thinking that there might be a possibility that John Demjanjuk was innocent.(p. 228-229)

Loftus struggled with her dilemma. Would she betray her sense of honor and integrity out of loyalty to her "heritage" and "race"? She sought advice from a close relative:

"Uncle Joe tried to be reasonable. He cautioned that I must think about Israel, for 'what is good for Israel is paramount (p. 229).'"

Loftus went to Israel to sit in on the Demjanjuk trial and see the defendant for herself. She recalls how, when one eyewitness "pointed out Demjanjuk, many of the five hundred spectators stood up and applauded," as if watching some great play (p. 230). She heard "eyewitness" Gustave Boraks identify Demjanjuk, but then have trouble remembering the name of his own child. Boraks,

who had come to Israel from Florida, was asked if he could remember how he had made the journey. He told the stunned audience that he had come “by train (p. 230).”

Instead of feeling sympathy for the hapless defendant, Loftus empathized with the eyewitnesses, who were doing everything in their power to send Demjanjuk to the gallows:

I could picture O'Conner stalking Gustave Boraks' aging memory, pouncing, holding it up like a deflated rubber ball and declaring with a victor's smile, “See this old thing? It's no good anymore!” And I could picture Mr. Boraks sitting there defeated and devastated as he watched his mind being held up to ridicule, as he endured the shame of forgetting the name of his youngest son. (p. 231)

As Loftus sat in the courtroom watching the trial, a friend asked her, “Why aren't you up on the stand?” She paused a moment before replying:

It took me a few seconds to pull my answer together. As I looked around the audience filled with four generations of Jews — little children, their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents — I tried to explain to Margreet that it was as if these were my relatives, and I, too, had lost someone I loved in the Treblinka death camp. With those kinds of feelings inside me, I couldn't suddenly switch roles and become a professional, an expert — I could not have taken the stand and talked about the fallibility of memory without every person in that audience believing that I was indicting the specific memories of the survivors. I would have been perceived as attacking their memories. I couldn't do it. It was as simple and agonizing as that. (p. 237)

In other words, Loftus put her sense of Jewishness above considerations of truth and justice, and above John Demjanjuk's right to a fair trial. In the end, she heeded her uncle's advice and put “Israel” first.

In American trials of murderers and child abusers, Loftus had been quite willing to call into question the memories of the many victims, and to put her sense of professional duty above any concern she might have for their feelings. But she could not bring herself to similarly challenge the dubious memories of Jewish witnesses — because they were Jewish.

By refusing to testify, and thereby passively helping to sentence a man to death whom she herself believed was very possibly innocent, Loftus is perhaps more culpable than the elderly persons who bore false witness against the defendant. For unlike the aging witnesses who were no longer able to distinguish truth from falsehood, and who had come to believe their own false testimony, Loftus knew better.

Many readers of this book will doubtless sympathize with or even approve of Loftus's decision not to testify in the Demjanjuk trial. But how many of these “understanding” readers would be as tolerant of Ukrainians, Poles or other non-Jews who might make similarly ethnically-motivated decisions?

This is a valuable and eye-opening book, not just for the revealing story of one person's crisis of conscience, but for what it teaches about the fallibility of supposedly solid “eyewitness” testimony — a lesson with important social import.

Source: vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 251-254.

Historical news and comment

A Brief Introduction to Holocaust Revisionism

Arthur R. Butz

Dr. Arthur R. Butz is an associate professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. He is also the author of a major revisionist study of the Holocaust story, The Hoax of the Twentieth Century, as well as a member of the IHR Journal's editorial advisory committee. Earlier this year, as the Holocaust story was flaring on the Northwestern campus as an issue of often intensely acrimonious debate, Butz once again found himself in the center of the storm. (For more on this, including the key role played by IHR media project director Bradley Smith, see the May and July 1991 issues of the IHR Newsletter.) At the height of the controversy, Butz presented his view of the Holocaust story in a succinct essay that appeared in the school paper, The Daily Northwestern, May 13, 1991, under the title "A Short Introduction to the Study of Holocaust Revisionism," Here is the complete text of his piece, which includes a correction of an error that appeared in the Daily Northwestern version:

I see three principal reasons for the widespread but erroneous belief in the legend of millions of Jews killed by the Germans during World War II: U.S. and British troops found horrible piles of corpses in the West German camps they captured in 1945 (e.g. Dachau and Belsen); there are no longer large communities of Jews in Poland; and historians generally support the legend.

During both world wars, Germany was forced to fight typhus, carried by lice in the constant traffic with the East. That is why all accounts of entry into the German concentration camps speak of shaving of hair and showering and other delousing procedures, such as treatment of quarters with the pesticide Zyklon. That was also the main reason for a high death rate in the camps, and for the crematoria that existed in all.

When Germany collapsed in chaos, then of course all such defenses ceased, and typhus and other diseases became rampant in the camps, which quartered mainly political prisoners, ordinary criminals, homosexuals, conscientious objectors and Jews conscripted for labor. Hence the horrible scenes, which however had nothing to do with "extermination" or any deliberate policy. Moreover, the West German camps involved were not the alleged "extermination camps," which were all in Poland (e.g. Auschwitz and Treblinka) and which were all evacuated or shut down before capture by the Soviets, who found no such scenes.

The "Final Solution" spoken of in the German documents was a program of evacuation, resettlement and deportation of Jews with the ultimate objective of expulsion from Europe. During the

war Jews of various nationalities were being moved east, as one stage in this Final Solution. The legend claims that the motion was mainly for extermination purposes.

The great majority of the millions allegedly exterminated were East European — not German or West European — Jews. For that reason study of the problem via population statistics has been difficult to impossible, but it is a fact that there are no longer large communities of Jews in Poland. However, the Germans were only one of several parties involved in moving Jews around. The Soviets deported virtually all of the Jews of eastern Poland to their interior in 1940. After the war, with Polish and other Jews pouring out of the East into occupied West Germany, the Zionists moved large numbers to Palestine, and the United States and other countries absorbed many Jews, in most cases under conditions making impossible a numerical accounting. Moreover, the Polish borders were changed drastically at the end of the war; the country was literally moved west.

Historians generally support the legend, but there are precedents for nearly incomprehensible blindness on the part of scholars. For example, throughout the Middle Ages even the Pope's political enemies conceded his false claim that the 4th century Emperor Constantine had ceded rule of the west to the Pope, although all knew very well that Constantine had been succeeded by more emperors. Near unanimity among the academics is especially suspect when there exist great political pressures; in some countries, Holocaust Revisionists have been prosecuted.

It is easy to show that the extermination legend merits skepticism. Even the casual reader of the Holocaust literature knows that during the war virtually nobody acted as though it were happening. Thus it is common to berate the Vatican, the Red Cross and the Allies (especially the intelligence agencies) of their ignorance and inaction, and to explain that the Jews generally did not resist deportation because they did not know what was in store for them. If you add all this up you have the strange claim that for almost three years German trains, operating on a continental scale in densely civilized regions of Europe, were regularly and systematically moving millions of Jews to their deaths, and nobody noticed except for a few of our Jewish leaders who were making public "extermination" claims.

On closer examination even those few Jewish leaders were not acting as though it were happening. Ordinary communications between the occupied and neutral countries were open, and they were in contact with the Jews whom the Germans were deporting, who thus could not have been in ignorance of "extermination" if those claims had any validity.

This incredible ignorance must also be attributed to Hans Oster's department in German military intelligence, correctly labeled "the veritable general staff of the opposition to Hitler" in a recent review.

What we are offered in evidence was gathered after the war, in trials. The evidence is almost all oral testimony and "confessions." Without the evidence of these trials there would be no significant evidence of "extermination." One must pause and ponder this carefully. Were trials needed to determine that the Battle of Waterloo happened? The bombings of Hamburg, Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki? The slaughter in Cambodia? Yet this three-year program, of continental scope, claiming millions of victims, requires trials to argue its reality. I am not arguing that the trials were illegal or unfair, I am arguing that such historical logic as the legend rests on must not be countenanced. Such events cannot happen without generating commensurate and contemporaneous evidence for their reality, just as a great forest fire cannot take place without producing smoke. One may as well believe that New York City was burned down, if confessions to the deed can be produced.

Detailed consideration of the specific evidence put forward in support of the legend has been a focus of the Revisionist literature and cannot be undertaken here, but I shall mention one point. The claim of the legend is that there were no technical means provided for the specific task of extermination, and that means originally provided for other purposes did double duty in improvised arrangements. Thus the Jews were allegedly gassed with the pesticide Zyklon, and their corpses disappeared into the crematoria along with the deaths from “ordinary” causes (the ashes or other remains of millions of victims never having been found). Surely any thoughtful person must be skeptical.

Historical news and comment

A Request for Additional Information on the Myth of the 'Gassing' of the Serbs in the First World War

Robert Faurisson

The myth of the “gassing” of the Jews during the Second World War is only a recurrence — or a recycling — of a myth from the First World War: that of the “gassing” of Serbs by the Germans, the Austrians, and the Bulgarians.

On March 22, 1916, the London *Daily Telegraph* printed, on its page 7, the following article:

ATROCITIES IN SERBIA 700,000 VICTIMS

ROME, Monday (6:45 p.m.). The Governments of the Allies have secured evidence and documents, which will shortly be published, proving that Austria and Bulgaria have been guilty of horrible crimes in Serbia, where the massacres committed were worse than those perpetrated by Turkey in Armenia.

The Italian government has today published the testimony of two Italian prisoners who escaped from Austria through Serbia, and took refuge in Romania. What these two prisoners saw and learned, however, was nothing compared with the evidence supplied by the Serbians themselves, and communicated by M. Pasitch to the Italian Government and to the Pope. According to reliable information, the victims of the Austrians and Bulgarians exceeded 700,000. Whole districts, with towns and villages, have been depopulated by massacres. Women, children, and old men were shut up in the churches by the Austrians, and either stabbed with the bayonet or suffocated by means of asphyxiating gas. In one church in Belgrade 3,000 women, children, and old men were thus suffocated.

Serbian refugees, not on oath, have stated that they were present at a distribution of bombs and machines for producing asphyxiating gas to the Bulgarians by the Germans and Austrians, who instructed the former how to utilize these instruments to exterminate the Serbian population. The Bulgarians used this method at Nish, Pirot, Prizrend and Negotin, the inhabitants of which places died of suffocation. Similar means were employed by the Austrians in several parts of Montenegro.

On June 25, 1942, the same newspaper went on to publish on its page 5, an identical article under the following title:

**GERMANS MURDER 700,000 JEWS IN POLAND
TRAVELLING GAS CHAMBERS**

During the First World War, Bernhard Guttman was “correspondent and contributor to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.” On November 20, 1917, he met in Berlin with Richard von Kühlmann, state secretary in the Foreign Office. Von Kühlmann informed Guttman of his pessimism as to the progress and the outcome of the war. He complained of the behavior of the Bulgarians, who were allied to Germany and Austria:

[State Secretary von Kühlmann] reported how the Serbs are being “finished off” by them [the Bulgarians] with bureaucratic dispatch; they are brought, ostensibly to be cleaned, to delousing stations and eliminated with gas [*Schattenriss einer Generation (1888-1919)*, Stuttgart: K. F. Köhler Verlag, 1950, p. 145-146].

I am seeking help from *JHR* readers able to provide additional information on this myth from the First World War, particularly in the form of research into contemporary press reports. Information might also be sought from the cultural services of Yugoslavia’s embassies, consulates, and other agencies.

Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 260, 380f.

From the Editor

Theodore J. O'Keefe

This Fall 1991 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* begins with two more nails in the coffin of what Editorial Advisory Committee member Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich has called the “Auschwitz myth.”

The first, Brian Renk's **exposé** of what has seemed to a number of Exterminationists as the long-sought “smoking gun” (“dusty document” would be better) to prove that yes, there were homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, there was a German program to exterminate the Jews, and the Führer not merely knew about it, he had specifically ordered it. Not so, demonstrates Renk, a promising young Revisionist scholar from Canada who painstakingly studied the so-called “Franke-Gricksch, “ or “Resettlement Action,” report, establishing that it is certainly a fraud. By doing so, he's landed a heavy blow against two heavyweights in the Exterminationist camp, Gerald Fleming and Jean-Claude Pressac, both of whom make much of the document (it was Professor Fleming who first brought the “Resettlement Action” report to prominence in his attempt to refute David Irving's thesis that Hitler had not ordered the alleged extermination). We have high hopes that Mr. Renk, a student of history on the college level who attended last year's Tenth IHR Conference, will be a featured speaker at a future conference.

Enrique Aynat, who represents Spain on the *JHR*'s diverse and indeed cosmopolitan Editorial Advisory Committee, **weighs in with a careful examination** of the reportage on Auschwitz and the “Final Solution” in the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, the leading propaganda organ of the London-based Polish Government-in-Exile. As in the Watergate hearings, “What did they know and when did they know it?” is the question, the significance of which, for Auschwitz, was first made clear by Arthur Butz in his seminal *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* and in his subsequent essay “Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust Controversy'” (see the Winter 1982 *JHR* [Vol. 3, no. 4]), both of which bear reading again and again for anyone with a real interest in Holocaust Revisionism. Señor Aynat, whose prolific writings on Auschwitz have appeared in this journal and elsewhere, bids fair, with the Italian Carlo Mattogno and numerous colleagues in France, to found a Revisionist Latin League: Teutonic Revisionists take note (or better, *notate bene*).

Like most contributors to the journal, Doug Collins is a man of parts bulldoglike-Englishman, World War II combat veteran and POW, award-winning Canadian journalist, and uncompromising defender of freedom of speech and the press. As he **makes clear**, Collins is skeptical of more than one Revisionist argument, often on his own experience, but he wants no part of the Establishment's permanent hatemongering against the Germans. Furthermore, and most important, he scores the press of own country for its cowardly submission to special interests, Jewish and otherwise, which decreed a practical news blackout of the second trial of Ernst Zündel, and which continues hypocritically to evade the issue of suppression of unpopular speech and writing from the politically incorrect, while functioning as a virtual cheering section for every Communist

crank and pornographer. As we American Revisionists know as well as anyone, just because a man doesn't go to jail for unpopular opinions doesn't mean there is real freedom of the press a mass media which is uniformly hostile to, or blacks out, an important point of view might just as well be subject to state censorship.

Carl Nordling, a professional demographer, [takes another look](#) at the very open question for Revisionists and, increasingly, even non-Revisionists of how many Jews died in Europe during the Second World War. Nordling's synthesizing of the population and mortality estimates for European Jewry during the war years from the best Revisionist and Exterminationist sources with his own small-scale study of a cohort of the fates of several hundred individual Jews should open new vistas for Revisionist researchers in search of an accounting of the actual (and no less deplorable) losses suffered by Jews during the war to replace the fraudulent numerological fetish of the "Six Million."

Then Frederick Kerr [takes a look](#) at a new textbook on a subject that has been all but flogged to death in the universities and schools over the past several decades, to wit *Nationalism & Anti-semitism in Modern Europe 1815-1945*. As Dr. Kerr points out, students may learn more about that subject than their educator, Israeli professor, Shmuel Almog, and his publisher, Britain-based international media czar (or is that tsar?), Robert Maxwell, bargained for.

Robert Clive, an expert on the history of the Second World War, [examines David Martin's account](#) of Britain's (and America's) betrayal of yet another anti-Communist World War-II ally, Serbian General Draza Mihailovic.

This issue of *The Journal* has an usually long, and very newsy, "Historical News and Comment Section." As Associate Editor [Mark Weber](#), [Dan Desjardins](#), and *JHR* Editorial Advisors [John Bennett](#) and Dr. [Clarence Lang](#) demonstrate, the enemies of historical truth are in retreat, and it's not a pretty sight, particularly when these powerful malefactors are devoting all their considerable resources to covering up their crimes and misdeamors by muzzling their critics. But murder will out, whether the murder of Rudolf Hess or of historical fact or of free inquiry, as these four articles testify.

In this issue, for the first time in some years, *The Journal* has published two letters from readers. We hope to continue publishing informed letters, with preference given to communications taking reasoned issue with, or adding materially to, articles previously published in *The JHR*.

Your editor has one final, pleasant task, to announce that on September 19, Mel Mermelstein and his pricey Beverly Hills lawyers voluntarily dismissed their complaints of libel, conspiracy, and intentional infliction of emotional distress against the Institute for Historical Review; its founder, Willis A. Carto; and the populist [Liberty Lobby](#). Just hours earlier, Judge Stephen Lachs had dismissed Mermelstein's fourth complaint, for malicious prosecution, Aside from ending a potentially devastating \$11 million suit, the end of the Mermelstein case, barring an appeal, rings down the curtain on a ten-year-long melodrama of costly, time-consuming litigation with one of America's most-honored "Holocaust survivors." An upcoming issue of *The Journal* will include an examination of what the Mermelstein has involved, and produced, of note, historiographically as well as institutionally, for IHR and revisionism.

Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 261-279

The Franke-Gricksch 'Resettlement Action Report': Anatomy of a Fabrication

Brian A. Renk

It was long presumed that the alleged German policy to exterminate the Jews of Europe was set in motion by a direct, if not a written order, from Adolf Hitler. This purported order was cited in the main Nuremberg trial a 1945-46 and in subsequent trials of "Nazi war criminals." Although documentary evidence for the "Führer Order" has remained elusive, its existence was taken for granted by exterminationist historians until 1977.

In that year the British historian David Irving provoked considerable discussion in the historical establishment with the publication of his *Hitler's War*. Irving argued, on the basis of a painstaking study of the documentary record as well as exhaustive interviews with surviving members of Hitler's entourage, that the German leader did not order mass killings of Jews, and that he did not learn about an extermination policy until, perhaps, 1943. ^[1]

Anglo-Jewish historian Gerald Fleming, now reader emeritus at the University of Surrey (England), decided to deal with this problem-and specifically to respond to Irving's provocative 1977 thesis-by setting to work on a book that would prove conclusively that Hitler did indeed order the extermination of European Jewry. After several years of research and writing, he presented his case in *Hitler and the Final Solution* (German edition 1982, published in America 1984), a work that was widely hailed as a definitive response to Irving and other Revisionists.

A key document cited by Fleming in his book is a two-page report entitled "Umsiedlungs-Aktion der Juden" ("Resettlement Action of the Jews," although Fleming calls it "Resettlement of the Jews", which describes mass killings of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz and makes explicit reference to the "Führer Order." This document, said to be part of a longer report, is alleged by Fleming to have been composed by SS Sturmbannführer (Major) Alfred Franke-Gricksch, a highranking official in the SS personnel main office in Berlin, shortly after an inspection tour of Auschwitz-Birkenau in May 1943.

The "Resettlement Action" document was apparently first cited by the American historian Charles W. Sydnor (in his book *Soldiers of Destruction* (Princeton Univ., 1977, p. 3371). More recently, it was published-both in facsimile and in English translation-by the French anti-Revisionist historian Jean-Claude Pressac in his *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, New York, 1989 [pages 236-239]).

The importance Fleming attaches to this report is indicated by the fact that he devotes an entire chapter of *Hitler and the Final Solution* to it. He gives this chapter the title "An Official Report from Auschwitz-Birkenau."

If authentic, the “Resettlement Action” report would seem to confirm several key points of the Exterminationist thesis:

- The phrase “resettlement of the Jews” was a euphemism for a policy of mass extermination, particularly by “gassing.”
- Mass killings at Auschwitz were part of a secret program ordered by Hitler to exterminate the Jews.
- Homicidal gas chambers in the crematorium complex of Auschwitz-Birkenau were used to kill Jews during the spring of 1943.

But is the “Resettlement Action” report authentic? In this paper, we shall establish that it is almost certainly not. A careful examination of the text, as well as Fleming and Pressac’s analysis of that text, will reveal the following:

- The “Resettlement Action” report is almost certainly a postwar forgery. No original, carbon copy or facsimile of the document, let alone the longer report from which it is supposed to have been excerpted, has ever been produced or is even known to exist.
- Orthographic peculiarities in the German of the “Resettlement Action” report suggest that the man who is supposed to have transcribed it did not have a German original before him.
- Specific details about Auschwitz-Birkenau given in this report are demonstrably false.
- Fleming and Pressac have ignored or glossed over numerous factual “errors” and gross implausibilities in this “report,” indicating shoddy and perhaps even unethical scholarship.

The 'Resettlement Action' Document

The following is a translation of the complete text of the “Resettlement Action” report:

[English-language heading:]

Part of a report rendered by SS Sturmbannführer Franke-Gricksch on a trip through the General Gouvernement on 4 to 16 May 1943.

Resettlement Action of the Jews

The Auschwitz camp has a special role in the settlement of the Jewish question. The most up-to-date methods make it possible to implement the Führer Order here very quickly and discreetly.

The so-called “resettlement action” for the Jews proceeds as follows:

The Jews arrive in special trains (freight cars) toward evening and are taken by a special rail track into an area of the camp specifically set aside for this purpose. There they are unloaded and are then examined for their fitness for work by a medical team in the presence of the camp commandant and several SS officers. Here every person who can somehow be integrated into the labor program is taken to a special camp. Temporarily sick persons are immediately taken to the recuperation camp and are restored to health with a special diet. The basic principle is: Conserve all manpower for work. The earlier “resettlement action” policy is now completely rejected, because no one can afford to systematically destroy valuable labor energy.

The unfit are taken into the basement rooms of a large building, which can be entered from the outside. They go down five or six steps and come into a long, well-built and

ventilated basement room, which is fitted with benches on the right and left. It is brightly lit and above the benches are numbers. The prisoners are told they are to be disinfected and washed in preparation for their new tasks. They must therefore undress completely in order to be bathed. In order to avoid any panic and disorder, they are told to arrange their clothes neatly and leave them under a number so they can find their things again after the bath. Everything proceeds in complete calm. They then go through a small corridor and come into a large basement room that resembles a shower room. In this room there are three big pillars. Into these it is possible to introduce certain materials from above, outside the basement room. After 300-400 people have gathered in this room, the doors are closed and from above the containers with the materials are let down into the pillars. When the containers reach the base of the pillars, they produce certain substances that put people to sleep in one minute. A few minutes later, the door on the other side, which leads to an elevator, is opened. The hair of the corpses is cut off, and the teeth (gold teeth) are broken out by specialists (Jews). It has been observed that Jews have hidden jewelry objects, gold, platinum, etc., in hollow teeth. The corpses are then loaded into the elevators and are taken to the first floor. There are located ten large crematory ovens, in which the corpses are burned. (Because fresh corpses burn particularly well, the entire process requires only one-half to one Zentner [50 to 100 pounds] of coke). The work itself is carried out by Jewish prisoners who will never leave this camp.

The result so far of this "resettlement action": 500,000 Jews.

The present capacity of the "resettlement action" ovens: 10,000 in 24 hours.

[Handwritten notation in English:]

I affirm that this is a true copy of the original report. Eric M. Lipman.

(Note also the accompanying facsimile reproduction of the report, entitled "Umsiedlungs-Aktion der Juden.": [page 1](#), [page 2](#))

Origins of the Document

As he worked on *Hitler and the Final Solution*, Fleming searched for proof that Franke-Gricksch had actually written the "Resettlement Action" report attributed to him. In a private letter to Alfred Franke-Gricksch's widow dated July 18, 1978, Fleming wrote:

I am writing these lines to you today because ten months ago the British Academy [of Arts and Sciences] officially granted me the research assignment to clear up once and for all, that is, to thoroughly research the following important topic, because this has not yet been done by any contemporary historian: [To find proof for] Adolf Hitler's personal, direct orders for mass liquidation [of Jews] as issued by Hitler during the Second World War ... I would like to quote an excerpt from the report of May 15, 1943, signed by your husband, as it pertains directly to my topic: Hitler's personal orders for liquidation ...

A preliminary comment: Fleming's reference to Franke-Gricksch's signature is not correct. In fact, the "Resettlement Action" report bears only the signature of the purported copyist, Lipman. And whereas Fleming asserts in this letter that Franke-Gricksch's report was written on May 15, 1943, in his book he vaguely dates it "sometime between 4 and 16 May."

According to Pressac (pp. 238-39), a carbon copy of a report by Franke-Gricksch on an inspection tour of the General Government, the German occupation regime in Poland, was discovered after the end of the Second World War “somewhere in Bavaria” by Eric M. Lipman (whom Pressac mistakenly calls “Lippmann”, an officer with the War Crimes Branch of the U.S. Third Army. After finding the full report in Franke-Gricksch’s “career file,” Lipman is supposed to have made a typescript copy of that portion of the report describing Auschwitz, i.e. the “Resettlement Action” report. Pressac writes that the carbon copy of the full report was turned over to the American prosecution team at Nuremberg, and is now “thought to be preserved in the National Archives Collection reference NA RG 238.” Charles Sydnor, however, who first wrote of the document, writes that “the original of this document evidently is lost amid the still unindexed collection of Nuremberg prosecution documents.” [2]

If the carbon copy of the full report was in fact turned over to the American prosecution team at Nuremberg, however, the question arises as to why this explosive document was never introduced into evidence. And why is Eric Lipman the only person who seems to have known anything about it until the 1970s?

I wrote to Mr. Lipman, who now resides in Richmond, Virginia, to ask him about the “Resettlement Action” document. In a letter dated January 23, 1991, he informed me:

[I] have disposed of most of my Nazi documents to various institutions, including Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, the Tauber Institute at Brandeis University, and the archives of Temple Beth Ababa in Richmond.

Consistent with this, Pressac writes (p. 238) that the two-page report typed by Lipman is “now preserved in the Tauber Institute at Brandeis University, with other documents from the Third Reich.” [3]

It is therefore quite likely that Sydnor, who teaches at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia, either learned of the Lipman’s typescript from Lipman himself, or discovered it at Brandeis, while he was researching his book *Soldiers of Destruction*.

In a footnote following his presentation of the “report” in *Hitler and the Final Solution* (p. 143), Fleming characterizes the existing “Resettlement-Action” document as follows:

Typewritten copy, deposited by Charles W. Sydnor in the U.S. National Archives; one of three carbon copies from [sic] Alfred Franke-Gricksch’s report, written on a service mission through the Generalgouvernement between 14 and 16 May 1943, is in author’s possession.

In a letter to Fleming dated February 19, 1991, I wrote:

I have been trying to locate the carbon copy from which the typewritten report was culled, and as a result, have been directed to you, as I have discerned that Brandeis and the U.S. National Archives do not possess the carbon.

Upon reading Fleming’s reply of March 1, in which he wrote, “I am sending you the requested photocopy,” I rather understandably expected to receive a photocopy of the carbon copy of the full report ascribed to Franke-Gricksch. Instead, Fleming merely sent me a photocopy of the same typescript “copy”, complete with English-language heading, that is reproduced in facsimile by Pressac. [4]

Thus, Fleming's statement that "one of three carbon copies from Alfred Franke-Gricksch's report ... is in author's possession" is apparently not true.

To sum up: There is no evidence that a carbon copy of the original report was ever "found" in the SS officer's career file. Nor is there any evidence that this elusive "carbon copy" is in the National Archives, or even that such a document ever existed. The only version of this report that seems to exist anywhere is Lipman's typescript "copy" of an alleged extract from the missing report.

Analysis of the Document

The document itself, Lipman's alleged typed copy of a carbon of the original, bears no reference to a letterhead or classification number, which were routine on authentic official reports, and would have been present on the original. Oddly enough, instead of supplying the date of the report at the top of page 1, Lipman has given the dates of Franke-Gricksch's supposed trip through the "General Gouvernement" (*sic* — the correct German designation is "Generalgouvernement"), although he stumbled over the year and had to handwrite "3" over the last digit, indecipherable in the copy available to this writer, in the year.

An analysis of the text of the "Resettlement-Action" report points toward a fabrication. Although it is represented that Lipman merely typed the "Umsiedlungs-Aktion der Juden" from the German original, the document contains tell-tale anglicisms, some of them uncorrected, some of them typed over with the equivalent German words. Thus, on the first line of the purported report, "had" for "hat"; "der," the second word of line 2, typed over "the"; and on line 3, "hier" typed over "here." On line 8 of the second page of the report, the alleged copyist typed "had," but corrected that to "hat," only to begin the following word with "t" (evidently for "the") before catching that and typing the correct German definite article, "die". Furthermore, in the final paragraph of page 1, the English participial ending "d" is twice typed for the German "t", i.e. "ausgestattet" "ausgestattet" on line 5, which has been corrected, and "gebaded" for "gebadet" on line 9. And last, but not least, the verb "kommt" is used twice with the same subject in the sentence beginning on line 6 of the third paragraph of page 1.

These are certainly remarkable characteristics for what Fleming and Pressac advance as a simple transcription of a German original. A less trusting (or perhaps more scrupulous) interpreter might well be within his rights to suggest that this document was based on an English-language, not a German, source.

Fleming's Analysis

Fleming avoids dwelling on, or even mentioning, the textual peculiarities of the document. Instead, he limits himself to carping about the accuracy of one portion of the "report." He writes (p. 144):

Franke-Gricksch's account of "the execution of the Führerorder," namely, the lowering of "certain materials" into a large cellar room resembling a "shower bath" and activation and release of "particular substances that put people to sleep in one minute" is a fraudulent and cynical white-washing of death by gassing.

Grasping to confirm the orthodox extermination story, Fleming regards the absurd statements which immediately follow as completely accurate. He accepts that specially chosen Jews extracted gold-filled teeth from the corpses, which were then loaded into elevators. He believes that

the corpses burned very quickly in the “ten large crematoria.” Fleming credulously accepts that half a million Jews had already been killed as part of this “Resettlement Action” by mid-May 1943, and that the camp’s crematory ovens could “process” as many as ten thousand corpses every twenty-four hours. In support of this, he cites the incredible, and indeed fantastic, “testimony” of former “Sonderkommando” member Filip Müller, who made much the same claim. [5]

As for whom the report was intended, Fleming’s viewpoint is no less unsatisfactory. He cites a letter written by Franke-Gricksch’s superior, SS-Obergruppenführer Maximilian von Herff, who headed the SS Personnel Office and reported directly to Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, in which von Herff stated his intention to inspect the Auschwitz camp on May 4, 1943. Fleming goes on to argue, without advancing any evidence, that von Herff may not have visited Auschwitz after all, although he accepts that von Herff carried out the rest of the inspection tour. The reasoning for Fleming’s contention here becomes evident on the next page of his book, where the Exterminationist scholar claims that Franke-Gricksch wrote the “Resettlement Action” report for von Herff. Fleming’s shaky facts and logic provide, of course, the only possible rationale for Franke-Gricksch’s composing such a report. [6]

In short, Fleming ignores the basic elements of historical source criticism, passing over the manifest defects and incongruities of the text of the alleged “transcript,” and straining to manufacture a reason for its existence.

In any case Fleming’s real authority for the authenticity of the “Umsiedlungs-Aktion” report is another, postwar, document, also allegedly composed by Alfred Franke-Gricksch, which bears the title “From the Diary of a Fallen SS Leader.” We shall analyze this document in the light of Franke-Gricksch’s remarkable political affinities and activities from the last years of the Weimar Republic to the postwar occupation, further on in this paper.

Pressac’s Analysis

In contrast to Fleming’s rather superficial appraisal of the document, French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac, the leading Exterminationist expert on the crematoria of Auschwitz-Birkenau, has wrestled with the “Resettlement-Action” report at length in his 1990 *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, not always to the advantage of the report’s authenticity and veracity. [7]

Pressac reproduces a facsimile of a “typed copy of the carbon copy” of the alleged Franke-Gricksch report which is identical to the one provided to this author by Gerald Fleming, except that Fleming’s version does not include Lipman’s handwritten sentence and signature.

Pressac acknowledges a number of serious factual errors in the “Resettlement Action” report, which he accepts as authentic. He tries to discount their importance by explaining them away as understandable mistakes. As we shall see, Pressac’s apologetic explanations are woefully inadequate.

Pressac assigns the site of the mass murders described in the report to Krematorium No. II at Birkenau. Whereas the “Resettlement Action” report describes “three big pillars” in the alleged death chamber, Pressac points out (p. 239) that there were actually four pillars in this room (which was actually a mortuary cellar, or Leichenkeller). He also acknowledges as erroneous the report’s assertion that there were ten large crematory furnaces in this building. In fact, there were five three-muffle crematory ovens in Krema II. Pressac’s “explanation” that perhaps Franke-Gricksch was referring to the total number of ovens in Kremas II and III together cannot be valid

because the document specifically asserts that these ten crematory ovens were in a single building.

Pressac also admits that the figure of ten thousand daily cremations given in the “Resettlement Action” report is a physical impossibility (p. 239, n. 8). His lame “explanation” for this absurd figure is that it must have been a product of SS propaganda. He does not explain, though, why there should be propaganda falsehoods in a confidential, internal SS report. Pressac also fails to note that this figure, which he concedes is ridiculous, has also been cited by supposedly authoritative “eyewitnesses” such as Rudolf Hss, Miklos Nyiszli and Filip Müller, as well as in the Soviet War Crimes Commission Report of May 1945 (Nuremberg document USSR-008). [8]

Pressac concedes that the “Resettlement Action” reports claim that 500,000 Jews had already been killed by May 1943 is not true. The real figure, he asserts without evidence, was “probably somewhere between 200,000 and 250,000.” Pressac fails to convincingly explain just why the killers would want to exaggerate their grisly toll by at least two-fold. Furthermore, even this lower estimate is difficult to accept, given the fact that the four Birkenau crematory facilities were not completed until between March and June 1943. [9]

The “most striking and serious error” in the “Resettlement Action” report, Pressac writes (p. 239), is the assertion that the “gas chamber” had a door at each end. In fact, this room had only one door (“through which the victims entered and from which the corpses were removed,” Pressac adds). Pressac’s lame explanation for Franke-Gricksch’s “confusion” is that he must have taken “some kind of break in his visit to the crematorium that caused him to lose his bearings somewhat.”

In addition to the errors that he willingly acknowledges, Pressac silently passes over other problematic assertions in the document. For example, Pressac does not even try to explain how Jewish “Sonderkommando” members could have begun their gruesome work of hauling bodies from the “gas chamber” only “a few minutes” after the killings without themselves promptly falling victim to the residual poisonous vapors. [10]

Contrary to the claim in the “Resettlement Action” report (and by various “eyewitness”) that the lethal substance (supposedly Zyklon) was lowered or dropped into the chamber through hollow pillars, anyone visiting the site of the extant ruins of this chamber (Leichenkeller I) can easily verify that the pillars there are not hollow, but are made of solid, steel-reinforced concrete. [11]

Further, Pressac offers no explanation for the document’s silly assertion that “fresh corpses burn particularly well.”

Nor does he attempt to account for the report’s mention of a “special rail track into an area of the camp specifically set aside for this purpose.” This can only refer to a rail spur from the main Auschwitz (Vienna-Krakow) rail line into the Birkenau camp. In fact, work on this Birkenau rail spur did not even begin until January 1944. [12]

This false reference to a “special rail track” would by itself be enough to show that the “Resettlement Action” report is fraudulent, and almost certainly a postwar fabrication. Fleming’s credulity not merely in accepting the “Resettlement Action” report but in making it a centerpiece of his defense of the thesis that Hitler did give an explicit order to exterminate the Jews of Europe, and Pressac’s ineffectual lucubrations to validate it, tell a good deal about the substance of contemporary Exterminationist scholarship.

Franke-Gricksch’s Dubious Diary Entry

There remains the enigma of a postwar writing attributed to Alfred Franke-Gricksch, on which Fleming bases much of his credence in the “Resettlement Action” report.

Several months after his release from British captivity in 1948, Franke-Gricksch is said to have dictated a statement to his wife entitled “From the Diary of a Fallen SS Leader” (“Aus dem Tagebuch eines gefallenen SS-Führers”). This statement, which is quoted at some length by Fleming in *Hitler and the Final Solution* (pp. 146-151), would seem to corroborate the extermination thesis, including an order by Hitler to “blot out once and for all the biological bases of Judaism.”

The purported diary entry (Franke-Gricksch’s actual diary of the wartime years, if it ever existed, seems to be missing), concerns an alleged meeting between Himmler, von Herff, and Franke-Gricksch shortly before the May 1943 “Generalgouvernement” inspection tour. (For reasons of space, the document is not reproduced here.)

As Gerald Fleming readily concedes, even the title of this document is misleading: Franke-Gricksch did not “fall” during the war. Fleming also accepts that this “diary” entry is not a contemporary record, but was indeed written after the war. ^[13] In his 1978 letter to Franke-Gricksch’s widow, Fleming wrote:

The text “From the Diary of an SS Leader [*sic*]” can only be understood if it is read together with, and compared with, the report your husband drew up for Maximilian von Herff in mid May 1943.

Franke-Gricksch’s son Ekkehard begs to differ. In a November 4, 1990 letter to this author, he explained:

By war’s end, my father was manager of the office of Maximilian von Herff, head of the SS Personnel Main Office, and a member of Himmler’s inner staff. As a member of this inner staff, he was involved, above all, with the questions of socio-political, economic, and financial-political policy that the SS had to put into effect ...

Through his work with von Herff, my father gained a keen insight into the morale among the SS leaders. As indicated in the “Diary of a Fallen SS Leader,” no SS man wanted to serve in the concentration camps. The supervision of labor camps seemed pointless. This matter was repeatedly raised in discussions with Himmler, as a result of the increasing discontent among the SS men.

It was in this context that Himmler spoke of the assigned task of the SS to administer and supervise these camps. This [he said] was a Führer Order. Fleming turned this into the [so-called] Führer Order for the extermination of the Jews. The diary was dictated by my father after the war. From many letters, I recognize his typewriter [script] with which the diary was written ... As a consequence of his position in the SS Personnel Office, my father visited the concentration camps, but this was only out of concern for the SS men who worked there. It was out of this that the falsification was produced.

While Ekkehard’s interpretation seems plausible, he fails to explain why his father would have entitled it “From the Diary of a Fallen SS Leader,” or why this odd document was submitted in evidence at the 1965 Treblinka Trial.

Assuming that Alfred Franke-Gricksch wrote “From the Diary of a Fallen Soldier,” what was his motive in writing it? Fleming, who recognizes that the document is enigmatic enough to require

the help of the “Resettlement Action” “report” for elucidation, provides a speculative explanation that simply defies belief (pp. 152-153):

... In autumn 1948, when the above account [the “Diary”] was written, von Herff was no longer alive to testify (having died in British captivity in 1945); Alfred Franke-Gricksch therefore saw himself with no choice but to supply, in as convincing and plausible a form as possible, the background circumstances of the report he made on the liquidation machinery at Auschwitz-Birkenau. He did not know at the time whether the Auschwitz [“Resettlement Action”] report had already been found and registered, but he had to reckon with the possibility that sooner or later this compromising document would indeed be found.

As we have demonstrated, though, the “Resettlement Action” document is not what it purports to be. It could not possibly have been written as an authentic first-person contemporary report. Franke-Gricksch therefore would not have had any reason to “cover himself” by writing this “Diary.” In fact, it is obvious from even a casual reading of the “Diary” document that it more tended to incriminate than to exonerate Franke-Gricksch, particularly if one takes into account that the “Resettlement-Action” document has all the earmarks of a clumsy postwar forgery.

Fortunately, a look at Franke-Gricksch’s ideology and background, and especially his political activities between late 1948 and late 1953, provides the most likely explanation of why this ‘Diary’ was fabricated.

During the early 1930's, Franke-Gricksch was a leading activist in the political movement of Otto Strasser, who like his brother Gregor was a one-time comrade and later a bitter enemy of Hitler.

In his letter to the author of November 4, 1990, Ekkehard Franke-Gricksch wrote about his father’s prewar activities:

My father, my mother, the Strassers, and Himmler had known each other since about 1927. They were dedicated National Socialists, and thus followed Hitler. My father joined the party in 1928 and left it in 1930. Gregor Strasser was the witness at my parents' wedding ...

When Hitler took control of the government in 1933, and distanced himself from his original National Socialist goals ... my father fled the country with Gregor [meant is Otto] Strasser ... The Reich Supreme Court sentenced my father to death in absentia for treason — that is, because he was a member of the Strasser organization ... [However] my father came to an understanding with Himmler about the Party’s betrayal of the National Socialist revolution. Himmler and my father came to an agreement, and my father [returned to Germany and] joined the Waffen SS under the name of Alfred Franke — behind the back of the Party. Himmler only asked that he refrain from political activity for the time being, until the time was right for that.

In a short autobiographical statement (“Mein Lebenslauf in Stichworten”) composed while in British captivity, Alfred Franke-Gricksch recalled his activist days with the Strasser organization in Prague:

Separation from Otto Strasser due to fundamental differences of opinion in political matters. Strasser wanted his newspaper to oppose the return [to the Reich] of the Saar and Memel [territories] ... I was of a different opinion: the Saar and Memel territories belong to Germany, and if we did not want to lose the trust of our fighters in Ger-

many, the fight against Hitler must not be permitted to become a fight against Germany. ^[14]

Despite his break with Otto Strasser's "Black Front" and his enlistment in the SS, Franke-Gricksch maintained an open, indeed critical, mind. In February 1941 Franke-Gricksch sent Himmler a memorandum from Dachau, where he was serving as an officer responsible for ideological training of SS Totenkopf recruits, who guarded the concentration camps. The memorandum was, as Charles Sydnor summarizes (pp. 315-16):

... subtly critical of the crude and harsh emphasis upon hatred of racial enemies and obedience to orders that Franke-Gricksch describes as the staple of political indoctrination in the SSTK. The document concludes with an appeal that Himmler revise the ideological training in the SS to include an emphasis upon what Franke-Gricksch calls the great political, economic, and geographical issues the SS soldier needed to know to be a convinced National Socialist.

After his release from British captivity in 1948, Franke-Gricksch played a major role in organizing the "German Brotherhood" ("Deutsche Bruderschaft"), a semi-clandestine group largely made up of former Wehrmacht officers, Hitler Youth leaders, and SS men. Franke-Gricksch became the group's spokesman and "chancellor." ^[15]

The ideology of the "Brotherhood" reflected Franke-Gricksch's own past as a leader in the "Red-Brown" Strasser organization. The "Brotherhood" aligned itself with the Communist "National Front" and supported cooperation with the Soviet Union. A Munich newspaper reported in 1950 that the "Brotherhood" even offered to transfer its organization to the Soviet army.

By all accounts, Franke-Gricksch opposed Hitler (and "Hitlerism") before, during, and after the war. Given this record, it is reasonable to conclude that he was capable of working together with Allied intelligence personnel to furnish background information that would provide credibility for the "Resettlement Action" report. Such cooperation would also explain why an SS officer of Franke-Gricksch's standing might have been released by the British rather than being tried as a "war criminal." It may also provide a plausible motive for Franke-Gricksch to compose his back-dated, damningly anti-Hitler "diary" entry. In any case, Franke-Gricksch's political activities and aspirations indicate that he might well be willing to accept, and even help bolster for some conceivable reason of Realpolitik, the Allied propaganda claims about "gas chambers" and the like. ^[16]

But Franke-Gricksch's political activity was short-lived. Fleming reports (p. 141):

In October 1951, he [Franke-Gricksch] went to visit his mother in Potsdam, where he and his wife were subsequently charged. For his activities with the SS Police division in Russia between August and the winter of 1942, Franke-Gricksch was condemned to death by the Russians in October 1951, in Karlshorst [a Berlin suburb], while his wife was sentenced to twenty-five years in a labor camp. In October 1955, his wife left Vorkuta and returned to West Germany.

With regard to his father's arrest and deportation, Ekkehard writes in his letter to the author (see above, p. 273):

As a leader of the Brotherhood, my father was lured to East Berlin in late September 1951 where he was arrested by Soviet secret service agents. One or two days later his wife [Ekkehard's stepmother] was lured into the Soviet Zone with a fabricated letter

containing the message that her husband had suffered a severe colic and was laid up at his mother's in Potsdam.

He died on August 18, 1953, in the Vorkuta camp in the Soviet Union. My step-mother was sentenced to 25 years forced labor, but was released in 1956.

Why Franke-Gricksch was arrested, convicted, and sent off to death in the Gulag at precisely that time remains, no less than the motivation for his writing his fake diary entry, speculative. Could Franke-Gricksch have been playing some complicated intelligence game between East and West, Britain's SIS and its Soviet counterpart, while all the while striving to resurrect a neutral Germany following a "third way" beyond capitalism and communism?

As already indicated, Frau Liselotte Franke-Gricksch submitted the "Diary" entry as evidence for the prosecution in the 1965 West German Treblinka Trial. Interestingly, Frau Franke-Gricksch asked about her husband's fate and whereabouts in a letter of February 3, 1969, sent to the Tracing Service of the German Red Cross. Apparently she believed, or at least hoped, that her husband might still be alive in Soviet captivity. This provides a possible explanation for her decision to submit the "Diary" as evidence in the Treblinka trial. She may have believed that this act of cooperation might help procure her husband's release.

Conclusion

As we have shown, a careful examination of the available evidence shows that the "Resettlement Action" report attributed to Franke-Gricksch ("Umsiedlungs Aktion der Juden") is a postwar fabrication, most likely by Eric Lipman.

Even though this "report" is worthless as a document of historical importance, the way it has been handled and exploited by Exterminationist historians Gerald Fleming and Jean-Claude Pressac is revealing. In their frantic search for evidence to prove the Holocaust story, these historians have misrepresented, ignored or white-washed the clearly false assertions in the document's text, and ignored other evidence, including the suspiciously defective text itself, that indicates its fraudulent character.

Instead of calmly evaluating evidence, subjecting it to critical analysis, and then drawing conclusions from it, Fleming and Pressac have instead tried to portray the bogus "Resettlement Action" report as an authentic and credible document, exploiting it as "evidence" to "prove" a preconceived view. This technique, which by the most charitable interpretation might be called wish fulfillment, is precisely the opposite of how open-minded historians should go about their work.

Notes

1.  Eleven years after the publication of *Hitler's War*, Irving further modified his stand on this issue. On the basis of his own further research, and impressed with the results of execution expert Fred Leuchter's investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers in Auschwitz, Irving joined Holocaust Revisionists such as Dr. Arthur Butz and Prof. Robert Faurisson, who maintain that there was no German wartime policy of extermination. For a more detailed discussion of the lack of documentary evidence for an extermination program, see: Carlo Mattogno, "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1988 (Vol. 8, No. 2), pp. 133-140.
2.  C. Sydnor, *Soldiers of Destruction* (1977), p. 337, footnote.

3. ☞ In a January 1991 telephone conversation, Lipman informed me that he could not recall the Franke-Gricksch “Resettlement” document.
 4. ☞ However, Lipman’s handwritten sentence and signature at the end appears possibly to have been blanked out on the photocopy sent to me by Fleming.
 5. ☞ Supposedly corroborating the “Resettlement” report, Fleming also cites Müller’s description of the alleged gassing procedure. However, this is a description of gassings in Krema I (in the Auschwitz main camp), and not in Krema II in Birkenau, the supposed setting of gassings in the “Resettlement” report. Fleming also ignores differences between Müller’s description of the gassing procedure, and the description given in the “report.”
 6. ☞ G. Fleming, pp. 144-145.
 7. ☞ J.-C. Pressac, pp. 236-239.
 8. ☞ Pressac provides no plausible explanation for his assertion (p. 239, n. 8) that “the maximum daily throughput of the four Birkenau Krematorien was in the order of 3,000 incinerations,” since the coke consumption (25 to 50 kg per body) would have required 75,000-150,000 kg per day (!), and the retorts themselves could not possibly have operated at such a rate.
 9. ☞ J.-C. Pressac, pp. 246, 348.
 10. ☞ Whereas the “gas chamber” could hold 300 to 400 persons, according to the “Resettlement” report, both Fleming and Pressac fail to note that Filip Müller and other “eyewitnesses” have insisted that as many as 3,000 persons at a time were herded into the room.
 11. ☞ Still another description of the alleged gassing procedure is given in the 1944 Vrba-Wetzel WRB report.
 12. ☞ Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981), p. 34 (fn 3), p. 175.
 13. ☞ G. Fleming, pp. 152, 153.
 14. ☞ From p. 1 of a two-page typed copy provided the author by Ekkehard Franke-Gricksch.
 15. ☞ Various German press accounts from the year 1950, including *Der Tagesspiegel* (Berlin), Nov. 17, 1950. Copies in author’s possession, provided by Ekkehard Franke-Gricksch.
 16. ☞ The case of Alfred Franke-Gricksch resembles in some respects that of Kurt Gerstein. See: Henri Roques, *The “Confessions” of Kurt Gerstein* (IHR, 1989).
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Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 282-319.

Auschwitz and the Exile Government of Poland According to the '*Polish Fortnightly Review*' 1940-1945

Enrique Aynat

1. Motive and Genesis

For some time I have been interested in knowing how the Polish Government-in-Exile reacted to the enormous slaughter of Jews that supposedly took place in the concentration camp of Auschwitz.

Whatever may have occurred in Auschwitz, it was the concern of the Polish exile government, for Auschwitz was on the territory of the Polish Republic until September of 1939, and the Polish government that was installed in London beginning in June of 1940, recognizing none of the territorial annexations carried out by Germany, claimed jurisdiction over all of prewar Poland.

Accordingly, I have taken as my point of departure for this study the assumption that if a great slaughter of Jews had taken place in Auschwitz, the Polish Government-in-Exile would have known of it and in consequence manifested a reaction of some kind.

2. Purpose and Limits

The goal of this article is to determine what in fact was published about Auschwitz by the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, the official organ of the Ministry of the Interior of the Polish government in London; and it is therefore limited to a study, based solely on those issues of the *Polish Fortnightly Review* published from 1940 to 1945, of what was known by the Polish Government-in-Exile with regard to the Auschwitz camp. Other questions, such as analysis of the documents relating to Auschwitz that were sent to London by the Polish resistance, or the study of the references to that camp in the Polish underground press, have not been touched on in this investigation.

The selection of the “*Polish Fortnightly Review*” was motivated principally by three things:

1. the fact that it was an official organ of the Polish Government-in-Exile (see document I);
2. the fact, as pointed out by the Israeli professor David Engel, that it was one of “the principal vehicles for disseminating Polish propaganda in the English language” and “a primary vehicle through which the government released information to the Western press”; ^[1] and
3. my incomprehension of the Polish sources, due to my still deficient understanding of that language; whereas the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, published in English, was accessible to me.

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4. Sources

Research was conducted at the end of April and beginning of May of 1991 using the collection of the *Polish Fortnightly Review* preserved in the Polish Library of the Polish Social and Cultural Association of London. The initial issue of the review was published on 15 July 1940 and the final one (number 119) on the 1 July 1945. I read through the collection issue by issue and page by page and noted that numbers 97 (1 August 1944), 101 to 106 (1 October to 15 December of 1944), and 116 to 119 (15 May to 1 July of 1945) were missing and so were not available for examination.

As for the documents cited in section 4.2 and in appendix 2, they come from the archives of the Polish Underground Movement (1939-1945) Study Trust (Studium Polski Podziemnej [SPP]) of London.

5. Method

This study was developed in the following manner:

1. I have endeavored to find out how the Polish government was able to know what was going on inside Auschwitz and specifically what channels of communication existed between the camp and London; and
2. I have made a special point of information about Auschwitz published in the *Polish Fortnightly Review* relating to the supposed extermination of Jews there, and in particular what it published in that regard, what it did not publish, and why.

It should be noted that, when referring to Auschwitz, the *Polish Fortnightly Review* always uses the Polish designation of Oswiecim.

Lastly, the abbreviations and acronyms used in this article are as follows:

- ACPW: Akcja Cywilna Pomocy Więzniom (Civil Action in Aid of the Prisoners)
- AK: Armia Krajowa (Home Army)
- BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation
- BIP: Biuro Informacji i Propagandy (Office of Information and Propaganda)
- PGE: Polish Government-in-Exile
- PFR: *Polish Fortnightly Review*
- PWCK: Pomoc Więzniom Obozow Koncentracyjnych (Aid for Concentration Camp Prisoners)
- RAF: Royal Air Force
- SOE: Special Operations Executive
- SS: Schutzstaffel (Protection Detachment)
- ZWZ: Związek Walki Zbrojnej (Union for Armed Conflict)

1. POLISH INSTITUTIONS DURING THE WAR

1.1 The Polish Government-in-Exile

After the occupation of Poland by the Germans and Soviets in September of 1939, a Polish government was formed that was determined to continue the struggle for independence, sovereignty, liberty and the territorial integrity of the Polish Republic. This new government believed that these objectives could be achieved only after the crushing of the Third Reich and by means of an alliance with the Western powers.

The cabinet was sworn in on 1 October 1939 before the new president, Władysław Raczkiewicz. General Władysław Sikorski was the prime minister.

For obvious reasons the cabinet met in exile. First it set up in Paris. Later, in the face of the German advance, it moved to Angers, in the western part of France. Finally, after the sudden collapse of France in June of 1940, it fled to London.

The PGE was recognized by all the Allied nations, including (from July of 1941 to April of 1943) the Soviet Union. [2]

The PGE maintained contact with occupied Poland, though its contacts of course were carried out clandestinely. Instructions, orders, directives and in general all kinds of information destined for Poland were almost always transmitted by means of the Polish section of the Special Operations Executive (SOE). The SOE, whose political chief was the British Minister of Economic Warfare, was an organization charged with carrying the war to the territories occupied by Germany. The Polish section of the SOE cooperated closely with the Polish General Headquarters in London; it sent radio messages and frequently dropped agents by parachute. Starting in 1942, the dropping of agents became routine; and from 1944 on, even airplane landings were made on improvised airstrips. [3]

1.2 The Delegatura

The Delegatura, which operated from 1940 into 1945, embodied the PGE's clandestine representation inside Poland. It was headed by a delegate (*Delegat*) and three substitutes. The delegate was assisted by a committee made up of members of the political parties on which the PGE was based.

The Delegatura functioned as a shadow government and had numerous sections, corresponding to the ministries of a regular administration. The organization extended to the provinces, districts and townships and so was a broad underground network that covered all of Poland. In practice, the Delegatura directed a true alternative government, a secret state with its own educational system, its courts, its welfare organizations, its intelligence service and its own armed forces. [4]

1.3 The Armia Krajowa

Paralleling the Polish armed forces which fought the Germans openly under British command and which were made up of Poles who had managed to escape from Poland, there existed an actual secret army, the *Armia Krajowa* (Internal Army), which operated secretly within the borders of prewar Poland.

The AK was formed in February of 1942 on the basis of a prior clandestine military organization, the *Zwiazek Walki Zbrojnej* (Alliance for Armed Conflict). General Stefan Rowecki was its first commander. After the latter's detention by the Germans in 1943, General Bor-Komorowski was appointed to the post.

The AK was organized as a real army, with a general staff, professional officers, an intelligence service, a service corps, etc., and it was divided territorially in accordance with the administrative division of the prewar districts. Thus, for example, in the organization chart of the AK, the Auschwitz zone was part of the district of Silesia.

In terms of manpower, it is reckoned that in the first half of 1944 the AK numbered between 250, 000 and 350, 000 men, including more than 10, 000 officers. [5]

2. CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN AUSCHWITZ AND LONDON

2.0 Preliminary Considerations

Our immediate concern will be to find out whether the PGE in London could know what was going on in Auschwitz and, specifically, whether it could have had knowledge of a gigantic slaughter of Jews that had supposedly taken place in the camp.

In sum, this is a matter of determining the sources of information available to the PGE. For that it will be necessary first to establish whether in fact there were clandestine resistance organizations in the concentration camp, then whether or not they were able to obtain trustworthy information and get it out of the camp, and lastly whether they could get this information to London.

2.1 The Clandestine Resistance and Intelligence Organizations inside the Camp

A resistance organization existed in the concentration camp as early as October of 1940. It was founded by a Polish officer, Witold Pilecki, who had been arrested and sent to Auschwitz in September of 1940. About the same time, a resistance group of the Polish socialist party was also established; and later, in 1941, a rightist organization was formed under the direction of Jan Mosdorf. Finally, in May of 1943, an international resistance organization was created, the *Kampfgruppe Auschwitz* (Auschwitz Combat Group), which took in members of various nationalities, principally of socialist and communist ideology. [6]

The various organizations established contact with one another more or less frequently, depending upon their national or ideological affinities.

Among the objectives of the resistance was that of “gathering evidence relative to crimes committed by the SS and transmitting it abroad.” [7]

As the concentration camp installations were expanded, the clandestine organizations grew proportionately. In Birkenau, an underground organization created by Colonel Jan Karcz was in existence by April of 1942. Karcz recruited a large number of members and created his own “apparatus,” “the only way to direct clandestine operations in such a large camp. Some of Karcz’s men were placed in blocks of Jews expressly to try to help alleviate their suffering. Contact between the Birkenau organization and that of the main Auschwitz camp was maintained on an almost daily basis by means of a liaison. Gathering information was one of the principal tasks of the Karcz group. [8]

In about the middle of 1943, a secret organization was established in the Birkenau women’s camp. One of its activities was the passing of information about life in the camp. Contacts between this women’s group and the main camp were effected by means of a “mailbox” where secret messages were delivered and received. [9]

The growth of the resistance organizations’ membership, from the time of the camp’s opening, was spectacular. By 1942, Pilecki’s organization alone had around 1,000 members, divided between Auschwitz and Birkenau. Pilecki states that in just one month, March 1942, he personally recruited more than 100 persons for his group alone. The nationalist and socialist organizations grew as well. [10] In the same year, Colonel Kazimierz Rawicz, leader of a clandestine organization of prisoners, prepared a plan for a massive revolt in the camp and surrounding area, a plan which he sent to the commander of the AK so that he could set the date for initiating the action. [11]

The resistance groups were so strong by 1942 and 1943 that they had managed to introduce their tentacles into the nerve centers of camp life. Their members controlled the hospital, the work assignment office, and exercised vital functions in the central office, the kitchen, the construction

office, the food and clothing warehouses, many of the prisoner work detachments (*Kommandos*) and even the political department. [12]

The clandestine groups had even gained the complicity of some members of the SS, mainly *Volksdeutschen*, [13] who had promised them assistance and access to the munitions depot in the event of an uprising. [14]

In view of the foregoing, several conclusions must be drawn:

1. that resistance organizations were already functioning by the end of 1940, scarcely more than a few months after the opening of the camp;
2. that these organizations had a considerable number of members and had spread throughout all sectors of the extensive prison complex of Auschwitz-Birkenau by at least the year 1942; and
3. that therefore, if there had been any systematic killing of Jews from 1942 on, the resistance organizations would have been in a position to know of it in detail.

2.2 The Resistance Organizations outside the Camp

Clandestine organizations also existed at an early date in the area surrounding the concentration camp. In 1940 the ZWZ created the Oswiecim (Auschwitz) district, which formed part of the Bielsko “Inspectorate.” In 1942, the ZWZ took the name of Armia Krajowa. [15]

The resistance was very active in the Oswiecim district. The *Polish Fortnightly Review* gives evidence of this. It mentions, for example, that several freight trains were derailed on the outskirts of Oswiecim in July of 1943. [16]

It was pointed out in the foregoing section that there were plans for an uprising in Auschwitz. These plans merited the attention of the general staff of the AK, which sent one of its men to the area to get a more precise idea of the situation. The officer in question was one Stefan Jasienski, who had arrived from England by parachute. Jasienski, a specialist in intelligence work, was sent from Warsaw to the immediate area of Auschwitz at the end of July of 1944. Given the importance of his mission, he was provided with all necessary contacts in the area and especially with means for secretly effecting liaison with the “military council” of the camp. [17]

Clandestine organizations were also created for the sole purpose of giving assistance to the prisoners of Auschwitz and maintaining contact with them. Thus, by the second half of 1940, a group called *Akcja Cywilna Pomocy Więzniom* (ACPW — Civilian Action for Prisoner Assistance) was formed, the principal task of which was the collection of food, medicine and clothing, and then getting them into the camp through their camp contacts. These same contacts also served for passing messages back and forth. In May of 1943 a committee was formed in Cracow named *Pomoc Więzniom Obozow Koncentracyjnych* (PWOK — Aid for Prisoners of Concentration Camps), the aims of which were similar to those of ACPW. The PWOK, despite the plural in its name, worked exclusively in behalf of the prisoners of Auschwitz. [18]

Having established the existence of clandestine organizations both within and outside the camp, we now have only to see how contact was established between them.

2.3 Contacts between the Camp and the Outside

Contacts between the interior of the camp and the outside were facilitated by the location of Auschwitz. As the author Walter Laqueur acknowledges, Auschwitz did not lie in a wilderness, but in a densely industrialized and very populous area, near such important cities as Beuthen (Bytom), Gleiwitz (Gliwice), Hindenburg (Zabrze) and Kattowitz (Katowice). Auschwitz, moreover, was a virtual “archipelago, “ with about 40 administratively dependent subcamps. [18]

Besides the peculiar situation of Auschwitz, contacts were facilitated by the fact that many of the prisoners worked outside the camp together with members of the civilian population, and also because many civilian laborers worked within the camp. [19]

Specifically, with regard to the civilian workers, it suffices to say that there were hundreds of them and that there were as many Germans as Poles. These workers arrived at the camp in the morning and left in the evening after finishing their day’s work. [20] They were employed because of the great amount of work to be done in the camp and the fact that there were hardly enough specialized workers among the prisoners. And civilians and prisoners worked together as often as not. [21]

Due to the growing number of prisoners and the work done outside the camp, the Germans found it impossible, despite their measures of vigilance and control (barbed wire fencing, watchtowers, police dogs, patrols, etc.), to prevent contact between the prisoners and the local population, which was exclusively Polish. Segments of the population formed part of the resistance organizations. In particular, the prisoner Kommandos working in the neighborhood of the camp frequently conversed with the Polish civilians. Upon occasion the civilians hid food, medicine and packages in previously arranged locations for the prisoners to pick up. The SS guards in charge of these Kommandos often looked the other way or else allowed themselves to be bought off in exchange for a good meal. [22]

As far as that goes, the possibilities for contacts were innumerable and extended to all the camps, subcamps and installations linked with the Auschwitz prison complex: such as the Rajske sub-camp, the fish nurseries of Harmze, the camp for free workers, and the big industrial complex set up for the fabrication of synthetic rubber. [23]

Such contacts, above all those relating to the exchange of letters and packages, soon acquired a regular character. A clandestine organization in the camp would quickly set up a permanent connection enabling it to pass information regularly by letter to a resistance group in Cracow. Some 350 of these letters have been preserved in that city, “a fraction of a much more significant total.” [24] The exchange of parcels between the camp and the outside grew to such an extent that, for example, a group of prisoners took it upon themselves to secretly make overcoats for AK partisan units operating in the vicinity of the camp. The packages were delivered by prisoners who worked in the agricultural fields or at nearby subcamps. [25]

Furthermore, the existence in Auschwitz of a clandestine radio transmitter has been confirmed. It was secretly installed in the cellar of block 20 in the spring of 1942. By means of contacts and couriers the leadership of the Silesia district of the AK succeeded in finding out the wavelength on which it was transmitting. The transmitter was in operation over a period of seven months, sending information about living conditions in the camp, in spite of which the Germans never managed to discover it. It stopped sending in the fall of 1942. [26]

There were even German personnel in the camp who collaborated with the resistance, such as Maria Stromberger, a nurse who carried messages from the camp to the heads of the AK in Cracow and Silesia and in turn brought in illegal correspondence, medicine, arms and explosives. Along with her, a group of SS guards offered to help the prisoners by acting as couriers. [27]

As the result of all that, there existed even in the first year of the camp's life a permanent, even though fragile, liaison between the camp and the intelligence section of the Cracow district of the secret army; by the end of 1941 a special cell had been set up at AK headquarters in Cracow for liaison with the Auschwitz camp. [28]

Clandestine contacts between Auschwitz and the outside were already so frequent and well organized by 1942 that Pilecki, founder of one of the resistance groups within the camp, was in "constant relationship" not only with the headquarters of the AK in Warsaw but also with the commandants of the districts of Cracow and Silesia. [29]

Moreover, the information secretly got out of Auschwitz was not limited solely to messages and reports prepared by the resistance. On occasion it included even entire volumes of official German documentation, such as, for example, two volumes of the "Bunker book" (*Bunkerbuch*) in which were noted all the admissions and discharges taking place in the camp prisons. These documents were smuggled out at the beginning of 1944. [30]

The ways by which information was passed were not always strictly clandestine. On numerous occasions messages left Auschwitz by much simpler means: carried by prisoners released by the Germans. Thus, to cite only a few cases connected with the resistance group founded by Pilecki, a first report went out by that means as early as November of 1940; in February and March of 1941, two others were sent; and at the end of 1941 another prisoner, Surmacki, was released unexpectedly and took with him to Warsaw a message from Pilecki himself. [31]

An unusually large number of prisoners was released during 1942: there were 952 releases during the first half of that year and 36 in the following six months. There was a number of releases in 1943 as well, and at the beginning of 1944 a considerable number of Jewish women were released, thanks to the intervention of a German industrialist. [32]

Another means by which information was passed to the outside was provided by the escapees. Sometimes the only purpose of the escape was to send messages out of the camp. An example of this kind of escape is that of Pilecki himself. This Polish officer decided to flee in order to persuade the heads of the AK to accept his plan for an uprising in Auschwitz and incidentally to provide information about the general situation in the camp. Pilecki escaped on 27 April 1943. Four months later, on 25 August, he reached Warsaw, where he contacted the officer who handled Auschwitz at AK headquarters. [33] Two other members of the Pilecki group had escaped previously with the identical objective of passing information to the headquarters of the AK. [34]

One may conclude from what has been stated above that because of its geographical situation and its special characteristics as a work camp open to civilian workers, Auschwitz was not the most adequate place for keeping secrets. If to that we add the efficiency with which the resistance groups worked, operating radio transmitters, enlisting the complicity of German guards, organizing escapes and utilizing released prisoners for their purposes, we should have to conclude that, for the Polish resistance, the Auschwitz camp was practically transparent. Accordingly, if there had been any massive extermination of Jews in Auschwitz, it would without doubt very shortly have been known in detail in the resistance headquarters in Warsaw.

2.4 Communications between Poland and London

All known sources indicate that the clandestine communications between Poland and London were on a regular basis and the information transmitted abundant. General Bor-Komorowski, the commandant of the AK, has pointed out that the secret reports:

were regularly dispatched by radio to London and in the years 1942-4 numbered 300 per month. They contained details concerning every aspect of the war. Apart from radio transmission, the essential facts of our Intelligence material were microfilmed and sent every month to London by courier. [35]

The information moreover went from the one place to the other with relative rapidity. The couriers traveled to London via Sweden or across western Europe and took several weeks, sometimes as much as two months, to arrive. Short messages, on the other hand, could be sent daily by radio to London. The Polish resistance had about a hundred radio transmitters at its disposal. [36]

Courier liaison with London was at first from 1941 until the end of July of 1942 maintained through several members of the Swedish colony in Warsaw who, when returning to Sweden, carried messages from both the AK and the Delegatura. The periodical reports on the situation within Poland (*Sprawozdanie sytuacyjne z Kraju*) published by the PGE were based principally on material carried by the Swedes. [37]

Beginning with the second half of 1942, maintenance of communications was taken over by the Polish couriers. The most famous of these was Jan Karski (Kozielewski). Karski lived clandestinely in Warsaw in 1941 and 1942, devoting himself to psychological warfare ("black propaganda") against the German occupiers. At the end of 1942 the leadership of the resistance ordered him to carry information to London. Karski left Poland secretly in October of 1942 and arrived in England the following month after traveling across Germany and France. In London he drafted a report which became famous. The Karski case was widely heralded in the Allied newspapers. Karski even made a propaganda tour of the United States, where he met with important figures, including President Roosevelt himself.

Jan Karski was very well informed. He had specialized in the study of the underground press. Cognizant of the great historical importance of the latter, he had put together probably "the richest collection of Polish underground material existent — newspapers, pamphlets, and books." [38] Moreover, he had occupied a privileged observation post during his period of secret activities in Poland. Thanks to his job as liaison and to his frequent contact with the upper echelons of the resistance, both civilian and military, Karski "was able to survey the entire structure of the underground movement and to form a detailed picture of the situation as a whole in Poland." [39] For that reason the leaders of the Polish underground sent him to London.

Another especially well-informed courier was Jan Nowak (Zdzisław Jeziorański). Nowak was selected in 1943 to travel secretly to England, carrying the maximum possible information. With this in view, Nowak met that summer with the head of the *Biuro Informacji i Propagandy* (BIP — Bureau of Information and Propaganda) of the AK. The chief of the BIP was "in a sense minister of AK internal propaganda and policy. He controlled not only the military underground press, but also a widespread information network." [40] On order of this person, Nowak met also with the section heads of the BIP, among them the head of the "Jewish section," with all of whom he held "long and exhaustive" conversations over a period of one month. [41] In consequence, when he set off for London in the summer of 1943, Nowak had to be one of the persons best informed about what was going on in Poland.

Nowak arrived in London in December of 1943. Some months later, in mid-1944, he was ordered to return to Poland, where he arrived via parachute. He took part in the Warsaw uprising; after that was crushed, he managed to escape to London in January of 1945.

In short, if there had been a massive extermination of Jews in Auschwitz, the leadership of the resistance within Poland would not have failed to communicate it to their superiors in London, ei-

ther by means of radio messages or by courier. Specifically, couriers such as Jan Karski and Jan Nowak men specially trained to carry the maximum possible information to London would certainly have communicated this terrible occurrence to the Polish authorities in exile.

2.5 Conclusion

It is impossible to accept that the PGE did not know what was taking place in Auschwitz. Apart from the obvious reasons, we must also take into account the level of capability the information and intelligence system of the Polish resistance had achieved. The AK had a most efficient intelligence system, which extended its tentacles even beyond Poland. It had sections assigned to researching the economic and military problems of the German forces in Poland and behind the Russian front, and others charged with obtaining information on the economic situation inside Germany, on ship movements in the ports of the Baltic and the North Sea, and on German morale. [42] For example, in the spring of 1942 the leaders of the AK received detailed information on the number and position of the German divisions in the Ukraine and on the preparations the Germans were making to exploit the oil fields of the Caucasus. [43] The Poles also succeeded in obtaining top-quality information about some of the most highly guarded secrets of the Reich. Thus, in the spring of 1943, the AK received information that the Germans were carrying out experiments with mysterious weapons on Peenemünde, an island in the Baltic Sea. A few weeks later Polish agents had obtained detailed plans of the area of the experiments and had sent them to London. [44] Similarly, at the end of 1943 the intelligence service of the AK detected tests the Germans were making with the V-2 rocket in the area of Sandomierz (Poland), following which extensive reports on the secret new German weapon were sent to London. It so happens that the head of this secret investigation, Jerzy Chmielewski, had been under arrest in Auschwitz and had been released on bail in March of 1944. Chmielewski personally flew to London with the reports and several components of the V-2 rocket. [45]

The BIP of the AK, furthermore, from February of 1942 on had a Section for Jewish Affairs whose principal function was to collect information on the situation of the Jewish population. [46]

In sum, the intelligence system of the Polish resistance was so well developed and so efficient that had there actually been a massive extermination of Jews in Auschwitz, it would have been known practically at once, in detail. In turn, detailed reports about the Auschwitz extermination would have reached London by courier in a relatively short time. Briefer reports would have been radioed immediately.

In addition, the massive annihilation of Jews in Auschwitz would have been so impossible to hide that, as author Jozef Garlinski has recognized, had there been no intelligence organization whatsoever, “the secret could still not have been kept.” [47]

All the facts clearly indicate, therefore, that if a slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Jews had taken place in Auschwitz, the PGE would necessarily have known of it.

3. AUSCHWITZ AND THE EXTERMINATION OF JEWS IN THE POLISH FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

3.0 Preliminary Considerations

The fact which forcibly stands out after examination of the PFR collection — with the proviso that the issues of the fourth quarter of 1944 — could not be examined is that up to the 1st of May of 1945 (No. 115), *there is not the slightest revelation that Jews were exterminated in Auschwitz*. Only in issue 115, published when the war was practically over and the Allied atrocity propa-

ganda about the German concentration camps was in full swing, do we find the first reference to the extermination of Jews in Auschwitz: it concerns the testimonies of two women who had been detained in the camp (see appendix 1).

In short, the official organ in English of the Polish Ministry of Information — its principal medium of information and propaganda abroad — did not reveal until the spring of 1945 the slightest indication that there had been a gigantic massacre of Jews, a slaughter moreover that had allegedly gone on continuously over a period of three years, from the beginning of 1942 to the end of 1944.

It must also be emphasized that the Auschwitz camp is repeatedly mentioned in the PFR, although there is no intimation that it was a place where Jews were being exterminated; and at the same time, while the extermination of Jews is frequently cited, there is never an indication that it was being carried out in Auschwitz.

Let us look, then, at these two aspects of the question more thoroughly. ^[48]

3.1 Auschwitz Is Mentioned Repeatedly, but Without Reference to Jewish Extermination There

Following now in chronological order are all the references to Auschwitz that appeared in the PFR up to May of 1945:

1. Article “The Concentration Camp at Oswiecim” (no. 21, 1 June 1941, pp. 6-7).

The article points out that the telegrams that arrived from Auschwitz communicating the death of prisoners “first focused the attention of all Poland on this place of torture at the end of last year” (p. 6). It also indicates that the mortality rate was very high — between 20 and 25 per cent — due to ill treatment by the guards, to the exceptionally bad conditions, to the mass executions and to illness contracted because of the cold, overwork and nervous tension. Families were authorized to receive urns with the ashes of the deceased. The work conditions and food were horrible. The prisoners did not receive shoes until the 19th of September of 1940. There was only one towel for 20 persons. The work day started at 4:30 a.m. Two hundred prisoners had been released and had returned to Warsaw, although in a lamentable state of health, inasmuch as a “released prisoner is as a rule a sick man, tuberculous and with a weak heart, and in a state of nervous collapse” (p.7).

Let us emphasize that by the end of 1940 “the attention of all Poland” was centered on Auschwitz and that by the middle of 1941 the PGE already had detailed data regarding the interior of Auschwitz, though invested with the characteristic tone of atrocity propaganda.

2. Article “Oswiecim Concentration Camp” (no. 32, 15 November 1941, pp. 5-6).

According to the author of the article, the Auschwitz camp, “which is the largest in Poland, merits a detailed description” (p.5). Next, as in the previous article, the general situation of the camp is described. The barracks had chinks and lacked heating. The prisoners lacked their own towels, which spread infections. Moreover, many persons ‘suffering from venereal diseases are deliberately sent to the camp’ (p. 5). Work began at 5 a.m. and was exhausting. The prisoners had to work even when they were ill. The roll calls were terrible: they were the cause of frequent deaths. A system of collective responsibility had been imposed on the prisoners, so that punishments were frequent and were applied by means of a large repertory of tortures. The winter of 1940-1941 was distinguished by its high mortality rate, with figures running between 70 and 80 corpses per day (one day 156). The death rate went down in the spring and following summer to 30 persons a day. At the end of November of 1940 there were 8,000 Poles in Auschwitz, divided into three groups: political prisoners, criminals, and priests and Jews. Those in the last group were the worst treated “and

no member of the group leaves the camp alive” (p. 6).

The most important thing to point out here is that at the end of 1941 the PFR was in a position to publish “a detailed description” of what was happening in Auschwitz.

3. Article “German Lawyers at Work” (no. 40, 15 March 1942, p. 8).

This concerns the text of a radio message from Stanislaw Stronski, Polish Minister of Information, which was broadcast by the BBC’s Polish new service on 11 March 1942. Stronski points out that all “the German war criminals, from the degenerate Frank in the Polish Wawel to the degenerate overseers in Oswiecim concentration camp, are responsible for the fact that in a land in which their very existence is a crime, they are murdering a hundred for one.”

4. Article “Pawiak Prison in Warsaw and Oswiecim Concentration Camp” (no. 47, 1 July 1942, pp. 2-3).

In this article it is said that besides the main camp built in the vicinity of Auschwitz, there was another nearby “in which the brutalities are so terrible that people die there quicker than they would have done in the main camp” (p. 2). The prisoners said this camp was “paradisiac” [*paradiesisch* = paradisiac/heavenly] “presumably because from it there is only one road, leading to Paradise” (p. 2).

The article here no doubt refers to the Birkenau camp, the construction of which had begun in October of 1941. [49]

The prisoners of both camps, the author of the article goes on to say, were annihilated in three ways: “by excessive labour, by torture, and by medical means” (p.2). The prisoners of camp “paradise” in particular had to do very hard work “chiefly in building a factory for artificial rubber production near by” (p.2).

In fact, in April of 1941 the Germans had begun constructing a large chemical complex of the I.G. Farben company designed for the manufacture of synthetic rubber and gasoline. The Auschwitz prisoners were used as laborers in the construction of this complex. [50]

The Germans, the writer of the article continues, made use of a “scientific” method for killing prisoners. It consisted in the administration of injections which slowly affected the internal organs, especially the heart. Moreover, it is “universally believed that the prisoners are used for large-scale experiments in testing out new drugs which the Germans are preparing for unknown ends” (p. 2). In the context of the experiments conducted on the prisoners, the use of poison gas with a homicidal purpose is described:

It is generally known that during the night of September 5th to 6th last year about a thousand people were driven down to the underground shelter in Oswiecim, among them seven hundred Bolshevik prisoners of war and three hundred Poles. As the shelter was too small to hold this large number, the living bodies were simply forced in, regardless of broken bones. When the shelter was full, gas was injected into it, and all the prisoners died during the night. All night the rest of the camp was kept awake by the groans and howls coming from the shelter. Next day other prisoners had to carry out the bodies, a task which took all day. One hand-cart on which the bodies were being removed broke down under the weight (p. 2).

Something paradoxical would seem to have been produced here: the PFR knew — and published — data on the incidental extermination of a thousand persons at a time when it was presumably completely unaware of the massive and regular extermination of hundreds of thousands of Jews throughout 1942, 1943 and 1944.

On the other hand, the thesis of the extermination of a thousand Russians and Poles in the underground shelter of Auschwitz and its later evolution in the “Exterminationist” doctrine has been completely discredited. [51]

The article also points out that a section for women had recently been formed in Oswiecim (p. 2). From that may be inferred that the article contained information on Auschwitz from at least as late as March of 1942, since the first transport of women arrived at the camp on the 26 March 1942. [52]

Finally, the article records that Oswiecim had the capacity for 15, 000 prisoners, “but as they die on a mass scale there is always room for new arrivals” (p. 3).

5. “*Furor germanicus*” (no. 47, 1 July 1942, p. 8).

This is the title of a talk by Stanislaw Stronski broadcast by the Polish news service of the BBC on 1 July 1942.

The *furor germanicus* is produced, according to Stronski, because the “Germans are raging, “ and now that they “are satiating their age-old lust for domination, they are swimming in the blood of the defenceless and luxuriating in the torments of their victims.” According to Stronski, the Polish government had at that time “a very clear picture of the methods of government, i.e., the German persecutions and barbarities in Poland during the first six months of this year” and that the “latest reports from Poland confirm the sombre news which has come in great detail during the last six months, and convey the incredible dimensions of the crimes.” These reports had to be truly recent, since the introductory note to this issue indicated that it corresponded “to the latest possible date” and that for the most part it “relates to the situation at the beginning of June, less than a month ago” (p. 1).

The only reference to Auschwitz in Stronski’s radio message is the following: “In addition to the torture camps for men, with Oswiecim as the chief, there are now torture camps for women, such as the one near Frstenburg (Mecklenburg) known as Ravensbrück.”

So that in spite of this “very clear picture” of the situation in Poland and the recentness of the information, the PGE seemed not to know of the killing of Jews that was supposedly being carried out in Auschwitz from the beginning of 1942.

6. Press conference statement of the Polish Minister of the Interior, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, on 9 July 1942 (no. 48, 15 July 1942, pp. 4-6).

In his extensive statement referring to the latest events that had occurred in Poland and in which he emphasizes that the *furor teutonicus* had reached “a murderous paroxysm” (p. 6), Mikolajczyk only mentions Auschwitz in passing: “In the concentration camp at Oswiecim itself the number of prisoners held has risen in the course of three months by 8, 000” (p.5).

7. In the article “Concentration Camps” (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 3), Auschwitz appears in an account of 23 concentration camps “where Poles are confined.”

The article indicates that groups of prisoners are continually being sent to Oswiecim from all the prisons in Poland and specifically some hundreds of them in the months of March and April of 1942. There are notices of the demise of prisoners “who are unable to stand up to the rigours of the camp” and indication also that large groups of prisoners go to work every day on the construction of a synthetic gasoline plant in the immediate area. Lastly, precise information is given on deceased prisoners.

8. In another article, “Polish Youth in the War”(no. 56, 15 November 1942, p. 8), Auschwitz appears as one of the places where young Poles 12 to 18 years of age were interned.

9. The article “Children in Prisons and Concentration Camps” (no. 77, 1 October 1943, p. 5), reports:

Other reports from Poland say that children under the age of 12 sent with the transports to the camp at Oswiecim are not accepted by the camp authorities, but are killed on the spot, in special gas chambers installed for the purpose. This information first came to hand in December, 1942, and has since been repeated in several reports.

From the context we infer that this concerns Polish children. This is the only reference to gas chambers in Auschwitz prior to 1945.

3.2 The Extermination of Jews Is Mentioned Repeatedly, but with No Reference to Auschwitz

Following in chronological order are the references to the extermination of Jews that appeared in the PFR up to May of 1945:

1. The article “Pawiak Prison in Warsaw and Oswiecim Concentration Camp” (no. 47, 1 July 1942, p. 3) reports: “It is also well known in Poland that last year a party of Jews was taken off to the neighbourhood of Hamburg, where they were all gassed.”
So the alleged fate of *a party* of Jews in Hamburg was “well known” in Poland, whereas the *routine* slaughter of Jews that was supposedly taking place in Auschwitz was not known — or not revealed.
2. Article “Destruction of the Jewish Population” (no. 47, 1 July 1942, pp. 4-5).
According to the writer, the first manifestations of the new repressive measures against the Jews, in the form of mass shootings, took place in Nowy Sacz, Mielec, Tarnow and Warsaw. A little later the Lublin ghetto was obliterated. The German press said that the ghetto had been transferred to the locality of Majdan Tatarski, “but in fact almost the entire population was exterminated” (p. 4). A certain number of Jews from the ghetto were put into freight cars that were taken outside the city “and left on a siding for two weeks, until all inside had perished of starvation” (p. 5). However, most of the Lublin Jews were taken to Sobibor, “where they were all murdered with gas, machine-guns and even by being bayoneted” (p. 5). Detachments of Lithuanian auxiliary police (*szaulis*) had been brought to Poland to carry out these mass exterminations. It is also noted that there was confirmation of the “complete extermination” of the Jews in the areas of the East. Cities such as Molodeczno and Baranowicze had been left completely *judenfrei* (free of Jews) (p. 5). Some thousands of Jewish children were murdered in Pinsk in the fall of 1941. In turn, in March of 1942, 12, 000 Jews were liquidated in Lwow, where wholesale crimes were still going on. In the cities of Southeast Poland, “Ruthenian [or Ukrainian-Ed.] organizations organize hunts after the Jews who are still hiding in numbers in the villages” (p.5).
3. On 8 July 1942 the Polish National Council, a sort of parliament-in-exile, in a resolution directed to the parliaments of the free nations, alerted them to the “newly revealed facts of the systematic destruction of the vital strength of the Polish Nation and the planned slaughter of practically the whole Jewish population” (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 3).
4. The following day, 9 July, a press conference took place in which several Polish dignitaries living in exile participated (no. 48, 15 July 1942. pp. 4-8). Mikołajczyk, the Minister of the Interior, said that the “wholesale extermination of the Jews” had begun (p. 4). He said there had been a number of killings of Jews in the Belzec and Trawniki camps, where “murders are also carried out by means of poison gas” (p. 6). He also cited killings of Jews in some twenty localities, with figures of the victims, depending on the location, of from 120 to 60, 000. The methods of extermination were by machine guns, hand grenades and poison gas (p. 6).
At the same press conference, Dr. Schwarzbart, a Jewish representative on the Polish National Council, mentioned killings in about thirty places, with figures of the victims, depending on the location, that varied between 300 and 50, 000 (pp. 7f.).
In short, between these two notables, some fifty places in Poland were mentioned where there allegedly were slaughters of Jews. Significantly, Auschwitz — or Oswiecim in accordance with the Polish designation — does not appear in any of these accounts.

5. Number 57 of the PFR, published on 1 December 1942, is a monograph devoted to the extermination of the Jews of Poland. A large part of its contents makes reference to the deportation of the Jews of Warsaw begun in the summer of 1942. In this connection it is stated that the Jews were deported in trains in which the floors of the freight cars were covered with quicklime and chlorine (p. 3). The deportees were taken to three execution camps: Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor. "Here the trains were unloaded, the condemned were stripped naked and then killed, probably by poison gas or electrocution" (p. 3).

This issue also contains an "Extraordinary Report from the Jew-extermination Camp at Belzec" (p. 4). This report allegedly came from a German employed in the camp. It says that the place is overseen by Ukrainian guards. The deportees arrived in trains and no sooner had they arrived than they were taken out of the train, stripped, and ordered to take a bath. In reality they were taken to a big building "where there is an electrified plate, where the executions are carried out." Once electrocuted, the victims were taken by train out of the camp enclosure and thrown into a pit 30 meters deep. This pit had been dug out by Jews, who were also assassinated once they had finished their task. In their turn, the Ukrainian camp guards "are also to be executed when the job is finished."

Surprisingly, the PFR had managed to publish a report from the interior of Belzec camp thanks to the revelations of a German employee and in spite of security measures severe to the extreme of liquidating the Ukrainian guards periodically to avoid witnesses. Yet the PFR had not thus far published even a single indication that Jews were being murdered in Auschwitz, notwithstanding that this supposed slaughter had started at the beginning of 1942 and that there were very abundant sources of information about the camp.

But what is most important to make clear is that in an issue in the form of a monograph on the extermination of Jews in Poland and published a year after the supposed killings in Auschwitz began, the name of this concentration camp is not mentioned even a single time.

6. Issue no. 71 of the PFR, published on 1 July 1943, is also a monograph devoted to the extermination of the Jews of Poland. Its sole contents are the testimonies of two Jewish women who escaped from Poland in the fall of 1942. The first testimony is titled "Agony of the People Condemned to Death" (pp. 1-7) and narrates the vicissitudes of a Jewish woman and her family in various ghettos. The second report bears the title "What Happened in the Radom Ghetto" (pp. 7-8) and relates details of the life there.

Auschwitz is not mentioned in this issue either, and this notwithstanding that during the period in question what was happening there could not possibly have been concealed, since the Exterminationists maintain that from the summer of 1942 an annihilation on a large scale, due chiefly to the arrival of large convoys of Jews from Slovakia, France, Belgium and Holland, was being carried out there.

7. Finally, in January of 1944 a bare notice gives details of a revolt in which "Jews held in the death camp at Treblinka revolted in a desperate struggle against their murderers." The revolt had taken place at the beginning of August of 1943 (no. 84, 15 January 1944, p. 4).

4. CONCLUSION

4.0 Preliminary Considerations

I believe that throughout this study two facts have remained sufficiently clear:

1. that the PGE had sufficient sources of information available to it to know in detail what was going on in Auschwitz;
2. and that the PFR, the principal propaganda organ in English of the Ministry of the Interior of the PGE, made no mention that a slaughter of Jews was taking place in Auschwitz until

practically the end of the war, in May of 1945. In sum, the PFR reported extensively on this concentration camp, but never to the effect that Jews were being annihilated there; and in the same fashion, it alluded frequently to the extermination of Jews but never said that it had taken place in Auschwitz.

The truth is that the PFR, which was able to know — and no doubt did know — what was occurring at Auschwitz, said *absolutely nothing* about the extermination of Jews that had supposedly been carried out in this camp during a period of more than three years, from 1942 to May of 1945.

The next step consists in asking oneself *why* the PFR failed to disclose anything about this massacre when, according to all the evidence, it must have known of it in detail.

In my opinion, there are three considerations which can be put forward to justify, or attempt to justify, the silence of the PFR:

4.1 The PGE Knew What Was Going on in Auschwitz, but Did Not Wish to Broadcast It and Thereby Relegate the Suffering of the Poles to a Matter of Secondary Importance

This argument has been advanced by the Israeli professor David Engel. According to Engel, the Poles had a powerful political reason for not centering the attention of the world on the extermination of Jews in Poland: widespread publicity about this event would have made the sufferings of the Poles seem minor in comparison, which could earn them less attention and sympathy from the international community. And so, Engel says, information about the “final solution” was filtered through to the West by the PGE only when such information could exacerbate hatred of the Nazi regime in general and at the same time not relegate the suffering of the Polish people to a lower plane.

In particular, and with respect to Auschwitz, the Polish authorities considered this camp a symbol of the tribulations of the Poles themselves, and thought that it might cease to be so if information about the massive annihilation of the Jews that had occurred there should be broadcast worldwide. [55]

This argument does not seem convincing, for various reasons. In the first place, news about the extermination of Jews in Poland did not occupy a secondary position either in the PFR or in the official documents of the PGE (see Appendix 2). On the contrary, the prominence given news relating to the extermination of Jews over other news in the PFR is quite apparent, especially in the second half of 1942 (see 3.2). In this connection, various official declarations of the PGE published in the PFR place more emphasis on the atrocities committed against the Jews than on those committed against the Poles themselves. Let us look at a few examples:

1. In a press conference held on 9 June 1942, Minister of the Interior Mikołajczyk, said: “Still worse is the situation of the Jews ... Hunger, death and sickness are exterminating the Jewish population systematically and continually” (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 6).
2. At the same press conference, Dr. Schwarzbart, member of the Polish National Council, pointed out that the organized killings of Jews “surpass the most horrible examples in the



history of barbarism” (no. 48, 15 July 1942, p. 7).

3. Mikolajczyk, speaking in the name of the PGE, stated on 27 November 1942:

The persecutions of the Jewish minority now in progress in Poland, constitute however, a separate page of Polish martyrology.

Himmler’s order that 1942 must be the year of liquidation of at least 50 per cent of Polish Jewry is being carried out with utter ruthlessness and a barbarity never before seen in world history (no. 57, 1 December 1942, P. 7).

4. Lastly, a resolution of the Polish National Council on 27 November 1942 calls attention to “the latest German crimes, unparalleled in the history of mankind, which have been carried out against the Polish nation, and particularly against the Jewish population of Poland” and accordingly condemns “the extermination of the Polish nation and other nations, an extermination the most appalling expression of which is provided by the mass murders of the Jews in Poland and in the rest of Europe which Hitler has subjected” (no. 57, 1 December 1942, p. 8).

So if the reports about atrocities committed against the Jews had become of primary concern, at least during the second half of 1942, it is not logical that the PFR should not even mention the name of Auschwitz, where, supposedly, more atrocities against the Jews were being committed. Furthermore, by the end of the second half of 1942 the Auschwitz camp had ceased to be a kind of symbol of the suffering of the Poles, at least insofar as the PFR is concerned. In fact, from 1 July 1942 on there are scarcely any references to the existence of Auschwitz in the publication. Auschwitz during that time was not a symbol of anything. It practically disappeared from the pages of the PFR, submerged in fact by the avalanche of reports about the extermination of Jews.

If anything, the Poles had a strong political reason for putting a special emphasis on the propaganda about atrocities against the Jews. The Poles in exile, for reasons we shall immediately go into, longed for a rapprochement with world Jewry in order to obtain the support of this powerful international force.

After the Soviet aggression against Poland in September of 1939, the USSR annexed important portions of Polish territory. Since 1941, the PGE had based its strategy with respect to the USSR on the nonrecognition of the Soviet annexation of those territories by England and the United States. The Anglo-Soviet treaty of 1942, however, weakened this hope. As even Engel acknowledges:

In this situation the Poles were more in need of influential friends than ever before. In view of their belief in the crucial role played by Jewish organizations in the formation of British and American opinion, they had to continue to try to win the Jews to their side, no matter how much effort would be required to do so, and almost at any cost. Hence the latter half of 1942 was a period of intensified Polish overtures to Western and Palestinian Jewry. ^[56]

Consequently, if the PGE needed Jewish support at practically any price, it would not have been logical for it to suppress news reports about a slaughter of Jews in Auschwitz. On the other hand, the dissemination of this news in the context of the propaganda concerning atrocities against the Jewish population would no doubt have made it easier for the PGE to approach the Jewish international circles whose support it so eagerly sought.

Moreover, and on quite another plane, passing over Auschwitz in silence was counterproductive for the PGE's one-time idea of bombing this concentration camp. In fact, as early as January of 1941, the PGE requested of the British government that the RAF bomb Auschwitz. The proposal was rejected, but, as Engel also recognizes, there is no reason to suppose that the Poles had since that time abandoned the idea that the activities of the camp could be paralyzed by military action on the part of the West. He writes:

In this context, a serious Polish campaign to publicize the especially egregious fate of Auschwitz's Jewish prisoners might conceivably have aroused sufficient anger within Western public opinion to force the British government to reconsider its attitude [with regard to the bombing of Auschwitz]. [57]

In short, it is not true that the extermination of the Jews was of secondary importance in the propaganda policy of the PGE, since in fact the PFR did give it extensive coverage. Nor is it true that the PGE considered Auschwitz a symbol of the suffering of the Poles that it must, in its propaganda, put before news of the extermination of the Jews. We have already seen, on the contrary, that from the second half of 1942 on the PFR practically forgot about Auschwitz in order to feature precisely the news reports of the extermination of Jews. Ultimately, the PGE had the greatest possible political interest in emphasizing the propaganda about atrocities against the Jews. Accordingly, it would have been logical for the PGE to build up the role played by Auschwitz in these supposed atrocities.

In view of all the foregoing, we must conclude that this first reason alleged to justify the silence of the PFR is not valid. It would seem, therefore, that the reason for the silence of the PFR must be sought elsewhere.

4.2 The Secret Reports on the Extermination of Jews in Auschwitz Reached London Very Late, and Therefore Were Published at the End of the War

This is the explanation provided for the fact that the first news about the killings of Jews in Auschwitz appeared in the PFR on the 1st of May of 1945 (see Appendix 1). [58]

Simply put, this argument would mean that the reports on the annihilation of Jews in Auschwitz, which supposedly got under way at the beginning of 1942, did not reach London until three years later.

Examination of the available data, however, makes this notion easy to refute. Thus, for example, an article with detailed information about Auschwitz up to September of 1940 was published by the PFR in June of 1941 (no. 21, 1 June 1941, pp. 6f.). Engel has shown likewise that the first clandestine report about Auschwitz left Poland on 30 January 1941 and reached London on 18 March of the same year. [59] It has already been indicated previously (see 2.4) that communications between Poland and London flowed smoothly. They were instantaneous if the messages were transmitted by radio and generally took a few months if they were sent by courier. With regard to radio messages, there exists a radiogram sent from Poland by clandestine radio station "Wanda 5" on the 4 March 1943 which contains news about Auschwitz up to 15 December of 1942. [60] Another radiogram, sent by the clandestine radio station "Kazia" on 7 June 1943, contains news from inside Auschwitz up to April of the same year. [61] These offer conclusive evidence that reports concerning Auschwitz were known in London within the space of a few months.

Consequently this justification, to explain the silence of the PFR, can not be accepted either.

4.3 The PFR Did Not Report on the Extermination of Jews in Auschwitz Simply Because No Such Extermination Occurred

That, in the opinion of this writer, is the appropriate conclusion to be drawn from all the available facts. Let us briefly review these facts:

1. the PGE had the capability of knowing, through numerous channels of communication, what was going on inside Auschwitz; if a physical extermination of Jews had been systematically carried out in the camp, the PGE would doubtless have known of it in a very short space of time;
2. the PGE did not, until the end of the war, publish in the PFR, its principal propaganda organ in English, any information to the effect that a great slaughter of Jews had taken place in Auschwitz, and the silence of the PFR is shared by a most important official declaration of the PGE as well (see Appendix 2);
3. the PGE, and hence the PFR, had no motive for suppressing reports of atrocities committed against the Jews; on the contrary, this aspect constituted one of the central points of its propaganda.

The only explanation that would seem to fit, then, to justify the silence of the PFR is that a slaughter of Jews never took place in Auschwitz, at least none significant enough to be publicized.

This is the conclusion derived from the rigorous application of the historians' argument *ex silentio*. According to this, a given historical assumption is considered not to have happened when it is not cited by contemporaries, always supposing these two circumstances to be present:

1. the contemporary authors could know and had to know the fact in question; and
2. they ought to have reported it. ^[62]

Thus, for example, it is admitted that the Franks did not hold regular assemblies, because the principal chronicler of the period, Gregory of Tours, did not mention them and doubtless would have if they had existed. ^[63]

These two necessary conditions can be applied perfectly to our case:

1. the PFR could know and had to know that the Jews were being annihilated on a massive scale; and
2. it ought to have reported it, since the question of the extermination of the Jews constituted one of the central points of its propaganda.

And if it did not report it, it was because in all probability a massive extermination of Jews never took place. This, therefore, is the only satisfactory explanation for the silence of the *Polish Fortnightly Review*.

Appendix 1: Issue 115 (1 May 1945) of the Polish Fortnightly Review

In this issue, for the first time, information was published concerning the extermination of Jews in Auschwitz. This revelation occurred more than three months after the arrival in Auschwitz of the Soviet troops, and at a time when the war was practically over (it ended officially in Europe on the 8th of May). At that time a tremendous worldwide propaganda campaign was being waged

on the atrocities committed in the German concentration camps already occupied by the Allies (principally Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald); a few months earlier, in November of 1944, the War Refugee Board, an official U.S. organization charged with rescuing and assisting the victims of the war, had published three testimonies in which were described massive killings of Jews that had taken place in Auschwitz. [64]

Issue number 115 of the PFR, bearing the generic title “Polish Women in German Concentration Camps, “ is devoted exclusively to Auschwitz. It contains two testimonies of women prisoners, an account of women “gassed” and a brief report on medical experiments.

1. First testimony: “An Eyewitness’s Account of the Women’s Camp at Oswiecim-Brzezinka (Birkenau). Autumn, 1943, to Spring, 1944” (pp. 1-6).

The introductory note indicates without embellishment that this is the testimony of a woman, an eyewitness, who gives an account of things that happened in the second half of 1943 and the beginning of 1944. It indicates also that the document reached London “by devious routes” (p. 1).

A brief examination of the text in question permits the conclusion that it is without value as a historical source and is nothing but a propaganda production.

In the first place, no details whatsoever are provided as to its provenance. Who wrote it, when and where it was written, or through what agency it reached London is not revealed. If the war was practically at an end, what danger could the author be supposed to incur by revealing her name and personal details? Nor is there any indication as to whether this person was liberated from Auschwitz, whether she escaped, or whether she sent her report clandestinely while still a prisoner. The omission of these details as to the origin of the document, without evident reason, makes it more than suspect. Furthermore, the writer also fails to mention any dates, such as the date of her arrival at the camp; or what duties she discharged while at the camp.

With regard to her description of life in the camp, the witness relates happenings that are very hard to believe. For example, she says she was in the “Sauna” just at the time a special selection of women prisoners for the camp brothel took place, at which she also watched an interpretation of pornographic songs by a prisoner who was a former cabaret singer, and the execution of a Cossack dance by a Gypsy. Both women were completely naked (p. 4). She also managed to be present at an inspection in the hospital, during which a German doctor, who was stressing the importance of maintaining good hygienic conditions, carefully examined the walls for dust or cobwebs while appearing to be indifferent to the piles of corpses and the lack of medicines and water (p.4).

The witness also states that she saw the crematory furnaces, which never ceased operation, and from the chimneys of which continuously poured great clouds of smoke, and flames up to 10 meters high (p. 5). The incessant activity of the crematories was due to the annihilation of the Jews. Trains arrived every day from all over Europe. Ten percent of the passengers were interned in the camp; the rest went straight to the gas chamber (which is always referred to in the singular). She also claims to have seen the actual extermination in the gas chamber of 4, 000 Jewish children from the ghetto of Terezin (Theresienstadt). In fact, according to the witness, the gas did not kill but only stunned them, since it was expensive, and the Germans wished to be sparing with it. Consequently the victims woke up in the trucks transporting them from the gas chamber to the crematory and were flung into the fire alive (pp. 5f.).

The author of this testimony, no doubt conscious of the enormities she is relating, repeats several times that her information is strictly true, that she has seen it all personally. and that, besides, this

is only a small part of the truth (pp. 2 and 6).

In short, the first document published by the PFR on the extermination of the Jews of Auschwitz is historically unacceptable.

2. Second testimony: “Report Made by a Girl Fifteen Years Old” (pp. 6-7).

The introductory note says that this is the testimony of a Polish girl regarding her stay in the Birkenau women’s camp during the second half of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 (p. 1). Just as in the previous case, the facts as to the origin of the document are not stated. Judging from the language and the style in which it is written, it does not seem to be the work of a fifteen-year-old girl.

With regard to the contents, the most important thing to note is that it contains not the slightest reference to the extermination of Jews. In only one passage is allusion made to the “gas chamber, “ in which those selected at roll call because of their poor physical condition are going to end up. The rest of the document is surprisingly objective, given the circumstances and the time in which it was published. Because of its interest we reproduce it below. [pages from *Polish Fortnightly Review* numbered 53a and 53b]

3. Other information (p. 8).

Issue 115 also contains an account of women annihilated with poison gas at Birkenau in 1943, in which information is given month by month from February of 1943 to December of 1944. The victims are sorted into three groups: Poles, Jews and others. According to this information, the number of Polish and “other” women is much larger than that of the Jewish women.

Lastly, there is a brief report about medical experiments performed on women in block number 10 of Auschwitz.

Appendix 2: An Official Document of the Polish Government-in-Exile: “The Mass Extermination of Jews in German Occupied Poland” (Archives of the SPP, 2318)

This concerns an official document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PGE published in London in December of 1942. It contains various official texts and declarations of the PGE put out between 27 November and 17 December of 1942.

The document claims to be bringing together the “most recent reports” received from Poland “during recent weeks” on the “new methods of mass slaughter applied during the last few months” (pp. 4-5).

The information about the extermination of Jews contained in this document is represented as complete. At the outset, the document establishes a chronological account of the principal milestones in the extermination policy of the Germans. Thus, it notes that the first steps leading to the extermination phase were taken as early as October of 1940, when the Warsaw ghetto was estab-

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REPORT MADE BY A GIRL FIFTEEN YEARS OLD

The concentration camp for women at Oswiecim is really at Brzezinka (Birkenau) not far from Oswiecim, but the address for both men and women is the same: "Auschwitz (i.e., Oswiecim), Konzentrationslager." The men's and women's camps at Brzezinka are newer, and are much worse than the men's camp at Oswiecim, because of the lack of sanitation.

The women's camp occupied a large area, and consisted of thirty blocks (or barracks) both brick and timber. The locality is unhealthy, swampy. The camp is surrounded by wire charged with high-tension electric current. The men's camps have two rows of this type of fencing. Guards' huts are placed at intervals along the wire. The guards are equipped with both ordinary and hand machine-guns. Similar huts are scattered quite thickly about the area outside for a distance of several kilometers from the camp. The blocks inside the camp consist of barracks for living accommodation, hospitals, warehouses for storing the prisoners' belongings, baths, tailors' shop and kitchen.

Of the living barracks one is set aside as a punitive block (No. 20) and one for better conditions (No. 12). This last barracks is occupied by office workers (political officials), workers in the warehouses and members of the camp band. A normal block contains from 800 to 1,000 and more women. Such a block is a very long barrack: in it are three rows (lengthways) of three-tiered bunks, or rather, compartments. On each compartment sleep from five to eight people. Each compartment is three times as broad as a prison bed. The bedding consists of straw pallets and two blankets for three persons. It depends on one's ingenuity whether one gets more blankets. Most of the prisoners sleep in their clothes. All they possess (e.g., packets of food, and small personal belongings) is stored under the pallets, in a hole of the roof, etc. The barrack has many windows in the walls and the roof. In the winter there are two iron stoves for the entire barrack. Buckets for the usual purposes stand in the yard outside the barrack. One is allowed to go out to them at night. In block No. 12 each person has her own bed, sheet, blanket, and the block is clean. Accommodation is better than usual in the punitive block, for there is more room, but the block is completely isolated from all the others and one cannot have any contact with others, which is quite easy in the case of prisoners in the other blocks. Inhabitants of block No. 12 do not go outside the camp to work, but do particularly hard work inside, such as digging trenches, carrying soil, etc., without regard to the weather.

A commandant is in charge of the camp, with German wardresses in uniform under him. They guard the camp area inside and take the roll-calls. The guards' huts are serviced by men (many of them Ukrainians). In addition there are the "points" consisting of youngsters (these are not to be trusted). There are also men in charge of various sections, known as commandos, who are specialists on the work which they supervise. In addition to these German authorities there are the minor authorities drawn from the women prisoners themselves. One is the senior in the camp, and under her are the block supervisors, known as "blocks," who are in general authority over the particular barrack, with the added privilege of being allowed to beat their charges, which they are fond of doing. Under them are the "stubes," who are responsible for sections of the block. The "block" has her own room attached to the barrack, the "stubes" sleep with the other prisoners. There are also women prisoners who supervise during labour, these usually being German criminals. The "stubes" wake up the prisoners at about four a.m. at five a.m. there is coffee, and at 5.30 the prisoners go outside the block for roll-call: which is at six a.m. After it there is the march to work. Dinner is taken at the place of work from twelve to two o'clock. Work ends at five o'clock. There is the women's block "camp" at six o'clock: the roll-call and supper. After the supper the prisoners are left to themselves until nine p.m., after which there must be silence. Until the lights in the barrack are turned off. The entire area of the camp is brilliantly lit up all night.

Most of the prisoners work in the open. The weaker go to collect medical herbs, work in the tailors' shop and twist ropes. Most of them are older women. The doctor decides whether a prisoner is to be assigned lighter work. The food, such as: 1. - soup, salt, coffee; dinner, limited soup, or with margarine; supper, coffee, (on hundred portions of bread with jam or margarine, or something similar. Twice a week each prisoner gets half a loaf of bread instead. Food parcels can be received even every day. They arrive unknown. Bread and food parcels in the currency with which one can buy anything from warm clothing to the regards of the "block" or the hospital nurse. (It is a fundamental condition of survival that the prisoner must have a large quantity of food sent to the camp. The parcels may contain soap, tooth-powder, tooth-brushes, toilet paper, light soap, etc. Prisoners may write once a month, and receive letters several times a month.

Prisoners are not to be kept in developing a temperature of 38 degrees C., but the prisoners are afraid of the hospital coming to the case with which infection diseases can be infected up there. A separate barrack for infectious diseases has now been established. There are an average of two thousand in a camp of twelve thousand. Half of them are infectious, with typhus, typhoid, and diphtheria. Almost all who have been any time in the camp have had all these. Formerly the daily mortality was 200, but now it averages fifteen to fifty. The hospital is overcrowded, with three patients on each bed. A German doctor is in charge, but under him are some thirty women doctors, prisoners of various nationalities. Owing to the unsanitary and unhygienic conditions the camp is dirty and loamy. There is nowhere to wash and nothing to wash with. There is a bath and change of clothes once a month. A new washing place has now been made, and some things are better.

When a transport of prisoners arrives it goes to the "new barracks." There political women officials (these receive prisoners) take down personal details and tattoo numbers on the arms (it is not very painful), then others shave all heads (this is done only once), and afterwards one may grow one's hair). They collect all the clothing, see the prisoners through the baths and issue camp clothing: a shirt, drawers, an overall, no apron, kerchief, socks or stockings, boots and foot-wraps. One can keep one's own house-slippers, but all others are taken. The clothing issue in the winter is the same, plus a ragged coat and a cotton kerchief. The new arrivals when dressed are placed in a quarantine block, whence, however, they go out to normal work the next day. After three weeks they are transferred to the permanent blocks.

The Jews have no special mark on their arms. The German women are not tattooed or shaved. The prisoners have triangular badges on their arms: red for political prisoners, green for criminal prisoners, black for prostitutes. Jewesses have badges sewn on their chest. All the types of work have special clothing.

lished (p. 5). Later, beginning with the German-Soviet war, great massacres of Jews were carried out, especially in the eastern provinces. Around the middle of July of 1942, the word was given to commence the process of liquidation, “the horror of which surpasses anything known in the annals of history” (p. 6). Finally, at the end of July of 1942, the deportation of the inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto to the extermination camps began (pp. 8-9).

The document enumerates the principal places where the killings were being carried out and describes the extermination methods. It says that the deportations from the Warsaw ghetto were directed toward the extermination camps of “Tremblinka [*sic*], Belzec and Sobibor, “employing freight cars whose floors were covered with quicklime and chlorine. Upon arrival at the camp the survivors from the freight cars were murdered by various means, “including poison gas and electrocution, “ after which they were buried (pp. 8-9). In Chelm (Kulmhof) the Germans were also using poison gases (p. 6). In other places such as Wilno, Lwow, Rowne, Kowel, Tarnopol, Stanislawow, Stryj and Drohobycz, the method was shooting (p. 6).

The most important thing to note is that this official document, which claims to have exhaustive and very recent information on the extermination of Jews in Poland, does not once mention Auschwitz. It must be taken into account, moreover, that this text was published in December 1942, practically a year after the supposed extermination of Jews in Auschwitz had been initiated and six months after the “killings” took on a systematic character with the arrival of large convoys of Jews from France, Slovakia, Belgium and Holland.

The document further contains a report of great interest relative to the deportation to Poland of Jews of other countries. Specifically, it speaks of “the many thousands of Jews whom the German authorities have deported to Poland from Western and Central European countries and from the German Reich itself” (p. 4). These Jews brought from abroad had been concentrated in ghettos (p. 15). According to the thesis generally accepted today, a good part of these Jews were to end up at Auschwitz. For example, it is stated that up to 1 December 1942, 45 convoys of Jews arrived at this concentration camp from France, 17 from Belgium, 27 from Holland and 19 from Slovakia. Specifically, all the Jews of France and Belgium who were deported to Poland in 1942 supposedly ended their journey in Auschwitz. So that, estimating half a thousand persons per convoy, around 100,000 Jews from these countries would have arrived at Auschwitz in 1942. Of this number, the partisans of the Exterminationist thesis affirm, only a small part were considered fit for work and interned in the camp, and the rest sent without further ado to the gas chambers.

But if the PGE knew that the Jews of Western countries were being deported to Poland, they would doubtless have to know that a good part of them were going to end up at Auschwitz. The silence of the PGE is therefore very significant and suggests a very different hypothesis: that many of the Jews deported to Poland from France, Belgium, Holland and Slovakia during 1942 never reached Auschwitz. The fact that in the document we are discussing it is indicated that these Jews were concentrated in ghettos reinforces this hypothesis.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, pp. 192, 172.
2. [↗](#) Duraczynski, E., *Polish Government in Exile*, pp. 1177-1178.
3. [↗](#) Garlinski, J., *Poland, SOE and the Allies*, pp. 21-29, 90.
4. [↗](#) Duraczynski, E., *Delagatura*, pp. 356f.
5. [↗](#) Duraczynski, E., *Armia Krajowa*, pp.88f.

6. ☺ Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de ...*, pp. 145-147, 150.
7. ☺ Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de ...*, pp. 158.
8. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 97f.
9. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 123.
10. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 110.
11. ☺ Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de ...*, p. 110.
12. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 175.
13. ☺ Poles of German origin who had chosen to hold Germannationality after 1939.
14. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 205.
15. ☺ Jarosz, B., *Le mouvement de ...*, p. 151.
16. ☺ No. 84, 15 January 1944, p. 5.
17. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 253.
18. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 46, 153.
19. ☺ Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp.22f.
20. ☺ Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp.24.
21. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 43
22. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 43-45.
23. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 155ff.
24. ☺ Langbein, H., *Hommes et femmes à Auschwitz*, p. 252.
25. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 126.
26. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 100f.
27. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 206-208.
28. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 46.
29. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 102, 143.
30. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 230.
31. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 54f, 112.
32. ☺ Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, p.169.
33. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 167-173.
34. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, pp. 101-103.
35. ☺ Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, p. 150.
36. ☺ Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp.103, 107.
37. ☺ Laqueur, W., *The Terrible Secret*, pp.103f.
38. ☺ Karski, J., *Story of a Secret State*, p. 217.
39. ☺ Karski, J., *Story of a Secret State*, p. 253.
40. ☺ Nowak, J., *Courier from Warsaw*, pp.164f.
41. ☺ Nowak, J., *Courier from Warsaw*, pp.166, 172-174.
42. ☺ Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, p. 150.
43. ☺ Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, pp. 122f.
44. ☺ Bor-Komorowski, T., *The Secret Army*, p. 151.
45. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Poland, SOE and the Allies*, pp. 150-154.
46. ☺ Duraczynski, E., *Armia Krajowa*, p.89.
47. ☺ Garlinski, J., *Fighting Auschwitz*, p. 89.

48. ☞ All of the quotations which follow, unless otherwise indicated, are from the PFR, with the issue, date and corresponding page numbers given in parentheses following each quotation.
49. ☞ Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im ...*, p. 159.
50. ☞ Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im ...*, p. 86.
51. ☞ See in this respect the work of Mattogno, C., *The First Gassing at Auschwitz*.
52. ☞ Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im ...*, p. 189.
53. Rudolf Höss, the first commandant of Auschwitz, notes in his memoirs that the extermination for Jews in this camp had begun “probably” in September of 1941 or in January of 1942 (Höss R., *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, pp. 159f).
54. Buszko, J., *Auschwitz*, pp. 114-115.
55. ☞ Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, pp. 177, 201-203.
56. ☞ Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, p. 147.
57. ☞ Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, p. 209.
58. ☞ Or in the fall of 1944, should the issues of that period — which I have not been able to find — have information on the matter.
59. ☞ Engel, D., *In the Shadow of Auschwitz*, p. 305.
60. ☞ The text of the English translation of this message, made in London, is dated 31 March 1943. (Archives of the SPP, 3.16).
61. ☞ The text of the English translation of this message, made in London, is dated 10 June 1943. (Archives of the SPP, 3.16).
62. ☞ Garcia Villadas, Z., *Metodolog'a cr'tica históricas*, p. 319.
63. ☞ Langlois, Ch.V. and Seignobos, Ch., *Introducción a los estudios históricos*, p. 190.
64. ☞ These testimonies are known as the “Protocols of Auschwitz.” A critical study of them may be seen in my work, *Los 'Protocolos de Auschwitz': ¿una fuente histórica?* (Alicante: Garc'a Hispán, 1990).
65. Czech, D., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im ...*, pp. 189-347.
66. Klarsfeld, S., *Le Mémorial de la déportation de juifs de France*, p. 13 by my numbering. Klarsfeld, S. and Steinberg, M., *Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de Belgique*, p. 22 by my numbering.
67. Duraczynski, E., *Polish Government-in-Exile*, pp. 1177-1178.66.
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Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 365-370.

Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech and Revisionism

Doug Collins

- Based on presentation to the IHR Tenth International Revisionist Conference, October 1990.

When I accepted the invitation to make this address I made it clear that I am not an expert on what is called “the Holocaust, “ and would not be able to tell you anything about this subject that you don’t already know.

But I may be able to bring the perspective of one who was a prisoner in Germany during the darkest year of the war — the year after Dunkirk. My views were shaped by my experiences, and by this I mean not just combat experiences and its effects, but also the values that were at stake — including freedom of speech — values that are not always respected by pressure groups that should know better.

Some people write convincingly about things of which they know nothing at first hand. They are able to do this even when they make it all up. I should know because I’ve been a journalist for a long time and have seen all the tricks of the trade. Copying one another’s stories and going with the tide has, unfortunately, become the custom in today’s journalism, which is why it’s not easy to get any fair play for dissident views of current issues.

In forming an accurate perspective about an issue, there’s nothing like being on the scene. And I was on the scene when Hitler was making his first moves toward mastery of Europe. Later I gained perspective of another and more restricted kind from behind the barbed wire of German prisoner of war camp, Stalag VIII B.

My views on Hitler

In order for you to understand my perspective, I must tell you right up front what I think of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi period. To put it mildly, I do not believe that Hitler was some kind of misunderstood Boy Scout whose reasonable aims were thwarted by a sinister Winston Churchill or a duplicitous Franklin D. Roosevelt. And, simple soul that I am, I have always thought that the side that is responsible for starting a war is the side whose tanks advance thirty miles the first day, and which occupies countries that would prefer not to be occupied.

Hitler was also a dictator who had no compunction about knocking off dozens of his close comrades, let alone others. Anyone who doubts this has only to consider the events of June 30, 1934, the “Night of the Long Knives, “ when Hitler ordered the deaths of stormtrooper chief Ernst Röhm and many others.

Nor do I accept the view that Hitler had a soft spot for the British and the British Empire. In 1945, while I was with an Intelligence Section of SHAEF [Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force], I read the original German document of the plan for Operation Sea Lion the German invasion of Britain as well as the German directives for the occupation of Britain. These stipulated that anyone over the age of twelve who insulted a member of the German occupation forces was to be subject to the death penalty, and all males between the ages of 17 and 45 who were not working in war-related industries in the United Kingdom could be sent to Germany and Poland to work as forced labor in preparation for the German attack against the USSR.

Prisoner of War

As a prisoner of war in Stalag VIIIB we knew nothing of all that, of course. But we did know that we weren't in a Club Med vacation resort, and that our prospects for the future were not favorable. In spite of that, our morale was pretty good. In our imperial ignorance and possibly arrogance, it simply never occurred to us that we could lose the war. The unhappy thought did sometimes pop into my head, of course, that we might be prisoners for many years, and that it could be quite a while before we return to the pleasant world of fish and chips and summer holidays on the beaches. When such dreary thoughts came to mind, I would engage in daydreams of dining out in London.

When I was a prisoner in the German stalags in 1940 and 1941, the huts were stuffed with smelly, lice-ridden torsos, and rations were practically on the starvation level. One loaf of bread per day for five men, plus very watery soup. Rumor had it that conditions in some of the work camps were heavenly, and that the soup served there was so thick you could stand your spoon up in it. Whatever truth there may have been to such stories, during my year as a prisoner in Germany I never came across anyone who had personally experienced such conditions. In our camps, at any rate, nobody waxed fat. I myself developed a severe case of jaundice. There's no doubt that the death rate would have been quite high if it had not been for the Red Cross parcels we received.

I mention all this because some people seem to believe that conditions in the concentration camps were really not so bad. Well, I was never in a concentration camp, although during one of my escape attempts, on a proverbial dark and stormy night, I did nearly walk into a camp of the Auschwitz complex by mistake, which shows how clever I was. It must have been the neighboring camp of Birkenau, as I determined last year during a visit to Poland on the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the war.

My point here is that there can be no doubt that the death rate in the concentration camps was high. I was with the British troops when they liberated the Bergen-Belsen camp in 1945, and what I saw there is not something I ever want to see again. Nor do I accept that the death rate there was due almost entirely to unavoidable disease. There is, I think, no point in denying the obvious, and for me the obvious is that if the prisoner of war camps weren't all that wonderful, the concentration camps would certainly have been worse.

On the more positive side, I can confirm that — with regard to British and later American prisoners — the Germans in most respects did honor the terms of the international agreements on the treatment of prisoners of war. They did not confiscate the food parcels, for instance, even though they often contained items that were scarce in wartime Germany, such as tea, coffee, chocolate, and so on.

But there were some awful exceptions. It is the duty of a prisoner of war to try to escape, and for my failures I spent a lot of time in solitary confinement in cells. No complaints about that — win some, lose some, as they say. But there was also the infamous case at Stalag Luft III, where 53 British and Commonwealth air force officers were murdered after being recaptured.

Life for prisoners of war was full of contrasts. During that visit to Poland last year, I met a former British enlisted man who had struck a German guard. Legally, he could have been shot. Instead, he was sentenced to 15 years hard labor, and went home when the war ended. And even though life in the stalags was grim in the year after Dunkirk, conditions improved somewhat as time went on. It became possible to take correspondence courses. Some prisoners got an education that way. There were theatrical productions. Conditions in some working camps were better than others, especially after Red Cross parcels began to arrive regularly and it became possible to trade with the locals. I have even heard of a few cases where prisoners employed on farms managed to get some female sleeping company. I never had such luck myself. Perhaps I should have stayed longer.

Conditions were incomparably tougher for the Soviet prisoners of war in German hands, a reflection of the brutality of the war in the East. It is generally estimated that two million Soviet servicemen died in German prison camps. Almost as many Germans died in Soviet hands: 1, 750, 000, according to West German figures. In his book *Die Verlassene Armee* (The Forsaken Army), author Heinrich Gerlach reports that of the 91,000 Germans taken prisoner at Stalingrad in early 1943, fewer than 5, 000 were still alive at the end of the war in May 1945. And many of these never returned home.

It is very likely that the death tolls of both German and Soviet prisoners of war would have been much lower if the USSR had been a signatory to the international agreement on the treatment of such prisoners. We also know that there were many German atrocities in the Soviet Union, and many Soviet atrocities in eastern Germany, not to mention the expulsion at the end of the war of some ten million German civilians from lands that had been German for centuries.

In 1947, when I was an Intelligence Officer with the British Control Commission in Germany, I was once sent to the border of the British and Soviet occupation zones to screen prisoners returning from the USSR to get whatever information they might offer on conditions there. I had also been told to have any former Waffen SS men of officer rank arrested and sent to camps in our zone. Instead, I sent them all home. Instructions or no instructions, I was not about to arrest walking skeletons, which is what they were.

As I've mentioned, Russians in Germany were also badly treated. During my visit to Poland last year, I returned to the site of Stalag VIIIB in what had been German Upper Silesia but is now part of Poland. We saw a large memorial to the 40,000 Soviet prisoners of war who died there — or one in five of the 200,000 who were sent there. They had no shelter of any kind and simply lived in holes in the ground, even during the winter. British prisoners in the adjacent Stalag proper witnessed this tragic business. I did not witness anything of that myself, because I was long gone by the time the Soviet POWs arrived. But I've spoken to many former British prisoners who did, and they were not lying.

As I hope this little account helps to show, I am not the sort of man who can easily be persuaded that black is white. Flights of fancy I leave to others. I like what Clemenceau, the French premier known as the Old Tiger, said during the First World War. "When this war is over, " he declared, "many reasons will be given as to why it started. But no one will ever be able to say that it was because the Belgians invaded Germany." Not a bad way of putting it, in my opinion. At the same

time, I want to make it clear that I hold no grudges. On the contrary, I have contempt for those who act as if the war ended last week. There are grandfathers in Germany today who were five-year-olds when the last shot was fired in 1945. Why should they be made to feel guilty? One might as well hold me responsible for the excesses of Lord Kitchener during the South African War of 90 years ago.

Free Speech in Canada

Let me now jump ahead to take a look at recent efforts in Canada to stifle free discussion on historically and racially touchy subjects — a matter that is closely connected with the Second World War. I won't deal here with the situation in the United States, which you know more about than I do. But up in The True North Strong and Free — which is how our national anthem describes Canada, anyway — freedom of speech is under severe attack.

It started in the mid-1960s when a few pimply-faced youths were running around Toronto painting swastikas and various graffiti on walls. By 1971, as a direct result of Jewish group pressure, the so-called “hate laws” were passed. These make it illegal to say nasty things about any identifiable group — unless, as it turned out, one said nasty things about the Germans or any other similarly “safe” target.

As it happened, I was in Ottawa at the time reporting on the Parliament. I witnessed some of the debate on the legislation, which was highly contentious. One member of parliament called it a legal monstrosity, which it was and still is. The bill was passed by a vote of just 89 to 45. In other words, it was passed by a minority of MP's, 127 of them having found pressing business elsewhere that day. That was when Canada was starting to become Wimpland. To paraphrase a former Canadian prime minister on the subject of wartime conscription, “Free speech if necessary, but not necessarily free speech.”

The dangers inherent in the hate laws were clear. And before long, charges were laid against a bunch of loonies who had been agitating against an American Shriners' convention. These charges were dropped, but were nevertheless a sign of things to come. Today, anyone who takes on a minority group does so at his peril. For even if it's not a matter of legal action, it will be a matter of public castigation.

Many of you know about the case of James Keegstra, the Alberta teacher who has been before the courts for years because he told his students that the Holocaust was a hoax. Keegstra lost his job, became the subject of national vilification, was hauled into court, and was convicted and sentenced. On appeal, the conviction was overturned. The provincial attorney general should have then dropped the matter. Instead, responding to Jewish pressure, he sent the case to the Supreme Court of Canada, which is still considering it. [It was later decided to subject Keegstra to yet another trial on the same charges.]

Another Canadian teacher, Malcolm Ross, has been in a similar situation. His case is even worse than Keegstra's because he has never mentioned the Holocaust or the Jews in his New Brunswick classroom. Ross has merely written books about these subjects. But as a result, he has been hounded mercilessly, and has had to appear repeatedly before “human rights commissions” — I call them human wrongs commissions — and before the courts. He reminds me very much of Sherman McCoy, the anti-hero of Tom Wolfe's novel *Bonfire of the Vanities*, who was forced to become a life-long litigant. And this in a country — Canada — that with marvelous hypocrisy boasts of its great tradition of freedom. Sadly, there are now as many loopholes in that tradition as there are in the tax laws. In the broadcasting world, for instance, truth is no defence if the

Canadian Radio, Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) decides that a broadcaster is using the truth for reprehensible purposes. Although Canada's new Constitution does guarantee freedom of speech, astoundingly it makes an exception, as it says, whenever a democratic society might reasonably decide otherwise. I call it the Hypocritic Oath, for greater twofacedness hath no man. The Constitution was written that way, naturally, to please the minorities and their pressure groups which now have so much influence in Canada, not the least of which is the Canadian Jewish Congress and its allied organizations. All this is reminiscent of the so-called "affirmative action" laws, those acts of hypocrisy and discrimination with which you are well acquainted here in the United States, and which we now also have in Canada.

The biggest scandal of its kind in The True North has been the Zündel case, which has been dragging on for six years. As most of you know, Ernst Zündel was charged with "spreading false news likely to do harm to a public interest" — itself a truly Orwellian concept — because he had reprinted a booklet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die?*. Initially, his persecutors and prosecutors wanted him charged under the "hate laws." But after it was determined that he would probably win such a case, the obscure "false news" statute was pressed into service.

It was as a journalist that I became interested in the Zündel affair. I had never heard of Zündel before he was charged. But I wanted to know why anyone in a democratic society could possibly be charged with "spreading false news." Doesn't everybody spread false news? Don't Santa Claus and the weatherman spread false news? Indeed, does not every politician in the country spread false news? Doesn't every newspaper spread false news? Hadn't I, in reporting what the politicians had to say, spread false news? Mindful of all this, when Zündel's attorney, Doug Christie, asked me to appear as a witness for the defense in the first Zündel (of 1985), I readily agreed.

The trial was a revelation. The judge was as biased as they come. So biased, in fact, that when the case went to appeal it was thrown out on God only knows how many grounds. As I wrote at the time, the judge himself had spread false news by misdirecting the jury. The day I appeared as a witness, and for no reason at all that I could detect, he took to shouting at Christie. I was reminded of Charles Laughton's Captain Bligh bawling out Clark Gable's Fletcher Christian, "Do you know what you are doing, Mr. Christian!"

The Media Dodge Irresponsibility

But that wasn't the worst of it. The biggest surprise was the indifference of the media. In light of the implications of the Zündel case for Canadian society, every major newspaper, magazine and television and radio station in the country should have been knocking on the door of that courthouse demanding to be heard. "False news?!", "they should have been yelling and writing. "What is this nonsense?" Instead, they kept quiet.

It has been said, you know, that the journalists of Germany were silent when Hitler came to power. Well, I can tell you that they could hardly have been more silent than the journalists of Canada were in the Zündel case. When the trial was over, a couple of "Oh dear me" editorials appeared in the Toronto press. And that was it. One can be very sure of one thing, however: If any attorney general in the country had tried to put some Marxist professor on trial for saying that Stalin's crimes were fiction which would certainly be false news the uproar in the Canadian media would have been audible in Timbuktoo. In such a case, the politicians would have scrambled to defend freedom. But Canadian politicians are as expert as any in the noble art of the double standard. Uriah Heep had nothing on them.

When the verdict in the first Zündel trial was set aside on appeal, the case should have been dropped, if only out of consideration for the taxpayer. The trials, each lasting months, cost the taxpayers millions of dollars. Also, by this time a different political party had taken power — the misnamed Liberal Party — and it would have been easy and right for the new attorney general to have said that all sides had their day in court, and that was an end to it. But against all logic, apart from the logic of political lickspittling, a new trial was ordered.

There then followed more education for the innocent, including me. The biggest lesson was the blatant way in which the Canadian Jewish Congress and its allied groups managed to lean on the media. There was a time, you know, when anyone going to a Canadian newspaper or broadcasting office with a request that an important trial or indeed any trial should be played down or ignored would have been shown the door in short order. But from the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, to the Canadian television networks, to lesser outlets, almost total silence reigned in print and on the air. The single exception was the Toronto *Star*, the largest circulation newspaper in the country. But even this paper played things safe. Instead of giving this remarkable trial the coverage it deserved, the *Star* decided to run only brief daily reports on page two, always under short and very innocuous headlines. It was the first time in the paper's history that such a thing had been done. It's laughable excuse was that this coverage made it easier for readers to find the tepid, page-two articles about the trial in the paper. Well, this silly argument could have served just as well for running the articles on same page every day among the classified ads.

The reason why Jewish groups didn't want any publicity is no mystery. Zündel knew how to work the media, and these groups did not want a repeat performance of the first trial. On that occasion, the entire country witnessed his stunts — such as walking to the courthouse carrying a big wooden cross on his shoulder. Whether such antics did him any good with the public I don't know, but they certainly got him into the news. Even worse, from the Jewish point of view, was that the media had reported on the points made by the defense. Headlines such as "Nazi gas chambers unproven, court told" and "Camp gas chambers fake, Holocaust revisionist says" appeared in newspapers across the country. One can't blame Jewish groups for disliking such coverage, of course. Jews are certainly not alone in wanting things played their way. But one can find fault with the spinelessness of Canada's Fourth Estate, which is brave enough when it comes to stories of smelly tuna fish being put into cans. But there's more than one kind of fish that stinks, and in the case of the second (1988) Zündel trial, the role of the Canadian media was like that of the piano player in the whorehouse, if I may mix my metaphors.

There was a sequel to all this that involved me. After I wrote a column about how the pressure groups had been able to draw a blanket over the trial, a Jewish professor in Vancouver complained to the British Columbia Press Council. I don't think you have press councils here in the United States, and you're not missing much. In Canada these are voluntary bodies whose members are the newspapers themselves. Each council — which is mostly made up of laymen — hears complaints made by the public. Councils cannot fine journalists or send them to jail, although one never knows what the future may hold. The idea is that by their judgments they should exert what is called "moral pressure."

Sometimes they get things right and sometimes they don't. On an earlier occasion, another Jewish professor brought me before the press council when I reviewed Arthur Butz's book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. I might not have reviewed it — indeed, I might never have even heard of it — except that my interest had been aroused because the book had been placed on the list of forbidden imports again as a result of Jewish pressure. I found the book to be fascinating, and I recommended it as an alternate view. At the same time I bashed those who had banned it. I should mention here, incidentally, that it is quite common in Canada for books to be banned in

response to complaints from pressure groups. For example, the best-selling book *None Dare Call it Conspiracy* had been banned for years. Such an order means that a book cannot be imported or sold in stores, nor can it legally be sent through the mails. In the case involving my review of Butz's book, the council found against me, incredibly enough, even though it is supposed to uphold freedom of the press. But my position has always been that press councils can press my pants.

To come back to the case involving my column about the blackout in the second Zündel trial, the council refused to hear the professor's complaint. Perhaps they were tired of looking at my strikingly handsome features. Or it could have been that what I had written on the matter was unsailable. Jewish delegations had in fact visited all the mainstream media, and those media had complied with their demands. To give just two examples in the television field: The Canadian Television Network (CTV) mentioned the trial only on the day it opened, while the nationally-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) mentioned it not at all. Not while it was in progress, that is. Both networks eagerly leapt into action, naturally, when Zündel was found guilty. That made it all newsworthy. One consequence of the blackout, by the way, has been that hardly anyone in Canada has heard of the Leuchter Report, a devastating document if there ever was one.

Free Speech Under Attack

When I said a moment ago that one never knows what the future may hold, I wasn't joking. You Americans are lucky to have the First Amendment, because freedom of speech is now under attack not only in Canada but in several European countries, including Britain, which claims to have given birth to it. In short, a lot of people are inclined to talk freedom of speech but not to practise it.

It was my pleasure a couple of years ago to point out that the rarely invoked Canadian law against "spreading false news" bears a striking resemblance to similar legislation enacted by Mussolini in Italy. Even the wording is similar. Here's the text, in part, of Mussolini's 1924 law:

If any newspaper or periodical, by false or misleading news causes any interference in the diplomatic action of the government ... or hurts the credit of the nation at home or abroad ... and if the newspaper or periodical ... incites to crime or to class hatred ... or insults the nation, such newspapers shall be suppressed.

And here is the wording of democratic Canada's "false news" law:

Everyone who willfully publishes a statement, tale or news that he knows is false, and that causes, or is likely to cause, injury or mischief to a public interest, is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

In what respect, I ask, is this Canadian "false news" goose fundamentally different from the Italian "false or misleading news" gander?

I must make one other point about the Zündel case that should tell you a lot about the situation in our country. In the first trial Zündel was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, and to nine months in the second. This is nothing less than savage, considering that rapists and bank robbers often get away with less. (The Zündel case is still before the Supreme Court of Canada, by the way, but I'm not holding my breath for a just decision. Let's hope I'm wrong.)

And consider this: After the first trial, the then Minister of Immigration took only five minutes to issue a deportation order against Zündel, who is still a German citizen. Compare that with the decision of an immigration appeal board to allow an immigrant from Guyana to stay in Canada. The immigrant was a member of a gang that specialized in robbing restaurants. During an armed robbery of a McDonald's restaurant, he had brutally attacked the 21-year-old female manager and threatened to rape other female employees. After six months in jail, he was released on parole, but then had his parole revoked on account of drug offenses. This fellow has been given permission to stay in our country. Don't hold your breath in the hope that Zündel will receive equally generous treatment. Zündel's German.

Views on the Holocaust

Let me conclude with some views on the Holocaust. I don't know whether six million Jews died in Europe during the war, but I have my doubts about it. That would be six times as many British and Empire soldiers as died in the whole terrible slaughter of the First World War. To me the Six Million figure is not credible, even though one hears it repeated constantly on television and in the other media. I admit that my view is not based on professional research, but neither is most of the orthodox stuff put forward in the media. Most journalists simply repeat what they have been told. I did much the same when I wrote my memoir *P.O.W.*, in stating in a footnote that millions had died in Auschwitz.

A lot of questions rather naturally come to mind about the Holocaust story. For instance: If the Six Million figure is unquestionably accurate, why is it that Jewish organizations are so keen to hound those who dispute it? Although I was in the war for six years, it wouldn't bother me one bit if some group were running around claiming that the war didn't take place. I know it did. I suspect, therefore, that there's some truth to the Jewish quip that "there's no business like Shoah business." This is not to say, of course, that Jews were not disgracefully treated and that a large number of them did not die, simply because they were Jews.

There are other flaws in the official story. We knew there were crematoria in Bergen-Belsen when I saw the camp in 1945, but no one talked about gas chambers. Indeed, we did not hear of gas chambers at that time, nor did I ever see any. So I was surprised later to read reports in the press that there had been gas chambers at Belsen. Well, I thought, maybe I missed something. Later, it turned out that, in fact, there had been none in any of the concentration camps in western Germany, including Belsen. The extermination gas chambers, it was said later, had all been in the East.

During my recent visit to Poland, I found Auschwitz to be a decidedly gloomy place. I am confident that during the war it was a hell hole. When our tour of the camp began, we were told that four million people had died there. But by the time we left, the guide was saying that some Polish sources were putting the total at one million. The four million figure, we were told, had been announced by the Soviets soon after they arrived at the camp in 1945. It was also featured in the Soviet film about Auschwitz that is shown to visitors. But now the Poles, as well as Israeli professor Yehuda Bauer, have reduced that total by more than half. Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center says that it makes no difference to the Six Million figure we are always hearing about. If that is so, it must be a true marvel of mathematics.

All of this is very confusing. Also puzzling is that Auschwitz survivors are to be found in such large numbers. I understand that there are thousands of them in the Chicago area alone. Well, if the Nazi killing machine was so efficient, how is that any survived? Perhaps that's too simple a question. But as I've said, I'm a simple fellow. I could go on in this vein, but as I've told you, I

have no claim to be an expert on this subject. I can claim some knowledge, however, of related matters. I recognize attacks against open discussion and free speech, no matter how clever the casuistry in which they are clothed. And I don't want to hear anyone say they are in favor of freedom of speech *but* ... Freedom of speech is indivisible. You either have it or you don't. I know, too, that the common weal is not served by hate laws passed by weak-minded politicians who would sell their mothers for a vote or a campaign contribution. I am equally sure that war crimes trials held fifty years after the end of the war are unlikely to serve the ends of justice, but are very likely to serve the ends of vengeance. As Lord Hailsham said in Britain during the debate over "war crimes" legislation in that country: "What these people want is a lynching party."

How Many Jews Died in the German Concentration Camps?

Carl O. Nordling

It is well known that the majority of those who were interned in the German concentration camps during part of the Second World War did not return to their homes after liberation. Most of these people were Jewish. It has been a common belief that about 6 million Jews died in these camps, intentionally killed in accordance with a grand program for the physical extermination of the entire Jewish population of Europe. Most laymen presume that this was proven by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in 1946. The International Court did not prove anything of the sort, however, and historians who have dealt with contemporary German or Jewish history have long since modified this description in various degrees.

Recently, new light has been shed on Jewish population loss in the Second World War by the German Walter N. Sanning in his book *The Dissolution of East European Jewry*. This is an investigation of twentieth-century Jewish demography and migration, done with carefulness and objectivity. It is based on more than 50 publications containing statistical population data on Jews in various countries, including migrations, fertility, mortality etc. Sanning's most quoted source is, however, Gerald Reitlinger's book *The Final Solution*, written in the 1950's. (One could say with some justice that Reitlinger laid the foundation for Sanning's work.) The great majority of statistical data used by Sanning is taken from the *American Jewish Year Book* (various issues), the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971) and the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (1943). As far as I can judge, Sanning's sources appear to be the best ones obtainable.

It has been said of Sanning's work that "not one in a thousand undergraduates could find fault with it" and that "only a few more graduates would be competent to identify its flaws and to convincingly question its credibility." [1] If that be the case, I feel more or less obliged to comment. I have spent three decades working professionally with the same kind of demographic complexes and processes, and therefore I regard myself as one of the few who would be competent to identify at least the grosser flaws and mistakes in a work of this kind. After a careful reading of Sanning's book, however, I have found no mistake or misconstruction of a type that would change its conclusions to any appreciable degree. Nor am I aware of any other serious criticism of Sanning's results or methods in the eight years that have elapsed since his book first appeared in German (as *Die Auflösung des osteuropäischen Judentums*). As a general appraisal, I would say that as far as the book deals with Jewish population losses within the German sphere of influence, it is the most reliable investigation done in the entire post-war period. This does not mean, of course, that it is guaranteed to be faultless, nor that it answers the question of how many Jews died in the German concentration camps.

Although nobody has been able to discover any faults, the book may of course contain such. Therefore, other methods should be used to check the reliability of the significant figures. Fortunately, I possess statistical material that lends itself to a check of some of Sanning's results. Furthermore, Sanning's and my own material, taken together and compared with still a few other

pieces of statistical information, might enable us to form a fairly reliable answer to the question posed in the title of this article.

The statistical material at my disposal consists of data concerning 722 *identified* European Jews from the German sphere of influence. The biographies of all these 722 are to be found in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, and they can be regarded as a representative sample of Jews of a certain level of culture in the late 1930's. Persons of old age are overrepresented in the group, however, and none of the 722 was born later than 1909 (according to the principle of selection that I decided upon). This should be kept in mind, since it appears that emigration was much less frequent among those born before 1880 than among the younger people. And, of course, mortality was much higher among the older group than among the rest of the population. It is also significant that a great number of distinguished Jews had already emigrated before 1938 and were therefore unable to take part in the more general emigration that seems to have occurred in the years 1939 to 1941. Distinguished Jews presumably had more foreign contacts and perhaps realized the danger of impending persecutions earlier than others. Therefore, my group of identified Jews of 1938 probably includes a relatively high proportion of persons who were prone to stay where they were, even under adverse conditions. A statistical survey of the fates of all these 722 Jews has been published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 10, no. 2.

Sanning has used the year 1939 as one of his "stop lines," and for this year he has found 5,044,000 Jews present in the area under consideration. [2] By means of a series of complex calculations he is able to demonstrate that no less than about 2,200,000 Jews emigrated from the area in the period between the German attacks on Poland and on the Soviet Union (i.e. 1939-41). In other words, 44% of the Jewish population in what became the German sphere of influence would have left the danger zone before the real danger materialized. Although this figure took me by surprise, I cannot find that Sanning has erred on this point. Comparison with the group of 722 identified Jews shows that among them 33% (of those present in 1939) emigrated before the end of 1941. (See Table 1.)

The cause of the difference between 44% and 33% is easily explained by considering the special make-up of my sample group. For instance, if we look at the identified Jews born 1880-1909 and consider the whole period from 1938 to 1944, we find that no less than 51% emigrated. Those born after 1909 (i.e. about half the population) may have been even more prone to emigrate. Besides, Jews who were not renowned or in the public sector certainly had possibilities (in many cases) to change their ethnic affiliation and (in some cases) even their names and identities. By such means ordinary Jews could slip away more easily than well-known people.

Evidently, we have to consider Sanning's number of 2,847,000 Jews present in the German sphere of influence in June 1941 as the best estimate so far (certainly with margins of error). This figure will therefore be used as the base for the following comparison. With the aid of Table 1, we are now going to compare the percentages of certain significant subgroups.

Fortunately for our purposes, the bureaucratic Germans carefully registered and numbered the detainees in the Auschwitz concentration camp and in the Theresienstadt ghetto. While the latter was solely inhabited by Jews, the former had a mixed clientele consisting of various persecuted groups of people, such as Gypsies, conscientious objectors, homosexuals, vagrants, political adversaries and hard-boiled felons. Since it is commonly held that the Jews were by far the largest group, we will assume here that they made up 60% of all Auschwitz detainees. This granted, we find that 8.6% of all the available Jews (the "basic" group) were registered, sooner or later, in the Auschwitz camp. In many cases this happened after a previous stay at Theresienstadt. The corresponding figure for the group of identified Jews is 8.5%. Pending the arbitrariness of the above-

mentioned figure of 60%, no statistically significant difference can possibly be exposed in this case. According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 65% of the Auschwitz detainees were eventually recorded as having died within the camp, and another 20% are supposed to have died after transfer to satellite camps or during the final evacuation of the camp proper (i.e. Auschwitz and Birkenau). The total number of missing Auschwitz detainees would thus be 207, 000, or 7.3% of the “basic” number. This may be compared with the confirmed proportion of 7.6% missing out of the “basic” number of identified Jews. (See Table 1.)

From the book on Theresienstadt by H.G. Adler we learn that 141,000 were registered as inhabitants, or internees, of this German-created Jewish town in Bohemia. [3] This number equals 5.0% of the “basic” number, which corresponds perfectly with the fact that 5.0% of the identified Jews (of 1941) were also brought to Theresienstadt. The majority of the internees of this ghetto, however, were sent to Auschwitz (and are thus included in the above mentioned number of registered prisoners). This fate befell only a fourth of the identified inhabitants of the ghetto probably because these contained a higher proportion of so-called “prominent” Jews who were exempt from being moved to other camps. (All the Danish Jews were for some reason placed in this category.) The group of identified Jews also suffered a much lower death rate than the rest (31% each as against 63% among the ghetto remainers in each case). It follows that the percentage of survivors was much higher in the case of the identified Jews than among the inhabitants in general.

There is hardly any reason to contest the accuracy of the camp registration numbers quoted above. If they are correct, it follows that the “basic” number of 2,847,000 Jews present in June 1941 must also be fairly accurate. This is so because we know from the sample of identified persons what percentages of camp detainees are to be expected, and we have found percentages that fit in with these expectations.

Those who died in Auschwitz and Theresienstadt represent a little less than half the total loss in all the German concentration camps as far as the identified Jews are concerned. As for the Jewish population in general, the total number of camp deaths would be contained within Sanning’s category “Jews missing in the German sphere of influence.” This number of “missing” turns out to be 304,000, according to Sanning’s primary method of calculating. As a check, Sanning has used another method as well. This secondary calculation results in a number of 330,000 missing out of a “basic” number of 2,738,000 (within a somewhat narrower sphere of influence). The primary number of “missing” represents 10.7% of the “basic” number, the secondary 12.1% of the “basic” number. These percentages should be compared with 12.3% missing due to other causes than normal mortality among the group of identified Jews. At the first glance, this looks like a rather good agreement. But due to the coarse statistical methods used by Sanning, these figures can have “no claim to absolute certainty” — to use Sanning’s own words. He says that the available data on population size, migration, flight and deportation, fertility and mortality rates, mixed marriages and assimilation tendencies are often so vague that a slight variation in the calculation procedure might well change the result by several hundreds of thousands of persons in the “missing” category. Therefore, what Sanning really has achieved is only to show that the number of missing Jews at the end of the war in the German sphere must have been between, say, 150,000 and 500,000. The lower figure can be ruled out immediately on account of the number of registered deaths in Auschwitz and Theresienstadt. The best estimate seems to be the assumption that these deaths amounted to about 51% of all Jews missing from German concentration camps, in accordance with the proportion among the groups of identified Jews. This would mean approximately 470,000 missing altogether from the camps. Since about 50,000 would have died “naturally,” according to the normal mortality rate, there would be some 420,000 “missing” from a statistical point of view. This is 14.7% of the “basic” number to be compared with 12.3% in the case of the identified Jews.

It may perhaps contribute to the check if something could be said about the number of survivors from the concentration camps. One man who should have known the number of Jewish detainees in the camps was SS leader Heinrich Himmler. Fortunately, a certain Jewish representative was in the position to interview him on this matter as late as April 1945. This was Mr. Norbert Masur from Sweden, who went to negotiate with Himmler about a possible liberation of imprisoned Jews. During these talks Himmler mentioned the number of Jews still alive in some of the camps: 25,000 in Theresienstadt, 20,000 in Ravensbrück, from 20,000 to 30,000 in Mauthausen, 50,000 in Bergen-Belsen and 6, 000 in Buchenwald. Later information indicates that some of the figures were too high, and that the Buchenwald number was far too low. The sum was probably fairly correct. But Himmler intimated that 150, 000 Auschwitz Jews should also be counted among the survivors. According to the SS leader, these would have been alive in the camp until its evacuation. This may be fairly true, but apparently Himmler had no count of survivors after the evacuation, and he seems to have had no idea of what had happened to the evacuees. We know from other sources that only a minority of them survived the transport in open railroad cars in the bitterly cold winter, perhaps about 30,000 to 50,000. Then there were many other camps with Jewish detainees, not mentioned by Himmler, and it seems reasonable to assume some 30,000 or 40,000 survivors among them. That would mean around about 200,000 Jewish survivors from all the German concentration camps. A total mortality of 70% among the Jewish detainees would follow from these assumptions. This is a very high figure from other points of view. The mortality in the corresponding group of identified Jews was “only” 75%, although they were much older than inmates in general and should have been much more prone to die under the conditions. Perhaps we have estimated somewhat too high a number of deaths and/or a little too low a number of survivors, after all.

In any case, the number of Jews missing in the German sphere turns out to be very far from the “established” figure of six million. Shouldn’t we expect some cardinal error in the whole reasoning just because of this great discrepancy? Certainly, some further checking seems required. But first, let us remember that we have considered here only the number of Jews who died in the German concentration camps, not all the European Jews who died in the war. Among the 5,500,000 Jews in the Soviet sphere (in 1941) more than one million died, according to Sanning’s investigation. These deaths include both “normal” victims of the war and victims of German and Soviet persecution. Secondly, the Jewish “basic” population of about 2, 850, 000 couldn’t possibly have suffered a loss of something like six million. This figure should have been discarded long ago, especially since Reitlinger proved it to be unrealistic nearly 40 years ago. The reasonable question to ask is rather this: In view of the proclaimed anti-Semitic policy of the National Socialists and Hitler’s talk about *Ausrottung*, how could more than two million escape deportation? What about the famous German efficiency?

Part of the answer comes from Himmler himself, who said to Mr. Masur: “I have left 450, 000 Jews in Hungary” — as if he had done it out of humanity. (The real reason probably was lack of transport facilities at the time when Hungary came under direct German rule.) Romania never came under direct German rule, and consequently very few Romanian Jews were deported to German camps. The Romanian government pursued an anti-Semitic policy of its own, and Hitler was satisfied with that. More than half a million of the “basic” number were Romanian Jews. Much the same conditions prevailed in Italy, France, Croatia and Slovakia, and the Gestapo had to be content, in most cases, with shipments of non-naturalized Jews from these countries. Naturalized Jews in Belgium, Bulgaria and Finland seem to have been entirely exempt from deportation. In Poland, hundreds of thousands of Jews were allowed to stay in the city ghettos (until they revolted as in Warsaw 1943). Most of the Jews in Denmark escaped the planned deportation by fleeing over the Sound to Sweden — and the German Army and Navy did virtually nothing to prevent them.

The fate of the non-deported Jews was often very miserable, especially in the case of Poland, and it certainly deserves a special study.

Another problem that would deserve a special study from a statistical point of view is the alleged system of transporting old Jews incapable of work to camps in the East with the sole intention of killing them immediately upon arrival. It would be unavailing to look for such cases in the registers, since the allegation requires that the murder took place without any notice taken of the names and identities of the victims. All that can be said here is that the alleged practice could hardly have been responsible for any large number of deaths. If that had been the case, there would certainly have been many more than 32 missing after Auschwitz among all the identified Jews reported by the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. And, since a quarter of the identified Jews sent to Auschwitz were aged 65-80, we would probably have seen several cases of "killed on arrival" in their biographical notices. Instead, we find two rather unexpected examples. The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* reports of Gisi Fleischmann (47) that she was "killed on arrival," and of Raymond Lambert (49), "gassed upon arrival." On the other hand, it says that e.g. Béla Bernstein (76) "died" in Auschwitz and Eduard Duckesz (76) "perished" within the camp. It is not even certain that the *Encyclopaedia* is to be relied on in the case of Fleischmann, since later information reports her as deported to Birkenau (Auschwitz) in August and murdered about 18 October (Martin Gilbert in his book *The Holocaust*, 1986).

Our general conclusion must be that the question posed in this article's title cannot be answered with any precision as long as we have recourse only to the above-mentioned sources. The general magnitude was certainly half a million, but the actual number of Jews who died in the German concentration camps might well have been as low as 300,000 or as high as 600,000. In order to establish a more precise answer to the question, more sample investigations should be accomplished. Any Jewish society, club, school class or small community might constitute such a sample, if only all or most of its members could be traced through the war. The study of a sufficient number of such samples would probably answer the above question and a number of other questions as well.

I shall finish this article by referring to just one small sample group of deported Jews from the Holocaust literature:

- Albert Düssel taken to Auschwitz, later to Neuengamme, died there 1945
- Mrs "van Daan" taken to Auschwitz, later to Buchenwald, died there 1945
- Peter "van Daan" taken to Auschwitz, later to Mauthausen, died there 1945
- Margot Frank taken to Auschwitz, later to Belsen, died there 1945
- Anne Frank taken to Auschwitz, later to Belsen, died there 1945
- Mrs Frank taken to Auschwitz, later to Belsen, died there 1945
- Mr "van Daan" taken to Auschwitz, last seen there in 1945
- Mr Frank taken to Auschwitz, survived in camp hospital.

This gives some idea of what can be achieved by means of the study of samples of known individuals.

Sources:

- Adler, H.G.: *Theresienstadt, 1941-1945*. Tübingen, 1960
- *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem, 1972.
- Sanning, W.N.: *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*. Costa Mesa, California, 1990.
- Masur, Norbert: *En jude talar med Himmler*. Stockholm, 1945.

Statistical Data Concerning Jewish Population in German Controlled Area Compared to the Corresponding Figures For a Sample of Identified Jews in Same Area

TOTAL JEWISH POPULATION			IDENTIFIED PERSONS		
Category	Thousands	%	%	Number	Category
Present 1939 (Source: <i>Sanning</i>)	5,044			629	Present Jan. 1939 (Source: <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)
Emigrated 1939-41 (Source: <i>Sanning</i>)	-2,197			-206	Emigrated 1939-41 (Source: <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)
Present 1941	= 2,847	100	100	= 423	Present December 1941
Jews registered at Auschwitz (assuming that 60% of all registered were Jewish) (Source: <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)	244	8.5	8.6	36	Deported to Auschwitz (Source: <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)
Missing in May 1945 (85% of all according to <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)	-207	7.3	7.6	-32	Missing in May 1945 (Source: <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)
Survived Auschwitz	= 37	1.3	0.9	= 4	Survived Auschwitz
Registered at Theresienstadt (Source: <i>H.G. Adler</i>)	141	5.0	5.0	21	Deported to Theresienstadt (Source: <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)
Forwarded from Theresienstadt (Source: <i>H.G. Adler</i>)	-88	3.1	1.2	-5	Forwarded from Theresienstadt (Source: <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)
Died in Theresienstadt. (Source: <i>H.G. Adler</i>)	-33.5	1.2	1.2	-5	Died in Theresienstadt. (Source: <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)
Survived Theresienstadt	= 19.5	0.7	2.6	= 11	Survived Theresienst.
			17.0	72	Missing after deport. to Concentration camps (Source: <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)
Missing not due to emigration or normal mortality (Source: <i>Sanning</i>)	304	10.7	12.3	52	Missing not due to normal mortality (72-20)
Alive in conc. camps April 1945 according to Himmler (Source: <i>N. Masur</i>)	275	9.6	5.7	24	Alive in conc. camps May 1945 (Source: <i>Enc. Judaica</i>)
Note: All figures refer to Jews living in the countries under German control in June 1941.					

Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 345-347.

Book review

Nationalism & Antisemitism in Modern Europe 1815-1945

- by Shmuel Almog. Translated from the Hebrew by Ralph Mendel. Oxford, New York, et al: Pergamon Press, 1990, 160 pp., illustrated, \$56.00; ISBN 0-08-037254-6 Hardcover; ISBN 0-08-037774-2 Paperback.

Reviewed by Frederick Kerr

The addition of “Holocaust Studies” to school curriculum has emerged as a growth industry in American education. Courses are being included for high school and college students, with the objective that no one may pass through the Halls of Ivy without becoming familiar with “the historical record of Jewish victimization.” Courses require textbooks, and *Nationalism & Antisemitism in Europe 1815-1945*, by Shmuel Almog, is the first in a series prepared for use by college students and high school instructors by the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in cooperation with the Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History of the Historical Society of Israel. Editions are simultaneously being made available in the United States, Britain, Canada, Germany, Brazil, Australia, Japan and the People’s Republic of China.

In his preface, Prof. Almog admits that the drive to focus attention on this topic has been prompted as a response to “the revisionist denial that the Holocaust ever occurred, or the attempt to diminish its magnitude.” Revisionism and the new wave of nationalism sweeping through the former satellites of the crumbling Soviet Empire “obligate us to probe the history of Jew-hatred (and) the persistence of this phenomenon.”

The extermination of Jews at Auschwitz and elsewhere is a “given” in this volume. What the author seeks to reveal is the persistence and continuity of anti-Jewish sentiment throughout Europe following the fall of Napoleon. Wherever peoples strove for self-determination, Jews were viewed with distrust by patriotic elements. Consequently, Almog observes, “modern antisemitism is incomprehensible without reverence to nationalism.”

Over some seven chapters, the author argues that mistrust of Jews was widespread and not limited to religious cranks or ignorant peasants. The very process of political evolution from dynastic monarchies to indigenous nation-states often led to the removal of Jews from their former influential positions in these realms.

Almog’s survey draws attention to policies and events that may cause more thoughtful students to pause and ponder just what was transpiring during this period. For example, the Russian monarchy is portrayed as anti-Semitic. Yet, in his chapter “Revolutions and Counter revolutions,

“ the author mentions that the Tsarist occupation regime in Poland prohibited anti-Jewish pamphleteering.

It was the murder of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 that sparked off anti-Jewish riots in Russia. Thereafter, government authorities began to re-examine the role played by Jews and their relationship to the majority population. A memorandum prepared for the newly-crowned Tsar Alexander III by the future Interior Minister Nikolai Ignatyev (1832-1908) is excerpted by Almog:

In Petersburg there exists a powerful group of Poles and Yids which holds in its hands direct control of banks, the stock exchange, the bar, a great part of the press, and other areas of public life. Through many legal and illegal ways it exerts an enormous influence over the bureaucracy and the general course of affairs. Parts of their group are implicated in the growing plunder of the exchange and in seditious activity ...

German anti-Semitism was marked by the participation of prominent intellectuals and artists, such as Richard Wagner. In Germany, Jews came to be viewed in a new light following the failure of the revolutions of 1848. The creation of the German Empire corresponded with a growing suspicion that Jews were “dual loyalists.” The 1892 Tivoli Conference of the Conservative Party issued a platform that openly called for curbing “the ruinous Jewish influence.”

Anti-Jewish sentiment spread throughout Europe in the aftermath of the First World War, touched off by the Balfour Declaration, and, more immediately, by events in Russia, and Eastern and Central Europe. “The large numbers of Jews in the Communist parties,” Almog notes, “magnified the historic enmity toward Jews.” Almog lists Jews who played stellar roles in the Communist revolts in Russia, Germany and Hungary. He even points out that many of them assumed aliases, but to no avail, for “soon enough their former names Bronstein, Radomisky, Rosenfeld, Zederbaum, Sobelsohn were also revealed ... The public regarded them as an attempt to deceive the world about the true origin of the revolutionaries, so as to veil the Jewish character of the Revolution.”

Nationalism and Anti-Semitism highlights Polish attitudes toward their own Jewish “problem.” Here, readers learn, quite likely for the first time, that anti-Jewish feelings perhaps ran stronger in Poland than in Nazi Germany. The author cites a 1938 British Foreign Office report on a meeting between the Director of the Central European Desk and the Polish Ambassador:

Poland’s Jewish problem was much more serious than Germany’s. The Jewish population was proportionately much greater. The Germans were persecuting the Jews largely for reasons of doctrine; in Poland the problem was a very pressing economic one ... The [Polish Jews] would make good colonists in such a place as Northern Rhodesia, and would be anxious to emigrate at the rate of some 100,000 per year.

Almog goes on to point out that during the years 1936 through 1938, the Polish government repeatedly asked Great Britain and France to assist them in resettling Jews out of Europe to African colonies or Palestine.

Brief mention is also made of anti-Jewish activities before and during the Second World War in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and France.

Extermination, the author concedes in his summary on “War and Holocaust,” was not foreseen as the “answer” to Europe’s Jewish problems. He goes on to admit that “there is no indication that

the 'Final Solution' was planned prior to the outbreak of the war (and perhaps not even before the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941).”

At this point *Nationalism & Antisemitism in Modern Europe* terminates. Other books in the series will undoubtedly deal with the “mechanics” of the Holocaust. Perhaps against the author’s intentions, what the reader of this book comes to see is that Jews were held suspect by respectable elements throughout Europe. Far from answering students' questions, this book may well raise more questions about the relationship between nationalism and “anti-Semitism, “ and the causes of the latter.

Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 348-352.

Book review

The Web of Disinformation: Churchill's Yugoslav Blunder

- **by David Martin. San Diego and New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1990. Hb., 425 pp., \$29.95; ISBN 0-15-18074-3.**

Reviewed by Robert Clive

In the weeks preceding Hitler's pre-emptive attack on Stalin, events in the Balkans took a turn for the worse. On March 25, 1941, Yugoslav Prime Minister Cvetkovic went to Vienna, where he signed the Tripartite Pact. Germany agreed to respect Yugoslav sovereignty and not demand right of passage for Axis troops. Two days later, a British and American engineered coup overthrew the Council of Regency and deposed Prince Paul. Seventeen-year-old King Peter became the figurehead for a government headed by Yugoslav Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Simovic. While the anti-Axis shift was popular among Serbian segments of the population, it was markedly less so among the Croats.

Hitler's response to the change of government in Belgrade was to issue Directive 25, which ordered immediate planning for the invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece. The German leader here acknowledged that he might be forced to delay Operation Barbarossa — the invasion of the USSR — to allow these new operations to take place, thus securing his southern flank.

German forces invaded Yugoslavia and Greece on April 6. On the 10th Zagreb radio announced the establishment of an independent Croatian republic under their nationalist leader Ante Pavelic. On the 11th Italian and Hungarian Army divisions launched cautious attacks on Yugoslav positions. Belgrade surrendered to Gen. von Kleist on the 12th; on the 14th King Peter fled the country; and on the 17th, former Foreign Minister Cincar-Markovic signed an armistice with the Germans, who lost fewer than 200 dead in the Yugoslavian campaign. Ten days later, Athens fell to the Wehrmacht.

Despite the armistice, a Yugoslav government-in-exile was recognized and operated out of London throughout the rest of the war. It called upon all Yugoslavs to take up arms. This challenge was most effectively supported by the Serbian royalist Gen. Draza Mihailovic, who at the time of the Axis invasion was in charge of the Operations Bureau of the General Staff. Mihailovic quickly established his Home Army resistance movement in Serbia and in January 1942 was appointed commander-in-chief of the armed forces and war minister by the government-in-exile.

Throughout most of 1942, Mihailovic enjoyed the unqualified support of the Western Allies, who lionized him in their press as the greatest resistance leader in Axis-occupied Europe. Early in 1943, the mood in London began to shift toward support for Joseph Broz Tito, head of a small Communist-led movement. By the end of the year a dramatic switch in policy occurred, with the

anti-Communist Mihailovic being cut off from further support. London, Washington, and Moscow were now unanimous in their backing of Tito's Red "Partisans."

Even after the government-in-exile stripped him of his official duties, Mihailovic fought on against the Germans. But at war's end, he was accused of treason against the new Tito-led government. On March 25, 1946, seventeen months after the Soviet Army captured Belgrade, the still defiant Mihailovic was captured and, on July 17, executed by a Red firing squad. Tito imposed a Communist regime that reigned for 45 years. As we go to press, the Yugoslavia he ruled is in the process of disintegration.

How it came to pass that the West turned their backs on Mihailovic is a question that has troubled David Martin for over four decades. His first book on the topic, *Ally Betrayed*, was published in 1946. The Hoover Institution issued his 1978 study, *Patriot or Traitor: The Case of General Mihailovich*. This third volume represents the culmination of Martin's efforts to defend and rehabilitate Mihailovic. It is not a mere reiteration of previously explored material, but is based on research conducted in Mihailovic's own archives, those of the Yugoslav government-in-exile, British state papers for the period 1941-1945, and interviews with over one hundred people directly involved.

Martin concludes that the fateful change in British policy was due to a remarkably successful campaign of disinformation and sabotage launched some six to eight months before Winston Churchill terminated further support for Mihailovic and proceeded to provide enthusiastic backing to Tito. British intelligence agencies, especially the Yugoslav Section of Special Operations Executive (SOE), headquartered first in Cairo and later in Bari, Italy, was the locus of the anti-Mihailovic elements. It was the Yugoslav Section that was responsible for relaying intelligence about resistance activities to SOE-London and the British Foreign Office. The Cairo office, Martin shows, engaged in large-scale falsifications, by failing to acknowledge Mihailovic's efforts directed against Axis occupation forces, and by grossly inflating the scale of Tito's activities and the level of support his Partisans enjoyed throughout the area.

After sifting through thousands of pages of previously classified records, the author concluded that one man was primarily responsible for engineering this history-making campaign: James Klugman, deputy chief of SOE Yugoslavia Section. Klugman, it emerges, was, with Kim Philby, Guy Burgess, Anthony Blunt, and Donald Maclean, another member of the nest of Cambridge Communists who moled their way into strategic positions in British intelligence during and after World War II.

Klugman, the son of a prosperous Jewish merchant, was born in London in 1912. He attended Trinity College, Cambridge and became a leader in the European Communist youth movement in the 1930s. After his wartime service as an intelligence and coordinating officer, reaching the rank of Major, in the Yugoslav Section of SOE, he became a member of the executive committee of the British Communist Party and editor of *Marxism Today*. Michael Straight described Klugman, who died in 1977, as "a warm-hearted and compassionate intellectual whose commitment to Communism left him no time for such minor preoccupations as taking a bath or cleaning his fingernails."

In February 1942 Klugman was posted to the Yugoslav Section of SOE. There, according to Martin, Klugman was able to orchestrate the campaign against Mihailovic. He was the first to receive messages from the field. He wrote the situation reports, briefed his superiors, and drafted position papers. Through the doctored reports he passed along, Klugman portrayed the Home Army as inactive and ineffective; charged that members of Mihailovic's staff were collaborators who

concentrated their military operations against the heroic Partisans; and claimed that Mihailovic had lost most of his popular following.

Klugman's reports in turn influenced the line taken by the Political Warfare Executive, Secret Intelligence Service (M16), the Foreign Office, and BBC. Klugman possessed almost unlimited possibilities for misinforming those who ultimately set policy.

Martin strips away the layers of myth surrounding Tito's wartime efforts. It turns out that Mihailovic's Home Army vastly outnumbered the Partisans, who, with a view toward post-war politics, fought most of their battles against Mihailovic, not the Axis occupation forces. The Partisans deliberately provoked retaliatory strikes on peaceful villages, by slipping into areas, killing a few Axis soldiers, and then stealing away. Villages "liberated" by Tito's thugs often endured a reign of terror. Many Yugoslavs felt better off under Axis control.

Churchill, who reveled in the dramatic, eagerly boosted Tito's reputation as a resistance leader. Based on Klugman's reports, the Prime Minister claimed that the Partisans were tying down 24 crack German divisions. In fact, only eight understrength divisions, along with some Bulgarian and Croatian Ustase units, were deployed in Yugoslavia during 1943 to the fall of 1944. According to Martin, it is doubtful if Tito's forces killed as many as 5,000 Germans before the Red Army stormed into the country in October 1944.

The author discloses that in March 1943 Tito sent a delegation to German headquarters at Sarajevo proposing a truce so that they could both concentrate against the Home Army. Additionally, Tito promised to fight against the British should they land troops in Yugoslavia. For unknown reasons, this offer was turned down by Reich Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop.

It is noteworthy that the OSS (Office of Strategic Services) was less impressed with Tito. Based on a 40-page field report filed by Capt. Walter Mansfield at the end of March 1944, the U.S. offered to continue supplying Mihailovic. OSS's founder and chief, "Wild Bill" Donovan, argued that the Western Allies needed to keep their options open in the Balkans. This proposal was flatly rejected by Churchill. Col. S.W. Bailey, of British intelligence, actually called for Mihailovic's assassination.

The OSS retained its contacts with the Home Army. On November 9, 1944, after the Red Army invaded the area, Donovan received a field report from Lt. Col. Robert McDowell, a Balkan specialist from the University of Michigan who was considered to be the most qualified intelligence officer, British or American, on matters pertaining to Yugoslavia. McDowell's report flatly contradicted the stance taken by British intelligence. It was his "considered judgment" that during the months preceeding the Soviet assault on Belgrade, Mihailovic's ill-equipped forces did far more than the Partisans to kill, capture, and disrupt the Wehrmacht. McDowell further disclosed that Tito's units engaged in wholesale acts of terrorism against Yugoslav peasants. Copies of his report were forwarded to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill.

Martin's account is not without significant defects. The author glosses over the strident Serbian chauvinism of General Mihailovic and his followers, which led the Chetniks to commit many atrocities in the savage warfare which raged between Serb and Croat in the ruins of Yugoslavia. It is fair to point out, as has former IHR editorial advisor Ivo Omrcanin in his *Enigma Tito*, that Britain's traditional divide and rule policies in the Balkans impelled them to back both anti-German guerrilla movements, particularly since Mihailovic's Serbian Chetniks had no drawing power whatsoever among Croats, Slovenes, and other of Yugoslavia's national and ethnic groups.

In his efforts to fix blame on the comparatively low-ranking Klugman, Martin scants the responsibility of Klugman's superiors, above all Winston Churchill, who after all was firmly allied with Stalin and his Soviet Union, next to whom Tito and his Partisans were small fry indeed. Martin's mistake is one which has been made and repeatedly by writers whose anti-communism was a Cold War *Spätlease*, and who exonerate the Roosevelts and the Churchills in their search for Soviet agents who were more often carrying out than subverting their governments' policies.

Nevertheless, Martin's study, which culminated a lifetime of devotion to Mihailovic and his cause, is a timely reminder that the leaders of Britain, like those of America, could be as faithless to their friends as they were ruthless to their enemies: the fate of Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechs, and other central and east Europeans unwise enough to be anti-Communist as well as anti-German is a standing rebuke to the self-congratulatory fustian with which keepers of the Churchill flame customarily celebrate his role in the Second World War.

Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 353-359.

Historical news and comment

A prominent Holocaust historian wrestles with a rising revisionism

Mark Weber

Defenders of the crumbling Holocaust story are confused and frustrated about how best to respond to the increasingly “sophisticated” arguments of Revisionists, a leading Holocaust historian says. Writing in the April 1991 issue of *Dimensions*, the Zionist Anti-Defamation League’s “Journal of Holocaust Studies,” Deborah Lipstadt declares that Revisionist historians must be relentlessly “exposed” and denounced, while carefully avoiding any discussion of what they actually write and say.

Lipstadt teaches history at Occidental College in Los Angeles. She is the author of *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933-1945*, and is currently working on a book about Holocaust Revisionism. If it is anything like this essay, her forthcoming work will be little more than a polemical smear job.

Holocaust revisionism can no longer simply be “brushed off,” she writes in her essay, “Resisting History,” because Revisionists have adopted a much more serious and scholarly approach in recent years:

Lately, the deniers' work has become more virulent and dangerous, in part because it has become more sophisticated. Their publications, including *The Journal of Historical Review*, mimic legitimate scholarly publications. This confuses those who do not immediately know the Journal’s intentions.

To demonstrate that revisionist “books and journals have been given an academic format,” an illustration of the front cover of the Spring 1990 *Journal* accompanies Lipstadt’s essay.

Lipstadt sees dark clouds on the horizon. For one thing, “the impact of revisionist claims on young people is of valid concern since they are the most willing to listen.” Revisionists “have also strengthened their ties with influential political groups both within the United States and Europe,” she warns gravely. One such group, she adds, is France’s National Front. “Although these groups are small, their influence and power seem to be increasing rapidly.”

Ms. Lipstadt expresses particular concern at the worldwide impact of American execution expert Fred Leuchter’s forensic investigation of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau, and his conclusion that they were never used as extermination facilities.

While the overall impact of Holocaust Revisionism is still quite limited, Lipstadt sees no reason for complacency:

What is clear, however, is that the existence of Holocaust denial has given relativism a cloak of respectability. Denial has stretched the parameters of debate so far to one side that questions once considered outlandish and dismissed as historically untenable now find acceptance ... These include doubts about fundamental aspects of the Holocaust — the existence of gas chambers, Hitler’s knowledge of the Final Solution, and the innocence of the Jews.

Responding to the arguments and facts presented by Holocaust Revisionists is very hazardous, Lipstadt contends, because what they write and say is now such a sophisticated mixture of truth and falsehood that they are “confusing readers who are unfamiliar with the deniers' tactics.” On another occasion, Lipstadt has said that, “unless you're a specialist, it’s hard to debate them [the Revisionists].” (New York *Daily News*, Oct. 15, 1990, p. 29.) Moreover, she writes in her ADL essay, “to debate them [Holocaust Revisionists] is to risk giving their efforts the imprimatur of a legitimate historical option.”

In Lipstadt’s view, responding to the Revisionists is a fruitless task:

The speciousness of their arguments, not the arguments themselves, demands a response. The insidious way in which denial enters the mainstream often disguised as relativism must be fully exposed ... We need not waste time or effort answering the deniers' contentions.

Contradicting herself somewhat, Lipstadt makes a feeble effort to refute Revisionism by giving a distorted and essentially dishonest summary of what she contends are the “claims” of “the deniers.” Without citing a shred of evidence, she falsely charges, for example, that “the revisionists draw a great deal of inspiration from the *Protocols [of the Elders of Zion]*.”

Quoting from a 1962 essay by American Revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes, Lipstadt contends that “for some deniers, Hitler ... was a man whose only fault was that he was 'too soft, generous and honorable.'” What Barnes actually wrote is not quite so simplistic:

While the theory of Hitler’s diabolism is generally accepted, there are very well informed persons who contend that he brought himself and Germany to ruin by being too soft, generous and honorable, rather than too tough and ruthless. They point to the following considerations ...

(From “Revisionism and Brainwashing,” reprinted in *Barnes Against the Blackout*, p. 251.)

Lipstadt also writes:

Deniers acknowledge that some Jews were incarcerated in places like Auschwitz, but, they maintain, the camps were equipped with recreational facilities like swimming pools and dance halls.

While Lipstadt can safely assume that most of her readers will “knowingly” dismiss this latter contention as absurd nonsense, there were, in fact, recreational facilities in the camp, as numerous former inmates have recalled. (One such Auschwitz survivor, Marc Klein, confirmed that “the SS administration allowed regular amusements for the prisoners, “ including cabaret performances and soccer, basketball and water polo matches. *JHR*, Summer 1991, pp. 133-134.])

Perhaps Lipstadt’s most grotesque distortion of the truth is her assertion that “For the deniers what happened to the Jews is beside the point: Jews were not victims, they are victimizers.” As

anyone familiar with the writings of Rassinier, Faurisson, Butz and Irving is aware, no serious Revisionist denies the victimization of millions of Jews in Germany, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Ukraine and other European countries. They were deprived of their liberty and property, rounded up, and brutally deported to crowded ghettos and camps where hundreds of thousands died under miserable and often horrible circumstances.

In a recent talk at San Diego State University, Lipstadt compared Holocaust “deniers” to those who believe that the earth is flat, and wrongly asserted that Holocaust Revisionism was begun by “the neo-fascist George Lincoln Rockwell ... in the 1950s.”

In fact, the generally acknowledged pioneer of Holocaust Revisionism was Paul Rassinier, a French wartime Resistance activist who was arrested by the Gestapo and interned in the Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps. After the war, he authored a series of books that took issue with the extermination legend. His first was a memoir of his camp experiences published in 1948, which was followed by *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* in 1950. (One could also plausibly argue that the first Holocaust Revisionist was Hermann Göring, who declared before the Nuremberg Tribunal in 1946 that there had not been any German program or policy to exterminate Europe’s Jews.)

Lipstadt, who is not stupid, must know full well that much of what she says and writes is quite simply not true.

If Revisionist arguments are really as nonsensical as Lipstadt insists, she and others would presumably have no difficulty whatsoever refuting them. But as Lipstadt is certainly aware, efforts to seriously refute Revisionist arguments are almost invariably a calamity for the “Exterminationist” side.

The Pressac fiasco is a good case in point. Large amounts of money were spent by the “Nazi hunting” Klarsfelds and their allies to publish and distribute Jean-Claude Pressac’s 564-page book about Auschwitz, which was meant to be a definitive response to the Revisionists. As Journal readers know, Pressac’s 1989 work has proven, in fact, to be a tremendous, if unintentional, boost to the Revisionist view of the Holocaust issue.

After reassuring readers that only twisted or misguided minds could give any credence to Revisionist arguments, Lipstadt declares, rather paradoxically, that these absurd “flat earth” views pose a grave danger to the very foundations of our social order. “Holocaust denial, “ she warns darkly, is “an attack on the most basic values of a reasoned society.”

If anything, it is polemical writing like Lipstadt’s, with its barely veiled assault against the principle of free speech and free inquiry, that really strikes at the foundations of a free and reasoned society. Her words are all the more ominous because they are sponsored by the Zionist Anti-Defamation League, with its formidable financial resources and political clout.

Anxious about what she calls “the dangers of free inquiry, “ and troubled by the Revisionist commitment to free speech, Lipstadt warns:

It is this commitment to free inquiry and the power of mythical thinking that explains, at least in part, how revisionists have attracted leading figures and institutions. [MIT professor] Noam Chomsky is probably the best known among them. Chomsky wrote the introduction to a book by French revisionist Robert Faurisson ... Chomsky’s example shows why the dangers of free inquiry should be taken seriously.

(To be precise, Chomsky did not endorse holocaust revisionism. He simply defended the revisionists' right of free speech.)

Lipstadt continues with what amounts to an oblique attack against the principle of free speech:

Those who are committed to the liberal idea of dialogue fail to recognize that certain views are beyond the bounds of rational discourse ... In the case of Holocaust denial, reason becomes hostage to a particularly odious ideology.

What is implied here is that only the ADL-approved version of Second World War history should be tolerated.

Lipstadt is not optimistic. “Many people, “ she notes with dismay, now “regard revisionist arguments as a test of free speech.”

“It is only when society comprehends this group’s real intentions, “ Lipstadt warns, “that we can be sure that history will not be reshaped to promote a variety of pernicious objectives.” The Revisionists' hidden motives, she rather predictably explains, are “racism, extremism, and virulent anti-Semitism.” These days, this is just about the most terrible accusation that anyone can make. What’s worse, this charge is almost impossible to disprove, especially when made by an organization as influential as the ADL.

For ADL publicists like Lipstadt, it simply does not matter that articles and essays by Jewish and non-White writers have appeared in the IHR’s quarterly *Journal*, along with explicit denunciations of racism, and that the IHR publishes and distributes writing by some of the best-known and most widely read historians in the world today.

Similarly, it doesn’t matter that Harry Elmer Barnes, who is correctly identified by Lipstadt as a prominent American Revisionist historian, made clear his personal view of Hitler and his regime in the very essay misleadingly quoted earlier by Lipstadt.

The truth about 1939 in no way involves or necessitates any approval of Hitler, National Socialism or the National Socialist regime [wrote Barnes] ... Nothing that I have ever written or ever shall write is even more remotely designed to “rehabilitate Hitler.” ... The National Socialist regime was assuredly not one for which I have either public or personal affection ... As an American liberal, I could hardly be regarded as admiring any form of conservative totalitarianism.

(From “Revisionism and Brainwashing,” reprinted in *Barnes Against the Blackout*, pp. 244, 245, 248.)

In any case, the racism/anti-Semitism charge is ultimately irrelevant. In the final analysis, Revisionist arguments must stand or fall on their own merits, or lack of them. To dismiss them because of the real or imagined motives of the Revisionists would be like rejecting the one-time “extremist” findings of Nicholas Copernicus — that the earth revolves around the sun — by charging that he was motivated by hatred of the papacy and the Church.

Holocaust Revisionism is particularly insidious, Lipstadt maintains, because it “robs the Holocaust of its uniqueness and its capacity to offer the world ethical, moral and political lessons. It reduces the Holocaust to a merely relative evil.”

As any serious student of history understands, of course, every historical episode is both unique and relative. While every event just like every person is unique, each historical event also has parallels with similar happenings in the past and future.

History is the record of *human* behavior — in all its complex tragedy and glory — which is precisely why it is so fascinating and so well worth studying and understanding. Just as experience and maturity enable us to anticipate how other human beings are likely to act in given circumstances, so also does a study of history help to understand and anticipate how societies, nations and governments are likely to act in given situations.

To review any historical era or event thoughtfully and objectively is, inevitably, to “relativize” it. Contrary to what Lipstadt believes, though, it is only by taking a sober, thoughtful and dispassionate view of the fate of European Jewry during the Second World War that humanity can draw useful lessons from this dark chapter of history.

What Lipstadt and those like her implicitly argue is that Jewish history must be treated differently than the history of any other people or nation. It must be treated with a special reverence, she suggests, and viewed not historically, but theologically.

Even her constant use of the term “Holocaust denial” is revealing. She treats “The Holocaust” as something close to sacred dogma — much as a devout Christian might regard the Resurrection of Christ — which only blasphemous heretics would dare “deny.” (To deny the validity of Christianity in the State of Maryland was a crime punishable by death until 1826.)

For partisan moralists like Lipstadt, the fate of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War must never be regarded as one of many grim chapters of human history. Instead “The Holocaust” must be considered as a grand but simplistic drama of Good versus Evil, a morality play about innocent victims and satanic victimizers.

In this essay, Ms. Lipstadt shows how at least one arm of the powerful Holocaust lobby is frantically trying to cope with the increasingly influential phenomenon of Holocaust revisionism, and provides, however unintentionally, some revealing insights into this lobby’s ominous agenda for our society. Her frantic protests notwithstanding, Lipstadt also demonstrates that she is herself guilty of the very prejudice and close-mindedness she so lightly imputes to Revisionists.

At the same time, this essay is encouraging. Lipstadt acknowledges the effective and growing impact of Holocaust Revisionism, and concedes that Revisionist arguments are difficult to refute. Finally, this essay confirms that the forces of intolerance and bigotry are not invincible, and that historical truth can prevail over even the most formidable of adversaries.

Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 360-364.

Historical news and comment

Editor note: reference points in the text for notes 3 & 4 aren't shown in either web version linked above.

A Call for a Congressional Investigation of The Murder of Rudolf Hess

D. D. Desjardins

I was in Ohio on August 17, 1987 when news came of the death of Rudolf Hess at Spandau Prison. Within several days, it was reported that Hess had committed suicide, a version endorsed several weeks later by his Allied jailers (the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France) in official communiques:

Rudolf Hess hung himself from the bar of the window of a small building in the prison garden, using the electric cord of a reading lamp. Efforts were made to resuscitate him. He was rushed to the British Military Hospital, where, after several further efforts, he was pronounced dead at 4:10 p.m. local time.

A note addressed to the Hess family has been found in his pocket: "Thanks to the directors for addressing this message to my home. Written several minutes before my death."

It was then only a passing thought that Hess might have been a victim of foul play rather than a man who would willfully take his own life. The Hess I'd learned about through reading Eugene K. Bird's *Prisoner No. 7* or G. Gordon Liddy ^[1] did not seem the sort of man who would leave this world voluntarily, but rather as a man true to his ideas and idols, defiant to the end.

It was not until May, 1989, while in Paris during a short stay, that I happened across an article in *Le Figaro Magazine* (No. 13871) written by Jean-Pax Méfret which suggested Hess's death was something other than suicide. Had it been a matter of some tabloid announcement, a Gallic version of our *National Enquirer*, that would have been easy to dismiss, but here it was in one of France's most prestigious weeklies.

The twists and turns of Jean-Pax Méfret's year-long investigation led him through various clandestine contacts and secret rendezvous, often with persons who, knowing his profession, were careful about their identity and what they said.

A chance meeting in March, 1988 between Méfret and an Allied officer stationed in Berlin, for example, gave a lead which helped spark further investigation when the officer suddenly confided: "Rudolf Hess ... he did not commit suicide" (and again after a momentary pause), "Hess did not commit suicide." The officer met Méfret again the following day and, under a guarantee of anonymity, revealingly hedged his earlier statement:

Forget what I told you the other evening. In any event, this matter can't leak out: everything has been perfectly arranged. The outbuilding was burned down within 48 hours. Even the cord which Hess supposedly used to hang himself has gone up in smoke. No one will ever be able to prove that this old Nazi didn't kill himself.

What the Allied officer said about proof, seven months after Hess' death, would soon be contradicted by several key testimonies. One of these was by Abdallah Melaouhi, Hess' medical attendant at Spandau since August, 1982. Broadcast in an interview over B.B.C. news February 28, 1989, Melaouhi stated categorically that he did not accept the official suicide thesis. On the day of Hess's death he described how his normal visit time of 11:20 was changed to have him arrive 40 minutes earlier, and how later that day when he entered the room where Hess was supposed to have hanged himself, "... everything was topsy-turvy, yet the cord was in its normal place and still plugged into the wall."

A more telling testimony is the report of Professor Dr. Wolfgang Spann, the medical expert hired by the Hess family to perform a second autopsy, which had not yet been made public at the time of Méfret's article. Spann's detailed examination of the neck failed to corroborate the autopsy of the Four Powers' pathologist, J.M. Cameron, who reported a suicide: Spann found that Hess had died from strangulation, not hanging. [2]

Through the services of an anonymous Spandau employee, Jean-pax Méfret obtained a copy of a letter written by Rudolf Hess dated 27 October, 1984 to the "governments of the four powers of allied military protection of Berlin-Spandau." In this letter, Hess, at age 90, describes his state of health as part of a request for liberty. This description, predating Hess' alleged suicide by almost three years, starkly contrasts with that of a man who could, with very little time and under the surveillance of his guard, noose an electric cord, tie it to the bar of a window and hang himself. Here is a translation of the letter:

Until recently, I was three-fourths blind. Yet part of my left eye was still in perfect condition. Since the morning of Friday, 17 August, it has meanwhile developed that I was no longer able to read normal sized letters of newspaper text. Even certain 4 centimeter characters printed in the title of a paper were no longer visible. There is nothing left in their place but empty space ... The detachment of the retina will continue until such time as I become totally blind ... Within the time of twenty minutes while I walk in the prison garden I experience heart problems. This forces me to sit down and to rest so as to take up my activity for a short period ... I have oedema of the legs which only goes away on condition I elevate my legs both day and night. I also have weakness in my thighs of which the muscles no longer control bending of the knees, so much so that I can no longer raise myself, not even with the use of my cane. It is necessary for another person to help me get on my feet ... My intestines are displaced to the right, forming a large lump below the abdomen. A few steps suffice to provoke extreme pain.

Is this the description of a man who could hang himself? Not unless it can be supposed Hess's condition improved dramatically in the course of the three-year interval.

Another telling document obtained by Méfret is the letter Rudolf Hess wrote to Mr. Keane, the American Director of Spandau. Dated 4 April, 1987, (just four months prior to Hess's death), it reads as follows:

As motive for my previously submitted request concerning the dismissal of the American guard Jordan [emphasis added]: he is of poor upbringing, yes, very over-

bearing and harmful toward me. All the others are amicable, polite and helpful in my regard. Even the directors are of the highest manners. Mr. Jordan has now become a danger to my health. I pass my two hours with him with great difficulty, with a continuous elevation of my blood pressure of 120 beats per minute (125 can be fatal). To repeat, the strain of his presence accelerates my heart rate. As you have told me, Mr. Jordan is here as a guard employed by the Senate and held accountable to Civil Service regulations. The Senate must therefore approve his dismissal. I sincerely implore the Senate to do this, for the sake of the state of health of a 93-year-old man.

The prison log for 17 August, 1987, the day Rudolf Hess died, contains two very interesting entries. The lesser of the two is that at 10:20, Hess put in a request for 30 packets of tissue paper, two sheets of writing paper, a ruler, and three rolls of toilet paper; hardly the request of a man intending suicide just a few hours later. Second are the entries for 14:10 and 14:30. The entry for 14:10 states Hess went for a walk in the garden accompanied by Jordan, the American guard mentioned in the above letter. Twenty minutes later (although there is some question in that the time of 14:30 has been visibly altered from the original entry), Jordan reports that “an incident” has occurred. The French guard Audoin arrives on the scene and tries to resuscitate Hess, apparently without avail, as is the case with trying to find Mr. Keane. Hess does not arrive at the British Military Hospital until 15:50, a full hour and 20 minutes after the “incident.”

The foregoing evidence obviously raised some very serious questions about the death of Rudolf Hess: Was Jordan hired as part of a plot to assassinate Hess? Why was the American Director, Mr. Keane, unwilling to entertain Hess’s concern regarding Jordan’s behavior? Why was Spandau fortress destroyed within 48 hours of Hess’s death, particularly the outbuilding where he died and the alleged suicide instruments?

It is true that Hess had apparently attempted suicide at least once, in February, 1946, and it is also true there were no known Allied attempts on his life during the 41 years prior to August, 1987. On the other hand, costs to maintain Spandau Prison, with its 600 cells, 100 full-time employees and guard detachments for the Four Powers, had soared to over 100 million dollars annually. Rudolf Hess, the last remaining prisoner at Spandau since the release of Albert Speer and Baldur von Schirach in 1966, has incontestably become the most expensive prisoner in the world. This is only one of several plausible motives, however.

In August 1990, supported by the above information, I contacted Congressman Earl Hutto, requesting an official investigation into the circumstances surrounding Hess' death. Within a month I received a cordial reply stating there were no current plans for such an effort, although my comments would be kept on hand “... should Congress hold hearings on this matter.” Mr. Hutto forwarded a copy of my letter and article (which included important photostats from the *Figaro* article), to the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law within the House Committee on the Judiciary. As a follow-up, I sent a second copy of the article in October, 1990 directly to New York committee member Hamilton Fish, Jr.

It is strongly urged that those interested in the Hess affair and our nation’s responsibilities to truth and honor to write the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law requesting an official investigation into the death of Rudolf Hess. Not only was Spandau prison under U.S. control at the time of his death, but as I have pointed out, there is reasonable concern that an American guard by the name of Jordan may have played a role.

1. ☞ See *Parade*, February, 1981, pg. 6, “G. Gordon Liddy: Why Hess Will Never Break.”
 2. ☞ See *Mord and Rudolf Hess?*, by Hess' son Wolf Rüdiger (Leoni am Starnberger See, Germany: Druffel, 1989), pp. 191-229 for Cameron's and Spann's autopsies and Spann's official report to the author. (*Mord an Rudolf Hess?* and its English translation, *Who Murdered My Father, Rudolf Hess?* are available from the Institute for Historical Review.
 3. Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law (Bruce A. Morrison [D-CT], Chairman), B370B Rayburn H.O.B., Washington, DC 20515-6217. Telephone: 1-202-225-5727.
 4. Sources close to the Hess family tend at this time to doubt that Jordan himself, who still lives in Berlin and is employed by the U.S. Army, carried out the murder, but believe that he is a key witness. Their suspicion focuses on the British. — Editor
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Historical news and comment

Revisionism and Censorship Down Under

John Bennett

George Orwell said that “anyone who challenges the prevailing orthodoxy finds himself being silenced with surprising effectiveness. A genuinely unfashionable opinion is almost never given a fair hearing.” J. S. Mill said that “unmeasured vituperation, employed on the side of prevailing opinion, deters people from expressing contrary opinions, and from listening to those who express them.”

Historical revisionists, such as the UK historian David Irving, whose books are in libraries and bookshops throughout the Western world, Professor Faurisson, Professor Butz and myself, who, after much research, much of it uncontradicted, have concluded there was no plan to exterminate Jews in World War II; there were no mass gassings; and fewer than one million Jews died of all causes, face such vituperation. O'Brien, a member of the “thought police” in Orwell’s novel, 1984, said: “Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past.”

Dissident thinkers who challenge the accepted version of the past cannot expect a fair hearing in Australia, are subject to “unmeasured vituperation” and are not given a fair hearing. Thus my attempts to query the extent of the Holocaust of Jews in World War II have led to me being described as “more evil than Himmler and Pol Pot” (*Quadrant*), a “pathological raver” (*New Statesman*), “unhinged” (*Commentary*), “comic” and “bizarre” (*The Age*), “scum” (*3AW*) and “dangerous and foolish” (Derryn Hinch, *3AW*). A play written by a Jew from Sydney called “The Diary of Anne Frank — a Forgery?” describes me as a vicious evil neo-Nazi professional propagandist who poses as a civil libertarian and is utterly discredited. I am not afforded a right of reply to such attacks.

Gerard Henderson attacked me in an article in *The Australian* in 1989 headed “It’s Time to Muzzle Lunar Rights Baying,” and I was attacked in a feature article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1989 headed “Lies, Damned Lies and Hogwash.” The Press Council predictably rejected my complaint about the failure of the *SMH* to publish a reply. Phillip Adams attacked me in three feature articles in *The Australian* in 1990 claiming that I was masquerading as a civil libertarian, that I was carrying on where Julius Striecher, the editor of *Der Stürmer*, left off, and that I had been spewing hate since the 1930’s (I was born in 1936 and did not become a Revisionist until 1979).

Adams regards those querying the extent of the Jewish Holocaust as committing blasphemy a curious view for a self-proclaimed skeptic and atheist. Is the official version of the Holocaust his religion? Was the recent reduction in the official figure for deaths at Auschwitz, from 4 million to

about 1 million, blasphemy? The camp records indicated an even lower figure. Anti-Zionist Jews, such as Dr. Alfred Lilienthal, who support freedom of speech for Revisionists, claim that the “official” version of the Jewish Holocaust has become a new religion for many Jews, and for non-Jews such as Mr. Adams. It is the religious aspect of the Holocaust which places the freedom of speech of Revisionists at such risk. Anti-Zionist Jews such as Dr. Lilienthal and Noam Chomsky have defended the freedom of speech of Revisionists. The Jewish writer J.G. Burg, who was a Holocaust survivor, has denied that gassing took place at Auschwitz, and the Jewish historian Arno Mayer agrees with Revisionists that the extent of the Holocaust has been exaggerated.

The *Sunday Age*, owned by the Fairfax group, published three feature articles in July and August 1990, discussing whether alleged “racists” such as myself (and I was the only person named) should be dealt with by racial vilification legislation. The articles were triggered by a complaint against *Your Rights* to the NSW Anti-discrimination Board by the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies. The *Sunday Age* devoted more than 100 column inches to the three articles and an “over the top” cartoon and allowed me about six column inches in reply. The headings in the articles attacking me were “The Right to Be a Racist” (with a cartoon of a Neanderthal ape spewing forth hate), “Package Poison with an Inbuilt Antidote” and “Cloaking Hate with Freedom’s Mantle” (with the cartoon repeated). The contents of the articles, and several letters attacking my views, did not create a climate for objective debate and sometimes approached “unmeasured vituperation.” Even if the “pathological ravings” of “unhinged, “ “evil” revisionists are “poisonous, “ the “ravings” may, if examined, and if not refuted, eventually be largely accepted.

“Freedom of the Press” seems to mean freedom for press proprietors and editors, accountable to no one, to indulge in character assassination and not give any, or any adequate, space for a reply. The only reply from me published by the *Sunday Age* (August 8, 1990) stated that Terry Lane, who wrote the first two articles and who has previously objected to racial vilification legislation because of its threat to freedom of speech, now says (August 12) that material found to be “offensive” and “poisonous” by “Nanny State” must be dealt with, by forcing the writer of the material to give equal space to those offended, and to participate in a public debate. Those seeking to censor the section in the 17th edition of *Your Rights* (written by myself) discussing Zionist power, the extent of the Jewish Holocaust, and the use of the Holocaust as a propaganda weapon for Israel oppose freedom of speech on those issues, and would reject Mr. Lane’s suggestions, which are acceptable to me (without compulsion). The suggestions would be an interesting precedent for disparate groups objecting to material as diverse as *The Last Temptation of Christ*, Salman Rushdie’s book *The Satanic Verses*, Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice*, the New Testament, and daily references to the Jewish Holocaust in the media with negative stereotyping of Germans.

Mr. Lane, who has said that he would, “never ever” discuss the Israeli-Palestinian conflict again “because the consequences of doing so are altogether quite unnerving, “ has not given any explanation for his retreat on the issue of freedom of speech, especially for those he has described as “soft targets, “ including Historical Revisionists such as David Irving, Professor R. Faurisson and myself. My letter in reply concluded by stating that the heading to an article by Mr. Lane, “The Right To Be A Racist” (July 29), may have inferred I am a racist. I reject notions of racial superiority and racial discrimination but accept that people prefer their own kind.

After the publication of my letter, I was attacked in a Sunday Age feature article, headed “Cloaking Hate in Freedom’s Mantle, “ by Mr. S. Rosenkranz, the president of the Jewish Community Council of Victoria. My unpublished reply stated that Mr. Rosenkranz claims (falsely) that I say the Holocaust didn’t happen or was a hoax, and also claims my views are racist a word he uses often and without definition. He also falsely claims that I criticize a film for portraying Jews as,

“in general, “ admirable (I said, “without exception”) and says that the view falsely attributed to me is racist. Words such as “blasphemous” and “racist” are designed to inhibit debate, and those using such words against independent thinkers such as Historical Revisionists (Terry Lane’s “soft targets”) rely on those attacked being given no right of reply.

Mr. Rosenkranz, having attributed to me views I do not hold, then argues that such views are “racist, “ and should be dealt with by draconian anti-free speech legislation. He also justifies further free speech restrictions because the U.K., etc. have such restrictions. This is a “copy-cat” argument, which ignores the increase in racial tensions in the U.K. caused by such restrictions, documented in Russell Lewis’s book *AntiRacism — A Mania Exposed*. His argument that we should adopt restrictions because of a U.N. Covenant ignores the dominance of anti-free speech countries in the U.N. and the need to tailor laws relevant for Australia. He ignores the adequacy of existing laws to deal with criminal offences by racists. Mr. Rosenkranz’s tunnel vision leads him to regard Revisionist comments in a brief section of a pamphlet with a yearly circulation of 10,000 as being “racist” on the basis of misquotations (Has he read *Your Rights?*), while he appears to lack the empathy to realize the almost daily stereotyping of Germans and Arabs in films from Hollywood with a nightly viewing audience of often more than 200,000 people are offensive to those groups. Instead of singling out a minor pamphlet for special treatment, he should consider the daily harm done by Hollywood films (often designed to help Israel) to Germans and Arabs. Why should these groups not have equal space to answer those vilifying them?

The almost daily references to the Jewish Holocaust in the media are because, as Professor W. Rubinstein has said, the Jewish Holocaust is the number one propaganda weapon for Israel. His claim that Jews have become the new socioeconomic and political elite of the West helps to explain the passage of selective discriminatory war crimes legislation, described by Jim McClelland in an address with which he launched *Sanctuary*, a book by Mark Aarons, as “a sop to the Jewish lobby.” There have been many other sops. The strength of the Zionist lobby in Australia, and its role in pushing for War Crimes legislation and for racial vilification legislation as a means of imposing political censorship of Revisionists challenging the official version of the Jewish Holocaust, is discussed in a leaflet headed *War Crimes Vendetta*, available from the Australian Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

Those attacking revisionists with vituperative language will have, at some stage, to answer Revisionists, who point out that the Wannsee Conference, setting out Nazi policy for Jews, refers to evacuation to the East, not extermination; that Fred Leuchter, described in *The Atlantic* as the main authority on execution procedures in the U.S.A., including gas chambers, has found that Jews could not have been gassed by Zyklon B at Auschwitz; that the crematoria known to have existed could not have disposed of the numbers claimed to have been killed; and that an extermination campaign of which the Vatican, the Red Cross, the German resistance to Hitler, Allied Intelligence and German Intelligence were not aware could not have existed. The fate of Anne Frank, shunted from camp to camp and dying of typhus (which Zyklon B was used to combat); the survival of members of the immediate family (siblings and parents) of some of the best-known names of the Holocaust (Simon Wiesenthal, Anne Frank, Elie Wiesel, etc.); the number of survivors claiming compensation from the West German government; and the survival of the small ghetto boy photographed with his hands raised, help to validate the Revisionist case.

Those seeking to censor, intimidate, and even imprison Revisionists will be in an interesting position if the Revisionist position becomes at some stage the prevailing orthodoxy. Academic historians who refuse to answer Revisionists, and people in the media who belittle or ignore them, may be queried as to whether they have justified the power and influence given to them. The critical question, not asked and not answered, is whether the “unfashionable opinion” is correct.

There are many examples in history of fashionable opinions becoming modified or abandoned. One justification for freedom of speech, given by John Stuart Mill, is that those holding unpopular opinions may be correct, or closer to the truth, than the prevailing orthodoxy.

My unpublished reply concluded by stating that as well as reading *Your Rights*, the *Leuchter Report*, and the minutes of the Wannsee Conference, Mr. Rosenkranz should read John Stuart Mill (*On Liberty*), tolerate the expression of arguments he dislikes, and endeavor to answer them.

The Holocaust is so important to Zionist Jews that Professor Friedländer has said that “the Revisionist School of historians, those who say the Holocaust never existed, that it is a Jewish invention, are more worrying than countries' political positions, “ while Professor F. Littell has said “You can’t discuss the truth of the Holocaust. That is a distortion of the concept of free speech. The United States should emulate West Germany, which outlaws such exercises.”

I cited some of the methods used to silence historical revisionism in Australia in *Censorship of Dissident Opinions*, available from the ACLU. More drastic measures are used in some other countries. A Revisionist received a two-year jail sentence in Canada, a Revisionist in France was assassinated, Professor Faurisson was suspended from his teaching position in France, Henri Roques had his Ph.D. (granted for research on aspects on the Holocaust) revoked, a retired judge in West Germany had his law degree revoked and the plates of his book *The Auschwitz Myth* seized, other writers in West Germany have been jailed, and the headquarters and warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review was burnt to the ground in the U.S.A. For further information, write to the ACLU for a leaflet headed “*The Worldwide Persecution of Dissent*.”

All of the attacks on Revisionists (including Jewish Revisionists) I have mentioned have one thing in common. They are subjected to character assassination but no, or very little, attempt is made to refute their arguments.

[This article is adapted from *Your Rights 1991*, published by John Bennett for the Australian Civil Liberties Union, Box 1137, Carlton 3053, Australia. Ed.]

Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 371-374.

Historical news and comment

Swedish Professors Defend Revisionism on Trial

R. Clarence Lang

What is the driving conviction behind holocaust revisionism? One answer might be that historical truths cannot be decided in or by the courts, for ultimately there can be no historical scholarship without freedom of research and expression.

Yet, up to now the Holocaust propagandists have used the courts on a broad scale to becloud this simple, basic truth. Note the words up to now, for recently Jan Hjaerpe and Jan Bergmann, two professors in Sweden, have confronted a court of judges in their country on this issue, in connection with the trial of Ahmed Rami in Stockholm.

Who is Ahmed Rami and what was the Rami trial?

Rami, a political refugee in Sweden for some years, is a Berber by birth and a former Moroccan army officer. Highly gifted and vocal, he passionately espouses the cause of the Palestinian people, most of whom are his fellow Muslims. Author of five books in Swedish, in 1987 he founded and directed Radio Islam, broadcasting to Swedes and the some 80,000 Muslims living in Sweden. He also used his broadcasting to inform his listeners about Revisionism, in particular the work of Dr. Robert Faurisson and the "Holocaust Trial" of Ernst Zündel in Toronto, Canada. Like Faurisson, Rami links the Holocaust to the plight of the Palestinians. For, besides the German people, but not its leaders, Faurisson sees the Palestinians, dispossessed of their homeland by the Zionists, as victims of the Holocaust propaganda.

For Rami, who has made it a point to interview noted Swedes, Holocaust Revisionism is more than a passive intellectual, historical pursuit. It is instead an active, first, necessary ideological step in the liberation of the Palestinian people. Accordingly, as long as the Holocaust remains unchallenged historically in the Western world, so long will it victimize the Palestinians. Rami recalls a quote attributed to Charles de Gaulle, who at the end of World War II claimed that for the Palestinians, World War II was merely a battle in an ongoing war. In this light, then, the *intifada* is really a continuation of World War II.

For such outspokenness, Rami's Islam Radio was legally closed, and Rami was brought before a Swedish court on September 5, 1989 in a trial that lasted until November of that year. Rami was convicted and sentenced to a six-month term for violating his radio license, and for broadcasting

anti-Semitism and hatred. Some claim, perhaps presumptuously, that the widely publicized international anti-hate convention in Oslo, at the end of August and the beginning of September 1990, attended by some 500 persons from all over the world, was organized by Elie Wiesel and others

expressly to sustain an international campaign against Rami's small one-room radio station in Stockholm. To be sure, at this time Rami's case was being appealed.

Since Sweden was neutral in both world wars, it may well be more open to Revisionism than other European countries. There are no world war veterans' organizations, let alone groups of former resistants to German occupation as in France, Norway and Denmark. Thus it is less surprising that precisely in Sweden there has developed a confrontation between the university, with its traditional freedom from research and publication, and the courts, which may use their power to curb this freedom.

Professor Jan Hjaerpe of the University of Lund exemplified this confrontation in his testimony for Rami. Professor Hjaerpe testified that, in his opinion, Rami had contributed to a better understanding regarding Israel and Judaism in the debate over the Palestinian issue. The professor told the judge that a court is not competent to decide in debates on political, historical and ideological issues. He stressed as well that treating the Holocaust as an area for historical study entails that such study be opened to the freedom of critical research, including doubt and denial. Furthermore, if one hinders the right to deny (this includes also the Establishment version of World War II), then one transforms Exterminationism into a religious dogma, i.e. a matter based on faith and not reason.

According to this argument, since Zionists have used the Holocaust as part of their historical and political claim to the legitimacy of the State of Israel, as a result seriously encroaching on the rights of the Palestinians, these, then, have a right to discuss, debate and closely examine the case for and against the Holocaust.

Professor Jan Bergmann, of the theological faculty in Uppsala, also defended Rami in court, despite a bitter press campaign waged against this scholar of ancient oriental and comparative religions. Professor Bergmann was asked his scholarly opinion as to whether Rami's claims regarding certain texts in the Old Testament (as it is called by non-Jews) and the Talmud were historically correct, since these texts allegedly claim that the Jews have a right to Palestine even at the expense of its long-time inhabitants. (And this without clear geographical borders!) Bergmann agreed with Rami's interpretation. More explicitly the theologian testified that the sacred texts of the Old Testament and the Talmud, cited by Rami, are indeed being used today as political and historical claims by Israel and the Zionists for exploiting and legitimatizing the Jewish occupation of Palestine. (Some call these the "cruel" texts of the Bible. Christians see these texts through the light of the New Testament.)

Although this testimony was not revisionist as such, the Jewish publication *Judish Kroenika* (April, 1989) claimed that Professor Bergmann is a Holocaust Revisionist. Allegedly, in a conversation during an airplane flight from Israel, the professor expressed doubt that some 6,000,000 Jews perished in World War II, and that the actual number was rapidly expanded after the war by Jewish organizations to create a more favorable climate for the establishment of Israel. The same publication also accused the professor of seeing in Robert Faurisson's *Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* serious research, thereby implying doubt as to the authenticity of the *Diary*.

Unlike these two professors, Krister Stendahl, the retired bishop of Stockholm, now a honorary professor at Harvard University, was flown in from the U.S. to testify against Rami. Professor Stendahl testified that the Jews alone have the right to interpret their Old Testament, upon which Rami questioned whether that right also included the right to drive out and exterminate the Palestinian people. Stendahl, a Lutheran, claimed that Luther's writing *The Jews and Their Lies* was

un-Christian and that Luther was an anti-Semite. According to an article by Rami, the former bishop has advocated the return of Christians to the religion of their origin, that is, Judaism. Further, Professor Stendahl accepts the Zionist definition of Zionism: the national liberation movement for the Jewish people.

Rami in his writings makes little or no distinction between Zionism and Judaism, insisting that Zionism, in so far as the Palestinians are concerned, is the logical expression of Judaism, both being grounded in the same interpretation and understanding of the Old Testament and the Talmud. He sees therein an eternal hate-filled tension, as Jews dislocate the Palestinians and attempt to drive wedges among the Islamic nations, and a wedge between Christianity and Islam.

In a public declaration in the name of academic freedom, the theological professor in the University of Uppsala supported Professor Bergmann's academic freedom. (That is, the freedom of the professor, in his area, to research a topic and publish his findings, without jeopardizing his university standing.)

At the same time, Rami and professors Hjaerpe and Bergman have been supported in the Swedish press by Jan Myrdal, the son of the late famous professor and Nobel Prize winner Gunnar Myrdal (in an article in *Folket i Bild*, a periodical published by an organization with the same name).

These developments in Sweden on the highest academic level, the university, give revisionism reason for optimism, by supporting the position, of particular importance to Revisionists in view of international legal efforts, that it is the very nature of historical truths that these cannot be decided in or by courts. Human History like life itself, are much, much more complicated than that.

Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 375-379.

Letters

Damning Documentary Evidence

To the Editor:

You were good enough to send me the Winter 1990-91 issue of your *Journal of Historical Review*, which contains a piece by Mr. David Irving under the title “Battleship Auschwitz.” Readers of his “remarks presented to the Tenth International Revisionist Conference” might conclude that there is no tangible and damning documentary evidence relating to mass gassing of human beings at Auschwitz — Birkenau. They would be quite wrong.

On the 88th day of the Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, 11 September 1964, the Presiding Judge, Dr. Hofmeyer, questioned the signatory of one of the “Fahrgenehmigungen” — [i.e. travel] authorization — to fetch “materials for the resettlement of the Jews” at Dessau in a 5 — ton truck with trailer, dated 2. 10. 1942. The travel order (Fahrbefehl) is identical with the “Funkspruch [radio message] Nr. 13” from WVHA [the SS “Economic and Administrative Main Office”] at Oranienburg to the Kommandantur Auschwitz, received at the SS Standort-Funkstelle [garrison radio center] Auschwitz on the same 2. 10. 1942, signed bottom left by “F. D. R. Selle Funkstellenleiter” [“Certified by Selle, radio center chief”]:

Fahrgenehmigung für einen 5 To. LKW mit Anhänger nach Dessau u. zurück, zwecks Abholung von Materialien für die Judenumsiedlung, wird hiermit erteilt. Dem Kraftfahrer ist diese Fahrgenehmigung mitzugeben.

signed: Liebehenschel. SS-Oberstufabf. ständiger Vertreter des Leiters der Dienstst. im Range eines Gen. Leutnants d. Waffen SS

[Travel Authorization is hereby given to go to Dessau and back, in a five — ton truck, with trailer, for the purpose of obtaining material for the resettlement of the Jews. This travel authorization is to be given to the driver.

signed: Liebehenschel. SS Lt. Colonel, permanent representative of the chief of the agency with the rank of a Lt. General in the Waffen SS.]

When R. Mulka (camp adjutant), who signed the “Fahrgenehmigung” (authorization for the truck driver) was asked by Judge Hofmeyer on the 11 Sept. 1964: “Also, Mulka, was verstehen Sie nun unter Material für die Juden umsiedlung?” [“So, Mulka, what is your understanding of the words ‘material for resettlement of the Jews’?”], Mulka’s reply was: “Na, ja. [“Well, yeah.”] Zyklon B.”

Mulka was given 14 years, and he was lucky at that!

The written authorization from WVHA at Oranienburg to Kommandantur Auschwitz of the 26.8.1942 states:

Betr.: Fahrgenehmigung

Bez.: Dort. Antrag v. 26. 8. 42

Fahrgen. für einen LKW nach Dessau zur Abholung von Material für Sonderbeh. wird hiermit erteilt. Fahrgen. ist dem Kraftf. mitzugeben.

[Subject: Travel Authorization]

Ref.: Request of 26 Aug. 1942

Travel authorization for a truck to go to Dessau to pick up material for special treatment is hereby given. Travel authorization is to be given to the driver.]

Signed as in the WVHA written authorization of the 2. 10. 1942

“F. D. R. Selle funkstellenleiter” [Certified by Selle, radio center chief.].

These 2 authorizations and Mulka's confession and admission in court on the 11 September 1964 require no further comment from me. None of the similar messages was ever decoded by the British decoders at Bletchley Park. I have discussed this matter with my colleague Prof. Sir Harry Hinsley, who confirmed this.

These wartime documents have been available for a good many years, of course, and more have been found by me very recently.

Gerald Fleming
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Editor's Response:

As Prof. Fleming notes, the documents of 26 August 1942 and 2 October 1942 that he cites here are indeed well known. They are quoted, for example, in: E. Kogon, et al, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (1986), pp.223-224.

They are also cited by the prominent anti-revisionist historian Jean-Claude Pressac in his important 1989 study, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, pp. 556-577. In the case of the authorization of 2 Oct. 1942, Pressac gives the complete text in both facsimile and translation (p. 557).

According to Pressac, less than five percent of the Auschwitz supply of Zyklon B was used for homicidal gassings. He maintains that more than 95 percent, and perhaps as much as 97 or 98 percent, was used at Auschwitz for disinfection delousing of clothes and buildings. Zyklon gas was used overwhelmingly to kill the vermin that spread disease. That is, it was used to save lives.

(J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, pp. 15, 188. See also: R. Faurisson, *JHR*, Spring 1991, p. 38, and, *JHR*, Summer 1991, 140.)

The real meaning of “material for the resettlement of the Jews” and “material for special treatment” becomes clear when these travel authorization papers are considered along with another in this same series. The very similar authorization of 22 July 1942, which Fleming does not cite, likewise permits a five-ton truck to go from Auschwitz to Dessau. But in this case the document specifically mentions that the purpose is “to pick up gas [Zyklon] for gassing in the camp, to combat the epidemic that has broken out.” This transport of Zyklon was actually meant to save lives because, as Pressac acknowledges (p. 556), “a typhus epidemic was in fact raging in the camp.”

In view of all this, it is difficult to agree with Prof. Fleming’s comment that Mulka was “lucky” to receive a 14-year prison sentence for his role in delivering Zyklon to Auschwitz.

What is perhaps most remarkable about Prof. Flemings' letter is his implicit suggestion that the two travel authorization papers he cites are the most “tangible and damning documentary evidence” in existence for “mass gassings of human beings at Auschwitz-Birkenau.” Prof. Fleming has unintentionally confirmed that documentary evidence for homicidal gasings at Auschwitz simply does not exist.

In spite of our very different views, we appreciate Prof. Flemings' letter as a contribution to fruitful dialogue on this complex issue. We look forward to continuing this useful exchange of views.

— Mark Weber, Associate Editor

Source: vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 375-379.

Letters

Differing Views of the Dead Sea Scrolls

To the Editor:

As editor of *Christian News*, I have often recommended *The Journal of Historical Review* and the *IHR Newsletter* to our readers. I wish that every clergyman, teacher and professor would read your publications. At the same time, though, I regret that the IHR continues to defend the position taken by IHR editorial advisor Dr. Martin Larson on the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In his 1981 essay, “Whatever Happened to the Dead Sea Scrolls?” (*Journal*, Summer 1982), Larson sought to show that Christianity is a man-made religion that was heavily influenced by the Essenes, an anti-establishment Jewish sect, and that John the Baptist and Jesus were very likely followers of this cult. Larson went on to suggest that Christian and Jewish interests have conspired to suppress the Scrolls because of what they supposedly reveal about the non-divine origins of Christianity, and because they depict the Jewish leaders of the time in highly unflattering terms.

In the February 13, 1989, issue of *Christian News*, we reprinted Larson’s essay, along with a thoughtful and detailed refutation by Raymond Surburg, Ph.D., Th.D, of Concordia Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Dr. Surburg showed that, however well-informed he may be about other matters, Larson is out of his field when he writes about the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Bible and Christianity.

Surburg also noted:

As far as Larson’s charge is concerned that both Israel and Christians have much to gain from the non-publication of the remaining finds, this writer would contend that Christianity as reflected in the New Testament is sui generis and differs from the theology of the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, the Qumran sectaries, the Zealots, or whatever religious views might be found at Qumran in the future.

In my own presentation at the 1989 IHR Conference, I said that Larson did not have the facts and evidence to back up his speculations. (*Christian News*, Feb. 20, p. 9)

An item in the January 1991 *IHR Newsletter*, “The Scrolls: The Plot Thickens,” commends Larson’s 1981 essay, and suggests that the removal of Dr. John Strugnell of the Harvard Divinity School as chief editor of the Scrolls committee, as well as the controversy surrounding his removal, support Larson’s view of the Scrolls. In fact, the Strugnell affair does not validate Larson’s main point in any way.

Even some of those who have been complaining most loudly about the great delay in publishing the Scrolls, including the *Biblical Archaeology Review*, acknowledge that this delay has nothing to do with their contents.

Nothing has been found in the Dead Sea Scrolls to support Larson's contention that Christianity is a man-made religion. Instead, the Scrolls confirm the accuracy of the Hebrew text that Christians have been using for centuries.

The Christian is not a bigot. He does not fear the truth, but carefully evaluates all the relevant evidence in all areas. There is far more compelling evidence for Christianity than for any other religion. Christianity alone is divinely revealed. It is based on historic fact.

Herman Otten, Editor — Publisher *Christian News*

Editor's Response:

It deserves to be repeated, and emphasized, that the position of the Institute for Historical Review on the matter of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the basis for its support of Dr. Larson's articles, regarded the withholding of the Scrolls by a small coterie of scholars, backed by the state of Israel. The recent release of copies of the Scrolls by the Huntington Library in San Marino, California to the larger community of competent scholars will eventually furnish much more evidence bearing on Dr. Larson's, and the Reverend Otten's, differing theories on the origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes, and Christianity. Needless to say, the Institute for Historical Review takes no position on theological matters.

— Theodore J. O'Keefe, Editor

Winter 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 4), page 388.

From the editor

Theodore J. O'Keefe

This fortieth issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*, capping a decade of publication (with one year's "sabbatical") could be called the "David Irving issue." In three separate, fulllength articles the Englishman gives a masterly display of his versatility as an historian. The dogged prospector for original sources, the merciless discreditor of the forgeries on which the Establishment has based its historical distortions, the defier of censorship and repression, and the dazzling public performer: all these Irvings are on display in this issue of The JHR.

Irving's revised introduction to the new, condensed American edition of Hitler's War, reprinted here with his permission, cuts a wide swathe through an array of documentary fakes long relied on by other Hitler biographers. Just as important, it covers a good deal of the giant step Irving has taken over the past two years, from his already dissident position on Hitler's ignorance of the alleged Holocaust to the full-fledged Revisionist position on the gas chambers.

Just as Irving's unconventional findings on the Hitler years will challenge Revisionist and non-Revisionist alike, his bravura account of the last days of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel will again stoke the fires of controversy ignited by his *Trail of the Fox*. That brilliant biography was hailed by serious researchers when it appeared in 1977 for its exploitation of new sources and its relentless debunking of the myth, fostered by West German and Anglo-American circles, of Rommel the unreservedly anti-Hitler plotter and (uniquely) upright opponent. (Readers should note that citations in smaller type size are taken directly from *The Trail of the Fox*; in other cases, Irving has condensed or paraphrased his sources.)

Then Mark Weber, who will be joining IHR's staff in Southern California in the new year, reviews a period of extraordinary gains for Historical Revisionism in his keynote address to the Tenth Conference. As Weber, whose longawaited magnum opus on the "Holocaust" will be published in 1991, demonstrates, the collapse of the Soviet system in EastCentral Europe and the impending break-up of the Soviet Union, with the complete discrediting of Communism as its concomitant, have momentous implications for setting straight the past record, in the "democratic" West as well the East. No less important, as Weber shows, has been the steady advance of Holocaust Revisionism, which has won new allies and new influence, and the corresponding retreat of the Exterminationists, who have been driven to unheard-of concessions during the past year.

Fred Leuchter, who changed history with the two reports that bear his name reveals the full extent of the frenzied persecution which alien terrorist Beate Klarsfeld has whistled up against him: economic boycott, punitive legislation, and prosecution for daring to give his professional assessment of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Dachau, and Mauthausen. America's leading expert in the design and maintenance of execution systems shows the mettle and reveal

some of the strategy by which he intends to hang tough (sorry, but no pun intended) against Klarsfeld and her coven of witch-hunters.

As Mark Weber pointed out in his review of French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac's [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#), Pressac's attempt to defend the Auschwitz myth by publishing and analyzing a wealth of never-before-published documents from Auschwitz has rendered important, if unintentional, service to Revisionism. Carlo Mattogno supplies what will be the first of several indepth examinations of Pressac's findings to appear in the JHR with a painstaking analysis of Pressac's procrustean efforts to square some of the most influential "eye-witness" testimony on the alleged gas chambers with the facts. Mattogno's demolition of both the celebrated Vrba-Wetzler testimony and of Pressac's attempts to salvage it by explaining away some of its manifest absurdities is a tour de force, the initial Revisionist counter to an Exterminationist gambit that portends eventual checkmate to the exploiters of the gas-chamber lie.

Nor is that the only battering the Auschwitz myth takes in this fortieth issue: David Irving (whose father was a Royal Navy admiral) turns his guns on what he calls the "battleship Auschwitz" (we can't italicize the Auschwitz until it's properly commissioned by breaking a bottle of champagne — or should it be Manischewitz? — against the wall of Crematorium I). In his informal, and often hilarious remarks to the Tenth Conference, Irving shares a few of the tricks (and some of the secrets) of the lonely trade of the independent historian, above all eye-opening revelations from the mouths of the court historians on the phoniness which enshrouds the official version. Sink the Auschwitz! (By the way, we hope readers will profit from the entertaining and informative rundown of David Irving's career with which conference emcee Mark Weber introduced our extraordinary guest.)

These important articles left room for a single review, Jack Wikoff's deft deflation of a pop-psychological attempt to grapple with wartime propaganda, which is nevertheless, according to our reviewer, not without its merits.

Last but not least is a tribute to the late A. J. P. Taylor, the immensely influential English historian whose classic *Origins of the Second World War*, published in 1961, was the first attempt by an Establishment historian to apportion responsibility for the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 objectively. According to Harry Elmer Barnes, the publication of that classic (still available for purchase from the Institute for Historical Review) "must be regarded as one of the most courageous acts in the whole history of historical writing." Sam Konkin's brief valedictory pays homage to the virtues of this last exemplar of the values of classical liberalism.

Source: vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 389-429.

The New World Disorder

A. R. Wesserle

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Farewell Address

As a bolt of lightning that flashes across the darkening sky is witness both to the approaching storm and to the unbearable tension which is giving birth to it, so the fires of the Gulf War have thrown a lurid light on the menacing return of a critical imbalance in world politics, and on the deep-rooted malaise — political, economical and social — in today's America. As to the actor who holds the international and the domestic halves of our globe together, President Bush's concern for image rather than reality has been little diminished.

Despite his inaugural pledge in 1989 of a "kinder, gentler" nation, the only "thousand points of light" the president has set ablaze are the civilian and military targets that his air force and navy, and those of his client states, destroyed with a ferocity unequalled since the Second World War. George Bush's words that it was not our goal to "destroy the nation of Iraq" — have been drowned out by his deeds: the total, unrelenting warfare of the colossus against today's "military industrial complexes" against a small, Third World country, and his unabated efforts to erase that country by stoking the flames of its civil war. Iraq has been "bombed back to the stone age." Following the war, it is expected to assume the staggering costs and reparations of a total war it did not even have the capacity to start.

The Gulf War has been "neo-colonial," or two-faced. Shorn of its "high-tech" twenty-first-century trappings, it is embarrassingly reminiscent of the imperial extermination expeditions of yesteryear, such as that conducted — with the aid of native *askari* — by Lord Kitchener against Abd Allah's Sudan in 1898. Revealingly, the war has also moved in the time hallowed tradition of political Crusades, in particular those of the Puritan-Calvinist type, redolent of Manifest Destiny. Here, the American executive's efforts at mobilizing the entire civilian population for permanent war (by enlisting one and all in the propaganda *levée en masse* of the "Homefront") was at least as important as the military offensive abroad. Bush's 1991 State of the Union pledge of "a hundred years of peace" thus should be understood as simply another facet of his "psywar" operations. What a desperate way of preparing his people for the sacrifices ahead!

In fine, the disregard for diplomatic compromise and the single-minded concentration on offensive ways and means — against militarily inferior countries — which have characterized the Reagan and Bush administrations have made probable, also, that the twentieth century will end

even more bloodily than it began: with colonial wars (and wars over colonies) escalating into continental conflicts and, if allowed to rage on, with eruptions into world-wide conflagration, domestic and international.

The global auspices are plain. In the gathering storms between the three major economic blocs: the Americas, ruled by the Dollar; the Indo-Pacific rim lands, dominated by the Yen (an area once known as the *Dai To-A Kyo-e-ken*, or the "Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere"); and Europe assembled under the leaking umbrella of the *Deutsche Mark*, America's Establishment, goaded by an every-worsening domestic crisis, has now let it be known that it will stop at nothing to assure its hegemony in a "New World Order" by exploiting the destructive capacity of its military and propaganda *apparatus* to the hilt. Thus, to paraphrase America's first wholeheartedly Imperial President, Teddy Roosevelt, "We'll speak loudly and carry a big stick."

The former Soviet Union, on the other hand, will play the role of a *Global Gadfly*, possibly as a reaction to the conditions of economic, social and political near-anarchy into which she has plunged herself in 1991-92. After the unsuccessful *coup* by the Kremlin reactionaries (in which President Gorbachev played a murky part), Russian and the surrounding republics seem to be undergoing a replay of the March 1917 revolution. As then, the leaders and frontmen make up a volatile mix of the *ancien régime* (Gorbachev), the "social revolutionaries" (Yeltsin) and various Manchester Liberals who have just rediscovered Adam Smith. Will Yeltsin prove to be the new Kerensky destined to lead Russia into an even more radical upheaval, to be climaxed either by a remade proletarian Maoism or a return to Great Russian nationalism backed by the *Pamyát* ("Remembrance, Tradition") or related movements? Whatever the outcome, we will not have to wait long. The end result will also depend on the state of politics and economics in America.

Some Western observers, particularly in Poland, may wish for Russia's total dissolution. Perhaps they pine for the days of that other Boris and the False Dimitrij of the Time of Troubles at the end of the *Rurikid* dynasty in the early 1600's. But so negative a course of action would be unwise.

Yes, the subject nations from the Baltic and the Ukraine to the borders of China must be, and are being, accorded independence and sovereignty. But, for economic reasons and as a countervailing force against an overly dominant China, we should seek to support a multicentric, yet externally strong, Eurasian Confederation to take Russia's place. Could anyone doubt the fact — even before Secretary of State Baker's official visit to Beijing in mid-November, 1991 — that a strong and stable Chinese State will needs reclaim, by diplomacy or force, those millions of square miles of territory lost to Russia during the nineteenth century and before? It bides its time, awaiting these conditions:

1. chaos in Russia sufficient to render a Chinese invasion likely of success — if diplomatic initiatives fail;
2. United States over extension abroad coupled to economic-social upheaval at home;
3. the non-violent union of Mainland China with Taiwan and Hongkong.

The world stands on the threshold of the stage of history when those conditions will be fulfilled.

Violence will continue to tear the social fabric of the state of east-central Europe, as ethnic and economic warfare spreads and balloons. Those cobbled together artificially by the 1919 *Dictate of Versailles* will suffer most. Marriages of force and convenience between disparate nations, growing out of a mosaic of minorities, they were re-established by frightful violence at the end of the Second World War. Now, in 1991-92 and for years to come, in so-called *Yugoslavia* ("South

Slavia") the ancient nations of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Islamic Bosnia, the Turks, the Albanians and Hungarians will battle to overthrow the armies of overbearing Serbs; in *Romania*, millions of the underprivileged, the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Transylvania Germans, Greeks, Armenians, *et al.*, will struggle for their freedoms; in *Czecho-Slovakia*, the sad repository of a history of violence and brutality exercised by the ruling, Czech, minority against a majority of Germans, Slovaks, Hungarians and Ukrainians, the Slovaks and their neighbors, the Moravians, are striving desperately for national self-determination.

No doubt, these and other violent struggles for freedom might give an adventurish Russia more than one opportunity for interference, as of old. No doubt also, the great nations of Central Europe might profitably join forces in a Rhine-Elbe-Danube Federation, as they did for 1,006 years prior to 1806.

In the Near East and in South Asia, the war against Iraq may, far from defeating aggression, have given a final push to the area's seething cauldron of interstate and internecine violence. From the Atlantic to the Aegean, and from the Jordan to the Indus, especially at the junction of the borders of Pakistan, Kashmir, India and China, the world must brace itself for ever escalating rounds of mass conflict. Nor has the Muslim world, from Mauritania to Indonesia to Washington, D.C., yet spoken its final word.

How on earth have we blundered into this mess? More important, how can we get out of it?

The tentative answers to these questions will keep us busy for the remainder of this paper, examining the power-political, military, historical and the moral-oecconomic dimensions. There can be no simple answer. But there can be an orientation: an overall view that sees the traditionalist, or partly traditionalist, majority of the societies of the earth trying desperately to survive, salvaging their most precious values, while caught in the ever tighter grip of global industry and trade, of global politics and of "modernizing" ideologies. To that end they are adopting the most powerful features of the so-called model, developed, society: arms, industry and, above all, enforced social-political cohesion. Failure to do so means loss of national independence, social and economic chaos, technologized and unlimited mass murder carried out against the weak by the strong, and, for those misérables who manage to survive physically, the most thorough, the most dehumanizing enslavement devised during the last 5,500 years of human history — totalitarianism at last.

A caveat: it can also happen to us. Perhaps it already has.

A key word is "weakness." In the case at hand, both Iraq and the USA are weak, though in different ways. Saddam Hussein and his "Arab-Socialist" Ba'ath regime, all claims to the contrary, were in 1990 still exhausted by the eight-year war with Iran, despite carefully selective military aid from the United States, France, the Soviet Union and China. Indeed, it was this weakness, together with strong historic claims, that prodded the Iraqi leadership to take increasingly active steps against oil-rich Kuwait, with official encouragement from the U.S. More fundamentally, the Ba'athists had inherited an Iraq comprising disparate ethnic and religious communities, weighed down by poverty and inequality, riddled with illiteracy and saddled with a high rate of population growth (features most of which fit America to a "T"!). Caught in a classic situation of underdevelopment, the Ba'athists, who came to power following the 1958 Cassette revolution, decided to modernize Iraq through social-economic reform carried out by an authoritarian regime — measures sure to keep them busy, and militarily and economically inferior relative to their rival Saudi Arabia and their enemy Israel, for decades to come.

In contrast to an Iraq that has been faced with the stark choice of modernization or death, the United States, under Presidents Reagan and Bush, has seemed intent on turning its back on even the modest social reforms enacted and institutionalized during the five decades preceding 1981, in its professed program for allegedly “recapturing” the simpler values of a nineteenth century dominated by laissez-faire capitalism and classical liberalism.

In reality, however, the United States is a classical case of a society suffering from *Over-cum - Underdevelopment*: the Establishment’s increasing readiness to fight undeclared wars and its uncompromising commitment to world-wide trade and development have split twentieth-century America into two camps. An ever-wider societal gulf gapes between the Upper Cliques on one hand, and the shrinking middle and burgeoning lower class on the other. The old song grows true: “The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.” The former, internationally engaged, are free to secure and expand their financial and economic domination at home, and exploit it by political superiority. The middle and lowers, harried by rampaging living costs, by chronic under- and unemployment, menaced in their very lives by crime rates gone wildly out of control, and descending precipitately from social anxieties to concrete, often self-alienating, fears, have all but given up on participating in, much less exercising control over, the political processes, save in one respect: that of mouthing formulas handed them from “above” and supplied by the electronic and print media, a consumer product designated in Orwell’s *1984* : “prolefeed.”

In the Reagan-Bush years we have seen, if anything, a rigid reinforcement, an ossification, of the already huge and rigidly bureaucratized, military-corporate behemoth. Does this picture of congealing social stratification, galloping impoverishment and the accelerated growth of a super-powerful oligarchy bring to mind Imperial Rome in the third and fourth centuries A.D.? To be sure, there are obvious differences in style. But is the nominally free citizen of today better off — as a “morally autonomous” human being — than his ancestors, the serfs *glebae adscripti* of the older, greater, empire?

It is only fitting that the government of a plutocracy be headed by — to expropriate a felicitous phrase of 1928 — a “Cabinet of Billionaires” and businessmen, led by Bush, Quayle, Baker and Brady and ably represented in Russia by the Texas Trickster, Robert Strauss. One main reason for the appointment of this oil and gas wheeler-dealer, a former National Chairman of the Democratic Party, to the post of United States ambassador in today’s Russia is the leeway this affords him and his coterie for plundering the natural riches of that giant country.

Questions: Will Yeltsin and his advisors prove strong enough to resist the economic-political-military blackmail exerted by the Bush-Baker-Bobby Strauss White House? Will today’s Mother Russia prove strong enough to turn her vast natural resources to diplomatic advantage? Or will the coming instabilities of the World economy — when the outcry will be: “Save himself who can!” — plunge Russian-American relations to new lows?

Now traditional sentiment has it that such enterprisers act — or should act — with grave circumspection, reckoning risks, overhead and rational chances for profit, and perhaps even reflecting on an indeterminate entity known to previous centuries as “the common weal” (perish the thought!) bereft of rancor.

Bunk. A look at some of the motives that precipitated President Bush into the carnage of war against Iraq will teach the unbiased observer the facts of Life (that is: Death).

Some Specific Reasons for America’s War With Iraq

1. Foreign adventurism; to distract the attention of the American people away from the crises at home and mobilize it against a Foreign Devil.
2. An alarming drop in Bush's popularity ratings before August 1990, with dire consequences for '92; the feelings against him might have been summarized by the phrase: "All show, no go."
3. A stimulus to the slumping U.S. economy.
4. The intimate ties of Bush and Secretary of State James Baker to the oil industry in Texas and the Mid-East.
5. Their alliance with reactionary cliques in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrein and the other Gulf sheikhdoms. These had grown increasingly alarmed at the success of Saddam Hussein's internal reforms, which reflected badly on the reactionaries' lack of political and social reform (particularly glaring with regard to the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian, Egyptian, Persian, Pakistani, etc. "guest workers" and businessmen living in those states).
6. The golden opportunity to establish hegemony over the Gulf area, and all of Southwest Asia, from the Bosphorus to the Indus, for decades to come, meaning the elimination of a nucleus for future Mideastern independence as, indeed, former nuclei for native resurgence, viz., the Mossadegh's movement in Iran and later the Khomeini regime, were overthrown or hamstrung through American interference.
7. After Bush's decision to destroy Saddam Hussein was made on or before the first days of August 1990, support for the parallel designs of our client state of Israel; today, this means support also for the expansionist aims of the Zionists: hegemony over the Near East from the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Nile ("His kingdom will reach from sea to sea, from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth. The people of the desert will bow down before him..." Psalms 72, 8-9).
8. The panic, now nearly forgotten, produced in the White House by the success of Gorbachev's foreign policy initiatives in western Europe; additionally, the worry over the liberation of central Europe from the Elbe to the Bug Rivers, once reliably occupied by the Soviets, and, conversely, the elation over the disorder in the USSR. An Imperial Imperative was perceived: push open the "window of opportunity" and seize world rule!

Camouflage it all for the other nations (except the Russian) by passing it off as a con-dominium; call it the New World Order.

The plan worked brilliantly in 1990-91, chiefly because the then Soviet Union was too preoccupied with its own crises at home to run successful interference for Iraq. Reluctant, often financially strapped countries, such as the states of South America, the African members of the United Nations Security Council, as well as Egypt, Syria, Turkey, not to mention Israel and the USSR, were pushed and enticed over to our side, too, by showering them with promises of hundreds of billions of dollars, collectively, in aid and "debt forgiveness."

Erratic policy, indeed, for a heavily bankrupt U.S. Government, whose citizens are expected to assume ever more crushing burdens in support of an ever smaller, ever more miserable, slice of the pie, while shouldering the world imperial predilections of the American Power Elite.

"Quo usque tandem, Catilina... ?" How much longer will this mix of domestic shrinkage and international aggrandizement stay glued together?

No one knows. Mindful of the considerations advanced above, and drawing useful nudges from the fields of history, politics, military affairs and the human oeconomy, we shall be able to arrive at a few suggestions.

Pacta Sunt Servanda, or: A Political History of Iraq

Iraqi claims against all or part of Kuwait (the islands of Warba and Bubiyan), anger at Kuwaiti slant drilling in the Rumailah oil field, and the very genesis and survival of the modern state of Iraq itself are part and parcel of the often violent processes of nation-building, of modernization, which is the legacy of the twentieth century for the peoples of Latin America, of much of Europe, of Africa and Asia. Iraq has often been the victim of both centrifugal and centripetal tendencies produced and exacerbated by a) its heterogeneous society, made up, among other groups, of the Indo-European speaking Kurds and the ethnic Turks, both Sunni Muslim, in the north; the Muslim Arabs, most of them Shi'ite, of the south; and the closely-knit Nestorian, Chaldaean, and Armenian Christian communities; b) successive waves of conquerors. The majority "Arab" culture of Iraq has undergone contradictory swings of frustration, reaction and accommodation vis-a-vis these tendencies.

From the beginning of recorded time, for over five thousand years, the land now known as Iraq and the sheikdom termed Kuwait have shared a common destiny. Taken together they form the central and southern portions of ancient Mesopotamia, which measure about 630 miles or 1000 km north-south, the "land between the rivers" of the Tigris, Euphrates and their confluence, the Shatt-al-Arab. Iraq, which means approximately "the roots, the rooted one," can vie for honors as the cradle of culture, politics and civilization, and Kuwait has often been one of the border marches guarding its flanks against incursions from *Arabia Deserta*. The area has been marked and marred by vast contrasts: of climate, of untold wealth and grinding poverty, of ruler and ruled, and it lies athwart some of the most productive, and the most violently contested, routes for communication and trade on earth.

Before the First World War, when most of the Near East was under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire, southern Mesopotamia, including Kuwait, had been for centuries administered through the *vilayet* (government district) of Basra, the largest city in southern Iraq. During the course of that war Turkish rule was supplanted by British imperialism. Then, in 1919 and 1920, in the so-called peace settlements of Paris, Sèvres and San Remo, Britain carved up the entire, huge, Pivot of Empire stretching from the Nile and the Bosphorous to the Khyber Pass and the Gulf of Oman, following secret treaties concluded between His Majesty's Government, France and Tsarist Russia (the latter was eliminated from the spoils-sharing in 1917). These agreements, the most brilliant of which was the package known collectively as the Sykes-Picot treaties of 1915-1916, ran directly counter to other pacts the British concluded, such as the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which created a "national homeland for the Jews" in Palestine, and, even more glaringly, the understandings reached with the administrator of the Muslim Holy Lands, Sherif Hussein of Mecca, who was persuaded to rebel against Ottoman rule (Lawrence of Arabia!) by prospects of a united Arabia extending from the Red Sea to the upper reaches of the Tigris River. (Sherif Hussein is the ancestor of both King Hussein of Jordan and the late King Faisal II of Iraq, who was killed during the anti-British revolution led by General Abdul Karim el-Kassem in 1958).

Britain grabbed the lion's share for itself. After plans for slicing up Mesopotamia were shelved in 1920 (due to its post-war role as a counter-balance to French influence in Syria, Lebanon and Turkey, as a barrier against the spread of successful nationalism beyond the boundaries of Turkey and Iran, and, not least, to the rich oil deposits of northern Mesopotamia), most of it was constituted as "Iraq," a British dependency nominally presided over by King Faisal I, a son of the Sherif Hussein of Mecca. It was camouflaged as a "Class A Mandate" granted to the United Kingdom by the League of Nations. Be it noted that the native Arabs demanded full independence from the very start, as reported by the American King-Crane commission sent to the Near East by President Wilson, and that they were not fooled by the British maneuvers for an instant.

It is unfortunate indeed that another U.S. president — in violent contravention of President Wilson's insistence on the right to popular self-determination — saw fit, in 1990-91, to maneuver the United Nations, successor organization to the Larmed might, including many sorties flown against civilian populations by the Royal Air Force. British "advisors" managed the tribal sheikdoms along the Gulf, including Kuwait. The ceremonial adoption of such documents as the Organic Law of 1924 (the constitution), the 1930 treaty with the United Kingdom (which provided for a twenty-five-year "alli'Ç)i2:(;:<°

The politicians who dominated Iraqi society until the 1958 putsch and the British rule which was enacted through them were characterized by these features: a) "gradualist" approach toward emancipation from colonialism; b) a conservative attitude to put it mildly toward social, economic, or political reform; c) the formation of an "Arab Federation" which comprised Iraq and Jordan; d) alienation from modernist Arab thought, then dominated by the Cairo of Gamal Abdel Nasser; e) widespread corruption; f) repressive rule. General Nuri es-Said was the period's most representative politician. Without trying to claim too much in favor of the 1958 overthrow of that *ancien régime*, or in favor of the "nationalist-modernizing" governments which have come to power since then (many through coups d'etat), a very clear-cut choice has emerged for the majority of Iraqis: between a corrupt, repressive, colonial regime or one which is strong, nationalist, reformist, comparatively clean and, usually, dictatorial.

A third choice might be noted, one favored by such interested outsiders as Israel, Turkey, the United States and, formerly, the USSR (each for its own reasons): national weakness, civil war, chaos and dismemberment.

If America truly is in favor of regional and world stability, an "Order" in which collective burdens (underdevelopment) and assets (human and natural resources) may be to an extent shared, then the first choice colonialism and the third dismemberment are precluded.

"Stupidity Is a Diplomat's Only Unpardonable Crime" (Talleyrand) or,
Nuclear Gunboat Diplomacy in the Global Village

In the twentieth century, perversely enough, the most powerful nation-states seem to have turned von Clausewitz's dictum that "war is the continuation of diplomacy by other means" upside down. Certainly Uncle Sam's international behavior seems to vary according to a Law of Inverse Proportion: the more "total" the military means applied, the less interest in negotiation through diplomacy. A second relationship determines the totality of means: the weaker a U.S. president perceives himself in terms of the economy and domestic politics, the more inclined is he to opt for war. This latter formula appears to apply to the Second World War (and to the First, with modifications), to the Korean and Indochina Incidents and to our Gulf War. As psychic distances in the realms of economics and politics shrink (the Global Village), and as America's financial and domestic situation becomes increasingly precarious, our leaders move us and the rest of the world further down the road to total belligerency. In style, Uncle Sam likely will favor the Iraqi model, or the "expanded-gunboat-diplomacy-in-Latin America" model, namely, intervention proceeding in stages of increasing violence: from embargo to blockade to all-out force in three easy steps, after which a country or a region of several countries can be reduced to international impotence, domestic strife and chaos, and thus easy manageability by Washington and Wall Street. This anticipated three-step pattern of intervention has been, in whole or in part, evidenced already during the Reagan and Bush administrations, which have targeted a succession of countries and regimes, whether "leftist" or "rightist," that dared defy Washington's wishes: Nicaragua,"
<=>?@ABCDEFGHIJKLMN[of government, these and other countries

will be described as “democratic” if they accede to the wishes of America’s imperial-minded power elite, “tyrannical” or an “aggressor” if they refuse.

A Caveat

In terms of unrestricted power politics it might be “logical” for us to engage in ever more ruthless applications of our ABC (atomic-bacteriological-chemical) and our PR (public relations) capabilities. Soon, however, the crying need for reforming our domestic and international relations might lead us to wiser choices: the models of ancient Rome, ancient Egypt, ancient China which, learning from their mistakes, elected prudently to conserve their strength and abstain from a policy of permanent expansion to the lasting benefit of mankind, and of themselves.

Professor Abbas Hamdani, of the history department of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, has analyzed the diplomatic steps taken with regard to the problem of Kuwait, before and after August 1990, in careful detail. But it is this paper’s task to document the very absence of the stuff of diplomacy that has characterized recent U.S. efforts in the field (and to suggest ways toward improvement): to show the lack of intellectual substance and the erosion of moral integrity, the failure to achieve comprehensive vision, the decay of discipline.

Who can trust a government, at home or abroad, that attempts to straddle the powder keg of the Middle East while lighting the fuse of war?

The main stages of George Bush’s descent into sham diplomacy have been roughly as follows: 1. His active involvement, as vice president of the Reagan years, in the mess of the Iran-Contra affair, a series of deeply corrupt transactions which involved secret arms sales during the Iraq-Iran War to Iran through Israel and, in the western hemisphere, illegal arms shipments to the rebels in Nicaragua. Many details are still densely shrouded in secrecy, but Congressional investigators learned that Vice President Bush made secret, official journeys to Honduras, Costa Rica, and Panama. The climax to these seamy maneuvers, which ultimately benefited only the Zionists’ deals, came with the dispatch of a bible personally signed by President Ronald Reagan to the Ayatollah Khomeini. 2. In the course of the December, 1989, invasion of the sovereign state of Panama by President Bush, the flagrant breach of international law and comity which occurred when U.S. troops stormed the extraterritorial premises of the embassies of Peru and Nicaragua, and threatened to do the same to the Vatican embassy. 3. The instructive exercises — either in duplicity or in deep ignorance — that took place when the United States ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, informed President Saddam Hussein that the U.S. viewed relations between Iraq and Kuwait as a purely “intra-Arab” affair, in July 1990, and when the official spokesmen for the State Department, Kelly and Tutwiler, openly and repeatedly declared that the United States had no “security arrangements” with or security concerns for Kuwait. In light of the fact that Iraq never has recognized the so-called independence of Kuwait, that it tried to incorporate Kuwait in 1961 and 1973, and that, in July 1990, there were obvious signs that Iraq was getting ready to occupy it, such official pronouncements must now be viewed as giving the “green light,” or at least the “amber light,” for action to President Hussein. 4. George Bush’s bloodcurdling rhetoric, in the course of fall and winter 1990-1991, of inflicting death and destruction on Iraq, his carrot-and-stick method of “persuading” the permanent and non-permanent members of the United Nations’ Security Council to issue Resolution No. 660, and the twelve resolutions which followed, calling for the “immediate and unconditional” withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait and for the unconditional return of “sovereignty” to Kuwait, and his giving the “cold shoulder” to attempts by a long series of interested parties — ranging from repeated tries by the Soviet Union; the European Community; the foreign ministers and governments of Italy, Germany, France; the chairman of the Socialist International and former German Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt; to the govern-

ments of Algeria, Iran, Pakistan and even U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez y Cuellar — to bring the Gulf dispute to a specific end, as well as to convene a Mideast peace conference for solving the area's crises comprehensively. 5. Disregard for the apparent willingness of the Iraqi government to cooperate with peace efforts short of "unconditional surrender," such as the release of hostages; Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz's conference at Geneva with Secretary of State Baker; Aziz's proposal, again, of convening a comprehensive Mideast conference; and Aziz's flights to Moscow to appeal for Soviet mediation prior to the start of the violent phase of the land war. 6. President Bush's insistence on issuing unconditional ultimata followed by the application of raw force. Perhaps most serious of all, 7. President Bush's ignoring, passing over in silence, of the comprehensive peace plan that his own Secretary of State, James Baker III, had worked out with Soviet Foreign Minister Bessmertnkh, which was to have been included in Bush's State of the Union Address to the assembled houses of Congress, but was not. Apparently the timely intervention of the government of Israel, alarmed at the prospect of having to reach a just solution to the Palestinian question, sufficed to put a comprehensive treatment of the entire Middle East crisis on hold.

Let a further discrepancy not be forgotten, either: George Bush endeavored stringently to enforce Security Council Resolution No. 660 within weeks of the provocation, and at the cost of probably hundreds of thousands of lives, military and civilian, all allegedly for the independence of the small sheikdom of Kuwait. But he and his predecessors have done very little to enforce U.N. Resolution No. 242 of November 22, 1967. Significantly, this document emphasizes the "inadmissibility" of territorial conquest by war, shows the need for a just and lasting peace in the area, and calls for the "just settlement of the refugee problem."

This extraordinary concoction of confusion, ignorance, groundless fears, hunger for unrestrained power and instant readiness to exercise unlimited violence is no way to pacify a region and a globe already suffering from a surfeit of force.

To be sure, Secretary of State Baker's "exploratory" trips to the Middle East and his meeting with a handful of Palestinian leaders deserve recognition. But these initiatives will remain charades aimed at television audiences unless the root problems of expansionism, lack of national self-determination and vast inequities in the distribution of power and wealth are addressed and corrected. This holds true especially after the exploratory Madrid conference.

Finally, George Bush far exceeded the bounds of action authorized by the United Nations resolutions, even if they did specify under U.S. pressure that "... all necessary means" be used to clear Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The invasion and occupation of southern Iraq by the United States, the encouragement of rebellion in the north and the south (if not an absolutely direct involvement in it), and open talk by American officials of establishing a lasting American presence and a "peace-keeping nerve center" in the Gulf region, all point to Bush's aggressive regional and global intentions.

Arguably, Bush, following in the footsteps of such imperious predecessors as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, has not merely honored the noninterference principle of the Monroe Doctrine chiefly in the breach, but has stood it on its head, replacing the defunct European colonial empires with a single, neo-colonial, world power as chief global interventionist: the United States of America.

Even the most determined "psy-warrior" can bend legal instructions only so far without rupturing them. In the form of the UN Charter they prescribe:

Article 33, 1: The parties ... shall ... seek a solution by *negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies* or arrangements, or other *peaceful means* of their own choice. 2: The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, *call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means*. [Author's emphasis]

This is normative language. The use of peaceful means is not optional but mandatory. In short, George Bush has done violence to, not just the territories, the embassies and the peoples of sovereign nations, he has fractured international comity and law, and he has acted in open contempt of those and other allegedly sacred texts which ought to govern relations between nations.

Permanent War and the Military

"Quoi! tu veux qu'on t'épargne et n'as rien épargné!"

(What! You expect to be spared yet you have spared no one!)

- Corneille, Octave

There'll be no doubt that it's started. It will be massive. It'll be violent. It'll be fast. It'll be everything you ever wanted in a war and never got.

- General Norman Schwarzkopf

Do ends, no matter how sublime they are assumed to be, justify the employment of any means in the course of war? No, they do not, not if the commander-in-chief and his generals intend to conduct "civilized" warfare as codified, in the twentieth century, by the Hague rules and the Geneva conventions concerning warfare and the roles of combatants and noncombatants in war. Alas, it seems safe to say that, in the war against Iraq, the commanders had no such intention and that those rules were honored chiefly in the breach.

To judge by the reportage of the Pentagonized U.S. "news" media, all American and allied warriors, from the top down, threw themselves into the fight with gleeful abandon. Confronted by a numerically and technologically far inferior foe, they happily indulged in an orgy of organized mass killing and destruction. (On Saturday, February 23, 1991 — the official start of the land war — 801,030 U.S. and allied troops faced 545,000 Iraqi soldiers, most of them draftees. At the start of the air campaign, NBC-Television reported that Saddam Hussein had merely 70 aircraft capable of night operations; apparently most of them absconded to Iran, leaving thousands of U.S. and allied war planes, from F-16 to B-52's, to fly thousands of sorties per day.)

Pilots' references to a "turkey shoot," to "Daytona Beach on a spring break" abounded, while independent journalists somberly described the route of retreat out of Kuwait of the Iraqi divisions as "apocalyptic devastation." Northern Kuwait and southern Iraq were a "killing ground" on which Iraqi soldiers, seemingly confused by contradictory orders and exposed to murderous air attacks, were cut down by the tens possibly the hundreds of thousands. Accurate numbers are unavailable.

The civilian population of Iraq fared little better. In pursuit of a policy of total war and unconditional surrender reminiscent of Franklin Roosevelt's endeavors during the Second World War and Winston Churchill and Dr. Lindeman's preoccupation with annihilating Germany by means of a strategic bombing offensive carried out by 10,000 heavy bombers, a technologically advanced space, missile, air and battleship campaign against an underdeveloped country of eighteen mil-

lion (half of whom are under the age of sixteen) has wiped out Iraq's infra- *and* superstructure, to wit: schools, Moslem mosques and Christian churches — some of the oldest and greatest on earth — power plants, telephone exchanges, water and sewage facilities, bridges and mass transit, radio and television, as well as most other organized means of survival.

By March 1991, with no running water, sewage treatment, or electricity — even for hospitals — big cities like Baghdad, (with four million people), Basra, Mosul, and Kirkuk faced widespread starvation and epidemic diseases such as cholera, with possibly hundreds of thousands, or millions, of civilian victims.

The sanctions (i.e., the total blockade) which the United Nations, under U.S. and British pressure, still enforces against Iraq, despite the ceasefire, have had to be relaxed somewhat to permit the shipment of a slight amount of medicine into the country.

As for “surgical precision” airstrikes: in Tikrit alone, a small city of about 25,000 in northern Iraq, half of the population was reportedly killed when the town was leveled by bombing. Did Tikrit suffer because it was Saddam Hussein's hometown?

There can be no doubt that, by the start of the air offensive in early 1991, the restrictive language of U.N. Security Council resolution No. 660 had been replaced, at least temporarily, by much more far-sweeping objectives: 1. the removal of Saddam Hussein from office and from life; 2. the elimination of Iraq as any kind of economic or military factor in the Middle East; and therefore, 3. the occupation of a “security zone” in southern Iraq by the allies, cutting off the port of Basra from access to the sea; and 4. the literal annihilation of Iraq's armed forces as an effective whole, thus depriving her of any defense against her neighbors, adjacent or more removed; and 5. United Nations sanctions to keep her weak and divided for years or decades, or ripe for dismemberment when the time comes.

A special factor needs to be mentioned, too: that of the negative “image” of the “typical Arab” created by the controlled U.S. “news” media. Particularly in times of seeming emergency, he is depicted as a vicious “terrorist,” an exact reversal of reality, for most of the manifold states and groups of the Arab world have been victims, victims repeatedly of expansionism, imperialism, mass murder and mass terrorism. It goes without saying that the “news” media and their captive audiences extend the same type of stereotypic scapegoating to all Muslims, whether Arab, Pakistani, Indian, or American. One of the many revealing cases reported during the public hysteria of the Gulf War involved a driver of an airport bus at Chicago's O'Hare Field, who refused to pick up an Algerian businessman because he “looked Arabic.” The F.B.I. was even busier than usual investigating Arab-Americans (recall that several years ago a number of resident aliens in Los Angeles were targeted for deportation — because they subscribed to a pro-P.L.O. periodical).

The many revealing facets of military performance and propaganda in the Gulf War can scarcely be done justice to within these pages. Even the war's purely tactical questions are difficult to assess, as all sides concerned have censored the news, not least the Pentagon. Still, from the limited evidence it appears that the Iraqi forces were totally outclassed, not only by American superiority in space, in the air and at sea despite Hussein's handful of obsolescent, restricted-range, Scud missiles but even on land, where the majority of abandoned tanks seemed to be 35-year-old Soviet T-55s and 25-year-old T-62s. A legacy of carefully selective Soviet arms shipments, weakness dating from the brutal Iran-Iraq war, or both? At any rate, President Saddam Hussein was a military strawman whom the Pentagon, well knowing beforehand, could savage with impunity.

By all indications, Saddam, his Western media image as a Foreign and Alien Devil to the contrary, was waging a strictly limited campaign with a limited objective, in the main by political

means: the incorporation of Kuwait or, failing that, a phased retreat under face-saving but legitimate conditions, such as convening a conference to solve the Mideast's problems, with the proviso of liberating the Palestinians from Israeli oppression.

In fact, both Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and General Schwarzkopf have agreed that, in the early days of August 1990, the Iraqi armed forces could have — and, by implication, should have — captured the Saudi supply bases located along the Persian Gulf a few hundred miles south of Kuwait, such as Dhahran, Dhubail, Ras Tannura and the island sheikdom of Bahrain itself, into which U.S. supplies were pouring at a feverish pace. In those days, the Iraqis could have done so even with their antiquated equipment, since American and allied forces were few. But they abstained.

This restraint was not reciprocated by Iraq's enemies. The Americans, the British (and their gulf protectorates), and their allies bided their time until they had amassed an overwhelming numerical and technical superiority, then launched not a limited *Blitzkrieg* with a few hundred tactical aircraft but a paralyzing, total war of extermination against Saddam Hussein, his administration (the army and the civil service), the nation-state of Iraq (or its viability as such) and, by extension, against self-determination anywhere in the Middle East. Aside from the quasi-political, final aim of unconditional surrender, politics or traditional diplomacy did not enter into the picture again, a very Rooseveltian total, but ultimately selfdefeating, pseudo-solution.

Doubtless strategists everywhere have drawn the obvious conclusions:

1. Forget about conventional diplomacy except for the purposes of blinding your own people to your real goals and fooling the adversary whom you have selected as your next victim on the road to internationalist rule ("we have global responsibilities");
2. prepare the field for total war by total global propaganda: be sure to "satanize" your adversary;
3. when the time is ripe, having achieved surprise, destroy your foe-of-the-moment's country or region by massive media-and-military firepower, sparing nothing and no one;
4. if there is the ghost of a chance of determined resistance, pulverize that chance ahead of time, and if need be, the entire civilian infra- and suprastructure with it.

The spirit and the logical, realistic development of the lessons drawn from the war against Iraq lead directly to the possibility of a third world war against nations far more competitive with perceived U.S. interests than is Iraq. The smart bombs, the missiles and the laser deathrays of Gulf fame have concluded the *post-war* years (as, following today's fashion, we look longingly back to World War II) and have, at last, ushered in the *pre-war* years leading up to the next global war, with their attendant domestic as well as global ramification. To add two more points to the Four-Point Program outlined above: 5. the destruction of rationality in Washington itself which lately has not distinguished itself by reason or responsibility; 6. the total subversion of our political economy.

The Moral Oeconomy

— "*We Have Met the Enemy and He Is Us*" -- Pogo

Today, in a limited but technologizing world, in which a scarcity of human resources (i.e. "heart," "mind," "brains," "guts") is chasing a rapidly proliferating shopping list of "goals" created by the analytical intellect driven by the will to absolute power, it is the first duty of public morality to intervene actively in the resulting "chaos," in the economy of forces, in order to preserve and enhance the value priorities of the human constitution and of the natural ecology.

The first human value to be preserved is freedom, the capacity to choose rationally amongst a near infinity of goods and bads. I write this despite the excesses of “license” indulged in during such events as the French Revolution of 1789. In a society ruled by the military-industrial complex freedom is the first value to go. There, it is also the most important human property, for only freedom can power us out of such a society’s *culs-de-sac* : megalomania, totalitarianism, internal and external war, and the type of ossification described in Oswald Spengler’s *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*.

Freedom has its domestic, group and individual (as it has its national, popular and international) dimensions. All are interrelated and intertwined. Today, as never before in history, all of our freedoms are in danger of being swept off the face of the earth by the technologized garrison state with its universal pretensions (perhaps disguised as a U.N. “New World Order”). Short of awaiting a natural cataclysm (such as the one that wiped out the dinosaurs) we should take heart and act according to the following insights:

"Gemeinwohl geht vor Eigennutz" ("The common good takes precedence over private gain"). This maxim, coined, though not invented, by the great organizer of rural cooperatives, Raiffeisen, if correctly understood as a good through the principle of subsidiarity, flies directly in the face of the accepted gospel truth of present-day plutocracy: the allegedly greatest good for the greatest number through unrestrained, individual competition (society “red in tooth and claw”). The rather peculiar sort of Social Darwinism, as practiced by America and in America today, has but one result: the brutalization of domestic and international society (whether behind a facade of “Yuppie” conspicuous consumption and “United Nations” resolutions, or not). Raiffeisen’s thought provides a timely antidote.

Too, *"government of the people, by the people for the people"* “ should not perish from the earth, but can and should be revived.

As never before in the past, in the twentieth century the lords of mass “communications” have twisted and subverted the truth in the service of easy commercial and political manageability. We know, on the contrary, that he who shouts *"Stop, thief!"* the loudest actually is the thief, that those who accuse others of “shocking” misdeeds have in truth themselves perpetrated the most heinous crimes in history, physically, psychologically, morally. They are the killers of the human spirit, the murderers of freedom. They are the Enslaver. Day by day they seek to rule absolutely, through *cliché* and stereotype.

In brief, public morality as well as the more limited social, political and financial deeds of a commonwealth should form a Greater, a Moral Oeconomy. It might be defined, according to Webster, as the

... husbanding, the “careful management of wealth, resources (of a ... community or government); avoidance of waste by careful planning and use ...” (*Webster’s New World Dictionary*, Second College Edition, 1986).

Has the U.S. government since 1981 excelled in any sense of this definition? Has it understood the basic human need for a Moral Oeconomy?

Not likely.

Indeed, the former CIA chief and U.S. Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, has characterized “Reaganomics” as “the fiscally most irresponsible policy in history” — an apt hyperbole for most endeavors, domestic or international, of the Reagan and Bush years.

We might profitably recall some of the “highlights,” as the catastrophic impact of Reaganomics on the American people and on the world will be felt for decades to come.

I. “Conventional” corruption — In terms of the hundreds of billions of dollars directly or covertly misappropriated and swindled from the American people not to mention the thousands of billions stolen from the public on Wall Street and from coast to coast by dint of encouragement and rotten example from On High — the Reagan regime has left other presidential contenders for the crown of public corruption, such as Warren Harding (Teapot Dome Scandal) or U.S. Grant’s administration (during the era of the Robber Barons), wallowing in the dust. The Iran-Contra affairs, the HUD scandal and similar deeds will figure prominently in the annals of decadence, from Byzantium to Babylon. Both political parties leapt into the muck. Of the “Keating Five” — the five United States senators involved in the murky deals of the Arizona Savings and Loan executive — the one singled out for public blame by his colleagues was California’s Senator Alan Cranston, a former Democratic presidential contender.

II. Structural and attitudinal faults — A policy of “planned obsolescence” was applied to campaign promises from the start. Reagan and Bush administrations that had pledged to extirpate the national deficit raised it instead to undreamed of heights. “Adjusted” deficits (i.e., after more than \$100 billion a year in Social Security payments — allegedly untouchable — has been “subtracted” from them) ranged from \$200 billion to \$245 billion annually, mostly in favor of new outlays for the military. In contrast, domestic programs were drastically slashed. Even President Bush’s first, new budget proposed on January 29, 1990 — a pre-Iraq budget — raised spending to an all-new \$1.23 trillion, with an alleged \$63.1 billion shortfall for 1991. Instead of reducing the federal bureaucracy, as pledged, President Reagan installed 10,000 new bureaucrats in the Pentagon alone, according to former Secretary of the Navy Lehman, of “600-ship-navy” fame. No wonder \$3 trillion were lavished on arms during ten Reagan-Bush years. No wonder the federal and the public debts skyrocketed. No wonder that existing disequilibria in the national economy worsened and that fresh financial problems and crises arose.

Impelled by the movement toward “privatization” of the public domain launched by the White House and fuelled by the same, quasi-nineteenth-century “rags-to-riches” career that Ivan Boesky and Michael Milken typified on Wall Street and in Beverly Hills (the latter was rumored to have turned a tidy profit of \$1 billion in 1988), savings-and-loan institutions, big banks and gigantic insurance empires speculated in real estate, multi-billion-dollar loans to developing countries such as Venezuela, Brazil and Peru, and floods of “junk bonds” all encouraged by the Reagan administration. When the developing economies defaulted on their debts and the real-estate market (particularly in office buildings) turned sour (since it was totally overextended), the bottom dropped out of the madly spiraling junk-bond-boom, during the last Reagan year. The consequences will be with us for decades to come. In one field alone, the *débâcles* in the insurance business — formerly the very bedrock of *bourgeois* financial respectability — will send tremors of instability throughout the economy for years.

The S & L fiascoes will saddle the American taxpayer with a millennial debt of some \$500 to \$1000 billion dollars (as estimated by cleanup supervisor Seidman). The bank failures over two hundred are expected to occur in 1991 alone will incur even huger sums, sums which the U.S. government can no longer make “liquid” unless it sells trillions of dollars worth of national assets to foreign creditors. Also, some of the shiniest names in U.S. capitalism, the Rockefeller family jewels of Citicorp and Chase Manhattan, Manufacturers Hanover, Chemical Bank, and Bank of America, might follow the slide into nothingness of the Bank of New England. A severe and drastic currency-and-property reform might be the only rational solution. An easy solution is, and will be, an every-accelerating spiral of foreign wars.

Very likely the U.S. government, led by President Bush, will try a similar approach in “solving” his other crises, such as: an urban-and-regional planning picture and a physical infrastructure that is falling to pieces; an educational system that is seventeenth in literacy in the world; a health “system” that is nonexistent for more and more middle-income Americans and for the poor, one that is in last place (alongside that of the Republic of South Africa) in providing adequate and vital health care to citizens, amongst all industrialized nations; a grave lag in vital, basic, research, outside of military applications and “SDI”; and the disregard for energy and environmental policy during the Reagan years. Despite lip service to a higher, more intelligent, ideal the Bush government broadly follows in Reagan’s wake. Perceived “emergencies,” once more, may induce bigger and better wars.

Let us elaborate a few illustrative examples. Urban, regional, and national planning — never America’s strong suit, yet a vital function of any government that intends to endure — has been mortally neglected since 1981. The large cities that had been sliding downhill for decades under the growing burdens of blight, maladministration, poverty, a burgeoning proletariat and a murderous crime rate (in spite of rather spotty and symptom-oriented “help” from the federal government) have been cut off from any meaningful, moral, financial and administrative assistance by Reagan and Bush, and set adrift as national derelicts. In effect, the hundred million people who live in big urban centers are now considered so many “bums” on a collective skid row. Protracted, interrelated, planned efforts to reform and to clean up the nuclear industry (whether military or civilian); to build an energy policy; to rebuild the infrastructure of bridges, highways, and railroads; as well as projects to plan for new regional mass transit networks, have withered on the vine. Most of these, if carried out, would make a valuable contribution to a national environmental policy, and enable us to diminish our much-bruited dependence on imported oil.

What is indeed “the shame of our cities” is worse, even, than it was around the turn of the century, when their plight attracted the muckrakers’ attention. Philadelphia, perhaps the most historic of America’s big cities, in struggling futilely to survive physically, let alone financially, but no one in Washington raises an eyebrow. For the second time in sixteen years, there is talk of receivership for New York.

Yes, they can be saved and they should be saved. Yet for that to happen America must recast its entire government and society in the image of a Moral Oeconomy. We must reallocate priorities drastically. No longer should a U.S. president be in a position to donate more than \$13 billion toward the construction of housing for immigrant Russian Jews in Israel (reportedly to reward Israel for “staying out” of the war against Iraq) while he allocates a mere \$15 billion in federal bloc grants to *all fifty* U.S. states. Without a doubt, a single crisis-torn and crime-overwhelmed state such as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania or California could easily put all \$15 billion in federal support to good use by itself. Additionally, George Bush has donated, or “forgiven,” scores of billions of dollars to countries around the world, from Argentina to Egypt, Turkey and Poland, and — by implication — heavily subsidized the Soviet Union, all in the service of buying support for his military adventurism abroad. To top it all, he is spending, and is calculating to spend, further hundreds of billions of non-existent dollars for oppressive regimes around the world, and, for the development of exotic new weapons systems — even after the huge tribute to America’s client states is considered. When will the bubble burst?

III. Skewed priorities and twisted logic — Why spend billions of dollars on expanded and “improved” armaments for the New World Order’s millennial era of peace? It is indicative of White House paranoia that, instead of engaging in true, positive diplomacy to solve the root causes of crises, i.e. in the Middle East (or, alternatively, pursuing a hands-off, America First policy), in 1991 it is planning to construct a partial SDI Star Wars directed against imaginary missile attacks

on the U.S. by *Third World* countries, at a cost of \$30, 40 or 50 billion, knowing that a full-fledged SDI directed against the Soviet Union is technically impracticable. Furthermore, after mispending trillions of dollars on armaments, including the Stealth bomber and Stealth fighter (the stealthiest aspects of which were the secrecy with which they were kept from the American public), SDI, the MX, Minuteman and Trident missiles, the Reagan and the Bush administrations have prepared to spend a minimum of 280 billion additional dollars toward the construction of brand-new weapons systems: an ATF ("advanced tactical fighter," either the Lockheed YF-22 or the Northrop YF-23), the *Seawolf* submarine and the LTH ("light tactical helicopter") when well-nigh overwhelming weapons systems are more than capable of continuing into the future and were developed in the recent past, at astronomical expense.

By contrast, even Bush's 1990 proposal for the 1991 budget already included \$13.9 billion in cuts for domestic spending, \$5.5 billion coming from a Medicare program that had previously undergone repeated slashes. One may predict with confidence that if George Bush's popularity in 1991 assures his reelection in 1992, he will proceed to slash Medicare and other domestic "entitlements" — not excluding Social Security — with gusto, to subsidize his growing appetite for armaments and foreign aggrandizement. Beyond the unfortunate millions of the elderly and the infirm affected, perhaps even harder hit will be those 27 million Americans without *any* health insurance, including 12 million poverty-stricken children. Entire regions in the "Rust Belt" of the East and the Midwest, and in the rural areas of the South and the mountain states — already suffering from chronic, unregistered unemployment and grinding poverty — will disappear by the millions into the maelstrom of misery.

These are some of the dimensions of what President Carter was accused of calling the Misery Index, the vicious consequences of what *bourgeois* economists term Karl Marx's *Verelendungstheorie*.

They are very real, and they are growing.

What Can We Do?

"*Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate*"?

(Abandon all hope, you who enter)

- Dante's *Inferno*

The growing menace of the establishment of a total "garrison state," with all that implies, at home and abroad (and it implies eventual "genocide," mass murder, at home and abroad) does not decree its inevitability. Historical determinism exists in the minds of those who preach it. However, its superficial opposite, pollyanna chamber-of-commerce sanguinism, is even more misleading, for it lends itself to mass manipulation by the corrupt. The sane fight for the rational exercise of will.

America does have choices. What are some of them?

The first might be called, somewhat misleadingly, the Max Weberian alternative to Werner Sombart. The latter had written persuasively about the successive — and more or less successful — stages of capitalism, particularly about "Late Capitalism" (a phrase which seems to denote that the wish for its demise was the father to the thought). America's behavior since the Great Depression, at home and abroad, has in many striking ways corresponded to the various phases of *Spätkapitalismus*; the Reagan-Bush era might be regarded as one of its ultimate stages of global

panic. The “Reagan Revolution,” in other words, might be seen as a response to home and world conditions, semi-consciously homologous to the cries of: “*Après nous le déluge!*” and “*Sauve qui peut !*” from the French power elite before and during France’s revolutionary crisis of the 1790’s.

Yet there is an important component missing from this equation: that of global hegemony. Scientific observers note that the United States is the heir — not to the over-romanticized “Anglo-Saxon-tradition of liberty” — but, more accurately, to the institutionalized attitudes of absolute domination, conquest, power politics and plunder personified by the *Norman* founders of the “English” (and, fascinatingly, of the Old Russian) states. Now, a millennium after the original conquests, their descendants are facing off in their ultimate “showdown,” as de Tocqueville foretold in the nineteenth century. No one believes that the U.S.-Soviet “condominium” of the world of 1990/91 — a very cramped and one-sided — affair will last for more than a few years.

Today’s Yankee Hot Warriors are in an enviable position geopolitically. Having conquered the Americas from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, or keeping them in a state of manifold subjection without the inconvenience of physical occupation, they are in a position to dominate all land-masses laved by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Indeed, at bottom they are not “capitalist” at all but “conquest plutocrats.” They would readily shed the latter part of this label, too, continuing their expansionism even as socialists.

Yet their decision to keep strategic portions of the Persian Gulf occupied, after making the mistake of attacking it physically rather than solving the problem politically-economically, reveals a glaring mental rigidity.

How much wiser to follow the advice of Max Weber, the great social scientist, given at the time of the St. Louis World Exposition of 1904: systematically to create a rationalized, limited state through the establishment of a service bureaucracy motivated by honor, the idea of duty and the common good, and the notion of economy as “avoidance of waste by careful planning and use.”

Is it too late for that now, in 1991? I admit that such a truly *Prussian* solution seems unappealing in the short run, perhaps anywhere in America and Europe. But in the long run, in a few decades and centuries, when the crises, catastrophes and cataclysms brought on by following the erroneous “ideal” of Conquest Plutocracy with altogether too much ardor will have at length exhausted themselves, then any new society and government which would embody something enduring will need to be built on rules close to Max Weber’s heart.

In a political culture which de-emphasizes and punishes medium and long-range planning (even of the economic kind), the “crisis” most government leaders were concerned about in the first half of 1991 is the prevailing, moderate (at least, government spokesmen anxious to appear confident of the future call it so) economic recession. Should these conditions worsen it could mean dire things for our economy, government and society: firms and industries saddled with heavy, unproductive debts through “leveraged buy-outs” by “*arbitrageurs*” find it difficult to adjust to the new, leaner, economic climate. They are forced to lay off thousands, tens of thousands, indefinitely. Some firms go under. A vicious cycle develops, in which growing unemployment — unalleviated due to government inaction — fuels a worsening recession while it drains the public treasury further through passive unemployment compensation. In order to “lighten the load” of an already disastrous deficit, the government feels called upon to cut “entitlements” further, plunging millions more of the middle-class and the poor into misery, and further reducing their buying power. Unemployment payments are slashed, too. More firms fail. The stock markets, which had been extremely over-extended and buoyant in the wake of a successful war of the “foreign-adventurist” kind, turn sour. The Dow Jones average plunges 600 points in a week. In

the meantime, charges of brutality multiply against big-city police departments from coast to coast in urban regions which have lost millions of jobs over the last decade, collectively, and hundreds of thousands due to the recession. The economic picture worsens. Demagogues whip emotions to a frenzy. A single spark, in a society fractured along national, racial, and sub-caste lines, and race war erupts, tearing the fabric of society, throwing the economy into total chaos, causing trillions or more dollars in damage and killing thousands, and more, through violence, disease and exposure.

Such conditions of *anomie* might also provide a welcome chance for the Soviet — or Russian elite — to redress its grievances against the West and the U.S., either in step-by-step progression or, more likely, by means of a surprise attack. Thus, logically and historically, the dislocations and down-turns brought on by the “Reagan Revolution,” the late and lamentable outcome of several centuries of evolution, quite possibly will conclude with the much-dreaded World War and World Revolution. The ultimate plutocrats would then be the executors of Karl Marx’s last will and testament.

In the short run, mankind might be granted a breather by the 1992 U.S. elections. Probably, President George Bush and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Allan Greenspan will pull out the stops in a last effort to create “rosier” economic conditions to achieve Bush’s re-election. After that, it will be “every man for himself.” Despite (or because of) the economic union of Europe in 1992, Germany will not be protected by its fellow Europeans but, on the contrary, will be exposed to increased levels of financial and political blackmail by the U.S., Israel, Britain, France, Poland and Russia. Added to the increased burdens of integrating the old Soviet Zone with West Germany, and denuded of any practical military defenses after the enforced concessions of 1990-91 (“The New Versailles”), even Germany may be unable to stomach the redoubled demands. Economically, socially and militarily, her downfall would plunge Europe into ballooning disorder — unless America desisted from her Divide and Conquer foreign policy and intervened diplomatically to aid her strongest ally in Europe. But, for several reasons, that is unlikely. If reelected in '92, Bush will slash domestic “entitlements” in a desperate effort to right the capsized economy. He will try to “shoulder off” some of those outlays on Germany and Japan. Too, the probable increase in domestic U.S. unrest — heightened by the chauvinism left over from the Gulf War — will make Uncle Sam regard the comparative “tranquillity” for foreign competitors with a jaundiced eye. He will seek to export his troubles, imprudently knocking out his main props.

There are already many choices in the possibilities portrayed.

Here are some more, always keeping in mind that our preferred option is to create a dialectics, a rational dialogue between the idea of “community” in politics and economics and the idea of “freedom,” with emphasis on the “legitimate self-determination of peoples” on all levels of politics, from the township to the international arena.

Internationally, how intelligent is it for the United States, for instance, in its GATT-talks (“General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade”) with the European Community to insist that the Europeans cut their farm subsidies to the bone while the U.S. does not reciprocate by slashing subsidies to its huge industrial “farms” in California, Florida and elsewhere? Such a move by Europeans would jeopardize the highly labor intensive, efficient, but tiny family farm in Europe, with roots going back four or five thousand years, would depopulate the countryside even more rapidly, adding to the urban proletariat and causing social-political crisis. After all, that’s what happened two thousand years ago, in ancient Rome.

Will the “New Rome” of Wall Street and Washington recognize its own interest in preserving and building communities abroad, after its total war and its victory in Iraq? There can be no “total victory.”

The Bessmyernikh-Baker plan for remedying the grave problems of the Middle East comprehensively, and the Palestinian situation in particular, brooks no delay. Despite the fact that the U.S. irrationally injured its own interest in preserving the status quo in the Mideast by smashing Saddam Hussein and creating a power vacuum ready to be filled through the designs of Iran, Turkey, Syria and Israel, thus destabilizing regional and world politics, we should subject our “unique relationship” with Israel to an agonizing reappraisal. That is what President Eisenhower did in 1956 (how things have changed!) We all know that Israel is the nuclear-military superpower of the Mideast and need fear no one on earth. By means of suitable but swift diplomatic maneuvers, we should make it clear to the ruling, reactionary cliques of Israel that: America will not stand for the oppression of the Palestinians by Israel; we insist on implementing U.S. Security Council Resolution No. 242 and similar resolutions with a view toward establishing a state for the Palestinians via the PLO; and America will never accept Israeli designs on neighboring states, and on Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Iraq in particular. What are the chances for success of such a scenario in a Bush administration?

Turkey is the *tertium gaudens*, far from the international limelight focused on such prime players as the U.S., Israel or Iran, yet laughing with the contented glee of a peasant who stands in the shadow of greater Powers and has struck a good bargain. The Sancho Panzaesque figure of President Törgüt Ozal only reinforces that impression.

Of course, Turkey in a geographically much larger guise, as ruled by the once great Ottoman dynasty of sultans and caliphs (*khalifa*, the “successors to the prophet,” the titular heads, temporal and spiritual, of all Islam), was the declining imperial power of North Africa and the Middle East before the First World War. At its end, only the outstanding leadership qualities of General Mustafa Kemal (later proclaimed “Atatürk” or “Father of the Turk”), those of his aides, and the valor of the Turkish soldiers, combined with the squabbling of the prime imperialists: Britain, France and Italy and their tool, the Kingdom of Greece, as well as the assistance provided by the new Bolshevik regime of Soviet Russia, kept Turkey from being ripped to shreds by the victors, preserving her from disappearing forever. A timely lesson for 1991.

The new, republican Turkey was confined largely to Anatolia and the littoral of the northeast Mediterranean. She was forced to accept the subjugation of large, centuries-old, Turkish minorities in the new states of the East, ranging from the southern reaches of the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia and all the way to northern Iraq and Iran. In 1991 her claims to some of these regions, particularly to oil-rich northern Iraq around Mosul and Kirkuk, rest in part on the existence of these minorities. Further, advancing pan-Turanian ideas, the Turks have cast their eyes on the related Turkic majorities of northern Iran and of central Asia east of the Caspian. If the U.S. after 1991 rearms her, replacing her obsolete arms with smart, hi-tech weapons systems, we can expect Turkey to play a much more aggressive role in the Mideast. In the future, she might prove troublesome to either a shrinking or an expanding post-Soviet Russia.

We need also to remember that republican Turkey has been no more lenient to her Kurdish minority than has Iraq. She will watch the masses of new refugees with eagle eyes and possibly misdirect them to advance her own aims against the Arabs. It is the tragic plight of the Iraqi Kurds to have believed the irresponsible pronouncements of an untrustworthy, and apparently irrational, Superpower.

As for the Soviet Union or, more correctly, Russia, she has been the Turks' chief enemy since the imperial-expansionist days of the great Tsar Peter around the year 1700. Traditionally, Russia has also sought to break up, or to dominate, neighboring Persia (Iran). To the present day, her aim has been to extend her hegemony over as much of the Persian gulf region, and over Iran's eastern flanks of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, as practicable. It has been her sad lot to see her main aim of sole autocracy stymied, in the nick of time, by an even more powerful and even more ambitious rival from across the seas: up to 1941 by Britain and since 1946 by the United States of America. Unless Russia commits suicide, or is extirpated totally, in her present Time of Troubles — which seems unlikely — she will reassume her accustomed role in the not very distant future, with a vengeance.

When — and if — she does, she will remember three past events. Soon after the outbreak of the Second World War, when Stalin invaded Finland in the infamous Winter War of 1939-1940, Britain and France went to work to prepare a two pronged invasion of the Soviet Union: in the north, through Norwegian and Finnish Lapland, and, in the south, out of Syria and Iraq. The operation was finally shelved when Hitler pre-empted Churchill by striking north to Narvik and Norway. Today, once again, the Soviets have reason to worry about the strategic threat to their “soft underbelly,” especially with Georgia's declaration of independence on April 8, 1991, and the possibility of this setting and example all along the southern boundary of the USSR from Moldavia outside Romania (the Soviets annexed it in 1940) to the Muslim nations on the borders of Afghanistan and China. Let us not imagine that the USSR, or an imperial Russia, will tolerate a strong U.S. or NATO presence in the Gulf Region for long.

By contrast, Russia cherishes her memories of the time after June 22, 1941, when the leaf of history turned and she was in a position, again, to partition Iran between herself and Britain, supported by the U.S. In those halcyon times Stalin dominated Teheran. His power was sufficient to enable him to carve out virtual Soviet satellite states in Azerbaijan and the Kurdish areas, and to attempt to extend his sphere of influence by encouraging the “independence” of the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq. The famed Kurd leader, Mustafa Barzani, and his clan were trained in Moscow. Soviet agents infiltrated the entire region. Not until 1946 and 1947 did British and then American resistance stiffen sufficiently to make it prudent for Stalin to heed Iranian demands for withdrawal. The Soviets cleared out — but only for the time being.

A third event the Russians will bear in mind with distaste is the ill-disguised contempt they received at the hands of the Yankees before, during and after the war against Iraq, a former friend of theirs. Even though deep-seated divergences were “papered over” at the U.N. and for the television watching publics, the U.S. made it abundantly clear that she no longer deemed the Soviet Union a serious global factor diplomatically, economically or, for that matter, militarily. It is a glaring indication of the mismatch in “clout” at the White House that the objections of Israel — a Levantine dwarf state on the face of it — prevailed over the Bessmyernikh-Baker agreement concerning a comprehensive solution to the Mideast's troubles, in which the foreign ministers of the two former World Superpowers had invested their prestige. No lip service to the “New World Order” for “a hundred years of peace” can gloss over that high-handed conduct. Not that *hauteur* is unrealistic, for the time being. But “realities” have a way of changing explosively, leaving those unprepared at the mercy of their panicky “flight-or-fight” response, whether inside the Beltway or at the Kremlin.

No doubt the seeming disproportion between American and Soviet power, and the sudden successes of American weaponry against the largely antiquated Soviet equipment and tactics of the Iraqis — as well as the exaggerated ruthlessness of its application — meant but one thing to a Russian leadership worried about survival: the absolute necessity of once more catching up again

to and, if possible, surpassing the U.S. in the creation of weapons of mass destruction — whether “conventional” or “unconventional” — in the shortest time possible. Thus, automatically, our war against Iraq has made the Russian leaders more rigid in their outlook and in choosing their ways and means. It has produced the exact opposite of its announced intention, has injured the peace, and dealt a body blow to the concept of international “law and order.” Did we want that to happen?

Naturally, when the motives of fear of the unknown, hatred for one’s adversary, and ambition hold each other in approximate balance in both the White House and the Kremlin (with ambition overweening the former and fear dominating the latter) an uneasy truce could be maintained for a time. But the Warsaw Pact has dissolved itself. Except for the continued survival of their Communist parties, the USSR has lost most of its hold over its central European satellites. Yet far from reciprocating in kind, Uncle Sam is holding on tightly to his NATO allies, even readying the expansion of his force-shield to cover the former Soviet zone of Germany, which still “plays host” to 350,000 Soviet troops.

Indeed, leaning on his two main foreign props — Japan and Germany — financially, geopolitically and propagandistically, in 1991 Uncle Sam is accelerating rather than cutting his weapons expenditures, even though the Soviet menace seems to have diminished and the Third World should not be perceived as a “foe.” When a single aircraft of a single weapons system (the B-2 “Stealth” bomber) costs nearly \$1 billion, and the costs of other armaments trail closely behind, one should be able to calculate the following rather accurately: 1. the time before the American economy, already unbalanced and distorted, spins totally out of control; 2. the same for Germany, Europe, and Japan; 3. the irreparable injury to the social, political, health and educational fabric, and perhaps to the national integrity, of the American people; 4. the desperate attempts by the USA and the Great Britain to reestablish the shattered “concert of nations” by force and through the United Nations Security Council, based on the far reaching and questionable political, financial, territorial and functional dictates imposed on a sovereign state, i.e., the far reaching precedents set by the U.N. in its subjugation of Iraq in 1991; 5. in case of failure: the rapid and unprecedentedly violent outbreak of global war.

But there are choices.

Here are some of them:

1. If America desires to establish and to strengthen stability and legitimacy in the Middle East, we need to strike a just balance between powerful, violent Israel and the multitude of militarily and socially weak Arab states. U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 242 should be implemented so that the Palestinians can at last have an independent homeland (and state) on their native soil, secure from Zionist encroachment. Equally important, the much-quoted “comprehensive solution” to the region’s historic, political, social, economic and military troubles needs to put in place a lasting, institutionalized leveling of its abysmal divergences, a “regional development plan for all. A regional “community” of interest should be grown, like a plant, encompassing all cultures and religions, while cherishing all organically grown groupings.

Is it realistic to speak of such a modernized revival of the ancient Ottoman millet system? Only time, and a nuclear-free zone stretching from the Mediterranean to the Ganges, and far beyond, can tell. Let’s rid ourselves of the illusion that Israel is America’s terrible swift sword in the desert.

2. America might choose to impose a New World Order through a superficially cordial *entente* with an ever-more desperate Russia. But we must face the fact that by reason of clashing global

ambitions, lasting cooperation between the two is undesired, by the White House, and unlikely, unless another convenient Foreign Devil, e.g. Japan or Germany, is found.

If, on the other hand, we desire to honor our loudly proclaimed “values” of freedom — infused into organic communities — and of popular self-determination, we should intelligently and actively support the independence of the anti-Communist republics of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, and others, while Russia is preoccupied with its internal troubles.

Such action would incur the risk of war with the Russians. But by most accounts we could hold their feet to the fire before they rain fire down on us.

3. Above all, if, for the next several centuries, Americans wish their country to remain a nation worthy of its highest ideals, we might do worse than swear off our old Norman-Puritan habits of loot, plunder and mass destruction, as well as our immediate past of Plutocracy by conquest at home and abroad, and at last pursue a type of society and government that strives to do lasting and organized justice to the rooted human needs for community, freedom and truth, and to the cosmic demands of the ecologies of nature.

“Omnes cantant una voce tamen non est sinfonia”
(Though all sing with one voice that still does not make a symphony)
-- St. Thomas Aquinas

If we try to enforce rigid conformity at home and abroad, we shall come a cropper. Whipping up bellicose emotions, rebuilding FDR’s detention camps of the Great American Dessert for dissenters and engaging in global interventionism will merely multiply the crushing moral and material burdens already heaped on the sagging shoulders of the American people. How much wiser to promote community-building on all societal levels, in all political-geographic regions, a subsidiary of responsibilities!

At home, the American people — once we have recovered our healthy sense of skepticism — might elect to undo the Imperial Presidency, and choose to place in its stead a plural executive, a council of state patterned on Switzerland, with five to seven presidents, each to represent a major ethnic, racial or geographic constituency, with each president serving for the duration of one year. Abroad, let us shrug off the moral degradation, the abysmal functional and systematic failures of trying to be the World’s Policeman! Encourage the formation, not of “pluralism,” for that term has become a synonym for chaos, but of multicentricity, the building of strong power blocs on all populated landmasses, not excluding North, Central, and South America. The latter solution to the worsening crisis of the Americas was already envisioned by President Thomas Jefferson.

Let us extend the hand of friendship to the peoples of Islam. Split and weak as they may be politically and militarily, and enslaved as they certainly are by underdevelopment and neocolonialism, they are the living heirs to some of the world’s most brilliant cultures: ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Hindu and Moghul India and Indonesia among them. Islam has contributed immeasurably to the growth of Europe, and it can do so again. Let the West beware lest we drive Islam into the isolation of hate, from which only organized violence will offer escape.

Once they have divested themselves of the emanations of the will to absolute power, the preoccupation with exploits and exploitation — which have their most immediate origin in the Industrial Revolution and in the unreason of the Enlightenment of the 18th century — the great nations of Europe will be able to regain their historic callings: Spain, the great central European bloc that

was the Holy Roman Empire, as well as Poland and Ukraine (the Old Ros), and others, will be re-awakened to new life. The spiritual, and political geographic center, the historic orientation, they had lost will be resurrected.

No matter what the future, the American People — the pre-eminent victim and foe of Conquest Plutocracy and the Imperial Presidency — have greatness to give. A nation incomplete, a people not yet coalesced, which has brought forth such masters and masterworks as Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*; Robert Frost in his almost German simple-hearted ness and profundity; Joseph Campbell and his supremely Protestant hyper-individualism, his longing for the merging of self with the Absolute (a property of "late" historical eras); such a nation — once it has sloughed off the notion of being history's Chosen People, leading a lowly flock to an earthly paradise — has much to contribute to the good of this world. By definition, we note, an earthly paradise swamps the Moral Oeconomy with the rush of an infinity of manufactured supplies, it affects to abolish all suffering, all sacrifices for the attainment of some distant, greater, good; it is totally intolerant and destructive of any other path to perfection. In fine, it is evil incarnate.

The choice is simple. Beyond all administrative reform, we must bend our hearts and minds, freely, toward creativity and responsibility, or Totalitarianism will do it for us by obliterating all mind, all hearts.

Ponder the lines of England's poet laureate, of Alfred Lord Tennyson, written in 1842:

... For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens filled with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew,
From the heavens's airy navies grappling in the central blue;
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder storm;
Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.
There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

Alfred Lord Tennyson, *Locksley Hall*

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Pearl Harbor: Fifty Years of Controversy

Charles Lutton

At 7:49 a.m. on Sunday, December 7, 1941, 183 Japanese dive- and torpedo-bombers, accompanied by Zero escorts, launched the first of two attacks against the American base at Pearl Harbor. A second wave of 168 Japanese aircraft arrived at 9 a.m. Eighteen operational warships, including four battleships, were sunk or heavily damaged; 188 aircraft were destroyed. 2,403 Americans were killed, among them 68 civilians, and 1178 were wounded.

Although the Japanese achieved local surprise, their success was less than complete. The Pacific Fleet's three aircraft carriers were not in port. Nine heavy cruisers, all but three light cruisers, and virtually all of the destroyers remained afloat. None of the fleet's submarines was lost. And the commander of the Japanese task force, Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, refused to authorize a third strike that could have led to the destruction of Pearl Harbor's naval dockyards and oil storage tanks, the loss of which would have neutralized Hawaii as a forward base for counter-offensives against Japanese moves toward the Philippines, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies.

The attack solved President Franklin D. Roosevelt's most pressing problem: how to overcome the American public's opposition to involvement in the war that had been going on in Europe for the previous sixteen months (on the eve of Pearl Harbor, polls indicated that 80 per cent of the people did not want the United States to enter the war as an active participant). Roosevelt received overwhelming support when he asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan. The grass-roots America First movement quietly disbanded. On December 11th, Germany and Italy declared war against the United States. American resolve to "defeat the dictators" was near unanimous.

If the public united behind Roosevelt and Churchill in the war effort, almost from the first there were serious questions raised about the attack that had brought America into the world conflict. Who was accountable for the disaster? Was it avoidable? Why had the Japanese attacked? Had there been any American provocation? And why had Pearl Harbor's able Navy and Army commanders, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and General Walter Short, been caught off guard? Why were they quickly retired under unusual circumstances?

To head off congressional and public criticism, Roosevelt hastily appointed a special commission to investigate the attack. Chaired by Associate Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, a leading supporter of the pro-interventionist Committee to Aid America by Aiding the Allies, the President had no fear that the commission would do anything to compromise the spirit of unity that now prevailed. Justice Roberts completed his report on Friday, January 23, 1942. The Administration released it to the public in time for the Sunday newspapers. Key members of the Washington political and military establishment were absolved of any blame. The fault, they said, lay with Admiral Kimmel and General Short.

First Revisionist Critiques

But not all were convinced. In September 1944, John T. Flynn launched Pearl Harbor revisionism when he published a forty-six page booklet entitled *The Truth about Pearl Harbor*. Flynn argued that Roosevelt and his cronies had been plotting war against Japan at least since January 1941. The Administration continued needlessly to provoke the Japanese government throughout the rest of the year, and on November 26, 1941, delivered a diplomatic ultimatum that no government could possibly accept. Flynn also suggested that Kimmel and Short were given the wrong instructions from Washington headquarters, thus aborting the taking of effective measures at the base.

In early 1945, a thirty-year-old historian, William L. Neumann, published a brochure, *The Genesis of Pearl Harbor*. He reviewed the diplomatic background to the outbreak of the war and pointed out how the Roosevelt Administration had launched an economic war against Japan in the summer and fall of 1941. Neumann concluded that both sides were responsible, but that Washington could not have been surprised by the attack at Pearl Harbor, given FDR's diplomatic activities in the months and days preceding December 7th.

Army and Navy Reports Released

After VJ-Day, President Harry Truman permitted the release of the Army and Navy special investigations of the Pearl Harbor attack. The Navy Court of Inquiry, headed by Admiral Orin G. Murfin, met from July 24-September 27, 1944. They concluded that Admiral Harold R. Stark, the Chief of Naval Operations, had failed to provide Admiral Kimmel all of the information possessed in Washington, thereby denying the Hawaii command a more complete picture of the situation. Kimmel was exonerated. His plans were judged "sound," but were dependent on "advance knowledge that an attack was to be expected." And given his limited military resources, Kimmel had conducted long-range aerial reconnaissance appropriate to the intelligence he had been given and the number of aircraft available.

Lt. General George Grunert chaired the Army Pearl Harbor Board, which met from July 20-October 20, 1944. Evidence from 151 witnesses was collected in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and Hawaii. While the Board was critical of General Short, for the first time attention was directed toward General George Marshall and the War Department. Marshall was censured for failing to keep Short fully apprised of the deteriorating state of U.S.-Japanese relations; of failing to correct Short's "sabotage alert" preparations at Pearl Harbor (U.S. aircraft were bunched wing-tip to wing-tip on December 7th, because Washington had told Short to guard against sabotage. Had he been alerted to a possible air attack, the planes would have been scattered and sheltered in revetments to guard against bomb blast); of failing to send critical information to Short on the evening of December 6th and the morning of December 7th; of failing to determine if the state of readiness at Pearl Harbor was commensurate with the potential threats to the base's security. General Leonard Gerow, the Chief of the Army's War Plans Division, was also reproved. He had failed, the Board concluded, to keep the Hawaiian command informed about Japanese moves that were known in Washington; of failing to make the November 27th warning clear and concise; and of failing to see that joint Army-Navy plans were properly effected.

Needless to say, Secretary of War Henry Stimson and Navy Secretary James Forrestal were alarmed that blame for the success of the Japanese attack had been shifted from the local commanders to their superiors in Washington. To supplement the report of the Army Pearl Harbor Board, Major Henry Clausen was selected to head a one-man investigation. But no public report was issued. Forrestal had Admiral W. Kent Hewitt continue to investigate Pearl Harbor. No sep-

arate report was issued, but on August 29, 1945, Forrestal announced that, on the basis of Hewitt's inquiries, "Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and Admiral Harold R. Stark, particularly during the period 27 November to 7 December, 1941, failed to demonstrate the superior judgment necessary to exercising command commensurate with their rank and assigned duties."

The Army and Navy Reports provided fresh ammunition to the redoubtable John T. Flynn, who, in September 1945, issued a fifteen-page report entitled *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*. Flynn's findings were not limited to review by a small circle of interested friends, but were given wide circulation thanks to the Chicago Tribune, which highlighted his work. Flynn concluded that Franklin Roosevelt was to blame for diplomatic mismanagement; for keeping the Pacific fleet stationed at the insecure Pearl Harbor base; and for stripping Pearl Harbor of needed defensive equipment.

Reviewing the diplomatic prelude to the attack, Flynn explained that FDR undermined the position of Japanese moderates and so orchestrated events that General Tojo and the "War Agitators" took power in Tokyo. Despite provocations, it became clear that Germany was not going to declare war against the United States. It was at this point, said Flynn, that Roosevelt turned the screws on the Japanese.

Flynn went on to note the "Gift from the Gods" that the cracking of the Japanese diplomatic codes represented. Flynn was under the impression that the British had first broken the Japanese code and supplied Washington with copies of messages between Tokyo and foreign representatives. He underscored the significance of the fact that Washington was aware that Japan had given its diplomats a November 25th deadline to reach an understanding with the U.S.

In a section, "The Fog at Pearl Harbor," Flynn emphasized that the commanders at Pearl Harbor were told "literally nothing" about the intercepted Japanese messages and the rapidly deteriorating state of affairs. Short was ordered to guard against sabotage and internal disorder from the large Japanese population in Hawaii, and warned that Japanese military operations could be expected soon, but against such targets as the Kra Peninsula, Guam, Singapore, and Malay. And Flynn re-emphasized a point that is still too often obscured in discussions of the attack, namely, "that Kimmel's fleet was not there to protect Pearl Harbor. The harbor was there merely as a fuel and supply base for it. The fleet had a task assigned to it in case of war. The protection of the base would be the duty of the Army and the base naval installations."

In his discussion of "The Night Before Pearl Harbor" Flynn charged that the story given the public about Roosevelt being surprised by the attack on Pearl Harbor was "utterly fraudulent." Based on the intercepted messages, FDR knew that hostilities were soon to commence. What "warnings" were finally sent to Hawaii were deliberately delivered by the slowest possible means as a face-saving measure.

Flynn went on to show how blame for the disaster was cleverly shifted from Washington to the Hawaiian commanders, Kimmel and Short. He further discussed how the fleet had come to be based at Pearl Harbor over the objections of Kimmel's predecessor, Admiral Richardson, who was convinced that any ships berthed there would be an easy target. [*]

In his summary of the tragedy, Flynn reiterated his view that Roosevelt had decided to go to war with Japan, despite his public pledges to the American people not to make their sons fight in foreign wars, and that he had promised the British to fight long before December 7th. When the attack came at Pearl Harbor, the "amateur Commander-in-Chief" tried to place the blame on Kimmel and Short. "Now," he concluded, "if there is a shred of decency left in the American people, they will demand that Congress open the whole ugly business to the light of day. [**]

The Congressional Hearings

A concurrent resolution of Congress brought into being the Joint Congressional Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack. The Administration hoped that the Committee, which had a majority of Democrats, would satisfy public curiosity while safeguarding the standing of the political party in power. Senator Alben Barkley (D-Kentucky) served as chairman. The five other Democrats included Senator Walter F. George (Georgia), Senator Scott Lucas (Illinois), Rep. J. Bayard Clark (North Carolina), Rep. John W. Murphy (Pennsylvania), and Rep. Jere Cooper (Tennessee), who was Vice Chairman. The Democrats selected the legal staff.

Four Republicans were on the Committee: Senator Owen Brewster (Maine), Senator Homer Ferguson (Michigan), Rep. Bertrand Gearhart (California), and Rep. Frank B. Keefe (Wisconsin). The Republican Minority were not provided with their own staff. However, John T. Flynn raised funds from private sources to permit Percy Greaves, a former associate research director for the Republican National Committee, to assist the Republican members of the Joint Congressional Committee. Without Greaves's able work, much of the Pearl Harbor story would have remained hidden from the public.

The Committee sat from November 15, 1945 to May 31, 1946. The Democratic majority managed to steer the hearings in such a manner as to deflect as much criticism as they could from the late President Roosevelt. Thanks to the persistence of Senator Ferguson, aided by Greaves, "inconvenient" testimony was extracted from a number of the witnesses, and evidence that contradicted the Roberts Commission Report was placed on the record. The evidence, exhibits, hearings, and concluding report came to some forty volumes.

The "Majority Report" concluded that Japan's brilliantly planned attack had been entirely unprovoked and there was no evidence that the Roosevelt cabinet had maneuvered Japan into launching a first strike in order to force Congress into declaring war. Indeed, the Democrats asserted that Roosevelt, Hull, and Stimson had done everything they could possibly do to avoid war with Japan. The disaster at Pearl Harbor was due to the failure of the local commanders to take adequate measures to detect a possible attack and maintain proper readiness to meet likely threats. The report did suggest that the War Department should have notified Gen. Short that his "sabotage alert" measures were not enough. In addition, Army and Navy intelligence should have realized the significance of Japanese efforts to keep abreast of the location of U.S. war ships berthed at Pearl Harbor (the "Bomb Plot" messages that military intelligence had decoded). Finally, during the forty eight hours prior to the attack, the War and Navy Departments should have kept on a higher state of alert and notified Pearl Harbor about the impending diplomatic break that the Japanese had scheduled to take effect from 1 p.m. Washington time on December 7th.

A "Minority Report" was issued under the signatures of Senators Brewster and Ferguson. They listed some twenty "conclusions of Fact and Responsibility." President Roosevelt was held "responsible for the failure to enforce continuous, efficient, and appropriate cooperation among the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Chief of Staff (General Marshall), and the Chief of Naval Operations (Admiral Stark) in evaluating information and dispatching clear and positive orders to the Hawaiian commanders as events indicated the growing imminence of war." Roosevelt was especially at fault, between Saturday night December 6th, and Sunday morning, the 7th, for failing "to take that quick and instant executive action which was required by the occasion."

Rep. Frank Keefe submitted his own "Additional Views" after having, with Republican Rep. Gearhart (who was in a tough re-election campaign) signed the "Majority Report." Keefe admit-

ted that the “concept of an ‘incident’ as a factor which would unify public opinion behind an all-out war effort either in the Atlantic or Pacific had influenced the thinking of officials in Washington for a long time.” As early as October 1940, Roosevelt had considered blockading Japan. Keefe also found it significant that just days before the attack on Pearl Harbor Roosevelt personally ordered the Navy to dispatch three small vessels from the Philippines into the path of Japanese warships then steaming towards Southeast Asia. The Congressman felt that this singular action was intended to provoke an “overt” Japanese attack on American ships that could serve as the incident needed to bring the United States officially into the war.

George Morgenstern Enters the Fray

The Congressional Hearings, memoirs of diplomats and military officers, and other inquiries provided enough evidence to allow a serious student of the attack to obtain a fairly clear picture of what had happened. George Morgenstern, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Chicago who had served as a captain in the U.S. Marine Corps during the war, combed through the available material and wrote what remains today perhaps the best account of the episode, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*, published in 1947 by the Devin-Adair Company.

Morgenstern, who was by then working as an editorial-page editor for the *Chicago Tribune*, rattled the defenders of Roosevelt’s innocence. Subject to severe attack by some, or simply given the silent treatment, Morgenstern’s scholarship won plaudits from others who were not partisans of the Democratic political establishment. The venerable Charles A. Beard stated that his book would long remain “a permanent contribution to the quest for an understanding of the tragedy of Pearl Harbor.” A former commander-in-chief of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet, Admiral H.E. Yarnell, said that the author “is to be congratulated on marshalling the available facts of this tragedy in such a manner as to make it clear to every reader where the responsibility lies.” Georgetown University historian Charles Callan Tansill felt that Morgenstern “discloses with great ability the lessons of secret diplomacy and national betrayal.”

Morgenstern opened his book with a description of the Japanese attack, and noted that a 1932 U.S. Navy exercise showed that Pearl Harbor was open to air attack by carrier based planes. An entire chapter was devoted to the question of why the fleet came to be home-based at Pearl Harbor from May 1940. The author cited the testimony of the former commander of the Pacific Fleet, Admiral J.O. Richardson, who, in October 1940, protested Roosevelt’s decision to move the fleet from the protected waters of the American west coast to the vulnerable base at Hawaii. Richardson was relieved of his command four months after his meeting with FDR and was replaced by Rear Admiral Kimmel.

“For years before Pearl Harbor Mr. Roosevelt had talked of peace. For months he had schemed for war. His deeds belied his words,” the author asserted in his chapter dealing with the “Back Door To War.” Herein he listed the chain of events, from Roosevelt’s October 1937 “quarantine the aggressors” speech to his arming of the British at the expense of the U.S. armed forces and the “undeclared war” he waged in the Atlantic. Morgenstern demonstrated that the United States had no great economic or political interests with China, which was at war with Japan. Indeed, while China accounted for less than 3 percent of U.S. foreign trade, Japan was America’s third best customer. If Japan was a “threat” to any interests, it was those of Britain, France, and the Netherlands, holders of vast Asian colonies.

The diplomatic prelude to the attack was reviewed. In “The Last of the Japanese Moderates,” Morgenstern emphasized that “diplomacy failed because diplomacy was not employed to avert war, but to make certain its coming.” Citing U.S. Ambassador to Japan Joseph C. Grew, the au-

thor revealed how Premier Konoye's sincere peace proposals were spurned by Roosevelt, leading to Konoye's replacement by General Tojo, who pledged to do whatever was necessary to break the economic stranglehold America had inflicted since the summer of 1941.

The Joint Congressional Hearings brought out the extent to which American cryptographers managed to read secret Japanese diplomatic messages. This "MAGIC," as it was called, enabled Washington to know what the Japanese had in mind and, most importantly, what their timetable was for on-going diplomatic efforts, the failure of which would inevitably lead to military action. By November 14, 1941, Roosevelt knew that war would come if negotiations collapsed; on November 19th Tokyo warned that a complete breakdown was near and, in a special message to its Washington embassy, issued the now famous "Winds" instruction, which provided that:

In case of emergency (danger of cutting off our diplomatic relations), and the cutting off of international communications, the following warning will be added in the middle of the daily Japanese language short wave news broadcast:

1. In case of Japan-U.S. relations endangered: Higashi no kaze ame (east wind, rain).
2. Japan-U.S.S.R. relations: Kita no kaze kumori (north wind, cloudy).
3. Japan-British relations: Nishi no kaze hare (west wind, clear).

On November 22, Tokyo informed its special envoys to the United States, Kichisaburo Nomura and Saburo Kurusu, that if an agreement was not reached with the U.S., British, and Dutch by November 29th, "the deadline absolutely cannot be changed. After that things are automatically going to happen."

In another

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Page 441

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...the part played in bringing about the result of December 7 by its campaign of economic warfare, its secret diplomacy, its covert military alliances, the submission of demands which Japan found "humiliating," and its own complete abandonment of neutrality in favor of nondeclared war...

When it became apparent, a few days after Pearl Harbor, that the manifest failures which contributed to the crushing defeat at Oahu could not be blamed solely on the Japanese, Roosevelt and his associates in the civilian government and high command in vented some new villains to divert the guilt from themselves. For the defeat at Pearl Harbor the blame — all of the blame, not part of it — was apportioned between Adm. Kimmel and Gen. Short.

Later, as the war drew to an end and new doubts were raised, President Truman shifted blame from Washington to the American people as a whole. Said Truman, "The country was not ready for preparedness ... I think the country is as much to blame as any individual in this final situation that developed in Pearl Harbor." But it was not the American people who had waged economic warfare against Japan. And it was not the public that had shipped weapons to Britain and Russia at the expense of the U.S. armed forces.

Morgenstern rejected Truman's arrogant charge and instead directed the blame precisely where the evidence indicated that it lay:

The United States was neither informed nor alerted when Roosevelt and the men whose intentions coincided with his (because their fortunes rode with him) were warping the nation into war in 1941. The motives of these men are to this day obscure. They are never more obscure in the light of the default of all promises concerning the objectives of World War II... All of these men must answer for much. With absolute knowledge of war, they refused to communicate that knowledge, clearly, unequivocally, and in time, to the men in the field upon whom the blow would fall. the silence in Washington can yield to no other explanation than a desire to do nothing that would deter or forestall the attack which would produce the overt act so long and so fervently sought. when the price of silence proved to be 2,326 lives, it was necessary to add two more victims to the list — Adm. Kimmel and Gen. Short ... they failed — with calculation — to keep the United States out of war and to avoid a clash with Japan ... the “warnings” they sent to Hawaii failed — and were so phrased and so handled as to insure failure.

Pearl Harbor was the first action of the acknowledge war, and the last battle of a secret war upon which the administration had long since embarked. the secret war was waged against nations which the leadership of this country has chosen as enemies months before they became formal enemies by a declaration of war. It was waged also, by psychological means, by propaganda, and deception, against the American people, who were thought by their leaders to be laggard in embracing war. The people were told that acts which were equivalent to war were intended to keep the nation out of war. Constitutional processes existed only to be circumvented, until finally the war-making power of Congress was reduced to the act of ratifying an accomplished fact.

It is encouraging to report that George Morgenstern's classic account of the Pearl Harbor tragedy is at long last being reprinted (by the IHR). Despite the passage of time, and the disclosure of new evidence, Morgenstern's basic thesis remains unshaken.

A Growing Debate

The Revisionist case was firmly grounded in evidence made available during the Congressional Hearings and in other post war disclosures. this did not silence the defenders of Roosevelt and the “New World Order” that had been forged at Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, and San Francisco. Far from it. A stream of books defending, “explaining” and excusing Roosevelt and his chief aides rolled off the presses to the accolades of the Establishment press. Representative examples of this literature were *The Road to Pearl Harbor*, by Herbert Feis (Princeton University Press, 1950); *Roosevelt: From Munich to Pearl Harbor* by Basil Rauch (Creative Age Press, 1950); and the *The Challenge to Isolation* (Harper and Brothers, 1952) and *The Undeclared War* (Harper and Brothers, 1953), both by William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason.

If George Morgenstern's *Pearl Harbor* remained the best answer to the Establishment's version of the attack, other writers were taking a closer look at the New Deal and placing the Japanese attack on Hawaii within the context of American foreign and domestic policies during the Roosevelt Era. Of especial note are studies by Charles A. Beard, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941: A Study in appearances and Realities* (Yale University Press, 1948); William Chamberlin, *America's Second Crusade* (Henry Regnery, 1950); Frederick R. Sanborn, *Design*

for War: A Study of Secret Politics, 1937-1941 (Devin Adair, 1951); and Charles Callan Tansill, *Back Door to War: The Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1933-1941* (Henry Regnery, 1952). The volumes by Beard and Tansill were especially unwelcome among the defenders of Roosevelt's policies, as Beard had been one of the pre-eminent historians of the first half of the twentieth century, while Tansill was a distinguished Georgetown University professor of American diplomatic history. All of the above-mentioned titles are still worth reading, not only from the historiographical standpoint, but for their factual disclosures and interpretations of events.

The Barnes Symposium

Harry Elmer Barnes (1889-1968) was a scholar of immense range who had been a path-finder in world War I revisionism. later a critic of New Deal policies, he wrote on diplomatic history and international relations and gave generous encouragement to others to explore various aspects of recent history. He saw this "quest for truth" as not a mere intellectual exercise, but as an endeavor that might help bring justice and peace to a troubled world.

In 1953, under Barnes' editorship, *Perpetual War For Perpetual Peace* (The Caxton Printers, Ltd.) appeared. Here Barnes assembled leading critics in a survey and appraisal of the development, course, and consequences of American foreign policy during Roosevelt's presidency. He was confident that the views expressed in this volume could withstand whatever rejoinder Roosevelt's defenders might deliver, observing:

There is no probability that later evidence will require any moderation of the indictment of our foreign policy since 1914, and, especially since 1933. If there were any still secret material which would brighten the record of the Roosevelt and Truman foreign policies, we may rest assured that their court historians and publicity agents would have revealed it to the public long ere this.

The symposium opened with an introduction to "Revisionism and the Historical Blackout," wherein Professor Barnes explained how dissident views were suppressed by the very elements which claimed to defend the First Amendment to the Constitution. Had not the small firms Henry Regnery and Devin-Adair been willing to publish Revisionist books, it is doubtful whether Morgenstern, Sanborn, Tansill and others would have managed to get their most significant work in print. In his essay, "The United States and the Road to War in Europe," Dr. Tansill discussed the European background of the origins of World War II, as well as Japanese- American relations up to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Frederick R. San born considered the origins of Roosevelt's interventionism and the failure of his un-natural policies toward Hitler, in "Roosevelt Is Frustrated In Europe." Professor William L. Neumann drew attention to "How American Policy Toward Japan Contributed to War in the Pacific."

Two essays dealt with Pearl Harbor and its aftermath; "The Actual Road to Pearl Harbor," by George Morgenstern, which summarized and updated the case he had made in his full length book, and "The Pearl Harbor Investigations," by Percy L. Greaves, Jr. Greaves took a look at the nine Pearl Harbor in quiries and showed how blame has been redirected away from the real culprits. He revealed how General Marshall was forced to make a series of damaging admissions under sharp questioning by Senator Homer Ferguson, among them how the United States had secretly initiated military agreements with the British and Dutch, directed against the Japanese, and that the agreements had gone into effect before the Pearl Harbor attack. Nevertheless, the campaign to protect those who were responsible for the Pearl Harbor debacle continued. As he observed:

Those who have participated in this great conspiracy against the American people undoubtedly believe that the end justifies the means. They probably all join the editors of *Life* [magazine], who tell us in their *Picture History of World War II* that “In retrospect Pearl Harbor seemed clearly the best than that could have happened to the U.S.”

William Henry Chamberlin reminded us that none of the stated goals that the United Nations were supposed to be fighting for were realized by war's end. In his essay, “The Bankruptcy of a Policy,” he argued that the Roosevelt foreign policy was a catastrophe, the dire consequences of which would endure for decades to come. The final essay chapter, by Professor George A. Lundberg, considered “American Foreign Policy in the Light of National Interest at Mid-Century.” Here he compared internationalism and interventionism with what had been our traditional policy of continentalism before our involvement in the First World War. Under the old policy, the United States had been safe and grew prosperous. The New Internationalism had made us less free, less safe, less secure.

Nearly forty years after they were first published, the articles in *Perpetual War For Perpetual Peace* have indeed withstood the test of time and are still well worth reading. No one since Barnes has attempted, in a single volume, to cover the history reviewed therein. Regrettably, it is unlikely that such a project could be undertaken today, as there are not enough scholars working on those topics to fill a large volume of essays.

The Admirals Speak up

Thanks to the Roosevelt apologists, including the biased Roberts Commission, Majority Report of the Joint Congressional Committee, and the pro-Administration books, it is no wonder that the public was confused about which branch of the service was responsible for the security of Pearl Harbor (a condition that continues even today). The various investigations established that it was the Army, not the Navy, that was charged with the defense of the Pacific Fleet when it was in port. Thus, the chain of command in 1941 went through the Army Chief of Staff, General Marshall, the his commander at Hawaii, Lt. Gen. Short. Admiral Kimmel was supposed to cooperate with the Army, which at that time also included the Air Force (which was, throughout World War II was actually the Army Air Force). Kimmel's job was to take care of naval operations.

Over the decades that the debate over Pearl Harbor has raged, a number of observers have noted that, by and large, it has been Navy men who have taken an especial interest in seeking the truth about the attack. Gen. Short never published his own memoirs. Nor have men close to Marshall given an “inside” account of those fateful days.

Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald was commander of the Pacific Fleet's destroyers at the time of the attack and was at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Later he was commander of the Northern Pacific Force. At the time of his retirement from active duty he was Commandant of the First Naval District.

Theobald assisted Kimmel in his testimony before the Roberts Commission. After his retirement, he devoted years to studying the attack and its aftermath. The results of his research were first published in March 1954, when Devin Adair released *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor: The Washington Contribution to the Japanese Attack*.

It was Admiral Theobald's finding that from the fall of France, in June 1940, Roosevelt was convinced that the U.S. must fight on Britain's side and that the primary objective remained the de-

feat of Germany. On September 27, 1940, Germany, Italy, and Japan entered into the Tripartite Pact, which provided that each would declare war on any third party that went to war against one of the three (this did not affect Germany and Japan's relations with the U.S.S.R.). From this date, then, war with Japan meant war with Germany and Italy, and this came to play an increasingly important role in Roosevelt's maneuvers.

In an effort to circumvent the American public's reluctance to enter the war, Roosevelt took a number of steps that Theobald went into considerable detail explaining. In brief, they were:

1. Introduced a massive arms buildup;
2. Repeatedly provoked Germany through an undeclared naval war in the Atlantic;
3. Applied increasing economic and diplomatic pressure on Japan, reaching a climax in late July, 1941, when the U.S., Britain, and the Netherlands froze Japanese assets. Japan lost 75 per cent of its foreign trade and 90 per cent of its oil supply;
4. In August 1941 met with Churchill at Newfoundland, where FDR promised that any Japanese attack on British or Dutch possessions would bring the United States into the war;
5. Had Secretary of State Hull delivered an insulting diplomatic ultimatum to the Japanese government on November 26, 1941, "which gave Japan no choice but surrender or war";
6. He "retained a weak Pacific fleet in Hawaiian waters, despite contrary naval advice, where it served only one diplomatic purpose, an invitation to a Japanese surprise attack";
7. "Furthered that surprise by causing the Hawaiian Commanders to be denied invaluable information from decoded Japanese dispatches concerning the rapid approach to the war and the strong probability that the attack would be directed at Pearl Harbor."

Theobald, in his review of the MAGIC diplomatic decrypts that were available in Washington, emphasized that this vital material was not passed along, that there had been an "almost complete denial of information, during the three months preceding the Pearl Harbor attack." Then he posed a series of questions that Roosevelt's defenders have yet to answer satisfactorily: "Why was such irrefutable evidence of the coming attack so withheld? Why did Washington contribute so completely to the surprise feature of that attack?" Theobald reasoned, "There can be only one answer — because President Roosevelt wanted it that way!"

The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor also reviews the findings of the various post-attack investigations, including a point-by-point refutation of the Majority Conclusion of the Joint Congressional Committee, which he dismissed as "the last act in the attempt to preserve the Pearl Harbor Secret."

The American moves leading up to the Japanese attack are summarized in his final chapter, in which he re-emphasizes that:

... the recurrent fact of the true Pearl Harbor story has been the repeated withholding of information from Admiral Kimmel and General Short ... The denial to the Hawaiian Commanders of all knowledge of Magic was vital to the plan for enticing Japan to deliver a surprise attack upon the Fleet ... because as late as Saturday, December 6, Admiral Kimmel could have caused that attack to be canceled by taking his fleet to sea and disappearing beyond land-based human ken.

Evidence placed on the record indicated to Theobald that:

Everything that happened in Washington on Saturday and Sunday, December 6 and 7, supports the belief that President Roosevelt had directed that no message be sent to

the Hawaiian Commanders before noon on Sunday, Washington time ... Never before in recorded history had a field commander been denied information that his country would be at war in a matter of hours, and that everything pointed to a surprise attack upon his forces shortly after sunrise.

Nevertheless, Theobald was forced to concede, Roosevelt's strategy accomplished its purpose: a united people rallied behind the president's war effort. The author left it up to his readers to ponder the ethics of that statecraft.

* * * * *

Contrary to the popular impression, Admiral Kimmel and General Short were never formally charged with errors of judgment or dereliction of duty. There was never a court martial proceeding. He and General Short were relieved of their commands and, in early 1942, placed on the Retired list. Neither was afforded an opportunity to defend himself against the criticism contained in the Roberts Commission Report.

However, during the 1944 Naval Court of Inquiry, Kimmel was permitted to retain legal counsel (Charles B. Rugg and Edward B. Hanify), to introduce testimony, and cross-examine witnesses. It was during the course of the Navy Inquiry that Kimmel learned about the MAGIC intercepts that had not been passed along to him and General Short. Thereafter, Kimmel tried to obtain as much information as he could in order to set the record straight. In December 1954, Henry Regnery Company of Chicago published *Admiral Kimmel's Story*.

Kimmel did not merely restate the findings of Morgenstern and Theobald. He presented his readers with a fresh perspective on why the Pacific Fleet came to be based at Pearl Harbor at the insistence of Roosevelt, and how he and General Short had tried, for many months, to remedy the serious shortcomings of that facility. There were never enough aircraft available to conduct 360-degree searches on a regular basis; the base lacked radar sets and trained personnel, the entrance to the anchorage was so narrow that warships were forced to enter and exit in single file. Kimmel's superiors repeatedly advised him that there was no danger of torpedo attack, because, they were confident, the harbor's waters were too shallow and any airdropped "fish" would simply sink to the bottom (the Japanese solved this problem by affixing special fins to their torpedoes; U.S. Naval Ordnance did not think this was possible).

As this had been brought out during the Congressional Hearings, and gone into detail in the studies by Morgenstern, Greaves, Barnes, and Theobald, Kimmel and Short were kept in the dark about the worsening diplomatic situation with Japan and were denied all of the information contained in the MAGIC decrypts. Kimmel went on to reveal that he was informed by the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Stark, that an attack against Pearl Harbor was not likely and was ordered to have his fleet ready to move against the Marshall Islands upon the outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific.

Immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack, angry citizens bombarded Kimmel with denunciations and even death threats. More than one politician publicly suggested that he should consider suicide. A sample of this vilification was included in the ninth chapter of his book.

Admiral Kimmel's Story makes for sobering reading, even to day. Reflecting on Kimmel's account, it is likely that most readers will agree with Fleet Admiral William F. Halsey's judgment that, "Admiral Kimmel and General Short [were] splendid officers who were thrown to the wolves as scapegoats for something over which they had no control. They had to work with what they were given, both in equipment and information. They are our outstanding military martyrs."

Stimson's Embarrassing Diary Entry

On November 25, 1941, President Roosevelt met with Secretary of State Hull, Navy Secretary Frank Knox, Secretary of War Henry Stimson, General Marshall and Admiral Stark. Relations with the Japanese was the main topic discussed. FDR observed that the Japanese had launched surprise attacks at the outset of previous wars and that the U.S. might be under attack by the following Monday. Stimson was keeping a diary at this time and the defenders of Roosevelt's innocence have long been frustrated over the following entry from his diary, dealing with the conference of the 25th:

The question was how we should maneuver them [the Japanese] into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition.

After discussing the matter, Roosevelt and his closest advisers agreed that:

In spite of the risk involved, however, in letting the Japanese fire the first shot, we realized that in order to have the full support of the American people it was desirable to make sure that the Japanese were the ones to do this so that there should remain no doubt in anyone's mind as to who were the aggressors.

Richard N. Current, a professor of history at the University of North Carolina, came up with an inventive explanation for this remarkable bit of evidence that was made public during the Joint Congressional Hearings. In *Secretary Stimson: A Study in Statecraft* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954), Dr. Current conceded that was no denying that Stimson, et al. were anticipating an attack. But he claimed not on United States, rather on Dutch or British, territory. Roosevelt's challenge was how to make a Japanese attack on Dutch or British territory appear to be an attack on America. I leave it to the reader to consider whether or not this is a convincing exposition.

Wohlstetter and Morison

Two books which remain standards in the pro-Roosevelt literature appeared in 1963: Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Two Ocean War* (Boston: Little, Brown) and Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decisions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press). Both were widely, and favorably, reviewed. Morison's became a book club selection and best seller. Wohlstetter's academic reputation as a specialist on intelligence analysis and strategic decision-making was secured with the acceptance of her book.

Morison was hired by the Roosevelt Administration to write the official *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*. The passage of time did little to mellow his dedication to the cause of his war-time employer. Chapter 3 of *The Two Ocean War* dealt with Pearl Harbor. Here, the author claimed, that "Actually, the Administration and the heads of the armed forces were doing their best to prevent or postpone a war with Japan." The various MAGIC messages that Washington failed to send word of to Hawaii simply got mixed up with other warnings of forthcoming Japanese moves against Siberia, Peru, and other unlikely places. Morison blamed Kimmel and Short for not taking proper action, and

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Admiral Morison joined the chorus in describing Mrs. Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*, as "The best book by far on the question of why we were surprised at Pearl Harbor."

More recently, Captain Roger Pineau and John Costello (who should know better), have referred to her efforts as a “scholarly study.”

Wohlstetter was not interested in assigning blame for the disaster. Rather, it was her thesis that “The United States was not caught napping... We just expected wrong.” Pearl Harbor was “a failure of strategic analysis” and “a failure to anticipate effectively.” Yes, in retrospect, the record indicated that Washington might well have warned Kimmel and Short. But what we had here was a “national failure to anticipate” that the Japanese would actually attack Hawaii, instead of some other target. And no, there certainly wasn’t any “conspiracy” involving Roosevelt and his cronies.

Percy L. Greaves who, by common agreement, knew more about Pearl Harbor than any man living at the time, wrote a scathing critique of Wohlstetter’s book that should have led to its being quietly removed from library shelves and consigned to the recycling plants. “The Mystery of Pearl Harbor: 25 Years of Deception,” was included with essays by Harry Elmer Barnes and Vice Admiral Frank Betty in the December 12, 1966 issue of *National Review* magazine. Later reprinted in the special “Pearl Harbor: Revisionism Renewed” edition of *The Journal of Historical Review* (Volume Four, Number Four, Winter 1983-84), Greaves noted that a first reading of her book disclosed over one hundred factual errors, “not to mention child-like acceptance of Administration releases in preference to obscured realities.” One fundamental error of assumption undermined her entire argument. Treating the intelligence phase of the story, she never learned that there was a five-hour difference between Navy time and Washington, D.C. time. As Greaves remarked, “How valuable is a book on pre-attack intelligence that is five hours off on the timing of all Naval communications coming out of Washington? How dependable is a Naval historian who acclaims such a book the best on the subject? ... One could go on and on for a hundred more blunders. The facts were just too much for Mrs. Wohlstetter.” It says volumes about the quality of the current generation of academic historians that Wohlstetter’s book continues to turn up on lists of “recommended” titles dealing with the Pearl Harbor catastrophe.

Further Contributions by Barnes

Harry Elmer Barnes continued to investigate the attack on Pearl Harbor long after the publication of *Perpetual War For Perpetual Peace*. He not only conducted his own research, but gave warm encouragement to others, both people who had some “inside” knowledge of the events, as well as unbiased scholars who were not afraid to pursue avenues of inquiry that might lead to findings that were unpopular with the political and historical establishments.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of Pearl Harbor was marked at the *Chicago Tribune* with a Special Pearl Harbor Supplement. George Morgenstern organized this undertaking with assistance from Dr. Barnes. The highlight of the December 7, 1966 *Chicago Tribune* was an essay by Admiral Kimmel. Barnes contributed an insightful piece on General Marshall.

Commander Charles Hiles wrote the best article to yet be published concerning the “Bomb Plot” Messages. Tokyo requested specific information about the movement and location of major warships berthed at Pearl Harbor. On December 3, the Japanese consul in Honolulu, Nagao Kita, informed Tokyo that he had set up a system of codes confirming the movement of various American warships through the use of signals in windows at Lanikai Beach, which could be spotted by off-shore “fishing” boats and submarines. This vital information could then be passed on to the Japanese carrier task force. The signal system would operate through December 6th. The Kita messages to Tokyo were intercepted and decrypted by U.S. intelligence. Thus, Washington knew

that Pearl Harbor was likely going to be attacked and by what date. None of this information was passed along to the U.S. Army and Navy commanders at Pearl Harbor.

Articles by the *Tribune's* veteran Washington Bureau Chief, Walter Trohan, and their aviation editor, Wayne Thomis, rounded out this issue.

The following year, on December 7, 1967, Morgenstern gave front-page coverage in the *Tribune* to the publication of a number of documents relating to Pearl Harbor, with commentary by Barnes. Although this information was well known to those who had kept up with the debate over the years, members of the public at large found much of the material that Barnes collected shocking, and revealing a chapter of history they were ignorant of.

Harry Elmer Barnes died on August 25, 1968 at the age of 79. Less than a week before he passed away, he had completed the final draft of *Pearl Harbor After a Quarter of a Century*, a 132-page summary of the entire controversy. This incisive study originally appeared in print as an entire issue of *Left and Right: A Journal of Libertarian Thought* (Volume IV, 1968). It has since been reprinted in its entirety by the Institute for Historical Review.

He observed that all of the careful research conducted by Revisionists had yet to alter the general public perception of this event:

Only a small fraction of the American people are any better acquainted with the realities of the responsibility for the attack than they were when President Roosevelt delivered his “Day of Infamy” oration on December 8, 1941. The legends and rhetoric of that day still dominate the American mind.

For the last time, Barnes outlined what he felt were the policies and events which had led to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Over the years, Barnes had revised a number of his own assumptions. One of these concerned Roosevelt’s December 1, 1941 order to Admiral Hart at Manila, ordering the immediate dispatch of three “small vessels” armed with a machine gun and deck cannon, each commanded by a U.S. Naval officer, and flying the American flag. The three little ships were directed to sail into the path of Japanese Navy convoys that Washington knew were then steaming southward. Had the American ships been attacked by the Japanese, Barnes was now confident that this would have saved Pearl Harbor. “There can be little doubt that the Cockleship plan of December 1st was designed to get the indispensable attack by a method which would precede the Pearl Harbor attack, avert the latter, and save the Pacific Fleet and American lives,” he wrote of this aspect of the mystery.

A part of the story that had hitherto been largely overlooked, even by many Revisionists, concerned the secret agreements Roosevelt had entered into with the British and Dutch and which led to America technically being at war with Japan four days before Pearl Harbor. As Barnes succinctly explained, in April 1941 the U.S., British, and Dutch agreed to take joint military action against Japan if the Japanese sent armed forces beyond the line 100 East and 10 North or 6 North and the Davao-Waigeo line, or threatened British or Dutch possessions in the southwest Pacific or independent countries in that region. The agreements were known as ABCD. Thereafter, Admiral Stark said that war with Japan was not a matter of *if*, but rather *when* and *where*. Roosevelt gave his approval to the attendant war plans in May and June. On December 3, 1941, the Dutch invoked the ABCD agreement, after Japanese forces passed the line 100 East and 10 North, and were thought to be headed toward Dutch territory as well as the Kra Peninsula and Thailand. The U.S. military attache in Melbourne, Australia, Colonel Van S. Merle-Smith, was contacted by the Australians, British, and Dutch and informed that the Dutch were expecting the U.S. Navy to of-

fer assistance. Merle-Smith relayed this information to his superiors by coded message. It should have reached Washington in the early evening of December 4.

Like a number of other students of the period, Barnes suspected that FDR had sought a “good war” to solve the serious economic problems that persisted throughout the New Deal. Whatever his motives, it was undeniable, he concluded, that:

The overwhelming responsibility for the war and the attack was, of course, Roosevelt’s deliberate refusal to settle the relations between the United States and Japan in a peaceful manner by honest diplomatic negotiations, to achieve which Japan made unusually impressive gestures and offered very reasonable terms that protected all legitimate vital American interests in the Far East.

Pearl Harbor After a Quarter of a Century remains a note worthy contribution to the literature on the topic. It is as good an introduction to the issues involved as is currently in print.

Additional Pieces of the Puzzle

In the October 1962 issue of the United States Naval Institute *Proceedings*, Rear Admiral Kemp Tolley gave his account of having been the commander of one of the “little ships” hastily ordered out of Manila to monitor the Japanese Navy in early December of 1941. Although the bare essentials of the incident had been revealed during the Joint Congressional Hearings, Tolley’s article sparked much comment. Additional research resulted in the publication of his book, *The Cruise of the Lanikai: Incitement to War* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1973).

The *Lanikai* was a 67-ton two-masted auxiliary schooner engaged in inter-island traffic. Chartered for \$1.00 by the U.S. Navy, it had a crew of five Filipino civilians, who could not speak English. Commander Harry Slocum informed a startled Lt. Tolley that “the President has personally ordered” him to set sail as soon as possible. The sailing ship was turned into a vessel of war by lashing to its deck an old 3-pounder gun left over from the Spanish-American War and two World-War I-vintage .30 caliber machine guns. The only radio available could receive messages but not transmit them. Nevertheless, he was ordered to sail for the coast of Indo-China and told to have someone work on the radio set while they were at sea.

In the event, neither the *Lanikai*, nor the other ships ordered out, the *Isabel* and the *Molly Moore*, were able to cross the paths of the Japanese. Only after the war did Tolley fully appreciate the role intended for the *Lanikai* — that of “live bait.”

Another book on this topic was *Cover Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor, 1941-1946* by Bruce Bartlett (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1978). The core of this volume was taken from his 1976 Georgetown University masters thesis in history, which explored what various interest groups hoped to gain from an inquiry into Pearl Harbor. It offers little to the student of the episode that cannot be found in other, and better, treatments. Its chief interest today is that it includes, as an appendix, a reproduction of John T. Flynn’s pathbreaking pamphlet, *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*, discussed earlier in this essay.

The Strange Case of Gordon Prange

Gordon W. Prange served as Chief of General Douglas MacArthur’s G-2 Historical Section in Japan from October 1946-July 1951. During that time he conducted numerous interrogations of

Japanese military personnel. Upon completion of his stint in Asia, he returned to the United States, where he taught history at the University of Maryland until his death in May of 1980.

Prange obtained an advance (reputed to amount of \$25,000) for a book on Pearl Harbor. For whatever reasons, he never turned in a completed manuscript, but kept on doing research for thirty-seven years. Upon his death, two former students of his, Donald Goldstein, an associate professor of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh, and Katherine V. Dillon, a former intelligence analyst, revised his 3500-page draft. Over the following eight years, four books attributed to Gordon Prange rolled off the presses and onto the “new releases” lists of the Book of the Month Club, History Book Club, and other distributors of “safe” popular history. To the surprise of McGraw-Hill, Goldstein and Dillon managed to turn Prange Enterprises, as the copyright holder was called, into a paying proposition.

The first book attributed to Prange was *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981). It is a military history of the attack as seen from the Japanese and American perspectives. It only touched on the larger issues of Japanese-American foreign relations, which have always served as the backdrop for Revisionist treatments of this topic. Prange had long felt that, “in the context of the time,” a war between the United States and Japan was “virtually inevitable.”

In truth, about the only genuinely “untold” aspect of this story was that Prange had failed to get his book ready in the early 1950s, when it would have been “new.” Shortly before *At Dawn We Slept* was at long last on its way to the printers, the Carter Administration released a mountain of previously classified U.S. naval records to the National Archives. Prange’s literary heirs did not have the time to sift through this massive volume of new material. However, this did not stop them from adding, as an appendix, an essay entitled, “Revisionists Revisited,” in which they made the astounding claim to have made a thorough search “including all publications released up to May 1, 1981.” While allowing that “the President made his mistakes in 1941, as did almost everyone else involved in Pearl Harbor,” they went on to make the mendacious assertion that, “we have not discovered one word of sworn testimony that substantiates the revisionist position on Roosevelt and Pearl Harbor.”

Among the many records that Prange, Goldstein, and Dillon did not consult was the remarkable testimony of former Chief Warrant Officer Ralph T. Briggs, who was working at the Cheltenham, Maryland intercept station in late 1941. Contrary to the defenders of Roosevelt and his coterie, who during the various investigations swore that there had been no “East Wind Rain” message received prior to the attack, Briggs confirmed that he had intercepted the “Winds” execute and had even located a Navy memoir buried in the records, indicating that he had read the message as early as December 2, 1941. During the later investigations, Captain Laurence Safford was the only person directly concerned with this matter who had the courage to testify that there had indeed been a “winds” message forwarded to Washington before the attack. It was Safford who first alerted Admiral Kimmel to the existence of these messages. During the Congressional Hearings, Briggs was ordered by his superiors not to testify and not to have anything further to do with Safford. Briggs’s damning evidence was released by the National Archives on March 11, 1980 as document SRH-051: “Interview with Mr. Ralph T. Briggs,” which was an official transcript of remarks made to the Naval Security Group. Long before *At Dawn We Slept* had gone to the printers, the Briggs testimony was freely available at the Military Reference Branch of the National Archives and copies immediately began to circulate among serious students of the affair. It was reprinted, in full, in the Fall 1980 issue of the Newsletter of the American Committee on the History of the Second World War, which is an affiliate of the American Historical Association.

Prange and Company also failed to exploit new documentation available from General Marshall's declassified files, which suggested that Kimmel and Short had in truth been made scapegoats for Washington. Nor did they refer to other records found among the Army Chief of Staff reports, documenting General MacArthur's blundering during the Philippine campaign.

Those wishing more details about the manifold shortcomings of *At Dawn We Slept* should consult Percy L. Greaves, Jr., "Three Assessments of the Infamy of December 7, 1941," *The Journal of Historical Review* (Volume Three, Number Three, Fall, 1982) and Rear Admiral Edwin T. Layton, Captain Roger Pineau, and John Costello, "*And I Was There*": *Pearl Harbor and Midway — Breaking the Secrets* (New York: William Morrow, 1985), pp. 495-511. As Greaves trenchantly observed in *The JHR*, "it would take another book of 800 pages to balance, correct and refute the one-sided presentation of the book's selected 'facts' and deductions." Pineau and Costello show in their own examination of this book:

Although widely praised for its apparently exhaustive research, Prange's account did nothing to provide new understanding of what had really gone wrong in Washington. *At Dawn We Slept* merely served to reinforce the politically loaded thirty-five-year-old report produced by the (Democratic majority of) the congressional investigating committee.

At Dawn We Slept is still very much in print and has just been re-released in a Pearl Harbor "50th Anniversary Edition" available in hardcover from Viking for \$35.00 and in paper back from Penguin for \$16.95. For unwary students and the general public, this is the version of the story that is most compatible with the world view of our predominant political and historiographical regime.

John Costello's Cautious Revisionism

John Costello, a former BBC producer turned historian, had co-authored two successful books, *D-Day* and *The Battle of the Atlantic*, before turning his attention to the Pacific campaigns. Costello's manuscript was near completion when the National Archives received the vast collection of Navy files in 1980. He was able to incorporate some of the new material in *The Pacific War* (New York: Rawson Wade, 1981), which appeared almost simultaneously with *At Dawn We Slept*. His treatment reflects his basically pro-Churchill, British bias, and the first hardcover edition was marred by sloppy proofreading and careless editing. Still, it was a more honest effort than the Prange work and, in two final chapters, Costello considered some of the newly released material that, among other things, indicated that eleven days before Pearl Harbor Roosevelt received a "positive war warning" from Churchill that the Japanese would attack the United States at the end of the first week of December. He also referred to John T. Briggs's important disclosures. Wrote Costello about the war:

There is every indication that a month before the attack on Pearl Harbor, it was the United States that had decided to bring about the rupture of discussions and was about to prepare for the worst. There is now evidence for believing that President Roosevelt was not only expecting war but possibly knew exactly when it would break out.

According to a confidential British Foreign Office report "the President and Mr. Hull were ... fully conscious of what they were doing"... Whether such an accommodation [the *modus vivendi*] would have worked out in practice is less important than the fact that it was the United States which decided to abandon the *modus vivendi* ...

thereby making a Pacific War inevitable ... In the light of subsequent events, this decision proved to have been one of the most momentous in American history.

The Evolution of John Toland

John Toland has been one of the most commercially successful writers of popular history over the past thirty years. Winner of the Pulitzer Prize for *But Not in Shame* (1961), he said that the Pacific war was caused by an unprovoked act of Japanese aggression. His 1970 book, *The Rising Sun*, reported that Pearl Harbor had been the consequence of both American and Japanese miscalculations and mistakes. However, Toland continued to explore the question of how America and Japan came to go to war. His revised view of these events was published in 1982 and created an immediate sensation. *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (New York: Doubleday) witnessed Toland's conversion to the Revisionist position. It was now beyond question, wrote Toland, that Roosevelt and his closest advisers, including Marshall and Stimson, knew about the impending attack on Pearl Harbor before December 7th, but had withheld this information from Kimmel and Short. After the Japanese delivered their "surprise" first-strike, the Roosevelt Administration launched a massive "cover up," that involved the suppressing or destroying of evidence, perjury, and making the Army and Navy commanders at Hawaii scapegoats. These were conclusions that Morgenstern, Barnes, et al., had reached over thirty years earlier.

What distinguished *Infamy* was that Toland managed to uncover additional information which lent further weight to the Revisionist case. The focus of his book was the nine post attack investigations. This is by far the most readable account of the efforts made by various individuals, including Kimmel, Safford, Greaves and the Republican Minority on the Joint Congressional Committee, to overcome the official roadblocks and obtain the truth about what led to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Toland went on to reveal that his own "tenth investigation" had uncovered evidence suggesting that the Dutch had passed on information to Washington about the forthcoming attack and that the Office of Naval Intelligence was also aware that a Japanese carrier task force was steaming toward Hawaii. The edition of *Infamy* one should consult is not the first hardcover printing, but rather the revised 1983 version, which includes an important Postscript incorporating material not available for the first printing. This recommended edition is currently in print: *Infamy* by John Toland (New York: Berkley Books, 397 pp., \$5.50, ISBN: 0-425-09040-X). This represents an important breakthrough for Revisionism, since Toland's was the first Revisionist treatment of Pearl Harbor to be published by a major commercial house and the first to reach the *New York Times* bestseller list. Writing in the JHR, Percy L. Greaves described *Infamy* as "probably the best volume on the subject to date."

Contributions by Martin and Greaves

For many years, this reviewer distributed copies to students of what he has long considered to be the best brief introduction to this question, James J. Martin's essay, "Pearl Harbor: Antecedents, Background and Consequences." First published as a chapter in his 1977 book, *The Saga of Hog Island & Other Essays in Inconvenient History* (Ralph Myles, Publisher, P.O. Box 1533, Colorado Springs, Colorado 80901), it was later included as a chapter in a volume directed especially toward a Japanese audience, *Beyond Pearl Harbor: Essays on Some Historical Consequences of the Crisis in the Pacific in 1941* (Plowshare Press, RR 1, Little Current, Ontario POP 1KO, Canada, 1981). Within the confines of seventeen pages, Dr. Martin manages to explain why Pearl Harbor has continued to be an issue provoking controversy, reviews the most important literature, and discusses what some of the results have been for the United States.

Beyond Pearl Harbor included a previously unpublished essay by Martin, "Where Was the General? Some New Views and Contributions Relative to the Ongoing Mystery of Pearl Harbor." Marshall's role in this affair has long been a question. As Chief of Staff, Marshall was responsible for reviewing the defense of Pearl Harbor. He had access to the MAGIC intercepts that were not passed along to General Short. He was at Roosevelt's side through the critical months preceding the outbreak of the war. And he managed to disappear from the late afternoon of December 6th, when Washington started to receive decrypts of the Japanese diplomatic messages, informing its ambassadors that the break was coming with the United States until late on the morning of December 7th.

During the various investigations, Marshall claimed that "he couldn't recall" where he was on that fateful date. Martin was able to incorporate the sensational John T. Briggs testimony in his discussion. [The best guess is that Marshall was hiding out at the White House.] "Where Was General Marshall?" was first made available to American readers when it was included in the special Pearl Harbor issue of *The JHR* (Volume four, Number Four, Winter 1983-84). At the time of his death in 1984, Percy L. Greaves, Jr. had long been at work on a book on Pearl Harbor. Tentatively titled, *The Real Infamy of Pearl Harbor*, it has never been published. Four chapters of his draft were published, with his permission, as part of *The JHR* Pearl Harbor special issue. Two of these chapters dealt with General Marshall and his efforts to obscure what Roosevelt and the rest of them knew about the attack. A chapter on the MAGIC intercepts explained why it was impossible to assert that Roosevelt was "surprised" by the outbreak of the war. This issue of the *JHR* also reprinted Greaves's article, "Was Pearl Harbor Unavoidable?," which showed how, over a period of years, the Roosevelt Administration missed opportunities to reach a peaceful settlement to Pacific questions plaguing Japanese-American relations. "The Mystery of Pearl Harbor," was taken from *National Review* of December 12, 1966, and contains his critique of Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*. The last essay by Greaves, "What We Knew," reviews the information available in Washington by the time of the December 7th attack.

Admiral Layton's Memoirs

On December 7, 1941, Edwin T. Layton was intelligence officer for the U.S. Pacific Fleet, an assignment he retained throughout the war. Like his superior, Admiral Kimmel, he was indeed surprised when the Japanese bombers hit the base. But he was not cashiered in the aftermath.

Following his retirement in 1962, Layton was encouraged by many people, in and out of the military, to write his own account of what had happened. Over the following years, Rear Admiral Layton collected material and wrote articles and reviews for the U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*. The publication of *At Dawn We Slept* provoked him to complete the work he had begun almost twenty years earlier. He found the book riddled with misstatements and distortions of fact, and was outraged that Prange, Goldstein, and Dillon had blamed Kimmel and Short for the disaster, while absolving Washington.

At the time he suffered a fatal stroke in April 1984, Layton had largely completed the first draft of his manuscript, which recounted his version of events up to the Battle of Midway. Captain Roger Pineau, who had assisted Samuel Eliot Morison with his multi-volume *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, and John Costello both knew Layton, and were retained to complete his book, which appeared in 1985 as *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor and Midway- Breaking the Secrets* (New York: William Morrow, 596 pp., ISBN: 0-688-04883-8).

Naturally, the question arises as to just how much of this is really Layton and how much may have been "edited" by Pineau and Costello. As David Irving reminds us, the published versions

of many “memoirs” often differ greatly from the original manuscripts. With that reservation in mind, this reviewer can report that Layton’s central thesis is that he and Kimmel were “short changed” of intelligence information by Washington. He confirms that Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, Chief of the War Plans Division, failed to relay vital intelligence to Kimmel:

It should now be indisputable that the information that might have averted the disaster had been received by the Navy Department by 6 December 1941 — the bomb plot message, or even the eleventh-hour “lights code” message, could have alerted Pearl Harbor to the threat.

Layton thus reconfirms what Kimmel and Theobald wrote in their accounts. Other insights found in this volume include evidence that Stalin had very precise knowledge about when the Japanese were going to launch their strikes, and another report confirming that a council-of-war convened at the White House the night of December 6th.

Some Recent Scholarship

The war between Japan and the United States continues to be studied by academic historians. A book that includes eight essays by American and Japanese scholars is *Pearl Harbor Reexamined: Prologue to the Pacific War*, edited by Hilary Conroy and Harry Wray (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 200 pp., 1990, \$22.00, ISBN: 0-8248-1235-2). Japanese and American diplomacy leading up to the attack is reexamined here, with a number of the contributors disputing the still popular notion that “war was inevitable.”

The symposium opens with a review of Japanese-American relations from 1900 to 1940 by Harry Wray, a former history professor at Illinois State, now on the faculty of the University of Tsukuba, Japan. Akira Iriye then looks at U.S. policy toward Japan before World War II. He makes the case that the Japanese were very reluctant to make a drive to the south and were not necessarily antagonistic to the United States. The Roosevelt Administration, he argues, lost many opportunities to reach a peaceful resolution of outstanding issues. In his essay “Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the New Deal, and Japan,” Gary Dean Best, of the University of Hawaii, argues that FDR ignored the counsel of his more knowledgeable advisers, and followed his own notions, influenced by his “ancestral connections” to the China trade. Hull was a “mediocrity” who “knew nothing about foreign affairs.” Roosevelt sabotaged the World Economic Conference. The New Deal was a “war waged against business and banking in the United States ... By 1938 almost every industrialized nation in the world was well ahead of the United States in recovering from the depression, some of them having surpassed their pre-depression economic levels.” Like Barnes and other earlier Revisionists, Prof. Best is convinced that:

The events of December 7, 1941, resulted in part from the attitudes and policies that began to direct the United States in 1933. A new President launched the United States on mistaken foreign and domestic policies that ended in the prolonging of the depression and in war, rather than in recovery and peace.

The late John K. Emmerson, a one-time U.S. Foreign Service officer assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo during Joseph Grew’s ambassadorship and later a senior scholar at Stanford, points out that Grew and others familiar with Japan were not listened to. The State Department’s favorite “expert,” Stanley Hornbeck, had little genuine knowledge; his “only experience is Asia had been a teaching stint in China.” It was Hornbeck who helped torpedo a proposed Pacific summit between Roosevelt and Prime Minister Konoye.

Ikei Masaru of Keio University and author of *Gaisetsu Nihon Gaikoshi* (A Survey of Japanese Diplomatic History), highlights “Examples of Mismanagement in U.S. Policy toward Japan before World War II.” He argues that a more cautious attitude on the part of Washington might have postponed or avoided war with Japan altogether. American hard-liners, such as Hornbeck, misread Japanese intentions and did not understand the psychology of the officer corps, who would not accept submission, writes Hosoya Chihiro, vice-president of the International University of Japan.

Tsunoda Jun, former professor of history at Kokushin University and editor of the eight-volume *Taiheiyo no senso e no michi* (The Road to the Pacific War) considers the Hull-Nomura negotiations. He considers that “there was no significant issue that would have made a war between Japan and the United States inevitable.” Konoye’s bid to hold a summit meeting with Roosevelt was completely genuine and was worth attempting.

Not all of the contributors to this volume support Revisionist positions. Michael Barnhart, associate professor of Japanese history at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, contends that Hornbeck was a realist and the United States was better off for having followed his advice. Alvin D. Coox, chair of the Japanese Studies Institute at San Diego State University, writes on “Repulsing the Pearl Harbor Revisionists: The State of Present Literature on the Debacle.” He reveals his own lack of qualifications to make an informed judgment when he avers that “the late Professor Gordon W. Prange demolished the supposed devilry of Roosevelt and company in his book, appropriately titled *At Dawn We Slept*. “

For many readers, *Pearl Harbor Reexamined* will be their first exposure to contemporary Japanese historical analysis. Three of the American contributors to this volume share the view that Roosevelt and Hull were not very interested in Japanese peace overtures. More books of the quality of this collection of essays would make a welcome addition to the literature of other hotly debated topics.

The Role of Winston Churchill

Students of the Second World War are well aware that Roosevelt and Churchill were working together long before the United States was officially at war against the Axis. The Tyler Kent affair has shed light on the secret communications the two engaged in, even before Churchill was Prime Minister. British wartime Cabinet papers released in January 1972 disclosed that at the August 1941 Newfoundland, Canada meeting, where the “Atlantic Charter” was announced, Roosevelt promised Churchill that the U.S. would enter the war by the end of the year.

Questions have persisted: Did Churchill know about the Japanese design against Pearl Harbor? Did he pass along what information he had to Roosevelt?

At the Ninth International Revisionist Conference, British historian David Irving dealt with these and related matters in his paper, “Churchill and U.S. Entry into World War II,” which was subsequently published in *The JHR*, Volume Nine, Number Three, Fall 1989, pp. 261-286. While working on the second volume of his wartime biography of Churchill, Irving reported that he discovered that all British intelligence files relating to Japan during the fall of 1941 have been removed from the archives and are closed to review by researchers. His fellow British historian, John Costello, was told by the British Ministry of Defence that it is “not in the national interest” to have these files made available to the public.

In his remarks, Irving pointed out that from September 1939 the British were able to read the Japanese fleet operational code, known as JN-25 (Japanese Navy). He went on to reveal that by mid-November of 1941, Churchill knew that the United States was soon to be attacked by the Japanese and that he “probably knew” that an attack would fall at Pearl Harbor. Said Irving, “I think Churchill deliberately allowed the attack on Pearl Harbor to go ahead in order to bring the Americans in. He did everything to avoid having the Pacific Fleet warned.”

This thesis has been developed by James Rusbridger and Eric Nave in their newly released book, *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor: How Churchill Lured Roosevelt into WW II* (New York: Summit Books, Simon & Schuster, 302 pp., photographs, in dex, 1991, \$19.95. ISBN: 0-671-70805-8). Rusbridger, formerly with Britain’s Secret Intelligence Service, has written on intelligence and military history since his retirement. While doing work on a book dealing with signals intelligence, he encountered Captain Eric Nave, “the father of British codebreak ing in the Far East.” The two then collaborated to produce this volume, which discloses that the British, and very likely the Americans, too, were indeed reading the Japanese Navy operational code well before the attack on Pearl Harbor.

By their account, the British certainly knew that the Japanese fleet was going to set sail on November 26, 1941. The most likely targets were the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Singapore, or Pearl Harbor. When the Japanese were not sighted in the south, this was, by process of elimination, a further indication that they were sending units towards Pearl Harbor. On December 2, five days before the attack on Hawaii, the British intercepted Admiral Yamamoto’s signal, “Climb Niitakayama 1208,” meaning that an attack would commence on December 8, Tokyo time, which was December 7 in Hawaii.

They charge that Churchill must have known that Pearl Harbor was going to be attacked, but that he refused to pass his information to Roosevelt. Had FDR known about the impending Japanese first-strike, then “as a totally honorable President,” he would have warned Kimmel and Short at Pearl Harbor. They conclude their narrative:

Roosevelt was thus deceived by Churchill, who took a ghast ly gamble to bring America into the war in a manner that would sweep aside all opposition; and he was also badly served by his own divided and jealous subordinates. The combination of the two brought a reluctant ally into the war. Churchill’s gamble paid off even if, in the process, Britain lost an empire.

Anyone familiar with the Roosevelt record can see the flaw in their conclusion, even if they are correct that the JN-25 code had been broken by the early fall of 1939. The authors completely misread Roosevelt’s position. They make no mention of his commitments to the British and Dutch, and the dilemma he was placed in when the Dutch called on the U.S. to own up to its part of the bargain four days before the attack on Pearl Harbor. There is no reference to Roosevelt’s “live bait” ploy of sending three little ships out of manila on a “defensive information patrol” the week before Pearl Harbor. Greaves, and others, long ago argued that while FDR may not have welcomed the loss of life at Pearl Harbor, that after the failure of his “three little ships” gambit, and with the Dutch and British invoking their agreements that went into effect after the Japanese crossed the imaginary line in Southeast Asia, the attack on Pearl Harbor solved Roosevelt’s most pressing problem.

Rusbridger and Nave have undoubtedly uncovered additional parts of the mystery. With the reservations I have outlined, their book is of interest to students of this episode.

Revisionism and Pearl Harbor

Over the past half-century, Pearl Harbor Revisionism has come of age. From the first writings of John T. Flynn, to George Morgenstern's masterful study, to the work encouraged by Harry Elmer Barnes, the testimony of participants in the events, and the latest findings of "second-generation" historians who are not satisfied merely to retell the standard accounts, this endeavor to uncover the truth has not been marked by paranoid "conspiracy theories" or reactionary "Roosevelt baiting." What Revisionists have accomplished is a sober re-appraisal of the origins of the Pacific War, and the making of a strong case for remembering December 7, 1941 as President Roosevelt's "Day of Infamy."

*As is the case today, the Pacific Fleet was based on the West coast of the United States [San Diego, San Francisco). FDR personally ordered it moved to the unprepared Pearl Harbor facility in 1940.

**Long out-of-print, John T. Flynn's *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* can be found as an appendix in *Cover Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor, 1941-1946* by Bruce Bartlett [New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1978).

Book review

In-Depth Report of 'Holocaust Trial' Provides Valuable Overview

- THE HOLOCAUST ON TRIAL: The Case of Ernst Zündel by Robert Lenski. Decatur, Ala.: The Reporter Press, 1990. Paperback. 544 pages. Photographs. Index. ISBN: 0-9623220-0-8. (Available from the IHR for \$ 29.00, plus \$ 2.00 postage and handling.)

Reviewed by Mark Weber

Anyone with an interest in twentieth century history or who truly cares about the issue of free speech in a democratic society will appreciate this book. Written as a day by-day account of the 1988 “Holocaust Trial” in Toronto of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel, and illustrated with dozens of well-chosen photographs, this highly readable, balanced and yet comprehensive survey may well be the best single introduction to the Holocaust issue now available.

Zündel’s troubles began in November 1983 when Jewish community activist Sabina Citron filed a complaint against him for reprinting and distributing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a polemical booklet by British writer Richard Harwood (Verrall) that refutes the generally accepted Holocaust extermination story. Responding to complaints from Canada’s Jewish community, it wasn’t long before Ontario’s provincial government took over the case, and in early 1985 Zündel was brought to court for “knowingly spreading false news.”

He was found guilty after a highly emotional seven-week trial that attracted enormous media attention in Canada. After the verdict was set aside by a higher court, Zündel was tried again in 1988 on the same charge, and was again found guilty. The verdict is currently under review by Canada’s Supreme Court.

For his part, Zündel could have made things much easier — or at least simpler — for himself if he had chosen to defend himself on narrower legal grounds. He might, for example, have simply argued that he was entitled to publish the booklet under Canada’s supposedly guaranteed right of free speech. But Zündel determined at the outset, as he put it, to “put the Nuremberg Trial on trial,” and decisively discredit the Holocaust extermination story.

The German-born defendant never intended to devote several years and enormous effort to the Holocaust issue. A passionate German nationalist, Zündel has regarded these Holocaust trials as an unintended but unfortunately necessary detour from what he sees as his mission: restoring a sense of purpose, pride and confidence to his beloved German people.

In spite of the guilty verdicts, it is now obvious that government officials and Jewish community leaders badly miscalculated when they decided to go after Zündel because — as Lenski’s book make abundantly clear — holocaust revisionism has been immeasurably strengthened as a result of these trials. Apparently viewing him as little more than a bigoted simpleton, his adversaries

grossly underestimated Zündel's intelligence, skill and perseverance, and did not anticipate his ability to assemble and hold together a team of loyal and talented supporters.

Much of the credit for the effectiveness of Zündel's legal campaign must go to his courageous attorney, Doug Christie. In his tough and often brilliant cross-examination of prosecution witnesses in the 1985 trial, he obliged many of them to make revealing and sometimes incriminating concessions to truth. This highly intelligent, sensitive and idealistic man continued his work in the 1988 trial, ably assisted by Keltie Zubko and attorney Barbara Kulaszka. (Audio cassette recordings of Christie's eloquent banquet address at the 1986 IHR conference are available from the IHR for \$9.95.)

Free Speech in Canada

For those who challenge the official view of the semi-sacrosanct Holocaust story, "free speech" is not quite free in Canada. Regardless of one's views about the Holocaust issue, or even of Zündel, any open-minded reader of *The Holocaust on Trial* will appreciate the significance of this trial for the issue of free speech.

Contrary to what the Canadian government has insisted all along, this was unquestionably a "free speech" case, as even the *New York Times* acknowledged in a rare American newspaper report on the trial. Alan Borovoy, a leading Canadian civil liberties advocate, declared that the arcane and rarely invoked law under which Zündel was tried should be abolished. It is no exaggeration to say that Zündel trial was one of the most important tests in many years of fundamental legal rights in North America. (As this review goes to press, Canada's Supreme Court is reviewing the Zündel case to decide the constitutionality of the law under which he was tried.)

The author of *The Holocaust on Trial* is an American writer in his late thirties. Robert Lenski is also the compiler-editor of *Toward a New Science of Man*, a collection of insightful and thought-provoking quotations on society, race, liberty and human behavior. To write this book, Lenski carefully went through every line of the official transcript of the four-month-long trial. He also took account of numerous newspaper and magazine articles, and spoke with a number of the key individuals involved in the case.

Although the author treats Zündel and Holocaust Revisionism sympathetically, this is by no means a one-sided revisionist polemic. In fact, Lenski gives the impression of being a Holocaust agnostic. Mistakes and fumbings by Zündel's witnesses are not ignored, and telling arguments and effective points by prosecution witnesses and the Crown attorney are duly presented.

In the introduction and in the first chapter, Lenski provides essential background information and effectively sets the book's tone. He tells of the defendant's youth in Germany, his emigration to Canada, successful career as an artist, and his "political awakening." Lenski succinctly explains how this Zündel became a focus of national attention during the first "Holocaust Trial" in 1985.

As Lenski relates in Chapter 2, Canada's newspapers and television closely followed the unfolding drama of that first trial. Canadians across the country were able to learn — albeit in an often sensationalized way — that there is an alternative view of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. In striking contrast to this copious coverage, the media almost completely ignored the second trial in 1988. The role of organized Jewry in pressuring publishers and editors to curtail reporting of the second Zündel trial has been nothing less than outrageous, as Canadian journalist Doug Collins and others have emphasized. (See Collins' essay in the Fall 1991 Journal.)

The Testimony

Lenski reviews the 1985 testimony of [Raul Hilberg](#), a prominent Holocaust historian and author of the three-volume standard study, *The Destruction of the European Jews*. Shaken by defense attorney Doug Christie's rigorous cross-examination questioning during the first trial, the Austrian-born Jewish professor refused to return as a prosecution witness. Consequently, Hilberg's lengthy testimony was laboriously read aloud to the bored members of the jury in the second Zündel trial by prosecution attorney John Pearson.

The prosecution's main witness, American Holocaust historian [Christopher Browning](#), was asked to comment in detail on the Harwood booklet. Lenski faithfully reports on the highlights of Browning's testimony — for which he was paid \$150 (Canadian) per hour — including his most persuasive arguments and pointed criticisms of the Harwood booklet.

As a "Functionalist" Holocaust historian who knows that hard evidence for the Holocaust is elusive, Browning postulates that the extermination of Europe's Jews began without a budget, central plan or even a direct order. He has speculated that Hitler may have set an enormous extermination program into motion with nothing more than a silent "nod" to subordinates.

In a relentless and sometimes brilliant cross-examination interrogation, defense attorney Doug Christie wrung numerous damaging admissions from Browning. As Lenski relates, for example, the 43-year-old university professor (who is also a member of the advisory board of the vehemently Zionist Simon Wiesenthal Center) claimed not to be aware that the Allies had used torture and threats to force German officials into signing incriminating statements about alleged German atrocities. Nor was Browning aware of the massive persecution of members of the ethnic German minority community in Poland just prior to the outbreak of war in 1939 (which was a decisive factor in Hitler's decision to attack).

Browning expressed confidence in the reliability of the postwar "confessions" of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, which have served as a major pillar of the Holocaust extermination story. But the historian did not know, for example, that Gerstein had "confessed" that at Auschwitz alone "millions of children" had been killed by holding cotton wads of poison under their noses. (Henri Roques thoroughly discredits this key "witness" in his doctoral dissertation, *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein*, which is available from the IHR.)

Questioned by prosecution attorney Pearson, Browning confidently cited a portion of the official wartime journal of the German governor of Poland, Hans Frank, as critically important evidence for the Holocaust extermination thesis. But under cross examination, Browning was obliged to acknowledge that he had not read the complete text of Frank's wartime journal, and that he was ignorant of what Frank had said on this subject as a Nuremberg Tribunal defendant.

No witness testimony is overlooked by Lenski, including the following:

- [Ditlieb Felderer](#) spoke in detail about his numerous inspection visits of camp sites in Poland. He presented and commented on some 300 slides taken during those trips.
- German writer [Thies Christophersen](#) was stationed at Auschwitz in 1944 as a junior army officer. He visited Birkenau — supposedly the most important killing center — several times during the height of the alleged extermination period, and saw no sign of killings.
- [Russell Barton](#), a British-born physician who served with British forces as a medical orderly in the infamous Bergen-Belsen camp at the end of the war, confirmed that mass deaths there were an indirect consequence of the conflict, and not of any deliberate German

policy. He noted that Jewish inmates in eastern camps, including Auschwitz, were given a choice by their German captors of either remaining behind to wait for the advancing Soviets, or leaving, usually on foot, with the retreating German forces.

- Austrian-born Canadian [Maria Van Herwaarden](#), who survived two years of internment in Auschwitz I and II (Birkenau), confirmed that conditions were generally dreadful, and that many fellow inmates succumbed to disease. At the same time, though, and contrary to widespread “rumors,” she testified that she saw no evidence of extermination or homicidal gassings.
- [Joseph G. Burg](#) confirmed that he, along with many other Jews, had been cruelly mistreated by Romanian authorities during the war. But he emphatically rejected the allegations of a German extermination policy or program. Indeed, he testified, the Germans treated the Jews much more humanely than did the Romanians. Burg said that he inspected the Auschwitz and Majdanek camps in 1945, just months after the end of the war, but found no evidence of extermination gas chambers at either site.
- [Emil Lachout](#) certified the contents of a 1948 Austrian Military Police Service document which confirmed that numerous false claims about homicidal gas chambers were based on perjured testimony by former inmates and statements obtained from Germans by torture. (See: IHR Journal, Spring 1988, pp. 117-126.)
- In spite of a bad cold, [Bradley Smith](#) proved to be one of the more effective witnesses. The jury members seemed to be visibly impressed with the straight-forward, common-sense responses and observations of this veteran free thinker and libertarian. He held up admirably under Pearson’s barrage of badgering and often exasperatingly petty questions.
- [Ivan Lagace](#), a funeral director and crematorium manager from Calgary, explained in detail why widely-accepted claims about cremation at Auschwitz and Birkenau are not technically possible. Allegations that SS camp officials were able to cremate Jewish corpses in just 15 or 20 minutes cannot possibly be true, he said, pointing out that even modern crematory facilities require about an hour and a half to cremate a body. Claims by Holocaust historian Hilberg and others that 4,400 bodies were cremated daily in Birkenau’s facilities are “preposterous” and “beyond the realm of reality,” Legace declared.

Lenski devotes most of a chapter to [my testimony](#), which was given during five often grueling days on the stand. Christie took me line by line through the Harwood booklet, asking me to comment on the accuracy of just about every sentence. As a result, my testimony touched on virtually every aspect of the Holocaust issue, including the role of the Einsatzgruppen security police units in the occupied Soviet territories, the origins and precise nature of Germany’s wartime Jewish policy, and the Nuremberg Tribunal testimony of wartime SS legal prosecutor Konrad Morgen. (For more on my testimony and role in the trial, see the *IHR Journal*, Winter 1989-90, pp. 389-425.)

While readily acknowledging the errors and misleading statements of Harwood’s booklet, I affirmed its central thesis: there was no German policy or program to exterminate Europe’s Jews, and nothing like six million Jews perished during the Second World War. Like Faurisson and Irving who would testify later, I stressed that the booklet’s errors are almost entirely minor, and that in any case are not critically important to its main thesis.

During his wide-ranging and detailed testimony, French professor [Robert Faurisson](#) also touched on virtually every major aspect of the Holocaust story. He focused particularly on his investigation of execution gas chambers in the United States, and the alleged extermination gas chambers at the former German camps. Europe’s leading Holocaust Revisionist also further discredited the testimony of star prosecution witness Browning.

Faurisson spoke at some length about the costly and exhausting trials and other outrageous legal difficulties he has had to endure in France as a result of his statements and writings on this issue. His ordeal — which is almost unbelievable in a late twentieth century European democracy — has included almost fatal physical attacks by bigoted thugs. (See also Faurisson's essays: "The Zündel Trials," *IHR Journal*, Winter 1988-89, pp. 417-431, and, "My Life as a Revisionist," *IHR Journal*, Spring 1989, pp.5-63.)

Without a doubt, the trial's most important witness was Massachusetts execution hardware expert [Fred Leuchter](#), who testified at length about his on-site investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. For some years, Faurisson had been saying that a neutral American gas chamber expert should carry out an impartial investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers of Auschwitz and Auschwitz-Birkenau — the five sites that are the core of the Holocaust extermination story. Persuaded by Faurisson, Zündel commissioned Leuchter to carry out this history-making investigation.

Leuchter's qualifications as America's foremost execution hardware expert were well established in the Toronto courtroom. For one thing, [William Armontrout](#), warden of the Missouri State Penitentiary, testified under oath that he had consulted with Leuchter on the design of his state's execution gas chamber, and declared that Leuchter is the only such specialist in the United States.

As is now well known, of course, Leuchter concluded that the inspected sites were never used as extermination gas chambers, and never could have been used for that purpose. Since the 1988 trial, his detailed report on his investigation has been widely circulated around the world in numerous languages, and has itself become history-making. As a result, Leuchter has become the target of a vicious campaign by the same Mafia that has tried to silence Zündel.

The final defense witness was [David Irving](#), arguably the most widely read and recognized historian in the world today. Speaking in clear and imposing language, the tall, handsome British scholar made a striking impression. Lenski's record of his wide-ranging and often fascinating testimony alone makes this book well worth reading.

Irving's appearance as a witness for Zündel was all the more remarkable because prosecution attorney Pearson had praised him earlier as a dissident historian who nevertheless did not "deny the Holocaust." For some years, though, Irving had privately been disturbed by the absence of any documentary evidence for a German extermination program or policy. Studying the just-completed Leuchter Report in Toronto settled the matter. In the courtroom, as Lenski reports, Irving dramatically repudiated his earlier position and endorsed the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story. After referring to Leuchter's Report as "shattering" and "a stroke of genius on the part of the defense," the judge forbade Irving from making any further reference to it.

Irving endorsed the central thesis of the Harwood booklet, while also conceding its obvious flaws. "I don't think there was any overall Reich policy to kill the Jews," he said. He pointed out the injustices of the Nuremberg Tribunal, and spoke of the persecution that invariably befalls anyone who seriously challenges the Holocaust extermination story.

Just as Zündel had intended, this legal contest became to a considerable extent a "trial on the Nuremberg trial." As the trial progressed, the narrower legal questions of his alleged guilt and the character of the Harwood booklet became less and less relevant. Indeed, Judge Thomas complained that "this trial became a showpiece for the Institute for Historical Review."

In his concluding chapter, "Summation, Verdict, Aftermath," the author ably summarizes the final pleas to the jury by attorneys Christie and Pearson. Lenski also attempts to explain the seem-

ingly inexplicable guilty verdict, and describes some of the consequences and implications of this trial for Canada and the Western world.

In spite of claims by both prosecutor Pearson and judge Thomas that the Harwood booklet “will likely cause racial and social intolerance unless something is done about it,” not one bit of evidence was presented to show that anyone had ever been harmed or injured as a result of Zündel’s publication of *Did Six Million Really Die?*. On this point alone, an open-minded outsider might easily assume that the jury would decide to acquit the defendant. And yet, in spite of all the testimony and evidence, the jury members agreed on a guilty verdict. Judge Thomas then sentenced Zündel to nine months imprisonment.

Why did the jury members decide to convict? Lenski provides some probable but unavoidably speculative answers. For one thing, by pointing to Zündel’s publication of booklets that uncritically praise Hitler and the Third Reich, the prosecution succeeded in portraying the defendant as an unrepentant Nazi — just about the most damning accusation that can be made against anyone these days.

The prosecution was also able to discredit — to a greater or lesser degree — just about every one of Zündel’s witnesses. The impact of Russell Barton’s helpful and enlightening eyewitness testimony about Bergen-Belsen, for example, was lost on the jury when he readily agreed with Pearson that German officials had exterminated six million Jews. It did not seem to matter that, as he admitted, this belief was derived from what he had casually read and heard from others, and was not based on any personal experience or systematic study. Robert Faurisson’s trials and legal difficulties in France were cited by the prosecution attorney to cast doubt on his motives and ethics, and to portray him as a threat to social peace and public order. Similarly, Irving was portrayed as a right-winger, Felderer as mentally unsound, Christophersen as a Nazi, and so forth.

Time and time again, this trial proved that Holocaust revisionists are held to a more exacting standard than other dissidents. Canadian authorities do not bother themselves about publications that challenge any other generally accepted view of contemporary history.

As unfair as it was, the Zündel trial points up the importance of rigorous accuracy on the part of Holocaust Revisionists. Revisionists have set themselves the great task of trying to persuade people that what they have been told by leading historians, standard reference works and governmental authorities is not true. For this reason, Revisionists have the burden of proof. It is not enough to convince those who are already inclined to doubt the Holocaust extermination story. To have any significant or lasting impact, it is essential to reach and persuade those who are understandably quite skeptical of Holocaust Revisionism — particularly intelligent and open minded men and women of good will who influence others.

This book is not without defects. Like Sergeant Friday in the old “Dragnet” series, Lenski has given us a mostly “just the facts, Ma'am” account. The main weakness of this essentially journalistic work is probably its paucity of analysis, which would have helped the reader to make better sense of the abundant historical information.

Also, because Lenski was not in Toronto during the trial itself, his book does not adequately communicate the trial’s dramatic tension. The electric atmosphere in the large and often packed Toronto courtroom easily rivaled the drama of a *LA Law* television showdown. Nor does the author quite capture the sense of dynamic purpose, idealism and drama that suffused *Zündelhaus*, the defendant’s barracks-like campaign command center. Finally, Lenski’s less than relevant and sometimes subjective comments about racial/social issues detract from the book’s effectiveness.

But these are relatively minor defects. On balance, I heartily recommend this readable, well-organized, engaging and even fascinating account.

For those interested in what is probably the most socially and political significant historians' debate of our time, this is both an excellent introduction to the dispute and a valuable reference survey of the entire Holocaust issue. And whatever one may think of Ernst Zündel or revisionism, the author deserves our thanks for producing this memorable account of a history-making trial with the most profound social implications.

Historical news and comment

An Interview with Admiral Kimmel

Dean Clarence Manion

December 7. Whenever this fateful date reoccurs on the calendar, it invariably revives a flood of tragic and painful recollections. The pain of recollection will be intensified this year when you read the recently published frank, and informative, memoirs of the widely experienced and universally respected General Albert C. Wedemeyer [*Wedemeyer Reports!* — Ed.]. This big revealing book begins and ends with the emphatic and unequivocal assurance that the attack on Pearl Harbor could have been — and should have been — prevented, and that the United States could have — and should have — stayed out of World War II.

Says Wedemeyer, and I quote: “The Soviet colossus would not now bestride half the world had the United States kept out of war — at least until Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany had exhausted each other. But Franklin D. Roosevelt, the proclaimed champion of democracy,” continues the General, “was as successful as any dictator could have been in keeping Congress and the public in ignorance of his secret commitments to Britain. Commitments which flouted the will and the wishes of the voters who had reelected him only after he had assured them that he would keep us out of the war. The fact that Japan’s attack had been deliberately provoked was obscured by the disaster at Pearl Harbor,” says Wedemeyer. “President Roosevelt had maneuvered us into the war by his patently unneutral actions against Germany and the final ultimatum against Japan.”

So much for the beginning of the *Wedemeyer Reports!* Near the conclusion we find this, and I quote again:

“On December 4th, 1941, we received definite information from two independent sources that Japan would attack the United States and Britain, but would maintain peace with Russia. On December 6, our intercepts told us, the Japanese would strike somewhere the very next day. President Roosevelt,” he says “had ample time to broadcast a warning that might have caused the Japanese to call off the attack.” “In any event,” continues the General, “we would not have permitted 3,500 Americans to die in Hawaii without an opportunity to fight back.”

Who, then, was responsible for the bloody surprise at Pearl Harbor? A few days after the bombs fell there, President Roosevelt made a radio speech to the American people in which he condemned the treachery that propelled us into war, and called Sunday, December 7, 1941 a day that will live in infamy. Mr. Roosevelt was never more truly prophetic than he was when he spoke those words. The infamy of Sunday, December 7, 1941 becomes increasingly notorious with each passing year. Ever more and more certainly that calamitous day is being firmly established in history as the infamous time when more than 3,000 American soldiers and sailors were sentenced to sudden and violent death by the calculated and deliberate dereliction of their own Commander-in-Chief.

Pearl Harbor was but the bloody beginning of what is yet an endless tale of woe. Down with the sacrificed sailors and soldiers went the heart and soul of our proud Pacific Fleet. But with the flotsom of this powerful and humiliating holocaust came the corrosive curse of Communism to poison the whole stream of human civilization. The bright light of freedom that was extinguished by Mr. Roosevelt's dreadful "day of infamy" may not come on again for a thousand years.

Fixing the responsibility for this terrible catastrophe has been a delayed and difficult task. In war the truth is always the first casualty. It was so at Pearl Harbor. The American people were shocked by this successful sneak attack, and enraged at the realization that it had dragged them into the foreign war from which the president had promised "again, and again, and again" to steer them clear. Popular clamor demanded appropriate scapegoats, and the president obligingly and promptly met the popular demand by nominating for disgrace two men who, respectively, commanded the United States Army and Navy forces in Hawaii on that fatal day.

The American people did not know then that the president and his top military advisors in Washington had been intercepting Japanese secret messages for many months, and that as General Wedemeyer has said, "These messages had finally indicated the time, the place, and the character of the Pearl Harbor attack, days in advance of December 7," Neither did the American people know then that this dreadful and important information had been deliberately withheld from the men who were most entitled to know it, namely, the top commanders of the United States Army and Navy forces in Hawaii.

Ten years ago the distinguished newsman George Morgenstern wrote and published what he called *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*. The politicians saw to it that Morgenstern's early revelation was given the silent treatment in the press of the country. But, in that book today, you can trace the long, sadistic persecution that was forced upon two great military men who were selected as the scapegoats for the day of infamy.

Namely, Lieutenant Walter C. Short and Rear Admiral Husband E. Kimmel. General Short is now dead, but Admiral Kimmel is now living in Connecticut. Three years ago, he published his own book about Pearl Harbor, which is authentic, remarkably restrained and entirely without rancor [*Admiral Kimmel's Story* -Ed.].

In the magazine section of the *Chicago Tribune*, he writes an up-date of his findings concerning the available warning that was never given to him. Admiral Kimmel happens to be my life-long personal friend. Last week I went to his home to obtain his direct answers to key questions about the Pearl Harbor attack. Here is my recorded interview with this distinguished, long-suffering man, to whom the officers and trustees of his alma mater, The United States Naval Academy, recently gave an extended testimonial for the patriotism, loyalty, ability, for titude and devotion to duty that he displayed at Pearl Harbor, before, on and after the 7th day of December, 1941.

CM: Admiral Kimmel, for myself and the radio audience, I am very grateful for the privilege of this interview. You know, of course, that you hold the key to one of the great tragic mysteries in our country's history. What you are doing here to day is a continuation of the great patriotic service to which your whole life has been dedicated.

HEK: Thank you, Dean Manion. In view of our long family friendship, I'm delighted to give this information to you, and through you, to the American people.

CM: To your present knowledge, how many people knew in advance that the Japanese planned to attack Pearl Harbor on December 7?

HEK: I believe those who had seen the intercepted and decoded Japanese messages, including the 14 part message received on December 6 and December 7, 1941, knew war with Japan was inevitable. And the almost certain objective of the Japanese attack would be the fleet at Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, at 1 p.m. Washington time.

CM: Who are some of these people and from what source did they get the information?

HEK: Those who saw the intercepted Japanese messages as they were received included: the President, Mr. Roosevelt; the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull; the Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson; the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Knox; the Chief of Staff of the Army, General Marshall; the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Stark; the Chief of War Plans, Army, General Gerow; the Chief of War Plans, Navy, Admiral Turner; the Chief of Army Intelligence, General Miles; Chief of Naval Intelligence, Admiral Worthington. Recorded testimony shows that all of these, except General Marshall and Admiral Stark were shown 13 parts of the 14-part message by 9 p.m. December 6, 1941, or shortly thereafter. When Mr. Roosevelt had read the 13 parts, about 9 p.m. December 6, 1941, he remarked: "This means war." All investigations of the disaster have failed to disclose where George Marshall spent the evening of December 6, 1941, or what he did. Admiral Stark, some two years after he had first been asked, finally produced evidence that he had attended the theater on that evening, though he still maintained that he had no independent recollection of where he spent the evening or what he did during the evening of December 6, 1941. In 1957, I received information, which I believe to be reliable, that the British subject serving in the Chinese government as commissioner of education and intelligence in China, received on November 30, 1941, from his intelligence sources in Japan, information of the planned attack on Pearl Harbor to be launched on December 7. Where the Japanese fleet would congregate to launch the planes, the hour the planes were to be launched, the berths of the U.S. fleet in Pearl and which ships were to be bombed first. This information was sent to London in a coded message, on Sunday, November 30, and Monday, December 1, 1941. Whether the Chinese commissioner's intelligence was transmitted from London to Washington, I do not know, but it appears highly probable that it was made available to Mr. Roosevelt. If Mr. Roosevelt did, in fact, receive the Chinese commissioner's intelligence, it was merely a detailed confirmation of the intercepted Japanese messages already available to him.

CM: In your opinion, why were you and General Short not notified well in advance that the attack was expected?

HEK: My belief is that General Short and I were not given the information available in Washington and were not informed of the impending attack because it was feared that action in Hawaii might deter the Japanese from making the attack. Our president had repeatedly assured the American people that the United States would not enter the war unless we were attacked. The Japanese attack on the fleet would put the United States in the war with the full support of the American public.

CM: Thank you, Admiral Kimmel, for this interview and for the patriotic persistence with which you have pursued and corralled the tragic facts about the attack upon Pearl Harbor.

My friends, you now have the authentic postscript on memorable day of infamy in 1941.

Seventeen years later the United States stands poised once more on the brink of shooting war. If the fighting must start again, let us demand the full truth in advance as a condition precedent to the conflict. Are we again bound by secret commitments which put the interest of other countries ahead of the interests of the United States? Are our far-flung armed forces spread around the

world for our own defense, or as an assurance that we will automatically participate in every brushfire that breaks out any place on earth? The terrible truth about Pearl Harbor should galvanize our foreign policy with impenetrable armor of our own national self interest.

At long last, the finally revealed truth has revived righteous respectability of a policy that put the interest of America first.

(This interview was broadcast under the auspices of The Manion Forum in Fall, 1958.)

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Volume 12 No. 4, (Winter 1992) - The Leuchter Report

Volume 12 number 4 (Winter 1992) of The Journal of Historical Review was given over largely to issues surrounding *The Leuchter Report*, the ground-breaking forensic study of the so-called gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau by America's leading expert on gas chamber technology, *Fred Leuchter*. Here are excerpts from that issue. Please note the copyright restrictions on this material.

Franz-Willing, Georg. *Umerziehung*. Reviewed by: Granata, Russ; O'Keefe, Theodore J. Winter 1992; vol. 12 no. 4: p. 493. How the victori-

ous Allies imposed their worldview on defeated Germany.

Grubach, Paul. "The Leuchter Report vindicated." Winter 1992; vol. 12 no. 4: p. 445.

Leuchter, Fred A. Jr. "Is there life after persecution?" Winter 1992; vol. 12 no. 4: p. 429.

Lüftl, Walter. "The Lüftl Report." Winter 1992; vol. 12 no. 4: p. 391.

Shapiro, Shelly (Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice). *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust denial (the end of the Leuchter Report)*. Reviewed by: Weber, Mark. Winter 1992; vol. 12 no. 4: p. 485.

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Weber, Mark. "Growing impact of the Leuchter Report in Germany." Winter 1992; vol. 12 no. 4: p. 475.

Source: vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 5-30.

A Dry Chronicle of the Purge

Summary Executions in Certain Communes of Charente Limousine

Robert Faurisson

In the course of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, Robert Faurisson began an investigation of the Purge (French: Epuration), limited to those summary executions which took place in the summer of 1944 in a part of Charente known as Charente Limousine, or Confolentais. This meticulous study was to have been published under the title A Dry Chronicle of 78 Days of the Purge in Certain Communes of Confolentais.

The difficulties Professor Faurisson encountered in his other inquiry, into the gas chambers and the genocide, prevented him from completing his work on the Purge. In no way prejudicing the possibility of future publication of the full Chronicle, the French Revisionist journal Revue d'histoire révisionniste (no. 4) published in spring 1991 several excerpts from the uncompleted work. The Journal of Historical Review, accordingly, thanks Professor Faurisson and the Revue for enabling us to bring portions of this important (and much neglected) chapter of the history of the Second World War to American readers.

Professor Faurisson has catalogued the executions attributable to two maquis, or guerrilla bands, that held sway over the southern part of Confolentais and made occasional incursions into the extreme west of the department of Haute-Vienne. The maquis "Bernard" and the maquis "Chabanne" are the two maquis in question. The first, a Communist maquis, was a force in the environs of Chabanais-sur-Charente; the second was socialist, or centrist, and active around Chasseneuil-sur-Bonnieure. Chabanais and Chasseneuil are on RN 141, which runs from Angoulême to Limoges.

The four extracts that follow are:

- *A list of executions by the maquis "Bernard";*
- *"Executed in Her Wedding Gown," the story of Mlle. Armagnac, a victim of the maquis "Bernard";*
- *A list of executions by the maquis "Chabanne";*
- *"The Purge: From the Death of a Priest under Torture," the story of Father Heymès, a victim of the maquis "Chabanne."*

The first extract was published, though with grave typographical errors, in Maurice Bardèche's monthly review Défense de l'Occident (July-August 1977, pp. 44-49).

The second extract, concerning Mlle. Armagnac, was communicated, along with much other information, to Henri Amouroux in January of 1988. The latter thereupon made substantial use of

it in volume 8 of La Grande Histoire des Français sous l'Occupation, under the title "Joys and Sorrows of the Liberated People (6 June to 1 September 1944)" (printed 10 October 1988 by Robert Laffont). In the list of 575 persons to whom Henri Amouroux tenders his thanks, the name of Robert Faurisson is not included.

The third extract has never been published, but was sent to Henri Amouroux, who used it to some advantage.

The fourth extract appeared in Les Ecrits de Paris (March 1986, pp. 40-48) under the title "The Purge: From the Death of a Priest to Truncated Statistics [of the Purge]."

I. A List of Some Executions by the Maquis Bernard (15 June to 11 August 1944)

Responsibility for the executions by the Communist maquis "Bernard" rests with Bernard Lelay, a printer at *L'Humanité*, the daily newspaper of the French Communist Party, and with his followers. After Bernard Lelay, the person most directly implicated in the executions was Augustin Raoux, known as "Gandhi." A Jewish convert to Catholicism, Raoux was a solicitor at Ruffec. Assisted by his son Philippe, he directed the Deuxième Bureau (Security and Intelligence). He was both prosecutor and judge. The accused had no attorney, and there was no question of last rites for those condemned to death. The corpses were not put into coffins. The dead were not restored to their families. Very expeditious, this maquis seldom used torture. Junien B., native of La Péruse, killed François Destempes by means of torture. Militiaman [1] Labuze was tortured at the rectory of Saint-Quentin and then shot.

Bernard Lelay died in 1975. In 1977, his ashes were removed to the crypt of the Memorial of the Resistance at Chasseneuil-sur-Bonnieure.

Among the 72 or 73 cases enumerated below, there are 14 women. Among them one who was executed in her wedding dress (see pp. below); and another, 22 years of age and the mother of two infants, who was shot even though she was 7 months pregnant. The oldest of those shot was a 77-year-old peasant; the youngest, a schoolboy 16 years of age.

The names followed by an asterisk are those of persons on behalf of whom their families, after the war, obtained the mention "Died for France."

(Before 15 June 1944, this maquis carried out executions in the forest of Rochebrune, near Étagnac. On 1 June: three German prisoners, an unnamed girl, and gendarmerie warrant officer Pierre-Léon Combas (*); on 12 June: chauffeur Sylvain and watchmaker Vignéras. On the same day, two German railwaymen were killed at Roumazières; their dead bodies are still there on the estate of the château of Rochebrune, near Étagnac.

After 11 August 1944, the same maquis carried out many executions in regions other than the one of interest to us here, which is roughly that of the Pressac château, situated near Chabanais [Charente].)

- 15 June, *Mme. Chevalier*, St-Maurice-des-Lions, housewife, age 53.
- 17 June, *Mme. Beaumatin*, Exideuil, schoolteacher, age 33.
- 17 June, *Général Nadal*, Chantrezac, brigadier general, age 65.
- 17 June, *Marcel Nadal*, Chantrezac, student, age 22 (son of the above).
- 20 June, *Charles Besson*, Chabanais, school principal, age 46 (one or more of his former students were in the firing squad).
- 20 June, *Antoine de Cazes*, Verneuil, landowner, age 43.

- 20 June, *Charles Schwieck*, Verneuil, age 21.
- 20 June, 1 unnamed German soldier, Verneuil.
- 26 June, *Marie-Charles Soury-Lavergne*, Rochechouart, importer, age 74 (his wife will be executed on 24 July for having protested).
- 26 June, *Pierre V.*, St-Junien, worker, age 33 (member of the maquis accused of theft).
- 27 June, *Pierre*, also known as *Julien*, *Sardin*, La Péruse, carpenter (killed).
- 27 June, *Mme. Steiner*, Roumazières, housewife, age 41.
- 27 June, *Michel Steiner*, Roumazières, peddler, age 45.
- 27 June, *Jean Steiner*, Roumazières, laborer, age 20.
- 27 June, *Albert Steiner*, Roumazières, laborer, age 19.
- The last four persons mentioned and *Jean Bauer*, executed on 30 June, were members of one and the same family from Moselle.
- 28 June, *Auroyer* (no other information).
- 28 June, *Alfred Desplanques*, Suris, tenant farmer, age 43 (father of eight children).
- 30 June, *Mme. Gingeot*, St-Junien, bookseller, age 35 (found with both feet cut off after being strung up by the feet with wire).
- 30 June, *Marie-Louise Texeraud*, St-Junien, office worker, age 48.
- 30 June, *Henri Charles*, Roumazières, factory director, age 45.
- 30 June, *Serge Bienvenu*, Roumazières, accountant, age 39.
- 30 June, *Jean Bauer*, Roumazières, peddler (brother of Mme. Steiner), age 36.
- 4 July, *Régis Trillaud*, Roumazières, watchmaker, age 34.
- 4 July, *Gaston Louis*, Nice, detached guard of the Militia (conveying in a train a set of blankets).
- 4 July, *Raymond Auxire*, Confolens, age 19.
- 4 July, *Germain Demontoux*, St-Maurice-des-Lions, clerk, age 24.
- 4 July, *Georges Maillet*, St-Junien, workingman, age 42.
- 4 July, *Germaine Maillet*, St-Junien, housewife, age 33 (spouse of Georges Maillet).
- 5 July, *Maurice Verger*, Vayres, farmer, age 36.
- 5 July, *Françoise Armagnac*, bride of *Pénicaut*, Exideuil, age 26 (grandniece of Sadi Carnot, president of the Republic who was assassinated in 1894; arrested on 4 July by Nathan Lindner after the marriage mass; shot in her wedding dress).
- 6 July, 1 unknown male (body rolled up in a blanket at the foot of the prisoners tower of the Pressac chateau).
- 6 July, 1 unknown male (head smashed in; same place; confusion with the above?).
- 7 July, *Siméon Israel*, Manot, railroad employee, age 42.
- 9 July, *Mme Lévêque*, St-Laurent-de-Céris, housewife, age 65 ("the nurse").
- 10 July, *Auguste Sibert*, Loubert, livestock dealer, age 29.
- 11 July, *Henri Malga*, Rochechouart, workingman, age 43.
- 12 July, *Raoul Chevalier* (*), Maisonnais, justice of the peace, age 60.
- 12 July, *Maurice Aubert*, Montemboeuf, notary, age 31.
- 12 July, *Jacques de Maillard*, Chassenon, landowner, age 50.
- 13 July, *Jean Jonquet*, Étagnac, restaurateur, age 63.
- 13 July, *François Destempes*, Chabanais, town clerk, age 49 (death by torture).
- 13 July, *Léonard*, alias *Adrien*, *Saumon* (*), Maisonnais, maker of sabots (former mayor with socialist leanings).
- 16 July, 1 unknown male (body rolled in a blanket, in back of the château farmhouse).
- 16 July, *Pierre Carlin* (*), Brigueil, miller of oil, age 25 (was a member of the Resistance network "Action R3").
- 16 July, *Mme. Noël*, St-Junien, nurse, age 35.
- 16 July, *Eugène Écoupeau*, Magnac-sur-Touvre, fitter, age 21.
- 18 July, *Mme. Baatsch*, Exideuil, housewife, age 45.

- 18 July, *Henri Fabre*, Roumazières, radio electrician, age 42.
- 18 July, 1 unknown young girl, came from Rouen.
- 18 July, *Pierre Sauviat*, Chabanais, retired gendarmerie warrant officer, age 61.
- 18 July, *Sylvain Vignaud*, Confolens, grain inspector, age 58.
- 20 July, *Gaston Devoyon*, Chabanais, carpenter, age 50.
- 20 July, *Amédée Devoyon*, Chabanais, carpenter, age 45 (brother of Gaston Devoyon).
- 21 July, *Ferdinand Gisson*, Chabanais, seed merchant, age 60 (deputy mayor; killed).
- 24 July, *Jean Codet-Boisse*, Oradour-sur-Vayres, lumber worker, age 28.
- 24 July, *Pierre Sadry*, Rochechouart, pastrycook, age 60.
- 24 July, *Mme. Soury-Lavergne*, Rochechouart, housewife, age 57 (husband executed on 26 June).
- 27 July, *Angel Besson*, Roussines, bus driver, age 24.
- 27 July, *Mme. Besson*, Roussines, housewife, age 22 (spouse of Angel Besson; mother of two young children; 7 months pregnant).
- 29 July, *Eugène Pannier*, Manot, landowner, age 54.
- 30 July, *Jacques Labuze*, St-Junien, medical studies completed, age 30.
- 30 July, *Mme. Lagarde*, Étagnac, housewife, age 24 ("la belle Manou").
- 31 July, *Yvon B.*, Limoges (?), age 17 (had denounced a maquis?).
- 4 August, *Paul Corbiat*, Montemboeuf, farmer-landholder, age 77.
- 4 August, *Jacques Londeix*, native of Bordeaux, schoolboy, age 16.
- 6 August, *Gustave Nicolas*, Chasseneuil, tradesman, age 47.
- 11 August, 1 unknown male (found 150 meters east of the cemetery of Vayres).
- 11 August, *René Barbier* (*), Alloue, working landowner, age 37.
- 11 August, *Aloyse Fritz*, Rochechouart, gendarmerie warrant officer, age 43.
- 11 August, *Pierre Marot*, Rochechouart, gendarmerie warrant officer, age 34.
- 11 August, *Jeanne Lamothe*, Chantilly (Oise), stenographer typist, age 19.
- 11 August, *Jean Paillard*, Rochechouart, commercial traveler, age 45.
- 11 August, *Georges Remondet*, Confolens, lieutenant retired on pension, age 54.

II. Executed In Her Wedding Gown DOCUMENT: Death Certificate

Mayoralty of Saint-Quentin (Charente):

Madame PÉNICAUT, née Françoise Charlotte Solange ARMAGNAC, on 23 Feb 18 at Paris, residing in Bel Air, Commune of Exideuil/s/Vienne (Charente), farmer, age 26.

Deceased at Pressac, Commune of Exideuil/s/Vienne, on 5 July 44 at 9 p.m.

Françoise Armagnac was the daughter of Jean Marie Armagnac, a Senate official, and of Ernestine Marie Carnot, niece of Sadi Carnot. Through her mother, she was thus the grandniece of the president of the Republic, who, in 1894, had been assassinated at Lyon by the anarchist Caserio.

Along the Angoulême-Limoges main road, in the proximity of Chabanais but within the territory of the commune of Exideuil, Françoise Armagnac lived with her mother in a Basquestyle chalet in the locality of Bel Air. Her uncle, Jean Carnot, resided in a house of imposing size situated in the locality of Savignac. [2] This house, where Françoise and her sister Cécile, coming from Paris, used to spend their vacations, is improperly designated with the term "château" by certain inhabitants of the region, as well as by the ordnance map. Françoise Armagnac, contrary to the legend, was not the mistress of a château.

The narrative you are going to read owes essentially to the oral testimony of her husband and a written account left by her mother. The narrative is followed by sworn statements.

The Story

The religious wedding of Françoise Armagnac and Georges Pénicaut was celebrated at eleven o'clock in the morning on Tuesday, 4 July 1944, at the church of St-Pierre-ès-Liens de Chabanaïs. The sparse (?) audience included the Girl Scouts and Jeannettes with whom Françoise busied herself, and whose leader she was. A sermon was delivered by M. Jagueneau, the Catholic priest and dean of Chabanaïs; less than a month previously, the latter had had dealings with the maquis in connection with the burial of "the Spaniard"; [3] on the afternoon of that same 4 July, he would be slapped in the face by a member of the maquis.

The ceremony went off without incident. To be sure, it seems that disturbing rumors had circulated the night before, but the couple had known nothing of these. Françoise wore a white silk dress, long and full, as well as a diadem of white roses, a white mantilla and her sister Cécile's white burnoose. It was in this wedding outfit, give or take a few items, that she was to be shot to death some thirty hours after the wedding.

The wedding breakfast was planned for the chalet of Bel Air. Instead of taking the main road, the couple and some of the guests took a shortcut across the fields. About 300 meters before reaching the chalet, a very considerable group of *maquisards* (members of the maquis) appeared and began a peremptory questioning of the entire wedding party. To believe the *adjudant* [noncommissioned officer = warrant officer junior grade], all this was a prelude to a simple search; he even added that it would be no more than "a call on the family of a former president of the Republic."

A dozen of the wedding guests were placed under close watch in an outbuilding of the chalet. The Catholic dean was put in a separate room, and it was there that he would be slapped. The photographer, M. Aubineau, was isolated in another room; he was suspected of having photographed the *maquisards* the day they occupied Chabanaïs. [4]

Maquisards seated themselves at the table set up in the main room of the chalet and divided up the wedding breakfast. In the middle of the table there were blue hydrangeas that had been gathered from outside the house, and two bouquets of white roses. The maquis distributed cakes and chocolates to the Scouts and Jeannettes.

Around three o'clock in the afternoon the other participants in the wedding would be allowed the cold remains of the meal. At about five o'clock, the guests invited to the wedding feast arrived and in turn were searched. At six o'clock the bride and groom were taken and put into a truck along with the photographer and the Catholic dean. As Françoise had to stand in the truck, one of the maquis had gone to find a chair for her from the drawing room. And thus began what, leaning towards her husband, she called "our honeymoon trip." It is unlikely that the couple at that moment really felt themselves in danger. No one attempted anything in their behalf, no doubt precisely because no one feared any fatal consequence. No one save the very young housemaid, Louise V., who declared to Anna, the cook, that Françoise was going to be shot. [5] She said she was a nervous wreck, and that very evening, taking her belongings, she quit the premises. She would not be seen again. She had guided the maquis during their search, and it was she who had led them to an etagere where there was a little wooden shoe: in this little shoe an insignia of the Militia was discovered. That at least seems evident from what Mme. Armagnac, Françoise's mother, would hear at the Vayres camp where, a few days later, she in her turn would be interned by the *maquisards*. [6]

The chalet was stripped of all objects of value. Yet the *adjutant* had declared that “not one sou, not one centime would be taken”; that “the maquis had no need of anything.” “Besides,” he had specifically stated, “look at how we're dressed!” But it is probable that on discovering, at the time of the search, seemingly damning evidence against Françoise, the order had been given to “salvage” everything. With the arrival of 126 men (on foot) and two trucks, the *maquisards*, taking one of the trucks, carried off the silverware, the clocks and watches, the family jewels, money, the brandy and the wine, plates and dishes and all the food. In particular, they took M. Armagnac's watch (he had died in 1942) and the contents of the purses of the two children, ages six and eight, who had come to spend their vacation at Bel Air. They left the purses. [7] As for the truck carrying away the prisoners, it traversed Grenord and reached the Pressac château, near Saint-Quentin-sur-Charente. The guards were singing. One of them broke into the “Internationale,” but his comrades interrupted him, reminding him that “it is forbidden.” The arrival at the château was tumultuous. The *maquisards* were abusive, ready to beat the prisoners black and blue, but “Bernard” came out of the château, a club (?) in his hand, and warned: “I'll clobber the first one who touches them.”

The prisoners were placed together in a room on the left of the second story that would serve as their prison. Meanwhile, Françoise was conducted to the infirmary on the right. Her identification papers, her bracelet, her watch, and her engagement ring were taken from her. The famed “nurse” the former maidservant of Mme. Vissol, living in Chabanaïs — would be seen, after these events, wearing that engagement ring on her finger.

Françoise and her husband underwent two joint interrogations in the office of Raoux, called “Gandhi,” who functioned at one and the same time as examining magistrate, public prosecutor and judge. A diary belonging to Françoise was examined closely: that for 1943, in which she told of having attended the first meetings of the Militia (four meetings in all, it seems). “This is sufficient,” Raoux is supposed to have said, showing her the insignia of the Militia.

There were about fifteen men locked up in the prison of the Pressac château. The new arrivals were given nothing to eat; no doubt they had arrived too late. The following day, Wednesday, 5 July, still nothing to eat. Georges Pénicaut was put to work on the charcoal detail. Françoise Pénicaut sewed forage caps in the infirmary. She asked for and obtained a piece of bread. In between their forced labor, the couple succeeded in exchanging a few words. That morning Françoise was summoned twice for questioning. She would confide to her husband that they were forever asking her the same questions and that she was sure she would be condemned. At morning's end, she was told that her execution was for that same evening, whereas Georges would have to be released. Georges obtained an audience with “Bernard.” He implored him to take his life in exchange for that of his young wife. Far from yielding, “Bernard” enumerated for him the exhibits which proved Françoise's guilt: her Militia insignia, her diary for 1943, her signed deposition. He even read him an excerpt from the diary in which her joining the Militia was related. Thereupon Georges mentioned the page of the diary where Françoise made reference to the certified letter by which she had sent the Militia her resignation. At once “Bernard” resumed reading the diary; coming to the date of 7 August 1943, he tore out the page and declared to Georges Pénicaut: “The evidence that interests us, we keep; that which does not interest us, we have the duty to disregard.” And he added that the execution would not be delayed “by one hour or by one minute.”

At 9 o'clock in the evening, Françoise was executed right at the top of the meadow called “The York,” behind a thicket and close to a drained fishpond. [9] Before leaving for the place of the execution, she was granted five minutes to wait for her husband, who was not yet back from his fatigue duty. Upon his return, she rushed to him, and they were able to exchange a few words. To

the firing squad she is supposed to have declared: "Kill me. I entrust my soul to God." We have several witnesses to her sangfroid. The coup de grâce was supposedly fired by "the nurse." They refused to show Georges the place where his wife's body had been thrown, and he asked for the return of the engagement ring in vain.

Exhumation could not be effected until five months later, in the mud, on 2 December 1944. Today, Françoise Pénicaut has her grave in the cemetery of Chabanais. The inscription on the gravestone reads: "Here lies Françoise Armagnac, wife of Pénicaut, 1918-1944." To her left, the grave of her father bears the words: "Jean Armagnac, born in Paris, deceased at Bel Air, 1872-1942." On her right is the grave of her mother, where one may read: "Marie Armagnac, née Carnot, 1877-1969."

The Testimonies

Testimony of Cécile Armagnac, elder sister of the slain woman:

At the time of the events in question, I was an ambulance nurse in Cherbourg. Because of the battle of Normandy, the town was cut off from the rest of France. I only learned of the marriage and the death of my sister around the end of the month of August 1944, and then only by chance (someone who came from Paris and was passing through Cherbourg had, on hearing my name, offered me his condolences ...). We didn't do anything political, my sister and I. We were both against the occupying forces. The Militia seemed at the time it was created, in 1943, like a sort of civil gendarmerie charged with maintaining order in the country. In an area like ours, where there were, so to speak, no Germans in 1943, the Militia was not considered pro-German, as it later came to be, especially as viewed from Paris or the areas where the members of the Militia and the Germans took part in the same operations of "maintaining order." Besides, Françoise was going to go in for the social work of the Militia, that is to say first aid, packages for the prisoners of war, day nurseries for children. She went, I believe, to only four meetings of the Militia, after which she sent in her resignation as early as 7 August 1943.

I returned to Bel Air on 9 October 1944, that is to say three months after the death of my sister. The area had already been liberated for two months. People were turning their backs on my mother. The tenants were no longer paying her rent. I learned, moreover, that after the Chabanais disaster of 1 August 1944, people had come to Bel Air and commandeered wood and furniture (beds, dressers, wardrobes) for the victims. Among others, B., who was very well known for his Communist opinions, had come looking for furniture. Subsequently we were to be given back only an ebony wardrobe and a mahogany dresser. I also learned that my mother had been taken away and imprisoned by the maquis. She was 67 years old and nearly blind. In a letter addressed to the assessor, she had solicited a reduction in taxes in view of the looting of Bel Air, in which all of her available cash had been taken from her. Her letter had been intercepted. She herself had been arrested, just as the Chabanais tax collector had been. Raoux and other interrogators had tried in vain to make her retract the terms of the letter. Sure of being shot, she resisted them. They also tried to extort a sum of money from her, as they had from a certain G., of Saint-Junien. She told them they had already taken everything from her. Ultimately the *maquisards* released her from the Vayres camp just as they were precipitously departing it. My mother, cutting herself a staff from the hedgerow, marched a good 20 kilometers to get back to Bel Air.

Those events were the product of a troubled era. It wasn't any prettier on the other side. In times like those, actions are often faster than thoughts, with excesses of all kinds as a result. And things leave their mark _

Testimony of Robert du Maroussem, former commanding officer of the local Militia:

I remember that at the end of one of our information briefings, Mlle. Armagnac told us: “You go too far in your attacks on the Jews and the Freemasons; they're hunted like wild animals these days.”

Testimony of Mme T., former domestic of the Pressac château:

When the truck arrived at the château, the maquis, in order to mock her, cried: “Long live the bride!” She slept in a loft. They made her clean the toilets and sew clothing. Her dress was soiled. When she crossed the yard, they continued to cry: “Long live the bride!” A young fellow who was a member of the firing squad was impressed by her courage. It seems that she opened the front of her burnoose and told them: “Fire away!”

Testimony of Nathan Lindner, instigator of the arrest:

[In her written statement, Mme. Armagnac names the “newspaper vendor Lannaire (sic), born in Warsaw and a refugee in Chabanais.” She adds that this man directed the looting of Bel Air and that he personally carried off “the genealogical tables of the Carnot family.” He supposedly boasted of the “Joli coup” he had pulled off and exclaimed: “Won’t they think I’m something after that!” — I managed to find Nathan Lindner on 14 May 1974. He was then living in the Halles quarter of Paris and had a newspaper stand at the corner of Tiquetonne and Montorgueil streets. Born in Warsaw in July of 1902, he had been a corporal in the Foreign Legion (height: 1.59 m). During the war of 1939-1940, he had worked in Toulouse for *Paris Soir*; later, because of the Vichy racial laws, he had worked in Issoudun (Indre) for himself. He finally went back to Chabanais, where he peddled newspapers for the Hachette Store run by Mme. Olivaux. Known by the nickname “Trottinette,” in the Resistance he used the pseudonym “Linard.”]

I had to leave the Chabanais area in 1945 on account of those stories of the Liberation. The newspapers of the time, and especially *L'Essor du Centre-Ouest*, had violently attacked me. A good many years later it was *Historia* that lit into me.

In 1944, at Chabanais, I took delivery of the newspapers at the railroad station and brought them to the Olivaux store. I had a pushcart fitted out with bookshelves. That’s why they nicknamed me “Trottinette” [scooter]. One day I hear her say something like: “These young people who refuse the S.T.O. [Service du Travail Obligatoire = Compulsory Work Service] should be doused with gasoline and set on fire.” Other people could confirm that for you. [10] One of my newspapers was *Signal*, the only review comparable to today’s *Match*. [11]

I was the one who talked to Bernard about Françoise Armagnac. I asked to take care of the search and the rest of it. Bernard gave me carte blanche. When the wedding party got to within 300 meters of the Armagnac property, I told them that we were members of the maquis and not looters, and I read an order that said any man caught pillaging would be shot immediately. We set up the operation on the same day as the wedding in the hope that we'd find other members of the Militia among the guests. In the course of the search we discovered appointment books, armbands, insignia [12], a Militia membership card. I took the bride to Raoux, who, provided with my written report, conducted the questioning and decided on the execution.

[13]???

What I did that day was perhaps not very pretty. I entered into history through the death of a descendant of Sadi Carnot. I'm not pleased about it. It had to be done at the time. I'm not a blood-thirsty person; feelings were running very high and people weren't in any state to be reasoned with.

But right now we have lots of people who are doing a lot of harm [now, in 1974]. They ought to have been executed at the time instead of being liberated and whitewashed. All these people besmirch and denigrate the Resistance.

The witness appeared to me to be tormented by the “Armagnac Affair.” He does not regret having had the bride shot, but he deplores the vexations that ensued for him. He says he was always a Communist and affirms that he was expelled from the Party in 1945 for having wanted, contrary to instructions, to help the Spanish Reds arm themselves in order to liberate Spain from the yoke of Franco. Among those Reds, there was “Ramon.” Nathan Lindner is mad for history and painting; he paints under a pseudonym (Ainel, as in N[athan] L[indner])).

Testimony of Annie F., former “Wolf Cub” scoutmistress:

Françoise Armagnac was an idealist and an enthusiast, an ungainly girl, eccentric and sometimes careless in dress. Very much the churchgoer, she was brusque in manner; she was very peremptory, and perhaps timid at bottom. Politics didn’t interest her. Once, speaking to me about a movement, perhaps of the Militia’s social work or women’s movement, she told me that in an age like ours, you couldn’t remain indifferent, that this movement looked interesting and that one ought to be able to make oneself useful in it. Someone was it her mother or was it perhaps myself cautioned her and counseled her to get the advice of the Scouts at the national level.[14]

On 4 July 1944, I witnessed the removal of the Armagnac family belongings in the *maquisards*’ truck. Children were playing on the slope of the meadow; it was the “Wolf Cubs” and the Girl Scouts.

Testimony of Joseph L., former president of the Legion:

At one moment, at Bel Air, young Valette, who was one of the *maquisards*, cried out: “The Germans are coming! There are the swastikas!” It was Scout crosses. [15]

Testimony of the widow of Lieutenant Robert, chief of operations:

[Lieutenant Robert’s true name was Jean P. He was a farmer at Les Fayards, a commune of Étagnac. His widow now (1974) has an antique shop in the Paris region, at Saint-Mandé.]

My husband has just died of cancer at the age of 52. I met him after the Liberation. He was a croupier then. For two seasons he directed the casino of L. I wasn’t familiar with the Resistance in Charente. I don’t come from there. My husband was always a Communist. He never talked, so to speak, about his memories of the maquis. He was sickened by the ill that was spoken of the Resistance. Basically, he really began to talk about the maquis only during the eight months in the hospital preceding his death. He talked especially about “Gustave” (Bricout), and then he also spoke about a marquise or a countess that had been shot. He was there. I don’t remember well at all. Hadn’t that woman denounced some Frenchmen? My husband thought that it was just ... I think that my husband didn’t agree all that much ...” [16]

Testimony of G.B., of Montbron, alleged witness to the execution:

Then the bride opened her veil and she called out just like that: “Long live Germany!” [17]

Testimony of “Bernard,” commander of the “Pressac maquis” [or maquis “Bernard”]:

The bride? She was secretary of the Confolens Militia. [18] She told me: “You've got the better of me, but if I had got the better of you, it would be no different.”

Testimony of “Gaston,” chauffeur for “Bernard”:

I took part in the arrest of the Carnot girl. A sensational girl. Facing the firing squad, she took hold of her wedding dress like this [gesture with both hands of baring the throat]. She never lowered her eyes. She was a *chef de centaine* in the Militia. [19]

The “Armagnac Affair” recounted by Robert Aron:

[*Histoire de l'Épuration*, volume I, “Les Grandes Études Contemporaines,” Fayard, 664 pp., 1967, pp.566-567.]

Perhaps the most detestable acts of violence are those which attack women. Near Limoges, a young woman of the region, Mlle. d'Armagnac, whose family are proprietors of a château, gets married in the church of her village: when she comes out on the parvis from the mass, *maquisards* kidnap her, her husband, the priest who married them, and a witness. At dawn the next day she is shot to death in her wedding gown. Motives given: first, she is a chatelaine; in the second place, she has taken care of militiamen. [20]

Testimony of P. Clerfeuille, Professor at Angoulême:

You know, it is very difficult to do this work on the Repression. People don't want to talk. Let us take an example. I am positive that a woman was shot to death in her wedding gown. I went to Chabonais to investigate. I have an official card for doing this kind of work: I'm a corresponding member of the Committee on the History of the Second World War. We are under the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister. Well, they refused to give me the name of the woman who was shot! I went away without a thing. And nevertheless I know that woman existed.

[P. Clerfeuille is officially charged, among other labors, with research on the Repression at the Liberation (i.e., on the Purge) in the department of Charente. Our interview took place in 1974, say seven years after the publication of the Robert Aron book.]

Two Documents

1. First Battalion, 2406th Company. 4 July 1944

Report of the Company Lieutenant [21]

Today 7/4/44 we carried out a large-scale operation at the Armagnac château; place known as Petit Chevrier [22] concerning the possible arrest of militiamen. The operation was completely crowned with success because we arrested a militia woman. This woman was getting married today and we came at the height of the wedding or at least at the arrival of the wedding party. We interrogated the guests one after the other, and I personally verified their identity and all the papers that were in their possession as well as their wallets. After verification, I detained a photographer named Aubinot [23] who allegedly photographed the maquis the day we occupied Chabonais. This requires a serious investigation at his domicile.

I also detained the Priest of Chabonais who had prevented the bringing of flowers and wreaths and the flag into his church. [24]

Afterwards we kept a close watch on the Bridegroom and the Bride for having answered us spitefully concerning the work we were doing at their home. Then we made a regulation search without damaging anything up to the moment when we found the evidence that the Bride is a Militia-woman. And so from that instant I all but gave the men a free hand for the removal of the provisions and other things worth our while.

When everything was loaded, we had the prisoners get into the trucks and we returned without incident.

I am satisfied with that expedition because I saw my men at work and I see that I can count on them.

As for my *Adjudant-Chef* [senior warrant officer] Linard, [25] I can only thank him for having mounted this expedition and to have supervised it so well. Also, with the consent of the commanding captain of the battalion, I shall request that he be named company adjutant.

In the evening a German airplane flew over the camp at a low altitude and on its way to Pressignac loosed a few bursts of machine-gun fire on civilians.

Signed: Robert

2. First Battalion / Intelligence Service — Activity of the Intelligence Service the 7th of July 1944.

Closure of the inquiry into the claims for money and real estate of the Armagnac family.

8 July 1944 Chief of Intelligence Service

Signed: Gaudy [26]

III. Some Executions of the Maquis “Chabanne” (4 July to 17 August 1944)

This maquis was started by three teachers from the secondary school of Chasseneuil: André Chabanne, Guy Pascaud and Lucette Nebout. These three were later joined by a career military man: Jean-Pierre Rogez. André Chabanne died in an accident in 1963. His body rests in the crypt of the Memorial of the Chasseneuil Resistance beside the body of Bernard Lelay, head of the maquis “Bernard.” Guy Pascaud was arrested on 22 March 1944 and deported; upon his return from deportation, he embarked on a political career; he died some years ago. Lucette Nebout changed her name following a remarriage; she is still living. After the war, Jean-Pierre Rogez had a brilliant military career; he was chief of staff of a general in command of the Paris garrison. On his retirement, he embarked on a political career and became for a time the mayor of Malaucène (Vaucluse). In the summary of his service record are these four words: “tortured by the Gestapo.” The truth is that he was accidentally knocked off his motorbike by a German military vehicle.

The maquis “Chabanne” — also called “Bir Hacheim, AS 18” — killed less but tortured more than the neighboring Communist maquis “Bernard.” The responsibility for its executions or tortures is also more diverse, divided between André Chabanne and a few members of his entourage, in particular François-Abraham Bernheim (of Colmar) and the former Saint-Cyr cadet, Jean-Pierre Rogez. Bernheim, of Jewish extraction — as was Raoux, his counterpart for the maquis “Bernard” — directed the *Deuxième Bureau* (Security and Intelligence) until one day when André Chabanne dismissed him, probably because he found him too severe.

Whereas in the case of the victims of the Communist maquis almost all the bodies have been exhumed, the victims of the maquis "AS" ("Secret Army") have not all been exhumed, and it is with full knowledge of the case that the authorities persist in refusing these exhumations. In the commune of Montemboeuf, at the locality known as "the fox holes," near the old Jayat mill, there are bodies which have never been claimed, and others which have been claimed but which the authorities do not want exhumed.

The most astonishing of the executions carried out by the maquis "Chabanne" are those of the "Couture Seven" as well as that of Father Albert Heymès and his servant (see below, pp. 23-26).

Couture (280 inhabitants in 1944) is a village situated north of Angoulême, at the beginning of *Charente poitevine*, in the proximity of Mansles and Aunac. In June of 1944, a skirmish between German and Militia troops on one side and a small detachment of the maquis "Chabanne" (five persons in all) on the other resulted in one dead on the side of the maquis.

The couple in charge of this little detachment were convinced that the inhabitants of Couture had denounced them, and Chabanne had ended up having seven persons of the village arrested: a father and son, another father and son, two brothers, and a seventh man. All were tortured, as a Military Justice report would establish after the war. All were shot at Cherves-Chatelars, near Montemboeuf, on 4 July 1944. The bodies were thrown into a cesspool. It would take their families 28 years of petitioning to obtain the exhumation of the bodies and their transfer in secret to the Couture cemetery. Proof of the denunciation was never produced. The presence of this small maquis was a matter of public knowledge in the region.

In the period from 4 July to 17 August 1944, and limiting myself strictly to the region where it was then to be found, this maquis carried out around 50 executions.

Of the 50 cases, seven were women (one of them was 77 years old; she was shot along with her sister, 70 years of age, and the latter's husband, age 73, a cripple on crutches). There were also four members of a single gypsy family (one of them a woman) among the victims, and three German soldiers, including one who tried to escape.

- 4 July, *Louis-André Michaud*, age 34, warrant officer pilot on armistice leave, killed at Labon, commune of Chasseneuil.
- 4 July, seven farmers from Couture executed at Cherves, all after torture:
 - Léon Barret*, age 38, brother of the following.
 - Eugène Barret*, age 32, brother of the preceding.
 - Émilien Gachet*, age 61, father of the following.
 - Émile Gachet*, age 23, son of the preceding.
 - Frédéric Dumouss(e)aud*, age 63, father of the following.
 - Marcel Dumouss(e)aud*, age 35, son of the preceding.
 - Albéric Maindron*, age 32.
- 5 July, ? *Aurance*, executed at Cherves.
- -5 July, unknown male, executed at Cherves.
- 6 July, *Joseph Grangeaud*, age 68, tradesman, executed at Cherves.
- 6 July, *Édouard Lombreuil*, age 61, insurance broker, executed at Cherves.
- 6 July, *André Abadie*, age 33, former stevedore at Bordeaux (?), executed at Cherves.
- 10 July, *Jean Veyret-Logerias*, age 67, town clerk, executed at Cherves.
- 11 July, *Father Albert Heymès*, died by torture, or following torture, at the Priory of Chate-lars.

- 13 or 14 July, *Nicolas Becker*, age 57, pharmacy assistant, executed at Chez-Fourt, commune of La Tâche.
- 16 July, *Ernest Schuster*, age 24, interpreter at the *Kommandantur* [garrison headquarters] of La Rochefoucauld, tortured and executed at Cherves.
- 26 July, *Jean Dalançon*, age 49, watchmaker, executed at Cherves.
- 26 July, *Jean Niedzella*, age 24 (?), killed at Cherves.
- 29 July, then 30 July for the last of them, four itinerants of the same family (gypsy), killed near Saint-Claud:
Jules Ritz, age 50.
Pauline Jauzert, age 57.
Émile Ritz, age 22.
François Ritz, age 24.
- end of July, three German soldiers were taken prisoner. The sergeant tried to escape; he was killed. His two comrades were fetched, and also killed. The marks of the bullets are still there on the exterior wall of the covered playground of the school at Cherves. The three dead bodies were thrown into a pond “chez Veyret”; they remained in the pond for at least ten years — with their feet sticking out.
- 1 August, *Joséphine Adam*, age 29, servant of Father Heymès, executed at Cherves.
- August, *Marie-Germain Groulade*, age 48, housewife, executed at Cherves.
- The following executions took place at the “fox holes” near the old mill at Jayat, in the commune of Montemboeuf, where Jean-Pierre Rogez had his command post and where he had a “concentration camp” (its official designation) set up:
- 7 August, *Maurice Launay*, age 25, farm domestic; his wife (Mme. Horenstein, of Objat) did not succeed in obtaining exhumation.
- 9 or 10 August, *Mlle. Clémence Choyer*, age 65, retired school-teacher, no family; not exhumed.
- 10 August, *Augustine Alexandrine Bossu*, age 77, almost blind, sister-in-law of the following.
- 10 August, *Victor Maisonneuve*, age 73, invalid needing two canes, husband of the following.
- 10 August, *Juliette Henriette Maisonneuve*, age 70, wife of the preceding.
- 11 August, *Marie Brénichot*, age 46, tradeswoman.
- 14 or 15 August, *Joseph Schneider*, age 25, interpreter at the *Kommandantur* of Champagne-Mouton, tortured; not exhumed.
- 14 or 15 August, *Paulette Marguerite François*, age 27, owner of a cafe; not exhumed.
- -15 August, 6 or 7 or 9 Russian volunteers in the German army were executed; no exhumations despite negotiations.
- 16 August, *Raphaël Gacon*, age 18 (?), “half day-laborer, half sacristan”; not exhumed.
- 17 August, *Emmanuel Giraud*, age 24, farm domestic; not exhumed, despite the apparent request of a brother.
- It might be well to add to this list the name of *Octave Bourdy*, age 53, a grocer, executed belatedly, on 6 December in terrifying circumstances at Saint-Claud.

IV. Death of a Priest Under Torture

Before the execution by the maquis “Chabanne” of the seven inhabitants of Couture, the curé of Saint-Front, Father Albert Heymès, went there and expressed his feelings in a form I have been unable to determine. As a priest serving several parishes, he was coming from celebrating Mass in one of them; and it was on the return journey, at Saint-Front, that he was presumably stopped, along with his servant, Joséphine, and taken by truck to André Chabanne’s command post at Chatelars, an estate “the Priory” flanked by the remains of an abbey (not to be confused with “Le

Logis du Chatelars,” which is a château). It was his misfortune that Albert Heymès was a refugee from the East [27] and spoke with a strong German accent. He was born on 4 November 1901 at Kappelking, near Sarrebourg, in Moselle.

At Colmar, François-Abraham Bernheim, still living, told me concerning him:

Heymès, I knew him well in 1936 and then in 1939 at Altrippe (where he was the curé). I lived in his village. He spoke the patois of Lorraine, the worst of the German dialects: the “paexer”; originally it’s Luxemburgian (that dialect, it’s enough to sicken you). Heymès was a bit ponderous, a bit coarse. He was not unlikable but he had a bad PR. (I don’t know anything about his death.) I suppose he fell on his back when he was struck and presumably split open the back of his skull. I was the judge. There was no attorney. I made an impression because I didn’t shout. A man blanches and his eyes glitter, when you tell him he’s going to die.

For some inhabitants of the Moselle region, the former curé of Altrippe was intelligent, a musician, a big talker with an irritating style. “If he had stayed in Lorraine, it would have been the Germans who’d have cut off his head.”

M. was a member of the maquis and saw the truck arrive with the priest: “They didn’t set up the steps for him. That struck me. You have respect for a curé as you do for a teacher. He had his prayer book. He appealed to the good Lord for help ... But he confessed that he was a member of the Wehrmacht [sic].”

M., of Chasseneuil, told me: “It wasn’t a pigsty they put him in, but a shed for sheep. They made him carry stones. A *maquisard* said to me: ‘This one will be good for making a beef stew tomorrow.’ He said that to me on a Thursday; well, Sunday it was he, the *maquisard*, who had been killed. This curé was a noncom in the German army.”

G., of Cherves, stated to me: “I saw him carrying very big stones and beaten by his guards. He had tears in his eyes.”

Two brothers took a leading role in the torture. I found one of these brothers, a tradesman, at Gond-Pontouvre, a suburb of Angoulême. I told him the results of my investigation. He stated to me: “He was tortured very severely but there was neither a rope nor a hot iron. When I came back with X. to the pigsty where the curé was, we found him motionless. We lifted his eyelids. We verified his death and concluded that he must have committed suicide with a ring.”

And, as I asked for an explanation of the ring, the man answered: “I refuse to say anything more about it to you. I won’t say any more about it unless Bonnot is willing to talk. See Bonnot.”

This last, a well-known official of the maquis “Chabanne,” refused to give me any information.

The priest’s family refused to reply to my questions for fear of dealing with someone who was perhaps seeking, in the terms of a letter dated 2 June 1974, to “go along with the anticlerical propaganda of the age.”

Albert Heymès died on or about 11 July 1944; he was 42 years old. His body was buried in the cemetery of Cherves-Chatelars. His name is graven in the stone: “Father Albert Heymès [sic] / 1901-1944.” The bishopric of Metz did not desire exhumation and transfer of the body to Lorraine. The grave is totally neglected. His servant, Joséphine Adam, was executed on the 1st of

August, together with another woman. At Chatelars I was often told she “cried a great deal.” They had afflicted her with a placard reading: “Curé’s Wife.”

Nowadays the children of Cherves-Chatelars and the region are nurtured on the hallowed history of the Resistance. A plaque which indicated the dates of the birth and death of André Chabanne has been replaced with another no longer indicating the dates, giving the impression that the hero died in the war, whereas he died in an accident in 1963. Directly in front of the dwelling called “the Priory,” in which Father Albert Heymès was tortured to death, and where many other persons had been imprisoned or tortured or condemned to death, schoolchildren have planted a fir tree. A plaque reads: “Tree planted 3 September 78/ by the children of Cherves-Chatelars in memory of the maquis Bir Hacheim /AS 18/ which was formed in this place/ in September 1943.”

In the schoolyard of the Cherves school there is a playground. On the playground’s exterior wall, along the road which leads from Cherves to Chasseneuil, there can still be clearly seen, more than forty years after the events, bullet marks: it was here that the three German soldiers were executed. Upon being informed of this execution, André Chabanne flew into a rage. He remembered, he said, that, taken prisoner by the Germans in 1940, he had escaped and been recaptured; his life was spared.

Nevertheless, ten years after the execution of the three Germans, André Chabanne had left their cadavers to lie in a nearby pond, “chez Veyret.” Neither the owners of the pond, nor the mayor of Cherves, nor the gendarmes dared intervene in order that they be given a burial. Today ten or so bodies are still buried in the “foxholes” at the old Jayat mill, for exhuming them would mean exhuming a part of the truth in contradiction to the legend that grows stronger year by year. Even at Saint-Front, I interrogated a group of four women, the oldest of whom was a young child in 1944. I asked them what they knew about Father Heymès, the former curé of their village. The oldest one answered me: “That curé was no curé. The Germans put him there to keep an eye on us. He was there to spy.” Two of the other three women approved. Other people told me: “He wore a German uniform under his cassock”; or again, “A fine curé, he was! Under his cassock he wore the uniform of a captain in the SS.”

It is not difficult these days to find historians of serious repute who peddle even worse nonsense than that. It may nonetheless be true that Albert Heymès had served in the German army in the course of the first World War, during the period when his native province was part of Germany.

Notes

[1]	[The Milice (French: <i>Milice française</i>) was founded as an anti-maquis force by military hero (in both world wars) Jacques Darnand in January, 1943. — Ed.]
[2]	Pronounced Savignat, in conformity with the original spelling. A century ago, a great many place-names of the region found themselves provided with the suffix -ac instead of the suffix -at.
[3]	A member of the maquis.

[4]	After the confiscation of his camera, valued at 60,000 francs, he will have no choice but to join the Maquis. He will be killed in the Royan pocket.
[5]	Anna was to testify to this after the war, to the investigators of the <i>Sécurité militaire</i> .
[6]	Louise V. is living today (1974) in Limoges, where she married a hairdresser. She has two daughters, one of whom is a teacher and the other an engineer (elsewhere than at Limoges). Her father was a Communist.
[7]	After the war, investigations of the <i>Sécurité militaire</i> will establish facts of this sort. Cécile Armagnac disclosed to us that it was out of concern not to excite bitter feelings that Madame Armagnac renounced having the property returned to her ("... anyway, that would not have returned Françoise to us"); as for the other property, the indemnity collected by Madame Armagnac seems to have been very modest.
[8]	The special Algiers legislation, like the appeals of the London Radio and in particular those of Maurice Schumann, sanctioned, it seems, this kind of distinction.
[9]	In 1944 France was on Central Europe time: 9 p.m. thus corresponded to 7 p.m. solar time.
[10]	The persons questioned, including those most hostile to the Militia, told us emphatically that Françoise Armagnac seemed to them incapable of making any such remarks, either in substance or form. We state here that witness Lindner seemed to us subject to grave shortcomings on points other than just the "Armagnac Affair."
[11]	This mention of <i>Signal</i> is astonishing. Even more astonishing is the comparison with <i>Match</i> (or <i>Paris-Match</i>). <i>Signal</i> was a weekly of very good quality but one that many French people refused to buy on account of its German and National Socialist character. Yet Nathan Lindner was selling it, or trying to sell it, in Chabanais. The sale of it was not compulsory, of course, any more than was its purchase. Françoise Armagnac had forbidden the children she looked after to buy anything at all from Trottinette, who was guilty, in her eyes, of selling <i>Signal</i> as well as publications of a licentious nature.
[12]	In all probability these armbands and insignia were ... Guide insignia (with the exception of that found in the little wooden shoe).
[13]	A probable confusion with the insignia found in the little wooden shoe.
[14]	According to her sister Cécile, Françoise, receiving no response — the mail was operating under precarious conditions — made her decision without waiting any longer.
[15]	This confusion seems to have been produced elsewhere in France; see also the confusion between "cheftaine" and "chef de centaine"; that is to say, between a Scout rank and a

[5]	rank in the Militia!
[16]	These two last phrases offer an example of the contradictions that we sometimes encountered in the course of our inquiry when a witness attempted to formulate a general judgment.
[17]	We relate this matter only to give the reader an idea of the conviction of certain witnesses. As was to be revealed later, G.B. was not present at that scene, despite his claim.
[18]	Françoise Armagnac was never the secretary of the Militia of Confolens. The sentiment the witness attributes to her is unlikely for someone who had broken with the Militia by sending in her resignation eleven months previously. As for the extreme brevity of this testimony, it is due to the fact that at the time of our meeting with “Bernard” we had not yet gathered much information about the executions and, in particular, about this one.
[19]	“Gaston,” or Jean T. by his true name, nowadays lives near Saint Victurnien (Haute-Vienne). Françoise was not a <i>chef de centaine</i> but a <i>cheftaine</i> . The witness is confusing here a modest rank in the Girl Scouts with an important rank in the armed Militia!
[20]	The attentive reader will be able to point out half a dozen errors in this summary of the affair. These errors may be explained by the fact that Robert Aron, who is a generalist, could not devote himself to exhaustive verification of each case. Some of the errors are perhaps also to be accounted for by the force of attraction of certain clichés or stereotypes that call for one another and give the story the stark simplicity and dramatic color that are to the taste of certain readers of novels: “acts of violence ... detestable ... descend upon women ... young woman ... Mlle d'Armagnac [<i>sic</i>] ... family ... proprietor ... château ... gets married ... church ... her village ... coming out of the mass ... parvis ... kidnapping ...” In a context like that, we are not too much surprised to see the execution take place “the next day at dawn” (whereas, it will be remembered, François Armagnac, interrogated several times on the day following her arrest, was not executed until nine o'clock p.m.).
[21]	We are correcting the accentuation, but not the spelling or the punctuation of this document, every phrase of which would merit an attentive reading.
[22]	In fact, it was not Petit Chevrier but Bel Air.
[23]	The correct spelling is Aubineau.
[2]	For the burial of the “Spaniard”, the two Devoyon brothers, of Chabanais, had made a coffin for him that was considered too short; they were both executed.

4]	
[2 5]	Pseudonym of Nathan Lindner.
[2 6]	Cécile Armagnac, to whom we showed this document in 1975, deems it suspect. She cannot imagine that her mother could put forward a claim of that kind within two or three days after the arrest of Françoise and the “removal” of Bel Air.
[2 7]	[Meant is the French East, i.e. the regions of Alsace and Lorraine, which were ceded to Germany in 1871, and re-annexed by France in 1918. They changed hands again during the Second World War. — Ed.]

Hideki Tojo's Prison Diary

Published here for the first time in English is the postwar prison “diary” of Japanese General and Premier Hideki Tojo.

After an outstanding army career and service as War Minister, Tojo served as Prime Minister from October 1941 to July 1944 — perhaps the most critical period in his country’s history. A few weeks after Japan’s surrender in August 1945, Tojo was arrested by American occupation forces and then put on trial for alleged war crimes. By all accounts, he conducted himself with dignity and composure during the proceedings. After being sentenced to death, he was executed in December 1948.

Written while in prison, this “diary” consists of several essays, a reconstructed daily log of the critical period of the 1941 Pearl Harbor attack, and answers to anticipated prosecution questions.

Composed in part as an aid in trial proceedings, and in part as an explanation for posterity, this memoir/justification by a central figure of twentieth century history is a valuable historical document. Unknown to the world for more than forty years, these papers were first published in 1991 by historian Sanae Sato in the August and September issues of the Japanese monthly magazine Hoseki.

This translation was jointly prepared by General Hideo Miki, retired professor of Japan’s National Defense Academy, and Henry Symington, an American specialist of Japanese economic and social affairs. This material has been very slightly edited, and clarifying information has been added in brackets.

I. Events Leading to the First Greater East Asian Outbreak

Immediately before the beginning of the Great East Asian war [which commenced on December 7, 1941], Japan was still engaged in the unfortunate Sino-Japanese War, which had already gone on for more than four years. Throughout that period, Japan had made honest efforts to keep the destruction of war from spreading and, based on the belief that all nations of the world should find their places, had followed a policy designed to restore an expeditious peace between Japan and China. Japan was ensuring the stability of East Asia while contributing to world peace. Nevertheless, China was unfortunately unable to understand Japan’s real position, and it is greatly to be regretted that the Sino-Japanese War became one of long duration.

Clearly, this Sino-Japanese War of more than four years was a considerable burden on Japan’s national power and an obstacle to the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. From the point of the view of the nation’s power, it was obvious that while we were fighting the Sino-Japanese war,

every effort was to be made to avoid adding to our enemies and opening additional fronts. Naturally, this was the view of those who then held positions of responsibility.

In the past, the theory had been: Advance towards the north while defending the south, or advance to the south while defending the north. However, as the Sino-Japanese War dragged on, the only objectives that bore consideration were: 1) a swift peace between Japan and China; 2) the maintenance of international peace; and 3) the restoration of national power.

It was for this reason that Japan: 1) attempted to establish peace with China through negotiations, sometimes through American mediation; 2) strengthened the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Treaty [April 1941] in the hope of avoiding war with the Soviet Union; and 3) tried as much as possible to use diplomatic means to respond to signs that relations with the United States were worsening, even though in so doing it was necessary for Japan to endure things that were unendurable.

Despite Japan's desires and efforts, unfortunate differences in the ways that Japan, England, the United States, and China understood circumstances, together with misunderstandings of attitudes, made it impossible for the parties to agree. Up until the very end, these were important reasons for the outbreak of war, and from Japan's point of view, this is a matter of great regret.

Thus, England and the United States supported the Chungking [Chinese] government [of Chiang Kai-Shek] in every way, obstructed the peace between Japan and China that Japan desired, and thwarted Japan's efforts towards East Asian stability. During this period, in July 1939, the United States suddenly gave notice of the abrogation of the treaty of commerce [signed in 1911, its termination restricted the importation of essential raw materials] thereby threatening the existence of the Japanese people. At present, looking back coolly upon the past, I think that both nations have much to reflect upon.

1. Both China and Japan should have emptied their hearts of ill-will, calmly explained their true positions to each other, and reflecting deeply on the fact that they were the corner stones of stability in East Asia, should have more bravely followed the path of direct peace negotiations.

2. Likewise, in dealing with the China problem, the British and American side, which had particularly strong interests in China, should have based its judgments about the origins of the problem on direct observation of the actual circumstances at the time. Moreover, both sides should have considered the point of view and survival of the one billion people of East Asia, who were awakening to world development. Rather than be trapped in the narrow-minded maintenance of old power structures, it was necessary that both sides deliberate together, work harmoniously, and take a broader view of mutual prosperity, cooperation, and the establishment of stability in East Asia.

Note 1. As for the China Incident [the alleged attack by Chinese troops at the Marco Polo bridge near Peking on July 7, 1941, which triggered the Sino-Japanese War] and the problem of whether or not it was possible for Japanese forces to withdraw from China, before concluding for formalist reasons that this was a simple invasion, it is necessary to consider the deeper origins: the exclusion and insult of Japan throughout the entire Chinese region, boycotts of Japanese goods, the infringement of rights and revenues, and violence against resident Japanese. The [Western] powers have had similar experiences with China, such as the exclusion of foreigners in 1899 and the anti-Christian Boxer Rebellion [1899 -1901].

Note 2. All peoples are created by God and have the same rights and freedoms to survive on earth together according to law. It goes without saying that when survival is threatened, struggles erupt between peoples, and unfortunate wars between nations result. Furthermore, in the period

when they awoke to world development, the one billion people of East Asia had greater demands to make with respect to their survival because of economic development and unusual increases in population. I believe that it is in East Asia, where these demands must be met.

Of course, the peoples of East Asia have a natural obligation to be grateful for the sacrifice and efforts of the European powers and America in leading the peoples of East Asia to their present circumstances, and they should respect the existing rights and privileges of those powers. The stability of East Asia can be hoped for only if both sides understand and appreciate the other's position and have the magnanimity to adjust to circumstances. Moreover, this is part of the obligation towards East Asia that the great powers have as part of their fundamental responsibility for ensuring world peace.

3. With respect to the above and considering the case of Japan, recourse to arms has a profound relation to national policy and bears the following considerations: before resorting to military action, it should be strongly deterred at the appropriate time by diplomatic means if necessary. Unnecessary escalation is to be prevented by diplomatic power, and all efforts should be made to keep operations from interfering with policy.

(Explanation 1) On this matter, in the Japanese system [of the 1930s and 1940s] there are many aspects that relate to the independence of the high command. Actions of the high command are not, as in other nations, included in the national government, but are outside and independent of the nation's constitutional government, and it is natural that they should brook no interference. Consequently, these matters are different from those on which the Interior Minister assists the Emperor. In actions relating to the high command, the Chiefs of Staff of the Imperial General Headquarters, that is to say, the Army Chief of Staff and the Chief of Naval Operations, have a responsibility that is separate from that of the cabinet, and they take independent responsibility for the assistance they provide the Emperor. According to our current system, in matters pertaining to both sides, this is the role of the Army and Navy ministers.

Consequently, once operations have begun, they are largely conducted according to the independent will of the high command. Frequently, the national government finds that it has no choice but to make the best of things or simply submit in silence. In time of war, especially, these conditions become even more extreme because the Imperial General Headquarters has primary control over conduct of the war, and its word carries much weight.

Even military ministers have no more than a certain amount of control. It is customary that they have the right and the power to participate, from a political and military point of view, in the planning of actual operations.

It is obvious that in purely military matters, it is absolutely necessary that operations be energetically executed, and that military objectives be achieved quickly without any political restrictions. However, unanticipated ill results may ensue when there are delicate policy considerations or when there is an important diplomatic connection. This is to be expected in contemporary warfare because it is often the case that the success or failure of operations is instantly reflected in world conditions.

It is for this reason that relations between the national government and the [military] high command must be harmonized from time to time. This is something to be much reflected upon in the future. In fact, past cabinets have set up regular meetings with the high command and tried to harmonize relations, but such bodies had no formal responsibilities (under the current constitution, each minister counsels and assists the Emperor individually, so organizations of this kind cannot be set up). Furthermore, they were not actually involved in the conduct of operations so

their effect was not great. In later years, they were formalized as Meetings of Chief Executives [Liaison Conference], but that probably did not make much difference. This is suggested by the fact that although at that time the Prime Minister attended meetings at the Imperial General Headquarters, it is my recollection that he was not to be involved in the conduct of operations.

(Explanation 2) From around the time of the February 26 incident of 1936 [when an insurgent group of army officers attempted a coup in Tokyo], there appeared in the military trends towards subordinate policy-making (subordinates would ignore the wishes of their superiors) and staff-level control of government (staff officers would seize control, ignoring the ministers and director-generals). These trends were particularly apparent in the army. In that manner, there was a tendency for decisions, entirely contrary to national policy or to top military policy, to be made according to the limited understanding of lower-ranking men, and this, without the knowledge of their superiors. This, too, hindered the smooth operation of national government.

Half of the reason for this was shortcomings in the instruction on staff officer attitude at the War College and deterioration within the military of the psychological and formal feeling of subordination and assistance to superiors. There remains, however, the fact that there had been a loss of ardor and enthusiasm in the spirit of command at the higher levels. There was an absence of strong leadership and initiative, and a tendency to think that given the choice, the best course of action was to do nothing.

After I became Army Minister [in July 1940], His Majesty [the Emperor] told me what he had said to the Army Minister at that time, General Terauchi, immediately after the February 26 incident, namely, that His Majesty was very worried about these matters. After becoming minister, I tried to make improvements. As it happened, at the time troops were dispatched to French Indochina, misbehavior of that kind was detected and those involved — from top to bottom — were firmly disciplined. Later, I worked from time to time to counter those tendencies, but left office before improvements were complete.

As is the case with civilian bureaucrats, the reasons for the abuses committed by lower-ranking bureaucrats are different, but they are the source of the sclerotic manner in which Japan executes policy.

(Explanation 3) For a long time, we have heard about military factions. Also, we have heard for a long time that the armed forces were high-handed, and recently this idea has been particularly widespread. There were many things in the past about which the military should reappraise its own behavior.

Nevertheless, there is something that must be said about military factions. [A reference to the so-called “Control” and “Imperial Way” factions within the Japanese military.]

Today, it is an error to think that there are factions in the military. A soldier holds his rank for life, but his authority begins only when his position is conferred upon him by the Emperor. With this authority comes the right to influence the high command or, according to his position, the execution of government policy. However, as soon as a man leaves the service, even if he had been a general, his authority ceases and he no longer has the power even to adjust the rank of a second lieutenant. If such power were to continue, that would mean the creation within the military of an individual faction, and it would be impermissible. This has always been the case in Japan, and explains why there are no factions in the military.

As for whether or not the military has been high-handed, it is not as though there are no reasons for thinking this is so. This is something that requires self-examination.

However, I think it possible that much of the public criticism about high-handedness arose from the power of execution born of the command/obedience relationship and strength that come from the military's organization, especially from the importance placed on timing that arises from the requirements of war. I believe that this is what produced the consequences of Explanations 1 and 2 noted above, that is to say, those things that must be acknowledged as highhandedness and reflected upon as such.

4. Later, as operations against China followed natural operational exigencies, the front was gradually expanded towards the south. In order to put a quick end to the Sino-Japanese War, it was necessary first to strike a mortal blow against the Chungking forces [of Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek]. For this reason, it was necessary to strengthen the blockade of the Southeast China coast and to establish a large, new operations route deep into the South.

5. At about that time, in order for Japan to sustain its own people, and because of the necessity of maintaining internal production, and in order to prosecute the Sino-Japanese War, we were faced with the necessity of obtaining such things as rice and oil from the southern islands, including French and Dutch Indochina. Particularly at the time when the United States broke off commercial relations with Japan, and the routes that depended on the United States were cut, the survival of Japan was closely connected to whether or not peaceful commerce would be possible with these southern areas. Consequently, Japan despatched ambassadors and conducted negotiations with these areas, but since they already had hostile feelings, nothing could be smoothly established.

Furthermore, it had been clearly established by intelligence that French Indochina was an important, hidden supply route for [the Chinese forces headquartered in] Chungking. Consequently, it was necessary to cut this off, as part of the strengthening of our China operations. At the time, given the conditions in Europe, France was a friendly nation with a duty to cooperate with Japan. Therefore, the peaceful occupation of Indochina (September 1940) was carried out with the understanding of France. Thus, given the uncertainties in the southern Pacific, and the necessity of putting a quick end to the Sino-Japanese War and establishing the cooperative relations necessary for the survival of both nations, a portion of our military was gradually transferred to southern French Indochina.

However, the British-American side called this a threat to their own territories, and in July 1941, together with Holland, ordered the freezing of assets and, in effect, commenced an economic blockade.

This was a grave threat to the existence of Japan. In addition to this, the British-American side concentrated troops in Hawaii, the Philippines, Singapore, and Malaya, and reinforced their defenses. In this way, economic pressure was increased just as the circle around Japan was tightened, and conditions arose that severely threatened the existence of Japan.

(Note) The reasons for the occupation of French Indochina are as explained above, and in outline they were as follows:

(1) To cut the enemy's supply lines, to make it easier to launch aerial attacks, and to finalize the defenses of French Indochina. This was done on the basis of a mutual defense pact.

(2) Because commercial relations were smooth, trade was facilitated and relations of mutual benefit were established.

The reasons for the occupation of southern French Indochina were essentially the same. However, conditions in the Pacific had worsened, and the need to end the Sino-Japanese War was felt more keenly than ever, and the conditions outlined above were more severe.

One of the reasons that Japan prepared for a passive national defense was the worsening conditions in the Pacific, but this was not the main reason.

6. Since conditions were deteriorating, it was necessary to resolve them quickly. It was proposed that the Prime Minister of the time [Konoe Fumimaro] meet directly with the President [of the United States] so that both could express their feelings and debate the general problems of the Pacific that had arisen between the two nations, so as to resolve these dangerous circumstances by political means. However, even though the United States agreed to this proposal in theory, they claimed that since it was an important matter, they preferred that such a meeting take place after differences of opinion had been resolved. Ultimately there was no such meeting, which was very unfortunate. The Japanese government had thought that a meeting would take place, and actually selected an entourage and prepared a ship.

7. The hope for a peaceful solution by means of a summit meeting thus disappeared, but Japan, wishing to reach a solution through diplomatic means, made several later proposals in response to the American position. However, the United States held firm to its initial position and would concede nothing.

8. Around November 20th [1941], conditions were on the verge of deteriorating even further. In order to avoid a rupture of diplomatic relations, the government resisted strong pressures from the high command and made a proposal containing a number of concessions. As I recall, the proposals were the following:

(1) Neither nation will send military forces to the southern Pacific or to any part of South East Asia other than French Indochina. (2) Should peace be established between Japan and China or in the Pacific region, all Japanese troops in French Indochina will be withdrawn. (3) If this agreement is concluded, all Japanese troops in southern French Indochina will be rotated to the north. (4) Commercial relations will be restored to their former state. Assurances will be given so that necessary materials can be obtained.

9. The United States did not agree to these proposals. Furthermore, it took back what it had previously said about acting as an intermediary in Sino-Japanese peace-making and refused to perform this service.

In any case, if one looks at the circumstances immediately before the outbreak of the Great East Asian War from a Japanese point of view, one notes that the China Incident had continued for more than four years without solution. Efforts had been made to resolve the situation by negotiations between Japan and the United States, but this had failed. Furthermore, in accordance with the requirements of operations, the theater of action of the Sino-Japanese War had moved ever more deeply towards the Southwest and international relations continued to deteriorate.

During this period, Japan's peaceful commercial relations were successively obstructed, primarily by the American rupture of commercial relations, and this was a grave threat to the survival of Japan. In particular, the economic blockade by the various powers, led by the United States, inflicted a mortal blow to the survival of Japan.

In connection with these multiple economic pressures, the ABCD [American-British-Chinese-Dutch] encirclement of Japan only drew tighter, and defenses in Hawaii, the Philippines, Singa-

pore and Malaya were strengthened. The main American naval forces were shifted to the Pacific region and an American admiral made a strong declaration to the effect that if war were to break out between Japan and the United States, the Japanese navy could be sunk in a matter of weeks. Further, the British Prime Minister [Churchill] strongly declared his nation's intention to join the fight on the side of the United States within 24 hours should war break out between Japan and the United States. Japan therefore faced considerable military threats as well.

Japan attempted to circumvent these dangerous circumstances by diplomatic negotiation, and though Japan heaped concession upon concession, in the hope of finding a solution through mutual compromise, there was no progress because the United States would not retreat from its original position. Finally, in the end, the United States repeated demands that, under the circumstances, Japan could not accept: complete withdrawal of troops from China, repudiation of the Nanking government [formed under Japanese auspices and headed by Wang Ching-Wei, previously an important Chinese Nationalist leader], withdrawal from the Tripartite Pact [signed by Germany, Italy and Japan on September 27, 1940]. At this point, Japan lost all hope of reaching a resolution through diplomatic negotiation.

Since events had progressed as they had, it became clear that to continue in this manner was to lead the nation to disaster. With options thus foreclosed, in order to protect and defend the nation and clear the obstacles that stood in its path, a decisive appeal to arms was made.

(Explanation) War was decided upon at the Imperial Conference on December 1, 1941, and the shift to real operations was made at this point. However, even during the preparations for action, we laid our plans in such a manner that should there be progress through diplomatic negotiation, we would be well prepared to cancel operations at the latest moment that communication technology would have permitted.

II. Concerning the Three Final Problems in Japanese-American Negotiations

1. The demand that Japanese troops be withdrawn completely from China.

The causes of the China Incident were the exclusion and insult of Japan throughout China, the exclusion of Japanese goods, the persecution of Japanese residents in China, and the illegal violation of Japanese rights. As Japan had declared on such occasions, it was thought that the stability of East Asia depended on the close, mutual assistance and cooperation between China and Japan. That Japanese troops were stationed in China at the time was the result of unfortunate incidents and not something that Japan had originally desired. Consequently, there would have been no objection to the total withdrawal of troops should the causes be eliminated, and even with respect to the New China-Japan Treaty [March 30, 1940], discussions were pursued in this fashion. However, this required the elimination of those causes and would have been possible only on the basis of a guarantee to that effect.

To withdraw troops without having obtained such guarantees would be only to repeat what had happened before (the troop withdrawal of 1932 after the Shanghai Incident), and would have caused unhappiness not only to Japan and China but would not have permitted the anticipation of stability in East Asia. On the British-American side the causes were seen entirely to be a Japanese policy of invasion, and little thought was given to actual circumstances. The Japanese policy, as was made clear at the time, was a non-expansionist policy, and it was not carried out as a matter of national intent.

Looking back on that period from the present, there is some cause for self-examination. Even though the Sino-Japanese war was called a non-expansionist policy, it is clear that over a long period events expanded to a wide area. However, this was not the will of the nation but a result of the exigencies of operations, combined with the inability of a weak government to prevent it. The reasons for the latter lie in Japan's internal systems and traditions.

Whether the fundamental cause was China's illegal activities or Japan's invasion may be something of a chicken-and-egg question. The reason was the failure of both Japan and China to understand each other and the inability of America and the European powers to sympathize, without prejudice, with the peoples of East Asia.

2. Repudiation of the Nanking government.

The establishment of a national [Chinese] government [based in Nanking] with Wang Ching-wei as Premier was primarily a domestic question for the Republic of China. Of course, it must be conceded that it was born of the stimulus of Japanese operations, but this is only a secondary reason and not the real reason. As opposed to the Chungking government, which continued to exclude, insult and make war on Japan, the Wang Ching-wei government made overall peace its objective, and attempted to establish permanent peace in East Asia by means of Sino-Japanese mutual assistance. Therefore it was natural that Japan recognize this government and feel friendly towards it.

(Note) When a new government is formed in any country, it is normal to recognize it if it is in harmony with one's own government, and to show it good intentions. The [Western] powers have done the same in the course of the current war. However, to repudiate a government less than one year after having recognized it would cause the world to doubt a nation's faith, and therefore it could not be done.

The Nanking government essentially wished for overall peace in China. Consequently, it was thought that when overall peace had been achieved, questions about it would be resolved as a domestic matter. For that, it was necessary that peace be concluded between Japan and China through termination of the Sino-Japanese War. However, even with Japanese assistance, prospects were uncertain, so it was impossible to resolve questions about the Nanking government.

3. The problem of repudiating the Tripartite Pact

The Americans demanded that, "the governments of both parties agree not to interpret any agreements concluded with third countries in a way that contradicts the purpose of this agreement, which is the maintenance of peace in the Pacific region." This clearly required that Japan breach the Tripartite Pact and that, consequently, was the same as requiring that Japan renounce the alliance.

Essentially, the reason for concluding the Tripartite Pact was the fact that as a result of the Washington Conference [on naval armaments, in 1922], the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had been annulled, and world circumstances were such that Japan had withdrawn from the League of Nations [announced in 1933, effective in 1935] because the League would not recognize Japan's claims. In order to end its isolation, alliance was sought with Germany and Italy, which found themselves in much the same circumstances. Furthermore, it was expected that German power could be used to help in a solution to the China problem. However, if Japan were to accede to an American demand of this kind, it would indicate to the world the untrustworthiness of Japan. In the

past, Japan fulfilled the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and at the request of Britain, advanced all the way into the Mediterranean. As is clear from the fact that today, the souls of those fallen [Japanese] soldiers are still on the island of Malta, I believe the world will recognize that Japan is faithful to alliances. [A Japanese destroyer was sunk during the First World War while on escort duty in the Mediterranean, in fulfillment of Japan's obligations to England under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.] Therefore, Japan could hardly take, for purposes of momentary gain, measures that would cause it permanently to lose the faith of the world.

III. Circumstances Around the Time Of the Resignation of the Third Konoe Cabinet

1. My recollection is that it was at a time when, in accordance with the Imperial Policy Execution Outline adopted at the Imperial Conference of September 6, 1941, the point had been reached when troops were moved into Southern French Indochina, and the situation had become tense. It was something that had been determined as necessary in order to carry out national policy and, as I recall, we were to be prepared both for war and for peace.

2. The US-Japan summit that Prime Minister Konoe had hoped for was rejected by the American side and did not take place. [The summit proposal was made on August 8.]

There was a difference of opinion between Foreign Minister Toyoda and myself at a cabinet meeting around the 14th or 15th of October. I recall that the points of disagreement were as follows:

(1) My opinion was that, as could be seen from a review of the US-Japan negotiations, Japan had striven for a solution by means of repeated concessions but the United States had stuck firmly to its initial positions and would make no concessions.

(2) U.S. approval could not be obtained for a diplomatic solution by means of the US-Japan summit that the Prime Minister had hoped for. Furthermore, military and economic pressures were being stepped up day by day.

Therefore, if one were to consider that there was virtually no possibility of success through the US-Japan negotiations, the military and economic pressures would only force Japan into further crisis if time were allowed to pass in vain. It was my position that we must recognize that it was impossible to meet Japan's objectives as decided at the Imperial Conference, and that the time had come to make war on the United States (at the Imperial Conference [of September 6] the start of operations had been set for mid-October). At the time, the high command of the army advocated this (starting operations in mid-October).

3. As opposed to this, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister took the position that the obstacle to the negotiations was the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China, and that if concessions were made on this point, an agreement might not be impossible. As for troop withdrawal, that was a matter of great interest to the army, which was then conducting operations. There were no objections to withdrawal as such. However, the reasons for the China Incident [the alleged attack by Chinese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking on July 7, 1937] had been the insults to Japan, and the anti-Japanese and illegal acts that had occurred in various parts of China. Therefore, if there was not to be a guarantee that those causes would be eliminated, the result would simply be a repetition of the same incidents. Furthermore, a withdrawal that did not achieve its purpose would demoralize the Japanese army to no avail, and it was feared that it would confirm the American claim that the China Incident was provoked by a Japanese invasion. This was something to which the army could not agree.

At the time, both the high command and the army in the field were firm on this from top to bottom; a withdrawal without guarantees was unthinkable.

Thus, because of this difference of opinion, the cabinet resigned en masse. I might add that I had nothing whatsoever to do with Prime Minister Konoe's memorandum to the throne on the resignation of his cabinet.

4. On October 18, 1941, I suddenly received a mandate from His Majesty to form a new cabinet. This was completely unexpected, and when I was summoned to the Imperial Palace I thought I would be questioned on the army's point of view. I took with me documents related only to this.

(1) With respect to the formation of a cabinet, I received an Imperial mandate to return to blank paper [that is, with a free hand to direct national policy] and to make no missteps in policy. Therefore, considering that the national leadership responsibilities of the Prime Minister and Army Minister are different from each other, I was unswayed by the usual claims of the army. Though there were demands that negotiations be cut off and war begun, I was unmoved by them, arguing that so long as there was the slightest hope of a negotiated breakthrough, efforts should be continued.

Since there was no desire on the part of the high command for a troop withdrawal from China, it was determined to seek a breakthrough in negotiations on the important matter that had caused a worsening of conditions, namely, the movement of Japanese troops into French Indochina. Even about this, there was considerable unhappiness in the high command.

IV. Various Problems To Which The Pearl Harbor Attack is Central

It is natural that I should bear entire responsibility for the war in general, and, needless to say, I am prepared to do so. Consequently, now that the war has been lost, it is presumably necessary that I be judged so that the circumstances of the time can be clarified and the future peace of the world be assured. Therefore, with respect to my trial, it is my intention to speak frankly, according to my recollection, even though when the vanquished stands before the victor, who has over him the power of life and death, he may be apt to toady and flatter. I mean to pay considerable attention to this in my actions, and say to the end that what is true is true and what is false is false. To shade one's words in flattery to the point of untruthfulness would falsify the trial and do incalculable harm to the nation, and great care must be taken to avoid this.

As it happens, what has been called the speech of Fleet Admiral Nagano [Chief of the Naval Staff] with respect to the Pearl Harbor attack, was publicized on October 27th. Upon reading it, errors can be found in important matters, and I shall here write the true facts for the benefit of future generations.

1. At the Imperial Conference on December 1, it was decided to make war against England and the United States. How the procedures for the commencement of hostilities were to be carried out was deliberated upon at the Liaison Conference [a joint meeting of civilian and military personnel] where the agenda of the Imperial Conference was discussed. It was decided to proceed according to international treaty and confirm the propriety of those actions while at the same time avoiding a too-early disclosure of our operations. Ambassador Nomura was to deliver a note by hand to the U.S. State Department an hour and a half ahead of time, and the text, as well as the time of domestic notification [within Japan] were to be the responsibilities of the high command and of the foreign ministry. Therefore, I have thought to this day that the notification that Japan was breaking off diplomatic relations and was shifting to the unfettered conduct of its af-

fairs [by declaring war] should have been under the responsibility of the Foreign Minister, communicated without fail. Of course, if there was failure in this matter, I have no argument with the view that, as Prime Minister, the responsibility is mine.

The draft of the final rupture of diplomatic relations was written under the responsibility of the Foreign Minister of the time, and its contents were not reported to the Cabinet.

2. The Imperial Rescript on war, as can be seen from its first page, is directed primarily to the Japanese people. In order that this be made public as soon as possible after the commencement of war, approval from the Privy Council was obtained on the morning of the 9th.

Though this was a domestic matter, if these procedures had been followed in advance, it might have resulted in a too-early disclosure of operations.

In any case, the way the Imperial Rescript was handled was not by any means intended as a means of concealing the attack on Pearl Harbor. On this matter, according to Fleet Admiral Nagano, it was understood that the declaration of war was to be made before the start of the Pearl Harbor attack, before three in the morning, but this is a grave mistake. That is something that the government would not have known about. Three in the morning would mean getting Privy Seal approval in the middle of the night on Sunday, and the government would not have agreed to something so out of keeping with Japanese custom. Fleet Admiral Nagano has probably confused this with the final official note [to the Americans]. It is most unbecoming that the Fleet Admiral should give the world an impression that is not only mistaken but suggests that Japan deliberately delayed the declaration of war.

When reflecting upon it today, that the Pearl Harbor attack should have succeeded in achieving surprise seems a blessing from Heaven. It was clear that a great American fleet had been concentrated in Pearl Harbor, and we supposed that the state of alert would be very high. At the same time, since we were approaching with a great fleet of our own, there were grave doubts as to success. It is intolerable to think that on that occasion the government did something incorrect, and we had absolutely no intention of doing so.

V. The Manchurian Incident And International Relations

1. After the first Great European War [of 1914-1918], our country made, as the basis of its foreign policy, the support of international understanding and the development of good relations with the powers.

2. At that time, in China, internal disorders had continued ever since the establishment of the Republic of China [in 1912]. Regional war lords proliferated and the internal disorders due to the struggle between the northern and southern governments did not cease. Even after the beginning of the Showa era [1926] and the establishment of the Nationalist government in Nanking with Chiang Kai-shek as Premier, its power was not sufficient to ensure an orderly nation.

3. After the Nine Power Treaty [of 1922] was concluded [at the Washington Conference], American East Asian policy became more vigorous, and at the same time the Communist movement gained strength on the Chinese mainland. International relations, especially concerning Manchuria and Mongolia, became more complex and tense.

4. Despite this situation, the Nationalist government as well as the [Chinese] war lords were taken in by the East Asian policies of such countries as Britain and the United States, and they did not understand our own spirit of justice and friendship. Furthermore, seeing that public opin-

ion in our country was confused, that the political situation was unstable, and that our foreign policy appeared to be unstable, they insulted our nation, took policies opposed to Japan, and continued on a national scale with their resistance to Japan, with such efforts as the boycott of Japanese products.

5. Especially in Manchuria, where our special privileges had been secured, such war lords as Chang Tso-lin, who held real power in the region, failed to understand the true significance of the Russo-Japanese War, and lost their understanding and gratitude of what our country had done on the continent on behalf of the stability of East Asia. They called for the recovery of Port Arthur and Dairen, violated our interests, and took an arrogant attitude. After Chang Tso-lin died [in 1928, in an explosion attributed to Japanese plotters] and the era of his son, Chang Hsueh-ling began, outrageous circumstances only worsened.

(1) Plans were undertaken, with American finance, to build a new railroad that would encircle our South Manchurian Railway.

(2) Farmers from the Korean peninsula were persecuted and attempts were made to expel them. Treaties were spurned, and our interests were destroyed. Further, our nation's existence was threatened, and there were continuous plots to disturb the peace of East Asia. Our government was patient, sometimes negotiating, sometimes trying to set up agreements. In return, China showed no sincerity whatsoever, and thus arose a mountain of unsolved problems, both great and small.

6. On the night of September 18, 1931, Chinese [?] troops occupying Mukden blew up the South Manchuria Railway, and that became the Manchurian Incident.

On March 1st, 1932, [the state of] Manchukuo was established [in northern China], and this fact was proclaimed both domestically and to the world. That proclamation meant that a peaceful and happy world was to be built by means of the rule of virtue, that peoples would cooperate and contribute to the peace of the East.

On September 15, 1932, its independence was approved, and the Protocol between Japan and Manchukuo was signed.

PART 2 — Hideki Tojo's Log

Dec. 1

0900-1000 [hours] Extraordinary cabinet meeting (decision to go to war with U.S., Britain, Holland)

1130 — Imperial appointment ceremony [a ceremony in which the Emperor directly appoints someone to a position — not mentioned who was appointed to what] (discussion with Lord Kido [Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal] about the Imperial Conference)

1400 — Imperial Conference (with various officials as well as the participants of the Liaison Conference) Subject: Opening of war with U.S., Britain, Holland (EX 588) Minister explanation (EX2955, DD1892, Record 252-2P) In attendance: Summarized and abbreviated

1630 — Discussion with Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal about the Imperial Rescript on War [the official war proclamation].

Evening — Official Conference with Foreign Minister

Official signature as Prime Minister

Dec. 2

1. From 1000 throughout the morning — cabinet meeting
2. 1330 — private meeting with His Majesty (Hatta to be named Minister of Railroads, Ino to be named Minister of Agriculture)
3. 1500 — Imperial installation ceremony for Hatta and Ino.

Dec. 3

1. From 1000 Liaison Conference, throughout the morning, at the palace. Afternoon — funeral of Princess Kaya.

Dec. 4

1. Morning — Privy Council — Foreign Minister Togo, private
2. From 1400 Liaison Conference
3. 1600 — Foreign Minister Togo, private meeting with his majesty

Deliberations at the Liaison Conference of Dec. 4:

1. How to handle Manchukuo with respect to the opening of hostilities
2. How to handle Holland
3. The final notice to the United States

The text was to be the responsibility of the Foreign Minister. It was agreed that notice was to be given before the start of operations, and details were to be worked out between the Foreign Minister, the Army Chief of Staff, and the Chief of Naval Operations.

Dec. 5 (Fri.) Sunny.

Official visit to Imperial War College. Luncheon with Emperor at the Imperial Army Headquarters

1630 — Report to Emperor on what was to be brought up in Cabinet meeting. Discussion with the Lord Keeper Privy Seal about the Imperial Rescript on War (Article 6).

Dec. 6 (Sat.) Cloudy, later sunny

1000 — Liaison Conference at the Palace

1130 — Discussion with Lord Kido, Keeper of the Privy Seal, about Imperial Rescript on War

1500-1750 Liaison Conference 1) On negotiations with Germany 2) On instructions on when to begin negotiations with Thailand 3) On when to deliver the notice to the United States. Deliver

by hand on the 7th at 3 a.m. (Japan time) 4) How to deal with the Nationalist government with respect to the opening of hostilities 5) Decision about the Imperial Rescript on War 6) Planning for the events of Dec. 8.

Dec. 7 (Sun.) Sunny

1100 — Consultation with Emperor. Discussion with Secretary of the Cabinet Hoshino, and Kido, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, about commencement of hostilities against US, Britain, and Holland.

Dec. 8 (Mon.) Sunny

0100 — Visit from Foreign Minister Togo

0430 — Report came of the success of the Pearl Harbor attack

0600 — Broadcast about entry into war

0715 — Cabinet meeting

0730 — Meeting of the Privy Council, Consultation with Emperor

1000 — End of Privy Council Meeting. Cabinet meeting (East wing of palace, Room 1)

1140 — Presentation of the Imperial Rescript on War

1200 — Broadcast of the Imperial Rescript on War

1300 — Central cooperation meeting of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association

1400 — Army and Navy are given written orders addressed to them directly by the Emperor. Addresses [by Tojo] to the Army Ministry and the Interior Ministry. Paid reverence at Meiji Shrine and Yasukuni Shrine [to Japanese war dead].

1730 — Taped broadcast

1800 — Liaison Conference

The Imperial Conference of December First

Outline of explanations made by Prime Minister Tojo

1. Acting in accordance with the decisions arrived at during the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, the army and navy worked to complete their preparations while, at the same time, the government made every effort to adjust diplomatic relations with the United States. However, the latter effort resulted in failure and it is clear that Japan's claims cannot be met by diplomatic means.

2. We have entered a state that can no longer be tolerated, neither from the point of view of our nation's power nor from an operational point of view. At the same time operational demands can no longer brook delays.

3. At this point, in order to resolve the current crisis, and in order to effect the self-preservation and self-defense of the nation, Japan has no choice but to make war upon the US, Britain, and

Holland.

4. The China Incident has already continued for more than four years, and henceforth we are about to enter another great war. I deeply regret that His Highness' heart be inflicted with such a concern.

5. The morale of the officers and men of the army and navy is very high, the spirit of the nation is firm, and the people are prepared to act as one. With a spirit willing to face death, I have no doubt that they will triumph over every difficulty.

6. I seek your [the Emperor's] consideration of these matters.

Explanation by the Foreign Minister 'Shigenori Togo'

1. Explanation of the progress of US-Japan negotiations. Although over a period of seven months our nation has offered many compromises, they have held to their original position and will concede nothing.

2. The Japan policy of the United States hinders the establishment of a new order in East Asia — which has been our unwavering policy from the beginning.

3. If we were to accede to American demands, our international stature would sink even lower than it was before the Manchurian Incident, and our existence might be imperiled.

4. Even if we continue negotiations further, there is virtually no possibility of our claims being met.

Explanation by the Chief of Naval Operations, representing the Combined Chiefs of Staff of the Army and Navy.

1. We have continued to prepare for operations. As soon as the order to commence operations should be given, we are prepared swiftly to commence operations according to plan.

2. The US, Britain, and Holland have strengthened their preparations for war, but I am convinced that operations can be carried out according to plans that are already established.

3. With respect to the Soviet Union, our diplomacy is coupled with a state of high alert, but at present this does not appear to be a matter of great concern.

4. The martial spirit is high in both officers and men, and the spirit burns within them to serve the nation even unto death. Should orders come, they are eager to do their duty bravely.

Explanation by Interior Minister Tojo

Concerning such things as changes in public opinion, the state of domestic control, the protection of foreigners and foreign diplomats, and special security forces. Efforts will be made so that the various policies for handling emergencies can be carried out without mishap.

Explanation by the Finance Minister

1. So long as the necessary materials, facilities, and skilled labor are available, our nation can be financially self sufficient.

2. Even if Japan issues military or other currency with which to secure labor and materials overseas, it will be difficult to maintain the value of such currency. We will attempt to establish a policy of local self sufficiency [for Japanese troops stationed abroad] and we will limit the despatch of materials overseas to the least amount necessary to maintain local security and to meet the needs of local labor. We must not be overly concerned about such things as a deterioration in the value of local currency, and the turmoil in the local economy that would result.

Explanation by the Agriculture Minister

We must establish measures to bolster self-sufficiency in food stuffs, and develop a coordinated food policy for Japan, Manchuria, and China. We must make plans for an increase in livestock production and fish catches. If thoroughly carried out, these policies can probably ensure the minimum necessary food supply for the people for an extended period.

Main points of questions by Chairman of the Privy Council Hara.

1. Will the current strengthening of the enemy's military preparations be an obstacle to our operations?

(Answer) Chief of Naval Operations: The United States has its forces in a proportion of four in the Atlantic and six in the Pacific. However, it is the British who are currently maneuvering [in a way to threaten us], though they will have no effect on our operations.

2. What tendency is seen in Thailand? What will we do if Thailand opposes us?

(Answer) Prime Minister: That will be dealt with just before occupation. At present, things could go either way; Thailand is wavering. Japan would wish that they do as we ask while there is still peace. Just before we start operations we intend to approach them and have our demands met. If we must resort to force, we will attempt to keep it to a minimum.

3. What measures will be taken in the case of aerial bombardment of the home islands?

[no reply written]

Chairman Hara's final views

1. The American attitude is one that Japan cannot longer tolerate and further negotiation is pointless. War cannot be avoided.

2. There are no doubts about early victory, but in the case of a long war, the support of the people's will is necessary.

3. A long war cannot be avoided, but it is necessary that resolution be reached as quickly as possible. Therefore we must now begin thinking about how things are to be concluded.

4. Decisions About the Formalities of Opening Hostilities. Notice of the Breaking Off of Negotiations.

(1) Neither the date and time of the opening of hostilities nor the related formalities were discussed at the Imperial Conference on Dec. 1.

(2) After the Imperial Conference on Dec. 1, at the Liaison Conference on Dec. 4, the following agreements were reached:

1. Foreign Minister Togo's proposal for the final notice was approved.
2. It would be notice to the effect that on Dec. 8th (Japan time) Japan was breaking off diplomatic negotiations and considered itself free to take unhampered action.
3. The above notification would take place in Washington.
4. The above notification would take place before attacking.
5. The time of delivery of the notice would be decided by consultation between the Foreign Minister and the Army and Navy Chiefs of Staff.

The diplomatic handling of the final notice would be the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry.

Note: According to Yamamoto's testimony [Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, Commander of the Combined Fleet]:

1. The final notice would be drafted by the Foreign Ministry based on what had been discussed at the Liaison Conference. Corrections to be made, based on discussions with army and navy personnel, and text to be proposed at the Dec. 4 Liaison Conference. Copies to be distributed to all in attendance. Final approval was secured.
2. The participants in the Liaison Conference firmly believed that the last part clearly indicated the breaking of diplomatic relations and the opening of hostilities.

The outline of the final notice was reported by the Foreign Ministry to the cabinet meeting on Dec. 5, and was approved by all present.

Note: According to Yamamoto's testimony, the decision about the formalities of commencing hostilities, that is to say, the decision to give notice in Washington that negotiations were being broken off, was made at a Liaison Conference on Dec. 2nd. The facts are correct, but there was no Liaison Conference on Dec. 2nd. It is my recollection that it was on Dec. 4. [According to General Miki, Tojo is referring here to Kumaichi Yamamoto, who was head of the U.S. desk at the Foreign Ministry during the third Konoe cabinet.]

On the Ultimatum to the United States

1. The final notice [the fourteen-part final Japanese reply to Secretary of State Hull's proposals of November 26] that was ordered to be delivered by hand to the United States government at 1:00 p.m. on Dec. 7, 1941 [Washington, DC, time] is as described in testimony (No. 1245) of this trial.
2. It was believed that in this notice the Japanese government was breaking off diplomatic negotiations and had determined to make war.
3. The research as to whether this notice was in accordance with international law was undertaken with sufficient care by the Foreign Ministry, especially in the Treaty Section, and the Liaison Conference put its faith in that study.
4. I do not accept the prosecution's claim that the text of the notice does not correspond to what the Hague treaty, in article three, calls a declaration of war with reasons included [a reference to the 1907 Hague Convention on the commencement of hostilities]

5. If one reads the 2400 characters of the entire document, particularly in light of circumstances at the time, it criticizes the American attitude, and makes it clear that Japan had no choice but to take military action. Therefore:

(1) World peace must be built upon reality and an understanding of the other's position, and can be achieved only by finding means that are acceptable. It is not conducive to negotiations for one country to ignore reality and force its own selfrighteousness upon another country.

(2) It can only be said that the United States, seduced by its own doctrines and selfishness, was planning to expand the war.

(3) Although it avoided handling its international relations by means of force, the United States government advanced its harsh claims by applying economic pressure, together with the British government and others. This kind of pressure can, at times, be even more inhumane than military pressure and should be avoided as a means of handling international relations.

(4) In every instance, what the U.S. government demanded of Japan ignored reality in China and attempted to subvert the position of Japan, which was the stabilizing force in East Asia. These demands by the American government prove that it had abandoned its position of ceasing to aid Chiang Kai-shek, and that its intention was to hinder the reestablishment not only of peace between Japan and China but in all of East Asia.

The above makes it clear that Japan had lost all hope in further negotiation, and was forced to extreme measures as a matter of pure self defense.

(5) Furthermore, at the end [of the final note] it states: "The Japanese government has finally lost its hope of adjusting international relations and, together with the government of the United States, establishing and supporting peace in the Pacific. It is therefore with much regret that we notify the United States government that having taken into consideration the attitude of the United State government, we see no prospect for a solution by means of continued negotiation."

The above is a notice of a break in diplomatic relations and, moreover, given the strained circumstances of the time, we understood it to be notice of Japan's intent to make war.[On the evening of December 6, 1941, President Roosevelt himself read this and commented: "This means war".]

Note: 1. Yamamoto, in his testimony, says, "The members of the Liaison Conference firmly believed that the last words make clear the intention to break off diplomatic relations and make war."

Various Problems to which the Pearl Harbor Attack is Central

[Tojo's notes of likely trial questions, and draft replies]

1. Why did Japan start the useless Great East Asian War?

Answer: Leaving aside the more distant causes, the direct reasons were as follows: Japan's military and economic survival was threatened by a group of nations led by Britain and the United States. Attempts were made to reach a solution by negotiation between Japan and the United States, but that route was eventually foreclosed, so for reasons of selfpreservation and self-defense, war was decided on.

2. On what day did Japan decide to make war?

Answer: It was decided on the basis of conclusions reached at the Imperial Conference of Dec. 1.

3. As for the Imperial Conference of Dec. 1, was it not the case that war was to be made against the United States, Britain and Holland because the negotiations with America based on the Imperial Policy Execution Outline adopted on Nov. 5 had come to nothing [a reference to the final Japanese proposal for a peaceful settlement].

Answer: That is correct.

4. In that case, Japan decided on war, not for reasons of self preservation, but because the US-Japan negotiations had failed. Is that not so?

Answer: No. Naturally, there were various kinds of problems included in the US-Japan negotiations. However, the main thing was to relieve the threat to Japan's existence. War was decided on because relief could not be obtained.

5. Nevertheless, according to the decision of the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, "In order to break out of the present crisis and to achieve self-preservation and self-defense, and in order to establish a new order in Greater East Asia, war against the United States, Britain, and Holland is decided upon and the following measures are to be taken." Does this not show that the establishment of a greater East Asian order was the main objective of the US-Japan negotiations?

Answer: That is correct. At the time, the establishment of the new order in greater East Asia was one objective.

6. If that is the case, then was not the main reason for the decision to go to war the rejection of Japan's claims about the establishment of a new order in greater East Asia?

Answer: No. The establishment of a new order in greater East Asia was one of the objectives of the US-Japan negotiations, but if this had been the only objective there would still have been prospects for a peaceful solution. In fact, during the course of the US-Japan negotiations, in this area Japan considered the American claims and made many concessions in the hope of reaching a solution. However, during this period, economic and military pressure from the British-American side grew ever stronger, and it became clear that Japan's existence was endangered. The decision to go to war was made for that reason. Thus, the main reason for the decision to make war was self-preservation and self-defense.

7. According to the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, "At this time, it is decided to make war on Britain, the United States, and Holland, and the following measures are to be taken." Does this not mean that the decision to make war on Britain, the United States, and Holland was made, not on Dec. 1st, but by decision of the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5?

Answer: No. At the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, it was decided that war against Britain, the United States and Holland would be unavoidable if no solution could be reached by diplomatic negotiation. On Dec. 1st, war was decided upon as a consequence of the failure of diplomatic negotiations.

8. [sic] Had not Japan already decided at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941 to make war? Did it not send Ambassador Kurusu to America in order to camouflage the decision to make war and to carry out operations, rather than in any hope of achieving a diplomatic solution?

Answer: No. Japan's position at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5 1941 was that the decision to make war would be unavoidable if the diplomatic negotiations did not reach a solution. We sincerely hoped that the US-Japan negotiations would achieve a breakthrough.

At that Imperial Conference we did the following:

1) Decided to propose further concessions at the US-Japan negotiations. 2) As can be clearly seen from the decision that the deployment of force would be canceled if negotiations succeeded by 0000 hours of Dec. 1, this was by no means a policy of camouflage. Japan does not engage in camouflage foreign relations as part of a policy to gain power. Moreover, at an important meeting held in the presence of the Emperor, something like this would never have been permitted against his wishes.

9. That can be understood to some degree, but did you not make proposals in the US-Japan negotiations that you knew the United States could not accept, and thus anticipating the failure of the diplomatic negotiations, did you not deceive Ambassadors Nomura and Kurusu? Has not Ambassador Nomura himself said, "I had not even imagined an attack on Hawaii"?

Answer: No. What had been decided at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, was the limits of the concessions that Japan was then able to make. On the American side, from the very beginning there had not been the slightest softening of demands. It is a fact that only the Japanese side had made concessions. Moreover, in my policy speech, as Prime Minister, to the 77th Diet session on Nov. 17, 1941, I spoke clearly of what we expected from diplomatic negotiations. At the same time, Foreign Minister Togo stated plainly, "Naturally, should it come to a matter in which a great nation were to lose its authority, a strong position must be taken to reject this, and we look forward to negotiations with sufficient determination on this point." The full text was broadcast overseas at the time, intentions were made clear to the world, and the full text was printed in American newspapers. Consequently, at that stage American officials should have understood Japan's resolve.

If, at that point, the American side had accepted Japanese concessions and the US-Japan negotiations had reached a solution, deployment of force and preparations for same would have promptly been canceled, in accordance with the decision of the Nov. 5th Imperial Conference. To know this is to know that there was no camouflage policy. That Ambassador Nomura did not expect an attack on Hawaii is a fact. That sort of attack is top secret from an operational point of view, and in order for it not to be disclosed, it was not even revealed to the general cabinet members who participated in the Imperial Conference.

10. When were operational preparations started for war against the United States, Britain, and Holland?

Answer: That would be a matter for the Imperial General Headquarters and I do not know the details, but both the army and navy started operational preparations on the basis of decisions taken at the Nov. 5, 1941, Imperial Conference. However, this was undertaken on condition that if there were a compromise in the diplomatic negotiations by 0000 hours, Dec. 1, 1941, everything could be halted immediately.

11. Is it correct to assume that the orders with regard to the opening of hostilities in the war against the United States, Britain, and Holland were issued immediately after the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941?

Answer: No. Immediately after the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, orders were given for joint operational preparations by the army and navy, and they would not have been orders to start operations. At this Imperial Conference it was decided only to start preparing for operations.

12. In that case, what were the specifics of those preparations?

Answer: That would be a matter for the Imperial General Headquarters and not within the area about which I can responsibly speak. About the navy, in particular, I am poorly informed.

13. Tell us what you knew as Army Minister.

Answer: As I recall, the principal matters were as follows. However, they were undertaken principally under the authority of the Army Chief of Staff.

Nov. 6, 1941 — General Headquarters of the Southern Army. Appointment of Marshall Terauchi as Supreme Commander of the Southern Army. Marshall Terauchi ordered to prepare to occupy vital areas to the south.

Nov. 15, 1941 — Decision on an outline for an operations plan against Britain and U.S.

14. Did you know about the “Imperial Policy Execution Outline” that was adopted at the Imperial Conference of Sept. 6, 1941?

Answer: I don’t recall the details but I have a general knowledge of it.

15. About its general outline:

Based on Japan’s resolve to wage war against the United States, Britain, and Holland for reasons of self-preservation and self-defense, war preparations were to be largely complete by the latter part of October. Also, as mentioned before, if, by the first part of October, Japan’s requirements were still not met by diplomatic negotiation, Japan was resolved to wage war on the United States, Britain, and Holland. This is to say that preparations for war against the US, Britain, and Holland, that is to say, for the Great East Asian War, were not decided on at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, but had already been decided on at the Imperial Conference of Sept. 6, had they not?

Answer: Yes. As pointed out in the main text, under the strained circumstances of the time, for its own selfpreservation and self-defense, Japan was to make every attempt at diplomacy. However, if Japan’s requirements could not be met, we had resolved to prepare for war, and were resolved to wage war against the US, Britain, and Holland. Thus, our war preparations had two postures: both war and peace.

16. The war preparations based on the decisions of the Imperial conference of Sept. 6, 1941, were reconfirmed at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, were they not?

Answer: No. They were not reconfirmed. The war preparations of the Sept. 6 Imperial Conference were based on the possibility of war with the US, Britain, and Holland, and were preparations in a broad sense. Specific preparations had not yet begun. In the meantime, the third Konoe cabinet had fallen and the Tojo cabinet had taken its place. Under instruction of the Emperor, all decisions up to the point were returned to a state of blank paper, and the current conditions were reappraised by the Liaison Conference. It was on a new foundation that operations planning was decided on at the Nov. 5th Imperial Conference.

17. Even if that were the case, it was canceled only in the mind, and in reality war preparations had been continued since Sept. 6, and consequently they were only reconfirmed on Nov. 5 were they not?

Answer: No. It was not only in the mind. It was based on the results of a reappraisal, and in reality, the preparations that began Sept. 6 were canceled. To be specific, this is clear from the fact that such specific operational preparations as the appointment of the Supreme Commander of the Southern Army and the conclusion of the outline for operational plans against the U.S. and Britain took place after the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5th.

18. Do you know about the “Imperial Policy Execution Outline to Follow Changing Circumstances” that was established at the Imperial Conference of July 2, 1941?

Answer: I don’t remember the details but I know the general outline.

19. [*sic*] In order to execute the decision items it clearly says, “completion of preparations for war against Britain and America,” and “do not shirk from war with Britain and America.” Judging from this, had not plans for the Great East Asian War already been considered by July 2, 1941?

Answer: This Imperial Conference was held to set national policy after the beginning of hostilities between Germany and the Soviet Union. [Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941.] Its main thrusts were to maintain the policy of establishing the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, and to determine a southern policy as well as a posture to adopt towards northern problems so as to solve the China Incident and establish a foundation for self-preservation and self-defense. With respect to executing a southern policy with regard to French Indochina and Thailand, these were contingency defensive preparations against the possibility that we might face military resistance from Britain or America. These were not preparations for the Great East Asian War, which came later.

20. Earlier you said that the resolve to make war on Britain and America was a result of military and economic threats from the British-American side that endangered the existence of Japan, and was for self-preservation and self-defense, but when did those threats begin to be felt?

Answer: In answer to that question, let me first say three things.

First, Japan, China and Manchuria are at the center of a northern threat from Soviet power in the Siberian area, British power directed eastward from India, Burma, and Malaya, and American power directed northward from the Pacific. Thus, they were at the center of these three great forces and were in circumstances in which, as independent nations, they had to engage in self-preservation and self-defense.

Second, in that environment, from July of 1937, Japan had been at war with China — a China complicated by the various powers' rights and privileges. Japan’s opponent, the Chungking government, was receiving support from powerful Britain and America, and was continuing the war.

Third, after the first great European war, the United States raised its tariffs and strengthened the Pan American Union. Britain tightened its grip on the British economic bloc, the Soviet Union went into isolation, and Japan’s trade was excluded all around the world. Then, when war broke out in Europe in 1939, one of its effects was that Japan’s peaceful trade was restricted to the United States and the southern countries, and this trade was vital to the support of Japan’s existence.

21. When did Japan begin to feel menaced by the British-American side?

Answer: In early 1940 there was a threat to Japan in the [US] naval policy proposal. On July 25, 1940, oil and scrap metal were put on a permit-only basis. In Aug. 1940, there was the establishment of a regular Joint Committee with Canada. In Sept. 1940, there was a representative meeting in Britain of Africa, Hong Kong, Malaya, Palestine and Britain about maintenance of the situation in French Indochina. Jan. 15, 1941, a Conference on Joint Pacific Defense was held in Washington for US, Britain, and Holland. In Feb. 1941, there were measures to reinforce military bases in East Asia, Alaska, and the Pacific, followed by a concentration of forces in Malaya, Burma, and on the Thai border in order to disturb conversations between Japan and Thailand. On March 11, 1941, the Lend-Lease Act was passed.

22. Wasn't that because war preparations had been completed and the decision had been made to go to war? History shows that among the reasons for war there are always misunderstandings and miscalculations. Wasn't it because there were important misunderstandings between Japan and the United States?

Answer: The US-Japan negotiations were a series of misunderstandings right from the start. However, the Hull note could not possibly have been a simple misunderstanding. [This is a reference to Secretary of State Hull's stiff response to the Japanese proposals of November 25, 1941, which he issued on the following day.]

Outline of the Disagreements with Chief of Counsel Keenan's Opening Address

[Joseph Keenan was the Chief Prosecutor at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East]

Part I: On General Issue

(1) Differences from the Japanese point of view about the wish for world peace and security.

1. The ultimate purpose of the trial is said to be "to contribute significantly to the future peace and security of the world." The purpose of the indictments is "do justice properly." It is arbitrarily concluded that Japan "declared war on civilization." Consequently, "by means of the rights and powers granted," "in order to prevent future wars," it is claimed that "a firm struggle has been begun to protect the world from the destruction and obliteration of civilization." It is also added that "it is not for such petty reasons as retribution or revenge."

2. I have no objections to the wish for world peace and security and that all peoples be spared war. However, this cannot be expected merely because [a nation] arbitrarily defines "civilization" and assumes the posture of the world's policeman. The fundamental causes of war must be studied, and they must first be removed.

3. If the victorious nations unilaterally and arbitrarily decide that their way of thinking is the best, and force it on other nations and peoples, it will instead be a reason for future conflicts and wars. The circumstances after the First Great European War and today's world situation after the end of the Second World War are eloquent testimony to this.

4. A correct conclusion about Japan's behavior cannot be arrived at without understanding that the semi-colonized status of East Asia, which had its roots in the distant past, was always a reason for the troubles of East Asia, and that the conditions of war that Japan encountered had these special circumstances as their origin.

5. When a nation risks its fate by making war, there are always profound reasons for it. There is no nation in the world that likes war, and no people that likes war.

(2) Errors in comments about civilization and international justice.

Japan's point of view:

1. I deny that Japan "declared war on civilization."

2. To advocate a New Order was to seek freedom and respect for peoples without prejudice, and to seek a stable basis for the existence all peoples, equally, and free of threats. Thus, it was to seek true civilization and true justice for all the peoples of the world, and to view this as the destruction of personal freedom and respect is to be assailed by the hatred and emotion of war, and to make hasty judgments.

3. I would like to point out their [my accusers'] inhumane and uncivilized actions in East Asia ever since the Middle Ages.

4. In the shadow of the prosperity of Europe and America, the colored peoples of East Asia and Africa have been sacrificed and forced into a state of semi-colonization. I would point out that the cultural advance of these people has been suppressed in the past and continues to be suppressed in the present by policies designed to keep them in ignorance.

5. I would point out that Japan's proposal at the Versailles Peace Conference on the principle of racial equality was rejected by delegates such as those from Britain and the United States.

6. Of two through five above, which is civilization? Which is international justice? Justice has nothing to do with victor nations and vanquished nations, but must be a moral standard that all the world's peoples can agree to. To seek this and to achieve it — that is true civilization.

7. In order to understand this, all nations must hate war, forsake emotion, reflect upon their pasts, and think calmly.

(3) The principle of no retroaction is being needlessly trampled under foot.

1. The illegality of trampling on the principle of no retroaction.

2. The illegality of trying to explain that illegal action in the name of civilization.

3. The danger posed to the maintenance of future peace by affirming this. Its myopic and incoherent character.

(4) Denial of conspiracy

1. It is an absurdity to define "conspiracy," which had as its purpose "domestic plots," in such a way as to include the deliberations held as part of an independent nation's political system (including cabinet meetings, Imperial Conferences, Imperial General Headquarters, Liaison Conferences).

2. In Japan there was no secret association that conspired, or plotted to wage war. One must be dreaming to think that there was an association in Japan like the Nazis in Germany, and any thinking based on such an assumption is a delusion.

3. On the true nature of the changes in Japan's governments and the system of deciding on war.
4. It is absurd to ignore the treaty-making rights and powers of an independent nation and to conclude that the Tripartite Pact [of September 1940] with Germany and Italy was a conspiracy.
5. Japan had no consistent war policy.
6. I would like know how it was that many different defendants, of different ages, active at different times, in different jobs, and in different locations could possibly have entered into a conspiracy.
7. The independence of the high command refutes the existence of a conspiracy.
8. That there were differences of opinion among the defendants is evidence that there were arguments among the defendants. I point out the frail foundation for the view that "expansion of Japanese power in every direction" constitutes a crime of conspiracy.
9. The army's land-based programs were opposed to the navy's sea-based programs, and this, too, is proof that there was no plot.

(5) The appropriateness of the right of self-defense. Denial that Japan waged aggressive war.

1. The appropriateness, in international relations, of the right of self-defense is a right of an independent nation.
2. American claims to the right of self-defense and claims to the right of self-defense made prior to the outbreak of the Great East Asia War. (Claims made with respect to the European War and its related actions. Also, an interpretation of the American claims to self-defense focusing on the Tripartite Pact, made during the US-Japan negotiations.)
3. It was natural that given the special circumstances of East Asia, there would be frequent occurrences of self-defense activity.
4. I point out the self-righteous interpretation of "aggression."

(6) Manchukuo and the other nations that were established in East Asia were legitimate.

1. Indicate the evidence that they were established according to the wills of their peoples. (Contrast with war-time governments in exile that were not on their native soil.)
2. I deny any violation of the Nine Power Treaty [concluded in 1922 to guarantee China's territorial integrity].
3. Japan's friendly internal guidance during the developmental stage of the nation of Manchukuo did not deny its sovereignty.
4. The fact that ten or so nations recognized it. In particular, at the time of the signing of the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Treaty in 1941, the Soviet Union affirmed the existence of Manchukuo, promised to respect its territory and refrain from aggression, and exchanged consuls.
5. Point out that pride was taken in political and economic help and intervention.

6. In their fundamental thinking, troop operations on the one hand, and the establishment and development of an independent nation on the other, are different elements. It is not correct to confuse the two and mistakenly conclude that there was aggression or subjugation.

(7) The maintenance of international law and custom. I believe that in East Asia, human relations, customs, and habits are different from those in the West.

1. It is natural to respect and to abide by international law and custom, but this must apply to victors as well as to the vanquished.

2. On the Japanese national character and its respect for humanity.

3. How this applies to East Asia, where human relations, customs, habits and standards of living are different.

4. The true meaning of not having ratified the treaty on prisoners of war [Geneva Conventions of 1929], and the fact that we applied the treaty.

5. That it is unreasonable to equate the casualties of a war, started with the intention of exercising self-defense, with murder.

Part II — SPECIFIC ITEMS

(The main purpose being to prove that Japan's actions were not aggressive war but the exercise of the right of self defense.)

Outline of My Impressions of the Chief of Counsel's Address

Did Japan really declare war on civilization?

(1) War is something that destroys the civilized life of peoples, so there can be no question that it is something that a nation must do everything to avoid. For this reason, in normal times, causes that could lead to war are suppressed before they lead to crisis or conflict, and early solutions that prevent the eruption of conflict are necessary — so long as they are arrived at in the spirit of constant mutual compromise. This is particularly important for great nations. Moreover, not only does war result in great sacrifice and cost to both the opponent and to one's own people, if an error is made and war is lost, it can result in miserable conditions in which the nation can be destroyed. Since this is well known, there is no such thing on the face of the earth as a nation that loves war, or what one might call a war-loving nation or war-loving people.

Moreover, for one who is in a position of national leadership, it is natural that, faced with the heavy responsibility he bears towards nation and people, such a resolve should be thought over very seriously. Especially, when a small, weak nation plunges into war with a great nation, that act in itself explains, without one word, the reason why war is necessary. When a great nation uses its power to force its will upon a small, peaceful nation, and tries to prevent its normal development and, moreover, threatens that nation's existence in order to achieve these aims, can that be conceived of as civilized conduct?

According to the address by the chief of counsel, Japan declared war on civilization, but the responsibility for declaring war lies rather, as explained above, with the Anglo-American side, which forced Japan into war. Japan fought in order to ensure its own survival and also to establish the proper survival of the people of East Asia. In other words, it sought true civilization for

mankind. This truth is not to be judged hastily as the sorrowful lamentations of a vanquished country, for it is the truth of mankind. (A weak and gentle lamb — or nation — is born, and lives by eating grass. It has never even thought of eating the flesh of lions or tigers. Lions and tigers do eat the flesh of lambs and [what the chief of counsel is arguing] is like claiming that it is the natural fate of the lamb to be eaten by lions and tigers, and that this is civilization and justice.)

(2) If one examines the Chief of Counsel's address it is similar to denying to an independent nation the right to a war of self-defense.

Avoiding any discussion of the reasonableness of a war of self-defense, it is unilaterally declared that Japan's behavior was aggressive war, and this is the point of departure. It is not necessary to say a great deal about the fact that according to international law, a war of self-defense can be reasonable. As is clear from the diplomatic documents that preceded the conclusion of the No-War Treaty [the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928], before adhering to this treaty, Japan reserved this very point. This is also clear from the explanation that then-US Secretary of State Kellogg gave to an American conference on international law. If an independent nation faces an external threat to its existence and is endangered, it has the right to remove that threat. Many misunderstandings arise from not doing a theoretical study of the fact that Japan based its behavior on this right, and from summarily and arbitrarily concluding that what Japan did was a violation of international law. Moreover, the fact that Japan's military self-defense activity was frequent is dismissed as nothing more than a common Japanese tactic, but no thought is given to the circumstances of East Asia that gave rise to frequent self-defense activity. Further, a war of self-defense is proper under international law, it is a free action, and it is a right that an independent nation has under international law. Therefore it does not come under the constraints of the Hague Convention with respect to the initiation of war, and it is therefore not a violation of law if the final notice does not necessarily follow the form that it sets forth. For these reasons, it is a great error deliberately to ignore the circumstances and declare that Japan's initiation of war on Dec. 8, 1941 was an attack without warning and therefore a treaty violation, and therefore murder.

(3) When I listen to the discussions about conspiracy, I get the impression that in order to find some basis for the charge, materials have been collected and an attempt has been made to make something out of them.

The assumption is that Japan had established the Great East Asian War as a goal, and had already planned and plotted it for many years. I do not get the impression that evidence was first gathered and that a judgment was then made on the basis of the evidence.

Nothing is said about the international facts of the AngloAmerican legal pressure applied after the First Great European War [the First World War] Japan's political circumstances are ignored, and no thought is given to the efforts made to establish peace in East Asia. Moreover, there is no explanation as to how a conspiracy could be possible among a large number of defendants, whose ages differ greatly, and whose active periods, jobs, and workplaces are all different.

Furthermore, it is a great error to say that the first step towards aggression was for an independent nation to establish school instruction as a way of nurturing citizen spirit. Japan suffered greatly in the Russo-Japanese war [1904-1905]. Because China was weak, Japan assumed the burden in place of China, and earned treaty-based rights by risking its very existence as a nation. As a consequence, Manchukuo became a flourishing territory, and Japan was trying to develop. To say that this was the second step towards aggression is another great error.

(4) An independent nation has the right to hold to an ideal. Despite this, the Anglo-American side sets up its own ideal about the establishment of world peace as the only correct view. It summar-

ily determines that Japan's ideals — the New East Asian Order and the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere — are supranational thinking, and builds its arguments on that basis. Moreover, it fails to distinguish measures that were taken to realize that ideal and bring common benefits to the related nations, from measures taken to win the war and that were in effect only during the war. Thus mixed together, both are criticized.

(5) Whether or not the laws and conventions of warfare were violated will be examined later in this trial. However, Japan is one of the civilized nations, and as part of its national character it would have attempted to abide by laws and conventions. These would be incidental acts undertaken by people on the battlefield (and obviously if they occurred, they are not be forgiven or justified). It is charged that this sort of behavior was an indispensable part of Japanese military activity and it is concluded that it was simply one of the Japanese methods of war. However, compared to what was done to Japan — the indiscriminate bombing of defenseless cities and the calculated, gigantic massacre achieved by use of the atomic bomb — our actions were natural measures for maintaining civilization and our sin is light.

(6) Manchukuo, the Nanking government, and such [Japanese sponsored] nations [Chinese] as the Philippines and Burma were recognized by as many as ten or more nations, including Japan. They were established according to international law, by the will of the people, and within national territories. Just because they were not recognized by the enemy during the war, they are now being called puppet governments. It is true that as a result of that war they were destroyed, but it is a fact that they were not puppet governments but nations recognized by a number of other nations.

(7) Did the Tripartite Pact really plan world conquest? The real purpose of the Tripartite Pact was explained in the text of the treaty itself and was as follows:

1. That each country, in whatever it does in order to gain its place, should first of all work for permanent peace.

2. That a new order was to be sought in Europe and in Greater East Asia for the common existence and prosperity of peoples. It was promised that this would be supported through mutual association and cooperation.

3. Further, cooperation was not to be denied nations, anywhere in the world, that were making similar efforts. There would be an attempt to fulfill the ultimate hope of the three nations with respect to world peace. In other words, imperialist policies were to be avoided, with a goal of coexistence and mutual prosperity rather than subjugation. It is natural for independent nations to wish for such things. For a disadvantaged nation, and for one to which pressures were being applied, this was nothing more than to seek the natural path of mankind, to advance along the path towards civilization. To think of this as world conquest is a grave mistake. Furthermore, it is natural that the Anti-Comintern Pact, as stated in the text, would have entirely different purposes. As for whether there were secret agreements of some kind, I never heard of such a thing.

(8) Leaving aside the question of whether it is appropriate to discuss the Russo-Japanese War during this trial, it was very much with the help of Britain and the United States that the war was carried out and was successful. At the time, the Japanese people felt grateful to those two nations.

- 1) Japan never planned to wage a war for the purposes of aggression. Japan always tried to establish its independence and self-preservation and self-defense, and tried to counter the instability and turmoil that resulted from European and American aggression in East Asia. Japan tried to stabilize East Asia and believed that this was a contribution to world peace.

2) Contrary to the reasons for prosecution that are set out in many pages, the events from 1928 to 1945 — such things as the Manchurian Incident, the China Incident, and the Great East Asian War — were not carried out on the basis of a coherent, common plan. Each had its own causes based on the international situation of the time, and each is a separate matter.

3) The “construction of a New East Asian Order” that was planned at the time of the China Incident, and the “construction of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere” that was planned at the time of the Great East Asian War were not for the purpose of gaining a sphere of military, political, and economic domination for Japan. The purpose was to relieve East Asia from the fetters and exploitation of the past several centuries of aggression and exploitation by the great powers of Europe and America. Each nation of East Asia was to respect the mutual autonomy of the others, cooperate economically, engage in mutual defense, seek the fruits of coexistence and co-prosperity, and seek peace in East Asia. There was not the slightest attempt at aggression or exploitation. Instead, it was defense in the name of ensuring the survival of East Asian nations and peoples. Furthermore, war was not waged in order to achieve the goals of “construction of a New East Asian Order.” The attempt was made to achieve its goals by harmonizing it with the China Incident, which had occurred for other reasons. The same can be said for the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, which was undertaken in connection with the Great East Asian War, which in turn occurred for separate reasons of its own.

4) Contrary to what is written in indictment 5, Japan did not join the Tripartite Pact in an attempt to secure military, political, and economic domination over the whole world. Instead,

1. Ever since the Washington Conference [Nov. 1922-Feb. 1923], Japan had fallen into a state of international isolation, and it sought allies. It sought world peace, and the maintenance of a balance of world power.

2. Efforts were made to prevent the European War from spreading to East Asia.

3. It was hoped that Germany’s power would be of assistance in resolving the issue that was then of greatest concern to Japan, namely, the China Incident.

4. It was hoped that it would be of assistance in “construction of a New East Asian Order.”

Furthermore, contrary to what is written in indictment 5, there was no effort made to establish a particular position of domination in East Asia. It was a mutual recognition of Japan’s leadership position, of Japan’s capabilities of the time, of the fact that it was in a position to take the initiative with the various nations of East Asia. There was no attempt to subjugate the nations of East Asia. This is clear from the wording of the treaty.

It was not, as written in indictment 5, an attempt to rule the world. It was the hope for a world in which every nation could achieve its own place. Moreover it is not the case that Japan, Germany, and Italy plunged into the Second World War according to plan. Each fell into a state of war in accordance with the circumstances of the time.

(5) The Manchurian Incident has deep roots. Japan had won special rights as a result of the great sufferings of the Russo-Japanese War. China launched a planned, systematic, illegal program of exclusion, insult, boycott of Japanese products, and persecution and violence against 1½ million imperial subjects, including Koreans and legally-resident Japanese. The Mukden Incident was simply the spark that set things off. Contrary to what is written in indictment 2, it was not something that happened with the calculated objective of “establishing a separate nation under Japanese and Chinese rule.” At the time the incident began, the policy was to keep the trouble from

spreading. That it did spread was a result of the natural exercise of an independent nation's responsibilities in protecting 1½ million imperial subjects — Japanese and Koreans — who were suffering from a deterioration of public order.

Furthermore, the establishment of Manchukuo was conceived of by the people of Manchukuo themselves. Manchukuo itself was the reason for the existence of the state of Manchukuo. Finally, for anyone who does not disregard the history of its origins and its geography, it is obvious that Manchukuo would depend on Japan and have a destiny that was pro-Japanese.

(6) The China Incident did not occur as set forth in indictment 3. It was a result of the fact that China had persisted, in a planned and systematic way, in excluding and insulting Japan, boycotting Japanese goods, persecuting resident Japanese, and committing massacres and violence. Its purpose was not, as set forth in indictment 3, "the direct or indirect establishment of one or more nations under the rule of Japan so that Japan could dominate China militarily, politically, and economically." On the contrary, Japan hoped for the unity of China. Further, even after the incident began, reflecting on the reasons for the incident, Japan hoped for the "construction of a New East Asian Order" so as to bring about permanent stability in East Asia.

The purpose was not for Japan to gain military, political and economic control of China. It was an effort to seek the true liberation of co-existence and co-prosperity that comes from neighborly relations, economic cooperation, and common defense.

(7) Contrary to what is claimed in indictment 4, Japan did not, for an extended period beginning in 1928, try to establish military, political, and economic dominance over broad areas of East Asia, Asia, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, and the adjacent nations and islands. Instead, it sought to liberate East Asia from several centuries of aggression, control, and exploitation by the great powers of Europe and America. Its wish was for every nation of East Asia mutually to respect the autonomy of others, to build friendly relations, to cooperate economically, to maintain a common defense, to seek the fruits of co-existence and co-prosperity, and establish peace in East Asia. Japan had not the slightest aggressive or exploitative intent. Instead, it wished to defend and ensure the survival of every East Asian nation and people. This is not to say that others were to be excluded.

Moreover, war was not waged in order to achieve the goals of the construction of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. The reasons for war lay elsewhere. It was during a war that had occurred for other reasons, but in accordance with those circumstances, that an attempt was made to achieve the construction of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.

It was ordered [by the "war crimes" tribunal] that virtually all enemy [American] documents of the following kind be withheld: those that might substantiate the Japanese claim that this was a war of self-defense or that there had been anti-Japanese economic pressure. (Such documents might have included the report of the Pearl Harbor Attack Investigation Committee [Joint Congressional Committee on the Pearl Harbor Attack] and other U.S. State Department documents.) Pressures of this kind were so flagrantly unfair that the American lawyers assigned to the defense finally made a request: "We seek instruction from the Court as to whether evidence that Japan's war was in self-defense will be accepted." The court, touched in a vital spot, gave a vague answer.

The question of military pressure will probably be handled in the same way. I will note with interest what happens. Pressures like this are fine. I hope that there is more and stronger pressure. It only demonstrates to the world how unfair this trial is. It is amusing. (Impressions of Aug. 6).

On the Causes of the War

(1) I will ask about the reasons why Japan started the Pacific war.

Answer: There is much that I would like to say about the deeper causes, but I will save that for later. The immediate cause was the Anglo-American side's extreme military and economic threats that put Japan's existence in crisis. Japan tolerated this, and though it had little hope of success, sought resolution through US-Japan negotiations. However, in the end, the United States made difficult, unbearable demands, and the route to a solution through negotiation finally came to nothing. Japan was forced into a situation that could permit no further delay. Thus, as an independent nation, for reasons of self-preservation and self-defense, Japan bravely determined to wage war.

(2) However, the decision of the Imperial Conference of Dec. 1, 1941, says, "the American plan based on the Imperial Policy Execution Outline formulated on Nov. 5 not having come to fruition, war will be waged with the United States, Britain, and Holland." From this it appears that Japan went to war, not out of self-preservation and self-defense, but because the US-Japan negotiations failed to reach a conclusion.

Answer: Included in the US-Japan negotiations were various matters in addition to the demands that the threats against Japan be eased. The U.S. and British economic and military threats were continued in parallel with the negotiations. I think that if there had been no such threats, the US-Japan negotiations would have continued, and even though there were problems, they could have been resolved by mutual compromise, and the Pacific War could have been avoided. However, these threats were only strengthened with the passage of time, and by August or September of 1941, Japan had already been pressed to the brink of the crisis. Hope lay only in the slim chance of a breakthrough in the US-Japan negotiations.

The decision at the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941, was taken in these circumstances. The specific conditions with respect to the US-Japan negotiations that arose from this decision were that concessions were to be made on the other political issues, and our demands were to be concentrated on one thing: the easing of the threats to Japan's self-preservation and self-defense. However, in reply to that last proposal, the United States made difficult proposals that were clearly unacceptable to Japan. The possibility of breakthrough through US-Japan negotiations disappeared. Therefore, as explained above, the decision was reached, as an independent nation, to wage a war of self-preservation and self-defense so as to escape from these very real threats. The breakdown in the negotiations itself was not the reason for war.

Your Excellency, it may be appropriate at this point to quote from the speech you made at the Imperial Conference. It says:

1) An attempt was made on the basis of the decision of Nov. 5 to adjust relations with the United States, but the United States did not make a single concession.

2) In fact, they sought unconditional and complete [Japanese] troop withdrawal [from China] under the joint supervision of the United States, Britain, Holland and China; the repudiation of the Nanking government; and the renunciation of the Tripartite Pact.

3) The United States, Britain, Holland, and China stepped up their economic and military pressure.

The decision of Nov. 5 sought the end of economic pressure (in particular, the unfreezing of funds, and the free acquisition of oil and other materials). The second draft mentions these things clearly.

- Kiyose [*Chief defense counsel for Tojo*]

(3) From the mass of evidence produced so far, it can be concluded that Japan considered the construction of a New Order for greater East Asia an important political objective. Since the construction of a New Order for Greater East Asia was the primary objective of the US-Japan negotiation and was also the reason for starting the war, this talk of U.S. and British threats is nothing more than an excuse, is it not?

Answer: No. As explained above, the cause of the war was the threats from the US-British side. This is not an excuse.

The construction of a New Order for Greater East Asia was certainly, ever since the China incident, an important Japanese policy, and it was the main point of the US-Japan negotiations. However, Japan hoped for a realization of this policy on a peaceful basis of understanding by both nations. The US-Japan negotiations were one of the means to bring this about. In fact, on this issue, during the US-Japan negotiations, Japan considered the American side's claims and tried to reach a solution by making concession after concession. Consequently, if this had been the only issue, there would have been no necessity to decide on war with the United States.

(4) If, as you say, the cause of the Pacific War was military and economic pressure from the American and British side that forced Japan into a crisis over its very existence, why were the US-Japan negotiations not concentrated on solving this one question?

Answer: The US-Japan negotiations changed over time. In April 1941, when the negotiations began, Japan had political objectives including the following:

1) The reestablishment of peace in East Asia by means of a resolution of the China Incident. 2) The maintenance of peace in the Pacific, which was beset by crises. 3) Prevention, in accordance with the Tripartite Pact, of the spread of the Great European War to East Asia. 4) Establishment of an economy of self-supply and self-sufficiency in the face of U.S. and British economic pressure.

We concluded that the U.S. side also hoped to keep peace in East Asia. It was thought that the satisfactory solution of these issues would be the foundation of a recovery in relations between Japan and the United States, and this was made the basis of U.S.-Japan negotiations. At that time, the economic and military pressure against Japan had not yet reached its peak. In July 1941, the economic blockade of Japan — of which the freezing of assets by the US, Britain, and Holland was the main element — along with military pressure brought Japan face to face with death. Consequently, at this period, the main issue of the negotiations was the relief and elimination of threats. This is clear from the Japanese side's proposal of November 0 [November 7] based on the second draft based on the decision of the Imperial Conference of Nov. 5, 1941.

(5) You say that the cause of the war was economic and military threats from the United States and Britain against the existence of Japan, but what do you mean? Please give us a summary.

Answer: As has already been demonstrated, after the First Great European War, and after the Manchurian Incident, the United States adopted a policy of high tariffs, Britain built up an imperial economic bloc, and Japan's trade was excluded from one part of the world after another.

Further, at the end of July 1939, the United States suddenly applied economic pressure, principally by rescinding its trade and commerce treaty with Japan. This, together with the outrageous act of economic blockade by means of the freezing of Japanese assets by the United States, Britain, and Holland, was a mortal threat to Japan, whose economic activities depended on foreign trade. This kind of economic blockade by nations with which Japan was not in a state of war was felt as an enemy act that was little different from war. From a military point of view, the US-British side openly increased its support of the Chungking forces, thus causing the war to continue. Moreover, the United States, Britain, and Holland, in concert with the Chungking government, concentrated troops in the Philippines, Malaya, Burma, and Dutch Indochina, and strengthened their military preparations by such means as increasing airbase facilities. A great American fleet was assembled in Hawaii and readied so as to be able to start operations at a moment's notice. Such were the threats that faced Japan. Moreover, at the same time, according to reports, on October 3, 1941, British and American leaders met in Manila to discuss operations. Further, on October 9, a U.S. military delegation was received at a meeting in Hong Kong, at which support for China and the continued resistance of Chungking were discussed. Likewise, a certain American admiral (note: commander of the Pacific fleet, [Husband E.] Kimmel) threatened Japan with his famous statement to the effect that if there were war with Japan, the entire Japanese fleet could probably be sunk in a few weeks. Further, on Nov. 10, 1941, the British Prime Minister, at a luncheon for the installation of the [lord] mayor of London, said that if there were war between Japan and the United States, Britain was prepared to declare war on Japan within 24 hours. This was taken to mean that Britain and the United States were in complete accord on the subject of war with Japan, and that this resolve was intentionally being revealed.

Even if the threats from Britain and the United States were real, were they not provoked by Japan's southern advance into French Indochina and the consequent threat to British and American territory?

Answer: No. Japan's southern advance was to:

1. Cut off the life line to the Chungking forces that ran through French Indochina and Burma — this, with the intention of resolving the China Incident.
2. Establish economic self-sufficiency so as to escape from Anglo-American economic pressure.

If, on the American and British side, there had been no support for Chungking or encouragement of continued resistance, this would not have been necessary. Moreover, if there had been no American and British economic pressure, and Japan had been able to continue in its economic dependency on peaceful foreign commerce, there would have been no need to advance to the south. It was natural that Japan should try to improve friendly relations with French Indochina and Thailand while peace lasted; these were nations with which Japan had broad connections.

When you touch on this point, the Chief of Counsel is likely to refer to the decisions of the July 6 Imperial Conference, particularly "French Indochina and Thailand policy items" and "matters related to furthering the southern policy," and to cross examine you on these matters. Please be prepared.

The summary of item two of the decisions made on July 2 reads, "For its self-preservation and self-defense, Japan will continue the diplomatic negotiations necessary with respect to the southern territories, and will promote various other policies." Furthermore, according to this section ... "for this reason preparations for war with the United States and Britain are to be advanced, and first, policy items with regard to French Indochina and Thailand, as well as the matter of promoting the southern policy" ... various policies with respect to French Indochina and Thailand

were to be carried out and the conditions for southern advance were to be strengthened. It says, “in order to achieve this goal, Japan should not shirk from war with the United States and Britain.” The policy items with regard to French Indochina and Thailand were decisions of the Liaison Conference of Feb. 1, 1941, and it says, “for the self-preservation and self-defense of Japan, military, political, and economic union that is close and inseparable is to be established with French Indochina and Thailand.”

Furthermore, with respect to the promotion of the southern policy, at what is thought to be about the time of the April 17 Liaison Conference decision, (1) Military, political, and economic relations that are close and inseparable are to be established with French Indochina and Thailand. (2) Close economic relations are to be established with Dutch Indochina. (3) Proper commercial relations will be maintained with the remaining southern nations.

In principle, the realization of the above objective is to be by diplomatic means. In carrying out the above policy, military force is to be used for self-preservation and self-defense, only if such things as the following occur, and there is no means of resolving them: (1) A trade embargo by the United States, Britain, and Holland that threatens the survival of Japan. (2) The encirclement policy against Japan is strengthened by the United States, Britain, Holland, and China, and this cannot be tolerated for reasons of national security.

There is no contradiction between this and your proposed answer, but I noted it so that you would have it in mind. Furthermore, was it not concluded that the reason economic negotiations with Dutch Indochina by Kobayashi [Kobayashi Ichizoo, Minister of Commerce and Industry, who was head of the trade delegation that was sent to negotiate the import of oil, tin and rubber] and Yoshizawa [Yoshizawa Kenichi, former Foreign Minister, who succeeded Kobayashi] failed, was that there was behind-the-scenes interference by the United States and Britain?

- Kiyose

(7) In reply to the first question, you said that you would put aside the deeper causes, but are those deeper causes additional reasons why Japan entered the Pacific War?

Answer: The deeper causes are what created the objective circumstances that drew the opponents into the unhappy fate of the Pacific War, but they are not the direct causes. However, in order to avoid future wars, and in order seriously to think about world peace, they are large subjects on which both the winners and the losers should reflect calmly. The reason why disturbances are common in East Asia, the reason Japan had been speaking of a New Order, the idea of building a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, the real meaning of the cry from the heart of the peoples of East Asia — have their origins in these deeper causes.

(8) Is that your personal view or is that the official view of the Japanese government?

Answer: It is not my personal view. It is the foundational thinking on which the Japanese government based important policies.

(9) In that case, how can you demonstrate that this was official, foundational thinking?

Answer: Of all the declarations made by the various governments since the start of the China Incident, the clearest is the Joint Declaration of Greater East Asia made at the Greater East Asian Conference on Nov. 8, 1943. It is also clear from the speeches given at the conference by the delegates of the various countries. Also, the actual independence or independence movements that

arose during the Pacific War in the Philippines, Burma, India and in other places are an eloquent testimonial.

(10) If what you say is true, then what you call the cry from the heart of East Asian peoples and nations, their ardent desire, took shape as Japan's New Order policy. That can be taken as an important cause of the war, can it not?

Answer: No. Indeed, it was one of Japan's important national policies, and everything was done to bring it to fruition. However, it is well known that a nation that exists in an international setting cannot expect its unilateral demands and wishes to be accepted unquestioningly by others. This is something that comes about from a spirit of mutual compromise and mutual sympathy, with each nation and people recognizing the welfare of others and making as their ideal the establishment of world peace. It is a question of the heart, and if only there is a conviction that war is unnecessary can things be achieved peacefully. This was what Japan hoped and strove for to the end. However, for other reasons, and before its policies could be achieved by peaceful means, Japan was lured into war. Therefore, these became the deeper causes that established the environment for the Pacific War, but they were not the direct causes.

(11) Nevertheless, any world statesman from a nation with an important connection with East Asia, if he had the slightest genuine desire for world peace, would not have ignored something as important as this was to the nations and peoples of East Asia. What do you say to that?

Answer: That is correct. It is something that could not be ignored and was not ignored.

(12) On what basis do you say that it was not ignored?

I shall explain the facts.

1. At the Washington Conference in 1922, other important questions were raised, but this problem was also considered. However, at that time, the cry from the heart of the nations and peoples of East Asia was not thoroughly understood. It was thought that the East Asian nations could be controlled through pressure and by alienating them from each other.

2. It can also be seen in the "Atlantic Charter," which was agreed to by Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt at a meeting held in the Atlantic [August 14, 1941]. At this time, the full war in Europe had already broken out, the unfortunate China Incident had occurred in East Asia, and the tactic used by the Americans and the British of sowing discord among the nations of East Asia was a great obstacle to Japan's attempt to reach peace with China. In the Atlantic Charter that resulted from this meeting, one cannot fail to note that the feelings of the East Asian peoples and nations were taken into consideration relatively often. However, the President and the British Prime Minister had, as top politicians, already lost appropriate expectations for East Asia. They should have been more bold in grasping what was happening in East Asia, in making important corrections to the mistakes of the past, and in making adjustments to the demands of the times. Moreover, both nations had failed to understand that they should abandon their traditional East Asian policy of sowing discord among nations, and should instead adopt a position of leadership based on the spirit of mutual aid and cooperation. Their only preparation for a great conflagration was a fire-fighting policy rather than a fire prevention policy.

3. These things are given further consideration in the Potsdam Declaration [August 2, 1945] but this was at the close of the Pacific War, and was not a policy for avoiding war.

(13) Do you mean, in your testimony, to criticize the past policies of the victorious powers and thereby defy the dignity of this court?

Answer: I have no intention at all of defying the dignity of the court. Nor do I intend to criticize the past policies of the victorious powers. It is regrettable if what I have said gives that impression. I am only describing the facts, and explaining the effect that Britain and America's past policies had on the peoples of East Asia. It should be the intention of the victorious powers to seek true peace for the future, and in order to help them make fair observations, I believe it is the duty of a defendant to provide the court with material for reflection.

(14) Assuming that what you say is true, if the leaders of the United States and England had, even to a small degree, taken heed of the hopes and cries from the heart of the nations and peoples of East Asia, then you, as a leader of Japan, should have taken a positive role in showing understanding to these hopes and cries, should you not?

Answer: That is correct. I think what you say is true. This is what Japan desired for Japan as well as for the nations and peoples of East Asia. However, world politics must work with nations and peoples, which are living things. An effect can be achieved, and peace preserved only if the right policies are carried out at the right time. It does no good to give medicine to a corpse.

(15) According to your testimony so far, the reason that Japan went to war was not the breakdown of the US-Japan negotiations, nor was it as a result of Greater East Asian policies. Instead, you say the direct cause was economic and military threats from the allied side, and that Japan went to war for reasons of self-defense and self-preservation. If that is the case, why did Japan not adopt a policy of stopping the war in its early stages, in mid-1942, for example, by which time those threats had been largely dissipated?

Answer: War is not a solitary undertaking. Even if that might have been good for Japan, we did not think that the enemy would have agreed. In particular, both sides were bound by treaty not to make conclude a separate peace, and the world situation did not appear to be one in which proposals advantageous only to Japan would be accepted. Moreover, whatever the reasons for making war, once it had begun, we thought to win it, to adjust Japan's policies to the circumstances of war and, within the parameters permitted by international law, to proceed boldly.

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War and Peace: Two Historic Speeches

Charles A. Lindbergh

In May 1927, a shy, handsome young man from Michigan named Charles Lindbergh suddenly became the idol of millions when he landed his small airplane in Paris after a grueling 33-hour flight from New York — the first person to fly alone, nonstop, across the Atlantic ocean.

Twelve years later, this politically astute son of a United States Congressman resolved to speak out against President Franklin Roosevelt's illegal campaign to push the United States into the European war that had broken out in September 1939.

The Most important national peace organization of this period was the America First Committee. Founded in July 1940, the broad-based citizens' coalition quickly grew to a membership of some 800,000. For his work as the Committee's most prominent and articulate spokesman, Lindbergh was both widely praised and bitterly denounced.

In a series of persuasive and widely-noted speeches, Lindbergh gave voice to the thoughts and feelings of the great majority of Americans who wanted to keep their country out of war.

Published here are the complete texts of two of these historical addresses: Lindbergh's speech of October 13, 1939, "Neutrality and War," and his speech of August 4, 1940, "Our Relationship with Europe." Each address was broadcast to the nation over the Mutual radio network.

Neutrality and War

Tonight, I speak again to the people of this country who are opposed to the United States entering the war which is now going on in Europe. We are faced with the need of deciding on a policy of American neutrality. The future of our nation and of our civilization rests upon the wisdom and foresight we use. Much as peace is to be desired, we should realize that behind a successful policy of neutrality must stand a policy of war. It is essential to define clearly those principles and circumstances for which a nation will fight. Let us give no one the impression that America's love for peace means that she is afraid of war, of that we are not fully capable and willing to defend all that is vital to us. National life and influence depend upon national strength, both in character and in arms. A neutrality built on pacifism alone will eventually fail.

Before we can intelligently enact regulations for the control of our armaments, our credit, and our ships, we must draw a sharp dividing line between neutrality and war; there must be no grad-

ual encroachment on the defenses of our nation. Up to this line we may adjust our affairs to gain the advantages of peace, but beyond it must lie all the armed might of America, coiled in readiness to spring if once this bond is cut. Let us make clear to all countries where this line lies. It must be both within our intent and our capabilities. There must be no question of trading or bluff in this hemisphere. Let us give no promises we cannot keep make no meaningless assurances to an Ethiopia, a Czechoslovakia, or a Poland. The policy we decide upon should be as clear cut as our shorelines, and as easily defended as our continent.

This western hemisphere is our domain. It is our right to trade freely within it. From Alaska to Labrador, from the Hawaiian Islands to Bermuda, from Canada to South America, we must allow no invading army to set foot. These are the outposts of the United States. They form the essential outline of our geographical defense. We must be ready to wage war with all the resources of our nation if they are ever seriously threatened. Their defense is the mission of our army, our navy, and our air corps the minimum requirement of our military strength. Around these places should lie our line between neutrality and war. Let there be no compromise about our right to defend or trade within this area. If it is challenged by any nation, the answer must be war. Our policy of neutrality should have this as its foundation.

We must protect our sister American nations from foreign invasion, both for their welfare and our own. But, in turn, they have a duty to us. They should not place us in the position of having to defend them in America while they engage in wars abroad. Can we rightfully permit any country in America to give bases to foreign warships, or to send its army abroad to fight while it remains secure in our protection at home? We desire the utmost friendship with the people of Canada. If their country is ever attacked, our Navy will be defending their seas, our soldiers will fight on their battlefields, our fliers will die in their skies. But have they the right to draw this hemisphere into a European war simply because they prefer the Crown of England to American independence?

Sooner or later we must demand the freedom of this continent and its surrounding islands from the dictates of European power. American history clearly indicates this need. As long as European powers maintain their influence in our hemisphere, we are likely to find ourselves involved in their troubles. And they will lose no opportunity to involve us.

Our congress is now assembled to decide upon the best policy for this country to maintain during the war which is going on in Europe. The legislation under discussion involves three major issues — the embargo of arms, the restriction of shipping, and the allowance of credit. The action we take in regard to these issues will be an important indication to ourselves, and to the nations of Europe, whether or not we are likely to enter the conflict eventually as we did in the last war. The entire world is watching us. The action we take in America may either stop or precipitate this war.

Let us take up these issues, one at a time, and examine them. First, the embargo of arms: It is argued that the repeal of this embargo would assist democracy in Europe, that it would let us make a profit for ourselves from the sale of munitions abroad, and, at the same time, help to build up our own arms industry.

I do not believe that repealing the arms embargo would assist democracy in Europe — because I do not believe this is a war for democracy. This is a war over the balance of power in Europe a war brought about by the desire for strength on the part of Germany and the fear of strength on the part of England and France. The munitions the armies obtain, the longer the war goes on, and the more devastated Europe becomes, the less hope there is for democracy. That is a lesson we

should have learned from participation in the last war. If democratic principles had been applied in Europe after that war, if the "democracies" of Europe had been willing to make some sacrifice to help democracy in Europe while it was fighting for its life, if England and France had offered a hand to the struggling republic of Germany, there would be no war today.

If we repeal the arms embargo with the idea of assisting one of the warring sides to overcome the other, then why mislead ourselves by talk of neutrality? Those who advance this argument should admit openly that repeal is a step toward war. The next step would be the extension of credit, and the next step would be the sending of American troops.

To those who argue that we could make a profit and build up our own industry by selling munitions abroad, I reply that we in America have not yet reached a point where we wish to capitalize on the destruction and death of war. I do not believe that the material welfare of this country need, or that our spiritual welfare could withstand, such a policy. If our industry depends upon a commerce of arms for its strength, then our industrial system should be changed.

It is impossible for me to understand how America can contribute civilization and humanity by sending offensive instruments of destruction to European battlefields. This would not only implicate us in the war, but it would make us partly responsible for its devastation. The fallacy of helping to defend a political ideology, even though it be somewhat similar to our own, was clearly demonstrated to us in the last war. Through our help that war was won, but neither the democracy nor the justice for which we fought grew in the peace that followed our victory.

Our bond with Europe is a bond of race and not of political ideology. We had to fight a European army to establish democracy in this country. It is the European race we must preserve; political progress will follow. Racial strength is vital politics, a luxury. If the white race is ever seriously threatened, it may then be time for us to take our part in its protection, to fight side by side with the English, French, and Germans, but not with one against the other for our mutual destruction.

Let us not dissipate our strength, or help Europe to dissipate hers, in these wars of politics and possession. For the benefit of western civilization, we should continue our embargo on offensive armaments. As far as purely defensive arms are concerned, I, for one, am in favor of supplying European countries with as much as we can spare of the material that falls within this category. There are technicians who will argue that offensive and defensive arms cannot be separated completely. That is true, but it is no more difficult to make a list of defensive weapons than it is to separate munitions of war from semi-manufactured articles, and we are faced with that problem today. No one says that we should sell opium because it is difficult to make a list of narcotics. I would as soon see our country traffic in opium as in bombs. There are certain borderline cases, but there are plenty of clear cut examples: for instance, the bombing plane and the anti-aircraft cannon. I do not want to see American bombers dropping bombs which will kill and mutilate European children, even if they are not flown by American pilots. But I am perfectly willing to see American anti-aircraft guns shooting American shells at invading bombers over any European country. And I believe that most of you who are listening tonight will agree with me.

The second major issue for which we must create a policy concerns the restrictions to be placed on our shipping. Naval blockades have long been accepted as an element of warfare. They began on the surface of the sea, followed the submarine beneath it, and now reach up into the sky with aircraft. The laws and customs which were developed during the surface era were not satisfactory to the submarine. Now, aircraft bring up new and unknown factors for consideration. It is simple enough for a battleship to identify the merchantman she captures. It is a more difficult problem for a submarine if that merchantman may carry cannon; it is safer to fire a torpedo than to come

up and ask. For bombing planes flying at high altitudes and through conditions of poor visibility, identification of a surface vessel will be more difficult still.

In modern naval blockades and warfare, torpedoes will be fired and bombs dropped on probabilities rather than on certainties of identification. The only safe course for neutral shipping at this time is to stay away from the warring countries and dangerous waters of Europe.

The third issue to be decided relates to the extension of credit. Here again we may draw from our experience in the last war. After that war was over, we found ourselves in the position of having financed a large portion of European countries. And when the time came to pay us back, these countries simply refused to do so. They not only refused to pay the wartime loans we made, but they refused to pay back what we loaned them after the war was over. As is so frequently the case, we found that loaning money eventually created animosity instead of gratitude. European countries felt insulted when we asked to be repaid. They called us "Uncle Shylock." They were horror struck at the idea of turning over to us any of their islands in America to compensate for their debts, or for our help in winning their war. They seized all the German colonies and carved up Europe to suit their fancy. These were the "fruits of war." They took our money and they took our soldiers. But there was not the offer of one Caribbean island in return for the debts they "could not afford to pay."

The extension of Credit to a belligerent country is a long step toward war, and it would leave us close to the edge. If American industry loans money to a belligerent country, many interests will feel that it is more important for that country to win than for our own to avoid the war. It is unfortunate but true that there are interests in America who would rather lose American lives than their own dollars. We should give them no opportunity.

I believe that we should adopt as our program of American neutrality — as our contribution to western civilization — the following policy:

1. An embargo on offensive weapons and munitions.
2. The unrestricted sale of purely defensive armaments.
3. The prohibition of American shipping from the belligerent countries of Europe and their danger zones.
4. The refusal of credit to belligerent nations or their agents.

Whether or not this program is adopted depends upon the support of those of us who believe in it. The United States of America is a democracy. The policy of our country is still controlled by our people. It is time for us to take action. There has never been a greater test for the democratic principle of government.

Our Relationship with Europe

Several weeks have passed since I received the honor of your invitation to speak in Chicago. At that time it was essential to create strong and immediate opposition to the trend toward war which was taking place in this country. The agitation for our entry in the war was increasing with alarming rapidity. Hysteria had mounted to the point where anti-parachute corps were being formed to defend American cities against air attacks from Europe. Greenland, with its Arctic climate, its mountainous terrain, and its ice-filled seas was called an easy stepping-stone for German bombing planes invading America. Cartoons showed the Atlantic Ocean reduced to the

width of the English Channel. American safety was said to depend upon the success of European armies. Foreign propaganda was in full swing, and it seemed in many ways that we were approaching the greatest crisis in the history of our country.

But events move swiftly in this modern world, and the true character of a nation lies beneath such surface foam. When the danger of foreign war was fully realized by our people, the underlying tradition of American independence arose, and in recent weeks its voice has thundered through the weaker cries for war.

We have by no means escaped the foreign entanglements and favoritisms that Washington warned us against when he passed the guidance of our nation's destiny to the hands of future generations. We have participated deeply in the intrigues of Europe, and not always in an open "democratic" way. There are still interests in this country and abroad who will do their utmost to draw us into the war. Against these interests we must be continuously on guard. But American opinion is now definitely and overwhelmingly against our involvement. Both political parties have declared against our entry into the war. People are beginning to realize that the problems of Europe cannot be solved by the interference of America. We have at last started to build and to plan for the defense of our own continent. By these acts, our eyes are turned once more in the direction of security and peace, for if our own military forces are strong, no foreign nation can invade us, and, if we do not interfere with their affairs, none will *desire* to.

Since we have decided against entering the war in Europe, it is time for us to consider the relationship we will have with Europe after this war is over. It is only by using the utmost intelligence in establishing and maintaining this relationship that we can keep America out of war in the future.

I have a different outlook toward Europe than most people in America. In consequence, I am advised to speak guardedly on the subject of the war. I am told that one must not stand too strongly against the trend of the times, and that, to be effective, what one says must meet with general approval.

There is much to be said for this argument, yet, right or wrong, it is contrary to the values that I hold highest in life. I prefer to say what I believe, or not to speak at all. I would far rather have your respect for the sincerity of what I say, than attempt to win your applause by confining my discussion to popular concepts. Therefore, I speak to you today as I would speak to close friends rather than as one is supposed to address a large audience.

I do not offer my opinion as an expert, but rather as a citizen who is alarmed at the position our country has reached in this era of experts. As laymen we are often told that the solution of difficult problems should be left to the specialist. But since specialists differ in the solutions they recommend, they must at least allow us the privilege of choosing those we wish to follow. And in making this choice, it seems that we are back where we started and must form an opinion of our own.

I found conditions in Europe to be very different from our concept of them here in the United States. Anyone who takes the trouble to read through back issues of our newspapers cannot fail to realize what a false impression we had of the belligerent nations. We were told that Germany was ripe for revolution, that her rearmament was a bluff, that she lacked officers, that she flew her airplanes from one field to another so they would be counted again and again by foreign observers. We were informed that Russia had the most powerful air fleet in the world, that the French army was superior to any in Europe, that the British navy was more than a match for the German air force, that Germany lacked enough food, fuel, and raw material to wage war, that the

Maginot Line was impregnable, that Italy would never enter a war against England. Statements of this sort have issued forth in an endless stream from Europe, and anyone who questioned their accuracy was called a Nazi agent.

These examples show how greatly we have been misled about the military conditions in Europe. If one goes still farther back, he will find that we have also been misled about political conditions. It has seemed obvious to me for many years that the situation in Europe would have to change, either by agreement or by war. I hoped that we had reached a degree of civilization where change might come by agreement. Living in Europe made me fear that it would come only through war.

There is a proverb in China which says that “when the rich become too rich, and the poor too poor, something happens.” This applies to nations as well as to men. When I saw the wealth of the British Empire, I felt that the rich had become too rich. When I saw the poverty of Central Europe, I felt that the poor had become too poor. That something would happen was blazoned even on the skies of Europe by mounting thousands of fighting aircraft.

From 1936 to 1939, as I travelled through European countries, I saw the phenomenal military strength of Germany growing like a giant at the side of an aged, and complacent England. France was awake to her danger, but far too occupied with personal ambitions, industrial troubles, and internal politics to make more than a feeble effort to rearm. In England there was organization without spirit. In France there was spirit without organization. In Germany there were both.

I realized that I was witnessing a clash between the heirs of another war. A generation had passed since the Treaty of Versailles. The sons of victory and the sons of defeat were about to meet on the battlefields of their fathers. As I travelled first among those who had won, and then among those who had lost, the words of a French philosopher kept running through my mind: “Man thrives on adversity.”

The underlying issue was clear. It was not the support of “democracy,” or the so-called democratic nations would have given more assistance to the struggling republic of post-war Germany. It was not a crusade for Christianity, or the Christian nations of the west would have carried their battle flags to the confiscated churches of Russia. It was not the preservation of small and helpless nations, or sanctions would have been followed by troops in Abyssinia, and England would not have refused to cooperate with the United States in Manchuria. The issue was one of the oldest and best known among men. It concerned the division of territory and wealth between nations. It has caused conflict in Europe since European history began.

The longer I lived in Europe, the more I felt that no outside influence could solve the problems of European nations, or bring them lasting peace. They must work out their destiny, as we must work out ours. I am convinced that the better acquainted we in America become with the background of European conflicts, the less we will desire to take part in them. But here I would like to make this point clear: while I advocate the non-interference by America in the internal affairs of Europe, I believe it is of the utmost importance for us to cooperate with Europe in our relationships with the other peoples of the earth. It is only by cooperation that we can maintain the supremacy of our western civilization and the right of our commerce to proceed unmolested throughout the world. Neither they nor we are strong enough to police the earth against the opposition of the other.

In the past, we have dealt with a Europe dominated by England and France. In the future we may have to deal with a Europe dominated by Germany. But whether England or Germany wins this war, Western civilization will still depend upon two great centers, one in each hemisphere. With

all the aids of modern science, neither of these centers is in a position to attack the other successfully as long as the defenses of both are reasonably strong. A war between us could easily last for generations, and bring all civilization tumbling down, as has happened more than once before. An agreement between us could maintain civilization and peace throughout the world as far into the future as we can see.

But we are often told that if Germany wins this war, cooperation will be impossible, and treaties no more than scraps of paper. I reply that cooperation is never impossible when there is sufficient gain on both sides, and that treaties are seldom torn apart when they do not cover a weak nation. I would be among the last to advocate depending upon treaties for our national safety. I believe that we should rearm fully for the defense of America, and that we should never make the type of treaty that would lay us open to invasion if it were broken. But if we refuse to consider treaties with the dominant nation of Europe, regardless of who that may be, we remove all possibility of peace.

Nothing is to be gained by shouting names and pointing the finger of blame across the ocean. Our grandstand advice to England, and our criticism of her campaigns, have been neither wanted nor helpful. Our accusations of aggression and barbarism on the part of Germany, simply bring back echoes of hypocrisy and Versailles. Our hasty condemnation of a French government, struggling desperately to save a defeated nation from complete collapse, can do nothing but add to famine, hatred, and chaos.

If we desire to keep America out of war, we must take the lead in offering a plan for peace. That plan should be based upon the welfare of America. It should be backed by an impregnable system of defense. It should incorporate terms of mutual advantage. But it should not involve the internal affairs of Europe; they never were, and never will be, carried on according to our desires.

Let us offer Europe a plan for the progress and protection of the western civilization of which they and we each form a part. But whatever their reply may be, let us carry on the American destiny of which our forefathers dreamed as they cut their farm lands from the virgin forests. What would they think of the claim that our frontiers lie in Europe? Let us guard the independence that the soldiers of our Revolution won against overwhelming odds. What, I ask you, would those soldiers say if they could hear this nation, grown a hundred and thirty million strong, being told that only the British fleet protects us from invasion?

Our nation was born of courage and hardship. It grew on the fearless spirit of the pioneer. Now that it has become one of the greatest powers on earth, ours must not be the generation that kneels in fear of future hardships, or of invasion by a Europe already torn by war.

I do not believe we will ever accept a philosophy of calamity, weakness, and fear. I have faith in an American army, an American navy, an American air force and, most important of all, the American character, which in normal times, lies quietly beneath the surface of this nation.

An audio cassette tape with these two Lindbergh speeches is available from the IHR for \$9.95, plus \$2 for shipping.

Hamilton Fish, a leading anti-interventionist Congressman, provides a critical, first-hand account of Franklin Roosevelt's warmongering campaign in *Tragic Deception*, a 120-page hardback work. (Available from the IHR for \$16.95, plus \$2 for shipping. Stock No. 0601.)

For more on Lindbergh and the America First Committee, see the following works by Wayne S. Cole: *America First* (1953), *Charles A. Lindbergh and the Battle Against American Intervention in World War II* (1974), and *Roosevelt and the Isolationists* (1953).

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Why Holocaust Revisionism?

Theodore J. O’Keefe

The “Holocaust,” the alleged murder of some six million Jews by the German Nazis during the Second World War, has in recent years come under increasing fire from the Revisionists, those unconventional historians who challenge orthodox versions of past events. Researchers such as Arthur Butz, Robert Faurisson, David Irving, and Wilhelm Stäglich have become famous (some would say notorious) around the world for their scholarly critique of the claim that Hitler and his followers sought to exterminate European Jewry during the war, killing millions by poison gas and other means.

There are those who would suppress the Revisionists by restricting their freedom of research and expression, and indeed the Revisionists have suffered physical attacks and legal sanctions, even in countries which take pride in being “open societies.”

Many more people, however, are not so much hostile to the Revisionists as they are simply puzzled by them. They have questions about Holocaust Revisionism, questions like these: “What motivates these Revisionists? Are they simply Nazis, seeking to rehabilitate the Hitler regime? Even if some of their facts are correct, does it really matter if the number of Jews who died in the war was 'only' a million and a half? Or half a million? Or just one? And even if the Revisionist case against the Holocaust could be proved, what difference does it make what did or didn’t happen to some Jews in Europe fifty years ago? Why not stick to issues that are more important and safer?”

To answer these questions, it is necessary to say something about the origins of modern Historical Revisionism. While conscientious historians have always attempted to “correct” the errors and omissions of their predecessors, modern Revisionism dates from the First World War. That great and terrible war was the first in history to affect people in every corner of the globe. It brought the great empires of Europe, their colonies in Asia and Africa, and finally the independent nations of the Americas into conflict on an unprecedented scale. Technology developed fearsome new weapons — airplanes, submarines, tanks, machine guns, poison gas — to gain military victories. A different sort of technology directed at the minds, not the bodies, of men was raised to new levels of effectiveness.

While both sides — the German-led Alliance and the Franco-British-Russian Entente lured the political and financial leadership of the neutral nations in secret with bribes and promises, they wooed the masses at home and abroad with propaganda. Each side depicted its own war aims as a mighty crusade for peace and freedom, and those of its enemies as a diabolical grab for world domination.

Even more effective was the so-called “atrocity propaganda,” which attributed every crime imaginable to the enemy. And the undisputed masters of “atrocity propaganda” were in the Allied camp. Their mastery of the propaganda weapon gave the world such images as the Belgian-baby-killing Hun, the crucified Canadian, a corpse factory in which the Germans processed their own dead, and a hundred others which raised Allied and neutral populaces to righteous and patriotic frenzy.

Allied propaganda helped lure America into the war, tipping the scales to insure Allied victory. Then, Allied leaders forced the defeated nations, Germany and its allies, to sign humiliating treaties which stripped them of territory and colonies, imposed crushing reparations and virtual disarmament, and, most galling of all, compelled the defeated to accept all responsibility for starting the war.

Soon after that war it had already become evident that much of what the citizens of America and the other powers had been told by their leaders about the causes, the conduct, and the aims of the war was simply not true. In particular, the vast majority of the lurid atrocities attributed to the Germans and their allies were admitted by the politicians and journalists who fabricated them to have been lies.

A group of concerned scholars and laymen in America and other countries, who became known as Revisionists, became determined to establish the historical facts, as opposed to the government and press propaganda, about the war. Within a decade Revisionist historians in America, England, France, Germany, and Austria were able to demonstrate that the war had not been waged to save the world for democracy, and that Germany and its allies did not bear sole guilt for starting the war.

One of Revisionism’s founding fathers was the young American historian Harry Elmer Barnes. Barnes would later define Historical Revisionism as “bringing history into accord with the facts.” Barnes’ study of the facts, as opposed to the propaganda, of the years 1914 to 1918 taught him that, in his words, “Truth is always the first war casualty. The emotional disturbances and distortions in historical writing are greatest in wartime.”

The hard facts which Revisionists had established about the First World War, only after a blood-bath which cost ten million lives, inspired Revisionists in America and elsewhere to resist their countries’ involvement in wars and interventions at the behest of politicians and bankers. But the rise of international Communism, which gained a firm base in Russia following the First World War, the crisis of capitalism in the worldwide depression of the 1930’s, and the emergence of authoritarian, anti-Communist, nationalist regimes in Europe and Japan set the stage for new conflicts.

Unlike the years before 1914, the build-up to the Second World War found not only nations but supra-national ideological movements competing for power in every sphere of human life. Communists, Fascists, Nazis, and Zionists joined the existing nationalists, imperialists, and enthusiasts for “one world” in a no-holds-barred struggle in which, spurred by the world economic crisis, propaganda technicians brought the arts of mass persuasion to unprecedented levels of achievement.

By the outbreak of war in 1939, Germany had already been the object of a furious, international propaganda campaign by the left, led by the Communists, and by the world’s Jews. Britain’s formidable global propaganda apparatus had shifted into high gear, particularly in anti-interventionist America, where British agents had set up a vast, clandestine propaganda operation with the covert agreement of President Franklin Roosevelt. When Germany and its European allies at-

tacked Stalin's Russia in June 1941, the uneasy truce between the Nazis and the Reds ended, and Moscow's agents around the world began transmitting the Kremlin's version of events to an often unsuspecting audience in the democracies. Such propaganda influences, combined with President Roosevelt's stealthy policy of entangling America on the side of the Allies, defeated the wise counsels of American Revisionists, prominent in the anti-interventionist camp, and in December 1941 America entered the war through the back door at Pearl Harbor.

Although officials among the Western Allies, mindful of the cynicism which had followed the exploded atrocity lies after the First World War, at first tried to steer clear of more lurid and improbable accusations, as the Axis triumphed on all fronts Allied propagandists began to abandon their scruples. Meanwhile, Jewish and Communist sources had opened up a drumfire of allegations against the Germans, blasting them for every conceivable crime. By the summer of 1942 Jewish spokesmen were demanding that Allied leaders condemn the Germans for annihilating a million Jews and plotting the extermination of millions more. Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin's condemnation was forthcoming by December 1942; for the remainder of the war Jewish and Allied propagandists spread fantastic tales of Jews murdered by scores of methods, as diabolical as they were improbable: they were reported to have been steamed, baked, electrocuted, gassed, eaten away by quicklime, starved, shot, buried alive, mauled by wild beasts, subjected to sadistic experiments, and deliberately injected with lethal chemicals or germs. According to the propaganda, not even their remains were inviolable: their skins made into lampshades or riding breeches, their hair stuffed into mattresses or used to make slippers, their gold dental fillings swelling the Reich's coffers, and what was left over turned into soap or fertilizer.

Even during the war, as Exterminationist writers have lately emphasized, there was widespread disbelief of the extermination claims among Americans and Britons, not to mention the peoples of the Axis nations. Allied policy-makers — Jewish, Communist, or Western democratic — mindful of the aftermath of the "war to end all wars," took steps to insure that the wartime propaganda would not be so easily discredited. Following the Second World War, they arranged for a series of trials devised to "prove" all of their atrocity claims as well as to convict and punish their enemies. Germany, and Japan as well, were occupied by the victors. The occupying powers wrote new constitutions, picked out new ruling elites, and imposed new modes of thought and methods of education so that the Germans and Japanese would absorb and internalize the propaganda of their conquerors.

Like most critical-minded citizens, Revisionistscholars and publicists had believed that eventually the exaggerations and fabrications surrounding Germany's treatment of the Jews would be swept away after the war, as propaganda and the passions it stoked were replaced by dispassionate gathering and analysis of the facts. They failed to reckon, however, with the rise of Israel and Zionism as a focus of allegiance for the world's Jews. The Zionists regarded the alleged extermination attempt — and the seemingly miraculous rise of a Jewish state and nation which followed it — as the central myth of a reborn Israel. Jews seized on the Holocaust story as a means of rendering criticism taboo and support almost automatic for Israel and the Diaspora. Opponents of Israel were routinely compared to Hitler, while an endless and ubiquitous media Shoah business promoted Holocaust items and themes, from Anne Frank's alleged diary to the latest docudrama, gradually raised the wartime extermination legend to an unassailable sacred cow. The Holocaust propaganda became a tool to generate billions, first as reparations or aid, now as virtual tribute, from West Germany and America. The enemies of German nationalism, from the Soviet Union with its newly consolidated satellite empire in Eastern Europe to leftists and jingoists in Western Europe, not to mention British "balance of power" enthusiasts and the would-be Caesars of an American imperium: all these forces had an interest in maintaining the Holocaust story as a bar-

rier to free investigation of not merely the Jewish experience, but to any objective re-examination of the key historical questions of the Second World War.

Nevertheless, despite what Harry Elmer Barnes' called "the historical blackout," a small cohort of open-minded and intrepid writers in Europe and America began to challenge publicly the supposed magnitude of Jewish losses in Europe, and to examine critically the evidence for a German program to annihilate European Jewry. The Revisionists who called for skepticism toward Holocaust claims, and began the hard work of bringing "history into accord with the facts" on this thorny issue, pointed out that the Holocaust was bad history. Paul Rassinier, the French pacifist and socialist who was himself interned in Buchenwald for his part in the French resistance, exposed the lies and exaggerations of his fellow survivors, who blithely testified to the existence of an imaginary gas chamber. Early Revisionists, like Harvard-educated historian David Hoggan and German-American Professor Austin App, focussed on the disparities between the documented National Socialist Jewish policy and the postwar oral accounts of "survivors," the "confessions of German prisoners in Allied custody, and the self-serving testimony of witnesses for the prosecution. These and other Revisionist pioneers exposed the rickety statistical foundations of the figure of six million Jewish dead, paving the way for a efflorescence of critical Revisionist scholarship which began in the 1970's and flourishes today. The coming of age of Holocaust Revisionism is best symbolized by the founding of the Institute for Historical Review in California in 1978, enabling the publication of the key findings of such contemporary Revisionist scholars of the Holocaust as Arthur Butz, Robert Faurisson, Wilhelm Stäglich, Ditlieb Felderer, Walter Sanning, Henri Roques, Fritz Berg, Mark Weber, Carlo Mattogno, and many others.

It should be emphasized that men and women who have dedicated themselves to determining and spreading the truth about the Holocaust are anything but Nazis or unconditional apologists for Germany's National Socialist regime. In fact, Holocaust Revisionists neither subscribe to nor represent a fixed ideology. Politically, Revisionists have come not only from the ranks of the political right, but also from the left, and even from the ranks of the anti-statist libertarians and anarchists. They run the gamut from fundamentalist Christians to militant atheists (and yes, like Joseph G. Burg and Bezalel Chaim, there are Jewish Revisionists of the Holocaust). Harry Elmer Barnes, for example, expressed himself with increasing frankness on the corrosive effects of the Holocaust propaganda in his last years, was a free-thinking humanist and progressive. As a glance at the roster of the Institute for Historical Review's editorial advisory committee reveals, Revisionists are not merely Germans or of German descent, but include scholars from France, Sweden, Hungary, Italy, Croatia, Latvia, Argentina, Australia, and South Africa, as well as Americans of English, Irish, Swedish, French, and Italian extraction.

Besides challenging the factual basis of the legend of a wartime Nazi extermination program for Jews, the Revisionists have sought to establish a historical context for the undeniable persecutions and wrongs which were carried out against the Jews. In this context the Revisionists remind those critics who object, quite rightfully, that the murder of a single Jew is inexcusable, that the willful exaggeration of Jewish losses is similarly intolerable: What man or woman person would condone deliberately multiplying the number of children slain by Israeli soldiers and settlers during the Palestinian intifada?

Revisionist scholars further attempt to compare the ordeal of the Jews during the Second World War with the experiences of other groups during that war and indeed throughout the course of history. Here the Revisionists are mindful of the unique status that most Exterminationists, particularly Jews, have tried to arrogate for the Holocaust. Basing their arguments on the false premise that the architects of Germany's anti-Jewish program planned the systematic killing of all the Jews of Europe, Exterminationists have often minimized the sufferings of non-Jewish

civilians. Such has been the power of the Holocaust taboo that the losses of such victims of Axis invasion and occupation as the Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians have been neglected by the Establishment academy and media. It need scarcely be added that the Holocaust devotees who dominate the air waves, the press, and the schools guard against the shedding of even a single tear over the millions of German and other civilian victims of British and American bombers or of the hands-on brutality of Soviet troops.

Above all, the Revisionists argue that the Holocaust story and its exploitation form a massive obstacle to the objective history of Western Civilization in the twentieth century. The successful imposition of the Extermination thesis as an unchallengeable orthodoxy has helped Western intellectuals and opinion makers to shirk a confrontation with the far bloodier record of Communist regimes, as well as to gloss over sometimes comparable atrocities by regimes and movements, Left and Right, colonialist and revolutionary, around the world. By exploiting the Holocaust taboo, the ideologues of so-called liberal democracy are able to forestall any dispassionate analysis of ideas and movements tarred as “fascist” or “Nazi.” The inevitable result has been a general version of the political and historical dynamics of this century which is woefully inaccurate, is not merely useless but dangerous as an aid to understanding the present and the future, and which serves only the short-sighted and selfish interests of small elites.

For today’s and tomorrow’s Americans, the consequences of a continued refusal to establish and disseminate the facts, instead of the lies, about the Extermination legend can only be grave. For present-day America is in the grip of what can only be called “Holocaustomania.” The purveyors of this contagion in New York, in Hollywood, in Washington, and in schools all across America have been working industriously for years now to convert the Holocaust from an alleged historical event to an active present reality. Their mastery of the media has enabled them to vend Holocaust propaganda as edification and entertainment to tens of millions. Their grip on governments national, state, and local has allowed them to mandate national holidays in “remembrance” of this historical hoax, to construct museums and memorials for the exhibition of relics and the generation of hatred and guilt. Federal prosecutors and police hunt down “war criminals” fifty years after the fact or often, the non-fact but only “Nazi” war criminals for justice, too, must yield its claims to the Holocaust. Our children are being indoctrinated in a growing number of compulsory programs in the schools, programs which aim not merely at conveying information and reasoning ability, but which attempt to mold emotions and attitudes through techniques of “group learning” and “enforced sensitivity” that recall those of the Communist Chinese in Chairman Mao’s heyday. Christian theologians grandly proclaim that the Jewish tales from Auschwitz invalidate the Gospel of Christ, and that Christians and Gentiles bear a moral stain which can be expunged only by eternal allegiance to Israel.

The next few decades will be dangerous ones for Americans blinded to past and present realities by Holocaustomania. Like it or not, Germany and Europe are working free from political and economic domination by the rulers of America and Russia. That they will shake free from the historical myths which served to dominate them spiritually is inevitable. In the Soviet Union, the archives are opening, the mass graves are being opened, almost invariably to the embarrassment of those who placed their trust in Stalin’s propagandists. Israel has become an international pariah everywhere except in America and among America’s dwindling number of subservient clients abroad. A country that can’t support itself economically and daily violates the liberal and humane ideals it urges on everyone else — as a matter of its own survival as a state — is not a fit friend for America. To rely on Zionists and their supporters in America to determine our perception of history — particularly through the distorted lens of the obsessive Holocaust hoax — is to court disaster.

That is why intelligent, concerned Americans — and people everywhere — owe the Holocaust Revisionists a fair hearing. The brave little band of conscientious scholars and sometimes flamboyant publicists who have risked social and economic ostracism in this country — and physical violence and prison abroad in countries as diverse as France, Canada, Sweden, West Germany, Brazil, and South America — doesn't demand blind faith or unquestioning adherence to a creed. What they ask for is the right to argue their case — from facts, not emotions or covert political agendas — in the public forum, in that marketplace that we Americans have fought to keep open to ideas, even strange and unpleasant ones, ever since this country was founded. For the Revisionists, the right to continue participating in what a French lawyer has called “the intellectual adventure of the twentieth century” without legal or illegal harassment is quite enough.

“Why Holocaust Revisionism?” I think Thomas Jefferson answered that question over two centuries ago, when he wrote: “There is not a truth existing which I fear, or would wish unknown to the whole world.”

Review

Chutzpah

- CHUTZPAH by Alan M. Dershowitz. Boston: Little &, Brown, 1991. Clothbound, 378 pages; \$22.95, ISBN; 0-316-18137-4.

Reviewed by John Cobden

“I admit that: my wife is outspoken,” the genial Jewish comedian Sam Levenson used to say, “but by whom?” Levenson no doubt was unacquainted with Alan Dershowitz, the Harvard University law professor, columnist and man-about-politics.: He has definitely never been at a loss for words, on every conceivable subject. Yet, as we see from the title and the numerous other words from Yiddish and Hebrew with which the book bristles — many of them shockingly “insensitive” to non-Jews — this one is not going to be a very congenial read.

Chutzpah, according to Leo Rosten’s *Joy’s of Yiddish* (1968], is from Hebrew and means insolence, audacity, gall, effrontery: “A Chutzpahnik may be defined as the man who shouts 'Help!' 'Help!' while beating you up.” As we’ll see, that may not be too wide off the mark as to what Dershowitz and company are up to. Example: the author’s immediate and insistent use of the insulting epithet *goy*, which is roughly on a par with certain now-banned English slang for other races.

As Rosten uneasily observes, “some Jews use *gay* in a pejorative sense,” which seems to fit most of Dershowitz’s applications; so his decision to descend into this sort of calculatedly abrasive vocabulary certainly sets a bizarre tone for one trumpeted as a great civil libertarian who is demanding more sensitivity toward Jewish and “minority” concerns. Moreover, it seems an oddly Orwellian doublespeak from the principal architect of the sinister and one-sided “anti-hate” (or better, anti-White laws now being hammered into place across the country.

Why this book, now? Unless one naively accepts that books are unalloyed pearls of wisdom dropped into our laps by a benign Providence; skepticism about the real motives for their writing and publishing is always in order. Dershowitz makes pompous allusions to the Jewish “literary and oral tradition that goes back thousands of years,” to “documenting my journey as a Jew,” and the like, but he probably has more mundane fish to fry.

Readers of Dershowitz’s newspaper column will recognize much recycled material, cobbled together in a sometimes rambling and always topical style that probably will not have an extended “shelf life.” Aside from their long-term saleability, however, several of Dershowitz’s themes are of current import and show us what he and other Chutzpahnik are really concerned with: “anti-Semitism,” Holocaust Revisionism, and the rise of populist political rebels, such as Pat Buchanan and David Duke, who are less than reverential to the primacy of Jewish and Israeli concerns in modern America.

On the whole, Chutzpah will be a familiar litany to connoisseurs of dual-loyalist special pleading. Certain key terms are hammered insistently, with the first “Holocaust” in the second paragraph and the first “anti-Semitism” in the sixth. >From there on, the cumulative effect of these dismal epithets begins almost to resemble the chanting of Oriental mantras, or the chattering of commercial trademarked jargon in advertising jingles. Such heavily loaded proprietary terms and others, such as “bigotry,” “prejudice,” and “hatred,” are worked into the context of every subject subsequently discussed. I am not convinced that even so alert a writer as Dershowitz is entirely aware of how compulsively he belabors this woeful cant, and of what impression the average intelligent reader must take away.

Dershowitz offers some of his deepest ruminating on what he calls his “Holocaust mentality”: ... The Holocaust remains the most formative event in my experience. I cannot escape-nor do I try-its continuing influences on my life ... The Holocaust changed the nature of Judaism and of Jews forever... It changed the way every compassionate person views justice and injustice. It should challenge the faith of every thinking being ... [It] makes it possible to contemplate, without welcoming, the destruction of the human species ...

With that turgid commitment to the legend, it is not surprising that he lashes out in acrimony at the proliferating international scholarship suggesting that attempted extermination of Jewry ever happened.

Dershowitz deplores the lack of an adequate “Jewish revenge movement” after the war. Maintaining that the Nuremberg trials did not prosecute significant numbers, he is seemingly oblivious to the historically unprecedented spectacle of the “Nazi war crimes” trials that continue to wear on a half-century after the war. Such an extreme notion of “Jewish revenge” leads him, perhaps inevitably to the ultimate in venom: lending his endorsement implicitly, to the genocidal Morgenthau Plan for the impoverishment and deindustrialization of Germany as what should have been done: “They should have sufferedñas a people — after the Holocaust.”

So much for the objectivity credentials of an American intellectual icon who feels compelled, apparently for the first time in a major establishment-produced book, to attempt a refutation of some themes of Holocaust Revisionism. We may be quite certain that such a clear departure from the previous “silent treatment” in major media indicates growing alarm and intent to quench a persistent brush-fire before it gets any larger.

If that is the plan, however, it will have to be far better addressed than it is. Either from his own obvious unfamiliarity with the subject and evident reliance on often outdated file material supplied from elsewhere, or from his inability to quickly dispose of truly important issues with the ad hominem insults and quick snippets of casuistry that he favors, Dershowitz’s foray into anti-Revisionism is decidedly inadequate.

A case in point is his handling of a “Holocaust” dubiety by columnist Patrick Buchanan. While pondering the likelihood of the Treblinka camp’s supposed diesel-powered gas chambers, Buchanan had noted a 1988 incident in which 97 children who were trapped deep underground in a Washington, DC., tunnel while two locomotives billowed exhaust fumes into the car emerged unscathed after 45 minutes.

Dershowitz tilts at this modest item of Revisionism by quipping that he had challenged Buchanan to test his hypothesis by locking himself in an airtight chamber in which diesel exhaust is pumped,” and by echoing a Jewish writer in the New Republic magazine who opined that “much of the material on which Buchanan bases his columns (about the Holocaust] is sent to him by pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic cranks.” Clearly, this is not major-league historical analysis, whatever

Dershowitz's academic affiliations. He will have to do better, or deal with other subjects, to avoid further embarrassing that portion of the Holocaust lobby that pretends to an objective historical method.

His discussion of the deplorable John Demjanjuk case, in which the Ukrainian-born, retired Ohio auto worker was deported to Israel and sentenced to hang as no less than "Ivan the Terrible, Butcher of Treblinka," shows the "flip-side" of the Dershowitz mentality: Israel, right or wrong.

Dershowitz won his spurs as a hair-trigger civil libertarian and defender of the underdog (plus a few over-dogs, like Claus von Bülow and hotel "queen" Leona Helmsley) whose ability to pounce upon and impeach trial evidence of the slightest doubtfulness is legendary. Yet in Chutzpah he vigorously defends every aspect of the Israeli proceeding, including the reliability of eyewitness testimony 40 and 50 years after the fact and the controversial SS identification card that supposedly placed Demjanjuk at a training site for "death camp" guards. Although the card had been supplied to the Israelis by the Soviet secret police and was denounced as a forgery by Demjanjuk's lawyers, for Dershowitz there is no problem: Guilty as charged. Nor, as we know, is Dershowitz perturbed by the fact that nowhere on the card does there appear a reference to a stationing at Treblinka: he has mused, in one of his newspaper columns, that perhaps Demjanjuk's "killing fields," were not at Treblinka after all!

Elsewhere in the book, Dershowitz jokes about the KGB's skill at retouching photos and fabricating documents when persecuting Russian Jews as spies, but then quickly adds that "skepticism about one source of evidence does not translate into criticism of the noble enterprise of bringing Nazi war criminals to justice." However, a new wrinkle emerged in August 1991, when Demjanjuk's lawyers secured "surprise evidence" from Soviet archives indicating that the so-called "Ivan" was actually a man named Ivan Marczenko. The Israelis may well feel themselves forced to reopen the case. If so, one wonders whether Dershowitz will be critical of the new evidence, or whether he will acknowledge his, OSI's, and Israel's mistakes in justly evaluating the Soviet and survivor evidence.

Dershowitz purveys his own extreme take on the interests of the "organized Jewish community," as he calls it:

- The Jonathan Pollard spy case: Dershowitz thinks Pollard was treated unfairly, possibly with bigotry, in getting a life sentence for spying for "an ally," Israel, and should now be freed;
- Limits on Jewish enrollments at elite universities: there shouldn't be any (Jews constitute 2.5 per cent of the U.S. population [according to Dershowitz], but represent more than ten times that proportion at Harvard and similar schools); affirmative-action quotas for non-Whites are desirable as well, and thus room for them must be made by reducing "WASP" enrollment;
- Limits on Jewish immigration: There should be no curbs on "the ongoing relocation of world Jewry to the United States and Israel ...," because "no Jew should ever be compelled to go anywhere, just as they should never be excluded from anywhere." (Remember, the title is Chutzpah!)

Without a doubt, however, his ruling obsessions — "the Holocaust," Israel, and the ever-menacing specter of "anti-Semitism" are overriding. He picks a fight, for instance, with a Jew who is unwilling to claim a "special indulgence" for his people stemming from their sufferings at Auschwitz. Not surprisingly, Dershowitz's notion is that "The world owes Jews, and the Jewish state, which was built on the ashes of Auschwitz, a special understanding ... The Holocaust per-

suaded the world — Jews as well as non-Jews — of the necessity for a Jewish state.” Given these assumptions, it is easier to understand what a yawning abyss the possible undoing of the “Holocaust” legend presents to fanatical partisans such as Dershowitz.

In the end, though, many of Dershowitz’s readers will be left with a nagging sense of something seriously awry, something which shines through the author’s red welter of angry hyperbole. His notable professional and financial success at levels far above those of all but a few Americans, is frequently and boastfully paraded by the author, against the incongruous backdrop of dark-age specters of persecution and bigotry which menace Dershowitz and his people, even in America.

I keep thinking back to the highly insightful words of another Jewish writer, Howard F. Stein, writing in *The Journal of Psychohistory* (Fall, 1978) on “Judaism and the Group Fantasy of Martyrdom.” Following up on this peculiarly modern phenomenon, the victim-as-victor, for *The Journal of Historical Review* (Winter, 1980), Dr. Stein writes with clear insight in his article, “The Holocaust and the Myth of the Past as History”:

For the Jews, the term “Holocaust” does not simply denote a single catastrophic era in history, but is a grim metaphor for the meaning of Jewish history. The word “Holocaust” lies at the heart of the Jewish experience of time itself. One is either anxiously awaiting persecution, experiencing persecution, recovering from it, or living in a period that is a temporary reprieve from it.

According to an oft-quoted Yiddish phrase, It’s “tough to be a Jew” ("schwer tsoo zine a Yid"). No doubt, but just possibly, Mr. Dershowitz might find that a bit lesschutzpah and a bit more psychological self-examination would make things easier for everyone.

Review

Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America

- ALBION'S SEED: FOUR BRITISH FOLKWAYS IN AMERICA by David Hackett Fischer. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, hardbound, 948 pages, illustrations, maps, index, \$39.95. ISBN 0-19-503794-4.

Reviewed by Nelson Rosit

David Hackett Fischer has performed several notable services in writing *Albion's Seed*. First, he has brought to American historiography the approach of the French school of the *Annales* begun by Georges Dumezil and developed further by Fernando Braudel. French social historians have been concerned with both continuity and change over long periods of time. American historians of the 20th century have written history that is almost exclusively concerned with the new.

Second, Fischer has sought to write a total or unified social history rather than a historical fragment. As the author explains in the preface:

Instead of becoming a synthesizing discipline it [U.S. social history] disintegrated into many special fields—women's history, labor history, environmental history, the history of aging, the history of child abuse, and even gay history — in which the work became increasingly shrill and polemical. (p. ix).

This book is a comprehensive, almost encyclopedic, guide to the origins of colonial American culture.

The third achievement of *Albion's Seed* is that it “searches for a way beyond reductive materialist models” for causality in history. Professor Fischer, though of German Lutheran stock, teaches at Brandeis. Predictably, he disavows any racial determinist theories.

Fourth, Fischer brings back from recent oblivion the colorful regional stereotypes of American history. New Englanders really were puritanical; Southern gentlemen genuine aristocrats; Quakers were very pious; and Southern highland clans feuded as they had in the old country.

Fischer's basic thesis is that although less than 20% of the present U.S. population has British antecedents, our British genesis is still the dominant factor determining our culture. This formative British culture, however, was not monolithic. America still reflects the regional, religious, and class divisions of 17th and 18th century Britain.

According to Fischer, the foundation of American culture was formed from four mass emigrations from four different regions of Britain by four different socio-religious groups. New England's constitutional period occurred between 1629 and 1640 when Puritans, most from East Anglia, settled there. The next mass migration was of southern English cavaliers and their servants

to the Chesapeake Bay region between 1640 and 1675. Then, between 1675 and 1725 thousands of Quakers, led by William Penn settled the Delaware Valley. Finally, English, Scots, and Irish from the borderlands settled in Appalachia between 1717 and 1775. Each of these migrations produced a distinct regional culture which can still be seen in America today.

The plotting of cultural continuities of long duration inevitably leads to the question of causality. As stated above, Fischer discounts race as a factor in such continuity. He does so in a very brief and completely unconvincing discussion. Of course there is overwhelming historical evidence for race being one very important factor in determining culture. For example, racial change within a society inevitably brings about fundamental and lasting cultural change.

Although Fischer disallows the racial factor there is still much of interest for the student of race in *Albion's Seed*. The book for instance, lends weight to those who see a Teutonic/Celtic split between the American North and South. The theory is that the Puritans and Quakers came from the areas of England with heavy Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian influences while the cavaliers and southern high-landers originated from the more Celtic areas. East Anglia, as its name implies, was the home of the Angles, the regions where the epic *Beowulf* originated and after became part of Danelaw. The North Midlands, the Quaker stronghold, has a heavy concentration of Scandinavian place names. "From the Norsemen came the custom of moots, or assemblies in the open at a standing-stone or hilltop grave, which may have influenced the Quakers' love for such meeting places," quotes Fischer from another historian (p. 446). Instead of the town meetings of the Puritans or the Friends meetings of the Quakers, Southerners, whether cavaliers or highlanders, tended to be less communal and more individualistic; less collective and more libertarian.

The Nordic aesthetic is not totally neglected either. The author relates the story of a "Latin adventurer named Francisco de Miranda" who visited America in 1784. While here he attended a Quaker meeting which he describes in his journal:

I entertained myself ... by examining slowly the dress and the countenance of the female concourse and I can assure you with all ingenuousness that neither more simplicity, cleanliness and taste in the first nor natural and simple beauty in the second can be imagined. I am firmly persuaded that the coloring of Rubens and the carnations of Titian can never imitate what nature offers her in the hue and complexion of simple Quaker women who have not a grain of powder or drop of oil on their persons. (p. 551).

As Fischer wrote his conclusion in 1988 he saw the continued dominance in America of cultural values and institutions originating in Britain. The author supposes that if Anglo-American culture can remain pre-eminent while the British ethnic component sinks to less than 20% such a culture can survive any manner of racial change. Unfortunately, there are several factors the author does not consider.

While America is less than 20% British, it is still 60% northern European. The main reason America has remained so British culturally is because the millions of German, Irish, Scandinavians, Dutch, and other Europeans who came to these shores, along with their descendants were close enough racially to assimilate culturally. Millions of Americans who are not ethnically Anglo-Saxon are culturally Anglo-Saxon.

To make his point Fischer has somewhat overstated his case for the continuity of British culture in America. Certainly the formative or constitutional period of America was overwhelmingly the work of British peoples. Many of their values and institutions remain. But how much of mass culture; the products of the entertainment industry and the mass media, can still trace its origins

to 17th and 18th century England? Perhaps the last volume (Albion's Seed is the first of a five volume cultural history of America) will deal with these concerns.

Whether or not Professor Fischer provides the right answers, he has asked the right questions. To finish enumerating the accomplishments of the book, probably the work's greatest asset is that it asks the right questions. The author asks, "Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?" To be useful, history should ask the big questions, the questions of collective identity and purpose, Asking the right questions is half the battle.

Source: vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 119-121.

Historical news and comment

Pearl Harbor Attack No Surprise

Roger A. Stolley

Historians are still arguing over whether President Franklin Roosevelt knew in advance that Japanese forces were about to launch a devastating attack against the U.S. Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941.

Mr. Roger A. Stolley, a resident of Salem, Oregon, has something important to add to this discussion. In the following essay, which first appeared in the Salem daily Statesman Journal, December 7, 1991, he provides personal information to confirm that Roosevelt not only anticipated the Japanese attack, but specifically ordered that no steps be taken to prevent it. (Mr. Stolley's essay is reprinted here with grateful permission of the author.)

John Toland, the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian who addressed the October 1990 IHR conference in Washington, DC, tells us that Stolley's essay "rings true."

Each year near the anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Dec. 7, 1941, I get angry at the lie perpetrated upon the U.S. people that it was a surprise attack.

It may have been a surprise to the U.S. people, but it certainly was not a surprise to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the select few persons who surrounded him or the U.S. Army intelligence officer working under his direct orders.

I previously worked in a civilian capacity for LTC Clifford M. Andrew, a former U.S. Army intelligence officer, who temporarily was assistant chief of Staff, military intelligence, general staff, United States Army.

My employment ended with Andrew on May 15, 1966 when a bullet entered the back of his head, ending his life.

Upon at least three occasions in his home in Tigard [Oregon] he related to me the history of his military life and personal involvement in the actions of Roosevelt and other officials surrounding the Pearl Harbor attack. He said:

Anything I now tell you I will deny ever saying. I am still subject to military court martial for revealing the information. The American public is completely ignorant of those affairs that occur behind the scenes in top American government positions and offices. If you try to tell them the truth, they won't believe you.

Five men were directly responsible for what happened at Pearl Harbor. I am one of those five men ... We knew well in advance that the Japanese were going to attack. At least nine months before the Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor, I was assigned to prepare for it.

I was operating under the direct orders of the President of the United States and was ordered not to give vital intelligence information relating to the whereabouts of the Japanese fleet to our commanders in the field.

We had broken the Japanese code ... We'd been monitoring all their communications for months prior to the attack ... It was a lie that we didn't have direct radio communications with Washington, D.C.

It was at least 48 hours before the attack that I personally received the most tragic message of my life ... which was Top Secret and coded, which my radio operator handed to me. I had the code book and decoded it. The basic text of the message ran: "The Japanese will attack at (the approximate time). Do not prepare retaliatory forces. We need the full support of the American nation in a wartime effort by an unprovoked attack upon the nation in order to obtain a declaration of war."

That message and my 40 file cabinets of top secret information on Pearl Harbor were taken out and burned by myself and two other witnessing intelligence officers so that the Congressional investigation could not get to the truth as to what actually did happen at Pearl Harbor.

For the people of the United States both then and now I feel sorrow, for a people to have been so misled, to have been lied to so much, and to have so thoroughly believed the lie given to them.

Pearl Harbor is an example of how a small group of men in control of government has the power to destroy the life, property, and freedom of its citizens. How can this nation, or any nation, survive when its electorate is uninformed, that government hides the truth, labels it top secret, and destroys it.

The most complete and up-to-date summation of the Revisionist view that Roosevelt anticipated the attack against the American fleet in Hawaii is Toland's best-selling book, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and its Aftermath*. (The 398-page illustrated paperback edition is available from the IHR for \$8, plus \$2 shipping.)

The best overview of the background to the fateful attack remains George Morgenstern's masterful 425-page work, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*. (Available in softcover edition from the IHR for \$14.95, plus \$2 shipping.)

For further confirmation of Roosevelt's deceitful and illegal campaign to bring a supposedly neutral United States into war against Japan and Germany, see "Roosevelt's Secret Pre-War Plan to Bomb Japan" in the Winter 1991-92 *IHR Journal*, and "President Roosevelt's Campaign to Incite War in Europe," in the Summer 1983 *Journal*.

Source: vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 121-123.

Historical news and comment

Hoover-Era American Plan For War Against Britain and Canada Uncovered

American military officials drew up a secret plan in 1930 for war against Britain in which Canada would be the main battleground. “Joint Plan Red,” as it was known, envisaged the elimination of Britain as a trading rival.

Professor Floyd Rudmin of Queens University in Ontario, Canada, charges that the plan was a blueprint for an American invasion of Canada. According to the plan, the United States was prepared to invade Canada if political unrest brought on by Quebec’s secession threatened American access to Canada’s fresh water and cheap hydroelectric power.

The war plan document was drawn up by the Joint Board of the Army and Navy in May 1930, when Herbert Hoover was President. It identified Britain as Red, Canada as Crimson, Australia and New Zealand as Scarlet, and the U.S. as Blue. Its aim was to dismember the British empire on the grounds of “competition and interference with American foreign trade.”

Describing the objectives of a possible war, the document stated:

It is believed that Blue’s war aims in case of war with Red [Britain] should be the expulsion of Red from North and South America and the definite elimination of Red as a strong competitor in foreign trade.

Plan Red called for a series of coordinated military attacks against Canada to deny Britain land and naval bases. A naval force from Boston would seize Halifax (Nova Scotia), cutting off Canada from the Atlantic Ocean. Other U.S. forces would occupy the gulf of St. Lawrence, isolating Quebec City and Montreal.

American land forces would move from New York, Vermont and New Hampshire to take Montreal and Quebec City, much as American forces did during the Revolutionary war for independence during the 1770s. Other U.S. forces would cross into Canada at Detroit and head for Ottawa, Canada’s capital. American troops would also take the Welland Canal, paralyzing shipping on the Great Lakes, and would seize the power stations at the Niagara falls. Naval forces would blockade the Pacific at Victoria and Vancouver.

It was envisaged that British, Australian, New Zealand and Indian forces would quickly overwhelm American bases in the Philippines and Guam. Out of concern that British forces might take the American-run Panama Canal, Plan Red called for a U.S. naval and air assault against British possessions in the Caribbean, including the seizure of Jamaica, the Bahamas and Bermuda.

Christopher Cushing of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies in Toronto recently commented:

The Americans would be threatened by economic and political instability. They would be especially worried about access to Canadian fresh water and hydroelectric power. It is the same motivation which sent them to the Gulf.

For many years now, Quebec has been a major supplier of cheap hydroelectric power from dams on northern rivers to New York state and New England.

The 94-page Joint Plan Red document is now in the National Archives in Washington, DC. Edward Reese, a military archivist there, noted that “there were [official American] color plans for all parts of the world.” Indeed, all major military powers have similar contingency plans for military operations in different countries. Plan Red remained an active U.S. military strategy until 1939, when it was superceded by Joint Plan Orange, which was directed against Japan.

The Holocaust in Perspective

A Letter by Paul Rassinier

Paul Rassinier is the generally acknowledged founder of scholarly Holocaust Revisionism. Born in France in 1906 and trained as an educator, he taught history and geography at the secondary school in Faubourg de Montbeliard.

During the Second World War, he co-founded the “Libe-Nord” underground Resistance organization, which helped smuggle Jews from German-occupied France into Switzerland. As a result, he was arrested by the Gestapo in October 1943 and deported to Germany, where he was held prisoner until the end of the war in Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps.

After returning home, the French government recognized his courage and suffering with the highest decoration awarded for Resistance activities.

Rassinier was also elected to the French National Assembly as a deputy of the Socialist party (SFIO).

Rassinier was profoundly distressed by the many lies and myths about the concentration camps that were being circulated. Accordingly, until his death in July 1967, he sought to set the record straight in a series of books about his camp experiences and Germany’s wartime Jewish policy.

*A collection of his most important writings on the Holocaust issue has been published in an English translation by the IHR under the title *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*. (A new IHR edition of this collection is available from the IHR for \$12, plus \$2 shipping. Stock No. 0689.)*

What motivated this stalwart Frenchman who, in spite of internment and privation in German concentration camps, all but absolved Germany’s leadership of the alleged crime of genocide? What did he really think about the Third Reich and National Socialism?

Rassinier helps to answer these questions in the following letter, which was provided by Mr. Myron Kok and is published here in English translation for the first time.

May 8, 1965

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of May 3, 1965.

No, I am not a supporter of National Socialism: I am a socialist in the historical and doctrinal sense of the word, and this has absolutely nothing to do with the interpretation which is given to it at present by the leaders of parties, incorrectly called socialist. If, therefore, I do not support National Socialism, this is simply a philosophical attitude: The Führerprinzip [leadership principle] does not attract me; I am not only a socialist, but also a democrat. However, when I correct the vulgar errors of the hysterical adversaries of Nazism, I do so because, although I am a Frenchman, I am also a European: these vulgar errors, committed with malice aforethought, have no other aim than to exclude Germany from the community of European nations and to abort the birth of Europe, something that is impossible without Germany — or, indeed, any other country on our continent.

In the twentieth century, the quarrel between Germany and the other European nations is a resurrection of the quarrel between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians or between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. It is maintained at fever pitch by Bolshevism, which is the modern version of Pan-Slavism, and it aims at the subversion of Europe, a subversion against which Germany is our only shield. In 1965, the Slavs, who had been driven back by Charlemagne beyond the Vistula, are 50 kilometers from Hamburg. If they can engineer the collapse of Germany, they will, tomorrow, be in Brest and Bayonne. The lies which the Press pours out over Germany in a never-ending stream must serve as their moral justification.

It is my intention to wring from public opinion the admission that, in the war of 1939-1945, Englishmen, Russians, Frenchmen and Americans committed crimes just as horrible and in just as great a number as those attributed to the Germans — whose real crimes are, however, very much open to dispute. I also wish to have it conceded that it is immoral to investigate merely German war criminals, especially when the criminal nature of their behavior has been exaggerated, as has indeed been the case. I believe that, after a war, there should be a general amnesty for all combatants because this is the only way to bring about an atmosphere of peace between the nations, and to avoid future wars. There is, of course, the Communist danger, as well, which can only be ward off by a Europe, united in mutual and brotherly goodwill.

That is my point of view: it defines my intentions. And it has, furthermore, the advantage of being based on a search for historic truth, beyond the rancors of outmoded nationalism.

With my best wishes,

Paul Rassinier

Treblinka Wartime Aerial Photos of Treblinka Cast New Doubt on “Death Camp” Claims

by Mark Weber and Andrew Allen

Treblinka is widely regarded as the second most important German wartime extermination center. Only Auschwitz-Birkenau is supposed to have claimed more lives.

Treblinka became the focus of worldwide attention in 1987-1988 during the 14-month trial in Jerusalem of John (Ivan) Demjanjuk, a Ukrainian-born American factory worker. As Treblinka’s “Ivan the Terrible,” Demjanjuk supposedly operated the machinery used to gas hundreds of thousands of Jews there. Citing testimony by Jewish survivors, the Israeli court that condemned him to death in April 1988 declared that more than 850,000 Jews were killed at Treblinka between July 1942 and August 1943.

After the death sentence was handed down, Demjanjuk’s family was able to discover previously suppressed evidence — much of it from Soviet Russian archives — indicating that the real “Ivan the Terrible” was another Ukrainian named Ivan Marchenko (or Marzenko). This new evidence discredited the courtroom testimony of five Jewish camp survivors, each of whom had “positively” identified Demjanjuk as the sadistic mass murderer of Treblinka. ^[1]

As historians know, and as common sense would suggest, such decades-old testimony is far less trustworthy than contemporary records or forensic evidence. ^[2]

And yet, Treblinka’s reputation as a mass extermination center is based almost entirely on precisely such subjective and unprovable testimony by former prisoners — evidence that has proven to be notoriously unreliable in several major trials of alleged “Nazi war criminals.” ^[3]

There is no documentary evidence that Treblinka was an extermination center. In fact, contemporary records suggest that the camp had a very different function.

Aerial reconnaissance photographs taken in 1944 of the Treblinka “death camp” site — and forgotten for almost 45 years in the National Archives in Washington, DC — cast serious doubts on the widely accepted story that it was a mass extermination center.

Discovered in 1989, and published here for the first time in the United States, these German reconnaissance photos corroborate other evidence indicating that Treblinka was actually a transit camp. ^[4]

These photographs indicate that the remarkably small camp was not isolated, or even particularly well guarded. (They clearly show that fields where Polish farmers planted and cultivated crops were directly adjacent to the camp perimeter.)

Moreover, the camp’s burial area quite obviously appears too small to contain the hundreds of thousands of bodies supposedly buried there. (Casting doubt on the widely accepted story of hun-

dreds of thousands of Treblinka victims, these photos suggest instead that only those deportees who died during the sometimes protracted rail journey to the camp were buried there.)

'Steam Chambers'

The generally accepted story today is that hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed at Treblinka in gas chambers with poisonous exhaust from engines. But the “original” Treblinka extermination story was that Jews were steamed to death there in “steam chambers.”

According to an “eyewitness” account received in November 1942 in London from the Warsaw ghetto underground organization, Jews were exterminated in “death rooms” at Treblinka with “steam coming out of the numerous holes in the pipes.” ^[5] In August 1943, the New York Times reported that two million Jews had already been killed at Treblinka by steaming them to death. ^[6]

The Treblinka steam story is also given in detail in *The Black Book of Polish Jewry*, a work published in New York in 1943 and “sponsored” by Albert Einstein, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Congressman Sol Bloom, New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, and other personalities. ^[7] Another book, *Lest We Forget*, published in New York in 1943 by the World Jewish Congress, describes in detail how Jews were steamed to death, and provides a diagram showing the location of the purported “boiler room” that produced the “live steam.” ^[8]

According to a 1944 “eyewitness” account compiled by the OSS, the principle U.S. intelligence agency, Jews at Treblinka “were in general killed by steam and not by gas as had been at first suspected.” ^[9]

At the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, two conflicting stories were given: steaming and gassing. Former Treblinka prisoner Samuel Rajzman testified that Jews were killed there in gas chambers. ^[10] (To confuse matters still more, a few months earlier Rajzman claimed that during the time he was in Treblinka, Jews were “suffocated to death” there with a machine that pumped air out of death chambers.) ^[11]

American prosecutors at the main Nuremberg trial supported the steam story. As proof, a Polish government report dated December 5, 1945, was submitted as prosecution exhibit USA-293. It charged that Jews were killed at the camp “by suffocating them in steam-filled chambers.” This report, which says nothing about poison gas killings, was published in the official Nuremberg trial record as document PS-3311. ^[12] An American prosecutor quoted from this report during his address to the Tribunal on December 14, 1945. ^[13]

Although no reputable historian now supports the “steam” story, and little has been heard of it during the last several decades, it was revived in a widely-circulated booklet published in 1979 and 1985 by the influential Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. ^[14]

There may have been a factual basis for the “steam chamber” stories. It is quite possible that there was indeed some kind of steaming operation at Treblinka — but one designed to kill disease-carrying lice, not people. Such disinfection steaming was commonly used in German camps for Allied prisoners of war. ^[15]

Shortly after the war, the World Jewish Congress published *The Black Book*, a 559-page volume of real and imagined wartime atrocities against Jews. At Treblinka alone, the book alleges, three million persons were killed. Three diabolical techniques, including poison gas and steam, were supposedly used there to kill some 10,000 Jews daily. But “the most widespread” method “consisted of pumping all the air out from the chambers with large special pumps.” ^[16] A former in-

mate testified shortly after the war that Treblinka's victims were "poisoned by the different gasses or asphyxiated when the chamber was turned into a vacuum and all the air sucked out." [17]

In the Nuremberg trial of Oswald Pohl, U.S. Judge Michael A. Musmanno declared that "death was inflicted here [at Treblinka] by gas and steam, as well as by electric current." Citing Nuremberg document PS-3311, Musmanno declared: "After being filled up to capacity the chambers were hermetically closed and steam was let in." [18]

Adolf Eichmann, the wartime head of the SS Jewish affairs section, said in 1961 during pre-trial interrogation in Israel that during the war he "was told" that Jews were gassed at Treblinka "with potassium cyanide." [19]

One of the strangest Treblinka extermination stories, which appeared in September 1942 in a Polish underground periodical, claimed that Jews were killed there with a "delayed action" gas: [20]

They enter it [the gas chamber] in groups of 300-500 people. Each group is immediately closed hermetically inside, and gassed. The gas does not affect them immediately, because the Jews still have to continue on to the pits that are a few dozen meters away, and whose depth is 30 meters. There they fall unconscious, and a digger covers them with a thin layer of earth. Then another group arrives.

According to the testimony of yet another "eyewitness," a Jew named Oskar Berger who escaped from the camp, many Jews were systematically put to death at Treblinka by shooting them with rifle and machine-gun fire. [21]

Diesel Gassing

In recent years, the most widely-circulated story has been that Jews were gassed at Treblinka with carbon monoxide from the exhaust of a diesel engine. [22]

However, as American engineer Friedrich Berg has established, this story is improbable for technical reasons. [23] In spite of the obnoxious odor of diesel exhaust, diesel engines produce much smaller quantities of toxic carbon monoxide than ordinary gasoline motors. [24] It would thus be difficult efficiently to gas large numbers of people using diesel exhaust. A normal gasoline engine would be much more logical. [25]

It is important to keep in mind that the "evidence" now usually cited for diesel gassing at Treblinka is no more credible than the evidence that was once presented for steaming and suffocating. Apparently the steaming and suffocating stories have been dropped for the sake of credible consistency.

Solid evidence for gassings at Treblinka has proven to be very elusive. For example, it turned out that none of the witnesses in the 1951 West German "Treblinka" court case ever actually saw anyone being gassed. "The type of gas used to kill the people there [Treblinka] cannot be determined with certainty because none of the witnesses was able to witness this procedure," the judges declared in their verdict. [26]

At least some former Treblinka prisoners testified in postwar West German trials that they not only never saw a gas chamber, but did not even hear about gassings from others. [27]

Holocaust historians today are not able to agree about the number of homicidal “gas chambers” at Treblinka. Raul Hilberg maintains that there were three at first, but because they were allegedly not adequate for the job, more were built later on. There were eventually six or perhaps ten chambers, he reports. [28] Others have reported the existence of 13 gas chambers at Treblinka. [29]

Bomba's Testimony

One of the most memorable testimonies about Treblinka presented in Shoah, the nine-and-a-half-hour Holocaust film by French Jewish film maker Claude Lanzmann, is that of Abraham Bomba. He told how he and other Jewish barbers cut the hair of the naked Jews who were about to be gassed. They worked inside “the” gas chamber (he always spoke of one chamber), which was “around four by four meters” (about 12 feet by 12 feet). Bomba also reported that “140 or 150 women,” with children, as well as 16 or 17 barbers, were inside this small room. In addition, there were benches where the women sat while their hair was cut, as well as two or more German guards.

The barbers had to leave the chamber for five minutes while the victims were gassed, Bomba said, and it took just one minute to clear out the 140 or so corpses, and clean the floor and walls, before everything was ready for the next batch of victims. [30]

Bomba’s moving testimony, which conservative writer George Will called the “most stunning in this shattering film,” is simply not credible.

Treblinka Labor Camp

About one mile (1.5 km) from the “extermination camp,” which was known as “Treblinka II,” was a penal labor camp for Poles and Jews known as “Treblinka I.” It was not at all secret. The 1941 directive announcing the establishment of the “Treblinka Labor Camp” was published in both Polish and German in widely distributed official journals. [31] Poles and Jews worked in a large sand and gravel quarry at the Treblinka labor camp. [32]

As wartime aerial reconnaissance photographs clearly show, the Treblinka T-I labor camp was located at the end of the rail spur on which the Treblinka T-II “extermination” (transit) camp was also located. This fact strengthens the thesis that the T-II camp was not particularly secret, since penal labor prisoners being taken by train to and from the publicly known T-I camp passed directly by the supposedly top secret T-II “extermination” camp. [33]

Documentary Evidence

Documents found after the war confirm that large numbers of Jews were deported to Treblinka in 1942 and 1943. German railway records report the transfer of trainloads of “settlers” (“Umsiedler”) and “workers” to Treblinka from various places in Poland and from other countries. [34]

In July 1942, a senior German railway official reported to the chief of Himmler’s personal staff that 5,000 Jews were being transported daily to Treblinka. [35] An August 3, 1942, German “Ostbahn” railway directive similarly reported that special trains would be carrying “resettlers” from Warsaw to Treblinka daily, until further notice. [36]

Interestingly, it was not until September 1, 1942, that the Treblinka train station was closed to passenger rail travel by the general public (“to permit a smooth handling of the special resettle-

ment trains"), which suggests that German officials were not particularly concerned with keeping the deportations or the station secret. [37]

Other records mention trains to Treblinka in March 1943 from Vienna, Bulgaria and Greece. [38] From Vienna and Luxembourg, Jews reportedly arrived at the camp in passenger train coaches, and the deportees were given food and medical care during their journey. [39] In at least one case, a train with sleeping cars and a dining car arrived at Treblinka. [40]

German railway records have been cited as evidence that hundreds of thousands of Jews were exterminated at Treblinka. [41] While there is little doubt that these documents are genuine, and that they confirm transports of Jews to Treblinka, they are not proof of an extermination program. [42]

Transit Camp

If Treblinka was not an extermination center, what was it? As already mentioned, the balance of evidence indicates that Treblinka II — along with Belzec and Sobibor — was a transit camp, where Jewish deportees were stripped of their property and valuables before being transferred eastwards into German-occupied Soviet territories. [43]

The generally-accepted story is that Treblinka II was a “pure” extermination center, from which no Jew was permitted to leave alive. [44] However, credible reports of deportations of Jews from Treblinka refute the allegation that all Jews sent there were destined for extermination, and indicate instead that the camp functioned as a transit center.

In the aftermath of the April 1943 Warsaw ghetto uprising, for example, Jews were transported from Warsaw to Treblinka II. As some of the deportees later confirmed, after a “selection” in the camp, trainloads of hundreds of Jews were taken from Treblinka to Lublin (Majdanek), and possibly other camps. [45] Several thousand Jews (at least) were transferred by German authorities from Treblinka to other camps, a postwar German court determined. [46]

Letters and postcards that arrived in the Warsaw ghetto from Jews who, by all accounts, had been deported to Treblinka, indicate that the camp was a transit center from where Jews were resettled in the occupied Soviet territories. These messages, which arrived from settlements and camps in Belarus (Byelorussia), Ukraine, and even Russia proper (near Smolensk), were written by Jews who had been deported in 1942. Some letters and cards had been sent by mail and some had arrived through the underground. Many mentioned that the senders were working hard, but confirmed that they (and often their children) were being fed. [47]

Completely contrary to its supposed character as a top secret extermination center, Treblinka was neither secret nor even closely guarded, as both former inmates and officials have confirmed. “Secrecy? Good heavens, there was no secrecy about Treblinka,” Jewish prisoner Richard Glazer later testified. “All the Poles between there and Warsaw must have known about it, and lived off the proceeds. All the peasants came to barter, the Warsaw whores did business with the Ukrainians — it was a circus for all of them.” Polish farmers worked the fields that directly adjoined the camp. “And many others,” said Jewish survivor Berek Rojzman, “came to the fence to barter, mostly with the Ukrainians, but with us too.” [48]

Even regular German concentration camps such as Dachau and Buchenwald were much more closely guarded than Treblinka. As already mentioned, aerial reconnaissance photographs taken in 1944 confirm that the area around Treblinka was not cleared. The photos show that one

perimeter of the camp passed through a wooded area, and that cultivated fields where Polish farmers worked were directly adjacent to the camp perimeter. [49]

How Many Victims?

Shortly after the end of the war, the World Jewish Congress and at least one former Treblinka prisoner alleged that more than three million Jews had been exterminated there. [50] More recent estimates of the number of people allegedly killed at Treblinka range from between 700,000 (Leon Poliakov and Uwe Adam), 750,000 (Raul Hilberg and Encyclopaedia Judaica), 870,000 (Yitzhak Arad), to more than 900,000 (Wolfgang Scheffler and Washington Post). [51]

There is no documentary or physical evidence for any of these figures, which are simply conjectural estimates.

Layout and Size

Diagrams published in recent years that show Treblinka as a neatly organized, rectangular-shaped camp are not accurate. [52] As already mentioned, though, wartime aerial reconnaissance photographs confirm that the Treblinka II camp was actually unsymmetrically four-sided and irregularly shaped. [53]

One of the most remarkable features of the Treblinka “death camp” is its small size. The entire Treblinka II camp area was only 32 or 33 acres (13 hectares), or about onetwentieth of a square mile. [54] Even smaller was the alleged “extermination” area of the camp, which was 200 by 250 meters in size (or five hectares) according to purportedly authoritative sources. [55]

Poland’s “Central Commission” announced shortly after the war that the burial or “ditches” area where the bodies of Treblinka’s victims were buried (before they were supposedly later dug up for burning) was about two hectares or five acres (or some 20,235 square meters). [56] And according to a diagram in a book about Treblinka by Jewish Holocaust historian Alexander Donat, the camp’s “ditches” area was not more than 80 or 100 meters in length and about 50 meters wide — that is, a maximum of 5,000 square meters or half a hectare. [57]

By comparison, the mass graves area in the Katyn forest (near Smolensk), which held the bodies of some 4,500 Polish officers who had been killed by Soviet secret police and buried there in 1940, measured about 500 square meters. [58]

In short, it is very difficult to accept that anything like 700,000 or 800,000 bodies could have been buried in the minuscule area allegedly set aside at Treblinka for this purpose.

Cremation Inconsistencies

Between April and July 1943, the corpses of Treblinka’s hundreds of thousands of victims were allegedly dug up from the burial pits and burned with “dry wood and branches” on grids made of rails in batches of 2,000 or 2,500. The residual “ash and bits of bone” were dumped back into the burial pits, and covered with a layer of sand and dirt two meters deep. This was done, it is said, in order to eliminate the physical evidence of mass extermination. [59]

Although enormous amounts of fuel would have been needed to cremate the hundreds of thousands of alleged corpses, there is no documentary record or witness recollection of the great quantities of firewood that would have been required. According to Polish-Jewish historian

Rachel Auerbach, fuel to burn bodies was not needed at Treblinka because “the bodies of woman,” which had more fat, “were used to kindle, or more accurately put, to build the fires among the piles of corpses.” Even more incredible, “blood, too, was found to be first-class combustion material,” she wrote. [60]

Missing Remains

A wartime Warsaw ghetto internee, Dr. Adolf Berman, testified in the 1961 Eichmann trial that he visited the Treblinka camp site shortly after the Soviet occupation of Poland. He told the Jerusalem court that he saw “an area of several square kilometers covered with bones and skulls, and nearby tens upon tens of thousands of shoes, many of them children’s shoes.” [61]

Berman’s testimony, which was considered one of the most emotionally moving of the Eichmann trial, is completely inconsistent with known facts. For one thing, the entire Treblinka camp was much smaller than one square kilometer in size, and no other witness has confirmed the presence of “tens of thousands” of shoes.

Jewish historian Rachel Auerbach, a member of an official Polish commission that inspected the camp site in November 1945 — that is, a few months after the end of the war — reported finding large human bones, “rotted masses of corpses,” “pieces of half-rotted corpses,” and “fully dressed” corpses, at the Treblinka camp site. [62]

In the area where the gas chambers were supposed to have been located, the commission’s team of 30 excavation workers reportedly found “human remains, partially in the process of decay,” and an unspecified amount of ash. Untouched sandy soil was reached at 7.5 meters, at which point the digging was halted. An accompanying photograph of an excavated pit reveals some large bones. [63]

Poland’s “Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes” reported that “large quantities of ashes mixed with sand, among which are numerous human bones, often with the remains of decomposing tissues,” were found in the five acre (two hectare) burial area during an examination of the site shortly after the end of the war. [64]

The presence of uncremated human remains is not consistent with the often-repeated allegation that all such remains were thoroughly destroyed. Significantly, none of the Polish reports specifies the quantity of human remains, the numbers of corpses, or the amount of ash found at the camp site, which suggests that evidence of hundreds of thousands of victims was not found. [65]

In spite of its often inconsistent, contradictory and implausible character, testimony indicating that many Jews lost their lives at Treblinka cannot easily be dismissed. Many Jewish prisoners doubtless perished during their rail journey to the camp site, and were almost certainly buried there. Furthermore, it is plausible and even likely that hundreds and perhaps thousands of Jews who were too weak or ill to continue the eastbound journey from the camp were killed there by officials acting on their own authority.

All the same, there is no hard or compelling evidence that Treblinka was a mass extermination center where hundreds of thousands of Jews were systematically put to death. To the contrary, credible reports of transfers of Jews from Treblinka eastwards to the occupied Soviet territories, the relative lack of secrecy and security in the camp, and the small size of the area where the bodies were supposedly buried, all suggest instead that this was a transit center.

Notes

1.  F. Dannen, "How Terrible is Ivan?," *Vanity Fair* (New York), June 1992, pp. 132 ff.; "New Evidence: Demjanjuk a Nazi Guard, Probably Not 'Ivan'," *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 1992.; C. Haberman, "Soviet Files Are Presented...," *The New York Times*, June 2, 1992, p. A6.
2.  On the unreliability of such testimony, see John Cobden's review of *Witness for the Defense* (by E. Loftus and K. Ketcham) in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991, pp. 238-249.; Samuel Gringauz, a Jewish historian who was himself interned in the Kaunas ghetto during the war, wrote: "Most of the memoirs and reports [of Holocaust survivors] are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies." (*Jewish Social Studies*, New York, January 1950, Vol. 12, p. 65.).
3.  On the unreliability of such "eyewitness" testimony in the illustrative case of Frank Walus, who was falsely accused of murdering Jews as a Gestapo officer in Poland, see, for example, "The Nazi Who Never Was," *The Washington Post*, May 10, 1981, pp. B5, B8.
4.  These aerial reconnaissance photos are on file in the National Archives (Washington, DC), Cartographic Division (Record Group 373). Several of these reconnaissance photos were published in Germany in 1990 by Udo Walendy in the booklet "Der Fall Treblinka," *Historische Tatsachen*, Nr. 44, 1990. (Postfach 1643, D-4973 Vlotho, Germany). See especially pages 13, 31, 34, 35, 38. In this booklet, Walendy cites specific archival source references from the U.S. National Archives for these photographs. Unfortunately, these specific references are not always quite accurate. The specific source references cited by Walendy are:

GX 12225 (or 122225?), Exp. 257 (and 258, 259?). (November or May 1944)
GX 180 D F 934/44 SK, Exp. 246 (May 18, 1944)
GX 12299 B A -2249, Exp. 014 (July 10, 1944)
GX 72 F 933/44 SK, Exp. 139, 140 (May 13, 1944)
GX 1946 F 2926 /44 SK, Exp. 062 (Sept. 18, 1944)
GX 937 F 13 A 6099, Exp. 74
GX 12250 F 2795 SK, Exp. 045 (Sept. 2, 1944)
GX 12290 F 3086 SK r 2600, Exp. 68 (Oct. 16, 1944)
GX 1946 / 44 SD, Exp. 076.
GX 12373, Exp. 11 (Sept. 2, 1944)

The most important of these Treblinka aerial photographs were made public for the first time in the United States in January 1991 at a meeting in Palo Alto, California. (IHR Newsletter, Feb. 1991, p. 3.). We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Polish Historical Society (Stamford, Connecticut) in compiling this essay. Soviet wartime aerial reconnaissance photographs of the Treblinka camp site almost certainly exist, and are very probably still held in Russian archives. If so, they should be made public.

5.  "Likwidacja zydowskiej Warszawy, Treblinka," *Biuleytn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Warsaw), Jan.-June 1951, pp. 93-100. Quoted in: Carlo Mattogno, "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1988, pp. 273-274, 295 (n. 16).
6.  *New York Times*, Aug. 8, 1943, p. 11. Reprinted in: *The Record: The Holocaust in History* (New York: ADL, 1985), p. 10. (The Record was also distributed as an advertising supplement to the *New York Post*, April 17, 1978.)
7.  Jacob Apenszlak, ed., *The Black Book of Polish Jewry* (New York: 1943), pp. 142-143, 145.

8. [↗](#) World Jewish Congress, *Lest We Forget* (New York: 1943), pp. 4, 6-7.; See also the reference to killings at Treblinka by “hot steam” in Hitler’s *Ten-Year War On the Jews* (p. 149), a book published in New York in 1943 by the “Institute of Jewish Affairs,” an agency of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress.
9. [↗](#) OSS document, April 13, 1944. National Archives (Washington, DC), Military Branch, Record Group 226 (OSS records), No. 67231.
10. [↗](#) International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg: 1947-1949, ("blue series")*, Vol. 8, p. 325. (Feb. 27, 1946)
11. [↗](#) Rajzman text in: Yuri Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back* (New York: 1967), p. 130.; This story also appears in: Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses* (New York: 1982), p. 263.
12. [↗](#) IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (IMT “blue series”/ 1947-1949)*, vol. 32, pp. 153-158; Also published in: *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression (NC&A “red series”/ 1946-1948)*, Vol. 5, pp. 1104-1108. See also: NC&A (“red series”), vol. 1, pp. 1005-1006.
13. [↗](#) IMT, *Trial of the Major War Criminals ("blue series")*, vol. 3, p. 567-568.
14. [↗](#) *The Record: The Holocaust in History*. (The NYT report of Aug. 8, 1943, is reproduced [here](#).)
15. [↗](#) Major S. G. Cowper, “A Note on a Disinfestation Plant Used in a Typhus Hospital for Prisoners of War in Germany,” *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, Sept. 1946, Vol. 87, No. 3, pp. 173-176.; “Typhus,” 1922 supplement to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Facsimile reprint in: Carlos Porter, *Made in Russia* (1988), p. 364.; Globocnik reported in Jan. 1944 that textile goods seized in the course of “Aktion Reinhardt” were disinfected. See: 4024-PS. IMT “blue series,” vol. 34, p. 84. Jacob Seewald, a Polish Jew, spent the war years working as a forester in a German labor camp. When he came down with a severe illness, he was transferred to a hospital, where he recovered. After the war he emigrated to the United States. In a 1983 interview, he recalled that the camp authorities “took us [Jewish workers] into a shower for the steam to kill lice. There we got no clothes, just a bundle with our names on them. Naked. Then they turn on the water for a second — scalding water.” (John C. Bromely, “Stories from the Darkness,” *The Denver Post Magazine*, Sunday, June 12, 1983, p. 20.) Similar events at Treblinka may perhaps have provided a basis for the camp’s “steam” legend.
16. [↗](#) *Jewish Black Book Comm., The Black Book* (1946), pp. 407-408.
17. [↗](#) Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses* (New York: 1982), p. 263.
18. [↗](#) *Trials of the War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals (NMT “green series”/ Washington, DC: 1949-1953)*, vol. 5, pp. 1133-1134.
19. [↗](#) Jochen von Lang, ed., *Eichmann Interrogated* (New York: 1983), p. 84.; See also: R. Aschenauer, ed., *Ich, Adolf Eichmann* (1980), pp. 179, 183.
20. [↗](#) “Information Bulletin,” Sept. 8, 1942, published by the command of the Polish underground “Armia Krajowa.” Quoted in: Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka* (Bloomington: 1987), pp. 353 f.
21. [↗](#) E. Kogon, *Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Berkley, pb., 1981), pp. 183-185.
22. [↗](#) Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: 1985), p. 878.; “Treblinka,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 15, p. 1368.; Eugen Kogon, et al., *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen* (1986), p. 163; Yitzhak Arad, “Treblinka,” in: I. Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, pp. 1483, 1484.
23. [↗](#) F. Berg, “The Diesel Gas Chambers,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984, pp. 15-46.

24.  R. Schmidt, A. Carey, and R. Kamo, "Exhaust Characteristics of the Automotive Diesel," Society of Automotive Engineers Transactions (New York), Vol. 75, Sec. 3, 1967, pp. 106, 107. (paper 660550).
25.  Even more logical and efficient than a gasoline engine — in the view of engineer Friedrich Berg — would have been the "Holzgas" generator, which were in very widespread use in Europe during the war years. See: F. Berg, "The Diesel Gas Chambers," The Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1984, pp. 38-41.
26.  Case against J. Hirtreiter, LG Frankfurt, 1951. Justiz und NS-Verbrechen (Amsterdam: 1972), Band 8, p. 264 (270 a-4).
27.  Hans Peter Rullmann, Der Fall Demjanjuk (Sonnenbühl: 1987), p. 149. Source cited: Adalbert Rückerl, NS-Vernichtungslager (1977).; An unsatisfactory explanation has been offered for this remarkable testimony: these witnesses must have been inmates of the nearby Treblinka labor camp, or for some other reason were never in the "extermination" section of the T-II camp.
28.  R. Hilberg, Destruction (1985), p. 879.
29.  Central Commission..., German Crimes in Poland (Warsaw: 1946-1947), vol. 1, p. 97.; Yitzhak Arad, "Treblinka," in: I. Gutman, ed., Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, pp. 1483, 1485.
30.  Shoah (Paris: Fayard, 1985), pp. 126-129. (I am thankful to Dr. Faurisson for pointing this out.) See also: [Bradley R. Smith](#), "Shoah: Abraham Bomba, the Barber," The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1986, pp. 244-253.
31.  Directive of Nov. 15, 1941. Amtsblatt für den Distrikt Warschau, Dec. 16, 1941, p. 116. Facsimile reproduction in: S. Wojtczak, "Karny Oboz," Biuletyn Glownej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, pp. 155-156.; Also published in: Amtlicher Anzeiger, Dec. 2, 1941. Cited in: Yitzhak Arad, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka (1987), p. 352. Facsimile reproduction in: C. Pilichowski, No Time-Limit for These Crimes (Warsaw: 1980), no page number.; An internal German document dated July 7, 1942, refers to the "Treblinka labor camp," which means that it was operating at the same time as the nearby "extermination center." Facsimile is reprinted in: H. Eschwege, ed., Kennzeichen J (East Berlin: 1966), p. 245.
32.  I. Gutman, ed., Encyclopedia of the Holocaust (1990), p. 1482.
33.  Note particularly the aerial photograph dated Sept. 2, 1944, in: U. Walendy, "Der Fall Treblinka," Historische Tatsachen, Nr. 44 (1990), p. 31.; Even today, a visitor to the site is struck by the large size of the quarry pit there. Hundreds (and perhaps thousands) of rail cars must have gone to and from the site (passing by the T-II "extermination camp") to carry away the sand and gravel excavated from the large pit.
34.  Facsimile documents in: Biuletyn Glownej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, pp. 171-182.; These records also show that (presumably empty) trains were promptly returned to their points of origin.; See also: Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (1985), p. 488 (and notes).
35.  Ganzenmüller to Wolff, July 28, 1942. Document NO-2207. R. Hilberg, Destruction (1985), p. 491.
36.  Main rail office (Gedob) in Krakow, directive No. 548. Facsimile in: Biuletyn Glownej Komisji ... (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, p. 171.
37.  Main rail office (Gedob) in Krakow, directive of Aug. 27, 1942. Facsimile in: Biuletyn Glownej ... (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, p. 182.; Also quoted in: Y. Arad, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka (1987), p. 96.

38. [↗](#) Biuletyn Główny... (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, pp. 178 f.; Y. Arad, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka (1987), p. 145.
39. [↗](#) Gerald Reitlinger, The Final Solution, (London: Sphere, pb., 1971), p. 150.
40. [↗](#) Martin Gilbert, Final Journey (New York: 1979), p. 119.
41. [↗](#) R. Hilberg, Destruction (1985), p. 488 (and notes).
42. [↗](#) For one thing, the surviving documents are not at all clear about the numbers of deportees, and certainly do not confirm the deportation of hundreds of thousands of Jews to the camp.
43. [↗](#) Dr. Arthur Butz has concluded that Treblinka served both as a labor camp and as a transit center for Jews being deported eastwards: A. Butz, The Hoax of the Twentieth Century (1983), p. 221.; See also: Steffen Werner, Die Zweite Babylonische Gefangenschaft (1990), pp. 70-71, 171.
44. [↗](#) Y. Wiernik, in: A. Donat, ed., The Death Camp Treblinka (New York: 1979), p. 166.; Jewish Black Book Comm., The Black Book (1946), p. 399.
45. [↗](#) I. Trunk, Jewish Responses (1982), pp. 197-198, 261-262.; A. Donat in: B. Chamberlin, M. Feldman, eds., The Liberation of the Nazi Concentration Camps (Washington, DC: 1987), p. 171.; This point is also confirmed in U.S. Dept. of Justice (OSI) interviews with Treblinka survivors. Portions of several such OSI interview reports are reproduced in facsimile in UFFA Bulletin (Stamford, Conn.), Oct. 1990, p. 6.
46. [↗](#) Adalbert Rückerl, ed., NS-Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse (Munich: DTV, 1977), p. 198. This work by the main German official responsible for prosecuting war crimes cases is based on records of postwar German court cases.
47. [↗](#) Yisrael Gutman, The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943 (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ., 1982), p. 219.; Lucy Dawidowicz, The War Against the Jews, (New York: Bantam, pb., 1976), pp. 414, 451.; L. Dawidowicz, Holocaust Reader (New York: 1976), pp. 356, 364.; See also: Abraham Lewin, A Cup of Tears (New York: 1988), pp. 38-39. (Holocaust historians maintain that because none of the "resettled" Jews from Warsaw survived Treblinka, these letters and postcards therefore are either forgeries or were written under duress.)
48. [↗](#) Gitta Sereny, Into That Darkness (London: A. Deutsch, 1974), p. 193.; The Lanzman film "Shoah" also confirms that Polish farmers worked the fields right next to Treblinka.
49. [↗](#) Aerial reconnaissance photos from the U.S. National Archives. Published in: U. Walendy, "Der Fall Treblinka," HT Nr. 44 (1990), pp. 31, 34, 35, 38.
50. [↗](#) I. Trunk, Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution (1982), p. 263.; Jewish Black Book Comm., The Black Book, pp. 400, 407.
51. [↗](#) Leon Poliakov, Harvest of Hate (New York: 1979), p. 334.; Uwe Adam, in: F. Furet, ed., Unanswered Questions, (New York: 1989) p. 146.; R. Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (1985), p. 893.; Encyclopaedia Judaica, vol. 15, p. 1371.; Lucy Dawidowicz, The War Against the Jews (Bantam pb., 1976), p. 200.; Y. Arad in: I. Gutman, ed., Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, p. 1486.; A. Rückerl, ed., NS-Vernichtungslager (DTV, 1977), p. 199 (n.); Glen Frankel, "Demjanjuk Proceeding Unites Israel," Washington Post, Feb. 21, 1987, p. A 17.; K. Feig, Hitler's Death Camps (1981), p. 311.; Gitta Sereny, Into That Darkness (1974), p. 250.
52. [↗](#) For example: I. Gutman, ed., Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, pp. 1482, 1485.; Gitta Sereny, Into That Darkness (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), p. 146.; Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945 (Warsaw: 1979), p. 526.; E. Kogon, et al., Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen (1986), p. 342.;
53. [↗](#) U. Walendy, "Der Fall Treblinka," HT Nr. 44 (Vlotho: 1990), pp. 31, 34, 35, 38.; This same layout is also shown in: Central Commission..., German Crimes in Poland (Warsaw:

1946), Vol. 1, fold-out diagram between pp. 96-97.

54. ☞ Central Commission..., German Crimes in Poland (1946), Vol. 1, p. 96.; Janusz Gumkowski, K. Lezczynski, Poland Under Nazi Occupation (Warsaw: Polonia, 1961), p. 72.; "Treblinka," Encyclopaedia Judaica (1971), vol. 15, p. 1367.; One hectare equals 10,000 square meters. One square mile is 640 acres.
55. ☞ E. Kogon, et al., Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen (1986), p. 162.; Y. Arad, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, p. 41.; I. Gutman, ed., Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, p. 1483.; Note also the discussion of this matter in: U. Walendy, "Der Fall Treblinka," HT 44 (1990), passim.
56. ☞ Central Commission..., German Crimes in Poland (Warsaw: 1946-1947), Vol. 1, p. 96.; This is equivalent to about 142 by 142 meters.
57. ☞ A. Donat, ed., The Death Camp Treblinka (1979), pp. 318-319.
58. ☞ Louis FitzGibbon, Katyn (IHR, 1980), p. 141.; According to one informed historical researcher, the 1944 aerial reconnaissance photographs indicate that the burial area of the Treblinka II camp was about one-fifth smaller than the mass graves area in the Katyn forest. Also, contrary to claims made during the Demjanjuk trial and elsewhere, the 1944 aerial photos also suggest that the retreating Germans left the camp's burial area intact.
59. ☞ Y. Arad, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka (1987), pp. 174-177.; E. Kogon, et al., Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas (1986), p. 190.; On the other hand, the World Jewish Congress claimed in 1946 that the bodies of Treblinka's victims were cremated immediately after gassing in large crematory furnaces. See: Jewish Black Book Comm., The Black Book (New York: 1946), pp. 410 f.; And according to one "eyewitness" account, bodies were burned while still in the large burial pits. This is physically all but impossible. See: Abraham Krzepicki, in: A. Donat, ed., Death Camp Treblinka, p. 92.
60. ☞ Rachel Auerbach, "In the Fields of Treblinka," in: A. Donat, ed., Death Camp Treblinka (1979), p. 38.; Similarly, former prisoner Wiernik claimed that "the bodies of women were used for kindling the fires" at Treblinka. J. Wiernik, in: A. Donat, ed., Death Camp Treblinka, p. 170.
61. ☞ Moshe Perlman, The Capture and Trial of Adolf Eichmann (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), pp. 303-304.
62. ☞ R. Auerbach, "In the Fields of Treblinka," in: A. Donat, ed., Death Camp Treblinka, pp. 19, 69, 71, 72.
63. ☞ Facsimile of report, Nov. 13, 1945, in: Biuletyn Głownej Komisji... (Warsaw), Vol. 26, 1975, pp. 183-185. (Translation provided to the author).; Note also photo of skulls and large bones on p. 151. This is similar to the photo in: A. Donat, ed., Death Camp Treblinka, p. 266.
64. ☞ Central Commission ..., German Crimes in Poland, Vol. 1, pp. 96-97.
65. ☞ After cremation, between five and about ten pounds of residual ash and bone are left from each corpse. (Frederick Peterson, with Haynes and Webster, Legal Medicine and Toxicology, vol. 2, pp. 877, 883. Facsimile in: C. Porter, Made in Russia, pp. 346, 351.) If, let us say, 700,000 Jews were killed at Treblinka, and each cremated corpse resulted in five pounds of ash and residual bone, 1,750 tons of remains would have been left at the camp site. Nothing like this quantity of remains has ever been found and identified.

Source: vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 159-165.

The Challenge of 'Multiculturalism' In How Americans View the Past and the Future

Samuel Taylor

Of all the ways in which a nation defines itself, few are more important than what it teaches its children about itself. In the history classes of its public schools, a nation retells its own story and instills a national identity in the minds of young citizens. In today's America, where competing racial, cultural and linguistic claims now make it nearly impossible even to speak of national identity, questions about history have become a struggle for the possession of America's past.

The multicultural, multiperspective history that has arisen from this struggle is not merely a departure from the history America has always taught its children. It may be the first time that a nation has abandoned the single identity of its origins and set out deliberately to adopt multiple national identities.

Significantly, the understanding by many non-whites of multicultural history is entirely different from that of whites. For whites, the central concepts are "inclusion" and "pluralism." American history is to be rewritten so that racial and cultural perspectives that were once "ignored" or "neglected" will get equal treatment. For many non-whites, however, multicultural history is merely a step on the way to an explicitly racial, Afrocentric or Hispanic history. Their goal is separation rather than inclusion.

The "conservative" view is that explicitly racial histories are illegitimate. America, it is argued, must be united by a common history, and exclusionist histories will disunite us. This position is logically correct; exclusionist histories are divisive. But as we shall see, the "conservative" position is wrong — practically, emotionally, and even morally. America is already disunited by race, and no approach to history can change that. Just as it would be impossible to use the same history book in both France and England, it is impossible to write a single American history that satisfies, white, black, Indian, Hispanic, and Asian.

Schooling as Assimilation

The purpose of American public education has never been simply to impart knowledge. One of its central goals has been to make children into Americans. American schools fly the American flag and students pledge allegiance to it. The central events of history are from the American past. The most glorious achievements are American achievements. There is nothing odd about that. Every nation gives its children a national education.

Nevertheless, American schools have had an even more explicitly nation-building purpose than others because of the need to assimilate immigrants. John Quincy Adams wrote that immigrants "must cast off their European skin, never to resume it." Horace Mann argued that "a foreign peo-

ple — cannot be transformed into the full stature of American citizens merely by a voyage across the Atlantic.” One of the strongest motives for building public schools was, therefore, the need to make *Americans* out of Europeans.

Europeans weren’t going to be made into Americans by teaching them about the contributions of Africans, Mexicans and Indians. The old, standard history united Americans because it has a coherent purpose and a single voice. It emphasized one point of view and ignored others. To put it bluntly, it was history about white people for white people.

This history served the country well, so long as the population was overwhelmingly white, and the two traditional minorities — blacks and Indians — did not have voices. All this changed, beginning in the 1960s. The civil rights movement gave voices to blacks and Indians, and changes in immigration laws brought a massive influx of non-whites. It was the end of a certain kind of America.

Non-whites began to complain about a version of history that left them out. The nation-building history that has bound Europeans into a single people had not bound whites and non-whites into a single people. “Multicultural” history was therefore to be a broader, more inclusive history that would give every American his rightful share of America’s past. At the same time, “culturally relevant” history would keep blacks and Hispanics in school and stop them from dropping out at ever-increasing rates.

Squaring the Circle

Something that well-meaning whites did not understand is that an “inclusive” history — one that would be all things to all people — is impossible. History has winners and losers, and they see the same events with different eyes. At the same time, virtually every non-white group sees the conflicts of the past as struggles with whites, so multicultural history becomes a collection of perspectives that are often not merely non-white but anti-white.

How, for example, is a multicultural history to treat the discovery and settlement of North America by Europeans? The old history called it a triumphant advance for civilization. But for Indians, the same historical events are an unending sequence of defeats and disaster. Does a multicultural textbook call this a triumph or a disaster or both or neither?

What about the Mexican-American War [1846-1848]? At the time, it was thought a glorious success because it added huge chunks to the American West. But was it, instead, an imperialist atrocity? Are today’s school children to rejoice that California is part of America or are they to weep over the stolen birthright of their Hispanic brothers?

Slavery poses a similar riddle. Blacks want to make it the centerpiece of their history, and in many ways it is. For nearly 300 years, most American blacks were slaves, and virtually everything that blacks did or thought was circumscribed by slavery. Today, it is still the centerpiece of black history, because it excuses failure and can be used to extract benefits from whites.

For whites, though, slavery is a minor historical event. Except for the Civil War (which was set in motion and fought by whites) the course of the nation’s history would hardly have been different if there had been no slavery. To give it a prominent place in white history is a transparent effort to manipulate the way that whites think about the present.

Once slavery is promoted to the status of unparalleled evil, much of the past becomes incomprehensible. Is George Washington *both* the Father of his Country *and* a wicked man because he

owned slaves? Is Abraham Lincoln the storied savior of the Union or is he a fiend because he thought blacks were inferior and should be sent back to Africa?

Those of us who went to school when American history still had coherence are likely to learn about the new, multicultural history only by accident. One such accident is that this year is the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America. A typical multicultural problem has thus spilled out of the classroom and gotten wider notice: Was Columbus a great explorer or was he a genocidal tyrant? Are we to celebrate half a millennium of European America or are we to hang our heads in shame? Or are we to do both?

Problems and Uncertainties

Multicultural histories, by their very nature, cannot answer these questions. And because they cannot, they present American history as a bundle of uncertainties, as a series of unsolved “problems.” Unlike the old history, which viewed the past with pride and the future with confidence, multicultural histories are diffident and perplexed. Unlike the old history, which at least gave white children a firm foundation for national identity, multicultural history says, in effect, that America has no identity. The only thing left to unite a multicultural America is geography.

One way to understand the impossible task that multicultural history has set itself is to imagine how one would write a school history book to be used in both France and Britain. How would it treat Napoleon? The very geography of London — Waterloo Station, Trafalgar Square — is a monument to Englishmen who killed Frenchmen. Napoleon’s tomb, Austerlitz station, and street names like Jena and Ulm all mark the pride the French take in their ancestors’ readiness to slaughter foreigners. A “multicultural” history book of the Napoleonic wars would be an absurdity, and everyone knows it. And yet, it would be no more absurd than the history books American children use today.

Non-whites have a much keener sense of their group interests than whites. They see very clearly that the future will have its winners and losers, just as history has had them. Thus, while virtually every school district with a white majority is trying to square the circle by teaching a history that is everything to everyone, school districts with black majorities are beginning to replace the old “Euro-centric” curriculum with one that is openly “Afro-centric.” They are not interested in supplementing the traditional history with different points of view. They want a single, African point of view.

In Atlanta, where 92 percent of the public school students are black, history and social studies courses have been rewritten from an “African-American” perspective. New York’s public schools recently authorized a curriculum revision based on an openly anti-white position paper drafted, in part, by the black-supremacist professor, Leonard Jeffries. In California, school districts in heavily-black Oakland and East Palo Alto started the 1991/1992 school year without *social studies textbooks*. They decided to develop their own black-centered materials because they could find nothing suitable.

Private black schools have gone the farthest. Some reject America, and teach their pupils that they are the African diaspora. Many teach patent nonsense, claiming that the ancient Egyptians and even King Solomon were black. Nevertheless, even if some of their material is ridiculous, Afro-centric teachers have recognized something that white teachers have forgotten: History has a point of view; it cannot be all things to all people.

Building a Nation

Blacks, then, are learning the kind of history that whites once learned — a history that builds identity and certitude. White children are learning that every interpretation is valid, that nothing is certain, that their nation's past is all paradoxes and unsolved problems. Patriotism will not grow in the heart of a child who cannot look back with pride upon his nation's past. We have come a long way from schooling that made Europeans into Americans. We now make Americans into nothing at all.

Multicultural history is like Affirmative Action. Just as whites are to step aside to give hiring preferences to minorities, whites are to set aside their own point of view and study those of others. Non-whites, on the other hand, are free to promote their own interests and exclusionist histories.

Like Affirmative Action, multicultural history is possible only because the majority has abandoned its position at the center. If whites insisted on their own history as strongly as non-whites insist on theirs, the inevitability of separate histories would have been recognized long ago. Nor will whites be willing to forego their own history forever. They will eventually realize that only they are studying a past with no answers and no certainties. They will eventually see that there *cannot* be one history that satisfies all. And they will begin to wonder whether there can be one nation that satisfies all.

History for Everyone and No One

Five years ago, the California Board of Education adopted guidelines for a new history curriculum that would “accurately portray the cultural and racial diversity of our society.” Several book companies proposed texts to meet that requirement, and last year, Houghton Mifflin won approval for its series for grades one through eight.

The title of the fifth-grade text tells the whole story. It is a line from a poem by the black writer, Langston Hughes: *America Will Be*. It is hard to imagine any other country publishing a history book that puts the nation in the future tense. Most nations want their children to look back on their people's history with pride. This book seems to suggest that the real, multicultural America is yet to come.

Of course, as the texts go to great pains to explain, America was always multicultural. A typical section is entitled, “A Nation of Many Peoples,” and this does not mean Englishmen, Swedes, and Germans. One gets the impression that Europeans were a furtive side-show in a vast history that began with Indians and ends with Chinese, blacks, Hispanics, West Indians, and Native Americans.

Among the “moments in time” that the books illustrate with full-page portraits of people typical of a period, is a lasso-whirling, bronco-busting, Mexican lady-cowboy, or *vaquera*. Such an apparition would probably have astonished the longhorns as much as this “moment in time” astonished anyone over the age of twenty. In the *50 pages* that one text devotes to the horrors of Negro slavery, there is a full-page portrait, not of a working slave but of an *escaping* slave.

This was not enough for the racial activists, for what they want is their own, exclusionist history. Houghton Mifflin officials, who expected praise and gratitude for their painstakingly “inclusive” history, were astonished by the accusations hurled at them. They did not realize that, for the most part, it is only whites who want a multiperspective history.

The overall director of the series, Professor Gary Nash, is a well-known leftist and a leading proponent of multiculturalism. He, too, was shocked by critics who called him a racist and a white supremacist. “If I’m the bad guy,” he wanted to know, “who are your allies?”

Several majority-black school districts rejected the texts outright. In San Francisco, where 82 percent of the public school children are non-white, the school board reluctantly accepted the books, but added a supplemental reading list with titles like *Black Heroes of the Wild West*, *Chinese Americans, Past and Present*, and *Gays in America*. (Homosexuals were angry that these grade school texts said nothing about their contributions to America.)

The battle over text books was especially bruising in California because, by 1995, a majority of its public school students will be non-white. Nevertheless, the white decline is rapidly moving East. The struggle for America’s past is only warming up.

Some battles have already been lost. A 1983 study by Nathan Glazer and Reed Ueda of six leading history texts found that blacks and Hispanics got at least four times as much coverage as European immigrant groups, and even trivial non-white successes were paraded as brilliant achievements.

The multiculturalists have already come a long way. More American 17-year-olds can now tell you who Harriet Tubman was than know who Winston Churchill or Joseph Stalin were. They are more likely to know about her than to know that Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation or that George Washington commanded the American revolutionary army.

The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust

Do the 'war crimes' trials prove extermination?

by [Mark Weber](#)

A common response to expressions of skepticism about the Holocaust story is to say something like “What about Nuremberg? What about the trials and all the evidence?!” This reaction is understandable because the many postwar “war crimes” trials have given explicit, authoritative judicial legitimacy to the Holocaust extermination story.

By far the most important of these was the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, officially known as the International Military Tribunal (IMT). The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France put on trial the most prominent surviving German leaders as “Major War Criminals” for various “war crimes,” “crimes against peace,” and “crimes against humanity.” In the words of the Tribunal’s Charter, these “Nazi conspirators” carried out their crimes as part of a great “Common Plan or Conspiracy.”

In addition, twelve secondary Nuremberg trials (NMT) organized by the U.S. government alone were conducted between 1946 to 1949. Similar trials were also conducted by the British at Lüneburg and Hamburg, and by the United States at Dachau. Since then, many other Holocaust-related trials have been held in West Germany, Israel and the United States, including the highly-publicized trials in Jerusalem of Adolf Eichmann and John Demjanjuk.

Germany’s wartime treatment of the Jews figured prominently in the Nuremberg trials. In their condemnation of the defendants, the Allies gave special emphasis to the alleged extermination of six million European Jews. Chief U.S. prosecutor Robert H. Jackson, for example, declared in his opening address to the Tribunal: ([note 1](#))

The most savage and numerous crimes planned and committed by the Nazis were those against the Jews ... It is my purpose to show a plan and design, to which all Nazis were fanatically committed, to annihilate all Jewish people... The avowed purpose was the destruction of the Jewish people as a whole... The conspiracy or common plan to exterminate the Jews was ... methodically and thoroughly pursued... History does not record a crime ever perpetrated against so many victims or one ever carried out with such calculated cruelty.

Echoing these words, chief British prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross declared in his final address to the Tribunal: ([note 2](#))

There is one group to which the method of annihilation was applied on a scale so immense that it is my duty to refer separately to the evidence. I mean the extermination of the Jews. If there were no other crime against these men [the defendants], this one

alone, in which all of them were implicated, would suffice. History holds no parallel to these horrors.

How compelling was the evidence presented at Nuremberg to substantiate such damning words? How did the defendants respond to the charges?

While much of the specific testimony and documentation presented in these trials has been dealt with in other Journal articles, here we take a closer look at the general trustworthiness of the evidence cited at Nuremberg and elsewhere for the Holocaust extermination story. This chapter also focuses on the basic character of these trials, which have played such an important role in “legitimizing” the Holocaust story.

Political justice

The Nuremberg enterprise violated ancient and fundamental principles of justice. The victorious Allies acted as prosecutor, judge and executioner of the German leaders. The charges were created especially for the occasion, and were applied only to the vanquished. (note 3) Defeated, starving, prostrate Germany was, however, in no position to oppose whatever the Allied occupation powers demanded.

As even some leading Allied figures privately acknowledged at the time, the Nuremberg trials were organized not to dispense impartial justice, but for political purposes. Sir Norman Birkett, British alternate judge at the Nuremberg Tribunal, explained in a private letter in April 1946 that “the trial is only in form a judicial process and its main importance is political.” (note 4)

Robert Jackson, the chief U.S. prosecutor and a former U.S. Attorney General, declared that the Nuremberg Tribunal “is a continuation of the war effort of the Allied nations” against Germany. He added that the Tribunal “is not bound by the procedural and substantive refinements of our respective judicial or constitutional system ...” (note 5)

Judge Iola T. Nikitchenko, who presided at the Tribunal’s solemn opening session, was a vice-chairman of the supreme court of the USSR before and after his service at Nuremberg. In August 1936 he had been a judge at the infamous Moscow show trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev. (note 6) At a joint planning conference shortly before the Nuremberg Tribunal convened, Nikitchenko bluntly explained the Soviet view of the enterprise: (note 7)

We are dealing here with the chief war criminals who have already been convicted and whose conviction has been already announced by both the Moscow and Crimea [Yalta] declarations by the heads of the [Allied] governments... The whole idea is to secure quick and just punishment for the crime...

The fact that the Nazi leaders are criminals has already been established. The task of the Tribunal is only to determine the measure of guilt of each particular person and mete out the necessary punishment — the sentences.

Indicative of the largely political nature of the Nuremberg process was the important Jewish role in organizing these trials. Nahum Goldmann, one-time president of both the World Jewish Congress and the World Zionist Organization, reported in his memoir that the Nuremberg Tribunal was the brain-child of World Jewish Congress officials. Only after persistent effort were WJC officials able to persuade Allied leaders to accept the idea, he added. (note 8)

The World Jewish Congress also played an important but less obvious role in the day to day proceedings. Above all, the powerful but secretive organization made sure that Germany's persecution of the Jews was a primary focus of the trials, and that the defendants were punished for their involvement in that process. (note 9)

Two Jewish officers in the U.S. Army — Lieutenant Colonel Murray Bernays and Colonel David “Mickey” Marcus — played key roles in the Nuremberg enterprise. In the words of historian Robert Conot, Bernays was “the guiding spirit leading the way to Nuremberg.” Bernays, a successful New York attorney, persuaded U.S. War Secretary Henry Stimson and others to accept the idea of putting the defeated German leaders on trial. (note 10)

Marcus, a fervent Zionist, became the “number three man in making American policy” in occupied Germany. As chief of the U.S. government's War Crimes Branch in 1946 and 1947, he selected almost all of the judges, prosecutors and lawyers for the Nuremberg NMT Trials. (He later became a commander of Zionist “Haganah” military forces in Palestine.) (note 11)

Some of the Americans who participated in the Nuremberg trials became disillusioned with the entire business. One of the few to make public his feelings was Charles F. Wennerstrum, an Iowa Supreme Court justice who served as presiding judge in the Nuremberg trial of German generals. “If I had known seven months ago what I know today, I would never have come here,” he declared immediately after sentences were pronounced. “The high ideals announced as the motives for creating these tribunals have not been evident,” he added. (note 12)

Wennerstrum cautiously referred to the extensive Jewish involvement in the Nuremberg process. “The entire atmosphere here is unwholesome ... Lawyers, clerks, interpreters and researchers were employed who became Americans only in recent years, whose backgrounds were imbedded in Europe's hatreds and prejudices.” He criticized the one-sided handling of evidence. “Most of the evidence in the trials was documentary, selected from the large tonnage of captured records. The selection was made by the prosecution. The defense had access only to those documents which the prosecution considered material to the case.” He concluded that “the trials were to have convinced the Germans of the guilt of their leaders. They convinced the Germans merely that their leaders lost the war to tough conquerors.” Wennerstrum left Nuremberg “with a feeling that justice has been denied.”

America's leading jurist was dismayed by the Nuremberg process. U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone remarked with irritation: “[Chief U.S. prosecutor] Jackson is away conducting his high-grade lynching party in Nuremberg. I don't mind what he does to the Nazis, but I hate to see the pretense that he is running a court and proceeding according to common law. This is a little too sanctimonious a fraud to meet my old-fashioned ideas.” In a private letter he wrote: “... I wonder how some of those who preside at the trials would justify some of the acts of their own governments if they were placed in the status of the accused.” On another occasion Stone specifically wondered “whether, under this new [Nuremberg] doctrine of international law, if we had been defeated, the victors could plausibly assert that our supplying Britain with fifty destroyers [in 1940] was an act of aggression ...” (note 13)

In Congress, U.S. Representative Lawrence H. Smith of Wisconsin declared: “The Nuremberg trials are so repugnant to the Anglo-Saxon principles of justice that we must forever be ashamed of that page in our history ... The Nuremberg farce represents a revenge policy at its worst.” (note 14) Another Congressman, John Rankin of Mississippi, stated: “As a representative of the American people I desire to say that what is taking place in Nuremberg, Germany, is a disgrace to the United States... A racial minority, two and a half years after the war closed, are in Nurem-

berg not only hanging German soldiers but trying German businessmen in the name of the United States.” (note 15)

Probably the most courageous condemnation was by U.S. Senator Robert A. Taft, widely regarded as the “conscience of the Republican party.” At considerable risk to his political career, he denounced the Nuremberg enterprise in an October 1946 speech. “The trial of the vanquished by the victors cannot be impartial no matter how it is hedged about with the forms of justice,” he said. Taft went on: (note 16)

About this whole judgment there is the spirit of vengeance, and vengeance is seldom justice. The hanging of the eleven men convicted will be a blot on the American record which we will long regret. In these trials we have accepted the Russian idea of the purpose of trials — government policy and not justice — with little relation to Anglo-Saxon heritage. By clothing policy in the forms of legal procedure, we many discredit the whole idea of justice in Europe for years to come.

Milton R. Konvitz, a Jewish specialist of law and public administration who taught at New York University, warned at the time that the Nuremberg Tribunal “defies many of the most basic assumptions of the judicial process.” He went on: “Our policy with respect to the Nazis is consistent with neither international law nor our own State Department’s policy... The Nuremberg trial constitutes a real threat to the basic conceptions of justice which it has taken mankind thousands of years to establish.” (note 17)

In the years since, distinguished figures in both the United States and other countries have expressed similar views. U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas wrote: “I thought at the time and still think that the Nuremberg trials were unprincipled. Law was created ex post facto to suit the passion and clamor of the time.” (note 18)

US Rear Admiral H. Lamont Pugh, former Navy Surgeon General and Commanding Officer of the National Naval Medical Center, wrote: “I thought the trials in general bordered upon international lunacy. I thought it particularly unfortunate, inappropriate, ill-conceived and dupably injudicious that the United States should have been cast in the leading role as prosecutors and implementators of the trials of German participants or principals.” (note 19)

Another indictment of the Nuremberg trial appeared more recently in the pages of the liberal *New Republic*: (note 20)

The whole majesty of the Western heritage of the law was used to subvert that heritage in the Nuremberg Tribunal. Weighty jurists in every Western country (but not Russia) protested against this travesty of the Western legal system. So did historians. So did merely cultured and moral men and women. If the victors were to “try” the vanquished for war crimes, then they should try themselves for often committing the same crimes. Who would try [British] Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Travers “Bomber” Harris, the architect of the policy of saturation bombing of German cities? But it was not only a matter of our own “war crimes.” If it was right to use the apparatus of the law to punish those responsible for exceptional crimes like the Holocaust, it was wrong to use it to punish errors of judgment and statecraft such as every defeated regime seems to have committed. “We used the methods of the enemy” — and used them in peace at Nuremberg.

While the Nuremberg trials were underway, and for some time afterwards, there was quite a lot of talk about the universal validity of the new legal code established there. A new age of interna-

tional justice had begun, it was claimed. Many sincerely believed that the four Allied powers would themselves abide by the Tribunal's standards. (note 21)

As it happened, none of the four powers that participated in the Tribunal ever made the slightest effort to apply the principles so solemnly and self-righteously proclaimed at Nuremberg either to their own leaders or to those of any other country.

No Soviet leader was executed for the Soviet military interventions in Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968. No British leader was put on trial for the British invasion of Egypt in October 1956. President Eisenhower was not tried for his invasion of Lebanon in 1958. President Kennedy was not hanged for his ill-fated 1962 "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba. President Johnson was never called to judicial account for his conduct of the war in Vietnam or his invasion of the Dominican Republic. President Nixon was not brought before a tribunal for his armed "incursion" into Cambodia.

When (North) Vietnamese officials threatened to put captured U.S. airmen on trial in 1966, U.S. Senator Everett Dirksen was moved to remark that the Nuremberg trials "may have been a ghastly mistake." (note 22)

A double standard

In conducting the Nuremberg trials, the Allied governments themselves violated international law. For one thing, their treatment of the German defendants and the military prisoners who testified violated articles 56, 58 and others of the Geneva convention of July 1929. (note 23)

Justice — as opposed to vengeance — is a standard that is applied impartially. At Nuremberg, though, standards of "justice" applied only to the vanquished. The four powers that sat in judgment were themselves guilty of many of the very crimes they accused the German leaders of committing. (note 24) Chief U.S. prosecutor Robert Jackson privately acknowledged in a letter to President Truman that the Allies (note 25)

have done or are doing some of the very things we are prosecuting the Germans for. The French are so violating the Geneva Convention in the treatment of [German] prisoners of war that our command is taking back prisoners sent to them [for forced labor in France]. We are prosecuting plunder and our Allies are practicing it. We say aggressive war is a crime and one of our allies asserts sovereignty over the Baltic States based on no title except conquest.

In violation of the first Nuremberg count of "planning, preparation, initiating or waging a war of aggression," the Soviet Union attacked Finland in December 1939 (and was expelled from the League of Nations as a result). A few months later the Red Army invaded Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and ruthlessly incorporated them into the Soviet Union. The postwar French government violated international law and the Nuremberg charge of "maltreatment of prisoners of war" by employing large numbers of German prisoners of war as forced laborers in France. In 1945 the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union jointly agreed to the brutal deportation of more than ten million Germans from their ancient homes in eastern and central Europe, a violation of the Nuremberg count of "deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population." (note 26)

While Allied prosecutors charged the defendants with a "crime against peace" in planning the German invasion of Norway in 1940, the British government eventually had to admit that Britain

and France were themselves guilty of the same “crime” in preparing a military invasion of Norway, code-named “Stratford,” before the German move. And in August 1941, Britain and the Soviet Union jointly invaded and occupied Iran, a neutral nation. (note 27)

Given this record, it is hardly surprising that the four governments that organized the Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946 included no definition of “aggression” in the Tribunal’s Charter. (note 28)

Mikhail Vozlenski, a Soviet historian who served as a translator at the Nuremberg Tribunal in 1946, later recalled that he and the other Soviet personnel felt out of place there because the alleged crimes of the German leaders were “the norm of our life” in the Soviet Union. (note 29) The Soviet role in the proceedings, which the United States fully supported, moved American diplomat and historian George F. Kennan to condemn the entire Nuremberg enterprise as a “horror” and a “mockery.” (note 30)

Nuremberg’s double standard was condemned at the time by the British weekly *The Economist*. It pointed out that whereas both Britain and France had supported the expulsion of the Soviet Union from the League of Nations in 1939 for its unprovoked attack against Finland, just six years later these same two governments were cooperating with the USSR as a respected equal at Nuremberg. “Nor should the Western world console itself that the Russians alone stand condemned at the bar of the Allies’ own justice,” the *Economist* editorial went on. It continued: (note 31)

... Among crimes against humanity stands the offence of the indiscriminate bombing of civilian populations. Can the Americans who dropped the atom bomb and the British who destroyed the cities of western Germany plead “not guilty” on this count? Crimes against humanity also include the mass expulsion of populations. Can the Anglo-Saxon leaders who at Potsdam condoned the expulsion of millions of Germans from their homes hold themselves completely innocent?... The nations sitting in judgment [at Nuremberg] have so clearly proclaimed themselves exempt from the law which they have administered.

An official with the postwar U.S. military occupation administration in Germany commented: “What good are the high-flown morals enunciated at Nuremberg if the Americans have agreed to such things as deportation in documents which bear official signatures, and which, therefore, give the Allies the legal right to do the things which at Nuremberg they described as immoral?” (note 32)

If the Nuremberg Tribunal’s standards had been applied to the victors of the Second World War, American General and supreme Allied commander in Europe Dwight Eisenhower would have been hanged. At the end of the war Eisenhower ordered that German prisoners in American military custody were no longer to be treated according to the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war. This violation of international law removed masses of Germans from the protection of the International Red Cross (ICRC), and condemned hundreds of thousands of them to slow death by starvation and disease. (note 33)

Perhaps nothing better illustrates the essentially unfair character of the Nuremberg proceedings than the treatment of Rudolf Hess, Hitler’s deputy. He was sentenced to life imprisonment even though he alone of leading figures of the countries involved in the Second World War risked his life in a dangerous but fruitless effort to conclude peace between two of the warring nations. British historian A.J.P. Taylor once succinctly summed up the injustice of the Hess case and, by implication, of the entire Nuremberg enterprise: (note 34)

Hess came to this country in 1941 as an ambassador of peace. He came with the ... intention of restoring peace between Great Britain and Germany. He acted in good faith. He fell into our hands and was quite unjustly treated as a prisoner of war. After the war, we should have released him. Instead, the British government of the time delivered him for sentencing to the International Tribunal at Nuremberg ... No crime has ever been proved against Hess ... As far as the records show, he was never at even one of the secret discussions at which Hitler explained his war plans.

The problem of evidence

The victorious Allies thoroughly scoured Germany for every scrap of paper that might be used to incriminate the defeated regime. Never before or since have a nation's records been so completely ransacked. In addition to official government papers, including countless secret documents tracing Germany's wartime Jewish policy, the Allies confiscated the records of the National Socialist Party and its affiliated organizations, as well as those of numerous private business firms, institutions and individuals. The sheer quantity of paper seized is staggering. For example, the records of the German Foreign Office confiscated by U.S. officials amounted to some 485 tons of paper. (note 35)

From this mountain of paper, U.S. military personnel alone selected some two thousand documents considered most incriminating for use in the main Nuremberg trial. The tons of confiscated records were later shipped to the United States. It is estimated that in the U.S. National Archives alone, more than one million pages of documents on the Third Reich's Jewish policy are on file. Many hundreds of these Nuremberg documents have since been published, most notably by the U.S. government in the 42-volume "blue series" record of the main Nuremberg trial, the 15-volume "green series" record of the "second string" Nuremberg trials, and in the 11-volume "red series." (note 36)

It is as if governments hostile to the United States were to seize the top secret files of the Pentagon and CIA, and then selectively publish the most embarrassing and incriminating documents from the vast collection.

In the years since the Nuremberg trials, historians of many different countries have carefully sifted through the German records, including countless documents that were not available to the Nuremberg prosecutors. Historians have been able to compare and cross-check the records of different ministries and agencies, as well as numerous private diaries and papers. (note 37)

And yet, out of this great mass of paper, not a single document has ever been found that confirms or even refers to an extermination program. A number of historians have commented on this remarkable "gap" in the evidence. French-Jewish historian Leon Poliakov, for example, noted in his best-known Holocaust work:

The archives of the Third Reich and the depositions and accounts of its leaders make possible a reconstruction, down to the last detail, of the origin and development of the plans for aggression, the military campaigns, and the whole array of procedures by which the Nazis intended to reshape the world to their liking. Only the campaign to exterminate the Jews, as regards its conception as well as many other essential aspects, remains shrouded in darkness.

No documents of a plan for exterminating the Jews have ever been found, he added, because "perhaps none ever existed." (note 38)

At Nuremberg, the German documents were in the custody of the Allied prosecutors, who did not permit defense attorneys to make their own selections of the material. Historian Werner Maser has pointed out that at Nuremberg “thousands of documents which seemed likely possibly to incriminate the Allies and exonerate the defendants suddenly disappeared... There is much evidence that documents were confiscated, concealed from the defense or even stolen in 1945.” Other important documents suddenly “disappeared” when specifically requested by defense attorneys. Officials at the National Archives in Washington have confirmed to this writer on several occasions that the originals of numerous Nuremberg documents remain “lost” to this day. The Tribunal refused to allow in evidence several collections of German and captured foreign documents published during the war as German Foreign Office “White Books.” Most of the 1,809 affidavits prepared by the Nuremberg defense have never been made public. (note 39)

Among the documents that the defense was not permitted to bring to light was the secret supplement to the GermanSoviet treaty of August 23, 1939, which divided eastern Europe into German and Soviet spheres of influence. (note 40)

After the Nuremberg Tribunal pronounced its sentence, Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop pointed out some of the obstacles put up in his particular case: (note 41)

The defense had no fair chance to defend German foreign policy. Our prepared application for the submission of evidence was not allowed ... Without good cause being shown, half of the 300 documents which the defense prepared were not admitted. Witnesses and affidavits were only admitted after the prosecution had been heard; most of them were rejected... Correspondence between Hitler and Chamberlain, reports by ambassadors and diplomatic minutes, etc., were rejected. Only the prosecution, not the defense, had access to German and foreign archives. The prosecution only searched for incriminating documents and their use was biased. It knowingly concealed exonerating documents and withheld them from the defense.

The Charter of the International Military Tribunal permitted the use of normally inadmissible “evidence.” Article 19 specified that “The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence ... and shall admit any evidence which it deems to have probative value.” Article 21 stipulated: (note 42)

The Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge but shall take judicial notice thereof. It shall also take judicial notice of official governmental documents and reports of the United [Allied] Nations, including acts and documents of the committees set up in the various allied countries for the investigation of war crimes, and the records and findings of military and other Tribunals of any of the United [Allied] Nations.

On the basis of these articles, the Tribunal accepted as valid the most dubious “evidence,” including hearsay and unsubstantiated reports of Soviet and American “investigative” commissions. For example, the Tribunal accepted an American congressional report that “proved” gas chamber killings at Dachau, and a Polish government report (submitted by the US) that “proved” killings by steam at reblinka. (note 43) (No reputable historian now accepts either of these stories.)

In addition, the Tribunal validated Soviet reports about Auschwitz and Majdanek (documents USSR-8 and USSR-29), which explained in detail how the Germans killed four million at Auschwitz and another one-and-a-half million at Majdanek. (These days, no reputable historian accepts either of these fantastic figures.)

German guilt for the killing of thousands of Polish officers in the Katyn forest near Smolensk was similarly confirmed by Nuremberg document USSR-54. This detailed report by yet another Soviet “investigative” commission was submitted as proof for the charge made in the joint indictment of the four Allied governments. As a Soviet prosecutor explained: “We find, in the Indictment, one of the most important criminal acts for which the major war criminals are responsible was the mass execution of Polish prisoners of war shot in the Katyn forest near Smolensk by the German fascist invaders.” (note 44) (Interestingly, two of the eight members of the Soviet Katyn Commission were also members of the Soviet Auschwitz commission: Academician N. Burdenko and Metropolitan Nikolai.) It wasn’t until 1990 that the Soviet government finally acknowledged that the Katyn massacre was carried out, not by a German unit, as “proven” at Nuremberg, but by the Soviet secret police. (note 45)

It is sometimes claimed that the evidence presented by the prosecution to the Nuremberg Tribunal was so incontrovertible that none of the defense attorneys ever disputed the authenticity or accuracy of even a single prosecution document. (note 46) This is not true. Not only did defense lawyers protest against the prosecution use of spurious documents, but some of the most important Nuremberg documents are now generally acknowledged to be fraudulent. (note 47)

For example, defense attorney Dr. Boehm protested to the Tribunal that Nuremberg document 1721-PS, which purportedly confirms attacks by stormtroopers against Jewish synagogues in November 1938, is a clumsy forgery. He went on to explain his reasons at some length. (note 48)

Several Nuremberg documents based on the purported “death bed confession” of Mauthausen commandant Franz Ziereis, are demonstrably fraudulent. (Nuremberg documents 1515-PS, 3870-PS, and NO-1973.) These documents supposedly prove systematic killings of hundreds of thousands of people by gassing and other means at Mauthausen and Hartheim. (note 49)

Almost forty years after the Tribunal handed down its verdicts, Nuremberg document USSR-378 was definitively exposed as a fraud. It is a purported record of numerous private conversations with Hitler by Hermann Rauschning, a former National Socialist official in Danzig. In brutal language, the Führer supposedly revealed his most intimate thoughts and secret plans for world conquest. Rauschning’s “memoir” was published in 1939 in Britain under the title *Hitler Speaks*, and in the United States in 1940 as *The Voice of Destruction*. It was this U.S. edition that was accepted in evidence at Nuremberg as proof of the “guiding principles of the Nazi regime.”

Chief British prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross and his Soviet colleagues cited numerous quotations from it. Defendant Baldur von Schirach contested its authenticity, but defense attorney Pelckmann (who did not know any better) accepted this “evidence” as authentic. (note 50) In 1983 Swiss historian Wolfgang Hänel established that the “memoir” is entirely fraudulent. Rauschning never had even a single private meeting with Hitler. (note 51)

Another fraudulent Nuremberg document is the so-called “Hossbach protocol” (document 386-PS), a purported record of a high-level 1937 conference at which Hitler supposedly revealed his secret plans for aggressive conquest. U.S. Nuremberg prosecutor Sidney Alderman called it “one of the most striking and revealing of all the captured documents,” and told the Tribunal that it removed any remaining doubts about the guilt of the German leaders for their crimes against peace. It was largely on the basis of this document that Göring was condemned to death. (note 52)

Similarly spurious is Nuremberg document L-3 (US-28), supposedly a record of a bellicose speech by Hitler to armed forces commanders on August 22, 1939. It contains a widely cited quo-

tation attributed to Hitler, “Who talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?” (note 53)

Jewish historian Lucy Dawidowicz, author of *The War Against the Jews*, acknowledged that “There are also Holocaust documents that are outright falsification and some that purvey myth rather than historical fact.” (note 54)

Dubious testimony

Much of the evidence for the Holocaust story presented at Nuremberg and in subsequent trials has been “survivor testimony.” As numerous historians have acknowledged, though, such testimony is often defective. (note 55)

Gerald Reitlinger cautioned readers of his detailed study, *The Final Solution*, that Holocaust evidence, including Nuremberg documents and testimony, cannot be accepted at face value: “A certain degree of reserve is necessary in handling all this material, and particularly this applies to the last section (survivor narratives) ... The Eastern European Jew is a natural rhetorician, speaking in flowery similes.” (note 56) French historian Jean-Claude Pressac likewise warned in his detailed book about Auschwitz that “extreme care is required with the testimony of survivors ...” (note 57)

Jewish historian Hannah Arendt observed in her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem* that the “eyewitnesses” who testified in the 1961 trial in Jerusalem of Adolf Eichmann were only rarely able to distinguish between what actually happened to them years earlier and what they had read, heard or imagined in the meantime. (note 58) Holocaust historian Lucy Dawidowicz similarly noted that “the survivor’s memory is often distorted by hate, sentimentality, and the passage of time. His perspective on external events is often skewed by the limits of his personal experience.” (note 59)

French historian Germain Tillion, a specialist of the Second World War period, has warned that former camp inmates who lie are, in fact, (note 60)

very much more numerous than people generally suppose, and a subject like that of the concentration camp world — well designed, alas, to stimulate sado-masochistic imaginations — offered them an exceptional field of action. We have known numerous mentally damaged persons, half-swindlers and half fools, who exploited an imaginary deportation. We have known others of them — authentic deportees — whose sick minds strove to even go beyond the monstrosities that they had seen or that people said happened to them.

Jewish historian Samuel Gringauz, who was himself interned in the ghetto of Kaunas (Lithuania) during the war, criticized what he called the “hyperhistorical” nature of most Jewish “survivor testimony.” He wrote that “most of the memoirs and reports are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.” (note 61)

Shmuel Krakowski, archives director of the Israeli government’s Holocaust center, Yad Vashem, confirmed in 1986 that more than 10,000 of the 20,000 “testimonies” of Jewish “survivors” on file there are “unreliable.” Many survivors, wanting “to be part of history” may have let their imaginations run away with them, Krakowski said. “Many were never in the places where they claimed to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on second-hand information given them

by friends or passing strangers.” He confirmed that many of the testimonies on file at Yad Vashem were later proved to be inaccurate when locations and dates could not pass an expert historian’s appraisal. (note 62)

We now know that witnesses at the main Nuremberg trial gave false testimony. Perhaps the most obvious were the three witnesses who ostensibly confirmed German guilt for the Katyn massacre of Polish officers. (note 63)

Stephen F. Pinter of St. Louis, Missouri, served as a U.S. Army prosecuting attorney from January 1946 to July 1947 at the American trials of Germans at Dachau. Altogether, some 420 Germans were sentenced to death in these Dachau trials. In a 1960 affidavit Pinter stated that “notoriously perjured witnesses” were used to charge Germans with “false and unfounded” crimes. “Unfortunately, as a result of these miscarriages of justice, many innocent persons were convicted and some were executed.” (note 64)

A tragi-comic incident during the Dachau proceedings suggests the general atmosphere. U.S. investigator Joseph Kirschbaum brought a Jewish witness named Einstein into court to testify that the defendant, Menzel, had murdered Einstein’s brother. But when the accused pointed out that the brother was, in fact, sitting in the courtroom, an embarrassed Kirschbaum scolded the witness: “How can we bring this pig to the gallows if you are so stupid as to bring your brother into court?” (note 65)

August Gross, a German who worked as a civilian employee for the U.S. Army at the Dachau trials, later declared: (note 66)

The American prosecutors paid professional incrimination witnesses, mostly former criminal concentration camp inmates, the amount of one dollar per day (at that time worth 280 marks on the black market) as well as food from a witness kitchen and witness lodging. During the recess periods between trial proceedings the U.S. prosecuting attorneys told these witnesses what they were to say in giving testimony. The U.S. prosecuting attorneys gave the witnesses photos of the defendants and were thereby able to easily incriminate them.

A young U.S. Army court reporter at the Dachau trials in 1947, Joseph Halow, later recalled the unwholesome situation:

The witnesses in the concentration camp cases were virtually all of the sort we court reporters termed “professional witnesses,” those who spent months in Dachau, testifying against one or another of the many accused... It was to their economic advantage to testify, and many of them made a good living doing so. As one might well imagine, the motive of the professional witnesses was also one of spite and revenge... In many instances their vengeance included relating exaggerated accounts of what they had witnessed. It also included outright lying.

In one case, testimony provided by the prosecution witnesses “appeared to raise more questions than provide answers. Some of it was obviously fabricated, or so grossly exaggerated as to render it unbelievable. There were repeated instances of mistaken identity of the same accused, and vague, uncertain statements about some of the others.” Moreover, Halow reported, the U.S. courts paid “scant attention to testimony by and for the accused.” (note 67)

In the 1947 “Nordhausen-Dora” case, American defense attorney Major Leon B. Poullada protested against the general unreliability — and frequent outright lying — of prosecution wit-

nesses in this U.S. military trial of former concentration camp officials. (note 68)

Use of such unreliable testimony continued in “Holocaust” trials in later years. Federal district judge Norman C. Roettger, Jr., ruled in 1978 in a Florida case that all six Jewish “eyewitnesses” who had testified to direct atrocities and shootings at reblinka by Ukrainian-born defendant Feodor Fedorenko had wrongly identified the accused after being misled by Israeli authorities. (note 69)

New York “Nazi hunter” Charles Kremer visited Israel in 1981 looking for Jews who could confirm atrocities allegedly committed by a former Ukrainian SS man living in New Jersey. But Kremer cut short his visit, bitterly disappointed by the numerous Jews who offered to provide spurious “testimony” in return for money. As the Brooklyn Jewish Press reported, “Kremer was stricken with gastronomic pains — a malady he attributes to his difficulties in dealing with hucksters who tried to use his search for their personal gain.” (note 70)

One of the most blatant examples of perjury by Jewish Holocaust witnesses in recent years was in the case of a retired Chicago factory worker named Frank Walus who was charged with killing Jews in his native Poland during the war. A December 1974 letter from “Nazi hunter” Simon Wiesenthal that accused Walus of working for the Gestapo prompted the U.S. government’s legal campaign. During his trial, eleven Jews testified under oath that they personally saw Walus murder Jews, including several children. After a costly and bitterly contested four-year legal battle, Walus was finally able to prove that he had actually spent the war years as a teenager quietly working on German farms. A lengthy article copyrighted by the American Bar Association and published in 1981 in the Washington Post concluded that “... in an atmosphere of hatred and loathing verging on hysteria, the government persecuted an innocent man.” (note 71)

[\(continued in part 2\)](#)

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Review

Jewish writer grapples with ethical dilemma of the Holocaust and Zionism

- **BEYOND INNOCENCE AND REDEMPTION: Confronting the Holocaust and Israeli Power**, by Marc H. Ellis. New York: Harper & Row (Harper Collins), 1990. Softcover. 205 pages. Bibliography. Endnotes. Index. \$13.00. ISBN: 0 06 062215 6.

Reviewed by Robert Countess

Many years before the recent, dramatic collapse of the Soviet Union, the Communist ideology on which it was based had already proven itself to be an obvious failure. Even after the Marxist-Leninist ideology had clearly shown itself unable to live up to its lofty promises, the Soviet regime was still able to hobble along for several decades.

Something very similar appears to be happening in the case of Israel and its operating ideology, Zionism.

Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, and other prominent Zionist thinkers believed that Jewish nationalism (Zionism) would transform the Jews into a “normal” people. For centuries, Herzl argued, Jews had lived as a minority people among non-Jewish host populations. This situation inevitably gave rise to and encouraged anti-Jewish sentiment (“anti-Semitism”). Zionism would change all that, Herzl insisted. When Jews live as “normal” people in a country of their own, the basis for anti-Semitism would finally disappear.

It hasn’t worked out that way. The great majority of Jews around the world continue to live outside Israel as a highly self-conscious minority among non-Jews. Even in Israel itself, many Jews — perhaps a majority — would prefer to live elsewhere.

Far from being the “normal” country envisioned by Zionist visionaries like Herzl, Israel depends for its very existence on massive transfusions of hard cash from American taxpayers. To insure that the generous flow of money never stops, Jews outside of Israel are obliged to lobby and agitate tirelessly on behalf of “their” country. Not surprisingly, this process provides a basis (or pretext) for the ancient charge of “dual loyalty.”

For many centuries, the “glue” that has held together the widely dispersed Jewish people has been traditional religious Judaism. During this past century, though — and especially in the wake of the traumatic Holocaust cataclysm of the Second World War and the founding of the State of Israel in 1948 — all that has changed.

As Marc Ellis, a bright young Jewish scholar, persuasively argues in this insightful and provocative book, a pseudo-religious mythos centered upon the Holocaust and an increasingly brutal and

suppressive Israel state have now firmly replaced the Jewish religion as the binding force that unites Jews everywhere.

This new situation, Ellis goes on to emphasize, has had the most profound consequences for the Jewish people, and for the perpetually difficult relationship between Jews and non-Jews.

Ellis, who is Director of the Justice and Peace Program at the Catholic Maryknoll College in New York, unflinchingly tries to come to terms with the implications of the grim reality of Israel, and with the Holocaust religion that is used to justify the Zionist state and excuse its increasingly inhumane policies.

In this revisionist, and even iconoclastic, work, Ellis also criticizes some of the most important religious presuppositions that “Holocaust theologians” bring with them when they weave historical events into their religious dogmas.

While readers not well-grounded in religion and philosophy may find this book somewhat difficult, thoughtful readers will appreciate its incisive critique and irenic spirit.

Not long ago, British historian David Irving boldly predicted that Israel would not survive another ten years, and that the world would witness a mass emigration of Jews back to Europe. To the casual observer, such a prediction may seem fantastic, if not absurd. After all, Israel is one of the most important military powers in the world today, armed even with devastating nuclear weapons. Support from diaspora Jews (that is, outside of Israel), particularly in the United States, remains powerful. Prodded by the mighty Israel-first lobby, the American government continues to give billions of taxpayer dollars annually to the Jewish state. These are hardly the traits of a country with less than ten years to live.

And yet, major cracks in the Israeli edifice can no longer be covered up. In spite of the loud and ceaseless expressions of verbal support for Zionism and Israel, few Jews around the world are willing to actually move to Israel and live there. Instead, they prefer to encourage others to do so. Even many Israeli Jews — perhaps even a majority — would, if given the opportunity, promptly leave the country and move to United States or Europe. Envisioned as a bastion of security, Jews in Israel are actually less secure than Jews living almost anywhere else.

Like Irving, the author of this book is pessimistic about Israel’s future. Its days are numbered, Ellis believes, unless Israelis and Jews make radical changes very soon (something that he does not regard as likely).

Ellis focuses here on what he regards as the fatal moral bankruptcy of present-day Israel and Zionism. Committed to the heritage of humanistic Judaism, Professor Ellis feels obliged to condemn Israeli violations of universal principles of justice, particularly in its often brutal treatment of the native Palestinian people. In his view, the massive injustice of Israel’s seemingly endless maltreatment of Palestinians is squandering the moral authority that is essential for the long-term survival of the Jewish state.

Last February 29th, this reviewer participated with Ellis at a discussion in Birmingham, Alabama, that included Jews, Muslims and Christians (among them Palestinians). I was impressed, even spellbound, as Ellis thoughtfully and persuasively presented his views. Authoritatively citing Jewish religious and historical sources, he argued that Israel’s very existence is inextricably bound up with its treatment of the Palestinians.

As he puts it in *Beyond Innocence and Redemption* (p. 157):

The Palestinians have been done a great historical wrong by the Jewish people. The only way forward, it seems, is a solidarity with the Palestinian people that is at the same time confessional and political. Could we say that the task of Jewish theology is to lay the groundwork for solidarity with the Palestinian people and that any theology that does not pose that as the central question is a theology that legitimates torture and murder? To carry out this task means first of all that Jewish self-perception needs to be radically altered and the framework of discussion drastically reoriented ... A new Jewish self-understanding needs to be created.

This is not likely to take place, Ellis argues, because [Jewish] “mainstream theologians” and “Holocaust theologians ... pretend the Palestinians do not exist.” He is therefore pessimistic about the future of the Zionist state. “Israel is a dream that cannot last,” he concludes, a verdict that could almost serve as a subtitle for this book. (pp. 158, 162)

Defining the Problem

As Ellis explains in the introduction, this book is above all “a call to Jewish moral and religious thinkers” to “speak before it is too late.” As he points out, not a single major Jewish theologian has come to grips with the foreboding realities of Israel and Zionism that are now obvious to most of the rest of the world. And unless Jews quickly come to grips with these realities, which have the most profound moral implications, Ellis believes that the Zionist state is doomed. These realities are (p. xv):

What Jews have done to the Palestinians since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 is wrong.

In the process of conquering and displacing the Palestinian people, Jews have done what has been done to us over two millennia.

In this process Jews have become almost everything we loathe about our oppressors.

It is only in the confrontation with state power in Israel that Jews can move beyond being victim or oppressor.

The movement beyond victimization and oppression can only come through a solidarity with those whom we as Jews have displaced — the Palestinian people.

Implicit in this call, Ellis goes on, is a deeper metaphysical-religious question: “What is the essential mission of the Jewish people?” Is it simply to “build Israel as an exclusive Jewish state”?

Because of the well-documented record of mistreatment — including torture and murder — of the Palestinian people, Ellis argues, Jews can no longer “pretend to an innocence,” and warns that “the day of reckoning will come.” The only way to minimize, delay, “or better” avoid that day, he argues, is through a soul-searching, confessional act of Israeli redemption.

In the introduction to *Beyond Innocence and Redemption*, Ellis expresses the fear that, because of this book, he will be accused of “betraying one’s own people.” He understands the danger of being denounced as a “self-hating Jew,” in the same way that other prominent Jewish critics of Israel and Zionism — such as Noam Chomsky, Israel Shahak, and Alfred Lilienthal — have been. (By the same token, any non-Jew who expresses views similar to those presented here by Ellis runs the very real danger of being castigated as anti-Semitic — or worse.)

'The Birth of Holocaust Theology'

Probably the most provocative portion of Ellis' book is its audacious analysis of what the author calls "Holocaust theology." While accepting the orthodox Six Million extermination story — apparently without reservation — Ellis writes (p. 30):

Holocaust theology, like almost any community theology, revolves around the community to which it is addressed. But recognizing self-interest and self-expression as given, Holocaust theology seems to encourage self-absorption, almost to the exclusion of others. For example, Christians are present in Holocaust theology in reference to the events of Holocaust and Israel. Judgment on Christian faith and activity involves their resistance to, passivity in, or active complicity with the Holocaust and their support or nonsupport of Israel. Palestinians hardly exist at all; if they do exist, it is as a mass of people threatening the survival of the Jewish people.

This new "Holocaust theology" is, interestingly, a "theology" without a "theos" (Greek word for God). (This reviewer recalls that the rabbi of a local synagogue once asserted that whereas an atheist Jew would be acceptable as synagogue president, a "messianic Jew" of the "Jews-for Jesus" type would never be.)

A recurring theme in the message of the most prominent Holocaust theologians — whom Ellis identifies as Elie Wiesel, Emil Fackenheim, and Rabbi Irving Greenberg — is "the total innocence of the Jewish people" in the Holocaust. Moreover, they regard the Israel-Arab ("Six Day") war of 1967 as "a miracle," and the Palestinians as symbolic successors of the Nazis who work to fulfill Hitler's satanic dream of wiping out the Jews. (p. 3)

As Ellis sees it, the great question that has arisen since Israel's stunning and empowering victory in the 1967 war is this: Should the Zionist state be judged by the same standards we routinely apply to other states? Ellis argues that the only honest and ethical answer must obviously be an affirmative one. Unfortunately, he points out, Holocaust theologians take a very different view. They make no effort critically to examine the history of Zionism or of Israeli state policy (p. 5).

"Memory as Burden and Possibility: Alternative Views of Holocaust and Israel"

In somewhat the same way that Hitler and other German leaders spoke of the Germans as a *Volk* (nation or people), so also do Zionist leaders and Holocaust theologians ceaselessly speak of "the Jewish people," with a strong inference of chosenness and even superiority.

Calling this entire outlook into question, in the second chapter Ellis quotes approvingly from an audacious essay by Jewish social critic and novelist Phillip Lopate. (Ellis, pp. 33, 196. From: P. Lopate, "Resistance to the Holocaust," *Tikkun*, May/June 1989.)

While growing up, Lopate recalls, he heard a lot about concentration camps, gas chambers and the Six Million. The term Holocaust — which did not come into common use until the mid-1960s — has a self-important and almost vulgar tone. He provocatively comments:

... One instantly saw that the term was part of a polemic and that it sounded more comfortable in certain speakers' mouths than in others; the Holocaustians used it like a club to smash back their opponents ... In my own mind I continue to distinguish, ever so slightly, between the disaster visited on the Jews and "the Holocaust." Sometimes it almost seems that "the Holocaust" is a corporation headed by Elie Wiesel,

who defends his patents with articles in the Arts and leisure section of the Sunday [New York] Times.

The Hitler/Holocaust analogy deadends all intelligent discourse by intruding a stridently shrill note that forces the mind to withdraw. To challenge the demagogic minefield of pure self-righteousness from an ironic distance almost ensures being misunderstood. The image of the Holocaust is too overbearing, too hot to tolerate distinctions. In its life as a rhetorical figure, the Holocaust is a bully.

A good deal of suspicion and touchiness resides around the issue of maintaining the Holocaust's privileged status in the pantheon of genocides. It is not enough that the Holocaust was dreadful; it must be seen as uniquely dreadful.

Ellis praises Lopate for his rejection of idolatry insofar as the Holocaust, or the use of it, becomes crystallized, untouchable, almost a God. What suffers, of course, when everything is reduced to the Holocaust or analogous to the Holocaust, is the ability to think through the issues that confront the Jewish people.

The Holocaust (or, better, the Holocaust campaign) is becoming a kind of politicized Jewish kitsch, Ellis goes on to suggest. In the view of Avishai Margalit, a professor at Jerusalem's Hebrew University whom Ellis quotes approvingly, Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial has become an element of state kitsch, and Elie Wiesel is "a kitschman of genius."

The Yad Vashem memorial, writes Margalit (p. 34), is

meant to deliver a message to the visiting foreign statesman, who is rushed to Yad Vashem even before he has had time to leave off his luggage at his hotel ... Talking of the PLO in the same tone as one talks of Auschwitz is an important element in turning the Holocaust into kitsch ... Against the weapon of the Holocaust, the Palestinians are amateurs.

Ellis concurs: "Increasingly in Israel, the Holocaust is seen ... as an event that is consciously manipulated by the state and its leadership." (p. 34)

In the view of Boas Evron, another Israeli writer and commentator cited by Ellis, there is a great danger for Jews and Israel in the way that a factual, historical presentation of the fate of Europe's Jews during the Second World War has been "rejected for an ahistorical view summarized in the word *Holocaust*."

As Ellis puts it: "The term Holocaust is rhetorical and ambiguous; it exists without historical reference and thus has become indefinite and movable, almost exempting one from understanding it." (p. 35)

Jews around the world welcomed the "Jewish monopolization" of the Holocaust, Evron writes, because it strengthened German consciousness of guilt, thus increasing German financial compensation to survivors, and because it permitted the mobilization of public opinion around the world for moral, political, military and financial support for Israel. This policy of Holocaust mobilization "became a blueprint for relations with most Western Christian states, especially the United States; they were to support Israel on the basis of guilt rather than self-interest." (p. 36)

Thus, Israel survives by means of the "six million credit" and, likewise, the American Jewish community is powerfully organized and policed by it. (p. 36)

As Evron points out, this policy has had profound ramifications. It has contravened the Zionist goal of normalizing relations between Jew and non-Jew. It has turned Israel into a permanent beggar country, reduced to surviving on the “six million credit,” instead of, like any other country, on developing its own energy and skills.

Paraphrasing Evron, Ellis writes:

The Holocaust can also be used as a powerful tool by Israeli and Jewish leadership in the United States to organize and police the Jewish community. Diaspora Jews, for example, are made to feel guilty for not having done enough to prevent the Holocaust.

Evron does not believe that this policy can succeed in the long run. Again paraphrasing Evron, Ellis writes that Israeli and Jewish leaders

threaten to become victims of their own propaganda. They draw on a bank account continuously reduced by withdrawals. As the world moves on there are fewer who remember the Holocaust, and those who do, including the Jews, become tired of it as a nuisance and a reflection of a reality that does not exist.

Ellis cites the provocative work of Jewish author Richard Rubenstein, who “relativizes” the Holocaust by insistently looking at it in the larger context of twentieth century history. For Rubenstein, the Jewish Holocaust is not an exceptional or unique event, but rather a paradigm, “an expression of some of the most significant moral, religious and demographic tendencies of Western civilization in the twentieth century.” (p. 41)

Ellis takes his iconoclastic examination even further by forthrightly questioning “still another almost sacred assumption, that of the relationship of the Holocaust to the state of Israel.” Since Zionism predated the Nazi era by some four decades, the grand assumption on the part of many historical persons that Israel’s existence was conditional on the catastrophe of the Holocaust must be called into question. (p. 42)

Ellis cites several thoughtful Jews who clearly foresaw the very serious problems inherent in narrow Zionist nationalism and a Zionist-Jewish takeover of Palestine.

Hannah Arendt, for one, opposed the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine (although she supported a “Jewish homeland” there, in the spirit of the Balfour Declaration). A Jewish state, she believed, would be a degeneration into a warlike state led by political terrorists. For Arendt, the building of a Jewish homeland “must never be sacrificed to the pseudo-sovereignty of a Jewish state.” (pp. 52 f.)

Jewish writers like Arendt, Ellis maintains, were “committed and generous” in their analysis. Their fear that an Israeli state would become another Jewish ghetto — rather than a final renunciation of the ghetto — has been borne out by events. Jewish spokesmen like Fackenheim, Wiesel, and Greenberg have lost, at least publicly, the ability to enunciate dissenting ideas about the State of Israel.

'A Tradition of Dissent'

Ellis echoes the concerns voiced over the years by other perceptive Jewish thinkers who have warned — so far with very little success — about the portent of disaster inherent in Zionist-Israeli policies. Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, for example, warned in 1961 that Israel’s racist

policies were suicidal: “Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred.”

Jewish author Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht wrote that “Judaism survived centuries of persecution without a state; it must now learn to survive despite a state.” (p. 56.) Howard Greenstein praised liberal Reform Judaism for its ecumenical stance wherein Jews could be at home anywhere in the world. He viewed Zionism as the antithesis of this movement. Rabbi Elmer Berger and a handful of others diligently carried on in this same spirit. By the 1950s, though, this current of anti-Zionist dissent in Reform Judaism had been all but drowned out in the almost universal Jewish enthusiasm for Zionism.

Ellis devotes considerable attention to the shameful record of Zionist treatment of the Palestinians, who were dispossessed to make way for Israel. This grim record must be acknowledged and confronted, Ellis warns. If it is ignored, Jews stand to lose their moral bearings.

Ellis cites the words of the courageous William Zuckerman, who condemned the Israeli transfer of Palestinians after 1948. He wrote: “In what way does an 'Arab-rein' [Zionist] state differ from a 'Juden-rein' [German] state?” In April 1948, when Zionist terrorists massacred more than 200 Palestinians in the village of Deir Yassin, the Jewish government-to-be condemned the slaughter. Five years later, when the Israeli army committed a similar atrocity, the government muted the crime. (p. 63)

After the 1967 war, Noam Chomsky became a much vilified critic of Israeli aggression and atrocities. He argued that a plausible case could be made by both Jews and Palestinians for a valid claim to the disputed land. Chomsky envisioned a democratic socialist Palestine, in which both Jews and Palestinians would each benefit from a “law of return.” (pp. 65 f.)

In Ellis' view, the zenith of Israeli power and the impact of Holocaust theology was the 1967-1982 period. The situation has changed quite a lot since then. Particularly in the aftermath of Israel's aggressive invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the Jewish state has lost its “innocence.”

“Holocaust theology carries within itself the seeds of its own demise,” Ellis argues, because it is unable to come to grips with an powerful Israel that is judged by the same moral standards we apply to every other state. (p. 73).

Albert Vorspan, senior vice president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, wrote (p. 74):

Beyond any issue in recent years, American Jews are traumatized by events in Israel. This is the downside of the euphoric mood after the Six-Day War, when we felt ten feet tall. Now, suffering under the shame and stress of pictures of Israeli brutality televised nightly, we want to crawl into a hole. This is the price we pay for having made of Israel an icon — a surrogate faith, surrogate synagogue, surrogate God.

Ellis castigates Elie Wiesel for his silence about Israeli atrocities during the 1982 Lebanon war. When he did finally speak out, months later, he saw fit to condemn only those “vicious minds who dare to compare the state of Israel to Nazi Germany.” When Wiesel later met with some Palestinians, he seemed to be only slightly moved with compassion for their persecution. “A realistic solution — Israeli security and Palestinian self-determination — escapes him,” writes Ellis.

Ellis cites the extraordinary work of Israel Shahak, a courageous and outspoken critic of Israeli treatment of the Palestinians. After surviving internment during the war in the Bergen-Belsen

concentration camp, Shahak made his way to Israel, where he worked for many years as a professor of chemistry at the Hebrew University, and served as chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

Referring to his published collection of eyewitness testimony and articles in Israel's Hebrew-language press on the brutality of the Zionist occupation (p. 85), Shahak comments:

It should be clear to everybody who reads this collection of testimonies, that the systematic use of the atrocities, which in their intensity and the special intention to humiliate *are* Nazi-like and *should* be compared to the analogous German Nazi methods, is intentional and in fact constitutes the Israeli method for ruling the Palestinians. There cannot be any doubt in my opinion that those Nazi-like methods, in whose effectiveness the stupid Israeli Army top command reposes a blind faith, have been devised by "experts," in this case by the Israeli "Arabists" ... together with the military psychologists. There should be also no doubt that those Nazi-like horrors can and probably will become worse, if not stopped from outside, and their use can lead to actual genocide, whether by a "transfer" [forcible mass expulsion] or by an extermination. Indeed, this is one of my reasons for assembling this collection: to show that the actual genocide of the Palestinians in the territories is now possible ...

As Ellis notes, Israeli treatment of Palestinians includes bringing naked prisoners to open fields for "death parades," tying suspects to electricity poles for hours and harassing them with guard dogs, and the "almost standard" practice of beating fathers in the presence of their children. (p. 85)

'Toward an Inclusive Liturgy of Destruction'

Over the centuries, a divine Jewish liturgy has developed, one that governs the mindset of the Jewish cults. It is comprised of: 1) the sacred center (the burned Temple in 70 A.D.), 2) the sacred person (the death of martyrs), and, 3) the destruction of the holy community (the pogrom). To this has more recently been added: 4) Yom Hashoah (the Day of Holocaust). (pp. 94 f.)

Palestinians are now calling "the Jewish community to account," Ellis reports. A "Palestinian theology of Liberation" has developed among some Palestinian Christian theologians. It challenges Christians in the USA and Europe — who always seem to have bottomless compassion for Jewish persecution — to show a consistent comparable compassion for their fellow Christian Palestinians (as well as with a critical reflection of their enormous power and its consequences).

For their part, Ellis goes on, Jews must admit that they have wronged the Palestinians and that this mistreatment stems from Jewish arrogance and moral superiority. "Jews are becoming everything they protested against." (pp. 125, 129, 131, 132)

'Holocaust, Israel, and Christian Renewal'

In recent decades, Christians have joined Jews in an ecumenical partnership. At the same time, Ellis warns, Christians have thereby become "silent partners to Israeli policy and formed a barrier to an honest critique of the Middle East situation." (p. 134)

Robert McAfee Brown, a prominent American Christian theologian well-known for his marked sensitivity to Jewish concerns, focuses on the problem of Israel as seeming to be special but also to be criticized when its behavior is like that of other nations. Noting that the Torah requires hos-

pitality to the stranger “within the gates,” Brown rhetorically asks why Jews cannot show such concern for the Palestinians. (p. 145)

In their book *Wrath of Jonah* (1989), Christian writers Rosemary and Herman Ruether take on the difficult task of commenting forthrightly about Jewish power while simultaneously trying to avoid being labeled anti-Jewish.

Ellis praises the Ruethers for their “honesty shorn of religious and political mystification.” They call “us” [Jews] to an intriguing and dangerous path, writes Ellis, because Jews and Israel need to move “beyond innocence and redemption.” He asks: “Can there be mutual conversions of Jew, Christian, and Palestinian toward one another?” (p. 155)

'Beyond Innocence and Redemption'

In the view of Jewish writer Roberta Feuerlicht, “Zionists executed the psychological coup of the century by taking Palestine from the Arabs and then pretending [that] Jews were Arab victims.” (p. 158)

Not long after the outbreak of the Palestinian uprising known as the Intifada, Israeli Army Chief of Staff Dan Shomron reportedly declared that the only ways to successfully bring an end to the uprising were “transfer, starvation or physical extermination.” (p. 156)

Ellis asks if there is a path for Jewish people that is not so self-involved as to become idolatrous: “One of the major problems that both Holocaust and neo-orthodox theology share in different ways is a self-defeating self-involvement — a preoccupation, as it were — with being authentically Jewish.” (p. 163).

Elie Wiesel may very well hold the title as the most fanatically obsessed Jewish writer. In his essay, “To Be a Jew,” Wiesel declares that “Whatever he chooses to do, the Jew becomes a spokesman for all Jews, dead and yet to be born, for all beings who live through him and inside him.” (p. 163).

Ellis writes of “the strained arguments, the twisted logic, the shrill voices” of Jews struggling with the fact that “the Holocaust is of course finished and waiting to be interpreted.”

Conclusion

Ellis concludes his book with some challenging remarks. Jews today, he writes, are “confused” about the essential issues, most of all because they accept “the myth of Israel’s weakness.” Jews must now “choose a new direction” — one that leads away from Jewish pride and power, and which leads to confession and humility. A new “solidarity with the Palestinian people,” declares Ellis, must be at the starting point of a redemptive Jewish transformation. (p. 190)

Israel’s empowerment threatens the very foundations of Judaism, argues Ellis. (This recalls the immortal words of Proverbs 16:18: “Pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.”)

Ellis calls for open debate, strong dissent, and the relativizing of dogmatics. He anticipates the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Israel in 1998 as “a forbidding challenge.” Will it see a furthering of expansion of Jewish settlements at the expense of the basic humanity of the Pales-

tinians? Will it see further military adventurism? He insists upon confrontation with Zionism and Holocaust theology as the only way to faithfulness in the Jewish tradition.

In the final pages of his book, Ellis writes:

The task before us to confront that which threatens the foundations of Jewishness, drawing strength from the tradition of dissent and raising up the liturgy of destruction to include both those who persecuted us and those whom Jews persecute today. This is the avenue to critical thought and activity that moves beyond innocence and redemption to recover the ethical tradition at the heart of Judaism.

“What is at stake,” he concludes, “is everything Jews have stood for, struggled for, and suffered for.”

Well and good. But in spite of pretensions to moral consistency, Ellis' analysis is far from perfect.

While he concludes his book with a forthright and admirable call for “a confrontation with state power and the legitimizing force of that power — Zionism and Holocaust theology,” Ellis stops short of fully confronting the ideology of Zionism itself, or of asking skeptical questions about the reality of “the Holocaust.”

Ellis seems to suggest that Jews were first faced with an acute moral dilemma about Israel and Zionism in the aftermath of the 1967 war — in which Israel's military forces quickly vanquished larger Arab armies and seized large tracts of Arab land — or perhaps in the wake of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

But as Jewish historian Alfred Lilienthal has convincingly established (particularly in *The Zionist Connection*), the Zionist “original sin” predates these pivotal events by many years. Long before the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948, Zionist leaders were insisting that the supranational “Jewish people” had a special destiny and mission. This dubious notion has always been fraught with great peril because it implies that Jews will not and must not be accepted as equal citizens anywhere except in a Zionist state of their own.

Moreover, Zionist contempt for the legitimate rights and concerns of native Palestinians predated the 1967 war, and even the founding of the Israeli state.

Zionism is based on the arrogant notion that people whose ancestors had not lived in the Middle East for centuries (if ever) somehow have a greater right to Palestine than the native people whose forefathers had been living there without interruption for centuries. On the face of it, this view is morally bankrupt.

By what right do Jews have to live in the Middle East at all? Does Ellis accept the notion that the Bible gives Jews the right to disposes the native Palestinians? If not, is he willing to accept that Zionist immigration to Palestine in the years between the two world wars (which the British rulers encouraged, or at least tolerated) was wrong? And just how realistic is Ellis' proposed “democratic” Palestinian state, in which Jews and Arabs would live together as equals? In light of the failure of arguably more promising multi-ethnic experiments — such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union — Ellis' vision seems far-fetched and even naive.

And just how real and significant is the Jewish “ethical tradition” that Ellis and other dissident Jewish writers like to cite? Clearly it has not been important enough to stop or even measurably

slow down the full-throttle effort of world Jewry on behalf of Israel, or the campaign that Jewish historian Alfred Lilienthal has rightly called “Holocaustomania.”

All in all, though, this is a important and valuable work. Marc Ellis deserves praise for courageously raising highly important questions, for challenging sacred taboos, and for offering some very helpful — if perhaps unrealistic — solutions.

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Historical news and comment

Reviews of IHR Books Show Greater Acceptance of Revisionism

Books published by the Institute for Historical Review are gaining increasing acceptance, as indicated by reviews that have appeared in reputable journals and newspapers during the last several years. These respectful and often laudatory reviews show that the IHR is increasingly regarded as a legitimate publisher of serious works of history. Some highlights:

How I Survived the A-Bomb, Akira Kohchi's moving memoir, has received critical acclaim both in this country and in the author's homeland. In Japan, where the taboos against historical revisionism are not as stringent as in the United States, that country's leading English-language daily, *The Japan Times*, praised Kohchi's book as a "noteworthy" and "authentic" personal account in a lengthy review published December 11, 1990.

The Bookwatch, a monthly newsletter published by the Midwest Book Review — and distributed to about 600 community libraries in California and about 400 in Wisconsin — similarly praised Kohchi's memoir in its June 1990 issue as "a moving, gripping account." The complete text of the review:

U.N. finance officer Kohchi offers a personal, political and economic review of the atom bombing of Hiroshima as he recounts his survival of the nuclear attack, his observations of the radioactive city's recovery process, and the experiences of being a survivor and handling world reactions and explanations. A moving, gripping account.

Kohchi (Kawachi), a former United Nations finance officer, addressed the October 1990 IHR conference. His memoir was published by the IHR in 1989, and was reviewed in the Spring 1990 issue of the *IHR Journal*.

Leon Degrelle's memoir, *Campaign in Russia: The Waffen SS on the Eastern Front*, was hailed in *Our Town*, a paper serving readers in northern New Jersey (Jan. 9, 1991). Reviewer Wilfred Isepig began by empathizing with readers who might "find repugnant the idea of reading a book written by a man who voluntarily led his countrymen from Belgium into service with Hitler's 'deaths head' SS against the Communist allies of the United States and Britain during World War II." The reviewer then went on to comment:

In years of reading and writing history, this reviewer has never seen a more apt or truthful description of the horror of battle and its harvest of death than Degrelle.

As the focus of the world now turns to the Middle East and the possibilities of war there, it is well to read Degrelle so that we do not grow too fond of the possibility of war, and remember truly its horrors.

Veterans of World War II, Korea and Vietnam will — on reading Degrelle's lines — remember their own experiences and acknowledge how truthfully Degrelle has rendered the horror, panic, brutality and heroism of battle. Politicians should read this book so they realize what they commit the young men and women of their country to when they decide for war.

The message of this “sobering book,” the reviewer concluded, “should be learned by heart by everyone- For the truth it tells about war, read it.”

Campaign in Russia received conditional praise from Matthew Gore of Western Kentucky University's history department in a review published in the *Daily News* of Bowling Green, Nov. 26, 1989. Describing the work as a “valuable first-person narrative of World War II's largest campaign,” Gore added that Degrelle's “prose is quite readable.” “Factually accurate in most respects,” Gore went on, *Campaign In Russia* is “with reservations, [a] useful addition” to the existing literature.

US Army Brigadier General John C. Bahnsen had high praise for Degrelle's *Campaign in Russia* in a review published in the November-December 1986 issue of *Armor: The Magazine of Mobile Warfare* (published by the U.S. government's Department of the Army). Bahnsen first sets the stage with a few words about the author and the Wallonian SS combat formation:

Leon Degrelle rose from private to colonel in the Waffen SS based on his combat exploits and his brave survival on the Eastern front during World War II. This is a soldier's story with all the color and gore of the battlefield mixed extremely well -

Politics aside, this story tells about a legion of Belgian volunteers who fought bravely with Germany to the bitter end ... The Wallonian Legion of volunteers, from all writings, had a sense of duty and a sense of humor in equal amounts. Based on the extraordinary losses suffered in combat, you cannot doubt their idealism.

This story covers 76 months of combat on the Eastern front by Belgian volunteers. Thousands of Belgians enlisted in the German army according to their languages: in a Flemish legion and a Wallonian legion. At first, two battalions; then, in 1943, two brigades; lastly, in 1944, two divisions, the Wallonian Division and the Flemish Langemarck Division.

Concluding his review, Bahnsen writes:

The pace of the writing is fast; the action is graphic, and a warrior can learn things from reading this book. I recommend its reading by students of the art of war. It is well worth the price.

By contrast, a review in the January-February 1987 issue of *Infantry* magazine, “a professional journal for the combined arms team,” dismissed *Campaign in Russia* as a book that “leaves much to be desired.” Reviewer William J. Fanning, Jr., is put off, for example, by the author's “incessant praise for a good 'lost cause'.”

Degrelle's sweeping work, *Hitler: Born at Versailles* (published by the IHR in 1987), was given a respectful if not entirely laudatory appraisal in a review by Ludwig Schaefer of Carnegie Mellon University that appeared in the October 1988 *German Studies Review*, a prominent scholarly journal.

After noting that “sole German guilt [for the First World War] has long been discredited as has the purity of the shapers of the Treaty [of Versailles],” Schaefer expresses the view that “Degrelle’s case, which has some basic merit, would have been better served by a more judicious balancing of the evidence.”

The reviewer goes on: “This said, Degrelle’s style has verve and at times a certain acid humor, notably in the first section of the book on the steps leading to the war. His comments on his childhood in German-occupied Belgium ring true, as do many of his reminiscences of people and events ... This general account often makes for exciting reading.”

Hitler: Born at Versailles was acclaimed in the February 1988 issue of *The Bookwatch*, monthly newsletter of The Midwest Book Review for librarians and other bibliophiles:

A weighty, studious and essential (for Hitler researchers) undertaking [that] utilizes neglected documents and the author’s personal relationship with Hitler to reveal facts and viewpoints not covered in previous ([and] more superficial) Hitler studies. Popular modern myths are refuted, little-known postwar atrocities by the West are exposed, and economic and political maneuvering revealed.

A critical and rather snide review of *Hitler: Born at Versailles* appeared in the Sunday Book Review section of the *Los Angeles Times*, March 13, 1988. In spite of its derisive and inaccurate disparagement of Degrelle’s work as a “fascist interpretation of the history of the 20th Century,” this serious critique by one of the most influential and widely read daily newspapers in the United States is itself a noteworthy indication of growing influence.

Matthew Gore, the university history teacher mentioned earlier, told readers of the Bowling Green *Daily News* (Sunday, January 27, 1991) that “*Hitler: Born at Versailles* is, perhaps, as interesting for its author as it is for its content.” Leon Degrelle is “a romantic figure in a twisted right-wing sort of way. No doubt he would have been held up as a great hero had Germany been victorious in World War II.”

Gore acknowledges that “Degrelle is correct to place a great deal of the blame for the Second [World] War on the First. World War I was a cataclysmic event that left the fabric of Europe tattered, with Germany absent from the great powers. The fault of the war could not be assigned just to the vanquished, yet it was.”

Dr. Arthur Butz’ book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, came under criticism from Matthew Gore in a review in the Bowling Green *Daily News*, October 28, 1990.

According to Gore, Butz argues that “the entire Holocaust was an elaborate propaganda tool of the Allies and Zionists.” For example, he explains, “the astonishing photographs of mass bodies resulted, Butz claims, from the typhus epidemic that swept the camps in 1945.” Without actually saying so, Gore suggests that Butz is wrong on this point. In fact, as any serious researcher can rather easily determine, the Northwestern University associate professor is absolutely correct.

Butz’ book, concludes Gore, is “a most dangerous volume because it appears respectable on the surface.” While it “seems well documented in both primary and secondary source material,” it should be regarded merely as “an interesting study and a valuable document of a bizarre point of view.”

Wilhelm Stäglich’s analysis, *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*, was respectfully reviewed October 17, 1990, on the weekly “Book Shelf” television program, which is produced by

The Midwest Book Review. Reviewer Diane C. Donovan commented:

So many other titles have appeared on this subject that yet another examination might tend to get lost in the shuffle. But Stäglich offers a focus which is unique and startling, and this consideration should not be neglected merely because of a surface likeness to other similarly titled treatises.

Stäglich was a young German officer whose eyewitness experiences and memories challenged postwar revelations about Auschwitz atrocities.

This title is Stäglich's attempt to reconcile his memories of a clean, orderly facility with the horror portrait which emerged at war's end: it gathers documents, testimonies and confessions, and source materials in an effort to support a different view of both Auschwitz experiences and the camp's reputation as a systematic extermination center.

Any who are concerned with World War II experiences and atrocities will want to read this with an open mind: it gathers more than personal opinion and creates a startlingly different view of Auschwitz which should, at the least, be considered.

The Forced War, Dr. David Hoggan's monumental examination of the origins of the Second World War, was given a respectful review by Diane C. Donovan, West coast representative of *The Midwest Book Review*:

Diplomatic historian Hoggan presents a weighty Revisionist study of the origins of World War II which defines the climate and influences upon Germany's role in the war.

Failures in international cooperation, European nations' internal power policies and attitudes toward Germany, and Hitler's peaceful intentions, as well as influences on other European nations' internal affairs are documented.

Hoggan reveals that Hitler sought peaceful revisionism of the borders imposed on Germany at Versailles, presenting extensive documented research to support his claims.

Hoggan's *Forced War* was the subject of a thoughtful and generally laudatory review by Stephen J. Sniegowski in the Summer 1991 issue of *Reflections*, a Roman Catholic periodical. Sniegowski, who holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Maryland, has contributed articles and reviews to *Chronicles*, *The World and I*, and other scholarly journals.

The Forced War, writes Sniegowski, "is the most comprehensive and audacious revisionist account of the origins of World War II. It rejects the near-universal assumption that the aggressive policy of Hitlerian Germany was the sole cause of the Second World War in Europe."

Sniegowski goes on:

Originally published in 1961 in West Germany as *Der Erzwungene Krieg*, this book gained instant notoriety in that country although it was lambasted by the German political and academic establishments. No English-language press dared to publish this taboo-shattering history for over two decades. The book's American publisher, the Institute for Historical Review, specializes in promoting controversial books on World War II.

Sniegoski is fair in summarizing the book's argument:

Hoggan claims that Hitler's ambitions were limited to making Germany the preeminent power in Central Europe. Hitler did not seek world conquest, according to Hoggan, and his policies did not threaten Britain, the British empire, or Western Europe.

Leading British policymakers, however, opposed German hegemony in Central Europe on the basis of Britain's traditional balance of power policy ... To achieve the goal [a pretext for war], Britain, in March 1939, gave Poland an unconditional guarantee of its border with Germany, and later promised that it would support Poland in any conflict with Germany. Britain, however, had neither the intent nor the capability of actually defending Poland militarily... -

Hitler's demands on Poland, Hoggan emphasizes, were quite moderate. Hitler sought the return of the Free City of Danzig (detached from Germany by the Versailles Treaty) to the Reich, and German transit rights across the Polish Corridor ... In return, Hitler pledged to allow the continuation of Polish economic privileges in Danzig and to guarantee the Polish boundary with Germany ...

Emboldened by British promises, Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Beck was unwilling to make an effort to reach an understanding with Germany. Having an exaggerated view of Polish military capabilities, Beck even thought that a war with Germany would allow for Polish territorial gains.

It was Poland's aggressive intransigence, which included the persecution of the German minority in Poland, that ultimately led to war. Without the British pledge of support, however, Poland would not have been so bold, nor would a local conflict have escalated into a major war.

In Sniegoski's view:

Much can be said for Hoggan's thesis, and he backs it up with a massive amount of material, but it is not completely convincing ... Had Hitler truly sought peace, he should have avoided even the appearance of aggressiveness.

In conclusion, Hoggan goes too far in exonerating Germany of guilt for the onset of World War II. But he does provide a needed antidote to the usual portrayal of exclusive German responsibility for the war. Responsibility for the outbreak of World War II is not a simple black-and-white matter, but should be pictured in shades of gray.

In a scathingly hostile review of *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, Prof. Henry Huttenbach of the City College of New York expressed alarm at what he regards as the great danger of Holocaust Revisionism for the Jewish people. His review appeared in the September-October 1984 issue of *Martyrdom and Resistance*, mouthpiece of the New York based International Society of Yad Vashem. The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry, Walter N. Sanning's carefully researched statistical analysis of the "six million" question, was first published by the IHR in 1983.

"The danger of this book (and of those that will doubtlessly follow)," Huttenbach warns, "is its clever veneer of scholarship. The bibliography is international in scope and the text has the panache of objectivity." Furthermore, he goes on,

It does not read like a shrill polemic, but has all the superficial attributes of a factual analysis. Not one in a thousand undergraduate students could find fault with it; only a few more graduates would be competent to identify its flaws and to convincingly question its credibility. The ultimate danger lies in the lack of a serious response to this continuing wave of attacks on history itself.

Huttenbach then seems to suggest that illegal and perhaps even violent measures should be taken against this “danger to the Jewish people”:

If this campaign to defame the Holocaust, to disprove and deny it, is to be fought at all, it must be done off campus and handled by those who understand that propaganda, vicious but well organized and generally financed propaganda, can best be fought by other than academic means. What these must be is not the subject of this review. It can only raise the topic and stress its urgency in the hopes that others will accept the challenge as they recognize the danger to the Jewish people as a whole.

Under the headline “Historia Pogromu — pogrom historii” (“History of a pogrom — a pogrom against history”), a highly critical review of the IHR book, *Flashpoint: Kristallnacht 1938* by Ingrid Weckert appeared in the November 16, 1991, issue of *Nowy Dziennik*, the leading Polish-language daily newspaper in the United States.

The new IHR edition of George Morgenstern’s classic study, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War* was given a laudatory review in the Summer 1992 issue of the *Journal of Civil Defense* (published by the American Civil Defense Association of Starke, Florida).

“When the book was [first] published at the end of 1946,” notes reviewer Stephen Sharro, “it prompted a firestorm of controversy. The central issue was the extent to which the Roosevelt administration allowed the attack on Pearl Harbor to happen in order to overcome public resistance to becoming involved in another world war.” Sharro goes on:

The popular history of America’s role in World War II naturally emphasizes the struggle and the ultimate success the Allies achieved. What is frequently forgotten is the great opposition that many Americans felt in 1941 to becoming involved in another European war that did not seem likely to directly affect the United States.

Morgenstern’s book has now been reprinted in conjunction with the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor. In light of Watergate, Irangate, and perhaps the October surprise, we are more jaded today, more cynical, and more willing to accept the possibility that a politician of Roosevelt’s stature might do what Morgenstern implies.

For those who are still excited by this controversy, the book will be fascinating. It is well written, even scholarly. For the most part the facts contained in the book have never been refuted.

While these reviews suggest that the IHR’s influence is growing, they do not reflect the actual impact of the IHR and Revisionism. As readers of the *IHR Newsletter* and *Journal* know, Revisionist books are often subject to boycott, media blackout, and blacklist. In some cases, bigoted reviewers, distributors and librarians categorically refuse to handle Revisionist works.

And yet, as the reviews cited here indicate, IHR books are like seeds that, in some cases at least, are taking root in fertile minds.

All of the books cited in this article are available from the IHR:

- *Why I Survived the A-Bomb*; Hardcover, 230 pp., \$19.95
- *Campaign in Russia*; Hardcover, 350 pp., \$17.95
- *Hitler: Born at Versailles*; Hardcover, 535 pp., \$24.95
- *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*; Softcover, 369 pp., \$9.95
- *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*; Hardcover, 386 pp., \$19.95. Softcover, \$11.95
- *The Forced War*; Hardcover, 900 pp., \$35.00
- *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*; Softcover, 239 pp., \$12.95
- *Flashpoint*; Softcover, 180 pp., \$15.95
- *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*; Softcover, 425 pp., \$14.95

(Please add 10 percent for packing and shipping costs. California residents: please also add 7.75 percent sales tax.)

Source: vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 240-243.

Historical news and comment

Revisionism in Croatia: Croatia's President Rejects 'Six Million' Story

While Holocaust Revisionism is suppressed in some countries, in Croatia it has official support from the highest level. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman publicly rejects the “Six Million” Holocaust story.

In a 500-page book entitled *Bespuca — Povjesne Zbiljnosti* ("Wastelands — Historical Truth"), which was published in 1988, and republished in 1989 and again in 1990, Tudjman comments in some detail on Second World War history. About the familiar Holocaust story he writes:

The estimated loss of up to six million [Jewish] dead is founded too much on both emotional, biased testimonies and on exaggerated data in the postwar reckonings of war crimes and squaring of accounts with the defeated — In the mid'80s, world Jewry still has the need to recall its “holocaust” by trying to prevent the election of the former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim as president of Austria!

Tudjman, who worked for many years as a university history professor, also suggests that many wartime Jewish deaths would not have occurred if German armed forces had prevailed over the Soviet Union, allowing for a “territorial solution” to the Jewish question such as a “reservation” in eastern Poland or in Madagascar. (*The New Republic*, Nov. 25, 1991, pp. 16, 18.; *Die Presse*, Vienna, Jan. 28, 1992.)

Tudjman reaffirmed his Revisionist outlook in a recent interview with Canadian television: “With regard to Jews, I'm inclined to agree with those scholars in the world who say that the figure of six million is exaggerated.” (*The New Republic*, Jan. 20, 1992, p. 5.)

Tudjman's views are all the more noteworthy because they are by someone who cannot be regarded as a “Nazi” or “fascist.” During the Second World War he fought against Croatia's pro-German Ustashe regime as a general in Tito's partisan army.

Tudjman readily acknowledges that Jews suffered “terrible hardships” during the war years. But, he adds, “the Jewish people soon afterward became so brutal and conducted a genocidal policy toward the Palestinians that they can rightly be defined as Judeo-Nazis.”

In light of the harsh anti-Jewish policies of the wartime Croatian state, it is hardly surprising that Israel and Jews around the world have not been particularly friendly toward the new Croatia. In an effort to offset this bitter legacy, Tudjman sent a conciliatory letter to World Jewish Congress president Edgar Bronfman. “We deeply regret the tragic burden of the Holocaust that was endured by the Jewish people on Croatian territory,” Tudjman wrote. (*Die Presse*, Vienna, Jan. 28, 1992.)

He has also sought to relieve the fears of Croatia's Jewish community. Indeed, the country's Jewish leaders have applauded Tadjman and his government for its unequivocal condemnation of neo-fascism.

In spite of such gestures, Tadjman's Revisionist statements may ultimately prove to be politically too costly. In that case, he may be obliged to "recognize reality" and repudiate them.

Tadjman also writes in his book about Jasenovac, a concentration camp run by the wartime Croatian government. Orthodox historians have insisted for decades that "at least 700,000" people were killed there. According to an estimate cited by American Holocaust historian Nora Levin, for example, 770,000 Serbs, 40,000 Gypsies and 20,000 Jews were put to death in Jasenovac. (N. Levin, *The Holocaust*, 1973, p. 515.)

Croats have long maintained that about 60,000 perished in the camp, but Tadjman reckons that even this figure is too high. The most probable figure, he maintains, is between 30,000 and 40,000. Moreover, he goes on, Jewish inmates were largely responsible for the killings there. (*The New Republic*, Nov. 25, 1991, pp. 16, 18.; *Die Presse*, Vienna, Jan. 28, 1992.)

The anti-Croatian guerrillas — whether Tito's Communist "partisans" or Drazha Mihailovic's Royalist "Chetniks" — had no "death camps" before the war's end, because they normally murdered their captives. (The lucky ones were shot out of hand.) Tito's Communist forces — which were backed by the United States and Britain — carried out mass killings of German prisoners of war and native "collaborators" (most of them Croatian "Ustashe" soldiers and Slovenes) both during the war and in the period just afterwards.

Historians have estimated that Tito's forces shot between 70,000 and 100,000 people without trial within weeks of the war's end. (A few scholars have estimated that there may have been as many as 500,000 victims.) Most of these were people who had been trying to flee from Tito's grasp. Instead of finding freedom, though, they were forcibly returned by British troops from detention camps in Austria, or were turned back at the border by British occupation forces in southern Austrian and northern Italy.

One of the Tito execution sites was Sosice, located about 40 miles west of the Croatian capital of Zagreb. An estimated 40,000 people — many of them sick and wounded — were put to death there. It wasn't until 1990 that the grisly details of the Sosice killings finally emerged from 45 years of suppression. ("Pile of Bones in Yugoslavia," *New York Times*, July 9, 1990.; "Yugoslav Killing Fields," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 4, 1990.)

In recent articles about Croatia, American newspapers and magazines frequently refer to the Second World War Croatian government of Ante Pavelic as a dictatorial regime that was a "puppet" of Hitler's Third Reich. This is not accurate. The vast majority of Croats welcomed and strongly supported Pavelic's wartime "Independent State of Croatia." If any regime in the region might properly be called a German "puppet," it would be the wartime Serbian government of Milan Nedic.

Meanwhile, Croatian television has reportedly decided that it will no longer broadcast motion pictures that depict Germans as evil Nazis or aggressors. In light of wartime Germany's staunch support for Croatian freedom, the television announced, showing such films would be in "poor taste." (*Der Standard*, Vienna, Jan. 4, 1992)

Source: vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 243f.

Historical news and comment

War Atrocity Propaganda Exposed

A tearful account of Iraqi barbarism, which stunned millions of Americans and fueled popular enthusiasm for war against Saddam Hussein's regime, has now been definitively exposed as a propaganda hoax.

In testimony before a U.S. congressional committee, October 10, 1990, a young Kuwaiti woman, publicly identified only as "Nayirah," tearfully claimed to have personally seen Iraqi soldiers storm into a Kuwait hospital and brutally remove 15 babies from incubators, leaving them "on the cold floor to die." Her moving testimony enraged millions of Americans, who saw it broadcast and re-broadcast on television, and was cited later by seven U.S. Senators in speeches they gave in support of their decision to authorize American military action against Iraq in the "desert storm" Gulf War.

As it turns out, the emotionally powerful testimony was a sham. The young woman never witnessed the alleged atrocity, and "Nayirah" is actually the daughter of Kuwait's ambassador in Washington, Sheik Saud al Nasir al Sabah, a member of Kuwait's ruling clan. Her testimony was part of an extensive public relations blitz organized by the large Washington-based public relations firm of Hill and Knowlton. The PR campaign was financed with millions of dollars from Kuwait's government in exile.

Independent human rights investigators were later unable to confirm the widely circulated atrocity story. After an investigation in April 1991, an Amnesty International spokesman said: "We became convinced — that the story about babies dying in this way did not happen on the scale that was initially reported, if, indeed, it happened at all."

More reprehensible than the young woman's testimony was the deceit of U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), who chaired the committee hearing. Although he knew that the young woman was actually the ambassador's daughter when he encouraged her fraudulent testimony, Lantos said nothing. (His deception has been confirmed by the *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 1992, and in a CBS "60 Minutes" television broadcast, January 19.) It is no coincidence that Lantos also happens to be one of Capitol Hill's most vehement Zionists and vociferous Holocaust campaigners.

Of course, this particular Kuwaiti propaganda story has obvious parallels with atrocity tales from earlier wars, including Holocaust propaganda accounts of millions of Jews gassed to death, soap bars made from human corpses, "steam chamber" extermination, mass electrocutions, and so forth.

One of the most compelling works ever written about war propaganda is *Falsehood in Wartime*, a short but very readable work in which British MP Arthur Ponsonby dissects the most important First World War propaganda myths. A new IHR paperback edition of this classic work, with a foreword especially written for this edition, is available from the IHR for \$6.95, plus \$2.00 shipping. A more detailed overview of the sordid but fascinating history of war propaganda is Phillip Knightley's 468-page work, *The First Casualty*, which is available in paperback from the IHR for \$17.95, plus \$2.00 shipping.

Source: vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 245-252.

Letters

“PAPPY” BOYINGTON AND THE “FLYING TIGERS” EPISODE

To the Editor:

With regard to your item in the Spring *Journal*, “Roosevelt’s Secret Pre-War Plan to Bomb Japan,” it is worth mentioning the experiences related by Gregory “Pappy” Boyington in his memoir, *Baa, Baa Black Sheep*. The Marine fighter pilot, who was a notorious womanizer and drinker, relates how amused he was when, during the sea journey to Asia to join the “Flying Tigers” squadron, he masqueraded, at the government’s demand, as a minister. He also relates that while ostensibly flying for the Chinese, he was on the U.S. military payroll.

While Dr. Wesslerle has written a very provocative sketch, “The New World Order,” I believe he has touched too many bases. With his knowledge and writing ability, it might have been better if he had written a more narrowly focused account that dealt, for example, with American carnage in the Gulf war.

I hope all of you keep up your good work.

John R. McLaren, M.D.
Atlanta, Ga.

NEW THREAT AGAINST FREE SPEECH IN AUSTRALIA

To the Editor:

Jim Kennan, Attorney General of Victoria (Australia), announced in March his intention to work for a new “racial vilification” act. We have good reason to believe that, if enacted, this law would be used to try to suppress Historical Revisionism, with the usual pretext that anyone who questions the “official” Holocaust story must be punished as “racist” and “anti-Semitic.”

We encourage interested persons to write to Kennan to urge that freedom of discussion and inquiry be upheld with regard to all aspects of Second World War history, including the Holocaust issue. (Kennan’s address: The Attorney-General’s Dept., ACI House, 200 Queen Street, Melbourne, Vic. 3000, Australia.)

Geoff. Muirden, Secretary
Australian Civil Liberties Union
P.O. Box 1137
Carlton, Vic. 3053, Australia

THE HOLOCAUST ISSUE IN CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

To the Editor:

[With regard to the] political situation in South Africa and the Holocaust and the New World Order: I have recently for the first time openly referred to the above matters in important circles.

The fact that two prestigious U.S. newspapers [in recent editorials in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*] have taken the stand that students at universities should investigate these matters for themselves is a breakthrough after many years of toil, trouble and sweat on your part, and the way is now open for us to freely draw the attention of people in ever widening circles to the “hoax of the 20th century.”

South Africa is entering a time of troubles, and those of us who understand the forces that are ranged against us require only the facts and the proof, and the rest is then up to us.

It is very gratifying indeed to note how the truth of revisionism is breaking through.

Please accept our deepest appreciation for the great job you and your associates are doing.

Louis F. Stofberg
Member of Parliament for Sasolburg,
House of Assembly, Cape Town, South Africa

REMEMBERING AUSCHWITZ

To the Editor:

I was born in Czechoslovakia. Before I moved from Norway to Canada in the summer of 1968, I met several Czech refugees who had been inmates at Auschwitz. They were quite familiar with conditions in the camp, and they emphatically denied that “abuses” of any kind had been carried out against the inmates by the German camp personnel. Insofar as there were abuses, they said, these were carried out by inmates who acted when the German camp personnel were not able to intervene to prevent them.

Some of these former inmates were familiar with Rudolf Vrba and his “memoir” about Auschwitz, *I Cannot Forgive*. They agreed that Vrba had given in to pressures and had lied about the “extermination gas chambers” and similar stories.

In particular I should mention Mrs. Anna Kvapilova, who knew Vrba personally during the time they were both interned in Auschwitz. She was especially bitter about his lies. In Auschwitz Mrs. Kvapilova had been a sort of “Capo,” a prisoner overseer. She had distinguished herself by helping and aiding Norwegian women who were interned there. She returned to Czechoslovakia after the end of the war, but after the Communist putsch in 1948, she was warned by Western intelligence that she was on a list of persons to be arrested by the Communists in Prague. They therefore provided a guide to help her escape across the border into West Germany, from where she made her way to Norway. That’s where I got to know her.

A truly remarkable person of the highest caliber, she was regarded with affection and admiration by all who knew her. She held important and influential official positions in several organizations in Norway, including a post with the High Commissioner for Refugees, a United Nations agency.

Over the years I have met numerous former inmates of German wartime camps, but never a single one who believed that extermination “gassings” ever took place. Many former inmates have told me of the high standards of the German camp personnel, and attested to the good organization, procedures and orderliness in all of the camps.

Jaromir J. Dan
P. O. Box 948
Helena, Mont. 59624

THE FATE OF AN AUSCHWITZ RESISTANT

To the Editor:

Thank you for publishing the informative essay by Enrique Aynat, “Auschwitz and the Exile Government of Poland,” in the Fall 1991 *Journal*. The essay mentions Witold Pilecki, the Polish officer who organized an underground Resistance network in Auschwitz while he was a prisoner there. Readers may perhaps be interested to know about Pilecki’s tragic fate after he escaped from the camp in 1943.

After taking part as an officer in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, he was captured by the Germans and thus once again came into German custody. After the end of the war he lived for a few months in Italy, where he wrote a memoir.

In late 1945 he returned to his Polish homeland where he was arrested as an officer of the Polish resistance movement by the Soviet-controlled government. Pilecki was tried by a Communist court in 1948, sentenced to death, and executed in a Warsaw prison. His family was not permitted to bury his corpse.

My source for this information is an article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (Jan. 28, 1980) and two follow-up letters by Polish readers (Feb. 20 and March 21, 1980). I am enclosing photocopies.

Hans Wahls
Cologne, Germany

A DOUBLE STANDARD

To the Editor:

The campaign by Bradley Smith, media representative of the IHR and director of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust, to place advertisements in student newspapers calling for open debate on the Holocaust issue points up a double standard that seems to prevail in much of the American media.

Consider this:

Rabbi Avahram Toledano, head of the Jewish-supremacist “Kach” movement founded by the late Meir Kahane, recently conducted a lecture tour in the U.S. and Canada. Toledano advocates the forcible mass expulsion of Arabs from “greater Israel.” He told a Heights Jewish Center meeting on November 14, 1991, that Arabs would be forced out of Israel. In response to the question, “What would the nations of the world say to Israel’s expulsion of Arabs?,” Toledano said: “I don’t know and I don’t care. We are proud to be Jews and to have a Jewish State.” (*Cleveland Jewish News*, Nov. 22, 1991.)

In spite of his intolerant views, Toledano was given a respectful public forum in prominent Jewish synagogues throughout North America. In Cleveland, for example, his lecture was announced beforehand in the city’s main Jewish community paper. (*Cleveland Jewish News*, Nov. 8, 1991, p. 12).

(This is nothing new. While he was still alive, this same paper also routinely announced the lecture appearances of Kahane, who was sentenced in 1975 to one year imprisonment as a result of his terrorist activities.)

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which is so alert to every expression of real and imagined anti-Semitism, has never protested against the advertisements in the *Cleveland Jewish News* announcing the appearances of Toledano and Kahane. Nor does the Zionist group condemn Rabbi Toledano’s message of hate.

At the same time, though, “the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is urging college newspapers to reject ads by individuals or groups denying the reality of the Holocaust” (RNS dispatch of Nov. 27, 1991, in *Christian News*, Dec. 9, 1991, p. 16). To show that it means business, an ADL official was sent to the University of Texas to make sure that the student paper there did not publish Smith’s ad. (*Houston Chronicle*, Dec. 19, 1991.)

While the ADL insists that the Holocaust issue is “not debatable” (*Christian News*, Dec. 9, 1991, p. 16), and works to deny Revisionists a public forum, this same organization seemingly has no problem with advertisements in Jewish community papers by militant Zionists who demand brutal forcible expulsion of Arabs.

While it is true that the ADL has occasionally condemned the Kach movement and its views, neither the ADL nor any of the other prominent Jewish (and non-Jewish) groups that want to silence Smith have ever tried to deny a forum to arrogant supremacists like Toledano.

In Toronto, Toledano told an enthusiastic crowd of more than 300 at the Shaarii Tefilah synagogue: “The Jewish state, the Jewish land, belongs only to the Jewish people. There is no room for a people that doesn’t recognize Jewish sovereignty.” (*The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, July 1991, p. 58.) That’s in the same city where GermanCanadian publisher Ernst Zündel was put on trial and sentenced to imprisonment for publishing a booklet that questions the Holocaust extermination story.

Consider the utter hypocrisy here. It is legal in Canada for a militant Rabbi to openly put call for the expulsion of Arabs from Israel, an action that would cause horrible hardship and suffering for millions of people. Yet, it is a crime for a Gentile to present valid evidence showing that the “Holocaust” is not all it’s cracked up to be.

Given this hypocritical double standard, it’s hard to believe that even a single student newspaper in Canada would dare publish Smith’s call for open debate on the Holocaust.

In a January 15, 1992, editorial, *The New York Times* castigated Smith's Revisionist views as "trash" and "ugliness." (The *Times* did not permit readers to judge Smith's words for themselves by publishing his advertisement.)

But in its issue of February 12, 1991, the *Times* published a letter that seriously argued that St. Paul, the Christian apostle who wrote much of the New Testament, was a deluded epileptic. Similarly, in the issue of March 9, 1991, *Times* editors published a letter insinuating that St. Paul was a homosexual. On another page of that same issue appeared an article that reported sympathetically on the "Jesus Seminar," a group of intellectuals that claims that much of the New Testament is grossly inaccurate or a patchwork of fabrications. The *Times* made no editorial condemnation of these views.

While simplistically dismissing the views of Holocaust Revisionists as "trash" and "ugliness," this highly influential pro-Zionist paper has no qualms about providing a forum, and thus a measure of support, for views that are patently offensive to millions of Christians.

Paul Grubach
Lyndhurst, Ohio

REFLECTIONS ON A DEATH

To the Editor:

On the morning of May 12, I was called to inform me of the demise the previous day (night) of Pete Kuetzing. I am having a lot of trouble with that, and still can hardly believe it.

I had talked with Pete at some length a week earlier, and he had expressed great confidence in the progress of his medical treatment. As part of my regular routine, I read thousands of obituaries every year, but I must admit that an occasional one, especially of someone I consider young, vastly disturbs me.

I think it safe to observe that Pete did extremely valuable editing work on the first Noontide edition of the Rassinier work [currently available as an IHR book under the title *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*], and was a most sturdy supporter of revisionism for a considerable time — but unofficially as a consideration of his occupation. (I have been told that my review of Rassinier's book in the Oct. 9, 1978, issue of *The Spotlight* is still the only real review the book ever received.)

Profound disbelievers such as Paul Rassinier and Harry Elmer Barnes might have smiled a bit to see [a new edition of] Rassinier's book come out with an introduction by a theologian [Dr. Robert Countess]. One does not have to tread the sawdust trail to be a Holocaust revisionist, though a disbelieving temperament surely helps, as the Holocaustians have turned the whole thing into a new religion anyway.

To me there is a close relation between a racket like this one and spiritualism, for example. Holocaust zealots trap their revisionist critics in much the same way that the spiritualists treated their scoffers during their heyday (roughly 1890-1930). When Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle were busy spreading the spiritualist message far and wide, they encountered the razzberry from doubters. Instead of proving that the levitating tables, the moaning voices and the wavering auras of the deceased were genuine, the spiritualists simply demanded that their skeptics prove otherwise.

The “Hoaxers” do much the same thing: the more outrageous of the Holocaust atrocities they endlessly circulate don’t have to be proven. Instead, it is up to those who deny they happened to prove that they did not. When we write about the October 1871 fire that burned down Chicago, I am glad that we don’t have to prove at the same time that Pittsburgh and Baltimore were not also consumed in flames. One of these days I should try to get a foundation to underwrite a trip to central Africa. After returning I would announce that I had encountered a tribe of talking monkeys, and then challenge anyone who does not believe me to prove otherwise.

It’s absorbing to watch two more Versailles mistakes — Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia — coming apart, while contemporary *Journalists* are apparently in total ignorance of the antecedents of the current situation. Or perhaps they believe that modern imbecility cannot handle that whole burden of history.

Henry David Thoreau used to be quoted as saying that it took two to tell the truth: one to speak it and one to hear it. But I am afraid that things have reached the point where this is almost unattainable.

James J. Martin
Colorado Springs, Col.

The Editor welcomes letters from readers. Ideally, letters should be no more than about 500 words in length. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

Source: vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 260-263.

From the Editor

We begin this issue with another IHR exclusive. Published here for the first time anywhere are copies of inmate death certificates from the long-hidden Auschwitz camp death registry volumes.

These documents, which remained inaccessible in Soviet archives for more than 40 years, disprove the widely repeated myth that all Jewish inmates in Auschwitz who were too old or otherwise not able to work were promptly put to death, and that their deaths were not recorded.

We introduce a selection of facsimile reproductions of a number of these certificates with an essay that explains their significance.

We are grateful for the support of Revisionist researchers and activists in foreign countries, without whose help these documents — which strike yet another powerful blow against the Holocaust extermination story — could not have been published.

Today, nearly almost half a century after his death in embattled Berlin, the extraordinary personality and dramatic career of Adolf Hitler continues to fascinate millions around the world.

“Ever since V-E day, the swastika has worked like an underwriter’s lab seal of approval in Hollywood; Hitler makes anything high concept,” a writer for the leftist New York weekly *Village Voice* recently commented. “In fact,” he went on:

cable [television] already has an ad hoc Hitler Channel. Between them, the Arts & Entertainment Network and The Discovery Channel program at least six hours of military programming in prime time every week (more if you count reruns, specials, movies and late-night miscellany), much of it World War II-themed ... The immense and cost-effective pool of war documentaries has made Adolf Hitler one of the most recognizable personalities on A&E and TDC.

“Hitler,” the *Voice* writer sums up, “remains the epic figure of evil in the national psyche, and World War II the certification of America’s world dominance.” (Mark Schone, “The Hitler Parade,” *Village Voice*, May 5, 1992.)

In spite of all that has been published over the years, “How was Hitler possible?” remains one of the most endlessly intriguing questions of our age. Was his power based on ruthless terror and tyranny, or did he enjoy genuine popular support? And, if the latter was true, what was the basis of his support? Did he, as some historians argue, seduce or “hypnotize” the Germans with emotional but empty propaganda and base appeals to prejudice?

How could the German people support a man who — if one accepts the portrayals in the American mass media — was so obviously evil and maniacal? Or are the Germans themselves demented?

In our next article, Leon Degrelle provides answers to the riddle of Hitler's success in neutralizing his political opposition and in consolidating power in one of the world's most cultured and politically sophisticated countries.

Citing an impressive array of figures and facts, Degrelle argues persuasively that the secret of Hitler's success lay in his astonishing ability to provide real solutions to the massive and seemingly insurmountable economic, social and political problems that plagued Germany when he took power in January 1933.

Degrelle's article constitutes the first six chapters of *Hitler and the Germans*, which will be volume three of a projected multi-volume series that is being published by the IHR. *Hitler: Born at Versailles* (available in hardback for \$24.95, plus \$2.00 shipping) is the first book of this series of major historical works.

Although Degrelle is an unapologetic admirer of Hitler, the Belgian historian's explanation of how Hitler was able to consolidate his power in Germany is an informed and intelligent interpretation that deserves thoughtful consideration.

Degrelle's writing is also a useful antidote to the readily available books about Hitler and the Third Reich that, in spite of their length and apparent erudition, lack balance and contain numerous errors of both interpretation and fact.

Consider three of the most prominent:

- *Hitler*, an 844-page biography by German historian Joachim C. Fest,
- *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, a much-lauded 848-page biography by British historian Alan Bullock that is assigned reading in numerous American college and university history courses, and
- *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, a 1245-page work by American journalist William L. Shirer that can be found in just about every U.S. public library.

Although widely regarded as an accurate account, few readers realize just how littered with historical duds Shirer's very one-sided book really is. For example, *Rise and Fall* upholds the now thoroughly discredited historical lie that Hitler's stormtroopers set fire to the Reichstag building in February 1933. (See: Fritz Tobias, *The Reichstag Fire*, New York: 1964.)

Shirer, Bullock and Fest quote extensively from the "revelations" of Herman Rauschning. Supposedly based on private conversations, the numerous "revealing" quotations attributed to Hitler by Rauschning apparently prove the German leader's dishonesty, duplicity and brutality. In fact, the often-cited quotations are entirely invented. Rauschning never had even a single private conversation with Hitler. (See: IHR *Journal*, Fall 1983, pp. 378 ff.; H. W. Koch, *Aspects of the Third Reich*, pp. 13 f.)

Similarly, Shirer, Bullock and Fest confidently cite the "Hossbach protocol" account of a high-level conference of German officials held in Berlin on November 5, 1937. During this meeting, Hitler supposedly revealed his plans for aggression against his neighbors. At the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, Allied prosecutors repeatedly cited the Hossbach account as a key piece of evidence proving the bellicose nature of Hitler's foreign policy.

Neither Fest, Shirer nor Bullock lets his reader know that the Hossbach account is a fraud, as Revisionist scholars such as British historian A.J.P. Taylor established years ago. (See: Dankwart

Kluge, *Das Hossbach-Protokoll*, 1980.; IHR *Journal*, Fall 1983, p. 372 ff.; A.J.P. Taylor, *An Old Man's Diary*, London: 1984, p. 154.)

Both Bullock and Shirer quote at length from the April 5, 1946 “affidavit” of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Hss (Nuremberg document [3868-PS](#)), citing it as crucial evidence for the alleged German program to exterminate Europe’s Jews. That this “affidavit” contains blatant and easily demonstrable falsehoods is hardly surprising in light of the fact that it was obtained by torture. (See: Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death*, England: 1983, pp. 235 ff.; IHR *Journal*, Winter 1986-1987, pp. 389 ff.)

Fest, Bullock and Shirer — in contrast to Degrelle — minimize or ignore the reality of Hitler’s impressive social achievements. Shirer argues — contrary to fact — that these social accomplishments were merely an incidental by-product of militarization and economic preparations for war.

We conclude this *Journal* issue with an eye-opening article by American historian John Ries that tells the little-known story of the sinkings in 1945 of three vessels: the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, the *General Steuben* and the *Goya*. Although not as well known as maritime disasters like the sinkings of the *Lusitania* or the *Titanic*, the sinkings of each of these German vessels was a much greater naval catastrophe. As Ries' definitive article establishes, the sinkings of the *Gustloff* and the *Goya* are — in terms of lives lost — the greatest naval catastrophes in history.

Setting straight the record about this relatively minor aspect of history points up the magnitude of the challenge we face in establishing the truth about larger historical issues.

Pages From The Auschwitz Death Registry Volumes

Long-Hidden Death Certificates Discredit Extermination Claims

Mark Weber

Over the years, Holocaust historians and standard Holocaust studies have consistently maintained that Jewish prisoners who arrived at Auschwitz between the spring of 1942 and the fall of 1944, and who were not able to work, were immediately put to death. Consistent with the alleged German program to exterminate Europe's Jews, only able-bodied Jews who could be "worked to death" were temporarily spared from the gas chambers. Holocaust historians also agree that no records were kept of the deaths of the Jews who were summarily killed in the camp's gas chambers because they were too old, too young or otherwise unable to work. [1]

However, Auschwitz camp death records — which were hidden away for more than 40 years in the Soviet Union — cast grave doubt on these widely accepted claims.

Inmate deaths at Auschwitz were carefully recorded by the camp authorities on certificates that were bound in dozens of death registry volumes. Each "death book" (*Sterbebuch*) contains hundreds of death certificates. Each certificate meticulously records numerous revealing details, including the deceased person's full name, profession and religion, date and place of birth, pre-Auschwitz residence, parents' names, time of death, and cause of death as determined by a camp physician.

These death registry volumes are designated as "secondary books" (*Zweitbücher*), suggesting the existence of a still-inaccessible set of "primary books."

The death registry volumes fell into Soviet hands in January 1945 when Red Army forces captured Auschwitz. They remained inaccessible in Soviet archives until 1989, when officials in Moscow announced that they held 46 of the volumes, recording the deaths of 69,000 Auschwitz inmates.

These 46 volumes partially cover the years 1941, 1942 and 1943. There are just two or three volumes for the year 1941, and none at all for the years 1944 or 1945. [2] It is not clear why so many volumes are still missing. According to informed International Red Cross officials, the most likely explanation is that they were misplaced by the Soviets, and might therefore turn up later. (There is no indication that Auschwitz camp authorities made any effort to destroy any of the volumes.) [3]

"No one seems to know yet what become of the numerous missing volumes," the journal *Red Cross, Red Crescent* has reported. "Are they still gathering dust in one of the numerous archives throughout the [former] USSR? Anything is possible, but this last hypothesis seems most likely. The mere thought that there are more than 3,250 archival centers in the USSR is enough make anyone's head spin." [4]

Russian officials have permitted an agency of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) — the International Tracing Service in Arolsen, Germany — to make copies of the 69,000 death certificates. Microfilm copies of the documents have reportedly also been given to the American Red Cross, and the original volumes have been turned over to the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland.

Although archive officials have not permitted independent researchers to freely examine and evaluate the death registry volumes, the IHR recently obtained copies of 127 of the death certificates from German journalist and researcher Wolfgang Kempkens, who obtained copies of more than 800 of them from sources in Poland and Russia.

Published here — to our knowledge for the first time anywhere — are facsimile reproductions of 30 of these certificates. (Because of the *Journal's* page size, the documents reproduced here are reduced to 55 percent of original size.)

In selecting which certificates to reproduce here, preference has been given to those recording the deaths of Jewish prisoners who were indisputably too old to have been able to work.

Consistent with the *Sterbebuch* records, other German wartime documents show that a very high percentage of the Jewish inmates at Auschwitz were not able to work, and were nevertheless not killed. [5]

For example, an internal German telex message dated September 4, 1943, from the chief of the Labor Allocation department of the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office (WVHA), reported that of 25,000 Jewish inmates in Auschwitz, only 3,581 were able to work. All of the remaining Jewish inmates — some 21,500, or about 86 percent — were unable to work. [6]

This is also confirmed in a secret report dated April 5, 1944, on “security measures in Auschwitz” by Oswald Pohl, head of the WVHA agency responsible for the concentration camp system, to SS chief Heinrich Himmler. Pohl reported that there was a total of 67,000 inmates in the Auschwitz camp complex, of whom 18,000 were hospitalized or disabled. In the Auschwitz II camp (Birkenau), supposedly the main extermination center, there were 36,000 inmates, mostly female, of whom “approximately 15,000 are unable to work.” [7]

The evidence shows that Auschwitz-Birkenau was, in fact, established primarily as a camp for Jews who were not able to work, including the sick and elderly, as well as for others temporarily awaiting assignment to other camps. [8]

Along with the two documents above, the long-hidden certificates reproduced on the following pages discredit a central pillar of the Holocaust extermination story. As revealing as these documents are, though, there is little doubt that a careful examination of all of the many thousands of documents in the Auschwitz death books — as well as other, still-inaccessible wartime records — would bring us much closer to finding definitive answers to the central questions of Germany’s wartime Jewish policy. It is high time for archival officials in Poland, Germany, Russia and Israel to open all their records to independent scholars.

Notes

1.  Probably the most often cited “evidence” for extermination at Auschwitz are the “confessions” and “affidavits” of former camp commandant Rudolf Höss. See, for example, Höss affidavit of April 5, 1946 (Nuremberg document [3868-PS](#)), and: Rudolf Höss, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*, Steven Paskuly, ed. (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1992),

pp. 27, 31, 32, 34, 157, 159.; As Prof. Robert Faurisson has explained, the Höss “confessions” are error-ridden statements obtained by torture. See: R. Faurisson, “How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.; Other often-cited “eyewitness accounts” confirming the alleged Auschwitz extermination program include: Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account* (Fawcett Crest pb. edition, 1985?), pp. 23-24.; Olga Lengyel, *Five Chimneys* (Granada, pb., 1981), pp. 83.

2. [↗](#) Jean-Louis Amar, “Death Camps: The Archives Open,” *Red Cross, Red Crescent*, January-April 1990, pp. 24-26. This journal is apparently an official publication of the Swiss-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

3. [↗](#) E. Schulten, “lich Glasnost ...,” *Waldeckische Landeszeitung*, Nov. 2, 1989.

4. [↗](#) J.-L. Amar, “Death Camps: The Archives Open,” *Red Cross, Red Crescent*, January-April 1990, p. 26.

5. [↗](#) This has recently been obliquely confirmed by Auschwitz State Museum official Franciszek Piper. See: F. Piper, “Estimating the Number of Deportees to and Victims of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp,” *Yad Vashem Studies* (Jerusalem: 1991), Vol. 21, pp. 70-71.

6. [↗](#) Helmut Eschwege, ed., *Kennzeichen J* (Berlin: 1966), p. 264. Source cited: Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw. German document No. 128.

7. [↗](#) Nuremberg document NO-021. Published in: *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals* (Washington, DC: 1949-1953), Vol. 5, pp. 384-385. (This is also known as the NMT “green series.”)

8. [↗](#) This is also the considered view of Dr. Arthur Butz. See: A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 1983), p. 124.

Captions

The cover of an Auschwitz death registry volume (*Sterbebuch*) containing 1,500 certificates from July and August 1943.

This Auschwitz camp death certificate reports that prisoner Josef Buck, a Jewish teacher from Kattowitz, was 65 years old when he died on August 1, 1941. “Weakness of old age” is given as the cause of death.

Josek [sic] Nisenkorn, a Jewish laborer, was 71 years old when he died in Auschwitz on August 11, 1941. “Weakness of old age” is given as the cause of death by camp physician Dr. Siegfried Schwela, who himself later died of typhus.

Chaim Richter, a Jewish salesman, was 81 years old when he died in Auschwitz on March 1, 1942, of “weakness of old age.”

Samuel Mandel, a Jewish tailor, was 74 years old when he died in Auschwitz on March 26, 1942. Physician Dr. Entress reported the cause of death as “influenza with heart failure.”

Ernestine Hochfelder, a Jewish inmate who had been deported to the camp from Slovakia, was 70 years old when she died in Auschwitz on June 4, 1942. “Physical weakness and old age” is cited as the cause of death.

Josef Hoffmann, a Jewish butcher, was 89 years old when he died of “old age” on June 22, 1942.

Abraham Stieber, a Jewish salesman from Slovakia, was 79 years old when he died on July 2, 1942, of “old age.”

David Reichman, a Jewish farmer, was 70 years old when he died on July 22, 1942, of “old age.”

Tibor Pollak, a Jewish secondary school student from Slovakia, was 14 years old when he died on July 26, 1942. Camp physician Dr. Meyer recorded “heart and circulatory failure” as the cause of death.

Albert Janos, a Jewish cook born in Russia, was deported to Auschwitz from Bordeaux, France. He was 48 years old when he died on August 10, 1942. Camp physician Dr. Entress recorded the cause of death as sepsis with inflammation of tissues.

Gerszon Wajsbort [sic], a Jewish merchant deported to Auschwitz from Paris, was 40 years old when he died on August 10, 1942. Camp physician Dr. Meyer recorded the cause of death as accumulation of fluid in the lungs and heart failure.

Armin Horn, a Jewish salesman deported to the camp from Slovakia, died on August 19, 1942, at the age of 70. Camp physician Dr. Thilo recorded the cause of death as “accumulation of fluid in the intestine and weakness of old age.”

Tadeusz Jaworski, a Catholic Pole from Krakow, had just turned 19 years old when he succumbed to typhus on August 22, 1942.

Abraham Trijtel, a Jewish student from the Netherlands, was 14 years old when he died on September 4, 1942, of “acute inflammation of the stomach intestine.”

Jettchen Fuld, a Jewish inmate, was 67 when she died on October 10, 1942. Old age and physical weakness is given as the cause of death.

Salomon Serlui, a Jewish laborer from the Netherlands, was 67 when he died in Auschwitz on October 16, 1942. Camp physician Dr. Kremer reported a stomach ulcer as the cause of death.

Renö Hirschfeld, a Jewish tailor born in Berlin in 1878, was 64 when he died on November 2, 1942. Camp physician Dr. Kitt reported “weakness of old age” as the cause of death.

Freide [sic] Littmann, a Jewish inmate from Leipzig, Germany, was 70 when she died of “old age” on January 11, 1943.

Wolf Eisenhöndler, a Jewish student from Berlin, was 14 when he died on January 13, 1943. “Sepsis with pneumonia” is reported as the cause of death.

Josephine Kohn, a Jewish inmate born in Hungary who had been living in Leipzig, was 69 years old when she died on February 10, 1943. Auschwitz camp physician Dr. Kitt reported “weakness of old age” as the cause of death.

Emil Kaufmann, a Jewish attorney deported from Germany, was 78 years old when he died of “old age” on February 15, 1943. “Weakness of old age” is given as the cause of death.

Julius Sonnenberg, a salesman from Germany, was 65 when he died on February 27, 1943, of “angina pectoris.” His religion is cited as “non-believing, formerly Jewish.”

Abraham Blok, a Jewish butcher from the Netherlands, was 70 years old when he died of “old age” on March 6, 1943.

Franz Waitz, a Catholic laborer, was 67 years old when he succumbed to typhus on June 21, 1943. His death was certified by Dr. Josef Mengele, the Auschwitz camp physician who was sensationally stigmatized after the war as the “angel of death.”

Josef Daniel, a Catholic laborer from rural Moravia, was 18 years old when he ended his life on June 21, 1943, by “suicide by high-voltage electrical current.”

Max Lichtenstaedt, a Jewish salesman from Berlin, was 73 years old when he died in Auschwitz on July 21, 1943. “Uraemia” is given as the cause of death.

Peter Diessenberg, a baby, was just one year old when he died in Auschwitz on December 27, 1943.

Johanna Seiner, a Jewish inmate who had been deported to Auschwitz from the Theresienstadt ghetto-camp in Bohemia, was 72 years old when she died of “old age” on December 27, 1943.

Zeli Gieclik, a Jewish tailor, was 34 when he died on December 12, 1943. Camp physician Dr. Fischer reported “sudden heart failure” as the cause of death. This is the last certificate in death registry volume 25, which is the final volume for the year 1943.

Source: vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 299-370.

How Hitler Consolidated Power in Germany and Launched A Social Revolution

The First Years of the Third Reich

Leon Degrelle

I. Who Would End the Bankruptcy?

“We have the power. Now our gigantic work begins.”

Those were Hitler’s words on the night of January 30, 1933, as cheering crowds surged past him, for five long hours, beneath the windows of the Chancellery in Berlin.

His political struggle had lasted 14 years. He himself was 43, that is, physically and intellectually at the peak of his powers. He had won over millions of Germans and organized them into Germany’s largest and most dynamic political party, a party girded by a human rampart of hundreds of thousands of storm troopers, three fourths of them members of the working class. He had been extremely shrewd. All but toying with his adversaries, Hitler had, one after another, vanquished them all.

Standing there at the window, his arm raised to the delirious throng, he must have known a feeling of triumph. But he seemed almost torpid, absorbed, as if lost in another world.

It was a world far removed from the delirium in the street, a world of 65 million citizens who loved him or hated him, but all of whom, from that night on, had become his responsibility. And as he knew — as almost all Germans knew at the of January 1933 — that this was a crushing, an almost desperate responsibility.

Half a century later, few people understand the crisis Germany faced at that time. Today, it’s easy to assume that Germans have always been well-fed and even plump. But the Germans Hitler inherited were virtual skeletons.

During the preceding years, a score of “democratic” governments had come and gone, often in utter confusion. Instead of alleviating the people’s misery, they had increased it, due to their own instability: it was impossible for them to pursue any given plan for more than a year or two. Germany had arrived at a dead end. In just a few years there had been 224,000 suicides — a horrifying figure, bespeaking a state of misery even more horrifying.

By the beginning of 1933, the misery of the German people was virtually universal. At least six million unemployed and hungry workers roamed aimlessly through the streets, receiving a pitiful unemployment benefit of less than 42 marks per month. Many of those out of work had families

to feed, so that altogether some 20 million Germans, a third of the country's population, were reduced to trying to survive on about 40 pfennigs per person per day.

Unemployment benefits, moreover, were limited to a period of six months. After that came only the meager misery allowance dispensed by the welfare offices.

Notwithstanding the gross inadequacy of this assistance, by trying to save the six million unemployed from total destruction, even for just six months, both the state and local branches of the German government saw themselves brought to ruin: in 1932 alone such aid had swallowed up four billion marks, 57 percent of the total tax revenues of the federal government and the regional states. A good many German municipalities were bankrupt.

Those still lucky enough to have some kind of job were not much better off. Workers and employees had taken a cut of 25 percent in their wages and salaries. Twenty-one percent of them were earning between 100 and 250 marks per month; 69.2 percent of them, in January of 1933, were being paid less than 1,200 marks annually. No more than about 100,000 Germans, it was estimated, were able to live without financial worries.

During the three years before Hitler came to power, total earnings had fallen by more than half, from 23 billion marks to 11 billion. The average per capita income had dropped from 1,187 marks in 1929 to 627 marks, a scarcely tolerable level, in 1932. By January 1933, when Hitler took office, 90 percent of the German people were destitute.

No one escaped the strangling effects of the unemployment. The intellectuals were hit as hard as the working class. Of the 135,000 university graduates, 60 percent were without jobs. Only a tiny minority was receiving unemployment benefits.

"The others," wrote one foreign observer, Marcel Laloire (in his book *New Germany*), "are dependent on their parents or are sleeping in flophouses. In the daytime they can be seen on the boulevards of Berlin wearing signs on their backs to the effect that they will accept any kind of work."

But there was no longer any kind of work.

The same drastic fall-off had hit Germany's cottage industry, which comprised some four million workers. Its turnover had declined 55 percent, with total sales plunging from 22 billion to 10 billion marks.

Hardest hit of all were construction workers; 90 percent of them were unemployed.

Farmers, too, had been ruined, crushed by losses amounting to 12 billion marks. Many had been forced to mortgage their homes and their land. In 1932 just the interest on the loans they had incurred due to the crash was equivalent to 20 percent of the value of the agricultural production of the entire country. Those who were no longer able to meet the interest payments saw their farms auctioned off in legal proceedings: in the years 1931-1932, 17,157 farms — with a combined total area of 462,485 hectares — were liquidated in this way.

The "democracy" of Germany's "Weimar Republic" (1918 -1933) had proven utterly ineffective in addressing such flagrant wrongs as this impoverishment of millions of farm workers, even though they were the nation's most stable and hardest working citizens. Plundered, dispossessed, abandoned: small wonder they heeded Hitler's call.

Their situation on January 30, 1933, was tragic. Like the rest of Germany's working class, they had been betrayed by their political leaders, reduced to the alternatives of miserable wages, pittance and uncertain benefit payments, or the outright humiliation of begging.

Germany's industries, once renowned everywhere in the world, were no longer prosperous, despite the millions of marks in gratuities that the financial magnates felt obliged to pour into the coffers of the parties in power before each election in order to secure their cooperation. For 14 years the well-blinkered conservatives and Christian democrats of the political center had been feeding at the trough just as greedily as their adversaries of the left.

Thus, prior to 1933, the Social Democrats had been generously bribed by Friedrich Flick, a super-capitalist businessman. With him, as with all his like, it was a matter of carefully studied tactics. After 1945, his son, true to tradition, would continue to offer largess to the Bundestag Socialists who had their hands out, and, in a roundabout way, to similarly minded and equally greedy political parties abroad as well. The benefactors, to be sure, made certain that their gifts bore fruit in lucrative contracts and in cancelled fiscal obligations.

Nothing is given for nothing. In politics, manacles are imposed in the form of money.

Even though they had thus assured themselves of the willing cooperation of the politicians of the Weimar system's parties, the titans of German capitalism had experienced only a succession of catastrophes. The patchwork governments they backed, formed in the political scramble by claim and compromise, were totally ineffective. They lurched from one failure to another, with neither time for long-range planning nor the will to confine themselves somehow to their proper function.

Time is required for the accomplishment of anything important. It is only with time that great plans may be brought to maturity and the competent men be found who are capable of carrying them out. Not surprisingly, therefore, any economic plans drawn up amid all this shifting for short-term political advantage were bound to fail.

Nor did the bribing of the political parties make them any more capable of coping with the exactions ordered by the Treaty of Versailles. France, in 1923, had effectively seized Germany by the throat with her occupation of the Ruhr industrial region, and in six months had brought the Weimar government to pitiable capitulation. But then, disunited, despising one another, how could these political birds of passage have offered resistance? In just a few months in 1923, seven German governments came and went in swift succession. They had no choice but to submit to the humiliation of Allied control, as well as to the separatist intrigues fomented by Poincaré's paid agents.

The substantial tariffs imposed on the sale of German goods abroad had sharply curtailed the nation's ability to export her products. Under obligation to pay gigantic sums to their conquerors, the Germans had paid out billions upon billions. Then, bled dry, they were forced to seek recourse to enormous loans from abroad, from the United States in particular.

This indebtedness had completed their destruction and, in 1929, precipitated Germany into a terrifying financial crisis.

The big industrialists, for all their fat bribes to the politicians, now found themselves impotent: their factories empty, their workers now living as virtual vagrants, haggard of face, in the dismal nearby working-class districts.

Thousands of German factories lay silent, their smokestacks like a forest of dead trees. Many had gone under. Those which survived were operating on a limited basis. Germany's gross industrial production had fallen by half: from seven billion marks in 1920 to three and a half billion in 1932.

The automobile industry provides a perfect example. Germany's production in 1932 was proportionately only one twelfth that of the United States, and only one fourth that of France: 682,376 cars in Germany (one for each 100 inhabitants) as against 1,855,174 cars in France, even though the latter's population was 20 million less than Germany's.

Germany had experienced a similar collapse in exports. Her trade surplus had fallen from 2.872 billion marks in 1931 to only 667 millions in 1932 — nearly a 75 percent drop.

Overwhelmed by the cessation of payments and the number of current accounts in the red, even Germany's central bank was disintegrating. Harried by demands for repayment of the foreign loans, on the day of Hitler's accession to power the Reichsbank had in all only 83 million marks in foreign currency, 64 million of which had already been committed for disbursement on the following day.

The astronomical foreign debt, an amount exceeding that of the country's total exports for three years, was like a lead weight on the back of every German. And there was no possibility of turning to Germany's domestic financial resources for a solution: banking activities had come virtually to a standstill. That left only taxes.

Unfortunately, tax revenues had also fallen sharply. From nine billion marks in 1930, total revenue from taxes had fallen to 7.8 billion in 1931, and then to 6.65 billion in 1932 (with unemployment payments alone taking four billion of that amount).

The financial debt burden of regional and local authorities, amounting to billions, had likewise accumulated at a fearful pace. Beset as they were by millions of citizens in need, the municipalities alone owed 6.542 billion in 1928, an amount that had increased to 11.295 billion by 1932. Of this total, 1.668 billion was owed in short-term loans.

Any hope of paying off these deficits with new taxes was no longer even imaginable. Taxes had already been increased 45 percent from 1925 to 1931. During the years 1931-1932, under Chancellor Brüning, a Germany of unemployed workers and industrialists with half-dead factories had been hit with 23 "emergency" decrees. This multiple overtaking, moreover, had proven to be completely useless, as the "International Bank of Payments" had clearly foreseen. The agency confirmed in a statement that the tax burden in Germany was already so enormous that it could not be further increased.

And so, in one pan of the financial scales: 19 billion in foreign debt plus the same amount in domestic debt. In the other, the Reichsbank's 83 million marks in foreign currency. It was as if the average German, owing his banker a debt of 6,000 marks, had less than 14 marks in his pocket to pay it.

One inevitable consequence of this ever-increasing misery and uncertainty about the future was an abrupt decline in the birthrate. When your household savings are wiped out, and when you fear even greater calamities in the days ahead, you do not risk adding to the number of your dependents.

In those days the birth rate was a reliable barometer of a country's prosperity. A child is a joy, unless you have nothing but a crust of bread to put in its little hand. And that's just the way it was with hundreds of thousands of German families in 1932.

In 1905, during the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II, the birthrate had been 33.4 per one thousand. In 1921 it was only 25.9, and in 1924 it was down to 15.1. By the of 1932, it had fallen to just 14.7 per one thousand.

It reached that figure, moreover, thanks only to the higher birth rate in rural areas. In the fifty largest cities of the Reich, there were more deaths than births. In 45 percent of working-class families, there were no births at all in the latter years. The fall in the birthrate was most pronounced in Berlin, which had less than one child per family and only 9.1 births per one thousand. Deaths exceeded the number of new births by 60 percent.

In contrast to the birthrate, politicians were flourishing as never before — about the only thing in Germany that was in those disastrous times. From 1919 to 1932, Germany had seen no less than 23 governments come and go, averaging a new one about every seven months. As any sensible person realizes, such constant upheaval in a country's political leadership negates its power and authority. No one would imagine that any effective work could be carried out in a typical industrial enterprise if the board of directors, the management, management methods, and key personnel were all replaced every eight months. Failure would be certain.

Yet the Reich wasn't a factory of 100 or 200 workers, but a nation of 65 million citizens crushed under the imposed burdens of the Treaty of Versailles, by industrial stagnation, by frightful unemployment, and by a gut-wrenching misery shared by the entire people.

The many cabinet ministers who followed each other in swift succession for thirteen years — due to petty parliamentary squabbles, partisan demands, and personal ambitions — were unable to achieve anything other than the certain collapse of their chaotic regime of rival parties.

Germany's situation was further aggravated by the unrestrained competition of the 25 regional states, which split up governmental authority into units often in direct opposition to Berlin, thereby incessantly sabotaging what limited power the central Reich government had at that time.

The regional remnants of several centuries of particularism were all fiercely jealous of their privileges. The Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 had divided Germany into hundreds of Lilliputian states, most of them musical comedy kingdoms whose petty monarchs tried to act like King Louis XIV in courts complete with frills and reverential bows.

Even at the beginning of the First World War (1914-1918), the German Reich included four distinct kingdoms (Prussia, Bavaria, Wurttemberg and Saxony), each with its own sovereign, army, flag, titles of nobility, and Great Cross in particolored enamel. In addition, there were six grand duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, and three free cities.

The Bavarian clung fiercely to his lederhosen, his steins of beer and his pipe. He took part in the war to preserve them. The Saxon would gladly have had a go-around with the haughty Prussian. Each was intent on his rights. And for all of them, faraway Berlin was a thorn in the side.

Each regional state had its own separate government with parliament, prime minister and cabinet. Altogether they presented a lineup of 59 ministers who, added to the eleven Reich ministers and

the 42 senators of the Free Cities, gave the Germans a collection of 112 ministers, each of whom viewed the other with a jaundiced eye at best.

In addition, there were between two and three thousand deputies — representing dozens of rival political parties — in the legislatures of the Reich, the 22 states and the three Free Cities.

In the Reichstag elections of November 1932 — held just months before Hitler become Chancellor — there were no less than 37 different political parties competing, with a total of 7,000 candidates (14 of them by proxy), all of them frantically seeking a piece of the parliamentary pie. It was most strange: the more discredited the party system became, the more democratic champions there were to be seen gesturing and jostling in their eagerness to climb aboard the gravy train.

To all appearances, the incumbents who had been elected were there forever. They received fat salaries (a Reichstag deputy got ten times what the average worker earned), and permitted themselves generous supplementary incomes in the form of favors provided by interested clients. A number of Socialist Reichstag deputies representing Berlin, for example, had arranged for their wives to receive sumptuous fur coats from certain Jewish financiers.

In a parliamentary democracy, mandates are often very brief, and ministerial appointments even more so. The temptation is strong to get it while you can.

Honest, dishonest, or piratical, these 112 cabinet ministers and thousands of legislative deputies had converted Germany into a country that was ungovernable. It is incontestable that, by January of 1933, the “system” politicians had become completely discredited. Their successors would inherit a country in economic, social and political ruins.

Today, more than half a century later, in an era when so many are living in abundance, it is hard to believe that the Germany of January 1933 had fallen so low. But for anyone who studies the archives and the relevant documents of that time, there can be no doubt. Not a single figure cited here is invented. By January 1933, Germany was down and bleeding to death.

All the previous chancellors who had undertaken to get Germany back on her feet — including Brüning, Papen and Schleicher — had failed. Only a genius or, as some believed, a madman, could revive a nation that had fallen into such a state of complete disarray.

When President Franklin Roosevelt was called upon at that same time to resolve a similar crisis in the United States, he had at his disposal immense reserves of gold. Hitler, standing silently at the chancellery window on that evening of January 30, 1933, knew that, on the contrary, his nation’s treasury was empty. No great benefactor would appear to help him out. The elderly Reich President, Paul von Hindenburg, had given him a work sheet of appalling figures of indebtedness.

Hitler knew that he would be starting from zero. From less than zero. But he was also confident of his strength of will to create Germany anew — politically, socially, financially, and economically. Now legally and officially in power, he was sure that he could quickly convert that cipher into a Germany more powerful than ever before.

What support did he have?

For one thing, he could count on the absolute support of millions of fanatical disciples. And on that January evening, they joyfully shared in the great thrill of victory. Some thirteen million Germans, many of them former Socialists and Communists, had voted for his party.

But millions of Germans were still his adversaries, disconcerted adversaries, to be sure, whom their own political parties had betrayed, but who had still not been won over to National Socialism.

The two sides — those for and those against Hitler — were very nearly equal in numbers. But whereas those on the left were divided among themselves, Hitler's disciples were strongly united. And in one thing above all, the National Socialists had an incomparable advantage: in their convictions and in their total faith in a leader. Their highly organized and well-disciplined party had contended with the worst kind of obstacles, and had overcome them.

Hitler poses with close comrades shortly after being named Chancellor on January 30, 1933.

While it enjoyed extraordinarily popular support, the National Socialist movement had grown too fast, and problems deriving from that lay in wait ahead. Thousands of visionaries with nebulous dreams of domination, not to mention hotheads dreaming only of brawls and revolution in perpetuity, had found their way into the National Socialist ranks. The ambitious ones intended to rise to the top at any cost — and as quickly as possible. Many of them were ill-prepared; some simply lacked morals. Many bitter disappointments were in store for Hitler because of them.

Hitler sensed as much. He had ordered his party to halt recruitment of new members, and even directed that the SA — the huge civilian paramilitary force that had carried him to power — be reduced in size. Indeed, by 1933 SA stormtroop membership had grown to the incredible figure of 2,500,000 men, 25 times the size of the regular army, the Reichswehr.

It was due to such pressures that Hitler was sometimes driven to rash action, contrary to his real desire or intent. Sometimes this meant expulsions, the use of force or cases of intransigence, even though his larger goal was to reunite the nation in peace, and accomplish his political and social programs without useless clashes.

Hitler knew that he was playing with dynamite. Still, it was his conviction that he was being driven not just by his National Socialist movement, but by an inner, almost supernatural force. Whether one called it Providence or Destiny, it was this force, he felt, that had carried him to victory. His own force of character was such that it would yield to nothing. For Hitler, it was a foregone conclusion that he would forge a new Reich, a new world.

Hitler knew that the task he had set himself would be immense and difficult to accomplish, that he would have to transform Germany in practically every respect: the structure of the state, social law, the constitution of society, the economy, civic spirit, culture, the very nature of men's thinking. To accomplish his great goal, he would need to reestablish the equilibrium of the social classes within the context of a regenerated community, free his nation from foreign hegemony, and restructure its geographic unity.

Task number one: he would have to restore work and honor to the lives of six million unemployed. This was his immediate goal, a task that everyone else thought impossible to achieve.

After he had once again closed the windows of the chancellery, Hitler, with clenched fists and resolute mien, said simply: "The great venture begins. The day of the Third Reich has come."

In just one year this "great venture" would be in full swing, effecting a transformation from top to bottom in political, social and economic life — indeed, in the German way of life itself.

II. The Unification of the State

“It will be the pride of my life,” Hitler said upon becoming Chancellor, “if I can say at the end of my days that I won back the German worker and restored him to his rightful place in the Reich.” He meant that he intended not merely to put men back to work, but to make sure that the worker acquired not just rights, but prestige as well, within the national community.

The national community had long been the proverbial wicked stepmother in its relationship with the German working man. Class struggle had not been the exclusive initiative of the Marxists. It had also been a fact of life for a privileged class, the capitalists, that sought to dominate the working class. Thus the German worker, feeling himself treated like a pariah, had often turned away from a fatherland that often seemed to consider him merely an instrument of production.

In the eyes of the capitalists, money was the sole active element in the flourishing of a country’s economy. To Hitler’s way of thinking, that conception was radically wrong: capital, on the contrary, was only an instrument. Work was the essential element: man’s endeavor, man’s honor, blood, muscles and soul.

Hitler wanted not just to put an end to the class struggle, but to reestablish the priority of the human being, in justice and respect, as the principal factor in production.

One could dispense with gold, and Hitler would do just that. A dozen other things could be substituted for gold as a means of stimulating industry, and Hitler would invent them. But as for work, it was the indispensable foundation.

For the worker’s trust in the fatherland to be restored, he had to feel that from now on he was to be (and to be treated) as an equal, instead of remaining a social inferior. Under the governments of the so-called democratic parties of both the left and the right, he had remained an inferior; for none of them had understood that in the hierarchy of national values, work is the very essence of life; and matter, be it steel or gold, but a tool.

The objective, then, was far greater than merely send six million unemployed back to work. It was to achieve a total revolution.

“The people,” Hitler declared, “were not put here on earth for the sake of the economy, and the economy doesn’t exist for the sake of capital. On the contrary, capital is meant to serve the economy, and the economy in turn to serve the people.”

It would not be enough merely to reopen the thousands of closed factories and fill them with workers. If the old concepts still ruled, the workers would once again be nothing more than living machines, faceless and interchangeable.

What was required was to reestablish that moral equilibrium between the workers, human beings who shape raw materials, and a useful and controlled capitalism, returned to its proper function as a tool. This would mean changing an entire world, and it would take time.

As Hitler knew full well, such a revolution could not be achieved while the central and regional governments continued in a state of anarchy, seldom accomplishing anything solid, and sometimes running amok. Nor could there be a revolution in society while dozens of parties and thousands of deputies of every conceivable stripe pursued their selfish interests under a political system that had thrashed about incoherently since 1919.

Restoring the effectiveness of Germany’s institutions on a nationwide basis was therefore an indispensable prerequisite to any social rebirth.

“A fish rots from the head down,” says a Russian proverb. And it was at the head that political Germany, prior to Hitler, was going bad. In the end, the “democratic” parties abdicated without even defending themselves. In 1930, the aged President Marshall von Hindenburg used his emergency powers under Article 48 of the Weimar constitution to enable a succession of semi-dictators to rule by decree. But even they could accomplish little.

These last chancellors — Herr Brüning, Herr von Papen, and General Schleicher — were able to maintain rule only by executive decree. Their authority, artificially sustained by misuse of Article 48, was dependent on von Hindenburg and the camarilla advising him. Just how slim was their level of popular support was shown in a particularly humiliating 1932 Reichstag “vote of confidence,” in which more than 90 percent of the deputies voted against him and his government.

Hitler’s accession to power abruptly brought an end to government impotence. As a condition of appointing him, however, Hindenburg had demanded that the new chancellor be hemmed in like a prisoner in his own government. In his first government, Hitler was obliged to name four times as many conservative — or better, reactionary — ministers as his own men. Just two members of his first cabinet were National Socialists.

Hindenburg’s representatives were given the mission of keeping Hitler on a leash. At the Reichstag session of March 24, however, Hitler broke that leash, not with yet another executive decree (like his immediate predecessors), but by obtaining a two-thirds parliamentary majority for the “Enabling Act” that legally amended the constitution and gave him sweeping plenary powers for a period of four years.

Four years in power to plan, create and make decisions. Politically, it was a revolution: Hitler’s first revolution. And completely democratic, as had been every stage of his rise. His initial triumph had come through the support of the electorate. Similarly, sweeping authority to govern was granted him through a vote of more than two-thirds of the Reichstag’s deputies, elected by universal suffrage.

This was in accord with a basic principle of Hitler’s: no power without the freely given approval of the people. He used to say: “If you can win mastery over the people only by imposing the power of the state, you’d better figure on a nine o’clock curfew.”

Nowhere in twentieth-century Europe had the authority of a head of state ever been based on such overwhelming and freely given national consent. Prior to Hitler, from 1919 to 1932, those governments piously styling themselves democratic had usually come to power by meager majorities, sometimes as low as 51 or 52 percent.

“I am not a dictator,” Hitler had often affirmed, “and I never will be. Democracy will be rigorously enforced by National Socialism.”

Authority does not mean tyranny. A tyrant is someone who puts himself in power without the will of the people or against the will of the people. A democrat is placed in power by the people. But democracy is not limited to a single formula. It may be partisan or parliamentary. Or it may be authoritarian. The important thing is that the people have wished it, chosen it, established it in its given form.

That was the case with Hitler. He came to power in an essentially democratic way. Whether one likes it or not, this fact is undeniable. And after coming to power, his popular support measurably increased from year to year. The more intelligent and honest of his enemies have been obliged to admit this, men such as the declared anti-Nazi historian and professor Joachim Fest, who wrote:

For Hitler was never interested in establishing a mere tyranny. Sheer greed for power will not suffice as explanation for his personality and energy — He was not born to be a mere tyrant. He was fixated upon his mission of defending Europe and the Aryan race ... Never had he felt so dependent upon the masses as he did at this time, and he watched their reactions with anxious concern.

These lines weren't written by Dr. Goebbels, but by a stern critic of Hitler and his career. (J. Fest, *Hitler*, New York: 1974, p. 417.)

By February 28, 1933, less than a month after his appointment as chancellor, Hitler had already managed to free himself of the conservative ballast by which Hindenburg had thought to weigh him down. The Reichstag fire of the previous evening prompted the elderly President to approve a new emergency law "For the Protection of the People and the State," which considerably increased the powers of the executive.

Hitler meant, however, to obtain more than just concessions ruefully granted by a pliable old man: he sought plenary powers legally accorded him by the nation's supreme democratic institution, the Reichstag. Hitler prepared his coup with the skill, the patience, and the astuteness for which he is legendary. "He possessed," historian Fest later wrote, "an intelligence that included above all a sure sense of the rhythm to be observed in the making of decisions."

Hitler, von Hindenburg, and von Papen, in the Garrison church at the solemn "Day of Potsdam" ceremony.

At first, Hitler carefully cultivated Hindenburg, the elderly First World War **Feldmarschall** who was fond of tradition. Accordingly, Hitler arranged a solemn ceremony in Hindenburg's honor in Potsdam, historic residence of the Prussian kings. This masterpiece of majesty, beauty, tradition and piety took place in Potsdam's Garrison Church on March 21, 1933, just days before the Reichstag was to reconvene.

Hindenburg had served as an army officer for half a century. So that the old soldier might be reunited with his comrades, Hitler had arranged for veterans from all the wars in which Hindenburg had served to be present on this solemn occasion. From all around the country they came: veterans from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 (62 years before), from the war of 1866 against the Austrian empire (67 years before), and even from the war of 1864 against Denmark (69 years before!). For someone on the retirement list of 1911, it must have been a heartwarming occasion to be reunited again with comrades from so long ago.

With deference and apparent humility, and attired in formal dress for the occasion, Hitler bowed his head before the old man. In the stately church where the ceremony took place, Hitler had arranged that the chair of the former Kaiser, Wilhelm II, which had been unoccupied for 14 years, remained empty, so that Hindenburg could halt before it and make his salute, his marshal's baton raised, as if the monarch were still there.

Hitler also quietly led Hindenburg down into the church crypt, to place wreaths on the tombs of his old master, Kaiser Wilhelm I, and of Frederick the Great. The President's old eyes were rimmed with tears.

On that 21st day of March at Potsdam, the octogenarian President relived the glorious past of the German monarchy. This somber homage was his hour supreme. Hindenburg had always been a loyal servant of the Emperor, and this reminder of his former sovereign, and of the great days of his own long career, deeply moved him. Hitler was the first chancellor since the defeat of 1918 to

so honor the tradition of Prussia and Germany. The young revolutionary chancellor had touched his heart.

A month and a half earlier, Hindenburg had commissioned Papen, Hugenberg, and Neurath and other conservative ministers to pinch Hitler “until he hollered.” Now that was over. Hitler had won him over: in front of an empty armchair and before the tombs of Prussia’s greatest kings.

A year and a half later, as he lay dying, the old *Feldmarschall* would believe that he was back in the time of Hohenzollern dynasty, and in his delirium would address Hitler as “Majesty.”

This “Day of Potsdam” ceremony also won Hitler new support from among the country’s many monarchists, giving them the impression that he has not altogether insensitive to the idea of restoring the monarchy. But the new chancellor’s temporary prudence was calculated with precision.

“There is no need to destroy the existing institutions,” Hitler assured, “until there is something better to put in their place.”

He still had need of men like von Papen and other ruling-class troglodytes. He kept them at his side as he drove them around Potsdam on that historic day, the festive city bedecked not only with swastika banners but equally with the black-white-and-red flags of the Second Reich, resurrected for the occasion. Brass bands paraded around, blaring heroic marches calculated to make their old chests swell. Here too, the scarcely camouflaged aversion to the parvenu was softened. Hitler had tamed the aristocrats, both born and moneyed. They would no longer stand in his way.

But it was above all Germany’s army — the Reichswehr — that was the object of Hitler’s most ardent courtship. In 1933, he desperately needed the army’s support. The generals had tolerated his rise to power with reluctance. A corporal in the chancellory seemed intolerable to the haughty, monocled generals. Some ambitiously sought to supervise the nation’s political machinery.

They had not been consulted when Hitler was named Chancellor on January 30. The old *Feldmarschall* had even sternly sent away General von Hammerstein-Equord, who had come to tell Hindenburg of the General Staff’s vote of disapproval. In the weeks since, the generals had barely tolerated the young outsider.

Keenly aware that a coup d’état by this proud military caste could instantly sweep him and his party away, along with all his plans for the future, Hitler knew that he must proceed cleverly against the imperious generals. The Reichswehr was therefore accorded a position of honor at Potsdam. At the entry walkway to the royal palace, Reichswehr troops presented arms on one side, while a line of SA stormtroopers faced them on the other side. Unifying conservative military traditions of duty and honor with a revolutionary new force, together they formed the honor guard that symbolized a Germany restored to harmony.

The young Chancellor greets the aging President at the “Day of Potsdam” ceremony, March 21, 1933.

As for the generals, their tunics gleaming with decorations and their chests thrown out, they once again marched behind their old commander, a heroic retinue worthy of a great Germanic chieftain. At last, after fourteen years of disregard under the democratic Weimar Republic, they once again bathed in the golden light of martial glory. Corporal Hitler was perhaps not as contemptible as they had thought.

The ex-corporal, standing at attention in top hat and formal dress suit, let them have their day of glory at Potsdam. He knew enough to let them bask in the limelight.

Hitler had won his armistice.

To reach the people, Hitler and Dr. Goebbels had quickly taken control of the nation's radio, from which they had for so long been barred (and which their adversaries had put to only mediocre use). Within a few weeks, they had succeeded in making radio their most effective tool. Each of Hitler's major speeches was broadcast to the nation with a hitherto unknown power.

Radio also brought the spectacle of Potsdam to the people. Goebbels set up his microphones everywhere: in front of Hindenburg, behind Hindenburg, in the royal crypt, close to the military bands, and even on the rooftops of houses (where the announcers risked their necks to cover the pageantry). One of them was a young National Socialist Reichstag deputy named Baldur von Schirach, who in 1946 would find himself in the dock before the vengeful Allied judges of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

All of Germany was on the edge of its seat as it listened for hours to the exciting coverage of the event. Millions of Germans thrilled to once again hear the stirring old melodies, and to closely follow Hindenburg's every move, almost as if they were there.

During the dark days of the recent past, the venerated old warrior had represented tradition and hope. Now, thanks to Hitler's careful planning and management of this occasion, the ancient soldier embodied the promise of great national renewal. It was, as historian Fest has observed, "the feast of reconciliation gorgeously presented ... That day at Potsdam truly proved to be a turning point in history ... Many government officials, army officers, lawyers and judges, many members of the nationalistic bourgeoisie who had distrusted Hitler on rational grounds, abandoned their stand ..." (J. Fest, *Hitler*, New York: 1974, p. 405.)

Potsdam was a grandiose theatrical stage on which all had played their parts, even — by their very absence — the lukewarm and Hitler's enemies on the left.

Glued to their radio sets, all Germany had participated in the spectacle, at first fascinated, and then caught up in the emotion of the event. The next day, Berlin newspapers declared: "National enthusiasm swept over Germany yesterday like a great storm."

"A strange mixture of tactician and visionary," Joachim Fest would later write, sizing up this extraordinary stage manager. For Hitler had led field marshals, generals, and other dignitaries, none of them fools, through his drill paces as though they had been so many animated tin soldiers. But Hitler's plans extended far beyond winning over the Old Guard.

In order to establish his new state in definitive form, Hitler now proposed to obtain the official ratification of the Reichstag, which would establish his authority to govern as a virtual dictator for a period of several years.

To gain such plenary powers lawfully, the German constitution had to be amended, and this would require approval by two thirds of the parliament's members.

Hitler's party, having won 17,300,000 votes in the elections of March 5, 1933, for the new Reichstag, held a total of 288 seats — making it by far the largest single party. His conservative ally in the temporary partnership, Hugenberg's German National People's Party (DNVP), had captured 4,750,000 votes and held another 52 seats, giving the coalition a total of 340 deputies.

After deducting the 81 “empty” Communist seats, the opposition now mustered just 226 members: 120 Social Democrats, 92 (Catholic) Center and BVP deputies, and 14 others.

Although his coalition held a majority of seats, to alter the constitution Hitler needed a two thirds majority — which meant 36 additional votes.

At first sight, this goal seemed almost impossible. For more than a decade, the Catholic Center and Bavarian People’s parties had been outspoken critics of Hitler and his National Socialist movement, unhesitatingly using religion as a partisan political weapon, and even denying religious burial to Catholic National Socialists murdered by Communist killers.

Hitler, with the assistance of Göring (who was now president of the new Reichstag), would now have to win over that clerical flock. Center party leader Monsignor Kaas, a squat and pudgy prelate who found the collecting of votes to be more satisfying than the guidance of souls, was flattered and courted by Hitler, who dangled before him the promise of a rapprochement between the state and the Catholic Church, an earnest promise that Hitler would make good on the following summer. The beguiled prelate may have believed that he was going to lead errant sheep back to the fold. In any case, Hitler succeeded in persuading and seducing the Center party. Some deputies of the smaller opposition parties also yielded.

When it came time to vote, Hitler was granted plenary powers with a sweeping majority of 441 votes to 94: he had won not just two thirds, but 82.44 percent of the assembly’s votes. This “Enabling Act” granted Hitler for four years virtually absolute authority over the legislative as well as the executive affairs of the government.

The five paragraphs of this “Law for the Alleviation of the Misery of the People and the Nation” were brief and to the point:

1. Laws may be promulgated by the Reich government apart from the procedures provided for by the Constitution ...
2. Laws promulgated by the Reich government may deviate from the Constitution provided they do not change the position of the Reichstag or of the Reichsrat. The powers of the Reich President are not changed.
3. Laws promulgated by the Reich government will be prepared by the Chancellor and published in the “Official Journal.” Unless otherwise specified, they become effective on the day following publication ...
4. Treaties concluded by the Reich with foreign states that concern matters of national legislation do not require ratification by the legislative bodies. The Reich government is empowered to issue the regulations necessary for their execution.
5. This law becomes effective on the day of publication, and remains valid until April 1, 1937. It also becomes invalid if the present government is replaced by another.

Berlin, March 24, 1933

Von Hindenburg, Hitler, Frick, von Neurath, Krosigk

Thus, a parliamentary democracy, exercising its constitutional powers, had legally established an authoritarian national state. Next, a solution was needed to problem of the horde of the competing regional, state and local parliaments, jurisdictions and authorities. For the most part, these authorities were virtual nullities, and there was no love lost between them. For fourteen years,

though, they had acted together whenever a opportunity presented itself to thwart the central government in Berlin.

It was inconceivable that a strong government such as the one Hitler had just established could function effectively with thousands of second-level politicians carping and questioning his every move. Anyway, Germans had in fact become sick and tired of the squandering of authority, the perpetual squabbling, the pettiness, discord, and the anarchy for which, in the final analysis, it was the people who paid.

“It is a fact,” French historian B noist-M chin later observed, “that the unification of the states and the Reich answered one of the most profound aspirations of the German people. They had enough of being torn apart by the constant threats of secession of the provincial governments. For centuries they had dreamed of being part of a single community.” (*Histoire de l'Arm e Allemande*, vol. III, p. 117.)

It seemed a simple enough task, because public opinion demanded the abolition of the administrative mess. But such a reform would necessarily bruise the vanity of thousands and collide head-on with many local special interests.

A man who is a council president or a minister, even if only of a small state, does not easily resign himself to being no more than a private citizen, to once again becoming, let us say, a provincial lawyer scampering to the court house with coattails flying. The 2,400 legislative deputies would also be bitter about losing the good life they had come to know and expect. Gone the prestige, the deference, the awards, the vacation trips at public expense, the discreet gratuities! Who among us does not make a wry face when swallowing bitter medicine? But it had to be, for Hitler had his eyes fixed on the national goal: a unified nation.

That did not mean, of course, that in eliminating the regional administrations Hitler had any desire to do away with the distinctive identities of the nation’s various provinces. On the contrary, he believed that a nation’s life ought never to be monopolized by its capital city, but should rather be nourished and constantly renewed by the blooming of dozens of centers of culture in regions rich in varied manners, mores and legacies of their past.

He believed that the nation was the harmonious conjunction of these profound and original variations, and that a state conscious of its real powers ought to promote such variety, not smother it.

The dispersion of political power had not favored such a variety, but had, on the contrary, diminished it, depriving it of the cohesion a large community brings. The Reich’s 25 separate administrative entities, rivals of the central government and often of each other, were a source of disorder. A nation must consist of regions that know and esteem each other, and which gain mutual enrichment from their interlinking, rather than each withdrawing into a culture that is strangled by an exclusive and restrictive provincialism. And only a strong central authority could insure the flowering of all the various regions within a single collective entity. In sum, what Hitler intended was that each region should bring its share of original culture to the totality of a German Reich that had put an end to so many fractious administrations.

From 1871 to 1933, Germany’s various national governments had come up against this obstacle of political particularism. Even so gifted a leader as Bismarck had not been able to overcome this persistent problem. And now, where the leaders of both the Second Reich and the Weimar Republic had failed, or had not dared to take the risk, Hitler, in a few months, was going to convert this long-standing division and discord into potent and effective unity.

Hitler had scarcely moved into his office overlooking the chancellery garden, where squirrels cracked nuts in the trees and at times even leaped into the building itself, when he drew up a law to unify the Reich's many lands.

The first of the states that would be made to toe the line was Bavaria, which up to that point had been a bulwark of belligerent separatism and hidebound monarchists.

Hitler's intentions were no sooner known than several Bavarian ministers devised a plan to resurrect from retirement that old fogey, the ex-Prince Ruprecht, heir to Bavaria's Wittelsbach throne, who in November 1923, then as an ordinary private citizen, had, with a good deal of boasting, helped block Hitler's ill-fated putsch. Now the new chancellor responded to their little plot with sudden and crushing force, bringing the Bavarian state administration to heel in a single night. The next morning, Lieutenant General von Epp was named Reich Commissioner in Munich.

Thereafter, almost all the other regional states rapidly collapsed, like a house of cards.

The most difficult state to master was Prussia, an enormous bastion (a third of Germany) stretching across the heart of the country. Prussia truly constituted a state within the state, a special government. In 1931 its Socialist government had held Reich Chancellor Brüning completely in check. His humiliating defeat came notwithstanding their party's crushing defeat in the Prussian elections a short time earlier at the hands of Hitler's candidates. Chancellor von Papen found that he, too, had to come to grips with Prussia, which was nearly as strong as the central government.

After he became Chancellor, Hitler was obliged for a time — because Hindenburg demanded it — to let von Papen remain as Reich Commissioner of Prussia; and it was only with great effort on his part that Hitler managed to have Göring named as von Papen's Minister of the Interior in Prussia. The autonomy of the Prussian government, more than any other, had to be liquidated: otherwise, the central government would remain subject at any moment to embarrassment and hindrance in the city that was the capital of both Prussia and the Reich. The matter was particularly delicate because von Papen, the aristocrat, had to remain as Reich Commissioner of Prussia. To remove him would risk disapproval and even countermeasures by President von Hindenburg.

Hitler at that point surpassed himself in versatility and guile. By dint of flattery and persuasion, within a month von Papen let himself be gently shoved out the door. Hitler all but dictated for him the text of his letter of resignation of April 7, 1933, in which the Vice Chancellor acknowledged that the Law on the Unification of the Lands of the Reich "was a legal edifice destined to be of great historic importance in the development of the German Reich." He further recognized that "the dualism existing between the Reich and Prussia" had to come to an end. In his letter he even compared Hitler to Prince Otto von Bismarck.

Although von Papen was being nudged out, Hitler soothed his wounded pride by publicly declaring that he never would have been able to carry out the political reunification of the Reich alone; that the great architect of the achievement had been von Papen.

Without turning a hair, Hitler also wrote to Feldmarschall von Hindenburg:

In assuming the functions of Reich Commissioner in Prussia during the difficult period following the 30th of January, Herr von Papen has deserved very great credit for contributing so strongly to the working out of a strict coordination between the policies of the Reich and those of the regional states. His collaboration with the cabinet of the Reich, to which he will henceforth be able to devote himself completely, will

be of priceless assistance to me. The feelings I have for him are such that I rejoice in having the benefit of his cooperation, which will be of inestimable value to me.

For his part the aged field marshal responded to this small masterpiece of hypocrisy with one of his own, this one addressed to von Papen:

Dear Herr von Papen,

I have just accepted your request that you be relieved of your duties as Reich commissioner of Prussia. I take this opportunity to thank you, in the name of the Reich and in my own name, for the eminent service you have rendered the nation by eliminating the dualism existing between the Reich and Prussia, and by imposing the idea of a common political direction of the Reich and the regional states. I have learned with satisfaction that you will henceforth be able to devote all your energies to the government of the Reich.

With feelings of sincere comradeship, I remain your devoted

von Hindenburg, President of the Reich

Ex-Chancellor von Papen thus lost the only effective power he still held. Although he remained a member of the inner circle of Hitler's government (but for how long?), he was now really little more than a willing stooge.

Hitler immediately named himself *Statthalter* of Prussia, and Göring as Minister President, thus bringing the greatest German state under firm control.

One after another, the regional states were shorn of their sovereignty. The process was staged like a ballet.

Act One: Regional parliamentary power is transferred smoothly to men who had Hitler's confidence.

Act Two: Each man announces acceptance of the "Law of Unification."

Act Three: Each regional parliament proclaims the of its own state autonomy and sovereignty.

Act Four: In each region, Hitler appoints Reich Commissioner (or *Statthalter*), who is charged with carrying out the Chancellor's political directives.

In the Grand Duchies of Baden and Saxony there were a few verbal skirmishes, but these were quickly squelched. In the Free City of Hamburg (population a million and a half), its leaders grumbled a bit for form's sake, but only a few hours of negotiations were required to make them see the light. In just a few weeks, the entire process was accomplished.

Making use of the sweeping powers granted him by the Reichstag's overwhelming vote of approval on March 23, 1933, within a few months Hitler succeeded in transforming the faltering Reich government into a formidable instrument of action. Thanks to that mandate, and several special decrees signed by the President, he was thus able constitutionally to eliminate the rival authorities of numerous state governments and parliaments.

"It all went much faster than we had dared hope," Goebbels commented with delight, and a shade of sarcasm.

Precisely one year after Hitler had become Chancellor, a “Law for the Rebuilding of the Reich” spelled out the full extent of the change:

1. Representation of the regional states is abolished.
2. (a) The sovereign rights of the regional states are transferred to the government of the Reich.
(b) The governments of the regional states are subject to the government of the Reich.
3. The governors [*Statthalter*] are subject to the authority of the Reich Minister of the Interior.
4. The government of the Reich may modify the constitutional rights of the regional states.
5. The Minister of the Interior will issue the legal and administrative decrees necessary for the implementation of this law.
6. This law will become effective on the day of its official publication.

Berlin, January 30, 1934

Von Hindenburg, Hitler, Frick

Bismarck, the “Iron Chancellor,” could never have dreamed of political reunification on such an authoritarian and hierarchical basis. But Hitler had tried, and succeeded. Germany had now attained a level of concentrated power and authority more profound than any ever achieved in her history. And it had all been accomplished, moreover, by democratic means.

After 1945 the explanation that was routinely offered for all this was that the Germans had lost their heads. Whatever the case, it is a historical fact that they acted of their own free will. Far from being resigned, they were enthusiastic. “For the first time since the last days of the monarchy,” historian Joachim Fest has conceded, “the majority of the Germans now had the feeling that they could identify with the state.”

But what of the political parties?

Although Hitler had succeeded in transforming the tens of millions of Bavarians, Saxons, Prussians and residents of Hamburg into citizens of one and the same Reich, under a single national administration, and even though the anthill of petty and more or less separatist states had been leveled, there still remained in Germany the contentious and divisive political parties. They had been discredited, to be sure, but the hearty ambitions of impenitent politicians could reawaken to erode the foundations of the new state.

The party leaders were scarcely in a position to protest. On the preceding 23rd of March they themselves had overwhelmingly approved the fateful “Enabling Act.” Now, with their wings clipped and their prerogatives taken away, they no longer served any useful purpose. They were not merely superfluous, they had become an encumbrance.

How would Hitler get rid of them?

III. Liquidation of the Parties

On the day in March when the deputies of the Weimar Republic voted to relinquish their power, Hitler, standing before them in their own parliamentary bailiwick, utterly poised in his brown shirt, did not spare them. “It is for you, gentlemen of the Reichstag,” he declared, “to decide between war and peace.”

But how, one might ask, could they take up the fight now, when they had in fact already given up the fight years earlier?

At this point, Hitler was no longer even willing to let the last recalcitrant Reichstag deputies, the Social Democrats — by now reduced to representing a mere 17.55 percent of the nation's voters — assume the martyred pose of a persecuted fringe group.

“You talk about persecution!” he thundered in an impromptu response to an address by the Social Democratic speaker. “I think that there are only a few of us [in our party] here who did not have to suffer persecutions in prison from your side ... You seem to have totally forgotten that for years our shirts were ripped off our backs because you did not like the color ... We have outgrown your persecutions!”

“In those days,” he scathingly continued, “our newspapers were banned and banned and again banned, our meetings were forbidden, and we were forbidden to speak, I was forbidden to speak, for years on. And now you say that criticism is salutary!”

The shoe was now on the other foot.

“From now on we National Socialists will make it possible for the German worker to attain what he is able to demand and insist on. We National Socialists will be his intercessors. You, gentlemen, are no longer needed ... And don't confound us with the bourgeois world. You think that your star may rise again. Gentlemen, Germany's star will rise and yours will sink ... In the life of nations, that which is rotten, old and feeble passes and does not return.”

Finally, Hitler dismissed these bankrupt Socialists with the words: “I can only tell you: I do not want your votes! Germany shall be free, but not through you!”

(Quoted in: J. Fest, *Hitler*, New York: 1974, p. 408 f.)

Within just half a year, Hitler would succeed in liquidating all these now passé and essentially irrelevant political parties. Not just the Socialist Party, already rejected by the people themselves, but all the other conniving party politicians as well: the conservatives, a century behind the times, the myopic nationalists, and the boastful Catholic centrists — all of them agents and collaborators in Germany's road to ruin between 1919 to 1933.

All of these parties had clearly lost their drive. That some voters still supported them in early 1933, even after Hitler had become Chancellor, was largely out of habit. Their impetus was gone. The parties of the Weimar system had botched everything and let the nation go to ruin. Germany's collapse, her six million unemployed, the widespread hunger, the demoralization of an entire people: all this was their doing. Now that a strong leader with broad national support had taken their place, what could they do? As Joachim Fest would later write, they were “like a spider web with which one hoped to catch eagles.”

Hitler's millions of followers had rediscovered the primal strength of rough, uncitified man, of a time when men still had backbone. Theirs was a Dionysian power, one that they would conserve for the great challenges to come: it wouldn't be needed against the political parties. A mere shrug of the shoulders, and those would fall apart.

It was fitting that the first to crumble was the Social Democratic party (SPD). It went out with a whimper.

It had still shown some guts on March 23, when its Reichstag deputies refused to vote Hitler plenary powers. After 1945 the Socialist party would glory in that deed, while at the same time taking care not to add that less than two months later, on May 17, the Social Democratic deputies decided to approve Hitler's major address to the Reichstag on foreign policy. It was as if they felt themselves swept along by the surge of popular support for Hitler, even within the ranks of their own party. Along with the National Socialist deputies, they voiced their approval for Hitler's policy.

From his perch as Reichstag president, Göring turned to glance at the turncoats, and commented: "The world has seen that the German people are united where their destiny is at stake."

Now that the Social Democratic leadership, which for so long had railed against Hitler, decided to back him in the Reichstag, the party's rank and file could hardly be expected to oppose him. That day marked the end of the Social Democratic party's credibility. Following the example of their own party leadership, the large SPD electorate would, understandably, now also vote for Hitler.

After this act of capitulation, it was now child's play for Hitler to liquidate the Social Democratic party. Four weeks later, on June 22, it was officially dissolved. "No one," Fest has observed, "expected any show of resistance on the part of the SPD." The party's initials could more fittingly have been RIP: *resquiescat in pace*.

The peace would be total. Apart from a few leftist members of the Reichstag who went into exile and led isolated and unproductive lives abroad, the now former Socialist deputies continued, each month, to pocket the pensions that Hitler had allowed them. They walked about unmolested on the streets of Berlin. A number of them, some with great success, even threw in their lot with the National Socialists.

Gustav Noske, the lumberjack who became defense minister — and the most valiant defender of the embattled republic in the tumultuous months immediately following the collapse of 1918 — acknowledged honestly in 1944, when the Third Reich was already rapidly breaking down, that the great majority of the German people still remained true to Hitler because of the social renewal he had brought to the working class.

After the "Reds," the "Whites" had their turn. Of the two dozen or so political parties that existed in Germany in 1932-1933, a number of the smaller ones quietly dissolved themselves without anyone even noticing their demise. They had been created for no reason other than to aid the political ambitions of their founders. But now, with no more Reichstag seats in sight, there was no further point in trying to recruit voters.

The parties of the right, formerly important but now abandoned by their voters, were conscious of the futility of expending any further effort or money to subsist artificially. Now lacking any popular support, one after another they, too, voluntarily disbanded. The "German National People's Party," abandoned by its bourgeois supporters, was the first to give up the ghost. A few days later, on June 28, the "State Party" did the same. The "Bavarian People's Party" and the "German People's Party" took the same step on July 4.

Of all the conservative mossbacks, the most difficult to get rid of was Alfred Hugenberg, the media titan who was still a minister in Hitler's cabinet. Nazis rather disrespectfully called him "the old porker in the beet patch." Hugenberg ultimately lost his cabinet post because he overplayed the role of zealous nationalist at a conference in London in June 1933, making a claim, premature to say the least, for the return to Germany of her colonies, and calling for German economic expansion into the Ukraine! Hitler regarded this as totally inopportune, particularly at a time

when he was making every effort to reassure his skeptics and critics abroad. After this diplomatic blunder, Hugenberg had no choice but to resign. Thus departed the once powerful capitalist who had vowed, on January 30, to politically muzzle the newly named Chancellor.

His dismissal was a double success for Hitler: by disavowing an international troublemaker, he reassured those outside the Germany who had been alarmed by Hugenberg's ill-chosen statements; and he rid himself of a political liability whose diplomatic gaffe had cost him whatever standing he had in von Hindenburg's esteem.

The last political factor to go was the clerico-bourgeois "Center" party. Following its vote on March 23 to give Hitler plenary powers, the Center had forfeited all credibility as an opposition party. Its following dwindled away in indifference. After all, if Center leader Monsignor Kaas decided to side with the Führer in the Reichstag, why shouldn't the party's rank and file do likewise?

Meanwhile, diplomatic negotiations with the Vatican on a concordat to regulate relations between the German state and the Catholic church were close to a favorable conclusion. In this effort, perhaps more than any other, Hitler manifested patience, cunning, and tact. He needed political peace with the Church, at least until, with the help of the hierarchy, he could count completely on the support of Germany's many Catholics.

By voting for Hitler in the Reichstag, Center leader Kaas and his pious clerics had unsuspectingly fallen into a trap. On July 5, 1933, they declared themselves politically neutral and dissolved themselves as a party.

As a contemporary observer noted: "All the things being abolished no longer concerned people very much." With regard to the rapid demise of the political parties and the other political forces of both the right and left, Joachim Fest aptly commented: "If anything could have demonstrated the sapped vitality of the Weimar Republic, it was the ease with which the institutions that had sustained it let themselves be overwhelmed." (Quoted in: J. Fest, *Hitler*, New York: 1974, p. 415.)

To abolish the political parties and swallow up their once vast networks of voters took only a scant half year, and with little damage to life or limb. Hitler had succeeded in winning over or at least neutralizing those who had so recently reviled and jeered him. No one was more astonished at the rapidity with which the political parties had succumbed than Hitler himself. "One would never have thought so miserable a collapse possible," he remarked in July 1933, after having thrown the last shovelful of dirt on the graves of the Weimar Republic's once mighty parties.

(J. Fest, *Hitler*, p. 415.)

IV. Unification of the Labor Unions

Only one significant political factor still remained: the Marxist trade unions. For many years they had represented one of the country's most potent forces. Although nominally only an economic factor, they had also been a major political factor, furnishing the Communists with their militants and the Social Democrats with the bulk of their voters.

For fifteen years they had been a constant and fanatical pressure group, stirring up turmoil in the streets and formulating ever greater demands. The unions had long provided the Left with large amounts of money, funds that were continually replenished by the contributions of millions of union members.

Here again, well before the collapse of party-ridden Weimar Republic, disillusion with the unions had become widespread among the working masses. They were starving. The hundreds of Socialist and Communist deputies stood idly by, impotent to provide any meaningful help to the desperate proletariat.

Their leaders had no proposals to remedy, even partially, the great distress of the people; no plans for large-scale public works, no industrial restructuring, no search for markets abroad.

Moreover, they offered no energetic resistance to the pillaging by foreign countries of the Reich's last financial resources: this a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles that the German Socialists had voted to ratify in June of 1919, and which they had never since had the courage effectively to oppose.

The few palliative modifications that had been won, wrested with great difficulty from the rapacious Allies, had been achieved by Gustav Stresemann, the conservative foreign affairs minister. Although he enjoyed little or no support, even from the politicians, Stresemann fought stubbornly, in spite of faltering health, to liberate the Reich. Enduring fainting fits, and with a goiter, growing ever more enormous, knotted around his neck like a boa constrictor, Stresemann, even as he was dying, was the only Weimar leader who had seriously attempted to pry away the foreign talons from the flesh of the German people.

In 1930, 1931 and 1932, German workers had watched the disaster grow: the number of unemployed rose from two million to three, to four, to five, then to six million. At the same time, unemployment benefits fell lower and lower, finally to disappear completely. Everywhere one saw dejection and privation: emaciated mothers, children wasting away in sordid lodgings, and thousands of beggars in long sad lines.

The failure, or incapacity, of the leftist leaders to act, not to mention their insensitivity, had stupefied the working class. Of what use were such leaders with their empty heads and empty hearts — and, often enough, full pockets?

Well before January 30, thousands of workers had already joined up with Hitler's dynamic formations, which were always hard at it where they were most needed. Many joined the National Socialists when they went on strike. Hitler, himself a former worker and a plain man like themselves, was determined to eliminate unemployment root and branch. He wanted not merely to defend the laborer's right to work, but to make his calling one of honor, to insure him respect and to integrate him fully into a living community of all the Germans, who had been divided class against class.

In January 1933, Hitler's victorious troops were already largely proletarian in character, including numerous hardfisted street brawlers, many unemployed, who no longer counted economically or socially.

Meanwhile, membership in the Marxist labor unions had fallen off enormously: among thirteen million socialist and Communist voters in 1932, no more than five million were union members. Indifference and discouragement had reached such levels that many members no longer paid their union dues. Many increasingly dispirited Marxist leaders began to wonder if perhaps the millions of deserters were the ones who saw things clearly. Soon they wouldn't wonder any longer.

Even before Hitler won Reichstag backing for his "Enabling Act," Germany's giant labor union federation, the ADGB, had begun to rally to the National Socialist cause. As historian Joachim

Fest acknowledged: "On March 20, the labor federation's executive committee addressed a kind of declaration of loyalty to Hitler." (J. Fest, *Hitler*, p. 413.)

Hitler than took a bold and clever step. The unions had always clamored to have the First of May recognized as a worker's holiday, but the Weimar Republic had never acceded to their request. Hitler, never missing an opportunity, grasped this one with both hands. He did more than grant this reasonable demand: he proclaimed the First of May a national holiday.

Just as the Socialist party had gone from a vote in the Reichstag against Hitler (March 23, 1933) to a vote of support (May 17, 1933), so did the union leaders make a 180-degree turn within weeks. At one stroke, Hitler granted to the union what they had vainly asked of every previous government: a holiday celebrated by the entire nation. He announced that in order to honor Labor, he would organize the biggest meeting in Germany's history on the First of May at Tempelhof airfield in Berlin. Caught unprepared, but on the whole very pleased to take advantage of the situation by throwing in their lot with National Socialism and, what is more, to take part in a mass demonstration the like of which even Marxist workers could scarcely imagine, the union leadership called upon their leftist rank and file to join, with banners flying, the mass meetings held that May Day across Germany, and to acclaim Hitler.

I myself attended the memorable meeting at the Tempelhof field in 1933. By nine o'clock that morning, giant columns, some of workers, others of youth groups, marching in cadence down the pavement of Berlin's great avenues, had started off towards the airfield to which Hitler had called together all Germans. All Germany would follow the rally as it was transmitted nationwide by radio.

By noon hundreds of thousands of workers — Hitlerites and non-Hitlerites — were massed on the vast field. The demonstrators observed impeccable order. Hundreds of tables, quickly set up by the Party, provided the ever-increasing throngs with sandwiches, sausages, and mugs of beer at cost, to refresh the new arrivals after their march.

Everyone, of course, was standing, and would remain so for up to fourteen hours.

A fabulous speaker's platform stood out against the sky, three stories high, flamboyant with huge flags, as impressive as a naval shipyard. As the hours went by, thousands of prominent figures took their seats, including many members of the foreign diplomatic corps. By the close of the day, a million and a half spectators stretched to the outermost edges of the immense plain. Soldiers and civilians mingled together. Fanfares sounded repeatedly. A political meeting no longer, it had become a festival, a sort of fantastic Bruegelian kermess, where middle-class burghers, generals and workers all met and fraternized as Germans and as equals.

Night fell and Hitler appeared. His speaker's rostrum was indeed like the prow of a giant ship. The hundreds of beacons which had illuminated the great sea of humanity were now extinguished. Suddenly, Hitler burst forth from the dark, a solitary figure, high in the air, lit by the dazzling glare of spotlights.

In the dark, a group of determined opponents could easily have heckled Hitler or otherwise sabotaged the meeting. Perhaps a third of the onlookers had been Socialists or Communists only three months previously. But not a single hostile voice was raised during the entire ceremony. There was only universal acclamation.

Ceremony is the right word for it. It was an almost magical rite. Hitler and Goebbels had no equals in the arranging of dedicatory ceremonies of this sort. First there were popular songs, then

great Wagnerian hymns to grip the audience. Germany has a passion for orchestral music, and Wagner taps the deepest and most secret vein of the German soul, its romanticism, its inborn sense of the powerful and the grand.

Meanwhile the hundreds of flags floated above the rostrum, redeemed from the darkness by arrows of light.

Now Hitler strode to the rostrum. For those standing at the edge of the field, his face must have appeared vanishingly small, but his words flooded instantaneously across the acres of people in his audience.

A Latin audience would have preferred a voice less harsh, more delicately expressive. But there was no doubt that Hitler spoke to the psyche of the German people.

Germans have rarely had the good fortune to experience the enchantment of the spoken word. In Germany, the tone has always been set by ponderous speakers, more fond of elephantine pedantry than oratorical passion. Hitler, as a speaker, was a prodigy, the greatest orator of his century. He possessed, above all, what the ordinary speaker lacks: a mysterious ability to project power.

A bit like a medium or sorcerer, he was seized, even transfixed, as he addressed a crowd. It responded to Hitler's projection of power, radiating it back, establishing, in the course of myriad exchanges, a current that both orator and audience gave to and drew from equally. One had to personally experience him speaking to understand this phenomenon.

This special gift is what lay at the basis of Hitler's ability to win over the masses. His high-voltage, lightning-like projection transported and transformed all who experienced it. Tens of millions were enlightened, riveted and inflamed by the fire of his anger, irony, and passion.

By the time the cheering died away that May first evening, hundreds of thousands of previously indifferent or even hostile workers who had come to Tempelhof at the urging of their labor federation leaders were now won over. They had become followers, like the SA stormtroopers whom so many there that evening had brawled with in recent years.

The great human sea surged back from Tempelhof to Berlin. A million and a half people had arrived in perfect order, and their departure was just as orderly. No bottlenecks halted the cars and busses. For those of us who witnessed it, this rigorous, yet joyful, discipline of a contented people was in itself a source of wonder. Everything about the May Day mass meeting had come off as smoothly clockwork.

The memory of that fabulous crowd thronging back to the center of Berlin will never leave me. A great many were on foot. Their faces were now different faces, as though they had been imbued with a strange and totally new spirit. The non-Germans in the crowd were as if stunned, and no less impressed than Hitler's fellow countrymen.

The French ambassador, André François-Poncet, noted:

The foreigners on the speaker's platform as guests of honor were not alone in carrying away the impression of a truly beautiful and wonderful public festival, an impression that was created by the regime's genius for organization, by the night time display of uniforms, by the play of lights, the rhythm of the music, by the flags and the

colorful fireworks; and they were not alone in thinking that a breath of reconciliation and unity was passing over the Third Reich.

“It is our wish,” Hitler had exclaimed, as though taking heaven as his witness, “to get along together and to struggle together as brothers, so that at the hour when we shall come before God, we might say to him: ‘See, Lord, we have changed. The German people are no longer a people ashamed, a people mean and cowardly and divided. No, Lord! The German people have become strong in their spirit, in their will, in their perseverance, in their acceptance of any sacrifice. Lord, we remain faithful to Thee! Bless our struggle!’” (A. François-Poncet, *Souvenirs d'une ambassade à Berlin*, p. 128.)

Who else could have made such an incantatory appeal without making himself look ridiculous?

No politician had ever spoken of the rights of workers with such faith and such force, or had laid out in such clear terms the social plan he pledged to carry out on behalf of the common people.

The next day, the newspaper of the proletarian left, the “Union Journal,” reported on this mass meeting at which at least two thirds — a million — of those attending were workers. “This May First was victory day,” the paper summed up.

With the workers thus won over, what further need was there for the thousands of labor union locals that for so long had poisoned the social life of the Reich and which, in any case, had accomplished nothing of a lasting, positive nature?

Within hours of the conclusion of that “victory” meeting at the Tempelhof field, the National Socialists were able to peacefully take complete control of Germany’s entire labor union organization, including all its buildings, enterprises and banks. An era of Marxist obstruction abruptly came to an end: from now on, a single national organization would embody the collective will and interests of all of Germany’s workers.

Although he was now well on his way to creating what he pledged would be a true “government of the people,” Hitler also realized that great obstacles remained. For one thing, the Communist rulers in Moscow had not dropped their guard — or their guns. Restoring the nation would take more than words and promises, it would take solid achievements. Only then would the enthusiasm shown by the working class at the May First mass meeting be an expression of lasting victory.

How could Hitler solve the great problem that had defied solution by everyone else (both in Germany and abroad): putting millions of unemployed back to work?

What would Hitler do about wages? Working hours? Leisure time? Housing? How would he succeed in winning, at long last, respect for the rights and dignity of the worker?

How could men’s lives be improved — materially, morally, and, one might even say, spiritually? How would he proceed to build a new society fit for human beings, free of the inertia, injustices and prejudices of the past?

“National Socialism,” Hitler had declared at the outset, “has its mission and its hour; it is not just a passing movement but a phase of history.”

The instruments of real power now in his hands — an authoritarian state, its provinces subordinate but nonetheless organic parts of the national whole — Hitler had acted quickly to shake himself free of the last constraints of the impotent sectarian political parties. Moreover, he was now able to direct a cohesive labor force that was no longer split into a thousand rivulets but flowed as a single, mighty current.

Hitler was self-confident, sure of the power of his own conviction. He had no intention, or need, to resort to the use of physical force. Instead, he intended to win over, one by one, the millions of Germans who were still his adversaries, and even those who still hated him.

His conquest of Germany had taken years of careful planning and hard work. Similarly, he would now realize his carefully worked out plans for transforming the state and society. This meant not merely changes in administrative or governmental structures, but far-reaching social programs.

He had once vowed: “The hour will come when the 15 million people who now hate us will be solidly behind us and will acclaim with us the new revival we shall create together.” Eventually he would succeed in winning over even many of his most refractory skeptics and adversaries.

His army of converts was already forming ranks. In a remarkable tribute, historian Joachim Fest felt obliged to acknowledge unequivocally:

Hitler had moved rapidly from the status of a demagogue to that of a respected statesman. The craving to join the ranks of the victors was spreading like an epidemic, and the shrunken minority of those who resisted the urge were being visibly pushed into isolation — The past was dead. The future, it seemed, belonged to the regime, which had more and more followers, which was being hailed everywhere and suddenly had sound reasons on its side.

And even the prominent leftist writer Kurt Tucholsky, sensing the direction of the inexorable tide that was sweeping Germany, vividly commented: “You don’t go railing against the ocean.” (J. Fest, *Hitler*, pp. 415 f.)

“Our power,” Hitler was now able to declare, “no longer belongs to any territorial fraction of the Reich, nor to any single class of the nation, but to the people in its totality.”

Much still remained to be done, however. So far, Hitler had succeeded in clearing the way of obstacles to his program. Now the time to build had arrived.

So many others had failed to tackle the many daunting problems that were now his responsibility. Above all, the nation demanded a solution to the great problem of unemployment. Could Hitler now succeed where others had so dismally failed?

V. Where To Find The Billions?

As he stood, silent and preoccupied, at his chancellery window on that January evening, receiving the acclaim of the crowd, Hitler was seized with anxiety — and not without reason.

In his memoirs, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht recalled: “I had the impression that he was a man fairly crushed by the weight of the responsibility he was taking on — That profound emotional upheaval of which I was a witness could not possibly have been mere playacting: it betrayed true feelings.” (H. Schacht, *Mémoires d'un magicien*, vol. II, p. 52.)

Hitler, however, was a man capable of overcoming such anxieties. Although he faced an agonizing national tragedy — immense unemployment, general misery, almost total industrial stagnation — which no other politician had been able even to ameliorate, this youthful leader would take on this challenge with an extraordinary sense of purpose and will.

Hitler had no sooner been voted plenary powers than he rolled up his shirt-sleeves, and begun to carry out his well-laid plans.

Unlike the other responsible — or irresponsible — politicians of twentieth-century Europe, Hitler did not believe that fighting for his country's economic health meant having to impassively accept one setback after another, stand idly by while industries died, or look on as millions of unemployed workers tramped the streets.

In those days, the only solution to these problems that was accepted by politicians and economists in the democracies was to drastically cut spending, both governmental and private. Belt-tightening was the agreed-upon remedy.

Thus, Germany's leaders prior to Hitler had cut salaries by 25 percent, limited payment of unemployment benefits to six months, and reduced total private investment by five sixths. The country's standard of living had collapsed like a deflated balloon. At the end of six months the unemployed obviously had not found new jobs. To the contrary, they were joined by long lines of new unemployed. Deprived of all means of subsistence, they gravitated to the welfare offices.

People spent less and less, with the inevitable consequence that industries producing consumer goods closed their doors, one after another, for lack of orders, thereby sending thousands more unemployed into the streets. In 1932, Germany's industries were languishing, their production reduced by half.

Yearly private investment had fallen from three billion marks to barely 500 million. No new blood had been injected into the industrial system, no workplaces modernized. The economy stagnated.

The government not only lacked any new initiatives, it was almost bankrupt. Fiscal receipts had fallen to ten billion marks, of which the meager and short-term unemployment benefits alone absorbed two thirds.

Germany couldn't wait for a business upswing to get the economy moving again. As Hitler had long understood, the government had to bring economic renewal by bold action and imaginative enterprise.

Unemployment could be combated and eliminated only by giving industry the financial means to start up anew, to modernize, thus creating millions of new jobs.

The normal rate of consumption would not be restored, let alone increased, unless one first raised the starvation-level allowances that were making purchases of any kind a virtual impossibility. On the contrary, production and sales would have to be restored before the six million unemployed could once again become purchasers.

The great economic depression could be overcome only by restimulating industry, by bringing industry into step with the times, and by promoting the development of new products.

Because Germany had no petroleum, for example, the production of synthetic gasoline (from coal) should be encouraged as much as possible. The technique was already known, but it needed to be applied. Similarly, Germany was able to produce an artificial substitute for rubber, "Buna." But the plans for its development and production were still stored away in file cabinets. Only a small percentage of practical new inventions ever left the records files.

Great public works projects were another way to create new jobs, stimulate industrial activity, and revive the economy. For one thing, Germany's mediocre roads needed vast improvement. Moreover, the demands of the time called for the construction of a national network of modern highways. Radiating thousands of kilometers, these great concrete lifelines would encourage increased commerce and communication among the Reich's many regions.

New highways would also encourage increased automobile production. Considering the potential, Germany was still quite backward in automobile production. It manufactured only one-fifth as many cars as France.

Nearly ten years earlier, while in his prison cell, Hitler had already envisioned a formidable system of national highways. He had also conceived of a small, easily affordable automobile (later known as the "Volkswagen"), and had even suggested its outline. It should have the shape of a June bug, he proposed. Nature itself suggested the car's aerodynamic line.

Until Hitler came to power, a car was the privilege of the rich. It was not financially within the reach of the middle class, much less of the worker. The "Volkswagen," costing one-tenth as much as the standard automobile of earlier years, would eventually become a popular work vehicle and a source of pleasure after work: a way to unwind and get some fresh air, and of discovering, thanks to the new Autobahn highway network, a magnificent country that then, in its totality, was virtually unknown to the German worker.

From the beginning, Hitler wanted this economical new car to be built for the millions. The production works would also become one of Germany's most important industrial centers and employers.

During his imprisonment, Hitler had also drawn up plans for the construction of popular housing developments and majestic public buildings.

Some of Hitler's rough sketches still survive. They include groups of individual worker's houses with their own gardens (which were to be built in the hundreds of thousands), a plan for a covered stadium in Berlin, and a vast congress hall, unlike any other in the world, that would symbolize the grandeur of the National Socialist revolution.

"A building with a monumental dome," historian Werner Maser has explained, "the plan of which he drew while he was writing *Mein Kampf*, would have a span of 46 meters, a height of 220 meters, a diameter of 250 meters, and a capacity of 150 to 190 thousand people standing. The interior of the building would have been 17 times larger than Saint Peter's Cathedral in Rome." (W. Maser, *Hitler, Adolf*, p. 100.)

"That hall," architect Albert Speer has pointed out, "was not just an idle dream impossible of achievement."

Hitler's imagination, therefore, had long been teeming with a number of ambitious projects, many of which would eventually be realized.

Fortunately, the needed entrepreneurs, managers and technicians were on hand. Hitler would not have to improvise.

Historian Werner Maser, although quite anti-Hitler — like nearly all of his colleagues (how else would they have found publishers?) — has acknowledged: “From the beginning of his political career, he [Hitler] took great pains systematically to arrange for whatever he was going to need in order to carry out his plans.”

“Hitler was distinguished,” Maser has also noted, “by an exceptional intelligence in technical matters.” Hitler had acquired his knowledge by devoting many thousands of hours to technical studies from the time of his youth.

“Hitler read an endless number of books,” explained Dr. Schacht. “He acquired a very considerable amount of knowledge and made masterful use of it in discussions and speeches. In certain respects he was a man endowed with genius. He had ideas that no one else would ever have thought of, ideas that resulted in the ending of great difficulties, sometimes by measures of an astonishing simplicity or brutality.”

Many billions of marks would be needed to begin the great socioeconomic revolution that was destined, as Hitler had always inted, to make Germany once again the European leader in industry and commerce and, most urgently, to rapidly wipe out unemployment in Germany. Where would the money be found? And, once obtained, how would these funds be allotted to ensure maximum effectiveness in their investment?

Hitler was by no means a dictator in matters of the economy. He was, rather, a stimulator. His government would undertake to do only that which private initiative could not.

Hitler believed in the importance of individual creative imagination and dynamism, in the need for every person of superior ability and skill to assume responsibility.

He also recognized the importance of the profit motive. Deprived of the prospect of having his efforts rewarded, the person of ability often refrains from running risks. The economic failure of Communism has demonstrated this. In the absence of personal incentives and the opportunity for real individual initiative, the Soviet “command economy” lagged in all but a few fields, its industry years behind its competitors.

State monopoly tolls the death of all initiative, and hence of all progress.

For all men selflessly to pool their wealth might be marvelous, but it is also contrary to human nature. Nearly every man desires that his labor shall improve his own condition and that of his family, and feels that his brain, creative imagination, and persistence well deserve their reward.

Because it disregarded these basic psychological truths, Soviet Communism, right to the end, wallowed in economic mediocrity, in spite of its immense reservoir of manpower, its technical expertise, and its abundant natural resources, all of which ought to have made it an industrial and technological giant.

Hitler was always adverse to the idea of state management of the economy. He believed in elites. “A single idea of genius,” he used to say, “has more value than a lifetime of conscientious labor in an office.”

Just as there are political or intellectual elites, so also is there an industrial elite. A manufacturer of great ability should not be restrained, hunted down by the internal revenue services like a criminal, or be unappreciated by the public. On the contrary, it is important for economic development that the industrialist be encouraged morally and materially, as much as possible.

The most fruitful initiatives Hitler would take from 1933 on would be on behalf of private enterprise. He would keep an eye on the quality of their directors, to be sure, and would shunt aside incompetents, quite a few of them at times, but he also supported the best ones, those with the keenest minds, the most imaginative and bold, even if their political opinions did not always agree with his own.

“There is no question,” he stated very firmly, “of dismissing a factory owner or director under the pretext that he is not a National Socialist.”

Hitler would exercise the same moderation, the same pragmatism, in the administrative as well as in the industrial sphere.

What he demanded of his co-workers, above all, was competence and effectiveness. The great majority of Third Reich functionaries — some 80 percent — were never enrolled in the National Socialist party. Several of Hitler’s ministers, like Konstantin von Neurath and Schwerin von Krosigk, and ambassadors to such key posts as Prague, Vienna and Ankara, were not members of the party. But they were capable.

While Hitler kept a close eye on opportunists (such as Franz von Papen, who was both intelligent and clever) he knew how to make the best use of such men, and to honor them and recognize their achievements.

Similarly, he did not hesitate to keep on competent bureaucrats chosen by his predecessors. A good example was Dr. Otto Meissner, who had headed the presidential chancellery under the socialist Ebert and the conservative von Hindenburg, and who had done everything in his power, up to the last minute, to torpedo Hitler’s accession to power. But Meissner knew his work, and Hitler wisely kept him on the job. Hitler treated him with respect and confidence, and Meissner served the the Führer faithfully and efficiently for twelve years.

Perhaps the most remarkable such case is that of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the most discerning and competent of Germany’s financiers in 1933. A Hitler supporter? By no means! Schacht never was and never would be a supporter of anyone but himself. But he was the best in the business: for getting the Reich’s economy moving again, he had no equal.

Ten years earlier, at the of 1923, Schacht had financially rescued the Weimar Republic by helping to invent the “Rentenmark.” He was shrewd and imaginative, and thus capable of understanding and implementing the boldest of Hitler’s plans.

Schacht’s personal ambition was immense, but this was yet another reason for Hitler to give him every possibility to rise as high as he could. Within weeks of taking power, Hitler appointed him President of the Reichsbank, and then, a year later, as Economics Minister as well. Schacht couldn’t be happier.

Dangerous? Of course! Doubly so, inasmuch as Schacht was a capitalist to the core, with close ties to major foreign banking interests, not excluding Jewish financiers in London and New York. Moreover, Schacht cared little for Hitler’s revolutionary program, which regarded labor as the true source of national wealth.

Hitler called on the brilliant Dr. Schacht to devise new ways of acquiring the funds necessary for what he intended to accomplish. That was a great deal, but it was all. The collaboration went no further: Schacht was never permitted to intervene in political matters. When Schacht's financial formulas had served their purpose, the collaboration would end. Until he was dismissed as Reichsbank president in 1939, Hitler made good use of his extraordinary talents. But Schacht never forgave his dismissal, and would nurse a seething resentment.

Determined to conjure up billions of marks as quickly as possible, and by any means available, in early February 1933 Hitler summoned Schacht's predecessor as Reichsbank president, Dr. Hans Luther, to his office. Luther, who had been appointed to his post in 1930 by a previous administration, had old-fashioned views of extreme prudence in the management of state funds. Since the state's coffers were nearly empty, he was all the more prudent. His detachable collar, stiff as a calling card, proclaimed the rigidity of his principles. He belonged to the old school of accountants who spend a dollar only when they have a dollar.

Hitler was well aware that this capable man was not happy to be presiding over a central bank that lacked funds. It was not, however, to have Luther empty the state treasury that Hitler had summoned him, but to ask him to devise new means of financing Germany's recovery.

It was a question of imagination, but Luther's brain was not a volcano of new ideas; it was a calculator.

"How much money," Hitler asked him, "can you put at my disposal for creating jobs?" Luther hesitated to respond immediately; his mental calculator began functioning. After working out the calculations in his mind, he responded as though speaking to the director of a large financial firm: "One hundred and fifty million."

An eloquent answer, it showed just how completely Hitler's predecessors and their colleagues were lacking in their understanding of the scope of the resources that would be needed to save the Reich. One hundred and fifty million, at a time when the German government was pouring a billion marks every three months into unemployment benefits alone!

With a budget of 150 million marks, the German treasury would have been hard put to spare even three or four marks a day to the five or six or seven million unemployed over one short week.

Clearly, this question had never been put to Dr. Luther, and no Reich leader before Hitler had ever troubled to learn how to go about raising the funds that would be indispensable for carrying out a serious program to put Germany back to work.

Obviously, then, Dr. Luther was not the person to put Hitler's program into effect. The new Chancellor then thought of Schacht, the sly old fox. He was always good for a trick, and now Hitler needed some of his magic.

"Herr Schacht," he said, "we are assuredly in agreement on one point: no other single task facing the government at the moment can be so truly urgent as conquering unemployment. That will take a lot of money. Do you see any possibility of finding it apart from the Reichsbank?" And after a moment, he added: "How much would it take? Do you have any idea?"

Wishing to win Schacht over by appealing to his ambition, Hitler smiled and then asked: "Would you be willing to once again assume presidency of the Reichsbank?" Schacht let on that he had a

sentimental concern for Dr. Luther, and did not want to hurt the incumbent's feelings. Playing along, Hitler reassured Schacht that he would find an appropriate new job elsewhere for Luther.

Schacht then pricked up his ears, drew himself up, and focused his big round eyes on Hitler: "Well, if that's the way it is," he said, "then I am ready to assume the presidency of the Reichsbank again."

His great dream was being realized. Schacht had been president of the Reichsbank between 1923 and 1930, but had been dismissed. Now he would return in triumph. He felt vindicated. Within weeks, the ingenious solution to Germany's pressing financial woes would burst forth from his inventive brain.

"It was necessary," Schacht later explained, "to discover a method that would avoid inflating the investment holdings of the Reichsbank immoderately and consequently increasing the circulation of money excessively."

"Therefore," he went on, "I had to find some means of getting the sums that were lying idle in pockets and banks, without meaning for it to be long term and without having it undergo the risk of depreciation. That was the reasoning behind the Mefo bonds."

What were these "Mefo" bonds? Mefo was a contraction of the *Metallurgische Forschungs-GmbH* (Metallurgic Research Company). With a startup capitalization of one billion marks — which Hitler and Schacht arranged to be provided by the four giant firms of Krupp, Siemens, Deutsche Werke and Rheinmetall — this company would eventually promote many billions of marks worth of investment.

Enterprises, old and new, that filled government orders had only to draw drafts on Mefo for the amounts due. These drafts, when presented to the Reichsbank, were immediately convertible into cash. The success of the Mefo program depended entirely on public acceptance of the Mefo bonds. But the wily Schacht had planned well. Since Mefo bonds were short-term bonds that could be cashed in at any time, there was no real risk in buying, accepting or holding them. They bore an interest of four percent — a quite acceptable figure in those days — whereas banknotes hidden under the mattress earned nothing. The public quickly took all this into consideration and eagerly accepted the bonds.

While the Reichsbank was able to offer from its own treasury a relatively insignificant 150 million marks for Hitler's war on unemployment, in just four years the German public subscribed more than 12 billion marks worth of Mefo bonds!

These billions, the fruit of the combined imagination, ingenuity and astuteness of Hitler and Schacht, swept away the temporizing and fearful conservatism of the bankers. Over the next four years, this enormous credit reserve would make miracles possible.

Soon after the initial billion-mark credit, Schacht added another credit of 600 million in order to finance the start of Hitler's grand program for highway construction. This Autobahn program provided immediate work for 100,000 of the unemployed, and eventually assured wages for some 500,000 workers.

As large as this outlay was, it was immediately offset by a corresponding cutback in government unemployment benefits, and by the additional tax revenue generated as a result of the increase in living standard (sping) of the newly employed.

Within a few months, thanks to the credit created by the Mefo bonds, private industry once again dared to assume risks and expand. Germans returned to work by the hundreds of thousands.

Was Schacht solely responsible for this extraordinary turnaround? After the war, he answered for himself as a Nuremberg Tribunal defendant, where he was charged with having made possible the Reich's economic revival:

I don't think Hitler was reduced to begging for my help. If I had not served him, he would have found other methods, other means. He was not a man to give up. It's easy enough for you to say, Mr. Prosecutor, that I should have watched Hitler die and not lifted a finger. But the entire working class would have died with him!

Even Marxists recognized Hitler's success, and their own failure. In the June 1934 issue of the *Zeitschrift für Sozialismus*, the journal of the German Social Democrats in exile, this acknowledgement appears:

Faced with the despair of proletarians reduced to joblessness, of young people with diplomas and no future, of the middle classes of merchants and artisans condemned to bankruptcy, and of farmers terribly threatened by the collapse in agricultural prices, we all failed. We weren't capable of offering the masses anything but speeches about the glory of socialism.

VI. The Social Revolution

Hitler's tremendous social achievement in putting Germany's six million unemployed back to work is seldom acknowledged today. Although it was much more than a transitory achievement, "democratic" historians routinely dismiss it in just a few lines. Since 1945, not a single objective scholarly study has been devoted to this highly significant, indeed unprecedented, historical phenomenon.

Similarly neglected is the body of sweeping reforms that dramatically changed the condition of the worker in Germany. Factories were transformed from gloomy caverns to spacious and healthy work centers, with natural lighting, surrounded by gardens and playing fields. Hundreds of thousands of attractive houses were built for working class families. A policy of several weeks of paid vacation was introduced, along with week and holiday trips by land and sea. A wide-ranging program of physical and cultural education for young workers was established, with the world's best system of technical training. The Third Reich's social security and workers' health insurance system was the world's most modern and complete.

This remarkable record of social achievement is routinely hushed up today because it is embarrassing those who uphold the orthodox view of the Third Reich. Otherwise, readers might begin to think that perhaps Hitler was the greatest social builder of the twentieth century.

Because Hitler's program of social reform was a crucially important — indeed, essential — part of his life work, a realization of this fact might induce people to view Hitler with new eyes. Not surprisingly, therefore, all this is passed over in silence. Most historians insist on treating Hitler and the Third Reich simplistically, as part of a Manichaean morality play of good versus evil.

Nevertheless, restoring work and bread to millions of unemployed who had been living in misery for years; restructuring industrial life; conceiving and establishing an organization for the effective defense and betterment of the nation's millions of wage earners; creating a new bureaucracy and judicial system that guaranteed the civic rights of each member of the national community,

while simultaneously holding each person to his or her responsibilities as a German citizen: this organic body of reforms was part of a single, comprehensive plan, which Hitler had conceived and worked out years earlier.

Without this plan, the nation would have collapsed into anarchy. All-encompassing, this program included broad industrial recovery as well as detailed attention to even construction of comfortable inns along the new highway network.

It took several years for a stable social structure to emerge from the French Revolution. The Soviets needed even more time: five years after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, hundreds of thousands of Russians were still dying of hunger and disease. In Germany, by contrast, the great machinery was in motion within months, with organization and accomplishment quickly meshing together.

The single task of constructing a national highway system that was without parallel in the world might have occupied a government for years. First, the problem had to be studied and assessed. Then, with due consideration for the needs of the population and the economy, the highway system had to be carefully planned in all its particulars.

As usual, Hitler had been remarkably farsighted. The concrete highways would be 24 meters in width. They would be spanned by hundreds of bridges and overpasses. To make sure that the entire Autobahn network would be in harmony with the landscape, a great deal of natural rock would be utilized. The artistically planned roadways would come together and diverge as if they were large-scale works of art. The necessary service stations and motor inns would be thoughtfully integrated into the overall scheme, each facility built in harmony with the local landscape and architectural style.

The original plan called for 7,000 kilometers of roadway. This projection would later be increased to 10,000, and then, after Austria was reunited with Germany, to 11,000 kilometers.

The financial boldness equalled the technical vision. These expressways were toll free, which seemed foolhardy to conservative financiers. But the savings in time and labor, and the dramatic increase in traffic, brought increased tax revenues, notably from gasoline.

Germany was thus building for herself not only a vast highway network, but an avenue to economic prosperity.

These greatly expanded transport facilities encouraged the development of hundreds of new business enterprises along the new expressways. By eliminating congestion on secondary roads, the new highways stimulated travel by hundreds of thousands of tourists, and with it increased tourism commerce.

Even the wages paid out to the men who built the *Reichsautobahn* network brought considerable indirect benefits. First, they allowed a drastic cut in payments of unemployment benefits, or 25 percent of the total paid in wages. Second, the many workers employed in constructing the expressways — 100,000, and later 150,000 — spent much of the additional 75 percent, which in turn generated increased tax revenues.

Imagine the problems, even before the first road was opened for traffic, posed by the mobilization of so many tens of thousands set to work in often uninhabited regions, in marshy areas, or in the shadows of Alpine peaks! It's hard enough for 150,000 men to leave their homes and camp out in often rough terrain. But in addition, it was necessary, from the outset, to insure tolerable

living conditions for the columns of men who had agreed to work by the sweat of their brows under the open sky.

In France, it was all but unthinkable in those days for a man out of work to move even 20 kilometers away to search for a new job. He was practically glued to his native village, his garden, and the corner cafe. The Germans were fundamentally no different, but by 1933 they were fed up with their enforced idleness. By pouring concrete, using a pick, or whatever it took, this hard-pressed people would bring dignity back in their lives.

No one balked at the inconvenience, the absence from home, or the long journey. The will to live a productive and meaningful life outweighed all other considerations.

To keep up the worker's morale and spirit, lest he feel isolated or that he was merely being exploited, no effort was spared to provide material comfort, entertainment and instruction. The world had never before seen its like in any great construction project. At last, workers felt they were being treated like respected human beings who had bodies to be satisfied, hearts to be comforted, and brains to be enlightened.

Camp sites, supply bases, and recreation facilities were systematically set up, with everything moving forward methodically as the construction advanced. Fourteen mobile crews that provided motion picture entertainment traveled along, moving from one construction site to the next. And always and everywhere, labor was honored and celebrated.

Hitler personally dug the first spadeful of earth for the first Autobahn highway, linking Frankfurt-am-Main with Darmstadt. For the occasion, he brought along Dr. Schacht, the man whose visionary credit wizardry had made the project possible. The official procession moved ahead, three cars abreast in front, then six across, spanning the entire width of the autobahn.

The Second World War would abruptly halt work on this great construction undertaking. But what was envisioned and created remains as a deathless testimony to a man and an era.

Hitler's plan to build thousands of low-cost homes also demanded a vast mobilization of manpower. He had envisioned housing that would be attractive, cozy, and affordable for millions of ordinary German working-class families. He had no intention of continuing to tolerate, as his predecessors had, cramped, ugly "rabbit warren" housing for the German people. The great barracks-like housing projects on the outskirts of factory towns, packed with cramped families, disgusted him.

The greater part of the houses he would build were single story, detached dwellings, with small yards where children could romp, wives could grow vegetable and flower gardens, while the bread-winners could read their newspapers in peace after the day's work. These single-family homes were built to conform to the architectural styles of the various German regions, retaining as much as possible the charming local variants.

Wherever there was no practical alternative to building large apartment complexes, Hitler saw to it that the individual apartments were spacious, airy and enhanced by surrounding lawns and gardens where the children could play safely.

The new housing was, of course, built in conformity with the highest standards of public health, a consideration notoriously neglected in previous working-class projects.

Generous loans, amortizable in ten years, were granted to newly married couples so they could buy their own homes. At the birth of each child, a fourth of the debt was cancelled. Four children, at the normal rate of a new arrival every two and a half years, sufficed to cancel the entire loan debt.

Once, during a conversation with Hitler, I expressed my astonishment at this policy. “But then, you never get back the total amount of your loans?,” I asked. “How so?” he replied, smiling. “Over a period of ten years, a family with four children brings in much more than our loans, through the taxes levied on a hundred different items of consumption.”

As it happened, tax revenues increased every year, in proportion to the rise in expenditures for Hitler’s social programs. In just a few years, revenue from taxes tripled. Hitler’s Germany never experienced a financial crisis.

To stimulate the moribund economy demanded the nerve, which Hitler had, to invest money that the government didn’t yet have, rather than passively waiting — in accordance with “sound” financial principles — for the economy to revive by itself.

Today, our whole era is dying economically because we have succumbed to fearful hesitation. Enrichment follows investment, not the other way around.

Since Hitler, only Ronald Reagan has seemed to understand this. As President, he realized that to restore prosperity in the United States meant boldly stimulating the economy with credits and a drastic reduction in taxes, instead of waiting for the country to emerge from economic stagnation on its own.

Even before the year 1933 had ended, Hitler had succeeded in building 202,119 housing units. Within four years he would provide the German people with nearly a million and a half (1,458,128) new dwellings!

Moreover, workers would no longer be exploited as they had been. A month’s rent for a worker could not exceed 26 marks, or about an eighth of the average wage then. Employees with more substantial salaries paid monthly rents of up to 45 marks maximum.

Equally effective social measures were taken in behalf of farmers, who had the lowest incomes. In 1933 alone 17,611 new farm houses were built, each of them surrounded by a parcel of land one thousand square meters in size. Within three years, Hitler would build 91,000 such farm-houses. The rental for such dwellings could not legally exceed a modest share of the farmer’s income. This unprecedented ownership of land and housing was only one feature of a revolution that soon dramatically improved the living standards of the Reich’s rural population.

The great work of national construction rolled along. An additional 100,000 workers quickly found employment in repairing the nation’s secondary roads. Many more were hired to work on canals, dams, drainage and irrigation projects, helping to make fertile some of nation’s most barren regions.

Everywhere industry was hiring again, with some firms — like Krupp, IG Farben and the large automobile manufacturers — taking on new workers on a very large scale. As the country became more prosperous, car sales increased by more than 80,000 units in 1933 alone. Employment in the auto industry doubled. Germany was gearing up for full production, with private industry leading the way.

The new government lavished every assistance on the private sector, the chief factor in employment as well as production. Hitler almost immediately made available 500 million marks in credits to private business.

This start-up assistance given to German industry would repay itself many times over. Soon enough, another two billion marks would be loaned to the most enterprising companies. Nearly half would go into new wages and salaries, saving the treasury an estimated three hundred million marks in unemployment benefits. Added to the hundreds of millions in tax receipts spurred by the business recovery, the state quickly recovered its investment, and more.

Hitler's entire economic policy would be based on the following equation: risk large sums to undertake great public works and to spur the renewal and modernization of industry, then later recover the billions invested through invisible and painless tax revenues. It didn't take long for Germany to see the results of Hitler's recovery formula.

Economic recovery, as important as it was, nevertheless wasn't Hitler's only objective. As he strived to restore full employment, Hitler never lost sight of his goal of creating a organization powerful enough to stand up to capitalist owners and managers, who had shown little concern for the health and welfare of the entire national community.

Hitler would impose on everyone — powerful boss and lowly wage earner alike — his own concept of the organic social community. Only the loyal collaboration of everyone could assure the prosperity of all classes and social groups.

Consistent with their doctrine, Germany's Marxist leaders had set class against class, helping to bring the country to the brink of economic collapse. Deserting their Marxist unions and political parties in droves, most workers had come to realize that the less strikes and grievances their leaders incited only crippled production, and thus the workers as well.

By the of 1932, in any case, the discredited labor unions were drowning in massive debt that realistically could never be repaid. Some of the less scrupulous union officials, sensing the oncoming catastrophe, had begun stealing hundreds of thousands of marks from the workers they represented. The Marxist leaders had failed: socially, financially and morally.

Every joint human activity requires a leader. The head of a factory or business is also the person naturally responsible for it. He oversees every aspect of production and work. In Hitler's Germany, the head of a business had to be both a capable director and a person concerned for the social justice and welfare of his employees. Under Hitler, many owners and managers who had proven to be unjust, incompetent or recalcitrant lost their jobs, or their businesses.

A considerable number of legal guarantees protected the worker against any abuse of authority at the workplace. Their purpose was to insure that the rights of workers were respected, and that workers were treated as worthy collaborators, not just as animated tools. Each industrialist was legally obliged to collaborate with worker delegates in drafting shop regulations that were not imposed from above but instead adapted to each business enterprise and its particular working conditions. These regulations had to specify "the length of the working day, the time and method of paying wages, and the safety rules, and to be posted throughout the factory," within easy access of both the worker whose interests might be angered and the owner or manager whose orders might be subverted.

The thousands of different, individual versions of such regulations served to create a healthy rivalry, with every factory group vying to outdo the others in efficiency and justice.

One of the first reforms to benefit German workers was the establishment of paid vacations. In France, the leftist Popular Front government would noisily claim, in 1936, to have originated legally mandated paid vacations — and stingy ones at that, only one week per year. But it was actually Hitler who first established them, in 1933 — and they were two or three times more generous.

Under Hitler, every factory employee had the legal right to paid vacation. Previously, paid vacations had not normally exceed four or five days, and nearly half of the younger workers had no vacation time at all. If anything, Hitler favored younger workers; the youngest workers received more generous vacations. This was humane and made sense: a young person has more need of rest and fresh air to develop his maturing strength and vigor. Thus, they enjoyed a full 18 days of paid vacation per year.

Today, more than half a century later, these figures have been surpassed, but in 1933 they far exceeded European norms.

The standard vacation was twelve days. Then, from the age of 25 on, it went up to 18 days. After ten years with the company, workers got a still longer vacation: 21 days, or three times what the French socialists would grant the workers of their country in 1936.

Hitler introduced the standard forty-hour work week in Europe. As for overtime work, it was now compensated, as nowhere else in the continent at the time, at an increased pay rate. And with the eight-hour work day now the norm, overtime work became more readily available.

In another innovation, work breaks were made longer: two hours each day, allowing greater opportunity for workers to relax, and to make use of the playing fields that large industries were now required to provide.

Whereas a worker's right to job security had been virtually non-existent, now an employee could no longer be dismissed at the sole discretion of the employer. Hitler saw to it that workers' rights were spelled out and enforced. Henceforth, an employer had to give four weeks notice before firing an employee, who then had up to two months to appeal the dismissal. Dismissals could also be annulled by the "Courts of Social Honor" (*Ehrengerichte*).

This Court was one of three great institutions that were established to protect German workers. The others were the "Labor Commissions" and the "Council of Trust."

The "Council of Trust" (*Vertrauensrat*) was responsible for establishing and developing a real spirit of community between management and labor. "In every business enterprise," the 1934 "Labor Charter" law stipulated, "the employer and head of the enterprise (*Führer*), the employees and workers, personnel of the enterprise, shall work jointly toward the goal of the enterprise and the common good of the nation."

No longer would either be exploited by the other — neither the worker by arbitrary whim of the employer, nor the employer through the blackmail of strikes for political ends.

Article 35 of the "Labor Charter" law stated: "Every member of an enterprise community shall assume the responsibility required by his position in said common enterprise." In short, each enterprise would be headed by a dynamic executive, charged with a sense of the greater community — no longer a selfish capitalist with unconditional, arbitrary power.

“The interest of the community may require that an incapable or unworthy employer be relieved of his duties,” the “Labor Charter” stipulated. The employer was no longer unassailable, an all-powerful boss with the last word on hiring and firing his staff. He, too, would be subject to the workplace regulations, which he was now obliged to respect no less than the least of his employees. The law conferred the honor and responsibility of authority on the employer only insofar as he merited it.

Every business enterprise of twenty or more persons now acquired a “Council of Trust” (*Vertrauensrat*), two to ten members of which were chosen from among the staff by the chief executive. The law’s implementation ordinance of March 10, 1934, further stated:

The staff shall be called upon to decide for or against the proposed list in a secret vote, and all salaried employees, including apprentices of twenty-one years of age or older, will take part in the vote. Voting is done by putting a number before the names of the candidates in order of preference, or by striking out certain names.

Unlike the enterprise councils (*Betriebsräte*) of pre-Hitler Germany, the Council of Trust was no longer a tool of one class. Comprising members from all levels of the enterprise, it was now an instrument of teamwork between classes. Obligated to coordinate their interests, former adversaries in the workplace now cooperated in establishing, by mutual consent, the regulations which determined working conditions.

The Council has the duty to develop mutual trust within the enterprise. It will advise on all measures serving to improve carrying out the work of the enterprise, and on standards relating to general work conditions, in particular those that concern measures tending to reinforce feelings of solidarity between the members themselves and between the members and the enterprise, or tending to improve the personal situation of the members of the enterprise community. The Council also has the obligation to intervene to settle disputes. It must be heard before the imposition of fines based on workshop regulations.

The law further required that, before assuming their duties, members of the Work Council had to take an oath before all their fellow workers to “carry out their duties only for the good of the enterprise and of all citizens, setting aside any personal interest, and in their behavior and manner of living to serve as model representatives of the enterprise.”

Every 30th of April, on the eve of the great national holiday of labor, Council terms ended and new elections were held. This helped to weed out incompetence, overcome stagnation, and prevent arrogance or careerism on the part of Council members.

The business enterprise paid a salary to each Council member, just as if he were employed in the office or on the shop floor, and had to “assume all costs resulting from the regular fulfillment of the duties of the Council.”

The second institution established to insure the orderly development of the new German social system was the “Labor Commission” (*Reichstreuhänder der Arbeit*), the members of which were essentially conciliators and arbitrators. They were charged with dealing with and overcoming the inevitable frictions of the workplace. It was their function to see to it that the Councils of Trust functioned harmoniously and efficiently, and to ensure that a given business enterprise’s regulations were carried out to the letter.

Each of the thirteen Labor Commissions operated in its own district of the Reich. As arbitrators, they were independent of owners and employees. Appointed by the state, they represented rather the interests of everyone in the enterprise, and the interests of the national community. To minimize arbitrary or unfounded rulings, the Labor Commissions relied on the advice of a “Consultative Council of Experts,” consisting of 18 members selected from a cross section of the economy in each territorial district. As a further safeguard of impartiality, a third agency was superimposed on the Councils of Trust and the thirteen Commissions: the Tribunals of Social Honor.

Through these institutions, the German worker, from 1933 on, could count on a system of justice created especially for him, empowered to “adjudicate all grave infractions of the social duties based on the enterprise community.” Examples of such “violations of social honor” were cases in which an employer, abusing his power, mistreated his staff, or impugned the honor of his subordinates; in which a staff member threatened the harmony of the workplace by spiteful agitation; or in which a Council member misused or published confidential business information discovered in the course of his work.

Thirteen “Courts of Social Honor,” corresponding to the 13 Commissions, were established. The presiding judge was not a party hack or ideologue; he was a career jurist, above narrow interest. The enterprise concerned played a role in the Tribunal’s proceedings: two assistant judges, one representing management, the other a member of the Council of Trust, assisted the presiding judge.

Each Court of Social Honor (*Ehrengericht*), like any other court of law, had the means to enforce its decisions. There were nuances, though. In mild cases, decisions might be limited to a reprimand. In more serious cases, the guilty party could be fined up to 10,000 marks. Special sanctions, precisely adapted to the circumstances, were provided for. These included mandatory change of employment and dismissal of a chief executive, or his agent, who was found delinquent in his duty. In the event of a contested decision, the finding could be appealed to a Supreme Court in Berlin — yet another level of protection.

In the Third Reich, the worker knew that “exploitation of his physical strength in bad faith or in violation of his honor” was no longer tolerated. He had obligations to the community, but he shared these obligations with every other member of the enterprise, from the chief executive to the messenger boy. Finally, the German worker had clearly defined social rights, which were arbitrated and enforced by independent agencies. And while all this had been achieved in an atmosphere of justice and moderation, it nevertheless constituted a genuine social revolution.

By the of 1933, the first effects of Hitler’s revolution in the workplace were being felt. Germany had already come a long way from the time when grimy bathrooms and squalid courtyards were the sole sanitary and recreational facilities available to workers.

Factories and shops, large and small, were altered or transformed to conform to the strictest standards of cleanliness and hygiene: interiors, so often dark and stifling, were opened up to light; playing fields were constructed; rest areas where workers could unbend during break, were set aside; employee cafeterias and respectable locker rooms were opened. The larger industrial establishments, in addition to providing the normally required conventional sports facilities, were obliged to put in swimming pools!

In just three years, these achievements would reach unimagined heights: more than two thousand factories refitted and beautified; 23,000 work premises modernized; 800 buildings designed exclusively for meetings; 1,200 playing fields; 13,000 sanitary facilities; 17,000 cafeterias.

To assure the healthy development of the working class, physical education courses were instituted for younger workers. Some 8,000 were eventually organized. Technical training was equally emphasized. Hundreds of work schools, and thousands of technical courses were created. There were examinations for professional competence, and competitions in which generous prizes were awarded to outstanding masters of their craft.

Eight hundred departmental inspectors and 17,300 local inspectors were employed to conscientiously monitor and promote these improvements.

To provide affordable vacations for German workers on a hitherto unprecedented scale, Hitler established the “Strength through Joy” program. As a result, hundreds of thousands of workers were now able to make relaxing vacation trips on land and sea each summer. Magnificent cruise ships were built, and special trains brought vacationers to the mountains and the seashore. In just a few years, Germany’s working-class tourists would log a distance equivalent to 54 times the circumference of the earth! And thanks to generous state subsidies, the cost to workers of these popular vacation excursions was nearly insignificant.

Were Hitler’s reforms perfect? Doubtless there were flaws, blunders and drawbacks. But what were a few inevitable mistakes beside the immense achievements?

Was Hitler’s transformation of the lot of the working class authoritarian? Without a doubt. And yet, for a people that had grown sick and tired of anarchy, this new authoritarianism wasn’t regarded as an imposition. In fact, people have always accepted a strong man’s leadership.

In any case, there is no doubt that the attitude of the German working class, which was still two-thirds non-Nazi at the start of 1933, soon changed completely. As Belgian author Marcel Laloire noted at the time:

When you make your way through the cities of Germany and go into the working-class districts, go through the factories, the construction yards, you are astonished to find so many workers on the job sporting the Hitler insignia, to see so many flags with the swastika, black on a bright red background, in the most densely populated districts.

Hitler’s “German Labor Front” (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*), which incorporated all workers and employers, was for the most part eagerly accepted. The steel spades of the sturdy young lads of the “National Labor Service” (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*) could also be seen gleaming along the highways.

Hitler created the National Labor Service not only to alleviate unemployment, but to bring together, in absolute equality, and in the same uniform, both the sons of millionaires and the sons of the poorest families for several months’ common labor and living.

All performed the same work, all were subject to the same discipline; they enjoyed the same pleasures and benefited from the same physical and moral development. At the same construction sites and in the same barracks, Germans became conscious of what they had in common, grew to understand one another, and discarded their old prejudices of class and caste.

After a hitch in the National Labor Service, a young worker knew that the rich man’s son was not a pampered monster, while the young lad of wealthy family knew that the worker’s son had no less honor than a nobleman or an heir to riches; they had lived and worked together as comrades. Social hatred was vanishing, and a socially united people was being born.

Hitler could go into factories — something few men of the so-called Right would have risked in the past — and hold forth to crowds of workers, at times in the thousands, as at the huge Siemens works. “In contrast to the von Papens and other country gentlemen,” he might tell them, “in my youth I was a worker like you. And in my heart of hearts, I have remained what I was then.”

During his twelve years in power, no untoward incident ever occurred at any factory he visited. Hitler was at home when he went among the people, and he was received like a member of the family returning home after making a success of himself.

But the Chancellor of the Third Reich wanted more than popular approval. He wanted that approval to be freely, widely, and repeatedly expressed by popular vote. No people was ever more frequently asked for their electoral opinion than the German people of that era — five times in five years.

For Hitler, it was not enough that the people voted from time to time, as in the previous democratic system. In those days, voters were rarely appealed to, and when they expressed an opinion, they were often ill-informed and apathetic. After an election, years might go by, during which the politicians were heedless and inaccessible, the electorate powerless to vote on their actions.

To enable the German public to express its opinion on the occasion of important events of social, national, or international significance, Hitler provided the people a new means of approving or rejecting his own actions as Chancellor: the plebiscite.

Hitler recognized the right of all the people, men and women alike, to vote by secret ballot: to voice their opinion of his policies, or to make a well-grounded judgment on this or that great decision in domestic or foreign affairs. Rather than a formalistic routine, democracy became a vital, active program of supervision that was renewed annually.

The articles of the “Plebiscite Law” were brief and clear:

1. The Reich government may ask the people whether or not it approves of a measure planned by or taken by the government. This may also apply to a law.
2. A measure submitted to plebiscite will be considered as established when it receives a simple majority of the votes. This will apply as well to a law modifying the Constitution.
3. If the people approves the measure in question, it will be applied in conformity with article III of the Law for Overcoming the Distress of the People and the Reich.

The Reich Interior Ministry is authorized to take all legal and administrative measures necessary to carry out this law.

Berlin, July 14, 1933.

Hitler, Frick

The electoral pledge given by Hitler that day was not vain rhetoric. One national referendum followed another: in 1933, in 1934, in 1936, and in 1938, not to mention the Saar plebiscite of 1935, which was held under international supervision.

The ballot was secret, and the voter was not constrained. No one could have prevented a German from voting no if he wished. And, in fact, a certain number did vote no in every plebiscite. Millions of others could just as easily have done the same. However, the percentage of “No” votes remained remarkably low — usually under ten percent. In the Saar region, where the plebiscite

of January 1935 was supervised from start to finish by the Allies, the result was the same as in the rest of the Reich: more than 90 percent voted “Yes” to unification with Hitler’s Germany! Hitler had no fear of such secret ballot plebiscites because the German people invariably supported him.

From the first months of 1933, his accomplishments were public fact, for all to see. Before end of the year, unemployment in Germany had fallen from more than 6,000,000 to 3,374,000. Thus, 2,627,000 jobs had been created since the previous February, when Hitler began his “gigantic task!” A simple question: Who in Europe ever achieved similar results in so short a time?

More than two and a half million working-class homes once again knew bread and joy; more than ten million men, women and children of the working class, after years of want, had regained their vigor, and had been returned to the national community.

Hitler’s popularity took on some astonishing, indeed comical, aspects. “A brand of canned herring,” Joachim Fest relates, “was called ‘Good Adolf.’ Coin banks were made in the form of SA caps. Bicarbonate of soda was recommended with the advertising slogan ‘My Struggle (Mein Kampf) against flatulence!’ Pictures of Hitler appeared on neckties, handkerchiefs, pocket mirrors, and the swastika decorated ash trays and beer mugs, or served as an advertisement for a brand of margarine.” Annoyed by such fawning (and exploitative) use of his name, and the emblem of his party, Hitler ordered that it be discontinued immediately.

The economic and social transformation of the Reich impressed observers no less than the political transformation wrought by the leader of National Socialism. Gottfried Benn, Germany’s greatest poet of that era — and a man of the Left — wrote to an expatriate friend, Klaus Mann:

I personally declare myself in favor of the new State, because it is my people that is making its way now. Who am I to exclude myself; do I know anything better? No! Within the limits of my powers I can try to guide the people to where I would like to see it — My intellectual and economic existence, my language, my life, my human relationships, the entire sum of my brain, I owe primarily to this nation. My ancestors came from it; my children return to it — There are moments in which this whole tormented life falls away and nothing exists but the plains, expanses, seasons, soil, simple words: my people. (See: J. Fest, *Hitler*, New York: 1974, p. 428.)

In his detailed and critical biography of Hitler, Joachim Fest limited his treatment of Hitler’s extraordinary social achievements in 1933 to a few paragraphs. All the same, Fest did not refrain from acknowledging:

The regime insisted that it was not the rule of one social class above all others, and by granting everyone opportunities to rise, it in fact demonstrated class neutrality — These measures did indeed break through the old, petrified social structures. They tangibly improved the material condition of much of the population. (J. Fest, *Hitler*, pp. 434-435.)

Not without reason were the swastika banners waving proudly throughout the working-class districts where, just a year ago, they had been unceremoniously torn down.

Source: vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 371-381.

History's Greatest Naval Disasters

The Little-Known Stories of the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, the *General Steuben* and the *Goya*

John Ries

For many people, the image of a great maritime disaster calls to mind the well-known sinking of the *Titanic*, which went down in April 1912 after striking an iceberg, taking the lives of 1,503 men, women and children. Others may think of the *Lusitania*, which sank on May 7, 1915, after being hit by a German submarine torpedo, taking 1,198 lives. ^[1]

Less well known is the fate of the American packet steamer *Sultana*, which suddenly exploded and sank in the Mississippi River near Memphis on April 27, 1865. Estimates of the loss of life range from 1,450 to 2,200. Almost all of the victims were exchanged federal prisoners of war on their way home from Confederate camps. A recent article in *The Washington Times* called the *Sultana* sinking “the most staggering and appalling marine disaster in history.” ^[2]

But the scale of even the *Sultana* disaster is dwarfed by the little-known sinkings of the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, the *General Steuben* and the *Goya* — converted German liners crowded with refugees and wounded soldiers that were sunk by Soviet submarines during the final months of the Second World War. In each case, more lives were lost than in the sinkings of either the *Sultana*, the *Lusitania* or the *Titanic*.

Ignorance and even suppression of the facts of these marine disasters is part of the general ignorance in the United States about the great loss of life and terrible suffering endured by the German people during the Second World War, above all in the conflict's grim final months. For the story of the unparalleled loss of life in the sinkings of these three German ships can be understood only within the context of the general situation during the final months of the war, when the advancing Soviet forces, eager to take terrible vengeance against the Germans, set in motion one of the greatest mass migrations in history.

It began in mid-October 1944, when Red Army forces first broke into German East Prussia. Spurred on by the hate filled calls to violence against Germans by Soviet Jewish propagandist Ilya Ehrenburg, Red Army troops systematically plundered and murdered Germans unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. ^[3]

One of the first towns taken by the Soviets was Nemmersdorf, in the Gumbinnen district of East Prussia. It was only because German forces succeeded in recapturing this town a short time later that the world was able to learn how Soviet troops had set about brutally raping females of all ages, and slaughtering the old men, women and children there. The fortunate ones were shot out of hand. Many were clubbed or hacked to death. After being raped, naked women were nailed to doors in crucifix positions. In one case, a group of refugees was crushed under Soviet tanks. ^[4]

German authorities lost no time in publicizing the horrifying results of the brief Soviet occupation. Journalists, including some from neutral Sweden, Switzerland and Spain, were quickly brought in to report on what had happened. Shocking newsreel footage from Nemmersdorf was shown in German motion picture theaters.

Panic-stricken civilians now desperately sought to escape falling into the hands of the advancing Soviets. As a result, during the final months of 1944 and early 1945, long columns of terrified refugees streamed into the towns and villages along the Bay of Danzig, all frantically waiting for boats that would take them to at least temporary refuge further to the west.

In light of all this, it was quickly decided in Berlin to organize a mass evacuation of civilians. As a result, between January 1945 and the capitulation on May 8, 1945, more than two million people — the great majority of them German civilians — were safely transported to the West. This second “Dunkirk,” which dwarfed many times over the British evacuation in 1940, was organized by Rear Admiral Konrad Engelhardt under the direction of Admiral Karl Dönitz, Commander-in-Chief of the German Navy.

Astonishingly, only about 25,000 lives were lost in what one historian has called “the greatest evacuation operation in history,” a figure that is all the more remarkable in light of the fact that by this time the remnants of the German air force were almost powerless to fend off attacks by enemy fighter planes and submarines. [5]

This record of success masks human catastrophes of almost inutterable horror — including the three most terrible ship sinkings, in terms of lives lost, in history. The first of the great German evacuation ships to go down, the *Wilhelm Gustloff*, was hit by three torpedoes from Soviet submarine S-13 on the night of January 30th. It sank after 70 minutes, taking with it at least 5,700 lives, and perhaps as many as 7,000. Only about 900 could be rescued from the sub-freezing waters of the Baltic by convoy vessels. [6]

In many ways the fate of the *Wilhelm Gustloff* was symbolic of the fortunes of the Third Reich. Named by Hitler himself in honor of the National Socialist party leader in Switzerland who had been murdered by Jewish assassin David Frankfurter in 1936, the 25,484-ton liner was christened by the slain man’s widow in an elaborate ceremony the following year. It served as the proud flagship of the “Strength through Joy” (*Kraft durch Freude*) movement, a well publicized and highly successful program that provided inexpensive luxury vacations for German workers. Over the next two years, the *Wilhelm Gustloff* routinely brought German tourists to the fjords of Norway and the seaside resorts of Portugal and Italy. Many of the grateful working class passengers who strolled the ship’s decks had never before ventured outside of their own towns and villages. [7]

Soon after the outbreak of the war, the great liner was repainted for use as a hospital ship. But in early 1940 it was instead sent to Gdynia (Gotenhafen) where it served as the floating headquarters of the elite 2nd Submarine Training Division, the pride of the German U-boat fleet. By late January 1945, with the safety of Dönitz’s submariners threatened by the Soviet advance, the *Wilhelm Gustloff* was quickly reactivated after almost five years of idleness. Originally designed to comfortably accommodate 1,465 passengers and a crew of 417, it set out for Mecklenburg on January 30th crammed with as many as 8,000 crew and passengers — most of them refugees. [8]

The much-traveled convoy route on which the *Wilhelm Gustloff* (and its sister ship, the 23,000 ton *Hansa*, with 3,000 refugees on board) had set out skirted the Stolpe Bank off the coast of Pomerania. Although this area was known to be a favorite haunt of Soviet submarines lying in wait to attack crowded convoys as they slowly steamed to safer havens in the West, so far there

had been relatively few successful attacks. Indeed, the Soviet “Red Banner” fleet had failed to make much of an impact on the war, having spent most of the time trapped in the Gulf of Finland by a very effective German blockade. Although the Soviet submarine fleet was the world’s largest, the German blockade had resulted in Soviet naval forces sinking far fewer German ships than those of any of the major Allied powers. The German naval command considered Britain’s Royal Air Force, which had sunk as many as 18 German ships in the Baltic during the month of January 1945 alone, to be a greater threat to the success of the mass evacuation. [9]

The Germans had little esteem for the Soviet submarine fleet. As Admiral Engelhardt commented after the war, the Germans were grateful that the Soviets utilized only speed boats and submarines in the Baltic during the final months of the war. “Except for the *Goya*, *Steuben* and *Wilhelm Gustloff*, their submarines scarcely had any effect, despite the fact that they as many as 15 operating in the Baltic at the same time,” he recalled. “If they had as few as three modern destroyers and one cruiser of the Gorki class between Pillau and Hela, our entire transport operation would have come to a standstill.” [10]

The German submarine command based in Gdynia not only had a low regard for the capabilities of the Soviet submarines, it underestimated the potential danger they posed. The submarine command was so confident of German security measures that it failed to inform the 9th Escort Division in Gdynia — which was responsible for providing security for departing convoys in the area — of the *Gustloff*’s imminent departure. [11]

Among German submariners a feeling of confidence bordering on arrogance prevailed. They regarded the Baltic theater as little more than a “training field” where skills could be perfected for the “real” war in the North Atlantic against heavily defended Allied convoys. Thus, when the passenger-crammed *Wilhelm Gustloff* set out for the open sea on January 30th — its first voyage in almost four years — only a single poorly equipped torpedo boat provided escort protection. (Two other escort vessels had been obliged to stay behind because of engine problems.)

Poor escort protection was not the only problem that beset the *Gustloff* as it set out into enemy-infested waters. Now crammed with as many as 8,000 people, the ship had emergency lifeboats and rafts sufficient for only 5,060. Moreover, the machinery that lowered the life boats into the water had frozen solid in the bitter cold, rendering the life boats virtually useless. And although each passenger had a life jacket, the temperature of the Baltic had fallen to well below freezing. No one could survive long in the frigid waters. [12]

As if these ingredients for disaster were not enough, when Soviet torpedoes finally struck the ill-fated liner, the ship’s command somehow sent out the customary “SOS” emergency signal not on the frequency of the nearby 9th Escort Division, but on a different wavelength. Precious time was lost, resulting in the deaths of many who might otherwise have been rescued. [13]

* * * * *

Eleven days later, shortly after midnight on February 10th, the *General Steuben* sank with a loss of 3,500 lives, making this the third worst maritime disaster in history. The same Soviet submarine that had attacked the *Gustloff*, and in almost the same location, sank the *Steuben* with two torpedoes. Crammed with as many as 5,000 wounded soldiers and refugees, the converted passenger liner sank in just seven minutes. [14]

Built in 1922, and owned and operated by North German Lloyd, the 17,500-ton luxury liner was named after the Prussian general who rendered invaluable assistance in training the army of the in-

surgent American colonists during their struggle for independence. When it sank, the *Steuben* was serving as a transport ship for wounded soldiers. [15]

Although hospital ships are internationally considered to be off limits from military attack during wartime, the Soviet government categorically regarded German hospital ships as legitimate military targets. In an official note delivered in July 1941, the Soviet government brusquely rejected a German request to abide by international law regarding the immunity of hospital ships: "... The Soviet government gives notice that it will not recognize and respect German hospital ships according to the Hague Convention." Accordingly, Soviet planes and submarines sank four of the 13 German hospital ships employed in the Baltic evacuation operation, and eight of 21 German transport ships used to carry wounded soldiers. [16]

* * * * *

The sinking of the *Goya* on April 16, 1945, just three weeks before the end of the war in Europe, is acknowledged as almost certainly the greatest maritime disaster, in terms of lives lost, of all time. [17]

Indeed, when the 5,230-ton transport ship set out from Hela near Danzig (Gdansk) with its human cargo of some 7,000 refugees and wounded soldiers, the Soviets were pressing into Berlin itself, and the Bay of Danzig, with the exception of the narrow Hela peninsula, had become virtually a Soviet lake. In spite of the merciless blows that were bringing Germany to its knees, what was left of its once mighty military continued to evacuate civilian refugees to the west. Under almost constant fire from Soviet artillery, ships, and planes, German authorities were still able to evacuate 264,887 people to relative safety during the month of April 1945. [18]

German ports in the western Baltic were by now so overcrowded with shipping and refugees that when the already badly mauled *Goya* weighed anchor on its final voyage, it set out with five other ships for the Danish capital of Copenhagen. As the convoy made its way along the treacherous Stolpe Bank, it was spotted by Captain Konovalov, commander of the minelayer submarine L-3. Considered to be the most successful submarine in the entire Soviet fleet, the

L-3 was credited with sinking four ships in 1941, six in 1942, and three in 1943, including U-boat U-416, by mining. [19]

At precisely four minutes to midnight, the L-3 fired two torpedoes at the *Goya*, which found their marks amidship and stern. Almost immediately the ship broke in half, her masts crashing down upon the passengers crowding the decks. Before anyone could escape from the holds, the onrushing sea quickly drowned out the anguished screams of the refugees below. The vessel sank in just four minutes, resulting in the loss of almost 7,000 lives. There were only 183 survivors. [20]

"The special tragedy of the *Goya*," American historian Alfred de Zayas has commented, "was that it happened so close to the end of the war, at a time when the German surrender was within grasp." These deaths failed to hasten the end of the war in any way. At a time when the Soviets had already begun the actual expulsion of Germans from the entire Baltic region, he asked rhetorically, "Why then send so many thousands of refugees to the bottom of the sea?" [21]

At the time, the loss of the *Goya* was hardly noticed in Germany, which had grown accustomed to similar catastrophes on a daily basis. All the same, it was cited in the report of the Führer Naval Conference of April 18, the last conference of which there is any archival record. It is written in language that characterized the cool professionalism that the German Naval High Command had shown throughout the entire period of the evacuation: [22]

In connection with the loss of several hundred persons in the sinking of the steamship *Goya*, the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy points out that personnel losses in the transports in the Eastern areas up to this time have been extremely small, that is, 0.49 percent. These unfortunate losses seem very large every time a ship is sunk, and it is easy to forget that at the time a large number of ships with numerous wounded and refugees reach port safely.

Although the estimate of losses given here is understated, the mass evacuation operation did, indeed, prove to be an overall success. Under terrible conditions, the German navy and merchant marine succeeded in saving many hundreds of thousands of civilians from horrible mistreatment and almost certain death at Soviet hands.

* * * * *

Although little known, the sinkings of the *Wilhelm Gustloff* and the *Goya* — with a combined loss of more than 12,000 lives — remain the greatest maritime catastrophes of all time. Moreover, the deliberate and unnecessary killing of thousands of innocent civilian refugees and helpless wounded men aboard the *Gustloff*, the *Steuben* and the *Goya* — as well as many other smaller and lesser-known vessels — is unquestionably one of the great atrocities of the Second World War.

Notes

1. [↗](#) These figures are taken from *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1987 edition (New York: 1986), p. 754.; In May 1941, the battleship Bismarck went down with nearly 3,000 men. See: Alfred de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam* (University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 75.
2. [↗](#) *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1987 edition, p. 754.; “Union Survivor Recalls Loss of Sultana with 2,200 Aboard,” *The Washington Times*, May 16, 1992.
3. [↗](#) Alfred de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam* (University of Nebraska Press, 1989), pp. 61-66, 201.
4. [↗](#) A. de Zayas, *Nemesis*, pp. 61-65.
5. [↗](#) Karl Dönitz, *Memoirs: Ten Years and Twenty Days*, (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1990), p. 465.; C. Dobson, et al., *The Cruellest Night* (Boston: 1979), pp. 67-71, 187-188.; A. de Zayas, *Nemesis*, p. 74.
6. [↗](#) Estimates vary of the number of persons aboard the *Wilhelm Gustloff* on the night of January 30, 1945, and of the number of those who perished. According to one German reference work, there were 4,974 refugees and 1,626 military service personnel on board. Of this total of 6,600, only 900 could be rescued, and 5,700 perished. Source: W. Schötz, ed., *Lexikon: Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert* (Rosenheim: DVG, 1990), p. 497. A 223-page English-language work on the sinking of the *Gustloff* reports that in addition to the 6,050 people (including 4,424 refugees) officially recorded as being on board, another 2,000 desperate refugees were hastily let on from small boats as the ship was leaving the harbor. This would have meant that about 8,000 people were aboard the *Gustloff* when it sank. Of this number, 964 were rescued from the icy sea, some of whom died later. “It is likely, therefore, that at least 7,000 people perished.” Source: Christopher Dobson, John Miller and Thomas Payne, *The Cruellest Night: Germany’s Dunkirk and the Sinking of the Wilhelm Gustloff* (Boston: Little Brown, 1979), pp. 83-84, 140-141.
7. [↗](#) C. Dobson, et al., *The Cruellest Night* (1979), pp. 29-32.; W. Schötz, ed., *Lexikon* (1990), p. 497.

8. ☞ C. Dobson, et al., *The Cruellest Night* (1979), pp. 32-33, 50-57.; W. Schötz, ed., *Lexikon* (1990), p. 497.
 9. ☞ C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 34, 35, 52, 65, 68.
 10. ☞ Fritz Brustat-Naval, *Unternehmen Rettung* (Herford: Koehlers Verlagsgesellschaft, 1970), p. 147.
 11. ☞ Cajus Bekker, *La Ultima Odisea: Danzig 1945* (Barcelona: Bruguera, pb., 1976), pp. 243-247. This is a Spanish-language edition of *Flucht übers Meer* (Oldenburg: G. Stalling, 1976).; C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 75-77.
 12. ☞ C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 83-85.; C. Bekker, *La Ultima Odisea* (Barcelona: 1976), pp. 246-250.
 13. ☞ C. Bekker, *La Ultima Odisea (Flucht übers Meer)*, p. 249.
 14. ☞ C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 153-156.; F. Brustat-Naval, *Unternehmen Rettung*, pp. 48-49.; A. de Zayas, *Nemesis*, p. 75-76.
 15. ☞ C. Dobson, *Cruellest Night*, pp. 150-151.
 16. ☞ Alfred de Zayas, *The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau, 1939-1945* (University of Nebraska Press, 1990), p. 261.; A. de Zayas, *Nemesis*, p. 76.
 17. ☞ A. de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam*, p. 75.; W. Schötz, ed., *Lexikon* (1990), p. 154.
 18. ☞ C. Dobson, *Cruellest Night*, pp. 163, 165-169.
 19. ☞ C. Dobson, *Cruellest Night*, pp. 166-167.
 20. ☞ C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 167-168; W. Schötz, ed., *Lexikon*, p. 154.; F. Brustat-Naval, *Unternehmen Rettung*, p. 146.
 21. ☞ A. de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam*, p. 75.
 22. ☞ C. Dobson, et al., *Cruellest Night*, pp. 168-169.
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About the Leuchter Special Issue

by [Mark Weber](#)

In 1988, when [Fred Leuchter](#) carried out the first forensic examination of the alleged wartime extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and then testified on his findings in a Toronto court, the American execution hardware specialist did not realize that by doing so he was condemning himself to years of insults, threats and severe financial hardship.

For the crime of daring to question the Holocaust idol, the powerful international Holocaust lobby resolved to punish this dangerous heretic. Charging that he is a pretentious and incompetent fraud, and that his 1988 forensic report is a mendacious affront to truth, his hateful adversaries have sought to discredit Leuchter and destroy his livelihood.

Sadly, this malicious campaign has been effective. For the time being, anyway, they have destroyed Fred Leuchter's ability to make a living at his chosen career.

In this Leuchter "theme" issue of the Journal, we respond to this campaign with a detailed defense of Leuchter's character, and of his history-making forensic report.

We begin this special issue with the publication — for the first time in English — of a report by a leading Austrian engineer that authoritatively discredits a central pillar of the Holocaust extermination story. Citing critical technical and organizational data, and the inviolable laws of nature, Vienna engineer Walter Lüftl persuasively establishes that the familiar stories of mass killings of Jews in gas chambers cannot have taken place as described. The '[Lüftl Report](#)' also provides expert confirmation of the essential validity of Leuchter's findings.

Next, in an essay entitled [Fred Leuchter: Courageous Defender of Historical Truth](#) we provide a summary overview of the entire case, including the little-known but impressive record of Leuchter's expertise.

Then, in an essay presented at the recent Eleventh IHR Conference, Leuchter himself [reports on developments](#) during the last two years in the still-continuing campaign against him.

Since it was first published in 1988, many tens of thousands of copies of the [Leuchter Report](#) have been distributed in numerous countries and all major languages. Predictably, several efforts to refute the Report's specific points and arguments have also been published. Probably the most serious has been the critique of French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac, which appeared in *Truth Prevails*, a book published in 1990 jointly by the Paris-based Klarsfeld Foundation and the US-based "Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice."

In our next article, Paul Grubach carefully marshals fact after well-established fact in a devastating [point-by-point refutation of Pressac's critique](#) of Leuchter and his findings.

Next we present, for the first time in English, an official statement on “The So-Called Leuchter Report” issued by Germany’s prestigious Institute of Contemporary History, the Munich archive and research center that is a main bastion of the official German version of twentieth-century history. In an introductory commentary, we report on the impact of the Leuchter Report in Germany, where the Holocaust story plays a particularly important role in cultural and political life. Following the text, we point out **specific errors of fact and lapses in logic** in the Munich Institute’s statement.

Next, we take a **close and critical look at Truth Prevails**, the book-length attack against Leuchter mentioned above ...

Holocaust: Belief and Facts

by Walter Lüftl

Editor's Foreword to *The Lüftl Report: An Austrian Engineer's Report on the 'Gas Chambers' of Auschwitz and Mauthausen*

In March 1992, a prominent Austrian engineer made headlines when a report he had written about alleged German wartime gas chambers was made public. Walter Lüftl concluded in his controversial report, "Holocaust: Belief and Facts," that the well-known stories of mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers at the wartime camps of Auschwitz and Mauthausen are impossible for technical reasons and because they are incompatible with observable laws of nature. Lüftl further characterized the often-repeated stories of Jews being gassed with diesel engine exhaust (at Treblinka, for example) as a sheer impossibility. (See the IHR Newsletter, April 1992, p. 6.)

Lüftl, 59, is a court-recognized expert engineer and heads a large engineering firm in Vienna. On the basis of a well-established reputation as a particularly precise and exact specialist, he was chosen to serve as president of the Austrian Engineers Chamber (Bundes-Ingenieurkammer), a professional association of 4,000 members.

In spite of his reputation, he was obliged to resign as president of the engineers' association in the uproar that followed news reports about his iconoclastic report. A leading official of the governing People's Party expressed fear that Lüftl's report could harm Austria's image abroad.

A few days later, Austrian police raided Lüftl's residence, turning it inside out in a "Stasi"-like search for possibly "incriminating material" that might show that he had violated a recently enacted law that makes it a crime in Austria to deny the "National Socialist crimes against humanity."

To insure that Lüftl is not brought into any further legal jeopardy, it should be stressed that his report is published here (for the first time in English) without the author's authorization or cooperation. The text has been slightly edited, and the editor has added some clarifying words in brackets.

Lüftl's report is further authoritative confirmation of the findings of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, who testified about his on-site investigation of the supposed "gas chambers" of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek in the 1988 trial of German-Canadian publicist Ernst Zündel. (A deluxe illustrated edition of **The Leuchter Report**, with a foreword by Robert Faurisson, and an introduction by David Irving, is available from the IHR for \$20.00, plus \$ 2.00 for shipping.)

Lüftl's report also corroborates Leuchter's findings from his 1989 investigation of the supposed extermination "gas chamber" at the Mauthausen camp. (This "Second Leuchter Report" was published in the Fall 1990 IHR Journal.)

-- The Editor

Introductory statement by the author:

The following remarks are intended neither to threaten the democratic order that has prevailed in the Republic of Austria since 1945, nor to advocate or promote the reintroduction of National Socialism. These remarks are intended solely to correct one-sided presentations of historical events, and to do so taking into consideration the laws of nature and technical limits, which are of course beyond dispute both politically and historically.

These remarks are not intended to "quibble over the number of victims" or to "defame the victims." Rather, they are intended to serve as a scientific clarification of the number of possible victims on basis of technical and organizational considerations. These remarks are also intended to encourage further investigation into the actual events and the search for truth.

Because "Holocaust literature" tends to be so one-sided, it is unfortunately not possible to provide a "balanced presentation" here. A critical examination of the limited area of the overall topic under discussion has shown that the accounts of "eyewitnesses" in particular have been immensely exaggerated and unbelievable; so much so that a balancing of the discussion appeared indispensable. The impossible does not become any "truer" when it is claimed by many people. In cases of contradiction between witness testimony and objective proof, the latter takes precedence in every modern constitutional state. In the case of the "Holocaust," though, this has obviously been otherwise.

1. Foreword

The author would like to anticipate the proposed introduction of Section 283a of the Criminal Code [of Austria], according to which "the offense ... [has been] committed whenever a person denies the fact that millions of human beings, especially Jews, were systematically exterminated in a genocidal way in the concentration camps of the National Socialist regime." Such a legal provision could have the effect of rendering the following remarks punishable, in spite of the fact that they are based on scientific considerations treated in a manner subject to experimental duplication.

What is the Holocaust?

In the view of those who believe — or cause others to believe — in the [Holocaust], mass gassings, especially of Jews, were carried out in the concentration camps of the Third Reich. Above all in Auschwitz (hence the term "Auschwitz Myth"), four million Jews were gassed. [The Nuremberg Tribunal "established" that four million people (Jews and non-Jews) had been killed (by all means) at Auschwitz.] Currently, though, unimpeachable sources are seeking to reduce this [sic] figure to 1.5 million. On mathematical grounds alone, the "symbolic figure of Six Million" should be reduced by 3.5 million. Of course, such a reduction does not lessen the [gravity of the] crime in any way, because even one victim is one too many.

All the same, the question remains whether mass gassings took place at all, or could possibly have taken place.

Insofar as possible, the author has carefully examined many reports of “eyewitnesses,” as well as “confessions” of SS men. If one examines the “eyewitness” testimony, doubts still persist, even if one believes everything that appears in the Holocaust literature. These doubts become even greater when one studies the “confessions” of those who were later found guilty [of crimes].

The author does not “deny” anything. (In proper legal terminology, this should really mean “to dispute.”) He does not wish to minimize or glorify anything. To use a currently fashionable phrase, he wishes only to “inquire into” [the truth of] the “Auschwitz myth.”

The author wishes to focus on the critical core of the “Auschwitz myth”: the technical possibilities of industrial mass killing with Zyklon B.

Zyklon B is the cornerstone of the Auschwitz myth

If Zyklon B is unsuitable for use in “deliberate genocidal extermination,” then the entire Auschwitz extermination story [“Auschwitz-Mythos”] falls apart. A chain is only as strong as its weakest link.

The war of belief

Because the Auschwitz extermination story [“AuschwitzMythos”] has so far not been subjected to scientific analysis, the discussion has been dominated by belief. Even intelligent, well-educated people believe in the “atrocities confirmed by many eyewitnesses.” In doing so, they forget that in any modern constitutional state, forensic evidence and documentary proof carry more weight than witness testimony.

Witnesses may err; their memories may deceive; witnesses may exaggerate their own importance and repeat hearsay. Witnesses have also been known to lie. Even the “confessions” of allegedly guilty individuals (which may be extorted through torture or obtained through promises of lesser punishment) are worthless without the support of objective proof. Anyone who doubts this should check Solzhenitsyn... [In *The Gulag Archipelago*, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn cites the case of the Bavarian Jupp Aschenbrenner, who “confessed” to serving in a German wartime murder commando. Only later, in a camp in 1954, was he able to prove that at the time of the alleged crimes, he was in Munich learning to be a welder.]

All the arguments against the Holocaust [story] will be meaningless if people are not willing to accept the truth. In the words of Schopenhauer:

Nothing is more galling
Than to fight with facts and arguments
Against an adversary
In the belief
That one is dealing with his understanding,
When in reality
One is dealing with the will,
Which obdurately closes its mind to the truth.
One must understand that reason
Applied against the will

Is like seed sown on bare rock
Like light arrows against armor,
Like the stormwind against a beam of light.

Nothing can be done for those who do not want to face the truth. But perhaps, after reading the following, some will be ready to want to comprehend.

The gas chambers

According to the Holocaust literature, the victims were “packed” into the gas chambers and then poisoned with hydrogen cyanide (Prussian Blue) vapors from Zyklon B. The bodies were burned in crematory ovens, and the ashes were strewn on hillsides or in water.

Organizational problems

Because certain organizational problems arise even in mass extermination — for example, varying killing capacities of the gas chambers or varying crematory capacities in disposing of the bodies — it should be obvious even at this point that events cannot have transpired as described in the Holocaust literature. We shall nevertheless limit our discussion to the essentials.

The handling of Zyklon B

What is Zyklon B? Zyklon B is a pest control agent, the active ingredient of which is Prussian Blue (hydrocyanic acid, HCN).

Hydrocyanic acid is a highly toxic, highly flammable liquid that vaporizes at 25.7 degrees Celsius. The vapors released upon evaporation are lighter than air (density: 0.95). The ignition point of hydrocyanic acid is 535 degrees Celsius, but the acid can be ignited at temperatures as low as -17.8 degrees Celsius. The explosion point in air at 20 degrees Celsius ranges from 5.4 to 46.6 percent by volume percent, or between 60 and 520 grams per cubic meter (m3).

Among other uses, gaseous hydrogen cyanide is used as a fumigant gas.

What is the effect of hydrogen cyanide gas on human beings?

- 10 ml/m3 is harmless over an eight-hour exposure;
- 90 ml/m3 is dangerous or fatal upon protracted exposure;
- 80-270 ml/m3 is rapidly fatal. Alcohol, even if consumed in only small quantities prior to exposure, dangerously enhances the effects of cyanide gas.

For safe handling, hydrocyanic acid is absorbed in diatomite (following the admixture of an irritant for safety purposes), and is stored and transported in air-tight metal cans. The product is generally used within three months. Because the Zyklon B manufacturing facilities were totally destroyed in bombing attacks in early 1944, gassings with Zyklon B could not have taken place after the summer of 1944.

The trade weight of the cans was 100, 200, 500, 1000, and 1500 grams HCN content. The total weight of a can corresponds to approximately three times the HCN content.

Hydrocyanic acid vapors are not released immediately after the cans are opened. The evaporation of Zyklon B requires as many as 32 hours or as few as six hours, depending on whether the am-

bient temperature ranges from five to 30 degrees Celsius. The evaporation rate is not exactly proportional to time.

The gassing procedure according to the Holocaust literature

The victims were led to gas chambers, which were disguised as shower baths, and were deceived by being handed soap and a towel. But what for? Who takes a shower holding a towel in his hands? But let's not detain ourselves with such trivia.

It is said, for example, that a hundred victims were packed into a chamber of 20 square meters, that is, five persons per square meter. (Witnesses sometimes even speak of as many as 25 victims per square meter.) At five persons per square meter, the victims wouldn't even be able even to soap themselves, due to lack of space. So what would they need the soap for? Soap was a commodity in short supply, but was permitted to fall on the floor unused, and become unusable. But let's move along.

The doors of the 2.5 meter-high chamber were hermetically sealed. An SS man wearing a gas mask threw Zyklon B, a mixture of hydrocyanic acid and irritant (added as a warning substance, since some people cannot smell hydrocyanic acid, the odor of which peculiarly resembles that of bitter almonds) absorbed in a carrier substance, from a can containing 200 grams of HCN in each case, from above. (This is the usual procedure described in the Holocaust literature. According to some sources, it was done differently only at Mauthausen.) The mixture fell to the floor, and the hydrocyanic acid began to escape. The gassing procedure normally lasted 15 to 20 minutes. (According to some sources, it lasted from five to as long as 30 minutes.)

Assuming that the floor temperature was 25 degrees Celsius (which is quite warm, since the gas chambers were mostly cold, damp cellars), let us also conservatively assume a gassing time of one half hour. After one half hour, there would have been at most 16 grams of HCN in the air of the chamber. The volume of air would be 44 cubic meters. (That is, 50 cubic meters, minus the volume of the victims, estimated at six cubic meters, assuming an estimated average body weight of 60 kilograms per person, which would mean a volume of 6 cubic meters for the victims.) The hydrocyanic acid content in the air of the chamber would thus have been 363.6 mg/m³. (That is, $16,000 \text{ mg}/44 \text{ m}^3 = 363.6 \text{ mg/m}^3$.) That certainly would have been enough to kill them. (That is, $270 \text{ ml/m}^3 \times 1.23 = \text{approximately } 330 \text{ mg/m}^3$.)

The one hundred victims would now therefore be dead, if we assume that the hydrocyanic acid did not condense on the cold ambient surfaces inside the room — perhaps the room was pre-heated to a comfortable temperature.

At this point, the “chief of the gassing operation” looked through a peephole in the door to see whether any of the victims showed signs of life. But just how he could have done that at Mauthausen, looking through a peephole 1.20 meters above the ground in a door that is only 1.68 m high, is a matter that merits further study.

How could he see anything when the victims were “packed together,” and therefore could not fall down even in the remotest corners of the room? Nevertheless, after a brief look, the SS executioners turned on the ventilators to air out the gas chamber. And here we hit the first snag. The ventilators must, of course, have been exhausters. For them to work (that is, to exchange the air in the chamber), the gas chambers would have to have been equipped with air intake channels and chimneys equipped with blowers. Nothing of the sort has ever been found in any [alleged homicidal] gas chamber!

Are the Nazis supposed to have caused all of this equipment to disappear without a trace in the confusion of defeat? Apart from that, some concentration camps were liberated intact by the Allies.

The ventilation lasted 30 minutes, and, finally, the door was opened (!) to determine whether the room was gas-free. “The gassing chiefs, wearing gas masks” carefully held up a strip of [chemically sensitized] paper inside [the chamber]. When the room was free of gas, the doors were opened and the blue [skin-colored] corpses were taken by prisoner members of the crematory work team to the morgue, or straight to the crematory. (However, any textbook on toxicology will confirm that the skin color of victims of hydrocyanic acid poisoning is red.) Then the gas chambers — heavily soiled with blood, excrement, and vomit — were cleaned.

What is the evidence against such a procedure? Zyklon B!

Holocaust writers have overlooked the fact that, during the ventilation process, Zyklon B would still have retained 92 percent of its hydrocyanic acid content, and would thus continue merrily on its way, releasing hydrocyanic acid gas. At 25 degrees Celsius, it would continue to do so for fully 15½ hours, and even longer yet at lower temperatures.

Of course, one could have sent work team members into the gas chamber wearing gas masks and protective clothing to remove the Zyklon B [carrier material], which would at that point still be only partially gas-free. But just how they could remove this [carrier material] from the midst of the tightly packed piles of corpses covered with excrement, vomit and blood, defies explanation.

The bodies could have been removed, and the gas chamber then cleaned, only by men wearing gas masks and protective clothing. But this would mean a huge pile of excrement, vomit, and similar material, thoroughly contaminated with 184 grams of hydrocyanic acid (which would still continue to evaporate, although slowly). But the remaining 184 grams of hydrocyanic acid would still be enough to kill approximately 3,000 persons (at 0.001 gram per kilogram, assuming an average body weight of 60 kg per person).

This is the flaw in the Holocaust literature!

How did they get rid of the remaining Zyklon B from the midst of the one hundred corpses, without lengthy ventilation periods, and without causing mass deaths outside the gas chamber?

The procedure described above might have worked at Mauthausen, if people were really gassed at intervals of weeks or months. If we are to believe Hans Marsalek, the Mauthausen “historian,” an interval of 17 months elapsed between the fourth and fifth gassings at Mauthausen (April 17, 1943, and September 25, 1944). But at Auschwitz, people are said to have been gassed [continuously] on an industrial basis.

In fact, Zyklon B is utterly unsuited for purposes of systematic mass murder. It can be used to fumigate, and it could be used to gas a group of persons occasionally. But for time considerations alone, quasi-industrial killing would simply be impossible.

Although the Prussic (hydrocyanic) acid contained in Zyklon B can, of course, kill quickly and certainly, the handling requirements for Zyklon B and the circumstances involved rule out any significant use for the mass killing of people. This eliminates Zyklon B as a direct instrument of the Holocaust. The “eyewitness accounts” in this regard are false. The witnesses could never have seen an actual gassing. The events described never took place.

There remains the possibility of Zyklon B being used as a carrier material for hydrocyanic acid in gas generators.

The description of the [gassing] procedure given during a trial before the German district court [Landesgericht] at Hagen suggests the existence of a gas generator of almost ingenious simplicity of design. (The evidence for gassing in the Mauthausen camp was provided by the document archives of the Austrian Resistance Center [DOeW].)

In this case, Zyklon B was not thrown in from above. (Even though this is what a commemorative plaque tells us, Marsalek reports differently.) Why this brilliant procedure was never used in other concentration camps remains a mystery. At Mauthausen, the gas generator consisted of a sheet metal box with a lid, in which a hot brick (that had been heated in the open fire of the crematorium) was laid. This means that the SS could have gassed people only when bodies were already being burned. Zyklon B was then strewn onto this hot brick. But because of the temperature, this would mean an explosively rapid vaporization of the gas, resulting in an explosion of the HCN itself.

This version of gas generation may clearly be relegated to the realm of fairy tales. But it was believed by the Hagen district court, just like the fairy tale of blue (actually, red) victims of hydrogen cyanide poisoning. [The red coloring is confirmed, for example, in: *Allgemeine und spezielle Pharmakologie und Toxikologie* (Dr. W. Forth, et al., eds.), Mannheim, 4th ed., p. 645.]

Nothing is known of any other gas generators.

Summary

An absolutely unbiased study of the problem must conclude that, by and large, the views of the so-called “Revisionists” — the so-called “deniers” — are far more in line with the laws of nature, logic, and technical realities than the accounts in the Holocaust literature (in which, moreover, scientifically verifiable data is generally lacking). When, as an exception, verifiable data is given in the Holocaust literature, a critical examination of such data leads to absurd results (25 persons per square meter, and so forth).

The decisive error in the Holocaust literature is the belief that the hydrocyanic acid contained in Zyklon B could be fully released in the alleged time span of 15-30 minutes required for the gassing, and that the carrier material would simultaneously and completely vaporize like a moth ball. The [fact of the] residue of Zyklon B makes the Auschwitz extermination story ["Auschwitz-Mythos"] obsolete.

2. The Gerstein Report: An 'eyewitness report' of mass gassings

Preliminary note: The “Gerstein Report” discussed here is the “confession” of an “informed” SS man, and is a cornerstone of the Holocaust literature. [For a detailed analysis, see *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, by Henri Roques. Available from the IHR.] It should therefore be critically examined for its technical correctness with regard to the reported mass gassing.

Note: The quotations [from the “Gerstein Report” given] here are from the book *Der Nationalsozialismus: Dokumente, 1933-1945* (W. Hofer, ed.), Fischer, 1957, pp. 307-311.

First of all, this writer has made a remarkable observation: the terms “Zyklon B” and “mass gassings with hydrocyanic acid” appear nowhere in the entire chapter [about persecution and ex-

termination of Jews]. Didn't Hofer think that they were worth mentioning in 1957?

According to the book *Judenfeindschaft: Darstellung und Analysen* ["Hostility to Jews: Description and Analysis"], (K. Thieme, ed.), Fischer, 1963 (p. 277), Gerstein was assigned "... to pick up 100 kilograms of hydrocyanic acid. Gerstein carried out the order, and became an eyewitness to the extermination of Jews in the concentration camp at Belzec ..." Apparently he must have left the hydrocyanic acid in his luggage once he got there, because [according to Gerstein] he witnessed a gassing [there] with carbon monoxide.

Was the Zyklon B story invented between 1957 and 1963? This is a possible subject of research for contemporary historians! But back to the "eyewitness."

Gerstein relates:

... The rooms are five by five meters, and 1.90 meters high ... The SS forced 700-900 people into 25 square meters, 45 cubic meters. [Actually: 47.5 cubic meters.] The doors close ... The people are to be put to death with diesel exhaust gas. But the diesel doesn't work! ... Yes, I see everything! And I wait. My stop watch has recorded everything perfectly. Fifty minutes, 70 minutes, the diesel still won't start! The people wait in their gas chambers. In vain. We hear them cry, sob ... After two hours and 49 minutes — the stop watch has registered everything — the diesel starts ... Another 25 minutes go by ... After 28 minutes, only a few of them are still alive. Finally after 32 minutes, all are dead ...

"Eyewitness" Gerstein never saw a gassing. He produced an absurd confession, perhaps to alert others that this atrocity story was extorted out of him. This writer wonders why the people who have used this confession never examined it in its physical and physiological aspects. They overlooked that any confession requires technical examination. A confession can become a liability if used without examination. The Gerstein Report is a particularly important indication of the incorrectness of the Holocaust literature. Nothing reveals the absurdity of this "eyewitness report" more than an examination of the verifiable facts described.

There were [according to Gerstein] 700-800 persons — that is, an average of 750 persons — in the chamber, weighing an average of 60 kilograms, and with a density of approximately one [sic], a volume of 45 cubic meters (m³).

How the people could be "packed" into a room measuring 47.5 cubic meters is a mystery. Such an attempt would be absurd and unthinkable. At the most, ten persons can fit into one square meter. (Using rather slender persons, experimentation has usually yielded a result of eight persons.)

Two hundred and fifty persons displace 15 cubic meters, which means an air volume of 32.5 cubic meters ($47.5 - 15 = 32.5$). The breathing time volume (BTv) of those people will amount, on the average, to 7.5 liters per minute. Therefore, 250 people will require $250 \times 60 \times 7.5 \div 1000 = 112.5$ cubic meters of air to breathe in one hour. In 32.5 cubic meters of room space, this air, therefore, will pass through the lungs of the people shut up in that room 3.45 times in one hour. It will therefore take 17 minutes and 20 seconds for the air to pass through their lungs once.

Dry air contains approximately 21 percent oxygen and only traces of carbon dioxide. Exhaled air contains approximately 15 percent oxygen and 4.4 percent carbon dioxide, as well as six percent water vapor. After 34 minutes and 40 seconds, the air will have passed through their lungs a second time, and will now contain approximately ten percent oxygen, but already eight percent carbon dioxide. After a (hypothetical) third passage through the lungs, the air in the chamber would

contain approximately five percent oxygen, but at least eleven percent carbon dioxide, after only 52 minutes.

But unconsciousness and anoxia would have appeared after 30 to 45 minutes. And five minutes of anoxia means brain death.

Therefore, the people in the “gas chamber” could not, first of all, have waited two hours and 49 minutes for the diesel engine to start. Nor could they have cried and sobbed after 50 minutes of hopeless waiting. They would certainly have been dead by that time. And how could 700-800 people — assuming they could be packed or forced into the chamber at all — have breathed at all if they were “packed together”? They would have been unconscious soon after the doors closed, and in another five minutes they would have been dead.

The Gerstein Report is no report, but a whopping lie. This “eyewitness” (or rather, those who told him what to write, or who made it up themselves) was lying! As shown by the calculations given above, this “eyewitness” is quite obviously lying.

3. Mass gassings with diesel engine exhaust gas

In addition to the “Gerstein Report,” there are a number of reports that describe the “genocidal extermination of millions of people, particularly Jews” in gas chambers in the concentration camps of the National Socialist regime, as well as reports of so-called “gas vans.” In addition to Prussic acid [HCN] gas, which came from the pest control agent Zyklon B, carbon monoxide from diesel exhaust gas was [reportedly] also used.

It is true that carbon monoxide is a dangerous poison. The many unemployed people in Vienna who, during the 1930s, used illumination [coal] gas (which contained carbon monoxide) to commit suicide were very well aware of that. [On the toxicity of carbon monoxide, see, for example: *Allgemeine und spezielle Pharmakologie und Toxikologie* (Dr. W. Forth, et al., eds.), Mannheim, 4th ed., pp. 643-645.]

The toxicity of carbon monoxide is undisputed. As always, though, the question remains: How could this dangerous poison have been applied to the victims in a quasi-industrial manner?

First, permit me to digress: According to the Holocaust literature, submarine motors and tank diesel engines are supposed to have been used. These details are intended to enhance the credibility of the claims. It is nevertheless worth noting that submarine motors, or any other kind of ship’s diesel engines, were not readily available, and that German tanks — incomprehensibly, due to the greater fuel consumption and considerably greater danger of fire in the event of a direct hit — were exclusively equipped with spark-ignition (gasoline) engines. The only diesel motors available would have been those from captured tanks after the beginning of the Russian campaign. However, their use would hardly have been advisable due to the difficulty of obtaining spare parts. But that is beside the point, only a noteworthy detail.

What the Holocaust writers have obviously overlooked is the fact that diesel motors are particularly unsuited for the efficient production of carbon monoxide (CO). The SS would have gone over to spark-ignition [gasoline] engines immediately after the first alleged attempts to kill the victims with diesel exhaust gases. Spark-ignition engines can certainly produce eight-percent carbon monoxide by volume with poor idle adjustment, but diesels are practically CO free.

... Spark-ignition [gasoline] engines deliver up to 120 times as much carbon monoxide (CO) [as diesel engines], and diesel exhaust gases cannot produce enough CO.

And something else is interesting here:... If the reader compares these figures [Führer]with those of diesel exhaust gases, he will quickly notice that this [diesel exhaust] is less toxic. The amount of carbon dioxide (CO₂), which is also poisonous gas, is less, the amount of carbon monoxide (CO) is negligible, and the amounts of oxygen and nitrogen are nearly the same. Just what does this mean in plain language?

It means that nobody can be gassed with diesel exhaust. Instead, victims would more readily suffocate from using up the oxygen in the “gas tight” chambers. In fact, if diesel exhaust gas is introduced into the chamber, the people inside would actually receive more oxygen than they would from breathing the air in the closed chamber after it passed twice through their lungs!

This [twice-breathed] air would have only ten percent oxygen left in it, but would already contain eight percent carbon dioxide. The oxygen content would continue to drop as the people [in the chamber] continue breathing, and the carbon dioxide (CO₂) content would continue to rise. Anoxia (oxygen deprivation) would occur very quickly, and five minutes after that, the end will come quickly through brain death.

The victims — who would otherwise die quickly — would easily live longer as a result of “gassing” with diesel exhaust, because of its high oxygen content. This means that the diesel engine is not suited for quick killing, assuming this could be done at all. On the other hand, if the victims were gassed with exhaust from spark-ignition engines, death would come much more quickly as a result of oxygen deprivation and the high carbon dioxide (CO₂) content than death by carbon monoxide (CO) poisoning.

Any executioner would have chosen spark-ignition [gasoline] engines to suffocate victims in the gas chamber: the first time he tried a diesel motor, it would quickly become obvious that he had chosen the wrong method of execution.

Furthermore, a diesel motor with a five liter displacement running at 1000 revolutions per minute would create an overpressure of one (1) atmosphere after ten minutes in a 50-cubic meter (m³) large air-tight chamber, and two (2) atmospheres after 20 minutes. That’s more than the air pressure inside an automobile tire. This means that after ten minutes, there would be twelve tons of pressure against the “gas chamber door,” and 24 tons after 20 minutes. (The measurements of the door at Mauthausen are 72 × 166 cm.) How long would it take to blow open the door?

This proves that the testimonies about mass killings with diesel exhaust gas (such as given in the Gerstein Report) are objectively untrue. They do not stand up to scientific examination.

4. The flames from the chimneys

In the Holocaust literature one can often read reports of eyewitnesses who saw dense smoke coming from the chimneys of the crematories in German concentration camps. Inmates also often saw flames “many meters long” shooting out of the chimneys. People with especially good eyesight even saw such phenomena from as far away as 20 kilometers from Auschwitz.

Mauthausen “historian” and state official [Hofrat] Hans Marsalek writes (in the book *Das war Mauthausen*, p. 14, point 18, “Bunker”):

... Below the bunker was the first crematorium. Its fire burned day and night, and the glare of the flame shooting out of the chimney could be seen far away in the Danube valley ...

All these “eyewitnesses” (who are now commonly referred to as “contemporary witnesses”) are telling conscious untruths when they report such things, unless they are the victims of an optical illusion. Only they themselves know if they are lying.

The origin of such tales is obvious, even if those who speak loosely without any technical knowledge achieve exactly the opposite effect by it: they are thinking of an open fire, which burns higher as more wood is put on it. This is supposed to make the story of mass cremations — of more and more people — appear more credible. These people confuse a midsummer bonfire with a crematory oven.

First, we will make two demands upon the reader’s knowledge of geometry and sense of logic:

1. Geometry: From a distance of 20 kilometers, even over the Neusiedlersee [Neusiedl Lake] (which is quite flat), the influence of the curvature of the earth is enough to cut off any possible visual contact between the eye of the observer and any high chimney or high flame, even from a high vantage point (such as the roof of a railroad car, since the “eyewitnesses” were railroad workers). In the vicinity of Auschwitz, furthermore, there were gently rolling hills, which were nevertheless sufficient to shield the installations from view.

2. Logic: Why did the Germans lay a smoke screen over the “Hermann Göring Works” in Linz, and order strict blackouts if, at the same time, (according to Marsalek) “... the glare of the flame shooting out of the chimney could be seen far away in the Danube valley ...”? This would have been a beacon for U.S. bombers. (I can just hear the co-pilot reporting to the pilot: “John. I see the lights of Mauthausen straight ahead! Now five degrees [to the] west for Hermann!”). Nobody can believe this.

Turning now to technology, because objective proof is always far more conclusive than witness testimony.

In the book *Bauentwurfslehre* ["Textbook on Construction Design"] by Ernst Neufert (Ullstein Fachverlag, 1962), p. 423, one can read:

Cremation takes place in special ovens which are cokefired, electrically-fired (cremation of a body requires about 45 Kw of energy), or gas-fired ... [and is] entirely free of smoke [Staub] or odor.

(This puts an end to the fairy tales of noticeable odor of the cremated corpses!)

[The cremation] takes place in dry air heated to 900-1,000 degrees [Celsius], that is without the flame coming into contact with the dead [body]. The oven is heated beforehand for two to three hours, and the cremation process itself requires between an hour and a quarter and an hour and a half.

(See also the Meyer and Brockhaus standard reference works.)

Thus, technology also establishes that the crematory capacity could never have kept pace with the number of bodies in the “genocidal mass gassings of millions of people,” and that therefore the bodies could not have been disposed of in sufficient quantity by burning.

That no “flame many meters high” could shoot out of the chimney should be clear to anyone who has ever watched the burning of wood in an open fireplace, or who watched the grilling of pieces of meat (a preliminary stage of cremation) on a charcoal fire.

Contrary to popular belief, corpses are not combustible materials. Cremation of bodies requires large quantities of fuel. (With a wooden coffin of 40 kilograms, and assuming 50 percent total efficiency of combustion, 45 kilowatts [of electrical energy] corresponds to about 15 kilograms of coke, or eight cubic meters of natural gas.)

The cremation of four million people using coke would alone require at least 50 kilograms [per body], which would mean about 200,000 tons of coke!

It is also senseless (and technically impossible) to speak of cremating several corpses at the same time in the same oven (witnesses have claimed as many as ten bodies at a time!), because this would exceed the capacity of the oven.

And what about the flames? Coke is a short-flamed fuel. The flame could not even exceed the confines of the burning chamber. In addition, there is a short exhaust channel, the flue, between the oven and the chimney. The chimney only comes after that. So, using [such] short-flamed solid fuels, there wouldn't be any "flame." At most, there would be exhaust fumes at a temperature of 180 degrees Celsius. Otherwise, the chimney would soon be ruined. Therefore, after traversing eight or ten meters of chimney, no flame could be visible outside. (The chimney length is determined by the required draw, not the length of the flame.) Not even a reflection would be visible because it would be lost in the flue. I always wonder why the judges who believed such testimony never at least asked a chimney sweep about this, even if they didn't consult an expert. Only "contemporary historians" and a series of courts have ever accepted these tales of "contemporary witnesses" about "flames many meters high" shooting out of the crematoria chimneys.

On this subject as well, it might be noted that the objections of "Revisionists" are far more in harmony with the laws of nature and technology than the tales of the Holocaust writers.

5. Mass gassings in Mauthausen

Before dealing with the question of whether a [homicidal] gas chamber existed at Mauthausen at all, a few facts — based on unimpeachable sources — should first be noted. The following sources have been used:

1. Hans Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen* ["The History of the Mauthausen Concentration Camp"] (Vienna: 1974 and 1980)
2. Hans Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen* ["Poison Gas in Mauthausen"] (Vienna: 1988)
3. Hans Marsalek, *Mauthausen: Führer durch die Gedenkstätte* ["Mauthausen: Guide to the Memorial Site"] (Vienna)
4. Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Alliierten* (Munich: 1982) [English-language edition: *Auschwitz and the Allies*]

The following statements are taken from the above sources:

According to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, p. 15:

■ On August 17, 1942, 56 Soviet citizens and five Poles were gassed.

According to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen*, p. 227:

■ On August 17, 1942, 56 Soviet citizens and five Poles were shot.

According to H. Marsalek, Giftgas in Mauthausen, p. 15:

On November 19, 1943, 38 Soviet citizens were gassed.

According to H. Marsalek, Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen, p. 227:

On November 19, 1943, 38 Soviet citizens were shot.

If those aren't contradictions, what are?

According to H. Marsalek, Giftgas in Mauthausen (1988), p. 15:

1. Gassing on May 9, 1942: 231 Soviet prisoners of war.

But according to H. Marsalek, Die Geschichte (1974/1980), it was only 208.

2. Gassing on October 24, 1942: 261 Czechs.

But according to H. Marsalek, Die Geschichte (1974/1980), it was only 128.

3. Gassing on January 26, 1943: 31 Czechs.

But according to H. Marsalek, Die Geschichte (1974/1980), it was only 15.

4. Gassing on April 17, 1943: 59 Soviet citizens and five Poles.

5. Gassing on September 25, 1944: 138 Soviet citizens and one Pole.

But according to H. Marsalek, Die Geschichte (1974/1980), it was only 110 Soviet citizens.

And so forth.

To sum up here:

According to H. Marsalek, Giftgas in Mauthausen (1988), the sum total, up to September 9, 1944, is 726 persons.

But, according to H. Marsalek, Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen (1974 and 1980), the sum total, up to September 9, 1944, is 526 persons.

It is worth noting here that more than 17 months elapsed between the fourth and fifth gassings.

We are further given to understand — from H. Marsalek, Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen — that Zyklon B was already delivered on September 22, 1942, and was again delivered on July 7, 1942, on April 28, 1943, July 1, 1943, and November 5, 1943, in the amount of 240 kg of cyanide content for each delivery.

Zyklon B was therefore already being delivered long before the [homicidal] “gas chamber” was [supposedly] put into operation, and was thereafter delivered in quantities exceeding the requirements for executions in a “gas chamber” by many thousands of percent. This may be proven by the following calculations:

The fatal dose would amount to 180-270 ml/m³, or 220-330 mg/m³. (Source: Supplement [Beilage] .D, Merkblatt M 002 der Berufsgenossenschaft der chemischen In-

dustrie, p. 9.)

The volume of the “gas chamber” was approximately 35 cubic meters ($3.70 \times 3.90 \times 2.46$). Subtracting a volume of approximately two cubic meters for the people to be gassed, the chamber therefore contains a volume of 33 cubic meters of air. Assuming a certain fatal dose of one gram per cubic meter (or about 3 to 4.5 times as much as would really be required to kill), per gassing 33 grams are required, or 1.1 grams of hydrocyanic acid per person. Assuming five grams per person — conservatively assuming a 22 percent degree of efficiency of the cyanide content in Zyklon B for purposes of yielding cyanide gas — the 2,481 persons (according to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas*) could have been killed 10 to 20 times over with 12 kilograms. So why did they deliver more than one ton between September 22, 1941, and November 11, 1943, even though only 526 persons could have been gassed up to September 25, 1944, according to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen*? Or was the Zyklon B used only for delousing and pest control? The actual requirement for the certain killing of 526 persons is about one half kilogram.

According to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, p. 233:

On August 19, 1944, 457 (or 456) Jewish prisoners were sent to Auschwitz. On August 28, 1944, 419 arrived [at the camp].

And according to M. Gilbert, *Auschwitz und die Alliierten*, p. 362 [or, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, p. 308]:

A train with 417 [or 429] persons arrived at Auschwitz from Mauthausen on August 22, 1944. Of this number, 93 were transferred to the work camp, and 326 were gassed.

A close look at the above reveals something remarkable. The question arises: Why did the Nazis, who possessed a properly functioning gas chamber at Mauthausen (but one which, at this point in time, apparently had not been used for 17 months), first transport the 326 Jews for three (or nine) days to Auschwitz, and then immediately gas them? Why didn't they gas them right away in Mauthausen?

According to H. Marsalek, *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, p. 15: The gassing operations in Mauthausen first really began in earnest on March 23 (or 27), 1945. Up until April 28, 1945, there were nine gassings, and up to the period between May 9, 1942, and February 19, 1945, also only nine.

According to H. Marsalek, *Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager Mauthausen*, gassings took place on just 18 days, with 1,980 victims. But according to H. Marsalek (the same author), in *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, there were 2,481 victims!

In H. Marsalek, *Mauthausen: Führer durch die Gedenkstätte*, p. 12, a document is cited. This is a communication from the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office (WVHA), dated Nov. 10, 1943, to the commandants of the concentration camps. Among other things, it reads:

The bordello and the crematories are not to be shown during camp visits. These installations are not to be mentioned to persons visiting the camp ...

Apparently, then, everything else could be shown and mentioned to visitors. Logically, then, a gas chamber, if one existed, could be shown and talked about; otherwise, it would have been included in the prohibition.

Since we cannot assume that the SS ever showed a [homicidal] gas chamber to the inspectors of the International Red Cross, it is permissible to conclude that none existed.

Conclusions

Why was Zyklon B delivered for a year prior to the [alleged homicidal] gassings? Obviously, for pest control and delousing! Delousing chambers are in Mauthausen even today, but there is no structure capable of being used as a [homicidal] gas chamber.

Why was nobody gassed for 17 months even though there [supposedly] was a working gas chamber? Why did they send hundreds of people during this period to Auschwitz for gassing? Obviously, in fact, because nobody was ever gassed in Mauthausen as part of any “systematic genocide.”

Why would a gas chamber be built if, during a period of more than three and a half years, it was used on only 18 days, and if the adjacent installation — where people were shot in the back of the neck (according to H. Marsalek in *Giftgas in Mauthausen*) — worked three times as efficiently?

The answer is that the room shown today as a gas chamber was never used for that purpose, and — for technical and physical reasons — never could have been used for that purpose. It was very probably the shower room for the crematory personnel, although its use as a morgue cannot be excluded.

Anyone familiar with the danger involved in handling hydrocyanic acid gas (which is explosive and extremely toxic) must wonder why the SS executioners didn't use carbon dioxide gas — which is easy to handle and completely harmless to the executioner — to kill the prisoners who were allegedly poisoned with Zyklon.

Any textbook on physiology confirms that in the event of anoxia (oxygen deprivation), disturbances of brain functioning appear after five seconds, followed by unconsciousness after 15 seconds, and brain death after five minutes. This is how animals are put to sleep, painlessly and surely. It also works with people.

But according to Marsalek (in *Giftgas in Mauthausen*, p. 10), instead of blowing carbon dioxide (CO₂) into the “gas chamber,” the Nazis sprinkled Zyklon B onto a brick heated on a shovel in the crematory oven to generate cyanide gas!

6. Carbon Monoxide Gas In Flasks

The allegation is also found in Holocaust literature that gas chamber victims were suffocated using carbon monoxide (CO).

In Hans Marsalek's work, *Vergasungsaktionen im Konzentrationslager Mauthausen: Die Gaskammer im Schloss Hartheim* ["Gassings Actions in the Mauthausen Concentration Camp: The Gas Chamber in the Hartheim Castle"], pp. 21 ff., we read:

... People were apparently first gassed in Hartheim with carbon monoxide gas on June 6, 1940 ... New supplies of steel flasks with poison gas ... were provided ... Poison gas streamed through this pipe, which was always blown in from a steel flask located in the next room ...

This allegation can also be found in the indictment of the Prosecuting Attorney of Linz, dated July 20, 1947 (3 St 466/46).

In Simon Wiesenthal's book, *Doch die Moerder Leben* (Droemer Knauer), 1967 [US edition: *The Murderers Among Us*], p. 385, on the photo of the site diagram of Hartheim Castle, the gas flask storage area [Gasflaschenlager] is marked, right next to the "gassing area" [Vergasungsraum].

(Interestingly, Wiesenthal refers in this book to eleven million people supposedly gassed [sic] by the Nazis. As part of the downward trend, this figure has been reduced to six million. The figure continues to fall, and because of the recent subtraction of three recent million from the Auschwitz figure, the grand total must now be three million.)

That this diagram is actually a forgery fits, of course, with the general pattern. ([Specifically:] Captions and, there-fore, room designations, were not made with a typewriter. Instead, the diagram designations were made with standard script or with block letters. And a "gas chamber" with a window is technical nonsense. The handwritten word "crematory" has been added to the words "oven room," apparently to criminalize the heating system. Given the lack of space, the question of precisely how the bodies were [supposedly] brought into the ovens is a matter worthy of some consideration. And the word "Sektierkammer" [dissection chamber] was obviously added by someone who is not entirely familiar with the German language.)

Gassing by means of carbon monoxide from flasks is technical nonsense. Carbon monoxide (CO) could only have been filled and stored in high pressure steel flasks, which would have been extremely expensive to fill, and even more expensive to transport. Anyone engaged in quasi-industrial mass killing could generate carbon monoxide in large quantities by simply using a spark-ignition (gasoline) engine, with a suitably "bad" (but for this purposes quite logical) carburetor adjustment. With just one liter of gasoline, and set at idle, such an engine can deliver many cubic meters of [deadly] exhaust in a very short time. This exhaust would not have any oxygen content, but would have eight, ten, 15 or even 20 percent carbon monoxide content. It would also be produced cheaply and on the spot, and at a fraction of the cost of the fuel required for the transport of any "gas flasks."

Once again, it must be stated that the Nazis may have been criminals, but they certainly were not stupid enough to use approximately one hundred liters of gasoline to produce a quantity of carbon monoxide that they could easily have manufactured on the spot using a couple of liters of gasoline.

In addition, carbon monoxide was produced in chemical plants and was a basic element for [the production of] synthetic gasoline. If for no other reason, the story of "carbon monoxide in flasks" for mass killing appears improbable because of the energy required to compress it, transport it in filled high pressure flasks, and then release it later at atmospheric pressure during use.

Thus, the last remaining cornerstone of the mass gassing story is relegated to the class of technical fairy tales rather than scientifically proven fact. This applies to gassings whether by:

- hydrocyanic acid used in the manner described above (that is, by throwing in Zyklon B from above),
- exhaust gas from diesel engines, or
- carbon monoxide in flasks, whether in stationary "gas chambers" or in so-called "gas vans."

The mass gassing story is certainly not a "fact of common knowledge"!

Had the Nazis really wished to “gas” (or, more accurately, to “suffocate”) people on a quasi-industrial basis (“systematic genocide”), they certainly would have turned to carbon dioxide gas (CO₂), which would have been absolutely harmless to the executioners and cheap to produce, instead of hydrocyanic acid (HCN) in Zyklon B or carbon monoxide (CO).

Anyone who does not believe this should take care to read the newspaper accounts of frequent accidents with fermentation gas which occur every year in the springtime in Austrian wine cellars.

Carbon dioxide kills quickly, painlessly and surely.

7. The attempted refutation of the *Leuchter Report*

Leuchter states that “the gas chambers at Auschwitz were not used to kill human beings with Zyklon B, because they could not be heated and had insufficient ventilation installations.”

In this regard, the author H. Auerbach, writing in a statement on “The So-Called Leuchter Report,” issued in November 1989 by the [semi-official German] Institut für Zeitgeschichte [“Institute of Contemporary History”] in Munich, stated:

Leuchter fails to consider that even in a much larger room (Note: compared to a U.S. execution gas chamber), this temperature (of evaporation of hydrogen cyanide) would be reached very quickly if it were packed full of people, and that therefore no heating at all is required.

Like so many Holocaust writers, Auerbach is mistaken.

An experiment was carried out by this writer to simulate the heating of a chamber by human beings.

The dimensions of the chamber were as follows: Floor area: 5.43 square meters. Height: 2.45 meters. Volume: 13.30 cubic meters. Surface area: 33.70 square meters. The chamber floor was tiled, as were the walls up to a height of 1.50 meters. Above that height, the walls were of wood section covering, with a wood section ceiling. Because of the large wood surface, the chamber is far easier to heat than the “gas chambers” shown as tourist attractions at Auschwitz. The chamber took an hour to heat using an 1.8 Kw electric convection heater, after which the room was “ventilated” for 30 minutes.

The nearly square chamber had one outside wall (outdoor air temperature: 20 degrees Celsius), and three inside walls (inside air temperature: 22 degrees Celsius).

The rise in temperature (Celsius) is shown in the following table (with figures rounded off):

[table omitted]

Because, according to the laws of nature, warmth flows from areas of higher temperature to cooler areas, and the standard “average body temperature” is approximately 33-34 degrees Celsius (Physiologie des Menschen, Schmidt/Thews, Springer, 1987, p. 655), the figures measured in the simulation (at summer temperatures) are well above those that could be attained in the middle of the year in an unheated “gas chamber.” Even [in a room] with people “tightly packed crushed together,” an air temperature in excess of 30-32 degrees Celsius would not be attained. In addition, the gassings are supposed to have taken place quickly and on a quasi-industrial basis.

Consequently, the wall temperatures would rise only slightly (hence the possibility that the hydrocyanic acid would condense on the walls), and the floor temperature would hardly rise at all. Nor would the bare feet of the victims warm the floor to any appreciable extent, because the temperature of the arch of the foot is only 27-28 degrees Celsius, and the temperature of the soles is practically identical to the floor temperature. Therefore, rather than warming the floor to any measurable extent, the victims would suffer from cold feet.

According to the Holocaust literature, Zyklon B was normally thrown in from above. This means, naturally, that it would land on the floor (which even in summer was colder than 26 degrees Celsius). As a result, the hydrocyanic acid contained in the Zyklon B would not vaporize quickly, but would instead evaporate more or less slowly (from six to 32 hours, at five to 30 degrees Celsius). This is precisely the secret of the success of Zyklon B as a pest control agent: a nearly even yield of the active ingredient over longer periods of time depending on the temperature.

To achieve the rapid killing described in the Holocaust literature, the SS therefore would have had to incorporate floor heating installations into the “gas chambers” in order to be able to use them as [homicidal] gas chambers.

And there is another detail: rapid and effective ventilation would have required not just mechanical ventilation, but suitable air intake channels. Without an air intake, using ventilators alone, the deadly air-gas mixture could never have been exhausted from the gas chamber. If this were attempted, the ventilator would reach a “suction limit” and run empty. That is, it would deliver nothing, but would instead simply maintain a certain partial vacuum [Unterdruck] in the chamber. Deadly hydrogen cyanide (HCN) would continue to evaporate for many hours, and the concentration in the air of the chamber would thereby become more and more rapidly fatal. How the room [removal] work team could work without heavy breathing equipment and protective clothing, only a “witness” can explain. Science can provide no answer.

Rather, science shows that:

1. euchter is correct, even though he provided no detailed scientific proof in his report, and
2. Holocaust writers are telling stories which cannot withstand scientific scrutiny.

8. Epilogue

Holocaust writers now face a dilemma.

The weapon for the “systematic genocidal extermination of millions of people, especially Jews” must now be abandoned if one looks at the facts instead of concentrating on belief.

No weapon, no crime. What now?

Mass murder with diesel exhaust gases (in 32 minutes, according to Gerstein) is a sheer impossibility for reasons of time alone. This can be proven experimentally, even today, with a couple of brave men. Therefore, the [stories of] “gas chambers with diesel engines” and “gas vans” [“gaswagen”] can only be disinformation. The “witnesses” make objectively false statements, and the “confessions” are clearly false. The laws of nature apply both to Nazis and anti-fascists. Nobody can be killed with diesel exhaust gas in the manner described.

Mass murder in the manner described, with Zyklon B and with carbon monoxide, cannot have taken place, either, because it too would violate the laws of nature, and because the necessary

technical and organizational prerequisites were lacking.

Experimental killings with Zyklon B may have taken place. After fifty years, this cannot be ruled out with certainty. But such experiments would have resulted in deaths among the executioners, and the recognition that something like the [supposed] Mauthausen shooting installation would be more logical and safer.

A similar recognition would have come very quickly in any experiment using diesel exhaust gases ("get rid of that diesel and get us a spark-ignition engine"), if there had ever been any "gas chambers with diesel engines" or "gas vans" ("generator gas" from "wood gas" trucks would have been more logical). The Nazis may have been criminals, but they certainly were not stupid enough to use diesel motors and Zyklon B in the manner described.

The crematories could never have disposed of the number of victims: this may be considered proven by engineering science. Bodies are not a combustible material. Their cremation requires a great deal of time and energy.

In light of what is now known, there are no "facts of common knowledge" [or "judicially noted" facts] with regard to the Holocaust. The facts given above should be elaborated to a higher degree of proof by specialists, and preferably by court-recognized experts. Such a study will certainly produce amazing results, which will radically alter the basic views of many people.

Objective proof will refute the testimony of perjured "witnesses" and the "confessions" of "criminals."

Judges and historians must draw the appropriate conclusions, and a whole generation of "contemporary historians" will sit on the ruins of their worldview, much as the Marxists today sit on the ruins of their Marxist ideology.

In court trials of "Revisionists," therefore, "contemporary historians" should never be the only ones permitted to determine the "facts" of the Holocaust. There must be interdisciplinary cooperation with scientists and technicians.

Any legal provision that seeks to hinder or even penalize scientific investigation of the Holocaust (such as section 283a of the Austrian criminal code) would amount to a state-ordered reign of terror against the human spirit.

Should actual investigation of the Holocaust prove the "deliberate genocide" to be a fact, the discussion will then be at an end, among the "Revisionists" as well. Who could wish to oppose discussion of the Holocaust, on any grounds, let alone attempt to choke discussion using criminal law?

Who is there who could abolish freedom of thought and the rule of law, without opening himself to the suspicion of trying to exert improper influence by suppressing discussion?

Is "1984" coming after all — through the back door?

Fred Leuchter: Courageous Defender of Historical Truth

by Mark Weber

- Based on the introduction of Leuchter at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992.

Until early 1988, [Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.](#) — like most Americans — basically accepted the Holocaust extermination story. In itself that is not at all remarkable, except that this man also just happened to be the foremost American expert on gassing and gas chamber technology.

As readers of this Journal know, Fred Leuchter was commissioned in early 1988 by German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel to conduct a thorough forensic investigation of the alleged wartime gassing facilities in Poland for his defense case in the Toronto “Holocaust Trial.”

Zündel was so sure that the Holocaust gassing story would not stand up to expert examination that he sent Leuchter to Europe at considerable expense, completely confident that an independent investigation would confirm the Revisionist view.

In early 1988, Leuchter and his team carefully investigated the so-called gas chambers at, first, the Auschwitz main camp, second, the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, which is supposed to have been the most terrible Nazi extermination center, and, third, the Majdanek camp near Lublin, where the Allies claimed at Nuremberg that a million and a half people were killed. As an expert witness testifying under oath in April 1988 in the second Zündel trial, and in his published report of his on-site investigation, Fred Leuchter explained in detail that the supposed gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek could not possibly have been used to gas people as alleged.

Leuchter’s findings demolish the core of the Holocaust legend — the Auschwitz gassing story. British historian David Irving found Leuchter’s forensic investigation so compelling that, as he has publicly acknowledged, it was a major factor in persuading him finally to reject the Holocaust extermination story.

Many tens of thousands of copies of what has become known simply as [the Leuchter Report](#) are now in circulation around the world. It has been published in numerous countries and languages. Earlier this year, for example, it appeared for the first time in Russian in a collection of Revisionist writings published in Moscow. More recently, it was published in Hungarian in the August 25 issue of the Budapest intellectual journal Hunnia.

In April 1989, Leuchter returned to Europe to carry out an expert forensic investigation of other alleged extermination gas chambers, this time at Dachau in Bavaria, and at Mauthausen and Hartheim, near Linz in Austria. Accompanying him on this visit, as she had during their 1988 visit to Poland, was his wife Carolyn. The results of this investigation have been published as the Second Leuchter Report, which appeared in the Fall 1990 IHR Journal.

The Institute for Historical Review is proud of its cordial and productive association with Fred Leuchter, who spoke at the IHR Conferences in 1989, 1990 and 1992. In his presentations at the last two conferences, he reported on the relentless international campaign against him.

During the last two years, unfortunately, there has been no let up in the bigoted campaign to discredit Leuchter's work and reputation, and to destroy his career — all because of his courageous refusal to lie about his professional findings. What his enemies want, apparently, is for Leuchter to violate his conscience, betray his profession, and to lie under oath in a court of law, all for the sake of upholding what has become, in essence, an article of religious belief. It is fair to say that no American has suffered more for his defiance of the Holocaust lobby than Fred Leuchter.

The most insidious (and effective) effort has been a behind-the-scenes campaign to destroy his livelihood by pressuring state governments to stop employing him as their execution hardware engineer. To allow Leuchter to continue working for the state, declared Illinois Representative Ellis Levin (D-Chicago), "would be an affront to the Jewish community." (Chicago Daily Law Bulletin, August 17, 1990.) Sadly, these underhanded efforts have been successful. The Chicago Sun-Times newspaper, for example, confirmed (in August 1990) that "the state [of Illinois] cut its ties with him over statements that Nazi gas chambers, including those at Auschwitz, could not have been used for executing Jews."

In spite of the clearly unfair and bigoted nature of the campaign against him, the normally vociferous champions of civil liberty and freedom of speech in America have, so far, anyway, been noticeably silent about this case.

An important propaganda weapon in this campaign has been a book published jointly by the Klarsfeld Foundation and a group that calls itself "Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice." This book bears the pretentious title: Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of 'The Leuchter Report'.

The most important charges made against Leuchter, which are also included in this widely distributed book, are:

- First, that Leuchter's motive in concluding that the alleged gas chambers were never used to kill anybody was the professional fee he received from Zündel for his work.
- Second, that Fred Leuchter has no qualifications as an execution equipment specialist, and
- Third, that he lied under oath in the 1988 Zündel trial.

What are the facts? Let's take a close look at each of these charges.

First, Leuchter's motives in conducting his forensic investigation of the alleged wartime gas chambers in Poland were entirely professional. While it is true that he was paid a standard fee by Zündel for his work, it cannot be stressed enough that Leuchter was chosen to carry out this investigation not because of any pre-existing views on this subject, but solely because he was the acknowledged expert in this field. His political views or social attitudes were never a consideration. (Just imagine what Leuchter's critics would be saying if he had conducted his forensic examination of the Polish camps on his own initiative, without charge.)

Before he flew to Poland to begin his investigation, Leuchter warned Zündel that if he concluded that the alleged extermination gas chambers were, in fact, used to kill people, or could have been so used, he would so testify in court. Zündel agreed to this condition. Regardless of his findings, Zündel would still have been obliged to pay Leuchter his fee.

In fact, if money and comfort had been primary considerations, and if he is as dishonorable as those who now attack him insinuate, Leuchter would simply have pocketed his fee from Zündel, and then told the court what the prosecution and the media wanted to hear.

Second, Leuchter's qualifications as a technical expert and inventor are actually quite impressive. His adversaries never tire of repeating that his only academic credential is a bachelor's degree in history, which he earned at Boston University in 1964. This has never been a secret. What is not so well known, though, is the full story of his expertise.

For one thing, Leuchter did post-graduate study in celestial navigation mechanics at the Harvard-Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Since 1965, he has worked as an engineer on projects having to do with electrical, optical, mechanical, navigational and surveying problems. He holds patents in the fields of optics, navigation, encoding, geodetic surveying and surveying instrumentation, including patents on sextants, surveying instruments and optical instrument encoders.

From 1965 through 1970 he was the technical director for a firm in Boston, where he specialized in airborne, opto-electronic, and photographic surveillance equipment. He designed the first low-level, color, stereo-mapping system for use in a helicopter, which has become an airborne standard.

In 1970, he formed an independent consulting firm. During his period with this firm, he designed and built the first electronic sextant and developed a unique, light-weight, compact and inexpensive optical drum sector encoder for use with surveying and measuring instruments. He also built the first electronic sextant for the U.S. Navy. He has worked on and designed astro trackers utilized in the on-board guidance systems of ICBM missiles.

Because of his work in navigational devices he has had hands-on experience with surveying and geodetic measuring equipment and a thorough knowledge of map-reading and cartography. He is trained in reading and interpreting aerial photographs. He designed a computerized transit for surveying use, and several years ago he developed the first low-cost personal telephone monitor.

During the past 14 years, Leuchter has been a consultant to several state governments on equipment used to execute convicted criminals, including hardware for execution by lethal injection, electrocution, gassing and hanging. In the course of this work, he designed a new gas chamber for the state of Missouri, and he designed and constructed the first lethal injection machine for New Jersey. Leuchter has also been a consultant on execution procedures. He has held a research medical license from both state and federal governments, and has supplied the necessary drugs for use in execution support programs.

In 1987, he formed Fred A. Leuchter Associates, a consulting engineering firm specializing in general consulting and the design and construction of prototype hardware. He has been a forensic engineer consultant, and has testified as an expert in courts in the United States and Canada.

(On a more personal note, Fred Leuchter is an accomplished pianist and musician, as well as a certified small arms instructor and NRA expert marksman.)

More to the point, Leuchter's expertise in precisely the field of execution hardware is a matter of public record, and has been authoritatively and publicly confirmed. Indeed, no one was better qualified to carry out his investigation. At that time, Leuchter was recognized as the foremost American expert on the design and fabrication of gas chambers and other hardware used to exe-

cute criminals in the United States. He has worked on and designed facilities used to kill condemned criminals with hydrogen cyanide gas, the same gas supposedly used to kill many hundreds of thousands of Jews at Auschwitz.

Leuchter's expertise as the nation's foremost specialist of execution hardware, including gas chambers, has been abundantly confirmed. William Armontrout, warden of the Missouri State Penitentiary, testified on this matter during the 1988 "Holocaust Trial" of Ernst Zündel. As warden, Armontrout supervised the state's execution gas chamber. He testified under oath that he had consulted with Leuchter on the design, maintenance and operation of the Missouri gas chamber, and confirmed that, to the best of his knowledge, Leuchter is the only such consultant in the United States.

Leuchter's expertise has also been recognized by prominent periodicals, including *The Atlantic* in a four-page article in its February 1990 issue. An article in the weekly national news magazine *Insight* of July 2, 1990, called Leuchter, "the nation's leading expert in the mechanics of execution." Finally, Leuchter's expertise was acknowledged on the ABC television news program "Prime Time Live," broadcast on May 10th, 1990, and by *The New York Times* in a prominently featured article in its issue of October 13, 1990, which was accompanied by a front-page photo of Leuchter.

No matter what the long-term outcome of the still unfolding Leuchter affair may be, the indisputable fact will remain, that on the basis of a careful on-site inspection, the man who is America's acknowledged foremost expert on gas chamber technology has categorically declared under oath that the alleged mass extermination gas chambers were never used, and never could have been used, as execution devices.

With regard to the third charge — that Leuchter lied under oath in the 1988 Zündel trial — it might first be pointed out that the laws of physics have not been suspended for the sake of the Holocaust story. To repeat: If Leuchter is wrong, it should not be difficult to prove it. And if he is right, his work and his findings will stand the test of time, and his courage will be vindicated.

At the 1989 IHR Conference, Leuchter dramatically called for a neutral, international commission of engineers, historians and scholars to go to Auschwitz and the other camps, and to either confirm or repudiate his findings. Not surprisingly, those who have been trying so hard to silence and discredit Leuchter have ignored his challenge. Indeed, the very nature of this insidious campaign, including the unwillingness of his adversaries to seriously come to grips with his work, implicitly confirms the soundness of Leuchter's findings.

In this regard, it is highly significant that Leuchter's findings have recently been authoritatively corroborated and confirmed:

First, the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow, Poland, corroborated Leuchter's findings in a confidential September 1990 forensic report. Although it was not meant to be made public, Revisionists were able to obtain a copy. An English-language translation of the complete text was published in the Summer 1991 issue of the IHR Journal.

Second, Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl explicitly endorsed Leuchter's findings in a March 1992 report, which appears elsewhere in this issue of the Journal.

Third, German engineer [Germar Rudolf](#), a highly qualified professional, has thoroughly supported Leuchter's findings in an exhaustive report that will probably be published in 1993.

Another German engineer, Wolfgang Schuster (Dipl.Ing.), pointedly defended the validity of Leuchter's findings against the criticisms of French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac in a five-page essay published in the German quarterly journal *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tuebingen, June 1991).

Finally, it is worth noting that Dr. William B. Lindsey, an American research chemist (now retired) who was employed for 33 years by the Dupont Corporation, anticipated Leuchter's findings during testimony given in the first Zündel trial in 1985. Based on his own careful on-site examination of the alleged extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and on his years of experience as a chemist, Lindsey declared under oath: "I have come to the conclusion that no one was willfully or purposefully killed with Zyklon B [hydrogen cyanide gas] in this manner. I consider it absolutely impossible." (*The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, Feb. 12, 1985, p. M3.)

In spite of the vicious campaign against him, Leuchter has remained defiant and confident of ultimate vindication. As he has put it:

I have been vilified by the caretakers of the Holocaust dogma whose desperate tactics prove the failure of their arguments. My livelihood has been destroyed, my character has been impugned and my life turned upside down. But I will not bend the knee: Not now, not tomorrow, not ever. Time and reason will vindicate the Leuchter Report.

One day, after the dogmatic passions of our era have given way to open-mindedness on this most emotion-charged of issues, Fred Leuchter will be admired as a most remarkable man of integrity and courage who defied powerful forces of bigotry and close-mindedness. He will be remembered as a man who, in striking a mighty blow for historical truth and understanding, has himself made history.

Is there life after persecution? The botched execution of Fred Leuchter

by [Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.](#)

- Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992.

Many of you, I am sure, know who I am, where I've been, and what I've done. Today I'm here to tell you what has happened to me since I addressed the Tenth International Revisionist Conference in Washington, DC, in October 1990.

One of my jobs as an engineer of execution technology has been to “post mortem” executions from a technical standpoint, that is, to determine if anything went wrong and, if so, to determine just how the execution was botched. This normally entails reviewing eyewitness accounts of how the executees were tortured, mutilated, or otherwise dehumanized in society's name.

I will do that here today, except that, in this case, it is myself that I post mortem — and the cadaver isn't dead! Much to the dismay of my executioners, the execution was so badly botched that I am able to stand here before you to speak the truth, and to tell the world that it is not myself, but the Holocaust story that is dead. I repeat for the record: I was condemned for maintaining that there were no execution gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau, Majdanek, Dachau, Mauthausen, or Hartheim Castle. There's no proof for the charge, only innuendo, lies, and half-truths. Robert Faurisson, Ernst Zündel and others said this first. They, too, live as victims of botched executions, but nevertheless free to speak the truth in a strong and growing voice that repeats: No gas chambers, no gas chambers, no damn gas chambers!

This address, then, is not a post mortem on my cadaver but rather a post mortem by my cadaver.

As you know, I was sent to Poland in 1988 by and for Mr. Ernst Zündel to investigate the alleged execution gas chamber facilities at the three concentration camps of Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek. I was chosen for this task from a field of experts numbering one, and recommended by those states in the USA where lethal gas chambers are used to execute convicted criminals. My forensic analysis and subsequent report prove beyond any shadow of a doubt that there were no gas execution facilities operated by the Nazis at these sites. I also entered these findings (which are also detailed in my published report) into the court record in sworn testimony in Toronto as a court-qualified expert.

Because I was somewhat naive at the time, I was not aware that by so testifying I was offending the organized world Jewish community. By providing final, definitive proof that there were no execution gas chamber utilized for genocidal purposes by the Germans at these wartime camps, I established the simple fact that the Holocaust story is not true. What I did not know was that anyone expressing such beliefs is guilty of a capital crime: that of thinking and telling the unspeakable truth about the greatest lie of the age.

I would have to pay for this crime. While I innocently told the truth in Toronto, plans were made, and subsequently implemented, for a major effort to destroy me. If I could be destroyed and discredited — so the reasoning went — no one would accept my professional findings, no matter how truthful.

Overview

Since April 1988, when I testified in the second Zündel trial in Toronto about my inspection of the alleged gas chambers in Poland, my life has been turned upside down.

I have been vilified both privately and publicly in all forms of the media. My clients have been cajoled and threatened into not dealing with me. High-level law enforcement officials, acting for personal reasons, have lied about me and have prevented clients from dealing with me. My person and reputation have been defiled by lies and innuendo. My family and I have been repeatedly threatened.

Behind this campaign to punish me and suppress the truth about the gas chambers, have been several Jewish organizations, which have publicly vowed to silence me by destroying my ability to make a living.

At the forefront of this effort has been Beate Klarsfeld of the Paris-based Klarsfeld Foundation. In the United States, the campaign has been orchestrated through the US-based “Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice.” Associated with these two organizations have been the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith and the Jewish Defense League.

At Klarsfeld's initiative, these groups first carried out an extensive one year investigation. After they were unable to turn up any impropriety or wrongdoing on my part, they began to threaten prison wardens with political consequences if they dealt with me. This first came to light when the ABC television news program, “Prime Time,” decided to do a network television piece on myself and my work. This involved filming at various prisons. Prison wardens advised the “Prime Time” personnel of the threats and problems that resulted from my presence at the prisons for the filming. ABC news was told not to air the program. It refused to succumb to the pressure, and consequently suffered vilification by the organizations involved.

To sum up here, this campaign has consisted of the following:

1. Threats against prison officials who dealt with me.
2. False and slanderous vilification through private channels, as well as publicly in newspapers and magazines.
3. Legislation to prevent me from working at my profession.
4. Criminal prosecution for working at my profession.
5. Lies by public officials spread both officially and privately.
6. Restriction of my personal freedom and right to travel by effecting my illegal arrest and imprisonment in England, from where I was finally deported.
7. Interference with my right as an American citizen to help and protection from the U.S. State Department, which refused to assist me during my illegal imprisonment in England.

As a result of this campaign, my livelihood has been destroyed, and my career has been ruined. All this for telling the truth under oath.

The organizations cited above also interfered with the execution in Illinois of a certain Mr. Walker by threatening to pass legislation to prevent that state from allowing me to complete an ongoing contract. As a result, Director McGinnis ultimately yielded to this pressure and proceeded with the execution using equipment known to be defective. Under pressure from these groups, and through the efforts of Alabama Deputy Attorney General, Ed Carnes, the State of Alabama did not purchase a new electric chair. Carnes wrote a lying memorandum to all Departments of Corrections around the United States claiming that I was dangerous and held unorthodox views on execution. He caused the State to breach its contract. According to his office, this means I support only humane and painless executions. Carnes actually lied to me to get me to testify that a prior execution was humane.

As a direct result of interference by these groups, at least one man was tortured to death in Virginia. Purchasing agents and wardens have been mendaciously told that my equipment failed during an execution, which is not true. It has never failed. Delaware Deputy Attorney General Silverman breached my contract, which was already underway, because I wrote the Zündel trial eucher Report. This contract was for maintenance on their lethal injection machine and gallows, previously fabricated by me, and for training of their execution personnel. Delaware has refused to pay me for the work I completed, and has instructed me to keep the control module of their lethal injection machine. However, the protocol I wrote for execution by hanging was submitted by them and approved by the court system. In Massachusetts, legislation specifically designed to put me out of business has been filed for four years running.

Finally, and also at the insistence of these same Jewish groups, a spurious criminal complaint was filed against me in the Massachusetts court system with the intent of destroying my reputation by putting me in prison for three months.

I was charged with practicing as an engineer without a license. In point of fact, a license is not required in Massachusetts, or any other state, unless the engineer is involved in construction of buildings, and is certifying compliance with specifications. There is also a statutory exemption for engineers who do not deal with the general public.

As confirmation of the spurious nature of this charge, it should be pointed out there are more than fifty thousand practicing engineers in Massachusetts, of whom only five thousand are licensed. Although the state's licensing law has been in effect since 1940, there has been no record of any prosecution for this offense.

The charge was improperly brought. Nevertheless, if it had been successful, and I had been convicted, I would have been imprisoned for three months.

The Massachusetts state Engineering Board, under pressure from Klarsfeld and her "Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice," filed this criminal complaint in Middlesex County. The name of the complainant was denied me, and was not made available until the matter was brought before the court. Before the complaint was issued, and several times thereafter, I was given the chance to recant in return for non-issuance or dismissal of the complaint. I also would have been obliged to give up my profession, in order to discredit my Report. I refused, and responded to the Board's threat with a denial that any law had been violated. The original clerk magistrate who issued the complaint apologized for bowing to Jewish pressure in prosecuting me under a statute that was being mis-applied. A representative of the ADL tried to force her testimony on the hearing, but was denied access because she had no evidence to offer that was pertinent to the matter. The District Court judge, in an excellent imitation of Pontius Pilate, summarily dismissed our motions for dismissal, allowed my court-appointed attorney to withdraw, and

instructed Kirk Lyons, Director of the Cause Foundation and my out-of-state attorney, to re-file our motions for dismissal, because they all had merit. After it became clear that there would be no justice for us in the Malden District Court, we moved the case to Superior Court for a jury trial.

With this charge hanging over my head, it was impossible for me to consult, supply equipment, or even act as an expert witness in American courts, as I had often done.

The district attorney's office, under heavy pressure from various Jewish organizations, selected its best prosecuting attorney to handle my case. In the belief that he would be the person most likely to bring about a conviction, he was pulled from a murder trial. In June, just prior to the trial, our motions for dismissal were heard. The judge, also under heavy pressure from Jewish groups, told the district attorney that this case was not properly a criminal matter, and strongly suggested that the case be resolved short of a trial. With the ever-present possibility of conviction and jail (faced by most political prisoners) we negotiated a settlement.

A very special consent agreement was signed [on June 11, 1991] that made legal history in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The agreement was not a promise by the defendant to the court, as is normally the case, but an agreement between the State Engineering Board and myself. The board which, on two previous occasions, had refused to accept my application for registration because they do not register people who practice my discipline, was required to become a party to the agreement. [For more on this agreement, see the IHR Newsletter, July-August 1991, p. 3.]

The consent agreement requires the board to accept my application and process it with "due diligence." Until the application is approved, or until two years are up, I have agreed not to use the title "engineer" or issue an engineering opinion in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. This is, in effect, a temporary gag order imposed to satisfy the interested Jewish groups.

By removing the case from consideration by criminal courts, the possibility of my imprisonment has been eliminated. If the Engineering Board fails to process and issue a license to me within a reasonable period, and in due course, the matter should then move to the civil courts. Attorney Lyons is presently preparing the necessary application. However, a new problem has arisen. All applications must be accompanied by the recommendations of three state-licensed engineers, but none is willing to risk the wrath of the Jews in my behalf.

The de facto gag order, imposed by the settlement, applies only within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and I am free to pursue my profession anywhere else.

Most of the execution equipment in the United States is either worn out, obsolete, or improperly fabricated, and is in need of repair or replacement. I am the only person who does this work, and states are being denied the right to deal with me. Although wardens and commissioners are afraid to even speak with me, they often do so anyway through intermediaries. One state has a leaking gas chamber, but will use it, endangering the lives of guards and witnesses, rather than risk discovery in dealing with me. How many more inmates will be tortured, or lives lost, through the callous interference of these Jewish groups?

Owing to the successful conspiracy of these Jewish groups, I am completely out of business, unable to find work to feed my family. In spite of everything, though, I am still here, and I am still telling the truth. Furthermore, I intend to continue to tell the truth. If the organized Jewish community wants to stop me, it will have to try much harder.

Moreover, attempts to discredit the Leuchter Report have failed, most notably with Pressac's inept analysis. Since the release of the Leuchter Report [in 1988], independent evidence has shown that the six million death figure has been grossly exaggerated, and an investigation by the Polish state forensic institute [among others] has corroborated that no gas was utilized in the alleged execution chambers at Auschwitz.

England

In the spring of 1991, David Irving asked me if I would consider a speaking engagement in England later that year. I said that I would, and I was advised in mid-summer that this would take place during the second week of November.

Irving apparently announced the speech sometime later. This apparently enraged Jewish groups in London which protested to UK Home Secretary Mr. Kenneth Baker in an effort to prevent me from traveling to London. This is a clear infringement of the rights of British people to hear me speak. This certainly also curtails my right to travel to England as any other American citizen.

As a result of pressure by these Jewish groups, Mr. Baker apparently promised to take action. The Jewish Chronicle, a London weekly paper, reported in its issue of October 4, 1991, that Home Secretary Baker had banned my travel to the United Kingdom. This was the only mention of the ban in the British media, and was not a particularly reliable source.

A week or so later, my father, Fred A. Leuchter, Sr., received a letter, ostensibly from the Immigration and Naturalization Department of Her Majesty's government, informing him that, by direction of the Home Secretary, he was not permitted to travel to the United Kingdom. My father communicated this letter to me.

Because my father had no such travel plans, my first assumption was that this letter was meant for me. However, a closer reading of it suggested that it might be a fraud. The signatory, Mr. "G.P.J. Catt," had no title, and part of the date was written by hand. Certainly, the Home Secretary and Her Majesty's Immigration Office would not be so sloppy and unbusinesslike as to send off an amateurishly prepared letter to the wrong person. My address is publicly known, and is easy to ascertain.

I turned the questionable document over to my attorney, Kirk Lyons, to authenticate. He, in turn, formally protested the letter to the UK Consulates in both Houston and Boston. In each case, the Consulate advised him that his protest was unfounded because there was no ban on travel to the UK by me (or my father, for that matter). He was informed that the letter must be fraudulent, and that it did not prohibit my travel to Britain in any way. Lyons was also informed that all Home Office documents must contain a reference number, which this did not. Based on all this, I confirmed my travel plans to London.

Because I also had also arranged to visit Germany, I combined that trip with my visit to London. Accordingly, my wife Carol and I left for Germany on November 2, 1991. We planned to drive to Calais and take the ferry to Dover from there on or about November 11, 1991. We also planned to return to Germany on or about November 15, immediately following my scheduled speech in London. Because our visit in Germany would be very hectic, we intended to arrive in England several days prior to my speech, giving us a few days to relax and see some of that country.

As planned, we arrived in Dover on the ferry from Calais late on November 11, and spent the night in Dover. The next morning we drove to London, where we met with Irving. We then left to

see the country, leisurely driving south to Salisbury to see Stonehenge. We returned to London by way of Wimbledon on November 15.

On Friday evening, November 15, we arrived at the Town Hall in Chelsea where I was to give my speech. After Irving opened the program, Dr. Robert Faurisson spoke. I was then called to the podium, and began my presentation. At approximately 9:15 p.m., some five minutes into my speech, I was interrupted by Irving, who told me that a "gentleman" wished to speak to me in the anteroom to the stage. I did not know it then, but I would remain in illegal police custody, without interruption, until I was expelled from England, and would not see my host, Dr. Faurisson, or the audience again.

In the anteroom I was greeted by Chief Inspector Philip Selwood and three metro police officers. I was asked to identify myself, which I did by presenting my passport (which Selwood kept) and my driver's license (which he returned). I was told that two male technicians with the Thames television news team had quietly spoken with him outside, and had insisted (as citizens) that I be arrested as an illegal alien because I had sneaked into the country contrary to a ban by the Home Secretary. I responded by pointing out that my passport was properly stamped, and that, as the two British Consulates in the United States had indicated, there was no such ban.

I further informed Selwood that if it was indeed determined that I was in the country illegally, I would leave immediately. I told him that I had no wish to stay where I was not wanted, and that I did not want to violate the law. Selwood told me that Thames television was trying to make news instead of reporting it, and that my cooperation would be very much appreciated. He asked me to accompany him to the Chelsea police station, without talking to the media, whilst he made an investigation. If I refused, I would be arrested on suspicion of illegal entry. I agreed. After he spirited me out of the building and into an unmarked van, away we went. Selwood was also afraid of violent Jews, who might attempt to break up the speech, and that was the reason for the presence of himself and his large contingent of men. I asked him to bring my wife, who was at the back of the hall. He stopped the van, ordered his men to take me to the station, and personally returned to collect my wife. I arrived at the station, and he soon followed with Carol. We were placed in a visitors' room.

Selwood advised me that I was not under arrest, and that if the Home Office determined that I was in the country illegally I would be permitted to leave. I was told that I was free to call the American consul, if I wished. I did not.

At this point I asked to leave. I was informed that I would have to wait for my status to be determined, because it would be necessary to escort me out of the country if I was there illegally. Selwood further told me that persons who were in the country illegally must be permitted to leave, if they so wished, providing they had the means. (In fact, we had ferry tickets.) Chief Inspector Selwood and the other police personnel were cordial and accommodating, providing us with a toilet and refreshment. We advised the police that Carol was diabetic. After first introducing us to his second-in-command, and leaving instructions as to our treatment, Selwood left before midnight.

At approximately 12:05 a.m., early Saturday morning, November 16, the Deputy Chief Inspector received a call, apparently from the Home Office. We could not hear very much, but we did hear him say that we should leave by way of Dover. A few minutes later, shortly before 12:15 a.m., he again received a call, to which he replied "Yes sir." He then came to speak to me. "I'm sorry," he said. "I have been ordered to arrest you." He informed me of my rights, and told me that I could talk with the U.S. Consul, or the Duty Solicitor (Public Defender), or both. When I asked if it had been determined that I was in the country illegally, he said that he did not know for sure. I then

asked to leave, and he told me that this was not possible. At this point I asked to speak with the U.S. Consul, and was told that this would be arranged. I was then searched, booked, and locked in a detention room with someone else, also under arrest.

About an hour later I was removed from the detention room, and told that the American Consulate was on the telephone. I spoke with Under Consul Christopher Randall who informed me that the Consular Corps was not there to help U.S. citizens. He totally refused to help. I asked to talk with the Duty Solicitor, and was told he would be called. I was taken to a cell (instead of a detention room) for lock-up. When I asked why I was being moved to a cell, I was told that the other occupant of the detention room was there for assault, and that I was being moved for my own protection.

I now found myself in an isolation cell with one other occupant who turned out to be there for theft. Because I make execution equipment (and criminals know this), I should never have been put in a cell with others. To do so might put my life in danger.

Moreover, the cell was freezing, and I had no coat. The other inmate had a blanket and mattress. In an effort to keep warm, I wrapped my arms around myself, but this didn't work. I was unable to sleep.

Some time later I was let out to accept a phone call from the Duty solicitor, who told me he was unable to help because I had not committed a crime. He told me that I should call my Consul, who ought to be able to help. When I told him that my consul had refused to help, he urged me to call back and insist, because he was obliged by law to help. I was returned to my cell.

At approximately 3:00 a.m., I was removed from my cell for interrogation by two Immigration Department personnel. I was taken to an interrogation room with recording equipment, and advised that my statement would be taped. I was also advised that I did not have to make a statement if I chose not to. I agreed to speak with them, but they first had to give me time to warm up so that my teeth would stop chattering and I would be able to speak normally. I gave them the same information that I had given hours earlier to Chief Inspector Selwood. I affirmed that I was a legal entrant, and once again requested permission to leave. I was refused. I was told that I should call the American Consul and/or the Duty Solicitor. I was also informed that charges might be brought. At this point I was served with Immigration form IS 151-A. I was also told that I would not be allowed to leave by way of Dover, but would instead be sent out through Heathrow airport (where they were from), and that my wife and our rental car would have to stay behind.

I asked about my wife, concerned that she had not eaten in over twelve hours, which could be a problem because of her diabetes. I was told that they would make a decision later about my legal status, and that in the meantime I would have to remain in the cold cell. I asked to be allowed to warm up, and to see my wife. They agreed to this. Carol had also asked to see me.

I met with Carol. After talking with her, I once again asked to talk with my Consul. The Consulate official again gave me a hard time, but after I told him of my discussion with the Duty Solicitor he said he would at least inquire into the matter. The guard rushed me to complete my phone conversation. Carol subsequently found out that the Under Consul had inquired late that morning. Carol had been removed while I was on the telephone, and I was rushed back to my cell. I froze again, but at about 4:30 a.m. I was given a blanket.

The day shift personnel who arrived at about seven o'clock proved more difficult to deal with. At 7:00 a.m., the other inmates were awakened to be taken to court. They were given coffee; I was

not. My cellmate asked the guard to give me some coffee, which he did. By 7:45 a.m., all the inmates were gone, and new inmates began to arrive.

I repeatedly asked about my wife to make sure that she was well. I inquired at 7:00, 8:00, 9:00, 10:00, 11:00, 12:00, and 1:00 o'clock, but no one would tell me how she was. Later I found out that just one officer had checked on her. She likewise had been asking about me, and was told nothing. At noon I was given a breakfast that consisted of cold eggs, sausage, and toast left over from hours earlier. It was inedible. It certainly would have made my ulcer worse. Carol had been given nothing to eat, even though she had been required to stay there by the Immigration officers who knew of her medical problem.

At about 1:20 p.m., I was again taken from my cell, this time to see Mr. Phillips of the Immigration Department. He met with Carol and me together. Phillips told us that it had been determined that I was in the country illegally, because I had entered in violation of the ban by the Home Secretary. I was told that I would be held until I was deported.

He acknowledged that he could not understand why I had been arrested and imprisoned after I had asked on three occasions to leave. Once again I asked to leave, but Mr. Phillips told me that this was now not possible because I had been formally arrested. This should not have happened, he said, but, because it did, I would now have to be deported. Carol asked how it was possible for me to be in the country illegally if I had entered legally at Dover and had a valid passport stamp. Phillips replied that I was not actually in the country illegally, but that an official determination had been made that I was, and that was the law. I asked why those immigration officials who had interviewed me had made this determination, and Phillips responded that they had not. He further said that the "decision has been made very high up in the Home Office," higher than he would ever reach in his career. He added that I could legally be held for up to five days after my arrest, even though I wanted (and should have been allowed) to leave earlier.

Phillips also told us that the Immigration Department had contacted French immigration about my possible deportation to France, but that I had been refused entry there. I responded by commenting that this is not surprising, because no country would want a deportee unless it is one of its own citizens. Phillips agreed.

He said that his next step would be to ask Belgium, and, if I was refused there, Germany. He did not expect Belgium to accept, but if Germany did, I would be sent on the Hamburg Ferry that ran only twice a week, the next time being on Tuesday [three days hence]. If I were to go this way, I would have to remain incarcerated until that time.

However, I was asked, in view of my desire to leave, would I consider going to the United States? Phillips informed me that if I officially told him that I wished to return to the United States, he could not stop me, and would put me on a flight that very evening. I then formally asked to be returned to the United States, and Phillips said that he would begin making the necessary arrangements. We would have to leave the rental car in England and make some arrangement for its return to Germany (other than by our driving it). Furthermore, we would have to forego our remaining commitments in Germany because time would not permit our return.

After taking our airline tickets, he contacted Lufthansa to reschedule our flight. The only available flight that day was at 3:30 p.m., which was too soon for us to get to the airport. He returned our tickets, and promised to make arrangements at the UK government's expense. He booked us on a British Airways flight to New York (not Boston) that departed at 6:30 p.m. We were escorted in two cars. Phillips' car went first, and we followed in another police car, under guard. We stopped for our luggage at our car which was parked behind Selfridge's [in London], at a

parking meter, and proceeded to the airport in rush-hour traffic. If we did not make it on time, they would have to return me to my cell.

After a stop at the Immigration office to pick up the necessary forms, we arrived at the airport, passed through security, and reached the gate just as the plane was being loaded. The police officer had left us at the entrance to the terminal. After returning my passport (which noted my detention on form IS 151 A), Mr. Phillips watched us enplane. The people at the ticket counter had been told that I was being deported, as were the gate attendants.

We took our seats, flew to New York, and arrived at about 9:45 p.m. We had to purchase air tickets to Boston at our own expense. After barely making this flight, we arrived in Boston at approximately 11:45 p.m., exhausted and hungry.

In summary, I was detained and held in custody for some twenty one and three-quarters hours, fourteen of them in an unheated cell. I was given a breakfast at noon, and was given one cup of coffee only at my cellmate's insistence. I was given no water, and there was none in the cell. My ulcer did not fare well under these circumstances, particularly because of my anxious concern for Carol.

For her part, Carol fared even less well than I did. After my arrest, she was given no food or water, even though she was not free to leave, and the police knew that she was a diabetic. After my arrest, she was allowed to see me only once. By the time we left, we were both cold and ill. The conduct of both Chief Inspector Selwood and Mr. Phillips, as well as that of the police personnel on the evening shift, was exemplary. By contrast, the conduct of the day shift personnel was poor and careless.

During the time that I was being held, Dr. Robert Faurisson went to the U.S. Embassy in London to see if he could obtain help for me. He was informed that neither I, nor any other American, had been arrested that evening. That the U.S. Embassy would lie about the illegal arrest and imprisonment of an American citizen is inexcusable. Faurisson also went to the police station where I was being held. He was told there I had been arrested and was being held in a cell in the station, but that I was not permitted any visitors. The police later told Faurisson that I had been deported on Saturday at 6:30 p.m.

As shown by the statements of the two British consular officials in the United States, and the fact that my name was not on any list and was legally permitted to enter at Dover, it is clear that no order barring me from entering the UK was ever officially given.

It is likewise clear that the difficulty started only when the Thames television people lied about me to Chief Inspector Selwood, apparently in order to make a "better" news story.

It is also clear that the Home Secretary (or someone acting for him) illegally ordered my arrest, imprisonment and deportation, knowing full well that I had entered the country legally and should have been left alone or, if later determined to be there illegally, at least permitted to leave. This plain violation of international law by the Home Secretary's Office was undoubtedly done to please the complaining Jewish groups which bear the ultimate responsibility.

By failing to uphold one of the prime responsibilities of the Consular Corps — that is, to protect the rights of Americans abroad — the United States Embassy in London, and Under Consul Christopher Randall in particular, clearly failed in their responsibility to me as an American citizen, as well as their responsibility to the nation as a whole. It is a shameful disgrace that the

British duty solicitor and UK Immigration Officer Phillips cared more for my rights than my own embassy.

A formal protest to State Department, and requests for help from our Senators and Representatives, have resulted in nothing but lip service.

Conclusion

Unfortunately, my clients — the state governments — are still intimidated by my Jewish persecutors. This continues to deprive me of my income, and it is not at all clear whether this will ever end.

I have been unable to apply for my state engineering license because no engineers have been willing to sign papers recommending me (which is a requirement), out of fear of retaliation. Without some official change in my status, such as a license, even the friendly state governments are afraid to deal with me. The major lawsuit we had planned against my persecutors is stalled, perhaps permanently, because of a lack of funds.

And, although my findings will ultimately be accepted by all, I still have no contracts, have been unable to find work and have no income. It does not seem that this will improve in the near future.

The *Leuchter Report* vindicated: A response to J.-C. Pressac's critique

by Paul Grubach

In early 1988, American execution hardware expert [Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.](#), carried out the first-ever forensic investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. His sensational conclusion — that these structures were never used as gas chambers to kill people — set off an international controversy that is still continuing. In a detailed report, commonly referred to simply as [The Leuchter Report](#), the gas chamber specialist summed up the result of his investigation: ^[1]

After a study of the available literature, examination and evaluation of the existing facilities at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, with expert knowledge of the design criteria for gas chamber operation, an investigation of crematory technology and an inspection of modern crematories, the author finds no evidence that any of the facilities normally alleged to be execution gas chambers were ever used as such, and finds, further, that because of the design and fabrication of these facilities, they could not have been utilized for execution gas chambers.

Not surprisingly, indignant defenders of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story have tried frantically to discredit Leuchter and refute his findings. Undoubtedly the most ambitious effort to impeach *The Leuchter Report* on scientific and technical grounds consists of two articles by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac in a book sponsored by “Nazi-hunter” Beate Klarsfeld, and grandiloquently titled *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of the Leuchter Report*. ^[2] [\[A review of *Truth Prevails*](#), which deals with more generally with the book’s non-scientific criticisms of Leuchter, is published elsewhere in this issue of the Journal. — Editor.]

In *Truth Prevails*, Pressac is described as “one of the world’s rare research specialists in gas chamber extermination technique. He is not a Jew and very nearly became a 'revisionist'.” (p. 29) At the conclusion of his essay “The Deficiencies and Inconsistencies of 'The Leuchter Report',” Pressac pronounces stern judgment on *The Leuchter Report*:

... Leuchter is the victim of his own errors: layout errors, location errors, measurement errors, drawing errors, methodology errors and historical errors. Based on fake knowledge, inducing fake reasoning and leading to false interpretations, “The Leuchter Report” is inadmissible because it was produced in illegal conditions; because it overlooks the most basic historical data; because it is scuttled by gross errors of calculation, drawing and location; and because it is suspect of falsification. “The Leuchter Report” lands in the cesspool of pretentious human folly. (p. 55)

As this article will show, Pressac, by dismissing *The Leuchter Report*’s scientific and technical method so intemperately, has cast a verbal boomerang that returns to strike its author.

I

When Leuchter took forensic samples of brick, mortar and sediment from the alleged extermination “gas chambers” in Auschwitz-Birkenau, as well as a control sample from a camp delousing facility, he wore protective gear. Pressac ridicules him for this:

To prevent his “precious” samples from being polluted during their removal, Leuchter and his assistant ... had agreed to wear protective surgical gloves and masks. Since the analyses to be done on the samples were chemical and not bacteriological in nature, this was a perfectly ludicrous and totally useless precaution. (p. 62)

Pressac is ignorant of the real reason why Leuchter and company wore protective masks and gloves. Potassium cyanide, a highly poisonous solid, [3] is found in the walls of some of the facilities under study. [4] As Du Pont chemists have pointed out: “Wear an approved dust respirator when there is danger of inhaling cyanide dust ... Wear protective gloves when handling solid cyanide.” [5] Thus, Leuchter and his team showed good sense by wearing protective gear when extracting the samples.

Leuchter stored his samples in cool, damp, and sunlight free locations. But Pressac writes: “Since Leuchter placed the samples in transparent plastic bags, it is difficult to accept his 'sunlight free locations' claim.” (p. 62) In fact, although Leuchter first placed the samples in transparent bags, he then transported them to America in closed, sunlight-free suitcases. [6] The gas chamber expert wrote: “We boarded the Polish airline plane after clearing customs — my suitcase containing twenty pounds of forbidden samples, fortunately none of which was found.” [7]

Leuchter is faulted for allegedly making misleading descriptions of the specimens. In Pressac’s words:

Thirty-one samples ... were identified by laboratory analysis ... as coming from “brick” — an inexact generalization. If two-thirds really are brick fragments, either pure or mixed with a bit of mortar, the rest are composed of lime mortar or sometimes of pure cement (as in the case of two or three samples). This abusive generalization leads one to have a major reservation about the very nature of the samples Leuchter took. Either Leuchter was mistaken in his assessment of the substratum, or the laboratory made an error. (p. 61)

In one part of his report, Leuchter wrote: “... forensic samples of brick, mortar, concrete and sediment were selectively taken from sites in Poland.” [8] In a letter to Alpha Analytical Laboratories (Ashland, Massachusetts), the laboratory which analyzed the samples, Leuchter wrote: “Samples No. 1 through No. 11; Samples No. 13 through No. 32. Brick, mortar and sediment. Cyanate content.” [9] Clearly, he did not use the “inexact generalization” of “brick” to characterize the samples. [10]

II

Pressac realizes the importance of the samples taken from the “gas chambers” and the delousing facility. Thus, discrediting Leuchter’s method of taking samples and his conclusions regarding their chemical content is really the major purpose of Pressac’s two essays in Truth Prevails. He writes:

Since Leuchter's samples were obtained illegally, I will only concur with their cyanide concentration on the express condition that they be verified by official expert chemical evaluation. Admitting their validity with reservations, certain results which may have been surprising at first glance can be logically explained. (p. 40)

A subsequent "expert official chemical evaluation" has in fact strongly corroborated Leuchter's findings. In response to Revisionist claims that Zyklon B was not used at Auschwitz-Birkenau to commit mass murder, the Auschwitz State Museum asked Poland's Institute of Forensic Research (in Krakow) to carry out a scientific investigation of the matter. Its expert report results buttress those of Leuchter: The institute's team found significant potassium cyanide residue in delousing facility samples, while next to none in alleged "gas chamber" samples. ^[11] (As will be discussed below, the Polish institute's conclusion regarding the significance of this finding differs from Leuchter's.)

Throughout both his essays, Pressac strongly implies that Leuchter consciously falsified his findings in order to disprove the existence of the gas chambers. As a case in point — concerning sample 2 from Crematorium II — Pressac insinuates that Leuchter planted a brick with no cyanide residue in the "gas chamber" area in order to "prove" his case. (p.65)

At the 1989 conference of the Institute of Historical Review, Leuchter publicly challenged the international scientific community to investigate his findings — hardly the behavior of a man who is guilty of falsifying his results. ^[12] A team of scientists could easily expose deliberate deceptions, as well as methodological errors, by Leuchter. All they would have to do is retrace his path, take more samples from the same facilities, and subject them to chemical analysis.

Leuchter's 1988 investigation of the concentration camps, including his inspection and sample taking, was recorded on videotape. A videotape cassette of his visit, which shows Leuchter taking some of his specimens, is available to the public. ^[13] Pressac claims throughout his second essay that this video is a "witness to a fraud." (pp. 61-73) He writes, for example: "Manipulation, substitution and trick photography are certainly confirmed in the case of sample No. 6." (p. 68) With reference to the extraction of this sample, he writes at another point: "The deception seems clearly obvious." (p. 67)

Pressac writes further:

Out of seven samples obtained from the Crematorium II gas chamber ruins, not a single one was shown upon analysis to contain cyanide. This amazing result is contrary to everything known about the building's history. Faurisson wanted this gas chamber to yield a perfect (for him) result across the board — that is to say, uniformly negative. Playing his cards close to his vest, he succeeded all too well. The results are too consistent, too perfect. (p. 68)

Whatever defects there may be in the videotape record of Leuchter's investigation, it seems unlikely that they are the result of conscious fraud (let alone a plot orchestrated by his arch-enemy Robert Faurisson). Any possible defects there may be are more likely to have been occasioned by inexperience and the circumstances in which the gathering of evidence and the videotaping was conducted. As British historian David Irving has written:

I myself would, admittedly, have preferred to see more rigorous methods used in identifying and certifying the samples taken for analysis, but I accept without reservation the difficulties that the examining team faced on location in what is now Poland: chiselling out the samples from the hallowed site under the very noses of the

new camp guards. The video tapes made simultaneously by the team — which I have studied — provide compelling visual evidence of the scrupulous methods that they used. [14]

Furthermore, as already mentioned, Poland's Institute of Forensic Research (Krakow) has provided independent corroboration of Leuchter's findings. The Institute's investigation team found no cyanide residue in the "gas chamber" samples they took, except for one taken from the Crematorium II ruins. It measures 6 micrograms per 100 grams of material. This is equal to .06 milligrams of cyanide per kilogram of material (mg/kg). [15]

This is less than the minimum amount that could be detected by the measuring instrument of the Alpha laboratory. The minimum trace level of cyanide that could be detected by Alpha was one mg/kg. [16] Anything below this amount was rightly considered inconsequential. Thus, Leuchter's findings are consistent with those of Poland's Institute of Forensic Research: there was no significant cyanide residue in material taken from Crematorium II's "gas chamber."

III

Pressac asks:

What decisive point of the [Leuchter] report leads the deniers [Holocaust Revisionists] to think they have "won" [the debate about the existence of extermination "gas chambers"]? They compared the quantity of cyanide residue in the Birkenau BW 5a delousing building gas chamber (sample No. 32) yielding 1,050 mg/kg ... and those varying from 0 to 7.9 mg/kg in samples from the Auschwitz-Birkenau homicidal gas chambers. The result triggers the following line of questioning. How can it be believed that the areas supposedly used to asphyxiate thousands daily by means of hydrocyanic acid over the course of a year or two retain only minute traces of cyanide while other places, used for delousing with the same gas over the same time period, yield traces one hundred and fifty to a thousand times greater? (p. 35)

As Pressac indicates, Leuchter did indeed conclude:

One would have expected higher cyanide detection in the samples taken from the alleged gas chambers (because of the greater amount of gas allegedly utilized there) than that found in the control sample. Since the contrary is true, one must conclude that these facilities were not execution gas chambers, when coupled with all the other evidence gained on inspection. [17]

In an effort to discredit this conclusion, three explanations have been offered in response:

Explanation 1. After 45 years, virtually all of the cyanide residue in the alleged extermination gas chambers has "weathered away." Poland's Institute of Forensic Research, for example, expressed the view that

... one can hardly assume that traces of cyanic compounds could still be detected in construction materials (plaster, brick) after 45 years, after being subjected to the weather and the elements (rain, acid oxides, especially sulfuric oxides). More reliable would be the analysis of wall plaster [samples] from closed rooms which were not subject to weather and the elements (including acid rain). [18]

Writing in *Truth Prevails*, Pressac expresses a similar opinion: “As a general rule, the more a sample’s locale was exposed to the elements, the lower — indeed, nil — the cyanide content.” He also wrote: “The ruins of Crematorium II and III and the restored walls of IV and V have been exposed to the elements for over forty years. It’s practically a miracle that any measurable hydrocyanic compound traces still remain.” (pp. 71, 44)

However, in his 1989 book, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#), Pressac says something rather different. In this detailed work, he published a picture of the outside wall of a delousing chamber. Referring to this structure, he wrote: “... from ground level to just below the chimney, bluish stains can be seen on the bricks of the wall, showing that hydrocyanic acid was used there (in 1942-1944), for delousing purposes.” ^[19] He thus confirms that even though this wall has been exposed to the elements since the Second World War, a significant amount of Prussian blue is nevertheless still visible. Pressac himself thus discredits the claim that all or even most of the Prussian blue (ferric ferrocyanide) would have “weathered away.”

If Pressac’s view on this is correct, the outside wall of this delousing facility obviously would have a lower Prussian blue content than the inside walls of the “gas chamber” of Krema I. In fact, though, visible Prussian blue stains can be seen on the outside wall of the delousing facility, which has been exposed to the elements since the Second World War. By contrast, there are only invisible and barely detectable amounts of Prussian blue in samples taken from the inside wall of the supposed homicidal “gas chamber” of Krema I, which is inside an intact structure and has thus been protected from the elements since the Second World War. ^[20] As Pressac himself notes: “Its [Krema I] morgue/ gas chamber inside walls have never been exposed to sun, rain, or snow (factors which contribute to cyanide content diminishing) as the other crematoriums were and are.” (p. 44)

Referring to the absence of cyanide/Prussian blue traces in the samples taken from Birkenau’s Krema II, Pressac writes in *Truth Prevails*: “Cyanide’s solubility in rain water and the water layer accumulated underground from infiltrating rain accounts for its absence from the samples.” (p. 41)

This view is simply not correct. Dr. James Roth, the chemistry expert who analyzed Leuchter’s samples, pointed out that Prussian blue cannot be washed out of brick, mortar or cement by water. The ferric ferrocyanide compounds produced by the interaction of hydrogen cyanide with the iron elements in brick (and such) are very stable, and remain in such substances for a very long time. As Roth testified under oath, the compounds can be removed only by sandblasting or the application of strong acid. ^[21] Nobel Prize-winning chemist Linus Pauling similarly confirms that Prussian blue is insoluble in water. ^[22] Finally, the authoritative *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics* notes that ferric ferrocyanide — or iron (III) ferrocyanide — is insoluble in hot or cold water. ^[23]

It should be stressed here that whereas the Institute of Forensic Research (Krakow) measured the amount of potassium cyanide, ^[24] Leuchter was mainly concerned with Prussian blue (or ferric ferrocyanide). ^[25] As previously noted, while Potassium cyanide is indeed water soluble, ^[26] ferric ferrocyanide is not. Prussian blue is a very stable compound that simply could not have been washed away by rain.

Explanation 2. Pressac suggests that when camp officials dynamited crematory buildings (Kremas) II, III and V, this contributed to the removal of cyanide residue. (pp. 40, 42, 43) This explanation will also not hold up. While it is true that dynamiting breaks up the bricks of a structure, it does not remove chemical stains on or within such bricks. Nor, for the most part, would it abrade

Prussian blue on their surfaces. Pressac himself points out that a support pillar in Krema II's "gas chamber" withstood the effects of explosion. (p. 65) Any Prussian blue on the surface of or within the pillar's pores would have remained.

Explanation 3. This is Pressac's principal explanation. Even though the delousing facility was exposed to a lesser amount of HCN than the "gas chambers," the walls of the delousing facility were impregnated with warm HCN for at least twelve hours a day. He writes:

This cyanide saturation of 12 to 18 hours a day was strengthened by the heat the stoves in the room emitted, providing a temperature of 30 degrees Celsius [86 degrees Fahrenheit]. The walls were impregnated with hot HCN for at least 12 hours a day, which would induce the formation of a stain: Prussian blue, or potassioferric ferrocyanide [sic] ... (p. 37). [27]

As for the "gas chambers," Pressac alleges the HCN was in physical contact with their walls "for no more than ten minutes a day," at a temperature of about 30 degrees Celsius (86 degrees Fahrenheit). Without additional heat, the brief contact of high concentrations of HCN with the walls of the homicidal installations was not able to induce the reaction which led to the formation of significant amounts of cyanide residue. Hence, the amount of ferric ferrocyanide in the "gas chamber" samples is nil or nonexistent. (pp. 36-38)

If Pressac had made an objective study of the chemistry of hydrogen cyanide and Prussian blue, he would have learned how inaccurate this theory is.

The walls of the alleged gas chambers contain a large amount of iron. [28] And, as Dr. James Roth pointed out: "If iron is present with hydrogen cyanide around, then you are going to get a reaction between the hydrogen cyanide and iron." [29] Hydrogen cyanide dissolves very readily in water, becoming hydrocyanic acid. [30] As Pressac and Leuchter have both noted, the alleged gas chambers were very damp. [31] Enough moisture would have been on the walls, floors and ceilings to dissolve at least some of the HCN supposed to have been used during an alleged gassing.

In the presence of water, iron in the walls and cyanide from the hydrogen cyanide would readily combine to form an iron cyanide complex. Aqueous solutions of hydrogen cyanide are weak acids. [32] As Dr. Pauling notes: "Iron is an active metal, which displaces hydrogen easily from dilute acids." [33] Consequently, the iron from the walls would easily have displaced the hydrogen (H^+) in the hydrocyanic acid, bonded with the cyanide (CN^-), and formed an iron-cyanide complex, ferrocyanide ion $[Fe(CN)_6]^{4-}$. [34] This is what Dr. Pauling meant when he wrote that cyanide ion $[CN^-]$ added to a solution of ferrous ion [iron (II) ion] forms precipitates which dissolve in excess cyanide to produce complex ions. [35]

Finally, according to Dr. Pauling, the pigment Prussian blue is made by the addition of ferric [iron (III)] ion to a ferrocyanide solution. [36] According to chemist James Brady: "The deep color Prussian blue is formed when a drop of dilute solution containing Fe^{3+} [iron (III) ion] is added to a dilute solution containing ferrocyanide ion, $Fe(CN)_6^{4-}$. After a few moments, the blue precipitate, $Fe_4[Fe(CN)_6]_3 \cdot 16H_2O$, settles to the bottom of the test tube." [37] In plain language, the iron-cyanide complex, ferrocyanide, combines with more iron to form ferric ferrocyanide (or Prussian blue).

What this whole reaction mechanism shows is that even if the HCN were in contact with the "gas chamber" walls for less than ten minutes every day or two for two years, significant quantities of Prussian blue still would have formed. (By a "significant amount" is meant an amount slightly less or equal to that found in the delousing facility samples.) At least some of the HCN, upon

contact with the diffuse wetness, would have dissolved immediately. [38] This dissolved HCN, upon contact with the iron, would have formed some ferrocyanide immediately. [39] The ferrocyanide, upon contact with more iron, would have formed some Prussian blue almost immediately. [40]

But just as important, the application of heat to the walls and gas is not at all necessary to form significant amounts of Prussian blue. Relevant to this issue is the informative verbal exchange between attorney Douglas Christie and Dr. James Roth during the 1988 trial in Toronto of Ernst Zündel. Referring to the reaction between hydrogen cyanide and the iron in the walls of the alleged gas chambers, Christie asked Roth: “And could you explain any way by which this would not happen or no such reaction would occur?” The chemist replied:

ROTH: Well, one is the lack of water. These reactions to — in a lot of cases have to take place in water or with some vapor around. Now, chances are great [that with] normal temperatures and rooms of normal humidity, there would be plenty of moisture present for this type of reaction to take place.

CHRISTIE: So in a normal room with normal humidity these quantities of iron in the wall, hydrogen cyanide in quantities of 300 parts per million [.36 g/m³] or more, on a daily basis for two years or even two weeks, you would expect to see the formation of Prussian blue. Is that correct?

ROTH: I would expect to see detectable amounts of Prussian blue. [If not visibly detectable, at least chemically detectable.] That type of reaction is an accumulative reaction. In other words, as it reacts it doesn’t go away. It stays ... [41]

Pressac’s theory that without additional heat the brief contact of high concentrations of HCN with the walls of the gas chambers was not sufficient to form significant amounts of Prussian blue is therefore false. [42] The whole ensemble of physical and chemical conditions would have ensured that significant amounts of Prussian blue residue would have been detectable in Leuchter’s samples if they had been exposed to the amount of gas Pressac claims.

IV

The boiling point of hydrogen cyanide (HCN) is 26 degrees Celsius (or 78 degrees Fahrenheit). [43] That is, HCN vaporizes, or changes from liquid to gas, at this temperature. If the temperature is below 78 degrees F, there will thus be condensation: Much of HCN will change from gas to liquid. In addition to being cool year round, the Auschwitz I and II (Birkenau) “gas chambers” were supposedly operated during the cold weather months of fall, winter and spring. [44] They were allegedly ventilated “naturally” or “mechanically.” (p. 72) [45] In either case, air from the outside environment would have been used to expel poison gas from the chamber. During the fall, winter and spring months, this outside ventilation air would have been considerably cooler than 78 degrees F. In addition, as Pressac admits and Leuchter confirms, the “gas chambers” had no internal heating devices to prevent condensation. [46] The temperature of the walls, floors and ceilings for much of the year would have been well below 78 degrees F.

During an alleged gassing operation, much of the poisonous HCN gas therefore would have promptly condensed to liquid upon contact with the frigid walls, floors and ceilings, or upon contact with cold air during ventilation. Because HCN gas naturally adheres to surfaces, it can be ventilated only with difficulty and after considerable time. [47] Thus, even if an alleged “gassing” lasted no more than twenty minutes, a considerable amount of condensed, liquid HCN would

have remained on the walls, floors and ceilings after ventilation. The cold air allegedly used to ventilate the poison gas would simply have ensured that much of the HCN would have changed to liquid and remained on the inside surfaces of the “gas chambers.”

In this vein, Leuchter has noted:

... if the temperature [of the gas chamber] is not above 78 to 79 degrees, we get condensation of the gas on the walls, the floor and the ceiling. When the hydrogen cyanide condenses into a liquid it will be absorbed by the brick and by the mortar ... [48]

As Dr. Pauling has noted, “Hydrogen cyanide ... is a gas which dissolves in water and acts as a very weak acid.” [49] In this regard, it is worth pointing out that the Auschwitz-Birkenau “gas chambers” were always damp. [50] Therefore, even during the warm weather months, when the ambient temperature in the “gas chambers” may have been above 78 degrees F, some gaseous HCN would have readily dissolved the moment it came in contact with the natural moisture on the floor, walls and ceiling. In this way, the constant dampness or moisture in the “gas chambers” would ensure that HCN would be held in solution even during the warm weather months. [51] This HCN — dissolved in the moisture or condensed back to liquid — thus would have remained in the “gas chambers” even after ventilation, and would have reacted with the iron in the bricks to form Prussian blue.

According to chemists of the German Degesch company (which manufactured Zyklon), exposed porous surfaces of an authentic (delousing) gas chamber must be coated with a sealant to make the facility impervious to HCN impregnation. [52] Leuchter found that none of the alleged extermination “gas chambers” in Auschwitz was coated with any sealant. [53] If these facilities had actually been used as extermination gas chambers, their walls, floors and ceilings would have absorbed significant quantities of HCN.

Critical to Pressac’s thesis is this claim:

In a homicidal gas chamber, the action of highly concentrated HCN was rapid and intense (never more than 15 to 20 minutes), at a temperature below 27 degrees C. [80.6 degrees F], then the room was aired or artificially ventilated to get rid of the gas as quickly as possible ... The acid had time to attack the metallic parts superficially, forming cyanide, but did not have enough time to impregnate and stain the brick. Conversely, the operation of a delousing gas chamber used much lower concentrations of HCN, but as a general rule and according to witnesses, the gas remained for a very much longer time, from 16 to 18 hours, and a higher temperature was maintained by heating the chamber by stoves ... [54]

This is not accurate. As we have already established, if the structures in question had actually been used as homicidal “gas chambers,” the walls, floors and ceilings would have absorbed significant quantities of HCN. The physical and chemical conditions in the alleged “gas chambers” were such that a significant amount of HCN would have remained after a “gassing,” impregnating the brick and forming significant quantities of Prussian blue.

Let us summarize Pressac’s thesis with two quotations. In the 1990 work, *Truth Prevails*, he wrote:

Without heat induction of long continuance, the cyanide doses [in the “gas chambers”], as high as they were, were not in contact with the walls of the homicidal in-

stallations long enough to provoke the reaction [forming Prussian blue] to an appreciable — that is to say visible — degree. (p. 38)

And in his 1989 work, Auschwitz, Pressac wrote:

The “blue wall” phenomenon makes it possible now to distinguish visually, empirically, but with absolute certainty, between delousing gas chambers, where the phenomenon is present, and homicidal gas chambers, where it is not. Without additional heat, the too brief contact of nevertheless high concentrations of hydrocyanic acid with the walls of the homicidal installations was not able to provoke the development of the reaction appreciable enough to be visible. [55]

To sum up here: as a consequence of all these factors, HCN would have been in contact with the walls of the “gas chambers” for much more than just ten or twenty minutes a day, and significant amounts of HCN would have remained after gassing and subsequent ventilation. Therefore — and contrary to what Pressac claims — significant amounts of Prussian blue would have been produced.

Leuchter’s comparison of samples taken from the “gas chamber” with samples taken from the control/delousing facility samples is entirely valid. If the alleged extermination “gas chambers” had actually been used to kill people as alleged, ferric ferrocyanide would have been found in them in amounts comparable to those found in the delousing facility. As the American gas chamber expert has noted, the point is not that the cyanide traces at the alleged gassing sites are “somewhat less” but that they are

negligible or nil. The samples from the alleged gas chamber areas, most of them had totally no traces at all. The few that did have traces were barely above detection level. So, we’re not talking about a situation that there was more or less. We’re talking about nothing and something, and in the area where there was something [the delousing facility], we had a very high content. We had a thousand and fifty milligrams per kilogram, and the highest that we detected in any of the other areas [the alleged gas chambers] was seven milligrams per kilogram. [56]

V

Pressac claims that only a select few of Leuchter’s specimens were taken correctly. The rest are “worthless,” allegedly because Leuchter “switched samples” by planting rocks with no cyanide residues in the “gas chamber” area in order to “prove” his case. Pressac also charges that Leuchter confused sample location. (That is, samples designated by Leuchter as coming from one area actually came from another.) And, according to Pressac, the American specialist used “trick photography.” (pp. 42-43, 46-48, 61-73)

Let us give Mr. Pressac the benefit of the doubt, and assume that his designation of most of Leuchter’s samples as either “worthless” or “valid” is correct. This would mean that remaining “acceptable” specimens include:

Krema III: Sample 9. (p. 69)

Krema V: Sample 24. (p. 71)

Krema I: Samples 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30. (pp. 40, 46, 62)

Fortunately, using just these samples, we can disprove Pressac’s theories and show that Leuchter’s results are valid.

Consider crematory building (Krema) I in the Auschwitz main camp. The supposed gas chamber there was adjacent to a washroom. [57] The washroom was never part of the “gas chamber.” [58] They were separated by a gas-tight door. [59] Both rooms were apparently disinfested with hydrocyanic acid. [60] Pressac maintains that people were killed in the alleged “gas chamber” there from the end of 1941 until 1942. [61] Prior to this, he believes, it was used as a morgue, and afterwards it was used as an air raid shelter. [62] Hence, it would have been exposed to significant amounts of HCN not only during the period when it allegedly functioned as a homicidal gas chamber, but also as a result of periodic disinfestation treatment during the time it functioned as a morgue and air raid shelter.

According to Pressac, “probably” no more than ten thousand persons were put to death in the alleged “gas chamber” of Krema I. [63] Consequently, this room would have been exposed to significant concentrations of HCN for extended periods of time. [64]

Leuchter found no evidence of any exhaust system, or any other way to expel the gas in a short period. [65] For this reason, it would have taken many hours after each alleged “gassing” operation to ventilate HCN from the chamber. For reasons already given, much HCN would have remained after the ventilation phase of a “gassing” to permeate the walls, floor and ceiling. By contrast, the washroom would have been exposed to the gas only during periodic disinfestations. Clearly, then, the alleged “gas chamber” was exposed to HCN for much longer periods of time than the washroom.

Pressac’s theory predicts that the amount of cyanide residue in a structure would be proportional to the amount of time it was exposed to HCN. He writes:

The considerable difference in hydrocyanic residue between the delousing stations and the homicidal gas chambers is the result of the respective difference in time spent administering Zyklon (at least 12 hours per day in the delousing versus 5 to 10 minutes every day or two in killing humans). (p. 63)

In the view of Revisionist researcher Enrique Aynat, though:

... Leuchter took one of his samples in an area that had been a washroom, which had never been part of the supposed gas chamber, and was separated from it by a gas-tight door. The partition wall that separated the washroom from the supposed gas chamber was eliminated by the Poles after the war. The analysis of this sample reveals a presence of cyanide comparable to that of most of the other samples. In short, the amount of cyanide found in a sample taken from a place that had never served as a gas chamber was similar to that detected in the samples taken from the supposed gas chamber. If the mortuary had really been a gas chamber, cyanide ought to have been detected in the samples taken from there, and by the same token nothing should have been detected in the sample obtained from the former washroom; or rather a minute amount of cyanide should have been found in the former washroom (from contingent disinfestation with hydrocyanic acid) and a much larger quantity in the gas chamber. What proves to be inexplicable from the Exterminationist point of view is the findings of similar amounts of cyanide in both places. [66]

This finding strongly suggests that Pressac’s theory is false.

Pressac notes that “... sample 9 (Crematorium III, Leichenkeller 1), taken from the base of a fifth central support pillar, exposed to every imaginable meteorological turpitude for 45 years, still gives a reading of 6.9 mg/kg.” (p. 71) Sample 24 was taken from the ruins of an alleged gas

chamber of Krema V. Because the building which housed it was razed to the ground in the 1940s, the foundation and floor were exposed to the elements for decades. (p. 44) Therefore, Pressac cannot contend that any difference between the cyanide levels of samples 9 and 24 is due to the “weathering process.”

The time periods during which the extermination “gas chambers” of crematory buildings (Kre-mas) III and V were in operation are similar. The “gas chamber” in Krema III (Birkenau) allegedly operated during much of 1943 and 1944 — almost two full years. [67] The “gas chamber” in Krema V (also in Birkenau) supposedly operated from April 1943 until the summer of 1944. (p. 43)

According to Pressac, because there was a mechanical ventilation system in Krema III, sample 9 would have been in contact with the HCN for only five to ten minutes during an alleged gassing operation: “Considering the poisoning time required to asphyxiate the victims in conjunction with the ventilation, the time period during which the walls were exposed to the hydrocyanic acid gas did not exceed 5 to 10 minutes every one or two days.” (p. 72) By contrast, in the case of the supposed “gas chambers” of Krema V, he writes:

Crematorium V’s 3 (then 4) gas chamber bloc [sic] was aired out naturally, with all the doors open. It clearly took more time than the mechanical ventilation did. The period during which the walls were exposed to the hydrocyanic acid, with the concentration progressively diminishing during the airing out time, had to be one or two hours. (p. 72)

According to Pressac’s theory, then, sample 24 should have a significantly higher cyanide content than sample 9, because of the former’s longer exposure time to HCN. Yet just the opposite is the case. Sample 9 has a measured residue of 6.7 mg/kg, while sample 24 has no measurable residue. [68]

In an attempt to explain away this serious discrepancy, Pressac claims that sample 9 stood one meter from one of the four wire mesh columns through which Zyklon B was supposedly introduced into the chamber. This “privileged position,” he speculates, could be the cause of the “unusual” cyanide content. (pp. 71-72)

This explanation will not withstand close scrutiny. As noted above, Pressac alleges that HCN was in contact with sample 9 of Krema III for only five to ten minutes during a gassing, while sample 24 of Krema V was in contact with the gas one or two hours during a gassing operation. Pressac himself wrote: “The substantial difference between the two exposure periods (that of V being 10 to 30 times longer than that of II/III) shows that V’s bricks were saturated with hydrocyanic gas much longer than those of II and III.” (p. 72) According to his own theory, the HCN would have had more time to form significant amounts of Prussian blue in sample 24 than in sample 9.

The reader may understandably ask: “If the alleged ‘gas chambers’ were never used for homicidal purposes, why was any cyanide at all found in the samples taken by euchter?” Dr. Robert Faurisson provides an answer: “The extremely low levels of cyanide found in some crematoria was likely, in my opinion, to have resulted from disinfection of the premises during the war.” [69]

Pressac rejects this explanation as an “often-used lie”:

Hydrocyanic acid is used first and foremost to exterminate such vermin as insect pests [lice] and rodents. Classified as an insecticide and vermin killer, it has no bactericide or germicide properties for use as an antiseptic. Places and things are disin-

fectured with various kinds of antiseptics: solid (lime, lime chloride), liquid (bleach, cresol), gas (formaldehyde, sulfur anhydride). To remove lice from clothing required either an insecticide, or dry steam disinfecting in an autoclave. But a morgue is not disinfected with an insecticide or vermin killer like hydrocyanic acid, as Faurisson foolishly claims ... Leuchter, who claims to be scientifically trained, whereas Faurisson is not, similarly used this stupidity in his report. (pp. 38-39)

Here Pressac is straining to represent Dr. Faurisson and Leuchter as having ignorantly confused “disinfection” with “disinfestation,” although he knows full well that the word “disinfection,” in line with the German usage (Desinfektion), is used for “delousing.”

A standard reference work makes this point about the disease typhus: “The spread of typhus in communities results largely from the fact that infected lice tend to leave persons with high fever, and they evacuate the corpses of those who have died from the disease.” [70] As both Revisionists and Exterminationists agree, many thousands died in Auschwitz as a consequence of recurrent typhus epidemics, and the supposed homicidal gas chambers were used as morgues. Because deceased victims of the disease are a direct source of the infected lice, any place where the corpses of typhus victims were kept would therefore be a logical place for disinfestation treatment with Zyklon B. Contrary to what Pressac maintains, it would make perfect sense to periodically delouse the morgues (or supposed “gas chambers”). Indeed, a wartime German document on the use of hydrogen cyanide and Zyklon B (uremberg document NI-9098) specifically states that Zyklon B should be used for large-scale fumigations of storerooms. [71]

VI

Finally, a few miscellaneous comments are in order.

Pressac misrepresents what Leuchter writes about the danger of locating HCN gas chambers adjacent to crematoria:

Leuchter’s last claim about the homicidal gas chambers in connection with the cremation furnaces is that they are incompatible under the same roof. As soon as the door was opened to the area saturated with hydrocyanic acid, the same being without ventilation according to Leuchter, the gas would be spread throughout the crematorium, reaching the lit ovens, and, combined with the air, would have exploded, destroying the entire building. HCN’s flammability limits in air are from 5.6% (minimum) to 40% (maximum) in volume (6%-41% according to Du Pont). This signifies that upon contact with a flame there is an explosion if the concentration of hydrocyanic acid in air comprises between 67.2g/m³, and 480g/m³. Below 67.2g/m³ there is no risk, nor is there any at greater than 480g/m³ because there is not enough remaining oxygen for burning to begin. The SS used doses of 5g/m³ in delousing and 12-20g/m³ in killing, well under the 67.2g/m³ threshold. Their gas chambers and crematoria were not about to explode. Leuchter’s “impartial” opinion is based upon an incorrect calculation. (p. 45)

Leuchter was well aware of the very real explosiveness of HCN. As he has pointed out, no execution gas chamber system in the United States has ever been designed for use with Zyklon B because

... a danger of explosion always exists. The overall gas mixture [in a gas chamber] is generally below the lower explosion limit (LEL) of the gas air mixture...but the con-

centration of the gas at the generator (or as in the case of Zyklon B, at the inert carrier) is much greater and may well be 90% to 99% by volume. This is almost pure HCN and this condition may exist at points of time in pockets in the chamber. [72]

Du Pont company chemists confirm this point: “Hydrogen cyanide is extremely flammable and can be ignited by an open flame, hot surface, or spark ... Outside closed containers, the gas is likely to form flammable mixtures because of its high volatility.” [73] Even if the gas does not explode, it can still burn. Another authoritative source similarly notes: “Small quantities of hydrogen cyanide can be burned in a hood in an open metal vessel. Large-scale burning in outdoor pans can be performed, but special safety precautions must be employed.” [74]

Leuchter has also pointed out the alleged extermination gas chambers were not properly sealed. [75] Gas would have leaked out, and some of the escaping HCN gas would have reached the ovens, ignited, and burned in the air — all the way to the source of the leaks in the “gas chamber.” If the burning HCN reached a pocket of the gas within the explosive limits, an explosion would have occurred. Because this scenario is quite plausible, Leuchter stated: “... I wouldn’t even want to be present within the vicinity of the building [which housed the alleged gas chambers] if someone were using Zyklon B and the crematory was functioning.” [76] Simply put, it would have been extremely dangerous to carry out a homicidal gassing operation near a functioning crematory. A disaster would be likely.

With regard to another issue of contention, Pressac writes:

The nature of the substrata is not sufficiently taken into account, to the extent of evading the issue, and is grouped under the heading of “brick” by the Analysis laboratory. In the case of L-Keller 1 of crematoriums II and III, the German construction documents attest that the “cellar” walls were built with 400 bricks per cubic meter, with mortar mixed at the ratio of 1/1/5, which measures one part cement and one part lime for every five parts of sand. The pillars were poured of 1/5 reinforced concrete, meaning one part cement to every five parts of sand. The interior partitions, pillars and ceiling all received a coat of roughcast (about 1 to 1.5 cm thick), comprising 17 liters of mortar. Its composition was 1/0.5/5, meaning one part cement and one half part lime for every 5 parts sand. The L-Keller 1 wall bricks which are visible today were covered throughout the war with a roughcast which has since fallen off. These bricks were never directly exposed to the gas. Leuchter’s samples of the exposed bricks in the “cellar” are not worth very much in view of the feeble impression the hydrocyanic acid made on their surfaces. (p. 73)

An official wartime information sheet on the use of hydrogen cyanide and Zyklon B confirms that HCN has “extraordinarily great penetrative powers.” This sheet (uremberg document NI-9912) was issued by the public health agency of Bohemia-Moravia. [77] Even if the roughcast had been present during the alleged homicidal gassings, HCN would have penetrated through to the iron in the bricks beneath it, ultimately producing a significant quantity of Prussian blue.

Also noteworthy in this regard is the observation of Poland’s Institute of Forensic Research concerning the Auschwitz delousing facilities: “According to our information, these rooms were whitewashed during the war years. In some spots, a blue or dark blue stain shows through.” [78] As Dr. Roth pointed out, the reaction between HCN and iron will go fairly deep in porous substances (like roughcast) unless perhaps the surface formation of Prussian blue inhibited its further penetration. [79] Indeed, the outside wall of a Birkenau delousing facility had Prussian blue stains.

[80] Apparently, the gas penetrated from the inside of the chamber to the outside surface of the bricks. Any paint or roughcast on the inside surface did not prohibit HCN penetration.

Another criticism of the Leuchter Report has been made by Mr. Charles Provan, an American lay theologian and contributor to the weekly *Christian News*. He has alleged that certain “eyewitnesses” have claimed that the chambers were washed down with water after the homicidal gassings. This water supposedly would have washed away the HCN, preventing it from reacting with the iron. [81]

Because HCN has great penetrating powers and the “gas chamber” surfaces were porous, at least some hydrogen cyanide would have penetrated far enough into the roughcast and brick to escape being washed away. Furthermore, HCN is water soluble. After the hosing down, numerous water droplets, containing dissolved HCN, would have remained on the walls, floors and ceilings to react with the iron, ultimately forming significant amounts of Prussian blue.

Conclusion

Based on spurious knowledge, inducing specious logic which leads to false conclusions, Pressac’s attacks on The Leuchter Report stem from faulty scientific and technical understanding, and thus utterly fail to demolish it. As already noted, since the publication of *Truth Prevails*, a study by Poland’s leading forensic institute has given strong corroboration to Leuchter’s findings, and thus to his methodology.

Pressac’s ad hominem attacks on Leuchter and Faurisson, who by daring to subject the gas chamber myth to scientific and technical investigation, have risked their livelihoods, their personal freedom, and even their lives, will, one hopes, strike future generations of readers as no less obscurantist than the attacks directed at Galileo, at Darwin, or at the geneticists who dared to defy Lysenko during the Stalin years. May The Leuchter Report help to free, not only the Western world, but the entire literate world from the chains of an oppressive illusion — the lie of the Hitler gas chambers.

Notes

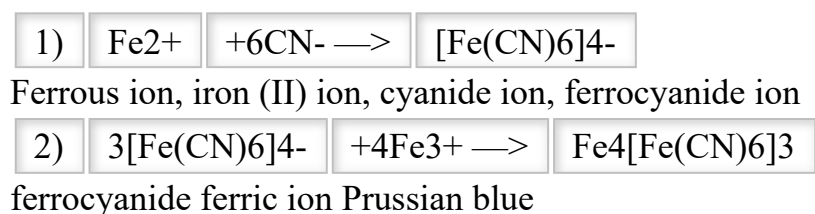
The author would like to express special thanks to a retired Standard Oil research chemist who wishes to remain anonymous, and to Dr. William Lindsey. Their knowledge and expertise were very helpful. Any mistakes or errors in this article are, of course, the sole responsibility of the author.

1.  The Leuchter Report: The First Forensic Examination of Auschwitz (London: Focal Point, 1989). With foreword by David Irving, and introduction by Robert Faurisson. Page 10. Hereafter, this work will be cited as The Leuchter Report.
2.  Shelly Shapiro, editor, *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of “The Leuchter Report”* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation and Holocaust Survivors and Friends, 1990). Distributed by: Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice, 800 New Loudon Rd., #400, Latham, NY 12110. Pressac’s two articles are “The Deficiencies and Inconsistencies of ‘The Leuchter Report’,” (pp. 31-60), and “Additional Notes: Leuchter’s Videotape: Witness to a Fraud” (pp. 61-73). Hereafter, all page numbers cited in the main text of this article refer to *Truth Prevails*. For a good review of Pressac’s contribution to this book, see the May-June 1991 issue of *Remarks*, available for \$3 postpaid from Jack Wikoff, P.O. Box 234, Aurora, N.Y., 13026.

3. [↗](#) Robert C. Weast, ed., Handbook of Chemistry and Physics: A Ready-Reference Book of Chemical and Physical Data, 57th edition. (Cleveland: CRC Press, 1976), p. B-144. Hereafter, this book will be cited as Handbook of Chemistry and Physics.
4. [↗](#) Institute of Forensic Research (Krakow, Poland), "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers,'" The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 207-216.
5. [↗](#) "Sodium Cyanide: Properties, Uses, Storage and Handling," p. 7. This Du Pont company information sheet is reprinted in facsimile in The Leuchter Report (London: 1989), pp. 33-38. See p. 37.
6. [↗](#) Leuchter letter to Alpha Analytical of March 9, 1988. Reprinted in facsimile as an appendix in The Leuchter Report (London), p. 31.
7. [↗](#) Fred Leuchter, "The Leuchter Report: The How and Why," The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1989 (Vol. 9, No. 2), p. 137.
8. [↗](#) The Leuchter Report (London), p. 15.
9. [↗](#) Leuchter letter of March 9, 1988 to Alpha Analytical. Reprinted as an appendix in The Leuchter Report, p. 31.
10. [↗](#) The term "cyanate content" is a mistake. Leuchter wanted to know the cyanide content, not cyanate content. The two are different.
11. [↗](#) Institute of Forensic Research (Krakow, Poland), "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers,'" The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 212-213.
12. [↗](#) See the videotape of Leuchter's lecture in the videotape recording, "Highlights of the 9th IHR conference" (Feb. 1989). Available from the Institute for Historical Review, Videotape V-048.
13. [↗](#) Videotape "Fred Leuchter in Poland" (VT-003). Available from David Clark, P.O. Box 726, Decatur, Ala., 35602. This videotape, produced under the name of Samisdat (Toronto), does not show the entire visit.
14. [↗](#) See David Irving's foreword to the London (Focal Point) edition (1989) of The Leuchter Report, p. 6.
15. [↗](#) See footnote 11.
16. [↗](#) F. Leuchter, The Leuchter Report, p. 21. See also: Robert Lenski, The Holocaust on Trial: The Case of Ernst Zündel (Decatur, Ala.: Reporter Press, 1990), p. 394. Hereafter, this book is cited as The Holocaust on Trial.
17. [↗](#) The Leuchter Report, p. 15.
18. [↗](#) Institute of Forensic Research (Krakow, Poland), "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers,'" The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1991, pp. 213-214.
19. [↗](#) Jean-Claude Pressac, Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), p. 59. Hereafter cited as: Pressac, Auschwitz (1989).
20. [↗](#) The Leuchter Report, pp. 21-22.
21. [↗](#) Robert Lenski, The Holocaust on Trial: The Case of Ernst Zündel (1990), pp. 395-396.
22. [↗](#) Linus Pauling, General Chemistry (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), p. 706.
23. [↗](#) Handbook of Chemistry and Physics, 57th ed., p. B-120.
24. [↗](#) See footnote 11.
25. [↗](#) Fred Leuchter, "The Leuchter Report: The How and Why," The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1989 (Vol. 9, No. 2), pp. 138-139.
26. [↗](#) Handbook of Chemistry and Physics, 57th ed., p. B-144.

27. [↗](#) The scientific name of Prussian blue is ferric ferrocyanide. The elemental potassium which Pressac says is part of the compound is actually an impurity. See: Encyclopedia of Chemical Technology, 3rd ed., Vol. 13, p. 769.
28. [↗](#) See the compiled data from Alpha Analytical Laboratories given as an appendix to The Leuchter Report, p. 21. See also Dr. Roth's statements in: R. Lenski, The Holocaust on Trial, p. 394.
29. [↗](#) R. Lenski, The Holocaust on Trial, p. 395.
30. [↗](#) "Zyklon B for Pest Control," Degesch company booklet, p. 5. This entire booklet is reprinted in facsimile as an appendix in The Leuchter Report (London, 1989), pp. 49-62. See p. 51.
31. [↗](#) J.-C. Claude Pressac, Auschwitz (1989), pp. 208, 215, 284-285. Leuchter also observed that the "gas chambers" were cool and damp. See The Leuchter Report, pp. 13, 16, 17. See also R. Lenski, The Holocaust on Trail, p. 375. Filip Mueller, an alleged "operator of the gas chamber," claimed: "Normally the concrete floors in the gas chamber as well as in the changing room were damp." See: F. Mueller, Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 82-83.
32. [↗](#) "Hydrogen Cyanide: Storage and Handling," Du Pont company information sheet (1983), p. 2. This sheet is reprinted as an appendix in The Leuchter Report (London), pp. 39-44. See p. 41.
33. [↗](#) Linus Pauling, General Chemistry (1988), p. 690.
34. [↗](#) P.W. Atkins, General Chemistry (New York: Scientific American, 1989), p. 780.
35. [↗](#) Linus Pauling, General Chemistry (1988), p. 691.
36. [↗](#) L. Pauling, General Chemistry (1988), p. 692.
37. [↗](#) James Brady, General Chemistry: Principles and Structure, 5th ed. (New York: John Wiley, 1990), p. 704. Dr. Brady also notes: "It is interesting that exactly the same compound is formed if a solution containing Fe^{2+} [iron (II) ion] is added to a solution containing $\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6^{3-}$ ion [ferricyanide ion]." The Encyclopedia of Chemical Technology, 3rd ed., Vol. 13, p. 769, provides clarification. It lists the following reactions: $\text{excess Fe}^{3+} + \text{K}_2[\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6] \rightarrow \text{insoluble Prussian blue}$; $\text{excess Fe}^{2+} + \text{K}_3[\text{Fe}(\text{CN})_6] \rightarrow \text{insoluble Turnbull's blue}$

They point out that insoluble Prussian blue and insoluble Turnbull's blue are the same substances. See also James E. Huheey, 3rd ed., Inorganic Chemistry: Principles of Structure and Reactivity (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), p. 522. The following are the chemical equations used to describe the formation of ferric ferrocyanide, or Prussian blue.



Sources: Linus Pauling, General Chemistry (1988), pp. 673, 691-692; P.W. Atkins, General Chemistry (1989), p. 780; James E. Brady, General Chemistry (1990), p. 704; James E. Huheey, 3rd ed., Inorganic Chemistry: Principles of Structure and Reactivity (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), pp. 521-522; William Nebergall, Frederic Schmidt, Henry Holtzclaw, College Chemistry with Qualitative Analysis, 5th ed., (Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath, 1976), p. 909; William Brown, Elizabeth Rogers, General, Organic, and Biochemistry, 3rd ed., (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1987), pp. 561A-561B.

38. [↗](#) See footnote 30.

39. [↗](#) See footnotes 33, 34 and 35.
40. [↗](#) See footnote 36 and 37.
41. [↗](#) R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 396.
42. [↗](#) Pressac's theory is further undermined by the observation of Degesch company chemists: "Hydrocyanic acid dissolves very readily in water. Compared with liquid hydrocyanic acid, the gas is chemically very indifferent, and even in highly concentrated form under prolonged exposure it does not show a tendency to react with other substances." From: "Zyklon for pest control" Degesch company booklet, p. 5. Published in facsimile as appendix to *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 51. This statement suggests prolonged exposure of the gas with the walls is not what would cause the formation of large amounts of Prussian blue. The gas becomes reactive when it dissolves in water or condenses to liquid.
43. [↗](#) Information provided by the Dupont and Degesch companies, published as appendices in *The Leuchter Report* (London, 1989), pp. 41, 51.; *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics*, pp. B-117, F-135.
44. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 131-132, 183, 223, 224, 264, 284-285, 289, 375, 379, 392; Fred Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report*, pp. 13, 16, 17; Robert Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, pp. 367, 375, 377.
45. [↗](#) Note also: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 16, 183, 223, 224, 284-285, 289, 355-376, 384-386, 489.
46. [↗](#) F. Leuchter, *The Leuchter Report*, pp. 13, 16, 17. Nowhere in *Auschwitz* (1989) does Pressac show the "gas chambers" had any internal heating devices to prevent condensation.
47. [↗](#) Nuremberg document NI-9912. Published in English translation as an appendix to *The Leuchter Report*, (London), pp. 23-25, and in J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 18-20. Original German-language text is published in: Udo Walendy, ed., *Auschwitz im IG-Farben Prozess* (Vlotho: Germany, 1981), pp. 66-72.
Dr. Robert Faurisson was the first person to publish document NI-9912, and to stress the importance of both NI-9912 and NI-9098. Writing in the Paris daily, *Le Monde* (Jan. 16, 1979, p. 13), he stated: "The industrial documents [NI-9098 and NI-9912] establish that Zyklon B was not among those gasses which were described as 'ventilatable'; on the contrary, its manufacturers were obliged to admit that it was 'difficult to ventilate since it adheres to surfaces'." These two documents are referred to by Dr. Faurisson in his interview/essay, published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, pp. 324, 356-357. See also Faurisson's essay in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991, p. 39.
48. [↗](#) Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 377.
49. [↗](#) L. Pauling, *General Chemistry*, p. 288. HCN is soluble in water in all proportions. See *Handbook of Chemistry and Physics*, 57th ed., p. B-117.
50. [↗](#) See footnote 31.
51. [↗](#) That the humidity in the air would "collect" the HCN and make it react with the iron in the walls is suggested by this statement of Degesch chemists: "In case of high relative humidity of air, it may happen that blank-polished surfaces of metal get tarnished, particularly in case of somewhat higher concentration of gas." See *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 51.
52. [↗](#) "Zyklon For Pest Control," Degesch company booklet, p. 25. Reprinted as appendix in *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 61.
53. [↗](#) *The Leuchter Report*, p. 13.
54. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 59.
55. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 53.
56. [↗](#) R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 366.

57. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 131, 159.
58. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 131; R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 375. Sample 28 was taken from the washroom. It was never a part of the presumed gas chamber. To confirm this, compare Leuchter's diagram of Krema I (p. 28 of *The Leuchter Report*) with Pressac's diagram of the same in *Auschwitz*, p. 159.
59. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 131.
60. [↗](#) Pressac evidently does not think the washroom or morgue/"gas chamber" was ever deloused with Zyklon B. However, sample 28 (from the washroom) contains a minuscule amount of cyanide residue. What accounts for this? Since Pressac admits the washroom was never used as a "gas chamber," the presence of cyanide in this specimen can only be due to the fact that it was treated at least once with Zyklon B during delousing/disinfestation. See footnote 58. Pressac himself suggests that virtually every building in Auschwitz-Birkenau was deloused with Zyklon B at one time or another. See: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 188, 201.
61. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 132.
62. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 131-132.
63. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 132.
64. [↗](#) 12 g/m³ (grams per cubic meter) is the concentration of the HCN allegedly used in a homicidal gassing. 5g/m³ was the concentration used in a disinfestation. See J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 16.
65. [↗](#) R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 375. Pressac claims that one or two extractor fans may have been installed in the ceiling. Even if this were true, much HCN would have still remained behind after the ventilation phase of an alleged gassing. See J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, (1989), p. 132.
66. [↗](#) Enrique Aynat, "Neither Trace Nor Proof," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 182-183.
67. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, pp. 183, 264.
68. [↗](#) *The Leuchter Report*, pp. 21-22.
69. [↗](#) Introduction by R. Faurisson to *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 7.
70. [↗](#) "Typhus," by Herbert Kondo, in: *Grolier Universal Encyclopedia*, 1966 edition.
71. [↗](#) See endnote 47.
72. [↗](#) *The Leuchter Report*, p. 12.
73. [↗](#) "Hydrogen Cyanide: Storage and Handling," Du Pont company information sheet, pp. 1, 8. This sheet is reprinted as an appendix in *The Leuchter Report* (London), pp. 39-44. See pp. 40, 44.
74. [↗](#) Kirk, R.E. and Othmer, D.F., *Encyclopedia of Chemical Technology*, Third Edition, 7, p. 316.
75. [↗](#) *The Leuchter Report*, pp. 16, 17.
76. [↗](#) R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, p. 367.
77. [↗](#) See footnote 47. Specifically, see *The Leuchter Report* (London), p. 23.
78. [↗](#) "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), p. 211.
79. [↗](#) R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, pp. 395-397.
80. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 59.
81. [↗](#) Audiotape, "Hoffman Interviews Provan," Summer 1991. Available from Wiswell Ruffin House, P.O. Box 236, Dresden, NY 14441.

Growing Impact of the Leuchter Report in Germany

Munich's Institute of Contemporary History Seeks to Discredit Leuchter's Findings

Editor's introduction

Nowhere has the impact of the 1988 Leuchter Report been greater than in Germany, and understandably so. As one young German recently noted, if Holocaust revisionism wins widespread acceptance there, the impact will be felt not merely in the intellectual world; many people who currently hold positions of influence and power in German politics will be out of work, and those replacing them will have dramatically different views about the most fundamental social-political issues.

With stakes this high, the game is bound to get rough. When the first German-language edition of the Leuchter Report was published in late 1988 by Udo Walendy (as No. 36 in his series of magazine-format "Historical Facts" booklets), German authorities lost no time in suppressing it. Interestingly, though, the reason was not the Report itself, but rather the somewhat provocative commentary that accompanied Leuchter's text. Under German law, "scientific" writings are exempt from the ban that applies generally to otherwise politically incorrect works.

In fact, Germany's Ministry of Justice has in effect declared that the Leuchter Report cannot be prohibited because it is constitutionally protected as a "scholarly" work. In a letter dated March 13, 1990, a Ministry official wrote:

I share your view that the Leuchter Report itself is a scholarly examination [eine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung] ... With regard to the Leuchter Report, the Federal Minister of Justice is not aware of any reason ... to forbid circulation of this document in the Federal Republic.

In recent years the Leuchter Report has been circulating widely through every strata of German society. Nearly every German scholar interested in the history of the Third Reich and the Second World War has read it, and recent discussions of it by thoughtful writers reflect the seriousness with which it is regarded. For example, a detailed and open-minded treatment of the Report appears in *Der Nasenring* ("The Nose ring"), a provocative and engagingly written critique of postwar German historiography by Swiss-born author Armin Mohler, who is probably Germany's leading conservative thinker and writer. Dr. Ernst Nolte, a leading specialist of the Third Reich era who recently retired as a professor of history at the Free University in Berlin, has also commented respectfully but somewhat critically on the Leuchter Report in a essay that appeared in several German periodicals.

Reflecting the Establishment's growing concern over its impact, a lengthy article attempting to discredit the Report appeared September 25, 1992, in the influential liberal German weekly *Die Zeit*. (A detailed and closely argued Revisionist response by four German specialists to this critique is available from Verlag Remer Heipke, 8730 Bad Kissingen, Postfach 1310, Germany.)

This *Die Zeit* article approvingly cited a 25-page critique of the Report by octogenarian amateur historian Werner Wegner that appeared in 1990 as a chapter in a scholarly collection of essays, *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit* ("The Shadows of the Past"). The 650-page book, issued by the respected publishing firm of Propylaen, was edited by three brilliant historians of the postwar generation, Uwe Backes, Eckhard Jesse, and Rainer Zitelmann.

Perhaps the most authoritative German effort to refute has been a statement issued in 1989 by the prestigious Institute of Contemporary History (Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte). This Munich archive and research center, which is funded by German taxpayers, publishes monographs, books and a highly-regarded scholarly journal, *Vierteljahrshefte fuer Zeitgeschichte* ("Contemporary History Quarterly"). A major responsibility of the Institute has been to validate authoritatively the version of twentieth-century history established by the victorious Allied powers in 1945, confirmed at the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-1946, and affirmed by the German Federal Republic (which was established by the victorious western Allies, particularly the United States). Indeed, the pejorative Allied portrayal of Hitler and the Third Reich has been an essential element of legitimacy for the German Federal Republic.

Herewith we present the complete text of the Munich Institute's November 1989 statement about the Leuchter Report, which was written by Institute official Hellmuth Auerbach. Following the text is a commentary on its contents.

-- The Editor

Institute Of Contemporary History

Leonrodstr. 46b, 8000 Munich 19, Germany

Subject: The So-Called Leuchter Report

In 1988, the German graphic artist and publisher Ernst Zündel, who lives in Canada, was indicted for distributing an anti-Semitic and Revisionist writing (by Richard Harwood, "Did Six Million Really Die?").

In connection with his second trial in Toronto in early 1988, the French Revisionist Robert Faurisson (former literature specialist at the University of Lyon, but not an expert in contemporary history) arranged for Fred A. Leuchter, the American engineer and specialist in the development and construction of execution equipment by means of gas in American prisons, to visit Poland and to carry out an investigation there of the gas chambers in the former National Socialist extermination camps of Auschwitz and Majdanek.

This journey, which Leuchter undertook with several other persons, his investigation, as well as all his other activities in this regard, were financed by Zündel. Along with Zündel, Faurisson was interested in obtaining an expert opinion showing that, on technical grounds alone, the mass

gassing of Jews in the extermination camps could not have been possible. Leuchter sought to prove precisely this with his Report. In doing so, he received the applause of the so-called Revisionists and apologists for National Socialism.

The Canadian court was less impressed with Leuchter's findings, and sentenced Zündel to nine months imprisonment (without suspension). Regardless of this, the so-called Leuchter Report has been distributed ever since by all Revisionists and apologists for National Socialism as supposedly conclusive proof that the mass gassings of Jews in the extermination camps could not have taken place, and that this claim is, instead, a lie meant to blackmail Germany.

However, if one carefully studies this Leuchter Report, one must conclude that this is actually a rather superficial investigation based on false data, from which false conclusions have been drawn.

For one thing, Leuchter begins by making comparisons with the conditions in an American prison, where executions by gas are carried out in technologically advanced and highly sophisticated gas chambers under very strict safety guidelines. (During every execution, court personnel, physicians and even journalists are present.) By failing to take into account that conditions in the extermination camps were completely different, he reaches false conclusions.

In Leuchter's view, the gas chambers in Auschwitz could not have been used to kill people with Zyklon B because they could not be heated and lacked adequate ventilation facilities. In order to insure the quick death of the condemned person in an American gas chamber, more than ten times the amount of gas that is necessary to kill a person is used. Consequently, the ventilation of the [American execution] gas chamber after an execution is complicated and takes some time.

Zyklon B (Prussic acid) becomes gas only at a temperature of about 26 degrees Celsius. Consequently, a gas chamber in the USA must be heated. Leuchter fails to take into account that even a much larger room, if it is completely packed with people, would reach this temperature very quickly, and therefore does not require any heating.

The many people in the gas chambers of the extermination camps would very quickly take the poison gas into their bodies by breathing it in. As a result, the ventilation and the removal of the corpses could be carried out more quickly.

The [homicidal] gas chambers and the [non-homicidal] disinfestation chambers in Auschwitz were both built according to the same plan. For the most part, blue coloring caused by the presence of hydrogen cyanide can be found only on the walls of the [non-homicidal] disinfestation chambers [Desinfektionskammern]. For this reason, Leuchter, along with Faurisson, concludes that Zyklon B was used only in the [non-homicidal] disinfestation rooms.

However, larger quantities of the poison are needed for delousing. (A human being dies with a dose of just 0.3 g/m³ of hydrogen cyanide gas, whereas a louse must be subjected to a dose of 5 g/m³ of hydrogen cyanide gas for at least two hours.) For this reason, more hydrogen cyanide was deposited there [in the non-homicidal disinfestation chambers] than in the gas chambers meant for human beings.

Without permission of the [Auschwitz] Museum authorities, Leuchter removed wall samples from all of the buildings in which there were crematories or gas chambers, even in cases where these now exist only as ruins or reconstructed remains of walls. He then arranged for these samples to be analyzed in America. Because the analysis results showed that most of the samples

contained no traces of cyanide, Leuchter and Faurisson maintain that the buildings from which these samples came could not have been used as gas chambers.

These buildings, some of which were blown up by the SS before their retreat, have, however, been exposed to the wind and weather for more than forty years. Because of the marshy ground of Auschwitz, some of them have stood for months in water. Because of the effects of moisture since 1945, the traces of cyanide that might still have been found have disappeared in the meantime.

This is also true of the [building of] Crematory I [in the Auschwitz I main camp], which has been preserved in its entirety. Because it has been visited by countless visitors as a museum site, the floor of this chamber is often cleaned with a lot of water by Museum personnel.

Forty years ago, however, in 1945, the Institute of Forensic Research of the University of Krakow carried out adequate investigations of the buildings as well as of collections of cut hair, hair clasps and other metal objects that the gassing victims had been wearing. Very clear traces of Zyklon B were found, something that Leuchter has not taken into account, or has intentionally ignored.

The crematory buildings housed gas chambers and crematory ovens under the same roof. According to Leuchter, this could not have been possible, because of the danger of explosion. However, he fails to take into account that the amounts of Prussic acid [hydrogen cyanide] used there were not enough to cause an explosion. (These amounts are also much less than used in the USA.)

In his report, Leuchter maintains that he obtained a copy of a diagram of Crematory V [in Birkenau]. In reality, a plan of this crematory does not exist at all. According to information provided by the Auschwitz Museum authorities, Leuchter did not receive any special diagrams of the buildings in Auschwitz whatsoever. He made no effort to obtain any such information, but instead merely purchased brochures and documents that are meant for visitors to the Museum.

Leuchter's superficiality and historical incompetence is also shown clearly in what he writes about Majdanek.

French pharmacist and toxicologist Jean-Claude Pressac recently produced a detailed and very comprehensive investigation of the Auschwitz gas chambers, showing that he is a real specialist of the gassing procedure. (J.-C. Pressac, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#), New York, 1989, 564 pages.)

In an essay entitled "The deficiencies and discrepancies of the Leuchter Report" ("Les carences et incohérences du Rapport Leuchter"), published in *Jour J*, Dec. 12, 1988, Pressac subjected the Leuchter Report to a detailed critical analysis, in which Leuchter comes off very poorly. Among other things, Pressac writes:

Based on false knowledge and using false arguments, which lead to false interpretations, the Leuchter Report is unacceptable because it was produced under impermissible circumstances, because it overlooks the most basic historical data, and because it contains gross errors of calculation and measurement.

We can only agree with this assessment. The Leuchter Report is no proof whatsoever that the systematic mass gassings in the National Socialist extermination camps did not take place. It is,

rather, a pseudo-scientific and rather clumsy propaganda writing that apologizes for National Socialism.

H. Auerbach

Munich, November 1989

Commentary

As a serious refutation of Leuchter's findings and his Report, this statement by Germany's Institute of Contemporary History falls miserably short, crumbling under even cursory scrutiny.

For one thing, statement author Auerbach reads things into the Leuchter Report that are not there. Auerbach claims, for example, that Leuchter "sought to prove" that "on technical grounds alone, the mass gassing of Jews in the extermination camps could not have been possible."

This assertion is doubly flawed. Contrary to what the Munich Institute asserts, Leuchter did not set out to discredit the Auschwitz gas chamber allegations. He agreed to carry out his forensic investigation only after warning Zündel that he would speak the truth as he determined it, regardless of Zündel's expectations.

More important, and contrary to what Auerbach asserts, the Leuchter Report does not claim that Jews could not have been gassed. What the Report does say is:

After a study of ... the existing facilities at Auschwitz, Birkenau, and Majdanek ... the author finds no evidence that any of the facilities normally alleged to be execution gas chambers were ever used as such, and finds, further, that because of the design and fabrication of these facilities, they could not have been utilized for execution gas chambers.

Leuchter simply maintains that the rooms that have been presented for nearly half a century as homicidal gas chambers are nothing of the kind. This does not, of course, mean that Jews could not have been gassed elsewhere.

Auerbach also seems unfamiliar with the technical issues involved here. He castigates Leuchter for comparing U.S. execution gas chambers, with their rigorous safety provisions, and the alleged Auschwitz extermination gas chambers. Auerbach suggests that, if it weren't for bothersome safety regulations, U.S. gas chambers could be run much like the alleged wartime mass-extermination gas chambers. In this, Auerbach completely fails to understand that the American safety provisions are not the result of idle bureaucratic nit-picking, but a reflection of the very real dangers of using hydrogen cyanide gas to kill people.

The strict U.S. gassing regulations ensure the safety of prison personnel, as well as of the "court personnel, physicians, and even journalists" who witness American execution gassings. In much the same way, similar measures would have been necessary to ensure that SS camp personnel and other camp workers would not also be killed during each "gassing" operation at Auschwitz.

Auerbach tries to explain away the absence of any ventilation facilities in the alleged Auschwitz "gas chambers" by asserting that much less hydrogen cyanide was used there than in U.S. execution gas chambers. Not unexpectedly, he fails to explain how the SS personnel could thus have killed hundreds of people in a large room in about the same amount of time required in the United States to kill one convicted prisoner in a small room with a much higher dose of hydrogen

cyanide. He likewise does not attempt to explain how allegedly small amounts of hydrogen cyanide gas could immediately dissipate throughout a large room, with no fans or other assistance, and kill hundreds of people, just as readily as the massive overdoses administered in U.S. prison executions. Auerbach similarly provides no explanation of how the poisonous gas was then removed within moments so that the “gas chamber” doors could be promptly opened to admit the work crews that dragged out the bodies.

Auerbach asserts that the temperature of a partially below-ground room can quickly be raised above 26 degrees C (about 78 degrees F) by filling it with people. He provides no proof of this, but apparently believes that it would be true even during the brutally cold Polish winters.

Auerbach most strikingly displays his ignorance when he tries to explain the absence of stains or traces of hydrogen cyanide (or, rather, of ferro-ferric-cyanide compounds) on the ceiling, walls and floors of the remains of the supposed extermination gas chambers at Birkenau. By arguing that the traces of hundreds of gassings would simply have weathered away during the last 40 years, he shows his ignorance about the difference between the chemical properties of hydrogen cyanide (which is rather transitory) and those of the ferro-ferric-cyanide compounds that are formed when hydrogen cyanide comes into contact with iron ions (such as those found in the concrete and brick at Auschwitz and Birkenau), which are very stable. Although traces of hydrogen cyanide might indeed have weathered away, the ferro-ferric-cyanide compounds that would have been produced are impervious to “weathering” and would have been measurable.

To further explain the absence of ferro-ferric-cyanide stains, Auerbach makes the astonishing assertion that the victims immediately breathed in and absorbed all of the poisonous gas into their mouths and lungs. This fanciful scenario contrasts sharply with the reality of the procedure of U.S. gas chamber executions in which — as euchter and Faurisson have pointed out — both the corpse and the inside of the gas chamber must be thoroughly washed down (a process that can take a great deal of time) before the body can be removed.

Auerbach asserts that the low concentrations of hydrogen cyanide gas supposedly used in the Auschwitz “gas chambers” would not have been sufficient to create an explosive mixture. In point of fact, the concentration of hydrogen cyanide gas is nearly 100 percent close to the Zyklon pellets (or discoids), and falls off depending on the distance. As a result, it is not only possible but quite likely that at some point the concentration would have reached the six percent level at which the mixture is explosive.

Auerbach refers to a report prepared in 1945 by the Krakow Institute of Forensic Research, citing it as proof of extermination gassings at Auschwitz and Birkenau. In fact, the results of the Krakow Institute’s 1945 analysis neither refute Leuchter’s findings nor do they prove extermination gassings.

It is true that the Krakow Institute found significant traces of hydrogen cyanide in collections of cut hair (including hair clasps) of Auschwitz prisoners. However, as even prominent Holocaust historians acknowledge, when prisoners arrived at the camp, their hair was normally cut very short as part of a routine procedure against the spread of disease. The cut hair was then treated with Zyklon to kill typhus-bearing lice, which is why hydrogen cyanide was found in the samples analyzed in 1945.

For a more detailed and authoritative review of the specific technical criticisms made by Auerbach, the reader should see the essays by Walter Lüftl and Paul Grubach published elsewhere in this issue of the Journal.

To its credit, Auerbach (and the Munich Institute) at least seem to accept Leuchter's qualifications and technical competence. But so desperate is Auerbach for anything that might plausibly discredit Leuchter that he concludes his statement with a polemical comment by a markedly less qualified French pharmacist, a man who lacks any real competence to make any pronouncements about Leuchter's supposed deficiencies.

For anyone familiar with the Leuchter Report, perhaps the most glaring defect of Auerbach statement is its failure to address in any way the many other important arguments and telling points made by Leuchter.

— The Editor

Review

Book-length 'Scholarly' Polemic Fails To Discredit Leuchter

- *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of the Leuchter Report*. Edited by Shelly Shapiro. New York, N.Y.: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, and Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice, 1990. Softcover. 135 pages. Illustrations. Index. \$15.00. ISBN 1-879437-00-7.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

In response to Fred Leuchter's findings about the alleged wartime extermination gas chambers, the Holocaust lobby has mounted a well-orchestrated campaign of slander, distortion, half-truth and falsehood to discredit him and destroy his career as a consultant to state governments on execution technology.

At the forefront of this effort have been the Paris-based Beate Klarsfeld Foundation and a US-based group that calls itself "Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice." An important propaganda tool in this international campaign is this angry, awkwardly written and poorly organized 135-page polemic, which is perhaps the most ambitious effort so far to discredit Leuchter and his findings. Published jointly by these two organizations in 1990, it bears the pretentious and rather bombastic title *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of the Leuchter Report*.

As Journal readers know, this is not the first time that these two groups have sought to discredit Holocaust Revisionism with a book-length publication. In 1989 the Klarsfeld Foundation released [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#), an ambitious 564-page work by French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac. (See the reviews of Pressac's book in the *IHR Journal* by Mark Weber, Summer 1990, and Robert Faurisson, Spring and Summer 1991.)

Truth Prevails consists of a preface by editor Shelly Shapiro (who is also director of "Holocaust Survivors and Friends"), six essays (including two by Jean-Claude Pressac), and a short commentary by Serge Klarsfeld. In spite of its erudite pretension, this is a poorly written, edited and organized work. Its language is often snide and crude.

All the same, *Truth Prevails* has had a measurable impact. Libelous and error-ridden articles based on it have appeared in daily newspapers and weekly Jewish community papers around the country. In addition to the usual and untruthful attacks against the IHR and Holocaust Revisionism in general, these articles viciously attack Leuchter as a man.

Throughout this book, Revisionists are routinely referred to as "Holocaust deniers," a formulation that suggests a medieval Inquisition against religious heretics who have blasphemed against a sacred dogma. By treating "Holocaust denial" as the most terrible sin that anyone can commit

these days, this book serves to underscore the way that the Holocaust has become, for many, a kind of religion.

In the preface, “Holocaust denial” is also compared to denying the existence of slavery in 18th and 19th century America, or denying the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. However, one might reasonably ask, if “Holocaust denial” is really so obviously absurd, why bother about it? No rational person wastes time refuting those who might deny the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima.

The preface also sets the tone of *Truth Prevails*, where the reader is told: “The incomprehensible death factories 'with their bulging gas chambers and smoke-belching crematoria eclipsed man's visions of hell.' The name of Auschwitz means the epitomy [sic] of evil.” Overlooking the emotion-charged rhetoric here, it should be pointed out that, as anyone who is even superficially familiar with the reality of Auschwitz knows, there were no “smoke-belching crematoria” there (or anywhere, for that matter). Like similar facilities elsewhere, the crematory facilities at Auschwitz were structurally not able to “belch” smoke. (Accordingly, Allied aerial reconnaissance photos taken of the camp complex in 1944 — at the height of the supposed extermination process there — show absolutely no trace of any smoke whatsoever.)

Editor Shapiro also expresses outrage at a reference (in the British edition of the Leuchter Report) to an inmates' swimming pool at Auschwitz. In point of fact, there was such a pool. (On this, see: R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial*, pp. 38, 132, 142, 358-359, 385, and, R. Faurisson, *IHR Journal*, Summer 1991, pp. 133-134.)

Truth Prevails seeks to discredit the Leuchter Report by, above all, attacking its author's qualifications. A main purpose of this book is to prove that Leuchter lacks the expertise he claims, and to show, instead, that he is a pretentious fraud. “Our goal,” the preface explains, “is to show Leuchter's lack of expertise” as an execution hardware specialist, and “to demonstrate that 'The Leuchter Report' is not a credible scientific analysis...” (p. 1).

Charging that “Leuchter does not have the scientific background or experience despite his claims” (p. 11), *Truth Prevails* insists that Leuchter is simply not qualified to give an expert opinion about the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz and Majdanek.

In this regard, much is made of the fact that Judge Ron Thomas declined to accept the Leuchter Report as a defense exhibit during the 1988 Zündel trial. Strictly speaking, this is true. But *Truth Prevails* essentially ignores the fact that Judge Thomas did decide to accept Leuchter as an expert of homicidal gas chamber technology, and accordingly permitted him to give opinion evidence. During his testimony, Leuchter was allowed to read extensively from his Report, which became part of the court record.

As detailed in an article published elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*, Leuchter's impressive expertise in the field of execution hardware is a matter of public record, and has been authoritatively and publicly confirmed. For example, in a letter of January 13, 1988, Missouri state prison director William Armontrout wrote: “Mr. Leuchter is an engineer specializing in gas chambers and executions. He is well versed in all areas and is the only consultant in the United States that I know of.” Testifying in the 1988 Zündel trial, Armontrout also declared that he had consulted with Leuchter on the design, maintenance and operation of the Missouri state gas chamber, and reaffirmed that, to the best of his knowledge, Leuchter is the only such consultant in the United States.

As part of its vicious assault against Leuchter's character, this book charges that financial greed was the motive behind his forensic investigation of the alleged extermination gas chambers, and

his conclusion that they were never used as killing facilities. Leuchter's motivation, Pressac writes here, was "to collect the steep fee he asked of Zündel and which the latter paid him." (p. 32)

In another chapter, contributor Arthur Goodman provides a mendacious explanation of how Leuchter was chosen to carry out his forensic investigation (p. 76):

Faurisson quickly applied himself to the task of finding an "engineer" who would testify for Zündel. Very soon thereafter, Faurisson dug up the hitherto unknown Leuchter whom he contacted and who was only too willing to earn the money, gain the notoriety and establish a reputation as the one man whose investigation would sustain the [Revisionist] thesis ... Leuchter [was] only too eager to be won over ...

In fact (and as explained in more detail elsewhere in this issue of the Journal), Leuchter's motives in conducting his forensic investigation of the alleged wartime gas chambers in Poland were entirely honorable and professional. Prof. Robert Faurisson and Ernst Zündel sought out Leuchter not because of any pre-existing views or prejudices he may have had on this issue, but solely because he was, at that time, the only acknowledged execution gas chamber specialist in the United States.

While it is true that he was paid a standard fee by Zündel, this is not at all remarkable. Any expert witnesses who testifies in a court case under such circumstances is normally paid a fee in keeping with his or her professional standing. Christopher Browning, for example, the star prosecution witness in the 1988 Zündel trial, received 150 (Canadian) dollars an hour for his services.

Shapiro and the Klarsfelds are understandably angry that, in spite of their efforts, the major media continues to acknowledge Leuchter's expertise as America's foremost expert of execution technology. Shapiro expresses outrage that "major news organizations" have given him with "a semblance of respectability and credibility."

The Atlantic monthly, for example, is taken to task for an illustrated article about Leuchter in the February 1990 issue. In this piece, attorney and author Susan Lehman factually described Leuchter as

the nation's only commercial supplier of execution equipment ... A trained and accomplished engineer, he is versed in all types of execution equipment. He makes lethal-injection machines, gas chambers, and gallows, as well as electrocution systems. [He] ... probably knows more about electric chair technology than anyone else.

The Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith responded to this rather flattering profile with an angry letter of protest. In her reply to the ADL, Susan Lehman correctly pointed out that Leuchter's findings about the Holocaust "gas chambers," and his testimony in the Zündel trial, "have no direct bearing...on the subject of my report." In his essay in *Truth Prevails*, Charles R. Allen, Jr., dismisses Lehman's reply as "insolence."

An even greater calamity, in the view of Shapiro and her friends, was a profile of Leuchter broadcast nationwide May 10, 1990, on the widely viewed ABC television news program "Prime Time Live." Co-host Diane Sawyer described Leuchter as "the country's foremost expert at creating, designing and maintaining execution equipment."

Particularly galling to the Shapiro crowd is the fact that ABC news television went ahead with its profile of "Dr. Death" even after it had been "informed" of Leuchter's shocking views on the

Holocaust extermination story, and of his links with the infamous Institute for Historical Review. Shelly Shapiro and Beate Klarsfeld had even met with producer Bob Currie to urge him not to air the report.

Finally, The New York Times is castigated for prominently featuring an article, October 13, 1990, which included a front-page photograph of Leuchter, that describes him as “the nation’s leading adviser to states on capital punishment.” Leuchter, the article also reported, has “advised 16 states on every kind of execution equipment. Four states have bought his lethal injection systems...”

This unequivocal acknowledgment of Leuchter’s expertise by the nation’s most influential daily paper is all the more significant because its author, and the paper’s editors, were entirely aware of the Shapiro/Klarsfeld team’s criticisms of Leuchter when the article went to press.

And much more recently, Leuchter’s standing as the premier expert of execution hardware was affirmed in “The Execution Protocol,” a television report broadcast November 1, 1992, on the Discovery cable television network, as well as on the session of the popular Phil Donahue show broadcast nationwide November 13, 1992.

Truth Prevails tries to explain away these embarrassing tributes by contending that Leuchter has somehow been able to trick or fool these savvy periodicals into accepting his bogus claims of expertise. If Leuchter was actually able to somehow “take in” the media as this book suggests, he must be gifted with truly extraordinary powers of persuasion.

Truth Prevails ruefully notes that Leuchter “is still sought by the media as the only available spokesman on the technology of the death penalty in the U.S.” (p. 24). One can be certain that if there is anyone (besides Leuchter) in the United States who could plausibly be portrayed as a “real” expert on execution hardware, Shapiro and her diligent colleagues certainly would have found him. Interestingly, though, the Shapiro/Klarsfeld team has not produced any such person: To date, the best they have been able to come up with is a confused and unqualified suburban French pharmacist, Jean-Claude Pressac.

Fittingly, much of this book consists of two essays by Pressac that seek to refute the Leuchter Report on technical grounds. (For a point by point response to Pressac’s critique of Leuchter’s findings, see the detailed essay by Paul Grubach in this issue of the Journal.)

Shapiro and Klarsfeld use a grotesque double standard in deciding just who qualifies as a gas chamber expert. While Leuchter is dismissed as an untrained fraud and crank, Pressac is praised here (by Serge Klarsfeld, on page 29) as “one of the world’s rare research specialists in gas chamber extermination technique.” This description is almost laughable in light of Pressac’s lack of any formal training, credentials or recognized expertise in architecture, engineering, history or document analysis.

Leuchter is not this book’s only target. Prof. Faurisson is accused of “intellectual dishonesty” (p. 36), and Ernst Zündel is referred to as Canada’s “prime practitioner of Holocaust denial” (p. 22), as if he is the high priest of an evil satanic cult, and historian David Irving is called a “Nazi propagandist” (p. 85).

In a ten-page chapter by H. L. Silets, a specialist of legal history at the University of Cambridge, the 1946 “Zyklon B” trial is cited as irrefutable proof that German officials used hydrogen cyanide gas from Zyklon to exterminate Jews in wartime concentration camps. Dr. Bruno Tesch, the German businessman who headed the company that supplied Zyklon, and his assistant and

business manager Karl Weinbacher were the two main defendants in the 1946 trial in Hamburg. They were found guilty by the British military court, sentenced to death, and hanged.

Revisionist scholars are familiar with this important trial, which was a travesty of justice. (Retired American research chemist Dr. William B. Lindsey provides a thorough examination of it in a carefully researched article in the Fall 1983 IHR *Journal*.) Even Jean-Claude Pressac has rightly castigated this trial as unjust and probably a “masquerade.” (J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, p. 17.)

A key witness in the trial was Charles (or Paul) Bendel, a Jewish doctor who had been an inmate physician in Birkenau in 1944. His “eyewitness” testimony about extermination gassings in the camp helped to send Tesch and Weinbacher to the gallows. As even Pressac has confirmed, Bendel’s testimony is demonstrably wrong on numerous key points. (J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, pp. 469-472.)

Perhaps most remarkably, this British court determined that, of a grand total of six million people killed in the German camps, no less than four and a half million were “systematically exterminated” with Zyklon B at Auschwitz-Birkenau alone. (United Nations War Crimes Commission, *Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals*, London: HMSO, 1947, Vol. 1, p. 94. See also Nuremberg document NI-12207.)

As further proof of extermination gassings at Auschwitz, *Truth Prevails* contributor Silets cites the postwar “confession” of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. However, as even prominent Holocaust historians (including J.-C. Pressac in his 1989 book) now concede, key statements in this “confession” are quite demonstrably untrue. Moreover, it has been indisputably established that Höss’ infamous “confession” was extracted by brutal torture. (See: R. Faurisson, *IHR Journal*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.)

Beate Klarsfeld has announced that Leuchter “has to understand that in denying the Holocaust, he cannot remain unpunished.” (JTA dispatch, *Detroit Jewish News*, March 1, 1991.) In this spirit, Ms. Shapiro has boasted about the measures that she and her collaborators have taken to pressure public officials, prison wardens, state correction departments, politicians and journalists into blacklisting Leuchter.

In August 1990, for example, the Shapiro/Klarsfeld group succeeded in pressuring the Illinois Department of Corrections into canceling its \$8,320 consulting contract with Leuchter to inspect and supervise administration of its lethal injection equipment. (p. 17) Complaints were also made to state prison officials in Alabama, North Carolina, California, Arizona and Maryland. In one state, a lawmaker said that to retain Leuchter as an execution consultant would conflict with the state’s requirement of mandatory “Holocaust studies” for every public school pupil. (For more on this campaign, see the *IHR Newsletter*, July-August 1991, p. 3.)

Sadly, this insidious campaign to “punish” Leuchter for his insolent refusal to toe the Holocaust line has been largely successful. As he explains in his essay elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*, his livelihood has largely been destroyed.

Although it is actually little more than a mean-spirited, bigoted and error-ridden polemic, *Truth Prevails* is not ineffective as a work of Holocaust propaganda. It will undoubtedly continue to have an impact among the ignorant. All the same, its very existence is somewhat gratifying because it is a tangible expression of the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism.

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'Historically Inaccurate'

Too many books are written on the Holocaust. There are too many films and television plays that exploit the subject ...

There is a fascination with the Holocaust and with Nazism. There may, in fact, be “no business like Shoah business.” The problem is that many of these productions, if not most, are historically inaccurate, sentimental, romantic, exotic and hyperbolic, and so they ultimately distort and cheapen the Holocaust.

The popularization and commercialization of the Holocaust is not only unhistorical but it is anti-historical. Over time, it will inevitably subvert the historical sense and strip it of any moral implications it may carry.

-- Dr. Michael M. Dobkowski, Professor of Religious Studies at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, writing in *Martyrdom and Resistance* (published by the International Society for Yad Vashem, New York City), Sept.-Oct. 1990, p. 4.

Since a politician never believes what he says, he is surprised when others believe him.

-- Charles De Gaulle

'In Fashion'

Historical revisionism is very much in fashion in books about presidents, prime ministers and generals.

-- Herbert Mitgang, *New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1992, p. B2.

'Most Patriotic'

Every Jew alive today is a Holocaust survivor, and I feel that also will be true for every Jew in the future ... The Holocaust survivors are the most patriotic, most loyal American citizens we could have.

-- Neil Sher, director of the US government's "Office of Special Investigations," speaking at a "Yom HaShoah" meeting in Long Island, New York. Quoted in *Jewish World* (Long Island), May

8-14, 1992.

Jewish Concern with Holocaust 'Obsession' Means New Holocaust, Says Rabbi

“There is almost nothing more sacred or more sensitive for Jews living in the generation after the Holocaust than the memory of the six million martyrs of Nazi genocide ... Now that 'revisionists,' who seek to deny the Holocaust, have become even more brazen, sensitive Jews are reacting with even greater obsession.

“But obsession with the Holocaust is exacting a great price. It is killing America’s Jews... Jews as a group are drifting away from their religion ... Unless there will be, within the very near future, a dramatic turnaround in the patterns of Jewish assimilation and intermarriage, we are probably witnessing the last generation of Jewish life in America as we now know it.

“... Right now the priority seems to be building Holocaust memorials. More than \$500 million has already been pledged or spent to build 19 Holocaust memorials and 36 research centers or libraries in America. Some cities, like Los Angeles, have two or three competing Holocaust memorials ...

“There is a Holocaust taking place in America right now. We can’t hear it, because there are no barking dogs ... We can’t smell it because there are no gas chambers. But the net result is exactly the same.”

-- Rabbi Ephraim Buchwald, “The Holocaust is Killing American Jews,” Los Angeles Times, April 28, 1992.

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From the Editor

A New *Journal* and a New Era

Between the beginning of 1980 and the of 1992 (with a one year suspension in 1987), the IHR published twelve annual volumes of the familiar quarterly *Journal*. In the 5,800 pages of these 46 issues, we have been proud to present hundreds of articles and essays, including first-ever publication of articles of major importance by the world's foremost Revisionist historians and researchers and no fewer than 221 reviews. Consequently (and in spite of its modest circulation), the *Journal* has won the respect of intelligent and grateful readers around the world, as well as the bitter hatred of the traditional enemies of truth in history.

With this January-February 1993 issue of the *Journal*, we take on a new format and publishing schedule. From now on, it will appear six times yearly in this larger (8½ × 11 inch) size, and will make more generous use of photographs. And because it incorporates the now-discontinued IHR Newsletter, the *Journal* will include more topical material, including news about Revisionist activism around the world, as well as informed commentary about events here and abroad.

Since its founding in 1978, the Institute for Historical Review has been dedicated to helping thoughtful and open-minded men and women of good will more realistically to anticipate the future by better understanding the past. Our new *Journal* represents a renewed commitment to our traditional goal of shedding light on relevant but suppressed chapters of history.

Building upon the foundation of solid scholarship and careful writing laid in the “old” *Journal*, we will continue to feature scholarly historical articles and reviews. At the same time, though, we will seek to more fully embrace historical issues in the widest sense.

We are confident that the new *Journal* will not only be welcomed by you, our most faithful subscribers, but will also prove effective in reaching many new readers as well.

We launch the “new” *Journal* at a time of sweeping change around the world.

In recent years we have witnessed the collapse of Communist rule in Russia and eastern and central Europe (symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall), the emergence of a united Germany and newly independent states in eastern and central Europe, and the breakup of the artificial multi-ethnic states of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Another world-historical development with the most profound implications for the coming century has been the rise in recent decades of Japan and other countries in East Asia, which present an ever more formidable economic challenge to Europe and the United States.

During this final decade of the twentieth century, it is ironic that so much of the world's attention should once again turn to Bosnia-Herzegovina — precisely the troubled region where the spark

that ignited the First World War which proved so devastating for Europe and Western civilization was set off in 1914.

In short, a new and uncertain international order (or disorder) is emerging from the wreckage of the global hegemony established by the United States and the Soviet Union at the of the Second World War.

No less significant have been the recent — and still ongoing — changes here at home.

According to a nationwide Gallup survey made public in mid-September, two of three Americans believe that the United States is in serious long-term decline. Nearly 80 percent believe that the United States is in economic decline, and 65 percent see America in a state of moral decline. This deep-seated concern is also reflected in the historically unprecedented support for non-politician H. Ross Perot in last year's presidential campaign.

Keen observers of the American scene — regardless of their ideological perspective — are increasingly gloomy about America's future. Historian David Halberstam, for example, believes that it may already be too late. "I have the feeling that something is slipping away from us," he recently commented. "Maybe it will take an apocalyptic event [to turn things around] ... If it does, a lot of people are going to get hurt. We are in a crisis now, maybe it's an amorphous crisis, but it is a crisis. For the first time in my grown-up life, I'm worried about the future of this country."

Wilmot Robertson, author of *The Dispossessed Majority*, a shrewd analysis of America's social, ethnic, racial and political state, is even less optimistic. Events during the last several decades, he writes in the foreword to a newly published book, *The Ethnostate*, are proving "that America, as we have known it, is beyond saving. The Majority, that is, the Northern and Western European elements of the population, has lost whatever chance it had to recapture the country it ruled for more than two centuries."

This sense of foreboding — which is all the more remarkable because the United States is still relatively prosperous and stable — has been fueled by a general breakdown of order and civility in recent decades, the seemingly unstoppable deterioration and "Third Worldization" of our major cities, and apparently uncontrollable violence, particularly among the country's racial minorities.

A striking feature of this mood of apprehension is the absence of consensus about just how this crisis came about, much less what should be done about it.

Throughout the centuries, wise individuals have understood that the most reliable guide to the future is an informed awareness of the past. For those willing to learn, history teaches important but often stern lessons.

While an understanding of history has probably never been more urgently needed than today, the sorry lack of historical awareness — especially on the part of our political, educational and cultural leaders — is all the more culpable and dangerous. For it is only with a clear and honest appreciation of the past that we can hope to face the future responsibly and realistically.

Fortunately, it is precisely during times of dramatic and confusing change such as ours that the craving for truthful history is to be greatest.

Given all this, we believe that this era of challenge and apprehension about the future presents new and important opportunities for the educational work of our Institute and its Journal of Historical Review.

In recent years, no historian has provoked greater controversy, or has stimulated more people into reassessing stereotypical notions about contemporary history, than David Irving. The best-selling British historian is also a good fri of the Institute who has delighted attees at four IHR Conferences.

We are accordingly pleased to begin this premiere issue of the “new” Journal with an essay summarizing Irving’s remarkable career and impact. The British historian himself then provides a fascinating and humorous report on the increasingly desperate and sometimes criminal international campaign to silence him and to suppress openness in history.

Next, Associate Editor Greg Raven provides a day-by-day account of Irving’s recent travails in Canada from where, at the behest of the international Holocaust lobby, he was deported on November 13.

But as Raven shows, this victory may well prove to be Pyrrhic. The Holocaust lobby may win battles, but it is plainly losing the war. In spite of their increasingly frantic efforts, the enemies of historical truth and free speech are finding it harder and harder to stuff the Revisionist genie back into the bottle of enforced ignorance.

Later in this issue, veteran Canadian journalist Doug Collins deftly sums up the larger importance of the Irving and Zündel affairs, two controversies that raise the most fundamental questions about freedom of speech and the role of illicit power in a democratic society. (Unfortunately, neither of these affairs has received anything like the media attention it deserves in the United States.)

Few men of our century have lived lives as dramatic as that of Rudolf Hess. In his front-line combat service during the First World War, his close association with Hitler and position as the Third Reich’s Deputy Führer, his unjust treatment at Nuremberg, and his 46 years of cruel imprisonment, Hess personifies — as IHR founder Willis Carto pointed out at the Eleventh IHR Conference — the triumph and tragedy of not only his own nation, but of the West.

We devote much of this issue to a detailed review of the remarkable life and legacy of Rudolf Hess. Following an article that briefly sketches his life and place in history, Wolf Rüdiger Hess provides a fascinating look at the dramatic course of his father’s life from a uniquely well-informed perspective. Wolf Hess concludes his presentation with persuasive evidence to show that his father’s death in August 1987 was not suicide, as officially reported at the time, but murder.

IHR editorial advisor Martin Larson takes a critical look at the growing campaign to disparage the reputation of Thomas Jefferson. Larson, an expert on Jefferson’s life and work, shows that this pseudo-revisionist effort is based not on new historical research or insight, but is instead merely a manifestation of the intellectual biases of our “politically correct” age.

Nothing better symbolizes the misguided priorities of our society today, as well as the venal corruption of our political leaders, than the costly Holocaust Memorial Museum now being completed in Washington, DC. As we report here, plans are now being laid to protest this pseudo-religious monument of foolishness when it formally opens in April.

Finally, on a lighter note, we are happy to provide an account of the role played by Revisionist activists on the nationally broadcast Montel Williams Show in bringing together brothers who, for half a century, were thought to have perished as “victims of the Holocaust.”

Mark Weber

California Court Rejects Mermelstein's Appeal

In the latest round in the long-standing effort by Holocaust personality Mel Mermelstein to shut down the Institute for Historical Review, the California Court of Appeal (Second Appellate District, Division Two) ruled on October 28, 1992, decisively in favor of the IHR and co-defendants.

The three judges — Nott, Gates, and Fukuto — unanimously rejected Mermelstein's appeal of the dismissal, on September 19, 1991, by Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Steven Lachs, of Mermelstein's complaint of malicious prosecution against IHR and its fellow defendants. (For more on the IHR's 1991 legal victory, see the *IHR Newsletter*, October 1991.)

Five days before its recent ruling, Mermelstein's lawyer had argued before the appeal court that Judge Lachs had erred in finding that the IHR and co-defendant Willis Carto had probable cause to sue Mermelstein for libel.

However, IHR attorney William Hulsy's persuasive brief and oral arguments, as well as Judge Lachs' careful attention to the facts and the law in his decision to grant Hulsy's motions of non-suit and to dismiss Mermelstein's complaint, proved decisive. The ruling of the three appeals court judges was both unanimous and categorical.

As this issue of the *Journal* goes to press, Mermelstein still has an option or two remaining, including petitioning the California Supreme Court to review the appeals court's decision. But the weakness of Mermelstein's factual and legal arguments against Judge Lachs's 1991 ruling, and the clear disfavor in which malicious prosecution complaints are held by the judiciary, make any successful attempt by Mermelstein to salvage his case extremely unlikely.

So, while we have very reasonable grounds for optimism that the long, costly, and potentially ruinous legal struggle will in complete and final victory for the Institute, we'll wait to uncork the champagne until we receive the final word in the case.

The Wages of Apostasy

Life Under Fire

By [David Irving](#)

- Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992.

Thank you, United States, for letting me come and speak. I mean that seriously because the fight is now getting quite creepy. For two years now, in country after country, I have been conducting this international Campaign for Real History. During this period, in country after country, I've come up against an international campaign against real history — an international campaign full of lies, an international campaign to suppress the truth. The truth of this campaign is quite clearly something that I had previously not wanted to believe: there is, in fact, an international force out there with an influence that transcends frontiers. Day after day, country after country, month after month, I come up against this international force.

In my apartment in London, I've accordingly opened a file titled "Jewish Harassment." This should not be taken to mean, in the slightest, that I am anti-Jewish, because I'm not. The fact that many Jews are anti-Irving does not mean to say that I am anti-Jewish. There's no paradox in that statement. Week after week, month after month, they are causing me immense harassment, embarrassment and distress. But journalists come to me, again and again, and ask me: "Mr. Irving, are you anti-Semitic?" And I reply, "Not yet."

For two years now, I have been the target of this worldwide campaign — in Germany, France, Spain, South Africa, the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, and England. Let me tell you a little about what has been happening in some of these countries.

In Germany, I'm now technically a prohibited person. I can't go there because the German authorities have ordained that David Irving shall no longer cross their frontier. A free democracy, and yet that's the only way they can fight against me: by forbidding me to come in. That edict was issued in March 1990. But since then, I've been in and out of Germany 60 times. I'm not going to tell you how I've done it — but there are ways of doing it.

In Austria, there's an arrest warrant out against me, but no entry prohibition (whereas in Germany there's the entry prohibition but no arrest warrant). So between the two of them you can find a way of getting in. As I said to the Germans the last time I spoke to a mass meeting of 7,000 people in Passau: there are enough people here in plain clothes taking notes for the Ministry of the Interior, and tonight they'll be asked: how did he get in again? To this I can only say: "Go ask your colleagues in Austria how David Irving got in this time."

Banned in South Africa

Besides Germany and Austria, officially I am not permitted to get into Italy or South Africa. Last January and February, I spoke for two months in South Africa, this time visiting 15 towns and cities. Two weeks after I returned to England, a letter arrived from the South African government in Pretoria. It told me: "Mr. Irving, as an Englishman you normally do not require a visa to enter South African territories. For you we are going to make an exception." I reported this ban to the South African newspapers, which discovered in a matter of days that this unique embargo was being placed on me by the South African government at the request of South African Jewish organizations. This was followed by an outcry by other South Africans who wanted to hear me on radio and television, and in person. It was another encroachment on freedom of speech.

Of course, I am able to come and speak here in the United States because you have something very important, your First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech. It is very unlikely, I think, that the United States government would actually stoop to trying to prevent me from coming here to speak. It would be a very, very serious day indeed if that should happen.

In Canada, I have a big speaking tour lined up that is due to start on October the 26th. Yesterday, here in this very hotel [in Irvine, California], I was handed an express letter from the Canadian government informing me that I would not be allowed to enter Canada. Once again, pressure has been exerted by these international groups to keep me from speaking. In this case it was the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, but the reason given me was this: "Mr. Irving, under the immigration act, a person is not permitted to enter if he has committed a criminal offense in another country, or if he is likely to commit a criminal offense in Canada. We may consider you likely to commit a criminal offense."

After receiving this, I straight away instructed my attorney in Canada to point out that I've been to Canada some 30 times since 1965, and not once have I committed a criminal offense. So, prima facie, I am unlikely to commit a criminal offense on the 31st occasion. [On October 26, Irving legally entered Canada. He was illegally arrested — after lecturing on freedom of speech — at Victoria, B.C., and deported on November 13 after a three week court battle. He is appealing.]

Detention in Rome

In June of this year, I went to Italy. I arrived in Rome, after a stop in Munich, from Moscow, where I had been working for two weeks in the former Soviet government's secret state archives. As I got off the plane in Rome, six Carabinieri police cars were waiting for me at the airfield, and as I got into the airport bus, the police stormed the bus, rifles drawn, and called out my name, "Mr. Irving." Ladies and gentlemen, now that's embarrassing! Under the circumstances, I tried to make it look as if this was my VIP escort!

They held me there in the police station at Rome's airport for four hours until the plane turned round and flew back to Munich. And half way through, they let in the Italian student who had arrived to meet me there. (I had been invited by a university professor.)

During the police interrogation, I "hadn't understood" a word of Italian, and I made them speak English to me. But when the students came in, I spoke with them in Italian, explaining how sorry I was. Seeing this, the police colonel became very indignant and said: "Silenzio, Don't Speak." So I said, "Where does it say that I can't speak?" He repeated, "Silenzio, Don't-a speaka." And I repeated: "Excuse me, but nowhere do I see a sign that says Silenzio." At that, he seized a thick felt-tip pen, and in a blind, Italian temper he went to the magnificently painted wall inside this

beautiful, brand new police station, saying “You can’t-a see-a? Here!,” and wrote the letters S I L E N Z I O on the wall, and then shouted: “Silenzio!”

Last October [1991], I spoke in Argentina. On the morning of the first day, I took part in a two-hour television program. (I also speak Spanish.) I was on with a man named Maurizio Maro, but whose real name turned out to be Goldfarb. If only they had told me beforehand! But too late.

Goldfarb asked me questions like: “But Adolf Hitler, he was crazy wasn’t he?” And I said: “No, he wasn’t.” “But of course he was crazy,” he retorted. I responded by saying:

There’s no evidence for that at all. The evidence is that we — the British and Americans — captured seven of Hitler’s doctors. We interrogated all seven of them on that specific point: Hitler’s own physicians were asked if they considered him clinically sane or out of his mind. All of them came to the conclusion that, even until the very last moments of his life, he was totally sane. And not only that, I have personally found Hitler’s medical diaries — the diaries kept by his doctor, Theodor Morrell, which I found in the archives in Washington, DC. After transcribing them, I published them. These diaries also confirm, without a doubt at all, that Hitler was perfectly sane and physically normal.

Now considerably agitated, Goldfarb responded: “But the man must be totally crazy because he killed forty million human beings.” The first time he threw out this figure, I let it pass, but the second time round, I stopped him, saying: “Forty million? Excuse me, where does this figure come from then?” Goldfarb then said: “A person who kills even one man is a criminal.” In this case, then, I said, President Bush is a major criminal because of the damage he did in the Gulf War this very February.

At this point, the interview was dramatically cut short. And the very next day, all the other interviews that had been lined up by my publisher in Argentina were cancelled. Newspaper and television interviews, and a Belgrano University appearance — all were cancelled. It was an object lesson on the influence that certain people have. The day after that (October 18, 1991), a major daily newspaper, La Naci_ n, published a communique issued by Argentina’s Jewish governing agency, with a headline calling me an “International Agitator.” Well, I’m sorry that the Jews get so easily agitated. But it’s not my fault. My job is to go there and lecture on the historical truth as I see it.

The Right to be Wrong

I admit that we may be wrong. Each of us in this room may be wrong on this or that matter. But I demand the Right to be Wrong! That is the essence of freedom of speech in any country.

No one is going to define for us what the received version of history is or should be. But that is what they are trying to do now in Germany, and all around the world.

Every other aspect of world history is open to debate and dispute — except one. Anyone who challenges this one aspect of history is automatically, ipso facto, described as an anti-Semite. Jewish leaders are now saying that anyone who questions any aspect of the Holocaust is an anti-Semite. Of course, that’s not true. We are just lovers of the truth, and determined to get to the bottom of what actually did and did not happen.

I do not insist that what I tell you here today is necessarily the only version of the truth, and that thou shalt have no other truth than this. I’m not as arrogant as that. I do say that this is the best

that I can do, given limited resources, and against the harassment that I've come up against in the last few years.

That harassment has gotten worse and worse, particularly with the recent Focal Point publication of the new edition of Hitler's War. This new edition contains material never seen before. If you want to see a photograph showing what it looks like when 17,500 people are killed in 30 minutes, here it is. Everyone's heard about Hiroshima and Dresden, but no one knows about what happened in Pforzheim, a small German town in Baden-Württemberg, where one person in four was killed in the most horrible manner in mid-February 1945. We have photos of that crime. I've shown this photograph to audience after audience.

On the previous page of Hitler's War are the well-known photographs of Dresden, where a hundred thousand people were killed in a period of twelve hours by the British and Americans. So many were killed so quickly that there weren't enough living left to bury the dead. So the corpses had to be burned on these huge funeral pyres in the Dresden Altmarkt. I published the photographs in 1963 in my first book, The Destruction of Dresden and, now, in Hitler's War, I publish them for the first time in color.

Window Smashing

There are 60 color photographs in this book, a work that no other publisher could have published so lavishly. Of course, our traditional enemies are absolutely livid because of this book, which is very sought-after in Britain. We published it ourselves, and personally delivered 5,000 copies to 800 book shops up and down the country and around the world.

Our traditional enemies have been fighting back. Their local cells, branches and agents have been visiting — patiently and methodically, one by one — every book shop that stocked this book, demanding that it be “un-stocked.” Because most book shop managers are not open to intimidation in the way newspapers are, they get their windows smashed. As result, there's been a campaign of window smashing throughout Britain during the last three or four months.

During the night, the big plate-glass windows of the book stores are smashed, and the next morning the stores receive a letter on letterhead of the local synagogue, or the local Jewish Board of Deputies. The letters say “we are very sorry that your windows were smashed, but what can you expect? We promise that if you stop stocking David Irving's books, you will find that this kind of problem ceases.”

This campaign — smashing the windows of book stores, big and small, including chain book stores in Britain such as Waterstone's and Dillon's — has been reported in all the local newspapers. I subscribe to a press clipping service, so I get all these clippings. But there's been nothing in the British national newspapers.

And why not? Well, the answer is that these wondered where these journalists come from, these spineless, nasty little creeps such as Bernard Levin of The Times of London.

I am philosophical about newspapers. I remember one Monday morning ten years ago when my secretary came to me, saying: “David, how can you stand for it? Have you read what they've written about you yesterday in the Sunday Times? It's only a short thing, but you now might as well pack up. You're finished.” He read from the article: “David Irving, who appears substantially to have over-estimated his mental stability this time ...” “They're calling you mad!”

Recycled Lies

I responded by saying, “Okay, so what? Are they going to assign me to some kind of psychiatric gulag archipelago? That’s from the Sunday Times, and this is Monday.” That’s the difference between being an author and being a journalist. When I write a book it goes into a library and stays there — especially if it’s on acid-free paper. What a journalist writes for the Sunday Times appears on Sunday, but by Monday it’s wrapping fish ‘n chips! So who cares? Or if it’s not wrapping fish ‘n chips, the paper’s being recycled to be made into new newsprint for new lies.

One South African journalist wrote to me during the height of my South African tour in March 1992. I was speaking at meeting after meeting, addressing packed halls. In Pretoria, as usual, 2,000 people came to hear me. In Cape Town, another huge audience turned out to hear me at the Goodwood Civic Centre. The next day, I received a fax letter from a Cape Times journalist named Claire Bisseker who earlier had bombarded me with questions about what I thought about President de Klerk, the prospects for South Africa, the ANC, and all the rest of it. This time her letter was quite brief:

Mr. Irving, the Cape Times would like to have your response to the following allegations made by a Capetonian who atted your meeting at Goodwood [Centre] on March 8. The source said that the meeting was of a neo-Nazi nature. Complete with Nazi banners and Nazi salutes. We would appreciate it very much if you could fax back to us your response as soon as you are able.

So I turned this matter over in my mind. “Remember,” I told myself, “you’re dealing with a journalist — a journalist who will twist whatever you say. If I say that I have no comment, they will print the lies and say that Mr. Irving had no comment. If I deny it, they will print the lies and say that Irving denied it. They will print lies whatever you do.” So after some thought, I sent this brief letter to Claire Bisseker:

Dear Clair,

Thank you for your fax, and I appreciate your inquiry. Yes, you do have excellent sources. Neo-Nazi nature, Nazi banners, and Nazi salutes — the lot. As I marched in, an orchestra struck up the Slaves' Chorus from Verdi’s opera, “Aida.” Later, the orchestra played the first bars of Franz Liszt’s “Les Préludes,” and it concluded with Liszt’s Opus 63 String Quartet. Meanwhile, searchlight batteries stationed around the Goodwood Civic Centre lit up, their crystal beams joining in a cathedral of ice ten thousand feet above the site; a thousand hands were once more flung aloft in the holy salute, and a thousand throats roared the Horst Wessel anthem. A video is available, directed by Leni Riefenstahl.

I hope the above material suffices for what you have in mind.

That’s the way to deal with journalists! I have developed my own techniques in dealing with them.

Canadian Media Criticizes Ban

David Irving's Most Un-Excellent Adventure

British Historian Deported From Canada for Skeptical Views on Holocaust Story

Zionist Groups Demand Irving's Ouster

by Greg Raven

As best-selling British historian and author David Irving approached the US-Canadian border at Niagara Falls after a speaking tour in the western United States, he knew that this particular visit to the “Great White North” would be different than previous visits.

Two things had changed since Irving’s last visit.

First, in May a German court fined Irving \$6,000 for public statements denouncing stories of mass exterminations of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz as a myth. (See the report in the July-August 1992 IHR Newsletter.)

Second, the Canadian branch of the Los Angeles-based Simon Wiesenthal Center had demanded that the Canadian government ban Irving on account of his Revisionist views on the Holocaust. In other words, the Holocaust lobby sought to ban the historian on the basis of “thought crimes” that are not illegal in either Canada or the United States.

The legal basis given for prohibiting Irving’s entry was Section 19 of the Immigration Act, which allows officials to ban someone if it is reasonable to believe that he will commit an indictable offense. In this case, the pretext was nonsense because Irving had visited Canada some 30 times during the last several years, and had never caused a legal problem of any kind.

Irving first learned of the ban on October 10th, when he received a special-delivery letter from the Canadian consulate in Los Angeles sent to him in care of the Institute for Historical Review. It arrived on the first day of the IHR’s Eleventh Conference, which was being held in Irvine, California. The letter sent to Irving showed that Canadian authorities — in coordination with Holocaust groups — were closely tracking his itinerary in the United States.

That same day, an editorial condemning Irving appeared in the Kitchener-Waterloo Record, further evidence of coordination between official and private Canadian organizations. This coordination was anything but accidental, as indicated by a rally in Kitchener several weeks earlier (on August 31) where speakers called for banning Irving. A more pressing problem for Irving was the fact that Monday, October 13, was a holiday for US government offices, which meant he had one fewer day to get matters straightened out before he was scheduled to reach Canada.

From the IHR Conference in southern California, Irving traveled north to speak in Berkeley, and then on to Portland, Oregon.

His speech there to an audience of about 200 received intense, sensationalized and largely one-sided coverage in the local media, including lead stories on local television. Phil Stanford, a widely-read columnist for the Portland Oregonian, the state's largest circulation daily paper, had enraged the city's politically correct crowd when he defied Irving's right to speak, and suggested that the historian might even have something worthwhile to say about the Six Million story.

Before crossing into Canada, Irving discussed the situation by phone with attorney Doug Christie, the "battling barrister from British Columbia" (who spoke at the 1986 IHR Conference). According to Canadian immigration law, Irving would be entitled to a hearing before an immigration adjudicator, and would have the right to stay in the country until a final decision was reached. As a result, Irving decided to proceed with his scheduled tour of Canada, which had as its theme "Freedom of Speech."

Canadian newspapers were now covering the story. Rejecting the demands of the Wiesenthal Centre and other Holocaust groups, the Ottawa Citizen (October 19), for one, took a clear editorial stand for free speech:

Barring Irving's entry amounts to back-door censorship, which violates the spirit of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms ...

If we bar Irving because we're afraid of what he might say, what are we to do with a Salman Rushdie, the author who inflamed the Islamic world, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, or the likes of, say, Andrew Dice Clay, the comedian who regularly offs millions of women? Once on a slippery slope, it's difficult to find your footing again.

Monday, October 26

Irving crosses the border into Canada from Niagara Falls (New York). In spite of the supposed order barring him, Canadian authorities do not impede his entry. His passport is stamped to confirm his legal crossing.

Tuesday, October 27

Irving flies from Toronto to Vancouver (British Columbia), in preparation for his first Canadian speaking engagement in nearby Victoria. After arriving, he meets with Christie, who has some bad news.

Christie has spent the day in court attempting to set aside the ban, but in vain: the Federal Court upheld the ban, citing Irving's conviction in Germany (for an action that is not illegal in Canada). The court further ruled that this was a matter for immigration authorities to handle. In light of this, Irving fears that he has a 50-50 chance of arrest at the speech tomorrow, although he is encouraged by his legal crossing into Canada and because the police had so far not molested him.

Wednesday, October 28

Irving addresses an enthusiastic audience of about a hundred at a Chinese restaurant in Victoria. Some journalists are also present to hear him speak, not about the Holocaust, but about the struggle for freedom of speech and its meaning for truthful historiography.

At the conclusion of a question-and-answer session that follows the presentation, eight policemen enter. After announcing that the building is surrounded and all exits are blocked, they arrest Irving, slap him in handcuffs, and haul him off to jail, preventing even reporters from following. Although Christie demands to see an arrest warrant, none is produced. Several dozen of those attending the meeting go to the police station to protest the arrest.

“They put me in handcuffs. What did they think I was going to do, type?”

October 28-30

Over the next two days, Irving is moved from jail to jail — five in all. As a result, he is not able to meet with his attorney, Doug Christie.

Friday, October 30

After a fruitless attempt to get some sleep amid the noise of his fellow prisoners, Irving is fetched from his cell and forced to run a gauntlet of screaming and punching television crews and reporters. Without Christie there, Irving must represent himself at the hearing.

The official at the hearing who makes the government’s case for deporting the historian cites, first, Irving’s “criminal record” in Germany, and, second, an alleged likelihood that he will commit offenses in Canada. The official is not required to prove the truth of these allegations.

The adjudicator informs Irving that the hearing will determine whether he will be released, deported, or served with a “Voluntary Departure Notice.” Ominously, the adjudicator also says that he expects the hearing to last three to four weeks.

Without access to or benefit of his attorney, Irving is faced with a decision. Even though he might be exonerated in a full hearing, by the time it is over he will have missed all his speaking dates. Conceding the possibility that he might not be exonerated, he recognizes that there is little point in staying.

Thus Irving comes to a compromise agreement with the government: he agrees not to contest a “Voluntary Departure Notice,” and to leave the country within 48 hours — that is, before midnight, November 1.

In agreeing to this, Irving at the same time emphasizes that he will be free to return later to Canada.

David Irving is surrounded by journalists as he is led into his deportation hearing in Vancouver, October 30. Because of his views on the Holocaust story, the best-selling British historian was deported from Canada November 13. Reuters/Bettmann photo.

Irving also specifically asks the hearing adjudicator what conditions, if any, there are on his activities in Canada during the 48 hours he can still remain in the country. The adjudicator replies that there are “no conditions whatsoever,” Irving rather understandably takes this to mean that he is free to grant interviews and otherwise speak in public.

After his handcuffs are taken off, Irving is finally set free.

With nearly two dozen news teams crowding around, Irving then gives a 20-minute press conference. He not only answers questions about his hearing, but also makes a lengthy statement about

the Holocaust.

That evening, Irving's impromptu press conference is featured as a major news story on national television, no doubt to the chagrin of those who had been trying so hard to silence the historian and keep him out the country.

Following the news conference, US citizen Brian Fisher approaches Irving and offers to drive him around to pick up his belongings. But what appears to be a simple offer of help turns into a request that Irving authenticate a collection of lithographs, which necessitates a trip to Blaine (Washington), just across the border in the United States. Tired, but thinking this might be a good opportunity to see if he will have any other problems crossing the border, Irving agrees.

They cross the border without any trouble at about ten o'clock that evening. After authenticating and signing the lithographs as requested, Irving and Fisher return to Canada before midnight.

Sunday, November 1

In the morning, Irving packs his things to check out of the Toronto hotel, preparing to leave the country by midnight (as agreed). A strange incident takes place as he checks out. The clerk at the front desk is not able to gain access to Irving's hotel computer file because someone else is looking at it — possibly Canadian police or immigration officials, or perhaps even the Mossad.

That afternoon, he delivers a one-hour speech to massive applause and two standing ovations. Afterwards, he is approached by undercover officers who announce that they will stay with him until he crosses the border.

Giving them the slip, Irving hails a cab and whisks off for a short meeting with Ernst Zündel at his house. Just seconds after Irving leaves, Zündelhaus is surrounded by police cars that skid into position front and back.

After dinner and a round-about journey to Niagara Falls using secondary roads to avoid further problems with undercover police, Irving arrives at the border at 11:00 p.m.

Then disaster strikes. Irving inadvertently drives past the inconspicuous building where he was supposed to have his "Voluntary Departure Notice" stamped before leaving the country. By the time he realizes that something must be amiss, he has crossed over the bridge and into the US side of the border.

He asks the US border official for permission to return to have his document stamped. The guard asks to see it, then takes it away and instructs Irving to park his car and follow him.

With time quickly draining away, the official makes a few calls. He then informs Irving that he will not be admitted into the United States, citing regulation "212.A.7a.i.1." He tells Irving to try again in the morning.

But after returning to the Canadian side at 11:30 p.m., a guard who was clearly aware of the situation tells Irving to step from the car and unload his belongings. The official presents him an arrest warrant, and Irving is denied bail because of the danger that he "would not appear" and because he is a "danger to the public." Handcuffed once again, Irving is driven to the immigration detention center at Niagara Falls.

Monday, November 2

Awakened in jail at 6:30 a.m. after only three hours sleep, Irving is able to place a call to alert Christie of the new situation.

Transported in handcuffs to the courtroom, Irving learns that the grounds on which he had earlier been denied admittance to Canada have all been dropped, replaced instead by the single charge of failure to comply with the Voluntary Departure Notice. It now seems obvious that Canadian immigration officials knew from the start that they had no chance of excluding Irving on the flimsy original charges.

At the hearing, an undercover police officer lies under oath about his conversations with Irving, and another officer lies about Irving's status in Germany and Austria, recommending that bail not be offered because "Mr. Irving might not reappear." The adjudicator agrees, and Irving is returned to jail pending a resumption of the hearing on Wednesday.

Tuesday, November 3

Irving's position seems deceptively simple. If he can establish that he made his impromptu trip with Brian Fisher across the border to Blaine, he can prove technical compliance with the Voluntary Departure Notice. Unfortunately, Fisher lives on the other side of the continent, and Doug Christie has not been able to locate him.

Wednesday, November 4

Hearing day. Fisher has been found, but hesitates for personal reasons to back up Irving's story. In the meantime, however, local resident Louis Martens, who had met Irving only a few days before, offers Irving up to \$20,000 cash for bail. Christie asks for bail and the adjudicator agrees — in spite of strident protest by the case presenting officer. Irving again asks if there are any restrictions on his behavior while out on bail. The adjudicator stipulates only that Irving must stay in Niagara Falls. However, he also insists that Irving must produce Fisher's testimony.

Thursday, November 5

Now out on bail, Irving focuses on preparing his legal case for the next hearing session. Fisher changes his mind about validating Irving's claim of leaving the country, and signs a notarized affidavit.

Friday, November 6

Irving arrives early at the Immigration Hearing Centre, but not early enough to avoid the Jewish mob demonstrating outside. To accommodate the many journalists and reporters who are there to cover the story, a special media room is set aside in the building.

Once the hearing gets underway, the case presenting officer retracts a statement he made two days earlier that license numbers of vehicles crossing the border are not recorded. Instead, he now introduces into evidence a US Immigration and Naturalization Service print-out that purports to be a log of border crossing activity. Christie immediately challenges the document, noting that the official who swore to its authenticity had not sworn that it is a complete record. The adjudicator denies Christie's motion to subpoena the official for further testimony.

Now it is imperative that Brian Fisher testify in person. During the lunch break, Christie succeeds in convincing Fisher that he must appear. Fisher can also supply copies of his phone bill,

showing long-distance phone calls made by Irving during his brief stay in Blaine. Irving already has affidavits from the recipients of those calls. All this would seem to be enough to prove conclusively that Irving had indeed left Canada, and thus has technically complied with the terms of the Voluntary Departure Notice. Even the adjudicator is forced to agree that Fisher's testimony is "a pivotal one which may make or break this case." The hearing is adjourned until Thursday, the 12th.

November 7-11

Irving divides his time between making personal appearances (which now include fund-raising to offset his rapidly escalating legal costs), and ensuring that he has everything needed for his case at the next hearing session.

On Saturday, the 7th, Irving appears in Kitchener. Two days later, the case presenting officer calls to warn Irving that the Canadian Jewish Congress is blaming him for an arson fire at the office of an anti-Irving demonstrator in Kitchener, which was started the same night Irving was in town.

Thursday, November 12

Writing in today's Toronto Sun, columnist Bill Dunphy puts his finger on the key issue in the legal battle. "Who's lying?" he asks. Against a computer print-out, which in all probability is either incomplete or has been expertly doctored by unknown persons, Irving can present sworn testimony, telephone records, and affidavits.

Irving's arrival at the Immigration Hearing Centre is greeted by an even larger crowd of media crews and demonstrators, who await him in a pouring rain. The case presenting officer ruthlessly cross-examines Brian Fisher (sometimes even wandering away from the matters at hand), but Fisher sticks to his story. In the , the case presenting officer has little to do but lamely invent a scenario in which Irving plotted to confuse the border guards and create a misleading print-out report. Christie points out that for this tale to be credible, Irving would have to be a fortune-teller. He would have to have known on October 30 — two days in advance of his failed border crossing on November 1 — that he would need such an elaborate alibi.

To everyone's dismay, the adjudicator puts off announcing his decision until the following day.

Friday, November 13

Upon his arrival at the Immigration Hearing Centre, Irving is approached by the case presenting officer, who wants the historian to know that he is not acting on his own, but under orders from "on high." He also warns Irving against fulfilling a planned personal appearance at Carleton University in Ottawa in the event of his release, as there are orders from "on high" to re-arrest him for misrepresentation, this time regarding his border crossing at Blaine, Washington. With this new information, Irving promptly walks down the hallway and announces it to a room full of waiting reporters and journalists.

When the adjudicator reads his verdict, however, it makes all these machinations moot. Irving's version of events, he declares, is

... a total fabrication and never took place. I can only speculate that you and your supporters concocted your story to garner further publicity and prolong your stay in Canada, both of which you have done with some success.

According to the adjudicator, Irving never traveled to Blaine, Brian Fisher did not accompany him, the phone calls from Fisher's house were not made by Irving, and the sworn testimony of six persons was all perjured. (The adjudicator simply ignores the question of how Irving could have known he would need an alibi two days in advance of an unexpected occurrence.) He orders Irving deported.

Irving then steps forward with a writ of habeas corpus, while the case presenting officer is simultaneously served a similar writ.

Instead of heeding the writs, the adjudicator orders Irving taken into custody. After a brief stay in a holding cell, Irving is allowed to make a statement to waiting reporters and journalists.

After being allowed to collect his belongings, Irving is driven to Toronto airport for a six-hour wait until his plane is to depart. During the ride to the airport, immigration officers question Irving about the Kitchener arson. At 8:10 p.m., with David Irving on board, Air Canada flight 856 lifts off from Toronto airport on its way to London.

The next day, Bill Dunphy of the Toronto Sun reported that "spokesmen for the Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith lauded the decision." And no one else.

Media Treatment and Public Opinion

Canadian press treatment of the Irving affair — like popular opinion — was mixed. While expressing little, if any, support for Irving's Revisionist views on the Holocaust, as time went on a consensus developed in the Canadian press that the British historian should be allowed to speak in Canada.

Predictably, of course, Holocaust lobby groups such as the Simon Wiesenthal Centre and the Canadian Jewish Congress did everything in their power to poison the atmosphere against the historian, and to portray him as a grave threat to social stability.

Reflecting the dangerous but carefully articulated views of the organized Jewish community — and its vigorous behind-the-scenes efforts to keep Irving out of Canada — B'nai B'rith Canada official Ian Kagedan insisted that "Holocaust denial poses a real danger to our social fabric."

In a lengthy op-ed opinion piece in the Ottawa Citizen (Nov. 6), the Zionist official told readers that Irving's "presence is an insult to Holocaust survivors and Canadian veterans." Remarkably, he conceded that "Immigration's decision to bar Irving and its subsequent efforts to expel him may be of special interest to only a few in our country ..." Contrary to reason and common sense, Kagedan went on to assert that "... it is folly to claim that there is a free speech issue here."

Writing in another newspaper (Globe and Mail, Nov. 9), Kagedan stressed that Irving is a danger because he is a "Holocaust denier," and that his "hate propaganda undermines democracy." The B'nai B'rith official even perversely maintained that "deporting Mr. Irving would affirm our commitment to democracy."

To their credit, most Canadians rejected such convoluted and self-serving arguments. Indeed, as the Irving affair unfolded, the words and actions of the Holocaust lobby become so frantic that it was obvious, even to the most uninformed, that the only section of society seriously pushing to keep the historian out of Canada was the small but well organized international Zionist-Jewish lobby.

Echoing the Holocaust-lobby line, a number of Canadian newspapers referred to Irving as a “Holocaust denier.” The Vancouver Sun of October 15 told readers that “Irving has repeatedly given speeches and written books denying the Holocaust.” Elsewhere in this same issue, writer Pete McMartin added to the disinformation campaign:

[Irving] bills himself as a “historian” and has claimed to have attended the University of London, but files collected on Irving by the Canadian Jewish Congress show he only attended outside lectures at the university and was never enrolled as a student. They also say he has no academic qualifications as a historian.

Toronto Sun columnist Bill Dunphy called Irving an “amateur historian, Holocaust revisionist, and darling of the international neo-Nazi movement.” This is, of course, a favorite smear tactic: attacking the person when it is impossible to attack the person’s work.

A few Canadian newspapers shamefully embraced the entire Holocaust-lobby line. The Ottawa Sun, a sensational tabloid, attacked Irving in a hateful editorial (Nov. 3), calling him a “reptile,” a “creature,” a “racist,” and “repulsive.” These words appeared along with a vicious editorial cartoon depicting the historian as a demented, swastika-wearing lunatic.

Fortunately, such ravings were rare. Indeed, with the passage of time, coverage of the Irving affair became noticeably more fair and even-handed.

While almost never acknowledging that Irving’s views about the Holocaust story might have some validity, more and more Canadian newspapers defied the Holocaust lobby and their own government by expressing support — sometimes in strong terms — of Irving’s right to speak in Canada.

As the affair reached its climax, a kind of consensus emerged: regardless of how offensive his views may be to a small but vociferous minority, Irving should not be barred from the country.

An opinion piece in the Kitchener-Waterloo Record (Nov. 3) was typical. Staff writer Barry Ries forthrightly pointed out:

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms says “everyone” has the right to “freedom of thought, belief, opinion, and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication, freedom of peaceful assembly, and freedom of association ...”

The Charter does not say that this right only applies to people we agree with or to people who don’t upset us ...

This freedom does not go down well with some people ... These people are perfectly within their rights to protest and demonstrate and picket and present the facts we all know so well.

But rights don’t win with one segment of the population. Immigration officials have been pressured — by the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies and by B’nai B’rith Canada — to gag Irving, and that’s what’s been done.

Vancouver Province columnist Shane McCune, in a piece entitled “Let’s leave fascism to the fascists” (Oct. 30), similarly affirmed Irving’s right to speak:

I'm tired of everyone — left, right, feminist, Bible-thumper — who says, “I support free speech, but ...”

No buts about it. It's easy to support freedom of speech when you agree with the speaker. The real test comes when you are asked to def the unpopular. I'm afraid Canadians fail that test more often than not.

The Victoria (B.C.) Times-Colonist suggested in an editorial (Oct. 30) that even accounts of the treatment of Europe's Jews during the Second World War should be critically scrutinized like any other chapter of history. The paper also argued against restrictions on Irving's right to speak:

There is, of course, no single, definitive version of historical events. Individuals are rewriting them all the time, offering interpretations and analyses that off, infuriate, and disgust thousands of other people ... should [the Holocaust] be exempt from that never-ing process?

Each new restriction makes [Irving] more of a martyr. It is also ... a denial of one of the cherished tenets of democracy, freedom of expression.

Affirming the cause of reason and common sense, Canada's most influential daily paper mocked the Zionist-orchestrated campaign to ban Irving. In a forthright editorial (Nov. 5), the prestigious Toronto Globe and Mail declared:

If the Canadian government devoted half the time and energy to ordinary law enforcement that it has to pursuing and incarcerating David Irving, crime would be unknown. Yet Mr. Irving is guilty of no crime in Canadian law, and poses no threat to life, property, or public order.

The only crime the government can suggest Mr. Irving is even likely to commit is that of willfully promoting hatred: a law of such surpassing vagueness as to be unworthy of a liberal society.

This is not the first time Mr. Irving has visited Canada. He has been here often, including speaking tours ... The Dominion did not perish.

We can't imagine anything he might say could do half as much harm to Canada's reputation for tolerance as the picture, printed in the newspapers, of a writer in handcuffs — for fear, we suppose, that he might type something. We have not as yet put a price on his head, in the style of Iran. But our horror of the word looks much the same.

Reflecting the views of the country's liberal intellectual community, the Canadian branch of PEN, the influential “world association of poets, playwrights, publishers, editors, essayists, novelists, translators, and journalists,” expressed grave concern at the campaign to bar Irving. In a news release issued November 5, the writer's group declared:

The Canadian Centre of International PEN is deeply concerned about the detention of author David Irving. Canada has often been in the forefront of human rights and civil liberties issues abroad, but Mr. Irving's detention raises extremely serious questions about our commitment to freedom of expression at home.

While Mr. Irving's present position in Canada appears to involve specific breaches of Canadian immigration law, the issue as a whole raises the larger question of freedom of expression ...

PEN Canada unequivocally maintains that freedom of expression, in all its variety, is fundamental to a democratic society and must therefore be supported in full and without any form of censorship ... We maintain that Canadians do not need to be “protected” against the free flow of ideas, and are capable of determining for themselves what is valid and what is nonsensical. If Canadians want to hear foreign speakers, it is their right to do so ...

Censorship has never been an appropriate way of dealing with the problem of conflicting, insensitive, evil, or fallacious opinion...

As already indicated, even Canadian papers that supported Irving’s right to speak carefully suppressed intelligent expressions of the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story. Many Canadians — albeit probably a minority — were dismayed by the strongly anti-Revisionist bias of almost the entire Canadian media.

In a reader’s letter published in the Toronto Star (Nov. 16), Joyce Medley of Willowdale (Ont.) echoed the legitimate concerns of many intelligent and informed fellow Canadians:

The media has suppressed, cut, taped, pasted, edited, filtered, shortened, fabricated and otherwise disguised every unchallengeable, albeit controversial statement that comes from David Irving or from any of the revisionist historians.

When the editor’s shears finally come to rest, where is there a person who can find the truth among all the jagged remains commonly called the free press?

If you were the least bit interested in true journalism, you would print one of the many revisionist historians’ repeated invitations to the academic community to debate this Holocaust controversy ...

What sort of truth is it that needs protection?

Once and for all, reach deep inside and grasp hold of that last vestige of honor, be honest with yourself and be honest with the public, and let the blasted cow chips fall where they may!

Conclusion

Thoughtful criticisms of the ban against Irving were ultimately not enough to keep Irving from being deported. His expulsion on November 13 set a very dangerous precedent, because it may be used as a pretext by officials in other countries — particularly other Commonwealth countries such as Australia — to bar the British historian.

If Canada — a country noted for its tradition of (relative) tolerance — can bar Irving, where can he count on a welcome?

For a professional historian like Irving, such bans not only represent a severe financial setback, they keep him from important archives and other historical sources, and thus strike at the heart of his work and career. For Irving, for whom working in archives around the world is an essential part of his livelihood, such bans represent a condemnation to slow professional death.

There is another crucial issue at stake here: the role of a powerful international lobby in subverting traditional guarantees of freedom of speech. Not all speech, of course, just speech that offs a

tiny segment of the world's population.

Although this small minority group was able to eject David Irving from Canada, its victory came at a price. From the beginning of September to the middle of November — nearly two and one-half months — the Holocaust controversy was a major news story in Canada.

What began as an effort to silence opposition to the politically correct line on the Holocaust issue turned into a three-ring circus, in which the star performer was none other than David Irving. The fact that he did not slink obediently back to his assigned perch at the first crack of the ringmaster's whip served to be a major embarrassment to those hoping to have the entertainment serve their own s.

In going after David Irving in Canada, the Holocaust establishment once again bit off more than it could chew — and the struggle is far from over.

From his home in London, Irving vows to press the fight until he is once again free to travel to Canada. And as he fights, he has not only truth and the best traditions of Western civilization on his side, he can also count as allies those who, through the publicity that atted this most recent violation against Western values, now realize that the enemies of Holocaust revisionism will stop at nothing to defend their sacred legend.

The Legacy of Rudolf Hess

Mark Weber

On the evening of May 10, 1941, the Deputy Führer of the Third Reich set out on a secret mission that was to be his last and most important. Under cover of darkness, Rudolf Hess took off in an unarmed Messerschmidt 110 fighter-bomber from an Augsburg airfield and headed across the North Sea toward Britain. His plan was to negotiate peace between Germany and Britain.

Four hours later, after successfully evading British anti-aircraft fire and a pursuing Spitfire, Hess parachuted, for the first time in his life, and sprained his ankle landing in a Scottish farm field. An astonished farmer found the injured pilot and turned him over to the local Home Guard unit. ^[1]

Winston Churchill promptly rejected Hess' peace offer and jailed him as a prisoner of war, even though he had arrived unarmed and of his own free will. Rudolf Hess, ambassador of peace, was to remain a prisoner until his death in August 1987 at the age of 93.

For many, the passing of the one-time Deputy Führer and last surviving member of Hitler's inner circle simply marked the welcome of a terrible era. But his true legacy is something far different. He spent 46 years — half his life — behind bars, a victim of a cruel victor's justice. More than any other man, Rudolf Hess symbolizes the vindictiveness and hypocrisy of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

The Mission

Hess was deeply shaken by Britain's declaration of war against Germany in September 1939. With Hitler's approval, he began a secret effort a few months later to negotiate a peace agreement between the two "fraternal Germanic nations" through British officials in neutral Portugal and Switzerland. ^[2] When the effort failed, Hess began preparations for his flight to Britain, an unquestionably sincere if perhaps naive effort to war between his beloved homeland and a nation he greatly admired.

"My coming to England in this way is, as I realize, so unusual that nobody will easily understand it," Hess told a British official a few weeks after the flight. "I was confronted by a very hard decision. I do not think I could have arrived at my final choice [to fly to Britain] unless I had continually kept before my eyes the vision of an endless line of children's coffins with weeping mothers behind them, both English and German, and another line of coffins of mothers with mourning children." ^[3]

Though there was little chance that Hess' mission could have succeeded, some aspects of his flight and its aftermath remain unclear. The British government took the extraordinary step of sealing dozens of Hess documents for release only in the year 2017. Sefton Delmer, the wartime

head of Britain's propaganda broadcasts to Germany, has speculated that the British government might have had good reasons for the secrecy: [4]

At the time, Churchill published nothing about the Hess case; he was passed over in silence. There was a large peace party in Britain, and Churchill probably feared that this party would throw him from his Ministerial seat because he had not agreed to Hess' peace proposals.

Victor's Justice

At the of the war, Hess was taken to Nuremberg to be tried, along with other German leaders, by the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and France as one of the "major war criminals."

Although Hess was perhaps treated more unjustly than any other man on trial at Nuremberg, the Tribunal itself was of doubtful legal and moral standing. Many prominent men in America and Europe pointed out that the process violated two cardinal principles.

First, it was a trial of the victors against the vanquished. The former were their own law maker, prosecutor, judge, alleged victim and, in part, accomplice (in the case of the Soviets, in the division of Poland).

Second, the charges were invented for the occasion and defined after the fact ("ex post facto").

US Supreme Court Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone called the trials a fraud. "[Chief US prosecutor] Jackson is away conducting his high-grade lynching party in Nuremberg," he wrote. "I don't mind what he does to the Nazis, but I hate to see the pretense that he is running a court and proceeding according to common law. This is a little too sanctimonious a fraud to meet my old-fashioned ideas." [5]

Associate Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas charged that the Allies were guilty of "substituting power for principle" at Nuremberg. [6] He later also wrote: "I thought at the time and still think that the Nuremberg trials were unprincipled. Law was created ex post facto to suit the passion and clamor of the time." [7]

Soviet participation in the "International Military Tribunal" lent it the aura of a political show trial. Judge I. T. Nikitchenko, who presided at the solemn opening session, had been a judge at the infamous Moscow show trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1936. Before the Tribunal convened, Nikitchenko explained the Soviet view of the enterprise: [8]

We are dealing here with the chief war criminals who have already been convicted and whose conviction has been already announced by both the Moscow and Crimea [Yalta] declarations by the heads of the [Allied] governments ... The whole idea is to secure quick and just punishment for the crime.

Besides the Tribunal's dubious legal standing, it held Hess and the other German leaders to a standard to which the Allies were never held. In sharp contrast to his public utterances, the chief US prosecutor at Nuremberg, Robert Jackson, privately acknowledged in a letter to President Truman that the Allies [9]

have done or are doing some of the very things we are prosecuting the Germans for. The French are so violating the Geneva Convention in the treatment of [German] prisoners of war that our command is taking back prisoners sent to them [for forced labor in France]. We are prosecuting

plunder and our Allies are practicing it. We say aggressive war is a crime and one of our allies asserts sovereignty over the Baltic States based on no title except conquest.

Nothing better points up the essential injustice of the Nuremberg process than the court's treatment of Rudolf Hess.

He was in the dock primarily because of his important-sounding but somewhat hollow title of Deputy Führer. His duties as Hitler's stand-in were almost entirely ceremonial: He delivered the annual Christmas address to the nation, welcomed delegations of ethnic Germans from abroad, appeared at charitable functions, and presented the Führer at the annual Nuremberg party congress. It is this image of the wide-eyed and ecstatic Hess that much of the world remembers best, most of all from a brief clip of him from the Leni Riefenstahl film of the 1934 Congress, "Triumph of the Will."

Known as the "conscience of the party," he often used what power and influence he had to intervene on behalf of victims of persecution by extremists in the National Socialist party. In his detailed study, *Justice at Nuremberg*, which is generally very critical of the German defants, historian Robert E. Conot called Hess a "decent and honest" man and "a pacifist at heart." [10]

In their Nuremberg indictment of the Deputy Führer, the four Allied powers predictably portrayed him in the most sinister way possible. [11] "Hess began his conspiratorial activities immediately upon termination of World War I by joining militaristic and nationalistic organizations," it charged. It went on to absurdly claim that "Hess was one of the members of the [Nazi] conspiracy who professed as early as 1933 the aim of complete world domination." The joint Allied indictment concluded with the almost ludicrous words:

All through the years from 1920 to 1941 Hess remained the most faithful and relentless executor of Hitler's aims and designs. This complete devotion to the success of the conspiracy was climaxed by his flight in Scotland in an attempt to the war with England [!] and to receive English support for Germany's demands against Russia, which he had helped to prepare.

The share of Hess' participation in the Nazi conspiracy is as great as that of the Party which he directed. The Party's crimes are his.

In fact, the Allied case against Hess was weak. The Führer had kept his deputy in the dark about his foreign policy and military decisions. It was clearly established at Nuremberg that Hess had not been present at any of the meetings at which Hitler discussed his military plans. [12] And, of course, he could not be held responsible for German actions that took place after his flight to Britain, including those carried out during the campaign against the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, the Tribunal declared Hess guilty of "crimes against peace" ("planning and preparation of aggressive war") and of "conspiracy" with other German leaders to commit the alleged crimes, but innocent of "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity."

No reputable historian today believes the Nuremberg charge that Hess was guilty of "crimes against peace." Almost all of the criticism of Hess in recent years has focused instead on his signature on the 1935 Nuremberg laws that stripped German Jews of their rights as full citizens and banned marriage and sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews. These laws allegedly "paved the way" for the extermination of the Jews several years later. [13] Whatever the merits of this argument, Hess had nothing to do with the drafting or promulgation of these laws, and his signature on them was completely pro forma. And even so, the laws were domestic statutes that have had counterparts in numerous other countries, including the United States.

Unlike fellow defant Albert Speer, the wartime armaments minister who did far more than the Deputy Führer to keep Germany's war machine going but who received only a 20 year sentence, Hess refused to ingratiate himself with the Tribunal. He expressed no remorse for his loyal support of Hitler and the National Socialist regime.

In his final statement to the court on August 31, 1946, he declared:

I had the privilege of working for many years of my life under the greatest son my nation has brought forth in its thousand-year history. Even if I could, I would not wish to expunge this time from my life.

I am happy to know that I have done my duty toward my people, my duty as a German, as a National Socialist, as a loyal follower of my Führer. I regret nothing.

No matter what people may do, one day I shall stand before the judgment seat of God Eternal. I will answer to Him, and I know that He will absolve me.

When it came time to decide his sentence, the judges were not inclined to deal leniently with such an unrepentant defant. The Soviet judge and his alternate thought he should be executed. The British and American judges and the American and French alternates voted for life imprisonment, while the French judge suggested a sentence of twenty years. The British alternate abstained. They settled on life imprisonment. ^[14]

The eminent British historian Professor A. J. P. Taylor summed up the injustice of the Hess case in a 1969 statement: ^[15]

Hess came to this country in 1941 as an ambassador of peace. He came with the ... intention of restoring peace between Great Britain and Germany.

He acted in good faith. He fell into our hands and was quite unjustly treated as a prisoner of war. After the war, we could have released him.

No crime has ever been proven against Hess ... As far as the records show, he was never at even one of the secret discussions at which Hitler explained his war plans.

He was of course a leading member of the Nazi Party. But he was no more guilty than any other Nazi or, if you wish, any other German. All the Nazis, all the Germans, were carrying on the war. But they were not all condemned because of this.

That Rudolf Hess — the only one at Nuremberg who had risked his life for peace — was found guilty of “crimes against peace” was certainly the Tribunal's most ironic perversion of justice.

Spandau

From 1947 until his death, Hess was held in West Berlin's Spandau prison, which was run by the four Allied powers. Regulations stipulated that “imprisonment will be in the form of solitary confinement” and forbade prison officials to ever call Hess by name. He was addressed only as “prisoner No. 7.”

Conditions were so bad that French chaplain Pastor Casalis protested to the prison Directorate in 1950: “It can safely be said that Spandau has become a place of mental torture to an extent that

does not permit the Christian conscience to remain silent ..." [16]

For 20 years, Hess at least had the limited company of a few other Nuremberg defendants, but from October 1966 until his death 21 years later, he was the only inmate in the fortress-like prison originally built for 600. He was, in the words of Spandau's American Director, Lt. Col. Eugene Bird, "the loneliest man in the world."

Keeping this one man in Spandau cost the West German government about 850,000 marks a year. In addition, each of the four Allied powers had to provide an officer and 37 soldiers during their respective shifts, as well as a director and team of warders throughout the entire year. The permanent maintenance staff of 22 included cooks, waitresses and cleaners.

In the final years of his life, Hess was a weak and frail old man, blind in one eye, who walked stooped forward with a cane. He lived in virtually total isolation according to a strictly regulated daily routine. During his rare meetings with his wife and son, he was not allowed to embrace or even touch them. [17]

Long before his death, Hess' imprisonment had become a grotesque and absurd spectacle.

Even Winston Churchill expressed regret over his treatment. In 1950 he wrote: [18]

Reflecting upon the whole of the story, I am glad not to be responsible for the way in which Hess has been and is being treated. Whatever may be the moral guilt of a German who stood near to Hitler, Hess had, in my view, atoned for this by his completely devoted and frantic deed of lunatic benevolence. He came to us of his own free will, and, though without authority, had something of the quality of an envoy. He was a medical and not a criminal case, and should be so regarded.

In a 1977 interview, Sir Hartley Shawcross, who was Britain's chief prosecutor at Nuremberg, called the continued imprisonment of Hess a "scandal." [19]

The injustice against Hess was not something that happened once and was quickly over. It was, rather, a wrong that went on, day after day, for 46 years. Rudolf Hess was a prisoner of peace and a victim of a vindictive age.

Notes

1. ↻ Ilse Hess, *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace* (Torrance, Calif.: IHR, 1982), pp. 31-38, 25-27; Wolf R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess* (London: W.H. Allen, 1986), pp. 17-24; Eugene K. Bird, *Prisoner # 7: Rudolf Hess*, (New York: Viking Press, 1974), pp. 184, 200, 209-210.
2. ↻ W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 50, 66-67; Ilse Hess, *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace*, pp. 15, 24.
3. ↻ Hess statement to Sir John Simon, June 10, 1941. Quoted in: Ilse Hess, *Rudolf Hess: Prisoner of Peace*, p. 14.
4. ↻ Quoted in: W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 391-392.
5. ↻ Alpheus T. Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York: Viking, 1956), p. 716.

6. [↗](#) William O. Douglas, *An Almanac of Liberty* (1954), p. 96. Quoted in: William J. Bosch, *Judgment on Nuremberg* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina, 1970), pp. 132-133.
7. [↗](#) Quoted in: H. K. Thompson, Jr. and Henry Strutz, eds., *Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal*, (Torrance, Calif.: 1983), p. 196.
8. [↗](#) Report of Robert Jackson, United States Representative to the International Conference on Military Trials, London, 1945 (Washington, DC: US State Dept., 1949), pp. 104-106, 303.; Whitney R. Harris, *Tyranny on Trial: The Evidence at Nuremberg* (Dallas: S.M.U. Press, 1954), pp. 16-17.
9. [↗](#) Jackson letter to Truman, Oct. 12, 1945. Quoted in: Robert E. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 68.
10. [↗](#) R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 44.
11. [↗](#) Office of the United States Chief of Counsel for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (11 vols.), Washington, DC: US Gov't., 1946-1948. (The "red series."), Volume 2, pp. 466, 469, 477-478.
12. [↗](#) R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, pp. 347-348, 501; W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, p. 229.
13. [↗](#) See, for example: "Rudolf Hess," *Washington Post* (editorial), August 19, 1987; Letter by Marvin Hier and Abraham Cooper, *The New York Times*, May 1, 1984.
14. [↗](#) R. Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*, p. 487; W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 235-236.
15. [↗](#) *Sunday Express*, London, April 27, 1969. Quoted in: W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 392-393.
16. [↗](#) W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, pp. 265-266.
17. [↗](#) Eugene K. Bird, *Prisoner # 7: Rudolf Hess*, p. 152 and passim.
18. [↗](#) Winston S. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), p. 55.
19. [↗](#) Interview with *Bild am Sonntag*, April 10, 1977. Quoted in: W. R. Hess, *My Father Rudolf Hess*, p. 402.

A Son's Struggle for His Father's Honor

The Life and Death of My Father, Rudolf Hess

Wolf Rüdiger Hess

- Presented by videotape at the Eleventh IHR Conference, 1992.

When my father flew to Scotland on May 10, 1941, I was three-and-a-half years old. As a result, I have only very few personal memories of him in freedom. One of them is a memory of him pulling me out of the garden pond. On another occasion, when I was screaming because a bat had somehow gotten into the house. I can still recall his comforting voice as he carried it to the window and released it into the night.

In the years that followed, I learned who my father was, and about his role in history, only bit by bit. Slowly, I came to understand the martyrdom he ured as a prisoner in the Allied Military Prison in Berlin-Spandau for 40 long years — half a life-time.

Growing Up in Egypt and Germany

My father was born in Alexandria, Egypt, on April 26, 1894, the first son of Fritz Hess, a respected and well-to-do merchant. The Hess family personified the prosperity, standing and self-assurance of the German Reich of that period. They also personified all those things that aroused envy, fear and a combative spirit on the part of Britain and other great powers.

Fritz Hess owned an imposing house with a beautiful garden on the Mediterranean coast. His family, which came from Wunsiedel in the Fichtelgebirge region of Germany, owned another house in Reicholdsgrün, in Bavaria, where they regularly spent their summer holidays. The source of this wealth was a trading firm, Hess & Co., that Fritz Hess had inherited from his father, and which he managed with considerable success.

His eldest son, Rudolf, was a pupil at the German Protestant School in Alexandria. His future appeared to be determined by both family tradition and his father's strong hand: he would inherit the property and the firm, and would, accordingly, become a merchant. Young Rudolf, though, was not very inclined toward this kind of life.

Instead, he felt drawn toward the sciences, above all physics and mathematics. His abilities in these fields became obvious as a student at the Bad Godesberg Educational Institute, a boarding school for boys in Germany that he atted between September 15, 1908, and Easter, 1911. In spite of this, his father insisted that he complete his secondary school education by passing an examination that would permit him to enter the École Supérieur de Commerce at Neuchâtel in Switzerland, after which he became an apprentice in a Hamburg trading company.

Front Line Combat Service

These well-laid plans were soon to change. The start of the First World War in 1914 found the family at its vacation home in Bavaria. Rudolf Hess, then 20 years of age, did not hesitate for a moment before reporting as a volunteer with the Bavarian Field Artillery. A short time later, he was transferred to the infantry, and by November 4, 1914, he was serving as a poorly trained recruit at the front, where he took part in the trench warfare of the first battle of the Somme.

Along with most young Germans of that time, Rudolf Hess went to the front as a fervent patriot acutely conscious of Germany's cause, which he regarded as entirely just, and determined to defeat the British-French arch-enemy. After six months of front-line service, my father was promoted to lance corporal. To his men he was an exemplary comrade, always the first to volunteer for raids and reconnaissance patrols. In bloody battles among the barbed wire, trenches and shell craters, he distinguished himself by his cheerful composure, courage and bravery.

By 1917 he had been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. But he also paid the price of this "career" advancement: He was gravely wounded in 1916, and again in 1917 when a rifle bullet pierced his left lung.

A Humiliating and Vengeful Peace

Scarred by the hardships and wounds of front line duty, on December 12, 1918 — that is, after the humiliating armistice of Compiègne — Rudolf Hess was "discharged from active military service to Reicholdsgrün without maintenance," as the official army record rather baldly puts it. That is, without pay, pension or disability allowance.

Already during the war, the family had lost its considerable holdings in Egypt as a result of British expropriation. Now the defeat of the German Empire in the First World War brought wrenching, even catastrophic changes in the life of the Hess family.

For Rudolf Hess, though, the grim fate suffered by his fatherland in defeat and revolution weighed more heavily than this private misfortune. In spite of the military armistice, the victorious powers maintained a starvation blockade against Germany until the imposition of the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919. The Treaty itself was little more than a vengeful "peace of annihilation" dictated by the victorious powers and accepted by the German National Assembly only under protest and the threat of further force.

On May 12, 1919, in a moving address that has since become famous, Reich Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann, a Social Democrat, declared:

... Allow me to speak entirely without tactical considerations. What our discussions are concerned with, this thick book in which a hundred paragraphs begin with "Germany renounces, renounces," this most atrocious and murderous hammer of evil by which a great people is extorted and black mailed into acknowledging its own unworthiness, accepting its merciless dismemberment, consenting to enslavement and serfdom, this book must not become the statute book of the future ... I ask you: Who, as an honest man — I will not even say as a German, only as an honest man loyal to the terms of a treaty — can submit to such conditions? What hand that submits itself and us to such shackles would not wither? Moreover, we must exert ourselves, we must toil, work as slaves for international capitalism, work unpaid for the entire world!

... If this treaty is actually signed, it will not be just Germany's corpse that remains on the battlefield of Versailles. Beside it will lie equally noble corpses: the right of self-determination of peoples, the independence of free nations, belief in all the fine ideals under whose banner the Allies claimed to fight, and, above all, belief in loyalty to the terms of a treaty.

Scheidemann's words leave scarcely any doubt that as a result of the "vae victis" of the governments of the Allied and Associated powers, Germany's very existence as a prosperous and unified nation was brought into question. As far-sighted men of the time correctly observed, the Constitution of the "Weimar Republic" (1919-1933) was, in a real sense, not the one that the German parliament formally adopted on August 11, 1919. It was rather, imposed by the dictated Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919. As a result of the Treaty, each of the numerous governments of the "Weimar Republic" was inevitably faced with the same insurmountable problem. Each administration was obliged to carry out the Treaty's countless oppressive and devastating conditions, and thus act as an "agent" of the victorious powers. Each new government thus unavoidably discredited itself in the eyes of the people it represented, and therefore committed a kind of political suicide.

Meeting With Hitler

One political leader, though, defiantly vowed from the outset never to permit himself or his party to be blackmailed. This man was Adolf Hitler, and his party was the National Socialist German Workers' Party. Like many of his fellow citizens, my father was appalled and deeply shocked by the conditions that had developed in Germany, and he resolved to fight against the "Diktat" of Versailles. The catastrophic state of affairs he found in Munich after his return from the front defied his ability to describe them. Like most of his comrades, Hess was drawn into the war in 1914 to fight for a free, strong and proud Germany. Now, in 1919, the 26-year-old had to witness the establishment in Bavaria of a "Soviet republic" headed by communists and Jews. In his eyes, military defeat had given way to national catastrophe.

In a letter written to a cousin some time later, he graphically described his feelings at the time:

You know how I suffer under the situation to which our once proud nation has been brought. I have fought for the honor of our flag where a man of my age had of course to fight, where conditions were at their worst, in dirt and mud, in the hell of Verdun, Artois and elsewhere. I have witnessed the horror of death in all its forms, been hammered for days under heavy bombardment, slept in a dugout in which lay half of a Frenchman's dead body. I have hungered and suffered, as indeed have all frontline soldiers. And is all this to be in vain, the suffering of the good people at home all for nothing? I have learned from you what you women have had to live through! No, if all this has been in vain, I would still today regret that I did not put a bullet through my brain on the day the monstrous armistice conditions and their acceptance were published. I did not do it at the time solely in the hope that in one way or another I might still be able to do something to reverse fate.

From then on, he was consumed by the conviction that he could "reverse fate," and by the determination to act on this conviction. During the winter of 1918-19, in a humiliated Germany shaken by communist riots, tormented by ad hoc governments of "workers' and soldiers' soviets," he still recognized — in spite of his discouragement — the possibility of renewal for the people for whom he had been ready to lay down his life.

Now determined to fight against the obvious efforts to subjugate Germany, his feelings of despair turned into burning indignation and motivating rage.

As a result, he was almost inevitably drawn to the one political force that, as he had correctly sensed from the outset, was in a position to break the shackles imposed upon the German people at Versailles. Like millions of other Germans, he followed this movement's leader — but he did so earlier and with greater dedication than most of the others. Along with his fellow citizens, he was convinced of the justice of the cause for which he fought — restoration of Germany's national rights and standing by breaking the chains of Versailles.

The National Socialist German Workers' Party was founded in Munich in January 1919. Hitler joined a few months later, and quickly became its most prominent speaker. It was sometime in May 1920, at an evening meeting of this small group in a room adjoining the Sternecker brewery in Munich, when Hess first heard Hitler speak. When he returned home that evening to the small guest house where he was living, he enthusiastically told the girl who lived in the adjacent room, Ilse Pröh — whom he was later to marry:

The day after tomorrow you must come with me to a meeting of the National Socialist Workers' Party. Someone unknown will be speaking; I can't remember his name. But if anyone can free us from Versailles, he is the man. This unknown man will restore our honor.

My father became member number sixteen of the group on July 1, 1920. From that time on he was slowly but steadily drawn to its leader. There were several reasons for his enthusiasm for Hitler. First, there were reasons of practical policy, which Hess formulated in these words in a letter written in 1921:

The core of the matter is that Hitler is convinced that [national] resurrection is possible only if we can succeed in leading the great mass of people, in particular the workers, back to national awareness. But this is possible only in the context of reasonable, honest socialism.

Second, Hess had a personal reason, which was Hitler's eloquence. In a letter to a friend written in 1924, my father described the effect of this gift:

You won't find more than once a man who at a mass meeting can enrapture the most left-wing lathe operator just as much as the right-wing senior executive. This man, within two hours, made the thousand communists who had come to break up [the meeting] stand and join in the national anthem at the [as in Munich in 1921], and this man, within three hours, in a special address to a few hundred industrialists and the Minister President [or provincial governor], who had come more or less to oppose him, secured their full approval or speechless astonishment.

Rudolf Hess was convinced that Hitler could not fail to break the chains of Versailles and then carry out a political change of direction that promised a better future.

In the years before it gained large-scale support from voters, the National Socialist party was a small Bavarian phenomenon, and Hitler's place in national politics was insignificant. Not even Hitler's recognized ability as a speaker was at first able to change this. During the period from 1924 until 1929, when normal conditions seemed to return in Germany, despite Versailles, Hitler was not well known. The only exception was in 1923, when he gained brief notoriety for his role in the November 9th "March on the Feldherrnhalle" in Munich, and the ill-fated attempt to over-

throw the government there. In the course of this unsuccessful putsch, my father arrested three ministers of the Bavarian state government. For his role in the coup attempt, Hitler was punished with imprisonment in the Landsberg fortress, where my father later joined him.

Victory in Political Struggle

It was during that time of incarceration that Hitler and my father established the special relationship of trust and mutual confidence that stamped the image of the party's leadership in later years. It was also in Landsberg that Hitler wrote his well-known, seminal work, *Mein Kampf*. My father edited the pages of the manuscript and checked them for errors. Hitler was released early on December 20, 1924. Four months later, in April 1925 my father became Adolf Hitler's private secretary, at a monthly salary of 500 marks.

In the first years of the 1930s, the impact of the Great Depression and the political disintegration of the Weimar Republic set the stage for Hitler's seizure of power in January 1933. As a result of its well-organized propaganda campaigns, which were in turn due to its quasi-military cohesion and discipline, the National Socialist party gained greater and greater electoral support from ever broader segments of the population. And as employment increased, more and more jobless workers also turned to the National Socialists, many of them defecting directly from Germany's large Communist Party.

During the hectic days of January 1933, my father never left Hitler's side. In a hand-written letter to his wife, dated January 31, 1933 — that is, the day after Hitler became Chancellor — the 38-year-old Rudolf Hess recorded his feelings during this moment of triumph:

Am I dreaming or am I awake — that is the question of the moment! I am sitting in the Chancellor's office in the Wilhelmsplatz. Senior civil servants approach noiselessly on soft carpets to submit documents "for the Reich Chancellor," who is at the moment chairing a Cabinet meeting and preparing the government's initial measures. Outside, the public stands patiently, packed together and waiting for 'him' to drive away — they start to sing the national anthem and shout "Heil" to the "Führer" or to the "Reich Chancellor." And then I start to shake and I have to clench my teeth — just as I did yesterday when the "Führer" returned from [his meeting with] the Reich President as "Reich Chancellor," and summoned me to his bedroom in the Kaiserhof hotel from among the mass of leaders waiting in the reception room — when what I had considered impossible right up to the last moment became reality.

I was firmly convinced that everything would, of course, go wrong at the last moment. And the Chief also admitted to me that a few times things were on a knife-edge because of the intransigence of the old weasel in the Cabinet [a reference to Alfred Hugenberg, coalition partner and chairman of the German National People's Party].

The evening torchlight procession marched before the delighted old gentleman [President von Hindenburg], who bore it until the last SA man [stormtrooper] had passed at about midnight ... Then came the jubilation directed to the Führer, mixing with that directed to the Reich President. The hours of men and women pushing past, holding up their children facing the Führer, young girls and boys, their faces radiant when they recognized "him" at the window of the Reich Chancellery — how sorry I was that you were not there!

The Chief behaves with incredible assurance. And the punctuality!!!! Always a few minutes ahead of time!!! I have even had to make up my mind to buy a watch. A new era and a new time schedule has dawned!

All this was written on a sheet of paper with a letterhead reading “The Reich Chancellor.” Hess had, however, crossed out the Gothic lettering with his pen. The next day, in a follow up letter dated February 1, he concluded with the words: “One stage towards victory is now, I hope, finally behind us. The second difficult period of the struggle has begun!”

On April 21, 1933, Hitler appointed Hess as Deputy Führer of the National Socialist party. His job was to lead the governing party as Hitler’s representative, and to uphold its national and social principles. Eight months later, on December 1, 1933, Reich President Hindenburg — acting on Hitler’s proposal — appointed Hess as Reich Minister without Portfolio. At the outbreak of war in September 1939, Hitler named Reich Marshal Hermann Göring as deputy head of state. But this does not alter the fact that Hess remained Hitler’s close confidant, and a man he could trust without reservation.

Gathering Clouds of War

The most important result of the European political developments of 1937 and 1938, which reached a climax in the “Sudeten crisis” of 1938, was that Britain continued to strengthen its ties with the United States. As a condition of US assistance in the event of war, President Roosevelt demanded from British premier Chamberlain certain commitments in the field of political stability. It was under this pressure that Britain and France then concluded a military agreement in February 1939. In addition, the two western European democracies, bowing to Roosevelt’s claim to lead world policy, gave guarantees to Holland, Switzerland, Poland, Romania, Greece and Turkey — in other words, to all of Germany’s neighbors in the West and East — which Hitler considered Germany’s rightful domain.

From this point on, Britain, France and Poland — with America behind them — decided which of Hitler’s revisions of the conditions imposed by Versailles they would regard as reason for, or even merely a pretext for, war against the German Reich. Even if Hitler refrained from further revisionist policies, from now on the question of war or peace was no longer solely in his own hands.

At the time of Britain’s “blank check” guarantee to Poland in March 1939, Hitler had not yet finally resolved to attack Poland. But every western political leader was aware that this fateful guarantee was a significant step closer to war. Indeed, important figures in western circles and among the anti-Hitler opposition in Germany calculated that Hitler would react to this new Polish dependence on Britain, France and the USA with military action. It was hoped that this would mean not only war, but Hitler’s own downfall. This was confirmed by Chamberlain in his diary entry of September 10, 1939: “My hope is not a military victory — I doubt very much whether that is possible — but a collapse on the German home front.”

On September 1, 1939, the German armed forces commenced the attack against Poland. Two days later, Britain and France declared war against the German Reich. The fact that these governments did not also declare war against Soviet Russia, which invaded Poland on September 17, 1939 (in accord with the provisions of the German-Soviet pact of August 23, 1939), clearly shows that the British guarantee to Poland — like the British-French declaration of war against Germany — was motivated not by concern for Poland but rather was directed against Germany.

Four weeks later, Poland was shattered and the country was divided between Germany and Russia — without a single shot being fired in the West. Britain and France had done nothing for their Polish ally, and now Hitler began to plan an attack against France. At the same time, he hoped that Britain would make peace with him, while accepting the hegemony of a now-powerful Germany in eastern Europe. He believed that Britain would agree to this now that Poland was prostrate, or at the latest after a German victory over France.

After Germany's lightning victory over Poland, and before the German attack on France in May 1940, Hitler made the first of his numerous attempts to the war in the West. His peace offer of September 12, 1939, accompanied by the assurance that under his leadership Germany would never capitulate, was a feeler. It was supported by Stalin, but rejected by Chamberlain and French premier Daladier.

Only after all hopes of peace with France and Britain were dashed did Hitler order an attack against France. It commenced on May 10, 1940, and France collapsed on June 21, 1940. The Franco-German armistice was signed on June 22 in the same railway dining car in Compiègne in which the Germans had signed the humiliating armistice of November 1918.

No one had foreseen such a swift German victory over France. As a result of this stunning achievement, Hitler had made himself ruler of the continent of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Bug river [in Poland], and from the North Cape to Sicily. But Britain still stood in the way of his goal of a free hand on the continent. Accordingly, during his visit in June 1940 to the sites of Germany's successful military campaigns, Hitler once again expressed his desire to reach a comprehensive peace agreement with Britain. It was at that time that his Deputy, Rudolf Hess, decided that — if it became necessary — he would make a personal effort to achieve a vital peace with Britain.

Flight for Peace

What really happened between June 1940 and May 10, 1941, the day my father took off in a Messerschmitt 110 to Scotland, is known only in outline because the relevant British documents still remain classified. The Hess papers that were released in Britain with great fanfare in June 1992 proved to be disappointing. Among these approximately two thousand pages was absolutely nothing of real substance about the secret contacts that existed between Britain and Germany, about the British peace group (which included members of the royal family) and its peace feelers to Germany, or about the role played by the British secret service prior to the flight. In short, these papers contained nothing that would show why my father seriously hoped that his mission might well turn out successfully.

In any case, it can be said with certainty that the still-classified British documents contain nothing that will reflect badly on Rudolf Hess or the policies of the German government of that time. Moreover, it can be stated with certainty that the documents that the British government continues to keep secret will reflect badly on the wartime British government of Winston Churchill. I will go further to say that these suppressed documents confirm that Churchill sought to prolong the war, with all the suffering, destruction and death that implies.

Some may dismiss this statement as unjustified and self-serving. In this regard, I would therefore like to cite the words of a British historian who has carried out extensive research on precisely this aspect of that dreadful conflict. In *Ten Days To Destiny: The Secret Story of the Hess Peace Initiative and British Efforts to Strike a Deal with Hitler* (New York: W. Morrow, 1991) [available from the IHR], John Costello concludes that it would have been quite possible to bring the

European war to an before it turned into a world war, if only the British government had made even the slightest move to do so.

In *Ten Days To Destiny* [on pages 17 to 19], Costello writes the following revealing sentences:

Until the British government reverses current policy and releases the relevant section of its historic intelligence service archives, it may be impossible to determine whether the clandestine contacts with Germany that evidently played a part in bringing Hess to Scotland on the night of May 10 were a secret service triumph or part of a sinister peace plot that ran out of control. What is now indisputable is that the Hess mission was very far from being the “brainstorm” of Hitler’s deluded deputy that it is still being portrayed as by distinguished British historians. The documentary evidence that has now come to light [which, I might add parenthetically, is only the tip of the iceberg] shows that it was the outcome of an interlocking sequence of secret British and German peace manoeuvres that can be tracked right back to the summer of 1940. The pieces of this jigsaw puzzle are now falling into place to show that: [...]

- Hitler’s order halting the Panzer advance on Dunkirk was a carefully timed stratagem to persuade the British and French governments to seek a compromise peace.
- A majority of the [Churchill] War Cabinet had decided to trade off Gibraltar and Malta in return for keeping control of the Empire.
- An alarmed President Roosevelt secretly sought Canadian help to stop the British accepting a “soft peace” deal with Hitler.
- French leaders believed on May 24, 1940, that Britain would not fight on but accept a joint peace deal brokered by Mussolini at the of May 1940.
- Churchill — and Britain — survived only because the Prime Minister resorted to ruthless Machiavellian intrigue and a high-stakes bluff to stop a wobbly Foreign Secretary talking the War Cabinet into a peace deal engineered by R.A. Butler. When France fell, Lord Halifax’s Under Secretary actually passed a message to Berlin that “common sense and not bravado” dictated that Britain should negotiate, not fight Hitler. [...]
- Two days after Churchill had promised “we shall never surrey,” Lord Halifax and R.A. Butler signalled to Berlin via Sweden that a British peace proposal would be made after the French armistice on June 18, 1940.
- Ambassador Kennedy had been in clandestine contact with Hitler’s emissaries trying to stop the war while the British government suspected him of illegally profiting from Treasury information to make a killing in international stock and securities dealings. [...]
- The Duke of Windsor and other members of the Royal Family encouraged German expectations that peace would eventually be negotiable.
- Hess’ plan to fly to Scotland took shape in the final days of the battle for France and was encouraged in September 1940 by his discovery that Britain continued putting out peace feelers via Switzerland and Spain.
- MI5 [the British secret service] intercepted Hess’ first peace initiative and then turned it into a “double-cross” operation to snare Hess into a trap baited by the Duke of Hamilton and the British Ambassadors in Switzerland and Madrid.
- Hess’ dramatic arrival left Churchill with no choice but to bury the affair in distortion and official silence in order to protect not only the Duke of Hamilton but senior Tory colleagues who even in 1941 remained convinced that an honorable peace could be struck with Hitler.

For more than fifty years the cloak of British secrecy has clouded and distorted the record. The official histories carefully masked the roles played by the key players in the year-long effort to strike a deal with Hitler behind Churchill's back. Just how close this peace plotting came to succeeding has been concealed to protect the reputations of the British politicians and diplomats who had believed that Hitler was less of a menace to the Empire than Stalin ...

Churchill also had his own reasons for burying his wartime quarrels with other leading members of the Conservative Party. He did not want any scandal to sully the glory of his leadership during the Battle of Britain and the "white glow, overpowering and sublime, which ran through our Island from end to end."

Britain's "Finest Hour" and Churchill's own role in forging it were enshrined as one of the most illustrious chapters in British history. His visionary courage had created, by words rather than military substance, the British people's belief that, against the overwhelming odds, they could defy Hitler in 1940.

No one knows for sure whether my father undertook his flight with the knowledge and blessing of Adolf Hitler. Both men are now dead. All the available evidence, though, suggests that Hitler knew in advance of the flight:

First: Just a few days before his flight, my father had a private meeting with Hitler that lasted four hours. It is known that the two men raised their voices during portions of their talk, and that when they were finished, Hitler accompanied his Deputy to the ante-room, put his arm soothingly around his shoulder, and said: "Hess, you really are stubborn."

Second: The relationship between Hitler and Hess was so close and intimate that one can logically assume that Hess would not have undertaken such an important step in the middle of a war without first informing Hitler.

Third: Although Hess' adjutants and secretaries were imprisoned after the flight, Hitler intervened to protect Hess' family. He saw to it that a pension was paid to Hess' wife, and he sent a personal telegram of condolence to Hess' mother when her husband died in October 1941.

Fourth: Among the papers released in June 1992 by the British authorities are two farewell letters my father wrote on June 14, 1941, the day before he tried to commit suicide in Mytchett Place, in England. The letters were written after he realized that his peace mission had definitely failed. One was addressed to Hitler and the other to his family. Both clearly confirm that his close relationship with Hitler still existed. If he had undertaken his now-obviously failed mission without Hitler's prior knowledge, his relationship with Hitler clearly would no longer still have been one of trust.

And, fifth: Gauleiter Ernst Bohle, the Hess confidant and high-ranking official who had helped my father to translate some papers into English, remained convinced until his death that all this was done with Hitler's knowledge and approval.

Suppressing Historical Evidence

A general comment on the information available about my father's peace proposals is in order: During the entire forty-year period of his imprisonment in Spandau, he was prohibited from speaking openly about his mission. This "gag order" was obviously imposed because he knew things that, if publicly known, would be highly embarrassing to the British government, and possibly to the US and Soviet governments as well.

As a result, contemporary historical research remains entirely dependent on the British documents. British authorities have announced that many important documents from the Hess files will remain under lock and key until the year 2017. The entire matter was handled so secretly that no more than a handful of individuals around Churchill were really in the know. The proposals, plans or offers brought by Hess have remained secret in the archives right up to the present. As long as these documents remain secret, the world will not know the precise nature of the peace proposals that my father brought with him to present to the British government in May 1941. All this must, of course, be taken into consideration in any serious assessment of my father's historic flight.

One indication that Hess said more than is now known is contained in a note prepared on June 3, 1941, by Ralph Murray of the "Political Warfare Executive" — a top secret British government agency — for Sir Reginald Leeper, head of the secret service section of the Foreign Office. This document suggests that Secretary of State Cadogan also had a conversation with Rudolf Hess.

The purpose and context of this conversation still cannot be determined: The available information is still not complete. Nevertheless, it appears that during the course of this conversation the Deputy Führer was even more specific and detailed about his proposals than he was in some later conversations.

These were Hess' proposals:

One: Germany and Britain would reach a compromise on world-wide policy based on the status quo. That is, Germany would not attack Russia to secure German Lebensraum ["living space"].

Two: Germany would drop its claims to its former colonies, and would acknowledge British hegemony at sea. In return, Britain would acknowledge continental Europe as a German sphere of interest.

Three: The then-current relationship of military strength between Germany and Britain in the air and on the sea would be maintained. That is, Britain would not receive any reinforcements from the United States. Although there was no mention of land forces, it can be assumed that this balance of forces would be maintained in this regard as well.

Four: Germany would withdraw from "Metropolitan France" [European France] after the total disarmament of the French army and navy. German commissioners would remain in French North Africa, and German troops would remain in Libya for five years after the conclusion of peace.

Five: Within two years after the conclusion of peace, Germany would establish satellite states in Poland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Serbia. However, Germany would withdraw from Norway, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece (except for Crete, which German parachutists had taken at the of May, 1941). After some rounding-off in the East, North, West and South (Austria and Bohemia-Moravia were apparently to remain within the Reich), Germany would thus concede Britain's position in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Six: Germany would recognize Ethiopia and the Red Sea as a British sphere of influence.

Seven: The person to whom the Deputy Führer was speaking was somewhat confused about whether Italy had approved Hess' peace proposals. Hess himself said nothing about this, although points four and six would have considerably affected Italian interests.

Eight: Rudolf Hess admitted that Hitler had agreed in advance to the official “cover story” put out in Germany that he was of “unsound mind.”

This peace proposal would indeed have brought peace to the world in 1941. If Britain had negotiated with Germany on this basis, the German attack against Russia — which began less than three weeks later, on June 22, 1941 — would not have taken place, because Hitler would have obtained what he needed for survival: control of the continent. The war would have withered away on all fronts.

Instead, as we know, the war continued — bringing destruction, suffering and death on an almost unimaginable scale — because the outstretched hand of peace was rejected by Churchill and Roosevelt. The peace they sought was a Carthaginian one. Their sole war aim was the destruction of Germany.

After initial interviews with Rudolf Hess conducted by the Duke of Hamilton and Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick in Glasgow, my father was interviewed on June 9, 1941, by Lord Simon, the Lord Chancellor, and on September 9, 1941, by Lord Beaverbrook, Minister for Aircraft Production. A few days later, Beaverbrook flew to Moscow to arrange for military aid to the Soviet Union. These two interviews were motivated not by any desire for peace, but were instead merely to pry out any possible military secrets from Hess.

Nuremberg

After September 1941 my father was completely isolated. On June 25, 1942, he was transferred to Abergavenny in south Wales, where he was kept prisoner until he was flown to Nuremberg on October 8, 1945, to stand trial as a “major war criminal” and as the second-ranking defant in the so-called “International Military Tribunal.”

I will not go into detail here about this shameful “victors' trial of the vanquished,” except to note that even the Tribunal's Allied judges had to exonerate my father of the charges of “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity,” but ruled that he — the one man who had risked his life to secure peace — was guilty of “crimes against peace,” and, on that basis, sentenced him to life imprisonment! The court's treatment of Hess is alone more than enough to dismiss the Nuremberg Tribunal as a vengeful victors' kangaroo court that merely preted to be a genuine forum of justice.

Spandau Prison

Along with six Nuremberg co-defants, my father was transferred on July 18, 1947, to the grim fortress in the Spandau district of Berlin that was designated the Allied Military Prison.

The regulations under which the seven prisoners were held were so severe that even the French prison chaplain, Casalis, protested (in 1948) against their outrageous treatment. He went on to describe Spandau as a place of mental torture. In October 1952, after two years of protracted discussion between the custodial powers, the Soviets agreed to following so-called “special privileges”: One visit of thirty minutes a month. One letter a week of no more than 1,300 words. Medical attention in the prison. And, in the event of death, interment of the ashes in the prison instead of scattering in the wind.

After the release of Albert Speer and Baldur von Schirach on October 1, 1966, Rudolf Hess was the only remaining inmate. For more than twenty years, my father was the sole prisoner in a prison designed for about six hundred.

After a further revision of regulations in the early 1970s, one member of the family was permitted to visit the prisoner for one hour once a month. The prisoner was now also permitted to receive four books each month. As before, visits, letters and books were strictly censored. No reference to the events of the 1933 to 1945 period was permitted. No mention of the Tribunal's sentence, or matters related to it, was permitted. Family visits were monitored by authorities of each of the four powers, as well as by at least two guards. No physical contact — not even a handshake — was permitted. The visits took place in a special "Visitor's Room," which had a partition with an open "window."

My father was allowed to receive four daily newspapers, and after the mid-1970s, he was allowed to watch television. However, newspapers and television were censored along the lines mentioned above. My father was not permitted to watch any television news reports.

For many years my father refused visits from members of his family on the grounds that because of the conditions under which such visits were permitted, they were an offense to his honor and dignity, and were more aggravating than pleasurable. He changed his mind in November 1969, when he became severely ill and had to struggle to stay alive. Under these circumstances, and because of new conditions for visits, he agreed to a visit by my mother, Ilse Hess, and myself in the British Military Hospital in Berlin. Thus, on December 24, 1969, my mother and I visited him for the first time since my childhood. This was the only occasion when two persons were permitted to visit him at the same time.

After being returned to the Allied Military Prison in Spandau, he agreed to further visits. In the years that followed, members of the family visited Rudolf Hess 232 times altogether. Only the closest members of his family were allowed to meet with him: that is, his wife, his sister, his niece, his nephew, my wife and myself. It was forbidden to shake hands or embrace. Presents were also forbidden, even on birthdays or at Christmas.

My father's attorney, retired Bavarian state minister Dr. Alfred Seidl, was permitted to meet with his client only six times in all during the forty year period from July 1947 to August 1987. Dr. Seidl was also subjected to the strict censorship regulations: That is, he was warned before each visit that he was not allowed to discuss with his client the trial, the reasons for his imprisonment or the efforts that were being made to secure his release. The custodial Allied Governments had always refused to bear the costs for the prison. After October 1, 1966, when my father became the prison's sole prisoner, the German federal government spent around 40 million marks to run the prison. This included salaries for a staff of more than a hundred persons employed to guard and run this prison for a single elderly man.

Rudolf Hess in his Spandau prison cell. On the wall hang maps of the moon, reflecting his keen interest in astronomy.

Soviet Inklings

In 1986, Soviet policy toward the West showed obvious signs of rapprochement and détente. In spite of so many earlier failures, I decided to act on a hint received in December 1986 from the East to directly approach the Soviets to discuss with them my father's release.

In January 1987, I wrote a letter to the Soviet embassy in Bonn. For the first time in 20 years, I received a reply. Officials there suggested that I visit the Soviet embassy in East Berlin for a detailed discussion with Soviet representatives about my father's situation. We finally agreed to a

meeting at the Soviet consulate in West Berlin on March 31, 1987, at 2:00 p.m. As the embassy officials were certainly aware, this would be on the same day as my next visit with my father.

That morning, I visited my father in Spandau prison for the very last time. I found him to be mentally alert, quite up to par, but physically very weak. He could walk only when supporting himself with a cane on one side, and with help from a guard on the other. Sitting down with his feet propped on a chair had become a tedious procedure which he could not manage without help. Even though I found the temperature in the visitor's room to be quite normal, he felt cold and asked for his coat and an additional blanket.

My father opened our conversation with an interesting piece of news, the details of which he asked me to set down in writing: He had sent a new application to the heads of state of the four occupation powers, requesting release from his 46 years imprisonment. I was particularly struck by one point. He told me that he had appealed especially to the Soviet head of state to support his request with the other three custodial powers. "Did I get that right?," I asked. My father nodded. So he knew — obviously from the Russians themselves — that they were considering approving his release.

After our meeting, I drove from Spandau prison directly to the Soviet consulate. Embassy Counselor Grinin, the official I spoke with there, began by explaining that it was not the Soviet embassy in Bonn, but rather the embassy in East Berlin that was responsible for all Soviet rights and responsibilities in West Berlin. One of these responsibilities, he said — and his words deserve to be repeated verbatim — was "the unpleasant legacy of Spandau." Anyone who had inherited a legacy like the "Allied Military Prison" on German soil, as the Soviet Union had at the end of the war, Grinin said, should certainly want to get rid of it.

I had not expected any sensational outcome from this meeting. It had been a mutual sounding-out, and I believe that it came off positively for each side. It also became clear to me during the course of this meeting that there were conflicting views in Moscow about how to deal with the "Hess case." Those who were sympathetic to us, led by Secretary General Gorbachev, were clearly gaining the upper hand.

This evaluation was confirmed a short time later in a report published in the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (April 13, 1987). The article, which appeared under the headline "Will Gorbachev release Hess?," reported on a fundamental change in the attitude of the Soviet party leader toward the "Hess case." Gorbachev, it went on, took the view that the

release of Spandau's last prisoner would be an action "that would be accepted worldwide as a gesture of humanity," and which "could also be justified to the Soviet people." In this regard, the news weekly also mentioned the forthcoming visit to Moscow by federal German President Weizsäcker, which was planned to take place in mid-May.

Also on April 13, 1987, a private German citizen wrote a letter about the Hess case to the German-language service of Radio Moscow. The letter of reply, dated June 21, 1987, declared: "As can be hoped from the most recent statements of our head of government, M. Gorbachev, your long years of efforts for the release of the war criminal R. Hess will soon be crowned with success." It can be assumed with certainty that such a letter from Radio Moscow was not written without approval from above.

These three events — my reception in the Soviet consulate in West Berlin on March 31, 1987, the *Spiegel* magazine report of April 13, 1987, and the reply from Radio Moscow of June 21, 1987 — show unequivocally that the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Secretary General

Gorbachev, inted to release Rudolf Hess. This release would not only be entirely consistent with Gorbachev's policy of reconciliation, it would also be essential feature of a settlement of the remaining unresolved consequences of the Second World War, without which the reunification of Germany and Berlin would not be possible.

Death by Suicide?

If the western custodial powers had not already been aware of Gorbachev's intention, they certainly were after the publication of the Spiegel article in April. This undoubtedly set off alarm bells in Britain and the United States, since this new Soviet move would remove the last remaining legal obstacle to my father's release. For many years the British, American and French governments had said that they were ready to agree to Hess' release, but that it was only the Soviet veto that prevented it. Gorbachev's new initiative threatened to call the British and American bluff.

The authorities in London and Washington would have to find some new and more permanent way to deny Hess his freedom and keep him from speaking freely.

On Monday, August 17, 1987, a journalist informed me in my office that my father was dying. Later, at home, I received a telephone call at 6:35 p.m. from Mr. Darold W. Keane, the American director of the Spandau Prison, who informed me officially that my father had died. The official notification, which was in English, read as follows: "I am authorized to inform you that your father expired today at 4:10 p.m. I am not authorized to give you any further details."

The next morning I was on a plane to Berlin, accompanied by Dr. Seidl. When I arrived at the prison, a fairly large crowd had gathered in front. Berlin police were blocking the entrance, and we were obliged to show identification papers before we were allowed to approach the green-painted iron gate. After ringing the bell, I asked to speak with the American prison director, Mr. Keane. After quite a while, Mr. Keane finally appeared, looking extraordinarily nervous and unsure of himself. He told us that we would not be allowed inside the prison complex, and that I would not be permitted to see my dead father. He also told us that he was not able to provide any further information about details of the death. A new report with details of my father's death was allegedly being prepared, and would be made available at about 4:00 p.m. Then, after we gave him the address and telephone number of a Berlin hotel where we would be waiting for further news, he left us standing in front of the gate.

The long-expected telephone call to the hotel finally came at about 5:30 p.m. Keane said:

I will now read to you the report that we will release immediately afterwards to the press. It reads:

"Initial examination indicated that Rudolf Hess attempted to take his own life. In the afternoon of August 17, 1987, under the customary supervision of a prison guard, Hess went to a summer-house in the prison garden, where he always used to sit. When the guard looked into the summer-house a few minutes later, he discovered Hess with an electric cord around his neck. Attempts were made at resuscitation and Hess was taken to the British Military Hospital. After further attempts to revive Hess, he was declared dead at 4:10 p.m. The question of whether this suicide attempt was the cause of his death is the object of an investigation, including a thorough autopsy, which is still in progress."

Hess was a frail 93-year-old man with no strength left in his hands, who could just barely drag himself from his cell into the garden. How was he supposed to have killed himself in this way? Did he hang himself with the cord from a hook or a window latch? Or did he throttle himself? Those responsible would not immediately provide a detailed explanation about this point. We had to wait a full month for the final official statement about the circumstances of the death. It was published by the Allies on September 17, 1987, and reads as follows:

1. The Four Powers are now in a position to make the final statement on the death of Rudolf Hess.
2. Investigations have confirmed that on August 17 Rudolf Hess hanged himself from a window latch in a small summerhouse in the prison garden, using an electric extension cord which had for some time been kept in the summerhouse for use in connection with a reading lamp. Attempts were made to revive him and he was then rushed to the British Military Hospital where, after further unsuccessful attempts to revive him, he was pronounced dead at 4:10 p.m.
3. A note addressed to Hess' family was found in his pocket. This note was written on the reverse side of a letter from his daughter-in-law dated July 20, 1987. It began with the words "Please would the governors s this home. Written a few minutes before my death." The senior document examiner from the laboratory of the British government chemist, Mr. Beard, has examined this note, and concluded that he can see no reason to doubt that it was written by Rudolf Hess.
4. A full autopsy was performed on Hess' body on August 19 in the British Military Hospital by Dr. Malcolm Cameron. The autopsy was conducted in the presence of medical representatives of the four powers. The report noted a linear mark on the left side of the neck consistent with a ligature. Dr. Cameron stated that in his opinion death resulted from asphyxia, caused by compression of the neck due to suspension.
5. The investigations confirmed that the routine followed by staff on the day of Hess' suicide was consistent with normal practice. Hess had tried to cut his wrists with a table knife in 1977. Immediately after this incident, warders were placed in his room and he was watched 24 hours a day. This was discontinued after several months as impracticable, unnecessary and an inappropriate invasion of Hess' privacy.

The report of the autopsy carried out by the British pathologist Dr. Cameron on August 19 was later made available to the family. Concluding that my father's death was not due to natural causes, it was consistent with point five of the Allied final official statement.

Autopsy and Burial

On the basis of an 1982 agreement between the family and the Allies, the body of Rudolf Hess would not be burned, but instead would be turned over to the family for burial "in Bavaria quietly in the presence of his immediate family."

The Allies kept this agreement — something they have most probably since regretted emphatically. Accordingly, my father's body was turned over to the family on the morning of August 20, 1987, at the American military training grounds of Grafenw_hr, where it had arrived earlier that same morning from Berlin in a British military airplane.

The coffin was accompanied by the three Western governors and two Russians, whom I didn't know, as well as a certain Major Gallagher, chief of the so-called "Special Investigation Branch, Royal Military Police." The turnover was brief and to the point. We then immediately brought

the body to the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Munich, where Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Spann was waiting at our family's request to conduct a second autopsy. Throughout the entire journey from the military training grounds in Grafenw_ahr to the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Munich, the transport was guarded by a contingent of Bavarian police.

In the conclusion of his report of December 21, 1988, on the second autopsy, the renowned Munich pathologist Professor Spann pointed out the difficulties he encountered because he did not have any information about details of the alleged hanging. In particular, he had no information about details of the condition of my father after the supposed discovery of his body. In spite of these limitations, Dr. Spann nevertheless was able to arrive at the following remarkable conclusions:

Dr. Cameron's further conclusion that this compression was caused by suspension is not necessarily compatible with our findings ...

In forensic medicine, the course which the ligature mark takes on the neck is considered a classic indicator for differentiating between forms of hanging and throttling ... If Prof. Cameron, in his assessment of the cause of death, comes to the conclusion that the cause of death was asphyxiation caused by compression of the neck due to hanging, he neglects to consider the other method of strangulation, that is, throttling ... Making this distinction would have required an examination of the course of the ligature mark. The precise course of the mark is not given in Prof. Cameron's autopsy report ...

Here, neither the course of the strangulation mark on the neck, as we have described it, nor its course on the throat, nor its position relative to the prominence of the larynx has been described and assessed ... Since on the uninjured skin of the neck, where the possibility of distortion through the suture of the dissection incision is ruled out, an almost horizontal course of the strangulation mark could be identified, this finding, as well as the fact that the mark on the throat obviously was not located above the larynx, is more indicative of a case of throttling than of hanging. Under no circumstances can the findings be readily explained by a so-called typical hanging. The burst blood vessels which were observed in the face, caused by blood congestion, are also not compatible with typical hanging.

A Tunisian medical orderly, Abdallah Melaouhi, was a civilian employee of the Spandau prison administration at the time of my father's death. He is not a citizen of one of the four Allied occupation powers, nor, even more to the point, a member of their armed forces. As a result, he could not be silenced or transferred to some remote corner of the world like the others who were present at the scene of the crime.

After the death of my father, Melaouhi got in touch with our family. >From a note that my father wrote to him, it is clear that there was a relationship of personal trust between the two men. The core of Melaouhi's account, which he set down in an affidavit, is as follows:

When I arrived at the garden summerhouse, I found the scene looking as though a wrestling match had taken place. The ground was churned up and the chair on which Hess had usually sat lay on the ground a considerable distance from its usual location. Hess himself lay lifeless on the ground: He reacted to nothing, his respiration, pulse and heartbeat were no longer measurable. Jordan [an American guard] stood near Hess' feet and was obviously quite beside himself.

Melaouhi noticed to his surprise that besides Anthony Jordan, the Black American guard, two strangers in US military uniform were present. This was unusual, since no soldier was normally permitted access to this part of the prison, and above all, because any contact with Rudolf Hess

was most strictly forbidden. In Melaouhi's opinion, the two strangers seemed reserved and calm, in sharp contrast to Jordan.

Affidavit from South Africa

In addition to the Tunisian orderly's account, there is a further affidavit regarding the events in Spandau on August 17, 1987. My wife brought it back from South Africa, where she had met with a South African lawyer with contacts to Western secret services. I was able to persuade this man to phrase his testimony in the form of an affidavit prepared for a judge. Dated February 22, 1988, this affidavit reads as follows:

I have been questioned about the details of the death of the former German Reich Minister Rudolf Hess.

Reich Minister Rudolf Hess was killed on the orders of the British Home Office. The murder was committed by two members of the British SAS (22nd SAS Regiment, SAS Depot Bradbury Lines, Hereford, England). The military unit of the SAS [Special Air Service] is subordinated to the British Home Office — not to the Ministry of Defense. The planning of the murder as well as its direction was carried out by MI-5. The secret service action whose aim was the murder of Reich Minister Rudolf Hess was so hastily planned that it was not even given a code name, which is absolutely not customary.

Other secret services which had been privy to the plan were the American, the French and the Israeli. Neither the [Soviet] KGB nor the GRU, nor the German secret services had been informed.

The murder of Reich Minister Rudolf Hess had become necessary because the government of the USSR intended to release the prisoner in July 1987 [in connection with German President von Weizsäcker's forthcoming visit to Moscow], but President von Weizsäcker was able to negotiate an extension with the head of the Soviet government, Gorbachev, until November 1987, the next Soviet period in the guard cycle.

The two SAS men had been in Spandau prison since the night of Saturday-Sunday (August 15-16, 1987). The American CIA gave its consent to the murder on Monday (August 17, 1987).

During Reich Minister Rudolf Hess' afternoon walk, the two SAS men lay in waiting for the prisoner in the prison garden summerhouse and tried to strangle him with a 4½-foot long cable. Afterwards, a "suicide by hanging" was to be faked. But as Reich Minister Rudolf Hess put up a fight and cried for help, which alerted at least one American guard soldier to the attack, the attempt on the prisoner's life was broken off, and an ambulance of the British Military Hospital was summoned. The unconscious Reich Minister Rudolf Hess was taken to the British Hospital in the ambulance.

I was given the above information personally and verbally by an officer of the Israeli service on Tuesday, August 18, 1987, at around 8.00 a.m., South African time. I have known this member of the Israeli service both officially and personally for four years. I am completely satisfied that he was sincere and honest and I have no doubt whatsoever as to the truth of his information. The absolutely confidential nature of his conversation with me is also beyond doubt.

Next to Cameron's misleading autopsy report, the British themselves provided the most decisive clue in solving the mysterious death in the garden summerhouse of Spandau prison.

Suicide Note?

As already mentioned, I was told on August 17, 1987, only that my father had died. It wasn't until the next day that I learned that he had supposedly committed suicide. In response to doubts I quickly expressed publicly about this supposed suicide, the Allies were prompted to discover, on August 19, 1987, a supposedly incontrovertible "proof" of suicide. This is the so-called "suicide note." It is an undated hand-written letter on the back of the family's next-to-the-last letter to Rudolf Hess, dated July 20, 1987. The text of this supposed "suicide note" is as follows:

Please would the Governors s this home. Written a few minutes before my death.

I thank you all, my beloved, for all the dear things you have done for me. Tell Freiburg I am extremely sorry that since the Nuremberg trial I had to act as though I didn't know her. I had no choice, because otherwise all attempts to gain freedom would have been in vain. I had so looked forward to seeing her again. I did get pictures of her, as of you all. Your Eldest.

Wolf R. Hess alone with his father for the first time since 1941.

This letter was handed to the family more than a month after the death. We were told that it first had to be examined in a British laboratory.

While it did seem to be my father's handwriting (although considerably distorted, as it was whenever he was suffering as a result of emotional upheaval, health problems or even medication), this "note" did not reflect the thinking of Rudolf Hess in 1987. Rather, it reflected thoughts of his some twenty years earlier. The content mainly concerns "Freiburg," his one-time private secretary, about whom he had been concerned in 1969 when he had a perforated ulcer in the duodenum and was near death. Moreover, it was signed with an expression, "Your Eldest," that he not used for about 20 years.

There is another clue in the letter's text that indicates its date. The phrase, "I did get pictures of her, as of you all," would have made sense only during the period before Christmas 1969, because until that Christmas he received nothing but photographs of "Freiburg" and us. As of Christmas 1969, he was visited by members of his family, and received more pictures from "Freiburg," who was not allowed to visit him. Considering the precise way my father expressed himself, this sentence can only have been written before December 24, 1969. Written in August 1987, this sentence makes no sense at all.

Finally, the brief letter's opening words, "Written a few minutes before my death," cannot be reconciled with his precise manner of expressing himself. If he had really written this letter before a planned suicide, he would most certainly have chosen a phrase specifying suicide, such as "shortly before my voluntary withdrawal from life" or something similar, but not the ambiguous word "death," which leaves open any possible method of death.

We, the members of his family who knew not only my father's handwriting but the writer himself, and who were intimately familiar with his concerns during his final years, know that this supposed "suicide note" is a hoax as crude as it is malicious.

It can now be concluded that a "farewell letter" written by my father almost twenty years earlier in expectation of his death, and which was not handed over to the family at that time, was used to produce this 1987 forgery. For this purpose, the text was transformed by some modern means onto the back of a letter my father had received recently from us. The censorship stamp "Allied Prison Spandau," which normally appeared, without exception, on every piece of incoming paper

he received for more than 40 years, was conspicuously absent from our letter to him of July 20, 1987. Finally, the supposed suicide note bore no date, which was contrary to my father's routine practice of always prefacing whatever he wrote with the date. The original date had obviously been omitted.

Murder, Not Suicide

On the basis of Prof. Spann's autopsy report, the affidavits of the Tunisian medical orderly and the South African attorney, as well as the supposed "suicide letter," I can only conclude that the death of Rudolf Hess on the afternoon of August 17, 1987, was not suicide. It was murder.

Although US authorities were officially in charge of the Allied Military Prison in Berlin-Spandau in August 1987, it is noteworthy that British citizens played such a major role in the final act of the Hess drama. The American director, Mr. Keane, was permitted by the British merely to call me and inform me of my father's death. After that his only duty was to keep his mouth shut.

To sum up here:

- The two men the Tunisian orderly Melaouhi saw in American uniform, who were most probably Rudolf Hess' murderers, were from a British SAS regiment.
- The death was established in the British Military Hospital, to where my father was brought in a British ambulance.
- The death certificate is signed only by British military personnel.
- The autopsy was carried out by a British Pathologist.
- The British prison director, Mr. Antony Le Tissier, supervised the prompt destruction of all tell-tale evidence, such as the electric cable, the garden house, and so forth.
- The officials of the Special Investigation Branch (SIB) that investigated the death were all British citizens, and were headed by a British major.
- The alleged "suicide note" was supposedly found two days later in the pocket of Hess' jacket by a British officer, and was examined by a British laboratory.
- Mr. Allan Green, the British Director of Public Prosecution, halted an investigation into my father's death begun by Scotland Yard, which had recommended a "full scale murder investigation" after officials there had found many inconsistencies.

Rudolf Hess did not commit suicide on August 17, 1987, as the British government claims. The weight of evidence shows instead that British officials, acting on high-level orders, murdered my father.

A Crime Against Truth

The same government, which tried to make him a scapegoat for its crimes, and which for almost half a century resolutely sought to suppress the truth of the Hess affair, finally did not shrink from murder to silence him. My father's murder was not only a crime against a frail and elderly man, but a crime against historical truth. It was a logical final act of an official British conspiracy that began in 1941, at the outset of the Hess affair.

But I can assure them, and you, that this conspiracy will not succeed. The murder of my father will not, as they hope, forever close the book on the Hess file.

I am convinced that history and justice will absolve my father. His courage in risking his life for peace, the long injustice he ured, and his martyrdom, will not be forgotten. He will be vindicated,

and his final words at the Nuremberg trial, “I regret nothing!,” will stand forever.

Thomas Jefferson's Place in History

Martin A. Larson

In a recent *Washington Post* article, “Thomas Jefferson, Tarnished Icon?” (Oct. 17, 1992), staff writer Joel Achenbach subtly and snidely sought to dethrone Thomas Jefferson from the pinnacle on which he is so rightly enshrined.

“Among professional historians, Jefferson’s stock has sunk in the last generation, and it has a lot to do with race and slavery,” said historian Peter Onuf at a recent conference at the University of Virginia. In the harsh view of Paul Finkelman, another historian who is quoted here with apparent approval, Jefferson was a “pathetic” racist, and “a profligate, undisciplined spender” who “could not live without slaves. Too self-indulgent to manage carefully his own lands and his life, he relied upon slaves, as a source of ready capital, selling scores of them to support his habits and pleasures.” In Finkelman’s opinion, Jefferson was “the arch traitor” against “the hopes of the world.”

Jefferson authored the Declaration of Independence, and then served as US minister to France, governor of Virginia, secretary of state, vice president, and president of the United States. During his decades of public service, he received no compensation above actual expenses. His duties required him to be away from his home so much that he fell into debt, and was able to save his home only with the generous help of friends. When he retired from the presidency in 1809, the legislature of Virginia, his native state, paid tribute to him in a resolution that declared:

We have to thank you for the model of an administration conducted on the purest principles of republicanism; for ... patronage discarded; internal taxes abolished; a host of superfluous officers disbanded; ... more than thirty-three millions of debt discharged; ... and, without the guilt or calamities of conquest, [for] a vast and fertile region added to our country ... These are points in your administration which the historian will not fail to seize, to expand, and teach posterity to dwell upon with delight.

It would take a small book merely to list and describe the blessings he conferred upon America and its people. For example, as president he abolished the internal revenue tax system established by Alexander Hamilton, reduced taxes by fifty percent, and paid off nearly half of the national debt in eight years. Contrast this with what has been and still is being done in Washington!

Jefferson’s interests were always for the welfare of the country and its citizens. Even today, though, there are dishonest individuals and various special interests who hate anyone who shares his ideals. Jefferson once said that he was assailed by so many enemies that if he were to answer them all, he would not have time for anything else. Instead, he declared, he would let judgment of him and his record be made by the people — who responded by electing him to a second term in a landslide. Later generations have similarly shown their appreciation by erecting in his honor one of the most magnificent memorials to be found in our capital.

Concerning the thorny issue of slavery, Jefferson wrote: “Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these [black] people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live under the same government.” He did not mean that the two races could not somehow co-exist, but rather that they could not live together in peace and harmony.

History has born out the truth of his observation. Since the abolition of slavery, the two races have co-existed in an uneasy state of mutual suspicion and animosity, in spite of the enormous efforts and vast sums spent by white America on behalf of blacks. Black urban areas have degenerated into crime-ridden slums, periodically torn apart by riots. Jefferson proposed that all young blacks, with their children, should be transported from the United States and set up in comfort in a faraway land, probably in Africa. If his proposal had been implemented, this country would have been spared the terrible Civil War, and perhaps other calamities.

Jefferson regarded slavery as an unparalleled iniquity. For this he strongly criticized Britain’s rulers, who fostered the slave trade in large part to discourage emigration to America of their own starving unemployed.

Washington Post writer Achenbach could not deny himself the pleasure of bringing up the tired old accusation that Jefferson took a black slave, Sally Hemings, as a mistress. In fact, there is not the slightest shred of evidence of such a liaison, or that Jefferson was the father of any of her children.

Commenting on lies and calumnies about him that were being published in newspapers at the time, he wrote in 1807: “As for myself, conscious that there was not a truth on earth which I feared, should it be known, I have lent myself willingly as a subject of a great experiment, which was to prove” that the calumnies of a licentious press could not batter down one who had led a blameless life and had nothing to hide.

The Sally Hemings Myth

[Mark Weber](#)

Probably the most notorious accusation against Thomas Jefferson is the persistent allegation that he secretly took a mulatto slave named Sally Hemings (or Hemmings) as a mistress, and fathered several children by her.

The charge was first made in September 1802 (during Jefferson's first term as president) by a Scottish immigrant named James T. Caller, an embittered alcoholic and hypochondriac. Writing in a Richmond newspaper, Caller cited no evidence for his accusation, merely claiming that it was "well known." On later occasions he changed details about how the affair allegedly began and the number of children supposedly produced by it.

To those who knew Jefferson, his high moral standards and his deep devotion to his dead wife's memory, the entire story was absurd and contemptible. Nevertheless, it soon gained widespread circulation and many believers. Today it is occasionally given credence by black or leftist academics.

Jefferson never replied publicly to the charge. In a letter to a friend in June 1816, he wrote, "I should have fancied myself half guilty had I condescended to put pen to paper in refutation of their falsehoods, or drawn to them respect by any notice from myself." Years later his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, maintained that Sally's children were fathered by a nephew of Thomas Jefferson named Peter Carr, thus suggesting an additional reason for his silence.

Serious scholars of Jefferson's life reject the Hemings story. University of Virginia professor Merrill D. Peterson, a prominent Jefferson specialist, commented in his comprehensive biography of the third president: "... It is difficult to imagine him caught up in a miscegenous relationship. Such a mixture of the races, such a ruthless exploitation of the master-slave relationship, revolted his whole being." (Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 707.)

Canadian Reflections on the Zündel and Irving Cases

Doug Collins

On August 27, Canada's Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional the law under which German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel was convicted for publishing a Revisionist booklet about the Holocaust. In a four-three decision, the judges ruled that the "false news" law under which he was convicted violates the freedom-of-speech provisions of Canada's Charter of Rights, and is thus unconstitutional. (For more on this, see the October 1992 IHR Newsletter.)

The following columns appeared in the September 2 and November 11 issues of the North Shore News of North Vancouver, British Columbia, and are reprinted here with permission.

— The Editor

The Zündel Affair: A National Legal Disgrace

"What sort of truth is it that needs protection?"

-- Auberon Waugh Pardon me if I glow a little, but it's nice to have been right in the Ernst Zündel affair. I refer to the Supreme Court of Canada decision that ditched a stupid and dangerous law.

The court cast a blow for freedom and delivered a bang in the snout to the Jewish groups that set this "false news" nonsense going; also to the politicians who bowed to their demands in laying charges.

Few come out of this miserable affair with credit. Not a single MP questioned the matter in Parliament, and I saw only two token editorials that took issue with the wisdom of prosecuting the man. One was in the Toronto Star, the other in the [Toronto] Globe and Mail. And as I told you in 1988, Jewish pressure achieved a virtual news blackout on what was being said in court in the second trial.

The whole affair bordered on farce, Zündel's "crime" having been that he distributed a pamphlet called Did Six Million Really Die? He didn't even write the thing. But in jumped complainant Sabina Citron of the Holocaust Remembrance Society, and we were off on the false news far-rago.

That was in 1984, an appropriate year, and Zündel was to go through seven courts. His lawyer, Doug Christie, estimated that the cost to the public purse has been at least \$5 million. In 1985, I gave evidence for the defense because to me it seemed absurd that anyone could be hauled into court for such ridiculous reasons.

The “spreading false news” law should never have been dragged out of the historical gunnysack. It was pure politics. False news? Santa Claus speaks false news, I told the court. So does the weatherman. Today and every day, politicians spread false news. So do the media and academe. Heck, I have even spread some false news myself. Nobody’s perfect.

Still, I am proud to have spoken for common sense in one of the most disgraceful prosecutions in Canadian legal history. But where were all those yackety-yack members of the freedom-loving media gang when they were needed? I shouldn’t ask. These days it is much easier to bash the Pope than to oppose the most powerful pressure group in the country.

The man who comes out of this with the greatest credit is Mr. Christie, who never gave up even in the face of vilification. It takes guts to keep going for years in an unpopular issue of this sort. Most lawyers would have withdrawn. He mounted effective challenges and even dared to tell the Ontario Court of Appeal that the judge in the first trial was biased. As I wrote at the time, Judge Hugh Locke’s attitude to Christie remind me of Capt. Bligh bawling at Fletcher Christian in the “Mutiny on the Bounty” movie.

But the lawyer had the last laugh when the appeal court accepted his submission that the judge had been wrong on 16 points of law. Hence the second trial.

Political correctness having saturated so much of our society, I doubted that the Supreme Court would rule in Zündel’s favor, and in fact the decision turned on one vote.

However, a speech given by Mr. Justice John Sopinka last April provided a straw in the wind. “Certain segments of society who are justifiably seeking equality for their particular interests have exted their demands so far that they threaten the freedom of others,” he said. “They not only criticize the expression of views that do not accord with their own, but demand that contrary views be suppressed.”

If freedom of speech has received a bit of a fillip we owe it not to Canadian liberals but to a German who salutes the late Adolf Hitler. A pox on Hitler. But supporting tyrants, fools and saints — and spreading false news — is what freedom is speech is all about.

Let us remember, too, that there are plenty of people who made a profession of spreading false news on Joe Stalin’s behalf. Did anyone chase them into court for denying there was a holocaust in the Ukraine?

Jewish organizations are now demanding the Zündel be charged under the hate laws. But the reason he was charged for “false news” was that he couldn’t be got under the hate laws. And what about the Anglo-Saxon rule of double jeopardy under which a person must not be tried twice for the same crime?

Eight years of prosecution-persecution aren’t enough for some people. Hatred is not confined.

Something to Remember

This being Remembrance Day [in Canada], let’s remember that whereas Nazi Germany was a fully fledged police state, Canada is in danger of becoming a partly fledged police state. What else can be said when a “controversial author” to whom Jewish groups object is barred from the country?

What else can be said when eight armed policemen descend on a private meeting, slap handcuffs on the speaker and haul him off to jail, informing the audience that the place is surrounded and that they should stay where they are? Were the cops after Jesse James? Had Clifford Olson escaped from prison?

No, the target was a writer who says that something didn't happen. Or that if it did happen, it has been grossly exaggerated. Like the Holocaust.

And what else can be said when most of the media not only accept all this but join in the witch hunt?

I refer to the David Irving affair.

Typical was the reaction of a blockhead editorialist on the Vancouver Province who wrote that the incident was nothing more than an immigration matter. And good riddance, Mr. Irving. He also wrote that no country in the world has more freedom of speech than Canada.

Somebody must have been smoking something. From start to finish, the Irving affair was politics in which the theme was set by Jewish organizations who insist that their version of history is the only one, and you question it at your peril.

It started with a demand that Irving be barred from the country. Then, when he attempts to obey an immigration department order to leave the country, he is denied entry to the United States. Why? My guess is that the Canadian Jewish Congress asked the ever more powerful American Jewish Congress for a spot of help.

Doug Collins was born in the United Kingdom. In 1939 he volunteered for the British army, and while serving as an infantry sergeant was captured at Dunkirk in 1940. He escaped from German and Hungarian prisoner of war camps. After release from Romania in 1944, he served again with British forces in Europe until the end of the war. He served as a political intelligence officer with the British control commission in Germany, 1946-1950. He migrated to Canada in 1952.

Collins' career in journalism has included work in newspaper, television and radio, both as a reporter and commentator. He has worked for several Canadian daily newspapers, including the Calgary Herald, the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Sun.

For a time he hosted an open-line radio talk show. Since 1983, he has written a popular and controversial column for the North Shore News (North Vancouver, British Columbia). Collins has been honored with Canada's National Newspaper Award (1953), and the MacMillan Bloedel Award (1975).

He is the author of several books, including the memoir, *POW: A Soldier's Story of His Ten Escapes from Nazi Prison Camps* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), *Immigration: Parliament versus the People* (1986) and *The Best and Words of Doug Collins* (1988).

Collins spoke on freedom of speech and the Zündel case at the Tenth IHR Conference (1990). His presentation was published in the Fall 1991 Journal.

For Irving had been in the US dozens of times without giving any trouble or getting any. But this time it was claimed he didn't have the right kind of visa. So thanks to a little hands-across-the-border work, Irving could not leave Canada and was in the slammer again. That way, he was liable to being officially deported, which would mean that he could never return.

Consider now what has happened elsewhere on the Canadian immigration front where undesirables are concerned — if indeed there are any undesirables apart from controversial authors.

Remember Menachem Begin, the Jewish terrorist? He must have been a desirable undesirable because he often visited Canada on fundraising tours. Wanna visa, Menachem? No problem. Yet Begin had been leader of the murderous Irgun Zvai Leumi gang. Among his more notable exploits was the 1948 Deir Yassin massacre of 254 Arab women, children and old men. Plus the blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, complete with occupants.

Remember Nelson Mandela? In the 1960s his plan was to blow up half of Johannesburg. Released from jail, he gets to Ottawa, is cheered by Parliament and is given \$5 million (US) for his splendid cause by a groveling Mulroney. Your money of course.

Liars, crooks, thugs and killers pour into this country by the planeload, and have been doing so for years. Only a couple of weeks ago the CBC [television] program, *The Fifth Estate*, did a copper-bottomed hour on the murderers and thugs from Somalia who are now enjoying Canadian hospitality.

What came through with depressing clarity was that the immigration department just wasn't interested in tossing those people out. You think we are racists or something? No eight-armed policemen descending on supper tables for them!

Confronted with the facts, Minister of Immigration Bernard Valcourt looked like a complete idiot.

Against all that, we see Dangerous David ordered out of the country double-quick. Great stuff, Bernard. And by the way, did you find a load of dynamite in his suitcase?

Irving's views should be a matter for discussion, not Keystone cops chases. For the record, I too do not believe in the six million story (which is not to say that dreadful things did not happen). And I disagree with Irving on quite a lot, especially his hostile view of Churchill and his less-than-hostile view of Hitler.

But what cannot be denied is that he is an outstanding writer and researcher. When the "Hitler diaries" were produced, he denounced them as fakes even though they had been pronounced genuine by Nazi-period expert Hugh Trevor-Roper, Regius Professor of History at Oxford University. And Irving was right.

Doug Collins addresses the Tenth IHR Conference (1990), in Washington, DC.

More recently, the Sunday Times hired him to decipher and translate the Goebbels' Diaries. Before that he had discovered the Eichmann papers. And his books on the Nazi leaders are masterpieces of digging. So isn't there just a teeny-weeny possibility that he's right about the six million?

Whether he's right or wrong, Canada is engaging in the equivalent of book-burning. In Hades, Dr. Goebbels must be having quite a laugh. Something to remember on Remembrance Day.

Holocaust Survivor Finds 'Exterminated' Brother through Appearance with Revisionists on the Montel Williams Show

For fifty years, Holocaust survivors Ernest Hollander and his brother Alex thought that their older brother, Zoltan, had been executed by the Germans in 1944. And for half a century, Zoltan thought that both his two brothers had been killed by the Germans during the war. But thanks to Ernest Hollander's appearance with Revisionists Mark Weber and David Cole last April on the Montel Williams Show, the long-lost brothers were reunited in San Francisco in late October.

Along with Weber and Cole, Ernest Hollander, 67, appeared with his wife, Anna (a survivor of Auschwitz), and another Jewish Holocaust survivor, Dr. Michael Thaler, on the nationally syndicated Montel Williams Show, which was broadcast April 30 on about 60 television stations around the country. (For more on this broadcast, see the IHR Newsletter, May 1992, p. 3, and October 1992, p. 4.)

A few years after the war, Ernest had been told by a friend that he had personally witnessed Zoltan's execution in 1944 by German soldiers, who supposedly hanged him from a tree. But a migrant from Serbia who lives in Brooklyn, and who happened to be watching the broadcast, instantly recognized Ernest on the screen as the "spitting image" of a friend he had known in Serbia, Zoltan "Hershe" Hollander.

According to Ernest, his brother fought against the Germans until the end of the war, but the Soviets thought he was a pro-German spy and sent him to Siberia for ten years, where he worked on roads and in factories. "You can use the worst word in the dictionary to describe what the Russians did to him," says Ernest.

After he was finally released by the Soviets and returned home, Yugoslav authorities — Ernest says — accused Zoltan of having been a Soviet spy, and mistreated him.

While Ernest Hollander and his relatives living here in the United States believed for fifty years that Zoltan had perished as yet another "victim of the Holocaust," Zoltan, for his part, believed for half a century that his entire family had perished in the war. He did not know that his two brothers — Ernest and Alex — were living in northern California, or that he had scores of relatives in the United States, Canada and Britain, including ten living in the United States whom he believed had perished in the Holocaust.

"This man has come back from the dead. We thought he had been dead for fifty years," Ernest says of his brother. "I found a brother, but he found two brothers, uncles and aunts, nieces and nephews — a city of people," adds Ernest, who calls their reunion "the greatest miracle since Moses crossed the sea."

Williams appropriately called the session with Weber and Cole "a celebration of truth."

In a front-page report on this happy reunion, the Northern California Jewish Bulletin (Oct. 16) commented that the Hollander family “will in a sense get to rewrite their history — a painful irony given that the topic of the show on which Ernest appeared was Holocaust revisionism.”

A special session of the Montel Williams Show featuring the reunited Hollander brothers was broadcast on November 17. On that occasion, host Williams reported that he had been deluged with complaints about the April broadcast with Weber and Cole, including threats of law suits by Jewish organizations for daring to permit the two Revisionists to appear.

Although Ernest ungratefully refers to Weber and Cole as “bums,” it is ironic that if it had not been for the willingness of these Revisionists to re-examine supposedly undebatable “truth,” this “miraculous” reunion would not have taken place. As we go to press, Weber and Cole have received no expression of appreciation from any Hollander family member for their role in bringing together the long-lost brothers.

Official US Holocaust Museum To Open in April in Washington, DC

After several delays, the largest and costliest Holocaust Museum anywhere is finally scheduled to open in Washington, DC, in April 1992. The “United States Holocaust Memorial Museum” will be formally dedicated on April 22, and will open to the public on April 26.

Major political figures will attend the formal dedication ceremony. President Bill Clinton has been invited to speak. (As we go to press, he has not yet responded to the invitation.) Newspaper and television journalists from across the United States and many foreign countries will also be present.

The Museum is being built on federal government land by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, a taxpayer-funded federal government agency created by Congress in 1980.

Museum construction costs are being covered by donations. So far more than \$130 million has been pledged — almost all of it from wealthy Jewish donors.

The US Holocaust Memorial Council and its friends in the media have been unable to generate widespread support for the Museum project.

In 1980, the Congress limited the budget of the Holocaust Council to \$2.5 million. But ever generous with the people’s money, the Congress later went far beyond this figure, and has since appropriated \$33 million above the originally authorized amount.

Last June, the Congress voted an additional \$18.3 million in taxpayer money to fund the US Holocaust Memorial Council for fiscal year 1993. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that for the fiscal years 1994 to 2000, the Council will receive \$15.4 million tax dollars annually (adjusted for inflation). The taxpayer bill for the Holocaust Museum between 1993 and 2000 will easily amount to at least \$110 million. (Congressional Record - House, June 16, 1992, pp. H 4742-4744.)

Remarkably, the Holocaust Museum’s operating budget is expected to exceed that of the nearby Air and Space Museum, the most visited museum in the world, and will be seven times the operating cost of the Lincoln, Jefferson and Washington memorials combined.

As numerous public opinion polls reflect, most Americans deeply resent having tens of millions of their tax dollars spent on such special-interest projects, particularly at a time of astronomical federal budget deficits.

The US Holocaust Museum will “memorialize” non-Americans persecuted by other non-Americans. If any new Memorial is really appropriate in the nation’s capital, though, it should be dedicated to the memory of dead Americans.

Over the years, Zionist groups, the US government and the major media have applauded the ritual atonement by Germany (and Germany's wartime allies) for the mistreatment, both real and imagined, of European Jews. The Holocaust lobby has insisted that Germany (and other European countries) must atone forever for wartime persecution of Jews.

If this expression of collective guilt is right and proper, then it should be no less appropriate for Americans to collectively atone for the mistreatment of American Indians, or Black slavery.

It is likewise noteworthy that there is no comparable memorial museum in the United States for the victims of Communism even though, as historians acknowledge, the victims of Soviet dictator Stalin alone vastly outnumber those of Hitler.

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum is a pseudo-religious monument to the enormous power and influence of a small minority, and to the venal corruption of the politicians who appropriated the people's money to finance it.

Revisionist activists around the country are expressing interest in making sure that the occasion of the April 22 dedication ceremony is used to express the outrage of America's "silent majority" at this outrageous misuse of their money.

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From the editor

“My goal in this war,” thundered Winston Churchill in his widely-quoted speech of May 13, 1940, “is victory, victory at all costs.” As history records, the cost was very high indeed.

As a consequence of his policies, Britain did not win the Second World War. It merely ended up on the same side as the powers that did: the Soviet Union and the United States. Worse, British “victory” helped insure the survival of the most loathsome tyranny of our century, Stalin’s Soviet Russia, and the extension of its odious power over half of Europe.

We begin this issue with a report on the storm of controversy unleashed by a recently-published biography of Churchill. Adding to the work of Francis Neilson, David Irving and other revisionist historians, this book by a British scholar of the postwar generation represents yet another powerful blow to the durable Churchill legend.

For those who have been looking for a well-done videotape that clearly and persuasively presents the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story, the search is now over.

In our next feature, Associate Editor Greg Raven tells about the stunning new video by David Cole, a brave and talented young Revisionist activist and film-maker. Particularly eye-opening is Cole’s interview with Dr. Piper, Senior Curator of the Polish government’s Auschwitz State Museum. On camera, he readily acknowledges that claims made to hundreds of thousands of tourists annually about the camp’s “gas chamber” are false. (If Piper has not yet begun to feel the fury of the Holocaust lobby for permitting this interview, he certainly will soon. He’d be well advised to update his résumé.)

We next present Cole’s address at last October’s IHR Conference, in which he wittily tells about his visit to Auschwitz and his interview with Dr. Piper, and expresses the confident hope that Revisionist truth can defeat Holocaust lies during the forthcoming decade, if each of us resolves to do our part.

For eleven years, Holocaust personality Mel Mermelstein waged a determined campaign to shut down the Institute for Historical Review and this Journal. In this mission, he enjoyed enthusiastic support from a good part of the media. A motion picture tribute to his campaign, “Never Forget,” was broadcast nationwide in April 1991 over the TNT cable television network.

Few of the many people who viewed “Never Forget,” or who read any of the many newspaper and magazine articles in praise of Mermelstein, will ever learn that the Holocaust personality’s campaign has now — at long last — ended in humiliating defeat for Mermelstein, and unequivocal victory for the IHR.

In this issue, we are pleased to report (briefly) on the gratifying outcome of this costly ordeal, which came close to ruining the IHR. Theodore J. O’Keefe will provide a full account of the

Mermelstein case — sprinkled with his usual piquant humor — in a future issue.

In our next feature, best-selling British historian David Irving tells — in his typically engaging way — the story of the diaries of Hitler's propaganda minister, Dr. Goebbels, and the little-known postwar memoir of Adolf Eichmann, the SS officer in charge of the wartime deportations of European Jews. As we have reported, Irving's role in bringing to light the long-suppressed Goebbels diaries from the Moscow archives generated enormous international attention last summer.

It's perhaps worth mentioning here that Germany's harsh wartime treatment of Jews in the occupied Soviet territories — a matter that Irving touches on in his address — can be fully understood only within the context of the extraordinarily barbarous war that was being fought on the Eastern front, a conflict all the more brutal because it pitted two regimes with the most diametrically opposed ideologies.

For one thing, immediately after the German attack against the Soviet Union in June 1941, Stalin ordered all Soviet citizens to engage in a ruthless partisan war against the occupiers. In practice this meant outright murder, not only of German and other Axis soldiers and officials, but of local people who worked with the occupation authorities. Moreover (and as a number of Jewish Holocaust historians proudly relate), Soviet Jews were particularly active in the ruthless campaign.

This entire subject — and particularly the role of the Einsatzgruppen special security police units — deserves more detailed treatment. While we intend to do just that in a future issue, for now readers are referred to a portion of an essay by me in the Winter 1989-90 Journal (pp. 398-403), and a part of an essay by Dr. Faurisson in the Spring 1986 Journal (pp. 28-29).

In a number of European countries today, anyone who openly expresses doubt about the Holocaust extermination story runs the risk of trial and punishment, including heavy fines and imprisonment. As we report in this issue, nowhere is the situation worse than in France, where Dr. Robert Faurisson — a good friend of the IHR since its founding — and other Revisionists are victims of a legal assault against freedom of speech.

In Germany as well, expressions of doubt about the official Holocaust story are treated as crimes.

One of the most prominent recent victims of this campaign is the highly decorated retired army general (and 1987 IHR Conference speaker) Otto-Ernst Remer. As we report here, in October a German court sentenced the 80-year-old Remer to 22 months imprisonment for publishing articles critical of the "official" Holocaust extermination story.

As we report elsewhere in this issue, another German court recently ordered David Irving to pay \$18,000 for telling a German audience in 1990 that the "gas chamber" shown to tourists in Auschwitz is phony.

Once again, it is worth stressing the hypocritical, even shameful, silence on the part of the American media — and this country's normally so vociferous guardians of free speech — to all this. For our part, we regard it as our duty to continue to provide the most detailed coverage anywhere in the United States on this modern day inquisition.

As we reported in our last issue, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum will be formally dedicated and opened in Washington, DC, in late April. In this issue, we tell more about this official US government memorial, and explain why even Americans who may entirely accept the Holocaust extermination story are justified in opposing the Museum.

We encourage readers who object to this pseudo-religious monument to misguided priorities and self-serving power to join other Americans who will voice their opposition at a public demonstration in Washington, DC, on April 22. (For further information, contact: Mr. Kirk Lyons, P. O. Box 1237, Black Mountain, NC 28711.)

Our next feature is by Dr. Martin Larson, a charter member of our Editorial Advisory Committee and an acknowledged expert on the history of religion. Referring to his own years of research and writing on this issue, and taking account of the Dead Sea Scrolls, he presents his view that Christianity has important roots in a dissident Jewish religious sect known as the Essenes.

Since the founding of the United States, the most perplexing issue and daunting social dilemma facing our nation has always been race. In an acclaimed new book, *Paved With Good Intentions*, American writer Jared (Samuel) Taylor takes a refreshingly straightforward look at this difficult and emotion-charged issue. Our detailed review of his carefully researched critique of the failure of America's racial policy reflects the broader focus of the "new" Journal. (See also Taylor's provocative essay on "multiculturalism" in the Summer 1992 Journal.)

Few Americans — including many who consider themselves well-informed — fully realize just how slanted US news coverage of the seemingly endless and apparently intractable Israel-Palestine problem really is. A remarkable new reference work by Palestinian diplomat-historian Issa Nakhleh, *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, provides a valuable antidote to the institutionalized bias of the media on this often perplexing issue.

We are pleased to present a fascinating introduction of Nakhleh's admirable reference work by historian Robert John, a seasoned observer of the Middle East scene. (Incidentally, both Dr. John and Mr. Nakhleh have addressed IHR conferences.)

Finally, we wrap up this issue with a selection of readers' letters. While we have always encouraged thoughtful commentary and criticism, we intend to make sure that the Journal's letters section is a regular forum for comment and critique, and for a lively exchange of views.

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New Biography Assails Churchill's War Record

Revisionist Work Sets Off Heated Debate

'A Slaughterhouse for Sacred Cows'

A new revisionist biography of Winston Churchill, which contends that Britain would be better off today if the wartime prime minister had made peace with Hitler, has touched off a furious debate about the legacy of Britain's most revered 20th-century personality and other fundamental questions of the Second World War.

In *Churchill: The End of Glory*, British historian John Charmley argues that Churchill was so blindly bent on battlefield glory that he ignored realistic opportunities to make peace with Hitler, and by doing so bankrupted his country, lost the British empire, and insured his nation's inexorable decline.

The 37-year-old Charmley, who calls himself "the first historian to come to Churchill without the baggage of memories," says:

We are the first generation to view him only as an historical figure. I wanted to clean the varnish off the portrait, so to speak, to look in closer detail at the man, warts and all.

He remains a great man by definition, but great men always leave a fertile heritage. Oliver Cromwell apart, I believe no other great Englishman has bequeathed so sterile a legacy.

Dr. Charmley, currently on leave from the University of East Anglia, is serving at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, where, ironically, he holds the professorial chair dedicated to Churchill's memory.

'Only One Purpose'

Charmley maintains that Churchill, whose belligerence and lapses of judgment were already well known before he became Prime Minister in May 1940, displayed these same faults as a wartime leader. Contrary to his image as a farsighted statesman, Churchill was actually preoccupied with "short- and medium-term con-siderations," writes Charmley.

"I have only one purpose," Churchill himself explained during the 1940-41 period, "the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby." In blindly pursuing this "one purpose," writes Charmley, the simplistic British leader condemned hundreds of thousands — if not millions — to death and suffering, financially ruined Britain, and ensured the survival of the Soviet tyranny. Churchill's fanatic determination to continue a war that Britain had no possible chance

of winning alone inevitably bankrupted the country, shattered its social order, and reduced it to a second-rate power.

Stopping just short of saying that Churchill should have concluded peace with Hitler, Charmley maintains that the British leader missed his best opportunity to change the course of history for the better in June 1941, when Hitler invaded Soviet Russia. This was a golden opportunity, Charmley contends, “to rethink priorities and foreign policy” and to quietly disengage British troops from the hopeless battle with Hitler, leaving Russia and Germany to fight to the death. In Charmley’s words:

... The world’s two nastiest dictators would have faced each other like two great overweight heavyweight boxers. The “victor” would have been either Russia or Germany, and they would have been so shattered by the effort that they would not have been in a position to threaten anyone.

In this scenario, Charmley argues, the United States would not have intervened in the European conflict, and Britain’s power would have continued only slightly abated.

Instead, Churchill immediately threw in with Stalin and committed Britain to a military alliance with the Soviet Communist regime.

Summing up, Charmley writes:

That Churchill was a great man cannot be doubted, but his flaws, too, were on the same heroic scale as the rest of the man ... At the end of the war he was, once again, faced with what looked like an attempt by one power to dominate the Continent, an odd result for so much expenditure of treasure and manpower... His thinking on foreign and domestic policy was stuck firmly in the past.

Surveying the situation in 1945 it was hard to argue that Britain had won in any sense save that of avoiding defeat ... Churchill stood for the British Empire, for British independence and for an “anti-socialist” vision. By July 1945 the first of these was on the skids, the second dependent upon America, and the third had vanished in a Labour [party] election victory.

Consensus Shattered

Although it sells for the equivalent of \$45, all copies of Charmley’s thick, scholarly book sold out on the first day it was available for sale. Publisher Hodder & Stoughton was forced to triple the original press run, and quickly scheduled a second printing. Several American publishers are said to be interested in the book, which is not yet available in the US.

In early January, many pages of London newspapers and entire television shows were devoted to the raging exchange set off by the provocative work. A report on the controversy in the prestigious London Times (January 5) — which also published two lengthy extracts of the book — began:

Never has a work of historical revisionism upset so many in so short a time. In the space of three days, John Charmley’s radical reappraisal of the life of Churchill and Alan Clark’s article in The Times on Saturday have turned the history of the Second World War into a battlefield and shattered the scholarly consensus on the war leader’s achievements.

A *Washington Post* report on the furor called Charmley's book "a slaughterhouse for sacred cows," while an article in the *New York Times* informed readers that Charmley's book "has struck an especially sensitive nerve, not only because of the Churchill mythology, but also because there are those who reject out of hand the notion that any kind of compromise could be justified, morally or intellectually, with the Nazis."

In an editorial about the book, the *London Times* (January 6) cautiously affirmed the propriety of historical revisionism. After declaring that "nothing in history is inevitable, except that history shall be rewritten," it noted that Charmley's book "has broken a 40-year-old taboo and unsettled a complacent historical orthodoxy."

"... The net result of the revisionist impulse is usually positive," the editorial continued. "In the United States, the bizarre cult of political correctness has threatened the very academic freedoms which allowed it to prosper." Charmley's book "has introduced doubt to a field of history hitherto dominated by certainty and clubability. In this sense, revisionism is the friend of skepticism, the enemy of cant."

'Important Revisionist Text'

This book might easily have slipped into obscurity if it had not been for a highly favorable review in the *London Times* (January 2) by Alan Clark, a former British Defense Minister, a Conservative Party Member of Parliament, and the author of several works of military history.

Praising Charmley's work as "probably the most important revisionist text to be published since the war," Clark went beyond the young historian's thesis to forthrightly argue that Britain should have made peace with Germany in 1940 or 1941. In Clark's view, Churchill was a warmonger who turned down opportunities to get "first reasonable, then excellent, terms from Germany."

"Anyone in the Tory [Conservative] party who realized what was happening [in 1940-41] was horrified," Clark went on. There was a clear alternative to the disastrous course being pursued by Churchill: make peace with Hitler, preferably in the spring of 1941, when Germany was about to invade the Soviet Union in a life-and-death struggle. Instead, Clark laments, Churchill pursued a war that abased Britain before the United States, bankrupted the country, overturned the social order and ruined the empire.

Sharp Criticism

Several of Britain's most prominent historians lost no time in denouncing the views of Charmley and Clark. The main theme of these hostile responses is that popular feeling in Britain was such that if Churchill had negotiated peace with Hitler, he would have been thrown out of office, and that Hitler was so insatiable and untrustworthy that eventually he would have reneged on any peace agreement and turned against Britain. "Hitler never made a treaty he did not break," commented Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre), perhaps the courtliest of Britain's court historians (and who, in 1983, "authenticated" the phony Hitler diaries).

Official Churchill biographer Martin Gilbert conceded that Charmley's biography is impressively researched, but dismissed out of hand the view that Churchill should have made peace with Hitler. "You can't argue that the Nazis were not as bad as was thought at the time," said Gilbert. "If anything, they were worse."

'The Hitler Thesis'

In his criticism of Charmley's book, British historian and author of *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, Alan Bullock, remarked:

There is nothing fresh in this. It is what Hitler said. The Hitler thesis is that he never wanted war with Britain and it was all [due to] that terrible warmonger Churchill. If you want to explore the Hitler thesis and go on and say, yes, we won the war and destroyed the British empire in doing so, that is what Hitler said would happen.

Hitler wanted to attack Russia, and he wanted Britain to be his ally, as he said in *Mein Kampf*. Anyone who has studied Hitler knows that was in his mind.

On this point, Bullock is right. No love-struck suitor was more ardent in his pursuit of a woman's hand than was Hitler in his effort to win the friendship, if not the close collaboration, of a nation he deeply admired.

Far from seeking conflict with Britain, Hitler was aghast when that nation's leadership used the pretext of an attack against Poland to declare war against Germany on September 3, 1939. "Even if the British win," he remarked a few weeks later, "the real victors would be the United States, Japan and Russia."

In his speeches of October 6, 1939 (following the successful conclusion of the Polish campaign) and July 19, 1940 (in the wake of the stunning defeat of France), Hitler dramatically appealed for a reasonable end to a conflict that, if continued, could bring only catastrophe for Germany and Britain, and indeed for all Europe.

General Franz Halder, chief of the Army General Staff, noted in his diary in 1940 that Hitler "accepts that he may have to force Britain to make peace; but he is reluctant to do so, because if we do defeat the British in the field, the British empire will fall apart. Germany will not profit therefrom. We should be paying with German blood for something from which only Japan, America and others would draw benefit."

In an extemporaneous speech delivered in Berlin on October 3, 1941, when his power seemed all but unassailable, Hitler took note of his nation's cordial relations with Italy, Hungary, Finland, Japan and other countries, and then went on to declare:

Unhappily, however, not the nation I have courted all my life: the British. Not that the British people as a whole alone bear the responsibility for this, no, but there are some people who in their pigheaded hatred and lunacy have sabotaged every such attempt at understanding between us ... As in all the years I strove to achieve understanding whatever the cost, there was Mr. Churchill, who kept on shouting, "I want a war!" Now he has it.

'Evil Genius' Myth

As remarkable as Charmley's book may be, it has been the voices of support for its thesis by Clark and others that most strongly suggest that the Churchill legend — one of the most towering and durable of the Second World War — may at last be giving way to a more sober and clear-sighted view of the era. "The Clark thesis is broadly right," commented Bristol University history professor John Vincent. "Churchill presided over a country whose blood was up, and it nearly ended in disaster."

Peter Millar, a youngish writer for the widely-distributed liberal weekly paper *The European*, presented a remarkably revisionist view of the Second World War in a recent (Jan. 7-10) column devoted to Charmley's book:

... The accepted view that his [Churchill's] "bulldog breed" stubbornness led Britain through its "finest hour" to a glorious victory is sadly superficial ... In no sense, other than the moral one, can Britain be said to have won. She merely survived.

Britain went to war ostensibly to honor an alliance with Poland. Yet the war ended with Poland redesigned at a dictator's whim, albeit Stalin's rather than Hitler's, and occupied, albeit by Russians rather than Germans. In reality Britain went to war to maintain the balance of power. But the European continent in 1945 was dominated by a single overbearing power hostile to everything Britain stood for. Britain, hopelessly in hock to the United States, had neither the power nor the face to hold on to her empire.

Churchill, in the critical months before and after the fall of France, opposed any sort of peace not only because he recognized the nature of Hitler's evil, but also because he thought Germany would demand humiliating terms. Yet it is by no means clear that this would have been the case. The "evil genius bent on world conquest" that most Americans believe Hitler to have been, is a myth. The evil genius had more precise aims in eastern Europe. A Britain that would have withdrawn from the fray and from all influence in Europe to concentrate on her far-flung empire would have suited him admirably.

An Anglo-German peace might have been possible, and could have preserved the empire and not bled Britain as dry as the war did. It would not have been a glorious deal. But it is arguable that the greatest atrocities of Nazism were not much curtailed by the prosecution of the war over a further five years.

Revisionist Pioneers

Charmley's thesis is not at all new, of course. His reportedly very well-researched biography vindicates the work in earlier decades of a handful of far-sighted Revisionist historians. Fellow English historian Francis Neilson, for one, already had Churchill — and his place in history — accurately pegged in a literate and devastating critique published in 1954, *The Churchill Legend*.

On this side of the Atlantic, Harry Elmer Barnes was equally unimpressed with the Churchill legend. In a 1962 essay, for example, the American historian commented:

... The damage he [Churchill] did to the British Empire was far greater and more permanent, in the long-range perspective, than what Hitler brought to Germany ... The British Empire has been liquidated and the situation in the British homeland become more precarious each year. Yet Churchill could find millions of benighted persons in Britain and the United States willing to spend their money lightheartedly to buy the books in which he boasted of his achievements as Prime Minister. He still totters around, smirkingly giving his "V" sign, to the plaudits of his countrymen, despite the fact that today it more accurately implies "vanquished" than "victorious," in terms of the Britain of 1939.

[Quoted in: Barnes *Against the Blackout*, p. 115.
Published by and available from the IHR.]

More recently has been David Irving's monumental study, *Churchill's War*; the first volume of which was published in 1987. [Available from the IHR.] The British historian's 680-page work documents Churchill's cynicism, deceit and brutality, and supplies a wealth of evidence to show how he put venal personal interests ahead of those of his country.

Charmley's *Churchill: The End of Glory* will be reviewed in a forthcoming issue of the Journal.

— M. W. and G. R.

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Irving Conviction in Germany Upheld, Fine Tripled

Historian Ordered to Pay \$18,000 for 'Gas Chamber' Remarks

[David Irving](#) has been ordered by a German court to pay 30,000 marks (about \$18,000) for telling an audience that the “gas chamber” at Auschwitz shown to hundreds of thousands of tourists annually is a phony postwar reconstruction ("Attrappen").

On January 13 a Munich court rejected Irving’s appeal of a 1992 conviction, and then tripled the original fine. Last May the best-selling British historian was ordered to pay 10,000 marks (about \$6,000) after a lower court convicted him of remarks made at a Munich meeting in 1990. (See the IHR Newsletter, July-August 1992, pp. 3-4.)

The appeals court judge in the January case — like his counterpart in the May trial — rejected a bid by Irving’s attorneys to introduce documents, witnesses (including Auschwitz State Museum Curator Dr. Piper) and other evidence showing that what the historian had said in the 1990 meeting is, in fact, the truth. The judge justified his refusal to permit the defense to present its case by declaring that the wartime extermination of the Jews has been sufficiently proved by historians.

Irving attorney Dr. Schaller said that he would appeal this “outrageous” verdict to the highest possible level, even though he sees little prospect for success. In spite of the new ruling, Irving defiantly repeated his view outside the court building: “There were no gas chambers at Auschwitz. I will not change my opinion.”

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Video review

JHR Archive — Dramatic New Videotape Presentation Takes Aim at Key Holocaust Claims (review)

Auschwitz Museum official admits 'gas chamber' is postwar reconstruction

Greg Raven

The patch-work quilt that passes for establishment Holocaust history has grown so tattered that the tailors and seamstresses responsible for its condition are finding it ever more difficult to keep it in good repair. Now, a stunning new video written, produced and narrated by a young Jewish-American Revisionist named David Cole tears yet another gaping hole in the increasingly threadbare legend.

The main value of this production — which promises to be a Revisionist “best-seller” — is Cole’s interview with a senior Auschwitz State Museum official, who admits on camera that the Auschwitz “gas chamber” shown to hundreds of thousands of tourists annually is a postwar reconstruction, and thus confirms an important point that Revisionists have been making for years.

Cole visited Europe in September 1992 to inspect the sites of the wartime German concentration camps of Auschwitz, Birkenau, Majdanek, Mauthausen, and Dachau, and to record his findings on videotape. Knowing that Revisionists had sometimes been rebuffed in earlier attempts to gather information at such sites, Cole presented himself as a concerned Jewish researcher determined to collect unassailable proof for the Holocaust extermination story that he could use back home in the United States to refute the claims of Revisionists.

At Auschwitz he got more than he bargained for. Wearing a traditional Jewish yarmulke, which seemed to ensure friendly cooperation by authorities, Cole hired an official Museum guide named Alicia to personally show him around the camp site. She first took Cole through the obligatory tourist inspection of the exhibits, a ritual designed to encourage a properly reverential and uncritical attitude on the part of visitors. Cole remained unimpressed, though, in large part because Alicia was unable to provide satisfactory answers to his questions. “At this point,” Cole comments, “it was looking pretty bad for someone looking for objective proofs of the gas chamber, and some of the proofs they present actually work against the concept.”

Alicia then took Cole to the high point of the tour, the supposed extermination “gas chamber” in the Auschwitz I main camp. Inside the “gas chamber” itself, Cole’s questions became more specific: Were there ever interior walls in this room? Were those pipes and drains ever operational and connected to plumbing facilities? Do the obvious scars on the walls and floor mean that the chamber was once sub-divided into smaller rooms?

Cole's pointed questions soon thoroughly frustrated his guide. As he explains in his video, "Feeling somewhat exasperated at the fact that nothing she could say would shut me up, Alicia went to get a woman who was introduced to me as the supervisor of tour guides for the Auschwitz State Museum."

The supervisor only further confused things. As a perplexed Alicia looked on, the supervisor casually discredited a long-standing "exterminationist" claim about the Auschwitz I "gas chamber." Flatly disagreeing with what Alicia had told Cole (and doubtless many other visitors), the supervisor explained that the vents in the roof, through which deadly Zyklon B was supposedly introduced, were put in after the war.

With the contradictions adding up, the supervisor then suggested that Cole meet with the Museum's "head scientist," Dr. Piper, to obtain really authoritative answers to his persistent questions. Cole readily accepted the offer, and the next day he met with Piper in his office.

Dr. Franciszek Piper (pronounced "peeper") is archives director and Senior Curator of the Polish government's Auschwitz State Museum. Cole was indeed fortunate to be able to put pointed questions to a man who is internationally recognized as a foremost Holocaust authority, and to record the entire interview on videotape.

Until just a few years ago Piper fully endorsed the official view that four million people — most of them Jews — had been killed at Auschwitz. This was still the figure given in an official Auschwitz State Museum guide book distributed to visitors as late as 1988. ^[1] In July 1990, though, Piper (along with Israeli officials) abruptly abandoned the long-standing figure, announcing that the estimated number of Auschwitz victims was actually about 1.1 million. ^[2] As Cole stresses, this drastic 75 percent reduction in the "official" estimate is no small revision. (In a lengthy article on this subject published in 1991, Piper suggested that further revision might be forthcoming.) ^[3]

Cole's most important question to Piper is probably this: Is the "gas chamber" in the Auschwitz I main camp in its original state, or is it a reconstruction? Piper's response:

The first and the oldest gas chamber, which existed in Auschwitz I [main camp], this camp where we are now here, operated from autumn 1941 to December 1942, approximately one year. The crematorium near by this gas chamber worked longer, to the middle of 1943.

In July 1943 the crematorium was stopped and the bodies of prisoners [who] died at Auschwitz at the time were transferred to Birkenau.

In 1944, in connection with bombardment of Auschwitz by the Allied air forces, [the] empty crematorium number one and gas chamber at Auschwitz I were adapted as air [raid] shelters.

At this time, additional walls were built inside the former gas chamber. An additional entrance was made from the east side of the gas chamber, and openings in the ceiling, [through which] the gas Zyklon B was discharged [to the] inside, were at the time liquidated.

So after the liberation of the camp, the former gas chamber presented a view of [an] air [raid] shelter. In order to gain an earlier view ... [or] earlier sight ... of this object,

the inside walls built in 1944 were removed and openings in the ceiling were made anew.

So now this gas chamber is very similar to this one which existed in 1941-1942, but not all details were made there, so there is no gas-tight door, for instance, and the additional entrance from east side rested [remained] as it was made in 1944. Such changes were made after the war to gain [the] earlier view of this object.

Piper's startling acknowledgment to Cole has special legal significance for David Irving. In May 1992 a Munich court fined the British historian \$6,000 for having told a German audience that the room in Auschwitz that has been portrayed to tourists as an extermination gas chamber is a phony reconstruction ("Attrappen"). The judge in the case rejected the defense request to call Piper as a witness to confirm that what Irving had said was, in fact, the truth. (More than that, the German judge refused to permit Irving to present any evidence whatsoever in its own defense. Irving's conviction was upheld by another German court in January 1993.) [4]

Dr. Piper, Auschwitz State Museum Senior Curator, explains that the room displayed to tourists as an extermination "gas chamber" in its "original state" is actually a postwar reconstruction.

Although Piper maintains that the "gas chamber" was restored to its "original" state as a killing facility, this postwar reconstruction is in fact worthless as proof of anything because there is not a single wartime document or photograph to confirm just what the alleged homicidal "gas chamber" looked like.

Elsewhere during his interview, Cole raises another important issue. Why is it, he asks Piper, that whereas there are obvious and abundant blue stains (caused by contact with Zyklon B gas) on the walls of the non-homicidal chambers used to disinfect clothes, there are no such stains or traces on the walls of the alleged homicidal "gas chambers"? Piper responds:

In the gas chambers, the Zyklon B was operated a very short time, about 20 [or] 30 minutes during 24 hours, and in the [non-homicidal] disinfection rooms it operated day and night.

This remarkable explanation creates yet another problem. According to the most authoritative Holocaust historians, a single "gassing" operation took at least 20 or 30 minutes. If, as Piper maintains, the alleged gas chambers were operated for only 20 or 30 minutes a day, no more than a single gassing per day could have been carried out. This is hardly consistent with an alleged German program of mass extermination.

As "expert" as he is about the Auschwitz gas chamber, it is fitting that Piper still believes that the Germans made soap from the bodies of their wartime victims — a once widely-accepted story that has since been utterly discredited. [5]

In its own way, "David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper," may well prove to be as powerful a blow to the Holocaust extermination story, and the formidable lobby that defends it, as was Fred Leuchter's famous 1988 forensic report.

By dramatically pointing up glaring contradictions between what a senior official of the Auschwitz State Museum believes and what the gullible public is told, Cole exposes the bad faith on the part of the Holocaust establishment, and underscores its fear of open discussion and free inquiry.

Cole's interview with Piper gives the lie to the claim that Holocaust historians agree on all the main points of the extermination story, and refutes the insistent assertion that there is no place for Revisionist input into the still continuing debate.

While this is almost certainly the best video presentation of the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story produced so far, its technical quality is unfortunately not ideal. Cole's narration is often obtrusive and less than adroit. For example, the screen occasionally goes black as Cole finishes making this or that point, a poor use of the medium and one that disrupts the pace of the presentation. One also has the impression that the text was hastily scripted and hurriedly edited.

Still, these are relatively minor flaws in an otherwise well-made video. With a good grasp of the subtleties of Holocaust claims and the Revisionist responses, and the ability to discern the critical nub of an issue, Cole deserves praise for this effective and persuasive production. (Happily, he is working on further videos based on visits to other camp sites.)

While this video is ideal for those who have no previous familiarity with the Revisionist perspective on this issue, veteran skeptics of the Holocaust story will also appreciate it. Slightly less than an hour in length, it is also suited for broadcast on local public access television stations. (Revisionist activists, please take note!)

This video is part of a still-continuing process of prying truth from those who are reluctant to acknowledge it. Ultimately, the entire Holocaust story will be discredited as Piper and others like him are obliged to respond to further Revisionist questioning.

Notes

1. [↗](#) K. Smolen, *Auschwitz 1940-1945: Guide-Book Through the Museum* (1978), pp. 19, 124. This guide book is cited not only by Cole in this videotape, but also in: F. Piper, "Estimating the Number of Deportees to and Victims of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Camp," *Yad Vashem Studies* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem), 1991, Vol. XXI, pp. 60-61 (n.).
2. [↗](#) "Auschwitz deaths reduced to a million," *The Daily Telegraph* (London), July 17, 1990.
3. [↗](#) F. Piper, "Estimating...", *Yad Vashem Studies*, 1991, Vol. XXI, p. 92 (n. 149).
4. [↗](#) "Irving Fined \$6,000 in German 'Gas Chamber' Trial," *IHR Newsletter*, July-August 1992, pp. 3-5. (A portion of this Newsletter report is shown in Cole's videotape.)
5. [↗](#) See: M. Weber, "Jewish Soap," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 217 ff.

The VHS videotape, "David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper," is available from the IHR for \$49, plus, \$2.50 shipping.

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A Jewish Revisionist's Visit to Auschwitz

'We're Loud, We're Proud, and Best of All, We're Right!'

David Cole

(Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992)

When I decided last September to take a well-deserved vacation, I thought, what better destination than Europe. After all, as a Revisionist I'd always felt it my duty to see the concentration camps in person. My girl-friend, though, said that she'd like to go to Europe to visit Euro-Disney, the new Disneyland theme park in France. So I thought for a while about where to go: Auschwitz or Euro-Disney. And as I looked around, and saw the miserable state of the world and this country, the political and social malaise and depression, I realized that if I did take a vacation, I wanted to go to a place as far away from reality as possible: a fantasy land of wondrous fairy tales. So, of course, I chose Auschwitz.

Now that I've gone through the Auschwitz main camp, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Majdanek, Mauthausen, and Dachau, I feel even more secure in my position as a Revisionist that there exists no convincing evidence that Jews or anyone else were taken en masse into gas chambers and killed by the Nazis at these camps. In fact, the remains that I inspected at the camp sites seem, in many different ways, to directly contradict these claims.

I returned to the United States with more than 25 hours of video footage from the camps. At Majdanek I uncovered obvious tampering with the buildings exhibited as gas chambers. This evidence was discovered when my attractive camerawoman busted a lock and got us into a room that is not open to tourists. There we were able to view several items in their original state, most notably the doors, which were clearly constructed to latch from both the outside and the inside.

David Cole was raised and educated in Los Angeles, where he lives and works. Because of his support for Holocaust Revisionism, he was assaulted during a meeting at the University of California at Los Angeles on January 22, 1992, by thugs of the Jewish Defense League, who hit him in the face and bloodied his nose. JDL leader Irv Rubin also tried to push Cole down a flight of stairs. In April 1992 he appeared — along with Journal editor Mark Weber — as a guest on the Montel Williams Show, a nationally syndicated television program, to present the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story.

The high point of my visit, though, was my interview with Dr. Franciszek Piper, Senior Curator of the Polish government's Auschwitz State Museum. He has worked there for more than 26 years. On tape, he admits that the so-called gas chamber in Crematory Building (Krema) I, which is shown to half a million visitors a year as a genuine homicidal gas chamber, is in fact a reconstruction — even down to the holes cut into the ceiling. Piper also admits that walls were

knocked down and bathroom facilities removed. He went on to tell us that the remains of the “white cottage,” supposed site of the first preliminary gassings at Birkenau, are also reconstructed. This was hardly news to me. Even a quick examination of the remains of the “white cottage” shows that the bricks are not connected in any way, but are simply laid on top of each other like children’s building blocks.

Piper has no problems with the Leuchter Report. He told me that he agrees with Leuchter’s findings regarding traces of ferro-ferric-cyanide in the walls of Crematory Buildings (Kremas) I, II and III. So what is his explanation for this lack of traces in the supposed homicidal gas chambers when, by contrast, there are significant traces in the non-homicidal delousing gas chambers? He told me that the amount of hydrogen cyanide (from Zyklon) supposedly used by the Germans to kill people — unlike the amount needed to kill lice in delousing chambers — was not enough to leave blue (ferro-ferric-cyanide) staining, or appreciable traces.

This argument has problems, though. For one thing, the supposed homicidal gas chambers at Majdanek (which in reality were non-homicidal delousing chambers) have abundant blue staining. So according to Piper’s “Holocaust logic,” gassing people in Auschwitz did not leave blue stains, but gassing people at Majdanek did. Talk about a Magic Kingdom! As we spoke, I half expected to see Piper’s nose grow as long as Pinocchio’s!

The importance of Piper’s revelations is obvious. The burden of proof has now shifted decisively to the Exterminationist side. For example, Piper’s admission that the four holes in the ceiling of Crematory Building (Krema) I were put in after the war makes ludicrous the oft-repeated claim of Auschwitz tourists that “Now I’ve seen the gas chambers with my own two eyes.” Now that the often-made claims about Krema I in its present state are no longer valid, can the Exterminationists produce any evidence — a photograph, document, plan, or order — showing that the supposed gas chamber there was ever used to kill people as alleged? Most likely not, but what else is new? We’ve never been asked to accept the Holocaust story on anything but faith, and for me, that’s not good enough.

On the issue of the Holocaust — and perhaps uniquely on this issue — we are told: “Close the books, there will be no more learning, no more discussion, no more questions. Not only will no questions be tolerated, but anyone who dares to ask such questions will be slandered and viciously attacked.”

Now, as someone who believes that part of being human is to learn something new every day, I respond: “How dare you tell me there will be no more learning?” The establishment that maintains the Holocaust story on life support admits that there is no direct proof of homicidal gassings. No order, no document, no pictures, only “eyewitnesses.”

And what of these eyewitnesses? The Holocaust lobby insists that this is convincing evidence. But what kind of evidence is this? In some European countries, a person who denies the gas chambers can be jailed, fined, or physically attacked. He might lose his job, his standing in the community, maybe even his life. Something similar has happened in Canada. In the United States, he might be attacked and vilified. And if he says that he comes by his knowledge from first-hand experience — in other words from helping to run the camps during the war years — then he might easily find himself deported to Israel or eastern Europe, where he might be sentenced to death or at least stripped of his US citizenship and denied due process.

In other words, we only hear of eyewitnesses from one side because witnesses from the other side have been strong-armed into silence. This is governmental coercion of the worst kind, and on a worldwide scale no less. One kind of eyewitness is encouraged, the other kind is warned

that his words might lead to deportation, imprisonment, loss of livelihood, property, and even life. Some great victory for the Holocaust lobby: The game has been fixed!

Let people speak! If for no one else, I demand this for my own sake. I want to know what happened during World War Two, and yet how can I if those who might have firsthand knowledge are told: “Speak only the official line, or suffer the consequences.” I insist on my human right to learn.

There are those who say, “Okay, so maybe the Holocaust is a bit exaggerated, but do we really want to destabilize society by openly talking about all this, possibly encouraging hostility against Jews?” This raises an important philosophical question: Do you believe mankind to be so inherently cruel and stupid that people must be lied to in order to make them behave? If so, then the lies you tell them are only a small bandage to cover up a much greater evil: Lack of confidence in mankind’s ability to handle the truth. And if you truly believe that people cannot handle the truth, but instead need a “Big Brother” to handle it for them, then surely democracy is the most dangerous thing on earth.

Of course, I understand that people can be cruel and stupid, but I also believe in the human ability to learn, and to grow with each new piece of knowledge. Rather than censor information that we subjectively perceive to be “dangerous,” we should teach our children to think critically, to remain open-minded, and to look for truth rather than cling to emotionally appealing falsehoods.

And that is just about all we can do: teach our children and hope for the best, realizing that people cannot be programmed like robots. Eighty years of failed Communism should have taught us that. To use the power of the state to force men to be what the state defines as “good” creates a world far more hellish than the one that is supposedly being prevented. I would rather live in a world where people are free to be cruel and stupid than one in which “goodness” is enforced at gun point.

Keep in mind also that truth, objective truth, does not need threats and intimidation to prevail. We Holocaust Revisionists are often likened to those who said that the earth was flat. But just the reverse is true: It is the other side that acts like a Holy Inquisition, institutionalizing one viewpoint and punishing heretics. Remember: We only accepted that the earth is round after the debate was opened. And since then, the round-earth adherents have not needed false news laws, hate crimes laws, and libel or slander laws to protect the truthfulness of their view. Likewise, all we ask is that the Holocaust story either stand or fall according to the evidence — or lack of it.

While we Holocaust Revisionists sit on a wealth of wonderfully heretical information, can we get it out to the general public? Can we “mainstream” Holocaust Revisionism before it’s too late, that is to say, before all those who have firsthand information of what really happened die off entirely?

As a Jew, it would be wrong for me not to mention the issue of Jewish influence. Influence is a very strange thing. People spend so much time and energy to acquire it, and then an equal amount of time and energy denying they have it. Jewish influence does exist. If it didn’t, why would billions of dollars be spent annually by Jewish lobbying groups? That money isn’t to pay for dance lessons for Senators and Congressmen, of course, it’s for influence. Jews must come to terms with the fact that they are not only a powerful and influential group, but have responsibilities that come with that — particularly the responsibility not to abuse power, or, more specifically, to avoid abusing people with that power.

It is a testament to the strength of Revisionist research and scholarship, and to Revisionist tenacity, that all the Jewish influence in the world has not erased this movement. Despite the best efforts of our most clever and determined adversaries, Revisionist books are still read, and the Institute for Historical Review continues to function.

But how much progress are we really making in getting our message to the public? Unfortunately, we've been making only tiny, pussycat steps. I am not a patient man. Every day, I fool myself into thinking that I can be patient — I can't. I don't want to be a guerrilla fighter of the political underground for the rest of my life. The time has come, indeed has never been better, to take Revisionist scholarship to the rest of the world, and if the powers that be try to stop us, we either go around them or, if necessary, we go right through them.

Two more years! That's my new motto. In two years' time, Holocaust Revisionism should be in the mainstream, squarely in the public eye.

I am sure that we will eventually succeed in getting out our message. Information can be suppressed for just so long. But that's not enough for me. It's not enough that fellow Revisionists recognize Professor Faurisson's scholarship for the brilliant work it is. I want it to be widely recognized as such, and in his lifetime!

So let's make a concerted effort. Mindful of the recent Jewish New Year, I hereby make a Jewish New Year's resolution: Two more years! No more sitting in the back of the ideological bus. We're loud, we're proud, and best of all, we're right!

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Nunc est bibendum ...

Final Victory in the Mermelstein Case

IHR Prevails in Eleven-Year-Old Legal Battle

At long last, the costly and potentially devastating eleven-year effort by Holocaust personality Mel Mermelstein to destroy the Institute for Historical Review has ended in complete, definitive victory for the IHR and its co-defendants.

Plaintiff Mermelstein let elapse the 30-day deadline for acting on the decisive rejection of his appeal on October 28, 1992, by the California Court of Appeal, thus precluding any further legal steps on his part in the case.

As reported in the previous issue of the Journal (Jan.-Feb., p. 7), Mermelstein's appeal challenged the dismissal on September 19, 1991, by Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Steven Lachs of the plaintiff's complaint of malicious prosecution. The other components of his suit — complaints for libel, conspiracy, and intentional infliction of emotional distress — were dismissed by Mermelstein himself at that time.

In his suit against the IHR and its co-defendants — the Washington, DC-based populist advocacy group [Liberty Lobby](#) and IHR founder Willis Carto — plaintiff Mermelstein had sought \$11 million in damages. (For more on the IHR's 1991 legal victory, see the IHR Newsletter, October 1991.)

The victorious conclusion of the second Mermelstein case finishes, we at the IHR hope, the time-consuming legal struggle that began in 1981. (Theodore O'Keefe's book on the Mermelstein affair, *Best Witness*, should be available later this year.)

Our triumph, which is a victory for the worldwide revisionist movement, preserves the IHR as the world leader in Revisionist research and publishing, and as a citadel of support for Revisionists in lands not blessed with our constitutional right of freedom of speech.

To you, our loyal supporters through the most desperate and dispiriting days of the Mermelstein affair, without whose help in the form of contributions, research help, advice, encouragement, and prayers the second Mermelstein case could never have been won, our most sincere thanks.

The Suppressed Eichmann and Goebbels Papers

[David Irving](#)

- Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992.

Twice this year I've come under the scrutiny of journalists, entirely through no doing of my own. The first occasion was my acquisition of the Eichmann papers, about which I'll be speaking shortly. The second occasion was in regard to the papers of Dr. Joseph Goebbels. I'll show you the Goebbels papers first because these have aroused enormous interest. It came about like this:

The Goebbels Diaries

On May 6th, 1992, while I was researching at the archives of the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich — once again, “illegally” on German soil — a good friend whom I've known for thirty years lunched with me and said, “David, I've been working in the Moscow state secret archives, and I've found the glass plates on which are microfilmed the entire diaries of Dr. Joseph Goebbels.”

At this, of course, my ears pricked up because any historian worth his salt will tell you that the published Goebbels diaries are complete except for everything that matters. Few of the most important portions have been published so far: the November 1938 Kristallnacht ("Night of broken glass"), the 1934 Röhm purge ("Night of the long knives"), the outbreak of the war in 1939, the Pearl Harbor attack, you name it — it is not in the published volumes that came out in the 1950s, the 1970s or the 1980s. They hadn't got everything that mattered. We thought this was because the Soviets were holding onto the good stuff, to sell it for really top dollar later on. But that was not the case. It was just the typical Communist, Marxist-Leninist chaos. They didn't know themselves what they had.

The diaries were recorded on Agfa glass plates stored in boxes: here are my color photographs of one of the original boxes. You can see the handwriting on it of Dr. Richard Otte, Goebbels' own secretary, which my source immediately recognized. Historians of the period all knew that during

the final weeks of the war, Goebbels feared that his priceless diaries might be burned to a frizzle in some thoughtless British air raid. So he took the precaution of having them microfilmed on these glass plates, which at that time was a totally new system. We knew that these glass plates existed somewhere, and we've been looking for them. Actually, we couldn't just look for them because no one knew where to look. But if you stumbled across them, you'd know what they are, rather like the diaries of Admiral Canaris.

So in March 1992 my source stumbled across these boxes in the Moscow archives, and recognized them for what they were. (You'll notice that I don't mention this person's name, because I don't want to get him or her into any trouble.)

My source's own institute, the Institute of Contemporary History (Institut für Zeitgeschichte) in Munich — my deadliest enemies now — refused to finance a further expedition for my source to go back to Moscow to purchase these 1,600 glass plates.

There are 92 boxes of these glass plates. Ninety-two boxes, just loosely bundled up with string. The glass plates are not in very good condition. They've got fragments of glass splinters between them and they're often badly scratched. But they are entirely legible.

My source suggested that I raise the money to visit Moscow to get hold of these glass plates. I contacted my American publisher, Avon Books, and for ten days they acted very enthusiastic. I estimated that I'd need about \$20,000 in order to buy the glass plates outright from the Russian archivists. They need money so badly just to keep the archives running, they have to sell off the family silver bit by bit, so to speak. I thought that \$20,000 was a very reasonable price.

Suddenly, though, the bubble popped. Word came down from the upper levels at Avon books that they wouldn't finance my trip to Moscow to get these plates. They feared that it involved "bribing" Russian officials, or something unethical. So next I approached my British publishers, Macmillan London, Ltd., and within two hours received the same answer. Perhaps it was decided that they wouldn't help provide David Irving with this scoop.

So I approached the Sunday Times, which is Britain's biggest, most serious, and most respected newspaper. They immediately agreed to finance an initial expedition to Moscow for me to have a look at these glass plates. A week later, I returned to London having not only looked at the plates, but having copied hundreds of pages from them — everything that mattered except for a few gaps.

When I then reached an agreement with the Sunday Times, they insisted that I not breathe a word to anyone about this arrangement. As Sunday Times editor Andrew Neil told me, "Irving, my staff are not happy that we are doing this deal with you." I replied, "Well, you've got no choice, have you? Because it's my project."

If you read the newspaper accounts afterwards, you get the impression that this was the Sunday Times' project, and that they had picked me for it because I'm the only person who can read Goebbels' handwriting. Well, later, when the big fight started, they were hoist by their own petard because the fight in Britain became horrendous and hairy. [See the IHR Newsletter, Oct. 1992, p. 5.]

The Controversy Begins

If, perversely, you wanted to upset the Jewish community in Britain, what would you do? The first thing I would do is go out to all the Jewish ghettos in London, like Stamford Hill or Golders Green, and I would put up 60-foot-long posters in the Nazi colors with 15-foot swastikas, a photograph of Dr. Goebbels, and the slogan running right across in gothic script: WHEN WE DEPART, LET THE EARTH TREMBLE. This is precisely what the Sunday Times did to advertise their David Irving series!

The Jewish community frantically organized ten-man-strong gangs to go out and deface these posters. But as fast as they desecrated, the Sunday Times went 'round renewing them. This went on for a week until finally the community concerned, our traditional enemies, brought their traditional pressures to bear on the Sunday Times. As Mark Weber mentioned, they themselves admitted this pressure, not only from the English community, but the American Jewish community as

well, because the Sunday Times is particularly vulnerable. Much of their finance comes from their American banking system, and much of the advertising in Britain is dependent on this particular community. The community left Andrew Neil, the editor, with no doubt at all of their displeasure. He told me at the height of this crisis that he had never been through such a nightmare in his life.

In consequence of this pressure the Sunday Times had to turn the entire campaign around against me, their own contributor, and try to pretend that it was their material, and that they were obliged to call me in because I was the only person who could read the handwriting. Let me just show you what the glass pages produce. Dr. Goebbels' diaries were recorded in miniature on glass plates; this is the contact print of one of the glass plates. As you see, it's fifty pages of the diaries in handwriting, very, very small. The first week I was there I had no easy means of reading them because there was no microfilm reader in Moscow. But by chance I had a tiny little 12x magnifying glass with me, as large as my fingernail, and with that I could read those glass plates for the first week.

Some of them we borrowed, with the permission of the archivist, and had them blown up to produce these photographs. You can see later on, those of you who read German, that Dr. Goebbels' handwriting is truly illegible. It took me two years to learn to read it. When the Sunday Times said, "Irving is one of the three people in the world who can read Goebbels' handwriting," our rivals scoffed and said, "That's utter baloney, any German of that generation can read his handwriting." So I sent pages of the diary to these rival journalists, and I said, "I'll pay you a thousand pounds if, within two weeks, you can supply me with a transcript of one page with fewer than 50 percent errors." Not one of them took me up on it. The Daily Mail, a rival of the Sunday Times, thought they'd scooped us by paying 20,000 pounds to purchase a few pages of the diary from the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, who were determined to spite me. The Daily Mail took their precious pages and hurried off back to London to get to work on them, only to find to their horror that their people could not read the pages they'd paid 20,000 pounds for! I had some happy moments during that July of 1992, as you can believe.

Joseph Goebbels (right) with armaments minister Albert Speer (left) and labor leader Robert Ley at a mass meeting in Berlin in 1943 to honor outstanding workers.

Mark [Weber] mentioned the publicity that surrounded this affair, and it's true: during those two weeks alone, I collected two thousand press clippings from around the world. It was exactly the same back in January when the Eichmann papers scandal broke. You see, when I was in Argentina in October [1991] delivering lectures in English and Spanish to audiences down there, one of those odd strokes of luck happened. When you're an internationally known historian, or when you're notorious, people come up to you and ask, "Are you interested in this?"

Thus, an American autograph collector wrote to me a few weeks ago saying, "I've got Heinrich Himmler's 1939 diary. Would you like to have a look at it?" This kind of thing happens.

The Eichmann Memoirs

If you go to London at present, around the West End where I live you'll find every parking meter, every lamppost, every traffic standard, every traffic light have got stickers on them saying "Smash David Irving," "Stop Irving," or "Irving Speaks, Rostock Burns." Behind this is a group that calls itself CAFE, the Committee Against Fascism in Europe, which the Daily Express tells me is in fact a front for the Mossad. They've gone 'round putting up these stickers all over the

West End of London advertising mass-meetings outside my home, and very kindly giving my address.

I'm grateful to them because recently I got a letter from a Greek publisher saying, "Mr. Irving, I've been trying for a year to contact you through your publishers so that I can make an offer for the rights to your Adolf Hitler biography, and your publishers were unwilling to let us have your address. As I was in London shopping a few days ago, I happened to notice a sticker on which your opponents put your address, so I am happy now to make an offer for your book." This is what happens.

So, being notorious has its advantages. When I was in Argentina, in October [1991], a man who had written me vaguely a couple of years before, mentioning papers that he thought I ought to see, came up to me at the end of one meeting. The next day he came back and gave me two bulky brown-paper parcels which turned out to contain the writings of Adolf Eichmann when he was in hiding in Argentina in the late 1950s. Adolf Eichmann, of course, is now the man with whom the public most associates what they call the "Holocaust."

I hate that word. It's a word I don't like using. People say to me, "Mr. Irving, do you believe in the Holocaust? Do you deny the Holocaust?" I say that I mistrust words with a capital letter. They look like a trademark, don't they? Like Tylenol or something. We don't trust them; no matter how much advertising they put into Tylenol. And so it is with that word "Holocaust." You get the impression that it is a neatly packaged, highly promoted operation, and you don't trust it.

Eichmann was born on the 19th of March, 1906. As an SS Lieutenant Colonel (Obersturmbannführer), he was a specialist of the Jewish question. He looked upon the Jews with that same mixture of admiration and fear shared by most of the non-Jewish population around the world.

He went to Palestine in 1937 after he was made an officer in the SS, and he actually (we have his own record of this) entered into negotiations with leading Zionist underground fighters in Palestine, some of whom went on after the war to become members of the cabinet of Israeli leader David Ben-Gurion. None of this was admitted by them at the time, but of course the records are there in the files of the SS in the National Archives in Washington.

Eichmann was head of department IV B 4 of the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt or RSHA). This was the desk of the Gestapo assigned to deal with Jewish matters. Eichmann came under Heinrich Müller (head of the Gestapo), who came under Reinhard Heydrich (the chief of the RSHA) [and after January 1943, Ernst Kaltenbrunner], who came under Heinrich Himmler (the Reichsführer SS), who came under Hitler.

Actually, Himmler was much farther under Hitler than you would imagine from subsequent historical propaganda. Relations between Himmler and Hitler were not close. They seldom saw each other; Himmler was a bit of a loose cannon who operated very much at arm's length from Hitler. He took his own decisions and acted as he wanted. Hitler couldn't be bothered with much that Himmler was up too. I think there was a certain lack of affinity between the two, and this became increasingly evident as the war went on. This is also indicated by Eichmann's own writings.

To the governments of the foreign countries from where Jews were being deported, Eichmann denied that the Jews were being killed. But from his papers we can surmise that he knew or suspected different.

These Eichmann papers — the 600 pages which were handed to me in Argentina — are all type-script on very, very, flimsy paper — what you Americans call onion skin paper — legal size. I am guessing that many, many carbon copies had been made. We know that they originated with the collaboration of a Flemish journalist named Willem Sassens von Hildewor who was also in hiding in Argentina. Sassens was a very dubious character. I think he's still alive in Argentina, but he's gone into hiding because he fears for his life, and probably with some justification because there's good reason to suspect that he turned over the bulk of these papers — which he dressed up for the purpose — to Life magazine, in 1959 or 1960, and when Life magazine published them they were the direct cause of Eichmann's capture and kidnapping by the Israelis in the following year.

So Sassens is a very dubious character. As we know from von Woltersdorf, an eyewitness who lives in Germany now and wrote me a very long letter after the scandal broke (he was present during a lot of these taping sessions with Eichmann), Sassens persuaded Eichmann to talk at very great length on tape recordings. Altogether there were either 67 or 72 tape recordings. Because they were recorded in the 1950s, the tape recorder was a primitive reel-to-reel model. The tapes, once used, would then be erased and reused, so unfortunately, very few of the original tapes survive.

The surviving original tapes are now in the custody of Dieter Eichmann, a son of Eichmann, who lives near Lake Constance [in southern Germany]. As a result of the scandal that arose over my discovery of these Eichmann papers, I tried to protect Dieter Eichmann from embarrassment by the newspapers: I told journalists I wasn't going to reveal where they could find him because I didn't feel that it was right for his family to be molested by newspapermen. Eventually, though, I did put one journalist in contact with Dieter Eichmann, a journalist with the Swiss weekly *Die Weltwoche*. In the space of a few days *Die Weltwoche*, a wealthy Swiss weekly newspaper, did a deal with Dieter Eichmann where they purchased all these surviving tape recordings and all the surviving papers, and *Die Weltwoche* now has all the rights. I next received a letter from *Die Weltwoche*'s lawyers warning me not to make use of any of the material I had.

Sassens had taped the conversations with Eichmann in the 1950s. They are verbatim transcripts, which makes them very useful, and as such they differ greatly from the books that were published by Eichmann in 1985 — *Ich, Adolf Eichmann* (the German edition), or *Yo, Adolfo Eichmann* (the Spanish-language version) — because those books contain no transcripts of conversations. They contain just a mildly edited text of what Sassens himself put together.

The transcripts themselves are very interesting because Eichmann got very irritated with Sassens, and constantly interrupted him: “I can't see what you're getting at,” and “You're very thick,” and “why do you keep asking me about who was giving me the orders? How was I supposed to know?” And this kind of thing. It's the “back-chat” which was interesting in the dialogues.

In January 1992 I donated all these original papers to the Federal Archives [Bundesarchiv] in Koblenz. In fact, I turned them over even before I read them myself, because obviously they are a historical source of very substantial importance to anybody investigating the “Holocaust.” Since 1965, I've made a practice of turning over my private papers and my research papers to the German Federal Archives, both because they are such a huge volume of paper, and so that other historians can use them. For a time I turned over papers to the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, where they have a collection called “The Irving Collection.” But I changed that three years ago, after a professor with the Institute, Helmuth Auerbach, decided to write a letter behind my back, on Institute letterhead, denouncing me to the German public prosecutor! I decided no longer to deposit papers in their archives, and until they apologize and retract that libelous letter,

they can say goodbye to receiving any of the rest of my collection. Consequently, all my subsequent papers have gone to the German Federal Archives.

I didn't have time to open those brown packages until Christmas-time. Christmas in London is an endlessly boring, tedious, and desolate festival, so I decided to enliven my festival by reading Adolf Eichmann's papers.

I started reading on Christmas eve, and I carried on through Christmas day. I decided very rapidly that I couldn't continue reading the originals because they are so flimsy that I might damage them. So I decided to copy them, which I had to do page by page because they are so flimsy. It took me all Christmas day, but I ended up with a much better set than the originals I eventually donated to the archives.

Thus I began reading them in earnest about January 2nd or 3rd. Each evening, at the end of the rest of my day's work, I would read 30 or 40 pages of these transcripts.

'David Irving Recants'

Entirely by chance on Friday, January 10, a journalist with The Observer (one of the other serious British Sunday papers, and a great rival of the Sunday Times) telephoned me to ask me for a quotation about an event coming up the following week in London. On January 20 there was going to be a big Jewish Holocaust seminar at the Wiener Library in London. The Wiener Library had issued a press release dealing with certain casualty figures, and a statement had been issued by Yehuda Bauer of Israel's Yad Vashem institute, who was going to take part in the meeting. Had I any comments? It was just a routine journalist's call. I make this point because I'm not a publicity seeker, and I don't go out of my way to seek publicity. Publicity's a nuisance, and believe me, I long ago ceased to believe that journalists are going to do me any favors at all. They're not.

When this journalist telephoned me, I said, "I can't tell you my own impression about these figures, but what I will tell you is that Adolf Eichmann himself said that [Auschwitz commandant] Rudolf Höss' figures were grossly inflated, and that Eichmann thought that Höss was an outrageous liar."

"How do you know this?" he responded.

"Well," I said, "nobody else knows this, but as of two months ago I've gotten ahold of all of Adolf Eichmann's private papers. They were donated to me by a mutual friend in Argentina who didn't know what to do with them, and he thought they were safest in my hands. I've donated the originals to the German archives, and I'm busy researching through them now." By that time I'd read three quarters of them, I think.

Well, the journalist flipped. "You mean to say that you've had Adolf Eichmann's diaries?" he asked.

"No," I replied, "not his diaries, just his memoirs and everything he dictated and his conversations, and it's all pure gold."

Then he asked, "Have you reached any new conclusions?"

I responded: "There's one sentence that has given me cause for thought." (I'll speak about this later on.) And the journalist then wrote an article that appeared the following day in The Ob-

server, and which was picked up that same day by the Sunday Telegraph under the headline, “Historian Recants.” [See the IHR Newsletter, Feb. 1992, pp. 3-4.]

Okay, that’s the kind of harmless thing newspapers do, and the following morning they're wrapping fish and chips. But in this case, the following morning it was wrapping fish and chips all the way around the world. As the globe spun, as the sun rose in the east and sank in the west, so my fax machine churned out press clippings from all my agents and sources and friends, in New Zealand, in Australia, in South Africa, in Europe, then on the east coast of the United States, then across Canada, then finally to the west coast, then down in Hawaii, in China, in Hong Kong — right around the world. That one Observer article had instantaneously been spread: “David Irving Recants.”

It was interesting to see that my original statement, whatever I was supposed to have recanted, had not gone around the world with the speed of light, had not been splashed [on newspaper front pages], and yet my “recanting” was sufficiently newsworthy to have gone around the world, and been given this tremendous publicity splash.

Too late, the Jewish community realized that they had scored an immense “own goal” (what Americans call a “fumble”), because the phone then began ringing with calls from television and radio stations around the world, wanting live interviews and telephone interviews. Would I go to the studios to do a satellite interview with Sydney? And of course, every time I did I said, “Well, Eichmann says he witnessed mass shootings in Russia, but Eichmann’s papers are quite plain: there’s no mention at all of gas chambers.” So I was able to get the message across.

At this, our traditional enemies went berserk. In a very impressive example of damage control, they then called out the fire brigades to spread the following message: “What David Irving has published is not new. David Irving has found nothing that the accepted, academic, reliable, decent, serious professional historians haven’t always known all along. The Eichmann papers are not new. We have always known about these papers. There is nothing in David Irving’s find that merits serious consideration.”

To which I said, “How do you know? The papers that I have donated to the federal archives in Germany are subject to an embargo by me which prevents anybody else from seeing them, and nobody has seen them, except me and the archives [officials] in Germany. So how do you know that what I have is what you lot have known all along?” An interesting point!

“Oh, well, it’s quite obvious, isn’t it?” they said, and then went into a kind of damage control on the damage control. But it was too late, because the point was very obvious: I had the papers, and they hadn’t.

The Institute of Contemporary History of Munich also announced that what I had was nothing new, that it was well known, and that didn’t David Irving realize that Adolf Eichmann’s book had been published in 1985?

I said that not only did I know that Eichmann’s book was published in 1985, I was the person who engineered it. After no other publisher in the world would touch Eichmann’s book, I personally organized contacts between Eichmann’s son, who had those manuscripts, and Druffel Verlag [a publisher in Germany], so that at least the manuscripts got some kind of airing.

So of course I knew about the book, but what I had was totally different: I had the transcripts of the conversations, which had never been published.

The line of defense of the Jewish community was that what I had was not all that serious; and, please, no further publicity. This made me begin to wonder. What was it they didn't want published? Why was it, I asked myself, that when the Eichmann memoirs came out in 1985, first of all, nobody was willing to publish them except Druffel Verlag in Germany, and Planeta in Argentina, but no mainstream publisher in Europe or the United States? Here, after all, are the memoirs of "the biggest mass-murderer of all time," apparently, and yet for some reason they're being swept under the carpet.

And why was it that our traditional enemies had gone into this frantic damage control exercise when, of all people, David Irving had got control of the original transcripts and had put them in the archives?

Martin Gilbert, my deadly rival and enemy, the Churchill biographer in Britain, said, "For many years Mr. Irving has denied these facts about the Holocaust and now he makes a virtue of finding them."

But I didn't say the first, I didn't say the second. What I do say now is: can we analyze these papers, these transcripts, which are disorganized and not indexed, and in rather an untidy mess — can we analyze them in some way, and ask ourselves why it is that they were swept under the carpet in 1985, and why people were so anxious that the press should pay no attention to the papers that had been given to me in Argentina in 1991?

Eichmann on the Holocaust

Well, here are some of the contents. First of all, Adolf Eichmann is quite plain throughout these papers that the word *Endlösung*, or "final solution," meant only one thing to him, and that was Madagascar. When he addressed his mind to the "final solution of the Jewish problem" in the late 1930s and early 1940s, it was quite plain to him that it was only a plan to sweep all the Jews of Europe aboard boats and transport them lock, stock, and barrel down to Madagascar, where they would be on an island where they couldn't bother any of their neighbors and where none of their neighbors could bother them. I've always said and I say it here again — even though I risk making a few enemies — that I think that would have been an ideal solution to a perennial world tragedy.

The second interesting thing that emerges from Eichmann's own papers is that he's chewing over in his mind — he's frightfully repetitive — he keeps on coming back, again and again, in his manuscripts and in these conversations to who was behind it, and what was behind it. What was behind the "Holocaust" (if we can use that word loosely here now)? He keeps coming back to the appalling thought: Did they manage to use us? Did the Zionists use the Nazis to further their own ends? Was the Holocaust something that they themselves inflicted on their own body, in order to bring about their Zionist cause in the long run?

This was Eichmann's theory, at the end of his life (effectively, because a year or two later he was kidnapped and a year after that he was at the end of a rope in Israel). "Did they manage to use us?" He keeps on coming back to it, and every time he comes back to it becomes more and more plausible to him. And perhaps this is the reason why the Eichmann papers were not supposed to see the light of day.

Thirdly, when he's justifying the cruelty of what he himself has seen — and in a minute I'll go into some of the detail about what he saw — he says, "But compared to what they were doing to us at that time, this was nothing. Compared to what they were planning to do with us, this was

nothing.” He said, “I remember in Berlin an air raid... [and] afterwards going through the streets past a house that had collapsed, and hearing the screams of an elderly couple who had been trapped by falling debris, and the woman pleading to be put out of her misery by anybody with a gun.” He said, “When you hear screams like that, you never forget them for the rest of your life.” He describes that two or three times in his memoirs.

Now, that’s not justification. One crime doesn’t justify another crime, that’s plain. But this is in the memoirs. He also says, “Besides, we had by this time already learned of the Jews’ plans for Germany.” He mentions explicitly the book by Theodore Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish*. This is most interesting, because in the Goebbels diaries of August 1941 (which have also not yet been published), Goebbels also mentions Kaufman’s book as justification.

This book, published in the United States by a deranged American Jew, presents a crazy plan for liquidating millions of Germans after the war. It was published in August 1941, and is referred to by Goebbels a few weeks before he introduced the plan for Jews to wear a yellow star. You can see a logical sequence of events, and Eichmann refers to this book as being one reason why, in his own mind, he can justify to himself the crimes that he was seeing committed.

He even mentions as mitigation the Morgenthau plan; but of course here you’ve got to be careful, because the Morgenthau plan wasn’t initiated by Churchill and Roosevelt until mid-September 1944, only a few weeks before Himmler ordered Auschwitz closed down. So, that’s an anachronism. Eichmann’s mind is rather confused and muddled by the time he’s writing or dictating all this in the mid-1950s. (We know it’s the mid-1950s, because he mentions things like, “Why was it a crime for us to invade Poland, when it isn’t a crime for them to do what they’re doing now in Suez?” So it must have been around 1956 that he’s dictating these passages.)

Round about 1958, he gets hold of the “memoirs” of Rudolf Höss, which were published by the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich in that year. Höss wrote these “memoirs” while he was in Krakow, in Polish captivity. They’ve always been a problem — let’s be frank about this — they’ve been a problem to Revisionists.

Eichmann’s comments on the Höss memoirs are annihilating. Reading where Rudolf Höss is saying that two and a half million Jews have been liquidated at Auschwitz, the camp where he was commandant, Eichmann comments, “Where does Höss believe that he got these two and a half million Jews? Not from me. Because to have liquidated two and a half million decrepit, elderly, unworkable Jews, I must have had to feed to him three, four, five, six or seven million Jews in that space of time, and from the transport point of view alone this would have been totally impossible.”

You see, the memoirs of Eichmann are very useful in this respect. He was the transport specialist whose job it was to round up the Jews in Hungary and Slovakia. and ship them off to Germany for forced labor and for dissipation to the other labor camps. He knew that shipping off millions of Jews wasn’t something you do at the snap of your fingers: you had to have conferences with the railway officials and with the road officials, and with the guards and with everybody else who was going to be involved in all this. You had to provide the food for the transports which were going to be on the rails for four or five or six days. All this had to be prepared and planned with typical German bureaucracy and method, and that took meetings and conferences. And Eichmann said, “If you’re going to ship five or six million Jews across Europe to Auschwitz at that time, let me tell you how many trains that would have taken,” and he worked out how many trains it would have taken, because he knew.

“You're not only going to have trains going that way full of Jews, you're going to have empty trains coming back. And you're going to have to have a circulation time, a time where they're unloading at one end, a time where they're loading at the other end... You're going to need so many thousands of wagons” of rolling stock. He worked out exactly how much rolling stock would have been needed, in these memoirs, and he said, “This alone proves that Rudolf Höss was talking through his hat. These figures are totally fantastic, and what the hell is Höss up to?” That is a brief, lurid summary of what Eichmann writes as he's sitting in what he believes to be safety in the underground in Argentina, reading these memoirs of Höss, published in 1958.

Two years later, of course, Eichmann is kidnapped, so it's during those two years that Eichmann is writing this. He mentions also in these memoirs how he received an indirect approach from Nahum Goldmann. Nahum Goldmann was one of the great Zionist leaders of the postwar era. Born in Lithuania and living for many years in Germany, he was the person who negotiated with Konrad Adenauer the billions of German marks which subsequently went to Israel. Eichmann mentions in these memoirs what purported to be an indirect approach from Goldmann, pleading with him to back up the six million figure. Anything he could do to support the six million figure, because the Zionists needed it. You are beginning to suspect, now, why these Eichmann memoirs should not be published.

Eichmann inspected Auschwitz. He went to Auschwitz several times, as he recounts in his memoirs. He describes being met by Rudolf Höss, the commandant, and he describes several grisly scenes. He describes going past an open pit where bodies were being burned, and he says it was an infernal sight, the likes of which he would never forget. He describes how the commandant, Höss, tells him that they are doing these things on Himmler's orders and that it is a sacred task that has been imposed on the SS.

Eichmann describes many things, but what he does not once mention during this vivid description of his visit to Auschwitz is “gas chambers.” He doesn't mention gas chambers, he just mentions the disposal of bodies in open pits by fire, and the comments to him by Commandant Höss.

I find that a very significant omission because, let's face it, in these papers Eichmann is not exactly being modest about what he's seen. He describes how in July 1941 (if you piece together the actual months and the dates) he is summoned to Berlin to visit Reinhard Heydrich, the chief of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). Heydrich utters to him the fateful words, “Ich komme vom Reichsführer SS. Der Führer hat den Befehl zur physischen Vernichtung der Juden gegeben.” (“I've come from the Reichsführer SS [Himmler]. The Führer has given the order for the physical destruction of the Jews.”)

Did Hitler Know?

That, of course — given in quotation marks in the manuscript — is what gave me pause for thought. I've always said, “Hitler wasn't involved, whatever happened — Hitler gave no orders, there's no proof of it.” Here we have Eichmann writing something very specific indeed. What is the explanation?

Well, if we look just at that sentence, we can say that you've only got to change one or two words and you get a completely different meaning. If it wasn't “The Führer has ordered the physische Vernichtung [physical destruction], of the Jews,” but rather “die Ausrottung des Judentums,” you've only changed the words by a fraction and yet you've got a totally different meaning. You get something which is much more similar to Adolf Hitler's public utterances and speeches. Ausrottung des Judentums, the destruction of Judaism, is something totally different. You don't do

that by gas chambers and the machine gun, any more than destroying Christianity or destroying usury can be done by the gas chamber and the bullet. They're different concepts.

So why should Eichmann have written this and not that? By 1958, he is well aware that since Höss' memoirs have been published and Eichmann is mentioned on 20 or 30 pages, the hue and cry are on. They're out looking for him. He knows his days may be numbered. Although I'm sure that — given his German, scrupulous, bureaucratic mind — he's not doing this consciously, the mind has wonderful synthetic and analytical functions; the mind has a habit of suppressing, distorting, and embellishing in a manner which the owner of that mind would wish. And I'm sure that Adolf Eichmann's mind is already lying awake at night, feverishly looking for extenuating circumstances. What more extenuating circumstances would there be for an Adolf Eichmann than that the Führer had "ordered the physical destruction of the Jews"? Eichmann may well have adapted the sentence that Reinhard Heydrich actually uttered to him.

It's immaterial, one way or the other, because we must never overlook one basic fact: this is a postwar document, and any historian can now confirm that nowhere in all the archives of the world has yet been found one wartime document referring to a Führer's order to destroy the Jews, or for that matter, one wartime document referring to gas chambers or gassings. All the documents that refer to Führer orders and gas chambers are postwar documents; statements by people in the dock at Nuremberg, memoirs written by the commandant at Krakow in Poland, and the like. You can't overlook this basic watershed between wartime and postwar documents. If there's no wartime document that says there was a Führer order, if no wartime document talks of gas chambers, then there has to be some explanation for that. That's why I say I think I'm entitled to believe that Adolf Eichmann's mind is synthesizing here. He is looking unconsciously for extenuating circumstances which will perhaps get him off the hook, literally, when the time comes.

Eichmann and Hoffmann

He doesn't try to avoid describing what he's seen. He describes the pits in Auschwitz, he describes the crematoria, just the same as Albert Hoffmann. Four or five years ago, while going through the records of the National Archives in Suitland, Maryland, I came across the interrogation report of Albert Hoffmann, who was the deputy Gauleiter of Silesia, the Gau where Auschwitz was situated. I thought he was an unimportant man, because I didn't realize he was in Silesia, but the British, interrogating Hoffmann, asked him if he'd ever visited a concentration camp. Hoffmann's reply was, "Yes, I've visited two concentration camps in my life, one at Dachau in 1936, which was organized, clean, decent and disciplined, and the prisoners were well fed. Then again," he said, "in 1941 (or 1942: I think, in fact, in both years), I visited Auschwitz concentration camp with my Gauleiter, Bracht, and with the Reichsführer SS, Heinrich Himmler."

Hoffmann went on, "Auschwitz was totally different from Dachau. The scenes I saw there beggar description. Brutality on the worst possible scale. I saw prisoners being beaten, I saw cadavers being cremated in the crematorium..."

You think, "Well, this is it." You read on, thinking now you've got it, but then Hoffmann adds, "...but what Allied propaganda is now claiming, that is totally untrue."

So again, rather like Eichmann, you've got somebody who is prepared to describe to a degree what he has actually seen, which, God knows, isn't exactly decent, but he will not go the final yard and say "gas chambers." Neither Adolf Eichmann nor Albert Hoffmann — eyewitnesses —

describes having seen the gas chambers. So why does Höss describe the gas chambers? I'll come back to Höss and his papers in a minute.

Eichmann Remembers

What else is there in the Eichmann papers? Well, he describes how, after Heydrich called him to Berlin and uttered this fateful sentence about the Führer having given the order, Heydrich said that Himmler has ordered Odilo Globocnik to carry out this task, and that Himmler had actually ordered that the Russian anti-tank ditches were to be used for disposing of the bodies. Heydrich orders Eichmann to go out and check what Globocnik is doing.

Rationalizing, Eichmann says, "From this I assume that the conversation with Heydrich must have been sometime in the late summer of 1941 because that would have to be after the double battle of Minsk and Bialystok," because that's where the anti-tank ditches were. Eichmann then says, "I went out to Minsk, and I saw myself the mass shootings going on."

Now you probably know that I'm a revisionist to a degree, but I'm not a revisionist to the extent that I say that there were no murders of Jews. I think we have to accept that there were My Lai-type massacres where SS officers — the Einsatzkommandos — did machine-gun hundreds if not thousand of Jews into pits. On the Eastern Front, at Riga, at Minsk, and at other locations, this kind of thing did happen.

Eichmann himself — and I wasn't surprised to find it in his papers — actually witnessed this. He went to see one at Minsk, and being a proper SS officer he went right to the front to make sure that everything was being carried out. He got so close, in fact, that he saw with his very own eyes how the victims were being made to go into the pits and stand there waiting to be shot. (We've all heard these descriptions of it, and I've seen some terrible descriptions from sources that I find credible.) He says he saw that one woman was holding a little child in her arms, petrified, and she held the child out to him, and he writes in his memoirs: "I was a parent too, and I instinctively stepped forward as though to take the child. But at that very moment the salvo of shots rang out. Both were killed only a few feet away from me. The child's brains were spattered over my leather greatcoat, and my driver had to clean the mess off."

I don't know why he recounted that kind of detail in his memoirs. It's an ugly piece of circumstantial evidence. But it lends credibility and authenticity to the descriptions, what a writer calls verisimilitude. It didn't surprise me. He also describes — and I have to say this being an honest historian — going to another location a few weeks later and being driven around in a bus; then being told by the bus driver to look through a peep hole into the back of the bus where he saw a number of prisoners being gassed by the exhaust fumes. So I accept that this kind of experiment was made on a very limited scale, but that it was rapidly abandoned as being a totally inefficient way of killing people. But, I don't accept that the gas chambers existed, and this is well known. I've seen no evidence at all that gas chambers existed.

In these papers we see Eichmann loyally standing up for his superiors, Himmler and Heydrich. He's constantly wondering where the order came from, if there was an order. On one occasion he goes so far, and in a rather paranoid way, to say if there was such an order then it could only have come from outside Germany, and why. Which is bringing us back on that other track of "were we duped by the Zionists in some way?"

Eichmann constantly ravages the memoirs of Rudolf Höss, as I mentioned. This is again another reason "not to publish" the Eichmann memoirs, and not to grant them any credence, because for

our opponents the Höss memoirs are a keystone of the Holocaust legend. Eichmann describes the refusal of the government of Slovakia, and other countries where he operated, to intercede on behalf of their Jewish people. They were glad to get clean of them. And that again is something these people wouldn't have wanted to be published.

He also describes an odd case in Theresienstadt. He describes how one of the girls on a train-load of Jews who were being shipped off to Auschwitz protested loudly and vociferously that she wasn't Jewish. Giving her the benefit of the doubt, she was unloaded at one station and taken to Theresienstadt (which was a Prominentenlager for the Jews in Czechoslovakia). But here the Jewish leader of the camp protested noisily about having a non-Jew foisted on them. This again is a rather ugly depiction of the way that man behaves unto man.

Jews for Trucks

But most lethal of all, and I suppose taking up more than 50 percent of the volume of the Eichmann papers, is the description by Eichmann of his negotiations with the Zionists in 1944. After the German invasion of Hungary, Eichmann was sent there to round up the Jews and ship them off. Two Zionist leaders came forward, Joel Brand and Reszö Kasztner [Köstner], and offered to deal with him — to trade with him — to rescue the Jews of Hungary and Slovakia, whereby the Germans could keep the Jewish “mob” (and in fact, they offered, the Jewish community in Hungary would be glad to help round them up) if in return Eichmann would guarantee to spare 20,000 of the fittest, the best, the Jewish elite, the toughest ones who were needed in the new Zionist state of Israel.

Eichmann describes these conferences in great detail. He has almost total recall. His descriptions reveal all the cunning and cynicism of the Zionist leaders at that time, at that stage of the war [1944] in a manner which, I think, the Jewish community today would find deeply distressing. This, I think, is why the Eichmann memoirs had to be suppressed, because of the detail. Kasztner was subsequently assassinated in Israel, years later.

There is no doubt about what happened because, working in the archives, I've come across records relating to the British end of these negotiations, which eventually became the famous “Jews-for-trucks” deal. In this, Brand was sent out to negotiate with the British in Turkey, in Palestine, and Egypt; and the deal being that in return for thousands of Jews the world community was to provide the Germans with trucks and motor equipment for fighting on the Russian front. (Not on the western front, of course: the deal had to be the trucks would only be used on the Russian front.) In return, the SS agreed to release a number of Jews. Eichmann was the person handling this deal in Hungary for Germany, and Brand and Kasztner were handling the deal for the Zionists.

It's a fascinating story; perhaps one day I'll write a book about it. In the British archives I've now located all the records relating to the British end of these deals, as well as all the letters between Brand and Kasztner and the Jewish agency and the Zionist leaders in Palestine, which were intercepted by British postal censorship. It's a fascinating, but deeply ugly, story. It certainly wouldn't win any friends if I do it.

In the introduction to his papers, Eichmann writes that he is not a murderer: He does regard himself, however, rather ruefully, as being an accomplice to murder, because he helped round up the Jews who were then shipped off to a fate that he could only surmise. You would have to accept, of course, that what he is writing in his memoirs by the mid-1950s is no longer just the pure product of his recollection but also, to a certain extent, a symbiosis of his memories with what he

has read in Rudolf Höss' memoirs, and in *The Final Solution* by Gerald Reitlinger, which he has also read.

Eichmann on Höss

Eichmann's memoirs are an important element of the refutation of the Holocaust story. I have saved this for the end: Because I'm notorious, and because my name is on stickers around London, ("Irving speaks and Rostock burns"), purely by chance another man came and visited me in London only a few weeks ago, and he unwrapped an envelope, and inside the envelope was a book. I recognized it because it's a well-known book that we all have consulted. It was a copy of the original German edition of the memoirs of Rudolf Höss, *Kommandant in CITE>Auschwitz*, published in 1958 by the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich.

He said, "I bought this book in a German flea market only a few months ago and I want to ask you how much is it worth."

I said, "How much did you pay for it?"

He said, "No, no, no, look. It's got handwriting all over it."

Here are some pages of it, and you can see the handwriting — it's got hand-written marginal notes all over it. Says one note here, "That is a lying distortion of the facts." The handwriting is Eichmann's. The book is Adolf Eichmann's own copy of the Rudolf Höss memoirs! I don't know how much money this man wanted for it. I'm not a rich man, but I've got his address; one day, perhaps, I'll make him an offer for it.

Everywhere in that book Eichmann has written his own comments. Rudolf Höss writes, "I had a private meeting alone with Adolf Eichmann, and we discussed the Eichmann program." Eichmann crosses this out: "A shameless lie. I was never alone with Höss." So those of us who always doubted the integrity of the Höss memoirs — we wondered why Höss should have written these things — here in Eichmann's own handwriting we've got yet one more piece of proof that the Höss memoirs are untrustworthy as a source.

The truth gets out

I wrote a letter last week to [the weekly] *Die Zeit* in Germany, which has devoted two pages to, first of all, the Auschwitz controversy [September 18] and, a week later [September 25], *The Leuchter Report*. I wrote in that letter, "A swine [ein Hundsfott] is the historian who relies only on the Höss memoirs now!" We knew we couldn't rely on them. Bit by bit, you see, the truth does come out.

You can ban historians. You can have them arrested, you can fine them \$10,000, you can make life hell for them. But one thing is quite plain: you can't declare the truth to be a prohibited person. The truth gets out.

Thank you very much.

Questions

Q: What do we know about the people who are responsible for the massacres of Jews by firing squad in Minsk and other areas? How high did the responsibility go?

A: First of all, let me say a little about the source which convinced me on that, and I know that Professor Faurisson disagrees with me on this: A number of German prisoners were held in British captivity in rooms that were bugged; there were hidden microphones in each room. And there are transcripts of those conversations. In one particular case, General Walter Bruns described to his pals in most appalling detail a massacre he himself saw near Riga on November 30, 1941. I'm not going to read that one out here. I'm going to read one out to show you how unreliable these people sometimes are. Here's a prisoner of war in a conversation on December 20, 1944, a man called Obergefreiter Till, who was captured in August 1944. He claimed to have been guarding the railway at Auschwitz in July 1943 when a trainload of Greek Jews arrived.

Till said, "The SS man kicked a Jewish woman who was highly pregnant. He kicked her right in the stomach and knocked her down. And the unborn baby came almost out. He took hold of it and pulled it out, threw it down on the ground, and told the woman to get up. He put that child on the truck that was standing there to take away the dead people to be burned."

The British officer asked, "The child was dead, of course?"

Till said, "Yes, and the woman could not get up. She was hardly dressed, and he grabbed her by her breast — he wanted to pull her up — and he just ripped her skin and everything out of her breasts. There was a captain there from the army, I think his name was Captain Klug. He went after that SS guy, he took him by the shoulder, turned him around, and said, 'Are you crazy to do something like that? Aren't you ashamed of yourself?'" — and so on.

This is the kind of rubbish that these diseased minds invented sometimes. So you've got to be very careful when you use these eyewitnesses. Obviously that's a totally phony account: The man invented the whole story. But disordered, diseased minds invent stories like that, particularly when they are being interrogated.

But other reports, unfortunately, have the ring of authenticity. Most of these SS officers — the gangsters that carried out the mass shootings — were, I think, acting from the meanest of motives. There was a particular SS officer in Riga who was described in the report by Bruns, in which Bruns said, "The difficulty for us was how to decide to draw what we had seen to the Führer's attention." And eventually they sent a lieutenant down the road, and got him to write what he saw, and they sent this report (signed by the lieutenant) up to the Führer's headquarters through Canaris. And two days later the order comes back from Hitler, "These mass shootings have got to stop at once." So Hitler intervened to stop it. Which again fits in with my theory that Hitler was in the dark that this kind of mass crime was going on. I suspect that the SS officer concerned [Altemeyer] was only 23 or 24. That was the age of the gangs that were carrying out these kinds of crimes. Rather like [US Army] Lt. Calley in My Lai. I don't know why those people do that kind of thing.

Q: Some years ago in Germany I read an article about Adolf Eichmann, that he was born Adolf Eich, a Jew.

A: Well, I think that this is a pretty far-fetched story, but he certainly had sympathies for the Jews. He was a great admirer of the Jews and in his own memoirs he describes himself as being more of a Zionist than an SS officer, for what it is worth.

Q: [Professor Robert Faurisson] About Eichmann, may I ask you if you read the transcripts of Avner Less, the instructing magistrate [in fact, 3,564 pages]?

A: No, I haven't.

Q: [Faurisson] And did you read the transcript of the Jerusalem trial [of Adolf Eichmann]?

A: No, I didn't.

Q: [Faurisson] Maybe we have answers to your questions. You said that the Jews didn't want the memoirs to be too well known. Perhaps it is because all you have told us supports what Eichmann said in those transcripts. The memoirs are in fact a confirmation of what Eichmann thought was true.

I have something to add about the personality of Eichmann: he was extremely naive. For example, when Eichmann is asked a question about the gas chambers he doesn't say "gas chambers," he says, "Oh yeah, Höss told me about the murder installations," things like that. And then he says, "Now, wait a minute. I don't remember the circumstances. Maybe I read that, or maybe somebody told me that... this is possible." He was very impressionable, the poor man, even before being taken to Jerusalem. He was impressed by Poliakov and all those stupid people.

A: You're right; the character of Eichmann is very important. He was pliable, he was easily impressed, he was complacent, and anxious to please.

Q: [Faurisson] Absolutely. I agree totally with this. It's very important to understand Eichmann. Now, for Höss we have so many proofs that Höss didn't say those things, didn't write those things. When he said, for example, three million people died in Auschwitz — two million and a half in gas chambers, and 500,000 for other reasons — we know from Moritz von Schirmeister that in the car taking Höss from Minden to Nuremberg, Höss said, "Certainly I signed a statement that I killed two and a half million Jews. But I could just as well have said that it was five million Jews. There are certain methods by which any confession can be obtained, whether it is true or not." [See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, p. 399.] To set the record straight, I don't know any Revisionist who says that there were no massacres, because there is no war without massacres, especially on the Russian front where you had Jews, and partisans, women, and children all mixed together.

A: It's important to say this because we are called Holocaust deniers, and the television screens show you the mass graves and all the rest of it, which we don't deny.

Q: [Faurisson] We certainly don't deny it. Right at the beginning of the Toronto trial [of Ernst Zündel] we said, "This is what we assume, and this is what we contest." And we assume that there were massacres and hostages and reprisals and so on.

Now, on to another subject. Do you remember the conversation we had at your home, when I said I realize that General Bruns said that there were massacres and things like that, but at first he doesn't say that he has seen them himself?

Second, you see that two or three pages later in the transcript there is a very interesting document from the British interrogators saying who Bruns was. First he had been punished, in December 1944 or January 1945, by the Germans themselves. Then he said that he was very willing to collaborate with the British. Finally, didn't you say to me that, yes, in fact Bruns at a trial had said that he had not seen these massacres?

A: Yes, but I still stand by the validity of these eavesdropping reports. They are, I think, primary sources of the most fundamental quality. Two years after this conversation, which was in April 1945, Bruns went into the dock in Nuremberg and swore on a stack of Bibles that he had seen nothing, he had only heard reports and rumors. But if you read the conversation in which he de-

scribes what he has seen, there is one particular passage where he says “I can never forget the appallingly disgusting remarks the men with the guns were making as they were shooting the people — calling out things: 'Look at that Jewish beauty.' I can see her now in my mind’s eye, a beautiful girl about 20 with a flame-red dress.” When you read things like that you know the man’s not making it up.

Q: [Faurisson] Now, Mr. Irving, I have so trained myself in reading testimonies that I can tell you that, in my personal estimation, this story of the dress and so on is quite typical of inventions. Maybe I'm wrong, but don't you think that if you tell us that Bruns said in April 1945, “I attended [witnessed] this,” (and he doesn't even say “I attended this”), that you should add that two years later he said that he had not attended? I think we should note both sides of the story.

A: Oh, yes, I think it's important. But this is just proof of how people lie when they get in the witness box.

Q: [Faurisson] It could be that, but we don't know: We need both. Now about the text. It's not a conversation taken on the microphone. As Ernst Zündel said so well, do you know what the microphones were like in 1945, in Germany? They were huge and you had to shout into them. Do you think that the British had microphones in the bushes everywhere?

A: Yes, that's why we won the war. We had the better equipment.

About the author:

David Irving, acknowledged by *The Times* of London as “one of Britain’s foremost historians,” is the author of more than two dozen published works on 20th-century history, including *Hess: The Missing Years*, *Uprising: Hungary 1956*, *Hitler’s War*, *Churchill’s War* and *Göring: A Biography*. Irving has addressed four IHR conferences.

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Roy Bullock: ADL Informant

IHR Report Confirmed

Veteran subscribers with extraordinary memories may recognize the name of Roy Bullock from a brief item about him in the January 1987 issue of *IHR Newsletter*. It told readers that Bullock was a paid agent of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Bullock, the item went on, is paid to gather information for the ADL, to propagate disinformation and to sabotage targeted organizations. Bullock attended the fourth and fifth [IHR] revisionist conferences ... He was barred from the sixth and seventh conferences after his affiliation was confirmed.

Now Bullock's relationship with the ADL has been confirmed by San Francisco newspapers and former San Francisco police officer Tom Gerard, who has fled to the Philippines after allegedly stealing confidential police files and selling the information to foreign agents.

Relationship Acknowledged

In an interview with the *San Francisco Examiner* (Jan. 22) Gerard acknowledged that Bullock "was an informant and friend with whom he shared law enforcement information." Gerard added that he met Bullock during a visit to the local offices of the Anti-Defamation League ... Bullock was a paid investigator for the ADL ... and the two men shared a professional interest in gathering intelligence on right-wing extremists and Arab American groups... We sat there one morning with everyone in the [ADL] office, shook hands and made friends.

Confidential police files were found in ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles during a December 10 search by district attorney investigators. "How it landed in the ADL's offices is a mystery, investigators say," the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported (Jan. 15.).

Gerard reportedly worked for Israeli intelligence, and "is being portrayed as a 'hero' in the Israeli media." (*San Francisco Examiner*, Jan. 17.)

In a sworn deposition on January 16, 1991, the ADL's "director of research," Alan Schwartz, was asked if the ADL has "secured information from Israeli intelligence or police organizations." Schwartz refused to answer the question, suggesting that the ADL does in fact "secure" such information. (The complete transcript of this deposition is available from the IHR for \$11.95, plus \$2.00 shipping.)

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French Court Orders Heavy Penalties Against Faurisson for Holocaust Views

New French Legal Assault Against Revisionists and Freedom of Speech

On December 9, 1992, the Paris Court of Appeal (Eleventh Department) rejected Professor Robert Faurisson's appeal of an April 1991 conviction on a charge of "contesting the crimes against humanity" because of remarks about the Holocaust story he made in a magazine interview.

The appeal court imposed penalties of 187,000 francs (nearly \$40,000 at current exchange rates) on each of the two defendants in the case: Dr. Faurisson and magazine publisher Patrice Boizeau. Each was ordered to pay 30,000 francs in fines, and 157,000 francs in "damages" to eleven Jewish-Zionist and other organizations. In addition, each must, of course, bear the legal costs of his defense.

In the interview, published in the September 1990 issue of *Le Choc du Mois* ("The Shock of the Month"), the French professor commented on the extraordinary Fabius-Gayssot law of July 1990 that expressly forbids "contesting the crimes against humanity" as defined by the victors of the Second World War and punished by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. In practice, this law applies only to those who call into question alleged crimes against Jews, and particularly persons who contest the orthodox Holocaust extermination story.

Sometimes referred to as the "Lex Faurissonia," this law was enacted to criminalize, above all, the work of Dr. Faurisson — Europe's leading Revisionist scholar and a good friend of the IHR.

In his 1990 *Le Choc du Mois* interview, Faurisson had stated that he would continue, regardless of the recently-promulgated law, to proclaim the results of his research:

1. There was no German order or plan to exterminate the Jews of Europe.
2. No homicidal gas chambers ever existed in the concentration camps of the Third Reich. The supposed extermination gas chambers, as described by alleged eyewitnesses and perpetrators, could not have existed for physical, chemical, topographical, and architectural reasons.
3. The familiar figure of six million Jewish victims is absurd.

In April 1991, a Paris criminal court ordered Faurisson to pay a penalty of 250,000 francs (of which 100,000 was suspended), and the publisher of *Le Choc du Mois* to pay a penalty of 180,000 francs. (See the IHR Newsletter, May 1991, pp. 1-2, and May 1992, pp. 2-3.)

In the December 1992 decision, the three-judge appeal court (Françoise Simon presiding) imposed a total penalty of 374,000 francs on the two defendants, none of which was suspended.

Throughout Faurisson's entire testimony, which lasted nearly two hours, Judge Simon ostentatiously averted her gaze from him. She also forbade Faurisson from reading documents, including a portion of the verdict of the Nuremberg Tribunal (the ostensible basis for the law in question).

But that's not the worst of it. In addition to the fines totaling nearly \$80,000 in this single case (not to mention their considerable legal expenses), Faurisson and the magazine face two new cases based on the same 1990 interview. As Faurisson has ruefully explained, it's as if someone accused of having stolen a bicycle were to stand trial three times: first for the theft of the bike, then for stealing the wheels, and finally for taking the handlebars. This sort of double and even triple jeopardy is normally rejected by French jurisprudence no less than it is in America: but because it involves the most sacred icon of our age, the legal situation is anything but normal.

Finally, on January 12, Faurisson received a summons for yet another trial. He is being sued because of a fragment of a sentence in a review by him published in the weekly *Rivarol*, April 10, 1992.

Not surprisingly, French newspapers and television have generally ignored or minimized the appeal court's December decision against Faurisson and the magazine.

Faurisson has decided not to appeal the December decision to a higher tribunal, citing the cost of such an appeal and because he believes that even should his conviction be overturned he would likely be re-tried on the same charges (and incur further legal expenses), to obtain a verdict that would probably be no different from the first.

At the same time, though, Faurisson remains steadfast in his determination to carry on the fight for the historical truth about the alleged gas chambers, and for the freedom to write and speak that truth in France.

An expression of this continued dedication — and of the growth of Holocaust Revisionism — is a rather lengthy and remarkably fair interview with Faurisson published November 11 in the Italian daily *Corriere della Sera*. In his replies to the paper's respectful questions, the French scholar provided a clear and concise summary of the Revisionist view.

'Worse Than Stalinist Law'

The Paris court's December ruling is of historic significance. For the first time a university professor has been expressly punished by a judicial body for having made public his research on a subject on which it is expressly forbidden by law to contest the official version.

Over the centuries thousands of professors and other scholars have suffered terribly for having affronted the ruling orthodoxy with their findings. It is to be noted, however, that until now such men and women have been punished on indirect and hypocritical legal grounds. They have been accused, for instance, of attacking religious faith, of endangering the national interest or of undermining a political ideology. Sometimes — as has also been the case with Faurisson — they have been condemned for “defaming” this or that person or group, for “inciting to racial hatred,” or for causing “personal damage.” In the late 1940s, for example, French professor Maurice Bardèche was thrown into prison on the pretext that he “apologized for [Nazi] crimes.”

In Germany, which does not have a specific law against Revisionism, courts have punished Revisionists on the basis of a law that makes it a crime to “defame the memory of the dead.”

France's Fabius-Gayssot law is free of any such hypocrisy. With perfect cynicism, the "Lex Faurissonia" establishes historiographical dogma. Not even Stalin ever proclaimed a comparable law. When, for instance, the Soviet dictator persecuted the opponents of the quack biologist Lysenko (who was also a member of the Soviet commission that "established" that the Germans killed four million people at Auschwitz), it was not in the name of a specific Soviet law declaring Lysenko's theories to be correct, nor was there ever such a Soviet law. The Fabius-Gayssot law is not Stalinist: it is worse.

Other Victims

Professor Faurisson is not the only victim of the legal campaign in France against Holocaust Revisionists. (See also the IHR Newsletter, July-August 1992, pp. 5-6.) Among other recent cases involving such dangerous "thought criminals" have been:

- In February 1992, a Paris court of appeal ordered Francois Brigneau and Roland Gaucher to pay a fine of 76,000 francs (\$15,200) for having published in a weekly periodical a 60-word statement by Faurisson in 1980 refuting the Holocaust gas chamber and extermination story.
- In April 1992, the appeals court in Caen (Normandy) upheld convictions against Vincent Reynouard, a 23-year-old chemical engineer, and Remi Pontier, a computer science engineer, for distributing leaflets and stickers that question the existence of extermination gas chambers in Third Reich concentration camps. Reynouard and Pontier thus became the first persons to be convicted under the Fabius-Gayssot law.
- In June 1992, a court in Nice convicted two young men for having put stickers on a secondary school building that read "Faurisson is right: Gas chambers = rubbish." Fabrice Robert, a 20-year-old university history student, was ordered to pay a fine of 10,000 francs (\$2,000), and Pierre Ga_z_re, a 26-year-old automobile worker, was fined 20,000 francs (\$4,000). Each defendant was also ordered to pay a total of 10,000 francs to four organizations. Finally, the "civic rights" of the two young men were suspended for five years. (Among other things, this means that neither can hold any government job, including teacher or post office employee, or work in any government-affiliated agency or business.) This case is being appealed.
- In April 1992, Philippe Costa, a 31-year-old engineer, and Laurent Gentel, a 24-year-old law student, appeared in a court in Fontainebleau (near Paris) for having distributed a leaflet advertising audio cassettes of a presentation by Faurisson on the gas chamber issue. The judge in the case declared that no one would be permitted even to mention the words "gas chamber" during the trial, which meant that the defendants could not explain their reasons for distributing the leaflet. They have been ordered to pay penalties of 29,000 francs. The verdict is being appealed.
- In mid-December, a court in Amiens ordered Revisionist publisher and writer Pierre Guillaume, and the periodical Nationalisme et République, to pay 103,000 francs for publishing a very cautiously worded article about the Holocaust issue. In addition, Guillaume has been ordered to pay 58,000 francs for having published a translation of an "open letter" by IHR editor Mark Weber (reprinted from the Summer 1988 Journal). Guillaume faces a third trial for having published copies of an article by Pierre Marais, a retired auto technician. Marais himself faces two trials: one for this article and another for a technical study he wrote.
- Bernard Notin, a professor of economics at a university in Lyon, has faced numerous difficulties in recent years for mentioning, in passing, in an article that the gas chamber story is not clear. As a result of pressure from Jewish Zionist organizations, and in particular the group headed by Serge Klarsfeld, he was relieved of his teaching duties. Although it was recently decided to permit him to resume teaching, it is not clear if this will actually hap-

pen. When he was asked during a television interview if he is a Revisionist, he replied: “I will not answer because I do not want to give vile little magistrates the opportunity to assassinate me.”

Jewish-Zionist groups are upset that persons charged under the Fabius-Gayssot law have been able to articulately explain in court precisely why they reject the Holocaust extermination story.

Accordingly, an attorney and spokesman for the virulently anti-Revisionist “International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism” (LICRA) recently proposed a revision of the law that would forbid a defendant in a Fabius-Gayssot case from explaining his Revisionist views in court, or even from repeating in court the “offending” statement.

So goes it for Revisionists in “douce France” (“sweet, gentle France”).

In Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy and Sweden laws similar to the Fabius-Gayssot law are in effect: a troubling portent of the “new Europe.”

Media Hypocrisy

France’s Fabius-Gayssot law, and similar legal measures in other countries, would be universally condemned as intolerable restrictions of free speech and academic expression if they involved any issue other than the Holocaust.

Hardly a word about any of these latest French blows against civil rights and free speech has appeared in the American media, which is normally so quick to sniff out every real or imagined violation of civil rights in China, Burma or South Africa.

Such laws and measures are not only chilling manifestations of the power and bigotry of the international Holocaust lobby, they also strikingly point up the bad faith and desperate fear of the lobby in the face of steady Revisionist advances. Historical truth does not need laws to defend itself.

Faurisson Needs Our Help

In France — as here in the United States — our traditional enemies have used litigation in their ongoing campaign to destroy Holocaust Revisionism. Nowhere is the legal situation worse for Revisionists than in France, where a special law allows private associations, individuals, and the state to target men and women like our brave colleague, Robert Faurisson.

As Europe’s leading Holocaust Revisionist scholar and activist, Dr. Faurisson has been the target of judicial and criminal repression since 1979. He has suffered eight physical attacks, including the beating that nearly killed him on September 16, 1989. Now Faurisson, who must support himself and his wife from a single source of income (his now-reduced salary as a professor), must bear the burden of court-ordered penalties (about \$37,000), as well as the costs of his legal defense in this and other cases stemming from his commitment to finding and publicizing the historical truth about the “gas chambers.”

Robert Faurisson’s fight is your fight. No less than our American forefathers who signed this country’s declaration of independent nationhood in the summer of 1776, Faurisson has pledged his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor so that your children and your children’s children will live free from the bane of an imposed pseudo-religion.

Once more, Robert Faurisson needs your support. Help brighten his spring with your generous contributions for his legal expenses so that we American Revisionists can say, in word and in deed, “Faurisson, we are here!” (Note: French law does not permit individuals to assist in paying fines.)

Please address your contributions for Professor Faurisson’s legal defense to:

Robert Faurisson
10, Rue de Normandie
03200 Vichy
France

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Otto-Ernst Remer Sentenced to 22 Months Imprisonment for Revisionist Publications

A German court has sentenced Otto-Ernst Remer, an 80-year-old retired army general, to 22 months imprisonment for publishing articles disputing wartime mass killings at Auschwitz in gas chambers.

On October 22, 1992, a criminal court in Schweinfurt found Remer guilty of “popular incitement” and “incitement to racial hatred” because of allegedly anti-Jewish statements published in five issues of his widely circulated tabloid paper, *Remer Depesche*.

Comparing the defendant to Mephisto in Goethe’s *Faust*, the state prosecuting attorney contended that the purpose of the *Remer Depesche* is to promote Nazi ideology. The prosecutor also spoke of Remer’s “crude insult against millions of victims,” and insisted that the Holocaust extermination story is an “obvious historical fact” that does not need to be proved in court.

The judges apparently agreed. The incorrigible defendant’s previous convictions on this same charge should have been a warning to him, the court declared. Adding to his guilt, the judges said, is the fact that copies of his paper were distributed to many households and schools, and even in foreign countries. (Because of his outspokenness, the Bonn government had already taken away the defendant’s pension.)

Defense Evidence Rejected

The tall, slim octogenarian defendant let his two attorneys — Dr. Herbert Schaller and Hajo Herrmann — speak for him during the course of the two-day trial. During the Second World War, Dr. Schaller served as a highly decorated officer on the eastern front. Herrmann was one of Germany’s most successful wartime fighter pilots and air force commanders.

Remer’s publications are not hateful or anti-Jewish, argued the defense attorneys, but are instead meant to defend the German people against the charge of collective responsibility for mass murder of Jews. In fact, they pointed out, the *Remer Depesche* is published by the J. G. Burg Society, named after a Jewish survivor of wartime persecution who testified on behalf of Ernst Zündel in the 1988 Toronto “Holocaust trial.”

The Holocaust extermination story is not at all “obvious,” the attorneys said, and cited public opinion polls in several countries to show that an international debate exists on precisely this issue. The postwar “confession” of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, which is widely cited as proof of mass gassings, is worthless, said the attorneys, because it was obtained by torture. They also cited the existence of brothels, concerts and medical treatment for inmates in the wartime concentration camps.

To show that the allegedly criminal statements made in the Remer Depesche are justifiable, the defense attorneys prepared 34 exhibits, including a report by German engineer [Germar Rudolf](#) on his on-site forensic examination of the alleged extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz, Allied aerial reconnaissance photographs taken in 1944 of the camp complex, as well as several witnesses. The judges refused to consider any of this evidence.

Remer's attorneys vehemently criticized the court's refusal to consider their evidence, pointing out that the court is legally obliged to consider any evidence that might exonerate a defendant.

In a democratic state, they added, the government must be neutral about historical issues, and should permit a free exchange of competing views. It is outrageous that state officials not only make no effort to disprove what their defendant has said, but merely insist that he has no right to express his dissident views on this issue. That the German government still refuses to give any serious consideration to the abundant evidence that there was no mass extermination of Jews, but instead simply says that this is an "obvious fact," is, in a democracy, "outrageous," said the attorneys.

Courtroom Support

Remer has never given up the struggle, as he sees it, for the good of his people. His supporters called this trial the retired commander's "last great battle for Germany."

The courtroom was entirely packed during the proceedings, and many who wanted to attend had to be turned away for lack of seating. Most of those who attended firmly supported Remer. During breaks in the proceedings, they made comments to him such as: "I congratulate you on your courage," and "Mr. Remer, I wish you all the best as a decent German."

Pointing out that Remer's "crime" was a "non-violent expression of opinion," the defense attorneys characterized the proceeding as "a special kind of political trial." Remer himself described the court as a "regime tribunal," and expressed the hope that "perhaps the day will come when this court will be called to account" for its behavior.

A prison sentence of 22 months, without suspension, is normally handed down in Germany only against major felons, such as arsonists and drug dealers. For an 80-year-old man like Remer, a 22-month prison sentence can easily be a life sentence.

The October verdict is being appealed, but the outlook for success is not good.

Remer, who addressed the Eighth IHR Conference in 1987, is himself a historical figure. As a young officer in command of the Berlin guard regiment in July 1944, he played a key role in suppressing the ill-fated attempt by conspirators to kill Hitler and seize power in a violent coup d'etat.

Remer was promoted, eventually to general, and at the end of the war was serving as a commander in Pomerania. Among other decorations, he was awarded the Knight's Cross with Oak Leaves, the Golden Wounded Badge, the German Cross in Gold, and the Silver Close Combat badge for 48 close combat engagements.

After the war, the American commander of a camp for German prisoners of war, First Infantry Division officer Stanley Samuelson, said of him: "Of the 87 German generals in this camp, General Remer is the only one whom I respect as courageous and honorable."

[Remer's presentation at the Eighth IHR conference is available on both audiotape and videotape from the IHR.]

Remer's home address is: Winkelser Str. 11E, 8730 Bad Kissingen, Germany.

— M.W.

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Five-Story US Holocaust Museum to Open in Washington, DC

President Bill Clinton and other major political figures are expected to attend the formal dedication ceremony of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum on April 22 in Washington, DC. Journalists and television crews from across the United States and many foreign countries will also be present at the ceremony, which coincides with the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

The Museum — the world's largest and costliest such memorial — will open to the public on April 26. It was built by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, a taxpayer-funded federal government agency created by Congress in 1980.

The five-story Museum building is located near the National Mall, 400 yards from the Washington Monument, on land donated by the federal government.

The Museum's permanent exhibition covers a 40,000-square-foot area spread over three floors. Visitors will start on the fourth floor and descend through the highly emotional exhibit area to the second floor. The peaked roofs on each of the building's eight five-story towers are supposed to remind visitors of the watch towers at the Auschwitz camp.

Millions Already Spent

Private citizens and corporations, mostly wealthy Jewish donors, have reportedly pledged about \$160 million to cover Museum construction costs. In spite of a well-organized campaign, though, the US Holocaust Memorial Council and its friends in the media have been unable to generate widespread public support for the Museum project, as the Council's own newsletters make clear.

In 1980, the Congress limited the budget of the US Holocaust Memorial Council to \$2.5 million. But Congress has since gone far beyond this, appropriating \$33 million above the originally authorized amount.

Last June, the Congress voted an additional \$18.3 million in taxpayer money to fund the Council for fiscal year 1993. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that for the fiscal years 1994 to 2000, the Council will receive \$15.4 million tax dollars annually (adjusted for inflation). The taxpayer bill for the Holocaust Museum between 1993 and 2000 will easily amount to at least \$110 million. (Source: Congressional Record - House, June 16, 1992, pp. H 4742-4744.)

The Holocaust Museum's operating budget is expected to exceed that of the nearby Air and Space Museum, the most visited museum in the world.

Fundraising requires money, and the US Holocaust Council has been spending lots of it. In 1992 alone, the Council spent \$4.3 million on fundraising activity. (Source: USHMC "Annual Re-

port,” January 1992.)

The Zionist Factor

The Museum is certain to be a major focus and tool of the Zionist and Holocaust lobbies. For example, on the second floor visitors will be shown a laudatory, emotional depiction of the founding of Israel (but nothing about the brutal Zionist dispossession of the native Palestinian Arabs).

Members of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, appointed by the President, include such notable apologists for Israel as former US congressman Stephen Solarz, US Senator Howard Metzenbaum, Abraham H. Foxman (national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith), and Elie Wiesel.

Model of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, which opens in April in Washington, DC. In the foreground is the six-sided “Hall of Remembrance.”

Underscoring the importance of the Museum for international Zionist interests, the World Jewish Congress (WJC) recently urged Pope Paul II to participate in the Museum’s opening. WJC general secretary Rabbi Israel Singer met at the Vatican with the Pope on November 12.

The Pope expressed his appreciation for the invitation, but made no commitment, WJC president Edgar Bronfman told journalists in early December. “Certainly the whole Jewish world and, I’m sure, most of the rest of the world, would be very pleased if he could see his way through to doing that,” commented Bronfman.

(By the way, just who authorized the World Jewish Congress to intervene in this way?)

Inappropriate

As public opinion polls reflect, most Americans resent having tens of millions of their tax dollars spent on special-interest projects such as this Museum, particularly at a time of astronomical budget deficits.

Anyway, there is little need for yet another such memorial. As Rabbi Ephraim Buchwald has pointed out: “... Right now the priority [for American Jews] seems to be building Holocaust memorials. More than \$500 million has already been pledged or spent to build 19 Holocaust memorials and 36 research centers or libraries in America. Some cities, like Los Angeles, have two or three competing Holocaust memorials ...” (*Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1992.)

The US Holocaust Museum is additionally inappropriate because it will “memorialize” non-Americans persecuted by other non-Americans. If any new memorial in the nation’s capital is really justifiable, it might more appropriately be dedicated to the memory of dead American Indians or black slaves. Even an official US Museum dedicated to the victims of Communism would be more justifiable. (As historians acknowledge, the victims of Soviet dictator Stalin alone vastly outnumber those of Hitler.)

In a fundraising letter mailed out by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in 1991 and targeted to Jewish Americans, national campaign chairman Miles Lerman promised that the Museum “will not shrink from showing the failure of American leaders and those of other nations to act” to save Jews. The Museum, Lerman went on, will insure that “Children in Dubuque, families in

Tucson, and school teachers in Atlanta will learn the history and the lessons of Auschwitz as thoroughly as they learn the history of their own communities.”

Pseudo-Religious

Pointing up its pseudo-religious and emotional character, the Museum’s foundation was laid over earth mixed with soil brought from the sites of Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen and other former German concentration camps. The Museum’s hexagonally shaped, 60-foot-high, sky-lit “Hall of Remembrance” includes a chapel where visitors will be encouraged to pray and light candles.

'Holocaustomania'

It is becoming clear to more and more Americans that the campaign that Jewish American historian Alfred Lilienthal has very appropriately called “Holocaustomania” has terribly skewed our nation’s sense of priorities. Today the Holocaust story is widely regarded as more sacred than the traditional religious faith of the great majority of Americans. Politicians and cultural watchdogs seem to regard vilification of Anne Frank, for example, as a greater outrage than a desecration of the Virgin Mary.

Revisionist Impact

Holocaust Revisionism’s impact on the genesis of this Museum was confirmed in an article in *Regardie's*, an influential Washington, DC, business magazine. Writing in the November 1988 issue, Robert Greenberger reported:

The impetus to build a Holocaust memorial emerged from that peculiar combination of idealism and political expediency that’s the hallmark of American government. In 1977 Stuart Eizenstat, President Jimmy Carter’s top domestic adviser, asked a member of his staff to study the feasibility of erecting a Holocaust memorial in Washington. Eizenstat, who is Jewish, says he was prompted by the growing audience for certain revisionist historians who were questioning whether the slaughter of European Jewry had actually occurred.

Continuing this tradition, an error-ridden article attacking Holocaust Revisionism appeared in the May 1992 issue of the Museum’s glossy public relations newsletter. In the piece, prominent anti-Revisionist Deborah Lipstadt specifically attacked Revisionist activist Bradley Smith and his campus ad project. Public release of Lipstadt’s new book, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth*, is scheduled to coincide, appropriately enough, with the Museum’s April opening.

Concerned Americans, including some Revisionist activists, plan to express their opposition to the Museum at a demonstration in Washington, DC, on the occasion of the April 22 dedication ceremony. The IHR also intends to mark this day with an appropriate response of its own.

Nothing better illustrates the triumph of expediency over principle in our nation’s political and cultural life than this Museum. It will ultimately be remembered, not so much as a memorial to six million Holocaust victims, but rather as a costly and rather tacky monument to the enormous influence and power of the small minority group that pushed for it, and of the moral cowardice or venal indifference of the Senators and Congressional representatives who sanctioned it and appropriated the people’s money to finance it.

— M. W.

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Ancient Religions

The Essene Origins of Jesus' Teachings

Martin A. Larson

I have long had a consuming interest in religion as a social phenomenon, especially since writing my doctoral thesis on Milton's theology in the 1920s. When leisure time became available to me in the 1950s, I plunged into a study of pre-Christian religions, of which I found there were several of great importance.

Among the most significant were the Persian faith of Zoroastrianism, the Pythagorean faith of Greece, the Hindu and Buddhist systems of India, and the Isis-Osiris religion that arose in Egypt about 2,000 BC. Over the centuries, the Isis-Osiris religion gave rise to a variety of savior cults throughout the Greek and Roman worlds, at least three of which had large followings.

The result of my study was a book published in 1959, *The Religion of the Occident*, a work that required almost ten years of intensive research. A revised 725-page edition, with an introduction by Harry Elmer Barnes and an index, appeared later under the title *The Story of Christian Origins*. Issued by six different publishers, at least 50,000 copies of this work have been printed. (A fine soft-cover edition is still available from Village Press in Oklahoma.)

In this book I explain how an obscure Middle East cult could become the basis for Christianity, and how this dynamic new faith was able to largely replace the existing religions and become one of history's most powerful and durable institutions.

Spread of Savior Cults

In the centuries before the advent of Christianity, the official religions of deities such as Jupiter, Terminus, and the gods of Olympus that flourished in the ancient world were regarded by educated Greeks and Romans as little more than entertaining myths. Among the masses, however, the official religions had been replaced by a number of Oriental savior-cults that had spread so widely that they actually constituted the popular religion of the ancient world.

All of these were based upon belief in a great demigod who is born of a virgin, dies a sacrificial death, and, after arising from the grave, returns to the realms of glory. The blood and flesh of these saviors, which were symbolically ingested by their adherents in mystical and symbolical rituals, were believed to confer blessed immortality upon the partakers.

Of all the savior gods, Osiris was probably the most important. Isis, his sister (and wife), was worshiped as the supreme Mother Goddess, to whom prayers were directed and who would

confer everlasting glory upon the participants. In Rome alone, there were 58 magnificent temples honoring Isis.

Around 180 BC an obscure sect was founded in Palestine, the followers of which gradually separated themselves more and more from the ruling Sadducees and Pharisees. They dwelled by themselves in the desert, and after about 140 BC became more radical dissidents from Jewish law and practice. Over the years, they gradually absorbed elements from Zoroastrianism, the Pythagoreans, and the Buddhists.

Holy Ones

It was at about this time that these cultists became known as Essenes, or Holy Ones. In the years that followed, they organized themselves into a secret communal order that practiced celibacy and proclaimed an imminent kingdom of heaven on earth where only the saints would dwell, while all others would be consigned to eternal punishment.

With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947, knowledge concerning the Essenes broadened and deepened. This new evidence strengthened my conviction that the Essene order had exerted a profound influence on the writers of the Christian gospels, especially the book of Luke.

Many Christian scholars believe that Jesus had been a member of the Essenes before the age of 30, when He emerged as a prominent speaker on the roads and byways of Palestine, proclaiming many of the order's doctrines.

That many passages in the Synoptic Gospels (of Matthew, Mark, and Luke) are similar to what is found in Essene literature is simply incontestable, and His denunciations of the Scribes and Pharisees are virtually identical.

This Essene connection helps us to better understand why the Christian gospel met with such wide and ready acceptance among the Greeks, Romans and other peoples living in the Mediterranean area at that time. Consistent with the tenets of similar savior cults, the followers of Jesus proclaimed that here, at last, was the real Son of God, who had died an atoning death for sinners, Whose blood and flesh were to be consumed in order to ensure a blessed immortality, and Whose gospel conferred joy and happiness upon untold millions living in hopeless poverty.

The old gods of Isis, Osiris and Serapis, Mithra (Mithras), Orpheus and Dionysus, and Cybele and Attis were soon forgotten, replaced by a human-divine Being Whose passion and death became an all-consuming reality for new converts throughout the then-civilized world.

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Mithraism: Formidable Rival to Early Christianity

During the first two centuries of the Christian era, two competing religions that shared many similarities flourished in the Greco-Roman world: Christianity and Mithraism. For a time, the followers of Mithra outnumbered those of Christ, and it was not until the third century AD that Christianity clearly emerged as the dominant religion of the declining Roman empire.

Mithraism had its origins in the Zoroastrian religion of the ancient Aryan peoples of Persia (Iran) and India, which honored Mithra as a god. By the fifth century BC, Mithra had become the principal Persian deity. Closely associated with the sun, he was worshiped as the god of light and wisdom.

After entering the Roman world around the year 70 BC, the cult of Mithra quickly gained adherents. By the second century it had grown to be one of the great religions of the Roman empire, more widespread than Christianity. As late as 307 AD, the Emperor Diocletian consecrated a temple on the Danube River to Mithra, “Protector of the Empire.”

Mithra in a typical representation, shown slaying the sacred bull from whose body came all the good things of earth.

Because Mithra (or Mithras in Latin and Greek) denounced social injustice and preached the brotherhood of man, Mithraism found widespread acceptance among slaves, the poor and the exploited. Many of its downtrodden devotees were willing to die for their faith.

The religion was also widespread in the mercantile class and, because Mithra taught the necessity of stable government, among civil servants. Emphasizing courage and military virtues, Mithraism had a particularly strong following in the Roman army, and soldiers regarded Mithra as the ideal comrade and fighter.

While its devotees included a number of Roman emperors and many senators, Mithraism remained most popular among the lower classes and among people of Semitic, “Syrian,” and Near Eastern origin.

A fundamental feature of Mithraism was the dualistic struggle between the forces of good and evil. Mithra, who gave to his devotees hope of blessed immortality, represented the fearless antagonist of the powers of darkness. A central article of faith was the story of Mithra’s capture and sacrifice of a sacred bull, from whose body sprang all the good things of the earth.

Mithraism was a demanding religion, which its followers took very seriously. Devotees were held to rigorous moral and ethical standards. Fasting and continence were strongly encouraged. Like the “soldier” of Christ, the “soldier” of Mithras regarded himself as a warrior on the side of good against evil. Its elaborate rites and ceremonies, which were restricted to men, took place in

secret in impressive temples called Mithraeums, hundreds of which were established in Italy, Germany, Britain, France, Spain and northern Africa.

Reflecting common Oriental origins, Christianity and Mithraism shared many similarities in both doctrine and ritual. The followers of each creed shared belief in a great flood and a sacred ark, atoning sacrifice, immortality of the soul, a last judgment, the resurrection of the flesh, and the ultimate triumph of good over evil. In each religion, priests presided over rituals that made use of bells, candles and holy water. Devotees of Mithra took part in a sacred communion banquet of bread and water (and possibly wine) — a ceremony that paralleled the Christian Eucharist.

In *The Story of Christian Origins* (p. 184), Dr. Martin Larson compares the two great religions:

- Each taught almost identical doctrines concerning heaven and hell, the last judgment, and the immortality of the soul.
- Each practiced the same sacraments, those of baptism and communion of bread and wine.
- Regeneration through the second birth was a basic doctrine of both, and each had the same conception concerning the inter-relationship of their members — that all were mystical brethren.
- Each believed that its founder was mediator between God and man, that through him alone was salvation possible, and that he would be the final judge of all.
- Each taught the doctrine of primitive revelation.
- Each emphasized the constant warfare between good and evil, required abstinence and self-control, and accorded the highest honor to celibacy.

Even after they had become active competitors, Larson goes on to note, Christianity borrowed significant elements from Mithraism. In time, Christians made Sunday, which the apostolic church had never observed but which had always been sacred to the Mithraists, their holy day. Still later, they made the 25th of December, which had always been celebrated as the birthday of Mithra, the birthday of their Christ.

Mithraism was not able to compete successfully with Christianity, and it declined rapidly in the late third century AD. Why?

One major factor, it seems, was its attitude towards women. With its emphasis on masculine virtues, and with participation in its ceremonies restricted to men, Mithraism held little appeal for women, who were regarded as the source of dangerous erotic desire. Another, perhaps decisive reason was that, unlike Christianity, the followers of Mithra were not able to point to a historical god-man savior. Mithra was an obviously mythical figure.

As Christians gained greater power during the third century, they ruthlessly persecuted the devotees of Mithra (along with the followers of all other competing creeds), and by the fourth century Mithraism had all but entirely disappeared.

— M. W.

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Alexander the Great and Darius — Kinsmen and Enemies

Edward Langford

It is a very common error to regard the Greeks and Persians as having been diametrically opposed peoples in history. This common misconception arises from the fact that the ancient Greeks were domiciled in Europe, and the ancient Persians in Asia, and because of the geographical distinctness of their place of residence it has been easy to assume wide differences in character and ethnic type between the two. Nothing could be further from the truth. The terms Asian and European meant little in history, for over large areas of Asia a culture and people prevailed who were closely related to the cultures and people of Europe. Thus the concept of geographical distinction between Europe and Asia should not be applied casually to the history of mankind.

If we assume a common Indo-European homeland in the area north of the Caucasus, and in modern Ukraine, then it will be readily seen that the ancient Greeks were an off-shoot of the Indo-European peoples who migrated westward into Europe, while the people of ancient Persia (modern day Iran) were a branch of the same family who moved south and south-east, instead, and established for themselves and their Parthian and Median kinsmen, a vast empire dominating the Middle East.

In appearance, too, the Greeks and true Persians were almost identical, it would seem. From statues and sculptures and coins, as well as from contemporary comment, we know both to have been long-headed, clean-featured, of fair coloring and ruddy complexion. Of these two branches of the Indo-European people, the Greeks were perhaps the more junior, and certainly, because possibly of the intricate nature of the Greek terrain, sub-divided into a multitude of islands and valleys divided by mountain ranges, the Greeks were slower in uniting politically, and in imperial or territorial expansion.

Thus it was the Persians, who having established themselves over a vast variety of nations and peoples of different origins, who moved westward into Europe, and threatened to establish their rule over the peoples of Ancient Greece also, long before the Greeks had considered the possibility of military expansion eastward into Asia. Thus we read of the epic battle of Thermopylae, and the great accompanying sea battle in which the Greeks halted the Persian advance into their homeland. Later, as Persian control over their rambling and diverse empire began to weaken, Alexander the Great led a small army of highly disciplined Macedonian Greeks into Asia, and overran and destroyed the remains of the Persian dynasty, which had by then lost its ethnic cohesion.

Because of their imperial achievements in the vast expanses of Asia, the Persians are not known for their democratic ways, as were the Greeks, but there is evidence that the first Persian nations who moved south over the Caucasus practiced the traditional Indo-European democratic system until their conquests converted them into feudal overlords. Certainly they praised learning, the

arts, truth and bravery, which may be described as the ideal of the Greeks, and Persian children were taught to stem evil by “thought, word and deed.” The Greeks themselves praised the Persians as noblest amongst their enemies.

We see, therefore, in the combat between Greeks and Persians, the warring of two civilized and noble peoples, who in turn were closely related in blood. How often has the history of the world been analyzed in these terms! Why do neighbor and kinsman always fight neighbor and kinsman, and the more progressive seek always to destroy the equally advanced?

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Book review

A Powerful Indictment of America's Failed Racial Policy

- *Paved With Good Intentions: The Failure of Race Relations in Contemporary America*, by Jared Taylor. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1992. Hardcover. 416 pages. Notes. Index. ISBN: 0-88184-866-2. (Available from the IHR for \$22.95, plus \$2 shipping.)

Reviewed by Charles Stanwood

During the 1950s and 1960s, America's black civil rights leaders, with support from liberal politicians and the most influential molders of public opinion, pressed hard for "non-discrimination" in voting, education, housing, and employment opportunity. Equal opportunity, it was argued, would inevitably lead to equal social-economic results. Upholding the standard of a "color-blind" constitution, this movement succeeded in anchoring its demands in law, including the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the 1968 Open Housing Act.

When equal opportunity failed to bring the hoped-for results, America's political and cultural leaders abandoned their original goal of color-blind "non-discrimination." Armed with new state and federal laws, key court decisions and a network of administrative guidelines and regulations, they instead fashioned a new social order based on racial preferences for non-whites and proportional distribution of benefits among ethnic (and now gender and linguistic) groups. New theories of "compensatory justice" have been invoked to provide a philosophical gloss for this revolution in policy.

Moreover, as author Jared Taylor graphically relates in this meticulously documented, closely argued and powerfully written review of the lamentable state of race relations in America, a system of "prevailing taboos" has been allowed to evolve, a dangerous consequence of which is that honest and intelligent discussion of race and related issues has largely been proscribed.

Boldly defying this proscription, Taylor has produced the first book in decades issued by a mainstream publisher that forthrightly confronts the profound failure of America's racial policy. In his introduction to this damning indictment, the author sets the tone of *Paved with Good Intentions*:

Race is the great American dilemma. This has always been so, and is likely to remain so... In our multicultural society, race lurks just below the surface of much that is not explicitly racial... Race is the fearful question that looms behind every social problem in America.

Almost from its opening pages this book casts doubt on the basic assumptions about race and society that have driven social policy for decades. In attempting to show how mistaken assumptions begot mistaken policy, it has been necessary to show just how miserably those policies have failed.

In the pages that follow, Taylor spares no words in portraying the harsh reality. “Hideous things are happening in our country,” he writes. “Millions of Americans — many of them black — live in conditions of violence and squalor that would shame the rulers of Third World nations.”

What’s worse, he goes on, in spite of billions of dollars and countless pledges by platoons of politicians, conditions have actually deteriorated in recent decades. A large proportion of America’s black population is much worse off today than it was during the pre-civil rights era. Over the past 40 years, the lifting of social or institutional restraints on blacks has coincided with a drastic worsening of their condition.

Grim Figures

Citing an impressive — even numbing — array of facts and figures, *Paved With Good Intentions* thoroughly documents the extent of this deterioration, and the yawning gap between black and white America. A few examples:

- While blacks make up only twelve percent of the population, they commit 60 percent of the murders and over half of all rapes and robberies.
- One of four black men in their twenties is either in jail, on parole, or on probation. In Washington, DC, 85 percent of black males are arrested during their lifetime.
- Black babies are twice as likely to die in their first year as white infants.
- Blacks are more than four and a half times as likely than whites to be on public assistance.
- Over the last four decades, the institution of marriage has virtually disappeared among blacks. In 1950, when discriminatory “Jim Crow” laws prevailed in many states, 52 percent of black children were living with both parents. By the 1980s, this figure had fallen to just six percent. Two-thirds of all black children are now born out of wedlock. (The rate for whites is 19 percent.)
- Around a billion dollars a year is spent treating gun-shot wounds in America’s inner cities. Blacks are ten times more likely than whites to require emergency-room treatment for the effects of cocaine abuse.
- Between 1985 and 1990, the rate of syphilis infection among blacks increased by 150 percent, while it decreased by half among whites. Nationwide, blacks are fifty times more likely to have syphilis than are whites.
- AIDS is increasingly becoming a disease of blacks and Hispanics. By the end of 1991, blacks were 3.6 times more likely than whites to have the disease. Hispanics were 2.9 times more likely. In some inner-city areas, health conditions now mirror those prevailing in many parts of Africa.
- Black men between the ages of 15 and 24 are now nearly nine times as likely to kill each other as are whites of the same age, and homicide has become the leading cause of death for black men between ages 15 and 44. In Harlem, there are so many killings that a black man living there is less likely to reach age 65 than is a man living in Bangladesh.

Interracial crime rates show a similarly stark asymmetry. When whites commit crimes of violence, they choose black victims 2.4 percent of the time. In contrast, blacks select white victims in over half of the crimes they commit. Blacks are 325 times more likely to engage in gang attacks on whites than whites are to take part in pack assaults against blacks. Interracial rape is overwhelmingly black on white. Analysis of recent crime statistics reveals that black men rape white women 30 times more often than white men rape black women.

'Hate Crimes'

Even in the special case of “hate crimes” — a new category invented in the late 1980s to track “abuse” of ethnic and gender groups, and which was supposed to disclose widespread discrimination against blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and homosexuals by white males — whites are victimized much more often than are blacks. Observes Taylor: “The fact that blacks are far more likely to commit 'hate crimes' than whites is a fact for which there is simply no room in the conventional view of how American society works.”

Institutionalized Hypocrisy

A good portion of this book is devoted to the hypocritical double standard on matters of race that has taken root in our society. “There are now many things that whites may not do but that are tolerated and even encouraged among blacks,” he writes. “We have double standards in politics, in school, at work, in the press, even in our speech. Many Americans are reluctant to acknowledge these double standards.”

The author details how the national news media deliberately distorts reality by failing accurately to report black-on-white crime. The relatively rare instances of racially motivated white-on-black crime are often seized upon and sensationally blown out of all proportion. On the other hand, crime against whites is largely ignored or vastly under-reported. This may help explain why whites have not organized protests, or sought revenge, for attacks against co-racialists committed by blacks and other non-whites.

“...One of the most striking — and destructive — examples of the way the media handle news about race was the Rodney King affair,” Taylor contends. “It is not an exaggeration to say that the coverage of this incident was so slanted as to be a major cause of the riots that later rocked Los Angeles.”

America’s entertainment media engages in anti-white racist stereotyping. On television and in motion pictures, blacks are rarely portrayed as bad guys, while white businessmen are routinely depicted as villains.

School textbooks similarly reinforce the notion that wicked whites are responsible for black poverty and lawlessness. They present a racially skewed picture of America, Taylor writes, one that exaggerates non-white contributions to society while playing down those of whites.

Whereas whites are forbidden to think in terms of racial identity, “blacks are encouraged to identify with their racial 'brothers,' to promote 'black consciousness,' and to see themselves as a group defined clearly by race.” One consequence of this is that black jurors are less and less likely to convict black defendants, even in cases where the evidence against the accused is overwhelming. This is especially true in cases where the victims of crime are white.

“Many whites,” Taylor contends, “thunder against the faintest trace of white racism, while they ignore the blatant racial excesses of blacks. They have convinced themselves that blacks cannot get ahead without handouts and special treatment. By exempting blacks from individual responsibility, they treat them as vassals.”

Predictably, black-white relations have deteriorated, and whatever sense of community may have existed in the past seems largely to have evaporated. The sometimes euphoric confidence of the 1960s about the future of race relations in the US has given way to a national mood approaching despair.

All this has become possible, concludes Taylor, because “whites have stripped themselves of collective racial consciousness. They do not see themselves along racial lines.”

White Racism to Blame?

The familiar explanation for black failure — repeated endlessly in motion pictures, newspapers, magazines, and by political and educational leaders — is lingering white racism. As Taylor stresses:

Americans are so accustomed to hearing — and repeating — this view that they scarcely bother to think what it means. It means, essentially, that white people, not blacks, are responsible for black behavior. It implies that blacks are helpless and cannot make progress unless whites transform themselves.

Do blacks drop out of school? Teachers are insensitive to their needs. Do black women have children out of wedlock? Slavery broke up the black family. Are blacks more likely than whites to commit crimes? Oppression and poverty explain it. Are ghetto blacks unemployed? White businesses are prejudiced against them. Are blacks more likely to be drug addicts? They are frustrated by white society... There is scarcely any form of failure that cannot, in some way, be laid at the feet of racist white people.

This kind of thinking denies that blacks should be expected to take responsibility for their own actions. More subtly, it suggests that they cannot do so.

Taylor marshals an army of facts to explode the myth that whites are to blame for the problems that plague black America. In fact, he documents, blacks and whites with similar backgrounds and educational levels are doing about equally well. Although the general public is unaware of these facts, studies reveal that black women, for example, earn more than white women with equal qualifications. Blacks holding doctoral degrees make as much or more than comparably educated whites. Young black couples who manage to remain married have family incomes almost identical to those of white couples. In families where both spouses are college educated and both work, black families generally make more than white families.

In the area of criminal justice, the comparison is instructive. Contrary to what the public has been led to believe, black police officers are “more active disciplinarians” who are “more likely to make arrests.” In fact, Taylor goes on, “black policemen are more likely to shoot blacks than white police are,” and black judges often deal out harsher sentences to black criminals than do their white counterparts.

The figures on the death penalty do not support often-repeated charges of “institutional racism.” Whites convicted of murder are more likely to receive the death penalty than black murderers. Whites who kill other whites are more likely to be executed than are blacks who kill whites.

Virtually every study comparing like groups of blacks and whites has arrived at similar findings.

'Affirmative Action'

The two long chapters devoted to a discussion of “affirmative action” are among the best in this outstanding book. Although this ambiguous term first cropped up in a 1961 executive order by President Kennedy, it was the Nixon administration that really institutionalized “affirmative action” policies. The author reveals that after “equal opportunity” legislation failed to lead to equal

results, the elites in control of government, big business and education agreed to lower standards and devised a race-based point system. In every sector of American life, whites — and especially white males — are officially discriminated against. “‘Civil rights’ now means special treatment for blacks, the meaning of ‘equal opportunity’ has been neatly reversed, and ‘affirmative action’ is a euphemism for officially sanctioned racial discrimination.” Today, writes Taylor, “essentially any non-white can get preference, including recent immigrants.” Nowhere is this more true than on the campuses of our colleges and universities, where preferential treatment for non-whites has become the operating norm.

“Sensitivity training” designed to defuse white resentment against manifestly unfair practices in access, hiring, and promotion is now obligatory in government, business, and education. While blacks are openly encouraged to act in their own interests, “whites, on the other hand, are expected to support, or at least remain silent about, a system that discriminates against them.” As the author goes on to note, “one of the great, unwritten rules of race relations in America today” is that “affirmative action has lowered employment and admission standards for non-whites all across America, but everyone must pretend not to have noticed.”

High Price

The United States is paying a frightfully heavy price for all this. For example, Taylor discovered that only 14 percent of Fortune 500 companies confess that they now hire new personnel strictly on the basis of merit. The author cites report after report documenting how less-qualified blacks are being admitted to, and graduated by, colleges and graduate schools — including medical and law schools — and then hired by police and fire departments, other government agencies, and private business firms. Around half of the “black middle class” is employed by government. Those in business serve often as affirmative action/equal opportunity apparatchiks, or they are carried along, with white co-workers taking up the slack (though without extra compensation). The double standard prevailing throughout American education should be regarded as a national scandal. All this has undoubtedly affected the morale of conscientious and hardworking Americans, who are understandably ever more cynical about the nation’s political and cultural institutions and leaders.

If not white racism, what then accounts for the disparity in black-white performance and lifestyle, and the calamitous state of black America? The answer, Taylor explains, “is that the black population is not identical to the white population.”

While carefully avoiding any exploration of the thorny and highly emotion-charged question of racial differences, he does muse at one point:

If whites are not holding blacks down, it might mean that they [blacks] have arisen as far as their inherent limitations permit. The possibility of black inferiority is the unacknowledged goblin that lurks in the background of every attempt to explain black failure. Part of the shrillness with which white racism is denounced stems from the belief that any letup in the struggle against it might leave room for a theory that is too dangerous to be contemplated.

Courage to Face Facts Needed

Given the grim reality of racial relations in America, what, then, is to be done?

“The first step in halting black decline,” Taylor insists, “is to throw out the deadly equation of Black Failure = White Guilt. Black shakedown artists and white guilt mongers alike must be ex-

posed as the dangerous frauds they are.”

Secondly, he argues, the reproduction of the underclass (white as well as black) should no longer be subsidized by society’s productive element. At a minimum, he recommends that the government should provide free contraceptives and abortions for poor women, and require some welfare recipients to use the Norplant contraceptive device, which prevents pregnancy for up to five years. Here Taylor echoes the arguments made against “legal theft” by the brilliant 19th-century French political economist, Frédéric Bastiat.

In any case, Taylor argues, only by confronting the true dimensions of a failed policy can we hope to resolve the many daunting problems that are its consequence. He writes:

One hundred thirty years ago, this nation very nearly tore itself apart because of race. It could do so again. Policies based on white guilt and reverse racism have failed. Policies based on the denial of individual responsibility have failed. We must have the courage to admit that they have failed, and forge new policies that will succeed.

For producing this wise, disturbing and even enraging examination of the most crucial issue facing our nation, Jared Taylor deserves the thanks of every American who cares about the future. (The book’s New York publisher, Carroll & Graf, likewise deserves praise for its courage in daring to issue this bold volume, and for committing substantial funds to promote it.)

If any single book can re-open an honest debate on race relations in America, and motivate concerned and thoughtful (but now silent) Americans, it is *Paved With Good Intentions*.

Taylor’s *Paved With Good Intentions* is available from the IHR for \$22.95, plus \$3 shipping.

March/April 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 2), page 41.

Book review

Monumental Work Sets Record Straight on Palestine-Israel Issue

- *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, by Issa Nakhleh. New York: Intercontinental Books, 1991. Hardcover. Two volumes (8½ × 11 inch format). 1,180 pages. Illustrations. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ISBN 096228811X. (Available from the IHR: \$69, plus \$5 shipping.)

Reviewed by Robert John Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem

At a meeting with Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the mid-1970s, when he was serving as US ambassador to the United Nations, I presented him with volume I of *The Palestine Diary*, which I had written and published in 1970 with the assistance of Sami Hadawi. Moynihan subsequently invited me back to his office at the US Mission to discuss the situation in Lebanon. The ambassador, now senior US senator from New York (and chairman of the Senate Finance Committee), lived up to his Irish ancestry by his openness to discussion and good humor.

He seemingly could not resist telling me about an unnamed Brooklyn congressman (probably Hugh Carey) who had developed a system for re-election that returned him to Washington again and again. Every time an election was coming up, he had his agent book speaking engagements for him at all the synagogues in his district. Wearing a skullcap, at each visit he would declare how much he had done for Israel, and how much more needed to be done. Invariably, he was returned with a comfortable majority. That is, until the last time he ran. In spite of adherence to this successful routine, his usual margin of victory was sharply reduced. He ordered an inquiry. Finding: a large number of Arabs had moved into his district!

A Perennial Affair

It has long been the practice for American political candidates to cultivate supporters of the state of Israel, bidding for votes and campaign contributions. Thus, in a speech to a Jewish audience just before the 1992 presidential election, candidate Bill Clinton sought their support by criticizing President Bush for putting pressure on Israel. Bush was temporarily withholding a \$10 billion loan guarantee for new housing for Jewish immigrants from Russia as a means of inducing Israel to take part in peace negotiations with its Arab neighbors. Clinton further promised that, if elected, he would review the conviction and sentence of Jonathan Pollard, the US government official found guilty of spying for Israel. Clinton's hint of a presidential pardon is reminiscent of one given three decades earlier by President Kennedy. Following his election, he pardoned Hank Greenspun, a publicity agent for the gangster "Bugsy" Siegel who had been convicted of stealing weapons from a US Navy weapons depot and shipping them to Israel.)

As for Al Gore, I offer Gore Vidal, the erudite historian and social critic, and a distant relative of the vice president, who wrote:

The office of vice-president is now the preserve of the Israeli lobby, and Gore will continue the Quayle tradition. After all, in the 1988 presidential primaries, Gore's campaign was largely paid for by The Lobby, whose point man was the ineffable New Republic publisher Mart Peretz (who boasted in *Spy* magazine that he'd written "Al's" speech at the Democratic convention). The alliance between a Pentagon-oriented southern politician (Gore has never voted against an appropriation for war) and the Israeli lobby was a not unnatural one in the days of the Cold War. But no longer. Imagine if a Roman Catholic lobby were in place to siphon off billions of federal dollars to bail out the truly broke Vatican, while covertly supporting the terrorism of, say, the Irish Republican

The delegation of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine to the United Nations, 1947. Issa Nakhleh, author of *The Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, is at the left. For years the primary representative of the Palestinian people, the committee has been superseded by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Army. I don't think the Godly (non-Catholic) would like this, while the Manly would be in court. Once selected by Clinton, Gore made his first speech to AIPAC [American-Israel Public Affairs Committee], where he groveled without shame. He was there to get money for services rendered; and on offer. Happily, the new Israeli prime minister, Rabin, has just given the American Israeli lobby hell on the ground that their crude buying of senators in order to put the legislative against the executive branch might start a backlash among even the densest goyim. Henceforth, the Israeli command post will not be the senate but the vice-president's office. (*GQ*, Nov. 1992, p. 230.)

Nor have most Republican candidates and office-holders been any better than Democrats in paramount support of Israel's interests. The recent exposure of David Steiner, president of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, in which Steiner boasted during a secretly taped telephone conversation of having cut a deal with Secretary of State James Baker to get Israel "\$1 billion and other goodies that people don't even know about," was just another pro-Israel action perpetrated under the Reagan and Bush administrations. There was general support for Israel's invasion and occupation of Lebanon, collusion in the Israeli-orchestrated Iran-Contra scandal, and the continual extraction of billions of dollars from American taxpayers, poured annually into Israeli coffers. Steiner, who was obliged to resign after his taped conversation was made public, also told a prospective contributor that AIPAC was busily negotiating with the Clinton camp for a pro-Israel secretary of state and a pro-Israel national security adviser to the president. As *New York Times* writer Thomas Friedman noted in his report on the Steiner affair, AIPAC has justifiably been "considered the most powerful lobby in Washington." (*NYT*, Nov. 5, 1992, p. A24.)

Diplomacy and 'Making Facts'

This is the reality of more than a half-century of American policy with regard to Palestine and Israel. While president after president has strutted the international stage talking of human rights, generations of Palestinians have suffered from these perennial behind-the-scenes shifters of the American political theater. As Issa Nakhleh writes in his *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*:

America has been reduced in its Middle East policy to something like a quasi-colony of the Zionist State... The strength of organized American Jewry has left a list of patriotic American Senators and Congressmen [whom he names] who were silenced or politically destroyed by the Zionists.

Mr. Nakhleh is a gentleman and a diplomat, known to generations of UN delegations, as I can testify. I have recounted my meeting with him and Mr. Malik of the USSR during the 1973 Yom Kippur war. (See: R. John, *Behind the Balfour Declaration*, pp. 19-20.) [Nakhleh spoke at the Third IHR Conference in 1981. His "Memorandum to the President" was published in the Fall 1982 IHR Journal.]

Mr. Nakhleh's advocacy of Palestinian rights spans the period from the last days of British rule, when he studied law in London at Lincoln's Inn, to the present. Throughout these years, he has represented the diplomatic position of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee. Mr. Nakhleh toiled patiently in that diplomatic milieu of black coat and striped trousers, conforming to the legacy of League of Nations Geneva, British White Papers, Royal Commissions, commissions of inquiry, United Nations reports, and resolution after ineffective UN resolution on Palestine, expecting "the democracies" to support their proclaimed ideals of equal rights and impartial justice.

In contrast to the tradition of formal negotiations and compromise of diplomacy and international law is the Zionism of Realpolitik. They call it "making facts." It is the attainment of political and territorial ends by action, not talk. It has had great success, and that success has produced imitation in contemporary international affairs, and American political-military policy.

The Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem includes documentation of the process of "making facts" and its successes, terrible as the "facts" and successes have often been. Keyed to chapter-length expositions, the Encyclopedia documents the expulsion and deportations of Palestinians. eyewitness accounts of massacres, looting, pillaging, and expropriation of property, and the obliteration of dozens of Arab villages from the face of the earth and from maps. The successful blitzkrieg of the 1967 Six Day War took territory, a fact. Palestinian refugee camps bombed with planes and napalm "Made in the USA" are facts. Israeli concentration camps and torture of prisoners, crimes against Palestinian women, and Israeli piracy are facts of Zionist policy.

"Making facts" continues with state building of new Jewish settlements on Arab land in the "Occupied Territories," subsidized and supported by loans of \$10 billion guaranteed by the good faith and credit of the American people pledged by their president and Congress. The deportation without trial of 400 Muslim Palestinians just before Christmas 1992 was a violation of international law and convention, but the Israeli ambassador to the US said he had been assured by the State Department, "at a very high level," that "in no case" would the Security Council be allowed to approve a resolution leading to anti-Israel sanctions. (New York Times, Jan. 10, 1992, p. A10). No wonder many Islamic fundamentalists call the United States the "Great Satan."

The Encyclopedia meticulously documents the bloody record of Zionist leaders such as Menachem Begin, the Deir Yasin killer; Yitzhak Shamir, an assassin of Red Cross peace envoy Count Folke Bernadotte; Ariel Sharon, the presiding officer of the Sabra and Shatila massacres; or Yitzhak Rabin and his policy of child murder and bone-breaking in the Intifada. The Encyclopedia compares the American, British, and French furor at German Nazi hostile acts against the Jews during the 1930s, which helped to bring on the Second World War, with the response of Western governments to Israeli crimes against the Palestinians. "The victims are called terrorists, murderers and criminals and the real terrorists and war criminals are being received as respectable representatives of a democratic society," writes Nakhleh.

The author does not neglect the wider context of what might be termed, Nuremberg-style, "International Zionist Conspiracy and Aggression." He records the efforts of Zionist leaders for a worldwide economic boycott of Germany as soon as the National Socialists came to power, a se-

quence that I documented in 1970. (See: *The Palestine Diary*, New York: New World Press, 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 241-246.)

Nor does Nakhleh neglect Zionism's Jewish victims. In Chapter 35, "Zionist Crimes Against Jews," he tells the story of the conflict within Jewry, reminding us that the first political victim of the Zionist conspirators in America was a Jewish Republican, Congressman Julius Kahn. This chapter includes a section about Neturei Karta, or Friends of Jerusalem, a little-known movement of observant Jews who believe that "Zionists are the greatest enemies of the Jewish people." These pious adherents of Judaic principle insist that, according to the Torah (Jewish law), all land should be returned to the rightful owners, Jews are not permitted to shed blood, humiliate or dominate others, and that Israel has no right to speak in the name of Jews. Nowhere, declares Neturei Karta, do Jews live in greater danger and insecurity than in the Zionist state.

Toward Liberation

It has always disgusted me to see pictures of American presidents grinning and holding hands with Stalin, Mao, Tito, Ceausescu, Begin, Shamir, and their like; and revolted me to hear them talk of "human rights" while turning over our tax dollars to such mass murderers. In the same way I am disgusted to hear a British prime minister or UN ambassador press on principle a demand that Iraq compensate Kuwait for, in part, the effects of US bombing. (Kuwait was part of the littoral of pre-"Iraq" Mesopotamia.)

What about the principle of compensation to the Palestinians? Did not the Balfour Declaration, endorsed by the US Congress, pledge "that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." If the Palestinians could enforce compensation for breach of contract, half of England, and New England, might be up for sale!

Beyond informing, the revelations in this revisionist work should inspire its readers to speak out knowledgeably and effectively — to friends, on radio and television talk shows, in letters to the editor, and in school and academic assignments — against further American complicity in Zionist violations of Palestinians' rights. The importance of the *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, no less than its \$69 price tag, suggests that readers should ask for its acquisition by libraries.

The establishment in 1948 of a "Jewish state" in Palestine was a phenomenal achievement. In fifty years from the first Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, attended by a small number of Jews who represented little more than themselves, the Zionist idea had captivated the majority of world Jewry, and devotees had enlisted in particular Britain, America and the United Nations to intervene in Palestine in its support. In the last fifty years, using the "Holocaust" in a system of repetitive reinforcement of behavior modification, a climate of opinion has been created in which criticism of Zionism-Israel may be denounced as "anti-Semitism," and the illusion of a moral duty to support Israel has been created. This support has been transmuted into a tribute of nearly \$80 billion dollars' worth of aid from the United States, which continues to flow. (New York Times, Sept. 23, 1991). Germany's "restitution" payments to Jews and Israel have come to about \$50 billion (at current exchange rates). Palestinians have received no compensation for their losses.

Like millions of other Palestinians, Issa Nakhleh is barred from returning to his homeland, while the earnings and credit of Americans subsidize the illegal settlement there of Jews from Russia, Ethiopia and elsewhere. May he live to see the day when the American people are liberated from this psychological warfare against their interests and the rights of Palestinians, when they insist on a government that stops all such foreign subsidies. Arnold Toynbee wrote in his foreword to

The Palestine Diary, “If the American government were to be constrained by American public opinion to take a non-partisan line over Palestine, the situation in Palestine might quickly change for the better.” It could lead to Nakhleh’s return to his homeland, and the freeing of all its people.

March/April 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 2), page 44.

Book review

New Guide to the Holy Land Is Free of Usual Propaganda

- *Walking Beside Jesus in the Holy Land: An Illustrated Travel and Study Guide to the Holy Land*, by Isabelle Bacon. Brattleboro, Vt.: Amana Books, 1992. Softcover. 161 pages. Illustrations, Maps. \$10. ISBN 0 915597 53 5.

Reviewed by Robert John

Coming to New York from North Carolina, Isabelle Bacon founded a Holy Land Center to encourage understanding among Christians, Jews and Moslems on the basis of “common denominators.” At a time when Golda Meir was declaring that there was no such thing as a Palestinian, Mrs. Bacon saved Palestinian artifacts, especially beautifully worked regional costumes of Palestinian women. These are now exhibited at the Peale Center for Christian Living in Pawling, New York.

On her many visits to the Holy Land, Mrs. Bacon was often disturbed by the politicization of the commentaries of tour guides, as well as by their passing on misinformation, possibly unintentionally. She has produced this useful travel guide for believers. It is a “do it yourself” book with detailed information for the visitor on what to bring, what to see, with Scriptural references, by a knowledgeable and dedicated traveler. The guide and reader share a pure “Holy Land” spirit and love for its people.

May/June 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 3), page 2.

From the editor

We are sometimes asked why we devote so much effort to the Holocaust issue. No, it's not some bizarre obsession. We do so because, by any objective standard, "the Holocaust" has come to play a very important role in our society. The wartime fate of Europe's Jews is treated not as another chapter of history, but rather as the most polemicized and politicized pseudo-religious icon of the present. (This is manifest, for example, in the official US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. By the time readers receive this issue, it will have been opened with great media fanfare.)

We also deal with this issue because others are unable or unwilling to so conscientiously take on the largely thankless work of challenging this taboo.

The Holocaust issue is a primary reason that the IHR came into being, and it is especially because of our thoughtful and informed treatment of this issue over the years that the IHR and its Journal have had such a remarkable impact — far out of proportion to our modest resources and circulation. For better or worse, our dedication to the task of combatting historical myth and stereotype demands that we continue to deal with this issue.

'Politically Correct' Fiasco

Nothing better illustrates the way that the Holocaust story is exploited to promote other aspects of the "politically correct" agenda than the much-heralded "Liberators" film and book project. As we report in this issue's lead article, this "documentary" film was launched in New York with applause and support from the cultural and political elite, including the federal government's US Holocaust Memorial Council.

It didn't take long, though, for the project's glaring defects to become embarrassingly obvious. A central claim of "Liberators" was quickly shown to be a lie: black American soldiers did not liberate the Dachau and Buchenwald concentration camps.

Butz on Pressac

An impressive (and arguably the most scholarly) effort to refute Revisionist arguments has been the detailed 564-page book on Auschwitz by French pharmacist J.-C. Pressac. Published in 1989 by the Klarsfeld Foundation, it was meant to be the definitive response to the Revisionist view of the Auschwitz extermination story. If nothing else, Pressac's book proves — contrary to what is sometimes asserted — that there is indeed a real debate among thoughtful men and women of good will about what actually happened at Auschwitz. In keeping with our commitment to publish solidly-researched writing on the Holocaust issue, we are pleased to present here a closely argued response to the Pressac book by Dr. Arthur Butz.

Victory in Texas

Also in this issue, Theodore O’Keefe describes the victory at the University of Texas (Austin) by the Smith/Cole Revisionist “Campus Project,” which prevailed in spite of a “full court press” of intimidation and pressure by the very inappropriately named Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith. And in Canada, as we also happy to report, the government has affirmed that Holocaust Revisionism is not “hate speech.”

Setbacks

We also tell about two recent setbacks: The decision by politicians in Australia to bar British historian David Irving — whose works can be found in any good-sized bookstore or library in the country — and the recantation by French scholar Bernard Notin of his heretical views on the Holocaust.

The Notin case is particularly instructive. The forces of bigotry mobilized a campaign of threat and persecution against the French professor’s livelihood and perhaps even his life — all because he had expressed dissident views on the most sacred dogma of our time in just a few lines in an article published in a rather obscure scholarly journal.

But the Irving and Notin cases are no cause for discouragement. As inevitable as they are temporary, such setbacks are actually signs of progress. Whenever a new awareness with profound social-political implications threatens a prevailing ideological dogma, the powers that be inevitably resort to drastic measures — including government bans and physical violence — to defend their privilege and power. Unable to respond convincingly to Revisionist arguments with fact and logic, our increasingly desperate adversaries turn to such extreme measures precisely because they are so alarmed at the very real progress we have been making.

'New' Journal

As we had hoped, response to the new-format Journal has generally been very positive. Readers tell us that they find it more attractive and easier to read. We are also happy to report that Journal circulation has sharply increased as a result of recent promotional work, including a mailing to 5,000 libraries in the United States and Canada. Book sales have likewise been brisk in recent months, due in large part to promotional mailings.

Our book publishing work also continues. For example, we are happy to announce that F.J.P. Veale’s acclaimed classic, *Advance to Barbarism*, is back in print in a handsome new IHR edition that should be available in June. A new edition of Gareth Garrett’s classic *Burden of Empire* — a work that originally appeared under the title *The People’s Pottage* — will soon also be available.

An Introduction

Finally, a belated introduction: Although Greg Raven has been serving as Journal Associate Editor since the January-February issue, and those who attended the October 1992 IHR Conference were able to meet him (and his charming wife) in person there, he has not yet been introduced to our readers.

Born in 1953, he has lived most of his life in southern California. Since he began making his living as a writer in the late 1970s, he has turned out sales materials, radio plays, stand-up comedy, numerous magazine articles, computer documentation manuals, reviews, and two books. He has

proven a tremendous help since he began working here in September 1992. All of us at the IHR have also come to appreciate his positive attitude, his ready wit, and his unflappable sense of humor.

— M. W.

Multi-Media 'Liberators' Project Exposed As Fraud

Historical Truth Survives 'Politically Correct' Exploitation

by [Mark Weber](#) and Greg Raven

Exposing historical and media fraud sometimes takes years or even decades. In the case of a recent heavily promoted and widely praised multi-media project — designed to promote the Holocaust story, condemn official racism against blacks in America during the Second World War, and encourage racial tolerance — debunking has come much more quickly.

Liberators: Fighting on Two Fronts in World War II — a lavishly financed project that claims to tell the story of how black troops liberated Buchenwald and Dachau — was exposed as an error-packed fraud within weeks of its debut.

Producers Nina Rosenblum and William Miles collaborated with author Lou Potter, on the slickly promoted project that includes a much-touted “documentary” film, a book, a high school workbook, a screenplay and a theatrical version. Even before its public debut, “Liberators” had garnered impressive national and international support.

Typical of the hype was the praise by *Publishers Weekly* (Oct. 19, p. 32), a leading publishing trade periodical:

It's been a long time in coming, but *Liberators: Fighting on Two Fronts in World War II*, as a book, a TV documentary, a workbook for high schools to accompany the documentary, and a theatrical feature, is going to make its presence felt. This is the story, not found in standard historical accounts, of the role played by the 761st Tank Battalion in freeing the prisoners of Dachau and Buchenwald.

Jesse Jackson presented a copy of the sumptuous book version of *Liberators* (published by the prestigious firm of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich) to President-elect Clinton. The black leader also announced that, with financial backing from financier Felix Rohatyn, he would distribute copies to every school library in the United States.

Gala Premiere

New York Mayor David Dinkins introduced the “Liberators” film at its premiere showing on November 9 at a star-studded gathering of more than 700 leaders of the city's Jewish and black communities. The gala event at New York's Lincoln Center was co-sponsored by the US Holocaust Memorial Council (a taxpayer-funded federal government agency) and WNET television (New York City's prestigious PBS station).

Referring obliquely to the high level of tension between the city's Jews and blacks, Dinkins said: "... When we see those brave African-American soldiers freeing Jewish prisoners of concentration camps, let us remember all that binds us together." Reporting on the premiere showing, the US Holocaust Council's (Winter 1992-93) Newsletter similarly boasted that the film "offered a rare opportunity for reconciliation and communication between two of New York's most prominent ethnic groups."

Two days later (Veteran's Day), WNET broadcast "Liberators" nationally on the PBS television network as part of its prestigious "American Experience" series. In mid-December, Jesse Jackson introduced the film at its showing at the Apollo Theater in Harlem, a high-profile event sponsored by media giant Time Warner and a host of rich and influential New Yorkers. (*New Republic*, Feb. 8, p. 13; *New York Guardian*, March 1993)

Truth Emerges

Because its errors are so blatant and readily discernible, it wasn't long before critics began pointing them out. The first periodical to take aim was a relatively obscure monthly, the *New York Guardian*. In its December 1992 issue, the paper reported:

After an intensive examination of Army records and interviews with military historians, Holocaust experts, [and] World War II veterans including black soldiers whose lives were depicted in "Liberators," the Guardian has learned that the most celebrated facts of "Liberators" are not true. Neither soldiers of the 761st All Black Tank Battalion nor the soldiers of the 183rd Black Combat Engineers ever liberated Buchenwald or Dachau.

Veterans' groups and individual veterans of the 761st soon joined in, confirming that black units did not liberate Buchenwald or Dachau. Robert Abzug, professor of history at the University of Texas, and author of *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps*, said that the Liberators book and film "violates any sense of historical accuracy." (*New Republic*, March 8, p. 42)

Staged 'Reunion'

The "highlight" of "Liberators," reports the Winter 1992-93 Newsletter of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, is a "deeply moving reunion" at Buchenwald of former inmate Benjamin Bender "with two of his liberators," E. G. McConnell and Leonard Smith. "In autumn 1991," readers of Liberators (p. vii) are told:

Jewish survivors of Dachau and Buchenwald were reunited, under the auspices of the production team, with members of the 761st. The dramatic and poignant event received widespread media coverage, which led to Harcourt Brace Jovanovich's decision to employ the publishing medium in making this exciting and previously untold story available to the widest possible audience in this country and abroad.

This "moving" and "poignant" event is a deceitful fraud. "It's a lie," confirms McConnell. "We were nowhere near these camps when they were liberated... I first went to Buchenwald in 1991 with PBS, not the 761st." (*New Republic*, Feb. 6, p. 13)

A fraudulent scene from "Liberators." According to the caption to this photo in the Winter 1992-93 Newsletter of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, former inmate Benjamin Bender "recalls

the day the American troops freed him and his fellow inmates from Buchenwald with two of his liberators, E.G. McConnell, left, and Leonard (Smitty) Smith.” Their “reunion” here at Buchenwald is a lie. McConnell and Smith were miles away from the camp when it was liberated.

Rosenblum and Miles blatantly disregarded the truth, McConnell says: “I called their attention to it. I tried to stop them, but in the final stages they decided to deviate from the fact.” In an effort to secure his cooperation with the project, “Liberators” co-producers Rosenblum and Miles offered McConnell \$11,000. He turned them down. (*New York Guardian*, Dec. 1992)

“Liberators,” McConnell charges, is a “distortion of black history. They [the producers] had received a lot of money from the Jewish community based on the story and they [the producers] didn’t want to change it.” (*New York Guardian*, Dec. 1992)

More Lies

One person who figures prominently in “Liberators” is Leon Bass, a black veteran who has made a second career speaking to gatherings sponsored by Jewish groups, and to classrooms of impressionable school children. He has been featured on the “MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour” and in other major media as a liberator of Buchenwald.

In the Rosenblum/Miles film, and in his frequent lectures, Bass calls himself a “liberator.” (*New Republic*, Feb. 8, p. 14) He has received numerous awards and large speaking fees for retelling his “liberation” story, and was named co-chairman of the Philadelphia Council on the Holocaust. (*New York Guardian*, March 1993)

In fact, though, he only visited Buchenwald — on orders — five days after its liberation.

In both in the film and the book version of “Liberators,” Bass also emotionally recounts how he and his unit, the 183rd Combat Engineers, built a bridge in a Belgian town during the December 1944 “Battle of the Bulge.” He and his men worked “... in spite of strafing by the airplanes that would come down daily and machine-gun us. In spite of the shelling of the howitzers, we worked on that bridge.” As a result, Bass continued, “many of my friends” were killed building the bridge. (*Liberators*, p. 190)

In fact, the only soldier to die while constructing the bridge was one officer who was killed in an accident involving his jeep. There was no strafing by German planes. During its entire time of service in Europe, the 183rd lost three of its members, all due to accidents. (*New York Guardian*, March 1993)

According to *Liberators* (p. 217), Buchenwald was liberated when

The tankers from the 761st broke through the Buchenwald gates and, with their accompanying infantrymen, quickly ended resistance from the SS guards... Johnnie Stevens recalls: “We ... shot up the place and chased the guards out of there. It was a sight I never want to see again, I’ll tell you that.” (*Liberators*, p. 217)

This account is sheer invention. American troops did not break through the camps’ gates (they entered on foot), nor did they shoot up the place or chase guards.

On liberation day, “recalls” former Buchenwald inmate Ben Bender, an airplane flew overhead and gunfire was exchanged. (*Liberators*, p. 217) In fact, the German camp guards had already abandoned the camp hours before, and there was no gunfire or planes flying overhead.

***The New York Times* Record of Falsehood**

Over the years, few institutions have been more guilty of distorting the truth about the wartime fate of Europe's Jews than *The New York Times*, America's most influential daily paper, and an important booster of "Liberators." (Joseph Sobran, syndicated columnist and *National Review* writer, once joked that the paper "really ought to change its name to Holocaust Update.")

The *New York Guardian* detailed "a clear pattern of inaccurate reporting, and the employment of faulty journalistic practices" by *The New York Times* since 1985 in its coverage of the liberation of the German camps, and particularly the supposed role of black US Army units. The monthly paper cited eleven specific examples of such distortion of fact by the *Times*. (*New York Guardian*, March 1993)

Defending Deceit

Revealing and instructive has been the response of the project's producers and supporters to honest efforts by those who tried to point out its errors. Co-producer Rosenblum angrily castigated her film's critics as Holocaust Revisionists and racists. "These people are [of] the same mentality that says that the Holocaust didn't happen," she said. (*New Republic*, Feb. 6, pp. 13-14)

The "Liberators" film premiered at a gala gathering in New York City, November 9, co-sponsored by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and public television station WNET. Among the attendees were, from left: Entertainer Lena Horne, an unidentified person, Harvey Meyerhoff (chairman of the US Holocaust Memorial Council), Nina Rosenblum ("Liberators" co-producer), actor Louis Gossett, Jr., William F. Baker, Elizabeth Rohatyn (WNET vice chairperson), and William Miles ("Liberators" co-producer).

When military affairs specialist and New York City radio talk show host Jim Dingman confronted Rosenblum about her film's inaccuracies, she called him a "racist." And when he tried to explain the truth to the Anti-Defamation League (which had eagerly endorsed the project), an ADL spokesperson dismissed him as a "revisionist." (*New York Guardian*, Dec. 1992)

McConnell tells a similar story. When he tried to explain the film's fraud to the Anti-Defamation League, he was sharply rebuffed. The ADL "treated me like I was a kook, or something," he says.

While admitting that the film's description of the "reunion" scene "may be misleading," Rosenblum told one skeptic: "You can't speak to him [McConnell] because he's snapped. He was hit in the head with shrapnel and was severely brain-damaged." Informed of this, McConnell responded: "If I was so disturbed, why did they use me in the film?" (*New Republic*, Feb. 8, p. 13) As it happens, McConnell is referred to on more than 20 pages of *Liberators*, often in direct quotes.

As criticism mounted, Rosenblum "continually encouraged the veterans to blame any challenge of the film's veracity on bigotry" and "deflected criticism of the film by charging prejudice." To one critic she responded by asking why he was "willing to believe a white commander and not [the black] soldiers." (*New York Guardian*, March 1993)

Finally, Rosenblum tried to explain away criticism of her film by charging:

There's tremendous racism in the Jewish community. How people who have been through the Holocaust can be racist is completely incomprehensible. To think that black people are less, which is what most Jewish people think, I can't understand it. (*New Republic*, Feb. 6, pp. 13-14)

Damage Control

After the essentially fraudulent character of "Liberators" had been widely reported, the project's most prominent backers engaged in some "damage control" and sought to distance themselves from the now-discredited production.

WNET announced on February 11 that "Liberators" was being "withdrawn" from circulation. Explaining the decision, WNET vice president Harry Chancey, Jr., referred to "the sacred nature of the Holocaust... Rather than let this film go up like an incendiary bomb, we decided that we would withdraw the film ..."

Defiance

Even so, "Liberators" still had staunch defenders. One was Peggy Tishman, a former president of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York. "Liberators," she said, is "good for the Holocaust... Why would anybody want to exploit the idea that this is a fraud? ..." What is important here is not historical accuracy but black-Jewish "dialogue," she explained, and added: "There are a lot of truths that are very necessary. This is not a truth that's necessary." (*New Republic*, Feb. 8, p. 14)

American soldiers who liberated Dachau summarily killed 520 of the 560 German camp personnel who had surrendered. Here, soldiers of the 157th Regiment, 45th Division, have just machine-gunned a group of about a hundred German prisoners. Four who were missed are still standing; they were killed moments after this photo was taken. No one has ever been punished for this atrocity. (US Army photo SC 208765.)

At Yale University, "Liberators" was "defiantly" shown to a gathering of 200 students and citizens of New Haven. "This is one more tool to help us address the issue of racism," said Gertrude Sparks, director of the New Haven YMCA which, along with local Jewish leaders, co-sponsored the showing. "This is not the time to concern ourselves with who gets credit for what camps were taken. This film will illuminate history." (*Forward*, March 5)

"Liberators" was also shown on February 8 at Harvard University. One person defended the film there by absurdly asserting that "for eight days the 761st held the German army. If they hadn't held it, the German army would have gone back to Paris... Whether they went into the camps first or last ... is not relevant." (*Forward*, Feb. 12)

In San Francisco, television station KQED broadcast "Liberators" on February 21, ten days after it had been "withdrawn" by the PBS network.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich decided not to withdraw the *Liberators* book from circulation, and it remained a selection of the prestigious Book of the Month Club. (*New York Times Book Review*, Feb. 21, p. 36)

Perhaps most astonishingly, on February 17 it was announced that the "Liberators" film had been nominated for an Oscar award in the category of Best Documentary.

What Critics Missed

Regrettably — but understandably — none of the prominent critics of “Liberators” have been able or willing to point out the project’s falsehoods as they touch on the Holocaust extermination story itself.

For example, *Liberators* (pp. 58, 239) revives the now well-discredited story that inmates were killed in gas chambers at Dachau:

As the 761st and the 100th were preparing for combat, inmates at Dachau — outside Munich — were being murdered by the thousands. Most were gassed, shot, or hanged ...

“Then I [GI Walter Lewis] went in the back to what they called the shower room. I didn’t go in, I just peeked through the window because I feared that maybe the gas was still on.”

Liberators (p. 135) also reports that

In uchenwald, that summer of '44, [inmate] Ben Bender could only gaze, in numbed horror, at the gray clouds billowing twenty-four hours a day from the crematorium’s towering smokestacks.

Actually, crematories are designed in such a way that they do not “billow” smoke.

Bender has also claimed to have “stood in the gas chamber” at Buchenwald. (*Los Angeles Times*, “TV Times” sec., Nov. 8, p. 7.) As every reputable historian of this era acknowledges, there was no “gas chamber” at the camp.

Liberators (p. 158) also cites the “confession” of Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss as proof that three million were killed in that camp. (As Dr. Robert Faurisson and others have pointed out, [this confession is demonstrably inaccurate on key points, was obtained by torture, and is worthless as proof](#). See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986, pp. 389 ff.)

Unmentioned Atrocity

“Liberators” makes no mention whatsoever of what was almost certainly the worst single atrocity committed at Dachau: the murder by the camp’s American liberators of 520 of the 560 German camp personnel who had surrendered. About 100 were shot down wherever they were found scattered around the camp. GIs permitted inmates to kill another 40 prisoners with shovels, clubs and guns. But most of those who surrendered — 358 in all — were lined up against walls and summarily machine-gunned by American soldiers. (Source: Howard Buechner, *Dachau: The Hour of the Avenger*, Metairie, La., 1986.)

Conclusion

Summing up the “Liberators” debacle, the *New York Post* pointedly commented: “What we have here, in short, is an effort to rewrite history to suit contemporary political purposes.” (Quoted in *The Washington Times*, Feb. 7)

While few of those who have pointed out errors and fraud in “Liberators” would regard themselves as “revisionist,” Rosenblum’s angry denunciation of her critics as such is quite apt. Every person who helps set straight the historical record is indeed a revisionist — in the best sense of the word. And although the larger Holocaust questions have remain untouched by mainstream commentators, the relatively successful spotlighting of the fraudulent nature of the “Liberators” project, and the debunking of many of its specific lies, is nevertheless a welcome blow for historical truth.

Wiesenthal Re-Confirms: 'No Extermination Camps on German Soil'

In a letter published in a January issue of *The Stars and Stripes*, a newspaper for US military service personnel, Simon Wiesenthal re-confirmed, in passing, that “there were no extermination camps on German soil” during the Second World War. He made the identical statement in a letter published in the April 1975 issue of the British periodical *Books and Bookmen*.

While the truth of Wiesenthal’s words here has been known for years, this statement is significant, first of all, because it is made by an internationally renowned and supposedly knowledgeable and reputable figure, and, second, because it once again confirms a point that revisionists have been making for years. What Wiesenthal does not mention, and what is not widely understood, is that he also implicitly confirms the drastic change that has taken place over the years in the Holocaust extermination story.

What the “Nazi hunter” now says contrasts sharply with what was authoritatively claimed in the decades following the Second World War. At the great Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-1946, for example, Allied government officials presented apparently conclusive evidence to prove that camps “on German soil” — such as Dachau and Buchenwald — were “extermination” centers. Sir Hartley Shawcross, chief British prosecutor at the main Nuremberg trial, accordingly declared in his closing address on July 26, 1946, that “murder [was] conducted like some mass production industry in the gas chambers and the ovens” of Buchenwald, Dachau, Oranienburg — all “on German soil” — as well as at other German-run camps.

'Evidence' of Gassings at Dachau

Abundant “proof” that inmates were gassed at Dachau has been provided over the years, most notably at the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946. Former inmate Dr. Franz Blaha, for example, provided eyewitness testimony at Nuremberg about gas chamber killings there of “many prisoners.”

According to a May 1945 US government document, which was accepted as evidence by the Nuremberg Tribunal as document L-159 (USA-222), “a distinguishing feature of the Dachau Camp was the gas chamber for the execution of prisoners.” The official report went on to describe the alleged gassing operation in some detail. (For more about such “evidence,” see: R. Faurisson, *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1990, pp. 296-307.)

'Evidence' of Extermination at Buchenwald

Superficially impressive evidence has likewise been presented over the years to “prove” that the Buchenwald camp was an “extermination” center. For example, an April 1945 US Army report about Buchenwald prepared for the Supreme Allied Headquarters in Europe declared that the “mission of the camp” was “an extermination factory.”

The May 1945 US government report on the German camps (already cited), which was accepted as evidence by the Nuremberg Tribunal as document L-159, similarly described Buchenwald as an “extermination factory.” An official French government report accepted by the Tribunal as exhibit RF-301 (document 274-F) charged:

Everything had been provided for down to the smallest detail. In 1944, at Buchenwald, they had even lengthened a railway line so that the deportees might be led directly to the gas chamber. Certain [of the gas chambers] had a floor that tipped and immediately directed the bodies into the room with the crematory oven.

(For more on such “evidence,” see: M. Weber, “Buchenwald: Legend and Reality,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-1987.)

Broszat's Acknowledgment

Such official claims of extermination and gassing at camps in Germany proper persisted until August 1960, when Dr. Martin Broszat of Germany's semi-official Institute for Contemporary History acknowledged in a letter published in the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* that such allegations were not true. In doing so, Broszat implicitly also conceded that the “evidence” presented at Nuremberg and elsewhere for extermination and gassings in those camps is bogus. (The complete text of Broszat's letter is given in translation below.)

Ignorance

Nevertheless, some people still persist in affirming the now-discredited story of gassings at Dachau. It is precisely such ignorance that prompted Wiesenthal's recent statement.

In a letter published in the December 3, 1992, issue of *The Stars and Stripes* (European edition), J. Fulton-Scott, a veteran who had been “stationed at Dachau immediately after the war” told readers: “Everything [there] was still intact, including human ashes in the grates of the crematoriums and the blood-stained fingernail claw marks on the walls of the gas chambers.” Similarly, in a letter in the January 11 issue, Ben Kerns told readers about his visit to the camp in 1945 as a sergeant with the US Third Army. He attested to having seen there “a gas chamber with the chilling sign 'Dusche' (shower) over the door.”

The *Stars and Stripes* editors also seem to accept the view that there was a homicidal gas chamber at Dachau. Adjacent to Wiesenthal's letter in the January 24 issue appears a widely reproduced US Army photograph with the caption: “A 7th Army soldier examines the gas chamber at Dachau at the end of World War II.” In fact — and as all reputable specialists of the subject now readily concede — this was a small non-homicidal delousing gas chamber that was never used to kill people.

The Wiesenthal Record

While it is gratifying to note that, in his recent “Revisionist” letter, Wiesenthal implicitly “denies history” as “established” by the Nuremberg Tribunal, it must be pointed out that nearly everything else he says is untrue.

There is not a shred of evidence, for example, that “a gas chamber was in the process of being built at Dachau, but it was never completed.” (See “The Second Leuchter Report” by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1990.) There is like-

wise no proof that “mentally and physically handicapped people were killed” by gas at any of the four “institutions” Wiesenthal mentions.

This US Army photo was taken at Dachau on April 30, 1945, one day after the camp’s capture. It shows a GI standing in front of a door marked with a skull and crossbones and the words “Caution! Gas! Life danger! Do not open!” According to the official caption, “these chambers were used by Nazi guards for killing prisoners of the infamous Dachau concentration camp.” In fact, this is a small disinfection gas chamber used for delousing clothes. It was never used to kill people. For several decades, this photo has been widely reproduced to help keep alive the notorious Dachau “gas chamber” myth. (US Army photo SC 206194.)

Actually — and contrary to his highly flattering public image — the renowned “Nazi hunter” has a well-documented but little-known record of deceit, mendacity and prevarication. Some highlights:

Wiesenthal repeatedly lied about his alleged role in locating Adolf Eichmann, was consistently wrong about Josef Mengele, and falsely accused Polish-American Frank Walus of having murdered Jews in Poland as a Gestapo official. Wiesenthal has absurdly charged that the Germans exterminated Jews in “electrocution chambers,” and that they manufactured bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews. His deception about his own wartime activities prompted Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky (himself of Jewish ancestry) to accuse the “Nazi hunter” of having collaborated with his wartime oppressors. (For details about Wiesenthal’s record, see: M. Weber, “Simon Wiesenthal: Bogus Nazi Hunter,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1989-90.)

Finally, Wiesenthal has even lied about his most widely-cited concession to truth. Concerned about the way that various Revisionists were quoting his 1975 *Books and Bookmen* letter, he simply denied ever having written it. In a letter dated May 12, 1986, to Professor John George of Central State University in Edmond, Oklahoma, Wiesenthal wrote: “I have never stated that 'there were no extermination camps on German soil.' This quote is false. I could never have said such a thing.”

-- M.W. and G.R.

'No Gassing In Dachau'

Shown below is the widely-quoted 1960 letter by Dr. Martin Broszat, translated from the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* under the headline “*Keine Vergasung in Dachau*” (“No Gassing in Dachau”). It appeared in the German edition of August 19, 1960, and in the US edition of August 26, 1960 (p. 14). Dr. Broszat writes in the name of the prestigious Institute for Contemporary History (Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte). He later served as director of the Munich-based archive and research center, which is funded by German taxpayers.

Here is a translation of the complete text of Broszat’s letter:

Neither in Dachau nor in Bergen-Belsen nor in Buchenwald were Jews or other prisoners gassed. The gas chamber in Dachau was never entirely finished or put “into operation.” Hundreds of thousands of prisoners who perished in Dachau and other concentration camps in the Old Reich [that is, Germany in its borders of 1937] were victims, above all, of the catastrophic hygienic and provisioning conditions: according to official SS statistics, during the twelve months from July 1942 through June 1943 alone, 110,812 persons died of disease and hunger in all of the concentration camps

of the Reich. The mass extermination of the Jews by gassing began in 1941-1942 and occurred exclusively in a few facilities selected and equipped with appropriate technical installations, above all in the occupied Polish territory (but at no place in the Old Reich): in Auschwitz-Birkenau, in Sobibor on the Bug [river], in Treblinka, Chelmno and Belzec.

It is at those places, but not in Bergen-Belsen, Dachau or Buchenwald, where the mass extermination facilities, spoken of in your article [in an earlier issue of *Die Zeit*], were built and disguised as shower baths or disinfection rooms. This necessary differentiation does not, of course, change anything regarding the criminal character of the facility that was the concentration camp. However, it may perhaps help eliminate the annoying confusion that arises from the fact that some ineducable people make use of a few arguments that, while correct, are polemically torn from the context, and that, rushing to respond to them are other people who, although they have the correct overall view, rely upon false or mistaken information.

Dr. M. Broszat
Institute for Contemporary History
Munich

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Irving Barred From Australia

Major Newspapers and Civil Liberties Groups Denounce Ban Against Historian

Bowing to intense pressure, the Australian government has banned British historian [David Irving](#) from the country.

In a February 10 letter, the best-selling historian was informed of the decision by Immigration Minister Gerry Hand to deny him a visa to visit the country for a lecture and promotional tour that was to begin March 17. The pretext given by Hand for barring Irving is that he is “likely to become involved in activities disruptive to, or violence threatening harm to, the Australian community or a group within the Australian community.”

This government action, which has received enormous media attention in the island nation, is part of a growing international effort to silence Irving and all others who reject the orthodox Holocaust story. (Because of his dissident views on the Holocaust, Irving was deported from Canada in November, and in January a German court fined him \$18,000 for telling an audience that the “gas chamber” shown to tourists at Auschwitz is a postwar reconstruction. For more on this ominous campaign, see the [January-February 1993 Journal](#).)

Australia’s Zionist and Jewish community organizations — which have expressed anger over the British historian’s dissident views of the Holocaust story — predictably applauded the ban. To permit Irving into the country, claimed *The Australian Jewish News*, would be “against the national interest.” (Editorial, Feb. 19)

Staunch Newspaper Support for Freedom

On the other hand, the country’s leading daily newspapers and civil rights organizations have sharply criticized the ban as an unnecessary and dangerous assault against free speech.

With candor that is all but unthinkable in the United States, Canada and western Europe, Australia’s leading newspapers identified pressure from Jewish organizations as the critical factor behind the government ban. The country’s most influential papers also forthrightly condemned the campaign by Jewish groups to impose their views on the rest of society.

Typical is the view of *The Age*, one of Australia’s most influential papers. The Melbourne daily editorially denounced the ban as “neither courageous nor right” (Feb. 13), and went on to explain the political factors behind the action:

The government was under strong pressure from the Jewish community to exclude him, but the reasons given by the Minister for Immigration, Mr. Hand, fall short of a convincing justification. It appears that the government calculated that — especially

with an election pending — it would be politically safer to placate an influential lobby group, and others who find Mr. Irving’s view obnoxious, than to uphold the principle of free speech and travel for a highly provocative polemicist.

Another prominent Australian daily, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, expressed a similar editorial view (Feb. 16):

The Zionist Federation of Australia and the Council of Australian Jewry last year opposed the entry of Mr. Irving into Australia because of his views on the Holocaust. The federal government has now bowed to this pressure from Jewish community groups. Re-election considerations, rather than the maintenance of a vibrant and healthy concern for free speech in Australia, have — unfortunately — won the day ... The ban on Mr. Irving should be lifted.

The *Adelaide Advertiser* called the ban “an assault on free speech.” (Editorial, Feb. 17). While dismissing Irving’s views on the Holocaust issue as “outlandish,” the paper forthrightly affirmed:

... In succumbing to pressure from The Zionist Federation of Australia and the Council of Australian Jewry, the government (and the [political] opposition) risk appearing as bigoted as the man it apparently thinks we should all fear too much to allow into our midst.

There is little substance to claims that Mr. Irving presents a public danger, or is likely to incite violence. And the law is well equipped to deal with such eventualities. He has not done so in previous visits to Australia.

In a country that thrives on freedom, it is intolerable to have censorious politicians abrogating on our behalf one of our most basic tenets of democracy.

The Australian similarly termed the Irving ban “an ill-conceived exercise in censorship.” (Editorial, Feb. 15). The Sydney-based national daily went on:

It would be unwise for a government to deny entry to a person receiving implied threats of violence rather than seek to prevent those making the threats from succeeding in an attempt to muzzle views they oppose.

... Only the naive observer would accept the government’s stated reason for not granting Mr. Irving a visa. It is his views that are considered unacceptable, not the likelihood of their public expression being the occasion of violence.

Restraints on open debate, in the long run, are not in the best interests even of a societal minority such as the Jewish community, however understandable its sensitivity about the Holocaust, and the persistence of its horror in living memory, may be.

After declaring that the ban against Irving “must be reversed,” the *Melbourne Herald-Sun* (Editorial, Feb. 16) went on to explain:

The ban makes a nonsense of the government’s censorious hectoring of other countries for their denial of human rights, including the right of free speech... If the Australian government had not bowed to pressure from the understandably sensitive Jewish community, few Australians would have noticed Irving’s coming and going.

A Professor's View

An emeritus professor at Australia's La Trobe University, J.S. Gregory, eloquently denounced the ban against Irving. (The Age, Feb. 17). The former history professor wrote:

Now that Salman Rushdie is venturing out into the world again and giving the occasional lecture, would Mr. Hand be prepared to ban him from entering Australia, should he express an interest in doing so, and should some pressure group, different from that active in the Irving case, argue that any lecture by him could provoke community disturbances?

Just for what sensitive issues, for which pressure groups, is Mr. Hand prepared to abandon the liberal principle, basic to our democratic system, that any minority opinion, however extreme, may be freely expressed in our open society unless it actively advocates violence and civil disorder?

Unless Mr. Hand can prove that this is Mr. Irving's intent, he should revoke his obnoxious ruling and help defend, not subvert, this honorable and civilized principle. This current ruling fits such governments as that of post-Tiananmen China, and too many others, but not Australia's — whichever party wins the coming elections.

ACLU Offers Help

The Australian Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has offered legal help to overturn the ban. "There is no valid reason to refuse him [Irving] entry into the country, and I think he will win a High Court appeal," said ACLU president John Bennett, who is a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee. (*Herald-Sun*, Feb. 15.)

In an op-ed opinion piece in the *Herald-Sun* (Feb. 17), Bennett went on to explain:

The main argument to exclude David Irving is that his presence may have been disruptive. I have chaired two meetings for Mr. Irving, in 1986 and 1987, during his lecture tour. His meetings were well publicized and well attended, with not one interjection, and neither being disruptive by inciting violence or racial tension.

Mr. Irving says the explanation of the Jewish Holocaust is exaggerated, and I think his view should be capable of public discussion and to be treated fairly.

Views Better Known

As a result of the ban, Irving and his Holocaust views have, ironically, become better known than ever in Australia. The enemies of free speech seemingly did not reckon with the staunch stand of Australia's major daily papers, or with modern communications. Because of the ban — and in defiance of it — Irving appeared, for example, by satellite hook-up as a guest for 20 minutes on a prime-time Australia television program, February 16.

"Counter-Productive"

Reflecting on the furor over the ban, Isi Leibler, President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), complained (in the pages of *The Australian Jewish News*, March 19) that "the public debate centered on the 'powerful Jewish lobby' and what was presented as its denial of freedom of expression ..."

He went on to revealingly admit: "... the ECAJ accepts that one lesson the Irving episode demonstrates is that it can be sometimes be counter-productive for Jewish organizations publicly to express satisfaction when the government responds positively to our concerns." In such cases, Leibler suggests, Jewish groups should act silently and conceal their role.

Irving Confident

Declaring that "the battle for freedom of speech is just beginning," Irving himself remains defiant and confident of ultimate victory. "I don't intend to be beaten. I'm a fighter." He says:

Free speech is becoming a rarity around the world, and it is being restricted to those with politically correct views. I'm not politically correct. I express views based on information I've dug out of archives. I may be wrong, but freedom of speech means the right to be wrong. If I'm telling lies or half-truths, why don't they let me come to Australia and expose me?

By this restriction of the freedom of speech in Australia, and of the rights of Australians to hear me, my opponents will regrettably achieve precisely the result they wished to avoid — namely an increase in anti-Semitic feelings among ordinary Australian citizens.

Encouraged by the strong press support for his right to speak in Australia, the British historian is optimistic about winning a High Court appeal because, as he puts it, the government "has no case."

— M. W.

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Zionism and the Press in Australia: Two Views

While the press in Australia may be less inhibited than that of many other countries, journalists there — like their counterparts elsewhere — must still contend with considerable pressure from the Jewish-Zionist lobby. Recently, some prominent Australian journalists were invited by the quarterly journal *Generation* to discuss how that country's media deals with issues of concern to the Jewish community. The frank responses of two of them are reprinted here from *The Australian Jewish News* [Melbourne edition], Dec. 4, 1992 (p. 19):

'I Surrender'

I have said publicly that I will never write or speak on the subject of Israel or Palestine ever again. Here is why:

The Zionist lobby in this country is malicious, implacable, mendacious and dangerous. They have caused me a great deal of lost sleep — and in the end my insomnia has not contributed anything to the resolution of the conflict over Palestine. I might as well keep my mouth shut and get some sleep.

What's more, once the expression "anti-Semite" hits the air, or, heaven forfend, the sacred formula "six million" is uttered, then I know from bitter experience that there is not one manager or editor in the country who will defend an underling. We are thrown to the jackals.

In the end the truly tolerant have no defence against intolerance. I surrender. To the Zionists I say: you win. To the Palestinians: forgive my cowardice.

-- Terry Lane, broadcaster for ABC television and a newspaper columnist.

'Own Worst Enemies'

I have fronted at numerous Jewish fundraising dinners, written obsessively about the Holocaust, trudged around the death camps, performed opening ceremonies at exhibitions in the Great Synagogue in Sydney and fulminated against John Bennett and other revisionists.

As a consequence, I've enjoyed excellent relations with the Jewish community and with its principal political and social organizations

And then a funny thing happened. I was the guest speaker at a fundraising dinner at Jewish doctors in Sydney. It was a pleasant, congenial occasion, and despite my friendly criticism of certain aspects of Jewish political behavior (in Australia), I was warmly applauded.

However, the *Jewish News* gave a slightly distorted version of what I'd said, and, lo and behold, I suddenly became the Jews' worst enemy. Dozens of letters accused me of being an anti-semite.

I then received an extraordinary letter from [Jewish community leader] Bill Rubinstein which I found offensive in tone and remarkably patronizing. As it illustrated some of the very points I'd made in my talk to the doctors, I published it in *The Australian* and all hell broke loose. Lots more letters accusing me of being an anti-semite.

All in all, it was such a bruising and unpleasant experience that I decided not to write on Jewish matters again. Or at least to take a long sabbatical from matters semitic.

I could cover pages with evidence of my good-will to the Jewish community... In short, I felt that I'd paid my dues. And yet it took only a hint of cautious, friendly criticism to put me on the receiving end of Jewish anger.

... When it comes to dealing with the outside world, with we goyim who are also concerned by aspects of Israeli policy, the [Jewish] ranks close and the reactions can be excessive.

I could tell you of many attempts to repress or suppress an energetic debate on matters relating to Israel. I could describe a number of circumstances where Jewish organizations used a sledge-hammer to crack a walnut, over-reacting in a ludicrous manner to things they'd found objectionable in print or broadcasting.

When talking to the wider world, I try and explain such excesses in terms of Jewish suffering and anxieties. But when I talk to Jews, I have to say that, again and again, you're your own worst enemies. Instead of trying to persuade people to your point of view, there's a tendency to bully, to threaten, to censor.

So as a friend who has laid wreaths at the concentration camps... let me ask Australian Jews, and Jewish organizations, to be more careful in the way they respond to debate in the Australian media. In America there has been a systematic overkill which has led to widespread resentment. I would not like that to happen here.

-- Phillip Adams, columnist for *The Australian*, a Sydney-based nationally circulated daily paper, and a broadcaster for ABC television.

Holocaust Revisionism is not 'Hate Speech,' Canadian Officials Affirm

by [Mark Weber](#)

On August 27, Canada's Supreme Court dismissed charges against Ernst Zündel of "publishing false news" because he had circulated a reprint edition of a booklet that disputes the generally accepted Holocaust extermination story. The Court struck down as unconstitutional the law under which the German-Canadian publisher and commercial artist had been convicted. (For more on this, see the *IHR Newsletter*, Oct. 1992, pp. 1-3.)

At a news conference immediately following the Court's ruling, Zündel defiantly repeated his view of the Holocaust story, provocatively calling it a "hoax" and a "racket."

Canadian Jewish groups promptly responded by demanding that Zündel be tried again for the same "crime," this time under Canada's "hate law" that bans willful incitement to hatred. Bernie Farber, national director of the Canadian Jewish Congress, filed a formal complaint against Zündel with the "Pornography/ Hate Literature Section" of the Ontario Provincial Police in Toronto.

In a letter of March 5, 1993, Ontario Provincial Police Staff Sergeant Robert E. Matthews responded to Farber's complaint:

In the above letter of complaint [of Sept. 9], you [Farber] allege that Mr. Zündel is wilfully promoting hatred toward an identifiable group, that being the Jews, when he makes statements through the media in which he denies the Holocaust. The statements in question were those made by Mr. Zündel at a news conference called by him at his residence on August 27, 1992, immediately following his acquittal by the Supreme Court of Canada on charges of Section 181 of the Criminal Code of Canada. Mr. Zündel also made further statements on that same date to radio talk show hostess Ms. Jane Hawton of CFRB radio in Toronto, and those statements were broadcast to her listening audience.

The statements ... have been investigated and a legal opinion has been received from the Ministry of the Attorney General. Based upon the legal advice and the results of the investigation, it has been determined that the statements made by Mr. Zündel on that date do not constitute an offense contrary to ["hate law"] Section 319(2) of the Criminal Code.

In spite of this statement, Canadian Jewish groups have vowed to continue their efforts to legally silence Zündel. (*Canadian Jewish News*, Toronto, March 18, p. 4)

Zündel Responds

Saying "two can play this game," Zündel responded to the Canadian Jewish groups' 1992 move by filing a complaint of his own on September 3 with the Ontario Provincial police. In his formal

protest, he cited a statement by Elie Wiesel in the book, *Legends of Our Time*: “Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set apart a zone of hate — healthy, virile hate — for what the German personifies and for what persists in the German.” In his letter to the Provincial Police, Zündel commented: “I know of no other clearer invitation to hate in any book or publication I have seen.” (As we go to press, Zündel has not yet received a response to his formal charge.)

Incidentally, the often-repeated assertion that “Holocaust denial” is “anti-Semitism,” or constitutes “promoting hatred against Jews,” is not only inaccurate, it insults Jewish persons who have supported Holocaust Revisionism. (Joseph Burg, for example, himself a Holocaust survivor, testified on Zündel’s behalf in the 1988 trial.)

Like the August ruling of Canada’s Supreme Court, the March statement of Ontario Provincial officials is not merely vindication for a man who has fought tirelessly for civil rights and justice for his people, it is an important victory for the cause of free speech and free historical inquiry. Canada’s forthright affirmation of the principle of freedom of speech for those who reject the Holocaust extermination story is particularly gratifying at a time when dissident views of twentieth-century history are banned in Israel and several European states.

A Sacred Cow Is Gored Among the Longhorns

Brad Smith's Campus Project Ad Printed After Furious Clash at University of Texas

Austin Cable Television to Broadcast Cole Auschwitz Video

by Theodore J. O'Keefe

On February 19, after 15 months of intimidation and pressure by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Daily Texan, campus newspaper of the University of Texas (Austin), published a half-page advertisement defending and promoting David Cole's breakthrough video on the alleged gas chamber at Auschwitz.

The advertisement, placed by Bradley Smith's Campus Project in the form of a reasoned and effective "Open Letter" by Cole, was only published after the Daily Texan and the Texas Student Publications (TSP) Board, which oversees the paper, had refused to publish a straightforward quarter-page advertisement for the Auschwitz video. (For more on Cole's video, see the March-April Journal.) Publication of the Revisionist ad resulted in campus, city, and state-wide publicity; led to the theft of thousands of copies of that Daily Texan issue; and provoked an enraged letter from the thought police at the ADL's Houston office.

But the impact of Holocaust Revisionism on the campus of Texas's biggest university and across its capital city may be just beginning. As this issue of the Journal goes to press, the controversial Revisionist video is scheduled for broadcast four different days over Austin public access cable television. The weeks-long, heavily reported battle to publish the video ad, the appearance of Cole's half-page open letter, and the frenzied response to its publication have resulted in priceless advertising to the estimated 200,000 public access audience in the Austin area, setting the stage for an unprecedented opportunity to present Holocaust Revisionism directly to a large and sophisticated public.

Furthermore, the ADL's interventions, repeated and heavy-handed, into the affairs of the Daily Texan, have created an excellent opportunity for a Campus Project counter-attack and a campus backlash: For example, one speaker brought by the ADL to the University of Texas to intimidate proponents of publishing a Campus Project ad is one of the chief players in the recent Liberators hoax.

ADL's Initial Victories

Nowhere has the battle to bring the findings of scholarly Holocaust Revisionism into print for college and university readers been as protracted and as hotly contested as at the University of Texas (Austin). Since late fall, 1991, Bradley Smith, under the auspices of the Campus Project of

the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), has sought to place three different advertisements putting the Revisionist case for public discussion of admitted anomalies in the Establishment version of the Jewish Holocaust story into the Daily Texan, which circulates to 38,000 readers in and around the biggest, oldest, and most prestigious branch of the University of Texas. During that time, the Texas Student Publications Board had voted eight times on whether to publish a Campus Project advertisement before voting last February 18 to run Cole's half-page open letter.

Until then, Jewish organizations, led by the ADL, had been successful in applying irresistible pressure on the campus paper's student editors as well as on the controlling Texas Student Publications board to prevent publication of the Campus Project ads. Clear evidence for this pressure has been provided by the ADL itself. In an article in the June 1992 issue of the Zionist group's newsletter *On the Frontline* ("The Battle of Austin: An ADL Success Story"), Jeffrey A. Ross, director of the ADL's Campus Affairs/Higher Education Department, reveals that "ADL regional, national, and international resources were brought into play" against freedom of speech and inquiry at the University.

Ross also describes how, to combat publication of Smith's first ad, "The Holocaust Controversy: The Case for Open Debate," ADL officials were brought in to meet with editors of the Daily Texan and members of the TSP Board to "provide evidence of Smith's ties to the extremist hate movement [sic]," and to "sensitize the editorial board to the deep emotional meaning of the Holocaust to the Jewish community." "As a result," Ross writes, "the ad was rejected."

A second Revisionist ad, based on Journal editor Mark Weber's essay, "The 'Jewish Soap' Holocaust Myth," was offered for publication in spring 1992. An ADL-organized team consisting of Ross, Professor Deborah Lipstadt, and Johnnie Stevens, a veteran of the US Army's 761st Tank Battalion, was brought to Texas to combat the Revisionist threat.

Why Stevens? Because, according to Ross's article, his unit "had liberated Buchenwald." In fact, as detailed elsewhere in this issue of the Journal, the story that the 761st Tank Battalion, a largely black outfit, liberated the camp is a lie that was fabricated years after the war. Nevertheless, unlike those veterans of the 761st who helped to expose this hoax, Stevens is quoted explicitly as having "shot up [Buchenwald] and chased the guards out of there" in *Liberators* (p. 217), a book based on the deceptive documentary of the same name. Whether unwittingly or not, the ADL, which opposed the Campus Project's ads as untruthful, was last April promoting a palpable and subsequently exposed hoax as part of its campaign to "inform" the University of Texas community of the alleged truth of the Holocaust.

When "sensitivity" and the ADL's brand of "historical objectivity" failed to sway the TSP Board, the Zionist-Jewish "watchdog organization," Ross reports, switched to legal intimidation. Discovering that TSP Board guidelines for opinion advertising require that permission be obtained before citing the words of third parties, the ADL's Israel Office alerted Shmuel Krakowski, director of Yad Vashem (who is cited in the "Jewish Soap" ad), while the ADL's New York-based Braun Center for Holocaust Studies informed the American authorities cited in the ad's text. Deborah Lipstadt, America's leading would-be debunker of Holocaust Revisionism, also cited in the ad, and conveniently on the scene, threatened to sue the university if the ad appeared.

After a series of tumultuous meetings of the Texas Student Publications Board, at least one of which required protection by campus police (during one session a board member supportive of the ad on free-speech grounds, Professor John Murphy, was struck by a raging proponent of censorship), and after additional ADL pressure, this time brought to bear on the University of

Texas's Board of Regents from the ADL's Dallas and Houston offices, the ADL got its way: last April 29, the Board rejected the Campus Project's second advertisement. As Ross crowed in the group's June 1992 newsletter: "It was a hard fought victory but well worth it in the context of the fact that, following the decision in Texas, not a single college or university newspaper has chosen to accept the second Bradley Smith ad."

If at First You Don't Succeed ...

While the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust can't hope to match the ADL's massive resources and terrifying influence, Director Bradley Smith is at the very least his censors' equal in persistence. Because his opinion ads were increasingly prey to rejection (thanks to nation-wide smear efforts led by the ADL and other Jewish groups), he decided to advertise for sale a tangible product: he reasoned that an accurate description of the product offered would be tougher to reject on the grounds that it was untruthful or "anti-Semitic."

And CODOH's Campus Project now had a product to offer, thanks to Smith's cooperation with young Revisionist (and Jewish) video producer David Cole in making "David Cole Interviews Franciszek Piper." This video is the most competent Revisionist film on Auschwitz — or any concentration camp site — to date, and contains dramatic evidence, in the form of an admission by Dr. Franciszek Piper, director of archives at the Auschwitz State Museum, that millions of tourists have been and continue to be misled as to the authenticity of the facility exhibited as a homicidal gas chamber at the Auschwitz I Main Camp.

Approaching the Daily Texan yet again, in February 1993, the Campus Project sought to publish a small advertisement for the video. The paper's editorial board refused to publish it, not merely because its description supposedly misrepresented the facts — not about the video, but about the "Holocaust"! — but also because the student editors, evidently all too well "sensitized" by the ADL, claimed to detect a subtle but sneering reference to the earlier "Jewish Soap" ad in the new ad's headline: "Auschwitz Director Comes Clean about Fraudulent 'Gas Chamber' in Exclusive Interview." Yet again, it was "no soap" at the Daily Texan.

Once more, Smith went through the cumbersome procedure of appealing the campus paper's decision, first to a review committee of the Texas Student Publications Board, and then to the entire board. Both bodies upheld the newspaper's decision to reject.

But Smith still wasn't giving up. Quickly, what David Cole called "Plan B" was put into effect: Smith now submitted a half-page "Open Letter to the Daily Texan," written by Cole, in which the video's producer explained, frankly and personally, the intellectual curiosity and skepticism that had led him to challenge the "Holocaust" gospel, and the concern for free inquiry and open discussion that motivated him, despite all the risks, to record and distribute the truth about the Auschwitz "gas chamber."

The Daily Texan again refused a Campus Project ad, but on February 18, by a vote of 6-5, the Texas Student Publication Board overruled the paper's editors. Cole's open letter was published the next day.

The Reaction

Publication of the "Open Letter" set off a geyser of fury among Revisionism's opponents, at the University of Texas and elsewhere. The university's president, Robert Berdahl, weighed in with an intellectually flaccid and morally flabby "guest column" in the Daily Texan deploring the "in-

sult” the advertisement allegedly inflicted on “the Jewish people.” As to the Holocaust, Berdahl, a self-described “German historian,” issued the following pronouncement, evidently meant to stand as a thundering ipse dixit: “It happened.” And, for weeks thereafter, the pages of the campus paper seethed with enraged denunciations by students and faculty members of Cole, Revisionism, and the TSP Board’s decision to permit the advertisement.

Opponents of free inquiry and of historical truth weren’t just writing letters, however. On the morning the Cole letter was published, two people in a pick-up truck were seen looting Daily Texan distribution bins; at least 3,000 copies of the paper were stolen that day, according to a subsequent story in the Daily Texan bearing the odd headline: “Holocaust Ad Provokes Theft, Draws Criticism.” If the story is to be believed, a campus policeman said that “no arrests were made because The Daily Texan decided not to file charges.”

There were the standard “campus protests,” too, as hundreds of students lobbied for the right of would-be intellectual Catchers in the Rye — like Berdahl and the wardens from the ADL — to rush periodically out of the undergrowth to drag students away from the threatening precipice of the tolerance, skepticism, and free discussion that brings intellectual maturity. On March 9, Jewish leaders, representatives of local gay and lesbian groups, the president of the Austin chapter of the NAACP, and at least four Texas state legislators spoke out against “intolerance” at a rally of the intolerant organized by the campus chapter of Hillel House (B’nai B’rith’s student branch), which has worked closely with the ADL from the opening of Smith’s campaign at the University of Texas.

Nine days after the “Open Letter” was published, the ADL’s Houston office issued an enraged, volcanic belch in the form of a letter to, not the Daily Texan, but the Houston Chronicle. Headlined “Stop Spreading Hatred,” the letter, written by Mark Wise and Barbara Harberg, chairman and director of the regional office, is a little masterpiece of spite, petulance, and menace. Brazenly revealed is the ADL’s 15-months-long campaign of intimidation against the campus paper and the student publications board. The ADL officials emotionally invoked the right of any newspaper to reject advertising “whose main purpose is to spread hatred, to promote anti-Semitism and to reduce the victims...,” and grimly pronounced: “Far from an issue of free speech, the publication of the Holocaust revisionist ad demonstrated an insensitivity which allows the rankest form of anti-Semitism to flourish.” One may hazard the guess that, after reading and digesting this ADL anathema, the staff of the Daily Texan and the members of the Texas Student Publications Board breathed prayerful thanks that they don’t happen to live in, say, the Gaza Strip.

Access at Last

Had the Battle of Austin ended with publication of Cole’s “Open Letter,” Smith and Cole could have declared moral victory, and then waited for a trickle of orders from Daily Texan readers curious enough to write for details on ordering the video. But friends of freedom were at work in Austin, making arrangements for Cole’s Auschwitz videotape to be shown on the area’s public-access cable channel. (As we have already mentioned, public-access television offers unrivalled opportunities to get out the Revisionist message. See the IHR Newsletter, Oct. 1992, p. 3)

Just as important, the Campus Project was able to disseminate specific information on the date and time of the showings. A provocative advertisement for the showings was accepted and published in the weekly television section of the Austin American-Statesman, the area’s main daily newspaper. And, in a 1960’s-style “media event,” a local Campus Project supporter alerted the University of Texas at Austin to the video showings in unmistakable and unavoidable fashion: he

drove around the UT campus and the city of Austin, proclaiming the upcoming programs in a 40-foot-long ad painted on both sides of his semi-trailer! Finally, during the week that his video will be broadcast, Cole was in Texas, where he was interviewed on at least two television programs.

As we go to press, it isn't yet clear how many of those in the Austin area who receive cable television watched the video. What seems certain, though, is that, thanks to the unprecedented efforts of the ADL, and the resulting 15-month public controversy over placement of what started out as a simple, one-shot revisionist advertisement, the biggest audience to date watched the best Revisionist video presentation ever made. At long last, many thousands of Texans were able to see and hear the Revisionist case directly, and judge its merits for themselves.

The Campus Project's combined media breakthrough in Austin represents its most significant victory to date, just as it marks perhaps the most stinging defeat yet inflicted on the Anti-Defamation League in its efforts to censor historical revisionists.

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French scholar who questioned 'gas chamber' claims recants after three-year campaign of intimidation and violence

Jewish Students Force Cancellation of University Class

In August 1987, a professor of economics at Jean Moulin University in Lyon expressed, in passing in a scholarly article published in an economics journal, skepticism about claims of wartime mass killings of Jews in gas chambers and, in a footnote, mentioned a Revisionist book by Serge Thion and Robert Faurisson.

As a result of these few lines, Bernard Notin soon became a victim of an intense three-year campaign of persecution, threats and intimidation.

The same Jewish-Zionist organizations that had targeted French Revisionist scholar Dr. Robert Faurisson in 1978-79 at another university in Lyon launched a vehement campaign against Notin and his university, which was described as a nest of snakes and Nazis.

Intense Pressure

For a time the University defended Notin's right to teach, pointing out that he had never said anything about gas chambers, the Holocaust or Holocaust Revisionism in any of his lectures. However, after intense pressure (including financial pressure) was brought against the University for this stand, it abandoned Notin.

Banned from teaching for three years, he was transferred to work — at a reduced salary — as a kind of archivist. A lawsuit was also successfully brought against him for his 1987 article, and he was fined 25,000 francs (about \$4,500).

In 1988, Notin's wife found their family dog stabbed. In spite of its severe wounds, it was saved. A few weeks later, their family cat was found stabbed to death. Notin (who is 42), and his wife have five children, aged four and a half to ten. They are all dependent on his income.

In January 1993, University authorities decided to quietly permit Notin to resume teaching. This move might have succeeded if it were not for a new campaign against him by the French daily newspapers *Le Monde* and *Libération*.

On January 30, a mob of about 50 Jewish students carrying a Star of David confronted Notin on the first day of his economic forecasting class, physically preventing him from entering the classroom and forcing cancellation of his class.

Instead of disbanding the violent group, which Notin called "the forces of hysteria," school administrators gave in and decided to cancel the lecture. New threats were made against his wife

and children, and the Jewish Student's Association (Union des _tudiants juifs de France) issued a statement demanding that he be barred from ever teaching.

Notin Recants

Unable to withstand any more such pressure and intimidation, Notin decided to recant. In a February 3 statement issued to the media, he declared that there was a wartime genocide against the Jews, and that Jews were killed in gas chambers. He criticized Holocaust Revisionism and begged the pardon of those he might have offended.

“He claims that the Revisionists have never been persecuted by the Jews!” French cartoonist “Konk” subtly comments on the legal persecution of Revisionism in his country.

For three years, comments Dr. Robert Faurisson, Notin behaved with great courage while he and his family suffered terribly. But the tension in France is now so high that he was obliged to abjure his “heretical” views. He is courageous, but not heroic. No one has the right to criticize him.

In Lyon, comments Faurisson, “law is made and decided by the Jewish organizations, and especially by their leader, Doctor Marc Aron, a cardiologist and president of the European section of the World Jewish Congress.”

The most terrible aspect of this entire affair, Faurisson believes, “is that in the whole of France and in spite of Jewish violence against Notin shown on television and reported in all the newspapers, not a single intellectual, not a single professor, dared to protest.”

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Ivor Benson

Ivor Benson — author, journalist and current affairs analyst, and a good friend of the Institute for Historical Review — died in mid-January in a small market town in West Suffolk, England, where he and his wife had lived for nearly eight years. He was in his 86th year.

Benson was born of Swedish parents in November 1907 in South Africa (Orange Free State), and grew up in South Africa and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). His writing career began as a teenage reporter with the Natal Mercury in Durban (South Africa). After work for the London Daily Telegraph and the Daily Express, he became chief assistant editor of the Johannesburg Rand Daily Mail, then South Africa's leading morning paper. He

resigned that post because of what he regarded as the paper's entrenched misrepresentation of truth. He also served as assistant editor of the Sunday Tribune in Durban.

During the early months of the Second World War, he worked as a freelance journalist in Poland, Finland and Sweden. He left Norway just ahead of the occupying German forces. After returning to South Africa to enlist, he served with distinction as an officer under British command in tank and armored car units in north Africa and Italy.

In 1960, he was the last journalist to leave the embattled Congolese city of Elisabethville (now Lubumbashi). His exclusive first-hand reports on the chaos and bloody fighting there appeared in newspapers around the world. In 1963 he delivered a series of acclaimed weekly broadcasts of news analysis and commentary over the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Then, from 1964 to 1966, he served as Information Advisor to the government of Rhodesia (then headed by Ian Smith).

For most of the rest of his life, he was an independent political analyst and commentator on world affairs. For 15 years until his death, he wrote and published *Behind the News*, a courageous and well-written monthly newsletter that enjoyed an influence out of all proportion to its modest circulation.

He traveled widely and lectured on four continents, including several speaking visits to the United States. He spoke at the Seventh and Tenth IHR Conferences in 1986 and 1990. (These presentations are available on audio tape. The 1990 lecture is also available on videotape.)

Benson's articles in *The Journal of Historical Review* include "The Siege of South Africa" (Spring 1986), "Iran: Some Angles on the Islamic Revolution" (Summer 1989), and "Russia 1917-1918: A Key to the Riddle of an Age of Conflict" (Fall 1990). He wrote several books, including *The Battle for South Africa* and *The Zionist Factor*. (The revised 1992 edition of *The Zionist Factor* is available from the IHR.)

As forthright as he could be in print, in person Benson was invariably kindly and courteous. A devout Christian, he was widely regarded as a man of exceptional character, serenity and integrity. Shortly after his death, his devoted wife Joan commented:

When Ivor was a young man of about 23 years, he experienced an illumination of the heart and mind, a vision of Truth, which was to guide and stabilize the whole of his long and fruitful life.

Ivor knew the Truth, and this was the inner light which made him a wholly integrated personality. It gave him a special strength and self-discipline throughout his professional work and in all his relations with nature and other people.

By the grace of God, Ivor Benson always fought the good fight, and ran the course to the end.

Over the years, he stayed in close touch with the IHR. In a steady stream of letters, he provided many helpful suggestions and steadfast encouragement, even during the IHR's most difficult periods. His last letter to the Institute was written just a few days before an emergency heart operation from which he did not regain consciousness.

Along with many others around the world, all of us at the IHR will remember Ivor Benson as a good friend and a gentleman of exceptional insight and character.

— M. W.

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William Lindsey

William B. Lindsey — a good friend of the Institute for Historical Review and a member since 1983 of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee — died on February 4.

A native of Texas, Bill earned a bachelor of science degree from the University of Texas, and a doctorate in chemistry from Indiana University (Bloomington). He worked for 33 years as a research chemist for the Dupont corporation.

As a professional chemist with a keen interest in Second World War history, he was particularly curious about the

claims of wartime mass killings of Jews in “gas chambers” at Auschwitz-Birkenau using hydrogen cyanide gas from Zyklon B, a commercial insecticide and pesticide. Consequently, he conducted several inspection visits of the sites in Poland of alleged wartime “extermination camps,” including Auschwitz, Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek.

In February 1985 he testified in the “Holocaust trial” in Toronto of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel. Lindsey was recognized by the court as a expert witness on hydrogen cyanide. Based on a careful on-site examination of the “gas chambers” at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and on his years of experience, he declared under oath:

After looking over the evidence ... I've been forced to conclude it is impossible for it to have happened the way it's been described... There are too many inconsistencies... I have come to the conclusion that no one was willfully or purposefully killed with Zyklon B in this manner. I consider it absolutely impossible.

For a man of Lindsey's standing and background, making such a statement in public took considerable courage, especially in 1985. (Since then, acknowledged specialists in several different countries have authoritatively validated his pioneering testimony. See, for example, the Winter 1992-93 Journal, esp. pages 427-428.)

A steadfast friend of the IHR, he addressed the Fifth IHR Conference in 1983 on “Zyklon B, Auschwitz, and the Trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch.” (His presentation was published in the Fall 1983 Journal, and is also available on audiotape from the IHR.)

In the years since his retirement in 1985, he and his wife Tessy made their home in Camp Hill, Pennsylvania. Several of us who counted this generous, intelligent and unassuming man as a good friend were glad to see him again last October at the Eleventh IHR conference. We were very saddened to learn, just a few weeks later, that he had leukemia, and could not expect to live much longer.

Bill is survived by his wife, their two sons, Michael and Robert Lindsey, and one grandson.

— M. W.

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Doug Collins Honored

Canadian journalist Doug Collins, who addressed the Tenth IHR Conference, has been honored with the Commemorative Medal for the 125th anniversary of Canada's Confederation. He was given the award at a ceremony on January 20 by Member of Parliament Chuck Cook, who represents North Vancouver (British Columbia).

The medal honors Canadians "who have made a significant contribution to their fellow citizens, their community or to Canada," Cook wrote in a letter notifying Collins of the award. "I believe I speak for all of North Vancouver," Cook continued, "when I extend my sincerest congratulations to you on this honour and remind you that your dedication and commitment to your fellow Canadians is greatly appreciated."

Medal recipients were chosen by a special non-partisan committee.

A native of the United Kingdom, Collins served with distinction in the British army during the Second World War. His career in journalism has included work in newspaper, television and radio, both as a reporter and commentator. For his work as a journalist, Collins has been honored with Canada's National Newspaper Award and the MacMillan Bloedel Award. He is the author of several books.

Since 1983 Collins has written a popular and often controversial column for the (North Vancouver) North Shore News. (Two of his columns commenting on the Zündel and Irving cases in Canada were reprinted in the January-February 1993 Journal.)

Besides Collins, North Shore News publisher Peter Speck and News Associate Editor Noel Wright were honored with the Commemorative Medal. At the January 20 ceremony, Cook praised the North Shore News as "one of the outstanding newspapers of North America." In its circulation area, he went on, "93 percent of us read at least part of the North Shore News."

Collins presentation at the 1990 IHR Conference, which dealt with freedom of speech and the Zündel affair, was published in the Fall 1990 *Journal*.

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Review article

Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus

A Response to a Major Critique of Holocaust Revisionism

By Arthur R. Butz

- (Presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992)

Why Another Critique?

Jean-Claude Pressac's 1989 book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, has been examined at length in *The Journal of Historical Review* ^[1] and elsewhere. Pressac's principal, almost sole, target is Robert Faurisson, and I expect that Faurisson's critique will become the definitive one. Accordingly, this presentation is not meant to be a thorough critique of Pressac's book.

I do, however, wish to supplement what has already been written and said with some reactions of my own. What will be illustrated is something that I observed long ago and for which Pressac's book is a wonderful example. The "Holocaust" is such a gigantic fraud that it is a cornucopia of absurdities. One has only to contemplate it from a slightly different perspective to see new absurdities tumble out. Alternatively, one can view it from the same perspective after some time has elapsed (or one can ask another person to observe it), with the same results.

Also, Pressac has commented on my work and I think it appropriate to reply.

What Pressac Has Done

It is generally agreed that Pressac did history a service in gathering and publishing documents that were previously unknown, or at least not easily available. He then interpreted these documents in the outlandish ways analyzed in the earlier critiques.

He also accepted the chemical analyses reported by Fred Leuchter in 1988 (and since confirmed by the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow), ^[2] and the implication that the alleged mass gassings with the pesticide Zyklon did not leave cyanide traces as were left in the delousing gas chambers (although he is not entirely consistent about this). ^[3] Thus he invented a gassing procedure that, he claimed without offering evidence, would leave no such trace, declared it to be the one followed at Auschwitz, and found that he was consequently obliged to reject important details in the accounts of two star "witnesses": Commandant Rudolf Höss, who was supposedly in charge of the whole operation, and Dr. Nyiszli. ^[4] In the course of his exposition, he notes addi-

tional problems with the standard testimonies. I am reminded of one of those old cartoons showing a man sawing off the tree branch he's sitting on. As we shall see, even on the basis of the concerns he raised in his book, Pressac should have come down much harder on the alleged eyewitnesses.

In summary, what Pressac offers is (a) an admission that the gassings at Auschwitz cannot be proved by forensic means, (b) admissions that the usual alleged witnesses to exterminations are at least unreliable, and (c) a collection of German documents, ambiguous when taken out of context, that provide what he calls "criminal traces" of exterminations. These three points have been the foci of the earlier critiques of Pressac's book.

Pressac's book is entirely dedicated to supporting his claim that the wartime German authorities at Auschwitz constructed and operated homicidal gas chambers there. He cannot, and does not even try, to connect such operations to any policy emanating from Berlin. Nor does he try to show that there existed a three-year program employing trains continuously crossing Europe and carrying Jews to their deaths, unobserved by Allied intelligence agencies, by German military intelligence, by the Red Cross, by the Vatican, by the Jews facing transport under German policies, or even by the Jewish leaders outside occupied Europe who were publicly wailing about "extermination." [5] Such major historical bounds having long been established, an opus such as Pressac's, with its strict focus on local questions, is the only kind of anti-revisionist essay possible.

Such an author is in the position of a man who would prove that there was a recent war between Illinois and Indiana by scouring the countryside for spent firearms casings. It is not necessary to play his game of dropping all historical context in order to focus on a purely local matter, but a review of his book can do naught else. Nevertheless, I shall show that the objection that Pressac has dropped context holds even if we agree to play his game. That is, given the restriction of his view to Auschwitz, Pressac still focuses on local matters out of context, this time of the concentration camp in its full dimensions.

The Crematoria

In my view, page 184 of Pressac's book is crucial. Here we are told:

1. Mass gassings of Jews in "Bunker 1" (located near the newly built "Birkenau" section of the Auschwitz camp), commenced in 1942, possibly in January but certainly by mid-May.
2. On February 27, 1942 it was decided that the new 15-muffle Crematorium II would be built at Birkenau rather than at the Stammlager (main or original camp).
3. On some unknown date in May or June 1942, it was decided that an "industrial" extermination of the Jews would be undertaken. The new crematorium were accordingly modified for this purpose, this being indicated by the first "criminal element" to appear on an engineering drawing: the separation of the drainage of the alleged gas chamber from the drainage of the rest of Crematorium II. (Pressac has a very low threshold in detecting a "criminal element.")
4. In the summer 1942 it was decided that four new crematoria, rather than one, would be built at Birkenau for extermination purposes: Crematorium III, a mirror image of Crematorium II with 15 muffles, and the mirror image Crematoria IV and V, each with eight muffles, for a total of 46 muffles (not counting Crematorium I). Construction of these Birkenau crematoria was completed in spring 1943, and Crematorium I in the Stammlager, with its six muffles, was shut down permanently in July 1943. [6]

Pressac expects the reader to assume, as he does, that such great cremation capacity could, of course, only be to support an extermination program. Accordingly, he goes on to invite us “to imagine a village of 4,000 inhabitants with ... a crematorium equipped with three 3-muffle furnaces... We need not dwell on this picture.”

This point is repeated and emphasized elsewhere in the book. Regarding the crematoria, Pressac writes: “Their capacity was excessive in relation to the real needs of the camp.” (Pressac’s emphasis) [7] He argues that the cremation capacity was excessive for a normal community of this many residents. However, nobody maintains Birkenau was a normal community. Indeed, I once conceded that it could properly be called a “death camp.” [8]

In making his argument, Pressac tries to ignore the catastrophic typhus epidemics at Auschwitz — an impossible task because the documents emphasize the importance of this matter. The first catastrophic epidemic — during the summer of 1942 — is not mentioned at all by Pressac on page 184 of his book, which is devoted to arguing (or at least asserting) that a decision was made in spring-summer of 1942 to launch an industrial extermination of the Jews, and to expand accordingly the capacity of the cremation facilities then under construction.

Consider how horrible and devastating the summer 1942 typhus epidemic at Auschwitz was. The number of recorded male deaths in the period July 1 through August 19, 1942, was 8,236. The records for female deaths in the period are not available, but judging from the registration numbers the female camp population was about 25 percent of the male. Therefore, the combined male/female recorded deaths for the period July 1 through August 19, 1942, was about 10,000. [9] The Höss order of July 23 quarantining the camp [10] was a necessary response to an extraordinary situation. These are the events that Pressac ignores as he considers, on page 184 of his book, the changes in crematorium construction plans that were made in summer 1942. He invites us “to imagine” an ordinary village in considering these crematoria. Why should one try? What Pressac would have us ignore at this point is the virtual hellhole of catastrophic epidemic at Auschwitz. Dishonesty on this scale is rare; only a spinner of the Holocaust yarn could hope to get away with it. [11]

At first I considered this a most shocking instance of intellectual dishonesty. Continuing to read, I noted that on page 187 he does mention the typhus epidemic, and then, on page 188, I found the prize of the whole book. On that page Pressac finally offers a relation of the measures being taken at Auschwitz against typhus to the alleged extermination of the Jews. He wrote there: “... The SS used the extermination of the Jews, about which their superiors had a general knowledge, without being informed of the practical details, to hide the terrible hygienic conditions in the camp, and to cover up their enormous consumption of gas for disinfection purposes.” (Pressac’s emphases.) The SS therefore must have hidden the catastrophe from Himmler during his visit to the camp on July 17-18, 1942. (My guess is that Himmler suggested, or at least informally approved, the quarantine order that was issued on July 23.)

Because the typhus epidemics cannot be ignored, Pressac mentions them on subsequent pages. On one he notes, “it was necessary at all costs to stop the epidemic,” while on another he ludicrously writes that in mid-September, almost two months after the quarantine order, “the deaths caused by the typhus epidemic were becoming a real problem” — the great understatement of the book. [12] That which every minimally discerning reader will see, a presumptive link between the epidemics and crematoria construction, is evaded. Here Pressac argues an extraordinary role for the crematoria by maintaining that final approval for construction rested with the RSHA (the security/police branch of the SS), rather than the WVHA (the camp administration agency). If true, all that is indicated is some procedural point, or perhaps the generally acknowledged inequality

of the two departments. [13] Pressac makes no effort to convey the full horror of the typhus epidemic of 1942. These reluctant admissions of a typhus catastrophe amount to evasions performed in order to strengthen, in the reader's mind, the "industrial extermination" interpretation of the crematoria. Pressac in fact thus engages in whitewashing the true horrors of Auschwitz.

Pressac's reluctant and dispersed acknowledgment of the typhus epidemics could be viewed as yet another instance of a feature that has bothered every reviewer of the book: its poor organization. Many times I have come back to the book to reread some point I remember having read somewhere, only to find that the point is not at all where, logically, it ought to be, but rather in some unexpected place. Normally such a lack of organization would be due to sloppy craftsmanship, and would be rightly regarded as a nuisance that does not carry argumentative weight against the author's analysis. Further on, I will offer another interpretation of the poor organization that does carry such weight.

(I wonder if Pressac's evasions should be viewed as "dishonesty." If I were to put on an odd-looking hat like the one that Napoleon wore, and then go around claiming to be the French emperor, would that be "dishonesty"? That is, when the disguise is easily seen through by anybody not eager to self deceive, should that be regarded as a disguise at all? Pressac may be king of the clowns; he is not king of the hoaxers.)

Pressac does not bother to consider the notion that the camp's large cremation capacity was appropriate for the epidemic conditions. I have previously made the following point, [14] but in view of Pressac's book it seems necessary to belabor it. In considering cremation capacity, it is difficult to reach conclusions on a purely technical basis because of the distinction that must unavoidably be made between what is physically possible and what is practically attainable. For example, although I am told that my car can move at about 100 miles per hour, I know I cannot drive the 20 miles that separates my home in Evanston from the University of Chicago in twelve minutes; too many obstacles intervene. The technical data provides two numbers from which only an irrelevant conclusion can be drawn, whose only value is that the arithmetic is correct.

Pressac cites some documents on cremation capacity that he admits could not relate to practical conditions. [15] In the case of the crematoria in the concentration camps, the two main obstacles to such apparently simple calculations are (1) that the cremation equipment was not — and could not have been — used continuously, and that, (2), as I have noted elsewhere, the camp inmates who routinely operated the crematoria were normally "working with a lethargy taught them by the Russians." [16]

Although the term "extraordinary" is applicable when referring to numbers, I shall henceforth term as "ordinary" those camp deaths from non-homicidal causes, mainly disease but including execution for specific offenses, virtually all of which were at some point recorded in German documents and which are admitted by all sides. (Some of the "ordinary" deaths that occurred in 1945, during the chaos of the final months of the war, were not recorded).

An "extermination camp" is then a hypothetical camp where unrecorded deaths — in homicidal "gas chambers" — vastly exceeded recorded deaths. Revisionists hold that, while some German wartime documents may be lost, the ordinary deaths were essentially all the deaths, and that there were no "extermination camps." Consistent with the extermination legend, Pressac would agree that all the deaths in such camps as Buchenwald and Dachau in Germany were essentially ordinary deaths. However, he would assert that at Auschwitz in Poland large-scale unrecorded "extermination" deaths of anonymous people were carried out, and that, consequently, only a fraction — perhaps one-tenth — of the total deaths there were "ordinary" recorded deaths.

What we need to do is consider the recorded death rates in relation to the cremation capacities. The most effective method, I think, is to compare the ("non-extermination") camps of Buchenwald and Dachau with the ("extermination") camp of Auschwitz in this respect. This is more convincing than citing estimates of the amount of time required to cremate a corpse. To return to the analogy of driving the 20 miles between my residence in Evanston and the University of Chicago, I must essentially disregard technical data about the speed capacity of my car and the distance between the two locations, and instead refer to experience — either my own or another's — to accurately estimate the time required.

If it can be shown that the cremation capacity in each camp was proportionate to the numbers of "ordinary" and recorded deaths in each camp, then there must be an assumption that the crematoria at Auschwitz played, and were intended to play, the same ordinary role as the crematoria at Buchenwald and Dachau (which by universal agreement were not extermination camps).

There are a few difficulties in such a comparison, but they are surmountable. For one thing, there is a lack of complete and formal documentation of "ordinary" deaths at Auschwitz, despite the widely publicized release three years ago by Soviet authorities of the Auschwitz "death books." Coincidentally, in a review published in 1989, I gave figures that had been given to me by the International Tracing Service in Arolsen during my visit there in 1977: 45,575 recorded deaths in 1942, and 36,960 in 1943, with death books missing for 1940, 1941, 1944, and January 1945 (when the camp was evacuated). Although my information was not complete, it is — as we shall see — satisfactory for the present purpose. Another problem is the significance of the 69,000 deaths recorded in the death certificates of the (incomplete) "death books" announced by the Soviets in 1989. Fortunately, this is not important for the present purpose. I continue to maintain that the total number of "ordinary" deaths at Auschwitz from 1940 through January 1945 is "in the range 100,000-150,000, probably closer to the former, since the camp population was small in 1940-1941 and by 1944 the Germans had made some progress against typhus." ^[17] As we shall see, this total is not the crucial point.

The totals for Buchenwald and Dachau, camps in Germany rather than Poland, are fairly well established. The International Tracing Service report of 1977 specified 36,550 for Buchenwald and 31,951 for Dachau. In each case, though, the figure does not include an undetermined number of "persons who died shortly before the liberation and during the evacuation transports." ^[18]

The cremation facilities at the two camps are also fairly well known. Buchenwald had a six-muffle crematorium, installed in 1942, and perhaps two additional muffles installed earlier. Moreover, Buchenwald had access to the civilian crematorium that existed in nearby Weimar. Dachau had a two-muffle crematorium before 1942, when a four-muffle crematorium was constructed. ^[19] We may therefore assume that Buchenwald and Dachau had at least six muffles each.

At first it may appear that, by comparison, Auschwitz had an excessive number of muffles: while the number of "ordinary" deaths at Auschwitz was about three to four times those at Buchenwald and Dachau, there were about eight times as many muffles. However, when the calculation is done correctly it can be seen that Auschwitz, in fact, had less relative cremation capacity.

The figures of total deaths at the two camps in Germany have entirely different interpretations from those for Auschwitz. The latter was evacuated under generally orderly conditions in January 1945. Consequently, the Auschwitz total, whatever it is, does not include "ordinary" deaths during the complete chaos of spring 1945. The worst period for Auschwitz was not 1945, but 1942, when its crematorium construction project was defined.

By contrast, most of the deaths in the camps in Germany proper were in 1944 and the chaotic first four months of 1945, during the disintegration and final collapse of German industry. Concentration camp personnel knew that any plans for fundamental expansion of cremation capabilities that might have been drawn up in 1944 stood little chance of being implemented. Indeed, such construction was scant in 1944 and 1945. All significant and effective decisions about crematoria construction were in fact made before 1944, and could have been determined only by conditions existing prior to 1944. Consequently, in order to judge German intentions regarding the construction of crematoria, we must look to the 1942-1943 period. Therefore, the incomplete figures cited here for Auschwitz are all that are required for the present purpose.

Table 1: **Recorded deaths in the Auschwitz, Buchenwald, and Dachau camps**

Year	Auschwitz	Buchenwald	Dachau
1940	?	1,772	1,515
1941	?	1,522	2,576
1942	45,575	2,898	2,470
1943	36,960	3,516	1,100
1944	?	8,644	4,794
1945	?	13,056	15,384
Totals	?	31,408	27,839
Totals	125,000?	37,000?	32,000?

Available figures of “ordinary” deaths in the three camps break down as follows (it being noted that the figure for Buchenwald is only for the first three months of 1945): [\[20\]](#)

The crucial years are 1942 and 1943 because those are the latest years that could be considered to have determined German decisions about the construction of crematoria in the camps.

The ratio of projected muffles to “ordinary” deaths is presented in Table 2. I have assumed 52 muffles for Auschwitz (46 for Birkenau and six for the Stammlager [Auschwitz I camp]), not because Auschwitz ever in fact had 52 operational muffles, but because the purpose of this calculation is to help interpret intentions in building the crematoria rather than capabilities actually attained. We see, in fact, that the ratio of cremation muffles to deaths somewhat disfavors Auschwitz: that is, it was decided that Auschwitz would be less well equipped with crematoria than Buchenwald and Dachau (two camps that, by universal agreement, were not extermination camps). Perhaps budgetary constraints excluded more crematoria for Auschwitz.

Table 2: **Number of projected muffles per thousand recorded deaths**

Year	Auschwitz	Buchenwald	Dachau
Muffles	52	6	6
1942	1.14	2.07	2.43
1943	1.41	1.715.45	

On page 184 of his book, Pressac readily interprets the summer 1942 decision to provide 46 cremation muffles in Birkenau as a phase of an extermination program. In doing so, however, he ignores the figures of ordinary or recorded deaths (given here), which contradict his interpretation. The decision to shut down Crematorium I, with its six muffles, in the Auschwitz main camp [Stammlager] is, therefore, from Pressac's point of view, inexplicable.

Actually, the entire story was unravelled at its beginning by Heinrich Himmler, who stated on April 21, 1945: [21]

In order to put a stop to the epidemics, we were forced to burn the bodies of incalculable numbers of people who had been destroyed by disease. We were therefore forced to build crematoria, and on this account they are knotting a noose for us.

Unfortunately Himmler did not live to say this at the Nuremberg trials. It is scandalous that it still has to be said in 1992.

With regard to Pressac's efforts to find a homicidal gas chamber in (Birkenau) Crematorium II, I refer the reader to Faurisson's critique. In his effort to prove a thesis, the falsehood of which is (or should be) obvious at the outset, Pressac in fact plays down or simply ignores the decisive facts. Nevertheless, he claims that it is we who are "maniacs who spend their lives trying to demonstrate that something never existed." [22]

The 'Vergasungskeller' ('Gassing Cellar')

In *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, I considered a widely-cited document dated January 29, 1943, in which Karl Bischoff, head of the Auschwitz construction department, reported to Hans Kammler, head of the SS engineering office in Berlin, on the operational status of Crematorium II: [23]

The Crematorium II has been completed — save for some minor constructional work — by the use of all the forces available, in spite of unspeakable difficulties, the severe cold, and in 24 hour shifts. The fires were started in the ovens in the presence of Senior Engineer Pr_fer, representative of the contractors of the firm of Topf and Sons, Erfurt, and they are working most satisfactorily. The formwork for the reinforced concrete ceiling of the mortuary cellar [Leichenkeller] could not yet be removed on account of the frost. This is, however, unimportant, as the Vergasungskeller ["gassing cellar"] can be used for this purpose...

In his book, Pressac wrote that my interpretation of the term Vergasungskeller "though perfect in its literary form, was technically worthless." [24] He interprets the term Vergasungskeller in this 1943 document to mean a homicidal gas chamber, and made this number one in his list of 39 "criminal traces" of extermination gassings at Auschwitz. [25] I would now say that although my translation of the term was technically correct, Pressac showed that, in this case, my interpretation was not correct. However, Pressac's interpretation is also incorrect, as shown by the evidence he himself reproduces. It is necessary to consider this matter in detail. [26]

The two important German words in this regard are Begasung, treatment with a gas, and Vergasung, gasification or conversion of something into a gas, even in the loose sense. (For example, the German word for carburetion is Vergasung.) Thus, although "fumigation" should normally be "Begasung," for no clear reason German often allows "Vergasung" to substitute for "Begasung." Thus, gas attacks in World War I were referred to as Vergasung, and professional fumigators of-

ten speak of their operations as Vergasung rather than Begasung. However it appears that Begasung never substitutes for Vergasung, and that a fumigation or delousing gas chamber is normally a “Gaskammer,” not a “Vergasungskammer” or “Vergasungskeller.”

Accordingly, the delousing gas chambers at Auschwitz were called “Gaskammern.” [27] These are the sorts of arbitrary conventions of usage, not deducible from a dictionary, that occur in any language.

Despite all this, the normal meaning of Vergasung, in a technical context, is gasification, gas generation, or carburetion. In view of that, and knowing that some cremation ovens were of a design requiring a combustible gas-air mixture to be introduced by blowers located outside, I interpreted the Vergasungskeller mentioned in the 1943 document as a place where coke or coal was converted into a combustible gas, mixed with air, and then introduced under pressure into the cremation ovens.

While this interpretation is not “technically worthless,” Pressac shows that it is not correct in this instance. His proof consists of (1) many engineering drawings of Crematorium II, in various stages of design, which show no such facility, and (2) engineering drawings of, and other technical data on, typical Topf company crematory ovens, which show that they were not of the design I assumed, and which used as fuel coke supplied directly behind the ovens. [28]

On the basis of a newly discovered document, Pressac shows that the basement morgue (Leichenkeller), which was not available, due to the frost, was Leichenkeller 2. He thus concludes that the Vergasungskeller must be Leichenkeller 1, and that it was designated a “Vergasungskeller” in this document as a result of an “enormous gaff [sic] ... the first of the 'slips' that SS and civilians could not help making” in the alleged preferred policy of not committing incriminating words to paper. [29] While it is true that the normal German term for a homicidal or delousing gas chamber would be “Gaskammer,” “Vergasungskeller” is linguistically possible.

As noted by others, Pressac is in the strange position of claiming that a room consistently designated Leichenkeller 1 on all engineering drawings was to be used only temporarily as a Leichenkeller, either instead of normally as a gas chamber, or simultaneously as a gas chamber and a morgue. In the latter case the unsuspecting victims must presumably stand on the corpses. In the former case (the only interpretation worth considering), the implied delay in the use of the building for extermination was “unimportant,” a major contradiction if one claims, as Pressac does, that the primary role of the building was for mass gassing.

Because this document confirms that in January 1943 the Germans were working, under great pressure, to make this installation operational as an ordinary crematorium, I regard it as further evidence against the claim that it had been decided in the summer of 1942 that the primary purpose of these crematoria was extermination by lethal gassing. The use of the Vergasungskeller as a morgue not only did not interfere with bringing Crematorium II into operational status, it advanced it. Here I am arguing, in passing, for a focus on what the document says rather than on the term Vergasungskeller mentioned in it. I suspect that the realization of what the document really says is the basis for Hilberg’s failure to make more than a hurried and superficial reference to it. [30] Pressac, in effect, would have us ignore what the document says.

In any case, Pressac’s logic in interpreting the Vergasungskeller as a gas chamber depends entirely on the assumption that there was a gas chamber in Crematorium II. Without that assumption we have the following situation:

1. One (and apparently only one) document concerned exclusively with the operational status of Crematorium II makes reference to a Vergasungskeller to be temporarily used, in support of the Crematorium, as a morgue and not for its intended or normal function,
2. In the many engineering drawings of the crematoria that Pressac has examined, there is no mention of a Vergasungskeller, Gaskammer, or anything similar, [31] and
3. Nothing in those engineering drawings implies or calls for something describable as a Vergasungskeller. For example the cremation ovens have been shown to be of a design not calling for such a facility.

The appropriate conclusion, I believe, is that the Vergasungskeller was not in Crematorium II at all. I assume that it was somewhere in the vicinity, but in the light of current knowledge the only basis for inferring that it was in the Crematorium building is an assumption that there was a gas chamber there. In the absence of the massive documentation presented by Pressac, it seemed logical to assume that the Vergasungskeller was located in Crematorium II. I made just that assumption in writing my book, and the assumption seemed confirmed for me by the observation that crematorium technology could call for such a facility. However Pressac has shown, without realizing it, that the Vergasungskeller was not in Crematorium II because it does not appear on the many engineering plans, and is not implied or called for by anything that appears on those plans. Only an unfounded or arbitrary prior assumption can place it there.

If the Vergasungskeller was not in Crematorium II, then the questions of what and where it was are only of limited importance. It suffices, I believe, to show that the term could have applied to operations that transpired, or may have transpired, elsewhere in the camp.

To give my favored interpretation first, it is unlikely that the town of Auschwitz had preexisting means for production and/or distribution of fuel or town gas sufficient for the needs of the huge complex of camps we call "Auschwitz." Such needs could have been for cooking, heating, or incineration of waste, and so forth. On account of the paucity of natural gas, but abundance of coal in Europe, the Germans had extensively developed the gasification of coal. [32] In the Auschwitz region coal was particularly abundant, so processes of coal or coke gasification were suited for the conditions there.

In offering my earlier interpretation of the Vergasungskeller as a fuel gas generator for the crematorium ovens I wrote: "The two most common methods of producing fuel gases from coal or coke are, first, by passing air through a bed of burning coke to produce 'coke oven gas' and second, by passing steam through the coke to produce 'water gas'." [33] I now offer almost the same interpretation, but modified so that the specific location of the Vergasungskeller is no longer known, and the gas generated is for general application and not specifically for cremation. This seems entirely justified by the engineering plans that indicate no Vergasungskeller in the crematoria, by the great likelihood that the camp required fuel gas, and in view of the easy availability of coal there. [34] Incidentally it is unimportant, from the present point of view, if such a Vergasungskeller were operational or only in a state of construction; only the possibility of its temporary use as a morgue is relevant. So much the better if such a facility was not yet operational, since then nothing would interfere with use as a morgue.

As I say, this is my "favored" or preferred interpretation, but there are a few other possibilities that are worth noting.

It has already been remarked that fuel gas generated in the camp could have been used, among other things, in waste incineration. That is, the fuel gas could have served as the auxiliary fuel. There is also a second sense in which "Vergasung" can apply to waste incineration, because the

technology views the waste as a combustible fuel being turned into gases. Incineration (or *Verbrennung*) is actually a special case of gasification (or *Vergasung*) in which all combustibles are oxidized to the highest degree possible, for example, producing carbon dioxide (CO₂) instead of carbon monoxide (CO, a combustible gas, in which case it would be said that *Vergasung* had taken place). Since perfect incineration does not exist in this sense, the line between *Verbrennung* and *Vergasung* can be blurred. What is termed waste gasification, or *Müllvergasung* in ordinary technical German, was developed as a practical process only after the war. [35] It appears that during the war *Vergasung* could have been used in the waste incineration context only in the sense of one of many specific processes taking place inside a plant viewed as performing *Müllverbrennung*. [36] Thus this second sense of application of “*Vergasung*” to waste incineration does not seem to apply, and it is very unlikely that at Auschwitz any waste incinerator would have been spoken of as performing *Vergasung*.

This possibility is nevertheless worth mentioning. There was a waste incinerator in what I would call the chimney housing behind the cremation ovens in Crematorium II. The effluent gases from this incinerator combined with the effluent of the ovens in sharing the chimney and the suction type forced draft system. [37] I do not believe that the “*Vergasungskeller*” was this chimney housing because, apart from the reasons already given, it was not referred to as such on the drawings, and seems to have had insufficient free space to serve as a plausible temporary substitute for the huge *Leichenkeller 2*. [38] All the same, it is at least worth noting that “*Vergasung*” could apply as an inclusive description for the two processes (cremation and waste incineration) involved there. However I do not consider a waste incineration interpretation of the *Vergasungskeller* a likely possibility.

In the vicinity of the crematoria at Birkenau there were three sewage treatment plants (*Kläranlagen*) in various stages of completion. [39] Sewage treatment amounts basically to the acceleration of the natural processes in which bacteria metabolize solid waste into gases and inoffensive solids (sludge), and to the disposal or use of these products. There are several senses in which *Vergasung* could arise. A short outline is helpful:

1. Aeration (*Belüftung*)
2. Chlorination
3. Methane production
4. Prevention of sewer gasification (*Kanalvergasung*)
5. Sludge incineration (*Schlammverbrennung*)

Sludge gasification (*Schlammvergasung*) was a postwar development and is not relevant here.

In the technical literature, aeration of sewage is classified as one form of “gas transfer” [40] because a specific biochemical effect of the oxygen is sought; the specific purpose of the aeration is to make the aerobic bacteria more vigorous. This biochemical motivation is so emphatic that I have seen the word “*Begasung*” used to designate *Belüftung*. [41] In this connection I have also seen the terms “*Belüftungskammer*” (aeration chamber) and “*Belüftungsschacht*” (aeration shaft). [42] Chlorination is normally accomplished by converting stored liquid chlorine to the gaseous form, that is, *Vergasung*, [43] and then injecting the gas into the sewage or effluent, that is, *Begasung*.

In the anaerobic digestion of sewage a number of gases are produced (sludge gas or *Faulgas*), especially methane, which has various uses as a source of energy. This gas production is normally referred to, however, as *Gaserzeugung* rather than *Vergasung*. Moreover since the gas is produced at the top of a digestion tank, it is not likely that the process could be viewed as taking

place in any sort of “Keller.” However, the process of useful gas production does not end there and there are sufficient complications to allow various combinations and hence appearances of diverse technical terms. After the digestion the removal of impurities, especially hydrogen sulphide, is required if the methane is to have practical use. The removal was normally via dry scrubbing in a “Raseneisenerzfilter,” [44] that is, filtering in iron oxide, as was common in the gas industry.

As already remarked, sewage treatment consists of the acceleration of natural processes, so gas production also occurs spontaneously in the very sewers before the sewage reaches a treatment plant. This process is called “Kanalvergasung” and was studied in Germany before the war. For example, there was a 1933 doctoral dissertation on the subject. [45] Ventilation is often adequate to prevent unwanted effects, such as explosions, but in the event ventilation does not suffice there is the Gerlach device, which removes gases by suction and has both mobile and stationary versions. [46] In this case the role of the plant is not to perform Vergasung but to counter it, that is, it does Entgasung because of the undesired Vergasung.

Sludge incineration was practiced in Germany since early in the century, but greater interest in this method of sludge disposal was aroused when large and economic plants were built in the USA during the Thirties. [47] In this case “Vergasung” arises in the same way it did at the outset of this discussion, that is, in fuel gas generation, since the sludge cannot be burned without the application of some auxiliary fuel, at least for preheating. Indeed sludge gas is a highly convenient energy source in such a process. [48] A postwar development was incineration using oil as fuel, in an “_lvergasungsbrenner.” [49]

I have not located the Vergasungskeller in the sewage plants. Rather, I have listed five senses in which generation of, or treatment with, a gas comes up in sewage technology. I have not found the term “Vergasungskeller” or “Vergasungskammer” in the German literature on wastewater treatment, but that is not necessary. The document in question was not written by a sewage engineer; it was written by a construction engineer for the information of another construction engineer, and the author never imagined that half a century later people would be poring over his hurried note. Nevertheless, I still favor the first interpretation offered, namely, that the Vergasungskeller was a generator of fuel or town gas intended for general use.

Only the study of complete engineering plans for the camp could settle this question. Alas, that may be difficult. Some of the documentation provided to Pressac by the Auschwitz State Museum (the Panstwowe Muzeum Oswiecim, or “PMO,” whose help Pressac copiously acknowledges) had earlier been provided to the Auschwitz State Museum by the Israelis. [50] I assume the Israelis also have some documents they will not part with. In response to my inquiry for more information about the sewage treatment plants, the Museum replied to me, on August 26, 1991, that it “has several construction plans” of the plants, one of which is reproduced in Pressac’s book, but that “abundant documentation on the construction of the sewage treatment plants in Birkenau you will find in the Central State Archives in Moscow.” Thus, precisely locating the Vergasungskeller may be a big job. [51] At this point the only thing that seems assured is that the Vergasungskeller was not in the crematorium building.

The War Refugee Board Report

On April 7, 1944, two Slovakian Jews, Walter Rosenberg and Alfred Wetzler, escaped from Auschwitz-Birkenau after two years' captivity there. Their escape was reported on April 9 in a Gestapo telegram to Berlin and elsewhere. [52]

Rosenberg and Wetzler are said to be the principal authors of the document on Auschwitz that was published by the US War Refugee Board in November 1944. Supplements to the report are said to have been contributed by two Jews (Czeslaw Mordowicz and Arnost Rosin) who escaped on May 27, 1944, and by a non-Jewish Polish major who also escaped. In writing *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, I thought the document, which I called the WRB Report, was important to the subject because it marked the first major commitment of an Allied power to the Auschwitz extermination claim.

A booklet published in New York in March 1944 with the endorsement of the US government's Office of War Information and the National CIO War Relief Committee, and purporting to be a compilation of reports about Auschwitz received through the Polish underground, illustrates what was being said about Auschwitz at the time. The camp is portrayed as a "camp of death" but not as a site of mass exterminations of Jews. Such exterminations are claimed, but only as taking place at Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka. [53] This is an example of the failure of the Allies to claim that Auschwitz was an extermination camp even two years after its alleged attainment of that status, despite its being a huge and not at all secret operation. (The great extent of involvement by non-SS personnel ruled out secrecy for whatever transpired there.)

"Zyklon," a widely available commercial insecticide and rodent killer, was used extensively at Auschwitz to kill typhus-bearing lice. Releasing hydrocyanic acid gas, it was used, for example, to fumigate clothes in delousing gas chambers, and to kill vermin in barracks and other buildings. Commandant Rudolf Höss emphasized its deadliness when not used properly in this "special order" of August 12, 1942. (Source: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, p. 201)

Forty copies were distributed to officials throughout the camp. Höss warned:

Today there was a case of illness due to slight symptoms of poisoning with Prussic acid [hydrogen cyanide from Zyklon]. This makes it necessary to warn all those involved with gassings, as well as other SS personnel, that especially when opening gassed rooms, SS personnel not wearing gas masks must wait at least five hours and keep a distance of 15 meters from the chamber. In this regard, particular attention should be paid to the wind direction.

The gas now being used contains less [protective] odor additive, and is therefore especially dangerous.

The SS garrison physician refuses to accept responsibility for accidents that may occur in cases where SS personnel do not obey these guidelines.

A chapter of Pressac's book is devoted to arguing the essential accuracy of the WRB Report, despite various errors and contradictions that he notes (mainly the number and arrangement of the crematorium ovens at Birkenau).

The authorship of the WRB Report remains a problem, but not an important one. What is indisputable is that it came from the circle of Rabbi Michael Dov Ber Weissmandel in Slovakia, whose members claimed to have received the story from the escaped Jews. The five escapees allegedly did a lot of name changing. According to an article by Erich Kulka in a book published in 1967, [54] in order to live under cover after escape, Rosenberg became Rudolf Vrba, Wetzler became Josef L_nik, Mordowicz became Petr Podulka, and Rosin became Jan Roh_c. Rosenberg remained Vrba after the war, and at present is on the Faculty of Pharmacology at the University of British Columbia in Canada. The other three Jews might have dropped their aliases, although Wetzler retained L_nik as a literary pseudonym.

In his 1967 article, Kulka did not mention the Polish major, who is sometimes identified as a Pole named Jerzy Wesolowski who escaped and changed his name to Jerzy Tabeau. In a 1964 article, Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) official T. Iwaszko mentioned Wesolowski/Tabeau, reporting that he was registered as prisoner No. 27273 on March 26, 1942, escaped from the camp on November 19, 1943, and made some contributions to underground literature, but Iwaszko did not quite make him a Polish major. [55] In 1979 John S. Conway wrote that the Polish major's "identity has not been revealed thus far. It is also not known by what route this last section of the report fell into the hands of the Jewish leadership in Geneva." [56] In his 1981 book, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, Martin Gilbert mentions that the report of the "Polish major" was appended in June 1944 to the reports of the Jews by Richard Lichtheim of the Geneva office of the Jewish Agency. [57] Oddly, in a television documentary based on Gilbert's book that was made a few years after its publication, we see the Polish major's face but do not learn his name. In a 1985 article mainly about Rosenberg and Wetzler, Kulka mentioned Tabeau only as an escapee from the gypsy (sic) camp at Auschwitz [58] and then, in a 1986 article very similar to the 1985 one, Kulka identified the Polish major as Wesolowski-Tabeau. [59]

The WRB Report contains a major contradiction of Pressac's version of the extermination thesis. Not surprisingly, Pressac ignores this contradiction. According to the Report, there were no gassings at the Stammlager [main camp] (identified as "Auschwitz," as distinct from "Birkenau"). This is not stated explicitly in the WRB Report, but it is clearly implicit. [60] Gassings are portrayed as taking place only at Birkenau or in the birchwood ("Brezinsky") or the "bunkers" near Birkenau.

Wetzler's part of the WRB Report says he was sent to Birkenau immediately on arrival on April 13, 1944. [61] However, Vrba and the part of the WRB Report attributed to him say he was quartered at the Stammlager [Auschwitz main camp] from arrival on June 30, 1942, even while working at the Buna plant (Monowitz [or Auschwitz III]), until he was transferred to Birkenau in December 1942. [62] In his postwar book, Vrba presents himself as being deeply involved in resistance activity and says that Wetzler's "knowledge of the camp was deep and wide," on account of his great popularity. [63] Although I would be the last to believe Vrba, the point here is that the authors of the Report had extensive and detailed information about the camp. There is much in the Report that confirms this, such as the mention of the quarantine order of July 23, 1942, [64] the general layout of the camp, and a rough correspondence of the listed transports and registration numbers with the presumed correct ones. [65] As I wrote long ago, "One must assume that much of the material in the report is true... there is no question of the competence of the authors of the report." [66] The authors were acquainted with the interior of the camp (although not, as Pressac acknowledges, with the interior of the crematoria at Birkenau).

Thus Pressac should confront a major contradiction here. Pressac notes various contradictions in the testimonies of the usual alleged eye witnesses (such as Commandant Höss), but continues to believe that they were at least speaking of real events. However, if he is to accept the WRB Report then he must throw out (I won't say "we" because I did so long ago) the testimonies of the alleged eyewitnesses Höss, Fajnzylberg (Jankowski), Müller and Broad, since they claimed to have witnessed mass gassings at the Stammlager, and, according to Pressac the lack of documents and "the present state of the premises" make their testimonies the only "evidence to establish the reality of homicidal gassings at the Stammlager." [67] This is not a contradiction of detail. By this I mean that one can no longer continue to hold that they were at least speaking of real events. Because they are so unreliable, their testimony on mass exterminations in other parts of the camp complex must be rejected. But because that testimony is no less reliable than the others, Pressac ought to reject all alleged eyewitness testimony. Thus, Pressac has a mass extermination program that was witnessed by no credible person.

As I said, we are dealing here with a “cornucopia of absurdities,” and it is easy to overlook the significance of this point, for which the question of the authorship of the WRB Report is unimportant. The sole objective of the well informed authors, in composing and propagating the Report, was to claim that Jews were being exterminated en masse at Auschwitz. It is a piece of war propaganda, and there is no obligation to believe such claims. Nevertheless there is no way that Pressac, or anybody else, may deny that if there had in fact been mass gassings in the [Auschwitz I] Stammlager, then they would have been spoken of in the WRB Report. Therefore there were none. And yet the testimonies for the Stammlager are equivalent, in terms of credibility and the circumstances under which they were delivered, to the testimonies of mass gassings in other parts of the camp complex.

In contemporary exploitation of the affair of the WRB Report, Vrba is really the star. Since he first publicly identified himself as Rosenberg (probably in 1958), he has published a book (in 1964) about his wartime experiences, *I Cannot Forgive*, testified at the first Zündel trial in Toronto in 1985, and appeared on various television documentaries. [68] Vrba is obviously lying about experiences at Auschwitz. This can be seen by examining his book and by considering his 1985 testimony in Toronto that his book is only “an artistic picture ... not a document for a court.” [69] I have previously noted the major factual errors of his book: [70] his belief that there were virtually no escapes from Auschwitz before April 1944, [71] and his claim that there was an air raid on Auschwitz when he escaped in April. Actually, the first air raid was on August 20, 1944. [72]

I also remarked that “the general tone of [Vrba's] book and his description of how various people behaved” further demolish his credibility, if that were possible. I did not give the best examples in my book out of fear that I might not be believed, but here I will mention some of these fantasies. Vrba claims, for example, that at the Novaky camp the Slovakian guards would hold a rifle muzzle on the tummy of a poor persecuted Jew when he was sitting on the potty, while at Auschwitz he had “seen twenty dollar bills used as toilet paper.” [73] He means US twenty dollar notes, not German mark notes. Poetic license permits a dramatist of the John at Auschwitz to depict a pistol being held against the head by a Gestapo colonel, who would politely hand the Jew a twenty when done — which is no more incredible than what Vrba actually wrote. (Incidentally, scatological fantasies are also a striking feature of the Talmud.) [74]

On the other hand, Vrba's description of the rackets run by the SS and inmates in charge of the “Kanada” section, “the commercial heart of Auschwitz” [75] where inmates' possessions were stored, seems unusually candid to me, however embellished with inanity.

I note with gratitude that the Wetzler/L_nik book about Auschwitz is frankly acknowledged to be a novel. [76]

Because I had focused on Vrba in my book, in 1979 John S. Conway, a historian and colleague of Vrba at the University of British Columbia, published an article on the WRB Report. [77] In 1981 Conway also published a German text of the WRB Report, and, in 1984, he published an article relating to the WRB Report (and particularly to Rudolf Vrba) and Hungary. [78]

Conway was overdue for criticism. In his 1967 article, Kulka had not criticized Vrba's 1964 book, but by 1985 Holocaust revisionism was in full vigor. Kulka scolded Conway for being willing “to accept uncritically and as fact Vrba's distorted statements” and complained that Vrba's “contradictory and problematic statements [have been] misused ... to prove that the [WRB] report was a distortion and that the description of the gas chambers in Auschwitz were simply a figment of the imagination.” [79]

I would have thought that, as a result of his admission in 1985 that his book was not true, Vrba would have been finished as a player in the travelling Auschwitz show. However, it is a sad commentary on the present state of public controversy that the silly thing was actually reissued in 1989, with certain supplements, under the title 44070: The Conspiracy of the Twentieth Century. [80] It appears that the original text, with all its inanities, was reproduced in this new edition. There were also additions as appendices. The part of the WRB Report attributed to Wetzler and Rosenberg is reproduced, there is an appendix on “trials of Auschwitz SS-officers,” there is an essay by Vrba on the economic aspects of the German persecutions of the Jews, a short vita of Vrba (not mentioning “Rosenberg”), and an essay by Conway, drawing from and supplementing his 1979 article.

Nowhere in the new edition is there an attempt to correct, explain or apologize for the inanities and factual errors in the original edition of the book, or for Vrba’s 1985 admission that the book was only “an artistic picture,” that is, not true. Conway does not hint at any problems, or at any of the criticism he received for his gullibility with respect to Vrba. He does not apologize for his implicit endorsement of a book that all sides, including Vrba, have told him is not true. It seems that he will not or cannot learn. Nor will the publishers of Holocaust literature learn; there seems to be an assumption among them that critical examination of this literature is unnecessary. They seem quite willing to slap between covers almost anything as long as criticism is confined to relatively esoteric writings.

In 1990 Vrba was squabbling with Raul Hilberg, Shmuel Krakowski of Yad Vashem, and Yehuda Bauer over numbers exterminated. [81]

Conclusion

To return to Pressac, his blindness to the implications of the WRB Report is the rule for his whole work. I have heard revisionists speak as though Pressac’s work is a respectable historical effort. The basis for this is easy to see. Having the support of influential people eager to help, Pressac was able to make available to the public documents, mainly of an engineering nature, that had previously been in the category of extreme esoterica, either unknown or known only to a few researchers.

We are better off on account of the book, but the gain is comparable to, say, the publication of an index or bibliography. The value is purely in the factual information. The analytical part of the book is a transparent charade by an actor who is confident in advance that the people he is serving will cooperate in the sham, and will not call attention to the obvious disguise that renders him, in fact, a clown in the eyes of his targets. How else can we react to a man who insists on treating as irrelevant, at a time when it was decided to build large crematoria, the fact that there was a documented catastrophic death rate? Even Pressac’s formal sin on this point, of presuming that which he is trying to prove in order to find “traces” of it, is minor compared to the comedy of his ungainly pirouetting around and away from the central points.

I began this paper with a promise to show how Pressac seeks to have his reader focus entirely on local matters while ignoring the context of the Auschwitz concentration camp in its full dimensions. I have shown three specific important senses in which this is true. First, in his treatment of the decisions to build crematoria at Auschwitz he fails to acknowledge the relevance of the catastrophic typhus epidemics that prevailed at the time of the decisions. Second, his “criminal trace” number one is a highly questionable interpretation of a single word occurring in a document that disproves, or at least renders implausible, his major claim. Third, his discussion of the WRB Report disregards the account given there, and consequently the decisive consequences of that ac-

count in evaluating the reliability of the so-called witnesses, in favor of a focus on a very picayune detail.

One should ask: how are such procedures possible in a work as replete with documentary detail as this bulky tome? That is what the notorious disorganization of the book contributes; it is a means of avoiding a focus on the simple essentials. The disorganization is there not because of the bad style of the author, but because of the bad logic applied by the author and desired of the reader.

It is fair to say that one message of Pressac's book is that, yes, the revisionists and particularly Faurisson are right in their rejections of the traditional or accepted evidence for homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. He does not put it that bluntly, but it is there. He then claims that he, almost half a century after the alleged events, has finally gotten the evidence right. The procedure is the usual one; flip through the mountains of documents, rejecting all clearly exculpatory material as the result of deceptive German practices in keeping written records and then, when something that can be given an incriminating interpretation is found, declare it an "enormous gaff(e)" of an unintended confession.

I think I could do the equivalent for any establishment or agency that generates voluminous written records. In these days of "affirmative action" in employment, perhaps I should look for Northwestern University's gas chambers for white males, while taking the precaution of developing an explanation why I survived. Likewise, a future Pressac can concede that our Pressac is wrong, but that he has finally gotten it right. Thus this game can go on forever; it represents the future, if there is one, of the legend, and remains the only kind of anti-revisionist essay possible.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Reviews and analysis of Pressac's 1989 book that have appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review*: M. Weber in Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 1990), pp. 231-237; C. Mattogno in Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1990-91), pp. 461-485; R. Faurisson in Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 25-66, and in Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 133-175.
2. [↗](#) "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 207-216. [See also the "L_{ftl} Report" and other material in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Winter 1992-1993).]
3. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 133.
4. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 16, 53.
5. [↗](#) On this point, see my paper in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 371-406. (This paper is reproduced as Supplement B in recent printings of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.) See also my short article in the *Daily Northwestern*, May 13, 1991, with correction of May 14. (This article is reproduced in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2, Summer 1991, pp. 251-254.)
6. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 132.
7. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac (1989), pp. 200, 206.
8. [↗](#) A. R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 1977), p. 131.
9. [↗](#) D. Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, No. 3, 1960, pp. 68-76. Also D. Czech, "Die Rolle des H_{ftlingskrankenbaulagers im KL Auschwitz II," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, No. 15, 1975, pp. 27 ff.}
10. [↗](#) D. Czech in *Hefte von Auschwitz*, No. 3, 1960 (cited above), p. 73.

11. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac (1989), pp. 217-218, repeats this amazing evasion. On p. 384 he hurriedly suggests a very weak relation between crematorium construction activity and the epidemics.
12. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac (1989), pp. 188, 202.
13. [↗](#) Nobody believes Oswald Pohl was equal in influence to Reinhard Heydrich while the latter was alive. It was RSHA head Ernst Kaltenbrunner who, toward the end of the war, issued the order opening the camps to the International Red Cross. Butz, Hoax, p. 44.
14. [↗](#) A. R. Butz, Hoax, p. 128.
15. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, on p. 108 of Auschwitz (1989), cites a letter from Topf (reproduced in R. Schnabel, Macht ohne Moral, Frankfurt/Main, 1957, p. 346). This letter asserts that one of the firm's double muffle ovens can reduce "in about 10 hours 10-35 corpses" (that is, the average time claimed to reduce one corpse in a muffle ranged from 34 minutes to two hours), and can be operated day and night, an assertion not borne out by later experience at Auschwitz, as Pressac notes (pp. 227-247, esp. p. 244).

I believe this document is authentic, and the exaggerations are the usual ones of people trying to sell something. I note that it clearly specifies that corpses are supplied to the oven serially ("hintereinander"), in contradiction to the usual "witness" who claims that three or even more were fed into a muffle together. Witnesses also assert that the crematoria belched flames from the chimneys, certainly not the operational mode of modern crematoria. Pressac accepts such tall tales without protest (pp. 251, 253).

I have far more trouble with the document reproduced by Pressac on p. 247, ostensibly a letter of June 28, 1943, from the Auschwitz construction department claiming that the 52 muffles at Auschwitz could reduce 4,756 corpses in 24 hours of operation. That works out to an average of 16 minutes per corpse. The date of the document was when the breakdowns of the crematoria and consequent attempts at emergency repairs gave the SS no reason to exaggerate the efficacy of Topf's products (for example, Pressac, pp. 100, 227, 236). Moreover according to another document reproduced by Pressac (on p. 224), the crematoria operated only 12 hours per day. On p. 91, Pressac gives the provenance of the June 28, 1943, document as the "Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistants of the German Democratic Republic." I am in the position of a man staring at an authentic-looking German document that states that a Volkswagen broke the sound barrier. If it is not a forgery, then it must have been some sort of joke. In one of his neo-Pythagorean exegeses that Faurisson has noted (The Journal of Historical Review, Vol. 11, No. 2, Summer 1991, pp. 145-149), Pressac says (pp. 110, 244) that such figures should be divided "by a factor of 2 to 5."

16. [↗](#) A. R. Butz, Hoax, p. 42.
17. [↗](#) The Journal of Historical Review, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Fall 1989), pp. 369 f. [Review of Arno Mayer's book, Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?.]
18. [↗](#) A. de Cocatrix, "The number of victims of the National Socialist persecution," Arolsen: International Tracing Service, April 1977.
19. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz (1989), pp. 94f, 106; A. R. Butz, Hoax, p. 128.
20. [↗](#) Nuremberg document 2171-PS, published in Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946-1948), Vol. 4, pp. 800-835; P. Berben, Dachau 1933-1945: The Official History (London: Norfolk Press, 1975 ed.), p. 281.

I have not used Mauthausen in this comparison because, although the recorded deaths are fairly well known (see, for example, Hans Mars_ lek, Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen, Vienna, 1974), the extent of cremation means is uncertain. Mauthausen was more decentralized than the other camps; for example, the satellite camp Gusen experienced about as many deaths as the main camp, and it and other satellite camps had their own crematoria of uncertain extent (See: Pressac, pp. 108-114, and, Mars_ lek, p.

157). In addition, Mauthausen on occasion used ordinary municipal crematoria, such as the one in Steyr.

21. [↗](#) A. R. Butz, Hoax, p. 240.; Moment (Jewish monthly published in Boston), Vol. 11, No. 1, (Dec. 1985), p. 51.
22. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz (1989), p. 216.
23. [↗](#) A. R. Butz, Hoax, pp. 116, 120ff; Pressac, Auschwitz, p. 211. [This 1943 communication is Nuremberg document NO-4473. Original German-language text is given in: E. Kogon, et al., Nationalsozialistische Massent_ungen durch Giftgas (Frankfurt/M.: Fischer, 1986), p. 220.]
24. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz, p. 548.
25. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz, p. 432.
26. [↗](#) Compare with Faurisson's discussion of this point in The Journal of Historical Review, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 55ff.
27. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz, pp. 27f, 31. H. Breymesser and E. Bernfus, eds., Blaus_uregaskammern zur Fleckfieberabwehr, (Berlin: Reichsarbeitsblatt, 1943) normally uses "Gaskammer" but "Begasungskammer" is also used.
28. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz, pp. 106-113, 222-225. Early in 1989 Faurisson also told me that my interpretation of the Vergasungskeller was not correct, but as far as I can recollect he did not raise the matter of the design of the ovens. Thus I was not convinced at that time.
29. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz, p. 217.
30. [↗](#) Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (New York: Holmes & Meier [3 vols.], 1985, p. 885, n. 67. [In the one-volume edition of 1961: p. 566, n. 52.]
31. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz, p. 429.
32. [↗](#) John F. Foster and Richard J. Lund, eds., Economics of Fuel Gas from Coal (NY: McGraw Hill, 1950), pp. 68-97.
33. [↗](#) A. R. Butz, Hoax, p. 121. The remark on the method of generation of coke oven gas can be improved. See: Foster & Lund (1950), cited above, p. 41. In any case the German processes were sufficiently advanced that they did not necessarily fall into classic categories. See: Foster & Lund (1950), pp. 68f.
34. [↗](#) A summary of various gas generation processes is given in Hermann Franke, ed., Lueger. Lexikon der Technik (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1960-1972), Vol. 7 (1965), pp. 484+. Gasification of oil, or _lvergasung), as contrasted to gasification of solid fuels, or Vergasung fester Brennstoffe, had also been practiced in Germany since the late nineteenth century. See: H. Franke, ed., Lueger (Stuttgart: 1960-1972), Vol. 4, p. 390.
35. [↗](#) H. Franke, ed., Lueger (cited above), Vol. 16, p. 337.
36. [↗](#) H. Franke, ed., Lueger (cited above), Vol. 7, p. 89.
37. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz, pp. 277, 281ff, 287, 306.
38. [↗](#) Such objections also apply against the hypothesis that one room of the small Leichenkeller 3 (Pressac, Auschwitz, pp. 285, 295) was the Vergasungskeller. See R. Faurisson, The Journal of Historical Review, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 55ff.
39. [↗](#) See J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz, pp. 51, 165-170, 420f, 542f, for limited data.
40. [↗](#) Metcalf and Eddy, Inc., Wastewater Engineering (3rd ed., 1991), p. 276.
41. [↗](#) H. Kretzschmar, Technische Mikrobiologie (Berlin and Hamburg, 1968), p. 217.
42. [↗](#) J. Brix, H. Heyd and E. Gerlach, Die Wasserversorgung (1963), pp. 323, 329.
43. [↗](#) H. Kittner, W. Starke and D. Wissel, Wasserversorgung (Berlin, 1964), p. 424.
44. [↗](#) K. Imhoff, Taschenbuch der Stadtentw_sserung (Munich and Berlin, 1943, 10th ed.), p. 207.

45. U K. Dau, *Über Kanalvergasungen und ihre Verhütung* (Würzburg: Dissertationsdruckerei und Verlag Konrad Tritsch, 1935).
46. U H. Franke, ed., Lueger (cited above), Vol. 10, p. 693.; F. Gerlach, "Die Beseitigung von explosiven und gesundheitsschädlichen Gasen aus Kanalisationsbauwerken," *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, Vol. 52, No. 8 (1929), pp. 118-122.; K. Dau, *Über Kanalvergasungen* (Würzburg: 1935), cited above, p. 61.
47. U K. Imhoff, "Schlammverbrennung," *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, Vol. 59, No. 40 (1936), pp. 583-587.
48. U K. Imhoff (1943), cited above, pp. 218f.
49. U H. Wulf, "Die Verbrennung von Schlamm mit Übervergasungsbrennern," *Brennst.-Wärme-Kraft*, vol. 16, No. 8 (August 1964), pp. 397ff.; O. Pallasch and W. Triebel, eds., *Lehr- und Handbuch der Abwassertechnik* (Berlin and Munich, 1969), vol. 3, p. 193.
50. U J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz*, p. 331.; R. Faurisson, *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), p. 156.
51. U In his Introduction to the new American edition of *Hitler's War*, David Irving says that "the diaries of Himmler have vanished — partly said to be in Moscow, and partly known to be in Tel Aviv, Israel; Chaim Rosenthal, a former attaché of the Israeli Consulate in New York, obtained the Himmler diaries by the most questionable means." See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1990-1991), p. 402. [See also the IHR Newsletter, No. 83, November 1991, pp. 2-3.]
52. U T. Iwaszko, "Häftlingsfluchten aus dem Konzentrationslager Auschwitz," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Vol. 7, 1964, p. 67.; E. Kulka, "Five Escapes from Auschwitz," in Y. Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back* (NY: Crown, 1967), p. 205.
53. U *Oswiecim. Camp of Death* (NY: Poland Fights, 1944), esp. pp. 45f.
54. U E. Kulka, in *They Fought Back* (1967), cited above.
55. U T. Iwaszko in *Hefte von Auschwitz* (1964), cited above, pp. 7f, 38.
56. U J.S. Conway, "Frühe Augenzeugenberichte aus Auschwitz. Glaubwürdigkeit und Wirkungsgeschichte," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 27, No. 2 (April 1979), p. 269.
57. U M. Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (NY: Rinehart and Winston, 1981), p. 234.
58. U E. Kulka, "Attempts by Jewish escapees to stop mass extermination," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 47, Fall 1985, p. 296.
59. U E. Kulka, "Kampf der jüdischen Häftlinge gegen die Endlösung in Auschwitz," *Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 13, 1986, pp. 381-396 (note 53).
60. U WRB Report. That is: US War Refugee Board, *German Extermination Camps - Auschwitz and Birkenau*, Washington, DC: Executive Office of the President, November 1944. See esp. pp. 8ff, 12, 14, 29-32, 40, and pp. 11ff, 17ff from the story of the "Polish major," who does speak of "mass executions" at the Stammlager, but only by shooting. He also states explicitly that Crematorium I was not employed to dispose of the bodies of gassed Jews.
61. U WRB Report, cited above, pp. 1, 6.
62. U WRB Report (1944), cited above, pp. 29, 32; R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive* (NY: Grove, 1964), pp. 77, 106ff, 113, 167ff.
63. U R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive*, cited above, p. 218.
64. U WRB Report (1944), cited above, p. 30.
65. U Compare with: D. Czech, "Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau," *Hefte von Auschwitz*, No. 3 (1960), No. 4 (1961), and No. 7 (1964).

66. [↗](#) A. R. Butz, Hoax, p. 92.
67. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz, p. 123. Pressac writes on p. 132 that the Stammlager “gas chamber was used sporadically from the end of 1941 to 1942.” In view of the testimonies he cites, he should say rather “from the end of 1941 to at least through 1942.” For example, the Fajnzylberg testimony cited by Pressac on p. 124 speaks of a gassing of “400 Jews brought from Birkenau” on a date not earlier than November 1942, when he was assigned to the Sonderkommando of Crematorium I. The other testimonies — in Jadwiga Bezwinska, ed., *KL Auschwitz Seen by the SS* (NY: Howard Fertig, 1984), pp. 114ff, 174fff, and in Filip Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz* (NY: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 31-49 — also claim not merely gasings, but mass gasings of Jews, in the mortuary of Crematorium I during much of 1942.
- One of the many contradictions in Pressac’s work is that on p. 133 he also asserts, on the basis of logic that I can’t see at all, that from the data given in the Leuchter report we can infer “use as a homicidal gas chamber” for Crematorium I. Another contradiction I noticed is that on p. 106 he contrasts the oil-fired ovens of Buchenwald with the coke-fired ovens of Auschwitz, but on p. 259 he says they were “identical.” Faurisson reviews additional contradictions: See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), and No. 2 (Summer 1991).
68. [↗](#) In the documentary based on Martin Gilbert’s book *Auschwitz and the Allies*, Vrba says that in May-June 1944 Hungarian Jewesses were arriving at Auschwitz in mink coats. At that time, he is supposed to have been hiding in Slovakia.
69. [↗](#) Toronto Sun, Jan. 24, 1985, p. 52.
70. [↗](#) A. R. Butz, Hoax, pp. 98f, 150f.
71. [↗](#) R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive*, cited above, pp. 217, 220.; E. Kulka in *Jewish Social Studies* (Fall 1985), cited above, p. 295, specifies 55 successful escapes until the end of 1942, 154 in 1943, and 167 in 1944. E. Kulka in Y. Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back* (1967), cited above, p. 201, gave lower figures, but the 1985 paper used the figures given by the Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) in 1964 (T. Iwaszko in *Hefte von Auschwitz*, 1964, cited above, p. 49).
72. [↗](#) A. R. Butz, Hoax, p. 150.; R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive*, cited above, p. 233.
73. [↗](#) R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive*, cited above, pp. 35, 209.
74. [↗](#) To learn what the Talmud says happened to Jesus, read Gittin 57a in the Soncino Press edition (London, 1936, p. 261 with note referring to the Munich codex) or the J_ischer Verlag edition (Berlin, 1932, p. 368).
75. [↗](#) R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *I Cannot Forgive*, cited above, p. 127.
76. [↗](#) J. L_nik, *Was Dante nicht sah* (Vienna: Die Buchgemeinde, 1964). Translation of the Slovakian language original *Co Dante nevidel* (Bratislava, 1964).
77. [↗](#) J. S. Conway in *Vierteljahrshefte f_r Zeitgeschichte* (April 1979), cited above.
78. [↗](#) “Der Auschwitz-Bericht von April 1944,” *Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. 8, 1981, pp. 413-442.; “Der Holocaust in Ungarn. Neue Kontroversen und _berlegungen,” *Vierteljahrshefte f_r Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 1984, pp. 179-212.
79. [↗](#) E. Kulka in *Jewish Social Studies* (Fall 1985), cited above, pp. 304, 306 (note 45).
80. [↗](#) R. Vrba and A. Bestic, *44070: The Conspiracy of the Twentieth Century* (Bellingham, Washington: Star and Cross, 1989)
81. [↗](#) IHR Newsletter, No. 74, July-August 1990, p. 3. [Source cited: JTA dispatch in *Jewish World* (Broward, Florida), March 9-16.]
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Review Essay

Two Biographical Works Examine the Life of a Great British Historian and Military Thinker

- *"Boney" Fuller: Soldier, Strategist, and Writer*, by Anthony John Trythall. Baltimore: The Nautical & Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1989. Hardcover. 314 pages. Illustrations. Notes. Index. \$24.95. ISBN 0-933852-98-3.
- *J.F.C. Fuller: Military Thinker*, by Brian Holden Reid. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990. Softcover. 283 pages. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$19.95. ISBN 0-312-04208-6.

Reviewed by James Alexander

Though dead now for more than 25 years, J.F.C. Fuller is still widely remembered by those who love great history and who believe that history should be something more than a "distillation of rumors," as Carlyle put it, or fawning, languorous apologies turned out by establishment courtiers. In this review essay, we take a look at the life and work of this outstanding British historian, military theoretician and Major-General. After first noting his impact as a military thinker, we consider his controversial political activities and his career as a writer and historian. We conclude with a discussion of two volumes that chronicle his extraordinarily productive life.

John Frederick Charles Fuller (1878-1966) is acknowledged as one of this century's most brilliant military strategists. Often compared to Clausewitz, his reputation as the first to grasp fully the implications of the mechanization and armoring of battlefield forces, and as the creator of the Blitzkrieg style of warfare, was already firmly established by the early 1940s. Figures as diverse as Charles De Gaulle, Adolf Hitler, Heinz Guderian and Marshal Timoshenko have acknowledged his genius. Characteristic is the comment of US Army Lt. Colonel S.L.A. Marshall, who wrote in his introduction to a US edition of Fuller's manual on armored warfare:

... Nowhere else in the writings of men was the outline of the military future so clearly revealed, and nowhere else had the tactics of modern battle been explored as brilliantly in conformity with war's enduring principles. One cannot weigh the pure gold contained in this slender volume ...

Between the two world wars, Fuller tirelessly warned that the war of the future would not be like the static conflict of 1914-18. Fixed trenches and the supremacy of artillery and machine guns had become obsolete. Future wars would be fluid and dynamic, he insisted, with victory ultimately going to the nation that mechanized and maintained supremacy in armor and in the air.

Fuller was more than a brilliant thinker. Of inestimable help in publicizing ideas that demanded a revolutionary change in the conventional British military thinking of the time was Fuller's gift — one might even use the word genius — for vivid, forceful and persuasive writing.

Fascist Views

In his political views Fuller was no less outspoken, or radical. During the 1930s, when the assumptions and values of the Old Order seemed irreparably shattered in the aftermath of the First World War, he was strongly attracted to authoritarianism (along the lines of Italian fascism). He was not at all alone in this. During that period, many prominent intellectuals sympathized with the “fascist” outlook. Roy Campbell, Ezra Pound, William Butler Yeats, T.S. Eliot, Henry Williamson, Hilaire Belloc, and A.K. Chesterton, among many others, voiced approval, to one degree or another, for some form of rightist authoritarianism.

A man of decidedly authoritarian inclinations, Fuller held a deep distrust of mass democracy (which he dubbed “pluto-mobocracy”) as well as contempt for the intrinsic vulgarity of 20th-century popular culture. Only heroic figures, he believed, would be capable of rising to the great challenges of the time — which meant, above all, revitalizing the Old World and stemming the destructive tide of Bolshevism. Accordingly, Fuller joined Sir Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists (BUF) in 1934, serving as its spokesman on military matters and as a member of its policy committee. He contributed prolifically to fascist periodicals, and was a BUF parliamentary candidate.

From the early 1930s onwards, Fuller’s writings reflected his fascist-authoritarian outlook. This is perhaps most manifest in his two-volume military history, *Decisive Battles: Their Influence Upon History and Civilisation*, which came off the press at the outbreak of war in 1939. Its 1,060 pages fairly bristle with denunciations of the corrupting, anti-national influence of high finance — “the Money-Power” — the source, he believed, of many of the world’s ills. Typical are the following extracts, which comment on the decline of the ancient Roman world, the American Civil War, and the period between the two world wars:

Never had the rabble sunk so low. Bereft of religion, morality and all social virtues, the dole-fed masses wallowed in every vice. Luxury begot brutality and brutality licence ... Whilst to these degenerates licence spelt liberty, to the plutocrats liberty spelt power, profit and an unlimited scramble for wealth, until money became the sole link between man and man.

... Moral decay had so deeply eaten into the vitals of the Romans that he [Augustus] could do no more than stay the voracity of the disease. Peace was now to be corrupted by plenty, as war had been corrupted by profit, and peace and plenty were the abutments upon which the arch of the Principate rested. As peace grew more solid the burgesses avoided politics in order to enjoy wealth, whilst the nobility became atrophied as the path to glory narrowed. As wars grew less frequent, life became more comfortable, until the spirit of the wild-boar petrified into the gluttony of the farm-yard pig ... Gold had curdled the Roman blood: it was no longer red, but thin and yellow ...

Slavery had by this date made the South so unlike the North that, though the Southern States were the originators of the Union, now they daily were growing more and more antagonistic to it, because their people could not keep pace with economic changes, for slavery prohibited machine-industry. Then two simultaneous events occurred which accentuated the turmoil: the first was the discovery of gold in California, and the second the rapid extension of the railroad. Whilst the one disintegrated the people morally, the other facilitated social and economic union.

So it came about that all these various events more and more divided the people into two groups: the Northern insisting upon union, and the Southern insisting on the right of each State to control its own destiny, which tallied with the Constitution. These two groups could no longer even think alike: the one was composed of field-men, the other of men of the city; and the one was an aristocracy, whilst the other was a pluto-democracy. In the South the military, religious and artistic spirits preponderated; in the North the commercial, matter-of-fact and practical. The South was eighteenth century, the North nineteenth century; the one looked backward to Cavalier and King's man, the other forwards to the Roundheads and Cromwells of an all-conquering mechanical age.

So the gap widened and widened, when, in 1857, depression and crisis followed the boom created by the discovery of gold. Then psychosis took ultimate command, and was fanned into fury by the Abolitionists, until, though the North dreaded disunion, it learnt to dread the unchecked ascendancy of the slave-interests even more, because they undermined the fundamental idea of its own economic civilisation — namely, industrial in contradiction to agricultural servitude. At length fact was obliterated by fiction — e.g., *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, etc. — until a universal falsehood cancelled out reason, when suddenly from out of the North, on October 17, 1859, came a maniac — John Brown ("a cold-prayer hardened into a musket-ball") ...

In 1918, writes Karl Friedrich Nowak in his book *The Collapse of Central Europe*, "two evangels, which no armed force could stop, had spread among the masses... They came from the east and the west ..." from Moscow and from Washington, and together they represented the extremes of the world revolution begotten by Money-Power and its repercussions upon nineteenth-century thought. The one strove at liberating the masses, the other at making the world safe for bankers.

On March 20, 1919, [US Secretary of State] Mr. Lansing had jotted down: "The whole world wants peace. The President wants the League [of Nations]. I think that the world will have to wait." It did, because the League could not possibly rise higher than the level of the nations composing it. It became the instrument of the "status quo," which so greatly favored the Money-Power, and about it circled the treaties like phantoms round a witch's cauldron. Meanwhile, what was the alternative solution proposed by Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin), that "guillotine which thinks"? Whilst Woodrow Wilson was burnishing his evangel, November 1917, Lenin carried out his "coup d'etat" in Petrograd, and with Lev Davidovich Bronstein (Trotsky) assumed power, when the vision of the Second Advent swept over Russia. His political outlook was as narrow and lethal as a razor blade, and self-determination was also the bait in his political trap.

As these passages suggest, Fuller's renown is not merely as a military prophet and innovator, nor, obviously, is it due to his commitment to a short-lived political movement. He is remembered today primarily as a masterful writer of history, and as a historian who artfully described the underlying forces behind historical events. "Like Clausewitz he has been drawn to the study of history by his desire to interpret," the *London Times* once wrote of Fuller. "It is as interpreter and prophet, one of the most remarkable of modern times, that he will be best remembered."

Nearly 40 Books

Though some of Fuller's writings do not lend themselves to rigid classification, his nearly 40 published books may be said to fall roughly into three categories:

1. Military strategy, tactics, technology, and training: 15 volumes.
2. Military and political perspectives on topical issues and problems: 8 volumes.
3. Military history: 15 volumes.

Fuller's writings on military strategy, tactics, technology, and training — while still useful and instructive — are now largely obsolete. Dating from the 1920s and 1930s, these books were written primarily for specialists. Likewise little read today are his works dealing with topical questions, such as the League of Nations, the unity of the British Empire, the future of British India, speculation on the long-term results of the Italian venture in Ethiopia, and so forth. None of these topical works has ever been reprinted.

By contrast, his works of military history remain enduringly popular. Like Sir Edward Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, they will be read and admired for the next hundred and fifty years. At the same time, they have a breadth comparable to Hans Delbrück's monumental *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte*. Accordingly, many of these classic works have been reprinted several times. Nine are currently in print, and a tenth will appear later this year. They are given here (with the year of original publication):

1. *The Generalship of Ulysses S. Grant* (1929)
2. *Grant and Lee: A Study in Personality and Generalship* (1933)
3. *Decisive Battles of the U.S.A.* (1942) [Fall 1993]
4. *The Second World War* (1948, revised edition 1954)
5. *A Military History of the Western World: Vol. I-- From the Earliest Times to the Battle of Lepanto* (1954)
6. *A Military History of the Western World: Vol. II-- From the Defeat of the Spanish Armada to the Battle of Waterloo* (1955)
7. *A Military History of the Western World: Vol. III-- From the American Civil War to the End of the Second World War* (1956)
8. *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (1958)
9. *The Conduct of War, 1789-1961: A Study of the Impact of the French, Industrial and Russian Revolutions on War and its Conduct* (1961)
10. *Julius Caesar: Man, Soldier, and Tyrant* (1965)

The most highly praised of these — and Fuller's magnum opus — is his three-volume *A Military History of the Western World*. (Originally published in Britain under the title *Decisive Battles of the Western World*, it is based on his earlier, two-volume military history.) Writing in *The New York Times*, Lynn Montross called this "Far and away the foremost military history in its field — indispensable reading for every intelligent adult." [A *Military History of the Western World* is available in softcover, but only as a complete set, from the IHR for \$44.85, plus \$5.00 shipping.]

View of Second World War

Though not quite so strongly ideological as his pre-Second World War books, this is nonetheless revisionist writing par excellence. For example, Fuller writes with uncommon insight about Hitler's consolidation of power in Germany, and he clearly identifies the underlying economic factors behind the outbreak and expansion of the Second World War.

He is extremely critical of the conduct of that conflict, which he regards as an unmitigated catastrophe for the West. He characterizes it less as a contest between two great coalitions of nations, than as a guerre a mort between proponents of two powerful myths:

They [Mussolini and Hitler] challenged the myth of Economic Man, the fundamental factor in Capitalism, Socialism, and Communism, and exalted in its stead the myth of Heroic Man ...

In Hitler's eyes the aims of international Capitalism and Marxism were one and the same. Both, he said, repudiated "the aristocratic principle of nature"; both were destroyers of quality, not of things but of life. He held that both lacked the self-justification of sacrifice, fought against Nature, and were destroyers of the race ...

Unless the struggle between these two myths — Economic Man and Heroic Man — is accepted and understood, the cataclysm which in 1939 submerged the world is almost incomprehensible and the age to which it gave birth little more than the plaything of chance.

In this three-volume study, Fuller also expresses outrage over the Allied terror-bombing of Germany and Japan, arguing that it was of questionable military value and, if anything, served to prolong the bloodshed and devastation. Predictably, he has little regard for Churchill or Roosevelt, portraying them as bungling incompetents and unwitting tools of international Communism:

This blind trust in Russia's motives can only be explained by Roosevelt's and Churchill's ignorance of her history, or by the trance into which they had been induced by their pro-Soviet propaganda... At least they might have borne in mind Lenin's prediction of the inevitable clash between the bourgeois states and the Soviet Union. Instead, they bandied witticisms between each other on Uncle Joe!

The second American crusade ended even more disastrously than the first, and this time the agent provocateur was not the German Kaiser but the American President [Roosevelt], whose abhorrence of National Socialism and craving for power precipitated his people into the European conflict and so again made it worldwide.

What persuaded them [Roosevelt and Churchill] to adopt so fatal a policy? We hazard to reply — blind hatred! Their hearts ran away with their heads and their emotions befogged their reason. For them the war was not a political conflict in the normal meaning of the words, it was a Manichean contest between Good and Evil, and to carry their people along with them they unleashed a vitriolic propaganda against the devil they had invoked.

Throughout this masterpiece, Fuller expresses his dissident views on a wide range of related military, social, and political issues. (On the Second World War, two other books by Fuller are also recommended: *The Second World War* and *The Conduct of War*.)

Two Biographies

There are two currently available biographies of Fuller. The first — Major-General Anthony Trythall's 'Boney' Fuller — is the only comprehensive study of his life. (The US edition is a reprint, under a slightly different title, of the work published originally in Britain in 1977.)

Trythall has produced an attractive, well-written and interesting treatment that embraces everything one would expect in such a work. He relates, for example, that Fuller's father was an Anglican priest and that his mother was French. His education, it seems, was somewhat mediocre, but he compensated for this through voracious reading, especially of history. In 1906 Fuller married Margarethe Karnatz, a woman of German-Polish ancestry who was known as Sonia. While absolutely devoted to her husband, she was inexplicably abrasive toward others. Their married life was very private but apparently happy, although they had no children.

Fuller's career in the military, including his service in the South African (Boer) War and the First World War, and his peacetime service, as well as his political activities, are all treated in detail here. Trythall also writes of his close friendships with a small circle of prominent men that included Sir Basil Liddell Hart and Sir Oswald Mosley, as well as of his visits with figures such as Franco, Mussolini, Hitler and Churchill.

Perhaps the most interesting of these meetings took place in 1939, when he was invited, as a personal guest of Hitler, to attend the ceremony marking the German leader's 50th birthday. On the morning of the 20th of April, from a reviewing stand across the Berlin avenue from where Hitler stood, Fuller viewed a spectacular military parade, the Third Reich's most elaborate display of armed might. "Never before or since have I watched such a formidable mass of moving metal," he later wrote. At a formal Chancellery reception that afternoon, Hitler came forward to greet him warmly. Alluding to his role in the development of the tank, Hitler remarked: "I hope you are pleased with your children?" Fuller responded: "Your Excellency, they have grown up so quickly that I no longer recognize them."

Dealing with Fuller as a writer, Trythall describes and analyzes each of his books. He considers how each has contributed to history and to the science of warfare, and discusses how well each has stood the test of time. Fuller, he writes,

... never believed in history for its own sake or in the necessity for dusty accuracy; he studied and wrote history ... for its lessons, for what it could teach us about the present and about how we ought to behave in the future ...

Trythall praises Fuller as "as a man of very great vitality and intelligence, application and integrity." While manifestly opposed to his political views, Trythall for the most part considers them respectfully, and within the context of the times:

... It is important not to judge his action [in joining the fascists] by standards derived from feelings of revulsion engendered by events which took place after June 1934. It is also reasonable to conclude that he saw in fascism a way of implementing the military reforms he thought essential for purely patriotic reasons ...

The second biography — *J.F.C. Fuller: Military Thinker* — is by Brian Holden Reid, a lecturer in War Studies at King's College (London) and Resident Historian at the British Army Staff College. First published six years ago, this new edition is in a quality paperback format.

Dr. Reid's approach is markedly different than Trythall's. Omitting much biographical detail, Reid instead concentrates on a close examination of Fuller's views and theories, and on his impact as a military critic and historian. Reid's book might more accurately be described as a lengthy bibliographical essay, with other elements interwoven, than a biography. Still, this work does include anecdotal material that wonderfully illustrates Fuller's character and temperament. As Reid shows, for instance, Fuller was not an easy man to befriend. He was, rather, an intensely private person who selected his friends carefully. Conversely, he was so impatient with those of

differing opinions, and his particular brand of wit so barbed, that he made enemies at those very times when, from the standpoint of his career in the British Army, he could not afford such luxuries. His forced retirement in 1933 was a direct result of his withering public criticism of his military superiors, whom he depicted, Reid relates, as ill-educated fools.

Like Trythall, Reid does not sympathize with Fuller's political views. He attempts to account for them by explaining that "Fuller's fascism was technocratic in character, emphasizing order and efficiency in government — a rational management of resources that was not possible with democratic muddle." In fact, Fuller's repeatedly stressed admiration for ideals such as heroism, duty, hierarchy, chivalry, and authority would indicate that his worldview might better be described as medieval rather than technocratic.

Given Reid's wholly conventional political outlook, he is largely fair in his treatment of a man in whom the British military now, apparently, takes considerable pride. Reid's analyses of Fuller's works are trenchant and lucid, which is not to say that he is always correct in his assessments.

For readers seeking an introduction to Fuller's thought and astonishingly prolific career as a writer, Reid's book is an excellent choice. If, on the other hand, one wishes to explore General Fuller's life from beginning to end, then Trythall's highly rewarding book is preferable. (Reid himself calls Trythall's volume, "the fullest account of Fuller's life.") In this reviewer's opinion, each book compliments the other handsomely, and each is essential for an informed appreciation of one of the most fascinating and influential figures produced by Britain in many years.

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Review

A Failed Look at Europe's Impact on America's Native Peoples

- American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World, by David E. Stannard. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. Hardcover. 358 pages. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. \$26. ISBN 0 19 507581 1.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Most Americans today would, after a little reflection, admit that the white man's discovery and conquest of the Americas were a disaster for the red man; doubtless those Americans who have lapsed from or opted out of traditional Christianity would view it as an unmitigated catastrophe for the Indians.

Many shameful deeds have been done to the Indians, and the eclipse of the indigenous cultures of the New World, from the 16th century to the present, has never lost its tragic penumbra for Americans of European origin. The eradication of the traditional Indian way of life, from the overthrow of Indian empires to the uprooting of tribes, has resulted in wounds to the white as well as to the Indian soul.

Of the demise of the impressive civilizations of Mexico and Peru at the hands of the Spanish conquistadors, no less pro-Western a writer than Oswald Spengler writes:

... this is the one example of a Culture ended by violent death. It was not starved, suppressed, thwarted, but murdered in the full glory of its unfolding, destroyed like a sunflower whose head is struck off by one passing. (*The Decline of the West*, Vol. 2, Trans. by C. Atkinson, New York: Knopf, 1986, p. 43)

Francis Parker Yockey, echoing his mentor, writes in his magnum opus:

The two grand empires of Mexico and Peru, with social forms, economico-political organization, transportation, communication, city life, all developed to the utmost limits for this particular [cultural] soul, made the invading Spaniards seem like mere naive barbarians. (*Imperium*, Noontide, 1969, p. 8.)

No "multiculturalist" could make a more poignant statement of the glories of the Incas or Aztecs. Not just a chauvinist of Western civilization, however, is entitled to wonder how equivalent they were to the European culture of the day, and to question whether using the attainments and comportment of Cortez's and Pizarro's Spaniards supplies any better measuring stick than that of the British and French troops who sacked and burned the Summer Palace of the Manchu emperors outside Peking in 1859.

For all the pathos that inheres in the outcome of the clash between divergent world-views and unequal technologies, however, we are forced to ask ourselves how different things could have been, given the questing, thrusting dynamic of Western civilization and the mortal isolation of the pre-Columbian “Americas.” And, acknowledging the prior sufficiency unto themselves of the Indian cultures as well as their unique contributions to the European invaders, is it any service to the American Indians, living and dead, to sentimentalize and distort their past by deforming our own judgment?

Broadside Against Christendom

American Holocaust, by David Stannard, attempts to perform just such a service to America’s original inhabitants. The book was published in 1992, the author informs us, “to coincide with the Columbian Quincentennial — the 500th anniversary of the beginning of the genocide that nearly expunged the Western Hemisphere of its people.” (p. 247) While those words and the book’s main title pretty much express the drift of *American Holocaust*, Stannard’s purpose is rather more grandiose: to launch a mighty broadside against Christendom, the word white, Western, Christian culture used for itself at the time of Christopher Columbus’s discovery.

To call *American Holocaust* a polemic rather than a sound historical study would be to understate seriously Stannard’s animus against Christianity and the West, and his treacly view of Indian life and culture. The book’s three main parts, “Before Columbus,” “Pestilence and Genocide,” and “Sex, Race, and Holy War,” are towering in their ambition, but so skewed is their author’s vision that they end up so grossly misshapen as to be useless as either propaganda or history.

Before the advent of Columbus, Stannard’s Indians, as presented in the first section, lived an Edenic existence, from the Bering Strait to Tierra del Fuego. On Indian cultural achievement, the author wants it both ways: where they are civilized, he has them by far the superiors of the Spanish conquistadors; where they are simple hunters and gatherers, they have chosen an ideal life, in perfect harmony with the abundance of nature.

While this reviewer is not competent to judge the literature on pre-Columbian population, it is evident that Stannard leans strongly toward those researchers who see even the highest currently accepted estimates of the number of pre-Columbian Indians as too low. (p. 268) Of the hypothetical 100-million-plus Indians of 1492 and their descendants, the author represents, again following the most extravagant estimates, that “... population loss among native societies routinely reached and exceeded 95 percent ...” (p. 268)

Pestilence Equals Genocide

How does the author account for this gigantic “population loss”? Essentially, in two ways, although, in one of the staggering weaknesses of *American Holocaust*, Stannard is constantly conflating them into one: “Pestilence and Genocide.” While, as his section title indicates, Stannard is well aware of the annihilating effects of the diseases, such as smallpox, introduced (almost always unintentionally, as he concedes) by the Europeans, he constantly relapses into terminology that describes Indian victims of epidemics as “killed” (p. 85), “exterminated” (pp. 86, 107), subjected to “wholesale slaughter” (p. 87), “carnage” (p. 95) or “liquidation” (p. 121). For Stannard, pestilence is genocide.

And if it weren’t, Stannard has adduced for evidence of genocide a series of white murders, massacres, and wars of what he calls — relying on this or that isolated (and usually misleading) quotation from men such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson — extermination. Naturally,

he omits any but the sparsest mention of Indian atrocities; more important, he fails to show anything approaching a deliberate state policy, anywhere in the Americas, of exterminating the Indians, with the arguable exception of a handful of tribes, over half a millennium of mostly hostile confrontation of quite different races and cultures. It's as if he claimed that the US government was trying to exterminate the Vietnamese on the evidence of the My Lai massacre — and in fact he comes close to that further along in his text by deceitfully equating the Vietcong with the “people of Vietnam,” in his exegesis of a single quotation from General William Westmoreland in which the US commander likened the Communist guerrillas to termites. (p. 252)

Why did the white man carry out this (imaginary) genocide? Stannard gets at the answer to this question by borrowing another question from black novelist Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, in which a 19th-century Southern black man is moved by the latest evidence of white murderousness to ask, “What are these people?” “What were those people,” echoes Stannard, “whose minds and souls so avidly fueled genocides against Muslims, Africans, Indians, Jews, Gypsies, and other religious, racial, and ethnic groups?”

Why, Christians, of course! And how better to sound that answer than to pluck the strings of that laureate liar, the fork-tongued Elie Wiesel, whose double-whopper about Jews and Germans in World War II-- “All the killers were Christian” --Stannard qualifies as “no better place to begin” his bilious section on “Sex, Race, and Holy War.”

Then follows an embarrassing (for the reputation of historian Stannard) survey of the development of the mind and soul of Christian Europe. The author has already introduced his readers to a 16th-century Europe sunk in squalor, disease, ignorance, and intolerance (p. 58). Now he attempts to show us why, by conjuring up a Christendom that never existed, governed entirely by wild-eyed, self-mortifying monkish ascetics who, when they aren't off in the wilderness flailing themselves for their impurities of body and soul, are wildly exhorting the laity to Christianize or extirpate the infidel and heathen “other,” which Stannard argues to be a projection of the subconscious lusts of the benighted, sex-starved ancestors of modern whites.

Historical Travesty

Like a late-night Japanese television chef flourishing his Ginsu knives, Stannard brandishes a glittering array of current historiographical modes, then proceeds to slice, dice, chop, and deconstruct the evidence to support his crack-brained notions of a thousand years of European culture. Those of his readers who have never heard of Geoffrey Chaucer or the Benedictine Order or the Italian Renaissance may well buy his notion that the entire life and direction of the West was ruled by hair-shirted Torquemadas (not that he makes any effort at empathy even with his caricatures); those who have will likely sneer at American Holocaust.

Yet it is from the historical travesty of medieval and early modern Christendom he presents in “Sex, Race and Holy War” that Stannard derives the basic European impetus for his so-called genocide. From the anthropological fancies of such classical writers as Pliny and from imaginative medieval travel reports the author finds, following other modern historians, that the Europeans had distilled an archetypal “wild man,” who, according to Stannard, was the perfect meeting of the Christians' projected self-hatred and the American aborigines. His argument here is helped, at least for the ignorant and unwary, by his failure to mention any of the numerous Christian efforts on behalf of Indian welfare, with the sole important exception of Bishop Bartolomé de Las Casas' *leyenda negra* (“black legend”), which he mines extensively for its atrocity reports.

While Stannard, in accord with the prevailing fashion, vaunts the comparative perspective (he's hot to raise the American Indian "Holocaust" to the same mythic stature as the Jewish one), his lucubrations (at second-hand) over Columbus's millenarian *Libro de la profecias* ("Book of Prophecies") and other writings might have borne some fruit, however shriveled. But he's evidently never thought to compare the fate of aborigines elsewhere and at other times to that of the American Indians at the hands of their conquerors: the peoples of Siberia, the Ainu of Japan, relict tribes of India, and so forth. No, he's too busy indicting Christendom for the Crusades, Spain for its eviction of the noble Moors and the poor Jews (not to mention the rich ones), and Anglo-Saxon and Iberian alike for his factitious Amerindian genocide.

Genocide Or ... ?

Indeed, given that there are tens, more likely hundreds, of millions of North, South, and Central Americans who are recognizably Indian, what can Stannard mean by "genocide"?

This we find out on the very last pages of his "Epilogue," where the author informs us that what he's really been meaning all along is the deprivation of "continued cultural integrity" and the right "to exist as autonomous peoples." And while the loss of those two desiderata can be wrenching, even terrible (as it often was for the Celtic and Germanic tribes of old Europe at the hands of Roman legionaries and Christian missionaries), it is not the same thing as the physical annihilation of a people (genocide). (This review is not the place to evaluate the usefulness of that neologism, which according to the definitions of its inventor, Raphael Lemkin, should include everything from complicity in the extinction of the Manx language to the submergence of the nascent Burgundian nation in medieval France and Germany to the dying off of the last Shaker. The definitive study of Lemkinism is James J. Martin's *The Man Who Invented Genocide*, published by and available from the IHR.)

Stannard, who by the word "sex" in his "Sex, Race and Holy War" means to say that the Europeans killed off the Indian women and children, not that they slept with and begot them, isn't having any of the "comparative perspective" hinted at above. Alternately sympathetic with the Jews and envious of their hypertrophied hoax, he'd rather pad the statistics of dead-and-gone "pure" Indians than take solace from the heartening (and perhaps, for European diehards, even threatening) resurgence of Indian numbers and consciousness across the Americas.

In the end, Professor Stannard, who once wrote an excellent debunking of "psychohistory" (*Shrinking History*, Oxford, 1980), has become his own "wild man," fleeing rational historical inquiry and discourse to follow the ignis fatuus of "genocide" into the fever swamps of "Holocaust studies." Since Stannard has dared to give conditional endorsement to the recognition by Arno Mayer, a Holocaust believer (but dissident), that more Jews died at Auschwitz from natural causes than from purposeful killing (p. 254), he risks an untimely end to his scholarly career, for, as Revisionist researchers could tell him, the rotting stumps and phosphorescent toadstools of the Exterminationist quagmire are infested by as nasty a species of swamp adders and alligators as populate any of the groves of academe. Few proud red men, and even fewer proud whites, will mourn the demise of American studies à la Stannard.

Author: Mark Weber

Title: Croatia's Leader Denounced as Holocaust Revisionist

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Croatia's Leader Denounced as Holocaust Revisionist

President Tudjman Refuses to Recant

by [Mark Weber](#)

In spite of strong criticism from prominent American Jewish leaders, the President of Croatia refuses to repudiate his revisionist views on the Holocaust issue. Franjo Tudjman, Croatia's democratically elected leader, and a respected European scholar, has aroused controversy for publicly rejecting the "Six Million" story.

At the invitation of the US government, Tudjman and other foreign leaders attended the formal ceremony on April 22 in Washington, DC, dedicating the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Elie Wiesel, a Jewish survivor of Auschwitz and other German wartime camps, was not happy. "Tudjman's presence in the midst of survivors is a disgrace," said Wiesel, who also expressed concern that a 1988 book by the Croatian historian would, in the words of the New York Times (April 22), "fuel the arguments of historical revisionists who deny that the Holocaust occurred."

Rabbi Marvin Hier, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, said that the only justification for Tudjman's appearance at the dedication ceremony would be to provide an opportunity for him to publicly repudiate his heretical views. "If that is not the case," Hier said, "the invitation is giving credence to one of the world's most famous Holocaust revisionists." (New York Times, April 22, 1993.)

'Exaggerated Data'

Tudjman readily acknowledges that Europe's Jews suffered "terrible hardships" during the war years. At the same time, though, he has written in *Bespuca — Povijesne Zbiljnosti* ("Wastelands: Historical Truth"), a 500-page scholarly work first published in 1988:

The estimated loss of up to six million [Jewish] dead is founded too much on both emotional, biased testimonies and on exaggerated data in the postwar reckonings of war crimes and on the squaring of accounts with the defeated... In the mid-1980s, world Jewry still has the need to recall its "holocaust" even by trying to prevent the election of the former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim as president of Austria.

Tudjman reportedly estimates that a total of 900,000 Jews perished in the catastrophe of the Second World War. (New York Times, April 22.) He also suggests that many wartime Jewish deaths would not have occurred if German armed forces had prevailed over the Soviet Union, allowing for a "territorial solution" to the Jewish question such as a "reservation" in eastern Poland or in

Madagascar. (See *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, pp. 240-243, and, *The New Republic*, Nov. 25, 1991, pp. 16, 18.)

Tudjman reaffirmed his revisionist outlook in an interview with Canadian television: "With regard to Jews, I'm inclined to agree with those scholars in the world who say that the figure of six million is exaggerated." (*The New Republic*, Jan. 20, 1992, p. 5.)

Respected Historian

Tudjman's views are all the more noteworthy because they are those of a respected historian who cannot seriously be regarded as a "Nazi." During the Second World War he fought against Croatia's pro-German Ustashe regime as an officer in the partisan forces of Communist leader Tito. After 1945, he served in Belgrade as a member of the General Staff of the Yugoslav National Army, eventually attaining the rank of Major General. In 1961 he left the military to pursue academic interests.

After study in Belgrade, he assumed a position in 1963 as a part-time professor on the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Zagreb, and in 1964 he earned a doctorate in history. From 1961 to 1967, he was director in Zagreb of the Institute for the History of the Workers Movement. He has also served as editor-in-chief of the magazine *Paths of the Revolution*, and as a member of the editorial boards of the military-theoretical journal *Voino delo* and the intellectual magazine *Forum*.

Tudjman is the author of numerous historical works, several of which have appeared in other languages, and has been a guest lecturer at universities and institutes in Italy, Germany and the United States. In 1966 he was a speaker at the International Seminar series at Harvard University. His book *Nationalism in Contemporary Europe* was published in 1981 by the Columbia University Press, and his controversial 1988 book *Bespuca* ("Wastelands") was given a respectful review by Germany's prestigious national daily, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Jan. 16, 1990. Tudjman, the paper told readers, has dealt with questions of contemporary history "with competence and courage."

Tudjman's refusal to give in to demands that he repudiate his revisionist views on the Holocaust issue is entirely consistent with his record of defiance of biased "official" history. Because of his dissident views, Communist Yugoslav authorities ordered his arrest in 1972 and barred him from public activity for two years. After a second arrest in 1981 for dissident activities, he was imprisoned for a year and a half.

Following the breakup of the artificial Yugoslav state, Tudjman emerged as leader of the Croatian Democratic Union, his country's major political party. After the victory of his party in the first democratic elections held in Croatia in more than 50 years, he was sworn in as president on May 30, 1990.

A Little-Known Holocaust

Few of those Americans who are so determined to "never forget" the wartime fate of Europe's Jews know much about what happened to the continent's other national and ethnic groups. For example, many tens of thousands of Croat, Slovene and Bosnian Muslim prisoners were summarily murdered at the end of the war by the partisan forces of Yugoslav Communist leader Tito (who was backed by the United States and Britain). In addition to combat personnel taken prisoner, the victims also included nurses, nuns and children.

Most historians have estimated that the partisans shot from 70,000 to 100,000 people without trial within weeks of the war's end, although some believe that as many as 500,000 were summarily killed. Most of the victims were people who were trying to flee Tito's Communist forces. The refugees were returned by British troops from detention camps in Austria, or were turned back at the border by British forces who occupied southern Austria and northeastern Italy. At one site near Sostice in Slovenia, for example, as many as 40,000 were systematically shot, and their bodies flung into caves. (See: New York Times, July 9, 1990.; Los Angeles Times, Nov. 4, 1990.; The New Republic, Dec. 24, 1990, pp. 16-19.)

Revisionism in Croatia

Reflecting the historical revisionism that has been sweeping Eastern Europe and the lands of the former Soviet Union in recent years, a downtown street and an elementary school in Croatia's capital city of Zagreb have recently been renamed in honor of Mile Budak, a noted author of several novels written before the Second World War. Most of Zagreb University's main facilities are on the newly named street. The Simon Wiesenthal Center has protested the renaming because Budak was a ranking minister in the wartime Croatian republic (which was allied with Germany), and promulgated the law prohibiting Jewish participation in Croatian "institutions of social, sports and cultural life."

While a few European countries have outlawed Holocaust Revisionism, in Croatia it enjoys support from the highest level. Indeed, Croats are more free than Americans to express their views on this issue.

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Zionism and the Third Reich

by Mark Weber

Early in 1935, a passenger ship bound for Haifa in Palestine left the German port of Bremerhaven. Its stern bore the Hebrew letters for its name, “Tel Aviv,” while a swastika banner fluttered from the mast. And although the ship was Zionist-owned, its captain was a National Socialist Party member. Many years later a traveler aboard the ship recalled this symbolic combination as a “metaphysical absurdity.” ^[1] Absurd or not, this is but one vignette from a little-known chapter of history: The wide-ranging collaboration between Zionism and Hitler’s Third Reich.

Common Aims

Over the years, people in many different countries have wrestled with the “Jewish question”: that is, what is the proper role of Jews in non-Jewish society? During the 1930s, Jewish Zionists and German National Socialists shared similar views on how to deal with this perplexing issue. They agreed that Jews and Germans were distinctly different nationalities, and that Jews did not belong in Germany. Jews living in the Reich were therefore to be regarded not as “Germans of the Jewish faith,” but rather as members of a separate national community. Zionism (Jewish nationalism) also implied an obligation by Zionist Jews to resettle in Palestine, the “Jewish homeland.” They could hardly regard themselves as sincere Zionists and simultaneously claim equal rights in Germany or any other “foreign” country.

Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), the founder of modern Zionism, maintained that anti-Semitism is not an aberration, but a natural and completely understandable response by non-Jews to alien Jewish behavior and attitudes. The only solution, he argued, is for Jews to recognize reality and live in a separate state of their own. “The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in noticeable numbers,” he wrote in his most influential work, *The Jewish State*. “Where it does not exist, it is brought in by arriving Jews ... I believe I understand anti-Semitism, which is a very complex phenomenon. I consider this development as a Jew, without hate or fear.” The Jewish question, he maintained, is not social or religious. “It is a national question. To solve it we must, above all, make it an international political issue ...” Regardless of their citizenship, Herzl insisted, Jews constitute not merely a religious community, but a nationality, a people, a Volk. ^[2] Zionism, wrote Herzl, offered the world a welcome “final solution of the Jewish question.” ^[3]

Six months after Hitler came to power, the Zionist Federation of Germany (by far the largest Zionist group in the country) submitted a detailed memorandum to the new government that reviewed German-Jewish relations and formally offered Zionist support in “solving” the vexing “Jewish question.” The first step, it suggested, had to be a frank recognition of fundamental national differences: ^[4]

Zionism has no illusions about the difficulty of the Jewish condition, which consists above all in an abnormal occupational pattern and in the fault of an intellectual and moral posture not rooted in one's own tradition. Zionism recognized decades ago that as a result of the assimilationist trend, symptoms of deterioration were bound to appear ...

Zionism believes that the rebirth of the national life of a people, which is now occurring in Germany through the emphasis on its Christian and national character, must also come about in the Jewish national group. For the Jewish people, too, national origin, religion, common destiny and a sense of its uniqueness must be of decisive importance in the shaping of its existence. This means that the egotistical individualism of the liberal era must be overcome and replaced with a sense of community and collective responsibility ...

We believe it is precisely the new [National Socialist] Germany that can, through bold resoluteness in the handling of the Jewish question, take a decisive step toward overcoming a problem which, in truth, will have to be dealt with by most European peoples ...

Our acknowledgment of Jewish nationality provides for a clear and sincere relationship to the German people and its national and racial realities. Precisely because we do not wish to falsify these fundamentals, because we, too, are against mixed marriage and are for maintaining the purity of the Jewish group and reject any trespasses in the cultural domain, we — having been brought up in the German language and German culture — can show an interest in the works and values of German culture with admiration and internal sympathy ...

For its practical aims, Zionism hopes to be able to win the collaboration of even a government fundamentally hostile to Jews, because in dealing with the Jewish question not sentimentalities are involved but a real problem whose solution interests all peoples and at the present moment especially the German people ...

Boycott propaganda — such as is currently being carried on against Germany in many ways — is in essence un-Zionist, because Zionism wants not to do battle but to convince and to build ...

We are not blind to the fact that a Jewish question exists and will continue to exist. From the abnormal situation of the Jews severe disadvantages result for them, but also scarcely tolerable conditions for other peoples.

The Federation's paper, the Jüdische Rundschau ("Jewish Review"), proclaimed the same message: "Zionism recognizes the existence of a Jewish problem and desires a far-reaching and constructive solution. For this purpose Zionism wishes to obtain the assistance of all peoples, whether pro- or anti-Jewish, because, in its view, we are dealing here with a concrete rather than a sentimental problem, the solution of which all peoples are interested." [5] A young Berlin rabbi, Joachim Prinz, who later settled in the United States and became head of the American Jewish Congress, wrote in his 1934 book, Wir Juden ("We Jews"), that the National Socialist revolution in Germany meant "Jewry for the Jews." He explained: "No subterfuge can save us now. In place of assimilation we desire a new concept: recognition of the Jewish nation and Jewish race." [6]

Active Collaboration

On this basis of their similar ideologies about ethnicity and nationhood, National Socialists and Zionists worked together for what each group believed was in its own national interest. As a result, the Hitler government vigorously supported Zionism and Jewish emigration to Palestine from 1933 until 1940-1941, when the Second World War prevented extensive collaboration.

Even as the Third Reich became more entrenched, many German Jews, probably a majority, continued to regard themselves, often with considerable pride, as Germans first. Few were enthusiastic about pulling up roots to begin a new life in far-away Palestine. Nevertheless, more and more German Jews turned to Zionism during this period. Until late 1938, the Zionist movement flourished in Germany under Hitler. The circulation of the Zionist Federation's bi-weekly *Jüdische Rundschau* grew enormously. Numerous Zionist books were published. "Zionist work was in full swing" in Germany during those years, the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* notes. A Zionist convention held in Berlin in 1936 reflected "in its composition the vigorous party life of German Zionists." [7]

The SS was particularly enthusiastic in its support for Zionism. An internal June 1934 SS position paper urged active and wide-ranging support for Zionism by the government and the Party as the best way to encourage emigration of Germany's Jews to Palestine. This would require increased Jewish self-awareness. Jewish schools, Jewish sports leagues, Jewish cultural organizations — in short, everything that would encourage this new consciousness and self-awareness — should be promoted, the paper recommended. [8]

SS officer Leopold von Mildenstein and Zionist Federation official Kurt Tuchler toured Palestine together for six months to assess Zionist development there. Based on his firsthand observations, von Mildenstein wrote a series of twelve illustrated articles for the important Berlin daily *Der Angriff* that appeared in late 1934 under the heading "A Nazi Travels to Palestine." The series expressed great admiration for the pioneering spirit and achievements of the Jewish settlers. Zionist self-development, von Mildenstein wrote, had produced a new kind of Jew. He praised Zionism as a great benefit for both the Jewish people and the entire world. A Jewish homeland in Palestine, he wrote in his concluding article, "pointed the way to curing a centuries-long wound on the body of the world: the Jewish question." *Der Angriff* issued a special medal, with a Swastika on one side and a Star of David on the other, to commemorate the joint SS-Zionist visit. A few months after the articles appeared, von Mildenstein was promoted to head the Jewish affairs department of the SS security service in order to support Zionist migration and development more effectively. [9]

The official SS newspaper, *Das Schwarze Korps*, proclaimed its support for Zionism in a May 1935 front-page editorial: "The time may not be too far off when Palestine will again be able to receive its sons who have been lost to it for more than a thousand years. Our good wishes, together with official goodwill, go with them." [10] Four months later, a similar article appeared in the SS paper: [11]

The recognition of Jewry as a racial community based on blood and not on religion leads the German government to guarantee without reservation the racial separateness of this community. The government finds itself in complete agreement with the great spiritual movement within Jewry, the so-called Zionism, with its recognition of the solidarity of Jewry around the world and its rejection of all assimilationist notions. On this basis, Germany undertakes measures that will surely play a significant role in the future in the handling of the Jewish problem around the world.

A leading German shipping line began direct passenger liner service from Hamburg to Haifa, Palestine, in October 1933 providing “strictly kosher food on its ships, under the supervision of the Hamburg rabbinate.” [12]

With official backing, Zionists worked tirelessly to “reeducate” Germany’s Jews. As American historian Francis Nicosia put it in his 1985 survey, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*: “Zionists were encouraged to take their message to the Jewish community, to collect money, to show films on Palestine and generally to educate German Jews about Palestine. There was considerable pressure to teach Jews in Germany to cease identifying themselves as Germans and to awaken a new Jewish national identity in them.” [13]

In an interview after the war, the former head of the Zionist Federation of Germany, Dr. Hans Friedenthal, summed up the situation: “The Gestapo did everything in those days to promote emigration, particularly to Palestine. We often received their help when we required anything from other authorities regarding preparations for emigration.” [14]

At the September 1935 National Socialist Party Congress, the Reichstag adopted the so-called “Nuremberg laws” that prohibited marriages and sexual relations between Jews and Germans and, in effect, proclaimed the Jews an alien minority nationality. A few days later the Zionist *Jüdische Rundschau* editorially welcomed the new measures: [15]

Germany ... is meeting the demands of the World Zionist Congress when it declares the Jews now living in Germany to be a national minority. Once the Jews have been stamped a national minority it is again possible to establish normal relations between the German nation and Jewry. The new laws give the Jewish minority in Germany its own cultural life, its own national life. In future it will be able to shape its own schools, its own theatre, and its own sports associations. In short, it can create its own future in all aspects of national life ...

Germany has given the Jewish minority the opportunity to live for itself, and is offering state protection for this separate life of the Jewish minority: Jewry’s process of growth into a nation will thereby be encouraged and a contribution will be made to the establishment of more tolerable relations between the two nations.

Georg Kareski, the head of both the “Revisionist” Zionist State Organization and the Jewish Cultural League, and former head of the Berlin Jewish Community, declared in an interview with the Berlin daily *Der Angriff* at the end of 1935: [16]

For many years I have regarded a complete separation of the cultural affairs of the two peoples [Jews and Germans] as a pre-condition for living together without conflict... I have long supported such a separation, provided it is founded on respect for the alien nationality. The Nuremberg Laws ... seem to me, apart from their legal provisions, to conform entirely with this desire for a separate life based on mutual respect... This interruption of the process of dissolution in many Jewish communities, which had been promoted through mixed marriages, is therefore, from a Jewish point of view, entirely welcome.

Zionist leaders in other countries echoed these views. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress, told a New York rally in June 1938: “I am not an American citizen of the Jewish faith, I am a Jew... Hitler was right in one thing. He calls the Jewish people a race and we are a race.” [17]

The Interior Ministry's Jewish affairs specialist, Dr. Bernhard Lösener, expressed support for Zionism in an article that appeared in a November 1935 issue of the official *Reichsverwaltungsblatt*: [18]

If the Jews already had their own state in which the majority of them were settled, then the Jewish question could be regarded as completely resolved today, also for the Jews themselves. The least amount of opposition to the ideas underlying the Nuremberg Laws have been shown by the Zionists, because they realize at once that these laws represent the only correct solution for the Jewish people as well. For each nation must have its own state as the outward expression of its particular nationhood.

In cooperation with the German authorities, Zionist groups organized a network of some forty camps and agricultural centers throughout Germany where prospective settlers were trained for their new lives in Palestine. Although the Nuremberg Laws forbid Jews from displaying the German flag, Jews were specifically guaranteed the right to display the blue and white Jewish national banner. The flag that would one day be adopted by Israel was flown at the Zionist camps and centers in Hitler's Germany. [19]

Himmler's security service cooperated with the Haganah, the Zionist underground military organization in Palestine. The SS agency paid Haganah official Feivel Polkes for information about the situation in Palestine and for help in directing Jewish emigration to that country. Meanwhile, the Haganah was kept well informed about German plans by a spy it managed to plant in the Berlin headquarters of the SS. [20] Haganah-SS collaboration even included secret deliveries of German weapons to Jewish settlers for use in clashes with Palestinian Arabs. [21]

In the aftermath of the November 1938 "Kristallnacht" outburst of violence and destruction, the SS quickly helped the Zionist organization to get back on its feet and continue its work in Germany, although now under more restricted supervision. [22]

Official Reservations

German support for Zionism was not unlimited. Government and Party officials were very mindful of the continuing campaign by powerful Jewish communities in the United States, Britain and other countries to mobilize "their" governments and fellow citizens against Germany. As long as world Jewry remained implacably hostile toward National Socialist Germany, and as long as the great majority of Jews around the world showed little eagerness to resettle in the Zionist "promised land," a sovereign Jewish state in Palestine would not really "solve" the international Jewish question. Instead, German officials reasoned, it would immeasurably strengthen this dangerous anti-German campaign. German backing for Zionism was therefore limited to support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine under British control, not a sovereign Jewish state. [23]

A Jewish state in Palestine, the Foreign Minister informed diplomats in June 1937, would not be in Germany's interest because it would not be able to absorb all Jews around the world, but would only serve as an additional power base for international Jewry, in much the same way as Moscow served as a base for international Communism. [24] Reflecting something of a shift in official policy, the German press expressed much greater sympathy in 1937 for Palestinian Arab resistance to Zionist ambitions, at a time when tension and conflict between Jews and Arabs in Palestine was sharply increasing. [25]

A Foreign Office circular bulletin of June 22, 1937, cautioned that in spite of support for Jewish settlement in Palestine, "it would nevertheless be a mistake to assume that Germany supports the

formation of a state structure in Palestine under some form of Jewish control. In view of the anti-German agitation of international Jewry, Germany cannot agree that the formation of a Palestine Jewish state would help the peaceful development of the nations of the world." [26] "The proclamation of a Jewish state or a Jewish-administrated Palestine," warned an internal memorandum by the Jewish affairs section of the SS, "would create for Germany a new enemy, one that would have a deep influence on developments in the Near East." Another SS agency predicted that a Jewish state "would work to bring special minority protection to Jews in every country, therefore giving legal protection to the exploitation activity of world Jewry." [27] In January 1939, Hitler's new Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, likewise warned in another circular bulletin that "Germany must regard the formation of a Jewish state as dangerous" because it "would bring an international increase in power to world Jewry." [28]

Hitler himself personally reviewed this entire issue in early 1938 and, in spite of his long-standing skepticism of Zionist ambitions and misgivings that his policies might contribute to the formation of a Jewish state, decided to support Jewish migration to Palestine even more vigorously. The prospect of ridding Germany of its Jews, he concluded, outweighed the possible dangers. [29]

Meanwhile, the British government imposed ever more drastic restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine in 1937, 1938 and 1939. In response, the SS security service concluded a secret alliance with the clandestine Zionist agency Mossad le-Aliya Bet to smuggle Jews illegally into Palestine. As a result of this intensive collaboration, several convoys of ships succeeded in reaching Palestine past British gunboats. Jewish migration, both legal and illegal, from Germany (including Austria) to Palestine increased dramatically in 1938 and 1939. Another 10,000 Jews were scheduled to depart in October 1939, but the outbreak of war in September brought the effort to an end. All the same, German authorities continued to promote indirect Jewish emigration to Palestine during 1940 and 1941. [30] Even as late as March 1942, at least one officially authorized Zionist "kibbutz" training camp for potential emigrants continued to operate in Hitler's Germany. [31]

The Transfer Agreement

The centerpiece of German-Zionist cooperation during the Hitler era was the Transfer Agreement, a pact that enabled tens of thousands of German Jews to migrate to Palestine with their wealth. The Agreement, also known as the Haavara (Hebrew for "transfer"), was concluded in August 1933 following talks between German officials and Chaim Arlosoroff, Political Secretary of the Jewish Agency, the Palestine center of the World Zionist Organization. [32]

Through this unusual arrangement, each Jew bound for Palestine deposited money in a special account in Germany. The money was used to purchase German-made agricultural tools, building materials, pumps, fertilizer, and so forth, which were exported to Palestine and sold there by the Jewish-owned Haavara company in Tel-Aviv. Money from the sales was given to the Jewish emigrant upon his arrival in Palestine in an amount corresponding to his deposit in Germany. German goods poured into Palestine through the Haavara, which was supplemented a short time later with a barter agreement by which Palestine oranges were exchanged for German timber, automobiles, agricultural machinery, and other goods. The Agreement thus served the Zionist aim of bringing Jewish settlers and development capital to Palestine, while simultaneously serving the German goal of freeing the country of an unwanted alien group.

Delegates at the 1933 Zionist Congress in Prague vigorously debated the merits of the Agreement. Some feared that the pact would undermine the international Jewish economic boycott against Germany. But Zionist officials reassured the Congress. Sam Cohen, a key figure behind

the Haavara arrangement, stressed that the Agreement was not economically advantageous to Germany. Arthur Ruppin, a Zionist Organization emigration specialist who had helped negotiate the pact, pointed out that “the Transfer Agreement in no way interfered with the boycott movement, since no new currency will flow into Germany as a result of the agreement...” [33] The 1935 Zionist Congress, meeting in Switzerland, overwhelmingly endorsed the pact. In 1936, the Jewish Agency (the Zionist “shadow government” in Palestine) took over direct control of the Ha'avara, which remained in effect until the Second World War forced its abandonment.

Some German officials opposed the arrangement. Germany’s Consul General in Jerusalem, Hans Döhle, for example, sharply criticized the Agreement on several occasions during 1937. He pointed out that it cost Germany the foreign exchange that the products exported to Palestine through the pact would bring if sold elsewhere. The Haavara monopoly sale of German goods to Palestine through a Jewish agency naturally angered German businessmen and Arabs there. Official German support for Zionism could lead to a loss of German markets throughout the Arab world. The British government also resented the arrangement. [34] A June 1937 German Foreign Office internal bulletin referred to the “foreign exchange sacrifices” that resulted from the Haavara. [35]

A December 1937 internal memorandum by the German Interior Ministry reviewed the impact of the Transfer Agreement: “There is no doubt that the Haavara arrangement has contributed most significantly to the very rapid development of Palestine since 1933. The Agreement provided not only the largest source of money (from Germany!), but also the most intelligent group of immigrants, and finally it brought to the country the machines and industrial products essential for development.” The main advantage of the pact, the memo reported, was the emigration of large numbers of Jews to Palestine, the most desirable target country as far as Germany was concerned. But the paper also noted the important drawbacks pointed out by Consul Döhle and others. The Interior Minister, it went on, had concluded that the disadvantages of the agreement now outweighed the advantages and that, therefore, it should be terminated. [36]

Only one man could resolve the controversy. Hitler personally reviewed the policy in July and September 1937, and again in January 1938, and each time decided to maintain the Haavara arrangement. The goal of removing Jews from Germany, he concluded, justified the drawbacks. [37]

The Reich Economics Ministry helped to organize another transfer company, the International Trade and Investment Agency, or Intria, through which Jews in foreign countries could help German Jews emigrate to Palestine. Almost \$900,000 was eventually channeled through the Intria to German Jews in Palestine. [38] Other European countries eager to encourage Jewish emigration concluded agreements with the Zionists modeled after the Ha'avara. In 1937 Poland authorized the Halifin (Hebrew for “exchange”) transfer company. By late summer 1939, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary and Italy had signed similar arrangements. The outbreak of war in September 1939, however, prevented large-scale implementation of these agreements. [39]

Achievements of Haavara

Between 1933 and 1941, some 60,000 German Jews emigrated to Palestine through the Ha'avara and other German-Zionist arrangements, or about ten percent of Germany’s 1933 Jewish population. (These German Jews made up about 15 percent of Palestine’s 1939 Jewish population.) Some Ha'avara emigrants transferred considerable personal wealth from Germany to Palestine. As Jewish historian Edwin Black has noted: “Many of these people, especially in the late 1930s, were allowed to transfer actual replicas of their homes and factories — indeed rough replicas of their very existence.” [40]

The total amount transferred from Germany to Palestine through the Ha'avara between August 1933 and the end of 1939 was 8.1 million pounds or 139.57 million German marks (then equivalent to more than \$40 million). This amount included 33.9 million German marks (\$13.8 million) provided by the Reichsbank in connection with the Agreement. [41]

Historian Black has estimated that an additional \$70 million may have flowed into Palestine through corollary German commercial agreements and special international banking transactions. The German funds had a major impact on a country as underdeveloped as Palestine was in the 1930s, he pointed out. Several major industrial enterprises were built with the capital from Germany, including the Mekoroth waterworks and the Lodzia textile firm. The influx of Ha'avara goods and capital, concluded Black, “produced an economic explosion in Jewish Palestine” and was “an indispensable factor in the creation of the State of Israel.” [42]

The Ha'avara agreement greatly contributed to Jewish development in Palestine and thus, indirectly, to the foundation of the Israeli state. A January 1939 German Foreign Office circular bulletin reported, with some misgiving, that “the transfer of Jewish property out of Germany [through the Ha'avara agreement] contributed to no small extent to the building of a Jewish state in Palestine.” [43]

Former officials of the Ha'avara company in Palestine confirmed this view in a detailed study of the Transfer Agreement published in 1972: “The economic activity made possible by the influx German capital and the Haavara transfers to the private and public sectors were of greatest importance for the country’s development. Many new industries and commercial enterprises were established in Jewish Palestine, and numerous companies that are enormously important even today in the economy of the State of Israel owe their existence to the Haavara.” [44] Dr. Ludwig Pinner, a Ha'avara company official in Tel Aviv during the 1930s, later commented that the exceptionally competent Ha'avara immigrants “decisively contributed” to the economic, social, cultural and educational development of Palestine’s Jewish community. [45]

The Transfer Agreement was the most far-reaching example of cooperation between Hitler’s Germany and international Zionism. Through this pact, Hitler’s Third Reich did more than any other government during the 1930s to support Jewish development in Palestine.

Zionists Offer a Military Alliance With Hitler

In early January 1941 a small but important Zionist organization submitted a formal proposal to German diplomats in Beirut for a military-political alliance with wartime Germany. The offer was made by the radical underground “Fighters for the Freedom of Israel,” better known as the Lehi or Stern Gang. Its leader, Avraham Stern, had recently broken with the radical nationalist “National Military Organization” (Irgun Zvai Leumi) over the group’s attitude toward Britain, which had effectively banned further Jewish settlement of Palestine. Stern regarded Britain as the main enemy of Zionism.

This remarkable Zionist proposal “for the solution of the Jewish question in Europe and the active participation of the NMO [Lehi] in the war on the side of Germany” is worth quoting at some length: [46]

In their speeches and statements, the leading statesmen of National Socialist Germany have often emphasized that a New Order in Europe requires as a prerequisite a radical solution of the Jewish question by evacuation. ("Jew-free Europe")

The evacuation of the Jewish masses from Europe is a precondition for solving the Jewish question. However, the only way this can be totally achieved is through settlement of these masses in the homeland of the Jewish people, Palestine, and by the establishment of a Jewish state in its historical boundaries.

The goal of the political activity and the years of struggle by the Israel Freedom Movement, the National Military Organization in Palestine (Irgun Zvai Leumi), is to solve the Jewish problem in this way and thus completely liberate the Jewish people forever.

The NMO, which is very familiar with the good will of the German Reich government and its officials towards Zionist activities within Germany and the Zionist emigration program, takes that view that:

1. Common interests can exist between a European New Order based on the German concept and the true national aspirations of the Jewish people as embodied by the NMO.
2. Cooperation is possible between the New Germany and a renewed, folkish-national Jewry [Hebr_ertum].
3. The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis, and bound by treaty with the German Reich, would be in the interest of maintaining and strengthening the future German position of power in the Near East.

On the basis of these considerations, and upon the condition that the German Reich government recognize the national aspirations of the Israel Freedom Movement mentioned above, the NMO in Palestine offers to actively take part in the war on the side of Germany.

This offer by the NMO could include military, political and informational activity within Palestine and, after certain organizational measures, outside as well. Along with this the Jewish men of Europe would be militarily trained and organized in military units under the leadership and command of the NMO. They would take part in combat operations for the purpose of conquering Palestine, should such a front be formed.

The indirect participation of the Israel Freedom Movement in the New Order of Europe, already in the preparatory stage, combined with a positive-radical solution of the European Jewish problem on the basis of the national aspirations of the Jewish people mentioned above, would greatly strengthen the moral foundation of the New Order in the eyes of all humanity.

The cooperation of the Israel Freedom Movement would also be consistent with a recent speech by the German Reich Chancellor, in which Hitler stressed that he would utilize any combination and coalition in order to isolate and defeat England.

There is no record of any German response. Acceptance was very unlikely anyway because by this time German policy was decisively pro-Arab. [47] Remarkably, Stern's group sought to conclude a pact with the Third Reich at a time when stories that Hitler was bent on exterminating Jews were already in wide circulation. Stern apparently either did not believe the stories or he

was willing to collaborate with the mortal enemy of his people to help bring about a Jewish state. [48]

An important Lehi member at the time the group made this offer was Yitzhak Shamir, who later served as Israel's Foreign Minister and then, during much of the 1980s and until June 1992, as Prime Minister. As Lehi operations chief following Stern's death in 1942, Shamir organized numerous acts of terror, including the November 1944 assassination of British Middle East Minister Lord Moyne and the September 1948 slaying of Swedish United Nations mediator Count Bernadotte. Years later, when Shamir was asked about the 1941 offer, he confirmed that he was aware of his organization's proposed alliance with wartime Germany. [49]

Conclusion

In spite of the basic hostility between the Hitler regime and international Jewry, for several years Jewish Zionist and German National Socialist interests coincided. In collaborating with the Zionists for a mutually desirable and humane solution to a complex problem, the Third Reich was willing to make foreign exchange sacrifices, impair relations with Britain and anger the Arabs. Indeed, during the 1930s no nation did more to substantively further Jewish-Zionist goals than Hitler's Germany.

Notes

1. [↗](#) W. Martini, "Hebr_isch unterm Hakenkreuz," *Die Welt* (Hamburg), Jan. 10, 1975. Cited in: Klaus Polken, "The Secret Contacts: Zionism and Nazi Germany, 1933-1941," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring-Summer 1976, p. 65.
2. [↗](#) Quoted in: Ingrid Weckert, *Feuerzeichen: Die "Reichskristallnacht"* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1981), p. 212. See also: Th. Herzl, *The Jewish State* (New York: Herzl Press, 1970), pp. 33, 35, 36, and, Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (New York: Macmillan, 1984), p. 73.
3. [↗](#) Th. Herzl, "Der Kongress," *Welt*, June 4, 1897. Reprinted in: Theodor Herzls *zionistische Schriften* (Leon Kellner, ed.), erster Teil, Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920, p. 190 (and p. 139).
4. [↗](#) Memo of June 21, 1933, in: L. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* (New York: Behrman, 1976), pp. 150-155, and (in part) in: Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1985), p. 42.; On Zionism in Germany before Hitler's assumption of power, see: Donald L. Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany* (Baton Rouge: 1980), pp. 94-95, 126-131, 140-143.; F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (Austin: 1985), pp. 1-15.
5. [↗](#) *Jüdische Rundschau* (Berlin), June 13, 1933. Quoted in: Heinz H_hne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (New York: Ballantine, pb., 1971, 1984), pp. 376-377.
6. [↗](#) Heinz Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (Ballantine, 1971, 1984), p. 376.
7. [↗](#) "Berlin," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York and Jerusalem: 1971), Vol. 5, p. 648. For a look at one aspect of this "vigorous life," see: J.-C. Horak, "Zionist Film Propaganda in Nazi Germany," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1984, pp. 49-58.
8. [↗](#) Francis R. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), pp. 54-55.; Karl A. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois, 1970, 1990), pp. 178-181.

9. [↗](#) Jacob Boas, "A Nazi Travels to Palestine," *History Today* (London), January 1980, pp. 33-38.
10. [↗](#) Facsimile reprint of front page of *Das Schwarze Korps*, May 15, 1935, in: Janusz Piekalkiewicz, *Israel's Langer Arm* (Frankfurt: Goverts, 1975), pp. 66-67. Also quoted in: Heinz Hüne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (Ballantine, 1971, 1984), p. 377. See also: Erich Kern, ed., *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Munich: FZ-Verlag, 1988), p. 184.
11. [↗](#) *Das Schwarze Korps*, Sept. 26, 1935. Quoted in: F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), pp. 56-57.
12. [↗](#) Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), p. 83.
13. [↗](#) F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), p. 60. See also: F. Nicosia, "The Yishuv and the Holocaust," *The Journal of Modern History* (Chicago), Vol. 64, No. 3, Sept. 1992, pp. 533-540.
14. [↗](#) F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (1985), p. 57.
15. [↗](#) *Jüdische Rundschau*, Sept. 17, 1935. Quoted in: Yitzhak Arad, with Y. Gutman and A. Margaliot, eds., *Documents on the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1981), pp. 82-83.
16. [↗](#) *Der Angriff*, Dec. 23, 1935, in: E. Kern, ed., *Verheimlichte Dokumente* (Munich: 1988), p. 148.; F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 56.; L. Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), p. 138.; A. Margaliot, "The Reaction...", *Yad Vashem Studies* (Jerusalem), vol. 12, 1977, pp. 90-91.; On Kareski's remarkable career, see: H. Levine, "A Jewish Collaborator in Nazi Germany," *Central European History* (Atlanta), Sept. 1975, pp. 251-281.
17. [↗](#) "Dr. Wise Urges Jews to Declare Selves as Such," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 13, 1938, p. 12.
18. [↗](#) F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich* (1985), p. 53.
19. [↗](#) Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Bantam, pb., 1976), pp. 253-254.; Max Nussbaum, "Zionism Under Hitler," *Congress Weekly* (New York: American Jewish Congress), Sept. 11, 1942.; F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich* (1985), pp. 58-60, 217.; Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (1984), p. 175.
20. [↗](#) H. Hüne, *The Order of the Death's Head* (Ballantine, pb., 1984), pp. 380-382.; K. Schleunes, *Twisted Road* (1970, 1990), p. 226.; Secret internal SS intelligence report about F. Polkes, June 17, 1937, in: John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 5, pp. 62-64.
21. [↗](#) F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 63-64, 105, 219-220.
22. [↗](#) F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 160.
23. [↗](#) This distinction is also implicit in the "Balfour Declaration" of November 1917, in which the British government expressed support for "a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine, while carefully avoiding any mention of a Jewish state. Referring to the majority Arab population there, the Declaration went on to caution, "...it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish commu-

nities in Palestine.” The complete text of the Declaration is reproduced in facsimile in: Robert John, *Behind the Balfour Declaration* (IHR, 1988), p. 32.

24. [↗](#) F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 121.

25. [↗](#) F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), p. 124.

26. [↗](#) David Yisraeli, *The Palestine Problem in German Politics 1889-1945* (Bar-Ilan University, Israel, 1974), p. 300.; Also in: *Documents on German Foreign Policy, Series D, Vol. 5. Doc. No. 564 or 567.*

27. [↗](#) K. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road* (1970, 1990), p. 209.

28. [↗](#) Circular of January 25, 1939. Nuremberg document 3358-PS. International Military Tribunal, Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), vol. 32, pp. 242-243. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Washington, DC: 1946-1948), vol. 6, pp. 92-93.

29. [↗](#) F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 141-144.; On Hitler’s critical view of Zionism in *Mein Kampf*, see esp. Vol. 1, Chap. 11. Quoted in: Robert Wistrich, *Hitler’s Apocalypse* (London: 1985), p. 155.; See also: F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 26-28.; Hitler told his army adjutant in 1939 and again in 1941 that he had asked the British in 1937 about transferring all of Germany’s Jews to Palestine or Egypt. The British rejected the proposal, he said, because it would cause further disorder. See: H. v. Kotze, ed., *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler* (Stuttgart: 1974), pp. 65, 95.

30. [↗](#) F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 156, 160-164, 166-167.; H. Hüne, *The Order of the Death’s Head* (Ballantine, pb., 1984), pp. 392-394.; Jon and David Kimche, *The Secret Roads* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1955), pp. 39-43. See also: David Yisraeli, “The Third Reich and Palestine,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, October 1971, p. 347.; Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945* (1979), pp. 43, 49, 52, 60.; T. Kelly, “Man who fooled Nazis,” *Washington Times*, April 28, 1987, pp. 1B, 4B. Based on interview with Willy Perl, author of *The Holocaust Conspiracy*.

31. [↗](#) Y. Arad, et al., eds., *Documents On the Holocaust* (1981), p. 155. (The training kibbutz was at Neuendorf, and may have functioned even after March 1942.)

32. [↗](#) On the Agreement in general, see: Werner Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer nach Palaestina* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1972).; David Yisraeli, “The Third Reich and the Transfer Agreement,” *Journal of Contemporary History* (London), No. 2, 1971, pp. 129-148.; “Haavara,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 7, pp. 1012-1013.; F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (Austin: 1985), pp. 44-49.; Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985), pp. 140-141.; *The Transfer Agreement*, by Edwin Black, is detailed and useful. However, it contains numerous inaccuracies and wildly erroneous conclusions. See, for example, the review by Richard S. Levy in *Commentary*, Sept. 1984, pp. 68-71.

33. [↗](#) E. Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (1984), pp. 328, 337.

34. [↗](#) On opposition to the Haavara in official German circles, see: W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer nach Palaestina* (1972), pp. 31-33.; D. Yisraeli, “The Third Reich,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1971, pp. 136-139.; F. Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Ques-*

tion, pp. 126-139.; I. Weckert, *Feuerzeichen* (1981), pp. 226-227.; Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stempel hat gefehlt* (Munich: Droemer Knaur, 1977), pp. 110 ff.

35. [↗](#) W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer* (1972), p. 31. Entire text in: David Yisraeli, *The Palestine Problem in German Politics 1889-1945* (Israel: 1974), pp. 298-300.

36. [↗](#) Interior Ministry internal memo (signed by State Secretary W. Stuckart), Dec. 17, 1937, in: Helmut Eschwege, ed., *Kennzeichen J* (Berlin: 1966), pp. 132-136.

37. [↗](#) W. Feilchenfeld, et al, *Haavara-Transfer* (1972), p. 32.

38. [↗](#) E. Black, *Transfer Agreement*, pp. 376-377.

39. [↗](#) E. Black, *Transfer Agreement* (1984), pp. 376, 378.; F. Nicosia, *Third Reich* (1985), pp. 238-239 (n. 91).

40. [↗](#) E. Black, *Transfer Agreement*, p. 379.; F. Nicosia, *Third Reich*, pp. 212, 255 (n. 66).

41. [↗](#) W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer*, p. 75.; “Haavara,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, (1971), Vol. 7, p. 1013.

42. [↗](#) E. Black, *Transfer Agreement*, pp. 379, 373, 382.

43. [↗](#) Circular of January 25, 1939. Nuremberg document 3358-PS. International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), Vol. 32, pp. 242-243.

44. [↗](#) Werner Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer nach Palaestina* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1972). Quoted in: Ingrid Weckert, *Feuerzeichen* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1981), pp. 222-223.

45. [↗](#) W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer nach Palaestina* (1972). Quoted in: I. Weckert, *Feuerzeichen* (1981), p. 224.

46. [↗](#) Original document in German Ausw_rtiges Amt Archiv, Bestand 47-59, E 224152 and E 234155-58. (Photocopy in author’s possession).; Complete original German text published in: David Yisraeli, *The Palestine Problem in German Politics 1889-1945* (Israel: 1974), pp. 315-317. See also: Klaus Polkhen, “The Secret Contacts,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring-Summer 1976, pp. 78-80.; (At the time this offer was made, Stern’s Lehi group still regarded itself as the true Irgun/NMO.)

47. [↗](#) Arab nationalists opposed Britain, which then dominated much of the Arab world, including Egypt, Iraq and Palestine. Because Britain and Germany were at war, Germany cultivated Arab support. The leader of Palestine’s Arabs, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, worked closely with Germany during the war years. After escaping from Palestine, he spoke to the Arab world over German radio and helped raise Muslim recruits in Bosnia for the Waffen SS.

48. [↗](#) Israel Shahak, “Yitzhak Shamir, Then and Now,” *Middle East Policy* (Washington, DC), Vol. 1, No. 1, (Whole No. 39), 1992, pp. 27-38.; Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Israel’s Fateful Hour* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), pp. 213-214. Quoted in: Andrew J. Hurley, *Israel and the New World Order* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: 1991), pp. 93, 208-209.; Avishai Margalit, “The Violent Life of Yitzhak Shamir,” *New York Review of Books*, May 14, 1992, pp. 18-24.; Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), pp. 266-269.; L. Brenner, *Jews in America Today*

(1986), pp. 175-177.; L. Brenner, "Yitzhak Shamir: On Hitler's Side," Arab Perspectives (League of Arab States), March 1984, pp. 11-13.

49.  Avishai Margalit, "The Violent Life of Yitzhak Shamir," New York Review of Books, May 14, 1992, pp. 18-24.; Lenni Brenner, Zionism in the Age of the Dictators (1983), pp. 266-269.; L. Brenner, Jews in America Today (1986), pp. 175-177.; L. Brenner, "Skeletons in Shamir's Cupboard," Middle East International, Sept. 30, 1983, pp. 15-16.; Sol Stern, L. Rapoport, "Israel's Man of the Shadows," Village Voice (New York), July 3, 1984, pp. 13 ff.

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Review

An old/new perspective on the Nuremberg Process

- *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials*, by Telford Taylor. Alfred A. Knopf and Sons, New York, 1992. Hardcover. 703 pages. Photographs. Bibliography. Notes. Index. \$35.00. ISBN: 0-394-58355-8.

Reviewed by Andrew Gray

“All in all, the members of the war crimes community lived fairly well, and the Americans, who were paid more than the others, very well.” The war crimes community! An ear for irony is not among the virtues of this author, whose virtually boundless self-esteem and presumption of moral superiority have survived the intervening half-century undiminished. “Franconian Bavaria is a splendid place for rubbernecking, at which I am very good, and I made the most of my opportunities.” Easy to believe, and when these pleasures palled, “Two-day or longer holidays could be spent in the Bavarian and Austrian alps. The Army requisitioned hotels and villages for R and R in such resorts as Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Berchtesgaden and Salzburg, each of which I was able to enjoy during the 1945-46 winter.” And villages.

It was such a romp. “Visits to Faber castle were enjoyable. The army commandant, Major Ernest Dean, had formed a small female chorus of German waitresses with lovely voices who sang German folk songs and, as comic relief, heavily accented version of American pop songs; a general favorite was ‘Mairzy Doats’.” One of the Russian interpreters from the distaff side was called “the passionate haystack.”

The gossip in this memoir makes it worth perusing. His comments about the defendants — and their counsel — are neither original nor especially penetrating, but the author is excellent in depicting the vanities and vagaries of his superiors within the American “war crimes community.” Ex-Attorney General Francis Biddle and General “Wild Bill” Donovan are both the subjects of relatively subtle send-ups, and the chief prosecutor himself, “Mr. Justice” Jackson, emerges from these pages as remarkably thick-fingered. His drubbing at the hands of Hermann Goring in the first cross-examination is a dramatic high point of the book, and Telford Taylor does not try to minimize it.

At the heart of the book is a drastic dichotomy that will nonetheless be detectable only by those who have given at least some attention to the quality of the evidence brought against the defendants. While the description of the circumstances and judicial mechanics of the trials themselves represent the fruits of decades of reflection on Telford Taylor’s part, no such reflection is cast upon the evidence itself. In this respect, the text constitutes a time capsule from the 1940s — as if no accretions of historical knowledge, or no modifications or corrective of the evidence had meanwhile taken place. Thus, the author refers frequently to the “Malmedy massacre” without

the slightest hint that the subsequent trial (the second one) resulted in virtual acquittal of the accused; and to Oradour without any reference to the Bordeaux trial of 1950 that brought to light the mitigating circumstance in this disaster. Typically, Taylor quotes at length from the affidavits of Hermann Grabe concerning murders allegedly committed by SS units (in cooperation with Ukrainian militiamen) in the autumn of 1942, as if this text constituted in itself sufficient proof of every last gruesome detail of the accusations.

Amid this concatenation of coached testimony, suborned witnesses, doctored papers and confessions obtained under duress (to put it mildly), Telford Taylor and fellow Americans in the “war crimes community” proceeded under the pretense that they were upholding the highest standards of the legal profession. The Soviet members were more honest — among themselves at least. No doubt they did not wish to spoil the garden parties in Erlenstegen.

The pretense to moral superiority is equivalent in its way to racism at its most extreme. It is a categorical and pervasive claim — and time and the onset of old age have done little to modify it in the author. Is it a case of arrested development? Or is it the effect of the taboo on serious debate on the quality of this evidence and its reasonable interpretation? Here is the author, quoting himself at length in his arraignment of the entire German General Staff, delivered to the Tribunal on August 30, 1946:

The truth is spread on the record before us, and all we have to do is state the truth plainly. The German militarists joined forces with Hitler and with him created the Third Reich; with him they deliberately made a world in which war was all that mattered; with him they plunged the world into war, and spread terror and devastation over the continent of Europe. They dealt a blow at all mankind; a blow so savage and foul that the conscience of the world will reel for years to come. This was not war; it was crime. This was not soldiering; it was savagery. We cannot here make history over again, but we can see that it is written true.

The ghost of Goebbels smiles at this — maybe even a bit enviously.

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Review

Reference Work on the Third Reich is Riddled with Errors

- *The Third Reich Almanac*, by James Taylor and Warren Shaw. New York: World Almanac, 1988. Hardcover. 395 pages. Photographs. Maps. Bibliography. \$24.95. ISBN: 0-88687-363-0.

Reviewed by Mark Weber and Greg Raven

In no field of twentieth-century history has there been greater distortion and polemics than with regard to the Third Reich, and especially Germany's wartime treatment of the Jews. While Hollywood and government officials bear much of the blame for this legacy of organized misinformation, equally culpable have been the academic and publishing establishments, which have done little to correct the propagandistic version of history established by the victorious Allied powers during and following the Second World War.

The Third Reich Almanac (originally published in Britain as *Dictionary of the Third Reich*) continues this lamentable tradition of historical distortion. According to the dust jacket, this is "the first of its kind ever published." Yet several quite similar works (such as Louis Snyder's *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*) have been published over the years. Is the claim by the Almanac's publisher perhaps meant ironically, knowing that this book's only claim to uniqueness is based not on its format but rather on the slovenliness with which it presents information?

Canards

To their credit, the authors do take aim at a few historical canards. They concede, for example, that the "Lebensborn" maternity homes "were not, as has been suggested, a chain of SS brothels." The Allied claim of sole German guilt for the outbreak of the First World War is a "lie," and the authors note that a notorious phrase often attributed to Hermann G_{ring}, "When I hear anyone talk of culture, I reach for my revolver," is actually an actor's line from a play.

The authors are not as forthcoming about the 1933 burning of the German Reichstag. They assert that "there is strong but inconclusive evidence that an SA detachment was responsible," and that "the debate is still going on" over who set the fire. In fact — and as serious historians of the subject now acknowledge — the Reichstag was single-handedly set ablaze by a young Dutchman, Marinus van der Lubbe. Calling him "a Dutch bricklayer, associated with anarchists," the Almanac's authors fail to mention that the arsonist was a member of a Communist organization.

The Almanac's entry about Leon Degrelle is rather typical. It makes no mention at all of the Belgian leader's wartime service as an SS commander (or his decorations for bravery during combat on the Eastern Front). But it does report: "In 1945, the Belgian government sought to bring De-

grelle to trial, but by then he had escaped to Spain and, later, to the Argentine, where he successfully avoided all attempts at extradition.” In fact, Degrelle has lived in Spain continuously since 1945, when he arrived after a daring flight across Europe.

The Almanac mentions the purported record of private conversations with Hitler by one-time NS party official Hermann Rauschning. (This work, a best-seller in English and French, was submitted as supposedly damning evidence at Nuremberg by the Allies.) Although this often quoted source was thoroughly exposed as a complete fabrication years ago, the Almanac’s authors concede merely that Rauschning’s “book Conversations with Hitler must read with reservations since his real contact with Hitler was certainly less than he wished to imply.”

Nearly two full pages are devoted to the “Hossbach Memorandum,” a supposedly critical document that was cited by the Allies at Nuremberg as proof of Hitler’s aggressive war aims. The spurious character of this “document” has long been authoritatively established by historians such as A.J.P. Taylor.

The Almanac wrongly asserts that Bulgarian King Boris III died in Germany. (He died in his homeland.)

The entry for Konstantin Hierl completely ignores this man’s important role in Germany after Hitler took power in 1933. The reader will not learn that as “Reich Labor Leader,” Hierl headed the Reich Labor Service, or that he was named (in 1943) as Minister of Labor.

Oswald Spengler’s writings, the Almanac claims, were “suppressed” by the Hitler government, and he was “banned from writing.” Not true. Collections of the historian’s writings were published by major German firms in 1937 and 1941.

Reflecting the Almanac’s lack of balance, there is a separate entry for the Bayerische Kurier, the relatively unimportant paper of the small Bavarian People’s Party, but none for Das Reich, Germany’s best-written and best-edited wartime weekly paper.

Just about everyone who was active in the anti-Hitler opposition merits a separate entry, although quite prominent Third Reich personalities — such as film director Veit Harlan or radio commentator (and Nuremberg trial co-defendant) Hans Fritzsche — are simply ignored.

The Third Reich Almanac contains not a word of criticism of the Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, which the Allies conducted on the basis of a blatantly hypocritical double standard. Nor is there any mention of the outrageous (and illegal) postwar Allied treatment (including torture) of German leaders such as Rudolf Hess.

'Final Solution'

While this work’s treatment of Germany’s wartime “Final Solution” policy is predictably riddled with errors, it is surprising that what the authors write on this subject is not even consistent with the current “official” version of the extermination story. For example, Theresienstadt — the wartime ghetto-camp in Bohemia — is cited here as an “extermination” center, an assertion that no reputable historian would accept.

The complete text of the entry for “Birkenau” reads as follows:

Part of the much larger Auschwitz camp, Birkenau had a railway siding disguised as a complete railway station. It began operations in 1941 as a hastily constructed exter-

mination camp for Russian prisoners and continued in use as a sub-camp of Auschwitz.

At another place it is asserted that Birkenau was “ordered by Himmler specifically as a killing centre for Russian officers.”

While the Nuremberg Tribunal “established” that no fewer than one and half million people had been killed at the wartime German camp of Lublin (Majdanek), the Almanac’s authors maintain (without citing any evidence) that 200,000 people were put to death there.

The now thoroughly discredited “confession” and Nuremberg testimony of Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss is cited as proof that he organized the extermination there of up to three million people. Even Höss’ citation of “Wolzek” as an extermination camp is uncritically accepted by the authors. (In fact, no camp under this name ever existed.)

The 1943 “Korherr Report” is said to have provided “the first total figures of the extermination of the Jews.” It does nothing of the kind, as a reading of the original text readily discloses, and as the report’s author, Richard Korherr, later insisted.

Misspellings

Much of the weakness of *The Third Reich Almanac* seems due to the authors’ utter lack of familiarity with relevant original sources, or even of appropriate secondary works. However, this cannot excuse the work’s numerous misspellings of proper names, such as “Marius” van der Lubbe. Similarly, Rabbi Leo Baeck is wrongly rendered as “B_ck,” and Joseph Goebbels is consistently given as “Göbbels.”

In spite of its rather attractive appearance, this is a miserable work. (For those who read German, a similar but vastly superior 510-page reference work is recommended: *Lexikon: Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by W. Schütz.) Loaded with errors of fact, omission and interpretation, The Third Reich Almanac is not worthy of any self-respecting publisher.

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The 'Great Emancipator' and the Issue of Race

Abraham Lincoln's Program of Black Resettlement

Robert Morgan

Many Americans think of Abraham Lincoln, above all, as the president who freed the slaves. Immortalized as the "Great Emancipator," he is widely regarded as a champion of black freedom who supported social equality of the races, and who fought the American Civil War (1861-1865) to free the slaves.

While it is true that Lincoln regarded slavery as an evil and harmful institution, it also true, as this paper will show, that he shared the conviction of most Americans of his time, and of many prominent statesmen before and after him, that blacks could not be assimilated into white society. He rejected the notion of social equality of the races, and held to the view that blacks should be resettled abroad. As President, he supported projects to remove blacks from the United States.

Early Experiences

In 1837, at the age of 28, the self-educated Lincoln was admitted to practice law in Illinois. In at least one case, which received considerable attention at the time, he represented a slave-owner. Robert Matson, Lincoln's client, each year brought a crew of slaves from his plantation in Kentucky to a farm he owned in Illinois for seasonal work. State law permitted this, provided that the slaves did not remain in Illinois continuously for a year. In 1847, Matson brought to the farm his favorite mulatto slave, Jane Bryant (wife of his free, black overseer there), and her four children. A dispute developed between Jane Bryant and Matson's white housekeeper, who threatened to have Jane and her children returned to slavery in the South. With the help of local abolitionists, the Bryants fled. They were apprehended, and, in an affidavit sworn out before a justice of the peace, Matson claimed them as his property. Lacking the required certificates of freedom, Bryant and the children were confined to local county jail as the case was argued in court. Lincoln lost the case, and Bryant and her children were declared free. They were later resettled in Liberia. ^[1]

In 1842 Lincoln married Mary Todd, who came from one of Kentucky's most prominent slaveholding families. ^[2] While serving as an elected representative in the Illinois legislature, he persuaded his fellow Whigs to support Zachary Taylor, a slave owner, in his successful 1848 bid for the Presidency. ^[3] Lincoln was also a strong supporter of the Illinois law that forbid marriage between whites and blacks. ^[4]

"If all earthly power were given me," said Lincoln in a speech delivered in Peoria, Illinois, on October 16, 1854, "I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution [of slavery]. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia, to their own native land." After acknowledging that this plan's "sudden execution is impossible," he asked whether freed

blacks should be made “politically and socially our equals?” “My own feelings will not admit of this,” he said, “and [even] if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not ... We can not, then, make them equals.” [5]

One of Lincoln’s most representative public statements on the question of racial relations was given in a speech at Springfield, Illinois, on June 26, 1857. [6] In this address, he explained why he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which would have admitted Kansas into the Union as a slave state:

There is a natural disgust in the minds of nearly all white people to the idea of indiscriminate amalgamation of the white and black races ... A separation of the races is the only perfect preventive of amalgamation, but as an immediate separation is impossible, the next best thing is to keep them apart where they are not already together. If white and black people never get together in Kansas, they will never mix blood in Kansas ...

Racial separation, Lincoln went on to say, “must be effected by colonization” of the country’s blacks to a foreign land. “The enterprise is a difficult one,” he acknowledged,

but “where there is a will there is a way,” and what colonization needs most is a hearty will. Will springs from the two elements of moral sense and self-interest. Let us be brought to believe it is morally right, and, at the same time, favorable to, or, at least, not against, our interest, to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be.

To affirm the humanity of blacks, Lincoln continued, was more likely to strengthen public sentiment on behalf of colonization than the Democrats’ efforts to “crush all sympathy for him, and cultivate and excite hatred and disgust against him ...” Resettlement (“colonization”) would not succeed, Lincoln seemed to argue, unless accompanied by humanitarian concern for blacks, and some respect for their rights and abilities. By apparently denying the black person’s humanity, supporters of slavery were laying the groundwork for “the indefinite outspreading of his bondage.” The Republican program of restricting slavery to where it presently existed, he said, had the long-range benefit of denying to slave holders an opportunity to sell their surplus bondsmen at high prices in new slave territories, and thus encouraged them to support a process of gradual emancipation involving resettlement of the excess outside of the country.

Earlier Resettlement Plans

The view that America’s apparently intractable racial problem should be solved by removing blacks from this country and resettling them elsewhere — “colonization” or “repatriation” — was not a new one. As early as 1714 a New Jersey man proposed sending blacks to Africa. In 1777 a Virginia legislature committee, headed by future President Thomas Jefferson (himself a major slave owner), proposed a plan of gradual emancipation and resettlement of the state’s slaves. In 1815, an enterprising free black from Massachusetts named Paul Cuffe transported, at his own expense, 38 free blacks to West Africa. His undertaking showed that at least some free blacks were eager to resettle in a country of their own, and suggested what might be possible with public and even government support. [7]

In December 1816, a group of distinguished Americans met in Washington, DC, to establish an organization to promote the cause of black resettlement. The “American Colonization Society” soon won backing from some of the young nation’s most prominent citizens. Henry Clay, Francis

Scott Key, John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, Bushrod Washington, Charles Carroll, Millard Fillmore, John Marshall, Roger B. Taney, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, and Abraham Lincoln were members. Clay presided at the group's first meeting. [8]

Measures to resettle blacks in Africa were soon undertaken. Society member Charles Fenton Mercer played an important role in getting Congress to pass the Anti-Slave Trading Act of March 1819, which appropriated \$100,000 to transport blacks to Africa. In enforcing the Act, Mercer suggested to President James Monroe that if blacks were simply returned to the coast of Africa and released, they would probably be re-enslaved, and possibly some returned to the United States. Accordingly, and in cooperation with the Society, Monroe sent agents to acquire territory on Africa's West coast — a step that led to the founding of the country now known as Liberia. Its capital city was named Monrovia in honor of the American President. [9]

With crucial Society backing, black settlers began arriving from the United States in 1822. While only free blacks were at first brought over, after 1827, slaves were freed expressly for the purpose of transporting them to Liberia. In 1847, black settlers declared Liberia an independent republic, with an American-style flag and constitution. [10]

By 1832 the legislatures of more than a dozen states (at that time there were only 24), had given official approval to the Society, including at least three slave-holding states. [11] Indiana's legislature, for example, passed the following joint resolution on January 16, 1850: [12]

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana: That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they are hereby requested, in the name of the State of Indiana, to call for a change of national policy on the subject of the African Slave Trade, and that they require a settlement of the coast of Africa with colored men from the United States, and procure such changes in our relations with England as will permit us to transport colored men from this country to Africa, with whom to effect said settlement.

In January 1858, Missouri Congressman Francis P. Blair, Jr., introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives to set up a committee

to inquire into the expediency of providing for the acquisition of territory either in the Central or South American states, to be colonized with colored persons from the United States who are now free, or who may hereafter become free, and who may be willing to settle in such territory as a dependency of the United States, with ample guarantees of their personal and political rights.

Blair, quoting Thomas Jefferson, stated that blacks could never be accepted as the equals of whites, and, consequently, urged support for a dual policy of emancipation and deportation, similar to Spain's expulsion of the Moors. Blair went on to argue that the territory acquired for the purpose would also serve as a bulwark against any further encroachment by England in the Central and South American regions. [13]

Lincoln's Support for Resettlement

Lincoln's ideological mentor was Henry Clay, the eminent American scholar, diplomat, and statesman. Because of his skill in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, Clay won national acclaim as the "Great Compromiser" and the "Great Pacificator." A slave owner who had

humane regard for blacks, he was prominent in the campaign to resettle free blacks outside of the United States, and served as president of the American Colonization Society. Lincoln joined Clay's embryonic Whig party during the 1830s. In an address given in 1858, Lincoln described Clay as "my beau ideal of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all of my humble life." [14]

The depth of Lincoln's devotion to Clay and his ideals was expressed in a moving eulogy delivered in July 1852 in Springfield, Illinois. After praising Clay's lifelong devotion to the cause of black resettlement, Lincoln quoted approvingly from a speech given by Clay in 1827: "There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children," adding that if Africa offered no refuge, blacks could be sent to another tropical land. Lincoln concluded: [15]

If as the friends of colonization hope, the present and coming generations of our countrymen shall by any means succeed in freeing our land from the dangerous presence of slavery, and, at the same time, in restoring a captive people to their long-lost fatherland, with bright prospects for the future, and this too, so gradually, that neither races nor individuals shall have suffered by the change, it will indeed be a glorious consummation.

In January 1855, Lincoln addressed a meeting of the Illinois branch of the Colonization Society. The surviving outline of his speech suggests that it consisted largely of a well-informed and sympathetic account of the history of the resettlement campaign. [16]

In supporting "colonization" of the blacks, a plan that might be regarded as a "final solution" to the nation's race question, Lincoln was upholding the views of some of America's most respected figures.

Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858

In 1858 Lincoln was nominated by the newly-formed Republican Party to challenge Steven Douglas, a Democrat, for his Illinois seat in the U.S. Senate. During the campaign, "Little Giant" Douglas focused on the emotion-charged issue of race relations. He accused Lincoln, and Republicans in general, of advocating the political and social equality of the white and black races, and of thereby promoting racial amalgamation. Lincoln responded by strenuously denying the charge, and by arguing that because slavery was the chief cause of miscegenation in the United States, restricting its further spread into the western territories and new states would, in fact, reduce the possibility of race mixing. Lincoln thus came close to urging support for his party because it best represented white people's interests.

Between late August and mid-October, 1858, Lincoln and Douglas travelled together around the state to confront each other in seven historic debates. On August 21, before a crowd of 10,000 at Ottawa, Lincoln declared: [17]

I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

He continued:

I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as

Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position.

Many people accepted the rumors spread by Douglas supporters that Lincoln favored social equality of the races. Before the start of the September 18 debate at Charleston, Illinois, an elderly man approached Lincoln in a hotel and asked him if the stories were true. Recounting the encounter later before a crowd of 15,000, Lincoln declared: [18]

I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people.

He continued:

I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

Candidate for President

Though he failed in his bid for the Senate seat, the Lincoln-Douglas debates thrust “Honest Abe” into the national spotlight. [19] In 1860, the Republican Party passed over prominent abolitionists such as William H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase to nominate Lincoln as its presidential candidate.

In those days, presidential contenders did not make public speeches after their nomination. In the most widely reprinted of his pre-nomination speeches, delivered at Cooper Union in New York City on February 27, 1860, Lincoln expressed his agreement with the leaders of the infant American republic that slavery is “an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected” where it already exists. “This is all Republicans ask — all Republicans desire — in relation to slavery,” he emphasized, underscoring the words in his prepared text. After stating that any emancipation should be gradual and carried out in conjunction with a program of scheduled deportation, he went on to cite Thomas Jefferson: [20]

In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, “It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation, and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and in their places be, *pari passu* [on an equal basis], filled up by free white laborers.”

On the critical question of slavery, the Republican party platform was not altogether clear. Like most documents of its kind, it included sections designed to appeal to a wide variety of voters. One plank, meant to appease radicals and abolitionists, quoted the “all men are created equal” passage of the Declaration of Independence, though without directly mentioning either the Declaration or non-whites. Another section, designed to attract conservative voters, recognized the right of each state to conduct “its own domestic institutions” as it pleased — “domestic institutions” being an euphemism for slavery. Still another, somewhat equivocally worded, plank, upheld the right and duty of Congress to legislate slavery in the territories “when necessary.” [21]

On election night, November 7, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was the choice of 39 percent of the voters, with no support from the Deep South. The remainder had cast ballots either for Stephen A. Douglas of the Northern Democratic Party, John C. Breckinridge of the Southern Democratic Party, or John Bell of the Constitutional Union Party. Still, Lincoln won a decisive majority in the electoral college. [22]

By election day, six southern Governors and virtually every Senator and Representative from the seven states of the lower South had gone on record as favoring secession if Lincoln were elected. [23] In December, Congress met in a final attempt to reach a compromise on the slavery question. Senator John H. Crittenden of Kentucky proposed an amendment to the Constitution that would guarantee the institution of slavery against federal interference in those places where it was already established. [24] A more controversial provision would extend the old Missouri compromise line to the west coast, thereby permitting slavery in the southwest territories.

On December 20, the day South Carolina voted to secede from the Union, Lincoln told a major Republican party figure, Thurlow Weed, that he had no qualms about endorsing the Crittenden amendment if it would restrict slavery to the states where it was already established, and that Congress should recommend to the Northern states that they repeal their “personal liberty” laws that hampered the return of fugitive slaves. However, Lincoln said, he would not support any proposal to extend slavery into the western territories. The Crittenden Amendment failed. [25]

Southern Fears

Less than one third of the white families in the South had any direct connection with slavery, either as owners or as persons who hired slave labor from others. Moreover, fewer than 2,300 of the one and a half million white families in the South owned 50 or more slaves, and could therefore be regarded as slave-holding magnates. [26]

The vast majority of Southerners thus had no vested interest in retaining or extending slavery. But incitement by Northern abolitionists, where fewer than 500,000 blacks lived, provoked fears in the South, where the black population was concentrated, of a violent black uprising against whites. (In South Carolina, the majority of the population was black.) Concerns that the writings and speeches of white radicals might incite blacks to anti-white rampage, rape and murder were not entirely groundless. Southerners were mindful of the black riots in New York City of 1712 and 1741, the French experience in Haiti (where insurgent blacks had driven out or massacred almost the entire white population), and the bungled effort by religious fanatic John Brown in 1859 to organize an uprising of black slaves.

What worried Southerners most about the prospect of an end to slavery was fear of what the newly-freed blacks might do. Southern dread of Lincoln was inflamed by the region’s newspapers and slave-owning politicians, who portrayed the President-elect as a pawn of radical abolitionists. Much was made of Lincoln’s widely-quoted words from a June 1858 speech: [27]

A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free ... I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

During the critical four-month period between election and inauguration days, Southern Unionists strongly urged the President-elect to issue a definitive public statement on the slavery issue that would calm rapidly-growing Southern fears. Mindful of the way that newspapers in the slave-holding states had either ignored or twisted his earlier public statements on this issue, Lin-

coln chose to express himself cautiously. To the editor of the Missouri Republican, for example, he wrote: [28]

I could say nothing which I have not already said, and which is in print and accessible to the public.

Please pardon me for suggesting that if the papers like yours, which heretofore have persistently garbled and misrepresented what I have said, will now fully and fairly place it before their readers, there can be no further misunderstanding. I beg you to believe me sincere, when ... I urge it as the true cure for real uneasiness in the country ...

The Republican newspapers now, and for some time past, are and have been republishing copious extracts from my many published speeches, which would at once reach the whole public if your class of papers would also publish them. I am not at liberty to shift my ground — that is out of the question. If I thought a repetition would do any good, I would make it. But my judgment is it would do positive harm. The secessionists, per se believing they had alarmed me, would clamor all the louder.

Lincoln also addressed the decisive issue in correspondence with Alexander H. Stephens, who would soon become Vice President of the Confederacy. Stephens was an old and much admired acquaintance of Lincoln's, a one-time fellow Whig and Congressman. Having seen reports of a pro-Union speech in Georgia by Stephens, Lincoln wrote to express his thanks. Stephens responded with a request that the President-elect strike a blow on behalf of Southern Unionists by clearly expressing his views. In a private letter of December 22, 1860, Lincoln replied: [29]

Do the people of the south really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, directly or indirectly, interfere with their slaves, or with them, about their slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, there is no cause for such fears.

Lincoln went on to sum up the issue as he saw it: “You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That I suppose is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us.”

To Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, who had passed along a report of a rabid anti-Lincoln harangue in the Mississippi legislature, Lincoln wrote that “madman” there had quite misrepresented his views. He stated he was not “pledged to the ultimate extinction of slavery,” and that he did not “hold the black man to be the equal of the white.” [30]

When a Mississippian appeared at a reception for Lincoln in the Illinois statehouse, and boldly announced he was a secessionist, Lincoln responded by saying that he was opposed to any interference with slavery where it existed. He gave the same sort of general assurance to a number of callers and correspondents. He also wrote a few anonymous editorials for the Illinois State Journal, the Republican newspaper of Springfield. Additionally, he composed a few lines for a speech delivered by Senator Trumbull at the Republican victory celebration in Springfield on November 20. In those lines Lincoln pledged that “each and all” of the states would be “left in as complete control of their own affairs” as ever. [31]

Inauguration

Abraham Lincoln took the oath as President on March 4, 1861. Among the first words of his Inaugural Address was a pledge (repeating words from an August 1858 speech) intended to placate Southern apprehensions: “I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.” Referring to the proposed Crittenden amendment, which would make explicit constitutional protection of slavery where it already existed, he said, “I have no objection to its being made express, and irrevocable.” He also promised to support legislation for the capture and return of runaway slaves. [32]

At the same time, though, Lincoln emphasized that “no state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union.” With regard to those states that already proclaimed their secession from the Union, he said:

I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or, in some authoritative manner, direct the contrary.

In his masterful multi-volume study of the background and course of the Civil War, American historian Allan Nevins attempted to identify the conflict’s principle underlying cause: [33]

The main root of the conflict (and there were minor roots) was the problem of slavery with its complementary problem of race-adjustment; the main source of the tragedy was the refusal of either section to face these conjoined problems squarely and pay the heavy costs of a peaceful settlement. Had it not been for the difference in race, the slavery issue would have presented no great difficulties. But as the racial gulf existed, the South inarticulately but clearly perceived that elimination of this issue would still leave it the terrible problem of the Negro ...

A heavy responsibility for the failure of America in this period rests with this Southern leadership, which lacked imagination, ability, and courage. But the North was by no means without its full share, for the North equally refused to give a constructive examination to the central question of slavery as linked with race adjustment. This was because of two principal reasons. Most abolitionists and many other sentimental-minded Northerners simply denied that the problem existed. Regarding all Negroes as white men with dark skins, whom a few years of schooling would bring abreast of the dominant race, they thought that no difficult adjustment was required. A much more numerous body of Northerners would have granted that a great and terrible task of race adjustment existed — but they were reluctant to help shoulder any part of it ... Indiana, Illinois, and even Kansas were unwilling to take a single additional person of color.

Outbreak of War

Dramatic events were swiftly creating enormous problems for the new President, who had greatly underestimated the depth of secessionist feeling in the South. [34] In January and early February, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas followed South Carolina’s example and left the Union. Florida troops fired on the federal stronghold of Fort Pickens. When South Carolina seceded, she claimed as rightfully hers all U.S. government property within her borders, including federal forts and arsenals. While announcing a willingness to pay the federal govern-

ment for at least a share of the cost of improvements it had made, South Carolina insisted that these properties belonged to the state, and would no longer tolerate the presence of a “foreign” power upon her soil. The other newly-seceding states took the same position. [35]

On the day Lincoln took the presidential oath, the federal government still controlled four forts inside the new Confederacy. In Florida there were Forts Taylor, Jefferson, and Pickens, the first two of which seemed secure, while in South Carolina there was Fort Sumter, which was almost entirely encircled by hostile forces. [36] While historians do not agree whether Lincoln deliberately sought to provoke an attack by his decision to re-supply the Fort, it is known that on April 9, while the bombardment of the stronghold was underway, the new President received a delegation of Virginia Unionists at the White House. Lincoln reminded them of his inaugural pledge that there would be “no invasion — not using force,” beyond what was necessary to hold federal government sites and to collect customs duties. “But if, as now appeared to be true, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess, if I can, like places which have been seized before the Government was devolved upon me.” [37]

In the aftermath of the Confederate seizure of Fort Sumter in mid-April, Lincoln called upon the states to provide 75,000 soldiers to put down the rebellion. Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina responded by leaving the Union and joining the newly-formed “Confederate States of America.” This increased the size of the Confederacy by a third, and almost doubled its population and economic resources. Remaining with the Union, though, were four slave-holding border states — Delaware, Missouri, Maryland and Kentucky — and, predictably, the slave-holding District of Columbia.

The American Civil War of 1861-1865 — or the “War Between the States,” as many Southerners call it — eventually claimed the lives of 360,000 in the Union forces, and an estimated 258,000 among the Confederates, in addition to hundreds of thousands of maimed and wounded. It was by far the most destructive war in American history.

Even after fighting began in earnest, Lincoln stuck to his long-held position on the slavery issue by countermanning orders by Union generals to free slaves. In July 1861, General John C. Frémont — the Republican party’s unsuccessful 1856 Presidential candidate — declared martial law in Missouri, and announced that all slaves of owners in the state who opposed the Union were free. President Lincoln immediately canceled the order. Because the Southern states no longer sent representatives to Washington, abolitionists and radical Republicans wielded exceptional power in Congress, which responded to Lincoln’s cancellation of Frémont’s order by passing, on August 6, 1861, the (first) Confiscation Act. It provided that any property, including slaves, used with the owner’s consent in aiding and abetting insurrection against the United States, was the lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found. [38]

In May 1862, Union General David Hunter issued an order declaring all slaves in Georgia, Florida and South Carolina to be free. Lincoln promptly revoked the order. An irate Congress responded by passing, in July, a second Confiscation Act that declared “forever free” all slaves whose owners were in rebellion, whether or not the slaves were used for military purposes. Lincoln refused to sign the Act until it was amended, stating he thought it an unconditional bill of attainder. Although he did not veto the amended law, Lincoln expressed his dissatisfaction with it. Furthermore, he did not faithfully enforce either of the Confiscation Acts. [39]

Deaths in Union 'Contraband Camps'

Slaves seized under the Confiscation Acts, as well as runaway slaves who turned themselves in to Union forces, were held in so-called “contraband” camps. In his message to the Confederate Congress in the fall of 1863, President Jefferson Davis sharply criticized Union treatment of these blacks. After describing the starvation and suffering in these camps, he said: “There is little hazard in predicting that in all localities where the enemy have a temporary foothold, the Negroes, who under our care increased sixfold ... will have been reduced by mortality during the war to no more than one-half their previous number.” However exaggerated Davis’ words may have been, it remains a grim fact that many blacks lost their lives in these internment camps, and considerably more suffered terribly as victims of hunger, exposure and neglect. In 1864, one Union officer called the death rate in these camps “frightful,” and said that “most competent judges place it as no less than twenty-five percent in the last two years.” [40]

The Chiriqui Resettlement Plan

Even before he took office, Lincoln was pleased to note widespread public support for “colonization” of the country’s blacks. [41] “In 1861-1862, there was widespread support among conservative Republicans and Democrats for the colonization abroad of Negroes emancipated by the war,” historian James M. McPherson has noted. At the same time, free blacks in parts of the North were circulating a petition asking Congress to purchase a tract of land in Central America as a site for their resettlement. [42]

In spite of the pressing demands imposed by the war, Lincoln soon took time to implement his long-standing plan for resettling blacks outside the United States.

Ambrose W. Thompson, a Philadelphian who had grown rich in coastal shipping, provided the new president with what seemed to be a good opportunity. Thompson had obtained control of several hundred thousand acres in the Chiriqui region of what is now Panama, and had formed the “Chiriqui Improvement Company.” He proposed transporting liberated blacks from the United States to the Central American region, where they would mine the coal that was supposedly there in abundance. This coal would be sold to the U.S. Navy, with the resulting profits used to sustain the black colony, including development of plantations of cotton, sugar, coffee, and rice. The Chiriqui project would also help to extend U.S. commercial dominance over tropical America. [43]

Negotiations to realize the plan began in May 1861, and on August 8, Thompson made a formal proposal to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Wells to deliver coal from Chiriqui at one-half the price the government was then paying. Meanwhile, Lincoln had referred the proposal to his brother-in-law, Ninian W. Edwards, who, on August 9, 1861, enthusiastically endorsed the proposed contract. [44]

Appointing a commission to investigate the Thompson proposal, Lincoln referred its findings to Francis P. Blair, Sr. Endorsing a government contract with the Chiriqui Improvement Company even more strongly than Edwards had, the senior Blair believed the main purpose of such a contract should be to utilize the area controlled by Thompson to “solve” the black question. He repeated Jefferson’s view that blacks would ultimately have to be deported from the United States, reviewed Lincoln’s own endorsement of resettlement, and discussed the activities of his son, Missouri Representative Francis P. Blair, Jr., on behalf of deportation. Blair concluded his lengthy report with a recommendation that Henry T. Blow, U.S. Minister to Venezuela, be sent to Chiriqui to make an examination for the government. [45]

Lincoln ordered his Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, to release Thompson from his military duties so he could escort Blow to Central America [46]

for the purpose of reconnaissance of, and a report upon the lands, and harbors of the Isthmus of Chiriqui; the fitness of the lands to the colonization of the Negro race; the practicability of connecting the said harbors by a railroad; and the works which will be necessary for the Chiriqui Company to erect to protect the colonists as they may arrive, as well as for the protection and defense of the harbors at the termini of said road.

Cameron was to provide Thompson with the necessary equipment and assistants. The mission was to be carried out under sealed orders with every precaution for secrecy, [47] because Lincoln did not have legal authority to undertake such an expedition.

While Blow was investigating the Chiriqui area, Lincoln called Delaware Congressman George Fisher to the White House in November 1861 to discuss compensated emancipation of the slaves in that small state — where the 1860 census had enumerated only 507 slave-holders, owning fewer than 1,800 slaves. The President asked Fisher to determine whether the Delaware legislature could be persuaded to free slaves in the state if the government compensated the owners for them. Once the plan proved feasible in Delaware, the President hoped, he might be able to persuade the other border states and, eventually, even the secessionist states, to adopt it. With assistance from Lincoln, Fisher drew up a bill to be presented to the state legislature when it met in late December. It provided that when the federal government had appropriated money to pay an average of \$500 for each slave, emancipation would go into effect. As soon as it was made public, though, an acrimonious debate broke out, with party rancor and pro-slavery sentiment combining to defeat the proposed legislation. [48]

'Absolute Necessity'

In his first annual message to Congress on December 3, 1861, President Lincoln proposed that persons liberated by the fighting should be deemed free and

that, in any event, steps be taken for colonizing [them] ... at some place, or places, in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.

This effort, Lincoln recognized, “may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition.” Some form of resettlement, he said, amounts to an “absolute necessity.” [49]

Growing Clamor for Emancipation

Lincoln’s faithful enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law not only filled Washington, DC, jails with runaway slaves waiting to be claimed by their owners, but also enraged many who loathed slavery. In an effort to appease his party’s abolitionist faction, Lincoln urged that the United States formally recognize the black republics of Haiti and Liberia, a proposal that Congress accepted. [50]

Lincoln realized that the growing clamor to abolish slavery threatened to seriously jeopardize the support he needed to prosecute the war to preserve the Union. Accordingly, on March 6, 1862, he

called on Congress to endorse a carefully worded resolution: [51]

Resolved, that the United States ought to cooperate with any state which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state in its discretion, to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system.

In a letter to New York Times editor Henry J. Raymond urging support for the resolution, Lincoln explained that one million dollars, or less than a half-day's cost of the war, would buy all the slaves in Delaware, and that \$174 million, or less than 87 days' cost of the war, would purchase all the slaves in the border states and the District of Columbia. [52]

Although the resolution lacked authority of law, and was merely a declaration of intent, it alarmed representatives from the loyal slave-holding border states. Missouri Congressman Frank P. Blair, Jr. (who, in 1868, would campaign as the Democratic party's vice presidential candidate) spoke against the resolution in a speech in the House on April 11, 1862. Emancipation of the slaves, he warned, would be a terrible mistake until arrangements were first made to resettle the blacks abroad. Blair spoke of shipping them to areas south of the Rio Grande.

In spite of such opposition, though, moderate Republicans and Democrats joined to approve the resolution, which was passed by Congress and signed by Lincoln on April 10, 1862. Not a single border state lawmaker had voted for the measure, however. [53]

In an effort to assuage such concerns, in July Lincoln called border state Congressmen and Senators to a White House meeting at which he explained that the recently-passed resolution involved no claim of federal authority over slavery in the states, and that it left the issue under state control. Seeking to calm fears that emancipation would suddenly result in many freed Negroes in their midst, he again spoke of resettlement of blacks as the solution. "Room in South America for colonization can be obtained cheaply, and in abundance," said the President. "And when numbers shall be large enough to be company and encouragement for one another, the freed people will not be so reluctant to go." [54]

Congress Votes Funds for Resettlement

In 1860, the 3,185 slaves in the District of Columbia were owned by just two percent of the District's residents. In April 1862, Lincoln arranged to have a bill introduced in Congress that would compensate District slave-holders an average of \$300 for each slave. An additional \$100,000 was appropriated [55]

to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, to aid in the colonization and settlement of such free persons of African descent now residing in said District, including those to be liberated by this act, as may desire to emigrate to the Republic of Haiti or Liberia, or such other country beyond the limits of the United States as the President may determine.

When he signed the bill into law on April 16, Lincoln stated: "I am gratified that the two principles of compensation, and colonization, are both recognized, and practically applied in the act." [56]

Two months later, as part of the (second) Confiscation Act of July 1862, Congress appropriated an additional half-million dollars for the President's use in resettling blacks who came under Union military control. Rejecting criticism from prominent "radicals" such as Senator Charles

Sumner, most Senators and Representatives expressed support for the bold project in a joint resolution declaring ^[57]

that the President is hereby authorized to make provision for the transportation, colonization and settlement in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such persons of African race, made free by the provisions of this act, as may be willing to emigrate ...

Lincoln now had Congressional authority and \$600,000 in authorized funds to proceed with his plan for resettlement.

Obstacles

Serious obstacles remained, however. Secretary of the Interior Caleb B. Smith informed the President that Liberia was out of the question as a destination for resettling blacks because of the inhospitable climate, the unwillingness of blacks to travel so far, and the great expense involved in transporting people such a vast distance. Haiti was ruled out because of the low level of civilization there, because Catholic influence was so strong there, and because of fears that the Spanish might soon take control of the Caribbean country. Those blacks who had expressed a desire to emigrate, Secretary Smith went on to explain, preferred to remain in the western hemisphere. The only really acceptable site was Chiriqui, Smith concluded, because of its relative proximity to the United States, and because of the availability of coal there. ^[58] Meanwhile, the United States minister in Brazil expressed the view that the country's abundance of land and shortage of labor made it a good site for resettling America's blacks. ^[59]

In mid-May 1862, Lincoln received a paper from Reverend James Mitchell that laid out arguments for resettling the country's black population: ^[60]

Our republican system was meant for a homogeneous people. As long as blacks continue to live with the whites they constitute a threat to the national life. Family life may also collapse and the increase of mixed breed bastards may some day challenge the supremacy of the white man.

Mitchell went on to recommend the gradual deportation of America's blacks to Central America and Mexico. "That region had once known a great empire and could become one again," he stated. "This continent could then be divided between a race of mixed bloods and Anglo-Americans." Lincoln was apparently impressed with Mitchell's arguments. A short time later, he appointed him as his Commissioner of Emigration.

A Historic White House Meeting

Eager to proceed with the Chiriqui project, on August 14, 1862, Lincoln met with five free black ministers, the first time a delegation of their race was invited to the White House on a matter of public policy. The President made no effort to engage in conversation with the visitors, who were bluntly informed that they had been invited to listen. Lincoln did not mince words, but candidly told the group: ^[61]

You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffers very greatly, many of them, by living among us, while ours suffers from your

presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated.

... Even when you cease to be slaves, you are yet far removed from being placed on an equality with the white race ... The aspiration of men is to enjoy equality with the best when free, but on this broad continent, not a single man of your race is made the equal of a single man of ours. Go where you are treated the best, and the ban is still upon you.

... We look to our condition, owing to the existence of the two races on this continent. I need not recount to you the effects upon white men growing out of the institution of slavery. I believe in its general evil effects on the white race.

See our present condition — the country engaged in war! — our white men cutting one another's throats, none knowing how far it will extend; and then consider what we know to be the truth. But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. Nevertheless, I repeat, without the institution of slavery, and the colored race as a basis, the war would not have an existence.

It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated.

An excellent site for black resettlement, Lincoln went on, was available in Central America. It had good harbors and an abundance of coal that would permit the colony to be quickly put on a firm financial footing. The President concluded by asking the delegation to determine if a number of freedmen with their families would be willing to go as soon as arrangements could be made.

Organizing Black Support

The next day, Rev. Mitchell — who had attended the historic White House meeting as Lincoln's Commissioner of Immigration — placed an advertisement in northern newspapers announcing: "Correspondence is desired with colored men favorable to Central America, Liberian or Haitian emigration, especially the first named." [62] Mitchell also sent a memorandum to black ministers urging them to use their influence to encourage emigration. Providence itself, he wrote, had decreed a separate existence for the races. Blacks were half responsible for the terrible Civil War, Mitchell went on, and forecast further bloodshed unless they left the country. He concluded: [63]

This is a nation of equal white laborers, and as you cannot be accepted on equal terms, there is no place here for you. You cannot go into the North or the West without arousing the growing feeling of hostility toward you. The south must also have a homogeneous population, and any attempt to give the freedmen equal status in the South will bring disaster to both races.

Rev. Edwin Thomas, the chairman of the black delegation, informed the President in a letter of August 16 that while he had originally opposed colonization, after becoming acquainted with the facts he now favored it. He asked Lincoln's authorization to travel among his black friends and co-workers to convince them of the virtues of emigration. [64]

While Thompson continued working on colonization of the Chiriqui site, Lincoln turned to Kansas Senator Samuel Pomeroy, whom he appointed United States Colonization Agent, to recruit black emigrants for Chiriqui resettlement, and arrange for their transportation. On August 26,

1862, Pomeroy issued a dramatic official appeal “To the Free Colored People of the United States”: [65]

The hour has now arrived in the history of your settlement upon this continent when it is within your own power to take one step that will secure, if successful, the elevation, freedom, and social position of your race upon the American continent ...

I want mechanics and labourers, earnest, honest, and sober men, for the interest of a generation, it may be of mankind, are involved in the success of this experiment, and with the approbation of the American people, and under the blessing of Almighty God, it cannot, it shall not fail.

Although many blacks soon made clear their unwillingness to leave the country, Pomeroy was pleased to report in October that he had received nearly 14,000 applications from blacks who desired to emigrate. [66]

On September 12, 1862, the federal government concluded a provisional contract with Ambrose Thompson, providing for development and colonization of his vast leased holdings in the Chiriqui region. Pomeroy was to determine the fitness of the Chiriqui site for resettlement. Along with the signatures of Thompson and Interior Secretary Caleb Smith, the contract contained a note by the President: “The within contract is approved, and the Secretary of the Interior is directed to execute the same. A. Lincoln.” That same day, Lincoln also issued an order directing the Department of the Interior to carry out the “colonization” provisions of the relevant laws of April and July 1862. [67]

The President next instructed Pomeroy, acting as his agent, to accompany the proposed colonizing expedition. Lincoln authorized him to advance Thompson \$50,000 when and if colonization actually began, and to allow Thompson such sums as might immediately be necessary for incidental expenses. [68] Interior Secretary Smith sent Pomeroy more specific instructions. He was to escort a group of black “Freedmen” who were willing to resettle abroad. However, before attempting to establish a colony at Chiriqui, no matter how promising the site, he should first obtain permission of the local authorities, in order to prevent diplomatic misunderstandings. [69]

Acting on these instructions, Pomeroy went to New York to obtain a ship for the venture. Robert Murray, United States Marshall at New York, was advised of Pomeroy’s status as special colonization agent, and was asked to help him secure a suitable ship. [70] On September 16, Interior Secretary Smith wired Pomeroy: “President wants information ... has Murray the control and custody of the vessel? Is there order of sale; and if so, when? Is any deposit necessary to get the vessel?” [71] President Lincoln’s concern with black resettlement at this time is all the more significant because September 1862 was a very critical period for Union military fortunes. In spite of this, he took time to keep himself abreast of the project, even to the point of having a telegram sent to hurry the procurement of a ship for the venture.

The Emancipation Proclamation

During the winter and spring 1861-1862, public support grew rapidly for the view that slavery must be abolished everywhere. Lincoln did not ignore the ever louder calls for decisive action. [72] On June 19, he signed a law abolishing slavery in all the federal territories. [73] At the same time, he was quietly preparing an even more dramatic measure.

At a cabinet meeting on July 22, Lincoln read out the draft text of a document he had prepared — a proclamation that would give the Confederate states a hundred days to stop their “rebellion”

upon threat of declaring all slaves in those states to be free.

The President told his cabinet that he did not want advice on the merits of the proclamation itself — he had made up his mind about that, he said — but he would welcome suggestions about how best to implement the edict. For two days cabinet members debated the draft. Only two — Secretary of State William Seward and Treasury Secretary Salmon Chase, abolitionists who had challenged Lincoln for the 1860 Republican presidential nomination — agreed even in part with the proclamation’s contents. Seward persuaded the President not to issue it until after a Union military victory (of which so far there had been few), or otherwise it would appear “the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help.” [74]

Union General McClellan’s success on September 17 in holding off the forces of General Lee at Antietam provided a federal victory of sorts, and the waited-for opportunity. Five days later, Lincoln issued his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which included a favorable reference to colonization: [75]

I, Abraham Lincoln ... do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States, and each of the states, and the people thereof ...

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave-states, so called, the people whereof may not be then be in rebellion against the United States, and which states, may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate, or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent, or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the Governments existing there, will be continued.

Lincoln then went on to state that on January 1, 1863,

all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever, free ...

The edict then cited the law passed by Congress on March 13, 1862, which prohibited military personnel from returning escaped slaves, and the second Confiscation Act of July 1862.

Proclamation Limitations

On New Year’s Day, 1863, Lincoln issued the final Emancipation Proclamation. [76] Contrary to what its title suggests, however, the presidential edict did not immediately free a single slave. It “freed” only slaves who were under Confederate control, and explicitly exempted slaves in Union-controlled territories, including federal-occupied areas of the Confederacy, West Virginia, and the four slave-holding states that remained in the Union.

The Proclamation, Secretary Seward wryly commented, emancipated slaves where it could not reach them, and left them in bondage where it could have set them free. Moreover, because it was issued as a war measure, the Proclamation’s long-term validity was uncertain. Apparently any future President could simply revoke it. “The popular picture of Lincoln using a stroke of the pen to lift the shackles from the limbs of four million slaves is ludicrously false,” historian Allan Nevins has noted. [77]

'Military Necessity'

Lincoln himself specifically cited “military necessity” as his reason for issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. After more than a year of combat, and in spite of its great advantages in industrial might and numbers, federal forces had still not succeeded in breaking the South. At this critical juncture of the war, the President apparently now hoped, a formal edict abolishing slavery in the Confederate states would strike a blow at the Confederacy’s ability to wage war by encouraging dissension, escapes, and possibly revolt among its large slave labor force. [78]

As the war progressed, black labor had become ever more critical in the hard-pressed Confederacy. Blacks planted, cultivated and harvested the food that they then transported to the Confederate armies. Blacks raised and butchered the beef, pigs and chicken used to feed the Confederate troops. They wove the cloth and knitted the socks to clothe the grey-uniformed soldiers. As Union armies invaded the South, tearing up railroads and demolishing bridges, free blacks and slaves repaired them. They toiled in the South’s factories, shipping yards, and mines. In 1862, the famous Tredegar iron works advertised for 1,000 slaves. In 1864, there were 4,301 blacks and 2,518 whites in the iron mines of the Confederate states east of the Mississippi. [79]

Blacks also served with the Confederate military forces as mechanics, teamsters, and common laborers. They cared for the sick and scrubbed the wounded in Confederate hospitals. Nearly all of the South’s military fortifications were constructed by black laborers. Most of the cooks in the Confederate army were slaves. Of the 400 workers at the Naval arsenal in Selma, Alabama, in 1865, 310 were blacks. Blacks served with crews of Confederate blockade-runners and stoked the firerooms of the South’s warships. [80]

Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest, the legendary cavalry commander, said in a post-war interview: “When I entered the army I took 47 Negroes into the army with me, and 45 of them were surrendered with me ... These boys stayed with me, drove my teams, and better Confederates did not live.” [81]

On several occasions, Lincoln explained his reasons for issuing the Proclamation. On September 13, 1862, the day after the preliminary proclamation was issued, Lincoln met with a delegation of pro-abolitionist Christian ministers, and told them bluntly: “Understand, I raise no objections against it [slavery] on legal or constitutional grounds ... I view the matter [emancipation] as a practical war measure, to be decided upon according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion.” [82]

To Salmon Chase, his Treasury Secretary, the President justified the Proclamations’s limits: “The original [preliminary] proclamation has no constitutional or legal justification, except as a military measure,” he explained. “The exceptions were made because the military necessity did not apply to the exempted localities. Nor does that necessity apply to them now any more than it did then.” [83]

Horace Greeley, editor of the influential New York Tribune, called upon the President to immediately and totally abolish slavery in an emphatic and prominently displayed editorial published August 20, 1862. Lincoln responded in a widely-quoted letter: [84]

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by

freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union ...

Concern about growing sentiment in the North to end slavery, along with sharp criticism from prominent abolitionists, was apparently another motivating factor for the President. (Abolitionists even feared that the Confederate states might give up their struggle for independence before the January first deadline, and thus preserve the institution of slavery.) [85]

Lincoln assured Edward Stanly, a pro-slavery Southerner he had appointed as military governor of the occupied North Carolina coast, that “the proclamation had become a civil necessity to prevent the radicals from openly embarrassing the government in the conduct of the war.” [86]

Impact of the Proclamation

While abolitionists predictably hailed the final Proclamation, sentiment among northern whites was generally unfavorable. The edict cost the President considerable support, and undoubtedly was a factor in Republican party setbacks in the Congressional elections of 1862. In the army, hardly one Union soldier in ten approved of emancipation, and some officers resigned in protest. [87]

As a work of propaganda, the Proclamation proved effective. To encourage discontent among slaves in the Confederacy, a million copies were distributed in the Union-occupied South and, as hoped, news of it spread rapidly by word of mouth among the Confederacy’s slaves, arousing hopes of freedom and encouraging many to escape. [88] The Proclamation “had the desired effect of creating confusion in the South and depriving the Confederacy of much of its valuable laboring force,” affirms historian John Hope Franklin. [89]

Finally, in the eyes of many people — particularly in Europe — Lincoln’s edict made the Union army a liberating force: all slaves in areas henceforward coming under federal control would automatically be free.

The Proclamation greatly strengthened support for the Union cause abroad, especially in Britain and France, where anti-slavery sentiment was strong. In Europe, the edict transformed the conflict into a Union crusade for freedom, and contributed greatly to dashing the Confederacy’s remaining hopes of formal diplomatic recognition from Britain and France. [90] “The Emancipation Proclamation,” reported Henry Adams from London, “has done more for us [the Union] here than all our former victories and all our diplomacy. It is creating an almost convulsive reaction in our favor all over this country.” [91]

End of the Resettlement Efforts

Lincoln continued to press ahead with his plan to resettle blacks in Central America, in spite of opposition from all but one member of his own Cabinet, and the conclusion of a scientific report that Chiriqui coal was “worthless.” [92]

Mounting opposition to any resettlement plan also came from abolitionists, who insisted that blacks had a right to remain in the land of their birth. In addition, some Republican party leaders opposed resettlement because they were counting on black political support, which would be particularly important in controlling a defeated South, where most whites would be barred from voting. Others agreed with Republican Senator Charles Sumner, who argued that black laborers were an important part of the national economy, and any attempt to export them “would be fatal

to the prosperity of the country.” [93] In the (Northern) election campaign of November 1862, emancipation figured as a major issue. Violent mobs of abolitionists opposed those who spoke out in favor of resettlement. [94]

What proved decisive in bringing an end to the Chiriqui project, though, were emphatic protests by the republics that would be directly effected by large-scale resettlement. In Central America, the prospect that millions of blacks would soon be arriving provoked alarm. A sense of panic prevailed in Nicaragua and Honduras, the American consul reported, because of fears of “a dreadful deluge of negro emigration ... from the United States.” In August and September, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica protested officially to the American government about the resettlement venture. (Objection from Costa Rica was particularly worrisome because that country claimed part of the Chiriqui territory controlled by Thompson.) [95]

On September 19, envoy Luis Molina, a diplomat who represented the three Central American states, formally explained to American officials the objections of the three countries against the resettlement plan. This venture, he protested, was an attempt to use Central America as a depository for “a plague of which the United States desired to rid themselves.” Molina also reminded Seward that, for the USA to remain faithful to its own Monroe Doctrine, it could no more assume that there were lands available in Latin America for colonization than could a European power. The envoy concluded his strong protest by hinting that the republics he represented were prepared to use force to repel what they interpreted as an invasion. Learning later that the resettlement project was still underway, Molina delivered a second formal protest on September 29. [96]

Secretary of State Seward was not able to ignore such protests. After all, why should Central Americans be happy to welcome people of a race that was so despised in the United States? Accordingly, on October 7, 1862, Seward prevailed on the President to call a “temporary” halt to the Chiriqui project. [97] Thus, the emphatic unwillingness of the Central American republics to accept black migrants dealt the decisive blow to the Chiriqui project. At a time when the Union cause was still precarious, Secretary of State Steward was obliged to show special concern for U.S. relations with Latin America. [98]

Lincoln Proposes a Constitutional Amendment

In spite of such obstacles, Lincoln re-affirmed his strong support for gradual emancipation coupled with resettlement in his second annual message to Congress of December 1, 1862. On this occasion he used the word deportation. So serious was he about his plan that he proposed a draft Constitutional Amendment to give it the greatest legal sanction possible. Lincoln told Congress: [99]

I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization.

In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States ... “Congress may appropriate money, and otherwise provide, for colonizing free colored persons, with their consent, at any place or places without the United States.”

Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favor their emigration, with a view to such colonization as was contemplated in recent acts of Congress ... Several of the Spanish American republics have protested against the sending of such colonies [settlers] to their respective territories ... Liberia

and Haiti are, as yet, the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens ...

Their old masters will gladly give them wages at least until new laborers can be procured; and the freedmen, in turn, will gladly give their labor for the wages, till new homes can be found for them, in congenial climes, and with people of their own blood and race.

Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves ...

The President's December 1862 proposal had five basic elements: ^[100]

1. Because slavery was a "domestic institution," and thus the concern of the states alone, they — and not the federal government — were to voluntarily emancipate the slaves.
2. Slave-holders would be fully compensated for their loss.
3. The federal government would assist the states, with bonds as grants in aid, in meeting the financial burden of compensation.
4. Emancipation would be carried out gradually: the states would have until the year 1900 to free their slaves.
5. The freed blacks would be resettled outside the United States.

The 'Ile à Vache' Project

With the collapse of the Chiriqui plan, Lincoln next gave serious consideration to a small Caribbean island off the coast of the black republic of Haiti, Ile à Vache, as a possible resettlement site for freed blacks.

In December 1862, the President signed a contract with Bernard Kock, a businessman who said that he had obtained a long-term lease on the island. Kock agreed to settle 5,000 blacks on the island, and to provide them with housing, food, medicine, churches, schools, and employment, at a cost to the government of \$50 each. About 450 blacks were accordingly transported to the island at federal government expense, but the project was not a success. As a result of poor organization, corruption, and Haitian government opposition, about a hundred of the deportees soon died of disease, thirst and starvation. In February-March 1864, a government-chartered ship brought the survivors back to the United States. After that, Congress cancelled all funds it had set aside for black resettlement. ^[101]

End of Resettlement Efforts

In early 1863, Lincoln discussed with his Register of the Treasury a plan to "remove the whole colored race of the slave states into Texas." Apparently nothing came of the discussion. ^[102]

Hard-pressed by the demands of the war situation, and lacking a suitable resettlement site or even strong support within his own inner circle, Lincoln apparently gave up on specific resettlement efforts. On July 1, 1864, presidential secretary John Hay wrote in his diary: "I am happy that the President has sloughed off that idea of colonization." ^[103]

Whatever its merits, the notion that America's racial question could be solved by massive resettlement of the black population probably never had much realistic prospect of success, given the realities of American life. Writing in *The Journal of Negro History*, historian Paul Scheips summed up: ^[104]

... Large-scale colonization of Negroes could only have succeeded, if it could have succeeded at all, if the Nation had been willing to make the gigantic propaganda, diplomatic, administrative, transportation and financial effort that would have been required. As it was, according to [historian Carl] Sandburg, "in a way, nobody cared." But even had hundreds of thousands of Negroes been colonized, the Nation's race problem would not have been solved.

Abolishing Slavery

A Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which would prohibit slavery throughout the United States, was passed by the Senate on April 8, 1864. Because the House failed immediately to approve it with the necessary two-thirds majority vote, Lincoln, in his Annual Message of December 6, asked the House to reconsider it. On January 31, 1865, and with three votes to spare, the House approved it. By this time, slavery had already been abolished in Arkansas, Louisiana, Maryland and Missouri, and a similar move seemed imminent in Tennessee and Kentucky. ^[105]

On February 3, 1865, Lincoln and Secretary of State Seward met with a Confederate peace delegation that included Confederate Vice President Stephens. Lincoln told the delegation that he still favored compensation to owners of emancipated slaves. It had never been his intention, the President said, to interfere with slavery in the states; he had been driven to it by necessity. He believed that the people of the North and South were equally responsible for slavery. If hostilities ceased and the states voluntarily abolished slavery, he believed, the government would indemnify the owners to the extent, possibly, of \$400 million. Although the conference was not fruitful, two days later Lincoln presented to his cabinet a proposal to appropriate \$400 million for reimbursement to slave owners, providing hostilities stopped by April 1. (The cabinet unanimously rejected the proposal, which Lincoln then regretfully abandoned.) ^[106]

On April 9, General Lee surrendered his army to General Grant at Appomatox Courthouse, and by the end of May, all fighting had ceased. The Civil War was over.

Lincoln's Fear of 'Race War'

A short time before his death on April 15, 1865, Lincoln met with General Benjamin F. Butler, who reported that the President spoke to him of "exporting" the blacks. ^[107]

"But what shall we do with the negroes after they are free?," Lincoln said. "I can hardly believe that the South and North can live in peace, unless we can get rid of the negroes ... I believe that it would be better to export them all to some fertile country with a good climate, which they could have to themselves." Along with a request to Butler to look into the question of how best to use "our very large navy" to send "the blacks away," the President laid bare his fears for the future:

If these black soldiers of ours go back to the South, I am afraid that they will be but little better off with their masters than they were before, and yet they will be free men. I fear a race war, and it will be at least a guerilla war because we have taught

these men how to fight ... There are plenty of men in the North who will furnish the negroes with arms if there is any oppression of them by their late masters.

To his dying day, it appears, Lincoln did not believe that harmony between white and black was feasible, and viewed resettlement of the blacks as the preferable alternative to race conflict. “ ... Although Lincoln believed in the destruction of slavery,” concludes black historian Charles Wesley (in an article in *The Journal of Negro History*), “he desired the complete separation of the whites and blacks. Throughout his political career, Lincoln persisted in believing in the colonization of the Negro.” [108]

Frederick Douglass, a gifted African American writer and activist who knew Lincoln, characterized him in a speech delivered in 1876: [109]

In his interest, in his association, in his habits of thought, and in his prejudices, he was a white man. He was preeminently the white man’s President, entirely devoted to the welfare of the white man. He was ready and willing at any time during the first years of his administration to deny, postpone, and sacrifice the rights of humanity in the colored people, to promote the welfare of the white people of this country.

Allan Nevins, one of this century’s most prolific and acclaimed historians of U.S. history, summed up Lincoln’s view of the complex issue of race, and his vision of America’s future: [110]

His conception ran beyond the mere liberation of four million colored folk; it implied a far-reaching alteration of American society, industry, and government. A gradual planned emancipation, a concomitant transportation of hundreds of thousands and perhaps even millions of people overseas, a careful governmental nursing of the new colonies, and a payment of unprecedented sums to the section thus deprived of its old labor supply — this scheme carried unprecedented implications.

To put this into effect would immensely increase the power of the national government and widen its abilities. If even partially practicable, it would mean a long step toward rendering the American people homogeneous in color and race, a rapid stimulation of immigration to replace the workers exported, a greater world position for the republic, and a pervasive change in popular outlook and ideas. The attempt would do more to convert the unorganized country into an organized nation than anything yet planned. Impossible, and undesirable even if possible? — probably; but Lincoln continued to hold to his vision.

For most Americans today, Lincoln’s plan to “solve” America’s vexing racial problem by resettling the blacks in a foreign country probably seems bizarre and utterly impractical, if not outrageous and cruel. At the same time, though, and particularly when considered in the context of the terrible Civil War that cost so many lives, it is worth pondering just why and how such a far-fetched plan was ever able to win the support of a leader of the stature and wisdom of Abraham Lincoln.

Notes

1.  Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 21-27.; Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), pp. 197-198.; Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1926 [two volumes]), Vol. I, pp. 330-334.

2.  Benjamin Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), pp. 85, 89, 260, 480. While Mary Todd Lincoln's eldest brother and a half-sister remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War, another brother, David, three half-brothers, and the husbands of three half-sisters fought on the side of the Confederacy. (Brother David, a half-brother named Alec, and the husband of a half-sister lost their lives in the fighting.)
3.  B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 121-122.
4.  Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: 1962), pp. 36-37.; Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), p. 158.
5.  Roy P. Basler, editor, et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1953-1955 [eight volumes and index]), Vol. II, pp. 255-256. (Cited hereinafter as R. Basler, *Collected Works*.); David A. Hollinger and Charles Capper, eds., *The American Intellectual Tradition* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), vol. I, pp. 378-379.
6.  R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. II, pp. 405, 408, 409.
7.  John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: A. Knopf, 1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 234-235. [In the fifth edition of 1980, see pages 108-109, 177.]; Leslie H. Fischel, Jr., and Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro American: A Documentary History* (New York: W. Morrow, 1967), pp. 75-78.; Arvarh E. Strickland, "Negro Colonization Movements to 1840," *Lincoln Herald* (Harrogate, Tenn.: Lincoln Memorial Univ. Press), Vol. 61, No. 2 (Summer 1959), pp. 43-56.; Earnest S. Cox, *Lincoln's Negro Policy* (Torrance, Calif.: [Noontide Press](#), 1968), pp. 19-25. Thomas Jefferson outlined his plan for black resettlement in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (apparently first published in 1785): "To emancipate all slaves born after passing of the act [a proposed law] ... [They] should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up, at public expense, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household and of the handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, etc., to declare them a free and independent people, and to extend to them our alliance and protection till they have acquired strength ..." (Source: *Life and Selected Works of Thomas Jefferson* New York: Modern Library, 1944], p. 255. Also quoted in: Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), p. 83.) For more on Jefferson's view of the race issue, and his support for forcible deportation, see: N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 71-100.
8.  Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), pp. 132-134.; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1947), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), pp. 511-517.; Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York: 1989), pp. 251-254.
9.  Henry N. Sherwood, "The Formation of the American Colonization Society," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. II, (July 1917), pp. 209-228.; Earnest Cox, *Lincoln's Negro Policy* (1968), pp. 19-25.; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), pp. 511-516.; Congressional Globe, 25th Congress, 1st Session, Pt. 1, pp. 293-298.
10.  C. I. Foster, "The Colonization of Free Negroes in Liberia, 1816-1835," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 38 (January 1953), pp. 41-66.; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: 1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 235-236.; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*

(New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), pp. 511-516.

11. [↗](#) John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: A. Knopf, 1964 [2nd ed.]), p. 235.
12. [↗](#) *General Laws of the State of Indiana, Passed at the 34th Session of the General Assembly* (Indianapolis: 1850), [Chap. XXVII], p. 247.
13. [↗](#) *Congressional Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Sess., Pt. 1, pp. 293-298. See also: Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), pp. 516-517. [This is volume VI of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
14. [↗](#) R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. III, p. 29.; In 1864, Lincoln told Congressman James Rollins: "You and I were old whigs, both of us followers of that great statesman, Henry Clay, and I tell you I never had an opinion upon the subject of slavery in my life that I did not get from him." Quoted in: Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (Arlington House, 1971), p. 196.
15. [↗](#) R. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. II, p. 132. Also quoted in: Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 105-107.; See also: Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 7.
16. [↗](#) R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), Vol. II, pp. 298-299.
17. [↗](#) R. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. III, p. 16.; Paul M. Angle, ed., *Created Equal?: The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 117.
18. [↗](#) R. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. III, pp. 145-146.; James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 23-24.; Paul M. Angle, ed., *Created Equal?: The Complete Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 235.
19. [↗](#) B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 192.
20. [↗](#) R. P. Basler, ed., et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), vol. III, pp. 522-550, esp. pp. 535, 541.; The complete text is also in: Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 105-119.; See also: Richard N. Current, *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1958), p. 220.
21. [↗](#) Richard N. Current, *The Lincoln Nobody Knows* (New York: 1958), p. 83.
22. [↗](#) R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 77.
23. [↗](#) B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 224-225.
24. [↗](#) One of Crittenden's sons would later serve as a Confederate army General, while another would serve as a General in the federal forces.
25. [↗](#) R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), pp. 87-92.; Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (New York: 1977), pp. 199-200.
26. [↗](#) Leland D. Baldwin, *The Stream of American History* (New York: American Book Co., 1952 [two volumes], vol. I, 293. It is likewise often overlooked that there were more than 250,000 free blacks in the South. In New Orleans alone, more than 3,000 free blacks owned black slaves themselves, many being ranked as slave magnates. More than 8,000 black slaves were owned by Indians in Florida and the West who supported and often fought on the side of the Confederacy.
27. [↗](#) B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 180.; Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (New York: 1947), pp. 153-154.
28. [↗](#) B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 226-227.

29. ☞ R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. IV, p. 160.; R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 85.
30. ☞ R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), pp. 85-86.
31. ☞ R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 86.
32. ☞ B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 246.; The complete text of Lincoln's 1861 Inaugural Address is in: Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 161-168, and in: R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), vol. IV, pp. 262-271.
33. ☞ Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue to Civil War, 1859-1861* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1950), pp. 468-469. [This is volume IV of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
34. ☞ Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1977), pp. 196, 197, 204, 209, 226-227. See also: Sam G. Dickson, "Shattering the Icon of Abraham Lincoln," *The Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 7, No. 3), Fall 1986, p. 327.
35. ☞ R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 105.
36. ☞ R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 110.
37. ☞ R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 117.
38. ☞ R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 221.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 275-277.
39. ☞ R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 221.
40. ☞ J. H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 268-271. [In the fifth edition of 1980, this is pp. 207-208.]; See also: Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, vol. III, "The Organized War, 1863-1864" (New York: 1971), pp. 418-419, 428, 432. [This is volume VII of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
41. ☞ In January 1861, the influential New York Tribune proposed a plan for the gradual, compensated emancipation of the 600,000 slaves in Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana. The federal government, the paper urged, should appropriate enough money to compensate slave-holders an average of \$400 per slave. See: James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (1964), p. 40.; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 7 (fn. 9). [This is volume VI of *The Ordeal of the Union*.] In 1854, Jacob Dewees of Philadelphia published a 236-page book, *The Great Future of Africa and America; an Essay showing our whole duty to the Black Man, consistent with our own safety and glory*. Dewees urged compensated emancipation, to be paid for by the proceeds of sales of public lands, and transportation of the Negroes to Africa, a process that might take as long as a century. Source: Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), vol. I ("Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852"), p. 517 (fn. 29).
42. ☞ James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (1964), p. 155.; A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 8 (fn. 12).
43. ☞ 36th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 568: Report of the Hon. F.H. Morse, of Maine, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, H.R. in Relation to the Contract made by the Secretary of the Navy for Coal and Other Privileges on the Isthmus of Chiriqui.; At that time, the Chiriqui region was part of New Granada.; On the Chiriqui project, see also: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln and the Chiriqui Colonization Project," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, (October 1952), pp. 418-420.; Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 215-216.; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New

York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 7.; R. P. Basler, ed., et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. V, pp. 370-371 (note).

44. ☐ "Important Considerations for Congress," enclosure with Ninian W. Edwards to Abraham Lincoln, August 9, 1861. *The Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1947 [194 volumes]), vol. 52, f. 11109. (Hereafter cited as *Lincoln Collection*.); Also cited in: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln and the Chiriqui Colonization Project," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (October 1952), pp. 420-421.
45. ☐ F. P. Blair, Sr. to A. Lincoln, November 16, 1861. *Lincoln Collection*, Vol. 61, ff. 13002-13014.; Also cited in: P. J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 420-421.
46. ☐ A. Lincoln to Simon Cameron, December [?], 1861, *Lincoln Collection*, vol. 64, f. 13636.; Also cited in: P. J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), p. 421.
47. ☐ A. Lincoln to Gideon Welles, December [?], 1861, *Lincoln Collection* (cited above), Vol. 64, ff. 13637-13638.
48. ☐ Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), pp. 6-8. [This is volume VI of *The Ordeal of the Union*.]
49. ☐ R. P. Basler, et al, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. V, pp. 35-53, esp. p. 48.
50. ☐ Stephen B. Oates, *With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), p. 299.; Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), p. 216.
51. ☐ Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1960), p. 31.
52. ☐ A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 32.
53. ☐ A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, (1960), pp. 32-33.
54. ☐ R. Basler, ed., et al, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, p. 318.; Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 265.
55. ☐ N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen* (1971), pp. 216-217.; 37th Congress, 2nd Session, *Public Laws of the United States* (Boston, 1861-1862), XII, p. 378.
56. ☐ R. Basler, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, p. 192.
57. ☐ Charles H. Wesley, "Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1919), p. 11.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 422-424.; N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 216-217.; R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), Vol. V, p. 32.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 360.
58. ☐ Caleb Smith to A. Lincoln, April 23, 1862, 47th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Exec. Doc. 46, *Resolutions of the House of Representatives Relative to Certain Lands and Harbors Known as the Chiriqui Grant*, p. 132. (Hereafter referred to as *Report on the Chiriqui Grant*.) . ; This document is cited in: P. J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), p. 425.; See also: A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863," (New York: 1960), p. 148 (fn. 16).

59. [↗](#) A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 148 (fn. 16).
60. [↗](#) James Mitchell to A. Lincoln, May 18, 1862. Lincoln Collection (cited above), Vol. 76, f. 16044.; P. J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 426-427.
61. [↗](#) R. Basler, et al, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, pp. 370-375.; A record of this meeting is also given in: Nathaniel Weyl and William Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), pp. 217-221.; See also: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 428-430.
62. [↗](#) "The Colonization Scheme," *Detroit Free Press*, August 15 (or 27), 1862. See also: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 437-438.
63. [↗](#) James Mitchell, Commissioner of Emigration, to United States Ministers of the Colored Race, 1862. Lincoln Collection (cited above in footnote 44), Vol. 98, ff. 20758- 20759.
64. [↗](#) Edwin M. Thomas to A. Lincoln, August 16, 1862. Lincoln Collection (cited above), Vol. 84, ff. 17718-17719.
65. [↗](#) Bedford Pim, *The Gate of the Pacific* (London: 1863), pp. 144-146.; Cited in: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 436-437.; James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War* (New York: 1965), p. 95.; "Colonization Scheme," *Detroit Free Press*, August 15 (or 27), 1862.
66. [↗](#) Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 437-438.
67. [↗](#) Report on the Chiriqui Grant (cited above in footnote 58), pp. 134-136.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 432-433.
68. [↗](#) 39th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate Executive Document 55. Report on the Transportation, Settlement, and Colonization of Persons of the African Race, pp. 16-17.
69. [↗](#) Caleb Smith to Robert Murphy, Sept. 16, 1862. 39th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate Executive Document 55. Report on the Transportation, Settlement, and Colonization of Persons of the African Race, p. 17.
70. [↗](#) Caleb Smith to Samuel Pomeroy, Sept. 20, 1862. 39th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. 55. Report on the Transportation, Settlement, and Colonization of Persons of the African Race, p. 17.
71. [↗](#) Caleb Smith to S. Pomeroy, Sept. 20, 1862. Same source, p. 17.
72. [↗](#) James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (1964), pp. 80, 81, 82, 89, 93, 94.
73. [↗](#) John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: 1964 [2nd ed.]), p. 277.; Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (1977), p. 299.
74. [↗](#) Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York: 1962), pp. 126-127.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 334.
75. [↗](#) The complete text of Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862, is printed in: Robert W. Johannsen, *Democracy on Trial: 1845-1877* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 266-268, and in: R. P. Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (1953), vol. V, pp. 433-436.
76. [↗](#) The complete text of the final Emancipation Proclamation is printed in: Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and The War Years*, (New York: 1954 [One-volume edition]), pp. 345-346.
77. [↗](#) Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), p. 235.

78. [↗](#) Benjamin Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 333. As historians acknowledge, Lincoln did not issue the Emancipation Proclamation out of altruistic concern for blacks in bondage. If his objective truly had been solely to free slaves in the Confederacy, he could simply have faithfully enforced the second Confiscation Act, by which Confederate slaves coming under Union control were set free. It is also possible that, having announced on September 22, 1862, that he would make a final proclamation of emancipation on January 1, 1863, Lincoln had an excuse for disregarding the Confiscation laws, and could stave off support for pending legislation, which he opposed, that would permit blacks to fight for the Union. It also appears that edict provided the President with a means to frustrate Thaddeus Stevens and other abolitionists in Congress, who had introduced legislation to make freedmen and soldiers out of the slaves from the four slave-holding states that had remained with the Union. According to this interpretation, holds, Lincoln hoped to make use of the hundred-day period before the final proclamation was to be issued in order to make irreversible progress on implementing the Chiriqui colonization project, and to gain additional support for the gradual black resettlement.
79. [↗](#) John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (1964 [2nd ed.]), pp. 283-286. [This is apparently p. 228 of the 1974 edition.]
80. [↗](#) Same source as footnote 79.
81. [↗](#) Forrest interview in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, August 28, 1868. Reprinted in: Stanley Horn, *Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866-1871* (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson-Smith, 2nd ed., 1969), p. 414.
82. [↗](#) R. Basler, ed., et al, *Collected Works* (1953), vol. V, p. 421.
83. [↗](#) B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), p. 361.
84. [↗](#) A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, vol. II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 231-233.; Facsimile of text of Lincoln's letter of Aug. 22, 1862 to Greeley in: Stefan Lorant, *Lincoln: A Picture Story of His Life* (New York: Bonanza, 1969), pp. 158-159.; See also: R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 224.; B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 342-343.
85. [↗](#) B. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), pp. 333, 356-359.
86. [↗](#) R. Current, *Lincoln Nobody Knows* (1958), p. 227.; N. Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen on Slavery and the Negro* (1971), p. 226.
87. [↗](#) John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: 1964 [2nd ed.]), p. 278.; Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (1977), pp. 322, 339, 343.
88. [↗](#) Roger Butterfield, *The American Past* (New York: 1947), p. 172.; Allan Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 235-237.
89. [↗](#) John H. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: 1964 [2nd ed.]), p. 280.
90. [↗](#) Stephen Oates, *With Malice Toward None* (1977), p. 340.; A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 236-237.
91. [↗](#) Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and The War Years*, (New York: 1954 [One-volume edition]), p. 347.; Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: 1964 [7th edition]), p. 342.; See also: A. Nevins, *The War for the Union*, volume II, "War Becomes Revolution, 1862-1863" (New York: 1960), pp. 270-273.
92. [↗](#) Joseph Henry to A. Lincoln, Sept. 5, 1862. *Lincoln Collection* (cited above), Vol. 86, ff. 18226-18227.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 430-431.; Nathaniel Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen* (1971), p. 224.; Gerstle Mack, *The Land Divided* (New York: 1944), p. 276.

93. [↗](#) Perley Poore, *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis* (Philadelphia: 1866), II, pp. 107-108.
94. [↗](#) James L. Sellers, "James R. Doolittle," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XVII (March 1934), pp. 302-304.
95. [↗](#) James R. Partridge to William Seward, August 26, 1862, A.B. Dickinson to W. Seward, Sept. 12, 1862, and Pedro Zeledon to A.B. Dickinson, Sept. 12, 1862. *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs*, pp. 891-892, 897-898.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 443-444 (incl. note 50).; N. Andrew Cleven, "Some Plans for Colonizing Liberated Negro Slaves in Hispanic America," *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*, VI (September 1925), p. 157.
96. [↗](#) Luis Molina to W. Seward, Sept. 19, 1862. *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs*, pp. 899-903.
97. [↗](#) John Usher to Samuel Pomeroy, Oct. 7, 1862. 39th Congress, 1st Sess., Senate Exec. Doc. 55. Report on the Transportation, Settlement, and Colonization of Persons of the African Race, p. 21.; Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 440-441.
98. [↗](#) Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), p. 441.; Nathaniel Weyl and W. Marina, *American Statesmen* (1971), p. 224.
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103. [↗](#) Tyler Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York: 1930), p. 203.; Also, quoted in: Paul J. Scheips, "Lincoln ...," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4, p. 439.
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Pope Pius XII in the Second World War

by [Mary Ball Martinez](#)

Mary Ball Martinez was an accredited member of the Vatican press corps from 1973 to 1988, reporting for National Review, The American Spectator and The Wanderer. This essay has been adapted by her from a section of her 200-page book, *The Undermining of the Catholic Church*. (Available for \$15, postpaid, from Omni/Christian Book Club, P.O. Box 900566, Palmdale, CA 93590.)

Since the 1960s, it has been increasingly fashionable to condemn Pius XII (Eugenio Pacelli) — who was Pope from 1939 until 1958 — for his alleged indifference to the fate of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War. Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles, for example, recently declared: “... Pope Pius XII sat on the throne of St. Peter in stony silence, as the trains carrying millions of unsuspecting victims criss-crossed Europe en route to the gas chambers... Not once did the Pope lift his voice in unequivocal terms to protest the deportations and murder of the Jews ...”

To be sure, the Vatican is not the only target of such criticism. The wartime leaders of the United States, Britain and other countries have come under similar, and growing, attack in recent years for their alleged indifference to the wartime persecution of Europe’s Jews. In fact, as Dr. Arthur Butz has pointed out, Pope Pius XII — along with the Allied governments and even the major international Jewish organizations — did not act as if they seriously believed wartime stories of mass extermination of Jews. (See: A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Appendix E and Supplement B.)

Criticism like Rabbi Hier’s shows cruel ingratitude for the Vatican’s extensive help to persecuted Jews during the war years. In a 1967 book, *Three Popes and the Jews*, Jewish historian and Israeli government official Pinchas Lapide strongly defends the Vatican’s record. “The Catholic Church, under the pontificate of Pius XII, was instrumental in saving at least 700,000, but probably as many as 860,000 Jews,” writes Lapide.

In the following essay, a seasoned Vatican observer takes a strikingly different view of the wartime role of the Holy See. Contrary to widely-held perception, she argues that Pius XII strongly opposed National Socialist Germany, did everything in his power to aid Europe’s persecuted Jews, and actively aided the Allied cause during the war.

The persistent myth of the Vatican’s indifference to the fate of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War had its origin in the 1960s, and particularly in “The Deputy,” a play by German Protestant Rolf Hochhuth, and in a book by Jewish historian Saul Friedlander.

Responding to these accusations, Pope Paul VI opened the wartime records in the Vatican archives to study by four Jesuit historians, permitting them to select documents for publication. The American among them, Robert A. Graham, sorted out a great number that were eventually published in a series of volumes. These weighty documents clearly show that well before the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, Secretary of State Pacelli, the future Pope, was deeply involved in promoting the welfare of Europe's Jews.

Adolf Hitler had been Chancellor of Germany less than half a year when Cardinal Pacelli was urging Pope Pius XI to give hospitality inside Vatican City to prominent Jews who requested it. In 1937, as he arrived in New York harbor aboard the Italian liner *Conte di Savoia*, he asked the ship's captain to run up an improvised banner with the six-pointed star of the future State of Israel in honor, he said, of six hundred German Jews on board. A year later, citizens of Munich were astonished to see the Torah and other ritual objects being removed "for safe-keeping" from the city's chief synagogue in the limousine of the Archbishop, and to learn that the transfer had been ordered by Cardinal Pacelli in Rome. One of his last acts before becoming Pope in 1939 was to notify American and Canadian bishops of his displeasure at the reluctance of Catholic universities in their countries to accept more European Jewish scholars and scientists on their staffs, and he looked to the bishops to remedy this situation.

Support for Zionism

As Pius XII, Eugenio Pacelli understood early on the importance of Palestine to the Jewish soul. In 1939, as soon as news reached Rome of the German advance into Poland, he telegraphed Nuncio Paccini in Warsaw to "try to organize Polish Jews for a passage to Palestine." Meanwhile Pius XII ordered Nuncio Angelo Roncalli (the future Pope John XXIII) in Istanbul to prepare thousands of baptismal certificates for arriving Jews in the hope these papers would cause the British police in Palestine to let them enter the country.

Roncalli protested. "Surely," he wrote to the Pope, "an attempt to revive the ancient Kingdoms of Judea and Israel is utopian. Will it not expose the Vatican to accusations of support for Zionism?"

The Secretary of State, Cardinal Maglione, was hardly less troubled. "How," he asked the Pope, "can you justify historically a criterion of bringing back a people to Palestine, a territory they left 19 centuries ago? Surely there are more suitable places for the Jews to settle."

Not Neutral

Midway into his project, Father Graham told *The Washington Post*: "I was stupefied at what I was reading. How could one explain actions so contrary to the principle of neutrality?" During the first months of the war, Graham found, the new Pope himself was personally authoring the intensely anti-German texts beamed around the world by Vatican Radio. Although Pius XII's personal involvement was not known at the time, these statements were so strongly worded and partisan that they prompted vigorous protests from the German Ambassador to the Holy See, and even from Polish bishops. As a result, the broadcasts were suspended, much to the chagrin of the British government, which lost what Father Graham calls "a formidable source of propaganda."

Pius XII also set up a Catholic refugee committee in Rome, which he placed under charge of his secretary, Father Leiber, and his housekeeper, young Mother Pasqualina. In his book, *Pie XII avant l'Histoire*, Monsignor Georges Roche reports that this committee enabled thousands of European Jews to enter the United States as "Catholics," providing them with efficient documentation service, including baptismal certificates, financial aid and other trans-national arrangements.

The French historian estimates that by 1942 more than one million Jews were being housed, on Vatican orders, in convents and monasteries throughout Europe. British historian Derek Holmes reports that Jews as well as Italian partisans of underground guerrilla movements were dressed as monks and nuns, and taught to sing Gregorian chants.

The Pope himself set an example by taking care of some 15,000 Jews and Italian dissidents at Castel Gandolfo, the Pope's summer residence, as well as several thousand at Vatican City. Among those so helped was the Italian Socialist leader, Pietro Nenni, who needed a hiding place after his return from war-torn Spain, where he had served as a commissar with the International Brigades.

Meanwhile in France, under the very nose of the so-called Vichy government, Cardinal Tisserant worked with the Joint Distribution Committee in facilitating Jewish emigration. His secretary, Msgr. Roche, has described an underground printing press at Nice, protected by the mayor of the city and the archbishop, where 1,915 false identity cards, 136 false work permits, 1,230 false birth certificates, 480 false demobilization cards and 950 false baptismal certificates were produced before the operation was discovered.

In Hungary, Father Giovanni Battista Montini, the future Paul VI, was working with authorities on a scheme that would guarantee safety to the country's 800,000 Jews on condition they submit to baptism.

Plot Against Hitler

To their astonishment, the four Jesuit historians came upon records documenting the personal involvement of Pius XII in a plot to overthrow Hitler. In January 1940 he was approached by the agent of a certain clique of German generals, who asked him to tell the British government that they would undertake to "remove" Hitler if they were given assurances that the British would come to terms with a moderate German regime. Pius XII promptly passed along this message to Sir D'Arcy Osborne, Britain's envoy to the Holy See. The offer was turned down.

The Soviet Factor

Papal preference for the Allied side became more difficult to defend after June 1941, when this became the Soviet side. By that time Hitler's "Fortress Europe" was overwhelmingly Catholic. Germany itself then included the predominantly Catholic regions of Austria, the Saarland, and the Sudetenland, as well as Alsace-Lorraine and Luxembourg. Moreover, the German-allied countries of Italy, Slovenia, Slovakia and Croatia were entirely Catholic, and Hungary was mainly so. France — including both the German-occupied northern zone and the Vichy-run south — cooperated with Germany. Similarly, Catholic Spain and Portugal were sympathetic.

A Catholic priest, Josef Tiso, had been elected president of the German-backed Republic of Slovakia. In France, which adopted the Axis ban on Freemasonry, crucifixes went up on all public buildings, and on French coins the old official motto of the French Revolution, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," was replaced with "Family, Fatherland, Work."

Thus, Pope Pius XII found himself in the awkward position of siding with atheistic Soviet Russia, overwhelmingly Protestant Britain (with its vast, mainly non-Christian Empire), and the predominantly Protestant United States of America, against the largely Catholic "Fortress Europe." His predicament reached a climax following the December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor, and America's full entry into the world war. Most Catholic Americans — including those of Italian,

Irish, German, Hungarian, Slovenian, Croatian and Slovakian descent — had regarded themselves as “isolationists.” Furthermore, Communist atrocities against priests, nuns and churches during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) were fresh in their minds.

Skilled diplomat that he was, Pius XII met the challenge. He appointed the dynamic young Auxiliary Bishop of Cleveland, Michael Ready, to head a campaign to “reinterpret” *Divini Redemptoris*, the anti-Marxist encyclical of the previous Pope, Pius XI, and to put out the word that Soviet dictator Stalin was opening the way to religious freedom in the USSR.

The Pope's Wartime Silence

That it cost something for the head of the Catholic Church to face so many millions of European Catholics as an enthusiastic supporter of their enemies is evident from a poignant letter Pacelli wrote to Myron C. Taylor, who had been his host in New York and was now Roosevelt’s envoy to the Holy See. In part, “at the request of President Roosevelt, the Vatican has ceased all mention of the Communist regime. But this silence that weighs heavily on our conscience, is misunderstood by the Soviet leaders who continue the persecution against churches and faithful. God grant that the free world will not one day regret my silence.” There was indeed a “silence of Pius XII,” but it was not the silence invented by Hochhuth and Friedlander.

Vatican-Communist Cooperation

Still the strivings of the Pope continued. When it became certain that German troops would occupy Rome, he ordered the papal seal to be carved on the entrance gate of Rome’s Great Synagogue, and in July 1944 he authorized a meeting between his right-hand man, Msgr. Montini, and the undisputed leader of Italian Communism, Palmiro Togliatti, who had recently returned from 18 years in the Soviet Union.

According to document JR1022, released a few years ago by the successors of the US wartime Office of Strategic Services (OSS)

... the discussion between Msgr. Montini and Togliatti was the first direct contact between a high prelate of the Vatican and a leader of Communism. After having examined the situation, they acknowledged the potential possibility of a contingent alliance between Catholics and Communists in Italy which would give the three parties — Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists — an absolute majority, thereby enabling them to dominate any political situation. A tentative plan was drafted to forge the basis on which the agreement between the three parties could be made.

That “tentative plan,” forged 49 years ago, became the foundation for the unholy alliance that de-Christianized large sections of the Italian population, brought several decades of bloody turmoil into the schools and factories, and opened the nation to the Mafia, climaxing today in the national demand for sweeping social-political reform that is dubbed “Mani Puliti,” Clean Hands.

'Crusade' Rejected

In his first major address after the war, the Pope defended the one-sided attitude he had maintained throughout the conflict. He told the College of Cardinals, “We as head of the Church refused to call Christians to a crusade.” He was referring to the wartime visit to Rome of the French Cardinal, Boudrillat, to ask a papal blessing for the volunteer regiments of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Croatians, Hungarians, Slovenians — Catholics nearly to a man — who were

setting out with the armed forces of Germany and her allies to conquer the Soviet Union or, as the Cardinal put it, “to free the Russian people.” Along with the “crusaders” was to go a sizeable contingent of Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking priests, young graduates of the Russicum, Rome’s Russian seminary, who hoped to open long-closed churches on the way.

The Cardinal’s expectations were speedily dashed when the Pope demanded an immediate withdrawal of the request for a blessing. In addition, Boudrillat was to have no contact whatsoever with the press.

As the war dragged on, more pressure was put on Pius XII to resist advancing Marxism. Nuncio Roncalli wrote from Turkey to express “panic” at the Soviet offensive. He had tried in vain, he reported, to find out from his recent visitor, Cardinal Spellman of New York, how much Roosevelt had promised Stalin. From Bern, the Nuncio Bernardini reported that the Swiss press, “up to now preoccupied with German hegemony, has suddenly begun to take account of a far greater, a mortal danger, that of Germany falling into Soviet hands.” Pleading on behalf of the Catholic majorities in Poland and Hungary, he begged the Pope to back any reasonable peace initiative.

In March 1944, Secretary of State Maglione — without, it must be assumed, the Pope’s knowledge — was urging Britain’s envoy to the Holy See to try to convince Churchill that the Empire needed a non-Communist Germany in a stable Europe. Finally, in April, the Prime Minister of Hungary, Dr. Kallay, came to Rome with a desperate plea to Pius XII to put himself “at the head of a peace initiative capable of halting the Soviet advance that was about to engulf the Christian peoples of Europe.”

Pius XII, as he would boast in 1946 to the College of Cardinals, resisted every pressure and rejected every plea, and he gave his reason: “National Socialism has had a more ominous effect on the German people than has Marxism on the Russians, so that only a total reversal of German policies, particularly of those relating to the Jews, could make any move on the part of the Holy See possible.”

“... particularly those relating to the Jews.” Therein must lie the answer to the question posed by Robert Graham during the Washington Post interview, “How could one explain actions so contrary to the principle of neutrality?”

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Wartime Vatican Role Debated

Anti-Defamation League Takes Aim at Italian-American Pride

Russ Granata

On October 25 and 26, 1992, the National Italian American Foundation (NIAF) and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) co-sponsored a conference on "Italians and Jews: Rescue and Aid during the Holocaust" at the Regent Beverly Wilshire Hotel, Beverly Hills, California. I was there, as both a Revisionist and an Italian-American, for the second day of the conference.

The NIAF, based in Washington, D.C., describes itself as a non-profit foundation "dedicated to preserving the Italian heritage and values and providing a Washington voice for the Italian American community." Among its functions are "to promote a positive and realistic image of Italian Americans in the media" and "to encourage greater appreciation of the history and accomplishments of Italians and their descendants in America." Its introductory brochure sports photographs of a galaxy of Italian Americans prominent in many fields, including Governor Mario Cuomo of New York, Associate Justice Antonin Scalia, Joe DiMaggio, Lee Iacocca, Liza Minnelli, and the late A. Bartlett Giamatti.

An ADL brochure distributed there vaunted the group's role in "leading the fight against anti-Semitism," and further informed anyone who didn't already know that the ADL is made up of "advocates for Israel" who see that "challenges to Israel still lie ahead."

Wartime Italian-Jewish Cooperation

At the first session I attended, held on the morning of October 26, Father Robert Graham, an American Jesuit who has, according to Arthur Butz in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, served "as the principal spokesman of the Vatican" on the stance of the Papacy toward the wartime Axis measures against the Jews, spoke on "The Italian Clergy and Hospitality to the Hounded Jews." Father Graham stressed the help that the Catholic clergy, particularly of the Franciscan order, gave in hiding Jews or aiding them to flee.

Professor Andrew Canepa, of the University of California, spoke next on the causes of the Italians' toleration of their small Jewish minority, which he laid to the Italian ability to assimilate many different immigrants through Italy's history, as well as an ability to accept ambiguity. (Professor Canepa, like all other speakers on the day I attended, avoided the touchy question of the positive, mutual affinity that Mussolini and his Fascists evinced for certain Zionists, above all Vladimir Jabotinsky, leader of the Zionist Revisionist movement and mentor of, among others, the late Israeli terrorist and premier Menachem Begin and his followers.)

'Enough of Ambiguity'

After an Italian priest, Father Augusto Moretti, regaled the audience with tales of heartfelt Italo-Jewish wartime collaboration, relations between the two ethnic groups in Beverly Hills took a swift turn for the worse. Rabbi Harold Schulweis, chairman of the conference committee, said to Professor Canepa, in effect, "Enough of Italian ambiguity already. What would have been the impact on Hitler if both Pope Pius XI and Pope Pius XII had spoken out for the Jews?" Professor Canepa shot back that had the Italian clergy denounced the "Holocaust" publicly, they themselves would have been arrested. Father Graham hastened to support this by pointing out that no matter how desirable a statement by Pius XII would have been, the Catholic underground nevertheless came through.

Rabbi Schulweis countered that, whatever the benefits of Italian ambiguity, it would have been better for the Jews had the Italians shown less of it on their behalf. He was seconded by another rabbi, Harvey Fields, whereupon an unidentified man who hurried to the dais from the audience exclaimed that Slovakia had been headed by an anti-Semitic priest (Msgr. Josef Tiso), whom the pope could have excommunicated, but didn't. After further denunciations of other Catholic nations and individuals, including Croatia, he turned to one of the priests and sneered: "They didn't do enough, but you say they did what they could!"

Charge and Counter-Charge

Now the pot was really boiling. Someone exclaimed from the audience, "The Vicar of God never opened his mouth!" A papal defender retorted that Pope Pius XII had kept the proper balance, saving thousands of Jews. Someone else mentioned the 1937 anti-Nazi encyclical "Mit Brennen-der Sorge," but Professor H. Stuart Hughes (Univ. of Calif.- Santa Barbara) reminded from the dais that encyclical had been issued by Pius XI: Pius XII made no similar public statement during his pontificate.

A somewhat fitful calm was restored by Father Vivian Ben Lima of India, who said that he had known Jews in school in India, and that there was none of this anti-Semitic business back there when he was growing up: "I submit that anti-Semitism is a virus that comes from a European milieu." He observed that in any case the Vatican had made significant concessions to Jewry in the years after Pope Pius XII, and with that the conference moved to another room for lunch.

After the luncheon, Anna Maria Alberghetti and Father Victor Salandini were honored with awards. NIAF Vice Chairman Arthur Gajarsa introduced the ceremony, stating among other things that the main thing to remember from the conference is that the "Holocaust" must not happen again. (Not many minutes before, this was beginning to seem a near thing!). Miss Alberghetti was introduced to much applause from the crowd. The actress of stage and cinema, still a very attractive woman (I was able to talk with her afterward), offered some memories from her wartime girlhood in Italy: an aunt had been shot by the SS, she said, and her father, a music teacher who had trained more than a few Jewish cantors, had been arrested by the Fascists. Miss Alberghetti accepted a silver proof coin commemorating the 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyage of discovery in 1492. I could not help noticing that otherwise no one from the NIAF mentioned that event throughout the day.

Next we were able to see and hear Father Salandini, the self-styled "Tortilla Priest," who was presented the Giorgio Perlasca Humanitarian Award for "someone who has provided extraordinary service to people in need of assistance," and named for an Italian diplomat who allegedly prevented the deportation of thousands of Jews from Hungary in 1944 (presumably by giving

them, or selling them, false papers). The Tortilla Priest qualified for this award by aiding striking members of Caesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Union against lettuce and grape producers (among them Italian-Americans): he earned his nickname by celebrating a Mass in front of the home of Robert Egger, an owner of the Egger-Ghio Company, in which he employed a tortilla as the host. (Following the luncheon I caught a glimpse of Mel Mermelstein, whom I hadn't seen earlier, moving through the hotel.)

That afternoon the theme was more conciliatory, with an American Jewish scholar, Dr. Paul Bookbinder of the University of Massachusetts, and an Italian Jewish scholar, Dr. Liliana Picciotto Fargion, from the Milan Center for Modern Jewish Documentation, essentially agreeing that, all things considered, the Italian people were pretty sympathetic to the Jews, and that the real villains were the Germans. (Dr. Bookbinder noted that even today, the Germans are blaming the disturbances in Rostock and other cities on immigrants, not themselves.)

NIAF official Frank Guida closed the conference, remarking that if attendees had not visited the synagogues in Rome, Milan, Florence, Palermo, and other Italian cities, they certainly should. He also claimed, "We as Roman Catholics think of what might have happened if Italy had been on the Allied side of the Second World War" (allegedly it was, at least for the last twenty months of the conflict). The last words he spoke were: "Arrivederci and shalom."

Atoning for Sins?

So much for Italian pride. One wonders about how Jews would react to a similar conference, titled, let's say, "Jews and Palestinians: Rescue and Aid 1948-1993," culminating in the presentation of a Folke Bernadotte award to, perhaps, Alfred Lilienthal. And after wondering, one ventures that organized Jewry, led by the ADL, would be enraged, describe such a conference as "anti-Semitic," and castigate any Jew who participated as "self-hating."

Are Zionist groups like the ADL targeting the growing "ethnic pride" movement by attaching themselves to various European-American groups, and then using them to promote their own concerns? Might they be planning to shift these groups' emphasis from justified pride in the legitimate achievements of their ancestors (and current kinfolk) to shame for how wickedly they allegedly treated Jews over the centuries, with a wonderful redemption in prospect if they own up to the sins of their forebears, and atone for them as dutiful servitors of Israel and the Zionist-Jewish lobby?

For a refutation of the charge that Pius XII was guilty of failing to help save the Six Million, read the following books, available from the IHR:

- Henri Roques' brilliant, suppressed doctoral thesis, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* (\$11, pb.), exposing the key "witness" against the Pope.
 - Arthur Butz' *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (\$11.95, pb.), which includes a definitive explanation of the papal silence.
 - Lenni Brenner's *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (\$13, pb.), which documents Zionist collaboration with Mussolini's fascist regime.
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The Holocaust Issue: Three Christian Views

Christian Responsibility to Truth

Herman Otten

While most revisionists appear to be opposed to the construction of the [U.S. government] Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, right next to some of our nation's most cherished monuments, I say: Let it be built! One day it will serve as a monument to the stupidity of modern man, who can still accept a hoax as a fact. Hopefully it will then serve as a reminder to study all the facts and evidence, and repudiate all hoaxes.

The day is surely coming when all the evidence showing that the Germans never exterminated six million Jews can no longer be suppressed. Truth is not determined by majority vote. I learned this lesson in high school, and since then have repeatedly discovered how the majority of scholars, even within our churches, can be in error. That our presidents, senators and congressmen are all supposed to be convinced that the Germans killed six million Jews, that almost all of our nation's professors and churchmen are said to maintain that the Holocaust is a fact, doesn't make it a fact.

There is no dispute over the fact that large numbers of Jews were deported to concentration camps and ghettos, or that many Jews died or were killed during World War II. Revisionist scholars have presented evidence, which "exterminationists" have not been able to refute, showing that there was no German program to exterminate Europe's Jews, and that the estimate of six million Jewish wartime dead is an irresponsible exaggeration.

The Holocaust — the alleged extermination of some six million Jews (most of them by gassing) — is a hoax and should be recognized as such by Christians and all informed, honest and truthful men everywhere.

Here are the reasons that have impressed me as particularly persuasive in coming to my own conclusion that the Revisionist view of the Holocaust story is the correct one:

- There is no convincing or substantial evidence for the allegation of mass killings in gas chambers in the wartime German camps. Careful investigation — in particular that carried out by American engineer Fred Leuchter — has thoroughly discredited the "gas chamber" extermination claims.
- The most reliable statistics available cannot be reconciled with the legendary "six million" figure. The best evidence indicates that no more than a million, or perhaps a million and a half, European Jews perished from all causes during the war years.
- Neither the major Jewish organizations in the United States, nor the wartime Allied governments, nor the International Red Cross, nor the Vatican acted as if they seriously believed

the wartime extermination propaganda.

- Although the German government kept extensive and detailed records of its wartime Jewish policy, not a single document has ever been found which substantiates or even refers to an extermination program or policy. Instead, the voluminous German records confiscated by the Allies at the end of the war clearly show that the German “final solution” program was one of emigration and deportation, not extermination.
- Even prominent Jewish “exterminationist” historians now acknowledge that the stories of gassings and extermination in camps in Germany proper are not true, in spite of the fact that such claims were once seriously made, particularly at the great Nuremberg Trial of 1945-1946.
- The Holocaust story now centers on just six former camps in Poland. The so-called “evidence” presented to prove mass exterminations in these camps is qualitatively no better than the now discredited “evidence” once cited for extermination in the camps in Germany proper.
- Much of the so-called “evidence” presented by “exterminationists” over the years has already been thoroughly discredited. For example, the well-known horrific photographs of piles of corpses taken in camps in western Germany at the end of the war are now acknowledged to be photos of victims of disease and malnutrition who perished as indirect victims of the war in the final weeks and months of the conflict. Also, so-called “confessions” — such as those of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss — have been shown to be untruthful and extracted by torture. Many of the official reports and testimonies presented as “evidence” by the prosecution in the Nuremberg trials have since been shown to be lies.
- The fact that so many Jews “survived” German rule during the war — many of them even in so-called “extermination” centers such as Auschwitz-Birkenau — is enough to show that there was no German program or policy to exterminate the Jews of Europe.

The Holocaust is a hoax. The time has come for Christian scholars and pastors to recognize this, and to stop perpetrating a hoax as the truth. A Christian is not free to believe and promote a lie about any person or nation. True Christian scholars should at least read what the Revisionists write.

Many have said to us: “What difference does it make? The truth of the Holocaust is of no concern to Christians.” Nonsense! A Christian is not free to believe and promote a lie about any person or nation. A Christian is guided by truth and facts, not emotions and majority opinion.

If Christians can accept as historical fact the Holocaust, despite all the powerful evidence that it is a hoax, what does that say about their ability to evaluate evidence? What about their scholarship? Is it any wonder that some Revisionists, who have made a careful study of the Holocaust, question the scholarship of Christians, so many of whom swallow as absolute truth what is clearly a hoax?

I have been told numerous times, even by theologians who claim to be orthodox: “I don’t care whether it was six million or one Jew, even one is too many.” Such an attitude shows contempt for the truth. A Christian is to show true love, and the Apostle Paul tells us that love is “happy with the truth.” (1 Cor. 13:6) The writing of Proverbs tells us: “Speak out for those who can’t speak, for the rights of those who are doomed. Talk up, render fair decisions, and defend the rights of the poor and needy people.” (Proverbs 31:9)

A Christian bases his faith upon facts and absolute truth, not feelings and emotion. A Christian recognizes that only God is all-knowing. A Christian is willing to listen to evidence and evaluate various viewpoints. He doesn’t close his mind to the facts and evidence. He doesn’t start out with

the assumption that the Jew is right and the German is wrong, or that the Jew is wrong and the German is right. He looks at the evidence. Those who say they don't care if it was six million or one are showing a despicable attitude toward truth. They are saying: "We don't care about the truth." Such an attitude is sinful and worldly. Is it any wonder that so many then go on to act as if they don't care about another man's wife or property? The truthfulness of the Holocaust is a moral issue. Those who maintain that the Germans exterminated some six million Jews, most of them by gassing, are seeing to it that the Christian Church can no longer avoid speaking out. Churches are being pushed, as never before, to have special services commemorating the Holocaust.

A Christian is ready to change his opinion if the evidence shows he is wrong. Numerous times we have invited "exterminationists" to refute the Revisionists.

Some tell us that we have not shown love to the Jews, and that we are being racists and anti-Semitic when we publish articles by Revisionists questioning the Holocaust, and when we insist that Jesus Christ is the only way to heaven.

We have repeatedly emphasized in many editorials that the Bible teaches that there is no special chosen race. All those — regardless of color, race, nationality, sex, wealth, et cetera — who trust in the merits of Jesus Christ alone for their salvation are God's chosen people and will go to heaven. Those who tell Jews, Muslims, and any other non-Christian that they worship the true God, and can get to heaven without Christ, are not showing true love to the Jews and other non-Christians.

The so-called "fact" of the Holocaust is being used to deport innocent men from this country who, as teenagers, served with the German armed forces. In some cases they have been sent back to certain death in Communist lands. The [US government's] Office of Special Investigation is using the Holocaust as an excuse to force from the United States even such a reputable person as the scientist Arthur Rudolph.

Israel is using the "fact" of the Holocaust as an excuse to execute John Demjanjuk, an innocent Ukrainian-American. "The Jewish people have a long score to settle with the Ukrainian people" says Dov Ben-Meir, a deputy speaker of Israel's Knesset [parliament]. According to this top Israeli official, "unaccounted numbers" of Ukrainians "collaborated with the Nazi regime, especially in the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of Jews."

The "fact" of the Holocaust is being used by some to deny that Christianity is the only true religion, or that Jesus Christ rose from the dead.

Israel is using the "fact" of the Holocaust as an excuse to kill Palestinians in Israel. This slaughter, together with the anti-scriptural notions of the Israel-first Millennialists, almost all of whom believe in the Holocaust, could lead to another bloody war.

The Holocaust is not some innocent hoax, such as children's fairy tales that entertain and have no evil consequences.

The "chosen people" and "Holocaust" myths make mission work among non-Christians far more difficult. Arabs, who are told that the Bible teaches that their land belongs to the Jews, find it more difficult to believe what the Bible says about Christ.

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The Holocaust Issue: Three Christian Views

'Examine All the Evidence'

Louis Vezelis

On April 22, 1993, an ugly, monstrous edifice was dedicated in Washington, DC. It is a grotesque museum dedicated to the victims of evil. The only problem is that the majority of people throughout the world have been conditioned like Pavlovian dogs to react irrationally to pre-determined stimuli. Those who refuse are summarily isolated from the rest of the dehumanized human herd through use of meaningless but emotionally-charged epithets.

It is quite easy to observe which newspapers are subservient to this modern day hoax. The subject is the so-called "Holocaust Museum" built on public land "generously" donated by the US government ...

Insulting terminology in an editorial appearing in the left-wing, pro-Zionist, anti-Christian Democrat and Chronicle [newspaper of Rochester, New York] introduces the reader to the most obvious abuse of logic and good taste. But, logic and good taste have systematically been expunged from the American mind during a period of more than thirty years.

Well-informed American citizens demonstrated [in Washington, DC, on April 22] against the historically false accusations constantly made against the German people and other nationalities whose only real crime was resisting the international gangsters who facetiously call their brand of exploitation "Communism."

The Democrat and Chronicle editorial starts out:

The mindless folks who were waving signs at the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, last week claiming that the Holocaust never happened merely demonstrate why the museum is so important: to preserve the facts, before they disappear in the mists of history.

These "mindless folks" include none other than well-educated professors and professional historians, investigative reporters and, in general, are among the most descent people of a civilized society. It is their right and duty to examine all the evidence, and draw the truthful conclusions concerning what really happened in history.

There is already a strong indication that those who promote the Holocaust story are afraid of the truth. That can only explain the need for ridiculing those who seek only to present the entire matter before an open world forum of unbiased and unprejudiced investigators. Because the prepon-

derance of objective and factual evidence shows the promoters of the Holocaust story to be libelous frauds, sneak tactics and irrational emotionalism must be used.

We are concerned for the truth. Only those who are not of the truth must resort to lies and bloodshed. Facts by themselves do not constitute truth. Truth is in the judgment ...

The Hollywood cosmetics exploiting the unfortunate victims of death do not prove anything. For example, to film or photograph dead bodies, and then label them according to one's political need is a travesty of justice and truth beyond the capability of morally responsible individuals. Facts must be correctly interpreted before they can tell something of truth.

Another example is the famous "Anne Frank Diary" which has been foisted upon the American people at all levels. We all wept at the Hollywood tear-jerker action on the silver screen. Decent people reacted as expected by the unscrupulous falsifiers of fact. It has come to the attention of more and more people that this diary is a fraud. Yes, it has been proven to be fake. Public school facilities are periodically used to foist this fraud upon unsuspecting citizenry to re-enforce the psychological brainwashing.

Anne Frank was not fake: She really did live. But everything else about her life is a melodramatic, money-making operation to overwhelm the world with hatred for a nation ... No one says anything comparable about the children brutally murdered by the Soviets when they occupied the Baltic States in 1940, and Germany in 1945.

A French Professor whose love for truth is greater than his love for fame and life, Robert Faurisson, has proven that the alleged "diary" of Anne Frank could not have been written by her ...

While the American people are being lulled into very dangerous apathy by being fed psycho-babble, a real holocaust, including child murder, is taking place every day in occupied Palestine ...

Could it be that someone is trying to put a guilt complex on the American people so they will not dare raise a loud voice of protest against greater evils?

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In Europe: Further Legal Persecution of Revisionists

German University Professor Charged for Holocaust Remarks

A respected German university professor has been charged with “popular incitement” because he told some colleagues six years ago that the Holocaust story is not true.

Rainer Ballreich, who teaches “biomechanics” at the sports institute of the University of Frankfurt, reportedly told a few colleagues at a 1987 meeting of the German Sports League that the story of six million murdered Jews is a lie, and that most concentration camp deaths were due to disease and malnutrition. The alleged remarks were first made public last March in an open letter by one of those present. (Frankfurter Neue Presse, March 26, 1993 p. 18.)

Ballreich, 62, has a respected name in his profession. From 1974 to 1988 he was a member of the scholarly commission of the Federal Committee for Sports Achievement of the German Sports League. Until 1988 he was chairman of the “Movement and Training” section of the Federal Institute for Sports Science, which is supervised jointly the German Interior Ministry and the German Sports League. Until last year Professor Ballreich was a member of the credentials committee of the Federal Institute for Sports Science.

Ballreich denies the charge against him. The case is further complicated because there is a five year statute of limitations for the crime.

Teacher Faces Legal Action for Denial of Mass Gassings

A German teacher faces dismissal and legal action for his rejection of claims of mass killings in gas chambers during the Second World War.

Hans-Jürgen Witzsch teaches German and history at the metropolitan school of economics in Nuremberg. The 53-year-old educator (*Oberstudienrat*) and former city council member, is also chairman of a local revisionist group.

In January he sent a letter to Bavarian Radio expressing support for the revisionist views of British historian David Irving. Witzsch wrote:

For me, along with many other historians, there is no longer any reasonable doubt that the claim of gas chambers as extermination facilities during the National Socialist period is an invention of wartime atrocity propaganda, and a claim for which there is no real proof.

Because of his revisionist views about the Second World War, Witzsch was suspended in 1981 from teaching at the city’s metropolitan school of economics. However, the suspension was over-

turned on appeal to a court, and he resumed teaching at the school in the fall of 1991. (Närn-berger Nachrichten, March 26, p. 11.)

Swiss Teacher Suspended For Holocaust Book

Because he wrote a book that disputes claims of wartime extermination gas chambers, a Swiss teacher has been summarily suspended from his position.

Jürgen Graf was suspended as a teacher of Latin and French at a secondary school in Therwil (near Basel) in late March shortly after the publication of his book, *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand: Augenzeugenberichte versus Naturgesetze* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand: Eyewitness Reports versus the Laws of Nature"). The 112-page softcover work provides a well-organized introduction to the Holocaust issue from a revisionist perspective. (This book is also mentioned in the July-August 1993 Journal, p. 25.)

Graf distributed copies of his book, along with a four-page cover letter, to numerous history teachers, professors, journalists and political figures across Switzerland.

Graf says that he was very much aware of the likely repercussions of the publication of his book, and fully expected that official action of some kind would be taken against him. "I had to expect to be suspended from school service," he says. "De facto," this suspension is "a dismissal without notice."

Someone like Graf "obviously" cannot be a teacher, an official of the Swiss Federal Education and Cultural Affairs Authority has declared. Graf's book is "absolutely not open to discussion."

During the year and a half that he worked as a teacher in Therwil, Graf was well regarded by both colleagues and students as an "involved and competent teacher." He did not speak about the Holocaust issue in his classroom sessions. (Basellandschaftliche Zeitung, March 24.)

Graf, who was born in Switzerland in 1951, strongly rejects allegations that he is a neo-Nazi or an anti-Semite. "I respect the truth," he explains. "I can no longer live with the gas chamber lie."

Graf readily acknowledges that Europe's Jews suffered terribly under German rule during the war years. "Every decent person strongly condemns these brutal persecutions," he says.

It was only after intensive study — including reading of more than 150 books — that Graf came to the conclusion in 1991 that the generally accepted Holocaust story is a product of wartime propaganda. There were no extermination gas chambers, and no systematic extermination of Jews during the war years, he writes.

A second and much more detailed work by Graf appeared in June. *Der Holocaust-Schwindel: Vom Werden und Vergehen des Jahrhundertbetrugs* ("The Holocaust Swindle: The Development and Passing of the Hoax of the Century") is a copiously referenced 250-page softcover book. A letter by Dr. Robert Faurisson serves as a preface to the work.

Graf promises to openly defy a new Swiss "Anti-Racism" law that provides for heavy fines or imprisonment for those who "deny the genocide or the crimes against humanity."

As we go to press, Graf's two books are still available from: Guideon Burg Verlag, Postfach 52, CH-4009 Basel, Switzerland.

Doubts About Holocaust Story Permissible, German Judge Rules

In a remarkable verdict, a German court has found a key Revisionist activist innocent of the crime of “denying” the Holocaust extermination story.

On May 25, Munich court judge Florian Schenk declared defendant Ewald Althans innocent of charges arising from statements he made during a 1992 television interview expressing doubt about claims of systematic extermination of Jews during the Second World War.

In a vigorously delivered and evidently persuasive defense plea, made by Althans himself, the gifted 27-year-old cited the drastically divergent figures of Auschwitz victims, as well as the findings of Jewish American revisionist David Cole. (For more about Cole and his work, see the March-April 1993 Journal.)

While German law “of course” makes it a crime to deny mass extermination, said Judge Schenk, expressing doubt about extermination or mass gassings is not forbidden. Althans had “merely doubted” the Holocaust story, declared Schenk, who said that expressions of doubt are necessary in order to arrive at the truth. The German law that makes it a crime to “deny” the Holocaust story could be a dangerous restriction of freedom of expression, he added.

Schenk also criticized the behavior of the police during a demonstration by the “Ecological Left” on January 16 against Althans' Munich headquarters. Schenk expressed disgust with the behavior of the police, who escorted the leftist mob to the site, and then stood by while the hoodlums carried out their crimes of violence.

Althans is a major distributor of Revisionist writings in Germany. He works closely with German-Canadian publisher and publicist Ernst Zündel.

State prosecutors are appealing the verdict, which Althans called “phenomenal” and a “splendid victory.”

Health Care Worker Sentenced for Distributing Revisionist Paper

A German court has sentenced a 30-year-old health care worker to four months imprisonment, suspended for three years, for distributing copies of a tabloid paper that rejects the Holocaust extermination story.

In March, a court in Hameln found the defendant, identified in newspaper reports only as “Rainer W.,” guilty of defamation, popular incitement, and incitement to racial hatred.

The defendant, who works in the nearby town of Bad Pyrmont, freely acknowledging distributed 300 copies of an issue of Remer Depesche, a tabloid paper published by retired German general Otto Ernst Remer. Rainer W. expressed his support for the views of Remer's paper, and spoke in court of the “Six Million Lie.” A newspaper report on the case expressed astonishment that he felt no sense of guilt for his “crime.” (Bad Pyrmont Nachrichten, March 19.)

Remer Depesche is considered particularly “incendiary,” the local newspaper reported, because it claims that there was no systematic wartime extermination of Jews. (For more about Remer and his paper, see the March-April Journal, pp. 29-30.)

Citing the right of freedom of expression guaranteed in Germany's “Basic Law,” Rainer W. told the court that he was legally entitled to distribute the Remer Depesche. State prosecuting attorney

Nikolaus Borchers sharply rejected this argument, insisting that the right does not apply in this case. The right of freedom of expression, said Borchers, is not unlimited and cannot be abused to libel others. The “persecution of the Jews,” he went on to explain, has been “historically proven,” and is not open to discussion.

Calling Rainer W. a “criminal by conviction,” the prosecuting attorney argued that the public must be protected from his activities. Borchers asked the court to punish him with a fine of 2,000 marks (about \$1,200), and six months imprisonment, suspended for three years.

Rainer W. rejected an offer by Borchers to reduce the sentence if he promised to “improve.” The defendant was encouraged by the presence of many friends and supporters, who filled the courtroom. He is appealing the sentence.

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Who reads the Journal?

Letters from a U.S. Senator and an Austrian President about articles in the *Journal*

United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

April 21, 1993

Dear Dr. John,

Thank you very much for having taken the time to write and to send the excerpt from [the March-April 1993 Journal of Robert John's review of] Issah Nakleh's Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem. I am glad to have it, and I anticipate that it will prove to be of use.

Sincerely,

[signed]

Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Der Bundespräsident

September 15, 1986

Dear Mr. John,

Many thanks for your kind wishes on the occasion of my election to the Presidency of the Republic of Austria. I was deeply touched by your thoughtful gesture.

I have read with great interest your article [in the Winter 1985-86 Journal] on the Balfour Declaration and other historical aspects. I return you herewith The Journal of Historical Review.

One of the first important steps to overcome the horrible consequences of a tragedy, as was World War II, was to build up an atmosphere of understanding of mutual esteem between Europeans and Americans. That is why I appreciated so much your letter.

With warmest regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

[signed]

Kurt Waldheim

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South African Member of Parliament Under Fire for Support of Revisionism

Because he expressed public support for the revisionist cause of truth in history in a letter to the Institute for Historical Review, a South African lawmaker has come under attack from Zionist-Jewish organizations.

South African newspapers have reported on a letter in the November 1992 IHR Newsletter, by Louis F. Stofberg, a senior Conservative party member of the House of Assembly in Cape Town. In the letter he wrote:

I have just received the IHR Newsletter for October with the good news that Zündel has won in Canada's Supreme Court. Please convey my congratulations and good wishes to Ernst Zündel. Like the IHR itself, he is a hero of the truth unsurpassed in our times.

Our enemies have done everything, and their worst, to stop him. They have failed, and revisionism can go forward with greater confidence than ever before that victory will be ours.

A report on the letter in the Johannesburg Star, the country's largest-circulation daily paper, was headlined "CP MP defends letter about Holocaust" (May 14).

A lengthier report in The Weekly Mail, also of Johannesburg, was headlined "CP's Stofberg linked to neo-Nazis" (May 14-20). This sensational article seemed less concerned about the lawmaker's acclaim for the IHR, than for his praise of "neo-Nazi" Zündel. As Stofberg explained to journalists, though, he praised Zündel as a defender of free speech, not for his political views.

The Weekly Mail article absurdly characterizes the IHR as a group that has "claimed that Auschwitz and other death camps were built by the Allies after the war in an attempt to smear the Nazis."

An official of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies says of Stofberg: "It is scandalous in today's world that an MP should deny the Holocaust." In Holocaust Denial, a new book compiled and published by the American Jewish Committee, AJC official Kenneth Stern criticizes Stofberg for his letter in the IHR Newsletter.

Interestingly, Stofberg has not (yet) been criticized for his letter in the Summer 1992 issue of the Journal (p. 246), which concludes: "It is very gratifying indeed to note how the truth of revisionism is breaking through. Please accept our deepest appreciation for the great job you and your associates are doing."

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Gas Chamber Door Fraudulently Portrayed at U.S. Holocaust Museum

Visitors at the recently opened US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, will find on display a casting of a door of a supposed extermination gas chamber. This artifact is presented as graphic evidence of the chemical slaughterhouses supposedly used by the Germans to systematically exterminate masses of Jews during the Second World War.

According to the March 1990 issue of the Museum's official Newsletter, this is "a casting of the door that sealed one of the gas chambers at the Majdanek killing center in Poland." This door is also shown in *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, a book by Museum official Michael Berenbaum. A photograph of it appears on page 138 (reproduced here) along with a caption describing it as "a casting of the door to the gas chamber at Majdanek ... from the outside, SS guards could observe the killing through a small peephole."

French anti-Revisionist researcher Jean-Claude Pressac reports on this door in his 563-page book, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#) (published in 1989 by "Nazi hunters" Serge and Beate Klarsfeld). He provides a photograph of the building in the Majdanek camp, including the door from which the Holocaust Museum casting was made.

As Pressac correctly notes, this door did indeed close on a gas chamber at Majdanek. However, as he concedes (on pages 555 and 557 of his book), this was a *delousing* chamber used to *disinfect clothing*. The only living things killed in this gas chamber were lice.

The fraud of the US Holocaust Museum in presenting this "gas chamber" door was pointed out by Journal editor Mark Weber in his speech in suburban Washington, DC, on April 21, and by IHR editorial advisor Dr. Robert Faurisson in the July-August Journal (pages 14-17).

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British Historian Hugh Trevor-Roper On the Gerstein 'Confessions,' the Roques Thesis, and the Gas Chamber Question

While serving as a British army intelligence officer during the Second World War, Hugh-Trevor Roper earned a reputation as a leading expert on the German military intelligence service. At the end of the war, he was called upon to investigate the many stories then circulating about Hitler's fate. The results of his inquiry, which he made public in late 1945, immediately brought an end to fantastic tales that Hitler had survived the war.

Trevor-Roper's investigation became the basis for a book, *The Last Days of Hitler*, which was first published in 1947. By 1983, almost half a million copies of this widely acclaimed work had been sold worldwide.

In 1957, Trevor-Roper's friendship with Harold Macmillan, then Prime Minister, helped secure for him the prestigious post of Regius Professor of History at Oxford University, which he held for many years. His criticisms of *The Origins of the Second World War*, a revisionist work by fellow British historian A.J.P. Taylor, have been widely quoted.

Prime Minister Thatcher granted Trevor-Roper a peerage in 1979, and a year later he took the title Lord Dacre of Glanton. Perhaps the most embarrassing moment in his career came in 1983, when he inspected the spurious "Hitler diaries" and, after only a cursory examination, pronounced them to be authentic. (For more on this, see Robert Harris' *Selling Hitler*, reviewed in the Winter 1986-87 Journal.)

In the following letter, Lord Dacre (Trevor-Roper) comments on the doctoral work of French historian Henri Roques. (Roques' dissertation, which is published in English by the IHR under the title *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein*, is available from the IHR for \$11, plus \$2 shipping. Roques, a member of the IHR editorial advisory committee, addressed the 1987 IHR Conference. His presentation appeared in the Spring 1988 Journal.)

As he makes clear in this letter — published here in full with permission of Henri Roques — Trevor-Roper generally accepts the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. At the same time, though, the renowned British historian expresses praise for French scholar's work, confirms the unreasoning persecution that befalls those who dare question the orthodox Holocaust story, and dismisses the supposedly authoritative evidence presented at the main Nuremberg trial for execution gassings at the Dachau and Buchenwald camps.

Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre)
House of Lords
The Old Rectory
Didcor

Oxon OX11 7EB
[England]

17 May 1990

Dear Monsieur Roques

I greatly appreciate the trouble you have taken to write to me so fully about your thesis and its consequences. Many thanks for your letter.

I was impressed by your thesis when I read it in Mr. Percival's translation. I thought it an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of Quellenkritik [source critique] on a limited but important subject, and I was shocked by Mr. Percival's account, in his preface, of its rejection on what seem to me irrelevant non-intellectual grounds. Indeed, I found it difficult to believe that account — or Mr. Percival's explanation of the attack, viz: that French professors, because of the centralization of French education, are mere functionaries, obedient, even in intellectual matters, to the government. From your letter I see that Mr. Percival has indeed simplified the story. In any case, the manifesto in *Le Monde* is not directly relevant to your case since it preceded it in time. Mr. Percival did not, I think, make this perfectly clear.

I consider that you have shown that Gerstein's testimony cannot be relied upon. The logical consequence of this, as it seems to me, is that we should (at least provisionally) exclude it altogether from the evidence. What evidence then remains for the gas-chambers?

I agree that, at first, many irresponsible statements were made — e.g. about gas-chambers at Dachau and Buchenwald. But we can forget them. We are concerned with the "extermination camps" in the General Gouvrenment of Poland. You argue that the elimination of Gerstein's evidence eliminates the alleged gas chambers at Belzec; and your thesis suggests (though it does not explicitly state) that if the gas chambers at Belzec disappear, the others follow them into limbo. However, in your letter, you concede that this is not a necessary consequence: you believe that the other did not exist, but you do not claim to have demonstrated it.

I am not competent to argue the matter. It is a long time since I saw the evidence and I am now too pre-occupied (and too old) to immerse myself in the controversy. I also know, from experience (as you have found), that the controversy is itself dangerous. The Jews suffered so horribly during the war that any comment which seems to reduce that suffering, even if it is merely a scholarly attempt to disengage history from mythology, is at once regarded as a kind of blasphemy. Arno Mayer, whose book I have read [*Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*], has experienced this. And of course there are some such commentators with whom one does not wish to be associated.

I would hope to see the whole evidence fairly re-examined without reference to Gerstein; but I am not prepared to undertake that task myself: The evidence is too indistinct in my mind. I take it that there is no need to argue about the Einsatzkommandos or the policy of extermination; only about the systematic gassing in particular camps. That gas was used in mobile vans we know; and we know that this was found to be unsatisfactory and that a "cleaner" and more systematic method of destruction was sought. We know that experts were sent out from the department T2 (which used gas in the euthanasia project) and that T2 was directly controlled from the Führerkanzlei,

thus showing Hitler's personal involvement (also admitted in Goebbels' Diary). So the circumstantial evidence is strong. What then of the actual, or alleged chambers?

In my letter to Mr. Percival I think I referred to the evidence of Pfannenstiel at Belzec and of Höss as commandant of Auschwitz, which is demonstrably independent. You dismiss this, offering what you admit to be speculative motives for Pfannenstiel's testimony, and regarding Höss as a dubious source (I don't know why). I can find other motives — still speculative, but to me more plausible — for Pfannenstiel; and I also consider that von Otter's account has some relevance. But since we are both speculating about motives, we can agree to differ there. On the technical aspects cited by you in your thesis, and by Fred Leuchter, I am incompetent to express a view.

So there I must leave the matter — in suspense — only saying that I regard your thesis as entirely legitimate and very interesting, and that I hope your appeal to the Conseil d'Etat is upheld!

Yours sincerely,

Dacre

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The Holocaust Issue and Middle East Policy

Alfred M. Lilienthal

One is unable to discuss Middle East policy without bringing up this question of the Holocaust. Let me make my thinking clear: The Nazi genocide was a gross tragedy. It matters little whether six million or three million, or but three Jews were killed, simply because they were Jews. It was one of the worst abominations committed against humanity. But we ought to also remember that other peoples, other than Jews, were victimized as well. There is no reason why, today, 47 years after the end of World War II, we must constantly look back over our shoulders and dwell infinitely on the tragedy of that time, rather than to move forward and seek remedies for our many current ills.

The reason for this continuing backward look is to make us all feel guilty, Christians and Jews alike, and to silence us in the face of what has been going on in Palestine's occupied territories, the West Bank and Gaza. Day in and day out, the media — led by The New York Times, The Washington Post, and the television networks — in stories and headlines, aim to make us all feel guilty as hell. It is either a reunion of Holocaust survivors, if not a gathering of the grandchildren, and even the story of the great grandchildren. "Bormann is alive," ran the headlines five years ago. And more recently, the bones of the killer Mengele were exhumed, to see whether or not the Nazi was really dead and buried there. These stories always appear in booming headlines.

Concentrate the attention of public opinion makers and the American people on the many sins of mankind committed against the Jews through genocide and anti-Semitism, in its many forms, and inject Holocaustomania into every possible aspect of daily life, politics, religion, the arts and the entertainment world. Then, no one will ever be able to make a reasoned, logical judgment on how best we can bring about peace in the harassed Middle East.

American attention is thus diverted from the dangerous incubator of future war, the abysmal neglect of Palestinian human rights. Many Americans here at home who see this are, however, inhibited and fearful of speaking out, lest they be labeled "anti-Semites" by the partisans of Israel.

I sense a growing stirring and latent, ugly anti-Semitism resulting from this free-speech suppression. This deeply concerns me, as it must many others.

The policies of the State of Israel, as well as Zionism and the Jews, must be open to constructive criticism. I do not believe the Holocaust saga should be sanctified as if it were our third holy book along with the Old and New Testaments. Even they are open to scrutiny in the search for truth.

Thomas Jefferson once asked the Virginia legislature, "For God's sake, why can't we really hear both sides?"

I do not believe that questioning certain exaggerated details of the grossest act of humanity, as I have done, and will continue to do, is tantamount to asserting there was no Holocaust. Only a big fool or a greater villain takes such a view today. When I questioned the authenticity of *The Diary of Anne Frank*, I was widely assailed. It cost me dearly in my relations with my alma mater, Cornell University. But there is a fundamental difference between saying there was no Holocaust, and insisting that the Holocaust not be used continuously as a justification and a cover up to win sympathy for the Zionist position and Israeli excesses, and as an excuse for ignoring the plight of the Palestinians.

Unfortunately, it is no exaggeration to sadly note that worship of the State of Israel and the Holocaust, have become the new Golden Calves of Jewry, and that they are slowly supplanting the worship of Yahweh. The Chief Rabbi of Britain, Immanuel Jakobovits, has stated that the Holocaust has become “an industry far from the soul of Judaism.”

Relative to this, when I spoke at Claremont in 1976, I pleaded for a free and open debate on U.S. Middle East policy as a prime necessity. I called for discussion in which both speaking out in favor of the Palestinian right to self-determination, and against accepting chapter and verse of the oft-repeated tale of Nazi genocide and anti-Semitism, can take place without drawing the label of “anti-Semite.” Unfortunately, as eminent columnist Joe Sobran recently quipped, “It used to be that an anti-Semite was anyone who hated Jews. Now, it is anyone whom Jews hate.”

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Penn State 'Holocaust History' Course: A Lesson in Ignorance

Professor Responds to Revisionist Question By Calling Police

Mark Weber

When *Journal* subscriber Karl Striedieck signed up in January for Professor Rose's three-credit "Holocaust History" course at Pennsylvania State University (University Park), he wasn't expecting a warm welcome for his skeptical views. Still, he wasn't quite prepared for the bigoted reception he did receive.

Striedieck, who served for 23 years as a U.S. military fighter pilot, says that he decided to sign up for course 297C "to broaden my knowledge of the subject in a university-level course, taught by an accredited specialist on the subject."

On the first day of the Spring term class, Dr. Paul Rose warned students that they should not read any of the writings of Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz, Arno Mayer, David Irving, or Mark Weber, or any of the publications of the Institute for Historical Review. These revisionist historians are so clever, Rose explained, that students aren't able to see through their deceptive arguments. Thinking this a rather odd approach to take by someone supposedly dedicated to open-minded inquiry, Striedieck informed the teacher that he had, in fact, already read works by these individuals, and would appreciate a critique of their arguments. Rose responded by suggesting that the student immediately drop the course.

"Much of what Rose taught in the weeks that followed contrasted sharply with the findings of revisionist historians," recalls Striedieck. "Still, I resisted the temptation to raise awkward questions." That is, until the day when students were assigned a short story that included a claim of homicidal gas chambers at Buchenwald, a Nuremberg trial story that is now generally acknowledged as a propaganda lie.

At this point Striedieck asked: "I have been unable to find a single serious historian on either side of this issue who claims that there were homicidal gas chambers at Buchenwald. Would you please comment?" Without attempting to answer, Rose ordered Striedieck out of the classroom. The student responded by explaining that "since I haven't behaved in a manner deserving expulsion, I am staying."

In the face of this defiance, the teacher threatened to call the police to have him removed. Rose then abruptly left the room, and ten minutes later two campus policemen arrived. During Rose's absence, Striedieck gave the other students (bored until this point) an abbreviated crash course in Holocaust Revisionism. After taking his statement and listening to his account of what had happened, the police agreed with Striedieck that he had done nothing wrong, and returned with him to the classroom. Unsuccessful in his further efforts to remove the uppity student, Rose himself

returned ten minutes later and finished the hour-long class. Later Striedieck met with the head of the History Department, who agreed that he was a serious student who had done nothing improper.

Professor Rose's course reflects the standards that now prevail in American academic life. More than half of class time was devoted to watching videotape presentations, many of them frankly fictional dramatizations, including "Seven Beauties," "The Garden of the Finzi-Contini," "The Wannsee Conference," "Nasty Girl," and "Europa, Europa."

Although the teacher urged students to purchase and read Michael Marrus' *The Holocaust in History*, as a "course text," Rose made no assignments or even further references to it. He did make a point of bringing to class a copy of the 1989 book about Auschwitz by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac (whom Rose inaccurately identified as an engineer), and of telling students that this 564-page work thoroughly discredits the revisionists. On other occasions, Rose endorsed the Holocaust fable that Ilse Koch made lampshades from the tattooed skins of murdered Buchenwald inmates, and said that Zyklon B was not an effective pesticide.

This "Holocaust history" class might be described as a course in German-bashing, Striedieck recalls. At one point, Rose told students that the German national character is one of "mindless obedience."

Of the eight or so students who normally attended, one or two routinely nodded off during class. There were no tests or exams, and no grading policy was announced. The only requirement for this three-credit course was an eight-page paper analyzing "a single Holocaust" event, issue, episode or process from different perspectives.

Predictably, Dr. Rose did not find Striedieck's paper on Birkenau very satisfying, and gave it a "D."

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My Campaign for Justice for John Demjanjuk

Jerome A. Brentar

John Demjanjuk's vindication — culminating in his recent reunion with his family in the United States — has special meaning for Jerome Brentar. For more than a decade, this deeply religious man of Croatian ancestry and anti-Communist conviction has devoted countless hours of his own time and considerable money from his own pocket to help defend the Ukrainian-American auto worker.

This was not the first such case in which Brentar had played an important role. In the earlier case of Frank Walus, Brentar dug up evidence that proved to be of crucial importance in exonerating the Polish-born American.

It was only after a protracted and devastating legal ordeal that Walus, who has gratefully called Brentar "my savior," was able to establish that he was not a Gestapo murderer of Jews in wartime Poland, as Simon Wiesenthal, the United States government, eleven Jewish "eyewitnesses," and several newspapers had insisted, but instead had spent the war years as a quiet teenage farm laborer in Germany. (For more on this case, see the Summer 1992 Journal, pp. 186-187.)

Brentar's dismissal in early September 1988 as national co-chairman of a George Bush presidential campaign organization — after a Jewish weekly paper focused attention on his efforts on behalf of Demjanjuk — made headlines in newspapers around the country, and brought Brentar's face to national television news broadcasts.

Explained a Bush campaign aide: "We became aware of his [Brentar's] affiliation with the group that supports the defense of John Demjanjuk, and that position is at fundamental odds with the Vice President [Bush] and this campaign. And we took the action based on learning about that today... We told him [Brentar] that his advocacy on this issue puts him at a fundamental disagreement with the campaign and the Vice President."

Commenting on his dismissal, Brentar said: "It's part of a dirty smear campaign that started because I said Demjanjuk is innocent. For that, I'm called a neo-Nazi and an anti-Semitic revisionist." Brentar also noted: "I could have been an atheist. I could have been a polygamist. I could have been anything else, and questions wouldn't have been asked. And now because I helped a poor victim, I'm everything under the sun." (New York Times, Sept. 9, 1988.)

A mark of the sorry moral level to which our country has fallen is not only the shameful role of the US federal government in the persecution of John Demjanjuk, but that an American vice president could see fit to order the removal of a man as decent and upright as Brentar from a campaign committee because of his selfless work on behalf of an American citizen he passionately believes to be innocent of monstrous crimes, in a country where people are supposedly presumed innocent until proven otherwise.

On September 14, 1988, not long after his dismissal from the Bush campaign, Brentar appeared on the CNN cable television program “Crossfire,” along with New York Congressman Stephen Solarz and co-hosts Tom Braden and Pat Buchanan. On a nationally-televised broadcast, apparently for the first time ever, the great taboo of Holocaust revisionism was breached.

Although Brentar was reluctant to get into the Holocaust issue itself, the program’s “liberal” fossil, Tom Braden, gave further evidence of his calcified mindset by vigorously claiming that he personally saw gas chamber victims at Buchenwald at the end of the war. Co-host Pat Buchanan, a savvy and courageous writer and probably the most prominent national defender of Demjanjuk, thereupon cut in and pointed out that no serious historian makes that claim anymore.

Braden responded with sheepish silence.

Stephen Solarz, a Congressman from Brooklyn who boasted in 1981 that he had become a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in order, as he put it, to “deliver for Israel,” lost control of himself. He charged that Brentar’s greatest sin was not that he defended Demjanjuk, but that he had doubts about the Holocaust story.

Although Brentar explained that he preferred not to get into the issue, Solarz insisted on a statement. “Did Jews die in gas chambers at Auschwitz? Were six million Jews killed?,” he demanded. Finally, Brentar simply said that although he is not a scholar of the Holocaust, there are certainly absurdities and contradictions in the Holocaust story. Brentar specifically mentioned the once seriously made allegation that masses of Jews were put to death at Treblinka in huge steam chambers, and he mentioned the now discredited story of mass killing by electricity.

Brentar’s calm and factual remarks only further enraged Solarz. After another outburst from the ultra-Zionist politician, Buchanan shot back, “don’t be a complete phony,” a remark that so stunned the normally loquacious lawmaker that he was momentarily struck speechless.

Over the years, Jerry Brentar has endured a barrage of outrageous attacks against his character, including loud criticism for speaking at IHR conferences. But long after such mean-spirited carping is forgotten, this noble man will be remembered as the person without whose intrepid and selfless help John Demjanjuk almost certainly would have been deported to the Soviet Union and executed for crimes he did not commit.

— *M. W.*

I appreciate this opportunity to address fellow Americans who share my concerns. I wish first to take this opportunity to thank the Institute for Historical Review for creating this citadel of free

speech. I commend the IHR and its supporters for their tremendous job, under very trying circumstances, to protect this right of freedom of speech.

John Demjanjuk has been a victim of an unprecedented travesty of justice. The US Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, working with the Soviet government, and those who might be called "Holocaustians" have carried on a campaign to portray this innocent man as "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka.

For their part, the Soviets have always been concerned about the Ukrainians because of their efforts for independence from Russia. Accordingly, the Kremlin worked to instill in the Ukrainians, and in the other non-Russian peoples of the USSR, the fear that the long hand of the Soviet secret police can track down any of them, anywhere in the world. This is why John Demjanjuk was targeted.

This Soviet effort received cooperation from the federal government's Office of Special Investigations, the OSI, and the pro-Israel lobby. The people in the OSI are interested, first of all, in holding onto their lucrative jobs, while the "Holocaustians" want to keep alive the multi-million dollar Holocaust industry.

Essential to this campaign has been the sensationalism of the "hunts" and trials of alleged "Nazi war criminals" such as Frank Walus, Andrija Artukovic, Tscherim Soobzokov and, of course, John Demjanjuk. Newspapers join in this because they sell best with sensationalized atrocity stories.

Wartime Beginnings

In a way, my involvement with the Demjanjuk case began during World War II, while I was serving as an American soldier in Germany. During the final months of the war, masses of German soldiers came under our control as prisoners of war. I was one of those who helped to process these prisoners, and I examined the documents of many of these men. This experience gave me a very vivid picture of what wartime German documents look like. And then, after the war — because I speak German and Slavic languages — I got a job with the International Refugee Organization working in Germany. At that time, there were millions of "displaced persons" in Germany. In that job, which gave me access to additional important information, I had to examine the documents of many of these refugees.

I first became aware of the federal government's legal prosecution of John Demjanjuk in 1980, when I saw reprinted in Cleveland newspapers a facsimile of a supposed identity card proving that this was "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka. This in spite of the fact that this alleged "Trawniki" ID card, which was the key piece of documentary evidence against Demjanjuk, does not mention Treblinka at all, but instead places him at Sobibor and at an agricultural estate in Poland.

Along with this piece of evidence, the government produced five witnesses from Israel who testified that Demjanjuk was the notorious Ivan of Treblinka. As it happened, though, one of these witnesses, Elijah Rosenberg, had told the Polish War Crimes Commission in 1945 that the man known as Ivan of Treblinka had been killed during an uprising at the camp in August 1943. Rosenberg repeated this claim in a statement given in December 1947 at the Jewish center in Vienna, declaring under oath that Ivan of Treblinka had been killed. Some years later, though, testifying against Demjanjuk in Cleveland in 1981, and again in Israel in 1987, Rosenberg changed his story. He admitted that, yes, he had stated that Ivan the Terrible was dead. At the trial in Is-

rael, however, he said, pointing, “But he’s there. He’s alive. I’m seeing him there!” It was testimony like this that brought the sentence of death against this poor man.

Streibel's Testimony

After seeing the ID card in the newspaper, I called Mr. Karl Streibel, who had been commandant of the Trawniki camp, where this document had supposedly been issued. Streibel told me:

Mr. Brentar, I told your people from Washington, who came to see me three years ago, that this is not an ID card from Trawniki. I told them that Trawniki was a training camp for those men who were chosen to work as guards for the Germans, and that this was a training camp not only for concentration camp guards. There were approximately five thousand men there, most of whom were then assigned to guard military installations, bridges, depots, motor pools, and so on. About three hundred of them were assigned to guard at camps such as Treblinka, Belzec, and Sobibor.

Mr. Streibel went on to tell me:

Mr. Brentar, the attorneys from the OSI were here, and I told them to bring me the original ID card. I wanted to see the original because I would absolutely never sign any document without putting the date and place of issue before my signature.

The OSI was very much concerned that Demjanjuk’s defense attorneys would try to meet and talk with Mr. Streibel. And indeed a meeting was arranged in Hamburg with Streibel and the defense attorneys, Mr. John Martin and Mr. Spiros Gonakis. But even though a date and a time in the late afternoon had been set for the meeting, as John Martin later told me, he received a phone call, allegedly from a friend of Mr. Streibel, informing him that he was not interested in meeting with the gentlemen from America after all. As it turned out, Streibel received a similar telephone call, allegedly from the defense attorneys, telling him that they were not interested in seeing him. This clearly seems to be another example of the dirty tricks engaged in by the OSI in its campaign to prosecute and persecute this man, and bring him to KGB-style justice.

Additional Testimony

As you can appreciate, I quickly became very suspicious of the charges against Demjanjuk. I then began a years-long search for evidence, tracing the route followed by the OSI in its search for evidence against this man. In Germany, I met with the wartime commandant of the Treblinka camp, Kurt Franz, who was then serving a sentence in a prison near Düsseldorf. During our meeting, Franz told me: “Mr. Brentar, several years ago six of your people were here, and I told them that this man [Demjanjuk] is not the Ivan of Treblinka. The Ivan of Treblinka was much older, had dark hair, and was taller. He had a stoop because he was so tall. So why do you come here again to ask me the same questions?” I replied: “Mr. Franz, I am not from Washington. I’m from Cleveland, Ohio, and I’m trying to help this man.”

I want to mention here that the Institute for Historical Review, and its friends and associates, have really helped me to establish contacts with people who proved instrumental in helping put together a thorough and truthful picture, of what happened — and still is happening — to John Demjanjuk.

Well, as I continued my investigation, I arranged to meet with every one of the people whom the OSI had visited earlier. What I discovered is that the OSI’s case against John Demjanjuk was

built on lies, exaggerations, distortions, fabrications, innuendos, and dirty tricks.

Obstacles in Israel

Visiting Israel, I arranged to go with a Jewish friend to meet with Menachem Russek, chief of the agency that is the Israeli counterpart of the OSI in the United States. “Mr. Russek, don’t be a fool,” I said to him. “You’re being misled by the OSI. This is an innocent man.” And even though I had brought along evidence to prove what I was saying, well, he couldn’t care less, because he was every bit as eager to prosecute and persecute John Demjanjuk as was Neal Sher and his OSI entourage.

I asked Mr. Russek if I could speak with the three main witnesses against Demjanjuk: Pinchas Epstein, Elijah Rosenberg and Sonia Lewkowicz. I particularly wanted to meet with Rosenberg, to question him about the discrepancies in his sworn statements. “I’m here to give you everything I have — all the truth,” I told Russek. “Why don’t you let me meet with these people so I can question them?” Well, for obvious reasons, I was not permitted to meet with any of them.

Fedorenko’s Fate

John Demjanjuk was originally supposed to be deported to the Soviet Union where, as you know, the authorities make quick work of liquidating their “enemies.” That’s what happened to other “Nazi war criminals” from the United States, such as Karl Linnas and Fedor Fedorenko. While Fedorenko’s case was on appeal, OSI chief Neal Sher met with the Ukrainian-born Fedorenko and told him: “Look, why don’t you go back to your homeland. You’ve already been back several times.” (That was true: he had a wife and a family there, and had returned several times since the war.) “This appeal will cost you a lot of money. Why don’t you go back and spend the rest of your life with your family there?”

That was a trick. No sooner had Fedorenko, the poor fellow, arrived there with thousands of dollars worth of Soviet rubles, which he had bought on the black market (getting a much better rate than he could have gotten in Russia), then he was arrested and, after a quick KGB trial, shot. I am convinced that Neal Sher had notified the Soviets of his arrival, to get rid of him and prevent him from testifying in the Demjanjuk case.

Villagers’ Testimony

In Poland I visited Treblinka and the nearby villages. In one such village I visited the house of Maria Dudek. When I showed her the photograph of John Demjanjuk, she said to me, in Polish: “I never saw this man before.” But when I asked her if she ever heard of “Ivan the Terrible,” she panicked and shut the door on me.

I found three other witnesses from that village, former inmates of Treblinka, who had seen “Ivan.” These three villagers were supposed to come to Cleveland to testify in court. But an OSI official named Michael Wolf telephoned the US Consulate in Warsaw and told officials there: “Don’t let the witnesses come. The hearing is over.” That was a lie; the hearing was still continuing. This was another of their many dirty tricks. They prevented these three witnesses from testifying on behalf of Demjanjuk.

Wolf also told the Polish authorities that I’m a neo-Nazi, an anti-Semite and a revisionist, and that I’m paying money to witnesses to lie to defend a Nazi murderer, John Demjanjuk. As a result, a

long article appeared in the Polish newspaper Polityka that condemned me for trying to recruit witnesses who would lie in court for money as witnesses on behalf of Demjanjuk.

With regard to testimony of Maria Dudek, I'd like to mention an article from the Cleveland Plain Dealer (Sept. 13, 1992), headlined "Demjanjuk wasn't Treblinka's 'monster,' ex-captives insist," which reports that an additional witness named Nina Shiyenko likewise confirmed that "Ivan of Treblinka" is not John Demjanjuk.

Such incidents tell just part of the story of what has happened to this poor man, John Demjanjuk. But there's an old saying that I think applies in this case: "Every evil carries within itself the seed of its own destruction." And that seed has begun to germinate.

Exonerating Evidence

As a result of all the exonerating evidence that I was able to provide to the defense, Demjanjuk was not deported to the Soviet Union, as was originally planned. Instead, OSI chief Sher panicked. He ran to Israel to tell the authorities there to work for Demjanjuk's extradition to that country, because of the danger that the case was being lost in Cleveland. There's too much evidence to show that Demjanjuk is innocent, he told them. As a result of his effort, Israel made an official request for his extradition.

According to the legal rules for extradition that were in effect at that time, it was not permissible to submit any further evidence on behalf of a defendant. So it was planned to present the additional evidence to the court in Jerusalem.

The OSI was incensed at my activity. They couldn't understand how an insignificant travel agent could be so successful in finding such potent evidence against them — evidence proving that they were lying.

A Journalist's Admission

Back in Cleveland, in 1984, I visited the office of the Plain Dealer, the city's main newspaper, which was supposedly supporting Demjanjuk. Regrettably, though, they printed more negative than positive articles about him. A Plain Dealer reporter said to me: "Jerry, we're not interested in his innocence. We're only interested in his extradition."

The Bush Campaign

I want to tell you a little more about how I was asked to resign from the Bush presidential campaign. Actually, I had never been active in Bush's campaign, the Republican party, or even in politics. So I was very much surprised when I learned that I had been chosen to become co-chairman of the Bush campaign's national ethnic coalition group. In Washington I was received by Mr. Bush, who congratulated me. When he asked me to support him, I told him that I would. My hope was that this might give me a further opportunity to help John Demjanjuk.

Unfortunately, in this God-blessed country of ours, it's no longer what you know, but who you know, that counts. About a month after I was named, I received a phone call from an official of the Bush campaign, who told me: "Mr. Brentar, the Vice President is very much upset because we've been getting all kinds of calls telling us that you're a neo-Nazi, that you're an anti-Semitic revisionist, and that you are helping a convicted Nazi war criminal. Mr. Bush wants you to leave the ethnic coalition, and I calling to ask you to resign." I replied by telling him: "My dear man, I

am with the campaign by invitation. If you want me to resign, please send me this request in writing, and I'll consider it." Well, I never received it.

As a result of that, my name appeared in newspapers around the country, and I received phone calls from Argentina, Australia, and from people I had met and worked with years earlier in Germany, who asked me what was going on. "I don't know myself," I told them. "I'm just trying, as a true American, to help an innocent man, and instead I'm being lambasted as an anti-Semitic neo-Nazi revisionist."

Pat Buchanan

Some good did come out of all this publicity, though. One day I got a call from a Mr. Matt Balic of New Jersey. Like me, he is of Croatian background. He told me that he'd like to introduce me to Pat Buchanan. Balic told me that I have an important story to tell, and asked if I'd like to appear [on the television program] "Crossfire." "Sure," I replied. So that's how I came to appear on "Crossfire." I got to know Buchanan very well, and from that time on I sent him much information that he used in writing articles in defense of Demjanjuk.

Congressman Traficant

A short time after that, Matt Balic arranged for me to meet Congressman James Traficant. Well, after I finished telling him the whole story, much as I'm telling it to you here, but in even more detail, Traficant said to me: "Jerry, I can't believe this. Are you lying to me? Are you exaggerating?" And I said, "Why should I? I'm not paid. I'm doing this voluntarily because I am for truth and justice, and that's the only way we're going to have peace in this world, with justice." Well, after that meeting this man really went to bat for me, and for Demjanjuk, going far beyond the call of duty.

Another 'Ivan'

It was during its investigation of Fedorenko that the OSI had obtained copies of court transcripts of the Treblinka trials in the USSR that referred to the Ivan of Treblinka. These papers, which were not made available to the defense in Demjanjuk's denaturalization hearings in Cleveland, include the testimony of 18 former Treblinka guards who confirmed that the "Ivan of Treblinka" was a man named Ivan Marchenko (or Marczenko). These documents had been in the hands of the OSI since 1978, so these US government officials knew very well that John Demjanjuk was not "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka.

In August 1991, Congressman Traficant was able — through the Freedom of Information Act — to obtain copies of these documents, which proved to be crucial in finally exonerating Demjanjuk. Traficant even arranged for John Demjanjuk's son-in-law, Ed Nishnic, along with John Demjanjuk, Jr., to go to Poland and the Soviet Union in December 1991, as his aides, to obtain additional exculpatory evidence. During this visit, the two men met with Marchenko's daughter.

'Political Suicide'

Until my meeting with Jim Traficant, we had had no luck at all with politicians. Earlier, John Demjanjuk, Jr., and I had visited Washington, DC, where we rapped on the doors of every Congressman and Senator to ask for help in the defense of an innocent man. The Representatives from the Cleveland area, Demjanjuk's home, whom one might have expected to be most willing

to help, wanted nothing whatsoever to do with the case. A few Congressmen were somewhat sympathetic, but they did nothing.

One Congressman, Dana Rohrabacher, who represents a district in southern California, explained frankly to me why he would not help: “Jerry, do you want me to commit political suicide?” Is this really the kind of country we now live in? Pat Buchanan really hit the nail on the head, I think, when he referred to the US Congress as “a parliament of whores” on “Israeli-occupied” capitol hill. Because of comments like that, Buchanan is, of course, near the top of the ADL’s enemies list.

I am not so far down on that list myself. I’m not trying to brag, but while I was in Israel attending the trial of Demjanjuk, the prosecutor took time to ask me to stand up and to identify myself as a defender of the convicted murderer. When I did, I was booed. My name also came up during the appeal hearing last year, when the charge was made that the defense case was suspect because it had to rely so much on help from a revisionist, an anti-Semite and a neo-Nazi — me, that is — in obtaining all this lying, crooked information and testimony.

'Big Business'

The people who work for the Office of Special Investigations claim to be motivated by concern for the memory of the dead. But I am sure that none of those people would lift a finger for anyone if the Holocaust was not so profitable and prestigious. There is truth to the saying, “There’s no business like Shoah business.”

This point was confirmed by Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits, who is Chief Rabbi of Britain, and Lord in the British parliament. A front-page article in the Israeli newspaper Jerusalem Post (Nov. 26, 1987, p. 1) reports:

Despite widespread acceptance of the Holocaust as a tragedy unique in Jewish history, leading [Jewish] Torah scholars are “unanimous” in “denying the uniqueness of the Holocaust as an event any different ... from any previous national catastrophe,” according to British Chief Rabbi Sir Immanuel Jakobovits.

The Holocaust, Jakobovits went on to say, has become “an entire industry, with handsome profits for writers, researchers, film-makers, monument builders, museum planners, and even politicians.” He added that some rabbis and theologians are “partners in this big business.”

Because it is considered the most important event in Jewish history, those who play up the Holocaust also find sensationalism necessary. Tales about Demjanjuk and “Ivan the Terrible” give the story spark. But as Jakobovits warned:

Would it not be a catastrophic perversion of the Jewish spirit if brooding over the Holocaust were to become a substantial element in the Jewish purpose, and if the anxiety to prevent another Holocaust were to be relied upon as an essential incentive for Jewish activity?

Ivan of Sobibor?

Now, as the story of Demjanjuk of Treblinka falls apart, efforts are being made to replace it with the story of Demjanjuk of Sobibor. Now it is claimed that “when Demjanjuk was an SS guard he took part in mass killings of Jewish citizens in Sobibor camp.” Well, that’s a lot of baloney be-

cause, as Karl Streibel explained to me: “Mr. Brentar, anybody who was [trained] in Trawniki had to have a Personalbogen.” This refers to a German personnel and identity record, which includes information about date and place of birth, a thumb print, and so forth.

Here, for example [holding up for everyone to see], is a facsimile copy of the Personalbogen identity record from Trawniki for Ivan Marchenko. If John Demjanjuk had actually been a guard at Sobibor, as some are now claiming, he would have received basic training at Trawniki, and his completed Personalbogen would therefore have been on file there as well. But there isn’t any.

False and Authentic Documents

As Mr. Streibel explained to me, the Soviets advanced so quickly on the Trawniki camp that those in charge there had no opportunity to destroy the camp’s files. The Soviets captured all those records, including the Personalbogen for Marchenko and others, as reproduced in facsimile here in this book [holding it up], which was written by a very good friend of mine, a German by the name of Dieter Lehner. I am sure that if a Personalbogen record for Demjanjuk had been on file at Trawniki, the Soviets would certainly have made it public.

In this book, which is entitled *Du sollst nicht falsch Zeugnis geben* ("Thou shall not bear false witness"), Lehner proves the phoniness of the widely-reproduced ID card that was a key piece of prosecution evidence against Demjanjuk. Lehner points out some 30 different errors in the supposed Demjanjuk ID card, and shows just what a genuine Trawniki ID card looks like. Lehner also cites, and in a few cases, reproduces in facsimile, authentic Personalbogen documents issued to other men who had been trained at Trawniki. He shows that every guard of this type who was assigned to a camp was first sent to Trawniki, where he received an *Erkennungsmarke* metal “dog tag,” but not a Trawniki ID card.

This [holding it up] is the ID card of Heinrich Schäfer, a German official in the camp administration who served as paymaster in Trawniki. It has the signature of the officer in charge, and includes Schäfer’s rank and the date and place on which the card was issued. Schäfer testified that the supposed Demjanjuk ID card was not issued in Trawniki.

German Subservience

Dr. Louis-Ferdinand Werner, a department chief of the Federal Criminal Office (*Bundeskriminalamt*) in Wiesbaden has similarly declared — as the German magazine *Stern* reports — that the infamous Demjanjuk ID card is not authentic, in any way or form.

It took quite a long time for the Germans to make such a statement. Some years ago, when I had just begun my own investigation into the Demjanjuk case, I visited the office of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. I went with a friend who happens to be a priest in the parish in Ludwigshafen where Mr. Kohl is a parishioner. He had met with Mr. Kohl, who had said to him that if there was anything he could do for him, please feel free to call upon him. So that’s why the priest and I took the liberty to go right to Kohl’s office in Bonn to ask for help in proving that the supposed Demjanjuk ID card is not authentic. During a meeting there with an aide or adjutant to Chancellor Kohl, I said that this supposed ID card is an insult to the German tradition of *Ordnung* (order) and *Pünktlichkeit* (precision). During the war, the Germans were proud of the care they took with everything, including their dress and their documents. Even during the war’s final months, everything had to be tip-top, and there was no place for such a sloppy document.

After we explained what we wanted, Chancellor Kohl's adjutant said to us: "My dear friends, if you want any help from us [for this], you have to ask the Israelis for permission." Just imagine! Well, I could go on and on to tell you about more of the many difficulties we've had in our efforts on behalf of Demjanjuk.

"Better to light a candle than to curse the darkness," wrote Thomas Merton, the poet and Trappist monk. Some years ago, I choose to light a candle, and now it seems that the whole world is seeing the light of a great fire.

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Censorship Update from Down Under

Victory For Irving In Australia Free Speech Struggle

by Greg Raven

In an important victory for free speech and open debate on the Holocaust issue, Australia's Federal Court on September 16 unanimously overturned an earlier decision by immigration authorities to reject the visa application of David Irving. Any decision about a visa application by Irving, the high court ruled, must now be reconsidered "by law." There now appears to be no legal bar to visits by the bestselling British revisionist historian, who immediately announced plans for a six-week lecture tour.

The high court also ordered the Australian government to foot the total bill of more than \$100,000 in legal costs in the case, including Irving's own legal expenses of \$22,000.

In an editorial commenting on the Federal Court decision, the Melbourne Herald Sun (Sept. 18) offered some advice:

The Jewish community vocally opposed his [Irving's] visit. This was a tactical error. It elevated Mr. Irving to martyr status, and ensured a level of publicity he did not merit. The sensible course for Australian Jews now is to ignore him.

Irving thus once again finds himself at the forefront in the free speech struggle against the international campaign to suppress dissident views on the Holocaust issue. "The fight is colossal," says Irving, a Journal contributor. (For more on this, see the Jan.-Feb. 1993 Journal, pp. 12-19.)

"I think my opponents have underestimated the tenacity of the English," says Irving. "We have a tendency in England when we hear gunfire not to move away from it but, out of a sheer sense of bloody-minded curiosity, to go and find out what the gunfire's about ..." (Herald Sun, May 20)

Following Australia's example, New Zealand has recently repealed its own ban on Irving's entry. Officials there still won't let him speak in public, though. "We shall see!," says Irving.

Background

The "fight" began late last year when Irving, planning to combine a six-week lecture tour with attending the wedding of his daughter to an Australian, contacted ten (mostly Jewish) heads of university history departments in an attempt to arrange debates on matters historical. Although not one of those contacted responded to the offer, news of his plans triggered a campaign to bar him from the country. Citing earlier alleged exclusions of him from Austria, Canada, Italy, and South Africa, some legal setbacks in Germany, and the sometimes violent controversy over his

works in Britain, Jewish groups argued that this was not an issue of free speech, but rather one of public safety.

Bowing to pressure, Immigration Minister Gerry Hand decided in February to deny Irving's visa application on the grounds that he was "likely to become involved in activities disruptive to, or violence threatening harm to, the Australian community or a group within the Australian community." (For more on this, see the May-June 1993 Journal, pp. 13-16.) As matters turned out, Hand was not entirely incorrect, although the disruption and violence came not from Irving (or his supporters), but from his enemies.

As Australia's leading daily newspapers have plainly acknowledged, efforts to bar Irving from the country have come almost entirely from the Jewish community. Irving has served libel writs against five major Jewish personalities and periodicals.

A Dangerous Man?

By denying Irving a visa, Australian immigration authorities had implied that the internationally renowned researcher, author, and lecturer is as dangerous as four Serbian terrorists — the only others to be refused entry into Australia in a similar manner out of 1.68 million visa applicants in 1991-92. (Martin Daly, *The Age*, Feb. 16.)

An editorial in the *Newcastle Herald* (May 21) made a related point:

A worrying aspect of the ban on Mr. Irving is that it is selective. In 1987, the Foreign Affairs Department brought the then leader-in-exile of the African National Congress, Mr. Oliver Tambo, to Australia for a tour. This was despite the fact that Mr. Tambo's much-publicised visit was expected to polarise opinion, and did. However, there was no violence on that occasion and there would probably have been none if Mr. Irving's opponents and the Federal Government alike had been prepared to let him make his tour without surrounding it with controversy.

Electronic Democracy

Although forced to postpone his tour by one year, Irving's message has been getting through nevertheless. The historian has appeared, via satellite, three times on Australian television during prime time, and has given countless live and recorded radio interviews. Dozens of articles, editorials, and letters to the editor have appeared in newspapers across the country, and letters by Irving clarifying his position have appeared in at least two major newspapers. (*The Australian*, May 24; *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 26.)

Generating the most attention, though, has been a specially-made 80-minute videotape cassette, "The Search for Truth in History," in which Irving effectively presents his views on the Holocaust issue and on the international fight for free speech. According to Veritas, Irving's Australian publisher, hundreds of the video were sold within hours of its release in May. "They started buying it late yesterday [Wednesday] afternoon and haven't stopped," reported Veritas manager Jan Pope. (*Herald Sun*, May 21) Altogether some 10,000 copies have been produced. ("The Search for Truth in History" is available from the IHR for \$29, plus \$2 for shipping.)

All proceeds from sales of the video are earmarked for the David Irving Legal Fighting Fund, which was set up to overturn restrictions on the historian's movements worldwide. (P.O. Box 1707, Key West, FL 33041, USA)

'G' Rated

When Irving's opponents learned of the video, they immediately contacted the Film and Literature Censorship Board (FCB). Any video imported for commercial purposes must have a FCB rating; without a rating it would be illegal to sell or screen the video for profit. Technically, the FCB can legitimately censor a video only if the contents are violent or sexually depraved. Just hours before the first screening was scheduled to start, the FCB issued the video a "G" rating, claiming it is "suitable for viewing by persons of all ages and contains no material that would distress or harm children." Five members of the ten-member Board voted to award the "G" rating, four voted for a "PG" rating, and one voted to ban the video entirely as being "not in the national interest."

The move was applauded by International PEN, a writers' group that earlier supported Irving's right to visit Canada. Likewise supportive was an the Sydney Morning Herald (May 21), which editorialized:

This robust trust by the [Film Censorship] board in the good sense of the public is in the best interests of a workable and useful system of censorship. The point about censorship is that there should be as little of it as is necessary for the well-being of the community. There has been too much censorship by Australian authorities of Mr. Irving's strange views, though. It's becoming increasingly obvious that the Federal Government made a mistake when it decided, just before the last election, to ban Mr. Irving from Australia.

Israeli Snooping?

Interest in the outcome of the FCB vote was not limited to citizens of Australia. Israel's secret intelligence agency Mossad apparently bugged the room in which the FCB had met to discuss the Irving video. In an article headlined "Israeli secret agents linked with bugging," the Sunday Times of Perth (May 30) reported that "allegations of a covert bugging operation organized in Sydney by the Israeli intelligence organization Mossad are being pursued" by the leader of Australia's opposition National Party. "An espionage operation using a highly-sophisticated listening device is alleged to have been discovered" in the building where the FCB met. "There is speculation that the alleged operation is linked to the canceled visit and lecture tour by controversial historian David Irving, who claims Jewish suffering in the Holocaust has been overstated," the paper went on.

Pressure and Threat

Having failed to halt distribution of the new Irving video, Jewish groups next threatened and otherwise pressured the managers of hotels, halls, and theaters where it was scheduled to be shown. As a result, a number of screenings were canceled. In a letter to the Herald Sun (May 25), one reader expressed his disgust at this turn of events:

What a bunch of spineless yellow-bellies have so many Australians become! The slightest threat of protest and virtually the entire management of the proposed venues for the G-rated David Irving "The Search for Truth in History" video presentation, cave in.

At sites where the video was scheduled to show, groups of Jews gathered to protest. David Berinson, 23-year-old spokesman for one such protest, was quoted as saying, "It's clear that this sort

of video, though I haven't seen it, and David Irving's statements have formed the basis of a lot of neo-Nazi action in movements in Europe." (West Australian, Perth, May 20) Jewish community leader Mark Leibler commented: "Australia is no place for the peddling of Irving's sick, racist hate propaganda." (Herald Sun, May 25)

Mick Coventry, owner of one establishment where the video was shown, defended his decision to allow the screening: "I don't care what is on the video, as long as it's not illegal." (Riverine Herald, May 26.)

Media Coverage

Australian media coverage of the entire affair has been intense, as noted in the May-June 1993 Journal. Front page headlines in the Shepparton News of May 21 and 23, for example, proclaimed in two-inch-high letters, "Nazi' video on show," and "Irving ban foiled."

A hostile review of the Irving video in The Australian (Sydney, May 21) by Sam Lipski — a "media commentator" and publisher of the Australian Jewish News — carefully avoided any substantive arguments and instead relied on character assassination and misrepresentation to discount Irving's message.

In contrast to media coverage in other Western democracies of similar disputes, most Australian papers have fairly and accurately presented the views of Irving and his supporters. For the most part, the country's press reported that Irving regards the Holocaust story as "exaggerated," "overstated," and "open to debate." Assertions that Irving "denies the Holocaust" come almost exclusively from Jewish sources, which have routinely misrepresented other aspects of the issue.

The Free Speech Debate

Defenders of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story predictably deny that repression of dissident views on this question involves any issue of free speech. Most Australian newspapers sharply disagree, even though none seems to think very highly of Irving.

An editorial in the Perth West Australian (May 20) reflected what might be called a consensus view:

It is one of the measures of a truly democratic system that even those whose views and values are anathema to a majority of people are entitled to a fair hearing. Indeed, the ultimate strength of a democracy rests on its ability to accommodate a free flow of ideas — even ones which may be repugnant and which may be seen in some quarters as posing a danger to cohesion in the community ... The Federal Government's decision early this year to refuse a visa for an Australian visit by controversial British writer David Irving was an affront to principles of free speech... [This] action has diminished the rights of all Australians... Perversely, by banning Mr. Irving, the Government and those who support the decision have given him an international platform from which to campaign. Canberra's heavy hand has ensured that Mr. Irving's warped material has been disseminated more widely and attracted more publicity than would ever have happened if he had been allowed into Australia this time — as he has in the past.

Professor Paul Wilson, Dean of Arts at Queensland University of Technology, wrote in the Canberra Times (May 24):

... Mr. Irving has visited this country on two other occasions and there is no record of violence being perpetrated against the Jewish community as a result of these tours... To ban a person on the basis of what might occur as a result of what he might say establishes a dangerous precedent. Such a ruling could be used effectively against any international visitor wishing to enter this country who has opinions that conflict with the views of any religion, ethnic, political or special-interest group... The ultimate irony is that if David Irving is banned from our shores he can justifiably claim (as he already has) that free speech is threatened in Australia.

An editorial in the Canberra Times (May 20) opined:

The Commonwealth film censor has shown considerably better judgment in classifying British historian David Irving's video so that it can be shown publicly, than the Government showed in February by banning the man from Australia... Instead of attracting a small amount of critical press attention for his views, the ban has generated a public debate about his right to free speech. He has attracted respectable defenders (of his right of free speech, not of his history) who otherwise never would have allowed their names to be associated with his. As is so often the case, if the Government had simply let events take their course his views would have been more than adequately exposed by the light of public debate.

The Melbourne Herald Sun (editorial, May 21) expressed a similar view, but upset a few readers with a reference to "that article of faith for post-war Jews, the Holocaust":

The David Irving affair is an assault on our basic democratic right — freedom of speech. This newspaper holds no brief for Mr. Irving, a historian with widely contested, controversial views. But we believe that he has an absolute right to express them. Just as the many people who fiercely oppose him have an equal right to publicly disagree. As we said in this column in February, the Federal Government was wrong to refuse Mr. Irving entry. We also believe Australian Jews have been mistaken in seeking to stop screening of a video of his lecture, passed by the Office of Film and Literature. Central to Mr. Irving's unpopularity is his challenge to that article of faith for post-war Jews, the Holocaust... But by campaigning to silence Mr. Irving, Australian Jews have succeeded in focusing unmerited public attention both on the man and his claims.

Side Issues

In the media discussion surrounding Irving's efforts to visit Australia, marginal side issues have sometimes obscured the larger picture. Irving's opponents, for example, have accused him of supporting Australian far right groups, of provoking outbursts of anti-Jewish graffiti, and of erring as an historian. In this last instance, one paper went so far as to claim that Irving was wrong in his views about Winston Churchill, and cited revisionist historian John Charmley's critical book on Churchill as proof. (For more about Charmley's highly critical biography of the British leader, see the March-April Journal.)

As part of the general debate provoked by the Irving ban, critical attention has been given to the issue of improper Jewish influence on the Australian government, the totalitarian tactics of those who would deny Irving the right to enter Australia, the pointless wastefulness of war crimes trials over allegations dating back to the Second World War, and the precious nature of free speech.

Another Victory

As Irving has pointed out, and as the recent events in Australia underscore, each new effort to censor or ban revisionists has ultimately proven to be another boost for the revisionist cause. Clearly, it is becoming ever more difficult for those who seek to monopolize history to rely on help from venal and repressive government officials. With active support from the growing worldwide revisionist community, each attempt at censorship provides yet another opportunity to broadcast the revisionist viewpoint to additional thousands who otherwise would never hear of it.

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Hellmut Diwald, German Professor

One of Germany's best-known and most controversial historians, Hellmut Diwald, died on May 26, 1993. A skilled writer and an eloquent public speaker, he was not only one of his people's most widely read historians, he was unquestionably one of the most gifted and courageous. No ivory tower academic, he learned what it meant to come under fire for taking an unpopular stand.

He authored numerous acclaimed works of history, including important biographies of Martin Luther, Wallenstein, Heinrich the First and Wilhelm Dilthey. Probably his most important — and certainly his most controversial — work was *Geschichte der Deutschen* ("History of the Germans"), first issued in 1978 by the prestigious Propyläen publishing house. In the two pages of the book devoted to the "final solution," Professor Diwald pointed out that there were no extermination camps in Germany proper, that important claims about the camps have been revealed as lies, and that Jewish deaths in the German concentration camps were not the result of an extermination policy, but rather the consequence of chaotic and unavoidable wartime conditions. He described the postwar Holocaust campaign as one of distortion, deception and exaggeration — one meant to morally degrade and totally disqualify the German people. Diwald concluded this section by pointing out that in spite of all the literature that has been written on this subject, the central questions about the fate of the Jews during the war are still not clear.

Although it became an immediate best-seller in Germany — unusual for a heavy 760-page work of history — Dr. Diwald quickly learned what happens to even a prominent and reputable scholar who dares to cast doubt on a politically sensitive chapter of official history. As a result of the appearance of these two pages in a book written by a reputable historian and issued by a respectable publisher, that Diwald called "the problem of 'Auschwitz'," which had been quietly simmering among academics and Holocaust revisionists, suddenly burst into public attention. Quickly acceding to pressure from powerful groups, including boisterous protests from Jewish groups, sales of the first printing of 100,000 copies were immediately stopped, and a new edition with a hastily rewritten and "acceptable" section about the "final solution" was quickly substituted.

Dr. Diwald was born in 1924 in south Moravia (now part of the Czech Republic), and grew up in Prague and Nuremberg. With a doctorate awarded in 1958, from 1965 he taught mediaeval and modern history at the University of Erlangen, where he was promoted to senior professor of history.

He steadfastly refused to submit to the prevailing "spirit of the times" that had been imposed on the Germans by the victorious Allied powers at the end of the Second

World War. The twelve years of the Third Reich, he stressed, should not be permitted to overshadow Germany's imposing thousand-year history.

He was a co-founder and leading supporter of the revisionist Contemporary History Research Center, headed by Dr. Alfred Schickel. An interview with Dr. Diwald, translated from the Austrian monthly *Die Aula*, appeared in the Winter 1984 issue of this Journal.

-- M. W.

'The Problem of "Auschwitz"'

Hellmut Diwald

Ever since the charge was made that the SS attempted to physically annihilate the Jews of Europe, under orders from Hitler and as directed by Himmler and the Reich Security Main Office, the problem of "Auschwitz" had been completely blacked out. Since the capitulation in 1945, "Auschwitz" has also served as the main vehicle in a campaign to reduce the German people to complete moral degradation.

... Countless works have been published and claims made since 1945 that cannot be proven and which cynically add to the infamy. The most horrible events of modern times have been exploited through the use of distortions, deceptions and exaggerations for the purpose of totally disqualifying a people.

Thus, the victorious Allies claimed the existence of "extermination camps" of which there was not a single one in Germany. For years visitors to the Dachau concentration camp were shown "gas chambers" where as many as 25,000 Jews were allegedly killed daily by the SS. Actually, the rooms displayed were dummy chambers that the US military had forced imprisoned SS men to build after the capitulation. A similar case involved the notorious Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where 50,000 inmates were supposedly murdered. Actually, about 7,000 inmates died during the period when the camp existed, from 1943 to 1945. Most of them died in the last months of the war as a result of disease and malnutrition — consequences of the bombings that had completely disrupted normal deliveries of medical supplies and food. The British commander who took control of the camp after the capitulation testified that crimes on a large scale had not taken place at Bergen-Belsen.

The deportation of the Jews took place as part of a general forced-labor program for the war industry. After the beginning of the war against Russia, the German war economy grew from month to month and reached a high point in mid-1944. All those who could work at all were inducted, including the Jews. In accordance with their special status, they were subject to especially inhumane treatment. The enormous program for their deportation by railway from all the occupied territories for use in Eastern munitions factories and work camps was justified by the military importance of their tasks and received top priority, even ahead of army transport.

Auschwitz, an old industrial town in the upper Silesian plateau, developed into a major wartime production center. The chemical industry quickly became far more important than the older zinc rolling mills and grinding works. The most significant aspect was the production of artificial rubber and petroleum from coal. On February 16, 1942, all concentration camps were incorporated into the war economy and munitions industry and accordingly came under the organizational authority of the SS Main Office for Economic Administration and its chief, General Otto Pohl.

The various camps were classified according to their importance to the war economy. Birkenau, a part of the Auschwitz complex, served as the camp for those inmates who were declared unsuited for work. Consequently, the camp had the highest death rate. On July 26, 1942, a devastating typhus epidemic broke out in Birkenau. As many as 20,000 died within three months.

That is why an especially large number of crematoria for burning the bodies were built in Birkenau. Reports of the high death rate there moved Himmler to issue an order on December 28, 1942, "to reduce the number of deaths in the concentration camps at all costs."

During the war Jewish emigration was no longer possible, and the expression "total solution" or "final solution" was coined to refer to the policy whereby all Jews were to be segregated from the German population, removed from central Europe, evacuated to the East, and relocated in new ghettos. This plan was outlined by Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Reich Security Main Office, on June 24, 1940. The central questions about what actually happened in the subsequent years still remain unclear despite all of the literature. "Auschwitz" is the German stigma of this century.

-- Geschichte der Deutschen ("History of the Germans"), first edition, 1978, pages 164-165.

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My Lunch With George

How an Influential Journalist Twists the Truth

Mark Weber

With a syndicated column that appears in several hundred daily papers, regular appearances on ABC television's "This Week With David Brinkley," several successful books, and well-paid appearances on the lecture circuit, George F. Will has a deserved reputation as one of America's most influential commentators on social-political affairs.

So when his secretary phoned to ask me to meet with him for lunch, I was both hopeful and wary: Hopeful about the good that could possibly come from such a meeting; Wary because, given his well-known biases, he might distort whatever I say or do as part of a smear.

Still, I was optimistic, in part because his secretary had assured me that Will merely wanted to meet and talk. She indicated that this would not be an interview.

From the outset of our August 19 luncheon meeting, Will made clear that he was interested in revisionist motives (or what he believes them to be), not revisionist arguments. Indeed, at one point he said that it is not the truth or validity of what a revisionist says that determines whether it is evil, but rather his motive.

In response to a question early on, Will told me that he had read the issues of this Journal and other IHR material I had sent him prior to our meeting. It was quickly, even embarrassingly obvious, though, that he was either lying, or was not able to understand what he had read.

When I asked Will if he considered himself to be well informed about the Holocaust, he replied that he did — citing visits to the sites of some of the wartime German camps, and his reading of a good bit of secondary literature.

I was struck by what Will did not know about this subject. He was completely unfamiliar with the Einsatzgruppen — the special German security police units that operated in the occupied Soviet territories. He did not know (or remember) that Anne Frank — along with others in her family — had "survived" internment in Auschwitz. (She died later in Bergen-Belsen camp, a victim of typhus.)

He confirmed that he accepts as accurate and reliable the often-cited "testimony" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. Will acknowledged that he did not know that this important piece of Holocaust evidence was obtained by torture, and that, on a number of key points, it is not even consistent with the current version of the Auschwitz extermination story.

He said that he also accepts as authentic the frequently quoted but now thoroughly discredited “testimony” of Hermann Rauschning. Will made clear that he was not aware of the many German wartime documents that plainly show that the “Final Solution” policy was not one of extermination.

It soon became obvious during the course of our conversation that Will is unable or unwilling to view Holocaust claims with the same refined skepticism with which he critically dissects so many other official and historical claims.

I reminded Will of something he had written about Auschwitz a decade earlier. In his Washington Post syndicated column of March 10, 1983, he told readers:

You could tell from the smoke the sort of persons consumed in the crematoria. New-comers to Auschwitz, who still had some fat on their bones, made black smoke. Persons who had been there for awhile made white smoke. There: that is an emblematic fact of 20th century politics.

What Will calls an “emblematic fact” is, rather, an instructive fable, and the way he cites it not only points up the reverential, even awestruck way he regards the Holocaust story, but shows his careless disregard for facts.

When I told him that this statement is simply not true — that in fact crematory chimneys give off no flame and almost no smoke — he asked me how I know this. I explained that I had studied the matter, and had spoken with crematory managers — adding that anyone who takes a little time to look into this question can determine the truth for himself.

Will responded by somewhat snidely asking if the Auschwitz crematories were like those at Forest Lawn. In reply, I explained that the crematories at Auschwitz were of the standard design used throughout Germany during the war years. Will responded with silence.

I then asked Will for his source for this anecdote, adding that in all the reading I have done on this subject, I had never come across any other mention of this particular story. Will replied that he couldn’t remember, but that it was something an Auschwitz inmate (perhaps Elie Wiesel, he mentioned) had said or written.

Will’s rigid bias with regard to the Holocaust story and Israel is no secret. Even William Buckley, himself a staunch friend of Israel and Zionist interests, has taken note of what he calls Will’s “perverse” partisanship with regard to these matters. (The Washington Post, Jan. 27, 1987.) With regard to the Holocaust issue, wrote the founder of National Review magazine, “Will is losing sight of rather a lot of things.” Buckley took exception to a reference by Will to the “Vatican’s contemptible behavior toward the Holocaust.”

George Will begins any discussion on the Middle East, Buckley wrote, “by siding with Israel on every single point.” He went on: “The problem with devising peaceful solutions in the Mideast, where George Will is concerned, is that there he sees only a single position: Israel’s — at all times, in all places. George sometimes sounds a little like Rabbi Kahane” (founder of the terrorist Jewish Defense League).

As part of a discussion with Will about the double standard that prevails in America with regard to the Holocaust story, I mentioned the ban against Austrian President Kurt Waldheim. He was barred from this country, I pointed out, even though no evidence of his personal involvement in any atrocity or war crime has ever come to light. At the same time, I went on, American presi-

dents have rolled out the red carpet for Israeli leaders Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir — each of whom has a well-documented record as a terrorist.

Will had no comment, but when I asked him if he agrees that Waldheim should be barred from the United States, he said yes. When I asked on what basis he deserves to be banned, Will replied: because Waldheim is a “suspected war criminal.”

Will said at one point that he has been particularly impressed with the presentation in Claude Lanzmann’s film “Shoah” of the “testimony” of Treblinka camp barber Abraham Bomba. Contrary to the impression given in the film, I responded, this “testimony” is actually a staged recitation, the absurdity of which should be obvious to any really critical person.

Will himself seems to understand this, at least implicitly. Writing in a November 1985 column, he apparently concluded that Bomba’s claim to have cut hair of doomed Jews inside the Treblinka “gas chamber” is not credible, deciding instead to shift the action to “the threshold of the gas chamber.” (Lanzmann’s nine-and-a-half hour film “Shoah,” wrote Will in that 1985 column, is “the noblest use to which cinema — the technology, the techniques — has been put, ever.”)

At one point, and suddenly changing the subject, Will asked me why I think that anti-Semitism exists. I said that this is a complex issue, and that a better way to put it might be to ask why hostility toward Jews has persisted over so many centuries, and in so many different cultures.

I went on to say that I largely agreed with what Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, had written (in *The Jewish State*) on this issue. I mentioned that Herzl, along with many others, often referred to the relationship between Jews and non-Jews in society as “the Jewish question.” (Grossly misrepresenting this aspect of our conversation in his column, Will also pretentiously cited the German term, *Judenfrage*, as if this version is somehow more sinister.)

When I put this same question to Will, he expressed the view that the phenomenon of anti-Semitism is probably rooted in Christianity, but said that he is completely unable to explain why it has persisted through the centuries. “Why is there is no 'Baptist question'?,” he rhetorically asked, an exclamation that is either disingenuous or manifests intellectual poverty.

Near the conclusion of our meeting, Will spoke — in a tone almost of exasperation — of having once stood in a Birkenau barracks with a former inmate who pointed out the exact place where she had once slept. He cited this anecdote as particularly compelling reason for his belief in the Holocaust story.

While I didn’t expect the column that Will said he would write about our meeting would be flattering, I was surprised at just how mean-spirited and inaccurate it turned out to be. He was unwilling even to concede my sincerity. (The column appeared in *The Washington Post* on August 29, and in dozens of other daily papers on or about the same day.)

As unfair as it was, on balance it was probably more helpful than harmful. It at least made many more people (most of them relatively well-educated) aware of the growing skepticism about the orthodox Holocaust story. And he paid for my lunch.

Letters of response from the IHR were published in perhaps half a dozen of the papers in which Will’s column had appeared. It was also gratifying to note that letters from other revisionists taking issue with Will on this matter appeared in at least several daily papers.

George Will's attitude about the Holocaust issue is, unfortunately, all too typical of millions of relatively well-educated Americans today. His smug sense of moral and intellectual certainty about this subject is characteristic of the close-minded who know just enough about this trendy subject to pronounce on it with arrogance. The self-righteous and almost reverential way he writes about "the Holocaust" is not merely fashionable these days, it is all but obligatory — particularly for a successful commentator on current affairs.

Will's column concludes with the "good news that this year two million people" will visit the U.S. government's new "Holocaust Memorial Museum" in Washington, DC. In the end, though, it will be neither such state-sponsored temples nor the motives of revisionists that matter, but rather the historical reality — which cannot be suppressed forever.

A Letter to George Will

George F. Will
1208 Thirtieth St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20007

Dear Mr. Will,

While I did not expect a friendly report by you of our conversation over lunch, I was surprised at just how mean-spirited, unfair and intellectually dishonest your column turned out to be.

You attribute words to me that are either invented or are crass distortions of remarks ripped from their context. You attribute the following sentence to me: "Anti-semitic and anti-democratic, Hitler understood the necessity for severely hierarchical and racially homogenous nations." I said no such thing. For you to then go on to write that "applying these ideas, Weber says ..." only adds to the dishonesty.

I did not say that Hitler was "the most philosophical" figure of the 20th Century. What I said was that he was probably the most philosophical of the great political figures of his time. (As I recall, I added that Churchill is a possible exception.)

Your presentation of what I said to you about Hitler gives an utterly false impression of my view of the man. (You may recall my remark to you that your own statements to me about Hitler could, if taken out of context, be taken as praise for the man.)

Your assertion that "the deniers 'arguments' always return to what Weber, like the Nazis, calls 'the Jewish question' "is likewise inaccurate and dishonest. As you will recall, it was you who first raised the issue of relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Your portrayal of the arguments of Holocaust "deniers" is grotesquely inaccurate. No serious revisionist has ever claimed that "Zyclon-B [sic] gas was too weak to kill." Your contention that revisionists claim that gas from Zyklon was "too powerful to use for mass murder" or that "the gas chambers were really showers" is likewise a gross misrepresentation. You have obviously not taken the time to familiarize yourself — even superficially — with the findings and arguments of revisionist scholars. Apparently you have simply relied on Lipstadt's grossly distorted portrayal of revisionist arguments [in her book, *Denying the Holocaust*].

What you wrote about an IHR Journal advertisement for Ingrid Weckert's book about the "Crystal Night" is similarly dishonest. Contrary to what you suggest, neither the advertisement, nor Weckert's book, contend that "the Jews" benefitted from that outburst of violence on November 9th (not 6th), 1938. While you chide a young reporter for his/her failure to read Lipstadt's book, it is obvious that you have not read the book by Weckert you inaccurately describe.

Finally, your assertion that I "torture the past in the hope of making the future safe for torturers" is simply contemptible.

You should be ashamed of yourself for writing such a column.

Sincerely,

Mark Weber

Letters from individual revisionists, and from IHR Journal editor Weber, responding to George Will's polemic were published in several of the papers in which the syndicated column had appeared. The entire text of the IHR's response was published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer and in the St. Petersburg (Florida) Times. In most cases, though, only a portion of the full text appeared

Will's column, and Weber's response, touched off an exchange of views in the "readers' letters" section of the San Francisco Chronicle, including a commentary by an ADL official and this follow-up letter by Weber (published September 15) that included the IHR address. It resulted in about 60 letters and postcards to the IHR from readers seeking further information. Typical was this comment: "Thanks for your letter to the editor. You are the biggest secret around. Please send me your literature."

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Smith Steps Up CODOH Ad Campaign

Bradley Smith, intrepid chairman of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), attracted nationwide notoriety in late 1991 and early 1992 as a result of his success in placing advertisements calling for open debate on the Holocaust issue in student newspapers at several major universities. After something of a lapse, Smith has recently put new life in his CODOH ad campaign. Some highlights:

- A syndicated College Press Service (CPS) article about Smith's campus ad campaign appeared September 16 in *The Setonian*, the student paper of Seton Hall University (South Orange, New Jersey). This short article is based in part on an interview with Smith.
- Smith's CODOH ad was published in the September 27 issue of the *Christian News*, a traditionalist Lutheran weekly paper published in Missouri.
- The text of Smith's ad appeared September 28 as a guest editorial in the *Record*, student paper of State University of New York (SUNY) at Buffalo.
- In Ann Arbor, the text of Smith's ad appeared October 6 as a "viewpoint" guest opinion essay in the *Michigan Daily*, student paper of the University of Michigan. In the same issue, an editorial sharply denounced Smith's piece as irrational and "absurd." A few days later, activists of the "National Women's Rights Organization" held a campus rally to denounce the paper, which they called "a tool of fascists," for publishing Smith's essay.
- A rather lengthy College Press Service article appeared October 1 in the *Northwestern Chronicle* of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois). The article is based in part on interviews with Bradley Smith and anti-revisionist author Deborah Lipstadt.
- Smith's CODOH ad appeared in the October 14 issue of the *Georgetown Voice* of Georgetown University (Washington, DC). Michael Berenbaum, project director of the US Holocaust Memorial Council (which operates the new federal Holocaust Museum), responded to Smith's ad with a guest opinion essay in the paper.
- Smith's CODOH ad appeared in the October 15 issue of *The State News* of Michigan State University (East Lansing).
- Smith's CODOH ad was published October 21 in the *Rough Rider*, student paper of Roosevelt High School in Portland, Oregon. This is the first publication of the ad in a high school paper. In response to protests from some parents, the school principal confiscated the remaining copies of the issue.
- Also in Portland, Smith's CODOH ad appeared October 24 in *The Oregonian*, the state's most influential and largest circulation newspaper. This is the first publication of the CODOH ad in a major metropolitan daily.
- Smith's CODOH ad was published, in slightly abbreviated form, in the October 26 issue of *The Stanford Daily* of Stanford University. Accompanying it was an error-ridden and prominently displayed editorial commentary that was highly critical of the ad.
- Smith's CODOH ad ran in the student newspaper of Ohio University (Athens, Ohio), October 28.

- Smith's CODOH ad appeared November 2 in The Miami Student of Miami University (Oxford, Ohio).

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Fred Leuchter Arrested in Germany

IHR Protests Politically-Motivated Act of Censorship

Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., the American execution hardware specialist who insists that claims of wartime mass gassings at Auschwitz are not true, was arrested in Cologne, Germany, on October 28, half an hour before his scheduled appearance on a television show.

Leuchter was arrested without an arrest warrant or formal charges. He was then taken to Mannheim, leaving his wife, Carolyn, behind in Cologne. Neither speaks German.

Only the next day was Leuchter formally charged. Cited in the criminal charge were statements he had made during a speech at a meeting in Germany in November 1991, in which he spoke about his 1988 on-site forensic examination of the alleged execution gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Maj-danek. These facilities were not used, and could not have been used, to kill people as alleged, said Leuchter, a recognized specialist of gas chambers used to execute convicted criminals in the United States.

Leuchter had been scheduled to appear on the show “Schreinemakers Live” of the private television network SAT-1. He was invited to appear as an execution expert, the show’s host, Margarethe Schreinemakers, confirmed. His travel costs and hotel expenses had been paid in advance by the station.

Schreinemakers said she had no idea that Leuchter was wanted by the police, and was flabbergasted when they “stormed” her Cologne studio shortly minutes before airtime. “I do not support this thoughtless act of censorship, which now makes Leuchter a dubious heroic figure,” she commented. “With this Blitzaktion, the authorities have managed to make Leuchter a martyr of the neo-Nazis.”

Confirming the political motive of the arrest, a police official declared that “it was decided on the political level that a television appearance by Leuchter would harm Germany’s image in foreign countries.” (Kölnische Rundschau, Oct. 30.)

Leuchter was formally charged by the Mannheim prosecuting attorney’s office with “incitement to hatred,” and “defamation of the memory of the [Jewish] dead.” If convicted, Leuchter could face a sentence of up to five years imprisonment.

In recent years a number of individuals who publicly reject claims about wartime mass killings of Jews have been arrested and convicted in Germany on these charges. Best-selling British historian David Irving, for example, was convicted in 1992 on a charge of “defaming the memory of the dead,” for public statements rejecting stories of mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz as a myth. (For more on this case, see the July-August 1992 IHR Newsletter, p. 3.)

Bail has been denied Leuchter, and eight days after his arrest he was still being held under “investigative custody” in a Mannheim jail cell.

The Institute for Historical Review has written to the US ambassador in Germany “to express our profound concern over this situation, and to strongly urge you to take every legally permissible action on behalf of this American citizen.” The letter concludes:

This case is particularly important because, according to newspaper reports, Mr. Leuchter has been arrested for actions that are not criminal in the United States. He was arrested for expressing views that, in our country, are protected by the Constitution. This can therefore be regarded as a free speech case, and Mr. Leuchter consequently has something of the status of a political prisoner.

The decision to arrest Leuchter is an apparent expression of panic on the part of the German authorities, and will likely prove to be a major mistake for them. A formal court hearing is now all but inevitable, which will force a public airing of the Holocaust issue, and of the iconoclastic findings of Leuchter and other specialists.

Reports about the arrest — many of them unfortunately biased, sensationalized and inaccurate — have appeared in dozens of German daily papers.

Leuchter, a resident of Malden, Massachusetts, addressed the IHR conferences of 1989, 1990, and 1992. The Holocaust lobby has responded to Leuchter’s findings, which have been widely circulated as The Leuchter Report, with a campaign of slander, pressure and intimidation. As a result of this campaign, Leuchter’s career as an execution hardware specialist has been destroyed. (For more about Leuchter, his career, and the campaign against him, see the Winter 1992-93 Journal.)

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IHR Activist Puts Cole Video on Local Television

In northern California, veteran IHR supporter Harvey Taylor recently arranged for the broadcast of David Cole's compelling video about Auschwitz on local cable access television, Continental Cablevision of Yuba City. To inform the public of the showing, Taylor also published an announcement (reproduced here) in the local daily Marysville Appeal-Democrat. Beginning October 5, it appeared in the paper for seven consecutive days. As a result of the broadcast, anonymous persons made telephone death threats against Fred Kirchubel, video production supervisor of Continental Cablevision (Sierra region), as well as other members of the station staff.

"Where are the gas chambers?," asks an American soldier at the "Liberation of Buchenwald." This cartoon by a prominent female artist who uses the pen name "Chard," is from the French paper Rivarol, July 2, 1993.

Not long after it appeared, French authorities summoned the artist to question her about this drawing. Even though no serious historian now contends that anyone was killed in gas chambers at Buchenwald, it appears that her cartoon may have violated France's Fabius/Gayssot law of July 1990, which makes it a crime to contest the "crimes against humanity" as specified by the Nuremberg Tribunal.

On September 6, a French court ordered Robert Faurisson and Rivarol to each pay a fine of 19,750 francs (about \$3,950) because the paper had published a mildly revisionist article by Faurisson.

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Willis Carto and the IHR

Willis Carto is perhaps best known as the founder and director of [Liberty Lobby](#), an organization based in Washington, DC, that publishes a weekly tabloid paper, *The Spotlight*. Carto has also been affiliated with the Institute for Historical Review since its founding in 1978. As those who have attended recent IHR conferences know, the IHR staff acknowledges the many hours of volunteer help that he and his wife Elisabeth have contributed over the years. Neither, however, contributed financially to the IHR. Neither was involved in the IHR's day to day operations, nor was either ever a paid employee. Willis Carto did, however, occasionally act as an "agent" for the Institute and its non-profit corporate parent, the "Legion for the Survival of Freedom, Inc."

During the past several months, facts have come to light to persuade the IHR senior staff that Carto's relationship with the IHR had become a liability. After much careful deliberation, and on advice of legal counsel, the Institute resolved to terminate this relationship. Accordingly, the corporate Board of Directors, meeting on September 25, voted unanimously to end its relationship with the Cartos. This decision has the full support of the IHR staff, including Director J. Marcelus and editors Mark Weber, Theodore O'Keefe, and Greg Raven.

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Holocaust on parade:

Bergen-Belsen Gassing Lies

Fraudulent Holocaust claims about magical gas chambers and miraculous survival in wartime German camps are all too familiar. Occasionally, though, we come across a claim so breathtaking in its mendacious effrontery that it deserves special notice.

In an article (reproduced here) in *The Gazette of Montreal* (Canada), August 5, 1993, and in a memoir, Moshe Peer recounts his wartime ordeal as an eleven-year-old in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Peer claims that he “was sent to the [Bergen-Belsen camp] gas chamber at least six times.” The *Gazette* account goes on to relate: “Each time he survived, watching with horror as many of the women and children gassed with him collapsed and died. To this day, Peer doesn’t know how he was able to survive.” In an effort to explain the miracle, Peer muses: “Maybe children resist better, I don’t know.” (These days, not a single reputable historian claims that anyone was ever “gassed” in the Bergen-Belsen camp.)

How was such horror possible? In Peer’s view, the “rest of the world stood by and let the Holocaust happen.” The evil Germans, he says, “had the permission of the world” to kill Jews. Although Peer claims that “Bergen-Belsen was worse than Auschwitz,” he acknowledges that he and his younger brother and sister, who were deported to the camp in 1944, all somehow survived internment there.

Sarajevo Worse Than Auschwitz, Says Former Inmate

According to at least one former inmate of Auschwitz-Birkenau, conditions today in Sarajevo, the capital of wartorn Bosnia, are worse than in the notorious German camp during the Second World War.

Danica Bagaric, an ethnic Croat, was a 17-year-old partisan fighter with Tito’s Communist forces when she was captured by the Germans in April 1943. During the next two years, she was interned in four German camps, including (she says) 14 months in Auschwitz-Birkenau, perhaps the most notorious German wartime internment center. Bagaric’s statements are reported in a *Reuters* news agency feature article dated July 27, 1993. This item has appeared in a number of daily newspapers, including Australia’s *Sydney Morning Herald* of July 30 (reproduced here).

'Danger' of Holocaust Revisionism Spreading, Says Israeli Scholar

Israeli Holocaust scholar Yehuda Bauer is worried. In an article in the Israeli English-language daily *Jerusalem Post*, August 7, 1993, he warns that “America is the center of a world-wide Holocaust denial movement.”

According to the article, headlined “US is center of Holocaust revisionism,” Bauer also “named France as the second major center, followed by Sweden. He said the danger is spreading from South America and from France to the rest of the European continent, to the Third World, India and Japan.”

“Only a small percentage of people in different countries believe what is being spread by the revisionists,” Bauer went on. “In some countries it is eight percent, in others it is ten or twelve percent.”

Yehuda Bauer is head of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at Israel’s Hebrew University. As one of the world’s most prominent Holocaust experts, it has been his unenviable task to announce awkward but unavoidable concessions to truth — and thus to revisionist critics of the Holocaust story. In April 1990, he publicly acknowledged that the widely-repeated Holocaust tale that the Germans had manufactured bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews is a myth. A few months later, he had the equally unhappy task of acknowledging that the long-standing allegation that the Germans killed four million people at Auschwitz — a claim that was supposedly proven at the Nuremberg Tribunal — is likewise not true.

In the Jerusalem Post article, Bauer specifically mentions David Cole’s videotape about Auschwitz, calling it “a powerful video.” (“David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper” is available on VHS from the IHR for \$49.00, plus \$ 2.50 for shipping.)

“Producer of the video is the Institute for Historical Review,” Bauer inaccurately goes on to say. (In fact, the IHR had nothing to do with the video’s production.) Israel, Bauer said, “lags behind the rest of the Western world” in producing video material to counter Holocaust revisionism.

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Cole on Morton Downey Show

David Cole appeared on the nationally-broadcast Morton Downey television show, on the episode aired October 13 (or 14), 1993. Downey was at his typically raving and vicious worst, loudly denouncing Cole as “crap,” and saying that the young Jewish Holocaust revisionist should be given “a damn good spanking.”

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Three Revisionist Books from Germany

The Rudolf Report: Germany's 'Leuchter Report'

A German chemist's meticulous new technical-forensic examination of the alleged execution "gas chambers" of Auschwitz has been attracting a good bit of attention in Europe.

Printed on glossy paper in a large, magazine-size format, this 110-page report contains numerous photographs (several in color), charts, diagrams, and more than 200 reference notes. It is entitled Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den "Gaskammern" von Auschwitz ("Technical Report on the formation and detection of cyanide compounds in the 'gas chambers' of Auschwitz") [Germar Rudolf](#), the author, is a certified chemist and doctoral candidate who has been working at the renowned Max Planck Institut research center in Stuttgart. The samples taken by Rudolf from the alleged execution "gas chambers" in Auschwitz were analyzed by the prestigious Institut Fresenius.

Rudolf's study provides further authoritative confirmation of the conclusions reached by American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter in his widely-distributed 1988 report, as well as of the similar findings of American chemist William B. Lindsey, Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl, the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow (Poland), and German engineer Wolfgang Schuster. (For more on this, see the Winter 1992-93 Journal.)

"For chemical-physical reasons," concludes Rudolf, "the claimed mass gassings with hydrocyanic acid in the alleged 'gas chambers' in Auschwitz did not take place." Eyewitness claims of gassings in Auschwitz are not consistent with the laws of natural science, he affirms. "The supposed facilities for mass killing in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not suitable for this purpose... The supposed gas chambers in Auschwitz and Birkenau did not come into contact with Zyklon B. In legal language: the weapon was not loaded."

Rudolf also dismissively notes that "the reports and position papers that have appeared so far in response [to the revisionists] — written, astonishingly, for the most part by non-specialists — are, above all, shameful." Hundreds of copies of the Rudolf report have already been distributed to leading figures of German academic, political, business and media academic life.

The Rudolf Gutachten is available for DM 46 (about \$28) from: Cromwell Press, 27 Old Gloucester St., London WC1N 3XX, England, U.K.

Valuable 'Lectures'

Despite its rather innocuous-sounding title, a new 350-page book is one of the most impressive works of its kind to appear in German on the Holocaust issue. Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte:

Strittige Fragen im Kreuzverhör ("Lectures on Contemporary History: Controversial Questions in the Cross Fire") by Ernst Gauss was published earlier this year by Grabert Verlag of Tübingen.

Presented in the form of six lectures, including probing questions and commentary, this mine of valuable information provides an excellent overview of the entire subject of Holocaust revisionism. It is well-organized and detailed, with a rather strong emphasis on technical aspects of this issue. Numerous charts, diagrams, photos (some in color), and a good bibliography help to round out this important work.

Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte can be ordered for DM 40, or about \$25 (softcover, not including shipping), from: Grabert Verlag, Postfach 1629, 72076 Tübingen, Germany.

Deported Jews Resettled in Occupied Soviet Lands, Says Revisionist Author

One of the most important works of Holocaust revisionism to appear in Germany in recent years is *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft: Zum Schicksal der Juden im Osten seit 1941* ("The Second Babylonian Captivity: On the Fate of the Jews in the East Since 1941") by Steffen Werner. Privately published in early 1991, it has been distributed by Grabert Verlag of Tübingen.

This detailed, carefully written 200-page softcover book deals with the fate of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who were deported to the East and allegedly gassed in "death camps," especially Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec. Werner assembles an impressive amount of documentation — including citations from numerous secret wartime documents and quotations from high-ranking German officials, and 483 reference notes — to support his thesis that the hundreds of thousands of "evacuated" Jews were deported to the occupied Soviet territories, and particularly to the province of Belarus (White Russia). The work also contains maps (including two in color), diagrams and charts.

Denounced as "exoneration literature of the worst kind," the newspaper of Germany's central Jewish organization cited Werner's book to demand that the authorities shut down the Grabert publishing company "to protect society against socially dangerous aggression and incitement." (*Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung*, March 21, 1991.) In contrast, *Journal* contributor and editorial advisor Dr. R. Clarence Lang praises Werner's book as "compelling."

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Book Reviews

New Books Seek to Discredit 'Growing Threat' of 'Holocaust Denial'

- *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, by Deborah Lipstadt. New York: Free Press, 1993. Hardcover. 278 pages. Notes. Index. \$22.95. ISBN: 0-02-919235-8.
- *Holocaust Denial* by Kenneth S. Stern. New York: American Jewish Committee, 1993. Softcover. 193 pages. Notes. Index. \$12.95. ISBN: 0-87495-102-X.
- *Hitler's Apologists: The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust "Revisionism"* edited by Alan M. Schwartz. New York: The Anti-Defamation League, 1993. Softcover. 86 pages. Notes.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

The earlier method of opposing Holocaust Revisionism was to ignore it entirely as a scholarly, historiographical phenomenon (except for a few dismissive phrases about "flat earthers") in favor of attacking it as a political threat, branding it as "neo-Nazi," "anti-Semitic," etc. With the exception of Bradley Smith's radio talk show appearances and college newspaper advertisements, Revisionism's opponents have been able to impose an effective blackout on Revisionist challenges to the Holocaust. The result? In the United States, some 16 years after the title of Professor Arthur Butz's *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* was mistakenly reported by *The New York Times* in its first notice of Holocaust Revisionism, there are scores of millions who know that there is a determined movement that challenges the factuality of the alleged World-War-II genocide of the Jews, and tens of millions of Americans who, according to the latest polls, question it themselves.

Whether the growth of this opposition occurred so much in spite of the blackout of what the Holocaust Revisionists say and have written, or rather because of an increasing aversion to the spread of what one Jewish writer has called "Holocaustomania" is unclear, but obviously the blackout hasn't worked to its proponents' satisfaction. Thus, the powerful lobby which propagates (obligatory) reverence for the "Holocaust" has decided to mount an elaborate propaganda campaign against the Revisionists. This time, as the Holocausters march into the fray, some of them are proclaiming a new theme: confronting and defeating Revisionist scholarship.

Generous Help

Two of the three books here under review advertise themselves as setting off on this new demarche; the third, ADL's *Hitler's Apologists*, sticks unabashedly to the tried and true tactics of what might be called "McCarthyism."

Chief among these three intellectually slight works is Deborah Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust*, a labored exposé that has been years in the gestation (the *New York Times* devoted a major fanfare to Lipstadt's lucubrations on the Revisionists as far back as June 20, 1988), yet manages to give off telltale signs of desperate, last-minute suturing and low-voltage jolts of stylistic electricity, by a crew of editorial Igors in New York City.

The book that shambles forth from the Free Press (a division of Macmillan in Manhattan) is, as author Lipstadt herself acknowledges, heavily dependent on the assistance of professional character assassins from Jewish so-called "defense organizations": operatives of the Anti-Defamation League, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the World Jewish Congress' Institute for Jewish Affairs in London, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center all receive thanks in the preface.

Denying the Holocaust is copyrighted by something called the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (as a perquisite of which the author may have received the stylish haircut pictured on the dust jacket).

What's actually new about Lipstadt's approach? Not much, despite the author's all-but breathless intimations that she's the first researcher who has dared to look Holocaust Revisionism in the face, and despite the hosannas which have poured forth from the book review sections of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and other newspapers. Although the author, proudly enthroned on something called the "Dorot Chair in Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies" at Emory University, makes much of the need to analyze the Revisionist case against the Holocaust, in sum her promised "exposure" of the Revisionists has little to do with confronting Revisionist scholarship.

Ineptitude and Deceit

While Professor Lipstadt is less than honest elsewhere in her book, she is disarmingly frank about her dogmas and purposes at the outset: "The existence of the Holocaust [is] not a matter of debate" (p. 1); Revisionists are "extremist antisemites" who "camouflage their hateful ideology" "under the guise of scholarship ..." (p. 3).

But how to expose them, other than by proclaiming that the Holocaust is beyond question (which comes perilously close to relegating it to the realm of religion) and calling the Revisionists names, particularly when she has haughtily announced her refusal to be "sucked into a debate that is no debate and an argument that is no argument"?

In fact, her promised "analysis" and "exposure" is in large measure derived from the tried-and-true methods of the ADL and its junior partners at the Wiesenthal Center and elsewhere. Lipstadt parades the same labeling and smear techniques as the slick dossiers churned out by the "watch-dog groups": antisemite/neoNazi/fascist/professional-hatemonger/bigot/Hitlerian/Holocaust-denier. As you flip through the pages of *Denying the Holocaust*, the epithets all seem to run together into a single quavering wail.

Where Professor Lipstadt can't believably pin one of her slanderous labels on her subjects, or has perhaps temporarily tired of impugning their supposed motives, she is forced to attempt, as best she can, historical analysis and scholarly argument. However, she gives scant evidence of any grasp of historical knowledge or method, and more than a little indication of scholarly indolence and a timidity about confronting the masters of Holocaust Revisionism in their areas of expertise. Her analytic efforts are further vitiated by errors, big and small; omissions, deliberate or in igno-

rance; and distortions and misstatements, that, coming from any real scholar, can only be called deceitful. Lipstadt's ineptitude, after years of ballyhooed toil amid Revisionist writings, is only underscored by her pitiful efforts to take refuge in her own academic credentials (by the way, all the evidence indicates that is unable to read Revisionist works in the original French or German) and those of the numerous professional historian-hacks whose authority she invokes. These she brandishes, like Medusa shaking her snaky locks, at the Revisionists in hopes of petrifying these alleged amateurs. But this tactic will impress only other amateurs.

To catalogue the slanders and mistakes of Denying the Holocaust, let alone refute them, would require almost a book itself, and despite all the media trumpet blasts, this book isn't worth the effort. Still, a look at some of the more important techniques that serve Lipstadt, as well as the rest of the now sweating wardens of Holocaust orthodoxy, is perhaps of some merit.

Word Wizards

Chief among these is one surprisingly simple: a reliance on the emotive and minatory power of the Word. For Lipstadt and her fellows, words such as "antisemite" (her spelling), "neo-Nazi," "denier," "Holocaust," "memory" and the like aren't so much (if they are at all) labels for independent realities as they are weapons, first for controlling discourse, then for anathematizing opponents, and finally for striking directly at the central nervous systems of the population at large. Thanks to the Holocaust lobby's ready access to the international media, efforts by Revisionists to reverse the process by labeling the other side "Exterminationists" and the like tend to strike even sympathizers as odd, labored, and reeking of reactive, *tu quoque* ("you too").

Nevertheless, it is indispensable for Revisionists untiringly to confront and mercilessly to dissect the shibboleths of the word wizards: as in this book, deceptive labels are 90 percent of their case. "What is the Holocaust?" Revisionists must ask, and why does "denying" it sound so direr and more unreasonable than merely questioning whether the Germans had a policy to exterminate the Jews, resulting in the deaths of around six million of them, largely in gas chambers?

What is an "antisemite"? If the word denotes merely someone who opposes the Jews, what's wrong with using a term that says so? [\[note 2\]](#) (And why don't we hear more of "anti-Hamitism" and "anti-Japhetism"?)

Was Robert Faurisson correct when he suggested, in a 1989 article, that the Jewish "memory" that professional Holocausters so often invoke might more accurately be defined as the "beliefs" and "legends" of the Jews?

Historical Revisionism

For those who doubt that Lipstadt's long tussle with Holocaust revisionism is based largely on her manipulation of a handful of empty words, a more specific analysis of her use of the terms "Holocaust" and "Holocaust denial" is in order.

After decreeing that the "Holocaust" is not subject to debate, it is the author's ploy to equate the word with the facts supposed to underlie it. She approvingly quotes (p. 198) the following pontification emanating from the Duke University history department shortly after the appearance of Bradley Smith's full-page advertisement challenging several well-known tales of the Holocaust:

That historians are constantly engaged in historical revision is certainly correct; however, what historians do is very different from this advertisement. Historical revision

of major events is not concerned with the actuality of these events; rather it concerns their historical interpretation — their causes and consequences generally.

Sorry, profs, but that sophomoric stance wouldn't fool many college freshmen — at least not in the days when a demonstrated ability to think critically was a prerequisite for college admission, let alone this or that professorship. In this reviewer's freshman days, students learned quickly that many alleged "major events" — such as "the fall of the Roman Empire," "the Middle Ages," and "the Renaissance" — are in large measure names and interpretations coined by historians based on their evaluation of a large, but still painfully limited, amount of evidence. Although perhaps various proponents of this or that historical interpretation might have welcomed anathemas aimed at their opponents, this reviewer doesn't recall any of them attempting to turn logic on its head by invoking the "reality" of the "Dorian invasion" or the "Ottonian renaissance" to validate each component of the theory, as Lipstadt and her colleagues have tried to do to save the lampshades, shrunken heads, Jewish soap bars, and spectral gas chambers attacked by Smith in his campus ads. Nor, outside of the flacks from the Holocaust lobby, has he ever encountered the cheap trick of representing a historian who doubted the applicability of the name "Dark Ages" for a period in European as arguing that the centuries in question "never happened."

Exercise in Evasion

Having conjured the "Holocaust" into existence without worrying about such inconsequential matters as the documents ordering, planning, and budgeting it, or the forensic tests establishing the murder weapons, or the autopsies showing deaths by gassing, Lipstadt performs her next sleight-of-hand trick. This is to impose her own name for Revisionism, "denial" — with all its shopworn Freudian implications — on her targets. Focusing on "denial" and "deniers" as on some pathological syndrome allows her to "analyze" them without reference to the full body of Revisionist scholarship, of which she seems woefully uninformed, even after more than half a decade's study.

In fact, most of her book is an exercise in evasion of precisely that body of Revisionist findings that would seem to have made her work necessary. Conversely, an inordinate amount of Denying the Holocaust is devoted to tracing the antecedents of contemporary Holocaust Revisionist scholarship.

Her book is front-loaded with Revisionists and Revisionist arguments which have been long since been incorporated, superseded, and in some cases corrected by later Revisionists. Indeed, Lipstadt devotes five chapters, spanning 91 pages, to the predecessors of Arthur Butz, whereas Butz and his contemporaries and successors, including Robert Faurisson, Fred Leuchter, and the Institute for Historical Review, get a measly three chapters and an appendix comprising a comparatively modest 64 pages. (It should be noted that much of this text, particularly that concerning the IHR, is rife with the sort of irrelevancies that fill the pages of ADL's "exposés": the life and times of Willis Carto and [David McCalden](#), headlines from [The SPOTLIGHT](#), and the like.) Other chapters virtually devoid of analysis of Revisionist argument include her Chapter One, largely devoted to lamenting an alleged tolerance for Holocaust Revisionism in the mass media (that is, agonizing that a good number of radio and television talk shows have not blacklisted revisionists), and a speedy, superficial tour of "denial" abroad. In Chapters Ten she marshals such arguments as she can to support the banning of Revisionist advertisements and articles from college newspapers in the wake of Bradley Smith's remarkably successful campaign of two years ago. Chapter Eleven, called "Watchers on the Rhine," is her attempt to chart "the future course of Holocaust denial," and to prescribe what must be done to thwart the Revisionism and an evidently looming rise of the Fourth Reich.

Paul Rassinier

Characteristic of her technique is the way she handles the work of two courageous pioneers of Revisionism, Paul Rassinier and Austin App. Each of these is accorded considerable space in Denying the Holocaust, largely to focus on flaws and errors, many of them minor, in their work.

Most readers won't know that where both men genuinely erred, Revisionists have long since corrected them. Rassinier's mistakes on Jewish population statistics, avidly cited by the author (pp. 58-62) were set right by Journal editor Mark Weber in testimony at the second (1988) trial of Ernst Zündel, a trial with which Lipstadt should be familiar since she dwells on it at some length and has had access to the transcript. If that weren't enough, however, Weber summarized his corrective testimony in the Journal ("My Role in the Zündel Trial," Winter 1989-90, pp. 391, 415-416), and included three pages of specific corrections in an "afterword" to the IHR's most recent edition of Rassinier's key Revisionist writings, *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses* (pp. 414-416).

Although Lipstadt states rather murkily that what she calls Rassinier's "use of the numbers game ... established a pattern followed by all deniers who try to prove that the death tolls are not valid" (p. 58), the knowledgeable reader searches in vain for evidence of this: she has omitted any and all mention of Walter Sanning's key book *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*; the posthumous article "How Many Jews Were Eliminated by the Nazis?" in the Spring 1983 Journal (pp. 61-81) by Professor Frank Hankins, a longtime demographer and former president of the American Sociological Society; and Swedish demographer Carl Nordling's two Journal studies, "The Jewish Establishment under Nazi Threat and Domination" Summer 1990 (pp. 195-209) and "How Many Jews Died in the German Concentration Camps," Fall 1991 (pp. 335-344).

Austin App

Similarly, Lipstadt has chosen to give Austin App an entire chapter, eighteen pages long, subtitled "The World of Immoral Equivalency," by which she means to say that App dared to compare such genuine, but comparatively unpublicized and certainly unpunished Allied atrocities as the mass expulsion of millions of Germans from their ancestral homelands, or the mass rapes carried out especially by conquering Soviet troops, to those alleged German atrocities of which we never cease to hear and for which the United States and other governments still dog innocent men, such as John Demjanjuk, to the present day.

While Dr. App, a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of this Journal from its founding until his death in 1984, deserves the highest praise for his indomitable courage, his unflagging loyalty to his German roots, and his dedication to propagating the case for the German nation and people during and after the Second World War, only a writer less than familiar with the progress of revisionist research could claim that App "played a central role in the development of Holocaust denial" (p. 85), or that "his major contribution was to formulate eight axioms that have come to serve as the founding principles of the California-based Institute for Historical Review and as the basic postulates of Holocaust denial" (p. 86). In fact, a survey of the more than 50 issues of *The Journal of Historical Review* published to date reveals only a single article by Dr. App ("The Holocaust Put in Perspective," Vol. 1, no. 1 [Spring 1980]), an obituary tribute to him (Winter 1984, pp. 446-450), and a handful of mentions of his incisive but not always meticulous pamphlets.

It should not be necessary, by the way, to point out that Dr. App, a life-long Catholic who never wrote a word against the republican form of government its founding fathers bequeathed his na-

tive America, was by no stretch of the imagination a “fascist,” as Lipstadt terms him (p. 87).

Arthur Butz

Bad as is her work on Rassinier, App, and other precursors of contemporary Holocaust Revisionism such as David Hoggan or “Richard Harwood” (Richard Verrall), Lipstadt’s real inadequacies as a scholar begin to shine when at length she attempts to analyze and expose the work of Dr. Arthur R. Butz and the Revisionist scholars who have followed him.

Her tack on Professor Butz and his epoch-making *Hoax of the Twentieth-Century* is represent Butz as a master of *trompe-l'oeil*, assuming “a veneer of scholarship and the impression of seriousness and objectivity” (p. 123) to fool the unwary. To that end, she claims, he provided *The Hoax* with what Lipstadt calls “the hallmarks of scholarly works,” that is, “the requisite myriad notes and large bibliography” (p. 124), and criticized the work of earlier Revisionists as well as “German wartime behavior” — a ploy “that was clearly designed to disarm innocent readers and enhance Butz’s aura of scholarly objectivity” (p. 124).

Lipstadt’s efforts to unmask Butz’s pseudo-scholarly trumpery and hidden “agenda” are vitiated by both her ineptitude and her dishonesty. She bypasses both the central issues of *The Hoax* and Butz’s often complex argumentation to reduce its theses to caricatures. Thus, her chapter makes no reference either to Butz’s key (and as yet unanswered) question as to how the mass gassings at the huge, comparatively open, and closely monitored Auschwitz complex could go unnoticed and unreported for more than two years, or to the dual interpretations of German public-health measures at Auschwitz (brilliantly summarized on page 131 of *The Hoax*). Instead, Lipstadt would rather dog Butz for his appearance at a meeting sponsored by Minister Louis Farrakhan, or for the fact that “his books [sic] are promoted and distributed by the Ku Klux Klan and other [sic] neo-Nazi organizations” (p. 126).

Where Lipstadt does lay hands on what Butz actually writes, she almost invariably misrepresents, misstates, or otherwise garbles his positions. Butz does not argue that “the key to perpetrating the hoax was the forging of massive numbers of documents” (p. 127). As the discerning reader will discover by checking the citation from *The Hoax* that Lipstadt cites here, Butz in fact wrote of “a fabrication constructed of perjury, forgery, distortion of fact and misrepresentation of documents” (*Hoax*, p. 173).

Lipstadt similarly badly misconstrues (or misstates) Butz’s thesis on why so many postwar German defendants refused to challenge the extermination allegations. The vast majority of them did not “plead guilty” to the Holocaust, as she clearly implies (p. 130). Rather than argue (to their extreme peril in the context of the show-trial hysteria) that it hadn’t taken place, the defendants usually argued that they had had nothing to do with it.

Lipstadt is either unable or unwilling to follow Butz when he argues closely. For example, she badly misrepresents his argument regarding Oswald Pohl’s testimony at Nuremberg. Butz’s point is that it is absurd to imagine that Pohl, the head of the SS agency (the WVHA) that supervised the construction and operation of all the concentration camps, including Auschwitz, would only have learned of the alleged exterminations through a speech of Heinrich Himmler at Posen in October 1943, as Pohl claimed (*Hoax*, p. 195). Lipstadt is silent regarding this claim, stating only that Pohl testified “that he had heard Himmler deliver his famous 1943 speech to the SS leaders at Posen” (p. 131). Elsewhere she cites the word “ludicrous,” with which Butz characterizes Pohl’s claim about his first knowledge of the supposed genocide, as evidence of Butz’s dismissal of “anything that disagreed with [his] foregone conclusion and the thesis of his book” (p. 124).

This reviewer defies anyone to compare Lipstadt's criticisms of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* with what its author actually writes, both in those passages Lipstadt cites as well as the far more numerous aspects of Butz's book she has chosen to ignore, and come away convinced that the would-be confounder of the deniers has made so much as a dent in his thesis, even where it is perhaps most vulnerable.

Mistakes and Irrelevancies

Aside from the intellectual dishonesty that members of the professional Holocaust orthodoxy share (which can only grow as Revisionist researchers gain access to more evidence), Lipstadt seems to suffer from an intellectual incapacity crippling in a scholar bent upon penetrating veneers and veils of supposedly false scholarship through rigorous criticism. She excels at mistaking a point or fixing on an irrelevancy, then dwelling on it for half a page or more, as when, for example, she taxes Richard Verrall ("Harwood"), author of *Did Six Million Really Die?*, for quoting Hitler biographer Colin Cross to the effect that "murdering [the Jews] in a time of desperate war emergency was useless from any rational point of view" (pp. 113-114). She reproaches Verrall for the better part of a page for having tried to represent Cross as challenging the "Holocaust." Checking the passage in question (*Did Six Million Really Die?*, p. 20), reveals no such intent to co-opt Cross.

Then again, the fact that Revisionists have paid close attention to Exterminationist writers, and cited such authors as Raul Hilberg, Gerald Reitlinger, and J.-C. Pressac to bolster their case either by referencing otherwise unobtainable evidence or by employing the valid controversial tactic of admission against interest, brings forth an anguished yelp from our author: "They [the "deniers"] rely on books that directly contradict their arguments, quoting in a manner that completely distorts the authors' objectives (p. 111)." Well, what's sauce for the Gentile goose... but we understand perfectly, Debbie, that you and your colleagues would much prefer that we ignore your works — and we understand why.

Omissions

Another tactic (or failing) of Denying the Holocaust, is in the matter, already adverted to, of omission — omission of all sorts of pertinent facts, arguments, writings, personages, and attainments of Revisionist scholars. Lipstadt seems only half aware of the compass of revisionist research and publication. Her book contains no mention of such key Revisionist authors as Wilhelm Stäglich, Fritz Berg, Carlo Mattogno and Enrique Aynat. And, despite the fact that she makes use of the English translation of Pierre Vidal-Naquet's *Assassins of Memory*, she omits all reference to world-class Jewish historian Arno Mayer's *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken*, with its two crushing observations: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable" and "There is no denying the many contradictions, ambiguities, and errors in the existing sources."

Lipstadt's understating of the achievements and credentials of Revisionists, despite their availability from the sources she cites, is too frequent to be anything but willful. James Martin, gets mention in a single footnote, which fails to mention his doctorate in history from the University of Michigan, his 25-year academic career, and his authorship of five well-received books and numerous articles: Lipstadt does credit him (p. 44) for being listed as "a contributor to the 1970 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*." Mark Weber, who studied history at four different universities, including Munich and Indiana University, obtaining a master's degree from the latter, is said (p. 186) only to have been "educated in a Jesuit high school in Portland, Oregon."

When Lipstadt refers (p. 67) to Stephen Pinter's famous letter published in the Catholic newspaper *Our Sunday Visitor* (June 14, 1959), which challenged the gas chamber and extermination claims, she leaves out all reference to the fact that Pinter served as an attorney for the U.S. War Department during the postwar Dachau trials, and that he based his knowledge of the wartime treatment of the Jews on having "interviewed thousands of Jews, former inmates of concentration camps in Germany and Austria."

Fred Leuchter

Lipstadt's noisiest evocation of the "credentials" issue comes in her assault on the findings of Fred Leuchter regarding the purported gas chambers at Auschwitz. She takes considerable pains to show that: 1) Leuchter has only a B.A. in history; 2) he is not a certified engineer; 3) a Canadian judge deemed him unqualified to "serve as an expert witness on the construction and functioning of the gas chambers" (p. 164); and he is not America's leading authority on execution gas chambers.

Lipstadt presents a melange of truth and fiction to make her case that Leuchter's analysis of the feasibility of execution gassings at Auschwitz, Majdanek and elsewhere may mislead the uninformed or the unwary, but the essential facts and elementary common sense refute her.

Leuchter's formal educational credentials easily exceed those of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Edison, or the Wright brothers; he holds numerous patents for inventions ranging from the first electronic sextant to a color stereo helicopter mapping system to various types of execution hardware (Lipstadt omits all mention of these). Even worse, she flagrantly misstates the truth by writing that Leuchter was not allowed to testify during the Second trial of Ernst Zündel as an expert on execution gas chambers: he certainly was, as the transcript makes perfectly clear.

As to Leuchter's pre-eminence as the American expert on gas chamber design, operation and maintenance, a recent book by journalist Stephen Trombley, *The Execution Protocol*, makes abundantly clear that Leuchter was all that in abundance, before his career was wrecked thanks to his steadfastness in standing by the conclusions he reached in his widely-circulated 1988 Report. Lipstadt is aware of *The Execution Protocol*, since she reproaches it for having "resurrected" Leuchter's reputation, but she has no specific criticisms to make of its massive confirmation, coming from an author unsympathetic to capital punishment, of Leuchter's expertise and authority. (Trombley's book also throws light on how Leuchter's ambiguous position as an inventor and technician dedicated to humane execution methods, and an ambitious businessman, made him vulnerable to unfair charges from state officials that his testimony against defective and inhumane equipment and procedures was prompted merely by venality.)

In any case, Lipstadt is unable to shake the most important aspect of the Leuchter affair: that, thanks to the enterprise of Ernst Zündel and the dedication of Robert Faurisson, the first-ever expert forensic examination of whether mass homicidal gassing was feasible in the Auschwitz crematoria, and the first quantitative investigation of the physico-chemical evidence of such gassings, was conducted by a leading, professional, court-certified expert in homicidal gas chambers. Needless to say, she fails to report the existence of three subsequent reports on the alleged homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz — carried out by a Polish forensic institute, a German chemist, and an Austrian engineer — each of which corroborates Leuchter's 1988 report.

Jean-Claude Pressac

Aside from attempting to impugn Leuchter's credentials, Lipstadt makes a feeble effort to uphold the gas chamber myth by invoking the supposed findings and authority of Jean-Claude Pressac, the French pharmacist whose book [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#) was published in 1989 by Beate and Serge Klarsfeld. Despite its labored attempts to substantiate the "gas chambers" of Auschwitz by revealing and discussing an unprecedented wealth of documents from Auschwitz, Pressac's book has to date received scant public notice from orthodox Holocaust scholars. It has, rather, been the Revisionists, above all in this journal, who have analyzed this and other of Pressac's writings — to the embarrassment of the Exterminationists and to the great profit of historical truth.

Suffice it to say that Lipstadt (pp. 226-228) has merely listed (not always accurately) a few of the 39 allegedly criminal traces which Pressac claims to have discovered from documents relating to the Auschwitz crematoria: a gas-tight door here, a request for gas detectors there, an inventory listing shower heads, and so forth. Readers interested in ascertaining the perfectly banal usages of all these items are advised to turn to the Journal articles by Robert Faurisson (Spring 1991), Paul Grubach (Winter 1992-93), and Arthur Butz (May/June 1993). As for Lipstadt's own gross ignorance of the Auschwitz gas-chamber question, this reviewer is content to cite this sentence from *Denying the Holocaust*: "The delousing chambers were constructed in the same fashion as the homicidal gas chambers," and refer the reader to The Leuchter Report, Pressac, or any other source for blueprints and photographs he or she may choose.

Dread Portent?

Dr. Lipstadt seems to have begun unraveling in the course of her work on this book. In her preface (pp. vii-viii) she makes less than cryptic references to the growing stress she felt as she strove to confront and expose the increasingly powerful arguments of the Revisionists:

I had constantly to avoid being sucked into a debate that is no debate and an argument that is no argument. It has been a disconcerting and, at times, painful task that would have been impossible without the aid and support of a variety of people. Without them I would never have emerged from this morass.

In her final chapter, entitled "Watching on the Rhine: The Future Course of Holocaust Denial," Debbie becomes completely unglued. After sniffing suspiciously at the work of such orthodox, but dismayingly skeptical, modern German historians as Ernst Nolte, who has recently called for open debate on the gas chambers, and Michael Stürmer, who seems to think that the interpretation of his country's recent past should serve purposes other than a source for Hollywood horror scripts and fundraising gimmicks for the United Jewish Appeal, Lipstadt conjures up the looming horror of a Fourth, Revisionist Reich.

The "deniers," she tells her readers, are really no different from the Ku Klux Klan, the skinheads, the Neo-Nazis: "They hate the same things — Jews, racial minorities, and democracy — and have the same objectives, the destruction of truth and memory." And the deniers are cleverer: they don't run around in sheets or Nazi paraphernalia, but "...attempt to project the appearance of being committed to the very values that they in truth adamantly oppose: reason, critical, rules of evidence, and historical distinction. It is this that makes Holocaust denial such a threat."

And just what does this dire threat portend? What final horror threatens Jews, racial minorities, and democracy? Here's how Lipstadt evokes (p. 218) the coming tribulation:

A strategic change will also mark the activities of the racist, neo-Nazi, ultranationalist groups. So easily identifiable by their outer trappings, they will adopt the deniers' tactics, cast off the external attributes that mark them as extremists, and eschew whatever pigeonholes them as neofascists. They will cloak themselves and their arguments in a veneer of reason and in arguments [sic] that sound rational to the American people. The physical terror they perpetrate may cease, but the number of people beguiled by their arguments will grow.

As a portent of the terrors to come, and as a tactic analogous to those of the deniers, Professor Lipstadt cites an attempt by one of the many Klan groupuscules to erect a cross on city property in Cincinnati during Christmas. Horrors!

She's not done yet, however. After considering (p. 219) "the most efficacious strategies for countering these attacks" (she lukewarmly opposes legal censorship because it may turn revisionists into martyrs, and advocates that the population at large be stuffed, like so many Strasbourg geese, with more Holocaust education, museums, etc.), Lipstadt ends (pp. 221-222) with a final, quavering, self-pitying wail (a wail that begs for annotation):

Though we cannot directly engage them [in debate — as to why not, the reader may decide], there is something we can do. Those who care not just about Jewish history or the history of the Holocaust but about truth in all its forms [comment supererogatory], must function as canaries in the mine [not cuckoos in the clock or bats in the belfry?], to guard against the spread of noxious fumes. ["Gas masks for sale! O-o-old gas masks!"] We must vigilantly stand watch against an increasingly nimble enemy. [Tough work for increasingly sclerotic Holocaustomaniacs!] But unlike the canary, we must not sit silently by waiting to expire so that others will be warned of the danger. ["Good, heavens, Martha, it's raining canaries! What can it mean?"] When we witness assaults on the truth, our response must be strong, though neither polemical or emotional [like your book?] We must educate the broader public and academe about this threat and its historical and ideological roots [Oh, boy! More lavishly funded Chairs of Holocaust Studies!]. We must expose these people for what they are. [Is the ADL about to fold up?]

The effort will not be pleasant. [You can count on that one, Debbie!] Those who take on this task will sometimes feel — as I often did in the course of writing [Does she mean typing?] this work — as if they are being forced to prove what they know to be a fact. [What an awful imposition!] Those of us who make scholarship our vocation and avocation dream of spending our time charting new paths, opening new vistas, and offering new perspectives on some aspect of the truth. [Us Revisionists have things so easy! But you're not getting tired of the Holocaust, are you, Debbie? What are you — some kind of anti-Semite?] We seek to discover, not to defend. [Aww...] We did not train in our respective fields in order to stand like watchmen and watchwomen on the Rhine [100-1 she got this image only second-hand from prune-faced, lying old Stalinist Lillian Hellman, not from hearing the patriotic German song]. Yet this is what we must do. [What dedication!] We do so in order to expose falsehood and hate. ["But we don't l-i-i-ke mirrors!"] We will remain ever vigilant so that the most precious tools of our trade and our society — truth and reason — can prevail. The still, small voices of millions cry out to us from the ground demanding that we do no less. [Ugh!]

And with that last emetic cry, the Wicked Witch of the West (or is it the East?) dissolves into an oozing putrescence. Unwilling to confront the Revisionists, unable of answering their arguments,

at best a second-rate mistress of the dossier and the exposé, she can only bequeath her formulas and her broom to the smear mongers at the defense agency.

As for Denying the Holocaust, to recall the German philologist Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's famous dismissal of a study of socialism in antiquity, "Dieses Buch existiert nicht für die Wissenschaft" ("This book doesn't exist for scholarship.") In a sane world, it would merit not a review, but an epitaph: "Here lies Deborah Lipstadt."

Stern's Effort

Kenneth Stern, author of the American Jewish Committee's Holocaust Denial, is described therein as "Program Specialist, Anti-Semitism and Extremism" for that organization. Despite these ominous credentials, and endorsements from Deborah Lipstadt, Shelly Z. Shapiro (who tried to frame Fred Leuchter on orders from Beate Klarsfeld), and the irrepressible Mel Mermelstein, Stern's book is fairer than might be expected.

Why so? After all, his book contains many of the standard slurs and slanders: the IHR is "Carto's lie-tank" (p. 8), "Holocaust denial" is an "enterprise of professional anti-Semites" (p. 9) and "a dogma that provides ideological incentives to feel good about Jew-hatred" (p. 84). Stern relies heavily on slanted information provided by Gerry Gable, editor of the pro-Communist periodical Searchlight, Leonard Zeskind, research director of the Center for Democratic Renewal, and other Marxist flacks, and opines that "even if we do not agree with the complete agenda of the current Europe [sic] organizations that have a mission to fight fascism — such as some of the mainstream left-wing 'antifascist' groups — we should be more active in helping them." (p. 97)

Nevertheless, Stern takes Holocaust Revisionism seriously enough to provide nearly fifty pages of appendices with evidence — from their own mouths and pens — of Revisionist scholarly and polemical activity, including the full text of Brad Smith's first campus advertisement, "The Holocaust Controversy: The Case for Open Debate"; a complete transcript of Montel Williams's April 30, 1992, television show devoted to Holocaust Revisionism, during which Journal editor Weber and Revisionist filmmaker David Cole easily bested a gaggle of Holocausters, including a couple of survivors; and an 18-page listing of "Holocaust-denying" books, booklets, and pamphlets, and of articles from The Journal of Historical Review that should make even the hardest true believer shiver at the evident industry and sophistication of the Revisionists.

Like Lipstadt (in her first chapter), Stern offers a world tour of Holocaust Revisionism. His Baedeker is rather more informative than hers, for all his errors, and even this reviewer, inundated as all IHR's editors are by Revisionist news from around the globe, read it with some profit.

Stern takes a stab at refuting selected Revisionist arguments, not very successfully, since he has either dodged major questions in favor of trivial ones ("[Revisionist] Claim: That neither Churchill nor Eisenhower, in their memoirs, mention either gas chambers or a genocide program" [p. 71]), or relied on empty pronouncements from Exterminationist authority figures, such as Professor Yehuda Bauer, who confutes the laws of physics by informing us that "the incinerators at Auschwitz were built to cremate nine corpses per hour" (p. 65), or put his faith, like Lipstadt, in J.-C. Pressac.

All in all, Revisionists will likely experience a warm feeling of satisfaction when they put down Holocaust Denial: we are on the march, and Stern makes clear that he and his fellow professional anti-anti-Semites don't know how to stop us.

ADL Hatchet Job

The second offering from the Jewish “defense agencies” under review is a rather less attractive effort. Hitler’s Apologists lumbers along after Lipstadt’s and Stern’s books, its knuckles grazing already well-worn grooves of innuendo, smear, and what used to be called “guilt by association.” Compiled by a cast of professional snoops, this 86-page booklet was edited by Alan Schwartz, who was dropped from the plaintiff’s list of expert witnesses after he was mercilessly grilled by Mark Lane in deposition during the second Mermelstein case.

Although the booklet’s subtitle, “The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust 'Revision-ism',” would seem to indicate a programmatic confrontation with the Revisionist case, the way Hitler’s Apologists is organized belies that. Most sections are titled with the names of individual Revisionists, who are pilloried for all manner of associations and linkages, motives and agendas, positions and statements, some of them dating back decades, while their formal arguments are passed over or dismissed with ritualistic slurs.

For example, Mark Weber is falsely described as “a long-time neo-Nazi” (p. 10). (Question: How long does one have to be a “neo-Nazi” before he qualifies as a “paleo-Nazi”?) Bradley Smith, who has been earlier accused of falsifying credentials — credentials he never claimed! — by Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz, is taxed for being the co-director of a “pseudo-academic enterprise, the Committee for Open Debate of the Holocaust” (p. 12), although Smith has never represented CODOH as being in any way academic.

Once the ADL’s smear apparatus has been turned on and has sputtered to life, it takes on a demonic existence of its own, like some odd carnival amusement, ultimately repellent whatever its attraction. Amid stomach-turning odors, to the manic burbling of a cranky calliope, the centrifugal pump that is Hitler’s Apologists whirls faster and faster, spewing filth and falsehood about Revisionists, great and small, into the faces of the American public. Fred Leuchter! **David McCalden**! Jack Wikoff! Hans Schmidt! Ernst Zündel! Pat Buchanan! Arno Mayer! Keegstra! Faurisson! Roques! Le Pen! The Germans! Faster and faster! Eastern Europe! Lithuania! The Muslims! Saddam Hussein! The Intifada!

And on and on it spins and stinks, this latest ADL hatchet job, shooting half-truths and lies, irrelevancies and mistakes, to the point where it becomes idle to track down and refute them one by one. A production like this is of a piece — either one great truth or one great lie. The big lie of Hitler’s Apologists — that all revisionists are simply Nazis — is wearing ever thinner. Thus the insane energy of the liars and sneaks who basted it together.

Repression and Monopoly

Each of the books under examination here calls for or tolerates continued censorship of Revisionists — if not through judicial or police measures, then by systematically refusing Revisionists the right of the effective public forum — media, academia, advertising, and commercial distribution. Only grudgingly conceded is the right to assail the Holocaust hoax from a soapbox in a public park.

This intolerance of debate, this relish for repression, is the reverse of the counterfeit coin whose obverse is the gas chamber lie and the six million myth. Whatever the responsibilities of the wartime propagandists and the postwar survivors, the minters of the false currency of Holocaust history cannot be excused for temporary opportunity, hot-blooded vengeance, or passing confusion. Through their jealously guarded monopoly of historical discussion of the “Holocaust,” the

Second World War, and ultimately the entire modern era of the West, they mean to silence all dissent, from the rantings of the most repulsive race-baiter to the researches of the most meticulous scholar. And they aim, through their hypostatized Holocaust, to raise their own filthy calumnies — of the Nazis, the Germans, the Axis, Europe, and ultimately America and the entire West throughout its history — to an obligatory state cult.

That is why the work of Holocaust Revisionism — including its sometimes peckish-seeming preoccupation with the innards of what Professor James J. Martin has called “Polish potato cellars,” with the efficacy of insecticides, and the meaning of half-century old invoices for light bulbs or showerheads — must continue. To use a military analogy, it is not enough that our scouts and our reconnaissance troops have won some skirmishes, not enough that General Rassinier’s airborne troops have seized a bridgehead, not enough that Field Marshal Butz’s panzer army has knifed deep into enemy territory. These victories must be confirmed and consolidated through further research and new findings, while the smallest and meanest of the Holocaust lies must be rooted out of the isolated intellectual bunkers in which they lurk, then destroyed.

Today, no matter how badly beleaguered by state censorship, by physical attacks, by economic pressure, Holocaust Revisionists are on the intellectual offensive. If the books reviewed above can’t be much bettered by the Holocaust Lobby, both the lie and the lobby are in danger of definitive refutation and exposure before the decade is out.

Note

This reviewer recalls reading a “scholarly” article — author, title and source long forgotten — on the elaborate punctilio that governs the orthography of this term so dear to anti-defamatory bigdomes. “Anti-Semite was eschewed as seeming to indicate a (possibly rational) opposition to “Semitism” and “Semites,” whereas the unhyphenated, uncapitalized form points to the unconscious miasmas of unreasoned bigotry that lead “antisemites” to oppose US handouts to Israel, a Holocaust museum on every block, etc. There remain simpler Jewish souls, however, who favor the term “Jew-hater” for such creatures.

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Book review

Crossing Swords in France on the Holocaust Issue

Anti-Revisionist Work Takes Aim at Faurisson

- *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*, by Pierre Vidal-Naquet. Translated and with a foreword by Jeffrey Mehlman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. Hardcover. 205 (+ xxvi) pages. Notes. Index. ISBN: 0-231-07458-1.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

In no country has Holocaust revisionism gained greater ground than in France. Most of the blame or credit for this belongs to one man: Dr. Robert Faurisson. A victim of numerous costly legal battles, ten physical attacks (one of them nearly fatal), and an unrelenting media smear campaign, this specialist of French literature and text and document analysis has had a profound impact solely because of the solidity and persuasiveness of his arguments — arguments bolstered with a astonishing mountain of documents and compiled in years of meticulous research in archives in at least four countries.

In the years since he first presented his arguments in two articles published in the influential Paris daily *Le Monde* (December 29, 1978, and January 16, 1979), few efforts have been made to confront the substance of his arguments. This book by French Jewish scholar Vidal-Naquet is the most serious try at it.

This is not a new work. It is a collection of four essays that appeared first in France in 1980, 1981, 1985, 1987, and as a newspaper article in *Le Monde* in April 1981. The fact that this largely outdated work has been pressed into urgent service in 1992 — with considerable applause from America's intellectual establishment — suggests a feeling of urgency on the part of the powers that be in dealing with the revisionists.

Assassins of Memory has been given the most prestigious and flattering treatment that a book can receive in this country: a laudatory front page review (along with Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust*) in the nationally-distributed *New York Times Book Review* (July 11, 1993). And yet, the appearance of this book is no cause for rejoicing, as psychiatrist Walter Reich complains in his *Times* review. "...The Holocaust deniers," he writes, "have grown ever more successful in having their arguments presented — and heard with receptivity and respect — in high school classrooms, on college campuses and on television talk shows."

This unhappy mood verging on despair is further manifest in what is probably the most remarkable and interesting portion of this book: the 1992 foreword by Jeffrey Mehlman, a professor of

French literature at Boston University. In five pages of Mehlman's foreword, one can find these words about either his friend, Vidal-Naquet, or about his friend's work:

A tone between rage and pessimism ... disenchanted ... bizarrely pessimistic ... aberrant ... most intriguing [meant pejoratively] ... forced ... camp of the dogmatists ... dispirited ... oddly dispirited pseudo-conclusion ... dispirited ... depressing ... refusal of open debate ... having written a book about (and against) arguments which he claims to regard as beneath consideration ... stridency and insult ... a venting of outrage ... his declaration in *Le Monde* [Feb. 23, 1972] seems both like a closing of establishment ranks and an a priori refusal of discussion ...

For years now, Vidal-Naquet has been the Nemesis of Faurisson, even testifying against him in court. While he has repeatedly claimed that he does not believe that Faurisson should be brought to trial because of his views, he has belied this by his actions. In an English-language interview broadcast on American radio in mid-December 1992, Vidal-Naquet said that he opposes laws that criminalize revisionism, but also stated: "I hate Faurisson. If I could, I would kill him personally."

French officials have bestowed numerous honors on Pierre Vidal-Naquet. His appointment to the Légion d'honneur was announced in the July 14 (Bastille day) 1990 issue of France's official gazette of laws (*Journal officiel de la République française*). In the same issue of the *Journal officiel* also appeared the text of a remarkable law specifically designed to criminalize "denial" of the Holocaust, a statute that can rightly be called the "Lex Faurissonia."

The core of this book is the first essay; its title, "A Paper Eichmann," refers to Professor Faurisson. Unless the reader pays close attention to footnotes, he might not realize that Faurisson had already replied in scrupulous detail to Vidal-Naquet's points in a lengthy essay published in France in 1982. This reply is mentioned here in just four footnotes, and no mention whatsoever is made of the 52-page English-language version, "Response to a Paper Historian" (a reference to Vidal-Naquet), which appeared in the Spring 1986 issue of this *Journal*.

In his "Response," Faurisson has done a magnificent job of answering every one of Vidal-Naquet's pertinent points and arguments. In his 56-point reply, Faurisson sought to leave no stone unturned. Reading this devastating counter-attack, it is not difficult to understand Vidal-Naquet's reluctance to let people know of its existence. (It would, of course, be redundant and impossible to duplicate here what Faurisson has already written: the reader interested in a scrupulous revisionist response to the specific points and charges made in this book are referred to the Spring 1986 *Journal*, pp. 21-72.)

For years the "party line" on dealing with revisionists was simply to ignore them. Confronted with the continued progress of revisionism, this tactic has given way to a campaign of misrepresentation, vilification, censorship, fines and violence. So clever and deceitful are the Holocaust revisionists (so the argument goes), that the public is unable to see through their specious arguments. Therefore, they must be attacked ad hominem and never permitted an opportunity to respond.

In his preface, Vidal-Naquet accordingly insists that: "One can and should enter into a discussion concerning the 'revisionists'... but one should not enter into debate with the 'revisionists'." Faurisson, in his essay, "My Life as a Revisionist" (published in the Spring 1989 issue of this *Journal*), provides a tart reply to this comment. After taking note of some of Vidal-Naquet's reluctant but significant concessions to truth (pp. 53-55), Faurisson wrote:

To draw an analogy from sports, Vidal-Naquet thinks he is better than Faurisson at tennis; not only that, he claims that Faurisson cheats at tennis. Should the latter suggest a match, before a referee and in public, Vidal-Naquet would respond that he would certainly like to play, but only on the condition that there be no opponent. He would ask the judge to declare him the winner in advance; the public's job would simply be to confirm the decision.

In the opening sentence of his chapter "Theses on Revisionism," Vidal-Naquet writes: "I shall call 'revisionism' the doctrine according to which the genocide practiced by Nazi Germany against Jews and Gypsies did not exist ..." This definition is dangerously ambiguous because he provides definition of genocide. Every serious revisionist — including Faurisson — readily acknowledges that European Jews were victims of a cruel and harsh policy — one that could well be described as genocidal, but one not essentially different than the treatment many other peoples have endured through the ages.

A mistake that strikes closer to home is Vidal-Naquet's assertion that "In the United States, revisionism is above all the speciality of a Californian group, W. A. Carto's [Liberty Lobby](#)." (p. 90). Similarly untrue is Vidal-Naquet's assertion (p. 184) that "Carto finances the Journal of Historical Review."

This book's silly title is typical of the Holocaust literature of our day, even this supposedly serious work. It suggests that revisionists are intellectual criminals who are murdering the sacred "memory" of Holocaust survivors. Implicit here is the notion that it is a sin, a sacrilege, to question the "memory" of (Jewish) "martyrs."

Well, does this include the now-discredited "memory" of the five witnesses in the Demjanjuk trial who, under oath, identified John Demjanjuk as a mass murderer at Treblinka? Who are the "assassins" of those "memories"? And who "assassinated" the "memories" of those who talk about soap bars made from the Jewish soap?

Or what about the "memory" of the prominent former Auschwitz inmate Rudolf Vrba? In sworn testimony in the 1985 trial in Toronto of Ernst Zündel, Vrba calculated, based on personal observation, that at Auschwitz-Birkenau during a 25-month period (April 1942 to April 1944), the Germans had "gassed" 1,765,000 Jews, including 150,000 from France. Later, under rigorous questioning, this impostor admitted to having resorted to "poetic license" in making these claims. (See Faurisson's essay, "The Zündel Trial," Winter 1988-89 Journal, pp. 420-421.)

Similarly, who is guilty of "assassinating" the "memory" of those who once claimed to have witnessed mass killings by electrocution at Belzec and Auschwitz? And who "assassinated" the "memory" of those who once recounted executions at Treblinka in "steam chambers"?

Although Vidal-Naquet vows, in his preface, that "I have nothing to reply to them [revisionists] and will not do so," a good portion of this book is devoted precisely to that purpose. He also makes a few grudging concessions to revisionist arguments. He writes (p. 97) that

there was no gas chamber functioning at Dachau, that The Diary of Anne Frank, as it has been published in various languages, raises problems of coherence if not of authenticity, [and that] ... Krema I, that of the Auschwitz [main] camp, was reconstructed after the war by the Poles.

In recent years, every serious anti-revisionist has been obliged to make concession after concession to the revisionists in order to salvage what he believes is the core of the Holocaust story.

In the two *Le Monde* articles mentioned earlier, Faurisson insisted on the physical and chemical impossibilities of the “Nazi gas chambers.” An alarmed French intellectual establishment responded to these articles with a statement — co-authored by Vidal-Naquet and signed by 34 scholars — that will certainly be long remembered as one of most shameful in that country’s intellectual history. The declaration (published in *Le Monde*, Feb. 21, 1979, and cited by Mehlman in his foreword to this book), concludes with the words:

The question of how technically such a mass murder was possible should not be raised. It was technically possible because it occurred. This is the necessary starting point for all historical investigation on the subject. It has fallen to us to recall that point with due simplicity: there is not nor can there be a debate over the existence of the gas chambers.

It has proven necessary for the defenders of the Holocaust story to ignore even this injunction. Anti-revisionist researchers such as Jean-Claude Pressac have devoted considerable time and energy to an effort to show precisely “how technically such a mass murder was possible.”

Another early retort to Faurisson was an article in *Le Monde*, fittingly headlined “An Abundance of Evidence,” that claimed that proofs of execution gas chambers are plentiful. As Mehlman notes, even leading Holocaust historians must now admit that there is no such “abundance” — merely tortured interpretations of documentary evidence. Even once widely quoted “testimonies” of “survivors” and famed postwar “confessions” of German officials are being abandoned. As Mehlman goes on to inform the reader, even Princeton University professor Arno Mayer (himself Jewish) in his 1989 book, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The “Final Solution” in History*, acknowledged that “Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable,” and that more Jews perished at Auschwitz as victims of disease than were put to death — a view at odds with the “official” Auschwitz extermination story.

This book concludes with words of doubt: “Will truth have the last word? How one would like to be sure of it ...” With sadness, Mehlman aptly comments on a striking contrast of moods:

Whereas Vidal-Naquet is left dispirited at the end of this volume as to the future prospects of truth, Zola’s great slogan has fallen — diabolically — into the adversary camp. “Historical truth is on the march,” writes Faurisson, and “one is hard put to see who might stop it.”

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Book review

Memoir by Veteran ADL Official Provides Revelations

- *Square One*, by Arnold Forster. New York: Donald I. Fine, 1988. Hardcover. 423 pages. Photographs. Index. ISBN: 1-55611-104-5.

Reviewed by John Cobden

By any objective standard, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith is one of the most influential organizations in America today. Its ability to cajole, intimidate and pressure politicians, newspapers and broadcasters is legendary. In recent years, it has devoted considerable effort to countering the growing impact of Holocaust Revisionism.

During the last several months, the ADL's nationwide "intelligence gathering" operations have come under critical scrutiny. Although the Gerard/Bullock "ADL spy scandal" is still unfolding, police officials have already charged the ADL with criminal conduct, and some of the ADL's many victims have filed a class action suit against the powerful Zionist organization.

For more than forty years Arnold Forster, the author of this memoir, served as General Counsel and Associate National Director of this misnamed organization. I say misnamed because any unbiased reader of this boastful work cannot help but conclude that defamation has been a hallmark of Forster's career.

He has written a dozen books, most of them polemical attacks against alleged anti-Semites, particularly in the conservative movement. In his work for the ADL, Forster (who changed his name from Fastenberg) has been quick to pin the anti-Semite label on just about anyone suspected of harboring less than total support for Israel and the Jewish people. While his accusations have doubtless often been correct, in many cases his charge of anti-Semitism — just about the most harmful thing any public figure can be called — has had little or no basis in reality, except in the tortured logic of a professional anti-anti-Semite.

Praise from Wiesel

In his fulsome foreword to *Square One*, Elie Wiesel makes clear that he, along with Forster, regards any critic of Israel as an enemy of the Jews and, by extension, of humanity. (pp. 17, 18). In praising Forster, Wiesel writes:

What is the anti-Zionist campaign, the anti-Israeli propaganda, if not the same archaic hatred [against Jews] in modern dress?... Here is a fearless man who refuses all compromise when it comes to defending the Jewish people, and through it, all of humanity... He loves Israel, as I do, with all his heart.

This arrogant Jews=humanity equation doesn't work in reverse, though. Wiesel would never praise anyone as "a fearless man who refuses all compromise when it comes to defending the Palestinian (or German, or Spanish or ...) people, and through it, all of humanity."

In an effort to justify a belief in Jewish moral superiority, Forster writes: "No other religion, it was pointed out, so celebrated the principle of freedom." (p. 138) Whatever the merits of this view, if the actions of Arnold Forster and the ADL — as recorded in this book — are any indication, he has fallen woefully short of this proclaimed ideal.

Suppressing Free Speech

Forster tells us that the ADL "was chartered to defend against defamation," and that it has "a reputation for reliability and accuracy." (p. 151) He suggests that his accusations are always based on solid evidence. As he acknowledges here, though, Forster has spent much of life working to suppress the free speech rights of those whose views he does not like. This book establishes that the only evidence Forster needs to accuse someone of anti-Semitism is his own say-so.

Mystical Insight

In his foreword, Wiesel warns us that we will break into tears when we read Forster's account of how he responded to an attack against his son, Stubs. Forster's account (pp. 179, 180) may not bring tears, but it does provide an enlightening insight into the workings of the mind of a professional anti-anti-Semite. (For no apparent reason, we are parenthetically told that Stubs is blond, and that he now also has a son who is blond.)

Arnold Forster describes an evening in December 1965 when he learned by telephone that Stubs had been found beaten and unconscious on a roadside, apparently the victim of an attack. The narration continues as he describes the drive to the hospital with his wife and daughter, Jayne:

Leaning forward, straining to see the road, I remember I kept muttering, "the sons of bitches, the sons of bitches."

After a long silence, Jayne spoke up. "Dad, why'd they beat up Stubs? Did he do something wrong?"

"They went after him Jayne, because he's my son, your brother."

"Why, what'd you do?"

"I defend the Jews."

Thus, without any evidence whatsoever, Arnold Forster claimed to know that his son was attacked because he "defend[s] the Jews." (To this day, no one has ever been charged in the incident.) Forster's instant accusation of anti-Semitic motivation was a reflex assumption based, apparently, on what might be called a mystical revelation.

Violence Against Nazis

The casual reader might easily assume that Forster is opposed to violence as a means of silencing political opponents. That would be an error. Early on, Forster recounts an incident in which he and a group of friends encountered some youths who, he says, were marching through the street

chanting “Up with Hitler, down with the Jew.” (p. 40) Forster tells how he and his buddies responded:

When they got to where we were standing, without a word passing among the five of us we stepped off the sidewalk into their path. Fists, as they say, flew. Five young attorneys, we should probably have known better. But also healthy and outraged, ours was a spontaneous combustion. The sudden brawl turned out to be a short-lived free-for-all.

While Forster is outraged because of violence allegedly directed at his son because of his views, he is himself ready to engage in violence against those whose politics he finds offensive. As this memoir makes abundantly clear, this is hardly the only example of Forsters' abiding hypocrisy.

He tells us (p. 43) of his “anti-Nazi street-corner speeches.” These presentations were freewheeling, not limited strictly to anti-Semitism; they ranged across the spectrum of what we thought was the broader problem. Any danger signal was worth mentioning, and danger signs were all around. For example, the Smith Act was adopted, making it a crime to advocate or teach the need to overthrow the government, or belong to a group dedicated to such a purpose. Entirely opposed to Communism, we nevertheless had deep misgivings about the outlawing of mere advocacy. Democracy, we argued, was being eroded by methods intended to protect it.

As touching as these words might be, they are not sincere. In Forster's view, the First Amendment protects Communists but not real or imagined Nazis, anti-Semites or other “hatemongers.” While proudly defending, in the name of “democracy,” his own right, and that of Communists, to speak freely, he doesn't refrain from dubious legal actions and even fist-fights to squelch the free speech of those he hates.

Forster tells how he made use of the police in fighting his ideological battles. Any “Nazi” who dared speak in public was put under surveillance by Forster and his friends. In each case, at least two of them “were assigned to attend meetings along with one of our attorneys. If a speech or the situation warranted it, one was to make a complaint to a nearby policeman and request the immediate arrest of the speaker. The other layman would be a witness.” (p. 42) The only crime committed by these individuals was to make a speech of which Forster did not approve. “We got convictions ...” he brags.

Shylockian Legal Pretexts

To this his one-sided interpretation of the Constitutional right of freedom of speech, Forster provides an unusual legal theory. After describing a stern lecture by a judge who chastised him for his opportunistic construction of the First Amendment (p. 45), Forster relates:

The magistrate may have been well grounded in his interpretation of the First Amendment guarantee of free speech and assembly. But my research has persuaded me that the Constitution does not protect “fighting words” that incite immediate violence, even if the violence is immediately prevented by the attending police.

“Fighting words,” in Forster's arrogant view, are only words that provoke violence by him and his ideological friends. As Forster interprets the Constitution, an individual's First Amendment rights depend on the subjective, emotional reactions of his opponents. (As we have repeatedly seen, professional anti-anti-Semites need little to provoke them to violence. For example, the mere presence of Ernst Zündel as walked into a Toronto courtroom in 1985 to stand trial was enough to rouse a mob to fury enough to begin beating him.)

Forster's view of the First Amendment is dangerous because much language that is quite acceptable to most people can incite violence in a few. If his view were ever to become the prevailing legal norm, there would be no First Amendment left.

Forster tells of another special First Amendment legal theory, this one dealing with broadcasters. Some decades ago, a member of the Ku Klux Klan named Lyncergus Spinks ran for governor of Mississippi. A campaign speech by Spinks delivered over a Mississippi radio station so enraged Forster and his ADL colleagues (p. 84) that they responded with open legal action along with press releases and refusal to sit still in the face of a klansman advocating his own election by defaming Jews. But the legal action was not directed at Spinks. I proceeded against the radio station that was involved, interpreting existing laws to mean that because broadcasters were licensed by federal authorities they were not in the same category as newspapers, which were entitled to First Amendment protection.

In Forster's view, government licensing removes First Amendment rights for radio (and presumably television) stations. So pleased was he with his unique interpretation of the Constitution (p. 84) that he brought similar suits against other radio stations:

Additional complaints were filed with the FCC about other stations that permitted the Spinks style of inflammatory comment. We won a number of cases, lost more. In some situations station owners backed away from giving their microphones to professional bigots after we complained to the FCC. At other times they fought us even while learning that allowing hatemongers the use of their facilities was to risk their licenses.

What Forster calls a victory here was, in reality, a dangerous defeat for the First Amendment rights of all Americans.

Unfortunately, such shenanigans are not just unsavory episodes from the distant past. Just a few years ago the Anti-Defamation League, with Forster's active participation, successfully intimidated numerous radio stations into canceling their broadcasts of allegedly anti-Israel commentaries of [Liberty Lobby](#) — the populist organization based in Washington, DC. In addition to the tactics that had proven their worth in the Mississippi case, the ADL pressured businesses into withdrawing advertising from the offending stations.

Other Measures

One such station, WVOX of New Rochelle, New York, pointed out that while [Liberty Lobby](#) paid for its air time, Forster's own radio program, "Dateline Israel," was carried free of charge. Station president William O'Shaughnessy told The New York Times that he and his station took pride in presenting a diverse range of opinions. Forster responded by insisting that the [Liberty Lobby](#) broadcast "is outside the spectrum of legitimate discussion and cannot be balanced by an equal number of programs on the 'pro' side." The only side of this issue that deserves First Amendment protection, Forster implicitly asserts, is the one that supports Israel. In Forster's view, the only legitimate "debate" about US support for Israel should be over how much aid American taxpayers should be giving. (For a fascinating narration of the ADL campaign to ban [Liberty Lobby](#) from the airwaves, read *Conspiracy Against Freedom*. This book includes many of the actual letters and internal documents used by the ADL in this campaign.)

Forster approvingly recounts other attacks against First Amendment rights. During the war, the Roosevelt administration charged 28 right-wing and isolationist leaders with "conspiracy to promote revolution in the US armed forces." (p. 81) After eight months the trial was suspended, and

two years later the indictment was dismissed and the case closed. But Forster expresses no disapproval of this blatant attempt to suppress political opposition. To the contrary. "If the litigation did nothing else," he writes, "it at least interrupted some of the most divisive activities this nation has ever known." (pp. 81-82)

Another pernicious action that Forster finds entirely laudable was Franklin Roosevelt's shutting down of Social Justice, the magazine of the popular "radio priest," Father Charles Coughlin. (p. 82) As Forster notes:

Federal authorities revoked the paper's second-class mailing privilege, barred it from the U.S. mails and charged it with being in violation of the 1917 Espionage Act for "aiding the enemy" by disseminating Nazi propaganda. President Roosevelt's making clear his attitude to cabinet members undoubtedly was the reason for the Post Office Department's action.

Anti-Anti-Communism

Further pointing up his own shameless hypocrisy, just a few years later Forster was hard at work defending Communists and other left-wingers from investigation by the US Congress. In the case of such "innocent people," he stridently argues, a person's political opinions must not be a factor in employment.

Forster claims (p. 170) the existence of a secret right-wing conspiracy of unnamed individuals who allegedly used a "blacklist" to keep Communists from getting jobs:

I said the blacklist, to my knowledge, was the creation of a cabal of extremist self-styled anti-communists using their cause to deny their victims the right to earn a living for having allegedly radical political views.

Forster reluctantly admits that some of those he defended did, in fact, work with Communist front groups. He concedes, for example, that John Garfield (originally Julius Garfinkel), a boyhood friend who was a popular movie actor during the 1940s, "had without question time and again, joined paths with some undoubted Communists." (p. 151) In his defense, Forster writes that Garfield "was an extraordinarily gullible liberal or at worst, a political fool" who "unwittingly allowed his name to be used by politically sophisticated, camouflaged Communist sharpshooters." (p. 154)

Forster devotes an entire chapter of this book to defending the "tragic" Garfield case. The ADL official has a special motive here because Garfield was a key speaker at the May 1948 ADL Annual Dinner. (p. 109)

Forster approvingly notes an attack in the ADL bulletin against anti-Communist Senator Joseph McCarthy that expressed alarm at "the disturbing tendency sweeping across our country toward blind and indiscriminate hatred for those with whom one disagreed." (p. 160) This trend toward conformity, the ADL bulletin went on, was "stultifying" and could be "murderous." So upset was Forster that Communists were being investigated that he wrote an entire book to vent his outrage. Published in 1956, Cross-Currents is an attack against McCarthy.

A good clue to understanding Forster's mindset is his astonishing statement that "The civilized world was more revolted by McCarthyism than by Communism." (p. 171) In Forster's view, the millions of victims of Communism cannot compare to the trauma caused by asking a few dozen people if they had ever supported the Communist Party. What rational person, one must wonder,

could really believe that the “civilized world” found the McCarthy hearings to be worse than several decades of mass murder! What can explain such a mentality?

Blacklisting

Whatever the reality of Forster’s complaint of blacklisting by an unspecified group of un-named anti-Communists, it’s worth noting that others have been victims of this practice.

Lillian Gish, one of America’s most acclaimed actresses, reported that she was blacklisted for a time from both screen and stage because of her support for the anti-interventionist America First Committee. She also related that she was promised a \$65,000 film contract if she would resign from the Committee (without, of course, revealing that she was being bribed to do so).

Ayn Rand, the libertarian novelist who had also worked in Hollywood as a script writer, pointed out that during the Congressional investigations of Communists in the motion picture industry:

Everyone who has testified for the [Congressional] Committee — not the big stars, but the lesser-known actors and writers who were considered dispensable, and those who were free-lancing and were not under contract to a major studio — lost their jobs. Morrie Ryskind had more work than he could handle; he never again worked in Hollywood. Adolph Menjou, who was also free-lancing, got fewer and fewer jobs; after about a year, he could find no work at all. I was not victimized, because of *The Fountainhead*, and because I had a contract with Hal Wallis.

Interestingly, Rand (who was Jewish) used some of her time before the House Committee to lecture the lawmakers about why America should have avoided getting involved in war on the side of the Soviet Union, the regime she had fled. Forster, of course, is utterly unconcerned about the blacklisting of people like Gish, Ryskind or Menjou, apparently because they held views different than his own.

Hatred of Peace Activists

Forster reserves his most venomous words for the Americans who opposed US involvement in the Second World War. His portrayal of this mass movement is vicious and inaccurate. However much one might disagree with their view on this issue, the millions of Americans who opposed US intervention in the European war were unquestionably sincere in their conviction that this policy served the best interests of both the United States and humanity. Non-interventionists upheld a tradition that has a long and venerable place in American history.

By far the largest and most prominent anti-war group was the America First Committee. During its 15 months of life in 1940 and 1941, it enrolled more than 800,000 members, attracted thousands to mass rallies, and distributed millions of pamphlets and leaflets. Its broad-based membership included conservatives, liberals like Chester Bowles, and socialists of the stature of Norman Thomas.

But Forster, official of a supposed anti-defamation organization, slanderously equates such people with anti-Semites and Nazis. Opposition to Roosevelt’s campaign for war, which included secret and plainly illegal measures, is castigated by Foster in the most vicious and simplistic way. “The pro-Nazi, anti-British, Roosevelt-hating, anti-Jewish propaganda was the same,” he writes. (p. 47) America First “was ultimately an anti-British, pro-German, anti-Soviet, anti-Semitic” movement that “had become the central propaganda weapon for isolationists, pro-Nazis and anti-Semites.” (pp. 75, 76).

Forster's characterization is a lie. The America First Committee included many who were pro-British and pro-Jewish, but who simply opposed direct United States involvement in war. The America First leadership scrupulously strove to keep out anyone who obviously pro-Nazi or anti-Jewish. Members had to sign a pledge that they did not belong to a pro-Nazi or a Communist group. There is no evidence that the Committee, which counted Jews as members, was anti-Semitic. So scrupulous was the Committee that it refused a \$250,000 donation from Henry Ford because of his previous association with anti-Jewish publications, even though Ford had publicly repudiated those works.

After writing that "bigots often were found in high places" (p. 56), Forster mentions as examples prominent anti-interventionists, including Montana Senator Burton K. Wheeler, North Dakota Senator Gerald P. Nye, and New York Congressman Hamilton Fish.

Charles Lindbergh

In his hateful attack against the anti-war movement, Forster takes special aim at Charles Lindbergh, the aviator who was the America First Committee's most popular speaker and prominent spokesperson. (pp. 75-76). Writes Forster:

Lindbergh blamed the Jews for most of America's foreign problems and described Franklin D. Roosevelt, the British and the Jews as enemy confederates in an international conspiracy. By his attack in a September 1941 Des Moines speech on Roosevelt, Jews, the British and internationalists for allegedly bringing on World War II, Lindbergh revealed the platform of the America First Committee.

If there were a contest for distorting as many facts as possible in a single paragraph, this one would be a top contender. Lindbergh never blamed "the Jews" for "most of America's foreign problems," nor did he claim that Roosevelt, the British and the Jews were "enemy confederates in an international conspiracy." To show how Forster distorts historical truth for his own polemical purposes, it is worth recalling Lindbergh's precise words in that speech of September 11, 1941:

The three most important groups who have been pressing this country toward war are the British, the Jewish, and the Roosevelt Administration. Behind these groups, but of lesser importance, are a number of capitalists, anglophiles, and intellectuals, who believe that their future, and the future of mankind, depend upon the domination of the British Empire. Add to these the Communist groups who were opposed to intervention until a few weeks ago, and I believe I have named the major war agitators in this country.

Not a single word of the statement is untrue, and not a word is anti-Jewish. While it is true that Jews did, as a whole, strongly support American involvement in the European conflict, Lindbergh made no mention of any "conspiracy." He never claimed that Roosevelt, the British or the Jews had started the war. Indeed, he made no mention whatsoever of the war's origins.

Further remarks by Lindbergh in this same speech that show admiration for the Jews, and sympathy for their plight, are invariably ignored by anti-anti-Semites such as Forster. Because they are essential to understanding the larger context, they are worth quoting here:

It is not difficult to understand why Jewish people desire the overthrow of Nazi Germany. The persecution they suffered in Germany would be sufficient to make bitter enemies of any race. No person with a sense of dignity of mankind can condone the persecution of the Jewish race in Germany. But no person of honesty and vision can look on their pro-war policy here today without

seeing the dangers involved in such a policy, both for us and for them.

Instead of agitating for war, the Jewish groups on this country should be opposing it in every possible way, for they will be among the first to feel its consequences. Tolerance is a virtue that depends upon peace and strength. History shows that it cannot survive war and devastation. A few far-sighted Jewish people realize this, and stand opposed to intervention. But the majority do not. Their greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our government.

I am not attacking either the Jewish or the British people. Both races, I admire. But I am saying that the leaders of both the British and Jewish races, for reasons which are understandable from their viewpoint as they are inadvisable from ours, for reasons which are not American, wish to involve us in the war. We cannot blame them for looking out for what they believe to be their own interests, but we also must look out for ours. We cannot allow the natural passions and prejudices of other peoples to lead our country to destruction.

Although these are hardly the words of a Jew-hating Nazi, the propagandists of the pro-war movement immediately seized upon a small (and factual) portion of this speech, twisting what Lindbergh actually said, and distorting the truth so badly that much of the public was misled. Using techniques that Forster and his colleagues at the ADL have mastered, numerous newspapers and politicians lashed out at Lindbergh, largely succeeding in blackening his reputation.

Lindbergh actually anticipated the smear campaign that would come as a result of his words in this speech. He had prepared a paragraph concerning the attacks, but decided to delete it from the final speech:

I realize that tomorrow morning's headlines will say "Lindbergh attacks Jews." The ugly cry of anti-Semitism will be eagerly joyfully pounded upon and waved about my name. It is so much simpler to brand someone with a bad label than to take the trouble to read what he says. I call you people before me tonight to witness that I am not anti-Semitic nor have I attacked the Jews.

Lindbergh's remark about those who find it "so much simpler to brand someone with a bad label than to take the trouble to read what he says" might well refer to Forster and the ADL crowd.

The Eichmann Case

More than ten percent of this book is devoted to a chapter on the Eichmann case. Forster takes pains to defend Israel's handling of the case, and to stoking the Holocaust flames.

During the Second World War, Adolf Eichmann had served as the SS officer responsible for coordinating the deportation of European Jews. He avoided capture at the end of the war, and escaped to Argentina. He lived quietly there until May 1960, when Israeli agents kidnapped him and took him to Israel where, after a highly-publicized trial, he was executed in 1962.

Even though Israel had an extradition treaty with Argentina, it made no effort to have Eichmann legally apprehended. Instead, Israeli secret agents seized him on the street, drugged him, and dispatched him to Israel in a waiting airplane. Eichmann had not committed any crimes in Israel, a country that did not exist when the acts for which he was tried took place. Consequently it had no legal jurisdiction in the case. But Israel claimed (and still claims) jurisdiction in such matters because it appropriates for itself the right to speak and act in the name of "the Jewish people," wherever they live.

In most civilized countries, a person is put on trial to determine his guilt or innocence. Not in this case. Forster explains (pp. 200, 211) the reason for this highly-publicized trial:

The purpose of the trial? Israel stated the trial's purpose was to alert the world's conscience to the fearful consequences of totalitarianism. The most terrible, Israel said, is genocide. Its chief victims in modern history — although not the only ones — have been Jews... The hope is that the trial will serve as an effective educational weapon to assure that it never happens again.

One of the main reasons for this trial, which inevitably is tearing open so many deep wounds for so many people in Israel, is the government's wish to teach its own young and the youth of the world the evil of Nazism and to remind the rest of us what an incredible price has to be paid by humanity to rid the earth of Hitlerism...

Serving as judges in the trial (which is similar in some ways to the trial, many years later, of John Demjanjuk) were three Israelis "of German-Jewish background." As Forster admits, these men were "not, in the deepest recesses of their hearts, neutral. Impossible. Who can be neutral about the bestial murder of six million innocents?" (pp. 208, 209)

Forster responds (p. 203) to the accusation that Eichmann was tried and executed on ex post facto charges:

Wasn't Israel trying Eichmann under an ex post facto law? An ex post facto statute is a law that makes an act criminal after the act itself was committed. True, it is outlawed in American jurisprudence. But the ex post facto concept is American, based on the idea that it is unfair to compel a man to stand trial for a deed which he could not have known was a violation of law when he committed it. Obviously, this concept cannot apply to murder; no one needs formal notice it is morally, legally and ethnically wrong to kill another person without justification.

There are several problems with Forster's glib explanation. For one thing, ex post facto is not merely an American concept; it was a principle, for example, of Roman law: No crime without a law.

Furthermore, Eichmann was not (at least not specifically) ever charged with murder. Of the 15 counts brought against him by the Israelis, "four [were] based upon crimes against the Jewish people, seven for crimes against humanity, one for a war crime, and three for belonging to Nazi organizations." (p. 205) Does Forster seriously ask us to believe that being tried in Israel in 1961 for belonging to an organization in Europe during the 1940s is not an ex post facto case?

In a murder charge the defendant is normally accused of killing a specific person or persons, who are usually named (unless the victim cannot be identified). Evidence is then presented to directly link the defendant to the murder of the specified person. In the Eichmann case, this was not done.

Mossad 'Source'

One of Forster's most startling revelations is his acknowledgment (p. 187), that in the Eichmann case he served as a "source" for Israel's foreign espionage agency:

Among other Israeli intelligence operations, the Mossad — an acronym for the Hebrew name of the undercover service assigned to operate abroad — constantly sought leads from reliable governments and from other contracts and sources. I was a source.

Unfortunately, that's all Forster tells us about this. He doesn't reveal the extent or the duration of his service to the Mossad, or if (or how much) he was paid. Still, the bit he does acknowledge here may already be enough to confirm that he acted in violation of US federal law.

Illegal Activities

Forster acknowledges with some pride that the ADL, with his approval, has used illegal and unethical methods to gain information about political enemies. One ADL target of such activities, Forster relates, was Joseph Kamp (who died in June 1993, at the age of 93). A well-to-do man with important "connections," Kamp's work as head of the "Constitutional Education League" and as editor of *The Awakener* newsletter greatly annoyed Forster and the ADL. Kamp's great sin, Forster charges, was to endlessly repeat that America was threatened by Communists and foreigners, "especially those with Jewish names." He also sinned by calling the ADL a "low racket which promotes hate and breeds intolerance." (pp. 62, 63)

As a result, the ADL was eager

to know as much as possible about his work. Our investigator was adept enough to make himself a good "friend" of Kamp. He had worked for both British and French intelligence and at the outset of the World War Two had served as an instructor in an American intelligence school.

One day, while Kamp was away, the ADL agent illegally entered Kamp's Connecticut home, and made photographic copies of his files, particularly "material that divulged the identity of his financial contributors, network operations, and domestic and foreign connections utilized in his propaganda work." (p. 63).

Although the agent was almost caught when Kamp returned home briefly to retrieve a few items, this mission in what Forster calls "the business of espionage" (p. 64) was a success. "... The Kamp caper was repeated by still another [ADL] field investigator under only slightly different circumstances," Forster reports.

Forster tells about another ADL agent named Marjorie Lane (p. 64), who had lied to obtain a job working for a right-wing women's organization. One night she and another ADL operative spent several hours in the office busy photographing all the documents they could lay hands on from the private files.

As revelations from the still-unfolding Gerard/Bullock case suggest, criminal "capers" are a long-standing tradition with the ADL. One is justified in assuming that the cases that have come to light are only the tip of the iceberg.

Valuable Exposé

This memoir concludes with a solemn observation that, in spite of prodigious efforts, anti-Semitism can still be found everywhere. (This is hardly surprising, because Forster "finds" anti-Semitism even where it does not exist.) But there is a silver lining in the cloud. "We may be back to Square One. Except for one player — Israel." (p. 412). Arguably, though, a major generator of anti-Jewish sentiment during the last four decades has been Israel itself — or rather the Zionist state's often outrageous activities.

Contrary to what the author intended, this revealing book by a high-ranking ADL official serves as valuable exposé of the moral character of a man who sanctions violence against political op-

ponents, who spits on the First Amendment, uses illegal methods to obtain information about adversaries, and who served as an agent for a foreign spy agency.

Over the years, I have read several tracts and articles designed to discredit the Anti-Defamation League. None was able to persuade me of the illicit nature of this organization; it took the memoir of Arnold Forster to do that.

The Journal of Historical Review, A Look Back

by Greg Raven

Perhaps ten years ago, surely twenty years ago, one could justifiably argue that there was no need to teach Holocaust revisionism in Holocaust courses, as revisionism was nothing more than a smattering of articles by unknown and scattered people. The story today is quite different.

Dr. Carlos Huerta, Touro College, Jerusalem, writing in *Martyrdom and Resistance*, October 1991.

In 1978 while President Jimmy Carter was hosting the Camp David peace talks to great fanfare, the Institute of Historical Review was being founded in almost total silence. Yet the purpose of the Institute was not much different from that of the Camp David confab, that being world peace, albeit from a radically different approach — bringing history into accord with the facts to identify the true roots of conflicts and thus the possibilities for their peaceable resolutions.

Inspired by revisionist historians such as [Harry Elmer Barnes](#) and [James Martin](#), the Institute began its existence with modest plans. To further revisionist history, the Institute would hold conferences, later publishing the papers presented at such conferences along with any other writings deemed sufficiently interesting and scholarly.

Thus it was that over Labor Day weekend of 1979, a small group gathered at the first-ever revisionist Conference at Northrup University in Los Angeles, California. Speakers spoke. Papers were presented. And virtually no one outside a small circle took any note whatsoever.

That was soon to change. By the Spring of 1980, the first issue of the quarterly *Journal of Historical Review* was in the mail, containing six of the papers presented at the Conference, a book review, and a list of some 40 books for sale. With no more than 94 pages — 9 inches by 5-3/4 inches in size — softbound in gray stock, volume one, number one did not look like the spark that would ignite a worldwide controversy.

It was not the physical appearance of the *Journal* that was to inflame passions on a global scale, but the contents. Inside were addresses about the “Holocaust” by Dr. [Arthur R. Butz](#), [Robert Faurisson](#), [Austin J. App](#), and [Ditlieb Felderer](#). The first issue also contained [Louis FitzGibbon's](#) views on the Katyn Massacre, and an article by [Udo Walendy](#) about fake atrocity photographs. The Letters section of the issues that followed showed the intensity of feelings those in the “establishment” hold against revisionism.

Of course the material contained in the *Journal* did not spring up overnight. Many of the books offered had been available for some time, slowly making the rounds. Bradley Smith tells in his book, *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist, Part I*, of being introduced to Holocaust revisionism in 1979 when a stranger handed him a photocopy of an article by Robert Faurisson that originally appeared in *Le Monde*. Arthur Butz' pathbreaking book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*,

had already been published in 1976. And articles in dissident periodicals such as *The Spotlight* made many aware that there was another side to history as taught.

The new Institute served to focus all the previously scattered work in this area. People interested in the work of App, Barnes, Butz, Faurisson, Felderer, Greaves, [Irving](#), Larson, Martin, Rassinier, and others now found them readily available, and the appearance of a body of revisionist works all in one place proved synergistic.

Revisionists not only wrote about history, they were making it as well. News about the activities of the IHR and revisionists around the world was covered in the *IHR Newsletter*, which *Journal* subscribers received automatically. Newsy where the *Journal* was studious, and irreverent where the *Journal* was serious, the *IHR Newsletter* provided revisionist information in a more timely manner than the quarterly *Journal* schedule allowed.

The *Journal's* first editor was [David McCalden](#), a native of Belfast, Northern Ireland, who played a decisive role in the founding of the IHR, and wrote under the name of "Lewis Brandon." Longer on enthusiasm than on attention to detail, from 1978 until his departure in 1981, he was instrumental in the genesis of the revisionist movement.

From McCalden's departure in 1981 until 1982, J. Marcellus served as editor. Marcellus started at the bottom at the IHR and worked his way up to become director, a position he assumed in 1981 and holds today.

From 1982 through 1984, the *Journal* was edited by [Keith Stimely](#), a gifted young writer who was astonishingly well-read, as can be seen by the number of book reviews he wrote during his tenure.

In 1986, the helm was assumed by Robert Berkel, a dedicated revisionist who served until publication of the *Journal* was suspended in 1987.

In 1988 it returned with the brilliant Theodore J. O'Keefe as editor. For the next four years, O'Keefe was virtually *the* voice of the IHR.

In 1992, O'Keefe passed the torch to our current editor, [Mark Weber](#), who over the years had established himself as one of the most prolific contributors to the *Journal*, and a major contributor to the *IHR Newsletter* as well.

Under the stewardship of these capable individuals, the *Journal* not only grew, it also evolved into a nearly unassailable source of historical information, by virtue of the increasingly rigorous treatment of topics covered. At the same time, the *Journal* contained many articles that were original not only in the sense that they had never appeared elsewhere before, but also original in concept. The English translation of Hitler's declaration of war against the United States (Winter, 1988), the first English translation of Premier Tojo's prison diary (Spring, 1992), aerial photos of Treblinka (Summer, 1992), and the Auschwitz camp death certificates (Fall, 1992) are examples of the former, while virtually everything by Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson are examples of the latter.

As a result, the *Journal* came to be read by lay persons and academics around the world, and numerous *Journal* articles have been translated into other languages, and disseminated even more widely.

The maturation evident in the *Journal* from year to year is partially due to forces from within the revisionist community: the rest comes from responding to the inevitable criticism from the bulk of the historical community and others with a vested interest in preserving the status quo, in which political agendas determine what the accepted view of history will be.

Through all these attacks, whether physical, legal, personal, or (infrequently) scholarly, it can well and truly be said that critics have rarely been able to land any telling blows. Our most powerful enemies, armed with all their conventional historiography, are — when they deal with *Journal* articles at all — forced to misquote and mischaracterize our position to make their cases. More often, of course, they simply attack the author of the piece in hopes that others will not notice they are ignoring the facts.

Occasionally, as in the case of Jean-Claude Pressac or Kenneth Stern, an attempt is made to answer revisionist claims. In the case of Stern (whose book, *Holocaust Denial*, is reviewed elsewhere in this issue), revisionist claims are oversimplified and not directly answered.

In Pressac's works, on the other hand, revisionists have found a wealth of information that bolsters the revisionist position. In any event, even the strongest attacks now include admissions, either expressed or implied, that certain portions of the revisionist position are correct.

The main front on which the revisionist battle is being fought is to correct the Holocaust story. Here, the years since the publication of the first *Journal* have seen remarkable retreats from the standard Holocaust story, which used to include soap made from Jewish corpses, gas chambers at Dachau, and all manner of fiendish methods of murder (including nuclear devices). Revisionists have convincingly demonstrated virtually every facet of the traditional Holocaust tale to be untrue, or at least wildly exaggerated, resulting in an inexorable whittling down of the "accepted" Holocaust story to a tiny fraction of what it once was. Even so, the "six million" figure remains, indicating that there is yet more work to be done.

As readers know, the *Journal* is not wholly consumed with the Holocaust issue. In addition to the stated goal of re-examining the period surrounding the Second World War (because of the important social-political role it has had, and continues to have), the *Journal* has also examined key aspects of United States history, politics, race, culture, religion, current events, and personalities from around the world.

By any standard, the *Journal* has been influential far beyond its circulation, its budget, and what could be expected of an otherwise nondescript publication devoted to history. What has made the *Journal* successful, we believe, is this: In every area of study — in revisionism no less than in chemistry or math — while each new generation of scholars in turn questions the generation before it, there must also be a knowledge and a certainty that that which has gone before presents a solid foundation upon which new studies can be based. Where this certainty is lacking, there can be little progress.

In the treatment of twentieth century history, though, establishment historians have utterly failed in their responsibility to present and future generations. By demonstrating more sensitivity for short-term social-political considerations than for truth and historical accuracy, they have made themselves vulnerable to telling critique.

Until our current flawed view of the recent past is corrected via historical revisionism, there can be no truth, and where there is no truth, there can be no peace.

This, then, is the purpose of the *Journal*. The transition from a plain-cover, academic format to color covers, more photographs, and a magazine format we hope will both reflect the prominence we have thus far achieved, as well as garner new readers. In any case, the *Journal* will continue to offer the same high quality of subject matter and content that has elevated us to our current position.

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The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's Early Soviet Regime

Assessing the Grim Legacy of Soviet Communism

by [Mark Weber](#)

In the night of July 16-17, 1918, a squad of Bolshevik secret police murdered Russia's last emperor, Tsar Nicholas II, along with his wife, Tsaritsa Alexandra, their 14-year-old son, Tsarevich Alexis, and their four daughters. They were cut down in a hail of gunfire in a half-cellar room of the house in Ekaterinburg, a city in the Ural mountain region, where they were being held prisoner. The daughters were finished off with bayonets. To prevent a cult for the dead Tsar, the bodies were carted away to the countryside and hastily buried in a secret grave.

Bolshevik authorities at first reported that the Romanov emperor had been shot after the discovery of a plot to liberate him. For some time the deaths of the Empress and the children were kept secret. Soviet historians claimed for many years that local Bolsheviks had acted on their own in carrying out the killings, and that Lenin, founder of the Soviet state, had nothing to do with the crime.

In 1990, Moscow playwright and historian Edvard Radzinsky announced the result of his detailed investigation into the murders. He unearthed the reminiscences of Lenin's bodyguard, Alexei Akimov, who recounted how he personally delivered Lenin's execution order to the telegraph office. The telegram was also signed by Soviet government chief Yakov Sverdlov. Akimov had saved the original telegraph tape as a record of the secret order. ^[1]

Radzinsky's research confirmed what earlier evidence had already indicated. Leon Trotsky — one of Lenin's closest colleagues — had revealed years earlier that Lenin and Sverdlov had together made the decision to put the Tsar and his family to death. Recalling a conversation in 1918, Trotsky wrote: ^[2]

My next visit to Moscow took place after the [temporary] fall of Ekaterinburg [to anti-Communist forces]. Speaking with Sverdlov, I asked in passing: "Oh yes, and where is the Tsar?"

"Finished," he replied. "He has been shot."

"And where is the family?"

"The family along with him."

"All of them?," I asked, apparently with a trace of surprise.

“All of them,” replied Sverdlov. “What about it?” He was waiting to see my reaction. I made no reply.

“And who made the decision?,” I asked.

“We decided it here. Ilyich [Lenin] believed that we shouldn’t leave the Whites a live banner to rally around, especially under the present difficult circumstances.”

I asked no further questions and considered the matter closed.

Recent research and investigation by Radzinsky and others also corroborates the account provided years earlier by Robert Wilton, correspondent of the London *Times* in Russia for 17 years. His account, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* – originally published in 1920, and reissued in 1993 by the Institute for Historical Review — is based in large part on the findings of a detailed investigation carried out in 1919 by Nikolai Sokolov under the authority of “White” (anti-Communist) leader Alexander Kolchak. Wilton’s book remains one of the most accurate and complete accounts of the murder of Russia’s imperial family. [3]

A solid understanding of history has long been the best guide to comprehending the present and anticipating the future. Accordingly, people are most interested in historical questions during times of crisis, when the future seems most uncertain. With the collapse of Communist rule in the Soviet Union, 1989-1991, and as Russians struggle to build a new order on the ruins of the old, historical issues have become very topical. For example, many ask: How did the Bolsheviks, a small movement guided by the teachings of German-Jewish social philosopher Karl Marx, succeed in taking control of Russia and imposing a cruel and despotic regime on its people?

In recent years, Jews around the world have been voicing anxious concern over the specter of anti-Semitism in the lands of the former Soviet Union. In this new and uncertain era, we are told, suppressed feelings of hatred and rage against Jews are once again being expressed. According to one public opinion survey conducted in 1991, for example, most Russians wanted all Jews to leave the country. [4] But precisely why is anti-Jewish sentiment so widespread among the peoples of the former Soviet Union? Why do so many Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and others blame “the Jews” for so much misfortune?

A Taboo Subject

Although officially Jews have never made up more than five percent of the country’s total population, [5] they played a highly disproportionate and probably decisive role in the infant Bolshevik regime, effectively dominating the Soviet government during its early years. Soviet historians, along with most of their colleagues in the West, for decades preferred to ignore this subject. The facts, though, cannot be denied.

With the notable exception of Lenin (Vladimir Ulyanov), most of the leading Communists who took control of Russia in 1917-20 were Jews. Leon Trotsky (Lev Bronstein) headed the Red Army and, for a time, was chief of Soviet foreign affairs. Yakov Sverdlov (Solomon) was both the Bolshevik party’s executive secretary and — as chairman of the Central Executive Committee — head of the Soviet government. Grigori Zinoviev (Radomyslsky) headed the Communist International (Comintern), the central agency for spreading revolution in foreign countries. Other prominent Jews included press commissar Karl Radek (Sobelsohn), foreign affairs commissar Maxim Litvinov (Wallach), Lev Kamenev (Rosenfeld) and Moisei Uritsky. [6]

Lenin himself was of mostly Russian and Kalmuck ancestry, but he was also one-quarter Jewish. His maternal grandfather, Israel (Alexander) Blank, was a Ukrainian Jew who was later baptized into the Russian Orthodox Church. [7]

A thorough-going internationalist, Lenin viewed ethnic or cultural loyalties with contempt. He had little regard for his own countrymen. “An intelligent Russian,” he once remarked, “is almost always a Jew or someone with Jewish blood in his veins.” [8]

Critical Meetings

In the Communist seizure of power in Russia, the Jewish role was probably critical.

Two weeks prior to the Bolshevik “October Revolution” of 1917, Lenin convened a top secret meeting in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) at which the key leaders of the Bolshevik party’s Central Committee made the fateful decision to seize power in a violent takeover. Of the twelve persons who took part in this decisive gathering, there were four Russians (including Lenin), one Georgian (Stalin), one Pole (Dzerzhinsky), and six Jews. [9]

To direct the takeover, a seven-man “Political Bureau” was chosen. It consisted of two Russians (Lenin and Bubnov), one Georgian (Stalin), and four Jews (Trotsky, Sokolnikov, Zinoviev, and Kamenev). [10] Meanwhile, the Petersburg (Petrograd) Soviet — whose chairman was Trotsky — established an 18-member “Military Revolutionary Committee” to actually carry out the seizure of power. It included eight (or nine) Russians, one Ukrainian, one Pole, one Caucasian, and six Jews. [11] Finally, to supervise the organization of the uprising, the Bolshevik Central Committee established a five-man “Revolutionary Military Center” as the Party’s operations command. It consisted of one Russian (Bubnov), one Georgian (Stalin), one Pole (Dzerzhinsky), and two Jews (Sverdlov and Uritsky). [12]

Contemporary Voices of Warning

Well-informed observers, both inside and outside of Russia, took note at the time of the crucial Jewish role in Bolshevism. Winston Churchill, for one, warned in an article published in the February 8, 1920, issue of the London *Illustrated Sunday Herald* that Bolshevism is a “worldwide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization and for the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality.” The eminent British political leader and historian went on to write: [13]

There is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews. It is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others. With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of the leading figures are Jews. Moreover, the principal inspiration and driving power comes from the Jewish leaders. Thus Tchitcherin, a pure Russian, is eclipsed by his nominal subordinate, Litvinoff, and the influence of Russians like Bukharin or Lunacharski cannot be compared with the power of Trotsky, or of Zinovieff, the Dictator of the Red Citadel (Petrograd), or of Krassin or Radek — all Jews. In the Soviet institutions the predominance of Jews is even more astonishing. And the prominent, if not indeed the principal, part in the system of terrorism applied by the Extraordinary Commissions for Combatting Counter-Revolution [the Cheka] has been taken by Jews, and in some notable cases by Jewesses.

Needless to say, the most intense passions of revenge have been excited in the breasts of the Russian people.

David R. Francis, United States ambassador in Russia, warned in a January 1918 dispatch to Washington: “The Bolshevik leaders here, most of whom are Jews and 90 percent of whom are returned exiles, care little for Russia or any other country but are internationalists and they are trying to start a worldwide social revolution.” [14]

The Netherlands’ ambassador in Russia, Oudendyke, made much the same point a few months later: “Unless Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world as it is organized and worked by Jews who have no nationality, and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things.” [15]

“The Bolshevik Revolution,” declared a leading American Jewish community paper in 1920, “was largely the product of Jewish thinking, Jewish discontent, Jewish effort to reconstruct.” [16]

As an expression of its radically anti-nationalist character, the fledgling Soviet government issued a decree a few months after taking power that made anti-Semitism a crime in Russia. The new Communist regime thus became the first in the world to severely punish all expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment. [17] Soviet officials apparently regarded such measures as indispensable. Based on careful observation during a lengthy stay in Russia, American-Jewish scholar Frank Golder reported in 1925 that “because so many of the Soviet leaders are Jews anti-Semitism is gaining [in Russia], particularly in the army [and] among the old and new intelligentsia who are being crowded for positions by the sons of Israel.” [18]

Historians' Views

Summing up the situation at that time, Israeli historian Louis Rapoport writes: [19]

Immediately after the [Bolshevik] Revolution, many Jews were euphoric over their high representation in the new government. Lenin’s first Politburo was dominated by men of Jewish origins.

Under Lenin, Jews became involved in all aspects of the Revolution, including its dirtiest work. Despite the Communists’ vows to eradicate anti-Semitism, it spread rapidly after the Revolution — partly because of the prominence of so many Jews in the Soviet administration, as well as in the traumatic, inhuman Sovietization drives that followed. Historian Salo Baron has noted that an immensely disproportionate number of Jews joined the new Bolshevik secret police, the Cheka And many of those who fell afoul of the Cheka would be shot by Jewish investigators.

The collective leadership that emerged in Lenin’s dying days was headed by the Jew Zinoviev, a loquacious, mean-spirited, curly-haired Adonis whose vanity knew no bounds.

“Anyone who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Cheka,” wrote Jewish historian Leonard Schapiro, “stood a very good chance of finding himself confronted with, and possibly shot by, a Jewish investigator.” [20] In Ukraine, “Jews made up nearly 80 percent of the rank-and-file Cheka agents,” reports W. Bruce Lincoln, an American professor of Russian history. [21] (Beginning as the *Cheka*, or *Vecheke*) the Soviet secret police was later known as the GPU, OGPU, NKVD, MVD and KGB.)

In light of all this, it should not be surprising that Yakov M. Yurovsky, the leader of the Bolshevik squad that carried out the murder of the Tsar and his family, was Jewish, as was Sverdlov, the Soviet chief who co-signed Lenin's execution order. [22]

Igor Shafarevich, a Russian mathematician of world stature, has sharply criticized the Jewish role in bringing down the Romanov monarchy and establishing Communist rule in his country. Shafarevich was a leading dissident during the final decades of Soviet rule. A prominent human rights activist, he was a founding member of the Committee on the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR.

In *Russophobia*, a book written ten years before the collapse of Communist rule, he noted that Jews were “amazingly” numerous among the personnel of the Bolshevik secret police. The characteristic Jewishness of the Bolshevik executioners, Shafarevich went on, is most conspicuous in the execution of Nicholas II: [23]

This ritual action symbolized the end of centuries of Russian history, so that it can be compared only to the execution of Charles I in England or Louis XVI in France. It would seem that representatives of an insignificant ethnic minority should keep as far as possible from this painful action, which would reverberate in all history. Yet what names do we meet? The execution was personally overseen by Yakov Yurovsky who shot the Tsar; the president of the local Soviet was Beloborodov (Vaisbart); the person responsible for the general administration in Ekaterinburg was Shaya Goloshchekin. To round out the picture, on the wall of the room where the execution took place was a distich from a poem by Heine (written in German) about King Baltazar, who offended Jehovah and was killed for the offense.

In his 1920 book, British veteran journalist Robert Wilton offered a similarly harsh assessment: [24]

The whole record of Bolshevism in Russia is indelibly impressed with the stamp of alien invasion. The murder of the Tsar, deliberately planned by the Jew Sverdlov (who came to Russia as a paid agent of Germany) and carried out by the Jews Goloshchekin, Syromolotov, Safarov, Voikov and Yurovsky, is the act not of the Russian people, but of this hostile invader.

In the struggle for power that followed Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin emerged victorious over his rivals, eventually succeeding in putting to death nearly every one of the most prominent early Bolsheviks leaders – including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, and Kamenev. With the passage of time, and particularly after 1928, the Jewish role in the top leadership of the Soviet state and its Communist party diminished markedly.

Put To Death Without Trial

For a few months after taking power, Bolshevik leaders considered bringing “Nicholas Romanov” before a “Revolutionary Tribunal” that would publicize his “crimes against the people” before sentencing him to death. Historical precedent existed for this. Two European monarchs had lost their lives as a consequence of revolutionary upheaval: England's Charles I was beheaded in 1649, and France's Louis XVI was guillotined in 1793.

In these cases, the king was put to death after a lengthy public trial, during which he was allowed to present arguments in his defense. Nicholas II, though, was neither charged nor tried. He was

secretly put to death – along with his family and staff — in the dead of night, in an act that resembled more a gangster-style massacre than a formal execution.

Why did Lenin and Sverdlov abandon plans for a show trial of the former Tsar? In Wilton's view, Nicholas and his family were murdered because the Bolshevik rulers knew quite well that they lacked genuine popular support, and rightly feared that the Russian people would never approve killing the Tsar, regardless of pretexts and legalistic formalities.

For his part, Trotsky defended the massacre as a useful and even necessary measure. He wrote: [25]

The decision [to kill the imperial family] was not only expedient but necessary. The severity of this punishment showed everyone that we would continue to fight on mercilessly, stopping at nothing. The execution of the Tsar's family was needed not only in order to frighten, horrify, and instill a sense of hopelessness in the enemy but also to shake up our own ranks, to show that there was no turning back, that ahead lay either total victory or total doom. This Lenin sensed well.

Historical Context

In the years leading up to the 1917 revolution, Jews were disproportionately represented in all of Russia's subversive leftist parties. [26] Jewish hatred of the Tsarist regime had a basis in objective conditions. Of the leading European powers of the day, imperial Russia was the most institutionally conservative and anti-Jewish. For example, Jews were normally not permitted to reside outside a large area in the west of the Empire known as the "Pale of Settlement." [27]

However understandable, and perhaps even defensible, Jewish hostility toward the imperial regime may have been, the remarkable Jewish role in the vastly more despotic Soviet regime is less easy to justify. In a recently published book about the Jews in Russia during the 20th century, Russian-born Jewish writer Sonya Margolina goes so far as to call the Jewish role in supporting the Bolshevik regime the "historic sin of the Jews." [28] She points, for example, to the prominent role of Jews as commandants of Soviet *Gulag* concentration and labor camps, and the role of Jewish Communists in the systematic destruction of Russian churches. Moreover, she goes on, "The Jews of the entire world supported Soviet power, and remained silent in the face of any criticism from the opposition." In light of this record, Margolina offers a grim prediction:

The exaggeratedly enthusiastic participation of the Jewish Bolsheviks in the subjugation and destruction of Russia is a sin that will be avenged. Soviet power will be equated with Jewish power, and the furious hatred against the Bolsheviks will become hatred against Jews.

If the past is any indication, it is unlikely that many Russians will seek the revenge that Margolina prophesies. Anyway, to blame "the Jews" for the horrors of Communism seems no more justifiable than to blame "white people" for Negro slavery, or "the Germans" for the Second World War or "the Holocaust."

Words of Grim Portent

Nicholas and his family are only the best known of countless victims of a regime that openly proclaimed its ruthless purpose. A few weeks after the Ekaterinburg massacre, the newspaper of the fledgling Red Army declared: [29]

Without mercy, without sparing, we will kill our enemies by the scores of hundreds, let them be thousands, let them drown themselves in their own blood. For the blood of Lenin and Uritskii let there be floods of blood of the bourgeoisie — more blood, as much as possible.

Grigori Zinoviev, speaking at a meeting of Communists in September 1918, effectively pronounced a death sentence on ten million human beings: “We must carry along with us 90 million out of the 100 million of Soviet Russia’s inhabitants. As for the rest, we have nothing to say to them. They must be annihilated.” [30]

‘The Twenty Million’

As it turned out, the Soviet toll in human lives and suffering proved to be much higher than Zinoviev’s murderous rhetoric suggested. Rarely, if ever, has a regime taken the lives of so many of its own people. [31]

Citing newly-available Soviet KGB documents, historian Dmitri Volkogonov, head of a special Russian parliamentary commission, recently concluded that “from 1929 to 1952, 21.5 million [Soviet] people were repressed. Of these a third were shot, the rest sentenced to imprisonment, where many also died.” [32]

Olga Shatunovskaya, a member of the Soviet Commission of Party Control, and head of a special commission during the 1960s appointed by premier Khrushchev, has similarly concluded: “From January 1, 1935 to June 22, 1941, 19,840,000 enemies of the people were arrested. Of these, seven million were shot in prison, and a majority of the others died in camp.” These figures were also found in the papers of Politburo member Anastas Mikoyan. [33]

Robert Conquest, the distinguished specialist of Soviet history, recently summed up the grim record of Soviet “repression” of its own people: [34]

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the post-1934 death toll was well over ten million. To this should be added the victims of the 1930-1933 famine, the kulak deportations, and other anti-peasant campaigns, amounting to another ten million plus. The total is thus in the range of what the Russians now refer to as ‘The Twenty Million’.

A few other scholars have given significantly higher estimates. [35]

The Tsarist Era in Retrospect

With the dramatic collapse of Soviet rule, many Russians are taking a new and more respectful look at their country’s pre-Communist history, including the era of the last Romanov emperor. While the Soviets — along with many in the West — have stereotypically portrayed this era as little more than an age of arbitrary despotism, cruel suppression and mass poverty, the reality is rather different. While it is true that the power of the Tsar was absolute, that only a small minority had any significant political voice, and that the mass of the empire’s citizens were peasants, it is worth noting that Russians during the reign of Nicholas II had freedom of press, religion, assembly and association, protection of private property, and free labor unions. Sworn enemies of the regime, such as Lenin, were treated with remarkable leniency. [36]

During the decades prior to the outbreak of the First World War, the Russian economy was booming. In fact, between 1890 and 1913, it was the fastest growing in the world. New rail lines

were opened at an annual rate double that of the Soviet years. Between 1900 and 1913, iron production increased by 58 percent, while coal production more than doubled. [37] Exported Russian grain fed all of Europe. Finally, the last decades of Tsarist Russia witnessed a magnificent flowering of cultural life.

Everything changed with the First World War, a catastrophe not only for Russia, but for the entire West.

Monarchist Sentiment

In spite of (or perhaps because of) the relentless official campaign during the entire Soviet era to stamp out every uncritical memory of the Romanovs and imperial Russia, a virtual cult of popular veneration for Nicholas II has been sweeping Russia in recent years.

People have been eagerly paying the equivalent of several hours' wages to purchase portraits of Nicholas from street vendors in Moscow, St. Petersburg and other Russian cities. His portrait now hangs in countless Russian homes and apartments. In late 1990, all 200,000 copies of a first printing of a 30-page pamphlet on the Romanovs quickly sold out. Said one street vendor: "I personally sold four thousand copies in no time at all. It's like a nuclear explosion. People really want to know about their Tsar and his family." Grass roots pro-Tsarist and monarchist organizations have sprung up in many cities.

A public opinion poll conducted in 1990 found that three out of four Soviet citizens surveyed regard the killing of the Tsar and his family as a despicable crime. [38] Many Russian Orthodox believers regard Nicholas as a martyr. The independent "Orthodox Church Abroad" canonized the imperial family in 1981, and the Moscow-based Russian Orthodox Church has been under popular pressure to take the same step, in spite of its long-standing reluctance to touch this official taboo. The Russian Orthodox Archbishop of Ekaterinburg announced plans in 1990 to build a grand church at the site of the killings. "The people loved Emperor Nicholas," he said. "His memory lives with the people, not as a saint but as someone executed without court verdict, unjustly, as a sufferer for his faith and for orthodoxy." [39]

On the 75th anniversary of the massacre (in July 1993), Russians recalled the life, death and legacy of their last Emperor. In Ekaterinburg, where a large white cross festooned with flowers now marks the spot where the family was killed, mourners wept as hymns were sung and prayers were said for the victims. [40]

Reflecting both popular sentiment and new social-political realities, the white, blue and red horizontal tricolor flag of Tsarist Russia was officially adopted in 1991, replacing the red Soviet banner. And in 1993, the imperial two-headed eagle was restored as the nation's official emblem, replacing the Soviet hammer and sickle. Cities that had been re-named to honor Communist figures — such as Leningrad, Kuibyshev, Frunze, Kalinin, and Gorky — have re-acquired their Tsarist-era names. Ekaterinburg, which had been named Sverdlovsk by the Soviets in 1924 in honor of the Soviet-Jewish chief, in September 1991 restored its pre-Communist name, which honors Empress Catherine I.

Symbolic Meaning

In view of the millions that would be put to death by the Soviet rulers in the years to follow, the murder of the Romanov family might not seem of extraordinary importance. And yet, the event has deep symbolic meaning. In the apt words of Harvard University historian Richard Pipes: [41]

The manner in which the massacre was prepared and carried out, at first denied and then justified, has something uniquely odious about it, something that radically distinguishes it from previous acts of regicide and brands it as a prelude to twentieth-century mass murder.

Another historian, Ivor Benson, characterized the killing of the Romanov family as symbolic of the tragic fate of Russia and, indeed, of the entire West, in this century of unprecedented agony and conflict.

The murder of the Tsar and his family is all the more deplorable because, whatever his failings as a monarch, Nicholas II was, by all accounts, a personally decent, generous, humane and honorable man.

The Massacre's Place in History

The mass slaughter and chaos of the First World War, and the revolutionary upheavals that swept Europe in 1917-1918, brought an end not only to the ancient Romanov dynasty in Russia, but to an entire continental social order. Swept away as well was the Hohenzollern dynasty in Germany, with its stable constitutional monarchy, and the ancient Habsburg dynasty of Austria-Hungary with its multinational central European empire. Europe's leading states shared not only the same Christian and Western cultural foundations, but most of the continent's reigning monarchs were related by blood. England's King George was, through his mother, a first cousin of Tsar Nicholas, and, through his father, a first cousin of Empress Alexandra. Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm was a first cousin of the German-born Alexandra, and a distant cousin of Nicholas.

More than was the case with the monarchies of western Europe, Russia's Tsar personally symbolized his land and nation. Thus, the murder of the last emperor of a dynasty that had ruled Russia for three centuries not only symbolically presaged the Communist mass slaughter that would claim so many Russian lives in the decades that followed, but was symbolic of the Communist effort to kill the soul and spirit of Russia itself.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Edvard Radzinsky, *The Last Tsar* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 327, 344-346.; Bill Keller, "Cult of the Last Czar," *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1990.
2. [↗](#) From an April 1935 entry in "Trotsky's Diary in Exile." Quoted in: Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1990), pp. 770, 787.; Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York: 1976), pp. 496-497.; E. Radzinsky, *The Last Tsar* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 325-326.; Ronald W. Clark, *Lenin* (New York: 1988), pp. 349-350.
3. [↗](#) On Wilton and his career in Russia, see: Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), pp. 141-142, 144-146, 151-152, 159, 162, 169, and, Anthony Summers and Tom Mangold, *The File on the Tsar* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), pp. 102-104, 176.
4. [↗](#) AP dispatch from Moscow, *Toronto Star*, Sept. 26, 1991, p. A2.; Similarly, a 1992 survey found that one-fourth of people in the republics of Belarus (White Russia) and Uzbekistan favored deporting all Jews to a special Jewish region in Russian Siberia. "Survey Finds Anti-Semitism on Rise in Ex-Soviet Lands," *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1992, p. A4.
5. [↗](#) At the turn of the century, Jews made up 4.2 percent of the population of the Russian Empire. Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: 1990), p. 55 (fn.). By compari-

son, in the United States today, Jews make up less than three percent of the total population (according to the most authoritative estimates).

6. [↗](#) See individual entries in: H. Shukman, ed., *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the Russian Revolution* (Oxford: 1988), and in: G. Wigoder, ed., *Dictionary of Jewish Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991). The prominent Jewish role in Russia's pre-1914 revolutionary underground, and in the early Soviet regime, is likewise confirmed in: Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism* (New York: Oxford, 1982), pp. 92-94. In 1918, the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee had 15 members. German scholar Herman Fehst — citing published Soviet records — reported in his useful 1934 study that of six of these 15 were Jews. Herman Fehst, *Bolschewismus und Judentum: Das jüdische Element in der Führerschaft des Bolschewismus* (Berlin: 1934), pp. 68-72.; Robert Wilton, though, reported that in 1918 the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party had twelve members, of whom nine were of Jewish origin and three were of Russian ancestry. R. Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (IHR, 1993), p. 185.
7. [↗](#) After years of official suppression, this fact was acknowledged in 1991 in the Moscow weekly *Ogonyok*. See: *Jewish Chronicle* (London), July 16, 1991.; See also: Letter by L. Horwitz in *The New York Times*, Aug. 5, 1992, which cites information from the Russian journal "Native Land Archives."; "Lenin's Lineage?" "Jewish," *Claims Moscow News*, "Forward (New York City), Feb. 28, 1992, pp. 1, 3.; M. Checinski, *Jerusalem Post* (weekly international edition), Jan. 26, 1991, p. 9.
8. [↗](#) Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1990), p. 352.
9. [↗](#) Harrison E. Salisbury, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions, 1905-1917* (Doubleday, 1978), p. 475.; William H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 291-292.; Herman Fehst, *Bolschewismus und Judentum: Das jüdische Element in der Führerschaft des Bolschewismus* (Berlin: 1934), pp. 42-43.; P. N. Pospelov, ed., *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: A Biography* (Moscow: Progress, 1966), pp. 318-319. This meeting was held on October 10 (old style, Julian calendar), and on October 23 (new style). The six Jews who took part were: Uritsky, Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Sverdlov and Soklonikov. The Bolsheviks seized power in Petersburg on October 25 (old style) — hence the reference to the "Great October Revolution" — which is November 7 (new style).
10. [↗](#) William H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution* (1987), vol. 1, p. 292.; H. E. Salisbury, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions, 1905-1917* (1978), p. 475.
11. [↗](#) W. H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, vol. 1, pp. 274, 299, 302, 306.; Alan Moorehead, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: 1965), pp. 235, 238, 242, 243, 245.; H. Fehst, *Bolschewismus und Judentum* (Berlin: 1934), pp. 44, 45.
12. [↗](#) H. E. Salisbury, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions, 1905-1917* (1978), p. 479-480.; Dmitri Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991), pp. 27-28, 32.; P. N. Pospelov, ed., *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: A Biography* (Moscow: Progress, 1966), pp. 319-320.
13. [↗](#) "Zionism versus Bolshevism: A struggle for the soul of the Jewish people," *Illustrated Sunday Herald* (London), February 8, 1920. Facsimile reprint in: William Grimstad, *The Six Million Reconsidered* (1979), p. 124. (At the time this essay was published, Churchill was serving as minister of war and air.)
14. [↗](#) David R. Francis, *Russia from the American Embassy* (New York: 1921), p. 214.
15. [↗](#) *Foreign Relations of the United States — 1918 — Russia*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: 1931), pp. 678-679.
16. [↗](#) *American Hebrew* (New York), Sept. 1920. Quoted in: Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1963), p. 268.

17. [↗](#) C. Jacobson, "Jews in the USSR" in: *American Review on the Soviet Union*, August 1945, p. 52.; Avtandil Rukhadze, *Jews in the USSR: Figures, Facts, Comment* (Moscow: Novosti, 1978), pp. 10-11.
18. [↗](#) T. Emmons and B. M. Patenaude, eds., *War, Revolution and Peace in Russia: The Passages of Frank Golder, 1913-1927* (Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1992), pp. 320, 139, 317.
19. [↗](#) Louis Rapoport, *Stalin's War Against the Jews* (New York: Free Press, 1990), pp. 30, 31, 37. See also pp. 43, 44, 45, 49, 50.
20. [↗](#) Quoted in: Salo Baron, *The Russian Jews Under Tsars and Soviets* (New York: 1976), pp. 170, 392 (n. 4).
21. [↗](#) *The Atlantic*, Sept. 1991, p. 14.; In 1919, three-quarters of the Cheka staff in Kiev were Jews, who were careful to spare fellow Jews. By order, the Cheka took few Jewish hostages. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 824.; Israeli historian Louis Rapoport also confirms the dominant role played by Jews in the Soviet secret police throughout the 1920s and 1930s. L. Rapoport, *Stalin's War Against the Jews* (New York: 1990), pp. 30-31, 43-45, 49-50.
22. [↗](#) E. Radzinsky, *The Last Tsar* (1992), pp. 244, 303-304.; Bill Keller, "Cult of the Last Czar," *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1990.; See also: W. H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, vol. 2, p. 90.
23. [↗](#) Quoted in: *The New Republic*, Feb. 5, 1990, pp. 30 ff.; Because of the alleged anti-Semitism of Russophobia, in July 1992 Shafarevich was asked by the National Academy of Sciences (Washington, DC) to resign as an associate member of that prestigious body.
24. [↗](#) R. Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (1993), p. 148.
25. [↗](#) Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 787.; Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York: 1976), pp. 496-497.
26. [↗](#) An article in a 1907 issue of the respected American journal *National Geographic* reported on the revolutionary situation brewing in Russia in the years before the First World War: "The revolutionary leaders nearly all belong to the Jewish race, and the most effective revolutionary agency is the Jewish Bund" W. E. Curtis, "The Revolution in Russia," *The National Geographic Magazine*, May 1907, pp. 313-314. Piotr Stolypin, probably imperial Russia's greatest statesman, was murdered in 1911 by a Jewish assassin. In 1907, Jews made up about ten percent of Bolshevik party membership. In the Menshevik party, another faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, the Jewish proportion was twice as high. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 365.; See also: R. Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (1993), pp. 185-186.
27. [↗](#) Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of Jewish History* (1977), pp. 71, 74.; In spite of the restrictive "Pale" policy, in 1897 about 315,000 Jews were living outside the Pale, most of them illegally. In 1900 more than 20,000 were living in the capital of St. Petersburg, and another 9,000 in Moscow.
28. [↗](#) Sonja Margolina, *Das Ende der Lügen: Russland und die Juden im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: 1992). Quoted in: "Ein ganz heisses Eisen angefasst," *Deutsche National-Zeitung* (Munich), July 21, 1992, p. 12.
29. [↗](#) *Krasnaia Gazetta* ("Red Gazette"), September 1, 1918. Quoted in: Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), pp. 820, 912 (n. 88).
30. [↗](#) Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: 1990), p. 820.
31. [↗](#) Contrary to what a number of western historians have for years suggested, Soviet terror and the Gulag camp system did not begin with Stalin. At the end of 1920, Soviet Russia already had 84 concentration camps with approximately 50,000 prisoners. By October 1923

the number had increased to 315 camps with 70,000 inmates. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 836.

32. [↗](#) Cited by historian Robert Conquest in a review/ article in *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 1993, p. 27.
33. [↗](#) *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 1993, p. 27.
34. [↗](#) Review/article by Robert Conquest in *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 1993, p. 27.; In the “Great Terror” years of 1937-1938 alone, Conquest has calculated, approximately one million were shot by the Soviet secret police, and another two million perished in Soviet camps. R. Conquest, *The Great Terror* (New York: Oxford, 1990), pp. 485-486.; Conquest has estimated that 13.5 to 14 million people perished in the collectivization (“dekulakization”) campaign and forced famine of 1929-1933. R. Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow* (New York: Oxford, 1986), pp. 301-307.
35. [↗](#) Russian professor Igor Bestuzhev-Lada, writing in a 1988 issue of the Moscow weekly *Nedelya*, suggested that during the Stalin era alone (1935-1953), as many as 50 million people were killed, condemned to camps from which they never emerged, or lost their lives as a direct result of the brutal “dekulakization” campaign against the peasantry. “Soviets admit Stalin killed 50 million,” *The Sunday Times*, London, April 17, 1988.; R. J. Rummel, a professor of political science at the University of Hawaii, has recently calculated that 61.9 million people were systematically killed by the Soviet Communist regime from 1917 to 1987. R. J. Rummel, *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1917* (Transaction, 1990).
36. [↗](#) Because of his revolutionary activities, Lenin was sentenced in 1897 to three years exile in Siberia. During this period of “punishment,” he got married, wrote some 30 works, made extensive use of a well-stocked local library, subscribed to numerous foreign periodicals, kept up a voluminous correspondence with supporters across Europe, and enjoyed numerous sport hunting and ice skating excursions, while all the time receiving a state stipend. See: Ronald W. Clark, *Lenin* (New York: 1988), pp. 42-57.; P. N. Pospelov, ed., *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: A Biography* (Moscow: Progress, 1966), pp. 55-75.
37. [↗](#) R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), pp. 187-188.;
38. [↗](#) *The Nation*, June 24, 1991, p. 838.
39. [↗](#) Bill Keller, “Cult of the Last Czar,” *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1990.
40. [↗](#) “Nostalgic for Nicholas, Russians Honor Their Last Czar,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 1993.; “Ceremony marks Russian czar’s death,” *Orange County Register*, July 17, 1993.
41. [↗](#) R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 787.

Appendix

A striking feature of Mr. Wilton’s examination of the tumultuous 1917-1919 period in Russia is his frank treatment of the critically important Jewish role in establishing the Bolshevik regime.

The following lists of persons in the Bolshevik Party and Soviet administration during this period, which Wilton compiled on the basis of official reports and original documents, underscore the crucial Jewish role in these bodies. These lists first appeared in the rare French edition of Wilton’s book, published in Paris in 1921 under the title *Les Derniers Jours des Romanoffs*. They did not appear in either the American or British editions of *The Last Days of the Romanors* published in 1920.

“I have done all in my power to act as an impartial chronicler,” Wilton wrote in his foreword to *Les Derniers Jours des Romanoffs*. “In order not to leave myself open to any accusation of prejudice, I am giving the list of the members of the [Bolshevik Party's] Central Committee, of the Extraordinary Commission [Cheka or secret police], and of the Council of Commissars functioning at the time of the assassination of the Imperial family.

“The 62 members of the [Central] Committee were composed of five Russians, one Ukrainian, six Letts [Latvians], two Germans, one Czech, two Armenians, three Georgians, one Karaim [Karaite] (a Jewish sect), and 41 Jews.

“The Extraordinary Commission [Cheka or Vecheka] of Moscow was composed of 36 members, including one German, one Pole, one Armenian, two Russians, eight Latvians, and 23 Jews.

“The Council of the People's Commissars [the Soviet government] numbered two Armenians, three Russians, and 17 Jews.

“According to data furnished by the Soviet press, out of 556 important functionaries of the Bolshevik state, including the above-mentioned, in 1918-1919 there were: 17 Russians, two Ukrainians, eleven Armenians, 35 Letts [Latvians], 15 Germans, one Hungarian, ten Georgians, three Poles, three Finns, one Czech, one Karaim, and 457 Jews.”

“If the reader is astonished to find the Jewish hand everywhere in the affair of the assassination of the Russian Imperial family, he must bear in mind the formidable numerical preponderance of Jews in the Soviet administration,” Wilton went on to write.

Effective governmental power, Wilton continued (on pages 136-138 of the same edition) is in the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party. In 1918, he reported, this body had twelve members, of whom nine were of Jewish origin, and three were of Russian ancestry. The nine Jews were: Bronstein (Trotsky), Apfelbaum (Zinoviev), Lurie (Larine), Uritsky, Volodarski, Rosenfeld (Kamenev), Smidovich, Sverdlov (Yankel), and Nakhamkes (Steklov). The three Russians were: Ulyanov (Lenin), Krylenko, and Lunacharsky.

“The other Russian Socialist parties are similar in composition,” Wilton went on. “Their Central Committees are made up as follows:”

Mensheviks (Social Democrats): Eleven members, all of whom are Jewish.

Communists of the People: Six members, of whom five are Jews and one is a Russian.

Social Revolutionaries (Right Wing): Fifteen members, of whom 13 are Jews and two are Russians (Kerenski, who may be of Jewish origin, and Tchaikovsky).

Social Revolutionaries (Left Wing): Twelve members, of whom ten are Jews and two are Russians.

Committee of the Anarchists of Moscow: Five members, of whom four are Jews and one is a Russian.

Polish Communist Party: Twelve members, all of whom are Jews, including Sobelson (Radek), Krokhenal (Zagonski), and Schwartz (Goltz).

“These parties,” commented Wilton, “in appearance opposed to the Bolsheviks, play the Bolsheviks' game on the sly, more or less, by preventing the Russians from pulling themselves together.

Out of 61 individuals at the head of these parties, there are six Russians and 55 Jews. No matter what may be the name adopted, a revolutionary government will be Jewish.”

[Although the Bolsheviks permitted these leftist political groups to operate for a time under close supervision and narrow limits, even these pitiful remnants of organized opposition were thoroughly eliminated by the end of the 1921 .]

The Soviet government, or “Council of People’s Commissars' (also known as the “Sovnarkom”) was made up of the following, Wilton reported:

Peoples Commissariat (Ministry)	Name	Nationality
Chairman	V.I. Ulyanov (Lenin)	Russian
Foreign Affairs	G.V. Chicherin	Russian
Nationalities	J. Dzhugashvili [Stalin]	Georgian
Agriculture	Protian	Armenian
Economic Council	Lourie (Larin)	Jew
Food Supply	A.G. Schlikhter	Jew
Army and Navy [Military]	L.D. Bronstein (Trotsky)	Jew
State Control	K.I. Lander	Jew
State Lands	Kaufmann	Jew
Works [Labor]	V. Schmidt	Jew
Social Relief	E. Lilina (Knigissen)	Jew
Education	A. Lunacharsky	Russian
Religion	Spitzberg	Jew
Interior	Apfelbaum [Radomyslski] (Zinoviev)	Jew
.Hygiene	Anvelt	Jew
Finance	I. E. Gukovs [and G. Sokolnikov]	Jew
Press	Voldarski [Goldstein]	Jew
Elections	M.S. Uritsky	Jew
Justice	I.Z. Shteinberg	Jew
Refugees	Fenigstein	Jew
Refugees	Savitch (Assistant)	Jew
Refugees	Zaslovski (Assistant)	Jew

Out of these 22 “Sovnarkom” members, Wilton summed'up, there were three Russians, one Georgian, one Armenian, and 17 Jews.

The Central Executive Committee, Wilton continues, was made up of the following members:

Y. M. Sverdlov [Solomon] (Chairman)	Jew
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Avanesov (Secretary)	Armenian
Bruno	Latvian
Breslau	Latvian [?]
Babtchinski	Jew
N. I. Bukharin	Russian
Weinberg	Jew
Gailiss	Jew
Ganzberg [Ganzburg]	Jew
Danichevski	Jew
Starck	German
Sachs	Jew
Scheinmann	Jew
Erdling	Jew
Landauer	Jew
Linder	Jew
Wolach	Czech
S. Dimanshtein	Jew
Encukidze	Georgian
Ermann	Jew
A. A. Ioffe	Jew
Karkhline	Jew
Knigissen	Jew
Rosenfeld (Kamenev)	Jew
Apfelbaum (Zinoviev)	Jew
N. Krylenko	Russian
Krassikov	Jew
Kaprik	Jew
Kaoul	Latvian
Ulyanov (Lenin)	Russian
Latsis	Jew
Lander	Jew
Lunacharsky	Russian
Peterson	Latvian
Peters	Latvian

Roudzoutas	Jew
Rosine	Jew
Smidovitch	Jew
Stoutchka	Latvian
Nakhamkes (Steklov)	Jew
Sosnovski	Jew
Skrytnik	Jew
L. Bronstein (Trotsky)	Jew
Teodorovitch	Jew [?]
Terian	Armenian
Uritsky	Jew
Telechkine	Russian
Feldmann	Jew
Fromkin	Jew
Souriupa	Ukrainian
Tchavtchevadze	Georgian
Scheikmann	Jew
Rosental	Jew
Achkinazi	Imeretian [?]
Karakhane	Karaim [Karaite]
Rose	Jew
Sobelson (Radek)	Jew
Schlichter	Jew
Schikolini	Jew
Chklianski	Jew
Levine-(Pravdine)	Jew

Thus, concluded Wilton, out of 61 members, five were Russians, six were Latvians, one was a German, two were Armenians, one was a Czech, one was an Imeretian, two were Georgians, one was a Karaim, one. was a Ukrainian, and 41 were Jews.

The Extraordinary Commission of Moscow (Cheka) 'the Soviet secret police and predecessor of the GPU, the NKVD and the KGB was made up of the following:

F. Dzerzhinsky (Chairman)	Pole
Y. Peters (Deputy Chairman)	Latvian
Chklovski	Jew

Kheifiss	Jew
Zeistine	Jew
Razmirovitch	Jew
Kronberg	Jew
Khaikina	Jew
Karlson	Latvian
Schaumann	Latvian
Leontovitch	Jew
Jacob Goldine	Jew
Galperstein	Jew
Kniggisen	Jew
Katzis	Latvian
Schillenkuss	Jew
Janson	Latvian
Rivkine	Jew
Antonof	Russian
Delafabre	Jew
Tsitkine	Jew
Roskirovitch	Jew
G. Sverdlov (Brother of president of the Central Executive Committee)	Jew
Biesenski	Jew
J. Blumkin (Count Mirbach's assassin)	Jew
Alexandrovitch (Blumkin's accomplice)	Russian
I. Model	Jew
Routenberg	Jew
Pines	Jew
Sachs	Jew
Daybol	Latvian
Saissoune	Armenian
Deylkenen	Latvian
Liebert	Jew
Vogel	German
Zakiss	Latvian

Of these 36 Cheka officials, one was a Pole, one a German, one an Armenian, two were Russians, eight were Latvians, and 23 were Jews.

“Accordingly,” Wilton sums up, “there is no reason to be surprised at the preponderant role of Jews in the assassination of the Imperial family. It is rather the opposite that would have been surprising.”

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Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History

The Third Reich's Place in History: A Conversation with Professor Ernst Nolte

By Ian B. Warren

Some thirteen years ago, a leading figure of German academic life, Professor Ernst Nolte of the Free University of Berlin, drew back the curtain from a forbidden topic of public discourse in his country. With a lecture delivered in Munich entitled, “Between Historical Legend and Revisionism? The Third Reich in the Perspective of 1980,” the prominent historian fired a warning shot across the bow of Germany’s intellectual establishment. [1]

Six years later, a provocative essay by Dr. Nolte touched off an unprecedented exchange of letters, essays and other polemics among leading scholars of modern German history. This “historians’ dispute,” or *Historikerstreit*, was marked — in the words of the editor of one American scholarly journal — by “an intensity unprecedented in the public life of the [German] Federal Republic.” Moreover, “it soon evolved into a major intellectual conflict over the meaning of the Nazi past for contemporary West German political and cultural identity.” [2]

A complex controversy, the *Historikerstreit* involves questions about the political uses of history, differences in the historical perspective of generations, historical research methods, and the limits of objectivity in dealing with major events in a nation’s life. At the core of the dispute is a question with profound social-political ramifications for Germany and the Western world: how is the legacy of Hitler and the Third Reich to be integrated into a long-term view of German history? At stake here, obviously, are questions of importance not merely to academics, but issues of essential consequence for German national self-understanding and self-definition, and for Germany’s place in the world.

The spark that set ablaze Germany’s intellectual world was an essay by Nolte that appeared on June 6, 1986, in the prestigious German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. [3] In this short piece, entitled “The Past That Will Not Pass Away,” Nolte argued that the current generation of Germans, forty years after the end of the Second World War, should be allowed to embrace its national past without a permanent sense of guilt. “Talk about ‘the guilt of the Germans,’” he observed, “all too blithely overlooks the similarity to the talk about ‘the guilt of the Jews,’ which was a main argument of the National Socialists.... All the attention devoted to the Final Solution simply diverts our attention from important facts about the National Socialist period ...” When dealing with the history of the Third Reich, he went on to note with regret, the most basic rules of historical scholarship seem to have been suspended. In fact, “every past is knowable in its complexity ... black-and-white images of politically involved contemporaries should be correctable; earlier histories should be subject to revision.” [4]

As early as his 1980 lecture, “Historical Legend and Revisionism?,” Nolte had warned: “The negative vitality of a historical phenomenon represents a great danger for the discipline of history. A permanent negative or positive image necessarily has the character of a myth, which is an actualized form of a legend. This is true because a myth like this can be made to found or support an ideology of state ...” [5]

Therefore, Nolte said, “subjecting the history of the Third Reich to revision ... seems to me to be a difficult and pressing task.” He went on to propose “three postulates” as a basis for a future Third Reich historiography:

“1. The Third Reich should be removed from the historical isolation in which it remains even when it is treated within the framework of an epoch of fascism. It must be studied in the context of the disruptions, crisis, fears, diagnoses, and therapies that were generated by the industrial revolution ...

“2. The instrumentalization to which the Third Reich owes a good part of its continuing fascination should be prevented ...

“3. The demonization of the Third Reich is unacceptable ... [Rather, it] must become an object of scholarship, of a scholarship that is not aloof from politics, but that is also not merely a hand-maiden of politics.”

What Nolte’s many critics — both in Germany and abroad — found most distressing in his writings was, predictably, his iconoclastic discussion of the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question.” Hitler’s wartime treatment of the Jews, the historian seemed to suggest, might legitimately be regarded as a defensive response by the Führer to the threat of Bolshevik mass murder of the Germans. In his 1980 lecture, Nolte said: “... It is hard to deny that Hitler had good reason to be convinced of his enemies’ determination to annihilate long before the first information about the events in Auschwitz became public ... [Zionist leader] Chaim Weizmann’s statement in the first days of September 1939, that in this war the Jews of all the world would fight on England’s side ... could lay a foundation for the thesis that Hitler would have been justified in treating the German Jews as prisoners of war, and thus interning them.” [6]

In his 1986 essay, Nolte posed for consideration two questions, which have since been widely quoted, that he called “permissible, even unavoidable”: “Did the National Socialists or Hitler perhaps commit an ‘Asiatic’ deed [of mass killing] merely because they and their ilk considered themselves to be potential victims of an ‘Asiatic’ deed [by the Soviets]? Was the [Soviet] Gulag Archipelago not primary to Auschwitz? Was the Bolshevik murder of an entire class not the logical and factual prius of the ‘racial murder’ of National Socialism?” [7]

Reaction to such statements came quickly. A few weeks later, well-known leftist social theorist and political activist Jürgen Habermas responded in a detailed article, “A Kind of Settlement of Damages: The Apologetic Tendencies in German History Writing,” which appeared in the liberal Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*. [8] During the months that followed, many other scholars joined in the heated discussion. Reaction to Nolte’s writings was not confined to mere rhetoric. In 1988 his automobile was destroyed in a terrorist fire-bombing attack carried out by an anarchist-leftist group. [9]

Few scholars speak with greater authority on Third Reich history than Professor Nolte. Over the years, his sometimes unconventional insights into twentieth century history and political philosophy — presented in several books and numerous articles — have earned him wide acclaim. Probably his best-known work is the 1963 study, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* — first published

in English in 1965 under the title *Three Faces of Fascism* — which compares the phenomenon of “fascism” in France, Italy and Germany. Widely regarded as a path-breaking and classic work on the subject, it is still virtually required reading for every serious student of the matter. ^[10]

As even the most critical of his intellectual adversaries will concede, the often bitter controversy he touched off has been a landmark development in German awareness of twentieth-century European history. More than any other single person, he has encouraged a profound national self-examination of contemporary history, which in turn has engendered a new openness and maturity of thinking.

Last May, this writer was afforded the opportunity of a comprehensive conversation with Professor Nolte at his Berlin home. During this meeting, this tall and distinguished-looking scholar offered a thoughtful assessment of the role of the historian, and of the critical function of historical revisionism in the context of national identity, within the context of the so-called *Historikerstreit*. As one whose scholarship and personal values are closely intertwined, Nolte’s perspective during our conversation was analytical and yet not devoid of passionate commitment to the values of scholarly historical inquiry.

Question:

It has been more than a dozen years since you first began warning about the creation of a historical legend or myth. In doing so, were you trying to resist a development that you saw happening, perhaps especially among German historians, perhaps even among world leaders? Let me also then ask about your motivation for undertaking such a daring and difficult, even dangerous task.

Nolte:

I would say that every reigning opinion, every general conformism, has a tendency to become a myth. Let me offer the example of Marxism, which at its core contained factual observations but was then transformed into a legend/myth. Looking back, Leninism was the inevitable outcome of an entire world-historical development, the future of which was to be the Soviet Union — ultimately to be the central state, even what might be called a world state, where all the languages and all the nations would be melted together. This is a myth, to be connected with some very early myths in history. It was followed by the long undisputed dominance of what may be called “anti-fascism,” an interpretation of history that has also become a myth.

I wanted to warn against this mythologizing because it is contrary to a major characteristic of scholarship: to make revisions, and to place knowledge and facts within new contexts. I am not speaking here about “revisionism” as based on revision for its own sake, although I am always referred to as a “revisionist.” I am not a revisionist for revisionism’s sake. In my opinion, one of the most necessary revisions, perhaps the most important single revision that must be made, is to rectify the practice of interpreting Germany history by looking only at German history, that is, to seek out only German sources for what happened in Germany, especially during the “Third Reich” period of 1933-1945. It is always a question of interpreting, of understanding National Socialism in its correct context.

I am of the opinion that what you may call epochal influences — which come out of the character of a certain epoch and not so much out of national origins — must be accentuated. In my book, *Three Faces of Fascism*, the term “fascism” refers to a broad European phenomenon and concept under which National Socialism is to be subsumed, although it has its own distinctive characteristics. In my view this means that this epochal character is more important than the national character. In the context of what we in Germany call *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, that is, “soci-

etal history,” the concept of a national German *Sonderweg* (“special path”) is most essential. For my part, I do not believe that the national character of “fascism” should be placed exclusively in the forefront. ^[11]

During the fifties there was the so-called theory of totalitarianism, which viewed this as an epochal idea. Modern totalitarianism is not to be confounded with despotism, for example, because it is quite a new phenomena, essentially connected with one single epochal event. Then came a tendency to examine the national roots of this world phenomenon. For my part, in 1963 I tried to accentuate its epochal characteristic, but with a difference: looking at theories of totalitarianism not so much in terms of the outward conformity or the formal similarity between two great non-liberal, anti-liberal totalitarian movements — namely National Socialism and Communism. Rather, I took the view that the enmity between these two movements needed to be taken very seriously. My book on fascism could therefore have been entitled “The European Civil War,” a title I did use for a work published in 1987. ^[12] This idea was certainly implied in *Three Faces of Fascism*, for example in my definition of fascism as anti-Marxism — a political movement that sought to annihilate the enemy by establishing opposite aims, while often employing similar methods. This all supposes that there was an enemy who did try to *annihilate*. In this respect, the whole concept of a European civil war was already implied in my first book.

What was my motive for writing on German history and for getting involved in a public controversy? Certainly it was personal, but I reject the idea that it was to apologize for Germany. Many people say this, but I have always said that I would hope to say the same things if I were an American or if I were a Frenchman. It is not tolerable in scholarship, in science, to maintain forever such a one-sided picture of the world. It must be complemented by taking into consideration the forces that this [“fascist”] movement considered as the main enemy.

Let me make another point. We should not speak of the “specter of Communism.” Lenin never regarded himself merely as a specter. He believed himself to be a world-historical figure. In my view, this notion of a violent World Communist Revolution was not just imaginary. So, in this respect, I wanted to draw a more even-handed picture of the world, even though it cannot be a truly complete picture, because the archives of the former Soviet Union are just now beginning to be opened. It is a curious phenomenon that Socialist ideas, which were so very influential in Europe during the 19th century, never won a political victory. (The only exception was the Paris Commune of 1871, which lasted for just a few weeks.)

Then, in 1917, a Marxist state came into existence for the first time; a state that was to become the greatest in the world. This is a fact of tremendous importance. Not to take this seriously, not to take the enemies of this “fascist” phenomenon seriously, seems superficial. Above all, it prevents one from seeing what a curious fact it is that National Socialism, the most formidable enemy of this phenomenon of [Soviet] Socialism as a state power, had to copy its aspects to a certain extent. Thus, instead of being complete opposites, there were considerable similarities between the two.

Question:

There is a good basis in biological studies of isomorphism for the view that in cases of conflict each side takes on the characteristics of the opponent. Is this applicable here?

Nolte:

It is not only outward characteristics, for example, that are important when somebody has to defend himself from an enemy. But in this case, there is also inner similarity. And this is not so self-

evident. One could, if people were not so eager to always detect supposed political aspects in my work, discern the paradox of the real victory of socialism against its enemies — but not in the way as the socialists themselves had imagined.

Perhaps if there were *real* National Socialists here in Germany, they would say that Mr. Nolte is a dangerous apologist for the Bolsheviks because he tries to show that they were powerful enough to win a victory that they themselves had not thought possible; indeed, one which was completely unanticipated, but nevertheless clearly-defined. But there are no real National Socialists. There are only, let us say, “nostalgic National Socialists,” and so people always speak of “apologists.”

Question:

So perhaps your worst fault is that your arguments are too subtle, and can therefore be more easily attacked in a superficial but inaccurate way?

Nolte:

Well, but on the other hand, my main point is very simple. Because if, in intellectual life, one side is completely victorious, as in the case of what is called the Left, then the result is a sterile conformism. The general conformism in this country is leftist, which is paradoxical because the Left was originally a movement of protest, a movement of those who do *not* conform with the general opinion. I said “no” to this prevailing sentiment.

I said that National Socialism has to be understood historically, that it is not to be mythologized in this sense. You have to look not only at the one side, but there are other sides to the question, for example, of whether National Socialism was not exclusively anti-modernist. This is a very important trait, which cannot be ignored. If one says this, a common rejoinder is to charge that “you are closer to this phenomenon than we, so you must be an apologist.” As a scholar, one must try to find out the other side of any historical phenomenon that has been presented with a universal simplicity. Thus, in America, in the aftermath of the Civil War the prevailing view was, at first, only that of the righteous cause of the victor, but later historians tried to better understand the South, to find some good side to the Southern cause, to explore its politics and historical context.

Question:

There is certainly a long revisionist tradition in America. But it seems to me that there are some important questions that have still not been dealt with in the *Historikerstreit*. For example, apparently no one has dealt with the implications of the important role of American historians in forming our understanding of Third Reich history. Perhaps there should be a debate between American and German historians on Third Reich history? And if differences emerge, would these be based on who the victors were?

Nolte:

I would say that the first German historians to deal with the Third Reich were the old established historians, such as Gerhard Ritter (1888-1967). Ritter displayed a certain defensive caution and self-consciousness. National Socialism, he argued, was not a Prussian phenomenon; it was much more an Austrian phenomenon, and so on. Or consider the case of Friedrich Meinecke, who was a very fine and prominent historian even before the First World War. Meinecke said that in Na-

tional Socialism the worst traits of German history came to the fore. I think that this older generation of German historians remained in the foreground until the beginning of the sixties.

Then came a younger generation of historians, many of them connected with the Institute for Contemporary History (“Institut für Zeitgeschichte”) in Munich, which was established as a center for the study of the National Socialist epoch. These younger historians, such as Martin Broszat (1926-1989), brought a different point of view, one not connected with their own experience in the period prior to 1945. ^[13] This new generation was inclined to underline the conformity or compliance of the older generation with National Socialism and the Hitler regime. This tendency developed its most extreme form in connection with the 1968 revolt when, for the first time, it was Germany as such that was condemned. The outlook of this younger generation was essentially formed by the connection with the United States. They *all* had been in the United States. It was, so to speak, the appropriation of the American interpretation by the younger generation of Germans.

Question:

This seems to me a most important point to make.

Nolte:

Yes, if you conduct certain things to an extreme, you may become an enemy of your former friend. And this is what happened in Germany. For most of our common history, we have normally been on good terms with the Americans. But the more extreme of the new generation of German historians became so leftist that they fought against “American imperialism” and the ideas connected with it. The extreme wing of the generation of 1968 became anti-American, because it had such a strong dose of Americanism, of American television, and so forth. There were even a few who developed a positive view of National Socialism.

Consider the case of Armin Mohler, who is Swiss, and for this reason has a certain “bonus”: he has been allowed to say many things that a German could not say. ^[14] It is this characteristic, a certain moral “higher standing,” that permits him greater freedom to speak out.

Question:

Because such a person is regarded as not self-interested; a certain objectivity of the outsider?

Nolte:

No, because such a person is connected with people who were persecuted. In Germany, the most characteristic “bonus” in this in this sense is the Jewish advantage. Jews are permitted to say many things here that no German may say.

Question:

As long as you are part of the victim class?

Nolte:

Yes, then you have a considerable advantage.

Question:

A certain legitimacy?

Nolte:

A legitimacy that others do not have. In the case of Mohler, who is Swiss and therefore an outsider, he wrote a book on the conservative revolution in Germany during the Weimar Republic that, although it did not identify with Spengler and Carl Schmitt and so on, tried to evaluate them in a positive sense. [15]

There has always been a certain, let us say, “part” of the German Right that is connected with National Socialism; it has remained alive because it is so important. A good example is Richard Wagner, who was connected with National Socialism because of his views, and because of the National Socialist preference for him. In spite of this, Wagner was never totally rejected or discredited in the postwar era. In America, and in many other countries, there have always been Wagnerians, and his operas have always been performed. On the other hand, a writer like Ernst Jünger has, to a certain extent, been “implicated” because, during the twenties, he wrote many things that are very similar to what the National Socialists said.

We know that the whole of the so-called German resistance came from the former Right. Now, of course, they are naturally appreciated, which means that the rightist tradition was not totally destroyed. There have always been those who are sympathetic towards figures such as Carl Schmitt, Oswald Spengler, and so on. For example, the great poet Gottfried Benn “emigrated” into the *Wehrmacht*. It was a position that, for a short time during the early fifties, seemed to come into the foreground.

Against this tendency of a larger renaissance of the non-National Socialist intellectual right, an important movement of reaction established itself. This was the so-called “Group 47” (“*Gruppe 47*”) of young writers, poets and so forth that met for the first time, I think, in 1953 or 1955, under the direction of Hans-Werner Richter, a former Communist. Among those who belonged to this circle was, for example, Günter Grass, who is today most important. Erich Kuby, for example, and others, fought strongly against German rearmament in 1955 and 1956. I myself belonged to the outer margins of this movement, something that is not known or remembered. These people were very much disturbed by what seemed to be a renaissance of National Socialism in connection with German rearmament. At that time, you know, there was a dispute about how the former SS officers were to be treated. Should they be accepted into the *Bundeswehr*, West Germany’s postwar armed forces? Those who were concerned about this development, and tried to oppose it, joined together in what was at that time called the *Grünwälderkreis*, an association of intellectuals that has been largely forgotten. [16]

This “Group 47” came to dominate German intellectual life from the beginning of the sixties onward. As the student rebels came into the forefront during the mid-sixties, one may speak of Leftist conformism in Germany. In the beginning, I felt quite close to this movement, although at that time I was an unknown schoolteacher. During the period when the left seemed to be very isolated, when leftist ideas seemed to be in retreat, I sympathized with them. I never supported leftist conformism, though, and I have always considered the victory of conformity to be rather dangerous.

Question:

What do you think has been the main effect or consequences of your raising of these issues?

Nolte:

Well, I believe that it was indeed what it was called at that time, in 1986, a *Tabubruch* — a breaking of a taboo. To speak, in the same sentence, of Auschwitz and the Gulag [Soviet camp system] — that was really terrible. Today this has become a triviality. It has become quite common to speak of “as was the case with the Gulag and Auschwitz,” while then making some distinctions. For that matter, I also made distinctions. Still, to name these two phenomena, and the two personalities — Stalin and Hitler — in the same sentence, was to break a taboo of the time.

What I did was no great achievement, though, because such a comparison had already been made during the fifties, with its emphasis on the theory of totalitarianism. It was more a matter of courage, let us say, than of insight.

Even before the *Historikerstreit* that resulted, I had the feeling that the predominance of Jürgen Habermas, who was my main antagonist, as you know, was already a little bit menaced. Moreover, his reaction to what I wrote had a certain nervous tone, as did that of other adversaries. If you re-read what Habermas and those like him wrote at that time, you will see that in most cases there is a certain defensiveness in their arguments.

With German reunification, of course, everything has changed, because one of the main points made by Habermas and his friends was that if you do not accept their way of interpreting German history, then you endanger peaceful coexistence [between the West and the USSR]. You also showed yourself to be a German nationalist who wanted to reunite the nation by annexing the communist “German Democratic Republic,” a view that was regarded as the most dangerous one that could be taken, and which therefore had to be rejected unconditionally. As things have happened — and as none of us foresaw, least of all Habermas — this entire position is no longer valid. You can no longer say that if somebody speaks in the same sentence of the Gulag and Auschwitz, he is endangering world peace! And so there is a great dark silence.

Question:

A resounding silence?

Nolte:

Yes. So far no one has drawn up a balance sheet showing precisely what has happened. The very paradoxical thing is that these, let us say, more moderate leftist social historians, such as Habermas, have been assigned the gigantic task — paradoxically enough — of reorganizing higher education in the former East Germany, to define “Germanness” there. And their influence is very direct.

Those in East Germany who have presumably given up their Stalinist orthodoxy, and other Germans who have supposedly lost their fear of endangering the world’s peace by discussing these issues, are much closer to each other than those who, like me, are called “rightists.” They simply do not speak about it. In this respect, one may speak of a certain renaissance of this leftist conformism. A consequence of this is that, to a great extent, the historians and political scientists in charge in the universities in East Germany are my silent but very active antagonists. This is a curious and paradoxical role, but an understandable situation.

Question:

Let me ask you a hypothetical question. Seeing how things have gone, would you have done anything differently? What’s to be done now? What is the most important thing to do now about this problem of legend-building?

Nolte:

Well, if I had known what would happen, I probably would not have written that June 1986 article that was the starting-point of the *Historikerstreit* debate. Instead, I simply would have published my book on the European Civil War, which deals with the same subject as that article, but in which my arguments are much more fully explicated. In a newspaper article one is forced to write in a certain provocative way, and that article was, perhaps, too accentuated. So I may complain that in that case I was more publicist than scholar.

On the other hand, I had been invited by a rather leftist organization to give an address, and they had asked me to speak on this subject. It was not my initiative. Then the group rejected the topic and withdrew the invitation. I could not simply capitulate. Because I had already written the text, I gave it to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Today, clearly, there is no longer a Marxist danger, and there is, therefore, no need to fight against it. This was certainly one of my original intentions in raising the historical issues I did. Certainly, I was opposing a kind of unilateralism. At the same time, I was simply following the rules of scholarship. Thus, it is now necessary to write the history of the 20th century anew — particularly the period from 1917 to 1989 or 1991. And you must ask yourself if the histories that have been written during this period can stand the test of time and of subsequent events.

Of course, this same question applies to my own work as well, because it was created during this particular era. Recently I wrote an article for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* entitled “The Fragility of Triumph.” Recently there has been quite a lot of talk about the triumph of liberal democracy and the beginning of a “New World Order.” In my view, though, this is not a solid, but rather a fragile triumph. I try to show that this fragility is necessarily connected with our system, the liberal [or liberal-democratic] system, and therefore cannot win such a total (or totalitarian) victory as that of the Bolsheviks in 1917.

I believe that new problems of historical interpretation have arisen since the fall of Communism. I hope still to be able to do something in that regard, although my main task remains that of a historian. My latest book recapitulates, to a certain extent, everything I’ve written. Paradoxically, and for the first time, National Socialism is the sole subject of the work, but on a higher dimension, so to speak. This work is not entitled “National Socialism: A History,” or anything like that. Its title is *Streitpunkte: Heutige und künftige Kontroversen um den Nationalsozialismus* (“Points of Contention: Current and Future Controversies Concerning National Socialism”). It is a sort of ‘literature on the literature,’ in which I explain the various points of conflict. For example, was there more historical continuity or discontinuity in the phenomenon of National Socialism? There was both, of course, but which factor is more important? Or, can National Socialism be called anti-modern or modern, or both? These are the current controversies I try to explain. And, naturally, my own views are evident throughout the book. [*Streitpunkte* is reviewed elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*.]

Because I seek to be objective where such a perspective is difficult to achieve, I imagine that the latter third of the book, in particular, will cause some people to again say this is the writing of an “apologist.” However, this is no apology, but rather simply an effort to offer a many-sided picture based on some clearly acknowledged and universally valid maxims or guidelines. This means, for example, that the history of National Socialism must be subjected to same critical methods as every other historical phenomenon. This does not mean, of course, that this is exactly like other historical phenomena, but rather that, by applying the same methods, one will best discover the differences.

Because I have now entered my eighth decade, I think this will be my last work as an historian of fascism. In a general sense, this work which began in 1963, actually started with a small article on Mussolini I wrote three years earlier. Now, with the completion of *Streitpunkte*, I do not intend to write any more on this subject. I want to return — at least to a certain degree — to philosophy, which was my point of departure. I do not mean so-called “scientific philosophy.” While it is not yet entirely clear in my mind what sort of philosophy this will be, I intend an approach that takes history more into account than is normally the case with philosophers.

Notes

1. ☐ This lecture is published in English in: James Knowlton and Truett Cates, translators, *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1993), pp. 1-15.
An adaptation of this 1980 address also appears in English under the title, “Between Myth and Revisionism? The Third Reich in the Perspective of the 1980s,” in: H. W. Koch, ed., *Aspects of the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1985), pp. 17-38.
2. ☐ Anson Rabinbach writing in *New German Critique*, No. 44, Spring-Summer 1988, p. 3.
This special issue is devoted to the *Historikerstreit*.
3. ☐ Nolte’s article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 6, 1986, is entitled “Die Vergangenheit, die nicht vergehen will” (“The past that will not pass: A speech that could be written but not delivered”). An English-language translation appears in: *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (1993), pp. 18-23.
4. ☐ *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, pp. 19, 20.
5. ☐ From Nolte’s 1980 lecture, in: *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (1993), pp. 3-4, 9, 14-15.
In his June 1986 *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* article, Nolte wrote: “Those who desire to envision history not as a mythologem but rather in its essential context are forced to a central conclusion: If history, in all its darkness and its horrors, but also in its confusing novelty, is to have meaning for coming generations, this meaning must be the liberation from collectivist thinking.” (*Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, p. 22.)
6. ☐ *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, p. 8.
7. ☐ *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, p. 22.
In his 1980 lecture, Nolte wrote that “Auschwitz is not primarily a result of traditional anti-Semitism and was not just one more case of ‘genocide.’ It was the fear-borne reaction to the acts of annihilation that took place during the Russian Revolution. The German copy was many times more irrational than the original ... but it fails to alter the fact that the so-called annihilation of the Jews by the Third Reich was a reaction or a distorted copy and not a first act or an original.” (*Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, pp. 13-14.)
8. ☐ *Die Zeit*, July 11, 1986. Habermas’ essay appears in English in: *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (1993), pp. 34-44.
9. ☐ See: “Attack Against Auto of German ‘Revisionist’ Historian,” *IHR Newsletter*, July 1988, p. 5.; Nolte mentioned the attack during his conversation with this writer, but seemed to treat it as a minor incident.
On February 6, 1993, about 20 youths of this same anarchist-leftist group of “autonomists” (Autonomen) attacked and brutally beat Alain de Benoist, the noted French intellectual and editor, at a lecture in Berlin.
10. ☐ The English-language edition, entitled *Three Faces of Fascism*, was first published in London in 1965, and then, in 1966, in New York by Holt, Rinehart and Winston. In this

study Nolte examines the phenomena of the French “Action Française,” Italian Fascism and German National Socialism.

11. ☞ This is a reference to a long-standing argument among historians as to whether the emergence of a German national state in the 19th century followed a process of “normal” development similar to other Western nations, particularly in terms of democratic institutions, or whether it had a separate dynamic of its own. The latter notion of a German Sonderweg or “special path” implies a development without democratic values.
12. ☞ *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg, 1917-1945: Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus* (Proyläen, 1987).
13. ☞ This generation of historians, Nolte said to me, “accepted, to a certain degree at least, the reproaches made against this older generation that they had not been so innocent, that they had participated in the National Socialist regime. Take the case of Gerhard Ritter. He had obviously been persecuted. In 1944 he was arrested, and was jailed for his connection with the 20th of July plot to overthrow Hitler. Earlier, though, he had been a very pronounced German nationalist. Doubtless he had certain sympathies for the National Socialists as long as they appeared to be just German nationalists and anti-Communists. Later on, though, he became critical, and was then arrested.”
14. ☞ Armin Mohler, a leading figure in the European intellectual movement known as the “New Right” (*Nouvelle Droite*), is the author of several books, including a major study of German intellectual conservatism during the Weimar Republic, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland, 1918-1932* (first edition published in 1950). In a more recent book, *Der Nasenring* (1989), Mohler deals sympathetically with the revisionist critique of the Holocaust story. An article based on this writer’s recent interview with Mohler will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal*.
15. ☞ Carl Schmitt (1888-1985) is a leading figure in the intellectual history of German conservatism. His work is a critical part of a revived focus on key ideas of national political institutions and the constitutional principles of government.
16. ☞ According to Nolte, “This Gruppe 47 was connected to one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party who was, for a short time, mayor of Berlin. I first met him in an assembly of this organization where, as a young attorney, he spoke and later on he had a great political career.”

About the Author

Ian B. Warren is the pen name of Donald Warren, who for years was an associate professor of sociology at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan, where he was also chairman of the university’s department of sociology and anthropology. He received a doctorate in sociology from the University of Michigan. Among his writings were two books, *The Radical Center: Middle Americans and the Politics of Alienation*, published in 1976, and *Radio Priest: Charles Coughlin, the Father of Hate Radio* (1996). He died in May 1997, at the age of 61.

From *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 1), pages 15-22.

January/February 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 1), page 23

Jean-Claude Pressac's New Auschwitz Book

A Brief Response to a Widely-Acclaimed Rebuttal of Holocaust Revisionism

[Robert Faurisson](#)

During the last several months, quite a lot of attention has been devoted to a new book on “The Crematories of Auschwitz” by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac. Published in late September by France’s National Center for Scientific Research, it supposedly provides definitive proof that the “Holocaust deniers” are wrong. An Associated Press article that has appeared in a number of American newspapers, for example, tells readers that, according to “Holocaust experts,” the new book “will provide irrefutable proof to combat those who claim the Holocaust ... didn’t happen.” Pressac himself says that his 210-page work provides “the definitive rebuttal of revisionist theories.”

Such talk is a mark of progress. It confirms that a genuine debate about the supposed extermination gas chambers is underway. It further shows that the tempo of this debate is now being set by the revisionist skeptics, and that the defenders of the orthodox Holocaust story now feel obliged to respond to specific revisionist arguments. In the following essay, Dr. Faurisson provides a brief, preliminary critique of Pressac’s new book, which itself is largely an effort to discredit the French revisionist scholar’s meticulous research and findings. Much more about Pressac’s book — by Faurisson and others — will appear in forthcoming issues of the Journal.

In 1989, French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac published in English a massive book deceptively entitled [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#). In my review of this book (published in the spring and summer 1991 issues of the Journal), I noted that it contains hundreds of details about the camp itself, the crematoria buildings, the ovens, the typhus epidemics, the disinfestation gas chambers (with Zyklon B or by other means), and even many details about the private life of the author.

Nothing About Execution Gas Chambers

But as I pointed out, there is nothing in this 564-page book about the alleged execution gas chambers, except what Pressac himself called, instead of “proofs,” only “beginnings of proofs” or “criminal traces.” The mountain had given birth to a mouse and, as a matter of fact, the mouse was Revisionist, because many of Pressac’s statements were revisionist.

My Unanswered Challenge

Since 1978, I have repeated a challenge:

Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber! Stop giving me words. Stop showing me a building, a door, a wall or, sometimes, only hair or shoes. I need a full picture of one of those fantastic chemical slaughterhouses. I need a physical representation of the extraordinary weapon of an unprecedented crime. If you dare to say that what tourists are shown in some camps is, or was, such a gas chamber, come on and say it ...

This challenge has never been answered. In Washington, DC, the "Holocaust" memorial museum shows visitors the door of something that Pressac himself describes in his 1989 book (pp. 555-557) as a non-homicidal disinfestation gas chamber in Majdanek. Pressac did not answer my challenge in 1989. Does he answer it in his new book, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse* ("The Crematoria of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Killing")? The answer is definitely No.

One (Phony) Proof

Pressac's new book is, in essence, nothing but a summary of his 1989 English-language work. Of the 60 documents he cites, none really pertain to execution gas chambers, except one that Pressac describes as a proof (not more than one) of the existence of one execution gas chamber in Auschwitz. In fact, it is a simple letter, a commercial letter, with no mention of secrecy, from the German firm of Topf and Sons to the Auschwitz construction office ("Bauleitung"). It is about hydrocyanic acid (HCN) gas detectors in one of the crematoria. The engineer who signed the letter says that they have tried in vain to get from five different firms the ten required gas detectors and that, if they ever do, they will tell the construction office. Pressac contends that HCN gas detectors are of no use in a crematory except, if, in this case, it was used as an execution gas chamber.

This is an inadmissible conclusion. Zyklon B (which is essentially HCN) is a commercial pest control agent that has been used since 1922 in countries around the world. In Auschwitz it was used extensively in the disinfestation of all infected premises, especially to combat typhus. In the mortuaries of the crematoria there were plenty of infected corpses. These places sometimes needed fumigation. In 1980, I published a German document (classified by Allied officials as Nuremberg document NI-9912) about the fumigation process with Zyklon B: The word for fumigation was *Vergasung* ("gassing"), and the word for gas detector was "*Gasrestnachweisgerät*." This was quite common. In Auschwitz poison gas was used to kill lice, not people.

800,000 Dead?

In a famous 1955 film, "Night and Fog" ("*Nuit et Brouillard*"), which is shown in every school in France (and many in the United States), the figure of the dead in Auschwitz is said to have been nine million. The Nuremberg Tribunal established that it had been four million (Doc. USSR-008). On the Auschwitz-Birkenau monument it was also four million but, in 1990, they chiseled out this figure. In his 1989 English-language book, Pressac wrote (p. 553) that it was between one million and a million and a half. Now, in 1993, in his new French-language book, he says 775,000 dead, rounded out to 800,000. (Among those, he maintains, 630,000 Jews were gassed.) The actual figure of Auschwitz deaths between 1939 and 1945 is probably closer to 150,000, mostly because of epidemics, starvation and overwork.

Lanzmann Incensed

Claude Lanzmann, maker of the Holocaust film “Shoah,” is incensed at Pressac. He says that the entire contents of this new book are already “tremendously well known,” except for the gas detector document that, he adds, certainly will not convince the revisionists. He says that revisionism is a catastrophe, in both the common sense of the word as well as in the philosophical sense, that is, a change of era. He thinks that Pressac is in fact a revisionist who uses the material and physical arguments of a Faurisson. (See *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30.)

An Expert Report

Pressac is in fact a con artist. This I showed in my 1991 review, and this I will show in a review that is to appear in a forthcoming issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. But the value of Pressac’s book is that the believers in the “Holocaust,” at least in France, finally acknowledge that this “Holocaust” must now be treated as a scholarly or scientific matter. We only have to take them at their word, and to say:

“Okay! Let’s begin at the beginning. We need an expert report about the weapon of the crime. If you think that Fred Leuchter is wrong in his forensic expert report — as well as [Germar Rudolf](#), Walter Lüftl and the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow (what about your silence on this?) — there is an obvious solution: produce your own expert report, or commission an international committee to do so. In this way you will answer our challenge: you will show us or draw us a Nazi gas chamber.”

About the Author

Robert Faurisson, Europe’s foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar, is a frequent *Journal* contributor.

January/February 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 1), page 25

'Best Witness': Mel Mermelstein, Auschwitz and the IHR

by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Fourteen years ago, over Labor Day weekend in 1979, the Institute for Historical Review held its very first conference at Northrop University in Los Angeles. At that time, the Institute announced its offer of a reward of \$50,000 to the first person to prove that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz.

A little over a year later, in the spring of 1981, Mel Mermelstein, a southern California businessman and self-described Holocaust survivor, claimed that reward, and then sued the Institute for \$17 million.

On October 9, 1981, in response to a motion by Mermelstein, Judge Thomas Johnson of the Superior Court of California in Los Angeles declared:

Under Evidence Code Section 452(h), this court does take judicial notice of the fact that Jews were gassed to death at the Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Poland during the summer of 1944... It is not reasonably subject to dispute, and it is capable of immediate and accurate determination by resort to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy. It is simply a fact.

Because of the prejudicial effect of this action, the IHR decided not to proceed with the suit, and instead settled the matter by signing a formal letter of apology to Mermelstein on July 24, 1985, for the pain, anguish, and suffering he sustained relating to the \$50,000 reward offer, and agreeing to pay him \$90,000 to settle the case. (For details on the settlement, see "About the IHR/Mermelstein Settlement," below.)

Encouraged by this success, Mermelstein later brought yet another suit for \$11 million against the Institute charging malicious prosecution, defamation, conspiracy to inflict emotional distress, and intentional infliction of emotional distress. Yet on Thursday, September 19, 1991, in the Superior Court at Los Angeles, Mermelstein voluntarily dismissed most of his complaints. (Earlier that day, Judge Stephen Lachs had dismissed Mermelstein's complaint of "malicious prosecution.") This victory not only saved the Institute for Historical Review, but also substantially overturned the negative effects of the both the 1981 judicial notice and the 1985 settlement. (For more on this sweeping legal victory, see the October 1991 IHR Newsletter.)

The First Case

To appreciate the ramifications of this stunning reversal of fortunes, one must review the convoluted connection between Mermelstein and the IHR.

In the first ("reward") case — and despite absurdities in his reward claim obvious to any knowledgeable student of Auschwitz — Mermelstein was able to mount an aggressive attack against the IHR in the courts. He was well armed with first-rate legal assistance, much of it donated, not to mention overwhelming approval and support from the political establishment, the mass media, and southern California's influential Jewish community.

Meanwhile, the Institute had difficulty getting any legal counsel whatsoever, let alone the kind of skilled, dedicated, and fearless attorneys needed to withstand Mermelstein's publicity juggernaut and his blitz in the courtrooms. Recall the hurricane of libel and slander from the press, coming at a time when what Alfred Lilienthal has called Holocaustomania was at high tide in America. In an atmosphere of constant smears against the IHR and Revisionism, every survivor hallucination ("Nazi 'smiled' as dog ate Jew," to cite one headline of the day) gained instant currency in a corrupt media willing to accept such stories unquestionably and spread them as gospel.

Then recall the constant physical attacks that the enemies of truth and freedom aimed at IHR, its staff, and its supporters. In addition to harassment, including telephone threats, there was vandalism of IHR staff cars and homes, a physical beating of IHR founder Willis Carto, and attacks by gunfire and Molotov cocktail against the IHR office. Three separate firebombings culminated in the arson of July 4, 1984, which resulted in the total destruction of the IHR's office and warehouse. Let us also not forget the role of local Zionist thugs in carrying out much of this intimidation: I refer to the goonwork of that gang led by the revolting Irving Rubin, the so-called national chairman of the Jewish Defense League — but whom I prefer to regard as the Grand Wizard, or, better, the Grand Dullard, of the Kosher Ku Klux Klan.

Judicial Notice

And so, with the help of high-priced lawyers, a corrupt media, and Jewish terrorists, Mermelstein seemingly laid to rest the historical issue by obtaining Judge Johnson's ridiculous judicial notice. His lawyers went on to concoct a massive \$17 million assault for breach of contract, conspiracy, intentional infliction of emotional distress, and so forth, until IHR had virtually no choice but to capitulate by settling out of court in preference to losing a potentially ruinous trial.

The frustrating thing for all informed and conscientious Revisionists was that the IHR's researchers were aware from the beginning, thanks to the very affidavit Mermelstein presented to claim the \$50,000 reward, that when he described watching his mother and sisters enter "gas chamber no. 5" through a tunnel, he was speaking of an impossibility, an absurdity that became even more absurd six months later, when, in sworn testimony, he said he'd seen them going down the stairs into the tunnel to the gas chamber. Why? Because even then it was well known to all students of Auschwitz that "gas chamber no. 5" — in fact, Auschwitz Krematorium building V — had no stairs descending from the outside, no tunnel, and no basement. It was entirely above ground!

As the IHR's staff and supporters gathered more evidence, in the months and years of the first trial, they learned more. In Mermelstein's own book, *By Bread Alone*, which offers a detailed account of the single night and day he spent at Birkenau (May 21-22, 1944), and which was published only two years before his sworn affidavit in application for the reward, Mermelstein wrote nothing of witnessing his mother and sisters enter any building at all, let alone any gas chamber — whether down the stairs, up the ladder, through the window, or down the chimney.

During the course of the long discovery phase, that is, the period in which the opposing parties gather evidence to support their case, researchers for the IHR, led by Louis A. Rollins, were able

to gather much more information about what Mermelstein had said (or hadn't said), and was still saying, about his experiences in wartime Europe.

Working from a mass of statements, either direct or reported, made by Mermelstein about his past life (paying particular attention to his time at Auschwitz and other camps), Rollins was able to compile a list of instances in which, it seemed to him, Mermelstein had either:

- First, contradicted himself in his various statements on what he had seen or experienced during the Holocaust (for example, his several different accounts of how and where his father died), or;
- Second, made absurd claims about what had happened to him and others during the Holocaust — for example, witnessing a non-existent tunnel leading to the imaginary cellar of Krematorium 5, or being ordered to wash with soap made from dead Jews.

Contradictions and absurdities — Lou Rollins compiled 33 of them on a list that ran to eleven pages. But because of the judicial notice, all of this research went to naught. How, then, did it prove important in the second case?

The IHR Fights Back

It happened like this: In 1984 an independent writer and journalist by the name of Bradley Smith approached the Institute seeking funding for a newsletter; Smith had decided to take on the thankless task of alerting America's journalists to the falsehood and fraud they were accepting and disseminating uncritically under the rubric of the Holocaust. Smith went on to publish some of the most flagrant instances of these claims in his newsletter *Prima Facie*, and not surprisingly, among the ripest contradictions and absurdities in the lore of the Holocaust were the testimony and statements of Mel Mermelstein, as researched by Lou Rollins and studied, with due diligence — remember that phrase, due diligence — by Bradley Smith.

Alas, Smith's trumpet calls in *Prima Facie* went unheeded by our nation's press corps. In July 1985 came the settlement and the triumph of Mermelstein, followed by his false gloating about how he had collected the reward, and his false claim, made during a radio broadcast from New York that August, that the IHR had signed the 1981 judicial notice, and thus accepted the "fact" of homicidal gassings of Jews at Auschwitz.

As had happened after the 1981 judicial notice, tributes and congratulations flowed in to the "survivor" from around the globe. How galling it was for Revisionists to see Mermelstein vaunt himself to the nation and the world as the man who proved the Holocaust, who had humbled IHR and the Revisionists!

Undaunted

In the wake of this bitter defeat, IHR had two tasks:

- First, to explain the settlement to its subscribers and supporters around the world, to reassure them that IHR had accepted a compromise to avoid the expense and uncertainty of trial but — and in spite of what Mel Mermelstein and our other enemies were saying — had not abandoned its skepticism on the gas chambers, and had not accepted the judicial notice.
- Second, to show the flag, to proclaim our defiance, to fight back.

In the September 1986 issue of the IHR Newsletter (then editor) Bradley Smith took direct aim, not at the so-called Holocaust, not at every one of its survivors, but at that minority he firmly believed, on the basis of a reasonably careful (or “duly diligent”) study of the evidence, was actively engaged in spreading falsehoods about their experiences. Smith wrote of “the vainglorious prevaricators,” “the false-tale spinners who claim to speak for the survivor community,” and “such demonstrable frauds as Melvin Mermelstein and Elie Wiesel.” Smith’s good faith assertion that Mermelstein was a fraud was based on the previously mentioned list that Rollins had compiled for the first trial.

The sweet taste of victory had done nothing to mellow Mermelstein’s disposition, and when he learned of Smith’s short IHR Newsletter article, he sued for defamation.

The Second Case

After Mermelstein launched his second suit, the Institute, learning of his misrepresentation of the settlement of the reward case, filed a defamation suit of its own against Mermelstein in August 1986. The IHR never served this suit, and later voluntarily dismissed it. Thereupon Mermelstein sued the IHR for malicious prosecution, and with the help of his attorney, Jeffrey N. Mausner (formerly of the federal government’s “Nazi-hunting” Office of Special Investigations), concocted an \$11 million suit for four causes of action: libel, malicious prosecution, conspiracy to inflict emotional distress, and intentional infliction of emotional distress.

This suit was brought against four defendants: the Legion for the Survival of Freedom, the non-profit corporation through which IHR functions; [Liberty Lobby](#), the nationalist and populist institution based in Washington, DC; Willis Carto, founder of both IHR and the [Liberty Lobby](#); and the southern California law firm of Robert Von Esch, Jr., which had defended Liberty Lobby in the reward case, and had filed the IHR’s defamation suit against Mermelstein in 1986.

Pre-trial Shenanigans

The lead-up to trial was both protracted and eventful. After hearing of the defamation suit against him, Mermelstein demanded that the Hartford Insurance Company, where he had his homeowner’s insurance, pay his legal costs. When Hartford refused, pointing out (reasonably enough) that Mermelstein had never been served, attorney Mausner represented the IHR’s suit as a big threat to Mermelstein. Mausner was able to intimidate Hartford with his client’s Holocaust-survivor status to the extent of securing \$60 thousand for Mermelstein in a settlement, as well as obtaining very generous legal fees for himself. Apparently, Hartford was unaware that at this same time Mausner was maintaining in a California court that IHR’s suit was entirely groundless and frivolous.

In February 1989, a process server seeking Willis Carto on behalf of Mermelstein mistook the IHR’s former accountant, Robert Fenchel, for Carto at the Ninth Revisionist Conference at the Old World Shopping Center. That November, Judge John Zebrowski found that, in spite of the non-service, the IHR was delinquent in not notifying Mermelstein of his mistake: Zebrowski imposed sanctions of \$3,000, which the Institute was obliged to pay before it could begin to defend itself.

This was followed by a number of unfavorable pretrial rulings: Mermelstein was allowed to add new legal theories to his libel suit, four years after it had been filed. The IHR was not allowed to make use of a California law which allows a newspaper to retract offending statements and thus avoid suit. The Institute’s motion for summary judgment on whether the Institute had probable

cause to sue Mermelstein for libel (and thus defeat his malicious prosecution complaint) was rejected. Finally, in January 1991 Mermelstein succeeded in obtaining a second judicial notice of gassing at Auschwitz.

Nevertheless, not everything went Mermelstein's way: two judges, both Jewish, who believed they might not be able to be impartial, did the decent thing and disqualified themselves.

The Best Defense

After nearly five years of pre-trial maneuvering and legal jousting, the trial at last loomed before us. The IHR was represented by William Hulsy of Irvine. [Liberty Lobby](#)'s attorney was Mark Lane, an experienced trial lawyer, a long-time fighter for civil rights, noted critic of the Warren Report, bestselling author, movie scriptwriter, and anti-Zionist Jew. Lane served as the defendants' lead attorney, dealing primarily with the conspiracy complaint. Hulsy was responsible for combating the defamation charges, and for formulating the overall trial strategy.

They were assisted by Charles Purdy of San Diego, who also represented [Liberty Lobby](#), and by Willis Carto, who defended himself. Finally, the Von Esches (primarily Mark Von Esch, son of Robert, Jr.) defended their firm, and were to concentrate on dealing with the malicious prosecution complaint.

William Hulsy had been recommended to us by John Schmitz, the former US Congressman and very good friend of Revisionism and IHR. A successful attorney with experience in more than 200 jury trials, Hulsy finally agreed to take our case in spite of warnings from friends and colleagues, and his own apprehensions about possible damage to his career.

Hulsy firmly believed that the case could be fought and won on its legal merits, and that to make the main issue the Holocaust — as Mermelstein's attorneys were seeking to do — might very well result in an annihilating defeat. He decided to oppose the libel complaint by convincingly demonstrating to a jury, if possible, that everything Smith had written about Mermelstein was true. Failing that, he would show that Mermelstein was “a public figure,” who had thrust himself to the forefront of participation in a public controversy in order to influence the resolution of the issues involved (his constitutional privilege, according to the ruling of the Supreme Court under Earl Warren, in the famous New York Times vs. Sullivan ruling of 1964). Hulsy would also seek to show that the question of Mermelstein's credibility as an eyewitness to the gassings and the Holocaust was a matter of public concern; that Brad Smith had exercised “due diligence,” not reckless disregard for the truth, in his research for the offending article; that Brad's description of Mel was not based on personal malice; and that the IHR's Newsletter was not (as Mermelstein sought to argue) disseminated to the public at large, but was instead a periodical circulated to a limited readership that shared a specific interest in Revisionism. Establishing any or all of these things might suffice to defeat the libel complaint; failing that, to minimize damages.

Thanks to the evidence carefully compiled by Lou Rollins and others, we could show that what had appeared in the IHR Newsletter about Mermelstein was true. This alone should have been enough to defeat the libel complaint, but Hulsy believed that it might not be enough to convince a Los Angeles jury.

My Assignment

My first assignment was to demonstrate to Bill Hulsy that the IHR and revisionists were not “neo-Nazis” or cranky flat-earthers, but responsible researchers with a different viewpoint on

modern history. After winning his confidence, he set me to work gathering, compiling and evaluating evidence to defend against Mermelstein's libel complaint, based on Hulsy's research and understanding of the law. Again and again, Hulsy stressed that he wanted evidence to win the trial, not to disprove the Holocaust. But I must confess that I cheated: I sought every bit of evidence I could lay my hands on about Mermelstein's actual experiences during the Second World War, and what he'd said about them over the years.

Aided by numerous volunteers who worked not only in California but across the United States, and in Germany, Poland, and Israel, we searched for whatever we could find about Mermelstein and his family. This included evidence about his mental soundness (Mermelstein had admitted to being under the care of a psychiatrist); information as to his litigation with persons other than the IHR; newspaper reports quoting Mermelstein on his Auschwitz experiences; and, of course, wartime documents from Auschwitz and elsewhere that would disprove his claims about witnessing atrocities, above all the alleged gassing of his mother and sisters at Auschwitz in May 1944.

My first step was to nail down the existing evidence, much of it from the first trial: Mermelstein's sworn statements in the form of transcribed depositions (of which there were eleven, running to some twelve hundred pages of close interrogation by IHR and [Liberty Lobby](#) lawyers), written responses to interrogatories, and the like; Mermelstein's writings, above all his autobiographical account of his concentration camp experiences, *By Bread Alone*; and his public statements on his Holocaust years, reported in more than a hundred different newspaper and magazine articles, and on several recordings of presentations by Mermelstein at synagogues or seminars as well as on radio broadcasts.

Further evidence came from history and reference books, such as Jewish encyclopedias; public documents and records, including statements made by Mermelstein to authorities at the Auschwitz State Museum and the German consulate in Los Angeles; wartime documents from the German camps; and Mermelstein's US Army medical records.

As this mass of paper and audiotape accumulated, I had to read and re-read, to analyze and evaluate, to extract and collate and tabulate the evidence that would serve our defense against Mermelstein's complaint that he was libeled by the IHR's description of him as "a vainglorious prevaricator," "a false-tale spinner," and "a demonstrable fraud."

Contradictions and Absurdities

While Mermelstein was a rather difficult witness who had attempted (sometimes with success) to intimidate IHR attorneys during depositions by playing the Holocaust card, he was often boastful and extravagant, and provided many nuggets for analysis and comparison.

I began my compilation of contradictions and absurdities in Mermelstein's Holocaust claims with the list that Lou Rollins had put together. With much more evidence and a great deal more time than was available to Rollins, I compiled a new list, longer and more thorough than his original, but including many of the discrepancies and exaggerations that he had caught years earlier.

This listing had to be not only exhaustive, but reasonable and persuasive. Citing mere slips of the tongue, or mistakes attributable to sloppy journalists, would not only have been poor scholarship, it wouldn't have persuaded a jury.

Caught

In all, I discovered 30 absurdities, 22 contradictions, and a number of exaggerations. These examples went directly to the matter of Mermelstein as a “demonstrable fraud,” a “vainglorious prevaricator,” and a “false-tale spinner.”

Among the absurdities were the nonexistent subterranean tunnel to the above-ground crematory, the soap made from Jewish bodies, a claim that Auschwitz camp “kapos” were rewarded for every prisoner they killed, and that there was a railroad track leading from the crematory to a pond for dumping ashes.

Contradictions

Since the summer of 1980, Mermelstein has repeatedly stated that he saw his mother and sisters go into a gas chamber, or into tunnel leading to it, from a distance of “a stone’s throw away,” a distance of “40, 50 feet,” and that he watched the “gas chamber” building for “a couple of hours.” Remarkably, though, Mermelstein made no mention of witnessing any of this in any account available prior to 1980, including his supposedly autobiographical book, *By Bread Alone*.

This is nothing compared to his varying versions of the fate that befell his father. In a declaration given in November 1969 at the German consulate in Los Angeles, Mermelstein said his father died during “evacuation marches to Blechhammer from other camps.” According to the account given in *By Bread Alone*, though, Mermelstein’s father died in bed after working himself to death, trading food for cigarettes. In a May 1981 deposition, his father had died of overwork and exhaustion, while in a June 1985 deposition, he died of “exhaustion, cruelty, starvation, and beatings.” According to still other accounts given by Mel Mermelstein, his father was “gassed at Auschwitz.”

Mermelstein has given similarly contradictory accounts of what he did while interned at Auschwitz (between approximately May 21 and July 1, 1944). In a statement given in November 1969 at the German consulate in Los Angeles, he had “no occupation.” Similarly, in a May 1981 deposition, he declared that had done “practically nothing ... just some detail work” and “no physical work.”

In February 1987, a dramatically different account of Mermelstein’s time in Auschwitz appeared. Ed Koch (who was then mayor of New York City) told of a meeting with Mermelstein during a tour of Auschwitz. Koch reported in a newspaper article that Mermelstein had told him: “I was part of the special detail which hauled the bodies from the gas chamber and took them to the crematoria.”

Exaggerations

In claiming that Auschwitz camp kapos would kill an inmate if “they didn’t like the shape of your nose,” Mermelstein seemed to suggest that his own nose was not unattractive. Survival could be just as cruel as death, Mel implied on another occasion, because the bread given to Auschwitz inmates (during the period when he claimed to have done “practically nothing”) was intended not for nourishment, but to kill inmates “as fast as they expected us to die.” At Buchenwald, Mermelstein would have us believe, he went swimming “in blood,” even though he and others had been transported to Buchenwald “only for one purpose” — to be disposed of in crematorium rather than “litter ... the beautiful towns and cities with our bodies.”

Fortunately, Mermelstein and many others like him miraculously survived. One of these friends, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli (who wrote his own book about his stay entitled, *Auschwitz: A Doctor’s Eye-*

witness Account), was a truly exceptional survivor. In a 1981 deposition, Mermelstein claimed that Dr. Nyiszli, whom he supposedly knew personally, would testify on Mermelstein's behalf about the alleged crimes of Dr. Josef Mengele at Auschwitz. At that time, though, Nyiszli had been dead for more than 25 years.

The evidence we were able to collect about Mermelstein's credibility not only persuaded our attorneys that this was a very unreliable witness, to say the least; it also, I believe, gave them additional confidence to challenge Mermelstein directly.

New Evidence

In addition to all the evidence cited above, we obtained yet another piece of potentially explosive evidence: a document that indicates that Mermelstein's sisters may have been alive nearly five months after he insisted they were killed. This secret German document, dated October 12, 1944, lists 500 Jewish females who were being transported from Auschwitz to Altenburg (a sub-camp of Buchenwald). Among those listed are Edith and Magda Mermelstein, names identical to those of Mermelstein's two sisters. This document is dated almost five months after the day in May 1944 when Mermelstein swears he saw them gassed. While the birth dates of Edith and Magda as typed on this document do not tally precisely with those given by Mermelstein for his two sisters in *By Bread Alone*, there is good reason to believe that the two women on the list were, in fact, his sisters.

Forewarned and Forearmed

From the volume of evidence we acquired, we learned two important things:

- First, that Mermelstein is simply not a credible witness to gassings at Auschwitz, or to very much else involving concentration camps and the Holocaust. The contradictions, exaggerations, and absurdities lovingly noted and recorded by the IHR's researchers amply demonstrate this, not merely to Revisionists and others skeptical of "survivor" testimony, but any knowledgeable, intelligent, and fair-minded person. Whether Mermelstein is fibbing, to others or to himself; whether he has forgotten; or whether whatever he did experience has so deranged his mind as to render him incapable of rationally recounting the facts, his testimony proves nothing about the existence of Nazi gas chambers or a policy to exterminate Jews. If anything, careful analysis of his statements indicates the opposite: that there were no Auschwitz gas chambers or German policy to exterminate the Jews.
- Second, there is no evidence that Mermelstein ever claimed to have witnessed the gassing of his mother and sisters until after he learned of the IHR's reward offer. He apparently first claimed to have personally seen them enter a so-called gas chamber in letters attacking the IHR that appeared in newspapers in southern California and Israel in the summer of 1980.

Neither his book, *By Bread Alone* (published in 1979), nor a statement made for the Auschwitz State Museum in 1967 about his wartime experiences in the camp, nor a sworn affidavit given at the German consulate in Los Angeles in 1969 about crimes he had witnessed during his time at Auschwitz, contains a word about witnessing any gassing.

Similarly, there is no mention whatsoever of Mermelstein having witnessed the entry of his mother and sisters into a gas chamber, or anything like that, in any of the several detailed press accounts about his industrious activity as a lecturer, exhibitor of artifacts, and museum proprietor published prior to the 1979 reward offer.

The Trial

After several postponements in the first half of 1991, the trial was upon us. It followed a new Mermelstein media propaganda blitz, the centerpiece of which was the made-for-television movie *Never Forget*. This lurid and false account of the “reward case” was broadcast nationwide over the Turner cable television network in April 1991 (or just before the original trial date).

To make things more interesting, shortly before trial the Von Esches, on whose shoulders virtually our entire defense of the malicious prosecution complaint rested, threw in the towel and capitulated. After already enduring years of vituperation as agents of a worldwide Nazi cabal, they gave in to fear that their law practice would be ruined.

The Von Esches settled with a payment to Mermelstein of \$100,000, and a craven — I'm sorry to say — apology agreeing that, yes, Jews had been gassed at Auschwitz, and that millions more had perished in Auschwitz and other camps at the hands of the Germans.

Then we got a break. We learned that the trial judge, Stephen Lachs, was Jewish, a member of the liberal American Civil Liberties Union, and the first avowed homosexual to serve as a judge in California history. As it happened, Lachs turned out to be a conscientious and impartial judge, despite the sensitive nature of the case and the blatant attempts by Mermelstein's attorneys to appeal to his Jewish background.

The combination of Mark Lane's trial savvy and Bill Hulsy's careful strategy brought about, against all expectations (ours as well as theirs), an annihilating victory for the forces of historical truth and freedom of inquiry. The 49 pretrial motions crafted by Hulsy to withstand and counter Mermelstein's case were like a mighty fortress protecting us and blocking the enemy's advance. Thus, even to get to a jury trial, Mermelstein's three lawyers — lead attorney Lawrence Heller, Peter Bersin, and Jeff Mausner — were forced to attack across legal mine fields, negotiate factual tank traps and concertina wire, dare procedural pill boxes and machine gun nests. The plaintiff's legal assault was contained at the outset, suffering heavy casualties during the close-in combat over the pre-trial motions. When Mermelstein's lawyers attempted a retreat it quickly turned into a rout. In the end, a downcast plaintiff and his (somewhat bedraggled) lawyers slunk from the courtroom, seemingly dazed by defeat.

Mermelstein Takes the Stand

This is not to say that Mel Mermelstein didn't have his day in court. He and his counsel had unwisely declined to stipulate that he was a “public figure,” as we had tried to establish (mindful of the added protection against defamation suits by public figures provided by the Supreme Court in a landmark 1964 decision). He also contested our motion to sever the determination of that issue from the matters to be decided by the jury. (We had wanted Judge Lachs to rule on this.)

As a result, Mermelstein took the stand, allowing Mark Lane to examine him on the question of whether his activities qualified him as a public figure according to the standards of the court. Mermelstein attempted to argue that he was not a public figure, in spite of his admission on the stand that he is: a published author; the founder of the “Auschwitz Study Foundation”; the curator of a Holocaust museum (that was first a traveling Holocaust exhibition); the willing subject of scores of newspaper and magazine stories, radio and television interviews; an eager accumulator of plaudits and testimonials from state and local governments, and laurels from the likes of Israel's late Prime Minister Menachem Begin; and a lecturer who has spoken, over nearly two decades, at numerous colleges, high schools, synagogues, and so forth, across the United States.

Lane led him carefully through each of these damaging admissions. Evidently Mermelstein had believed that he could represent himself as someone who had been dragged unwillingly into the public arena by the IHR (even though most of his various public activities started before he'd ever heard of the Institute).

After establishing Mermelstein as an author, curator, founder of a non-profit educational organization, political honoree, and media star over the airwaves and in print, Lane zeroed on Mermelstein's activities as a lecturer. About how many lectures had he given on Auschwitz prior to 1985, Lane wanted to know. Here Mermelstein, uncommonly forthcoming so far, began to prevaricate. Despite ample testimony out of his own mouth and pen as to his numerous lectures over the years, testimony of which the defendants were very well aware, Mermelstein claimed that he had given only about as many talks as "the fingers on my hands."

Thereupon Lane flourished a typed list, signed by Mermelstein, of more than 30 lectures given by him in a period of just 18 months in 1981-1982. Mermelstein tried to be crafty: he allowed that he might have lectured more than once at the same place — not the most effective answer, but one that later might defuse the issue for an inattentive jury.

At this point I recalled that in one of his depositions Mermelstein had estimated giving an average of 20 lectures a year on Auschwitz since 1967. I quickly found the statement in a deposition given in 1985. After a break for lunch, Mark Lane confronted Mermelstein with his own words, and then, using a pencil and pad to multiply 18 by 20 (a calculation equalling 360), Lane asked Mermelstein if he hadn't just told the court that he had only given as many lectures as there are fingers on his hands. A vexed Mermelstein then blurted out, "I meant the fingers of my hands and feet!"

At that point, Judge Lachs was seen to roll his eyes heavenward. A few minutes later, Bersin rose to concede his client's status as a public figure.

Judge Lachs Rules

Several days later, after carefully considering the text of Mermelstein's characterization of the IHR's 1985 settlement (which the plaintiff had made on a New York City radio broadcast shortly after that settlement), Judge Lachs declared that Mermelstein's claim that IHR had "signed" the 1981 judicial notice of gassing at Auschwitz could indeed be interpreted by a reasonable man as defamatory. This meant, he ruled, that IHR had had probable cause to sue Mermelstein in 1986, and that thus he had no alternative but to grant the IHR's motion for dismissal of Mermelstein's malicious prosecution complaint.

Soon afterwards, Mermelstein dismissed his libel and conspiracy complaints, and he and his attorneys trundled wearily out of the courtroom, haggling over who would pay for the transcript, a requirement in any appeal.

As reported elsewhere in this issue of the Journal, Mermelstein's appeal of Judge Lachs's dismissal of his malicious prosecution complaint was unanimously rejected by the California Court of Appeal on October 28, which should serve to end the second Mermelstein suit and, perhaps, the long and costly Mermelstein affair.

Best Isn't Good Enough

At one point in a deposition, Mel Mermelstein referred himself as his own “best witness.” In spite of his evident failings as a credible eyewitness to the gas chambers and the Holocaust, I agree with this self-description. In a very real sense, Mermelstein is indeed the best witness to the gas chambers. He twice succeeded in getting judges in the state of California, a trendsetter in legal fashion as in so much else, to pronounce the Auschwitz gassings as indisputable fact.

While sharing with the Elie Wiesels, the Rudolf Vrbas, and the Filip Müllers the same knack for wild exaggerations, bizarre contradictions, and flat absurdities, Mermelstein is unlike them in having submitted his claims to careful scrutiny and relentless cross-examination. And so, while Mel Mermelstein is admittedly so far the best witness to the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, the best clearly isn’t good enough.

If it were to end right here, this report on the great victory by the IHR and its co-defendants would be incomplete. This account — delivered before this Institute’s loyal supporters and contributors, and some of the many researchers who gathered evidence across America and around the world — must appropriately conclude with an expression of our heartfelt thanks to them, and to all our subscribers and supporters. By contributing their time, their expertise, their money and their prayers, they have made this victory possible. With your loyal support, we pledge to carry on the fight for truth and freedom, for the honor of those who can no longer speak, for the enlightenment of those yet unborn, until the final victory.

Theodore J. O’Keefe has published numerous articles on historical and political subjects. This essay is slightly edited from his presentation at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992.

About the IHR/Mermelstein Settlement

This article originally appeared in the IHR Newsletter shortly after the original settlement between the IHR and Mel Mermelstein. I have appended this item to the article above because the terms of the settlement agreement are often misrepresented.

-- Greg Raven

by J. Marcellus

With so many wild rumors still being circulated about the IHR/Mermelstein settlement, we want to remind our readers that, contrary to what has gone out through the press and media:

1. The settlement agreement did not include any provision for a payment of any reward offer, and in fact was not such a payment.
2. The IHR did not accept or in any way agree with Judge Johnson’s ridiculous 1981 “judicial notice” that Jews were “in fact” exterminated in “gas chambers” at Auschwitz.
3. The IHR has not retreated one inch from its well-known position that there is no credible evidence to support the theory that Germans allegedly used homicidal poison gas chambers to exterminate the Jews of Europe.
4. The letter of apology addressed the “suffering” some Jews said they experienced around the \$50,000 award offer. It did not apologize for revisionist theory or revisionist literature in any way.

Following is the complete text of the letter our lawyers signed:

Each of the answering defendants do hereby officially and formally apologize to Mr. Mel Mermelstein, a survivor of Auschwitz-Birkenau and Buchenwald, and all other survivors of Auschwitz for the pain, anguish, and suffering he and all other Auschwitz survivors have sustained relating to the \$50,000 reward offer for proof that 'Jews were gassed in gas chambers at Auschwitz'."

Any person or organization that claims our lawyers signed any apology other than these few lines is either mistaken or knowingly distributing false information.

(J. Marcellus was for many years director of the IHR.)

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Review

Shaping American Thinking Through the Silver Screen

- *Screening History*, by Gore Vidal. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1992. Hardcover. 97 pages. Photographs. ISBN 0-674-79586-5.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Few contemporary American writers pretending to serious literature have boasted as wide a range of concerns, poses, feuds and accomplishments as Gore Vidal. He's run the gamut from *littérateur* (novelist, playwright, essayist, screenwriter) to unsuccessful politician (Democratic candidate for Congress in New York, 1960, and Democratic candidate for senator in California, 1982), to television talk-show oracle (from his days as a fighting liberal on Jack Paar's "Tonight" show to his contemporary command performances, seemingly uncurtailed even by his much criticized public antipathy toward Israel).

Sometimes the stern classicist and defender of America's Old Republican polity, Vidal has been, just as often, the salacious gossip and subject of gossip, which only begins with Vidal's frank and long-standing affirmation of his own homosexuality.

Vidal has been slugged by Norman Mailer, traduced by Truman Capote, called a "goddamn queer" on television by William F. Buckley, Jr., excluded from Jack Kennedy's White House, and grappled with the politruks of American's English and Comparative Literature departments for thumbing his nose at what he calls in *Screening America* their "hacking away at the olive trees of Academe while seeding the Cephisus River with significant algae" (p. 4).

Vidal can offend and enlighten, often doing both at once. This slender book, which contains the William E. Massey Lectures in the History of American Civilization, is no exception. Catty stabs at antagonists and rivals, cutting vignettes of cherished personages (from Franklin Roosevelt to Frank Capra), snide slaps at cherished institutions (Vidal lets his long-standing war with Christianity seep into these pages) combine with sharp insights into American history, particularly as to how America's West Coast (Hollywood) establishment successfully supported the East Coast establishment's dragooning of a fundamentally anti-interventionist populace into the Second World, and subsequent, wars deleterious to the Republic.

The focal point of *Screening America* is the role of moving images (chiefly filmed, although Vidal hardly slights the influence of television "news" casting) on the popular perception of politics and history in America. Vidal, an author of numerous best-sellers, dismisses the import of literature in today's "Agora."

("Today the public seldom mentions a book, though people will often chatter about the screened versions of unread novels." [p. 3] Vidal would surely nod approvingly at these lines of Goethe: "One can talk nonsense, write it too. It will die in his life and soul, everything will stay the same. Idiocy, however, placed before the eye, has a magic right: since it binds the senses, the spirit remains enslaved.")

Chapter One, "The Prince and the Pauper," defers direct comment on history and politics to interweave premise with plot, which largely concerns Vidal's precocious artistic maturation in an extraordinary, moveable household headed by his mother, Nina Gore Vidal Auchincloss Olds, and the succession of fathers, natural and step, designated by that lady's imposing train of married surnames. (For her risqué evaluation of her three mates, according to the author, see page 11.) Vidal's telling of the initial effects of such movies as "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "The Mummy," and "The Prince and the Pauper" on his personal consciousness and aesthetic vision may be of little interest to most readers. Intriguing, though, is his account of his extended family and "tribe," with its ramifications even into the Kennedy White House (through the Auchincloss connection to Jackie), the Carter White House (the author claims to be Jimmy's fifth-cousin), and even unto Bill Clinton's administration (Al Gore is a distant cousin).

Brought up in Washington, Vidal drank deep in the history and symbolism of the "American Republic." (He is one of the few writers honored in the New York-Hollywood agora who can write that last phrase unselfconsciously.) He had various preceptors. Perhaps more than his father, Eugene, who founded three airlines and served as Director of Air Commerce in FDR's first term, the man who placed his stamp on the young Vidal was his grandfather, Senator Thomas Gore of Oklahoma, who despised the pro-war policies of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. As a boy, Gore Vidal spent many hours reading to the blind senator, and clearly imbibed much sense from the old man's aristocratic-populist American republican notions.

Of the first of his grandfather's two great enemies, Vidal writes (p. 34):

It had been hard enough for Wilson to maneuver us into the First World War, as my grandfather believed that he had meant to do as early as 1916. We got nothing much of that war except an all-out assault on the Bill of Rights in 1919 and, of course, the prohibition of alcohol. The world was not even made safe for democracy, a form of government quite alien to the residents of our alabaster cities, much less to those occupants of our fruited plains.

Of the second great enemy of his grandfather (as of all decent men), Vidal recalls (p. 72) his learning of Franklin Roosevelt's death:

I was delighted, of course. He had got us into the war; he had established a dictatorship; he had defeated my grandfather in the election of 1936. He was also the only president that I could remember, and I was bored to death with him.

Vidal devotes an entire chapter to British-made and -inspired films that, produced in the late 1930s, skillfully promoted British propaganda aims, above all the notion of a special American kinship with and duty to the "mother country" ("a phrase calculated to put on edge," the author writes, "my grandfather's Anglo-Irish false teeth"). Whether produced in America or England, such films as "Henry VIII," "Fire over England," and "That Hamilton Woman" revived the myth of the small, plucky island nation, gallantly striving for its own liberties and those of other countries against dictatorial oppressors. To the young Vidal, and to many other impressionable Americans of the time (p. 39),

On our screens, in the thirties, it seemed as if the only country on earth was England, and there were no great personages who were not English, or impersonated by English actors. I recall no popular films about Washington or Jefferson or Lincoln the president.

On the influence in those years of the large English colony in Hollywood, Vidal writes (p. 33):

For those who find disagreeable today's Zionist propaganda, I can only say that gallant little Israel of today must have learned a great deal from the gallant little Englishers of the 1930s. The English kept up a propaganda barrage that was to permeate our entire culture, with all sorts of unexpected results. Since the movies were by now the principal means of getting swiftly to the masses, Hollywood was subtly and not so subtly influenced by British propagandists.

This propaganda offensive buttressed the interventionist forces and battered America's peace party, both then and now, as follows (p. 33):

In the thirties — as in the teens — the country was divided over whether or not the United States should join England and France against Germany. But the division was not exactly right down the middle. I have not consulted any ancient poll, but it is my impression that something like two thirds of our people wanted to stay out of the European war. The so-called liberals — as they are always so-called — included Franklin Roosevelt. The so-called conservatives, like Senator Gore, were against war in general and any war to help the British Empire in particular. Today, when the meanings of so many words have been reversed, the conservatives speak fiercely against the, so-called by them, isolationists on the left, while the left (also known as Paleolithic conservatives) speak of minding our own business and restoring a wrecked polity, thanks to forty years of profitless — for the people at large — imperialism.

(Vidal's strictures on the British cinema offensive should be read in conjunction with Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black's *Hollywood Goes to War*, which details the operations of FDR's wartime Office of War Information, including its recognition of widespread "Anglophobia" among the reactionary American masses, and the attempts by decidedly un-Anglo-Saxon functionaries working in the OWI's Bureau of Motion Pictures to combat English films as aristocratic propaganda that supposedly endangered Allied unity. (The view that such films scanted the sweating serfs of Uncle Joe's "worker's paradise," as well as the Joes and Rosies of FDR's "war effort," revealed a profound misunderstanding of the force of snob appeal to, above all, the wretchedest of the earth.)

In the third and concluding chapter of these lectures, Vidal turns to American history as enacted in Hollywood, above all in of movies about Abe Lincoln (notably John Ford's "The Young Mr. Lincoln," which starred Henry Fonda). The author finds these productions wanting, both for cementing the treacly myth of the "democratic," plastic saint, and for neglecting the all-important war years. Vidal himself has dealt with the Great Emancipator's war years in his historical novel, *Lincoln*, which offended professional keepers of the Lincoln flame by its depiction of a hard-headed, calculating Abe for whom freeing the slaves was just another move in the brutal chess game by which he ultimately saved the Union.

American nationalist that he is, Vidal despises the sanctimonious myth, although he accepts Mr. Lincoln's war, not even pausing to muse on the fearful toll in the best American blood it exacted. And this in spite of the fact that he gave the lectures that comprise this book at Harvard's Memorial Hall, a giant cenotaph to the university's Civil War dead, the names of hundreds and hun-

dreds of whom line its walls. (The names of the Harvard fallen in Southeast Asia could easily be writ large on the roof of a rabbit hutch, although the university seems to have profited enormously from the Vietnam-era prosperity.) Hollywood's failure to present that the Civil War as rivetingly as, say, "Exodus," Vidal regards as a signal national loss, one arguably not unrelated to the lack of regard of America's present cultural elite for any US history before the New Deal, a disdain expressed most eloquently by Norman Podhoretz, who once horrified Vidal by sniffing to him, "Well, to me, the Civil war is as remote and as irrelevant as the War of the Roses."

At the close of *Screening America*, conscious of the inefficacy of almost everything that passes for "education" in the United States today, Vidal advocates a television- and movie-based curriculum that would inculcate pupils with world history. Not entirely irreligious, he urges "screening not only Lincoln but Confucius and the Buddha." (He'd better not let his friends in the Civil Liberties Union hear that one — or perhaps it's just Christianity that has to stay banned from our schools.)

For all the present impracticality of Vidal's schemes (Jefferson and Washington and Robert E. Lee and Patrick Henry and Stephen Decatur would be "screened" today by Hollywood either as hate-crazed, slavocratic, racist, sexist bigots or as deeply closeted homosexuals), his suggestion clearly has merit.

As to what sort of republic may remain to be enjoyed by a species of television watchers, Vidal considers this question realistically, and with his customary saturnine joviality. Musing over the various nations currently resident in what he calls "the lost republic and the eroding Bill of Rights," he entertains the solution of devolution, perhaps on the Swiss model, with separate enclaves for the Latino and Asian populations. (In such a set-up, one is allowed to think, there may even be a place for the European-derived American nation that founded, sustained and lost the first [or is it the second?] republic.)

One needn't accept Gore Vidal as the rebirth of Cicero to read, profit from, and snicker at his amusing stories (why Robert Lincoln, Abe's son, stopped seeing Senator Gore; why Eleanor looked so stern at FDR's funeral; how Frank Capra wanted Vidal's "Best Man" to be screened), his mordant insights into historiography, moviemaking, and how the two have been woven into a double propaganda whammy that has injected a far speedier and more potent fix of false history into the brains of more of our fellow citizens than any number of textbooks or dime-store novels. (What is it people say when we tell them we don't believe the Holocaust?: "What about the films?")

Even at \$14.95 for 97 pages, *Screening History* is well worth buying. Apprentice Latinists will have fun correcting "in hoc signes" and "annum mirabilis" (pp. 37, 44) — doubtless let stand by the Harvard University Press entirely for that purpose — while nearly every reader will wince at "Cleo" for "Clio" (p. 78). Such imperfections aside, and its author's occasional Old-Left fetishism and (veiled) evocations of the joys of Sotadic sex disregarded, Vidal's essays are a valuable contribution to the common weal, particularly in this Augustulan Age of American letters. As the old adage has it, we may choose our friends and our enemies, but we can't choose our allies.

Anyway, who wouldn't welcome an ally who writes (p. 91) of the latest ex-president, and a couple of earlier icons:

For George it is always 1939, the year of "The Wizard of Oz," "Gone with the Wind," and "Young Mr. Lincoln." It is the year that Hitler invaded Poland; that Japan was conquering China. It is the year when that magnificent windbag, Churchill, was

speaking up for war, and that truly amoral and cynical politician, Roosevelt, was trying simultaneously to get us into the war while carefully staying out of the war. This sort of statesmanship deeply puzzles school teachers in Gettysburg, where one is either great and good and always right, or not.

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Review

Seasoned British Journalist Names Names in Account of Massacre of Russia's Imperial Family

- *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, by Robert Wilton. Introduction by Mark Weber. Institute for Historical Review, 1993. Softcover. 194 (+ xvii) pages. Photographs. Map. Index. ISBN 0-939484-47-1. (Available from the IHR for \$12.95, plus \$2 shipping.)

Reviewed by Mary Ball Martinez

This tragic historical record was to become a treasure almost as soon as it was published in 1920. Even then, a few voices were already sounding the alert about the threat of Bolshevism, which had just recently taken power in Russia. This book was one of the first writings that attempted to tell the true story of how the Bolsheviks had come to power, and just who was behind the phenomenon.

Robert Wilton, *The Times* of London's man-in-Moscow from 1902 through 1919, in chronicling the cold-blooded murder in Ekaterinberg, Siberia, of the last Tsar, his wife, four daughters, son, physician, three servants and little pet dog, was fully aware of the true facts and faced them in a text he managed to get published in England and the United States. However, only a French edition carried appendices in which the author, citing Soviet sources, alleged the Jewish origin of 17 among 22 members of the Council of People's Commissars (furnishing their real, non-slavic names), of 23 among the 36-member Cheka (secret police), and 41 among the 62-member Central Executive Committee.

Wilton was not the only informed person to make such statements. Winston Churchill, then Britain's secretary of state for war and air, was likewise warning that the new regime in Moscow was largely the creation of "international and for the most part atheistical Jews." More than one western ambassador in Russia echoed similar concerns in reports to officials back home.

Wilton's insistence that the assassination order to murder Russia's imperial family was telegraphed to the Jewish tough, Yakov Yurovsky, by Yankel Sverdlov (né Solomon) — the "Red Tsar" who then wielded at least as much power as Lenin — helps to explain why *The Last Days of the Romanovs* was soon hounded off the shelves of bookstores and libraries. Now, 73 years afterward, the IHR is to be thanked for presenting us with a handsome new edition complete with a set of rare photographs and the elusive appendices.

Few foreigners were as close to the scene during the tumultuous early twentieth century years of Russian history as Robert Wilton. His long assignment took him through the country's shock-defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, through all the ups and downs of internal Russian politics, the violent Potemkin and Bloody Sunday events of 1905, and the ominous rumblings,

from exile and in the underground, of Trotsky and Lenin. As a leading journalist Wilton had already been chronicling the oncoming collapse of Imperial Russia for some years, and was thus eminently well prepared to follow objectively the country's hopeless role in the "Great War" of 1914-1918, the abdication of Nicholas II, his arrest and transfer to Siberia just as anti-Marxist "white" forces had begun to gather in significant strength, opening the tortured nation to civil war.

It was an ephemeral local victory by "white" forces that provided Wilton the bulk of material for his book. Pushing into Ekaterinberg just four days after the slaughter of the Romanovs was an old acquaintance, Ural-region army commander General Diterichs, who promptly opened a commission of judicial inquiry, bringing Wilton into each step of the process during the year the Whites held out there.

Because the protagonists of the crime had already fled to the Soviet zone and because, as Wilton says, "there had probably not been another instance in the whole history of crime of precautions to escape detection half as elaborate as in the Romanov case," much of the work done during the first months was wasted, and even in the end no real justice was achieved. However, the brilliant investigator, Nicolai Sokolov, had acquired telegrams proving the order to kill had come from Moscow, and Wilton had enough for his book. In addition, simple local folk — peasant farmers, villagers, sentries and servants — provided Sokolov and Wilton with a long stream of testimony that gives this book an unusual flavor of intimacy regarding the royal family. During the first months before the Bolsheviks solidified their takeover and the screws were steadily tightened on the family imprisoned in the villa in Ekaterinberg, we see the former ruler of All the Russias at a carpenter's bench fashioning a platform to make sitting in the garden more comfortable, his wife helping the children with religion and German lessons, the girls inventing theatricals in French and English, and the sick son, 14, studying history to prepare himself for ruling an empire.

As vigilance was stepped up, and most of the servants were dismissed and rations severely reduced, we admire the quiet courage of the victims. Coming to the last scene we see the family, their faithful physician, Dr. Botkin, and three servants, all roused from bed at midnight, gathered in the half-cellar-room, utterly silent, waiting for death. Yurovsky has announced it. Nestled quietly in the arms of Anastasia, the youngest daughter, is the tiny spaniel, Jemmy.

Despite his sensitivity, the author eschews sentimentality, something to be grateful for in light of the exaggerations that overtook the Romanov story as years passed. The wonderful ogling of Lionel Barrymore as Rasputin would have gone down poorly with Wilton, who describes the "mad monk" as a fairly pragmatic character, a willing tool in the hands of the Empress. Concludes Wilton: "Rasputin the monster is a fiction, bred in the busy brains of politicians and elaborated by the teeming imagination of sensational novelists. Rasputin the saint is the imaginary product of a woman's diseased mind."

As a Britisher who had just come through four years of First World War propaganda in an Allied country, Wilton is surprisingly mild in his Germany-bashing. This may be due to the fact that General Ludendorff's sobering war memoir came out in 1919, the year Wilton was writing this book. Noting correctly that Berlin's decision to ship Lenin from Switzerland to Petersburg (Petrograd) in a sealed train was of enormous help to the Red cause, he adds the little-known fact that the deal also included transporting more than a hundred Jews from the United States to Russia.

The last Empress of Russia was a Princess of Hesse, that ancient German house linking half the old nobility of Europe and some of the present-day "royals" as well (Queen Sofia of Spain, for instance). One prominent Hesse descendent is reported lately to have made a move which ties in

with the Ekaterinberg story. Prince Philip (Battenberg turned Montbatten), husband of Queen Elizabeth (Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-turned-Windsor) eager to carry the Sokolov inquiry to a modern conclusion, arranged for specialists to see if DNA probes on the scarred remains of the Tsaritsa match tests on living members of the Hesse clan. They do. The murdered Empress was the sister of Victoria, wife of Ludwig von Battenberg (turned Marquess of Milford-Haven), and the grandmother of Prince Philip.

Mary Ball Martinez was an accredited member of the Vatican press corps from 1973 to 1988, reporting for National Review, The American Spectator and The Wanderer. Her article, "Pope Pius XII During the Second World War," appeared in the September-October 1993 Journal. She is the author of a 200-page book, The Undermining of the Catholic Church (available for \$15, post-paid, from Omni/Christian Book Club, P.O. Box 900566, Palmdale, CA 93590).

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Review

A Prominent German Historian Tackles Taboos of Third Reich History

Prof. Nolte's Controversial New Book

- *Streitpunkte: Heutige und künftige Kontroversen um den Nationalsozialismus* ("Points of Contention: Current and Future Controversies about National Socialism"), by Ernst Nolte. Berlin and Frankfurt: Propyläen, 1993. Hardcover. 492 pages. Notes. Index. ISBN: 3-549-05234-0.

Reviewed by [Mark Weber](#)

Almost half a century after its dramatic demise, the Third Reich continues to fascinate millions and provoke heated discussion. Historians, sociologists, journalists and educated lay persons debate such questions as: How was German National Socialist regime possible? How deep was popular support for Hitler and his government? Was the National Socialist regime “reactionary” or “modern,” or some combination of each? Did the Third Reich represent aberration or continuity in German history? What is the origin and precise nature of the wartime “final solution of the Jewish question”?

Few persons are as qualified to tackle such questions as Dr. Ernst Nolte, emeritus professor of history at Berlin’s renowned Free University. Best known for his acclaimed study of the phenomenon of fascism — published in English as *Three Faces of Fascism* — Nolte is the author of numerous books and scholarly articles. (Three books by him have been published since 1990 alone.) No stranger to controversy, it was Prof. Nolte who touched off the furious intellectual debate during the late 1980s about the legacy of Hitler and German National Socialism known as the “historians’ dispute” or *Historikerstreit*.

Nolte continues the discussion in this, his latest and most controversial book, a work packed with arresting observations and insights, and written in a readable narrative style meant for both the specialist and the educated lay reader. This attractively produced book is issued by one of Germany’s most prominent and respected publishers.

'Radical Revisionism'

What is most strikingly new in this book is Nolte’s informed and open-minded treatment of the work of what he calls the “radical revisionists.” With candor that is very rare among prominent scholars, Nolte confesses (pp. 7-9) in the foreword:

... I must acknowledge that, without more closely examining them, I accepted as true the factuality of events, including the figure of six million [Jewish] victims and the

primary importance of the gas chambers as an instrument of extermination, as claimed by the perpetrators and victims in the large-scale trials of the 1960s, and which were not questioned by the defendants' attorneys.

Only much later, in the late 1970s, did I become aware of the doubts and counter-claims of a new school, that of the “revisionists.” During this same period, the research of historians of contemporary history of the stature of Martin Broszat (who founded the so-called “functionalist” school), called into question the assumption that the extermination events were the result of an intention of Hitler, and thus of an ideolog.

At the same time, the more radical thesis, most effectively expressed by Frenchmen such as Paul Rassinier and Robert Faurisson, that there never was a “final solution” in the sense of an ideologically based mass extermination, and that the deaths of hundreds of thousands in camps and ghettos, or as a result of shootings by the Einsatzgruppen [security police forces], must be viewed in the context of the demands and circumstances of the time and certain excessive desires on the part of the military leadership. This thesis can no longer be rejected as merely nonsensical or wicked.

... I soon came to the conviction that this [revisionist] school was being opposed in the establishment literature in an unscholarly way, that is, by simple rejection, by imputing the outlook of the authors, and, above all, by treating it with silence.

But even a quick look is enough to show that the outlook of the left-wing Socialist and former member of the French National Assembly, Paul Rassinier, although anti-Zionist, is also humane. And no one can accuse Robert Faurisson or Carlo Mattogno of a lack of specialized knowledge.

In the chapter entitled “The 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' in the View of the Radical Revisionists,” Nolte deals at length with the writings of prominent Holocaust revisionists, including Rassinier, Faurisson, Carlo Mattogno and Arthur Butz. Nolte also reports — unpolemically and with some respect — on the work of the Institute for Historical Review and this Journal.

Defending the validity of the work of these scholars (p. 308), he writes:

The widely held opinion that any doubts about the dominant view regarding the “Holocaust” and the Six Million must be treated, from the outset, as the expression of a wicked and inhumane outlook, and, if possible, banned ... is absolutely unacceptable, and indeed must be rejected as an attack against the principle of scholarly freedom.

... The questions [raised by revisionists] about the reliability of witnesses, the value of documents as evidence, the technical feasibility of certain operations, the credibility of statistical estimates, and the importance of circumstances are not only permissible, but, on scholarly grounds, are unavoidable. Moreover, every attempt to suppress [revisionist] arguments and evidence by ignoring or prohibiting them must be regarded as illegitimate.

Notwithstanding his serious and respectful attitude toward revisionist scholarship, and his rejection of a number of once widely accepted Holocaust claims, it would be a mistake to count Nolte as a “Holocaust revisionist.”

He accepts, for example, that between five and six million Jews perished as victims of German wartime policy, and that hundreds of thousands of Jews were gassed at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka and other camps. (pp. 289-290)

Characteristic is his view of the well-known “confession” of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. While acknowledging that this key piece of Holocaust evidence was extracted by torture, and that key portions are “exaggerated,” Nolte nevertheless accepts it as “qualitatively” valid. (pp. 293-294, 310)

Similarly, Nolte is skeptical of at least some portions of the widely quoted “testimony” of “gas chamber” witness Filip Müller, and he regards Elie Wiesel’s “eyewitness report” (in his well-known book *Night*) as “not very credible.” (pp. 311, 476) Still, Nolte contends, there must be a core of truth to the “gassing” story because it has been confirmed — in its essence, if not in its details — by several “witnesses.”

Nolte accurately summarizes the findings of American engineer Fred Leuchter, who examined the supposed “gas chambers” of Auschwitz in 1988 — and concluded that they were never used to kill people as alleged. More recently, Nolte has commented favorably on the detailed report of German chemist [Germar Rudolf](#), who likewise carried out a forensic examination of the purported Auschwitz “gas chambers.” (Rudolf re-affirmed the essential conclusions reached by Leuchter. See the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 25-26.) In a January 1992 letter, Nolte praised the Rudolf Gutachten as “an important contribution to a very important issue,” and expressed the hope that it will provoke wide discussion. “The final word in this exchange among the technical specialists,” writes Nolte, “has not yet been said.” (p. 316)

With regard to documentary evidence, Nolte notes: “The fact that so many Nuremberg documents exist only as copies, and that the great majority of the ‘originals’ have never been made available is a further argument that cannot be lightly dismissed.” (p. 314)

Hitler

As he makes repeatedly clear in this book, the Berlin professor is certainly no Nazi or “apologist for Hitler.” (Nolte might best be characterized as a skeptical traditionalist.)

At the same time, though, he attempts, throughout this book, to come to grips with the meaning of Hitler, presenting a complex view of the German leader that contrasts sharply with the popular media image.

Contrary to the widespread view of Hitler as a person of no real education or deep understanding, the transcripts of the German leader’s freewheeling “table talk” remarks to colleagues alone show him to have been a man of extraordinary intelligence, perception and wide-ranging knowledge. Hitler understood English and French, and some Italian. He read widely, and had an astonishing knowledge in many fields. A reading of the transcripts of his conversations with minister Albert Speer, for example, shows that Hitler had a specialist’s understanding of armaments. (p. 163)

Nolte takes note of the work of Rainer Zitelmann, a young German historian who has assembled compelling evidence to show that Hitler was a remarkably more far-sighted, subtle, intelligent and “modern” leader than historians have understood or acknowledged. (pp. 131, 150)

As Nolte observes, English historian Alan Bullock argues that in the military field, Hitler’s ideas and innovations were far more advanced and progressive than those of any other statesman of his

time.

Far more accurately than Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, Hitler foresaw the shape of the world that would emerge in the aftermath of the Second World War. He rather clearly foresaw the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the place of Germany in the postwar world.

Achievements

A real understanding of the Third Reich, Nolte maintains, requires an acknowledgment not only of Hitler's failures, but also of his undeniable achievements as a political leader and statesman.

Perhaps Hitler's "greatest achievement" — in the view of one historian cited here — was his success in winning the support of the great majority of the German people.

This was due in no small part to another achievement: Hitler's success in bringing Germany out of the worldwide Great Depression, and in creating an "economic miracle" with full employment and prosperity with stable prices.

An "incredible achievement" was Hitler's success, within just five years, of transforming a forcibly demilitarized nation into Europe's strongest military power.

After a visit to Germany in 1936, David Lloyd George — who had been Britain's premier during the First World War — praised Hitler as "the greatest piece of luck that has come to your country since Bismarck, and personally I would say since Frederick the Great."

'Weak Dictatorship'

Hitler's Third Reich fostered an image of itself as a totalitarian, "monocratic," and authoritarian Führerstaat ("leadership state"). Regrettably, contends Nolte, too many historians have uncritically accepted this misleading image.

Echoing arguments that have been made by others, including British historian David Irving, Nolte points out that authority and power in the Third Reich was actually far more widely diffused than many realize.

With Hitler's indulgence, political leaders and a bewildering array of state and party agencies competed with one another, frequently working at cross purposes.

Commenting (perhaps with some exaggeration) on this state of affairs, a frustrated Joseph Goebbels confided to his diary in 1942: "Everyone does and permits whatever he wants because there's no strong authority anywhere ... The Party does its own thing, and won't permit itself to be influenced by anyone."

Entire Third Reich government ministries remained practically "Nazi free," notes Nolte, and while many younger officers were dedicated National Socialists, the German armed forces remained largely free of NS party influence.

Sir Neville Henderson, Britain's ambassador in Berlin in 1939, regarded Hitler as an essentially reasonable and moderate man, while German propaganda chief Dr. Goebbels complained during the war about Hitler's lack of decisiveness. As Nolte observes, historian Hans Mommsen has characterized Hitler as a "weak dictator." (p. 179)

In cultural and intellectual life, the numerous official rivalries contributed to fostering a surprising degree of “plurality.” Church affairs minister Kerrl sharply criticized the “neo-pagan” views of party ideologue Rosenberg who, for his part, denounced the writings of education minister Rust as ideologically wrong-headed. (p. 175)

Drawing parallels between the government style of Hitler’s Third Reich and Roosevelt’s New Deal, Nolte suggests that a degree of “chaos” of governmental authorities and agencies may be an integral feature of every modern liberal democratic state. (p. 384)

Reactionary or Modern?

Frequently portrayed as the quintessential “reactionary” regime, Nolte marshals considerable evidence here to show that the Third Reich was, in many regards, a pace-setting “modern” society. In recent years, Nolte and other (generally younger) German historians have more and more strongly emphasized the “modernistic” tendencies in the Third Reich, which presaged developments in the United States and other liberal-democratic societies. “In its essence,” one female historian has recently concluded (p. 150), German National Socialism was “an anti-traditional, modernizing force.”

Nolte takes note here of the Third Reich’s innovative large-scale urban planning and environmental policies, its promotion of modern housing for the general population, education of gifted children from poor families in progressive but elite schools, a strong democratization process within the German armed forces, the character of the National Socialist party as a broad-based, non-sectarian “peoples party,” and the elimination of mass unemployment and job creation through programs that can be called “Keynesian.”

Even Dr. Goebbels' much-maligned propaganda machinery might more accurately be described as a

“modern instrument of government on an American model, through which the democracies seek to continue their rule in the post-bourgeois society and to perpetuate their technocratic system.” (pp. 150 f.)

'European Civil War'

A central premise of this book is the author’s view that the core of 20th-century European history is the era from 1914 to 1991 — that is, from the outbreak of the First World War to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Nolte characterizes this period as a great European Civil War, a life and death struggle between the forces of Communism, on the one hand, and the rest of Europe and the West, on the other. He writes (p. 11):

The great civil war of the 20th century was the life-and-death struggle between chiliastish [millennial] Communism, which first came to power in a large state [Russia] in 1917, and all other forces, which it was convinced were doomed to failure as “capitalist” or “bourgeois,” but which were concentrated in surprising strength and decisiveness in German National Socialism ...

The high point of this struggle was the titanic clash between the armies of Soviet Russia and National Socialist Germany.

Red Star or Swastika?

Turning to “future controversies,” Nolte deals at length with the nature and impact of Soviet Communism (Bolshevism). Even more than has been the case with National Socialist Germany, he suggests, historians have too readily accepted the Soviet regime’s propaganda image of itself. Far too many western historians have failed to appreciate the bloody reality of Soviet Communism, or the very real threat it posed to Europe.

At the time of his death in 1953, Nolte observes, Stalin was mourned by millions around the world, even though he had already put to death in peacetime more people than Hitler would later cause to be killed as civilians during war. Stalin imposed the greatest and bloodiest social revolution in history — the so-called “collectivization” of agriculture — which meant the extermination of millions of Soviet Russia’s most productive farmers. (p. 158)

As Nolte points out, more and more evidence has come to light in recent years to show that Stalin was preparing to attack Germany and Europe in 1941, and that Hitler’s “Barbarossa” attack of June 22, 1941, had the character of a preventive strike. This thesis, which if true demands a drastic revision of the generally accepted view of the entire Second World War, has been most persuasively presented by Russian historian V. Suvorov (Rezun) in his book *Icebreaker*. (pp. 269-271).

For millions of Europeans in the 1920s and 1930s, the Red Star and the Swastika represented the only realistic alternatives for the future of Germany, and indeed, of the entire West. Hitler was by no means the only European leader who took seriously the Soviet danger to European order, culture and civilization. Without the reality of this threat, the “fascist” response of Germany (and other European nations) is hardly imaginable.

Hitler, in Nolte’s view, was an anti-Communist of “Communist” decisiveness and spiritual energy. Alone among his contemporaries, he fought Communism with radical, “non-bourgeois” ruthlessness. (pp. 349-367). Nolte writes (pp. 366 f.):

Twentieth century world history is only understandable when one is willing to acknowledge the connection made by the enemies of Bolshevism between a fear of annihilation and an intention of annihilation, and to recognize the simple truth that the statements of anti-Communists about the misdeeds of Bolshevism were, in fact, well grounded. Since 1990, at the latest, these are facts that no longer be seriously disputed, and that even the propagandistic exaggerations [of anti-Communists] reflected a rational core ...

One day the question of the hierarchy of motives of Hitler and National Socialism will become a matter of dispute in the scholarly literature, and the thesis of the primacy of anti-Communism is likely to be a main point.

The Jewish Taboo

Fully conscious that any frank discussion of the Jewish role in 20th century history is fraught with danger, Nolte nevertheless boldly grabs hold of this taboo-protected “hot iron.” For example, he approvingly cites words of Israeli Holocaust scholar Yehuda Bauer: “The National Socialist view was accurate insofar as it regarded the Jews as a foreign element in European society, with a different religion and ancestry.” (p. 376) At another point, Nolte writes: “For the Zionists, including Herzl and Weizmann, anti-Semitism was an entirely natural reaction of the 'host na-

tions' to the abiding separateness and the aggressive activity of the Jews, which was based on intellectual superiority.” (p. 419)

Taking note of the ancient Jewish tradition of zealous opposition to any regime that seems to threaten Jewish interests, Nolte points out that within weeks after Hitler’s coming to power, influential Jewish leaders were already calling for economic warfare against Germany.

At the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939, Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann issued a kind of declaration of war against Germany, and in August 1941 leading Soviet Jews issued a passionate appeal to the Jews of the world to join in the life-and-death struggle against National Socialist Germany. (p. 396)

While rejecting talk of “Jewish Bolshevism” as misleadingly simplistic, Nolte points out the “undeniable fact” that Jews played a highly disproportionate role in the Bolshevik revolution. “Nothing was more understandable than that Jews and members of other minority peoples would play a major role in the February and October [1917] revolutions [in Russia]: Of the ten men who met with Lenin on October 23, 1917, and agreed to launch the [Bolshevik] revolution, no fewer than six were Jews.” Referring to the Jewish role in the critical early years of the Soviet state, Nolte comments: “It is indeed doubtful whether the Bolshevik regime could have survived the [Russian] civil war [of 1917-1920] without men such as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Sverdlov, Kamenev, Sokolnikov and Uritsky.” (p. 418)

'Real thinking'

Consistent with the author’s strong plea for a more thoughtful and objective look at the phenomenon of Hitler and National Socialism, Nolte presents his often highly unorthodox views without polemics, indeed with a certain reserve and tentativeness. Unlike those who incessantly insist that “we” must “never forget” the “lessons of the Holocaust,” Nolte calls for an evaluation of the Hitler era as free as possible of strident, emotion-laden polemics and self-serving purposes. Any truly useful understanding of the Third Reich, Nolte argues persuasively, requires an informed awareness of the historical context.

While Nolte would not regard this book as any kind of final word on the “points of contention” dealt with here, he concludes (p. 431) with words of optimism:

I confidently expect that in the future real thinking about the National Socialist era will play a greater role in the scholarly literature, and that the controversies to which the final portion of this book is dedicated will therefore become specific themes for discussion.

Although the skewed mass media image of 20th century history that currently predominates is certain to continue to influence many for years to come, books such as this one give reason for hope that truth and common sense can and will eventually prevail.

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Review

Life of a Much-Maligned Conductor Examined in New Biography

- *The Devil's Music Master: The Controversial Life and Career of Wilhelm Furtwängler*, by Sam H. Shirakawa. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. Hardcover. 506 pages. Photographs. Footnotes. Index. \$35.00. ISBN: 0-19-506508-5.

Reviewed by Andrew Gray

Conductors in our time fall readily into two categories: Wilhelm Furtwängler and all the others. Among those who recognized this truth early on was Adolf Hitler, possessor of perhaps the best musical ear of any contemporary statesman — except for Ignaz Paderewski. Despite many importunities and provocations in later years, Hitler never wavered in this judgment. A photograph of the Führer reaching upward to the podium to shake the conductor's hand after a 1935 concert of the Berlin Philharmonic is remarkable testimony — such expressions of respect by Hitler were rare.

This admiration — and Furtwängler's decision to remain in Germany to continue to lead the Berliner Philharmoniker as the nation's premier orchestra — has fostered a decades-long campaign of denigration of the conductor by a legion of self-indulgent scribblers, musicological and otherwise. In their view, Hitler's approval condemns him to a kind of eternal damnation. It's a wonder that shepherd dogs, vegetable soup and mineral water have been spared their opprobrium.

This work's title is misleading: it is not simply another exercise in diabolization. Indeed, Mr. Shirakawa intends this as an apologia, and is at pains to show that Furtwängler's denigrators are guilty of distortion and exaggeration. What Shirakawa seems incapable of grasping, though, is that Furtwängler had nothing whatever to apologize for.

At the heart of this book is a lengthy list, alphabetically arrayed, of some of the many politically and ancestrally persecutable individuals who were spared harassment by the National Socialist government as a consequence of Furtwängler's personal intervention. This includes a number of "full" Jews who spent the entire war within Germany, entirely unmolested. Indeed, thanks to the author's commendable digging, this volume is a lode of such nuggets.

Do the performing arts flourish best in times of dire stress and emergency? There is much evidence for this. One thinks, for example, of theatrical undertakings by German prisoners in Allied P.O.W. camps of Faust, reputedly among the most intense and forceful ever given. Or of the German entertainment troupes that performed right behind the front lines in Russia, even in the latter stages of the war when many were overrun and vanished virtually without trace. Or of the 1943-44 summer performances of *Die Meistersinger* at Bayreuth, with audiences comprised almost en-

tirely of wounded soldiers. (One such performance, conducted by Furtwängler himself, has happily been preserved on tape.) Or best of all, the concerts under his baton of the Berlin Philharmonic from the years 1942-4 (tapes of which were stolen by the Soviets in 1945 and then returned, in the burgeoning spirit of Glasnost, in 1987).

In this sense, these wartime concerts constitute an apogee of the performing arts; the evidence for the ear, even without consideration of the extraordinary circumstances in which the musicians and the audiences found themselves, is unmistakable. That the next century is likely to appreciate the centrality of Furtwängler to our civilization, or what is left of it, most likely accounts for the recent renewal of attacks upon his memory — some of which have appeared in the form of reviews of this book. Mr. Shirakawa, it has been contended, is much too indulgent. Yes, he is — but not in the sense those propagandists assume. One of the privileges of being a revisionist is to decode such texts as this, to see through and beyond it, and to sense the hollow ring many of its judgments will have to future ears. Shirakawa means well, but he remains entangled in the metaphor of diabolism.

There are a few heroes in this story — Yehudi Menuhin chief among them. Furtwängler was never anti-Semitic, a fact his detractors obviously find embarrassing. The revolting behavior during the postwar period of such former colleagues as Bruno Walter makes excruciating reading, as do the lucubrations of that moralistic gasbag, Thomas Mann, to say nothing of his lunatic daughter Erika. (At times one has the feeling the whole Mann family was a bit bekloppt).

Furtwängler was not long on humor, but worth preserving is his tart comment about the postwar critics who condemned him for remaining in Germany after 1933: “They seem to feel all seventy million Germans should have decamped and left Hitler behind alone.”

Mr. Shirakawa takes welcome and indignant aim at Delbert Clark’s intentionally distorted reporting in the New York Times of the preposterous 1946 “de-nazification” proceedings endured by Furtwängler (which kept him from the podium for nearly two years). All the more heartening, then, was his return, in May 1947, to the podium of the Berlin Philharmonic, to conduct his first postwar concert. The author mentions cheering of 15 minutes duration at the close. No, the ovation lasted an hour and 15 minutes, and there were 47 curtain calls.

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Review

Soviet Atrocities in German Silesia

- *Silesian Inferno: War Crimes of the Red Army on its March into Silesia in 1945*, by Karl Friedrich Grau. Introduction by Prof. Ernst Deuerlein. Valley Forge, Penn.: Landpost Press, 1992. Hardcover. 210 pages. Charts. Maps. Bibliography. ISBN 1-880881-09-8. (Available from the IHR for \$19.95, plus \$2.00 shipping.)

Reviewed by Theodore J. O’Keefe

This work — a re-issue of a 1970 English translation (from the 1966 German original) — limits itself to atrocities committed between January and August 1945 by Red Army troops and functionaries in the Silesian districts of Oppeln and Wohlau (although for comparative purposes a chapter on Soviet crimes reported from other Silesian districts is included). *Silesian Inferno* gathers and analyzes the evidence of sworn, signed statements by the German victims. Important contemporary documents are also presented here.

Considerable pains have been taken objectively to present and examine the testimonies. While the revisionist eye will note a certain amount of hearsay, nevertheless the abundance of convincing, and shattering, first-hand testimony to gruesome Soviet crimes, ranging from the vilest murders and rapes on down, against helpless non-combatants, will provoke shame or at least defensiveness among even the most hardened advocates of the myth of Allied rectitude. Supplementing the various testimonies, most of them excerpted, are helpful charts showing the extent of Red bestiality.

Professor Ernst Deuerlein’s introduction places the systematic Soviet atrocities squarely in the context of Soviet policy toward Germany, demonstrating that the mass murders and rapes were the ineluctable consequence of a calculated and deliberate choice between alternative modes of dealing with the “German problem”: whether to liberate the oppressed German masses from the rule of “the Ruhr magnates and Prussian junkers and their Hitlerite henchmen,” or to heed the hate-drunk exhortations of Ilya Ehrenburg, Stalin’s reigning Literat, to rape and kill the German “beasts.” Citing Stalin’s well-known interviews with the Yugoslav writer Milovan Djilas, Deuerlein also shows that kindly Uncle Joe was entirely cognizant of his troops’ behavior, and took no action, rather rationalizing it with a logic that would do credit to his predecessors among the khans who ruled the vast steppes before him. (To his credit, Deuerlein, writing at a time when German nationalist writers tended to be publicly more indulgent of the Western powers, nevertheless points to high-ranking British and American officials whose tirades against the Germans were scarcely less vicious than those of Ehrenburg.)

A minor weakness of *Silesian Inferno* are the author’s several scattered references to German policies, attributed to the National Socialists, that he suggests paralleled, or even evoked, the Red

war and peace crimes. Here it must be stated that whatever the numerous failings of Nazi (and German) wartime behavior, including the harsh conduct of the war in the East, no German crimes can match those of Stalin and his henchmen, against their own peoples and others, in war and in peace, nor the murderous bombing terror of the British and American air forces against hapless civilians from Amsterdam to Bucharest (not to forget Yokohama, Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki). This may be for many a bitter pill to swallow, but it is based on historical fact, not mere propaganda.

Readers unfamiliar with Silesia and its history will learn of the civilizing mission of its German settlers, most notably in their peaceful peopling of that historic province following the 13th-century depredations of the Mongols.

The English translation of the text is generally first-rate, contrasting markedly with rather clumsy English of the dust jacket.

Anyone interested in a clinical presentation and analysis of World War II conduct of one of the “Big Four” that sat in judgment at Nuremberg, as well as anyone with an interest in the comparative evaluation of testimonies and reports as to the numerous atrocities of the Second World War (real and imagined), is urged to read *Silesian Inferno*.

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Review

Not Much to Repellent Holocaust Thriller

- *Born Guilty: Children of Nazi Families*, by Peter Sichrovsky. Translated by Jean Steinberg. New York: Basic Books, 1988. Hardcover. 178 pages. \$17.95. ISBN 0-465-00742-2.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

This book would be more offensive if it were less disgusting. As it is, reading *Born Guilty* is somewhat akin to finding dog droppings on the dinner table: a dismaying incident, to be sure, but not one unmasterable.

Author Peter Sichrovsky, who is billed as “a distinguished Austrian journalist” in the jacket flap blurb, has allegedly approached a dozen or so “children [and grandchildren!] of Nazi families” in the interests of profiting from the ongoing agitprop, Nuremberg trials-style bedevilment of everyone and everything German. His efforts here have been effusively endorsed on the dust jacket by a triad of male Muses from a Jewish Helicon (or is it Holo-con?): headshrinker Robert Jay Lifton, author of *The Nazi Doctors*; former Reaganite, Waldheim-baiting US ambassador to Austria Ronald Lauder (a candidate for inclusion in a book entitled *Born Rich: Children of Jewish Cosmetics Queens*); and Howard Fast, an ex-Communist who became the television mini-series *Milton* of New York’s squalid garment district.

The journalistic, let alone scholarly, merits of Sichrovsky’s book may be gleaned from the author’s indiscriminate characterization of his subjects as the children of “perpetrators” (p. 6), “the sons and daughters of murderers” (p. 12), etc., while supplying no evidence of crimes. Indeed, he concedes that “the child of someone responsible for the deaths of thousands is not necessarily of greater interest than the child of a small-town mayor who may have merely put some Social Democrats in jail.”

The bewilderment, confusion, self-pity, and despair that various of those contemporary Germans Sichrovsky claims to have interviewed is the entirely understandable result of the internalized, ritualistic self-hatred that the hirelings who have dominated postwar Germany, acting in accordance with their masters' commands, have inculcated in their own people.

One young German woman quoted at length, “Stefanie,” “the proud one” (Chapter 2), is worth hearing for her indomitable, if unschooled, spirit, garnered from her “Nazi” grandpa. You can read it in five minutes at your local bookstore. So, unless you wish to peer voyeuristically at the self-flagellation that the author claims to have recorded from his several informants, there’s no good reason to buy this book.

Theodore J. O'Keefe is book editor for the Institute for Historical Review, and an associate editor of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*. He previously worked at the IHR from 1986 until 1994, serving as chief editor of this Journal from 1988 until April 1992. He also addressed the IHR Conferences of 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1992. Educated at Harvard College, he is the author of numerous articles on historical and political subjects that have appeared in a range of periodicals.

March/April 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 2), page 2.

The Warsaw Ghetto 'Uprising'

Jewish Insurrection or German Police Operation?

Robert Faurisson

Each year, around April 19, the media and politicians commemorate what they call the Warsaw ghetto “uprising,” “revolt” or “insurrection.” (note 1) In journalistic accounts the affair has taken on increasingly epic and symbolic proportions. At a Holocaust ceremony in New York in April 1993, American Vice President Al Gore declared: “The story of the Warsaw ghetto is sacred text for our time.” (note 2) In fact, this “story” is a legend based only partially on historical reality.

“An insurrection never took place.” (note 3) This remark is by Marek Edelman, who was a leader of one of the armed Jewish groups in the ghetto. He added: “We didn’t even choose the day; the Germans set it by entering the ghetto to find the last Jews.” Edelman also stated that the number of Jews who took up arms never exceeded 220. (Other estimates of the number of Jewish ghetto fighters range from several hundred to as many as 2,000. In any case, no more than a minute portion of the ghetto population took part in the fighting.) (note 4)

Edelman’s view has been confirmed by Yitzhak Zuckerman, another leader of the main Jewish armed group in the ghetto. Zuckerman has defined the “war aims” of the Jewish fighters in these words: “For us it was a question of organizing a defense, not an uprising. In an uprising, the initiative is with the one rising up. We, we sought only to defend ourselves; the initiative was entirely on the side of the Germans.” (note 5)

This was no uprising of an entire community to gain its freedom or to resist deportation. It was, rather, the reaction of only a relative handful of young Jews who, seeing German troops penetrate their sanctuary, first fought back, then on the third day tried unsuccessfully to flee, and then, finally, surrounded, put up sustained armed resistance. (note 6)

The whole thing should more accurately be called a German police operation rather than an “uprising” or “insurrection” by the Jews of Warsaw. By contrast, a real uprising was staged in Warsaw, August-October 1944, by the Polish Home Army, commanded by General “Bor” Komorowski. However, the media scarcely notes this heroic insurrection, which the Soviets allowed the Germans to crush at their leisure. The Poles fought with such courage that the Germans permitted them to surrender with full military honors, treating them as prisoners of war under the Geneva convention rather than as terrorist insurgents.

To understand what happened in the Warsaw ghetto in April-May 1943, it is important to know why the Germans decided to launch a police operation. In the city’s “Jewish quarter” or “ghetto” were 36,000 officially registered residents, as well as, in all probability, more than 20,000 clandestine inhabitants. (note 7) The ghetto was, in a sense, a city within a city, administered by a

“Jewish Council” (Judenrat), and a Jewish police force, which collaborated with the German occupation authorities, even against Jewish “terrorists.” Many thousands of Jewish workers toiled in ghetto workshops and factories, supplying products vital to the German war effort.

Following the first Soviet air attack against central Warsaw on August 21, 1942, bomb shelters were built, on German orders, everywhere in the city, including the ghetto, for the protection of the residents. The Germans furnished the Jews with the cement and other necessary materials for these shelters, which legend has transformed into “blockhouses” and “bunkers.” (note 8) So extensive was this “network of subterranean refuges and hiding places” that, according to one prominent Holocaust historian, “in the end, every Jew in the ghetto had his own spot in one of the shelters set up in the central part of the ghetto.” (note 9)

Small armed Jewish groups, numbering no more than 220 persons, were active. The most important of these was the “Jewish Combat Organization” (JCO), whose members were mostly young men in their twenties. Its “general directives for combat” specified “acts of terror” against the Jewish police, the Jewish Council, and the Werkschutz (protection service for the factories and workshops). This JCO directive stated specifically: “The general staff works out the central plan of action — sabotage and terror — directed against the enemy.” (note 10)

Accordingly, these “fighters” or terrorists” used “sabotage and terror” to shake down Jewish ghetto police, Jewish Council officials, and workshop guards. (note 11) The “terrorists” also profited from the ghetto’s intensive industrial and commercial life, shaking down merchants and other residents by threat and blackmail, even holding them prisoner in their homes for ransom. They were able to buy weapons from soldiers stationed in Warsaw, who, like troops stationed elsewhere well behind the front lines, often served in patchwork units, ill-trained and poorly motivated. The ghetto “terrorists” even carried out murderous attacks against German troops and Jewish collaborators.

The ghetto became increasingly insecure. Because of this, the Polish population became more and more hostile to its existence, while the Germans, for their part, feared that it could become a threat to the city’s important role as a rail nexus in the war economy and as a hub for transport of troops to the Eastern front. Himmler therefore decided to relocate the Jewish population, along with the workshops and factories, to the Lublin region, and to raze the ghetto, replacing it with a park. At first the Germans tried to convince the Jews to voluntarily accept relocation. But the “terrorists” refused to accept this, aware that such a transfer would mean for them losing, simultaneously, their financial base as well as their freedom of movement. They devoted all their efforts to opposing this, until on April 19, 1943, a police operation to forcibly evacuate the remaining Jews was begun on Himmler’s order.

At 6:00 a.m. that morning, troops under the command of SS Colonel Ferdinand von Sammern-Frankenegg entered the ghetto, supported by a single tracked vehicle (captured during the invasion of France) and two armored cars. Initially the “terrorists” or guerrillas offered stiff resistance, wounding 16 German SS men, six Ukrainians (so-called “Askaris”), and two Polish policemen. One Polish policeman was killed. (note 12)

Himmler, eager to minimize casualties, was angered. That same morning, he relieved von Sammern-Frankenegg of command and replaced him with SS General Jürgen Stroop. Stroop, ordered to carry out the operation slowly to minimize casualties, did so in the following manner: each morning, the troops would enter the ghetto, clear buildings of their residents and use smoke candles (not poison gas) to drive out the Jews hiding in the air-raid shelters; the buildings were de-

stroyed as they were evacuated. Each evening the troops sealed the ghetto so that nobody could escape during the night.

Skirmishes lasted from April 19 to May 16, 1943, so that altogether the operation required 28 days. On the third day, many of the Jewish armed fighters tried to escape, most whom were shot or captured. Contrary to some reports, the German command never called for air support to destroy the ghetto, and the operation involved no aerial bombardment.

The number of Jewish dead is unknown. (note 13) An often-cited figure of 56,065 is, in fact, the number of Jews who were apprehended. The great majority of these were deported, many to the transit camp at Treblinka from where they were taken to Majdanek (Lublin). (note 14) German deaths in the operation totalled 16. (This included one Polish policeman.)

One should not doubt either the courage of the Jewish resistance in the ghetto or the tragic nature of the whole affair, with the civilian population trapped in the cross-fire between various heterogeneous German units and small groups of Jewish guerrillas scattered throughout the ghetto. Contrary to some grandiose propaganda claims, though, what took place was far from an “apocalyptic” revolt, as one writer has recently called it, (note 15) particularly when one is mindful of the tens of thousands of deaths, civilian and military, that occurred during those same 28 days, on battlefields around the globe and in the European cities bombarded by British and American air forces. (note 16)

NOTES

In the entry, “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising,” in *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: 1990), historian Israel Gutman writes: “The Warsaw ghetto uprising was the first instance in occupied Europe of an uprising by an urban population. Its unique feature was the fact that it was a general rebellion in which armed fighters took part together with masses of Jews hiding out in bunkers and refuges.” (Vol. 4, p. 1631).

S. Birnbaum, JTA dispatch, *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California* (San Francisco), April 23, 1993, p. 9.

Libération (Paris), April 18, 1988, p. 27.; In an interview published in the Austrian news magazine *Profil*, April 19, 1993, p. 86, Edelman likewise referred to “our 200 fighters.”

Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer contends that altogether there were 750 Jewish ghetto fighters, organized in two combat organizations. See: Y. Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York: 1982), p. 262.

According to Jewish Holocaust specialist Israel Gutman, “the total Jewish fighting forces in the ghetto numbered 700 to 750.” See: *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York, 1990), Vol. 4, p. 1628.

Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg likewise puts the “total armed strength” of the Jewish ghetto fighters at “about 750.” See: R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Holmes & Meier, 1985), p. 512.

Richard Lukas, a specialist of Polish history, cites estimates of between 1,000 and 2,000 Jewish ghetto fighters, noting that the combatants were thus only about three to five percent of the ghetto’s population. See: Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles Under German Occupation, 1939-1944* (Lexington, Ky.: 1986), pp. 172, 178, 267 (n. 106).

Jewish historian Ber Mark contends that there were perhaps a thousand “organized” Jewish fighters, with many others helping in the struggle. See: Ber Mark, *Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Schocken, 1975) p. 15, and, Ber Mark, “The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising,” in: Yuri Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back* (1967), p. 93.

N. Weill, “L'Insurrection du ghetto de Varsovie,” *Le Monde* (Paris), April 18-19, 1993, p. 2.; Zuckerman (1915-1981), whose name is sometimes spelled “Cukierman,” was also known by his nom de guerre, “Antek.” His memoir was published in 1993 under the title *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Univ. of Calif. Press).

Forty survivors of the original group of 200 fighters, including Marek Edelman, succeeded in escaping from the ghetto, May 8-10, 1943. See: M. Edelman interview in *Profil* (Vienna), April 19, 1993, p. 86.

Even though it had a wall around it, the Warsaw ghetto was largely “open.” In this sense, it deserved to be designated as a “residential district” or “quarter” rather than a “ghetto.”

See: Leon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate* (New York: 1979), p. 230.

Israel Gutman, “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising,” *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: 1990), p. 1628.

Cited by Adam Rutkowski in an article reprinted in a special issue of the French periodical, *Le Monde Juif*, April-August 1993, p. 162.; The “Jewish Combat Organization” (JCO) or “Jewish Fighting Organization,” was known in Polish as the “Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa” (ZOB).;

Details about the methods employed by the JCO are provided by Yisrael Gutman in his book, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt* (1982), pp. 344-349.

These methods scarcely differed from those of the Mafia. The Germans knew that they faced strong opposition. They sought to convince the Jews to allow themselves to be transferred to the Lublin region, along with the factories and workshops that served the German war effort. In March 1943 a strange “poster war” took place between the Jewish Combat Organization (JCO) and Walter C. Többens, who was responsible for evacuating the Jews. The JCO’s notices called on the Jewish residents to refuse transfer to what it called the death camps. The Germans left these handbills in place, content to put up alongside them notices signed “Walter C. Többens,” in which the claims of the JCO were refuted point by point.

Gutman acknowledges: “Többens told the truth about these transports; they weren’t to death camps, and it is a fact that there were buildings for integrating the factories [in the Lublin region]. But at the time the resistance and the suspicions of the Jews were so strong that even the most ingenious tactics weren’t able to overcome them.” (pp. 334-335) It was only after determining that methods of persuasion had been stymied that the Germans decided on their police operation.

On these points, as well as many others, see, notably:

The Jews of Warsaw, 1939-1943: Ghetto, Underground, Revolt, by Yisrael Gutman, translated from the Hebrew by Ina Friedman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982, 487+xxii pages), and, *Il y a 50 ans: le soulèvement du ghetto de Varsovie* (“Fifty Years Ago: The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising”), special edition of *Le Monde Juif*, April-August 1993, 336 pages.

The latter work includes a reprint of an article by Adam Rutkowski, published in 1969 under the title “Quelques documents sur la révolte du ghetto de Varsovie” (“Some Documents on the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt”), pp. 160-169. On page 162 appear the “general directives for combat of the Jewish Combat Organization.”

The “Stroop Report,” dated May 16, 1943, is entitled “Es gibt keinen jüdischen Wohnbezirk in Warschau mehr!” (“The Jewish Residential District in Warsaw Is No More!”). Text published as Nuremberg document PS-1061 (USA-275) in: International Military Tribunal, Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (“blue series”), Vol. 26, pp. 628-694, followed by a selection of 18 photographs (of 52). A purported facsimile edition of the German original of this report, including Stroop’s telex reports, along with an English-language translation, has been published in the US as: *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter in Warsaw Is No More!* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), Translated from the German and annotated by Sybil Milton, Introduction by Andrzej Wirth.

In his telex report of May 24, 1943, General Stroop stated: “Of the total 56,065 Jews apprehended, about 7,000 were annihilated directly in the course of the large-scale operation in the former Jewish quarter. 6,929 Jews were destroyed through transport to T II [an apparent reference to the Treblinka II camp], making a total of 13,929 annihilated Jews. In addition to this figure of 56,065, an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 Jews were annihilated in explosions or fires.” See: *The Stroop Report* (New York: 1979), [pages not numbered].

In the entry, “Warsaw Ghetto Uprising,” in *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (p. 1630), Israel Gutman writes: “On May 16 Stroop announced that the fighting was over and that ‘we succeeded in capturing altogether 56,065 Jews, that is, definitely destroying them.’” The words ascribed here to Stroop are not accurate. What he actually wrote in his report of May 16 is this: “The total number of Jews apprehended or confirmed destroyed is 56,065.”

“After the people had been taken out of the Ghetto — they numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 — they were brought to the railway station. The Security Police [Sicherheits-polizei] had complete supervision of these people and were in charge of the transport of these people to Lublin.” From an affidavit of Jürgen Stroop, which was quoted as document 3841-PS (USA-804) by American prosecutor Col. Amen at the Nuremberg Tribunal on April 12, 1946. Text published in: International Military Tribunal, Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (“blue series”), Vol. 11, pp. 354-355.

“The terrible, exemplary, and apocalyptic revolt of the inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto is at once an act of despair and of heroism.” See: D. Desthomas, *La Montagne*, April 17, 1993, p. 12.

Exaggerations about “the Warsaw ghetto uprising” appear regularly in the media around the world. A comparison of exaggerations and inventions in the Brazilian press on this subject with the facts recently appeared in a revisionist periodical in Brazil. See: S.E. Castan, “Documento: A Verdadeira História do Levante do Gueto de Varsóvia,” *Boletim-EP* (Esclarecimento ao País), June 1993, pp. 7-14. Address: *Boletim-EP*, Caixa Postal 11.011, Ag. Menino Deus, 90880-970 Porto Alegre, RS, Brazil.

March/April 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 2), page 6.

The 'Warsaw Ghetto Boy'

Mark Weber

It is probably the single most widely recognized and memorable Holocaust image of all: a frightened and apparently doomed young boy, his arms upraised, standing with other Warsaw ghetto Jews under the watch of an armed German soldier.

In a recent essay, Erwin Knoll, editor of the influential monthly *The Progressive*, aptly sums up the popular view of this photo: [\[1\]](#)

It is the photograph that has come to symbolize the Holocaust: a small Jewish boy, frightened eyes downcast, hands raised above his shoulders, surrounded by Nazi troops. This is the final roundup of Jews scheduled for execution during the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of 1943. More Jews, hands raised, can be seen in the background. We know as we stare at the photo that soon they will all be dead. The photo appears in archives and exhibitions, in magazine and newspaper articles about the Holocaust, in television documentaries and history books. By now I must have seen it hundreds of times ...

This photograph is one of several dozen included in the official SS report on the April-May 1943 German police Aktion against the Warsaw ghetto. [\[2\]](#) In the decades since the end of the war, it has been reproduced millions of times in countless books, magazines and films, serving as a kind of “all purpose” Holocaust illustration. Enlargements of it have appeared at Holocaust exhibitions and displays in countries around the world.

Millions of people have been led to believe that the bewildered boy in this poignant photo was murdered shortly after this memorable image was preserved on film. “The photograph wrenches the heart,” *The Washington Post* has commented, “because it appears that the boy, like millions of Jews and others, is to die at the hands of the Nazis.” [\[3\]](#)

In a 1979 advertisement for a set of sensationalized Holocaust story books published in a leading American weekly paper, this photo appears with a caption reading: [\[4\]](#)

His name was Arthur Chmiotak. He would be 42 this May, but he was gassed to death in a Nazi concentration camp before he was even ten years old. Why? Because he was an “undesirable,” a weed in Hitler’s garden of perfect Aryan flowers. Just one of more than six million that had to be eliminated ...

In Germany, a widely used school textbook describes this photo to young readers with these words: “Warsaw, May 1943: Destruction of the Jewish ghetto and deportation of its residents to gassing in the Treblinka camp.” [\[5\]](#)

Contrary to legend, though, the “ghetto boy” was not killed. He survived wartime internment in Warsaw and in a German concentration camp.

Several decades after it was taken, a New York physician, Tsvi C. Nussbaum, revealed that he was the lad in the famous photograph. “I remember there was a soldier in front of me, and he ordered me to raise my hands,” Nussbaum later recalled. After his uncle intervened, the seven-year-old boy was allowed to join the rest of his family. Along with relatives, young Nussbaum was deported from Warsaw in 1943 to the Bergen-Belsen camp in western Germany. After liberation at war’s end, he moved to Israel, from where he migrated to the United States in 1953. In 1990 he was living in Rockland County, New York. [6]

Nussbaum’s story has held up under critical examination, and even decades later he still bore a striking resemblance to the boy in the photo.

Jewish Holocaust historians “who have long considered the photograph a sort of sacred document” were not pleased by Nussbaum’s revelation, reported *The New York Times*, because they were “convinced that the symbolic power of the picture would be diminished were the boy shown to have survived.” Nussbaum himself was surprised by such concerns. “I never realized that everyone puts the entire weight of six million Jews on this photograph,” he said. “To me it looked like an incident in which I was involved, and that was it.” [7]

Dr. Lucjan Dobroszycki of the Yivo Institute, a Jewish history center in New York, warned that “this great photograph of the most dramatic event of the Holocaust requires a greater level of responsibility from historians than any other. It is too holy to let people do with it what they want.” [8] In other words, Dobroszycki suggested, historical truth must not be permitted to diminish the picture’s emotional impact and usefulness.

Widely regarded as one of this century’s most emotionally powerful images, this photograph is indeed telling evidence of the tragic fate of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War, but in a way quite different than many people believe.

Notes

1. ☞ Erwin Knoll, “The Uses of the Holocaust,” *The Progressive*, July 1993, p. 15.
2. ☞ The caption to this photo in the “Stroop Report reads: “Pulled from bunkers by force.” The 1943 “Stroop report” was submitted as a prosecution exhibit at the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-1946, and was published in volume 26 of the official 42-volume IMT “blue series” record. Nuremberg document 1061-PS (USA-275). A facsimile edition of this report, with English-language translation and commentary, has been published under the title *The Stroop Report: The Jewish Quarter in Warsaw Is No More!* (New York: Pantheon, 1979).
3. ☞ C. Harris, “Warsaw Ghetto Boy: Symbol of the Holocaust,” *The Washington Post*, Sept. 17, 1978, p. L 1.
4. ☞ Advertisement by the Pleasant Valley Press of Pittsburgh for a 13-volume set of books by Christian Bernada. *National Enquirer*, April 3, 1979.; A 1993 Associated Press caption describes this photograph: “A group of Jews, including a boy identified as Arthur Schmiontak, is escorted from the Warsaw ghetto by German soldiers in 1943.” See: *Orange County Register*, April 18, 1993, p. 23, and, *Savannah News-Press*, April 18, 1993.
5. ☞ Quoted in: *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), April 16, 1993, p. 11.

6.  D. Margolick, "Rockland Physician Thinks He is Boy in Holocaust Photo on Street in Warsaw," The New York Times, May 28, 1982, pp. B1, B2.; P. Moses, "Haunting Reminder," New York Post, Feb. 20, 1990, p. 5.;

In 1978 a London businessman named Israel (Issy) Rondel claimed to be the "Warsaw ghetto boy." See: J. Finkelstone, "'Ghetto boy' lives here," Jewish Chronicle (London), August 11, 1978, pp. 1, 2.; C. Harris, "Warsaw Ghetto Boy: Symbol of The Holocaust," The Washington Post, Sept. 17, 1978, pp. L1, L9. This claim later proved to be untrue. See: E. Kossoy, "The boy from the ghetto," Jerusalem Post, Sept. 1, 1978, p. 5.

7.  D. Margolick, The New York Times, May 28, 1982, pp. B1, B2. (cited above).
8.  The New York Times, May 28, 1982, pp. B1, B2.

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A Ghetto Fighter Recalls Her Capture

Young women fighters rounded up during the 1943 German action against the Warsaw ghetto are shown in this widely-reproduced photograph.

Like the famous “ghetto boy” photo, this was included in the 1943 “Stroop report.” The original caption read: “Women of the He-halutz movement, captured with weapons.” (“He-halutz” or “Hechalutz” [“pioneer”] was an important Zionist youth organization.)

The young woman at the right is Malka Zdorjewicz. Years later, she recalled the circumstance behind the taking of this photograph:

We went to a neutral place in the ghetto area and climbed down into the underground sewers. Through them, we girls used to carry arms into the ghetto; we hid them in our boots. During the ghetto uprising, we hurled Molotov cocktails at the Germans.

After the suppression of the uprising, we went into hiding, taking refuge in an underground shelter where a large quantity of arms was piled up. But the Germans detected us and forced us out. I happened to be there with Rachela and Bluma Wyszogrodzka (and that is how they took our picture) ...

Rachela and I, together with the others, were driven to the Umschlagplatz. They later took us to Majdanek from there.

Surviving internment in the Majdanek camp, Malka moved to Palestine in 1946, where she married (taking her husband’s name of Hornstein), and had four children. In Jerusalem in July 1967, she recorded her wartime experiences. (Source: Yad Vashem Bulletin [Jerusalem], No. 22, May 1968, pp. 37-39.)

M. W.

March/April 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 2), page 8.

Inaccurate *Time* Magazine Photo Caption Defames Ukrainians

The photograph shown here, with this factually untrue caption, appeared in *Time* magazine, February 22, 1993. In fact, this photo was taken by German photographers in the Ukrainian city of Lviv (Lvov) shortly after its capture by German forces on June 30, 1941. There is no evidence that the woman shown here was ever raped.

Many Ukrainian-Americans were understandably outraged at *Time* magazine's irresponsible and defamatory use of this graphic photo. A leading Ukrainian-American periodical commented: "The Ukrainian community deserves a genuine apology from *Time* for publishing an irrelevant photograph with a false caption, which violated historical truth and defamed the Ukrainian community." (*Ukrainian Weekly*, May 16.)

In response to numerous letters of complaint, *Time* magazine eventually published a sort of apology (April 19, 1993). "Except for the date," the influential weekly explained, "the information describing the events in the photo was obtained from an employee of a Holocaust museum in Israel."

The *Time* explanation continued:

Chaos in the form of pogroms, rapes and killings swept the town at that time. The picture is one of a series showing women being stripped, harassed and chased by civilians. One school of thought holds that the women were Jewish victims of the pogroms in Lvov... Other historians insist that the majority of the women pictured in the series of photographs were mistresses the Soviets abandoned when they fled Lvov to escape the Germans troops. The defenseless collaborators were then attacked by resentful residents for consorting with the Soviet enemy.

This same photo appears in the 1989 book *WWII: Time-Life Books History of the Second World War* (p. 141) with a caption reading: "A rape victim in the city of Lvov cries out in rage and anguish as an older woman comforts her."

Shortly before the German capture of the city on June 30, 1941, Soviet secret police summarily killed an estimated 2,300 men, women and children. When the Soviets abandoned the city, many enraged citizens vented their anger on those who had helped the hated oppressors. Many of the victims of this popular outrage were Jews, who had tended to support Soviet rule.

This photo, probably taken on July 1, 1941, almost certainly depicts a victim of this vengeful, pogrom-like outburst in which, according to some historians, several thousand Jews were killed.

Commenting on the circumstances of this photo, one Ukrainian-American writer has claimed that "the action was staged by the Nazis for the purpose of shooting a newsreel." (*Edmonton Jewish*

Life, March 25, 1993, p. 7.) There is no evidence whatsoever to support this scurrilous contention.

M.W.

Spring 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 1), page 5.

Subhas Chandra Bose and India's Struggle for Independence

Andrew Montgomery

When one thinks of the Indian independence movement in the 1930s and early 1940s, two figures most readily come to mind: Mahatma Gandhi, the immensely popular and “saintly” frail pacifist, and his highly respected, Fabian Socialist acolyte, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Less familiar to Westerners is Subhas Chandra Bose, a man of comparable stature who admired Gandhi but despaired at his aims and methods, and who became a bitter rival of Nehru. Bose played a very active and prominent role in India's political life during most of the 1930s. For example, he was twice (1938 and 1939) elected President of the Indian National Congress, the country's most important political force for freedom from the Raj, or British rule.

While his memory is still held in high esteem in India, in the West Bose is much less revered, largely because of his wartime collaboration with the Axis powers. Both before and during the Second World War, Bose worked tirelessly to secure German and Japanese support in freeing his beloved homeland of foreign rule. During the final two years of the war, Bose — with considerable Japanese backing — led the forces of the Indian National Army into battle against the British.

Ideology of Fusion

As early as 1930 — in his inaugural speech as mayor of Calcutta — the fervent young Bose first expressed his support for a fusion of socialism and fascism: [\[1\]](#)

... I would say we have here in this policy and program a synthesis of what modern Europe calls Socialism and Fascism. We have here the justice, the equality, the love, which is the basis of Socialism, and combined with that we have the efficiency and the discipline of Fascism as it stands in Europe today.

In years that followed, the brilliant, eclectic Bengali would occasionally modify this radical doctrine, but would never abandon it entirely. For example, in late 1944 — almost a decade and a half later — in a speech to students at Tokyo University, he asserted that India must have a political system “of an authoritarian character... To repeat once again, our philosophy should be a synthesis between National Socialism and Communism.” [\[2\]](#)

In the wake of the crushing defeat in 1945 of Hitler and Mussolini, “fascism” has arguably been the most despised of all political ideologies. Postwar western society recognizes no fascist heroics, and even considers “fascist” traits — particularly the authoritarian, charismatic, personal style of leadership, and the positive evaluation of violence and the willingness to use it for political purposes — to be decidedly unpalatable. In India, though, Bose is regarded as a national

hero, in spite of his repeated praise (as will be shown) for autocratic leadership and authoritarian government, and admiration for the European fascist regimes with which he allied himself.

Like the leaders he admired in Italy and Germany, Bose was (and still is) popularly known as Netaji, or “revered leader.” “His name,” explains Mihir Bose (no relation), one of Subhas' many biographers, “is given [in India] to parks, roads, buildings, sports stadiums, artificial lakes; his statues stand in place of those of discarded British heroes and his photograph adorns thousands of calendars and millions of pan (betel-nut) shops.” It is always the same portrait, continues the writer: Bose in his Indian National Army uniform, “exhorting his countrymen forward to one last glorious struggle.” [3]

No less a figure than Gandhi paid tribute to Bose’s remarkable courage and devotion. Six months after his death in an airplane crash on August 18, 1945, Gandhi declared: “The hypnotism of the Indian National Army has cast its spell upon us. Netaji’s name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none... His bravery shines through all his actions. He aimed high and failed. But who has not failed.” [4] On another occasion Gandhi eulogized: “Netaji will remain immortal for all time to come for his service to India.” [5]

Many of Bose’s admirers have been inclined to downplay or even ignore the fascist elements in his ideology, and even to pretend they never existed. For example, the text of Bose’s inaugural speech as mayor of Calcutta, cited above, was reprinted in a laudatory 1970 “Netaji Birthday Supplement” of the Calcutta Municipal Gazette, but with all references to fascism, including his support for a synthesis of fascism and socialism, carefully deleted. [6] Several admiring biographers have found it easier to ignore the fascist elements in his ideology than to explain them. Their subjective accounts do not even inform the reader that Bose spoke positively about some features of fascism, or else, in an attempt to remove from their hero any possible taint, they qualify his remarks in ways that he himself did not. [7]

'Fascist'?

During his lifetime, Bose was frequently denounced as a fascist or even a Nazi, particularly in the wake of the radical, revolutionary (as opposed to reformist) views he expressed in radio addresses broadcast to India from National Socialist Germany and, later, from quasi-fascist Japan. [8] For example, The Statesman, a highly influential Calcutta periodical, charged in November 1941: “Mr. Bose’s views are those of the Nazis, and he makes no secret of it,” [9] while the BBC, Britain’s worldwide radio voice, frequently accused him of “Fascism” and “Nazism.” [10]

Additionally, historians and writers who do not admire Bose readily point up his “fascist” views. A.M. Nair, a historian who has written favorably of Indian revolutionary Rash Behari Bose (who had sought Japan’s help during and after the First World War), found nothing to praise about Subhas Chandra Bose. After all, wrote Nair, he was clearly a fascist. [11]

Recognized Leadership

Bose, a patriot of almost fanatical zeal, first joined the Indian national movement in 1921, working under C.R. Das, whom he idolized. He was jailed for six months in 1921-1922 because of his political activities. Immediately upon his release, the 25-year-old Bose organized (and presided over) the All-Bengal Young Men’s Conference. As a result of his remarkable leadership abilities and ambition, he advanced quickly through nationalist ranks. He was soon elected General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC). In 1924, at the age of 27, Bose was elected the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, which effectively put

him in charge of the second-largest city in the British empire. As a result of his close ties with nationalist terrorists, in late 1924 he was detained by British authorities and held, without trial, for three years in prison. In 1928, the 31-year-old Bose was elected president of the BPCC, and, at the Calcutta meeting of the Congress party held that December, he came to national prominence by pressing (unsuccessfully) for the adoption by his provincial committee of an independence resolution.

By 1930 Bose had formulated the broad strategy that he believed India must follow to throw off the yoke of British imperialism and assume its rightful place as a leader in Asia. During his years in Mandalay prison and another short term of imprisonment in Alipore jail in 1930, he read many works on political theory, including Francesco Nitti's *Bolshevism, Fascism and Democracy* and Ivanoe Bonomi's *From Socialism to Fascism*. ^[12] It is clear that these works on fascism influenced him, and caused an immediate modification of his long-held socialist views: as noted above, in his inaugural speech as mayor of Calcutta, given a day after his release from Alipore jail, he revealed his support for a seemingly contradictory ideological synthesis of socialism and fascism.

Until his death 15 years later, Bose would continue publicly to praise certain aspects of fascism and express his hope for a synthesis of that ideology and socialism. His detailed comments on the matter in his book *The Indian Struggle: 1920-1934*, which was first published in 1935, accurately represent the views he held throughout most of his career. As such, the most important of them, along with Bose's own actions, will be analyzed here in some detail.

Program Outlined

Contending that the Indian National Congress was somewhat "out of date," and suffered from a lack of unity and strong leadership, Bose predicted in *The Indian Struggle* that out of a "Left-Wing revolt there will ultimately emerge a new full-fledged party with a clear ideology, program and plan of action." ^[13] The program and plan of action of this new party would, wrote Bose, follow this basic outline: ^[14]

1. The party will stand for the interests of the masses, that is, of the peasants, workers, etc., and not for the vested interests, that is, the landlords, capitalists and money-lending classes.
2. It will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people.
3. It will stand for a Federal Government for India as the ultimate goal, but will believe in a strong Central Government with dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet.
4. It will believe in a sound system of state-planning for the reorganization of the agricultural and industrial life of the country.
5. It will seek to build up a new social structure on the basis of the village communities of the past, that were ruled by the village "Panch" and will strive to break down the existing social barriers like caste.
6. It will seek to establish a new monetary and credit system in the light of the theories and the experiments that have been and are current in the modern world.
7. It will seek to abolish landlordism and introduce a uniform land-tenure system for the whole of India.
8. It will not stand for a democracy in the Mid-Victorian sense of the term, but will believe in government by a strong party bound together by military discipline, as the only means of holding India together and preventing a chaos, when Indians are free and are thrown entirely on their own resources.

9. It will not restrict itself to a campaign inside India but will resort to international propaganda also, in order to strengthen India's case for liberty, and will attempt to utilize the existing international organizations.
10. It will endeavor to unite all the radical organizations under a national executive so that whenever any action is taken, there will be simultaneous activity on many fronts.

Synthesis

Bose went on to note that Nehru had said in 1933: "I dislike Fascism intensely and indeed I do not think it is anything more than a crude and brutal effort of the present capitalist order to preserve itself at any cost." There is no middle road between Fascism and Communism, said Nehru, so one "had to choose between the two and I choose the Communist ideal." [15]

To this Bose responded: [16]

The view expressed here is, according to the writer, fundamentally wrong... One is inclined to hold that the next phase in world-history will produce a synthesis between Communism and Fascism. And will it be a surprise if that synthesis is produced in India? ...In spite of the antithesis between Communism and Fascism, there are certain traits in common. Both Communism and Fascism believe in the supremacy of the State over the individual. Both denounce parliamentary democracy. Both believe in party rule. Both believe in the dictatorship of the party and in the ruthless suppression of all dissenting minorities. Both believe in a planned industrial reorganization of the country. These common traits will form the basis of the new synthesis. That synthesis is called by the writer "Samyavada" — an Indian word, which means literally "the doctrine of synthesis or equality." It will be India's task to work out this synthesis.

Before taking a closer look at these remarkable words, four points need to be made. First, Bose's fascist model was almost certainly Mussolini's Italy, not Hitler's Germany. In 1934 Bose made the first of several visits to Fascist Italy and found both the regime and its leader very agreeable. On that occasion he had a cordial (first) meeting with Mussolini — "a man who really counts in the politics of modern Europe." [17] After *The Indian Struggle* appeared in print in 1935, Bose made a special stop in Rome personally to present a copy to the *Duce*. [18]

Second, the book was completed a full year before the commencement of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), in October 1935. While Bose would, by the time he completed his book, have known about such violent incidents as "The Night of the Long Knives" — the SS killing of dozens of SA men on June 30, 1934 — he had no real reason to consider the European fascist regimes unusually violent, murderous or bellicose. "I should like to point out that when I was writing the book," he later explained, [19]

Fascism had not started on its imperialistic expedition, and it appeared to me merely an aggressive form of nationalism... What I really meant was that we in India wanted our national freedom, and having won it, we wanted to move in the direction of Socialism. This is what I meant when I referred to a "synthesis between Communism and Fascism." Perhaps the expression I used was not a happy one.

Third, despite Bose's claim to represent the political left, and that a party supporting a fusion of fascism and socialism would be ushered in by a "Left-Wing revolt," the ideology he expounded might more appropriately be regarded as right wing. Bose's ideology was radical and contained

socialist elements — such as the desire to abolish the traditional class structure and create a society of equal opportunity, and the claim to represent the peasants and workers. To that extent it can be considered left wing. It is worth noting that Hitler’s “right wing” political movement — the National Socialist German Workers’ Party — shared many of Bose’s “socialist” goals. [20] Nehru, a committed socialist, challenged Bose’s characterization of himself and his followers as left wing: “It seems to me that many of the so-called Leftists are more Right than the so-called Rightists. Strong language and a capacity to attack the old Congress leadership is not a test of Leftism in politics.” [21]

Lastly, it should be noted that Bose was willing to tone down his more radical political beliefs on those occasions when he considered it advantageous or necessary to do so. For example, in his February 1938 inaugural speech as President of the Indian National Congress, Bose — probably in a sincere attempt to placate the Gandhian faction — made statements that appear to represent almost an about face from the political views he had expounded in *The Indian Struggle*. In a future independent India, he said, [22]

the party itself will have a democratic basis, unlike, for instance, the Nazi party which is based on the “leader principle.” The existence of more than one party and the democratic basis of the Congress party will prevent the future Indian State becoming a totalitarian one. Further, the democratic basis of the party will ensure that leaders are not thrust upon the people from above, but are elected from below.

It is possible that these statements reflect a temporary change of mind, but it is more likely that they reflect Bose’s efforts during this period to gain further political respectability, to prove that he was more than just a radical and revolutionary Bengali. By doing so he apparently hoped to win wider acceptance of the policies he wanted to implement in his year as Congress President: policies which were not especially radical or revolutionary. [23] According to Nirad Chaudhuri, his former personal secretary, Bose tried very hard during this period to seek agreement with the Gandhian faction over the direction the Congress party should move, and even “showed something like tender filial piety towards Gandhi,” of whom he had been very critical in *The Indian Struggle*. [24] It is against this political background that Bose’s statements to the Congress party meeting in February 1938 should be seen.

A year later he successfully recontested the presidential election, but two months afterwards was forced to resign because of his inability to resolve his differences with Gandhi and the Gandhian faction. Probably believing that his earlier suspicions of democracy had been proven correct, and feeling that there was now no use in trying to win the favor or approval of more conservative elements in the Congress party, Bose once again proclaimed his belief in the efficacy of authoritarian government and a synthesis of fascism and socialism. Many similar examples can be cited to show how Bose outwardly (but probably not inwardly) modified his views to suit changing political contexts.

A Life for India

Throughout his political career, India’s liberation from British rule remained Bose’s foremost political goal; indeed, it was a lifelong obsession. As he explained in his most important work, *The Indian Struggle*, the political party he envisioned “will stand for the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people.” Speaking of Bose a few days after his death in August 1945, Jawaharlal Nehru said: [25]

In the struggle for the cause of India's independence he has given his life and has escaped all those troubles which brave soldiers like him have to face in the end. He was not only brave but had deep love for freedom. He believed, rightly or wrongly, that whatever he did was for the independence of India... Although I personally did not agree with him in many respects, and he left us and formed the Forward Bloc, nobody can doubt his sincerity. He struggled throughout his life for the independence of India, in his own way.

Along with his abiding love for his country, Bose held an equally passionate hatred of the imperial power that ruled it: Great Britain. In a radio address broadcast from Berlin on March 1, 1943, he exclaimed that Britain's demise was near, and predicted that it would be "India's privilege to end that Satanic empire." [26] The fundamental principle of his foreign policy, Bose declared in a May 1945 speech in Bangkok, is that "Britain's enemy is India's friend." [27] Although these two speeches are from his final years, they express views he had held since before his April 1921 resignation from the Indian Civil Service. [28] It was this principle of making friends with Britain's enemies in the hope that they would assist him in liberating India that brought him in 1941 to Germany and then, in 1943, to Japan.

Violence or Non-Violence?

Bose envisaged that "the complete political and economic liberation of the Indian people" would inevitably require the use of force. Just before resigning from the Indian Civil Service, he discussed with Dilip Kumar Roy, his closest friend, the subject of anti-British terrorism. "I admit it is regrettable," he said, "even ugly if you will, though it also has a terrible beauty of its own. But maybe that beauty does not unveil her face except for her devotees." [29]

Violence was not new to Bose, even at that early stage of his career. In 1916 he had been expelled from Presidency College in Calcutta for his part in the violent assault on Professor Edward Oaten, who had allegedly insulted Indian students. [30] Moreover, although he occasionally claimed to "detest" violence, [31] and criticized isolated acts of terrorism (which he considered ineffective and counterproductive), [32] he was never really committed to Gandhi's policy of non-violence. [33] He regarded the Gandhi-supported civil disobedience campaign as an effective means of paralyzing the administration, but regarded it as inadequate unless accompanied by a movement aimed at total revolution and prepared, if necessary, to use violence. [34]

Militarism

Related to Bose's willingness to use violence to gain political objective was his belief — expressed in *The Indian Struggle*, for example — that a government by a strong party should be "bound together by military discipline." Indeed Bose was infatuated with military discipline, and later commented that his basic training in the University Unit of the India Defence Force (for which he volunteered in 1917, while a student at Scottish Church College in Calcutta) "gave me something which I needed or which I lacked. The feeling of strength and of self-confidence grew still further." [35]

Bose was able to give much grander expression to his "militarism" when, in 1930, he volunteered to form a guard of honor during the ceremonial functions at the Calcutta session of the Congress party. Such guards of honor were not uncommon, but the one Bose formed and commanded was unlike anything previously seen. More than 2,000 volunteers were given military training and organized into battalions. About half wore uniforms, with specially designed steel-chain epaulettes for the officers. Bose, in full dress uniform (peaked cap, standing collar, orna-

mental breast cords, and jodhpurs) even carried a Field Marshal's baton when he reviewed his "troops." Photographs taken at the conference show him looking entirely out of place in a sea of khadi (traditional Indian clothing). Gandhi and several other champions of Non-violence (Ahimsa) were uncomfortable with this display. ^[36]

The Indian National Army

A high point in Bose's "military career" came in July 1943 in Singapore. At a mass meeting there on July 4, Rash Behari Bose (no relation) handed over to him the leadership of the Indian Independence League. The next day, Subhas Bose reviewed for the first time the soldiers of the Indian National Army (INA), which then comprised 13,000 men. In his address to the troops, which is a good example of his speaking style, he cited George Washington and Giuseppe Garibaldi as examples of men who led armies that won independence for their respective countries. Bose went on: ^[37]

Soldiers of India's army of liberation!...

Every Indian must feel proud that this Army — his own Army — has been organized entirely under Indian leadership and that, when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go to battle ...

Comrades! You have voluntarily accepted a mission that is the noblest that the human mind can conceive of. For the fulfillment of such a mission, no sacrifice is too great, not even the sacrifice of one's life ...

... Today is the proudest day of my life. For an enslaved people, there can be no greater pride, no higher honor, than to be the first soldier in the army of liberation. But this honor carries with it a corresponding responsibility, and I am deeply conscious of it. I assure you that I shall be with you in darkness and in sunshine, in sorrow and in joy, in suffering and in victory. For the present, I can offer you nothing except hunger, thirst, privation, forced marches and death. But if you follow me in life and in death, as I am confident you will, I shall lead you to victory and freedom. It does not matter who among us will live to see India free. It is enough that India shall be free, and that we shall give our all to make her free.

May God now bless our Army and grant us victory in the coming fight!

This "Free India Army" ("Azad Hind Fauj") would not only "emancipate India from the British yoke," he told the soldiers, but would, under his command, become the standing national army of the liberated nation.

Choreography for Impact

As his staging at the 1930 Calcutta session of the Congress party suggests, Bose understood early on the importance of political choreography and the aesthetics of mass meetings. After his visits to Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany, he was even more mindful of the importance for any successful broad-based political movement of mass meetings, marches, visual symbols, and ceremonial or liturgical rituals. For example, at the 51st session of the Congress party at Haripura in 1938, Bose made sure that his entrance as the new Congress President would be spectacular. Escorted by 51 girls in saffron saris (the number corresponding with the number of the Congress session), he was seated in an ancient chariot drawn by 51 white bullocks, and taken on a two

hour procession through 51 specially-constructed gates, accompanied by 51 brass bands. [38] Political choreography of this type — although not to this extreme degree — was very evident at all mass rallies (which sometimes attracted crowds numbering as many as 200,000) of the Forward Bloc party that Bose formed in 1939. Carefully chosen symbols, slogans and songs, coupled with a flood of written propaganda, were used in an unsuccessful attempt to make the Forward Bloc into a mass party. [39]

Even during the last years of the war, when he was in southeast Asia heading the Provisional Government of Free India and the INA, he continued to choreograph carefully all of his rallies, meetings and ceremonies, in order to maximize their impact. He also realized that his own role in this choreography was central. Even in the hottest tropical weather, for instance, he wore an imposing military uniform, including forage cap, khaki tunic and jodhpurs, and shiny, knee-length black boots. Moreover, whenever he travelled “he demanded all the rights and privileges of a head of state. On his road travels in Malaya, for example, he insisted on a full ceremonial escort; Japanese military jeeps mounted with sub-machine guns, a fleet of cars, and motorcycle outriders.” [40] Historian Mihir Bose argues persuasively that such carefully planned actions were manifestations not of megalomania, but rather of Subhas Bose’s effort to create a sense of unity transcending class, caste and origin among the large and diverse populations of Indians in Southeast Asia, to increase their political awareness, to arouse and inspire both them and his INA troops, and to show the world that he regarded himself as a political leader of substance and importance. [41]

This naturally raises the question of Bose’s leadership style. In the passage from *The Indian Struggle* quoted above at length, he expressed his belief in what he called “the dictatorship of the party” (the party being the governing body of a free India), but he did not specify the precise nature of the party’s leadership, or whether it, too, would be dictatorial. Most importantly, he did not state whether he saw himself as the party leader, or comment directly on what role he intended for himself in a free India. Nonetheless, clues about these details can be gleaned from other sections of *The Indian Struggle* and from the speeches and statements Bose made at various times throughout his career.

Determined Leadership

Bose clearly admired strong, vigorous, military-type leaders, and in *The Indian Struggle* he listed several whom he particularly respected. These included Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and even a former British governor of Bengal, Sir Stanley Jackson. [42] Nowhere in this book is there any criticism of these individuals (three of them dictators) for having too much power, yet another man is chastised for this: Mahatma Gandhi. Bose admired Gandhi for many things, not least his ability to “exploit the mass psychology of the people, just as Lenin did the same thing in Russia, Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany.” [43] But he accused Gandhi of accepting too much power and responsibility, of becoming a “Dictator for the whole country” who issued “decrees” to the Congress. [44] According to Bose, Gandhi was a brilliant and gifted man, but, unlike Mussolini, Hitler and the others mentioned, a very ineffectual leader. Gandhi had failed to liberate India because of his frequent indecision and constant willingness to compromise with the Raj (something Bose said he would never do). [45]

It is clear that Bose — who believed from his youth that he was destined for greatness [46] — saw himself as a “strong” leader in the mold of those named above. “I ask those who have any doubts or suspicions in their minds to rely on me,” he told the Indian Independence League Conference in Singapore on July 4, 1943. He continued: [47]

I shall always be loyal to India alone. I will never deceive my motherland. I will live and die for India... The British could not bring me to submission by inflicting hardships on me. British statesmen could neither induce me nor deceive me. There is no one who can divert me from the right path.

Bose was decisive, aggressive and ambitious, and even as a university student, these features of his personality attracted many devoted followers. Dilip Kumar Roy, his companion during his days as a student at Cambridge, referred to him as “strength-inspiring,” and the absolute leader of the Indian student population. [48]

Bose’s militarism, ambition and leadership traits do not necessarily indicate (contrary to popular opinion) that he was a leader in the fascist mold. If they did, one would have to consider all personalities with similar traits — Winston Churchill, for example — as “fascist.” In this regard, it is worth noting that during his many years as head of various councils, committees and offices, and during 15-month tenure as President of the Indian National Congress (February 1938 to May 1939), Bose never acted in an undemocratic manner, nor did he claim powers or responsibilities to which he was not constitutionally or customarily entitled. Neither did he attempt in any way to foster a cult of his own personality (as, it could be argued, Gandhi did).

However, after he assumed control of the INA in July-August 1943, Bose’s leadership style underwent a transformation. First, he allowed a cult of his personality to flourish among the two million or so Indians living in southeast Asia. Prayers were regularly said on his behalf, and his birthday celebrations were — like Gandhi’s in India — major festivals. [49] He was invincible, according to one Indian myth from this period, and could not be harmed by bombs or bullets. [50] An image of Bose that stressed his strength of character, military prowess, and willingness to sacrifice for a free India was intentionally promoted in propaganda broadcasts and printed material. With his approval, the title Netaji (“Revered Leader”) was added to his name in all articles about him appearing in the newspapers of the Indian Independence League; even his staff officers were permitted to address him with this title. [51] By the end of the war, few Indians in south Asia still referred to him by name; he was always respectfully called Netaji. [52]

Authoritarian Rule

Second, in contrast to his statement at the 1938 Haripura session of the Congress party (quoted above) — that leaders would be elected from below — Bose proclaimed, on October 21, 1943, the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind (“Free India”). While retaining his post as Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army, he announced that he was naming himself Head of State, Prime Minister, and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs. [53] (The most important of these positions — Head of State — he anticipated retaining in a free India.) These appointments involved no democratic process or voting of any kind. Further, the authority he exercised in these posts was dictatorial and often very harsh. He demanded total obedience and loyalty from the Indians in south Asia, and any who opposed him, his army or government faced imprisonment, torture, or even execution. [54]

Additionally, if wealthy Indians did not contribute sufficient funds to Bose’s efforts, they risked confiscation of their property. Bose’s threats were taken very seriously, and had the desired effect: funds did pour in. [55] His INA troops were obliged to swear an oath of loyalty to both the Provisional Government and to him personally. He ordered the summary execution of all INA deserters, and also prepared (but was never able to implement) law codes for the entire population of India. These laws, which stipulated the death penalty for a range of offenses, were to

come into force when the INA, together with the Japanese Army, entered India to fight against the British. [56]

With regard to his leadership style during this 1943-1945 period, in fairness to Bose it should be pointed out that the entire world was then engulfed in a horrendous war, and political and military leaders everywhere, on all sides, adapted extraordinarily authoritarian and repressive measures. Some of the measures and policies adapted by the wartime government of the United States, for instance, were as oppressive and as severe as any planned or implemented by Bose. [57]

A New India

Bose clearly anticipated that the British would be driven out of India in an armed struggle (under his leadership), [58] and that a social and political revolution would begin the moment the Indian people saw British rule under attack in India itself. [59] This revolution, he believed, would bring an end to the old caste system and traditional social hierarchy, which would be replaced by an egalitarian, casteless and classless society based on socialist models. This process would require very careful guidance, with a firm hand, to prevent anarchy and chaos. [60]

Bose had, in fact, held these beliefs since the early 1930s, as Mrs. Kitty Kurti, a close German friend of Bose, revealed in her anecdotal memoir. At a June 1933 meeting attended by Kurti, Bose explained that: [61]

Besides a plan of action which will lead up to the conquest of power, we shall require a program for the new state when it comes into existence in India. Nothing can be left to chance. The group of men and women who will assume the leadership of the fight with Great Britain will also have to take up the task of controlling, guiding and developing the new state and, through the state, the entire Indian people. If our leaders are not trained for post-war leadership also there is every possibility that after the conquest of power a period of chaos will set in and incidents similar to those for the French Revolution of the 18th century may be repeated in India... The generals of the war-time period in India will have to carry through the whole program of post-war reforms in order to justify to their countrymen the hopes and aspirations that they will have to rouse during the fight. The task of these leaders will not be over till a new generation of men and women are educated and trained after the establishment of the new state and this new generation are able to take complete charge of their country's affairs.

This explains what Bose meant in *The Indian Struggle* when he wrote (as quoted above) of the need for a strong, single-party government, “bound together by military discipline” with “dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet.” Only an very strong government, strict discipline, and dictatorial rule would, according to Bose, prevent the anticipated revolution from falling into chaos and anarchy. That is why the government would not — “in the first years after liberation” — “stand for a democracy in the Mid-Victorian sense of the term.” It would use whatever military force was necessary to maintain law and order, and would not relinquish authority or re-establish more regular forms of government until it felt confident that “the work of post-war social reconstruction” had been completed and “a new generation of men and women in India, fully trained and equipped for the battle of life” had emerged. [62]

Bose clearly anticipated that authoritarian rule would not last beyond the period when social reconstruction was completed, and law and order were established — when India was “on its feet,”

as he often wrote. As he frequently stated, Bose aimed for nothing less than the formation of “a new India and a happy India on the basis of the eternal principles of liberty, democracy and socialism.” [63] He rejected Communism (at least as it was practiced in the Soviet Union) principally because of its internationalism, and because he believed that the theoretical ideal found in the writings of Marx could not be applied, without modification, to India. Still, he maintained socialist views throughout his adult life, and, on very many occasions, expressed his hope for an egalitarian (especially classless and casteless) industrialized society in which the state would control the basic means of production. [64]

He was opposed to liberalism, believing that greater emphasis should be placed on social goals than on the needs or desires of individuals. Individual wishes, he reasoned, must be subordinated to the needs of the state, especially during the struggle for independence and the period of reconstruction immediately following liberation. Nonetheless, having himself been imprisoned eleven times and sent into exile three times, he was fully committed to upholding the rights of minority intellectual, religious, cultural and racial groups. He hoped for an “all-round freedom for the Indian people — that is, for social, economic and political freedom, and would wage a relentless war against bondage of every kind till the people can become really free.” [65]

It could be argued that he was not as committed to the principle of democracy as he was to socialism and freedom (as he defined it). While he extolled democracy on numerous occasions, at other times his words suggest a belief that other parties would have a place, in a free India, only as long as they were “working towards the same end, in whole or in part,” as his governing party. [66] Political pluralism did not appeal to him at all. He seems to have envisioned a free India that was more authoritarian than democratic. His own actions as head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind illustrate a lack of regard for the democratic process.

Mass Mobilization

Bose was, nonetheless, a consistent advocate of total mobilization: the mustering of national resources on a scale normally associated with military-like action. Realizing that manpower was easily India’s greatest resource (and arguably the only one available to the independence movement), he proclaimed that all Indians — male and female, urban and rural, rich and poor — should actively participate in the fight for freedom. From his earliest days in politics to his death in 1945, he sought to rouse the great Indian masses, and involve them directly in the political struggle. Their support for representatives at the provincial or national levels was not enough; they must themselves rise up and win independence.

During the 1930s, however, his political position was never strong enough to call for other resources than manpower, nor was India — under British control — able to offer other resources. Additionally, total mobilization during peace-time, without an impending war or revolution in the awareness of the masses, had never been achieved (not even by the Nazis) and, arguably, never could be achieved. Bose, an astute man, no doubt realized this. With the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, he was at last in a position to appeal directly for total mobilization to the mass of Indians — at least in Southeast Asia, and, less directly, to those in India itself. Along with his call for mass mobilization, he demanded that all available resources be provided for the cause of freedom. For example, he told a mass meeting in Singapore in July 9, 1943: [67]

Friends! You will now realize that the time has come for the three million Indians living in East Asia to mobilize all their available resources, including money and manpower. Half-hearted measures will not do. I want Total Mobilization and nothing less,

for we have been told repeatedly, even by our enemies, that this is a total war... Out of this total mobilization I expect at least three hundred thousand soldiers and three crores of dollars [\$30,000,000]. I want also a unit of brave women to form a death-defying regiment who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded ...

Of course, Bose demanded not only the total mobilization of Indian resources in south Asia, but of Indian resources everywhere. [68] He called for mass mobilization not only in support of his army, but also for his dynamic new government, the various branches of which required financing and manpower.

Women's Equality

As can be seen from the passage quoted above, Bose called on both men and women for total support. Unlike the German National Socialists and the Italian Fascists, who stressed the masculine in almost all spheres of social and political activity, Bose believed that women were the equals of men, and should therefore be likewise prepared to fight and sacrifice for India's liberation. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s he had campaigned in India to bring women more fully into the life of the nation. [69] After his return to Asia in 1943, he called on women to serve as soldiers in the Indian National Army — at the time a most radical view. “When I express my confidence that you are today prepared to fight and suffer for the sake of your motherland,” he told the women's section of the Independence League in July 1943, [70]

I do not mean only to cajole you with empty words. I know the capabilities of our womanhood well. I can, therefore, say with certainty that there is no task which our women cannot undertake and no sacrifice and suffering which our women cannot undergo... To those who say that it will not be proper for our women to carry guns, my only request is that they look into the pages of our history. What brave deeds the Rani of Jhansi performed during the First War of Independence in 1857...Indians — both common people and members of the British Indian army — who are on the border areas of India, will, on seeing you march with guns on your shoulders, voluntarily come forward to receive the guns from you and carry on the struggle started by you.

A women's regiment was formed in 1943, and came to number about 1,000 women. It was named, appropriately, the “Rani of Jhansi Regiment,” after a heroine of the Indian rebellion of 1857-58 against British rule. While those less suited to combat duties were employed as nurses and in other support roles, the majority were trained as soldiers. When the INA attacked British forces from Burma in east India in mid-1944, the women of the Jhansi Regiment fought alongside the men, suffering equally heavy casualties. When the army was forced to withdraw, the women were given no privileges. Along with the men, they marched for more than a thousand kilometers. [71]

Commitment to Youth

Lastly, Bose was also deeply committed to the youth movement, a devotion that featured prominently in his political ideology. Convinced that young people were by nature idealistic, restless and open to new ideas [72] — such his own radical and militant outlook — Bose accordingly devoted a great deal of time and effort to the new Youth Leagues that were formed in a number of provinces during the 1920s. Throughout his career he presided over far more youth conferences than any other all-India political figure, and his speeches to younger people he steadfastly urged a spirit of activism that contrasted sharply with the passivism preached by Gandhi and many of

the older politicians. “One of the most hopeful signs of the time,” he claimed at the 1928 Maharashtra Provincial Conference, [73]

is the awakening among the youth of this country... Friends! I would implore you to assist in the awakening of youth and in the organization of the youth movement. Self-conscious youth will not only act, but will also dream; will not only destroy, but will also build. It will succeed where even you may fail; it will create for you a new India — and a free India --out of the failures, trials and experiences of the past.

India’s liberation would be achieved not by Gandhi and the leading politicians of his generation, whose conservative, reformist policies bred passivity and inactivity. It would, Bose believed, be achieved only through the efforts and sacrifices of the militant, revolutionary and politically conscious younger generation.

Economic Views

In contrast to the copious record of Bose’s political ideology and actions, much less is available about other important elements of his outlook, such as his economic views and policies. For example, while he condemned capitalism and extolled socialism in the pages of *The Indian Struggle*, Bose was very vague about just what monetary or credit systems he foresaw in a free India. They would be set up, he simply wrote, “in the light of the theories and the experiments that have been and are current in the modern world.” Throughout his career he never wrote or said anything more specific about such matters. He appears to have had no precise ideas about political economy, save that economics was not important in itself but must be subordinated to national political considerations. Any discussion here of what economic systems he favored, and when and how he intended to implement them, would thus be merely speculative.

Unique Political Ideology

While Bose’s political ideology can reasonably be described as essentially “fascistic,” two qualifying points need to be made here.

First, his ideology and actions were not the result of any extreme neurotic or pathological psychosocial impulses. He was not a megalomaniac, nor did he display any of the pathological traits often attributed (rightly or wrongly) to fascist leaders, such as hostile aggression, obsessive hatred or delusions. Moreover, while he was an ardent patriot and nationalist, Bose’s nationalism was cultural, not racist.

Second, his radical political ideology was shaped by a consuming frustration with the unsuccessful efforts of others to gain independence for India. His “fascist” outlook did not come from a drive for personal power or social elevation. While he was ambitious, and clearly enjoyed the devotion of his followers, his obsession was not adulation or power, but rather freedom for his beloved Motherland — a goal for which he was willing to suffer and sacrifice, even at the cost of his life.

Bose was favorably impressed with the discipline and organizational strength of fascism as early as 1930, when he first expressed support for a synthesis of fascism and socialism. During his stays in Europe during the 1930s, he was deeply moved by the dynamism of the two major “fascist” powers, Italy and Germany. After observing these regimes first-hand, he developed a political ideology of his own that, he was convinced, could bring about the liberation of India and the total reconstruction of Indian society along vaguely authoritarian-socialist lines.

Bose's lack of success in his life-long effort to liberate India from alien rule was certainly not due to any lack of effort. From 1921, when he became the first Indian to resign formally from the Indian Civil Service, until his death in 1945 as leader of an Indian government in exile, Subhas Chandra Bose struggled ceaselessly to achieve freedom and prosperity for his beloved homeland.

Notes

1. From Bose's inaugural speech of Sept. 24, 1930. Quoted in: Leonard A. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose* (New York: 1990), p. 234.
2. Speech of November 22, 1944, in *S.C. Bose, Fundamental Questions of Indian Revolution* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1970), pp. 403-4.
3. Mihir Bose, *The Lost Hero: A Biography of Subhas Chandra Bose* (London/Melbourne/New York: Quartet Books, 1982), p. x.
4. Harijan, Feb. 24, 1946, in Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Ahmedabad: The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Navajivan Trust, 1972-78), Volume LXXXIII, p. 135. Gandhi wrote in the present tense, because at the time he still felt that Bose was alive, but hiding somewhere so that he could appear at the right moment. (See: Speech at Prayer Meeting, Jan. 10, 1946, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume LXXXII, p. 391.).
5. Talk with Deb Nath Das, Feb. 25, 1947, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Volume LXXXVII, p. 19.
6. *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, Jan. 24, 1970. Cited in: *M. Bose, The Lost Hero* (1982), p. 277, n. 76
7. See: T. Hayashida, *Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose: His Great Struggle and Martyrdom* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1970); K.P. Chaudhuri, *Netaji and India* (Shillong: Kali Prasanna Chaudhuri, 1956).
8. Japan's political system from the early-1930s to mid-1940s can be considered ideologically fascist, following as it did the theories of Kita Ikka, the leading radical nationalist ideologue. In practice, though, it was not truly fascist. No political movement arose to seize power, and formal Japanese constitutional and institutional authority remained essentially intact. Further, parliamentary pluralism continued to exist, and elections continued to take place.
9. *The Statesman* (Calcutta), Nov. 19, 1941. Quoted in: L.A. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*: (1990), p. 454.
10. Bose believed that the BBC attacks ("the cheap method of British propaganda") were directed more against Free India Radio than against himself. He responded to BBC accusations by "reminding" listeners that "Free India Radio is the voice of freedom-loving India. It is the harbinger of the revolution which is fast approaching and which will soon strike a death blow at British power in India." From a "Free India Radio" broadcast of March 5, 1942, quoted in George Orwell [Eric Blair], *Orwell: The War Commentaries*, Edited with an introduction by W.J. West (London: Duckworth and the British Broadcasting Corporation, 1985), p. 222.
From 1941 to 1943, George Orwell worked as a Talks Producer in the Indian Section of the BBC Eastern Service. He saw Bose as his principal foe in the war of propaganda and, while he chose not to mention him by name (thus denying him and his cause publicity), many of his broadcasts were made in direct response to those of Bose. See: George Orwell [Eric Blair], *Orwell: The War Broadcasts*, Edited with an introduction by W.J. West (London:

Duckworth and the BBC, 1985), p. 14. These two volumes contain numerous references to Bose, as well as transcripts of many of his key radio broadcasts from Berlin.

11. [↗](#) A.M. Nair, *An Indian Freedom Fighter in Japan* (Bombay: Orient Longman, 1983), p. 250.
12. [↗](#) L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 235. Both Nitti and Bonomi were former Italian prime ministers, and both were critical of Mussolini's fascist regime. In both books, however, fascism was grudgingly praised for successfully reducing industrial and inter-class strife, and restoring order, discipline and patriotic sentiment. We know that Bose was reading these books in Alipore Jail in 1930, as he wrote on the inside cover of each, next to his signature, "Alipore Jail, 1930."
13. [↗](#) S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle 1920-1942*, Compiled by the Netaji Research Bureau (Bombay and other centers: Asia Publishing House, 1964), p. 312. In this edition a collection of letters, speeches and other documents covering the years 1935 to 1940 has been added. Hence the slight change in the title, as compared with the title when the work was first published in 1935.
14. [↗](#) S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), pp. 312, 313. Text also given in: Hari Hara Das, Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement (New Delhi: 1983), pp. 189-190.
15. [↗](#) S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), p. 313.
16. [↗](#) S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), pp. 313, 314.
17. [↗](#) S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), p. 231.; L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, pp. 278, 294 (and p. 690, n. 156).
18. [↗](#) L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 294.
19. [↗](#) Report of an interview with R. Palme Dutt, which appeared in the Daily Worker (London), Jan. 24, 1938, Republished in S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle* (1964), pp. 392-394. If authentic, Bose's statements in this interview constitute, to the present writer's knowledge, his only attempt to excuse his positive statements about fascism.
20. [↗](#) Without wishing to draw a parallel between the moral values, personalities and actions of the two men, it is worth pointing out that in *Mein Kampf* Hitler espoused a political ideology that was very similar (with the obvious exception of anti-Semitism and one or two less-central elements) to that espoused by Bose in *The Indian Struggle*: fervent nationalism and full social-political mobilization, coupled with non-Marxist socialism and authoritarian leadership. See: A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Munich: F. Eher, Nachf. [Zentralverlag der NSDAP], 1943 [Zwei Bände in einem Band. Ungekürzte Ausgabe]), pp. 409-517.
Bose had, unlike most prominent politicians in the prewar period, studied *Mein Kampf* in some detail. Although he complained in 1936 of the Nazis' "selfishness and racial arrogance," he informed Hitler during their meeting in May 1942 that apart from his comments in Chapter 26 on the subject of Indian independence, he found *Mein Kampf* "most agreeable." See: Letter to Dr. Thierfelder, March 25, 1936, in Sisir K. Bose, et al., eds., *A Beacon Across Asia: A Biography of Subhas Chandra Bose* (1973), pp. 258-260.; The Bose-Hitler discussion is treated in this same book, esp. pp. 356, 357, 362.
21. [↗](#) Letter to S. C. Bose, Feb. 4, 1939, in Jawaharlal Nehru, *A Bunch of Old Letters* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1958 [1960 ed.]), p. 318. In this same book, see also Nehru's letter of April 3, 1939, to Bose, esp. pp. 356, 357, 362.
22. [↗](#) Presidential address at the 51st session of the Congress at Haripura, Feb. 19, 1938, in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose* (Delhi: 1962), p. 80. Several authors — such as Sisir Bose and Biduyt Chakrabarty — keen to present Bose in a favorable light, have mistakenly cited this speech as evidence that he had lost faith in fascism. Chakrabarty claimed, for example, that Bose "criticized strongly the Leadership Principle of the fascists as it eroded democracy from the party" and that his speech was a sign of his "growing disillusion-

sionment with fascism.” See: B. Chakrabarty, *Subhas Chandra Bose and Middle Class Radicalism: A Study in Indian Nationalism, 1928-1940* (London/New York: I.B. Taurus, in association with The London School of Economics & Political Science, 1990), p. 37.

However, the only part of the speech that even mentioned fascism or the Leadership Principle is that quoted in the main body of this essay. It can hardly be considered a strong criticism either of fascism or of the Leadership Principle, especially in the light of the indelicate language sometimes used in public by Bose to strongly criticize other ideologies or regimes. Moreover, he continued to praise elements of Italian Fascism and National Socialism for many more years, as can be seen, for example, in the speech cited above in [note 2](#).

23. [↗](#) Perhaps the most radical component of Bose’s policy or program in the period from late 1937 to mid-1938 was his advocacy of an early resumption of the national struggle for independence, to be preceded by an ultimatum to the British government. Additionally, and much to the chagrin of Gandhi (who was opposed to industrialization), Bose launched a National Planning Committee (with Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman and himself as Convener) for drawing up a comprehensive plan of industrialization and national development. See: S.C. Bose, “Forward Bloc: Its Justification,” in *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 395-414.
24. [↗](#) Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Thy Hand, Great Anarch!: India 1921-1952* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987), p. 500.
25. [↗](#) Speech at Abbottabad, August 24, 1945, in J. Nehru, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* (A Project of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund; New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1979), volume 14, p. 336;
See also Nehru’s statement in *The Hindu*, January 17, 1946, in *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, p. 371: “Netaji Subhas has set an example of courage and passionate devotion to the cause of Indian freedom, which will live long in India’s history.”
Bose’s close friend, Dilip Kumar Roy, more eloquently wrote: “he died dreaming not of his family or defeats, nor even of the clouds that so often blurred his vision, but of the sun he had dreamed of from his boyhood, of faith and courage that would free his great Goddess — his Motherland.” D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew* (Bombay: Nalanda Publications, 1946), p. 75.
26. [↗](#) Quoted in: *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 157.
27. [↗](#) Speech at Bangkok, May 21, 1945. Quoted in: *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 228.
28. [↗](#) See: Letter to his brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, April 23, 1921, in *Netaji: Collected Works* (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1980/81 [in 3 volumes]), Volume 1, pp. 230-236.
29. [↗](#) D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 199. Quoted in: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 48.
30. [↗](#) Years later, in *An Indian Pilgrim*, Bose claimed that he had merely been an “eyewitness” to the assault on the elderly Englishman, who was “beaten black and blue.” (*Netaji: Collected Works*, Volume 1, p. 77). At the time, however, the College Committee was convinced that not only had he masterminded the attack, but that he had participated in it, something he never publicly admitted. In the above-cited letter of April 23, 1921, though, he made a confession of sorts when he said that “If I had stood up before James [the Principal] in 1916 and admitted that I had assaulted Oaten, I would have been a better and truer man.”
31. [↗](#) See: L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 259.
32. [↗](#) See: L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 253.
33. [↗](#) As can be seen, for example, in his comments in *The Indian Struggle* (p. 114): “After all, what has brought about India’s downfall in the material and political sphere? It is her inordinate belief in fate and in the supernatural — her indifference to modern scientific development — her backwardness in the science of modern warfare, the peaceful contentment

engendered by her latter-day philosophy and adherence to Ahimsa (non-violence) carried to the most absurd length.” (Also quoted in: L. Gordon, *Brothers*, p. 287.)

34.  See Bose’s anti-Ahimsa “1933 London Address,” in S.C. Bose, *Fundamental Question of India’s Revolution*, pp. 1-31. See also the Bose-Patel Manifesto of May 9, 1933, part of which reads: “a new party will have to be formed within the Congress, composed of all radical elements. Non-cooperation cannot be given up but the form of non-cooperation will have to be changed into a more militant one, and the fight for freedom to be waged in all fronts.” Reproduced in *The Indian Struggle*, p. 357. Although written in 1943, when Bose was actively seeking Axis assistance against the British, his comments in “India Since 1857 — A Bird’s Eye View” make this point very clearly: “While passive resistance can hold up or paralyze a foreign administration — it cannot overthrow or expel it, without the use of physical force... The last stage will come when active resistance will develop into an armed revolution. Then will come the end of British rule in India.” Published in *The Indian Struggle*, p. 322.
35.  S.C. Bose, *An Indian Pilgrim*, in *Netaji: Collected Works, Volume I*, p. 92. Dilip Kumar Roy noted that even as a student Bose was infatuated with the military, and that “somehow he used, often enough, to cull his phrases from the military dictionary.” (D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 50).
36.  Nirad Chaudhuri, an associate of Bose, later recalled:

“Bose designated himself as its General-Officer-Commanding — G.O.C. for short — and his uniform was made by a firm of British tailors in Calcutta, Harman’s. A telegram addressed to him as G.O.C. was delivered to the British General in Fort William, and this was the subject of a good deal of malicious comment in the Anglo-Indian press. Mahatma Gandhi, being a sincere pacifist [and] vowed to non-violence, did not like the strutting, clicking of boots and saluting, and he afterwards described the Calcutta session of the Congress as a Bertram Mills circus, which caused great indignation among the Bengalis.” (Source: Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Continent of Circe*, p. 114. Quoted in Mihir Bose, *The Lost Hero*, pp. 65-66.)

“Subhas Bose took this job seriously,” writes Leonard Gordon. “The volunteers were to be well trained and to march in disciplined formation on ceremonial occasions... He rode — on a brown horse — in front of his unarmed troops, thinking of them, perhaps, as the kernel of a future army of mass struggle ... the germ of an idea about an army trained and commanded by him may have begun to sprout.” (L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 191); Hugh Toye stated that Bose’s militarism “impressed the pacifist Congressmen in spite of themselves.” (Hugh Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, p. 34).

37.  Speech at a military review of the Indian National Army, Singapore, July 5, 1943, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 182. Also quoted in: Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement*, pp. 278-279. See also Bose’s Order of the Day, August 26, 1943 (the day he officially assumed command of the INA), in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 196-197.
38.  Zaidi and Zaidi, *The Encyclopedia of the Indian National Congress, Volume II*, p. 346; A.N. Bose, *My Uncle Netaji*, p. 154. Both quoted in L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 350. See also: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 120.
39.  For a detailed account of Bose’s Forward Bloc tour of 1939 and 1940, in which he addressed “about a thousand meetings in ten months,” see S.C. Bose, *Crossroads* (Calcutta:

Netaji Research Bureau, 1981), p. 216-226.

40. ☞ M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 210-211.
41. ☞ M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 211.
42. ☞ S. C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 114, 141, 229, 304.
43. ☞ S. C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 114. Of Gandhi, Bose also wrote (p. 241): “I traveled with him, for some days, and was able to observe the unprecedented crowds that greeted him everywhere. I wonder if such a spontaneous ovation was ever given to a leader anywhere else.”
44. ☞ S. C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 48, 68, 70, 73, 179.
45. ☞ Bose constantly condemned any form of compromise, considering it to be a sign of weakness. For example, see his letter to Sarat Bose, April 23, 1921: “I feel, very strongly, as a result of my past experience that compromise is a very unholy thing.” (*Netaji: Collected Works, Volume I*, pp. 230-236.)
46. ☞ See: Letter to Hemanta Kumar Sarkar, August 31, 1915. Bose (aged 18) wrote: “I am realizing more and more as time passes that I have a definite mission to fulfil in life and for which I have been born... I must move about with the proud self-consciousness of one imbued with an idea.” (*Netaji: Collected Works, Volume I*, p. 166) See also Letter to Sarkar, July 18, 1915, same source, p. 164.
47. ☞ *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 180.
48. ☞ D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 85 ff.
49. ☞ When his birthday was celebrated in 1944, for instance, his devotees in Singapore actually weighed him in gold and jewelry, and gave the wealth as a donation to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. (M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 238) See also H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 82, 162.
50. ☞ Bose is alleged to have liked this myth, and, according to Shah Nawaz, himself boasted “that no British bomb had been manufactured which could kill or maim a Subhas Chandra Bose.” (D. K. Roy, *The Subhash I Knew*, p. 95).
51. ☞ M. Sivaram, *The Road to Delhi*, pp. 123, 134-4. Cited in M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 211.
52. ☞ It is worth noting that after Bose’s death, Gandhi, Nehru and other leading Indian politicians, began calling him Netaji. See [notes 4 and 5](#) above. Mihir Bose states that in India today, few call him anything but Netaji, and to call him Subhas Bose is to reveal that one has a low political opinion of the man. M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 211.
53. ☞ Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, October 21, 1943. Reproduced in H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 112, 113, 115, and in Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement* (New Delhi: 1983), pp. 367-370.
54. ☞ Many Indians were tortured, imprisoned, and executed, either on Bose’s instructions or with his knowledge. See: H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 112, 113, 115.
55. ☞ See: M. Bose, *The Lost Hero*, p. 224.
56. ☞ See: INA Proclamation on Entering India. Reproduced in *The Springing Tiger* (Appendix II), pp. 208-210, and in, Hari Hara Das, *Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement* (New Delhi: 1983), pp. 371-376.
Part of this document states: “If any person fails to understand the intentions of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army, or of our Ally, the Nippon Army, and dares to commit such acts as are itemized hereunder which would hamper the sacred task of emancipating India, he shall be executed or severely punished in accordance with the Criminal Law of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or with the Martial Law of the Nippon Army.” These punishable acts include such things as spreading rumors “disturbing and misleading the minds of the inhabitants,”

spying, destroying material resources controlled by the Provisional Government, and all forms of rebellion against the Provisional Government or the Japanese Army.

57.  Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, for example, the US government — acting according to President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 of February 19, 1942 — forced 110,000 Japanese-Americans into ten camps, erected hastily by the War Relocation Agency, that could well be called concentration camps. During the following three and a half years, the US government also imprisoned 16,000 conscientious objectors, under the Selective Service Act of September 1940. The most severe case was that of Henry Weber, a conscientious objector who was sentenced to hang, but later had that sentence commuted to life imprisonment. (Weber was released at the end of the war, after serving five years.) During the war years, many Communists, socialists, anarchist intellectuals and key members of such societies as the German-American Bund were accused of sedition or espionage (under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1939), and given long prison sentences. US wartime treatment of these prisoners was very bad. Many were interrogated and tortured by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. A Detroit tavern keeper named Max Steven, to mention but one, gave sanctuary to a German POW who had escaped from Canada. For this crime he was tortured, tried, and sentenced to hang, but President Roosevelt commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. He served eleven years. See: R.J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America: From 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1978); G. Perrett, *Days of Sadness, Years of Triumph: The American People, 1939-1945* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1973).
58.  See: Bose's speech to the Indian Independence League Conference in Singapore, July 4, 1943, Cited above. He made it clear that "the time to start an armed struggle for freedom has come," and that all Indians, "at home and those abroad, should gather together with arms under one leader and await the orders for the destruction of the British imperialists." He then explained why he was that "one leader." (See the quotation to which note 50 relates).
59.  See also Bose's speech at a mass meeting in Singapore, July 9, 1943, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 185-188. In this speech, he said: "Indians outside India, particularly Indians in East Asia, are going to organize a fighting force which will be powerful enough to attack the British Army in India. When we do so, a revolution will break out, not only among the civil population but also among the Indian Army which is now standing under the British flag. When the British government is thus attacked from both sides — from inside India and from outside — it will collapse and the Indian people will then regain their liberty."
60.  See: Presidential address at All-India Forward Bloc Conference, June 18, 1940, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 118-126: "It is not necessary that the Indian revolution should be a bloody one or that it should pass through a period of chaos. On the contrary, it is desirable that it should be as peaceful as possible; and a peaceful transition can be ensured if the people are united and determined to have their freedom... This effort will necessitate the setting up of a machinery which will preserve harmony and goodwill under all circumstances."
61.  Kitty Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him* (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966), pp. 22.
62.  K. Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him* (1966), pp. 22, 23, 28.
63.  Presidential address to the All-India Forward Bloc Conference, Nagpur, June 18, 1940, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 124. See also: *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him*, p. 29: Kurti quotes Bose stating on June 10, 1933, that the government of a free India would "stand for all-round freedom for the Indian people — that is, for social, eco-

conomic and political freedom.” It would, he continued, be created “on the basis of the eternal principles of justice, equality and freedom.”

64.  See: Presidential address at the Rangpur Political conference, March 30, 1929, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 49-50; Reply to the address of welcome presented by the Bombay Corporation, January 1938, same source, pp. 70-71; Speech at Shrad-dhanand Park, Calcutta, May 3, 1939, Same source, pp. 112-115; For industrialization and state ownership of industries, see: Inaugural speech to the All-India National Planning Committee at Bombay. Dec. 17, 1938, Same source, pp. 97-99.
65.  K. Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him*, p. 29; See also Presidential address at the Karachi conference of the All-India Naujawan Bharat Sabha, March 27, 1931, in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 62-64.
66.  K. Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him*, pp. 28, 29. See also letter to Hermanta Kumar Sarkar, September 26, 1915, *Netaji: Collected Works, volume 1*, pp. 171-172, and his comments in *The Indian Struggle*, pp. 312-313.
67.  *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 185-188.
68.  Speech of July 4, 1944, in *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 214-215.
69.  See: Presidential address to the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, Poona, May 3, 1928, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 31-40.; Liberty, Dec. 9, 1930, Cited in L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, p. 238.
70.  Speech to the women’s section of the Indian Independence League, Singapore, July 12, 1943, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 189-192.
71.  See: S. K. Bose, ed., *A Beacon Across Asia* (1973), pp. 182, 219.; H. Toye, *The Springing Tiger*, pp. 86, 146.; L. Gordon, *Brothers Against the Raj*, pp. 497, 523, 535-36.
72.  See: Bose’s presidential address at the Students’ Conference held at Lahore, October 19, 1929, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, pp. 51-59. He stated, inter alia: “You have summoned me from distant Calcutta to come and speak to you ...is it because you and I have something in common — sharing the same thoughts and cherishing the same aspirations? ...The youth movement of today is characterized by a feeling of restlessness, of impatience with the present order of things, and by an intense desire to usher in a new and better era.”
73.  Presidential address at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference, Poona, May 3, 1928, *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose*, p. 36.

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Charting Europe's Future in the 'Post Postwar' Era

The 'European New Right': Defining and Defending Europe's Heritage

An Interview with Alain de Benoist

Ian B. Warren

In the following essay and interview, Professor Warren takes a close look at the “European New Right,” a cultural-intellectual movement that offers not only an unconventional view of the past, but a challenging perspective on the present and future. This piece admittedly represents a departure from the Journal’s usual content and tone. All the same, we hope and trust that readers will appreciate this look at an influential movement that not only revives an often neglected European intellectual-cultural tradition, but which also — as French writer Alain de Benoist explains here — seeks to chart Europe’s course into the 21st century. — The Editor

During the postwar era — approximately 1945-1990 — European intellectual life was dominated by Marxists (most of them admirers of the Soviet experiment), and by supporters of a liberal-democratic society modeled largely on the United States. Aside from important differences, each group shared common notions about the desirability and ultimate inevitability of a universal “one world” democratic order, into which individual cultures and nations would eventually be absorbed.

Not all European thinkers accepted this vision, though. Since the late 1960s, a relatively small but intense circle of youthful scholars, intellectuals, political theorists, activists, professors, and even a few elected parliamentarians, has been striving — quietly, but with steadily growing influence — to chart a future for Europe that rejects the universalism and egalitarianism of both the Soviet Marxist and American capitalist models.

This intellectual movement is known — not entirely accurately — as the European New Right, or *Nouvelle Droite*. (It should not be confused with any similarly named intellectual or political movement in Britain or the United States, such as American “neo-conservatism.”) European New Right voices find expression in numerous books, articles, conferences and in the pages of such journals as *Eléments*, *Scorpion* and *Transgression*.

No one has played a more important role in this movement than Alain de Benoist, a prolific French writer born in 1943. As the chief philosopher of the *Nouvelle Droite*, he serves as a kind of contemporary Diogenes in European intellectual life. According to the critical *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right*, de Benoist is “an excellent stylist, cultivated and highly intelligent.” [1]

He has explained his worldview in a prodigious outpouring of essays and reviews, and in several books, including a brilliant 1977 work, *Vu de Droite* ("Seen from the Right"), which was awarded the coveted Grand Prix de l'Essai of the Académie Française. (His books have been translated into Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, German, Dutch and Arabic, but none has yet appeared in English.)

For some years a regular contributor to the French weekly *Le Figaro Magazine*, de Benoist has served as editor of the quarterly *Nouvelle Ecole*, of the magazine *Eléments*, and, most recently, of a quarterly review, *Krisis*. [2] For some years he also played a leading role in the operation of the Paris-based group GRECE ("Research and Study Group for European Civilization"), which is sometimes described as an organizational expression of the *Nouvelle Droite*. [3]

De Benoist's fondest wish, he once said, would be to see the "peoples and cultures of the world again find their personality and identity." He believes that Europe has largely sold its soul for a mess of cheap "Made in the USA" pottage. American-style economic and cultural hegemony is a "soft" but insidious totalitarianism that erodes the character of individuals and the heritage of nations. To the peoples of Europe, de Benoist and the European New Right insistently pose this question: How can we preserve and sustain our diversity in the face a consumer-driven world based largely on a synthetic universalism and egalitarianism?

A dramatic indication of de Benoist's importance came during a visit to Berlin in February 1993, when he was attacked and beaten by about 20 young "anti-fascist" thugs.

Few people on this side of the Atlantic know much about de Benoist and the intellectual movement he represents. The most cogent and useful overview in English is a 200-page book, *Against Democracy and Equality: The European New Right*, by Tomislav Sunic, a Croatian-born American political scientist. [4]

The task of the European New Right, explains professor Sunic in his 1990 monograph, is to defend Europe — especially its rich cultural heritage — above all from the economic-cultural threat from the United States. [5] According to Sunic: [6]

The originality of the [European] New Right lies precisely in recognizing the ethnic and historical dimensions of conservatism — a dimension considered negligible by the rather universalist and transnational credo of modern Western conservatives ...

The New Right characterizes itself as a revolt against formless politics, formless life, and formless values. The crisis of modern societies has resulted in incessant "uglification" whose main vectors are liberalism, Marxism and the "American way of life." Modern dominant ideologies, Marxism and liberalism, embedded in the Soviet Union and America respectively, are harmful to the social well-being of the peoples, because both reduce every aspect of life to the realm of economic utility and efficiency.

The principle enemy of freedom, asserts the New Right, is not Marxism or liberalism per se, but rather common beliefs in egalitarianism.

In the intellectual climate of the postwar era, writes Sunic, "those who still cherished conservative ideas felt obliged to readapt themselves to new intellectual circumstances for fear of being ostracized as 'fellow travellers of fascism'." [7] The European New Right draws heavily from and builds upon the prewar intellectual tradition of such anti-liberal figures as the Italians Vilfredo Pareto and Roberto Michels, and the Germans Oswald Spengler and Carl Schmitt. Not surprisingly, then, *Nouvelle Droite* thinkers are sometimes dismissively castigated as "fascist." [8]

In the view of the European New Right, explains Sunic, “The continuing massification and anomie in modern liberal societies” is a symptom “of the modern refusal to acknowledge man’s innate genetic, historical and national differences as well as his cultural and national particularities — the features that are increasingly being supplanted with a belief that human differences occur only as a result of different cultural environments.” [9]

Real, “organic” democracy can only thrive, contends de Benoist, in a society in which people share a firm sense of historical and spiritual commitment to their community. In such an “organic” polity, the law derives less from abstract and preconceived principles, than from shared values and civil participation. [10] “A people,” argues Benoist, “is not a transitory sum of individuals. It is not a chance aggregate,” but is, instead, the “reunion of inheritors of a specific fraction of human history, who on the basis of the sense of common adherence, develop the will to pursue their own history and given themselves a common destiny.” [11]

New Right thinkers warn of what they regard as the dangers inherent in multi-racial and multi-cultural societies. In their view, explains Sunic, [12]

A large nation coexisting with a small ethnic group within the same body politic, will gradually come to fear that its own historical and national identity will be obliterated by a foreign and alien body unable or unwilling to share the same national, racial, and historical consciousness.

Sharply rejecting the dogma of human equality that currently prevails in liberal democratic societies, these New Right thinkers cite the work of scientists such as Hans Eysenck and Konrad Lorenz. [13] At the same time, the European New Right rejects all determinisms, whether historical, economic or biological. Contends de Benoist: “In the capacity of human being, for man, culture has primacy over nature, history has primacy over biology. Man becomes by creating from what he already is. He is the creator himself.” [14]

Consistent with its categorical rejection of universalism, the European New Right rejects the social ideology of Christianity. In de Benoist’s view, the Christian impact on Europe has been catastrophic. Christian universalism, he contends, was the “Bolshevism” of antiquity. [15]

In spite of the formidable resistance of an entrenched liberal-Marxist ideology, the impact of the European New Right has been considerable. While its views have so far failed to win mass following, it has had considerable success in eroding the once almost total leftist-liberal intellectual hegemony in Europe, and in restoring a measure of credibility and respect to Europe’s prewar conservative intellectual heritage. In Sunic’s opinion, the merit of the European New Right has been to warn us that “totalitarianism need not necessarily appear under the sign of the swastika or the hammer and sickle,” and to “draw our attention” to the defects of contemporary liberal (and communist) societies. [16]

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the collapse of the Iron Curtain (perhaps most dramatically symbolized by the tearing down of the Berlin wall), the end of USA-USSR Cold War rivalry, as well as mounting political, economic and ethnic problems in Europe, a new age has dawned across the continent — an era not only of new problems and danger, but also of new opportunities. In this new age, the struggle of the European New Right takes on enormously greater relevance and importance.

One evening in June 1993, this writer had the opportunity to meet at length with Alain de Benoist in his Paris office. Amid a prodigious clutter of accumulated books, journals, and pamphlets, this prolific philosopher and influential intellectual “agitator” provided insights and observations in

reply to a series of questions. (Our meeting had been arranged by Professor Sunic, who sat in on the discussion.)

* * * * *

Q: Let me first ask you how it happened that you became, in effect, the founder of a new intellectual movement. Exactly how did this come about?

B: I did not set out to do this. In 1968, when I was 25 years old, I had the idea of creating a new journal — a more or less academic or, better yet, a theoretical journal, which was given the name *Nouvelle Ecole* ["New School"]. At first it was not even printed, merely photocopied in a very primitive way. Still, it achieved a certain success, and after a while some friends wanted to try to organize the readership into a cultural association. So that was the beginning. This association later took the name of GRECE. I was not involved in actually founding GRECE, because I am not so much a man of organizations or movements, even cultural. I'm more what you might call a "closet intellectual." Since that beginning more than 25 years ago, there have been many conferences, colloquia, books, booklets, papers, and journals. This movement has never been directly connected with politics; rather it has been cultural, philosophical, and theoretical. Of course, we are interested in politics, but, like all those who see themselves as intellectuals, only as spectators.

Q: What do you see as the future of the movement? Do you see any particular end in view?

B: No, I have no intention of changing myself or to change what I do. But your question is, what is the destiny of ideas. Oh, sometimes it's nothing at all, but you never know. It's impossible to know. What you can say is that in world history, especially in the recent world history, in my opinion, there can be no political revolution, or even a major political event, if there had not already occurred some kind of change in the minds of the people. So I believe that the cultural revolution comes first, and the political revolution comes after that. But that does not mean that when you make something cultural, it is because you want, in the end, to make something political. This is not done by the same people, you see. If I can give an example, the French Revolution probably would not have been possible without the work of the Enlightenment philosophers. Yet, it was not these philosophers who actually made the revolution. Quite probably they had no idea of that possibility. But it came. So it's very hard to know the destiny of what you do. I do it because I like what I do, and because I am interested in ideas and the history of ideas. I am not a utilitarian, so I don't care to know if it is useful or useless; this is not my concern.

Q: Have you seen your ideas change, or have they remained the same?

B: They are always undergoing change. When we started this school of thought or trend, we had no literal catechism. It was not dogma, but rather it was a mixture of conviction and empiricism. So we have changed on some points. Some of the ideas we have developed have revealed themselves to be not very good, or perhaps what might be called "dead ends."

Q: Can you give an example of a "dead end?"

B: Yes. For example, 20 or 25 years ago I was much more of a positivist than I am today. I remember that I devoted an issue of *Nouvelle Ecole* to the philosophy of Bertrand Russell, for example. And there appeared plenty of things against such strange people as Martin Heidegger and so on. But 20 years later I devoted an issue of *Nouvelle Ecole* to Heidegger, one that was very favorable to his philosophy. ^[17] This is, of course, just one example. That doesn't mean that we have changed everything; that would be stupid, of course. But it's a living school, like a living

organism. You have to retain something and to work deeper on those things, but some things you have to abandon because they are simply false. Well, we don't want to repeat variations around the same theme year after year.

Q: How would you assess the significance of the Nouvelle Droite?

B: Well, first I have to spell out my concerns with some words — the very name: the New Right. I don't like it for several reasons. First, you should know that we did not invent this name. It was given to us. About ten years after the first appearance of journals such as *Nouvelle Ecole* and *Eléments*, there was a very large-scale mass media campaign in which the expression, "The New Right," was produced by people who were quite outsiders from our circle. We attempted to change it. We tried to say that it's not "The New Right" but, "A New Culture." Yet "new culture" is not a very clear term. And, in our modern society, when you have been given a wrong label, it just sticks.

I don't like this term because, first of all, it gives us a very political image, because "right" is a political term. Therefore, when you speak about "the New Right," the people who do know nothing about it immediately believe it is some kind of political party. Of course, it is not. We are a theoretical and cultural movement.

At the same time, there is something that is clearly political — particularly in America — with this "New Right" name. Even though it is in different countries, people thus start to believe that this is the same thing. Based on everything I know about it, the so-called New Right in America is completely different from ours. I don't see even a single point with which I could agree with this so-called New Right. Unfortunately, the name we now have gives rise to many misunderstandings.

While I cannot say that, after these many years, the [European] New Right is accepted everywhere — that is obvious — I can say that, in ever wider circles, it is accepted in France as a part of the cultural-political landscape. Debate and discussion here during the last two decades could not be thought of without the contribution of the New Right. Moreover, it is because the New Right has taken up particular themes that particular debates have taken place at all. I refer, for example, to discussions about the Indo-European legacy in Europe, the Conservative Revolution in Germany, about polytheism and monotheism, or about I.Q. — heredity or environment (which is partly a rather false dichotomy), participatory democracy, federalism and communitarian ideas, criticism of the market ideology, and so forth. Well, we were involved in all these issues. As a result, I think, the situation in France today is a bit different.

When the New Right first appeared in France in 1968, the times were completely different. For me, the ideology of the extreme left was a kind of model or standard. Marxism, Freudianism and so on, were everywhere. In the years since then, all of those "ideological churches" have fallen apart. Very few people in France today would describe themselves as Marxists. Jean-Paul Sartre, a very famous philosopher, died [in 1980] without any particular ideological legacy. The landscape had already completely changed. I would say that there are no longer any ready-made ideas. All of the grand ideologies or ideological characters have more or less disappeared. More and more the intellectuals have to look for something new; something original and beyond the ready-made solutions of the past.

We must accept, first of all, the fact that we are out of the post-World War II period, and that we have entered a new world epoch — that there are new frontiers, both in political and ideological terms. And we don't want to impeach people simply because they come from different ideological starting points. So it is clear that the times have changed. And always when the times are

changing, some people want to keep things as they were. Opposition to the New Right is often “wet” or undogmatic, which means more liberty for everyone. I mean, for example, that there are people in the leftist circles who are willing to discuss issues with me, or to be published in *Krisis*, the journal I started in 1988. (Of course, there are other leftists who absolutely refuse to do so).
[18]

In the last several years, the New Right has produced numerous articles rejecting the ideal of the economy as the destiny of society and criticizing alike conservatism, liberalism, socialism, and Marxism — in short, all of the “productivistic” ideologies that see earning money and possessing wealth as the key to human meaning and happiness. All these ideologies fail to confront the main issue of individual and collective meaning: What are we doing here on earth? So we have published numerous books and articles against consumerism, the commodity-driven life, or the *idéologie de la marchandise*. Of course, such themes are more or less a bridge between people coming from the Right and coming from the Left. So you have also the new phenomenon of the “Greens,” which, again, is a bit different in France and America. For example, we have in France a “green” ecology movement — a political party, in fact — that describes itself as neither Right or Left.

Thus we have today in Europe numerous new political parties — ecological, cultural identity and region-oriented. While these are, of course, different options, each of them goes beyond the idea of Right versus Left. Each reflects the consequences of the decay of the traditional nation-state. Each is trying to find, beyond individualism, some kind of community. While each has a different base, of course, there is also a common idea, because we can no longer continue to live in an age of narcissism, consumerism, individualism, and utilitarianism.

Q: What would you say is the political importance today of the so-called New Right? Does it have any direct or tangible political significance?

B: No, I could not say that. I know people in probably every political party in France, ranging from the Front National to the Communist Party. The New Right does not have a direct influence. The influence that the New Right has had is clearly in terms of the theoretical and cultural. The discussions we have generated have had an impact on the new social-political movements. But you know, it is very difficult even to try to isolate these influences. Most of the time, I think, the ideas go underground. Nietzsche once said that ideas come “sur des pattes de colombe” — on the feet of a dove.

All the same, one can tell that there is currently some kind of influence by us on the new social or political movements in Europe, such as the identity parties, the regional parties, and the Green parties. Many of these people read what we produce, but it is hard to say just what they do with it. You never know not only just what influences your ideas have, but what becomes of ideas between their origin and their manifestation [in action]; they are always twisted. Even when you have people who say, “I agree with you, I like what you do,” the use they make of your ideas is, of course, sometimes not exactly what you had in mind.

Q: Can you give an example of where you feel the ideas of the movement have been misused? Does this bother you?

B: In a way. Yes. I could say the Le Pen movement [of the French Front National]. This doesn’t mean that the Le Pen movement grew primarily from New Right ideas, but it is clear that when the New Right spoke about the necessity of retaining collective identity, for example, this had an impact. So it might be confused a bit with quite a different philosophy, which is more xenophobic against immigrants, and so on. But this is not the position of the New Right. Our national

identity is not in danger because of the identity of others. We say, instead, “Here we are. We have to fight together against the people who are against any form of any identity.” You see what I mean? Criticizing uncontrolled immigration doesn’t mean criticizing immigrants.

Q: So it is not so much a question of one identity in conflict with another, but a more fundamental question of whether it is possible to have any kind of identity?

B: Yes, I think it is possible to make a coalition of all kinds of people who want to retain identity against a world trend that dissolves every form of identity, through technology, the economy, a uniform way of life and consumerism around the world. People such as Le Pen say that, either way, we are losing our identity because of the immigrants. I believe that we are not losing our identity because of the immigrants. We have already lost our identity, and it is because we have already lost it that we cannot face the problem of immigrants. You see, that is quite a great difference of views.

Q: Isn’t this idea of forming a coalition a philosophical one? In reality, doesn’t the nation-state demand that one have citizenship and through this one is granted an identity? If you do away with the nation-state, your idea is possible, but is it possible within the nation-state? Doesn’t the nation-state require a competition or conflict between identities?

B: I think that the nation-state is slowly disappearing. It exists, of course, formally — I don’t want to say that France or Germany or Spain is going to disappear. But it is not the same kind of society. First, you can see that every Western society lives in more or less the same way, whether it is a republic, a democracy, a constitutional monarchy, and so on. Second, we have unification through the media, television, and consumerism; so that’s the same way of life. After that you have the building of the so-called European Community or European Union. So the nation-state is slowly disappearing. This process is very complex, of course, because the nation-state retains authority in many fields. And sometimes it is good that it retains some authority. Still, it is clear to us that, to use a popular expression, the nation-state is too big for the little problems, and too little for the big problems.

Q: Are you saying that the nation-state is obsolete as a basis for responding to problems and for creating identity. Are you saying that it cannot exist in a healthy form?

B: You can’t retain a commonplace or, vulgar — as it were — attitude, or a mere identity on paper. It is necessary to really live organically, not in some theater. Thus, in France today, we need more small-scale organic units and regions. Historically, you must not forget, France is the very model of the nation-state. And the French nation-state was organized first through the kings, and then through Revolution [1789-1792], that is, through Jacobinism. (Of course this process existed before the Revolution; de Toqueville saw this very clearly.)

French unity was made on the ruins of the local traditions of local languages. In France today you have only one official language: French. In fact, though, eight different languages are still spoken, even if not by very many people, including Corsican, Flemish, German, Basque, and Breton.

Q: Are you saying that the idea of the nation-state today is an idea of decadence? What is the source of this decadence? Is it the nation-state itself?

B: No. I think the nation-state is just a by-product. You can have the same decadence in countries that are supposed to be more federal, such as the United States. It is not just a matter of the nation-state of the French model. I think that the decay began very early, quite probably at the end

of the Middle Ages or even earlier. Of course you can always go back to some earlier roots. But it is the birth of modernity. Modernity was also the beginning of individualism; the rejection of traditions; the ideology of progress; the idea that tomorrow will be better than yesterday just because it is tomorrow; that is, something that is new is better just because it is new; and then the ideal of a finalized history; that all humankind is doomed to go in the same direction.

Along with this is the theory of “steps”: that some people are a bit advanced while others are a bit late, so that the people who are advanced have to help those who are not. The “backward” people are supposed to be “lifted up” in order to arrive at the same step. This is the Rostows' theory of “development.”

With this comes an ever more materialistic attitude, with the goal of all people becoming affluent. This in turn means failure to build a socially organic relationship, of losing the more natural links between people, and mass anonymity, with everyone in the big cities, where nobody helps anybody; where you have to go back in your home to know the world, because the world comes through the TV. So this is the situation of decay. Political, economic and technological forces try to make a “One World” today in much the same way that the French state was built on the ruins of the local regional cultures. This “One World” civilization is being built on the ruins of the local peoples' cultures. So it is that, in the wake of the fall of Communism, the so-called “Free World” realizes this, and that it is not so “free” after all. We seemed free when compared to the Communist system, but with the disappearance of that system, we no longer have a basis by which to compare ourselves.

In addition, to be “free” can mean different things: to be free for doing something, for instance, is quite different than to be free not to do something.

Q: In your writings you have mentioned that it is important to have an enemy. Were you implying that with the fall of Communism, because there is no longer a clear enemy, there can be no clear identity?

B: Not exactly. It's clear that you can have an identity without an enemy; but you cannot have an identity without somebody else having another identity. That doesn't mean that the others are your enemies, but the fact of the otherness can become in certain circumstances, either an enemy or an ally. I mean that if we are all alike — that we if there is just “One World” — we no longer have any identity because we are no longer able to differentiate ourselves from others. So the idea of identity is not directly connected to an enemy; the idea of an enemy is connected with the collective independence; that is, collective liberty.

There are many definitions of “the enemy,” of course. Traditionally, the enemy is a people that makes war against you. But today's wars are not always armed conflicts. There can be cultural wars or economic wars, which are conducted by people who say they are your friends. You could say that a basic definition of the enemy is any force that threatens or curtails your liberty. Each nation must define this for itself. What is a good basis for determining this today? I think this must be done on the level of Europe itself, because the nation-states are too small for this. When Soviet Communism disappeared, it seemed to give way to a worldwide wave of liberalism. In the view of some, it means the “end of history.” I do not believe that history is finished. I believe that history is just at the point of a new beginning.

We have to organize the world, not on the basis of a “One World” logic, but in very large zones or areas, each more or less “self-centered” or self-sufficient. The United States has already understood this, I think, in creating a free trade zone with Canada and Mexico. Japan already has zones of influence in Southeast Asia. Here in Europe we must have our own way of life, which is

not the way of life of the Japanese or the Americans, but is rather the European ways of life. I don't think that these ways of life have to be hostile towards others. Hopefully not. But it has to be aggressive against those who intend to keep Europeans from living their own way of life.

Q: Does Europe have the strength or the ability to resist such forces?

B: The ability, yes. But the will? In today's world, you first of all have to resist from both an economic and a cultural point of view. By cultural I mean very popular mass media and its powers. Today, if you turn on your radio in France, nine times out of ten you will hear American music. In America, when you turn on your radio you will hear only American music. This problem, which is also true for the cinema, is a kind of monopoly; culture always from the same source, and so consistent. You may ask if it is possible to resist this kind of invasion. Considering the enormous budgets of these American films, to counter this we may have to act together, rather than in a single country.

Now I am not suggesting that in France we should hear only French music. This would be ridiculous. We have to be open to others. The problem is that there are more countries in the world besides France and America; I would also enjoy hearing other varieties as well. I am not for a closed society. I would be very *malheureux* — unhappy — to get only French films, French sounds. I very much enjoy foreign products. But I wonder why we do not see Danish, Spanish, Russian or Dutch cultural products in France, though those countries are quite close by. Instead we always have the same American imports. Sometimes they are good, but most of the time I would say that they are not. So what happens, for example, when the Japanese and the French, the people in South Africa and the villagers in Kansas, all receive the same Rambo message? Is that good for civilization or not? This is the question: the quality of the product.

Q: I have heard that in France one week is set aside each year when American films cannot be shown. Is that true?

B: No, you are referring to something quite different: by law in France, TV channels cannot broadcast too many films on Saturday night. This law is supposed to help the French film industry, even though it has absolutely nothing to do with the origin of the films. This is a situation peculiar to France, even though we still have a good French film industry, which is greatly appreciated in other European countries. This means that television has not entirely killed the French cinema. The situation is quite different in Italy and Germany, which is very dramatic when you consider the former quality of the Italian or German films.

In another way, though, I think that "popular [mass] culture" in France is probably worse than in Italy, Spain, Germany, or other lands. I travel a great deal. I think that there is an Italian people, a German people, and that even with many foreign films, they are not affected in the same way as the French. When you are in Germany, or Italy, or Spain, or England, people in each country live a bit differently.

This is not so true in France, I think. The main reason is that so many more people live in large cities. Eighty-five per cent of the French people live in the main cities now. So the French countryside is a desert, a social desert.

Q: Are you saying then that France is more vulnerable to this cultural invasion from America than, for example, Italy or Germany?

B: I understand very well the market decision of the Disney company people to locate "Eurodisney" in France (even though this has proven to be a financial failure). The threat is that today ev-

ery decision is a market decision. This is Americanism. A country has a right to make a decision that is not a market decision, and even against the market, because the laws of the market are not the laws of life.

Q: Although you have already indicated that this is not your primary concern, let me now go back for a moment to a question of practical politics. I want to know your ideas about how to strengthen resistance in this cultural war. What can be done that is not now being done?

B: In history you have always two kinds of factors. The first is the conscious will of the people to do something. I must say that in Europe this will is very weak today, and lacking in intensity. The second factor is that things happen outside of the will of anybody. Consider the fall of the Berlin Wall. Of course, the Russians had the will to say "Okay, you can tear it down now." But in Germany, until that moment, nobody was really willing to tear down the wall. Some Germans hoped to see it come down, and others said that maybe after five, ten or 15 years a confederation [of the two German states] would arise. So if you consider the trend throughout Europe, it is more or less the same: the people and their governments talk and talk, and do nothing! The war in the former Yugoslavia is the best example of this I see.

A principle of conflicting interests is also involved here. Most European governments want to conclude a free trade agreement, based on the United States model. It is a fact, of course, that the interests of Europe, America, and Japan are no longer convergent. But there are common interests of each with regard to the Third World countries, where the people are paid so low that they can produce everything for almost nothing. If it is possible to manufacture a pair of shoes in the Third World for one franc, it is done. As a result, we now have all the problems of unemployment here. Experts predict that within two years there will be 24 million jobless people in the countries of the European Community. Never in the entire world history of capitalism have we seen that. In such a situation you cannot calmly sit in your chair and say, "Well, let's wait a bit more." You have to react, because the need to deal with such a situation becomes so great. Each nation must protect its own interests. Free trade agreements must be limited. It is the same, of course, for America, which protects its own industries while denying this same right to Europe.

I think that these forces will more likely produce a world of large-scale competing units than one in which each nation is preserved. I do not think this trend reflects the will of the people. I mean that the process seems to be going on as a result of certain factors that have nothing to do with what people want.

Q: This process of forming these new and larger entities is not just a natural accident of history. Doesn't it require conscious organization of some kind? Or do you think it is a sort of natural historical development?

B: I don't believe there is much natural development in history. You have to will something, and yet, will alone is not sufficient, of course. You must have the necessary pre-conditions; so it is an equilibrium between what is wanted and what is possible. Politics is, as the saying goes, "the realm of what is possible," that is, between what is a necessity and what is a possibility. So, it is not natural. But of course, when you have a certain situation like today, you can predict that things are likely to take this or that direction. Change can also be reversed, of course.

For example, the main characteristic of the current state of world politics is that, in the minds of most politicians, that Berlin Wall has still not fallen. They still analyze the world on the basis of former conceptions, former ideas, because that view worked in the past. We have a new state of the world, but we haven't yet adapted to it. So we continue to reason on the basis of the world order created in 1945 — as if that political, economic and cultural order will last forever. So, I

think that while world conditions have begun to change, our mind-set and perceptions have not changed.

Q: Some analysts predict the overthrow of an obsolete “political class.” Do you see a new awareness regarding the need to replace the ruling class?

B: One thing that is quite new in the present period is this: in former times, when the people disagreed massively with the ruling powers, they would overthrow them, and there would be an explosion. Today, though, in the Western world we are in a period not of social or political explosion, but more in an epoch of implosion. The people disagree with the political class, but they do not try to overthrow it; they don’t try to change the regime. They merely turn away.

So this is a time of retreat, of flight, of withdrawal. People try to live and organize their own lives. They don’t participate in elections. That’s why you see so many new self-assertive social movements, which we in France sometimes call the “new tribes.” This term often has a pejorative meaning, but in general there is something positive here.

Before the emergence of the nation-state, people were, of course, organized into tribes. Tribes are now returning in the name of communities, or something akin to that. In France we do not have this phenomenon on the political level to the degree that it has been occurring in Italy, notably with the regionalist Lega Nord. Here in France, what you can see is that fewer people are voting. Now more than one-third of the electorate has stopped going to the polls. (The exception is presidential elections, because these are more personalized.) And another third of the electorate votes for non-conformist parties — the ecologists, Front National, regionalists, and so on — while only one-third still votes for the older, “classical” parties.

A problem in France is that our representative system provides no legal place for opposition political forces. Today we have a more or less conservative majority, which got 40 percent of the vote in the general election. But with 40 percent of the vote, they gained more than 80 percent of the parliament seats. The Front National, with three million votes, got zero seats, and the ecologists, with two million votes, likewise got zero seats. When you arrive at a point of such distortion, you realize that the political system no longer works. Of course, this is one major reason why people don’t bother to vote anymore. Why go to vote when you are sure that you will get no say at all?

Q: It appears to be very much the same in the United States.

B: For me, as a European observer, the American two major-party system always makes it difficult for any third party to arise. It is very strange. In Europe we have evolved a broader spectrum of options, I think. While it is sometimes difficult even for Americans to see any real difference between the Republican and Democratic parties, for me it is almost impossible. Each is really interested only in more business and economic efficiency — frankly, I don’t see any difference. For me it is a one-party system with two different factions.

Q: So you see this American monopoly or hegemony as the key problem? Are you implying that it is not so much the content as such, which may have some good elements, but mainly that there is no choice?

B: These are two different problems. Of course, there is the problem of monopoly — that’s clear — but if the products were quite good — after all I like quality, too, even if it comes from the outside. The Romans took everything from classical Greece and it was not so bad, after all.

I enjoy visiting the United States, because it is always very interesting. Although I am very critical, of course, of the content of capitalist values, there are some things in America that I like very much: everything works much better than here in Europe! But is efficiency an ideal? And what price do you have to pay for this efficiency? You can be rich, but also have an empty life. Another problem, I think, is that American society — for us, America is more a society than a nation or a people — is to a large extent a product of its Puritan origins. This idea that all people are born free and equal, that America is a new promised land, with people quoting the Bible, can be seen in the spirit of the American Declaration of Independence and the US Constitution.

Q: Why don't you consider America a nation?

B: It's a special kind of nation, if you will. There is a very strong American patriotism, of course — and we have seen many examples of that in history. But because it is more a mixture of such different cultural and ethnic stocks, the United States of America is not what we in Europe regard as a traditional nation.

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Throughout our conversation, de Benoist's remarks left me with a certain ambivalence. He was identifying my own nation as the enemy of the very civilization from which America derived. Even when he tried to re-assure me that there was nothing personal in his critique of American culture, it was clear that he was marking out a battleground of antagonistic ideas. Those who value the cultural heritage of Europe would have to look beyond day-to-day political and economic disputes between the European Community and the United States to understand that much more is at stake here. Our discussion had touched on some of most critical issues of social identity and organization, with profound implications for cultural and collective survival.

Notes

1. ☞ Philip Rees, *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), p. 30.
2. ☞ Krisis, 5 impasse Carrière-Mainguet, 75011 Paris, France.
3. ☞ GRECE is an acronym of "Groupement de recherche et d'études pour la civilisation européenne. ("Research and Study Group for European Civilization."). Address: GRECE, B.P. 300, 75 265 Paris Cedex 06, France. Established in May 1968, GRECE was formally organized in January 1969. It characterizes itself as "an association of thought with intellectual vocation." Its avowed goals, writes Sunic (p. 12), "are to establish an association of thinkers and erudites sharing the same ideals, as well as organize its membership into the form of an organic and spiritual working community." The name is not accidental. It suggests the French name for Greece — "Grèce" — calling to mind Europe's Hellenic and pre-Christian cultural heritage.
4. ☞ *Against Democracy and Equality* (196 + xii pages), by Tomislav Sunic, with a preface by Paul Gottfried, was published by Peter Lang of New York in 1990.
5. ☞ See the preface by P. Gottfried in T. Sunic, *Against Democracy and Equality* (1990), p. ix.
6. ☞ T. Sunic, *Against Democracy and Equality* (1990), pp. 19, 20.
7. ☞ T. Sunic (1990), p. 7
8. ☞ Sunic comments (p. 99) that "The New Right contends that due to the legacy of fascism, many theories critical of egalitarianism have not received adequate attention on the grounds of their alleged 'anti-democratic character'."

9. ☑ T. Sunic (1990), pp. 104-105.
 10. ☑ Sunic writes (p. 120): “Faced with immense wealth which surrounds him, a deracinated and atomized individual is henceforth unable to rid himself of the fear of economic insecurity, irrespective of the degree his guaranteed political and legal equality ... Now, in a society which had broken those organic and hierarchical ties and supplanted them with the anonymous market, man belongs nowhere.”
 11. ☑ Quoted in: T. Sunic (1990), p. 107; In Benoist’s view, “People exist, but a man by himself, the abstract man, the universal, that type of man does not exist.” Moreover, contends Benoist, man acquires his full rights only as a citizen within his own community and by adhering to his cultural memory. (T. Sunic, p. 107); De Benoist also asserts that man can define his liberty and his individual rights only as long as he is not divorced from his culture, environment, and temporal heritage. (T. Sunic, p. 111.)
 12. ☑ T. Sunic (1990), p. 103.
 13. ☑ T. Sunic, pp. 103-105; From the perspective of the New Right, observes Sunic (p. 107), “Culture and history are the 'identity card' of each people. Once the period of the assimilation or integration begins to occur a people will be threatened by extinction — extinction that according to Benoist does not necessarily have to be carried out by physical force or by absorption into a stronger and larger national unity, but very often, as in the case today, by the voluntary and involuntary adoption of the Western Eurocentric or “Americano-centric” liberal model... To counter this Westernization of nations, the New Right ... opposes all universalisms.”
 14. ☑ Quoted in: T. Sunic (1990), pp. 105, 106, 174 (n. 41).
 15. ☑ T. Sunic (1990), pp. 65-70, 72.
 16. ☑ T. Sunic (1990), pp. 153, 155-156.
 17. ☑ Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) is one of this century’s most important philosophers. In several major works — especially *Sein und Zeit* ["Being and Time"] (1927) — he grappled with the spiritual basis of human experience, mounting a fundamental attack on what he termed “nihilistic rationalism,” which he saw as a product of an ever-advancing and dehumanizing technology. Because of his probing of the metaphysical issues of human existence, Heidegger is regarded as a major shaper of “post-modernism,” with its probing of the unconscious meaning and nature of human experience.
 18. ☑ Heidegger was a member of the National Socialist party from 1933 to 1945, while at the same time highly critical of National Socialist philosophy. The extent of his sympathy and support for the Hitler regime has been a subject of much debate.
 19. In a much-discussed “Call to Vigilance” issued last summer, 40 French and Italian intellectuals warned of the growing acceptance of “right wing” views, particularly in European intellectual life. (*Le Monde*, July 13, 1993.) It was signed by such prominent figures as the “deconstructionist” Jacques Derrida. While it did not name names, this call was clearly aimed, at least in large part, at Alain de Benoist and the European New Right. It asserted the existence of a virtual conspiracy — “the extreme right’s current strategy of legitimization” — in which “the alleged resurgence of ideas concerning the nation and cultural identity” are promoted as a means of uniting the left and the right. “This strategy,” contend the signers, “also feeds on the latest fashionable theory that denounces anti-racism as both 'outmoded' and dangerous.” Many leftist intellectuals, it should be noted, publicly opposed this “Call to Vigilance,” regarding it as a new kind of “McCarthyism,” and ultimately this summer campaign proved utterly ineffectual.
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March/April 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 2), page 39.

Review

American Historian Looks At 'Ethnic Cleansing' of Germans

- *The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace*, by Alfred-Maurice de Zayas. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. 200 pages. 24 Photographs. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ISBN 0-312-09097-8. (Available from the IHR for \$35.00, plus \$2.00 shipping.)

Reviewed by Robert Clive

The grim fate of the 15 million German civilians who found themselves trapped in the path of the Red Army in the closing months of World War II, or on the wrong side of the re-drawn postwar borders, is not a topic that has tended to excite the interest of historians. And the general public, which is subjected to constant reminders about wartime Nazi brutality, is certainly not aware that at least two million Germans lost their lives in the course of flight and mass expulsion from their ancestral homes in Eastern Europe.

Alfred de Zayas, a graduate of Harvard Law School who earned a doctorate in history at the University of Göttingen in Germany, has devoted much of his professional career to setting the record straight. His earlier books, *Nemesis at Potsdam* (which detailed Allied responsibility for the brutal mass expulsion of Germans at the end of the war), and *The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau*, met with critical acclaim on both sides of the Atlantic.

First published in German in 1986, *The German Expellees* is based on extensive research in European and American archives. This American edition is updated with new material not included in the German version.

Chapter One sketches the history of the Germans living throughout East Central Europe. Even students of history are generally unaware of the fact that, starting in the twelfth century, German artisans, farmers, soldiers, and churchmen were invited by reigning princes, kings, and emperors to settle in their domains. The essentially peaceful character of the so-called “*Drang nach Osten*,” which witnessed the establishment of a German presence in East Prussia, Pomerania, East Brandenburg, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Transylvania and Russia, has long been misrepresented as some sort of “march of conquest.”

The author then turns to the Paris Peace conference, where President Wilson's lofty pledge to secure “self-determination” did not, it turned out, apply to Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians. The Treaty of Versailles also denied the right of self-determination to German citizens who resided in areas to be separated from pre-war Germany, including those living in Danzig, Posen, and West Prussia. De Zayas recounts that the interwar Czech and Polish governments discriminated against their German minorities. Polish atrocities against ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) were, unfortunately, not a fiction of Goebbels' propaganda office, but were all too true. Soviet

atrocities against the German civilian populations of East Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia have been recounted before, even if they are still not widely known.

De Zayas reviews these grim events, drawing specific attention to the fate of Nemmersdorf, East Prussia, which fell to the Red Army in October 1944 and was then recaptured a short time later by the Wehrmacht. Women and children were gang raped and then murdered in the most brutal fashion.

In the words of American historian and diplomat George Kennan:

The disaster that befell this area with the entry of the Soviet forces has no parallel in modern European experience. There were considerable sections of it where, to judge by all existing evidence, scarcely a man, woman or child of the indigenous population was left alive after the initial passage of Soviet forces... The Russians ... swept the native population clean in a manner that has no parallel since the days of the Asiatic hordes.

Allied decisions for “resettlement” are considered in Chapter Four. Although the 1941 “Atlantic Charter” proclaimed by Roosevelt and Churchill expressly rejected territorial changes that did not meet the desires of the affected people, this did not discourage the British and American leaders from later supporting the forcible mass expulsion of ethnic Germans from Eastern and Central Europe. As early as August 1942, the Allied leaders accepted the principle of forcible expulsion, which they reaffirmed at the Teheran Conference in 1943. At the February 1945 Yalta Conference, Churchill and Roosevelt further agreed to permit Stalin to use Germans as slave labor after the war, a practice that the diplomats dubbed “reparations in kind.” An estimated 874,000 German civilians were abducted to Soviet Russia, of whom 45 percent perished in captivity.

The expulsion and deportation of millions of ethnic German civilians from Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia is detailed by the author, who remarks that “hitherto it would seem that the blackout on this period of history had been complete.” While the Allied leaders at the Potsdam Conference called for the “orderly” and “humane” resettlement of the hapless Germans, in practice it was anything but.

As de Zayas further points out, mass deportations were designated as “war crimes” and “crimes against humanity” by the Nuremberg Tribunal. But even as the Allied court was sentencing Germany’s wartime political and military leaders to death for such acts, millions of Germans were being brutally driven from their homes.

The German Expellees is a well-written, concise introduction to a chapter of what James J. Martin has characterized as “inconvenient history.” These horrific events were not haphazard or spontaneous. Rather, this mass “ethnic cleansing” of German civilians was official Allied policy. For too long, the victims of this relatively unknown holocaust have remained largely forgotten and unmourned.

March/April 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 2), page 40.

Review

Novel Traces Wartime Exodus of German Mennonites

- *The Wanderers*, by Ingrid Rimland. Stockton, Calif.: Crystal Books (2731 Lost Creek Court, Stockton, CA 95207), 1988. Softcover. 304 pages.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Most Journal readers are at least sketchily aware of the vast and criminal expulsions of more than 14 million Germans from their ancestral homes in the heart of Europe, planned, ordered, and facilitated by American, British, and Russian leaders sitting in baronial luxury amid barbaric plunder as infant and grandmother died miserably, in the millions, by road and railside. Not so many readers, though, are aware of the longer but scarcely less agonizing Calvary endured by the sizable number of Germans who have lived in the Russian and Soviet empires from the times of the tsars to the present day.

Ingrid Rimland's novel *The Wanderers*, recently republished in a new edition after winning the California Literature medal in 1977, tells the epic of one group of these, a family of German Mennonites who endured the brutal chaos of Red revolution and civil war, then famine and persecution in Stalin and Kaganovich's Ukraine until liberated by the victorious Wehrmacht. Forsaking the villages and farms they had worked and lived in from the time of Catherine the Great, Katya Klassen Wall's extended family makes its agonizing way back to the land of their ancestors, northern Germany, barely surviving the fiery hell of a Berlin prostrated, at last, beneath the bombs and boots of Stalin's brutal conquerors. These stern-willed Mennonites turn their backs on their homeland in the Jahr Null to resettle on Paraguay's remorseless Gran Chaco, where their tireless industry recreates, so far as possible, the flourishing landscape of the Ukrainian steppe.

Ingrid Rimland's telling of this saga concentrates on two characters: the simple, sturdy, enduring matriarch, Katya, and her granddaughter, a misfit among the dour Mennonites who is driven from them by the quest for a beauty and meaning in life beyond the bare bones Biblical faith she has been bred on. These two women are well drawn, as are a host of subsidiary characters who figure in *The Wanderers*: Jasch, the eternal opportunist, who veers with aplomb from commissar to functionary in the German occupation, militant atheist to fiery preacher; Johannes Klassen, elder and patriarch whose bedrock faith has molded Katya; Sara, Katya's daughter, whose strange and violent heritage stamps her daughter Karin; and numerous other kinfolk, as well as the odd Ukrainian or Paraguayan among the carefully shunned "Hiesigen" ("locals" or natives).

The Wanderers has been recently rewritten to restore most of the ten percent that had been edited out by a publisher in 1977. In the absence of the original version, put out by Concordia in 1977 and Bantam in 1978, the reader may speculate as to whether the earlier editor's blue pencil eliminated such passages as the following, included in the latest edition:

The Germans wept for Dresden as they had never wept for any city yet. Dresden had no strategic importance at all — filled as it was, stuffed to the seams, with weakened, helpless refugees, a city of women and children, known to the world for its exquisite beauty and charm. There was no reason to slay Dresden but the baseness of a vindictive West — an enemy past comprehension in its lack of understanding of the necessary German shield against the barbarism of the East.

The Wanderers is a readable tale of the conflict between the duties of community and the demands of freedom. Readers unfamiliar with the German Mennonites (who, by the way, were the first German settlers of America, in 1683) will be interested in Rimland's portrayal of their intense loyalty to their language and fatherland, which has sustained their German ways wherever they have wandered, despite their exposure to a never-ending Kultur-kampf waged more effectively, because more insidiously, by such "democracies" as Canada than by authoritarian or "totalitarian" regimes.

While not exactly the equal of Hans Grimm's classic *Volk ohne Raum*, The Wanderers may be read with profit and enjoyment. Chronicling the mortal joys and woes of what its author calls "one of the quietest epics of colonization of all times," this novel reveals truths about man and woman, men and women not to be found in mass-market potboilers.

March/April 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 2), page 42.

Review

Comprehensive Biography Examines Lives of Indian Nationalist Leaders

- *Brothers Against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose*, by Leonard A. Gordon. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. Softcover. 807 pages. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$25.00. ISBN 0-231-07443-3.

Reviewed by Srinidhi Anantharamiah

January 23, 1994, marked the ninety-seventh birthday of India's dynamic nationalist leader, Subhas Chandra Bose. In the modern history of the world's second most populous country, only Mohandas Gandhi and Jawarhlal Nehru have made an equal or greater contribution to India's independence movement.

In terms of his courageous determination and the broad scope of his effort, probably no one did more to free India from British colonial bondage than Bose, who was affectionately known by his followers as Netaji (Hindi: "respected leader"). In his effort to deliver self-rule to India through armed struggle, Bose risked everything during the Second World War by forming a political and military alliance with the Axis powers.

In this carefully researched and well documented 807-page biography, Leonard Gordon, a professor of history at Brooklyn College, examines the lives of Subhas Chandra Bose and his elder brother, Sarat Bose. While not as charismatic or as well-known as his younger brother, Sarat nevertheless played an important role in the Indian nationalist movement. He worked for his country's freedom mainly as a skilled parliamentarian and a lawyer in his native Bengal state. While Subhas Chandra Bose was active outside of the homeland, Sarat was his brother's chief supporter and defender in India.

This book's first two chapters trace the Bose family history, and detail the educational and career training of the Bose brothers. In the third chapter Gordon introduces the political setting in which the brothers would work and make their mark. Subhas emerged as an outspoken political activist whose participation in Gandhi's "non-cooperation movement" resulted in his first jail sentence, in 1921. Gordon shows how this jail experience made Subhas Bose even more dedicated and uncompromising in his work. Gordon traces his evolution from a supporter of nonviolent agitation to a champion of armed struggle in pursuit of Indian independence. Sarat, by contrast, remained committed to legislative action, although he defended his younger brother's course.

Beginning with chapter seven and continuing through the rest of the book, Gordon tells the reader about the Indian national struggle. During the years 1932-1936, Subhas Bose visited several European countries, pleading India's case in meetings with leaders of all shades of political opinion, from fascist to communist. Gordon documents Bose's meetings and friendships with

leading Europeans such as Eamon de Valera of Ireland, Benito Mussolini of Italy, and Dr. Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia. It was National Socialist Germany, though, that most profoundly impressed Bose.

Although not in agreement with Hitler's racist views, he admired the Third Reich's discipline and nationalism. Bose was highly skeptical of the Nazi goal of European military supremacy, Gordon explains, but he saw German might as a potentially useful tool that could serve the interests of his beloved homeland by breaking the power of British imperialism.

While Subhas Bose continued to argue India's case from abroad, Sarat remained at home, acting as a soft-spoken pragmatist who fought for freedom through the legal system of British India. Sarat saw merit in Gandhi's civil disobedience strategy, and even though he identified with his brother's efforts, he never openly called for liberation by violent means. Nevertheless, Sarat defended militant nationalists and secured financial assistance for those labeled "terrorists" by the British authorities. Sarat's arrest by the British because of his younger brother's revolutionary activities did nothing to lessen his nationalist ardor. The brothers maintained a close attachment, and served as mutual mentors.

Chapters 10 and 11 deal with the story of Subhas Bose's wartime collaboration with Germany and Japan. These chapters splendidly document the role of the Axis powers in providing aid and comfort to Asian nationalists during the Second World War.

Encouraged by German military successes, and the humiliations inflicted on Britain by the Wehrmacht, Subhas Bose pinned great hope on winning German support for the cause of India's freedom. Gordon meticulously traces Bose's relationship with the Nazi leadership, and his tireless work in Germany, 1941-1943. With encouragement and support from statesmen such as Joachim von Ribbentrop, Wilhelm Keppler, and Alexander Werth, Bose established the Azad Hind ("Free India") center in Berlin. Over Azad Hind Radio, he broadcast eloquent and effective appeals from Europe to his countrymen in India, calling for resistance to British rule.

Many soldiers from the Indian subcontinent who had been serving with British forces in northern Africa and Europe were taken prisoner by the Germans. From among this group, Bose raised a small army of volunteers. The soldiers of the "Indian Legion," wearing German uniforms with swastika and eagle, took an oath to Hitler and Bose "in the fight for the freedom of India." Well trained by German officers, the Legion's soldiers served with the Wehrmacht for the honor of India. Indo-German relations were excellent. [For more about this, see "Subhas Chandra Bose, the Indian National Army, and the War of India's Liberation," by Ranjan Borra, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982.]

After a dramatic submarine journey from Germany to Sumatra in early 1943, Bose shifted the center of his work to Asia, where — in collaboration with the Japanese — he could more directly carry on the struggle. As Gordon explains, Bose strongly admired and respected the Japanese, and was convinced that, as fellow Asians, they could provide better help in freeing the continent of Western domination.

In October 1943, Subhas Bose proclaimed the establishment of a "Free India Provisional Government." The Singapore-based government headed by Bose received diplomatic recognition from nine Axis governments, while Irish premier Eamon de Valera sent personal congratulations.

The military arm of Bose's government in exile was the Indian National Army (INA). Its soldiers were recruited from among Indian troops captured by the Japanese who had been serving under British command, and from among the large Indian population living in Southeast Asia. Alto-

gether about 40,000 joined the INA. Perhaps the most remarkable detachment was the all-women “Rani of Jhansi Regiment,” which eventually numbered about a thousand.

The INA faced its most important challenge in 1944 when, along with a large Japanese contingent, about 8,000 INA troops advanced from Burma into northeastern India. Although the combined INA-Japanese army was eventually turned back, it succeeded in establishing an identity as India’s army of liberation. For the first time ever, an army of Indian soldiers commanded by Indian officers fought on Indian soil and under the Indian flag for the freedom of their homeland — a fact that had a powerful psychological impact in India itself.

Gordon details the circumstances surrounding Bose’s death. On August 17, 1945, a Japanese plane carrying Bose and several colleagues succumbed to engine trouble and crashed shortly after takeoff from an airfield in Taiwan. According to Japanese military sources, Bose’s body was recovered with severe burns, and he died a short time later in a military hospital. The records of his death were apparently destroyed by Japanese military authorities, and Bose’s remains were secretly cremated. Because the precise circumstances of his death were not immediately or authoritatively clarified, for many years popular legends and myths about Bose circulated in India, including supposed sightings of him. For many in India, particularly in his native Bengal province, Bose has become a mythic figure, revered in the tradition of Hindu divinities.

While sharply rejecting Bose’s tactics, Mahatma Gandhi in early 1946 paid a fulsome tribute to “Netaji” and his struggle:

The hypnotism of the Indian National Army has cast its spell on us. Netaji’s name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none. His bravery shines through all his actions. He aimed high but failed. Who has not failed? Ours is to aim high and to aim well ... The lesson that Netaji and his army brings to us is one of self-sacrifice, unity irrespective of class and community, and discipline. If our adoration will be wise and discriminating, we will rigidly copy this trinity of virtues, but we will as rigidly abjure violence ...

While Subhas was active outside India, the British authorities detained his brother Sarat under house arrest. Throughout this four-year period, Gordon relates, the brothers sent and received coded messages to each other through Indian intermediaries. The two brothers thus remained together in spirit throughout this turbulent period. After his release at the end of the war, Sarat Bose resumed his legal work.

By this time, the Indian masses regarded Subhas Chandra Bose and the former soldiers and officers of the Indian National Army as national heroes. Sarat Bose played an important role in rousing the political leadership of the Indian National Congress, particularly Gandhi and Nehru, to support the former soldiers and officers of the INA. Gordon supports the view that the example and legacy of Subhas Bose and the INA served to hasten the end of British rule in India (“the Raj”).

Independence finally came on August 15, 1947, but at the cost of partitioning the subcontinent into two states, India and Pakistan — something that both Subhas and Sarat, along with Gandhi and Nehru, had dreaded. Sarat lived to see the early years of independent India, carrying on the spirit and memory of his younger brother. (He died peacefully in 1950 in Calcutta.)

Gordon sums up (pp. 612, 618) the legacy and continuing appeal of these remarkable brothers:

For those to whom martial values are meaningful, Subhas Bose was the hero. He left India craftily, contacted foreign powers, helped raise funds and an army of Indians. He said that it was necessary to have martyrs in order to have freedom. Indians had to prove that they were worthy of freedom. He offered his own life. He braved bombs and bullets rather recklessly. He died a martyr's death, retreating so that he could fight for freedom another day.

The Boses now live in the historical imagination of their countrymen. Bound by love and common cause, they struggled against imperialism with great perseverance and courage. They had their successes and failures as they worked for what they thought was the central political concern of India in the first half of the twentieth century: complete independence from the British Raj. They should be remembered for the zest and devotion they gave to their country as they tried to fulfill their own and India's destiny.

Brothers Against the Raj is a thorough examination of the lives of two brothers who made significant contributions to the liberation of their country. With substantial notes and references, supplemented with numerous little-known photographs, this well-researched and documented book is unquestionably the most important English-language work on this chapter of history.

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Movie Review

'Schindler's List:' A review

- **"Schindler's List."** Based on the novel by Thomas Keneally. Screenplay by Steven Zail-
lian. Director of Photography, Janusz Kaminski. Music by John Williams. Produced by
Steven Spielberg, Gerald R. Molen and Branko Lustig. Directed by Steven Spielberg. Uni-
versal Pictures. An Amblin Entertainment production. MPAA rating "R." Running time:
185 minutes.

reviewed by Greg Raven

Even before its release, reports in the media called "Schindler's List" a shoo-in for any number of awards. Later, after a pre-release screening of this latest Steven Spielberg movie, Holocaust survivors (some of whom claimed to have been on the list to which the movie's title refers) pro-claimed that the film exactly depicted how things had been nearly 50 years ago in Eastern Eu-
rope.

In the months since its release in December 1993, "Schindler's List" has indeed garnered many awards, and hundreds — if not thousands — of others have joined in citing this film as being so true to life that anyone could learn from watching. Here, we are told, is the final answer to those who "deny the Holocaust."

Once its veneer of political-correctness is stripped away, however, "Schindler's List" can be seen for what it is — a failure both as a movie and as a record of a historical event. What is surprising is the extent to which it fails, even on its own terms.

Director/producer Spielberg worked on "Schindler's List" for ten years, starting soon after finish-
ing "E.T.: The Extraterrestrial" in 1983. Spielberg learned about the Holocaust from his grand-
parents, who, according to Spielberg, "constantly spoke about the Holocaust" even though they
were not affected by it personally. He now says, "I've been preparing for this film my whole
life," although he alternately claims to have discovered his Jewishness during the making of the
film.

While Spielberg has made a few films that did not catch the public's imagination ("1941," "Color
Purple," "Empire of the Sun," "Hook"), he still rates as one of the most successful directors of all
times: "Jurassic Park," "E.T.," "Jaws," "Close Encounters of the Third Kind," "Raiders of the
Last Ark" (another film with Nazi bad guys), the "Back to the Future" trilogy, and "Who Framed
Roger Rabbit?". His films have out-grossed even those of his contemporary, George Lucas. If
any director could make a film about the Holocaust and manage to combine realism and popular
appeal, it should have been Spielberg. Spielberg, who also put his own money into its produc-
tion, is a filmmaker at the top of his form, dealing with a topic near to his heart. Rather than

telling a story with universal meaning, however, Spielberg has instead made what can only be called a “Jewish” film; that is, a film by Jews, about Jews, and for Jews to use against non-Jews.

Technique and Artistry

“Schindler’s List” claims to portray the story of German businessman Oskar Schindler (played by Liam Neeson). Schindler is less interested in why the war is being fought and who is winning than he is in the enormous profits to be made. To increase profits even further, he hires only Jews from the nearby Krakow ghetto, the cheapest labor available. Because of his lack of aptitude for the nuts-and-bolts of running a business, Schindler relies on a Jewish accountant, Itzhak Stern (played by Ben Kingsley, who also played the title role in HBO’s “Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story”). As time goes by, Schindler becomes protective of “his” Jews, so much so that when the order is given for the Jews to be deported to camps (which will mean the removal of his work force), he spends virtually every penny of his by-then tremendous fortune to save “his” Jews from being sent to Auschwitz and elsewhere, even going to the extent of relocating his factory and bribing officials to retain possession of his Jews. In the end, Schindler has little left but his car and the clothes on his back. (He even gives his clothes to one of his workers before driving off to escape the advancing Red army.)

Spielberg peoples his story with Nazis who drink to excess, whore and womanize at every opportunity, offer and accept bribes as a natural part of life during wartime, follow orders without question, and cut every corner that will make their lives easier. The really bad Nazis — that is, those who give the orders rather than merely carry them out — are just as likely to kill a Jew as look at him. While it is normal for filmmakers to caricature individuals, and to portray peripheral groups in a monochromatic way, Spielberg presents all Nazis in a more perfunctory fashion than a biker gang in a B movie. Virtually the only time German is spoken in the film is when someone is barking orders. Schindler’s character speaks only English (with a British accent).

A small break in this monotonous racial landscape comes during the clearing of the ghetto, when a German soldier sits at an abandoned piano, playing Mozart beautifully as his comrades seek out and slaughter Jews who hide to avoid relocation. The message is the same, though: No matter how cultured they may appear, non-Jews cannot be trusted.

The completely amoral mold in which Spielberg forms his Nazis gives rise to a scene in which Schindler, taking pity on the Jewish maid of Plaszow camp commandant Amon Goeth (the film’s Evil Nazi), tells her that, in spite of her fears, she will not be killed because Goeth gets pleasure from her presence; the others are killed because they neither please nor displease him.

Spielberg’s treatment of Nazis (and, by extension, Germans) is only marginally less masterful than his portrayal of other groups, notably the Jews. While Spielberg goes to great lengths to expose the audience to Jews — including flashing close-ups of Jewish faces on screen while calling out Jewish names — there are few clues as to what motivates anyone to do anything. Stern has a few anxious moments now and again, but usually he simply works at whatever task is at hand. In many ways the best-understood of Spielberg’s characters is Goeth’s Jewish housekeeper, Helen Hirsch. Even here, we come to know her predominantly through her fright, which seems to be her only emotion.

So flat are Spielberg’s characterizations that even his protagonist, who it might be argued we are supposed to understand better than most others in the film, is never clearly delineated. As the film begins, Schindler gives every appearance of being an ardent Nazi who is never without his swastika party lapel pin, albeit one whose only motivation is to make suitcases full of money in

the wartime economy. As the film progresses, his character undergoes a change of some kind for reasons that are never adequately explained, so that while his outward appearance and mannerisms remain much the same, he gradually comes first to view his Jews as more than interchangeable ciphers, and eventually as equals. Toward the end of the film Schindler goes so far as to admonish a rabbi for not beginning preparations for the Sabbath on a Friday evening, something his Jews have not been allowed to do since they left the ghetto.

At the end, Schindler's character is spending money to save Jews with a fanaticism at which we can only wonder. One is left thinking that this new behavior was part of Schindler's basic character, and would have taken place without any external influences. The Jews themselves do little or nothing to effect the change, just as they do next to nothing to save themselves. Thus, although the theme of the film is "Jews must be saved," the plot is "this Catholic (Schindler) saved some Jews from the Holocaust." The subtext, then, is that the Jews themselves were helpless. In comparison, George Bailey in "It's a Wonderful Life" is a piker next to Oskar Schindler; Bailey learns nothing more than to appreciate and celebrate his own life, while Schindler gets to appreciate and celebrate *Jewish* life. To gild the lily, in the end Schindler torments himself by recalling how much more he could have done to save Jews.

What caused the Schindler character to change so extensively and so quickly? In the absence of other information from Spielberg, one is left to contemplate the possibility that Schindler has gone mad, risking everything (including his life) to save people he barely seems to acknowledge for much of the film.

Spielberg's portrayals of German atrocities against Jews are as unvarying as his characterizations. For Spielberg, Germans are people who shoot Jews. Nazi soldiers line up Jews seven deep so that one rifle bullet will kill them all at once (when the bullet kills "only" the first five, two more pistol bullets are used to dispatch the last in line), then when clearing the ghetto, Nazi soldiers spray bullets around as if they cost nothing. Goeth shoots Jews with his scoped rifle if they move too slowly around his Plaszow camp, or at close range with a pistol to the head. At some level, Spielberg must have realized that all this shooting was too much to be believed, so for "comic relief" he includes a scene in which a Jew is hauled out of a building to be shot. His executioner, Goeth, who seems perfectly capable with weapons in other scenes in the film, cannot get his pistol to fire and seems befuddled as to how it operates. While his two assistants gawk at the pistol as if they had never handled a real one before, Goeth switches to his backup pistol, which also misfires. This brief interlude thus serves as the film's miracle, as well.

Nearly half of the movie was filmed with hand-held cameras, to heighten the sense that "Schindler's List" is *cinema vérité*. Likewise, virtually the entire film is in black and white, which lends it a "documentary" quality. It is also an effective device for presenting the story; the film starts in color, then, as the lot of the Jews deteriorates, the colors disappear, not to reappear until the end of the movie when we see that Jews have survived their ordeal.

It might be said that for a high-budget director such as Spielberg to use black and white was a gutsy move, except for the fact that once seemingly committed to the black-and-white screen, Spielberg loses his nerve, apparently losing his faith in the audience, and part-way through the film resorts to colorizing the overcoat of a young girl as the camera follows her lonely journey through the Krakow ghetto during its evacuation. Later, we see the same colorized coat on the girl's small corpse, being carried away. For Spielberg to utilize such a trick in attempting to steer the audience's emotions betrays both an insecurity about his subject, and a cynicism about how audiences will react to it.

Spielberg also shows his lack of faith in the audience by including gratuitous nudity. Lots of it. There are enough bare, young female breasts decorating German boudoirs to satisfy most modern moviegoers. Spielberg leaves nothing to chance, however, and in what otherwise could have been one of the film's most gripping scenes, has the camera linger voyeuristically on Helen Hirsch, as she pulls off her blouse in the undressing room before entering the shower at Birkenau. In addition, there is a large "selection" scene at the Plaszow concentration camp at which dozens of men and women run around naked. In spite of the film's R rating, Spielberg is pushing to have high school students view it.

Portraying History

Hollywood is not known for its accurate depictions of historical events. "Schindler's List" is no exception. Only someone with a twisted worldview or some sort of mental disability would expect a Hollywood production to be faithful to events as they occurred. Thus, we do not expect Spielberg to deal with questions such as whether or not Schindler was working as a Zionist agent. (Mark Weber will deal with this in a forthcoming issue.) Likewise, we do not expect Spielberg to introduce any ambiguities into his examination of Schindler's character by dwelling on his postwar behavior, including the shabby way he treated his wife. Avoiding issues such as these make it easier to tell the story, but they do nothing to enhance the film's historical accuracy.

"Schindler's List" the movie is based on Thomas Keneally's book of the same name, which is clearly presented as a work of fiction, and indexed by the Library of Congress as such. From this novel, writer Steven Zaillian created the screenplay from which Spielberg shot the movie — which we are now told is virtually a documentary of what actually happened. To its credit, Universal Pictures goes no farther than advertising the film as "based on a true story."

This is correct, up to a point. There really was an Oskar Schindler who was married to a woman named Emilie. There was also an Amon Goeth, a factory by the name of *Deutsche Emailwaren Fabrik*, and a camp by the name of Plaszow. Most everything else is made up, or altered to fit the needs of the story. One good example is that whereas the film's Schindler is penniless at the end of the war, in reality he had piles of money when he went into hiding.

Regardless of whether "Schindler's List" is fact or fiction, there are a number of scenes that cannot be explained, and indeed, Spielberg makes little effort to do so. During the relocation of the Jews to the Krakow ghetto, for example, Spielberg introduces a bag of gold-inlaid teeth into the area where the luggage and belongings are being sorted. How and why this collection found its way to the heart of the city is a mystery unless we are to believe that one of the Jews had it in his luggage, but that is clearly not what Spielberg intended to imply. Later, at the Plaszow camp, Spielberg shows a pile of burning corpses so large that a conveyor belt is required to add new bodies to the top, the implication being that bodies burn like cord wood, which of course they do not. Also at Plaszow, a team of German doctors, their white coats accessorized with stethoscopes, conduct a "selection" to see who is healthy enough to live and who is to die, only they are so incompetent that they did not know to keep the healthy inmates and "select" the unhealthy. After such scenes, Spielberg demolishes any remaining pretensions he had to technical accuracy by depicting a crematory chimney at Auschwitz spewing smoke and flame, which crematories are specially constructed *not* to do.

Spielberg also blurs the line between fact and fiction by referring to factual matters in a fictional way. For example, he has Stern use the phrase "special treatment" as if it could only mean "death," even though Schindler has previously used the word in a completely benign context.

Lice and typhus are also mentioned as if they were minor inconveniences, and not the life-threatening scourge they are.

Spielberg the Revisionist

On the three-hour-long canvas on which Spielberg presents what is being called the latest in a string of “ultimate” answers to the “deniers,” the larger story of an overall policy to exterminate Europe’s Jews is relegated no more than a few moments toward the end of the film, almost as an afterthought. In “Schindler’s List,” a Birkenau shower room turns out to be a shower room after all, and not the gas chamber it is rumored to be in an earlier scene in the women’s barracks (in the movie, Birkenau is referred to as Auschwitz). Director Spielberg, who can make spaceships, aliens, and dinosaurs seem real and even lifelike, not only fails to show us a credible Nazi gas chamber, he seems to suggest that the wartime rumors of gas chambers were just that — rumors.

Spielberg presents his version of the extermination of Europe’s Jews obliquely in the closing minutes of the film through two transparent contrivances. The first is an impassioned but uncharacteristic speech by Schindler to his workers, in which he alludes to the fact that many of their friends and family have been killed. (This scene comes after the scene in which Schindler seems unaware of the ominous “secret” meaning of the term, “special treatment.”) The second is a question by Stern, put to the lone Soviet soldier who “liberates” the factory in Czechoslovakia where Schindler’s Jews have been working: out of nowhere, Stern asks the Soviet officer if there are any Jews left in Poland. There is no explanation as to why he would ask such a question, but the implication is that the only way a Polish Jew could have survived was if he had been one of Schindler’s Jews. More to the point, the audience is expected not to question why Spielberg had to employ these awkward expositions to deal with a subject that is claimed to be the most documented event in history.

At the same time, Spielberg avoids repeating other common Holocaust claims: Germans do not use babies for target practice or throw them out of windows for fun, people are not forced to stand for hours naked in freezing weather, people are not tortured, there are no medical experiments, and no one throws himself on the electrified fencing to commit suicide.

“Schindler’s List” also contains several surprising scenes: Jews are shown before the war as being prosperous, so much so that Schindler, a man who prides himself on being accustomed to the better things in life, is impressed at the finery he inherits by taking over the apartment of a Jewish family after they are relocated to the ghetto; in the Plaszow camp, men and women routinely commingle, and the inmates conduct a Jewish wedding one night after work; Jews are shown co-operating at virtually every level in the process of oppressing their own people; young Jewish men engage in black-market activities (in a Catholic church!); and in the ghetto and the camp, Jews unaccountably have hundreds of previously prepared hiding places when soldiers come to round them up.

Best 'Holocaust' film ever?

It is clear that “Schindler’s List” has won its acclaim not because of its artistry but because of its politically-correct content and message. Spielberg has used the publicity surrounding it to set himself up as a kind of guardian of the Holocaust story. Events have shown, however, that the more light is thrown on the Holocaust story, the more people will ask questions about it — questions that neither Spielberg nor this film can answer.

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'60 Minutes' Takes Aim at Holocaust Revisionism

Zündel, Smith, Weber, Cole Appear on Popular Public Affairs Television Show

“60 Minutes,” America’s single most widely viewed television program and by far the most influential public affairs program, devoted the lead segment of its March 20 broadcast to Holocaust revisionism. In spite of its clearly hostile bias and deceitful omissions and distortions, this popular, primetime CBS News broadcast was a major media advance for historical revisionism.

Entitled “Who Says It Never Happened?,” the rather unfocused segment was narrated by Mike Wallace, one of America’s most recognized and experienced journalists. It began with Wallace asserting that revisionists claim “that the Holocaust never happened.” In fact, revisionist scholars have gone to considerable length to carefully explain that they do not “deny” the Holocaust, or say that it “never happened.”

German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel was the only revisionist who was interviewed specifically for this broadcast (although several others were shown on screen from file footage). However, from an interview with him that lasted about an hour and a half, only about four minutes were shown. Many telling points made by Zündel to Wallace were not aired.

Mark Weber, editor of this Journal, and David Cole, the youthful, Jewish-born revisionist filmmaker, were shown from clips of their April 1992 appearance on the nationally-syndicated “Montel Williams Show.” [2] Weber was shown explaining that every Jew who died during the Second World War, “of whatever cause, is [misleadingly] considered, quote, ‘a victim of the Holocaust.’ That is, [even] Jews who died in Allied bombing attacks ...”

Weber was identified, inaccurately, as “a white supremacist who now heads up something called the Institute for Historical Review.” (A letter to “60 Minutes” from the IHR correcting this error was never broadcast, or even acknowledged.) The Journal of Historical Review was introduced to millions of viewers as the front cover of the Nov.-Dec. 1993 issue was shown on screen.

Cole said that “the building at Auschwitz that you go to that is said to be the gas chamber was, in fact, the morgue.” He went on to explain that, on the basis of his own investigation, he now believes that “the evidence saying that there were no gas chambers is a lot stronger than any of the evidence that can be presented saying there were.” A brief clip showing Cole and Zündel together at Auschwitz was shown.

Bradley Smith, chairman of the “Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust” (CODOH) and director of the IHR’s Media Project, was shown in his California home as he explained, “My job is to bring about open debate on the only historical event of the West that’s taboo.”

Fearful that this “60 Minutes” broadcast would turn out to be little more than a hostile “hatchet job,” Smith and Cole finally decided — after considerable negotiation and in spite of personal assurances from Wallace of fair treatment — not be interviewed for this show. As it turned out, their concerns were well justified.

Introducing the segment, Wallace told viewers that “no serious historians give them [revisionists] credence.” To help sustain this lie, “60 Minutes” took care not to invite French professor Robert Faurisson, British historian David Irving, or any other revisionist scholar to be interviewed for the segment, even though associate producers had earlier conducted preliminary interviews with both Irving and Weber.

Although Zündel was portrayed as the most representative spokesman for the “deniers,” viewers were not told that revisionist scholars such as Faurisson and Irving do not share all of the German-Canadian publicist’s views on the Holocaust issue. For example, Zündel estimated that “the number of Jews who died under the Nazis” is “at the lower 300,000 range.” Faurisson and Irving have given considerably higher estimates.

Dispute About Himmler

A seemingly effective strike against the revisionist case was scored in citing an October 4, 1943, speech by SS chief Heinrich Himmler, who was quoted as saying: “The Jewish race is being exterminated... We have the duty towards our people to destroy those people that wanted to destroy us..” Understandably, this passage has been widely cited as particularly damning evidence of a German wartime policy to kill Europe’s Jews.

Zündel suggested to Wallace that this speech, or at least this portion of it, is forged — a skepticism shared by Arthur Butz and Wilhelm Stäglich. (Other revisionists, including Faurisson and Irving, tend to accept it as genuine.) “60 Minutes” then presented, from the National Archives in Washington, DC, a recording of the original speech, along with Himmler’s notes for it. Genuine or not, revisionist scholars are in agreement that brief passage quoted on “60 Minutes” is misleadingly translated and taken out of context. ^[3] The word used here that is rendered as “exterminate” (“ausrotten”) more accurately means “root out,” eradicate, “wipe out,” or “eliminate.”

In spite of the harshness of his language, what Himmler was referring to here was not a program of extermination, but rather a policy of brutal suppression, particularly in Poland and the occupied Soviet territories. He made this clear, for example, in a similar speech he gave a few weeks later. Speaking frankly on December 16, 1943 to a meeting of German officers in Weimar, Himmler explained the context of his ruthless policy towards the Jews. ^[4] Other comments made by Himmler throughout this period likewise show that he was not carrying out a policy of extermination.

Campus Furor

Much of the “60 Minutes” segment dealt with the furor on campuses across the country set off by Smith’s campaign to place advertisements in student papers calling for open debate on the Holocaust issue. Smith’s CODOH ad has appeared, in one form or another, in 31 student newspapers across the country, Wallace reported. “60 Minutes” focused on the uproar provoked by the ad at Queen’s College in New York.

After Holocaust revisionism was sensationally described as “a kind of glue that holds the radical right together,” Deborah Lipstadt, an Emory University professor and author of the anti-revision-

ist polemic Denying the Holocaust, was shown saying that student papers must not accept Smith's ads. [5] Along with her ideological comrades in the Anti-Defamation League, the Simon Wiesenthal Center and other Zionist pressure groups, Liptstadt contemptuously insists that while she is intelligent and perceptive enough to detect the supposedly dangerous errors in Smith's ad, university students and professors are not.

Fraudulent 'Evidence'

As Wallace took care to specify, revisionists challenge claims of mass killings of Jews in wartime gas chambers. To counter revisionist arguments, and "prove" that Jews were indeed gassed as alleged, viewers were shown a film clip of the infamous "gas chamber" (labeled "Brausebad" or shower) at the Dachau concentration camp. This same film footage was shown at the 1945-46 Nuremberg Trial, where it was cited to prove German "gassings" of prisoners. What "60 Minutes" declined to explain to its millions of viewers is that, as every serious and reputable historian of the subject now acknowledges, no one was ever "gassed" at Dachau, and the room shown here was never used to kill anyone.

As further "proof" for the Holocaust extermination story, viewers were shown familiar film taken by Allied photographers at just-liberated German camps, especially Bergen-Belsen. "60 Minutes" viewers were not told that it is now well established that the dead and dying inmates shown in these horrific film clips were victims not of "gassing," but of disease and malnutrition that were direct consequences of the war. If the German policy had been to kill these people, none of them would have survived to be liberated by Allied troops.

Michael Berenbaum, research director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, was shown citing "the systematic bills of lading for Zyklon B [and] the instructions for the use of Zyklon B in gassing" as evidence that "the Germans" used this widely available commercial pesticide to kill millions of Jews. What neither Berenbaum nor "60 Minutes" bothered to tell viewers is that precisely such evidence clearly establishes the widespread use of Zyklon for non-homicidal disinfestation and delousing purposes.

In fact, not a single wartime document exists to show that Zyklon was used to kill human beings. (And according to prominent anti-revisionist Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Pressac, 95 percent of the Zyklon supplied to Auschwitz was in delousing and disinfestation — that is, for purposes of saving human lives.)

Persecution Not Mentioned

For some years now, Holocaust revisionists have been victims of an often vicious campaign of persecution that includes legal suppression, terror and physical violence. That no mention whatsoever of this sustained campaign was made by "60 Minutes" underscores the deliberately slanted nature of this CBS News production. [6]

On January 22, 1992, for example, thugs of the Jewish Defense League assaulted David Cole during a meeting at the University of California at Los Angeles, hitting him in the face and bloodying his nose. JDL leader Irv Rubin also tried to push Cole down a flight of stairs. Even though a CBS News crew (along with camera crews of two Los Angeles television stations) recorded the tumult on video, not a minute of it has ever been broadcast. [7]

Defamation

Referring to Holocaust killings of Jews, Berenbaum said to Wallace: “In a very real way, the Germans were proud of what they were doing ... because they thought they were doing the world a favor in getting rid of the Jews ...” Of course, similarly defamatory and stereotypical talk about “the Jews,” or virtually any other group, simply would not be permitted on “60 Minutes” without clear and immediate condemnation. That such offensive language — by a US government official no less — is permitted to appear without challenge on a prime-time public affairs television program points up the extent to which Americans have been conditioned to accept such talk as entirely normal.

Important Milestone

In spite of its predictable bias, this “60 Minutes” broadcast represents another important milestone for Holocaust revisionism. Because of it, millions of Americans learned, many of them for the first time, of the existence of a dedicated, articulate and rather broad-based movement that rejects the Six Million extermination story.

Notes

1. For a transcript of this “60 Minutes” broadcast, call 1-800-777 TEXT. For a videocassette, call 1-800-848 3256.
2. 🟢 For more on this, see the Jan.-Feb. 1993 Journal, p. 45.
3. 🟢 "Das jüdische Volk wird ausgerottet ... Wir hatten die Pflicht gegenüber unserem Volk, dieses Volk, das uns umbringen wollte, umzubringen."
4. 🟢 For more on the significance and background of these Himmler speeches, see: Wilhelm Stäglich, *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* (IHR, 1990), pp. 63-76; Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die?* (Toronto: 1992), pp. 93, 208, 344, 369, 405; Robert Faurisson, “Response to a Paper Historian,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1986, pp. 28-29.
5. 🟢 Lipstadt’s *Denying the Holocaust* is reviewed by Ted O’Keefe in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal, pp. 28-36.
6. 🟢 See *The Zionist Terror Network* (IHR, 1993).
7. 🟢 For more about this attack, see the Feb. 1992 IHR Newsletter, p. 5.

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Smith and Cole Appear on 'Donahue' Show In Major Media Breakthrough for Revisionism

With an estimated eight to eleven million viewers, “Donahue” is one of America’s most popular television talk shows. Thus, the recent appearance of revisionist activists Bradley Smith and David Cole on this show, each of whom made some very effective points, is a major media breakthrough for Holocaust revisionism.

The session was taped on March 14, and broadcast in some places that same day. In many large cities, including Los Angeles, New York and Chicago, it was aired on March 21.

As viewers were shown archival film footage of German wartime concentration camps, headlines from American campus newspapers, and scenes from the movie “Schindler’s List,” the show was introduced with a pre-recorded report, narrated by Donahue. He announced:

In just the last six months, 15 college newspapers across the country have run advertisement that call for a, quote, open debate of the Holocaust, unquote. The ad claims that the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, has no proof whatever of homicidal gassing chambers, and no proof that even one individual was gassed in a German program of genocide. The ads have caused an uproar everywhere, sparking protests from students and boycotts of the papers.

The man who placed all the ads, Bradley Smith, has been called anti-Semitic and a neo-Nazi because of the challenges of the Holocaust. Smith claims he simply wants the truth to be told, that Jews were never placed in gas chambers and that the figure of six million Jewish deaths is an irresponsible exaggeration.

Then came a misrepresentation that is, unfortunately, all too typical of the American media: an on-screen caption identified Smith as a person who “places ads in college newspapers calling Holocaust a hoax.” Even after he protested this characterization — and explained that “nobody says the Holocaust never happened,” and that the text of his ad begins by specifically declaring “this ad does not claim `the Holocaust never happened” — Donahue neither apologized nor addressed Smith’s objection.

Donahue repeatedly tried to involve Smith in a discussion of anti-Semitism, stressing the suffering of Jews during the Second World War. Smith responded by attempting to return to the subject of his campus ad campaign, and then added, with some exasperation: “There’s a moral issue here. Are Jews more important in the murder and chaos that went on during World War II than all other human beings in Europe?”

Probably the most striking and substantive portion of the broadcast was David Cole’s presentation, with apt commentary, of video film he recorded during visits to the former German camps

of Auschwitz-Birkenau, Mauthausen and Majdanek.

As Cole's video tape clearly shows, the door of the alleged execution "gas chamber" at Majdanek — where the Nuremberg Tribunal declared that 1.5 million people had been killed — "latches only from the inside," and "opens into the chamber." Cole went on to observe:

If you're going to pack a thousand people in a room and kill them, you can't have a door that then opens into the room because they will be piled up against the door, where they died. And I am now showing that the latches of this door, they latch inside. You cannot lock somebody into this room.

Donahue's only response to this footage, which will be included in his forthcoming second video production, was a dismissive comment: "Okay. Well, you're a real Columbo, David."

In an effort to discredit him, Donahue made much of fact that Cole had met Ernst Zündel, who was called a "neo-Nazi." With a remark that provoked one of the show's rare moments of humor, Cole responded: "I'm sorry, Phil. This is not about who I've met in my life. I just met you. Does that mean I'm Marlo Thomas [Donahue's wife]?"

Dr. Michael Shermer, adjunct professor at Occidental College in Los Angeles and editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, appeared a little later in the broadcast. Although he was characterized as a "Holocaust historian," he actually has no special knowledge or expertise on this subject. His job, as far as Donahue was concerned, was to "vigorously" refute Smith and Cole. He didn't succeed.

As part of his attempt to defend the Holocaust gas chamber story, Shermer referred to "all the evidence that we have. For example, why do we have so many huge orders of Zyklon B?" This comment entirely ignores the fact that the detailed records of orders for Zyklon B show that the widely-available commercial pesticide was delivered to camps where it is universally acknowledged that no homicidal gassings ever took place in quantities just as large as for camps where it is claimed that hundreds of thousands of Jews were gassed.

As "proof" that Jews were "gassed," viewers were shown a film clip of the infamous "gas chamber" at the Dachau concentration camp. (This was the very same footage that was shown to millions of "60 Minutes" viewers.) Cole quickly pointed out that this film footage is fraudulent because, as every serious historian of the subject now acknowledges, no one was ever "gassed" at Dachau. Prodded by Cole, Shermer acknowledged (to Donahue's obvious consternation) that this "gas chamber" was never used to kill anyone. However, Shermer attempted to negate the significance of this fraud by asserting that "it doesn't matter."

'Human Soap'

Another moment of embarrassment came when a "Holocaust survivor" in the audience loudly insisted that the Germans manufactured lamp shades and bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews. "It was true!," she exclaimed. Even after Cole and Smith were able to get Shermer to acknowledge that the often-repeated "human soap" tale (supposedly "proven" at the Nuremberg Trial) is not true, rude "survivors" in the audience continued to insist on it. Rebuking Shermer, who clearly didn't know how to handle this awkward situation, two elderly "survivors" shouted: "He wasn't there!" It was at about this point that an obviously embarrassed Donahue decided that this would be an appropriate moment to cut for a commercial break.

'Intellectual Freedom'

To his credit, Donahue affirmed that Holocaust revisionism can no longer be ignored, but must be dealt with seriously, and in a spirit of intellectual freedom. “In my opinion,” he said, the media can “no longer continue to ignore” Smith and his revisionist campaign. Donahue called for “a stand-up debate with this man,” and said to Smith: “I believe there should be intellectual freedom on this issue. That’s why you’re on the program.”

The generally effective appearance of Cole and Smith on “Donahue,” along with the treatment of Holocaust revisionism on other widely-viewed television programs, affirms that this intellectual movement has, at last, become an acknowledged feature of America’s social-cultural landscape.

— M. W.

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Leon Degrelle: 1906-1994

Leon Degrelle, combat hero of the Second World War, political leader, author and friend of the Institute for Historical Review, died March 31 in the southern Spanish city of Malaga. He was 87.

Degrelle was born on June 15, 1906, into a prosperous Catholic family in Bouillon, Belgium. As a young man, he was strongly influenced by the ideas of French writer Charles Marraus.

After study of philosophy, literature and law at the University of Louvain, this gifted publicist and charismatic public speaker turned to journalism and politics. In eloquent addresses to large rallies, several books and numerous booklets, and through his newspaper, *Le Pays réel*, he quickly made a mark on his country's political life. At the age of 29, his Catholic "Rex" movement — which demanded radical political reform and the establishment of an authoritative "corporate" state of social justice and national unity — captured 11.5 percent of the vote, and 21 parliamentary seats, in Belgium's 1936 elections.

Although his party's share of the vote fell to 4.4 percent in the 1939 election, Degrelle himself was reelected to the parliament with the largest majority of any deputy.

In the wake of Germany's June 1941 attack against the Soviet Union, Degrelle enthusiastically joined what he regarded as a pan-European crusade to crush Communism. His proposal to raise a volunteer battalion of fellow French-speaking Walloons to ensure a place of honor for Belgium in Hitler's new Europe was quickly accepted by the Germans.

Turning down an invitation to begin as an officer in the newly formed combat unit, he instead chose to start as a private, sharing all the burdens of his comrades. When he left his homeland in August 1941 to begin military service at the age of 35, he had never fired a gun. Nevertheless, he rose through the ranks to become commander of the unit that finally came to be known as the 28th SS Division "Wallonia."

As a result of the extraordinary courage and leadership he showed on the Narva front in Estonia, he became the first non-German to be awarded the coveted Oak Leaves to the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross. Hitler personally bestowed the honor on August 27, 1944.

Of the first 800 Walloon volunteers who left for the Eastern Front, only three survived the war, one of them Degrelle, who was wounded seven times during the course of his three and a half years of combat. All told, some 2,500 Walloons fell against the Soviets.

Degrelle's gripping account of duty, death and fierce combat on the eastern Front against numerically superior Soviet forces has won enthusiastic acclaim from readers around the world. The English-language edition, entitled *Campaign in Russia*, was first published by the IHR in 1985. It earned praise from US Army Brigadier General John C. Bahnsen in a review appearing in an of-

ficial US Army Department magazine: “.. The pace of the writing is fast; the action is graphic, and a warrior can learn things from reading this book. I recommend its reading by students of the art of war. It is well worth the price.”

To escape death at the hands of the victorious Allies at the end of the war, he made a daring 1,500-mile flight in a small plane from Norway across Europe to Spain, crash landing on the beach at San Sebastian. Critically wounded, he somehow survived, and then built a new and successful life in exile in Spain, which granted him refuge.

Over the years, numerous lies have been told about Degrelle. For example, a Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) report on his death that appeared recently in American Jewish community papers, while mentioning nothing of his remarkable wartime combat record, told readers that Degrelle “was responsible for the deportations and deaths of about 35,000 Jews in Belgium between 1941 and 1944.” This claim has absolutely no basis in fact.

In spite of the catastrophic military defeat of the cause to which he had been so devoted, until his death Degrelle remained defiantly unrepentant. He made this clear in numerous interviews, essays and in a 300-page autobiography, which appeared (in German) in 1992.

During the final years of his life, Degrelle was working on a multi-volume series of books for the IHR detailing the personality, policies, impact and legacy of Adolf Hitler. *Hitler: Born at Versailles*, the first volume in this projected 13-volume series, was published by the IHR in 1987. In this 535-page book Degrelle traces the origins, course and impact of the First World War. A German edition was published in 1992. A portion of volume two appeared as an essay, “How Hitler Consolidated Power in Germany and Launched a Social Revolution,” in the Fall 1992 *Journal of Historical Review*.

Unfortunately, Degrelle had been able to complete only a small part of this massive project by the time of his death. The IHR is now considering how best to put the completed portion into publishable form. — M. W.

The following works by Leon Degrelle are available from the IHR:

- *Campaign in Russia: The Waffen SS on the Eastern Front*. Degrelle’s gripping memoir of combat against the Soviet army. Hardcover. 350 pages. Stock # 0625. \$17.95 + \$2.00 shipping.
- *Hitler: Born at Versailles*. Fascinating in-depth examination of the origins, course and impact of the First World War. Hardcover. 535 pages. Photos. Stock # 0664. \$24.95 + \$3.00 shipping.
- *Epic: The Story of the Waffen SS*. Attractive easy-to-read 72-page booklet, with 22 pages of photos. Includes text of Degrelle’s lecture on the Waffen SS at the IHR’s 1982 Conference, with an essay by Theodore J. O’Keefe, “Leon Degrelle and the Crusade for Europe.” Softcover. Stock # 395. \$6.00 + \$1.50 shipping.
- Videotape version: *Epic: The Story of the Waffen SS*. IHR conference lecture. Professionally overdubbed English translation. Limited quantity available. Videotape. Picture fair, sound good. Color. Stock # V001. \$35.00 + \$2.00 shipping.
- Audiotape version: *Epic: The Story of the Waffen SS*. IHR Conference lecture. Stock # A034. \$9.95 + \$1.50 shipping.
- *Letter to the Pope on Auschwitz*. Softcover. 14 pages. \$3.50 + \$1.50 shipping.

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The Enigma of Hitler

Leon Degrelle

In the following essay Leon Degrelle provides a good example of his writing style and historical perspective. He writes about Adolf Hitler — a man he knew personally and to whom he had sworn an unconditional oath of obedience — not as a dispassionate historian, but as a devoted admirer. Himself one of this century's most remarkable personalities, Degrelle makes no secret of his almost reverential esteem for the German leader. As partisan and as unabashedly laudatory as this view of Hitler certainly is, this essay — which is adapted from the introduction to volume two of Degrelle's uncompleted multi-volume series on the life and legacy of Hitler — nonetheless provides a useful antidote to the mean-spirited and no less partisan treatments of Hitler that prevail on American book shelves and television screens.

The Editor

Hitler — you knew him — what was he like?" I have been asked that question a thousand times since 1945, and nothing is more difficult to answer.

Approximately two hundred thousand books have dealt with the Second World War and with its central figure, Adolf Hitler. But has the real Hitler been discovered in any of them? "The enigma of Hitler is beyond all human comprehension," the left-wing German weekly *Die Zeit* once put it.

Salvador Dali, art's unique genius, sought to penetrate the mystery in one of his most intensely dramatic paintings. Towering mountain landscapes all but fill the canvas, leaving only a few luminous meters of seashore dotted with delicately miniaturized human figures: the last witnesses to a dying peace. A huge telephone receiver dripping tears of blood hangs from the branch of a dead tree; and here and there hang umbrellas and bats whose portent is visibly the same. As Dali tells it, "Chamberlain's umbrella appeared in this painting in a sinister light, made evident by the bat, and it struck me when I painted it as a thing of enormous anguish."

He then confided: "I felt this painting to be deeply prophetic. But I confess that I haven't yet figured out the Hitler enigma either. He attracted me only as an object of my mad imaginings and because I saw him as a man uniquely capable of turning things completely upside down."

What a lesson in humility for the braying critics who have rushed into print since 1945 with their thousands of "definitive" books, most of them scornful, about this man who so troubled the introspective Dali that forty years later he still felt anguished and uncertain in the presence of his own hallucinatory painting. Apart from Dali, who else has ever tried to present an objective portrayal of this extraordinary man whom Dali labeled the most explosive figure in human history?

* * *

The mountains of Hitler books based on blind hatred and ignorance do little to describe or explain the most powerful man the world has ever seen. How, I ponder, do these thousands of disparate portraits of Hitler in any way resemble the man I knew? The Hitler seated beside me, standing up, talking, listening. It has become impossible to explain to people fed fantastic tales for decades that what they have read or have heard on television just does not correspond to the truth.

People have come to accept fiction, repeated a thousand times over, as reality. Yet they have never seen Hitler, never spoken to him, never heard a word from his mouth. The very name of Hitler immediately conjures up a grimacing devil, the fount of all one's negative emotions. Like Pavlov's bell, the mention of Hitler is meant to dispense with substance and reality. In time, however, history will demand more than these summary judgments.

* * *

Hitler is always present before my eyes: as a man of peace in 1936, as a man of war in 1944. It is not possible to have been a personal witness to the life of such an extraordinary man without being marked by it forever. Not a day goes by but Hitler rises again in my memory, not as a man long dead, but as a real being who paces his office floor, seats himself in his chair, pokes the burning logs in his fireplace.

The first thing anyone noticed when he came into view was his small mustache. Countless times he had been advised to shave it off, but he always refused: people were used to him the way he was.

He was not tall — no more than was Napoleon or Alexander the Great.

Hitler had deep blue eyes that many found bewitching, although I did not find them so. Nor did I detect the electric current his hands were said to give off. I gripped them quite a few times and was never struck by his lightning.

His face showed emotion or indifference according to the passion or apathy of the moment. At times he was as though benumbed, saying not a word, while his jaws moved in the meanwhile as if they were grinding an obstacle to smithereens in the void. Then he would come suddenly alive and launch into a speech directed at you alone, as though he were addressing a crowd of hundreds of thousands at Berlin's Tempelhof airfield. Then he became as if transfigured. Even his complexion, otherwise rather dull, lit up as he spoke. And at such time, to be sure, Hitler was strangely attractive and as if possessed of magic powers.

* * *

Anything that might have seemed too solemn in his remarks, he quickly tempered with a touch of humor. The picturesque word, the biting phrase were at his command. In a flash he would paint a word-picture that brought a smile, or come up with an unexpected and disarming comparison. He could be harsh and even implacable in his judgments and yet almost at the same time be surprisingly conciliatory, sensitive and warm.

After 1945 Hitler was accused of every cruelty, but it was not in his nature to be cruel. He loved children. It was an entirely natural thing for him to stop his car and share his food with young cy-

clists along the road. Once he gave his raincoat to a derelict plodding in the rain. At midnight he would interrupt his work and prepare the food for his dog Blondi.

He could not bear to eat meat, because it meant the death of a living creature. He refused to have so much as a rabbit or a trout sacrificed to provide his food. He would allow only eggs on his table, because egg-laying meant that the hen had been spared rather than killed.

Hitler's eating habits were a constant source of amazement to me. How could someone on such a rigorous schedule, who had taken part in tens of thousands of exhausting mass meetings from which he emerged bathed with sweat, often losing two to four pounds in the process; who slept only three to four hours a night; and who, from 1940 to 1945, carried the whole world on his shoulders while ruling over 380 million Europeans: how, I wondered, could he physically survive on just a boiled egg, a few tomatoes, two or three pancakes, and a plate of noodles? But he actually gained weight!

He drank only water. He did not smoke and would not tolerate smoking in his presence. At one or two o'clock in the morning he would still be talking, untroubled, close to his fireplace, lively, often amusing. He never showed any sign of weariness. Dead tired his audience might be, but not Hitler.

He was depicted as a tired old man. Nothing was further from the truth. In September of 1944, when he was reported to be fairly doddering, I spent a week with him. His mental and physical vigor were still exceptional. The attempt made on his life on July 20th had, if anything, recharged him. He took tea in his quarters as tranquilly as if we had been in his small private apartment at the chancellery before the war, or enjoying the view of snow and bright blue sky through his great bay window at Berchtesgaden.

* * *

At the very end of his life, to be sure, his back had become bent, but his mind remained as clear as a flash of lightning. The testament he dictated with extraordinary composure on the eve of his death, at three in the morning of April 29, 1945, provides us a lasting testimony. Napoleon at Fontainebleau was not without his moments of panic before his abdication. Hitler simply shook hands with his associates in silence, breakfasted as on any other day, then went to his death as if he were going for a stroll. When has history ever witnessed so enormous a tragedy brought to its end with such iron self control?

Hitler's most notable characteristic was ever his simplicity. The most complex of problems resolved itself in his mind into a few basic principles. His actions were geared to ideas and decisions that could be understood by anyone. The laborer from Essen, the isolated farmer, the Ruhr industrialist, and the university professor could all easily follow his line of thought. The very clarity of his reasoning made everything obvious.

His behavior and his life style never changed even when he became the ruler of Germany. He dressed and lived frugally. During his early days in Munich, he spent no more than a mark per day for food. At no stage in his life did he spend anything on himself. Throughout his 13 years in the chancellery he never carried a wallet or ever had money of his own.

* * *

Hitler was self-taught and made no attempt to hide the fact. The smug conceit of intellectuals, their shiny ideas packaged like so many flashlight batteries, irritated him at times. His own

knowledge he had acquired through selective and unremitting study, and he knew far more than thousands of diploma-decorated academics.

I don't think anyone ever read as much as he did. He normally read one book every day, always first reading the conclusion and the index in order to gauge the work's interest for him. He had the power to extract the essence of each book and then store it in his computer-like mind. I have heard him talk about complicated scientific books with faultless precision, even at the height of the war.

His intellectual curiosity was limitless. He was readily familiar with the writings of the most diverse authors, and nothing was too complex for his comprehension. He had a deep knowledge and understanding of Buddha, Confucius and Jesus Christ, as well as Luther, Calvin, and Savonarola; of literary giants such as Dante, Schiller, Shakespeare and Goethe; and analytical writers such as Renan and Gobineau, Chamberlain and Sorel.

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He had trained himself in philosophy by studying Aristotle and Plato. Although the latter did not fit into his system, Hitler was nevertheless able to extract what he deemed of value. He could quote entire paragraphs of Schopenhauer from memory, and for a long time carried a pocket edition of Schopenhauer with him. Nietzsche taught him much about willpower.

His thirst for knowledge was unquenchable. He spent hundreds of hours studying the works of Tacitus and Mommsen, military strategists such as Clausewitz, and empire builders such as Bismarck. Nothing escaped him: world history or the history of civilizations, the study of the Bible and the Talmud, Thomistic philosophy and all the masterpieces of Homer, Sophocles, Horace, Ovid, Titus Livius and Cicero. He knew Julian the Apostate as if he had been his contemporary.

His knowledge also extended to mechanics. He knew how engines worked; he understood the ballistics of various weapons; and he astonished the best medical scientists with his knowledge of medicine and biology.

The universality of Hitler's knowledge may surprise or displease those unaware of it, but it is nonetheless a historical fact: Hitler was one of the most cultivated men of this century. Many times more so than Churchill, an intellectual mediocrity; or than Pierre Laval, with his mere cursory knowledge of history; or than Roosevelt; or Eisenhower, who never got beyond detective novels.

* * *

Even during his earliest years, Hitler was different than other children. He had an inner strength and was guided by his spirit and his instincts.

He could draw skilfully when he was only eleven years old. His sketches made at that age show a remarkable firmness and liveliness. His first paintings and watercolors, created at age 15, are full of poetry and sensitivity. One of his most striking early works, "Fortress Utopia," also shows him to have been an artist of rare imagination.

His artistic orientation took many forms. He wrote poetry from the time he was a lad. He dictated a complete play to his sister Paula, who was amazed at his presumption. At the age of 16, in Vienna, he launched into the creation of an opera. He even designed the stage settings, as well as all the costumes; and, of course, the characters were Wagnerian heroes.

More than just an artist, Hitler was above all an architect. Hundreds of his works are notable as much for the architecture as for the painting. From memory alone he could reproduce in every detail the onion dome of a church or the intricate curves of wrought iron. Indeed, it was to fulfill his dream of becoming an architect that Hitler went to Vienna at the beginning of the century.

When one sees the hundreds of paintings, sketches and drawings he created at the time, which reveal his mastery of three dimensional figures, it is astounding that his examiners at the Fine Arts Academy failed him in two successive examinations. German historian Werner Maser, no friend of Hitler, castigated those examiners: "All of his works revealed extraordinary architectural gifts and knowledge. The builder of the Third Reich gives the former Fine Arts Academy of Vienna cause for shame."

* * *

Impressed by the beauty of the church in a Benedictine monastery where he was part of the choir and served as an altar boy, Hitler dreamt fleetingly of becoming a Benedictine monk. And it was at that time, too, interestingly enough, that whenever he attended mass, he always had to pass beneath the first swastika he had ever seen: it was graven in the stone escutcheon of the abbey portal.

Hitler's father, a customs officer, hoped the boy would follow in his footsteps and become a civil servant. His tutor encouraged him to become a monk. Instead the young Hitler went, or rather he fled, to Vienna. And there, thwarted in his artistic aspirations by the bureaucratic mediocrities of academia, he turned to isolation and meditation. Lost in the great capital of Austria-Hungary, he searched for his destiny.

* * *

During the first 30 years of Hitler's life, the date April 20, 1889, meant nothing to anyone. He was born on that day in Braunau, a small town in the Inn valley. During his exile in Vienna, he often thought of his modest home, and particularly of his mother. When she fell ill, he returned home from Vienna to look after her. For weeks he nursed her, did all the household chores, and supported her as the most loving of sons. When she finally died, on Christmas eve, his pain was immense. Wracked with grief, he buried his mother in the little country cemetery. "I have never seen anyone so prostrate with grief," said his mother's doctor, who happened to be Jewish.

In his room Hitler always displayed an old photograph of his mother. The memory of the mother he loved was with him until the day he died. Before leaving this earth, on April 30, 1945, he placed his mother's photograph in front of him. She had blue eyes like his and a similar face. Her maternal intuition told her that her son was different from other children. She acted almost as if she knew her son's destiny. When she died, she felt anguished by the immense mystery surrounding her son.

* * *

Throughout the years of his youth, Hitler lived the life of a virtual recluse. His greatest wish was to withdraw from the world. At heart a loner, he wandered about, ate meager meals, but devoured the books of three public libraries. He abstained from conversation and had few friends.

It is almost impossible to imagine another such destiny where a man started with so little and reached such heights. Alexander the Great was the son of a king. Napoleon, from a well-to-do

family, was a general at 24. Fifteen years after Vienna, Hitler would still be an unknown corporal. Thousands of others had a thousand times more opportunity to leave their mark on the world.

Hitler had not yet focused on politics, but without his rightly knowing it, that was the career to which he was most strongly called. Politics would ultimately blend with his passion for art. People, the masses, would be the clay the sculptor shapes into an immortal form. That human clay would become for him a beautiful work of art like one of Myron's marble sculptures, a Hans Makart painting, or Wagner's Ring Trilogy.

His love of music, art and architecture had not removed him from the political life and social concerns of Vienna. In order to survive, he worked as a common laborer side by side with other workers. He was a silent spectator, but nothing escaped him: not the vanity and egoism of the bourgeoisie, nor the moral and material misery of the people, nor yet the hundreds of thousands of workers who surged down the wide avenues of Vienna with anger in their hearts.

He had also been taken aback by the growing presence in Vienna of bearded Jews wearing caftans, a sight unknown in Linz. "How can they be Germans?" he asked himself. He read the statistics: in 1860 there were 69 Jewish families in Vienna; 40 years later there were 200,000. They were everywhere. He observed their invasion of the universities and the legal and medical professions, and their takeover of the newspapers.

Hitler was exposed to the passionate reactions of workers to this influx, but the workers were not alone in their unhappiness. There were many prominent persons in both Austria and Hungary who did not hide their resentment at what they believed was an alien invasion of their country. The mayor of Vienna, a Christian-Democrat and a powerful orator, was eagerly listened to by Hitler.

Hitler was also concerned with the fate of the eight million Austrian Germans kept apart from Germany, and thus deprived of their rightful German nationhood. He saw Emperor Franz Josef as a bitter and petty old man unable to cope with the problems of the day and the aspirations of the future.

* * *

Quietly, the young Hitler was summing things up in his mind.

First: Austrians were part of Germany, the common fatherland.

Second: The Jews were aliens within the German community.

Third: Patriotism was only valid if it was shared by all classes. The common people with whom Hitler had shared grief and humiliation were just as much a part of the fatherland as the millionaires of high society.

Fourth: Class war would sooner or later condemn both workers and bosses to ruin in any country. No country can survive class war; only cooperation between workers and bosses can benefit the country. Workers must be respected and live with decency and honor. Creativity must never be stifled.

When Hitler later said that he had formed his social and political doctrine in Vienna, he told the truth. Ten years later his observations made in Vienna would become the order of the day.

* * *

Thus Hitler was to live for several years in the crowded city of Vienna as a virtual outcast, yet quietly observing everything around him. His strength came from within. He did not rely on anyone to do his thinking for him. Exceptional human beings always feel lonely amid the vast human throng. Hitler saw his solitude as a wonderful opportunity to meditate and not feel submerged in a mindless sea. In order not to be lost in the wastes of a sterile desert, a strong soul seeks refuge within himself. Hitler was such a soul.

* * *

The lightning in Hitler's life would come from the Word.

All his artistic talent would be channeled into his mastery of communication and eloquence. Hitler would never conceive of popular conquests without the power of the Word. He would enchant and be enchanted by it. He would find total fulfillment when the magic of his words inspired the hearts and minds of the masses he communed with.

He would feel reborn each time he conveyed with mystical beauty the knowledge he had acquired in his lifetime.

Hitler's incantatory eloquence will remain, for a very long time, a vast field of study for the psychoanalyst. The power of Hitler's word is the key. Without it there would never have been a Hitler era.

* * *

Did Hitler believe in God? He believed deeply in God. He called God the Almighty, master of all that is known and unknown.

Propagandists portrayed Hitler as an atheist. He was not. He had contempt for hypocritical and materialistic clerics, but he was not alone in that. He believed in the necessity of standards and theological dogmas, without which, he repeatedly said, the great institution of the Christian church would collapse. These dogmas clashed with his intelligence, but he also recognized that it was hard for the human mind to encompass all the problems of creation, its limitless scope and breathtaking beauty. He acknowledged that every human being has spiritual needs.

The song of the nightingale, the pattern and color of a flower, continually brought him back to the great problems of creation. No one in the world has spoken to me so eloquently about the existence of God. He held this view not because he was brought up as a Christian, but because his analytical mind bound him to the concept of God.

Hitler's faith transcended formulas and contingencies. God was for him the basis of everything, the ordainer of all things, of his destiny and that of all others.

* * *

Hitler was not much concerned with his private life. In Vienna he had lived in shabby, cramped lodgings. But for all that he rented a piano that took up half of his room, and concentrated on composing his opera.

He lived on bread, milk, and vegetable soup. His poverty was real. He did not even own an overcoat. He shoveled streets on snowy days. He carried luggage at the railway station. He spent

many weeks in shelters for the homeless. But he never stopped painting or reading.

Despite his dire poverty, Hitler somehow managed to maintain a clean appearance. Landlords and landladies in Vienna and Munich all remembered him for his civility and pleasant disposition. His behavior was impeccable. His room was always spotless, his meager belongings meticulously arranged, and his clothes neatly hung or folded. He washed and ironed his own clothes, something which in those days few men did. He needed almost nothing to survive, and money from the sale of a few paintings was sufficient to provide for all his needs.

* * *

The First World War was a turning point in his life. He regarded it as the hand of destiny.

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'My Patient, Hitler'

A Memoir of Hitler's Jewish Physician

Eduard Bloch

"My Patient, Hitler," by Dr. Eduard Bloch "as told to J. D. Ratcliff," originally appeared in two parts in the March 15 and March 22, 1941, issues of *Collier's* magazine. In those pre-television days, *Collier's* was one of the most influential and widely-read periodicals in the United States. Regarded by serious historians as an important primary historical source about Hitler's youth, this essay is cited, for example, in the bibliography and reference notes of John Toland's acclaimed biography, *Adolf Hitler* (Doubleday, 1976). It is also cited as a source in Robert Payne's study, *The Life and Death of Adolf Hitler* (Praeger, 1973) and in Louis Snyder's *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (McGraw Hill, 1976). While frankly describing the devastating impact of Hitler's anti-Jewish measures on his own life and career, Dr. Bloch also writes about the teenage Hitler with an honesty and sensitivity that would be almost unthinkable in any large-circulation American magazine today. The complete text of the original two-part essay, including original subtitles, is reprinted here, with only a few minor additions in brackets.

The Editor

We were three days out of Lisbon bound west for New York. The storm on Saturday had been bad, but on Sunday the sea had subsided. A little before eleven o'clock that night our ship, the small Spanish liner Marques de Comillas, got orders to stop. British control officers aboard a trawler wanted to examine the passengers. Everyone was told to line up in the main lounge.

Four British officers, wearing life jackets, entered. Without comment they worked their way down the line, scrutinizing passports. There was a feeling of tenseness. Many of those aboard the ship were fleeing; they thought they had made good their escape from Europe once anchor was hoisted in Lisbon. Now? No one knew. Perhaps some of us would be taken off the ship.

Finally it was my turn. The officer in charge took my passport, glanced at it and looked up, smiling. "You were Hitler's physician, weren't you?" he asked. This was correct. It would also have been correct for him to add that I am a Jew.

I knew Adolf Hitler as a boy and as a young man. I treated him many times and was intimately familiar with the modest surroundings in which he grew to manhood. I attended, in her final illness, the person nearer and dearer to him than all others — his mother.

Most biographers — both sympathetic and unsympathetic — have avoided the youth of Adolf Hitler. The unsympathetic ones have done this of necessity. They could lay their hands on only the most meager facts. The official party biographies have skipped over this period because of the dictator's wishes. Why this abnormal sensitivity about his youth? I do not know. There are no scandalous chapters which Hitler might wish to hide, unless one goes back over a hundred years to the birth of his father. Some biographers say that Alois Hitler was an illegitimate child. I cannot speak for the accuracy of this statement.

What of those early years in Linz, Austria, where Hitler spent his formative years? What kind of boy was he? What kind of a life did he lead? It is of these things that we shall speak here.

When Adolf Hitler was Thirteen

First, I might introduce myself. I was born in Frauenburg, a tiny village in southern Bohemia which, in the course of my lifetime, had been under three flags: Austrian, Czechoslovakian and German. I am sixty-nine years old. I studied medicine in Prague, then joined the Austrian army as a military doctor. In 1899 I was ordered to Linz, capital of Upper Austria, and the third largest city in the country. When I completed my army service in 1901 I decided to remain in Linz and practice medicine.

As a city, Linz has always been as quiet and reserved as Vienna was gay and noisy. In the period of which we are about to speak — when Adolf Hitler was a boy of 13 [actually, 14] — Linz was a city of 80,000 people. My consultation rooms and home were in the same house, an ancient baroque structure on Landstrasse, the main thoroughfare of the city.

The Hitler family moved to Linz in 1903, because, I believe, of the good schools there. The family background is well known. Alois Schicklgruber Hitler was the son of a poor peasant girl. When he was old enough to work he got a job as a cobbler's apprentice, worked his way into the government service and became a customs inspector at Braunau, a tiny frontier town between Bavaria and Austria. Braunau is fifty miles from Linz. At fifty-six Alois Hitler became eligible for a pension and retired. Proud of his own success, he was anxious for his son to enter government service. Young Adolf violently opposed the idea. He would be an artist. Father and son fought over this while the mother, Klara Hitler, tried to maintain peace.

As long as he lived Alois Hitler persevered in trying to shape his son's destiny to his own desires. His son would have the education which had been denied him; an education which would secure him a good government job. So Father Alois prepared to leave the hamlet of Braunau for the city of Linz. Because of his government service, he would not be required to pay the full tuition for his son at the Realschule. With all this in mind he bought a small farm in Leonding, a Linz suburb.

The family was rather large. In later life Adolf has so overshadowed the others that they are, for the better part, forgotten. There was half-brother Alois, whom I never met. He left home at an early age, got a job as a waiter in London and later opened his own restaurant in Berlin. He was never friendly with his younger brother.

Then there was Paula, the oldest of the girls. She later married Herr Rubal, an official in the tax bureau in Linz. Later still, after her husband's death and her brother's rise to power, she went to Berchtesgaden to become house-keeper at Hitler's villa. Sister Klara for a while managed a restaurant for Jewish students at the University of Vienna; and sister Angela, youngest of the girls, married a Professor Hamitsch at Dresden, where she still lives.

A Job for Frau Hitler

The family had barely settled in their new home outside of Linz when Alois, the father, died suddenly from an apoplectic stroke.

At the time Frau Hitler was in her early forties. She was a simple, modest, kindly woman. She was tall, had brownish hair which she kept neatly plaited, and a long, oval face with beautifully expressive gray-blue eyes. She was desperately worried about the responsibilities thrust upon her by her husband's death. Alois, twenty-three years her senior, had always managed the family. Now the job was hers.

It was readily apparent that son Adolf was too young and altogether too fragile to become a farmer. So her best move seemed to be to sell the place and rent a small apartment. This she did, soon after her husband's death. With the proceeds of this sale and the small pension which came to her because of her husband's government position, she managed to hold her family together.

In a small town in Austria poverty doesn't force upon one the indignities that it does in a large city. There are no slums and no serious overcrowding. I do not know the exact income of the Hitler family, but being familiar with the scale of government pensions I should estimate it at \$25 a month. This small sum allowed them to live quietly and decently — unnoticed little people in an out-of-the-way town.

Their apartment consisted of three small rooms in the two-story house at No. 9 Bluetenstrasse, which is across the Danube from the main portion of Linz. Its windows gave an excellent view of the mountains.

My predominant impression of the simple furnished apartment was its cleanliness. It glistened; not a speck of dust on the chairs or tables, not a stray fleck of mud on the scrubbed floor, not a smudge on the panes in the windows. Frau Hitler was a superb housekeeper.

The Hitlers had only a few friends. One stood out above the others; the widow of the postmaster who lived in the same house.

The limited budget allowed not even the smallest extravagance. We had the usual provincial opera in Linz: not good, and not bad. Those who would hear the best went to Vienna. Seats in the gallery of our theater, the Schauspielhaus, sold for the equivalent of 10 to 15 cents in American money. Yet occupying one of these seats to hear an indifferent troupe sing Lohengrin was such a memorable occasion that Hitler records it in *Mein Kampf*!

For the most part the boy's recreations were limited to those things which were free: walks in the mountains, a swim in the Danube, a free band concert. He read extensively and was particularly fascinated by stories about American Indians. He devoured the books of James Fenimore Cooper, and the German writer Karl May — who never visited America and never saw an Indian.

The family diet was, of necessity, simple and rugged. Food was cheap and plentiful in Linz; and the Hitler family ate much the same diet as other people in their circumstance. Meat would be served perhaps twice a week. Most of the meals they sat down to consisted of cabbage or potato soup, bread, dumplings and a pitcher of pear and apple cider.

For clothing, they wore the rough woolen cloth we call Loden. Adolf, of course, dressed in the uniform of all small boys: leather shorts, embroidered suspenders, a small green hat with a feather in its band.

A Remarkable Mother Love

What kind of boy was Adolf Hitler? Many biographers have put him down as harsh-voiced, defiant, untidy; as a young ruffian who personified all that is unattractive. This simply is not true. As a youth he was quiet, well-mannered and neatly dressed.

He records that at the age of fifteen he regarded himself as a political revolutionary. Possibly. But let us look at Adolf Hitler as he impressed people about him, not as he impressed himself.

He was tall, sallow, old for his age. He was neither robust nor sickly. Perhaps “frail looking” would best describe him. His eyes — inherited from his mother — were large, melancholy and thoughtful. To a very large extent this boy lived within himself. What dreams he dreamed I do not know.

Outwardly, his love for his mother was his most striking feature. While he was not a “mother’s boy” in the usual sense, I have never witnessed a closer attachment. Some insist that this love verged on the pathological. As a former intimate of the family, I do not believe this is true.

Klara Hitler adored her son, the youngest of the family. She allowed him his own way wherever possible. His father had insisted that he become an official. He rebelled and won his mother to his side. He soon tired of school, so his mother allowed him to drop his studies.

All friends of the family know how Frau Hitler encouraged his boyish efforts to become an artist; at what cost to herself one may guess. Despite their poverty, she permitted him to reject a job which was offered in the post office, so that he could continue his painting. She admired his water colors and his sketches of the countryside. Whether this was honest admiration or whether it was merely an effort to encourage his talent I do not know.

She did her best to raise her boy well. She saw that he was neat, clean and as well fed as her purse would permit. Whenever he came to my consultation room this strange boy would sit among the other patients, awaiting his turn.

There was never anything seriously wrong. Possibly his tonsils would be inflamed. He would stand obedient and unflinching while I depressed his tongue and swabbed the trouble spots. Or, possibly, he would be suffering with a cold. I would treat him and send him on his way. Like any well-bred boy of fourteen or fifteen he would bow and thank me courteously.

I, of course, know of the stomach trouble that beset him later in life, largely as a result of bad diet while working as a common laborer in Vienna. I cannot understand the many references to his lung trouble as a youth. I was the only doctor treating him during the period in which he is supposed to have suffered from this. My records show nothing of the sort. To be sure, he didn’t have the rosy cheeks and the robust good health of most of the other youngsters; but at the same time he was not sickly.

At the Realschule young Adolf’s work was anything but brilliant. As authority for this, I have the word of his former teacher, Dr. Karl Huemer, an old acquaintance of mine. I was Frau Huemer’s physician. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler records that he was an indifferent student in most subjects, but that he loved history. This agrees with the recollections of Professor Huemer.

Desiring additional training in painting, Hitler decided he would go to Vienna to study at the Academy. This was a momentous decision for a member of a poor family. His mother worried about how he would get along. I understand that she even suggested pinching the family budget a

little tighter to enable her to send him a tiny allowance. Credit to the boy, he refused. He even went further: he signed his minute inheritance over to his sisters. He was eighteen at the time.

I am not sure of the exact details of what happened on that trip to Vienna. Some contend that he was not admitted to the Academy because of his unsatisfactory art work. Others accept Hitler's statement that his rejection was due to his failure to graduate from the Realschule — the equivalent of an American high school. In any case he was home again within a few weeks. It was later in this year — 1908 [1907, according to some sources] — that it became my duty to give Hitler what was perhaps the saddest news of his life.

One day Frau Hitler came to visit me during my morning office hours. She complained of a pain in her chest. She spoke in a quiet, hushed voice; almost a whisper. The pain, she said, had been great; enough to keep her awake nights on end. She had been busy with her household so had neglected to seek medical aid. Besides, she thought the pain would pass away. When a physician hears such a story he almost automatically thinks of cancer. An examination showed that Frau Hitler had an extensive tumor of the breast. I did not tell her of my diagnosis.

The Family Decides

I summoned the children to my office next day and stated the case frankly. Their mother, I told them, was a gravely ill woman. A malignant tumor is serious enough today, but it was even more serious thirty years ago. Surgical techniques were not so advanced and knowledge of cancer not so extensive.

Without surgery, I explained, there was absolutely no hope of recovery. Even with surgery there was but the slightest chance that she would live. In family council they must decide what was to be done.

Adolf Hitler's reaction to this news was touching. His long, sallow face was contorted. Tears flowed from his eyes. Did his mother, he asked, have no chance? Only then did I realize the magnitude of the attachment that existed between mother and son. I explained that she did have a chance; but a small one. Even this shred of hope gave him some comfort.

The children carried my message to their mother. She accepted the verdict as I was sure she would — with fortitude. Deeply religious, she assumed that her fate was God's will. It would never have occurred to her to complain. She would submit to the operation as soon as I could make preparations.

I explained the case to Dr. Karl Urban, the chief of the surgical staff at the Hospital of the Sisters of Mercy in Linz. Urban was one of the best-known surgeons in Upper Austria. He was — and is — a generous man, a credit to his profession. He willingly agreed to undertake the operation on any basis I suggested. After examination he concurred in my belief that Frau Hitler had very little chance of surviving but that surgery offered the only hope.

It is interesting to note what happened to this generous man nearly three decades later — after Anschluss [union] with Germany. Because of his political connections he was forced to abandon his position at the hospital. His son, who pioneered in brain surgery, was likewise forced from several offices.

Frau Hitler arrived at the hospital one evening in the early summer of 1908 [1907?]. I do not have the exact date, for my records of the case were placed in the archives of the Nazi party in Munich. In any case, Frau Hitler spent the night in the hospital and was operated on the follow-

ing morning. At the request of this gentle, harried soul I remained beside the operating table while Dr. Urban and his assistant performed the surgery.

Two hours later I drove in my carriage across the Danube to the little house at No. 9 Bluetenstrasse, in the section of the city known as Urfahr. There the children awaited me.

The girls received the word I brought with calm and reserve. The face of the boy was streaked with tears, and his eyes were tired and red. He listened until I had finished speaking. He has but one question. In a choked voice he asked: "Does my mother suffer?"

Hitler's Worst Moment

As weeks and months passed after the operation Frau Hitler's strength began visibly to fail. At most she could be out of bed for an hour or two a day. During this period Adolf spent most of his time around the house, to which his mother had returned.

He slept in the tiny bedroom adjoining that of his mother so that he could be summoned at any time during the night. During the day he hovered about the large bed in which she lay.

In illness such as that suffered by Frau Hitler, there is usually a great amount of pain. She bore her burden well; unflinching and uncomplaining. But it seemed to torture her son. An anguished grimace would come over him when he saw pain contract her face. There was little that could be done. An injection of morphine from time to time would give temporary relief; but nothing lasting. Yet Adolf seemed enormously grateful even for these short periods of release.

I shall never forget Klara Hitler during those days. She was forty-eight at the time; tall, slender and rather handsome, yet wasted by disease. She was soft-spoken, patient; more concerned about what would happen to her family than she was about her approaching death. She made no secret of these worries; or about the fact that most of her thoughts were for her son. "Adolf is still so young," she said repeatedly.

On the day of December 20, 1908 [or 1907], I made two calls. The end was approaching and I wanted this good woman to be as comfortable as I could make her. I didn't know whether she would live another week, or another month; or whether death would come in a matter of hours.

So, the word that Angela Hitler brought me the following morning came as no surprise. Her mother had died quietly in the night. The children had decided not to disturb me, knowing that their mother was beyond all medical aid. But, she asked, could I come now? Someone in an official position would have to sign the death certificate. I put on my coat and drove with her to the grief-stricken cottage.

The postmaster's widow, their closest friend, was with the children, having more or less taken charge of things. Adolf, his face showing the weariness of a sleepless night, sat beside his mother. In order to preserve a last impression, he had sketched her as she lay on her deathbed.

I sat with the family for a while, trying to ease their grief. I explained that in this case death had been a savior. They understood.

In the practice of my profession it is natural that I should have witnessed many scenes such as this one, yet none of them left me with quite the same impression. In all my career I have never seen anyone so prostrate with grief as Adolf Hitler.

I did not attend Klara Hitler's funeral, which was held on Christmas Eve. The body was taken from Urfahr to Leonding, only a few miles distant. Klara Hitler was buried beside her husband in the Catholic cemetery, behind the small, yellow stucco church. After the others — the girls, and the postmaster's widow — had left, Adolf remained behind; unable to tear himself away from the freshly filled grave.

And so this gaunt, pale young man stood alone in the cold. Alone with his thoughts on Christmas Eve while the rest of the world was gay and happy.

A few days after the funeral the family came to my office. They wished to thank me for the help I had given them. There was Paula, fair and stocky; Angela, slender, pretty but rather anemic; Klara and Adolf. The girls spoke what was in their hearts while Adolf remained silent. I recall this particular scene as vividly as I might recall something that took place last week.

Adolf wore a dark suit and a loosely knotted cravat. Then, as now, a shock of hair tumbled over his forehead. His eyes were on the floor while his sisters were talking. Then came his turn. He stepped forward and took my hand. Looking into my eyes, he said: "I shall be grateful to you forever." That was all. Then he bowed. I wonder if today he recalls this scene. I am quite sure that he does, for in a sparing sense Adolf Hitler had kept to his promise of gratitude. Favors were granted me which I feel sure were accorded no other Jew in all Germany or Austria.

Part II

Almost immediately after his mother's funeral Hitler left for Vienna, to attempt once more a career as an artist. His growth to manhood had been a painful experience for this boy who lived within himself. But ever more trying days were coming. Poor as the family was, he had at least been assured food and shelter while living at home. This couldn't be said of the days in Vienna. Hitler was entirely engrossed with the business of keeping body and soul together.

We all know something of his life there — how he worked as a hodcarrier on building-construction jobs until workmen threatened to push him off a scaffold. And we know that he shoveled snow and took any other job he could find. During this period, for three years in fact, Hitler lived in a man's hostel, the equivalent of a flophouse in any large American city. It was here that he began to dream of a world remade to his pattern.

While living in the hostel, surrounded by the human dregs of the large city, Hitler says, "I became dissatisfied with myself for the first time in my life." This dissatisfaction with himself was followed by dissatisfaction with everything about him — and the desire to alter things to his own liking.

The vitriol of hate began to creep through his body. The grim realities of the life he lived encouraged him to hate the government, labor unions, the very men he lived with. But he had not yet begun to hate the Jews.

During this period he took time out to send me a penny postcard. On the back was a message: "From Vienna I send you my greetings. Yours, always faithfully, Adolf Hitler." It was a small thing, yet I appreciated it. I had spent a great deal of time treating the Hitler family and it was nice to know that this effort on my part had not been forgotten.

Official Nazi publications also record that I received one of Hitler's paintings — a small landscape. If I did I am not aware of it. But it is quite possible that he sent me one and that I have forgotten the matter. In Austria patients frequently send paintings or other gifts to their physicians as

a mark of gratitude. Even now I have half a dozen of these oils and water colors which I have saved; but none painted by Hitler among them.

I did, however, preserve one piece of Hitler's art work. This came during the period in Vienna when he was painting post cards, posters, etc., making enough money to support himself. This was the one time in his life that Hitler was able to make successful use of his talent.

He would paint these cards and dry them in front of a hot fire, which would give them a rather pleasing antique quality. Then other inmates of the hostel would peddle them. Today in Germany the few remaining samples of this work are more highly prized and sought after than the works of Picasso, Gauguin and Cézanne!

Hitler sent me one of these cards. It showed a hooded Capuchin monk hoisting a glass of bubbling champagne. Under the picture was a caption: "Prosit Neujahr — A toast to the New Year." On the reverse side he had written a message: "The Hitler family sends you the best wishes for a Happy New Year. In everlasting thankfulness, Adolf Hitler."

Why I put these cards aside to be saved, I do not know. Possibly it was because of the impression made upon me by that unhappy boy. Even today I cannot help thinking of him in terms of his grief and not in terms of what he has done to the world.

Those postal cards had a curious history. They indicated the extent to which Hitler has captured the imagination of some people. A rich Viennese industrialist — I do not know his name because he dealt through an intermediary — later made me an astonishing offer. He wanted to buy those two cards and was willing to pay 20,000 marks for them! I rejected the offer on the ground that I could not ethically make such a sale.

There is still another story in those two cards. Seventeen days after the collapse of the Schuschnigg government and the occupation of Austria by German troops, an agent of the Gestapo called at my home. At the time I was making a professional call, but my wife received him.

'Retained for Safekeeping'

"I am informed," he said, "that you have some souvenirs of the Fuehrer. I should like to see them." Acting sensibly, my wife made no protest. She didn't wish to have her home torn apart as so many Jewish homes had been. She found the two cards and handed them over. The agent scribbled a receipt which read: "Certificate for the safekeeping of two post cards (one of them painted by the hand of Adolf Hitler) confiscated in the house of Dr. Eduard Bloch." It was signed by the agent, named Groemer, who was previously unknown to us. He said I was to come to headquarters the following morning.

Almost as soon as the Nazis entered the city the Gestapo took over the small hotel in Gesellenhausstrasse formally patronized by traveling clergymen. I went to this place and was received almost immediately. I was greeted courteously by Dr. Rasch, head of the local bureau. I asked him why these bits of property had been taken.

Those were busy days for the Gestapo. There were many things to be looked after in a town of 120,000 people. It developed that Dr. Rasch was not familiar with my case. He asked if I were under suspicion for any political activity unfavorable to the Nazis. I replied that I was not; that I was a professional man with no political connections.

Apparently as an afterthought, he asked if I were a non-Aryan. I answered without compromise: "I am a 100 percent Jew." The change that came over him was instantaneous. Previously he had been businesslike but courteous. Now he became distant.

The cards, he said, would be retained for safekeeping. Then he dismissed me, neither rising nor shaking hands as he had when I entered. So far as I know the cards are still in the hands of the Gestapo. I never saw them again.

When he left for Vienna, Adolf Hitler was destined to disappear from our lives for a great many years. He had no friends in Linz to whom he might return to visit and few with whom he might exchange correspondence. So, it was much later that we learned of his wretched poverty on those days, and of his subsequent moving to Munich in 1912 [actually, in May 1913].

No news came back of the way in which he fell on his knees and thanked God when war was declared in 1914; and no news of his war service as a corporal with the 16th Bavarian Reserve Infantry. We heard nothing of his being wounded and gassed. Not until the beginning of his political career in 1920 were we again to get news of this quiet, polite boy who grew up among us.

Could This Be Adolf?

Occasionally the local newspapers would run items about the group of political supporters that Hitler was gathering about himself in Munich; stories of their hatred of the Jews, of the Versailles Peace, of nearly everything else. But no particular importance was attached to these activities. Not until twenty people died in the beer-hall putsch of November 8, 1923, did Hitler achieve local notoriety. Was it possible, I asked myself, that the man behind these things was the quiet boy I had known — the son of the gentle Klara Hitler?

Eventually even the mention of Hitler's name in the Austrian press was prohibited; still we continued to get word-of-mouth news of our former townsman: stories of the persecutions he had launched; of German rearmament; of war to come. This smuggled news reached responsive ears. A local Nazi party sprang up.

In theory such a party could not exist; it had been outlawed by the government. In practice authorities gave it their blessings. Denied uniforms, local Nazis adopted methods of identifying themselves to everyone. They wore white stockings. On their coats they wore a small wild flower, very much like the American daisy, and at Christmas time they burned blue candles in their homes.

We all knew these things, but nothing was done. From time to time local authorities would find a Nazi flag on Klara Hitler's grave in Leonding, and would remove it without ceremony. Still, the gathering storm in Germany seemed remote. It was quite a while before I got any firsthand word from Adolf Hitler. Then, in 1937, a number of local Nazis attended the party conference at Nuremberg. After the conference Hitler invited several of these people to come with him to his mountain villa at Berchtesgaden. The Fuehrer asked for news of Linz. How was the town? Were people there supporting him? He asked for news of me. Was I still alive, still practicing? Then he made a statement irritating to local Nazis. "Dr. Bloch," said Hitler, "is an Edeljude — a noble Jew. If all Jews were like him, there would be no Jewish question." It was strange, and in a way flattering, that Adolf Hitler could see good in at least one member of my race.

It is curious now to look back on the feeling of security that we had by virtue of living on the right side of an imaginary line, the international boundary. Surely Germany would not chance in-

vading Austria. France was friendly. Occupation of Austria would be inimical to the interests of Italy. Oh, but we were blind, in those days! Then we were caught up in a breathless rush of events. It was with hope that we read of [Austrian chancellor] Schuschnigg's trip to Berchtesgaden; his plebiscite; his inclusion of Seyss-Inquart in his cabinet. Possibly we would ride through this crisis untouched. But hope was doomed to death within a very few hours. As soon as Seyss-Inquart was taken into the cabinet, buttons sprouted in every lapel: "One People, One Realm, One Leader."

While Austria Died

On Friday, March 11, 1938, the Vienna radio was broadcasting a program of light music. It was 7:45 at night. Suddenly the announcer broke in. The chancellor would speak. Schuschnigg came on the air and said that to prevent bloodshed he was capitulating to the wishes of Hitler. The frontiers would be opened, he ended his address with the words: "Gott schütze Oesterreich" — may God protect Austria. Hitler was coming home to Linz.

In the sleepless days that followed we clung to our radios. Troops were pouring over the border at Passau, Kufstein, Mittenwalde and elsewhere. Hitler himself was crossing the Inn River at Braunau, his birthplace. Breathlessly, the announcer told us the story of the march. The Fuehrer himself would pause in Linz. The town went mad with joy. The reader should have no doubts about the popularity of Anschluss with Germany. The people favored it. They greeted the onrushing tide of German troops with flowers, cheers and songs. Church bells rang. Austrian troops and police fraternized with the invaders and there was general rejoicing.

The public square in Linz, a block from my home, was a turmoil. All afternoon it rang with the Horst Wessel song and Deutschland über Alles. Planes droned overhead, and advance units of the German army were given deafening cheers. Finally the radio announced that Hitler was in Linz.

Advance instructions had been given to the townspeople. All windows along the procession route were to be closed. Each should be lighted. I stood at the window of my home facing Landstrasse. Hitler would pass before me.

The Hero Returns

Soon the procession arrived — the great, black Mercedes car, a six-wheeled affair, flanked by motorcycles. The frail boy I had treated so often, and whom I had not seen for thirty years — stood in the car. I had accorded him only kindness; what was he now to do to the people I loved? I peered over the heads of the crowd at Adolf Hitler.

It was a moment of tense excitement. For years Hitler had been denied the right to visit the country of his birth. Now that country belonged to him. The elation that he felt was written on his features. He smiled, waved, gave the Nazi salute to the people that crowded the street. Then, for a moment he glanced up at my window. I doubt that he saw me, but he must have had a moment of reflection. Here was the home of the Edeljude who had diagnosed his mother's fatal cancer; here was the consultation room of the man who had treated his sisters; here was the place he had gone as a boy to have his minor ailments attended.

It was a brief moment. Then the procession was gone. It moved slowly into the town square — once Franz Josef Platz, soon to be renamed Adolf Hitler Platz. He spoke from the balcony of the town hall. I listened on the radio. Historic words: Germany and Austria were now one.

Hitler established himself in the Weinzinger Hotel, particularly requesting an apartment with a view of the Poestling Mountain. This scene had been visible from the windows of the modest apartment where he spent his boyhood.

The following day he called in a few old acquaintances: Oberhammer, a local party functionary; Kubitschek [Kubizek], the musician; Liedel, the watchmaker; Dr. Huemer, his former history teacher. It was understandable that he couldn't ask me, a Jew, to such a meeting; yet he did inquire after me. For a while I thought of asking for an audience, then decided this would be unwise.

Hitler arrived Saturday evening. Sunday he visited his mother's grave, and reviewed local Nazis as they marched before him. Not equipped with uniforms, they wore knickerbockers, ski pants or leather shorts. On Monday Hitler departed for Vienna.

Soon we were brought to a sharp realization of how different things were to be. There were 700 Jews in Linz. Shops, homes and offices of all these people were marked with the yellow-paper banners now visible throughout Germany, JUDE — Jew.

The first suggestion that I was to receive special favors came one day when the local Gestapo telephoned. I was to remove the yellow signs from my office and home. Then a second thing happened: My landlord, an Aryan, went to Gestapo headquarters to ask if I were to be allowed to remain in my apartment. "We wouldn't dare touch that matter," he was told. "It will be handled by Berlin." Hitler, apparently, had remembered. Then something happened that made me doubt.

For no reason whatsoever my son-in-law, a young physician, was jailed. No one was allowed to see him, and we received no news of him. My daughter went to the Gestapo. "Would the Leader like to know that the son-in-law of his old physician had been sent to prison?" she asked. She was treated rudely and brusquely for her temerity. Hadn't the signs been removed from her father's house? Wasn't that enough? Yet her visit must have had some effect. Within three weeks her husband was released.

My practice, which I believe was one of the largest in Linz, had begun to dwindle as long as a year before the arrival of Hitler. In this I might have seen a portent of things to come. Faithful older patients were quite frank in their explanations. The hatred preached by the Nazis was taking hold with the younger people. They would no longer patronize a Jew.

By decree, my active practice was limited to Jewish patients. This was another way of saying that I was to cease work altogether. For plans were in the making for ridding the town of all Jews. On November 10, 1938, the ruling was issued that all Jews were to leave Linz within forty-eight hours. They were to go to Vienna. The shock that attended this edict may be imagined. People who had lived all their lives in Linz were to sell their property, pack and depart in the space of two days.

I called at the Gestapo. Was I to leave? I was informed that an exception had been made in my case. I could remain. My daughter and her husband? Since they had already signified their intention of emigrating to America, they also could stay. But they would have to vacate their house. If there was room in my apartment they would be permitted to move there.

No More Favors

After thirty-seven years of active work my practice was at an end. I was permitted to treat only Jews. After the evacuation order there were but seven members of this race left in Linz. All were

over eighty years of age.

It is understandable that my daughter and her husband would wish to take their life savings with them when they departed for America. So would I when my turn came to depart. Getting any local ruling on such a matter was out of the question. I knew that I couldn't see Adolf Hitler. Yet I felt that if I could get a message to him he would perhaps give us some help.

If Hitler himself was inaccessible perhaps one of his sisters would aid us. Klara was the nearest; she lived in Vienna. Her husband had died and she lived alone in a modest apartment in a quiet residential district. Plans were made for my daughter, Gertrude, to make the trip to Vienna to see her. She went to the apartment, knocked, but got no answer. Yet she was sure that there was someone at home.

She sought the aid of a neighbor. Frau Wolf — Klara Hitler — received no one, the neighbor said, except a few intimate friends. But this kind woman agreed to carry a message and report Frau Wolf's reply. My daughter waited. Soon the answer came back. Frau Wolf sent greetings and would do whatever she could. By good fortune Hitler was in Vienna that night for one of his frequent but unheralded visits to the opera. Frau Wolf saw him and, I feel sure, gave him the message. But no exception was made in our case. When our turn came we were forced to go penniless, like so many thousands of others.

How has Hitler treated an old friend — one who cared for his family with patience, consideration and charity? Let's sum up the favors:

I don't believe that another Jew in all Austria was allowed to keep his passport. No J was stamped on my ration card, once food became scarce. This was most helpful because Jews today are allowed to shop only during restricted hours which are often inconvenient. Without the J on my card I could buy at any time. I was even given a ration card for clothes — something generally denied Jews.

If my relations with the Gestapo were not precisely cordial, I at least didn't suffer at their hands as did so many others. I was told on good authority, and I can well believe it, that the bureau in Linz had received special instructions from the chancellery in Berlin that I was to be accorded any reasonable favor.

It is possible, but unlikely, that my war record was particularly responsible for these small considerations. During the war I had charge of a 1,000-bed military hospital, and my wife supervised welfare work among the sick. I was twice decorated for this service.

Hitler Rebuilds His Home City

Hitler still regards Linz as his true home, and the changes he has wrought are astonishing. The once quiet, sleepy town had been transformed by its "godfather" — an honorary title particularly dear to Hitler. Whole blocks of old houses have been pulled down to make way for modern apartment houses; thereby causing an acute but temporary housing shortage. A new theater has gone up and a new bridge has been built over the Danube. The bridge, according to local legend, was designed by Hitler himself and plans were already completed at the time of Anschluss. The vast Hermann Goering Iron Works, built in the past two years, is just starting operations. To carry on this program of reconstruction whole trainloads of laborers have been imported: Czechs, Poles, Belgians.

Hitler has visited the city twice since the Anschluss, once at the time of the election which was to approve union with Germany; a second time secretly to see how reconstruction of the town was progressing. Each time had has stayed at the Weinzinger Hotel.

On the second visit the proprietor of the hotel was informed that Hitler's presence in town was not to be announced; that he would make his inspection tour in the morning. Delighted at having such an important personage in his house, the proprietor could not resist boasting. He telephoned several friends to give them the news. For this breach of discipline he paid heavily. His hotel was confiscated.

Many times I have been approached by Hitler biographers for notes on his youth. In most instances I have refused to speak. But I did talk to one of these men. He was a pleasant middle-aged gentleman from Vienna, who came from the government department headed by Rudolf Hess, of the Nazi inner circle. He was writing an official biography. I gave him such details as I could recall, and my medical records which he subsequently sent to Nazi party headquarters in Munich. He stayed in Linz and Braunau for several weeks; then the project terminated abruptly. I was told he had been sent to the silence of the concentration camp. Why, I do not know.

When it finally became my turn to leave Linz for America I knew that it would be impossible for me to take my savings with me. But the Gestapo had one more favor for me. I was to be allowed to take sixteen marks from the country instead of the customary ten!

The Nazi organization of physicians gave me a letter, of what value I do not know, which states that I was "worthy of recommendation." It went on to say that, because of my "character, medical knowledge and readiness to help the sick," I had won "the appreciation and esteem of my fellow men."

A party official suggested that I was expected to show some gratitude for all these favors. Perhaps a letter to the Fuehrer? Before I left Linz on a cold, foggy November morning, I wrote it. I wonder if it was ever received. It read:

Your Excellency:

Before passing the border I want to express my thanks for the protection which I have received. In material poverty I am now leaving the town where I have lived for forty-one years; but I leave conscious of having lived in the most exact fulfillment of my duty. At sixty-nine I will start my life anew in a strange country where my daughter is working hard to support her family.

Yours faithfully,
Eduard Bloch

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A Dangerous Cult of Novelty

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

One of the most influential historians of our age, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has done as much as anyone to promote international awareness of the brutality of the great Soviet experiment in creating a classless, egalitarian world. In January 1993, the Russian Nobel prize laureate was awarded the medal of honor for literature of the National Arts Club in New York City. His wife, Natalya Solzhenitsyn, accepted the medal on his behalf, and his son Ignat read his acceptance remarks. The text of Solzhenitsyn's address follows, translated by his sons, Ignat and Stephan.

There is a long-accepted truth about art that "style is the man" ("le style est l'homme"). This means that every work of a skilled musician, artist or writer is shaped by an absolutely unique combination of personality traits, creative abilities and individual, as well as national, experience. And since such a combination can never be repeated, art (but I shall here speak primarily of literature) possesses infinite variety across the ages and among different peoples. The divine plan is such that there is no limit to the appearance of ever new and dazzling creative talents, none of whom, however, negate in any way the works of their outstanding predecessors, even though they may be 500 or 2,000 years removed. The unending quest for what is new and fresh is never closed to us, but this does not deprive our grateful memory of all that came before.

No new work of art comes into existence (whether consciously or unconsciously) without an organic link to what was created earlier. But it is equally true that a healthy conservatism must be flexible both in terms of creation and perception, remaining equally sensitive to the old and to the new, to venerable and worthy traditions, and to the freedom to explore, without which no future can ever be born. At the same time the artist must not forget that creative freedom can be dangerous, for the fewer artistic limitations he imposes on his own work, the less chance he has for artistic success. The loss of a responsible organizing force weakens or even ruins the structure, the meaning and the ultimate value of a work of art.

Every age and every form of creative endeavor owes much to those outstanding artists whose untiring labors brought forth new meanings and new rhythms. But in the 20th century the necessary equilibrium between tradition and the search for the unending quest for what is new and fresh is never closed to us, but this does not deprive our grateful memory of all that came before.

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artistic success. The loss of a responsible organizing force weakens or even ruins the structure, the meaning and the ultimate value of a work of art.

Every age and every form of creative endeavor owes much to those outstanding artists whose untiring labors brought forth new meanings and new rhythms. But in the 20th century the necessary equilibrium between tradition and the search for the new has been repeatedly upset by a falsely understood “avant-gardism” — a raucous, impatient “avant-gardism” at any cost. Dating from before World War I, this movement undertook to destroy all commonly accepted art — its forms, language, features and properties — in its drive to build a kind of “superart,” which would then supposedly spawn the New Life itself. It was suggested that literature should start anew “on a blank sheet of paper.” (Indeed, some never went much beyond this stage.) Destruction, thus, became the apotheosis of this belligerent avant-gardism. It aimed to tear down the entire centuries-long cultural tradition, to break and disrupt the natural flow of artistic development by a sudden leap forward. This goal was to be achieved through an empty pursuit of novel forms as an end in itself, all the while lowering the standards of craftsmanship for oneself to the point of slovenliness and artistic crudity, at times combined with a meaning so obscured as to shade into unintelligibility.

This aggressive impulse might be interpreted as a mere product of personal ambition, were it not for the fact that in Russia (and I apologize to those gathered here for speaking mostly of Russia, but in our time it is impossible to bypass the harsh and extensive experience of my country), in Russia this impulse and its manifestations preceded and foretold the most physically destructive revolution of the 20th century. Before erupting on the streets of Petrograd, this cataclysmic revolution erupted on the pages of the artistic and literary journals of the capital’s bohemian circles. It is there that we first heard scathing imprecations against the entire Russian and European way of life, the calls to sweep away all religions or ethical codes, to tear down, overthrow, and trample all existing traditional culture, along with the self-extolment of the desperate innovators themselves, innovators who never did succeed in producing anything of worth. Some of these appeals literally called for the destruction of the Racines, the Murillos and the Raphaels, “so that bullets would bounce off museum walls.” As for the classics of Russian literature, they were to be “thrown overboard from the ship of modernity.” Cultural history would have to begin anew. The cry was “Forward, forward!” — its authors already called themselves “futurists,” as though they had now stepped over and beyond the present, and were bestowing upon us what was undoubtedly the genuine art of the Future.

But no sooner did the revolution explode in the streets, than those “futurists” who only recently, in their manifesto entitled “A Slap in the Face of Public Taste,” had preached an “insurmountable hatred toward the existing language” — these same “futurists” changed their name to the “Left Front,” now directly joining the revolution at its leftmost flank. It thus became clear that the earlier outbursts of this “avant-gardism” were no mere literary froth, but had very real embodiment in life. Beyond their intent to overturn the entire culture, they aimed to uproot life itself. And when the Communists gained unlimited power (their own battle cry called for tearing the existing world “down to its foundations,” so as to build a new Unknown Beautiful World in its stead, with equally unlimited brutality) they not only opened wide the gates of publicity and popularity to this horde of so-called “avant-gardists,” but even gave some of them, as to faithful allies, power to administrate over culture.

Granted, neither the raging of this pseudo-“avant-garde” nor its power over culture lasted long; there followed a general coma of all culture. We in the USSR began to trudge, downcast, through a 70-year-long ice age, under whose heavy glacial cover one could barely discern the secret heartbeat of a handful of great poets and writers. These were almost entirely unknown to their

own country, not to mention the rest of the world, until much later. With the ossification of the totalitarian Soviet regime, its inflated pseudoculture ossified as well, turning into the loathsome ceremonial forms of so-called “socialist realism.” Some individuals have been eager to devote numerous critical analyses to the essence and significance of this phenomenon. I would not have written a single one, for it is outside the bounds of art altogether: the object of study, the style of “socialist realism,” never existed. One does not need to be an expert to see that it consisted of nothing more than servility, a style defined by “What would you care for?” or “Write whatever the Party commands.” What scholarly discussion can possibly take place here?

And now, having lived through these 70 lethal years inside Communism’s iron shell, we are crawling out, though barely alive. A new age has clearly begun both for Russia and for the whole world. Russia lies utterly ravaged and poisoned; its people are in a state of unprecedented humiliation, and are on the brink of perishing physically, perhaps even biologically. Given the current conditions of national life, and the sudden exposure and ulceration of the wounds amassed over the years, it is only natural that literature should experience a pause. The voices that bring forth the nation’s literature need time before they can begin to sound once again.

However, some writers have emerged who appreciate the removal of censorship and the new, unlimited artistic freedom mostly in one sense: for allowing uninhibited “self-expression.” The point is to express one’s own perception of one’s surroundings, often with no sensitivity toward today’s ills and scars, and with a visible emptiness of heart; to express the personality of an author, whether it is significant or not; to express it with no sense of responsibility toward the morals of the public, and especially of the young; and at times thickly lacing the language with obscenities which for hundreds of years were considered unthinkable to put in print, but now seem to be almost in vogue.

The confusion of minds after 70 years of total oppression is more than understandable. The artistic perception of the younger generations finds itself in shock, humiliation, resentment, amnesia. Unable to find in themselves the strength fully to withstand and refute Soviet dogma in the past, many young writers have now given in to the more accessible path of pessimistic relativism. Yes, they say, Communist doctrines were a great lie; but then again, absolute truths do not exist anyhow, and trying to find them is pointless. Nor is it worth the trouble to strive for some kind of higher meaning.

And in one sweeping gesture of vexation, classical Russian literature — which never disdained reality and sought the truth — is dismissed as next to worthless. Denigrating the past is deemed to be the key to progress. And so it had once again become fashionable in Russia to ridicule, debunk, and toss overboard the great Russian literature, steeped as it is in love and compassion toward all human beings and especially toward those who suffer. And in order to facilitate this operation of discarding, it is announced that the lifeless and servile “socialist realism” had in fact been an organic continuation of full-blooded Russian literature.

Thus we witness, through history’s various thresholds, a recurrence of one and the same perilous anti-cultural phenomenon, with its rejection of and contempt for all foregoing tradition, and with its mandatory hostility toward whatever is universally accepted. Before, it burst in upon us with the fanfares and gaudy flag of “futurism”; today the term “post-modernism” is applied. (Whatever the meaning intended for this term, its lexical makeup involves an incongruity: the seeming claim that a person can think and experience after the period in which he is destined to live.)

For a post-modernist, the world does not possess values that have reality. He even has an expression for this: “the world as text,” as something secondary, as the text of an author’s work,

wherein the primary object of interest is the author himself in his relationship to the work, his own introspection. Culture, in this view, ought to be directed inward at itself (which is why these works are so full of reminiscences, to the point of tastelessness); it alone is valuable and real. For this reason the concept of play acquires a heightened importance — not the Mozartian playfulness of a Universe overflowing with joy, but an forced playing upon the strings of emptiness, where an author need have no responsibility to anyone. A denial of any and all ideals is considered courageous. And in this voluntary self-delusion, “post-modernism” sees itself as the crowning achievement of all previous culture, the final link in its chain. (A rash hope, for already there is talk of a birth of “conceptualism,” a term that has yet to be convincingly defend in terms of its relationship to art, though no doubt this too will duly be attempted. And then there is already post-avant-gardism; and it would be no surprise if we were to witness the appearance of a “post-post-modernism,” or of a “post-futurism.”) We could have sympathy for this constant searching, but only as we have sympathy for the suffering of a sick man. The search is doomed by its theoretical premises to forever remaining a secondary or ternary exercise, devoid of life or of a future.

But let us shift our attention to the more complex flow of this process. Even though the 20th century has seen the more bitter and disheartening lot fall to the peoples under Communist domination, our whole world is living through a century of spiritual illness, which could not but give rise to a similar ubiquitous illness in art. Although for other reasons, a similar “post-modernist” sense of confusion about the world has also arisen in the West.

Alas, at a time of an unprecedented rise in the material benefits of civilization and ever-improving standards of living, the West, too, has been undergoing an erosion and obscuring of high moral and ethical ideals. The spiritual axis of life has grown dim, and to some lost artists the world had now appeared in seeming senselessness, as an absurd conglomeration of debris.

Yes, world culture today is of course in crisis, a crisis of great severity. The newest directions in art seek to outpace this crisis on the wooden horse of clever stratagems — on the assumption that if one invents deft, resourceful new methods, it will be as though the crisis never was. Vain hopes. Nothing worthy can be built on a neglect of higher meanings and on a relativistic view of concepts and culture as a whole. Indeed, something greater than a phenomenon confined to art can be discerned shimmering here beneath the surface — shimmering not with light but with an ominous crimson glow.

Looking intently, we can see that behind these ubiquitous and seemingly innocent experiments of rejecting “antiquated” tradition there lies a deep-seated hostility toward any spirituality. This relentless cult of novelty, with its assertion that art need not be good or pure, just so long as it is new, newer, and newer still, conceals an unyielding and long-sustained attempt to undermine, ridicule and uproot all moral precepts. There is no God, there is no truth, the universe is chaotic, all is relative, “the world as text,” a text any post-modernist is willing to compose. How clamorous it all is, but also — how helpless.

For several decades now, world literature, music, painting and sculpture have exhibited a stubborn tendency to grow not higher but to the side, not toward the highest achievements of craftsmanship and of the human spirit but toward their disintegration into a frantic and insidious “novelty.” To decorate public spaces we put up sculptures that estheticize pure ugliness — but we no longer register surprise. And if visitors from outer space were to pick up our music over the airwaves, how could they ever guess that earthlings once had a Bach, a Beethoven and a Schubert, now abandoned as out of date and obsolete?

If we, the creators of art, will obediently submit to this downward slide, if we cease to hold dear the great cultural tradition of the foregoing centuries together with the spiritual foundations from which it grew — we will be contributing to a highly dangerous fall of the human spirit on earth, to a degeneration of mankind into some kind of lower state, closer to the animal world.

And yet, it is hard to believe that we will allow this to occur. Even in Russia, so terribly ill right now, we wait and hope that after the coma and a period of silence, we shall feel the breath of a reawakening Russian literature, and that we shall witness the arrival of fresh new forces — of our younger brothers.

May/June 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 3), page 40-41.

A Holocaust Debate

Only rarely do those who detest Doug Collins' audacious skepticism about the Holocaust story ever bother to respond to the substance of his arguments. Normally his detractors react with blind invective. In a rare exception, two University of British Columbia historians replied to Collins' August 18 column — reprinted in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal* (pp. 10-11) — with a more or less thoughtful letter. That letter is reprinted here, along with follow-up letters by Collins and Robert Faurisson (and with the original headlines), from the *North Shore News* of Nov. 7, Dec. 3, and Nov. 19.

Holocaust Scrutiny To Refute Falsifiers

Dear Editor:

In his column of Aug. 18 Doug Collins doubted that five or six million Jews were killed in the Holocaust by citing the names of a number of utterly discredited supporters of his position.

The claims of David Irving, Paul Rassinier, Robert Faurisson, Fred Leuchter, and Arthur Butz collapsed during cross-examination at Zündel's trials or under the scrutiny of historians outside the courtroom. The answer to Collins' own question why they continue their campaign can be found in Deborah Lipstadt's book, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (1993).

Short work can be made of Collins' other citations. That Churchill hardly mentioned the Holocaust only demonstrates a deficiency as an historian. Scholars have proven that the Red Cross never provided a figure of 300,000 [deaths] after the war.

Yehuda Bauer and Raul Hilberg, who were selectively quoted or slandered by Collins in his column, as well as other admirable writers on the subject such as Martin Gilbert, Leni Yahil, Lucy Dawidowicz, Michael Marrus and Christopher Browning, are agreed on a number higher than five million even if less than six.

The German historian H. Krausnick overwhelmingly documented the murder of approximately 2.2 million Jews by the Einsatzgruppen, referred to obliquely by Collins, and the figures for the extermination camps are 3,550,000, even allowing a low number for Auschwitz (Chelmno, 150,000; Belzec, 600,000; Sobibor, 200,000; Majdanek, 200,000; Treblinka, 900,000; Auschwitz, 1,500,000). By this widely accepted reckoning the total is 5,750,000.

Any doubter of mass gassings at Auschwitz should examine the extraordinary documentary assembled by Jean-Claude Pressac, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#) (1989).

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia released a vast number of captured German documents from Auschwitz and scholars have microfilmed the archives of German and collaborationist governments in eastern Europe.

We will soon have more precise (probably also higher) numbers, and many gaps in the history will be filled, but certainly not in support of the falsifiers cited in obstinate ignorance by Collins.

Leonidas E. Hill
John S. Conway
Dept. of History,
University of British Columbia
Vancouver

The Story Keeps Changing

Dear Editor:

Leonidas E. Hill of UBC accuses me of “selectivity” and “slandering” Professor Yehuda Bauer and others in my column of Aug. 18 on the “Holocaust” (“The story keeps changing”).

Bauer is director of Holocaust studies at Hebrew University in Israel, and was reported in the New York Times of Nov. 12, 1989, as saying that the four million figure for all deaths at Auschwitz was “patently false,” and that the true figure as far as Jews were concerned was 1.35 million.

“The larger figures have been dismissed for years,” he continued, “except that it hasn’t reached the public and I think it’s about time it did.” The Polish communists and nationalists [Bauer added] “promoted the larger figures to serve a political purpose.”

According to Hill, “scholars have proven that the Red Cross never provided a figure of 300,000 (who died in the camps).” But a Red Cross report dated May 11, 1979, states that the total was 271,304, plus a further 90,069 who died elsewhere. The numbers do indeed keep changing.

Hill’s snooty remark on Winston Churchill demands comment. That Churchill made no reference to the holocaust in his six-volume war history he puts down to Churchill’s “inadequacy” as a historian. Really? Churchill may not have had a degree in history from UBC, but the author of *The World Crisis*, *A History of the English Speaking Peoples*, *The Life of Marlborough*, *The Second World War* and many other works, is not to be sneezed at. What has Hill done?

Hill needs a lesson in English, too. One can libel a person in print, but not slander him.

Doug Collins
West Vancouver

Faurisson Still Waiting For 'Exterminationists'

Dear Editor:

In his letter of Nov. 7, Mr. Leonidas Hill of UBC took issue with a column on the Holocaust written by Doug Collins.

In doing so, he claimed that evidence given by me and other defence witnesses at the second Zündel trial “collapsed under the scrutiny of historians.” That is nonsense, and so is his further claim that 5,750,000 Jews were exterminated.

A reading of the transcript of the trial suffices to show that there was no order to exterminate the Jews, no plan (not even at Wannsee), no budget, no expert report stating “this was a homicidal gas chamber” and no autopsy report stating “this was the body of an inmate killed by poison gas.”

On the contrary, proof was delivered that the alleged homicidal Nazi gas chambers, could not have existed. After the trial, Arno Mayer, history professor at Princeton and of Jewish origin, wrote:

Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable .. Besides, certainly at Auschwitz but probably overall, more Jews were killed by “natural causes” than “unnatural” ones. (See the book *Why Did The Heavens Not Darken?*, Pantheon, 1988.)

Hill mentioned Jean-Claude Pressac’s 1989 book *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*. That title is misleading. According to the author himself, the book contains no “proofs” of the crime, but what he calls “criminal traces.”

Recently, Pressac published a second book, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz*. There is nothing new in it except that he no longer puts the number of deaths at four million (Nuremberg trial) or 1,500,000 (L. E. Hill), but 775,000 rounded up to 800,000. The real Auschwitz figure might be about 150,000 deaths, due especially to typhus and typhoid.

I am still waiting for the “exterminationists” to respond to my challenge: “Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber.”

Prof. Robert Faurisson
Vichy, France

May/June (Vol. 14, No. 3), page 42.

Remer Evades Imprisonment for 'Thought Crime'

German courts have ordered an 82-year-old man in poor health to serve a 22-month prison sentence because he published articles rejecting claims of wartime mass killings in Auschwitz gas chambers.

In November 1993, the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe upheld the 1992 sentence of a district court, which found Otto Ernst Remer guilty of “popular incitement” and “incitement to racial hatred” because of statements disputing gas chamber claims that appeared in five issues of the widely circulated tabloid paper that bears his name, *Remer Depesche* (“Remer Dispatch”).

Scores of young Germans signed petitions demanding the right to take Remer’s place behind bars. “I am proud that there are young men today who share my convictions,” commented Remer.

Remer, who is in poor health, was scheduled to begin serving his sentence on February 7. Rather than go to prison, though, he went into hiding. According to some unconfirmed reports, Remer is now living in Russia. (For years he had been an outspoken advocate of cordial relations between Germany and Russia.)

In Germany today, to dispute claims of mass killings in wartime concentration camps is regarded as a criminal attack against all Jews, who enjoy a privileged status there.

Remer’s “crime” was a non-violent expression of opinion. In most of the world, including the United States, his “criminal” statements are entirely permissible and legal expressions of views. Like other such so-called “Auschwitz Lie” cases, the Remer conviction points up Germany’s special status among the world’s nations. As one writer has put it, Germany remains on permanent probation.

The judges in the October 1992 trial in Schweinfurt flatly refused to consider any of the extensive evidence presented by Remer’s attorneys. (For more on this case, see the March-April 1993 *Journal*, pp. 29-30.)

Remer, who addressed the Eighth IHR conference in 1987, is himself a historical figure. As a young officer in command of the Berlin guard regiment in July 1944, he played a key role in putting down the ill-fated attempt by conspirators to kill Hitler and seize power in a violent coup.

Remer was promoted, eventually to General, and at the end of the war was serving as a commander in Pomerania. For his extraordinary courage and daring in combat, he was awarded numerous military decorations, including the Knight’s Cross with Oak Leaves. (Remer’s essay, “My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944,” was published in the Spring 1988 *Journal*. His presentation at the 1987 IHR conference is available on both audio- and videotape from the IHR.)

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Martin Larson: 1897-1994

Dr. Martin A. Larson, a good friend of the Institute for Historical Review since its founding, died on January 16 in Arizona at the age of 96.

He spoke at the first IHR conference, held at Northrop University in Los Angeles in 1979, dedicating this first-ever International Revisionist Conference to the memory of his friend of many years, historian Harry Elmer Barnes. Larson concluded his dedication address with the words: "Let this convention be a memorial to this great and courageous man, and let his great spirit, which never was daunted by obstacles or threats, permeate our own work while we are here." Dr. Larson also spoke at the IHR conferences of 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1986 and 1987.

He served as a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee from the very first (Spring 1980) issue until his recent death, and four articles by him appeared in the Journal over the years.

Larson was born in Whitehall, Michigan, in 1897. Following service in the US Navy, he attended and graduated from Kalamazoo College, where he distinguished himself in track, forensics and scholarship. With a state fellowship, he went on to study at the University of Michigan, which awarded him a Ph.D. in English literature in 1927 for his research into the sources of Milton's theology. For a number of years he taught at what are now Eastern Michigan University and the University of Idaho.

After a period of running his own business in Detroit, he retired at the age of 53 to devote himself to research and writing. He took a particularly keen interest in comparative religions, taxation and the monetary system.

Dr. Larson was the author of more than 20 books. His first, *The Modernity of Milton*, was based on his doctoral dissertation. Another, *The Religion of the Occident*, was first published in 1959 and appeared later in a revised edition under the title of *The Story of Christian Origins*. Other books included *Jefferson: Magnificent Populist* and *The Essene Christian Faith*, the latter re-published in 1989 by the Noontide Press. (Both are available from the IHR.)

Dr. Larson was a guest on countless radio and television programs, and his writing appeared in numerous periodicals, including *Fortune* and *Reader's Digest*. During the final years of his life, he and his wife, Emma, made their home in Arizona.

Along with his many friends and admirers in America and around the world, we are saddened by his passing. We here at the IHR will remember this gentleman and scholar as one of our most steadfast friends.

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Behind *Khrushchev Remembers*

Victor Marchetti

One of the more interesting escapades of the Cold War was the publication in the early 1970s of the book *Khrushchev Remembers*. The circumstance surrounding the publication of the memoirs of [then-retired former Soviet premier] Nikita Khrushchev under the guidance of Time, Inc., were mysterious and mystifying. Khrushchev's thoughts had been secretly taped in the Soviet Union and then miraculously transported to the United States to be transcribed and published, indicating that a special deal had been worked out between the US and the USSR — with the CIA and the KGB acting as the agents in the transaction.

The Soviet leader in those days was Leonid Brezhnev, and he was having trouble with the unreconstructed Stalinists in the Communist Party. He needed to do something dramatic to blunt the challenge to his power by these diehard reactionaries. So, a scheme was hatched whereby Khrushchev, who was still popular with the masses, would secretly dictate his memoirs and strongly criticize Stalin and his policies, particularly those favored by Brezhnev's opponents.

But in the tightly controlled Soviet society, there was no way that Khrushchev's views could be published. There was no such thing as freedom of speech in the Communist empire. However, if the tapes, after being reviewed by Brezhnev's people, were to be smuggled out of the USSR to the US, they could be published there as a best-selling book — and later smuggled back into the Soviet Union for distribution to the public by the underground network. The Kremlin would then be able to feign helplessness and shrug its shoulders.

Meanwhile, the Stalinists would be dealt a serious set-back, which would be underscored by the Kremlin's lack of punishment to Khrushchev. And in the United States, the Nixon-Kissinger team would be happy with the proof that Stalinist Russia was a thing of the past and the Brezhnev regime was one Americans could live with. Although Soviet people might understand what had really transpired, the gullible American public would accept *Khrushchev Remembers* as genuine — especially if the media went along with the plan. And that is precisely what happened. The Khrushchev tapes were "smuggled" out of the Soviet Union, right under the nose of the KGB, by a young correspondent at the Time news bureau in Moscow. Months later, after the book had been edited and put in bound galleys in New York, this same daring journalist traveled to Helsinki to give the KGB one last look at *Khrushchev Remembers* before it was published.

The name of the young Time correspondent and the CIA's helping hand: Strobe Talbott [who recently became President Clinton's Deputy Secretary of State].

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Rewriting History

“The Holocaust was [once] regarded as a side story of the much larger story of World War II. Now one thinks of World War II as a background story and the Holocaust as a foreground story.”

Michael Berenbaum, Project Director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and Georgetown University theology professor. Quoted in *The Washington Times*, Jan. 10, 1991.

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Spring 1980 (Vol. 1, No. 1), page 5.

Stalingrad and Dachau

“The scale of the defeat of the Sixth Army at Stalingrad was unprecedented in German history. Of the 250,000 soldiers of the Sixth Army who battled their way to Stalingrad in the fall of 1942, nearly 150,000 had been killed or wounded by January of 1943. Of the 91,000 who were captured by the Russians, fewer than 6,000 ever returned to Germany. The chances of surviving Dachau, one German has told me, were more than five times as great as the chances of surviving Stalingrad.”

-- Timothy W. Ryback, in *The New Yorker*, Feb. 1, 1993, p. 60.

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A Confession

Aleksandras Shtromas

“It is a fact that more than half of the membership of the tiny pre-Soviet Lithuanian Communist Party, about eight hundred people, were Jews. It is also a fact that these Jewish Communists in 1940 and 1941 played prominent roles in the Soviet occupation administration of Lithuania. The most notorious interrogators of the Lithuanian branch of the Soviet security police, the NKVD, were Lithuanian Jewish Communists, and many such Jewish Communists manned the NKVD detachments, which randomly arrested and deported to Siberia the alleged class enemies and other so-called “anti-Soviet elements” of Lithuania.

“... No wonder then that as soon as the Lithuanians got rid of the Soviets (this they did in a national uprising on the first day of the Soviet-German war [June 22, 1941], taking control of the country long before the German troops were able to occupy it), a series of wild Jewish pogroms broke out in the country, the first Jewish pogroms on Lithuanian soil in the whole 600-year-old history of Lithuanian-Jewish cohabitation. It is believed that in Kaunas alone 3,800 Jews were killed during these pogroms. Along with these spontaneous acts of violence the Lithuanian rebel troops started indiscriminately arresting Jews for their “collaboration with the Soviets” in a more organized but not less random fashion. In Kaunas, the thus-arrested alleged Jewish collaborators of the Soviets were assembled in a huge garage and cruelly massacred there the next day. My father was one of the victims of that Lietukis garage massacre. The German troops marched into Kaunas on the day of this massacre only to witness the last instants of that bloody orgy.

“... As a Jew, I must reject the assumption that we Jews forever were just the faultless and powerless victims of other peoples' abuse and injustices, and must admit our own faults, such as, for example: our certain insensitivity to some of the grave problems facing our gentile landmen; our self-centeredness that only too often urged some of us to seek our particular goals without giving much consideration to how the achievement of these goals would affect the interests of others; the frivolousness that more than once led quite a number of us to assume that what is good for Jews must be even better for the gentiles. Too many of us, led by such considerations, were more than ready to engage ourselves thoughtlessly in all kinds of subversive and revolutionary activities threatening the integrity and even survival of our host countries. For this we have to confess our guilt.”

July/August, 1994; vol. 14 no. 4: p. 4.

Stalin's War Against His Own Troops

- ⇔ The Tragic Fate of Soviet Prisoners of War in German Captivity

Yuri Teplyakov

At dawn on June 22, 1941, began the mightiest military offensive in history: the German-led Axis attack against the Soviet Union. During the first 18 months of the campaign, about three million Soviet soldiers were taken prisoner. By the end of the conflict four years later, more than five million Soviet troops are estimated to have fallen into German hands. Most of these unfortunate men died in German captivity.

A major reason for this was the unusual nature of the war on the eastern front, particularly during the first year — June 1941–June 1942 — when vastly greater numbers of prisoners fell into German hands than could possibly be accommodated adequately. However, and as Russian journalist Teplyakov explains in the following article, much of the blame for the terrible fate of the Soviet soldiers in German captivity was due to the inflexibly cruel policy of Soviet dictator Stalin.

During the war, the Germans made repeated attempts through neutral countries and the International Committee of the Red Cross to reach mutual agreement on the treatment of prisoners by Germany and the USSR. As British historian Robert Conquest explains in his book *Stalin: Breaker of Nations*, the Soviets adamantly refused to co-operate:

When the Germans approached the Soviets, through Sweden, to negotiate observance of the provisions of the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war, Stalin refused. The Soviet soldiers in German hands were thus unprotected even in theory. Millions of them died in captivity, through malnutrition or maltreatment. If Stalin had adhered to the convention (to which the USSR had not been a party) would the Germans have behaved better? To judge by their treatment of other “Slav submen” POWs (like the Poles, even surrendering after the [1944] Warsaw Rising), the answer seems to be yes. (Stalin’s own behavior to [Polish] prisoners captured by the Red Army had already been demonstrated at Katyn and elsewhere [where they were shot].

Another historian, Nikolai Tolstoy, affirms in *The Secret Betrayal*:

Hitler himself urged Red Cross inspection of [German] camps [holding Soviet prisoners of war]. But an appeal to Stalin for prisoners' postal ser-

vices received a reply that clinched the matter: “There are no Soviet prisoners of war. The Soviet soldier fights on till death. If he chooses to become a prisoner, he is automatically excluded from the Russian community. We are not interested in a postal service only for Germans.”

Given this situation, the German leaders resolved to treat Soviet prisoners no better than the Soviet leaders were treating the German soldiers they held. As can be imagined, Soviet treatment of German prisoners was harsh. Of an estimated three million German soldiers who fell into Soviet hands, more than two million perished in captivity. Of the 91,000 German troops captured in the Battle of Stalingrad, fewer than 6,000 ever returned to Germany.

As Teplyakov also explains here, Red Army “liberation” of the surviving Soviet prisoners in German camps brought no end to the suffering of these hapless men. It wasn’t until recently, when long-suppressed Soviet wartime records began to come to light and long-silenced voices could at last speak out, that the full story of Stalin’s treatment of Soviet prisoners became known. It wasn’t until 1989, for example, that Stalin’s grim Order No. 270 of August 16, 1941 — cited below — was first published.

“What is the most horrible thing about war?”

Marshal Ivan Bagramyan, three-time Hero of the Soviet Union Alexander Pokryshkin, and Private Nikolai Romanov, who has no battle orders or titles, all replied with just one word: “Captivity.”

“Is it more horrible than death?” I was asking soldier Nikolai Romanov a quarter of a century ago when, on the sacred day of May 9 [anniversary of the end of the war against Germany in 1945], we were drinking bitter vodka together to commemorate the souls of the Russian muzhiks who would never return to that orphaned village on the bank of the Volga.

“It’s more horrible,” he replied. “Death is your own lot. But if it’s captivity, it spells trouble for many ...”

At that time, in 1965, I could not even vaguely imagine the extent of the tragedy which had befallen millions upon millions, nor did I know that that tragedy had been triggered by just a few lines from the Interior Service Regulations of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army: a Soviet soldier must not be taken prisoner against his will. And if he has been, he is a traitor to the Motherland.

How many of them were there — those “traitors”?

“During the war years,” I was told by Colonel Ivan Yaroshenko, Deputy Chief of the Central Archives of the USSR Ministry of Defense, in Podolsk near Moscow, “as many as 32 million people were soldiers, and 5,734,528 of them were taken prisoner by the enemy.”

Later I learned where this happened and when. Thus, the Red Army suffered the most tragic losses in terms of prisoners of war in the following battles: Belostok-Minsk, August 1941, 323,000; Uman, August 1941, 103,000; Smolensk-Roslavl, August 1941, 348,000; Gomel, August 1941, 30,000; Demyansk, September 1941, 35,000; Kiev, September 1941, 665,000; Luga-Leningrad, September 1941, 20,000; Melitopol, October 1941, 100,000; Vyazma, October 1941,

662,000; Kerch, November 1941, 100,000; Izyum-Kharkov, May 1942, 207,000. People were taken prisoner even in February 1945 (Hungary), 100,000.

The same archives in Podolsk hold another 2.5 million cards “missing in action” — two and a half million who never returned home. Experts believe: two million of them are still lying in Russia’s forests and marshes. And about 200,000 must be added to the list of POWs. Proof? From time to time the Podolsk archives receive a letter from somewhere in Australia or the United States: “I was taken prisoner. Request confirmation that I took part in battles against fascism.”

This person was lucky — he survived. The majority, however, had a different lot. German statistics put it on record: 280,000 person died at deportation camps and 1,030,157 were executed when trying to escape or died at factories or mines in Germany.

Many of our officers and men were killed by famine before they reached the camps. Nearly 400,000 men died in November–December 1941 alone. During the entire war there were 235,473 British and American prisoners of war in Germany — 8,348 of them died. Were our men weaker? Hardly. The reasons were different. In the West it is believed that the millions of our POWs who died in captivity fell victim not only to fascism but also to the Stalinist system itself. At least half of those who died from hunger could have been saved had Stalin not called them traitors and refused to send food parcels to them via the International Red Cross.

It can be argued how many would have survived, but it’s a fact that we left our POWs to the mercy of fate. The Soviet Union did not sign the Geneva Convention concerning the legal status of prisoners of war. Refusing to sign it was consistent with the Jesuitical nature of the “leader of the peoples.”

From Stalin’s point of view, several provisions of the Convention were incompatible with the moral and economic institutions which were inherent in the world’s “freest country.” The Convention, it turns out, did not guarantee the right to POWs as working people: low wages, no days off, no fixed working hours. Exception was also taken to the privileges fixed for some groups of POWs. In other words it should be more humane. But greater hypocrisy can hardly be imagined. What privileges were enjoyed at that very same time by millions in [Soviet] GULAG prison camps? What guarantees existed there and how many days off did they have?

In August 1941 Hitler permitted a Red Cross delegation to visit the camp for Soviet POWs in Hammerstadt. It is these contacts that resulted in an appeal to the Soviet government, requesting that it should send food parcels for our officers and men. We are prepared to fulfill and comply with the norms of the Geneva convention, Moscow said in its reply, but sending food in the given situation and under fascist control is the same as making presents to the enemy.

The reply came as a surprise. The Red Cross representatives had not read Stalin’s Order of the Day — Order No. 270, signed on August 16, 1941. Otherwise they would have understood how naive their requests and offers were, and how great was Stalin’s hatred for those who had found themselves behind enemy lines.

It made no difference: who, where, how and why? Even the dead were considered to be criminals. Lt.-Gen. Vladimir Kachalov, we read in the order, “being in encirclement together with the headquarters of a body of troops, displayed cowardice and surrendered to the German fascists. The headquarters of Kachalov’s groups broke out of the encirclement, the units of Kachalov’s group battled their way out of the encirclement, but Lt.-Gen. Kachalov preferred to desert to the enemy.”

General Vladimir Kachalov had been lying for 12 days in a burned out tank at the Starinka village near Smolensk, and never managed to break out to reach friendly forces. Yet this was of no concern for anyone. They were busy with something else — looking for scapegoats whom they could dump all of their anger on, looking for enemies of the people whose treachery and cowardice had again subverted the will of the great military leader.

We had to be “convinced” again and again: the top echelons of authority, the leaders, have no relation whatsoever to any tragedy, to any failure — be it the collapse of the first Five-Year Plan or the death of hundreds of thousands of soldiers on the Dnieper. Moreover, these misfortunes cannot have objective reasons either, being due solely to the intrigues of saboteurs and the enemies of the progressive system. For decades, ever since the 1930s, we have been permanently looking for scapegoats in the wrong place, but finding them nevertheless. At that time, in the first summer of the war, plenty of them were found. And the more the better. On June 4, 1940, the rank of general was re-established in the Red Army. They were awarded to 966 persons. More than 50 were taken prisoner in the very first year of the war. Very many of them would envy their colleagues — those 150 generals who would later die on the battlefields. The torments of captivity proved to be darker than the grave. At any rate the destinies of Generals Pavel Ponedelin and Nikolai Kirillov, mentioned in the same Order No. 270, prove that this is so. They staunchly withstood their years in the German camps. In April 1945 the [western] Allies set them free and turned them over to the Soviet side. It seemed that everything had been left behind, but they were not forgiven for August 1941. They were arrested after a “state check-up”: five years in the Lefortovo jail for political prisoners and execution by a firing squad on August 25, 1950.

“Stalin’s last tragic acts in his purging of the military were the accusations of betrayal and treachery he advanced in the summer of 1941 against the Western Front commanders, Pavlov and Klimovskikh, and several other generals among whom, as it became clear later, there were also people who behaved in an uncompromising way to the end when in captivity.” This assessment is by the famous chronicler of the war, Konstantin Simonov. It appeared in the 1960s, but during the wartime ordeals there was indomitable faith: the prisoners of war (both generals and soldiers) were guilty. No other yardstick existed.

International law states that military captivity is not a crime, “a prisoner of war must be as inviolable as the sovereignty of a people, and as sacred as a misfortune.” This is for others, whereas for us there was a different law — Stalin’s Order No. 270.

If ... “instead of organizing resistance to the enemy, some Red Army men prefer to surrender, they shall be destroyed by all possible means, both ground-based and from the air, whereas the families of the Red Army men who have been taken prisoner shall be deprived of the state allowance [that is, rations] and relief.”

The commanders and political officers ... “who surrender to the enemy shall be considered malicious deserters, whose families are liable to be arrested [just] as the families of deserters who have violated the oath and betrayed their Motherland.”

Just a few lines, but they stand for the hundreds of thousands of children and old folks who died from hunger only because their father or son happened to be taken prisoner.

Just a few lines, but they amount to a verdict on those who never even thought of a crime, who were only waiting for a letter from the front.

Having read these lines, I came to understand the amount of grief they carried for absolutely innocent people, just as I understood the secret sorrow of the words Private Nikolai Romanov told

me a quarter of a century ago: “Your own captivity spells trouble for many.”

I understood why the most horrible thing for our soldiers was not to be killed, but to be reported “missing in action,” and why before each battle, especially before the assault crossing of rivers, they asked one another: “Buddy, if I get drowned, say that you saw me die.”

Setting their feet on a shaky pontoon and admitting, as it were, that they could be taken prisoner solely through their own fault, they mentally glanced back not out of fear for their own lives — they were tormented and worried over the lives of those who had stayed back at home.

Soviet prisoners of war in a German POW camp. This photograph was found by Red Army troops among the belongings of dead German soldiers.

But what was the fault of the hundreds of thousands of soldiers encircled near Vyazma when Hitler launched Operation Taifun — his advance on Moscow? “The most important thing is not to surrender your positions,” the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief ordered them. And the army was feverishly digging trenches facing the west, when panzer wedges were already enveloping them from the east.

General Franz Halder, Chief of Staff of the Wehrmacht’s ground forces, made the following entry in his diary on this occasion: “October 4 — 105 days of the war. The enemy has continued everywhere holding the unattacked sectors of the front, with the result that deep envelopment of these enemy groups looms in the long term.”

Who was supposed to see these wedges? A soldier from his tiny foxhole or Stalin from the GHQ? And what was the result? Who was taken prisoner? Who betrayed the Motherland? The soldier did.

In May 1942, as many as 207,047 officers and men (the latest figure) found themselves encircled at Kharkov. When Khrushchev held power, it was Stalin that was considered to be guilty of this. When Brezhnev took over, the blame was again put on Khrushchev who, incidentally, had been merely warned by Stalin for that defeat which opened the road for the Germans to the Volga. But who then betrayed the Motherland, who was taken prisoner? The soldier.

May 19, 1942, is the date of our army’s catastrophe in the Crimea. “The Kerch Operation may be considered finished: 150,000 POWs and a large quantity of captured equipment.” This is a document from the German side. And here is a document from the Soviet side cited by Konstantin Simonov: “I happened to be on the Kerch Peninsula in 1942. The reason for the humiliating defeat is clear to me. Complete mistrust of the army and front commanders, Mekhlis' stupid willfulness and arbitrary actions. He ordered that no trenches be dug, so as not to sap the soldiers' offensive spirit.”

Stalin’s closest aide and then Chief of the Main Political Administration (GPU), Lev Mekhlis, the first Commissar of the Army and Navy, returned to Moscow after that defeat. And what did the soldier do? The soldier stayed in captivity.

There is no denying that no war can do without treachery and traitors. They could also be found among POWs. But if compared with the millions of their brothers in captivity, they amounted to no more than a drop in the ocean. Yet this drop existed. There is no escaping this. Some were convinced by leaflets like this one:

Killed during the years of the Revolution and Civil War — 2,200,000 persons.

Died from famine and epidemics in 1918 –1921 and in 1932–1933 — 14,500,000 persons.

Perished in forced labor camps — 10,000,000 persons.

Some even put it this way: I am not going into action against my people, I am going into action against Stalin. But the majority joined fascist armed formations with only one hope: as soon as the first fighting starts, I'll cross the line to join friendly troops. Not everyone managed to do this, although the following fact is also well known. On September 14, 1943, when the results of the Kursk Battle were summed up, Hitler explained the defeat by the “treachery of auxiliary units”: indeed, at that time 1,300 men — practically a whole regiment — deserted to the Red Army's side on the southern sector. “But now I am fed up with this,” Hitler said. “I order these units to be disarmed immediately and this whole gang to be sent to the mines in France.”

It has to be admitted that it was Hitler who rejected longer than all others the proposals to form military units from among Soviet POWs, although as early as September 1941 Colonel von Tresckow had drawn up a plan for building up a 200,000-strong Russian anti-Soviet army. It was only on the eve of the Stalingrad Battle, when prisoners of war already numbered millions, that the Führer gave his consent at last.

All in all, it became possible to form more than 180 units. Among them the number of Russian formations was 75; those formed from among Kuban, Don and Terek Cossacks — 216; Turkistan and Tatar (from Tataria and the Crimean Tatars) — 42; Georgian — 11; peoples of the Northern Caucasus — 12; Azerbaijani — 13; Armenian — 8.

The numerical strength of these battalions by their national affiliation (data as of January 24, 1945) was the following: Latvians — 104,000; Tatars (Tataria) — 12,500, Crimean Tatars — 10,000; Estonians — 10,000; Armenians — 7,000; Kalmyks — 5,000. And the Russians? According to the official figures of Admiral Karl Dönitz's “government,” as of May 20, 1945, there were the 599th Russian Brigade — 13,000, the 600th — 12,000, and the 650th — 18,000 men.

If all of this is put together (as we are doing now), it would seem that there were many who served on the other side. But if we remember that only 20 percent of these forces took part in hostilities, that they were recruited from among millions of POWs, that thousands upon thousands crossed the front line to return to friendly troops, the brilliance of the figures will clearly fade.

One detail — the Reich's special services displayed special concern over forming non-Russian battalions as if they knew that they would be required, especially after the war when whole peoples, from babies to senile old men, came to be accused of treachery. And it made no difference — whether you were kept in a prison camp or served in the army — all the same you were an enemy.

But the POWs themselves were not yet aware of this — everything still lay ahead. The hangover after liberation would set in a little later. Both for those who themselves escaped from the camps (500,000 in 1944, according to the estimate of Germany's Armaments Minister Speer) and for those who after liberation by Red Army units (more than a million officers and men) again fought in its ranks.

For too long a time we used to judge the spring of 1945 solely by the humane instructions issued by our formidable marshals — allot milk for Berlin's children, feed women and old men. It was strange reading those documents, and at the same time chewing steamed rye instead of bread, and eating soup made of dog meat (only shortly before her death did my grandmother confess she had slaughtered dogs to save us from hunger). Reading those orders, I was prepared to cry from tender emotions: how noble it was to think that way and to show such concern for the German people.

And who of us knew that at the same time the marshals received different orders from the Kremlin with respect to their own people?

[To the] Commanders of the troops of the First and Second Byelorussian Fronts [Army Groups], and the First, Second, Third and Fourth Ukrainian Fronts ...

The Military Councils of the Fronts shall form camps in [rear-zone] service areas for the accommodation and maintenance of former prisoners of war and repatriated Soviet citizens — each camp for 10,000 persons. All in all, there shall be formed: at the Second Byelorussian Front — 15 [camps]; at the First Byelorussian Front — 30; at the First Ukrainian Front — 30; at the Fourth Ukrainian Front — 5; at the Second Ukrainian Front — 10; at the Third Ukrainian Front — 10 camps ...

The check-up [of the former prisoners of war and repatriated citizens] shall be entrusted as follows: former Red Army servicemen — to the bodies of SMERSH counter-intelligence; civilians — to the commissions of the NKVD, NKGB, SMERSH ...

J. Stalin

I phoned Col.-Gen. Dmitri Volkogonov, Chief of the Institute of Military History under the USSR Ministry of Defense [and author of *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*]: “Where did you find that order? Both at the State Security Committee and at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs they told me that they had nothing of the kind.”

“This one is from Stalin's personal archives. The camps existed, which means that there are also papers from which it is possible to learn everything: who, where, what they were fed, what they thought about. Most likely, the documents are in the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The convoy troops were subordinate to this government department. It included the Administration for the Affairs of Former Prisoners of War. Make a search.”

And search I did. Maj.-Gen. Pyotr Mishchenkov, First Deputy Chief of the present-day Main Administration for Corrective Affairs (GUID) at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, was sincerely surprised: “This is the first I heard about this. I would be glad to help, but there is nothing I can do about it. I know that there was a colony in the Chunsky district of the Irkutsk Region. People got there after being checked up at the filtering camps mentioned in Stalin's order. They were all convicted under Article 58 — high treason.”

One colony ... Where are the others, what happened to their inmates? After all, as many as 100 camps were at work. The only thing I managed to find out — by October 1, 1945, they had “filtered” 5,200,000 Soviet citizens; 2,034,000 were turned over by the Allies — 98 percent of those who stayed in Germany's western occupation zones, mostly POWs. How many of them returned home? And how many went, in accordance with Order No. 270, into Soviet concentration

camps? I don't yet have any authentic documents in my possession. Again only Western estimates and some eyewitness accounts.

I spoke to one such eyewitness on the Kolyma. A former “traitor to the Motherland,” but then the accountant general of the Srednekan gold field, Viktor Masol, told me how in June 1942 in the Don steppes after the Kharkov catastrophe they — unarmed, hungry, ragged Red Army men — were herded like sheep by German tanks into crowds of many thousands. Freight cars took them to Germany, where he mixed concrete for the Reich, and three years later they were sent in freight cars from Germany across the whole Soviet Union — as far as the Pacific Ocean. In the port of Vanino they were loaded into the holds of the Felix Dzerzhinsky steamship [named after the founder of the Soviet secret police], which had previously borne the name of Nikolai Yezhov, [a former] People's Commissar of Internal Affairs [that is, the NKVD or secret police], bound for Magadan. During the week they were on their way, they were given food only once — barrels with gray flour, covered with boiling water, were lowered through the hatch. And they, burning their hands and crushing one another, snatched this mess and stuffed it, choking, into their mouths: most often people go crazy with hunger. Those who died on the way were thrown overboard in the Nagayev Bay, the survivors marched into the taiga, again behind the barbed wire of — now — their native prison camps.

Just a few survived and returned. But even they were like lepers. Outcasts. How many times they heard: “Better a bullet through your head ...”

Many former POWs thought about a bullet in the 1940s–1950s. Both when they were reminded from the militia office — “you are two days overdue” (all the POWs were kept on a special register with mandatory reports on strictly definite days), and when people told them: “Keep silent. You whiled away your time in captivity on fascist grub ...”

And they did keep silent.

In 1956, after Khrushchev's report, it became possible to speak about Stalin. Former POWs were no longer automatically enemies of the people, but not quite yet defenders of the Motherland. Something in between. On paper it was one way, but in life everything was different.

Two years ago, on the eve of V-Day, I interviewed Col.-Gen. Alexei Zheltov, Chairman of the Soviet War Veterans' Committee. As befits the occasion, he was telling me with tears in his eyes about the holiday, about a Soviet soldier, an accordion in his hands, in the streets of spring-time Vienna. And I don't know what made me ask him, well, and former prisoners of war, are they war veterans?

“No, they are not veterans. Don't you have anything else to write about? Look how many real soldiers we have ...”

If Alexei Zheltov, the tried and tested veteran commissar, were the only one to think that way, that wouldn't be so bad. The trouble is that this philosophy is preached by the majority of the top brass. Both those who have long retired on pensions and who still hold command positions. For nearly 40 years we have been “orphaned,” have lived without “the father of the peoples,” but we sacredly revere his behests, sometimes not even noticing this ourselves.

Human blood is not water. But it has also proved to be a perfect conserving agent for Stalin's morality. It has become even thicker. It has not disappeared even after several generations. It lives on. And not infrequently it triumphs. Try and raise the problem of prisoners of war (even before me this theme was taken up on more than one occasion, so I'm no discoverer here) — the

reaction is always the same: better talk about something else. And if you fail to heed a “piece of good advice,” they may even start to threaten: “Don’t you dare!”

To whom should one address his requests? To the government or the Supreme Soviet? What beautiful walls of the Kremlin should one knock on to demand that soldierly dignity be returned to former POWs, that their good name be restored?

Suppose your knocking has been heard. They will ask: what are you complaining about? What resolution do you take exception to? Oh, not a resolution. You are only worried over the past? How strange ...

But it’s even more strange that we still have real soldiers, real heroes and real people, meaning that there are also those who are not real. To this day our life is still like a battle front: by force of habit, we continue putting people in slots — these on this side, others over there. There seems to be neither law nor Order No. 270 any longer, like there is no one and nothing to fight against, but all the same whatever was once called black may at best become only gray. But by no means white.

... May 9: the whole country cries and rejoices. Veterans don their medals and pour out wine, remembering their buddies. But even in this circle a former POW is the last to hold out his glass and the last to take the floor.

What then is to be done? What should we do to squeeze the Stalinoid slave out of ourselves?

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Reflections of an American World War II Veteran on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the D-Day Invasion

Charles E. Weber

Television stations throughout the United States recently devoted many hours to the events of the bloody “D-Day” battle half a century ago, broadcasting gruesome scenes recorded on thousands of feet of motion picture film. But what did that pain and sacrifice on the beaches of Normandy really bring for Americans?

I am an American veteran of the Second World War, born in 1922. I was sworn into the Army of the United States on January 13, 1943, and discharged from military service on a pleasant spring day in Heidelberg, April 13, 1946. During those three and a quarter years I went to places as I was ordered, and did what I was ordered to do. Since my overseas service was in Europe, my reflections of June 6, 1944, are mostly concerned with the American military role in Europe. When I view the film footage of American “D-Day” military action, I realize how fortunate I am not to have been on the “Omaha” beachhead sector that day.

After the end of military action in 1945, I became involved in the process usually called “Denazification,” which afforded me the unusual opportunity to hear views from both sides of the war. My training had been in military intelligence, and my Military Occupational Specialty Number was 631, that of an intelligence non-commissioned officer.

Opposing the American military forces that invaded Europe in June 1944 were men of my race, in fact exclusively of my race, from various parts of Europe, a Europe that had been exhausted by nearly five years of war. At the time the United States was closely allied with the most destructive tyranny that has ever existed in the history of mankind. Men from many lands were opposing the advance of Communism into Europe: Finns, Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Romanians, Slovaks and Croatians, as well as nearly a million volunteers from the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Denmark, Norway, and other countries. These volunteers included some of the finest and most courageous men of all the combatants, not only in terms of their military feats, but also because in many cases their governments, some of which had fled into exile, disowned them and later tried many of them as traitors for idealistically defending Europe against the armed forces of Communism.

In the years since the end of the Second World War, a number of courageous historians have been reevaluating the history of that conflict, including the American role. A notable, early example is the 1951 book by American intelligence officer Col. John Beaty, *The Iron Curtain Over America* [available through the IHR]. A recent and quite disturbing book by Canadian journalist James Bacque, *Other Losses* (1989) [available from the IHR], deals with the ruthless American treatment of Germans who laid down their arms in 1945. Scores of other important books in this category have also been published. In spite of a flood of continuing propaganda by the mass media,

which present the history of American involvement in that conflict as the “Good War,” historians such as Beaty and Bacque have had the courage and intellectual integrity to delve objectively into the darker realities of America’s role in the conflict.

On September 1, 1939, German forces, wisely or not, attempted to regain by arms parts of Germany that had been forcibly taken by Poland in 1919–1920. Three days later this conflict between Germany and an overconfident Poland was expanded into a world war when a heavily armed and overconfident Britain, together with a somewhat hesitant France (which considered itself well protected behind an impressive line of modern fortifications) declared war against Germany.

While the motives for these fateful declarations were complex, British fear of German competition for export markets, at a time of lingering massive unemployment in Britain, was unquestionably a prominent factor. On that same day — September 3, 1939 — another significant event took place about which nearly all Americans are ignorant: a mass murder of civilian ethnic Germans by Poles, known as the “Bromberg Bloody Sunday.” This event, which the German government quickly publicized in newspapers and other publications, complete with grim photographs, lent the conflict a grim and desperate atmosphere from the outset.

From Polish Foreign Office documents captured in Warsaw in 1939 by invading German forces, we know that President Franklin Roosevelt had been ordering his diplomats in Europe to help incite war in Europe, motivated at least in part by a desire to solve with war the still pressing problem of massive unemployment in the United States — even after six years in office. [See: M. Weber, “President Roosevelt’s Campaign to Incite War In Europe,” JHR, Summer 1983, pp. 135–172.] Well aware that the vast majority of Americans wanted no involvement in the war that raged in Europe (particularly after the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and the USSR in June 1941), the shrewdly duplicitous occupant of the White House assured the American people that he had no intention of sending their sons to fight on foreign battlefields. Among the citizens who played prominent roles in the popular campaign against American involvement in the war were Charles Lindbergh and Walt Disney.

On the basis of newly published histories of Soviet military units and secret documents, we know today that Stalin was planning a Soviet Russian invasion of central and western Europe in 1941. [See, in particular, the book *Icebreaker* by V. Suvorov.] Ordered into offensive positions in the spring and early summer of 1941 were massed Soviet armies that had powerful, modern tanks in numbers far greater than those under German command.

Following arrogant demands to German officials by Soviet diplomats in the autumn of 1940 (which previewed what Germany and indeed all of Europe could expect from a militarily victorious Soviet Union), and after Germany’s political and military leaders became convinced that time and further delay were putting their nation at ever greater military disadvantage, Hitler ordered a mighty military offensive against the Soviet Union. This great strike, code-named “Operation Barbarossa,” began on the morning of June 22, 1941. It met with astonishing initial successes against the Soviet forces that had been massed on the frontier for offensive (and not defensive) operations — another instance of overconfidence. These initial German military victories took place in spite of inadequate preparations for a sustained offensive (including a shortage of clothing suitable for winter warfare).

Roosevelt had an intense personal hatred of Hitler, who had, in some important ways, been far more successful in solving the great economic problems that afflicted both the United States and Germany. In contrast to Adolf Hitler, who had come from modest circumstances and who had

served his nation in its armed forces as a front-line soldier who witnessed, first-hand, the horrors of war, Franklin Roosevelt had come from a very wealthy family and never served in combat. During 1940–41, and in spite of the overwhelming sentiment of the American people against military involvement in another European war, the United States, under Roosevelt's leadership, increasingly committed U.S. armed forces and war supplies to military actions against Germany.

In a lengthy speech delivered on December 11, 1941 — just a few days after the Japanese attack on Hawaii — Hitler finally recognized that Roosevelt's duplicitous efforts had won out, and declared the existence of a state of war with the United States. [Complete text of Hitler's speech published in the JHR, Winter 1988, pp. 389–416.] Without such a formal declaration by Hitler, the full force of American military and industrial power against Germany might have been delayed for months or even years. Hitler had underestimated the sentiment of the American people to keep out of the European war. When one reads the text of this speech today, it becomes apparent that the German leader had become emotionally moved by American military attacks against German naval forces in the Atlantic. Japan's attack against Pearl Harbor several days earlier served to realize Roosevelt's desire for full American involvement in war, and made his political position virtually unassailable.

Soaked with the blood of young American men, the Normandy beaches are a symbol of American sacrifices in a war that produced results that caused many thoughtful Americans to later ask themselves what the bitter sacrifices had really brought. For more than four decades eastern and much of central Europe suffered under a brutal, exploitative Soviet occupation. During 1945–1946, brutal expulsions of millions of ethnic Germans from areas that had been part of Germany for centuries resulted in the deaths of many hundreds of thousands. By the start of the Soviet blockade of Berlin in June 1948, many Americans were asking themselves what we had done as a nation.

I was still in Europe during the summer of 1948, having taken a position with the War Department following my discharge from the Army. That summer was a time of great tension and fear that a new war might break out, this time in a military vacuum that likely would have resulted in the rather sudden defeat of whatever western military forces were still left in Europe, and the subsequent Soviet occupation of the portion of Europe that had not already been occupied by Soviet forces.

We Americans can be proud that our Constitution forbids "ex post facto" laws, in keeping with thousands of years of European legal tradition expressed, for example, in the ancient Latin legal dictum, "nulla poena sine lege" ("no punishment without a law"). One day in the summer of 1946 I attended the protracted show trials in Nuremberg of German leaders who had been obeying the laws of their country, and defending it against ruthless foes who had made genocidal threats — such as the notorious "Morgenthau Plan" — against the German nation. [See: A. Kubek, "The Morgenthau Plan and the Problem of Policy Perversion," JHR, Fall 1989.] The Nuremberg trials were a cynical repudiation of American legal principles, against which some courageous Americans — including Senators Robert Taft and Joseph McCarthy — raised their voices at the time.

These trials, with their cynical disregard of American and European legal principles (similar to present efforts in some European countries to suppress open inquiry into some taboo historical questions), can be seen as a sort of psychological necessity for many Americans, who had come to realize what their country had done in Europe. The trials served to help rationalize or morally justify our conduct of the war, including the merciless and largely unnecessary bombing of German and other civilian populations (such as the fire-bombing of Dresden in February 1945).

Largely unknown to most Americans at the time was the disgraceful American postwar treatment of German prisoners of war, and the barbaric “Operation Keelhaul” treatment of eastern Europeans. Such actions were not worthy of a nation that claimed to be guided by Christian moral principles. But war seems to have the ability to “hallow any cause,” to use Nietzsche’s phrase.

The Second World War also served as the perfect pretext for the establishment of Big Government, with its gigantic and intrusive federal bureaucracy. (For example, the payroll deduction system that was introduced as a temporary “war measure” has remained permanent.)

The young men who served in the air forces of Britain, Germany and the United States during the Second World War were, physically and mentally, the finest examples of their race. Fighting each other, they died by the scores of thousands in the gun fire of aerial combat and in the flaming wreckage of downed aircraft. In most cases their genes were lost forever — a striking example of the dysgenic effect of modern warfare.

Far more insidious and perhaps far more damaging, I believe, has been the psychological consequence of America’s involvement in the Second World War. The well-calculated propaganda image of America’s “victory” in 1945 and the subsequent Nuremberg trials, along with the “Holocaust” campaign, have served to help poison and debilitate the psyche and even the will to survive of Americans of European ancestry. In one law after the other, in one judicial decree after the other, and in one foreign policy decision after the other, this poison and debilitation have manifested themselves. During the past few decades the political and cultural standing of European-Americans has been steadily declining.

However great his faults, or misguided his actions, Hitler’s basic aim — the welfare of his own people, race and culture — was, I think, valid. A consequence of the constant denigration in the American popular media of Hitler and his regime is to discredit the pursuit of any similar aim by European-Americans. Any defense of European-American interests has become not only unfashionable, but is now widely regarded as immoral.

It seems especially ironic that a man who slyly and selfishly evaded military service during the war in Vietnam, and whose past personal behavior is a source of shame to our country, should be the one to represent the United States in commemorating the sacrifices made by American soldiers on the beaches of Normandy and in central Italy.

It is proper that we honor the well-intended sacrifices of American soldiers who were killed and wounded during the Second World War. At the same time, though, we must also keep the results of these sacrifices in proper perspective, especially with regard to the long-range results of the war.

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Bitter Retrospective after Fifty Years

- Open Letter from a Young Frenchman to a Former French Resistance Fighter

First of all, I hope you were not one of those who waited until every German had fled before putting on the insignia of the French Forces of the Interior [the resistance movement]. If you really fought the Germans I respect you because I oppose all occupation forces. I can well imagine how those grey-green uniforms, that accent from beyond the Rhine, and those virile marching songs would have been intolerable to you. You may well even tell me that you despise the music of Wagner, that you hate sauerkraut and everything about German culture. You did what you felt you had to do to resist the imposition of an alien presence and an alien culture.

But you, who resisted the other because he was German, who refused the “enrichment” of Teutonic ideas, who fought and suffered so that France would remain French, tell me this: How can you accept the waves of Africans and Asians now washing up on our shores? They leave their spray-paint spoor on our walls and on our trains and buses. Where they have become the majority, their habits make life intolerable for Frenchmen — Frenchmen who watch their neighborhoods decay and then flee.

With the help of their collaborators in the government and the media, these newcomers are trying to impose their culture on us. Today we see mosques rising everywhere and instead of the German music of your era, we hear such tropical brayings as rap, the Lambada, and Saga Africa. You — who shaved the heads of French women who succumbed to the charms of German soldiers — what do you think today when you see white women walking hand and hand with blacks and Arabs?

Every day you are harangued by radio and television about the joys of racial mixing. You hear the government-sponsored calls to childless French couples to adopt third-world children. And all the while, your taxes rise because you must pay your part of a 240 billion [French Francs] social welfare budget that is really the annual cost of occupation.

You risked your life to rid France of German culture, but I ask you candidly: Was it worth the trouble? What have we gained, now that those field-grey uniforms have been replaced with saris, djellabahs [the costume of Morocco] and boubous [traditional African costume]?

You were lucky in a way. If today’s “anti-racist” laws had been in effect in July 1940, you could have been indicted and imprisoned for “inciting hatred against Germans” with the very first tract you handed out.

What Was the Point?

What was the point of killing so many people only to get where we are now? It could all have been avoided. Around 1942, François Mitterand [former resistance leader, now President of France] could have said “The Germans are at home in our homes” [a phrase widely promoted today about immigrants], and Pierre Laval [vice-premier of France’s wartime pro-German Vichy government, and executed in 1945] would have agreed. If you and Mitterand hadn’t been so intolerant and Germanophobic we could have easily assimilated the million or so Germans who were camping on our soil.

Couldn’t they have been naturalized, given the vote, and made into good little Frenchmen like you and me? Wouldn’t that have been an earlier version of the “cultural enrichment,” “tolerance,” and “openness to others,” about which we hear so much these days? You may not like to admit it, but I know you prefer Bavarian polkas to that execrable rap “music.”

Poor old boy, the people who sent you off to the wars in 1940 have certainly made a monkey out of you. Since then, neither Gaullists nor Communists have done much to preserve our people or our culture, have they? Your silence is the silence of a cuckold, but I feel your quiet rage at having been so cruelly deceived.

At your age perhaps we cannot expect to find you at our side in the fight against this generation’s occupation. But surely you will not be displeased to see the rising power of the anti-immigration movement and of those who wish to preserve the France for which you fought. For it is we who now fight to justify your sacrifice, whose victory will ensure that the comrades you left upon the field of honor did not die in vain.

This essay is reprinted from the July 1994 issue of [American Renaissance](#) newsletter (P. O. Box 1674, Louisville, KY 40201). It originally appeared in issue No. 19 of the French periodical, *l'Empire Invisible*.

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Revisionist Historians and Activists To Meet for Twelfth IHR Conference

From across the United States and several foreign countries, scholars, activists and friends of the Institute for Historical Review will meet over the September 3–5 weekend in southern California for the IHR's Twelfth International Revisionist Conference.

As announced in the May-June Journal, this forthcoming Conference will feature some of the most prominent figures in the growing international revisionist movement. A lot has happened since the Eleventh IHR Conference in October 1990, and leading activists will be on hand to provide attendees with the exciting inside story about the major breakthroughs, as well as the formidable new efforts of our enemies, in the international campaign for greater historical awareness about the most hyped and taboo-laden chapter of history. In addition, leading revisionist scholars will report on the new documentary and investigatory discoveries that further shatter the icons of "official" history.

In his typically riveting and entertaining style, best-selling British historian David Irving will present startling new facts and insights about Joseph Goebbels, based in part on his headline-making investigation in Russian archives of the Third Reich propaganda chief's long-hidden personal diaries. Irving, one of the world's most prolific historians, will also update attendees on the ever more frantic international campaign to muzzle him — and all others who dare to defy the powerful worldwide Holocaust lobby.

From Canada, German-born publicist and civil rights activist Ernst Zündel will report on his courageous international campaign for greater awareness of suppressed history, and to restore the honor and good reputation of the German people. He'll talk about his publishing work and media activism, including the inside story on his March appearance on the popular "60 Minutes" public affairs television show, and his newly organized international television and radio broadcast outreach campaign. Zündel will review the impact and significance of his two widely publicized "Holocaust trials" (1985 and 1988), which brought major breakthroughs for historical revisionism and an important victory for free speech in Canada.

Robert Faurisson, Europe's leading Holocaust revisionist scholar and a much-appreciated IHR Conference speaker, will return to delight attendees with another fascinating and witty presentation. He will speak about the significance of revealing documents about Auschwitz and other German camps unearthed after years of suppression from Russian archives.

It was this French university professor (and frequent Journal contributor) who first dug up and published key documents from the Auschwitz construction department archives. After attempting for years to ignore this evidence, Faurisson's hard-pressed enemies are now obliged to offer confused responses. He will also report on the very oppressive situation in his native France, where it is a crime publicly to challenge the currently fashionable view of the Holocaust extermination story.

Carlo Mattogno, Italy's foremost revisionist scholar, will speak about his recent eye-opening research into the Holocaust story, emphasizing what newly uncovered records show about fraudulent Auschwitz extermination claims. A meticulous researcher with an impressive command of languages, Mattogno is the author of several books in Italian, and of numerous scholarly essays in English that have appeared over the years in this Journal — including the text of his presentation at the Ninth IHR Conference (1989). Copies of *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend: A Critique of J. C. Pressac*, an impressive and detailed study just published by the IHR, will be available for sale. The author will gladly autograph copies.

Jürgen Graf, a Swiss educator and author of several carefully researched revisionist books on the Holocaust story, will speak about the perverse role that the Holocaust story has come to play in Western society.

In March 1993, following the publication of his 112-page book *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand"), Graf was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French, in spite of support from his students and colleagues. His firing came on orders of high-level Swiss authorities. Graf is also author of *Der Holocaust-Schwindel* (in German), *L'Holocaust au Scanner* (in French), and, most recently, *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust* ("Auschwitz: Admissions by perpetrators and eyewitnesses of the Holocaust"). For more about Graf, see the Sept.-Oct. 1993 Journal, pp. 36–37.

John Ball will speak about his research and evaluation of little-known wartime aerial photography, providing devastating new insights into the suppressed history of Auschwitz and other alleged German death camps. Ball, a mineral exploration geologist from western Canada, has gathered, studied, and published scores of long suppressed aerial reconnaissance photographs of German camps. His analysis of these photos sheds new light on what actually did and didn't happen at these camps, providing valuable new data and insights against the Holocaust extermination story. He will illustrate his presentation with slides of wartime aerial photos.

IHR editor Ted O'Keefe will dedicate the Twelfth IHR Conference to the memory of American historian and journalist William Henry Chamberlin. Greg Raven, Associate Editor of the Journal, will serve as this year's Master of Ceremonies. Journal Editor Mark Weber will deliver the keynote address, summing up IHR and revisionism's achievements since the previous conference, and outlining present and future challenges. Institute Director Tom Marcellus will report to attendees on IHR business and organizational development since the Eleventh Conference in 1992.

This year's Mystery Speaker is a highly qualified technician from Europe whose study of the alleged mass-murder "gas chambers" at Auschwitz confirms that these facilities were not and could not have been used to kill people as claimed. His findings corroborate and strengthen the results of earlier investigations, including those of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter.

David Cole, the youthful Jewish filmmaker who has proven himself an effective spokesman for the revisionist view in several nationally-broadcast television appearances, and who delighted attendees at the IHR's Eleventh Conference, will preview his promising second video about alleged wartime German killing facilities. In his first blockbuster revisionist video, the curator of the Auschwitz State Museum admitted to Cole on film that the "gas chamber" shown to tourists there is actually a postwar reconstruction.

Bradley Smith, America's most prominent revisionist activist, will report on his successful headline-making campaign, in defiance of malicious smears and ADL censorship, to bring revisionist facts and arguments to students and professors by placing advertisements in student papers

across the United States. Smith — who is Director of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), and longtime head of the IHR's Media Project — will also report on his recent national media breakthroughs, including an appearance (with David Cole) in March as a guest on the “Donahue Show.” Dr. Robert Countess, a former college-level instructor in history and an IHR Editorial Advisor, will update attendees on his revisionist activities since the last Conference.

Schedule Changes

Regrettably, several persons who had been announced as Conference speakers in the May-June Journal will not be able to participate after all. These are: Fred Leuchter, Prof. H. W. Koch, Prof. Tony Martin and Michael Shermer. Two speakers — Carlo Mattogno and Jürgen Graf — have not been previously announced.

A Memorable Occasion

As those who have attended previous gatherings can attest, an IHR Conference is an informative, inspiring and enjoyable occasion. This Twelfth IHR Conference promises to be one of the most memorable ever.

While audio tapes and videotapes of this forthcoming IHR Conference will be available for sale, as usual, nothing matches the opportunity to see, hear, and meet personally with revisionist scholars and activists from around the world, the courageous individuals who lead the international crusade for truth about the most distorted aspects of twentieth century history.

Bradley Smith (left) and Phil Donahue (right) listen as David Cole makes a point during their March appearance on the widely viewed “Donahue” television show.

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Bradley Smith's 'Campus Project' Generates Nationwide Publicity for Holocaust Revisionism

Unprecedented Media Coverage of Holocaust 'Open Debate' Campaign

During the past year Bradley Smith — America's most prominent revisionist activist, and a good friend of the Institute for Historical Review — has succeeded in generating unprecedented nationwide publicity for Holocaust revisionism as part of his "Campus Project." Defying a well-organized campaign of threats, intimidation and smears, he and his Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) have placed more advertisements in student newspapers across the United States than during any other school year. On campus after campus, the ads have provoked enormous publicity, while the resulting furor has generated news reports and commentary in newspapers, magazines and television and radio broadcasts across the country.

Smith had already attracted nationwide notoriety during the 1991-92 school year by placing advertisements or statements calling for open debate on the Holocaust issue in 17 student newspapers, several at major universities. After something of a lapse during the 1992-93 school year — which prompted adversaries to boast that he had been permanently silenced — Smith came back, more effective than ever. During the 1993-94 school year, his ad — the most recent version of which is headed "A Revisionist Challenge to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum" — was published, in one form or another, in at least 35 college and university student papers, as well as in one major metropolitan daily.

Brandeis University Uproar

Nowhere was the reaction to the appearance of Smith's CODOH advertisement more intense than at Brandeis University (Waltham, Mass.). Hundreds of members of the school's predominantly Jewish student body rallied to protest the ad, which appeared in the December 7 issue of the weekly *Justice*. Some 2,000 copies of the student paper were stolen as they were about to be distributed. Two days later, 4,000 replacement copies were delivered under protection of campus police.

Brandeis Professor and Holocaust historian Antony Polonsky told participants at a Dec. 9 campus rally: "Holocaust denial is not a serious scholarly debate. This is a new form of hate propaganda. This is not a First Amendment issue." Echoing this view was the *Boston Globe* (editorial, Dec. 14), and Kenneth S. Stern and Jeffrey Ross of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in a letter published in *The New York Times* (Dec. 23).

At a panel discussion on "Holocaust Revision, Holocaust Denial," Brandeis Professor Jerry Cohen took a somewhat different view. (*Justice*, Feb. 15) Said Cohen:

To simply stipulate facts and insist upon them with an attitude of 'I shall not debate, I shall not confront, I shall not discuss lest I give dignity to absurd arguments in a world of absurd arguments' is, I think, a failed strategy... All historical events are subject to reinterpretation. As we move further and further away from these events, our perspective changes...not only because our interpretation changes, but also because more evidence comes to light.

As a result of his decision to run Smith's ad, Justice editor David Turner "became a pariah on campus." His car was defaced, he received hateful phone calls around the clock, and he was threatened with bodily harm. (Time magazine, Dec. 27.)

Queens College Bigotry

The text of the Smith's ad appeared in the student paper of Queens College (Flushing, New York) along with a barrage of smears and bigoted commentary. The ad text was printed on the front page of the QC Quad, February 21, under the heading "An Illustration of Hate." (Smith's check was returned, and the CODOH address was deleted from the ad.)

Right next to Smith's text appeared a viciously critical front-page editorial entitled "Revising Revisionism," which told readers that "the Quad wants to warn you that the adjoining material is hazardous to your head." Page two of this same issue was entirely devoted to a full-page letter from Queens College president Shirley Strum Kenny, which likewise attacked Smith while not citing even a single instance of what she called his "disregard for truth."

A second Quad editorial in this same issue, headed "A Man and His Lies," sought to discredit Smith by attributing to him racist statements supposedly made in a 1989 interview with the University of Nebraska Sower. For example, Smith was quoted as expressing concern that America is becoming a "Mexicanized" country. In fact, Smith never made the statements attributed to him by the Quad, and was never even interviewed by the Sower. Smith's wife of 16 years is an immigrant from Mexico.

Further attacks against Smith appeared on five other pages of this same Feb. 21 issue of the QC Quad, as well as in the two succeeding issues of Feb. 28 and March 7.

All this generated reports and commentary in off-campus media, including a rather detailed article in the Feb. 10 Long Island Newsday, an editorial in the Feb. 12 New York Post, and an item in the Jewish Week of Feb. 18-24. Moreover, Quad executive editor Dave Konig was on hand for the March taping of the "Phil Donahue Show," on which revisionists Smith and David Cole were guests, when he was permitted by the host to disparage Smith in person.

Humboldt State University

The publication of Smith's ad in the March 16 issue of the Humboldt State University (Arcata, Calif.) Lumberjack generated letters arguing each side of the issue, which appeared through the April 13 issue. Some of the letters protesting the ad were written by HSU professors, to which geology senior Stephen Tillinghast responded (April 13): "I was disappointed to see these types of letters from professors on campus; surely they see the dangers of intolerance." The local daily Eureka Times Standard (March 24) also covered the controversy.

Miami University

At Miami University (Coral Gables, Florida), the publication of Smith's CODOH advertisement in the April 12 issue of *The Miami Hurricane* set off a furor that received national media attention. A wealthy Jewish businessman — Sanford L. Ziff, founder of the Sunglass Hut chain — was so upset by the ad's appearance there that he cancelled a scheduled \$1 million donation to the school's Lowe Art Museum expansion project, and a \$1 million gift to the school's Sylvester Cancer Research Center. Ziff reportedly was also having doubts about naming the University in his will as beneficiary for several additional millions of dollars.

Florida's leading daily, *The Miami Herald*, devoted considerable attention to the ad controversy at Miami University. (Its coverage began even before the ad appeared in the student paper there.) Reports about the Miami University uproar also appeared in the *Palm Beach Post*, the *St. Petersburg Times*, the *Tampa Tribune*, *USA Today* (April 13), the *New York Post*, and *The Washington Post*.

An Unusual Punishment

At Georgetown University (Washington, DC), Smith's ad appeared in the student paper, the *Georgetown Voice*, on October 14. University officials decided to treat publication of the ad as a serious transgression. The University's media board required the *Voice* to print an apology and donate the \$200 paid for the ad to the federal government's US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Finally, the board ordered the three paper's top editors to tour the Holocaust Museum, escorted by a Georgetown professor of theology.

Other Papers

A report on the success of Smith's CODOH campaign between September and early November appeared in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal* (p. 22). In addition to the papers and schools noted in that article and elsewhere in this one, Smith's ad appeared in student papers at Wright State University (Dayton, Ohio) Oct. 28; Mount Hood Community College (Portland, Ore.), Oct. 29; Roosevelt High School (Portland, Ore.), in October; University of Notre Dame, Nov. 18; Bowling Green University (Ohio), Nov. 18; Boston College, Dec. 6; the University of Maryland, Jan. 27; Pennsylvania State University, Feb. 2; the University of Rhode Island, Feb. 4; California State University at Chico, March 9; San Jose State University, March 9; Humboldt State University (Arcata, Calif.), March 16; American River College (Calif.), March 17; Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, April 7; State University of New York (SUNY) College, Oneonta, April 14; Trenton State University, April 14; Wheaton College (Mass.), April 14; Manhattan College (New York), April 14; State University of New York (SUNY), Buffalo, April 15; State University of New York (SUNY), Binghamton, April 15; Clemson University (South Carolina), April 16; Columbia College (Chicago), April 18; State University of New York (SUNY) College, Potsdam, April 19; Central Florida University, April 20; University of Maine (Orono), April 20; Hofstra University (Hempstead, New York), April 21; and, State University of New York (SUNY), Stony Brook, June 6.

In addition, Smith's ad also appeared for the first time in a major metropolitan daily, the *Portland Oregonian* (Oct. 24), the state's most widely read newspaper.

Rejection Publicity and Media Distortion

Even where it was turned down, news of the decision to reject Smith's ad sometimes generated considerable public interest and discussion. At Georgia State University, for example, the editors'

decision to turn down the CODOH ad resulted in pages of commentary, both for and against publication, in the GSU student paper, *Signal*, between February 22 and April 19. Similarly, the decision to reject the ad by the student paper at the University of Buffalo resulted in a news story in the *Buffalo News* (April 16).

Another periodical that turned down Smith's ad was *The Skidmore News*, a paper that calls itself "the campus authority since 1925," and is apparently distributed to students at colleges and universities across the country. Nevertheless, this paper devoted an editorial and a 16-page Special Supplement (April 21), entitled "Why are Holocaust deniers targeting college campuses?," which contained the usual half-truths and smears.

A good example of how *The Skidmore News* brazenly twisted the truth is this assertion:

Mr. Smith heads up the best-financed and most anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the country, [Liberty Lobby](#). His newsletter published by the Institute for Historical Review is read by thousands across the country.

A *Skidmore News* essay by Prof. Robert Boyers, while highly critical of Smith and Holocaust revisionism, concluded with a gratifyingly strong support for the principle of free speech and a free press, even on this emotion-laden topic. Wrote Boyers:

I do not observe in the current "revisionist" ad the tenor I associate with a murderous intention... Though it may seem tempting to censor or deny publication to ads that are empty or pointless or otherwise distasteful, many of us would argue that most ads — and many "news" features — are equally distasteful, or misleading, or dangerously manipulative. As long as the paid "revisionist" ads do not contain openly vicious, defamatory or incendiary messages, I would continue to support the decision of college newspapers to publish them.

Gas Chamber Evidence?

Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg, author of *The Destruction of the European Jews*, was asked by the *Skidmore News* about evidence "for the existence of [execution] gas chambers" in the German wartime German camps. Hilberg responded by citing the following:

- "Blueprints" from the Auschwitz construction office. In fact, these are clearly blueprints of crematory buildings and morgue rooms;
- "Aerial photography" from Auschwitz in 1944. In reality, these show no evidence whatever of "gassings" or killings of any kind;
- "Collateral documents which speak about the supply of gas." These are simply records of purchases and deliveries of the commercial pesticide Zyklon B;
- "Remains of these gas chambers," which were simply crematory buildings and morgue rooms; and,
- "Testimony," the dubiousness of which every serious historian is aware.
- Finally, Hilberg claimed that "the [German] perpetrators, as a matter of fact, never denied it." Actually, a wide range of top-level German officials — including Hermann Göring and Albert Speer — strenuously rejected knowing of any wartime extermination program, or of gas chamber killings.

Further Publicity

It was the Brandeis controversy that prompted a full-page Time magazine article (Dec. 27), as well as a nationally distributed Associated Press report (which appeared, for example, in The New York Times, Dec. 12). The slanted Time report included a color photo of Smith at his home in Visalia, California, and a snide reference to the Institute for Historical Review and IHR Journal editor Mark Weber.

Reports also appeared in The Philadelphia Inquirer (Dec. 26), the Philadelphia Jewish Times (Dec. 30), and the College Reporter of Franklin and Marshall College (Jan. 17), although, typically, none of these addressed the specifics of Smith's ad.

Publication of Smith's ad in the Georgetown University paper prompted William Buckley to comment in his nationally-syndicated column (published, for example, in National Review, Jan. 24). Buckley, a fixture of New York City's pro-Zionist neo-conservative circles, dealt sarcastically with Smith and his campaign, and expressed satisfaction with the unusual way the university punished the offending editors.

An essay by Smith appeared as a guest editorial piece in the December 10 issue of the Albany Student Press, published at the State University of New York at Albany. Headlined "The ADL's Nazi Devil Fantasy," the essay criticized the Anti-Defamation League for its efforts to suppress open discussion of the Holocaust issue, and particularly to stop publication of Smith's CODOH ads. Although this essay angered the campus Jewish Student Coalition, Student Press managing editor Eric Dagnall refused to apologize for running the piece. (Albany Times Union, Jan. 31.)

Smith's media outreach efforts also led to a front-page article and editorial about him in the February 17 issue of the Collegian, student paper at California State University at Fresno, a letter to the editor in the Chicago Tribune of February 27, a mention in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of April 9, and in several letters to the editor published in the Detroit Free Press, March 16.

Television and Radio Appearances

Smith's "Campus Project" success brought an invitation to appear on the nationally-televised "Donahue Show." (For more on this, see the May-June 1994 Journal.) His appearance there led, in turn, to guest appearances by Smith and other CODOH spokesman on several radio talk show programs.

On April 13, Bradley Smith appeared as a guest for an hour on Ft. Meyers, Florida, radio station WINK-AM. Two days later he was interviewed about his campaign for greater public awareness on the Holocaust issue during a 20-minute appearance on ABC Network Radio, which aired over a hundred affiliate stations across the country. On April 18, Smith appeared for one-half hour on WHJJ-AM radio, Providence, Rhode Island.

Friedrich Berg, a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee, appeared as a CODOH spokesman for an hour on April 16 as a radio talk show guest on WFTL-AM, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, and, the next day, for half an hour on WBSM-AM of New Bedford, Conn. On April 19 he was a guest for a full hour on WAFJ-AM, which serves the Decatur-Huntsville area of northern Alabama.

Robert Countess

Dr. Robert Countess appeared as a CODOH spokesman on April 11 for an hour as a guest on Chicago radio WVON, a major black-listenership station. His successful presentation, which was

hosted by Cliff Kelly, went ahead in spite of demands from some irate Jewish groups in the area that the station cancel the appearance.

Countess, an educator and a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee, has proven to be an effective and personable spokesmen for historical revisionism. Last year, for example, he appeared as a spokesman for the Institute for Historical Review on New York City television station WPIX's half-hour "11 News Closeup" program.

During his seven-minute appearance, which was aired on April 24, 1993, Countess calmly pointed out that there are serious problems with the Holocaust extermination story. He spoke about the fraudulent "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Höss, which was obtained by torture. Countess said that the familiar Six Million figure is a gross exaggeration, and he explained the dreadful conditions in the German camps during the final months of the war. The Holocaust, he said, has become a kind of Jewish racket. Following Countess' appearance, host Marvin Scott was shown with three other guests who were encouraged to refute the IHR spokesman, including American Jewish Committee official Kenneth Stern (author of the anti-revisionist book, *Holocaust Denial*).

A Show of His Own

For some years Bradley Smith has appeared as a guest on more than three hundred radio and television talk shows across the nation. Now he has a regularly scheduled radio show of his own. On July 12, Smith's hour-long show began airing weekly on Providence (Rhode Island) station WALE (AM 990). His show, sponsored by CODOH, is broadcast from noon to 1:00 p.m. every Tuesday. Promotional notices and commercials for Smith's show are routinely aired throughout the week. Station WALE — on which Smith had already appeared several times as a talk show guest — has the largest radio listenership in the area (which includes Brown University and the University of Rhode Island).

The ADL Smear Campaign

Smith's success in reaching students and educators through his ad campaign is all the more remarkable because it has been achieved in spite of a well-financed and -coordinated smear campaign by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and other Jewish groups.

Unable to take issue with the content of Smith's CODOH ad, the ADL attempts instead to castigate Smith as a person, accusing him of the worst sins that anyone can be accused of in today's America. Typically, the ADL tries to persuade editors that Smith is a "hate monger" with ties to notorious neo-Nazis, who is supposedly promoting a secret neo-Nazi "agenda." In spite of the ad's civil and restrained text, the would-be censors continue to characterize it, inaccurately and unfairly, as "Holocaust denial," "anti-Semitic," "hate propaganda," and worse.

In the February-March 1994 issue of the ADL *On The Frontline* newsletter, the Anti-Defamation League warned:

Smith has had a long time association with the California-based Institute for Historical Review (IHR), America's leading clearing house for Holocaust denial propaganda. His ad campaign is the centerpiece of the Institute's long-standing effort to influence America's youth.

This statement is not entirely inaccurate. As part of its “Media Project,” the IHR is pleased to be able to provide funding for Smith’s outreach work.

As part of the well-financed effort to counter Smith’s campus outreach effort, student newspaper editors are being given expense-paid two-week summer trips to Poland and Israel, a propaganda tour that includes stops at Auschwitz, Krakow, and the former site of the Warsaw Ghetto. (Philadelphia Jewish Times, Feb. 17.)

Jewish groups have succeeded in gaining some non-Jewish support for their anti-revisionist campaign. In March, the Synagogue Council of America and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a “Joint Statement on Dealing with Holocaust Revisionism,” which declared: “All educational institutions and their publications, whether official or student sponsored, should unconditionally reject any efforts to deny the horrifying realities of the Holocaust.”

Heading up the ADL’s anti-Smith campaign is Jeffrey Ross, who worked closely with ADL regional offices and Hillel groups around the country to pressure student papers into rejecting the CODOH ad. Ross told the Philadelphia Jewish Times (Feb. 17) that

The Holocaust deniers are the ideological vanguard of the neo-Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, Skinheads, white supremacists...Our point is that there is no debate over the Holocaust. There is not more than one position on the existence of the Holocaust. It happened. Period. End of story...Our way of responding to them is not to debate them on their own terms, but rather to expose them for the bigots and neo-Nazis they are.

Ross complained that “the [CODOH] ad in the Brandeis newspaper cost Bradley Smith \$130, and he got millions of dollars' worth of publicity.” Ross claimed to be “surprised” and “saddened” that

Jews on the editorial board want to prove that they are such pure journalists and have such a pure commitment to freedom of speech that they will not allow the fact of their being Jewish to stand in the way of what they consider their duty to the journalistic profession... Therefore, they're going to decide to publish it.

On another occasion Ross charged (Martyrdom and Resistance, New York, Jan.-Feb. 1994):

The Holocaust-denial campaign is probably the most widespread and effective anti-Semitic campaign since World War II in the United States... The ADL and our colleagues in the Jewish community are expending all of our resources in responding to it.

Confident that Smith’s efforts are no match for its own formidable financial and organizational resources, the Anti-Defamation League boasted in its April-May 1994 On The Frontline newsletter that a “lack of success in Bradley Smith’s current campaign targeting campus newspapers with paid advertisements denying the reality of the Holocaust is testimony to the counteraction efforts of ADL.” While noting that Smith’s ad had appeared in 14 campus publications in the fall 1993 semester, the ADL newsletter asserted that his “current campaign has been much less successful.” Such bragging proved premature. In fact, Smith’s ad campaign overall during the 1993-1994 school year was by far the most successful ever.

'Jewish Onslaught Against Freedom'

In their effort to keep Smith's ad from appearing, Jewish groups such as the ADL, and Jewish intellectuals such as Emory University professor Deborah Lipstadt (author of the anti-revisionist polemic *Denying the Holocaust*), insult American students and educators. In effect, groups such as the ADL arrogantly insist that American students and teachers lack the intelligence and wisdom to make up their own minds about this issue.

The ADL argument that Smith's ad should not be permitted to appear because it "offends" some Jews is likewise specious and arrogant. Nearly everyone finds at least some advertising "offensive." And if Holocaust revisionism were really as absurd as the ADL contends, no one need fear that will ever gain any significant acceptance among scholars or the general public.

In an essay published as a guest editorial in the SUNY-Stony Brook Statesman, June 6, Smith castigated the concerted efforts by the groups such as the ADL and Hillel to censor his ads. "What this amounts to," he aptly pointed out, "is nothing less than a Jewish onslaught against intellectual freedom." Smith went on to write:

...On every campus in America where there is a substantial number of Jewish students, the Hillel organization (campus arm of the ADL, usually led by a rabbi) leads the attack against free inquiry and open debate on the Holocaust controversy. I am astounded that Jewish intellectuals and scholars stand idly by while the reputation of Jews as free thinkers is everywhere corrupted, diminished and burlesqued by a handful of organized Jewish extremists and censors.

Student editors who are Jewish are under special pressure from the Holocaust lobby to betray their ideals as journalists and to betray as well the long tradition of intellectual liberty for which Jews have worked all over the world. Jewish editors are attacked ferociously, not only by spokespersons for organized Jewry off campus, but also on campus by well-meaning but unsophisticated students egged on by Hillel rabbis who function as semi-professional censors.

Student editors who are not Jewish, while they experience all the above, must face the additional burden of being slandered as "anti-semites" and "haters." I understand why many are unwilling or even afraid to shoulder the burden that the ideal of a free press places on journalists with regard to the Holocaust controversy.

Impact

More than any other single person, Smith is succeeding in making skeptical discussion of the Holocaust story an established part of America's social-cultural landscape. While it is difficult to measure, it appears that his CODOH campaign is having a real impact on how students look at European history and American society. Professor Lipstadt now laments that, as a result of the efforts of Smith and other revisionists, "good students come in and ask, 'How do we know there were gas chambers?'" (U.S. News and World Report, Feb. 28.)

Smith's ad campaign, and the furor and publicity it has generated, have done much to raise public awareness about a particular chapter of European history and the issue of free speech. At least as important, the Smith ad campaign is teaching valuable lessons about American social-cultural and political life.

Even for those who may believe that the revisionists are entirely wrong about the historical issues involved here, the frantic and highly emotional nature of the effort to suppress a soberly

worded advertisement questioning an aspect of the Holocaust story provides important lessons about political, social and cultural realities in today's America. For one thing, it teaches that we are expected to show greater sensitivity toward Jewish concerns and interests than to those of any other group, and it points up the almost religious role that the Holocaust story has come to play in American society.

Courage and Devotion

The success of Bradley Smith's ad campaign is a major defeat for the organized forces of bigotry, and a significant victory for the cause of freedom of speech and greater public awareness of history.

None of the student editors who made the decision to run Smith's ad have expressed public support for his skeptical view of the Holocaust gas chamber story. Indeed, some expressed animosity toward him for daring to raise the issue. And yet, these editors, some of them Jewish, choose to defy the threats and pleadings of the ADL and Hillel by providing Smith with a forum for his supposedly outrageous views. In doing so, these young men and women have shown greater courage and devotion to the principle of intellectual freedom and a free press than editors of many major metropolitan dailies and television network producers.

July/August, 1994; vol. 14 no. 4: p. 25.

How Zionist Leaders Doctored Historical Documents About Plans for Mass 'Ethnic Cleansing' of Palestinian Arabs

In spite of the unusually close tie between the United States and Israel — a bond that several US Presidents have called a “special relationship” — Americans are remarkably ignorant about the true history of the Zionist takeover of Palestine, the machinations behind the foundation of the Jewish state in 1948, and the covert side of relations between their own country and Israel. So pervasive is American fear of offending Jewish sensibilities that it is not surprising that Israel’s Hebrew-language press is frequently more ready than the American press to shed light on the embarrassing side of Zionist history.

In the following essay, which is excerpted from the Israeli Hebrew-language daily paper Haaretz, February 4, 1994, writer Benny Morris explains how Zionist leaders doctored the official record of speeches at the 20th Zionist Congress of 1937, notably those in which Zionist leaders spoke in favor of plans to expel or relocate (“transfer”) as many as 300,000 Palestinian Arabs from their homes as part of a plan to impose Jewish rule in Palestine. As this essay explains, Zionist leaders “rewrote history” for self-serving propagandistic purposes, and in such a way as to deceive even supposedly careful historians. (This translation is from the May 1994 issue of *From the Hebrew Press*, which is prepared by Dr. Israel Shahak and published by Middle East Data Center, P.O. Box 337, Woodbridge, VA 22194.)

There are nations and political movements which, in seeking to create an unblemished image, rewrite not only their own history but also the documents on which that historiography is based. The Zionist movement is perhaps one of the most skillful practitioners of this strange art. In its case, the rewriting concerns the most sensitive area of Zionist history — the conflict with the Arabs, and especially the events and policies in which the Zionist side thought or acted in a manner that could be considered to be immoral.

In the course of the past decade the secrecy has been lifted from most documents of the [Israeli] state and its political parties. Now historians are able to re-examine the historic Zionist documents and protocols. A large part of what has been opened up now appears to be deficient and faulty, if not patently false.

The year 1937 was important in the development of the Zionist movement and the Zionist-Arab conflict. In 1936 the Arab Revolt broke out. The purpose of the revolt was to halt the turning of Palestine into a Jewish homeland and, more specifically, to stop the massive Jewish immigration and the purchasing of Arab land by Jews. They feared that the Jews would quickly become a majority and that the establishment of a Jewish state was just a step away.

At the end of that year, during a lull in the revolt (which the British totally repressed only in 1939), the British government sent an inquiry commission to Palestine, headed by Lord William Robert Peel, to investigate the reasons for the Revolt and to make recommendations. On July 7, 1937, the commission duly published its recommendations: to divide Palestine into three parts — a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a British enclave consisting of Jerusalem with its surrounding area and a corridor to the Mediterranean at Jaffa.

In order to guarantee the homogeneity of the proposed Jewish state and to prevent irredentism, there was a crucially important recommendation by the Peel Commission: to conduct a transfer of 225,000 of the Arab minority (which numbered 300,000) that were living in areas allotted to the Jewish state. They were supposed to be transferred to the new Arab state or to neighboring Arab countries, hopefully, willingly and with proper compensation, but if not — then by force. The report chastely termed the transfer “a population exchange.” The exchange was to involve 225,000 Arabs, as well as 1,250 Jews who were then living in areas allocated for the Arab state. The transfer plan was shelved by a subsequent inquiry commission (the Woodhead Commission) and by the British government itself in 1938.

The idea of partition gave rise to a major dispute within the Jewish community. While the recommendation for transfer was almost universally accepted by the Jews, many doubted whether the British would indeed implement it. Nevertheless, [Zionist leader] David Ben-Gurion, who headed the struggle for the acceptance of the Peel plan, was extremely conscious of the sensitivity regarding the transfer plan and the dynamite inherent in it. Some minority populations in parts of Europe and in Turkey and Greece had indeed been forcefully transferred not so long ago [in 1923-24, a million Greeks and 400,000 Turks were forcibly exchanged, under League of Nations auspices], but the concept remained a morally questionable step.

Although Ben-Gurion [who later served as Israel’s first Prime Minister] and Chaim Weizmann [who later was Israel’s first President] and other Zionist leaders wished for transfer, they usually expressed their opinion on this matter only in closed Zionist forums. They sometimes spoke in more public forums, but tried to censor the publication of their speeches afterwards. The result was not only a rewriting of Zionist history but also rewriting of Zionist documentation ...

Rewriting the documents of the 20th Zionist Congress, which met in Zurich [Switzerland], August 3–21, 1937, was certainly a collective effort. It was the Zionist movement and not [merely] individuals that attempted to polish up the protocols of the speeches made for the use of future generations. The delegates spoke German, Yiddish, English and Hebrew. Stenographers recorded what was said in the course of the consecutive Zionist Congress meetings. Translators used the stenographers' notebooks and supplied transcripts in Hebrew and German. The original notebooks no longer exist, but many of the speeches and debates exist as Hebrew photocopies. Two or three days after they were made, the speeches supposedly were printed verbatim in the Congress “Newspaper.” This periodical was published in Zurich every day or two in the course of the Zionist Congress, and was edited by Moshe Kleinman. For his publications Kleinman apparently referred to the Hebrew transcripts. But many of the speeches had undergone political editing and censorship between the time they were made and publication. One may notice this immediately when comparing the original Hebrew texts of the speeches and as they appeared in the Congress “Newspaper.” The editing was done by each speaker himself or by [Zionist] movement leaders, or by Kleinman, acting on orders from his political superiors.

In the course of the following months, Leo (Aryeh) Lauterbach, head of the Zionist movement’s organization department, prepared the speeches for publication in book form. Lauterbach, assisted by Moshe Gordon, a Jewish Agency official, explained in his hand-written autobiography

(written in English and never published) that his goal was “to guarantee the original integrity.” From the version that was published in February-March 1938 in Hebrew (and in German) [was produced] The 20th Zionist Congress and the 5th Session of the Jewish Agency Council, Zurich, August 3–21, 1937, A Stenographic Report (published by the management of the Zionist Movement and the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem). It is obvious that instead of referring to the stenographers' notebooks or the Hebrew typed texts, Lauterbach simply chose from what appeared in the “Newspaper,” corrected typing and grammatical mistakes, and published it.

The articles appearing in the Congress “Newspaper” and in the Congress Stenographic Report are identical. As the title indicates, the Stenographic Report professed to be a verbatim record of the statements voiced at the Zionist Congress. In fact, the speeches as they appeared in this Stenographic Report are, in many cases, significantly different from the original typed text.

The major differences focus on the Zionist movement’s attitude towards the Arabs and its policy towards them, mainly concerning the question of transfer. Up to now the Congress Stenographic Report has been the major or exclusive source used by historians for the statements made at the Zionist Congress. (For example it is used by [historian] Shabtai Teveth, for whom it serves as the [only] source. Teveth either could not locate the original transcripts or preferred to use the official and censored Zionist versions.) But in the Congress Stenographic Report, portions of the original speeches were totally deleted in order to significantly alter the meaning of the speeches. Usually, the omitted sentences and entire paragraphs concerned the issue of transfer.

The most important alterations are found in speeches and declarations of the movement’s leaders. Weizmann clearly expressed sympathy and support for the transfer recommendation of the Peel Commission in his speeches, above all in his “political speech” on August 4. Unfortunately, neither the stenographic version nor the typed text of the speech survived, but there are repeated references to Weizmann’s statements concerning transfer in the speeches of others, as they appear in the original typed texts as well as in the Congress Stenographic Report and in the Congress “Newspaper.” For example, Dr. Moshe Glikson, one of the founders of the Zionist Democratic Party, said in his speech on August 9:

There is a heavy cloud over the issue of the transfer. We should not be surprised to find some among us enthusiastic about it. They believe that it is possible to remove hundreds of thousands of Arabs from the Jewish state, just like that, in one sweep. Dr. Weizmann, who was more cautious than many of the supporters of this proposal, said that it would be possible to transfer 100,000 Arabs to the Arab state within 20 years.

Glikson argued that “5,000 per year” would not solve the demographic problem, in light of the much higher birthrate among the Arabs. “Of course,” Glikson went on, “there are those who believe in the possibility of a complete transfer in the course of a short period ...” Glikson named Shmuel Zokhowitzky, a leader from the agricultural settlements, as one who had “even asked Dr. Weizmann not to show any mercy” in this matter. Glikson explained:

Dr. Weizmann told us about the plan to establish a fund for a large scale resettlement of Arabs. Jews would contribute three million pounds to it ... I think there is reason to fear ... we will not be able to find so many Arab peasants willing to leave the area of the Jewish state. We will not be able to remove them from the Jewish state by force, and no resettlement plan will encourage them to leave the Jewish state and go to the poorer eastern Jordan.

The editors of the Congress Stenographic Report left most of the text intact, although they deleted the sentence regarding Zokhowitzky’s request that Weizmann address the question of the

transfer unmercifully.

Other speakers at the assembly also associated themselves with Weizmann's statement about the transfer. Ussishkin said on August 10:

When I heard the statement of the head of our movement ... Dr. Weizmann, about his support for transfer of 300,000 Arabs out of the Jewish state ... I said to myself: "My God, how far has this psychosis spread even among the greatest people!" ... Will a Mohammed suddenly leave our state? Why? ... Is there any hope that the Arabs living in our country will of their own volition agree to grant us those millions of dunums [of land]?

But the most blatant distortion of the original was achieved by the editors of the Congress "Newspaper" and the Stenographic Report in omitting from Ben-Gurion's speech on August 7 all reference to the transfer problem. According to the original typed texts of the speech, Ben-Gurion declared:

We must thoroughly examine the question whether the transfer is possible, necessary, moral and useful. We do not wish to dispossess anybody. Population transfers have been carried out previously in Palestine in various places. Now the transfer will have to be done on an entirely different scale. In many areas there will be no possibility for new Jewish settlement being established except by transferring the Arabs out of these areas. The British commission addressed this question seriously and it is important that transfer should appear as coming from the commission and not from us ... Population transfer allows us to draw a comprehensive settlement plan. To our joy, Arabs have huge and desolate lands. The growing Jewish strength in Palestine will increase our possibilities of conducting a large scale transfer. You must remember that this method also contains an important Zionist and humanist idea — to transfer parts of the people to their own land.

This clear statement was entirely omitted from the Zionist Congress assembly's official printed [record of] speeches. Indeed, both speeches — the original and the rewritten version that appeared in the "Newspaper" and in the Stenographic Report — are fundamentally different as far as they concern the Arab problem. It may only be concluded that immediately following what he said in his speech, Ben-Gurion had second thoughts, and gave a rewritten version to the editors of the Congress "Newspaper."

In the published version, both in the "Newspaper" and in the Congress Stenographic Report, Ben-Gurion made an effort to expand this paragraph, and this is [accordingly] how it appeared:

We are asked, how will we manage with the Arab minority, a minority of 300,000 Arabs among 400,000 Jews ... The Jewish people ... cannot forget the lesson of 2,000 years of Diaspora [dispersion] and the fate of its sons in foreign lands ... [In the anticipated Jewish state] there will be one law both for the foreigner and the citizen. A just regime, brotherly love, true equality. The Jewish state will be a shining example for the world in treating minorities and foreigners ... An Arab policeman supporting rioters from among his people will be punished with all the rigor of the law, just as a Jewish policeman will be punished if he does not protect an Arab from a Jewish hooligan if, Heaven forbid, a Jewish hooligan will appear in our midst.

But because he supported transfer of the Arabs, this paragraph must be regarded as being lip service.

These hitherto unpublished documents add to our understanding of the attitude of the Zionist leaders toward the idea of transfer prior to the establishment of Israel. But there is a broader lesson to be learned by historians from them, and not only with regard to the 1937 documents. The speeches, debates, diaries and memoranda that the Zionist bureaucrats issued wholesale passed through the sieve of political censorship on the way to publication; a large portion disappeared or was distorted. What happened to the 1937 documents also happened to Zionist documents from other years. Historians and students using those sources would do well to employ a large measure of caution in their use.

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Review

On Pressac: History by Night or in Fog?

by [Serge Thion](#)

Editor's introduction

Considerable attention has been devoted during the past year to a book on “The Crematories of Auschwitz” by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac. Published in September 1993, it has been widely praised for providing definitive proof that the “Holocaust deniers” are wrong. For example, *The New Yorker* (Nov. 15, p. 73) commented that Pressac has provided “incontrovertible evidence” of the existence of a wartime German “industrial-style process” for killing Jews. Similarly, *Newsweek* magazine (Dec. 20) praised the new Pressac book as a “dramatic rebuttal” of revisionist views. “Holocaust experts have hailed his work as definitive,” the influential weekly added. (A brief, preliminary critique of Pressac’s new book appeared in the January-February 1994 *Journal*.)

While a German edition of Pressac’s book has been issued, an English-language edition apparently is not forthcoming. Instead, an abridged portion of it is included in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, a 528-page work recently published in association with the taxpayer-funded United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Pressac’s writings — including his much-discussed 1989 book — and the considerable discussion they have generated, confirm that a genuine debate about the supposed extermination gas chambers is underway. In the following review essay, French scholar Serge Thion contributes to the welcome discussion with a detailed and highly critical look at Pressac’s new book. Incidentally, Thion’s title for this essay is a play on the title of a 1955 French Holocaust movie, “Night and Fog,” that is obligatorily shown in school classrooms throughout France.

“Historian by night,” writes the Paris daily newspaper *Le Monde* in its presentation of the new work of an “amateur” who happens to be a pharmacist by day. ^[1] While for the last twelve years revisionists have been reproached as being merely “amateurish historians,” suddenly this term is presented as a quality that guarantees the worth of the new thesis being promoted by the media as the definitive response to the revisionists. I shall not be so cruel as to recall that this one joins a long list of “definitive responses” that have figured on various lists, since the big trials of 1980-1982, and including masterworks such as Filip Müller’s *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*, or Claude Lanzmann’s cinematographic production, “Shoah.” ^[2]

Jean-Claude Pressac, the author of this miraculous new book, *Les crematoires d'Auschwitz* ("The Crematories of Auschwitz"), [3] has already been presented several times as the ultimate champion, the man who will finally terminate Professor Robert Faurisson. He showed up during a colloquium at the Sorbonne in 1982 that was supposed to have already settled the question. His patron at that time was the Great Moral Conscience of our age, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, the White Knight in the struggle against revisionism. Because the discussion dealt mainly with material and technical questions, which were way beyond Vidal-Naquet's competence as a specialist of Greek history, he had palmed Pressac off onto another archenemy of revisionism, Georges Wellers, a little-known chemist who happened also to be the editor of the journal of the Jewish documentation center in Paris.

After a long period of hesitation, Wellers published a paper by Pressac in his holy and irreproachable journal, *Le Monde Juif* (July-September 1982). In that paper Pressac developed his theory of "little gassings," abandoning altogether the canonical version that had ruled until then. He replaced it with the view that, of course, gassings had taken place, but on a smaller scale than previously thought, and that all figures must now be revised downwards. The impact of Pressac's new theory was negligible. Other means were needed to make use of Pressac in the struggle against revisionism. The Klarsfeld clan, with its strong community and media ties, was ready to intervene.

With their help, Pressac produced an enormous hodgepodge. In his research in the Auschwitz archives, he was not able to find any definitive proof that the Nazis had set up a murder factory there. Instead, he found a number of circumstantial traces that he thought might lead to some kind of presumption of extermination. It was couched in language reminiscent of a weak court case.

His 1989 book, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operations of the Gas Chambers](#), included hundreds of plans, blueprints, photographs and documents from the Auschwitz camp's technical departments, which were, of course, part of the SS administration. In an effort to make this massive and disorganized dossier more convincing, the Klarsfeld organized its non-dissemination. Reports of its existence were considered more effective than its actual distribution in bookstores. Translated into English (no French-language edition was ever made available), and published in New York, it was not publicly sold, and was sent to few of those who ordered it. It was given merely to "responsible community leaders" and "opinion makers." Through its impalpable existence, it was supposed to promote the idea that there now existed, finally, The Response to revisionism.

Revisionists quickly managed to get hold of copies of this work, which neither Vidal-Naquet nor Klarsfeld obviously had ever read closely. Otherwise they would have caught a certain number of oddities and inconsistencies that would have caused them to doubt if they'd picked the right horse.

Pressac was trotted out again to battle against Fred Leuchter, the American expert of gas chamber construction who had carried out on-site examinations of, and took wall scrapings from, the supposed gas chambers, and who concluded that massive and repeated gassings would have been physically impossible.

Now we are presented for the fourth time with what the press calls the definitive argument. This time Pressac has another patron, an official historian by the name of François Bedarida who has been for quite some time head of the so-called "Institute of the Modern Age." He once distinguished himself by taking part, along with some shadowy political figures, in a phony academic "jury" that decreed, without reading it, that Henri Roques' thesis on the "confessions" of Kurt

Gerstein was completely worthless. Having thus styled himself a master, Bedarida, whose works on English history are deservedly almost unknown, also wrote a thin booklet, in the form of a catechism, about the so-called Holocaust. It has been distributed free of cost to every history teacher in France in order to provide them with guidelines on how to stuff their pupils' heads with sanitized notions about Second World War events. Emboldened by such mass distribution, Bedarida felt brave enough to write an article in *Le Monde* (July 22-23, 1990) in which he revised the Auschwitz death toll downwards. It did not occur to him to explain why this revision was necessary, or the basis for his view that not four million, but rather 1.1 million people supposedly died in Auschwitz. Obviously still not entirely confident of himself, he added that the archives have still not been explored. He would not elaborate to explain why 45 years have not been enough time. Here's where Pressac came in.

Along with a few minor satellites, this luminary of historical thought, Bedarida, now serves as Pressac's patron. This patronage is not negligible, because Pressac's new book is published by the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). In order to obtain this prestigious label, the book was submitted to an ad hoc committee of specialists. There must have also been an official evaluation of some kind, which we would be delighted to read.

What does Pressac's book really say? It presents incontrovertible evidence that the Germans built crematories. Of course, only journalists believe, or pretend to believe, that the revisionists deny the existence of the crematories or of the concentration camps. These concentration camp crematories are well-known and have been documented since 1945. The issue has been whether they disguised secret facilities for carrying out mass killing.

Pressac, who combed through tens of thousands of documents left behind by the Auschwitz Bauleitung (construction office), states categorically that these installations, as planned from the outset, show no sign of lethal or homicidal intent whatsoever, and that they were specifically designed and built to contend with the health problems caused by a rather high mortality rate in the camps, above all after the beginning of the war. These problems, he shows, were linked with the raging epidemics that could (and did) wreak havoc not only among the camp inmates, but also among the Germans in the camps as well as the outside population. In this context, crematories had no ethical import, but were conceived as facilities to maintain public health, of the inmates as well as others.

Having carried out a detailed study of the correspondence between the Auschwitz construction office and the outside private civilian firms that contracted for specific jobs, Pressac is able to provide us with a thorough — and quite tedious — history of the different phases in the construction of the various crematories, including the numerous changes in plans by the chiefs of the SS construction office. Evidently lacking anything like a long-term perspective, these officials depended closely on their superiors, who envisioned grand projects without bothering much about the budgetary and procurement problems that those poor subordinates would have to solve on the spot.

Among these thousands of documents, where there are no secrets, where the SS "politicians" scarcely interfere; documents which after the war were divided among Germany, Poland, and Moscow; documents that remained intact at the end of the war, the department head having "neglected" to destroy them: among all these documents, there is not a single one that states clearly that these facilities were ever used for mass killing. Not one.

Pressac offers no explanation whatever of this strange fact. To be sure, following others, he states that the references found in certain documents to "special actions" refer in coded form to the ex-

istence of that monstrous crime. But the documents oblige him also to state “special actions” could and did designate all sorts of “other,” quite banal activities, and that the term “special” (in German, “Sonder-”) was very widely used in the German military and non-military administration during that period.

The great value of Pressac’s work would therefore lie in its almost complete sifting through of the documents dealing with the construction of the crematories, the presumed site and instrument of the alleged crime. As in his previous writings, he picks out “traces” of criminal intent. Many of these, incidentally, he’s had to leave by the wayside. A number of “traces” he presented in his 1989 book are conspicuously missing from the 1993 work.

He notes, for example, that the SS wanted to install ventilation systems in the underground morgues of the crematories. He considers that this shows an intent to use these rooms for criminal purposes. Pressac is so convinced of this that he doesn’t even bother to consider alternative explanations that would occur to less prejudiced souls, such as, for example, the need to disinfect, during typhus epidemics, the morgues with Zyklon B (used throughout the camp for disinfecting clothes, barracks, and so forth).

He thinks he’s found a criminal “trace” in the fact that a wooden fan was requested in the ventilating system, because wood is more resistant to corrosion by hydrocyanic acid than metal. Yet, several days later, the engineer in charge had the wooden fan replaced by a metal one!

Pressac also states that the “definitive proof” of the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in crematory facility (Krema) II is found in a document dated March 1943 (cited on p. 72, doc. 28), which shows that the Auschwitz services were looking for gas detectors capable of detecting traces of prussic acid (hydrocyanic acid). But because he has explained earlier that these services used “tons” of Zyklon B for disinfestation, this “proof” is not particularly probative.

Eighty thousand documents. That’s the number Pressac cites in his interview with the *Nouvel Observateur*.^[4] These 80,000 documents, which he says he consulted in a matter of some days in Moscow, concern exclusively, if I’m not mistaken, the SS construction office at Auschwitz. One office among many others, therefore, but the one that would have been responsible for designing and constructing the infamous “industrial slaughterhouses.” One might be astonished to learn that such installations are entrusted to the same low-level functionaries who dealt with the barracks, the bakeries, the roadworks, and so forth. No secret, no particular precautions were taken, as these same low-level officials didn’t hesitate to subcontract with private firms, from which no particular discretion was requested. This is explained, as Pressac abundantly demonstrates, by the fact that these facilities were not designed or planned for a lethal purpose, but, quite to the contrary, as means of local public health control.

It’s very clear: of these 80,000 documents, only a fraction of which concern the crematories, not a single one deals explicitly with an installation for killing. Otherwise, this document would have long since been brandished triumphantly to the public. Until Pressac, one could surmise that there were hidden or inaccessible archives, harboring such a document. But Pressac tells us that these archives (concerning the Auschwitz construction office) are now complete, and that the chief of this office, evidently believing they contained nothing incriminating, took no measure to destroy them at the end of the war.

In short, it must be acknowledged that among this mass of documents, which are supposed to clarify this issue, there are only a few that raise any suspicion. Where logically we should have found 1,000 or 10,000 incriminating documents — considering, as Pressac concedes, there was no code language, that no documents were destroyed, and that everything was done according to

superior orders — one finds only a few minor elements, the interpretation of which remains open.

These “traces” might conceivably support the charge if we could reconstruct a context in which only one interpretation is possible. Or, if several interpretations were possible, a historian should discuss the various ones before choosing his answer. This is not Pressac’s practice. He dares not entertain the possibility of alternative interpretations of the documents. For if he were to give up calling these “the beginnings of proofs” (indeed, in a recent France-Inter radio interview he protested only feebly when a hasty journalist treated his “beginnings of proofs” as well-established proofs), Pressac would have to concede that all his work had been in vain. He would have to concede that he had rigorously demonstrated that German officials and engineers conceived and planned, in a rather disorderly way, crematory facilities that, as a matter of fact, did not work very well. No. This no one has ever doubted. He would have to admit that he had spent ten years of his life pushing on an open door, a door whose plan, conception, and stages of construction he describes in meticulous detail. What is truly interesting here is precisely that he found nothing obvious, in spite of exhaustive research.

What does Pressac do to salvage what he can of the extermination thesis? Injections. The basic text of his book, that is, the product of his own research, is a careful chronicle of the planning and construction of the crematories. He refers here to the archives. The reference notes provide sources: they follow each other with abbreviations to archives (abbreviated as ACM, ARO, AEK, and so forth), according to the key given on page VIII. However, if one turns to check the reference notes that are grouped together on pages 97-109 — and disregarding the rare bibliographic references or the occasional bits of factual information (“Pohl was Oberzahlmeister [chief paymaster]”) — one finds that the series of archival references is interrupted here by non-archival references, either to the official Polish Kalendarium (or Auschwitz Chronicle — more about this later) or to the supposed postwar “memoirs” of Auschwitz commandant Höss. These non-archival references, we find, are the sources cited by Pressac for the passages in the main text dealing with homicidal gassings.

For example, on page 34 he abandons the archives to write about a “first gassing,” and, in the same paragraph, he writes of the cremation “in one or two weeks of intensive work” of 550 to 850 corpses, leading to the deterioration of an oven. There exists no obvious or necessary link between the first “fact,” based on the Kalendarium ^[5] and Höss, and the second — an oven’s deterioration — the factuality of which is established from archival documents. This link is a merely a supposition that is dishonestly presented here as a fact.

This rigorous scholar then tells us that “it is estimated today that very few homicidal gassings took place in this crematorium, but they have been exaggerated because they impressed direct or indirect witnesses.” We know that Pressac is a poor writer, but just what is an “indirect witness”? And what does it mean to “exaggerate” a gassing? We need to decode here, I think. What Pressac means to say in this tortured sentence, I suppose, is more or less this: sure, there has been a lot of talk about gassings in crematory building (Krema) I, in the Auschwitz I (main) camp. Genocidal gassings are supposed to have begun there. However, because the revisionists have pointed out so many inconsistencies, Pressac (“it is estimated”) has chosen to give ground (“they have been exaggerated”), attempting to explain inconsistencies by claiming that witnesses were “impressed,” even if they were not actually present, but who nonetheless are regarded as “indirect” witnesses. Not a single source, not a single document is cited by Pressac to justify this climb-down.

Pressac knows full well that the “classical” view cannot be defended, but in order to salvage something of it he must make concessions, without being able to justify them either. “It is estimated today ...,” and presto! — the trick is done. What follows is of the same nature. He writes (p. 35):

As gassing forced the total isolation of the area of the crematorium [not a single witness has ever made such a statement, but this point is a result of revisionist criticism], and since it was impossible to carry them [gassings] out while construction was in progress [same comment], it will be decided at the end of April to transfer this sort of activity to Birkenau [Auschwitz II camp].

There is a pure invention, a supposition asserted as a fact by Pressac so that he can land on his feet and rejoin Establishment history.

The amusing paradox in all this is that Pressac respects the Establishment history only with regard to gassings. As for the rest, he joyously tramples dogmas underfoot. The famous “Wannsee Conference” of January 20, 1942, which so many thoroughly dedicated historians have designated as the time and place of the decision to exterminate, is swept aside in a mere six lines (p. 35). Pressac does what revisionists do: he reads the text of the Wannsee conference protocol, which speaks of the evacuation of the Jews to the East, and says nothing of industrial-scale liquidation. He confirms not a single specific instruction was sent to the Auschwitz construction office as a result of this high-level conference. The fog surrounding the supposed genocide decision becomes thicker and thicker.

On page 39 we come to the two little farmhouses near Birkenau that are supposed to have been the next sites of gassing extermination. In the middle of the information culled from the archives, one finds a new injection from the Kalendarium. On page 41 Pressac reports that Himmler informed Höss “of the choice of his camp as the center for the massive annihilation of the Jews.” As Pressac himself tells us, Höss' account contains enormous implausibilities and cannot be trusted at all (footnote 132). It's a rotten branch, but it's the only one left for Pressac to cling to, because he's done no research whatsoever in the realm of policy. That's a job for historians, and thus one far beyond the abilities of our pharmacist. At the same time, though, there is a need to suppose that someone, at some time, made the decision to initiate this vast homicidal enterprise, which was then carried out by low-level functionaries. Himmler might have made the decision, but because Pressac can't find anything to support that supposition, he relies on Höss' admittedly dubious account. Better something than nothing.

When Pressac comments on the work of the inmates' Sonderkommando teams “dragging the bodies from the gas chambers” (p. 43), the source he cites (note 141) is once again the Kalendarium. Third injection.

Later, on page 47, Pressac tells us that large quantities of Zyklon B were deemed necessary to combat the typhus epidemic that raged in the camp, and that they had been requested from higher authorities on account of a “special action” — which obviously was to disinfect buildings. (One SS man was even poisoned, as the previous page confirms.) Further on this same page, Pressac adds that Bauleitung officials gave consideration to building a new crematorium “because of the situation created by the 'special actions'” — an obvious reference to the measures taken in an effort to halt the epidemics. How Pressac manages to conclude from this information that Auschwitz had been chosen “as the site of [the] massive annihilation of the Jews” remains a profound intellectual mystery.

Here was an administration that struggled to contain an epidemic that may have killed 20,000 people (according to Pressac), [6] which had learned from higher authorities that the camp would again be considerably expanded (to accommodate tens of thousands of new deportees from the East, who were considered particularly “lousy”), and which was trying to gather the weapons to combat typhus: tons of Zyklon B and crematories. (Recall that at the Bergen-Belsen camp the British were unable to contain the epidemic that was raging there when they arrived. Some of the most “incriminating” photographs of horrific scenes from the camps were taken at Bergen-Belsen when it was under British administration.)

Pressac then launches his own personal theory (p. 47), which only makes sense if he is attempting to conform to an already established explanation pattern:

This stupefying cremation facility [nevertheless obviously in strict accord with the needs dictated by the situation there] could not but attract the attention of the SS officials in Berlin [obviously, since they authorized the expenditures] who afterward associated it with the “final solution” of the Jewish problem.

This assertion has no basis in the documents found in the archives.

Ever eager to protect his rear, Pressac believes that these “special actions” (a term that covered anything and everything in the military-administrative jargon of the period) were used as a pretext to obtain authorization from Berlin to construct crematory facility (Krema) III, which he determines actually had a “public health function.” In using this “special action” term, then, the sneaky SS men of Auschwitz sought to make Berlin believe that their crematory requirements were linked to the extermination of the Jews, whereas in reality they concerned only the real, normal needs of the camp. This is a good example of Pressac’s acrobatic abilities.

I shall not dwell on the issue of open pit incinerations, which provide Pressac with an opportunity (p. 58) to severely criticize Höss’ account, except to point out that he invents a figure of 50,000 corpses, burned in two months, based on a calculation of alleged killings that is derived, without actually quoting it, from the Kalendarium. Pressac pays no attention to the 100,000 cubic meters of wood (at a minimum) that would have been required, and of which there seems to be no trace in the archives.

Pressac has himself confessed that he first got involved with Auschwitz because he wanted to write a novel, several scenes of which would be set there. We know that many people have had a similar itch. This compelling urge re-emerges from time to time, for instance on page 65, when he simply conjures up, out of the blue, relations between the director and the engineers of the Topf company (which built the ovens for the crematories). The three following pages — in which Pressac, the suburban pharmacist, impersonates the terrible SS as they look for ways to rationally organize gassings — are probably also taken from a novel we’ll never read. The welcome details are not derived from the archives, but rather from a testimony dear to Pressac, that of a person named Tauber (footnote 203).

When he evokes the first alleged gassing in crematory facility (Krema) II — supposedly the real industrial killing plant — and which was probably finished in March 1943, Pressac does not cite archival sources, but rather the secondary source Kalendarium and Tauber’s testimony (pp. 73-74). The second alleged gassing is also based on the Kalendarium.

There is no point in going on. Pressac’s injection technique is now quite clear. The reader must keep his eye riveted to the footnotes in order to detect the changes in the story line. All this would be quite acceptable if the sources used were of comparable value. But for some time now

historians have learned to refer to Danuta Czech's official *Kalendarium* only with the utmost caution. Of this work, Pressac himself writes (note 107, p. 101):

Danuta Czech has produced a work that is vulnerable to criticism because, without explanation, it retains some testimonies while dropping others, and because it favors testimonies above documents. This peculiar historical orientation persists in the latest, third, edition, now published in Polish ... which makes no room for the Bauleitung documents of the Central Archives in Moscow. This greatly lessens the veracity of this fundamental work, which unfortunately was composed with a vision a little too skewed in the strained political atmosphere of the 1960's [in Poland].

What Pressac is really trying to say here, God only knows. For many people, though, this is a work that comes straight from the Polish government's Auschwitz State Museum, and thus from the exploitation of Auschwitz by Russian and Polish Stalinism as an instrument to encourage anti-fascist sentiments in the West during the Cold War. We know well the real value of the "testimonies" that were mass produced at that time. If Pressac were really confident of sources of this kind, it would be logical for him to use them. But he shows the greatest mistrust. Nevertheless, his account of homicidal gassings comes exclusively from such sources, the value of which he himself acknowledges to be severely limited. These stories have already been published a thousand times. It was their internal weakness that moved Paul Rassinier to criticize them, and launch the movement now known as Holocaust revisionism. In continuing to use them, with only slight cosmetic adjustments, Pressac seems to make a fool of himself.

But the most extraordinary thing about Pressac's book is the pretense that it dispenses entirely with testimony to make its case. That is what Pressac claims to journalists. They swallow this lie because they more easily trust commentary than the text itself. By burying in the depth of his footnotes his use of the most hackneyed products of the Polish Stalinist dossier, Pressac thus appears to respond to the revisionists on their own ground, that of verifiable fact, as long as one accepts that the physical laws of nature are as valid today as in 1944-1945.

In chronicling Pressac's inconsistencies, I have refrained from referring to Pressac's earlier writings, comparing them with his most recent book. But others might be less indulgent and could be naughty enough to point out variations, reversals, and other shifts of position that such a reading would obviously disclose.

I shall also spare the reader a crucial facet of the discussion of basic facts, the capacity of the crematories in terms of their actual output (an appropriate term when speaking of an industrial facility). To be sure, Pressac clearly realizes that there is a difference between the outputs claimed by Topf company salesmen and the reality of operation, hampered by breakdowns and design and manufacture flaws. But Pressac goes no further to establish the actual figures, and when he provides an estimate of 1,000 cremations per day for Kremas II and III, one sees clearly that he takes his readers for chumps. In the most modern crematory facilities, the limit is four bodies a day per oven. In the largest Auschwitz crematory facility, Krema II (at Birkenau), with its 15 ovens, one might envision tripling or even quadrupling the rate. In that case a peak figure of 300 bodies per day could be attained (but at the risk of wearing out everything very quickly). Pressac carefully avoids venturing into this technical area. Elsewhere, he says that the "ideal" figures provided by the SS to Berlin are propaganda lies, but that they are nevertheless to be trusted (p. 80). In his latest book, Pressac carefully refrains from citing the figures for coal provisioning of the crematories, which appeared in his 1989 work. ^[7] In the light of those figures, it is all the more difficult to believe that two or three kilograms of coal would have been enough to burn a

single corpse. If he had found in Moscow additional invoices to make his estimates less improbable, he certainly would have let us know about them.

In the main body of his new book, this macabre accounting is only marginally important. It becomes important only in Appendix Two, “The Number of Deaths at KL Auschwitz-Birkenau” (pp. 144-148), where Pressac uses his estimates of cremation capabilities to revise downwards the numbers given in the “testimonies” found in the *Kalendarium*, to simply decree that there were fewer trains, and that they carried fewer persons. He writes as if the arrival of the trains was pre-determined by the efficiency of the crematories. This is obviously absurd.

Other discrepancies occur in his calculations that I will pass over here. Regarding the deportation of Jews from Hungary (about which Rassinier had already noticed the impossibilities of the estimates of official Polish sources), Pressac rejects out of hand the estimates of Georges Wellers, telling us in passing that the Israeli Yad Vashem center holds documents showing that 50,000 Jewish women from Hungary were transported onwards from Auschwitz to Stutthof, near Gdansk/Danzig. (Because these Jews had not been registered upon their arrival at Auschwitz, they are normally considered to have been “gassed.”) Pressac believes that there is a need for further research. With regard to the number of Polish Jews who were deported, he mentions “the uncertainties of this question, due to an absence of documents.”

To return to the question of the Jews deported from Hungary, Pressac places himself in untenable positions. For example, he accepts the stories about cremation pits, which have been completely disproved by the aerial reconnaissance photographs of Auschwitz taken by Allied aircraft at precisely that period. He does so because it is necessary to increase the theoretical cremation capacity in order to account for a theoretical total of 438,000 Hungarian Jews arriving at Auschwitz from Hungary. (This would have been twice the total population of Auschwitz at that time.) His abstract calculation (p. 148) is that the SS could have annihilated 300,000 persons in 70 days. But this raises a question: where could these 300,000 persons, dead or alive, have been herded or stockpiled during the two months it would have been necessary to burn them all? And why do we find no sign of them in the aerial reconnaissance photos?

Pressac arrives at a figure of 630,000 people who were supposedly gassed at Auschwitz. Several years ago, the Poles lowered their official figures of Auschwitz “gassing” victims. Raul Hilberg in the United States, François Bedarida in France, and Yehuda Bauer in Israel have each lowered his figures. Pressac lowers them still further. Now, just how and why were these figures lowered? Has some new information come to light? Not at all. The calculations are being fudged in other ways. Pressac, who is certainly foxy but also a bit naive, shows how to do the trick.

Because most of the figures of deportees are merely guesswork estimates, they are subject to change. Wellers “loaded” the rail convoys with 5,000 deportees each. Hilberg disagrees, finding that 5,000 persons per rail convoy is too many. So he simply says to hell with it, and decides on 2,000. If one calculates on the basis of 120 train convoys, this makes a big difference (240,000 compared with 600,000). Along comes Pressac, who is not happy with either of these — not on the basis of rail convoy capacity, but rather crematory capacity. Accordingly, he lowers (pp. 146-7) the figure of rail convoy capacity to 1,000-1,500. The day he realizes that his estimates of crematory capacities are illusory, and that cremation pits would have been visible from the air, he will have to lower them again. None of these calculators have gone to look in the archives. They've done it off the cuff. Thus, if the figures change, it's not because the documents demand it, but rather on the basis of the prevailing fashion and these calculators' hunches.

The Reception of Pressac

As has consistently been the case throughout the 15 years that this gas chamber controversy has been public, the most interesting aspect has been the behavior of the press. Its role in molding public opinion is crucial. Anyone who wants a clear understanding of the historical background and context of the so-called Holocaust must do a great deal of research precisely because the problems have not yet been fully clarified. In this, the journalists, and the experts whom they quote, are thus in a position to separate truth from falsehood and, for the public at large, to differentiate between the Good and the Evil. In two books, [8] I have attempted to chronicle this media agitation, of which the large-scale worldwide publicity for Pressac's book is the latest chapter.

It must be said that the Pressac media campaign has been carried out in fine style. Pressac, who had been rather quietly working in the shadows, so to speak, was launched into public awareness as if a public relations expert had masterminded the operation. L'Express, a leading French news magazine, was first to open fire, with a Depardon cover photo and a big headline: "Auschwitz: The Truth." [9]

Soon follows the Nouvel Observateur [10] with a weekend at Auschwitz with Pressac, along with the heavy artillery of the "leading specialists." Liberation, a Paris daily, joins in with two pages and more photographs and documents. [11] Le Monde, another Paris daily, then appears with a half-page article from the pen of Laurent Greilsamer, who has followed the Faurisson affair in the courts for a long time. Then came a barrage of television and radio publicity. La Ville-du-Bois, the little town south of Paris where Pressac sells his drugs, hasn't known such uproar since the Hundred Years War.

"A work that will serve as a reference for historians of the whole world," said L'Express. Thanks to the Soviet archives "the first synthesis of knowledge of one of the most important events of the 20th century has been accomplished," L'Express went on to remark. This commentary is provided by someone named Conan and another chap called Peschanski, a research fellow who owes obedience to Bedarida. [12] The distinguished commentators affirm that both the decision for and the execution of the "Judeocide" (a new term that has yet to gain wide acceptance) were shrouded in "absolute secrecy," of which we might say that it still hasn't been pierced.

But why did the archives lie dormant? "Because an important current of Jewish memory refused any rational approach to the Final Solution, which was deemed an 'unspeakable' and 'unthinkable' event." One would prefer, of course, a more straightforward denunciation, naming names and citing references, but at L'Express prudence prevails. The idyllic situation at the archives was disturbed by the "literature of denial," which set about picking out the errors "logically numerous in witness testimonies or in the postwar Soviet texts that made Auschwitz a theme of ideological propaganda." The fine sleuths at L'Express haven't noticed that every single assertion by Pressac regarding homicidal gas chambers is based directly on these very Soviet and Polish texts. But then one can't demand too much of journalists. It is Pressac who is supposed have personally discovered that "the technological history of the Final Solution still remains to be written." It is impossible for a well-bred journalist, as they prefer them at L'Express, to recognize that the father of this brilliant "discovery" (in France) is none other than Professor Robert Faurisson. After all, it wouldn't do to acknowledge that from that discovery on, every advance in this area owes something to him.

In his 1989 book — published in New York by the Klarsfelds — Pressac boasted that, on the basis of his work in the archives in Poland and Germany (50,000 documents), he was solving the riddle in its entirety. Now, he says, the 80,000 documents from the Soviets will tell us more. However, the 1989 work — of 564 large-size pages — was far more comprehensive, and dealt with many more subjects. Had the journalists done their homework, they would have recognized

that Pressac's 1993 book is much more limited in scope, and is much more circumspect, indeed diffident, in its assertions than the 1989 work.

After having explained the book's stupefying discovery — that the administration administered, that the construction office made plans and requested estimates and invoices — the subtle analysts of *L'Express* assert that Pressac "found proof of the organization of the killing." There's the trick. Pressac swims in a sea of ambiguities. He does not positively state that he has found "proofs," but rather traces, or clues, which are almost as good as proof. Journalists can't afford to indulge in such subtlety, and Pressac makes no protest against their distortions. As in a child's game, he seems to say: "I didn't say it. He did." Pressac is always able, faced with real criticism, to take refuge in this infantile position. These "proofs," he writes (p. 82), are "precise indications" that "betray the rules of secrecy." This secret is so secret that it may not exist, Pressac himself having explained that there was no coding in the documents.

In the list of clues magically transformed into proof, the most ridiculous is not in his book but in what he told the press: "In a real morgue, there is a need to use disinfectants, like chlorinated water or cresol, but not a product for killing lice." ^[13] The pharmacist who sells drugs to his everyday customers obviously has no idea of the scale of the problems arising from a full-scale typhus epidemic. The crematories were built to deal with a situation in which 250 to 300 corpses, swarming with disease-bearing lice, were delivered every day. ^[14] Can one imagine heaping them up in the morgues without further ado? Sending in a team to wash them in chlorinated water, while in all the other facilities, including the barracks, Zyklon B was used to kill lice?

If these morgues had not been treated in an efficient way, they would have been great reservoirs of infection — biological bombs. Pressac, with his bottle of chlorinated water, is a public menace. He should lose his license as a pharmacist for daring to say such things. Why such an idiotic remark? To persuade the reader to believe that the morgues would have been the only place in the camp where the use of Zyklon would not have been normal. Because the SS knew about chlorinated water, ^[15] they had no need to disinfest the morgues with Zyklon. The logic here is ridiculous. But this reasoning has a hidden corollary: If the SS had used Zyklon in the morgues to protect the crematory personnel (themselves included), they could have done it only once in long periods. Without ventilation, the lethal gas would have stagnated. Consequently, they needed a ventilation system for these semi-underground rooms. This would explain why they requested the installation of such a system there.

Pressac rightly provides considerable detail about this. But because he has already concluded in advance — and without the least support from the 130,000 documents available to him — that the very existence of a ventilation system is a "clue" providing evidence of a homicidal plan, he must discard in advance any possible alternative interpretation. That is why the two *L'Express* journalists dutifully accepted, like holy water, this role of chlorinated water. Holy water for journalistic holy writ.

Similarly, the journalists have no problem forgetting about the January 1942 Wannsee Conference. They swallow Pressac's currently fashionable view as avidly as they swallowed, five or ten years ago, other authors who said just the opposite. Nothing else was to be expected. Journalists now easily accept the notion that, by late May or early June 1942, an anonymous "political will," of unidentified origin, "found [by some kind of chance] in the technical innovations [although, says Pressac, the oven technique is quite elementary and somewhat archaic] implemented at Auschwitz (thanks to engineer Prüfer) the means for an industrial-scale extermination." To put it in a nutshell, thanks to this obscure little engineer, a salesman of crematory ovens who receives a percentage cut from sales he makes for Topf company, the highest-level officials of Nazi Ger-

many (who? Himmler himself?) would have said to themselves: “What a windfall! Hurray for Prüfer! Now we can really kill Jews!” Without wishing to seem overly critical, it is difficult to believe that a “genocide” of that alleged magnitude could have been decided in such a manner. For journalists turned historians, though, this latest revelation is as much revealed truth as the old one, and an act of faith costs nothing.

In the same way, these journalists have no trouble accepting without a murmur the numerical hocus-pocus that Pressac presents as “calculations.” Without knowing why, we come down from 5.5 million deaths at Auschwitz (the Soviet figure in 1945) to 800,000. The L'Express journalists even predict that these figures, as well as estimates of deaths in the other camps and in the ghettos will be similarly revised downward in the future. It appears to be a general trend, and readers should be ready for it. (Do they already have new figures in mind?) But, basically, none of this is very important, they add in closing, because “the nature of the Final Solution remains unchanged.” Personally, I take the view that only religious dogmas never change. (And sometimes even they change.)

L'Express also published an article by Bedarida, sponsor of Pressac's work. The bedarida is a little known species of squid. It swims in the cultural soup and propels itself rapidly toward all directors' chairs, to which it adheres with strong suckers. Always on the defensive, it emits jets of ink to cloud its surroundings. Author of a thin but definitive booklet on “the Nazi Extermination Policy,” Bedarida courageously acknowledged that he did not have “all the necessary knowledge” on this subject. He sees in Pressac a case of biological mutation (he “transformed himself into a historian”), and believes that this pharmacist has become “an incontestable, if not unique, expert.” Contested he is, however, and not only by revisionists. Unique, perhaps, if one considers only Establishment history, produced by all sorts of bedaridas, and the effects of the anti-revisionist laws. When he adds that Pressac has subjected the documents to a “pitiless critique,” he looks like a fool to the astute reader. He regards as “terrifying” a work devoted to the study of construction plans, ventilation problems, overheating and other matters that are the daily concern of every civil engineer. This characterization seems to me to show, among the squid, a tendency toward bombast. When he adds the words “an irrefutable terrifying work,” he is hallucinating. There are answers. Bad luck for the squids.

How is it possible, asks the sucker, [16] that no one had looked into these questions before this? He could have told the plain truth: that it's because nobody knew how to respond to Professor Faurisson. (For years it was fashionable to say that he didn't even deserve a response.) No, Bedarida prefers to claim that in those days people instead emphasized the “perpetrators and the victims.” And how to justify this late date — 15 years after Faurisson raised the matter? Bedarida's explanation — the opening of the Moscow archives — is pure eyewash. Pressac's wretched hodgepodge that supposedly “settled everything” was published in 1989 — before the opening of the Moscow archives. The only new thing culled from the 80,000 documents found in Moscow is the story of an apparatus produced by the Siemens company to kill lice with short waves. It seems that some experimental use was made of this machine at Auschwitz near the end of the war. [17] This was new for Pressac and for most of us. Should this machine be added to the long list of mythical industrial-scale installations, including the Jewish soap factories, the electrified swimming pools, the vacuum and steam chambers, the heated iron plates, the trains of quicklime cars, and so forth, which, although described in numerous and precise testimonies, have sunk into oblivion from whence they could be revived only through the immense talent of a Claude Lanzmann? Because it does not seem that this Siemens machine could kill people, it's been ignored. This is the big novelty from Moscow, suppressed for 45 years by the KGB!

In 1979 I rhetorically asked “how” before “why.” [18] In 1993 the squid is still looking for “how and why.” It’s not historical research work that has made real progress in those years, but rather that a number of obstacles meant to prevent such research have been removed. The road is still not clear, but one day it certainly will be.

Journalist Claude Weill must have access to secret information because in the *Nouvel Observateur* he writes “that the existence of the gas chambers and the reality of the Jewish extermination policy have been overwhelmingly demonstrated. The evidence is available to anyone who can read and who is willing to open his eyes.” I pray Mr. Weill to open my eyes, to make this evidence public so that Mr. Pressac’s labors would become quite useless and thereby permitting him to concentrate on his work as a druggist.

Weill tells his own little story. He visits Auschwitz where he follows Pressac around, listening to his technical arguments. But after a while, he breaks down. These discussions are odious, and he asks Pressac to get to the point. The learned pharmacist responds: those who refuse to do scholarly and technical work “are making Faurisson’s bed for him.” This throws the journalist for a loop. Overwhelmed, he sadly faces the fact that history will win in the end, that the good times are over, and that “the Shoah will not escape the historians’ cruel scrutiny.” I didn’t know that historians have a cruel look. Cruel for whom? This sentence says a lot, I think. But then the journalist can be pretty cruel himself: he cites figures of total deaths at Auschwitz provided by several earlier authorities, and crudely calls them “lies.” The Pope, Willy Brandt, and many other important visitors to Auschwitz have bowed down before the memorial plaque there bearing these “lies.” Considering how these official figures were arrived at, there’s no reason why the latest figures supplied by Pressac won’t one day also be called “lies.”

In concluding his article, Weill expresses some skepticism. He finds some of Pressac’s conclusions “hasty,” the throwing overboard of the Wannsee Conference “not entirely convincing,” the lowering of the number of victims “a bit imprudent.” Pressac “has not closed the debate.”

Not being fully convinced, this journalist needs to cover himself. So the Grand Masters of the Official Truth are permitted to speak. The first is Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who introduced Pressac to the Establishment. The first thing he shows us is that, as usual, he can’t read: Vidal-Naquet believes that the “point” made by Pressac about the precise date of the “first gassings” is derived from the Moscow archives. This is clearly wrong. [19] This “point” is actually the result of an argument typical of Pressac: he sees in the archives records that the buildings were not usually completed by the dates given by “authorities” (based on “memory”). Pressac then searches for the dates on which construction of the crematories were completed, then refers back to the *Kalendarium* (which is also largely based on “memory,” and which even Pressac himself calls dubious) to determine what gassings took place that day. Evidently the Moscow archives make no mention of any homicidal gassings. As for Pressac’s calculations, Vidal-Naquet finds them a bit hasty, too much based on assumption, it’s “not so simple,” “probably”... The man who earned the Legion d’Honneur by dint of his anti-revisionist efforts prefers Hilberg’s figures, which he calls “rather solid.” Vidal-Naquet hesitates more than usual. He seems to be having second thoughts about his wisdom in launching Pressac, who has become the satellite of others and who threatens to crash land.

Then comes Raul Hilberg. After being grilled on the stand during the first Zündel trial at Toronto, in 1985, this professor of political science has learned to be more cautious. [20] He laments that Pressac isn’t really a historian, that his is not the “the last word on the subject.” He complains that “important research is still necessary,” that “considerable research is still needed,” that “the

German sources should be studied further,” and that there is still a lot of work to do. One wonders what this fellow’s been up to since he began his study of this subject in 1948.

But Hilberg says something very embarrassing: an extermination order by Hitler has already been missing; now an extermination order by Himmler is likewise nowhere to be found. Höss and Himmler did not even meet “during the crucial period.” What now? Is it Höss who decided everything by himself? Or was he in the dark as well? An extermination order by Höss to his subordinates cannot be found either. Another mystery. Perhaps we should ask Vidal-Naquet.

But the best, as usual, comes from Claude Lanzmann. He’s a raw fundamentalist, dazed, totally inaccessible to the least reasoning, but with an animal’s intuition. He showed this intuition in making the movie “Shoah,” in which he abandoned all (or nearly all) reference to the documents. He knows the documents. He doesn’t know what they really mean, but he has a photographic memory and rightly says that all the documents cited by Pressac were already known. Lanzmann defends his work as a movie maker in almost Celanian terms: art should create emotions, nothing else. (“I prefer the tears of the Treblinka barber to Pressac’s document on the gas detectors”). Lanzmann is very modern; he likes to hit below the belt, crying to avoid thinking, toying with the macabre. Pressac’s material “drives out emotion, suffering, death,” he says. Lanzmann tramples on Vidal-Naquet, who licked his boots for years: “The sad thing is that a historian, his being doubtless threatened by the truth, the force, the evidence of the testimonies, does not hesitate to endorse this perversity [Pressac’s book]. A historian abdicates before a pharmacist ...”

Lanzmann smells a rat in Pressac. He understands much better than the media and academic crowd, which rushed to embrace Pressac in the hope of finishing off revisionism, that

Faurisson is the only one this convert wants to talk to. To be listened to by him [Faurisson], he [Pressac] must speak his language, make his thought processes his own, accept his methodology, produce the crucial evidence, the ultima ratio, that will convince his former master ... In order to refute the revisionists' arguments, one must give them legitimacy, and they thus became the central point of reference. The revisionists occupy the whole terrain.

The poor man is right. He must feel quite lonely with his useless reels. He had to first delay, and then completely reorganize his movie because of Faurisson’s work. In fact the terrain is not occupied by the revisionists — who are persecuted everywhere — but by the remnants of an imploded belief. Lanzmann, late in life, has become the epic poet, the cantor, of this belief. It’s not just the revisionists’ questions that caused the implosion. Time destroys myths: fugit irreparabile tempus, irreparable time flies.

The Liberation article is quite cautious. The journalist who wrote it sticks to Vidal-Naquet’s 1979 phrase: “It [gas chamber killing] was technically possible because it occurred.” ^[21] (The author of that phrase has been having regrets.) ^[22] The Liberation journalist effortlessly swallows the fantastic element of Pressac’s book: the technicians, the foremen of the private firms who took part in the construction of the crematories, “saw.” It is an interesting use of the word. “They saw.” These two words say it all: the entire story and its refutation. But it’s pure speculation. Nothing in the documents indicates that “they saw” anything implied by this lapidary formulation. In his interview with Liberation, Pressac is less than hinting broadly when he says calmly: “I was close to Faurisson, who trained me rather well in deniers’ theory in the late ‘70s.” And, further on, he returns to one of the most amusing arguments in his book: the only members of the Bauleitung who were ever tried, Dejaco and Ertl, in Austria in 1972, were acquitted because (he says) the Austrian judges couldn’t read a blueprint or a technical description. Nevertheless, the

court had access to documents from the Moscow archives. The Austrians, therefore, were cretins who awaited, without knowing it, the light emanating from Pressac's pharmacy. But it seems that Pressac himself did not inquire into the trial of Prüfer, the Topf company engineer who designed the crematory ovens, which took place before a Soviet court in April 1948. The transcripts of the Prüfer interrogations must certainly be somewhere in the Russian archives. The Soviets of 1948, doubtless as stupid as the Austrians in 1972, did not believe that Prüfer was the prime mover of extermination (as Pressac argues). Well then, whose turn is it to go to the Moscow archives now?

I have kept the article in *Le Monde* for dessert. [23] Its author, Laurent Greilsamer, has long followed the judicial saga of Professor Faurisson, toward whom he has always shown the same hatred. That's why it's amusing to note that he praises Pressac exactly for what he found so blameworthy in Faurisson: for being an amateur historian, for starting with an examination of the weapon used in the crime, for being a pioneer, for being curious about everything, and for deliberately turning his back on the survivor testimonies to interest himself in the ruins and the documents. "Elementary," he says. This "elementary" weighs several tons of court papers! But there is more. Pressac's conclusions, writes Greilsamer, "revise, in the noble meaning of the term, that which the community of historians believed was established." How beautifully inspired is this revision "in the noble meaning of the term"! No camouflage, no coded language, everyone understands, we are in full clarity.

Why then, this journalist wonders with hypocritical anguish, hadn't anyone said these things earlier? "Fear of provoking a scandal," he writes. Pressac adds: "Because people weren't mature enough. The subject was too sensitive and the Berlin Wall hadn't yet come down. Don't forget that the history of Auschwitz was written in Poland by the Communists and that, even in France, the Gayssot law forbids free expression." [24] Revisions therefore had to be administered "in homeopathic doses." We have seen that Dr. Pressac, however, has used the opposite technique: a large dose of revision, coupled with intravenous injections of the Polish *Kalendarium* to sedate memory sufferings caused by amputation of illusions. The journalist is not sufficiently alert to ask what Pressac would write if there were no Gayssot law.

Pressac is happy to talk to *Le Monde*. An amateur, he can easily dismiss the intellectual establishment: "The researchers have kept quiet in order to hold onto their precious positions. There has been cowardice in the universities, and the revisionists have taken advantage of this for denial. Personally, I am doing the basic work. Anyone with common sense could do it." I love it.

He is more careful with the false "eyewitness" testimonies: "We shouldn't say they lied. We must take into account a factor of personal emotionalism." This is outrageous. Pressac knows full well that there have been deliberate, organized, profitable lies, which have nothing to do with "factors of personal emotionalism" (which may exist, surely, as in every testimony of whatever nature).

Lanzmann is right. Without Faurisson, there would be no Pressac. Pressac is 90 percent Faurisson, with the rest coming from easily identifiable and discredited sources. The media simply falls into line. One wonders who's more hypocritical: Pressac, who half saws away, in his notes from Höss and the *Kalendarium*, the branch on which he's sitting, or the journalists, who accept with joy and recognition from Pressac everything they rejected when it came from Faurisson?

There is, perhaps, a way out of this tangle. It is indicated in a remark by Bedarida (in *L'Express*). He says that Pressac was first attracted to revisionism but later refused to follow this group "on the road of denial." On the other hand, the Italian writer Umberto Eco said to *Le Monde* that revisionism is all right, that it's natural; it is possible to calmly discuss the documents, but one

mustn't fall into "denial," which, he says, consists of denying that anything bad was done to the Jews during the Second World War.

I wonder if a new line is being drawn here. It makes a distinction between, on the one hand, revisionism, once again beautiful and good, exemplified by Pressac and his patrons and followers, who are obliged to adopt the revisionist method because it is the normal method of historical research, and, on the other hand, "denial," banished to the outer limits of taboo, including those who doubt the gas chambers, as well as (non-existent) deniers of the concentration camps, the rail deportations, and so forth. The consequence of this new view would be that revisionism, recognized at last, would demonstrate (in the style of Pressac, that is, sloppily) the existence of homicidal gas chambers, but in a way that they would lose their diabolical character. The death figures could be dropped much lower without infringing the nature of the Shoah. Faurisson and his associates would lose the use of their rational armament, captured by their enemies, and would be banished to the void by the Gayssot law. This might offer the best opportunity for the restored squids to pursue and enhance their brilliant careers.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Le Monde, Sept. 26-27, 1993, p. 7.
2. [↗](#) Robert Faurisson's *Journal* [review of Lanzmann's movie, "Shoah,"](#) is followed by [Ted O'Keefe's review of the book version](#). See: *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988, pp. 85-95.
3. [↗](#) Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les Crematoires 'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du meurtre de masse* ["The Crematories of Auschwitz: Machinery of Mass Murder"] (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1993), 155 (+ viii) pages. [German edition: Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz: Die Technik des Massenmordes* (Munich: Piper, 1994).]; See Robert Faurisson's "brief, preliminary" [critique of Pressac's 1993 book](#), in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.
4. [↗](#) *Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 1993, p. 94.
5. [↗](#) Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945* (Rowohlt, 1989); English-language edition: Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939-1945* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1991). (Danuta Czech is head of the scientific research department of the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland.)
6. [↗](#) *Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 1993, p. 94.
7. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operations of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989). Reviews and analysis of this book that have appeared in this *Journal* include: M. Weber, in Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 1990), pp. 231-237; C. Matogno in Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1990-91), pp. 461-485; R. Faurisson in Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 25-66, and in Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 133-175; A. Butz, Vol. 13, No. 3, (May-June 1993), pp. 23-37.
8. [↗](#) *Verite historique ou verite politique?* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980, 352 pages), and, *Une allumette sur la banquise*, (Paris: Le Temps irreparable, 1993, 330 pages).
9. [↗](#) *L'Express*, Sept. 23-29, 1993. (Eleven pages of text and photos.) The classic Orwellian translation of this headline would be: "Auschwitz: The Lie."
10. [↗](#) *Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 1993, pp. 88-90, 92, 95-97. By Claude Weill, including interviews with J.-C. Pressac, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Raul Hilberg and Claude Lanzmann. Eight pages are devoted to this trip, which calls to mind those Mediterranean cruises in which noted archaeologists act as tour guides. The allusion is quite explicit (p. 92): "Pressac runs through the ruins like an English archaeologist on the site of Ephesus." The

image is revealing: the English were in fact the first, in 1863, to dig at Ephesus. It thus evokes a 19th century context, the beginnings of scientific archeology, the discovery or re-discovery of the great lost civilizations. Pressac, seen as an eccentric gentleman from an adventure novel, is about to reveal an unknown world for us. Everything we've known until now is made null and void by the triumphal "running" of the discoverer, resurrecting the past, and almost re-creating it.

11. ☞ Liberation, Sept. 24, 1993, pp. 28-29.
12. ☞ Denis Peschanski is a research fellow with the Contemporary History Institute of the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique). Pressac's *Les Crematoires d'Auschwitz* was published under the guidance of Bedarida by the CNRS press. The cardinal principle of the world of Parisian literary criticism is well known: "No one is better served than by oneself — but it shouldn't show."
13. ☞ *Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 1993, p. 84.
14. ☞ Information from the Auschwitz camp death registry volumes ("Totenbücher"), for the period of the epidemics. See: J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crematoires d'Auschwitz* (1993), p. 145.
15. ☞ Where, among the 130,000 documents, are the invoices for chlorinated water?
16. ☞ Presently glued to the chair of Secretary General of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.
17. ☞ J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crematoires d'Auschwitz* (1993), pp. 83 ff.
18. ☞ In "Le Comment du Pourquoi," 1979, which was included as the first part of *Verite historique ou verite politique?* (1980).
19. ☞ In an unforgettable article, published in 1980, Vidal-Naquet explained that because Faurisson had written something (supposedly) faux (false), he was a faussaire (forger). This may be found in Vidal-Naquet's book, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the olocaust* (Columbia University Press, 1992). I dismantled this stupid pun and the poor arguments of Vidal-Naquet in *Une Allumette sur la banquise* (*Le Temps irreparable*, 1993). [*Assassins of Memory* is reviewed by Mark Weber in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal, pp. 36-39.]
20. ☞ Although the media routinely calls Hilberg a "historian," that is not his profession. He, too, is another "amateur."
21. ☞ This phrase appears in the 1979 declaration co-authored by Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Leon Poliakov, which was signed by 34 scholars. It is quoted in the foreword to *Assassins of Memory* (p. xiv), and in *The Journal of Historical Review*: Spring 1983, p. 35; Summer 1985, pp. 166-167; and, Nov.-Dec. 1993, p. 38.
22. ☞ Regarding this phrase, Vidal-Naquet wrote, for example, in the review *L'Histoire* (June 1992, p. 51): "We were certainly wrong, at least in the form, even if the basis of our interrogation was justified." In fact, there never was any interrogation.
23. ☞ *Le Monde*, Sept. 26-27, 1993, p. 7.
24. ☞ Gayssot is a Communist member of the French parliament. The "Fabius-Gayssot" law of July 1990 forbids "contesting the crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal, and specifies heavy fines and jail terms for violators. The law was passed as a trade-off between the Communists and the Socialists, to obtain continued support from the Communists in parliament for the Rocard government. I don't know whether this critical review violates the Gayssot law, but it's clear that Pressac's book (and thus all the press accounts of it as well) infringes the law seriously. [For more about this law, and the legal assault in France against Holocaust revisionists, see the Journal, March-April 1993, pp. 26-28.]

July/August, 1994; vol. 14 no. 4: p. 42.

Getting Out The Word

Revisionist Radio Talk Show Tackles Important Issues

Radio talk show host Jim Floyd has been regularly delighting listeners across northern Alabama with an array of stimulating revisionist guests and his own probing questions and hard-hitting commentary. “The Jim Floyd Show” is broadcast every weekday morning, Monday through Friday, normally for one hour, 8–9 a.m. over station WAJF (Decatur), and simulcast on WHRT radio (Hartselle).

Recent guests have included:

- Prof. Tony Martin, who became a victim of threat and intimidation because he dealt with the historic Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade during a Wellesley College survey course;
- Rev. Dale Crowley, who has campaigned against anti-Christian propaganda at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum;
- Issah Nakleh, Palestinian historian and 1981 IHR Conference speaker;
- Paul Findley, former Illinois Congressman and outspoken critic of America’s dangerously pro-Zionist Middle East policy; and,
- IHR adviser Friedrich Berg.

On June 3, Journal editor Mark Weber appeared as a guest, along with IHR advisor Robert Countess, for more than an hour. Noting the attention being given to the 50th anniversary of the D-Day landing in France, Weber spoke about media distortion of Second World War history. He also commented on the destructive military adventurism of recent American presidents, and discussed war propaganda generally. Jim Floyd’s well-informed questions showed that he had done considerable background reading.

With the daily “Jim Floyd Show” in Alabama, and Brad Smith’s recently inaugurated weekly radio program in Rhode Island, there are now at least two regularly scheduled radio programs through which revisionist views routinely reach the American public.

University Officials Block Talk by Prof. Butz

Just two hours before it was scheduled to begin, Northwestern University officials used chicanery to cancel a student-organized campus presentation by Associate Professor Arthur Butz, a prominent Holocaust revisionist.

School administrators barred the May 9 semi-formal “fireside” meeting on the pretext that the Public Affairs Residential College (PARC) dorm where it was to take place would immediately have to pay \$1,500 from its “Student Organizations Finance Office” (SOFO) account to hire eleven security officers. Even though a member of the faculty, Prof. Charles Thompson, announced that he was willing to pay the required amount himself, the dean of the university college, Donald Collins, insisted that the money could only come from the SOFO account.

Dr. Butz is an Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science at Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois). He is a member of this Journal’s Editorial Advisory Committee and author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, a major work disputing the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. The text of his address at the 1992 IHR Conference was published in the May-June 1993 Journal.

Dr. Thompson, a professor of industrial engineering, said he believed that the last-minute SOFO qualification requirement was part of the university’s “campaign of intimidation” to prevent Butz from presenting his revisionist views about the Holocaust story.

Dan Prosterman and Bob Fabsik, two sophomore students who had worked to organize the “fire-side” meeting, said that in light of the university’s actions, they had no choice but to cancel the event. “It was very embarrassing for Bob and I to cancel,” said Prosterman. “But [Butz] was not as upset as I thought he would be.” (*The Daily Northwestern*, May 10.)

“He [Butz] said that this was the closest that he’d ever gotten” to addressing a meeting on campus about his revisionist views, said Prosterman, who also expressed anger at the University’s last-minute financial requirement. “We are extremely upset at the way the university handled the event,” he said. “A lot of the strife and conflict that has gone on in the dorm between us, and the dorm and the community could have been avoided.”

PARC dorm students complained that the Butz meeting was cancelled because of a technicality. “If the administration had told us up front that we would have had to use SOFO funds, we never would have considered” organizing the meeting, said Prosterman.

Even though Butz did not speak, about 120 demonstrators rallied against him and Holocaust revisionism on the evening of the cancelled meeting. The protest rally was organized jointly by the Hillel Jewish student group and the International Socialist Organization (ISO), a Marxist group. Hillel Rabbi Michael Balinsky addressed the rally and thanked the demonstrators.

Peggy Barr, the university’s vice president for student affairs, attended the Jewish-Marxist demonstration, and said she was pleased that the Butz meeting had been cancelled. ISO member Joel Geier, told demonstrators that Butz “used to be just a kook that this university was stupid enough to protect, and now we see the rise of fascism once again. Why does the faculty still rub shoulders with him?”

The bigoted university action apparently does not reflect the sentiment of most students. A survey conducted in connection with the controversy showed that an overwhelming majority of Northwestern University students — 72 percent of those polled — believe that Prof. Butz should be allowed to speak on campus. (*Northwestern Chronicle*, May 27).

Editor Addresses Populist Party Meeting

Journal editor Mark Weber addressed the national convention of the Populist Party in West Palm Beach (Florida) on May 21. He was introduced by Don Wassall, chairman of the struggling dissi-

dent political group. Among the other speakers was Jim Townsend, editor-publisher of the National Educator, a weekly paper that has often supported the IHR.

Idaho Television Poll Shows Widespread Skepticism about Holocaust Story

Smith and Weber on “Schindler’s List” Discussion

A recent poll conducted by an Idaho television station shows that one in four participants reject the Holocaust extermination story.

On the evening of March 22, Twin Falls (Idaho) television station KKVI (an ABC network affiliate) aired a special report and discussion program devoted to Steven Spielberg’s Holocaust movie “Schindler’s List.” A three minute telephone interview with Journal editor Mark Weber, which had been recorded the day before, was aired as part of the program. In addition, CODOH chairman Brad Smith appeared by telephone hookup as a live guest, along with a World War II veteran. Mention was made during the broadcast of the appearance of Weber and Smith two days earlier on the CBS television network’s “60 Minutes” program. (For more about that, see the May-June 1994 Journal.)

Shar Alexander, who conducted the interview with Weber, later said that she was very pleased with the public response to the program, which she described as “wonderful.” People were still talking about it a week later, she said.

Viewers of the KKVI television report and discussion were invited to respond to a telephone poll organized by the station. (Viewers can call a telephone number and, by using a touch tone phone, vote Yes or No.) The question was: “Do you believe that the Holocaust really occurred?” Alexander said that she and the others at the station were astonished by the viewer response: One out of four voted No.

Holocaust Skeptic Almost Wins US Congress Nomination

A New Jersey man who is openly skeptical of the Holocaust extermination story recently almost became the Democratic Party’s candidate for US Congress in the state’s 11th District. Receiving 48 percent of the vote, John L. Kucek — a 67-year-old Certified Public Accountant, US Army veteran, and former business manager — barely lost the June 7 primary election race.

“I do not believe that there was any deliberate extermination plot against Jews or anyone else,” said Journal subscriber Kucek during an interview last fall. “The Auschwitz so-called gas chambers are documented to have been a fabrication.” In a more recent interview, he said: “If there were 400,000 survivors of the concentration camps, and over four million Jewish survivors collecting reparations from the German government ... Apparently, there couldn’t have been six million who died.” (“Holocaust skeptic is likely nominee for Congress,” Philadelphia Inquirer, May 30.)

Kucek, who was denounced for his views by Jewish leaders and regular Democratic party leaders, describes himself as a “traditional Democrat in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson and Al Smith.” Kucek favors sharp limitations on immigration. He has cited “distorted” and “vicious” media coverage as major reasons for his defeat.

Weber Heard in Los Angeles

A portion of a previously-recorded interview with *Journal* editor Mark Weber was broadcast April 13 over Los Angeles radio station KFI, one of the most widely heard in the western United States. Hundreds of thousands heard Weber talking about the “victimization” phenomenon whereby various racial-ethnic groups cite a record of past persecution to claim moral standing in our society.

July/August, 1994; vol. 14 no. 4: p. 44.

A Non-Polemical Look at Wartime Germany's Atomic Bomb Program

- *Heisenberg's War: The Secret History of the German Bomb*, by Thomas Powers. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993. Hardcover. 608 pages. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$27.50. ISBN 0-394-51411-4.

Reviewed by Andrew Gray

"In the years since Hiroshima," Thomas Powers writes in a luminous introduction to a superb book, "the makers of the American bomb have all made peace with their creation. They have been asked a hundred times if they feel guilt. They say no and they mean no. Hitler might have done it first ... But with the Germans they have not made peace, only kept a polite silence. Just what went wrong with the German bomb program they are not sure, but on one point they are dead certain — no moral compunction on Heisenberg's part, however tenuous, played a role." (emphasis in the original).

The evidence suggests otherwise — and massively. Much of this indictment of American hypocrisy, of a double standard, of wartime propaganda continuing in peacetime guise, is based upon the work of David Irving, whose interviews in 1965 and 1966 with Werner Heisenberg, head of wartime Germany's atomic bomb development program, provided the foundation for his 1967 work, *The German Atomic Bomb* (Simon & Schuster). Irving's interviews, Powers emphasizes (unsurprisingly for revisionists), elicited a greater candor from Heisenberg than those of any other historian. Beyond this, Irving has made available to Powers his microfilm files on the subject. Together with much newly available material (including expanded though not complete access to the transcripts of recorded conversation among the German physicists during their internment in England in the summer and autumn of 1945), these documents permit Powers to build a case strong enough to raise permanently the level of debate on the subject.

Yes, the German physicists, with few exception, did have moral scruples about any serious efforts to produce nuclear weapons for the Hitler regime, and these scruples did have practical effect. "The implication that Allied scientists," Powers continues, "— many of them Jewish, many driven from Germany, many bereaved in the Holocaust — might have some moral obligation to answer questions posed, however indirectly, by Germans is more, as I have more than once experienced, than they are ready to tolerate in silence." Silent or not, this volume leaves them no choice in the matter.

This book actually blends two subjects, one somber and the other hilarious. World history, of course, was at stake in the vicissitudes of German nuclear weapons research. The might-have-beens are stupefying, and not an appropriate subject for the author's iridescent irony. Not so, by contrast, his lengthy account of the efforts of US wartime intelligence (chiefly "Wild Bill" Donovan and his Office of Strategic Services) to find out what the Germans were up to. On the basis of their Ultra decrypts (which contained not even the most tangential reference to a German

equivalent of the Manhattan Project, nor any mention of Heisenberg by name), British intelligence concluded early in the game that there would be no German atomic bomb, whereas Americans feared the worst almost to the end of the war. These fears culminated, it seems, in an OSS plot to kill Heisenberg, though this was originally disguised as a kidnapping venture under the auspices of a desperado named Eifler. “It didn’t require a professional odds-maker,” Powers observes, “to see that the chances were remote at best that Heisenberg would survive a kidnapping in Germany, a forced march into Switzerland, a secret rendezvous with an American military plane and a parachute drop onto some map coordinate in the Mediterranean where a submarine might or might not be waiting. Eifler was left in no doubt that Heisenberg’s survival was not the mission’s highest priority.”

How interesting that a mainline publishing house such as Knopf remains capable of issuing a book that does not demonize the Third Reich or engage in any of the customary myth-making. The burden that any totalitarian regime imposes on science is evocatively rendered, but without the implicit claims to moral superiority that have pervaded most prior writings on the subject from these shores, or the post-war denigrations by Heisenberg himself for his decision to remain in Germany. Heisenberg himself shines through the text as a deeply decent person — a bit tactless now and then, perhaps, and not long on humor, but compared, let us say, to J. Robert Oppenheimer, a paragon of stability and humaneness.

The book contains considerable duplication of material and would have benefited from one last editorial combing-out, but that is true of almost every product of American presses, trade or academic, these days. For the most part, German names and quotes are rendered accurately, a healthy contrast to current standards, though it is a bit disconcerting to find the name of Colonel Stauffenberg repeatedly misspelled. Even the most casual proofing eye should pick up this sort of error.

The story has a happy ending, although the author prefers to leave it implicit. German physics is again thriving, thanks in large part to the continuity Heisenberg maintained for it. This was his specific and avowed intention. Never anti-Semitic — his rivals in the 1930s termed him a “white Jew” at one point — he nonetheless believed it a German science, par excellence, which it is.

July/August, 1994; vol. 14 no. 4: p. 45.

Secretary Shultz and the Bitburg Uproar

- *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State*, by George P. Shultz. New York: Scribner's, 1993. Hardcover. 1,184 pages. Photographs. Index. \$30.00. ISBN 0-684-19325-6.

Reviewed by Andrew Gray

A hefty tome, but after all, George Shultz is an ex-professor, and obviously does not wish to be outdone by Dr. Kissinger. Buried in this long and discursive text, however, is a nugget for revisionists — 20 pages devoted to the story of President Reagan's much-criticized May 1985 visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg. Candor on this subject was not to be expected from ex-President Reagan, and this account by the former Secretary of State is the most accurate we have been accorded to date from any of the principal figures in the drama. All of which isn't saying very much — we will no doubt have to wait for Patrick Buchanan to tell the tale as he experienced it for a remotely adequate version.

At any rate, the Bitburg crisis remains a central event of the time — an embarrassment to those who raised the uproar against the Presidential visit to the Bitburg cemetery and a salutary lesson for them and for everyone else. At issue was a specifically Jewish bid for veto power in government-to-government relations between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. Had this been granted at Bitburg, the World Jewish Congress would no doubt have demanded and received a seat at the table at which German reunification was negotiated five years later, though in such a case, there would probably have been no German statesman on the scene with sufficient prestige to negotiate the matter in the first place. We could only sense it at the time, but the prospects for German reunification were at stake in the concerted Jewish assault on Helmut Kohl. World leaders live by and on prestige.

If Ronald Reagan had deserted the German chancellor, Kohl would have been revealed as a Gummilöwe, a “rubber lion,” like his predecessor Ludwig Erhard, a man without clout when push came to shove. Instead — after facing down combined Jewish power and hysteria — the chancellor emerged as a man who could later negotiate the withdrawal of the Soviets from Central Europe with Mikhail Gorbachev one-on-one, that is, with barely a nod to the president of the United States, whom he considered an interested bystander in the transaction.

Of course George Shultz doesn't say any of this. At the height of the uproar, he admits joining the chorus of those advising the President to cancel the Bitburg visit. Shultz is an ex-Marine, who has seen first-hand the most brutal forms of combat the Pacific War produced, but he proves predictably incapable or unwilling to draw even the most obvious parallels with the Waffen SS. No, his is the same old litany, compete with ignorant reference to the Oradour tragedy, with is regularly served up in the propaganda-tinted history we receive from official sources as a “massacre” supposedly typical of Waffen SS units in action. Well, there were no doubt some Abolitionists

who spat on the graves of Confederate dead, but by and large Confederate cemeteries have been honored even by the most convinced Unionists as symbolizing the bravery and spirit of self-sacrifice of those lying buried within them. One would think George Shultz of all people might accord such dignity to the German dead at Bitburg, but not at all — “Hitler is laughing in hell right now,” he recalls telling his subordinates before leaving for Germany to accompany the President. “The idea of the visit, reconciliation, had been destroyed. Kohl has butchered it. He told us there were no SS buried at Bitburg. Teltschik said there were none.”

It gets worse. “Just before leaving for Bergen-Belsen,” Shultz writes, “I pulled out of my pocket a small lapel pin with a German emblem on it. It symbolized a decoration, the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit, that I had received in 1974 from the German government ... I asked Rick Burt, Bernie Kalb and Charlie Hill whether I should wear this little button on my lapel. Immediately a fierce debate erupted ... I sighed and put the little pin away.” If this were typical of the Marines, we would still be fighting on Guadalcanal.

At all events, the eight minutes Ronald Reagan spent at the Bitburg cemetery were arguably the apogee of his presidency. It was not merely a lesson for Jewish organizations alone — no, it was a demonstration to the combined power of the American media that they, too, could not command and control the American state on a fundamental German-American issue. This obviously came as a great surprise to many people, some of whom have not recovered from it yet. Perhaps this accounts in part for the pusillanimity of the Shultz version of this crisis, and for the remarkable fact that the German Chancellor himself declined to permit the author to quote in full his confidential message to President Reagan of April 15, 1985, in which Kohl made the visit an Existenzfrage for himself and his administration. There is much more to come on this subject, and it is likely to be tasty for revisionists.

September/October 1994; Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 3.

'Overcoming' Germany's Burdensome Past

The Heritage of Europe's 'Revolutionary Conservative Movement'

- A Conversation with Swiss Historian Armin Mohler

Ian B. Warren

Introduction

Following the aftermath of the cataclysmic defeat of Germany and her Axis partners in the Second World War, exhausted Europe came under the hegemony of the victorious Allied powers — above all the United States and Soviet Russia. Understandably, the social-political systems of the vanquished regimes — and especially that of Hitler's Third Reich — were all but completely discredited, even in Germany.

This process also brought the discrediting of the conservative intellectual tradition that, to a certain extent, nourished and gave rise to National Socialism and Hitler's coming to power in 1933. In the intellectual climate that prevailed after 1945, conservative views were largely vilified and suppressed as "reactionary" or "fascist," and efforts to defend or revitalize Europe's venerable intellectual tradition of conservatism came up against formidable resistance.

Those who defied the prevailing "spirit of the times," maintaining that the valid "Right" traditions must be accorded their proper and important place in Europe's intellectual and political life, risked being accused of seeking to "rehabilitate" or "whitewash" Nazism. Germans have been especially easy targets of this charge, which is nearly impossible to disprove.

One of the most prominent writers in German-speaking Europe to attempt this largely thankless task has been Armin Mohler. As German historian Ernst Nolte has observed, this job has fortunately been easier for Mohler because he is a native of a country that remained neutral during the Second World War.

Born in Basel, Switzerland, in 1920, Mohler worked for four years as secretary of the influential German writer Ernst Jünger. He then lived in Paris for eight years, where he reported on developments in France for various German-language papers, including the influential Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*.

In his prodigious writings, including a dozen books, Dr. Mohler has spoken to and for millions of Europeans who, in defiance of the prevailing political-intellectual order, have sought to understand, if not appreciate, the intellectual heritage of Europe's venerable "old right."

Mohler's reputation as the "dean" of conservative intellectuals and as a bridge between generations is based in large part on the impact of his detailed historical study, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918–1932* ("The Conservative Revolution in Germany, 1918–1932"). Based on his doctoral dissertation at the University of Basel, this influential work was first published in 1950, with revised editions issued in 1972 and 1989. [1]

In this study, Mohler asserts that the German tradition of the Reich ("realm") in central Europe (Mitteleuropa) incorporates two important but contradictory concepts. One sees Mitteleuropa as a diverse and decentralized community of culturally and politically distinct nations and nationalities. A second, almost mythical view stresses the cultural and spiritual unity of the Reich and Mitteleuropa.

The main current of radical or revolutionary conservative thinking is expressed by such diverse figures as the Russian writer Feodor Dostoyevsky, Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto, American poet and social critic Ezra Pound, American sociologist Thorstein Veblen, and English novelist C. K. Chesterton. [2] This intellectual movement began at the close of the 19th century and flourished particularly during the 1920s and 1930s. Sometimes also called the "organic revolution," this movement sought the preservation of the historical legacy and heritage of western and central European culture, while at the same time maintaining the "greatest [cultural and national] variety within the smallest space." [3] In Germany, the "Thule Society" played an important role in the 1920s in this European-wide phenomenon as a kind of salon of radical conservative intellectual thought. It stressed the idea of a *völkisch* (folkish or nationalist) pluralism, underscoring the unique origins and yet common roots of a European culture, setting it apart from other regions and geopolitical groupings around the globe. [4]

In Mohler's view, the twelve-year Third Reich (1933–1945) was a temporary deviation from the traditional conservative thinking. At the same time, the conservative revolution was "a treasure trove from which National Socialism [drew] its ideological weapons." [5] Fascism in Italy and National Socialism in Germany were, in Mohler's judgment, examples of the "misapplication" of the key theoretical tenets of revolutionary conservative thought. While some key figures, such as one-time Hitler colleague Otto Strasser, chose to emigrate from Germany after 1933, those who decided to remain, according to Mohler, "hoped to permeate national socialism from within, or transform themselves into a second revolution." [6]

Following the publication in 1950 of his work on the conservative revolution in Europe, Mohler explored in his writings such diverse subjects as Charles DeGaulle and the Fifth Republic in France, [7] and the Technocracy movement in the depression-era United States. [8] In 1964 Mohler was appointed Managing Director of the prestigious Carl-Friedrich von Siemens Foundation, a leading scholarly and research support institute in Germany. In 1967 he began a stint of several years teaching political science at the University of Innsbruck in Austria. That same year, Konrad Adenauer honored Mohler for his writing with the first "Adenauer Prize" ever bestowed.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Mohler was a frequent contributor to *Criticon*, a scholarly German journal whose editor, Caspar von Schrenk-Notzing, has been a close friend of the Swiss scholar and a major promoter of his work. In 1985, Dr. Mohler produced a collection of writings to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Siemens Foundation. The volume contained contributions from the writings of Oswald Spengler, Carl Schmitt, Konrad Lorenz, Hellmut Diwald, H.J. Eysenck, and Julian Freund.

Mohler is a leading figure in the European "New Right," or "Nouvelle Droite." (For more on this, see Prof. Warren's interview with Alain de Benoist, another major figure in this social-intel-

lectual movement, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, March–April 1994, pp. 28–37.)

Year after year, political leaders, educators and much of the mass media take care to remind Germans of their important “collective responsibility” to atone for their “burdensome” past. This seemingly never-ending campaign has become nearly a national obsession — manifest recently in the enormous publicity and soul-searching surrounding the Spielberg film “Schindler’s List.” In Mohler’s view, all this has produced a kind of national neuroses in Germany.

Mohler has written extensively on the particularly German phenomenon known as “mastering the past” or “coming to grips with the past” (“Vergangenheits bewältigung”). He tackled this highly emotion-laden topic in a book (appropriately entitled *Vergangenheits bewältigung*), published in 1968, and later re-issued in a revised edition in 1980. [9] Two years later he turned to the subject of German identity. [10]

In 1989 Mohler again boldly took on the issue of Germany’s difficulty in coming to terms with the legacy of the Third Reich in what is perhaps his most provocative book, *Der Nasenring* (“The Nose Ring”). [11] [A review of this work appears elsewhere in this issue of the Journal.]

With the reunification of Germany in 1989, the collapse of the Soviet empire, the end of the Cold War US-USSR rivalry, and the withdrawal of American and Soviet Russian forces from Europe, has inevitably come an earnest reconsideration of the critical issues of German identity and Germany’s role in Europe. This has also brought a new consideration of precisely how Germans should deal with the troubling legacy of the Third Reich and the Second World War.

Changing social-political realities in Germany, Europe and the world have given new significance to the views developed and nurtured by Dr. Mohler and his circle of like-minded “revolutionary conservatives.”

Interview

This writer was privileged to spend a day with Armin Mohler and his gracious wife at their home in Munich early in the summer of 1993. After having spoken earlier with historian Ernst Nolte, I was interested to compare his views with those of Mohler. In particular, I was curious to compare how each of these eminent figures in German intellectual life assessed the present and future climate of their nation, and of the continent within which it plays such a critical role.

Although his movement is restricted due to a serious arthritic condition, Dr. Mohler proved to be witty, provocative and fascinating. (In addition to his other talents and interests, he is a very knowledgeable art specialist. His collection of reprints and books of Mexican, US-American and Russian art is one of the largest anywhere.)

During our conversation, Mohler provided both biting and incisive commentary on contemporary political trends in Europe (and particularly Germany), and on American influence. Throughout his remarks, he sprinkled witty, even caustic assessments of the German “political class,” of politicians spanning the ideological spectrum, and of the several generational strands forming today’s Germany. As he explained to this writer, Dr. Mohler felt free to offer views without any of the “politically correct” apologetics that have hampered most native German colleagues.

Q: What do you see as the state of the conservative political movement in Germany today?

M: Well, first let me explain my own special analysis. I believe there are three possibilities in politics, which I characterize as “mafia,” “gulag,” and “agon.” Each has been a possible or viable

political form in twentieth century history. Of course, between the choice of the “gulag” and the “mafia,” people will choose the latter because it is more comfortable and less apparently dangerous, or so it seems.

But what of this third option, which is taken from the Greek term “agon” (“competition” or “contest”), and recalls the ancient Hellenic athletic and literary competitions? I believe it is possible to have a society that is free of the politics both of the mafia and of the Left, but bringing this about is quite complicated. It is a pity that today we appear only to have a choice between the mafia and the gulag. Liberalism in the 19th century context was a positive idea with a serious basis of thought. Today, however, liberalism has become just another name for the mafia. I do not believe that political liberalism is able to govern in the modern world. My ideal is most apparent today in the “tiger” states of Asia, such as Malaysia, Singapore, Korea and Taiwan, which have dynamic free market, liberal economies, but without liberal politics.

Q: When you speak of a “third option,” are you referring to the anti-capitalist and anti-Communist “third way” or “third position” advocated by some political and intellectual groups in Europe today that reject the establishment elites of both the traditional left and right?

M: No. I do not see any significant movement of that kind. What small steps are being taken in this direction are denounced as “fascist” or in the “fascistic style.” The role of the modern mass media has destroyed any possibility of such “third way” politics. This means, unfortunately, that we must exclude the “agon” option. We are left only with the “mafia” or the “gulag” options.

Q: Are you therefore saying that a true conservative revolution is not possible? Is there now in Germany anything that might be called an authentic conservative movement?

M: At first, just after the war, we did have a certain kind of conservatism. Essentially, it had two aims: first, to be the Number One enemy of Communism; and second, it must be allied with America. It also had its origins in two forms of conservatism. One was Burckian [after Edmund Burke], what I have called Gärtner-Konservatismus — “Gardener Conservatism” — that is, merely attending to the cultivation and restoration of society as a gardener would. The other is the “humility conservatism” of the Christian churches. These were the only kinds of conservatism allowed by the Americans. After all, they were the ones who handed out the chocolates, and western Germany wanted that. What the entire population did not want was Communism.

At last this began to change, particularly with the publication in 1969 of *Moral und Hypermoral* by Arnold Gehlen.^[12] This book opened the way to a real Conservatism. Gehlen used the term “conservatism,” which I do not like because it implies merely wanting to hold on to something from the past. Most of the time “conservatism” is used to refer to rather trivial and stupid things. In any event, a year after Gehlen’s book was published our journal *Criticon* was started. The first issue was devoted to Gehlen and his ideas.

And then there was the “War Generation.” I am not referring here to the “Old Nazis,” but rather to a second generation that no longer believed in the early romantic notion of revolutionary National Socialism. By 1942, the “Old Nazis” were effectively all gone. In Berlin, by then, all of the government posts were in the hands of young technocrats: the “second generation” of National Socialists. They were not interested in the stories of the Party’s struggle for power, or in the fight against Communism.

And this generation — members of which I met in 1942 in the government ministries in Berlin — were in their 30s. A good example of this type is Helmut Schmidt, who eventually became leader of the Social Democratic party, and then Chancellor. He is very typical of this generation

that had conducted the war: in the later war years, they played a major role in the government agencies and in the [National Socialist] party organizations. They were very much a group of “survivors.”

Q: So they were the first “new” class?

M: Yes. This first “new class” — most of whom came of age in the 1940s — accepted the ideology of the Western allies because they told themselves, and others: “We lost the war, now at least we must win the peace.” I worked for 24 years at the Siemens corporation with people of this type. I tried to encourage them to fight against government regimentation. But they replied, “you can do that, you are Swiss. We, though, have to trust the system, to appreciate the possibilities of life within this economy and society.”

They didn’t have to develop a liberal or free market economy, of course, because Hitler was intelligent enough not to socialize or nationalize the economy. He had said, “I will socialize the hearts, but not the factory.” And the members of this “new generation” felt that there was no time to dwell on being individualist: “We must work. We lost the war, at least we must win this struggle.”

They are completely different from their sons and daughters! This next generation, which is now between 40 and 60, you could call them the “unemployed” generation: too young to serve in the army of Hitler and too old to serve in the army of Bonn. Well educated, they sought only to work in a liberal, industrial society, vacationing in Tuscany. They’ve wanted money for themselves, not accepting any social responsibilities. They wouldn’t think of sacrificing their blood in wars decided by Americans or Russians. In their youth they were Maoists, but not seriously so; after all, they want to live comfortably. They didn’t want to work hard like the Asians. Disdaining such a goal, they declared, “Our fathers and mothers had to work too much.” They wanted an easier life, and they succeeded. The money was there, and the larger political questions were settled for them by the Americans. So these were the “volunteer helpers” — the “Hiwis” or Hilfswilligen — of the Americans.

The young socialists of this generation rejected the idea of national and social responsibility. It regarded the notion that men must work, and that one must help others, as a secondary and not very important idea of old people. These are the sons and the daughters of the people of my generation, too. This is largely a destroyed or wasted generation.

I admire the “war generation” very much because they had a sense of responsibility, and furthermore, they didn’t lie. They did not mouth the trivial and hackneyed old political slogans of liberalism; they were too serious to do this. They knew in their hearts that this paradise of the Bundesrepublik [German federal republic] would not be viable.

But now we have a generation in power that is not capable of conducting serious politics. They are not willing to fight, when necessary, for principles. Typically, they think only about having good times in Italy or the Caribbean. As long as the generation between the ages of 40 and 60 remains in power, there will be bad times for Germany.

The generation that is coming into its own now is better because they are the sons and the daughters of the permissive society. They know that money is not everything, that money does not represent real security. And they have ideas. Let me give my description of this generation. For 20 years people like me were on the sidelines and barely noticed. But for the past six or seven years, the young people have been coming to me! They want to meet and talk with the “Old Man,” they prefer me to their fathers, whom they regard as too soft and lacking in principles.

For more than a hundred years, the province of Saxony — located in the postwar era in the Communist “German Democratic Republic” — produced Germany’s best workers. Since 1945, though, they have been lost. The situation is a little bit like Ireland. Just as, it is said, the best of the Irish emigrated to the United States, so did the best people in the GDR emigrate to western Germany. After 1945, the GDR lost three million people. With few exceptions, they were the most capable and ambitious. This did not include the painters of Saxony, who are far better than their western German counterparts. (Fine art is one of my special pleasures.) Moreover, many of the best who remained took positions in the Stasi [the secret police of the former GDR]. That’s because the Stasi provided opportunities for those who didn’t want to migrate to western Germany to do something professionally challenging. In a dictatorship, a rule to remember is that you must go to the center of power.

Recently, in an interview with the German paper *Junge Freiheit*, I said that trials of former Stasi officials are stupid, and that there should be a general amnesty for all former Stasi workers. You must build with the best and most talented people of the other side — the survivors of the old regime — and not with these stupid artists, police and ideologues.

Q: Are there any viable expressions of the “conservative revolution” in German politics today?

M: You know, I’m a friend of Franz Schönhuber [the leader of the Republikaner party], and I like him very much. We were friends when he was still a leftist. He has a typical Bavarian temperament, with its good and bad sides. And he says, “you know, it’s too late for me. I should have begun ten years earlier.” He is a good fellow, but I don’t know if he has the talents required of an effective opposition political leader. Furthermore, he has a major fault. Hitler had a remarkable gift for choosing capable men who could work diligently for him. Organization, speeches — whatever was needed, they could carry it out. In Schönhuber’s case, however, he finds it virtually impossible to delegate anything. He does not know how to assess talent and find good staff people.

Thus, the Republikaner party exists almost by accident, and because there is so much protest sentiment in the country. Schönhuber’s most outstanding talent is his ability to speak extemporaneously. His speeches are powerful, and he can generate a great deal of response. Yet, he simply doesn’t know how to organize, and is always fearful of being deposed within his party. Another major weakness is his age: he is now 70.

Q: What do you think of Rolf Schlierer, the 40-year-old heir apparent of Schönhuber?

M: Yes, he’s clever. He clearly understands something about politics, but he can’t speak to the people, the constituents of this party. He is too intellectual in his approach and in his speeches. He often refers to Hegel, for example. In practical political terms, the time of theorists has gone. And he is seen to be a bit of a dandy. These are not the qualities required of the leader of a populist party.

Ironically, many of the new people active in local East German politics have gone over to the Republikaner because people in the former GDR tend to be more nationalistic than the West Germans.

Q: What about Europe’s future and role of Germany?

M: I don’t think that the two generations I have been describing are clever enough to be a match for the French and English, who play their game against Germany. While I like Kohl, and I credit him for bringing about German unification, what I think he wants most sincerely is Germany in

Europe, not a German nation. His education has done its work with him. I fear that the Europe that is being constructed will be governed by the French, and that they will dominate the Germans. The English will side with the French, who are politically astute.

Q: That is the opposite of the perception in America, where much concern is expressed about German domination of Europe. And yet you think that the French and the English will predominate?

M: Thus far, they have not. Kohl hopes, of course, that he can keep power by being the best possible ally of America; but that is not enough.

Q: Do you think that the influence of America on German identity is still important, or is it diminishing?

M: Yes, it is still important, both directly, and indirectly through the process of “re-education,” which has formed the Germans more than I had feared. Where have the special German qualities gone? The current generation in power wants to be, to borrow an English expression, “everybody’s darling;” particularly to be the darling of America.

Those of the upcoming generation don’t like their parents, whom they see as soft and lacking in dignity. In general, I think that younger Germans are not against Americans personally. They will be better off with Americans than with the English or French. In this I am not as anti-American as Alain de Benoist. The “American way of life” is now a part of us. And for this we have only ourselves to blame.

For my own part, I see a great affinity between Germany and America. When I was visiting a family in Chicago a few years ago, I felt right at home, even if it was a patrician family, and I am from the lower middle class. I felt something. For example, if I were to have an accident, I would prefer that it occur on the streets of Chicago rather than in Paris or London. I think that Americans would be more ready to help me than people in France or England.

During my travels in the United States, I encountered many taxi drivers, who were very friendly if they had an idea that I was from Germany. But when I would tell them that I am Swiss, they didn’t respond in this positive way. In the case of Black taxi drivers, there is always the same scenario when they converse with Germans. They say, “you treated us as human beings when we were there.”

Some would talk about those death camps on the Rhine for German prisoners run by Eisenhower, where American soldiers had orders not to give water or food to the Germans. ^[13] (You know, Eisenhower ordered that those who gave food or water to the Germans in those camps would be punished.) Blacks gave them water, though, and that had a great impression on them. To German soldiers they said: “We are in the same situation as you.”

Q: You are saying that there is a camaraderie among victims?

M: Yes.

Q: How is it possible to throw off this domination, this cultural occupation, as it were?

M: I had the idea that we must have emigration — as the Irish have had — to make Germans more spontaneous. I have written on three different occasions about Ireland in Criticon.

It was not fair of me to judge Ireland during that first visit, because I did not know the country's history. Then I dug into the subject, and especially the 800-year struggle of the Irish against the English. I relied on the best study available, written by a German Jew, Moritz Julius Bonn. An archivist at the University of Dublin had given Bonn access to all the documents about the English colonization of Ireland.

In my second Criticon article I boosted Ireland as an example for the Germans of how to fight for their independence. I said that it was a war of 800 years against the English. At last they won. And the English genocide was a real genocide.

During my first visit to Ireland, I felt that there was something really different, compared to Germany. Last year, after two decades, I returned to Ireland. Writing about that trip, I concluded that I had been deceived earlier, because Ireland has changed. Europe has been a very bad influence. Every Irishman, when he saw that I was from Germany, asked me, "Do you vote for Maas-tricht?" [referring to the treaty of European unification]. When I replied that the German people are not allowed to vote on this matter, they seemed pleased. And to me, the Irish now seem very demoralized. Twenty years ago, when I arrived in a little Irish town in Castlebar, it was a quiet little town with one factory and some cars, some carts and horses. Now, all the streets were full of cars, one after the other. "Is there a convention in town," I asked. "No, no, it's normal." I then asked, "Are these cars paid for?" "Ah, no," was the answer I received.

Every person can have three days off a week, and then it's Dole Day on Tuesday. Their mountains are full of sheep. They don't need stables for them, because it's not necessary. The owners are paid a sum of money from the European Union for each sheep. Their entire heroic history is gone! It's like the cargo cult [in backwoods New Guinea]. For the Irish, the next generation will be a catastrophe. ^[14]

Q: Returning to an earlier question: what does the future hold for German-American relations?

M: On one occasion when I was in America doing research on the Technocracy movement, I recall being the guest of honor at a conference table. At my side was a nationally prominent American scientist who was also a professor at a west coast university. Also with us was an internationally prominent Jew, a grey eminence in armaments who had an enormous influence. He was treated like a king by the president of the university. And at the other end of the table I sat next to this west coast professor, who told me that he didn't like the cosmopolitan flair of the East Coast. "You should come to western America," he said to me. "There you will not always hear stupid things about Germany." And he added that in his profession — he works in the forests and woods — are people who are friends of Germany. So I remember this fraternization between a visitor from Germany and someone from the American west coast.

Q: Are you suggesting that if it were not for the influence of certain powerful academic or political elites, there would be greater recognition of the compatibility of German and American values?

M: You see, this difficult relationship between Germans and Jews has had an enormous influence on public opinion in America. Jews would be stupid not to take advantage of this situation while they can, because I think Jewish influence in America is somewhat diminishing. Even with all the Holocaust museums and such, their position is becoming ever more difficult. This is partly due to the "multicultural" movement in the United States. Actually, the Germans and the Jews are a bit alike: when they are in power, they over-do it! New leaders in each group seem recognize that this is dangerous.

Dr. Mohler also spoke about the *Historkerstreit* ["Historians' dispute"], which he sees as a critical milestone on the road of enabling Germans to consider their own identity in a positive way. (For more on this, see Prof. Warren's interview with Dr. Ernst Nolte in the *Journal*, Jan.–Feb. 1994, pp. 15–22, and the review of Nolte's most recent book in the same issue, pp. 37–41.)

He expressed the view that many European leaders — particularly those in France and Britain — welcome an American President like Bill Clinton who does not seem expert at foreign policy matters.

With regard to developments in Germany, Mohler explained that he speaks as both an outsider and an insider, or as one who is "between stools" — that is, born and raised in Switzerland, but a resident of Germany for most of his adult life.

"With the Germans," he said, "you never know exactly what they will do the next day. You may become so involved in what is true at the moment that one thinks things will last for an eternity. People thought this about [Foreign Minister] Genscher." ^[15] In a closing comment, Dr. Mohler declared with wry humor: "In politics everything can change and the personalities of the moment may easily be forgotten."

Notes

1. ☞ Mohler's most important work, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland 1918–1932*, was first published in 1950 in Stuttgart by Friedrich Vorwerk Verlag. Second and third editions were published in Darmstadt. The revised, third edition was published in Darmstadt in 1989 in two volumes (715 pages), with a new supplement.
2. ☞ See, for example: Ezra Pound, *Impact: Essays on Ignorance and the Decline of American Civilization* (Chicago: H. Regnery, 1960); Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899).
3. ☞ Quote from Milan Kundera, "A Kidnapped West of Culture Bows Out," *Granta*, 11 (1984), p. 99. In his influential book *Mitteleuropa*, first published in 1915, Friedrich Naumann popularized the concept of a central European community of nations, dominated by Germany, that would be independent of Russian or British hegemony. Naumann, a liberal German politician and Lutheran theologian, sought to win working class support for a program combining Christian socialism and a strong central state.
4. ☞ As one German intellectual puts it, "The renaissance of Mitteleuropa is first of all a protest against the division of the continent, against the hegemony of the Americans and the Russians, against the totalitarianism of the ideologies." Peter Bender, "Mitteleuropa — Mode, Modell oder Motiv?," *Die Neue Gesellschaft/ Frankfurter Hefte*, 34 (April 1987), p. 297.
5. ☞ For a comprehensive discussion of the recent controversy over Mitteleuropa, See Hans-Georg Betz, "Mitteleuropa and Post-Modern European Identity," in *The New German Critique*, Spring/Summer 1990, Issue No. 50, pp. 173–192.
6. ☞ Mohler, *Die Konservative Revolution* (third edition, Darmstadt, 1989), p. 13.
7. ☞ *Die Konservative Revolution* (third edition), p. 6.
8. ☞ *Die fünfte Republik: Was steht hinter de Gaulle?* (Munich: Piper, 1963).
9. ☞ The movement known as Technocracy began in the United States and was especially active during the 1930s. It focused on technological innovation as the basis for social organization. Among other things, Technocracy held that major social-economic issues are too complicated to be understood and managed by politicians. Instead, society should be guided by trained specialists, especially engineers and scientists. While rejecting the Marx-

ist theory of “class struggle,” it sought to create unity among workers, notably in the industrial heartland of the United States. Much of the popularity of Technocracy derived from widespread disgust with the obvious failure of the social-political order in the international economic crisis known as the Great Depression (approximately 1930–1940). See: Armin Mohler, “Howard Scott und die 'Technocracy': Zur Geschichte der technokratischen Bewegung, II,” *Standorte Im Zeitstrom* (Athenaum Verlag, 1974).

10. ☞ *Vergangenheits bewältigung*, first edition: Seewald, 1968; second, revised edition: Krefeld: Sinus, 1968; third edition, Sinus, 1980. Mohler dedicated this book to Hellmut Diwald. See: “Hellmut Diwald, German Professor,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.–Dec. 1993, pp. 16–17.
 11. ☞ Caspar von Schrenck-Notzing and Armin Mohler, *Deutsche Identität*. Krefeld: Sinus-Verlag, 1982. This book offers views of several leading figures in the movement to restore German national identity. See also von Schrenck-Notzing’s book, *Charakterwäsche: Die Politik der amerikanischen Umerziehung in Deutschland* (“Character Laundering: The Politics of the American Re-education in Germany”). This book, first published in 1965, was reissued in 1993 in a 336-page edition.
 12. ☞ Armin Mohler, *Der Nasenring: Im Dickicht der Vergangenheits bewältigung* (Essen: Heitz & Höffkes, 1989). Revised and expanded edition published in 1991 by Verlag Langen Müller (Munich).
 13. ☞ Arnold Gehlen, *Moral and Hypermoral*. Frankfurt: Athenäum Verlag, 1969.
 14. ☞ See: James Bacque, *Other Losses* (Prima, 1991). Available from the IHR.
 15. ☞ Mohler recounted an anecdote about a German company that considered building a factory in Ireland. As the chief of the Irish branch of this company explained, “I can’t run a factory with people about whom I can’t be sure if they will arrive at 8:00 in the morning or 11:00 in the morning or if they arrive at all.”
 16. The fall from power of Hans-Dietrich Genscher came suddenly and precipitously in the wake of the unification of the two German states in 1989. Mohler alludes here to suspicions that a number of West German Social Democratic party leaders may have been clandestine East Germany agents, whose national allegiance may have been mixed with some loyalty to international Marxism.
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Vilfredo Pareto: Sociologist and Philosopher

Life, Work and Impact of the 'Karl Marx of Fascism'

James Alexander

Few nations have made more impressive contributions to political and social thought than Italy — one need only mention names such as Dante, Machiavelli, and Vico. In the twentieth century as well, the contributions of Italians have been of the highest significance. Among these are Gaetano Mosca's theory of oligarchical rule, Roberto Michels' masterful study of political parties, Corrado Gini's intriguing sociobiological theories, and Scipio Sighele's investigations of the criminal mind and of crowd psychology. [1] One of the most widely respected Italian political theorists and sociologists in this century is Vilfredo Pareto. Indeed, so influential are his writings that "it is not possible to write the history of sociology without referring to Pareto." [2] Throughout all of the vicissitudes and convulsions of twentieth-century political life, Pareto remains "a scholar of universal reputation." [3]

Pareto is additionally important for us today because he is a towering figure in one of Europe's most distinguished, and yet widely suppressed, intellectual currents. This broad school of thought, which includes such diverse figures as Taine, Burckhardt, Donoso Cortés, Nietzsche, and Spengler, stands in staunch opposition to rationalism, liberalism, egalitarianism, Marxism, and all of the other familiar offspring of Enlightenment doctrinaires.

Life and Personality

Vilfredo Federico Damaso Pareto was born in Paris in 1848. [4] Of mixed Italian-French ancestry, he was the only son of the Marquis Raffaele Pareto, an Italian exiled from his native Genoa because of his political views, and Marie Mattenier. Because his father earned a reasonably comfortable living as a hydrological engineer, Pareto was reared in a middle-class environment, enjoying the many advantages that accrued to people of his class in that age. He received a quality education in both France and Italy, ultimately completing a degree in engineering at the Istituto Politecnico of Turin where he graduated at the top of his class. Thereafter he worked as a civil engineer, first for the state-owned Italian railway company and later in private industry.

In 1889 Pareto married Dina Bakunin, a Russian who preferred a very active social life. This clashed with Pareto's own love of privacy and solitude, and after twelve years of marriage Dina abandoned her husband. His second wife, Jane Régis, joined him shortly after the collapse of his marriage, and the two remained deeply devoted to one another throughout the remainder of Pareto's life.

During these years Pareto acquired a deep interest in the political life of his country, and expressed his views on a variety of topics in lectures, in articles for various journals, and in direct

political activity. Steadfast in his support of free enterprise economics and free trade, he never ceased arguing that these concepts were vital necessities for the development of Italy. Vociferous and polemical in his advocacy of these ideas, and sharp in his denunciation of his opponents (who happened to be in power in Italy at that time), his public lectures were sufficiently controversial that they were sometimes raided and closed down by the police and occasionally brought threats of violence from hired thugs. Making little headway with his economic concepts at the time, Pareto retired from active political life. In 1893 he was appointed Professor of Political Economy at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland), where he established his reputation as an economist and sociologist. So substantial did this reputation eventually become that he became known, by both adversaries and admirers, as “the Karl Marx of the Bourgeoisie” or “the Karl Marx of Fascism.” [5] In economic theory, his *Manual of Political Economy* [6] and his penetrating critique of Marxian socialism, *Les Systèmes socialistes*, [7] remain among his most important works.

Pareto turned to sociology somewhat late in life, but he is nonetheless widely acclaimed in this field. His monumental *Treatise on General Sociology*, and two smaller volumes, *The Rise and Fall of the Elites* and *The Transformation of Democracy*, are his sociological masterworks. [8]

The title of Marquis had been bestowed on Pareto’s great-great-great-grandfather in 1729 and, after his father’s death in 1882, that dignity passed to Pareto himself. He never used the title, however, insisting that because it was not earned, it held little meaning for him. Conversely, after his appointment to the University of Lausanne, he did use the honorific “Professor,” because that was a title he felt he merited due to his lifetime of study.

Pareto’s great intelligence caused him difficulties in working under any kind of supervision. All of his life he moved, step by step, toward personal independence. Because he was thoroughly conscious of his own brilliance, his confidence in his abilities and in his intellectual superiority often irritated and offended people around him. Pareto, in discussing almost any question about which he felt certain, could be stubborn in his views and disdainful of those with divergent opinions. Furthermore, he could be harsh and sarcastic in his remarks. As a result, some people came to see him as disputatious, caustic, and careless of people’s feelings.

At the same time, though, Pareto could be generous to those he perceived as “underdogs.” He was always ready to take up his pen in defense of the poor or to denounce corruption in government and the exploitation of those unable to defend themselves. As sociologist Charles Powers has written: [9]

For many years Pareto offered money, shelter, and counsel to political exiles (especially in 1898 following the tumultuous events of that year in Italy). Like his father, Pareto was conservative in his personal tastes and inclinations, but he was also capable of sympathizing with others and appreciating protests for equality of opportunity and freedom of expression. [10] Pareto was a free thinker. In some respects, he is reminiscent of an early libertarian. He was possessed of that duality of mood we continue to find among people who are extremely conservative and yet ardent in their belief in personal liberty.

Because he was an expert in the use of the sword, as well as a crack shot, he was disinclined to give way before any threats to his person, a mode of behavior he considered cowardly and contrary to his personal sense of honor. More than once he sent bullies and thugs running in terror. [11]

During his final years, Pareto suffered from heart disease, and struggled in considerable ill health. He died in Switzerland on August 19, 1923.

Liberalism

A lifelong opponent of Marxism and liberal egalitarianism, Pareto in 1902 issued *Les Systèmes socialistes*, perhaps his most withering broadside against the Marxist-liberal worldview. Considering the almost universal acceptance today of the most salient features of the Marxist-liberal outlook, it is regrettable that this work has not been translated into English in its entirety. Only excerpts have appeared in print. In an often quoted passage that might be taken as a prophetic warning for our own age, Pareto wrote: ^[12]

A sign which almost invariably presages the decadence of an aristocracy is the intrusion of humanitarian feelings and of affected sentimentalizing which render the aristocracy incapable of defending its position. Violence, we should note, is not to be confused with force. Often enough one observes cases in which individuals and classes which have lost the force to maintain themselves in power make themselves more and more hated because of their outbursts of random violence. The strong man strikes only when it is absolutely necessary, and then nothing stops him. Trajan was strong, not violent: Caligula was violent, not strong.

When a living creature loses the sentiments which, in given circumstances are necessary to it in order to maintain the struggle for life, this is a certain sign of degeneration, for the absence of these sentiments will, sooner or later, entail the extinction of the species. The living creature which shrinks from giving blow for blow and from shedding its adversary's blood thereby puts itself at the mercy of this adversary. The sheep has always found a wolf to devour it; if it now escapes this peril, it is only because man reserves it for his own prey. Any people which has horror of blood to the point of not knowing how to defend itself will sooner or later become the prey of some bellicose people or other. There is not perhaps on this globe a single foot of ground which has not been conquered by the sword at some time or other, and where the people occupying it have not maintained themselves on it by force. If the Negroes were stronger than the Europeans, Europe would be partitioned by the Negroes and not Africa by the Europeans. The "right" claimed by people who bestow on themselves the title of "civilized" to conquer other peoples, whom it pleases them to call "uncivilized," is altogether ridiculous, or rather, this right is nothing other than force.

In another portion of this same work that calls to mind the words of German philosopher Oswald Spengler, Pareto similarly warns against what he regarded as the suicidal danger of "humanitarianism": ^[13]

Any elite which is not prepared to join in battle to defend its position is in full decadence, and all that is left to it is to give way to another elite having the virile qualities it lacks. It is pure day-dreaming to imagine that the humanitarian principles it may have proclaimed will be applied to it: its vanquishers will stun it with the implacable cry, "Vae Victis." ["Woe to the vanquished."] The knife of the guillotine was being sharpened in the shadows when, at the end of the eighteenth century, the ruling classes in France were engrossed in developing their "sensibility." This idle and frivolous society, living like a parasite off the country, discoursed at its elegant supper parties of delivering the world from superstition and of crushing "l'Infâme," all unsuspecting that it was itself going to be crushed.

Marxism

A substantial portion of *Les Systèmes socialistes* is devoted to a scathing assessment of the basic premises of Marxism. According to historian H. Stuart Hughes, this work caused Lenin “many a sleepless night.” [14]

In Pareto’s view, the Marxist emphasis on the historical struggle between the unpropertied working class — the proletariat — and the property-owning capitalist class is skewed and terribly misleading. History is indeed full of conflict, but the proletariat-capitalist struggle is merely one of many, and by no means the most historically important. As Pareto explained: [15]

The class struggle, to which Marx has specially drawn attention, is a real factor, the tokens of which are to be found on every page of history. But the struggle is not confined only to two classes: the proletariat and the capitalist; it occurs between an infinite number of groups with different interests, and above all between the elites contending for power. The existence of these groups may vary in duration, they may be based on permanent or more or less temporary characteristics. In the most savage peoples, and perhaps in all, sex determines two of these groups. The oppression of which the proletariat complains, or had cause to complain of, is as nothing in comparison with that which the women of the Australian aborigines suffer. Characteristics to a greater or lesser degree real — nationality, religion, race, language, etc. — may give rise to these groups. In our own day [1902] the struggle of the Czechs and the Germans in Bohemia is more intense than that of the proletariat and the capitalists in England.

The political movement known as Marxism, Pareto believed, represented merely an attempt to supplant one ruling elite with another. However misguided, Marxists struggled for their utopian goal with the passion and tenacity of millennial visionaries. Wrote Pareto: [16]

The socialists of our own day have clearly perceived that the revolution at the end of the eighteenth century led merely to the bourgeoisie’s taking the place of the old elite. They exaggerate a good deal the burden of oppression imposed by the new masters, but they do sincerely believe that a new elite of politicians will stand by their promises better than those which have come and gone up to the present day. All revolutionaries proclaim, in turn, that previous revolutions have ultimately ended up by deceiving the people; it is their revolution alone which is the true revolution. “All previous historical movements” declared the Communist Manifesto of 1848, “were movements of minorities or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority.” Unfortunately this true revolution, which is to bring men an unmixed happiness, is only a deceptive mirage that never becomes a reality. It is akin to the golden age of the millenarians: for ever waited, it is for ever lost in the mists of the future, for ever eluding its devotees just when they think they have it.

Dynamic Sentiment

One of Pareto’s most noteworthy and controversial theories is that human beings are not, for the most part, motivated by logic and reason but rather by sentiment. This idea appears repeatedly in *Les Systèmes socialistes*, and in its most fully developed form in Pareto’s vast *Treatise on General Sociology*. In his *Treatise*, Pareto examined the multitudes of human actions that constitute the outward manifestations of these sentiments, classifying them into six major groups or

“residues.” All of these are common to the whole of mankind, Pareto comments, but certain “residues” stand out more markedly in certain individuals. Additionally, they are unalterable; man’s political nature is not perfectible but remains a constant throughout history.

Class I is the “instinct for combinations.” This is the manifestation of sentiments in individuals and in society that tends towards progressiveness, inventiveness and the desire for adventure. Class II residues have to do with what Pareto calls the “preservation of aggregates,” and encompass the more conservative side of human nature, including loyalty to society’s enduring institutions such as family, church, community and nation, and the desire for permanency and security. Following this comes the need for expressing sentiments through external action, Pareto’s Class III residues. Religious and patriotic ceremonies and pageantry stand out as examples of these residues, and are manifest in such things as saluting the flag, participating in a Christian communion service, marching in a military parade, and so on. In other words, human beings tend to express their feelings in symbols. Next comes the social instinct, Class IV, embracing manifestations of sentiments in support of the individual and societal discipline that is indispensable for maintaining the social structure. This includes phenomena such as self-sacrifice for the sake of family and community, and concepts such as the hierarchical arrangement of societies. Class V is the quality in a society that stresses individual integrity and the integrity of the individual’s possessions and appurtenances. These residues contribute to social stability, systems of criminal and civil law being the most obvious examples. Finally, Class VI is the sexual instinct, or the tendency to see social events in sexual terms.

Foxes and Lions

Throughout his Treatise, Pareto places particular emphasis on the first two of these six residue classes, and to the struggle within individual men as well as in society between innovation and consolidation. The late James Burnham, writer, philosopher, and one of the foremost American disciples of Pareto, states that Pareto’s Class I and II residues are an extension and amplification of certain aspects of political theorizing set down in the fifteenth century by Niccolò Machiavelli. [17] Machiavelli divided humans into two classes, foxes and lions. The qualities he ascribes to these two classes of men resemble quite closely the qualities typical of Pareto’s Class I and Class II residue types. Men with strong Class I residues are the “foxes,” tending to be manipulative, innovative, calculating, and imaginative. Entrepreneurs prone to taking risks, inventors, scientists, authors of fiction, politicians, and creators of complex philosophies fall into this category. Class II men are “lions” and place much more value on traits such as good character and devotion to duty, than on sheer wits. They are the defenders of tradition, the guardians of religious dogma, and the protectors of national honor.

For society to function properly there must be a balance between these two types of individuals; the functional relationship between the two is complementary. To illustrate this point, Pareto offers the example of Kaiser Wilhelm I and his chancellor, Otto von Bismarck. Wilhelm had an abundance of Class II residues, while Bismarck exemplified Class I. Separately, perhaps, neither would have accomplished much, but together they loomed gigantic in nineteenth-century European history, each supplying what the other lacked. [18]

On the other hand, seen from Pareto’s standpoint, the regime of French emperor Napoleon III was a lopsided affair, obsessed with material prosperity and dominated for almost [19] years by such “foxes” as stock-market speculators and contractors who, it is said, divided the national budget among themselves. “In Prussia,” Pareto observes, “one finds a hereditary monarchy supported by a loyal nobility: Class II residues predominate; in France one finds a crowned adventurer supported by a band of speculators and spenders: Class I residues predominate.” [20] Even

more to the point, whereas in Prussia at that time the requirements of the army dictated financial policy, in France the financiers dictated military policy. Accordingly, when the “moment of truth” came in the summer of 1870, the vaunted Second French Empire fell to pieces and was overrun in a matter of weeks. [20]

Justifying 'Derivations'

To rationalize their essentially non-logical, sentiment-driven actions, Pareto observed, people often employ ostensibly logical justifications (or what he called “derivations”). Pareto named four principle classes of derivations: 1) derivations of assertion; 2) derivations of authority; 3) derivations that are in agreement with common sentiments and principles; and, 4) derivations of verbal proof. The first of these include statements of a dogmatic or aphoristic nature, for example the saying, “honesty is the best policy.” The second, authority, is an appeal to people or concepts held in high esteem by tradition. To cite the opinion of one of the American Founding Fathers on some topic of current interest is to draw from Class II derivations. The third deals with appeals to “universal judgment,” the “will of the people,” the “best interests of the majority,” or similar sentiments. And, finally, the fourth relies on various verbal gymnastics, metaphors, allegories, and so forth.

An understanding of Pareto’s outlook provides fresh insights into the paradox of human behavior. His theories of “residues” and “derivations” are a direct challenge to rationalism and liberal ideals in that they illuminate the primitive motivations behind the sentimental slogans and catchwords of political life. Pareto devotes the vast majority of his Treatise to setting forth in great detail these observations about human nature, and to demonstrating the validity of his observations by citing examples from history. His legendary erudition in fields such as Greco-Roman history is reflected throughout this massive tome.

Natural Equilibrium

“Residues” and “derivations,” Pareto argued, are mechanisms by which society maintains its equilibrium. He viewed society as a system, “a whole consisting of interdependent parts. The 'material points or molecules' of the system ... are individuals who are affected by social forces which are marked by constant or common properties.” [21] When imbalances arise, a reaction sets in whereby equilibrium is again achieved. Pareto believed that Italy and France, the two modern societies with which he was most familiar, were grossly out of balance, and that “foxes” were largely in control. Lengthy are his laments in the Treatise about the effete ruling classes in those two countries. In both instances, he held, revolutions were overdue.

As we have already noted, when a ruling class is dominated by men possessing strong Class I residues, intelligence is generally valued over all other qualities. The use of force in dealing with internal and external dangers to the state and nation is shunned, and in its place attempts are made to resolve problems or mitigate threats through negotiation or social tinkering. Rulers in such societies routinely seek to justify their timidity with false humanitarianism.

Misguided Charity

In the domestic sphere, the greatest danger to a society is an excess of criminal activity, with which Class I types attempt to cope by resorting to various supposedly charitable gestures, such as efforts to “rehabilitate” criminals. The inevitable result, as we know only too well, is a country awash in crime. With characteristic sarcasm Pareto comments on this phenomenon: [22]

Modern theorists are in the habit of bitterly reproving ancient “prejudices” whereby the sins of the father were visited upon the son. They fail to notice that there is a similar thing in our own society, in the sense that the sins of the father benefit the son and acquit him of guilt. For the modern criminal it is a great good fortune to be able to count somewhere among his ancestry or other relations a criminal, a lunatic, or just a mere drunkard, for in a court of law that will win him a lighter penalty or, not seldom, an acquittal. Things have come to such a pass that there is hardly a criminal case nowadays where that sort of defense is not put forward. The old metaphysical proof that was used to show that a son should be punished because of his father’s wrongdoing was neither more nor less valid than the proof used nowadays to show that the punishment which otherwise he deserves should for the same reasons be either mitigated or remitted. When, then, the effort to find an excuse for the criminal in the sins of his ancestors proves unavailing, there is still recourse to finding one in the crimes of “society,” which, having failed to provide for the criminal’s happiness, is “guilty” of his crime. And the punishment proceeds to fall not upon “society,” but upon one of its members, who is chosen at random and has nothing whatever to do with the presumed guilt.

Pareto elucidates in a footnote: [23]

The classical case is that of the starving man who steals a loaf of bread. That he should be allowed to go free is understandable enough; but it is less understandable that “society’s” obligation not to let him starve should devolve upon one baker chosen at random and not on society as a whole.

Pareto gives another example, about a woman who tries to shoot her seducer, hits a third party who has nothing to do with her grievance, and is ultimately acquitted by the courts. Finally, he concludes his note with these remarks: [24]

To satisfy sentiments of languorous pity, humanitarian legislators approve “probation” and “suspended sentence” laws, thanks to which a person who has committed a first theft is at once put in a position to commit a second. And why should the luxury of humaneness be paid for by the unfortunate victim of the second theft and not by society as a whole?... As it is, the criminal only is looked after and no one gives a thought to the victim.

Expanding on the proposition that “society” is responsible for the murderous conduct of certain people, with which viewpoint he has no tolerance, he writes: [25]

In any event, we still have not been shown why people who, be it through fault of “society,” happen to be “wanting in the moral sense,” should be allowed freely to walk the streets, killing anybody they please, and so saddling on one unlucky individual the task of paying for a “fault” that is common to all the members of “society.” If our humanitarians would but grant that these estimable individuals who are lacking in a moral sense as a result of “society’s shortcomings” should be made to wear some visible sign of their misfortune in their buttonholes, an honest man would have a chance of seeing them coming and get out of the way.

Foreign Affairs

In foreign affairs, “foxes” tend to judge the wisdom of all policies from a commercial point of view and usually opt for negotiations and compromise, even in dangerous situations. For such men profit and loss are the prime determinants, and though such an outlook may succeed for some time, the final result is usually ruinous. That is because enemies maintaining a balance of “foxes” and “lions” remain capable of appreciating the use of force. Though they may occasionally make a pretense of having been bought off, when the moment is right and their overly ingenious foe is asleep, they strike the lethal blow. In other words, Class I people are accustomed by their excessively-intellectualized preconceptions to believe that “reason” and money are always mightier than the sword, while Class II folk, with their native common sense, do not nurse such fatal delusions. In Pareto’s words, “The fox may, by his cunning, escape for a certain length of time, but the day may come when the lion will reach him with a well-aimed cuff, and that will be the end of the argument.” [26]

'Circulation of the Elites'

Apart from his analyses of residues and derivations, Pareto is most celebrated among sociologists for the theory known as “the circulation of the elites.” Let us remember that Pareto considered society a system in equilibrium, where processes of change tend to set in motion forces that work to restore and maintain social balance.

Pareto asserts that there are two types of elites within society: the governing elite and the non-governing elite. Moreover, the men who make up these elite strata are of two distinct mentalities, the speculator and the rentier. The speculator is the progressive, filled with Class I residues, while the rentier is the conservative, Class II residue type. There is a natural propensity in healthy societies for the two types to alternate in power. When, for example, speculators have made a thorough mess of government, and have outraged the bulk of their countrymen by their corruption and scandals, conservative forces will step to the fore and, in one way or another, replace them. The process, as we have said, is cyclical and more or less inevitable.

Social Opportunity

Another aspect of this theory of the circulation of elites should be noted. According to Pareto, wise rulers seek to reinvigorate their ranks by allowing the best from the lower strata of society to rise and become fully a part of the ruling class. This not only brings the best and brightest to the top, but it deprives the lower classes of potential leaders of talent and ability who might one day prove to be a threat. Summarizing this component of Pareto’s theory, a contemporary sociologist observes that practicality, not pity, demands such a policy: [27]

A dominant group, in Pareto’s opinion, survives only if it provides opportunities for the best persons of other origins to join in its privileges and rewards, and if it does not hesitate to use force to defend these privileges and rewards. Pareto’s irony attacks the elite that becomes humanitarian, tenderhearted rather than tough-minded. Pareto favors opportunity for all competent members of society to advance into the elite, but he is not motivated by feelings of pity for the underprivileged. To express and spread such humanitarian sentiments merely weakens the elite in the defense of its privileges. Moreover, such humanitarian sentiments would easily be a platform for rallying the opposition.

Few aristocracies of long standing grasp the essential nature of this process, noted Pareto, shortsightedly preferring to keep their ranks as exclusive as possible. Time takes its toll, and the rulers become ever weaker and ever less capable of bearing the burden of governing: [28]

It is a specific trait of weak governments. Among the causes of the weakness two especially are to be noted: humanitarianism and cowardice — the cowardice that comes naturally to decadent aristocracies and is in part natural, in part calculated, in “speculator” governments that are primarily concerned with material gain. The humanitarian spirit ... is a malady peculiar to spineless individuals who are richly endowed with certain Class I residues that they have dressed up in sentimental garb.

In the end, of course, the ruling class falls from power. Thus, Pareto writes that “history is a graveyard of aristocracies.” [29]

Pareto and Fascism

Pareto frequently expressed boundless contempt for the pluto-democratic governments that ruled Italy throughout most of his life. As Arthur Livingston writes, “He was convinced that ten men of courage could at any time march on Rome and put the band of 'speculators' that were filling their pockets and ruining Italy to flight.” [30] Consequently, in October 1922, after the Fascist “March on Rome” and Benito Mussolini’s appointment by the King as Prime Minister, “Pareto was able to rise from a sick-bed and utter a triumphant 'I told you so!'" [31] Yet Pareto never became a member of the Fascist Party. Well into his seventies, and severely ill with heart disease, he remained secluded in his villa in Switzerland.

Years before the “March on Rome,” a youthful Mussolini had attended Pareto’s university lectures in Lausanne, listening to the famed professor with rapt attention. “I looked forward to every one,” he later recalled, “for here was a teacher who was outlining the fundamental economic philosophy of the future.” [32] After his elevation to power, Italy’s Duce sought immediately to transform his aged mentor’s thoughts into action: [33]

In the first years of his rule Mussolini literally executed the policy prescribed by Pareto, destroying political liberalism, but at the same time largely replacing state management of private enterprise, diminishing taxes on property, favoring industrial development, imposing a religious education in dogmas ...

During the final months of his life, Pareto was accorded many honors by the new Fascist regime. Mussolini designated the Pareto as delegate to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, made him a Senator of the Kingdom, and listed him as a contributor to his personal periodical, *Gerarchia*. [34] Although he was obliged to decline many of these honors due to the state of his health, he remained favorably disposed towards the Fascist regime, exchanging letters with Mussolini, and offering advice in the formulation of economic and social policy. [35]

Even more than his economic theories, Pareto’s sociological views influenced the policies of the Fascist state. His “*Sociologia generale* has become for many Fascists a treatise on government,” [36] noted one writer at the time. Furthermore, there was conspicuous agreement between Pareto and the new Fascist government at the most foundational level. His theories of rule by elites, his authoritarian proclivities, his uncompromising rejection of the liberal concept of “economic man,” and his belief in an aristocracy of merit are all signal components of the Fascist credo. Without question, the Fascist movement was greatly indebted to the illustrious sociologist for much of its own political theory.

Some writers have speculated that had Pareto lived he would have found many points of disagreement with the Fascist state as it developed. While it is true that he expressed his disapprobation over limitations placed by the regime on freedom of expression, particularly in academia, [37]

it should be noted that it was in Pareto's nature to find fault with nearly all regimes, past and present. It should therefore not be surprising that he found reason occasionally to criticize the Fascists.

Neither Pareto nor Mussolini, it should be pointed out, were rigid ideologues. Mussolini once declared, perhaps a bit hyperbolically, that "every system is a mistake and every theory a prison." [38] While government must be guided by a general set of principles, he believed, one must not be constrained by inflexible doctrines that become nothing more than wearisome impedimenta in dealing with new and unexpected situations. An early Fascist writer explained, in part, Mussolini's affinity with Pareto in this respect: [39]

"To seek!" — a word of power. In a sense, a nobler word than "to find." With more of intention in it, less of chance. You may "find" through a coincidence, and you may "find" something that is false; but he who seeks goes on seeking increasingly, always hoping to attain to the truth. Vilfredo Pareto was a Master of this school. He kept moving. Without movement, Plato said, everything becomes corrupted. As Homer sang, the eternal surge of the sea is the father of mankind. Every one of Pareto's new books or of the new editions of them, includes any number of commentaries upon and modifications of his previous books, and deals in detail with the criticisms, corrections, and objections which they have elicited. He generally refutes his critics, but while doing so, he indicates other and more serious points in regard to which they might have, and ought to have, reproved or questioned him. Reflecting over his subject, he himself proceeds to deal with these points, finding some of them specious, some important, and correcting his earlier conclusions accordingly.

Though Italian Fascist rule came to an end with the military victory of the Anglo-Americans in 1945, that mighty upheaval has not seriously diminished Pareto's influence. New editions of his works, and new books about his view of society, continue regularly to appear. That his ideas endured the catastrophe of the war virtually without damage, and that they are still discussed among and debated by serious thinkers, suggests their universal vitality and timelessness.

Notes

1. ☞ See, for example, W. Rex Crawford, "Representative Italian Contributions to Sociology: Pareto, Loria, Vaccaro, Gini, and Sighele," a chapter in *An Introduction to The History of Sociology*, Harry Elmer Barnes, editor (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1948); Howard Becker and Harry Elmer Barnes, "Sociology in Italy," a chapter in *Social Thought From Lore to Science* (New York: Dover, 1961); and, James Burnham, *The Machiavellians: Defenders of Freedom* (New York: John Day Co., 1943).
2. ☞ G. Duncan Mitchell, *A Hundred Years of Sociology* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968), p. 115.
3. ☞ Herbert W. Schneider, *Making the Fascist State* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1928), p. 102.
4. ☞ Biographical details are taken from Charles H. Powers, *Vilfredo Pareto*, vol. 5, *Masters of Social Theory*, Jonathan H. Turner, editor (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1987), pp. 13–20.
5. ☞ Pareto's Marxist opponents called Pareto "the Karl Marx of the Bourgeoisie." During the 1920s and '30s it was commonplace to call him "the Karl Marx of Fascism," an appellation often proudly bestowed on Pareto by the Fascists themselves.

6. ☞ *Manuale di economia politica* was first published in Milan in 1906. An English-language edition, *Manual of Political Economy* is available with Ann Schwier as translator, and Ann Schwier and Alfred Page as editors (New York: August M. Kelly, 1971).
7. ☞ First published in Paris in 1902–3. The complete text has never appeared in English. A lengthy excerpt appears in Adrian Lyttelton, editor, *Italian Fascisms: From Pareto to Gentile* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1975), pp. 71–90.
8. ☞ *Trattato di Sociologia generale* was first published in two volumes in Florence in 1916. It first appeared in English in 1935 under the title *The Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), translated by Andrew Bongiorno and Arthur Livingston. It was reprinted under this same title in 1963 (New York: Dover), and remains in print (New York: AMS Press, 1983); Pareto's monograph, "Un Applicazione de teorie sociologiche," first published in 1901 in *Revista Italiana di Sociologia*, has been published in English under the title *The Rise and Fall of the Elites: An Application of Theoretical Sociology* (Totowa, New Jersey: The Bedminster Press, 1968; reprint, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1991). Pareto's *Trasformazioni della democrazia* was first published in Milan in 1921. It has appeared in English, *The Transformation of Democracy* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1984), translated by R. Girola, and edited by Charles Power.
9. ☞ Charles H. Powers, *Vilfredo Pareto*, vol. 5, *Masters of Social Theory* (1987), p. 19.
10. ☞ This term, "equality of opportunity" is so misused in our own time, especially in America, that some clarification is appropriate. "Equality of opportunity" refers merely to Pareto's belief that in a healthy society advancement must be opened to superior members of all social classes — "Meritocracy," in other words. See C. H. Powers, *Vilfredo Pareto*, pp. 22–3.
11. ☞ C. H. Powers, *Vilfredo Pareto*, p. 20.
12. ☞ Adrian Lyttelton, editor, *Italian Fascisms: From Pareto to Gentile* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1975), pp. 79–80.
13. ☞ A. Lyttelton, ed., *Italian Fascisms* (1975), p. 81.
14. ☞ H. Stuart Hughes, *Oswald Spengler: A Critical Estimate* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), p. 16.
15. ☞ A. Lyttelton, ed., *Italian Fascisms* (1975), p. 86.
16. ☞ A. Lyttelton, ed., *Italian Fascisms* (1975), pp. 82–3.
17. ☞ James Burnham, *Suicide of the West* (New York: John Day Company, 1964), pp. 248–50.
18. ☞ V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology* (New York: Dover, 1963), 2455. Instead of page numbers, citations from this work are identified by section or passage numbers. Citations are thus uniform in all editions.
19. ☞ V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society: A Treatise on General Sociology* (New York: 1963), 2462. This work is henceforth referred to as V. Pareto, *Treatise*.
20. ☞ V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 2458–72.
21. ☞ Nicholas Timasheff, *Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth* (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 162.
22. ☞ V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 1987.
23. ☞ V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 1987n.
24. ☞ V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 1987n.
25. ☞ V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 1716n.
26. ☞ V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 2480n.

27. [↗](#) Hans L. Zetterberg, "Introduction" to *The Rise and Fall of the Elites* by Vilfredo Pareto, pp. 2–3.
28. [↗](#) V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 2474.
29. [↗](#) V. Pareto, *Treatise*, 2053.
30. [↗](#) V. Pareto, *Treatise*, p. xvii.
31. [↗](#) V. Pareto, *Treatise*, p. xvii.
32. [↗](#) Benito Mussolini, *My Autobiography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), p. 14.
33. [↗](#) Franz Borkenau, *Pareto* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1936), p. 18.
34. [↗](#) F. Borkenau, *Pareto* (1936), p. 18.
35. [↗](#) F. Borkenau, *Pareto* (1936), p. 20.
36. [↗](#) George C. Homans and Charles P. Curtis, Jr., *An Introduction to Pareto* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934), p. 9.
37. [↗](#) F. Borkenau, *Pareto* (1936), p. 18; In a letter to Mussolini written shortly before his death, Pareto cautioned that the Fascist regime must relentlessly strike down all active opponents. Those, however, whose opposition was merely verbal should not be molested since, he believed, that would serve only to conceal public opinion. "Let the crows crow but be merciless when it comes to acts," Pareto admonished Mussolini. Quoted in: Alistair Hamilton, *The Appeal of Fascism: A Study of Intellectuals and Fascism* (New York: 1971), pp. 44–5.
38. [↗](#) Margherita G. Sarfatti, *The Life of Benito Mussolini* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1925), p. 101.
39. [↗](#) M. Sarfatti, *Life of Benito Mussolini* (1925), p. 102.

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Revilo P. Oliver. 1910–1994

Prof. Revilo Oliver — outstanding scholar, brilliant political commentator and good friend of the Institute for Historical Review — died August 10, 1994, at his home in Urbana, Illinois. He was 84. He is survived by Grace, his wife of more than 50 years.

Revilo Pendleton Oliver (his first name was his family name spelled backwards) was born on July 7, 1910, in Corpus Christi, Texas. A scholar of international stature, he knew twelve languages and wrote articles in four of them for prestigious academic publications in the United States and Europe. His first book, published in 1938 by the University of Illinois, was a copiously annotated translation from the Sanskrit of a play, “The Little Clay Cart.” During the Second World War he was Director of Research in a highly secret War Department intelligence agency, and was cited for outstanding service to his country.

Oliver earned his doctorate from the University of Illinois in 1940, and in 1945 he began his teaching career with the Classics department there. During the early 1950s he was both a Guggenheim and a Fulbright fellow. “We regret the loss of professor Oliver,” said James Dengage, current head of the department. “He was a scholar not only in Latin but in Sanskrit with quite a large reputation, an international one.” Miroslav Marcovich, who was head of the department when Oliver retired in 1977, was similarly laudatory: “He was an excellent teacher during 32 years of service, and a great scholar.”

A man of towering intellect and strong convictions, Oliver played an important role in conservative organizations. Between 1955 and 1959, he was a frequent contributor to William Buckley’s *National Review*. He helped to organize the anti-Communist John Birch Society, and for some years served as a member of its National Council. Oliver was a frequent contributor to the Society’s main periodical *American Opinion* until 1966, when he resigned following a policy disagreement with founder Robert Welch. In 1969 he supported the founding of the National Youth Alliance (now the National Alliance), headed by Dr. William Pierce. During the late 1960s and 1970s, Oliver became ever more outspoken and emphatic in his defense of the cultural-racial heritage of Europe and the West.

In an essay written shortly before his death, the editor of the “paleo-conservative” intellectual journal *Chronicles* (Sept. 1994), Thomas Fleming, paid tribute to Oliver’s courage and intellectual integrity:

Oliver is among the most learned men who have descended into the arena of political commentary. Older right-wingers can amuse each other for hours telling stories of Professor Oliver, who used to wear a gun to class because of the many death threats he had received ... [He was] a major scholar, an expert on, among other things, the textual tradition of Tacitus ... a man honest in his prejudices, frank in his follies; most liberals are as incapable of his dignity as of his erudition.

A brilliant and meticulous stylist, Oliver's writing could be elegant and erudite or sarcastic and scathing. It is a tribute to the effectiveness of his style that he was quoted by two of the speakers at the American Renaissance conference on "Race and American Civilization" held last May in Atlanta.

A 375-page collection of his political writings was published in 1982 under the title *America's Decline: The Education of a Conservative*. With a worthy introduction by Georgia attorney Sam G. Dickson, this collection includes a 105-page semi-autobiographical essay by Oliver, along with many of his best *National Review* and *American Opinion* reviews and essays. (*America's Decline*, softcover, is available through the IHR for \$8, plus \$2 shipping.)

From 1980 he served as a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee. Recently, both in a March 11 letter and in a telephone conversation on June 19, Oliver expressed to Journal editor Mark Weber his continued support for the Institute for Historical Review and its mission, under its current leadership.

Sam Dickson, who addressed the Seventh IHR Conference, recalled Oliver's personality and character in a recent memorial tribute:

One of the most noteworthy features of Dr. Oliver's personality was the grace with which he bore his tremendous intellect and erudition ... Through decades of intimate and daily contact with the classics, Dr. Oliver lived physically in contemporary America but with an aura of the timelessness of the values of antiquity. He was not humble. He simply was himself, and as such refrained from patronizing or condescending behavior toward the less educated and humble, just as he refused to flatter the mighty.

Dr. Charles E. Weber, a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee, has written of Oliver: "His work and inspiration will live on. His life and efforts obligate those who knew and admired him to continue in our struggle."

A man of rare hardiness of mind and character, Revilo P. Oliver will be greatly missed.

September/October 1994; Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 21.

On Conservatism, Liberalism, and History

By Revilo P. Oliver

(This sampling of Prof. Oliver's writing is taken from *America's Decline*, pages 1–4, 79–83, 182–183, 187–189, 190–191, 212–213.)

Conservatism

Conservatism, when that word was first used in a political sense, correctly implied the maintenance of existing governmental and social institutions and their preservation from all undesirable innovation and substantial change. In Europe and the United States, however, the term has now acquired a quite different and linguistically improper meaning: it implies the restoration of political and social institutions that were radically changed and subverted to produce the governmental and social institutions that now exist.

Strictly speaking, therefore, “conservatism” has come, paradoxically, to mean reaction, an effort to purge the nation's social and political organization of deleterious accretions and revolutionary changes imposed upon it in recent times, and to restore it to the pristine state in which it existed at some vaguely or precisely defined time in the past. The persons who now call themselves conservatives, if they mean what they propose, are really reactionaries, but eschew the more candid word as prejudicial in propaganda ...

I began as an American conservative: I wished to preserve the American society in which I grew up, not because I was unaware of its many and gross deficiencies, but because I saw it threatened by cunningly instigated agitation for changes that would inevitably destroy it and might ultimately result in a reversion to total barbarism. And with the euphoria of youth, I imagined that the existing structure, if preserved from subversion, would, under the impact of foreseeable and historically inevitable events, accommodate itself to the realities of the physical and biophysical world and perhaps give to the nation an era of Roman greatness.

Over the years, as the fatal subversion proceeded gradually, relentlessly, and often stealthily, and was thoughtlessly accepted by a feckless or befuddled populace, I became increasingly aware that “conservatism” was a misnomer, but I did entertain a hope that the current of thought and feeling represented by the word might succeed in restoring at least the essentials of the society whose passing I regretted. And when I at last decided to involve myself in political effort and agitation, I began a painful and very expensive education in political realities.

Since I have held positions of some importance in several of what seemed the most promising “conservative” movements in the United States, for which I was in one way or another a spokesman, and I was at the same time an attentive observer of the many comparable organizations and of the effective opposition to all such efforts, friends have convinced me that a succinct

and candid account of my political education may make some contribution to the historical record of American “conservatism,” should someone in an unpredictable future be interested in studying its rise and fall ...

I think I may claim without immodesty that I always saw reality more clearly than anyone in the motley procession of self-appointed “leaders” who, inspired by illusory hopes and imagined certainties, arose to “save the nation,” fretted out their little hour on the darkling state of an almost empty theater, and vanished, sometimes pathetically, into the obscurity from which they came. What I dare not affirm is that I ever saw reality as clearly as some of the shrewd men who cynically exploited — and exploit — the residue of patriotic sentiment and the confused instinct of self-preservation that remains in the white Americans who still respond to one or another variety of “right-wing” propaganda ...

... An explicit warning ... This book may come into the hands of readers for whom it is not intended. I do not propose to entertain with anecdotes or to soothe by retelling any of the fairy tales of which Americans seem never to tire. If these pages are worth reading at all, they deal with a problem that is strictly intellectual and historical, and they are therefore addressed only to the comparatively few individuals who are willing and able to consider such questions objectively and dispassionately, thinking exclusively in terms of demonstrable facts and reason, and without reference to the personal wishes and emotional fixations that are commonly called “faith” or “ideals.” It is not my purpose to unsettle the placidity of the many who shrink from unpleasant realities and spare themselves the discomfort of cogitation by assuring themselves that some Savior, most commonly Jesus or Marx, had promised that the earth, if not the whole universe, will soon be rearranged to suit their tastes. As Kipling said of the fanatics of his day, they must cling to their faith, whatever the cost to their rationality: “If they desire a thing, they declare it is true. If they desire it not, though that were death itself, they cry aloud, 'It has never been'.”

Persons who are not capable of objectivity or are unwilling to disturb their cerebral repose by facing displeasing facts should never read pages that cannot but perturb them emotionally. If they do so, they must blame the curiosity that impelled them to read words that were not intended for them. The reader has been warned.

Liberalism

“Liberalism” is a succedaneous religion that was devised late in the Eighteenth Century and it originally included a vague deism. Like the Christianity from which it sprang, it split into various sects and heresies, such as Jacobinism, Fourierism, Owenism, Fabian Socialism, Marxism, and the like. The doctrine of the “Liberal” cults is essentially Christianity divested of its belief in supernatural beings, but retaining its social superstitions, which were originally derived from, and necessarily depend on, the supposed wishes of a god. Thus “Liberalism,” the residue of Christianity, is, despite the fervor with which its votaries hold their faith, merely a logical absurdity, a series of deductions from a premise that had been denied.

The dependence of the “Liberal” cults on a blind and irrational faith was long obscured or concealed by their professed esteem for objective science, which they used as a polemic weapon against orthodox Christianity, much as the Protestants took up the Copernican restoration of heliocentric astronomy as a weapon against the Catholics, who had imprudently decided that the earth could be stopped from revolving about the sun in defiance of Holy Writ by burning intelligent men at the stake or torturing them until they recanted. Pious Protestants would naturally have preferred a cozy little earth, such as their god described in their holy book, but they saw the

advantage of appealing to our racial respect for observed reality to enlist support, while simultaneously stigmatizing their rivals as ignorant obscurantists and ridiculous ranters.

The votaries of “Liberalism” would have much preferred to have the various human species specially created to form one race endowed with the fictitious qualities dear to “Liberal” fancy, but cultists saw the advantage of endorsing the findings of geology and biology, including the evolution of species, in their polemics against orthodox Christianity to show the absurdity of the Jewish version of the Sumerian creation-myth. The hypocrisy of the professed devotion to scientific knowledge was made unmistakable when the “Liberals” began their frantic and often hysterical efforts to suppress scientific knowledge about genetics and the obviously innate difference between the different human species and between the individuals of any given species. At present, the “Liberals” are limited to shrieking and spitting when they are confronted with inconvenient facts, but no one who had heard them in action can have failed to notice how exasperated they are by the limitations that have thus far prevented them from burning wicked biologists and other rational men at the stake.

It is unnecessary to dilate on the superstitions of “Liberalism.” They are obvious in the cult’s holy words. “Liberals” are forever chattering about “all mankind,” a term which does have a specific meaning, as do parallel terms in biology, such as “all marsupials” or “all species of the genus *Canis*,” but the fanatics give to the term a mystic and special meaning, derived from the Zoroastrian myth of “all mankind” and its counterpart in Stoic speculation, but absurd when used by persons who deny the existence of Ahura Mazda or a comparable deity who could be supposed to have imposed a transcendental unit on the manifest diversity of the various human species. “Liberals” rant about “human rights” with the fervor of an evangelist who appeals to what Moses purportedly said, but a moment’s thought suffices to show that, in the absence of a god who might be presumed to have decreed such rights, the only rights are those which the citizens of a stable society, by agreement or by a long usage that has acquired the force of law, bestow on themselves; and while the citizens may show kindness to aliens, slaves, and horses, these beings can have no rights. Furthermore, in societies that have been so subjugated by conquest or the artful manipulation of masses that individuals no longer have constitutional rights that are not subject to revocation by violence or in the name of “social welfare,” there are no rights, strictly speaking, and therefore no citizens — only masses existing in the state of indiscriminate equality of which “Liberals” dream and, of course, a state of de facto slavery, which their masters may deem it expedient, as in the United States at present, to make relatively light until the animals are broken to the yoke.

“Liberals” babble about “One World,” which is to be a “universal democracy” and is “inevitable,” and they thus describe it in the very terms in which the notion was formulated, two thousand years ago, by Philo Judaeus, which he cleverly gave a Stoic coloring to the old Jewish dream of a globe in which all the lower races would obey the masters whom Yahweh, by covenant, appointed to rule over them. And the “Liberal” cults, having rejected the Christian doctrine of “original sin,” which, although based on a silly myth about Adam and Eve, corresponded fairly well to the facts of human nature, have even reverted to the most pernicious aspect of Christianity, which common sense had held in check in Europe until the Eighteenth Century; and they openly exhibit the morbid Christian fascination with whatever is lowly, proletarian, inferior, irrational, debased, deformed, and degenerate. Their maudlin preoccupation with biological refuse, usually sicklied over with such nonsense words as “underprivileged [!],” would make sense, if it had been decreed by a god who perversely chose to become incarnate among the most pestiferous of human races and to select his disciples from among the illiterate dregs of even that peuplade, but since the “Liberals” claim to have rejected belief in such a divinity, their supersti-

tion is exposed as having no basis other than their own resentment of their betters and their professional interest in exploiting the gullibility of their compatriots.

In the Eighteenth Century, Christians whose thinking was cerebral rather than glandular, perceived that their faith was incompatible with observed reality and reluctantly abandoned it. A comparable development is taking place in the waning faith of “Liberalism,” and we may be sure that, despite the cult’s appeal to masses that yearn for an effortless and mindless existence on the animal level, and despite the prolonged use of public schools to deform the minds of all children with “Liberal” myths, the cult would have disappeared, but for the massive support given it today, as to the Christian cults in the ancient world, by the Jews, who have, for more than two thousand years, battered on the venality, credulity, and vices of the races they despise. In 1955, however, the extent and pervasiveness of their power in the United States remained to be determined.

There is one crucial fact that we must not overlook, if we are to see the political situation as it is, rather than in the anamorphosis of some “ideology,” i.e., propaganda-line, whether “Liberal” or “conservative.” The real fulcrum of power in our society is neither the votaries of an ideological sect nor the Jews, clear-sighted and shrewd as they are, but the intelligent members of our own race whose one principle is an unmitigated and ruthless egotism, and implacable determination to satisfy their own ambitions and lusts at whatever cost to their race, the nation, and even their own progeny. And with them we must reckon the bureaucrats, men who, however much or little they may think about the predictable consequences of the policies they carry out, are governed by a corporate determination to sink their probosces ever deeper into the body politic from which they draw their nourishment. Neither of these groups can be regarded as being “Liberal” or as having any other political attitude from conviction. The first are guarded by the lucidity of their minds, and the second by their collective interests, from adhesion to any ideology or other superstition.

History and the Historians

A conservative is essentially a man who is willing to learn from the accumulated experience of mankind. He must strive to observe dispassionately and objectively, and he must read from his observations with a full awareness of the limitations of reason. And he must, above all, have the courage to confront the unpleasant realities of human nature and the world in which we live. That is why history, the vast record of human trial and error, is a discipline for conservatives. It necessarily lies beyond the emotional and intellectual capacities of children, savages, and “liberal intellectuals,” who instinctively flee from reality to live in a dream-world in which the laws of nature can be suspended by the intervention of fairies, witch-doctors, or “social scientists.”

History is a high and arduous discipline in which it is always necessary to collect and weigh complex and often elusive data, and in which, as in so many other fields of research, we must frequently content ourselves with a calculation of probabilities rather than a certainty. And when we try to extract from history the laws of historical development we find ourselves calculating the probability of probabilities — as difficult and delicate a task as the human mind can set for itself.

Fortunately for us, in the practical affairs of this world prudence and common sense (though somewhat uncommon qualities) are an adequate guide and do not depend on answers to the great questions of philosophy. A man may learn not to buy a pig in a poke without finding solution to the epistemological problem that Hume posed so clearly and that yet remains unsolved. We can learn much from history without answering the ultimate questions.

Our minds, however, by their very nature desire a coherent philosophy that will account for the whole of perceived reality. And we live in a time in which we are constantly confronted by claims — some obviously mere propaganda but others seriously and sincerely put forward — that this or that development must take place in the future because it is “historically necessary.” Furthermore, we live in a time in which all but the most thoughtless sense that our very civilization is being eroded by vast and obscure forces which, if unchecked, will soon destroy it utterly — forces that we can identify and understand only if we can ascertain how and why they are shaping our history. And here again we are often told that those forces represent a destiny inherent in civilization itself and therefore irresistible and inescapable.

That is why the development of a working philosophy of history is the most urgent, as well as the most difficult, task of Twentieth Century thought ...

Greece and Rome

History as the reasoned reporting of political and social change was the product of the Greek mind. Indeed, it could be argued that the capacity for history in that sense is the exclusive property of the Western culture that the Greeks created and we inherited — but it would be a fairly long argument. We cannot indulge ourselves in it here, any more than we can undertake a survey of ancient historians. But we should observe that the two basic conceptions of the historical process between which the modern mind must choose were both formed in Classical antiquity. I merely mention two historians who illustrate the contrast.

If we consider his almost superhuman dispassion and objectivity, the intellectual power that enables him to extract the essential from great masses of detail and so write concisely of highly complex events, and his lucid presentation of the evidence included by theory of thesis, we must regard Thucydides as the great historian of all time. With perfect precision he tells us what happened and how it happened; he sees reality with an eye that is never blurred by a tear for his country's fate; and the implacable lucidity of his intellect is no more perturbed by a theory to be demonstrated than it was perturbed by the temptation, which no other writer could have resisted, to add at least a few words to explain or defend his own conduct as a general or to mention his own misfortunes. We cannot read Thucydides without deep emotion, but the emotion is ours, not his; we cannot read him without pondering the lessons of history, but they are lessons that we must draw from the facts, not accept ready-made from the writer.

The future will always resemble the past because human nature does not change; men will always be actuated by the same basic desire and motives; the limitations of human reason and of human willingness to reason constitute a kind of fatality, but the events of history are always the result of human decisions, of wisdom or folly, in dealing with matters that can never be calculated with certainty in advance because the result will to some extent depend on chance — on factors that cannot be predicted. Nations, like men, must suffer the consequences of their own acts — consequences often unforeseen and sometimes unforeseeable — but there is no historical force which compels them to decide how they will act: they are subject, therefore, to no fate, other than that inherent in the limitations of their physical, mental, and moral resources. History is tragic, but it is tragedy in the strict sense of the word, the result of human blindness.

That conception of history contrasts strongly with another, which may be described as either more cowardly, since it does shift responsibility, or more profound, since it tries to account for decisions. The elder Seneca, writing his history of the Civil Wars after the fall of the Roman Republic and the establishment of the Precipitate, was certainly influenced by the Stoic conception of a universe that operates by a strict mechanical necessity in vast cycles from one ecpyrosis to an-

other, endlessly repeating itself. Seneca saw in the Roman people an organism comparable to a man and undergoing, like men, a kind of biological development. Rome spent her infancy under the early kings; adolescent, the nation established a republic and, with the indefatigable vigor of a growing organism, extended its rule over the adjacent parts of Italy; with the strength and resolution of maturity (*iuventus*), Rome conquered virtually all of the world that was worth taking; and then at last, weary and feeling the decline of her powers, unable to muster the strength and resolution to govern herself, she in her old age (*senectus*) resigned herself and her affairs into the hands of a guardian, closing her career as she began it, under the tutelage and governance of a monarch.

Unfortunately, the surviving fragment of Seneca's history does not tell us how soon he thought decrepitude would be followed by death. We cannot even be certain how strictly he applied the fatalism implicit in the analogy; he seems to have believed that nations, like men, could in their maturity a little hasten or retard the onset of senility by the care that they took of themselves. But at best, human will and wisdom can but little affect the biological necessity that carried all living things to the inexorable grave. Seneca was thinking of Rome, rather than of Classical civilization as a whole, but this analogy anticipated the essentials of what we now call the organic, or cyclic, conception of history.

The Modern Dilemma

Modern history begins with the Renaissance, an age which thought of itself, as the name indicates, as a "rebirth" of Classical antiquity. For a long time, men's energies were concentrated in an effort to ascend to the level of high civilization represented by the great ages of Greece and Rome. The most common metaphor described cultural change in terms of day and night: Civilization had reached high noon in the age of Cicero and Virgil; the decadence of the Roman Empire was the gloaming that preceded the long night of the Dark Ages; and the revival of literature and the arts that began with Petrarch was the dawn of a new day — the return of the sun to illumine the earth and rouse the minds of men. This metaphor was intended to mark contrasts, not to draw an analogy. Culture did not come to the world as the sun rises and sets, independently of human effort; on the contrary, literature, philosophy (including what we now call science), and the arts were the products of the highest and most intense creativity of the human mind. It followed, therefore, that civilization was essentially the body of knowledge accumulated and maintained by the intellect and will of men. This sense of constant striving precluded a cyclic or deterministic conception of history, while the awareness that the thread of civilization had been all but broken during the Dark Ages precluded a facile and unthinking optimism.

From the dawn of the Renaissance to the early years of the Twentieth Century men thought of the history of civilization as a continuum that could be reduced to a line on a graph. The line began at the bottom somewhere in pre-history before the time of Homer, rose steadily to a peak in the great age of Athens, dipped a little and then rose again to the Golden Age of Rome, fell steadily toward zero, which it almost reached in the Dark Ages, rose a little in the later Middle Age, and with the Revival of Learning climbed sharply toward a new peak. History thus conceived divided itself into three periods: Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern.

That linear conception of history was simply taken for granted by historians. Guicciardini, Juan de Mariana, Thuanus, Gibbon, and Macaulay differ greatly from one another in outlook, but they all regard the linear conception as apodictic ...

Misgivings

The Nineteenth Century brought to the West the assurance of military superiority over all the other peoples of the world. It seemed certain that the white man, thanks to his technology, would forever rule the globe and its teeming populations. And from this confidence sprang a mad-cap euphoria — a bizarre notion that progress was inevitable and automatic; that civilization, instead of being a precious and fragile creation that men must work very hard to maintain and even harder to improve, had become self-perpetuating and self-augmenting; and that the line on the graph, having risen higher than the highest point attained in antiquity, was destined to move upward forever and forever. That childish fancy, to be sure, did not impose on the best minds of the century (e.g. Burckhardt), but like a heady wine it intoxicated many writers (e.g. Herbert Spencer) who passed for serious thinkers in their day. And it did serve to suggest to reflective minds the question whether or not there was a destiny inherent in the nature of the historical process itself as distinct from the wisdom or folly of decisions made by men.

Toward the end of the century, deep misgivings that could no longer be repressed found expression in such works as Théodore Funck-Brentano's *La civilisation et ses lois*, Brooks Adams' *The Law of Civilization and Decay*, and Henry Adams' *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*. No one thought of doubting the supremacy of the West or its perpetuity, but men began to wonder whether civilization was not falling to a lower level. And to find an answer, they sought to establish a “science of history” — what is now called *historionomy* in English and *métahistoire* in French — which would ascertain the natural laws that govern the development of civilization.

On the eve of the First World War, a few remarkable minds, prescient of the coming catastrophe, formulated the historical question in more drastic and fundamental terms: Was the civilization of the West mortal and already growing old? Would a traveller of some future and alien civilization meditate among the moldering ruins of New York and London and Paris as Volney had meditated among the ruins of Babylon, Baalbec, and Persepolis — and perhaps, like Volney, soothe himself with illusions that his civilization could endure, although all its predecessors had left but heaps of broken stone to attest that they had once existed?

Power in the World

We must understand that the grim question thus posed was at that time, and remains even today, entirely a question of internal decay — of a sickness or debility of the Western mind and will. It was not then, and had not yet become, a question of strength relative to the rest of the world. The power of the nations of the West was, and is, simply overwhelming.

In 1914, men debated whether or not Russia was part of the Western world. Assuming that it was not, it was obvious that there were only two non-Western nations on earth that possessed the military and industrial capacity to offer serious resistance to even a medium-sized nation of the West. And neither Russia nor Japan could have hoped to defeat a major western power except by forming an alliance with another major power of Europe or America. And despite all the efforts of the west to destroy itself in fratricidal wars and by exporting its technology and its wealth to other peoples, that remains in large part true today.

The retreat of the West has been self-imposed, and we must not permit the screeching of “liberals” to distract our attention from that obvious and fundamental fact. Great Britain, for example, was in no sense compelled to relinquish India as a colony. During the great Indian Mutiny of 1857, fifty thousand British troops cut their way through the whole of the India subcontinent, and in little more than a year reduced to complete submission its population of more than one hundred million. And this, *nota bene*, was done at a time when the only basic weapon of warfare was the rifle, so that a man with a rifle on one side was the match of a man with a rifle on the other

side, except insofar as discipline and individual intelligence might make some difference in the use of the common and universally obtainable weapon. In 1946, Great Britain, with all the weapons that are by their very nature a monopoly of great nations, could have snuffed out in a few weeks the most formidable revolt that Nehru and his gang could conceivably have instigated and organized.

The power is still ours. The greater part of the globe lies open for our taking, if we as a nation resolved to take it. Despite all the frenzied efforts in Washington to sabotage the United States for the past thirty years, it is still beyond doubt that if we were so minded, we could, for example, simply take the whole continent of Africa, exterminate the native population; and make the vast and rich area a new frontier for the expansion of our own people. No power on earth — certainly not the Soviet that we have so diligently nurtured and built up with our resources — would dare to oppose us. To be sure, there are good reasons for not annexing Africa, but if we are to think clearly about our place in the world, we must understand that lack of power is not one of them.

That the Western world, with its virtual monopoly of the instruments of power, should slavishly cringe before the hordes for which it felt only contempt when it was less strong than it now is, is obvious proof that our civilization is suffering from some potentially fatal disease or decay that has deprived us — temporarily or permanently — of the intelligence and the will to live. Every philosophy of history, or, if you prefer, every system of historiography, is simply an effort to diagnose our malady — to tell us, in effect, whether the debility and enervation of the West is the result of a curable disease or of an irreversible deterioration ...

Historical Understanding

The social and political questions of our day are all primarily historical problems. To think about them rationally, we must begin by consulting the record of human experience in the past. And we soon realize that if only we knew enough about history — and understood it — we should have the answers to all our questions.

Unique events are always incomprehensible. And every change is unique until it has been repeated often enough to be recognized as forming part of some intelligible pattern. We could not identify even so simple a sensation in our own bodies as hunger, had we not experienced it a thousand times and observed that a good meal invariably abolished it — for a while.

No man lives long enough to behold with his own eyes a pattern of change in society. He is like the midge that is born in the afternoon and dies at sunset, and which, therefore, no matter how intelligent it might be, could never discover, or even suspect, that day and night come in regular alternation. Unlike the midge, however, man can consult the experience of the comparatively few generations of his species that have preceded him during the comparatively brief period of about five thousand years in which human beings have had the power to leave records for the instruction of their posterity.

That, unfortunately, is not enough history to give positive and indubitable answers to many of our questions — but it is all that we have. The historian today is often in the position of the Greek philosophers who tried to decide whether the solar system was geocentric or heliocentric, and could not reach a definite conclusion simply because there was not available in the world a record of sufficiently exact observations recorded over a sufficiently long period of time. The modern historian who tries to explain the rise and fall of civilizations may possibly find the right explanation; but if he does — and if he is really a historian — he knows that, at best, he is in the position of Aristarchus, who first systematized and formulated the heliocentric theory, and who must have known that the theory could not be proved during his own lifetime or for many years

to come. (I.e. not until the annual parallax of at least one fixed star had been determined. This was first accomplished by Bessel in 1838 — three centuries after Copernicus.) What Aristarchus could not anticipate, of course, was that the level of civilization would so fluctuate that it would be twenty-one centuries before men could be certain that he had been right.

The historionomer, though aware that his hypothesis must remain a hypothesis in his time, can draw an analogy in terms of a historical certainty. When civilized mankind lost interest in the problem that Aristarchus tried to solve with his unverifiable theory, it was headed toward a Dark Age in which men forgot facts that had been ascertained — an age so stultified that men forgot that they had once known that the earth was a globe, and so relapsed to the primitive notion that it was flat.

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The Holocaust and the Myth of the Past as History

By [Howard F. Stein](#)

In a letter commenting on my paper, “Judaism and the Group-Fantasy of Martyrdom: The Psycho-dynamic Paradox of Survival Through Persecution,” ^[1] Lewis Brandon [pen name of [David McCalden](#), the first editor of this Journal] posed the question:

I wonder how far you would go along with our view that it is not just the history of the Holocaust which is sanctified, but that the very “Holocaust” itself is a group-fantasy?

This article is an attempt to reply to Brandon’s thoughtful question. My remarks are based on a decade of psychohistorical/anthropological research into ethnicity, nationalism, American culture, and Judaica. ^[2]

My point of departure is the simple observation that between 1933 and 1945 some awesomely terrible things took place in Europe — to everyone. It is, however, another matter to view the entire sordid era through the eyes of a single group — the Jews — and to accept this interpretation as the only valid one. Yet the very essence of “history” is its ethnocentrism. ^[3] One ubiquitous function and purpose of having a sense of history, both individual and group, is to replace the reality of the present and past with a defensive myth of the past through which distorting filter we perceive the past. Were it not one’s need to falsify retrospectively by distorting, we would now have no need for a “revision” of sacred historical orthodoxies. Only by stepping outside the cozening ignorance of our tribal caves do we have that perspective which compels us to revise our cherished errors. Should we wonder why the “Holocaust” is excluded from open scholarly debate — save for those “safe” disputes within the boundary of the permissible — we need only note that the violation of any taboo in a “primitive” society is followed by censure, ostracism, punishment, or death. “History” is socially sacred knowledge. One is duty-bound to revere, and never to question, that knowledge.

But that presses us to other questions. What does each group select to enshroud in ineffable mystery? Why, for Jews, the Holocaust? What, in sanctifying the Holocaust, do Jews not want to know about that grim era? Whatever the “facts” of the Holocaust, it is experienced as a necessity, as part of a recurrent historic pattern. Reality must be made to conform to fantasy. Whatever did happen in the Holocaust must be made to conform to the group-fantasy of what ought to have happened. For the Jews, the term “Holocaust” does not simply denote a single catastrophic era in history, but is a grim metaphor for the meaning of Jewish history. The “Holocaust” lies at the heart of the Jewish experience of time itself. One is either anxiously awaiting persecution, experiencing persecution, recovering from it, or living in a period that is a temporary reprieve from it.

“Holocaust” is thus the timeless fabric into which the 1933-1945 period is woven. Enslavement in Egypt under Pharaoh Ramses II, the two Exiles in Biblical times, pursuit by the Amalekites in the desert on the journey to the Promised Land, the medieval Crusades, expulsion from Spain during the Christian reconquista from the Moors, the uprising of the Ukrainian and Polish peasants in 1648 under Bogdan Chmielnicki, are all inseparable parts of the chain in Jewish history from which perspective the National Socialist period is perceived. Thus the “reality” of the Holocaust is inextricably part of the myth in which it is woven — and for which myth it serves as further confirmatory evidence for the timeless Jewish theme that the world is in conspiracy to annihilate them, one way or another, at least eventually.

The tormented and phantasmagoric Franz Kafka is perhaps this century’s most pure distillation of the Jewish persecutory world. “Every obstacle smashes me,” he writes to Max Brod. His is a world ruled by an inaccessible, implacable “High Command”; his is a godless theology of father-Gods, personified by the Bureaucracy, who are remote, unappeasable, overbearing, capricious, formidable. There is No Exit from history; there is No Respite. Philip Rahv writes hauntingly: [4]

... The clue to *The Trial* is in the reflection that “only our concept of time makes it possible for us to speak of the Day of Judgment by that name; in reality it is a summary court in perpetual session.” And in the same sequence of reflection we find the perfectly typical sentence: “The hunting dogs are playing in the courtyard, but the hare will not escape them, no matter how fast it may be flying already through the woods.” The identification here is plainly with the hare; and with the hunting dogs, too, insofar as they represent the hare’s longing for self-punishment, his inner wish to be cornered, to be hurt, to be torn to pieces so as to atone for the guilt that fills him from top to bottom. In this one short sentence about the hare and the hunting dogs you have the gist of the typical Kafkan narrative, the obsessive theme, the nuclear fable concerning the victim of an unappeasable power to which he returns again and again, varying and complicating its structure with astonishing resourcefulness, and erecting on so slender a foundation such marvelous superstructures as that of the myth of the Old Commander in *In the Penal Colony*, the myth of the Law in *The Trial*, and of the celestial bureaucracy in *The Castle*.

Here, “art” is both history and prophecy about what would become history in World War II.

Myth truly generates reality in its own image. “History” is more than a group projective myth of the past, a screen on which we see what we need to see in order not to encounter reality. The sense of history not only dictates perception of the past, but is a template for the future which will “repeat” the past. Not unexpectedly, Yasir Arafat is often referred to by Israelis as a contemporary exterminationist-Hitler, the Palestine Liberation Organization and El Fatah as Nazis, Brownshirts, SS, and the like. If past, present, and future merge into gauzy sameness, no authentic change can be expected (even though it might be fervently wished): holocausts, walls, ghettos, trials, judgments, punishment are part of the plight of the spectral Ahashueras who is condemned to wander the earth, to be redeemed from history only by death. Now as in the past, historical partners will be found who will only too willingly complement the suicidal wishes of Jews or Israelis. Projected self-hatred returns as provoked hatred. The unofficial Israeli policy of resettlement of Jews on the West Bank; the fanaticism of the Gush Emunim (“Bloc of the Faithful”) who have zealously “occupied” the West Bank; the Israeli claim to the entire city of Jerusalem; the Israeli claim to the West Bank based on “historical” entitlement (Judea/Samaria Biblically — one can manipulate history such that one can justify virtually any claim!); and the overseas financial and moral support given to these adventures by American diaspora Jewry: these together are unconscious provocations against the Arabs for the war of annihilation which

Israelis not only expect but seek in order that the masochistic fantasy come true. Both in the Jewish religious tradition and in secular Israeli nationalism, any awaited-for redemption and resurrection will be heralded by a preceding era of unfathomable cataclysm and bereavement. [5]

Journalist Martin Woollacott writes of the Israelis that: "Refuge is taken in the future, a future in which new outbreaks of anti-Semitism will blast the diaspora. A young and able official, a supporter of the Begin government, knowledgeable and even liberal, said: 'There will be another disaster in world Jewry. It could come in South Africa. It could come in America itself ...'" [6] In the same essay, another Israeli is quoted as saying that "America is the Jewish national home ... Israel is the Jewish national graveyard." [7] These fears of inevitable death are not the product of lone voices, but the litany of Jewish tradition that traces biblically to the prophetic threat of imminent Yahwistic punishment for the commission of sins. But what "sins"? As Gonen has observed, these sins are in fact wishes for the possession of the land (mother), Zion, which is god's Biblical bride. [8] Psychohistorically, Zionism and Israeli nationalism have achieved in reality what is taboo: usurpation of the power of the father-God, the claim upon the mother-land by the son. What remains is the group-fantasy of retribution in which history replays in this third Zionade (return to Zion) the drama of Jewish guilt and punishment.

It turns out that in group history, just as in individual history, an overblown fear camouflages an underlying wish (a point made by Freud eight decades ago). Wim van Leer, an insightful retired Israeli industrialist, writes: "Hatred became an indispensable prop for the maintenance of Jewish cohesion and identity, for whenever the cold eye of ostracism was mellowed by a kindly glint, whenever humanism and liberalism reared their ugly heads, Jewish identity melted away in the warm bath of assimilation." [9] Furthermore, "Provoking this hatred for Israel is one of the few areas where Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government has been a resounding success. A useful tool had been the Gush Emunim ... We revel in our ostracism and, instead of advancing arguments to justify our actions, we reply to criticism with ever more provocative and oppressive actions." [10] Van Leer's article repeatedly uses "provocation," "defiance," "fanaticism," "dogmatic determinism," and "intransigence" to characterize Israeli actions that once again make Jews into an isolated, emotionally ghettoized people, and which will once again occasion the very (next) Holocaust that is as much expected as it is dreaded. We are thus face to face with the terrible psychohistorical truth that Jews must survive in order that they be persecuted.

The scientific discipline of history — indeed, of all behavioral science — ought rightfully to occupy itself with the search for the "facts." Correcting facts is one thing. But to understand the intractable need to edit reality and thereby distort the facts is an equally important matter. Historical myth is one type of "fact" that must be decoded as well as courageously doubted. For, as we know only too well, the myth of the Holocaust has for forty years been more compelling — not only for Jews — than reality. It is this resistance to testing and accepting reality that we must also explain.

Thus, while we constantly struggle to separate myth from fact, we need also to accept the fact that people adhere tenaciously to their mythic world-views in order that they not be compelled to come painfully face to face with the world as it is and the repressed world of their childhood. Collectively as well as individually, we remember in order to forget. In the process, our defenses remove us even further from reality so that the world to which we adapt is hopelessly tangled by our projections and displacements. Jews cling to their history of persecution so that they need not look at their own role in the process (both the act of persecution and the perception of the act). Greatly simplifying what I have written at length elsewhere, [11] this is to say that so central is the Holocaust in that condensation of Jewish history/folklore/myth/world-view, and the like, that it is unimaginable to be a Jew (or even an ideologically anti-"Jewish" Israeli) without it. I would go

so far as to say that one who comprehends the Jewish meaning of “Holocaust” (and I encompass some five thousand years here) has understood the Jewish experience of life: fear of punishment, expectation of punishment, inevitability of punishment, and, finally, unconscious conviction that punishment is deserved (from Yahweh through Hitler through Arafat). Of course, all this is massively defended against — not unsurprisingly, by projecting and displacing the wish and fear onto outer sources of rejection and extermination, and by distorting the reality of history so that it conforms with the myth of history. It is utterly catastrophic for reality-testing when a group-myth, fueled by narcissistic trauma of childhood, family, and unresolved past, finds mirroring “confirmation” in current events.

It is precisely at this point that the Holocaust as sacred symbol collides with a scientific approach to the Holocaust as a fact to be analyzed. The magic of “numbers” has long played an almost hypnotic role in any discussion of the 1933-1945 period. To most Jews, and to many non-Jews, the Holocaust is defined exclusively in terms of the “six million” Jews who perished. Little mention is made of non-Jewish Slavic peoples, or non-Axis peoples of western Europe, who perished. To Jews, the Holocaust, it must be remembered, interweaves two elements of the doctrine of Chosenness: (a) election as moral superiority, and (b) election to suffer. What ethnocentric persecution mania accomplishes is to omit the suffering of non-Jewish victims. It is to say in essence: “Our suffering has more meaning than yours.”

At present, one can notice the same process at work in the Mideast negotiations on the “Palestinian” problem or on the political status of Jerusalem. Those two to three million Palestinian refugees and their children living in Arab lands are, from the point of view of pure fact, exiles in no sense different than were the Jews in Europe and Islamic lands who emigrated to Palestine/Israel. Yet, in religious Zionist and secular Israeli nationalist ideology, Arab exiles are an Arab problem, not an Israeli one; secondly, because Palestine/Israel was envisioned from the outset as a Jewish state and homeland (Der Judenstaat, published in 1896, the title of Theodor Herzl’s manifesto), Arabs would either have to accommodate to the new ethno-nationalist hegemony or leave; and finally, although Jerusalem is a holy city to Jewish, Christian, and Islamic faiths alike, Israelis rationalize their greater entitlement to the whole of it because of ancient historic precedent.

Narcissistic self-preoccupation knows no empathy for others outside the self or group-self. This has been the fate both of primitive ethnocentrism and rabid nationalism. “We” (Jews) are good; “they” (Gentiles) are evil. What is more, because “we” are Chosen (if not by God, then at least by the duty-bound guilt of the world’s nations), the fate of our people is of greater consequence than that of those who oppose us. With the same taunting arrogance of those whom they fled in Europe, Israelis assert, in essence, that “The future belongs to us.” What matters, in ethno-nationalist terms, is not the enormity of the “numbers,” but whose they are: who counts and who is discountable. The expansive claim by Jews and Israelis on land in the Mideast as “atonement” exacted from the world for historic injustices visited upon them is one powerful expression of the narcissistic principle of entitlement. Vengeful demand for restitution underlies the seemingly idealistic contemporary principles of “human rights” based on ethnic, national, or religious grounds.

Let me take this a step further. If Jews feel that their suffering is more significant and historically memorable than that which was afflicted on non-Jewish victims of the Nazis, what then, are we to make of the suffering of the Germans during the same period? How are we to understand their role in modern European history? Do we not need also to “revise” the great mythology of the West (one held by Russia as well) which holds that psychogeographically, Germany is the perpetual “bad boy” and menacing nemesis of the West, a people who must be kept under vigilant

watch (although their economy supported!), and who must remain divided (symbolized by that simple yet sinister wall in Berlin) lest their inherent evil be once again unleashed?

Part of the West's myth of Germany is its denial of flagrant atrocities committed against Germany in the name of democracy. The infamous bombing of Dresden is the most conspicuous example in Europe. (The use of the atomic bomb on Japan is the parallel on the Asian front.) In warfare there is invariably a double-standard: what "we" do against the enemy is justified, what "they" do against us is "criminal," "barbaric," and the like. Not the deed itself, but who perpetrated it, is our fatuous relativistic argument! Psychologically, the process is disarmingly simple: we fight in our enemies what we hate in ourselves and conveniently locate in them. We fight a disowned part of ourselves in them; in killing them, as symbolic embodiments of our evil, we cleanse ourselves of that evil — at least temporarily, until the next need for purging through war arises.

The core of revisionism must be the re-humanization of all participants, whatever their role, in the Second World War. The consequence, I propose, will be a discovery of a systemic irrationality in which Germany cannot be singled out for blame. "Holocaust" will acquire a far more encompassing meaning in which the drama of the "family" of nations transcends any easy distinction between villains and victims. Let me cite a brief poignant example offered by Professor George Kren: ^[12]

I vividly recall a trip in a bus from a psychohistory conference to the airport where I had suggested that I had considered learning to fly a light plane so that I could fly to the various conferences without the hassle of airports and reservations. One of the members of our party, a psychiatrist, indicated that he had been a pilot in the Second World War and described to us in detail his participation in the bombing of Dresden. He was clearly nostalgic. He analyzed the technical problems of getting that many planes into the air so that they would not collide, and then enthusiastically described how the American methods of coming over the target were so much more destructive than the British ones. There appeared an almost erotic infatuation with the technical destructive apparatus. Yet by contemporary psychiatric and for that matter social standards that person was and is totally normal.

A psychohistoric revisionism leads to a radically new interpretation not only of international conduct during the War, but of the very causes of the War itself. Psychohistorian Henry Ebel observes that "Nazism was not only a German but a world event — and that to see the Nazi movement entirely within the German context is to distort its meaning." ^[13] The regnant myth in the West is that xenophobic, paranoid, self-aggrandizing, anti-Semitic German nationalism was an exclusively indigenous event whose rabid, cancerous spread had to be stopped by nations "allied" to preserve freedom — nations free of the blemishes that tainted Germany.

Here, quite plainly, projection onto Germany plays a dominant role in the creation of the myth of German uncontrollably, invincibility, and the like. We fight the enemies we first make, enemies we need in order that we be "complete" — at a distance. As psychoanalyst and anthropologist George Devereux writes: "A common defense against the thought that one is psychologically disturbed consists of an attempt to represent the disturbance as peripheral to the self." ^[14] That is: my problem is you!

Until now, most students of World War II have focused on German projection onto Jews. Conspicuously absent have been studies of stereotypes about Germany which made Germans appear as monsters beyond the pale of humanity. What we are discerning, however, is a far more com-

plex complementary system of projection in the international family, one in which the Jews were a single sub-system. What could not be tolerated in the “democratic” nations of the West was located exclusively in a supposedly venomous German “national character” that had its roots fifteen centuries earlier in the barbaric invasion by the Goths. If nations wanted Germany to act out aggressively, how then could they be expected to stop Germany before Germany was allowed first to wage war? In a process identical to that of a family with a “deviant” or “sick” member, likewise within the international “family” of nations, “specific members take on specific roles that serve distinct roles for all the other members of the family.” [15] Indeed, one member of the “family” cannot change without threatening the stability of the entire family.

The emotional role of “aggressor” that the West “assigned” to Germany was first observed by British historian A. J. P. Taylor in *The Origins of the Second World War* [16] — a work for which he incurred the odium theologicum of the scholarly community, not to mention the accusation of being a Fascist sympathizer. What this early “Revisionist” Taylor noted was simply that from the mid-1930s the statesmen of the West were giving Hitler cues to indulge his madness, giving him latitude to flex his muscles, turning away their heads as he continuously tested his limits and found no obstacle in his path.

Today we would say that the complementary pathology of those “normal”-appearing nations of the West was the very thing which permitted Hitler to dare even further. What is true for pathological family systems [17] is equally true for pathological international (group) systems. The officially “normal” are able to mask their sickness and shore up their stability only as their designated deviants do their mischief for them.

Very briefly, for instance, consider the role of France in the late 1930s. According to the myth in the West, vulnerable France was victim to the unstoppable Blitzkrieg that Hitler unleashed mercilessly in 1939. Yet, in some recent psycho-historic work, Jacques Szaluta and Stephen Ryan [18] turn this interpretation of the fall of France upside down (likewise, David Beisel [19] reinterprets the Munich “mistake” as based on the West’s passivity and denial of reality, beneath which lay an encouragement for Germany to press even further).

Szaluta and Ryan link the fall of Republican France to a French fear of and wish for abandonment, expressed in fantasies of defeat, suicide, homosexual surrender, punishment, and the need to pay for pleasure with pain. How could a France which felt feminized possibly feel strong enough to repel Germany’s penetration? Likewise, how could Marshall Pétain, leader of the Vichy government, resist the Germans when his own heightened conflicts over abandonment led him, like his countrymen who followed him, to abandon France to Germany? Psychologically, what the French felt they deserved they allowed to happen — with their passive complicity. Fantasy, in other words, so powerfully affected the perception of reality that it helped bring about the very reality which was as much sought as it was consciously repudiated.

It was the West’s fantasy about Hitler’s and Germany’s virility (masculinity) that gave the Nazis the time and space and practice to perfect their fantasy in reality. Were it not for this deadly combination of admiration, envy, passivity, and delegation of the “aggressor” role, the West would not have given such license to German impudence. Not only did Hitler believe his propaganda, but his later adversaries were paralyzed by it because they also wanted to believe it.

In fact, rather than fantasy, Hitler was ill-prepared for war in September 1939. Yet it was the shared, complementary, fantasy, rather than military fact that prevailed — and which allowed the Germans to translate their group-fantasy (reversal of the trauma of 1918; the resurrection of the “betrayed” Siegfried into superhuman heroism) into fact. Ebel notes that [20]

Sixty percent of the German artillery, in 1939, was still being pulled by horses, and to accomplish the Blitzkrieg invasion of France he had to skim the armored units from a great number of divisions and fling them into the center of France. Had the French refused to panic at the sight of those flags moving across the map, and vigorously counterattacked, they might well have won. Instead, they could not bring themselves to believe that any world leader might be willing to bet on the potency of his theatrical fantasies — and they allowed themselves to be intimidated into surrendering. Afterward, there were French commentators who declared that defeat was inevitable in view of the greater “virility” of the German uniforms and the German military panache.

The Triumph of the Will was a joint venture between the victor and the vanquished. Ebel writes further: [\[21\]](#)

The fact that the Western powers, before the Second World war, seemed to be sending out encouraging signals to Hitler — including encouragements for his anti-Semitic policies — is perfectly understandable, however, once we acknowledge the extent to which Hitler and Nazism were “acting out” their [the Western powers'] own suppressed impulses; indeed, the extent to which they were able to suppress those impulses only because he was acting them out.

Finally, writes Ebel, [\[22\]](#)

In its anger, its militarism, its aggressiveness, and its rituals of triumph and national purpose, Germany was serving as a delegate of all the other nations, acting out the materials [?] that their own citizens were not prepared to acknowledge — directly and openly — as being “their own.” The enemy, as always, was also oneself ...

Viewed in this perspective, the Germans were every bit as much victims — both of their own national psychology, mythology, and of their role in the international family — as were the Jews. It was the fatal symbiosis of nations that resulted in a Holocaust in the wake of whose unprecedented fratricide (not reducible to “genocide”) only Death was victor. So long as we persist in viewing and debating the “Holocaust” as though it were primarily a Jewish or Jewish/German event, we will miss its tragic enormity for all who participated in it.

It is thus proper that a paper which began with a discussion of the Jewish myth of the Holocaust, concludes with the preliminary formulation of a revision of the entire Western myth of the 1933-1945 period. No single group can claim that period as its private property. In the earlier part of this paper, I briefly explored the meaning of the Jewish claim on the Holocaust. In the final section of the paper, I have argued that to over-focus on the fate of the Jews is to join rather than analyze the truly inter-national group-fantasy of World War II: it is to postpone insight into what was a Holocaust for all humanity.

Notes

1. [☞](#) Howard F. Stein, “Judaism and the Group-Fantasy of Martyrdom: The Psychodynamic Paradox of Survival Through Persecution,” *The Journal of Psychohistory*, Fall 1978 (Vol. 6, No. 2), pp. 151-210.
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3. [↗](#) Howard F. Stein, "Psychohistory and the Problem of Historical Understanding: Reflections on the Metapsychology of History," Invited paper presented at the annual meetings of the Western Social Science Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 24, 1990.
 4. [↗](#) Philip Rahv, "Introduction," *Selected Short Stories of Franz Kafka* (Random House, 1952), pp. x-xi.
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 7. [↗](#) M. Woollacott, Article cited above, *The Guardian*, June 10, 1979.
 8. [↗](#) J. Y. Gonen, "Resurrection and Bereavement" (1980). Paper cited above.
 9. [↗](#) Wim van Leer, "In Israel, 'We Revel in Our Ostracism'," *The New York Times*, March 3, 1980.
 10. [↗](#) Wim van Leer (1980). Cited above.
 11. [↗](#) See works by Howard F. Stein from 1975, 1977, 1978. Cited above.
 12. [↗](#) George Kren, "The Psychohistorical Interpretation of Nazism and the Social Construction of Evil." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Western Social Science Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico, April 24, 1980.
 13. [↗](#) Henry Ebel, "How Nations 'Use' Each Other Psychologically." Manuscript, February 1980. Quoted with permission.
 14. [↗](#) George Devereux, "The Works of George Devereux," in *The Making of Psychological Anthropology*. George D. Spindler, Ed. (University of California Press, 1978), p. 379.
 15. [↗](#) Henry Ebel, 1980. Manuscript cited above.
 16. [↗](#) A. J. P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (Fawcett, 1978).
 17. [↗](#) Fred M. Sander, *Individual and Family Therapy: Toward an Integration* (New York: Jason Aronson, 1980).
 18. [↗](#) Jacques Szaluta, "The Fall of Republican France: A Psychohistorical Examination." Paper presented at panel on France and Britain in the Development of the Second World War, Third annual convention of the International Psychohistorical Association, New York City, June 12, 1980; Ryan, Stephen. "Pétain and Vichy." Paper presented at this same 1980 panel.
 19. [↗](#) David R. Beisel, "Chamberlain and the Munich Crisis." Paper presented at this same 1980 panel (cited in Note 18).
 20. [↗](#) Henry Ebel, 1980. Manuscript cited above (in Note 13).
 21. [↗](#) Henry Ebel. Same source.
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Searching for Purpose in the 'Post-Modern' World

Vaclav Havel

There are thinkers who claim that if the modern age began with the discovery of America, it also ended in America. This is said to have occurred in the year 1969, when America sent the first men to the moon. From this historical moment, they say, a new age in the life of humanity can be dated.

I think there are good reasons for suggesting that the modern age has ended. Today, many things indicate that we are going through a transitional period, when it seems that something is on the way out and something else is painfully being born. It is as if something were crumbling, decaying, and exhausting itself, while something else, still indistinct, were arising from the rubble.

Periods of history when values undergo a fundamental shift are certainly not unprecedented ... The distinguishing features of such transitional periods are a mixing and blending of cultures and a plurality or parallelism of intellectual and spiritual worlds. These are periods when all consistent value systems collapse, when cultures distant in time and space are discovered or rediscovered. They are periods when there is a tendency to quote, to imitate and to amplify, rather than to state with authority or integrate. New meaning is gradually born from the encounter, or the intersection, of many different elements.

Today, this state of mind ... is called post-modernism. For me, a symbol of that state is a Bedouin mounted on a camel and clad in traditional robes under which he is wearing jeans, with a transistor radio in his hands and an ad for Coca-Cola on the camel's back. I am not ridiculing this, nor am I shedding an intellectual tear over the commercial expansion of the West that destroys alien cultures.

I see it rather as a typical expression of the multicultural era, a signal that an amalgamation of cultures is taking place. I see it as proof that something is happening, something is being born, that we are in a phase when one age is succeeding another, when everything is possible ...

This is related to the crisis, or to the transformation, of science as the basis of the modern conception of the world. The dizzying development of this science, with its unconditional faith in objective reality and its complete dependency on general and rationally knowable laws, led to the birth of modern technological civilization. It is the first civilization in the history of the human race that spans the entire globe and firmly binds together all human societies, submitting them to a common global destiny.

It was this science that enabled man, for the first time, to see Earth from space with his own eyes, that is, to see it as another star in the sky.

At the same time, however, the relationship to the world that modern science fostered and shaped now appears to have exhausted its potential. It is increasingly clear that, strangely, the relationship is missing something. It fails to connect with the most intrinsic nature or reality, and with natural human experience. It is now more of a source of disintegration and doubt than a source of integration and meaning. It produces what amounts to a state of schizophrenia: man as an observer is becoming completely alienated from himself as a being.

Classical modern science described only the surface of things, a single dimension of reality. And the more dogmatically science treated it as the only dimension, as the very essence of reality, the more misleading it became. Today, for instance, we may know immeasurably more about the universe than our ancestors did, and yet, it increasingly seems they knew something more essential about it than we do, something that escapes us. The same thing is true of nature and of ourselves. The more thoroughly all our organs and their functions, their internal structure, and the biochemical reactions that take place within them are described, the more we seem to fail to grasp the spirit, purpose, and meaning of the system that they create together and that we experience as our unique “self.”

And thus today we find ourselves in a paradoxical situation. We enjoy all the achievements of modern civilization that have made our physical existence on this Earth easier in so many important ways. Yet we do not know exactly what to do with ourselves, where to turn. The world of our experiences seems chaotic, disconnected, confusing. There appear to be no integrating forces, no unified meaning, no true inner understanding of phenomena in our experience of the world. Experts can explain anything in the objective world to us, yet we understand our own lives less and less. In short, we live in the post-modern world, where everything is possible and almost nothing is certain ...

The abyss between the rational and the spiritual, the external and the internal, the objective and the subjective, the technical and the moral, the universal and the unique constantly grows deeper.

These questions have been highlighted with particular urgency by the two most important political events in the second half of the 20th century: the collapse of colonial hegemony and the fall of Communism. The artificial world order of the past decades had collapsed and a new, more just, order has not yet emerged. The central political task of the final years of this century, then, is the creation of a new model of coexistence among the various cultures, peoples, races, and religious spheres within a single interconnected civilization. This task is all the more urgent because other threats to contemporary humanity brought about by one-dimensional development of civilization are growing more serious all the time.

Many believe this task can be accomplished through technical means ... But such efforts are doomed to failure if they do not grow out of something deeper, out of generally held values.

This, too, is well-known. And in searching for the most natural source for the creation of a new world order, we usually look to an area that is the traditional foundation of modern justice and a great achievement of the modern age: to a set of values that — among other things — were first declared in (Independence Hall). I am referring to respect for the unique human being and his or her liberties and inalienable rights, and the principle that all power derives from the people. I am, in short, referring to the fundamental ideas of modern democracy.

The idea of human rights and freedoms must be an integral part of any meaningful world order. Yet I think it must be anchored in a different place, and in a different way, than has been the case so far. If it is to be more than just a slogan mocked by half the world, it cannot be expressed in

the language of a departing era, and it must not be mere froth floating on the subsiding waters of faith in a purely scientific relationship to the world ...

A modern philosopher once said: "Only a God can save us now." Yes, the only real hope of people today is probably a renewal of our certainty that we are rooted in the Earth and, at the same time, the cosmos. This awareness endows us with the capacity for self-transcendence. Politicians at international forums may reiterate a thousand times that the basis of the new world order must be universal respect for human rights, but it will mean nothing as long as this imperative does not derive from the respect of the miracle of being, the miracle of the universe, the miracle of nature, the miracle of our own existence. Only someone who submits in the authority of the universal order and of creation, who values the right to be a part of it and a participant in it, can genuinely value himself and his neighbors, and thus honor their rights as well.

It logically follows that, in today's multicultural world, the truly reliable path to coexistence, to peaceful coexistence and creative cooperation, must start from what is at the root of all cultures and what lies infinitely deeper in human hearts and minds than political opinion, convictions, antipathies, or sympathies: It must be rooted in self-transcendence. Transcendence as the only real alternative to extinction.

The Declaration of Independence, adopted 218 years ago in this building, states that the Creator gave man the right to liberty. It seems man can realize that liberty only if he does not forget the one who endowed him with it.

September/October 1994; Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 36.

Holocaust Hate Propaganda Targets Germans

Mark Weber

An important component of the seemingly perpetual Holocaust media campaign is the promotion of ugly and hateful images of Germans. A good example is the cartoon shown here. It appeared in the April 1, 1994, issue of the Jewish Press, an influential Brooklyn, New York, weekly with a claimed circulation of 160,000.

Such hate-mongering is not confined to papers such as the Jewish Week. Jewish writer Elie Wiesel, who has been honored by American presidents, wrote in one widely circulated work, *Legends of Our Time*: “Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set apart a zone of hate — healthy, virile hate — for what the German personifies and for what persists in the German.” Similarly, Steven Spielberg’s widely acclaimed motion picture “Schindler’s List” depicts Germans as brutal, corrupt, evil and mindless. The only exception is the main character, Oskar Schindler, who is portrayed positively only in so far as he helps Jews.

Even US government officials contribute to the bigotry. During the March 20, 1994, “60 Minutes” broadcast, Michael Berenbaum, an official of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, blamed “the Germans” for killing millions of European Jews during the Second World War.

So acceptable is such anti-German defamation in American newspapers, books, motion pictures and television that examples such as these rarely provoke even the slightest murmur of protest, even by groups such as the powerful Anti-Defamation League, which hypocritically claims to be concerned for the dignity of all.

November/December 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 6), page 2

Spirited Twelfth IHR Conference Brings Together Leading Revisionist Scholars and Activists

Defying Powerful Adversaries, Institute Marks Progress

From across the United States and several foreign countries, scholars, activists, and friends of the Institute for Historical Review met over the September 3-5 weekend in southern California for the IHR's landmark Twelfth International Revisionist Conference.

This Conference, one of the most spirited and successful ever, featured leading figures in the growing international revisionist movement. It was characterized, attendees agreed, by high morale and a confident sense of progress. About 125 men and women attended the Conference, which met in a pleasant hotel meeting hall in Irvine.

Leading revisionist activists provided attendees with the exciting inside story about major achievements, as well as the latest efforts of our adversaries, in the international campaign for greater historical awareness about the most hyped and taboo-laden chapters of history. In addition, prominent revisionist scholars shared new research discoveries and breakthrough insights that further shatter major icons of "official" history. (As usual, Conference presentations are available on audio- and video-tape cassettes, and most will also be published in the *Journal*.)

Underscoring its international tone, Conference speakers arrived from Italy, France, Switzerland, Britain and Canada, as well as the United States, while attendees from Finland, Argentina, Britain and Switzerland were among those who traveled to southern California specifically to attend this meeting.

As at previous IHR conferences, attendees took advantage of this opportunity to meet personally and talk privately with the speakers and fellow attendees, many of whom are themselves important revisionist activists.

This gathering, one of the most informative, inspiring and memorable ever, was particularly important in light of the major developments since the last, Eleventh IHR Conference in October 1992.

David Irving

In his familiar riveting and entertaining style, best-selling British historian David Irving presented startling new facts and insights about Joseph Goebbels, based in large part on his headline-making research in Moscow archives of the Third Reich propaganda chief's long-hidden personal diaries.

At the last IHR Conference, Irving explained how he was able to gain access to the diaries, which were recorded on fragile glass plates. Having in the meantime carefully evaluated this priceless historical material, Irving related new findings and insights from this and other sources to present a fuller and more rounded portrait of Hitler's propaganda chief, and of the internal life of the Third Reich.

Contrary to the popular propaganda image, said Irving, Goebbels' animosity against the Jews, which was more severe than Hitler's, reached its full intensity only after, and in response to, the Jewish wartime propaganda campaign against Germany.

Spicing his presentation with anecdotes about Goebbels' private life, Irving discredited the propaganda image of him as a profligate womanizer. In fact, Irving related, Goebbels' sexual experiences were quite limited.

Speaking about the notorious *Kristallnacht* outburst of anti-Jewish violence in Germany on November 9, 1938, Irving pointedly took issue with the thesis of German revisionist historian Ingrid Weckert, who addressed the Sixth, 1985 IHR Conference. (On that occasion, Weckert presented evidence to suggest that Goebbels had no advance knowledge of the *Kristallnacht* outburst, and that the violence may have been incited by anti-German *agents provocateurs*. Weckert's thesis is detailed in her book *Flashpoint*, published by the IHR.)

In fact, said Irving, the evidence shows that Goebbels played the crucial role in inciting the anti-Jewish "Crystal Night" violence.

This disagreement between Irving and Weckert — which Irving referred to as "a revisionist revising a revisionist" — is precisely the kind of thoughtful disputation among revisionist scholars (including IHR conference speakers) that points up the intellectual vitality and integrity of the Institute for Historical Review.

Irving, one of the world's most prolific historians, also updated attendees on the ever more frantic international campaign to muzzle him — and all others who dare to defy the powerful worldwide Holocaust lobby. He told about his new lawsuit against the Canadian government for unlawful detention during his 1992 speaking tour — an arrest that was later cited by the New Zealand and Australian governments to justify their own bans against him.

As at previous IHR conferences, Irving sold and autographed copies of his books.

Ernst Zündel

German-Canadian publicist and civil rights activist Ernst Zündel delivered the Sunday evening banquet address. His appearance was particularly welcome because, although he attended the first IHR conference in 1979, he had been barred by the US State Department from entering this country to address several subsequent IHR conferences.

Zündel devoted the first part of his banquet presentation to an eloquent expression of gratitude for all those who, over the years, have contributed significantly to the revisionist cause. He expressed special appreciation for the role of the Institute for Historical Review, and took time to remember friends and supporters who are no longer alive, including Frank Walus, Joseph Burg, Dr. William Lindsey and IHR co-founder **David McCalden**. Zündel related all this to his two widely publicized "Holocaust trials" (1985 and 1988), which brought major breakthroughs for historical revisionism and an important victory for free speech in Canada.

During the second portion of his presentation, he reported on his recent visit to Russia, where he met with important Russian nationalist figures, including Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the prominent opposition political leader.

In the wake of the collapse of Communism, said Zündel, a process of full-scale historical revisionism is now taking place in Russia. People are enduring a drastic, soul-searching re-evaluation of their national history and collective self-identity. This includes a dramatic reassessment of the Second World War. Oddly enough, said Zündel, many nationalist Russians view both Stalin and Hitler rather sympathetically.

Predicting that Russia would take a course that is neither Communist nor liberal-democratic/Capitalist, Zündel spoke with hope about the possibilities of future close collaboration between a revived, nationalist Russia and a revived, nationalist Germany.

Zündel, who was interviewed by journalist Mike Wallace for an appearance on a March 1994 broadcast of the popular “60 Minutes” television show, has been devoting considerable time in recent months to a new international television and radio broadcast outreach campaign.

Robert Faurisson

Robert Faurisson delighted attendees with a fascinating and witty description of his visit, just days earlier, to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, where he met with Museum official Michael Berenbaum in his office.

Faurisson spoke with Berenbaum about the model on display at the Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau Crematory II, which shows an SS man pouring Zyklon B in vents on the roof of the supposed “gas chamber” and through perforated pillars. This model, the French scholar told Berenbaum, is preposterous because, as any visitor to Birkenau can determine for himself, there are no vents or regular holes in the roofs of the supposed “gas chamber.” Berenbaum made no effort to defend the model, said Faurisson.

Faurisson asked Berenbaum why the Museum had not answered his challenge to “Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!” (See the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, p. 23.) After some prodding, Berenbaum eventually related that “the decision has been made not to give any physical representation of the Nazi gas chambers.”

In response to Faurisson’s pointed questions and comments, Berenbaum angrily lost control of himself. “I thought he was going to smack me,” said Faurisson.

Faurisson, a French university professor (and frequent *Journal* contributor), was the first person to dig up and publish key documents from the Auschwitz construction department archives. After attempting for years to ignore this evidence, his hard-pressed enemies are now obliged to offer responses, albeit confused ones.

For years he has been the victim of vicious media attacks and a campaign of legal persecution in his native France, where it is a crime publicly to challenge the currently fashionable view of the Holocaust extermination story.

Carlo Mattogno

Carlo Mattogno, Italy's foremost revisionist scholar, explained that newly-uncovered German records held for years in Soviet archives, supported with other documentary and forensic evidence he has collected in years of research, thoroughly discredit claims of mass extermination of Jews at Auschwitz. His presentation summarized findings and conclusions of his new 150-page book, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend: A Critique of J. C. Pressac*, which was published by the IHR just in time for sale at this Conference. Mattogno autographed numerous copies of the book for attendees.

Mattogno, a scholar of rare precision and exactitude with an impressive command of languages, cited copious evidence collected during years of meticulous research to explain that the crematories at Auschwitz simply were not capable of handling the number of corpses alleged to have been produced from the supposed extermination process. Even if operated at maximum capacity, the crematory ovens could not possibly have handled anything like the numbers of corpses alleged.

Appearing with Mattogno as his translator was Russ Granata, a retired southern California teacher who provided critical help in making possible the publication of *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*.

Juergen Graf

Juergen Graf, a Swiss educator with an impressive command of languages and an author of several carefully researched revisionist works, spoke about the perverse social-psychological role that the Holocaust story has come to play in Western political, social and cultural life. Graf has been active not only in the Holocaust revisionist movement, but also in the campaign to halt further non-European immigration into Switzerland.

Speaking with verve and wit, and in impressively-delivered English, Graf said that the Holocaust story has become a major weapon in the growing campaign to discredit Western culture and to break down European racial-cultural consciousness. It is used to subvert national sovereignty, and promote massive Third World immigration into North America and western Europe.

In Switzerland and other western European countries, as well as in the United States and Canada, popular sentiment overwhelmingly favors a halt to further Third World immigration. The refusal of elected public officials and the mass media to reflect this popular sentiment points up a profound failure of political institutions in the Western World, said Graf.

Referring to the well-organized effort to introduce a legal ban on Holocaust revisionism in his own country (similar to such prohibitions in neighboring France and Germany), Graf boldly announced that he will openly defy any such ban.

In March 1993, following the publication of his 112-page book *Der Holocaust auf dem Pruefstand* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand"), Graf was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French, in spite of support from his students and colleagues. His firing came on orders of high-level Swiss authorities. Graf is also author of several other revisionist books, copies of which were available for sale, and which he autographed for attendees.

John Ball

John Ball, a western Canadian geologist who specializes in interpreting aerial photos used in mineral exploration, explained that much can be learned from Second World War aerial recon-

naissance photographs. Ball has collected, studied and published scores of long suppressed reconnaissance photographs of German camps, including Auschwitz, Majdanek and Plaszow (featured in "Schindler's List"), as well as Babi Yar.

Illustrating his presentation with numerous slides of aerial photos, maps and diagrams, he provided devastating new insights into the suppressed history of Auschwitz and other alleged German extermination camps. Speaking with the confidence of a specialist, Ball showed a rare ability to make a rather technical subject easily understandable to lay persons.

Ball spent considerable time throughout the three-day Conference patiently answering questions by inquisitive attendees, inviting them to examine reconnaissance photos under a magnifying glass. Ball also displayed wall-mounted photo enlargements and diagrams, and he autographed copies of the unabridged edition of *The Ball Report*.

Friedrich Berg

Friedrich P. Berg, an engineer who has devoted extensive effort to researching technical aspects of the Holocaust story, pointed out that wartime Germany ironically did have an immense quantity of lethal gas at its disposal: wood- and coal-derived "producer" gas, which was widely used to power trucks and buses. However, Berg noted, not even the most hysterical Holocaust propagandists have ever suggested that toxic "producer" gas was used to kill people.

Making use of color slides, and spicing his talk with humor, Berg told the fascinating story of how petroleum-starved wartime Germany was able to continue moving people and goods with "producer" gas vehicles. This story, he said, is a tribute to the nation's remarkable improvisational ability, in spite of tremendous adversity.

Berg is the author of three important *Journal* articles, including a path-breaking essay (Spring 1984 issue) in which he shows the absurdity and technical infeasibility of the widely-repeated story that hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed with diesel engine exhaust fumes.

Mark Weber

Journal editor Mark Weber dedicated this Conference to the memory of William Henry Chamberlin, an American historian and journalist who has not been properly appreciated because he was a fervent and knowledgeable anti-Communist writer when it was not fashionable.

As he has at numerous previous IHR conferences, Weber also delivered this year's keynote address. He noted the tremendous progress that has been made in the decade since the devastating arson attack against the IHR office-warehouse on July 4, 1984, which destroyed virtually the entire IHR stock.

In spite of relentless opposition from powerful adversaries such as the Anti-Defamation League, the IHR is today vastly more influential than ever, Weber noted. In large part due to the efforts of the IHR, historical revisionism is now an acknowledged part of America's social-cultural landscape.

In his review of the recent progress of the international revisionist movement and the IHR, Weber cited numerous specific examples. An important sign of the growing impact of the IHR since the last IHR conference, said Weber, has been the publication in 1993 of no fewer than four books attacking Holocaust revisionism and, in particular, the Institute for Historical Review.

Another important sign of impact is the widespread (albeit almost invariably hostile) media coverage of the IHR. A notable example, he said, was a March 1994 broadcast of the widely-viewed “60 Minutes” television show, during which the front cover of the Nov.-Dec. 1993 IHR *Journal* was shown to millions of viewers.

Weber paid tribute to the many men and women who have selflessly supported the IHR and its work over the years, calling attention to several who were attending the Conference.

Greg Raven

Journal Associate Editor Greg Raven made his first appearance as Master of Ceremonies at an IHR Conference. Peppering his introductions with wit and humor, he also did a first-rate job keeping the speakers on time and the Conference on schedule.

Germar Rudolf

In a statement read to the Conference, this year’s “Mystery Speaker,” Germar Rudolf, explained the reasons — including police raids and eviction as a result of political pressure — why he was not able to participate. Rudolf, a chemist who lives in southwest Germany, is the author of a technical study of the alleged mass-murder “gas chambers” at Auschwitz that confirms that these facilities were not and could not have been used to kill people as claimed.

David Cole

Speaking with verve and humor (often self-deprecating), youthful Jewish filmmaker David Cole enthralled his audience with a passionate response to a lengthy polemic against Holocaust revisionism (in which the work of the IHR and Cole were prominently featured) in a recent issue of *Skeptic*, a magazine published and edited by Michael Shermer. (Shermer, who had attended the previous day’s Conference sessions, was not present during Cole’s address.)

After Cole and other revisionists supplied the Occidental College associate professor with abundant evidence discrediting the Holocaust gas chamber story, an exasperated Shermer declared that the existence or non-existence of Nazi gas chambers doesn’t really matter. With biting sarcasm, Cole commented: “If the gas chambers don’t matter, then why are we revisionists being persecuted for trying to revise such a ‘minor detail’? Try telling the ADL or the Wiesenthal Center that it’s a ‘minor detail!’”

Cole, who had delighted attendees at the IHR’s Eleventh Conference, has proven himself an effective spokesman for the revisionist view in several nationally-broadcast television appearances, including an appearance in March 1994 (with Shermer and Bradley Smith) as a guest on the “Donahue Show.” (See the May-June 1994 *Journal*, pp. 19-20).

In Cole’s first blockbuster revisionist video, the curator of the Auschwitz State Museum admitted to Cole on film that the “gas chamber” shown to tourists there is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction. Cole is now working on a promising second video exposing fraudulent claims about alleged wartime German killing facilities.

Bradley Smith

Bradley Smith, America’s most prominent revisionist activist, reported on his successful headline-making campaign, in defiance of malicious smear tactics and ADL censorship, to bring revi-

sionist facts and arguments to students and professors by placing advertisements in dozens of student papers across the United States. (See the July-August 1994 *Journal*, pp. 18-24)

Speaking in his familiar wry, soft-spoken and anecdotal style, Smith amused attendees with a description of his “special relationship” with adversaries Deborah Lipstadt and Jeffrey Ross of the Anti-Defamation League.

Dr. Robert Countess

Dr. Robert Countess, the IHR’s “roving ambassador” and a member of the Journal’s Editorial Advisory Committee, updated attendees on his revisionist activities since the last Conference. As a college history instructor, he related, he assigned students to read Dr. Arthur Butz’s revisionist classic, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Countess also reported on recent radio and television appearances, and suggested new ways to get out the word about Holocaust revisionism.

J. Marcellus

At the conclusion of this Conference, Institute Director J. Marcellus hosted a special session for interested attendees about IHR business and organizational development in recent years, including the background and current situation arising from the termination in September 1993 of the IHR’s association with Willis Carto.

Along with Mark Weber, Marcellus recounted the internal crisis that led to the termination, and reported on Carto’s relentless campaign of outrageous lies against the IHR, above all through [The Spotlight](#) weekly that he controls. Marcellus and Weber also reported on Carto’s efforts to destroy the Institute through lawsuits, and on the IHR’s current legal action against Carto to recover millions of dollars that he illegally diverted from the IHR.

During this special session, Robert Faurisson explained how Carto’s lies and deceit to him personally in the Spring and Summer of 1993 finally convinced him that Carto’s continued involvement with IHR affairs was no longer tolerable.

Marcellus has been with the IHR since its founding in 1978, and has served as its Director since 1981 — except for an 18-month break in 1986 and 1987 during which the IHR *Journal* ceased publication and no new books were published. By contrast — and as Raven pointed out in his introduction of Marcellus — during the past twelve months, and in spite of intense legal harassment and media smears, the IHR — under Marcellus’ leadership — brought out five issues of the *Journal*, four books, a new catalog, and was able to organize this Twelfth IHR Conference.

In past years, members of the criminal Jewish Defense League attempted to sabotage several IHR conferences. This year, five agents of Willis Carto showed up to make a feeble attempt to wreck the gathering. Their efforts were entirely inconsequential, however, and after a short time they were escorted away by police.

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How Franklin Roosevelt Lied America Into War

by William Henry Chamberlin

- Excerpted from the anthology *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, pp. 485-491.

According to his own official statements, repeated on many occasions, and with special emphasis when the presidential election of 1940 was at stake, Franklin D. Roosevelt's policy after the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 was dominated by one overriding thought: how to keep the United States at peace. One of the President's first actions after the beginning of hostilities was to call Congress into special session and ask for the repeal of the embargo on the sales of arms to belligerent powers, which was part of the existing neutrality legislation. He based his appeal on the argument that this move would help to keep the United States at peace. His words on the subject were:

Let no group assume the exclusive label of the "peace bloc." We all belong to it ... I give you my deep and unalterable conviction, based on years of experience as a worker in the field of international peace, that by the repeal of the embargo the United States will more probably remain at peace than if the law remains as it stands today ... Our acts must be guided by one single, hardheaded thought — keeping America out of the war.

This statement was made after the President had opened up a secret correspondence with Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty and later Prime Minister in the British government. What has been revealed of this correspondence, even in Churchill's own memoirs, inspires considerable doubt as to whether its main purpose was keeping America out of the war.

Roosevelt kept up his pose as the devoted champion of peace even after the fall of France, when Great Britain was committed to a war which, given the balance of power in manpower and industrial resources, it could not hope to win without the involvement of other great powers, such as the United States and the Soviet Union. The President's pledges of pursuing a policy designed to keep the United States at peace reached a shrill crescendo during the last days of the 1940 campaign.

Mr. Roosevelt said at Boston on October 30: "I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

The same thought was expressed in a speech at Brooklyn on November 1: "I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars. And I will keep on fighting."

The President told his audience at Rochester, New York, on November 2: "Your national government ... is equally a government of peace — a government that intends to retain peace for the American people."

On the same day the voters of Buffalo were assured: “Your President says this country is not going to war.”

And he declared at Cleveland on November 3: “The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war.”

So much for presidential words. What about presidential actions? American involvement in war with Germany was preceded by a long series of steps, not one of which could reasonably be represented as conducive to the achievement of the President’s professed ideal of keeping the United States out of foreign wars. The more important of these steps may be briefly listed as follows:

1. The exchange of American destroyers for British bases in the Caribbean and in Newfoundland in September, 1940. This was a clear departure from the requirements of neutrality and was also a violation of some specific American laws. Indeed, a conference of top government lawyers at the time decided that the destroyer deal put this country into the war, legally and morally.
2. The enactment of the Lend-Lease Act in March, 1941. In complete contradiction of the wording and intent of the Neutrality Act, which remained on the statute books, this made the United States an unlimited partner in the economic war against the Axis Powers all over the world.
3. The secret American-British staff talks in Washington in January-March, 1941. Extraordinary care was taken to conceal not only the contents of these talks but the very fact that they were taking place from the knowledge of Congress. At the time when administration spokesmen were offering assurances that there were no warlike implications in the Lend-Lease Act, this staff conference used the revealing phrase, “when the United States becomes involved in war with Germany.”
4. The inauguration of so-called naval patrols, the purpose of which was to report the presence of German submarines to British warships, in the Atlantic in April, 1941.
5. The dispatch of American laborers to Northern Ireland to build a naval base, obviously with the needs of an American expeditionary force in mind.
6. The occupation of Iceland by American troops in July, 1941. This was going rather far afield for a government which professed as its main concern the keeping of the United States out of foreign wars.
7. The Atlantic Conference of Roosevelt and Churchill, August 9-12, 1941. Besides committing America as a partner in a virtual declaration of war aims, this conference considered the presentation of an ultimatum to Japan and the occupation of the Cape Verde Islands, a Portuguese possession, by United States troops.
8. The orders to American warships to shoot at sight at German submarines, formally announced on September 11. The beginning of actual hostilities may be dated from this time rather than from the German declaration of war, which followed Pearl Harbor.
9. The authorization for the arming of merchant ships and the sending of these ships into war zones in November, 1941.
10. The freezing of Japanese assets in the United States on July 25, 1941. This step, which was followed by similar action on the part of Great Britain and the Netherlands East Indies, amounted to a commercial blockade of Japan. The warmaking potentialities of this decision had been recognized by Roosevelt himself shortly before it was taken. Addressing a delegation and explaining why oil exports to Japan had not been stopped previously, he said: “It was very essential, from our own selfish point of view of defense, to prevent a war from starting in the South Pacific. So our foreign policy was trying to stop a war from breaking

out down there... Now, if we cut the oil off, they [the Japanese] probably would have gone down to the Netherlands East Indies a year ago, and we would have had war.”

11. When the Japanese Prime Minister, Prince Fumimaro Konoye, appealed for a personal meeting with Roosevelt to discuss an amicable settlement in the Pacific, this appeal was rejected, despite the strong favorable recommendations of the American ambassador to Japan, Joseph C. Grew.
12. Final step on the road to war in the Pacific was Secretary of State Hull’s note to the Japanese government of November 26. Before sending this communication Hull had considered proposing a compromise formula which would have relaxed the blockade of Japan in return for Japanese withdrawal from southern Indochina and a limitation of Japanese forces in northern Indochina.
13. However, Hull dropped this idea under pressure from British and Chinese sources. He dispatched a veritable ultimatum on November 26, which demanded unconditional Japanese withdrawal from China and from Indochina and insisted that there should be “no support of any government in China other than the National government [Chiang Kai-shek].” Hull admitted that this note took Japanese-American relations out of the realm of diplomacy and placed them in the hands of the military authorities.
14. The negative Japanese reply to this note was delivered almost simultaneously with the attack on Pearl Harbor. There was a strange and as yet unexplained failure to prepare for this attack by giving General Short and Admiral Kimmel, commanders on the spot, a clear picture of the imminent danger. As Secretary of War Stimson explained the American policy, it was to maneuver the Japanese into firing the first shot, and it may have been feared that openly precautionary and defensive moves on the part of Kimmel and Short would scare off the impending attack by the Japanese task force which was known to be on its way to some American outpost.

Here is the factual record of the presidential words and the presidential deeds. No convinced believer in American nonintervention in wars outside this hemisphere could have given the American people more specific promises than Roosevelt gave during he campaign of 1940. And it is hard to see how any President, given the constitutional limitations of the office, could have done more to precipitate the United States into war with Germany and Japan than Roosevelt accomplished during the 15 months between the destroyer-for-bases deal and the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Former Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce found the right expression when she charged Roosevelt with having lied us into war. Even a sympathizer with Roosevelt’s policies, Professor Thomas A. Bailey, in his book, *The Man in the Street*, admits the charge of deception, but tries to justify it on the following grounds:

Franklin Roosevelt repeatedly deceived the American people during the period before Pearl Harbor ... He was like the physician who must tell the patient lies for the patient’s own good ... The country was overwhelmingly noninterventionist to the very day of Pearl Harbor, and an overt attempt to lead the people into war would have resulted in certain failure and an almost certain ousting of Roosevelt in 1940, with a complete defeat of his ultimate aims.

Professor Bailey continues his apologetics with the following argument, which leaves very little indeed of the historical American conception of a government responsible to the people and morally obligated to abide by the popular will:

A president who cannot entrust the people with the truth betrays a certain lack of faith in the basic tenets of democracy. But because the masses are notoriously short-sighted and generally cannot see danger until it is at their throats, our statesmen are forced to deceive them into an awareness of their own long-run interests. This is clearly what Roosevelt had to do, and who shall say that posterity will not thank him for it?

Presidential pledges to “keep our country out of war,” with which Roosevelt was so profuse in the summer and autumn of 1940, could reasonably be regarded as canceled by some new development in the international situation involving a real and urgent threat to the security of the United States and the Western Hemisphere.

But there was no such new development to justify Roosevelt’s moves along the road to war in 1941. The British Isles were not invaded in 1940, at the height of Hitler’s military success on the Continent. They were much more secure against invasion in 1941. Contrast the scare predications of Secretary Stimson, Secretary Knox, and General Marshall, about the impending invasion of Britain in the first months of 1941, with the testimony of Winston Churchill, as set down in his memoirs: “I did not regard invasion as a serious danger in April, 1941, since proper preparations had been made against it.”

Moreover, both the American and British governments knew at this time that Hitler was contemplating an early attack upon the Soviet Union. Such an attack was bound to swallow up much the greater part of Germany’s military resources.

It is with this background that one must judge the sincerity and realism of Roosevelt’s alarmist speech of May 27, 1941, with its assertion: “The war is approaching the brink of the western hemisphere itself. It is coming very close to home.” The President spoke of the Nazi “book of world conquest” and declared there was a Nazi plan to treat the Latin American countries as they had treated the Balkans. Then Canada and the United States would be strangled.

Not a single serious bit of evidence in proof of these sensational allegations has ever been found, not even when the archives of the Nazi government were at the disposal of the victorious powers. The threat to the security of Great Britain was less serious in 1941 than it was in 1940. There is no concrete evidence of Nazi intention to invade the American hemisphere in either year, or at any predictable period.

One is left, therefore, with the inescapable conclusion that the promises to “keep America out of foreign wars” were a deliberate hoax on the American people, perpetrated for the purpose of insuring Roosevelt’s re-election and thereby enabling him to proceed with his plan of gradually edging the United States into war.

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Revelations from Goebbels' Diary

Bringing to Light Secrets of Hitler's Propaganda Minister

[David Irving](#)

At the last IHR Conference, in October 1992, I spoke about my visit to the secret Soviet state archives in Moscow, where I found the private diary of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi Propaganda Minister, microfilmed on eighteen hundred glass plates. [See: D. Irving, "The Suppressed Eichmann and Goebbels Papers," March-April 1993 Journal, pp. 14-25.]

I can't tell you just who tipped me off about this, as it would breach confidentiality, but there are certain German historians who are friendly to me, and one of them tipped me that the material was just waiting to be found by someone. I went to Moscow and got this material — to the unbounded rage of rival historians around the world, who couldn't believe that I, the "incorrigible," "neo-Nazi," "Fascist-scum" historian, had got the stuff for which they had been looking for 50 years.

If you're a historian dealing with the Third Reich, you know that Goebbels' diary must contain all the dirt from that era. And yet, all the vital episodes of Third Reich history, the events we're really curious about — such as the June 1934 "Night of the Long Knives," when Hitler ditched SA Brown Shirt leader Ernst Röhm, or the "Crystal Night" in November 1938, or the Reichstag fire mystery, or the inside story of the rise of the Nazi Party — are missing from the published Goebbels diary, the portion that has been in the public domain for the last 40 years or so.

One way and another, portions have trickled out. First of all there was the original typed Goebbels diary for parts of the years 1942 and 1943, which is now in the Hoover Institution library in Stanford, California. [Edited by Louis Lochner, it was published in 1948.] The National Archives in Washington acquired a sheaf of diary pages from August 1941. The French somehow got April 1943, and the Hoover library obtained six diary pages from July 1944.

Most importantly, the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich managed to get hold of further portions of the diary through negotiations with the East German Communist authorities. [See, for example, *Final Entries 1945: The Diaries of Joseph Goebbels*. New York: 1978.]

But vital passages were missing even from these, among them the year 1944 — the year of D-Day, the Stauffenberg bomb plot, and the Battle of the Bulge. And there were years for which only a couple of notebooks have hitherto been available. One begins to suspect that somebody knew they were sitting on a real treasure, and they weren't going to release it. By holding back the good stuff, they were acting in an almost capitalistic manner.

In the end, I didn't pay one bent nickel for this material. Visiting Moscow in June 1992, I simply reminded the head of the Soviet state archives that over the years three or four of my books had

been published in the former Soviet Union, and he just let me have the material, assuming, I suppose, that I was therefore kosher.

It was a different situation when I returned for the second time in July 1992 to complete the work. As the week progressed, I found it getting stickier and stickier. They suddenly weren't able to find the boxes and files I'd seen the time before. I had to fight and plead and holler, and they still weren't turning up the stuff I really wanted. On the last day, the secretary of the director came out to me and said: "Mr. Irving, I've got a very embarrassing question to ask of you. Have you been stealing any material from our archives?"

Now, this is something that a historian just doesn't do. When you work in the archives, you're working on trust. You've an obligation to posterity. You do not permanently remove stuff. I did, however, have an arrangement with the director, who permitted me to remove certain glass plates from the archives for copying because they didn't have the requisite facilities there. They didn't even have a microfiche reader. He allowed me to remove these glass plates on my honor, and bring them back after having made the necessary photographic prints.

In an effort to stop me from gaining access, it turned out that somebody had told the archives that I was stealing material. To resolve the situation I signed a declaration stating that everything I had seen in the archives was still there, and that nothing was missing. That was, in fact, the truth.

The archives director was very pleased to have this declaration, and the secretary added the pregnant words: "The information came from Munich." Once again my traditional enemies around the world were trying to trip me up. It didn't work because by that time I'd obtained 99 percent of the material I had on my "shopping list": diary portions dealing with the Kristallnacht, the "Night of the Long Knives," the Reichstag fire, Pearl Harbor, all of 1944, the whole of the months leading up to the outbreak of World War Two — everything. I'd gotten the lot.

It was difficult, because, as I said, the Russians didn't have a microfiche reader. I suspected in advance that I might need one, because in preparation for my trip to Moscow in the 1970s I had brought with me toilet paper and a bath plug because I knew I wouldn't find them in my Moscow hotel. On this occasion I had thought to myself, "Suppose — it's incredible, I mean this is a state archives — but just suppose they don't have a microfiche reader. I'd better take something with me." So I went to Selfridge's and asked for the most powerful magnifying glass they had. What I didn't know was that the more powerful the magnification, the smaller the lens is. I wound up buying a 12x magnifier that was about as big as my little fingernail. So during the first week I was there, I had to hold it up like this to read those glass plates. But if you don't mind straining your eyesight, it works.

It's quite an unusual feeling looking at the original Nazi microfiche glass plates in the original Agfa boxes — there are eighteen hundred plates, each with 25 or 40 images on them — a total of 70 or 80 thousand pages of paper. And you know you are the first person to read them since Goebbels, in 1944 and 1945, ordered the stuff to be preserved in case of damage to the originals. No one knows now where his original notebooks are, or what happened to them. They're probably gone forever. But fortunately they were preserved on glass plates, and I was the first person to study them.

The Reichstag Fire

For example, I read for the first time Goebbels' hand-written entry about the Reichstag fire. As he described it, he was at his home with Hitler on that evening of February 27, 1933, when the

phone rang at nine o'clock. It was the prankster "Putzi" Hanfstaengl, saying: "The Reichstag's on fire." Goebbels remembered that he'd been had twice by Hanfstaengl already that week, and he thought this was another prank, so he just put the phone down. Hanfstaengl phoned again and said, "You'd better listen to what I'm saying, The Reichstag's on fire." Goebbels realized this could be serious after all, so he made a phone call to the police station at the Brandenburg Gate, which confirmed that the Reichstag was on fire. Thereupon he and Hitler jumped into a car and drove straight to the Reichstag where they found their worst fears confirmed. This is in the handwritten diary, it is obviously genuine, and it confirms what we know from other sources.

Early Entries

Goebbels' diary didn't start in 1933 when the Nazis come to power; it started when he was a student at Heidelberg University, and carries on all the way until a few days before he commits suicide in 1945 with his family in Hitler's bunker. Never has there been such a contiguous source of information for historians to use, but never has there been a source more fraught with danger. Nobody's diary is genuine, because everybody lies to his diary. Okay, "lie" is a bit sharp. Everyone is a hero in his own diary. So what do you believe? That's the way it is with diaries. You've got to know how to evaluate them. What Goebbels writes in his diary about Goebbels, you treat with suspicion. What Goebbels writes in his diary about a fight between Rosenberg and Koch is probably more accurate, although he's got his sympathies there, too. You have to learn to be very careful.

I'm saying this for a reason, because when we come to look at what the diary says about the Crystal Night, it's not what you expect it to say, and you can only really straighten things out when you accept that Goebbels has his reasons for writing things in a certain way. I'm something of an expert with diaries, because I've been looking at people's diaries as an historian for the last 30 or 40 years, and I know the things to look for.

It always amuses me the way people write in their diaries certain euphemisms for relations with the opposite sex. I won't describe to you which words I use in my diary, but — okay, I will. I might write, "Lucy came 'round, and was amiable." It seems pretty harmless, but it's code. This becomes obvious if you slip up and write, "Lucy came round and was amiable twice."

I had the private diary of Luftwaffe Field Marshal Erhard Milch, who had the habit of putting a little X on the line between two days in his diary. Some days, however, there were two Xs, and on one occasion, during the battle of Stalingrad when he was in Berlin, there were three Xs followed by the initials "E.H.," all done into a kind of monogram or logo: "XXX E.H." I happened to know that "E.H." was Edith Hesselbarth, his private secretary. When I tracked her down at her home on Lake Constance, she was most indignant about this imputation, until I told her that Milch had written it in his diary, whereupon she confessed.

In the case of Dr. Goebbels, everybody knows that he has gone into history as the arch-Casanova of the Third Reich. He was the one with the string of amours, and no film starlet could make headway in the German film industry, so legend has it, without using the Minister's casting couch. And yet, it turns out, unless I'm grievously wrong, he was age 33 when he first had a sexual experience with a woman. If you read his diary you could be misled. Very early on in his diary, he's talking about how Else came 'round, and she was all his: "She was all over me." It's an imprecise phrase, but you're willing to believe, given his reputation, that this could only mean one thing.

In another passage, Anka Stalherm, the great heroine of his life, comes to see him and there's an episode on the meadow in Freiburg: "the first kiss." It's only when you start reading through the diary, and the letters that pass between her and Goebbels over the next ten years, that you realize that that first kiss was, in fact, a kiss on the cheek. That's as far as he got with her.

I subsequently found Anka Stalherm's daughter. Because I thought it would be a bit embarrassing to ask her how far her mother had gone with the Nazi Propaganda Minister, I planned on making this my last question before I beat a retreat. As I walked in through the door, though, she said: "Mr. Irving, before you even begin this interview, I want you to know what my mother told me about Goebbels, which is that she never, ever, did it with him. She found him intellectually fascinating, a man of enormous presence, but physically repulsive." Goebbels was 5'4", just over 100 pounds, a club foot with one leg two inches shorter than the other — a bit of a freak, in other words. He never got anywhere with Anka Stalherm, although if you read his diary you would imagine that she was the great love of his life.

How do we know he was 33 when it first happened? The answer is that he started going out with Olga, the girlfriend of Mr. Arnolt Bronner. (He had a predilection for dating other men's girlfriends; a dangerous habit if you're only 5'4".) He went out with this woman, and she comes 'round, so to speak. Obviously something happened because that night he writes in his diary all the words of euphoria followed with the figures in parenthesis: "(1, 2)." This might, by itself, mean nothing at all, were it not for an entry a few days later, with Olga coming 'round again, and new figures in brackets: "(3, 4, 5)." Well this is rather like being "twice amiable," isn't it? It's a bit of a give-away, and given what we know about the kiss on the cheek, which was all he'd gotten in previous years, you can be pretty certain what this denotes. This happened in December 1930, and he was born in October 1897.

She is only one step ahead, so to speak, of Magda Quandt, who later became Magda Goebbels — the divorced, blonde, well-to-do wife of a German industrialist, who fell for him. In mid-February 1931 — after many, many weeks of working for him in the archives and so on — she comes 'round to his apartment, and you get the same brackets treatment. It's "(1)", and then "(2)", "(3)", and then, on March 1931, "(4)" and "(5)". Five episodes spread over six weeks. There again, you've got a certain amount of support for the belief that he wasn't as active as he made out in later years. If there was anything he was good at, it was propaganda. So we're demolishing a bit of a propaganda legend in connection with Dr. Goebbels here. Amusing as this is, it helps to teach us to be very cautious when dealing with someone's diary as a source of information.

Growing Anti-Semitism

I've gone through the diary with a special interest in the Jewish issue, and particularly the "final solution." There's no question that whatever tragedy befell the Jews in Germany during the Third Reich, Dr. Goebbels himself was the prime moving force behind it. He wasn't just the person who created the atmosphere of hatred, he was also the one who pulled the levers and started the trains in motion. What happened at the other end is still a matter of debate, and this issue is one of the moving causes of revisionism at this moment.

Goebbels didn't start out anti-Semitic. His very early diary pages, back in 1923, contain no references to the Jews, or any anti-Semitism at all, in fact. We do know that in his home town of Rheydt, a close neighbor with whom his parents maintained very close relations was Dr. Josef Joseph, a Jewish lawyer. There was a long-standing friendship between him and Goebbels' parents, who often sent their son 'round to spend the day with Dr. Joseph. (Goebbels' father, Fritz Goebbels, was bookkeeper at a local textile factory.) I'm inclined to believe that the fact that Dr.

Joseph was such a close friend of Mr. and Mrs. Goebbels, and not just the boy's Catholic upbringing and the fact that his godfather was also called Joseph, may have been the reason for Goebbels' second name: Paul Joseph Goebbels.

Goebbels met Anka Stalherm at Heidelberg University, where she was one of the few women students. She was fabulously rich, had shoulder-length blonde hair, and was a typically care-free, affluent female student. Goebbels could hardly believe his luck when, of all the young men at the university, she picked him. There was undoubtedly a very close friendship between them, and all their letters have survived. (I was able to read them in the German archives until the German government, in an act of incredible spitefulness, on July 1, 1993, ordered me banned from the archives, "to protect the interests of the German people".)

In one letter to him, Anka made a mildly anti-Semitic remark, typical of those that were common in the social circles in which she moved. Indignantly he wrote back to his new girlfriend, putting her in her place. In this letter, dated February 17, 1919, Goebbels responded: "As you know, I can't stand this exaggerated anti-Semitism. My view is you don't get rid of them by huffing and puffing, let alone by pogroms, and even if you could do so, that would be both highly ignoble and unworthy."

Furthermore, Goebbels' favorite professor at Heidelberg was Friedrich Gundolf, who was Jewish. This didn't matter to Goebbels at all. When Gundolf said that he wouldn't have time to work with Goebbels on his doctoral dissertation, he passed him on to another professor of literature, Max von Waldberg, who was also Jewish. To the end of his life, Goebbels spoke very highly of these two professors. It was typical of Goebbels that he was able to put Jews into two categories, regarding individual Jews with respect and admiration, while at the same time holding the Jewish people in contempt.

Just a few years later, though, on October 30, 1922, he delivered a lecture in Rheydt in which he commented approvingly on Oswald Spengler's criticism of the Jewish people. So you can see that a certain trend had begun to set in. I often wonder: Was this due to something innate or was it his surroundings? We are not able to pin down just what caused Goebbels to become anti-Semitic around 1922. Certainly by the time he arrived in Berlin, in 1926, as Gauleiter (district party leader), his anti-Semitism was in full flood, and, as we shall see, what he saw there completed the picture for him.

His formative experiences came in the aftermath of World War One, I think. Because of his club foot, the army had refused to accept him as a soldier, which was humiliating. In 1923 he worked in a bank in Cologne, where he was shocked by Jewish banking methods. He saw Jews ruining ordinary Germans, he saw speculation, and he saw inflation wiping out people's savings. His colleagues at the bank undoubtedly drew his attention to the Jewish role in all of it, as the private banks in Germany were almost entirely in Jewish hands.

Another factor played a role. When he left the university Goebbels was an aspiring writer of poetry, plays and newspaper articles. He wanted to write for the great national newspapers and magazines, which were largely controlled by the Ullstein and Mosse families, both of which were Jewish. His approaches to these two publishing companies, with articles submitted for publication, and subsequently seeking employment, were rudely rebuffed. The Berliner Tageblatt alone returned to him nearly 50 articles he had submitted.

No surprise, if you look at the private papers of Theodor Wolff, chief editor of the Berliner Tageblatt, which was published by the Mosse company. In these papers, which are filed in the German Federal archives, you can see that Wolff was corresponding almost entirely only with Jews.

It's what today we would call networking; if you're outside the loop, you can't break in. One knows this when one is mature, but when you are a young student fresh out of university, full of great idealism and belief in your own superior talents, the first realization that you can't break into the loop — that the network is there to keep people like you out — makes a great impression, as it probably did on the young Dr. Goebbels. And this undoubtedly had an effect on his anti-Semitism, even though he still wasn't hostile toward individual Jews.

After Anka Stalherm left and married another young man, Goebbels started a long affair with a young woman named Else Janke. One day, while he's commenting to her on his physical debilities, telling her he realizes he must be quite unattractive because of his club foot and all the rest of it, she says, "You think you've got problems? I'm half Jewish." This was a great shock to Goebbels at that time. Her half-Jewishness, which he described as her mixed blood, grew more and more important in the relationship until it finally led to their break-up. He was actually happy when he was named Gauleiter of Berlin, where the Nazi Party was in disarray, because this gave him a chance to leave Else Janke gracefully. In Berlin he had his eyes on another girl by the name of Josephine von Behr.

At this time he also makes friends with Julius Streicher, Gauleiter of Nuremberg and publisher of the notorious anti-Semitic weekly, *Der Stürmer*. His views on Streicher vary widely throughout his diary. Sometimes he's full of praise for him, rather the way we grudgingly admire a person who is a bit bullheaded and plows ahead regardless of the damage he does. He liked Streicher as a human being, he liked him for his courage. But then again, he strongly deprecated his brand of anti-Semitism, regarding it as needlessly vulgar. This comes out again and again in the diary. It's a dichotomy that is never satisfactorily resolved until we come to one of the last items in the archives: a February 1945 letter from Goebbels to Streicher, congratulating him on his birthday and sending him a valuable oil painting. Goebbels stayed in touch with Streicher even after he fell out of favor with Hitler.

'Isidor' Weiss

When Goebbels arrived in Berlin as Gauleiter in 1926, he was confronted by a city with 179,000 Jews, one third of all Jews in Germany, and he made use of this fact. The Berlin population already was seething because of the presence of these Jews. In the coming years, Goebbels repeatedly explained to foreign diplomats that the problem there was the usual one, in which the Jewish population disproportionately controlled all the lucrative professions. This rankled with Berlin's non-Jewish population, of course, and Goebbels, whether deliberately or by instinct, zeroed in on this as a wound that he could work on to promote the Nazi cause.

He was aided in this endeavor by the fact that his chief opponent there, Berlin's Deputy Police Chief (who acted as though he was Police Chief; even the real Police Chief referred to him as being the Chief) was Dr. Bernhard Weiss, a Jew. Weiss looked so much like a Jewish caricature that his photographs didn't need to be re-touched by the Nazis. He was stereotypically Semitic in feature: short, with rounded ears and hook nose, and wearing spectacles.

In London I located Weiss' daughter, Hilda Baban-Weiss, and I pleaded with her for a more attractive photograph of her father, pointing out that the ones I have are not very flattering. I got total silence from the daughter, so I abandoned my quest. Unfortunately, when my biography of Dr. Goebbels comes out we're going to have to use these rather unattractive pictures.

Dr. Goebbels promptly dubbed Weiss "Isidor," to such a degree of success that within two or three years there was hardly a Berliner who didn't believe that "Isidor" was his real first name.

The fight between Dr. Bernhard Weiss and Dr. Joseph Goebbels, is, I think, one of the most hilarious, improbable stories to come out of this era. Twenty-eight times Weiss sued Goebbels for calling him a Jew. Twenty-eight times the judges pointed out to Weiss that he was in fact Jewish, and therefore it was no libel. On one occasion, Dr. Goebbels' newspaper *Der Angriff* published a cartoon showing a donkey with the head of Dr. Weiss, with all of its legs splayed on an ice pond, and a caption reading: "Isidor on thin ice." Isidor Weiss (you see, even I'm calling him Isidor now), immediately sued for libel. Goebbels pointed out it was just a cartoon, but the judge said it was quite obvious that the donkey had the face of Dr. Weiss. Whereupon a headline in the next issue of *Der Angriff* declared: "Judge Confirms Donkey Has Face of Dr. Weiss."

A German scholar recently published a 600-page book purely devoted to the fight between Dr. Goebbels and Dr. Weiss. It would be worth having this book in English, except that the problems between the two men are almost untranslatable.

As Goebbels orchestrated the rise of the Nazi party in Berlin, part of the problem for the democrats there was that much of what he said was true. The Jewish community not only dominated the legal and medical professions in Berlin, they also dominated the crime scene. In my biography I've quoted Interpol figures of the percentage of Jews among those arrested for drug dealing and narcotics. Moreover, three-quarters of the pickpockets in Berlin were Jewish. It was quite easy for Goebbels to draw attention to such facts, and to embellish them in a propaganda campaign. This came to him as second nature. In every new scandal in Berlin, it seemed, Jews were at the base of it — ripping off the banks, ripping off the taxpayers, and ripping off the government. And again and again, they seemed to be getting off scot-free.

At Syracuse University I found the private papers of Heinrich Brüning, who was Hitler's predecessor as Chancellor (1930-1932). In this collection is a manuscript in which he describes his problems as Chancellor. Brüning recounts that at one time, he ordered an investigation of Jewish banks in Berlin and their methods, and in his manuscript he writes: "The results were so horrifying that I ordered this document to be kept secret, because if it had been allowed to become public knowledge, it would have resulted in anti-Jewish riots." Of course, even though much of what Goebbels said was true, this just doesn't justify what he did later on. We must, in all fairness, keep emphasizing this point.

During the 1920s Goebbels wrote a play called *Michael*, and it's interesting to compare the various drafts of it, which are available. When he first wrote it back in 1923 or 1924, it was a straightforward kind of morality play. But Goebbels would change things. After Anka Stalherm annoyed him, he changed the leading female character. And as he became more and more annoyed with the Jews, he wrote more anti-Semitism into the play. In the drafts you can see him becoming progressively more anti-Jewish.

After seeing his first Hollywood movie, he wrote in his diary (on Dec. 3, 1928): "Sheer hell. Jewish kitsch. Virtually all you saw were Hebrews." A few months later, on February 15, 1929, he wrote: "The Jewish question is the questions of all questions."

There is a curious passage in his private diary that shows how increasingly obsessed he had become. It was after three years in Berlin as Gauleiter, fighting this increasingly desperate battle, almost with one hand tied behind his back, being repeatedly banned on orders of Dr. Weiss, having repeatedly nearly been sent to prison himself. One night he has a dream, which he then records in his diary (December 17, 1929). In this dream he's back at school, running madly through the corridors with pillars flashing past him, and he's being chased by Jews screaming at him, "Hate, hate, hate." He's always able to keep a few limping strides ahead of his pursuers, oc-

casionally turning round and flinging back at them the same taunt: "Hate, hate, hate!" What an odd thing for a man to write in his own diary. One doesn't often write down one's own dreams in a diary. The mere fact that he had dreams like that shows that he was becoming obsessed with these Jews, the enemy.

More and more episodes occurred to give him reasons to dislike Jews. After Horst Wessel, a young Nazi stormtrooper who composed the hymn that subsequently became the second national anthem of Nazi Germany, was murdered in early 1930 by a communist in Berlin, it was a Jew who gave refuge to the murderers when they fled. This kind of thing will have undoubtedly had an effect of Goebbels. He would have chalked it up on his list of grudges.

Even worse, after he began going out with Magda Quandt (whose stepfather, Friedländer, he knew had been Jewish), it happened that for days at a time she didn't come to see him. After a while, she doesn't answer the phone or keep dates, and eventually Goebbels finds out he has a rival: a Jew named Victor Arlosoroff, who is also enraged to find out that she's two-timing him with the Nazi Gauleiter of Berlin. Arlosoroff is so enraged, in fact, that during one meeting he pulls out a revolver, and in a jealous, dramatic scene, fires at her, deliberately missing. The bullet buries itself in the wall near her. She gets him out of her life, although he keeps returning and pleading to be taken back.

This man is none other than Victor Chaim Arlosoroff, who subsequently became an important Zionist figure. After Hitler came to power, he was the Zionist representative in the negotiations with the new Nazi government that resulted in the Haavara ("Transfer") agreement, whereby German Jews could emigrate to Palestine with their property. In June 1933 Arlosoroff was murdered in Tel Aviv, Palestine, by members of the Jabotinsky faction of the Zionist movement. The fact that the love of his life was two-timing him with an ardent Zionist may also have contributed to Goebbels' growing dislike of Jews.

Goebbels was besotted with Magda, there's no question, and once again he couldn't believe his own luck. They were married in December 1931. In fact, though, she was rather ambivalent about him, and it appears that the only reason she started dating him was, as they say, to be near the fascinating Mr. Hitler. There was even a rumor that her son, Helmut, was fathered by Hitler. When you look at photographs of little Helmut, though, you can be pretty certain that this is not true, because he looks just like Dr. Goebbels.

Boycotts

A month after the Nazis came to power in January 1933, Goebbels was really able to flex his muscles. He wasn't appointed Propaganda Minister immediately because Hitler needed Goebbels to direct his party's propaganda campaign in one final election battle, and, as Hitler pointed out to him, it wouldn't be right for the Reich Propaganda Minister, a government official, simultaneously to direct the Nazi party's propaganda election campaign.

We must not overlook the fact that the world's Jewish community lost no time in striking at Nazi Germany. We all too readily talk about the book-burning and about the Nazi boycott against the Jews as if those things happened in vacuum. They didn't. The Nazi boycott against the Jews on April 1, 1933, was a foolish reprisal by the Nazis in retaliation for the Jewish boycott against Germany.

As soon as the Nazis came to power the world Jewish community announced an international boycott campaign against Germany. Jews would not buy any German products. They would not

accept any more German films, for example, and would see that others would not accept them. Jewish restaurateurs in England announced they would no longer serve German customers. If you read the newspapers of the day, such as the London Daily Express, you'll find all the details of this anti-German Jewish boycott, which is now all too readily forgotten. Today all we hear about is the Nazi boycott against the Jews, which lasted for a single day — Saturday, April 1, 1933. Brown shirt SA men stood outside Jewish businesses and shops, and admonished customers against entering.

As a warning to Jews abroad to go easy on Nazi Germany, the boycott failed, of course. It just enraged the international Jewish community even more. At the time, and ever since, the Nazis were effectively rapped on the knuckles for that boycott. It was Goebbels who organized that boycott, even though, if you read his diary, you can get the impression that Hitler authorized it, sanctioned it, and possibly even suggested it. But there's no doubt at all in my mind that this is another case of Goebbels having an idea, of putting it into effect, and then playing a trick by writing in his diary that he'd gotten Hitler's approval in advance. He had already done something like this in 1932, when he railroaded Hitler into an unsuccessful election campaign for Reich President against Paul von Hindenburg. In his diary he rather implies that Hitler asked him to go ahead with it and sanctioned it in advance. We see exactly the same phenomenon in November 1938: the "Night of Broken Glass."

Yet even in 1932-1933, he was still somewhat ambivalent in his feelings about the Jews. He could still split his sides with laughter, as he writes in his diary on May 16, 1933, at a nightclub listening to Jewish comedian Otto Wallburg. This same Otto Wallburg later died in Auschwitz. So there you have the whole of the tragedy of Jews and the Third Reich encapsulated in one man's fate. (You notice I used the word "died." I didn't say he was gassed or was killed or murdered at Auschwitz. He died. We don't know how he died — it's tragic enough that he did.)

The Nazi campaign against the Jews included Goebbels' systematic campaign to remove them from the theater, art and music. He argued that the Jews tried to dominate, and that this was not for the general good of the community. There was an outcry from the artists themselves, of course. For example, the internationally renowned conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic, Wilhelm Furtwängler, bravely defended fellow conductor Otto Klemperer and other Jewish artists. In a letter to Furtwängler (which was published in The New York Times, April 16, 1933), Goebbels wrote: "Those of Jewish blood who have real ability should be free to exercise their art, but they must not rule."

Jews began a campaign of assassination against Nazis in February 1936, when David Frankfurter shot Wilhelm Gustloff, leader of the Nazi party in Switzerland. Then, in November 1938, another Jew, Herschel Grynszpan, assassinated Ernst vom Rath, a young diplomat at the German embassy in Paris. These incidents further contributed to Goebbels' perception of the international Jewish community, namely, that Jews would stop at nothing to get back at the Nazis. All his previous Jewish enemies, such as Dr. Weiss, expecting short shrift from the Nazis, had emigrated from Germany. Some went to Prague, some to Paris, some to London, and others to the United States — from where they campaigned against Nazi Germany.

Hitler's 'Final Solution'

On April 11, 1938, the diary records a very interesting conversation in which Hitler reveals to him for the first time that his "Final Solution" of the Jewish problem is to deport the world's Jews, particularly those in Germany and in Europe, to some faraway country, possibly Madagascar. Hitler swore by the Madagascar solution. Even in July 1942, two months after the island

country had been occupied by the British, Hitler is still saying that Madagascar is the ideal solution.

In June 1938, two months later, Goebbels begins an anti-Jewish campaign of his own. Six months before “Crystal Night,” Goebbels and Berlin’s police chief, Count von Helldorff, decided between them to start a campaign of systematic harassment of the city’s Jews. Even after the Nazis came to power, the number of Jews continued to increase in Berlin, which didn’t please Goebbels at all. Berlin was his city, and yet the Jews still had considerable presence and economic clout. The only way to reverse the trend, he told the police chief, is to start hounding and harassing them.

In the University of Princeton library there’s a file called the Adolf Hitler papers, which consists of documents relieved in 1945 by an American soldier from Hitler’s apartment in Munich. It contains a June 1938 letter from Goebbels to Hitler, reporting on this campaign of harassment. All the Jews in Berlin had their motor cars called in for inspection: most of them were found to be unroadworthy, and they were ordered off the roads. They also had their telephones cut off. Berlin’s Jews were subjected to all sorts of petty police harassment such as this. It’s very similar to what is happening now in Germany to revisionists — harassing people within the law, rather the way your [United States] government suddenly inflicts a tax audit on someone who is politically incorrect.

'Crystal Night'

The key event in this whole story was, of course, the “Crystal Night” (“Kristallnacht”), or “Night of Broken Glass” in 1938. Here the Goebbels diary must be treated with the utmost caution. It began on November 7, 1938, with the assassination of a German diplomat in Paris by a Polish Jew, Herschel Grynszpan. News of the shooting triggered a number of small scale anti-Jewish outbreaks all over Germany, which Goebbels noted in his diary without at first paying any special attention to them. However, when news reached him of the young diplomat’s death, two days later, it truly outraged him. It came while he was with Hitler at a meeting in Munich, commemorating the annual Nazi party anniversary of the failed “Beer Hall Putsch” of November 9, 1923.

After Hitler had left the meeting, Goebbels came to the podium to announce the death of the German diplomat. He also reported to the assembled Gauleiters on the anti-Jewish incidents that had already broken out, describing them as manifestations of a “spontaneous” public outrage. Goebbels said, in effect: “A Jew has fired a shot. A German has died. Obviously our people will be outraged about this. This is not the time to rein in that outrage.” We have two or three independent sources for what he said that evening, including the report by the British consul in Munich, who very quickly learned of the speech and reported it to London. This report is now in the British archives.

Describing the evening’s events, Goebbels writes in his diary that, after his brief speech: “Everyone makes a beeline for the telephones.” He adds: “Now the public will take action.” An interesting turn of phrase, he creates an image of men in brown uniforms and swastika arm bands reaching out to telephones to relay orders all over Germany.

The orders were that the Aktion (operation) was to be carried out by SA men in plain clothes, and the police were not to intervene. There was to be no bloodshed and no harm done to anyone unless, of course, Jews offered armed resistance, in which case they should expect short shrift. “There is to be no looting,” stormtroopers in Kiel were told. “Nobody is to be roughed up. For-

eign Jews are not to be touched. Meet any resistance with firearms. The Aktion is to be carried out in plain clothes and must be finished by five a.m.”

The result was the Night of Broken Glass, one of Germany’s darkest nights. Hundreds if not thousands of Jewish shops were destroyed. About 150 synagogues were burned to the ground, including six or seven in Berlin. The following morning the news was that 38 Jews had been murdered. On Hitler’s orders, 20,000 Jews were rounded up and temporarily held in concentration camps.

After the overnight reports had come in, Goebbels sums up the object of the exercise in a heartless, unrepentant diary entry: “As was to be expected, the entire nation is in uproar. This is one dead man who is costing the Jews dear. Our darling Jews will think twice in future before simply gunning down German diplomats.”

In the archives I found a document dated the next day, November 10, which shows quite clearly that some kind of order had actually been issued. That morning Goebbels sent the following message to all 42 Nazi party propaganda officials (Gaupropagandaleiter) at the provincial level: “The anti-Jewish Aktionen [operations] must now be called off with the same rapidity with which they were launched. They have served their desired and anticipated purpose.” These are the key lines in this document, I think, because they do imply that an order had been issued the day before. We don’t have that earlier document, but references to it were made during the postwar interrogation of one or two of the Gauleiters, and there’s also a hint in his diary that he had given certain orders the previous day.

Goebbels had to issue this second order calling off the Aktionen because, as we now know (a member of Hitler’s private staff confirmed it to me), Hitler was furious when he heard, during the night, about the anti-Jewish outbreaks. Throughout the night, telephone calls came in reporting synagogues blazing across Germany. Hitler sent for Himmler and asked: “What the hell is going on here, Reichsführer?” Himmler replied: “Send for Goebbels, he knows.” Hitler summoned Goebbels and raked him over the coals. The following morning Goebbels wrote in his diary: “I went to see the Führer at 11 o’clock, and we discussed what to do next.” You can just imagine what kind of conversation took place between Hitler and Goebbels. Of course, Goebbels isn’t going to write in his diary “the Führer called me a bloody idiot for having started what I did last night” — that’s not the kind of diary he kept. Instead, he wrote a one-line entry to remind himself that he did have to go to see the Führer. What he did next was to issue the November 10 order calling for an immediate stop to all the anti-Jewish Aktionen.

Here, I’m afraid, I have to disagree with our colleague Ingrid Weckert; but if a revisionist can’t revise another revisionist, I don’t know what a revisionist is. Weckert rather exonerates Dr. Goebbels from any blame for the “Crystal Night.” [See Weckert’s book, *Flashpoint*, published by the IHR, and her article, “Crystal Night’ 1938,” in the Summer 1985 Journal.]

However, there is no doubt in my mind that on that night, having gotten the news that the German diplomat died, Goebbels — incautiously, imprudently, and out of a sheer sense of mischief — ordered the Gauleiters to go out and start raising hell against the Jews. And, of course, it got out of hand.

Even then, Goebbels didn’t realize the extent to which the world’s press would seize on this incident. Few of the top Nazis had ever travelled outside of Germany. They didn’t realize what the foreign press was like. They didn’t realize that outside Germany, then as now, there are societies that look on German actions with a certain degree of wonderment and bafflement. The foreign press seized on this extraordinary incident, which in the over-heated political climate of 1938

Germany might have seemed little more than an extension of a street fight. But in peaceful democracies this kind of thing just didn't go on. From Berlin, reporters sent back horrific accounts to England, to the United States and to the other free countries.

Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, was one of those most scandalized by what Goebbels had done. Himmler was furious. Göring went to Hitler and demanded that Goebbels be dismissed for this outrage. Goebbels had an appalling time trying to repair the damage that he had done. It is baffling why Hitler tolerated what Goebbels had done. Hitler told Ribbentrop, "I need this man because I have other things in mind, and I am going to need a propaganda minister of the caliber of Dr. Goebbels." This can be the only explanation why he turned a blind eye to Goebbels' blooper, and it doesn't speak very highly of Hitler.

Years later, in July 1944, when he was pleading to be put in charge of Germany's "total war" mobilization effort, Goebbels wrote this mea culpa to Hitler: "I know that I've caused you many a private worry in the 20 years I've been with you, particularly in 1938 and 1939." Although Hitler does appoint him commissioner of total war, this is a very important admission. Obviously between Hitler and Goebbels at that time there was colossal personal strain. It wasn't just because of his affair in 1936-1938 with Lida Baarova, the Czech actress. (She is now 80 years old, still a lady of great beauty, and living in Salzburg. I went to interview her a few months ago.) Rather, it was undoubtedly the grief that Goebbels had caused Hitler by Kristallnacht.

Changes After the Outbreak of War

When war broke out in 1939, Jewish leader Chaim Weizmann, president of both the World Zionist Organization and the "Jewish Agency," made the tactical mistake of declaring war on Germany in the name of the entire Jewish people around the world. This was a crucial error because — as Professor Ernst Nolte and some other historians have argued — it somewhat justified what the Nazis then did to the Jews: the Jews declared war on Germany and Germany declared war on the Jews. [The text of Weizmann's declaration, along with an interview with Prof. Nolte, and a review of his recent book, are in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal, pp. 15-22, 37-41.]

During a visit to Poland in June 1934, Goebbels had visited the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw. He recorded his impression in his diary: "Stinking and filthy. The Ostjuden. There they are." Five years later, after the defeat of Poland in 1939, he visited another Jewish ghetto in that country, this time the one in Lodz. He was just as shocked by what he saw, writing in his diary: "Our task isn't a humanitarian one, but a surgical one. Otherwise one day Europe will succumb to the Jewish pestilence."

After once again setting eyes on these Jewish "specimens," the idea came to him to begin making anti-Jewish films. The result was the three infamous anti-Jewish films made by the Nazis. Interesting, isn't it? Of the approximately one thousand motion pictures made by the Nazis during their entire twelve years in power, just three were anti-Jewish: "The Rothschilds," "The Eternal Jew" and "Jud Süß" ("The Jew Suess"). These three films — the last two going down in propaganda history — were very much part of Goebbels' broad-front attack on the Jews. And yet, how many anti-German films has Hollywood made in revenge? It doesn't bear counting.

"Jud Süß," which starred some of the Third Reich's best movie actors, told the story of Joseph Süß-Oppenhaimer, an 18th century "Court Jew" financier who was able to rob the Duchy of Württemberg on a Robert Maxwellian scale, and who ends up being publicly hanged — to the general plaudits of the citizens.

To my mind, “The Eternal Jew” is the most insidious of the three because, as a documentary, it purported to show Jews as they were. On Goebbels' orders Jews were filmed in the ghettos of Poland, at their most profane and their most contemptible. He wanted yards and yards of footage showing Jews as caricatures. With this he mingled footage of rats invading bags of wheat and grain. Concluding the film, in one of its two versions, was an appalling, stomach-churning scene, filmed in close-up, of Jewish ritual slaughter of cattle. This was appended to the end of the film in what I think was a rather crude and vulgar tactic. So two versions of “The Eternal Jew” were made — one, with the ritual slaughter scene, for adults, and a second, cleaned up version, for children and others with weaker stomachs. But even the knowledge that there was a stronger version had a propaganda effect on people.

Germany Must Perish

In March 1941, Goebbels visited the “Warthegau,” a portion of Poland that was incorporated into the German Reich. After a meeting there with the local Gauleiter, Arthur Greiser, Goebbels recorded in his diary: “There has been all manner of liquidating going on here, particularly of the Jewish garbage. That’s got to be.”

A crucial episode in the “Final Solution,” as far as Goebbels is concerned — and this has been very little highlighted — came in 1941 with the publication in the United States of a strange little book, *Germany Must Perish!*, by an American named Theodore N. Kaufman. In it, Kaufman — who was, presumably, a Jew — recommends the castration of the entire German people, so that the Germans would literally perish within one generation. “Germany must perish forever!,” wrote Kaufman. “In fact — not in fancy.” Published at a time when the United States was still officially not at war against Germany, this book was given respectful, even laudatory attention by Time magazine, The Washington Post, and other periodicals.

Goebbels seized with delight on this nasty propaganda diatribe against the German people, with all its Freudian undertones. “This Jew [Kaufman] has done a disservice to the enemy,” Goebbels commented. “If he had composed the book at my behest he couldn’t have done a better job.”

Goebbels looked into the feasibility of having a million copies of a German translation printed up and distributed to German soldiers. He shelved the project because his lawyers pointed out that the project would violate US copyrights. You may laugh but, as he wrote in his diary, the reasoning was that if Germany violated American copyrights, America might feel justified in violating Germany’s very valuable copyrights. He had to wait another few months until certain historical events in Hawaii resulted in American copyrights not being so valuable after all.

Kaufman’s book figures in Goebbels' diary as being the turning point that justified, in his mind, adopting a much more radical solution to the Jewish problem.

In August 1941, he went to show Hitler *Germany Must Perish* in translation, and persuaded him to agree to a plan by which every German Jew would be fitted out with a yellow Star of David badge with the word Jude. Goebbels argued that the Jews had to be tagged, and Hitler agreed. It’s interesting to note — and this can’t be emphasized enough — that again and again it’s Goebbels who goes to Hitler with radical plans, and Hitler agrees. It’s never Hitler initiating these plans. This is true even when the diary appears to indicate otherwise, as in the case of Kristallnacht and other episodes when, for reasons of politics and posterity, Goebbels felt it necessary to write: “The Führer fully endorsed what I had done.”

I have to point out that we are reading the diary of a Propaganda Minister, a master dissembler whose diary has frequently been found to be untrustworthy on earlier occasions. And when dealing with what he writes about a man such as Hitler, who is dead and can't defend himself, you have to be extra careful. It may stick in the craw of other historians when I say this, but it doesn't matter if the man is Hitler or Roosevelt or Stalin: If he's not here to defend himself you have to be ten times more careful when trying to write the truth. That's why I've been additionally careful in evaluating the diary of Dr. Goebbels.

During a visit to the Eastern front in November 1941, Goebbels toured the German-occupied Baltic states — Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. On this occasion as well, he viewed the ghettos. In Lithuania he spent a whole afternoon touring the Jewish ghetto in Kaunas (Kovno), and wrote disapproving passages in his diary about what he found there. As he records, Goebbels was also told that the Jews in the Baltic states had been massacred on a colossal scale, not by the Germans but by the Lithuanians and Latvians themselves, even as the German troops arrived, in revenge for what the Jews had done to them during the year of Bolshevik terror following the Soviet Russian takeover in June 1940.

When German troops arrived in the Baltic states, they found that the local Jews had largely fled or been evacuated. The Germans then decided to evacuate the German Jews to these Baltic territories. I don't know why they hit on this mad solution, because if the Baltic peoples themselves didn't like their own Jews, these territories certainly weren't going to be very safe for foreign Jews. But the Germans didn't really care.

Goebbels and Speer

It may surprise you to learn that the prime mover behind the evacuation of Berlin's Jews was less Dr. Goebbels than that great hero of the postwar media, Albert Speer. If you read Speer's genuine diary, not the sanitized one he gave to the German Federal Archives, but his genuine diary, you'll find that from early 1941, when he was chief of construction for Berlin, he makes repeated references to the "Main Resettlement Department" ("Hauptabteilung Umsiedlung"), which he controlled.

You see, Speer — who was a close friend of Goebbels and his wife — had been given the task of rebuilding Berlin — a fine and appropriate task for an ambitious young architect with great vision, and, it has to be said, also great ability. In order to rebuild Berlin, though, he had first to clear slums, and this required that he house the slum-dwellers elsewhere. So, wanting to clear the Jewish areas of west Berlin, he persuaded Goebbels to start a campaign to drive the Jews out of the city, and thus empty their apartments. Speer had his eye on something like 24,000 Jewish houses and apartments in Berlin.

In early 1941, Speer and Goebbels, each for reasons of his own, together started this campaign to drive the Jews from the city. Goebbels, who was Gauleiter of Berlin, wanted to have his city "free of Jews," and Speer wanted to clear out those 24,000 apartments so that he could rebuild Berlin.

So, trainload by trainload, Jews were shipped out of Berlin to anywhere — nobody really cared. The chiefs of police, Kurt Daluge and Helldorff joined in because they were pals of Goebbels. Only occasionally did Goebbels have to get approval from Hitler, in broad general terms, for yet another operation against the Jews. We know how many Jews were in those trains — there were about 130 trainloads altogether — because in almost every case we know exactly how many Jews were loaded onto each train.

We know the exact route and destination of those trains because, by some quirk of historical fate, the actual rail records have survived. They show that there were around a thousand Jews per trainload — sometimes as few as about 650 passengers, sometimes as many as 1030. The first of these trainloads left Berlin on October 18, 1941 — to the plaudits of Speer and Goebbels. These rail deportations were irregular because this was a low priority program. At a time when German troops were fighting a desperate battle outside Moscow, rail rolling stock and rail networks were needed, above all, for munitions, supplies, troop reinforcements, wounded soldiers, hospital trains, and all the rest. But whenever they could, Goebbels and Speer would deport another trainload of Jews.

Single Jews with no families were the first to be rounded up and deported. If the family had a “privileged” member — for example, a Jew who had married a non-Jew, or a Jewish man who was working in a munitions factory — that one member saved the entire family. Jews who weren’t privileged in some way were liable to be picked up without warning, allowed only 40 kilograms of baggage, put on a train and shipped out.

In one particular case, we know that a trainload of 1030 Jews left Berlin on November 27, 1941, destined for Riga, Latvia. It’s recorded in the Speer diary and in the Goebbels diary. It arrived at a place called Skiatowa, eight kilometers outside Riga, on the morning of November 30, 1941, in the midst of a mass extermination. So these newly-arrived Jews were taken along with local Riga Jews, lined up along pits, and shot.

That very day, Heinrich Himmler went to see Hitler at his headquarters. In my book *Hitler’s War* [in the 1991 Focal Point edition, between pages 506-507], you’ll find a facsimile of Himmler’s own handwritten notes of his telephone conversations on that day, when he made a couple of phone calls from Hitler’s headquarters. One note records a call at 1:30 p.m., Nov. 30, 1941, to Gestapo chief Reinhard Heydrich. It reads: “Jew transport from Berlin. No liquidation.”

Until I found these bundles of telephone notes, not one historian in the world had bothered to read them or quote them. They were written in old-fashioned handwriting, you see, and the German historians rather like to have the documents they consult printed, especially in the Nuremberg bound volumes, and even better, with illustrations. They don’t like reading old German handwriting.

What’s the explanation for Himmler’s words here? My theory is that he may have said to Hitler: “Mein Führer, I’ve got a bit of a problem housing these Jews we’re shipping out of Berlin. Why don’t we just bump them off?” and Hitler probably answered: “Out of the question.” So Himmler sends a frantic message to Heydrich, saying they’re not to be liquidated. But it’s too late, they’re already dead — the whole trainload. We know this because we have the timetable of what happened that day.

On March 5, 1942, Goebbels received a report from Heydrich about guerilla warfare in the occupied east. Blaming the Jews for this as well, he comments:

It is therefore understandable that many of them must pay with their lives for this. Anyway, in my view the more Jews who are liquidated the more consolidated the situation in Europe will be after the war. Let there be no phony sentimentalism about it. The Jews are Europe’s misfortune. They must somehow be eliminated otherwise we are in danger of being eliminated by them.

Here I want to mention something that I’m always very adamant about. Although we revisionists say that gas chambers didn’t exist, and that the “factories of death” didn’t exist, there is no doubt

in my mind that on the Eastern front large numbers of Jews were massacred, by criminals with guns — SS men, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, whatever — to get rid of them. They were made to line up next to pits or ditches, and then shot. The eyewitness accounts I've seen of this are genuine and reliable.

Wannsee Conference

In late 1941 Heydrich sent a message to all the relevant ministers and state secretaries calling them to a high-level conference on the Jewish question. This is the famous Wannsee Conference, which took place on January 20, 1942, at a villa in suburban Berlin. There the officials discussed how to deal with all the administrative problems of large-scale transportations of Jews. There's no reference to killing Jews, not even an indication, anywhere in the Conference record.

Goebbels was not present at that meeting because the invitation that was sent to the Propaganda Ministry was addressed to Leopold Gutterer, the Ministry State Secretary and Goebbels' number two man. Gutterer is still alive, age 92. I went to interview him two or three times before I was banned from Germany (on November 9, 1993). He told me he never got the Wannsee meeting invitation, that it was probably intercepted by Werner Naumann, who was his rival on Goebbels staff.

Although Goebbels did not hear in advance of the meeting, you'll find in Goebbels' diary — in his entry of March 7, 1942 — that a copy of the well-known Wannsee Conference protocol was sent to him. Nobody else has spotted this.

There were still eleven million Jews in Europe, Goebbels dictated on that day, accurately summarizing the document. "For the time being they are to be concentrated in the east [until] later; possibly an island like Madagascar can be assigned to them after the war." It all raised a host of "delicate questions," he added. "Undoubtedly there will be a multitude of personal tragedies," he wrote airily, "But this is unavoidable. The situation now is ripe for a final settlement of the Jewish question."

More chilling is another diary entry a few weeks later. On March 27, 1942, Goebbels dictates a lengthy passage about another SS document that had been submitted to him, and which appears to have been much uglier in its content. "Beginning with Lublin," he states, "the Jews are now being deported eastward from the General Government [occupied Poland]. The procedure is pretty barbaric and one that beggars description, and there's not much left of the Jews. Broadly speaking one can probably say that 60 percent of them will have to be liquidated, while only 40 percent can be put to work."

It's a very ugly passage, and it's easy to link this diary passage with everything we've seen in the movies and on television since then. He's describing "Schindler's List" here — or is he? I don't know. All he's actually saying here is that the Jews are having a pretty rigorous time. They're being deported, it's happening in a systematic way, and not many of them are going to survive it.

When I visited the Hoover Institution library in Stanford, California, to see the portion of the original Goebbels diary that they have there, this was the first page I asked to see. And when I was in the Moscow archives to examine the glass plate copy of the diary, this was also the first plate I searched for. I knew that if the diary had actually been copied by the Nazis in Berlin, and the glass plate version in Moscow matches the text in the Hoover library, there's no way anyone could have faked it. And there it is on the glass plate in Moscow, identical. As a final clincher, this portion was also microfilmed in 1947 in New York from the text that is held by the Hoover

library. So there are three different indications that this is a genuine quotation from a genuine Goebbels document.

The conclusion I draw therefore is that, between them, Speer and Goebbels started a ruthless campaign in 1941 to drive out and deport the Jews from Berlin — Goebbels for political reasons, and out of sheer visceral hatred of the Jews, and Speer for the more mundane reasons of real estate and ambition. They didn't really care what happened to the Jews.

Even so, we must put all this in the context of the brutal war being fought on the Eastern front at the time, in which neither side was giving the other any quarter. By this time (March 1942) we British had just begun bombing German towns on a ruthless scale. The devastating aerial bombardment of Lübeck, for example, came just two days after this diary entry. It's not difficult to imagine Dr. Goebbels' attitude: "So what if Jews are being machine-gunned into pits? They had it coming to them. They declared war on us, and this is no time for sympathy and sentiment." That's the way he may well have looked at it.

By this time, ugly rumors were already circulating abroad, fuelled by British propaganda. The London Daily Telegraph quoted Polish claims that seven thousand of Warsaw's Jews were being killed each day, often in what it called "gas chambers." One of Goebbels' worried civil servants responded by telexing a request for information to Hans Frank's press office in Krakow and to the propaganda field office in Warsaw. The reassuring reply spoke of the Jews being used to construct defences and roads. Be that as it may, in Goebbels' files the original press report, which had merely summarized the British newspaper item, was rubber-stamped *Geheime Reichssache*, "Secret Reich Matter."

How much did Goebbels know? Among his surviving files are papers suggesting a broad general knowledge of atrocities. One is from a large collection of original Goebbels' papers on file at the Jewish Yivo institute in New York.

Reporting to Goebbels on November 11, 1942, his legal expert, Dr Hans Schmidt-Leonhardt, whom he had sent to inspect conditions in Hans Frank's Polish dominions, noted that the Warsaw police had deemed it too dangerous to visit the ghetto there; in the Krakow ghetto he had found all the Jews put to work; in Lublin the ghetto had already been cleared away, and there were now bloody disturbances. "As a *Geheime Reichssache*," reported the legal specialist, "Frank related to us the following characteristic recent instance: ..." But whatever this was we cannot know, because a shocked member of Goebbels' staff cut off the rest of the page.

This is something that you have to look for, this "top secret" endorsement. By contrast, the Auschwitz documents found in the Moscow archives by French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac have no "secret" classification whatsoever. But this document, with its missing half page, tells me that Goebbels knew damn well that something ugly was probably happening on the Eastern front, and that he didn't want members of his staff asking awkward questions, so he had part of the page torn off and locked away in his safe.

I sometimes wonder what his stenographer, Richard Otte, must have thought about the man whose words he transcribed day by day for this diary.

So there are the facts about Dr. Goebbels and the "final solution." If we're looking for a culprit, if we're looking for a criminal behind the "final solution" or the "Holocaust," whatever it was, for the man who started it in motion, then it was undoubtedly Dr. Goebbels first and foremost. Not Julius Streicher, not Adolf Hitler, nor any of the other Nazis. Goebbels was the moving force, and

the brain behind it in every sense of the word. We still don't know if he knew what exactly happened at the other end, but then this isn't surprising, because we ourselves don't know either.

Goebbels' Place in History

Mark Weber

No other name is so firmly associated with the term propaganda, conjuring lies and deceit, than that of Dr. Joseph Goebbels. But the popular image of this man, particularly in the United States, is a crude caricature.

Following his birth in 1897 in Rheydt, a medium-size city in the German Rhineland, Paul Joseph Goebbels was raised in a solidly middle-class, staunchly Roman Catholic family.

Although physically unimpressive and handicapped (one leg was shorter than the other), he was gifted with intelligence, a quick tongue and a melodious voice. He excelled in his studies. After a rigorous Gymnasium “humanistic” education, he studied at several German universities, receiving a doctorate from Heidelberg University in 1921.

After an unsuccessful effort to find employment as a writer for major national daily papers, and a nine-month stint working at a bank in Cologne, he became an activist in the fledgling National Socialist Party, and served as editor of two party periodicals, the weekly *Völkische Freiheit* ("National Freedom") and, later, of *NS-Briefe* ("NS Letters").

With pronounced working class sympathies, and even some pro-Communist sentiments, during this period he was known as a member of the Party's “left wing.”

In 1926, Hitler appointed him Gauleiter for Berlin. He lost no time taking firm control of the small and feuding Party organization there, and infusing it with new dynamism. Goebbels threw himself into his task, quickly proving himself a master organizer and public speaker. As part of his ceaseless efforts in Germany's most important city, in July 1927 he started his own newspaper, *Der Angriff* ("The Attack").

Goebbels' faced an uphill battle because he aimed, above all, to win support from the city's working class population — which overwhelmingly supported the Marxist Social Democratic and Communist parties — while at the same time not alienating middle class voters.

This strategy was perhaps most severely tested during the 1932 Berlin transport workers strike, which paralyzed the great city's bus, elevated railway and subway systems. Only the National Socialists and the Communists supported the workers in their strike against the city government, which was controlled by the Social Democratic party. The result was an odd temporary “Nazi-Commie” alliance that alarmed many middle class Germans.

Goebbels missed no opportunity for humor, sarcasm or mockery. When the Social Democratic government banned the wearing of uniforms by the Party's brownshirted stormtroopers — its paramilitary citizens militia — Goebbels mocked the ban by having the men march in public, costumed in stovepipe hats, paper caps, and similar items.

Another stunt he organized was a “debate” with Chancellor Heinrich Brüning. Because Brüning refused to participate, Goebbels “debated” an empty chair, responding — in Rush Limbaugh style — to a phonograph recording of a speech by the Chancellor. With wit and sarcasm, Goebbels “ironed flat” his colorless opponent — to roars of laughter from the mass audience.

Berliners loved such audacious spectacles, and showed their appreciation at the ballot box. In May 1928 Goebbels was elected as a deputy to the German parliament (Reichstag), and six months later was elected to the city council.

In 1929 Hitler named him director of propaganda for the entire National Socialist party, a demanding post of considerable responsibility. In spite of formidable and sometimes violent opposition — Party speakers were routinely banned, for example, and Hitler’s voice was not permitted on German radio — the National Socialist movement grew rapidly during this period. By 1932 Hitler’s Party had become Germany’s most important, with by far the largest faction in the Reichstag.

The Party’s vast propaganda and publishing empire — supervised by Goebbels — included 120 daily or weekly newspapers regularly read by about a million people across the country.

With a distinctly youthful leadership, the National Socialist movement was especially popular among younger Germans. For example, by the time Hitler became Chancellor, National Socialists had already swept the student council elections in German universities.

On January 30, 1933, President Paul von Hindenburg named Hitler as Chancellor, entrusting the 43-year-old former First World War corporal with responsibility for governing an economically devastated nation on the verge of civil war.

Six weeks after the National Socialist “seizure of power,” the 35-year-old Goebbels was named “Reich Minister for Propaganda and Popular Enlightenment.” In this position, and as President of the “Reich Culture Chamber” (Reichskulturkammer), he exercised wide control over Germany’s radio, film, newspapers, periodical press and book publishing, as well as over the nation’s cultural life.

During the first years of the Second World War, 1939 to 1942, Goebbels' job as Propaganda Minister was relatively easy. With an almost unbroken string of German and Axis military victories, maintaining public morale was not difficult. His greatest challenge came during the final two years of the war, as Germany’s armies suffered ever more terrible military reverses, her great cities crumbling into ruins under a growing storm of British-American bombings, and with utter defeat looming.

It was during this period that Goebbels' most dramatically proved his skill as a master molder of public opinion. In spite of the drastically worsening situation — both militarily and on home front — he largely succeeded in maintaining public morale, confidence in Hitler’s leadership, and even hope.

Although German historian Helmut Heiber paints a highly critical and generally unflattering portrait in his biography, Goebbels (New York: Hawthorn, 1972), at the same time, he acknowledges Goebbels' talents and strengths.

He notes:

[Goebbels] was able, until the very last minute, to encourage and exploit a blind trust in Hitler and his genius. It is indeed one of the macabre phenomena of the Third Reich that even in their country's agony the mass of the German people remained docile and faithful to Hitler's banner ... In spite of everything they had experienced, they kept the faith. [p. 133]

After the great defeat at Stalingrad in early February 1943, Goebbels was the first official forthrightly to acknowledge the seriousness of the peril that faced the nation and Europe, and frankly to concede that Germany could lose the war.

Probably the best known of his wartime speeches was his brilliantly crafted "Total War" address of February 18, 1943. Masterfully delivered to a large audience in Berlin's Sportpalast hall, it was broadcast on national radio and excerpts were shown in the weekly "Deutsche Wochenschau" newsreel.

Speaking in the aftermath of the Stalingrad catastrophe, Goebbels stressed the grim truth that catastrophic defeat was a real possibility, and concluded with a rousing call for national mobilization. (Germany's national economy was still operating on a largely peacetime basis, with factories turning out a vast array of non-essential consumer goods.)

An enormous banner proclaimed the rally's slogan: "Total War, Shortest War."

Goebbels' frankness and even courage won him a measure of popular admiration. Writes Heiber:

He understood the value of admitting reverses and even, now and then, errors; his readiness to be thus "candid" was a kind of knowledgeable wink at his audience — "Look, I take you seriously. Let's be frank with one another" — and enabled him to ensnare them all the more. The result was that later on, after 1943, after he had borrowed ... the "blood, sweat and tears" theme of Churchill, people were ready to believe in the ray of hope which he astutely let shine through the somber coloring of his speeches. [p. 134]

"As other influential Nazis began to creep into their shells," comments Heiber, "Goebbels could dare to appear before a mob and not only gain a hearing, but even arouse faith and hope ..." [p. 134]

As the war dragged on, Goebbels' front-page editorial essays in the weekly paper *Das Reich* played an increasingly important role in sustaining public morale. They were widely reprinted and routinely read over the radio. "His articles in *Das Reich*," acknowledges Heiber, "were indeed excellent, brilliantly written, and full of bright ideas ..." [p. 235]

Heiber also notes:

Goebbels' articles were carefully worked out more than a week before they were to appear, written in excellent, polished German, stylistically enjoyable and relatively discriminating in content; often they seemed illumined by the lofty wisdom of a great thinker. Their very titles were reminiscent of philosophical treatises: "On the Meaning of War," "The Essential Nature of the Crisis," "On the Work of the Spirit," "On Speaking and Being Silent," "The Indispensability of Freedom," "About National Duty in War." ... It is all very well turned and very solid. These articles made an impression, and Goebbels knew it. [p. 252]

Regrettably, little of what Goebbels wrote and said during the latter war years — when he was at the peak of his powers — has been translated into English.

One of Goebbels' greatest wartime propaganda achievements was his exploitation of the Katyn massacre story. In April 1943, the Germans discovered at Katyn, near Smolensk in occupied Russia, a mass grave of thousands of Polish officers who had been taken prisoner by the Soviets in 1939, and shot by Soviet secret police in April 1940.

On Goebbels' orders, German newspapers and magazines devoted great attention to the story, giving it weeks of detailed, often front-page coverage. His astute treatment of the story contributed significantly to a major Allied political defeat — a break in relations between the Soviet government and the Polish government-in-exile. (Meanwhile, American and British officials and newspapers backed the Soviet lie that Germans were responsible for the atrocity.)

In addition to his work as the nation's chief propagandist, during the war Goebbels took on ever greater organizational and policy-making responsibilities, playing an increasingly important role in keeping the nation's industrial and social machinery functioning.

In February 1942, Hitler entrusted him with special authority to oversee assistance to people ravaged in Allied air attacks — a post that was to assume ever greater importance as the aerial bombardment of Germany steadily escalated.

In the summer of 1944, Hitler named him “Reich Plenipotentiary for the Total War Mobilization.” Thus, during the final catastrophic months of the war Goebbels — along with Armaments Minister Albert Speer — directed Germany's human and material resources for maximum war production, while simultaneously continuing somehow to operate the nation's electric power and water plants, transportation and telephone systems, food and fuel supply networks, public schools, radio broadcasting and daily newspaper publishing.

This organizational feat of keeping essential social and community services functioning, while at the same time maintaining and even sharply increasing armaments production — in spite of devastating aerial bombardment and an ever worsening military situation — is an achievement without historical parallel.

“We have become a people on the defensive,” Goebbels wrote in *Das Reich* of Feb. 11, 1945 — eleven weeks before the end. “We work and we fight, we wander, we leave our homes, we suffer and endure, and we do all this with a silent dignity which, in the end, will arouse the admiration of the entire world. Europe may well be happy that it still possesses such a people. Today this people is the salvation of Europe. Tomorrow, therefore, it will be Europe's pride.”

His final radio address, broadcast over what remained of a tattered network, was delivered on April 19, 1945. As he had done every year since 1933, he spoke on the eve of Hitler's birthday.

Even on this occasion, when the terrible end was glaringly obvious to all, Goebbels still spoke with eloquent, controlled passion, frankly acknowledging the supreme gravity of the situation while inspiring hope. He had not lost his ability to rouse his countrymen with fervor as well as a certain seeming nobility.

“Do not let yourself be disconcerted by the worldwide clamor that will now begin,” he urged in a letter written to his stepson just days before his death. “There will come a day, when all the lies will collapse under their own weight, and truth will again triumph.”

In his final testament written just hours before he took his life, Hitler named Goebbels as his successor as Chancellor — a tribute to steadfast loyalty even to the bitter end. But Goebbels held this empty position for just a few hours. After he and his wife had their six children put to death, and with Soviet troops just a few hundred yards away, on the evening of May 1, 1945, Joseph and Magda Goebbels ended their lives in the courtyard outside the Führerbunker.

Contrary to popular belief, Goebbels was successful as a propagandist not because he was a master of the “Big Lie,” but rather as a result of his fidelity to facts and truth.

As biographer Heiber notes:

Goebbels was accordingly able to celebrate his information policy as being not only superior to the enemy's in its monolithic character, but also of a “seriousness and credibility” which “simply cannot be surpassed.” The boast could be made with some justification: Seen in the long view, Goebbels preached, the best propaganda is that which does no more than serve the truth.” [p. 254]

“Goebbels' real lies, his conscious lies, always pertained to mere detail ...,” writes Heiber. “Goebbels' lies were more in the nature of those equivocations and evasions by which government spokesmen everywhere seek to 'protect' the 'national interest'.” [pp. 134, 135]

It is also common to imagine that, however skilled, Goebbels was little more than a clever ranter who won support from his countrymen by appealing to base feelings of envy, revenge, conceit and arrogant pride.

This view, which implicitly demeans Germans as a nation of emotional and mental cripples, is especially widespread in the United States. If he thinks about it at all, the typical American imagines that if he had been living in Third Reich Germany, he would not have “fallen” for Goebbels' “obvious” lies.

Such a self-flattering view is based on ignorance. In his classic study, *Propaganda* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968; Vintage, 1973 [p. 54]), French scholar Jacques Ellul pointed out that Goebbels' postwar image is itself a propaganda distortion:

There remains the problem of Goebbels' reputation. He wore the title of Big Liar (bestowed by Anglo-Saxon propaganda) and yet he never stopped battling for propaganda to be as accurate as possible. He preferred being cynical and brutal to being caught in a lie. He used to say: “Everybody must know what the situation is.” He was always the first to announce disastrous events or difficult situations, without hiding anything. The result was a general belief between 1939 and 1942 that German communiqués not only were more concise, clearer and less cluttered, but were more truthful than Allied communiqués (American and neutral opinion) — and, furthermore, that the Germans published all the news two or three days before the Allies. All this is so true that pinning the title of Big Liar on Goebbels must be considered quite a propaganda success.

Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud

One of France's most influential and reputable magazines, *L'Express*, now acknowledges that "everything is false" about the Auschwitz "gas chamber" that for decades has been shown to tens of thousands of tourists yearly.

"Auschwitz: The Memory of Evil," a lengthy article by journalist and historian Eric Conan, a dedicated anti-revisionist, appears in the January 19-25, 1995, issue, pages 54-73 (and in the Jan. 26 international edition). *L'Express* is a liberal large-circulation weekly news magazine, similar in format to *Time* or *Newsweek*.

L'Express also reports that, after a five-year battle among the "experts," Polish president Lech Walesa has decided that the new, revised number of dead to be inscribed on the Birkenau monument will be 1,500,000. (For years the monument proclaimed 4,000,000 Auschwitz deaths.)

Generally speaking, writes Conan, there have been many obvious falsifications in the Auschwitz and Birkenau camp sites. Stefan Wilkanowicz, vice-president of the International Committee of the Polish government's Auschwitz State Museum (and director of an influential Polish Catholic periodical), says:

The biggest blunders have been rectified but the principal discussions are never-ending and far from being settled. I can even say that essential debates, distressing, sometimes unexpected, are only beginning.

About the famous "gas chamber" in the Auschwitz I camp, Conan writes:

In 1948, when the Museum was created, Crematory I was reconstructed in a supposed original state. *Everything in it is false* [*Tout y est faux*]: the dimensions of the gas chamber, the locations of the doors, the openings for pouring in Zyklon B, the ovens (rebuilt according to the recollections of some survivors), the height of the chimney. At the end of the 70s, Robert Faurisson exploited those falsifications all the better because at that time the Museum officials balked at admitting them. An American revisionist [David Cole] has just shot a video in the gas chamber (still presented as authentic): one may see him questioning the visitors with his "revelations" [Emphasis added.]

In spite of this, Conan goes on to report, there are no plans to alter anything there. With regard to the famous "gas chamber," a staff member of the Museum directors' office, Krystyna Oleksy, says: "For the time being we are going to leave it in the present state, and not give any specifics to the visitors. It is too complicated. We'll see later on."

Victory for Revisionism

This feature article in a leading French magazine is a great victory for Holocaust revisionism. On a key point, *L'Express* now acknowledges, the revisionists have been right all along.

In fact, the magazine concedes a point that revisionists have been legally penalized for making. Dr. Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost revisionist scholar, was heavily fined after repeating it on numerous occasions during his "thought crime" trials in France. (Will the French government now prosecute *L'Express* magazine and journalist Conan for their revisionist Holocaust views?)

In May 1992 a German court fined David Irving 10,000 marks (about \$6,000) for publicly saying what *L'Express* now openly admits. (See: "Irving Fined \$6,000 in German 'Gas Chamber' Trial," *IHR Newsletter*, July-Aug. 1992, pp. 3-4.)

The court punished the British historian because he had told a Munich meeting in April 1990 that the structure in Auschwitz that has been portrayed for decades to tourists as an extermination gas chamber is a phony reconstruction ("*Attrappe*"), just like the one at Dachau.

Irving was found guilty of thus "disparaging the memory of the dead," a crime in Germany that effectively applies only to Jewish victims. In the case the Judge refused to consider any of the evidence presented by Irving's attorneys, including a plea to permit Dr. Franciszek Piper, Senior Curator and archives director of the Auschwitz State Museum, to testify in the case.

Faurisson's Comment

Dr. Faurisson comments on Conan's article:

Clearly, the Auschwitz propagandists are at a loss. Oleksy's statement is an important vindication of the revisionist position. Every visitor of the Auschwitz "gas chamber" should confront the guides (or, if possible, Museum officials) with these sentences by Oleksy.

During a September 1992 interview with American revisionist David Cole, Auschwitz Museum Curator Piper said, "so now this gas chamber [at Auschwitz I] is very similar to this one which existed in 1941-1942."

As Conan knows, already in 1976 I demonstrated the falsehood of this entire story by questioning Museum official Jan Machalek, and by finding in the Auschwitz Museum files original plans clearly showing that, in fact, the alleged "gas chamber" was, between October 7, 1941, and August 31, 1943, a room with a single entrance where dead bodies awaiting cremation were stored.

If Museum officials now wish to rebuild the room as it was during the war, they will have to fill in the south-east doorway. After doing so, though, they would no longer be able to explain how the alleged victims entered the "gas chamber" for gassing. I do not think the officials would dare contend that the victims entered by way of the door of the ovens room.

For details on these points, see what I published in Serge Thion's 1980 book *Vérité historique ou vérité politique? La question des chambres à gaz*, pp. 316-317. I have also repeatedly mentioned the story of that "reconstructed" gas chamber in *The Journal of Historical Review* (see, for instance, Winter 1981 issue, p. 335), as well as during the 1985 and 1988 Zündel trials in Toronto (see, for instance, 1985 Trial, Transcript, pp. 2364-2366). Even as early as 1968, Olga Wormser-Migot wrote in her

book *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi* (p. 157) that the Auschwitz I camp was “without a gas chamber.” In 1985, Raul Hilberg stated under oath during the first Zündel trial in Toronto (Transcript, p. 774), and Pierre Vidal-Naquet wrote in *L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif* (pp. 510, 516, n. 94), what Franciszek Piper said to Cole in 1992. Jean-Claude Pressac told the same story in his 1989 book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (pp. 108, 123, 133).

In his *L'Express* article, Conan mentions Jean-Claude Pressac's 1993 book, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz*. Among the fantastic number of “dossiers” and articles recently published in French newspapers and magazines in connection with the 50th anniversary of the camp's liberation, this article may perhaps be the only one to mention that book. Pressac's ambivalence has become an embarrassment for the “extermination-ists.” For instance, his estimate in *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz* (1993) of total Auschwitz deaths was 775,000 (rounded up to 800,000), and in the 1994 German edition he further reduced this to between 630,000 and 710,000 (of whom, he asserts, 470,000 to 550,000 were “gassed” Jews).

Major Holocaust Polls Show Built-In Bias

Growing Skepticism of Extermination Claims Indicated

by Greg Raven

In April 1993, just days before the opening of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, newspapers across the country reported “chilling” and “startling” news: 22 percent of American adults surveyed in a major public opinion poll said they thought it was possible that “the Nazi extermination of the Jews” never took place.

An additional twelve percent of adult respondents in the survey — sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and conducted by the Roper organization — said they did not know if it was possible or impossible. (See, for example, “1 in 5 Polled Voices Doubt on Holocaust,” *The New York Times*, April 20, 1993, and “Poll Finds 1 Out of 3 Americans Open to Doubt There Was a Holocaust,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1993.)

Media Uproar

Distress and consternation were the most common reactions to the poll results. “What have we done?” asked a stunned Elie Wiesel, perhaps the premier Holocaust survivor. “We have been working for years and years,” he said, commenting on the survey results. “I am shocked that 22 percent — oh, my God.”

“Is lesson of hate getting through?” asked a headline to an essay in the *Milwaukee Journal* (April 22). “Ignorance about the Holocaust allows spread of lies to the young,” claimed another item in *The News* of Port St. Lucie, Florida (April 28). An Associated Press piece — headlined “Many Americans doubt Holocaust happened” in the *The Washington Times* and “Holocaust denial seen gaining ground” in the *Los Angeles Times* (both May 8, 1993) — cited the impact of the Institute for Historical Review along with Bradley Smith’s campus newspaper ad campaign and Dr. Arthur Butz’s book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (published by the IHR).

Alarmed editorials in the *New York Times* (April 23) and the *Los Angeles Times* (“Dealing With Holocaust-Denial,” April 22) cited the poll results to sound a call for yet more Holocaust memorials. A similarly distressed *Denver Post* editorial (April 25, 1993), cited the “intensely disturbing” poll results to demand even more classroom emphasis on the fate of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War: “... Public schools must obviously do a better job of teaching 20th century history, even if it means giving shorter shrift to the Civil War or the Revolution. Today’s students ... shouldn’t be graduated if they can’t recognize the names Auschwitz and Dachau as readily as Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima.” (By contrast, results of a September 1994 poll showing that 46 percent of Americans aged 18-34 believe in the existence of UFOs did not lead to comparable nationwide calls for more school science courses or new science museums.)

Flawed Wording

As it turned out, however, the “startling” results of the AJC/Roper survey were not accurate. One of the poll’s most serious flaws was the confusing wording of question 16, which produced the response that generated the most media comment: “Does it seem possible or does it seem impossible to you that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened?” The question’s compound structure and double negative wording almost certainly confused many respondents. It is also likely that some of the 992 adults and 506 high school students surveyed may have believed that the Nazis exterminated millions of Jews but nevertheless agreed that it “seems” impossible.

Responding to criticism, the AJC recommissioned the poll, changing only question 16. In the second survey, this question was worded: “Does it seem possible to you that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened, or do you feel certain that it happened?” The results of the second, 1994 AJC poll were quite different: Only about one percent of Americans thought it was possible the Holocaust never happened, while eight percent were unsure. (“Poll on Doubt of Holocaust is Corrected,” *The New York Times*, July 8, 1994)

While the revised 1994 survey suggested that Americans are far more accepting of the standard Holocaust extermination story than the first AJC poll had indicated, not one commentator responded with a relieved call for *less* emphasis on this subject in classrooms, or *fewer* Holocaust memorials and museums.

Built-in Bias

Actually, the suggestive wording of key questions in each survey shows that the formulation of poll questions can produce skewed (and sometimes hoped-for) results. These polls also reconfirm what pollsters have long known: survey respondents tend to give answers they think are expected of them.

Given that the key question in each survey referred to “the Nazi extermination of the Jews” as an established fact, it was entirely to be expected that most respondents would accept the question’s premise.

Bias was also reflected in other aspects of the two AJC/Roper surveys. The very first question in each was: “As far as you know, what does the term ‘the Holocaust’ refer to?” According to the booklet issued by the AJC explaining the 1993 survey, “If an incorrect response was given, respondents were told, ‘To be precise, the Holocaust was the Nazi extermination of Jews during the Second World War’.” (*What Do Americans Know About the Holocaust?*, by Jennifer Golub and Renae Cohen. New York: AJC, 1993, p. 14.) Thus, respondents were “primed” to answer subsequent questions in the “proper” way.

In the second AJC/Roper poll, “Of those with less than a high school education, 55 percent knew what the Holocaust was. This rose to 74 percent among high school graduates, 87 percent among college graduates, and 92 percent among those with advanced degrees.” (*The New York Times*, July 8, 1994.) Given that up to 45 percent of the respondents were unable to identify the term “Holocaust” at the beginning of the survey, it is difficult, if not impossible, to see how 91 percent of respondents in this same survey could later be “certain that it [“the Nazi extermination of the Jews”] happened,” without the poll-takers “correcting” the “incorrect” answers in the meantime. Given this slanted technique, the poll’s results are hardly surprising.

These AJC polls also point up the sorry state of historical awareness among Americans. More than 22 percent of those surveyed did not know that the Nazis first came to power in Germany, and more than 13 percent did not know that Adolf Hitler was the leader of Nazi Germany. These results are consistent with other surveys showing that Americans cannot identify states and countries on a map, recall the decade during which the Civil War was fought, or cite the names of recent American Presidents.

Revisionist Outreach

Although it was not widely reported, the 1993 AJC/Roper poll confirmed that remarkably many Americans are being reached by the revisionist message. One survey question asked: “Some people claim that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Have you ever heard this claim, or not?” Thirty-eight percent of adults and 21 percent of students replied that they had heard this claim. Of those who had heard this claim, 59 percent of adults and 42 percent of students said they had heard it from television, 37 percent of adults and 14 percent of students had heard it through newspaper and magazine articles, and 14 percent of each group had heard it either from books or from acquaintances. (*What Do Americans Know About the Holocaust?*, pp. 54-58)

Moreover, such polls are themselves an indication of the spread and growing impact of Holocaust revisionism. If it were an entirely insignificant phenomenon, there would be no incentive to determine the number of people who accept or might be susceptible to the revisionist position. Publication of the results of such polls also enables more people to learn that a dissident view of the Holocaust story exists.

Other Surveys

Other recent “Holocaust” surveys — some of them more objective than the AJC/Roper poll — further confirm that Holocaust revisionism is now unquestionably part of the social-cultural landscape.

- In western Canada, after a newspaper article attacked writer Doug Collins for his views on the Holocaust story, *The Province* newspaper of Vancouver, British Columbia, asked readers, “Do you agree with Doug Collins that the Nazi Holocaust is exaggerated?” Out of 295 who called in to respond, 50 percent said that they agree. (*The Province*, Oct. 6, p. A14)
- In Georgia, nearly 19 percent “aren’t sure that the Nazi Holocaust against the Jews occurred,” according to a 1993 survey conducted by the University of Georgia Survey Research Center. Answering a separate question, nearly 20 percent think “the number of Jews killed by the Nazis, generally estimated at six million, may be inflated.” (*Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, June 10, 1993, p. A8).
- In Idaho, a poll conducted in March by a Twin Falls television station asked viewers, “Do you believe that the Holocaust really occurred?” One in four participants in this survey answered “No.” (See the July-August 1994 *Journal*, p. 43)
- A 1994 Gallup poll found that nine percent of Americans doubted “the Holocaust,” which was defined as “usually referring to the killing of millions of Jews in Nazi death camps.” (*New York Times*, May 20, 1994).
- In Italy, one in ten persons surveyed in 1992 by the Italian magazine *Espresso* believes that the Holocaust story is an “invention of the Jews.” (See the Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, p. 29).

While the AJC/Roper polls indicated that better educated people are more likely to accept the Holocaust story — and to recognize its key components (Jews, Nazis, and the Six Million figure)

— the Holocaust surveys cited here (most notably the one in western Canada) suggest the obvious point that the more people are aware of what revisionists actually say, the more likely they are to be skeptical of the orthodox Holocaust story.

Anti-Semitism Business

Even though numerous surveys show that anti-Jewish sentiment has been steadily declining in America in recent decades, the specter of anti-Semitism continues to serve as a proven fund-raising tool for groups such as the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. With a vested interest in conjuring up the supposedly eternal danger of anti-Semitism, these organizations are in the anti-Semitism business.

By characterizing Holocaust revisionism, and even a lack of “concern” about the wartime fate of European Jewry, as anti-Semitic, groups such as the AJC — along with the major media — are able simultaneously to discredit revisionists, encourage non-revisionists to feel guilty for a lack of Holocaust “concern,” and to present themselves as morally righteous fighters of evil and “hate.” That could be one reason why the results of the second, 1994 AJC poll, which suggested much greater public acceptance of the Holocaust story, was not deemed as newsworthy as the results of the first AJC survey.

Why Did a Great Egyptian Civilization Suddenly Collapse?

The Mysterious Demise of the World's First Socialist State

by Revilo P. Oliver

We are so often assured that we live in a “changing world,” and we are so pleased by the progress of our technology, that we sometimes imagine that change, or at least the rapidity of it, is a peculiarity of our time — an originality of which we are as proud as an adolescent who has discovered that he is in love.

The most drastic and rapid social change that mankind has ever experienced took place approximately five thousand years ago in Egypt. (I avoid the long discussion that would be necessary to set a more precise date or determine what was happening in Sumeria more or less contemporaneously.)

In terms of history, the change was sudden. A great Egyptologist, Professor John A. Wilson, had compared it to the speed with which a supersaturated solution crystallized in a flask. And it was drastic.

Within a century the Egyptians were hustled from barbarism to civilization. At the beginning of that period, they were roughly comparable to the Indians of our Southwest in their adobe villages before the coming of the white man: a timeless people, without a past to remember or a future to plan; a people for whom tribal mores took the place of formal government or social organization; a people that could live almost entirely by instinct, since the monotonous collection of food was varied only by an occasional raid on a neighboring village. At the end of that century, Egypt was a nation extending from the First Cataract to the Mediterranean, and subject to the absolute rule of a completely centralized and socialist government.

For the first time in man's long existence on this planet, there was a nation: and that nation's resources were consciously marshalled and used by government which necessarily planned for the future. Writing and written records appeared suddenly to make possible the bureaucracy that managed the nation. And the intelligent direction of human effort soon required or induced technical accomplishment. At the end of the Second Dynasty there was nowhere on the surface of the earth a permanent structure: Nothing had ever been built of stone. Within a hundred years Egypt had erected the most enduring structure that man has ever built — what was, until quite recently, both the tallest and the most massive building in the world. It was also one of the most accurately constructed: the two and a half million blocks of stone in the Great Pyramid were faced with blocks, many of them weighing sixteen tons, which were finished to a tolerance of plus or minus one one-hundredth of an inch.

When civilization had come to Egypt, it must have seemed eternal. It was, of course, designed, like the pyramids, for all time. For reasons made clear by Karl A. Wittfogel in his brilliant *Orien-*

tal Despotism (New Haven, 1957), the earliest and most primitive form of civilized society is always socialism, with an omnipotent central government, a completely managed economy, and with inhabitants reduced to the kind of serfdom that our planners in Washington are now imposing, step by step, on the American people.

The Egyptians defined the good state as one in which “well directed are men, the cattle of God.” Men were simply the cattle of Pharaoh, who had all the power that Jack Kennedy craved, and who was, by definition, the son of God and therefore God himself. He owned every acre of ground, every house, every stick of wood in Egypt from the First Cataract to the Mediterranean, and he naturally owned all the livestock on that plantation, both quadrupeds and bipeds.

A total socialism, such as Egypt had from the beginning, necessarily excludes all thought of change. That fact, indeed, may explain its appeal to men. The many hundreds of Utopias imagined by idle dreamers from Iambulos to Sir Thomas More to Edward Bellamy differ greatly in all details, but have one thing in common: They imagine a state in which no governmental or social change is possible or even conceivable. And the sincere socialists of our own time, though vociferous in praise of “inevitable change” leading to socialism, promise us the joys of a social order that can never again change and will be immutable forever in saecula saeculorum — or, at the least, “Til the sun grows cold, And the stars are old.”

Necessarily, therefore, the basic assumption of Egyptian civilization was that it was a social order as eternal as the granite of its monuments. But four hundred years after Cheops built his pyramid, that order suddenly disintegrated into anarchy and utter chaos.

The one thing the we know with certainty about the causes of the collapse is that they were internal. Egypt was not invaded by a foreign people and was not involved in a major war or even any military action other than routine policing of the few points at which she was not isolated from the rest of the world by natural barriers. There appears to have been a steady trickle of immigration across the isthmus of Suez into Egypt, but there is no reason to suppose that the immigrants were sufficiently numerous and active either to affect the character of the Egyptian population or to attempt an insurrection.

When we look for internal causes, we note that the last king before the collapse, Pepi II, ruled for ninety years, which suggests that if he did not begin his reign as God in diapers, he ended it as God in senile imbecility, possibly inspiring one of his sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons with impatience to start enjoying the blessings of divinity himself. That is merely a guess that the spark which set off the explosion was struck by a civil war for possession of the throne. But whatever the source of the spark, it is clear that the explosive materials lay deep in the structure of the society they destroyed. Since a small body of literature, especially the lamentations of Ipu-wer and Nefer-rohu, who witnessed the collapse, has survived, modern historians can learn a good deal about the causes. You will find them discussed at length in any good history of ancient Egypt.

What happened in Egypt was not a mere political upheaval to change the ruler or form of government; it was the ruin of a whole civilization through the collapse of its moral foundations. “If three men go along a road,” says Ipu-wer, “they become two men, for the greater number kills the lesser.” “I show thee,” says Nefer-rohu, “the brother as an enemy, and the man who kills his own father. Every mouth is full of ‘Love me!’ and everything good has disappeared.” Order had vanished in anarchy and universal banditry, and no man knew when he would be struck down from ambush or murdered in his own house.

Yes, “his own house,” for the lamentations incidentally show us that during the centuries preceding the collapse the perfect socialist state under its incarnate God had not been able to maintain its pure form; it had somehow progressed from socialism toward a higher form of social organization in which there was private property in practice and quite possibly even in theory. The writers take it for granted. Nefer-rohu complains that “Men take a man’s property away from him, and it is given to him who is from outside. I show thee the owner in need and the outsider satisfied.” And Ipu-wer: “The robber is now the possessor of riches ... The children of great men are dashed against the walls ... Great ladies now glean in the fields ... The owners of fine robes are clad in rags, but he who never wove for himself is now the owner of fine linen.” It is clear that Egypt had risen, though perhaps precariously, to a level far above pure socialism. That must have made the collapse the more terrible.

A great nation, which was coterminous with a civilization, had simply caved in. And since it had not been overthrown by an external force, the structure must have been poorly designed or poorly maintained. Or, to vary the metaphor, the culture had contained in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Or, perhaps, the civilization, like a dog, simply grew old and feeble and finally died. But whatever metaphor we use, the Egyptian collapse posed for us the basic problem of history. What were the causes of the collapse? And, since causes imply the existence of natural laws by which they operate, what laws of history can be inferred from them?

The Egyptians either violated some natural law that applied to civilizations, and could therefore have averted the collapse had they been more prudent, or they underwent a change that was “historically necessary” because imposed by some natural law that human ingenuity cannot circumvent. That alternative simply states the central problem that a philosophy of history must solve. And since we are subject to the same natural laws, the problem is vital and urgent.

Of course, Egypt eventually recovered from the chaos that historians euphemistically call the First Intermediate Period; and she went on to complete with many vicissitudes her three thousand years as a great and independent nation — a record that only China can rival. But the men who witnessed the collapse could not foresee that. The apparent end of human civilization, overthrown by a barbarism made more savage and terrible because it had captured the weapons and resources that civilization had produced, must have been a traumatic shock unsurpassed (thus far) in the experience of mankind. Contemporaries felt utter despair. “The land is completely perished, so that no remainder exists,” concluded Nefer-rohu. And Ipu-wer could only regard mankind as a failure and wish that it would disappear: “Ah, would that it were the end of men! That there were no conception and no birth! Then would the earth cease from turmoil and be at rest.”

But it did not occur to either Nefer-rohu or Ipu-wer — nor, so far as we know, did it occur to any later Egyptian — to ask why the catastrophe had befallen them. That may be a very significant historical datum.

It is not at all astonishing that the two Egyptian writers, with no precedent or record of comparable human experience to guide them, did not see in the cataclysm an intellectual problem. Nefer-rohu was right when he said, “What had never happened had happened.” But it seems that at no time in their long existence as a nation did the Egyptians think in terms of historical cause and effect. They compiled chronologies, but they never wrote history. They kept careful record of the sequence of events, but did not try to explain them. Some years brought national misfortune, just as the Nile in some years did not rise to its normal height and the fields consequently bore but a scanty harvest. Such things happened; if they had a cause, that cause lay in the mysterious and perhaps capricious will of the gods, far beyond human understanding.

'No Gas Chambers' Says Influential Japanese Magazine

Jewish-Zionist Boycott Campaign Shuts Down Prominent Monthly

Under the provocative headline, “The Greatest Taboo of Postwar World History: There were no Nazi 'Gas Chambers,’” a ten-page revisionist article appeared in the February 1995 issue of *Marco Polo*, an influential and reputable Japanese magazine.

Packed with advertising for luxury goods by major international firms, and sprinkled with photographs of pretty young women, *Marco Polo* is a slick, 250,000-circulation monthly aimed at men in their 20s and 30s. Founded in 1991, the current affairs feature magazine is issued by the Bungei Shunju company, one of Japan’s most prestigious publishing firms.

Besides *Marco Polo*, the company publishes nine weekly and monthly magazines, which are among the most influential in Japan. It is also the Japanese publisher of the Anne Frank Diary, which has sold nearly five million copies in that country.

But this is a “good news, bad news” story. It wasn’t long before the publisher capitulated to an international Jewish-Zionist boycott and pressure campaign, and shut down the magazine for good.

The article, written by 38-year-old neurology physician Dr. Masanori Nishioka, was published only after *Marco Polo* staff members spent five months checking the author’s sources, conducting additional research, and carefully editing the text.

It appeared with an introductory endorsement by *Marco Polo*:

On January 27th, the Auschwitz concentration camp celebrates the 50th anniversary of its 'liberation.' However, here the greatest taboo of postwar history is hiding. In fact the 'Holocaust' — the idea that Jews were slaughtered by the Nazis — has begun to be the subject of serious doubt. There is no doubt that many Jews died tragically. Since the war, it has been shown that none of the concentration camps in the west had gas chambers. Only those in the East are now said to have had them. However, these gas chambers are not sealed properly. From a scientific point of view, the gas used could hardly have been adequate for large-scale killing. In fact, in Europe and the United States questions of this kind have generated considerable journalistic activity. Even a number of Jewish scholars themselves have doubts. Why is it that only Japan’s mass media does not write about this problem? Astonishing history investigated single-handedly by a young physician!

Calling the Holocaust a “fabrication,” Nishioka wrote that “the story of 'gas chambers' was used as propaganda for the purposes of psychological warfare,” and is “nothing more than a transformation, without verification, of wartime 'gas chamber' stories into 'history'.” He also wrote:

The “gas chambers” currently open to the public at the remains of the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland are a postwar fabrication built either by the Polish Communist regime or by the Soviet Union, which controlled the country. Neither at Auschwitz nor anywhere else in the territory controlled by the Germans during the Second World War was there even one “mass extermination of Jews” in “gas chambers.”

Hundreds of thousands of Jews, affirms Nishioka, perished in the camps as a result of disease due to unhygienic conditions, but not as a consequence of an extermination policy. “Neither Hitler nor the Nazi leadership ever planned the 'extermination' of the Jews,” he wrote.

Nishioka points out that a chamber at the Dachau concentration camp, which American propagandists portrayed as a “gas chamber” used to kill prisoners, was actually a non-homicidal delousing chamber. He also presents considerable evidence to show that the “gas chamber” shown to tourists at Auschwitz was built by Communists after the war.

In support of his arguments, Nishioka cites a number of historians and various scholarly books and articles. Among them are several published by the IHR, including Dr. Arthur Butz' classic, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich's *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*.

Nishioka also mentions American revisionist writers Mark Weber and Ted O'Keefe.

In addition, last August Nishioka visited Poland to inspect the former concentration camps of Auschwitz (including Birkenau) and Majdanek. Among the photographs accompanying the article are five taken by him during that visit. Two show the “crematory chimney” at the Auschwitz I camp. As these photos make clear, the free-standing chimney is an obvious dummy, not connected to a crematory or even a building.

Comparing the wartime fate of Europe's Jews with that of Chinese killed by Japanese troops, and the victims of American atomic bombings of Japanese cities, Nishioka concludes his article with an expression of sympathy for the “tragic deaths” of many European Jews.

Initial Resistance

Jewish-Zionist groups responded to the article with characteristic speed and ruthlessness. Through its embassy in Tokyo, the Israeli government formally protested to the Japanese government, while the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles mounted a boycott campaign against the Bungei Shunju company.

The magazine's initial response was a statement defending the provocative article. In explaining his decision to publish it, Marco Polo editor Kazuyoshi Hanada — one of Japan's most prominent journalists — said that Dr. Nishioka had found evidence to show that standard views about gassings of Jews are not accurate. “We would not run an article we thought was wrong,” Hanada said on Jan. 24.

“It's not good for everything about a certain subject to be taboo,” he added. “Maybe Israelis and Japanese have different ways of thinking about that.” Hanada even asked Nishioka to contribute additional articles to future issues of his magazine.

Hanada became editor of Marco Polo in April 1994, after having served as editor of Shukan Bunshun, another Bungei Shunju magazine. Under his editorship, Shukan Bunshun attained the highest circulation of any weekly magazine in Japan. In recent months, Hanada has appeared on television as a commentator.

Marco Polo also generously announced that it would welcome a rebuttal of Nishioka's article, offering both the Wiesenthal Center and the Israeli embassy an opportunity to respond with a ten-page article of its own. The offer was promptly and predictably rejected.

Rabbi Abraham Cooper, deputy chief of the Wiesenthal Center, said: "Their [revisionists'] goal is to get debate going. They're seeking to give legitimacy to their view." In a Jan. 25 letter, the Israeli embassy wrote to the publisher: "If your magazine is going to take a neutral observer position, that of a courtroom trial, in which both sides' arguments and claims are to be introduced, we must decline."

The Wiesenthal Center mounted an international boycott campaign against Marco Polo advertisers, and quickly succeeded in persuading major firms - including Volkswagen, Cartier, Philip Morris, Mitsubishi Motors and Mitsubishi Electric — to cancel their advertising.

Accompanying the economic arm-twisting was a propaganda barrage with the usual smears. The Wiesenthal Center put out the falsehood that Dr. Nishioka never visited the site of any wartime German concentration camp. This lie was widely repeated, such as in a Chicago Tribune report (Jan. 25) from its Tokyo-based staff writer Merrill Goozner.

As a result of the campaign, the Japanese government on Jan. 30 issued a statement calling the Marco Polo article "extremely improper." A Foreign Ministry official added that Japanese embassies and consulates around the world would be instructed about the government's "position on the Holocaust."

Capitulation

Under such pressure, it didn't take long for the publishing company to capitulate. On Jan. 30 Bungei Shunju issued a statement of apology: "We ran an article that was not fair to the Nazi massacre of Jewish people, and by running the article, we caused deep sorrow and hardship for Jewish society and related people."

Marco Polo magazine didn't just surrender. It committed Hara Kiri.

At a packed news conference on Feb. 2 with Wiesenthal Center deputy director Rabbi Abraham Cooper, Bungei company president Kengo Tanaka formally apologized for causing Jews "immeasurable pain" by publishing Nishioka's article. To atone for its grievous sin, Tanaka said he had closed down the offending magazine for good, and had relieved the responsible staff members of their duties. All remaining copies of the February issue were being recalled and destroyed.

'Hit By a Steel Bat'

"We came to know of the very deep pain and agony inflicted by the *Marco Polo* article," said Tanaka, who acknowledged that the decision to shut down the magazine was made in response to protests from the Israeli government and Jewish organizations.

“I have realized how much anger and sorrow this article has caused within Jewish society. I feel like I've been woken up after being hit by a steel bat. I truly regret that we ran the article,” said Tanaka. “As a country that hopes to become more international, Japan must recognize the plight of Jews.”

Rabbi Cooper of the Wiesenthal Center praised Tanaka's action as “serious and unprecedented,” and announced that the Center was calling off its economic boycott against Bungei.

Tanaka's craven repentance apparently was not enough, however. On Feb. 14, he resigned as president of Bungei Shunju.

A dissenting voice broke the tranquility of the canned news conference. Journalist, author and revisionist researcher Aiji Kimura loudly harangued Cooper and demanded that the company president explain specifically what was inaccurate about Nishioka's article. Kimura also defended historical revisionism, speaking of its peaceful, truth-seeking motivation. Hundreds of fellow journalists responded to his remarks with spontaneous applause and expressions of agreement.

Kimura is a leftist journalist who worked for years at the NTV television station in Tokyo. He has written several books, including a highly critical treatment of the US-Japanese role in the Gulf War. Last November Kimura visited the IHR office in southern California, where he conducted a videotape interview with Journal editor Weber.

Controversy Continues

At a news conference on Feb. 1, Dr. Nishioka sharply condemned the unfair suppression of one side of an important debate. “Marco Polo was crushed by Jewish organizations using advertising [pressure], and Bungei obliged,” he said.

Nishioka said he welcomes criticism of his work, but feels “deep anger” over the publisher's decision to kill the magazine. “The publisher announced that the story lacked fairness without consulting me. I oppose such a move as it imposes control on freedom of speech.”

“Listen,” he said, “I had no intention of defending the Nazis in the article. I was just going to introduce the fact that there are still such arguments and unsolved questions on the Holocaust.”

Operating much as it does in the United States, the “smearbund” has been hard at work in Japan. An opinion piece, “Rewriting History,” by Michael Hoffman in the English-language *Mainichi Daily News*, Feb. 5, attempted to refute Nishioka's article. As a key piece of evidence “proving” the Holocaust story, it cited the familiar postwar “confession” of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. (As revisionists have repeatedly pointed out, and as Holocaust historians quietly acknowledge, this “confession” is packed with major falsehoods, and was obtained by torture.)

Also writing in the *Mainichi Daily News*, columnist David Benjamin (Feb. 15) smeared Dr. Nishioka as “a notorious pest” and “anti-Semitic crackpot” who writes “drivel” and furthers a “neo-Nazi thesis.”

In an article about the *Marco Polo* controversy, the Japanese magazine *Aera* told readers that IHR Journal editor Weber had remarked that “Hitler is a philosophical leader of the 20th century.” This falsehood is based on a mangled paraphrase of a quotation by American writer George Will, who had misrepresented remarks made by Weber during a luncheon meeting. This spurious quote appeared in an August 1993 syndicated column by Will. (For more about this, see the Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal.)

More thoughtful voices are also being heard in Japan.

A reputable but aggressively leftist monthly magazine, *Uwasa No Sinsoh*, has been notably sympathetic to the revisionist view. A revisionist article by Aiji Kimura was published in the Sept. 1994 issue, and a short, pro-Nishioka article appeared in the March 1995 issue. Moreover, the editor has permitted readers to debate specific revisionist points in the magazine's letters section.

A rather sympathetic interview with Nishioka appeared in the March 8 issue of the weekly Japanese magazine *Spa*.

A professor at Doshisha University, Ken'ichi Asano, wrote about the "Marco Polo problem" in the April 1995 issue of the Japanese monthly magazine *Ushio*. While avoiding any concrete discussion of revisionist views, Asano criticized Bungei Shunju's handling of the "problem."

Another monthly magazine, *Tsukuru*, ran four articles on the Marco Polo furor, including one by Nishioka based on an interview. In a lengthy article in the April issue, journalist Shoko Egawa criticized the Wiesenthal Center and the Bungei Shunju company for curtailing free speech, even though she does not support Nishioka's views. "This [Marco Polo] incident will make issues involving Jews completely taboo," she wrote. "Even if the issue was not Holocaust denial, criticisms of Jews will disappear for a while from the media. There is a great danger that this will create new prejudice or discrimination against Jews."

Several articles on the Marco Polo incident, most of them quite critical, appeared in the biweekly magazine *Sapio*. In one, though, prominent journalist Hajime Takano wrote that the incident "revealed the shallow depth of free speech in Japan," and cautioned: "The media, which should defend freedom of speech, should not make any issue taboo."

Japan's most prestigious daily paper, *Asahi Shimbun*, published a very detailed feature article about the "Marco Polo problem" in its Feb. 23 issue. While generally critical, it accurately quoted comments by Nishioka, Kimura and Prof. Keiichi Tsuneishi of Kanagawa University. Tsuneishi is a respected scholar of Japan's secret wartime "731 Unit" in China, and an acknowledged expert of chemical warfare. He is regarded as a leftist. While believing that an extermination was carried out by the Nazis, Tsuneishi cast doubt on the claim that Zyklon B was used to kill Jews, as alleged, pointing out that the Nazis had more effective poison gases at their disposal.

Japanese television coverage of the Marco Polo "problem" has generally been timid and reserved, especially by NHK and TBS. However, Fuji-TV, which is regarded as rather conservative, broadcast a half-hour report, Feb. 3, during which a German journalist strongly criticized Nishioka's article, saying that it would not be permitted in Germany because it is equivalent to "encouraging murder." In the same broadcast, though, a renowned journalist affirmed the right of Nishioka and other revisionists to publicize their views, and a prominent non-fiction writer, Naoki Inose, expressed the view that Japanese periodicals should report on controversial aspects of the Holocaust issue in an open and responsible manner.

Cole in Japan

At the invitation of Japanese revisionists, American Jewish researcher David Cole flew to Japan to explain that the Wiesenthal Center does not speak for most Americans, or even all Jews. (Cole, a young filmmaker who addressed the 1992 and 1994 IHR Conferences, made the video "David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper." See the review in the March-April 1993 Journal.)

Cole spoke at two Tokyo news conferences, Feb. 15 and Feb. 18. About 70 journalists attended each meeting (paying \$20 each). At the second news conference, he was joined by Dr. Nishioka and Prof. Tsuneishi.

With the exception of two reporters from the Asahi Shimbun (a major rival of Bungei Shunju), the journalists were friendly and receptive. "What a contrast to the mud-slinging and name-calling of journalists in the United States," Cole later commented.

The conferences were ably organized by the energetic Kimura, who had arranged for interpreters and dubbed television showings of both Cole's video and the March 1994 "Donahue" show on which Cole had appeared. Each journalist was also provided with information packets that included IHR leaflets and other revisionist materials.

As a result of these news conferences, articles mentioning Cole appeared in several Japanese-language daily papers. In addition, he conducted about ten interviews with individual journalists of weekly and monthly periodicals. (An IHR statement on the Marco Polo incident generated additional interest among Japanese journalists.)

In Japan, Cole reports, Holocaust revisionists tend to be leftist. Because Anne Frank and her Diary are very well known there, Bergen-Belsen seems to be as familiar as Auschwitz.

A Learning Experience

Japan's English-language and Japanese-language press has given extensive and detailed coverage to the Marco Polo incident, informing citizens of the world's second most important economic power of the existence of the revisionist view of the Holocaust story, and reporting in detail on the bigoted campaign waged by a powerful alien lobby. One result of all this is that the English-language term "revisionism" has now entered the general Japanese vocabulary as a loan word, joining such words as "businessman" and "weekend."

American newspapers and magazines repeatedly assert that the Japanese hold "stereotyped" views about "the Jews," and frequently disparage them for thinking that Jews wield enormous power around the world, severely punishing anyone who defies their interests. The murder/suicide of Marco Polo magazine is unlikely to disabuse many Japanese of such "stereotyped" views.

As in the United States, Japanese are expected to engage in a kind of Orwellian "doublethink," simultaneously taking to heart the harsh lesson of Marco Polo's demise, while regarding those who forced the execution as feeble victims.

In fact, the Marco Polo incident once again dramatically shows how a well-financed and highly effective international Jewish-Zionist network strives ruthlessly to punish those who threaten its interests.

Many Japanese journalists, editors and intellectuals are privately offended by the arrogant strong-arm methods used by the Zionist-Jewish lobby to suppress free speech and open debate. The Wiesenthal Center campaign ironically may actually increase anti-Jewish sentiment in Japan. Because of fear and intimidation, though, for the time being anyway, this widespread indignation finds little public expression.

In Japan, a long struggle for historical truth and open inquiry about a key chapter of twentieth century world history has begun in dramatic fashion.

Dr. Nishioka's Activism

What One Man Can Accomplish

Dr. Nishioka is no stranger to controversy.

For several years prior to the recent publication of his controversial *Marco Polo* article, his thoughtful letters in one of Japan's leading English-language daily papers generated thoughtful, spirited debate about key chapters of twentieth century history.

Armed with a few books from the IHR catalog and some back issues of the Journal, in 1989 he began contesting the prevailing view of Second World War history, and especially the background to the US-Japan East Asia conflict. (At the same time, Nishioka has been very critical of Japanese wartime treatment of American and other Allied prisoners of war. With a keen concern for environmental issues, he has also been critical of Japanese environmental policies, including nuclear power plant construction.)

'Drastic Revision Needed'

In a letter of some 15 column inches published in the "Reader's Forum" section of the *Mainichi Daily News*, Aug. 23, 1989, Nishioka cited Hitler's Dec. 11, 1941, speech as an example of suppressed history. As Nishioka pointed out, the German leader on that occasion spoke at length about the origins of the global conflict, and gave a detailed justification for his decision to declare war against the United States. "Reading this complete text must convince you that the history of WWII needs drastic revision," wrote Nishioka.

He went on to point out that the first publication anywhere of a complete and accurate text in English of this critically important historic document was in the Winter 1988-89 *Journal of Historical Review*. He urged MDN readers to write to the IHR for the text, and he provided the IHR's address.

Reaction was swift and predictable. In a letter published four days later, Michael Les Benedict, identified as a professor of history at the Kobe branch of Ohio State University, attacked the "Institute for Historical Studies" as a "neo-Nazi organization which has been formally condemned by the American Historical Association, for falsifying history and violating the ethics of the profession."

In a lengthy letter of response (August 31), Nishioka calmly restated his earlier position and cited further evidence for his views. For example, he mentioned the work of American Pulitzer-prize winning historian John Toland (who addressed the 1990 IHR Conference), as well as David Hoggan's book, *The Forced War*, noting that it is published by the IHR.

Nishioka also quoted extensively from the IHR leaflet, “The Holocaust: Let’s Hear Both Sides,” and once again gave the IHR’s address. Comparing professional historians such as Benedict to the “Ministry of Truth” of George Orwell’s 1984, Nishioka explained “this is why I listen to the voices of revisionists such as the IHR.”

In a shorter letter that appeared Oct. 8, 1989, and citing information obtained in the meantime from the IHR, Nishioka informed MDN readers that the IHR is “most certainly not a 'neo-Nazi' organization,” and that the claim that the IHR has been “formally condemned by the American Historical Association is a fabrication.”

Chris Lock of Osaka joined the discussion with a pro-revisionist letter published Sept. 12, 1989, in which he wrote: “The IHR is not anti-Semitic. It is a peaceful, non-militant organization that merely tries to get to the truth in historical matters.” Following another attack on the IHR by Robert Pon of Hong Kong, Lock responded on Oct. 13, 1989.

“Reading the literature of the IHR,” wrote Lock, “one soon sees there is nothing pro-Nazi, pro-Hitler or anti-Semitic about it. Their aim is to try to find the causes of war so that having found the causes, war can be eliminated.”

Further letters denouncing or defending the IHR followed. Although Nishioka’s main interest is in contemporary Japanese history, letters by Nishioka have dealt with topics as diverse as the origins of the Second World War, censorship and control of the media, the role of the US Central Intelligence Agency, and the Holocaust story. Including those written by Nishioka himself, well over 60 letters have been published on these and other historical topics.

'Neo-Nazi Materials'

More than three years later, Anthony Schaeffer reminded MDN readers, in a letter about an entirely different subject that appeared December 18, 1992, of Nishioka’s “past use of neo-Nazi materials,” a reference to IHR Journal articles and books. This false charge was echoed by Doug Blumbren in a letter published March 23, 1993, in which he parenthetically referred to Nishioka’s “use of neo-Nazi material from the Institute of Historical Research.”

Chris Lock joined in again (MDN, April 2, 1993). While expressing disagreement with some books published by the IHR, he forthrightly defended the Institute against the tired “neo-Nazi” charge. He mentioned the IHR’s stunning September 1991 courtroom victory over Mel Mermelstein, who “was soundly defeated in a long-standing case against the IHR.” Concluding his letter, Lock wrote: “I just don’t like nasty neo-Nazi libel hurled around, especially in this Forum by professors and academics who should know better.” A week later (MDN, April 9), Lock wrote in another letter: “Anyone can prove the IHR is not neo-Nazi by contacting them and checking out their literature.” He also once again provided the IHR address.

Another lengthy letter by Nishioka (MDN, April 10, 1993), was based on the presentation by former CIA officer Victor Marchetti at the 1989 IHR Conference, as published (Nishioka specifically noted) in the Fall 1989 IHR Journal. O. J. Cohen of Osaka joined the discussion with a letter (April 15) denouncing the views of IHR editor Weber on the Holocaust issue. Other MDN readers, such as Tokyo’s Rudolf Voll (MDN, May 4), supported Nishioka. While refraining from completely endorsing the IHR, Voll affirmed the importance of keeping an open mind on historical questions, and of revising the record in accord with the facts. Alex Shishin of Kobe (MDN, May 14) took an ignorant slap at “new age racists like the Institute for Historical Review, a major David Duke connection.”

Closely following this entire exchange, IHR associate editor Greg Raven added his voice in a cogent letter published April 18, 1993. The MDN subsequently published three further letters from Raven replying to responses to this first letter (May 19, June 2, June 11). With Nishioka's help, a letter from Raven appeared in The Daily Yomiuri (June 18) in response to a column about anti-Semitism in Japan. A measure of the Japanese English-languages press' openness to "politically incorrect" opinions can be seen in the fact that 20 letters about the Holocaust appeared in print between mid-April and the end of June 1993.

More Than a Match

Throughout this sometimes heated flurry of correspondence, Nishioka and Lock proved more than a match for their adversaries, capably fending off attacks against revisionism, their personal integrity, and the IHR. In each unhurried and methodical expression of his opinion, Nishioka carefully avoided stooping to the attacks against character and motive that characterized several of the anti-revisionist letters. Such lively, open-minded and protracted exchange in a major daily paper would be all but unthinkable in America.

While any balanced discussion of important historical issues, and every favorable mention of the revisionist viewpoint, is certainly welcome, the numerous specific mentions of the Institute in the pages of this influential daily paper, often with the IHR address, have been especially gratifying. As a result, several MDN readers in Japan have written to the IHR requesting further information.

It seems that Marco Polo's grim fate has had a sobering, "Americanizing" effect on the Japanese press. Along with other papers, the Mainichi Daily News has refused to publish any of the letters by Dr. Robert Faurisson, Mark Weber, Greg Raven, and others responding to recent MDN items about the Marco Polo affair, Holocaust revisionism and the IHR.

Cole Comments on the *Marco Polo* Affair

David Cole, a researcher and filmmaker who lives in Los Angeles and who spoke at news conferences in Japan on the Marco Polo affair, states:

I am a Jewish “Holocaust revisionist.” I believe that the Nazi persecution of the Jews during World War II should be studied freely and openly, like any other historical subject.

The Wiesenthal Center “punished” Marco Polo magazine for publishing a revisionist article that presents evidence casting doubt on claims that gas chambers were used to kill prisoners in German wartime concentration camps. Rather than respond with credible evidence for the existence of gas chambers, the Wiesenthal Center instead did what it does best: it used threats and intimidation to silence critics of the gas chamber theory.

There are those who say that Holocaust revisionism should be censored because it is distressing for Jews. As a Jew, I find that view condescending. If we censor things that are distressing for Jews, should we also censor things that are distressing for Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, and so forth? Where do we stop?

The truth must stand on its own. We call things “facts” only when they can be explained and proven. My own research has convinced me that there is a legitimate reason to doubt the gas chamber story. I have traveled to concentration camp sites, and have interviewed Holocaust historians and survivors. No one has been able to answer my critical questions about the alleged gas chambers.

The IHR Denounces Campaign Against Japanese Publishing Company

The Institute for Historical Review strongly condemns the arrogant campaign of pressure and intimidation against Japan's Bungei Shunju publishing company, which has capitulated by shutting down its *Marco Polo* magazine.

Jewish groups including the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles, as well as the Israeli government, have denounced a ten-page article about the Holocaust story and Auschwitz in the February 1995 issue of the 200,000-circulation monthly. In this article, Dr. Masanori Nishioka presents credible evidence to show that there were no execution gas chambers in wartime German concentration camps.

Misrepresenting the content of Dr. Nishioka's article, the Wiesenthal Center lashed out at the magazine and its publisher, Bungei Shunju company, by pressuring advertisers to withhold advertising.

We regret that Bungei Shunju company has given in to this outrageous campaign by taking the astonishing step of shutting down *Marco Polo* magazine altogether. This is a great defeat for the cause of free speech and free inquiry.

The Wiesenthal Center campaign is an arrogant expression of bigotry and intolerance. A comparable campaign in other countries would rightly be regarded as intolerable interference.

What has happened with *Marco Polo* magazine shows that groups such as the Wiesenthal Center regard the Holocaust story as a sacred religious dogma. It also shows that open discussion of the Holocaust issue is more needed than ever.

It is a serious mistake to regard the Wiesenthal Center as an impartial source of unbiased information. This wealthy and highly partisan special interest group has a long record of greatly exaggerating anti-Jewish sentiment for its own fund-raising purposes. Even the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a major American Jewish organization, attacked the Wiesenthal Center in December 1984 for its "inaccurate" and "exaggerated claims" about the supposed danger of anti-Semitism in the USA and Europe. (*Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 12, 1984)

While seeking to deny its adversaries any voice, the Wiesenthal Center embraces murderers who support its agenda. At a major meeting in Los Angeles in 1989, the Center honored Yitzhak Shamir, the former Israeli prime minister who has a well documented record as a terrorist leader during the 1940s of the underground Zionist "Stern Gang." At that meeting, Shamir delivered the keynote speech. (*Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 21, 1989)

This unprecedented effort to silence a foreign publisher shows the lengths to which groups such as the Wiesenthal Center will go to protect their flawed viewpoint from honest inquiry. In fact, a considerable and mounting body of evidence discredits wartime propaganda claims of mass killings by poison gas in German wartime camps.

Opposing such groups is the Institute for Historical Review, the world's foremost revisionist history research, education and publishing center. Since its founding in 1978, the IHR has steadfastly opposed bigotry of all kinds in its efforts to promote greater public understanding of key chapters of history. Contributors to the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* have included respected scholars from around the world.

In stark contrast, this Wiesenthal Center campaign promotes intolerance and bigotry, and underscores the need for even greater openness and freedom, particularly on this taboo issue. The cause of international understanding and world peace is best served by free discussion and open debate of significant historical issues, including the emotion-laden Holocaust story. What is needed is greater objectivity, not more suppression and intimidation.

The campaign against Bungei Shunju company suggests the intrinsic weakness of the gas chamber story. Historical truth does not need intimidation, boycott campaigns or special laws to defend itself.

The IHR is proud of the backing we have earned from people of the most diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, including Jewish. In spite of smear attacks from the Wiesenthal Center and similar groups, the IHR and the cause it represents continue to gain greater support and acceptance in the United States and many other countries.

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The US Holocaust Memorial Museum

A Costly and Dangerous Mistake

Theodore J. O'Keefe

Hard by the Washington Monument, within clear view of the Jefferson Memorial, an easy stroll down the Mall to the majestic Lincoln Memorial, has arisen, on some of the most hallowed territory of the United States of America, a costly and dangerous mistake. On ground where no monument yet marks countless sacrifices and unheralded achievements of Americans of all races and creeds in the building and defense of this nation, sits today a massive and costly edifice, devoted above all to a contentious and false version of the ordeal in Europe, during World War II, of non-American members of a minority, sectarian group.

In the deceptive guise of tolerance, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum promotes a propaganda campaign, financed through the unwitting largesse of the American taxpayer, in the interests of Israel and its adherents in America.

How did the federal government allow the creation of such a monstrosity? What is its meaning for American policy and for American values? And what must the American people do to regain control of the land their servants in Washington handed over to a foreign interest, and to establish an enterprise thereon, whether a museum or otherwise, informed by and conducted according to American principles and interests?

Origins

In the late 1970s, during the presidency of James Earl "Jimmy" Carter, a propaganda campaign to promote the "Holocaust," the alleged systematic slaughter of some six million Jews by the Germans during the Second World War, was organized and carried out from Hollywood and New York. As Benjamin Meed, an important functionary of the Council that controls the Holocaust Museum, wrote in 1990: ^[1] Almost a dozen years ago, a new phenomena [sic] developed. The Holocaust was introduced into schools, colleges, and universities. Television broadcast programs on the Holocaust and millions of Americans watched them. Soon, Americans took great interest in the lessons of the Holocaust, its uniqueness and its universal message.

Why the urgency of this campaign? Two factors were paramount: first, the beginnings, more than three decades after the end of the Second World War, of an objective, scholarly assessment of the facts of the alleged German policy to exterminate European Jewry. ^[2]

Second, the need to justify Zionist theory and practice in the face of unprecedented international resistance to Israeli intransigence (including the famous UN General Assembly Resolution that equated Zionism with racism), and to defend Israel's aggressive policy under the leadership of the former terrorist, Prime Minister Menachem Begin. ^[3]

The US Holocaust Memorial Council

In 1978 President Carter, his administration beleaguered at home and abroad, succumbed to pressure from the new “Holocaust” lobby (and thus America’s influential Israel-first minority) by creating, through executive order, the President’s Commission on the Holocaust. Two years later, on October 7, 1987, Congress passed — unanimously — a law establishing the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, charged principally with constructing and overseeing the operation of “a permanent living memorial to the victims of the holocaust” and with providing “for appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance, as an annual, national, civic commemoration of the Holocaust ...” [4]

A priceless tract of public land was turned over to the Council, and, after years of costly delay (during which the Council’s budget swelled from \$2.5 million to over \$18 million a year), the US Holocaust Memorial Museum was finally completed and opened, to great media fanfare, in April 1993.

A Sectarian, Alien Agenda

Besides soliciting tens of millions of dollars in tax-deductible donations to finance the Holocaust Museum, the US Holocaust Memorial Council has busied itself with promoting an agenda of unalloyed support for minority, Zionist ends.

The membership of the Council, a US federal agency, has been overwhelmingly Jewish since its founding in 1980. The Council’s two different chairmen — Elie Wiesel and Harvey Meyerhoff — have both been committed to the support of the State of Israel, and the chairs of the Council’s most important committees have been likewise Jewish and Zionist.

The chief fund-raiser for the Holocaust Museum [and later Council Chairman], Miles Lerman, was formerly American vice chairman for the State of Israel Bonds Organization, promoting tax-free investment in a country which receives by far the largest amount of US foreign aid per year. Working the same wealthy Jewish-Americans he has long dealt with in his fund-raising for Israel, Lerman has helped raise nearly \$160 million in tax-deductible contributions. The biggest donors have been rewarded by having various components of the museum named for them (e.g. the Wexner Learning Center).

Nor is erecting and operating the Museum the only function with which the Holocaust Memorial Council has been charged. Another of its duties is to commemorate the “Days of Remembrance for Victims of the Holocaust,” which Congress has raised to “an annual, national, civic commemoration of the Holocaust.” Like the Israeli Yom ha-Shoah (“Day of the Holocaust”), on which they are based, the Days of Remembrance are dated according to the lunar Hebrew calendar, and thus, like Passover or Chanukah, fluctuate from year to year. These foreign days of lamentation are currently celebrated, under the flag of the Republic, to prayers and chants in Hebrew, across the land in governmental settings from the Capital Rotunda to city halls.

Need it be stated that no group of American victims of persecution, let alone another foreign group, enjoys any such federally mandated and tax-supported day, or days, of recognition?

Museum’s One-Sided ‘History’

Although the Council during its early years made noises about recognizing the ordeals of non-Jews during the Second World War, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum is relentlessly Judeo-

centric. While here and there are nods to non-Jewish groups oppressed by the German National Socialists (although never to groups victimized by Germany's enemies, above all by Stalin's USSR), the larger holocaust of the Second World War, which claimed an estimated 75 to 80 million lives around the world, is ignored in preference to the Jewish ordeal. Thus, to cite just one telling example, the Museum's "Life before the Holocaust" exhibit refers strictly to Jewish life before the Holocaust. [5]

Where, in fact, non-Jews figure in the Museum, they figure largely as villains: the Germans and their allies and collaborators; the Western allies, including America, who refused to accept a large immigration before the war; the American political and military leaders who refused to authorize costly bombing raids on the Auschwitz "gas chambers."

Soviet Liberators?

The Museum's message that support for Jews is the sole measure of decency during the Second World War leads to anomalies which, in an American museum raised on ground hallowed to the principles of liberty on which this republic is based, can only be called shocking. That the victims of World War II atrocities by the Allies — massacres such as the firebombing of Tokyo and Dresden, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Soviet slaughter of Polish prisoners at Katyn, the mass rapes carried out by the Red Army at the war's end — receive no mention is deplorable. But the Museum's treatment of the armed forces which defended Stalin's savage Soviet tyranny is nothing short of grotesque.

Communists appear in this Museum only in the guise of "resistance fighters" and "liberators." For example, the submachine gun and false papers of Samuel Weissberg, a Communist Party member who rose to high rank in a Communist guerrilla group in North France, are on honored display, no less precious a relic in the Museum's permanent exhibit than the standard heaps of shoes and hair. [6]

Even more unsettling is the honor given to Stalin's notorious Red Army, which compiled a bloody and shameful record of atrocities across Europe during, and after, the war. As the US Holocaust Memorial Council's newsletter fulsomely puts it, "Flags will hang in the museum to honor the millions of Soviet soldiers who drove Nazi forces westward and who were the first allied forces to liberate and publicize the existence of the camps." In the words of Council chairman Meyerhoff, these martial banners of the Red tyranny have a single association: "Much more than simply wartime memorabilia, these military artifacts are a significant contribution to memory, one that will remind future generations of the pivotal role Soviet forces played in defeating Nazism ..." [7]

What must the millions of Americans originating or descending from the European nations — Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia — for which the Red "military artifacts" symbolize invasion, tyranny, oppression, and persecution of religion, think as they see the fierce armies of their persecutors hailed as "liberators"?

Israel in the Museum

Just as one might guess from the circumstance that the Museum's director, Jeshajahu Weinberg, and the head of its "Learning Center," Yechiam Halevy, were brought in from Israel, the Museum's treatment of the state of Israel is adulatory. An emotive tribute to the founding of Israel is an integral part of the exhibition. That the establishment of Israel, and its expansion in subse-

quent wars, has meant colonial occupation and oppression for millions of the land's native Palestinians, and dispossession and exile for millions more, goes unmentioned — another grotesquery in an American museum supposed to instruct in the dangers of intolerance and disregard of human rights.

As for the momentous collaboration between Hitler's German state and the Zionist Jewish Agency in the 1930s, which through the Haavara Agreement enabled the transfer of vital capital and the influx of tens of thousands of highly skilled Jewish immigrants to Palestine — that is passed over in utter silence. [8]

'Historical Correctness'

The Museum's skewed history is not simply a matter of one-sidedness and omission. It has further committed itself to a fixed and final interpretation of the surprisingly scanty and sometimes suspect evidence for a German policy of annihilating European Jewry, largely in gas chambers, in numbers approaching six million. This despite a considerable body of research and scholarship that has arisen over past two decades in many lands, and which contests, by academic means, the substance of the Holocaust "extermination thesis." [9]

That the US Holocaust Memorial Council is aware of the work of revisionist scholars is clear: the Council's literature is replete, not with substantive refutations of revisionist scholarship, but with slander and polemic. To cite one characteristic example, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter of May 1992 featured a front-page attack on Holocaust revisionism by Professor Deborah Lipstadt. In this article, Lipstadt decried the revisionists for producing material that looked scholarly, then lauded the US Holocaust Memorial Museum as "among the most efficacious ways" of "combatting this pernicious trend," while neglecting to specify a single error of revisionist scholarship. [10]

While the US Holocaust Memorial Council recognizes that there is a historical debate on the Holocaust, it takes official notice of the dissenting position only to attack it. That an American institution, supported by the taxes of all Americans, should commit itself to inflexible historical orthodoxy — in the service of a single American minority — is an intolerable imposition on our First Amendment rights, as well as a mockery of the Western, and American, ideal of objective scholarship.

A Center for Education?

Council Chairman Meyerhoff has stated: "The Museum is primarily an educational institution." [11] From the Council's own literature, however, it is clear what Meyerhoff means by education. The "role-playing" for children as well as adults who visit the Museum (visitors issued "identity cards" bearing the name and alleged fate of various Holocaust victims); the high-tech computer and video effects, and the recordings of speech and music that augment the Museum's tendentiously described artifacts; and the Museum's goal, as proclaimed by its Zionist fund-raising chairman, Miles Lerman, of insuring that "Children in Dubuque, families in Tucson, and schoolteachers in Atlanta will learn the history and the lessons of Auschwitz as thoroughly as they learn the history of their own communities": all these show that the US Holocaust Memorial Museum is a propaganda enterprise that seeks to indoctrinate all Americans in a uniquely and partisanly Jewish (and Zionist) version of not merely the past, but the present and the future. [12]

The American Response

What is the American response to a partisan museum constructed in a place solemnly consecrated to the heroes and the values of our Republic, to be lavishly operated with taxpayer dollars at a time when, even in our country's capital, thousands sleep homeless in the shadow of our national monuments? What is the American response to an ambitious propaganda agenda that aims to impose a sectarian "Holocaust remembrance" in schools where our children cannot pray, in town halls and federal buildings from which the religious symbols of the majority are banned in the name of freedom of worship?

Over two centuries ago, Thomas Jefferson wrote: "To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical." [13]

Nearly 150 years ago, Abraham Lincoln said: "I insist, that if there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people to never entrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions." [14]

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Council that runs it, as agencies of the government in which the American people is sovereign, must be removed from the special interest that now controls it.

The scope and purpose of the Museum must be expanded, from its present one-sided emphasis on foreign Jewish sufferings, real and imagined, in Europe during the 1930s and 1940s to a compassionate yet realistic concern for all victims, but above all for American victims, of historic injustice.

The Museum must be made a place where Americans of every heritage, and scholars of every viewpoint, may gather, educate, and be educated, without accusation and in the absence of propaganda. Until it is, the men and women who founded and built and suffered and fought and died for America, of every race, nationality and creed, will rest uneasy.

Notes

1. ♪ The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter (Washington, DC), August, 1990, "Survivors Play Major Role in Establishing the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum," p. 1. Meed is president of the American Gathering of Holocaust Survivors, and chairman of the Council's Content and Days of Remembrance committees.
2. ♪ In 1976, Professor Arthur Butz's book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century: The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry* was first published in England; in November 1978 Professor Robert Faurisson's article, "The Problem of the Gas Chambers," was published in the Paris daily *Le Monde*. Professor Butz has commented on the simultaneous and independent appearance of a variety of earlier academic criticisms of the wartime propaganda version of Jewry's ordeal in "The International Holocaust Controversy," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1980, pp. 5-22.
3. ♪ By resolution of the United Nations General Assembly on Nov. 10, 1975, Zionism was condemned as "a form of racism and racial discrimination."
4. ♪ Public Law 96-388, 1, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1547.
5. ♪ Statements regarding the Museum's permanent exhibit, except where otherwise noted, are derived from the floor plan and photographs in United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, a brochure published in 1991 by the USHMC.

6. U U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter, "French Resistance Fighter's Weapon Will Help Tell Story of Underground Movement," Sept. 1991, p. 4.
7. U U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter, "Russian Embassy Presents Flags of Liberating Units to Museum," Fall 1992, p. 6.
8. U For the most complete account of relations between the Nazis and the Zionists, see Francis Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*, (Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1985). See also: M. Weber, "Zionism and the Third Reich," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993, pp. 29-37.
9. U The most complete survey of Holocaust revisionist writings to date is Carlo Mattogno's "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews — Part II," in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1988, pp. 261-302.
10. U U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter, May 1992, "Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth," p. 6.
11. U US Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter, Nov. 1991, "Wexner Family Donates \$5 Million to Fund Interactive Learning Center," p. 1.
12. U The "identity cards" and other features of the Museum are described in the brochure cited in note 5, above. Lerman's statement is in a fund-raising letter mailed out by the Museum to potential Jewish contributors in 1991.
13. U From "A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom," 1779, in *Jefferson: Magnificent Populist*, edited by Martin Larson, (Greenwich, Conn.: Devin-Adair, 1981), p. 319.
14. U "Speech at Peoria, Ill.," Oct. 16, 1854, in *The American Intellectual Tradition*, Vol. 1, edited by David Hollinger and Charles Capper (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), p. 382.

Book review

Encyclopedic Work on Zündel Holocaust Trial' an 'Absolute Necessity'

- *Did Six Million Really Die?: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian “False News” Trial of Ernst Zündel, 1988.* Compiled and edited by Barbara Kulaszka. Foreword by Dr. Robert Faurisson. Toronto: Samisdat, 1992. Softcover. Large format. 572 pages. Illustrations. Index. (Available from Samisdat Publishing for \$50.00, plus \$7.50 shipping.)

Reviewed by Charles E. Weber

As a result of re-publishing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a booklet that originally appeared in 1974 in England, Canadian authorities charged Ernst Zündel, a German-born commercial artist residing in Toronto, with violating section 177 of the country’s Criminal Code. This section provides:

Everyone who willfully publishes a statement, tale or news that he knows is false and that causes or is likely to cause injury of mischief to a public interest is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

Although this law had seldom been invoked, in 1985 and 1988 Zündel was a defendant in two long jury trials for allegedly violating this statute. These two trials are among the most significant in North American legal history, and provide a valuable source for historians.

As one of the defense witnesses in the first trial I had an opportunity to observe members of the jury, which consisted mostly of rather old men, some of whom must have been veterans of the Second World War (as am I). For me, the trials of Ernst Zündel had a bearing on my own experiences in life, for I had been involved in the Allied postwar “denazification” process in Germany.

I know from my own experiences and observations that most veterans of the Second World War have a tendency to want to believe that their sacrifices and those of their contemporaries were for a good cause, and that they were involved in a “good war” in spite of our alliance with and strong support of one of the most evil regimes in the history of mankind, the government of Stalin. Believing “Holocaust” tales is thus a psychological compulsion for the typical Canadian, American and British veteran of the Second World War.

More broadly, the desire to believe in the ethical inferiority of our adversary in that war, National Socialist Germany, in a conflict that required great national sacrifices, is no doubt a factor that favors the ready, seldom-questioned acceptance of “Holocaust” accounts and tales, fantastic and improbable though they might seem to an unprejudiced examiner. The sentences imposed on Zündel (later revoked by higher courts) were dependent on opinions of members of a jury consisting of Canadian citizens selected more or less at random. In assessing the verdicts in the Zündel trials we must bear in mind the atmosphere in which they were conducted.

These trials provide a unique opportunity for historians who wish to be objective to examine “Holocaust” arguments, because they involve a juxtaposition of opinions of advocates of what might be called the “Extermination Thesis” and the opinions of the “revisionists” who do not accept that thesis. Because the “Holocaust” today has an important impact on American thought, policy and even legislation, the “Holocaust” question is certainly one of the most important with which an historian can concern himself.

The first, 1985 trial — much more than the second — received a great deal of attention in the Canadian press and television. In the United States, the media paid virtually no attention to either trial.

This massive book is an admirable and valuable summary of evidence presented by historians with opposing views on the “Holocaust” in a major trial in which the usual rules of evidence generally prevailed (quite in contrast to the Nuremberg trials of 1945-1946). Furthermore, this book supplements the copious evidence with developments on the “Holocaust” question between 1988 and 1992, such as the 1990 report of Poland’s Institute of Forensic Research commissioned by the Auschwitz State Museum. (The complete text of this report is published in the Summer 1991 IHR Journal.)

This book summarizes rather closely, with many direct quotations, the testimony presented by the various witnesses. The summary of the testimony for the Crown (prosecution) takes up 157 pages, that for the defense, 276. The summaries of the testimonies of the two major prosecution witnesses, Raul Hilberg and Christopher Browning, take up 148½ pages, while the summaries of the testimonies of six major defense witnesses occupy 224 pages: Ditlieb Felderer 13, Mark Weber 63, Udo Walendy 13, Robert Faurisson 65, Fred Leuchter 8, David Irving 62. I give these figures to provide an idea of the book’s dimensions and contents, because it is difficult to indicate much more than the general nature of the testimonies within the usual limits of a book review.

Summaries of the testimonies are preceded by a publisher’s note, an editor’s introduction, and a foreword by Dr. Robert Faurisson. In addition, editor-compiler Barbara Kulaszka provides a significant essay on implications of the legal campaign against Holocaust revisionism, pointing out that even statements by Jewish historians plausibly constitute “Holocaust denial.”

In his foreword, Faurisson stresses the importance of the physical-forensic investigations of Auschwitz by Fred Leuchter and subsequent investigators, as well as the courageous role played by Ernst Zündel. At the same time, he admonishes us that court proceedings are not the ideal setting for the examination of complicated historical questions.

Browning

Christopher R. Browning, a 43-year-old professor at Pacific Lutheran College in Tacoma, was the only major witness to testify in person for the Crown. His testimony is summarized on 73½ pages. Browning obtained his Ph.D. degree in 1975, and has carried out research on the National Socialist government’s treatment of Jews at archives in Jerusalem, Bonn, Koblenz, and elsewhere. He is the author of *Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution* (1985).

Seeking to discredit the booklet written by an Englishman under the pen name of Richard Harwood, *Did Six Million Really Die?* (the full text of which is reproduced in the work under review here), Browning read from a number of documents, many of which had been presented at the Nuremberg trials. One of these was the Stahlecker Report, written by the commander of an Ein-

satzgruppe operating in the Baltic region. This Report mentions executions by Latvian and Lithuanian auxiliaries who were selected because they had relatives who had been murdered or deported by the Communists during the 1940-1941 Soviet occupation of the Baltic lands.

During cross-examination by Zündel's attorney, Douglas Christie, Browning admitted that he was being paid \$30,000 by Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center to write a book.

Browning acknowledged that — in contrast to such defense witnesses as Felderer and Leuchter — he had never visited the sites of any of the former German concentration camps for purposes of research. Browning's naiveté about the origins of the Second World War also became apparent. The often-quoted phrase "bei Freilassung" ("upon release") in the "Wannsee Protocol" is discussed. In a striking example of the biased, one-sided nature of his research, Browning admitted that, in 17 years studying the treatment of Jews by the wartime German government, he had never read the works of Wilhelm Stäglich. (Stäglich's principal book, which is published in English by the IHR under the title *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*, is perhaps the most important revisionist work on the question.)

At the behest of the prosecution, the testimony of Raul Hilberg given during the first Zündel trial was read in its entirety to the court. Hilberg, a professor at the University of Vermont, has written extensively in support of the Extermination Thesis. His chief work is a three-volume work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*.

In an October 5, 1987, letter to Crown prosecuting attorney Pearson (and reproduced in this book), Hilberg cited several reasons for his decision not to testify at the second trial, including the "time and energy required to ward off" the assault on his testimony. Defense attorney Christie objected to the reading of the testimony from 1985, charging that Hilberg had perjured himself in the first trial. In the present work, the summary of Hilberg's testimony takes up 76 pages. In view of his justified timidity about subjecting himself again to Christie's penetrating cross-examination, Hilberg's testimony should not detain us in detail here. However, the curious reader should read Christie's devastating cross-examination of Hilberg. Christie proved to be very well prepared for detailed cross-examination, confronting Hilberg with a great many appropriate citations from a wide range of sources.

Felderer

Ditlieb Felderer from Sweden was the first witness called by the defense. Felderer had first become interested in this subject as an adherent of the Jehovah's Witnesses, when he began investigating the fate of Witnesses in German concentration camps. This stimulated wider-ranging investigations of the camps, in which he found to his astonishment that they were quite different from the way they are generally described.

Felderer became fascinated by this subject, so much so that he took some 30,000 slides during visits of the sites of former concentration camps in Poland. He showed about 300 of his slides to the jury, 230 of which are reproduced in this book's pictorial section. During his testimony, Felderer drew parallels between Germany's Auschwitz trials and the medieval trials of witches who were forced to admit to having had sexual intercourse with the Devil.

Christophersen

Testifying next was Thies Christophersen, who had been a German army officer stationed in 1944 at Raisko, a subsidiary camp near Auschwitz where agricultural experiments were con-

ducted. Christophersen has laid out his wartime experiences in a booklet, *Auschwitz: Truth or Lie: An Eyewitness Report* (available from the IHR).

Weber

Historian Mark Weber, who was born in Oregon in 1951, was the eighth witness for the defense. Accepted by the court as an expert witness qualified to give opinion evidence on the Holocaust issue, he discussed a wide variety of aspects of the Extermination Thesis, including the Einsatzgruppen, the Wannsee Conference, Zionism, the postwar “confessions” of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, and Allied aerial photographs of Auschwitz.

Throughout his five days of testimony Weber demonstrated wide archival experiences, and a vast knowledge of many aspects of the history of the Jews in Europe during and before the Second World War. Attorney Christie took him through a line-by-line analysis of virtually the entire text of the Harwood booklet. Weber discussed the questionable legal basis of the Nuremberg trials (which were condemned at the time by no less a figure than Senator Robert Taft of Ohio). Crown attorney Pearson cross-examined Weber at great length, largely about the Einsatzgruppen and then about Weber’s personal experiences and beliefs. In sometimes bitter exchanges Pearson sought to discredit Weber as a racist.

Van Herwaarden

Maria van Herwaarden, a Austrian-born resident of Canada, testified about her experiences as a inmate of Auschwitz-Birkenau from December 1942 to January 1945. She told about large-scale deaths due to disease, and measures taken by the camp authorities to combat the epidemics. Although there was talk of gassings in the camp, she stated that personally she never saw any evidence of that.

Burg

Joseph G. Burg, a Jewish author who had been harshly treated during the war, testified that shortly after the end of the conflict he had visited the Auschwitz and Majdanek camps — and found no evidence of “gas chambers” at either. There were no liquidations in the concentration camps, Burg stated. He was not cross-examined.

Lagacé

Ivan Lagacé, a crematory manager in Calgary, testified on the credibility of the standard claims of mass cremation at the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. Even modern crematories require an average of two hours (the cremation cycle) to “process” a human body, he said. Non-stop cremation, as allegedly happened at Birkenau, is simply impossible, said Lagacé, who had cremated more than a thousand bodies in his career.

Birkenau’s crematories were almost identical in structure and design to the crematory he manages in Calgary, said Lagacé. Claims by Raul Hilberg and other Holocaust historians that some four thousand bodies were “processed” daily in Birkenau’s four crematory facilities are “preposterous” and “beyond the realm of reality,” Lagacé emphasized. Based on his experience, he said, the Birkenau crematories would have been able to cremate no more than 184 bodies daily.

Walendy

During his testimony, German historian and publisher Udo Walendy spoke at length about his collaboration with Zündel, and about censorship and “reeducation” in Germany. For two decades, Walendy has published the important booklet series, *Historische Tatsachen*. He is also the author of several books, and he distributed Harwood’s *Did Six Million Really Die?* in Germany.

Faurisson

During his six days on the witness stand, French Professor Robert Faurisson, like Weber, covered a very wide range of aspects of the Extermination Thesis, including his notable research on the Anne Frank Diary.

Faurisson summarizes his view of the “Holocaust” as follows:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews are one and the same historical lie which opened the way to a gigantic political-financial fraud, whose principal beneficiaries are the State of Israel and international Zionism, and the principal victims the German people — but not its leaders — and the entire Palestinian people.

A good deal of Faurisson’s testimony was devoted to an analysis of the booklet, *Six Million Did Die*, published by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. He characterized this work as a “bad book.” At the beginning of Pearson’s cross-examination, Faurisson pointed out that court proceedings are not the proper setting for historical debate (just as he does in his foreword to this book). He demonstrated not only a wide knowledge of the history of the Jews in Europe during the Second World War, but also impressive verbal skill (with an occasional touch of Gallic humor) in a language that is not his mother tongue.

Leuchter

Fred Leuchter, an American expert on penal execution procedures, took the stand to provide relatively short but crucially important testimony. Commissioned by Zündel, he had carried out the first ever on-site expert forensic examination of the alleged homicidal “gas chambers” at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. He compiled his detailed physical and chemical data and his conclusions in the history-making Leuchter Report, which has had a tremendous impact on all subsequent discussion of the wartime function of the camps. (A condensed version of The Leuchter Report is published in this book as an appendix.)

Judge Thomas permitted Leuchter to give oral testimony, but with major restrictions. Leuchter was not allowed to present or even refer to his Report, but he was able to describe his investigation of the camp sites in some detail.

Irving

David Irving, the prolific British historian, was the final defense witness. Not a man to hide his light under a basket, Irving can justifiably boast not only about the quantity and wide range of his publications on Second World War history, but also about his extensive archival research and his intimate familiarity with the German language, which gives him far greater access to original sources than some historians who have written in this area.

Irving has written on such diverse topics as Churchill and the Hungarian uprising of 1956. He often shows contempt for academic historians who show no originality, or rigor in going after original documentation, content to drift along with popular mythology. Acknowledging that he had not read Hilberg's three-volume work, Irving said that he does not read other people's books if he can avoid it, adding that he finds it is easier to go to the archives and read the original documents. When his *Hitler's War* was published in 1977, he accepted most of the Extermination Thesis without much questioning. Since then, though, he has changed his views on this subject. Taking advantage of what he considered an important wedge here, Pearson read extensively from *Hitler's War*, challenging Irving's change of views.

Irving had strong praise for the value of Leuchter's forensic, on-site investigation, which he characterized as "shattering in the significance of its discovery" and "a stroke of genius on the part of the defense." Irving stated that his views had been changed even by testimony he had heard at the trial "in the last few days."

Irving adheres to the view that there were isolated massacres of Jews in the Baltic lands and in Ukraine that were not authorized by Hitler, and indeed prohibited by him, and that Hitler envisaged the "final solution of the Jewish question" as postwar emigration of Jews from Europe. Irving suggests a similarity in some respects of the massacres of Jews to those by American forces in Vietnam.

He testified that he did not dispute the authenticity of the Wannsee Conference "protocol" of January 20, 1942. I find this astonishing because there is a good deal of evidence that it has been altered, if it had not been a forgery from the outset.

Irving often seemed rather cavalier about statistics, as when he accepted as accurate the figure of "eleven million" European Jews given in the statistical table of the Wannsee Conference protocol. These figures are rightly considered notoriously inflated, especially in the case of France, and include Jews in neutral counties and the USSR.

I could not escape the impression that Irving was somewhat crippled as a defense witness as a result of being confronted with contrary views he had expressed on earlier occasions. He was expressing "Exterminationist" views as recently as 1977, long after serious questions had been raised about the orthodox portrayal of Second World War history.

'Essentially Sound'

In keeping with the purpose of the trial, much of the defense testimony and Crown cross-examination was taken up in examination of passages from the booklet, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, which was written by Englishman Richard Verrall under the pen name of Richard Harwood. There was general agreement among the defense witnesses that the Harwood booklet, which was first published in 1974, is a relatively early and somewhat deficient revisionist work. Irving and Weber testified that, in spite of some errors, mostly of a minor nature, the booklet's arguments are essentially sound.

Legal Difficulties

Each of the six major defense witnesses (with the exception of Weber), have, like Zündel himself, been subjected to severe legal difficulties. Faurisson testified that he would continue his historical activities no matter what his fate might be, in spite of the previous legal harassment and brutal physical attacks against him. Of course, such measures against historians who question the

Extermination Thesis are a striking demonstration of the panic amongst propagandists whose lies and distortions have been exposed by a small, poorly financed group of courageous historians motivated by an idealistic search for the truth.

At the conclusion of his testimony, Weber pointed out that he was appearing as a witness with no compensation other than personal satisfaction — quite in contrast to Browning, who was being paid \$150 per hour by the Canadian government. Faurisson mentioned the case of Francois Duprat, a French teacher who was murdered in 1978 because he had been distributing Harwood's *Did Six Million Really Die?*.

Partisan Warfare

Nearly all of the major witnesses, both for the prosecution and for Zündel, pointed out that many deaths of Jews resulted from actions by the Einsatzgruppen, German field security police units that were responsible for protecting German soldiers from the devastating actions of partisans, irregular Communist combat forces. Because Jews were disproportionately represented among the partisans, measures taken against them resulted in heavy Jewish losses.

Following the summaries of testimonies in the book is an epilogue with Judge Thomas's reasoning for sentencing Zündel to nine months in prison, a very valuable pictorial section that includes 230 slides presented by Felderer, a condensed version of the eucher Report (which Judge Thomas would not permit the jury to see), a facsimile reprint of the entire text of Harwood's *Did Six Million Really Die?*, and a helpful bibliography and comprehensive index. The two final pages reproduce Zündel's January 1993 appeal for compensation for wrongful prosecution in the wake of the history-making August 27, 1992, ruling by the Supreme Court of Canada invalidating the entire trial on constitutional grounds, thus acquitting Zündel.

'Absolute Necessity'

This book is an absolute necessity for every library of universities and academic centers where modern history is taught, and indeed for any honest scholar of modern history who deals, even tangentially, with the "Holocaust" question. With all due respect for earlier works by revisionist historians on this issue, this book now assumes the position of the most important reference work on the "Holocaust" issue. Advocates of the Extermination Thesis ignore it at the risk of making fools of themselves.

Charles E. Weber received a doctorate in German literature from the University of Cincinnati in 1954, and has taught at the University of Cincinnati, the University of Missouri, Louisiana State University, and the University of Tulsa (Oklahoma). He has served as Head of the Department of Modern Languages at the University of Tulsa. Dr. Weber (no relation to this Journal's editor) publishes the Bulletin of the "Committee for the Reexamination of the History of the Second World War." He is a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee.

Bergen-Belsen Camp: The suppressed story

by [Mark Weber](#)

Fifty years ago, on April 15, 1945, British troops liberated the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The anniversary was widely remembered in official ceremonies and in newspaper articles that, as the following essay shows, distort the camp's true history.

Largely because of the circumstances of its liberation, the relatively unimportant German concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen has become — along with Dachau and Buchenwald — an international symbol of German barbarism.

The British troops who liberated the Belsen camp three weeks before the end of the war were shocked and disgusted by the many unburied corpses and dying inmates they found there. Horrific photos and films of the camp's emaciated corpses and mortally sick inmates were quickly circulated around the globe. Within weeks the British military occupation newspaper proclaimed: "The story of that greatest of all exhibitions of 'man's inhumanity to man' which was Belsen Concentration Camp is known throughout the world." [1]

Ghastly images recorded by Allied photographers at Belsen in mid-April 1945 and widely reproduced ever since have greatly contributed to the camp's reputation as a notorious extermination center. In fact, the dead of Bergen-Belsen were, above all, unfortunate victims of war and its turmoil, not deliberate policy. It can even be argued that they were as much victims of Allied as of German measures.

The Bergen-Belsen camp was located near Hannover in northwestern Germany on the site of a former army camp for wounded prisoners of war. In 1943 it was established as an internment camp (Aufenthaltslager) for European Jews who were to be exchanged for German citizens held by the Allies.

More than 9,000 Jews with citizenship papers or passports from Latin American countries, entry visas for Palestine, or other documents making them eligible for emigration, arrived in late 1943 and 1944 from Poland, France, Holland and other parts of Europe. During the final months of the war, several groups of these "exchange Jews" were transported from Axis-occupied Europe. German authorities transferred several hundred to neutral Switzerland, and at least one group of 222 Jewish detainees was transferred from Belsen (by way of neutral Turkey) to British-controlled Palestine. [2]

Until late 1944 conditions were generally better than in other concentration camps. Marika Frank Abrams, a Jewish woman from Hungary, was transferred from Auschwitz in 1944. Years later she recalled her arrival at Belsen: "... We were each given two blankets and a dish. There was running water and latrines. We were given food that was edible and didn't have to stand for hours to be counted. The conditions were so superior to Auschwitz we felt we were practically in a sanitarium." [3]

Inmates normally received three meals a day. Coffee and bread were served in the morning and evening, with cheese and sausage as available. The main mid-day meal consisted of one liter of vegetable stew. Families lived together. Otherwise, men and women were housed in separate barracks. [4]

Children were also held there. There were some 500 Jewish children in Belsen's "No. 1 Women's Camp" section when British forces arrived. [5]

During the final months of the war, tens of thousands of Jews were evacuated to Belsen from Auschwitz and other eastern camps threatened by the advancing Soviets. Belsen became severely overcrowded as the number of inmates increased from 15,000 in December 1944 to 42,000 at the beginning of March 1945, and more than 50,000 a month later. [6]

Many of these Jewish prisoners had chosen to be evacuated westwards with their German captors rather than remain in eastern camps to await liberation by Soviet forces. [7]

So catastrophic had conditions become during the final months of the war that about a third of the prisoners evacuated to Belsen in February and March 1945 perished during the journey and were dead on arrival. [8]

As order broke down across Europe during those chaotic final months, regular deliveries of food and medicine to the camp stopped. Foraging trucks were sent to scrounge up whatever supplies of bread, potatoes and turnips were available in nearby towns. [9]

Epidemic

Disease was kept under control by routinely disinfecting all new arrivals. But in early February 1945 a large transport of Hungarian Jews was admitted while the disinfection facility was out of order. As a result, typhus broke out and quickly spread beyond control. [10]

Commandant Josef Kramer quarantined the camp in an effort to save lives, but SS camp administration headquarters in Berlin insisted that Belsen be kept open to receive still more Jewish evacuees arriving from the East. The death rate soon rose to 400 a day. [11]

The worst killer was typhus, but typhoid fever and dysentery also claimed many lives. Aggravating the situation was a policy during the final months of transferring already sick inmates from other camps to Belsen, which was then officially designated a sick or convalescence camp (Krankenlager). The sick women of Auschwitz, for example, were transferred to Belsen in three groups in November-December 1944. [12]

When SS chief Heinrich Himmler learned of the typhus outbreak at Bergen-Belsen, he immediately issued an order to all appropriate officials requiring that "all medical means necessary to combat the epidemic should be employed ... There can be no question of skimping either with doctors or medical supplies." However, the general breakdown of order that prevailed on Germany by this time made it impossible to implement the command. [13]

'Belsen Worst'

Violette Fintz, a Jewish woman who had been deported from the island of Rhodes to Auschwitz in mid-1944, and then to Dachau and, finally, in early 1945, to Belsen, later compared conditions in the different camps: [14]

Belsen was in the beginning bearable and we had bunks to sleep on, and a small ration of soup and bread. But as the camp got fuller, our group and many others were given a barracks to hold about seven hundred lying on the floor without blankets and without food or anything. It was a pitiful scene as the camp was attacked by lice and most of the people had typhus and cholera ... Many people talk about Auschwitz — it was a horrible camp. But Belsen, no words can describe it ... From my experience and suffering, Belsen was the worst.

Belsen's most famous inmate was doubtless Anne Frank, who had been evacuated from Auschwitz in late October 1944. She succumbed to typhus in March 1945, three or four weeks before liberation.

Kramer Reports a 'Catastrophe'

In a March 1, 1945, letter to Gruppenführer (General) Richard Glücks, head of the SS camp administration agency, Commandant Kramer reported in detail on the catastrophic situation in the Bergen-Belsen, and pleaded for help: ^[15]

If I had sufficient sleeping accommodation at my disposal, then the accommodation of the detainees who have already arrived and of those still to come would appear more possible. In addition to this question a spotted fever and typhus epidemic has now begun, which increases in extent every day. The daily mortality rate, which was still in the region of 60-70 at the beginning of February, has in the meantime attained a daily average of 250-300 and will increase still further in view of the conditions which at present prevail.

Supply. When I took over the camp, winter supplies for 1500 internees had been intended for; some had been received, but the greater part had not been delivered. This failure was due not only to difficulties of transport, but also to the fact that practically nothing is available in this area and all must be brought from outside the area ...

For the last four days there has been no delivery [of food] from Hannover owing to interrupted communications, and I shall be compelled, if this state of affairs prevails till the end of the week, to fetch bread also by means of truck from Hannover. The trucks allotted to the local unit are in no way adequate for this work, and I am compelled to ask for at least three to four trucks and five to six trailers. When I once have here a means of towing then I can send out the trailers into the surrounding area ... The supply question must, without fail, be cleared up in the next few days. I ask you, Gruppenführer, for an allocation of transport ...

State of Health. The incidence of disease is very high here in proportion to the number of detainees. When you interviewed me on Dec. 1, 1944, at Oranienburg, you told me that Bergen-Belsen was to serve as a sick camp for all concentration camps in north Germany. The number of sick has greatly increased, particularly on account of the transports of detainees that have arrived from the East in recent times — these transports have sometimes spent eight or fourteen days in open trucks ...

The fight against spotted fever is made extremely difficult by the lack of means of disinfection. Due to constant use, the hot-air delousing machine is now in bad working order and sometimes fails for several days ...

A catastrophe is taking place for which no one wishes to assume responsibility ... Gruppenführer, I can assure you that from this end everything will be done to overcome the present crisis ...

I am now asking you for your assistance as it lies in your power. In addition to the above-mentioned points I need here, before everything, accommodation facilities, beds, blankets, eating utensils — all for about 20,000 internees ... I implore your help in overcoming this situation.

Under such terrible conditions, Kramer did everything in his power to reduce suffering and prevent death among the inmates, even appealing to the hard-pressed German army. “I don’t know what else to do,” he told high-ranking army officers. “I have reached the limit. Masses of people are dying. The drinking water supply has broken down. A trainload of food was destroyed by low-flying [Allied] war planes. Something must be done immediately.” [16]

Working together with both Commandant Kramer and chief inmate representative Kuestermeier, Colonel Hanns Schmidt responded by arranging for the local volunteer fire department to provide water. He also saw to it that food supplies were brought to the camp from abandoned rail cars. Schmidt later recalled that Kramer “did not at all impress one as a criminal type. He acted like an upright and rather honorable man. Neither did he strike me as someone with a guilty conscience. He worked with great dedication to improve conditions in the camp. For example, he rounded up horse drawn vehicles to bring food to the camp from rail cars that had been shot up.” [17]

“I was swamped,” Kramer later explained to incredulous British military interrogators: [18]

The camp was not really inefficient before you [British and American forces] crossed the Rhine. There was running water, regular meals of a kind — I had to accept what food I was given for the camp and distribute it the best way I could. But then they suddenly began to send me trainloads of new prisoners from all over Germany. It was impossible to cope with them. I appealed for more staff, more food. I was told that this was impossible. I had to carry on with what I had.

Then as a last straw the Allies bombed the electric plant that pumped our water. Loads of food were unable to reach the camp because of the Allied fighters. Then things really got out of hand. During the last six weeks I have been helpless. I did not even have sufficient staff to bury the dead, let alone segregate the sick ... I tried to get medicines and food for the prisoners and I failed. I was swamped. I may have been hated, but I was doing my duty.

Kramer’s clear conscience is also suggested by the fact that he made no effort to save his life by fleeing, but instead calmly awaited the approaching British forces, naively confident of decent treatment. “When Belsen Camp was eventually taken over by the Allies,” he later stated, “I was quite satisfied that I had done all I possibly could under the circumstances to remedy the conditions in the camp.” [19]

Negotiated Transfer

As British forces approached Bergen-Belsen, German authorities sought to turn over the camp to the British so that it would not become a combat zone. After some negotiation, it was peacefully

transferred, with an agreement that “both British and German troops will make every effort to avoid battle in the area.” [20]

A revealing account of the circumstances under which the British took control appeared in a 1945 issue of The Journal of the American Medical Association: [21]

By negotiations between British and German officers, British troops took over from the SS and the Wehrmacht the task of guarding the vast concentration camp at Belsen, a few miles northwest of Celle, which contains 60,000 prisoners, many of them political. This has been done because typhus is rampant in the camp and it is vital that no prisoners be released until the infection is checked. The advancing British agreed to refrain from bombing or shelling the area of the camp, and the Germans agreed to leave behind an armed guard which would be allowed to return to their own lines a week after the British arrival.

The story of the negotiations is curious. Two German officers presented themselves before the British outposts and explained that there were 9,000 sick in the camp and that all sanitation had failed. They proposed that the British should occupy the camp at once, as the responsibility was international in the interests of health. In return for the delay caused by the truce the Germans offered to surrender intact the bridges over the river Aller. After brief consideration the British senior officer rejected the German proposals, saying it was necessary that the British should occupy an area of ten kilometers round the camp in order to be sure of keeping their troops and lines of communication away from the disease. The British eventually took over the camp.

Brutal Mistreatment

On April 15, 1945, Belsen’s commanders turned over the camp to British troops, who lost no time mistreating the SS camp personnel. The Germans were beaten with rifle butts, kicked, and stabbed with bayonets. Most were shot or worked to death. [22]

British journalist Alan Moorehead described the treatment of some of the camp personnel shortly after the takeover: [23]

As we approached the cells of the SS guards, the [British] sergeant’s language become ferocious. “We had had an interrogation this morning,” the captain said. ‘I’m afraid they are not a pretty sight.’ ... The sergeant unbolted the first door and ... strode into the cell, jabbing a metal spike in front of him. “Get up,” he shouted. “Get up. Get up, you dirty bastards.” There were half a dozen men lying or half lying on the floor. One or two were able to pull themselves erect at once. The man nearest me, his shirt and face splattered with blood, made two attempts before he got on to his knees and then gradually on to his feet. He stood with his arms stretched out in front of him, trembling violently.

“Come on. Get up,” the sergeant shouted [in the next cell]. The man was lying in his blood on the floor, a massive figure with a heavy head and bedraggled beard ... “Why don’t you kill me?” he whispered. “Why don’t you kill me? I can’t stand it any more.” The same phrases dribbled out of his lips over and over again. “He’s been saying that all morning, the dirty bastard,” the sergeant said.

Commandant Kramer, who was vilified in the British and American press as “The Beast of Belsen” and “The Monster of Belsen,” was put on trial and then executed, along with chief physician Dr. Fritz Klein and other camp officials. At his trial, Kramer’s defense attorney, Major T.C.M. Winwood, predicted: “When the curtain finally rings down on this stage Josef Kramer will, in my submission, stand forth not as 'The Beast of Belsen' but as 'The Scapegoat of Belsen'.” [24]

In an “act of revenge,” the British liberators expelled the residents of the nearby town of Bergen, and then permitted camp inmates to loot the houses and buildings. Much of the town was also set on fire. [25]

Postwar Deaths

There were some 55,000 to 60,000 prisoners in Bergen-Belsen when the British took control of the camp. The new administrators proved no more capable of mastering the chaos than the Germans had been, and some 14,000 Jewish inmates died at Belsen in the months following the British takeover. [26]

Although still occasionally referred to as an “extermination camp” or “mass murder” center, the truth about Bergen-Belsen has been quietly acknowledged by scholars. [27] In his 1978 survey of German history, University of Erlangen professor Helmut Diwald wrote of [28]

... The notorious Bergen-Belsen concentration camp where 50,000 inmates were supposedly murdered. Actually, about 7,000 inmates died during the period when the camp existed, from 1943 to 1945. Most of them died in the final months of the war as a result of disease and malnutrition — consequences of the bombings that had completely disrupted normal deliveries of medical supplies and food. The British commander who took control of the camp after the capitulation testified that crimes on a large scale had not taken place at Bergen-Belsen.

Martin Broszat, Director of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, wrote in 1976: [29]

... In Bergen-Belsen, for example, thousands of corpses of Jewish prisoners were found by British soldiers on the day of liberation, which gave the impression that this was one of the notorious extermination camps. Actually, many Jews in Bergen-Belsen as well as in the satellite camps of Dachau died in the last weeks before the end of the war as a result of the quickly improvised retransfers and evacuations of Jewish workers from the still existing ghettos, work camps and concentration camps in the East (Auschwitz) ...

Dr. Russell Barton, an English physician who spent a month in Bergen-Belsen after the war with the British Army, has also explained the reasons for the catastrophic conditions found there: [30]

Most people attributed the conditions of the inmates to deliberate intention on the part of the Germans in general and the camp administrators in particular. Inmates were eager to cite examples of brutality and neglect, and visiting journalists from different countries interpreted the situation according to the needs of propaganda at home.

For example, one newspaper emphasized the wickedness of the “German masters” by remarking that some of the 10,000 unburied dead were naked. In fact, when the dead

were taken from a hut and left in the open for burial, other prisoners would take their clothing from them ...

German medical officers told me that it had been increasingly difficult to transport food to the camp for some months. Anything that moved on the autobahns was likely to be bombed ...

I was surprised to find records, going back for two or three years, of large quantities of food cooked daily for distribution. I became convinced, contrary to popular opinion, that there had never been a policy of deliberate starvation. This was confirmed by the large numbers of well-fed inmates. Why then were so many people suffering from malnutrition?... The major reasons for the state of Belsen were disease, gross overcrowding by central authority, lack of law and order within the huts, and inadequate supplies of food, water and drugs.

In trying to assess the causes of the conditions found in Belsen one must be alerted to the tremendous visual display, ripe for purposes of propaganda, that masses of starved corpses presented.

Gas Chamber Myths

Some former inmates and a few historians have claimed that Jews were put to death in gas chambers at Bergen-Belsen. For example, an “authoritative” work published shortly after the end of the war, *A History of World War II*, informed readers: “In Belsen, [Commandant] Kramer kept an orchestra to play him Viennese music while he watched children torn from their mothers to be burned alive. Gas chambers disposed of thousands of persons daily.” [31]

In *Jews, God and History*, Jewish historian Max Dimont wrote of gassings at Bergen-Belsen. [32] A semi-official work published in Poland in 1981 claimed that women and babies were “put to death in gas chambers” at Belsen. [33]

In 1945 the Associated Press news agency reported: [34]

In Lüneburg, Germany, a Jewish physician, testifying at the trial of 45 men and women for war crimes at the Belsen and Auschwitz [Auschwitz] concentration camps, said that 80,000 Jews, representing the entire ghetto of Lodz, Poland, had been gassed or burned to death in one night at the Belsen camp.

Five decades after the camp’s liberation, British army Captain Robert Daniell recalled seeing “the gas chambers” there. [35]

Years after the war, Robert Spitz, a Hungarian Jew, remembered taking a shower at Belsen in February 1945: “... It was delightful. What I didn’t know then was that there were other showers in the same building where gas came out instead of water.” [36]

Another former inmate, Moshe Peer, recalled a miraculous escape from death as an eleven-year-old in the camp. In a 1993 interview with a Canadian newspaper, the French-born Peer claimed that he “was sent to the [Belsen] camp gas chamber at least six times.” The newspaper account went on to relate: “Each time he survived, watching with horror as many of the women and children gassed with him collapsed and died. To this day, Peer doesn’t know how he was able to survive.” In an effort to explain the miracle, Peer mused: “Maybe children resist better, I don’t know.” (Although Peer claimed that “Bergen-Belsen was worse than Auschwitz,” he acknowl-

edged that he and his younger brother and sister, who were deported to the camp in 1944, all somehow survived internment there.) [37]

Such gas chamber tales are entirely fanciful. As early as 1960, historian Martin Broszat had publicly repudiated the Belsen gassing story. These days no reputable scholar supports it. [38]

Exaggerated Death Estimates

Estimates of the number of people who died in Bergen-Belsen have ranged widely over the years. Many have been irresponsible exaggerations. Typical is a 1985 York Daily News report, which told readers that “probably 100,000 died at Bergen-Belsen.” [39] An official German government publication issued in 1990 declared that “more than 50,000 people had been murdered” in the Belsen camp under German control, and “an additional 13,000 died in the first weeks after liberation.” [40]

Closer to the truth is the Encyclopaedia Judaica, which maintains that 37,000 perished in the camp before the British takeover, and another 14,000 afterwards. [41]

Whatever the actual number of dead, Belsen’s victims were not “murdered,” and the camp was not an “extermination” center.

Black Market Center

From 1945 until 1950, when it was finally shut down, the British maintained Belsen as a camp for displaced European Jews. During this period it achieved new notoriety as a major European black market center. The “uncrowned king” of Belsen’s 10,000 Jews was Yossl (Josef) Rosensaft, who amassed tremendous profits from the illegal trading. Rosensaft had been interned in various camps, including Auschwitz, before arriving in Belsen in early April 1945. [42]

British Lieutenant General Sir Frederick Morgan, chief of “displaced persons” operations in postwar Germany for the United Nations relief organization UNRRA recalled in his memoir that [43]

under Zionist auspices there had been organized at Belsen a vast illegitimate trading organization with worldwide ramifications and dealing in a wide range of goods, principally precious metals and stones. A money market dealt with a wide range of currencies. Goods were being imported in cryptically marked containers consigned in UNRRA shipments to Jewish voluntary agencies ...

Legacy

A kind of memorial center now draws many tourists annually to the camp site. Not surprisingly, Bergen’s 13,000 residents are not very pleased with their town’s infamous reputation. Citizens report being called “murderers” during visits to foreign countries. [44]

In striking contrast to the widely-accepted image of Belsen, which is essentially a product of hateful wartime propaganda, is the suppressed, albeit grim, historical reality. In truth, the Bergen-Belsen story may be regarded as the Holocaust story in miniature.

Notes

1. U Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret: Suppression of the Truth about Hitler's 'Final Solution'* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980), p. 1.
2. U Testimony of Commandant Kramer in: Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)* (London: William Hodge, 1949), p. 160; "Bergen-Belsen," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York and Jerusalem: Macmillan and Keter, 1971), Vol. 4, p. 610. According to this source, one group of 136 of these "exchange Jews" was deported from Belsen during the war to neutral Switzerland, and another group of 222 was transferred to Palestine.; According to an Israeli newspaper report, a group of 222 "exchange" Jews reportedly left Bergen-Belsen on June 29, 1944, and, by way of Istanbul, arrived in Palestine on July 10. (*Israel Nachrichten*, quoted in: *D. National-Zeitung*, Munich, Sept. 23, 1994, p. 5)
3. U Sylvia Rothchild, ed., *Voices from the Holocaust* (New York: NAL, 1981), p. 190.
4. U Josef Kramer statement (1945) in: R. Phillips, *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 731-737. This is also in: Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Newport Beach: Institute for Historical Review, 1993), pp. 272-274.
5. U R. Phillips, *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 19, 32, 33; Roman Hrabar, with Zofia Tokarz and J. E. Wilczur, *The Fate of Polish Children During the Last War* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1981), p. 76.
6. U *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 4, p. 610; *Gedenkbuch: Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft* (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 1986; 2 vols.), pp. 1761-1762.
7. U Testimony of Dr. Russell Barton, Feb. 7, 1985, in the first "Holocaust" trial of Ernst Zündel. Official trial transcript, pp. 2916-2917; See also Barton's testimony during the second, 1988 Zündel trial in: Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die?* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1992), p. 175, and, Robert Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial: The Case of Ernst Zündel* (Decatur, Ala.: Reporter Press, 1990), p. 159.
8. U Testimony of Commandant Kramer in: R. Phillips, *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, p. 162.
9. U Josef Kramer statement (1945) in: R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 731-737. Also in: A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 274.
10. U Derrick Sington, *Belsen Uncovered* (London: 1946), pp. 117-118. Quoted in: A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 34-35; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere Books, pb., 1971), p. 504 (note).
11. U R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 152-153, 166-167, 734, 736; Tom Bower, *Blind Eye to Murder* (London: Granada, 1983), p. 224; Dr. Ernst von Briesen, "Was passierte in Bergen-Belsen wirklich?," *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), Jan. 13, 1984, pp. 4, 5, 8.
12. U G.Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, p. 497 (and 638, n. 23).
13. U Andre Biss, *A Million Jews to Save* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1975), pp. 242, 249-250; Felix Kersten, *The Kersten Memoirs, 1940-1945* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 276.
14. U Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1986), pp. 722, 785-786.
15. U R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 163-166.
16. U Signed report by retired Colonel (Oberst a.D.) Hanns Schmidt to Kurt Mehner and Lt. Colonel Bechtold, Braunschweig, March 3, 1981. Photocopy in author's possession.
17. U Signed report by Hanns Schmidt to Kurt Mehner and Lt. Colonel Bechtold, March 3, 1981. Photocopy in author's possession.

18. [↗](#) Essay by Alan Moorehead, "Belsen," in: Cyril Connolly, ed., *The Golden Horizon* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1953), pp. 109-110.
19. [↗](#) Josef Kramer statement (1945) in: R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, p. 737. Also quoted in: A. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 275; Essay by Alan Moorehead, "Belsen," in: Cyril Connolly, ed., *The Golden Horizon*, pp. 109-110; Dr. Russell Barton, "Belsen," *History of the Second World War* (Editor: Barrie Pitt, Copyright BPC publications, 1966), Part 109, 1975, p. 3025.
20. [↗](#) R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 396-397.
21. [↗](#) "Typhus Causes a Truce," *The Journal of the American Medical Association* (Chicago), May 19, 1945, p. 220.
22. [↗](#) Leonard O. Mosley, *Report from Germany* (1945). Quoted in: *Montgomery Belion, Victor's Justice* (Regnery, 1949), p. 80 (and p. 81); *Time* magazine, April 29, 1985, p. 21; See also essay by A. Moorehead, "Belsen," in: Cyril Connolly, ed., *The Golden Horizon* (London: 1953), pp. 105-106.
23. [↗](#) Essay by A. Moorehead, "Belsen," in: Cyril Connolly, ed., *The Golden Horizon*, pp. 105-106.
24. [↗](#) R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, p. 156.
25. [↗](#) "Bergen-Belsen," *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg), Nr. 30, 1985, pp. 71, 72.
26. [↗](#) "Holocaust," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 8, p. 859; M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986), pp. 793-795; See also: R. Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others*, pp. 20, 46-47; According to a 1992 Associated Press report, more than 60,000 prisoners were held in Belsen camp when it was liberated. Then, "in the first five days of liberation, 14,000 prisoners died and another 14,000 perished in the following weeks." Graham Heathcote, AP from Tostock, England, "2 hours changed me for the rest of my life," *Orlando Sentinel* (Florida), Dec. 20, 1992, p. A 29, and, "Journey into hell," *The Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, Washington), Dec. 20, 1992.
27. [↗](#) *Time* magazine, April 29, 1985, p. 21, referred to Belsen as a camp created for the "extermination" of "the Jewish people."
28. [↗](#) Helmut Diwald, *Geschichte der Deutschen* (Frankfurt: Propyläen, first ed., 1978), pp. 164-165.
29. [↗](#) M. Broszat, "Zur Kritik der Publizistik des antisemitischen Rechtsextremismus," Supplement B 19/76 of May 8, 1976, to the weekly newspaper *Das Parlament* (Bonn), p. 6. Revised from issue No. 2, 1976, of the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (Munich).
30. [↗](#) Dr. R. Barton, "Belsen," *History of the Second World War*, Part 109, 1975, pp. 3025-3029; Barton confirmed this evaluation in testimony given in the 1985 and 1988 Toronto trials of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel. On Barton's testimony in the first, 1985 trial, see: "View of Belsen was propaganda, trial told," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Feb. 8, 1985, pp. M1, M5, and, "Disease killed Nazis' prisoners, MD says," *Toronto Star*, Feb. 8, 1985, p. A2; On Barton's testimony in the second, 1988 Zündel trial, see: Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die?*, pp. 175-180, and, R. Lenski, *The Holocaust on Trial* (1990), pp. 157-160; Among his other positions after the war, Barton was superintendent and consultant psychiatrist at Severalls Hospital (Essex, England), and director of the Rochester Psychiatric Center (New York).
31. [↗](#) Francis Trevelyan Miller, Litt.D., LLD, *A History of World War II* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1945), p. 868.
32. [↗](#) M. Dimont, *Jews, God and History* (New York: Signet/NAL, pb., 1962?), p. 383.
33. [↗](#) R. Hrabar, et al, *The Fate of Polish Children During the Last War* (Warsaw: 1981), p. 76.
34. [↗](#) *The Associated Press News Annual: 1945*, p. 404.

35. ☞ M. Holland, "The horrors of Belsen," Sunday Herald Sun (Melbourne, Australia), Jan. 22, 1995, p. 93; M. Holland, "Man who uncovered the horror of Belsen," Sunday Times (Perth, W. Australia), Feb. 5, 1995, p. 2.
36. ☞ S. Rothchild, ed., *Voices From the Holocaust*, p. 197.
37. ☞ K. Seidman, "Surviving the horror," The Gazette (Montreal, Canada), August 5, 1993. Facsimile reprint in: *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1993, p. 24.
38. ☞ Die Zeit (Hamburg), August 19, 1960, p. 16. (U.S. edition: August 26, 1960.) Facsimile and translation in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, p. 12.
39. ☞ "Bergen-Belsen," Daily News (New York), April 20, 1985, p. 3.
40. ☞ "Ceremony Recalls Victims of Bergen-Belsen," The Week in Germany (New York: German Information Center), April 27, 1990, p. 6; A figure of 50,000 is also given in Time magazine, April 29, 1985, p. 21; According to a stone memorial at the Belsen camp site, 30,000 Jews were "exterminated" there; A semi-official Polish account published in 1980 reported 48,000 Belsen "victims." Czeslaw Pilichowski, *No Time Limit for These Crimes* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1980), pp. 154-155.
41. ☞ "Bergen-Belsen," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 4, pp. 610-612; Colonel Schmidt, the German officer who worked to alleviate conditions in Belsen during the final weeks and also arranged for the camp's surrender to the British, estimated that "altogether about 8,000 people" died in the camp. (This figure may, however, only include victims of the final chaotic weeks under German control.) Source: Signed report by Oberst a.D. Hanns Schmidt to Kurt Mehner and Lt. Colonel Bechtold, Braunschweig, March 3, 1981. (Cited above.) Photocopy in author's possession.
42. ☞ L. Dawidowicz, "Belsen Remembered," *Commentary* (New York: American Jewish Comm.), March 1966, pp. 84, 85; D. National-Zeitung (Munich), March 21, 1986, p. 4; M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust*, pp. 690, 793.
43. ☞ F. Morgan, *Peace and War* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1961), p. 259.
44. ☞ "Bergen-Belsen," *Der Spiegel*, Nr. 30, 1985, pp. 71, 72.

Anne Frank

by [Mark Weber](#)

Known around the world for her famous diary, Anne Frank is perhaps the most commemorated “victim of the Holocaust.” On the fiftieth anniversary of her death, and of the liberation of the Bergen-Belsen camp where she died, she has been the subject of renewed attention.

Translated into dozens of languages, more than 22 million copies of her diary are estimated to have been sold worldwide — millions of them to secondary schools. In terms of its public impact, says “Nazi hunter” Simon Wiesenthal, the Anne Frank diary is “more important than the Nuremberg trials.” (*The Washington Post*, April 1, 1979, p. H3)

Influential organizations and much of the western media promote a quasi-religious Anne Frank cult. She has become a kind of secular saint. As the British monthly *History Today* noted in its March 1985 issue:

The impact of the Diary has been immense, especially on younger generations, school children, adolescents and students. In Germany, a type of Anne Frank cult developed in the fifties similar to movements started by St. Teresa and St. Bernadette. In 1957, mass emotion was channelled into a pilgrimage of two thousand young people, mainly from Hamburg, to Bergen-Belsen where, in pouring rain during the course of a ceremony, flowers were placed on the mass graves — in one of which Anne Frank was buried.

Anne Frank’s fate is not unlike that of many other lesser-known victims of the wartime anti-Jewish policies imposed in Axis-ruled Europe. On August 4, 1944, police raided the “annex” in Amsterdam, Netherlands, where the Frank family had been living for two years. They were taken to the Dutch transfer camp of Westerbork.

As part of the German program to evacuate Jews from western Europe, the 15-year-old girl and other members of her family were deported by train from the Netherlands to the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp in what is now southern Poland.

Several weeks later, in the face of the advancing Soviet army, Anne — along with thousands of other Jewish prisoners — was evacuated by rail from Auschwitz more than four hundred miles westward to the Bergen-Belsen camp in northwestern Germany.

Along with many other Belsen camp inmates, Anne came down with typhus, from which she died in mid-March 1945. She was not killed or murdered. Anne Frank perished — like millions of others, both Jewish and non-Jewish, in Europe during that terrible time — an indirect victim of history’s most devastating war.

Few people realize that Anne, along with father and sister, and thousands of other Jews, “survived” Auschwitz-Birkenau. Her father, Otto Frank, came down with typhus and was transferred to the camp infirmary there to recover. He was one of thousands of sick and feeble Jews who were left behind when the Germans abandoned the camp in January 1945, shortly before it was overrun by the Soviets. He died in Switzerland in August 1980.

If the German policy had been to kill Anne Frank and her father, they would not have survived Auschwitz-Birkenau. Their fate, as tragic as it was, cannot be reconciled with the Holocaust extermination story.

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Murray Rothbard, 1926-1995

When he died on January 7 in New York, the city where he was born in 1926 and spent most of his life, Murray N. Rothbard was the foremost libertarian thinker and activist of his age. With his passing, the world of unfettered scholarship has suffered a terrible loss. “As a libertarian figure,” commented Pat Buchanan, “he’s one of the giants of the postwar era.”

“I grew up in a Communist culture,” Rothbard once recalled. “The middle-class Jews in New York whom I lived among, whether family, friends, or neighbors, were either Communists or fellow-travelers in the Communist orbit. I had two sets of Communist Party uncles and aunts, on both sides of my family.” From the very beginning, though, “I was a right-winger and bitterly anti-socialist.”

“In one family gathering featuring endless pledges of devotion to 'Loyalist' Spain during the Civil War,” he recalled, “I piped up, at the age of 11 or 12, 'What’s wrong with Franco, anyway? ... My query was a conversation stopper, all right, but I never received an answer.”

As a graduate student at Columbia University, Rothbard signed up in 1948 with “Students for Thurmond,” a pro-segregationist, states' rights group that (he later recalled) included “one New York Jew, myself.”

For 22 years Dr. Rothbard taught economics at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, and from the mid-1980s he was S.J. Hall Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Murray Rothbard’s writing was characterized by innovative insight and skepticism of all orthodoxy. His prodigious output — covering economic theory, politics, political theory, philosophy, sociology and history — included some 25 books and thousands of articles, essays, speeches and reviews, both popular and scholarly, that appeared in a wide range of journals, newsletters and newspapers.

Over the years Rothbard also served as editor or co-editor of *Left and Right*, *Libertarian Forum* and, at the time of his death, the *Review of Austrian Economics*, the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, and the *Rothbard-Rockwell Report*.

Probably his most influential work is *Man, Economy, and State* (1962). Possibly the finest text on economic theory ever written, this book provides a scholarly exposition of “Austrian school” methodology in economics, with ground-breaking insights in monopoly theory and other areas.

His 1963 work, *America’s Great Depression*, is the first major text to offer a revisionist indictment of Herbert Hoover as a pre-New Deal interventionist. Meticulously and brilliantly, it lays

the blame for the great social-economic catastrophe at the door of government action, particularly in the form of inflationary Federal Reserve Bank credit expansion.

Rothbard's final work, a two-volume history of economic thought, brought together many hitherto largely ignored contributions to economic and political theory from sources as diverse as the ancient Chinese individualist anarchist Chuang Tzu to the economic contributions of the late medieval Spanish Scholastics. The work also convincingly deflates the overblown reputation of Adam Smith.

In a just world, Murray Rothbard would have received a Nobel Prize.

Throughout his adult life, Rothbard was a zealous champion of individual liberty and a fierce enemy of the "welfare-warfare" state. Early on he enlisted with the "Old Right" opponents of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, and with the "America First" foes of foreign military intervention.

Uncompromisingly hostile to war and war propaganda, he was one of the few who remained true to his convictions even during the stifling Cold War era. Along with Garet Garrett, John T. Flynn and Harry Elmer Barnes, he continued steadfastly to oppose the US military-industrial complex and the military adventurism that is an integral part of its "perpetual war for perpetual peace" policy.

To the end Rothbard remained an eloquent enemy of the establishment, battling both its liberal and neo-conservative wings. (One of his last published articles was a Washington Post essay blasting Newt Gingrich and the Republican Party's "Contract With America.") He was consistently scornful of the conservative intellectual establishment, accusing National Review chief William Buckley of having "purged the conservative movement of the genuine right." Ironically, his anti-government, anti-war views brought him into a tactical alliance with the New Left during the Vietnam War.

Rothbard embraced historical revisionism in all its facets, including taboo issues of the Second World War. He was a colleague of Harry Elmer Barnes, whose last published work, "Pearl Harbor After a Quarter Century," appeared in a journal co-edited by Rothbard. He also contributed an essay to the magnificent anthology, Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader (available from the IHR).

While not religious, Rothbard had great sympathy and respect for Christianity, particularly Roman Catholicism, which he regarded as largely responsible for creating and preserving Western culture. He detested the dismissive attitude toward religion, Western culture and traditional morality of many fellow libertarians.

Rothbard's scholarly writings do not, understandably, convey his infectiously vivacious temperament or the warmth of his personality. As Joseph Sobran observed in a memorial tribute:

To the end he retained his headlong intellectual energy, his wide curiosity, and that wonderful combination of decisiveness and open-mindedness: he held a thousand strong opinions, yet he was always ready to change his mind as reason and evidence warranted. He delighted in changing his mind, because it was a real, living mind, eager to grapple with reality and to be surprised by it. To him a new thought was like a birthday present ... In his deepest cogitations there was something of a kid having fun.

In person he was earthy, unpretentious and wonderfully funny. He was so much fun to be around that you could easily forget what an imposing thinker he was; it never occurred to him to impress people.

Just weeks before his death, Rothbard expressed “jubilation” that a sterile era in American life seemed, at last, to be coming to an end. This was in a lengthy essay about the recent publication and impact of *The Bell Curve*, the bestselling book by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray.

For decades, wrote Rothbard,

it was shameful and taboo for anyone to talk publicly or write about home truths which everyone, and I mean everyone, knew in their hearts and in private: that is, almost self-evident truths about race, intelligence, and heritability.

What used to be widespread shared public knowledge about race and ethnicity among writers, publicists, and scholars was suddenly driven out of the public square by Communist anthropologist Franz Boas and his associates in the 1930s and has been taboo ever since.

Essentially, I mean the almost self-evident fact that individuals, ethnic groups and races differ among themselves in intelligence and in many other traits, and that intelligence, as well as less controversial traits of temperament, are in large part hereditary.

Comparing the impact of *The Bell Curve* to the bursting of a dam, Rothbard wrote that the book and its reception marks a “truly revolutionary” change in American society and thinking. “It looks as if the Left egalitarian blackout-and-smear gang has been dealt a truly lethal blow,” he joyfully concluded.

It is likely that, one day, the five decades following the end of the Second World War will be regarded as the most intellectually barren in American history. If our nation and way of life survive, future generations will remember Murray Rothbard with gratitude, recalling that during this bleak period he kept alive a precious light of sanity and reason, and cast it like a guiding beacon into the future.

His many friends and admirers — from the far left to the far right, and everywhere in between — will remember Murray Rothbard for his enthusiastic spirit, his irrepressible energy, his brilliant scholarship, and his passionate devotion to truth.

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On the Importance of Revisionism for our Time

Murray N. Rothbard

Revisionism as applied to World War II and its origins (as also for previous wars) has the general function of bringing historical truth to an American and a world public that had been drugged by wartime lies and propaganda. This, in itself, is a virtue. But some truths of history, of course, may be largely of antiquarian interest, with little relevance to present-day concerns. This is not true of World War II revisionism, which has much critical significance for today's world.

The least of the lessons that revisionism can teach has already been thoroughly learned: that Germany and Japan are not uniquely "aggressor nations," doomed from birth to menace the peace of the world. The larger lessons have, unfortunately, yet to be learned. The United States is again being subjected to that "complex of fear and vaunting" (in the brilliant phrase of Garet Garrett's) which drove us, and the Western world, into two other disastrous wars in our century. Once again, the American public is being subjected to a nearly unanimous barrage of war propaganda and war hysteria, so that only the most searching and rational can keep their heads. Once again, we find that there has emerged upon the scene an Enemy, a Bad Guy, with the same old Bad Guy characteristics that we have heard of before; a diabolic, monolithic Enemy, which, generations ago in some "sacred texts," decided (for reasons that remain obscure) that it was "out to conquer the world."

Since then, the Enemy, darkly, secretly, diabolically, has "plotted," conspiratorially, to conquer the world, building up a vast and mighty and overwhelming military machine, and also constructing a mighty international and "subversive" "fifth column," which functions as an army of mere puppets, agents of the Enemy's central headquarters, ready to commit espionage, sabotage, or any other act of "undermining" other states. The Enemy, then, is "monolithic," ruled solely and strictly from the top, by a few master rulers, and is dominated always by the single purpose of world conquest. The model to keep in mind is Dr. Fu Manchu, here trotted forward as an international bogeyman.

The Enemy, then, says the war propaganda, is guided by but one purpose: conquest of the world. He never suffers from such human emotions as fear, or fear that we might attack him, or belief that he is acting in defense, or out of self-respect and the desire to save face before himself as well as before others. Neither does he possess such human qualities as reason.

No, there is only one other emotion that can sway him: superior force will compel him to "back down." This is because, even though a Fu Manchu, he is also like the Bad Guy in the movie Western: he will cower before the Good Guy if the Good Guy is strong, armed to the teeth, resolute of purpose, etc. Hence, the complex of fear and vaunting: fear of the supposedly implacable and permanent plotting of the Enemy; vaunting of the enormous military might of America and

its meddling throughout the world, to “contain,” “roll back,” etc., the Enemy, or to “liberate” the “oppressed nations.”

Now revisionism teaches us that this entire myth, so prevalent then and even now about Hitler, and about the Japanese, is a tissue of fallacies from beginning to end. Every plank in this nightmare evidence is either completely untrue or not entirely the truth. If people should learn this intellectual fraud about Hitler’s Germany, then they will begin to ask questions, and searching questions, about the current World War III version of the same myth. Nothing would stop the current headlong flight to war faster, or more surely cause people to begin to reason about foreign affairs once again, after a long orgy of emotion and cliché.

For the same myth is now based on the same old fallacies. And this is seen by the increasing use that the Cold Warriors have been making of the “Munich myth”: the continually repeated charge that it was the “appeasement” of the “aggressor” at Munich that “fed” his “aggression” (again, the Fu Manchu, or Wild Beast, comparison), and that caused the “aggressor,” drunk with his conquests, to launch World War II. This Munich myth has been used as one of the leading arguments against any sort of rational negotiations with the Communist nations, and the stigmatizing of even the most harmless search for agreement as “appeasement.” It is for this reason that A. J. P. Taylor’s magnificent *Origins of the Second World War* received probably its most distorted and frenetic review in the pages of *National Review*.

It is about time that Americans learn: that Bad Guys (Nazis or Communists) may not necessarily want or desire war, or be out to “conquer” the world (their hope for “conquest” may be strictly ideological and not military at all); that Bad Guys may also fear the possibility of our use of our enormous military might and aggressive posture to attack them; that both the Bad Guys and Good Guys may have common interests which make negotiation possible (e.g., that neither wants to be annihilated by nuclear weapons); that no organization is a “monolith,” and that “agents” are often simply ideological allies who can and do split with their supposed “masters”; and that, finally, we may learn the most profound lesson of all: that the domestic policy of a government is often no index whatever to its foreign policy.

We are still, in the last analysis, suffering from the delusion of Woodrow Wilson: that “democracies” ipso facto will never embark on war, and that “dictatorships” are always prone to engage in war. Much as we may and do abhor the domestic programs of most dictators (and certainly of the Nazis and Communists), this has no necessary relation to their foreign policies: indeed, many dictatorships have been passive and static in history, and, contrariwise, many democracies have led in promoting and waging war. Revisionism may, once and for all, be able to destroy this Wilsonian myth.

There is only one real difference between the capacity of a democracy and a dictatorship to wage war: democracies invariably engage much more widely in deceptive war propaganda, to whip up and persuade the public. Democracies that wage war need to produce much more propaganda to whip up their citizens, and at the same time to camouflage their policies much more intensely in hypocritical moral cant to fool the voters. The lack of need for this on the part of dictatorships often makes their policies seem superficially to be more warlike, and this is one of the reasons why they have had a “bad press” in this century.

The task of revisionism has been to penetrate beneath these superficialities and appearances to the stark realities underneath, realities which show, certainly in this century, the U.S., Great Britain, and France, the three great “democracies,” to be worse than any other three coun-

tries in fomenting and waging aggressive war. Realization of this truth would be of incalculable importance on the current scene.

Conservatives should not need to be reminded of the flimsiness of the “democratic” myth; we are familiar now with the concept of “totalitarian democracy,” of the frequent propensity of the masses to tyrannize over minorities. If conservatives can see this truth in domestic affairs, why not in foreign?

There are many other, more specific but also important, lessons that revisionism can teach us. The Cold War, as well as World Wars I and II, has been launched by the Western democracies so as to meddle in the affairs of Eastern Europe. The great power-fact about Eastern Europe is that the smaller nations there are fated to be under the dominance, friendly or otherwise, of Germany and/or Russia.

In World War I, the U.S. and Britain went to war partly to help Russia expand into the part of Eastern Europe then dominated by Austria-Hungary and Germany. This act of meddling on our part, at the cost of untold lives, both West and East, and of an enormous increase in militarism, statism, and socialism at home, led to a situation in Eastern Europe which brought the U.S. and Britain into World War II, to keep Germany from dominating Eastern Europe.

As soon as World War II was over (with its enormous consequent increase in statism, militarism, and socialism in the U.S.), the U.S. and Britain felt they had to launch a Cold War to oust Russia from the dominance over Eastern Europe which it had obtained as a natural consequence of the joint defeat of Germany. How much longer is the United States to play with the fate of the American people, or even the human race itself, for the sake of imposing a solution of our own liking on Eastern Europe? And if we should wage a holocaust to “destroy communism,” and there should (doubtfully) be any Americans remaining, how distinguishable from communism will the American system, in reality, be?

There have been two major facets to the Cold War: trying to establish U.S. and British hegemony over Eastern Europe, and attempting to suppress nationalist revolutions that would take undeveloped countries outside of the Western imperialist orbit. Here again, revisionism of World War II has important lessons to teach us today. For in World War I, England, backed by the United States, went to war against Germany to try to hobble an important commercial competitor which had started late in the imperialist game. Before World Wars I and II, Britain and France tried to preserve their imperialist domination as against the “have-not” nations Germany and Japan that came late in the imperialist race.

And now, after World War II, the United States has assumed the imperialist scepter from the weakened hands of Britain and France. Revisionism thus provides us with the insight that America has now become the world colossus of imperialism, propping up puppet and client states all over the undeveloped areas of the world, and fiercely attempting to suppress nationalist revolutions that would take these countries out of the American imperial orbit.

As Garet Garrett also said: “We have crossed the boundary that lies between republic and empire.” Communism having allied itself with the immensely popular movements of national liberation against imperialism, the United States, in the hypocritical name of “freedom,” is now [1966] engaged in the logical conclusion of its Cold War policy: attempting to exterminate a whole nation in Viet Nam to make very sure that they are rather dead than Red, and to preserve American imperial rule.

All these lessons revisionism has to teach us. For revisionism, in the final analysis, is based on truth and rationality. Truth and rationality are always the first victims in any war frenzy; and they are, therefore, once again an extremely rare commodity on today's "market." Revisionism brings to the artificial frenzy of daily events and day-to-day propaganda, the cool but in the last analysis glorious light of historical truth. Such truth is almost desperately needed in today's world.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center

Arriving in Los Angeles in 1977 with a \$500,000 gift from Canadian Jewish businessman Samuel Belzberg, Rabbi Marvin Hier lost no time launching his dream project: the Simon Wiesenthal Center. In the years that followed, Hier succeeded in building the Center, named after the well-known “Nazi hunter,” into one of the world’s most influential Jewish organizations.

“Now second in membership only to B'nai B'rith International with 380,000 members,” noted the Los Angeles Times in 1990, “the Simon Wiesenthal Center at times rivals the venerable American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League and the World Jewish Congress for its impact and access to world leaders.” ^[1] Today, five years later, the Center’s power and impact are, if anything, even more formidable.

Fear mongering and 'Holocaustomania'

Hier achieved all this, and so quickly, because he hit on a winning formula for raising vast sums of money from American Jews: highly emotional appeals to raw fear with sensationalistic exploitation of the Holocaust story.

Hier and his colleagues never cease harping on the danger of anti-Semitism (or, as the Center spells it “antisemitism”). In its wide range of propaganda materials, including videotapes and fund-raising mailings, and especially in its glossy magazine, *Response*, the Center conjures up a paranoid fantasy world in which a sinister international network of neo-Nazis, Islamic extremists and other anti-Jewish forces of “hate” are on the march everywhere, plotting a murderous new “Final Solution” of all Jews.

The Center projects a paradoxical image of American Jewry: Fabulously wealthy and influential, but simultaneously threatened with physical extermination. Only the eternally vigilant Simon Wiesenthal Center, its publications suggest, protects Jews against a dangerous worldwide “hate” conspiracy and a new “Final Solution.”

“In America,” writes New York Times Deputy Media Editor Judith Miller in her 1990 book, *One, by One, by One*, “the lowest common denominator often sets the agenda. The Holocaust is not immune from this tendency.” ^[2]

“Marvin Hier and the Center will always cry anti-Semitism,” a renowned scholar told two Los Angeles Times writers, who summed up: “To get people to pay attention to his battle against anti-Semitism, Hier refuses to let anyone forget the Holocaust even for a minute.” ^[3]

As even the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith has acknowledged, though, the Wiesenthal Center makes “inaccurate” and “exaggerated claims” about anti-Semitism to raise money. In a 1984 internal memorandum, ADL official Justin Finger cited a Center fund-raising

letter that is “replete with factual misstatements and exaggerations” about anti-Jewish sentiment in the United States and Europe. [4]

The 1991 Gulf War provided an ideal opportunity for the Simon Wiesenthal Center to trot out sensational new propaganda lies. According to a “shocking revelation” in the Spring 1991 issue of *Response*, German firms were producing Zyklon B gas in Iraq, “the chemical used by the Germans to murder millions of Jews during the Nazi Holocaust.” [5]

Iranian prisoners of war, the Center’s slick magazine went on, were being killed with Zyklon B “in gas chambers specially designed for the Iraqis by the German company Rhema Labortechnik.” Recycling a familiar Second World War propaganda theme, *Response* continued: “An eyewitness reported the [Iraqi] gas chambers were tiled to look like operating rooms, with a separated observation room for each gas chamber with reinforced glass visibility.”

In fanning the flames of what Jewish American historian Alfred Lilienthal calls “Holocaustomania,” the Wiesenthal Center has no peer. “Rabbi Hier and the Wiesenthal Center are, in my opinion, the most extreme of those who utilize the Holocaust,” said the director of Israel’s Yad Vashem Holocaust center in 1988. “The Jewish people does many vulgar things,” he went on, “but the Wiesenthal Center [has] raised it to a complete level: The optimum use of sensitive issues in order to raise money ...” [6]

“The enormous success of the Simon Wiesenthal Center,” says author Judith Miller, “has given new meaning to what was once a macabre in-house joke ... 'There is no business like Shoah business'.” (“Shoah” is Hebrew for Holocaust). [7] “It’s a sad fact,” adds the Center’s chief financial backer, Canadian-Jewish financier Samuel Belzberg, “that Israel and Jewish education and all the other familiar buzzwords no longer serve to rally Jews behind the community. The Holocaust, though, works every time.” [8]

In 1989, for example, the Center pulled in some \$15 million in contributions. [9] Marvin Hier is generously compensated for his work. In 1994 his annual pay was \$225,000 (benefits included). At least six other Center officials were paid more than \$100,000 each. [10]

Originally from New York’s Lower East Side, Hier possesses no academic credentials beyond his yeshiva (rabbinical school) certification. But he was not ashamed to appoint himself “Dean” of the Wiesenthal Center and of the Center-affiliated Yeshiva University. [11]

Hier has proven to be a tremendous boost to Simon Wiesenthal and his international image. “Before meeting up with Hier,” said one Center insider, “Simon was nickel and diming it in Vienna. He couldn’t even pay his phone bills.” [12]

A Jewish mission

While the Center makes a feeble pretense of concern for all humanity, its real agenda is narrowly, even chauvinistically Jewish. Hier frankly calls his Center a “full-fledged Jewish defense agency,” [13] and Center publications skillfully play to Jewish fears, concerns and sensitivities.

“... The phenomenal growth of the Wiesenthal Center suggests that the haunting memory of the Holocaust is, for better or worse, what makes millions of Jews feel like Jews,” says Baltimore Jewish Times editor Gary Rosenblatt. [14]

Rival organizations that compete with the Center for money from the Jewish community privately resent Hier’s brash, “anything goes” tactics.

Hier “has become a self-appointed spokesman for American Jewish interests,” complains Leon Wieseltier, Jewish literary editor of *The New Republic*. Hier’s linkage of the Holocaust and American politics has “vulgarized” both, adds Wieseltier. “He and his operation have no right to desecrate the memory of millions of dead Jews by glibly associating their memory with the Center’s politics.” [15]

“Critics of the Simon Wiesenthal Center,” notes Judith Miller in *One, by One, by One*, “have also complained about the use of the Holocaust to justify lobbying for Jewish interests... ‘You must do this for the Jews because there was a Holocaust’.” [16]

Hier and his organization ceaselessly promote Zionist and Israeli interests. “Another implicit message of the Wiesenthal Center is that the Holocaust helped to validate the state of Israel,” writes Miller. “Remembering the Holocaust leads to staunch support of Israel.” [17] Hier has had a particularly close relationship with Israel’s ultra-Zionist Likud party and hard line Israeli Prime Ministers Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir. [18] Although Hier and his Center demands dauntless pursuit and punishment of “Nazi war criminals,” Hier hypocritically ignores the well-documented records of Begin and Shamir as Zionist terrorists. [19]

No trust for non-Jews

A recurring Wiesenthal Center theme is that non-Jews are never entirely trustworthy. If “it” could happen in cultured Germany, Hier’s Center never ceases to suggest, “it” can happen anywhere. Anything less than fawning solicitude for Israeli and Jewish concerns, the Center implies, all but inevitably leads to shoving Jews into gas chambers. Hier’s “message is that Jews are never safe, that anti-Semitism is pandemic, occurring everywhere and in various degrees of virulence,” the *Los Angeles Times* sums up. [20]

“We’re like the baseball hitter who is up to bat with two strikes against him,” says Hier. “That’s the proper attitude for Jews. We shouldn’t be going around saying: it cannot happen again ... We Americans have never been tested.” [21] Regarding a Wiesenthal Center exhibit on the Holocaust, the monthly magazine of the American Jewish Committee remarked: “The message was that Jews have enemies, murderous enemies, and should look out.” [22]

In Hier’s view, the non-Jewish world — and especially European Christians — bears a collective guilt for what the Holocaust lobby insists is the most terrible crime in history. In a 1995 *Los Angeles Times* opinion piece, for example, Hier took aim at Christian leaders during the Second World War, chastising the “prelates — from Pope Pius XII down — who at best looked the other way, protected their own, were bystanders rather than activists and sometimes even assisted the Nazis in carrying out their Final Solution.” [23]

For from promoting “tolerance,” says Dr. Frank Knopfelmacher, a leading Australian Jewish scholar, the Wiesenthal Center actually foments “ethnic hatred.” Australia government officials, added Knopfelmacher, should have “banned the members of the Simon Wiesenthal Center from entering Australia and should have deported those who were here.” [24]

Phenomenal clout

For an organization founded just 16 years ago, the Wiesenthal Center wields phenomenal political and financial power. “Hier has accrued unprecedented clout in the Legislature, on Capitol Hill, in the city’s boardrooms and even in Hollywood,” noted the *Los Angeles Times Magazine* in a 1990 profile article. [25]

Among the many prominent and wealthy individuals who have given public support to the Simon Wiesenthal Center have been President Ronald Reagan, President George Bush, Senator Dianne Feinstein (and her investment banker husband Richard Blum), entertainers Frank Sinatra and Elizabeth Taylor, columnist George Will, Mortimer B. Zuckerman (publisher of US News and World Report and the Atlantic Monthly), television journalist Barbara Walters, several members of the moneyed Belzberg family, Alan Greenberg (chairman of the investment firm of Bear Stearns), and New York financiers Nelson Peltz, Ronald Perelman and Ivan Boesky. (Boesky, a member of the Center's board of directors, was later found guilty of large-scale illegal stock dealing).

"Genocide," an 88-minute Holocaust motion picture coproduced by the Wiesenthal Center, was awarded the 1982 Academy Award for "Best Documentary Feature." Accepting the Award was "Dean" Hier, the only Orthodox rabbi ever to win an Oscar. ^[26] A more recent expression of the Center's close Hollywood ties is the 1995 HBO made-for-television motion picture, "The Infiltrator," a highly flattering portrayal of the Center and its work (in which IHR Director Mark Weber is smeared, by name, as a "big time fascist").

Political pull and public money

Such is the political clout wielded by the Center that California lawmakers recently voted to give it a second \$5 million grant of state taxpayers' funds. (The first was in 1985.) This money, allocated for the Center's "Museum of Tolerance," came from funds normally reserved for California public schools. Backing this extraordinary grant were prominent politicians of both parties, including California Governor Pete Wilson. ^[27]

At a time of belt-tightening across the board, the Wiesenthal Center can count on "special treatment" for state lawmakers. One cautiously indignant Californian echoed the sentiment of many others in a letter published in the leading Los Angeles daily newspaper: ^[28]

Giving the Wiesenthal Centers another \$5 million in state tax dollars when clinics and hospitals are closing, local schools' teaching budgets are being cut and public libraries fight to keep open on even a limited basis is difficult to justify.

Financially strapped education leaders and spokesmen for hard-pressed public interest groups were understandably outraged. Responding to Hier's claims of school children visits to his "Museum of Tolerance," a lobbyist for the California Teachers Association sarcastically commented: "70,000 kids might go McDonald's every day, but we don't pick up their lunch tab."

In addition, the Center has received \$5 million in federal funds, through legislation sponsored by California Congressman Henry Waxman. ^[29]

The Center's ties with California Governor Wilson could hardly be closer. A senior political advisor to Wilson is a member of the Wiesenthal Center's board of directors. To show its appreciation, last year the Center awarded Wilson its "National Leadership Award." Among those attending the award dinner was Michael Fuchs, chairman of Home Box Office (HBO) and a member of the Wiesenthal Center's board of directors. ^[30]

On at least one occasion, Marvin Hier used his influence to help a favored politician. In April 1992 he appealed for money on behalf of Mel Levine, a US Congressman and Democratic candidate for US Senator from California. In a letter sent out to the Wiesenthal Center mailing list, Hier attacked Patrick Buchanan and praised Levine for his unwavering support for Israel and his

“sense of history.” “Never Again must be America’s slogan,” wrote Hier. “And Mel Levine, as US Senator from California, will be an important force for a farsighted American foreign policy.” (In spite of Hier’s appeal, Levine failed to win the Democratic party nomination for US Senate.)

In 1988 Hier and the Center honored Simon Wiesenthal at two gala dinners, one in Los Angeles and another in New York City. At the California gathering, Hier singled out President Reagan for special commendation, and at the New York dinner, which netted \$700,000, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl delivered the main tribute to Wiesenthal. [31]

A Wiesenthal Center “National Tribute Dinner” in November 1989 provided another opportunity to manifest the organization’s wide-ranging influence. [32] Speakers included Simon Wiesenthal, Israeli premier Yitzhak Shamir, and Center Chairman Samuel Belzberg, with awards to prominent media personalities, including MCA President Sidney Sheinberg and actor Ben Kingsley.

“Dinner chairman” Robert Maxwell was unable to attend the event, but the Jewish publishing baron’s daughter was on hand to deliver his passionate speech. (It was only after his mysterious death in October 1991, and a state funeral in Israel, that Maxwell’s record as perhaps the greatest swindler in history came to light. He had stolen at least \$1.65 billion from the public companies he controlled.)

American newspapers and magazines treat the Wiesenthal Center with uncritical deference, accepting at face value its bogus pretense to be an impartial source of reliable information. The Los Angeles Times — the most influential newspaper in the western United States — routinely provides space for lengthy “op ed” opinion essays by Wiesenthal Center spokesmen.

Earlier this year the Center flexed its muscles with a stunning display of global power. It acted quickly and decisively after a major Japanese monthly magazine, Marco Polo, published a ten-page article in its February 1995 issue that presented credible evidence to show that there were no execution gas chambers in wartime German concentration camps, and that many other Holocaust stories are exaggerated or untrue. [33]

While recklessly misrepresenting the article’s content, the Wiesenthal Center promptly lashed out at the magazine and its publisher, and mounted an international boycott campaign to pressure major international corporations into withdrawing advertising. Quickly capitulating to the Center’s campaign — which the Institute for Historical Review called “an arrogant expression of bigotry and intolerance” — the publisher took the astonishing step of shutting down Marco Polo magazine altogether. At a packed news conference in Tokyo, Wiesenthal Center “Associate Dean” Abraham Cooper accepted a craven public apology from the publishing company’s president.

Attacking the IHR

In many ways, the Institute for Historical Review and the Simon Wiesenthal Center are antipodal adversaries. Not surprisingly, then, the Center has hit hard and often at the IHR.

In a frenzied fund-raising letter mailed out in 1985, for example, the Center cited The Journal of Historical Review as a source of special concern, warning that a goal of the Journal is to “undermine the legitimacy of the State of Israel.” The letter ominously added:

We must learn the names and location of all neo-Nazis and revisionist leaders in every state. We must both keep careful records of their activities and expose them to the public.

Wiesenthal Center official Aaron Breitbart castigated the IHR in an article published in the 1986 Jewish Directory and Almanac. “The jewel in the crown of revisionism,” he wrote, “is the California-based Institute for Historical Review.” Another widely-distributed Wiesenthal Center fund-raising letter signed by actor Glenn Ford included a furious and lengthy smear against the IHR and its Journal.

In a prominently featured “op ed” opinion essay published in April 1995 in a Sunday edition of the Los Angeles Times, Wiesenthal Center official Abraham Cooper warned: [34]

With access to the Internet limitless, the scope of hate-group activities is rapidly expanding. The Institute for Historical Review, the leading voice of Holocaust denial in the United States, has set up a site on the World Wide Web portion of the Internet where its literature can be obtained free.

Nearly every issue of the Center’s “World Report” magazine, Response (with a claimed 1995 circulation of 320,000) attacks the Institute and leading revisionist scholars. Contrary to the Center’s bogus “tolerance,” Response frequently gloats about legal repression of Holocaust revisionists in foreign countries. Typical is an article in the Summer 1992 issue, headlined “Holocaust Deniers on the March” and illustrated with a color photograph of French professor Robert Faurisson. Several items in the Winter 1992 issue take aim at the Institute, including one specifically devoted to the IHR’s Eleventh Conference. Likewise, a snide and misleading article in the Fall-Winter 1994 Response reported on the Twelfth IHR Conference.

Glitzy 'Museum of Tolerance'

When the Wiesenthal Center opened the doors of its eight-story, \$50 million “Museum of Tolerance” in 1993, American television, newspapers and magazines responded with an outpouring of flattering coverage. California Governor Wilson called the Museum a “treasure,” and Los Angeles City Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky ascribed almost miraculous powers to it. “If every citizen of Los Angeles...will walk through the halls of this Museum and heed its lessons,” he said, “then this city will have nothing to worry about.” [35]

The Museum on Pico Boulevard in West Los Angeles — also called the Beit Hashoah in Hebrew (“House of the Holocaust”) — draws 350,000 visitors a year, says Hier. This includes more than 70,000 public and private school children who are taken through the Museum yearly. “It’s almost a second home to public schools,” boasts Hier. “We want to keep them there.” [36]

This is no ordinary museum. A slick, high-tech enterprise that “marries theme-park glitz with harrowing themes” (Los Angeles Daily News), [37] it presents a relentlessly Judeocentric version of history, packed with grotesque historical distortions and falsehoods. (A detailed look at the “Museum of Tolerance” will appear in a forthcoming Journal issue.)

Conclusion

The phenomenal growth and impact of the Simon Wiesenthal Center is a reflection of the predominant financial-political forces in American society today, and consequently of its prevailing cultural values and historical outlook. It is a barometer of Zionist-Jewish power and influence in the United States, of the hypocrisy and weakness of this country’s political leadership, and of the quasi-religious role that the Holocaust story has come to play, not only in America but throughout the world.

Notes

1. [↗](#) J. Dart, "L.A. Rabbi's Organization Commands International Attention," Los Angeles Times, March 10, 1990.
2. [↗](#) Judith Miller, *One, by One, by One: Facing the Holocaust* (New York: Simon and Schuster/ Touchstone, 1990), p. 250.
3. [↗](#) S. Teitelbaum and T. Waldman, "The Unorthodox Rabbi," Los Angeles Times Magazine, July 15, 1990, pp. 8, 10.
4. [↗](#) Miles Corwin, "Claims About Anti-Semitic Wave Hit by B'nai B'rith," Los Angeles Times, Dec. 12, 1984.
5. [↗](#) "German Firms Produce Zyklon B in Iraq," Response: The Wiesenthal Center World Report, Spring 1991, pp. 2, 4.
6. [↗](#) David Sinai, "News We Doubt You've Seen," The Jewish Press (Brooklyn, NY), Dec. 23, 1988. Based in part on report in the Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz, Dec. 16, 1988.
7. [↗](#) J. Miller, *One, by One, by One* (1990), p. 237.
8. [↗](#) S. Teitelbaum and T. Waldman, "The Unorthodox Rabbi," Los Angeles Times Magazine, July 15, 1990, p. 10.
9. [↗](#) "The Unorthodox Rabbi," Los Angeles Times Magazine, July 15, 1990, p. 8; Federal tax filings for 1990-91 IRS showed that the Wiesenthal Center annual budget was \$11.15 million. Source: Forward (New York City), Nov. 13, 1992, p. 1.
10. [↗](#) D. Morain, "Lean Times Don't Imperil Wiesenthal Grant," Los Angeles Times, July 18, 1995.
11. [↗](#) "The Unorthodox Rabbi," Los Angeles Times Magazine, July 15, 1990, p. 37.
12. [↗](#) "The Unorthodox Rabbi," Los Angeles Times Magazine, July 15, 1990, p. 10.
13. [↗](#) J. Miller, *One, by One, by One* (1990), p. 237.
14. [↗](#) J. Miller, *One, by One, by One*, p. 251.
15. [↗](#) J. Miller, *One, by One, by One*, pp. 246, 247.
16. [↗](#) J. Miller, *One, by One, by One*, p. 248.
17. [↗](#) J. Miller, *One, by One, by One*, p. 247.
18. [↗](#) Says Begin: "Rabbi Hier is one of the foremost spiritual leaders in the United States, and in the entire Jewish world." Los Angeles Times Magazine, July 15, 1990, p. 8.
19. [↗](#) On the terrorist backgrounds of Begin and Shamir, see Alfred Lilienthal's study, *The Zionist Connection*. For more about Shamir's terrorist past, see the sources given in *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993, pp. 35, 37 (n. 49).
20. [↗](#) "The Unorthodox Rabbi," Los Angeles Times Magazine, July 15, 1990, p. 39.
21. [↗](#) J. Miller, *One, by One, by One*, p. 251.
22. [↗](#) Edward Norden, "Yes and No to the Holocaust Museums," Commentary (New York: Am. Jewish Comm.), August 1993, p. 23.
23. [↗](#) M. Hier, "Heroes Aren't the Story, Villainy Is," Los Angeles Times, January 19, 1995.
24. [↗](#) "Influential Australian Jewish Figure Condemns 'Nazi Hunters' and Simon Wiesenthal Center," IHR Newsletter, April 1991, p. 5. Based on report in *The Australian*, July 31, 1990.
25. [↗](#) "The Unorthodox Rabbi," Los Angeles Times Magazine, July 15, 1990, p. 9.
26. [↗](#) J. Miller, *One, by One, by One*, pp. 236-37.
27. [↗](#) D. Morain, "Lean Times Don't Imperil Wiesenthal Grant," Los Angeles Times, July 18, 1995.
28. [↗](#) Letter by Richard M. Walden in the Los Angeles Times, July 27, 1995.

29. ☪ "The Unorthodox Rabbi," Los Angeles Times Magazine, July 15, 1990, p. 9.
30. ☪ "Lean Times Don't Imperil Wiesenthal Grant," Los Angeles Times, July 18, 1995.
31. ☪ J. Miller, One, by One, by One, p. 244.
32. ☪ K. Allman, "Honoring Those Who Remember," Los Angeles Times, Nov. 21, 1989.
33. ☪ "'No Gas Chambers' Says Influential Japanese Magazine: Jewish-Zionist Boycott Campaign Shuts Down Prominent Monthly," The Journal of Historical Review, March-April 1995, pp. 2-9.
34. ☪ Abraham Cooper, "Cyberspace Bigots Getting a Free Ride," Los Angeles Times, April 16, 1995.
35. ☪ "Museum Opens to Critical Acclaim," Response (SWC), Spring 1993, p. 12.
36. ☪ D. Morain, "Lean Times Don't Imperil Wiesenthal Grant," Los Angeles Times, July 18, 1995.
37. ☪ Article by Meg Sullivan from the Los Angeles Daily News. Printed in The Orange County Register, Feb. 7, 1993, p. H 36.

Simon Wiesenthal: Fraudulent 'Nazi hunter'

by [Mark Weber](#)

For more than 40 years, Simon Wiesenthal has been tracking hundreds of “Nazi criminals” from his “Jewish Documentation Center” in Vienna. For his work as the world’s most prominent “Nazi hunter,” he has been awarded several honorary degrees and numerous medals, including Germany’s highest decoration. In a formal White House ceremony in August 1980, a teary-eyed President Carter presented him with a special gold medal awarded by the US Congress. President Reagan praised him in November 1988 as one of the “true heroes” of this century.

This living legend was portrayed in flattering terms by the late Laurence Oliver in the 1978 film fantasy “The Boys From Brazil,” and by Ben Kingsley in the 1989 HBO made-for-television movie “Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story.” One of world’s most prominent Holocaust organizations bears his name: the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles.

Wiesenthal’s reputation as a moral authority is undeserved. The man whom The Washington Post has called the “Holocaust’s Avenging Angel” [\[1\]](#) has a little known but well-documented record of reckless disregard for truth. He has lied about his own wartime experiences, misrepresented his postwar “Nazi-hunting” achievements, and has spread vile falsehoods about alleged German atrocities.

Different stories

Szymon (Simon) Wiesenthal was born on December 31, 1908, in Buczacz, a town in the province of Galicia (now Buchach in Ukraine) in what was then the eastern fringe of the Austro-Hungarian empire. His father was a prosperous wholesale sugar merchant.

In spite of all that has been written about him, just what Wiesenthal did during the war years under German occupation remains unclear. He has given conflicting stories in three separate accounts of his wartime activities. The first was given under oath during a two day interrogation session in May 1948 conducted by an official of the US Nuremberg war crimes commission. [\[2\]](#) The second is a summary of his life provided by Wiesenthal as part of a January 1949 “Application for Assistance” to the International Refugee Committee. [\[3\]](#) And the third account is given in his autobiography, *The Murderers Among Us*, first published in 1967. [\[4\]](#)

Soviet engineer or factory mechanic?

In his 1948 interrogation, Wiesenthal declared that “between 1939 and 1941” he was a “Soviet chief engineer working in Lvov and Odessa.” [\[5\]](#) Consistent with that, he stated in his 1949 declaration that from December 1939 to April 1940 he worked as an architect in the Black Sea port of Odessa. But according to his autobiography, he spent the period between mid-September 1939

and June 1941 in Soviet-ruled Lvov, where he worked “as a mechanic in a factory that produced bedsprings.” [6]

'Relative freedom'

After the Germans took control of Galicia province in June 1941, Wiesenthal was interned for a time in the Janowska concentration camp near Lvov, from where he was transferred a few months later to a camp affiliated with the repair works (OAW) in Lvov of the Ostbahn ("Eastern Railroad") of German-ruled Poland. Wiesenthal reported in his autobiography that he worked there “as a technician and draftsman,” that he was rather well treated, and that his immediate superior, who was “secretly anti-Nazi,” even permitted him to own two pistols. He had his own office in a “small wooden hut,” and enjoyed “relative freedom and was permitted to walk all over the yards.” [7]

Partisan fighter?

The next segment of Wiesenthal’s life — from October 1943 to June 1944 — is the most obscure, and his accounts of this period are contradictory. During his 1948 interrogation, Wiesenthal said that he fled from the Janowska camp in Lvov and joined a “partisan group which operated in the Tarnopol-Kamenopodolsk area.” [8] He said that “I was a partisan from October 6, 1943, until the middle of February 1944,” and declared that his unit fought against Ukrainian forces, both of the SS “Galicia” division and of the independent UPA partisan force. [9]

Wiesenthal said that he held the rank of lieutenant and then major, and was responsible for building bunkers and fortification lines. Although he was not explicit, he suggested that this (supposed) partisan unit was part of the Armia Ludowa ("Peoples Army"), the Polish Communist military force established and controlled by the Soviets. [10]

He said that he and other partisans slipped into Lvov in February 1944, where they were “hidden by friends of the A.L. [‘People’s Army’] group.” On June 13, 1944, his group was captured by the German Secret Field Police. (Although Jewish partisans caught in hiding were often shot, Wiesenthal reports that he was somehow spared.) Wiesenthal told much the same story in his 1949 statement. He said that he fled from internment in early October 1943 and then “fought against the Germans as a partisan in the forest” for eight months — from October 2, 1943, to March 1944. After that, he was “in hiding” in Lvov from March to June 1944.

Wiesenthal tells a totally different story in his 1967 autobiography. He reports there that after escaping from the Ostbahn Repair Works on Oct. 2, 1943, he lived in hiding in the houses of various friends until June 13, 1944, when he was discovered by Polish and German police and returned to a concentration camp. He makes no mention of any partisan membership or activity. [11]

According to both his 1948 interrogation and his 1967 autobiography, he tried to commit suicide on June 15, 1944, by cutting his wrists. Remarkably, though, he was saved from death by German SS doctors and recovered in an SS hospital. [12] He remained in the Lvov concentration camp “with double rations” for a time, and then, he reports in his autobiography, he was transferred to various work camps. He spent the remaining chaotic months, until the end of the war, in different camps until he was liberated from Mauthausen (in Austria) by American forces on May 5, 1945. [13]

Did Wiesenthal invent a past as a heroic wartime partisan? Or did he later try to suppress his record as a Communist fighter? Or is the true story altogether different — and too shameful to

admit?

'Nazi agent'?

Did Wiesenthal voluntarily work for his wartime oppressors? That's the accusation leveled by Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, himself of Jewish ancestry and leader for many years of his country's Socialist Party. During an interview with foreign journalists in 1975, Kreisky charged Wiesenthal with using "Mafia methods," rejected his pretense of "moral authority," and suggested that he was an agent for the German authorities. Some of his more pertinent remarks, which appeared in Austria's leading news magazine *Profil*, include: ^[14]

I really know Mr. Wiesenthal only from secret reports, and they are bad, very nasty. I say this as Federal Chancellor ... And I say that Mr. Wiesenthal had a different relationship with the Gestapo than I did. Yes, and this can be proven. I can't say more [now]. Everything else, I'll say in court.

My relationship with the Gestapo is unambiguous. I was their prisoner, their inmate, and I was interrogated. His relationship was a different one, I can say, and this will come out clearly. It's bad enough what I've already said here. But he can't clear himself by charging me with defaming his honor in the press, as he might wish. It's not that simple, because that would mean a big court case ... A man like this doesn't have the right to pretend to be a moral authority. That's what I say. He doesn't have the right ...

Whether a man who, in my view, is an agent, yes, that's right, and who uses Mafia methods ... Such a man has to go ...

He is no gentleman, and I would say, to make this clear, so that he won't become a moral authority, because he is not ... He shouldn't pretend to be a moral authority ...

I say that Mr. Wiesenthal lived in that time in the Nazi sphere of influence without being persecuted. Right? And he lived openly without being persecuted, right? Is that clear? And you perhaps know, if you know what was going on, that no one could risk that.

He wasn't a "submarine" ... that is, submerged and in hiding, but instead, he was completely in the open without having to, well, ever risk persecution. I think that's enough. There were so many opportunities to be an agent. He didn't have to be a Gestapo agent. There were many other services.

In response to these damning words, Wiesenthal began efforts to bring a lawsuit against the Chancellor. Eventually, though, both Wiesenthal and Kreisky backed away from a major legal clash.

Mauthausen myths

Before he became famous as a "Nazi hunter," he made a name for himself as a propagandist. In 1946 Wiesenthal published *KZ Mauthausen*, an 85-page work that consists mainly of his own amateurish sketches purporting to represent the horrors of the Mauthausen concentration camp. One drawing depicts three inmates who had been bound to posts and brutally put to death by the Germans. ^[15]

The sketch is completely phony. It was copied — with some minor alterations — from photographs that appeared in Life magazine in 1945, which graphically record the firing-squad execution in December 1944 of three German soldiers who had been caught operating as spies behind the lines during the “Battle of the Bulge.” [16] The source of the Wiesenthal drawing is instantly obvious to anyone who compares it with the Life photos. [17]

The irresponsible character of this book is also shown by Wiesenthal’s extensive citation therein of the supposed “death bed confession” of Mauthausen Commandant Franz Ziereis, according to which four million were gassed to death with carbon monoxide at the nearby Hartheim satellite camp. [18] This claim is totally absurd, and no serious Holocaust historian still accepts it. [19] Also according to the Ziereis “confession” cited by Wiesenthal, the Germans supposedly killed another ten million people in Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. [20] In fact, this fraudulent “confession” was obtained by torture. [21]

Years later, Wiesenthal was still lying about Mauthausen. In a 1983 interview with the daily newspaper USA Today, he said of his experience in Mauthausen: “I was one of 34 prisoners alive out of 150,000 who had been put there.” [22] This is a blatant falsehood. The years have apparently not been kind to Wiesenthal’s memory, because in his own autobiography he wrote that “almost 3,000 prisoners died in Mauthausen after the Americans liberated us on May 5, 1945.” [23] Another former inmate, Evelyn Le Chene, reported in her standard work about Mauthausen that there were 64,000 inmates in the camp when it was liberated in May 1945. [24] And according to the Encyclopaedia Judaica, at least 212,000 inmates survived internment in the Mauthausen camp complex. [25]

After the war Wiesenthal worked for the US Office of Strategic Services (the forerunner of the CIA) and the US Army’s Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC). He was also vice chairman of the Jewish Central Committee in the US occupation zone of Austria. [26]

'Human soap'

Wiesenthal has given circulation and credence to one of the most scurrilous Holocaust stories, the charge that the Germans manufactured soap from the corpses of murdered Jews. According to this tale, the letters “RIF” in bars of German-made soap allegedly stood for “Pure Jewish Fat” (“Rein judisches Fett”). In reality, the initials stood for “National Center for Industrial Fat Provisioning” (“Reichsstelle für industrielle Fettversorgung”). [27]

Wiesenthal promoted the “human soap” legend in articles published in 1946 in the Austrian Jewish community paper Der Neue Weg (“The New Path”). In an article entitled “RIF,” he wrote: “The terrible words 'transport for soap' were first heard at the end of 1942. It was in the [Polish] General Government, and the factory was in Galicia, in Belzec. From April 1942 until May 1943, 900,000 Jews were used as raw material in this factory.” After the corpses were turned into various raw materials, Wiesenthal wrote, “The rest, the residual fat stuff, was used for soap production.”

He continued: “After 1942 people in the General Government knew quite well what the RIF soap meant. The civilized world may not believe the joy with which the Nazis and their women in the General Government thought of this soap. In each piece of soap they saw a Jew who had been magically put there, and had thus been prevented from growing into a second Freud, Ehrlich or Einstein.” [28]

In another imaginative article published in 1946 entitled “Belzec Soap Factory,” Wiesenthal alleged that masses of Jews were exterminated in electrocution showers: [29]

The people, pressed together and driven on by the SS, Latvians and Ukrainians, go through the open door into the “bath.” Five hundred persons could fit at a time. The floor of the “bath chamber” was made of metal and shower heads hung from the ceiling. When the room was full, the SS turned on the 5,000 volts of electric current in the metal plate. At the same time water poured from the shower heads. A short scream and the execution was over. An SS chief physician named Schmidt determined through a peep hole that the victims were dead. The second door was opened and the “corpse commando” came in and quickly removed the dead. It was ready for the next 500.

Today no serious historian accepts the stories that Jewish corpses were manufactured into bars of soap or that Jews were electrocuted to death at Belzec (or anywhere).

Wiesenthal’s imaginative view of history is not limited to the twentieth century. In his 1973 book *Sails of Hope*, he argued that Christopher Columbus was a secret Jew, and that his famous voyage to the western hemisphere in 1492 was actually a search for a new homeland for Europe’s Jews. [30]

Wiesenthal is not always wrong, of course. In 1975 and again in 1993 he publicly acknowledged that “there were no extermination camps on German soil.” [31] He thus implicitly conceded that the claims made at the postwar Nuremberg Tribunal and elsewhere that Buchenwald, Dachau and other camps in Germany proper were “extermination camps” are not true.

'Fabrications' about Eichmann

In more than 40 years of “Nazi hunting,” Wiesenthal’s role in locating and capturing Adolf Eichmann is often considered his greatest achievement. [32] (Eichmann headed the wartime SS Jewish affairs department. He was kidnapped by Israeli agents in Argentina in May 1960 and hanged in Jerusalem after a trial that received worldwide media attention.)

But Isser Harel, the Israeli official who headed the team that seized Eichmann, has declared unequivocally that Wiesenthal had “absolutely nothing” to do with the capture. (Harel is a former head of both the Mossad and Shin Bet, Israel’s foreign and domestic security agencies.) [33]

Wiesenthal not only “had no role whatsoever” in the apprehension, said Harel, but in fact he endangered the entire Eichmann operation. In a 278-page manuscript, Harel carefully refuted every claim by Wiesenthal about his supposed role in identifying and capturing Eichmann. Claims by Wiesenthal and his many friends about his supposedly crucial role in capturing the former SS officer, said Harel, have no foundation in fact. Many specific assertions and incidents described in two books by Wiesenthal, said the Israeli official, are “complete fabrications.” [34]

“Wiesenthal’s reports and statements at that period prove beyond any doubt that he had no notion of Eichmann’s whereabouts,” said Harel. [35] (For example, just before Eichmann’s capture in Argentina, Wiesenthal was placing him in Japan and Saudi Arabia.) [36]

Characterizing Wiesenthal as a rank opportunist, Harel summed up: “All the information supplied by Wiesenthal before and in anticipation of the [Eichmann] operation was utterly worthless, and sometimes even misleading and of negative value.” [37]

Reckless charges in Walus case

One of Wiesenthal's most spectacular cases involved a Polish-born Chicago man named Frank Walus. In a letter dated December 10, 1974, he charged that Walus "delivered Jews to the Gestapo" in Czestochowa and Kielce in Poland during the war. This letter prompted a US government investigation and legal action. [38] The Washington Post dealt with the case in a 1981 article entitled "The Nazi Who Never Was: How a witch hunt by judge, press and investigators branded an innocent man a war criminal." The lengthy piece, which was copyrighted by the American Bar Association, reported: [39]

In January 1977, the United States government accused a Chicagoan named Frank Walus of having committed atrocities in Poland during World War II.

In the following years, this retired factory worker went into debt in order to raise more than \$60,000 to defend himself. He sat in a courtroom while eleven Jewish survivors of the Nazi occupation of Poland testified that they saw him murder children, an old woman, a young woman, a hunchback and others ...

Overwhelming evidence shows that Walus was not a Nazi War criminal, that he was not even in Poland during World War II.

... In an atmosphere of hatred and loathing verging on hysteria, the government persecuted an innocent man. In 1974, Simon Wiesenthal, the famous "Nazi hunter" of Vienna, denounced Walus as "a Pole in Chicago who performed duties with the Gestapo in the ghettos of Czestochowa and Kielce and handed over a number of Jews to the Gestapo."

The Chicago weekly newspaper Reader also reported on the case in a detailed 1981 article headlined: "The Persecution of Frank Walus: To Catch a Nazi: The U.S. government wanted a war criminal. So, with the help of Simon Wiesenthal, the Israeli police, the local press and Judge Julius Hoffman, they invented one." [40] The article stated:

... It is logical to assume that the "reports received by Wiesenthal [against Walus] actually were rumors... In other words, Simon Wiesenthal had no evidence against Walus. He denounced him anyway.

While [Judge] Hoffman had the Walus case under advisement, Holocaust aired on television. During the same period, in April 1978, Simon Wiesenthal came to Chicago, where he gave interviews taking credit for the Walus case. "How Nazi-Hunter Helped Find Walus," was the Sun-Times headline on a story by Bob Olmstead. Wiesenthal told Sun-Times Abe Peck that he "has never had a case of mistaken identity." "I know there are thousands of people who wait for my mistake," he said.

It was only after an exhausting legal battle that the man who was vilified and physically attacked as "the butcher of Kielce" was finally able to prove that he had spent the war years as a peaceful farm laborer in Germany. Frank Walus died in August 1994, a broken and bitterly disappointed man, man.

Wiesenthal's recklessness in the Walus case should have been enough to permanently discredit him as a reliable investigator. But his Teflon reputation survived even this.

Wrong about Mengele

Much of the Wiesenthal myth is based on his hunt for Joseph Mengele, the wartime physician at Auschwitz known as the “Angel of Death.” Time and time again, Wiesenthal claimed to be close on Mengele’s heels. Wiesenthal reported that his informants had “seen” or “just missed” the elusive physician in Peru, Chile, Brazil, Spain, Greece, and half a dozen locations in Paraguay. [41]

One of the closest shaves came in the summer of 1960. Wiesenthal reported that Mengele had been hiding out on a small Greek island, from where he escaped by just a few hours. Wiesenthal continued to peddle this story, complete with precise details, even after a reporter whom he had hired to check it out informed him that the tale was false from beginning to end. [42]

According to another Wiesenthal report, Mengele arranged for the murder in 1960 of one of his former victims, a woman he had supposedly sterilized in Auschwitz. After spotting her, and her distinctive camp tattoo, at a hotel in Argentina where he was staying, Mengele allegedly arranged to have her killed because he feared that she would expose him. It turned out that the woman was never in a concentration camp, had no tattoo, had never met Mengele, and her death was a simple mountaineering accident. [43]

Mengele regularly dined at the finest restaurants in Asuncion, the Paraguayan capital, Wiesenthal said in 1977, and supposedly drove around the city with a bevy of armed guards in his black Mercedes Benz. [44]

Wiesenthal announced in 1985 that he was “100 percent sure” that Mengele had been hiding out in Paraguay until at least June 1984, and charged that the Mengele family in Germany knew exactly where. As it turned out, Wiesenthal was completely wrong. It was later definitively established that Mengele had died in 1979 in Brazil, where he had been living for years in anonymous poverty. [45]

Israel’s ambassador to Paraguay from 1968 to 1972, Benjamin (Benno) Varon, remarked in 1983 on the Mengele campaign: “Wiesenthal makes periodic statements that he is about to catch him, perhaps since Wiesenthal must raise funds for his activities and the name Mengele is always good for a plug.” Wiesenthal “failed miserably” in the Mengele case, the diplomat said on another occasion. [46] In the Mengele case, former Mossad chief Harel remarked, “Wiesenthal’s folly borders on the criminal.” [47]

In truth, the bulging Mengele file in Wiesenthal’s Vienna “Documentation Center” was such a jumble of useless information that, in the words of the London Times, it “only sustained his self-confirmatory myths and gave scant satisfaction to those who apparently needed a definitive answer to Mengele’s fate.” [48]

In the considered view of Gerald Posner and John Ware, coauthors of *Mengele: The Complete Story*, Wiesenthal spent years assiduously cultivating a mythical “self-image of a tireless, dogged sleuth, pitted against the omnipotent and sinister might of Mengele and a vast Nazi network.” Because of his “knack of playing to the gallery,” Posner and Ware concluded, Wiesenthal “ultimately compromised his credibility.” [49]

'Incompetence and arrogance'

Eli Rosenbaum, an official with the US government’s “Nazi hunting” Office of Special Investigations and an investigator for the World Jewish Congress, took aim at Wiesenthal’s carefully cultivated “Nazi hunter” reputation in a detailed 1993 book, *Betrayal*. [50] For example, Rosen-

baum mentioned, Wiesenthal “had all these reports placing Mengele in almost every country in Latin America except the one he was in — namely, Brazil.” [51]

Wiesenthal, wrote Rosenbaum, has been a “pathetically ineffective” investigator who had “gone far beyond the buffoonery and false boasts in prior years.” Much of his illustrious career, Rosenbaum said, has been characterized by “incompetence and arrogance.” [52]

Bruno Kreisky once summed up his attitude towards the “Nazi hunter” in these words: [53]

The engineer Wiesenthal, or whatever else his title is, hates me because he knows that I despise his activity. The Wiesenthal group is a quasi-political Mafia that works against Austria with disgraceful methods. Wiesenthal is known as someone who isn't very careful about the truth, who is not very selective about his methods and who uses tricks. He pretends to be the “Eichmann hunter,” even though everyone knows that this was the work of a secret service, and that Wiesenthal only takes credit for that.

'Commercializing' the Holocaust

The Los Angeles Wiesenthal Center pays the Vienna “Nazi Hunter” \$75,000 a year for the use of his name, the director of Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center said in 1988.

Both the Center and Wiesenthal “commercialize” and “trivialize” the Holocaust, the director added.

Wiesenthal “threw out” the figure of “11 million who were murdered in the Holocaust — six million Jews and five million non-Jews,” said the Yad Vashem official. When asked why he gave these figures, Wiesenthal replied: “The gentiles will not pay attention if we do not mention their victims, too.” Wiesenthal “chose 'five million (gentiles)' because he wanted a 'diplomatic' number, one that told of a large number of gentile victims but in no way was larger than that of Jews ...” [54]

“What Wiesenthal and the Los Angeles Center that bears his name do is to trivialize the Holocaust,” commented The Jewish Press, a weekly that claims to be the largest-circulation English-language Jewish community paper in America.

In recent years Wiesenthal has been concerned about the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism. In “A Message from Simon Wiesenthal” published by the Center that bears his name, he said: “Today, when I see the rise of antisemitism here in Europe ... the popularity of Le Pen, of David Duke, of the Holocaust revisionists, then I am convinced more than ever about the need for our new [Wiesenthal Center] Beit Hashoah-Museum of Tolerance” in Los Angeles. [55]

Wiesenthal is often asked why he does not forgive those who persecuted Jews half a century ago. His stock answer is that although he has the right to forgive for himself, he does not have the right to forgive on behalf of others. [56] On the basis of this sophistical logic, though, neither does he have the right to accuse and track down anyone in the name of others. Wiesenthal has never confined his “hunt” to those who victimized him personally.

'Driven by hatred'

It is difficult to say just what drives this remarkable man. Is it a craving for fame and praise? Or is he trying to live down a shameful episode from his past?

Wiesenthal clearly enjoys the praise he receives. "He is a man of considerable ego, proud of testimonials and honorary degrees," the Los Angeles Times has reported. [57] Bruno Kreisky has given a simpler explanation. He said that Wiesenthal is "driven by hatred." [58]

In light of his well-documented record of deceit, lies and incompetence, the extravagant praise heaped upon this contemptible man is a sorry reflection of the venal corruptibility and unprincipled self-deception of our age.

Notes

1. ☞ Quoted in: M. Weber, "Nazi Hunter' Caught Lying," *The Spotlight* (Washington, DC), Oct. 26, 1981, p. 9.
2. ☞ Interrogation of S. Wiesenthal on May 27 and 28, 1948, conducted by Curt Ponger of the Interrogation Branch of the Evidence Division of the Office (U.S.) Chief of Counsel for War Crimes. Interrogation No. 2820. On file at the National Archives (Washington, DC), "Records of the U.S. Nürnberg War Crimes Trials Interrogations, 1946-49," Record Group 238, microfilm M-1019, roll 79, frames 460-469 and 470-476. Also cited in: "New Documents Raise New Doubts About Simon Wiesenthal's War Years," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 489-503.
3. ☞ PCIRO (International Refugee Organization, Austria) "Application for Assistance" filled out and signed by Wiesenthal. Dated Jan. 16, 1949. (This was a trial exhibit in the Walus court case. Photocopy in author's possession.)
4. ☞ Simon Wiesenthal, *The Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Memoirs*. Edited by Joseph Wechsberg. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967)
5. ☞ Interrogation of S. Wiesenthal, May 27, 1948, pp. 1-2.
6. ☞ *The Murderers Among Us*, p. 27.
7. ☞ *The Murderers Among Us*, pp. 29-35. This account is not inconsistent with his 1948 and 1949 statements; See also: Simon Wiesenthal, *Justice Not Vengeance* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld: 1989), pp. 7-9.
8. ☞ Interrogation of May 27, 1948, p. 2. In a signed 1945 statement, Wiesenthal wrote: "... I escaped on October 18, 1943, from the Lemberg [Lvov] hard labor camp where I was kept as a prisoner during my two years of labor at the railroad works... and went into hiding until joining Jewish partisans on November 21, 1943, who operated there. It was while fighting in the partisan ranks against the Nazis that we managed to collect and bury for safe-keeping considerable amount of evidence... When the partisans were dispersed by the Germans I fled to Lemberg on February 10, 1944, and again went into hiding. On June 13, 1944, I was found during a house to house search and was immediately sent to the famous Lacki camp, near that city ..." Source: "Curriculum Vitae of Ing. Wiesenthal, Szymon." SHAEF, Subject: War Crimes, July 6, 1945. Records of USAEUR, War Crimes Branch, National Archives (Suitland, Maryland), Records Group 338, Box 534, Folder 000-50-59.
9. ☞ Wiesenthal's alleged partisans activities are also recounted in Alan Levy, *The Wiesenthal File* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), pp. 50-53.
10. ☞ Interrogation of May 28, 1948, pp. 1-2.
11. ☞ Interrogation of May 28, 1948, p. 5.
12. ☞ *The Murderers Among Us*, pp. 35-37.

13. ☞ The Murderers Among Us, pp. 37-38; Interrogation, May 27, 1948, p. 2, and May 28, 1948, p. 5; A. Levy, *The Wiesenthal File* (1994), p. 54.
14. ☞ The Murderers Among Us, pp. 39-44; Interrogation, May 27, 1948, pp. 2-3.
15. ☞ Interview with foreign journalists in Vienna, Nov. 10, 1975. Text published in: "War Wiesenthal ein Gestapo-Kollaborateur?," *Profil* (Vienna), No. 47, Nov. 18, 1975, pp. 16, 22-23; Reprinted in: Robert H. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* (Vienna: 1982), pp. 215-218, 222-223; Quoted in part in A. Levy, *The Wiesenthal File* (1994), p. 349, and in, S. Wiesenthal, *Justice Not Vengeance* (New York: 1989), pp. 7, 299. Kreisky was not alone in charging that Wiesenthal had collaborated with the German Gestapo. Wim Van Leer, columnist for the English-language daily *Jerusalem Post*, stated in May 1986 that a high-level police official in Vienna, citing confidential police records, had told him during the early 1960s that these and other charges against Wiesenthal were true. Source: J. Bushinsky, "Nazi hunter sues over charges of links to Gestapo," *Chicago Sun-Times*, Jan. 31, 1987.
16. ☞ Simon Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen* (Linz and Vienna: Ibis-Verlag, 1946). Facsimile reprint in: Robert H. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* (Vienna: 1982), p. 64.
17. ☞ "Firing Squad," *Life* magazine, US edition, June 11, 1945, p. 50.
18. ☞ M. Weber and K. Stimely, "The Sleight-of-Hand of Simon Wiesenthal," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984 (Vol. 5, No. 1), pp. 120-122; *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), May 21, 1993, p. 3.
19. ☞ S. Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen* (1946). See also facsimile reprint in: Robert H. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* (Vienna: 1982), pp. 42, 46. This "confession" is a somewhat altered version of Nuremberg document NO-1973; A new edition of Wiesenthal's 1946 book has been published under the title *Denn sie Wussten, was sie tun: Zeichnungen und Aufzeichnungen aus dem KZ Mauthausen* (Vienna: F. Deuticke, 1995). I am grateful to Robert Faurisson for bringing this to my attention. He points out in a July 1995 essay that Wiesenthal has deleted from this new edition both the "death bed confession" of Ziareis as well as his drawing of the three Mauthausen inmates.
20. ☞ According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* ("Mauthausen," Vol. 11, p. 1138), a grand total of 206,000 persons were inmates of Mauthausen and its satellite camps (including Hartheim) at one time or another.
21. ☞ S. Wiesenthal, *KZ Mauthausen* (1946). Facsimile reprint in: R. Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation*, p. 47.
22. ☞ R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, pp. 330, 361. See also: Hans Fritzsche, *The Sword in the Scales* (London: 1953), p. 185; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere, pb., 1971), p. 515; M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992 (Vol. 12, No. 2), p. 182.
23. ☞ *USA Today*, April 21, 1983, p. 9A.
24. ☞ The Murderers Among Us, p. 44.
25. ☞ Evelyn Le Chene, *Mauthausen: The History of a Death Camp* (London: 1971), pp. 166-168 and 190-191.
26. ☞ "Mauthausen," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York and Jerusalem: 1971), vol. 11, p. 1138.
27. ☞ C. Moritz, ed., *Current Biography* 1975 (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1975), p. 442; Wiesenthal interrogation of May 27, 1948, p. 3.
28. ☞ Mark Weber, "Jewish Soap," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 217-227; See also: Robert Faurisson, "La savon juif," *Annales d'Histoire Revisionniste* (Paris), No. 1, Printemps 1987, pp. 153-159.

29. [U](#) Der Neue Weg (Vienna), No. 17/18, 1946, pp. 4-5. Article entitled "RIF" by "Ing. Wiesenth." (Simon Wiesenthal).
30. [U](#) Der Neue Weg (Vienna), Nr. 19/20, 1946, pp. 14-15. Article entitled "Seifenfabrik Belsetz" ("Belzec Soap Factory"), by "Ing. S.Wiesenth."
31. [U](#) S. Wiesenthal, Sails of Hope (Macmillan, 1973).
32. [U](#) Letters by Wiesenthal in Books and Bookmen (London), April 1975, p. 5, and in Stars and Stripes (European edition), Jan. 24, 1993, p. 14. Facsimile of Stars and Stripes letter in The Journal of Historical Review, May-June 1993, p. 10; In 1986 Wiesenthal lied about his 1975 statement. In a letter dated May 12, 1986, to Prof. John George of Central State University in Edmond, Oklahoma (copy in author's possession), Wiesenthal wrote: "I have never stated that 'there were no extermination camps on German soil.' This quote is false, I could never have said such a thing."
33. [U](#) For example, in a letter (dated Sept. 13, 1993), published in The New York Times, Sept. 29, 1993, Wiesenthal boasted: "I succeeded in putting a number of Nazis on trial who had perpetrated horrendous crimes in the Nazi era, including Adolf Eichmann, Franz Stangl, Gustav Wagner..."
34. [U](#) S. Birnbaum, "Wiesenthal's Claim on Eichmann Disputed by Former Mossad Head," Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin (New York), April 4, 1989. (Dispatch dated April 3).
35. [U](#) J. Schachter, "Wiesenthal had no role in Eichmann capture," The Jerusalem Post, May 18, 1991. Facsimile reprint in Christian News, May 27, 1991, p. 19. See also: Ruth Sinai, "Wiesenthal's role in Eichmann's capture disputed," Associated Press, The Orange County Register, Feb. 25, 1990, p. A 26; L. Lagnado, "How Simon Wiesenthal Helped a Secret Nazi," Forward (New York), Sept. 24, 1993, pp. 1, 3.
36. [U](#) J. Schachter, The Jerusalem Post, May 18, 1991 (cited above). Facsimile in Christian News, May 27, 1991, p. 19.
37. [U](#) Arnold Forster, Square One (New York: 1988), pp. 187-189. (Forster was general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League, a major Zionist organization.)
38. [U](#) J. Goldberg, "Top Spy Says Wiesenthal Lied About His Exploits," Forward (New York), Nov. 12, 1993, pp. 1, 4; R. Sinai, "Wiesenthal's role...", The Orange County Register, Feb. 25, 1990 (cited above).
39. [U](#) Michael Arndt, "The Wrong Man," The Chicago Tribune Magazine, Dec. 2, 1984, pp. 15-35, esp. p. 23; Charles Ashman and Robert J. Wagman, The Nazi Hunters (New York: Pharos Books, 1988), pp. 193-195.
40. [U](#) "The Nazi Who Never Was," The Washington Post, May 10, 1981, pp. B5, B8.
41. [U](#) "The Persecution of Frank Walus," Reader (Chicago), Jan. 23, 1981, pp. 19, 30. After Wiesenthal was ultimately proven wrong in a similar case in Canada, the Toronto Sun newspaper commented in an editorial: "It seems that material provided by professional Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal is wrong, but repeated anyway [in the media]." (Quoted by M. Weber in The Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1984, pp. 120-122.)
42. [U](#) Gerald L. Posner and John Ware, Mengele: The Complete Story (New York: Dell, 1987), pp. 220-221; Gerald Astor, The 'Last' Nazi: The Life and Times of Dr. Joseph Mengele (Toronto: Paperjacks, 1986), p. 202.
43. [U](#) G. Posner and J. Ware, Mengele: The Complete Story (cited above), p. 220.
44. [U](#) G. Posner and J. Ware, Mengele (cited above), pp. 179-180; G. Astor, The 'Last' Nazi (cited above), pp. 178-180.
45. [U](#) Time magazine, Sept. 26, 1977, pp. 36-38. Cited in: G. Posner and J. Ware, Mengele (cited above), p. 219.

46. ☐ "Hunting the 'Angel of Death'," *Newsweek*, May 20, 1985, pp. 36-38. See also: M. Weber, "Lessons of the Mengele Affair," *Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1985 (Vol. 6, No. 3), p. 382. On Wiesenthal's distortion of truth in the Mermelstein-IHR case, see: M. Weber, "Declaration," *Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1982 (Vol. 3, No. 1), pp. 42-43; M. Weber, "Albert Speer and the 'Holocaust,'" *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1984 (Vol. 5, Nos. 2-4), p. 439.
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48. ☐ J. Schachter, "Wiesenthal had no role in Eichmann capture," *The Jerusalem Post*, May 18, 1991. Facsimile reprint in *Christian News*, May 27, 1991, p. 19.
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54. ☐ "Was hat Wiesenthal zu verbergen?," *D. National-Zeitung* (Munich), Nov. 11, 1988, p. 4.
55. ☐ David Sinai, "News We Doubt You've Seen," *The Jewish Press* (Brooklyn, NY), Dec. 23, 1988. Based on report in the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, Dec. 16, 1988.
56. ☐ "A Message from Simon Wiesenthal," *Response: The Wiesenthal Center World Report*, Winter 1992, p. 11.
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58. ☐ Quoted in: M. Weber, *The Spotlight*, Oct. 26, 1981, p. 9.
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This is a revised and updated version of an article that first appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1989-90 (Volume 9, number 4), pages 439-452.

The Journal of Historical Review

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The Liberation of the Camps: Facts vs. Lies

by Theodore J. O’Keefe

[A revised and updated version of this article is [available here](#) in leaflet form.]

The Journal of Historical Review

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Record and mission of the Institute for Historical Review

Founded in 1978, the Institute for Historical Review is a not-for-profit research, educational and publishing center devoted to truth and accuracy in history. The IHR continues the tradition of historical revisionism pioneered by distinguished historians such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. P. Taylor, Charles Tansill, Paul Rassinier and William H. Chamberlin.

The Institute's purpose is, in the words of Barnes, to "bring history into accord with the facts." The IHR is at the center of a worldwide network of scholars and activists who are working — sometimes at great personal sacrifice — to separate historical fact from propaganda fiction by researching and publicizing suppressed facts about key chapters of history, especially twentieth century history, that have social-political relevance today.

The Institute's offices are located in Orange County, southern California. Its work is funded through sales of books and cassette tapes, subscriptions to its Journal of Historical Review, and donations from supporters around the world. In its day-to-day operations, the IHR employs its modest financial resources very cost-effectively. For every dollar it spends, the IHR's adversaries spend a hundred.

Legally, the Institute operates as an entity of the "Legion for the Survival of Freedom" (LSF), a non-profit corporation founded in 1952 and controlled by a board of directors.

With growing support from across the United States and many foreign countries, the IHR works to bring sanity to America's foreign policy, to liberate people from pseudo-religious intimidation, and for the First Amendment right of free speech. The IHR also works to tear down barriers to international peace and understanding by encouraging greater awareness of the root causes, nature and consequences of war. Nowhere is this work more important than here in the United States, where untold billions of dollars have been squandered in preparation for pointless wars and conflicts.

For Peace And Understanding

Bitter experience has taught us just how little we can trust politicians and governments, especially during wartime when official and semi-official propagandists are most busy deceiving the public. As American historian Harry Elmer Barnes put it: "Truth is always the first war casualty. The emotional disturbances and distortions in historical writing are greatest in wartime."

Powerful interests — including politicians and the major media — distort the historical record for self-serving reasons. Textbooks, motion pictures and television routinely present history in a slanted and partisan way. As George Orwell aptly noted in his classic *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past."

As shrewd observers have long understood, history is written by the victors. This is particularly true with regard to the history of the Second World War. Routinely the origins and nature of that catastrophic conflict are deceitfully portrayed as a simplistic struggle between good and evil.

Americans have been misled into one costly, devastating, and needless war after another. During the Vietnam and 1991 Gulf Wars, for example, government officials and much of the media lied to and deceived the American people to justify needless slaughter and devastation.

In seeking to replace ideologically-driven and emotion-charged portrayals with truth and fact, the Institute promotes historical awareness, understanding and mutual respect among nations. Artificially maintaining the hatreds and passions of the past prevents genuine reconciliation and lasting peace. As Barnes emphasized, historical revisionism is the key to just and lasting peace.

An awareness of real history provides understanding about the great issues of the present and the future. The work of the IHR in “blasting the historical blackout” (Barnes) is all the more relevant in this final decade of the twentieth century, as the political-economic order imposed by the victorious powers of the Second World War breaks apart — and along with it a distorted and one-sided historical perspective.

In a world often saturated with historical lies and self-serving propaganda, the Institute for Historical Review stands as a precious beacon.

Growing Impact

Defying powerful adversaries, the Institute’s impact continues to grow. While media coverage of the IHR is often hostile, the Institute and its work have been receiving more widespread and respectful attention. The IHR is now grudgingly accepted as an established part of the American social-cultural landscape.

For example, millions of Americans were introduced to the Institute through the March 20, 1994, broadcast of CBS’s “60 Minutes,” one of the country’s most widely viewed television shows. The IHR Journal was also introduced, and the front cover of the Nov.-Dec. 1993 issue was shown on screen. The IHR has been cited in major newspapers and magazines, including Time, Vanity Fair, The New Yorker, The Wall Street Journal, the New York Times, and the Los Angeles Times. Institute spokesmen have been heard and seen on numerous radio and television appearances.

Moreover, steadily growing numbers of scholars and educated lay persons — across the United States, throughout Europe, and in Asia, Latin America and the Middle East — support the work of the IHR.

The Holocaust Issue

Even though IHR books and IHR Journal articles have consistently dealt with a broad range of historical topics, certainly the best-known and most controversial aspect of the Institute’s work has been its treatment of the Holocaust issue. For example, the Los Angeles Times (May 15, 1994) describes the IHR as a “revisionist think tank that critics call the 'spine of the international Holocaust denial movement'.”

Although the Institute does not “deny the Holocaust,” over the years it has published detailed books and numerous probing essays that call into question aspects of the orthodox Holocaust ex-

termination story. IHR publications have devoted considerable attention to this issue because it plays such an enormously significant role in the cultural and political life of America and much of the world.

'Holocaust Denial'

In their efforts to discredit and marginalize it, opponents routinely mischaracterize the Institute as a “Holocaust denial” organization. This smear is completely at variance with the facts.

If the revisionist view of the Holocaust were really as simplistic and indefensible as some insist, it would not have gained the support of university professors such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, historians such as David Irving and Harry Elmer Barnes, former concentration camp inmates such as Paul Rassinier, and American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter. These individuals did not decide publicly to reject the orthodox Holocaust story — thereby risking public censure, and worse — because they are fools, or because their motives are evil, but rather on the basis of a sincere and thoughtful evaluation of the evidence.

Bigoted Attacks

Occasionally the Institute is denounced as a racist or fascist “hate group.” This too is a baseless smear. Since its founding the IHR has steadfastly opposed bigotry of all kinds in its efforts to promote greater public understanding of history. It does not seek to whitewash any past regime or rehabilitate any ideology. The IHR is proud of the backing it has earned from people of the most diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Far from being a fomenter of hate, the Institute has been a target of hate groups. During the 1980s, the Jewish Defense League — identified by the FBI in 1985 as the second most active terrorist group in the United States — repeatedly assaulted Institute offices and staff members. Following numerous death threats by telephone and mail, extensive property damage, five relatively minor fire bombings, one drive-by shooting and two physical assaults, the Institute’s office-warehouse was destroyed in an arson attack on July 4, 1984. Estimated property loss was more than \$400,000, including tens of thousands of books, rare documents, irreplaceable files and expensive office equipment.

In addition, well-financed special interest groups seeking to curtail open discussion of vital historical issues have for years targeted the Institute, grossly misrepresenting its work and purpose. Prominent among these are the Simon Wiesenthal Center (Los Angeles) and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (New York) — stridently partisan organizations with well documented records as staunch apologists for narrow Zionist-Jewish interests.

Along with the Institute’s growing impact has come, inevitably, ever more frantic attacks from intolerant enemies. As the IHR’s influence grows, and as the great social-cultural struggle of the Western world intensifies, so also does the fury and desperation of its adversaries.

Books

A major task of the Institute is the publication of solid works of history. It brings long-neglected revisionist classics back into print, and breaks fresh ground with professionally edited and attractively designed first editions of important new works.

Numerous college and university educators have assigned IHR books as required reading in their courses. Most IHR books can be found in major libraries around the world. One title alone has sold more than 50,000 copies. Several IHR titles have been published in foreign-language editions.

In addition to its own titles, the IHR distributes scores of worthwhile books issued by other publishers. More than a hundred solidly researched books and dozens of compelling audio and video tapes are listed in the IHR catalog.

The Journal of Historical Review

The Institute's Journal of Historical Review, says bestselling British historian David Irving, "has an astounding record of fearlessly shattering the icons of those vested interests who hate and fear the truth. That is why I strongly endorse it, and suggest that every intelligent man and woman in America, Britain and the dominions subscribe."

The Journal of Historical Review — the leading periodical of its kind in the world — appears six times yearly in an attractive, handsomely illustrated 48-page magazine format. (Until January 1993, it was published four times yearly in a smaller size format.) More than 60 issues have appeared since it first began publication in 1980.

In addition to individual scholars and discerning lay readers, libraries of leading university and academic centers around the world subscribe, including the libraries of Harvard University, Princeton University, Yale University, Penn State University, Howard University, and the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich.

More than 20 distinguished historians, educators and other scholars are members of the Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee. Journal contributors have included respected scholars from around the world.

Journal articles are frequently reprinted, translated and circulated in many foreign countries. Selected Journal articles (along with IHR leaflets and other IHR materials) are disseminated through the Internet to many tens of thousands around the world.

A Journal reader typically has a keen interest in understanding how and why the world has become what it is today. He is fed up with the recycled wartime propaganda that is passed off as "history." He detests socially destructive lies and bigotry. He wants a sane and healthy future for himself, his family and his country, indeed for all humanity, and realizes that it can be achieved only through an understanding of history based on truth and reality.

Conferences

Since 1979, the IHR has held twelve conferences, presenting speakers from Europe, Asia, and Australia, as well as the United States. IHR conference speakers have included:

- Pulitzer prize-winning American historian John Toland, author of several bestselling works of history.
- Dr. James J. Martin, an American historian with a 25-year career as an educator. Author of several meticulously researched historical studies. Contributor to the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

- British historian David Irving, perhaps the most widely read historian in the English-speaking world. Author of numerous bestselling works.
- Fred Leuchter, America's foremost expert on execution hardware. Author of a widely discussed forensic report on the alleged extermination "gas chambers" at Auschwitz.
- Hideo Miki, retired professor at Japan's National Defense Academy and retired Lieutenant General of Japan's Self-Defense Forces.
- John Bennett, noted Australian civil liberties attorney and activist, and president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union.

IHR Conference addresses are recorded and made available on audio and video cassette.

Other Activities

Hundreds of thousands of leaflets from our popular introductory series have been sold and distributed. A speakers' bureau makes IHR speakers available for meetings. Depending on availability of financial resources, the IHR also helps fund primary scholarly research of critical historical issues.

Charges Dropped Against Engineer for Scholarly Report Disputing Gassing Claims

Free Speech Struggle Continues in Austria

In Austria, as in other European countries, the struggle for freedom of expression and historical truth continues — with victories as well as setbacks.

In March 1992, a prominent Austrian engineer made headlines because he had written a detailed essay, “Holocaust: Belief and Facts,” that rejects key elements of the Holocaust gas chamber story.

In his essay Walter Lüftl presents detailed technical arguments to support his conclusion that the well-known stories of mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers at the wartime camps of Auschwitz and Mauthausen are impossible. Such claims are incompatible with the laws of nature, explains Lüftl, a court-recognized expert engineer who heads a major engineering firm in Vienna.

Often-repeated allegations of Jews being gassed with Zyklon B or with diesel engine exhaust (at Treblinka, for instance) could not possibly have taken place as some “eyewitnesses” claim, concludes Lüftl. Similarly absurd, he writes, are often-heard stories about flames “shooting” from crematory chimneys at Auschwitz-Birkenau. In fact, crematory chimneys simply do not produce flames of any kind. ([The complete text of the “Lüftl Report”](#) was published, in English translation, in the Winter 1992-93 Journal of Historical Review.)

Newspapers both inside and outside Austria lost no time assailing the engineer. Typical was a sarcastic attack by a Holocaust survivor named Koenig in the Israeli daily Jerusalem Post. Without actually seeing it himself, Koenig castigated the report of “Walter Luftel” as “disgusting and abhorrent.” In refutation, Koenig did offer one bit of documentary evidence: “a photograph of an invoice sent by the Degesch Co. of Frankfurt to Herr Obersturmführer Kurt Gerstein in Berlin.” (This well-known invoice simply confirms delivery of Zyklon B, a widely used disinfection agent.)

In the wake of such public attacks, Lüftl was obliged to resign as president of Austria’s 4,000-member association of professional engineers. In April 1992 he was charged with violating the section of Austria’s criminal code that makes it a crime to “deny, grossly play down, approve of, or seek to justify ... National Socialist genocide or other National Socialist crimes against humanity.” A short time later the charge was amended, and he was accused instead of violating the criminal code section against attempts to revive or restore National Socialism.

In a June 1993 order explaining the amended charge, Vienna’s District Criminal Court declared that Lüftl had attempted, “in a way that appears to be scholarly, to refute important historical facts of the National Socialist killing machinery,” and to make available his report to others

whom “he must have known” would use it “publicly to whitewash and justify the National Socialist killing machinery.”

In Austria “Holocaust denial” is punishable by up to ten years imprisonment. In Germany this crime can bring a punishment of up to five years in prison. Such laws reflect the favored status of Jews in Austria and Germany these days. Comparable laws do not exist to punish persons who “deny” crimes of Soviet Russia, Communist China, Zionist Israel, or any other regime.

As part of its investigation, police raided Lüftl’s residence, turning it inside-out in a search for additional “incriminating” evidence.

Responding to the accusations, Lüftl defended his essay as responsible, serious and scholarly, and pointed out that he did not deny National Socialist crimes as such but dealt only with some technical aspects of “Holocaust” killing methods.

Victory

In June 1994 the case ended with an important victory for the cause of free speech and truth in history. Vienna’s District Criminal Court ordered the termination of legal proceedings against Lüftl.

Austria’s Ministry of Justice acknowledged that it was unable to find evidence to show that Lüftl had written his essay with an intention to promote National Socialism. Authorities affirmed that, on the contrary, he had written his report “for purely scholarly motives.” (In Austria, as in Germany, “scholarly” or “scientific” work is exempt from the laws against “neo-Nazi” or anti-Semitic writings.)

Some people, of course, were disappointed with the outcome. Dropping the case against Lüftl, said the director of the “Document Archives of the Austrian Resistance,” is “a severe setback in fighting Holocaust denial” and a “license for all future Holocaust deniers.” He expressed concern that “in the future the right-wing extremists will spread their National Socialist propaganda under the cover of a scholarly report.”

Confirmation

Lüftl’s report provides further authoritative confirmation of the findings of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, who carried out the first on-site forensic examination of the supposed execution “gas chambers” at Auschwitz-Birkenau, and at other sites. He concluded that the supposed gas chambers at these sites were never used to kill people as alleged, and could not have been used for this purpose. Leuchter testified on his investigation in the 1988 “Holocaust trial” in Toronto of German-Canadian Ernst Zündel, and his “Leuchter Report” has been widely circulated. (For more about Leuchter, his investigation and persecution, as well as the corroborating studies of others, see the [Winter 1992-93 Journal](#).)

More recently, the findings of Lüftl, Leuchter and others have been confirmed by [Germar Rudolf](#), a chemist associated with Germany’s prestigious Max Planck research center. (See the Nov.-Dec. 1994 Journal, pp. 14-15.) A detailed report about the Lüftl case appears in *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, a valuable 400-page large-format anthology. (For more about this work, see the May-June 1995 Journal, p. 43).

While Walter Lüftl's legal troubles appear to be over, this case is not. A one-page report about the engineer's essay and travails in the Austrian magazine *Aula* (July-Aug. 1994) brought swift legal action. As a result of this article, headlined "Laws of Nature are Valid for Nazis and Anti-Fascists," the magazine's business manager was charged with "grossly playing down ... National Socialist crimes against humanity." The court was not persuaded by the defendant's plea that he was responsible only for the magazine's business affairs, and that during the period in question he was away on vacation. In August 1995 a court in Graz fined him \$24,000, and imposed a ten month prison sentence, suspended for three years. He is appealing the sentence.

Lachout and the 'Müller Document'

At the same time that authorities were abandoning their case against Lüftl, legal proceedings were also dropped against Emil Lachout, another Austrian who had been charged because he publicly contested the Holocaust extermination story.

On the witness stand in the 1988 Zündel "Holocaust Trial," Lachout testified about the "Müller document," ostensibly a circular letter issued by the Military Police Service in Vienna, Oct. 1, 1948. It reports that Allied investigation commissions had established that no one was ever killed by poison gas in Buchenwald, Mauthausen, Sachsenhausen and several other German wartime camps, and that "confessions" by "witnesses" about such gassings were obtained by torture.

Serious questions have been raised about the authenticity of this document, and its origin has not yet been definitively established.

China's 'No Dogs or Chinese' Sign

Debunking Another Historical Fable

For many years it has endured as a particularly striking example of the demeaning, racist way that Chinese were treated in their own country during the early decades of this century. At a time when Europeans, and especially the British, dominated much of China, a sign at the entrance to the Huangpu Park in Shanghai supposedly announced: “No Dogs or Chinese Allowed.”

For decades this story has been widely repeated. It is cited in numerous books, including the writings of China’s first republican president, Sun Yat-Sen. Harvard University historian John K. Fairbank refers in his 1986 study, *The Great Chinese Revolution* (p. 147) to the “oft-mentioned (but never photographed?) sign at the Public Garden on the Shanghai bund (waterfront), ‘No Dogs or Chinese Allowed.’” Oddly, it seems that no one has ever reported actually seeing the infamous sign, and the story’s precise origin has always been obscure.

Last year a Chinese journalist set off a furor when he announced that his research indicated that the sign never existed. To impress the Chinese masses with the wickedness of European imperialists, he reported, the park sign story was popularized as official history during the 1950s in Shanghai’s “Museum for History and Reconstruction.”

As the German monthly *Nation und Europa* (Sept. 1994) reports, this bit of revisionist debunking has touched off heated discussion in China about the social-pedagogical utility of history. The official *Guangming* daily paper, for example, told readers that any expression of doubt about the existence of the Shanghai park sign will retard the proper education of the people.

Review

Powerful Jewish Dynasty Profiled

- *The Warburgs: The Twentieth-Century Odyssey of a Remarkable Jewish Family*, by Ron Chernow. New York: Random House, 1993. Hardcover. 820 pages. Photographs. Bibliography. Reference notes. Index.

Reviewed by John Weir

Ron Chernow has written a detailed and sometimes tedious history of one of the world's most prominent international banking families. While he began this as an independent work, Chernow eventually received extensive help from members of the German-American Warburg clan. "I am humbled by the courtesy and generosity shown by the Warburg family," he writes in the acknowledgments section, "and hope that my book repays their efforts." So sympathetic is Chernow's portrayal that it can rightly be regarded as an authorized version of events.

While it also contains a lot of material I consider superfluous, this is not to say that *The Warburgs* isn't worth reading. Chernow provides insight into how Jewish patricians operate in society, and how their roles changed during the turbulent twentieth century.

Yet when addressing critically important events, Chernow's explanations are sometimes less than satisfying. Consider, for instance, his fuzzy explanation of Paul Warburg's crucial role in establishing the Federal Reserve Bank.

Intimately acquainted with European central banks, especially the Reichsbank, Paul didn't claim to originate new banking principles so much as import European practices. As with Max [Paul's older brother] in Hamburg, Paul meshed spectacularly with his historical moment. Once again, a Warburg succeeded because of his contradictory status. As a Jew in a gentile world, a German immigrant confronting a new country, Paul was able to spot flaws in American finance to which native bankers had been blinded by familiarity.

Along with many other bankers, Chernow explains, Paul Warburg was unhappy with the risk inherent in America's decentralized banking system. The central bank he envisioned for the United States would insure against future "panics" and do away with much of the risk of banking. To this end, he played a key but secretive role in this project:

In November 1910, [Senator] Aldrich [of Rhode Island], Paul [Warburg], and four other experts sneaked off to discuss bank reform at a secret hideaway on Jekyll Island off the Georgia coast. With Democrats now in control of Congress and Progressives railing against Wall Street, the bankers had to travel incognito, lest they be accused of hatching a cabal.

As part of the elaborate charade, the conference participants pretended to be sportsmen, outfitting themselves as duck hunters.

What Chernow does not adequately explain is why such secrecy was necessary if a central bank was really such a great idea. We are told, in effect, that Warburg and others hatched a cabal to avoid being accused of hatching a cabal.

Because it was the product of a furtive conclave, and secrecy still surrounds many central bank decision-making activities, it is hardly surprising that there are so many dark suspicions and “banking conspiracy” theories involving the Federal Reserve Bank.

According to Chernow, Paul Warburg was the only person in America who understood how a central bank works. In 1912 and 1913, he drew up the basic plan for the Federal Reserve banking system, and he drafted the Federal Reserve Act. In December 1913 President Wilson signed the Act establishing the new central bank. If anyone can be called the father of the Federal Reserve Bank, the New York Times has rightly noted, it is Paul Warburg.

The new central bank’s board of governors — which for several years included Paul Warburg — became top-heavy with political appointees whose policy of loose credit set the stage for the Great Depression. America’s economic collapse of the 1930s can be traced to the Federal Reserve’s operation by incompetents and self-serving hacks.

Back in Germany

While Paul Warburg was making America safer for financiers, his older brother, Max, was busy in Hamburg helping finance construction of Germany’s new merchant fleet through the HAPAG company. Because the Warburg family fortune was built on financing international trade, Max Warburg naturally sought to encourage the growth of such trade. For the same reasons, international bankers encouraged the removal of tariffs and other trade barriers.

The HAPAG company — headed by another German Jew, Albert Ballin — played a major role in building Germany’s mighty merchant and military fleets. Britain regarded the German challenge as a grave threat to its naval hegemony, and it was this rivalry that was a major contributing factor to the First World War. This was not the intent of the participants, of course, just as economic collapse was not the intent of the Federal Reserve governors. Max Warburg and Albert Ballin foresaw the catastrophe of world war in Germany’s naval expansion, just as Paul Warburg saw that his creation was pursuing an unsound monetary policy. In each case, Chernow writes, the Warburgs were unable to avert disaster.

Max Warburg’s meshing with his historical moment cost the Hamburg branch of the family dearly. The Allied blockade of Germany during the First World War severely hurt the Warburg family bank, M. M. Warburg and Co. This, along with the disastrous postwar inflation, nearly ruined the firm, which was saved only with a large loan from Max’s American brothers.

Because Max Warburg was so familiar with international finance, the postwar “Weimar Republic” government asked him to represent the German Treasury as a delegate in the war reparations negotiations. However, Max “explained that a Jew shouldn’t undertake the mission, 'for without doubt, if the conditions of the [Allied] Entente were dreadfully hard ... the consequence would surely be anti-Semitic attacks'.”

He suggested that his legal counsel, another Jew named Carl Melchior, should instead take the job. Chernow has some difficulty explaining this: “Yet one wonders whether Max was entirely

candid with Schiffer in declining the finance chairmanship for himself. After all, as a Jew and Warburg partner, Melchior was no less vulnerable to anti-Semitic smears than Max.”

Jews in German Society

Anti-Semitism, or the fear of it, comes up repeatedly in this book as an explanation for action or inaction on the part of the Warburgs. In spite of this, though, the Warburg family itself did very well for itself in Germany until the mid-1930s. Indeed, Germany’s Jews generally prospered until the collapse of the Weimar Republic and the National Socialist coming to power in 1933. During the interwar era, three-quarters of German Jewry was middle-class or richer. There were no legal barriers to Jewish advancement in any field, and Jews were rapidly assimilating through intermarriage. In the year just before Hitler came to power, Chernow reports, more than half of Jews who married took non-Jewish spouses.

None of this means, of course, that there weren’t barriers to social mobility for Jews. But similar restrictions affected many non-Jews as well. Class barriers were a major feature of pre-Hitler Germany.

International Network

What is remarkable is not the degree of intolerance, but the extent to which Jews were tolerated and even encouraged in Germany. Jews were permitted to wield tremendous power and influence even though so many of them — with the Warburgs at the forefront — were part of a mighty, supra-national Jewish network that was dedicated above all to its own particular interests.

Members of this international Jewish elite cemented its ties through marriage. For example, Felix Warburg married Frieda Schiff, daughter of probably the most powerful Jew in America, the German-born Jacob Schiff. Felix’s brother Paul married Nina Loeb, daughter of another prominent Jewish banker, Solomon Loeb.

An international network of Jewish organizations and charities devoted to the well-being of Jewish communities around the world operated as a shadow government for this scattered, stateless population. As leading members of the “Jewish royalty,” the Warburgs played an important role in resettling hundreds of thousands of Russian and eastern European Jews in the United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, underwriting the development of a Jewish cultural center in Palestine, and other projects. They also played a major role in domestic and international politics. During the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905), Felix Warburg’s father-in-law, Jacob Schiff, a fierce enemy of Tsarist Russia, helped finance the Japanese war effort. Driven by intense hatred of Russia’s conservative, anti-Jewish government, Schiff kept Russia from obtaining Wall Street financing prior to the overthrow of the Tsarist regime and American entry into World War I.

A little-known but very ambitious Warburg project between the wars was the “Agro-Joint.” Established in 1924 and financed by Felix Warburg, Julius Rosenwald (of Sears, Roebuck), and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the “American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation” funnelled millions of dollars into Soviet Russia to transplant hundreds of thousands of Jews to 215 farming colonies on two and a half million acres. “Agro-Joint” money purchased land, livestock, agricultural machinery and more than a thousand tractors. Four hundred trade schools were established to train Jews in metal, woodworking, printing and other skills. (Regrettably, Chernow provides little information about the Soviet officials who dealt with the Warburgs in this venture.)

In 1927 Felix Warburg toured the Soviet republic, visiting 40 of the Jewish agricultural colonies in Ukraine and Crimea (including two named after him). At meetings in their community halls, an elated and inspired Warburg praised the colonists and their pioneering work. Back in United States, he responded to critics with a vigorous defense of the Communist regime. Felix Warburg was, writes Chernow, “quick to note that the Soviet government was improving the economic lot of the Jews.”

The utopian scheme lasted until 1937 when the Soviets double-crossed the American capitalists and absorbed the Jewish colonies into local Soviet agencies. The last “Agro-Joint” assets were transferred to the Soviet government in 1940.

This channeling of money to Soviet Russia greatly upset Zionist leaders such as Stephen Wise and Chaim Weizmann, who grumbled that the millions should have been directed instead to building a Jewish presence in Palestine. Weizmann worked very hard to win Warburg family support for the establishment of a Jewish state there. The Warburgs were skeptical of Zionism, though, fearing that a Jewish state would supplant the traditional organizations, which they headed, as the nexus of Jewish political power. To reassure the reluctant Warburgs, Weizmann told them that the term “Jewish state” was only meant metaphorically.

Hitler Comes to Power

Back in Hamburg, Max Warburg was even less impressed than his American relations with Weizmann’s efforts. Regarding himself as a German patriot, he felt that Germany’s Jews should stay put, even though World War I had crippled his business and the ascension of the National Socialist party was driving away many of his clients. As the secular head of German Jewry (he once referred to himself as the “god” of the Jews) much of his social status would be lost if the Jews emigrated.

Even the Warburgs were not entirely immune from the infectious enthusiasm of Hitler’s movement. In 1930 Siegmund Warburg told his cousin Karl that, the anti-Semitism aside, he saw some redeeming qualities in the National Socialist cause. “The Nazis are doubtless in part dreadfully primitive in human and political terms,” he wrote in a letter. “On the other hand, one finds among a large part of them valuable, typically German strengths, which are indeed incredible in a political connection, but show strong feeling for social and national duties ...”

When Hitler came to power in January 1933, Max Warburg was Germany’s most prominent Jewish banker. He headed the most important private banking firm, and was a member of the “general council” of the nation’s central bank. In March 1933 he approved Hitler’s decision to name Dr. Hjalmar Schacht as president of the Reichsbank. The document naming Schacht to this post is signed by Chancellor Hitler and President von Hindenburg as well as the eight members of the Reichsbank “general council,” including the Jews Mendelssohn, Wassermann and Warburg.

Schacht’s skill during the 1920s in curing runaway inflation and getting the German economy back on an even keel earned him world renown as a financial wizard. A conservative, old-school banker, he never joined the National Socialist party. (Tried by the Nuremberg Tribunal as a “major war criminal,” he was acquitted.)

At a meeting in July 1934, Hitler asked Schacht if he would also head up the German Economics Ministry. “Before I take office I should like to know how you wish me to deal with the Jewish question?,” Schacht asked. “In economic matters, the Jews can carry on exactly as they have done up to now,” replied Hitler. And so it was — at least for a few years.

In 1936, for example (three years after Hitler took power), the M. M. Warburg bank in Hamburg was still profitable. Among other lucrative connections, it was still disbursing interest payments to bondholders for the giant Friedrich Krupp company of Essen. As Siegmund Warburg wrote in July 1936: "M. M. W. and Co. are still remarkably untouched by the Nazi situation and the business is doing well." Even in 1938, notes Chernow, the Warburg bank was turning a profit.

Max Warburg opposed the international Jewish boycott of German goods, particularly because his bank derived most of its income from international trade. Regrettably, Chernow fails to name the Jews behind this anti-German campaign, nor does he mention that the infamous 1933 Nazi boycott of Jewish businesses was a limited, one-day response to the sustained worldwide Jewish boycott against Germany.

M.M. Warburg and Co. played an important role in facilitating the "Haavara" or "transfer" agreement. Through this remarkable arrangement, concluded in 1933 between Hitler's government and the Zionist leadership, property of Jews emigrating to Palestine was used to purchase German-made goods, which were shipped to Palestine and sold there. Money from the sale of these goods went to the migrating Jews. About ten percent of German Jewry emigrated through the "Haavara" deal, which benefited Jewish emigrants, helped overcome the anti-German boycott, and immensely strengthened the Zionist community in Palestine. Moreover, it enriched Max Warburg's bank, which served as conduit for three-fourths of "Haavara" funds. [See "Zionism and the Third Reich" in the July-August 1993 Journal.]

Until 1938, Max Warburg benefited from his cordial personal relationship with Dr. Schacht. But as Schacht's influence with Hitler waned, so did Warburg's position in German business. As German corporations were "Aryanized," Warburg was forced to substitute a trusted non-Jewish company employee for himself on the hundred or so corporate boards on which he held a seat.

When the Warburg bank itself was Aryanized in May 1938, an era that began in 1798 came to an end. The firm was turned over to a non-Jewish employee, Rudolf Brinckmann, and Max Warburg left his Hamburg office for the last time. (A short while later he left Germany forever, dying in 1946 in the United States.) The firm's traditional name lingered until 1941, when it was changed to Brinckmann, Wirtz and Co.

Survivors

At least two family members remained in Germany throughout the Third Reich era. Marietta Warburg lived unmolested and in relative comfort in a suburb of Hamburg with her non-Jewish (and anti-Nazi) husband. "There were many such cases of Jews who eked out a subterranean life in Germany during the war," comments Chernow. (In Hamburg alone, for example, 600 Jews survived the war years, "mostly those in mixed marriages.")

More remarkable is the case of Otto Warburg, who was awarded a Nobel Prize in 1931 for physiology and medicine. In spite of his Jewish ancestry and outspoken hostility to the Hitler regime, he was permitted to continue his work at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin. Because of his Jewish ancestry, in 1941 he briefly lost his post at the Institute, "but a few weeks later received a personal order from Hitler's Chancellery to resume work on his cancer research." Otto Warburg's decision to collaborate with the regime, writes Chernow, "incensed colleagues outside Germany." The scientist "justified his decision to stay in Nazi Germany by claiming that he was performing extremely important cancer research that would save lives and that he couldn't transfer his research operation abroad."

After the War

On this side of the Atlantic, Max's son, Eric, played an important role in the American military. After joining the Army, Eric quickly became a Lt. Colonel. Upon spotting a map showing the dismemberment of Germany into occupation zones, he argued successfully to have his native Hamburg transferred from the Soviet zone to the British zone. When Hermann Göring was captured in May 1945, the critical task of interrogating the Reichsmarshal fell to Eric Warburg.

"Göring's economic bureaucracy had spearheaded the Aryanization of M. M. Warburg, and now fate, with a commendably poetic sense of style, created a fine opportunity for revenge," comments Chernow. "Eric would call it 'the grand finale' of his wartime work."

Upon defeated Germany the Americans imposed a version of the draconian "Morgenthau plan," which kept the economy in ruins for several years. In Hamburg (where 118,000 people had perished in Allied bombing raids) people wandered the ruins of what had been one of Europe's proudest and most magnificent cities. Food rations in occupied Hamburg dwindled to one thousand calories per person per day. As part of the occupation program, the Allies set about dismantling what was left of German industry. In mid-1949 occupation authorities began dynamiting the cement slipways in Hamburg that had launched the giant HAPAG ocean liners.

Rudolf Brinckmann welcomed Eric back to a shattered Hamburg in 1945, and offered to hand the destitute banking firm back to the Warburg family. Eric refused. Following the implementation of drastic monetary reform in 1948, the German economy — and Brinckmann, Wirtz and Co. — revived. With this turnaround, both Brinckmann and Warburg changed their minds about transferring control of the bank.

What followed was a decades-long battle between Brinckmann and Warburg for control of the firm. It ended in 1989 when the Brinckmann family withdrew, and two years later the firm's name was changed back to M. M. Warburg and Co. By this time both Rudolf Brinckmann and Eric Warburg were dead. (Eric's son, Max, now heads his grandfather's business.)

This book also covers the lives of many other members of the Warburg clan. Like other prominent Jewish families, the American Warburgs wielded great influence not only in domestic and foreign politics, but in cultural life as well. Feeling alienated from America's WASP establishment and high society, some Warburg family members sought to displace the seemingly inhospitable traditional culture.

According to an art historian quoted by Chernow, Eddie Warburg (Felix's son) and his wealthy Jewish friend Lincoln Kirstein "embraced modernism in part because, knowing that they were out of the mainstream anyway, they elected to foster rather than mitigate their sense of difference." Along with Nelson Rockefeller, Eddie Warburg was the youngest trustee of the new Museum of Modern Art in New York City. He was also a patron of avant garde sculptor Gaston Lachaise, and (together with Kirstein) imported "modern" Russian ballet choreographer George Balanchine to the United States.

All the same, with each new generation the American Warburgs become ever more assimilated into the country's gentile upper class. This branch of the family has produced no one of note in the last generation. Jimmy Warburg, who made a mint off Polaroid, is the last American Warburg to build a fortune of his own.

Money is the engine of art, education and politics, and the philanthropic and business endeavors of super-wealthy families dramatically affect all three. International banking depends on interna-

tional trade, which in turn is dependent on international policy. Bankers with international ties work to influence political leaders for the benefit of their business and personal interests. This detailed history of the Warburg family shows how this relationship operates to produce both positive and harmful consequences.

Review

Deborah Lipstadt's Assault on Academic Standards

Bigotry in the Guise of Scholarship

- *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, by Deborah Lipstadt. New York: Free Press, 1993. Hardcover. 278 pages. Notes. Index. \$22.95.

Reviewed by Anthony O. Oluwatoyin

In a forthcoming work I examine Holocaust revisionism at length, including telling details about a quasi-revisionist experiment of my own with some of my students. Just now I wish to deal with some aspects of the methodology employed by Professor Deborah Lipstadt in her book, *Denying the Holocaust*, promoted as “the first full-scale history of Holocaust denial.” [See also Theodore O’Keefe’s review in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal.]

In her book, the Associate Professor of Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies at Emory University in Atlanta sets out to expose what she views as the irrationality of revisionist historiography, particularly what she calls “Holocaust denial.” She compares her role as a historian with that of “the canary in the coal mine whose death warned the miners that dangerous fumes were in the air ...” (p. 29). She promises to reveal the hidden political agendas, objectives and methodology of the “deniers,” to expose their influence and “impact on contemporary culture,” to warn of the “triumph of ideology over truth” (p. 213), and more. Only with such a thorough understanding as she aims to provide “will there be any hope that history will not be reshaped to fit a variety of pernicious motives” (p. 28).

A daunting mission. Does Lipstadt deliver?

'No Debate' Double Standard

From the start it is clear that serious problems lurk behind the noble motives she proclaims.

For one thing, although she pretends to search for the truth she refuses to debate deniers. Indeed she “once was an ardent advocate of ignoring deniers” (p. 221). Now she will confront their ideas, but not debate them. Repeatedly, she fairly boasts, she has turned down requests to do so (although she did meet with and interview revisionist Robert Faurisson).

One might think that Lipstadt’s “no debate” stance is a personal matter. Perhaps she is a daughter of a Holocaust survivor, and appearing in public with a “denier” would simply be too traumatic for her.

But she insists that no one should debate deniers. “We cannot debate them,” says Lipstadt. Revisionists do not represent “the other side” in a legitimate debate. Instead, they are contemptuous of truth and reason, “the very tools that shape any honest debate,” and their arguments do not deserve any kind of thoughtful response.

Debating Holocaust revisionists, she contends, would be like trying to “nail a glob of jelly to the wall.” Just what is this juvenile analogy supposed to mean? Does she contend that there is nothing to pin down in “Holocaust denial”? Or does she contend that deniers cannot be pinned down to any specific claims? In either case, if Lipstadt is so concerned with truth, with “irrefutable evidence” (p. 21), one might reasonably expect her to welcome the opportunity to illuminate the public in open debate.

What is she afraid a debate will reveal? She admits that there already have been revisions by Holocaust “confirmers” (?) of once supposedly proven allegations, such as the story that the Nazis manufactured bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews (pp. 188, 201), and of estimates of Auschwitz victims (p. 188). Is it the likelihood of further revisions of “irrefutable” evidence” that worries Lipstadt?

Even a cursory look at a dictionary shows that her careful distinction between discussing (“exposing,” “consider and argue the pros and cons of,” “take up in discourse”) what she calls “Holocaust denial,” and debating the “deniers,” is a specious one. Any good discussion is a debate, that is, a grappling with contending views. The useful thing about a formal debate, of course, is that, by its very nature, participants can immediately respond, one to the other.

We are expected simply to trust Lipstadt to tell us the truth. She will “respond” to deniers, but won’t permit them the same right. Lipstadt, the anti-denier, herself denies deniers the opportunity to answer her. In her intellectual kangaroo court, cross-examination is a one-sided privilege.

And yet, Lipstadt says that her opponents are “contemptuous” of honest and open debate. However accurate or mistaken Holocaust revisionists may be, dishonest they are not. It is precisely because revisionists have been so clear and forthcoming with their views that she is able so easily and so vehemently to take issue with them.

Betrayal of Academic Standards

All this raises basic issues about purpose and objectivity in academia, professional standards of scholarship, and the nature of the pursuit of truth.

It seems strange to have to point out to a scholar that objectivity in academic life is not merely a Constitutional First Amendment matter, for the same rules hold true universally in academic life. The unique business of academia is, simply, the pursuit of truth. No ifs, ands, or buts — truth, the whole truth. While libel and slander normally are proper limits on free speech, even these should not apply to intellectual inquiry. No limits. For truth lurks in the strangest places. Historically, truth has often been the preserve of madmen and heretics, such as Galileo.

“Every opinion now accepted was once eccentric,” Bertrand Russell cautioned. He also admonished us to “find more pleasure in intelligent dissents than in passive agreement, for if you value intelligence as you should, the former implies a deeper agreement than the latter.”

The issue here for society is this: if we cave in to Holocaust theorists who would prevent “revisionist lies” from being spread on college campuses, how can we be sure that anti-revisionists

will not be the ones who turn out to be the historic dupes? We must have a refuge to which everyone can look and say: if ever truth is possible, it will come out there.

That place is academia, which historically is built away from the rest of society. This spirit is what, following the Thomists, we call the essence of academia, its bottom plank, without which it could not be what it is.

Lipstadt doesn't grasp any of this. She repeatedly berates students who have accepted revisionist ads or articles for their campus papers. She cringes at the possibility that students may be willing to consider "any idea or opinion." Such a view, she contends, "contravenes" everything for which academia stands. Students should rather be "geared toward the exploration of ideas with a certain lasting quality" (p. 197).

A more lamentable corruption of the mantle of Socrates one can hardly imagine. "The unexamined life is not worth living" had been his great cry.

If Holocaust revisionists did not exist, the legitimate mission of academia would require their invention. It is precisely such emotionally charged claims as those concerning the Holocaust that most need rigorous, dispassionate scrutiny.

Keeping in mind that the Holocaust belongs to what we may call the "I.Q." or "inflammatory quotient" group of issues, we can use it to test our basic intellectual attitudes.

Passion, particularly that aroused by an issue such as the Holocaust, is the ancient nemesis of reason. Passion subdues reason's power for clarification and resolution and brings discussion down to the emotive level of evasion, distortion, conflation.

Lipstadt's intellectual bankruptcy is perhaps best shown in her approval of gutter language. In a December 1991 editorial, the Harvard University student daily Harvard Crimson rejected a revisionist advertisement as "utter bullshit." Lipstadt finds that this language "properly characterized" the ad (p. 206).

Lipstadt's has no more respect for law than for truth. She clearly approves of legal muzzles of revisionists, lamenting only that such measures often don't go far enough (!) and may "transform the deniers into martyrs on the altar of freedom of speech" (pp. 219-220). Typical of her ideological breed, she pays mere lip service to the First Amendment rights of opponents (pp. 26, 191).

Lipstadt is a didactic construct precisely in reverse. She shows exactly what an academic should not be: a blindly believing bigot.

Lapses of Logic

Lipstadt's specious distinctions, question-begging definitions, and a woeful failure to grasp essence, are not the worst of her lapses.

At one point she accuses Dr. Arthur Butz of contradicting himself in characterizing Jewish control of the media. "How," she asks, "could Jews have had such control over the media after the war but virtually none during it?" (p. 132).

Well, one obvious answer might be that Jews could have gained control after the war, much as the Japanese have made impressive postwar gains. Times change. She might just as well ask: How could I be rich today when I was so poor yesterday?

Lipstadt castigates Holocaust revisionism as “the apotheosis of irrationalism” and “a threat to all who believe in the ultimate power of reason” (p. 20). She vows to “remain ever vigilant so that the most precious tools of our trade and our society — truth and reason — can prevail” (p. 222).

At the same time, though, she despairs of this very “power of reason” to defeat “Holocaust denial.” Repeatedly she speaks of the “fragility of reason,” and thinks it “naïve to believe that the ‘light of day’ can dispel lies.” She approvingly quotes scholars who express skepticism about the power of reason to cope with “the mythic power of falsehood,” while castigating those whose relativistic view of truth “created an atmosphere of permissiveness toward questioning the meaning of historical events” (p. 18; see also pp. 25, 193, 207, 216).

But how relativistic she sounds (“fragility of reason”)! How she fairly romanticizes falsehood (“mythic power”)!

At the very least Lipstadt might have acknowledged, if not expressed concern about, the apparent logical tension between these views. If reason is potent enough to uncover “irrefutable evidence” (p. 21) and defend it against specious attacks, it cannot be all that “fragile.” Wherein lies the threat of relativism?

There is not a single fallacy that Lipstadt “detects” in revisionism that she herself doesn’t outdo. She accuses revisionists of appealing to each other’s authority (instead of acknowledging facts). But the very language she employs in making the charge is lifted from a fellow anti-revisionist (p. 106). Moreover, Lipstadt herself frequently cites anti-revisionist authors as sources of “facts.” (See pp. 20, 25, 46, 73, 105, 106, 187.)

Lipstadt trades *ad hominem* (personal attack) for alleged *ad hominem*. She goes after ex-Klansman David Duke for “shedding his sheet” (p. 5) in order to gain access to the mainstream. She calls this a clearly “insidious” (p. 215) “re-creation” (p. 187). As we have noted, Lipstadt herself has changed or matured her own approach. She once ignored deniers, now she will discuss their ideas (p. 221). Is it fair to point out her flip-flop on such a basic intellectual point? Perhaps she will once again change her view, and agree to debate Holocaust revisionists one on one.

The very term “deniers” is employed by Lipstadt as a name-calling weapon to discredit revisionism, as she all but admits (p. 20). Talk about “insidious”! Is doubt denial? Is questioning denial?

She commits the fallacy of “accident,” which involves applying sweeping generalizations without qualification, thus failing to take cognizance of the special (“accidental”) nature of particular cases. For example, Lipstadt lumps philo-Germans with “extremists” and “racists” (p. 137). She has, in fact, something of an abiding suspicion for the “German American heritage” (p. 39) “Germanophilia” (p. 80) and, in general, all things German (see pp. 85-86). But what about her “Judeophilia”? Or should one lump philosemites with Germanophobes?

George Will's Polemic

Lipstadt’s work is influencing others. In August 1993, there appeared in numerous daily papers across the country an essay by “legitimate right” syndicated columnist George Will that is partly a promotion of Lipstadt’s book and partly an attack against Mark Weber and Holocaust revisionism. [See Weber’s “My Lunch With George: How an Influential Journalist Twists the Truth” in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal.]

Shamelessly relying on Lipstadt, Will accuses “deniers” of having “hijacked” the term “revisionism” in the service of anti-Semitism. He wonders how anyone can deny an event, the Jewish

Holocaust, that has been detailed by “victims, bystanders and perpetrators.” Word for word, this phrase comes from Lipstadt (p. 23). Will also echoes Lipstadt’s contention that revisionists everywhere see a great Jewish conspiracy (p. 38, for example). But she (like Will) herself portrays Holocaust revisionism as a kind of international conspiracy motivated by hatred of Jews and hostility toward Israel (p. 14).

Will attempts to dismiss Weber’s arguments — without systematically examining any of them — as “farragoes of dizzying non-sequiturs ...” The irony, of course, is that this is exactly the language to describe Lipstadt’s logical lapses. A swarm of non-sequiturs, that is, claims that simply do not follow; claims dangling, utterly without support.

'Six Million' Fetish

What is this fetish for the Jewish “Six Million”? Lipstadt acknowledges that “Stalin killed more people than did the Nazis,” and denies any wish to engage in a competition of tears based on a “head count” (p. 213). The distinction, she contends (p. 212) is that “whereas Stalin’s terror was arbitrary, Hitler’s was targeted at a particular group.” Not true. Entire groups were “targeted” by Stalin. (Consider, for example, the systematic Soviet killing of captured Polish officers, most notably at Katyn.)

Outnumbering even Stalin’s victims are those of China’s Mao Zedong. And Mao certainly “targeted” certain groups, such as China’s pre-Communist elite. But Mao receives not even a mention in Lipstadt’s book.

Whatever her motives, Lipstadt is not animated by concern for humanity or a passionate search for truth.

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Important [Auschwitz] Documents Found in Moscow Archives

Searching in Russian archives through tens of thousands of long-suppressed documents, two revisionist historians have dug up revealing German documents confiscated by the Soviets and kept secret for decades. Swiss educator Jürgen Graf and Italian author Carlo Mattogno together made two lengthy research visits in Russia in 1995, the second lasting four weeks. Each is the author of several revisionist works dealing with the Holocaust issue, and both spoke at the 12th (1994) IHR Conference.

In the Archives of the Russian Federation, Graf and Mattogno found voluminous records about Auschwitz and other German concentration camps liberated 50 years ago by Soviet forces. These include Russian-language eyewitness reports and investigative documents, and reports by Soviet investigative commissions, as well as some German documents confiscated from various camps (but not Auschwitz). Graf and Mattogno photocopied about 1,000 pages of documents from these Moscow archives, which are now being evaluated and translated.

70,000 Pages Screened

The team carried out much more extensive research at the Central State Special Archives on Viborg street, located in an outer area of the Russian capital. Among the voluminous original German records stored there are tens of thousands of pages from Auschwitz camp alone. Here Graf and Mattogno spent nearly every day of their visit screening an estimated 70,000 pages of Auschwitz records.

Less than five percent of these documents are of relevant interest, Graf estimates. They spent little time, for example, going through the 100-page file of construction records of horse stables at Auschwitz, or the 300 pages concerning the payroll of camp gardeners.

At a cost of one dollar per page, Graf and Mattogno photocopied more than 3,000 pages of Auschwitz documents from these Archives. Their investigations are far more extensive than the modest researches there by Prof. Gerald Fleming and Jean-Claude Pressac, two major anti-revisionist Holocaust researchers. As their signatures on the control sheets show, they saw perhaps 50 of the 650 dossiers there. (It was in this same Viborg street archives where British historian David Irving located the handwritten diaries of Minister Joseph Goebbels for his new biography of the wartime propaganda minister. See "[Revelations from Goebbels' Diary](#)," in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 Journal.)

A Preliminary Evaluation

From the outset Graf and Mattogno assumed that they would probably not find anything of really sensational importance.

Any documents confirming gas chamber killings or an extermination program certainly would have long ago been triumphantly heralded. Similarly, any documents showing clearly that no prisoners were killed in gas chambers, or which disprove the existence of a wartime German extermination program, would probably have been removed or destroyed.

All the same, they did find documents that conflict with the orthodox extermination story. One refers specifically to a “delousing chamber for crematory II” (“Entlausungskammer für ein Krematorium”) in Birkenau. This document apparently clarifies the real meaning of one or more of Pressac’s so-called “criminal traces,” as well as of the widely-cited letter of Jan. 29, 1943 that refers to a “gassing cellar” (“Vergasungskeller”) in Birkenau crematory II. It is often claimed that this must be a reference to a homicidal gas chamber. (See A. Butz’ “Some Thoughts on Pressac’s Opus,” in the May-June 1993 Journal, pp. 27-31, 35 [n. 23].) This long-suppressed German document, which was overlooked by Fleming and Pressac, suggests instead that this “gassing cellar” was installed to save life, by killing typhus-bearing lice.

Also found were documents showing the roster of sick and chronically sick people at Birkenau over extended periods. According to the extermination story, of course, all such persons were immediately put to death as unfit for work. Other documents confirm the strict rules that prohibited SS camp personnel from mistreating Auschwitz prisoners.

Additional documents unearthed by Graf and Mattogno establish that remarkably large numbers of prisoners were released from Auschwitz. (This is in addition to prisoners who were transferred to other camps.) During just a few days in June and July 1944 alone, 186 short-term prisoners were set free. (Over the entire period of the camp’s existence, there must have been thousands.) Most of these were Poles who had been sentenced to “re-education by labor” at Birkenau for terms of four to ten weeks for breaking employment contracts. After serving their sentences, says Graf, these prisoners returned to their factories. Nothing has so far been published anywhere about these large-scale prisoner releases. As Graf notes, if many tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews were actually killed in Auschwitz in May-June 1944, as alleged, the released prisoners could easily have told the world about it.

Numerous valuable documents relating to the Auschwitz crematories were also found, says Mattogno, who is sorting out and evaluating them.

Incidentally, an enormous quantity of confiscated German documents dealing with other areas are also held in the Central State Special Archives. These include, for example, about 9,000 pages of records of the wartime Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories. Such documents may shed new light on key aspects of Second World War history. Unfortunately, the future of these archival treasures is uncertain.

Not Found

Graf and Mattogno searched in vain for Soviet wartime aerial reconnaissance photographs of the Auschwitz area, including research at the former Soviet military archives in Podolsk, east of Moscow. They similarly failed to turn up records detailing deliveries of coke to the Auschwitz crematories in 1944 — documents that would finally nail down the maximum number of corpses that could have been cremated in the facilities there. Perhaps these records are located in one of the ten or twelve other archives in Europe where scattered Auschwitz documents are stored.

As a result of these two 1995 research visits (which were financed by sympathetic friends), says Graf, “we now know not only what documents are in these two archives, but also what docu-

ments are not there. That's also important." Carlo Mattogno is working on a detailed study of the German camp crematories, to be published in 1996 in Italy, as well as on a specialized treatment of the "gas chambers," which he hopes to publish in 1997.

Review

A Thoughtful Look at the German-Soviet Clash Reassesses the Second World War

Could Hitler Have Won?

- *Hitler's Panzers East: World War II Reinterpreted*, by Russell H.S. Stolfi. University of Oklahoma Press, 1991. Hardcover. 280 pages. Photographs. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Joseph Bishop

How close did Hitler come to winning World War II? What was the real turning point in the war, and why? In this pathbreaking revisionist study, Professor Stolfi provides some startling answers to these questions.

If Hitler had played his cards just a bit differently, contends the author — a professor of Modern European History at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California — he could have won the war. German forces came very close to defeating the Soviet Union in 1941. Because Britain alone posed no mortal threat to German power, the defeat of Soviet Russia would effectively have ended the war, resulting in German hegemony over all of Europe. The result would have been a drastic change in the course of world history.

When Americans think of the Second World War, it is understandably most often in terms of the United States role, such as in the D-Day invasion or the war in the Pacific against Japan. Often overlooked or improperly appreciated is the Russo-German conflict, even though it was on the eastern front that most of the fighting took place, and where the war was really decided. The war's greatest land battles were waged in the east, dwarfing those on other fronts. Three out of five German divisions were destroyed by Soviet forces. By the time American troops landed in France in the June 1944 D-Day invasion — less than a year before the end of the war — the outcome had already been determined.

Treacherous Surprise Attack?

According to the generally-accepted view of this chapter of history, Hitler's June 22, 1941, "Barbarossa" strike against the Soviet Union was a treacherous surprise attack against a peaceable and fearful neighbor. This view ("proven" at the Nuremberg Tribunal) holds that an insatiably imperialistic Hitler struck against Soviet Russia as part of his mad effort to "conquer the world."

The truth, Stolfi establishes, is quite different. A mass of evidence, including recently uncovered documents from Russian archives, shows instead that the massive Soviet forces encountered by

the German invaders right on the western border areas were poised for their own imminent offensive. Writes Stolfi (p. 204):

Hitler seems barely to have beaten Stalin to the punch ... Recently, published evidence and particularly effective arguments show that Stalin began a massive deployment of Soviet forces to the western frontier early in June 1941. The evidence supports a view that Stalin intended to use the forces concentrated in the west as quickly as possible — probably about mid-July 1941 — for a Soviet Barbarossa. Statements of Soviet prisoners also support a view that the Soviets intended an attack on Germany in 1941. The extraordinary deployment of the Soviet forces on the western frontier is best explained as an offensive deployment for an attack without full mobilization by extremely powerful forces massed there for that purpose.

Stolfi's view is consistent with the detailed revisionist study by Russian historian Victor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun), *Icebreaker: Who Started the Second World War*, as well as research by several German historians.

Hitler's 'Greatest Blunder'?

Hitler's "many detractors," writes Stolfi (p. 207), often point to his decision to invade Soviet Russia as his greatest blunder. Stolfi emphatically disagrees (pp. 206, 208):

The decision to attack the Soviet Union was the correct decision for Germany in July 1940, for whether or not Britain was defeated in the autumn of 1940, Russia would have to be attacked in the campaign season of 1941 ... Hitler made the correct decision at the right time to attack the Soviet Union as early as practicable in 1941. It was the most significant move in his political career. Making that decision in July 1940, he gave Germany a clear chance to win the Second World War in Europe.

As history is revised in accord with the facts, Hitler the insane aggressor becomes Hitler the defender of Germany and Europe, who carried out a preemptive strike against a real aggressor, Stalin, to save his homeland and the West from Soviet tyranny.

Catastrophic Miscalculation?

Other widely-accepted views hold that Hitler, in launching his attack against Russia, grossly underestimated Soviet military capabilities while at the same time overestimating his own, that exhausted German military forces suffered a logistical breakdown within months of the attack, and that road, terrain, and weather conditions precluded a German victory. Stolfi persuasively refutes such explanations as the assumptions of convenient historical hindsight ("it happened that way because it could not have happened any other way").

German planners, he argues, accurately anticipated both the military strength of their Soviet adversaries, as well as the adverse campaigning conditions. German forces were trained and prepared for precisely the campaign that unfolded, and consequently not only kept to their timetable objectives but in many cases exceeded them. Germany's panzer and motorized formations, along with her hard-marching infantry troops, rapidly traversed the primitive roads and terrain with no undue difficulties.

Within just a few weeks after launching "Barbarossa," German forces had succeeded in capturing or destroying eight of nine Soviet field armies, and had essentially shattered the vast Soviet

forces facing “Army Group Center.” By July 3, 1941 — just eleven days after launching the Barbarossa attack — the Soviets had lost 935,000 men (killed, wounded or captured), whereas German losses were just 54,892.

Germany’s military formations and materiel were still relatively intact in mid-August, and her engineers were rapidly adapting the Soviet rail network to conform with the European gauge width. Meanwhile, Moscow’s defenses were still chaotic and disorganized. Almost to a man Germany’s officer corps and higher level military leaders were confident that they would soon capture Moscow in a final advance, and win the war in Russia. Even many Russians shared this view. Extensive interrogations of captured Russian officers and troops revealed a widespread belief that the Germans would definitely take Moscow after one more great battle.

Logistically and psychologically, contends Stolfi, German forces were more than adequately poised for a final, successful drive against Moscow — which was the hub of the Soviet Union’s road and rail communications system as well as by far the most important Soviet industrial center. Even taking into account the weather conditions, Stolfi convincingly posits that German forces could have reached their Moscow objective, and even beyond — before the onset of the rain and mud season in mid-to-late October.

A Fatal Decision

What went wrong? Stolfi points to Hitler’s momentous decision in mid-August to divert German forces southward. Overruling objections from several of his generals, Hitler ordered Army Group Center to veer south to first strike into Ukraine and Crimea, smashing the remaining Soviet forces there and capturing major economic and strategic objectives, before resuming the drive on Moscow.

This move, Stolfi asserts, fatally delayed the German offensive and enabled the Soviet forces before Moscow to regroup and strengthen the capital’s defenses. When the Germans resumed the advance against Moscow in early October, they achieved great initial victories, but were also forced to contend with the debilitating autumn rain and mud, as well as shorter daylight hours for campaigning. In early December the German offensive ground to a halt in the Moscow suburbs.

Hitler’s decision in August 1941 to strike south before continuing the drive east, Stolfi believes, was the critically fatal decision of the war. This, and not the later, “anti-climactic” battles of Stalingrad, Alamein, or Kursk, was the war’s real turning point. “...The German failure to seize Moscow in August 1941,” he writes (p. 202), “was the turning point in the Russian campaign. After that, the Germans faced certain defeat in the Second World War, an outcome that altered fundamentally the course of events in this century.”

As impressive as they are, Stolfi’s arguments for this thesis are inconclusive. If Moscow had fallen, would Stalin and the Soviet leadership really have lost popular credibility and authority? Would the Soviet people and troops have become too demoralized to carry on, leading to general military collapse?

Because the nature of the Soviet system and its military was dramatically different than that of Germany’s earlier adversaries, the loss of the capital may not have been as critical as Stolfi contends. Moscow’s fall may not have rendered untenable the strategic position of the strong Soviet forces still fighting in Ukraine or the Leningrad region. A continued German drive eastward might have dangerously exposed the flanks of Army Group Center to crippling attacks from the still formidable Soviet forces in the north and south. Hitler himself believed that Moscow’s cap-

ture would not have ended Soviet resistance, but would only have meant a continuation of the war further east or south.

Strategic Considerations

Because he did not believe that his generals understood Germany's immense economic and strategic requirements, or the critical economic and strategic importance of the eastern campaign, Hitler rejected their pleas to push on to Moscow in August 1941.

In this southward drive German forces seized Ukraine, the Donetz basin, and the Crimea, destroying or capturing immense Soviet forces. Added to the earlier captures of Belarus (White Russia), the Baltic lands, and most of European Russia, these new gains denied to the Soviet opponent much of its huge population base as well as a large portion of its resources and industry. These gains deprived the Soviet colossus of a great deal of its ability to mobilize troops and materiel for war, while at the same time greatly strengthening Germany's economic base and war-making ability.

As it was, Germany's capture and occupation for several years of vast Soviet territories, with their enormous economic resources, did indeed enable her to resist the Soviet colossus for much longer than many expected. These victories also provided Germany with at least the possibility of victory. In *Hitler's War* (London: Focal Point, 1991; pp. 404-405), historian David Irving explains the German leader's reasoning:

It was most urgent in his [Hitler's] view to deprive Stalin of his raw materials and arms industry. Besides, a rapid advance southward would encourage Iran to resist the Anglo-Russian invasion which he already knew was in the cards; in any case, he wanted the Crimea in German hands: it was from Crimean airfields that Russian bombers had recently attacked Romania ... The army high command continued stubbornly with its plans to attack Moscow. Only later was it realized that Hitler's strategy would have offered the better prospects ... "Today I still believe," Göring was to tell his captors, "that had Hitler's original plan of genius not been diluted like that, the eastern campaign would have been decided by early 1942 at the latest."

Other Imponderables

Not discussed in Stolfi's study are additional indeterminate factors, such as the arrival several weeks earlier than usual of the Russian winter of 1941-42, a winter that was possibly also the harshest in several decades. Further imponderables include the reaction of Britain and the United States to the fall of Moscow. We simply do not know whether the fall of the Soviet capital would have moved Britain finally to acknowledge German hegemony on the continent and bring her to the negotiating table, or induce the United States to discontinue military aid to Soviet Russia.

Nor does Stolfi deal with the impact of the massive and rapidly increasing American economic and military aid to the Soviet Union, or its possible effect on the Soviet ability to wage war if the Germans captured Moscow.

As it was, the deliveries of U.S. military supplies already in 1941 may have given the Soviets a psychological and material boost sufficient to insure their survival in late 1941.

Historical 'What Ifs'

Stolfi convincingly demonstrates that the German forces had the capability to at least capture Moscow within this time frame. What will always remain unknown is whether the fall of that city would have automatically led to the collapse of the other fighting fronts in Russia and a German victory, or would merely have been the capture of another major Soviet city in a continuing war.

However fascinating, historical “what ifs” such as Stolfi’s can be misleading. In contrast to his provocative thesis, consider this possible scenario: Hitler seizes Moscow in September 1941, but his victorious Army Group Center is threatened with encirclement by the vast remaining Soviet forces deployed in the north and especially the south, striking pincer-like at its flanks. To avoid a catastrophic encirclement, Hitler is forced to withdraw and relinquish Moscow — and a 1941 victory over the Soviet Union eludes him. Decades later, historians assail Hitler’s decision to take Moscow directly, arguing that if only he had struck south first, destroying the large Soviet forces there, and seizing the economic wealth of that region, before striking against Moscow, he would have won the campaign and the war.

'Siege Mentality'

Stolfi contends that Hitler made decisions in keeping with a “siege mentality” based on Germany’s harrowing First World War experience of geographic encirclement and economic strangulation. Hitler was acutely conscious of the severe limits to his nation’s natural resources and its disadvantageous geographical place in the world. He thus made military decisions with thoughtful regard for these paramount economic and territorial considerations. Hitler, writes Stolfi (p. 211), “was a popular dictator, extraordinarily concerned about his personal popularity and the potential strain on it from the economic rigors of war. He was an uncompromising idealist who saw Germany secure as a great power only by the acquisition of enough contiguous space to ensure economic autarky [self-sufficiency].”

In this regard Stolfi cites (p. 221) Hitler’s “Operation Barbarossa” directive of December 18, 1940. “The final objective of the operation,” Hitler ordered, “is to erect a barrier against Asiatic Russia on the general line Volga-Archangel [Arkhangelsk],” essentially “a line from which the Russian air force can no longer attack German territory.” What these words show, comments Stolfi, “is Hitler’s astoundingly conservative cast of mind, pivoting around a Germany-under-siege mentality.”

While Hitler stated his intention “to crush Soviet Russia in a rapid campaign,” and anticipated a quick Russian campaign that would be concluded by the late summer or fall of 1941, he also foresaw German rule clearly limited to the territory west of the Volga river, apparently accepting a residual Soviet regime to the east. Hitler envisioned a mighty, economically self-sufficient European “fortress,” under Germany hegemony, that would be able permanently to withstand a siege by residual Soviet, British, or American forces.

As further evidence of this mentality, Stolfi cites (p. 222) Hitler’s words at a high-level conference on November 29, 1941 — that is, at a moment when Moscow seemed ready to fall: “If we accomplish our European missions, our historical evolution can be successful. Then in the defense of our heritage, we will be able to take advantage of the triumph of our defense over the tank to defend ourselves against all attackers.” To help insure a successful defense of this projected eastern barrier, at this meeting Hitler ordered a shift in production toward antitank weapons over tanks. Hitler’s words at this conference, Stolfi comments (p. 222), “reveal an outlook one can characterize as concerned and cautious, representing siege thinking.”

Stolfi rejects the conventional propaganda image of Hitler as a largely incompetent dictator driven by hysterical hate and limitless lust for conquest. Actually, the author shows, this “concerned and cautious” leader acted with intelligence and reason, giving thoughtful consideration to economic objectives and the capture of strategic areas to insure his nation’s survival. It was the often cautious Hitler who had to restrain his generals, and not the reverse.

Sense of Urgency

The author contrasts this “siege thinking” with another aspect of Hitler’s temperament — a remarkable sense of urgency. Stolfi stresses (pp. 205-206, 203-204):

Hitler’s political forcefulness and sense of timing to get things done quickly to reach his foreign policy goals were important elements in the remarkable string of foreign policy and war successes from 1935 to 1940.

... Hitler cannot be faulted for lack of forcefulness or pace in his foreign policy; rather, he was a paragon of concentration, force, and speed. While making his foreign policy decisions he was assailed by fears, doubts, and procrastination, but he always overcame them. He impressed his decisive will on his foreign policy opponents from 1935 to August 1939 and achieved every goal without recourse to war... When Hitler reached his greatest decision [to attack Soviet Russia], it was with the same forcefulness and sense of urgency that characterized the past.

Hitler’s Blitzausserpolitik [lightning swift foreign policy] advances and apparent lightning wars complemented one another ... Regarding his decision to attack the Soviet Union, one marvels at the consistency of pattern, the fanatical sense of urgency, and the sensitivity of the policy to time ... Hitler must be seen as attacking the Soviets to achieve the National Socialist Weltanschauung (world view) and end the war in Europe by seizing European Russia and smashing Soviet communism.

Other Possible Turning Points

Unlike Stolfi, some historians maintain that Germany could still have won the war in the East in 1942 or even as late as mid-1943. Some scholars point to the German defeat at Stalingrad (February 2, 1943) as the war’s turning point, at least psychologically. Yet even as late as July 1943 Germany was still able to seize the strategic initiative in launching the “Operation Citadel” offensive at Kursk-Orel, a clash that was to prove the greatest tank battle in history.

In *Scorched Earth* (London: 1970), historian Paul Carell contends that a German military victory against the Soviet Union was still possible as late as the summer of 1943. German forces, he argues, could have prevailed at Kursk, thus retaining the strategic initiative to pursue further victories, but were disengaged prematurely. Carell explains (pp. 87-95):

Just as Waterloo sealed the fate of Napoleon in 1815, putting an end to his rule and changing the face of Europe, so the Russian victory at Kursk heralded a turning-point in the war and led directly, two years later, to the fall of Hitler and the defeat of Germany, and thus changed the shape of the entire world. Seen in this light, Operation Citadel was the decisive battle of the Second World War.

Dispelling Propaganda Myths

Hitler's Panzers East is a solid, well-referenced work with an excellent bibliography that makes good use of archival and interview sources. Written in a clear, dispassionate style, this balanced book is refreshingly free of the all-too-common gratuitous Hitler-bashing or Germanophobia. Unfortunately, numerous textual and date errors show that the manuscript was not carefully proofread. Brought out by a respected academic publisher, professor Stolfi's book has deservedly earned respect and acclaim. *Military History* (Oct. 1993) lauded it as "reasoned, intelligent and well-informed," and *Publisher's Weekly* called it "a credible reevaluation of the war." It received reserved commendation from the *American Historical Review* (June 1993).

While it focuses on the eastern campaign, Hitler's Panzers East is a useful antidote to the seemingly endless blizzard of polemical nonsense that often passes for reputable history about the Second World War. Stolfi deftly demolishes many common propaganda myths about Hitler and wartime Germany's military leadership, as well as widely accepted misconceptions about Soviet policy and intentions.

This book further serves to help discredit popular myths, especially widespread in the United States, based on propaganda "documentaries" and such slanted historical works as William Shirer's bestselling *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. Finally, Hitler's Panzers East points up the yawning chasm between the popular Hollywood image of Hitler and the Third Reich, and the growing consensus of objective 20th-century historians. It is another revisionist milestone that shows how much progress has been made, and how much more work still needs to be done.

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Review

An Evil Campaign to Frame an Innocent Man

- *The Demjanjuk Affair: The Rise and Fall of a Show-Trial*, by Yoram Sheftel. London: Victor Gollancz, 1994. 379 pages.

Reviewed by Lesya Jones

On July 29, 1993, John Demjanjuk was acquitted by the Israeli Supreme Court of the charge of being the sadistic Treblinka guard “Ivan the Terrible.” This book, written by his Israeli attorney, deals with the pivotal Israeli chapter of his 16 year ordeal.

The title says it all, in a nutshell. It is a scathing and uncompromising account of the “trial of the century.” Its author, a fervent Zionist and Israeli patriot, spares none of the many players in the Demjanjuk affair, not even the “Ukrainian goyim” who paid for his fees. It is a highly personal account in which the defense counsel, and not the accused, is the star attraction in a courtroom drama that riveted a worldwide audience.

An experienced criminal lawyer and expert in identification cases, with a penchant for adventure (he successfully defended the notorious gangster Meyer Lansky), Sheftel decided to join the defense team after being shown the highly suggestive and biased photo spread used to identify John Demjanjuk as “Ivan the Terrible.” On a more personal level, he was motivated to take on the case because he was convinced that “the one and only purpose of this move was to conduct a special 'Israel-style' show trial, to teach Israeli children the story of the Holocaust and heighten Holocaust awareness among the public.”

An International Conspiracy

The fast-paced and ebullient style contrasts chillingly with the grim and sinister content. Sheftel amasses incontrovertible evidence which proves that the Demjanjuk affair was not simply a case of mistaken identity but, rather, a deliberate and cold-blooded conspiracy by superpowers United States and former Soviet Union, as well as Germany, Israel and Poland to withhold exculpatory evidence in their possession and send to the gallows an innocent no man’s man. These countries did this in pursuit of their respective agendas.

In the United States, the Office of Special Investigation (OSI) at the Department of Justice, which was established to investigate alleged Nazi war criminals residing in the US, was particularly zealous in its efforts to destroy Demjanjuk. Having just lost a series of decisions, the OSI was, in fact, fighting for its life. Congressman Joshua Eilberg, Chairman of the House of Representatives' Subcommittee on Immigration, wrote in August, 1978, to US Attorney General Griffin Bell re the Demjanjuk case: “We cannot afford to risk losing another decision.” This anxiety was shared by Alan Ryan Jr., who headed the OSI from its establishment until 1981. In an interview

with a local Alabama newspaper in 1991, Ryan reminisced: “If we had lost that case, we probably would have had a very short life span.” In other words, “the OSI conspired to shorten Demjanjuk’s life in order to lengthen its own.”

Evidence Discarded and Manufactured

In fact, the OSI knew as early as August 1978 from Moscow cables sent to the State Department in Washington as well as to the American Embassy in Tel Aviv that John Demjanjuk was not “Ivan the Terrible,” and not only did it withhold that evidence from the defense, but dumped some of it, including original documents, into its trash bins. Furthermore, the garbage contents revealed that the OSI did not just conceal exonerating evidence, but manufactured false affidavits in collusion with the Israeli prosecution.

In reading this book, one gets the impression that, far from being intimidated, the author relished being “Satan’s lawyer” and “the most hated man in Israel.” Courage, not modesty, is Sheftel’s cardinal virtue. But then, Demjanjuk’s attorney has nothing to be modest about. After all, he took on single-handedly his country’s justice system and formidable mass media and won unprecedented decisions on both counts, debunking firmly entrenched myths that Israel possesses a model justice system and an independent, unbiased press.

Neither death threats, unrelenting harassment by the judges, daily vilification in the media, suspicious suicide of a prominent colleague on the eve of the appeal, an acid attack by an alleged Holocaust survivor, which nearly left him blind; not even the wrath of his beloved mother could stay this intrepid attorney from the case. And in the darkest hour, when all seemed lost — there being no time to prepare the appeal — fortune and history intervened. A timely heart attack of one of the judges granted a crucial respite and the collapse of the Soviet Union made it possible to access KGB archives which established conclusively Demjanjuk’s innocence and forced the Israeli Supreme Court’s hand.

Sheftel delights in getting back at his opponents and detractors, especially his nemesis, the presiding Supreme Court Justice Dov Levin. The chapter entitled “Dovele” is written as “sweet revenge” for the many humiliations, trials and tribulations Sheftel endured, and may be of particular interest to the legal community in North America. It will shock those who choose to read it, for the instances of judicial misconduct are legion.

For example, immediately after affixing his signature to the verdict, Judge Levin set off on a lecture tour of the United States, undeterred by the fact that the Demjanjuk case was still sub judice. Ohio’s Plain Dealer cited one of his many legal gems, namely: “We cannot be impressed by someone claiming ‘I am innocent.’ Innocence must be proven.” Sheftel is angered and embittered by “the cowardice and hypocrisy of the thousands of the Israeli legal community.” The only one who dared to speak out publicly was the highly respected, retired Judge Haim Cohen. In an interview with the newspaper Al Hasharon, Judge Cohen stated: “It was a spectacular for the people. Any resemblance to justice was purely coincidental.”

'Death to Ukrainians'

The reader will be revolted, along with Lord Denning, revisiting the reading of the sentence after which a jubilant mob danced and shouted: “Death, death,” “Death to Ivan,” “Death to the defense attorney,” “Death to all Ukrainians ...” It may be recalled that Lord Denning condemned the grotesque spectacle in Jerusalem as “contrary to international law” and showing “signs of racial and political vengeance.” (The Daily Telegraph [London], April 28, 1988).

The book has flaws. There is no index and there are misspellings of names, as well as some factual errors. For instance, the author confuses *The Ukrainian Weekly* with a Ukrainian communist newspaper. Sheftel's explosive book has suffered an even worse fate than that by expert witness for the defense, Willem A. Wagenaar, *Identifying Ivan: A Case Study in Legal Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989). With the exception of Chrystia Freeland's review in *The Financial Times* (London), December 10-11, 1994, Sheftel's work continues to be ignored, except in Israel where it became an immediate best-seller. Demjanjuk's miraculous acquittal appears to have put a damper on the projected multimillion "Ivan the Terrible"/Demjanjuk entertainment industry. The only ones benefitting are those who conspired to send an innocent man to a horrific death by hanging.

Lessons

In spite of the fact that the Sixth Circuit Court in Cincinnati, Ohio, found "fraud upon the court," the OSI is still in business, and the chief architects of the Demjanjuk affair not only remain unpunished, but have found lucrative employment elsewhere. While in Israel, Judges Zvi Tal and Dalia Dorner were elevated to the Supreme Court.

The book is highly recommended, especially to our legal Ukrainian community. There was quality input by Ukrainian attorneys into Demjanjuk's defense. Paul Chumak of Toronto did a first-rate job as one of a team of Demjanjuk's lawyers and the late Jaroslaw Dobrowolskyj of Detroit played a crucial role in uncovering evidence which cleared John Demjanjuk. Others labored behind the scenes. This reviewer is, therefore, saddened by the fact that our legal community continues to pretend that the Demjanjuk affair involved one individual Ukrainian, and refuses even to acknowledge the existence of a collective indictment against Ukrainians. Let me cite from pages 4 and 7 (English translation) of the Indictment by the State of Israel versus Ivan (John) Demjanjuk, Criminal Case 373/86:

The auxiliaries played an essential role in the annihilation of the Jews; without them, the commanders of Operation Reinhardt could not have carried out their plan... These auxiliaries, in the main Ukrainians, worked with SS personnel in carrying out all the acts of annihilation, murder and oppression committed against the Jewish victims in the camps.

May this indictment, which still stands, serve as a challenge to our legal community to right a historical wrong.

Lesya Jones is the former Secretary of the Canadian Charitable Committee in Defence of John Demjanjuk. This review first appeared in *The Ukrainian Voice* (Winnipeg), July 31, 1995.

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Weber, Mark. "How a major Holocaust historian manipulates facts." Nov/Dec 1997; v16 n6 p11. Gerald Fleming's distortions.

Zadencki, Jaroslaw. "Attention! Fascism in the furniture store!" Nov/Dec 1997; v16 n6 p13. A European look at "political correctness".

Review

The 'Jewish Question' in 15th and 16th Century Spain

Historian Sustains Spanish Inquisition Myths

- *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, by Benzion Netanyahu. New York: Random House, 1995. Hardcover. 1390 pages. Illustrations. Source notes. Bibliography. Index. \$50.

Reviewed by Brian Chalmers

It is nearly impossible to dig into any chapter of Jewish history without uncovering lessons for our own age. Spain during the 15th and 16th centuries is a particularly striking example. Even today, our view of this period, and particularly of the Spanish Inquisition, colors our attitudes regarding relations between Jews and non-Jews. The Inquisition is considered one of Jewish history's darkest chapters — and one of Christian history's most shameful.

In 1391 intense, pent up anti-Jewish sentiment in Christian Spain erupted with great violence against the country's prosperous, well-established Jewish community. Spanish cities were engulfed in ferocious pogroms that destroyed much property and claimed many lives.

Thus began a century of conflict between Jews and non-Jews that culminated in the mass expulsion of all Jews from Spain in 1492. (Ten years later, the Muslims were likewise driven out.) In their edict of expulsion, issued on March 31, 1492, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella announced their "decision to banish all Jews of both sexes forever from the precincts of Our realm." Ordered, on pain of death, to leave within four months, the Jews were permitted to take their personal belongings, except for gold, silver, coined money, or jewels. Estimates of the number of Jews banished generally range from about 165,000 to 400,000. An estimated 50,000 Jews chose baptism to avoid expulsion. In his diary Christopher Columbus noted: "In the same month in which Their Majesties issued the edict that all Jews should be driven out of the kingdom and its territories, in the same month they gave me the order to undertake with sufficient men my expedition of discovery to the Indies."

Expulsions of Jews and outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence have been features of both European and non-Western societies over many centuries and under a variety of political and religious regimes. What is noteworthy about these 14th- and 15th-century actions in Spain, however, is that tens of thousands of Jews escaped death or expulsion by converting to Christianity. As a result, by the middle of the 15th century there was a numerically large (perhaps 100,000), and politically and economically significant community of people of Jewish descent in Spain who were, at least outwardly, Christians.

Establishing the Inquisition in Spain

Beginning with a furious anti-Jewish uprising in Toledo in 1449, the hostility of Spain's common people came to be directed against these baptized Jews, who were known as "New Christians," Conversos, or, contemptuously, Marranos ("pigs"). This new hostility developed in large part because the vast majority of these New Christians were, in the words of Jewish historian Cecil Roth, "Jews in all but name, and Christians in nothing but form," ^[1] and in part because the Conversos, freed from the legal constraints against "open" Jews, rapidly ascended to the highest ranks of Spanish society and represented a competitive threat to all but the highest levels of "Old (non-Jewish) Christian" society.

In *A History of the Marranos*, Cecil Roth sums up the central problem. "In race, in belief, and largely in practice," the Conversos "remained as they had been before the conversion." These New Christians, Roth continues, ^[2]

were Christians only in name; observing, in public, a minimum of the new faith while maintaining, in private, a maximum of the old one ... Baptism had done little more than to convert a considerable proportion of the Jews from infidels outside the Church to heretics inside it ... The populace, whose feelings thus became more and more inflamed, could not be expected to appreciate the theological subtleties of the matter. In the Marranos it could see only hypocritical Jews, who had lost none of their unpopular characteristics, fighting their way into the highest positions of the state.

Another Jewish historian, Howard Fast, has similarly noted: ^[3]

The nut of the matter is that most of the converted Jews remained Jews; they accepted baptism, they assumed the trappings of Christianity; and in the seclusion of their families, their homes, and their hearts, most of them did a thing that was then called "Judaizing" ... And not only did they Judaize, but in the feeling of power and security these Marranos had gained, they helped the Jews who had remained Jews, prevented a great deal of persecution, and gained favors for the Jews.

After decades of continuing anti-Converso disturbances, Ferdinand and Isabella, acting with papal approval, established the Spanish Inquisition in 1480. Its task was to combat religious heresy and root out crypto-Jews and crypto-Muslims among the "New Christians." "The introduction of the Inquisition," reports *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, "was largely fostered by the civil power as a means of checking the Jews, whose numbers, wealth and frequent intrigues with the Moors were causing alarm." ^[4]

Soon this highly centralized authority was carrying out its work under Tomás de Torquemada, the able and energetic Grand Inquisitor who elevated the auto da fé, the "act of faith," and the rite of purification by burning alive, into a spectacle at once horrifying and fascinating.

The vast majority of those brought before the Inquisition during its first 20 years of activity were Conversos accused of heresy (secret Judaizing). With the passage of time, this agency grew into a powerful institution for protecting Catholicism and the established order in Spain. (It was abolished in the early 19th century.) It played a major role in successfully persuading Ferdinand and Isabella to expel the remaining unconverted Jews in 1492 on the grounds that they were continuing to interact with the Conversos, and were proselytizing among their former co-religionists.

It should be emphasized that the grim reputation of the Spanish Inquisition is largely undeserved. Its cruelty and arbitrariness have been greatly exaggerated over the centuries, largely as a result of anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish propaganda. The Spanish Inquisition invoked torture and the

death penalty only very sparingly, and actually treated heretics more leniently than did other European countries during this period. [5]

Crypto-Jews

Nearly all chroniclers of this chapter of history have agreed that the Christianity of most Conversos was not sincere, and that they secretly remained Jews. In fact, as these and other scholars of Jewish history have pointed out, a common Jewish response to persecution has always been “crypto-Judaism,” that is, outwardly adhering to the prevailing social-religious mores and values, while secretly maintaining loyalty to the Jewish nation-religion.

Crypto-Judaism was a phenomenon as early as the fifth century BC, during a Zoroastrian persecution in Persia, and it occurred sporadically in Muslim societies (including Muslim Spain under the Almohades in the 12th century) as well as in Christian societies (including Christian Spain under the Visigoths in the seventh century). [6] In this century it occurred on a wide scale in Russia during the final decades of Soviet rule. [7]



King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain. Their marriage in 1469 united the provinces of Castile and Aragon. In 1492 their armies took Granada, the last Muslim stronghold in Spain, and unified the country. That same year “their Catholic majesties” banished the Jews from the kingdom. Similarly, the Muslims were driven out or forcibly baptized in 1502. In the decades that followed, Spain amassed great wealth and a vast empire. By the late 1500s it was the world’s foremost military and colonial power.



Public debates between Christian and Jewish scholars were held throughout the Middle Ages. This contemporary illustration shows a 16th-century “disputation” between rabbis and priests. The Jews are wearing the obligatory distinctive hats.

There is abundant evidence to show that in Spain after 1391, New Christians practiced

elaborate deceptions to secretly continue their observance of many of the 613 required Jewish rituals and commandments, including circumcision, Sabbath observance, and burial rites. [8] Converso parents first told children of their special status around the age of puberty, and Conversos routinely intermarried with other New Christians. For its part, Inquisition investigators developed a long list of practices by which crypto-Jews could be recognized. These included perfunctory participation in Christian rites and performance of Jewish religious rituals.

An important indication that the New Christians remained secret Jews is the fact that many of these Conversos and their descendants openly practiced Judaism after leaving the Iberian peninsula. [9] Groups

of emigrating New Christians established openly Jewish communities in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Bordeaux, Livorno and many other places, and New Christians in Brazil immediately emerged as Jews after the temporary Dutch conquest (1632-1654). Converso families had extensive kinship and mercantile ties with Sephardic (Iberian-Mediterranean origin) Jewish families around the world. Some of these New Christian families secretly preserved their original Jewish names for many generations, and re-adopted them after escaping the reach of the Inquisition.

Vestiges of crypto-Judaism can still be found in Spain, and crypto-Jews never disappeared entirely from Spanish America. ^[10] Even today there is a group of “Hispanic Catholics” in contemporary New Mexico who continue to marry among themselves and preserve several remnants of Jewish religious practices. ^[11] Well into the 20th century there persisted on Majorca an intermarrying group of descendants of Jews who were recognized as such by the other inhabitants of the island. ^[12]

New Christians also proved to be very tenacious in neighboring Portugal. The great majority of them descended from Jews who had been expelled from Spain in 1492 after refusing to convert to Christianity. ^[13] Though the last secret synagogue was discovered in Lisbon in 1706, communities of crypto-Jews continued to be discovered in the 18th and 19th centuries, and persisted even into the late 20th century. ^[14]

In addition, some of those who escaped the Inquisition lived as crypto-Jews in France beginning in the 15th century and in England in the 16th century, at a time when Jews were officially banned. Some crypto-Jews remained in France even after the edict of expulsion of 1615, although in the 17th century there were complaints that Jews were trading among the French “with no distinguishing marks.” ^[15] Portuguese Marranos living in France changed their pose of Christianity only at the turn of the 18th century.

Some returned to England in the latter part of the 16th century posing as Calvinist refugees; they were expelled in 1609 after an internal quarrel alerted the authorities to their existence. But they gradually returned, this time posing as Catholics, and only removed their disguise after the conclusion of official negotiations under Oliver Cromwell. In Italy, crypto-Jews who were refugees from the Iberian peninsula were also targets of inquisitorial suspicion if they failed to adopt a Jewish identity after arriving there. ^[16]

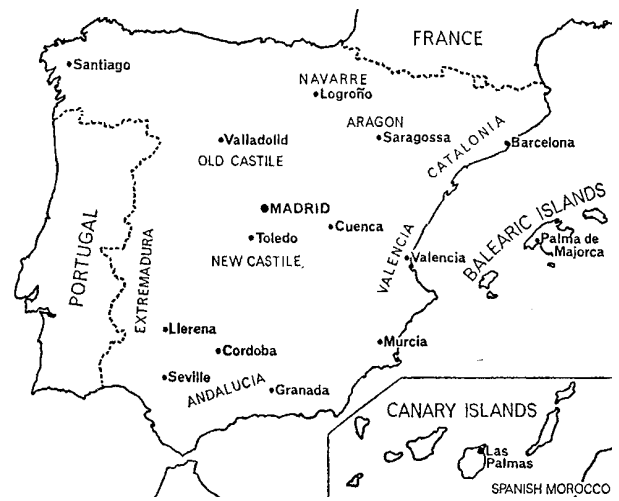
Sincere Christians?

Among Jewish scholars, deep emotional involvement is seldom far from the surface. Thus, a common reaction of Jewish historians to the phenomenon of Iberian crypto-Judaism has been to accept its reality and portray it in very positive terms. In the preface to the first edition of his work, *A History of the Marranos*, Jewish scholar Cecil Roth wrote admiringly of the “incredible romance” of the story of these secret Jews, referring to “the submerged life which blossomed out at intervals into such exotic flowers; the unique devotion which could transmit the ancestral ideals unsullied, from generation to generation, despite the Inquisition and its horrors.” ^[17]

However, other Jewish historians — including Henry Kamen ^[18] , Ellis Rivkin ^[19] , and now, most notably, Ben Zion Netanyahu — have been troubled by the fact that the generally accepted view of this chapter of history implies that the New Christians were in fact cunning deceivers and hypocrites, and that their behavior thus provides a certain moral justification for the Inquisition. After all, nearly everyone during this period — Christians as well as Jews — regarded heresy as a serious crime worthy of severe punishment. Consequently, and regardless of how

strange and even odious such sentiments may seem to the modern mind, the Inquisition was certainly acting within the moral and theological premises of the age.

It is this moral dimension that most concerns Netanyahu. In this massive (1385 page) work, he marshals evidence and arguments in an effort to prove that the “New Christians” were sincere adherents of Christianity, and even “ardent assimilationists” who were eager to marry into Christian families and otherwise melt into Spanish society. Consistent with this, Netanyahu seeks to prove that the Inquisitors, as well as the anti-Converso pogromists who preceded them, were immoral, bigoted hypocrites who knew that the Conversos were actually sincere Christians.



Map of Spain, showing the permanent tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition.

In keeping with his thesis, Netanyahu also castigates the Conversos for their supposed lack of Jewish loyalty, effectively writing them off as traitors to Judaism. He unfavorably compares the Conversos to the Jews of medieval Germany, who “far surpassed the Jews of Spain in religious devotion and readiness for martyrdom” (p. 163). From Netanyahu’s perspective, these Iberian Jews, rather than convert to Christianity, should have accepted martyrdom like their Ashkenazi co-religionists (in central and northern Europe) at the hands of the marauding Crusaders in 1096.

Racial-Ethnic Hatred?

If the Conversos were really loyal Christians, and if even the Inquisitors believed that these New Christians were sincere in their new faith, Netanyahu asks, what motivated the Inquisition in persecuting them? He believes that the Inquisitors were motivated not by religious zeal but by a passionate racial-ethnic hatred of the Jews — one supposedly similar to that which prevailed in Third Reich Germany.

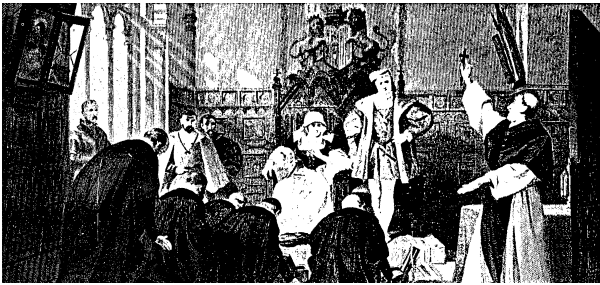
To this end he points to Spain’s introduction of the concept of *limpieza de sangre*, “purity of blood,” and not mere public profession of faith, as a test of fitness. In city after city, laws were enacted disqualifying people of “impure” (Jewish) blood from entering universities, religious orders and city councils.

Actually, this Spanish “racism” was a response to the ardent ethnic consciousness of the Jews — both open and secret. In his 1954 study, *The Structure of Spanish History*, historian Américo Castro finds that Jewish “racism” long preceded the Spanish concern for *limpieza*: [20]

The people who really felt the scruple of purity of blood were the Spanish Jews ... The historical reality becomes intelligible to us only when seen to be possessed of both extremes: the exclusivism of Catholic Spain was a reply to the hermeticism of the aljamas [Jewish communities] ... purity of blood was the answer of a society animated by anti-Jewish fury to the racial hermeticism of the Jew.

In a society in which religious considerations were paramount, racial or ethnic criteria were not theologically legitimate factors in defining and categorizing social groups. The Inquisition, Netanyahu maintains, acted against a racial-ethnic group under cover of defending Christian faith to attain political-economic goals. The Inquisitors, he argues, cited theologically acceptable criteria to give an appearance of legitimacy to their campaign to oppose and neutralize Converso power.

“The Inquisition never revealed its true aims and instead veiled its motives with arguments designed to justify its actions on moral grounds, as well as to give them an air of sanctity” (p. 1085).



After Ferdinand and Isabella issued their edict expelling the Jews from Spain (according to an often-repeated but probably apocryphal story), several prominent Jewish community leaders met with the royal couple to persuade them to revoke the decree. In return they promised to turn over the enormous sum of 30,000 gold ducats. Visibly impressed, the King seemed ready to rescind his decree. At this moment, Inquisitor General Torquemada burst into the hall, held high a crucifix, and said.: “Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ for 30 pieces of silver. Will your highness sell him for 30,000 ducats? Here He is, take Him and sell Him.” The King then dismissed the Jewish leaders.

If, as Netanyahu contends, the Inquisitors were driven by racial-ethnic hatred of Jews, and not concern about the authenticity of their Christian loyalty, how is it that not every Converso investigated by the Inquisition was convicted? Or why would the Inquisitors spare the lives of those who repented and embraced Christianity? Netanyahu himself concedes (p. 1085) that “religious interests ... no doubt motivated some of its [the Inquisition’s] leaders.” This startling admission, made almost in passing, undermines the author’s central thesis about the supposedly racist motivations of the Inquisitors.

Indicting the Conversos

One prominent 15th-century figure who clearly believed in the validity of the charges made against the Conversos was historian Andrés Bernaldez. He charged these secret Jews with religious heresy and with continuing a separate peoplehood (note his use of the term “tribe”). In the following statement, this scholar sums up the popular accusations at the time of the establishment of the Inquisition: ^[21]

Those people who can avoid baptizing their children, do so, and those who have them baptized wash them off as soon as they return home ... They follow all the judaical ceremonies secretly so far as they can.

The men as well as the women always avoid receiving the sacraments of Holy Church voluntarily. When they confess, they never tell the truth; and it happened that one confessor asked a person of this tribe to cut off a piece of his garment for him, saying, “Since you have never sinned, I should like to have a bit of your garment for a relic to heal the sick.”

... Not without reason did Our Redeemer call them a wicked and adulterous generation. They do not believe that God rewards virginity and chastity. All their endeavor is to increase and multiply. And in the time when this heretical iniquity flourished, many monasteries were violated by their wealthy men and merchants, and many professed nuns were ravished and mocked, some through gifts and some through the lures of panderers, they not believing in or fearing excommunications; but they did it to injure Jesus Christ and the Church. And usually, for the most part, they were usurious people, of many wiles and deceits, for they all live by easy occupations and offices, and in buying and selling they have no conscience where Christians are concerned.

Never would they undertake the occupations of tilling the soil or digging or cattle-raising, nor would they teach their children any except holding public offices, and sitting down to earn enough to eat with little labor. Many of them in these realms in a short time acquired very great fortunes and estates, since they had no conscience in their profits and usuries, saying that they only gained at the expense of their enemies, according to the command of God in the departure of the people of Israel to rob the Egyptians ...

Passion and Bias

Netanyahu makes no effort to hide his passion or his bias. He lives in Israel. He emigrated to Palestine as a child and fought as a member of Ze'ev Jabotinsky's militant Zionist organization. His son Benjamin is the leader of Israel's ultra-nationalist Likud party, and this book is dedicated "with unrelieved grief" to his son Jonathan, who died leading the Israeli raid on Entebbe. It is difficult to avoid the feeling that Benzion Netanyahu's personal devotion to Jewry is essential to this work and its thesis. [22]

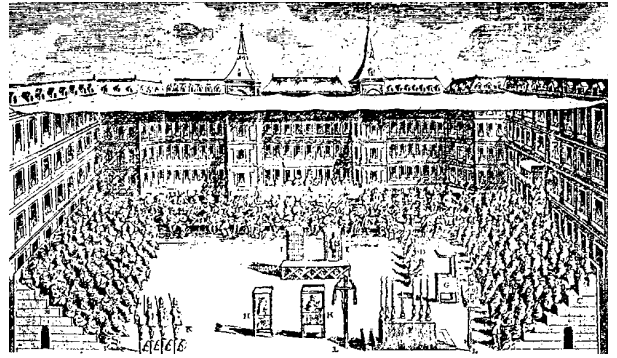
The following quotation (pp. 1085-1086) gives the flavor of Netanyahu's passion for his subject:

As we see it, the "hearts" of the Inquisitors — i.e., their mental constitutions — were incurably perverted by the various influences that shaped their thinking and their tendencies. Apart from the religious interests (which no doubt motivated some of its leaders), these tendencies were expressed by the officials of the Inquisition, down to its lowest functionaries and agents, in a blatant disregard for human life; a fervid desire to flaunt power and exercise control over life and death; a capacity for repression that could crush any spirit; a morbid passion for inflicting torture and causing pain that could break all resistance; and apart from all this, a shameless rapacity designed to render the torturer also the inheritor of his victim's goods.

In Netanyahu's view, these opponents of the New Christians are barely recognizable as human. Predictably, he can't resist comparing the Spanish Inquisitors with the German National Socialists of our own century (p. 1084):

... Like the Spanish antisemites' hatred of the conversos, the German Nazis' hatred of the Jews so affected their thinking, their policies and decisions that all their activities, in virtually all fields, were influenced in varying measure by that hate. Not only did that odium obsess them, but it overflowed their souls to the point where it needed more objects of torture, exploitation and destruction than the Jewish people could possibly provide.

Clearly this is no dispassionate scholar seeking historical truth, but rather an academic zealot bent on carrying on intellectual warfare, even more than 500 years after the events he discusses. Netanyahu compares Hitler with Spanish king Philip II, each of them with "minds unhinged at least partly by the maddening [anti-Jewish] urges to which we have referred." He continues (pp. 1084-85):



This Inquisitional tribunal, meeting in Madrid on June 30, 1680, sentenced 18 Marranos to be burned alive.

Thus we see how both these developments — the Spanish and the German — which so drastically affected the history of Europe and had their beginnings in those torrents of hate which stemmed from ancient and later antisemitism, managed to produce anti-social forces which, driven as they were by their fierce animosities, proved almost impossible to restrain.

(In keeping with the currently fashionable spelling of the term, Netanyahu consistently writes of “antisemitism.”)

Deceptive Scholarship

Netanyahu’s suggestion that Spanish hostility toward Jews was unusual or aberrant is erroneous. Animosity toward Jews was the norm, not the exception, in Europe during this entire period. In England, for example, Jews were entirely banned. (They had been expelled in 1290, and were not legally permitted back until 1656, more than three centuries later.) This era of Jewish expulsion encompassed the Elizabethan period and the nation’s golden age of culture, which included Shakespeare and Marlowe (each of whom wrote plays dealing with the “Jewish question”). Jews were similarly driven out of many other European lands: In 1492 they were expelled from Sicily and Sardinia, in 1496 from Portugal, in 1541 from Naples, and in 1596 Pope Pius V expelled the Jews from the Papal territories. From the kingdom of France the Jews were expelled in 1306, and again in 1322 and 1394. Jews were banished from Warsaw in 1483.

Essentially Netanyahu proceeds by ignoring scholarship that conflicts with his ideas — by discounting as untrustworthy and biased any sources from the anti-Converso movement or the Inquisition — while at the same time regarding the work of recognized New Christian apologists such as Fernán Díaz and Cardinal Juan de Torquemada, not to mention rabbinical sources, as based on “fact and logic” (p. 410) and entitled to “the fullest and most careful consideration” (p. 443). [23]

This bias can also be found in Netanyahu’s earlier book, *The Marranos of Spain*, which baldly states its intention to question the moral basis of the Inquisition, and takes essentially the same position as the present work regarding the Conversos and the sincerity of their Christianity. [24] This earlier work has been subjected to devastating criticism. [25]

His tendentiousness is so transparent, in fact, that one reviewer of the present work, historian Richard Kagan, could only interpret Netanyahu’s style of historiography as a reaction to the Holocaust: [26]

Mr. Netanyahu’s expansive, highly personal and emotive style carries us back to another era, to a mode of polemical discourse rarely practiced among professional historians today. More poignantly, this book illustrates the lasting intellectual repercussions of the Holocaust on historical scholarship about the Jews.

The general flavor of Netanyahu’s methodology can be illustrated by his discussion of Cardinal Juan de Torquemada’s writings. Like several other prominent 15th-century figures, Cardinal Torquemada (uncle of Inquisitor General Tomás de Torquemada) was a Converso who rose rapidly in the Church hierarchy and used his position to defend his fellow converts. Netanyahu maintains that Torquemada’s writings exonerating the New Christians should be given great weight even though he acknowledges Torquemada’s apologetic tendencies whenever the Cardinal discusses the relationship between Christianity and the Jewish people. In one case, Netanyahu describes Torquemada’s distortion of the essential spirit of St. Augustine’s writings as

part of a programmatic tendency to reject or ignore traditional Christian perspectives in which the Jews are portrayed as damned for their rejection of God.

By engaging in such deceptive scholarship, writes Netanyahu (p. 464), Cardinal Torquemada was able to project

an image of the Jewish people that was quite opposed to the Christian view. Obviously, no better way could be found to attain this than to let Augustine speak in his behalf — that is, to quote those passages of his works in which the Jews, regardless of what Augustine was driving at, emerge as a people whose religious history and achievements evoked the astonishment and awe of the great saint and, indeed, cannot fail to excite the admiration of anyone who has a sense for the wondrous and divine.

In trying to show that the Jews are assured salvation, adds Netanyahu (pp. 466, 467), Torquemada “had to resort to strenuous maneuvering to make the points he thought vital for his case.” Netanyahu also concedes that “this kind of manipulation of sources violates modern scholarly norms, and even a medieval critical reader might question its propriety.”

Netanyahu shows how Torquemada drastically distorts his sources to produce a deceitfully positive portrayal of Jews. At the same time, though, Netanyahu urges us to accept at face value Torquemada’s claim that the vast majority of the Conversos were entirely sincere in their devotion to Christianity.

A Tradition of Biased Scholarship

As already noted, Prof. Kagan attributes Netanyahu’s passion for polemics to the trauma of the Holocaust tragedy suffered by Jews during the Second World War. Actually, there is a very long tradition of Jewish scholarship that deliberately distorts the historical record to further Jewish group interests. Not only does Netanyahu carry on this tradition of slanted scholarship in his own work, he also exonerates the New Christian historians who systematically did the same.

For example, one Converso historian went to great lengths to remove explicit references to tax collectors as “infidels and heretics” because contemporary readers would identify them as New Christians. “That this was the sole intent,” writes Netanyahu, “and that he was ready to go to any length to fulfill it by altering, mutilating and abbreviating the original, and also by deleting whole passages ... is evident from his whole revision of the manuscript and the careful thought he gave to every expression that might cast a shadow of disrepute on the conversos” (p. 635).

Netanyahu regards such distortion of the historical record as morally and intellectually justified (pp. 660-661):

Their “falsification” of the records could appear to them, in their overall considerations, as the presentation of the inner truth of history, while the fuller and ostensibly truthful presentation could be judged by them as leading to misunderstandings and hence to distortion of the basic facts ... Obviously such a form of revision would involve a flagrant distortion of the truth. But historical truth was less important in their eyes than the consequences it entailed for the welfare of their group.

In other words, a truthful account would have described in detail the charges of heresy made by the Old Christians against the New Christians. But such an account might lead Old Christians to believe that the charges were true, and, because this awareness would have had undesirable consequences, the New Christian chroniclers were justified in their deception. Moreover, writes Ne-

tanyahu, such New Christian historians were justified in their distortion of the record because they “believed [not only] that the Marranos, or their overwhelming majority, were free from the execrable crime of heresy, but [also] that their accusers, too were well aware of this” (p. 660).

Both these claims are doubtful. Minimally, the proposal that the Old Christians did not believe their own charges is highly unlikely, given the human tendency to assume the worst about one’s perceived enemies. For Netanyahu, however, putting group interests above truth is itself an acceptable standard of veracity for these New Christian historians. So justifiable does Netanyahu find such deception that one can only suppose that he applies this same standard in his own work.

Historical Evidence Ignored

Like the 15th-century chroniclers who falsified their work by omitting crucial details, Netanyahu does not mention recent scholarship indicating that the New Christians were a religiously diverse group that included a substantial percentage of crypto-Jews. [27] In a critical review of Netanyahu’s book, professor David Berger of Brooklyn College writes: “It is hardly an exaggeration to say that an entire generation of recent scholarship goes unrepresented here.” [28] Berger goes on to write that “this book is marked by a degree of confidence unjustified by the nature of the sources,” and that the author engages in a “reconstruction of motives and intentions based on slim evidence.”

Perhaps most egregiously, Netanyahu places no weight on the fact that over the long life of the Inquisition many New Christians (re-)assumed overt Jewish identities after they emigrated from Spain. Historian Howard Fast writes admiringly: [29]

During the next two hundred years, the boldest, the toughest, and the most sensitive of the Marranos left Spain. They left family by family, some openly, some secretly, but in almost every case, these Marranos, some of whose families had been outwardly Christian for several hundred years, underwent circumcision and returned to the Jewish fold the moment they were out of the Inquisition’s power.

When Netanyahu does mention this phenomenon, his main point is to assert that it was unreasonable for 15th-century Spaniards to infer that the Converso relatives (in Spain) of crypto-Jews who had assumed overtly Jewish identities after emigration were themselves crypto-Jews (p. 945). Netanyahu holds 15th-century Spaniards to a very high standard of proof indeed!

In this same passage (p. 945), Netanyahu states that it is “hardly surprising” that emigrating New Christians assumed overt Jewish identities, given the hostility they had experienced in Spain. But if this hostility was so intense that it motivated emigrating New Christians to openly proclaim Judaism after leaving the country, it is only reasonable to suppose that this same fervent hostility would motivate those who remained in Spain to be crypto-Jews, rather than sincerely embrace the Christian faith. How can Netanyahu logically suppose that the New Christians who remained in Spain were any more sincere in their Christianity than their emigrating brethren?

A Distinct Nationality

A critical point here is that Netanyahu attaches no moral importance to a key fact about 15th-century Spain — that the New Christians, whatever their religious beliefs, constituted a highly successful and even dominating group within Spanish society. All scholars of the period, including Netanyahu, agree that the New Christians remained throughout a clearly distinguishable group,

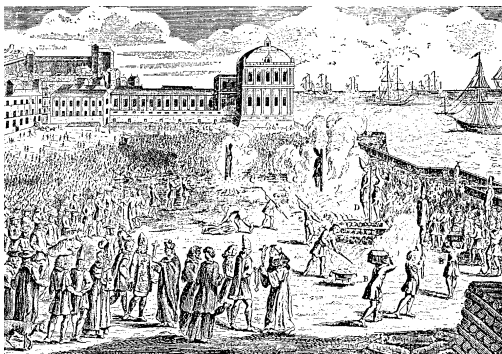
one with high levels of within-group cooperation and patronage, and quite self-aware of its particular status. This “groupness” of the Conversos was independent of whether they secretly regarded themselves as Jews.

Netanyahu deserves praise for providing massive detail about both the group cohesiveness of the New Christians as well as for showing the economic and social roots of the animosity of the Old Christians. In this regard he is well within the mainstream of historical research. Throughout the period of the Inquisition, both in the Iberian peninsula and the New World, the New Christians were organized as a set of intermarrying and interlocking family clans characterized by high levels of within-group cooperation and patronage in pursuit of economic and political goals. [30]

Netanyahu’s description of the “peoplehood” of the New Christians is quite accurate and bears quoting at length (pp. 993-994, 995, 996):

Yet while the convert abandoned his people, his peoplehood did not abandon him. It was reflected in many of his characteristics, the product of numerous factors — ethnic, social, environmental and educational — that had influenced Jewish life for centuries. These were essentially Jewish characteristics; and although assimilation had somewhat dimmed them, they could still be discerned in the Jewish convert even decades after his conversion.

... When masses of Jews were converted at the same time, each of them saw himself within his people and by no means as one who had forsaken it. In Spain, where these converts or their great majority lived for many years in boroughs of their own, this feeling of communion was kept alive as long as the process of assimilation had not destroyed, or seriously affected, the collective fabric.



A public burning of heretics sentenced by the Inquisition is portrayed in this 18th-century print.

Also many characteristics of the Jew and his life-style, which even isolated converts retained for many years, were guarded for much larger periods in the converso communities. As a result, the converso could still be recognized — even several generations after his ancestors’ conversion — by his Jewish appearance, his habits and mannerisms, his attitudes and reactions, as well as his views on a variety of issues. In consequence, in the middle of the 15th century (and no doubt in many cases even later) the great majority of the New Christians in Spain had not yet shaken off the shadow of their past; and the result of this fact was the consciousness of their “otherness”

that determined the attitude of their neighbors ...

The Marranos were viewed as a distinct nationality which, in more ways than one, was related to the Jews. Indeed, not only did their enemies so regard them, but also their friends among the Old Christians; and, what is more, they were so regarded by the Marranos themselves ... As a “nation apart,” despite their conversion, as a nation united by common origin or race, the Marranos were thus exposed to the evaluation of their group as an alien national entity, whose fellowships with the people of the country must be questioned, and whose preparedness to betray it could be taken as likely even by moderate adversaries. [italics in text]

Beyond this very clear realization that the New Christians retained their sense of peoplehood and ethnicity, as well their sense of constituting a separate group within Spanish society, Netanyahu does not deny that there was a hard core of self-consciously crypto-Jews among the New Christians prior to the Inquisition. “That there were some Jewish pockets among the Marranos in the sixties [1460s], and probably in the seventies too, may be taken for granted,” he writes. (p. 931). Indeed, another point of unanimity among the 15th-century New Christian apologists and their opponents is the acknowledgment that at least some among the Conversos had retained Jewish religious beliefs (p. 625).

Given the prevailing outlook of the period, and the hostile nature of inter-group relations, the realization that some Conversos were really crypto-Jews could well be expected to bring sanctions against the entire group of Conversos — especially because, while it was known that at least some were deceivers, it was very difficult to determine what people believed in their hearts.

Netanyahu’s moral censure of the Inquisitors is based on an individualistic moral sense that was entirely foreign to the sensibility not only of corporate Medieval society but even more to traditional Judaism. New Christians perceived themselves and were perceived by others as members of an alien and detested group within Spanish society. As one might expect, Spaniards tended to “assume the worst” about them, especially when it was well known that, among other things, emigrating New Christians rapidly assumed overt Jewish identities in other lands.

Economic and Political Power

Netanyahu has done a service in identifying the social, economic and political sources of inter-group conflict that were critical in the establishment of the Inquisition. “Indubitably,” he acknowledges, “the factor that first put much strain on the relations between the Old Christians and the New was the growth of converso economic power” (p. 1044)

He also provides considerable detail on the extent of Converso economic and political domination of Spain’s traditional Christians. In so doing Netanyahu goes a long way toward showing why, apart from any question of religious heresy, the Conversos were so widely hated by the non-noble classes or estates. Conversos emerged as a dominant force in the areas of finance, commerce, international trade, law, diplomacy, and all levels of public administration. Wealthy Conversos purchased and endowed ecclesiastical benefices for their children with the result that many members of the high clergy were of Jewish descent. And high level New Christian officeholders (such as Fernán Díaz, secretary to King Juan II) appointed fellow Conversos to positions throughout the government bureaucracy.

In his 1932 study, *A History of the Marranos*, Cecil Roth summed up the incredible situation in forthright language that would scarcely be permitted today: ^[31]

The Law, the administration, the army, the universities, the Church itself, were all overrun by recent converts of more or less questionable sincerity, or by their immediate descendents. They thronged the financial administration, for which they had a natural aptitude, protest now being impossible. They pushed their way into the municipal councils, into the legislatures, into the judiciary. They all but dominated Spanish life.

Powerful Middlemen

At the heart of the conflict between Old and New Christians was the familiar tendency of the non-Jewish ruling elite to utilize Jews to further their interests at the expense of the non-elite members of society, that is, of the great mass of the Spanish people. Beginning in the Greco-Roman and Persian world of antiquity and extending into the post World War II era of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, Jews have often served as middlemen between oppressive ruling elites (especially those of alien origin), and native populations. A significant source of animosity toward the Jews in Christian Spain was the widespread belief that the Jews had aided the Muslim invasion of Spain in the eighth century, and in the ensuing centuries had served the Muslims as loyal administrators over the subject Christian population. (Modern scholars, including Netanyahu [p. 57], accept that this belief is based in fact.)

Jews were typically recruited for this status because they were known to have no strong loyalty to the native people or culture. Ruling elites knew that Jewish loyalty to the regime derived from their status as dependent aliens. In Spain, there was a long history of kings patronizing the Jewish community in return for Jewish loyalty as administrators and tax farmers, and in the 15th century these functions were assumed by the New Christians. (In return for payment of a fixed sum of money, determined through bidding, the king commissioned the highest bidder as a tax farmer, granting him the exclusive right to amass as much money as he could collect through taxes levied on the people of a given district.)

As in many other traditional societies, the Jews' alien or outgroup status with regard to the rest of society, and their loyalty to the king (rather than to the people or nation) made them ideal tax farmers. Rulers knew that because the Jews (or, after 1391 in Spain, the Conversos) had no loyalty to the native people, they could be trusted to treat the non-Jewish subjects as an outgroup, and would thereby maximize the king's revenues. (By contrast, to employ non-Jews as tax collectors would be disadvantageous, because their identification with the native population would make them less likely to wring out the maximum amount in taxes.)

"Tax collection remained largely in Jewish hands until the end of the Jewish sojourn in Spain," writes Netanyahu. He continues (pp. 71-72):

It was primarily because of the functions of the Jews as the king's revenue gatherers in the urban areas that the cities saw the Jews as the monarch's agents, who treated the common people as objects of massive exploitation. By serving as they did the interests of the kings, the Jews seemed to be working against the interests of the cities; and thus we touch again on the phenomenon we have referred to: the fundamental conflict between the kings and their people — a conflict not limited to financial matters, but one that embraced all spheres of government that had a bearing on the people's life.

It was in part thanks to this conflict of interests that the Jews could survive the harsh climate of the Middle Ages, and it is hard to believe that they did not discern it when they came to resettle in Christian Europe. Indeed, their requests, since the days of the Carolingians, for assurances of protection before they settled in a place show (a) that they realized that the kings' positions on many issues differed from those of the common people and (b) that the kings were prepared, for the sake of their interests, to make common cause with the "alien" Jews against the clear wishes of their Christian subjects. In a sense, therefore, the Jews' agreements with the kings in the Middle Ages resembled the understandings they had reached with foreign conquerors in the ancient world.

As Netanyahu notes, Jews were well aware of their role as intermediaries between conflicting segments of gentile society (rulers and subjects). There is no question that as a result of their special relationship with the king, Jews were often viewed as exploiters by the common people. The Petition of 1449 by the rebels of Toledo accused the New Christian tax gatherers of having “caused the [economic] ruin ... of many noble proprietresses (*dueñas*, *caballeros*, and *hijosdalgo*)” and of having “oppressed, destroyed, robbed and depraved ... most of the old houses and estates of the Old Christians” (p. 959). “Throughout the country,” historian Cecil Roth has noted, “they [the Conversos] farmed the taxes. Thus, they inevitably became identified in the popular mind with the royal oppression.” ^[32]

An Alliance of Oppression

Netanyahu provides considerable detailed evidence showing that during the 15th century the kings of Spain utilized the New Christians in this very traditional manner as a highly competent intermediary group between themselves and the great mass of Christian subjects. Alvaro de Luna, King Juan II’s chief minister, advanced the fortunes of both Jews and New Christians as a force loyal to the monarchy in its struggles with the nobility, and in preference to the non-Jewish urban aristocracy. New Christians were even more valuable than Jews because, as nominal Christians, they gave a sort of theoretical legitimacy to activities such as tax farming that was lacking when Jews performed these functions (Netanyahu, pp. 217ff).

Conversion therefore put a new twist to the traditional Jewish role as an alien, exploitative middleman. A 15th-century satirist depicts an Old Christian lamenting that the New Christians, because of their ostensible conversion, had become “legitimate” and were now entitled to use their “manipulations, chicaneries, subtleties and deceits, without fear of God and shame of the people” (p. 513). Conversion had not changed the cohesiveness or group status of the “Hebrew race,” nor their eagerness to exploit the Old Christian population — but merely by changing their surface religion, their much-resented behavior toward the Old Christians had now become permissible, at least from a Christian theological perspective.

Spaniards understandably continued to regard the Jewish “New Christians” as a cohesive group that very successfully exploited the traditional (Old) Christian population. In spite of conversion, this group persisted in many of the same oppressive activities that had provoked anti-Jewish hatred prior to their conversion, especially tax farming and collaborating with the king against the interests of the people.

For all his biased interpretation of sources, the facts presented by Netanyahu are consistent with the following overall scenario: The Conversos remained a separate, unassimilated “nation apart” within Spanish society well into the 15th century, and indeed through the height of the Inquisition period, and even into the 18th century. Freed from the traditional economic and social constraints placed on Jews, this self-aware ethnic-cultural group rose quickly to a position of dominance, and was correctly perceived by the mass of people (Old Christians) as an alien, exploitative enclave.

It is this fundamentally unhealthy situation that ultimately led to the Inquisition. Indeed, it is this general condition (which of course has varied in particulars from country to country and from age to age), that has provoked hostility toward Jews throughout history.

Conflict Between Rulers and Subjects

In Spain, periods of close Jewish ties to the monarch and the country's ruling elite were characterized by exploitation of the common people by the rulers, and alienation between the monarch and his subjects. Given the generally hostile relationship between Jews and non-Jews in Spanish society, it is not surprising that changes of government or periods of royal weakness often resulted in anti-Jewish pogroms, especially in the century prior to the establishment of the Inquisition.



This fanciful English illustration purports to show an Inquisition torture chamber. Contrary to popular belief, inquisitors actually employed torture only on rare occasions.

As Netanyahu shows, the closer the alliance between the King and the Conversos, the greater the hostility toward the King among the people. Fray Alonso de Espina, a Franciscan friar who was instrumental in establishing the Inquisition, not only hated the Conversos, he also condemned the rulers who had betrayed their people. Quoting Espina, Netanyahu writes (p. 731) that he sharply criticized the

“detested avarice of the Christian princes” and “the temporal gains which they get from the Jews” that brings them to let the Jewish crimes go unpunished. It is their excessive converse with the Jews, and the numerous gifts they receive from them, that lead them to permit the “ravenous wolves” who have entered the “flock” of God to continue their ravages without opposition.

Espina praised the rulers of England and France for their wisdom and concern for the good of their nations in expelling the Jews from their realms. He had particular praise for French King Philip II (Augustus) as a ruler who “burned with the zeal of God” when, in the year 1182, he despoiled the Jews of his country and expelled them, in spite of pleas from the nobility and prelates, and offers of bribes from the Jews. (p. 831).

A Double Standard

Netanyahu is exquisitely sensitive to the “immorality” of the Old Christians when or if they exaggerated a lack of religious sincerity among the Conversos. Similarly, he condemns the Inquisition for its “blatant disregard for human life ... [its] desire to flaunt power and exercise control over life and death ... [and its] shameless rapacity” (pp. 1085-1086).

But Netanyahu's moral sense is one-sided. He implicitly suggests that the Spaniards should have been unconcerned that they were being dominated and exploited by an alien group, and that their aristocracy, and indeed the entire upper classes, were fast becoming “New Christian.” In Netanyahu's view, the Spaniards should have acknowledged their inferiority and humbly acquiesced in their own economic, social and political domination by an outgroup dedicated to its own interests. The astonishing notion that a people is morally obligated to passively accept its own eclipse and domination is certainly not likely to appeal to sincere advocates of social justice, whatever their ideology. Such a “morality” is unlikely to win approval by any subjugated nation.

Netanyahu seems incapable of seeing the self-centered and even hypocritical nature of this interpretation of history, apparently because he views morality through strictly Jewish-Zionist eyes. While accepting the view that Jews constitute a distinct national-religious group, and that the Jewish people-nation can and should compete with non-Jewish nations for resources and power,

he condemns as immoral the efforts by non-Jews to resist or counter Jewish domination. Institutions developed by non-Jews to protect and further their own group interests — such as the Inquisition — are predictably seen by Netanyahu (as well as by other similarly motivated historians) as the height of immorality.

In Netanyahu's view, efforts by non-Jews to increase their own power and position at the expense of Jews are inherently immoral, and are ascribed to motives of envy, jealousy and racism. (Netanyahu repeatedly calls the Inquisitors and the anti-Converso pogromists "racists.") On the other hand, he sees nothing wrong or immoral about the efforts by Jews throughout history to take and maintain economic, social and political power, often with great success, at the expense of others. Thus he portrays the motives of the Conversos as entirely natural human strivings for money, political power and social status. Consistent with this, he regards tax farming as a morally neutral activity that was a necessary part of the machinery of government in the Middle Ages.

Effective Strategies

In spite of the author's intellectual dishonesty and ethical bankruptcy, this book is worthwhile. In addition to a careful chronicling of the close relationships between Spanish kings and their Converso subjects, and a detailed summary of the social and political sources of animosity toward the Conversos, it provides a wealth of information on the intellectual, social, and political battles between Spaniards and Conversos in the 15th century. Netanyahu also presents a valuable and interesting account of the multifaceted strategies used by the Conversos to attain their social and political goals — strategies that presage many of the techniques Jews have used in modern societies to combat anti-Semitism and further their interests.

While attention has already been drawn to some of the activities of 15th-century New Christian intellectual apologists, this scarcely begins to tell the whole story. During the Inquisition period, Jewish emigrants from Spain and Portugal produced a large body of polemical, apologetic literature meant to refute Christianity and bolster the resolve of the crypto-Jews who remained on the Iberian peninsula. ^[33]

In addition, Netanyahu shows that even prior to the Inquisition, New Christian intellectuals such as Fernán Díaz, Cardinal Juan de Torquemada, and Alonso de Cartagena emerged to defend the supposedly sincere Christian orthodoxy of the New Christians, to refute the arguments of the Conversos' enemies, and to develop novel theological arguments that portrayed the Jews, both in Old Testament and modern times, in a positive light. To do so, these writers had to counter a very large body of Christian writing that depicted Jews in a searingly negative light. Their success in this task impressively illustrates the ability of Jewish intellectuals throughout the ages to fashion effective strategies, conforming to the currently prevailing zeitgeist, in defense of Jewish (or, in this case, New Christian) interests.

Clever Justifications

It is noteworthy that within this entire body of pro-Converso writing, Jews are regarded as a distinct ethnic-racial group. The writings of the Converso Bishop Alonso de Cartagena, for example, viewed Jews as a group that was "united by a blood relationship whose origins went back to Abraham" (Netanyahu, p. 530). Cartagena argued that God chose Abraham to be the progenitor of the people that would be dedicated to His service, and because of their special role as the carnal progenitors of Christ, they had to remain separate from other peoples and occupy an elevated moral status compared to other humans: "Not only was the Jewish people raised to the status of nobility in mankind ... it was also allotted the status of holiness" (p. 533).

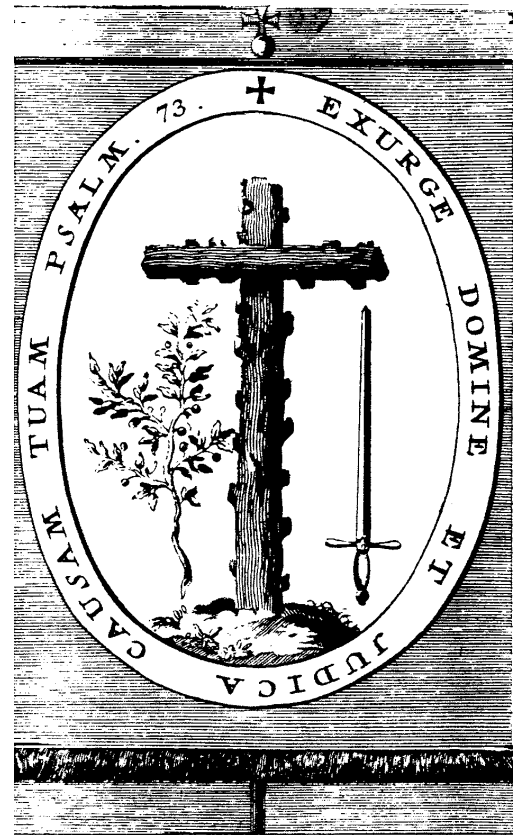
In a twist on the traditional Jewish view of themselves as a special, “chosen” people, Conversos portrayed themselves as constituting a kind of closed religious order made up of morally superior individuals distinguished by a superior biological heritage — a group therefore worthy of being the progenitors of Christ. Consistent with this view, the conversion of the Jews to Christianity was really no conversion at all, because it merely represented a higher fulfillment of their great and predestined historical role. Converso intellectuals developed this fantastic argument to refute charges by their enemies that baptized Jews would be unable to accommodate themselves to Christian teachings. [34]

A remarkable aspect of New Christian apologias, and their intellectual defenses generally, is that they were crafted in such a manner that the Conversos could view and portray themselves as remaining loyal to their (Jewish) peoplehood and (Mosaic) law. (pp. 936-937). By superficially becoming Christians while at the same time retaining their ethnic identity and sense of peoplehood, they provided a bridge between “ethnic Israel” and “spiritual Israel.” Alonso de Cartagena argued that Christianity could serve as a viable ideology in which New Christians could preserve their ethnic group cohesiveness and solidarity in precisely the same manner as Jews had always done. What we have here, in short, is a novel ideology of superficial Christianity that served to rationalize the continuity of Jewish group identity and cohesiveness among the New Christians.

Cartagena correctly saw that Christianity does not ultimately recognize races at all because, at the theoretical or spiritual level, it fosters the unification of all humanity. And he proposed that eventually there would be complete intermingling of races and nations (a notion, I suggest, that served much the same function in his writing as the “withering away of the state” does in classical Marxist political theory).

While anticipating the eventual emergence of a society free from ethnic distinctions, Cartagena contended that because ethnic divisions would persist into the foreseeable future, and because they have no legitimate place in Christian theology, we should do our best to ignore them. Thus he did not advocate a program to encourage intermarriage, nor did he condemn the New Christians for their continued group consciousness, their political and economic inter-group cooperation, their consciousness of common descent, or their pride in their Jewish ancestry. Instead, Cartagena attempted to change the traditional outlook and social behavior of non-Jewish Spaniards by urging them to view both themselves and the New Christians as members of one people — even though these different groups were not only disunited but in fact were actively engaged in grim and sometimes violent conflict.

Cartagena’s message was that the continuation of the New Christians as an unassimilated, segregated group within Spanish society should be irrelevant from a Christian moral and theological perspective. He even proposed that the categories of New Christian and Old Christian be abandoned altogether, on the theory that eliminating such distinctions would lessen hostility by Old



The emblem of the Inquisition: Along with the Christian cross and symbols of mercy (left) and justice (right), is the Inquisition’s motto, “Arise, Oh Lord, and judge thine own cause.”

Christians toward New Christians. At the same time, though, Cartagena argued that New Christians should be allowed to maintain their own strong sense of superior group consciousness.

The implication is that the New Christians can and should continue to retain their group integrity and even their ethnic uniqueness in order to preserve their distinguished lineage. However, the rest of Christian society ought to view such behavior as theoretically irrelevant and cease even categorizing individuals as New Christians because such racist thinking is contrary to Christian theology and morality. In other words, Cartagena urged non-Jewish Spaniards to abandon their own sense of group self-awareness, while urging baptized Jews to retain their separate group identity. ^[35]

Waging Intellectual Warfare

A striking feature of the struggle over the New Christians in 15th-century Spain was that their defenders were intellectually far more sophisticated than their opponents. Collectively they dominated the literature of the period. (This has often been true in other eras as well, such as during the Dreyfus affair in 19th century France, and in the United States today.) ^[36]

Netanyahu details the distinguished intellectual and political accomplishments of Torquemada and Cartagena prior to their apologetic work, and points out that Díaz was the second or third most powerful official in the government of Castile. Their arguments were presented in a highly literate, scholarly style that commanded respect from educated readers. Moreover, these writers showed great skill in developing intricate, tortured arguments to offset the long-standing anti-Jewish bias inherent in Christian theology. Similar comments could be made about a very large body of pro-Jewish literature directed at non-Jews in more recent historical eras, including our own. Indeed, a good example is Netanyahu's book.

The result of all this intellectual activity was a stunning, if temporary, victory. Writes Netanyahu (p. 658):

The Marranos were faced with a campaign of vilification which clearly threatened their existence in Spain, and they were inevitably looking for the best method to quash that campaign, or reduce its effectiveness. As long as Toledo was the headquarters and center of the rebels' anti-Marrano agitation, the Marranos met the violent diatribes ... with a counterattack that soon put their enemies on the defensive. Determined to fight fire with fire, the Marranos placed in the forefront of their battle-line the strongest and ablest men they possessed — Torquemada, Cartagena, the Relator [Fernán Díaz], and others; they enlisted in their support men of courage and brilliance, such as Lope de Barrientos and Alonso de Montalvo ...

They built a massive public opinion that was so adverse to Sarmiento [a leader of the anti-Converso revolt] and his followers that the latter came to be regarded as outlaws, not only politically, but also morally and religiously. Within one year after the Toledan outbreak, the Marranos saw their foes in retreat; the Pope had denounced and excommunicated them; their leaders had been executed or hunted down; and Toledo ... was clearly seeking accommodation with the Crown.

In their intellectual struggle, the Conversos recruited prominent and respected Old Christians to defend their cause — a strategy commonly employed by Jews through the ages. (Even in the ancient world there developed an entire apologetic literature written by Jews masquerading as non-Jews.) ^[37] Similarly, in modern societies Jews have often covertly funded organizations headed

by prominent non-Jews that combat anti-Semitism or otherwise promote Jewish interests. Examples of this phenomenon in 20th-century America include the successful campaigns to establish a US trade embargo against Tsarist Russia and to revise American immigration policy to promote maximum racial and cultural pluralism. [38]

As Netanyahu shows, the Conversos recruited several prominent Old Christians to support their cause. Lope de Barrientos, an Old Christian and Bishop of Cuenca, was recruited by the Converso Fernán Díaz to write a tract supporting the Christian orthodoxy of most Conversos and condemning their enemies (p. 612). Actually, this tract was no more than a revision of one that Díaz himself had written. Another Old Christian, the jurist Alonso Díaz de Montalvo, sought help from two prominent New Christian intellectuals in writing a pro-Converso apologetic tract.

So it was that the New Christians engaged in an elaborate, multifaceted strategy to counter and vanquish their enemies. This included polemical writings by Converso intellectuals, recruitment of prominent non-Jewish intellectuals, as well as falsifications and deletions of the historical record by Converso scholars. It also included efforts to persuade the King to deal harshly with anti-Jewish pogromists, and to persuade the Pope to excommunicate the anti-Jewish Toledo rebels of 1449. During the Inquisition era New Christians bribed the Pope and other high officials, and at times were able to infiltrate the Inquisition itself, as part of the effort to soften the effect of its campaign against crypto-Jews. Converso efforts were not confined to the intellectual field. They also included the establishment of para-military urban self-defense organizations, and even assassinations of anti-Converso leaders during periods of armed conflict.

Because of such efforts the New Christians remained a prominent political force in Spain well into the 17th century (even as the Inquisition remained active well into the 18th century). One can only be impressed by their incredible tenacity, as well as that of Jewish historians such as Netanyahu who continue to fight their battles five centuries later.

Furthering a Jewish Historical Outlook

In this regard Netanyahu is of course continuing a long tradition of Jewish intellectual apologetics that stretches back to the ancient world. Jewish scholar Jacob Katz sees this academic pattern as very much alive in today's world. Jewish Studies Departments in American universities, he finds, are explicitly linked to Jewish nationalism, and they often violate customary standards of scholarly objectivity: "The inhibitions of traditionalism, on the one hand, and a tendency toward apologetics, on the other, can function as deterrents to scholarly objectivity." The work of Jewish historians, says Katz, exhibits "a defensiveness that continues to haunt so much of contemporary Jewish activity." [39]



From the Middle Ages to the 20th cen-

Another recent book on the Inquisition, José Faur's *In the Shadow of History: Jews and Conversos at the Dawn of Modernity* [40] is even more disgraceful than Netanyahu's in its disregard for the normal scholarly pursuit of truth, pressed into the service of promoting a thoroughly Judeocentric historiography. In the introduction, Faur describes his deep commitment to Judaism and attachment to the Jewish culture of his childhood. "This book is written from the perspective of the 'other'," he writes. "The story of the conversos ... concerns the attempt of the oppressed to break the silence imposed on them by the persecuting society,

ture, violent eruptions of rage against and transmit the perspective of the persecuted to future generations.”

contemporary print depicts a pogrom in the Frankfurt Jewish quarter, 1614.

Faur completely rejects “objective” or “scientific” history whose real function has been “to suppress alternative perspectives, particularly the perspective of the victim.” He boldly lays out his goal:

There will be no “Jewish history” without Jewish historians establishing a specific Jewish perspective. Therefore, the rise of a Jewish historical consciousness is indispensable for a particular Jewish history ... Without a historical consciousness the destiny of the Jewish people will remain unfulfilled.

Historiography for Faur is fundamentally subjective. “The most awesome responsibility of the Jewish historian,” he writes, “is to validate the authority of Jewish memory.” Just as with the 15th-century Converso chroniclers, historians such as Netanyahu, and a very long line of Jewish apologists stretching back into the ancient world, José Faur sees his intellectual work as dedicated first and foremost to furthering Jewish group interests.

In spite of their unconcealed bias, historians such as Netanyahu and Faur encounter no obstacles in today’s world. Their works are published by the most prominent and respectable publishing houses, while revisionist scholars who attempt a more objective perspective on history — one that inevitably conflicts with Jewish self-conceptions and interests — are typically relegated to a sort of intellectual underground, if not driven to oblivion.

An Ancient Conflict

Every healthy society requires a sense of moral and ethical rectitude, even a kind of self-righteousness — and no people has refined this sense more acutely than the Jews.

Beginning with Philo and Josephus in the ancient world, Jewish scholars and religious leaders have developed complex arguments intended to present the Jewish people and Judaism in a positive light. As part of this effort to morally justify the Jewish role in history they often portray Judaism as a morally superior religion, Jews as acting according to high ethical principles, and the Jewish people as, consequently, a moral beacon for the rest of humanity. This “light unto the nations” argument has persisted as a prominent theme of 19th and 20th century Jewish apologetics.

Consistent with this, Jewish intellectuals have sought to defend Jewish history and tradition by portraying as immoral all societies and cultures that have been unfriendly to Jews. Especially in recent centuries, Jewish scholars have been at the forefront of efforts to malign and discredit the intellectual, cultural and religious foundations of Western civilization. Referring to this process, British historian Paul Johnson writes of “the sheer destructive power of Jewish rationalism once it escaped the restraints of the traditional community.” ^[41]

Netanyahu is squarely within this tradition. His work seeks to portray Jewish (and Converso) behavior as ethical, and Judaism as moral, while at the same time castigating anti-Jewish societies as fundamentally irrational and malevolent. Thus he censures not merely Spanish culture, but Western civilization — including its religious pillar, Christianity. In the view of Jewish intellectuals such as Netanyahu, the history of the West — beginning with the Roman Empire and the early Christian era, and culminating in Auschwitz — has largely been a chronicle of Jew-hatred, and therefore of almost unrelieved evil.

For their part, non-Jews in widely varying periods and places have regarded Jewish behavior, as well as the fundamentally ethnocentric moral code of Judaism, with loathing and contempt. [42] One finds this from Roman intellectuals in the ancient world, in the spectacular Christian-Jewish “disputations” of the Middle Ages, in repeated condemnations of the Jewish Talmud by Popes and other Christian leaders, and as a prominent strand of 18th- and 19th-century Enlightenment discourse about the Jews (for example, by Kant and Voltaire).

In a world in which Jews and non-Jews are still groping to determine the proper place of Jews in society, Jewish historians such as Netanyahu and Faur take their work very seriously. They regard themselves not as dispassionate scholars in search of historical truth, but as intellectual warriors in a conflict that is being waged for the highest stakes. They believe, correctly, that the very survival of the Jewish people requires ceaseless scholarly defense, even in our “enlightened” age. In this ancient conflict, Netanyahu’s book is an important intellectual weapon — massive and sharp, but also double-edged.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York: Meridian Books, and, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960 [copyright 1932]), p. 20; and, C. Roth, *The Spanish Inquisition* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1937), p. 27; Cecil Roth, born in England in 1899, authored numerous works of Jewish history. He began teaching at Oxford University in 1939.
2. [↗](#) Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York and Philadelphia: 1960), pp. 20, 30, 31.
3. [↗](#) H. Fast, *The Jews: Story of a People* (Dell pb. edition, 1978 [originally: Dial Press: 1968]), pp. 215, 216.
4. [↗](#) F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford Univ. Press [2nd ed.] 1977), p. 1296.
5. [↗](#) Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (New York: Free Press, 1988); “The Myth of the Spanish Inquisition,” a 1995 BBC television documentary that was also broadcast in the USA on the History Channel (AandE cable network), January 17, 1996; Edward O'Brien, “A New Look at the Spanish Inquisition,” *The Wanderer* (St. Paul, Minn.), Feb. 15, 1996, p. 10.
6. [↗](#) Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York and Philadelphia: 1960), pp. 1-10; L. Begley, *Wartime Lies* (New York: Knopf, 1991); J. Prinz, *The Secret Jews* (New York: Random House, 1973).
7. [↗](#) D.K. Shipler, “Soviet Jews Found to Retain Identity,” *The New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1981. See also Hendrick Smith’s book, *The Russians*.
8. [↗](#) H. Beinart, “The Converso Community in 15th Century Spain,” in R.D. Barnett (ed.), *The Sephardi Heritage*, Vol. I (New York: Ktav, 1971), pp. 425-456, 457-478; H. Beinart, *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press/ Hebrew Univ., 1981); S. M. Hordes, “The Inquisition and the Crypto-Jewish community in colonial New Spain and New Mexico,” in M. E. Perry and A. J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1991); M. Lazar, “Scorched parchments and tortured memories: The “Jewishness” of the Anussim (Crypto-Jews),” in M. E. Perry and A. J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley: 1991).
9. [↗](#) See, for example, J. C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain 1626-1650* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press. 1983); Y. H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to*

Italian Ghetto: Isaac Cardoso: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1971).

10.  Salo W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, Vol. XV, "Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion," (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America [2nd ed.], 1973), p. 372; S. Haliczer, "The First Holocaust," in S. Haliczer (ed.), (trans. S. Haliczer), Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe (Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1987).
11.  S. M. Hordes, "The Inquisition and the Crypto-Jewish Community ...," in M.E. Perry and A.J. Cruz (eds.), Cultural Encounters (Berkeley: 1991), p. 213.
12.  S. W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, Vol. XV (Philadelphia: 1973), pp. 233-234.
13.  Y. H. Yerushalmi, From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto (New York: 1971), p. 5.
14.  C. Roth, A History of the Marranos (1960), Epilogue, "The Marranos of Today," and esp. pp. 362-365, 368, 369; In 1990 a community of about 500 clandestine Jews was living in the Portugese town of Belmonte. Source: P. Ames, "Portugal Jews Begin to Shed Secrecy," Los Angeles Times (AP article), June 3, 1990; In 1978 the leading Jewish community paper of Britain reported that "there are still villages in Portugal populated by these secret Jews ..." Source: S. Freedland, "The Secret Jews: 1978 Style," Jewish Chronicle (London), Feb. 3, 1978, p. 24; See also: H.C. Lea, History of the Inquisition of Spain, 4 Vols. (New York: American Scholar Publications, 1906-1907; reprinted in 1966).
15.  Cited in S. W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, Vol. XV (1973), p. 110.
16.  S.W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, Vol. XV, p. 139; B. Pullan, The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670 (London: Basil Blackwell, 1983).
17.  Cecil Roth, A History of the Marranos (1932 ed.), pp. xxiii-xxiv. Another recent example is José Faur, who writes passionately of the "the glory of Sepharad" (In the Shadow of History: Jews and Conversos at the Dawn of Modernity, Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1992, p. ix).
18.  Henry Kamen, Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1985). Kamen continues his highly apologetic work in a review of Netanyahu's book, "The Secret of the Inquisition," New York Review of Books, Feb. 1, 1996, pp. 4-6. Indeed, Kamen goes beyond Netanyahu to claim that "to a considerable extent the Inquisition created anti-Semitism, rather than that anti-Semitism created the Inquisition." This is an astonishing assertion in light of the widespread and repeated violence against Jews culminating in the forced conversions of 1391 and against the Conversos from the 1440s until the establishment of the Inquisition in 1480. The clear message from the work of many scholars, including Netanyahu, is that over several centuries the only restraint on intensely violent anti-Jewish and anti-Converso pogroms was the alliance of the Jews, and later the Conversos, with the crown.
19.  E. Rivkin, "How Jewish were the New Christians?," in J. Sola-Sole, S.G. Armistead, and Silverman (eds.), Hispania Judaica: Studies in the History, Language, and Literature of the Jews in the Hispanic World, Vol. I: History (Barcelona: Puvill-Editor, undated).
20.  A. Castro, The Structure of Spanish History, trans. E. L. King (Princeton Univ. Press, 1954), pp. 525, 531.
21.  Quoted in: W.T. Walsh, Isabella of Spain: The Last Crusader (New York: Robert M. McBride and Co. 1930), pp. 202-203.
22.  V. Perera, "Burning questions: A monumental reinterpretation of why the Inquisition happened," The New Yorker, Nov. 6, 1995, pp. 163-174.

23. [↗](#) David Berger, in his review, "Old and New Christians," *Commentary*, October 1995, p. 56, describes Netanyahu's work as "devoid of nuance" in its unitary portrayal of the New Christians, and as reconstructing "motives and intentions through a series of inferences based on slim evidence."
24. [↗](#) Published in New York in 1966 by the American Academy for Jewish Research. Reissued in 1973.
25. [↗](#) See G. Cohen (Review of *The Marranos of Spain* by B. Netanyahu), *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 29, 1967, pp. 178-184. Cohen emphasizes how Netanyahu engages in extremely tendentious interpretations to defend his hypothesis.; See also: Y.H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* (1971), pp. 21ff.
26. [↗](#) Richard L. Kagan, "Article of Faith?" (review), *The New York Times Book Review*, August 27, 1995, p. 16.
27. [↗](#) See J. Contreras, "Family and patronage: The Judeo-Converso minority in Spain," in M. E. Perry and A. J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1991), p. 134; J. Faur, *In the Shadow of History* (1992), p. 41; S. Freund and T. Ruiz, "Jews, Conversos, and the Inquisition in Spain, 1391-1492," in M. Perry and F. M. Schweitzer (eds.) *Jewish-Christian Encounters over the Centuries* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), p. 178; S. Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia 1478-1834* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1990), p. 212ff; R. Kagan, "Article of faith," *The New York Times Book Review*, August 27, 1995, p. 16.
28. [↗](#) D. Berger, "Old and New Christians," *Commentary*, 100(4), October 1995, p. 56.
29. [↗](#) H. Fast, *The Jews: Story of a People* (Dell pb. edition, 1978 [originally: Dial Press: 1968]), pp. 218-219; See also: Yirmiyahu Yovel, *Spinoza and Other Heretics* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1989), Chaps. 1-4.
30. [↗](#) J. Contreras, "Family and patronage" and J. Contreras, "Alderman and Judaizers: Cryptojudaism, Counter-Reformation, and local power," both in A.J. Cruz and M.E. Perry (eds.), *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1992; S. M. Hordes, "The Inquisition ...," in M.E. Perry and A.J. Cruz (eds.), *Cultural Encounters* (Berkeley: 1991); Y.H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* (1971), p. 18.
31. [↗](#) C. Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York and Philadelphia: 1960), p. 21.
32. [↗](#) C. Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (1960), p. 31.
33. [↗](#) Y.H. Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* (1971), p. 48.
34. [↗](#) One finds similar arguments in the literature of today's "Jews for Jesus" movement.
35. [↗](#) Parallels with our own time are obvious. During the past century, Marxist and liberal thinkers have worked hard to persuade lawmakers and the public that race and ethnicity should not be regarded as socially relevant — even though they have played an important role in the real day to day lives of people. Or consider those Jewish leaders of today who urge non-Jews to abandon their sense of ethnic, racial, religious and cultural identity, while at the same time encouraging Jews vigilantly to maintain their own distinctive ethnic-religious group identity.
36. [↗](#) Albert S. Lindemann, *The Jew Accused: Three Anti-Semitic Affairs (Dreyfus, Beilis, Frank) 1894-1915* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991); See also: Wilmot Robertson, *The Dispossessed Majority* (Cape Canaveral, Fla.: Howard Allen, 1981).
37. [↗](#) E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, Vol. III (Revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman. Originally published in 1885. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1986), pp. 617ff.

38. ☞ N.W. Cohen, *Not Free to Desist: The American Jewish Committee 1906-1966* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1972); S. M. Neuringer, *American Jewry and United States Immigration Policy 1881-1953* (New York: Arno, 1980; Nathan C. Belth, *A Promise to Keep: A Narrative of the American Encounter with Anti-Semitism* (New York: Times Books/ The New York Times [copyright: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith], 1979), pp. 173, 175; Also valuable is: Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection* (New York: 1978).
39. ☞ Jacob Katz, *Jewish Emancipation and Self-Emancipation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1986), pp. 84, 85.
40. ☞ J. Faur, *In the Shadow of History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992). The quotations from Faur's book are from pages 8 (*italics in text*), 183, 184 and 210.
41. ☞ P. Johnson, *A History of the Jews* (New York: Perennial Library, 1988 [Originally published by Harper and Row, 1987]), pp. 291-292.
42. ☞ See the remarkable book by Israeli scholar Israel Shahak, *Jewish Religion, Jewish History: The Weight of Three Thousand Years* (Boulder, Colorado: Pluto Press, 1994).

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The Spanish Inquisition in Reality and Myth

Much of the sinister reputation of the Spanish Inquisition, promoted even in major motion pictures, is undeserved. Oxford University lecturer Reginald Trevor Davies, a specialist of Spanish history, confirms this in an article published in the 1957 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (vol. 21, pp. 121-122). Explaining how the historical truth has been distorted, he writes:

The Spanish church was wealthy and powerful because the people were intensely religious and because it was largely a national institution in which no foreigner might hold office and in which the crown was supreme ... It was, consequently, a fact of serious political importance that during the anarchy of Henry IV's reign (1454-75) the Jews gained great power and influence. They might compel — sometimes by means of their usury — their debtors to renounce the Christian religion; and Marranos (baptized Jews) often preserved the old religious faith in secret ...

The familiars of the Inquisition, exercising ceaseless vigilance in the remotest corners of Spain, may be fittingly compared with the justices of the peace who did so much to uphold the throne of Tudor England ...

It cannot be denied that the Inquisition was guilty of abuses and cruelties in the course of its long history, but it was no more unjust or inhumane than most other courts of the Europe of its day. The traditional exaggerations about it were derived from the works of Juan Antonio Llorente (1756-1823), 19th century liberals and a number of historical novelists and dramatists ...

Llorente's *Histoire critique de l'inquisition d'Espagne*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1817-18) was widely used by anti-Catholic propagandists and translated into several languages. The author's life was such that his work may well be supposed to be extremely tendentious; he wrote to please those who happened to be in power. He used many documents taken from the archives of the Inquisition but carefully selected them to support the case he wished to advocate.

Edward Peters, Professor of Medieval History at the University of Pennsylvania, has detailed the development and impact of the Inquisition as historical myth. In his book *Inquisition*, published in 1988 by the Free Press (pp. 1, 2, 231, 263, 308) he writes:

Between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries in western Europe, the Latin Christian Church adapted certain elements of Roman legal procedure and charged papally appointed clergy to employ them in order to preserve orthodox religious beliefs from the attacks of heretics ... Between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries ... these procedures, personnel and institutions were transformed by polemic and fiction into myth, the myth of *The Inquisition*. The institutions and the myth lived — and developed — in western Europe and the New World until the early nineteenth century, when most of the inquisitions were abolished, and the myth itself was universalized ...

Although the inquisitions disappeared, *The Inquisition* did not. The myth was originally devised to serve variously the political purposes of a number of early modern political regimes, as well as

Protestant Reformers, proponents of religious and civil toleration, philosophical enemies of the civil power of organized religions, and progressive modernists; but the myth remained durable, widely adaptable, and useful, so that in time it came to be woven tightly into the fabric of modern consciousness. So tight is its place in that weave that the myth has been revived in the twentieth century ...

Some myths are tougher and more durable than the occasions which first create and employ them. *The Inquisition* [as myth] was an invention of the religious disputes and political conflicts of the sixteenth century. It was adapted to the causes of religious toleration and philosophical and political enlightenment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this process, although it was always anti-Catholic and usually anti-Spanish, it tended to become universalized, until, by the end of the eighteenth century, it had become the representative of all repressive religions that opposed freedom of conscience, political liberty and philosophical enlightenment.

In the United States, far more than in Europe, *The Inquisition* remained an evil abstraction, sustained by anti-Catholicism and supported by political opposition.

Debating the Undebatable: The Weber-Shermer Clash

Exchanging Views on the Holocaust

For several years now, Jewish organizations have said that to debate those who dispute the Six Million story gives legitimacy to a view that is beyond the bounds of decent public discourse, and provides a forum for “hate.” Deborah Lipstadt, author of *Denying the Holocaust*, insists that there is not and cannot be a debate on the Holocaust. In a few countries, including France and Germany, those who express dissident views on this issue are treated as criminals.

Actually, there have already been a few scattered Holocaust debates. For several hours in April 1979, French professor Robert Faurisson defended his revisionist views against challenge by several “exterminationist” historians on Italian-language Swiss television. That same year the Italian history journal *Storia Illustrata* opened its pages to both Faurisson and anti-revisionist scholars to present their conflicting arguments. (See R. Faurisson, “[The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?](#),” Winter 1981 *Journal*, pp. 319-373.)

Although nothing on this scale has so far been possible in the United States, on Saturday afternoon, July 22, 1995, a strong beam of light pierced the prevailing blackout when two scholars squared off in a debate at a hotel in Costa Mesa, California. Michael Shermer, history of science associate professor at Occidental College, and editor-publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, matched wits for two hours with Mark Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review, and editor of its *Journal of Historical Review*. Greg Raven, *Journal* associate editor, served as MC for the event, which was sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review, and introduced the two participants. Each speaker delivered a 30-minute opening presentation, followed by a 20-minute rebuttal. A question and answer period concluded the event. (A videotape of this debate is available from the IHR Store.)

Changing Holocaust Story

In his opening presentation, Weber explained precisely what revisionists say, and do not say, about the Holocaust issue. He stressed that the Holocaust story has changed drastically over the years. What we are told today is quite different than the story given at the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-46. Weber continued:

Many extermination claims that were once widely accepted have been quietly dropped in recent years. For example, the great Nuremberg Trial of 1945-1946 supposedly proved that the Germans systematically killed people in gas chambers at Dachau, Buchenwald and other concentration camps in Germany proper. That part of the extermination story proved so untenable that it was abandoned more than twenty years ago.

As Weber pointed out, no serious historian now supports the once supposedly proven stories of “extermination camps” in the territory of the old German Reich. Even Simon Wiesenthal, the well-known “Nazi hunter,” acknowledged in 1975 and again in 1993 that, “there were no extermination camps on German soil.”

These days, said Weber, prominent Holocaust historians maintain that large numbers of Jews were gassed at just six camps in what is now Poland: Auschwitz (including Birkenau), Majdanek, Treblinka, Sobibor, Chelmno and Belzec. However, Weber said, the so-called “evidence” presented for gasings at these six camps is not qualitatively different than the now-discredited so-called “evidence” for alleged gasings at the camps in Germany.

At the great Nuremberg trial, Weber pointed out, the Allies charged that the Germans had murdered one and a half million people in the Majdanek camp alone. In the decades that followed, this charge was widely repeated. Today no one believes it.

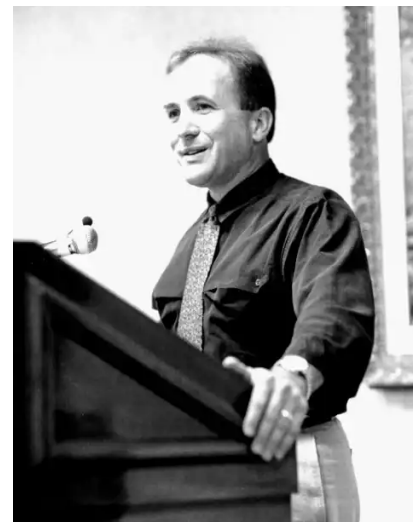
Cornerstone Auschwitz

Weber and Shermer each devoted considerable attention to the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, and especially Auschwitz-Birkenau, the cornerstone of the Holocaust story. At the Nuremberg Tribunal, and for decades afterwards, it was universally alleged that the Germans killed four million prisoners at Auschwitz alone. In recent years, Weber pointed out, this figure has been drastically revised downwards. For example, prominent French Holocaust historian Jean-Claude Pressac has recently estimated that 775,000 persons, of whom 630,000 were Jews, perished at Auschwitz. While even such lower figures are incorrect, said Weber, they show how the Auschwitz story has changed drastically over the years.

Blame for the wildly exaggerated four million figure is today pinned in the Poles or the Soviets. “What is routinely suppressed,” said Weber, is the fact that the four million Auschwitz figure was not only promoted by the Soviets, but officially endorsed by the United States and Britain, notably at the Nuremberg Tribunal, and was widely and uncritically repeated in the American media and major reference works.

One document that is constantly cited as key evidence for the Holocaust extermination story, said Weber, is the postwar “confession” of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. In his statement of April 5, 1946, which was submitted by the US prosecution at the main Nuremberg trial, Höss supposedly “confessed” to killing two and half million people at Auschwitz between 1940 and December 1943. (He claimed that another half million succumbed to starvation and disease during this period.)

But if far fewer than two million died at Auschwitz, as is now officially conceded in Israel and Poland, the Höss “confession” is implicitly fraudulent. In fact, said Weber, we now know that this “confession,” as well as Höss’ Nuremberg trial testimony, are not only demonstrably false on crucial points, but were obtained by torture. (See: Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death* [England: 1983], pp. 235ff.; R. Faurisson, “[How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss](#),” Winter 1986-87 *Journal*, pp. 389-403.)



Michael Shermer, editor-publisher of “Skeptic” magazine, addresses the IHR-sponsored meeting.

In spite of the drastic downward revisions in the once supposedly authoritative death tolls for Auschwitz and Majdanek, said Weber, no non-Revisionist historian has yet had the courage to draw the “rather obvious conclusion that the legendary six million figure cannot possibly be correct.” For the time being, anyway, it is still treated with reverence.

Weber cited detailed aerial photographs of Auschwitz taken by Allied reconnaissance aircraft on several random days in 1944, during the height of the alleged extermination period there. These photographs, which were first made public in 1979, “show no trace of piles of corpses, smoking crematory chimneys or masses of Jews awaiting death,” all of which have been alleged, and which would have been visible if Auschwitz had indeed been the infamous extermination center it is said to have been.

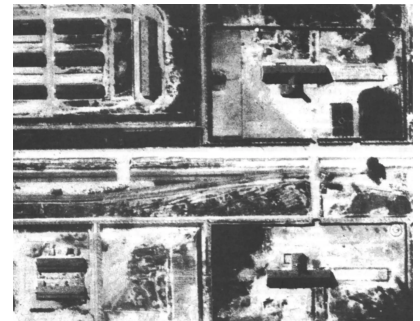
Forensic Examinations

Weber spoke about the various expert reports and on-site forensic examinations that have been made of the alleged extermination gas chambers, especially at Auschwitz-Birkenau. He spoke first about Fred Leuchter and his February 1988 on-site investigation at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. In sworn testimony in the 1988 Toronto trial of Ernst Zündel, and in a technical report, Leuchter described every aspect of his investigations. Presenting photos of the facilities, plans, charts and scientific data, he explained his startling conclusion that the “gas chamber” story is absurd and physically impossible. It is worth noting that at the time Leuchter was widely acknowledged as America’s foremost execution hardware specialist. (See the [Winter 1992-93 Journal](#), pp. 421-428, 485-492.)

Leuchter’s findings have been authoritatively corroborated by a major Polish research center, Weber continued. They prompted the Auschwitz State Museum, an agency of the Polish government, to commission the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow to conduct a similar forensic investigation. In a confidential report dated September 24, 1990, the Krakow Institute confirmed that its own findings very closely match those of the American gas chamber specialist. (See the Summer 1991 *Journal*, pp. 207-216.)

Dr. William Lindsey, an American research chemist employed for 33 years by the Dupont Corporation, likewise personally inspected the so-called gas chambers, said Weber. In a 1985 court case Lindsey testified under oath that the Auschwitz gassing story is physically impossible. Based on his careful examination of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and on his years of experience, he declared: “I have come to the conclusion that no one was willfully or purposefully killed with Zyklon B [hydrogen cyanide] in this manner. I consider it absolutely impossible.”

Similarly, said Weber, a leading Austrian engineer, Walter Lüftl, declared in March 1992 that the stories of mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz and Mauthausen are “technically impossible.” Lüftl, a court-recognized engineer, heads a large engineering firm in Vienna. At the time his report was made public, he was president of the Austrian Engineers Chamber, a four thousand member professional association. (See the [Winter 1992-93 Journal](#), pp. 391-420.)



Enlargement of an Allied aerial reconnaissance photo of Auschwitz-Birkenau, taken on August 25, 1944. It shows no trace of piles of corpses, smoking crematory chimneys or masses of Jews awaiting death. A large blow-up of this photograph was displayed at the Weber-Shermer debate.

German chemist Germar Rudolf similarly published a detailed report on the supposed gas chambers of Auschwitz, including Birkenau. His 1993 report, Weber said, is based on an on-site investigation, chemical analysis of samples, and meticulous research. Rudolf, a certified chemist and doctoral candidate, worked at the renowned Max Planck Institut research center in Stuttgart. “For chemical-physical reasons,” Rudolf concluded, “the claimed mass gassings with hydrocyanic acid in the alleged ‘gas chambers’ in Auschwitz did not take place ... The supposed facilities for mass killing in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not suitable for this purpose.”

‘Steam Chambers’ and ‘Jewish Soap’

At one time, Weber pointed out, it was seriously claimed that the Germans exterminated Jews with electricity and steam, and that they manufactured soap from Jewish corpses. At Nuremberg, he went on, the United States charged that the Germans killed Jews at Treblinka, not in gas chambers, as is now claimed, but by steaming them to death in so-called “steam chambers.” These bizarre stories have also been quietly abandoned in recent years. (See “[Treblinka](#),” Summer 1992 *Journal*, pp. 133-158.)

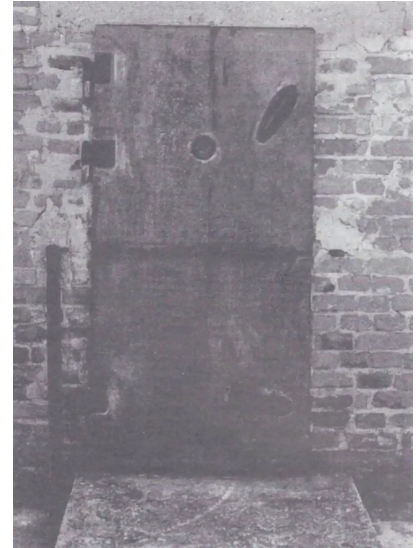
In April 1990, Israeli historians conceded that the Germans did not manufacture bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews — contrary to what had been alleged for years in countless periodicals and supposedly authoritative history texts. If this story is not true, one might reasonably ask, how then did it ever get started? Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer had a ready answer. He charged that the Nazis invented it. In fact, said Weber, this particular fable was first widely circulated in 1942 by the World Jewish Congress, and especially by its president, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Anne Frank

The Holocaust extermination story is superficially plausible, said Weber. Everyone has seen the horrific photos of dead and dying inmates taken at Bergen-Belsen, Nordhausen and other concentration camps when they were liberated by British and American forces in the final weeks of the war in Europe. These people were unfortunate victims, said Weber, not of an extermination program, but of disease and malnutrition brought on by the complete collapse of Germany in the final months of the war. In fact, he said, if there had been an extermination program, the Jews found by Allied forces at the end of the war would have long since been killed.

Perhaps the best known “Holocaust victim” has been Anne Frank, whose name is known around the world for her famous diary. Her fate, said Weber, is typical of many Jews who lost their lives in German camps during the war. The 15-year-old girl and her father, Otto Frank, were deported from the Netherlands to Auschwitz in September 1944. Several weeks later, in the face of the advancing Soviet army, Anne was evacuated along with many other Jews to the Bergen-Belsen camp, where she died of typhus in March 1945.

Her father came down with typhus in Auschwitz and was sent to the camp hospital to recover. He was one of thousands of sick and feeble Jews who were left behind when the Germans abandoned the camp in January 1945, shortly before it was overrun by the Soviets. He died in



A casting of this “gas chamber” door from the Majdanek camp in Poland is on display at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. French Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Presnac has conceded that this “gas chamber” is a fraud. (See the Sept.-Oct. 1993 “*Journal*,” p. 39.)

Switzerland in 1980. If the German policy had been to kill Anne Frank, neither she, nor her father and sister (along with many other Jews), would not have “survived” Auschwitz. “As tragic as it was,” said Weber, “their fate cannot be reconciled with the extermination story.”

Himmler's Order to the Camps

At the end of the Second World War, Weber said, the Allies confiscated a tremendous quantity of German documents dealing with Germany's wartime Jewish policy, which was sometimes referred to as the “final solution.” “But not a single German document has ever been found that orders or even refers to an extermination program,” he emphasized. “To the contrary, the documents clearly show that the German ‘final solution’ policy was one of emigration and deportation, not extermination.”

Moreover, said Weber, there “is no documentary evidence that Adolf Hitler ever gave an order to exterminate the Jews, or that he knew of any extermination program.” Instead, Weber continued, “the record shows that the German leader wanted the Jews to leave Europe, by emigration if possible and by deportation if necessary.”

Contrary to the popular propaganda image, the wartime German authorities were concerned about the high death rate in the concentration camps due to disease, and took measures to prevent deaths among the inmates. In this regard, Weber quoted from a directive dated December 28, 1942, from the head of the SS camp administration office to all the German concentration camps, including Auschwitz. It sharply criticized the high death rate of inmates due to disease, and ordered that “camp physicians must use all means at their disposal to significantly reduce the death rate in the various camps.” Furthermore, it ordered: “The camp doctors must supervise more often than in the past the nutrition of the prisoners and, in cooperation with the administration, submit improvement recommendations to the camp commandants ...” Finally, the directive stressed, “The Reichsführer SS [Himmler] has ordered that the death rate absolutely must be reduced.”

‘Survivor Testimony’

Holocaust historians rely heavily on so-called “survivor testimony,” to support the extermination story. But such “evidence,” Weber said, is notoriously unreliable. He cited an article by Jewish historian Samuel Gringauz, himself a “survivor” (*Jewish Social Studies*, Jan. 1950). “Most of the memoirs and reports” of “survivors,” Gringauz pointed out, “are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.”

In addition, Weber continued, more than ten thousand of the twenty thousand so-called “testimonies” of Jewish “survivors” on file at the Yad Vashem Holocaust center in Israel are also unreliable, according to a front page article that appeared in the *Jerusalem Post* newspaper of August 17th, 1986. The report quotes Shmuel Krakowski, the archives director of the Israeli government's Holocaust memorial center, who declared that “over half of the 20,000 testimonies from Holocaust survivors on record at Yad Vashem are ‘unreliable’.”



Mark Weber, director of the Institute for Historical Review, makes a point during the IHR-sponsored Holocaust debate. He responds to claims made in “The

As a fairly typical example of “eyewitness” gas chamber evidence, Weber quoted from the sworn statement of Regina Bialek, a former Auschwitz prisoner who supposedly survived a “gassing.” (See her statement on page 32). Calling this first-person account “absurd” and “ludicrous,” Weber pointed out that her description of a “gassing” is one that no serious historian today would credit.

ADL Disinformation

Weber took several minutes to deal with claims presented in one of the most widely distributed pieces of Holocaust propaganda. He held up a copy of *The Record: The Holocaust in History*, a publication of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith that purports to be a reliable account of how Europe’s Jews were treated between 1933 and 1945.

According to *The Record*, said Weber, no less two million Jews were killed at Treblinka alone. But it does not claim that the victims were shot or gassed, which is the generally accepted story these days, but maintains instead that they were steamed to death — a story no reputable historian now accepts. Another item, Weber continued, tells readers about mass killings at the Belzec camp. Citing an “eyewitness account,” *The Record* reports that Jews were put to death there, not by gassing, but by electrocuting them in a special hydraulic electrocution device. This is yet another discredited propaganda fable.

This ADL publication also includes a photograph of a door with a sinister skull and crossbones emblem, and the words in German: “Caution! Gas! Mortal Danger! Do Not Open!” Underneath this photo a caption tells readers: “Door of a gas chamber, typical of ones through which millions of Jews passed to their deaths.” In fact, said Weber, this photograph actually shows the door of a non-homicidal gas chamber at Dachau used to kill lice in clothing. It was never used to kill people. At Auschwitz, the ADL *Record* goes on to report, “more than four million persons were systematically slaughtered.” As Weber had already mentioned, this is another once authoritatively accepted claim that has been consigned to the trash heap of history.

‘Holocaustomania’

“Even after more than forty years,” said Weber, “the vast Holocaust campaign shows no sign of diminishing, but instead seems to grow more intense with each passing year.” He continued: “This relentless media campaign, which Jewish-American historian Alfred Lilienthal appropriately calls ‘Holocaustomania,’ portrays the fate of the Jews during the Second World War as the central event of history.”

Non-Jewish victims just do not merit the same concern, said Weber. “For example, there are no American memorials, ‘study centers,’ or annual observances for the victims of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, even though it is well established that Stalin’s victims vastly outnumber Hitler’s ... The Holocaust has become both a flourishing business and even a kind of new religion for many Jews.”

While we are endlessly told that the Germans murdered six million European Jews during the Second World War, said Weber, the public is kept largely ignorant of the conflict’s non-Jewish victims. Weber continued:

If you ask an average, reasonably educated American: “How many European Jews were killed by the Nazis during World War II?,” the almost automatic answer is, of

course, six million. But if you ask that same person: How many Americans lost their lives in the Second World War, or, for that matter, how many British, or Chinese, or Germans, died, the response is usually an admission of ignorance.

According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Weber noted, some 20 million Chinese civilian perished in World War II, while according to the Chinese government, 35 million Chinese lost their lives as a result of Japanese aggression. “How many Americans know or care about these Asian victims of the Second World War?,” Weber asked.

Shermer’s ‘Convergence of Evidence’

As Michael Shermer came to the podium the audience greeted him with a round of applause. The Holocaust is obviously a very emotional issue, he told the gathering, “if not the most emotional event in modern history.” All the same, he went on, as a “civil libertarian” he entirely agrees that the principle of free speech should also protect dissident views about the Holocaust. As it happens, he had just returned from Europe, where he inspected the sites of the wartime German concentration camps of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Mauthausen and Dachau.

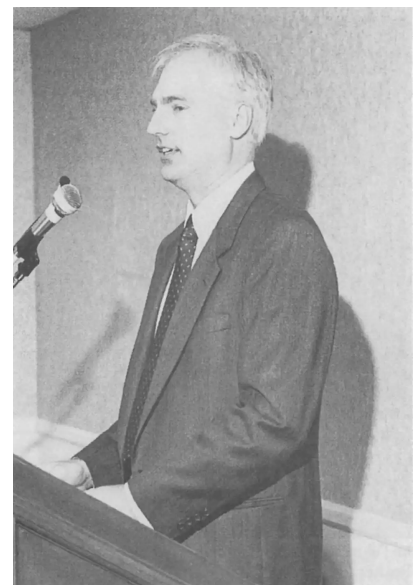
He sought to discredit Holocaust revisionists (and their arguments) by comparing them with anti-Darwinian “creationists.” He rejected as specious Robert Faurisson’s often-repeated demand for “one proof, just one proof” of a wartime German homicidal gas chamber. “He’s not going to get ‘one proof,’” said Shermer, “because there isn’t ‘one proof’ of a gas chamber.” Faurisson’s call is like the creationist demand for “just one fossil” proving evolution. “Evolution is not proved by one fossil,” Shermer said.

“We are very confident of the sequence of historical events in evolution and in the Holocaust,” he continued. “The Holocaust, as it is generally accepted, happened,” said Shermer. Evidence for the extermination of six million Jews, many of them in gas chambers, is “constantly fine tuned and changed.” “While there may be problems with bits and pieces of the story,” said Shermer, “we have to look at the big picture.” What proves “the Holocaust,” he said, is a “convergence of evidence” or a “consilience of inductions.”

“Did the Nazis intend to exterminate European Jews?,” Shermer asked. He responded to his own query by saying that this question is too simple. “The Holocaust is not a single event that occurred at one time,” he said, but rather a collection of events. Rather than an over-arching plan or program, the “Holocaust evolved over time.”

Incriminating Statements?

Perhaps the most impressive evidence presented by Shermer to prove a German extermination policy were several wartime statements by high-ranking Third Reich officials. These included excerpts from the “service journal” of Hans Frank, governor of German-ruled Poland, passages from the diary of propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, and a portion of SS chief Heinrich Himmler’s well-known October 1943 Posen speech. (Shermer had already published these in the June 1994 “pseudohistory” issue of his *Skeptic* magazine, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 44-54.)



Greg Raven, Journal associate editor, introduces the speakers at the Weber-Shermer Holocaust debate.

In spite of what Weber had said earlier about it, Shermer also cited the postwar testimony of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss as important evidence of a German extermination program. Shermer offered no response to the specific points made by Weber about this, except to say that Höss' testimony "has some funky things surrounding it," and that Höss' figures may be "way off." Shermer also compared Höss' postwar testimony with that of Perry Broad and camp physician Dr. Johann Paul Kremer. (On this, see: R. Faurisson "[Confessions of SS Men who were at Auschwitz](#)," Summer 1981 *Journal*, pp. 103-136.)

Holding up a copy of the 1994 anthology, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, Shermer recommended this work and specifically endorsed the contribution there of Canadian architect Robert-Jan van Pelt. Quoting van Pelt, Shermer said that "Auschwitz has become a myth ... Few events can rival the mythic power of Auschwitz."

Auschwitz, said Shermer, was "never intended, he [Van Pelt] proves, to be an extermination camp." Rather, it "evolved" into a killing center. Holocaust historians such as Pressac and van Pelt now contend that the supposed "gas chambers" at Kremas II and III were originally planned and constructed as normal morgues (Leichenkeller). Only later, they assert, were these rooms transformed into killing facilities.

Weber Responds

Weber stressed that while Shermer readily acknowledges that much of what we have been told about the Holocaust over the years is not true, and that many specific Holocaust claims are now demonstrably false, he entirely ignores the implications of this drastic revision of the historical record. Piles of once supposedly solid "evidence" are now acknowledged to be fraudulent, numerous "eyewitness" testimonies and "official" reports are now conceded to be worthless. But this is of more than academic significance. Many lives have been ruined because of such once supposedly "proven" Holocaust claims. Shermer ignored numerous specific points made by Weber, and was vague about precisely when and where Jews were supposedly gassed, even at Auschwitz.

Shermer's "convergence of evidence" thesis is fundamentally flawed, Weber went on, because it can readily be used to "prove" claims, such as gassings at Dachau, that are now universally regarded as untrue. Indeed, the evidence presented at Nuremberg for (mythical) gassings at Dachau, said Weber, is in some ways stronger than the evidence presented there for gassings at Auschwitz. To "prove" gassings at Dachau, Nuremberg prosecutors were at least able to point to the "gas chamber" itself, cite an official US congressional investigative report, and quote "eyewitness" testimony by former camp physician Dr. Franz Blaha.

The story of gassings at the Auschwitz I main camp has also changed, Weber pointed out. For years a room there was shown off to tourists as a homicidal "gas chamber" in its "original state." Now it is acknowledged to be a postwar "reconstruction." Claims of gassings there are played down ever more. Weber cited a recent issue of the French magazine *L'Express*, which reports that "everything" about this gas chamber "is false." (See: "[Major](#)



Weber holds up a copy of "The Record: The Holocaust in History," a mass-circulation publication of the Zionist "Anti-Defamation League."

French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud,” Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.)

Responding to Shermer’s citation of wartime statements of Hans Frank, Weber pointed out that at the end of the war the former Governor General of Poland had turned over to the Allies his own detailed “service journal” (Diensttagebuch), confident that it would exonerate him. Moreover, Weber went on, Frank testified at Nuremberg that he did not know of any wartime German program or policy to exterminate Europe’s Jews. (Testimony of April 18, 1946. IMT “blue series,” vol. 12, pp. 17-19. See also: M. Weber, “[The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust](#),” Summer 1992 *Journal*, p. 195.)

Frank explained to the Tribunal that he had been very concerned over persistent reports that Jews were being exterminated. He said that on one occasion, when a report reached him about killings of Jews at Belzec, he went to the site the next day. He spoke with Jews who were working there, and was unable to find evidence of killings.

On another occasion, in February 1944, he raised this matter in a conversation with Hitler. “My Führer, rumors about the extermination of the Jews will not be silenced. They are heard everywhere ... Tell me, my Führer, is there anything to it?” As Frank related, Hitler replied: “You can very well imagine that there are executions going on — of insurgents. Apart from that I do not know anything. Why don’t you speak to Heinrich Himmler about it?” Himmler denied the extermination allegations, Frank said. (Incidentally, the statements by Frank, Goebbels and Himmler cited by Shermer were all dealt with in detail during the 1988 Zündel trial, particularly by prosecution witness Christopher Browning, defense attorney Doug Christie, and defense witnesses Faurisson, Irving and Weber. See: B. Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die?* [Toronto: 1992], esp. pp. 93, 113-116, 130, 131, 208, 302, 336, 343-344, 369, 396, 405-409, 417.)

While conceding that many specific Holocaust claims are now known to be demonstrably untrue, Shermer does not hold anyone responsible for these falsehoods. In his 1994 Skeptic essay, he manifests a double standard: while quick to point to real or imagined errors of fact or interpretation by revisionists, he passes over in silence the numerous demonstrable historical falsehoods promoted by such groups as the ADL. In his Skeptic essay Shermer casts aspersions on the allegedly sinister motives of revisionists, while treating anti-revisionists as high-minded scholars of good will. In short, he questions the motives only of critics of the Holocaust story.

Weber cited a recent letter by Michael Berenbaum, research director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. From Australia came this question: “Why don’t you have homicidal gas chambers and/or some crematorium ovens on display in your large museum?” Berenbaum responded: “We do have crematoria ovens in the Museum. We could not bring over gas chambers because there was no original that was available for us to bring to the United States. Instead we made a model of the crematoria and labelled it a



Dachau “gas chamber” door. This official US Army photo was taken at Dachau on April 30, 1945, one day after the camp’s liberation. It shows a GI standing in front of a door marked with a skull and crossbones. According to the official caption,

model.” This is a remarkable statement, because until very recently, anyway, it was asserted that “original” homicidal gas chambers existed at Auschwitz, Mauthausen and Majdanek. (Berenbaum letter of April 21, 1995. Adelaide Institute newsletter, May 1995, pp. 5-6.)

Although claims of gassings at the Mauthausen camp have been played down in recent decades, it should not be forgotten that this was once authoritatively regarded as one of the most terrible German killing centers. As an example, Weber noted that, according to the 1957 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (vol. 10, p. 288), “close to two million people, mostly Jews, were exterminated between 1941 and 1945” in Mauthausen.

Referring to the mentality behind the seemingly ceaseless Holocaust campaign, Weber cited a statement by Abraham Foxman, national director of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League. (ADL *On the Frontline newsletter*, Jan. 1994, p. 2.) “The Holocaust,” Foxman declared,

is a singular event. It is not simply one example of genocide but a near successful attempt on the life of God’s chosen children and thus, on God himself. It is an event that is the antithesis of Creation as recorded in the Bible; and like its direct opposite, which is relived weekly with the Sabbath and yearly with the Torah, it must be remembered from generation to generation.

While Shermer has described this Foxman statement merely as “an unfortunate choice of words” (*Skeptic*, June 1994, p. 33), it is actually “fortuitous,” said Weber, because “it is refreshingly reveals the arrogant and bigoted mind-set of the ADL and, indeed, of much of the entire Holocaust campaign.” He continued:

When such people say “Never Forget,” they mean never: at no time, and until the end of time. Five years, twenty years, a hundred years from now, we will still be enduring a steady drumbeat of what is euphemistically called “Holocaust education” ... This mentality helps explain why the Holocaust plays the quasi-religious role it does in our society.

As evidence both of the mentality of our adversaries, and of the progress that has been made in recent years. Weber cited the public declaration issued in February 1979 by 34 French scholars. “The question of how technically such a mass murder was possible should not be raised,” they stated. “It was technically possible because it occurred.... There is not nor can there be a debate over the existence of the gas chambers.” Today, and largely in response to revisionist skepticism, individuals such as van Pelt, Pressac and Shermer are earnestly investigating precisely this “question of how technically such a mass murder was possible.”

Shermer Responds

When Shermer returned to the podium, he affirmed that it is “obviously” proper to ask such questions, adding that his own research shows that he rejects the 1979 French scholars’ statement. During his recent visit to Europe, he asked numerous questions of officials at former camp sites in an effort to learn just how the “gas chambers” are supposed to have functioned.

“these chambers were used by the Nazi guards for killing prisoners of the infamous Dachau concentration camp.” In fact, this is a small disinfection gas chamber used for delousing clothes, as part of the routine to curtail the spread of disease. This chamber was never used to kill people. For several decades, this photo has been widely reproduced to help keep alive the notorious Dachau “gas chamber” myth. A large blow-up of this photograph was on display at the Weber-Shermer debate.

During his visit to Mauthausen, Shermer said, officials there responded to his specific questions about the camp “gas chamber” with inadequate or contradictory explanations. He also conceded that there are problems with this facility. For one thing, the chamber’s “doors don’t lock.” Shermer expressed the belief that homicidal gassings were conducted at Mauthausen “at most on a small scale and experimentally.”

The Dachau “gas chamber” is a “non-issue,” said Shermer, because no one now claims that anyone was ever gassed there. Surprisingly, though, he went on to give a few reasons why he thinks prisoners may indeed have been gassed there.

Bogus Majdanek Chamber

At the former Majdanek camp (near Lublin, Poland), Shermer said, he inspected a building that is shown off to tourists as a wartime killing facility, with a “big sign” identifying it as a homicidal gas chamber. This “reconstructed” chamber, he said, “makes no sense.” Shermer said that he is “certain” that it was “not a homicidal gas chamber.” He speculated that it might have been a non-homicidal delousing facility. (Such non-homicidal gas chambers, common in German camps, were installed to prevent deaths. They used Zyklon B, with poisonous hydrocyanic gas, to kill typhus-bearing lice in clothing.) Shermer ascribed the misrepresentation of this building to the “unprofessional” character of the staff there. “I suspect at Majdanek [that] if there were homicidal gassings, it was done on a small scale,” he continued, albeit at other locations in the camp. He made no effort to defend the claim that one and half million people were killed at Majdanek.

Shermer also found problems with the “gas chambers” at Auschwitz. As he noted, it is frequently and authoritatively alleged that Zyklon B was dumped into Auschwitz-Birkenau “gas chambers” (at *Kremas* II and II) through ceiling-floor “wire mesh columns.” However, Shermer said he was unable to find any on-site trace of these columns. “I am skeptical” of the wire mesh columns story, he said.

Ongoing Revisionism

“For traditional Jewish historians,” Shermer said, the gas chambers are important because they are “what makes the Holocaust unique over other Holocausts.” In Shermer’s view, “the Holocaust is only unique in the sense of being contingently unique, as all historical events are ... There’s nothing unique about states killing masses of people — it’s been done for thousands of years.”

Acknowledging that many specific Holocaust claims have been abandoned over the years, Shermer affirmed: “Clearly revision has been going on.” Over the years, he said, the Holocaust “story has been refined hundreds of percentage points,” and has been revised “umpteen times.” “How is it that some people can get away, so to speak, with revising the Holocaust?,” Shermer asked, while revisionists cannot? In our society, he said, it all “depends on who is doing the asking.”

“The problem you’re having as revisionists,” he went on, “is that you’ve been labeled ... the assumption is that there’s an ideology behind the questions you’ve been asking.” Revisionist statements, no matter how factual and truthful, are simply dismissed. “You’ve



Weber and Shermer converse during a break at the Holocaust debate sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review.

been labeled,” said Shermer of Holocaust revisionists, and a pejorative “label has stuck there.”

“The Holocaust will be revised,” Shermer stressed,” by “van Pelt and others ... but they’ll get away with it because they’re not associated with any ideology, and that’s the problem you’re encountering. I’m not going to impute ideological motives to any particular person here. I’m just saying that that’s the perception out there amongst non-revisionists, and that’s the problem you’re running into.”

Final Remarks

One member of audience — an African-American journalist and television writer — was bothered by the abrupt and facile way that Shermer had acknowledged that a “gas chamber” shown to tourists at Majdanek is a fraud. During the concluding question and answer session, he asked the Skeptic editor-publisher if he isn’t offended by the fact that a “gas chamber” is deceitfully presented to tourists at Majdanek with a sign that is “so patently untrue.” While Shermer was willing to call this sign “not appropriate” and to say that it constitutes a “danger,” he did not seem particularly bothered by this fraud.

Shermer seemed similarly unconcerned over the ideological or religious agenda that obviously drives much of the Holocaust campaign — a campaign that portrays all of non-Jewish humanity as collectively guilty for what is regarded as the most terrible crime in history. With the passage of time, said Weber, and as ever more historical evidence comes to light, the Holocaust story diminishes in magnitude. At the same time, he went on, the Holocaust campaign continues — if anything, growing ever more intense with the passage of years.

In our society, the Holocaust story is treated with special reverence. It is simply not permissible to view the fate of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War with the same critical, open-minded consideration with which we look at other chapters of history. Consequently, revisionist skeptics are not only dismissed but smeared and vilified, and, in some countries, treated as criminals.

‘Politically Correct’ Skepticism

Shermer’s Skeptic magazine, Weber said, safely takes aim at phony UFO sightings, fraudulent health cures, Uri Geller spoon-bending tricks, witchcraft trials in centuries gone by, and so forth. In short, said Weber, it practices “PC skepticism.” This kind of skepticism takes no particular courage. “The real challenge” for sincerely open-minded skeptics, said Weber, “is to challenge statements made by governments.”

Weber addressed the argument by Shermer and van Pelt that the alleged “gas chambers” at Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory facilities II and III were originally designed and constructed as normal morgue cellars in 1942, and only later (in late 1942 or early 1943) modified or transformed into homicidal gassing facilities. Van Pelt believes that a decision to kill Auschwitz prisoners in gas chambers was made in the summer of 1941, while other “exterminationists” contend that this decision was made in early 1942.

In either case, this thesis makes not sense, said Weber. Why would the Germans design and construct *Kremas* II-V at Birkenau — the cornerstone of the Holocaust extermination story — as ordinary, non-homicidal crematory facilities in late 1942 and early 1943, that is, after the Germans had supposedly already inaugurated their extermination policy.

Furthermore, Weber said, the crematories at Auschwitz (and especially Auschwitz-Birkenau), with their limited cremation capacities, simply were not designed to dispose of the bodies of many hundreds of thousands of prisoners. In short, the Auschwitz crematories were not planned or built consistent with a plan or policy to exterminate prisoners in the camp. (See: A. Butz, “[Some Thoughts on Pressac’s Opus](#),” May-June 1993 *Journal*, pp. 23-37.)

Finally, Weber responded to a question about the “bloodcurdling” remarks of high-ranking German officials quoted earlier by Shermer. While these statements do reflect a policy of brutal repression, Weber said, they do not refer to a policy to exterminate Europe’s Jews. These remarks are either rhetorical exaggeration or are taken out of context.

Several of those who attended the Weber-Shermer exchange commented that it was not much of a debate because Shermer made so many concessions to the revisionists. In any case, this event was a big step forward for the cause of historical revisionism because it dramatically gave the lie to the often-repeated claim that “the Holocaust” is “undebatable,” and showed that the revisionist view of the Holocaust story is one that cannot be dismissed out of hand.

The Journal of Historical Review

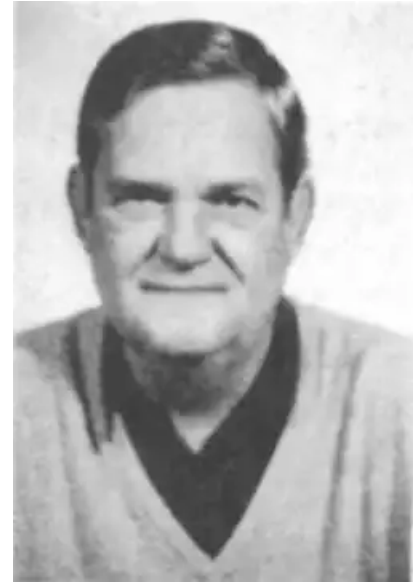
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Zionism's Violent Legacy

By Donald Neff

On January 4, 1948, Jewish terrorists drove a truck loaded with explosives into the center of the all Arab city of Jaffa and detonated it, killing 26 and wounding around 100 Palestinian men, women and children.[1] The attack was the work of the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* – the “National Military Organization,” also known by the Hebrew letters *Etzel* – the largest Jewish terrorist group in Palestine. The Irgun was headed by Revisionist Zionist Menachem Begin and had been killing and maiming Arabs, Britons and even Jews for the previous ten years in its efforts to establish a Jewish state.

This terror campaign meant that at the core of Revisionist Zionism there existed a philosophical embrace of violence. It was this legacy of violence that contributed to the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on November 4, 1995.



Donald Neff

The Irgun was not the only Jewish terrorist group but it was the most active in causing indiscriminate terror in pre-Israel Palestine. Up to the time of the Jaffa attack, its most spectacular feat had been the July 22, 1946, blowing up of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, with the killing of 91 people – 41 Arabs, 28 Britons and 17 Jews.[2]

The other major Jewish terrorist group operating in Palestine in the 1940s was the *Lohamei Herut Israel* – “Fighters for the Freedom of Israel,” *Lehi* in the Hebrew acronym – also known as the Stern Gang after its fanatical founder Avraham Stern. Two of its more spectacular outrages included the assassination of British Colonial Secretary Lord Moyne in Cairo on November 6, 1944, and the assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden in Jerusalem on September 17, 1948.[3]

Both groups collaborated in the massacre at Deir Yassin, in which some 254 Palestinian men, women and children were slain on April 9, 1948. Palestinian survivors were driven like ancient slaves through the streets of Jerusalem by the celebrating terrorists.[4]

Yitzhak Shamir was one of the three leaders of *Lehi* who made the decision to assassinate Moyne and Bernadotte. Both he and Begin later became prime ministers and ruled Israel for a total of 13 years between 1977 and 1992. They were both leaders of Revisionist Zionism, that messianic group of ultranationalists founded by Vladimir Zeev Jabotinsky in the 1920s. He prophesied that it would take an “iron wall of Jewish bayonets” to gain a homeland among the Arabs in Palestine.[5] His followers took his slogan literally.

Begin and the Revisionists were heartily hated by the mainline Zionists led by David Ben-Gurion. He routinely referred to Begin as a Nazi and compared him to Hitler. In a famous letter to *The New York Times* in 1948, Albert Einstein called the Irgun “a terrorist, rightwing, chauvinist organization” that stood for “ultranationalism, religious mysticism and racial superiority.”[6] He opposed Begin’s visit to the United States in 1949 because Begin and his movement amounted to “a Fascist party for whom terrorism (against Jews, Arabs, and British alike), and misrepresentation are means, and a ‘leader state’ is the goal,” adding:

The IZL [Irgun] and Stern groups inaugurated a reign of terror in the Palestine Jewish community. Teachers were beaten up for speaking against them, adults were shot for not letting their children join them. By gangster methods, beatings, window smashing, and widespread robberies, the terrorists intimidated the population and exacted a heavy tribute.

Ben-Gurion considered the Revisionists so threatening that shortly after he proclaimed establishment of Israel on May 14, 1948, he demanded that the Jewish terrorist organizations disband. In defiance, Begin sought to import a huge shipment of weapons aboard a ship named *Altalena*, Jabotinsky’s *nom de plume*. [7]

The ship was a war surplus US tank landing craft and had been donated to the Irgun by Hillel Kook’s Hebrew Committee for National Liberation, an American organization made up of Jewish-American supporters of the Irgun. [8] Even in those days it was Jewish Americans who were the main source of funds for Zionism. While few of them emigrated to Israel, Jewish Americans were generous in financing the Zionist enterprise. As in Israel, they were split between mainstream Zionism and Revisionism. One of the best known Revisionists was Ben Hecht, the American newsman and playwright. After one of the Irgun’s terrorist acts, he wrote: [9]

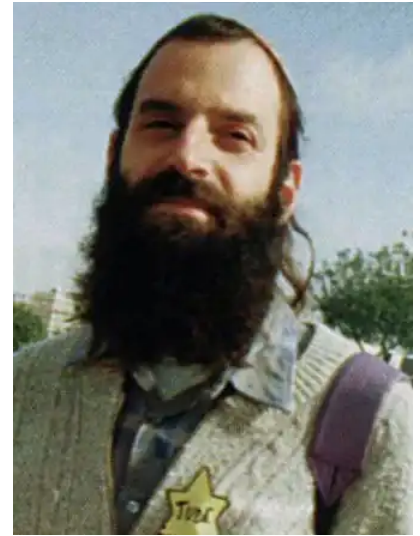
The Jews of America are for you. You are their champions ... Every time you blow up a British arsenal, or wreck a British jail, or send a British railroad train sky high, or rob a British bank, or let go with your guns and bombs at British betrayers and invaders of your homeland, the Jews of America make a little holiday in their hearts.

The *Altalena* was loaded with \$5 million worth of arms, including 5,000 British Lee Enfield rifles, more than three million rounds of ammunition, 250 Bren guns, 250 Sten guns, 150 German Spandau machine guns, 50 mortars and 5,000 shells as well as 940 Jewish volunteers. Ben-Gurion reacted with fury, ordering the ship sunk in Tel Aviv harbor. Shell fire by the new nation’s armed forces set the *Altalena* afire, killing 14 Jews and wounding 69. Two regular army men were killed and six wounded during the fighting. [10] Begin had been aboard but escaped injury. Later that night he railed against Ben-Gurion as “a crazy dictator” and the cabinet as “a government of criminal tyrants, traitors and fratricides.” [11]

Ben-Gurion’s deputy commander in the *Altalena* affair was Yitzhak Rabin, the same man who as prime minister was assassinated by one of the spiritual heirs of Menachem Begin’s Irgun terrorist group. All his life, and especially in his last years, Rabin had opposed Jewish-Americans and their radical allies in Israel who continued to embrace the philosophy of the Irgun and who fought against the peace process, thereby earning their enduring hatred.

Thus at the heart of the Jewish state there has been a long and violent struggle between mainline Zionists and Revisionists that continues today. Despite cries after Rabin’s assassination that it was unknown for Jew to kill Jew, intramural hatred and occasional violence have marked relations between Zionism’s competing groups.

The core of that conflict, one that continues to divide Israel and its American supporters as well, lies in the different philosophies of David Ben-Gurion and Vladimir Jabotinsky. Both were from Eastern Europe, born in the 1880s, and both sought an exclusivist Jewish state. But while Ben-Gurion was pragmatic and secular, Jabotinsky was impatient and messianic, a leader who glorified in the heroic trappings of fascism. Ben-Gurion was usually willing to take less now to get more later, and thus he was content to accept partition of Palestine as a necessary stepping stone toward a larger Jewish state. Jabotinsky, on the other hand, impatiently preached the right of Jews not only to all of Palestine but to “both sides of the Jordan,” meaning the combined area of Jordan and Palestine, or as he called it, *Eretz Yisrael*, the ancient land of Israel.[12]



Ben-Gurion was a gruff realist who carefully calculated his moves with a wary eye toward the interests of the great European powers and the United States. *Time* magazine, in a profile of Ben-Gurion in August 1948, described him as “premier and defense minister, labor leader and philosopher, hardheaded, unsociable and abrupt politician, a prophet who carries a gun.”[13] Wrote his biographer, Michael Bar-Zohar: “Obstinacy and total dedication to a single objective were the most characteristic traits of David Ben-Gurion.”[14]

Baruch Goldstein wore a yellow Star of David with the German word for “Jew” to show his ardent concern for the “lessons of the Holocaust” and its meaning for all Jews. Today many hardline Zionists revere this mass murderer of Palestinians as a Jewish hero and martyr.

Jabotinsky, by contrast, was flamboyant and a devoted admirer of Italy’s fascist leader Benito Mussolini. His disciple, Menachem Begin, described him as “a speaker, a writer, a philosopher, a statesman, a soldier, a linguist ... But to those of us who were his pupils, he was not only their teacher, but also the bearer of their hope.” Begin’s biographer, Eric Silver, added: “There was a darker side to [Jabotinsky’s] philosophy: blood, fire and steel, the supremacy of the leader, discipline and ceremony, the manipulation of the masses, racial exclusivity as the heart of the nation.”[15] One of Jabotinsky’s slogans was: “We shall create, with sweat and blood, a race of men, strong, brave and cruel.”[16]

Jabotinsky died in 1940, and it was Menachem Begin who refined his wild nationalism into practical political action. Begin concluded: “The world does not pity the slaughtered. It only respects those who fight.” He turned Descartes’ famous dictum around, saying: “We fight, therefore we exist.”[17] Central to Begin’s outlook was the concept of the “fighting Jew.” As he wrote:[18]

Out of blood and fire and tears and ashes, a new specimen of human being was born, a specimen completely unknown to the world for over 1,800 years, the “FIGHTING JEW.” It is axiomatic that those who fight have to hate We had to hate first and foremost, the horrifying, age-old, inexcusable utter defenselessness of our Jewish people, wandering through millennia, through a cruel world, to the majority of whose inhabitants the defenselessness of the Jews was a standing invitation to massacre them.

From these early leaders of Zionism (Ben-Gurion died in 1973 and Begin in 1992) have emerged their direct descendants in the Israeli political spectrum. Rabin and his successor, Shimon Peres, were both protégés of Ben-Gurion, and have carried on his mainstream secular Zionism. On Jabotinsky’s and Begin’s side, the followers have been Yitzhak Shamir, Ariel Sharon and, now, Benjamin Netanyahu, the current leader of the Likud.

Rabin's Strategy

While the two major factions of Zionism disagree on tactics, their ultimate aim of maintaining a Jewish state free of non-Jews was the same. Rabin explained his strategy shortly before his death during an interview with Rowland Evans and Robert Novak:[19]

I believe that dreams of Jews for two thousand years to return to Zion were to build a Jewish state and not a binational state. Therefore I don't want to annex the 2.2 million Palestinians who are a different entity from us – politically, religiously, nationally – against their will to become Israelis. Therefore I see peaceful coexistence between Israel as a Jewish state – not all over the land of Israel, on most of it, its capital the united Jerusalem, its security border the Jordan River – next to it a Palestinian entity, less than a state, that runs the life of the Palestinians. It is not ruled by Israel. It is ruled by the Palestinians. This is my goal not to return to the pre-Six-Day-War lines, but to create two entities. I want a separation between Israel and the Palestinians who reside in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and they will be a different entity that rules itself.

In the Revisionist's vocabulary, the goal was the same, if more expansionist and expressed in more direct and pugnacious words. Former Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, a leading spokesman of Zionism's right wing, commented in 1993: "Our forefathers did not come here in order to build a democracy but to build a Jewish state." [20]

The occupation of all of Palestine, including Jerusalem, in the 1967 war and the coming to power a decade later of Menachem Begin gave a profound boost to Revisionism and its radical philosophy. During this period there arose the firebrand Meir Kahane, a Brooklyn-born rabbi who openly espoused the removal of the Palestinians from all of Palestine. Under the influence of his fiery rhetoric, thousands of Orthodox Jewish Americans were encouraged to emigrate to Israel as settlers on occupied Palestinian land, adding to the radicalization of Israeli politics. After Kahane's assassination in New York in 1990 by an Arab, *New York Times* correspondent John Kifner reported that Kahane had been successful in the sense that many of his ideas "had crept into the mainstream" in Israel.

Dr. Ehud Sprinzak, an Israeli expert on the far right in Israel, observed: "Where [Kahane] has succeeded is in changing the thinking of many Israelis toward anti-Arab feelings and violence. He forced the more respectable parties to change. In the 1970s Kahane was in the political wilderness, but in the 1980s the center had moved toward Kahane." Observed the Jewish Telegraph Agency: "Rabbi Kahane could die satisfied that his message has impacted deeply and widely throughout Israeli society." [21]

By the mid-1990s, even Kahane's violent ideas seemed somewhat mild in the context of the radicalized politics of Israel. A new strain of religious extremism has been added to the Revisionist ranks. This became obvious on February 25, 1994, when Brooklyn-born Dr. Baruch Goldstein, a Kahane disciple, walked into the Ibrahim mosque, called the Cave of Machpela by Jews, in Hebron and killed 29 and wounded upwards of 150 Palestinian worshippers. [22] While Rabin and labor Zionists condemned him, Goldstein became a hero for Revisionist Zionists. A shrine was made of his grave and a group of Revisionists grew up called "Goldsteiners." They are dedicated to the "sublime ideals of Goldstein" and urge "all true Jews to follow his footsteps." [23]

While the Revisionists had always had an element of religious messianism, the most radical of their current heirs come from ultrareligious Orthodox Jews who are less consumed by politics

than religion.[24] They believe they are God's messengers. Thus Rabin's assassin, Yigal Amir, cited the authority of God to explain the murder.

This is a sea change in the mindset – if not the violence – of the traditional Revisionists. For instance, in 1943 Yitzhak Shamir ordered the assassination of one of his closest Sternist friends, but offered an entirely different rationale that had nothing to do with God. Mainly the motive stemmed from political and tactical reasons. Shamir wrote in his memoirs, *In the Final Analysis*, that Stern commander Eliyahu Giladi had become “strange and wild” and had wanted to shoot at crowds of Jews and urged the assassination of David Ben-Gurion, acts that would have been highly unpopular. Wrote Shamir: “I was afraid that he had gone completely crazy. I knew that I had to take a fateful decision, and I didn't evade it.”[25] Giladi was fatally shot in the back on a beach south of Tel Aviv and his killer was never found.[26]

The new Revisionists have now expanded the right to kill claimed by the early Revisionists in the name of nationalism to include a divine right. In the end, they are less interested in foreign and domestic affairs than in justifying man's acts to God. It is a powerful and inflammatory mix of nationalism and religion that is almost certain to lead to more violence unless Israel is able to look into its own soul.

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- Silver, Eric, *Begin: The Haunted Prophet*, New York: Random House, 1984.
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Notes

- [1] Sam Pope Brewer, *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1948, and Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora*, p. 316. Also see Palumbo, *The Palestinian Catastrophe*, pp. 83-4. Initial reports put the death toll at 34.
- [2] Bethell, *The Palestine Triangle*, p. 263; Sachar, *A History of Israel*, p. 267. Details on the bombing and reaction of British officials are in Nakhleh, *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, pp. 269-70.
- [3] Bethell, *Palestine Triangle*, pp. 181-87, 263; Sachar, *A History of Israel*, p. 267; Marion, *A Death in Jerusalem*, p. 208.
- [4] Khalidi, *From Haven to Conquest*, pp. 761-78; Silver, *Begin*, pp. 88-96; Nakhleh, *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, pp. 271-72.
- [5] Silver, *Begin*, p. 12.
- [6] *New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1948.
- [7] Bar-Zohar, *Ben-Gurion*, p. 175.
- [8] Silver, *Begin*, p. 98.
- [9] Bethell, *The Palestine Triangle*, pp. 308-9. An interview reflecting Hecht's views appeared in *The New York Times*, May 28, 1947.
- [10] Silver, *Begin*, p. 108.
- [11] Silver, *Begin*, p. 108.
- [12] In Hebrew, *Eretz Yisrael* means the "Land of Israel," a phrase invested with strong nationalist feelings.
- [13] *Time*, August 16, 1948.
- [14] Bar-Zohar, *Ben Gurion*, pp. 77, xvii.
- [15] Silver, *Begin*, p. 11.
- [16] Elfi Pallis, "The Likud Party: A Primer," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1992, p. 45.
- [17] Begin, *The Revolt*, pp. 36, 46. Also see Tillman, *The United States in the Middle East*, p. 20.
- [18] Begin, *The Revolt*, pp. xi-xii. Also see Elfi Pallis, "The Likud Party: A Primer," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1992, p. 45.
- [19] Evans and Novak, CNN, Oct. 1, 1995.
- [20] Menachem Shalev, *Forward*, May 21, 1339.
- [21] John Kifner, *New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1990.
- [22] David Hoffman, *Washington Post*, Feb. 28, 1994.
- [23] Khalid M. Amayreh, "Six Months On," *Middle East International*, Sept. 9, 1994.
- [24] Halsell, *Prophecy and Politics*, p. 75, provides an excellent analysis of the extremist beliefs of Jabotinsky and his followers and their alliance with American fundamentalist Christians such as Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority.
- [25] Clyde Haberman, *New York Times*, Jan. 15, 1994.
- [26] Glenn Frankel, *Washington Post*, Nov. 6, 1995.

Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France

This essay, written in June 1995, is based on documentation provided by Robert Faurisson. Copies of the French-language text have been sent to key French government and police authorities.

In its issue of June 1991, the French monthly *Le Choc du mois* ("The Shock of the Month") published a rather lengthy report entitled "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years of Terrorism" ("Milices juives. Quinze ans de terrorisme," pp. 7-13). Under the main headline, a subtitle summed up:

"Jewish Action Group," "Jewish Combat Organization," "Jewish Defense Organization"... Under these various names, Jewish activists for 15 years have unceasingly sown terror [in France] with total impunity. Provocations that have no other aim than to incite reprisals. As if certain people wanted the [French] Jewish community to feel threatened ...

The report reviews 50 cases of physical aggression committed by organized Jewish groups during the period from June 19, 1976, to April 20, 1991. Not mentioned, therefore, are physical attacks committed by individual Jews (which are, in any case, rare).

The victims of the 50 cases listed by *Le Choc du mois*, who number in the hundreds, suffered: loss of life, an eye put out, acid throwing, numerous hospitalizations, injuries followed by deep coma, lifetime disabilities, and serious post-traumatic conditions, "the commission of barbaric acts," severe beatings in the presence of policemen who refused to intervene, and numerous ambush attacks (in one case with the complicity of the daily newspaper *Libération*).

Most of these acts of aggression were passed over in silence by the media or only briefly reported. Some were applauded by Jewish publications or organizations which, in general, after a few pro forma words of censure, suggested that the victims deserved their fate, that such attacks are "only natural and normal," and that no one need expect any leniency in future if he should ever again arouse Jewish "anger."

It is worthy of note that not one Jew has been the victim of a single attack in revenge by any "revisionist" or so-called "extreme right" group. (Although the press routinely lumps "revisionism" and the "extreme right" together, in reality historical revisionism receives support from thinking persons of all possible political views, from the ultra-left to the extreme right, and of all parties, except the Communists. Paul Rassinier, regarded as the founder of Holocaust revisionism in France, was a Socialist.)

From among the many attacks committed by Jewish militants or organizations, we shall confine ourselves here to mentioning only those involving the following victims: François Duprat, a GRECE conference, Marc Fredriksen (twice), Charles Bousquet, Michel Caignet, Pierre Sidos, Olivier Mathieu, Pierre Guillaume, the "Friends of Saint-Loup," and Robert Faurisson. Many other cases from the 1976-1991 period could be mentioned. (For example, on November 2, 1976,

the building in which “National Front” leader Jean-Marie Le Pen was living had to be entirely destroyed after being rocked from top to bottom of its five floors in a dynamiting for which a “Jewish Remembrance Group” claimed responsibility. On April 2, 1991, Fabrice Benichou, a newsboy died in his home after having been beaten up while selling a weekly paper in the Sentier Jewish quarter of Paris.)

François Duprat

François Duprat, a member of the leadership of the National Front party, and an author and distributor of revisionist writings, was killed in his car on March 18, 1978, when it was blown up with a sophisticated bomb. His wife was severely injured. A “Remembrance Commando” claimed responsibility for the crime. In keeping with the practice of “Nazi hunters” Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, Patrice Chairhoff had published in *Dossier néonazisme* (“The Neo-Nazi File,” 1977), the name and address of Duprat, and of several other persons who were suspected of fascism, neo-Nazism, or revisionism (*Le Monde*, March 23, 1978, p. 7; April 26, 1978, p. 9).

In *Le Droit de vivre* (“The Right to Live”), the periodical of the “International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism” (“Ligue internationale contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme,” LICRA), Jean Pierre-Bloch, the publication’s director, commented on Duprat’s murder without saying a single word about the wife’s injuries. His comments reflect a cabalistic mentality: while affecting disapproval of this “infamous” crime, he expresses the view that, in his opinion, the crime is due to the fact that in the years 1977-78 “anarchy and the reign of political score-settling” took hold in France, and that “criminal accusations were made against the immigrants, Jews or Gypsies.” Jean Pierre-Bloch thus equates indisputable criminal actions with “criminal accusations,” of which he in fact indicates neither the purport nor the consequences. Still more revealing is the following passage in his statement: “Yes, it is true. We are ready to fight and to die to permit our adversaries to say in complete freedom what they think as long as they don’t defend crime or harbor racial hatred.” In the context of this murder, these words constitute a warning to anyone who might displease the Jews by following Duprat’s example (*Le Monde*, May 7-8, 1978).

A few months later, Jean Pierre-Bloch described Robert Faurisson, Europe’s foremost revisionist scholar, as an imitator of Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, Commissioner General of Jewish affairs in the wartime Vichy government, and then proclaimed: “Darquier will be extradited. Those who follow in his path can forget about living to a ripe old age. Sooner or later they will find the anti-racists on their trail.” (*Le Droit de vivre*, Dec. 1978, p. 23). LICRA was founded in 1927 by Bernard Lecache under the name “League Against Pogroms” (“Ligue contre les pogroms”) to defend the Russian Jew Shalom Schwarzbart, who had assassinated Ukrainian General Simon Petlura in Paris the previous year. The public clamor organized on behalf of the assassin led to his acquittal. Similar public campaigns would much later lead to the acquittal of other assassins (such as the May 5, 1976, acquittal of the thug and murderer Pierre Goldmann).

Following the murder of François Duprat, an article appeared in the leading French daily *Le Monde* about an English revisionist pamphlet that had been distributed in France by Duprat. This article by journalist Pierre Viansson-Ponté, a smear job pure and simple, failed to make any mention of Duprat’s assassination (“Le mensonge (suite)” [“The Lie (continued)”], *Le Monde*, 3-4 Sept. 1978, p. 9).

A GRECE Conference

On December 9, 1979, about a hundred individuals wearing helmets attacked the 14th national conference of GRECE (Groupe d'études et de recherches sur la civilisation européenne, "Group for the Study and Research of European Civilization"). Wrecking the book stands, they displayed banners bearing the name "Organisation juive de défense" (OJD, "Jewish Defense Organization"). Fifteen or so of the conference attendees were injured. One of them lost an eye. Several of the assailants were arrested by the police, and then released that same afternoon on the intervention of Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch, the son of Jean Pierre-Bloch and a friend of Jacques Chirac [currently President of France]. Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch had been involved, and would also later be involved, in other attacks and intercessions on behalf of these same attackers.

Marc Fredriksen

On September 19, 1980, a commando group of the "Jewish Defense Organization" (OJD) attacked sympathizers of Marc Fredriksen, an executive of FANE ("Fédération d'action nationale et européenne," or "National and European Action Federation"), at the Paris Palace of Justice (court house). Six persons were injured, two of them seriously. The Palace of Justice guards, although charged with maintaining order, permitted the Jewish militants in this case, as in all other similar circumstances, to act without or almost without hindrance.

On this occasion Jean Pierre-Bloch announced: "The law of retaliation might well appear again ... If a single one of our own is harmed, we shall apply the formula: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth ... If we have to organize militarily, we shall do so" (Le Monde, Oct. 1, 1980). The phrase "If a single one of our own is harmed ..." indicates that not a single Jew had been harmed. And what was true in 1980 is still true in 1995. In the course of their fighting against nationalists or revisionists the Jews harm, wound or kill but are themselves never harmed, wounded or killed. If a French "right wing" group had harmed a Jew, the media of the entire world would have played up the attack, with shocking photographs of the victim, gruesome details about the injury, follow-up interviews, and outraged commentary.

Charles Bousquet, Mark Fredriksen

On October 3, 1980, an attack against the Paris synagogue in the rue Copernic, which resulted in four dead and 27 wounded, received enormous international media coverage. The four dead were passersby, among them an Israeli woman whose presence has never been explained. That same day Interior Minister Christian Bonnet received information that allowed him to determine that this was a Palestinian attack, but under pressure from Jewish organizations and with the cooperation of the major newspapers, he let it be assumed that this was an action of the extreme right. It was later learned that the attack was actually committed by a Palestinian from Cyprus.

On the same evening as the synagogue attack, the FANE headquarters were wrecked and the Librairie française bookstore on the rue de l'Abbé-Grégoire street in Paris was the target of a new arson attempt. This bookstore, owned by Jean-Gilles Malliarakis, would undergo more than ten attacks or attempts over a period of just a few years. The headquarters of a small political party, l'Oeuvre française, directed by Pierre Sidos was machine-gunned. Lynching scenes unfolded in Paris, as groups of Jewish demonstrators attacked lone young passersby who were singled out because they were tall, blond, and with short hair (Le Monde, Oct. 9, 1980, p. 12).

A few days later, on October 7, Charles Bousquet, 84 years old, was attacked in his home in Neuilly with sulfuric acid by a group of unknown men who had apparently mistaken him for the militant nationalist, Pierre Bousquet (no relation to René Bousquet). He was hospitalized for a month at Foch Hospital in the major burns ward, and suffered after-effects from his injuries. He

refused to press charges because his son Pierre, a professor of history at the University of Paris IV, has asked him not to “on account of the Israelites.” He said: “They’ll be in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, the ones who did it. It would all be useless. I want to forget it” (during a conversation with R. Faurisson, May 2, 1984).

On October 12, 1980, Mark Fredriksen was beaten up and admitted to the Rambouillet hospital in serious condition. His apartment was torn apart in his absence. While under treatment at Berck-sur-Mer for multiple fractures, he came close to suffering another attack: three young men showed up and asked to see him; their description matched that of the Aziza team that subsequently attacked Michel Caignat with acid (see below).

On October 20, 1980, the writer André Figuéras was attacked at his residence.

Michel Caignet

On the morning of January 29, 1981, Michel (Miguel) Caignet, a 26-year-old Sorbonne student who was preparing for a doctorate in Anglo-German linguistics, had just left his residence in Courbevoie to go to the university when he was accosted by four individuals. They knocked him down and prevented him from moving. One of the four attackers sprayed his face and his right hand with sulfuric acid.

Caignet had belonged to FANE, and he was a revisionist. He had been denounced by the weekly VSD (Vendredi/Samedi/ Dimanche). Following the attack with acid, his face looked so hideous that only two newspapers ventured to publish his photograph. The principal perpetrator of the attack, Yves Aziza, a medical student and the son of Charles Aziza (an assistant pharmacist at Montreuil), was identified by the police within an hour of the crime. But in this case, as in others, the French police and courts scandalously permitted Yves Aziza to flee to Germany and to Israel. At the Justice Ministry, an official named Main at the criminal affairs bureau (headed by Raoul Béteille) sarcastically evaded every question put to him with regard to the 14-day delay in opening a judicial inquiry. Among Yves Aziza’s correspondents was Daniel Ziskind, the son of Michèle Ziskind, sister of Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch, who is himself the son of Jean Pierre-Bloch.

Pierre Sidos

On September 18, 1981, 200 members of the Organisation juive de combat (OJC) or “Jewish Combat Organization” laid down the law at the Palace of Justice in Paris, where the defamation trial brought by Pierre Sidos, president of l’Oeuvre française, against Jean-Pierre Bloch was taking place. As usual, Jewish thugs beat up several of the spectators.

On November 25, 1981, the premises of the Études et documentation bookstore were set on fire by a commando group.

On May 8, 1988, at Saint-Augustin Square in Paris, OJC commandos used iron bars to attack l’Oeuvre française supporters who were taking part in the traditional parade in honor of Joan of Arc. Some 15 supporters were injured, two of them very seriously. Four of the victims were hospitalized. A septuagenarian remained in a coma for several weeks. Ten OJC members were questioned by the police. That same afternoon Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch interceded with the criminal police investigation unit (police judiciaire) on their behalf. Legal proceedings were instituted against some of the attackers. Some attackers were released with the following notation by the examining magistrate: “preliminary examination inopportune.” Other attackers were tried, though not without pressure “from the highest political level” being brought to bear on the public

prosecutor's office. In total, only three of the attackers were tried. Each received a two-year suspended (!) prison sentence.

Olivier Mathieu

On February 6, 1990, millions of viewers witnessed the brutal attack against Olivier Mathieu during a television broadcast emceed by Christophe Dechavanne. Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch came on to the stage with a group of OJC militants. Mathieu had just time enough to exclaim: "Faurisson is right." Then ten or so of the thugs severely beat him, his fiancée, and Marc Botrel. Among those present was an important figure among Jewish militants: Moshe Cohen, a former second lieutenant of the Israeli army and an officer at the time of the Tagar organization, the student branch of the Betar (59 boulevard de Strasbourg, Paris Xe). The attacks continued off stage and out into the street. One attacker was questioned by the police, but released a few hours later on the intercession of Jean-Pierre Pierre-Bloch.

Pierre Guillaume

Pierre Guillaume, a leftist, is in charge of the *Vieille Taupe* ("Old Mole") publishers, which has issued a number of revisionist works, including those of Professor Faurisson. He has been the victim of a number of serious attacks, both against his person — at the Sorbonne, in his Paris bookstore, and at the Palace of Justice in Paris (where the guards did not intervene) — as well as against his property (book warehouse, video equipment, bookstore). In 1991, groups of demonstrators, most of them Jews, laid siege to his bookstore in the rue d'Ulm on a regular basis. As a result of various acts of violence (breaking shop windows, spraying chemical products, physical intimidation, etc.), they finally succeeded in closing it.

The 'Friends of Saint-Loup'

On April 20, 1991, at the "Maison des Mines" building in Paris, about 50 individuals claiming to be members of the *Groupe d'action juive* (GAJ), or "Jewish Action Group," and armed with iron bars and baseball bats, attacked the attendees of a meeting of the "Friends of Saint-Loup" (*Les Amis de Saint-Loup*), named after a deceased writer whose real name was Marc Augier. Thirteen persons, most of them elderly, were injured, two of them very seriously. Juliette Cavalié, 67 years of age, was taken to Beaujon Hospital where she lapsed into a coma that lasted three months. After regaining consciousness, she was condemned to spend the rest of her days unable to walk or even to feed herself. Alain Léauthier, a journalist for *Libération* and a relative of the socialist deputy and Jewish zealot Julien Dray, witnessed the attack from beginning to end, and provided a smug and ironical report of it ("Zionist commando unit invites itself to the neo-Nazi meeting," *Liberation*, April 22, 1991, p. 28).

Robert Faurisson

Europe's most prominent Holocaust revisionist scholar, Professor Robert Faurisson, was the victim of ten physical assaults between November 20, 1978, and May 31, 1993 (two in Lyon, two in Vichy, two in Stockholm and four in Paris). Seven of these attacks were at the hands of French Jewish organizations or militants — two in Lyon, one in Vichy, one in Stockholm (by Swedish Jews together with French Jews who had come from Paris by plane), one at the Sorbonne, and one at the Palace of Justice in Paris.

The first of these seven attacks took place on November 20, 1978. It was lauded in *Libération-Lyon* by the Jewish journalist Bernard Schalscha, who reported the day, the place, and the hour of the professor's courses. Members of the Jewish Students Union who had come by first-class train from Paris attacked the professor at the University, while Dr. Marc Aron, a cardiologist and president of the liaison committee of the Jewish institutions and organizations of Lyon, was present.

The second attack occurred a few weeks later when Faurisson attempted to resume his courses. On that day as well, Marc Aron was again at the university.

At the Sorbonne, on September 12, 1987, members of a Jewish group of militants attacked Henry Chauveau, Michel Sergent, Pierre Guillaume, Freddy Storer (a Belgian), and Professor Faurisson, all of whom were injured. (Chauveau was seriously injured.) The Sorbonne guards apprehended one of the attackers. A plainclothes policeman ordered the attacker released and used the violence as an excuse to expel the professor from the university. (Prof. Faurisson had once taught at the Sorbonne.)

On September 16, 1989, three men set a trap for Faurisson in a park near his residence in Vichy as he was out walking his poodle. After spraying a stinging gas into his face, temporarily blinding him, the assailants punched him to the ground and then repeatedly kicked him in the face and chest. If a passerby had not intervened, the attackers' kicks to the head would have been finished off the 60-year-old scholar. Badly injured, Faurisson had to undergo a lengthy surgical operation. The crime investigation unit inquiry confirmed that the attack could be attributed to "young Jewish activists from Paris."

On the eve of the attack, Faurisson had noted with surprise the presence near the park of a certain Nicolas Ullmann (born in 1963). On July 12, 1987, Ullmann had violently struck the professor at the Vichy Sporting-Club. When he was questioned at the criminal investigation department about his presence in that area, he denied having been there. Moreover, Ullmann claimed that on the very day of the attack he had taken part in a masked ball ("bal masqué") in Paris, so that it would be impossible for anyone other than his host and friend to vouch for his presence in Paris that day. It should be noted that the examining magistrate of Cusset, near Vichy, never summoned Faurisson to hear his testimony. Instead, judge Jocelyne Rubantel merely received him in her office in Cusset to inform him that she would ask for a dismissal of the charges — which she obtained. No search was made of the Paris headquarters of Betar/Tagar. Such a search would have incited too much "anger" in the Jewish community.

On October 16, 1989, precisely one month after the attack in Vichy, a bomb exploded at the door of the offices in Paris of *Choc du mois*, which were then ransacked. Credit for the attack was claimed by the "Jewish Combat Organization" (OJC) and some far left groups. Éric Letty, who had devoted an article in *Choc du mois* to Professor Faurisson, would have been killed had he not, by a miracle, detected the imminence of the explosion.

We do not have space here to cite the other attacks against Professor Faurisson.

Other Cases

Many other cases could be cited of attacks by Jewish groups: in addition to the incidents during the years 1976-1991 listed in the *Choc du mois* article, there are other, unlisted, cases, as well as attacks that have occurred since 1992. To repeat: the total number of victims of Jewish terror

amounts to several hundreds, even though, in contrast, not a single Jew has been the victim of a concerted or organized attack in France.

On January 14, 1988, in Lyon, Professor Jean-Claude Allard was hospitalized following a group attack against him for which the OJC claimed responsibility. The attackers ambushed him in the parking lot of the University of Lyon III. In June 1985, he had presided over the examining board of the thesis of revisionist scholar Henri Roques on "The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein," which have been widely regarded as key evidence for Holocaust gasings. (In an action without precedent in French academic history, the thesis' defense was annulled under pressure by "angry" Jews. [The English-language edition of The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein is published by the IHR.]

Armed Jewish militants carried out new acts of violence on April 13, 1994, during a break in the trial of the "hooligans of the Parc des Princes," a Paris soccer stadium. (At least one of the hooligans was a Jew.) In this case the victims were policemen. The militants entered the Palace of Justice with weapons and iron bars, and one of the court house guards was attacked. "An interesting detail," one Paris paper noted. "No investigation was made to clear up the affair, and the only arrest made was that of one of the 'nationalist militants' who had been attacked and ventured to defend himself." ("Jewish militants make the law," *Le Libre Journal*, April 27, 1994, p. 9. See also: "The Betar makes the law in the Palace of Justice," *Rivarol*, April 22, 1994, p. 5).

On April 28, 1994, the German citizen Ludwig Watzal, an official guest of the University of Nanterre (near Paris), was struck by members of Jewish or leftist organizations.

Many bookstores have been wrecked. In addition to the Bleu-Blanc-Rouge, Ogmios, Librairie Française, and Librairie de la Vieille Taupe stores, we may mention the Librairie de la Joyeuse Garde. (In the last-named case, shop windows were broken, steel safety shutters were glued shut, and excrement was strewn around.) Further targets of attacks, for which Jewish organizations claimed responsibility, have been offices, buildings, exhibitions, a book warehouse and a church (Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet in Paris, on December 21, 1978).

The Most Dangerous Place in France

For those who have been targeted for attack by the Jewish militants, the most dangerous city in France is Paris. Within Paris, one of the most dangerous districts is the first district, and within that district the most dangerous place is the Palace of Justice — the central courthouse — and the surrounding area. Paradoxically, this area is under particularly good police surveillance because the Palace has its own "military command" consisting of hundreds of armed guards, and because next to the Palace building is the "Quai des Orfèvres," headquarters of the police crime investigations department. As it happens, though, in recent years the guards and police have permitted many acts of violence to be carried out, especially against revisionists who have been summoned to court or who come to attend the trials.

When a group of Jewish militants decide to burst into the court building, the scenario is invariably as follows: the thugs, whose demeanor betrays their bellicose intentions, are in no way restrained by the guards from their intended victims. No officer attempts to inform these shock troopers that violence will not be tolerated. The assailants are permitted to insult, to provoke, and then to strike their victims. Sometimes guards will make an effort to protect victims. If a militant calls special attention to himself by extreme violence, three guards quickly take him away, but then let him go. Once the militants have completed their brutal work and have disappeared, the guards hasten to the bloody or swollen victims, fussing over them like concerned nannies. The

victims are never able to get the police to interrogate the attackers, or even to learn their identities.

On May 9, 1995, a trial in which Professor Faurisson was the defendant was held in the Criminal Court (17th section of the tribunal correctionnel) without the interference of such militants. This was not surprising, though, because attorney Jean-Serge Lorach, who represented the plaintiffs in this case, announced in his pleading that he had asked “survivors” and reporters not to attend the trial. All the same, Betar/Tagar chief Moshe Cohen was present in the court with some colleagues. When the trial finished, Cohen was at the court building exit with four men (one of whom had a cellular phone) to keep an eye on Faurisson, his attorney, and others who were accompanying them. Cohen’s team had an unmarked police car (Renault 19 number 356JEK75) parked near the court building gate, positioned to leave quickly. Cohen, the Betar/Tagar group’s “dirty jobs” specialist, was apparently there with the authorization of Robert Baujard, police commissioner of Paris’ First District, and with the consent of Colonel Roger Renault, commander of the court guards, whose orders were to tell the curious that the vehicle belonged “to the police.”

Collusion of the Interior Minister with Jewish Militants

In 1986, when Laurent Fabius was Prime Minister of France, his wife, Mme. Françoise Castro, revealed that the Jewish militants and the Interior Minister were working hand in hand. She stated: “An extraordinary novelty in political behavior: the Left has allowed Jewish militants to establish themselves in some quarters of Paris and also in Toulouse, Marseille, and Strasbourg [and to have] regular contacts with the Interior Minister.” (Le Monde, March 7, 1986, p. 8). Castro and Fabius are both Jewish.

By a sort of consensus it seems to be generally agreed that the Jews must be treated in France as a privileged minority whose “anger” (colère) must be excused. (This word crops up in the press with nagging persistence.) By law, private militia groups are not legal in France. But the authorities allow one exception to this law. Jewish militants are the only ones permitted to bear arms in France. (See the photograph of a Jew armed with an automatic pistol on the roof of a building in the rue de Nazareth. Libération, Oct. 14, 1986, p. 56.) France’s criminal police investigators are thus paralyzed in their investigations of crimes committed by these militants, who are euphemistically called “young Jewish activists of Paris.” These militant groups enjoy at least a partial guarantee of impunity in France. The worst thing their members have to fear is having to go into exile in Germany or Israel for a spell.

Apologists for Jewish Violence

Simone Veil, former secretary general of the Magistrates Council and a former government minister, provides a prime example of persons in France’s Jewish community who incite actual murder. In 1985, in connection with Klaus Barbie, she declared: “Listen, I believe very sincerely that I would not have been shocked by a summary execution [of Barbie]” (Le Monde, Dec. 24, 1985, p. 14). She repeated the statement on April 22, 1992, during a broadcast shown on the country’s Second television network entitled “Vichy: Remembering and Forgetting.” During a discussion of the Touvier trial (which had disappointed her, in spite of the life imprisonment sentence handed down against the octogenarian with cancer), she said:

If we wanted a trial in which things are spoken of in their true light and that doesn’t turn out like the Touvier trial, well then, in the last analysis it would have been neces-

sary for someone, like me for example, at some moment or other to coldly murder someone.

The murderer would then be in a position, Simone Veil continued, to explain publicly the reasons for his act. She spoke in the same spirit in 1994, on the occasion of the murder of René Bousquet, which was committed by a visionary who had been incited by the frequent calls for vengeance appearing at the time in French newspapers and in Jewish circles. On that occasion, Veil declared: "Besides, if I'd had the courage, I'd have gone and killed him myself." (Globe Hebdo, May 11-17, 1994, p. 21).

On December 14, 1992, in report broadcast nationwide on the American PBS radio network, Professor Pierre Vidal-Naquet could be heard saying in English: "I hate Faurisson. If I could, I'd kill him personally."

Calls for physical violence have appeared many times in French papers. An example: "As far as he is concerned, Jacques Kupfer, president of [the militantly Zionist] Herout de France, has a precise idea of the Jewish response to the FN [Front National]: 'I have never been of the opinion that anti-Semitism is settled by means of communiqués or philosophical discussions,' he said. 'But I know how you settle the problem of the anti-Semites: in a very physical manner. Jewish young people must be ready for that: there's no need to cry, or to be afraid, or to complain' ..." (Arié Ben Abraham, "Le Pacte communautaire" [The Community Pact], Tribune juive, week of May 25 to June 1, 1995, p. 15.)

A list of incendiary statements by French Jews in positions of responsibility calling for physical violence would be a long one. Jews do not shrink from political assassination. On this subject, one may read the recent work of Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *Political Assassination by Jews: A Rhetorical Device for Justice* (New York: State Univ. of New York Press, 1993). We know the considerable role played by Jews in the Bolshevik revolution. [See: M. Weber, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's Early Soviet Regime," Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal.] In France, the song of the partisans was written by two Jews, Joseph Kessel (1898-1979) and Maurice Druon, both of whom were later members of the French Academy. The song's refrain is well known: "Hey there! Killers by gun or blade. Kill swiftly!" ("Ohé! Les tueurs à la balle et au couteau. Tuez vite!").

The Klarsfelds

For more than three decades, Serge Klarsfeld and his German-born wife, Beate, have dedicated themselves to tracking down "Nazi war criminals" and fighting "neo-Nazism" and Holocaust revisionism. In his *Lettre à un képi blanc* (1975, p. 93), Bernard Clavel wrote: "War poisons peace. Look at that German woman, Beate Klarsfeld, who passes life in hatred, who lives only for vengeance."

On July 24, 1978, at a news conference in Paris following the indictment in Cologne of Kurt Lischka, Serge Klarsfeld stated: "We are not seeking vengeance. If that were our aim, it would have been easy for us to kill all the Nazi criminals we have tracked down." "And if the court in Cologne refuses to try Lischka?," someone asked. Klarsfeld replied: "That in a way would be signing his death sentence" (Le Monde, July 26, 1978, p. 4). In 1982 the Klarsfelds engaged the services of a hired assassin, a Bolivian socialist of Indian origin named Juan Carlos, to assassinate Klaus Barbie (Life, Feb. 1985, p. 65), but the operation did not succeed.

During a 1986 interview with the Chicago Tribune (June 29, 1986), Beate Klarsfeld told “how she haunted at least three former Nazis until they committed suicide or died; how she organized attempts to kidnap others; how she used headline-making gimmicks to bring to trial or to ruin the careers of many who were convinced the world had forgotten them.” She related how she slapped the face of German Chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger in public in 1968. “Once, she and several friends tried to kidnap Kurt Lischka” but the operation failed because the car they were using had only two doors. As for Ernst Ehlers, “harassed by Klarsfeld-organized demonstrations outside his home, he first resigned his position [as judge] and then committed suicide.”

After picking up the trail of Walter Rauff in Chile, the Klarsfelds organized demonstrations in front of his house and broke his windows. “He died a couple of months later,” Beate Klarsfeld told the American daily. “I was glad, because as long as these people are alive, they are an offense to their victims.” “My husband and I are not fanatics ... Once my husband held a pistol to the temple of Rauff, just to show that we could kill him, but he didn’t pull the trigger.”

In 1988, Serge Klarsfeld stated: “No one has really gone after Le Pen in dead earnest. We ought to have provoked confrontations with him so that ... he’d take the most extreme position possible.” (Le Soir [Brussels], quoted in Rivarol, July 1, 1988, p. 5).

In 1991, Beate Klarsfeld entered Syria with fraudulent papers to go after Alois Brunner (who was already disfigured and missing most of his fingers as the result of letter bombs). In front of his presumed residence, she wanted to repeat the kind of demonstration that had been staged in front of the home of Paul Touvier in 1972 (which was broken into, looted, and laid waste). [See: “Alois Brunner Talks About His Past,” in the Spring 1990 Journal, pp. 123ff.]

In 1992, the Klarsfelds organized what Le Monde (Oct. 21, 1992, p. 4) called “the savage escapade of the Betar at Rostock ... spreading terror in the central square of the Rostock town hall, with French and Israeli flags displayed, calling passersby ‘dirty Germans, dirty Nazis!’.” A short time later Beate Klarsfeld expressed approval of the Betar attack against the Goethe Institute (German cultural center) in Paris, calling it an act of “legitimate violence” because the Rostock police had briefly held and questioned a few of the Jewish attackers. (Der Standard [Vienna], Oct. 23, 1992). Nine of the policemen had been injured, among them several who required hospitalization after being beaten with baseball bats and iron bars, and sprayed with “defensive” gas.

On June 8, 1993, René Bousquet, former secretary general of the police in the wartime Vichy government (and who was later deported by the Germans), was struck down in his Paris residence by a fanatic. The attacker, who spewed out verbiage à la Klarsfeld, explained his action as that of a lover of justice who had already tried to kill Paul Touvier. Writing in the French daily Le Monde (June 10, 1993, p. 28), Annick Cojean referred to Serge Klarsfeld: “Was he not the slayer of Bousquet? The one who had tracked him down, pursued him, attacked him, forced him to resign from his every position from 1978 to 1989? And was he not [by this killing] robbed of a long awaited trial? The lawyer [Klarsfeld] quietly smiles: ‘Why deny it? What I feel today is relief above all. And if that runs counter to the interests of the trial, so be it! I can’t be worrying about what those people want. That’s too much for me!’.”

Already on September 16, 1989, upon learning of the attack against Professor Faurisson, Serge Klarsfeld had stated in a broadcast on “Radio J” (“J” for “Jewish”):

It’s not so surprising, because anyone who provokes the Jewish community for years on end has to expect an occurrence of this kind. You can’t insult the memory of the victims without there being consequences. That may be regrettable, perhaps, but it’s normal and only natural.

His wife, Beate, similarly stated: “What could be more normal than that some young people may have gotten angry and tried to teach Faurisson a lesson?.” (Le Monde, Sept. 19, 1989, p. 14).

Although Serge Klarsfeld is an attorney and an officer of the National Order of Merit, he has never concealed his taste for violent action as long as the victims are persons he regards as “criminals.” In the same spirit, he has also admitted resorting to lies and blackmail. (See: Arno Klarsfeld, “Pourquoi je suis juif” [“Why I am a Jew”], *Information juive*, June 1994, p. 9, and, S. Klarsfeld, “Lettre à François Mitterrand,” *Libération*, Sept. 12, 1994, p. 6.)

In 1989, following the nearly fatal attack against him in Vichy, Faurisson shared some thoughts with *Choc du mois* (Dec. 1989, pp. 42f.) — remarks that have become all the more relevant with the passage of time and, in particular, the assassination of Bousquet. For the Klarsfelds or other such friends of the Israeli Embassy in Paris, said the Professor, “it is easy to arouse strong feelings and to stir into action those who mean to take justice into their own hands.” Faurisson concluded:

I think ... that a Jewish terrorism exists. It is lament- able, and the lament covers the sounds of the blows and the screams of the victims... In order to silence me, it will be necessary to kill me. And a host of revisionists in France and abroad will then take my place.

Intimidation and Pressure

This essay deals with acts of physical violence committed by Jewish militant groups. It confirms that in this country the Jewish community, “happy as God in France” (a Yiddish proverb), enjoys exorbitant privileges. Other, non-physical actions further highlight these privileges. Consider two cases involving Robert Faurisson, at the University of Lyon II, and Bernard Notin, at the University of Lyon III. By law, each of these professors was incontestably entitled to practice his profession and resume his lectures.

Dr. Marc Aron decided otherwise. Along with such organizations as the Union of Jewish Students of France, he cynically declared that as far as they were concerned, these two teachers would never again be able to work. Without so much as a murmur, all the presidents of the Republic in succession, all the prime ministers, all the Education Ministers, all the university presidents, and all the labor unions promptly submitted to that edict.

Several months after the decision, Prof. Faurisson learned in a letter delivered by ordinary mail, and with no form of explanation, that his professorship had been eliminated.

In June 1994 Bernard Notin thought he had found a way out of this problem, and *Le Monde* announced (June 9, 1994, p. 14) that “Bernard Notin is leaving to teach in Morocco.” But a few days later *Le Monde* reported (June 11, 1994, p. 6) that the announcement of his departure for the University of Oujda “had provoked a reaction of 'shock' [scandalisée] on the part of the Union of Jewish Students of France (UEJF), which demands the cancellation of the contract signed by the two institutions (French and Moroccan) and 'the definitive dismissal of M. Notin from the teaching profession'.”

Not a single major newspaper raised its voice to point out that Marc Aron and his institutions or organizations were gravely infringing on the rights of civil servants, hindering the freedom to work, and inflicting considerable injury not only to individuals but to the normal functioning of the country’s institutions. In fear and trembling, French authorities acquiesced to Marc Aron and

his militants. After seeing to it that two professors who had aroused their “anger” were no longer allowed to practice their profession, Aron and his friends were able to count on *Le canard enchaîné*, a satirical journal that specializes in denouncing scandals, to proclaim the “scandal” of two professors who are paid (on short allowance) for not working.

Organized Jewry and its influential cohorts excel in repression through the legal system and the media. “The unjust force of the law” operates on behalf of the Jewish community, and to the detriment of those who are labelled “anti-Jewish” or “anti-Semitic.” Those who are so labelled find themselves severely punished for the least word or thought judged to be heretical. Fines, damages and imprisonment ruin their lives and destroy their families. The media, whose venom glands never run dry, contribute their part to this hysteria of vengeance.

In other countries as well, Jewish terrorism manifests the same characteristics. Apart from the extraordinary circumstances of the Judeo-Arab conflict, Jews act as aggressors without themselves ever being subject to physical attack by any group or organization, either anti-Jewish or reputed to be.

Conclusion

During the period under consideration here (1976-June 1995), no group, commando or militant has committed an act of physical violence against a Jew in France. (Attacks in the unusual context of the Arab-Jewish conflict are another matter.) But this remarkable fact seems to have escaped political observers of every stripe. The balance sheet up to now is as follows: on the one hand, some 50 acts of Jewish violence organized and carried out over a 20-year period by armed militants, resulting in hundreds of victims; and, on the other hand, not a single organized act of violence against a Jew.

With the Betar/Tagar organization, France’s well-organized Jewish community possesses — with Interior Ministry approval — a paramilitary force the like of which does not exist for any other ethnic, religious or minority group in France.

As *Le Choc du mois* noted in its report on these militant groups (June 1991, p. 11), the Fifth French television network, on April 4, 1990, broadcast a program on the Betar/Tagar militants. It showed a student receiving a beating at the hands of the “Tagarim” as he was leaving the (university) *Faculté d’Assas* in Paris.

On May 18, 1990, this same television network broadcast a second report devoted to the training of Betar/Tagar militants, “copied after that of the Israeli soldier,” which they receive two times a week at a chateau in the vicinity of Sarcelles (a suburb of Paris): paramilitary exercises and close action combat training under the Israeli flag. Such exercises might conceivably be carried out for show, as a sort of “cinema” to impress people. But the training of Betar/Tagar militants finds expression in criminal attacks and commando operations that enjoy Interior Ministry protection, support (in fact if not in words) from so-called “anti-racist” organizations, and sympathetic treatment on the part of the media.

Annie Kriegel, who is Jewish, in 1990 denounced “an intolerable Jewish thought police” (*Le Figaro*, April 3, 1990, p. 2, and, *L’Arche*, April 1990, p. 25). In fact, this “thought police” acts with the authority of law, thanks to Rabbi Sirat, who launched the idea of an anti-revisionist law (*Bulletin de l’Agence télégraphique juive*, June 2, 1986, p. 1), and thanks to Laurent Fabius, who can justly claim credit for taking the parliamentary initiative in passing the law. (The Fabius-Gayssot law makes it a crime to “contest crimes against humanity” as defined by the 1946 Judgment of of

the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal. On the basis of this law, several legal actions have been brought against Prof. Faurisson and many other revisionists. See, for example: "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," Nov.-Dec. 1995 Journal, pp. 13-17.) As a result of the disgustingly hyperbolic and obsequious media coverage of the desecration of Jewish graves in the Carpentras cemetery — a crime in which, it turns out, the son of a synagogue officiant was apparently involved — all opposition to the final vote on the Sirat-Fabius-Gayssot law was paralyzed.

Alongside this outrageous thought police, there exists in France an intolerable Israeli-style armed police that operates with unconcealed force.

A useful source of information about this entire subject is the detailed 416-page book by Emmanuel Ratier, *Les Guerriers d'Israël: Enquête sur les milices sionistes* ("The Warriors of Israel: An investigation of Zionist militant groups," *Facta*, 37, rue d'Amsterdam, 75008 Paris, 1995).

On May 7, 1995, in Toronto (Canada), the home of revisionist Ernst Zündel was devastated in a criminal arson attack. A few days later, Zündel received a booby-trapped package (which he turned over to the police, who exploded it). Many other examples of this kind of violence — usually preceded by a hateful press campaign — could be cited. Further information on this subject is given in *The Zionist Terror Network: Background and Operation of the Jewish Defense League and other Criminal Zionist Groups*, a booklet by Mark Weber published by the Institute for Historical Review (revised and updated edition, 1993).

There is a danger that such acts of violence will grow in number in France if the Jewish minority continues to have armed groups of militants at its disposal. Similar acts of terrorism will doubtless continue in France as long as the Jewish community continues to enjoy a privileged status in the country.

Pending such a drastic change, at least the Palace of Justice in Paris and its immediate surroundings should be closed off to any group or leader of any group (such as Moshe Cohen) whose terrorist intentions are manifest. It is outrageous that a certain category of persons who have been summoned to court, and those accompanying them, have had to fear physical attack while entering or leaving the 17th chambre correctionnelle court (presided over by Martine Ract-Madoux or Jean-Yves Monfort), or the 11th section of the Court of Appeals (presided over by Françoise Simon or Violette Hannoun).

Speaking of attacks against revisionists carried out in and in front of the court building, Jean-Pierre Bloch exclaimed in 1980: "The pip-squeak little Nazis got the thrashing they deserved in front of the Palace of Justice." (*Libération*, Sept. 24, 1980). It is shocking that Jewish militants are permitted to hang out at the court house with all the privileges accorded to officers of the national police. No one can pretend to be ignorant of these acts of physical violence, which the LICRA president was publicly sanctioning 15 years ago and which, for the past 15 years, have been occurring with the complicity of the forces of law and order. For 15 years, neither the magistrates nor the lawyers nor their respective labor unions have demanded that an end be put to this — a state of affairs that dishonors French justice.

As for Moshe Cohen, he should be reminded of his statement made a few years ago to *L'Événement du jeudi* (Sept. 26, 1991), that every Jew in France is "a displaced person" who has his real roots and future in Israel. He should heed his own advice, and should settle permanently there.

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How Eisenhower Forced Israel to End Occupation After Sinai Crisis

When an American President Said No to Israel

By Donald Neff

On March 16, 1957, Israel withdrew under unrelenting United States pressure from all the territory it had occupied in the Sinai peninsula during its invasion of Egypt less than five months earlier. As Israeli forces pulled out, they ignored pleas from United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld and displayed their contempt for US President Dwight D. Eisenhower's policy by systematically destroying all surfaced roads, railway tracks and telephone lines. All buildings in the tiny villages of Abu Ageila and El Quseima were destroyed, as were the military buildings around El Arish. [/1](#)

Israel's dogged insistence on keeping by military occupation parts of the Sinai had led to increasingly tense relations between Eisenhower and Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. From the very beginning of what became known as the Suez crisis, Eisenhower had forcefully opposed the secret plot by Britain, France and Israel to invade Egypt. Against great political pressures, Ike had managed to stop the ill-considered invasion – but not before Israeli troops grabbed Egypt's Sinai peninsula in a lightning surprise attack starting October 29, 1956.

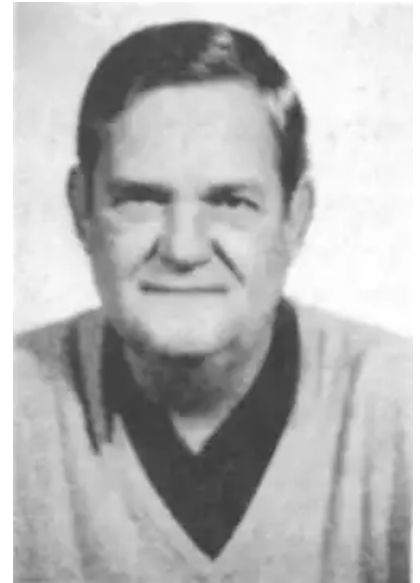
Britain and France followed Eisenhower's firm advice and quickly removed their troops from Egypt. But Israel insisted on retaining parts of the peninsula. Despite repeated U.S. urgings, Ben-Gurion refused to withdraw Israeli troops. In retaliation, Eisenhower joined with 75 other nations in the UN General Assembly in passing a resolution on February 2, 1957, "deploring" Israel's occupation. Only two nations opposed: France and Israel. [/2](#)

Still, Ben-Gurion refused to move his troops. On February 11, Eisenhower sent a forceful note to Ben-Gurion to withdraw. Again Ben-Gurion refused. At the same time, the influence of Israel's supporters became intense. The White House was besieged by efforts to halt its pressure on the Jewish state; 41 Republican and 75 Democratic congressmen signed a letter urging support for Israel. [/3](#)

'Terrific Control'

In reaction to mounting pressures against his policy, Eisenhower on February 20 called a meeting of the congressional leadership to seek their support for his position. But the lawmakers, sensitive to the influence of the Israeli lobby, refused to help, causing Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to complain to a friend: "I am aware how almost impossible it is in this country to carry out a foreign policy [in the Middle East] not approved by the Jews." In other conversations around the same time, Dulles remarked on the [/4](#)

terrific control the Jews have over the news media and the barrage which the Jews have built up on congressmen ... I am very much concerned over the fact that the Jewish influence here is completely dominating the scene and making it almost impossible to get Congress to do anything they don't approve of. The Israeli Embassy is practically dictating to the Congress through influential Jewish people in the country.



Donald Neff

Disgusted with Congress's timidity, Eisenhower boldly decided to take his case directly to the American people. He went on national television on the evening of February 20 and explained: /5

Should a nation which attacks and occupies foreign territory in the face of United Nations disapproval be allowed to impose conditions on its own withdrawal? If we agreed that armed attack can properly achieve the purposes of the assailant, then I fear we will have turned back the clock of international order.

If the United Nations once admits that international disputes can be settled by using force, then we will have destroyed the very foundation of the organization and our best hope of establishing world order. The United Nations must not fall. I believe that in the interests of peace the United Nations has no choice but to exert pressure upon Israel to comply with the withdrawal resolutions.

Not Words Alone

Ike did not depend only on words. While he expressed his principled position in public, privately that same day he sent a stern message to Ben-Gurion warning of punitive actions if Israel did not withdraw. Eisenhower threatened that he would approve trade sanctions against Israel and might also cut off all private assistance to Israel, which amounted to \$40 million in tax-deductible donations and \$60 million annually in the purchase of bonds. /6 This combination of public diplomacy and private grit paid off. On February 27, Israel announced it accepted the U.S. position on withdrawal. /7

Although Zionists continue to criticize Eisenhower to this day, painting his policy as flawed and shortsighted, his actions in the Suez crisis represent one of the brightest, most principled victories of US diplomacy. Eisenhower had acted, as he later recalled, on the basis of his belief that "change based on principle is progress; constant change without principle becomes chaos." /8 In detailing his thinking, Ike wrote in his memoirs: /9

Some critics have said that the United States should have sided with the British and French in the Middle East, that it was fatuous to lean so heavily on the United Nations. If we had taken the advice, where would it have led us? Would we now be, with them, an occupying power in a seething Arab world? If so, I am sure we would regret it. During the campaign, some political figures kept talking of our failure to 'back Israel.' If the administration had been incapable of withstanding this kind of advice in an election year, could the United Nations thereafter have retained any influence whatsoever? This, I definitely doubt.

America and Eisenhower emerged from the crisis with enhanced moral authority and prestige around the world. Noted Eisenhower's major biographer, Stephen E. Ambrose: "Eisenhower's insistence on the primacy of the UN, of treaty obligations, and of the rights of all nations gave the United States a standing in world opinion it had never before achieved." /10

'Champion of Right'

This became immediately clear to American diplomats. Ike's UN ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge, telephoned the president and reported at one point during the crisis: "Never had there been such a tremendous acclaim for the president's policy. Absolutely spectacular." From Cairo, Ambassador Raymond Hare cabled: "The US has suddenly emerged as a real champion of right." /11 Added Ambrose: "The small nations of the world could hardly believe that the United States would support a Third World country, Egypt, in a struggle with colonial powers that were America's two staunchest allies, or that the United States would support Arabs against Israeli aggression. But it was true, and the small nations were full of admiration and delight. The introduction of the American [cease-fire] resolution to the UN was, indeed, one of the great moments in UN history." 12

Eisenhower's handling of the crisis was a high point of his presidency. It upheld the authority and moral stance of the United Nations and the ideals of the United States. As difficult and painful as his actions were to take against such traditional allies as Britain and France, Eisenhower nonetheless had spurned short-term political gain and instead acted out of principle.

A Far Different Story

It was a far different story when Israel lashed out again eleven years later [June 1967], this time occupying not only the Sinai but lands of Jordan and Syria. Lyndon B. Johnson was president, and he had neither Ike's international experience nor his political strength. Instead Johnson was a fervent supporter of Israel, acutely aware of its influence in domestic politics, and made the fateful mistake of not taking any action to oppose Israel's acquisition of territory by force in 1967.

This led directly to the 1973 war in which Egypt and Syria sought to regain their land. After that war, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, a critic of Ike's Suez policy, made another fateful mistake. He accepted Israel's "right" to use the territories it illegally held in occupation as bargaining chips for a number of conditions for withdrawal.

Before Kissinger was through, he had managed to give to Israel the largest transfer of US treasury, technology and diplomatic support ever voluntarily granted by one country to another. In return, Israel surrendered minor tracts of land but maintained its occupation over nearly two million Palestinians for two decades more.

Secret Agreements

This astonishing bargain reached its culmination on September 4, 1975, with the signing of the second Sinai disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel. /13 Beyond promises of aid to Israel at around a \$2 billion annual level for each of the next five years, /14 Kissinger signed a sweeping series of secret understandings providing a broad array of pledges to Israel. One of these committed the United States to "make every effort to be fully responsive ... on an on-going and long-term basis to Israel's military equipment and other defense requirements, to its energy requirements and to its economic needs." The memorandum officially committed American support against threats by a "world power," meaning the Soviet Union.

In essence, Sinai II, as it became known, formally allied the United States with Israel and its occupation of Arab lands. As then-Defense Minister Shimon Peres observed at the time: “The ... agreement has delayed [an international peace conference in] Geneva, while ... assuring us arms, money, a coordinated policy with Washington and quiet in Sinai We gave up a little to get a lot.” /15



Henry Kissinger

Indeed, in return for all this Israel gave up only a few miles of desert territory in the Sinai that nearly every nation in the world believed it had no right to keep under military occupation. It retained all of Jordan's West Bank, all of Syria's Golan Heights and about half of Egypt's Sinai. But unlike Eisenhower, who did not pay a penny for Israel's 1957 withdrawal, Kissinger and President Gerald Ford paid a fortune, mainly because they had failed to stand by principle and instead favored Israel to gain partisan political advantage.

Consequences of Kissinger's Policy

Kissinger's policy was prohibitively costly to the United States. By making Israel the military superpower of the region, the Kissinger policy also led to tragic events. These included Israel's bloody 1982 invasion of Lebanon, an action based on its new arrogance of power stemming from US-supplied weaponry. Even graver, however, was the fact that Israel was allowed by Washington to continue its occupation and settlement of Jordanian and Syrian land. This occurred during the same period that the United States became Israel's major patron and supporter starting in the 1970s under President Richard M. Nixon and Kissinger.

The dramatic increase of US aid while Israel violated official US policy against military occupation was a declaration to the world that where the Jewish state was concerned politics outweighed principle. These events led to the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995. Yigal Amir, the murderer, was one of the Jewish fanatics who emerged during the long occupation and were dedicated to retaining the occupied territories. Had Kissinger, like Ike, driven Israel off the occupied land, Amir's motive for the assassination would never have existed. The occupation would not have lasted nearly three decades and the extremist cult devoted to keeping the land that began growing strong in Israel in the 1970s would not have come into being.

As a final irony, Kissinger to this day is considered a great statesman for his Sinai agreement, while the Suez crisis and Ike's brave actions are barely remembered. David Halberstam did not even bother mentioning the 1956 crisis in his recent bestselling book *The Fifties*, dedicated to the major events of that decade. That is more than a sad commentary on the relative merits of the policies pursued by the two men. It is a stunning reminder of how strong Zionist influence is in the America media when it comes to molding perceptions of US policy in the Middle East.

Notes

1. E. L. M. Burns, *Between Arab and Israeli* (New York: 1962), p. 243.
2. Resolution 1124 (XI). Text in G. J. Tomeh, ed., *United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Washington, DC: 1975), Vol. 1, p. 39.
3. Cheryl A. Rubenberg, *Israel and the American National Interest* (Chicago: 1986), p. 78.
4. Transcripts of Dulles telephone conversations on Feb. 11, 12 and 19, 1957. Quoted in Neff,

Warriors at Suez, p. 433.

5. Text is in US State Department, *American Foreign Policy Current Documents*, 1957, pp. 923-28. Also see Love, *Suez*, p. 666.

6. Neff, *Warriors at Suez*, pp. 433-35.

7. Dana Adams Schmidt, *The New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1957.

8. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Waging Peace* (1965), p. 13.

9. D. Eisenhower, *Waging Peace* (1965), p. 99.

10. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower: The President* (New York: 1984), p. 361.

11. D. Neff, *Warriors at Suez*, p. 417.

12. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 361.

13. Text of the agreement and of the memorandum of understanding (MOU) and its secret addenda are in Medzini, *Israel's Foreign Relations, Selected Documents*, 1974-77 (Vol. 3), pp. 281-90. Also see Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger*, Appendix Eight.

14. Over the next five years the State Department reported total aid to Israel equalled \$1.742 billion in 1977, \$1.792 billion in 1978, \$4.790 billion in 1979, \$1.786 billion in 1980 and \$2.164 billion in 1981. See *The New York Times*, August 8, 1982.

15. Edward Sheehan, *The Arabs, Israelis, and Kissinger* (1976), p. 192. Peres refused to be identified in the article but the author was head of the *Time* bureau at the time, and one of his reporters interviewed Peres for the quote.

From: *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996 (Vol. 16, No. 2), pages 14-17.
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About the Author

Donald Neff (1930-2015) was an American historian and journalist. For 16 years he worked for *Time* magazine, including service as its bureau chief in Jerusalem. He was also a journalist for the *Los Angeles Times*, including a period as the paper's Tokyo correspondent. Neff was the author of many articles and several books on the Middle East, the Arab-Israel conflict, and US-Israel relations. These include the trilogy: *Warriors at Suez: Eisenhower Takes America Into the Middle East in 1956*, *Warriors for Jerusalem: The Six Days that Changed the Middle East*, and, *Warriors Against Israel: America Comes to the Rescue*. Two other books by Neff are *Fallen Pillars: U.S. Policy Toward Palestine and Israel Since 1945*, which he considered his most important work, and *Fifty Years of Israel*.

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Review

Study of Roosevelt's Path to Pearl Harbor Debunks Popular Historical Myths

- *A Time For War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Path to Pearl Harbor*, by Robert Smith Thompson. New York: Prentice Hall, 1991. xiii+449 pages. Hardcover. Photos. Source notes. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Joseph Bishop

In the popular view, the origin of America's war with Japan is clear: without provocation, the dastardly Japanese launched a sneak attack against us at Pearl Harbor. Japan's militaristic warlords, together with their totalitarian Axis partners, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, were bent on savage world conquest and global domination. America, militarily weak but morally strong, recovered from the "day of infamy" attack to subdue Japan and its Axis partners, and save the world.

With help from the mass media and a community of "court historians," Americans widely accept this portrayal of the conflict as a struggle between angels and devils. Over the years, though, revisionist historians such as Charles Beard, Harry Elmer Barnes, John Toland and John Costello have thoroughly discredited this feel-good establishment account.

Among the facts of "inconvenient history" cited by revisionists are President Franklin Roosevelt's threats and ultimatums to Japan, the tightening US trade embargo of Japan, unlawful US aid to Japan's enemies, and American foreknowledge of an imminent Japanese attack against US bases some time in early December 1941 based on a reading of Japan's secret military and diplomatic codes.

In this book, Robert Smith Thompson, a lecturer on foreign policy at the University of South Carolina, re-affirms the established revisionist view of the war's origins, but with a focus on the role of China in the interwar period. He understands, of course, that Japan was hardly blameless, and it is not his purpose to deny Japanese aggression or atrocities. At the same time, though, he sheds light on a neglected chapter of history, and effectively debunks popular but inaccurate perceptions. Summing up his thesis, he writes (p. xiii):

The traditional view of why America entered World War II is a myth. Neither isolationist nor truly neutral, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his administration forced Germany and Japan to go to war with us. Why Roosevelt did so is another — and an enthralling — question. The answer to this question goes back at least to the start of the twentieth century.

Chinese Weakness

Often overlooked in the emphasis on the Pacific War of 1941-1945 is Japan's drawn out military involvement in China, 1931-1945. As Thompson shows here, the Sino-Japanese war foreshadowed the Japanese-American clash, not least because it was a laboratory for Rooseveltian law-breaking and duplicity. Furthermore, he shows that the military conflict between Japan and the United States had its origins in earlier rivalry and competition in east Asia between the two countries.

Already in the 19th century, European powers and the United States were prying open commercial markets in China, which was ruled by the weak and hopelessly ineffectual Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. Particularly in the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, Western powers reduced China to a playground for European and American business interests, missionary societies, and private adventurers. A string of humiliating losses of territory and sovereignty to alien foreigners eroded the authority of China's Manchu regime, which "lost face" with its people. The collapse of the dynasty in 1911 brought further disorder and chaos. Secret societies proliferated, bandits roamed the countryside, gangsters terrorized the cities, and warlords seized control of large territories.

European powers, and, increasingly, the United States, also moved to fill the power vacuum. To enforce its hegemony, Westerners established "international settlements" in China's larger cities and their gunboats patrolled her rivers and sea lanes.

Japanese Ambitions in China

The proclamation earlier of an "Open Door" policy in China reflected America's new-found power and influence on the world stage, and further underscored China's semi-colonial status. Weaker but friendly European powers such as Britain, Netherlands and France had to rely ever more on the United States for help in maintaining their positions in China. In spite of the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, which guaranteed the integrity of China and its "Open Door" (and of which Japan was a signatory), the "door" was more open to some than to others.

Meanwhile, Japan's rapidly expanding industrial economy required vast imports of raw materials as well as large markets for its finished export goods. The most obvious source of imports and outlet for exports was neighboring China, the world's most populous country. But in the scramble for markets and power in Asia, Japan was disfavored and humiliated. The Western powers, and increasingly, the United States, thwarted her ambitions. As Thompson explains (p. 16), the US wielded ever greater power in Asia to its own advantage and to Japan's detriment:

America had persuaded Britain to renounce its own 1901 treaty with Japan. America had required Japan to evacuate the Shantung Peninsula, occupied during World War I, and to return customs control and sovereignty to China. America had demanded, and gotten, cable rights on Yap [Island] in the Pacific. America had forced Japan to



Shanghai, China's major port city, was occupied by the Japanese in November 1937. Here Japanese infantrymen celebrate after storming the city's North railway station.

leave Siberia, which the Japanese had invaded in 1919, and to give the Soviets the northern half of Sakhalin Island.

Not surprisingly, Thompson notes (p. 98), Japan viewed all this as an intolerable state of affairs:

For close to a century, Western commercial interests in China had centered their activities on the treaty ports... [In] each of these cities, which China had signed away in part or altogether to foreigners (usually to the British)...Westerners controlled the currencies, the exchange rates, the tariffs and quotas, the regulations over shipping and navigation, the rates and symbols of the power of the West. And the Japanese were determined to end all that.

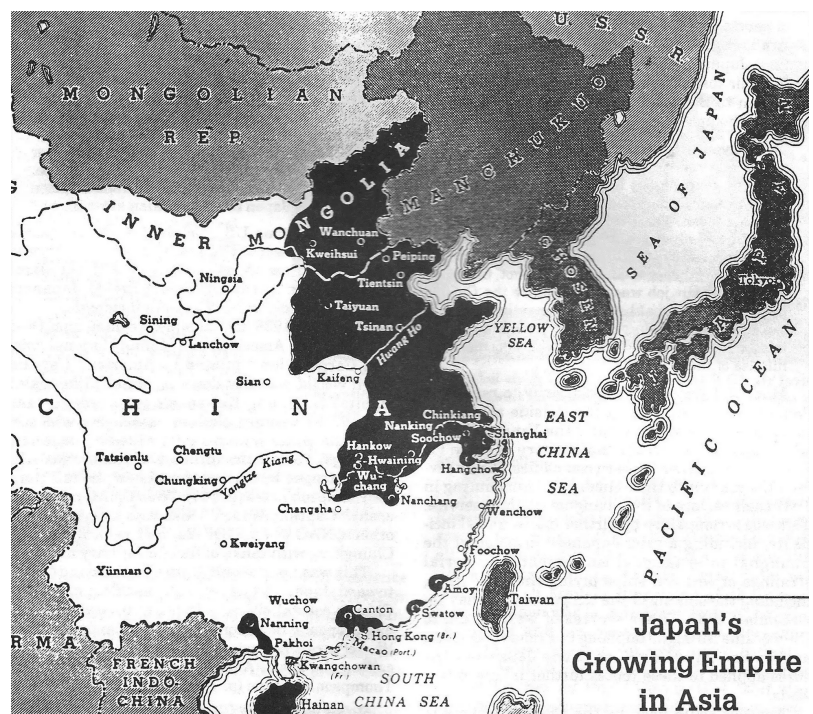
One-Sided Neutrality

During the early 1930s Japan took military control of much of northern China. In Manchuria (northeast China) it established the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932. Japan's full-scale war in China traditionally dates from the "Marco Polo Bridge" incident in 1937. While the origins of this "incident" remain unclear to this day, Chinese Communist involvement is a possibility. Indeed, an ominous and complicating factor throughout East Asia was the rise of Communism. Proxies of Soviet Russia did their best to foment unrest and conflict amongst the Asian peoples, and Japan's responsive efforts to combat Communist "bandits" in China merged with its general war of conquest there.

Naturally, the Westerners who had been holding sway in China resented Japan's sudden military intrusion and new power in the vast land. Between 1931 and 1941, hostile incidents in China between American citizens and Japanese troops, the luridly Japanophobic portrayal of the Sino-Japanese conflict in American newspapers, periodicals and newsreels, and official US condemnations of Japanese actions in China all helped psychologically to prepare the American public for an "inevitable" showdown with Japan.

Contributing to this was the work of Henry Luce, the avidly pro-Chinese publisher of *Time* and *Life* magazines. (Luce was the son of American missionaries in China.) In his influential weeklies, he bashed Japan and boosted Chinese *Generalissimo* Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) and his anti-Japanese government as the authentic representative of the Chinese people. In reality, Chiang Kai-shek presided over a corrupt and dictatorial regime, which was largely controlled by the fabulously wealthy and corrupt Soong clan. (Mei-ling Soong was Chiang Kai-shek's wife, and T.V. Soong, at one time the wealthiest man in the world, was his Prime Minister.)

During 1937-1941, all these factors contributed to the erosion of the rem-



Japan had already acquired Taiwan in 1895, and in 1910 it annexed Korea (Chosen). In 1932, it established the puppet state of Manchukuo in northeast

nants of United States neutrality. China. By December 1939, Japan seized control of the vast areas of China shown here in black. Writes Thompson (p. 39):

In the mid-1930s, Congress had passed a series of neutrality acts, requiring belligerent countries to pay cash for whatever they bought in the States and to ship such goods in their own vessels (the cash-and-carry principle) — and requiring the president, when two foreign countries were in a state of war, to declare an arms embargo. Since Japan could produce its own weapons, however, and China could not, having to make purchases overseas, an embargo would hurt China more than it would hurt Japan. So Roosevelt made a move that was not a move. He decided that he would “find” no war. He would wink at the sale of arms to China.

Roosevelt’s phony neutrality and his illicit aid to China against Japan foreshadowed his circumventions of the neutrality laws in aiding Britain against Germany. Indeed, the campaign to inflame emotions against Japan over the China war served as a general precursor to America’s propaganda war against Germany.

As early as 1937, America’s willful violations of neutrality extended to the financing of China’s war against Japan, and the training and equipping of China’s air force. (See also “Roosevelt’s Secret Pre-War Plan to Bomb Japan,” Winter 1991-92 *Journal*.) As Thompson explains (p. 33):

Three events, each out of the spring of 1937, cast doubt on America’s true neutrality. The Chinese government had begun to send presents to American officials, especially to President Roosevelt. The US Treasury had begun to buy Chinese silver, granting China a kind of foreign aid. And the Chinese government had begun to pay money to an American pilot, Claire Chennault. His job was to reorganize the Chinese air force; and although he was retired from the US Army Air Corps, he had plenty of contacts in Washington. In time, he would make full use of those contacts.

Much of China’s ability militarily to resist the Japanese depended upon the outside sources of material aid coming through the Yangtze River, which also served as the main artery of trade for American and other western companies. Japan severed the conduit to their enemies by announcing in 1937 their seizure of the Shanghai customs service. This was accompanied by further international incidents, including a brief Japanese invasion of the Shanghai international settlement, and aerial strafings of western ships plying the river lines, including the sinking of the US gunboat “Panay” in December 1937. Other sources of western aid to China came through Haiphong in French Indochina and via Britain’s Hong Kong colony. Japanese pressures applied to these routes further inflamed tensions.

Another route used by the western powers to supply Japan’s enemies in China was an overland road from Rangoon in Burma. The tremendous cost of maintaining this supply line were secured at a meeting between US Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Chinese finance minister H.H. Kung. They agreed that the United States would purchase Chinese silver and allow for a series of foreign exchange loans to China, which would maintain the flow of military supplies to China. Initial objections to this violation of American neutrality by the US State Department were overridden by President Roosevelt.

Numerous other Americans, serving as unofficial agents of China, encouraged further US aid and stridently opposed Japanese interests. Among them, Thompson points out (p. 93), was none other than John Foster Dulles, who would later serve as President Eisenhower’s ardently anti-Communist Secretary of State:

Upon his return to New York [from China], late in April 1938, Dulles spoke to the Lunch Club. Standing on the dais, he praised the Chinese Communists — this was Dulles! — as the “most effective fighting portion and the most patriotic” of the Chinese troops; and he expressed his conviction that the Japanese would never topple Chiang Kai-shek. Henry L. Stimson [later US Secretary of War] was in the audience. Dulles’ words impressed him: Perhaps, Stimson concluded, Japan could be beaten after all.

In effect, some US officials already considered themselves at war with Japan. Continued American aid to Japan’s enemies, and the hostile anti-Japanese rhetoric in the US media fueled Japanese anger and precipitated still more incidents.

In August 1938, for example, a commercial DC-2 aircraft of the American-run “China National Aviation Corporation,” piloted by American Captain Hugh Woods, was shot down en route to Chungking (capital of Chiang Kai-shek’s government), and most of the western civilian passengers who survived the water landing were killed by Japanese strafings. Few of the millions of Americans who were outraged by this incident knew the full story. As Thompson notes (p. 107): “Was CNAC nonbelligerent? Captain Woods’ DC-2 was unarmed. But other CNAC planes, DC-2s, had been flying into Chungking with tanks of fuel for military use.”

This was not the only source of American ill will toward Japan. As Japan tightened its control of China’s coastal cities, it imposed its own political and economic hegemony, now at the expense of the Westerners who just a short time earlier had been calling the shots. Americans were not pleased, as Thompson explains (p. 108):

Voters were angry — and so were investors. The Japanese had lowered booms across the waters at Shanghai, refusing to raise them for American vessels; the Japanese had seized, without payment, such goods as the tobacco stock of the Carolina Leaf and Tobacco Company and a lighter [small freighter] belonging to the US-owned Shanghai Lumber and Coal Company; the Japanese had prevented salesmen from the Singer Sewing Machine Company from docking at Shanghai; the Japanese had shut off two American oil companies from their long-standing markets in China; the Japanese had severed American exporters, based in China, from their sources of fur and wool.

America’s ambassador in Tokyo, Joseph C. Grew, was a decent man, respected by the Japanese, who struggled to avert war. But as Thompson writes (pp. 110-111), his task was daunting:

Grew had worked day and night to keep mutual relations peaceful — but the task was becoming impossible. To the Japanese he had to keep explaining away the bombast [of Japanophobes in America]; to the Americans he had over and over to present the Japanese view; namely, that Americans in China were acting in ways that were anything but neutral. Here is a sample of Japanese accusations that Grew forwarded to Washington: In Hopeh Province, American Presbyterian missionaries had allowed Chinese troops to use their church as a sanctuary; in Shansi Province, Chinese troops had used an



Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek and his wife meet with US air force commander Claire Chennault in Chungking, the wartime capital of Chiang’s government.

American-owned church as a fortress. Near Hsuehchow, American missionaries had let Chinese soldiers use their establishment as a communications center. At Tsingtao, Sen Chihti, head of a Chinese secret police unit, had taken sanctuary in a middle school run by the American Presbyterian church.

Thompson not only affirms that such incidents did occur, he cites additional hostile American actions, including support by American missionaries for Chinese Communists. (For example, American Methodist Bishop Roots worked with Chou En-lai to explore ways to embroil the US in the China war against Japan.)

Ambassador Grew conveyed to Washington Japan's protests about such incidents, but to no avail. His superiors, including President Roosevelt, did not share his concerns or goals. As war loomed ever larger in the ironically-named Pacific region, Grew and others who worked for peace could only look on helplessly.

Economic Warfare Against Japan

During this period, Japan was economically very vulnerable. More than any other industrial power, it was unusually dependent on imports of oil and other essential raw materials, as well as on foreign markets for export. In the circumstances of the time, it was economically beholden to the United States. It was thus a jolt when, in 1939, the United States cancelled its 1911 trade agreement with Japan. Much more serious were the trade embargoes imposed in 1940, when the US halted exports to Japan of petroleum, petroleum products (including gasoline and lubricants) and all grades of iron and steel scrap.

America's economic warfare against Japan came to climax on July 26, 1941, when President Roosevelt ordered the freezing of all Japanese assets and credits in the United States. This ended all trade between the two countries. (In coordination with this, Britain and the Netherlands followed quickly with similar measures of their own.) Because Japan was largely dependent on the US for petroleum and petroleum products, Roosevelt's order threatened her survival as an industrial nation. As British historian J.F.C. Fuller pointed out (in *The Second World War*, p. 128), "this was a declaration of economic war, and, in consequence, it was the actual opening of the struggle."

Commenting on Roosevelt's policy of "detering" Japan through economic pressure, Thompson writes (p. 401):

Here was no mere deterrence; here was deterrence that amounted to provocation. Was the provocation deliberate? Three times, twice to Lord Halifax and once to British premier Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt intimated that he was trying to force "an incident" that would bring America more deeply into the fray. He may have hated war, but he presided over policies that came to be indistinguishable from incitements to war.

Ruin or War

In this desperate situation, Japan faced inevitable economic ruin as a developed country. It decided, therefore, to act boldly to seize by sudden military action the resources and markets that the United States, Britain and France denied to it through embargo and the colonial system. In the words of J.F.C. Fuller, Japan's "choice was between two evils — both gigantic. She decided to follow the one she considered the lesser — war rather than economic ruin. "

When Japan did strike in December 1941, the Commanders-in-Chief of her Army and Navy issued a joint Order of the Day, which declared:

They [America and Britain] have obstructed by every means our peaceful commerce, and finally have resorted to the direct severance of economic relations, menacing gravely the existence of our Empire.

This trend of world affairs would, if left unchecked, not only nullify our Empire's efforts of many years for the sake of the stabilization of eastern Asia, but also endanger the very existence of our nation. The situation being such as it is, our Empire for its existence and self-defense has no other recourse but to appeal to arms ...



President Franklin Roosevelt speaks to the nation in a radio address, September 11, 1941.

At his trial after the war, Japan's wartime prime minister, Hideki Tojo, stated: "To adopt a policy of patience and perseverance under such impediment [the American pressure] was tantamount to self-annihilation of our nation. Rather than await extinction, it was better to face death by breaking through the encircling ring and find a way for existence."

Roosevelt's Motives

This book raises pertinent historical questions: Could the war in China have ended peacefully, or earlier, if the United States had not intervened to provide extensive aid to the Chinese combatants? Would Japan have acted more responsibly in Asia if America had behaved as a sincere neutral? If America had impartially tried to end the war in China, rather than intensify it, could the later and more generalized war with Japan have been avoided?

Finally, Thompson attempts to explain the motives behind Franklin Roosevelt's policies. In his path to war, Thompson believes, the President was driven not by a wish to safeguard America from supposed threat by the "bandit nations" of Germany, Japan and Italy, nor was he motivated by a desire to save China, Britain or even "democracy."

Instead, Thompson argues, Roosevelt sought to reestablish the stability of an earlier age by imposing his personal "vision" of a peaceful international order. He portrays FDR as a hopeless romantic harking after a lost "golden age" (p. 405):

President Franklin D. Roosevelt and those around him had the same vision in the months and years before Pearl Harbor. The Roosevelt administration, you sense, wanted to return to the status quo ante, to the world before the Great Depression, before the Great War, before the Russian Revolution, above all, to the world as it existed before the rise of Germany and Japan. Only with Germany and Japan removed from international affairs — indeed, only with America in Britain's place — would the golden age return.

While Thompson never makes clear whether he admires or deplors Roosevelt's policies, he does clearly establish that in the years before the Pearl Harbor attack, the President acted deceitfully and even unlawfully in furthering American economic and political interests in East Asia. Along

with other works of revisionist scholarship, Thompson's valuable study points up the wide gap between popular perception and historical reality.

About the Author

Joseph Bishop studied history at a South African university. He now resides in the Pacific Northwest with his wife and three children.

Review

Goldhagen's 'Evil' Indictment of Germans

- *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, by Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. New York: Knopf, 1996. x+622 pages. \$30.00.

Reviewed by Charles E. Weber

This is an evil book, as evil as the well-known incitement to hatred against Germans by Elie Wiesel, who praises this thick volume as “a tremendous contribution to the understanding and teaching of the Holocaust.”

Author Goldhagen's basic thesis is that a harsh “eliminationist” hostility toward Jews was so deeply ingrained in Germany that “ordinary Germans” were “willing executioners” of the Third Reich's murderous Holocaust of European Jewry. Even Germany's clergy comes under vehement attack in the chapter “Eliminationist Antisemitism as a Genocidal Motivation” (especially pp. 432-438; see also pp. 107-114). Goldhagen asserts (p. 437):

In sum, in the face of the persecution and annihilation of the Jews, the churches, Protestant and Catholic, as corporate bodies exhibited an apparent, striking impassiveness. Moreover, in the ranks of the clergy at all levels, numerous voices could be heard vilifying the Jews in Nazi-like terms, hurling imprecations at them, and acclaiming their persecution at the hands of their country's government.

Not even the members of the conspiracy who plotted to kill Hitler on July 20, 1944 are spared by Goldhagen (pp. 115-116).

In the opening pages of his book, in which he gives a sort of preliminary summary of its contents, Goldhagen writes (p. 4) of “the tens of thousands of ordinary Germans who... became genocidal killers.” Even if we were to assume, quite hypothetically, that 70,000 Germans could fall into such a category, that would still be only one in a thousand Germans — hardly the basis for a sweeping moral condemnation of a whole nation.

I can hardly imagine that Goldhagen has experienced military life himself or that he even has a good secondhand grasp of what it is like. In any military organization, a few members are prone to become sadists, especially after bloody engagements with enemy forces, and infused with the skillful psychological indoctrination that is a routine part of modern warfare. I recall, a few months after the end of the war in Europe, a fellow soldier boasting to me about how many Germans he had killed with the trucks he had driven. Were members of the American air force who delighted in reducing hundreds of thousands of women and children to cinders morally superior to members of the special German Einsatzkommando police units, to which Goldhagen devotes so much space? Most members of both groups no doubt thought they were performing acts that were a patriotic military necessity.

Right at the outset, Goldhagen demonstrates to the discerning reader just how unreliable his book is. On page 4 (and later on p. 162) he insists that German anti-Jewish measures killed six million Jews. Because German authorities never had more than about 3.8 million Jews under their control, as can be confirmed by checking easily accessible statistics on Jewish prewar and postwar populations, the familiar Six Million figure is absurd. (See, for example, Walter Sanning's *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, published by the IHR.)

Goldhagen calls the Holocaust "the most shocking event of the twentieth century, and the most difficult to understand in all of German history" (p. 4) — an arrogant, ethnocentric comment suggesting that Jewish suffering has special significance. The number of Ukrainians who died from starvation in Stalin's imposed mass famine of 1932-33 is, alone, perhaps ten times the number of Jews who perished in Europe under German and Axis rule, 1942-45.

Documents and Photographs

As evidence of a German extermination policy, Goldhagen cites (p. 322) the purported protocol of a conference of German government and military officials held at Wannsee (near Berlin) on January 20, 1942. As anyone who has carefully read the text knows, this 15-page document contains no mention of any policy or program to exterminate the Jews, let alone anything about gas chambers or the like. Remarkably, this document envisages a restructured Jewish makeup for those who survive forced employment, upon their future release ("bei Freilassung"). (Actually, there is some evidence that this document, which contains no signature, date, and so forth, may be a forgery of some sort. For the complete text and detailed discussion of the Wannsee conference protocol, see *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*, by Wilhelm Stäglich, pp. 31-41, 283-291, published by the IHR.)

Similarly, at least some of the grim photographs in Goldhagen's book appear to be of dubious authenticity. Some such "Holocaust industry" photos were produced by montage techniques, while in other instances unaltered photographs were used with false captions. (On this topic, see Udo Walendy's article the Spring 1980 Journal.)

As is now well known, torture was used to obtain many of the "confessions" upon which much of the Holocaust story is based. (See, for example, Robert Faurisson's article, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," in Winter 1986-87 Journal.) Holocaust "eyewitness" testimony, often quoted here by Goldhagen, are also frequently unreliable, as pointed out by the Jewish historian Arno Mayer in his 1988 book, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The 'Final Solution' in History* (p. 362).

Much of Goldhagen's book is devoted to the thesis that Wehrmacht troops were generally so hostile to Jews that many took a personal delight in tormenting them. Wise military commanders prohibit such evil, not only for the sake of the morale and psychological well-being of their men, but also to prevent encouragement of a more determined resistance on the part of their enemies. And German soldiers were exceptionally well disciplined and officered, as any number of non-German military historians have acknowledged. As Jewish author John Sack points out in his book *An Eye for an Eye* (pp. 87, 105), SS guards at Auschwitz could be (and in some instances were) punished severely by the German authorities for mistreating inmates, especially for emotional satisfaction.

Heinrich Himmler recognized the value of Jewish inmates in German concentration and labor camps as a source of labor for the war effort. In an order dated December 28, 1942, to the admin-

istrators of these camps the SS Reichsführer insisted that deaths of inmates (as a consequence of disease) were to be reduced “at all costs.”

Historical Context

It is important to realize that the grim subject of this book is only understandable within the context of the time. For example, Goldhagen makes an astonishingly naive or disingenuous statement (p. 409) to the effect that the behavior of Ukrainians, Latvians and Lithuanians in collaborating with the German occupation forces was difficult to understand. For anyone familiar with the historical circumstances, though, this collaboration is not at all surprising.

It is well established that Jews played a decisive and probably dominant role not only in the early Soviet Russian regime, but also in the genocidal Soviet administrations imposed in the Baltic nations in 1940-1941. [See “The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Early Soviet Regime,” Jan-Feb. 1994 Journal.] When German forces occupied the Baltic countries in the summer of 1941, people there took bloody vengeance on their tormentors (p. 151).

Goldhagen devotes considerable attention to the grim work of the Einsatzkommandos, special German security police detachments that operated behind the front lines in the occupied Soviet Union.

In these vast territories, large numbers of Jews came under German occupation in 1941. As a group, the Jews there were ardently hostile to German rule and posed a threat to security. Many joined the irregular (partisan) forces, which became a severe menace to thinly spread German military personnel. (Jews today point to this chapter of history with considerable pride, as shown, for example, in the US Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC.)

This reality, and the special character of the pitiless conflict between Germany and Soviet Russia, necessitated the very harsh security measures behind the front lines that resulted in many Jewish deaths. These victims, which included many innocent people, accounted for a large portion of all Jewish wartime deaths, a fact that Goldhagen acknowledges (p. 523, n. 4).

Ignored Evidence and a Shift in Emphasis

The grave distortions and lack of balance of this book are perhaps due less to what Goldhagen writes than to what he does not include. He ignores the abundant evidence brought out in recent decades — such as the Leuchter Report and the aerial reconnaissance photographs taken of Auschwitz in 1944 — that discredits the generally accepted Holocaust extermination story.

While a look at his bibliography suggests that he is not aware of this research, he seems to know of evidence that discredits the familiar claims of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, and to believe that the Holocaust story needs at least some revision. “The imbalance of attention devoted to the gas chambers needs to be corrected,” he writes (p. 523, n. 4).

Goldhagen also devotes a great deal of attention to the evacuations of inmates from German concentration camps during the final months of the war, in the face of the approaching Soviet forces. Many thousands of Jewish prisoners were evacuated from Auschwitz, for example, in the weeks before its capture by Soviet forces on January 27, 1945. It seems not to have occurred to Goldhagen that if there had been anything like a policy to kill all Jews, the German authorities would not have diverted desperately needed guard personnel and overtaxed transportation facilities to such cumbersome evacuations, which Goldhagen refers to as “death marches.”

Threats of Genocide

Germany's harsh anti-Jewish measures were carried out during a war in which the German people were themselves threatened with genocide — an aspect of the subject that Goldhagen, like most Holocaust historians, essentially ignores.

Even at the outset of the conflict there were mass killings of thousands of civilian ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) by both civilian and military Poles, who were confident that Poland would quickly defeat Germany. Many apparently expected to take possession of German farms and businesses. An estimated 58,000 German civilians lost their lives in the massacres carried out in September 1939, of which the “Bromberg Bloody Sunday” is perhaps best known. (These atrocities are documented in gruesome detail in a book issued by the German Foreign Office. The American edition, *Polish Acts of Atrocities Against the German Minority in Poland*, was published in New York in 1940.)

Then came the book by American Jewish writer Theodore Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish*, which called for the sterilization of all Germans and the parceling out of Germany to neighboring states. First published in 1941, translations of this shocking work were widely distributed by Goebbels' agencies as a grim admonishment to the German people. Of course, one looks in vain for any mention by Goldhagen of this Jewish call to genocide.

So eager were Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill to ruthlessly crush Germany that in January 1943 they issued their demand for “unconditional surrender” — a savage directive that unquestionably cost the lives of huge numbers of soldiers on both sides. In September 1944 came the notorious Morgenthau Plan, an occupation program endorsed by Roosevelt and formulated by his Treasury Secretary that would have had a genocidal impact on the German people by depriving the nation of its heavy industry and thus the possibility of obtaining the imports necessary for its very survival. (Since about 1870 the German population had grown beyond the capacity of its arable land to feed itself. During 1945-1948 I myself witnessed the starvation and economic paralysis that was imposed on the vanquished Germans.) Then in October 1944 came the discovery of the Soviet massacre of German civilians in Nemmersdorf, a village in East Prussia that was briefly recaptured by German forces. In February 1945 Allied air forces carried out the genocidal bombing of Dresden.

Under these circumstances, which receive little or no mention from Goldhagen, it is naive to expect that the Germans would have maintained a sympathetic, benevolent attitude toward the Jews.

Germany's wartime internment of Jews has certain parallels with America's wartime internment of its citizens of Japanese descent. In each case, racial-ethnic distrust and concerns for security were significant factors. But there were also some important differences. Whereas the US government acted swiftly in the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor to round up its citizens of Japanese ancestry, the German authorities moved rather slowly and hesitantly against the Jews, until the outbreak of the German-Soviet conflict.

If the German authorities intended to consign all Jews to death, as Goldhagen claims (p. 173), they moved with a remarkable lack of urgency. The Jewish uprising in the Warsaw ghetto in the spring of 1943, for example, came some three and a half years after the outbreak of the war.

The appalling conditions in the German concentration camps during the war's final, chaotic months are reminiscent of the dreadful conditions in the prisoner of war camps of the starving

and beleaguered Confederacy during the Civil War. In the case of Germany, however, Allied bombing had shattered the country's transportation network and supply system in the final months.

German Tolerance

Contrary to Goldhagen's thesis, hostility toward Jews was by no means more widespread or deep-rooted in Germany than in, say, France or even the United States. In modern times Jews have rightly regarded Germany as a haven of relative tolerance, virtually a "promised land." One of the most influential literary pleas for tolerance of Jews was the famous 18th-century German play, *Nathan der Weise* ("Nathan the Wise"). The dramatist and critic G. E. Lessing (1729-1781) presents the play's central figure, a Jew, in a highly sympathetic light, in contrast to the Christian figures in the drama.

During the 19th and 20th centuries Jews thrived in Germany, which afforded them great opportunities to distinguish themselves in arts, letters, sciences and commerce. One need only recall such outstanding German-Jewish figures as the poet Heinrich Heine, the composer Felix Mendelssohn, shipping magnate Albert Ballin, the banking families of Rothschild and Warburg, political leaders Ferdinand Lassalle Walther Rathenau and Hugo Preuss, theater director Max Reinhardt, and physicist Albert Einstein. By the time of the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) German Jews were very disproportionately represented in commerce, banking and the legal profession.

On the other hand, the predominant Jewish role in the incredibly cruel Marxist regimes established in Russia, Hungary and elsewhere in the 1917-1919 period generated tremendous anti-Jewish feeling, not only in Germany but across Europe. In the United States automobile manufacturer Henry Ford, who had idealistically tried to reconcile the warring powers during the First World War, subsidized critical studies on the "Jewish question." These were published 1920-1922 and later republished in four volumes under the title *The International Jew*. Quickly translated into German, these volumes constituted a significant (but hardly the only) American influence on public opinion in Germany.

Third Reich Measures

Contrary to the impression given by Goldhagen, Third Reich measures against Jews were remarkably mild during the first few years after Hitler came to power in January 1933. The well-known boycott of Jewish businesses, April 1, 1933, was a token one-day response to the already established and on-going international Jewish boycott of German exports. It was not until the promulgation in September 1935 of the "Nuremberg Laws" that marriage between Jews and non-Jews was banned, a prohibition that, incidentally, paralleled the long-standing laws in numerous American states against marriages between Caucasians and Negroes.

Even as late as November 1938, at the time of the anti-Jewish "Crystal Night" riots (provoked by the Jewish murder of a German diplomat in Paris), much of Germany's retail trade was still in Jewish hands. As even Goldhagen concedes (p. 100) Jews still owned some 7,500 stores and business in Germany at that time. (On the origin and nature of "Crystal Night," see Ingrid Weckert's study, *Flashpoint*, published by the IHR.) As late as 1941, more than a hundred Jewish institutions, agencies and organizations were listed in that year's edition of the Berlin telephone directory. Of the nearly 1400 feature films produced during the Third Reich era, no more than four or five were anti-Jewish.

All this would hardly have been possible if hostility toward Jews in Third Reich Germany had been as deeply entrenched, as widespread or as intense as Goldhagen contends.

Goldhagen mentions (p. 142) Hitler's often-cited words from his January 30, 1939, Reichstag address, in which he predicted that if international finance Jewry succeeded once again in plunging Europe into world war, the result be the destruction of the Jews in Europe — although without specifying how or by whom. The German leader certainly wanted no European-wide conflict, or even war with Britain, but his awareness of the vehement international Jewish effort to incite war against Germany may perhaps explain his 1939 Reichstag prediction. (See "President Roosevelt's Secret Campaign to Incite War in Europe," Summer 1983 Journal.)

Conclusion

Anyone who seeks a balanced treatment of an emotion-laden chapter of modern history had better look elsewhere. But a lack of balance is hardly the greatest defect of this work. Probably its most pernicious feature is that it helps to destroy any prospect of good relations between Jews and Germans. Some Jewish leaders, fearing the destruction of their people through assimilation, may consciously wish to demolish tolerable relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Is this perhaps one of the author's motives in writing this book? If so, his book is another manifestation of an ancient Hebraic tradition, expressed in Jewish religious writings, of sowing discord amongst host populations. (See, for example, Isaiah 19:2-3: "And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians, and they shall fight every one against his brother ... And the spirit of Egypt shall fail in the midst thereof ...")

Just as Jewish musicians who reject the music of Richard Wagner because he was anti-Jewish only cheat themselves, so also do Jews like Goldhagen who poison opportunities for good relations with Germans actually harm the interests of their own people.

As already mentioned, Jews have enjoyed advantageous relations with Germans in the past and may do so again in the future. Because this book's long-range impact is likely to be more harmful to Jews than to Germans, it should be challenged not only by non-Jews but by enlightened Jews as well.

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Review

French Study of Israel's 'Founding Myths' Provokes Furious Attack

- *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics"), by Roger Garaudy. Paris: La Vieille taupe (B.P. 98, 75224 Paris-Cedex 05, France), 1995. 277 pages. Softcover. [Available from La Librairie du Savoir, 5, rue Malebranche, 75005 Paris, France.]

Reviewed by [Robert Martello](#)

Even as independent thinking is being suppressed in “politically correct” America, and erased in today’s national-masochist Germany, happily some remnants of traditional Gallic nonconformism are still alive in France. If a Frenchman asks you the rhetorical question “Do you think I am a fool?,” it means he is irritated by your naive assumption that he may be naive.

Roger Garaudy obviously does not want to be taken for a fool. In admirably scholarly fashion, fortified with an impressive bibliography and endless source citations, he (possibly with help from anonymous assistants) has delivered a powerful blow to the greatest historical-political myth of our time: the transcendent victimology of Jews for the benefit of Israel. For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what Garaudy calls “theological myths” to arrogate for themselves a “right of theological divine chosenness.” He is right on target, although readers familiar with the work of other revisionist scholars will recognize many of the arguments presented in this well researched and very readable work.

Referring to the myth of “antifascist Zionism,” Garaudy for example cites the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including Israel’s future prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, to join with Hitler’s Germany in a military alliance against Britain. [See: M. Weber, “Zionism and the Third Reich,” July-August 1993 Journal.] The farce of the Nuremberg victors’ show trial is also well documented by Garaudy, who cites German, Israeli, Soviet and American sources, including the memoir of chief US prosecutor Robert Jackson.

Garaudy examines the deceitful ex nihilo establishment of the Jewish state through the dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine’s Arabs, and debunks the legend of the “Israeli miracle.” He writes frankly of the powerful Zionist lobby in North America, which effectively controls US policy regarding Israel and plays a critical role in shaping public opinion.

“Founding Myths” offers hundreds of interesting quotations, often by prominent Jewish scholars. For example, it quotes Jewish scholar Michael Bar-Zohar, who points out that during the Second World War “the rescuing of European Jewry was not first on the list of priorities of the ruling class. The foundation of the [Jewish] state was primary ...”

Taking on that most sacred of sacred cows, Garaudy writes that the Holocaust story, as a whole, is a “myth.” The wartime suffering of Europe’s Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

Tracing the origin of the notorious term “final solution” (“Endlösung”), Garaudy shows the circumstances in which the German leaders employed it. The phrase first appeared in a letter by Heydrich of June 24, 1940 (after the German victory over France). He wrote of “a territorial final solution” (“eine territoriale Endlösung”), referring to a proposal to deport Europe’s Jews to Madagascar that was widely and seriously discussed at the time in German circles.

“There is no document signed by Hitler, Himmler or Heydrich speaking about the extermination of Jews,” Garaudy points out. He also deftly tears down mythical exterminationist mathematics (such as the exaggerated Auschwitz body count), and debunks stories of gassing of Jews. Claude Lanzmann’s much-praised “Shoah” film he dismisses as “an endless turkey,” and refers to Anne Frank’s diary as part of the “Shoah business.”

Furious Attacks

If one accepts the old saying that everyone scratches himself where it itches most, then the furious attacks against this book and its author show that many in France are itching badly.

The country’s supposedly independent press, from *Le Figaro* to *Le Monde* to *Libération*, along with the main television channels, immediately went after Garaudy in an intense smear campaign. Although France’s media traditionally prides itself on its independent, freewheeling spirit, it has displayed a patent bias in heaping scorn on Garaudy and his most prominent public supporter, Abbé Pierre. Each is loudly accused of the worst of all possible sins in today’s France: “inveterate anti-Semitism,” “denial,” and “revisionism.”

Along with the media smears, lawsuits have been brought against Garaudy and his publisher. Each may also be subject to heavy fines or even imprisonment for violating France’s 1990 Fabius-Gayssot anti-revisionist law. One cannot rule out that the octogenarian Garaudy will end his days in jail as a notorious thought criminal.

The entire Garaudy affair has received enormous attention in French academic, journalistic and public life, and shows no signs of dying. But in spite of all the media howling, “Founding Myths” is selling well.

'Red-Brown' Alliance?

If Garaudy were a right-winger or a neo-Nazi, he would have been dismissed long ago as lacking any intellectual credibility. But his establishment credentials are impeccable. During the war, he was one of the first to join the French anti-fascist Résistance, and he later played a prominent role in the French Communist Party. Later, after breaking with the Party, he converted to Islam. Garaudy’s most prominent supporter and friend of many years, Abbé Pierre, is a world-renowned Catholic priest who likewise worked in the anti-German Résistance. Since the war he has devoted himself to helping the poor. Moreover, “Founding Myths” was published by the leftist writer Pierre Guillaume under the imprint of his “Old Mole” firm, a small and relatively unknown publisher that has brought out works of Holocaust revisionism, including some by Robert Faurisson.

Citing the leftist credentials of this book's author and publisher, many French opinion makers have been railing about the looming danger of a "red-brown" (Communist-Nazi) alliance. As silly as it is, such talk points up the complete bankruptcy of the traditional "left-right" categories of intellectual and political life. The Garaudy affair shows that the significant contending political and intellectual groupings today (and not just in France) are not "leftists" and "rightists," but rather the "politically correct" or "taboo-affirming," and the "politically incorrect" or "taboo-defying."

"The most effective indictment against Hitlerism," Garaudy writes in the final words of his book, "is the establishment of historical truth. It is for this purpose that we have wished to make our contribution with this dossier."

In France the century was ushered in with an intense public debate over a Jewish army officer who had been accused of selling military secrets to Germany. For a time the Dreyfus affair sharply divided French society into radically hostile intellectual and political camps, a split that portended the country's division during the Second World War. As we approach a new century, it cannot be ruled out that the Garaudy case and historical revisionism will similarly split French public life, but in an ultimately even more profound way.

Robert Martello is the pen name of an American scholar who lives in France.

President Clinton's Distortion of History

The Danger of Historical Lies

by [Mark Weber](#)

On January 20, 1997, Bill Clinton began his second term as President with a swearing-in ceremony at the White House followed by an inaugural address. During the first few minutes of this speech, Clinton briefly surveyed the history of the past ten decades:

What a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; saved the world from tyranny in two world wars and a long Cold War; and time and again, reached across the globe to millions who longed for the blessings of liberty.

Not only do these proud, even boastful words contain historical lies, they manifest an arrogance that lays the groundwork for future calamity. In truth, in neither the first nor the second world wars did the United States "save the world from tyranny."

World War I

In April 1917, President Woodrow Wilson called for America's entry into World War I by proclaiming that "the world must be made safe for democracy." On another occasion, he declared that US participation in the conflict would make it a "war to end war." To secure support for this crusade, newspapers and political leaders, and an official US government propaganda agency, portrayed Germany as a power-mad tyranny that threatened the liberty of the world.

However, within just a few years after the November 1918 armistice that ended the fighting, this wartime propaganda image was widely recognized as absurd. Today no serious historian regards Wilhelmine Germany as a "tyranny," or believes that it posed any kind of threat to the United States, much less "the world."

Ironically, America's principal allies in World War I — Britain and France — were at the time the world's greatest imperial powers. (A sore point for many Americans of Irish background was Britain's control of Ireland.) Many in the United States regarded Britain, not Germany, as the foremost threat to world liberty, recalling that Americans had waged a bitter, drawn-out war for independence from British rule (1775-1783), and that during a second war with the same country (1812-1814) British troops had sacked and burned down the US capital.

World War II

President Clinton's distortion of history is even more glaring with regard to the Second World War. America's two most important military allies in that conflict were the foremost imperialist power (Britain) and the cruelest tyranny (Soviet Russia).

During both world wars, Britain ruled a vast global empire, subjugating millions against their will in what are now India, Pakistan, South Africa, Palestine/Israel, Egypt and Malaysia, to name but a few. America's other great wartime ally, Stalinist Russia, was, by any objective measure, a vastly more cruel despotism than Hitler's Germany.

If the US had not intervened in World War II, Germany and its allies might have succeeded in vanquishing Soviet Communism. A victory of the Axis powers also would have meant no Communist subjugation of eastern Europe and China, no protracted East-West "Cold War," and no "hot wars" in Korea and Vietnam.

In fact, and contrary to Clinton's version of history, during the Second War the United States helped substantially to preserve the world's most terrible tyranny. In cooperation with the Soviet Union, the United States helped to oppress "millions who longed for the blessings of liberty."

Today's political and intellectual leaders seem eager to whitewash or forget the Soviet role in the World War II, or America's cordial wartime alliance with Soviet Russia and its leader. To solidify the Allied coalition — formally known as the "United Nations" — President Franklin Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin met together in person on two occasions: in November 1943 at Teheran, Iran, and in February 1945 in Yalta, Crimea.

In a joint declaration issued at the conclusion of the Teheran meeting, the three leaders expressed "our determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow." The "Big Three" continued:

We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the good will of the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them, as they may choose to come, into a world family of democratic nations.

... Emerging from these cordial conferences we look with confidence to the day when all the peoples of the world may live free, untouched by tyranny, according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

To emphasize the trusting nature of their alliance, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin concluded their joint statement with the words: "We came here with hope and determination. We leave here, friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose."

The wartime leaders of the United States, Britain and Soviet Russia accomplished precisely what they accused the Axis leaders of Germany, Italy and Japan of conspiring to achieve: world domination. At the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences, and in crass violation of their own loftily proclaimed principles, the US, British and Soviet leaders disposed of millions of people with no regard for their wishes (most tragically, perhaps, in the case of Poland). To insure the rule of the victorious Allied powers after the war, the "Big Three" established the United Nations organization to function as a permanent global police force.

Lessons

Many Americans recall their country's role in the Vietnam war, and other overseas military adventures since 1945, with embarrassment and even shame. But most Americans — whether they call themselves conservative or liberal — like to regard World War II as “the good war,” a morally unambiguous conflict between Good and Evil. So successfully have politicians and intellectual leaders, together with the mass media, promoted this childish, self-righteous view of history, that President Clinton could be confident that it would be accepted without objection.

The President's distortion of history is all the more remarkable considering that in this same inaugural speech he proclaimed the dawning of an “information age” in which “education will be every citizen's most prized possession.”

How a nation views the past is not a trivial or merely academic exercise. Our perspective on history profoundly shapes our actions in the present, often with grave consequences for the future. Drawing conclusions from our understanding of the past, we make or support policies that greatly impact the lives of millions.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, for example, political leaders, journalists and scholars often rationalized and justified America's ill-fated role in the Vietnam war on the basis of a badly distorted understanding of Third Reich Germany, drawing faulty historical parallels between Ho Chi Minh and Hitler, with erroneous references to the September 1938 Munich Conference.

The hubris of Clinton's portrayal of history is not merely an affront against historical truth, it is dangerous because it sanctions potentially even more calamitous military adventures in the future. After all, if the United States was as righteous and as successful as the President says it was in “saving the world” in two world wars, why would anyone oppose similar world-saving crusades in the future?

Why the Atomic Bombings Could Have Been Avoided

Was Hiroshima Necessary?

by [Mark Weber](#)

On August 6, 1945, the world dramatically entered the atomic age: without either warning or precedent, an American plane dropped a single nuclear bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. The explosion utterly destroyed more than four square miles of the city center. About 90,000 people were killed immediately; another 40,000 were injured, many of whom died in protracted agony from radiation sickness. Three days later, a second atomic strike on the city of Nagasaki killed some 37,000 people and injured another 43,000. Together the two bombs eventually killed an estimated 200,000 Japanese civilians.

Between the two bombings, Soviet Russia joined the United States in war against Japan. Under strong US prodding, Stalin broke his regime's 1941 non-aggression treaty with Tokyo. On the same day that Nagasaki was destroyed, Soviet troops began pouring into Manchuria, overwhelming Japanese forces there. Although Soviet participation did little or nothing to change the military outcome of the war, Moscow benefitted enormously from joining the conflict.

In a broadcast from Tokyo the next day, August 10, the Japanese government announced its readiness to accept the joint American-British "unconditional surrender" declaration of Potsdam, "with the understanding that the said declaration does not compromise any demand which prejudices the prerogatives of His Majesty as a Sovereign Ruler."

A day later came the American reply, which included these words: "From the moment of surrender the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers." Finally, on August 14, the Japanese formally accepted the provisions of the Potsdam declaration, and a "cease fire" was announced. On September 2, Japanese envoys signed the instrument of surrender aboard the US battleship Missouri in Tokyo Bay.

A Beaten Country

Apart from the moral questions involved, were the atomic bombings militarily necessary? By any rational yardstick, they were not. Japan already had been defeated militarily by June 1945. Almost nothing was left of the once mighty Imperial Navy, and Japan's air force had been all but totally destroyed. Against only token opposition, American war planes ranged at will over the country, and US bombers rained down devastation on her cities, steadily reducing them to rubble.

What was left of Japan's factories and workshops struggled fitfully to turn out weapons and other goods from inadequate raw materials. (Oil supplies had not been available since April.) By July about a quarter of all the houses in Japan had been destroyed, and her transportation system was

near collapse. Food had become so scarce that most Japanese were subsisting on a sub-starvation diet.

On the night of March 9-10, 1945, a wave of 300 American bombers struck Tokyo, killing 100,000 people. Dropping nearly 1,700 tons of bombs, the war planes ravaged much of the capital city, completely burning out 16 square miles and destroying a quarter of a million structures. A million residents were left homeless.

On May 23, eleven weeks later, came the greatest air raid of the Pacific War, when 520 giant B-29 "Superfortress" bombers unleashed 4,500 tons of incendiary bombs on the heart of the already battered Japanese capital. Generating gale-force winds, the exploding incendiaries obliterated Tokyo's commercial center and railway yards, and consumed the Ginza entertainment district. Two days later, on May 25, a second strike of 502 "Superfortress" planes roared low over Tokyo, raining down some 4,000 tons of explosives. Together these two B-29 raids destroyed 56 square miles of the Japanese capital.

Even before the Hiroshima attack, American air force General Curtis LeMay boasted that American bombers were "driving them [Japanese] back to the stone age." Henry H. ("Hap") Arnold, commanding General of the Army air forces, declared in his 1949 memoirs: "It always appeared to us, atomic bomb or no atomic bomb, the Japanese were already on the verge of collapse." This was confirmed by former Japanese prime minister Fumimaro Konoye, who said: "Fundamentally, the thing that brought about the determination to make peace was the prolonged bombing by the B-29s."

Japan Seeks Peace

Months before the end of the war, Japan's leaders recognized that defeat was inevitable. In April 1945 a new government headed by Kantaro Suzuki took office with the mission of ending the war. When Germany capitulated in early May, the Japanese understood that the British and Americans would now direct the full fury of their awesome military power exclusively against them.

American officials, having long since broken Japan's secret codes, knew from intercepted messages that the country's leaders were seeking to end the war on terms as favorable as possible. Details of these efforts were known from decoded secret communications between the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo and Japanese diplomats abroad.

In his 1965 study, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (pp. 107, 108), historian Gar Alperovitz writes:

Although Japanese peace feelers had been sent out as early as September 1944 (and [China's] Chiang Kai-shek had been approached regarding surrender possibilities in December 1944), the real effort to end the war began in the spring of 1945. This effort stressed the role of the Soviet Union ...

In mid-April [1945] the [US] Joint Intelligence Committee reported that Japanese leaders were looking for a way to modify the surrender terms to end the war. The State Department was convinced the Emperor was actively seeking a way to stop the fighting.

A Secret Memorandum

It was only after the war that the American public learned about Japan's efforts to bring the conflict to an end. Chicago Tribune reporter Walter Trohan, for example, was obliged by wartime censorship to withhold for seven months one of the most important stories of the war.

In an article that finally appeared August 19, 1945, on the front pages of the Chicago Tribune and the Washington Times-Herald, Trohan revealed that on January 20, 1945, two days prior to his departure for the Yalta meeting with Stalin and Churchill, President Roosevelt received a 40-page memorandum from General Douglas MacArthur outlining five separate surrender overtures from high-level Japanese officials. (The complete text of Trohan's article is in the Winter 1985-86 Journal, pp. 508-512.)

This memo showed that the Japanese were offering surrender terms virtually identical to the ones ultimately accepted by the Americans at the formal surrender ceremony on September 2 — that is, complete surrender of everything but the person of the Emperor. Specifically, the terms of these peace overtures included:

- Complete surrender of all Japanese forces and arms, at home, on island possessions, and in occupied countries.
- Occupation of Japan and its possessions by Allied troops under American direction.
- Japanese relinquishment of all territory seized during the war, as well as Manchuria, Korea and Taiwan.
- Regulation of Japanese industry to halt production of any weapons and other tools of war.
- Release of all prisoners of war and internees.
- Surrender of designated war criminals.

Is this memorandum authentic? It was supposedly leaked to Trohan by Admiral William D. Leahy, presidential Chief of Staff. (See: M. Rothbard in A. Goddard, ed., *Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader* [1968], pp. 327f.) Historian Harry Elmer Barnes has related (in "Hiroshima: Assault on a Beaten Foe," *National Review*, May 10, 1958):

The authenticity of the Trohan article was never challenged by the White House or the State Department, and for very good reason. After General MacArthur returned from Korea in 1951, his neighbor in the Waldorf Towers, former President Herbert Hoover, took the Trohan article to General MacArthur and the latter confirmed its accuracy in every detail and without qualification.

Peace Overtures

In April and May 1945, Japan made three attempts through neutral Sweden and Portugal to bring the war to a peaceful end. On April 7, acting Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu met with Swedish ambassador Widon Bagge in Tokyo, asking him "to ascertain what peace terms the United States and Britain had in mind." But he emphasized that unconditional surrender was unacceptable, and that "the Emperor must not be touched." Bagge relayed the message to the United States, but Secretary of State Stettinius told the US Ambassador in Sweden to "show no interest or take any initiative in pursuit of the matter." Similar Japanese peace signals through Portugal, on May 7, and again through Sweden, on the 10th, proved similarly fruitless.

By mid-June, six members of Japan's Supreme War Council had secretly charged Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo with the task of approaching Soviet Russia's leaders "with a view to terminating the war if possible by September." On June 22 the Emperor called a meeting of the Supreme War Council, which included the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the leading military

figures. "We have heard enough of this determination of yours to fight to the last soldiers," said Emperor Hirohito. "We wish that you, leaders of Japan, will strive now to study the ways and the means to conclude the war. In doing so, try not to be bound by the decisions you have made in the past."

By early July the US had intercepted messages from Togo to the Japanese ambassador in Moscow, Naotake Sato, showing that the Emperor himself was taking a personal hand in the peace effort, and had directed that the Soviet Union be asked to help end the war. US officials also knew that the key obstacle to ending the war was American insistence on "unconditional surrender," a demand that precluded any negotiations. The Japanese were willing to accept nearly everything, except turning over their semi-divine Emperor. Heir of a 2,600-year-old dynasty, Hirohito was regarded by his people as a "living god" who personified the nation. (Until the August 15 radio broadcast of his surrender announcement, the Japanese people had never heard his voice.) Japanese particularly feared that the Americans would humiliate the Emperor, and even execute him as a war criminal.

On July 12, Hirohito summoned Fumimaro Konoye, who had served as prime minister in 1940-41. Explaining that "it will be necessary to terminate the war without delay," the Emperor said that he wished Konoye to secure peace with the Americans and British through the Soviets. As Prince Konoye later recalled, the Emperor instructed him "to secure peace at any price, notwithstanding its severity."

The next day, July 13, Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo wired ambassador Naotake Sato in Moscow: "See [Soviet foreign minister] Molotov before his departure for Potsdam ... Convey His Majesty's strong desire to secure a termination of the war ... Unconditional surrender is the only obstacle to peace ..."

On July 17, another intercepted Japanese message revealed that although Japan's leaders felt that the unconditional surrender formula involved an unacceptable dishonor, they were convinced that "the demands of the times" made Soviet mediation to terminate the war absolutely essential. Further diplomatic messages indicated that the only condition asked by the Japanese was preservation of "our form of government." The only "difficult point," a July 25 message disclosed, "is the ... formality of unconditional surrender."

Summarizing the messages between Togo and Sato, US naval intelligence said that Japan's leaders, "though still balking at the term unconditional surrender," recognized that the war was lost, and had reached the point where they have "no objection to the restoration of peace on the basis of the [1941] Atlantic Charter." These messages, said Assistant Secretary of the Navy Lewis Strauss, "indeed stipulated only that the integrity of the Japanese Royal Family be preserved."

Navy Secretary James Forrestal termed the intercepted messages "real evidence of a Japanese desire to get out of the war." "With the interception of these messages," notes historian Alperovitz (p. 177), "there could no longer be any real doubt as to the Japanese intentions; the maneuvers were overt and explicit and, most of all, official acts. Koichi Kido, Japan's Lord Privy Seal and a close advisor to the Emperor, later affirmed: "Our decision to seek a way out of this war, was made in early June before any atomic bomb had been dropped and Russia had not entered the war. It was already our decision."

In spite of this, on July 26 the leaders of the United States and Britain issued the Potsdam declaration, which included this grim ultimatum: "We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces and to provide proper and adequate assurance of good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction."

Commenting on this draconian either-or proclamation, British historian J.F.C. Fuller wrote: “Not a word was said about the Emperor, because it would be unacceptable to the propaganda-fed American masses.” (A Military History of the Western World [1987], p. 675.)

America’s leaders understood Japan’s desperate position: the Japanese were willing to end the war on any terms, as long as the Emperor was not molested. If the US leadership had not insisted on unconditional surrender — that is, if they had made clear a willingness to permit the Emperor to remain in place — the Japanese very likely would have surrendered immediately, thus saving many thousands of lives.

The sad irony is that, as it actually turned out, the American leaders decided anyway to retain the Emperor as a symbol of authority and continuity. They realized, correctly, that Hirohito was useful as a figurehead prop for their own occupation authority in postwar Japan.

Justifications

President Truman steadfastly defended his use of the atomic bomb, claiming that it “saved millions of lives” by bringing the war to a quick end. Justifying his decision, he went so far as to declare: “The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians.”

This was a preposterous statement. In fact, almost all of the victims were civilians, and the United States Strategic Bombing Survey (issued in 1946) stated in its official report: “Hiroshima and Nagasaki were chosen as targets because of their concentration of activities and population.”

If the atomic bomb was dropped to impress the Japanese leaders with the immense destructive power of a new weapon, this could have been accomplished by deploying it on an isolated military base. It was not necessary to destroy a large city. And whatever the justification for the Hiroshima blast, it is much more difficult to defend the second bombing of Nagasaki.

All the same, most Americans accepted, and continue to accept, the official justifications for the bombings. Accustomed to crude propagandistic portrayals of the “Japs” as virtually subhuman beasts, most Americans in 1945 heartily welcomed any new weapon that would wipe out more of the detested Asians, and help avenge the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. For the young Americans who were fighting the Japanese in bitter combat, the attitude was “Thank God for the atom bomb.” Almost to a man, they were grateful for a weapon whose deployment seemed to end the war and thus allow them to return home.

After the July 1943 firestorm destruction of Hamburg, the mid-February 1945 holocaust of Dresden, and the fire-bombings of Tokyo and other Japanese cities, America’s leaders — as US Army General Leslie Groves later commented — “were generally inured to the mass killing of civilians.” For President Harry Truman, the killing of tens of thousands of Japanese civilians was simply not a consideration in his decision to use the atom bomb.

Critical Voices

Amid the general clamor of enthusiasm, there were some who had grave misgivings. “We are the inheritors to the mantle of Genghis Khan,” wrote New York Times editorial writer Hanson Baldwin, “and of all those in history who have justified the use of utter ruthlessness in war.” Norman

Thomas called Nagasaki “the greatest single atrocity of a very cruel war.” Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the President, was similarly appalled.

A leading voice of American Protestantism, *Christian Century*, strongly condemned the bombings. An editorial entitled “America’s Atomic Atrocity” in the issue of August 29, 1945, told readers:

The atomic bomb was used at a time when Japan’s navy was sunk, her air force virtually destroyed, her homeland surrounded, her supplies cut off, and our forces poised for the final stroke ... Our leaders seem not to have weighed the moral considerations involved. No sooner was the bomb ready than it was rushed to the front and dropped on two helpless cities ... The atomic bomb can fairly be said to have struck Christianity itself ... The churches of America must dissociate themselves and their faith from this inhuman and reckless act of the American Government.

A leading American Catholic voice, *Commonweal*, took a similar view. Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the magazine editorialized, “are names for American guilt and shame.”

Pope Pius XII likewise condemned the bombings, expressing a view in keeping with the traditional Roman Catholic position that “every act of war directed to the indiscriminate destruction of whole cities or vast areas with their inhabitants is a crime against God and man.” The Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano* commented in its August 7, 1945, issue: “This war provides a catastrophic conclusion. Incredibly this destructive weapon remains as a temptation for posterity, which, we know by bitter experience, learns so little from history.”

Authoritative Voices of Dissent

American leaders who were in a position to know the facts did not believe, either at the time or later, that the atomic bombings were needed to end the war.

When he was informed in mid-July 1945 by Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson of the decision to use the atomic bomb, General Dwight Eisenhower was deeply troubled. He disclosed his strong reservations about using the new weapon in his 1963 memoir, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (pp. 312-313):

During his [Stimson's] recitation of the relevant facts, I had been conscious of a feeling of depression and so I voiced to him my grave misgivings, first on the basis of my belief that Japan was already defeated and that dropping the bomb was completely unnecessary, and secondly because I thought that our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was, I thought, no longer mandatory as a measure to save American lives. It was my belief that Japan was, at that very moment, seeking some way to surrender with a minimum loss of “face.”

“The Japanese were ready to surrender and it wasn’t necessary to hit them with that awful thing ... I hated to see our country be the first to use such a weapon,” Eisenhower said in 1963.

Shortly after “V-J Day,” the end of the Pacific war, Brig. General Bonnie Fellers summed up in a memo for General MacArthur: “Neither the atomic bombing nor the entry of the Soviet Union into the war forced Japan’s unconditional surrender. She was defeated before either these events took place.”

Similarly, Admiral Leahy, Chief of Staff to presidents Roosevelt and Truman, later commented:

It is my opinion that the use of the barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan ... The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conventional weapons ... My own feeling was that in being the first to use it, we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. I was not taught to make war in that fashion, and wars cannot be won by destroying women and children.

If the United States had been willing to wait, said Admiral Ernest King, US Chief of Naval Operations, “the effective naval blockade would, in the course of time, have starved the Japanese into submission through lack of oil, rice, medicines, and other essential materials.”

Leo Szilard, a Hungarian-born scientist who played a major role in the development of the atomic bomb, argued against its use. “Japan was essentially defeated,” he said, and “it would be wrong to attack its cities with atomic bombs as if atomic bombs were simply another military weapon.” In a 1960 magazine article, Szilard wrote: “If the Germans had dropped atomic bombs on cities instead of us, we would have defined the dropping of atomic bombs on cities as a war crime, and we would have sentenced the Germans who were guilty of this crime to death at Nuremberg and hanged them.”

US Strategic Bombing Survey Verdict

After studying this matter in great detail, the United States Strategic Bombing Survey rejected the notion that Japan gave up because of the atomic bombings. In its authoritative 1946 report, the Survey concluded:

The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs did not defeat Japan, nor by the testimony of the enemy leaders who ended the war did they persuade Japan to accept unconditional surrender. The Emperor, the Lord Privy Seal, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the Navy Minister had decided as early as May of 1945 that the war should be ended even if it meant acceptance of defeat on allied terms ...

The mission of the Suzuki government, appointed 7 April 1945, was to make peace. An appearance of negotiating for terms less onerous than unconditional surrender was maintained in order to contain the military and bureaucratic elements still determined on a final Bushido defense, and perhaps even more importantly to obtain freedom to create peace with a minimum of personal danger and internal obstruction. It seems clear, however, that in extremis the peacemakers would have peace, and peace on any terms. This was the gist of advice given to Hirohito by the Jushin in February, the declared conclusion of Kido in April, the underlying reason for Koiso's fall in April, the specific injunction of the Emperor to Suzuki on becoming premier which was known to all members of his cabinet ...

Negotiations for Russia to intercede began the forepart of May 1945 in both Tokyo and Moscow. Konoye, the intended emissary to the Soviets, stated to the Survey that while ostensibly he was to negotiate, he received direct and secret instructions from the Emperor to secure peace at any price, notwithstanding its severity ...

It seems clear ... that air supremacy and its later exploitation over Japan proper was the major factor which determined the timing of Japan's surrender and obviated any need for invasion.

Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to 31 December 1945 and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945 [the date of the planned American invasion], Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated.

Historians' Views

In a 1986 study, historian and journalist Edwin P. Hoyt nailed the "great myth, perpetuated by well-meaning people throughout the world," that "the atomic bomb caused the surrender of Japan." In *Japan's War: The Great Pacific Conflict* (p. 420), he explained:

The fact is that as far as the Japanese militarists were concerned, the atomic bomb was just another weapon. The two atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were icing on the cake, and did not do as much damage as the firebombings of Japanese cities. The B-29 firebombing campaign had brought the destruction of 3,100,000 homes, leaving 15 million people homeless, and killing about a million of them. It was the ruthless firebombing, and Hirohito's realization that if necessary the Allies would completely destroy Japan and kill every Japanese to achieve "unconditional surrender" that persuaded him to the decision to end the war. The atomic bomb is indeed a fearsome weapon, but it was not the cause of Japan's surrender, even though the myth persists even to this day.

In a trenchant new book, *The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb* (Praeger, 1996), historian Dennis D. Wainstock concludes that the bombings were not only unnecessary, but were based on a vengeful policy that actually harmed American interests. He writes (pp. 124, 132):

... By April 1945, Japan's leaders realized that the war was lost. Their main stumbling block to surrender was the United States' insistence on unconditional surrender. They specifically needed to know whether the United States would allow Hirohito to remain on the throne. They feared that the United States would depose him, try him as a war criminal, or even execute him ...

Unconditional surrender was a policy of revenge, and it hurt America's national self-interest. It prolonged the war in both Europe and East Asia, and it helped to expand Soviet power in those areas.

General Douglas MacArthur, Commander of US Army forces in the Pacific, stated on numerous occasions before his death that the atomic bomb was completely unnecessary from a military point of view: "My staff was unanimous in believing that Japan was on the point of collapse and surrender."

General Curtis LeMay, who had pioneered precision bombing of Germany and Japan (and who later headed the Strategic Air Command and served as Air Force chief of staff), put it most succinctly: "The atomic bomb had nothing to do with the end of the war."

American Leaders Planned Poison Gas Attack Against Japan

by [Mark Weber](#)

A long-suppressed report written in June 1945 by the US Army's Chemical Warfare Service shows that American military leaders made plans for a massive preemptive poison gas attack to accompany an invasion of Japan. The 30-page document designated "gas attack zones" on detailed maps of Tokyo and other major Japanese cities. Army planners selected 50 urban and industrial targets in Japan, with 25 cities, including Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, Kobe and Kyoto, listed as "especially suitable for gas attacks."

In planning the invasion of Japan proper, America's military and political leaders expected the Japanese to fight with fanatic fervor in defense of their home islands. The overall US plan, code-named "Operation Downfall," called for a two-stage invasion. An assault on the southernmost Japanese home island of Kyushu, code-named "Operation Olympic," was set for November 1, 1945. This was to be followed by "Operation Coronet," scheduled for March 1946: an invasion of the main Japanese home island of Honshu, including an assault on Tokyo.

"Gas attacks of the size and intensity recommended on these 250 square miles of urban population," the US Army report declared, "might easily kill 5,000,000 people and injure that many more." In the first attack, which would be launched 15 days before the Kyushu landings, American bombers would drench much of Tokyo and other cities in an early morning attack with 54,000 tons of lethal phosgene gas. Tokyo would be the largest poison gas target, because an "attack of this size against an urban city of large population should be used to initiate gas warfare."

The report's three authors recommended that the US Joint Chiefs of Staff issue "a policy at once directing the use of toxic gas on both strategic and tactical targets in support of Operation Olympic." Planners called for the use of four kinds of gas, including phosgene (or carbonyl chloride), mustard gas, and hydrogen cyanide. The gas attack study was approved by the chief of the US Chemical Warfare Service, Major General William N. Porter. Only five copies were made of the top secret document, whose existence was first made public in July 1991.

After the horrific use of poison gas during the First World War, the major nations formally outlawed the use of this new weapon. This prohibition was included in the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, the 1922 Treaty of Washington, and in a 1925 protocol signed by more than 40 countries, including the United States. During the Second World War, both the United States and Germany produced and stockpiled lethal gas for possible use in the European conflict, but neither side — apparently fearful of retaliation — actually used the weapon.

Although the public policy in 1945 was that the United States would use gas only in retaliation for a Japanese first use, in private America's military leaders seriously considered striking first with poison gas. By the summer of 1945, American forces were already killing Japanese by the tens of thousands in indiscriminate fire-bombings. Given this, the step to killing by lethal gas was not a lengthy one.

On June 14, 1945, other documents show, Fleet Admiral Ernest King, a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, received a secret report on poison gas from Army Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall. The two men were key presidential advisers. President Truman met at the White House on June 18 with his principal military and civilian advisers to discuss the overall plan for the invasion of Japan. Apparently the gas attack plan was approved at that conference. Three days later, June 21, orders were given to step up production of several types of poison gas to provide stockpiles in the massive quantities urged in the study.

Two American historians, Thomas B. Allen and Norman Polmar, commented on the long-suppressed document in a 1995 article. The June 1945 report, they wrote, “raised the killing of enemy civilians to a level far beyond anything seen in World War II. No [other] known military document from World War II recommends such wholesale killing of civilians.” (T. B. Allen and N. Polmar, “Poisonous invasion prelude,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1995 [New York Times special features].)

No American official has ever been demoted or even criticized for approving this murderous plan, which has received scant public attention. If Germany had used poison gas during the Second World War, surely the victorious Allies would have severely punished the responsible officials. Similarly, if German military leaders had approved a plan to gas London comparable to the 1945 American one to drench Tokyo in phosgene, doubtless it would have been cited endlessly as a striking example of Nazi evil, and those responsible for drafting it would have been vilified.

Capitalism in the New Russia

by Daniel W. Michaels

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-1992, and the end of the centrally controlled “command economy,” a new class of wealthy private capitalists with close government connections has emerged in Russia. The new ruling clique that has replaced the Soviet-era “nomenklatura” is widely referred to by the American-origin term “istabishment.”

At the same time, life for most Russians has not improved. The great majority still struggles to survive, sometimes below the subsistence level. Industrial and agricultural production have fallen 50 percent in recent years, and millions are not paid their paltry salaries on time. Because most people lack hard currency to buy anything but essentials, consumer goods are generally accessible only to successful speculators, the mafia, and higher government officials. For the average Russian, and especially the elderly, life is not just impoverished, it is becoming desperate. [See: “Nationalist Sentiment Widespread, Growing in Former Soviet Union,” Sept.-Oct. 1995 Journal, pp. 8-10.]

Russians pin much of the blame for this catastrophe on the ineffectual government of President Boris Yeltsin and his Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. In a public statement issued last December, a group of prominent Russian intellectuals spoke out on the crisis in their homeland:

The catastrophe has run its course. The economic policy of Yeltsin’s and Chernomyrdin’s aides has made a small section of the former communist nomenklatura and of the “new Russians” unbelievably rich, plunged most of the nation’s industry into paralysis, and reduced the majority of the population to poverty. As far as property ownership is concerned, the gap between the rich and poor is much deeper now than that which led to the [1917] October [Bolshevik] Revolution.

Corrupt Businessmen Flourish

During the Soviet era, centralized Communist Party rule ensured that economic activity, however inefficient, was at least fairly predictable, with a more or less reliable work force. Although living standards were low, this “banana republic with rockets” was stable in the way that a prison is.

Now lawlessness prevails in Russia, with business life functioning at a level similar to that of Al Capone’s Chicago. There is no effective system of laws to ensure the fair and orderly operation of business, banking, finance, insurance, stock trading, and so forth, and existing laws are neither consistently nor impartially enforced. Lawlessness and excess are more often rewarded than punished, and people have little protection against fraud by the new criminal class.

Russia specialist Richard F. Staar, a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, reports in The Washington Times (Nov. 27, 1996):

In his book, *Comrade Criminal*, Stephen Handelman discussed connections between the already then well-established mafia underworld and corrupt bureaucrats, a relationship that apparently now has reached into the Kremlin itself. According to former Russian Social Security Minister Ella A. Pamfilova, a cynical redistribution of property currently is taking place. In her words, “The nature of the ruling class has not changed ... It is the same old corrupt, elitist, nomenklatura-bureaucratic swamp.”

What is changing involves the national economy, half of which already has fallen under mob control, according to Security Council Secretary Ivan Rybkin. Former Director of the CIA, Robert M. Gates estimated earlier this year that two-thirds of all commercial institutions, some 400 banks (those in Moscow already control 80 percent of the country’s finances), several dozen stock exchanges, and 150 large government enterprises are controlled by the mob.

A recent Russian periodical revealed that about 40 percent of the Gross Domestic Product is in the hands of organized crime, now merged with corrupt official and businessmen.

One prominent scandal involves a businessman named Anatoly Aronov, who is under indictment for establishing some 500 fraudulent paper corporations. By cleverly manipulating the slipshod Russian banking system, and taking full advantage of the uncontrolled market economy, the vulnerability of inexperienced Russians, and the general climate, Aronov created a phantom business empire. After establishing the paper companies as “legal entities,” Aronov then sold them at great profit to unwary Russians.

The disorder of Russia’s banking system has been described in a November 12, 1996, article by Rafail Kashlinksy in *Vestnik*, a Russian-language magazine published in the US. Of the more than 2,700 banks in Russia at the beginning of 1995, it reports, by the end of that year the Central Bank of Russia was obliged to revoke licenses of 225 of these, while more than 800 banks finished the year with large losses. Another 500 banks, including some of the largest (such as the Moscow Interregional Commercial Bank), were near bankruptcy by mid-1996.

Woodrow Wilson Center analyst J. Johnson, dispatched to Russia to evaluate the situation, found four main reasons for the country’s banking crisis: a lack of professionally trained personnel; credit policy shortcomings; the monopolistic right of the quasi-government Sberbank to intervene in many instances as a government agent, giving it an unfair advantage in attracting clients and gaining access to useful information; and, the role of organized crime, which forces some bankers to divert time and resources to protecting themselves.

Crucial to the transition to a market economy is transferring business enterprises from state to private ownership. But this process has been ridden with abuse and corruption. Most of the oligarchs of Russia’s new business elite are not self-made men. On the contrary, they were simply given control of (state-owned) oil, gas, automobile, banking and other enterprises — essentially as gifts of the Yeltsin government to whom, of course, the newly-wealthy (and often youthful) businessmen are indebted.

Through the office of 35-year-old Deputy Prime Minister Alfred Kokh, the government assigns most of the enterprises to friends or supporters of Yeltsin and his administration, who, as new corporate CEOs, show their appreciation by supporting the government with money and favorable media coverage.

In an illustrative case, the Yeltsin government transferred 80 percent ownership shares in Russia's second largest oil company (formerly the state-owned Yukos company) to Mikhail Khodorsvsky, 33-year-old former head of the Communist Youth League and founder of the Menatep Bank. In return, Khodorosvsky turned over \$168 million to the Yeltsin administration. (Newsweek, March 17, 1997).

The Russian word for privatization, "privatizatsiya," is routinely and cynically rendered by Russians as "prikhvatizatsiya," meaning "grabbing," or "piratizatsiya," meaning "pirating."

Russia's most successful new businessmen, the so-called "Big Seven" (and their main business holdings), are: Rem Vyakhirev (Gazprom), Boris Berezovsky (Logovaz), Vladimir Gusinsky (Most Bank), Vaghit Alekperov (Lukoil), Alexander Smolensky (Stolichnyy Bank), Mikhail Khodorkovsky (Rosprom), and Andrey Kazmin (Sberbank).

These seven men alone, experts believe, control virtually half of the companies whose shares are rated the highest at the national stock market. Other prominent members of the new business elite include Vladimir Potanin (Onexsim Bank), Vladimir Vinogradov (Inkombank), Anatoly Dyakov (RAO EES Rossii), Yakov Dubenetsky (Promstroybank), and Petr Aven (Alpha Bank). (Izvestia [Moscow], Jan. 5, 1997).

It is estimated that more than \$60 billion has already found its way from Russia into Swiss banks, reports the London Financial Times. Of this amount, \$10 billion is believed to be mafia money. This same paper also reports (Feb. 14) that criminal groups control some 41,000 companies in Russia, half the banks and 80 percent of the joint ventures.

Conscious of the precarious foundation of the Russian economy, foreign businessmen are understandably apprehensive about investing in this treacherous environment.

To deal with the situation, some steps have been taken. Russia's Federation (national) government is attempting to introduce a Civil Code based on that of The Netherlands, while American advisors have written statutes to govern operations of joint stock companies. But because Russia's historical experience has little in common with either the Dutch or the American, it is doubtful that these administrative imports will prove very effective.

Previous Russian experience with capitalism — from the mid 19th-century to the 1917 revolution, and during the short-lived "New Economic Policy" (NEP) period (1921-1928) — is scant help in establishing a modern free market economy. While it is true that industrial development advanced rapidly in Russia in the decades immediately preceding the outbreak of the First World War (1914), it is also true that the plight of the emerging working class was often miserable — a source of unrest that contributed to the revolutionary upheavals of 1905 and 1917. And the NEP experience was too brief and limited in scope to serve as a useful model. (The corruption of "Nepmen" incidentally provided abundant source material for Soviet satirists.)

Unless and until drastic changes are made, a healthy market economy cannot develop. These changes must include: a comprehensive code of business and banking law to protect investments, a credible judicial system to rigorously and impartially enforce the laws, a sweeping purge of corrupt police personnel, a country-wide crackdown on crime and corruption, and a stable monetary policy.

What is particularly tragic about Russia's economic calamity is that this vast land has such potential. In addition to a generally capable and well-trained managerial and working population, Rus-

sia is rich in natural resources, including oil, iron ore, gold and timber. Properly administered, this could be a very prosperous country.

Political Corruption

Without honest and effective political leadership, though, prosperity for the great majority will remain an elusive hope. Given its record so far, the government of President Boris Yeltsin can hardly be expected to provide the needed guidance and direction.

During last year's election Russian banks directed substantial resources to favored political candidates. While some backed the national-patriotic and Communist candidates, those who supported Yeltsin were rewarded. Thus, when Yeltsin formed his new post-election administration he appointed Vladimir Potanin, the 35-year-old president and co-founder of the country's biggest private bank, Oneksim Bank, as first vice premier for economics.

Because Yeltsin owes his July 1996 reelection victory in large measure to the financial and media support of Russia's new plutocrats, his government is widely disdained as an instrument of alien interests. Although many former Communist Party officials (including Yeltsin himself), as well as former KGB functionaries, continue to occupy high-level positions in Russia, the Yeltsin administration is widely regarded as an American-controlled and -directed "internationalist" regime. Yeltsin's chief of staff and primary economic advisor, Anatoly Chubais (age 41), is viewed as a US stooge at best, and a CIA agent at worst.

Opposing Yeltsin and his adherents is a diverse array of nationalists: national communists, national socialists, and national capitalists. In general, they call for a healthy, nationally-conscious Russian folk capable of defending and restoring the nation's dangerously dissipated ethnic and cultural character. [See: E. Zündel, "My Impressions of the New Russia," Sept.-Oct. 1995 Journal, pp. 2-8.]

Easily the most popular political figure in Russia today is General Aleksandr Lebed, a decorated Afghan war hero and the broker of peace in Chechnya. Even his critics concede his basic honesty. "Ordinary Russians are as far from the real levers of power today as they were during Soviet Communist Party rule," says Lebed. Half the nation's economy, he adds, is controlled by "a small group of banks and financial-industrial groups, while the other half is controlled by criminal clans."

To protect their own corrupt business empires, the new plutocrats around Yeltsin will predictably do everything in their power to keep Lebed, or any authentically Russian figure, regardless of popularity, from taking power.

Not surprisingly, Lebed complains that he now has become invisible in the pages and programs controlled by the major media barons. In addition, no major bank will help finance him for fear of Kremlin retribution. (Newsweek, March 17, 1997.)

Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and Communist Party leader Gennady Zyuganov reportedly (Washington Times, Feb. 8) have discussed forming a political alliance to keep Lebed out of power if Yeltsin dies in office. Chernomyrdin and some of his backers, among them Moscow's major bankers, are said to fear possible arrest as part of a nationwide campaign against corruption demanded by Lebed. (Chernomyrdin and Zyuganov have been personal friends since they served together six years ago on the Central Committee of the former Soviet Communist Party.)

To deal with the growing nationalist sentiment, authorities in Moscow are considering steps to crack down on its most extreme manifestations. Moscow's Municipal Duma is considering a measure that prohibits the display or political use of symbols associated with Third Reich on the grounds that they disrupt the general order, incite to violence in a multinational society, and foster political extremism. Also forbidden would be the wearing of uniforms, displaying swastikas, and the use of the Roman (Hitler) salute as a greeting.

Zionist Kingmaker Berezovsky

Personifying Russia's new ruling class is Boris Abramovich Berezovsky, a Jewish business magnate, media mogul, and high-ranking government official whom US News & World Report calls (Jan. 13, 1997) "the most influential new capitalist tycoon in Russia." His business empire includes a bank, one of the few national television channels, oil concerns and automobile dealerships. (Forward [New York], Nov. 22, 1996.) After taking advantage of high-level political connections to quickly amass enormous wealth, Berezovsky provided large sums and favorable media coverage to insure the re-election of President Yeltsin, who then appointed him to the country's national Security Council.

An important step in Berezovsky's ambitious upward climb was his acquisition of Sibneft, Russia's sixth-largest oil company. He gained this immensely important asset not through honest business practices or competitive bidding, but as a gift of the State Committee for the Management of State Property. Committee head Kokh simply appointed Berezovsky to take over Sibneft, and President Yeltsin signed the papers to approve the transfer. (Komsomolskaya Pravda [Moscow], Jan. 25).

Contributing to his image as the stereotypical international capitalist, Berezovsky ostentatiously roars around Moscow in a dark-blue bulletproof Mercedes 600, protected by a BMW in front, and bodyguards in Mitsubishi jeeps on either side. His private security staff numbers 150, including 20 former KGB technical surveillance specialists.

In the view of the country's "democratic reformers," the US News & World article continues, "Berezovsky and his ilk" have "exploited for personal gain wrongheaded economic reforms that were impoverishing the average man." Berezovsky

has proved that building wealth in the new Russia has much to do with government cronies smoothing the way and little to do with free competition ... Most disturbing of all to Russian reformers is the impunity with which Berezovsky has operated. His road to capitalism would have landed him in jail in most civilized countries, but brought no criminal charges in the new Russia.

Berezovsky, reports the New York Jewish weekly Forward (April 4, 1997), is "among those fabulously wealthy and hugely resented new Russian industrialists — robber barons accused of milking Russia dry — who bankrolled Mr. Yeltsin's presidential campaign, buying the keys to the state." Berezovsky has publicly boasted that he and six other top businessmen — some of them Jewish — control 50 percent of the Russian economy.

Not long ago Berezovsky bragged to the London Financial Times: "We hired [First Deputy Prime Minister] Chubais. We invested huge sums of money. We guaranteed Yeltsin's election. Now we have the right to occupy government posts and use the fruits of our victory." (Quoted in Forward, April 4, 1997)

An article in a December issue of the American business magazine Forbes accuses Berezovsky of running a criminally corrupt business organization. Headlined “Godfather of the Kremlin?,” the article concludes “It sure looks that way.”

A major scandal erupted in late 1996, following Yeltsin’s appointment of Berezovsky as deputy chief of Russia’s national Security Council (akin to the US National Security Council), when it was revealed that he had acquired Israeli citizenship three years earlier.

Responding to those who questioned the propriety of a wealthy businessman with foreign citizenship holding a highly sensitive security post, “Berezovsky and a number of television and newspapers journalists in his employ responded with racial demagoguery, accusing his critics of anti-Semitism.” Berezovsky “met with the editors of Izvestia for a series of interviews in which he mixed charges of anti-Semitism with thinly veiled threats of violence.” (Forward, Nov. 22, 1996) He has even brazenly insisted that Yeltsin has a moral and material obligation to Jewish business in Russia. (Komsomolskaya Pravda, Nov. 5, 1996).

“Every Jew, regardless of where he is born or lives, is de facto a citizen of Israel,” Berezovsky declared in a candid response to his critics. “The fact that I have annulled my Israeli citizenship today in no way changes the fact that I am a Jew and can again become a citizen of Israel whenever I choose. Let there be no illusions about it, 'every Jew in Russia is a dual citizen'.” (Segodnya [“Today”], Nov. 14, 1996).

The Security Committee of Russia’s parliament (the Duma) has appealed to Yeltsin to remove Berezovsky from his sensitive Security Council position on the grounds that his dual Israeli-Russian citizenship legally disqualifies him from occupying the post. According to the Russian Federation’s Citizenship Law, he could legally occupy this post only on the basis of a specific agreement between Russia and Israel. No such agreement exists. Moreover, the Duma committee contends, Berezovsky is further disqualified because he has failed to sever his business connections after accepting the position. Finally, before he could be given legal access to classified information, the Federal Security Service would have to investigate and clear him. (Segodnya [Moscow], Feb. 19)

With good reason, the well-informed Jewish weekly Forward (Nov. 22) has expressed concern that Berezovsky’s illicit business activities and his arrogant public statements, as well as President Yeltsin’s indulgence of him, may aggravate anti-Jewish sentiment and thereby jeopardize the future of all of Russia’s Jews:

Given that many of the moguls who backed Mr. Yeltsin’s [reelection] campaign, including Mr. Berezovsky, are Jews, it seemed he was tempting, if not openly inviting, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories ... Yeltsin’s failure to fire Berezovsky really puts the future of democracy in Russia, and the bizarre situation of the Jews there, in even sharper focus.

Vladimir Gusinsky

Nearly as rich and as influential as Berezovsky is Vladimir Gusinsky, another immensely wealthy Jewish banker and media magnate who played a key role in reelecting Yeltsin. (Forward, April 4, 1997) An outspoken advocate of Jewish interests, Gusinsky is a close ally of presidential chief of staff, Chubais. According to a Wall Street Journal report, he has ties to organized crime.

After a meteoric career building Most Bank, Gusinsky now devotes his energies to Media-Most, a new media holding company that includes the important NTV television network; a slick television weekly, "7 Days"; a popular radio station, "Echo of Moscow"; and a weekly news magazine, Itogi, which is published in partnership with Newsweek (owned by the Washington Post company); NTV-Plus satellite television network; and a 100,000-circulation daily newspaper, Sevodnya. (The Washington Post, March 31, 1997). He also has close connections with international media tycoon Rupert Murdoch.

When Prime Minister Chernomyrdin arrived in Washington, DC, in early February for a meeting with President Clinton, the 44-year-old Gusinsky accompanied him. On the day of their arrival, author/ journalist Georgie Anne Geyer wrote (Washington Times, Feb. 6):

On the surface Gusinsky is chairman of the powerful Most Bank and the "independent" Moscow TV ... His bank was on the CIA's recent list of banks with Russian mafia connections. In 1994, Most Bank was the scene of a bitter shootout with Mr. Yeltsin's then-favorite KGB General Aleksander Korzhakov after which Mr. Gusinsky and his family temporarily exiled themselves to London. Most Bank is also known as a veritable den of former KGB men, and not KGB men from the professional intelligence sections, but from the notorious "Fifth Chief Directorate."

Mr. Gusinsky now has a new role to play. He has had himself named head of the Russian Jewish Congress, and the suspicion is widespread that he will use his growing contacts with the American Jewish community to cry "Discrimination!" whenever anyone dares to criticize his business methods ... We need to recognize what a delicate and dangerous moment this is in Russia when President Yeltsin's life hangs in the balance, and men like Mr. Berezovsky and Mr. Gusinsky are readying to fill the vacuum that will surely open soon. They have talked publicly about using "constitutional means" when the time comes to insure an appointed president rather than new elections (in particular to avoid a victory of the honest General Aleksandr Lebed).

Crucial Jewish Role

No one can really understand Russia's tumultuous social, political and economic situation, with its complex contending forces, without an awareness of the role of Jews, both in the past and today, and the popular attitude toward them.

During the Soviet era, Jews played a prominent, perhaps dominant, role in the ruling Communist Party and in economic, cultural and academic life. [See: M. Weber, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Early Soviet Regime," Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal, pp. 4-14.] Today Jews hold conspicuous positions of great wealth and authority. Although they make up perhaps three percent of the total population, Jews wield power vastly disproportionate to their numbers. As the London Times noted recently (Jan. 27, 1997):

Prominent Jewish figures today enjoy unprecedented positions of power in politics, the media and the private sector, and have emerged as some of Russia's most creative and talented minds. Boris Berezovsky, the most influential Russian Jew, who holds the post of deputy head of the Security Council as well as controlling a small business empire, even boasted recently that the country was run by seven key bankers, most of them Jewish.

Although anti-Semitism is still a powerful undercurrent in Russian society, and could resurface in the event of a nationalist leader coming to power, for the moment anti-Jewish sentiment is rarely voiced openly.

Besides such business figures as Berezovsky and Gusinsky, a recent Forward article (April 4, 1997) cites such high-ranking Jewish government officials as: Boris Nemstov, first deputy prime minister in charge of social welfare, housing reform and restructuring of government monopolies; Yakov Urinson, deputy prime minister for economic affairs; and, Aleksandr Livshits, deputy head of Yeltsin's administration.

Anti-Semitism was strictly illegal during the Soviet era. Today anti-Jewish sentiment is not only widespread, it is openly and sometimes forcefully expressed, in spite of Yeltsin government disapproval. Russian newspapers frequently and often emotionally discuss their country's national-ethnic questions, the re-awakening Russian nationalism, and the role of Jews in society, in terms of an ongoing struggle between nationalism and internationalism. "Isn't it a pity that anti-Semitism is flourishing in Russia today like 'chrysanthemums in a garden'," the frankly nationalist paper Zavtra ("Tomorrow") sarcastically comments (No. 47, Nov 1996).

Even Gennady Zyuganov, leader of the reconstituted Communist Party (currently the main opposition political force), has written in his book, *I Believe in Russia*:

The ideology, culture and world outlook of the Western world became more and more influenced by the Jews scattered around the world. Jewish influence grew not by the day, but by the hour.

Reflecting the widespread bitterness of many Russians is a front-page article in Zavtra (Nov. 1996, No. 48), which charges that a group of "13 banker apostles" has gained control of the country. It went on to warn readers: "... The Constitution has been one-third torn to pieces right under your nose in the last five years, and from this day on you will live under the jurisdiction of the Jewish bankers whose wallets protect the thugs of [television stations] ORT and NTV."

Informed Russians are quite aware of America's special relationship with Israel, with the Jewish lobby's mighty influence in the United States, with the preferential treatment given by the US immigration agency (INS) to Jewish immigrants, and with the zealous US concern for Jewish welfare in general. Accordingly, Russian nationalists tend to view Jewish capitalists in their country as quasi-agents of the United States.

Concerned about a possible backlash, many Russian Jews, reports the Moscow correspondent of the Forward (April 4, 1997), now say that "there are too many Jews in government. There are too many Jewish bankers running the country." Jews fear that with such a conspicuous profile they will be viewed as a group that has grown wealthy through dishonest practices at the expense of the productive working people, and that Russians will blame them for humiliating and ruining the nation. Anyway, a prominent Jewish community leader notes, "people here have quite bitter memories of the participation of Jews in the [Bolshevik] revolution." (Forward, April 4, 1997)

Writing in Zavtra (No. 43, Oct. 1996), analyst Aleksandr Sevastyanov describes the contrasting attitudes of Russians and Jews with regard to Russia's future:

There are many Jews in the country who preach the idea of a new Russian empire for the simple reason that for them Russian imperialism is a synonym for internationalism under new circumstances. Not having succeeded in its time with the Comintern [the Soviet-controlled Communist International], they now say "let's try an empire."

Their ideal is a flourishing multinational Russia, where the Russians themselves are not really the rulers.

For us nationalists, this kind of Russia is pure nonsense — not worth our time or our support. Every normal Russian believes in his heart, and rightly so: “We have created this state and we shall rule it.” On the other hand, every typical Jew thinks to himself: “Yes, you Russians created the state, but we Jews shall rule it because we are the elite of the Russian nation, the natural claimants to the role of an imperial people. And we shall do so because we are the richest, the most united, the best educated, and the most cultured. If we do not rule Russia, then who?”

And, alas, today we Russians are not yet in a position even to pretend to an imperial role. The Soviet empire collapsed because the Russian people lost the ability to preserve or prevent the collapse of the great nation they had been built up over the centuries. To attempt to recapture its former ruling role, without first recapturing the ethnic strength that made it possible, would be suicidal. Solzhenitsyn is again right when he says: “Any attempt to restore the empire today would be tantamount to burying the Russian people.” We must first concentrate on solving the problems that have weakened us as a people. They are, first and foremost, demographic, and only secondarily economic, social, military, cultural, and the rest. We must reject all other activities that do not focus on the revitalization of our people. We cannot permit ourselves to be diverted from our absolutely essential goal, which is ethno-egocentric — not even by the ephemeral lure of empire building.

A Time of Ominous Transition

Still emerging from seven decades of Soviet rule, Russians are groping toward a new sense of national identity. Not yet having come to grips with its past, this is a land of historical paradox. Thus, Lenin’s embalmed corpse is still enshrined in a monumental sarcophagus on Moscow’s Red Square, and not a single former Communist official has been brought to trial for Soviet-era crimes.

As Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has observed, Russia today is neither an authentic political democracy nor a genuine free market economy. While an ambitious few amass vast fortunes and great power through illicit deals, the country’s productive workers, children and elderly suffer. A small oligarchy rules over a population that lives in near destitution. “Democracy in the true sense of the word does not exist in Russia,” writes Solzhenitsyn. He continues:

There exists no legal framework or financial means for the creation of local self-government. People will have no choice but to achieve it through social struggle ... This system of centralized power cannot be called a democracy ... The fate of the country is now decided by a stable oligarchy of 150-200 people, which includes the nimbler members of the old Communist system’s top and middle ranks, plus the nouveaux riches ... Our present ruling circles have not shown themselves in the least morally superior to the Communists who preceded them ... Russia is being exhausted by crime, not a single serious crime has been exposed, nor has there been a single public trial ... This destructive course of events over the last decade has come about because the government, while ineptly imitating foreign models, has completely disregarded the country’s innate creativity and singular character as well as Russia’s centuries-old spiritual and social traditions.

For the historically minded observer, the parallels between Russia today and Germany during the pre-Hitler Weimar republic years are striking and portentous. In each case, there has been severe economic, political and social upheaval, monetary chaos, substantial loss of territory, and humiliating subordination to foreign powers following the abrupt collapse of an seemingly entrenched political regime. Unscrupulous individuals, many of them members of an alien ethnic minority, have exploited their foreign connections and the prevailing disorder to quickly enrich themselves at the expense of the common people. Major media and financial institutions are largely in the hands of people with no national loyalty. In each case, the social dislocation has come with a drastic fall in cultural and moral standards.

Much of the talk in the United States about democracy in Russia is as ridiculous today as it has always been. Plus ça change, plus c'est la meme chose. Throughout its history, Russia has been ruled by an elite, entrenched in Moscow and St. Petersburg, often of non-Russian origin and fascinated by Western philosophies.

As a potentially wealthy country with a proud and illustrious past, it is difficult to imagine that Russians will permit the current miserable and humiliating situation to continue indefinitely. At the same time, it's hard to see how Russia's problems can be mastered without very drastic change.

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Defense Department Booklet Targets Holocaust Revisionism

Is Revisionism a Threat to National Security?

American military service personnel are now being told that skepticism toward the official history of Europe's Jews during World War II is not permissible. A recently published Department of Defense booklet tells armed forces members that revisionist criticism of the Six Million extermination story is nothing less than a threat to national security.

Entitled Holocaust Revisionism, the booklet instructs military personnel: "A successful fighting force is a cohesive one, one where all members have respect for each other's diversity and dignity. Holocaust revisionism has the potential to destroy that respect."

It goes on to explain:

One of the most important missions that commanders have is the mission to "Protect the Force." Part of that protection requires that we be aware of movements that might weaken the effectiveness of our fighting forces ... Holocaust revisionism is a real force, such as racism, hatred, or discrimination, that must be dealt with. Not to deal with it is not to give our members in uniform the support that they need to defend this Nation.

Promoting 'Diversity'

The 20-page booklet was published in June 1996 by the "Research Directorate" of the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) in Florida, a Defense Department branch that promotes and oversees racial preference ("affirmative action") programs, and trains (indoctrinates) military personnel in "diversity" and "equal employment opportunity."

With the seal of the US Department of Defense on the front cover, this "resource and educational" booklet is printed by the US Government Printing Office. (Although it announces that "local reproduction is authorized and encouraged," general distribution has been inexplicably delayed.) The booklet's author, Captain Carlos C. Huerta, is an orthodox Jewish rabbi who has served as a US Army chaplain at Fort Sill in Oklahoma. Born and raised in Brooklyn, New York, Huerta has also lived for years in Israel, where he taught at a Jewish school in Jerusalem.

Smears Instead of Refutation

Typical of anti-revisionist writings, this booklet makes no effort to fairly present revisionist arguments, much less to contend with revisionist scholarship. As Huerta explains in the introduction: "We will not refute revisionism here but merely report its many activities. Refuting revisionism is similar to refuting racism, *raisa ipso locutor*, the thing speaks for itself"

Rather than refute, Huerta disparages, distorts and twists. In the booklet's opening sentence, he brusquely slurs the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), a leading revisionist publishing and research center, as a "pseudo-historical society" whose "main operational concept ... [is] the misrepresentation of historical truths by those with a hidden agenda." He also calls the IHR "one of the biggest disseminators of revisionist and racist literature in the country." Without a shred of evidence, he asserts that "some European revisionists seek to hurt what they perceive as non-Aryan Europeans, and hate anything that is not a mirror image of themselves."

Huerta claims that the person who is "interested in Holocaust revisionism often is also interested in purchasing books on hate and racism." To support this false and irrelevant contention, he lists nine titles, some of them distributed by the IHR and some by [Noontide Press](#) (a distinctly separate publishing imprint), with brief and grotesquely misleading descriptions of each. These include: Arthur Butz' *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* ("Argues that Auschwitz was just a rubber factory for the Nazi war effort"); Thies Christophersen's *Auschwitz: Truth or Lie — An Eyewitness Report*; *America: Free, White & Christian* ("An argument showing that America should be a White Christian nation"); *The Testing of Negro Intelligence* ("Argues that African-Americans are less intelligent than White Americans"); *Resettlement* ("Argues for the resettlement of African-Americans"); and, *The Martin Luther King Plagiarism Story* ("Argues that Dr. King's educational credentials are phony").

While attempting to smear revisionists as "haters" or "racists," rabbi Huerta makes no mention of the numerous hate crimes against revisionists. Professor Robert Faurisson, Europe's most prominent revisionist scholar, has been the victim of ten physical attacks by Jewish thugs, including a nearly fatal beating on September 16, 1989. In southern California, arsonists torched the IHR offices and warehouse on July 4, 1984, culminating months of vandalism, hate mail, threatening telephone calls and other harassment. (For more on all this, see the IHR booklet, *The Zionist Terror Network*, and "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France," in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 2-13.)

Pernicious Nonsense

This booklet's author must have realized the difficulty of convincing non-Jewish readers that Holocaust revisionism really endangers America's military effectiveness. But rabbi Huerta takes a stab at it:

The question arises, why should we [?] be aware of or care about Holocaust revisionism? As a service member or Commander, how does this impact my mission. Holocaust revisionism does not operate in an isolated or sterile environment. Often the same groups that believe in revisionism believe in racism or the overthrow of the government; however, this is not to say that all revisionists are racist or anti-government, but it appears [?] more so than not. This movement has grown so much in the last decade that more and more Americans are being exposed to its message through the printed word, radio, TV and now the Internet.

This officially-sanctioned attempt to smear revisionism by associating it with "racism" and sedition is a vile slander. Holocaust revisionism is the polar opposite of bigotry, and has nothing to do with "hatred." Predictably, not a shred of evidence is offered to show, specifically, how revisionism threatens "respect" for the "diversity and dignity" of any member of the US armed forces.

In essence, this booklet is an arrogant effort to persuade non-Jewish Americans to regard parochial Jewish-Zionist concerns as their own. That such pernicious nonsense is published with official sanction makes it all the more reprehensible.

If this booklet's author is as sincerely concerned as he pretends to be about "racism, hatred, or discrimination," his time and effort might better be spent instructing fellow Jews in Israel, where Christians and Muslims are routinely treated as second class citizens, and whose official ideology, Zionism, has been condemned by the United Nations General Assembly as a form of racism.

Attitudes that threaten "diversity and dignity" are far more widespread in Israel than in the United States. According to an authoritative 1994 survey of 3,700 Jewish and Arab high school students, for example, more than 35 percent of young Israelis say they hate Arabs. Two-thirds of the youths surveyed said they do not believe that Arabs should given equal rights in Israel. (JTA dispatch, Forward [New York], Nov. 29, 1996, p. 3; Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, March 1997, p. 47.)

At a time when the US military must grapple with such pressing problems as racial friction, drug use, sexual harassment and even illiteracy, this government-sanctioned attack against Holocaust revisionism is a waste of time and taxpayer's money, and is further evidence of skewed societal and government priorities.

For savvy readers, the one message of this booklet that does come through loud and clear is this: "Holocaust revisionism is a career buster. Don't get involved with it." Beyond that, though, it is doubtful that many in the military will take this booklet very seriously, much less find its arguments convincing. Such government-mandated activities to promote "diversity" are widely, if quietly, dismissed as a waste of time.

Earlier Warnings

This Defense Department booklet is not rabbi Huerta's first effort at sounding the alarm about revisionism. In an article published in the New York Jewish monthly Midstream (April 1992), for example, he warned that "the traditional method of dealing with Holocaust revisionism by ignoring it will no longer suffice."

He expressed a similar concern in the Sept.-Oct. 1991 issue of Martyrdom and Resistance (published in New York by the International Society for Yad Vashem). In his article, "Holocaust Revisionism in the Classroom," Huerta conceded that revisionist arguments are not easily dismissed:

Perhaps ten years ago, surely twenty years ago, one could justifiably argue that there was no need to teach Holocaust revisionism in Holocaust courses, as revisionism was nothing more than a smattering of articles by unknown and scattered people. The story today is quite different. Revisionism is now a world-wide phenomenon spreading across Europe, the Americas, the Middle East, and some parts of Asia. It is becoming increasingly organized, sophisticated, and well financed.

To deal with this challenge, Huerta continued, Jewish students

should be taught who the Holocaust revisionists are, their methods, and their literature. I would go so far as to say that all Jewish high schools and colleges should have copies of such literature at their disposal.

Admittedly there's a danger here. As Huerta goes on note, non-Jews might evaluate revisionist writings on their own, "without official Jewish approval":

One can argue, and justifiably so, that teaching Holocaust revisionism in Jewish high schools and colleges is an open invitation for similar institutions in the non-Jewish sector to teach the topic. The fear here is that they will not teach it with an eye to supporting the Holocaust, but rather to denying it. The fact of the matter is that schools are already teaching Holocaust revisionism — without official Jewish approval.

Grudging Homage

Although Holocaust Revisionism is a polemical work of propaganda, and contains numerous factual errors, it's not as strident, vicious or error-ridden as the anti-revisionist materials put out by such major Jewish-Zionist groups as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. For one thing, it avoids the term "Holocaust denial," and indicates that this widely used but pejorative label (preferred by the ADL and Jewish academic Deborah Lipstadt) is not accurate.

In this regard, the booklet quotes Journal of Historical Review editor Mark Weber, who explains just what Holocaust revisionists say, and do not say:

They [revisionists] do not dispute the fact that large numbers of Jews were deported to concentration camps and ghettos, or that many Jews died or were killed during the Second World War. Revisionist scholars have, however, presented considerable evidence to show that there was no German program to exterminate Europe's Jews, that numerous claims of mass killings in "gas chambers" are false, and that the estimate of six million Jewish wartime dead is an irresponsible exaggeration.

"In short," Huerta comments, "revisionists do not deny the Holocaust, they just want to redefine it."

Unlike other, more polemical attacks, Huerta acknowledges that revisionist arguments cannot simply be dismissed: "One thing should be made clear. If everything Holocaust revisionists wrote or said were clearly wrong, then their following would be limited to a few quacks or crazies ... To say that everything revisionists propound is false is an invitation for mistake." So perhaps the thing doesn't speak for itself, after all.

This booklet also succinctly traces the origins and development of scholarly Holocaust revisionism, noting that the phenomenon is rooted in the honorable tradition of historical revisionism, a discipline that encompasses much more than the Holocaust issue. It takes a look at the work and impact of important Holocaust revisionist scholars, researchers and activists. "To understand the motivation and psyche of the revisionists, and therefore understand their effect, and on whom," it explains, "we present some of the key players in this macabre revision of history and look at some of their 'important' contributions." This section begins with a page and a half treatment of the "Father of Holocaust Revisionism," Paul Rassinier — the French educator and Resistance activist who was interned during the war in the German concentration camps of Buchenwald and Dora. Also dealt with are the roles of Arthur Butz, Robert Faurisson, Fred Leuchter, Ernst Zündel, Bradley Smith, Carlo Mattogno and Wilhelm Stäglich.

Surprisingly respectful is Huerta's treatment of Fred Leuchter, the American execution hardware specialist who conducted an on-site forensic examination in early 1988 of the alleged mass

killing facilities at Auschwitz and Birkenau. At the Toronto “Holocaust trial” of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel, Leuchter testified that these sites were not and could not have been used as homicidal gas chambers. (For more about Leuchter and his findings, see the Winter 1992-93 Journal.)

Unlike most critics of revisionism, Huerta acknowledges Leuchter’s competence and expertise. He writes that Leuchter was “a consultant to many states on gassing, lethal injection, hanging and electrocution execution hardware,” and notes that when the Zündel defense team contacted US prison officials to ask who they would recommend as an expert in execution equipment, “one name kept coming up: Fred A. Leuchter.”

The members of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the IHR’s Journal of Historical Review, along with each one’s academic credentials, are listed in “Appendix D.” Introducing it is a warning: “Just picking up the [IHR] journal and looking at this listing, the uninitiated reader could come away thinking that the journal must be a mainstream academic publication, and as a consequence, the articles and the opinions must be legitimate and factual.” Several of the most important revisionist Internet Web site (home page) addresses, including those of Greg Raven (IHR) and Arthur Butz, are provided in “Appendix A.”

Growing Impact

With each passing year, Americans are called upon with ever greater urgency to “never forget” the European Jews who perished during World War II, and to “learn the lessons” of their fate. Numerous federal government agencies — led by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council — along with many US Senators and Congressmen, and state and city governments across the country, now routinely participate in annual Holocaust remembrance commemorations. “Holocaust education” is required in ever more American high schools.

Even the military has joined in. The Secretary of Defense has repeatedly urged all military personnel to participate in annual Holocaust “commemorative observances,” and a Days of Remembrance Defense Department booklet even suggests Holocaust commemorative liturgies for the armed forces. (See the Sept.-Oct. 1995 Journal, p. 13).

In this environment there’s reason to welcome rabbi Huerta’s new Defense Department booklet. It is not only further evidence of the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism, as bad as it is, it may actually help to promote the very open-mindedness and healthy skepticism toward “official” history that it seeks to curtail.

Not all US military servicemen are simpleminded conformists. Especially in the officer corps, there are still many intelligent men and women who can think for themselves.

This booklet may introduce Holocaust revisionism to many who otherwise might never hear of it, encouraging some to consider, even if only briefly, an alternative view of this important chapter of history.

Thies Christophersen

by [Mark Weber](#)

Thies Christophersen — pioneer revisionist writer and courageous fighter for truth in history — died February 13, 1997, at Molfsee, Kiel, in north Germany. He was 79.

In a memoir first published in Germany in 1973, he related his wartime experiences as a German army officer in the Auschwitz camp complex. “During the time I was in Auschwitz, I did not notice the slightest evidence of mass gassings,” he wrote in *Die Auschwitz-Lüge* (“The Auschwitz Lie”). As one of the first important works squarely to confront the Auschwitz extermination legend, Christophersen’s first-hand account was a major factor in the growth and development of Holocaust revisionism.

“The Auschwitz Lie” caused an immediate sensation in Germany, where it was soon banned. This did not stop publication of German-language editions in Switzerland and Denmark, however, and before long editions appeared in all the major European languages, including several in English. Christophersen predictably came under hostile and mendacious media attack. Numerous newspaper reports, for example, inaccurately referred to him as a former “SS officer.”

Wartime Experiences

Born in 1918, Christophersen worked as a farmer in Schleswig, northern Germany, until the outbreak of war in Europe. Called to military service, he was badly wounded in 1940 while serving in the western campaign. After recuperating and undergoing some specialized agricultural training, he was assigned to a research center in German-occupied Ukraine which experimentally cultivated a variety of dandelion (*kok saghyz*) as an alternative source of natural rubber, to be produced from the plant’s latex.

In the face of Soviet military advances, and the withdrawal of German forces from Ukraine, the center was transferred to the labor camp of Raisko, a satellite of Auschwitz. During the period he lived and worked there — January to December 1944 — Christophersen was responsible for the daily work of inmate laborers. The young second lieutenant supervised about 300 workers, many of them Jewish, of whom 200 were women from the Raisko camp, and 100 were men from the nearby Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. On a number of occasions he visited Birkenau where, it is alleged, hundreds of thousands of Jews were systematically gassed to death in May-July 1944. Although he knew of Birkenau’s crematories, it wasn’t until after the war that he first heard anything of “gas chamber” killings or mass exterminations.

A Prolific Writer

After the war he returned to farming. A ardent and life-long defender of the interests of German farmers, he also turned his considerable talents as a writer to this cause. For years he edited and

published the quarterly magazine *Die Bauernschaft* ("The Farming Community"), which served as a forum for his straight-forward reporting and forthright and often witty commentary on farming, cultural, historical and current social-political issues. He also ran the Nordwind book service, which distributed a range of works, including revisionist titles.

In March 1988 he testified in the "Holocaust trial" in Toronto of German-Canadian Ernst Zündel. Under oath, he detailed his wartime experiences at Auschwitz, and answered numerous pointed questions by the prosecuting attorney. (His testimony is related in the remarkable record of the trial compiled by Barbara Kulaszka, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, and in Robert Lenski's book, *The Holocaust on Trial*.)

Persecution and Exile

Although he was never prosecuted for his "Auschwitz Lie" booklet, he was put on trial for other outspoken writings. In the 1980s he served a year in prison on charges of "insulting the state" ("Verunglimpfung des Staates") and "insulting the memory of the dead."

Driven from his beloved homeland, he was forced to live in exile in Denmark, Belgium and Switzerland. (To its credit, Denmark rejected German requests to extradite him, pointing out that he had a valid residency permit and had not broken any Danish law.) While Danish police stood by, hundreds of "anti-fascist" thugs attacked his modest home in the small town of Kollund, pelting it with stones and defacing it with spray paint. They also severely damaged his book warehouse and, using corrosive acid, ravaged his car and expensive copy equipment. After months of such abuse, in 1995 Christophersen was forced to leave Denmark. Ill with cancer, he sought treatment in Switzerland, but in December 1995 was forced to leave that country. He next found temporary refuge in Spain. Meanwhile, the German printer of his *Bauernschaft* magazine was fined 50,000 marks.

During his final months, German officials treated him as a virtual "enemy of the state." His bank account in Germany was closed down, and in early 1996 a German court rejected his application to return to his homeland for a brief visit to attend the burial of a son who had died in a car crash. On the grounds that he had no permanent place of residence, in 1996 German authorities cancelled his state medical insurance coverage and stopped payment of his modest state retirement pension (into which he had paid for 45 years), as well as his military service pension. Christophersen was arrested for the last time a few weeks before his death, but a German judge declared him too ill to be jailed. Released to a son's custody, he died a few days later.

Life-Affirming Outlook

In an essay about his experiences, "Auschwitz and West German Justice," published in the Spring 1985 *Journal of Historical Review*, Thies Christophersen summed up his travails and his defiant but optimistic outlook on life:

When I wrote my ["Auschwitz Lie"] report, I was criticized on the grounds that, although I was in the camp and saw nothing of mass gassings, that fact did not necessarily mean that there were none ...

I have received thousands of letters and calls. Many of those who contacted me can confirm my statements, but are afraid to do so publicly. Some of those are SS men who were brutally mistreated and even tortured in Allied captivity.

I also immediately contacted those who claimed to know more about mass gassings. My experiences were precisely the same as those of French Professor Paul Rassinier. I have not found any eyewitnesses. Instead, people would tell me that they knew someone who knew someone else, who talked about it. In most cases the alleged eyewitnesses had died. Other supposed eyewitnesses would quickly begin to stammer and stutter when I asked a few precise questions.

... Our writings may be banned. We may be thrown into prison. Our mail may be inspected. We may be attacked with fire and bombs. Our homes may be searched. We may be kept from obtaining employment or fired from our jobs. We may be slandered, ridiculed and persecuted like the early Christians. But we will suffer and endure it all, and our enemies will thus achieve precisely the opposite of what they intend. Their actions make others interested in what we do. I believe in truth and justice, and I know that one day they will prevail.

Italian Scholars Defend Free Speech of 'Holocaust Deniers'

Twenty-one Italian scholars and historians have issued a public statement defending freedom of speech and of historical research on the Holocaust issue, and criticizing the laws in France and Germany that restrict these rights for revisionist scholars who question the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. It specifically cites a French government order banning distribution in France of a book by Swiss revisionist scholar Jürgen Graf on the grounds that it “denies the Holocaust.”

Most of the scholars who signed the statement — which was published March 1, 1996, in the Turin daily newspaper *La Stampa* — are professors at various Italian universities. Interestingly, they represent leftist, rightist and centrist political views.

The scholars conclude their appeal with the words: “We are appealing, therefore, to the scholarly community to which we belong, but also to the political world and to the press, so that they react to this state of affairs, and put an end to a tendency that wherever it develops may put the freedom of speech, press and culture in European countries at risk.”

In an editorial that called the statement a “provocative protest,” *La Stampa* commented: “The historians who signed the letter are challenging a taboo ... Until now, no one in the scientific or academic world, and outside the extreme right, has objected to the banning of denial texts, a ban codified in Germany and France by regulations that consider denial of the Holocaust a crime.”

Critical Study of Holocaust Story Published in Japan

In early 1995 a major Japanese magazine, Marco Polo, was forced to shut down because it had published a ten-page article disputing the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. Jewish organizations responded with an international boycott campaign, promptly pressuring major corporations into cancelling advertising. Even Japan's Foreign Ministry intervened. Under this pressure, the large Bungei Shunju publishing company quickly caved in. News of the unprecedented surrender received worldwide media coverage. (A detailed report appeared in the March-April 1995 Journal.)

Further underscoring the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism, a few months later, and with memories of the Marco Polo incident still fresh, the first book-length Japanese-language presentation of Holocaust revisionism appeared in Nippon's bookstores.

"The Auschwitz Debate" (Aushuvittsu no souten) is a handsome 350-page hardcover work, illustrated with numerous photographs. It is published by Libertà, a Tokyo firm known for its leftist books on environmental issues and works critical of nuclear power policy.

Author Aiji Kimura, born in 1937, is an investigative journalist who worked for years at the research section of NTV television in Tokyo while he was also a labor union activist. Among his several previously published books is a critical treatment of the Japanese and American roles in the Gulf War. An assiduous researcher, Kimura has conducted his own on-site investigation of the alleged gas chambers at Birkenau and Auschwitz, where he also interviewed Auschwitz State Museum archives director Franciszek Piper.

Among the sources cited in the book's 15-page bibliography are not only standard Holocaust works, but also 13 books and eleven pamphlets published by the Institute for Historical Review, and 15 articles from the IHR's Journal of Historical Review. In this book, Kimura describes his research trip to California in late 1994:

In November 1994 I visited the Institute, which is located south of Los Angeles ... There I questioned [Mark] Weber and exchanged views with him, videotaped an interview, and purchased a one-meter pile of some 30 books, which I carried back in my rucksack ... Naturally, their [IHR's] themes are not confined to the "Holocaust" ...

A Hard-Hitting Examination

Kimura not only carefully investigates the Holocaust extermination story, he critically examines the uses to which it has been put, and the reasons for its durability. His book traces the origins of "the Holocaust" to wartime propaganda, and tracks down false extermination claims from the Nuremberg Trials, which he calls "the most shameful farce ever conducted in the name of law." Much evidence favorable to the Nuremberg defendants was suppressed or has "disappeared," he

shows. He also establishes that key Holocaust “evidence” is based on false testimony extracted by torture from Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss and others, or on demonstrably unreliable “eyewitness” testimony.

Kimura shows how the Holocaust story has been drastically changed over the years, showing, for example, how numerous “gas chamber” claims have been quietly abandoned. He identifies technical absurdities of Holocaust claims, and cites on-site forensic investigations at Auschwitz and other former camps. Kimura relates how Auschwitz “gas chambers” have been “rebuilt” since the end of the war.

He examines and ridicules the frantic efforts to shore up the crumbling Holocaust edifice, citing the Jewish-Zionist grip on the American media. Kimura tells readers about the routine name-calling, guilt by association, smears and even terrorism against “Holocaust deniers,” including the devastating 1984 arson attack against the Institute for Historical Review. He describes the laws in France, Germany and some other countries that forbid any dissenting views on this issue. Whatever basis the “Holocaust” may have in fact, Kimura questions its use in justifying Zionist policies in the Middle East. He shows how the Holocaust campaign is used to support Israel’s policies, particularly its dispossession and suppression of the Palestinian Arabs.

A News Conference Challenge

In February 1995 the feisty Kimura added drama to an otherwise colorless news conference in Tokyo, at which the Bungei Shunju president abjectly apologized for the offending Marco Polo article. The Wiesenthal Center’s Rabbi Abraham Cooper was on hand to accept the Japanese surrender.

Kimura loudly harangued Cooper, demanding that the publishing company executive explain specifically what was inaccurate about the Marco Polo article. He pointedly asked Cooper about evidence that Simon Wiesenthal collaborated with the Gestapo during the war years, but the rabbi avoided the issue. Kimura also defended historical revisionism, speaking of its peaceful, honorable, and truth-seeking purpose. Hundreds of fellow journalists responded to Kimura’s remarks with spontaneous applause and expressions of agreement.

A Lively Seminar

As part of its capitulation, the Bungei Shunju company had to submit to stiff and humiliating conditions imposed by the Wiesenthal Center. In addition to a Center-organized “education” seminar in Japan for company employees, Bungei Shunju staff members had to fly to Los Angeles for Holocaust indoctrination courses at the Wiesenthal Center. Still other staff members were to travel to Auschwitz, and then write a new article for publication about the Holocaust issue from the “proper perspective.” The Bungei Shunju company also agreed to publish a “proper” article deploring the Marco Polo episode, and to give \$50,000 to the Wiesenthal Center.

Details of this extraordinary arrangement were revealed in the August 1995 issue of the Japanese magazine *Uwasa no Shinsoh* (“The Truth of Rumors”). The tough, convincingly written article was quietly contemptuous of the Bungei Shunju company’s groveling to the Wiesenthal Center. While also critical of the Wiesenthal Center, the article was remarkably sympathetic to revisionism and revisionists.

Most of the article focused on the unusual three-day “education seminar” for Bungei Shunju journalists, editors and other employees. Rabbi Cooper and two other Wiesenthal Center officials

addressed the attendees, who were obliged to sit through showings of three Holocaust propaganda films: “Genocide,” “Echoes that Remain,” and “Liberation.” Cooper expressed the hope that the seminar would help in “building permanent friendships between the Jewish and Japanese people.”

Although Japanese participants reportedly had been selected for their docility, and there were even some soft-ball questions planted in the audience ahead of time, the seminar proved less successful than the organizers had anticipated. (This was also conceded in a Los Angeles Times report, May 27, 1995.)

One editor asked Rabbi Cooper what Jews have done to incur the wrath of so many nations over the centuries, saying that such intense hostility did not arise from nothing. Other participants questioned arrogant Jewish claims of “chosen people” status, or pointedly asked about Israel’s repression of Palestinians.

Off the record, participants described the seminar as pure Zionist propaganda. Many noticed that none of the points raised in the original Marco Polo article was refuted, and no attempt was made to refute them. Several participants said that after this obvious brain-washing effort, they are now more sympathetic than ever to the revisionist position.

Why the Holocaust Must Remain a Dogma

by [Mario Consoli](#)

“The terms 'fascist' and 'Nazi' are today devoid of any real political or cultural content, and are instead insults used to bash an opponent — that is, anyone who dares oppose one-world and multi-racial democracy ... Through the use of an incredible machinery to manipulate public opinion, the victors of the Second World War succeeded not only in preventing a resurgence of fascism and National Socialism, but also of the traditional cultural and spiritual values that have permeated the life of Europe for countless centuries.

“Here’s just how it’s done: Traditional European values, such as love of homeland and family, heroism, honesty, sense of duty and spirituality, are equated with fascism and Nazism, with Hitler and Mussolini. Once this equation is accepted, it is enough simply to activate anti-fascist propaganda to strangle any revival of the values that are dangerous for those in power.

“This labeling as evil of the Europe that was vanquished in the Second World War accomplishes much more than merely marginalize fascists and National Socialists. It discredits the entire system of values that has sustained for millennia a civilization of a greatness that is unique in history. Standing accused in the dock along with Mussolini and Hitler are Plato and Dante, Machiavelli and Nietzsche, Caesar and Napoleon, Rome and the Holy Roman Empire.

“... Since the Nuremberg Tribunal, the most effective instrument for criminalizing fascism and National Socialism has proven to be the charge of genocide of the Jews. Six Million — a round, horrifying figure. Men and women, elderly and infants, eliminated merely because they were Jews ...

“Today the Holocaust is a lead weight meant for all time to tie down the feet of Germany and all of Europe ... Any threadbare pretext will suffice at any time to start up talk of the Holocaust. With the passage of time, the propaganda offensive does not weaken, but grows ever more intense, and in ever more European countries special laws are promulgated to protect the Jewish 'truth' ...

“The Holocaust must remain a myth, a dogma, sheltered from all revisionist and truthful scrutiny. The collapse of this dogma must inevitably call into question the entire current interpretation of contemporary history ... This would finally make possible a really pluralistic debate about the future of Europe ... and make possible the reintroduction of those values that, in opposition to one-worldism, restore to nations their right of identity and independence.”

Mario Consoli, editorial director of *l'Uomo libero* (Milan), in the “Pluralism and Revisionism” issue, No. 41, of April 1996.

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An Italian Voice for Freedom

Now in its 17th year of publication, an impressive Italian journal, *l'Uomo libero* ("The Free Man"), has been a consistently intelligent and outspoken champion of free speech and intellectual inquiry, and a staunch defender of Europe's cultural heritage. Editorial director is Mario Consoli, who is also a frequent contributor. The editor is Piero Sella, historian and author of several books.

Individual issues of this attractive intellectual quarterly are often thematically devoted to a particular cultural, political or historical subject. While previous issues have dealt with historical revisionism and the legal persecution in Europe of revisionists, a recent issue is entirely devoted to this subject.

This 128-page "Pluralism and Revisionism" issue of April 1996 (No. 41) includes a lengthy essay by Swiss educator and revisionist author Jürgen Graf, with a group photo of speakers (including Graf) at the Twelfth (1994) Conference of the Institute for Historical Review in Irvine, California. Also in this issue is a detailed revisionist bibliography of books and periodicals in the major European languages, including a listing of the contents of every issue of the IHR's Journal of Historical Review.

As this special issue of *l'Uomo libero* demonstrates, dissident views of the Holocaust story are not (yet?) illegal in Italy — in contrast to the harsh persecution of revisionist "thought criminals" in France, Germany, Austria and a few other countries.

For further information, write: *l'Uomo libero*, Casella postale 1658, 20123 Milano, Italy.

German Television Report Features IHR Interview

Portions of an interview filmed at the office of the Institute for Historical Review were featured in a television report broadcast on two German regional television networks. The half-hour report, “Neo-Nazis Online: The Advance of the Extremists on the Internet,” was shown on the “Shaft of Light” series broadcast in late 1996 on the SDR and WDR networks.

While most of the report focused on the activities of such figures as National Socialist leader Gerhard Lauck, “White Aryan Resistance” organizer Tom Metzger, and “Stormfront” Internet home page operator Don Black, a few minutes dealt with revisionism and the Institute.

The IHR is described as the “headquarters” of revisionism, which is characterized as a particularly perfidious form of anti-Semitism because it seeks to “relativize” the Holocaust story.

Simon Wiesenthal Center employee Rick Eaton is shown telling viewers that because it presents arguments in a scholarly way, the Institute is possibly “the most dangerous of all” the “hate” groups.

Both the outside and the inside of the IHR’s office-warehouse building (inaccurately described as a “wood barracks”) are shown. Greg Raven, seen working at his desk, is identified as the “system operator” responsible for the IHR’s Internet connection. Two portions of a filmed interview with IHR Director Mark Weber are shown. Described as the Institute’s “ideologue,” he gives a summary definition of Holocaust revisionism, and tells viewers that revisionism has now spread to the point that it can no longer be effectively suppressed.

The interview with Weber, and the shots of the Institute building, were filmed by Dr. Thomas Aders of SDR television in Stuttgart during an August 22 visit to southern California.

Simultaneously as the narrator describes the IHR conference speakers list as a “who’s who of history distorters,” brief clips are shown of Robert Faurisson, David Irving and Ernst Zündel addressing the 1994 IHR Conference.

While the report is effective in its purpose, it is essentially a glitzy, high-tech smear job. For example, it inaccurately characterizes the Institute, at least by implication, as a “neo-Nazi” organization. Its essential bias is manifest in its completely uncritical, even sympathetic, portrayal of the Wiesenthal Center and the Anti-Defamation League, and their spokespersons. This in spite of these organizations’ well-documented record of distorting historical truth to further their ultra-Zionist objectives.

History and 'Memory'

An Examination of the Evidence of 'Holocaust Witness' Mel Mermelstein

by [Theodore J. O'Keefe](#)

In September 1991 the Institute for Historical Review prevailed in a lawsuit brought by Mel Mermelstein, a southern California businessman and self-professed eyewitness to the gas chambers of Auschwitz. This victory closed more than ten years of wrangling in two legal cases, neither of which ever came to trial, in a rancorous dispute that tested the legitimacy of efforts by skeptical scholars to revise the generally held version of the Holocaust.

It all began at the first IHR conference in 1979, when co-founder and then-director [David McCalden](#) announced an award of \$50,000 to anyone who could provide proof of homicidal gassings of Jews at Auschwitz. Mermelstein, a wartime detainee of the camp, submitted a claim for the award, and then brought a lawsuit against the Institute on the grounds that it had not acted quickly enough on his claim.

The first suit was settled in July 1985 when the Institute and co-defendants paid Mermelstein \$90,000, and issued an apology to him “and all other survivors of Auschwitz for the pain, anguish and suffering he and all other Auschwitz survivors have sustained relating to the \$50,000 reward offer.” ^[1] Mermelstein’s victory predictably received sympathetic nationwide media attention, and was dramatized in a flattering and much publicized made-for-television movie, “Never Forget,” starring Leonard Nimoy (as a heroic and principled Mel Mermelstein) and Dabney Coleman (who played Mermelstein’s lawyer). ^[2]

In the second case, Mermelstein brought an \$11 million suit for defamation (libel) because of an IHR Newsletter item by Bradley Smith that called him a “demonstrable fraud,” a “vainglorious prevaricator,” and a “false-tale spinner.” ^[3] On September 19, 1991, Mermelstein was obliged to drop what remained of his suit after a Los Angeles Superior Court judge dismissed a substantial portion of it. (For the most comprehensive account of the second Mermelstein trial, see this writer’s article in the January-February 1994 Journal of Historical Review.) ^[4] In contrast to the generous media coverage of the first case, newspapers all but ignored the second. ^[5]

Although in each case the judicial dispute centered on such strictly legal issues as whether a valid contract had existed, whether Mermelstein had been libeled, whether he was a public figure, and whether earlier suits had been brought maliciously, the essence was Mermelstein’s claim to have witnessed his mother and sisters as they were driven into a gas chamber at Auschwitz-Birkenau in May 1944. ^[6] Mermelstein and his lawyers stressed the “Holocaust” angle, twice succeeding in having a judge take “judicial notice” of the claim that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. In the second, 1991 trial, they even attempted to introduce as evidence the entire transcript of the main Nuremberg (IMT) trial.

For our part, Institute researchers, including McCalden, IHR writers Lou Rollins and Bradley Smith, and I, devoted considerable effort to checking the various claims Mermelstein had made over the years. During the course of this ten-year investigation, which intensified with the approach of trial in the second case in 1991, we were assisted by volunteers across America and in several foreign countries. For example, through intermediaries we obtained information about Mermelstein and his family from the Auschwitz State Museum.

While several accounts have already been published that focus on the legal and public relations aspects of the dispute, this article centers on Mermelstein's credibility as a Holocaust witness. Here we take a look at his public statements and writings, especially his autobiographical memoir, *By Bread Alone*, as well as hitherto unpublished testimony and recollections he provided to authorities at the Auschwitz State Museum and the German consulate in Los Angeles, from wartime concentration camp records obtained in Germany and in Poland, and from other sources. [7]

This is all the more fitting given the fervor with which Jewish-Zionist groups, public officials, and much of the media have embraced Mermelstein as a particularly important and credible Holocaust witness. [8] For example, a Los Angeles Times feature article by staff writer Mark Pinsky praised Mermelstein as "a normally soft-spoken, single-minded man, a persistent witness, much like Nobel Prize-winning Elie Wiesel and no less eloquent ..." [9] The Los Angeles City Council honored Mermelstein on December 15, 1981, with a formal resolution that declared:

Mel Mermelstein, in 1944, May the 22nd, at dawn, saw his mother and two sisters among other Jewish women and children from his hometown, lured and driven into gas chambers disguised as shower rooms at the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination center in Poland.

Four months later, the California state Assembly acclaimed him with a similarly laudatory formal resolution. [10]

Research Sources and Obstacles

Our efforts to obtain information about Mermelstein and his family, and to find Mermelstein relatives in Israel and the United States, were hampered in part because Mermelstein is a common family name among Hungarian Jews. [11] Adding to the difficulties in tracking down Mermelstein family members (and other European Jews) is the common practice of changing the last name upon emigration, and the possibility of Mermelstein's sisters marrying after the war (and his mother re-marrying). To this must be added confusion about first names. As a young man in Europe Mel Mermelstein evidently went by the first names of "Mor," "Moric" (or "Moritz"), and (at home) "Moishe." His father's first name is given in documents, in *By Bread Alone*, and elsewhere, variously as "Bernard," "Bernád," "Bernat," "Hersh-Ber" or "Hermann."

In line with longstanding practice, the American Red Cross and the International Tracing Service at Arolsen, Germany (which is administered by the International Committee of the Red Cross), informed our researcher that any information regarding former detainees (including Mermelstein and his family members) is shared only with former detainees, their next of kin, or their attorneys. [12]

Our researchers were able to confirm that Mel Mermelstein was born on September 25, 1926, in Örösveg, a suburb of Munkacs, where he was also raised. At the time of his birth this area was

part of eastern Czechoslovakia, but was annexed to Hungary from 1939 to 1944. Today Munkacs is the western Ukrainian city of Mukachevo.

Along with some two thousand other Hungarian Jews, he was deported to Auschwitz on or about May 20-21, 1944, where he was registered on the 22nd as prisoner number A-4685 (the registration number which is still tattooed on his arm). About six weeks later, he was apparently taken to the Gleiwitz I labor camp (a satellite of Auschwitz), where he was detained and worked until the camp was evacuated in January 1945. In the face of the approaching Soviet forces, he and the other inmates were marched to Blechhammer and then westwards to the Gross-Rosen camp, from where he was transported by train to the Buchenwald. Apparently arriving there on or about February 10, 1945, he remained in the camp until it was liberated by American troops on April 11, 1945. ^[13]

Gassing Witness?

Very early on we noticed significant discrepancies between Mermelstein's different accounts, and that some of his claims contradicted well established and easily verifiable facts.

Perhaps most remarkable, we discovered that it was not until the summer of 1980 — that is, after he decided to respond to the IHR challenge — that Mermelstein first made his key “eyewitness” claim about seeing his mother and sisters enter a gas chamber. In none of the numerous newspaper interviews he gave prior to 1980 (that we were able to discover) did he make any mention of seeing anyone go into any gas chamber. ^[14] Similarly, Mermelstein makes no mention of seeing his mother and sisters enter any building or “gas chamber” in the first, 1979 edition of his detailed memoir, *By Bread Alone* (written before the reward offer). ^[15]

Instead he makes only an ambiguous reference (p. 119) to seeing them for the last time as he and his father watched from near their barracks building (“The column neared our barracks. Separated only by strands of barbed wire, I could see them ...”). He even suggests that, instead of being gassed, his mother and sisters had been “burned alive. Specifically, he recounts (p. 129) the words of his father during a conversation a few days after their arrival at Birkenau:

“Your mother and sisters are...” He paused a moment, unable to go on. “And you must not torture your minds [sic] about their fate. Yes, yes. Look! There!” And he pointed to the flaming [sic] chimneys. The vision of my mother, Etu and Magda being burned alive made me feel faint.

More to the point, what Mermelstein wrote on this matter in his memoir actually contradicts his later claims. In *By Bread Alone* he specifically relates that it was only at the end of the war, after his liberation from Buchenwald, that he first heard, second-hand, that his mother and sisters had been gassed. Believing that his brother and sisters and likely his mother were still alive, he made his way back to Munkacs, where his uncle, Moshe-Aron, told him that none had survived. Moshe-Aron said he had heard that Mermelstein's mother and sisters had been “led to the gas chambers at Birkenau.” ^[16]

Yet, in a letter published in a California daily paper in July 1980 (responding to the IHR challenge for proof of a Nazi gas chamber), he wrote: ^[17]

I witnessed my own mother and two sisters driven among others to the tunnel for their final station, the Gas Chamber No. 5 at Birkenau. It was on May 22, 1944, at

dawn. I remember it. I was but a stone's throw away from the gas chambers and crematoriums...

The contrast between this and his earlier statements strongly suggests that Mermelstein never witnessed any such event, but rather that he invented or imagined this scene in response to the IHR's challenge. If Mermelstein had actually witnessed his mother and two sisters led into a gas chamber at Birkenau, is it believable that he would make no mention of this in his numerous pre-1980 interviews, or in his 1979 memoir of more than 270 pages?

Fantasy 'Tunnel'

On other occasions since mid-1980, Mermelstein has claimed that he saw his mother and sisters enter "gas chamber no. 5" going into a "tunnel." For example, in a written declaration made in December 1980, he stated: ^[18]

On May 22, 1944, I observed the buildings used as gas chambers and saw a column of women and children being driven into the tunnel that lead into the gas chambers, which I later determined to be the gas chamber number 5. The last time I saw my mother and two sisters was when they were driven into what I later discovered to be the gas chamber at Birkenau at dawn on May 22, 1944.

In a July 1981 response to pretrial questions, he declared: ^[19]

I personally observed my mother and sisters being driven, along with a group of women and children, into the gas chambers at Auschwitz. The building had two chimneys which had been and continued to spew a peculiar reddish flame and which has been identified as gas chamber #5.

Mermelstein's precision on this point is all the more noteworthy considering his numerous visits to Auschwitz (more than a dozen, he says), his testimony given there, and his evident concern, expressed in his public statements, with the details of Auschwitz and the standard Holocaust legend.

Mermelstein's "gas chamber no. 5" can only designate the building that is more commonly known as "Crematory 5," "Krematorium V," or "Krema 5." But this claim is simply not possible. As all authoritative sources agree, Crematory 5 (as well as its mirror double, Crematory 4), was built entirely above ground and had neither stairs, tunnel, basement, nor morgue cellar. (The two structures that did have semi-underground "morgue cellars" ["Leichenkeller"] were crematories 2 and 3, some distance away.) ^[20] Interestingly, crematory building 5 (Krema V) was surrounded by trees, and was therefore called the "forest crematory." ^[21] Mermelstein, though, has never made any mention of these trees.

In short, Mermelstein's testimony about "gas chamber number 5" and its "tunnel" alone discredits him as a trustworthy "gas chamber" witness, and further suggests that he is lying about this key "eyewitness" claim.

Extermination Victims?

What was the actual fate of Mermelstein's parents and siblings? In *By Bread Alone* (p. 119), he describes the last time he saw his mother, Fani, and his sisters, Edith and Magda:

In the distance, toward the railroad tracks, we once again saw long columns of women and children walking toward the blazing [sic] chimneys. There were hundreds of them quietly humming and chanting. The column neared our barracks ...

A comparison of this description with the actual layout of the camp as established by aerial photographs and layout plans suggests that what Mermelstein most likely saw was his mother and sisters entering the “Sauna” center, where new arrivals were routinely cleaned and deloused. This is near the westernmost end of the “Kanada” section, where the personal effects of the inmates were stored and where they were issued camp clothing. [22]

Mermelstein claims that he and the rest of his family arrived by train at Auschwitz on May 21, 1944 — that is, during the May-July 1944 period when, according to most Holocaust historians, the great majority of newly arriving Hungarian Jews (some 400,000 in all) were promptly gassed and cremated. [23] Jewish historian Martin Gilbert writes in his book *Auschwitz and the Allies* that three trainloads of some 12,000 Hungarian Jews arrived at Auschwitz on May 21, 1944, of whom all but eleven men and six women were gassed. [24]

Consistent with this, for years it has been widely and authoritatively asserted that all Jews arriving at Birkenau who were not able to work, or who were not registered, were promptly consigned to death in the gas chambers. [25] In fact, camp records and other incontestable evidence show that at least a very high percentage of Auschwitz Jews who were not able to work, or who were not registered, were nevertheless not killed. [26] At the Eleventh IHR Conference in 1992, this writer described [27] finding the names of Mermelstein’s sisters, Edith and Magda, on an October 1944 SS document in the Auschwitz Museum archives that lists 500 Jewish female prisoners, with their birth dates, who were transferred from Auschwitz to Altenburg, a satellite labor camp of Buchenwald. [28]

This document would seem to prove that Mermelstein’s sisters “survived” Auschwitz. However, the birth dates given on this list for these two Mermelstein women are different than the birth dates Mel Mermelstein has provided for his sisters. Whereas the 1944 SS listing gives the birth dates as September 4, 1923, for Edith, and May 17, 1926, for Magda, Mermelstein gives the birth dates as October 31, 1923, and June 12, 1928, respectively. [29]

In any case, the fact that the Jewish women on this transport list ranged in age from 15 to 48 (with most in their twenties), including quite a few sharing the same age as Mermelstein’s “gassed” sisters, at least shows that Jewish women of this age were not automatically “gassed.” [30] Also significant, nearly half the women on this 1944 transport list, including Edith and Magda Mermelstein, were not given Auschwitz registration numbers. Of the 500 Jewish Auschwitz prisoners on this SS list, 212 were transferred from the camp, alive and well, without having been registered.

Fate of Other Family Members

Mermelstein has also given contradictory information as to the fate of his father, Bernard. In his memoir, he gives a detailed and heartrending account of how he learned, at Buchenwald in early 1945, from an acquaintance from his home town, that his father had died in his bed of exhaustion at the Jaworzno (Neu-Dachs) satellite camp on December 18, 1944. [31] However, in a 1969 declaration given in Los Angeles he stated: “My father and my brother [Lajos] died during the evacuation marches to Blechhammer from other camps.” [32]

We were unable to find any substantive information about the fate of brother Lajos, although in *By Bread Alone* (p. 241), Mermelstein reports that after the end of the war his uncle Moshe-Aaron told him that his brother had been “shot on the road to [satellite camp] Blechhammer [sic] from Camp Jaworzna [sic]” during the evacuations in early 1945. [33]

More Misinformation

In *By Bread Alone*, Mermelstein describes the escape in 1944 of several non-Jewish inmates from Gleiwitz I, the satellite camp of Auschwitz where he was interned for a time. He then tells readers that the camp’s remaining Slavic inmates were sent to Auschwitz and gassed: “All of the Poles, Ukrainians and Russians were going to Auschwitz — to the gas chambers.” [34] However, an official Polish version of this escape and its consequences (in an article in *Hefte von Auschwitz*, a scholarly periodical issued by the Auschwitz State Museum) differs markedly from Mermelstein’s. This is all the more remarkable considering that this article includes information on the affair from Mermelstein himself (p. 98), and because the article was published in 1973, and thus available to him, a frequent visitor to Auschwitz, six years before *By Bread Alone* appeared. [35]

What was the actual fate of the Slavic inmates at Gleiwitz after the escape of their fellows? According to the *Hefte von Auschwitz* article, the Slavic inmates were actually transferred for labor to a series of camps inside the Reich proper. While the article doesn’t reveal how many survived the war, there certainly is no evidence that a single one was gassed.

This same *Hefte von Auschwitz* article cites former inmate Mermelstein as having taken part in the “uprising and self-liberation” of Buchenwald. This is based on a statement he made in his 1967 affidavit to the Auschwitz camp authorities. [36] The story that Buchenwald was self-liberated by an inmate uprising is now almost universally acknowledged as a myth — a legend fostered in particular by the Communists, who claimed to have organized the revolt. [37]

To be sure, in the 1960s and 1970s, a period during which Mermelstein made at least nine visits to Auschwitz and other sites in Communist-ruled eastern Europe, the functionaries at the Auschwitz State Museum and the steering committee of the International Auschwitz Committee were either Communists themselves or beholden to the Communist line on Auschwitz, the Holocaust story, and doubtless much else. [38] Interestingly, in *By Bread Alone* (pp. 206-207), written for American consumption, there is nothing about an “uprising and self-liberation”: merely “rumors” and “talk” about such a thing. When American forces arrive for the actual liberation, Mermelstein describes himself as a somewhat bemused observer, not a participant.

Bizarre Dance of Death

Perhaps the most fantastic of the claims made by Mermelstein in *By Bread Alone* (pp. 115, 117) is that on the night of his arrival at Auschwitz-Birkenau, he, his father, and his brother, among many other Jews, were driven naked to three flaming pits in which it was possible to discern burning bodies. Mermelstein and the other new arrivals joined a complicated choreography wherein the nude inmates simultaneously ran around the pits as SS men with guard dogs forced others to join the macabre dance:

Ahead were three huge pits dug deep into the ground. In each a fire was raging. Around the flaming pits naked men were running in an endless circle... Quickly father grabbed my one hand and Lajos the other. Together we continued the race around the pit of death.

In his breathless telling, Mermelstein successfully resists the pit's hypnotic lure, and withstands as well the danger of being shot, struck or bitten. He also avoids being driven into the flames after he has been knocked down near the edge of the pit by "the oncoming crowd." Regaining his feet, he is able to join hands with his father and brother as they whirl about the pit, and to discuss a daring plan with a friend who has foresightedly concealed a straight razor on his naked person: in succession, each will kill a Nazi, slit his own wrist, then hand the razor on to another inmate. "Mad words, yet under the circumstances, reasonable enough," mulls autobiographer Mermelstein.

Just then, however, the SS fiends flail their whips, shouting, "Back to the barracks! Back to the barracks!" Many years later, in *By Bread Alone*, Mermelstein will wonder, with Talmudic acuity, whence and why the phantasmagoria at the pit. The most charitable explanation is doubtless raised by his final musing: "Or was it just an aberration of a demented mind?"

'Special Detail' Confusion

In an article published in early 1987 in the *New York Post*, Edward Koch, at that time mayor of New York City, recounted his meeting with Mermelstein at Auschwitz a short time before. The mayor quoted Mermelstein: "I was part of a special detail which hauled the bodies from the gas chamber and took them to the crematorium." [39]

This astonishing claim contradicts virtually every other statement Mermelstein has made about his time at Auschwitz-Birkenau, where he claims to have spent a couple of days, and at the main Auschwitz camp (Stammlager), where he says he spent six weeks or so. In all other available accounts, he claims not to have done any noteworthy work. In his 1967 statement to the Auschwitz Museum authorities, for example, he said: "During my six week stay in the Auschwitz camp I was not working." [40] In his 1969 declaration given in Los Angeles, he said he had "no duties" there. [41] And in his May 1981 deposition, he said that at Auschwitz and Birkenau he had done "practically nothing... just some detail work" and "no physical work." [42]

On November 1, 1989, attorney Mark Lane questioned Mermelstein about these flagrant discrepancies. It is safe to say that this "eyewitness" has never been subjected before or since to such a dogged grilling, nor perhaps has any other self-professed Holocaust witness. The end result of several dozen pages of question and answer was, not, as one could expect, elucidation, but rather contradiction heaped on contradiction, all devastating to Mermelstein's credibility: he did and he didn't drag bodies; there may have been bodies in the clothes that he dragged to open pits; he might have but probably didn't drag bodies from the gas chambers. [43]

"Did you say those things to Mayor Koch?," he was asked. "No, not quite," answered Mermelstein. Under prodding, he added, "Well, I was in a special detail there, yes, close to the pits, next to the — those open pits ... But we hauled not only bodies but clothes, whatever, dragging them into the pits."

Q. Are you telling me that you do not recall if you hauled bodies from the gas chamber?

A. Not [sic] — I saw too much.

A moment later:

Q. Is it your testimony that you don't remember whether or not you hauled bodies from the gas chamber?

A. I don't remember. Okay? I don't know specifically the way you put it. Okay? But I know I was there.

A frustrated Lane pressed on:

Q. I'm asking you if you were part of a special detail and if part of your obligation on the special detail was in any way related to the gas chamber.

A. No, not specifically.

Trying to untangle himself, Mermelstein declares:

To be part of a special detail, and that was, from time to time, you were pulled to do different things. There were days when we dragged — just looked like — it looked like a heap of clothes. And within these clothes, probably — and it was to have been dropped into the pits. Within those clothes and other items may have been some bodies as well.

Spoken like a real eyewitness. According to Mermelstein, his embarrassment springs from having seen too much, not too little. When, under challenge, his memory seems to fail him, it is enough that he was there.

More Phony 'Evidence'

Mermelstein is not above simply inventing historical evidence. In a 1981 newspaper interview he said: [\[44\]](#)

Goebbels reassured Hitler he ought not to worry about the consequences of the Final Solution of “the Jewish question,” ... Goebbels said to Hitler that because of the way the Germans were doing it — luring the Jews into gas chambers disguised as shower rooms — what the Germans were doing was so inconceivable, it will be unbelievable. The civilized world will simply dismiss it as a hoax.

In fact, there is not a scrap of evidence that Goebbels, or anyone else, ever said any such thing to Hitler.

In *By Bread Alone* (pp. 120-121) Mermelstein provides a two-page photograph showing the interior of a large room, which he describes in the caption: “The interior section of one of the five gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Note the pipes and shower heads above.”

This is demonstrably untrue. First, this photo was not taken at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Rather, it shows the interior of a room in the Auschwitz I (main) camp, several kilometers away. Second, although this room has been displayed for years to tourists as a “gas chamber” in its “original state,” it is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction. This fact is now widely and authoritatively acknowledged. [\[45\]](#) Third, although electrical wiring and light fixtures are visible in the photo, “pipes and shower heads” are not.

Also in his book, Mermelstein emphatically endorses figures of Auschwitz deaths that are now thoroughly discredited. At one point he calls Auschwitz “the graveyard of four million human beings, of which ninety per cent were Jews, and a million little children.” On another page he refers to Auschwitz as the place “where 4 million Jews died.” [\[46\]](#) Although the four million figure of Auschwitz deaths was endorsed at the Nuremberg Tribunal, and affirmed for decades by govern-

ment officials and prominent historians, today no serious historian supports it. (In July 1990 the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland and Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust Center announced that altogether perhaps one million people, both Jews and non-Jews, died there, of all causes.) [47]

In a grotesque and fanciful scene spectacle conjured up during a 1981 legal deposition (but one he failed to mention in his 1979 memoir), Mermelstein claimed to have seen babies tossed into pits, where they were burned. [48]

Either out of ignorance or malice, Mermelstein misrepresents the views of revisionists. In a letter published in 1980 in the Jerusalem Post, he writes that "these gentlemen" of the Institute for Historical Review "are teaching our new generation that the chimneys of Auschwitz were only those of the bakeries." This is absurd, of course, as even the most cursory examination of revisionist scholarship reveals. [49]

Mermelstein writes in his book of the well-known 1944 report about Auschwitz produced by Alfred Wetzler and Rudolf Vrba (Walter Rosenberg). He describes (p. 108) them as

two brave Slovakian Jews who made a daring escape from the death camps of Auschwitz-Birkenau. It was they who took it upon themselves to inform the Slovakian Jewish community, as well as the Hungarian Jewish community, what fate is awaiting them at Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944.

"However," Mermelstein goes on to write, "none would listen to these two brave and courageous young fighters." [50]

Not true. Already in 1942, 1943 and 1944, American and British newspapers and government officials repeatedly publicized claims that the Germans were systematically exterminating European Jewry. The US government's War Refugee Board (WRB) published the Vrba-Wetzler report in November 1944, shortly after receiving it. Newspapers in the United States, Switzerland, and other countries gave prominent coverage to the report's sensational claims of systematic mass killing of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz. [51]

'Human Soap'

Mermelstein is also certain that the Germans manufactured bars of soap from the bodies of murdered Jews. During his May 1981 deposition, he was questioned on this point: [52]

Q. Did you ever see any of that soap allegedly made from the bodies or fats of Jews?

A. That's what we were ordered to use in the death camps.

Q. Was there some sort of insignia or initial on that soap?

A. I don't remember that. All I remember was the color of it was yellowish, and we knew that it was made out of humans. Yes.

Q. You heard it from other inmates; is that right? There was a rumor floating around the camp that the soap was made from Jewish bodies; is that correct?

A. That's correct. That was not a rumor, it was an established fact.

Mermelstein seems incapable of distinguishing between rumor and “established fact.” In truth, the “Jewish soap” story is a wartime propaganda claim that no serious historian now accepts. In 1990 it was formally repudiated by Israel’s Yad Vashem Holocaust center. [53]

Correcting the Historical Record

Revisionists from Paul Rassinier onward have discerned a pattern among “survivor witnesses” of warping reality in favor of rumor, allegation and libel. As one Jewish historian, who was himself interned in the Kaunas ghetto during the war, has noted: [54]

Most of the memoirs and reports [of Holocaust survivors] are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.

Mel Mermelstein has proven himself to be no exception to this pattern. This man whom responsible public officials and many in the media are eager to praise as a truthful and reliable Holocaust witness is in fact, as Bradley Smith has written, a “demonstrable fraud.” Any intelligent and open-minded person can confirm for himself the many contradictions, exaggerations and absurdities detailed here.

And whereas today in Germany and some other countries skepticism toward the Holocaust story is forbidden by law, nowhere is it illegal to make the sort of slanderous accusations fabricated by such “witnesses” as Mermelstein, against Germans and others, whether as individuals or as a nation.

Far more culpable than Mermelstein himself are those who, either through uncritical silence or overt action, contribute to his fraud, and thereby to the corruption of our political and social life.

From the mass of evidence we studied, we learned that Mermelstein is simply not a credible witness to gassings at Auschwitz, or to much else involving the German camps and the wartime treatment of Jews. If anything, a close scrutiny of his statements suggests further reason to be skeptical of the gassing story and other claims.

The Institute for Historical Review has never desired nor sought to belittle the losses Mel Mermelstein suffered during the Second World War — and those of us who worked on this case suspect that they were considerable. As conscientious revisionists, however, we believe that historical truth must be pursued and embraced, regardless of consequences. In exposing Mermelstein’s deceit, we can say, with some pride, that it has done its duty.

Notes

1.  Myrna Oliver, “Holocaust Doubters Settle Auschwitz Survivor’s Suit,” Los Angeles Times, July 25, 1985, pp. 1, 26; “Report on Settlement of Mermelstein vs. IHR, et al.,” IHR Newsletter, August 1985, pp. 1-7; “Survivor Must Get Reward” (UPI), The Washington Post, July 25, 1985; “The Holocaust, Proved,” The New York Times, editorial, July 29, 1985.
2.  See J. Marcellus’ review of “Never Forget” in the Summer 1991 Journal of Historical Review, pp. 229-238; J. J. O’Connor, “Certifying the Holocaust’s Horrors,” The New York Times, April 8, 1991; TV Guide (Washington-Baltimore ed.), week of April 6-12, 1991, p. 38; M. Pinsky, “Roadshow Paves the TV Airwaves for ‘Never Forget,’” Los Angeles Times

- (OC ed.), April 5, 1991; M. Zad, "Cable Links" column, The Washington Post, Sunday "TV Week" supplement, April 7, 1991, p. 5; M. Pinsky, "Rescuing the Memory of the Holocaust," Los Angeles Times, December 28, 1990.
3. [U](#) "How the Press Invites Anti-Semitism," Sept. 1985 IHR Newsletter, pp. 3-4; See also "Mermelstein Trial to Begin August 9," IHR Newsletter, July-August 1991, pp. 1-2, 4.
 4. [U](#) Theodore J. O'Keefe, "Best Witness': Mel Mermelstein, Auschwitz and the IHR," The Journal of Historical Review, Jan.-Feb. 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 25-32. Based on O'Keefe's presentation at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992.
 5. [U](#) For example, whereas the Los Angeles Times gave sympathetic front page coverage to Mermelstein's 1985 courtroom victory, this same paper's total coverage of the Institute's 1991 victory against Mermelstein was a short inside item that appeared only in its Orange County edition. See: M. Pinsky, "Doubters of Holocaust Win a Round in Court," Los Angeles Times, Orange County ed., September 25, 1991, p. B9.
 6. [U](#) Mermelstein declaration of December 18, 1980, offered in connection with IHR claim, and published in facsimile in the 1981 edition of *By Bread Alone*, pp. 276-278.
 7. [U](#) Mel Mermelstein's autobiography, *By Bread Alone: The Story of A-4685*, was first published in 1979 (Los Angeles: Crescent Publications). The second edition was published in 1981 by his "Auschwitz Study Foundation" of Huntington Beach, California (xvi+290 pages).
 8. [U](#) See: "A Holocaust Survivor Keeps on Fighting," Newsweek, July 23, 1984; "Debunkers' of Holocaust Linked to Right-Wing Extremists," Los Angeles Times, May 3, 1981; R. Lindsey, "Auschwitz Survivor Sues for Prize For Proving Germans Gassed Jews," New York Times, March 11, 1981; D. Haldane, "Holocaust Survivor and Historian Meets Push With Shove Once More," Los Angeles Times, Nov. 12, 1988.
 9. [U](#) M. Pinsky, "An Unforgettable TV Movie," Los Angeles Times (OC ed.), October 4, 1990, p. F2.
 10. [U](#) "Nazi camp survivor honored by Assembly" (AP), Press-Telegram, April 20, 1982.
 11. [U](#) Although Mermelstein contends (in *By Bread Alone*, p. 243) that "the Jewish population of Munkacs had been annihilated," we found tantalizing but unconfirmed evidence that large numbers of Jews from Munkacs survived the war.
 12. [U](#) The ITS letter (reproduced in *By Bread Alone*, pp. vii-viii) informed Mermelstein that it had no information about his father and brother, whom Mermelstein has claimed died in or around subcamps of Auschwitz. The letter makes no mention of the female Mermelsteins.
 13. [U](#) The information in this paragraph is based on the following sources: Documents from the records of the Buchenwald camp, reproduced in facsimile in M. Mermelstein's *By Bread Alone* (1981), pp. 184-188; letter to Mermelstein from the International Tracing Service (Arolsen, Germany), Sept. 3, 1971, reproduced in *By Bread Alone*, pp. vii-viii; Mel Mermelstein interrogation protocol ("Vernehmungs niederschrift"), given at the German General Consulate, Los Angeles, November 13, 1969. A copy of this German-language declaration is in the Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) archives, filed under: Zespol "Oswiadczenia," Vol. 68, pp. 183-192 (Nr. inw. 156642); Danuta Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1990), p. 630; M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, pp. vii, 1-3, 93-130, 184.
 14. [U](#) For example, in none of the following pre-1979 articles is there any mention by Mermelstein that he personally saw his mother and sisters, or anyone, led to gas chambers: B. Altman, "Auschwitz survivor maintaining his vow," Long Beach (Calif.) Independent/Press-Telegram, July 9, 1977, p. C1; K. Sherman, "Holocaust exhibit chills most viewers," Long Beach (Calif.) Independent/Press-Telegram, Oct. 3, 1978; S. Karl, "Survivor of Auschwitz says it could happen again," Daily Forty-Niner (California State University Long Beach),

Oct. 11, 1976, p. 1; P. Kennedy, "L.B. survivor of Auschwitz finds 'Holocaust' real," Daily Forty-Niner (CSU Long Beach), April 19, 1978.

15.  Likewise, in neither his October 23, 1967, PMO declaration, or in his 1969 German Consulate declaration, does he make any mention of having seen his mother and sisters, or anyone, enter a gas chamber.
16.  M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, pp. 240-241. Mermelstein also relates, p. 238, that as he returned to his home town after the end of the war, "I was sure that when I reached the house and opened the door, Father, Mother, Etu, Lajos and Magda would all be there, as before, waiting for me."
17.  M. Mermelstein letter, "Invitation to the doubters," Long Beach (Calif.) Independent/Press-Telegram, July 29, 1980; during his deposition of May 27, 1981 (transcript, p. 46), he claimed to have witnessed them enter the "gas chamber" from "40, 50 feet" away.
18.  Mermelstein declaration of December 18, 1980, published in facsimile in the 1981 edition of *By Bread Alone*, pp. 276-278.
19.  Interrogatory of Mel Mermelstein, July 21, 1981. Response to question No. 26.
20.  Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994, with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC), pp. 168, 172, 173. See also: Jean-Claude Pressac, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#) (New York: B. Klarsfeld, 1989). Mermelstein's testimony about "Gas Chamber No. 5" is also difficult to accept because crematory facility (Krema) V (as well as Krema IV) had been shut down in 1943 — months before he claimed to have seen it in operation. See the essay by J.-C. Pressac, with Robert-Jan van Pelt, in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), pp. 236, 237, 238, and p. 173. See also: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, pp. 413, 420. For additional reasons why this building or facility could not possibly have served as an extermination facility, see the review by M. Weber of Pressac's 1989 book in the *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1990, pp. 235-236. See also: M. Weber, "Legal Declaration," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1982, pp. 31-46.
21.  D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (1990), p. 368.
22.  D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (1990), p. 5; John Ball, *The Ball Report* (Canada: 1993; 16 pp.), pp. 4, 5.
23.  Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), p. 31.
24.  Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: 1981), p. 210 (and pp. 211, 220). See also: D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (1990), pp. 629, 630.
25.  See, for example: E. Kogon, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1994), p. 172; Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz: Die Technik des Massenmordes* (München: Piper, 1994), pp. 198-199.
26.  M. Weber, "Pages from the Auschwitz Death Registry Volumes," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1992, pp. 265-268; The semi-official Auschwitz "Kalendarium" reports that an unknown number of Jewish arrivals were admitted as unregistered "depot prisoners," and that some of these were sent from Birkenau to other camps for war work. See: Danuta Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (1990), pp. 628, 629, 630, 633, 636, 641, 643, 655, and others.
27.  T. O'Keefe, "Best Witness," *Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1994, p. 30.
28.  List of 500 Jewish Female detainees transferred from Auschwitz to Buchenwald/Altenburg, October 12, 1944, *Überstellung 500 Jüdinen Schutzhäftlingen aus Auschwitz*. Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) Archives. Sygn. D-Bu-3/2a, Nr. inw. 163105.

29. ↪ Particularly in the case of “Magda Mermelstein,” the two different dates, when typed numerically in order of day, month, and year — the German fashion used in the concentration camps — are susceptible to confusion, “17.5.26” and “12.6.28,” by someone with defective eyesight, under poor lighting, and so forth. Perhaps whoever compiled the list misunderstood the birth dates given by the sisters. Anyway, given Mermelstein’s frailties of memory, there is no reason to give his statement regarding their birth dates any special weight.
30. ↪ We examined a letter from the Auschwitz Museum (PMO) to Tjudar Rudolph, April 26, 1991 (No. IV-8521/2221-2227/91), listing available records on certain Mermelsteins, as well as a letter from the Museum to the Polish Historical Society of Stamford, Conn., September 4, 1991 (No. IV-8520-107/4104-5/910), listing all Mermelsteins supposedly in the Museum’s records. In this September 4, 1991, letter the names of Edith and Magda Mermelstein are to be found — in fact three Magdas and two Ediths — but none has a birth date matching that given by Mermelstein for his sisters. The names and birth dates of two of these women do, however, match those of the Edith and Magda Mermelstein of the October 1944 SS (Altenburg) transfer list. Their birthplace is given as “Szolyva,” Hungarian for a Carpatho-Ukraine town also known as Svalyava that is about ten miles distant from Munkacs/Mukhachevo.
31. ↪ M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, pp. 173, 194-195. We shall pass over the one or two instances in which Mermelstein, quoted in the press or speaking heatedly in deposition, says his father was gassed at Auschwitz. For example, Mermelstein is quoted in a 1981 issue of a Los Angeles daily paper as saying: “They [the revisionists] are inferring that Jews were not killed in the gas chambers, that I did not see with my own eyes my mother and father and sisters led off to the gas chambers.” (Source: T. Carlson, “The \$50,000 challenge: Prove Holocaust really happened,” *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, Feb. 15, 1981, p. B-8).
32. ↪ Mel Mermelstein interrogation protocol (“Vernehmungs niederschrift”), given at the German General Consulate, Los Angeles, November 13, 1969, p. 9, para. 2. A copy of this German-language declaration is in the Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) archives, filed under: Zespol “Oswiadczenia,” Vol. 68, pp. 183-192 (Nr. inw. 156642).
33. ↪ Interestingly enough, Mermelstein claims in *By Bread Alone* (p. 242) that on his brief return to Munkacs after the war’s end he met with a number of men who had been with his father and brother at the Jaworzno camp, although evidently none supplied particulars clarifying their fate. The Auschwitz records obtained by IHR include no reference to a Fani Mermelstein born in 1900 (Mel’s mother). As already mentioned, inquiries to Auschwitz (by IHR) and to Arolsen (by Mermelstein) have yielded, so far as could be discovered, only such names and data as were supplied by Mermelstein.
34. ↪ M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, pp. 140-142, 146.
35. ↪ Mag. Irena Strzelecka, “Arbeitslager Gleiwitz I,” *Hefte von Auschwitz*, Nr. 14 (Oswiecim [Poland]: Verlag Staatliches Auschwitz-Museum, 1973). See especially pages 86, 92, 95, 98, 106, 188.
36. ↪ Deposition of Mel Mermelstein, October 23, 1967, p. 5. A copy of this Polish-language deposition is in the Auschwitz State Museum (PMO) archives, filed under: Zespol “Oswiadczenia,” Vol. 57, pp. 14-20. (An English-language translation is in the IHR archives.)
37. ↪ See also: M. Weber, “Buchenwald: Legend and Reality,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 405-417.
38. ↪ The Communist-run “International Auschwitz Committee” of Warsaw assisted “Comrade Mermelstein” in his legal fight against the IHR. See: *Information Bulletin of the International Auschwitz Committee*, Feb. 1981, quoted in *IHR Newsletter*, Oct.-Nov. 1981 p. 1, and, *Information Bulletin (Intl. Auschwitz Comm.)*, July-August 1981, quoted in *IHR Newsletter*, June 1982, p. 5.

39. [↗](#) E. Koch, "A Wall in Auschwitz, New York Post, February 9, 1987, p. 19, and, E. Koch, "Auschwitz Still Haunting the World," Staten Island (New York) Advance, February 23, 1987, pp. A1, A10.
40. [↗](#) Deposition of Mel Mermelstein, Oct. 23, 1967, p. 1. A copy is in the Auschwitz PMO archives.
41. [↗](#) Mermelstein interrogation protocol, given at the German General Consulate, Los Angeles, November 13, 1969, p. 1. ("keine Beschäftigung").
42. [↗](#) Mermelstein deposition, May 27, 1981, Los Angeles, transcript pp. 68, 77.
43. [↗](#) Deposition of Mel Mermelstein, November 1, 1989, reported by S. K. Farwell, in the case of M. Mermelstein vs. LSF, IHR, [Liberty Lobby](#), et al. (2nd case), transcript pages 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207.
44. [↗](#) T. Carlson, "The \$50,000 challenge: Prove Holocaust really happened," Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, Feb. 15, 1981, pp. A-1, B-8.
45. [↗](#) "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," The Journal of Historical Review, Jan.-Feb. 1995, pp. 23-24; see also: G. Raven, "Dramatic new Videotape Presentation Takes Aim at Key Holocaust Claim," The Journal of Historical Review, March-April 1993, pp. 8-13.
46. [↗](#) M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, pp. 123, 267.
47. [↗](#) "Auschwitz Deaths Reduced to a Million," Daily Telegraph (London), July 17, 1990; F. Piper, "The Number of Victims," in: Y. Gutman & M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), p. 71; see also the comment by R. Faurisson in The Journal of Historical Review, Jan.-Feb. 1995, p. 24.
48. [↗](#) Mermelstein deposition, May 27, 1981, Los Angeles, transcript pp. 188, 189.; This repulsive allegation has also been made by such poetic liars as Elie Wiesel. See: E. Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Discus/Avon books, 1969), pp. 41, 42, 43, 44, 79, 93.
49. [↗](#) Letter in the Jerusalem Post, intl. ed., August 24-30, 1980. Facsimile in the second, 1981 edition of Mermelstein's *By Bread Alone*, p. 270.
50. [↗](#) M. Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone*, p. 108. Likewise, on page 86 he castigates the leaders of the wartime Allied coalition — Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin — for their supposed indifference to the destruction of Europe's Jews.
51. [↗](#) See, for example, Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981), pp. 328-329. See also the detailed discussion of the WRB (Vrba-Wetzler) report in A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Regarding the testimony of Rudolf Vrba in the 1985 Zündel trial in Toronto, see the remarks by R. Faurisson in the Winter 1988-89 Journal, pp. 420-421.
52. [↗](#) Mermelstein deposition, May 27, 1981, Los Angeles, transcript p. 40.
53. [↗](#) M. Weber, "Jewish Soap," The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1991, pp. 217-227.
54. [↗](#) Samuel Gringauz in *Jewish Social Studies* (New York), January 1950, Vol. 12, p. 65.

Theodore J. O'Keefe worked as an Institute for Historical Review editor from 1986 until 1994. He led the IHR's research effort during the second Mermelstein lawsuit, devoting hundreds of hours without pay to uncovering and organizing the evidence. He served as chief editor of this Journal from 1988 until April 1992, and addressed the IHR Conferences of 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1992. Educated at Harvard University, he is the author of numerous published articles on historical and political subjects.

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Auschwitz: Facts and Legend

Robert Faurisson

At the beginning of 1940, Auschwitz was no more than a town of 13,000 population in German Upper Silesia. Then, in May of 1940, on the outskirts of Auschwitz, construction of a “transit camp” for 10,000 Polish prisoners was begun at the site of a former artillery barracks of the Polish army.

In the years that followed, and with the worsening of the war, Auschwitz thereupon became the center of a complex of nearly 40 camps and subsidiary camps, as well as the capital of a vast agricultural and industrial complex (including mines, petrochemical works, and munitions factories) where numerous prisoners, particularly Polish and Jewish prisoners, worked side by side with civilian workers. At the same time, or successively, Auschwitz was a prisoner-of-war camp, an important transit camp, a hospital camp, a concentration camp, and a camp of both forced and free laborers. It was never an “extermination camp” (a term invented by the Allies).

However, typhus, which was endemic in the population of Polish Jews and Russian prisoners of war, along with typhoid fever and other epidemics, wrought havoc within the concentration camp population, both in the camps proper and in the town of Auschwitz, even among the German physicians and the civilian population. And this in spite of drastic hygienic measures and a multiplicity of hospital buildings and facilities, equipped at times with the latest in German medical science. Thus it came about that over the total period of the camp’s existence – that is, from May 20, 1940 to January 18, 1945 – the epidemics, in combination to be sure with the terrible working conditions in that marshy area, and with hunger, heat and cold, led to the death of probably 150,000 prisoners.^[1]

The Auschwitz Rumor

As is usual in time of war and in wartime propaganda, many rumors sprang up in the wake of these tragic events. Above all toward the end of the war, and especially in Jewish circles outside of Poland, people began to spread tales to the effect that in Auschwitz the Germans were killing millions of prisoners systematically on orders from Berlin. According to these rumors, the Nazis had installed “death factories” for the Jews in particular; that they were dissecting prisoners alive (vivisection), or else burning them alive (in pits, in blast furnaces, or in crematories); or that, before burning them, they were gassing the Jews in chemical slaughterhouses called “gas chambers.” Here were revived some of the myths of the First World War.^[2]

The Quandary of the Soviet Liberators

Soviet forces occupied Auschwitz on January 27, 1945. What they found there was so contrary to what had been spread by propaganda that one may imagine they were left with mouths agape. Alone in its organization and in its sanitary facilities, so modern in the eyes of the Soviets, the

camp was the complete opposite of an “extermination camp.” Consequently, for several days the leading Soviet daily *Pravda* remained silent, and, for the moment, no Allied commission of inquiry was invited to determine, on the spot, the truth of Auschwitz. On the 1st of February, *Pravda* broke its silence, but only to put the following words in the mouth of a single prisoner:

The Hitlerites killed the children and the ill by means of gas, as well as the men and women who were unfit for work. They cremated the cadavers in special furnaces. There were twelve of these furnaces in the camp.

The official Soviet paper added that the number of deaths was reckoned at “thousands and thousands” (not millions). The next day, *Pravda*’s chief reporter, Jewish journalist Boris Polevoi, affirmed that the main method used by the Germans to exterminate their victims was ... electricity:[3]

[They utilized] an electric conveyor belt on which hundreds of persons could be electrocuted simultaneously; the dead bodies would then fall on to a belt driven slowly by a chain and in this way move on into a blast furnace.

Soviet propaganda was in disarray, and in its newsreels could show only the dead or dying whom the Germans had left behind in their retreat. And, as contemporary newsreels of the camp’s liberation reveal, there were also numerous live children, as well as adults in good health. Jewish propaganda then came to the aid of Soviet propaganda.



Robert Faurisson addresses the 12th IHR Conference, September 1994.

Jewish Propaganda at the End of 1944

In the spring of 1944, two Jewish escapees from Auschwitz had found refuge in Slovakia. There, with the aid of co-religionists, they began to put together a history of Auschwitz, Birkenau (subsidiary camp of Auschwitz), and Majdanek, three camps they described as “extermination camps.” The best known of these Jews was Walter Rosenberg, alias Rudolf Vrba, who is still alive today, residing in British Columbia, Canada. Their highly fanciful story then spread, always by way of Jewish circles, into Hungary, Switzerland, and finally to the United States. It took the form of a typewritten report published in the United States in November of 1944 by the War Refugee Board, under the official stamp of President Roosevelt. The War Refugee Board (WRB) owed its creation to Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (1891-1967), the Secretary of the Treasury who was later to become famous for the “Morgenthau Plan,” which, had it been followed by Roosevelt and Truman, would have resulted in the physical annihilation, after the war, of millions of Germans.

The WRB report served as the model for the official “truth” concerning Auschwitz. The Soviets took it as a pattern for their own official Commission report of May 6, 1945, which the Nuremberg Tribunal deemed to have “probative value.” Along with the Soviet Commission report on the Katyn massacre, the Tribunal took “judicial notice” of the Soviet report on Auschwitz, which meant that it could not be questioned. According to this report (Nuremberg document USSR-008), the Germans had killed more than four million people at Auschwitz, notably by gassing them with the insecticide known as “Zyklon B.” This official “truth,” at least regarding the number of victims, was to collapse in 1990.

The Confession of Rudolf Höss

On April 15, 1946, one of the three successive commanding officers of Auschwitz, Rudolf Höss (not to be confused with Rudolf Hess), “confessed” under oath before the Nuremberg judges and before reporters of the world press that during the time of his command, that is from May 20, 1940, to December 1, 1943, at least 2,500,000 prisoners in Auschwitz had been executed by gas, and that at least another 500,000 had died of famine and disease, thus making a total of at least 3,000,000 deaths during that period alone.[4] But not for a moment was Höss interrogated or cross-examined on the *material* specifics of the extraordinary facts he reported. After testifying at Nuremberg, he was turned over to the Poles. Under the supervision of his Communist jailers, he wrote a penciled confession in due and proper form, after which he was hanged at Auschwitz on April 16, 1947. Curiously, it was not until 1958 that a portion of this confession was made public, under the title *Kommandant in Auschwitz*. [5]

Physical-Chemical Impossibilities

The extremely vague and hurried description of the operation of gassing prisoners, as provided by Höss in his written confession, is impossible for both physical and chemical reasons. An execution gassing is not to be confused with a suicidal or accidental gassing: in an execution gassing, the aim is to kill without being killed or poisoned.

Zyklon B is an insecticide with a hydrocyanic acid base that has been widely used since 1922, and is still in use today. It is extremely dangerous. It adheres to surfaces. It is difficult to dispel. It is explosive. In a few states in the USA, hydrogen cyanide gas is used to execute prisoners who have been condemned to death. An execution gas chamber is necessarily very sophisticated, and the procedure is protracted and dangerous. But in his confession, Höss said that the work crew charged with removing 2,000 corpses at a time from a gas chamber entered the area as soon as a ventilator had been turned on, and set about their Herculean task while eating and smoking; that is to say, if we understand correctly, without even a gas mask. Impossible. No one could have gone into an ocean of hydrocyanic acid like that and handled thousands of cyanide-contaminated corpses, which were untouchable because they were impregnated with a highly lethal poison that can kill on contact. The task would have been impossible, even using gas masks with a special filter for hydrogen cyanide, because the filters could not have stood up under the heavy breathing caused by a physical effort of even feeble intensity.



For decades this room in the Auschwitz I camp has been shown to tens of thousands of tourists yearly as a execution “gas chamber” in its “original state.” In January 1995 the prominent French weekly “L’Express” acknowledged that “everything is false” about this “gas chamber,” which is actually a postwar reconstruction.

A Response by 34 Historians

In the issues of the French daily *Le Monde* of December 29, 1978, and of January 16, 1979, I briefly set forth the reasons why, knowing the locations and the alleged procedure followed, I considered that the Auschwitz gassings were technically impossible. On February 21, 1979, again in *Le Monde*, there appeared a declaration by 34 French historians that concluded as fol-

lows: “We need not ask ourselves how such a mass murder was *technically* possible. It was technically possible since it took place.” In my opinion, the “exterminationists,” as I call them, at that point signed their capitulation. From the point of view of science and of history, the myth of the Nazi gas chambers had received a fatal blow. No exterminationist work since then (or before) has provided any explanation of the matter, most especially not the work by Jean-Claude Pressac that is fallaciously titled *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*.^[6] To begin with, the time is past when historians dare to claim authenticity for “gas chambers” at Auschwitz or elsewhere that are presented to tourists as being “in its original condition,” “in a restored state,” or “in a state of ruin” (ruins can be most eloquent). The alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz were simply cold rooms for the storage of cadavers awaiting cremation, just as the plans which I discovered in 1976 attest.

‘Show Me or Draw Me ...’

In March of 1992, I issued a challenge in Stockholm directed to the world at large: “Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!” I stated explicitly that I was not interested in a building reputed to contain such a gas chamber, nor in a section of a wall, nor in a door, nor in hair, nor in shoes. I wanted to see a complete representation of the weapon of the crime, of its technical specifications, of its operation. I added that, if it is alleged that the Germans had destroyed the weapon, then someone would have to make me a drawing of it. I refused to believe in a “material reality” devoid of any material representation.

The Holocaust Memorial Museum

On August 30, 1994, I visited the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. There I found no physical representation of the magical gas chamber. I then asked Michael Berenbaum, the Museum’s Research Director, in the presence of four witnesses in his office, to explain this anomaly to me. After becoming violently angry, he finally replied that “the decision had been made not to present any physical representation of a Nazi gas chamber”! He did not bother to mention that in the Museum there was an artistic model of Birkenau’s Crematory II, with its supposed “gas chamber.” He knew that the model in question, which for that matter he didn’t reproduce in his guide book of the Museum,^[7] was just an artistic creation that bore no relation to reality.

The Exterminationist Fiasco

On that occasion I reminded Berenbaum of some events that had been disastrous for the exterminationist cause:

In 1968, French-Jewish historian Olga Wormser-Migot acknowledged in her thesis that there was a “problem with the gas chambers.” She also wrote that the Auschwitz I main camp was “without a gas chamber” (notwithstanding the “gas chamber” there visited by millions of tourists).^[8]

In 1983, a British author, even though he was a defender of the extermination legend, revealed how Rudolf Höss, prior to his testimony before the Nuremberg Tribunal, had been tortured by Jewish members of British Military Security, and had confessed only after being kicked and punched, exposed to cold and deprived of sleep.^[9]

In 1985, at the first trial of Ernst Zündel in Toronto, both the number one prosecution witness, Rudolf Vrba, and the number one historian of the exterminationist thesis, Raul Hilberg, com-

pletely broke down under cross-examination by defense attorney Douglas Christie, with my assistance.
[10]

In 1988, the American Jewish historian Arno Mayer, albeit while asserting his belief in the genocide and in the gas chambers, wrote: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable ... Besides, from 1942 to 1945, certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes [starvation, disease, sickness, and overwork] than by 'unnatural' ones." [11]

In 1992, Yehuda Bauer, a professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a prominent Holocaust historian, authoritatively reassessed the role of the well known "Wannsee Conference" of January 20, 1942. The often-repeated claim that the decision to exterminate the Jews was made at that meeting is "silly," he said. [12]

In 1993, Pressac estimated the number of deaths at Auschwitz (Jews and non-Jews) at a total of 775,000, and, then, in 1994, at a figure somewhere between 630,000 and 710,000. [13]

In that same year, Professor Christopher Browning, contributor to the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, stated: "Höss was always a very weak and confused witness." He then had the gall to add: "The revisionists use him all the time for this reason, in order to try to discredit the memory of Auschwitz as a whole." [14]



Jean-Claude Pressac

Until the beginning of 1990 any visitor to Auschwitz could see, inscribed in 19 different languages on 19 metal plaques on the large monument of Birkenau, words proclaiming that four million people had died in the camp. But around April of 1990 those plaques were removed by the Auschwitz Museum authorities, who still today do not know what figure to put in place of the numerical lie before which the world's most prominent figures, including Pope John Paul II, have come to bow their heads.

In support of their thesis, the revisionists have at their disposal the reports of three different experts (Fred Leuchter, Germar Rudolf, Walter Lüftl) and even the beginnings of a Polish expert's

The Daily Telegraph

ATROCITIES IN SERBIA.

700,000 VICTIMS.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.

ROME, Monday (6 45 p.m.).

The Governments of the Allies have secured evidence and documents, which will shortly be published, proving that Austria and Bulgaria have been guilty of horrible crimes in Serbia, where the massacres committed were worse than those perpetrated by Turkey in Armenia.

The Italian Government has to-day published the testimony of two Italian prisoners who escaped from Austria through Serbia, and took refuge in Roumania. What these two prisoners saw and learned, however, was nothing compared with the evidence supplied by the Serbians themselves, and communicated by M. Pasteris to the Italian Government and to the Pope. According to reliable information, the victims of the Austrians and Bulgarians exceeded 700,000. Whole districts, with towns and villages, have been depopulated by massacres. Women, children, and old men were shut up in the churches by the Austrians, and either stabbed with the bayonet or suffocated by means of asphyxiating gas. In one church in Belgrade 3,000 women, children, and old men were thus suffocated.

Serbian refugees, not on oath, have stated that they were present at a distribution of bombs and machines for producing asphyxiating gas to the Bulgarians by the Germans and Austrians, who instructed the former how to utilize these instruments to exterminate the Serbian population. The Bulgarians used this method at Nish, Piro, Prirend, and Negotin, the inhabitants of which places died of suffocation. Similar means were employed by the Austrians in several parts of Montenegro.

During the First World War, Allied propagandists charged that Austrians and Bulgarians (allies of Germany) killed Serb civilians by gassing them in churches. This article (facsimile) from the London *Daily Telegraph*, March 22, 1916, p. 7, tells readers that 3,000 women, children and old men were gassed in one church in Belgrade alone.

report, whereas the exterminationists still do not dare to seek an expert report on the alleged weapon of the crime.

The Jewish survivors of Auschwitz and, in particular, the “children of Auschwitz,” that is, those who were born in the camp or who spent their early years there, are living proof that Auschwitz never could have been an “extermination camp.”

Not only was there never any order, plan, or trace of any directive or budget for an undertaking as enormous as the systematic extermination of the Jews would have been, not only is there no autopsy report in existence establishing the death of even a single prisoner by poison gas, or an official expert’s report on the weapon used in the crime, but (and despite what some authors of best sellers would have us believe) there is not even a single *witness* of the gas chambers.

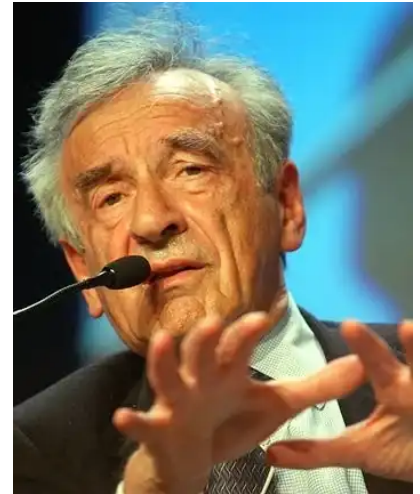
Elie Wiesel, in his autobiographical testimony *Night*, published in 1958, does not mention the gas chambers of Auschwitz even once. He says that the Jews were exterminated in huge fires or in crematory furnaces! In January of 1945 the Germans gave him and his father as well the choice of leaving for the heart of Germany with them or of waiting on the spot for the Soviets. After due consideration, the father and son decided to flee with their German “exterminators” rather than wait for their Soviet liberators. All this is clearly spelled out in *Night*, and needs only to be read with attention.^[15]

The Auschwitz Lie

In 1980, I announced: “Now, please pay heed! Not one of the 60 [in French] words of the sentence I am going to pronounce is motivated by a political opinion: The alleged genocide of the Jews and the alleged Hitler gas chambers form one and the same historical lie that has permitted a gigantic political-financial swindle in which the principal beneficiaries are the State of Israel and international Zionism, and the principal victims the German people but not their rulers – and the entire Palestinian people.”

I do not see a single word in that declaration that I would withdraw today, in spite of the physical aggressions, in spite of the lawsuits, in spite the fines I have suffered since 1978, and in spite of the imprisonment, exile, or persecution of so many revisionists. Historical revisionism is the great intellectual adventure of the end of this century. I have but one regret: not being able, within the limits of this article, to find the needed space to render homage to the hundred other revisionist authors who, from the Frenchman Paul Rassinier on through the American Arthur Butz, the German Wilhelm Stäglich, the Italian Carlo Mattogno, and the Spaniard Enrique Aynat, have added so many works of striking merit to the historical reality of the Second World War.

One final word: the revisionists are neither deniers nor persons animated by sinister purposes. They seek to tell what has happened and not what has not happened. They are matter-of-fact. What they report is good news. They continue to propose a public debate in the full light of day, even though, up to now, they have been answered principally by insults, by violence, by the un-



Elie Wiesel. In his autobiographical work “*Night*” he relates that in January 1945, as a prisoner at Auschwitz, he and his father were given the choice of remaining behind in the camp to await the imminent arrival of Soviet liberators, or to leave with their German captors. After discussing the matter, father and son decided to leave with their “exterminators.”

just force of the law, or else by vague political, moral, or philosophical considerations. Among historians, the legend of Auschwitz must give way to the factual truth.

— January 11, 1995

Notes

[1] This figure of 150,000 deaths perhaps equals the number of those killed in what has been called the world's greatest "crematory for the living" – that of the bombing of Dresden, "Florence on the Elbe," in February 1945 by British and American airmen.

[2] During the First World War the Allies accused the Germans of using churches as gas chambers and of operating cadaver factories. On the first point, see "Atrocities in Serbia. 700,000 Victims," *The Daily Telegraph* (London), March 22, 1916, p. 7. This same paper reported similar charges during the Second World War. See: "Germans Murder 700,000 Jews in Poland. Traveling Gas Chambers," *The Daily Telegraph*, June 25, 1942, p. 5. (See also: R. Faurisson, "A Request for Additional Information on the Myth of the 'Gassing' of the Serbs in the First World War," Summer 1991 *Journal*, pp. 254-255.)

[3] Report by B. Polevol, *Pravda*, Feb. 2, 1945, p. 4. I first learned of this article while doing research in 1979 in the National Archives, Suitland (Maryland) branch, when I came across a brief report from the *Washington* (DC) *Daily News* of Feb. 2, 1945, pp. 2, 35 ("'Ageless, Sexless Ghosts' Rescued From Murder Mill," United Press dispatch by Henry Shapiro from Moscow), which was based, more or less, on the *Pravda* article.

[4] International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (IMT "blue series"), Nuremberg: 1947-1949, Vol. 11, pp. 414-415.

[5] Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1958. To his shame, the person responsible for this publication was Martin Broszat.

[6] Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989).

On the work of Pressac, see the reviews and critical responses that have appeared in this *Journal*: M. Weber in Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer 1990), pp. 231 – 237; C. Mattogno in Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter 1990-91), pp. 461-485; R. Faurisson in Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 25-66, and in Vol 11, No. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 133-175; A. Butz in Vol. 13, No. 3, (May-June 1993), pp. 23-37; S. Thion in Vol. 14, No. 4 (July-August 1994, pp. 28-39.

[7] M. Berenbaum, *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust As Told in the US Holocaust Memorial Museum* (Boston: Little, 1993), pp. 137-143.

[8] O. Wormser-Migot, *Le Systeme concentrationnaire nazi* (1933-1945) (Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), pp. 157, 541-545.

Eight days after this essay was written, the prominent French weekly *L'Express* acknowledged that, as Robert Faurisson had said "at the end of the 70s," "everything is false" about the Auschwitz I "gas chamber" that for decades has been shown to tens of thousands of tourists yearly. (See "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, p. 23.)

[9] Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death* (London: Arrow, 1983), acknowledgments page and pp. 234-238.

[10] Barbara Kulaszka, compiler and editor, *Did Six Million Really Die?: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian "False News" Trial of Ernst Zündel, 1988* (Toronto: Samisdat Publishers, 1992); see the index listings "Vrba, Rudolf" and "Hilberg, Raul."

[11] Arno Mayer, *The "Final Solution" in History* (New York: Pantheon, 1988), pp. 362, 365.

[12] "Wannsee's importance rejected," Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch, *The Canadian Jewish News*, January 30, 1992.

[13] J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz* (CNRS editions, 1993), p. 148; J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (München: Piper Verlag, 1994), p. 202.

"From 600,000 to 800,000," wrote J.-C. Pressac in "La Technique des chambres à gaz," an article included in *La Déportation: Le Système concentrationnaire nazi*, a book published under the direction of François Bedarida (BDIC: 1995), p. 196.

[14] Christopher Hitchens, "Whose History is It?," *Vanity Fair* (New York), December 1993, p. 117.

[15] E. Wiesel, *Night* (Avon/Discus pb. edition), pp. 41, 42, 43, 44, 79, 93. (French edition: *La Nuit*, éditions de Minuit, 1958, pp. 128-130). In the German edition (*Die Nacht zu begraben, Elischa* [Ullstein, 1962]), the word "crematory," "crematories" or "crematory ovens" has been systematically replaced with the term "gas chamber" or "gas chambers" (in German: *Gaskammer[n]*.) Embarrassed about the gas chambers, Wiesel wrote in his 1994 memoir: "Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination." English language version: *All Rivers Run to the Sea* (New York: Knopf, 1995), p. 74. The words that follow show that Wiesel does not believe the "testimonies" of Filip Müller and others like him who, supposedly, have described what happened in the gas chambers.

New Attacks Against Arthur Butz for Revisionist Web Site

Ever since the publication two decades ago of his pioneering revisionist study, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Northwestern University teacher Arthur Butz has been something of an embarrassment for the highly regarded private educational institution.

Recently the Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering has again come under attack for presenting his dissident view of the Holocaust extermination story on his personal Internet “home page” Web site, which he set up using technology the University provides to all faculty members and students to link them to the Internet.

At the forefront of the hateful campaign have been two major Jewish-Zionist groups, the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Anti-Defamation League. Joining them has been the local Hillel Jewish student organization and a Marxist group, the International Socialist Organization. On January 6, five ISO activists demonstrated and distributed leaflets outside a class taught by Butz. “A stalwart of the socialist philosophy is to oppose fascism,” said ISO leader Joel Feinman,” and we consider Butz’ ideas particularly fascist.”

Northwestern officials, while denouncing Butz’ views, have steadfastly refused to curtail his right to express them on the Internet through the University-run “service provider.” “I believe his views are monstrous,” says University President Henry Bienen, “but I don’t want to set myself up as a censor of his views. Who decides what’s distasteful?” He added: “We cannot take action based on the content of what Mr. Butz says regarding the Holocaust without undermining the vital principle of intellectual freedom that our policy serves to protect.”

Butz has been a member of the engineering department faculty at Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois) since 1966. He received tenure — in effect, a lifetime contract with the University — two years before the publication in 1976 of his classic debunking of the Holocaust story, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (published in the United States by the Institute for Historical Review).

Media Attention

The Butz-Northwestern furor received considerable media attention. A detailed front-page report in the Chicago Tribune (Dec. 29), which was dismissively hostile to Butz, also appeared in other newspapers around the country. Similarly, an Associated Press report was published in a number of daily papers. Reports appeared in The New York Times (Jan. 10), The Washington Post (Jan. 12), and in the University student paper, The Daily Northwestern, as well as on the CNN cable television network.

Butz and his place at Northwestern was the focus of the February 6 broadcast of “Chicago Tonight,” a program of local television station WTTW. Officials of the Anti-Defamation League, the Wiesenthal Center and the local Jewish Federation described Butz and his views as “lies,”

“hate,” “malicious intent,” “anti-Semitic,” “group harassment” and “venom.” University spokesman Alan Cabbage calmly disagreed with the Jewish community leaders, though, explicitly stating that Butz’s writings are not “hate speech.”

If Butz' views were really as meritless as his critics insist, Princeton University historian Arno Mayer would not have specifically cited *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* as he did in his 1989 study, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The “Final Solution” in History*. Prof. Mayer, who is Jewish, embraced some of the most important of the arguments made in Butz' revisionist study. He acknowledged, for example, that most of the Jews who died at Auschwitz were victims of typhus and other “natural” causes, not gas chambers. “From 1942 to 1945,” wrote Mayer, “certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes than by 'unnatural ones'.”

Jump in Web Site Visits

Several of the newspaper articles about the Butz-Northwestern fracas cited Butz' Web site address, encouraging many who were otherwise unfamiliar with Holocaust revisionism to check out his home page. This in turn contributed to a dramatic increase in the number of daily “hits” or visits received by the linked Web site of IHR Journal associate editor Greg Raven. In January the number of Raven Web site “hits” jumped to between one and two thousand daily.

An Angry Fellow Faculty Member

Adding to the Northwestern controversy was a much-discussed decision by the University not to rehire an Adjunct Instructor who insisted on denouncing Butz and Holocaust revisionism in his “Engineering Design and Entrepreneurship” class. In December the University let its contract expire with Sheldon Epstein, who had been teaching at the school for two years.

Epstein, who is Jewish, said he believes his contract was not renewed because he disregarded the advice of the Engineering School dean not to present his anti-revisionist views in his electrical engineering course. Epstein had also complained to the administration about Butz' Internet postings. (University officials cited other reasons for the decision to drop him.)

“I am proud of who I am,” said Epstein in justification. “I'm not ashamed of my heritage ... Am I supposed to stand in front of bright young students and not tell them about their history? Is that what the university wants?”

Butz, who has been a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee since 1980, has been careful to abide by the University's rules, and has never brought up his views on the Holocaust issue in any of his own classes.

In May 1994 a student-organized presentation by Butz on Holocaust revisionism was cancelled by school officials just two hours before it was scheduled to begin. (See “University Officials Block Talk by Prof. Butz,” July-Aug. 1994 Journal, pp. 42-43.

German Authorities 'Index' Two IHR Leaflets

A German government censorship agency has “indexed” as “dangerous to youth” translations of two leaflets published by the Institute for Historical Review. At the request of Germany’s Interior Ministry, the “Federal Review Agency for Literature Dangerous to Youth” (Bundes prüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften) on October 17 and 18, 1996, “indexed” unauthorized Internet translations of two IHR leaflets: “The Holocaust: Let’s Hear Both Sides,” by Mark Weber, and “The Liberation of the Camps: Facts versus Lies,” by Theodore O’Keefe.

The Bonn agency generally uses its “indexing” authority to sharply restrict sales and advertising of pornography. In the case of these IHR leaflets, “indexing” may have only symbolic impact, because these two flawed German translation texts exist only on the “Zündelsite,” the US-based Internet Web page offering writings of German-Canadian publicist Ernst Zündel and other material.

Justifications

In detailed statements justifying its decision, the Bonn agency declares that the contents of the two leaflets are “obviously suited to socially-ethically disorient children and youth.” Referring to Section 130 of the German Criminal Code (“popular incitement”), the agency notes that it is “a punishable crime to deny the countless murders of inmates in Third Reich concentration and extermination camps.”

This restriction on free speech does not involve a politically motivated suppression of legitimate opinion, the agency statement contends, but rather “strives to protect the honor of the victims of National Socialism as well as their descendents [Nachfahren].” In spite of a guaranteed basic right to express “the assertion that there were no Third Reich gassings of Jews,” the Bonn agency’s justification continued, the “gravity of the act of Holocaust denial...makes it necessary to give priority to protecting youth” by suppressing these leaflets.

Misrepresentations

However, and as any careful reader of the text in question can easily determine for himself, the key justifications given by the agency for this particular “indexing” decision are simply not true.

With regard to Weber’s leaflet, the censorship agency declares:

On seven pages the author explains his thesis that, contrary to all previously accepted historiographic findings, there were no gassings of Jews or other persecuted minorities during the Third Reich. In this context the author mixes some undisputed details of historical research with simple assertions contrary to historical findings — for example, the fact that with regard to the Final Solution no written Führer order has been

found, and that all the inmates of Auschwitz other extermination camps in the east perished entirely of diseases and malnutrition.

This mixture of accurate facts and freely invented particulars culminates with the conclusion that the Holocaust is an invention of world Jewry to morally and financially blackmail the Germans according to the motto “There is no business like Shoah business.” This keeps the entire truth from coming to light, so that all that the public learns is the “conventional extermination history.”

In fact, Weber simply does not make the statements attributed to him here. No where does he claim or suggest that “all the inmates of Auschwitz other extermination camps in the east perished entirely of diseases and malnutrition.” Weber does not claim or assert that “the Holocaust is an invention of world Jewry to morally and financially blackmail the Germans,” nor does he even contend that “there were no gassings of Jews or other persecuted minorities during the Third Reich.”

With regard to the “Shoah business” slogan, what Weber actually wrote is this:

For many Jews, the Holocaust has become both a flourishing business and a kind of new religion, as noted Jewish author and newspaper publisher Jacobo Timerman points out in his book, *The Longest War*. He reports that many Israelis, using the word Shoah, which is Hebrew for Holocaust, joke that “There’s no business like Shoah business.”

The Bonn agency similarly misrepresents the content of O’Keefe’s leaflet, which it finds “could promote a mistaken orientation among young readers.” Specifically, the agency declares:

On eight pages the author explains his thesis that during the Third Reich the gassing of Jews and other persecuted minorities could not have taken place, and comes to the conclusion that the deaths in Auschwitz and other concentration camps were the result of typhus epidemics and other diseases, which in turn were primarily the result of Allied air attacks; that the brutal attacks in the camps were in reality the work of fellow inmates, and that the supposed gas chambers were used either to bath the inmates or for delousing clothing.

In fact, O’Keefe simply does not make the sweeping statements attributed to him here. He makes no mention whatsoever of conditions in Auschwitz, but instead confines himself to conditions in such western camps as Dachau and Buchenwald, which were liberated by American and British troops. O’Keefe does not contend or argue that “gassing of Jews and other persecuted minorities could not have taken place.”

With regard to mistreatment of camp inmates, what O’Keefe actually wrote is this: “US Army investigators, working at Buchenwald and other camps, quickly ascertained what was common knowledge among veteran inmates: that the worst offenders, the cruelest denizens of the camps, were not the guards but the prisoners themselves.” To substantiate this (accurate) statement, O’Keefe went on quote from an official US Army report, and to cite a postwar statement by a former high-ranking US Army officer.

Official Disapproval

The Institute for Historical Review and its *Journal of Historical Review* have a peculiar status in Germany. On the one hand, the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, a leading German

academic research center, as well as the Bavarian State Library, have been faithful (and paying) subscribers for years.

On the other hand, some German authorities view the IHR with suspicion, if not disapproval. In April 1995, Germany's Interior Ministry issued a critical but ambiguously worded official statement on the Institute and its work. (The complete text, with commentary, is given in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 Journal, pp. 34-35.) That same year, the Bavarian State Interior Ministry's "constitutional protection" office issued a 38-page booklet, entitled Revisionismus, on "right-extremist revisionism." It included a disparaging but rather ambiguously worded section on the Institute.

In early 1996 the public prosecutor's office in Mannheim announced that it was investigating the Institute for Historical Review. According to the newsletter of the German Information Office in New York (The Week in Germany, Feb. 23, 1996, p. 7), the IHR was suspected

of distributing prohibited materials in Germany via the Internet. The institute, the prosecutors' office believes, has made available publications via the Internet that attempt to refute the genocide of the European Jews carried out by the Nazi regime... The institute also faces charges of incitement for its Internet activities.

The IHR was never given formal notice of this investigation, and nothing seems to have come of it.

More recently, the Berlin Police sent a letter dated May 22, 1997, to Andreas Röhler, publisher of the Berlin dissident journal Sleipnir. Citing The Journal of Historical Review, it summoned Röhler to police headquarters for questioning as part of a preliminary official inquiry on a charge of "popular incitement."

Institute Letter to German Authorities

Last year the Institute for Historical Review received letters from German authorities announcing that they were considering "indexing" Web site translations of two IHR leaflets. In the following letter of September 11, 1996, to the "Federal Supervisory Office for Literature Dangerous to Youth" in Bonn, IHR Director Mark Weber responded:

We acknowledge receipt of your two registered air mail letters of 20 August 1996 with the accompanying copies of letters of 13 August from the Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (Federal Ministry for Family, Senior, Women and Youth Affairs). These letters announce that the Ministry is seeking to "index" German-language translations of two essays, "The Holocaust: Let's Hear Both Sides," by Mark Weber, and "The Liberation of the Camps: Facts versus Lies," by Theodore J. O'Keefe, both of which are on the "Zündelsite" internet Web page.

Regrettably, insufficient notice was provided for us to respond appropriately to your letters and the indexing applications. You informed us that we had one week from the date of mailing to express objections to these applications. Your letters were postmarked on the 21st of August, and arrived here on the 30th. Thus, we received your letters after the legal time period in which we could respond had already passed.

Please be advised that the German-language texts under consideration here are translations that were neither made nor authorized by the Institute for Historical Review or by the authors. We first learned of these two German-language texts from your let-

ters of 20 August, and we have still not read them. It is thus possible that the Federal Ministry's applications for "indexing" are based on inaccurate translations for which we cannot be held responsible.

We completely reject the Ministry's reason (Begründung) for the "indexing" applications. We reject the assertion that these essays might "socially-ethically... disorient" young readers, or that they "propagate National Socialist or right extremist" views. These essays do not "deny National Socialist crimes," nor do they seek to "rehabilitate" the National Socialist regime. Interestingly, no specific evidence or citation is provided to justify any of these assertions, or to show just how these texts might be "harmful" to youth.

The "Zündelsite" internet Web page on which these two essays are made available is located in the United States, where such writings are entirely legal and enjoy constitutional protection. Every German who reads these "Zündelsite" texts must take the initiative to do so, rather like making a long-distance telephone call to the United States to listen to a pre-recorded message. For German authorities to attempt, in effect, to ban these items in the United States is absurd, if not outrageous.

Since its founding in 1978, the Institute for Historical Review has steadfastly opposed bigotry of all kinds in its efforts to promote greater public understanding of key chapters of history. Consistent with this, we are very concerned about Germany's legal persecution of persons who express dissident views about certain historical questions. Germany is one of the few countries that punishes those who express dissident or revisionist views of the Second World War, and in particular about the wartime fate of Europe's Jews. Most notably, Germans are fined or imprisoned for disputing aspects of the Holocaust extermination story.

The Ministry's "indexing" applications insultingly suggest that German authorities do not trust the people they represent, or that Germans lack the intelligence or maturity to evaluate historical issues for themselves. As the French philosopher Claude Adrien Helvétius (1715-1771) wrote: "To limit the press is to insult a nation. To prohibit reading of certain books is to declare the inhabitants to be either fools or slaves."

The justifications offered by the Ministry to suppress these writings echo the arguments of censors throughout the ages. For many people around the world, the efforts by German authorities to suppress revisionist writings call to mind the suppression of politically undesirable writings during the Third Reich era.

We believe that Germans should have the same right to judge historical issues, and to express their views about them, as citizens of, for example, Sweden, Britain, Turkey, Pakistan, Italy, Russia, and the United States.

We trust that in spite of the impossible time limit imposed on us to respond to your letters, you will give respectful consideration to this communication.

Switzerland in the Grip of the 'Traditional Enemy'

Bernhard Schaub

Our country is today involved in the greatest foreign policy crisis since the Second World War. It faces a powerful enemy who, paradoxically, hardly anyone dares to name because in the western world he enjoys a kind of state protection, and because he portrays itself in the image of the eternally persecuted. In this situation, the blackmailer has been able to appear as the poor, persecuted victim, and to take advantage of most people's good nature and sense of fair play.

How could it have come to this? To recapitulate a few things: In 1991 the Swiss confederation celebrated its 700th anniversary. On this occasion there appeared in the year book (Jahrbuch) of Migros, Switzerland's largest chain store, an interview with labor union secretary Ruth Dreifuss. At the time this Jewish woman, and a former Zionist youth movement member, was not very well known. In this interview she expressed herself with disarming openness about our country's future. She said that, as far as she was concerned, it is not important whether Switzerland survives as a sovereign country, but that, in any case, she certainly wishes to see Switzerland as a colorful country, that is of people of mixed race with many mixed marriages. A short time later Dreifuss was appointed, under unusual circumstances, to a high-level post on the governing Federal Council (Bundesrat).

Then came a bustle of activity, most notably the introduction of a so-called anti-racism law, which makes it a crime to "deny or whitewash the genocide," and a campaign to encourage guilt feelings among the Swiss regarding their role during the Second World War.

It should be kept in mind that Switzerland stayed out of the conflict as a neutral country, even though during the war years it was completely surrounded by Axis countries. For this small mountainous country without natural resources, import and export is a matter of survival — and naturally this was true during the war as well. Among the goods routinely traded were military supplies and gold. Everywhere this has always been the case, and it's not likely to change much in the future. There was no reason under international law why Switzerland should have stopped its trade with the Third Reich.

As it had in earlier times of war, Switzerland once again took seriously its role as a humanitarian country. The International Committee of the Red Cross, headquartered in Geneva, was very active everywhere it was permitted to operate. Some 300,000 refugees were given shelter in Switzerland, of whom almost 30,000 were Jews. By percentage of population this was far more than any other country.

But let us return to Federal Council member Dreifuss. She and her Social Democratic Party, with the help of the largely cooperative or coordinated media, did not tire of maligning Switzerland. At the same time, and parallel with this, Jewish circles in the United States began a massive campaign of accusations against Switzerland, with fantastic demands for money. At this same time, a Jewish woman, May Kunin, was coincidentally named as the US ambassador to Switzerland. In-

ternational Jewish community leaders Edgar Bronfman, Israel Singer and Avraham Burg joined in, increasing the pressure on Switzerland to such an extent that Federal Council president Jean-Pascal Delamuraz spoke of a campaign of “blackmail,” and the Swiss ambassador in the United States, Carlo Jagmetti, even referred, in a confidential paper, to this as a “war.” (Jagmetti promptly resigned, and Delamuraz was condemned to silence.)

Even though some resistance to this campaign has been developing around the out-spoken businessman and parliamentary deputy Christoph Blocher, these recent developments suggest that very probably Switzerland will submit to the pressure and pay up.

How was all this possible? The reason is quite simple. All discussions of this matter are based on two axiomatic premises, and an associated conclusion:

First, the Third Reich gassed six million Jews,

Second, so many people can't be killed without the neighboring countries taking notice, and

Third, therefore the Swiss must have known and thereby are also co-guilty.

While a number of revisionist historians have effectively discredited the first premise, recently two prominent Swiss historians of contemporary history have specifically repudiated the conclusion: Prof. J. R. Salis and Prof. E. Bonjour confirm that knowledgeable Swiss authorities had no solid evidence of any mass extermination before the end of the war (*Recht und Freiheit*, Oct. 2, 1995; *Thurgauer Zeitung*, June 2, 1997). [See also: Arthur R. Butz, “Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, pp. 371-405.]

But to say such a thing can bring a thinking person into trouble with the law: if the third sentence is not correct, the first or second premise must not be true. The second cannot be doubted because it corresponds with basic common sense. Logically the Allied secret services would have promptly learned of mass gassings, and the Allied political leaders certainly would not have ignored such an opportunity for propaganda against Germany. Therefore the first premise must be dubious. But that's something no one dares to think because it's not permitted. As a result, Frau Dreifuss can claim with no fear of contradiction that Switzerland's wartime Federal Council “knew that Jews were being annihilated” (*Nouveau Quotidien*, May 9, 1995). Hardly anyone dares seriously to contradict this, much less to make the revisionist argument in a forceful way.

In this catastrophic situation, which points up Switzerland's laughable and humiliating subordination to world Jewry, the question arises: why now, more than half a century after the events in question?

In answering this question, it should be stressed that this campaign is concerned with something quite different than historical justice. Accordingly, the accusations are not made against specific individuals or institutions, but rather involve a propaganda campaign against an entire country. Moreover, it should be noted, the accusations are not made by a foreign country or government, but rather entirely by individual persons and private institutions (especially the World Jewish Congress), which, under international law, our federal government is under no obligation even to answer. To the contrary, the Swiss government would be justified in formally calling on Washington to curtail the impertinent Senator Alphonse D'Amato. But nothing like that is happening.

If it's not historical justice that our adversaries are concerned about, what is it?

Switzerland is in some ways a troublesome country. It is the world's only direct democracy, which means that our government must submit every major decision or policy to a referendum of the people. This is what Swiss people understand by freedom, and why the half-historical, half-mystical figure of Wilhelm Tell is a national symbol.

Switzerland is also a neutral country, a status rooted in an ancient conception of self that goes back to the sacred national figure Niklaus von Flüe. In the 15th century this mystic gave this piece of advice to his warlike Swiss compatriots: "Don't involve yourself in foreign affairs. But if someone attacks you, defend yourselves bravely." Since that time the idea of armed neutrality has been a basic Swiss principle.

These two basic principles of the Swiss Confederation help explain why Switzerland has not joined any international organizations. The Swiss have rejected membership in the United Nations organization, NATO, and the European Union because they fear a loss of sovereignty and do not want to send their men to war on behalf of foreign powers. At the same time no one can accuse Switzerland of narrow-minded nationalism. Alongside the majority German-speaking population, people of French and Italian culture live here unthreatened and with complete equal rights. It is no wonder that prominent thinkers and influential statesmen time and again have cited Switzerland as a model for European unification. Recently, for example, the deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the German Bundestag, Heiner Geissler, said: "Switzerland is a prototype for what the European Union should look like politically" (Brückenbauer, March 5, 1997).

It seems paradoxical, but therein lies the deeper reason for the on-going campaign against Switzerland: it is a fight against the Swiss idea. And one must remember that this idea is based on a very solid foundation. Our country may be geographically small, but it is the seventh most important industrial country in Europe, and one of the world's most important financial centers.

If such a country defies what is called the "New World Order," then in spite of its apparent small size it is a factor of intellectual and economic importance to be taken seriously in the calculation of the "one worlders."

This "New World Order" is not to be directly democratic, nor will it respect developed cultures. To the contrary, it will be, as Winston Churchill once warned, "an authoritarian, almighty world order" (Speeches of Winston Churchill, New York, 1974). As the founder of the Paneuropa Union, Count Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, spelled out in his book, *Praktischer Idealismus* ("Practical Idealism"; Vienna/Leipzig, 1925), its population will consist of a "Eurasian-Negroid mixed race."

This "one world" will also require a common spiritual foundation, a religious basis. According to an official of the Canadian B'nai B'rith organization, Ian J. Kagedan, this will be the Holocaust faith (Toronto Star, Nov. 26, 1991). It is characteristic that the term for the alleged mass gassing of Jews is a Greek word that comes from the language of the ancient religions.

Thus, this truly "New World Order" will be: one world, with one government, one (mixed) race, ruled by one "chosen" people, one god (Yahweh), and one cult — the Holocaust.

The Switzerland idea is the antithesis of this, and therefore must be destroyed. To accomplish this, bombs are not necessary. It will suffice to discredit the Swiss idea in the world, and among the Swiss themselves — to disparage it so that people will reject it and turn to the arms of the "New World Order."

To morally destroy an adversary, nothing works better than to accuse him of complicity with the Third Reich. This task was taken up by Senator D'Amato as the instrument of the New York Zionists. Today the same tried and true method is being used against Switzerland that for years has successfully worked against Germany. Accusations without basis are made according to the notion that people are more inclined to accept a big lie than a small one. At the same time the claim is made that these accusations can be proven with countless documents. Eventually the public begins to believe that such documents actually exist because newspapers, radio and television all say so. In this campaign, the largest circulation magazines of our country even use doctored photographs (as the conservative middle class opposition periodical *Schweizerzeit* recently revealed [March 7, 1997]).

The most diverse accusations are made in this masterful campaign of deliberate confusion, so that the hapless media consumer has no idea what the real situation is. The goal here is not to honestly inform the people, but rather to confuse the public in a fog of guilt feelings.

Let's take a look at the most important of the accusations. The most serious is that Swiss banks have kept for themselves enormous sums of money deposited by Jews, instead of turning over this money to the rightful heirs. American Jews speak of 30 billion Swiss Francs. There is also talk of hoarding stolen art treasures, of laundering gold to the advantage of the Third Reich, and from time to time there's mention of the infamous gold teeth of gassed Jews.

The Swiss are also accused of welcoming too few Jewish refugees during the war, thereby condemning tens of thousand of Jews to "certain death". Swiss Jews who gave support to Jewish refugees in Switzerland during the war are now suddenly demanding that the Swiss government compensate them for their expenditures. And, predictably, the Gypsies are now also speaking up and demanding money as well.

This entire absurd comedy might be simply laughed off if one did not understand that our contemporaries have been thoroughly impregnated with the Holocaust religion. As a result, even patriotic groups in Switzerland argue that we should attempt to discredit these accusations rather than turn the tables around and come to grips with the fundamental issues of contemporary history.

The commission of historians set up by the Swiss government therefore should not merely investigate our trade and refugee policy during the war, but, more to the point, deal with the question of the supposed destruction of the Jews. In this regard they could cite the statement by the Freiburg historian Ulrich Herbert, who recently said: "Historians have so far only interpreted the Holocaust. The task now is to investigate it" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, Feb. 13, 1997).

It is high time to transform this conflict from one of morally vulnerable sentiment to one of intelligent, clear-headed analysis. For the time being this may be little more than a lonely call in the desert. One is also justified in fearing legal repercussions for reaching conclusions in this controversial subject different than the officially permitted ones. By the same token no one dares to shed light on the dark history of Zionism, and thereby to go on the counterattack.

Meanwhile, bowing to "international" pressure, Swiss banks and businesses have established a fund of 150 Million Swiss francs to help Holocaust victims. This was done even though originally everyone was supposed to wait for the release (in the summer of 1997) of the report of the already-mentioned historians' commission. But in the meantime New York and world Jewry were threatening a boycott of Swiss financial institutions, and this is something the Swiss banks could not dare risk. They much preferred to pay something right away. A short time later the Swiss

Federal Council decided to establish a “solidarity foundation,” based on our gold reserves with a starting capital of seven billion.

On the other side of the Atlantic, Senator D'Amato triumphantly spoke of a “admission or acknowledgment of guilt.” This is reminiscent of the dictated Versailles treaty of 1919, whereby Germany was obliged to sign a guilt clause or face military occupation. Switzerland is today experiencing its own Versailles Diktat. It is being forced to pay reparations, and one day it may likewise endure its own Nuremberg. At a press conference last last year, Jewish attorney Edward D. Fagan stated: “Germany was brought to court in Nuremberg, and Switzerland will be brought to court in Brooklyn” (Tagesanzeiger, Nov. 29, 1996.)

This campaign is by no means finished. Its goal will be reached only when little Switzerland and all of Europe are finally forced into submission.

— March 12, 1997

Bernhard Schaub, was born in 1954 in Bern, Switzerland. He taught history and German at a private school in Zurich until January 1993, when he was fired without notice. This termination was a consequence of his 1992 book, *Adler und Rose*, on the history of German-speaking Central Europe. Because passages in this book call wartime “gassings” into question, the author was subjected to media smears. Since January 1993 he has worked as an independent teacher of adult education courses. He is the father of two daughters. (*Adler und Rose* is available from: Postfach 386, 8105 Regensdorf, Switzerland.)

'Holocaust Deception' Makes Waves in Turkey

A new revisionist book in Turkey has been receiving both warm praise and sharp criticism. Published in Istanbul, Soykirim Yalani ("Holocaust Deception") is the first book-length dissident study of the Holocaust issue to appear in the nation of some 64 million people.

The handsomely produced 285-page softcover work, subtitled "The Secret History of the Zionist-Nazi Collaboration and the True Story of the 'Jewish Holocaust,'" is an attractively laid out volume, with numerous photographs, nine pages of source reference notes, an eight-page bibliography, and a good index. A second edition, with an English-language supplement, is scheduled for publication soon.

The book has received praise from Turkish newspapers affiliated with the country's Islamist Welfare Party, whose leader is the country's prime minister. At the same time, "Holocaust Deception" has come under fire from pro-Zionist sources. The author, who wrote the book under the pen name of Harun Yahya, has brought a defamation suit against a journalist who denounced "Holocaust Deception" as "dirty propaganda." His lawyer points out that this serious study is based on extensive research and more than 100 documents in four languages.

The book's first section explores in detail the little-known story of collaboration between Zionists and Third Reich Germany, relying in part on an article on this subject in the June-August 1993 issue of this Journal.

Holocaust deception and fraud is the focus of the book's second section, which relies to a considerable extent on books and other material put out by the Institute for Historical Review, including the IHR Journal. This section traces the development and impact of Holocaust revisionism, showing how revisionist scholars have succeeded in debunking numerous Holocaust claims. Accompanying this detailed survey of revisionist scholarship are photographs of such key personalities as Henri Roques, Fred Leuchter, Germar Rudolf, Arthur Butz, David Irving and Robert Faurisson.

The extensive efforts by Zionist groups, both legal and extra-legal, to suppress revisionism are also detailed. For example, readers are told how the large-circulation Japanese magazine Marco Polo was shut down in early 1995 because it had published an article questioning aspects of the Holocaust extermination story. Photographs in this section show Dr. Faurisson in his hospital bed following the nearly fatal attack against him in September 1989, and the devastated IHR offices in the aftermath of the July 1984 arson attack.

Zionism's "ingathering of the exiles" efforts is the focus of the book's third section, which details the dirty tricks and underhanded measures used by Israeli officials to pressure diaspora Jews into emigrating to Israel.

A Major Revisionist Breakthrough in Russia

Under the front-page headline, “The Myth of the Holocaust: The Truth About the Fate of the Jews in the Second World War,” the Moscow paper *Russkii Vestnik* ("Russian Messenger") has devoted an entire special issue to an effective revisionist analysis of the Holocaust extermination story.

Written by Swiss historian and educator Jürgen Graf, this is the first serious work of revisionist scholarship on the Holocaust issue to receive mass distribution in Russia. Some 200,000 copies were sold between September 1996 and February 1997, both as a special issue of *Russkii Vestnik* and as an attractive 123-page booklet. Graf’s well-organized and carefully referenced essay debunks numerous specific Holocaust claims, while introducing readers to the work of such revisionist specialists as Robert Faurisson, Carlo Mattogno, Arthur Butz, Enrique Aynat and Fred Leuchter.

Introducing Graf’s essay is a front-page editorial note that condemns the “ghastly crimes committed against the Jews” by the “Hitlerites.” At the same time, though, it stresses that Jewish wartime losses have been greatly and purposefully exaggerated.

The editorial also introduces readers to historical revisionism, which is not well known in Russia. “On the basis of purely scholarly research,” relates the first paragraph, the Institute for Historical Review in the United States “debunks historical myths.” It continues:

The revisionist school of historians, which has been in existence for several decades in the West, on the basis of scrupulously examined documents and eyewitness accounts, was the first to question the assertions of the Zionists. The USSR and Russia were unaware of the existence and views of the revisionist school because we had not yet approached the problem in that way.

“Characteristically,” the editorial relates, “the main 'arguments' used against the revisionists have been court suits and terror,” citing the cases of such individuals as Robert Faurisson, Thies Christophersen, Ernst Zündel and Wilhelm Stäglich. “This alone suggests that the enemies of revisionism simply do not have any other kind of arguments.”

In a sympathetic page-two preface to Graf’s essay, Russian historian Dr. Oleg A. Platonov writes of the “myth of the 'Holocaust,' namely, that six million Jews were allegedly put to death in gas chambers during the Second World War.” This myth, he continues, “has taken hold in the mass mind with particular force,” with the aim of encouraging non-Jews to “feel a sense of guilt, repent and pay restitution.” He goes on:

The myth of the Holocaust insults humanity because it portrays the Jewish people as the main victims of the last war, even though the Jews in fact suffered not more, but less than other peoples who were caught up in that murderous conflict ... Humanity paid for the war with 55 million human lives, in which the real — not the mythical

— number of Jewish victims was not six million, but rather about 500,000, as the calculations of specialists show ...

“On the wave of the myth of the Holocaust,” Platonov adds, “the state of Israel was established illegally and against the will of the Palestinians.” Both Graf and Platonov are members of this Journal’s Editorial Advisory Committee. (See the May-June 1997 Journal, pp. 19-20.)

To satisfy the public appetite for revisionism in Russia, translations of several revisionist writings are in the works, including a Russian edition of the book-length analysis of Israel’s “founding myths” by French scholar Roger Garaudy (reviewed in the March-April 1996 Journal, pp. 35-36).

This special *Russkii Vestnik* issue was cited favorably in the Moscow newspaper *Pravda* (January 24, 1997). Valentin Prussakov’s *Pravda* article, “Jews at the Origins of Nazism,” discusses the role of Jews and half-Jews in wartime Germany’s armed forces, and as intellectual forebears of National Socialism. Although *Pravda* no longer plays the leading role it did during the Soviet era, it remains an influential paper with a national readership. “It is difficult not to agree with the view of Russian historian Oleg Platonov,” writes Prussakov, who goes on to quote from Platonov’s *Russkii Vestnik* preface. “Obviously, it is time to put an end to the talk of the 'special suffering of the Jewish people',” concludes Prussakov.

How the public views the past, and especially 20th-century history, is a crucial aspect of the current struggle between “nationalists” and “internationalists” for the future of Russia. (See “Capitalism in the New Russia” in the May-June 1997 Journal.) In Russia, as in America and western Europe, “internationalists” promote a highly polemicized rendering of “Holocaust” history, with its guilt-ridden “lessons” for non-Jewish humanity, while “nationalists” have an interest in fostering a truthful and impartial perspective on this chapter of history.

An Iconoclastic Polish Journal

Since its founding in 1986, the Polish magazine *stanczyk* has developed into a significant intellectual journal viewing cultural, historical and current-affairs issues from a somewhat libertarian, revisionist and “New Right” perspective. Issue No. 29 (1996), for example, features a ten-point practical guide by Jaroslaw Zadencki for viewing the forthcoming millennium from a “revolutionary conservative” perspective, and an article by Marek Wegierski on “traditionalist” ferment in contemporary fantasy and science fiction literature.

A laudatory profile of American revisionist scholar Harry Elmer Barnes appears in issue No. 27 (1995), along with an article about Barnes' critique of the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. (“*Stanczyk*” was a jester in the court of Polish King Sigismund I [1467-1548], who pretended to be foolish but was actually very wise.)

Informative Summaries

A large portion of each attractively laid out 96-page issue of *stanczyk* is devoted to cogent summaries of articles in libertarian, traditionalist, rightist and nationalist periodicals from foreign lands, including Russia, Germany, France and the United States. Issue No. 19 (1993), for example, has a sympathetic two-page article about the Institute for Historical Review, with a detailed summary of the IHR Journal article, “Simon Wiesenthal: Bogus 'Nazi Hunter'.”

A two-page report in issue No. 21 (1994) tells more about The Journal of Historical Review, and summarizes in some detail the interview with German historian Prof. Ernst Nolte, from the Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal. An item in issue No. 24 (1995) about the March-April 1994 Journal provides a detailed summary of Robert Faurisson's article on the Warsaw ghetto uprising, and a mention of the Journal interview with French “New Right” author Alain de Benoist.

Much of *stanczyk* issue No. 22 (1994) is devoted to unresolved historical issues of the Second World War, including a 12-page review by editor Tomasz Gabis of David Irving's book, *Hitler's War*. *Stanczyk* issue No. 30 (1997) contains a two-page summary of IHR Director Mark Weber's article, “Zionism and the Third Reich” (originally published in the July-August 1993 Journal), as it appeared in translation in a 1995 issue of the Berlin periodical *Sleipnir*.

'Holocaust Religion'

In two recent issues of this self-described “conservative and liberal” journal (No. 29 [1996] and No. 30 [1997]), chief editor Tomasz Gabis forthrightly tackles the hottest of hot issues with an impressively written and well-referenced two-part, 57-page essay on the “Holocaust religion.” “The Holocaust,” he points out, is not treated as a chapter of real human history, but instead is ceaselessly presented as an ever-relevant, quasi-religious “myth.”

As Gabis explains, the Holocaust has not only come to play a pivotal role in Jewish religious life and the collective Jewish consciousness, but has become a central element in the cultural, political and intellectual life of the contemporary West, with a profound impact on relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Although the core of this “myth” is Jewish, the Holocaust has been universalized through the mass media and public education, becoming an obligatory prism through which we are expected to view the past, especially 20th century history. Fundamentally not comparable to any other chapter of history, “the Holocaust” is a “cosmic” event marking an entirely new era in human relations. Since Auschwitz, it is claimed, we can never again look at Western civilization, Christianity and even God in the same way.

Like any other potent religion, Gabis notes, the Holocaust has its own shrines, sacred texts, saints, relics, rituals, taboos and heretics. “High priest” Elie Wiesel insists that what he calls “the Event” must be viewed with a kind of mystical reverence. Implicit in Holocaust theology is the doctrine of collective guilt (especially for Germans, but increasingly for all non-Jewish humanity), and the notion that Jewish deaths weigh more heavily than those of non-Jews. To the extent that Christian, and especially Roman Catholic, leaders embrace this Holocaust religion, they accept a “Judiazation” of Christianity, and betray their own religious principles and heritage.

Because no people, aside from the Germans, has been so stigmatized by this new religion as the Poles, “the Holocaust” is the basic source of tension in Polish-Jewish relations.

A New Political-Intellectual Conflict

During this final decade of the twentieth century — in the aftermath of the “Cold War” division of Europe and the end of the “postwar era” — the really significant political and intellectual struggle is not between “right” and “left,” but rather between the “politically correct” or “taboo-affirming,” and iconoclastic insurgents everywhere who oppose the “one world” homogenization of all cultures, races and nations.

Among the “conservative and liberal” periodicals that have emerged around the world in recent years, *stanczyk* is a particularly effective voice defying “left-right” categorization. Now with a circulation of about 2,500, it is sold in bookstores in Warsaw, Krakow, Poznan and other major Polish cities. For further information, write: *stanczyk*, ul. St. Pietaka 9, 51-140 Wroclaw, Poland.

The Changing Story: Early Doubts

by [Mark Weber](#)

From the very beginning there were grave doubts about allegations of mass killings of European Jews. Although such reports were a major feature of the Allies' "psychological warfare" campaign during the Second World War, top British and American officials in a position to know what was going on in German-ruled Europe did not believe what their own governments were telling the world.

In July 1943, the chairman of the Britain's Joint Intelligence Committee, Victor Cavendish-Bentinck, commented: "The Poles, and to a far greater extent the Jews, tend to exaggerate German atrocities in order to stoke us up." At the suggestion of the British government, it was therefore agreed to delete the reference to gas chambers from a joint Allied declaration on German atrocities in Poland that was issued later that year by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. (B. Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945* [London: 1979], pp. 295-96.)

During the immediate postwar period — which saw a flurry of often grotesque anti-German atrocity propaganda as well as horrible "revelations" from the Nuremberg trials — a few thoughtful individuals remained skeptical. George Orwell, for example, wondered in May 1945: "Is it true about the German gas ovens in Poland?" (S. Orwell and I. Angus, eds., *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell* [New York: 1968], Vol. 3, p. 371.)

***Encyclopaedia Britannica* Prudence**

More remarkable, there is no mention of "extermination" or "gas chambers" in the early postwar editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, published from 1947 to 1956 (and perhaps earlier and later). Jewish historian Jacob Rader Marcus provided a prudent and generally accurate description of the wartime fate of Europe's Jews in his essay on modern Jewish history published in these editions of the authoritative reference work. ("Jews," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1947 and 1956 editions, Vol. 13, p. 63 C.)

Under the heading "World War II and the Jews," Marcus wrote:

In World War II the situation of Jewry in the mass settlements of eastern Europe was even worse, for the national socialists set out deliberately to destroy large numbers of Polish and Russian-Jewish civilians. If but a fraction of the atrocities reported were accurate, then many thousands of defenseless Jewish non-combatants, men, women and children, were butchered after September 1939 ...

In the conquered lands, from France to Poland, practically all Jews lost their political and civil rights; their property and businesses were confiscated, and their children, in most lands, were driven out of the elementary and higher schools. They lost the right

to freedom of movement and in some lands were even deprived of almost all cultural and recreational opportunities and social relations. Quite a number sought to ameliorate their lot by converting to Christianity, particularly in Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary and Italy ...

In order to effect a solution of the Jewish problem in line with their theories, the Nazis carried out a series of expulsions and deportations of Jews, mostly of original east European stock, from nearly all European states. Men, frequently separated from their wives, and mothers from their children, were sent by the thousands to Poland and western Russia. There they were put into concentration camps, or huge reservations, or sent into the swamps, or out on the roads, into labour gangs. Large numbers of them perished under the inhuman conditions under which they laboured. While every other large Jewish centre was being embroiled in war, American Jewry was gradually assuming a position of leadership in world Jewry.

Marcus' relatively reserved treatment of this issue, entirely ignoring the lurid horror stories then in wide circulation, is all the more noteworthy in light of his stature as an eminent scholar of Jewish history. He had studied in Germany during the early 1920s, receiving his doctorate from the University of Berlin in 1925. During his lifetime he authored more than 250 scholarly articles and numerous acclaimed historical studies, including *The Rise and Destiny of the German Jew* (1934), *The Jew in the Medieval World* (1938), and a four-volume work, *United States Jewry, 1776-1985* (1989-93). At the time of his death in November 1995, Marcus was a distinguished professor of American Jewish history at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

With the passage of time, the scholarly circumspection shown by Marcus in this *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article has become very rare, even among prominent scholars. Encouraged by an intense and growing media campaign in the United States, historians dealt with the wartime fate of Europe's Jews in an ever more credulous, subjective and even quasi-religious fashion. This trend, which became particularly more pronounced after the 1970s, shows no sign of diminishing.

A German Voice for National Integrity and Freedom

For more than four decades, Nation und Europa has been a vigorous and intelligent German voice for “democratic patriotism” and national and cultural integrity. Since 1951, this thoughtfully edited and well written illustrated monthly magazine has defied the prevailing intellectual-political climate. It has a handsome cover, attractive layout, and handy format. Many of the articles and reviews are brief and “newsy.” A typical issue is 80 pages.

N+E routinely tackles relevant issues of contemporary history, notably on the Second World War and Third Reich Germany. For example, Stalin’s war plans and the background to Hitler’s June 1941 “Barbarossa” attack against Soviet Russia have been the subject of numerous articles and reviews in recent years. Within the legal limits, it deals judiciously with the dangerous Holocaust issue. It has, for example, published an interview with American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, and has informed readers about the results of his historic 1988 on-site forensic examination of the alleged execution “gas chambers” at Auschwitz.

N+E staunchly defends the cultural heritage and ethnic identity and of all nations. Citing news items from across Europe and around Germany, it routinely reports on the harmful consequences of “foreignization” for all peoples. It speaks out against a homogenized, centrally-administered Europe, and the spirit of “one worldism” and “multiculturalism” behind this campaign. It urges “democratic renewal” in Germany through referendums to authentically express the popular sentiment on such critically important issues as Third World immigration.

N+E reports on the steady erosion of civil liberties in Germany through “politically correct” censorship and government restrictions on free historical research and writing.

N+E serves as a leading strategic guide for Germany’s fractured national-patriotic opposition. Not tied to any particular political party or group, it reports sympathetically on all factions of the country’s “right wing.” Each issue of N+E also features news about nationalist political parties, organizations and periodicals across Europe.

Among the magazine’s most talented contributors is Wolfgang Strauss, who provides first-rate reporting and commentary on Russia, Ukraine and other countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as outstanding essays on German, Russian and Ukrainian history.

Franz Schönhuber, the best-selling author and former head of the Republikaner party, is a regular N+E columnist. Another contributor is German historian Georg Franz-Willing, who is also a member of this Journal’s Editorial Advisory Committee (and 1986 IHR Conference speaker). N+E has also published two books by Franz-Willing.

N+E has made friendly mention of the Institute for Historical Review and its Journal. In one issue, it told readers that the IHR’s Journal of Historical Review

has carried on a determined struggle against the historical lies that have a daily impact on Germany. It is published in the USA, where a person can speak about some issues more openly than here in the “freest state in German history” ... We warmly recommend this issue to anyone interested in contemporary history.

Now with a circulation of about 15,000, Nation und Europa is published jointly by Peter Dehoust, Harald Neubauer (a former member of the European Parliament), and, until his recent death, Adolf von Thadden (historian and one-time political figure).

A yearly subscription (surface mail) costs DM 128. Write: Nation und Europa, Postfach 25 54, 96414 Coburg, Germany.

Stutthof

An Important but Little-Known Wartime Camp

Mark Weber

While Stutthof is not as well known as other wartime German camps, a close look at the history of this important internment center actually tells more about the reality of the Third Reich's "final solution" policy than studies of much better known camps such as Dachau or Buchenwald. In particular, a dispassionate look at the pattern of Jewish deportations to and from this camp, and the treatment of the inmates there, simply cannot be reconciled with a wartime German program or policy to exterminate Jews.

Stutthof (Sztutowo in Polish) was located 36 kilometers east of the city of Danzig (now the Polish city of Gdansk) in a wooded clearing near the Baltic coast at the mouth of the Vistula river. Hastily set up as an emergency internment center in September 1939, as German forces were subduing Poland, it was soon established on a more permanent basis, and in 1942 was officially designated as a concentration camp. ^[1]

In 1943 and 1944 it was considerably enlarged until it included three large sections encompassing an area 2.5 by 1.2 kilometers. The Stutthof camp complex eventually embraced several dozen smaller satellite camps spread across a large part of East and West Prussia. In addition to administration and general upkeep work in the camp itself, inmates were employed in nearby workshops and factories that turned out equipment and clothing for the German armed forces. Other internees worked in a camp brick factory and greenhouse, and on nearby agricultural projects, quarries, ports and airfields. Inmates could send letters and receive parcels. At the end of 1943, a new regulation prohibited punishment by beating. ^[2]

Until 1944 there were relatively few Jewish internees. Most of the prisoners were Poles. In the fall of 1943 several hundred Jews found in hiding in the Bialystok ghetto (after the suppression of the uprising there) were transferred to Stutthof. ^[3] Beginning in June 1944, large numbers of Jews began arriving at Stutthof from Auschwitz. The first shipment of 2,500 Jewish women from Auschwitz-Birkenau was soon sent on to several hundred factories in the Baltic region. Between June and October 1944, 20,000 to 30,000 Jewish women, originally from Hungary, arrived at Stutthof from Auschwitz. In addition, Jewish women originally from the Lodz ghetto also arrived at Stutthof from Auschwitz. ^[4]

During the summer and fall of 1944, as Soviet forces advanced toward the Baltic region, thousands of Jews, including Jewish mothers and their children, were evacuated to Stutthof from more than a dozen camps and remnant ghettos in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. In particular, Jews were transferred from the camps at Riga (Latvia) and Kaunas (Lithuania), and the ghetto of Siauliai (Lithuania) in July 1944. Most were evacuated by sea on scarce ships. ^[5]

During the second half of 1944, as Soviet forces continued their westward advance, the Germans transferred large numbers of Jews, including hundreds of Jewish children, from Lithuania and Estonia through Stutthof to Auschwitz. [6] Many of these evacuees were Jews who had earlier been deported to the Baltic region from Germany as part of the “final solution” policy of mass deportation to occupied Soviet territories in the “East.” [7]

These transfers to Stutthof are difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with a German policy to annihilate Europe’s Jews. If there had been such an extermination policy, it is particularly difficult to understand why Jews from the Baltic region — all of whom were supposedly doomed — were evacuated on Germany’s overtaxed transportation system instead of being killed on the spot. The fact that many of the Jews evacuated by the Germans from the Baltic area to Stutthof were unemployable children is particularly difficult to reconcile with a general extermination policy. [8]

This new influx dramatically changed the camp’s character. By late 1944, Jews made up about 70 percent of the inmate population. Russians constituted about 20 percent, and other nationalities made up the remaining ten percent. [9] The camp was divided into separate male and female compounds. Most of the inmates were reportedly young, above all Jewish girls and young women between the ages of 13 and 22. There was a separate barracks block for Jewish boys below the age of 17. As a rule, Jews did not have to work, although some were occasionally assigned to farm work on the outside. [10]

As a result of the chaos and tremendous overcrowding brought about by the worsening military situation, conditions in the camp deteriorated badly during 1944. Although new arrivals were routinely subjected to a quarantine period of two to four weeks, an epidemic of typhus broke out in the second half of the year. The death rate rose dramatically and reached a high point at the end of that year, when nine percent of the total inmate population reportedly died during December 1944. Besides typhus, inmates fell victim to enteric fever and hunger. [11]

Camp administrators did what they could under the almost impossible conditions to save lives. Hospital facilities for inmates were greatly expanded, and eventually took up a whole complex of barracks. Inmate physicians and nurses, as well as SS medical personnel, worked in these facilities, which were divided into 12 departments. Unfortunately, care for sick internees was severely limited by a serious lack of medicines and proper instruments. [12] In mid-January 1945, there were about 50,000 Stutthof inmates, about half of whom were in the main camp. There were 29,000 Jewish internees, including nearly 26,000 women. [13]

On January 25, 1945, with Soviet forces only a few kilometers away and the sound of gunfire audible in the distance, camp commandant SS Major Paul-Werner Hoppe, acting on higher instructions, ordered a general evacuation of internees to the interior of the Reich. Sick inmates, as well as a group needed to dissolve the camp, were to remain behind, he added. [14] Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer has acknowledged the difficulty of reconciling this evacuation order with an extermination policy. At a 1981 conference, he asked rhetorically: “What was their [the Germans’] intention? Why did the SS march these people away? ... Why did the commander of the camp in Stutthof give an order in January 1945 that everybody was to march except for the sick?” [15]

Coming as it did in the middle of winter, this mass evacuation in groups of fifteen hundred each was a terrible ordeal that claimed many thousands of lives. The ten-day march was carried out in snow and freezing temperatures, with very little food or adequate shelter. One Polish historian

has estimated that 30,000 died during this evacuation trek. [16] One group of evacuees was rescued by Soviet forces in February 1945, but many in this group died after their liberation. [17]

Stutthof's prisoners were not the only ones to endure this terrible calamity. During this same period, hundreds of thousands of German civilians, most of them women and children, as well as civilians of other nationalities, were slowly making their way westward in the snow and freezing weather. Many of these people also died during the winter trek. [18]

In March and April 1945, Soviet war planes repeatedly attacked the Stutthof camp. A bomb that hit the Jewish hospital on March 26, 1945, killed 28 and wounded 35. [19] During the following weeks, Soviet air and artillery strikes became more frequent. By April 20, 1945, a former Jewish inmate later recalled [20]

Stutthof was bombarded from the air and ground. The bombing went on day and night... The Stutthof camp was enormous and from one end to the other it was burning down from the air attacks. Countless numbers of Kätzler [inmates] were killed by the bombs. I myself was lucky, because a bomb hit our ward and three-quarters of the sick were killed or wounded.

Evacuation by Sea

In late April 1945, with Stutthof now cut off from unoccupied Germany except by sea, it was finally decided to evacuate the 3,000 or so Jewish women still remaining in the camp. One inmate who was evacuated on a cargo ship later recalled her terrible ordeal: [21]

We sailed and sailed and went into ports many times. Which, I can't remember. But no port would let us stay because there was a yellow flag flying from the top, meaning the ship was supposed to be carrying people with contagious diseases on board... At every port, the captain declared that he was carrying women refugees and asked permission to unload them.

But time and time again they were turned away, although at one port some German soldiers gave them some bread. With almost no water or food, the ship drifted for eleven days from one port to another. During this terrible period, Allied planes twice attacked the unarmed vessel, killing many of the Jews on board. During a third bombing attack, which came while the ship was anchored outside of Kiel harbor and only a day before the arrival of British troops there, the vessel caught fire and sank. Many died in the flames or during the mad scramble to get on deck, and others drowned. One survivor recalls that all but 33 of the 2,000 Jewish women on board perished. [22]

The final evacuation from Stutthof took place on April 27, 1945. Under attack from Soviet warplanes, the prisoners were loaded onto several barges at nearby Hela harbor, which were then towed westward to territory still under German control. One barge, packed with sick inmates, was destined for Kiel. Others were taken to the port town of Neustadt near Lübeck. [23] One Polish historian has estimated that 3,000 of the Stutthof internees who were evacuated by sea lost their lives in the ordeal. [24]

Not all of Stutthof's inmates were evacuated. Hundreds who were not able to move were left behind in the camp, which remained in German hands as part of the fiercely defended Danzig enclave until it was surrendered to Soviet forces on May 10, 1945. [25]

Gas Chamber Allegations

Some historians have insisted that prisoners were killed at Stutthof in a camp gas chamber. [26] According to a 1985 statement by Munich's Institute for Contemporary History "more than one thousand" people were killed in a Stutthof gas chamber. [27] However, the evidence cited for homicidal gassings at Stutthof is meager and not very credible. The camp's "gas chamber" building, which is still intact, is a small brick structure about two and a half meters high, five meters in length, three meters wide. American historian Konnilyn Feig has written that it looks "almost like a toy." Polish officials have seriously claimed that the Germans gassed one hundred persons at a time in the chamber (that is, six or seven persons per square meter). Homicidal gassings with Zyklon were supposedly carried out intermittently between June and December 1944 in this chamber. [28]

Polish historian Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz believes that this building was neither designed nor built as a homicidal gassing facility. In an essay published in a semi-official work about the alleged homicidal "gas chambers," he writes that this building was built as a (non-homicidal) gas chamber for treating clothes. However, he goes on to claim that this it was sometimes also improvisationally used to kill people. ("Originally the gas chamber was built as a room for delousing clothing, and it continued to be used for this purpose, too, for as long as it existed.") [29]

Interestingly, the "gas chamber" building is not at all hidden or camouflaged, nor is it disguised as a shower. Therefore, if it had actually been used as a homicidal gassing facility, prospective victims apparently would have been under no illusion about the fate that awaited them. It is worth noting that the Germans in charge of the camp never made any effort to destroy or dismantle Stutthof's supposed "extermination facility," which is difficult to believe if, in fact, it had been a execution gas chamber. [30]

A West German court that heard "eyewitness testimony" about homicidal gassings at Stutthof declared in its 1964 verdict that "with regard to the gassings a positive determination was likewise not possible." Evidence given by several supposed witnesses of gassings was found to be dubious or not credible. [31] Raul Hilberg makes no mention of homicidal gassings at Stutthof in his detailed three-volume Holocaust work. Two other prominent Holocaust historians, Lucy Dawidowicz and Nora Levin, likewise said nothing about the camp's alleged extermination facility.

Estimates of Victims

According to Polish historian Czeslaw Pilichowski, director of Poland's "Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes," of the 120,000 people (Jews and non-Jews) who were ever interned in Stutthof or its satellite camps, 85,000 died. [32] Polish historian Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz has estimated that of the camp's 120,000 inmates, "about 80,000 of them either died or were murdered." [33] Another Polish historian gives a "conservative" estimate of 65,000 Stutthof victims. [34]

Altogether more than 52,000 Jews were interned in Stutthof and its satellite camps, according to Jewish historian Martin Gilbert and the Encyclopaedia Judaica. Only about 3,000 survived, they estimate, and add that perhaps 26,000 of the Jewish victims died or drowned during the evacuation in 1945. [35]

Although it is difficult to determine the actual number of deaths with any precision, in this regard it is important to keep in mind that the great majority of Stutthof's victims were direct and indirect victims of war, including thousands who lost their lives in Allied air attacks during the final

weeks of fighting. As was also the case at Dachau, Buchenwald and other German camps, a considerable portion of those who died in the Stutthof main camp were victims of typhus and other diseases who succumbed during the final months of the war.

As we have seen, most Stutthof victims apparently lost their lives in the grim and hastily organized evacuations by foot or sea. As harsh as they were, these evacuations were not part of any extermination program. In spite of its high death rate, Stutthof was certainly not an “extermination camp,” and the many deaths there were not the result of a policy or program.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz, “Stutthof,” in: I. Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 1421, 1423.
2. [↗](#) Krzysztof Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (Gdynia: 1966), pp. 253-254 (English-language abstract); “Stutthof,” *Gedenkbuch* (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 1986), p. 1772.
3. [↗](#) “Stutthof,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York and Jerusalem: Macmillan and Keter, 1971), vol. 15, p. 464; Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (New York: William Morrow, 1993), pp. 194-195.
4. [↗](#) Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz: Die Technik des Massenmordes* (München: Piper, 1994), p. 199. (In the earlier, French edition of this book, Pressac writes of the deportation of 40,000-50,000 Hungarian Jewish women from Auschwitz to Stutthof and surrounding area. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du Meurtre de Masse* [CNRS Editions, 1993], p. 147.); “Stutthof,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 15, p. 464; Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (New York: 1986), p. 686; M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993), p. 194.
5. [↗](#) “Stutthof,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 15, p. 464; Roman Hrabar, et al, *The Fate of Polish Children During the Last War* (Warsaw: 1981), p. 72; M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986), pp. 705, 722; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), vol. 6, p. 917; M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993), pp. 200, 207, 208, 209; Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Less Than Slaves* (Harvard, 1979), p. 107; “Stutthof,” *Gedenkbuch* (1986), p. 1772; Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), p. 985.
6. [↗](#) Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), pp. 417, 420.
7. [↗](#) *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Univ. Press Amsterdam, 1968 ff.), vol. 20, p. 600, or p. 585-6 (Verdict in 1964 Tübingen case Ks 5/63).
8. [↗](#) R. Hrabar, et al, *The Fate of Polish Children During the Last War* (1981), p. 72.
9. [↗](#) Olga M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, “The Evacuation of the Stutthof Concentration Camp, *Yad Vashem Bulletin* (Israel), No. 17, Dec. 1965, p. 37.
10. [↗](#) Olga M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, “The Evacuation,” *Yad Vashem Bulletin*, Dec. 1965, p. 36.
11. [↗](#) K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (1966), pp. 252, 255; Olga M. Pickholz-Barnitsch, “The Evacuation,” *Yad Vashem Bulletin*, Dec. 1965, p. 37; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, p. 600; Central Commission for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland, *German Crimes in Poland* (Warsaw: 1946-1947), vol. 2, p. 112.
12. [↗](#) K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (1966), p. 252.
13. [↗](#) K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (Gdynia: 1966), pp. 253-254; “Stutthof,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 15, p. 464.
14. [↗](#) Hoppe order, Jan. 25, 1945. Nuremberg document NO-3796.

15. ☞ Brewster Chamberlain and M. Feldman, eds., *The Liberation of the Nazi Concentration Camps 1945* (Washington, DC: USHMC, 1987), p. 92.
16. ☞ K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (1966), p. 257; Konnilyn Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981), p. 202; "Stutthof," *Gedenkbuch* (1986), p. 1772; M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993), pp. 216-217.
17. ☞ M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986), p. 783.
18. ☞ See: Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam: The Expulsion of the Germans From the East* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska, 1989; 3rd rev. ed.), and, Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, *The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).
19. ☞ M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986), p. 786.
20. ☞ Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution* (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), pp. 322-323.
21. ☞ I. Trunk, *Jewish Responses* (1982), pp. 323-326.
22. ☞ I. Trunk, *Jewish Responses* (1982), pp. 323-326.
23. ☞ R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), p. 985; O. Pickholz-Barnitsch, "The Evacuation," *Yad Vashem Bulletin*, Dec. 1965, p. 37; M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993), pp. 228-229.
24. ☞ R. Hrabar, et al, *Fate of Polish Children* (1981), p. 74. See also: M. Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (1986), p. 806.
25. ☞ "Stutthof," *Gedenkbuch* (1986), p. 1772; K. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (1981), p. 203.
26. ☞ Eugen Kogen, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder* (New Haven, Conn.: 1994), pp. 190-193, and, in the original German-language edition, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1986), pp. 263-266; The entry by K. Dunin-Wasowicz in the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: 1990), p. 1423, refers to "the camp's gas chambers" (plural).
27. ☞ Statement by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Hellmuth Auerbach), March 6, 1985. Facsimile in: I. Weckert, "Massentötungen" oder Desinformation, "Historische Tatsachen Nr. 24" (published by U. Walendy in 1985), p. 21.
28. ☞ E. Kogen, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder* (1994), p. 191 (in the 1986 German edition, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, this is p. 263); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam), vol. 20, p. 600 or p. 585-6 (Verdict in 1964 Tübingen case Ks 5/63.); K. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (1981), pp. 192-193, 200; *Central Commission..., German Crimes in Poland* (Warsaw: 1946-1947), vol. 2, pp. 118-119.
29. ☞ E. Kogen, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder* (1994), p. 191 (in the 1986 German edition, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas*, this is p. 263).
30. ☞ It has also been claimed that Jews were gassed at Stutthof with Zyklon in a rail car. See: E. Kogen, et al., *Nazi Mass Murder* (1994), pp. 192-193; *Central Commission..., German Crimes in Poland* (Warsaw: 1946-1947), vol. 2, p. 119.
31. ☞ *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam), vol. 20, p. 615.
32. ☞ Czeslaw Pilichowski, *No Time Limit for These Crimes* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1980), pp. 156-157.
33. ☞ K. Dunin-Wasowicz, *Oboz Koncentracyjny Stutthof* (1966), p. 255.
34. ☞ Szymon Datner, et al, *Le Genocide Nazi 1939-1945* (Warsaw: 1962), p. 218.
35. ☞ "Stutthof," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 15, p. 464; M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (1993), pp. 195, 217.; According to Polish historian K. Dunin-Wasowicz, "Of the fifty

thousand Jews who were brought to Stutthof, nearly all died.” Source: Encyclopedia of the Holocaust (New York: 1990), p. 1423.

How Historian Gilbert Falsifies and Invents

Robert Faurisson

British historian Martin Gilbert is a falsifier. While he is best known as the official biographer of Winston Churchill, he has also written several widely-lauded works on the “Holocaust.” Gilbert, who is Jewish, staunchly defends the thesis of the so-called extermination of the Jews, an extermination allegedly carried out in particular by means of homicidal “gas chambers” and homicidal “gas vans.” To defend this thesis he falsifies and invents.

Falsifying the 'Gerstein Document'

In his distortion of the “Gerstein Document” in 1979 and 1986, Gilbert showed that he is capable of falsification. The various postwar confessions of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, known collectively as the “Gerstein Document” are completely devoid of any scholarly value, as Paul Rassinier showed in the 1960s and as the studies of Henri Roques in France (with my collaboration) and Carlo Mattogno in Italy established in 1985. (See: H. Roques, The “Confessions” of Kurt Gerstein, published by the IHR.) But just like French Jewish historian Léon Poliakov, Martin Gilbert used these confessions to support his thesis. Here I will show how he did that and, for the sake of clarity here, I am adding emphasis to some of the figures mentioned.

Speaking about the alleged gas chamber at Belzec, Kurt Gerstein wrote:

Die Menschen stehen einander auf den Füßen, 700-800 Menschen auf 25 Quadratmetern in 45 Kubikmetern ... 750 Menschen in 45 Kubikmetern. ("The people stand on each other's feet, 700-800 people on 25 square meters in 45 cubic meters ... 750 people in 45 cubic meters.") (Source: page 5 of Nuremberg document PS-2170, as Gilbert indicates.)

It is obviously impossible for 700 to 800 people to stand on a surface of 25 square meters and inside a space of 45 cubic meters. That would be the same as trying to fit 28 to 32 persons in a space that is one square meter in surface area, and 1.8 meters high. The fact that Gerstein made such a statement to the Allies, who held him as their prisoner, shows what his mental condition was. He always used these same figures, repeating them on several occasions. But Gilbert completely changed these numbers in an effort to make Gerstein's tale believable. He even changed them in one way in 1979 and in another way in 1986.

In his 1979 book, *Final Journey: The Fate of the Jews in Nazi Europe* (New York: Mayflower Books, p. 91), here is how Gilbert quoted Gerstein: “The naked people stand on each other's feet. About seven to eight hundred people in an area of about a hundred square meters.”

Among other distortions, Gilbert quadrupled the surface of the gas chamber, removed the mention of the cubic meters and likewise left out the number 750. Finally, he left out the repetition by

Gerstein of the mention of cubic meters. If he had retained the mention, made twice, of the 45 cubic meters, we would have had a gas chamber of around 100 square meters and of 45 cubic meters, that is to say a room containing around 700 to 800 persons standing that would have been less than a half meter high.

In a 1986 work, though, Gilbert revises this, quoting Gerstein as saying: “Seven to eight hundred people in ninety-three square meters.” (Source: *The Holocaust: The Jewish Tragedy*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p. 427. On page 864 Gilbert indicates as his source: “Kurt Gerstein, statement of May 6, 1945, Tübingen: International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, document PS-2170.”)

In this case, the number 25 has been replaced with the number 93. A precise figure was apparently chosen to give the impression of exactitude and rigor. Once again, all references to cubic meters have disappeared.

For this reason alone we must conclude that Gilbert deliberately falsified the writings of Gerstein. He falsified them in a number of other ways as well, most notably by editing the text so as to hide other nonsensical things Gerstein said. (That’s also the method used by Léon Poliakov.)

Inventing 'Gassing' Figures

In his effort to sustain the invented story that masses of Jews were gassed at Belzec, Treblinka and elsewhere, Gilbert engages in a deceitful manipulation of figures. In his 1981 book, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, p. 26), he wrote:

The deliberate attempt to destroy systematically all of Europe’s Jews was unsuspected in the spring and early summer of 1942: the very period during which it was at its most intense, and during which hundreds of thousands of Jews were being gassed every day at Belzec, Chelmno, Sobibor and Treblinka.

For the moment, let’s not concern ourselves with the fact that no one was ever gassed at those camps, nor in any other camp either. Instead, let us focus on Gilbert’s use of figures. Let us suppose that “hundreds of thousands” means only 200,000. That would make 200,000 Jews gassed per day, and therefore 1,400,000 each week. If during the spring and the early summer we have four months, or 17 weeks — that makes 1,400,000 a week, times 17 weeks, for a total of 23,800,000 Jews gassed in just those four small camps, and during a period of just four months!

More can be said about Martin Gilbert, about his ignorance of history, his dishonesty and even his empty productivity. On December 3, 1986, I wrote to him to ask for some explanations about the way he reproduced the Gerstein texts. He never answered.

-- March 4, 1987

The Notin Affair: Jewish Organizations Make the Law

Robert Faurisson

Since 1990, Bernard Notin, assistant professor of economics at the University of Lyon III, has been unable to practice his profession — in spite of French law — because of a decision by the Jewish institutions and organizations of Lyon represented by Dr. Marc Aron, ^[1] as well as the Union of Jewish Students of France (Union des Etudiants Juifs de France: UEJF).

No one protests this anomaly: neither Bernard Notin's colleagues, the president of his university, the national Minister of Education, the human rights organization Ligue des droits de l'homme, nor the major media. They remain silent, either because they approve this excessive display of power, or because they know these organizations are capable of unleashing at will a ruinous witch-hunt against heretics.

On June 7, 1994, the national daily newspaper Le Monde felt it necessary to announce that Notin was being hired to teach at the Mohammed I University in Oujda, Morocco, at the request of the Dean of the Faculty of Economics. The UEJF responded by bringing such pressure to bear internationally that within 48 hours the Moroccan university made it known it was not planning to hire Notin.

From the outset, Le Monde has been implacable toward Notin. Notably, it served as a mouthpiece for his persecutors with a January 28-29, 1990, item by Edwy Plenel entitled "Un article jugé raciste et révisionniste suscite des protestations" ("An article judged racist and revisionist incites protests").

Notin's thought crime was to have authored an iconoclastic study on the role of the French media. It appeared in a specialized journal with a restricted circulation that is published with the approval of the prestigious Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), the National Center for Scientific Research. (Economies et sociétés, No. 8/ 1989 [Dec. 1989], University Press of Grenoble, pp. 117-133).

In passing, the author brought up the media's treatment of the subject of homicidal gas chambers, letting it be known that he is skeptical of the existence of these chemical slaughterhouses, and citing as his reference the 1980 revisionist book by Serge Thion, Vérité historique ou vérité politique? ("Historical truth or political truth?").^[2]

Thus began the campaign against this 39-year-old scholar (and sole breadwinner for a family with five small children) — a campaign that eventually would surpass in vehemence and duration anything seen thus far along these lines. Because this story has already been covered in the French journal Revue d'histoire révisionniste, I shall not deal further with it here.^[3]

On July 11, 1990, a Paris court sentenced Notin, on the basis of Article 1382 (on damages) to pay 25,000 francs (about \$5,000) in damages to the "Movement Against Racism and For Friendship

Among Peoples” (Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples: MRAP). The judgment was upheld by a decision on May 15, 1991. On appeal, the sentence was raised to 29,000 francs.

On the administrative level, the National Council for Higher Education and Research (Conseil national de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche: CNESER) also decided to impose penalties, although this matter is currently pending before the Council of State.

Bernard Notin tried to resume his work as a assistant professor, but Jewish organizations acted to prevent it. Each year, without fail, he writes to the president of his university formally to request a teaching assignment, along with a timetable. He receives no answer to his letters.

On February 3, 1993, he was persuaded to sign a news release that amounted to a solemn public recantation. In the text, after protesting against what had been done to him ("One intends anew, illegally, and through coercion, to forbid me to teach and to exercise the profession for which the taxpayers are paying me"), he declared that he was not questioning the genocide of the Jews nor the Nazi gas chambers. He added that his purpose had never been to “rewrite history improperly,” and concluded notably: “If I have caused, involuntarily, the least suffering to anyone, I ask their forgiveness.”

All for nothing: the ban continues to this day.

Bernard Notin’s final lecture was on May 2, 1990. For more than six years, the predicament of this scholar, who is now 45 years old, has constituted an anomaly in both law and reason.

The Jewish organizations know quite well that no law authorizes them to impose such penalties on anyone. In showing their readiness to pressure an employer — even a government institution — to prevent an employee from practicing his profession, these organizations pose a threat to the livelihood of everyone who is not self-employed or independently wealthy. As for the nation’s education administrators, they know that every civil servant has the right, in the exercise of his duties, to government protection.

Jewish institutions and organizations, mouthpieces for the Jewish community, enjoy special privileges in France. The Notin affair demonstrates that they are in a position to dictate their own laws to the state. I do not know of any other institution, any other organization, or any other community in France capable of conducting a campaign of this kind, of persecuting a man with this ferocity, of pursuing him even in exile, and all this, if not with general approval, at least without a word of protest.^[4]

In France people say that “the Jews are like everyone else.” In view of the Notin affair, I personally have difficulty believing it.

— June 18, 1996

Notes

1.  More than anyone else, Marc Aron bears responsibility for the hardships endured by Bernard Notin for more than six years, as well as for my own travails over the past 17 years. [Editor’s note: The ban against Notin is still in force in August 1997.] During the late 1970s, Dr. Aron headed the joint committee of the Jewish institutions and organizations of Lyon. An eminent member of the exclusively Jewish lodge of B'nai B'rith, he also headed the European section of the World Jewish Congress. For his role during the early 1990s,

see: Emmanuel Ratier, *Mystères et secrets du B'nai B'rith, la plus importante organisation juive internationale* (Facta, 1993), pp. 284-287.

2.  See: S. Thion, "A French Scholar Responds to a Widely Acclaimed Anti-Revisionist Work About Auschwitz," July-August 1994 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 28-39.
3.  See, in particular, *Revue d'histoire révisionniste*, No. 1, pp. 143-146; No. 2, pp. 155-162; No. 3, p. 206.
4.  See: "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996, pp. 3-13.

Gertrude Stein's Complex Worldview

Nobel Peace Prize for Hitler?

by [Mark Weber](#)

Scholars of the life of Gertrude Stein were recently startled to learn that in 1938 the prominent Jewish-American writer had spearheaded a campaign urging the Nobel committee to award its Peace Prize to Adolf Hitler. This was disclosed by Gustav Hendrikksen, a former member of the Nobel committee and now professor emeritus of Bible studies at Sweden's Uppsala University, in *Nativ*, a political magazine published in Israel. (Reports about this appeared in the New York Jewish community weekly *Forward*, Feb. 2, June 14, and Oct. 25, 1996.)

Hendrikksen, an avowed friend of Israel who is now in his late 80s, recalled that the Nobel committee rejected Stein's proposal "politely but firmly, citing among their reasons the attitude of the Nazi regime toward the Jews."

In the decades before her death in 1946, Stein was a widely acclaimed literary icon. As monarch of the "lost generation" of American expatriates in Paris during the 1920s and 1930s, she cultivated and influenced such literary figures as Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald, as well as such artists as Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse. Her Paris home was a mecca for writers and artists. Stein's own "modernist" novels, memoirs, lectures and plays — once celebrated as stylishly avant garde — have not aged well. Today she is remembered almost as much for who she was as for what she wrote.

Born in Pennsylvania of a wealthy German-Jewish family, she was raised in the United States, and attended Radcliffe and Johns Hopkins universities. But it was during her years of expatriate living in France that she made her lasting mark.

'Hitler Ought to Have the Peace Prize'

Stein's seemingly paradoxical views about Hitler and fascism have never been a secret. As early as 1934, she told a reporter that Hitler should be awarded the Nobel peace prize. "I say that Hitler ought to have the peace prize, because he is removing all the elements of contest and of struggle from Germany. By driving out the Jews and the democratic and Left element, he is driving out everything that conduces to activity. That means peace ... By suppressing Jews ... he was ending struggle in Germany" (*New York Times Magazine*, May 6, 1934).

As astonishing as it may seem today, in 1938 many credited Hitler for his numerous efforts to secure lasting peace in Europe on the basis of equal rights of nations. After assuming power in 1933, he succeeded in quickly establishing friendly relations with Poland, Italy, Hungary and several other European nations. Among his numerous initiatives to lessen tensions in Europe, the

German leader offered detailed proposals for mutual reductions of armaments by the major powers.

In a 1940 essay, Stein wrote positively of the appointment of “collaborationist” Henri Philippe Petain as France’s Chief of State, comparing him to George Washington. As late as 1941, she was urging the Atlantic Monthly to publish speeches by Marshal Petain, which she had translated into English. In spite of her background, Stein continued to live and write in France during the years of German occupation (1940-1944).

She also maintained a friendship with Bernard Fay, who headed France’s national library, the Bibliotheque Nationale, during the Petain era. According to a new biography of Stein, *Favored Strangers: Gertrude Stein and Her Family*, by Linda Wagner-Martin, Fay and Stein often discussed “the Führer’s qualities of greatness” in the years before the outbreak of war in 1939. Even after the war, when he was convicted as a collaborationist, Stein and her close companion Alice Toklas remained good friends with Fay and lobbied to free him from prison.

Conflicted Sense of Jewishness

Like many of this century’s Jewish American intellectuals, Stein’s relationship to her own Jewishness was complex and conflicted. She was sensitive to anti-Jewish sentiment, and sometimes expressed criticism of Hitler. In 1936 she wrote: “There is too much fathering going on just now and there is no doubt about it fathers are depressing. Everybody now-a-days is a father, there is father Mussolini and father Hitler and father Roosevelt and father Stalin and father Trotsky ...”

Estranged from the organized Jewish community, in part because of her eccentricity and lesbianism, she nevertheless retained an acute and proud sense of her Jewishness. According to Wagner-Martin, Stein once said, “all men of genius had Jewish blood,” and even developed a theory that Abraham Lincoln was part Jewish.

During the first decade of this century, Stein became enamored of Austrian-Jewish psychologist and philosopher Otto Weininger, whose major work, *Geschlecht und Charakter* (“Sex and Character”), had tremendous influence on European thinking. Following its first publication in 1903, the book was quickly translated into various languages, and went through 30 editions. Weininger contrasted the masculine “Being” of Aryanism and Christianity with the feminine “non-Being” of Judaism. Jesus was the only Jew to overcome Judaism, he argued. Zionism, in Weininger’s view, is the negation of Judaism, because it seeks to ennoble what cannot be ennobled. Whereas Judaism stands for the world dispersion of Jews, Zionism strives for their ingathering.

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Eric Breindel on *Journal* Scholarship

“... There are serious scholars, or people you would find serious in the sense that they unearth new information, who publish in, for example, the Journal of the Institute for Historical Review, which dedicates itself to proving, for example, that the gas — there were no gas chambers at Nazi death camps. There has been scholarship, Christopher, in those journals. Let there be no doubt about it. They have uncovered train records that many of us who study this field didn’t know existed. They go to the actual archives ...”

— Eric Breindel, New York Post editor and columnist, on the “Charlie Rose Show,” broadcast nationwide May 8, 1996, on the PBS network. He was speaking with Vanity Fair writer Christopher Hitchens. Breindel, who is Jewish, is a staunch defender of Israel and Zionist interests, and a harsh critic of Holocaust revisionism.

Review

Hitler as 'Enlightenment Intellectual': The Enduring Allure of Hitlerism

- *Hitler as Philosopher: Remnants of the Enlightenment in National Socialism*, by Lawrence Birken. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1995. Hardcover. 120 pages. Reference notes. Bibliography. Index. \$45.00.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

A specter is haunting the world — the specter of Hitlerism. That, in short, is the stern warning of this provocative book, written by an Assistant Professor of History at Ball State University (Indiana), and published by Praeger, a leading US academic publisher.

In spite of decades of vehement vilification, says author Lawrence Birken, Hitler's views have enduring and dangerous appeal — not because they are bizarre and alien, but precisely because they are rational and well grounded in Western thought. In particular, Birken stresses, Hitlerism is firmly rooted in the rationalist and scientific outlook of the 18th-century European Enlightenment. This is not meant as a compliment, however; the author is hostile to the West and its traditions. Rejecting the American and Western historical legacy, Prof. Birken openly calls for a new, racially homogenized America.

For more than half a century, Hitler and his views have been ceaselessly demonized in motion pictures, on television and in the print media. And yet, according to Birken, the appeal of Hitlerism remains so potent that it threatens the ideal of a racially "redefined" America of "higher unity." As traditional standards and long-established cultural, racial and religious values come under ever greater attack, and as this country's racial and cultural crisis becomes ever more acute, Birken fears that those who are unwilling to accept the "redefined" society that is developing in America and Europe will turn in ever greater numbers to Hitler's alternative vision of society. Hitlerism, Birken says, will loom ever larger as a dangerously seductive "siren song."

The author has no doubt made a sincere effort to provide an informed and objective look at Hitler and his views. But even if we overlook the numerous misspellings of proper names and titles, and the often polemical prose style, this is a badly flawed work. Birken's understanding of what Hitler really thought and believed is both limited and skewed.

This is due in large part to the author's exclusive reliance on English translations of Hitler's writings and speeches (apparently he cannot read German), and a naive trust in unreliable secondary studies. These include Robert Waite's *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (1977), a sensationalistic psychodramatization, and Hermann Rauschning's *Revolution of Nihilism* (1939), a thoroughly discredited diatribe. (See "Rauschning's Phony 'Conversations With Hitler': An Update," Winter 1985 Journal, pp. 499-500.)

Birken also quotes repeatedly from *The Testament of Adolf Hitler: The Hitler-Bormann Documents*, supposedly a transcript of “table talk” remarks made by Hitler in February and April 1945. These “documents” are fake, says British historian David Irving, who reports that the late Swiss banker François Genoud admitted to him that he was the author.

'A Genuine Intellectual'

Reflecting the ideological perspective that prevails in the Western world today, scholars of Hitler and Third Reich Germany have tended to dismiss the German leader’s intellectual outlook as simplistic and crude — or even crazy. Many play down or simply deny Hitler’s place in Western culture “as a means of sanitizing that culture,” says Birken. “But if we are to read Hitler neither to condemn nor to praise but merely to understand, then we come away with a very different conclusion about his place in European history.”

Scholars and others have made a major mistake in failing to take Hitler seriously as a thinker, argues Birken, who believes that the German political leader “must be regarded as a genuine intellectual” on a par with Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud. Birken’s assessment is not as startling as many might believe. As he notes, as early as 1953, British historian Hugh R. Trevor-Roper “evoked the image of Hitler as a kind of synthesis of Spengler and Napoleon, noting that of all world conquerors the German leader had been the most 'philosophical'...” More recently, German historian Rainer Zitelmann established in a study of impressive scholarship that Hitler’s outlook was rational, self-consistent and “modern.” (R. Zitelmann, *Hitler: Selbstverständnis eines Revolutionärs* [second edition, 1989].)

Moreover, Hitler’s outlook was very much a part of the Western intellectual tradition. In his “combination of an almost religious faith with a revolutionary secularism,” writes Birken, “Hitler represented the continuation of an essentially Enlightenment style of thought... Nazism, and especially Hitler’s exposition of it, represented an attenuated and popularized form of the Enlightenment style of thought.”

Hitler had a gift for presenting his message in an attractive, accessible form. Writes Birken:

The most attractive feature of Hitler’s ideology was thus its optimism. It was not merely his mood but his message that carried an infectious excitement. He was a secular messiah proclaiming a Germanic version of the “good news.” The possibility of class reconciliation, the plans for a national revival, the identification of a universal enemy whose elimination would usher in the millennium, all stirred his audiences to the very depths. Hitler spoke the language of the [Enlightenment] philosophes, a language that had almost passed out of existence in the rarefied strata of the grand intelligentsia.

However, placing Hitler and Hitlerism in the intellectual tradition of the West, Birken continues, “should do less to raise our opinion” of Hitlerism, than to “lower our opinion” of “the intellectual history of the West.”

Economic Views

Hitler’s economic worldview, writes Birken, was likewise rational, self-consistent, progressive, and entirely in keeping with Western tradition. “Hitler’s economic ideas were also permeated by Enlightenment notions of progress,” and were “closer to Ricardo and Marx than to Machiavelli or Keynes.” Birken adds:

...A careful reading of his speeches and writings suggests that he was neither a mercantilist nor a Keynesian, neither a medievalist nor a marginalist. Rather... his economic ideas fit all too well into the classical-physiocratic style of thought.

Hitler believed that social and national considerations, not economic ones, should be paramount in society. The economic and political system must serve the nation, not the other way around. Thus, Birken points out, while “political economy played an important role in his thinking,” Hitler

did not restore the primacy of the state after all but, quite the contrary, subordinated the state itself to a dynamic of aggressive technological and cultural expansion. In doing this, Hitler also asserted himself against the last remnants of aristocratic civility at the same time that he opposed the emerging relativism of consumer culture.

As Birken explains, Hitler believed that “all growth could be traced to individual effort — but only at the service of the common good. He thus tempered what might be taken as a 'libertarian' definition of inventiveness with a somber collectivism.” Believing that socially useful creativity was “the product of individual geniuses of high personality value,” Hitler supported equal social opportunity for all, and opposed legal and social barriers to individual economic achievement and success. Governmental and social policies, he believed, should encourage merit-based social mobility.

Hitler was critical of both capitalism and Marxism — the first because it was “insufficiently democratic,” and the latter because it was “too democratic” or “leveling.” While supporting economic growth across national boundaries, “Hitler also took what he considered to be a conservative stand against the coming hyper-commercialism of an emerging global economy.”

Views on Race and Religion

Although he is endlessly castigated as “the most notorious racist of the twentieth century,” Hitler’s racial views were actually quite in harmony with mainstream 19th- and early 20th-century European thinking. “It should be obvious,” writes Birken, “that Hitler possessed a 'classical' theory of race which dovetailed nicely with his classical notions of political economy.”

Far from being aberrant or bizarre, his views on race were consistent with those of most prominent Westerners in the decades before the Second World War. And while Birken does not specifically mention it, Hitler’s racial views were comparable to those of Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Winston Churchill.

Contrary to popular belief, Hitler never supported notions of breeding a homogenous blond “hyper-Aryan” race. Accepting the reality that the German population consisted of several distinct sub-racial groups, he stressed the German people’s national and social unity. A certain degree of racial variety was desirable, he thought, and too much racial blending or homogeneity could be harmful because it would homogenize and thus eliminate superior as well as inferior genetic traits.

Hitler believed that “both conservative prudery and radical eroticism” harmed society, and he opposed birth control because it tended to lower the genetic quality of the society that practices it.

While he was critical of Christianity, Hitler was no atheist. “The religion of Hitlerism was thus essentially a kind of deism,” concludes Birken. Like Thomas Jefferson and other prominent early

American leaders, Hitler equated God with “the dominion of natural laws throughout the whole universe.” Thus, “for Hitler, national socialism was natural socialism.”

Attitude Toward Jews

It is “of course, a great mistake to see anti-Semitism as a rejection of Enlightenment values,” writes Birken. “On the contrary, the Enlightenment simply secularized rather than destroyed traditional Judeophobia.” (No Western thinker was more outspokenly anti-Jewish than Voltaire, the great French philosophe, who regarded the Jews as “enemies of mankind.”) The Enlightenment concept of social “fraternity,” Birken writes, demands social solidarity, which implies that Jews, as an alien and self-absorbed people, cannot fit in.

Hitler’s hostile attitude toward Jews, Birken writes, was neither irrational nor aberrant. He saw “Jews as the personification of a great lie”: that is, while they pretended to be merely a religious community, in fact they constituted a self-selected national-ethnic group with international ambitions. Because he regarded the Jews as the enemies of all peoples, Hitler held that combatting Jewish power and influence should be the common duty of all nations — a view that Birken calls an expression of “Germanic universalism.”

The United States

Hitler’s attitude toward the United States was mixed. He saw much to admire in 18th- and 19th-century America, and as Birken notes, he praised this country’s pre-1940s pro-White racial policies, its restrictions on non-White immigration, and its pioneering adoption of eugenics measures.

But Hitler also saw ominous trends during the 1920s and 1930s. Echoing the views of American industrialist Henry Ford, he was dismayed by the spectacular growth of Jewish power and cultural influence, and regarded Franklin Roosevelt’s “New Deal” administration as a virtual revolution in American life, through which Jews largely usurped the country’s traditional ruling class.

A Persistent Allure

The defeat of Germany in 1945, Birken rightly notes, “clearly marked a watershed” in world history, and especially for the West:

In a real sense, Hitler’s defeat implicitly became the defeat of the European nation-state and the Enlightenment values that underpinned it. Germany’s heirs, the United States and the Soviet Union, were both fundamentally transnational, multiracial empires whose territories were seemingly unlimited.

As a result, for half a century we have been living in what Birken calls a “consumer capitalist” world in which “the hierarchical order of sex and race which had originally sustained bourgeois nationalism has been disintegrating” and in which “the increasing relativization of values is encouraged by the ever greater globalization of the economy and consequent emergence of a multinational business elite.”

This new world order is less durable than it might appear, says Birken. The recent collapse of the multi-ethnic, multi-racial Soviet Union, he warns, portends similar problems for the American empire. Even a mere contraction of the economy could threaten “to dissolve the United States

into several races.” In Birken’s view, racial nationalism threatens “the continued existence of the United States.” He warns:

What Hitler said in the thirties is thus what our racial nationalists are saying today: namely, that a genuinely inclusive multiracial nation violates the natural order of things. The United States must either be a white-dominated state or a collection of breakaway republics made up of this or that group.

In short: if Hitler was right, America is an increasingly unnatural and artificial construct that does not deserve to survive, and will not survive.

Birken fears that Hitlerism will become ever more attractive to those who reject today’s supranational “consumer capitalism,” and who resist the rapidly emerging “genuinely inclusive multiracial” order. This alternative vision has appeal beyond America and Europe, Birken believes. As he notes, Hitler’s fight against the British empire — a war he actually never sought nor wanted — “won him [Hitler] the admiration of colonial peoples from Ireland to India ...”

A New 'Cosmic' Nation

Birken concludes his book with a fervent call for “the gradual formation of an American race as a higher synthesis. Then the Americans will truly constitute a universal or 'cosmic' people.” In Birken’s view, the “race myth” and Hitlerism “will continue to tempt us” unless Americans “can be given a genuine metaphysical foundation.” This “metaphysical foundation” must be to “uncreate race” through massive racial mixing. Therefore, Birken writes, “we should not be afraid of that dirty little word, 'miscegenation'.” (Consistent with this vision, President Bill Clinton, in his much-discussed June 14, 1997, speech in San Diego on race relations, openly proclaimed the goal of making America “the world’s first truly multiracial democracy.”)

Given the reluctance of many Americans, particularly conservative Whites, to warmly embrace this new “universal” nation, Birken says “we must have an education system that is able to instill this redefinition of American culture.”

“Before we try uniting the world,” Birken concludes, “let us try uniting ourselves. Until we do so, the siren song of Hitlerism will call to us.”

Stark Alternatives

To anyone who views the past with an open mind, history demonstrates the utterly fantastic nature of the goal laid out by Prof. Birken (and President Clinton) — a vision no less utopian than Marxian Communism. In any case, to meld the American population into a “universal” racial-cultural entity would require government repression on a scale unimaginable today.

Few Americans today are able or willing to fully grasp the enormous implications of the radical program that intellectuals such as Birken (and political leaders such as Clinton) are spelling out for our future. But once they do (and as Prof. Birken fears) many will likely turn to Hitlerism as an alternative to the official prevailing ideology. The decades-long campaign of vilification of Hitler and Third Reich Germany may actually contribute to this by convincing millions of Americans that Hitlerism is the antithesis of the Establishment’s ideology, and thus the only real alternative.

In spite of its defects, Hitler as Philosophe effectively dispels some widely-held misconceptions about Hitler and Hitlerism, acknowledges the critical importance of the race issue, and boldly spells out stark alternatives for the future of America and Europe. For this the author deserves credit.

Pearl Harbor's Place in History

Reflections on the Origins and Consequences of the Pacific War

by James J. Martin ([bio](#))

Throughout history there are spectacular and singular happenings of such dramatic circumstances that they seem to hang suspended in time, all other actions and proceedings halted at those moments as though frozen. In our recent past, two such events in particular seem to qualify for inclusion in such a category: the attack on Pearl Harbor of December 7, 1941, and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. One imagines these stunning occurrences as almost pendant backdrops to subsequent events as though incapable of being dispersed. Every time we once more see moving pictures of them we can imagine easily that the billowing smoke and the explosions at Pearl Harbor actually are still being experienced there, as we also can imagine the stupefying mushroom cloud and unbelievable dazzling light of the atomic shot over Hiroshima nearly four years later.

Journalism and pictured entertainment are heavily responsible for this illusion, as well as for draining them of relationship of all kinds, especially political, as though they were simply staged spectacles, following which the props were dismantled and carried off to be restructured for still another somewhere else to make us gasp in amazement and almost dazed prostration. Few are impressed with their consequences, and even fewer are made aware of their origins. It is easier by far to believe that such incredible affairs are indeed tableaux of massive design with intended assault on the senses so vast that there really is no reason for carrying any further rumination or speculation as to their real place in the history of our days.

Among those for whom the Pearl Harbor drama is not already as remote as Roncesvalles, research continues and revelations are noted, genially ignored by the producers of pious puffs upholding the old fairy tales, as though everything had already been placed on the record by the circle and the elements with a vital stake in the preservation of Establishment veracity. Its fundamental plea is the claim of utter, total innocence of an impending attack upon American installations and fleet in Hawaii. Its attending corollaries are (1) complete ignoring of the nature of politics and war in Asia at the time in 1941, as though the Pearl Harbor affair was simply a mindless and isolated stunt, and (2) a similar blackout of the domestic scene in the weeks and then days prior to the attack, as though public communications lacked even the tiniest smidgen of attention to the likely consequences of the crisis of the fall of 1941.

While important new information on these matters has surfaced in the last 20 or so years, it might be mentioned that a respectable compendium of material, including accounts which actually picked Pearl Harbor as the site of the coming attack weeks before it happened, could be collected from American newspapers and magazines widely circulated late in 1941. These alone indicate that the wail of innocence and outrage which promptly rose to the heavens on December 7, 1941, was spurious and misplaced.

Time magazine, with its immense readership, in its lamentably timed issue (December 8, 1941), gloated about the vast American and British war machine which was allegedly ready to spring on the Japanese, should they snap under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "war of nerves" and "undeclared war," and react militarily. And Hallett Abend, a widely-read newspaper reporter on matters Japanese in those days, in his November 18, 1941, Look magazine article, "How the U.S. Navy Will Fight Japan," which was exposed to a potential readership of about 12,000,000 Americans, included the following delicious morsel:

When the clash comes, the Japanese fleet will have to stay in home waters, to guard the islands of the [Japanese] Empire, against [US] naval raids. Our own fleet will cruise somewhere west of Hawaii, with scout planes far over the sea day and night to prevent surprise raids on the Pearl Harbor naval base or on our own West Coast cities.

The State Department, the War Department, and the Army Chief of Staff, the latter two responsible for the defense of both the base at Honolulu and the fleet when it was in the harbor, apparently were not among Abend's readers. But a veritable wheel barrow full of similar journalism could easily be assembled, and those who were reading Abend and others writing in the above vein should not have affected a pose of surprise and shock over the events of that fateful Sunday 40 years ago. After all, Time, in its issue referred to above, had comfortingly assured all that "Everyone was ready from Rangoon to Honolulu, every man was at battle stations." In view of this mass of contemporary literature of wide circulation expecting war at any time in those tense days, one may be led to wonder how the legend of treacherous "surprise attack" ever got off the ground.

But the response even now reflects a general viewpoint in harmony with the belief that we are dealing in the main with an isolated occurrence unrelated to Asian history or world affairs, and to be considered even now as a subjective event to be seen through the eyes of a politically ignorant sailor several decks down on an exploding ship or a housewife standing on a rooftop five miles from the embattled Base, describing the smoke and the noise of the explosions. And the editorial writers still produce copy which reads like contemporary indignant screeds. The gout of self-serving evasive and irrelevant wrath which boiled forth on the 40th anniversary of the Pearl Harbor bombing in the U.S. press was a remarkable confirmation of the observation made nearly five centuries ago by the anonymous observer, in his four-word "review" of Poggio Bracciolini's lopsided partisan history of Florence ("good patriot, bad historian"), on how easy it still is to be simultaneously such a proper patriot and execrable historian. For most journalists it was simply another occasion to tie the past into contemporary opportunism and to use it to buttress current policy in one way or another.

So the usual two-level perception of reality continues, one prepared for the general public and quite another for the serious historical students. Essentially the former product comes under the heading of what George Orwell described as "prolefeed," casual diversionary trivia intended to mystify and mollify, while entertaining, the vast semi-informed populace. Little if any of the war that ensued is allowed to complicate the presented spectacle.

In the sense that modern war is first of all an industrial pitting of national production strengths the Pacific War represented two gigantic clusters of major industries in conflict. Nevertheless, the Japanese were wholly outclassed from the start in total size, capitalization, labor force, resources and general wherewithal. The remarkable thing is that the forces of Imperial Japan persisted so long. Though in eventual total and profound defeat, their overall performance was not lost on East Asians, and its impressiveness may never be forgotten by them, whatever devices may have

been employed by their conquerors to make its conduct appear “immoral” and reprehensible (a maneuver that has been employed against the vanquished since antiquity).

The collapse of Euro-American colonialism, despite the “victory,” was swift and drastic. Because its preservation was a major factor in American policy leading to the confrontation, we may begin here by noting a spectacular demise of a major war aim of the “victorious.” The subsequent incredible industrial expansion of all the Far East and all the attendant changes of the last 40 years are integrally related to the course and outcome of that war. Japanese resurgence and their remarkable pressure in the industrial and commercial world today remind one of Lawrence Dennis' reflection on the “bloody futility of frustrating the strong.” One may observe here that all this has seemingly taken place without any expenditure of blood at all. But the breaking of the impasse and logjam of the 1930s in the Pacific War was its presaging. Surely things could not have gone on that way very much longer; the war of 1941-45 simply detoured the course of events a few years.

There is little need to dwell upon “misunderstanding” and “lack of communication” as war causes, though these surely were abominably bad, no matter what angle one wants to pursue. Japan had a considerable exposure in the American press, almost all invidious, whether it emanated from patrician Ivy League Japanophobe political adversaries such as Henry L. Stimson, or from the Stalinist, Trotskyite and pro-Maoist columnists and reporters who proliferated in the papers and magazines, and political advisers of similar stripe who flourished behind the scenes. The latter seemed to be concerned more about future Chinese than Japanese affairs, but surely recognized that a Red China was out of the question until the Japanese had been driven from mainland Asia. So came years of malicious misrepresentation convincing Americans that the Japanese were utterly beyond the pale of respectability for their alleged limitless “militarism.”

How tiny the funnel was through which actual Japanese information got to Americans was revealed after war was under way. Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress and one of the Roosevelt regime's principal propaganda chiefs, asserted that there were in his opinion only three non-Japanese in the entire USA at Pearl Harbor time with a real command of Japanese language. Publishers Weekly (September 26, 1942, p. 1192) suggested this was too small, and believed the number to be one hundred. But even this is a microscopically small percentage of a country then of about 132,000,000.

Unique among commentaries on Japan and its people was John Patric's *Yankee Hobo in the Orient*, issued originally by Doubleday in 1943 as *Why Japan Was Strong*. Its sympathetic and understanding portrait of the Japanese people must have shocked many Americans, though overstated was his conclusion that most of what was wrong and undesirable about Japan was its Statism. Surely their version was an extremely muted form when compared with that of the USA's noble “ally,” Soviet Russia, accentuated undoubtedly by the aggravated poverty of the 1930s decade, when Patric wandered about Japan almost at will. Material such as this, had it been widespread here in the decade before the war came about, might have had some modifying effect. (An absorbing summary of American misconceptions about the Japanese in the period ending about March 1941 can be found in Porter Sargent's *Getting U.S. Into War* [Boston, 1941], “Prodding Japan Into War,” pp. 525-545.)

But communication was not noticeably better on many other levels, including the diplomatic. Stimson, while Secretary of State under President Herbert C. Hoover, during the crisis of 1931-32 involving Japan in Manchuria and North China, utilized a novel device to cut down on “discourse” with the Japanese. According to the two anonymous journalists who wrote *High Low Washington* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1932, pp. 159-61), Stimson excluded all Japanese foreign

correspondents from his press conferences in these times, presumably on the grounds that they lacked sufficient command of English to grasp the tortured writhings through which the Secretary of State sought to present American positions in his “agonizing acrobatics,” as the authors, in attendance themselves, described the fumbling proceedings. (Stimson did far better later on as Roosevelt’s Secretary of War, and was much clearer as to what he “meant” in 1940-1941, in particular.)

Under Roosevelt, and his Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, a few months later, the situation got no better, and, subsequently, much worse. The Japanese view that Japan was as entitled to a separate power position in Asia via a device approximating the Monroe Doctrine, behind which Roosevelt increasingly functioned in extending, ultimately, American power virtually to the western coast of Africa, was denounced in the pre-Pearl Harbor decade. The rigid unwillingness to recognize this obviously played a big part in bringing about war. Only now are we noticing attention to this matter which is sober and appreciative, not a distillation of snorts and catcalls, denunciation and ridicule. Some serious attention is due to the points made by Dr. Gerald K. Haines in his “American Myopia and the Japanese Monroe Doctrine,” published in *Prologue: Journal of the National Archives* (Summer 1981, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 101-114).

If the Pearl Harbor story is still conducted on two levels, depending on the intelligence, general knowledge, sophistication and experience of the audience aimed at, so are the other events of high drama, from the war itself all through to the atomic bombing conclusion, and including what passes for explanation of the world that has resulted to the present day. What did the USA go to war for, other than as retaliation for Pearl Harbor? Surely the American public would never have entered a war so enthusiastically and fought with such desperate devotion unless its aims had been lowered to a very primitive common denominator. Fighting for the preservation of European colonies, the “Open Door,” and the promotion of an opaque and complicated China policy never would have survived as projected goals. But fighting to exterminate the Japanese for their effrontery and obliterate their home islands, followed by a general incineration of East Asia if need be and a return home to peace and prosperity, seemed to prevail vaguely in many minds, and these bare and simple sentiments were not noticeably jogged by the war regime’s propaganda. Japanophobia, cultivated by all means available, was so successful that it has not yet receded, despite tanks of ink and miles of film devoted to telling all that Japan is America’s “friend” now.

Surely the decision to incarcerate all Japanese living on the U.S. mainland in concentration camps envisioned a goodly element of the wartime propaganda value accruing to such a program, and the decision to adopt such measures appears to be anything but a spinal cord reaction to the way things were going at the start of the war in December 1941 and shortly after. Still a leader in its class as a study of the camp experience is Michi Weglyn’s *Years of Infamy* (New York: Wm. Morrow, 1976). Mrs. Weglyn has called attention in her continuing researches to a remarkable memorandum to President Roosevelt from his Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, dated October 9, 1940 (to be found in PSF Box 5, Navy, in the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, NY) in which the Secretary listed 15 “steps in preparation for war” which he recommended “be taken to impress the Japanese with the seriousness of our preparations.” The 12th recommended “step” was: “Prepare plans for concentration camps.” (Some friend of history in the past had attempted to blot out this recommendation from the memorandum, from the copy supplied this writer.)

If most American fighting men were not influenced by abstractions derived from listening to Foreign Policy Association radio talks, but were largely preoccupied by strategies of survival intermixed with their aims for revenge, what can we say of policy fabricated in and emanating from

the highest levels? Probably the shortest definition of “statesmanship” was elucidated by the famed Johns Hopkins University geographer, Isaiah Bowman, “looking ahead.” One must say that not much, if any, of this took place within the Roosevelt camp or that of his successor, Harry S. Truman. Most of the developments in the closing months of the war, and immediately after, struck with the characteristic catastrophe of the atom bomb, unprepared for and responded to with the usual confusion of makeshift temporizing and make-do which generally found the people in the highest places with the lowest jaws dropped in amazement at what happened, especially in the decade 1944-54. It was a time when shambles replaced even the primitive notions masquerading as “policy” which had occasionally grazed the consciousness of the “statesmen.” (This writer attempted a rumination on the subject in an extended review of the book by the Oxford historian Christopher Thorne, *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain and the War Against Japan, 1941-1945* [1978] in *Libertarian Review* for October 1978, pp. 47-50). But this subject and that of the atomic bombing decision lie still deeply encumbered in contemporary politics, and a large part of such studies must be mainly speculative. (Did Mr. Truman really direct Mr. Stimson originally not to drop the atomic bombs on cities?)

For that matter, there is much of the Pacific War and its related Asian mainland campaigns still little told and in some instances untold or just told. A case in point is the participation of American Japanese in the U.S. armed forces, a small part of which has long been exploited in the instance of those who took part in the European campaigns. But only in the late 1970s were we been able to learn that thousands upon thousands of Japanese-Americans took part in the war campaigns in the Pacific, on occasion even in combat against members of their families fighting in behalf of Imperial Japan. Only the book *Yankee Samurai* by the late Joseph D. Harrington (Detroit: Pettigrew, 1979) tells us about this. (Japanese-Americans were in the U.S. Pacific forces before Pearl Harbor; see the letter to the *Los Angeles Times* of November 23, 1981, by Yoshikazu Yamada, on his tour of duty as a draftee in service in the Philippines between November 1941 and April 1942, when he was airlifted to Australia on a stretcher after sustaining wounds in the fighting prior to the Corregidor surrender.)

It is obvious from what happened between 1945 and 1950 that the Roosevelt-Truman regime had no clear idea of what they wanted to prevail in China, after the massive campaign of talk and literature they had launched on the world prior to and during the war explaining how deeply involved Chinese affairs lay in American decisions in East Asia. Since the foundering of discussions over China policy was portrayed as the reason why a position was taken which precipitated the Japanese decision to go to war, the flabby performance after “victory” was just another instance reinforcing the suspicion that there never was a serious policy for a postwar mainland East Asia, especially after it became obvious that the decayed and degenerate Euro-American colonial system opposed by the Japanese was going to self-destruct anyway.

But what was to be the “new order” in Japan was certainly no clearer, and no improvement. John Hohenberg in a rather limp way in his book *New Era in the Pacific* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), reminds us once more of “insurrections” in Far East American troop centers even before the Japanese surrender on September 2, 1945, while stressing how anxious Americans were to return home rather than deal with the consequences and responsibilities stemming from their victory. Political leaders were only too happy to accommodate the armed forces.

What did the “victors” want for Japan? Surely they did not expect the country to follow the Red course which seemed likely to swamp all of East Asia. They hardly could have listened to the likes of Guenther Stein tell them of the possibility of a Red Japan as a consequence of the efforts of the tiny Japanese Stalinist Maoist cadre headed by Sanzo Nozaka, which had spent the war in Yen-an. Despite the convoy of Maoist and Stalinist sympathizers resident in various American de-

partments of government, nothing to advance this goal took place. Though defeated, it is important to note that the settlement of the Pacific War between Japan and the USA was a negotiated one, which could have been arrived at five or six months before the atom bombings, and the disintegration of Japanese society was not an objective under these stipulations. To be sure, various programs were later introduced, including the beheading of the Japanese wartime leader class via “war crimes” trials, and the imposition of a strange “constitution,” to which the Japanese still adhere stubbornly despite frequent efforts made to dissuade them into more “realistic” courses since. (How strange it was that Stimson could have become so hotly indignant over regimes founded by force in 1931-32, and devised his famous “Doctrine” for non-recognition of same, and then becoming mute when such regimes proliferated in the same area in 1945 and after, under different auspices.)

Furthermore, the disastrous politics following the end of hostilities in the Pacific War in August 1945, especially over the unresolved real estate issues of Korea and the old French Indo-China colonial preserve, already dissolved alarmingly in 1941, had consequences even more shocking and alarming to those who thought that after Pearl Harbor it was simply a matter of devastating Japan and retiring home to eternal peace and quiet. The return to influence of “difficult” people such as the Japanese and the Thais in the subsequent decades might have been predicted.

A major American building materials producer ran a most interesting full page advertisement in the October 8, 1980, issue of *Forbes* magazine, titled “How America Became a Colony Again.” Its obvious but unstated objective was the hope of overturning contemporary Japanese commercial and industrial success in the USA, while expanding their purchases of American food and raw materials, the classic imperialist relationship. That Japan has essentially traded political independence for this economic advantage is rarely alluded to, and the “one-world” conceptualists prefer to keep attention away from this situation. It is likely to remain a reality regardless of the distress it causes in America, until there is a major reversal in world affairs, and Japan once more becomes an independent world power center.

The 40th and 50th anniversaries of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor — a brilliant tactical success for them in that it prevented the American Pacific Fleet from engaging in offensive action in behalf of the British and Dutch colonial powers in South East Asia already under a state of siege, which aid had already been pledged, and asked for — was the occasion for the usual barrage of mindless journalistic flummery, totally lacking in political content and oozing with bravado and after-the-fact invented “reasons” for it happening. To this day the majority of Americans have never been taught to relate the event to world politics and the consequence of the foreign policy of their revered President Roosevelt, whose “day-of-infamy” diversionary oratory has usually been satisfactory over the years as an explanation of how it all came about. It has been his successors who have had to cope with the consequences of the war which ensued, and the progressively unsatisfactory resulting circumstances may account in part for the increasing vociferousness of the defense of Roosevelt and his Japanophobic regime by partisans who profess to this day to be so offended and appalled at the spread of revisionism in assaying this affair.

In that sense we have gone “beyond Pearl Harbor” to such a degree, and plunged into matters which seem to be so much more serious, if not dangerous, that it is understandable that so many contemporary Americans have responded to polls about the significance of Pearl Harbor to the effect that they are unaware why it should be remembered as of particular importance to United States history. If Asians ever return to a control over their affairs and their neighborhood as the USA is in theirs, Pearl Harbor in future books may be stored away in an obscure footnote.

Author bio

James J. Martin graduated from the University of New Hampshire in 1942 and received his M.A. (1945) and Ph.D. (1949) degrees in history from the University of Michigan. His teaching career has spanned 25 years and involved residence at educational institutions from coast to coast. Dr. Martin's books have included the 1964 two-volume classic, *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941*, as well as *Beyond Pearl Harbor*, *The Man Who Invented 'Genocide': The Public Career and Consequences of Raphael Lemkin*, and *An American Adventure in Bookburning in the Style of 1918*. He is also author of two collections of essays: *Revisionist Viewpoints* and *The Saga of Hog Island and Other Essays in Inconvenient History*. Dr. Martin has addressed six conferences of the Institute for Historical Review, including the first in 1979. This essay is a slightly abridged and edited version of his introduction to *Beyond Pearl Harbor* (Little Current, Ont., Canada: Plowshare Press, 1981). It appears here by arrangement with the author.

The Dictatorship of Imbecility

Claude Lanzmann and 'Shoah'

reviewed by [Serge Thion](#)

Once again, in his typically heavy-handed way, occasional film director Claude Lanzmann has made another flabbergasting admission. Speaking of his movie “Shoah,” he said to the Paris daily *Le Monde* (June 12, 1997): “Not understanding has been my iron law.”

Several years ago, while speaking of Spielberg’s “Schindler’s List,” Lanzmann said that if he had found authentic pictures of homicidal gas chambers, he would have destroyed them. What he precisely said was this (*Le Monde*, March 3, 1994):

There is not one second of archival material in Shoah because it is not the way I work or think, and besides it does not exist... If I had found an existing film — a secret film because that was forbidden — shot by an SS and showing how 3,000 Jews, men, women and children, were dying together, asphyxiated in the gas chamber of Krema 2 in Auschwitz, not only would I have not shown it, but I would have destroyed it. I cannot say why. It goes by itself.

Such a remark should astonish only those who still don’t realize that Lanzmann is deranged. Fortunately, he could never find such a film because his nightmare is just a dream. (An official at Israel’s Yad Vashem Holocaust center pretends that such a film exists, hidden deep in the center’s archives. But nobody has ever seen it. As usual the proof lies in the invisibility of the proof.) ^[1]

During the war young Claude spent a very happy boyhood in a French village while his parents were hiding away from the Vichy and Nazi threat. The entire family survived. Much later he developed a sense of guilt about those happy years. During the fifties he was introduced to the circle of Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir by his sister, who was one of Sartre’s mistresses (and who later committed suicide). In an expression of symmetry, he became Beauvoir’s lover, and thus anchored himself to this small but intellectually powerful clique. ^[2]

Unfortunately Claude Lanzmann has only a limited command of language. His most convincing arguments have always been, in his view, his fists and his genitals, the size of which he is prone to allude to — even suggesting to skeptical ladies that they check for themselves. In rhetorical ability he is overshadowed by his elder brother, Jacques, who is a very successful novelist, and against whom Claude has developed a rabid jealousy. Left with his limited abilities, Claude had an obscure career as a proof-reading journalist with the popular press. Several times he tried to write articles for *Les Temps Modernes*, Sartre’s monthly review, but he could never get further than five or six pages.

As a filmmaker Lanzmann found a solution to this deficiency, which permits one to manipulate images in ways that are not possible with written and spoken arguments. His first film, released in 1973, was a documentary about Israel. He knew nothing of the country, and the film reveals his ambivalent feelings. He could not understand or approve of many facets of Israeli life, but at the same time he found a new framework through which he could express his singular violence, ambitions and desire for recognition. He also discovered that Israel was the place where the money was.

This money was needed for his “Shoah” project. In 1977 he managed to convince Israeli Prime Minister Begin to contribute \$850,000 in Israel government funds to this project, which Begin saw as “a Jewish national interest.” Additional funds were made available from non-government Israeli sources, and from the French government. [3]

Lanzmann conceived the film as another documentary. These days he expresses contempt for knowledge, and says he disapproves of scholarly research because it implies a comparative approach that is at odds with what he calls the “uniqueness of the shoah” (Hebrew for catastrophe). But back then he had to learn from the ground up, and to meet with scholars. He said that at the start of the project, in 1974, he “spent months in Yad Vashem.” He began by producing a rather conventional film.

We know this because when the Faurisson affair began in 1979, his film was not far from completion. We had inside knowledge of this at the time. Nadine Fresco, a failed historian who was with him during his filming in Poland and elsewhere, dutifully reported to us about the progress that was being made. Also, I had undetected spies on the editorial staff of *Les Temps Modernes*. In addition, I was seeing Lanzmann myself at the time, because I had been asked to help organize and write articles on Indochina for a special issue of this journal. [4]

The Faurisson affair was in itself a new catastrophe for Lanzmann because it showed that all the main documents on which he was relying were open to question. The columns of the temple were shaking. His mentor, Raul Hilberg, and Fresco as well, probably pointed this out to him at the time. The endless hours of pictures of trains and locomotives are directly inspired by railroad-addict Hilberg, who mentions this in a recent book. [5] This is how “Shoah” viewers have been railroaded.

Lanzmann’s film was thus almost destroyed by revisionist critique even before it was issued. He had only one way out: abandon documents altogether, and make a different film. Plunge into irrationality, play on memory as opposed to history, and set primitive gut feelings against understanding. That’s why he can now say “not understanding has been my iron law”. Kill one bird with many stones. The biggest difficulty was to return to Israel to beg for money, once again playing the schnorrer. But the funds for propaganda there are unlimited, it seems, and he got the gelt all right.

A new concept of the film emerged: lengthy interviews, sliced into small parcels, sprinkled throughout an endless, nine-and-a-half-hour-long saga. That’s a sure recipe for confusing and completely numbing, if not putting to sleep, anyone with no special training in the history and geography of the Second World War and of Poland. Actually, over more than ten years Lanzmann had acquired a good understanding of the historical questions, and has shown a consummate art of slaloming between them.

In the recent *Le Monde* interview (June 12, 1997), he was asked about his film’s “form”: “Of course, it is essential. ‘Shoah’ is a very complex narrative construction, built on circles and recurrence, sometimes four hours into the story ...” If the film honestly presented the interviews one

after the other, complete and uncut, the entire pyramid would crumble into absurdity. “Shoah” is also stultifying because few of its viewers understand Polish (badly translated, specialists say), and because viewers cannot compare what was said two hours earlier with what was said five hours earlier. [6] But for the revisionist who knows the basic material, “Shoah” is particularly unimpressive because of the way it makes use of blatantly false testimonies. This has already been amply demonstrated. [7] Perhaps the revisionists should apologize to Lanzmann for the inconvenience they caused him by ruining his original plans, and pushing him to instead produce this mammothly boring cinematic work.

In general, the film’s reception has been quite cool. It’s been a complete commercial failure in the United States. While it has been shown on several German and eastern European television networks, France remains the place where Lanzmann, fully supported by the Socialist governments, has made the greatest inroads. A small clique of drummers kept the “Paris intelligentsia” in a state of mute reverence.

When Lanzmann later produced his third film in what he said was a trilogy, Israel-centered production entitled “Tsahal,” silence and consternation prevailed. All the suppressed fascist components of his sick personality emerged: uncritical acceptance of ultra-nationalist Zionist myths, adoration for military force, homosexual-masochistic admiration for young “warriors,” acceptance of torture and death as proper means of imposing Jewish power, and so forth.

Fortunately opinion-makers know how to forget and dispense with memory when it becomes undesirable. It now seems that “Tsahal” never existed. Nobody dares say the king has no clothes, that Lanzmann is an imbecile and a dictator — even though his own public statements remove any ambiguity on this point.

Notes

1. ☺ Statement by Ephraim Kaye, described as “director of seminars for educators from abroad at Yad Vashem in Israel,” Northern California Jewish Bulletin, April 18, 1997.
2. ☺ More on the Lanzmann crowd can be found in the first chapter of my book *Une Allumette sur la banquise* (1993), now accessible (in French) on the Internet web site: <http://www.abbc.com/aaargh/fran/histo/STasb1.1.html>
3. ☺ "Report 'Shoah' Got Grant from Israel,” The Jewish Journal (New York City), June 27, 1986, p. 3; “Lanzmann & 'Shoah',” The Washington Post, November 20, 1985, p. B4.
4. ☺ "Indochine: Guerre des socialismes et mort des peuples,” Les Temps Modernes, Issue No. 402, January 1980.
5. ☺ Hilberg’s claim is to be found in *The Politics of Memory: The Journey of a Holocaust Historian*, a very funny book published by Ivan R. Dee (Chicago, 1996), p. 40.
6. ☺ Claude Lanzmann, *Shoah: An Oral History of the Holocaust: The Complete Text of the Film* (with a preface by Simone de Beauvoir). New York: Pantheon, 1985, and, New York: DaCapo, 1996.
7. ☺ See, for example: Bradley Smith, “Shoah: Abraham Bomba, the Barber,” The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1986, pp. 244-253; Robert Faurisson, “Shoah” (review of the film), The Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1988, pp. 85-92; Theodore J. O’Keefe, “Shoah” (review of the book), The Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1988, pp. 92-95.

Serge Thion, born in 1942, has devoted some 30 years to study, analysis and writing on social, economic and political issues, particularly in agrarian societies. He received a doctorate in sociology from the Paris Sorbonne in 1967. He is the author of numerous scholarly articles, half of them dealing with Southeast Asia, and several books, including *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (in collaboration with Robert Faurisson). A Serge Thion archive is being assembled at: <http://www.vho.org/aaargh/engl/engl.html>

His essay on the work of Jean-Claude Pressac, “A French Scholar Responds to a Widely Acclaimed Anti-Revisionist Work About Auschwitz,” was published in the July-August 1994 *Journal of Historical Review*.

How a Major Holocaust Historian Manipulates Facts

Gerald Fleming's Distortions

Gerald Fleming is an internationally prominent Holocaust historian who teaches history at the University of Surrey in England. In his widely-discussed 1984 book, *Hitler and the Final Solution*, he attempted to refute British historian David Irving's provocative contention that no documentary evidence exists to show that Hitler ordered the extermination of Europe's Jews, or even that he knew about any such policy or program.

Fleming's book received lavish media praise, although there were a few words of criticism. For example, a generally laudatory review in the *New York Times* (Dec. 28, 1984) nevertheless noted that Fleming's "sometimes flamboyant writing and the structure of his book as a kind of thriller will annoy some historians."

More to the point, the German-born English-Jewish historian failed conclusively to refute Irving's thesis. The best that Fleming could cite was something called the "Franke-Gricksch 'Resettlement Action Report'." However, in a detailed analysis published in the Fall 1991 *Journal of Historical Review* (pp. 261-279), Canadian scholar Brian A. Renk established that this document, which has no date or signature, contains demonstrable absurdities. He concluded that it is a post-war fabrication.

In 1993 newspapers around the world announced that Fleming had discovered in the Soviet archives proof of execution gas chambers at Auschwitz. In addition to articles about his discovery, Fleming himself reported on his findings in several articles. (See, for example, his piece, headlined "Engineers of Death," in the *New York Times*, July 18, 1993.) In fact, he was able only to cite portions of transcripts of postwar Soviet military interrogations of four German engineers.

In 1994 Fleming collaborated with architect Robert Jan van Pelt on a documentary film, "Blueprints of Genocide," which was broadcast in Britain on the BBC "Horizon" program, May 9, 1994, and in the United States on the NPR "Nova" program, February 7, 1995. During a dramatic high point of the broadcast, van Pelt is shown holding a document while stating: "It says very clearly, 'You will be able to kill and you will be able to burn simultaneously in this building [Crematory II]'."

This document, which is not shown to viewers, is actually a simple memorandum of January 29, 1942, not even marked "Secret," about ... electricity supply. It mentions "burning [cremation] with simultaneous special treatment" ("Verbrennung mit gleichzeitiger Sonderbehandlung"). Fleming deceitfully reversed the word order, and rendered "Sonderbehandlung" as "kill."

Commenting on this misrepresentation, Robert Faurisson has written that "the word 'Sonderbehandlung' could mean, by its place in the phrase, anything except to kill because this 'special treatment' was simultaneous with burning." Moreover, as Faurisson further noted, it is obvious

that if Fleming, or anyone, had actually discovered a wartime German document that clearly says what Holocaust historians have been seeking for decades, it would be publicized everywhere as a discovery of the greatest historical importance. (See: R. Faurisson, "A KGB Novelist: Gerald Fleming," Adelaide Institute on-line newsletter [Australia], Dec. 1996, pp. 23-25.)

Over the years, Fleming has maintained correspondence with revisionist researchers in different countries. For example, the full text of his handwritten letter of April 3, 1991, to the editor of the Journal of Historical Review was published in the Fall 1991 issue (pp. 375-378), along with a response by Mark Weber. More recently, Fleming wrote a handwritten letter of April 25, 1996, to Institute Director Weber. These two letters show how Fleming deals with facts and historical evidence.

Here is the complete text of Fleming's April 1996 letter, along with Weber's reply of July 26, 1996 (to which Fleming did not respond).

Gerald Fleming
University of Surrey
re: The Rudolf Report / "Cromwell Press" 1993
Author: Germar Scheerer (formerly Rudolf)
'Strafsache gegen Volksverhetzung u.a. / Generalstaatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart / 4. 4. 96'

25 / IV / 96

Dear Sir,

I note your Institute is still distributing the 'Rudolf Report,' which refers to some of my research in foreign archives on page 107-108. In view of the fact that the information given is utter nonsense, and since the sentence passed on the author of this report by the Landgericht Stuttgart on the 23 June 1995 has been confirmed by the Federal German Supreme Court, I am writing to you to let you know, — since you may well be unaware of this fact, — that the printer of this report, who is known to the authorities, gave a written formal undertaking at the beginning of March 1994, in which he undertook not to print this report again and to destroy any copies at that time still on his premises.

It is indeed in the printer's interest that the 'Rudolf Report,' which has led to a fourteen months' prison sentence against its author, and the printing and distribution of which is an actionable offence, should not be available in any shape or form to potential readers, since it could leave the printer and distributor open to charges.

Yours sincerely,

Gerald Fleming

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW
P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659

Fri., 26 July 1996

Gerald Fleming
University of Surrey
Dept. of Linguistic

and International Studies
Guildford, Surrey GU2 5XH
England — U.K.

Dear Dr. Fleming,

Thank you for your handwritten letter of 25 April, in which you advise us not to distribute The Rudolf Report. Please pardon this tardy response.

After receiving your letter, we contacted Anthony Hancock, director of Wilson Press (The Print Factory), the English publisher of the Report. He gave us a different view of the facts. What happened, according to Hancock, is this:

Degussa, a German chemical corporation, had been concerned because the original edition of The Rudolf Report contained a single-line acknowledgment by the author expressing thanks to “Degussa AG for providing information material about Prussian Blue (trade name Vossen-Blau).” Fearful of being associated, even so tenuously, with this publication, Degussa complained to the English publisher. In a letter to Hancock, the London law firm representing Degussa stated that the Report’s contents are illegal in Germany, and that the author’s passing mention of the company in the first edition “has had serious adverse consequences for Degussa’s business, not only in Germany but also in the United States and Israel.”

On March 30, 1994, Hancock and Degussa concluded a written agreement, a copy of which Hancock sent to us. In return for a pledge by Degussa that it would not bring legal proceedings against him, Hancock agreed to refrain from mentioning Degussa in any future editions of the Report, and to destroy all existing copies of the Report with the word “Degussa.”

Contrary to what you suggested to me, Hancock did not agree to halt all publication of The Rudolf Report.

Your objections to the Report might be more convincing if Germar Rudolf were the only independent investigator to conclude that the supposed gas chamber facilities in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not used, and could not have been used, for killing prisoners as alleged. As you must know, at the time he wrote it, Rudolf was a certified chemist working at the renowned Max Planck research center, as well as a doctoral candidate at the University of Stuttgart. He wrote his detailed Report on the basis of an on-site investigation, chemical analysis of samples, and meticulous research.

Rudolf reached essentially the same conclusion as had American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter in his 1988 forensic investigation of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau. You may also be aware that as a result of Leuchter’s findings, the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow conducted a partial investigation, and that its forensic analysis, given in a confidential September 1990 report, corroborated Leuchter’s findings. (This report was published in the Summer 1991 Journal of Historical Review). Moreover, Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl explicitly endorsed Leuchter’s findings in a detailed March 1992 report (published in the Winter 1992-93 Journal), and German engineer Wolfgang Schuster and American research chemist William Lindsey reached conclusions similar to those of Leuchter and Rudolf.

If these researchers are wrong, it should not be difficult to demonstrate their error. Everyone should welcome an impartial, thorough forensic examination of all the evidence by an international team of independent scholars, engineers and historians. As it is, courageous skeptics are routinely subjected to threats, smears, physical violence, arrest and legal persecution. In Ger-

many, France, Austria, Israel and a few other countries, it is a crime to dispute the official version of Holocaust history. Leuchter's career has been destroyed, and Rudolf has been sentenced to 14 months imprisonment.

The vicious nature of the campaign against those who call into question aspects of the Holocaust extermination story implicitly supports the merit of their findings. What kind truth is it that must be defended with threats of arrest, fines and imprisonment?

I am disappointed that you seek to bolster your position by citing the legal persecution of researchers and historians who have reached conclusions at odds with the official Holocaust story. Indeed, you audaciously seek to enlist our cooperation in suppressing Rudolf's Report, citing a transparently false concern for the best interests of the printer and distributor. As a scholar, your duty should be to join with us in protesting against this outrageous campaign against free speech and open scholarly inquiry, and to defend victims such as Germar Rudolf.

Sincerely,

s / Mark Weber
Director

Wartime bombings of neutral Switzerland

Joachim Hoffmann ([bio](#))

For some time now it has become common to beat up on prototypically democratic Switzerland in a sometimes unfriendly and occasionally almost hateful way. Apparently this is being done for political motives.

To this end, certain regrettable events during the Second World War are strongly emphasized, without in all fairness mentioning the difficult circumstances under which the Swiss Confederation had to maintain its neutrality and sovereignty toward not only the Axis powers, and especially Germany, but also toward the western Allies.

Above all the United States, which is in the forefront of the accusatory critics, should permit itself to be reminded of the great extent to which, for years, it violated Swiss neutrality. From 1943 onwards American war planes flew at will over the neutral country, sometimes in flight formations, in attacks on targets in the German Reich.

Time and again they also carried out offensive operations against Swiss territory. Thus, on April 1, 1944, Schaffhausen was the victim of an intense American air attack, with considerable human losses and heavy destruction of property. Passenger and freight rail cars, viaducts and train stations were also repeatedly bombed or fired upon, such as in Chiasso and Basel, resulting in numerous fatalities and extensive material damage. On February 22, 1945, alone 18 Swiss lost their lives, and 50 were wounded, some severely, in American bombing attacks and air raids on the northern part of the country.

In the aftermath of the American air attacks on Basel and Zürich on March 5, 1945, which once again caused considerable human losses and material damage, the government in Washington was notified in a strongly worded protest of the routine flouting of Swiss neutrality, and of the steadily increasing number of border violations, and that such bombings were intolerable. The situation had become so tense that Washington directed the supreme commander of the United States Army Air Force in Europe, General Spaatz, and his chief of staff, to go to Bern [the Swiss capital] in person to apologize and promise reform.

Among the various US airplanes that came down on Swiss territory were no fewer than 160 large four-motor B-17 “flying fortress” bombers and B-24 “Liberators,” either because the crews wanted to avoid being taken prisoner in Germany, or were deserters who simply wanted to get out of military service, or because they were forced to land or were shot down by Swiss flyers or air defense forces.

War planes of other countries also repeatedly carried out offensive operations against Switzerland, including, on a large scale, by the British Royal Air Force, and also, not so seriously but still considerable, by the German Luftwaffe, and even on occasion by French planes.

However, none of the nations at war so massively and continuously challenged Swiss neutrality, and caused such great loss of life and destruction of property, as the bombers and fighter planes of the United States air force.

Author bio

Joachim Hoffmann, Dr. phil., served as a historian with the Military History Research Center of the German armed forces, 1960-1995, and is author of the recently published study, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg*. This item appeared as a reader's letter in the September 1997 issue of the Swiss magazine *Schweizer Soldat*.

Review

Russian Specialist Lays Bare Stalin's Plan to Conquer Europe

- Icebreaker: Who Started the Second World War?, by Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun). London: Hamish Hamilton, 1990. Hardcover. Maps. Photos. Source references. Index.

Reviewed by Joseph Bishop ([bio](#))

It sometimes happens that the most significant historical works are virtually ignored by the mainstream press, and consequently reach few readers. Such is the case with many revisionist studies, including this important work by a former Soviet military intelligence officer who defected to the West in 1978. Even before the appearance of this book, he had already established a solid reputation with the publication of five books, written under the pen name of Viktor Suvorov, on the inner workings of the Soviet military, and particularly its intelligence operations.

In Icebreaker Suvorov takes a close look at the origins and development of World War II in Europe, and in particular the background to Hitler's "Operation Barbarossa" attack against the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Since its original publication in Russian (entitled *Ledokol*) in France in 1988, it has been published in an astonishing 87 editions in 18 languages. In spite of its importance to the historical record, Icebreaker has received very little attention in the United States. The few reviews that have appeared here have been almost entirely brief and dismissive — a shameful treatment that reflects the cowardice and intellectual irresponsibility of a "politically correct" scholarly establishment.

According to the conventional view, Hitler's perfidious attack abruptly forced a neutral and aloof Soviet Russia into war. This view further holds that a surprised Stalin had naively trusted the deceitful German Führer. Rejecting this view as political propaganda, Suvorov shows Stalin's personal responsibility for the war's outbreak and progression. Above all, this book details the vast Soviet preparations for an invasion of Europe in the summer of 1941 with the goal of Sovietizing central and western Europe. Suvorov is not alone in his view. It is also affirmed by a number of non-Russian historians, such as American scholar R. H. S. Stolfi in his 1991 study *Hitler's Panzers East: World War II Reinterpreted* (reviewed by me in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 Journal).

In spite of rigid Soviet censorship, Suvorov has succeeded in digging up many nuggets of valuable information from publicly available Soviet writings that confirm his central thesis. Icebreaker is based on the author's meticulous scouring of such published sources as memoirs of wartime Soviet military leaders, and histories of individual Soviet divisions, corps, armies, fleets, and air units.

'Second Imperialist War'

A central tenet of Soviet ideology was that the Soviet Union, as the world's first Marxist state and bulwark of "workers' power," would eventually liberate all of humanity from the yoke of capitalism and fascism (the "last resort of monopoly capitalism"). While Soviet leaders might disagree about the circumstances and timing of this process of global liberation, none doubted the importance of this objective. As Suvorov notes:

For Lenin, as for Marx, world revolution remained the guiding star, and he did not lose sight of this goal. But according to the minimum program, the First World War would only facilitate a revolution in one country. How, then, would the world revolution take place thereafter? Lenin gave a clear-cut answer to this question in 1916: as a result of the second imperialist war ...

Initially the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" was made up of only a handful of constituent republics. Lenin and the other Soviet leaders intended that more republics would be added to the USSR until it encompassed the entire globe. Thus, writes Suvorov, "the declaration accompanying the formation of the USSR was a clear and direct declaration of war on the rest of the world."

Hitler understood this much better than did the leaders of Britain, France or the United States. During a conversation in 1937 with Lord Halifax, one of Britain's most important officials, he said: "In the event of a general war [in Europe], only one country can win. That country is the Soviet Union." In *Icebreaker*, Suvorov explains how in 1939 Stalin exploited the long-simmering dispute between Germany and Poland over Danzig and the "Polish Corridor" to provoke a "second imperialist war" that would enormously expand the Soviet empire.

Stalin anticipated a drawn-out war of attrition in which Germany, France and Britain would exhaust themselves in a devastating conflict that would also spark Communist uprisings across Europe. And as the Soviet premier expected, "Icebreaker" Germany did indeed break up the established order in Europe. But along with nearly everyone else outside of Germany, he was astonished by the speed and thoroughness with which Hitler subdued not only Poland, but also France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Yugoslavia and Greece. Dashing Kremlin expectations that a "second imperialist war" would quickly usher in a Soviet Europe, by July 1940 Hitler was effectively master of the continent.

Soviet Preparations

Throughout history, every army has had a basic mission, one that requires corresponding preparations. An army whose mission is basically defensive is accordingly trained and equipped for defensive war. It heavily fortifies the country's frontier areas, and employs its units in echeloned depth. It builds defensive emplacements and obstacles, lays extensive minefields, and digs tank traps and ditches. Military vehicles, aircraft, weapons and equipment suitable for defending the country are designed, produced and supplied. Officers and troops are trained in defense tactics and counter-offensive operations.

An army whose mission is aggressive war acts very differently. Officers and troops are trained for offensive operations. They are supplied with weapons and equipment designed for attack, and the frontier area is prepared accordingly. Troops and their materiel are massed close to the frontier, obstacles are removed, and minefields are cleared. Maps of the areas to be invaded are issued to officers, and the troops are briefed on terrain problems, how to deal with the population to be conquered, and so forth.

Carefully examining the equipping, training and deployment of Soviet forces, as well as the numbers and strengths of Soviet weaponry, vehicles, supplies and aircraft, Suvorov establishes in great detail that the Red Army was organized and deployed in the summer of 1941 for attack, not defense.

Peculiar Tanks

Germany entered war in 1939 with 3,195 tanks. As Suvorov points out, this was fewer than a single Soviet factory in Kharkov, operating on a “peacetime” basis, was turning out every six months.

By 1941 everyone recognized the tank as the primary weapon of an army of attack in a European land war. During this period, Suvorov shows, the Soviets were producing large quantities of the well armed “Mark BT” tank, predecessor of the famed T34 model. “BT” were the initials for the Russian words “high speed tank.” The first of this series had a top speed of 100 kilometers per hour, impressive even by today’s standards. But as Suvorov goes on to note, this weapon had a peculiarity:

Having said so many positive things about the numbers and quality of Soviet tanks, one must note one minor drawback. It was impossible to use these tanks on Soviet territory ...Mark BT tanks could only be used in an aggressive war, only in the rear of the enemy and only in a swift offensive operation, in which masses of tanks suddenly burst into enemy territory ...

The Mark BT tanks were quite powerless on Soviet territory. When Hitler began Operation Barbarossa, practically all the Mark BT tanks were cast aside. It was almost impossible to use them off the roads, even with caterpillar tracks. They were never used on wheels. The potential of these tanks was never realized, but it certainly could never have been realized on Soviet territory. The Mark BT was created to operate on foreign territory only and, what is more, only on territory where there were good roads ...

To the question, where could the enormous potential of these Mark BT tanks be successfully realized, there is only one answer: in central and southern Europe. The only territories where tanks could be used, after their caterpillar tracks were removed, were Germany, France and Belgium ... Caterpillar tracks are only a means for reaching foreign territory. For instance, Poland could be crossed on caterpillar tracks which, once the German autobahns had been reached, could then be discarded in favor of wheels, on which operations would then proceed ...

It is said that Stalin’s tanks were not ready for war. That was not so. They were not ready for a defensive war on their own territory. They were, however, designed to wage war on others.

Airborne Assault Corps

Similarly designed for offensive war are paratroops. This most aggressive form of infantry is employed primarily as an invasion force. Germany formed its first airborne assault units in 1936, and by 1939 had 4,000 paratroops. And the USSR? Suvorov explains:

By the beginning of the war [1939], the Soviet Union had more than one million trained paratroopers — 200 times more than all other countries in the world put together, including Germany... It is quite impossible to use paratroopers in such massive numbers in a defensive war... No country in history, or indeed all countries in the world put together, including the Soviet Union, has ever had so many paratroopers and air assault landing sub-units as Stalin had in 1941.

As part of the planned invasion, in early 1940 orders were given for large-scale construction of airborne assault gliders, which were produced in mass quantity from the spring of 1941 onward. The Soviets also designed and built the remarkable KT “winged tank.” After landing, its wings and tailpiece were discarded, making the KT instantly ready for combat. The author also describes a variety of other offense-oriented units and weapons, and their deployment in June 1941 in areas and jumping-off points right on the frontiers with Germany and Romania. All these weapons of offensive war became instantly useless following the Barbarossa attack, when the Soviets suddenly required defensive weapons.

Suvorov tells of a secret meeting in December 1940 attended by Stalin and other Politburo members at which General Pavel Rychagov, deputy defense minister and commander of the Soviet air force, discussed the details of “special operations in the initial period of war.” He spoke of the necessity of keeping the air force’s preparations secret in order to “catch the whole of the enemy air force on the ground.” Suvorov comments:

It is quite obvious that it is not possible to “catch the whole of the enemy air force on the ground” in time of war. It is only possible to do so in peacetime, when the enemy does not suspect the danger.

Stalin created so many airborne troops that they could only be used in one situation: after a surprise attack by the Soviet air force on the airfields of the enemy. It would be simply impossible to use hundreds of thousands of airborne troops and thousands of transport aircraft and gliders in any other situation.

Suvorov also reports on the dismantling in June 1941 of the Soviet frontier defense systems, and the deployment there of masses of troops and armor poised for westward attack.

Stalin Preempted

During the period just prior to the planned Soviet invasion, the USSR’s western military districts were ordered to deploy all 114 divisions, then stationed in the interior, to positions on the frontier. Thus, remarks Suvorov, June 13, 1941, “marks the beginning of the greatest displacement of troops in the history of civilization.”

Such a massive buildup of forces directly on the frontier simply could not be kept secret. As Suvorov notes, Wilhelm Keitel, Field Marshal and Chief of Germany’s armed forces High Command, spoke about the German fears during a postwar interrogation:

All the preparatory measures we took before spring 1941 were defensive measures against the contingency of a possible attack by the Red Army. Thus the entire war in the East, to a known degree, may be termed a preventive war ... We decided ... to forestall an attack by Soviet Russia and to destroy its armed forces with a surprise attack. By spring 1941, I had formed the definite opinion that the heavy buildup of Russian troops, and their attack on Germany which would follow, would place us, in

both economic and strategic terms, in an exceptionally critical situation ... Our attack was the immediate consequence of this threat ...

In 1941, Admiral N. G. Kuznetsov was the Soviet Navy minister, as well as a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. In his postwar memoirs, published in 1966, he recalled:

For me there is one thing beyond all argument — J. V. Stalin not only did not exclude the possibility of war with Hitler's Germany, on the contrary, he considered such a war ... inevitable ... J. V. Stalin made preparations for war ... wide and varied preparations — beginning on dates ... which he himself had selected. Hitler upset his calculations.

Suvorov comments:

The admiral is telling us quite clearly and openly that Stalin considered war inevitable and prepared himself seriously to enter it at a time of his own choosing. In other words, Stalin was preparing to strike the first blow, that is to commit aggression against Germany; but Hitler dealt a preventive blow first and thereby frustrated all Stalin's plans ...

Let us compare Keitel's words with those of Kuznetsov. Field Marshal Keitel said that Germany was not preparing an aggression against the Soviet Union; it was the Soviet Union which was preparing the aggression. Germany was simply using a preventive attack to defend itself from an unavoidable aggression. Kuznetsov says the same thing — yes, the Soviet Union was preparing for war and would inevitably have entered into it, but Hitler disrupted these plans with his attack. What I cannot understand is why Keitel was hanged [at Nuremberg], and Kuznetsov was not.

Suvorov believes that Hitler's preemptive strike came just two or three weeks before Stalin's own planned assault. Thus, as Wehrmacht forces smashed Soviet formations in the initial weeks of the "Barbarossa" attack, the Germans marveled at the great numbers of Soviet tanks and other materiel destroyed or captured — an enormous buildup sufficient not just for an assault on Germany, but for the conquest of all of Europe. Suvorov writes

Hitler decided that it was not worth his while waiting any longer. He was the first to go, without waiting for the blow of the "liberating" dagger to stab him in the back. He had begun the war in the most favorable conditions which could possibly have existed for an aggressor; but given the nature of Stalin's grand plan, he could never have won it. Even in the most unfavorable conditions, the Red Army was able to "liberate" half of Europe ...

As devastating as it was, Hitler's assault was not fatal. It came too late to be successful. "Even the Wehrmacht's surprise attack on the Soviet Union could no longer save Hitler and his empire," Suvorov writes. "Hitler understood where the greatest danger was coming from, but it was already too late." With great effort, the Soviets were able to recover from the shattering blow. Stalin succeeded in forming new armies to replace those lost in the second half of 1941.

As Suvorov repeatedly points out, the widely accepted image of World War II, and particularly of the roles of Stalin and Hitler in the conflict, simply does not accord with reality:

In the end ... Poland, for whose liberty the West had gone to war, ended up with none at all. On the contrary, she was handed over to Stalin, along with the whole of Eastern Europe, including a part of Germany. Even so, there are some people in the West who continue to believe that the West won the Second World War.

... Stalin became the absolute ruler of a vast empire hostile to the West, which had been created with the help of the West. For all that, Stalin was able to preserve his reputation as naive and trusting, while Hitler went down in history as the ultimate aggressor. A multitude of books have been published in the West based on the idea that Stalin was not ready for war while Hitler was.

A Soviet Europe?

An intriguing historical “what if” is to speculate on the fate of Europe if Stalin, and not Hitler, had struck first. For example, a less rapidly successful German campaign in the Balkans in the spring of 1941 could have forced the postponement of Barbarossa by several weeks, which would have enabled Stalin to strike the first blow.

Could German forces have withstood an all-out Soviet assault, with tens of thousands of Soviet tanks and a million paratroopers? With the advantage of striking first, how quickly could Stalin have reached Berlin, Amsterdam, Brussels, Paris, Rome and Madrid? Suvorov writes:

It would be a mistake to underestimate the enormous strength and vast resources of Stalin's war machine. Despite its grievous losses, it had enough strength to withdraw and gather new strength to reach Berlin. How far would it have gone had it not sustained that massive blow on 22 June, if hundreds of aircraft and thousands of tanks had not been lost, had it been the Red Army and not the Wehrmacht which struck the first blow? Did the German Army have the territorial expanse behind it for withdrawal? Did it have the inexhaustible human resources, and the time, to restore its army after the first Soviet surprise attack?

Partially answering his own question, Suvorov states: “If Hitler had decided to launch Operation Barbarossa a few weeks later, the Red Army would have reached Berlin much earlier than 1945.”

Suvorov even presents a hypothetical scenario of a Soviet invasion and occupation of Europe, replete with Stalinist terror and oppression:

The [Soviet] troops meet endless columns of prisoners. Dust rises on the horizon. There they are, the oppressors of the people — shopkeepers, bourgeois doctors and architects, farmers and bank employees. The Chekists' [NKVD] work will be hard. Prisoners are cursorily interrogated at every stopping place. Then the NKVD investigates each one in detail, and establishes the degree of his guilt before the working people. But by now it has become necessary to expose the most dangerous of the millions of prisoners: the former Social Democrats, pacifists, socialists and National Socialists, former officers, policemen and ministers of religion.

Millions of prisoners have to be sent far away to the east and the north, in order to give them the opportunity, through honest labor, to expiate their guilt before the people ...

In Suvorov's scenario, a camp called Auschwitz is captured early on by the advancing Soviets. In response to the question, “Well, what was it like in Auschwitz, pal?,” a Red Army man replies:

“‘Nothing much, really’ The worldly-wise soldier in his black jacket shrugs his shoulders. ‘Just like at home. Only their climate is better’.”

Actually, “what if” historical speculation is normally uncertain because key factors are often simply imponderable. In this case, one such factor is Soviet morale. While it is certainly true that Soviet troops fought bravely and tenaciously in 1941-1943 defending their home territory, they may not have fought with the same fervor and morale in an invasion of Europe. The tenacity and endurance shown by Red Army troops in Hungary and Germany in 1944 and 1945 is not necessarily indicative, because these soldiers were bitterly mindful of more than two years of savage fighting against the invaders, and of stern occupation, on their home territory.

Another imponderable is the response of Britain and the United States to an all-out Soviet invasion of Europe. If Soviet forces had struck westward in July 1941, would Britain and the United States have sided with Stalin and the USSR, or would they have sided with Hitler and Germany, Italy, France, Romania, Finland, Hungary, Denmark, and the rest of Europe? Or would Roosevelt and Churchill have decided to remain aloof from the great conflict?

Anyway, when Hitler did launch his preemptive strike against Soviet Russia, Roosevelt and Churchill immediately sided with Stalin, and when the Red Army took half of Europe in 1944-45, neither the British nor the American leader objected.

What can now be stated with certainty — thanks to the work of Suvorov and other revisionist historians — is that in smashing the great Soviet military buildup in 1941, Hitler dashed Stalin’s plan to quickly conquer Europe, and that, in spite of his defeat in 1945, Hitler saved at least the western half of Europe, and tens of millions of people, from the horrors of Soviet subjugation.

Author bio

Joseph Bishop studied history and German at a South African university. Currently employed in a professional field, he resides in the Pacific Northwest with his wife and three children.

Review

Historian Details Stalin's Two-Year 'Mobilization' Plan for European Conquest

- Der Tag M ("M Day"), by Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir B. Rezun). Translated from the Russian by Hans Jaeger. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1995. Hardcover. 356 pages. Photos. Source references. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by Daniel W. Michaels ([bio](#))

When Hitler launched “Operation Barbarossa” against the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Germany's

leaders justified the attack as a preemptive strike to forestall an imminent Soviet invasion of Germany and the rest of Europe. After the war, Germany's most prominent surviving military and political leaders were put to death at Nuremberg for, among other things, planning and waging “aggressive war” against the Soviet Union. The Nuremberg Tribunal rejected outright defendants' pleas that “Barbarossa” was a preventive attack.

In the decades since, historians, government officials, and standard reference works in the United States, Europe and the USSR accordingly have held that Hitler betrayed the trusting Soviet leaders to launch his treacherous surprise attack, motivated by greed for Russian and Ukrainian resources and “living space,” and as part of a mad drive to “conquer the world.”

In this well researched and powerfully argued study, a Russian-born specialist has presented abundant evidence that essentially affirms the German contention. Based primarily on a scrupulous analysis of the pertinent military and political literature, and the memoirs of prominent members of the Soviet military and Party elite, military analyst Suvorov has produced an important revisionist work that obliges a radical reevaluation of the long-accepted view of Second World War II history.

The author, whose real name is Vladimir Bogdanovich Rezun, was trained as a Soviet army officer in Kalinin and Kiev. Later, after staff level service and completing studies at the Diplomatic Military Academy in 1974, he served as a Soviet military intelligence (GRU) officer, working for four years in Geneva under diplomatic cover. He defected in 1978, and was granted diplomatic asylum in Britain.

His first work on this subject, *Icebreaker*, was initially published in Russian (in France) in 1988, followed by editions in other languages, including English. It caused a sensation in the military and intelligence community, especially in Europe, because it carefully documents the offensive nature of the massive Soviet military buildup on the German border in 1941. In “M Day” Suvorov adds substantially to evidence and arguments presented in *Icebreaker*.

In making his case, Suvorov stresses here the central importance to Stalin's planning of military strategist Boris Shaposhnikov, Marshal and Chief of the General Staff. His most important work, *Mozg armii* ("The Brain of the Army"), was for decades required reading for every Soviet officer. Stalin not only respected Shaposhnikov's military acumen, but, uncharacteristically, personally liked the man. He was the only man Stalin was ever known to address routinely in public by his first and patronymic names (Boris Mikhailovich), in Russia a personal form of address, less than formal but definitely respectful. Stalin addressed everyone else by his family name preceded by Comrade ("Comrade Zhdanov," for example). Stalin's admiration was also shown by the fact that he always kept a copy of Shaposhnikov's *Mozg armii* on his desk.

Shaposhnikov's mobilization plan, faithfully implemented by Stalin, laid out a clear, logical, two-year program (August 1939-summer 1941) that would inexorably and purposefully culminate in war. According to Suvorov, Stalin announced his decision to implement this plan at a Politburo meeting on August 19, 1939, four days before the signing of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact. (It was also at this Politburo meeting, which came shortly after Stalin had concluded his draconian purges of military and political "unreliables," that the Soviet leader ordered General Georgi Zhukov to attack, and defeat, in classic blitzkrieg fashion, the Japanese Sixth Army at Khalkhin-Gol, Mongolia.)

Thirteen days after Stalin's speech, German troops struck against Poland, and two days after that — September 3, 1939 — Britain and France declared war on Germany.

Once Stalin decided to embark on this process of mobilization, the regime radically retooled the nation's economy, directing the enormous physical and human resources of the Soviet Union for war. By its nature, this all-encompassing process could be pursued only to its logical conclusion — war. Simply stated, Stalin's 1939 decision to mobilize inevitably meant war.

Massive Buildup

In 1938 some 1,513,400 men were serving in the Red Army. This was about one percent of the Soviet population, which is generally considered the normal, economically sustainable, maximum ratio of men under arms to total population. As part of their two-year mobilization program, Stalin-Shaposhnikov more than doubled the number of men under arms — to more than five million.

During this period — August 1939 to June 1941 — Stalin raised 125 new infantry divisions, 30 new motorized divisions, and 61 tank and 79 air divisions — a total of 295 divisions organized in 16 armies. The Stalin-Shaposhnikov plan also called for mobilizing an additional six million men in the summer of 1941, to be distributed into still more infantry, tank, motorized and air divisions.

Between July 1939 and June 1941, Stalin increased the number of Soviet tank divisions from zero to 61, with dozens more in preparation. By June 1941, the "neutral" Soviet Union had assembled more tank divisions than all the other countries of the world put together — a mighty force that could be effectively employed only in offensive operations.

In June 1941 Hitler threw ten mechanized corps into battle, of which each, on average, had more than 340 light and medium tanks. By contrast, Stalin had 29 mechanized corps, each with 1,031 light, medium and heavy tanks. While it is true that not every Soviet corps was at full strength, a single Soviet mechanized corps was militarily stronger than two German corps put together.

When Hitler attacked Poland in September 1939, Germany had a total of six tank divisions. If this light tank force can be regarded as conclusive proof of Hitler's intention to launch a war of world (or at least European) conquest, what — asks Suvorov — can we conclude from Stalin's buildup of 61 tank divisions between late 1939 and mid-1941, and with further dozens in preparation?

In mid-1941, the Red Army was the only military force in the world with amphibious tanks. Stalin had 4,000 of these weapons of offensive war; Germany had none. By June 1941, the Soviets had increased the number of their paratroop corps from zero to five, and the number of their field artillery regiments from 144 to 341, in each case more than all the other armies of the world put together.

At the outbreak of war in September 1939, Germany had a fleet of 57 submarines, a fact that is sometimes cited as proof of Hitler's aggressive intentions. But at that same time, Suvorov points out, the Soviet Union already had more than 165 submarines. These submarines, he notes, were not inferior vessels, but rather of standard quality. By June 1941, the Soviet navy had more than 218 submarines in service, with another 91 under construction. Stalin commanded the world's largest submarine fleet, a force that was created for aggressive war.

A 'World' War?

As Suvorov points out, at the time of Hitler's 1939 strike against Poland, no one in Germany or western Europe regarded this as the outbreak of a "world war." Even the declarations of war against Germany by Britain and France two days later — on September 3, 1939 — did not make this a "world war." It was only much later, looking back, that Germany's Polish campaign came to be regarded as the start of the Second World War. Only in Moscow, writes Suvorov, was it understood right from the outset that a world war had begun.

Echoing the findings of such historians as A. J. P. Taylor and David Hoggan, Suvorov points out that Hitler neither wanted nor planned for a European-wide conflict in 1939. It was the British and French declarations of war against Germany that transformed a local conflict between Germany and Poland into a European-wide one.

Consequently, Hitler did not authorize the conversion of his nation's economy to a war footing. Soviet GRU chief Ivan Proskurov accurately informed Stalin that German industry was not geared to full-scale war. In fact, Germany did not begin in earnest to put its economy on war footing until early 1942, two years after the Soviet Union. But whereas Soviet military and arms production reached a crescendo in the summer of 1941, Germany's did not peak until 1944 — three years too late.

Attack Plan

Suvorov presents overwhelming evidence to show that Stalin was preparing for a massive surprise attack against Germany, to be launched in the summer of 1941. (Suvorov believes the attack was set for July 6, 1941.) In preparation for this, the Soviets had deployed enormous forces right on the German frontier, including paratroops, together with airfields and large caches of weapons, ammunition, fuel and other supplies.

In April 1941 the Red Army ordered a massive deployment of artillery pieces and ammunition production to the frontier, and their storage there on the ground and in the open. This alone, writes Suvorov, proves Stalin's intention to attack, because this weaponry and ammunition had

be used before the fall, when the annual rains would begin. Storing munitions in the open in 1941 meant that an attack had to come that same year. “Any other interpretation of this fact is not conceivable,” he writes.

Suvorov sums up:

By studying the archive records and the publicly available publications, I came to the conclusion that the transport [in 1941] to the frontier of millions of boots, munitions, and spare parts, and the deployment of millions of soldiers, and thousands of tanks and airplanes, could not have been a mistake, or a miscalculation, but rather that it must have been the result of a thoughtful policy ...

This process had as its goal the preparation of industry, the transport system, agriculture, the state territory, the Soviet population, and the Red Army to carry out the war of “liberation” in central and western Europe.

In short, this process is called mobilization. It was a secret mobilization. The Soviet leadership prepared the Red Army and the entire country for the conquest of Germany and western Europe. The conquest of western Europe was the main reason that the Soviet Union unleashed the Second World War.

The final decision to start the war was taken by Stalin on August 19, 1939.

The Soviet attack plan, Suvorov explains, called for a strike on two major fronts: the first, west and northwest, into Germany proper, and the second, equally powerful, southwest into Romania to quickly seize the oil fields there.

Three main strategic echelons would carry out the invasion. The first echelon consisted of 16 invasion armies and several dozen corps and divisions for auxiliary thrusts, made up of professional Red Army men trained to smash through the German lines. The second strategic echelon, consisting of seven armies of inferior troops (including many Gulag prisoners), would secure and expand the breakthroughs of the first echelon. The third echelon, consisting of three armies made up mostly of NKVD troops, would secure the Soviet occupation. It would thwart any and all potential resistance by rounding up and killing Germany’s social, political, and military elite — much as had already been done in the Baltic states and eastern Poland (as in the Katyn massacre).

As his main strike aircraft Stalin had settled on the “Ivanov” (one of Stalin’s nicknames), later known as the Su-2, a highly effective attack bomber plane that was produced and deployed in large numbers. Stalin ordered construction of more than 100,000 Su-2s, as well as the training of 150,000 pilots. Weighing four tons, the Su-2 had a top speed of 486 km/h, a range of 1200 km, and a bomb load capacity of 400-600 kg. Similar, but superior to the German JU-87 “Stuka” dive bomber, it strikingly resembled the Japanese Nakajima B-5N2, which was the main warplane used in the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Hitler’s Miscalculation

For decades establishment historians have held that Stalin naively trusted Hitler. This image of a trusting Stalin and a treacherous Hitler is widely and officially accepted in the United States and much of Europe. Suvorov mocks this view, and contends that, to the contrary, it was Hitler who fatally miscalculated Stalin’s cunning, at least for some 15 months, by which time it was too late.

While Hitler succeeded in foiling Stalin's great invasion plan, the German leader fatally underestimated the magnitude and aggressiveness of the Soviet threat. Suvorov writes: "Hitler grasped that Stalin was preparing an invasion, but he failed properly to estimate the entire extent of Stalin's preparations ... Hitler was unclear about just how great and how close the danger was."

Historians, notes Suvorov, do not adequately explain why Hitler decided to attack the Soviet Union at a time when Britain was still not subdued, thus engaging Germany in a dangerous two-front war. They often simply refer to Hitler's lust for Lebensraum or "living space." Actually, the Russian author writes, "Stalin gave Hitler no alternative way out. The secret [Soviet] mobilization was of such an enormous dimension that it would have been difficult to ignore." Stalin's "secret mobilization had reached such an extent that it could no longer be disguised. For Hitler the only possibility left was a preventive strike. Hitler beat Stalin to it by two weeks." In short, given the situation, the only responsible recourse for the German leadership was to launch a preemptive strike.

Stalin did not need Churchill, Roosevelt or ace Soviet spy Richard Sorge to warn him of a possible German attack. He had already made his own preparations to deal with Germany. But in readying his forces for offensive war, Stalin did nothing for the country's defense.

The Germans, writes Suvorov, enjoyed the temporary advantage of surprise because they were able to position and launch their strike forces just two weeks before the Red Army was scheduled to attack, catching it completely off balance. The surprise was all the greater because Stalin did not believe the Germans would dare open a second front in the East while still engaged against the British. Also contributing to the spectacular initial German successes was the daring and professionalism of the German soldier.

As Suvorov writes:

The [Soviet] defeat at the outbreak of the war [June-September 1941] was due to the fact that the German Wehrmacht launched its surprise attack at just the moment when the Soviet artillery was being moved to the border, and together with it the corresponding supplies of munitions. The artillery was not prepared to deal with a defensive war, and on June 22 was not able to go on the offensive.

Because Germany lacked the natural resources to sustain a protracted war, Hitler could prevail only by completely subduing Russia within four months — that is, before the onset of winter. In this he failed. During the summer and fall of 1941 Hitler shattered, but did not destroy the Soviet military machine. (As it was, the Germans were able to achieve stunning initial successes only by utilizing Soviet stores captured during those first few months.)

In "Operation Barbarossa," Hitler threw 17 tank divisions against the Soviets. After three months of fighting, only about a quarter of his tanks were left, while Stalin's factories were turning out not only many more tanks, but of generally higher quality.

During the first four months of the "Barbarossa" attack, Axis forces destroyed perhaps 75 percent of Stalin's war-making ability, thereby eliminating the immediate military threat to Europe. Between July and November 1941, German forces seized or overran 303 gunpowder, munitions and grenade factories, which annually produced 85 percent of the country's entire Soviet munitions production.

But as Suvorov points out, this was not enough: "Hitler's attack could no longer save Germany. Stalin not only had more tanks, artillery pieces and airplanes, more soldiers and officers, but

Stalin had also already put his industry on a war economy basis and could produce weapons in whatever quantities he desired.” On November 29, 1941, Reich Armaments Minister Fritz Todt informed Hitler that from an armaments and war economy point of view, Germany had already lost the war.

Stalin ultimately prevailed because a residual 25 percent of the giant Soviet war economy, including 15 percent of her munitions production — mostly from factories east of the Volga, in the Urals and in Siberia — remained intact. Thus, with just a fraction of her initial superpower strength, Stalin was still able to win the decisive battles of Stalingrad, Kursk, and Berlin, and defeat the mighty forces of Germany (and her Axis allies). Also contributing substantially to the Soviet victory was the entry into the war of the United States, the substantial American aid, and, of course, the legendary stoic toughness of the Russian soldier.

Even though Hitler struck the first blow, at the end of the war Stalin controlled Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and eastern Germany.

Noting that Hitler repeatedly postponed the launch date of “Operation Barbarossa,” Suvorov remarks:

Let us suppose that Hitler had postponed once more the attack against Stalin, and Stalin had struck the first blow on July 6, 1941 ... Let us try to imagine what would have happened if Hitler had delayed his attack so that he became victim to the devastating assault prepared by Stalin. In this case Stalin would have had not just 15 percent of the production capacity of the Munitions Industry Commissariat, but 100 percent. In that case how would be Second World War have concluded?

In this situation, it is not unreasonable to suppose that by November-December 1941 Soviet forces would have reached the Atlantic, hoisting the red flag over Berlin, Paris, Amsterdam, Rome and Stockholm.

Uncovered Speech Text

Since the publication of “M Day,” Russian scholars have dug up additional evidence from the former Soviet archives that further confirms the Suvorov thesis and obliges a radical rewriting of Second World War history.

While it is likely that many records have been removed and destroyed, some revealing papers are being unearthed. One of the most important of these long-suppressed documents is the complete text of Stalin’s secret speech of August 19, 1939. For decades leading Soviet figures denied that Stalin ever delivered this address, even insisting that no Politburo meeting was held on that date. Others have dismissed this speech as a forgery.

Russian historian T. S. Bushuyeva found a version of the text among the secret files of the USSR Special Archives, and published it, together with commentary, in the prominent Russian journal *Novy Mir* (No. 12, 1994). German writer Wolfgang Strauss reports on this, and other recent findings by Russian historians, in the April 1996 issue of the German monthly *Nation und Europa*. To this reviewer’s knowledge, no American historian has yet taken public notice of the speech text.

It should be kept in mind that this address was delivered just as Soviet officials were negotiating with British and French representatives about a possible military alliance with Britain and France, and as German and Soviet officials were discussing a possible non-aggression pact be-

tween their countries. Four days after this speech, German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop met with Stalin in the Kremlin to sign the Soviet-German non-aggression pact.

In this speech, Stalin declared:

The question of war or peace has entered a critical phase for us. If we conclude a mutual assistance pact with France and Great Britain, Germany will back off from Poland and seek a *modus vivendi* with the Western powers. War would be avoided, but down the road events could become dangerous for the USSR. If we accept Germany's proposal and conclude a nonaggression pact with her, she will of course invade Poland, and the intervention of France and England in that war would be unavoidable. Western Europe would be subjected to serious upheavals and disorder. Under those conditions, we would have a great opportunity to stay out of the conflict, and we could plan the opportune time for us to enter the war.

The experience of the last 20 years has shown that in peacetime the Communist movement is never strong enough to seize power. The dictatorship of such a party will only become possible as the result of a major war.

Our choice is clear. We must accept the German proposal and politely send the Anglo-French mission home. Our immediate advantage will be to take Poland to the gates of Warsaw, as well as Ukrainian Galicia ...

Summing up, Wolfgang Strauss points out that Stalin strove for an all-European war, a war of exhaustion that would bring down Europe's states and system. Further, Stalin planned to enter the war on the ruins of "capitalist" Europe, and then dictate its Sovietization by military force. (The key term "Sovietizatsia" comes up repeatedly in his speech.)

While noting that this speech further confirms Stalin's aggressive intentions, the cautious Bushuyeva quotes Clausewitz to the effect that wars tend to assume their own directions and dimensions, regardless of what one side or the other might have planned or said.

Painful History

In her *Novy Mir* article Bushuyeva writes of the pain that Russians must now endure in acknowledging that much of what they have believed for decades about the "Great Patriotic War" is wrong. She notes that of the young men born between the years 1922 and 1925, and who were sent to war by Stalin, only three out of a hundred survived the conflict. Writes Bushayeva: "The entire depth of the tragedy that befell our five-million-man army in June 1941 must be plumbed. The evil that the rulers of the Soviet Union had planned for others suddenly, by some inscrutable fate, struck our own country."

It would be easy, Bushuyeva continues, to curse those who "are rewriting" history, and to continue to believe in the familiar contrived myths and symbols that appeal to our national pride — to the patriotism of the Russian people. "Yes, it would be possible to go on as before," she writes, "if it were not for one peculiar circumstance. Man is so constituted that the truth, however painful, is more important in the final analysis than the spurious bliss of living in lies and ignorance."

Suvorov likewise acknowledges that many Russians despise him for his revelations. He writes:

I have challenged the one sacred thing the Russian people still cling to — their memory of the “Great Patriotic War.” I have sacrificed everything dear to me to write these books. It would have been intolerable to have died without telling the people what I have uncovered. Curse the books! Curse me! But even as you curse me try to understand.

Further Confirmation

Following the publication of Stalin’s speech in *Novy Mir*, historians at Novosibirsk University undertook a major revisionist study of the immediate prewar situation. The results of this scholarly seminar were published in April 1995. Russian historian I. V. Pavlova, stated bluntly in her seminar contribution that for decades Communist Party historians worked to bury the background, origins and development of the Second World War, including Stalin’s August 1939 speech, under a mountain of lies.

Another of the participating scholars, V. L. Doroshenko, said that the new evidence shows that “Stalin provoked and unleashed the Second World War.” Suggesting that Stalin and his regime should have been on trial at Nuremberg, Doroshenko went on explain:

... Not just because Stalin helped Hitler but because it was in Stalin’s own interests that the war begin. First, because of his general goal of seizing power in Europe, and, second, because of the immediate advantage of destroying Poland and taking over Galicia. But Stalin’s most important motive was the war itself ... The collapse of the European order would have made it possible for him to establish his dictatorship [over all of Europe].

To this end, Stalin wanted for the time being to stay out of the war, but only with the intention of entering it at the most favorable moment. In other words, the nonaggression pact freed Hitler’s hands and encouraged Germany to unleash a war [in Poland]. As Stalin signed the Pact, he was already determined to break it. Right from the outset he did not intend to stay out of the conflict but, to the contrary, to enter the war directly at the most advantageous moment.

Revisionist Breakthrough

One must marvel at the courage shown by such Russian historians in their willingness to come to grips with this very emotion-laden chapter of history. They show much greater forthrightness and open-mindedness in confronting taboos of 20th century history than do their counterparts in western Europe and the United States.

But there are exceptions. In recent years, a few Western historians have likewise affirmed this drastically revisionist view of Second World War history. These include German historian Max Klüver in his 1986 book, *Präventivschlag 1941* ("Preventive Strike"), and Austrian scholar Ernst Topitsch in *Stalins Krieg*, published in English in 1987 by St. Martin’s Press as *Stalin’s War*. American historian R. H. S. Stolfi echoes Suvorov’s views in his 1991 book, *Hitler’s Panzers East: World War II Reinterpreted* (reviewed in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*), and German historian Dr. Joachim Hoffmann has added considerably to the discussion with his impressively researched 1995 study, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* ("Stalin’s War of Annihilation").

In the view of Wolfgang Strauss, the new revelations about Stalin’s long-suppressed speech, and the treatment of this issue by younger Russian historians, constitute a victory for European revi-

sionism and represent a major shift in historical research. Meanwhile, Suvorov and other historians continue to track down historical evidence. In addition to archival digging, Suvorov reports that, in response to Icebreaker and “M Day,” Soviet and German veterans of World War II have written to offer further evidence in support of his thesis. He bolsters his case in a third book, “The Last Republic,” recently published in Russian, and in a fourth, still unpublished volume on this subject.

Exonerating Pearl Harbor's Scapegoats

Scapegoats: A Defense of Kimmel and Short at Pearl Harbor, by Edward L. Beach. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995. Hardcover. 225 pages. Eleven photographs. Bibliographical references essay. Index.

Reviewed by John Weir (bio)

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, inflicted one of the worst blows ever endured by American military forces. During the two-hour raid, Japanese warplanes sunk or seriously damaged 16 major US naval vessels, including six battleships, and killed 2,400 American servicemen. The next day, in an often-quoted address that reflected the national mood, President Franklin Roosevelt spoke of “a date which will live in infamy.”

Angry Americans wanted to know why their Pacific fleet was caught by surprise, and who was responsible for the woeful lack of preparedness. In the rush to fix blame, attention naturally turned to the two men who were responsible for Pearl Harbor base security: Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, the ranking US Navy commander in Hawaii, and his Army counterpart, Lt. General Walter C. Short.

Formal investigations found that Kimmel and Short had been seriously derelict in their duties, and responsible for the lack of preparedness. The two were stripped of their commands, and sent into the wilderness of an early retirement at lower rank.

Until his death in 1968, Kimmel worked hard to clear his name, an effort that others, including his son and grandson, have carried on to this day. For example, in October 1990, the officers and trustees of the US Naval Academy Alumni Association at Annapolis unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the Navy to posthumously restore Kimmel's rank as four-star Admiral. This rehabilitation effort also includes this book, written by retired US Navy Captain Edward Beach.

A scapegoat, the book of Leviticus tells us, is a goat upon whom the sins of the people are placed before being driven into the wilderness. In an interview shortly before his death, Kimmel said: “They made me the scapegoat. They wanted to get the United States into the war.” Asked just whom he meant by “they,” he named President Roosevelt, US Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, and “others in the Washington high command.” Kimmel continued:

FDR was the architect of the whole business. He gave orders — and I can't prove this categorically — that no word about Japanese fleet movements was to be sent to Pearl Harbor except by Marshall, and then he told Marshall not to send anything.

Meanwhile, others have continued to defend the official line. In a much-discussed work published in 1992, *Pearl Harbor: Final Judgement*, Henry C. Clausen (with co-author Bruce Lee) acknowledged that Washington had ample warning of an imminent Japanese attack, but contends that the information passed on to Kimmel and Short should have sufficed to motivate them to take defensive measures. [Dr. James J. Martin reviewed this book in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 Journal.]

“The debacle at Pearl Harbor was the result of Short’s and Kimmel’s being asleep at the switch,” concludes Clausen.

As its title indicates, *Scapegoats* was written with the goal of exonerating Kimmel and Short. Author Edward Beach tries to show why the Pearl Harbor naval base was unprepared for the Japanese attack, and who was to blame for the Pacific Fleet’s lack of readiness. More specifically, Beach presents strong evidence to show that Kimmel and Short were unjustly blamed for the misdeeds of Roosevelt, Marshall and other higher-ups in the US military command.

Little of this book is really new. Most of the facts and arguments laid out here have already been presented, often more clearly and persuasively, in works — often cited by Beach — by earlier revisionist historians. (See, for example, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, an outstanding anthology edited by Harry Elmer Barnes [softcover IHR edition available from the IHR for \$11.75 postpaid].)

Indeed, Beach openly acknowledges his debt to such works as *The Pacific War*, by British historian John Costello, and *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*, the still unsurpassed study by George Morgenstern. [A handsome IHR softcover edition, with a special introduction by James J. Martin, is available for \$11.45 postpaid.]

Much of the ground covered by Beach has also been covered in issues of this Journal. These include the special Winter 1983-84 “Pearl Harbor” issue, which contains seven essays by Percy L. Greaves, Jr., chief of the minority research staff of the 1945-46 Congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack, along with an essay by James J. Martin, “Where Was General Marshall?” Three of the most important books on this subject — *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* by John Toland, *The Pacific War* by John Costello, and *At Dawn We Slept* by Gordon W. Prange — are reviewed by Greaves in the Fall 1982 issue of this Journal. Charles Lutton provided a lucid, detailed overview of the debate in “Pearl Harbor: Fifty Years of Controversy,” in the Winter 1991-92 Journal. Also noteworthy is Roger Stolley’s essay, “Pearl Harbor No Surprise,” in the Spring 1992 Journal.

Inadequate Defense

As Beach explains in this book, Roosevelt decided in 1940 that American forces in the Philippines, and not at Pearl Harbor, were the most likely target of a possible Japanese attack. As a result, Washington neglected to supply the Hawaii base with the requisite new, long-range patrol aircraft and spare parts. This failure adequately to supply Pearl Harbor is a very important factor in considering the single most important accusation leveled against Kimmel and Short: that having been informed that north was the most likely direction of a possible Japanese attack, they nevertheless failed to set up a sustained air patrol to spot any approaching enemy strike force.

A detailed article in the December 1994 issue of the *Proceedings of the US Naval Institute* (cited by Beach) authoritatively exonerates Kimmel of this specific charge. Entitled “Reopen the Kimmel Case,” it is written by Dr. Michael Gannon, professor of history at the University of Florida. Gannon also points out that an effective reconnaissance patrol over a protracted period, with a complete, 360-degree surveillance sweep, would have required a fleet of 250 operational aircraft. But during the first week of December 1941, only 49 such patrol aircraft were available. Adequate crews, spare parts, and experienced aviation machinists were likewise not available. Although Kimmel had been promised delivery of 100 new PBV-1 Catalina aircraft for surveillance, these were never delivered, and Hawaii was left without the means to sustain an effective air patrol.

'Magic' Intercepts

Washington's most egregious failure with regard to the forces in Hawaii was in neglecting to pass on vital intelligence information to Kimmel and Short. Because the Washington high command no longer gave the highest priority to Pearl Harbor as a possible Japanese target, and (according to Beach) because Washington feared compromising the source of its intelligence intercepts, known as "Magic," Washington failed to supply the Hawaii commanders with the intelligence that would have sufficiently alerted them to the strong likelihood of an impending attack.

For some time prior to December 1941, US cryptographers had broken Japan's diplomatic code, and high-level administration officials were routinely reading all confidential communications between Tokyo and Japanese embassies in Washington and elsewhere. During the weeks prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, US officials decrypted several Japanese messages that indicated an imminent outbreak of war with the United States and Britain.

These included a secret message sent by Tokyo to the Japanese ambassador in Berlin on November 30, 1941. He was told to meet immediately with Hitler and Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, and in confidence to inform them:

Say to them [Hitler and Ribbentrop] that lately England the United States have taken a provocative attitude, both of them. Say that they are planning to move military forces into various places in East Asia and that we will inevitably have to counter by also moving troops. Say very secretly to them that there is extreme danger that war may suddenly break out between the Anglo-Saxon nations and Japan through some clash of arms and add that the time of the breaking out of this war may come quicker than anyone dreams.

On the evening of December 3, the US Navy Department in Washington intercepted Tokyo's coded "winds execute" message, which informed its embassies that Japan would soon be at war against the United States and Britain.

By December 6th at the latest, US officials had enough information to indicate Pearl Harbor was the likely target of an impending Japanese attack. For one thing, Washington knew on the 6th that Japan's envoy in Washington was ordered to deliver his final message to US Secretary of State Hull at 1:00 p.m., Washington time — which coincided with dawn in Hawaii.

During a 1944 naval inquiry, Captain Laurance Safford, the leading cryptologist responsible for decoding intercepted Japanese messages, courageously testified on what he and his office knew:

On December 1, we had definite information from three independent sources that Japan was going to attack Britain and the United States ...

On December 4, 1941, we received definite information from two more independent sources that Japan would attack the United States and Britain, but would maintain peace with Russia. At 9:00 p.m. (Washington time), December 6, 1941, we received positive information that Japan would declare war against the United States, at a time to be specified thereafter. This information was positive and unmistakable and was made available to Military [US Army] Intelligence at this same time. Finally at 10:15 a.m. (Washington time), December 7, 1941 [about 5:00 a.m. Hawaii time], we received positive information ... that the Japanese declaration of war would be presented to the Secretary of State at 1:00 p.m. (Washington time) that date.

All decoded messages, Safford explained, were promptly passed on to the President and other key civilian and military personnel. Yet both Kimmel and Short were kept in the dark about the most pertinent of these messages. The responsibility for failing to pass along this critically important information to the Hawaii commanders, Beach writes, belonged to Admiral Harold Stack, General George Marshall, and Vice Admiral Richmond Turner.

As Beach points out, the real value of intelligence is measured only by its utility. Paralysis based on fear of losing a valuable source of information only makes the data derived therefrom worthless.

Beach and other historians believe that at a secret, late-night White House meeting on the evening before the Pearl Harbor attack, President Roosevelt was informed of the most recently intercepted Japanese communication. A Navy officer who was present later testified that upon reading it, Roosevelt exclaimed “This means war!” Beach contends that it was fear of exposing “Magic” that explains Roosevelt’s failure to immediately alert Kimmel, Short and other appropriate officials, and even to deny that this late-night White House meeting ever took place.

Just one hour and seven minutes before Japanese bombs began falling on Pearl Harbor, an important telegram by General Marshall was dispatched to General Short in Hawaii. It read:

japanese are presenting at one pm eastern standard time today what amounts to an ultimatum also they are under orders to destroy their code machine immediately stop just what significance the hour set may have we do not know but be on alert accordingly stop inform naval authorities of this communication marshall

Marshall could have used a trans-Pacific telephone to make sure that Hawaii learned instantly of this momentous news, but this was not done. Instead, this message was sent by regular commercial radio telegraph, and was not received by Short and Kimmel until after the Japanese attack.

In his 1955 book, *Admiral Kimmel’s Story*, Husband Kimmel summed up his view of the situation:

The deficiencies of Pearl Harbor as a fleet base were well known in the Navy Department. In an interview with Mr. Roosevelt in June 1941, in Washington, I outlined the weaknesses and concluded with the remark that the only answer was to have the fleet at sea if the Japs ever attacked.

I accepted the decision to base the fleet at Pearl Harbor in the firm belief that the Navy Department would supply me promptly with all pertinent information available and in particular with all information that indicated an attack on the fleet at Pearl Harbor.

... The Navy Department thus engaged in a course of conduct which definitely gave me the impression that intelligence from important intercepted Japanese messages ["Magic"] was being furnished to me. Under these circumstances a failure to send me important information of this character was not merely a withholding of intelligence. It amounted to an affirmative misrepresentation.

... Yet, in fact, the most vital information from the intercepted Japanese messages was withheld from me. This failure not only deprived me of essential facts. It misled me.

I was not supplied with any information of the intercepted messages showing that the Japanese government had divided Pearl Harbor into five areas and was seeking minute berthing information as to the berthing of ships of the fleet in those areas, which was vitally significant.

'Second Class Revisionist'

In a much discussed, and much criticized, 1982 study, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* [softcover edition available from the IHR for \$10.00 postpaid], historian John Toland laid out evidence for his thesis that President Roosevelt fully anticipated Japan's attack, and intentionally withheld this vital information from Kimmel and Short in the expectation that a devastating Japanese attack in Hawaii would bring the United States decisively and irrevocably into war. This is also the view that Kimmel himself came to hold. In a 1958 interview (published in the Winter 1991-92 *Journal*), he stated:

My belief is that General Short and I were not given the information available in Washington and were not informed of the impending attack because it was feared that action in Hawaii might deter the Japanese from making the attack. Our president had repeatedly assured the American people that the United States would not enter the war unless we were attacked. The Japanese attack on the fleet would put the United States in the war with the full support of the American public.

Oddly, Beach does not accept the view of the man he seeks to exonerate, and even dismisses Toland's thesis as "off the wall."

Discussing the current state of the debate about Pearl Harbor and its background, Beach writes:

There is today a great need for historical reappraisal, even at the risk of being labeled a "revisionist." This word is so often used as a pejorative that some historians have developed knee-jerk reactions whenever they hear it, and any suggestion of revisionist thinking causes those advocating a thoughtful approach to become defensive.

To be a "revisionist" these days means that one believes Roosevelt deliberately exposed our fleet at Pearl Harbor to "lure the Japanese to attack," had full knowledge of the approach of the six-carrier task force across the north Pacific for that purpose, and refrained from alerting our forces in Hawaii in order that Japan's "first blow" would be so devastating that it would coalesce our entire national political spectrum into support for entry into the war. While this approximates the facts of what happened, there is no proof that it was intentional or deliberate on his part.

The author of these pages will admit to being what might be called a "second-class revisionist" in that he feels that Roosevelt was convinced by mid-1941 of the necessity of our entry into the war and did all he could to bring it about ...

Roosevelt's Push for War

Perhaps reluctant to confront the issue of Roosevelt's role and responsibility, Beach keeps his book focused on the responsibility of Kimmel and Short for the Pearl Harbor debacle, and therefore does not dwell on the larger issue of Roosevelt's campaign to involve the United States in war with Japan and Germany. This is regrettable, because US policy toward Japan in the period

before prior to Pearl Harbor attack must be considered in determining the culpability of these two commanders.

Prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, popular sentiment against American involvement in the European and Asian wars was so strong that Roosevelt resorted to deceit and outright lies in his campaign from mid-1939 to December 1941 to bring the US into war.

Against Japan, he applied increasingly severe pressure. In September 1940 Roosevelt imposed an embargo on all US exports of scrap iron and steel to the country. On July 26, 1941, he ordered a freeze on all Japanese assets in the United States, which ended trade between the two countries. This was a severe blow to Japan, which depended heavily on the US for its scrap steel, and oil and petroleum products. Roosevelt's order, which amounted to an economic declaration of war, threatened Japan's survival as a developed, industrialized nation.

Also in July 1941, the President secretly authorized devastating American bombing raids against Japanese cities. Roosevelt and his top military advisers approved a daring plan to use American pilots and American war planes, deceitfully flying under the Chinese flag, to bomb Japan's major cities. (See "Roosevelt's Secret Prewar Plan to Bomb Japan," Winter 1991-92 Journal.)

On November 26, 1941, Secretary of State Hull handed the Japanese ambassador in Washington a ten-point memorandum that bluntly spelled out the US government's stern policy toward Japan. The core of this virtual ultimatum was a demand that Japan "withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and from Indochina."

It was this paper that convinced the Tokyo leadership that further discussions with the US were pointless, and that Japan now had no choice but resort to arms. With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the "back door to war," Roosevelt attained the goal for which he had been striving so ardently for more than two years. (For an authoritative summary of Japan's view of the background to Pearl Harbor, see "Hideki Tojo's Prison Diary," in the Spring 1992 Journal. See also *A Time for War: Franklin Roosevelt and the Path to Pearl Harbor*, by Robert Smith Thompson, reviewed by Joseph Bishop in the March-April 1996 Journal.)

Beach expresses approval of, or at least understanding for, Roosevelt's artful campaign to maneuver Japan into striking the first blow. At the same time, though, he derides the President for his failure to fully prepare for this conflict, thus leaving US forces in the Pacific unprepared. That is, Roosevelt was guilty of not letting his military hand know what his diplomatic hand was doing. If he worked for and anticipated war with Japan, he should simultaneously have fortified US forces in Hawaii and the Philippines to make them fully prepared for attack. This lack of consistency or coordination resulted in the unforgivable sacrifice of thousands of men in the initial Japanese onslaught. It is only within this context that one can fairly assess the guilt of Kimmel and Short, if any.

Beach makes an interesting comparison between the ignominious post-1941 fates of Kimmel and Short, and the celebrated post-1941 career of Douglas MacArthur, who commanded American forces in the Philippines in December 1941. Although Washington provided MacArthur with warnings of a possible Japanese attack that were at least as clear as those given the commanders in Hawaii, he was no better prepared for a Japanese assault. MacArthur's forces were devastated by Japanese raids much as those under the command of Kimmel and Short.

But instead of ignominy and early forced retirement, MacArthur — in contrast to Kimmel and Short — was promoted, and went on to an acclaimed wartime career that secured a legendary place in history. So blame was not only misdirected, it was also (as Beach points out) inconsis-

tently assigned. A factor that may have contributed to protecting MacArthur's reputation, Beach notes parenthetically, is the fact that MacArthur, along with his boss, General Marshall, were both 32nd degree Freemasons.

Confronting a Powerful Myth

In trying explain why Kimmel and Short still remain scapegoats, even after more than half a century, Beach writes:

Were the awesome personalities of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Gen. George C. Marshall not involved, it is my conviction that the events leading to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor would long since have been seen in their true light. The blame leveled, in the heat of that tragic day, upon our two unfortunate commanders there would no longer be part of the historical record.

But this assessment misses the mark. What's at stake here is much greater than these two "awesome personalities." Roosevelt and Marshall are regarded as "awesome" above all because of the roles they played during World War II — the conflict by which America attained its superpower status. An important pillar of America's mythical self-image as a righteous superpower is the Pearl Harbor legend that the United States was minding its own business until the mad Japanese launched their unprovoked attack, dragging reluctant Americans into a terrible world war, and thereby obliging the United States to shoulder "international responsibilities" as world judge, philanthropist and policeman.

A broader understanding of the background to the Pearl Harbor attack, and especially President Roosevelt's secretive and unlawful efforts to provoke war, would go far toward shattering this popular legend — an issue that, regrettably, Beach does not adequately address. For as long as the myth of the United States as the reluctant geopolitical messiah endures, Americans will resist viewing this century's history with candor, and Kimmel and Short will remain scapegoats.

Author bio

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954), a Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957), and recently retired from the US Department of Defense after 40 years of service.

Review

Exonerating Pearl Harbor's Scapegoats

- *Scapegoats: A Defense of Kimmel and Short at Pearl Harbor*, by Edward L. Beach. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995. Hardcover. 225 pages. Eleven photographs. Bibliographical references essay. Index.

Reviewed by John Weir ([bio](#))

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, inflicted one of the worst blows ever endured by American military forces. During the two-hour raid, Japanese warplanes sunk or seriously damaged 16 major US naval vessels, including six battleships, and killed 2,400 American servicemen. The next day, in an often-quoted address that reflected the national mood, President Franklin Roosevelt spoke of "a date which will live in infamy."

Angry Americans wanted to know why their Pacific fleet was caught by surprise, and who was responsible for the woeful lack of preparedness. In the rush to fix blame, attention naturally turned to the two men who were responsible for Pearl Harbor base security: Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, the ranking US Navy commander in Hawaii, and his Army counterpart, Lt. General Walter C. Short.

Formal investigations found that Kimmel and Short had been seriously derelict in their duties, and responsible for the lack of preparedness. The two were stripped of their commands, and sent into the wilderness of an early retirement at lower rank.

Until his death in 1968, Kimmel worked hard to clear his name, an effort that others, including his son and grandson, have carried on to this day. For example, in October 1990, the officers and trustees of the US Naval Academy Alumni Association at Annapolis unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the Navy to posthumously restore Kimmel's rank as four-star Admiral. This rehabilitation effort also includes this book, written by retired US Navy Captain Edward Beach.

A scapegoat, the book of Leviticus tells us, is a goat upon whom the sins of the people are placed before being driven into the wilderness. In an interview shortly before his death, Kimmel said: "They made me the scapegoat. They wanted to get the United States into the war." Asked just whom he meant by "they," he named President Roosevelt, US Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, and "others in the Washington high command." Kimmel continued:

FDR was the architect of the whole business. He gave orders — and I can't prove this categorically — that no word about Japanese fleet movements was to be sent to Pearl Harbor except by Marshall, and then he told Marshall not to send anything.

Meanwhile, others have continued to defend the official line. In a much-discussed work published in 1992, *Pearl Harbor: Final Judgement*, Henry C. Clausen (with co-author Bruce Lee)

acknowledged that Washington had ample warning of an imminent Japanese attack, but contends that the information passed on to Kimmel and Short should have sufficed to motivate them to take defensive measures. [Dr. James J. Martin reviewed this book in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 Journal.] “The debacle at Pearl Harbor was the result of Short’s and Kimmel’s being asleep at the switch,” concludes Clausen.

As its title indicates, *Scapegoats* was written with the goal of exonerating Kimmel and Short. Author Edward Beach tries to show why the Pearl Harbor naval base was unprepared for the Japanese attack, and who was to blame for the Pacific Fleet’s lack of readiness. More specifically, Beach presents strong evidence to show that Kimmel and Short were unjustly blamed for the misdeeds of Roosevelt, Marshall and other higher-ups in the US military command.

Little of this book is really new. Most of the facts and arguments laid out here have already been presented, often more clearly and persuasively, in works — often cited by Beach — by earlier revisionist historians. (See, for example, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, an outstanding anthology edited by Harry Elmer Barnes [softcover IHR edition available from the IHR for \$11.75 postpaid].)

Indeed, Beach openly acknowledges his debt to such works as *The Pacific War*, by British historian John Costello, and *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*, the still unsurpassed study by George Morgenstern. [A handsome IHR softcover edition, with a special introduction by James J. Martin, is available for \$11.45 postpaid.]

Much of the ground covered by Beach has also been covered in issues of this Journal. These include the special Winter 1983-84 “Pearl Harbor” issue, which contains seven essays by Percy L. Greaves, Jr., chief of the minority research staff of the 1945-46 Congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack, along with an essay by James J. Martin, “Where Was General Marshall?” Three of the most important books on this subject — *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* by John Toland, *The Pacific War* by John Costello, and *At Dawn We Slept* by Gordon W. Prange — are reviewed by Greaves in the Fall 1982 issue of this Journal. Charles Lutton provided a lucid, detailed overview of the debate in “Pearl Harbor: Fifty Years of Controversy,” in the Winter 1991-92 Journal. Also noteworthy is Roger Stolley’s essay, “Pearl Harbor No Surprise,” in the Spring 1992 Journal.

Inadequate Defense

As Beach explains in this book, Roosevelt decided in 1940 that American forces in the Philippines, and not at Pearl Harbor, were the most likely target of a possible Japanese attack. As a result, Washington neglected to supply the Hawaii base with the requisite new, long-range patrol aircraft and spare parts. This failure adequately to supply Pearl Harbor is a very important factor in considering the single most important accusation leveled against Kimmel and Short: that having been informed that north was the most likely direction of a possible Japanese attack, they nevertheless failed to set up a sustained air patrol to spot any approaching enemy strike force.

A detailed article in the December 1994 issue of the *Proceedings of the US Naval Institute* (cited by Beach) authoritatively exonerates Kimmel of this specific charge. Entitled “Reopen the Kimmel Case,” it is written by Dr. Michael Gannon, professor of history at the University of Florida. Gannon also points out that an effective reconnaissance patrol over a protracted period, with a complete, 360-degree surveillance sweep, would have required a fleet of 250 operational aircraft. But during the first week of December 1941, only 49 such patrol aircraft were available. Adequate crews, spare parts, and experienced aviation machinists were likewise not available. Al-

though Kimmel had been promised delivery of 100 new PBY-5 Catalina aircraft for surveillance, these were never delivered, and Hawaii was left without the means to sustain an effective air patrol.

'Magic' Intercepts

Washington's most egregious failure with regard to the forces in Hawaii was in neglecting to pass on vital intelligence information to Kimmel and Short. Because the Washington high command no longer gave the highest priority to Pearl Harbor as a possible Japanese target, and (according to Beach) because Washington feared compromising the source of its intelligence intercepts, known as "Magic," Washington failed to supply the Hawaii commanders with the intelligence that would have sufficiently alerted them to the strong likelihood of an impending attack.

For some time prior to December 1941, US cryptographers had broken Japan's diplomatic code, and high-level administration officials were routinely reading all confidential communications between Tokyo and Japanese embassies in Washington and elsewhere. During the weeks prior to the Pearl Harbor attack, US officials decrypted several Japanese messages that indicated an imminent outbreak of war with the United States and Britain.

These included a secret message sent by Tokyo to the Japanese ambassador in Berlin on November 30, 1941. He was told to meet immediately with Hitler and Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, and in confidence to inform them:

Say to them [Hitler and Ribbentrop] that lately England the United States have taken a provocative attitude, both of them. Say that they are planning to move military forces into various places in East Asia and that we will inevitably have to counter by also moving troops. Say very secretly to them that there is extreme danger that war may suddenly break out between the Anglo-Saxon nations and Japan through some clash of arms and add that the time of the breaking out of this war may come quicker than anyone dreams.

On the evening of December 3, the US Navy Department in Washington intercepted Tokyo's coded "winds execute" message, which informed its embassies that Japan would soon be at war against the United States and Britain.

By December 6th at the latest, US officials had enough information to indicate Pearl Harbor was the likely target of an impending Japanese attack. For one thing, Washington knew on the 6th that Japan's envoy in Washington was ordered to deliver his final message to US Secretary of State Hull at 1:00 p.m., Washington time — which coincided with dawn in Hawaii.

During a 1944 naval inquiry, Captain Laurance Safford, the leading cryptologist responsible for decoding intercepted Japanese messages, courageously testified on what he and his office knew:

On December 1, we had definite information from three independent sources that Japan was going to attack Britain and the United States ...

On December 4, 1941, we received definite information from two more independent sources that Japan would attack the United States and Britain, but would maintain peace with Russia. At 9:00 p.m. (Washington time), December 6, 1941, we received positive information that Japan would declare war against the United States, at a time to be specified thereafter. This information was positive and unmistakable and was made available to Military [US Army] Intelligence at this same time. Finally at 10:15

a.m. (Washington time), December 7, 1941 [about 5:00 a.m. Hawaii time], we received positive information ... that the Japanese declaration of war would be presented to the Secretary of State at 1:00 p.m. (Washington time) that date.

All decoded messages, Safford explained, were promptly passed on to the President and other key civilian and military personnel. Yet both Kimmel and Short were kept in the dark about the most pertinent of these messages. The responsibility for failing to pass along this critically important information to the Hawaii commanders, Beach writes, belonged to Admiral Harold Stack, General George Marshall, and Vice Admiral Richmond Turner.

As Beach points out, the real value of intelligence is measured only by its utility. Paralysis based on fear of losing a valuable source of information only makes the data derived therefrom worthless.

Beach and other historians believe that at a secret, late-night White House meeting on the evening before the Pearl Harbor attack, President Roosevelt was informed of the most recently intercepted Japanese communication. A Navy officer who was present later testified that upon reading it, Roosevelt exclaimed "This means war!" Beach contends that it was fear of exposing "Magic" that explains Roosevelt's failure to immediately alert Kimmel, Short and other appropriate officials, and even to deny that this late-night White House meeting ever took place.

Just one hour and seven minutes before Japanese bombs began falling on Pearl Harbor, an important telegram by General Marshall was dispatched to General Short in Hawaii. It read:

japanese are presenting at one pm eastern standard time today what amounts to an ultimatum also they are under orders to destroy their code machine immediately stop just what significance the hour set may have we do not know but be on alert accordingly stop inform naval authorities of this communication marshall

Marshall could have used a trans-Pacific telephone to make sure that Hawaii learned instantly of this momentous news, but this was not done. Instead, this message was sent by regular commercial radio telegraph, and was not received by Short and Kimmel until after the Japanese attack.

In his 1955 book, *Admiral Kimmel's Story*, Husband Kimmel summed up his view of the situation:

The deficiencies of Pearl Harbor as a fleet base were well known in the Navy Department. In an interview with Mr. Roosevelt in June 1941, in Washington, I outlined the weaknesses and concluded with the remark that the only answer was to have the fleet at sea if the Japs ever attacked.

I accepted the decision to base the fleet at Pearl Harbor in the firm belief that the Navy Department would supply me promptly with all pertinent information available and in particular with all information that indicated an attack on the fleet at Pearl Harbor.

... The Navy Department thus engaged in a course of conduct which definitely gave me the impression that intelligence from important intercepted Japanese messages ["Magic"] was being furnished to me. Under these circumstances a failure to send me important information of this character was not merely a withholding of intelligence. It amounted to an affirmative misrepresentation.

... Yet, in fact, the most vital information from the intercepted Japanese messages was withheld from me. This failure not only deprived me of essential facts. It misled me.

I was not supplied with any information of the intercepted messages showing that the Japanese government had divided Pearl Harbor into five areas and was seeking minute berthing information as to the berthing of ships of the fleet in those areas, which was vitally significant.

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Author bio

John Weir is a computer programmer/analyst who lives with his wife and three children in a suburb of Kansas City. Born in Missouri in 1958, he received a B. S. degree in computer science and technology from the University of Missouri in Kansas City.

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Victory for Collins and Free Speech in Holocaust Heresy Battle

Canadian Jewish Congress Censorship Bid Thwarted

by [Mark Weber](#)

In a surprise ruling, the British Columbia (Canada) Human Rights Tribunal rejected a complaint by a major Jewish organization against veteran journalist Doug Collins and his publisher, the North Shore News, for an allegedly anti-Jewish column on the “Schindler’s List” motion picture. The Tribunal found that the opinion piece, which took aim at Holocaust claims, did not violate a provincial “anti-hate” law.

The closely-watched free speech case began in July 1994, when the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) brought a formal complaint against Collins and the North Vancouver newspaper, charging them with violating British Columbia’s amended Human Rights Act.

Specifically the CJC cited a March 1994 column, “Hollywood Propaganda” (reprinted in the May-June 1994 Journal), in which Collins referred to the much-hyped movie as “Swindler’s List” and “hate literature in the form of films.” He also wrote that “the Jewish influence is the most powerful in Hollywood,” and dismissed the fabled “six million” Holocaust figure as “non-sense.” Remarked Collins: “You gotta love their movie and the people who made it, you see. Otherwise it’s off to the dungeons.” (For more on the background of this case, see “Canadian Jewish Congress Threatens Journalist for Holocaust Heresy,” in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*.)

CJC official Bernie Farber castigated the Collins column as “Holocaust denial” and “anti-Semitic hate speech.” Such writing, he declared, “should never be tolerated in a free and democratic society.”

The broadly-worded provincial Human Rights Act, as amended in 1993, forbids any publication “that indicates discrimination against a person or a group or class of persons ... or is likely to expose a person or a group to hatred or contempt.” As Collins has noted, this law “covers the waterfront, the key words being ‘indicate’ and ‘is likely’.”

In her 113-page judgment, released November 12, Council hearing chairman Nitya Iyer strongly criticized Collins’ “Schindler’s List” column. “It is deliberately provocative and insulting,” she wrote. “It is mean-spirited and expresses a smug self-satisfaction in the author’s apparent success in freeing himself from the grip of the ‘propaganda’ by which the rest of society are still duped.”

Notwithstanding that, Iyer concluded that the column fell short of violating the provincial Human Rights code: “Although the publication in issue is likely to make it more acceptable for others to express hatred or contempt against Jewish people because of their race, religion or ancestry, I find that it does not itself express hatred or contempt.”

A Major Victory

Iyer's ruling is a important victory for freedom of speech in Canada, and a signal setback for the Zionist-Jewish lobby in its ongoing campaign to silence any voice regarded as harmful to Jewish interests. It is significant that this first-ever attempt in Canadian history to censor a writer by taking him to court for expressing his views was initiated by the country's leading Jewish-Zionist organization. The Canadian Jewish Congress "and its allied organizations," Collins charges, are "our biggest threat to free speech ... The CJC complaint is a direct attack on freedom of the press."

Because the Tribunal found, in effect, that questioning Holocaust claims is not necessarily "hate speech," the ruling has significance beyond Canada's borders. It affirms that Canadians — unlike citizens of Germany, France, Austria, Israel and some other countries where "Holocaust denial" is a crime — are legally free to express public skepticism of the orthodox Holocaust story.

Canadian newspaper publishers overwhelming agreed that the CJC complaint, and the law under which it was brought, threaten a basic right of Canadian citizens. The British Columbia Press Council condemned the CJC censorship bid, calling it "the most serious threat to press freedom in Canada" in 60 years.

So far the North Shore News has been forced to spend some \$203,000 to defend itself in the case. Defenders of free speech and ardent Collins fans have donated more than \$120,000 to a special News legal defense fund.

Along with many others, Collins had not expected the gratifying verdict. "I was surprised," he said. "I thought it would go the other way." Collins went on to speculate that "the adjudicator [Iyer] came to the conclusion this [case] would reach the Supreme Court of Canada and when it did, the law would be thrown out. This way we may not pursue it."

Because the law under which the CJC complaint was made is still in place, the battle continues. As News lawyer David Sutherland commented: "We've won the day, but winning the day is not the answer. Government is the wrong agency or people to regulate the press ... that is so fundamental. It's important to Canada."

A Postponed Retirement

In his column of September 3, several weeks before the Tribunal's ruling, Collins announced his long-delayed retirement from the News. Now 77 years old, he stressed that the free speech battle had not forced him to retire. Rather, he had postponed retirement from 1995 because, as he wrote at the time, "to leave now would be desertion in the face of the enemy." More recently he commented: "It would not have been proper to leave before the hearing, so I hung on once more. I would not run out on the bravest publisher in the country." Now working on two new books, he says: "I may be retiring, but am not quitting."

Few North American writers have come under more sustained attack for outspoken and often unorthodox views than the British-born Collins. At the same time, many warmly admire him as an eloquent voice for Canada's "silent majority." Since 1984, his twice-weekly column was a very popular feature of the North Shore News. In more than 1,400 essays written in vigorous, straightforward prose, Collins laid out well-informed but common-sense views on the country's most heated issues, including immigration, the status of Quebec, and special privilege "rights."

A leading Canadian literary magazine, *Saturday Night* dealt at length with the Collins/CJC case in a recent (November) issue. In the ten-page article, Paula Brook (who is Jewish) expressed alarm over the columnist's support for Holocaust revisionism. She disapprovingly noted: "Like Irving, Faurisson, Rassinier and Butz, Collins has had his work published by the California-based Institute for Historical Review, whose bi-monthly journal is banned in Canada ... In fact, his *News* column has been reprinted verbatim in that journal ..."

Collins' Record

In view of his record, especially during World War II, the effort by some prominent Jews to portray Collins as a kind of "neo-Nazi" is an absurd and vicious smear. After joining the British army as a volunteer at the age of 19, he served as an infantry sergeant in 1940 in France, where he was captured. He was later awarded the Military Medal "for bravery in the field" fighting Germans at Dunkirk.

Escaping from a German prisoner of war camp in Silesia, he stealthily made his way to Hungary. After being captured there, he made another daring escape, this time making his way to Romania. He was imprisoned once again, but when Romania capitulated in 1944, he was freed and returned to Britain. After re-joining the military, he served in the final months' military campaign in northwest Europe. Following demobilization in 1946, he joined the British Control Commission in occupied Germany. He moved to Canada in 1952.

Collins' journalistic record is equally impressive. Recipient of two of Canada's most coveted awards for journalism, his career has included work as a reporter and commentator for several major Canadian daily papers and on television and radio. He is also the author of several books. His presentation at the 1990 IHR Conference, "Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech and Revisionism," was published in the Fall 1991 Journal. (It is also available on audio and video tape from the IHR. See also "Doug Collins Under New Fire," in the Nov.-Dec. 1994 Journal, pp. 43-46).

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War Hero Fled to Spain to Avoid 'Thought Crime' Imprisonment

Remer Dies in Exile

by [Mark Weber](#)

Otto Ernst Remer — a wartime German army officer who played a key role in putting down the July 1944 plot against Hitler, and an important postwar revisionist publicist — died on October 4, 1997, at the age of 85. Since 1994 he had been living in exile in the Spanish resort of Marbella. In poor health for some months, he died of natural causes.

He is survived by his wife, Anneliese. At the time of his death, it was announced that his remains would be cremated, with the ashes to be buried later in Germany.

Born on August 18, 1912, Remer volunteered for service in the German army in 1930. During the Second World War, he served as a front-line officer in France, the Balkans and on the eastern front.

After promotion to Major and then Colonel, in 1944 he was chosen to command the “Gross-deutschland” guard regiment in Berlin. In this post, the 31-year-old officer played a historically pivotal role in putting down the attempt by a small circle of insurgent officers to kill Hitler and seize control of the government.

On the afternoon of July 20, 1944, General Paul von Hase, the military commander in Berlin and a leader in the anti-Hitler conspiracy, announced to Remer that Hitler was dead, that civil disorder had broken out, and that the army was assuming overall authority in Germany. Hase ordered Remer immediately to seal off key government buildings in central Berlin.

Hesitating to carry out this highly unusual order, Remer decided to contact Joseph Goebbels to confirm its validity. After telling the skeptical and uncertain Remer that Hitler was not dead, the propaganda minister and Berlin Gauleiter arranged for him to speak directly with the Führer by telephone at his military headquarters in East Prussia. (Although the bomb planted by conspiracy leader Colonel Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg during a conference had killed four officers, Hitler escaped with only minor injuries.)

“Major Remer, can you hear me, do you recognize my voice?,” Hitler began. After explaining that an attempt on his life had failed, he gave Remer complete authority in Berlin to suppress the conspiracy. Remer and his men moved quickly to put down the revolt, which had been poorly planned and organized.

Five months later, Remer commanded the elite “Panzer Führer-Begleitbrigade” during the ill-fated “Battle of the Bulge” offensive. Following his promotion by Hitler on January 30, 1945, to

the rank of Major General he was given command of tens of thousands of soldiers of the legendary "Panzer Führer-Begleitdivision." During the war's final months, he and his men fought off vastly superior Soviet forces, thereby rescuing hundreds of thousands of refugees who were fleeing the advancing Red troops.

Remer showed exemplary courage and valor in combat, and was wounded numerous times in battle. He was awarded some of the nation's most distinguished military decorations, including the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross, the German Cross in Gold, the Oak Leaves of the Iron Cross, the Golden Wounded Badge, and the Silver Close Combat badge.

At the end of the war he came into American captivity, and remained a prisoner of war until 1947. During this period, the American commander of a camp for German prisoners, First Infantry Division officer Stanley Samuelson, said of him: "Of the 87 German generals in this camp, General Remer is the only one whom I respect as courageous and honorable."

Remer played a leading role in the formation of the postwar "Socialist Reich Party," which, after winning 16 seats in a state parliament, was banned in 1952. Remer then lived in exile for several years in Egypt and Syria. He also wrote two books, including "Conspiracy and Treason Around Hitler" (*Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler*), a memoir and study reviewed by H. Keith Thompson in the Spring 1988 Journal.

As a featured speaker at the Eighth (1987) Institute for Historical Review Conference, Remer spoke on "My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944." (His address was published in the Spring 1988 Journal, and is available on both audio- and video-tape from the IHR.)

In October 1992 a German court in Schweinfurt sentenced him to 22 months imprisonment for "popular incitement" and "incitement to racial hatred" because of allegedly anti-Jewish "Holocaust denial" articles that had appeared in five issues of his tabloid newsletter, *Remer Depesche*. The judges in the case flatly refused to consider any of the extensive evidence presented by Remer's attorneys. (See the March-April 1993 Journal, pp. 29-30, and the May-June 1994 Journal, pp. 42-43.)

To avoid imprisonment, in February 1994 Remer sought exile in Spain. (See the July-August 1995 Journal, pp. 33-34.) German authorities sought his extradition, but Spain's highest court rejected these requests on the basis that Remer's "thought crime" was not illegal in Spain. Nevertheless, until the final weeks of his life, German authorities persisted in their efforts to extradite the dying octogenarian so that he could be imprisoned in Germany.

Many of the numerous newspaper reports that have appeared about Remer over the years have contained demonstrable falsehoods. For example, he has repeatedly, and inaccurately, been referred to as a former "SS man" or "SS officer." In fact, he was never even a National Socialist party member.

Newspapers also reported that Remer "denied the murder of Jews" or "declared that no Jews were murdered under the National Socialist regime." Actually, Remer pointed out, "I have never denied that Jews were killed during the Third Reich, but have only disputed the figures of Jews who died in Auschwitz and the alleged method of killing" (that is, in gas chambers).

In challenging the gassing claims, Remer cited the various forensic studies of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, particularly the investigations carried out by German chemist Germar Rudolf and American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter.

The Remer case points up the strange and even perverse standards that prevail in Germany today. Although his “crime” was a non-violent expression of opinion, to dispute claims of mass gassings in wartime concentration camps is regarded in today’s Germany as a criminal attack against all Jews, who enjoy a privileged status there.

More than half a century after the end of the Third Reich and the Second World War, Germans are ceaselessly exhorted to “never forget” the anti-Jewish measures of the Hitler era, to atone for what is called the most terrible crime in history, and to regard themselves as a nation of criminals and moral misfits. As a further expression of the country’s “national masochism,” the July 1944 conspirators are officially venerated, while outstanding wartime combat heroes and selfless patriots such as Remer are dishonored.

Particularly in Germany, the struggle on behalf of historical truth is not merely an academic question — it is an issue of national survival.

If Germany were ever to find itself in another major war, it would be suicidal stupidity to cite as role models for its soldiers and officers the individuals who, at a time of national emergency, tried to assassinate the nation’s leader and overthrow the government in a murderous putsch.

Every nation with a healthy survival instinct naturally venerates, particularly in time of war, individuals of exemplary self-sacrifice, patriotism, and heroism — men of the caliber of Otto Ernst Remer.

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Remer Speaks

The uprising, or, better said, the revolt, of July 20, 1944, failed not because of my intervention, but rather because of the inner lack of goals and conceptualization by its heterogeneous participants, apparently a privileged but subdued nobility class, who were, of course, united in their rejection of Hitler, but who were completely disunited in all other issues. The putsch failed because it began with unclear ideas, was prepared with insufficient means, and was carried out with almost astonishing awkwardness. Moreover, it is also known that no political support was promised from outside of Germany, which meant that the only possible result would have been unconditional surrender.

No one needs to ask what would have happened if the July 20, 1944, undertaking had succeeded. The German eastern front, which at that time was involved in extremely serious defensive battles, would undoubtedly have collapsed as a result of the civil war that inevitably would have broken out, and the attendant interruption of supplies... A collapse of the eastern front, however, would not only have meant the deportation of further millions of German soldiers into the death camps of Russian captivity, but would also have prevented the evacuation of countless women and children who lived in the eastern territories of the Reich, or who had been evacuated to those areas as a result of the terror attacks from the air by the western Allies.

Precisely because of his experiences on the eastern front, every thinking soldier knew what would happen to us if we were to lose this war. German soldiers were quite deeply convinced of the necessity of this struggle in the interest of the survival of our continent. We had not attacked Russia out of pure zeal to conquer. Rather, we were forced to act because the Soviets had deployed superior forces of more than 256 divisions in order to invade Europe at an opportune hour.

During my lifetime I have gotten to know and understand more than 50 countries, particularly in the Arab world and black Africa. These countries live under diverse political systems. In contrast to us, these nations all love and respect their own homelands, and are proud of their own countries and traditions.

The system of “reeducation” after 1945 has turned the Germans into a neuroticized people. This spiritual-psychic condition of society in the [German] Federal Republic thereby renders it incapable of self-awareness or of taking decisive counter-measures against the leftist organized revaluation of the natural life order.

A democracy is not good and acceptable because it calls itself a democracy, but rather when it recognizes and respects the traditional and living values of its own national community. I also believe that in every western democratic country, including here in Germany, no one can be happy about a democracy that does not also have a positive regard for its own people, state and nation. Contrary to the prevailing dogma, I have gained the impression that human beings are not equal, if for no other reason than on the basis of their very different cultural views. Nevertheless, I have observed that everywhere in the world, nationalists and those who love their own countries are able to speak with each other in the same language and understand each other, which is not the case among democrats of each country.

When one observes the tumultuous defamation of the Third Reich and the continual and repulsive self-accusations, one has to ask himself: is Hitler still so strong and the German Federal Republic so weak that the ignorant citizens of Germany can be convinced of the value of this democracy only by repetitiously repeating the old confessions of self-guilt? I do not believe so. In the long run, the historical truth cannot be suppressed.

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Japanese Court Declines to Validate Gas Chamber Claims

Revisionist Progress in Nippon

by Mark Weber

In a major victory in Japan for freedom of speech and research on the Holocaust issue, a Tokyo District Court has declined to give judicial validation to claims of mass extermination gas chambers in wartime German concentration camps.

The case began in April 1997 when Japanese revisionist author Aiji Kimura brought a lawsuit against three defendants for a series of articles in the weekly magazine *Shukan Kinyobi* that, he charges, portray him as a “falsifier of history.”

In August one of the defendants in the case quoted Presiding Judge Toshimi Ouchi, who called him into the judge’s chamber, as saying: “The court cannot decide whether gas chambers existed. The court can only judge whether there was [an act of] defamation.” (*The Japan Times*, Aug. 11, 1997).

Another defendant in the case, a Japanese journalist, expressed outrage at the judge’s remarks: “That a court can openly choose not to make a decision over the existence of gas chambers is an illustration of Japan’s lack of a moral yardstick by which to judge right from wrong. I think it is only Japan, of all countries in the world, that such an idiotic thing can happen.”

Judge Ouchi’s decision shows that, in Japan at least, one may dispute claims of gas chamber killings at Auschwitz and other German wartime camps without fear of legal punishment. With regard to the Holocaust issue, Japan permits greater freedom of speech and expression than do countries such as Germany, France and Austria, where “Holocaust denial” is a crime.

At the same time, though, formidable economic and social pressure can be applied to force compliance with the prescribed orthodoxy. In early 1995 a major Japanese magazine, *Marco Polo*, was compelled to shut down because it had published a ten-page article disputing the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. The article, headlined “The Greatest Taboo of Postwar World History: There were no Nazi 'Gas Chambers',” was written by Dr. Masanori Nishioka, a physician.

Jewish organizations responded with an international boycott campaign, promptly pressuring major corporations into cancelling advertising. The large Bungei Shunju publishing company quickly caved in, and news of the unprecedented surrender received worldwide media coverage. (A detailed report appeared in the March-April 1995 *Journal*, pp. 2-9.)

A few months later, the first book-length Japanese-language presentation of Holocaust revisionism appeared in bookstores. Written by Aiji Kimura, “The Auschwitz Debate” (*Aushuvittsu no*

souten) is a handsome 350-page hardcover work, illustrated with numerous photographs. (A detailed report on Kimura's book and the continuing Holocaust debate in Japan appears in the May-June 1997 Journal, pp. 34-36.)

In June 1997 a second well-referenced revisionist book on the Holocaust issue was published in Japan, this one by Dr. Nishioka. (A report on this work, "Auschwitz: Truth of Gas Chambers: What is the true tragedy," will appear in a forthcoming Journal issue.)

Author: Smith, Goldwin

Title: The Vexing 'Jewish Question': A Nineteenth-Century Scholar's View

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The Vexing 'Jewish Question': A Nineteenth-Century Scholar's View

by Goldwin Smith

Although today it is considered tactless if not hateful to speak openly of a “Jewish question,” the often thorny matter of relations between Jews and non-Jews in society is a real issue that has bedeviled countless governments and scholars for centuries. In the following essay, a prominent British scholar tackles this issue with a forthrightness, perceptiveness and courage that is all too rare among academics in our own day.

The author is Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), a prominent 19th-century educator, historian and author. He was educated at Oxford University, where he became regius professor of modern history in 1858. Moving to the United States in 1868, he joined the faculty of Cornell University as a professor of English literature and Constitutional History. He moved to Toronto in 1871, where he continued to write prolifically until his death.

A “classic liberal,” Smith was ardently pro-democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-militaristic. An enemy of slavery and an admirer of Abraham Lincoln, he championed the cause of the North during the American Civil War. His booklet, *Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery?* (1863) had considerable impact on public opinion in Britain. As a life-long supporter of “Anglo-Saxon” unity, he worked for close ties between Britain, the United States and Canada.

According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1957 edition), Smith’s “principal historical writings — *The United Kingdom: a Political History* (1899), and *The United States: an Outline of Political History* (1893) — make no claim to original research, but are remarkable examples of terse and brilliant narrative.” *The Columbia Encyclopedia* (second edition) says that he “earned a position of great respect in the United States, Canada and Great Britain for his educational and social work.” Among the available profiles of his life is a biography by Elisabeth Wallace, *Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1957).

The following essay, originally entitled “The Jewish Question,” is reprinted here from the second, revised edition of his book, *Essays on Questions of the Day*, published in 1894 by Macmillan (New York and London), and reprinted in 1972 by Books for Libraries Press (Freeport, New York).

In this bold sketch, Smith shows that the “Jewish Question” has persisted since ancient times — over many centuries and in diverse cultures. His observations and presentation of facts point up parallel problems in own era.

He establishes that horrific and much-publicized accounts of anti-Jewish pogroms in the Russian empire during the 1880s were grossly exaggerated, and debunks the widely accepted charge that these anti-Jewish outbursts were rooted in religious bigotry and intolerance.

The recurring friction between Jews and non-Jews through the ages, Smith persuasively argues, is due primarily not to the defects or iniquities of non-Jews, but rather is a lamentable but nevertheless quite understandable reaction to Jewish behavior. The most galling features of this behavior, he contends, are rooted in the distinctively tribalistic character of the Jewish religion as laid out in the Talmud and the Old Testament.

As a solution to this seemingly interminable problem, Smith proposes that Jews should “de-nationalize” themselves by renouncing Jewish tribalism and particularism. In other words, he urges comprehensive Jewish assimilation into society — a “solution” to the “Jewish question” that is also implicit in traditional American liberalism.

In the following reprint, information originally provided by Smith in footnotes has been incorporated into the text in parentheses. Subheads have been added between paragraphs, and some explanatory words have been added to the text in brackets. A few portions have been deleted, as shown by ellipses.

-- M.W.

Jewish ascendancy and the anti-Semitic movement provoked by it form an important feature of the European situation, and are beginning to excite attention in America. Mr. Arnold White, Baron Hirsch’s commissioner, says, in a plea for the Russian Jews (“The Truth about the Russian Jew,” *Contemporary Review*, May 1892), that “almost without exception the press throughout Europe is in Jewish hands, and is largely produced by Jewish brains;” that “international finance is captive to Jewish energy and skill;” that in England the fall of the Barings has left the house of Rothschild alone in its supremacy; and that in every line the Jews are fast becoming our masters. Wind and tide, in a money-loving age, are in favor of the financial race.

At the same time the anti-Semitic movement gains ground. From Russia, Germany, Austria, and the Danubian Principalities, it spreads to the Ionian Islands; it has broken out in France; symptoms of it have appeared even in the United States. Yet there is a persistent misapprehension of the real nature of the agitation. It is assumed that the quarrel is religious. The anti-Semites are supposed to be a party of fanatics renewing the persecutions to which the Jews were exposed on account of their faith in the dark ages, and every one who, handling the question critically, fails to show undivided sympathy with the Israelites is set down as a religious persecutor. The Jews naturally foster this impression, and, as Mr. Arnold White tells us, the press of Europe is in their hands.

Pogroms in Russia

In 1880, anti-Semitic disturbances broke out in Russia. A narrative of them entitled “The Persecution of the Jews in Russia,” was put forth (in 1881) by the Jewish community in England as an appeal to the British heart. In that narrative the Russian Christians were charged with having committed the most fiendish atrocities on the most enormous scale. A tract of country equal in area to the British Islands and France combined had, it was averred, been the scene of horrors theretofore perpetrated only in times of war. Men had been ruthlessly murdered, tender infants had been dashed on the stones or roasted alive in their own homes, married women had been made the prey of a brutal lust which had in many cases caused their death, and young girls had been violated in sight of their relatives by soldiers who should have been guardians of their honor. Whole streets inhabited by Jews had been razed, and the Jewish quarters of towns had been systematically fired.

In one place, Elizabethgrad [or Elizavetgrad, now Kirovohrad, Ukraine], 30 Jewesses at once had been outraged, two young girls in dread of violation had thrown themselves from the windows, and an old man, who was attempting to save his daughter from a fate worse than death, had been flung from the roof, while 20 soldiers proceeded to work their will on the maiden. This was a specimen of atrocities which had been committed over the whole area. The most atrocious charge of all was that against the Christian women of Russia, who were accused of assisting their friends to violate the Jewesses by holding the victims down, their motive being, as the manifesto suggests, jealousy of the superiority of the Jewesses in dress. The government was charged with criminal sympathy, the local authorities generally with criminal inaction, and some of the troops with active participation.

The British heart responded to the appeal. Great public meetings were held, at one of which the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a Roman Cardinal, as the representative of religious liberty in general, and especially of opposition to Jew-burning, at his side, denounced the persecuting bigotry of the Russian Christians. Indignant addresses were largely signed. Russia was accused of re-enacting the worst crimes of the Middle Ages. It was taken for granted on all sides that religious fanaticism was the cause of the riots.

Exaggerated Accounts

Russia, as usual, was silent. But the British government directed its consuls at the different points to report upon the facts. The reports composed two Blue Books, in which, as very few probably took the pains to look into them, the unpopular truth lies buried (*Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia, Nos. 1 and 2*, 1882, 1883).

Those who did read them learned, in the first place, that though the riots were deplorable and criminal, the Jewish account was in most cases exaggerated, and in some to an extravagant extent. The damage to Jewish property at Odessa, rated in the Jewish account at 1,137,381 rubles, or, according to their higher estimates, 3,000,000 rubles, was rated, Consul-General Stanley tells us, by a respectable Jew on the spot at 50,000 rubles, while the Consul-General himself rates it at 20,000. At Elizabethgrad, instead of whole streets being razed to the ground, only one hut had been unroofed. It appeared that few Jews, if any, had been intentionally killed, though some died of injuries received in the riots. There were conflicts between the Jews who defended their houses and the rioters.

The outrages on women, by which public indignation in England had been most fiercely aroused, and of which, according to the Jewish accounts, there had been a frightful number, no less than 30 in one place and 25 in another, appeared, after careful inquiries by the consuls, to have been very rare. This is the more remarkable because the riots commonly began with the sacking of the

gin shops, which were kept by the Jews, so that the passions of the mob must have been inflamed by drink. The horrible charge brought in the Jewish manifesto against the Russian women, of having incited men to outrage Jewesses and held the Jewesses down, is found to be utterly baseless. The charge of roasting children alive also falls to the ground. So does the charge of violating a Jew's wife and then setting fire to his house. The Jewish manifesto states that a Jewish innkeeper was cooped in one of his own barrels and cast into the Dnieper. This turns out to be a fable, the village which was the alleged scene of it being ten miles from the Dnieper and near no other river of consequence.

The Russian peasant, Christian though he may be, is entitled to justice. As a rule, while ignorant and often intemperate, he is good-natured. There was much brutality in his riot, but fiendish atrocity there was not, and if he struck savagely, perhaps he had suffered long. For the belief that the mob was "doing the will of the Tsar," in other words, that the government was at the bottom of the rising, there does not appear to have been a shadow of foundation. The action of the authorities was not in all cases equally prompt. In some cases it was culpably slack. At Warsaw the commandant held back, though as Lord Granville, the British ambassador, bears witness, his motive for hesitation was humanity. But many of the rioters were shot down or bayoneted by the troops, hundreds were flogged, some were imprisoned, and some were sent to Siberia. That any of the military took part in the riots seems to be a fiction. It was not likely that the Russian government, menaced as it is by revolutionary conspiracy, would encourage insurrection.

People of the upper class, who fancied that in the agitation they saw the work of Socialists, though they might dislike the Jews, would hardly sympathize with the rioters. Efforts were made by the government to restore Jewish property, and handsome sums were subscribed for the relief of the sufferers. Yet those who, while they heartily condemned outrage, were willing to accept proof that the Christian men and women of Russia had not behaved like demons, were saluted as modern counterparts of Haman by an eminent Rabbi, who, if the objects of his strictures had cared to retort, might have been asked whether the crucifixion of Haman's ten sons and the slaughter of 75,000 of the enemies of Israel in one day, which, after the lapse of so many centuries, the feast of Purim still joyously commemorates, were not horrors as great as any which have been shown to have actually occurred at Odessa or Elizabethgrad.

Cause of the Troubles

The most important part of the evidence given in the consuls' reports, however, is that which relates to the cause of the troubles. At Warsaw, where the people are Roman Catholics, there appears to have been a certain amount of passive sympathy with the insurgents on religious grounds. But everywhere else the concurrent testimony of the consuls is that the source of the agitation was economical and social, not religious. Bitterness produced by the exactions of the Jew, envy of his wealth, irritation at the display of it in such things as the fine dresses of his women, jealousy of his ascendancy, combined in the lowest of the mob with the love of plunder, were the motives of the people for attacking him, not hatred of his faith. Vice-Consul Wagstaff, who seems to have paid particular attention to the question and made the most careful inquiry, after paying a tribute to the sober, laborious, thrifty character and the superior intelligence of the Jew, and ascribing to these his increasing monopoly of commerce, proceeds (in *Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia*, No. 1, 1882, pp. 11, 12):

It is chiefly as brokers or middlemen that the Jews are so prominent. Seldom a business transaction of any kind takes place without their intervention, and from both sides they receive compensation. To enumerate some of their other occupations, constantly denounced by the public: they are the principal dealers in spirits; keepers of

“vodka” (drinking) shops and houses of ill-fame; receivers of stolen goods; illegal pawnbrokers and usurers. A branch they also succeed in is as government contractors. With their knowledge of handling money, they collude with unscrupulous officials in defrauding the State to vast amounts annually. In fact, the malpractices of some of the Jewish community have a bad influence on those whom they come in contact with.

It must, however, be said that there are many well educated, highly respectable, and honorable Jews in Russia, but they form a small minority. This class is not treated upon in this paper. They thoroughly condemn the occupations of their lower brethren, and one of the results of the late disturbances is noticed in the movement at present amongst the Jews. They themselves acknowledge the abuses practised by some of their own members, and suggest remedial measures to allay the irritation existing among the working classes.

Another thing the Jews are accused of is that there exists among them a system of boycotting; they use their religion for business purposes. This is expressed by the words “koul,” or “kagal,” and “kherim.” For instance, in Bessarabia, the produce of a vineyard is drawn for by lot, and falls, say to Jabob Levy; the other Jews of the district cannot compete with Levy, who buys the wine at his own price. In the leasing by auction of government and provincial lands, it is invariably a Jew who outbids the others and afterwards re-lets plots to the peasantry at exorbitant prices. Very crying abuses of farming out land have lately come to light and greatly shocked public opinion. Again, where estates are farmed by Jews, it is distressing to see the pitiable condition in which they are handed over on the expiration of the lease. Experience also shows they are very bad colonists.

Their fame as usurers is well known. Given a Jewish recruit with a few rubles' capital, it can be worked out, mathematically, what time it will take him to become the money-lender of his company or regiment, from the drummer to the colonel. Take the case of a peasant: if he once gets into the hands of this class, he is irretrievably lost. The proprietor, in his turn, from a small loan gradually mortgages and eventually loses his estate. A great deal of landed property in south Russia has of late years passed into the hands of the Israelites, but principally into the hands of intelligent and sober peasants.

From first to last, the Jew has his hand in everything. He advances the seed for sowing, which is generally returned in kind — quarters for bushels. As harvest time comes round, money is required to gather in the crops. This is sometimes advanced on hard conditions; but the peasant has no choice; there is no one to lend him money, and it is better to secure something than to lose all. Very often the Jew buys the whole crop as it stands in the field on his own terms. It is thus seen that they themselves do not raise agricultural products, but they reap the benefits of others' labor, and steadily become rich, while proprietors are gradually getting ruined. In their relation to Russia they are compared to parasites that have settled on a plant not vigorous enough to throw them off, and which is being sapped of its vitality.

The peasants, the vice-consul tells us, often say, when they look at the property of a Jew, “That is my blood.” In confirmation of his view he cites the list of demands formulated by the peasants and laid before a mixed committee of inquiry into the causes of the disorder. These demands are all economical or social, with the exception of the complaint that Russian girls in Jewish service

forget their religion and with it lose their morals. Everything, in short, seems to bear out the statement of the Russian Minister of the Interior, in a manifesto given in the Blue Book, that “the movement had its main cause in circumstances purely economical;” provided that to “economical” we add “social,” and include all that is meant by the phrase “hatred of Jewish usurpation,” used in another document.

Vice-Consul Harford, at Sebastopol, is in contact with the Jews of the Crimea, who, he says, are of a superior order, while some of them are not Talmudic Jews, but belong to the mild and Scriptural sect of the Karaites (Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia, No. 2, 1883, p. 17) He says that in his quarter all goes well:

The spirit of antagonism that animates the Russian against the Jew is, in my opinion, in no way to be traced to the difference of creed. In this part of Russia, where we have more denominations of religion than in any other part, I have never, during a residence of 14 years, observed the slightest indication or sectarianism in any class. The peasant, though ignorant and superstitious, is so entirely free from bigotry that even the openly displayed contempt of the fanatical Mohammedan [Muslim] Crim Tartar for the rites and ceremonies of the Russian Church fails to excite in him the slightest feeling of personal animosity; his own feeling with regard to other religions is perfect indifference; he enters a mosque or synagogue just as he would enter a theatre, and regards the ceremony in much the same manner that an English peasant would, neither knowing nor caring to know whether they worshipped God or the moon.

As it is evident from this that race and creed are to the minds of the peasantry of no more consequence than they would be to a Zulu, the only conclusion is that the antipathy is against the usurer, and as civilization can only be expected to influence the rising generation of Russian peasantry, the remedy rests with the Jew, who, if he will not refrain from speculating (in lawless parts of the Empire) on ignorance and drunkenness, must be prepared to defend himself and his property from the certain and natural result of such a policy.

An Official Russian View

All this confirms the statement of M. Pierre Botkine, Secretary of the Russian Legation in Washington, who, writing in the Century Magazine (Feb. 1893), says:

Replying to the accusation against Russia in the matter of an alleged religious intolerance, I must first point out a great error I have repeatedly encountered here. The promulgation of the laws and regulations against [that is, enforcing] the laws is being generally ascribed in America to persecution on the part of the Orthodox Church. But the Hebrew question in Russia is neither religious nor political; it is purely an economical and administrative question. The actual meaning of the anti-Semitic measures prescribed by our government is not animosity to the religion of the Jews; neither are those measures a deliberate hunting down of the feeble by the powerful; they are an effort to relieve the Empire of the injurious struggle against those particular traits of Hebrew character that were obstructing the progress of our people along their own line of natural development. It may be said in general, that the anti-Semitic movement in Russia is a demonstration by the non-Hebrew part of the population against tendencies of Hebrews which have characterized them the world over, and to which they adhere in Russia.

The Hebrew, as we know him in Russia, is “the eternal Jew.” Without a country of his own, and, as a rule, without any desire to become identified with the country he for the time inherits, he remains, as for hundreds of years he has been, morally unchangeable and without a faculty for adapting himself to sympathy with the people of the race which surrounds him. He is not homogeneous with us in Russia; he does not feel or desire solidarity with us. In Russia he remains a guest only — a guest from long ago, and not an integral part of the community. When these guests without affinity became too many in Russia, when in serious localities their numbers were found injurious to the welfare and the prosperity of our own people as a whole, when they had grown into many wide-spreading ramifications of influence and power, and abused their opportunities as traders with or lenders of money to the poor — when, in a word, they became dangerous and prejudicial to our people — is there anything revolting or surprising in the fact that our government found it necessary to restrict their activity? We did not expel the Jews from the Empire, as is often mistakenly charged, though we did restrict their rights as to localities of domicile and as to kinds of occupations ... Is it just that those who have never had to confront such a situation should blame us for those measures?

Whatever may be said against the restrictions as to residence and occupation laid on the Jews in Russia, from the point of view of policy or humanity, it seems certain that their aim is economical and social, not religious. They fall under the same head with measures taken by the people of the United States to guard their nationality and their character against the invasion of the Chinese. There is apparently no expulsion of Jews from the provinces of Russia which were originally their chief settlements, and which they have hitherto been permitted by law to inhabit. They are only forbidden to spread and extend their financial operations over the rest of the Empire.

The Role of the Russian Orthodox Church

Persecution is not the tendency of the Russian or of the Church to which he belongs. The Eastern Church, while it has been superstitious and somewhat torpid, has been tolerant, and, compared with other orthodox churches, free from the stain of persecution. It has not been actively proselytizing, nor sent forth crusaders, unless the name of crusades can be given to the wars with the Turks, the main motive for which, though the pretext may have been religious, probably has been territorial ambition, and which were certainly not crusades when waged by Catherine, the patroness of Diderot and the correspondent of Voltaire. This is the more remarkable because the Russians had a struggle for their land with the Tartars like that which Spain had with the Moors.

Arthur P. Stanley, D.D., in his *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church* (3rd ed., p. 35) dilates upon this characteristic of the Eastern Christians. He says that “a respectful reverence for every manifestation of religious feeling has withheld them from violent attacks on the rights of conscience and led them to extend a kindly patronage to forms of faith most removed from their own;” and he notices that the great philosophers of antiquity are honored by portraits in their churches as heralds of the gospel.

Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, M.A., who is the best authority, while he admits the inferiority of the Russian priests in education, testifies (in *Russia*, pp. 58, 59) to their innocence of persecution, saying that “if they have less learning, culture, and refinement than the Roman Catholic priesthood, they have at the same time infinitely less fanaticism, less spiritual pride, and less intolerance toward the adherents of other faiths.” The educated classes he represents as generally indifferent to theological questions. The peasantry are superstitious and blindly attached to their own faith, which they identify with their nationality; but they think it natural and right that a man of a

different nationality should have a different religion. In Nizhnii-Novgorod, the city of the great fair, the Mahometan [Muslim] Mosque or the Armenian church and the Orthodox cathedral stand side by side. (See Hare's *Studies in Russia*, p. 360.) At one end of a village is the church, at the other the mosque, and the Mahometan spreads his prayer carpet on the deck of a steamer full of Orthodox Russians.

The ecclesiastical constitution of Russia is incompatible with religious equality, and therefore with full religious liberty. The Tsar is practically, though not theoretically, head of the Church as well as of the State; the commander of Holy Russia as a Caliph is the Commander of the Faithful. In the interest rather of national unity than of religious orthodoxy he restrains dissent. But it is against innovation and schism within the pale of the State Church rather than against misbelief that his power has been exerted. Some Tsars, such as Peter the Great and the Tsarina Catherine II, have been Liberals, and have patronized merit without regard to creed. Nicholas was full of orthodox sentiment and in all things a martinet, yet Sir Mackenzie Wallace has a pleasant anecdote of his commending the Jewish sentinel at his door who conscientiously refused to respond to the Tsar's customary salutation on Easter Day. No Tsar, however bigoted, has been guilty of such persecution as Philip II. of Spain, Ferdinand of Austria, or Louis XIV [of France]. Russia has had no Inquisition.

That the Jews have had liberty of worship and education, the existence of 6,319 synagogues and of 77 Jewish schools supported by the [Russian] State, besides 1,165 private and communal schools, seems clearly to prove. (See *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1891, pp. 854-856.) It does not seem to be alleged that any attempt has been made by the government at forcible conversion. Whatever may have been the harshness or even cruelty of the measures which it has taken to confine the Jews to their original districts and prevent their spreading over its dominions, its object appears to have been to protect the people against economical oppression and preserve the national character from being sapped by an alien influence, not to suppress the Jewish religion. The law excluding the Jews from Great Russia in fact belongs to the same category as the law of the United States excluding the Chinese.

Jews in the Roman Empire

That Christian fanaticism at all events was not the sole source of the unpopularity of the Jews might have been inferred from the fact that the relation was no better between the Jew and the heathen races during the period of declining polytheism, when religious indifference prevailed and beneath the vast dome of the Roman Empire the religions of many nations slept and moldered side by side. Gibbon, well qualified to speak, for he was himself a citizen of the Roman Empire in sentiment, after narrating the massacres committed by the Jews on the Gentiles in Africa and Cyprus, has expressed in flamboyant phrase the hatred of the Roman world for the Jews, whom he designates as the "implacable enemies, not only of the Roman government but of human kind." (Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. xiv.)

Tacitus speaks of the Jews as enemies of all races but their own (*adversus omnes alios hostile odium*, in *Histories*, V, v), and Juvenal, in a well-known passage, speaks of them as people who would not show a wayfarer his road or guide the thirsty to a spring if he were not of their own faith. Those who maintain that there is nothing in the character, habits, or disposition of the Jew to provoke antipathy have to bring the charge of fanatical prejudice not only against the Russians or against Christendom, but against mankind.

Central Europe

In Germany, in Austria, in Roumania, in all the countries of Europe where this deplorable contest of races is going on, the cause of quarrel appears to be fundamentally the same. It appears to be economical and social, not religious, or religious only in a secondary degree. Mr. S. Baring-Gould, M.A. (in *Germany, Present and Past*, Vol. I, pp. 114, 127), tells us that in Germany “there is scarce a village without some Jews in it, who do not cultivate land themselves, but lie in wait like spiders for the failing Bauer.” A German who knew the peasantry well said to Mr. Gould that “he doubted whether there were a happier set of people under the sun;” but he added, after a pause, “so long as they are out of the clutch of the Jew.”

Of the German, as well as of the Russian, it may be said that he is not a religious persecutor. If persecution of a sanguinary or atrocious kind has sullied his annals, the arm of it was the house of Austria, with its Spanish connection, and the head was the world-roving Jesuit. In the case of Hungary, Mr. John Paget, who is a Liberal and advocates a Liberal policy towards the Jews, says (in *Hungary and Translyvania*, Vol. I, p. 136): “The Jew is no less active in profiting by the vices and necessities of the peasant than by those of the noble. As sure as he gains a settlement in a village the peasantry become poor.” “In Austrian Poland,” says a *Times* reviewer, “the worst of the peasant’s sluggish content is that it has given him over to the exactions of the Jews.” “The Jews,” he adds, “are in fact the lords of the country.” They are lords not less alien to the people than the Norman was to the Saxon, and perhaps not always more merciful, though in their hands is the writ of ejection instead of the conqueror’s sword.

If we cross the Mediterranean the same thing meets us. In Joseph Thomson’s *Travels in the Atlas and Southern Morocco* (pp. 418, 419) we read:

As money-lenders the Jews are as maggots and parasites, aggravating and feeding on the diseases of the land. I do not know, for my part, which exercises the greatest tyranny and oppression, the Sultan or the Jew — the one the embodiment of the foulest misgovernment, the other the essence of a dozen Shylocks, demanding, ay, and getting, not only his pound of flesh, but also the blood and nerves. By his outrageous exactions the Sultan drives the Moor into the hands of the Jew, who affords him a temporary relief by lending him the necessary money on incredibly exorbitant terms. Once in the money-lender’s clutches, he rarely escapes till he is squeezed dry, when he is either thrown aside, crushed and ruined, or cast into a dungeon, where, fettered and starved, he is probably left to die a slow and horrible death.

To the position of the Jews in Morocco it would be difficult to find a parallel. Here we have a people alien, despised, and hated, actually living in the country under immeasurably better conditions than the dominant race, while they suck, and are assisted to suck, the very lifeblood of their hosts. The aim of every Jew is to toil not, neither to spin, save the coils which as money-lender he may weave for the entanglement of his necessitous victims.

In the United States

Even if we cross the Atlantic we find the same phenomenon. Mr. Frederick Law Olmstead, in his *Journeys and Explorations in the Cotton Kingdom* (2nd ed., pp. 252, 253), says:

A swarm of Jews has within the last ten years settled in nearly every Southern town, many of them men of no character, opening cheap clothing and trinket shops, ruining or driving out of business many of the old retailers, and engaging in an unlawful trade with the simple negroes, which is found very profitable.

And again (pp. 321, 322):

If his [the planter's] first crop proves a bad one he must borrow money of the Jews at New Orleans to pay his first note. They will sell him this on the best terms they can, often at not less than 25 per cent per annum.

In *Across the Plains* (p. 100), Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson says of the Jews in San Francisco:

Jew storekeepers have already learned the advantage to be gained from this [unlimited credit]; they lead on the farmer into irretrievable indebtedness, and keep him ever after as their bond-slave hopelessly grinding in the mill. So the whirligig of time brings in its revenges, and except that the Jew knows better than to foreclose, you may see Americans bound in the same chains with which they themselves had formerly bound the Mexicans.

These passages were not intended by the writers, nor are they here cited, as general pictures of the Jews, or as pictures of Jews exclusively. In the last, American sharp practice is included. The passages are cited as indications of the real source of the antagonism tending to show that it is economical not religious.

A Dawning Awareness

Light dawned on the writer's mind touching this question when he had been listening with sympathy to speeches in the British House of Commons on the anti-Semitic movement in Roumania, where, as in Russia, the number of Jews is particularly large and the feeling against them is proportionately intense. The Jewish member who appealed to the government on the subject, and the Minister who rose in response to the appeal, had both of them assumed that it was a case of religious persecution, and the Minister especially had dwelt on the mischievous influence of ecclesiastics; with how little justice, so far as the priests of the Eastern Church are concerned, we have already seen.

The debate over, the writer was accosted by his friend, the late Dr. Humphry Sandwith, distinguished for his share in the defense of Kars [in Northeast Turkey] against the Russians, who knew the Danubian Principalities well. Dr. Sandwith said that the speakers had been entirely mistaken; that religion was not the motive of the agitation; that neither the people nor their priests were given to persecution; that the government had granted aid to a synagogue; but that Jewish usurers got the simple-minded peasants into their toils and sold them out of their homesteads till the peasants would bear it no longer, and an outbreak ensued. Dr. Sandwith, being a thorough-going Liberal, would have been the last man to palliate religious persecution.

Medieval Religious Sensitivities

It is doubtful whether, even in the Middle Ages, the quarrel was not less religious and more economical or social than is supposed. That was the age of religious intolerance; Christian heretics, such as the Albigenses, were persecuted with fully as much cruelty as the Jews. Jews who had ventured to settle in the Catholic communities for the sake of gain, braved the same sort of peril which would have been braved by an enterprising trader who had thrust himself into Japan during its close period. But as a rule, though they were hated, they were not persecuted; they were tolerated and allowed to build their synagogues and worship God in their own way. They were regarded, not like heretics, as religious traitors, but as religious aliens. Their religious blindness,

as well as their penal homelessness, was viewed as the act of God. They were privileged in misbelief.

Aquinas expressly lays it down that they are to be tolerated as a useful testimony borne, though by adversaries, to the truth of Christianity (*Summa Theologica*, *Secunda Secundae*, Quaest. X, Art. xi). It is not true that the great Doctor of the Middle Ages sanctions the forcible conversion of the children of Jews. He raises the question and decides it in the negative (*Summa Theologica*, *Secunda Secundae*, Art. xii). An argument stated by him only to be set aside has been taken for his conclusion. In the *Corpus Juris Canonici* it is laid down that Jews shall not be baptized against their will or inclination, since enforced baptism does not make a Christian. Their persons are to be secure from violence, their graves from spoliation, their customary rights from invasion, their festivals from interruption, their servants from abduction, their cemeteries from profanation (*Decret. Greg.*, Lib. V, Tit. vi).

During the Crusades

By the kings, and notably by the Angevin [Plantagenet] kings of England, the Jews were protected as the agents of royal extortion, sucking by usury the money from the people which was afterwards squeezed out of the usurer by the king. Of the common people it is not, so far as we can see, the tendency to persecute on account of religion, however superstitious they may be. It is rather by the possessors of ecclesiastical power and wealth, by Archbishops of Toledo and Prince Bishops of Germany, whom dissent threatens with dispossession, or by kings like Philip II and Louis XIV, under priestly influence, that the engines of persecution are set at work. At the time of the Crusades, Christian fanaticism being excited to frenzy, there were dreadful massacres of Jews, and forced conversions, though no reliance can be placed on the figures of medieval chroniclers, who set down at random 20,000 victims slain, or 200,000 forced conversions.

The Jew at that time was odious not only as a misbeliever in the midst of the Christian camp, whose presence would turn from it the countenance of God, but as a suspected friend and ally at heart of the Oriental power. The Jews must have foreseen the storm, and might have escaped by flight, but they were perhaps tempted by the vast harvest afforded them in the general sale of possessions by the Crusaders to buy equipments, while by that traffic their unpopularity was increased. In ordinary times the main causes of the hatred of the Jews among the common people appear to have been usury and a social arrogance, which was particularly galling on the part of the alien and the enemy of Christ. In the riots the people made for the place in which the Jewish bonds were kept. At York, the scene of the worst anti-Jewish riot in England, the chronicler tells us there were two Jews, Benedict and Joce, who had built in the middle of the city houses like palaces, where they dwelt like princes of their own people and tyrants of the Christians, keeping almost royal state, and exercising harsh tyranny against those whom they oppressed with their usuries. The usury was grinding and ruthless.

In the *Chronicle of Joceline de Brakelond* we see how rapidly a debt of 27 pounds, owed to a Jew, grew to 880. Jews at Oxford were forbidden by edict to take more than 43 per cent. So it was generally. Political economy will say that this was justifiable, in the circumstances perhaps useful, and the penalty due to the Christian superstition which made the lending of money at interest an unholy and therefore a perilous trade. Nevertheless, it was hateful, at least sure to engender hate. The Lombards and Cahorsins, who, when the Jews were for a time driven from the field, took up the business, incurred the same hatred, though in their case there was no religious or social feeling to aggravate the unpopularity of the trade. A Spanish Chancellor describes the Jews as the bloodsuckers of the afflicted people, as men who exact fifty per cent, eighty, a hundred, and through whom the land is desolate, their hard hearts being callous to tears and groans,

and their ears deaf to petitions for delay. (See *The History of the Jews from the War with Rome to the Present Time*, by Rev. H. C. Adams, M.A., p. 245) ...

Usury Double Standard and Ostentatious Wealth

The law of the Jews themselves, be it observed, proscribes usury in the case of a tribal brother, permitting it in the case of a stranger. “Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury: unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thine hand to in the land whither thou goest to possess it” (Deuteronomy 23: 19, 20). The Jew, then, on the subject of usury is not less superstitious than the Christian. In truth the Christian superstition may be said to have been derived from the Jewish law. In practising usury on the Christians among whom he dwelt the Jew showed that he regarded them not as brethren but as strangers.

The Jews in the Middle Ages after all were not so maltreated as to prevent them from amassing what was for that time enormous wealth. Of this they appear in those days, as they sometimes do in these, to have made ostentatious and, in the eyes of natives and Christians, especially if they had been victims of extortion, offensive use. A Cortes in Portugal, in 1481, complained of Jewish luxury and display, of Jews who rode splendidly caparisoned [ornamentally covered] horses, wore silk doublets [ornamented jackets], carried jewel-hilted swords, and entered churches where they mocked the worship. Jewish haughtiness seems sometimes even to have indulged in insults to the popular religion. At Oxford it mocks the miracles of St. Frydeswide before her votaries, assaults a religious procession, and tramples on the cross. At Lynn the Jews attack a church to drag out a convert from Judaism to Christianity, for whose blood they thirsted, and the people of the place are half afraid to resist them, knowing that they are protected by the king.

Besides their usury, the Jews were suspected of clipping the coin. Their function as the middlemen of royal rapacity must have been most odious, not least when they handled for the king Church estates which he had wrongfully taken into his hands. In expelling them from England, Edward I, the best of kings, no doubt thought that he was doing a good deed, while his people were unquestionably grateful. The worthy Abbot Samson, of St. Edmondbury, in the same way earned the gratitude of the people of that place by ridding it of the Jews. The clearest, as well as the most terrible, case of persecution of the Jews for religion was in Spain, and there, it must be remembered, when the Jew was burned, the Christian suspected of heresy was burned at his side.

Jew and Muslim

Even in Spain it is not easy to say how much was hatred of religion, how much was hatred of race. For centuries the Spanish Christians had struggled for the land with Islam, and the history of Spain had been one long Crusade. The Jew was identified with Islam. A Jewish writer, Lady Magnus, in her history of her race (*About the Jews Since Bible Times*, pp. 195-197), says:

Both in the East and in the West the rise of Mohammedanism [Islam] was, in truth, as the dawn of a new day to the despised and dispersed Jews. If we except that one bitter quarrel between the earliest followers of the Prophet and the Jews of Arabia — and that, we must note, was no organized or systematic persecution, but rather an ebullition of anger from an ardent enthusiast at his first unexpected rebuff — we shall find that Judaism had much reason to rejoice at the rapid spread of Mohammedanism. Monotheists, like the Jews, abhorring like them all forms of image worship, worshipping in simple fashion their one God Allah, observing dietary laws

like those of Moses, the Mohammedans both in their faith and in their practice naturally found more grounds for agreement with Jewish doctrine than with the Christian dogma of a complex Godhead, or with the undeveloped aspirations of the heathen. And besides some identity of principle and of race between the Mohammedan and the Jew there soon discovered itself a certain hardly definable kinship of habit and custom — a sort of sympathy, in fact, which is often more effectual than even more important causes in promoting friendly relations either nationally or individually. Then, also, there was the similarity of language; for Arabic, like Hebrew, belongs to what is called the Semitic group ...

Nearly a century of experience of the political and social results of the Mohammedan conquests most, inevitably, have made the year 710 stand out to the Jews of that time as the beginning of a grand new era in their history. Centuries of cruelty had made the wise loyal counsel of Jeremiah to “pray for the peace of the land whither ye are led captive; its peace shall be your peace also,” a hard task for the most loyal of consciences; and in that early year of the eighth century, when Spain was added to the list of the Mohammedan victories, and the triumphant flag of the Crescent was hoisted on tower and citadel, the liberty of conscience which it practically proclaimed must have been in the widest sense a cause for national rejoicing to the Jews.

The kindness of the Mahometan [Muslim] to the Jew may here be overrated, but the sympathy between Judaism and Islam cannot be questioned, and it meant common antipathy to Christendom, which Christendom could not fail to reciprocate, especially in its crusading mood. We sit at ease and sneer at the fanaticism of the Crusaders. But some strong motive was needed to make men leave their homes and their wives and go to die as the vanguard of Christendom on Syrian battlefields. Let us not forget that the question whether Christianity and Christian civilization or Islam, with its despotism and its harem, should reign in Europe came to be decided, not without long and perilous debate, so near the heart of Christendom as the plain of Tours. The Jews of Southern France, like those of Spain, were suspected of inviting the invaders. If they did they were not without excuse. But their excuse could hardly be expected to pass muster with Charles Martel.

From religious intolerance in the Dark Ages, or long after the end of the Dark Ages, nobody was free. The Jew was not. He had striven as long as he had a chance, by all means in his power, unscrupulously using the Roman or the Persian as his instruments, to crush Christianity. His own law punished blasphemy with death and bade the worshipper of Jehovah slaughter everything that breathed in a captured city of the heathen. [Among many examples, see: Numbers 21: 34-35; Deuteronomy 2:34, 20: 16-17; Joshua 11: 20-22; I Samuel 15: 3, 8.] It was hence, in fact, that the Inquisitor partly drew his inspiration. Medieval darkness had passed away when Judaism sought the life of Spinoza and scourged Uriel Acosta in the synagogue.

Jews and Serfs in Medieval England

Although the lot of a Jew in the Middle Ages was hard in itself, it was perhaps not so hard compared with that of other classes, notably with that of the serf, as the perpetual addition of piteous epithets to his name by common writers might lead us to suppose. *Ivanhoe* is not history; Freeman's works are. In *The Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry the First* (Vol. I, p. 160), Edward A. Freeman says:

In the wake of the conqueror the Jews of Rouen found their way to London, and before long we find settlements of the Hebrew race in the chief cities and boroughs of

England: at York, Winchester, Lincoln, Bristol, Oxford, and even at the gate of the Abbot of St. Edmonds and St. Albans. They came as the king's special men, or more truly as his special chattels, strangers alike to the Church and the commonwealth, but strong in the protection of a master who commonly found it his interest to protect them against all others.

Hated, feared, and loathed, but far too deeply feared to be scorned or oppressed, they stalked defiantly among the people of the land, on whose wants they thrived, safe from harm or insult, save now and then, when popular wrath burst all bounds, when their proud mansions and fortified quarters could shelter them no longer from raging crowds who were eager to wash out their debts in the blood of their creditors. The romantic picture of the despised, trembling Jew, cringing before every Christian whom he meets, is, in any age of English history, simply a romantic picture.

The Jews found it worth their while to buy their way back into lands from which they had been banished, and their existence in which is pictured by historians as a hell. If they were heavily taxed and sometimes pillaged, they were exempted from the most grievous of all taxes, service in war. Their badge, though a stigma, was also a protection, since it marked them as serfs of the king. Even the Ghetto, where there was one, would be comparatively a small grievance when nationalities, crafts, and family clans had their special quarters in cities. Any immigrant would have been less at home in the closely organized communities of feudalism and Catholicism than in the loose society of the Roman Empire. But the Jew was there by his own choice. The tenure of land in a feudal realm, being military, land could hardly be held by a Jew. But Jews were not forbidden by law to hold land in England till late in the reign of Henry III [1216-1272], when it was found that they were getting estates into their hands by mortgage, which would have been ruinous to the feudal system.

A community has a right to defend its territory and its national integrity against an invader, whether his weapon be the sword or foreclosure. In the territories of the Italian Republics the Jews might, so far as we see, have bought land and taken to farming had they pleased. But before this they had thoroughly taken to trade. Under the falling Empire they were the great slave traders, buying captives from barbarian invaders and probably acting as general brokers of spoils at the same time. They entered England in the train of the Norman conqueror. There was, no doubt, a perpetual struggle between their craft and the brute force of the feudal populations. But what moral prerogative has craft over force?

Mr. Arnold White tells the Russians that, if they would let Jewish intelligence have free course, Jews would soon fill all high employments and places of power to the exclusion of the natives, who now hold them. Russians are bidden to acquiesce and rather to rejoice in this by philosophers, who would perhaps not relish the cup if it were commended to their own lips. The law of evolution, it is said, prescribes the survival of the fittest. To which the Russian boor may reply, that if his force beats the fine intelligence of the Jew the fittest will survive and the law of evolution will be fulfilled. It was force rather than fine intelligence which decided on the field of Zama that the Latin, not the Semite, should rule the ancient and mold the modern world.

Religious antipathy, no doubt, has always added and continues to add bitterness to the social quarrel. Among ignorant peasants it still takes grotesque, sometimes hideous, shapes, such as the cruel fancy that the Jews sacrifice Christian children and spread pestilence. The Jew has always been felt to be a power of evil, and the peasant imagination lends to the power of evil horns and hoofs. But even the peasant imagination does not lend horns and hoofs to any power which is felt to be harmless, much less to one which has always been beneficent, as we are asked to believe

that the Jews have been. The people are not everywhere fools or fiends. Let it be remembered, too, that the Jewish religion is not merely a religion of peculiar opinion. It is a religion of social exclusiveness, of arrogated superiority to Gentiles, and treatment of them as unclean, of the Pentateuch with its Chosen People, and of the feast of Purim. Milman thinks it possible that in the offensive celebration of the feast of Purim some of the calumnies about the Jews may have had their source.

People of a higher class, whom Jewish usury does not touch, object to Judaism on higher grounds. They object to it because it is at variance with the unity of the nation and threatens to eat out the core of nationality. Admitting the keenness of Jewish intelligence, they say that intelligence is not always beneficent, nor is submission to it always a matter of duty, especially when its ascendancy is gained by such means as the dexterous appropriation of the circulating medium, and when it is, as they believe, the result not of individual effort in a fair field, but of the collective effort of a united, though scattered race, aided by a press in Jewish hands. They demur to having the high places of their community monopolized, as Mr. Arnold White says they might be in Russia, by unsympathetic aliens turning the rest of the nation into hewers of wood and drawers of water. This feeling, if it is selfish, is natural, and should be charitably viewed by those who are free from the danger.

Some of the opposition to Jewish ascendancy arises from dread of materialism, the triumph of which over the spiritual character and aspirations of Christian communities would, it is apprehended, follow the victory of the Jew, an impersonation of the power of wealth. Among the anti-Semites are Christian Socialists seeking the liberation of the laboring class from the grasp of usury and the money power. [In Germany] Herr [Adolf] Stoecker [1835-1909] belongs, it seems, to this sect, and far from being an enemy of the Jewish people, is a devout believer in the Old Testament. To be opposed on social or patriotic ground to Judaism as a system is not to be a hater of the Jews, any more than to be opposed to Islam or Buddhism as a system is to be a hater of the Mahometan or the Buddhist.

Medieval Myths

The impression prevails that Judaism during the Middle Ages was a civilizing power, in fact the great civilizing power, while its beneficent action was repressed by a barbarous Christendom. The leading shoot of civilization, both material and intellectual, was republican Italy, where the Jews, though they were not persecuted, never played a leading part. You may read through Sismondi's History [of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages] almost without being made aware of their existence. Intellectually superior in a certain sense no doubt they were; their wealth exempted them from manual labor, and gave them an advantage, as it does now, in the race of intelligence. They were also practically exempted from military service. They preserved Hebrew and Oriental learning, and to them Europe owed the transmission of the works of Aristotle through Arabic translations. But in their medieval roll of celebrated names the great majority are those of Talmudists or Cabalists. The most illustrious is that of Maimonides, whose influence on the progress of humanity surely was not very great, albeit he was let and hindered only by the narrow and jealous orthodoxy of his own people. Jews were in request as physicians, though they seem to have drawn their knowledge from the Arabians. They had much to do with the foundation of the medical school of Montpellier; the origin of that at Salerno was Benedictine. But if they founded a medical science, what became of the medical science which they founded? At the close of the Middle Ages there was none. A Jewish physician, no doubt the most eminent of his class, is called in by Innocent VIII. His treatment is transfusion of blood. He kills three boys in the process and then runs away.

Of the money trade the Jews were generally the masters, though in Italy that, too, was in the hands of native houses, such as the Medici, Bardi, and Peruzzi, while at a later period the Fuggers of Augsburg were the Rothschilds of Germany. But the Jews never were the masters of the grand commerce or of that maritime enterprise in which the Middle Ages gloriously closed. Rosseeuw Saint-Hilaire has observed in his history of Spain that their addiction was to petty trade. Showing abundant sympathy for Jewish wrongs, he finds himself compelled to contrast the “narrowness and rapacity” of their commerce with the boldness and grandeur of Arab enterprise (*Histoire d'Espagne*, Vol. III, p. 147). The slave trade, which in the early Middle Ages was in Jewish hands, was not then the reproach that it is now, yet it never was a noble or a beneficent trade.

Spain is supposed to have owed her fall to the expulsion of the Jews, but the acme of her greatness came after their expulsion; and her fall was due to despotism, civil and religious, to her false commercial system, to the diversion of her energy from industry to gold-seeking and conquest, and not least to the overgrown and heterogeneous empire which was the supposed foundation of her grandeur. England, in the period between the expulsion of the Jews under Edward I [in 1290] and their readmission under Cromwell [in 1656], became a commercial nation and a famous naval power; and the greatness thus achieved was English, not Gibeonite, as it would have been under Jewish ascendancy; it was part of the fullness of national life, and was prolific not only of Whittingtons and Drakes, but of Shakespeares and Bacons. As financiers it is likely that the Jews were useful in advancing money for great works; they also furnished money for enterprises such as Strongbow's expedition to Ireland. But the assertion, often repeated, that they provided the means for building the churches, abbeys, and colleges of England must be qualified in face of the fact that the greater part of the edifices is of dates subsequent to the expulsion of the Jews. Salisbury Cathedral was built before the expulsion. But we happen to know that the 40,000 marks which it cost were supplied by contributions from the Prebendaries, collections from different dioceses, and grants from Alicia de Bruere and other benefactors. (See Murray's *Handbook of the Cathedrals of England*, Southern Div., Part I, p. 94).

No financial or material advantage at all events could have made up to a nation for the ascendancy of a tribe of alien usurers.

Judaism is now the great financial power of Europe, that is, it is the greatest power of all. It is no longer necessary, out of pity for it, to falsify history, and traduce Christendom.

The Talmud

Of the two works on which, during the Middle Ages, Jewish intellect was chiefly employed, the Cabbala [or Kabbalah] is on all hands allowed to be mystical nonsense. Of the Talmud, Dr. Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., assuredly no Jew-baiter, in his introductory Preface to a volume of selections from it (*A Talmudic Miscellany*. Compiled and translated by Paul Isaac Hershon), says:

Wisdom there is in the Talmud, and eloquence and high morality; of this the reader may learn something even in the small compass of the following pages. How could it be otherwise when we bear in mind that the Talmud fills twelve large folio volumes, and represents the main literature of a nation during several hundred years? But yet I venture to say that it would be impossible to find less wisdom, less eloquence, and less high morality, imbedded in a vaster bulk of what is utterly valueless to mankind — to say nothing of those parts of it which are indelicate and even obscene — in any other national literature of the same extent. And even of the valuable residuum of true and holy thoughts, I doubt whether there is even one which had not long been antici-

pated, and which is not found more nobly set forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

This judgment is fully borne out by the selections which follow, and which are made by Mr. Hershon, a known Hebrew scholar, on an impartial principle. It is supported by other independent critics, such as Thirlwall, who spoke of the Talmud as an ocean of nonsense. The writer will not presume to speak, though he looks back upon the perusal of a Latin translation of the Mishna as one of the least pleasant labors of a student's life. Dr. Deutsch's counterfeit presentment of the Talmud, to which Dr. Farrar refers, is a standing caution. In every page of Mr. Hershon's Talmudic Miscellany we have such things as this:

"There were two things which God first thought of creating on the eve of the Sabbath, which, however, were not created till after the Sabbath had closed. The first was fire, which Adam by divine suggestion drew forth by striking together two stones; and the second was the mule, produced by the crossing of two different animals." — P'sachim, fol. 54, col 1.

"The Rabbis have taught that there are three reasons why a person should not enter a ruin: 1. Because he may be suspected of evil intent; 2. Because the walls might tumble upon him; 3. And because of evil spirits that frequent such places." — Berachoth, fol. 3, col 1.

"The stone which Og, King of Bashan, meant to throw upon Israel is the subject of a tradition delivered on Sinai. 'The camp of Israel I see,' he said, 'extends three miles; I shall therefore go and root up a mountain three miles in extent and throw it upon them.' So off he went, and finding such a mountain, raised it on his head, but the Holy One — blessed be He! — sent an army of ants against him, which so bored the mountain over his head that it slipped down upon his shoulders, from which he could not lift it, because his teeth, protruding, had riveted it upon him." — Berachoth, fol. 54, col. 2.

"Three things are said respecting the finger-nails: He who trims his nails and buries the parings is a pious man; he who burns these is a righteous man; but he who throws them away is a wicked man, for mischance might follow, should a female step over them." — Moed Katan, fol. 18, col 1.

More Nonsense

Abraham's height, according to the Talmudists, was that of 74 men put together. His food, his dress, and his strength were those of 74 men. He built for the abode of his 17 children by Keturah, an iron city, the walls whereof were so lofty that the sun never penetrated them. He gave them a bowl full of precious stones, the brilliancy of which supplied them with light in the absence of the sun. He had a precious stone suspended from his neck, upon which every sick person who gazed was healed of his disease, and when he died God hung up the stone on the sphere of the sun. Before his time there was no such thing as a beard; but as many mistook Abraham and Isaac for each other, Abraham prayed to God for a beard to distinguish him, and it was granted him. Every one has a thousand malignant spirits at his left side, and ten thousand at his right. The crowding at the schools is caused by their pushing in. If one would discover traces of their presence, he has only to sift some ashes on the floor at his bedside, and next morning he will see the footmarks as of fowls. If he would see the demons themselves, he must burn to ashes the after-birth of a first-born black kitten, the offspring of a first-born black cat, put some of the ashes into

his eyes, and he will not fail to see the demons. The medical and physical apophthegms of the Talmud do not give much evidence of science: “dropsy is a sign of sin, jaundice of hatred without a cause, and quinsy of slander”; “six things possess medicinal virtue: cabbage, lung-wort, beet-root, water, certain parts of the offal of animals, and, in the opinion of some, little fishes.”

Mr. Hershon’s collection abounds with nonsense on this subject as absurd as anything in medieval quackery. Other features of the work are an Oriental indelicacy, and a pride of Rabbinical learning which treats illiteracy as almost criminal, looking down upon the illiterate as an American would look down upon the Negro.

The most superstitious of Christian writings in the Dark Ages could not be more tainted with demonology and witchcraft, nor in any monkish chronicle do we find fables so gross. Few would set the Talmud, as presented by Mr. Hershon, or the Cabbala, above the works of such writers as Anselm, Aquinas, the author of *Imitatio Christi*, the authors of hymns and liturgical compositions of the Christian Middle Ages; or, in the department of science, above the works of Roger Bacon.

We have been speaking, be it observed, of the Talmud as the work and monument of Jewish intelligence and morality in the Dark Ages; we have not been speaking of the intelligence or morality of the Jews of the present day. The charge is constantly brought against Christendom of having by its barbarous bigotry repressed the beneficent action of Jewish intellect, which would otherwise have enlightened and civilized the world. The answer is apparently found in the Cabbala and the Talmud. By the account of the Jewish historian [Heinrich] Graetz, it would seem that Rabbinical orthodoxy was not less opposed than Papal orthodoxy to science, philosophy, and culture. We are led to believe that, at last, Talmudic bigotry and obscurantism had prevailed, when Judaism was rescued by Moses Mendelssohn, who himself owed his emancipation to Lessing. Nathan the Wise is a philosopher and philanthropist of the eighteenth century, not a Talmudic Jew.

A Tribal Morality

Still more notable, however, than the absurdities are the passages indicative of a tribal morality which prescribes one mode of dealing with those who are, and another mode of dealing with those who are not, of the tribe.

“If the ox of an Israelite bruise the ox of a Gentile, the Israelite is exempt from paying damages; but should the ox of a Gentile bruise the ox of an Israelite, the Gentile is bound to recompense him in full.” — Bava Kama, fol. 38, col. 1.

“When an Israelite and a Gentile have a lawsuit before thee, if thou canst, acquit the former according to the laws of Israel, and tell the latter such is our law; if thou canst get him off in accordance with Gentile law, do so, and say to the plaintiff such is your law; but if he cannot be acquitted according to either law, then bring forward adroit pretexts and secure his acquittal. These are the words of the Rabbi Ishmael. Rabbi Akiva says, 'No false pretext should be brought forward, because, if found out, the name of God would be blasphemed; but if there be no fear of that, then it may be adduced'.” — Bava Kama, fol. 113, col. 1.

“If one finds lost property in a locality where a majority are Israelites, he is bound to proclaim it; but he is not bound to do so if the majority be Gentiles.” — Bava Metzia, fol. 24, col. 1.

“Rabbi Shemuel says advantage may be taken of the mistakes of a Gentile. He once bought a gold plate as a copper of a Gentile for four zouzim, and then cheated him out of one zouz into the bargain. Rav Cahana purchased a hundred and twenty vessels of wine from a Gentile for a hundred zouzim, and swindled him in the payment out of one of the hundred, and that while the Gentile assured him that he confidently trusted to his honesty. Rava once went parts with a Gentile and bought a tree which was cut up into logs. This done, he bade his servant go and pick him out the largest logs, but to be sure to take no more than the proper number, because the Gentile knew how many there were. As Rav Aghi was walking abroad one day he saw some grapes growing in a roadside vineyard, and sent his servant to see whom they belonged to. 'If they belong to a Gentile,' he said, 'bring some here to me; but if they belong to an Israelite, do not meddle with them.' The owner, who happened to be in the vineyard, overheard the Rabbi's order and called out, 'What! is it lawful to rob a Gentile?' 'Oh, no,' said the Rabbi evasively; 'a Gentile might sell, but an Israelite would not'.” — Bava Kama, fol. 118, col. 2.

'Unclean' Gentiles

The principle which animates these passages appears in a milder form in the Hebrew Scriptures, which license perpetual bondage as well as the taking of interest in the case of a Gentile, not in that of a Hebrew. Such a principle, however mildly expressed, was too likely to be extended in practice. Dr. Edersheim, the author of *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, is favorable enough on religious grounds to the Jews; but in describing their relations to the Gentiles, as regulated by the Talmud, he says (Vol. I, pp. 90, 91):

To begin with, every Gentile child, so soon as born, was to be regarded as unclean. Those who actually worshipped mountains, hills, bushes, etc. — in short, gross idolaters — should be cut down with the sword. But as it was impossible to exterminate heathenism, Rabbinical legislation kept certain definite objects in view, which may be thus summarized: To prevent Jews from being inadvertently led into idolatry; to avoid all participation in idolatry; not to do anything which might aid the heathen in their worship; and, beyond all this, not to give pleasure, or even help, to heathens. The latter involved a most dangerous principle, capable of almost indefinite application by fanaticism. Even the Mishna goes so far as to forbid aid to a mother in the hour of her need, or nourishment to her babe, in order not to bring up a child for idolatry!

But this is not all. Heathens were, indeed, not to be precipitated into danger, but yet not to be delivered from it. Indeed, an isolated teacher ventures even upon this statement: 'The best among the Gentiles, kill; the best among serpents, crush its head.' Even more terrible was the fanaticism which directed that heretics, traitors, and those who had left the Jewish faith should be thrown into actual danger, and, if they were in such, all means for their escape removed. No intercourse of any kind was to be had with such — not even to invoke their medical aid in case of danger to life, since it was deemed that he who had to do with heretics was in imminent peril of becoming one himself, and that, if a heretic returned to the true faith, he should die at once — partly, probably, to expiate his guilt, and partly from fear of relapse.

Contempt for Humanity

Not less significant are the Talmudic expressions of tribal pride and contempt of common humanity. “All Israelites are princes.” “All Israelites are holy.” “Happy are ye, O Israel, for every

one of you, from the least even to the greatest, is a great philosopher.” “As it is impossible for the world to be without air, so also is it impossible for the world to be without Israel.” “One empire cometh and another passeth away, but Israel abideth for ever.” “The world was created only for Israel: none are called the children of God but Israel; none are beloved before God but Israel.” “Ten measures of wisdom came down to the world. The land of Israel received nine, the rest of the world but one.”

Judaism and Christianity

Critics of Judaism are accused of bigotry of race, as well as of bigotry of religion. The accusation comes strangely from those who style themselves the Chosen People, make race a religion, and treat all races except their own as Gentiles and unclean.

The notion that the Jews are to be maltreated because their ancestors by the hand of Pilate crucified Christ, has long been discarded and derided by all enlightened Christians. But equally baseless is the notion that Christianity owes homage to Judaism, has any particular interest in it, or any particular duty concerning it. To Talmudic Judaism, at all events, it owes nothing. Whether in its origin it owed anything to the liberal school of Hillel, we cannot tell. The Talmud is a vast repertory of legalism, formalism, ceremonialism, and casuistry. Nothing can be more opposed to the spontaneity of conscience, trust in principle, and preference of the spirit to the letter characteristic of the Gospel, in which even the Ten Commandments are superseded by the Two.

The pervading intention of the Talmud is, by multiplying ceremonial barriers, to keep the Chosen People separate from the Gentiles among whom they lived; in other words, to perpetuate the tribe. Christianity is a religion of humanity. Baptism is a rite of initiation into a universal brotherhood. Circumcision, the Jewish circumcision at all events, is the mark of enrollment in an exclusive tribe. The fundamental antagonism of Judaism to Christianity was shown, not only in the murder of Christ, but in the bitter persecution of his followers. Christianity had its antecedents, but it begins with Christ: it has no relation to Talmudic Judaism but those of reaction and secession.

Neither Accursed Nor Sacred

We have given up the fancy that the Jew is accursed. We must cease to believe that he is sacred. Israel was the favorite people of Jehovah, as every tribe was the favorite of its own god. The belief that the Father of all and the God of justice had a favorite race, made with it a covenant sealed with the barbarous rite of circumcision, pledged himself to promote its interest against those of other races, destroyed all the innocent first-born of Egypt to force Pharaoh to let it go, licensed its aggrandizement by conquest, stopped the sun in heaven to give it time to slaughter people whose lands it invaded without a cause, and gratified its malignity by enjoining it when it took one of the cities which were given it for its inheritance to save alive nothing that breathed, ought now to be laid aside, with all its corollaries and consequences, including the passionate, and, to the Hebrew, somewhat offensive effort to convert this particular race to Christianity. We have been told from the pulpit that at the last day the world will be judged by a Jew, and a religious lady once suggested to a Jew who had been converted to Christianity that he should go on circumcising his sons. We shall have little right to complain of the tribal arrogance of the Jew so long as the Old Testament continues to be indiscriminately read in our churches and we persist, by talking of a chosen people, in ascribing favoritism to the Almighty. The belief that “God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth” is the foundation of a religion of humanity, and Judaism is its practical denial.

Struggling with the Old Testament

Jesus called himself the Son of Man. He was a Galilean, that is, in high Jewish estimation, an inferior Jew, setting aside the “endless” or “profitless” genealogies which the writer of the First Epistle to Timothy classes with fables and bids us not to heed. Born into Judaism, he accepted it and “fulfilled” all its “righteousness,” while he must have known, as his antagonists did, that his principles would subvert it. Because he did this, we have taken upon our understandings and hearts a belief in the divine authority of the Old Testament, that is, of the whole mass of Hebrew literature; we have bound ourselves to see inspiration, not only in its more elevated, spiritual, and moral parts, but in those which are not elevated, spiritual, or even moral.

We torture our consciences into approval of the spoiling of the Egyptians by a fraud, the slaughter of the Canaanites, the slaying of Sisera, the hewing of Agag in pieces before the Lord, and David’s legacy of vengeance; our intellects into the acceptance of the Book of Chronicles as authentic history, and of such miracles as the stopping of the sun, the conversion of Lot’s wife into a pillar of salt, the speaking ass of Balaam, the destruction of the children who mocked Elisha by a bear, and the sojourn of Jonah in the belly of a whale. In church we read, with psalms of universal beauty, psalms of Oriental vindictiveness. We constrain ourselves to see divine meaning, not only in the sublime passages of Isaiah, but in the obscurest and most incoherent utterances of his brother prophets. We read theological mysteries into a love-song because it is a part of the sacred volume. Till this superstition is cast out we shall ill appreciate what is really divine in the Old Testament. Not in the darker side of the Puritan character alone are the evil effects of this idolatry to be traced.

There was much that was infinitely memorable, but recent criticism forbids us to believe that there was anything miraculous, in the history of Israel. Whatever may have been the local origin of the Jews, who spoke the same language as the other inhabitants of Canaan, the race, we may be sure, was cast in the same primeval mold as the kindred races. The story of the Patriarchs and the Exodus being in all its parts — the primitive theophanies in the tents of Patriarchs, the supernatural birth of Isaac, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the transformation of Lot’s wife, the wrestling of Jacob with Jehovah, the marvellous story of Joseph, the miraculous multiplication of the Israelites, the competition between the envoys of Jehovah and the Egyptian magicians, the plagues of Egypt, the drying up of the Red Sea, the forty years’ wandering in the barren Sinaitic desert, the prodigies which there took place, the giants of Canaan, and the stopping of the sun — manifestly poetical, it would seem that the narrative as a whole must, in accordance with a well-known canon of criticism, be dismissed from history and relegated to another domain.

Of the exact process by which the finer spirits of Israel attained a tribal monotheism, which at last verged on monotheism pure and simple, and carried with it a high morality, while the grosser spirits were always hankering after the groves and images of their idolatry, no exact account has been given us, though the prophets, as moral reformers, clearly played a great part in it. But it involved no miracle, since without miracle Socrates and Plato, Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus could rise to the same level. The peculiar service rendered to humanity by Judaism was the identification of religion with morality through the conception of a God of righteousness and of justice and mercy as his law. Against which we have to set the dark shadow cast on our spiritual life by the cruel fanaticism of the Jew and the sombre denunciations of his prophets. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was extraneous to Judaism, and was rejected by one of its sects; the tribal idea of immortality being the perpetuation of the family in the tribe.

Jewish Parasitism

Nor is there anything miraculous, penal, or even mysterious, about the Jewish dispersion or its commercial character. The case of Israel is one, though incomparably the most sharply defined, as well as the most memorable, of a number of cases of parasitism, to borrow that phrase from botany. Other cases are those of the Armenians, the Parsees, the Greeks of the dispersion, ancient and modern, and humblest of all, the Gypsies ... The dispersion of the Jews was anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, for Paul found Jewish settlements, mercantile no doubt, wherever he went. It may have begun with the transplantation to Babylon, and have been extended by the transplantation to Egypt under the Ptolemies. But its principal cause probably was the narrowness of the Jewish territory, combined with the love of gain in the Jew ...

Apparently, there was a religious party in Judea which wished to make the people simple and pious tillers of the soil, and from which emanated that ideal polity of husbandmen with hereditary lots and a year of jubilee, ascribed by its framers to the great lawgiver of the race. But the trading instinct was too strong. In the stories of the patriarch who bought the birthright of his hungry brother, of the Jewish vizier who taught Pharaoh how to obtain the surrender of all the freeholds of his people by taking advantage of the famine, and of the Hebrews who spoiled the Egyptians by pretending to borrow jewels which they never meant to return, we see the gleamings of a character which was not likely to be content with the moderate gains of a small farming community.

Unity in Dispersion

Jewish parasitism, still to use the botanic metaphor, could not fail to be confirmed by the fall of Jerusalem, which deprived the dispersed nationality of its center, though the holy city even in its desolation remained the Mecca of Judaism ... Nationality was preserved by the Mosaic law, the Talmud, and circumcision, the last being probably the strongest bond of all. "That the Jews," says Spinoza, "have maintained themselves so long in spite of their disorganized or dispersed condition, is not at all to be wondered at when it is considered how they separated themselves from all other nationalities in such a way as to bring upon themselves the hatred of all, and that, not only by external rites contrary to those of other nations, but also by the sign of circumcision, which they most religiously retain."

Any other race of strong vitality with the same bonds and barriers might have retained their nationality equally well. The Parsees, though a much weaker community in their origin, have retained their separate existence for eleven centuries. The Gypsies appear to have retained their separate existence for five centuries. There is therefore nothing miraculous about the wandering Jew, nor need we suppose that he is the special object either of the wrath or the favor of heaven ...

Israel henceforth definitely became what it has always remained, a tribe scattered yet united, sojourning in all communities, blending with none, and forming a nation within each nation. The natural tendency of a race without a country was not to agriculture but to such trades as the Jew has plied, especially the money trade. The insecurity and uncertainty of his residence would deter him from owning property which could not easily be removed. Habit became ingrained and the attempts to form agricultural colonies of the Jews at the present day appear to be uniformly unsuccessful ... The trading instinct seems to have been too inveterate even when Jews have been carried back to their own land.

The Jew has thus worn everywhere the unpopular aspect of an intruder, who by his financial skill was absorbing the wealth of the community without adding to it. Not to produce but to make a market of everything has been his general tendency and forte. Among other things he has made a

market of war. He bought Christian captives and spoils of the barbarian invaders of the Roman Empire. He bought up at forced sales the property of those who were departing for the Crusades. He has constantly followed in the wake of armies, making his profit out of the havoc and out of the recklessness of the soldier. General Grant found it necessary [December 1862] to banish Jews from his camp. On the field of Austerlitz Marshal Lannes bids one who accosts him to wait till he has stopped the depredations of the Jews.

Rules for Jewish Distinctiveness

That the Jew clings not only to his religion but to his nationality, and that the two are blended together, or rather are identical, can hardly be doubted when we find in a Jewish Catechism (Jewish School Books — No. 1, The Law of Moses: A Catechism of the Jewish Religion, new edition, pp. 68, 69. By the Rev. A. P. Mendes) such a passage as this:

Q. What other ordinances has God made to prevent our falling into sin?

A. Those which forbid our associating with bad men or intermarrying with wicked and idolatrous nations.

“Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil.” — Exodus 23: 2. “Neither shalt thou make marriages with them (the nations); thy daughter thou shall not give to his son, nor his daughter shall thou take unto thy son.” — Deuteronomy 7: 3.

Q. Is this latter command important?

A. Yes, it is of the greatest moment, and the experience of the past has shown its importance.

Q. In what manner?

A. Whenever our people have intermarried with other nations, they have fallen into their idolatries. “But they were mingled among the heathen and learned their works; and they served their idols which were a snare unto them.” — Psalms 106: 34, 35 [35, 36].

Q. Does the law lay much stress upon this precept?

A. Yes, we are repeatedly enjoined to keep from admixture of race, and many of the laws relating to the soil are referable to this subject ...

Q. Are we commanded still to keep ourselves distinct from other nations?

A. Assuredly; we may love them as ourselves, help them in their need, and labor with them for the good of our fellow-creatures, but we must not intermarry with them, lest we should be led away from the Law.

'All-Controlling' Talmudic Ordinances

The Roman Catholic Church, it is true, discourages mixed marriages on religious grounds. But she does not teach her children that “assuredly they are a nation,” and she does try to bring all mankind within her fold. If the Jews, as one of their chief Rabbis seems to intimate, are not a nation but a church, why do they not proselytize? How came it to be said of them, by one of their

own race, that they no more desire to make converts than does the House of Lords? However, supposing religion to be the bond, it is the religion of Moses. Does not the religion of Moses separate the people of Jehovah from mankind? The Eastern Jew, the Russian or Polish Jew, and the orthodox Jew everywhere, it appears, still hold by the Talmud. Mr. Hershon says that

to the orthodox Jew the Talmud is like the encircling ocean — inserts itself into and makes itself felt in every nook and corner of his existence, like an atmosphere encompasses the whole round of his being, penetrates into all centers of vitality, presses with incumbent weight upon every class irrespective of age or sex or rank, is all-inspiring, all-including, and all-controlling, covers in the regard of the illuminated the whole field of life, and with its principles affects, or ought to affect, every thought and every action of every member of the Jewish state.

The wealthy and enlightened Jew of London, Paris, or New York, perhaps, is no longer Talmudic; his religion is probably Theism combined with a vague belief in the sanctity and the superior destiny of his race; yet even he keeps himself much apart from the Gentiles, and if he remains a Jew at all he must observe the law of Moses, that is, a separatist law. In fact those who have studied the subject carefully say that alike by the rich Jew of Bayswater and the middle class Jew of Highbury the safeguards of tribalism are kept as far as possible without actual offense to Gentile society. The “Polish” Jew, alike in Poland and in Whitechapel, is still strongly Talmudic. If the Jew keeps Christian servants in his house it is to do for him what he is not permitted to do for himself on the Sabbath. By making this use of the heathen he shows that Moab is still his wash pot.

That the Jews have, as a rule, observed the laws and performed their civic duties in the countries of their sojourn, no one will deny, and it was natural that they should not take more upon them than they could help of public imposts which to them were unsweetened by patriotism. In countries where military service is part of the duties of a citizen, as it is in Germany, they have not sought to evade it, though they do not voluntarily enlist. It is understood that they behaved well as soldiers in the German army. Wealth has inclined them to conservatism, and the stories about their sinister activities in the French Revolution are fables, though Karl Marx and [Ferdinand] Lassalle were the founders of Socialism, and Judaism is believed to have contributed its quota to Nihilism in Russia. When a Jew plays revolutionist, we may generally expect to see him top the part. To top the part is natural when it is played in a spirit of exploitation. Some Jews have been noted as citizens for beneficence not confined to their own tribe. It is likely, too, that in lands where the Jew has been long established, the sentiment of home has grown strong enough to countervail that of tribal nationality in his breast, and to make removal very cruel.

Still, he is a Jew dwelling among Gentiles. He is one of the Chosen People. He has a nationality apart, with Messianic hopes, more or less definite, of its own, and vague anticipations of future ascendancy. It seems impossible that any man should belong in heart to two nationalities and be a patriot of each. He may be a conforming and dutiful citizen of the community among which he dwells as long as there is no conflict of national interest. But when there is a conflict of national interests his attachment to his own nationality will prevail.

Advantageous Alliance

Mr. Laurence Oliphant, in his book *The Land of Gilead* (p. 503), dwells more than once on the great advantages which any European government might gain over its rivals by an alliance with the Jews. He writes:

It is evident that the policy which I proposed to the Turkish government [that is, the restoration of Palestine] might be adopted with equal advantage by England or any other European Power. The nation that espoused the cause of the Jews and their restoration to Palestine, would be able to rely on their support in financial operations on the largest scale, upon the powerful influence which they wield in the press of many countries, and upon their political co-operation in those countries, which would of necessity tend to paralyze the diplomatic and even hostile action of Powers antagonistic to the one with which they were allied. Owing to the financial, political, and commercial importance to which the Jews have now attained, there is probably no one Power in Europe that would prove so valuable an ally to a nation likely to be engaged in a European war, as this wealthy, powerful, and cosmopolitan race.

Perhaps the writer of these words hardly realized the state of things which they present to our minds. We see the governments of Europe bidding against each other for the favor and support of an anti-national money power, which would itself be morally unfettered by any allegiance, would be ever ready to betray and secretly paralyze for its own objects the governments under the protection of which its members were living, and of course would be always gaining strength and predominance at the expense of a divided and subservient world. The allusion to the influence wielded by the Jews in the European press has a particularly sinister sound. In the social as in the physical sphere new diseases are continually making their appearance. One of the new social diseases of the present day, and certainly not the least deadly, is the perversion of public opinion in the interest of private or sectional objects, by the clandestine manipulation of the press.

A Nation Within the Nation

Such a relation as that in which Judaism has placed itself to the people of each country, forming everywhere a nation within the nation, cherishing the pride of a Chosen People, regarding those among whom it dwelt as Gentiles and unclean, shrinking from social intercourse with them, engrossing their wealth by financial skill, but not adding to it by labor, plying at the same time a trade which, however legitimate, is always unpopular and makes many victims, could not possibly fail to lead, as it has led, to mutual hatred and the troubles which ensue. Certain as may be the gradual prevalence of good over evil, it is a futile optimism which denies that there have been calamities in history. One of them has been the dispersion of the Jews.

As was said before, it is incredible that all the nations should have mistaken a power of good for a power of evil, or have been unanimous in ingratitude to a power of good.

A Fresh Invasion

None of them want to hurt the Jew or to interfere with his religious belief; what they all want is that if possible he should go to his own land. As it is, Western Europe and the western hemisphere are threatened with a fresh invasion on the largest scale by the departure of Jews from Russia. American politics are already beginning to feel the influence. A party, to catch the Jewish vote, puts into its platform a denunciation of Russia, the best friend of the American Republic in its day of trial. Jews are becoming strong in the British House of Commons and one of them the other day appealed to his compatriots to combine their forces against the political party which had been opposed to Jewish interests.

That the Jew should be de-rabbinized and de-nationalized, in other words that he should renounce the Talmud, the tribal parts of the Mosaic law, and circumcision, is the remedy proposed by M. Leroy-Beaulieu, a writer by no means unfavorable to Israel. There seems to be no other

way of putting an end to a conflict which is gradually enveloping all nations. This being done, whatever gifts and graces may belong to the race of Moses, David, and Isaiah, of the writers of the Book of Job and of the Psalms, of Judas Maccabaeus and Hillel, will have free course and be glorified. If Israel has any message for humanity, as he seems to think, it will be heard. Jewish merit will no longer be viewed with jealousy and distrust as having a sinister confederation at its back; and no man need fear in the present age that in any highly civilized community he will suffer persecution or disparagement of any sort on account of his religion. But the present relation is untenable. The Jew will have either to return to Jerusalem or to forget it, give his heart to the land of his birth and mingle with humanity.

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Book Review

Nuremberg: Woe to the Vanquished

- *Nuremberg: The Last Battle*, by David Irving. London: Focal Point, 1996. Hardcover. 380 pp. Photos. Source notes. Index. (Available for sale from the IHR for \$39.95, plus shipping.)

Reviewed by [Daniel W. Michaels](#)

This book is vintage Irving, bearing all the familiar hallmarks of the British historian's skilled treatment of World War II: original research based on primary sources, vivid writing, and consideration for the German point of view, all with a defiant thumb to the nose to "court historians" and their "politically correct" adherents.

As he has amply demonstrated in his 30 published works of history, Irving is a master of excavating nuggets of historical gold from neglected archive files and ignored private diaries and letters. Because of his reputation as a scrupulous chronicler, numerous survivors of the Second World War era who are mistrustful (often with good reason) of establishment historians have, over the decades, entrusted him with their private papers.

In writing this "intimate look at the origins and conduct" of the 1945-1946 International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Irving has relied heavily on many hitherto neglected papers and documents, above all the official and private papers of Robert H. Jackson, a US Supreme Court Justice who served as the chief American prosecutor. Throughout this book, Irving shows considerable sympathy for Jackson, whom he portrays as an essentially decent man caught up in a tragic drama. "If this story needs a hero," writes Irving, "then he is Jackson."

As we learn, Jackson was initially enthusiastic about his important appointment, hoping to be the main architect of a new framework of international law. But even before the Tribunal's opening session, he was arguing in Washington with his superiors, emphatically expressing his ethical and professional position:

If we want to shoot Germans as a matter of policy, let it be done as such, but don't hide the deed behind a court. If you are determined to execute a man in any case, there is no occasion for a trial; the world yields no respect to courts that are merely organized to convict.

Early on, Irving relates, Jackson had a serious disagreement about his job with "Wild Bill" Donovan, head of the United States' OSS intelligence service (predecessor to the CIA):

It soon became clear that the OSS had intended all along to manage the whole trial along the lines of an NKVD [Soviet] show-trial, with Jackson little more than a professional actor. As part of the stage-management, they proposed to run a pre-trial propaganda campaign in the United States, with “increasing emphasis on the publication of atrocity stories to keep the public in the proper frame of mind.” To this end the OSS devised and scripted for the education of the American public a two-reel film on war crimes, called *Crime and Punishment*; it was designed to put the case against the leading Nazis. Jackson declined to participate.

As Jackson came to more fully understand the nature of the role he was expected to play at Nuremberg, he became more troubled and dismayed. Confronted with the reality of the Nuremberg process, Irving shows, Jackson’s idealism subsided, but never entirely vanished.

High-Level Decisions

As Germany’s defeat became more obvious, the Allied leaders began discussing more specifically how to deal with the vanquished nation and its leadership. President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin readily agreed that many prominent German leaders would be put to death, and that Germany itself would be so crippled industrially that it would never again be a major European economic and military power. “We have got to be tough with Germany,” said President Roosevelt, “and I mean the German people, not just the Nazis. You either have to castrate the German people or you have got to treat them in such a manner so they can’t go on reproducing people who want to continue the way they have in the past.”

Because the Allies had already publicly branded the German leaders as criminals, the discussions focused on whether they should be executed straight-away or after a public trial of some sort. Roosevelt and Churchill initially favored simply shooting most of Germany’s military and political leaders outright as they were found or surrendered. (This is what happened to Italy’s Duce, Benito Mussolini, who was simply murdered, along with his entourage.) It was Stalin who, mindful of his success in destroying rivals with the help of elaborate show trials, insisted that the German leaders be put on trial. Roosevelt and Churchill fell in line. Considering the adulation accorded the Nuremberg Tribunal by many in the United States and Britain today, it is strange (Irving notes) that it might never have come into being if the Soviet dictator had not insisted on it.

Not surprisingly, Soviet officials were under no illusions about the real nature and purpose of the Nuremberg proceedings. The Tribunal’s Soviet judge, Ion T. Nikitchenko, candidly summed up his government’s view of the proceedings: “We are dealing here with the chief war criminals who have already been convicted and whose conviction has already been announced by the heads of the governments.” He objected to the “fiction” that the Tribunal was objective, explaining that the judges’ job was merely to decide the appropriate punishment, and the prosecutors’ simply to assist the judges.

Double Standard

As Irving shows, the victorious Allies who sat in judgment at Nuremberg were guilty of many of the same actions or crimes for which they tried (and hanged) the German defendants. Indeed, the Allies very probably outdid the Germans in crimes and atrocities.

Irving cites, for example, the British-American fire bombings of Dresden, Hamburg and other German cities, killing tens of thousands of civilians at a time, the “ethnic cleansing” mass expulsion of German civilians from eastern and central Europe, of whom some two million perished or

were killed, the widespread summary shootings of German prisoners, and the Allies' use of hundreds of thousands of German prisoners as slave laborers. He also cites such lesser-known incidents as the sinking by British aircraft during the war's final days of a clearly marked German Red Cross refugee ship, the *Cap Arcona*, killing 7,300 refugees, mostly women and children.

At the Yalta conference in February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin agreed to use millions of German POWs and German civilians as slave labor in Soviet Russia, France, and Belgium as partial "reparations in kind." Jackson was shocked to learn that the Soviets wanted five million of these forced laborers, and France two million. (No final accounting has ever been made of the total number deported to the USSR for this purpose, or of the number who ever returned.) President Roosevelt endorsed this policy, which was in blatant violation of international law, concerned only about the possibly negative impact on public opinion and election prospects back home.

In some cases, the Nuremberg defendants were charged with or held guilty of crimes that were actually committed by the Allies. Most noteworthy, perhaps, is the massacre, at Katyn and elsewhere, of some 11,000-15,000 Polish officers and intellectuals. At Nuremberg Soviet prosecutors presented seemingly persuasive evidence of German responsibility for this crime, and several Germans whom a Soviet court had found guilty of these killings were publicly hanged in Leningrad. It was only decades later that Soviet officials formally acknowledged that the massacre had been carried out by the Soviet secret police, acting on Stalin's orders.

Predictably, the Allies grandly exploited the Tribunal for propaganda purposes. As Irving relates, the Americans forced the defendants to watch US-made "documentary" films of German atrocities that deceitfully included scenes of corpses filmed in the wake of Allied air raids on German cities and factories. Some of the German viewers spotted the deception, and one former Messerschmitt worker said he even recognized himself in the film.

Unprecedented Legal Procedures

In these unprecedented proceedings, the Allies discarded basic principles of Western jurisprudence, perhaps most notably the well-established principle that in the absence of a law there can be neither crime nor punishment — *nullum crimen sine lege, nulla poene sine lege*. Instead, the Tribunal established new laws for the occasion, which were applied not only retroactively, but uniquely and exclusively to the German defendants. The Allies thus refused to consider the German defense argument of *tu quoque* or "you too" — that is, punishing the German defendants for actions that the Allies themselves also carried out.

The Tribunal rejected defendants' pleas of obeying higher orders, even though, as Irving points out, precisely this had been affirmed as a valid defense under both British and American military law. Article 347 of the American Rules of Land Warfare, for example, specifically declares: "Members of the armed forces are not punished for these crimes, provided they were committed on the orders or with the permission of their governments or commanders."

The Tribunal's procedures, which were a blend of Allied procedures, differed markedly from German practice. In Germany, as in most of continental Europe, the court's primary objective is to ascertain the truth. However, the Nuremberg Tribunal adopted a version of the American confrontational system, in which each side introduces only the evidence that benefits its own case. But because the Allies had confiscated all pertinent German documents and records, and refused access to them by the defense attorneys, the prosecution had a tremendous advantage over the German defendants.

'Semitism Gone Wild'

With President Roosevelt's approval, high-ranking Washington officials of Jewish origin played a major role in setting America's policy on the postwar occupation of Germany, including the Nuremberg Tribunal. These included Isadore Lubin, Samuel Rosenman, Murray Bernays, and Herbert Wechsler. Above all, the malevolent role played by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., US Treasury Secretary and Roosevelt's trusted adviser, insured that the spirit of the Talmud and the Old Testament would prevail.

As Irving shows, at least some Allied figures involved with the Nuremberg proceedings were honorable men who were dismayed by the heavy spirit of revenge. Some American and British officials were repelled by the general tenor of American and Soviet occupation policy toward defeated Germany. No less a figure than US Secretary of War Henry Stimson expressed concern:

I found around me, particularly in Morgenthau, a very bitter atmosphere of personal resentment against the entire German people without regard to individual guilt, and I am very much afraid that it will result in our taking mass vengeance on the part of our people ...

On another occasion Stimson said:

I cannot believe that he [Roosevelt] will follow Morgenthau's views. If he does, it will certainly be a disaster... The President appoints a committee and then goes off to Quebec with the man [Morgenthau] who really represents the minority and is so biased by his Semitic grievances that he is really a very dangerous advisor ...

On still another occasion, Stimson confided: "I have yet to meet a man who is not horrified with the 'Carthaginian' attitude of the Treasury [Morgenthau]. It is Semitism gone wild for vengeance..." Britain's Anthony Eden had much the same opinion of Morgenthau and his Jewish circle: "These ex-Germans seem to wish to wash away their ancestry in a bath of hate."

In addition, Irving relates, officials of "several powerful Jewish organizations" intervened in the Nuremberg process. A few days before leaving for London in June 1945, Robert Jackson met in New York with Judge Nathan Perlman, Dr. Jacob Robinson, and Dr. Alexander Kohanski, who made quite clear their intention to play an important role in running the trial. (See also: M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," Summer 1992 Journal, pp. 170-171.)

It was at this meeting that Robinson, an official of the World Jewish Congress, told Jackson that six million Jews had been lost during the war, and that he had arrived at this figure "by extrapolation." As Irving tartly comments, "in other words his figure was somewhere between a hopeful estimate and an educated guess."

As it happens, this same six million figure, Irving notes, had been cited 26 years earlier in a leading Jewish-American periodical. In a 1919 essay by a former Governor of New York state, readers were told that "six million" Jews "are dying" in a "threatened holocaust of human life" as victims of "the awful tyranny of war and a bigoted lust for Jewish blood." (Facsimile in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 Journal, p. 31.)

Grave Misgivings

Responsible Allied military leaders disapproved of the postwar trials, especially of their counterparts in the German armed forces. Many American combat officers ardently opposed the prosecution of soldiers for obeying harsh orders issued by politicians. (See: H.K. Thompson and H. Strutz, eds., *Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal* [IHR, 1983].)

In occupied Germany, American officers disliked having to enforce the vengeful Morgenthau directive 1067, and condemned as un-American the “so-called Gestapo methods used in handling Germans” that were being employed by (Jewish) refugees who had hurriedly been drafted into the US Army.

A few high-ranking British and American officers even spoke out on behalf of their German counterparts. For example, US Pacific Fleet commander Admiral Chester Nimitz issued a statement on behalf of Nuremberg defendant Admiral Karl Dönitz, who headed Germany’s wartime U-boat fleet, confirming that American submarines had operated in the Pacific just as German submarines had operated under Dönitz’ command in the Atlantic.

Francis Biddle, the Tribunal’s senior American judge, was moved to conclude that “the Germans fought a much cleaner war at sea than we did.” To his credit, Biddle also refused, in an important dissenting opinion, to sanction the handing over of Russian prisoners to the Soviets. (Regrettably, though, both British and American forces did so anyway in such transfers as the infamous “Operation Keelhaul.”)

Harlan F. Stone, Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court, was outspoken in his criticism of the proceedings. While he admitted that he would not be disturbed if the victors put the vanquished to the sword as was customary in days of old, Stone said he was disturbed to have the action dressed up in “the habiliments of common law.”

Fraudulent and Suppressed Evidence

As Irving shows, some of the evidence presented by the Allies to the Tribunal was fraudulent. This includes the widely-quoted report of a speech by Hitler to his generals on August 22, 1939, Nuremberg document 003-L, which Irving refers to as a “now notorious forgery.”

No testimony had a more profound impact on everyone, including the defendants, than the “confession” of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. As Irving shows, this widely-quoted statement, which was extracted after “three days of torture” by British military men, “contained numerous perhaps deliberate errors.” Höss had attempted to smuggle out of prison a letter to his wife in which he apologized for “confessing” to horrible atrocities at Auschwitz, relating that he had been tortured into making spurious admissions. The letter was seized by prison officials and never delivered, and is now in private hands in the United States.

The “protocol” of the January 1942 Wannsee conference, Irving writes, has been given “a wholly undeserved reputation as a key document in the Final Solution of the Jewish Problem.” As he points out, it “contains no explicit reference to the killing of Jews,” and Irving casts doubt on its authenticity.

A key German document on this matter, Irving notes, was suppressed for decades. This is a spring 1942 memorandum by Justice Ministry Staatssekretär Franz Schlegelberger recording that Dr. Hans Lammers, chief of the Reich chancellery, had informed him that Hitler had “repeatedly” ordered the solution of the Jewish problem “postponed until after the war.”

On the basis of bogus evidence, Irving relates, a number of familiar Holocaust horrors were supposedly proven at Nuremberg, including gassings at Dachau, steaming of Jews at Treblinka, and manufacturing of soap from human bodies.

As Irving reports, important documentary evidence, including the private papers and diaries of Heinrich Himmler and Hermann Göring, were looted by Allied troops and have disappeared.

Unjust Selection Standards

The Allies were never able to decide just who should be put on trial, or on what basis. As Irving repeatedly points out, at least several of the defendants should not have been in the dock at all. This was particularly true of the military men — Göring, Jodl, Keitel, Dönitz and Raeder. As prisoners of war, they were supposedly protected by the provisions of the Geneva Convention, which prohibited such trials. To get around this awkward legalism, the Tribunal arranged for these defendants to be technically “discharged” from the (no longer existing) German armed forces so they could “legally” be put on trial. After being “discharged,” their military ranks were obliterated. Even their medals (from both world wars) were taken from them and, after removing any precious stones or metals, destroyed.

General Alfred Jodl, whom nearly everyone recognized as an honorable professional soldier, had not even met Hitler until 1939. (Jackson “privately felt the greatest respect for Jodl,” Irving relates.) In fact, Jodl was later posthumously exonerated by a German court, which cited the view of the Tribunal’s French judge, Henri Donnedieu de Vabres, that Jodl’s conviction had been without merit and a miscarriage of justice.

On what legitimate grounds could Rudolf Hess, Irving queries, be accused of war crimes? He played no role in determining Germany’s war aims or occupation policies. Indeed, in carrying out his ill-fated “peace flight” to Britain in May 1941, he was “the only man to have undertaken, at risk to his own life, a step to end the madness of war.” All the same, the Allied judges sentenced this humane and peace-loving man to life imprisonment. (He died, under mysterious circumstances by strangulation, in Berlin’s Spandau prison in 1987. His son, Wolf Hess, says he was murdered. See: “The Life and Death of My Father Rudolf Hess,” and “The Legacy of Rudolf Hess,” both in the Jan.-Feb. 1993 Journal.)

Hans Fritzsche, a German propaganda ministry department chief and wartime radio commentator, was on trial only as a stand-in for Goebbels, and because he happened to be the most important German prisoner in Soviet hands.

Göring’s Spirited Defense

Hermann Göring, once the second most powerful man in Germany, put up the most spirited and memorable defense. This was especially apparent in a remarkable back and forth confrontation over several days with Robert Jackson. “Everything had gone pretty well with the trial until Göring took the witness stand,” the American prosecutor himself privately remarked.

Norman Birkett, one of the British judges, commented that Göring was dominating the entire proceedings, and that no one seemed to have been quite prepared for the former Reichsmarschall’s immense ability and knowledge, or for his mastery of the captured documents. Of Göring’s bravura performance, Birkett wrote:

The cross examination had not proceeded more than ten minutes before it was seen that he was the complete master of Mr. Justice Jackson. Suave, shrewd, adroit, capable, resourceful, he quickly saw the elements of the situation, and as his confidence grew, his mastery became more apparent ... For almost two days he held the stage without interruption of any kind.

Allied journalists were speechless, having believed their own stories that Göring was a dope fiend, a physical wreck and a neurotic.

When at one point an American official murmured something to Göring about Germany's aggressive wars of conquest, the Reichsmarschall shot back:

Don't make me laugh. America, England and Russia have all done the same thing to promote their own national aspirations, but when Germany does it becomes a crime — because we lost.

Even after the judges had sentenced him to death, Göring delivered a final embarrassing slap to the Tribunal by taking his own life, denying the victors the pleasure of hanging him.

Streicher's Anti-Jewish Fervor

At the other end of the sophistication scale, defendant Julius Streicher, notorious for his anti-Jewish weekly, *Der Stürmer*, was certain from the outset that the trial was a “triumph of world Jewry,” and that “the Jews will make sure enough that we hang.” As Irving explains, Streicher was convinced

that “the Jews” were making it their objective to establish final supremacy over the gentile races by ramming multiculturalism and multiracism down their throats. He had campaigned, in response, for the destruction of the Jews, and that no doubt was why he now found himself here.

When Streicher tried to protest from the witness stand the beatings he had received at the hands of his American captors, Jackson had the remarks stricken from the official record.

The Tribunal's proceedings confirmed everything he had ever believed or taught about the Jews. In Streicher's view:

In this trial there is no question of according to the defendant a blind and impartial justice; the trial has been set the task of giving to an injustice a veneer of legality by cloaking it in the language of the law.

Mistreatment

Irving details the maltreatment and tortures inflicted on the defendants by their American and British captors, including a near-starvation diet imposed during the Tribunal's proceedings. The defendants' wives were also arrested and thrown into prison — and separated from their children, who were put in orphanages.

Even worse was the treatment of defendants in the American-run post-Nuremberg trials. Thus, the US Army war crimes trials at Dachau “were a mockery of the law,” writes Irving, at which “defendants and witnesses there were savagely beaten or intimidated to make them sign false confessions.”

(See also Joseph Halow's *Innocent at Dachau*, available from the IHR for \$16.50, postpaid.)

Tests conducted by an American psychologist showed that the Nuremberg defendants were of above average intelligence. Several had IQ levels in the genius range: Schacht 143, Seyss-Inquart 141, Göring 141, and Dönitz 138. (A single exception was Streicher, whose 106 IQ was in the normal range.)

To help illustrate the defendants' character and personalities, Irving quotes from letters written by them to their loved ones from their prison cells. For example, Irving cites a passage from a letter Jodl wrote to his wife two days before his hanging:

It is already late and the lights are soon going out. When our friends come round to see you on the evening after my death, that shall be my funeral parade. On a gun-carriage rests my coffin and all the German soldiers are marching with me — with those who have died in battle out in front and the still living bringing up the rear.

Each of the condemned went to the gallows calmly, bravely, and with as much dignity as possible under the circumstances. Their last words were expressions of love for Germany and for international reconciliation. Because the Nuremberg hangman botched his grim job, the Tribunal's sentence of death by hanging amounted, in practice, to strangulation.

In one of the several final notes penned just before his death, Göring wrote:

To the Allied Control Council:

I would have let you shoot me without further ado! But it is not possible to hang the German Reichsmarschall! I cannot permit this, for Germany's sake. Besides I have no moral obligation to submit to the justice of my enemies. I have therefore chosen the manner of death of the great Hannibal...

It was clear from the outset that a death sentence would be pronounced against me, as I have always regarded the trial as a political act by the victors, but I wanted to see this trial through for my people's sake, and I did at least expect not to be denied a soldier's death. Before God, my country, and my conscience I feel myself free of the blame that an enemy tribunal has attached to me.

'Fair' Trial or 'Victors' Justice'

This book's central protagonist, Robert Jackson, finished the trial convinced, Irving believes, that all in all it had been fair. Considering the political pressures, the ethnic hatreds, the legacy of millions of war dead, and the vengeful the spirit of the times, the American prosecutor probably did the best he could.

Irving himself, perhaps identifying and sympathizing with Jackson, avoids any condemnation of the Tribunal as such. Indeed, citing such Third Reich misdeeds as "the killings after the Röhm putsch, the widespread liquidation of political enemies or racial groups, [and] the murder of enemy prisoners of war," he expresses the view that "in most cases, the basic justice of the sentences passed at Nuremberg was undeniable." Irving believes that in many cases German courts would have dealt more severely with the defendants than did the Nuremberg judges.

In this reviewer's opinion, though, Nuremberg was — however honorable the intentions of such participants as Robert Jackson and Henri Donnedieu de Vabres — a hypocritical undertaking that

failed in its great stated goal of establishing a lasting and impartial framework of new international law. This failure was tragically inherent in the Tribunal's origins and makeup. As Jackson himself declared at one point during the proceedings, "this Tribunal is a continuation of the war effort of the Allied nations."

Furthermore (and as Irving mentions), the "International Military Tribunal" was neither truly international nor even military. Its judges, as well as its prosecutors, were chosen by the four main victorious Allied powers. It could have succeeded only if its judges had been chosen from non-belligerent (neutral) states. Moreover, it would have required impartial rules of procedure, including equal access to evidence, humane treatment of the defendants, and the Allies being held to the same standards they applied to the German defendants.

The leaders of the three main Allied countries — Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill — settled on this judicial facade to justify an unprecedented act of political vengeance. Because it was, in essence, victors' justice, inevitably its most telling lesson, therefore, was *vae victis* — woe to the vanquished.

Having thoroughly demonized the enemy through wartime propaganda, and having attributed all war guilt and crimes to him, the victorious Allies felt comfortable demonstrating their own righteousness to the world by executing the evil-doers. As *Chronicles* editor Thomas Fleming wrote (in the June 1997 issue), at Nuremberg "the Allies institutionalized the hypocrisy of their own propaganda."

Still Defiant

Irving tells the story of the Nuremberg Tribunal with great style and verve, painting a broad and vivid portrait. He does so, moreover, *sine ira et studio* — without anger or partiality. Adding to the impact and immediacy of this handsome hardcover volume are more than 70 photographs, many in full color, and an attractive four-color dust jacket.

Because Irving is one of the few Western historians who has tried to give due consideration to the German view of 20th-century history, he is often unfairly dismissed as a "Nazi apologist" by those who are eager to castigate the Third Reich and its leadership as evil, and who insist that, therefore, there is no "other side" seriously to consider. Americans especially find it difficult to believe that an enemy in war could possibly have a just cause, believing (as our politicians remind us) that America always occupies the moral high ground. As any open-minded reader of this book must conclude, though, the German defendants had valid if not compelling arguments to make for their actions.

Reading this book, one can dismiss fears that Irving has somehow "given up." If *Nuremberg: The Last Battle* is any indication, the gutsy British historian has lost none of his familiar determination or fire. Even if he must keep struggling to keep a few steps ahead of the thought-control police, he seems as dedicated as ever to defying his critics and discomforting the enforcers of the prevailing *Zeitgeist* with his provocative and enduring historical chronicles.

About the Author

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Oswald Spengler: An Introduction to his Life and Ideas

by Keith Stimely ([about the author](#))

Oswald Spengler was born in Blankenburg (Harz) in central Germany in 1880, the eldest of four children, and the only boy. His mother's side of the family was quite artistically bent. His father, who had originally been a mining technician and came from a long line of mineworkers, was an official in the German postal bureaucracy, and he provided his family with a simple but comfortable middle class home.

The young Oswald never enjoyed the best of health, and suffered from migraine headaches that were to plague him all his life. He also had an anxiety complex, though he was not without grandiose thoughts — which because of his frail constitution had to be acted out in daydreams only.

When he was ten the family moved to the university city of Halle. Here Spengler received a classical Gymnasium education, studying Greek, Latin, mathematics and natural sciences. Here too he developed his strong affinity for the arts — especially poetry, drama, and music. He tried his hand at some youthful artistic creations of his own, a few of which have survived — they are indicative of a tremendous enthusiasm but not much else. At this time also he came under the influence of Goethe and Nietzsche, two figures whose importance to Spengler the youth and the man cannot be overestimated.

After his father's death in 1901, Spengler at 21 entered the University of Munich. In accordance with German student-custom of the time, after a year he proceeded to other universities, first Berlin and then Halle. His main courses of study were in the classical cultures, mathematics, and the physical sciences. His university education was financed in large part by a legacy from a deceased aunt.

His doctoral dissertation at Halle was on Heraclitus, the “dark philosopher” of ancient Greece whose most memorable line was “War is the Father of all things.” He failed to pass his first examination because of “insufficient references” — a characteristic of all his later writings that some critics took a great delight in pointing out. However, he passed a second examination in 1904, and then set to writing the secondary dissertation necessary to qualify as a high school teacher. This became *The Development of the Organ of Sight in the Higher Realms of the Animal Kingdom*. It was approved, and Spengler received his teaching certificate.

His first post was at a school in Saarbrücken. Then he moved to Düsseldorf and, finally, Hamburg. He taught mathematics, physical sciences, history, and German literature, and by all accounts was a good and conscientious instructor. But his heart was not really in it, and when in 1911 the opportunity presented itself for him to “go his own way” (his mother had died and left

him an inheritance that guaranteed him a measure of financial independence), he took it, and left the teaching profession for good.

Historical Explanation of Current Trends

He settled in Munich, there to live the life of an independent scholar/philosopher. He began the writing of a book of observations on contemporary politics whose idea had preoccupied him for some time. Originally to be titled *Conservative and Liberal*, it was planned as an exposition and explanation of the current trends in Europe — an accelerating arms race, Entente “encirclement” of Germany, a succession of international crises, increasing polarity of the nations — and where they were leading. However in late 1911 he was suddenly struck by the notion that the events of the day could only be interpreted in “global” and “total-cultural” terms. He saw Europe as marching off to suicide, a first step toward the final demise of European culture in the world and in history.

The Great War of 1914-1918 only confirmed in his mind the validity of a thesis already developed. His planned work kept increasing in scope far, far beyond the original bounds.

Spengler had tied up most of his money in foreign investments, but the war had largely invalidated them, and he was forced to live out the war years in conditions of genuine poverty. Nevertheless he kept at his work, often writing by candle-light, and in 1917 was ready to publish. He encountered great difficulty in finding a publisher, partly because of the nature of the work, partly because of the chaotic conditions prevailing at the time. However in the summer of 1918, coincident with the German collapse, finally appeared the first volume of *The Decline of the West*, subtitled *Form and Actuality*.

Publishing Success

To no little surprise on the part of both Spengler and his publisher, the book was an immediate and unprecedented success. It offered a rational explanation for the great European disaster, explaining it as part of an inevitable world-historic process. German readers especially took it to heart, but the work soon proved popular throughout Europe and was quickly translated into other languages. Nineteen-nineteen was “Spengler’s year,” and his name was on many tongues.

Professional historians, however, took great umbrage at this pretentious work by an amateur (Spengler was not a trained historian), and their criticisms — particularly of numerous errors of fact and the unique and unapologetic “non-scientific” approach of the author — filled many pages. It is easier now than it was then to dispose of this line of rejection-criticism. Anyway, with regard to the validity of his postulate of rapid Western decline, the contemporary Spenglerian need only say to these critics: Look about you. What do you see?

In 1922 Spengler issued a revised edition of the first volume containing minor corrections and revisions, and the year after saw the appearance of the second volume, subtitled *Perspectives of World History*. He thereafter remained satisfied with the work, and all his later writings and pronouncements are only enlargements upon the theme he laid out *Decline*.

A Direct Approach

The basic idea and essential components of *The Decline of the West* are not difficult to understand or delineate. (In fact, it is the work’s very simplicity that was too much for his professional critics.) First, though, a proper understanding requires a recognition of Spengler’s special ap-

proach to history. He himself called it the “physiognomic” approach — looking things directly in the face or heart, intuitively, rather than strictly scientifically. Too often the real meaning of things is obscured by a mask of scientific-mechanistic “facts.” Hence the blindness of the professional “scientist-type” historians, who in a grand lack of imagination see only the visible.

Utilizing his physiognomic approach, Spengler was confident of his ability to decipher the riddle of History — even, as he states in *Decline*’s very first sentence, to predetermine history.

The following are his basic postulates:

1. The “linear” view of history must be rejected, in favor of the cyclical. Heretofore history, especially Western history, had been viewed as a “linear” progression from lower to higher, like rungs on a ladder — an unlimited evolution upward. Western history is thus viewed as developing progressively: Greek ' Roman ' Medieval ' Renaissance ' Modern, or, Ancient ' Medieval ' Modern. This concept, Spengler insisted, is only a product of Western man’s ego — as if everything in the past pointed to him, existed so that he might exist as a yet-more perfected form.

This “incredibly jejune and meaningless scheme” can at last be replaced by one now discernible from the vantage-point of years and a greater and more fundamental knowledge of the past: the notion of History as moving in definite, observable, and — except in minor ways — unrelated cycles.

'High Cultures'

2. The cyclical movements of history are not those of mere nations, states, races, or events, but of High Cultures. Recorded history gives us eight such “high cultures”: the Indian, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Chinese, the Mexican (Mayan-Aztec), the Arabian (or “Magian”), the Classical (Greece and Rome), and the European-Western.

Each High Culture has as a distinguishing feature a “prime symbol.” The Egyptian symbol, for example, was the “Way” or “Path,” which can be seen in the ancient Egyptians' preoccupation — in religion, art, and architecture (the pyramids) — with the sequential passages of the soul. The prime symbol of the Classical culture was the “point-present” concern, that is, the fascination with the nearby, the small, the “space” of immediate and logical visibility: note here Euclidean geometry, the two-dimensional style of Classical painting and relief-sculpture (you will never see a vanishing point in the background, that is, where there is a background at all), and especially: the lack of facial expression of Grecian busts and statues, signifying nothing behind or beyond the outward.

The prime symbol of Western culture is the “Faustian Soul” (from the tale of Doctor Faustus), symbolizing the upward reaching for nothing less than the “Infinite.” This is basically a tragic symbol, for it reaches for what even the reacher knows is unreachable. It is exemplified, for instance, by Gothic architecture (especially the interiors of Gothic cathedrals, with their vertical lines and seeming “ceilinglessness”).

The “prime symbol” effects everything in the Culture, manifesting itself in art, science, technics and politics. Each Culture’s symbol-soul expresses itself especially in its art, and each Culture has an art form that is most representative of its own symbol. In the Classical, they were sculpture and drama. In Western culture, after architecture in the Gothic era, the great representative form was music — actually the pluperfect expression of the Faustian soul, transcending as it does the limits of sight for the “limitless” world of sound.

'Organic' Development

3. High Cultures are “living” things — organic in nature — and must pass through the stages of birth-development-fulfillment-decay-death. Hence a “morphology” of history. All previous cultures have passed through these distinct stages, and Western culture can be no exception. In fact, its present stage in the organic development-process can be pinpointed.

The high-water mark of a High Culture is its phase of fulfillment — called the “culture” phase. The beginning of decline and decay in a Culture is the transition point between its “culture” phase and the “civilization” phase that inevitably follows.

The “civilization” phase witnesses drastic social upheavals, mass movements of peoples, continual wars and constant crises. All this takes place along with the growth of the great “megalopolis” — huge urban and suburban centers that sap the surrounding countrysides of their vitality, intellect, strength, and soul. The inhabitants of these urban conglomerations — now the bulk of the populace — are a rootless, soulless, godless, and materialistic mass, who love nothing more than their panem et circenses. From these come the subhuman “fellaheen” — fitting participants in the dying-out of a culture.

With the civilization phase comes the rule of Money and its twin tools, Democracy and the Press. Money rules over the chaos, and only Money profits by it. But the true bearers of the culture — the men whose souls are still one with the culture-soul — are disgusted and repelled by the Money-power and its fellaheen, and act to break it, as they are compelled to do so — and as the mass culture-soul compels finally the end of the dictatorship of money. Thus the civilization phase concludes with the Age of Caesarism, in which great power come into the hands of great men, helped in this by the chaos of late Money-rule. The advent of the Caesars marks the return of Authority and Duty, of Honor and “Blood,” and the end of democracy.

With this arrives the “imperialistic” stage of civilization, in which the Caesars with their bands of followers battle each other for control of the earth. The great masses are uncomprehending and uncaring; the megalopoli slowly depopulate, and the masses gradually “return to the land,” to busy themselves there with the same soil-tasks as their ancestors centuries before. The turmoil of events goes on above their heads. Now, amidst all the chaos of the times, there comes a “second religiosity”; a longing return to the old symbols of the faith of the culture. Fortified thus, the masses in a kind of resigned contentment bury their souls and their efforts into the soil from which they and their culture sprang, and against this background the dying of the Culture and the civilization it created is played out.

Predictable Life Cycles

Every Culture’s life-span can be seen to last about a thousand years: The Classical existed from 900 BC to 100 AD; the Arabian (Hebraic-semitic Christian-Islamic) from 100 BC to 900 AD; the Western from 1000 AD to 2000 AD. However, this span is the ideal, in the sense that a man’s ideal life-span is 70 years, though he may never reach that age, or may live well beyond it. The death of a Culture may in fact be played out over hundreds of years, or it may occur instantaneously because of outer forces — as in the sudden end of the Mexican Culture.

Also, though every culture has its unique Soul and is in essence a special and separate entity, the development of the life cycle is paralleled in all of them: For each phase of the cycle in a given Culture, and for all great events affecting its course, there is a counterpart in the history of every other culture. Thus, Napoleon, who ushered in the civilization phase of the Western, finds his

counterpart in Alexander of Macedon, who did the same for the Classical. Hence the “contemporaneity” of all high cultures.

In barest outline these are the essential components of Spengler’s theory of historical Culture-cycles. In a few sentences it might be summed up:

Human history is the cyclical record of the rise and fall of unrelated High Cultures. These Cultures are in reality super life-forms, that is, they are organic in nature, and like all organisms must pass through the phases of birth-life-death. Though separate entities in themselves, all High Cultures experience parallel development, and events and phases in any one find their corresponding events and phases in the others. It is possible from the vantage point of the twentieth century to glean from the past the meaning of cyclic history, and thus to predict the decline and fall of the West.

Needless to say, such a theory — though somewhat heralded in the work of Giambattista Vico and the 19th-century Russian Nikolai Danilevsky, as well as in Nietzsche — was destined to shake the foundations of the intellectual and semi-intellectual world. It did so in short order, partly owing to its felicitous timing, and partly to the brilliance (though not unflawed) with which Spengler presented it.

Polemic Style

There are easier books to read than *Decline* — there are also harder — but a big reason for its unprecedented (for such a work) popular success was the same reason for its by-and-large dismissal by the learned critics: its style. Scorning the type of “learnedness” that demanded only cautionary and judicious statements — every one backed by a footnote — Spengler gave free-wheeling vent to his opinions and judgments. Many passages are in the style of a polemic, from which no disagreement can be brooked.

To be sure, the two volumes of *Decline*, no matter the opinionated style and unconventional methodology, are essentially a comprehensive justification of the ideas presented, drawn from the histories of the different High Cultures. He used the comparative method which, of course, is appropriate if indeed all the phases of a High Culture are contemporaneous with those of any other. No one man could possibly have an equally comprehensive knowledge of all the Cultures surveyed, hence Spengler’s treatment is uneven, and he spends relatively little time on the Mexican, Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Chinese — concentrating on the Arabian, Classical, and Western, especially these last two. The most valuable portion of the work, as even his critics acknowledge, is his comparative delineation of the parallel developments of the Classical and Western cultures.

Spengler’s vast knowledge of the arts allowed him to place learned emphasis on their importance to the symbolism and inner meaning of a Culture, and the passages on art forms are generally regarded as being among the more thought-provoking. Also eyebrow-raising is a chapter (the very first, in fact, after the Introduction) on “The Meaning of Numbers,” in which he asserted that even mathematics — supposedly the one certain “universal” field of knowledge — has a different meaning in different cultures: numbers are relative to the people who use them.

“Truth” is likewise relative, and Spengler conceded that what was true for him might not be true for another — even another wholly of the same culture and era. Thus Spengler’s greatest breakthrough may perhaps be his postulation of the non-universality of things, the “differentness” or distinctiveness of different people and cultures (despite their fated common end) — an idea that

is beginning to take hold in the modern West, which started this century supremely confident of the wisdom and possibility of making the world over in its image.

Age of Caesars

But it was his placing of the current West into his historical scheme that aroused the most interest and the most controversy. Spengler, as the title of his work suggests, saw the West as doomed to the same eventual extinction that all the other High Cultures had faced. The West, he said, was now in the middle of its “civilization” phase, which had begun, roughly, with Napoleon. The coming of the Caesars (of which Napoleon was only a foreshadowing) was perhaps only decades away. Yet Spengler did not counsel any kind of sighing resignation to fate, or blithe acceptance of coming defeat and death. In a later essay, *Pessimism?* (1922), he wrote that the men of the West must still be men, and do all they could to realize the immense possibilities still open to them. Above all, they must embrace the one absolute imperative: The destruction of Money and democracy, especially in the field of politics, that grand and all-encompassing field of endeavor.

'Prussian' Socialism

After the publication of the first volume of *Decline*, Spengler's thoughts turned increasingly to contemporary politics in Germany. After experiencing the Bavarian revolution and its short-lived Soviet republic, he wrote a slender volume titled *Prussianism and Socialism*. Its theme was that a tragic misunderstanding of the concepts was at work: Conservatives and socialists, instead of being at loggerheads, should unite under the banner of a true socialism. This was not the Marxist-materialist abomination, he said, but essentially the same thing as Prussianism: a socialism of the German community, based on its unique work ethic, discipline, and organic rank instead of “money.” This “Prussian” socialism he sharply contrasted both to the capitalistic ethic of England and the “socialism” of Marx (!), whose theories amounted to “capitalism for the proletariat.”

In his corporate state proposals Spengler anticipated the Fascists, although he never was one, and his “socialism” was essentially that of the National Socialists (but without the folkish racialism). His early appraisal of a corporation for which the State would have directional control but not ownership of or direct responsibility for the various private segments of the economy sounded much like Werner Sombart's later favorable review of National Socialist economics in his *A New Social Philosophy* [Princeton Univ. Press, 1937; translation of *Deutscher Sozialismus* (1934)].

Prussianism and Socialism did not meet with a favorable reaction from the critics or the public — eager though the public had been, at first, to learn his views. The book's message was considered to “visionary” and eccentric — it cut across too many party lines. The years 1920-23 saw Spengler retreat into a preoccupation with the revision of the first volume of *Decline*, and the completion of the second. He did occasionally give lectures, and wrote some essays, only a few of which have survived.

Political Involvement

In 1924, following the social-economic upheaval of the terrible inflation, Spengler entered the political fray in an effort to bring Reichswehr general Hans von Seeckt to power as the country's leader. But the effort came to naught. Spengler proved totally ineffective in practical politics. It was the old story of the would-be “philosopher-king,” who was more philosopher than king (or king-maker).

After 1925, at the start of Weimar Germany's all-too-brief period of relative stability, Spengler devoted most of his time to his research and writing. He was particularly concerned that he had left an important gap in his great work — that of the pre-history of man. In *Decline* he had written that prehistoric man was basically without a history, but he revised that opinion. His work on the subject was only fragmentary, but 30 years after his death a compilation was published under the title *Early Period of World History*.

His main task as he saw it, however, was a grand and all-encompassing work on his metaphysics — of which *Decline* had only given hints. He never did finish this, though *Fundamental Questions*, in the main a collection of aphorisms on the subject, was published in 1965.

In 1931 he published *Man and Technics*, a book that reflected his fascination with the development and usage, past and future, of the technical. The development of advanced technology is unique to the West, and he predicted where it would lead. *Man and Technics* is a racist book, though not in a narrow “Germanic” sense. Rather it warns the European or white races of the pressing danger from the outer Colored races. It predicts a time when the Colored peoples of the earth will use the very technology of the West to destroy the West.

Reservations About Hitler

There is much in Spengler's thinking that permits one to characterize him as a kind of “proto-Nazi”: his call for a return to Authority, his hatred of “decadent” democracy, his exaltation of the spirit of “Prussianism,” his idea of war as essential to life. However, he never joined the National Socialist party, despite the repeated entreaties of such NS luminaries as Gregor Strasser and Ernst Hanfstaengl. He regarded the National Socialists as immature, fascinated with marching bands and patriotic slogans, playing with the bauble of power but not realizing the philosophical significance and new imperatives of the age. Of Hitler he supposed to have said that what Germany needed was a hero, not a heroic tenor. Still, he did vote for Hitler against Hindenburg in the 1932 election. He met Hitler in person only once, in July 1933, but Spengler came away unimpressed from their lengthy discussion.

His views about the National Socialists and the direction Germany should properly be taking surfaced in late 1933, in his book *The Hour of Decision* [translation of *Die Jahre der Entscheidung*]. He began it by stating that no one could have looked forward to the National Socialist revolution with greater longing than he. In the course of the work, though, he expressed (sometimes in veiled form) his reservations about the new regime. Germanophile though he certainly was, nevertheless he viewed the National Socialists as too narrowly German in character, and not sufficiently European.

Although he continued the racist tone of *Man and Technics*, Spengler belittled what he regarded as the exclusiveness of the National Socialist concept of race. In the face of the outer danger, what should be emphasized is the unity of the various European races, not their fragmentation. Beyond a matter-of-fact recognition of the “colored peril” and the superiority of white civilization, Spengler repeated his own “non-materialist” concept of race (which he had already expressed in *Decline*): Certain men — of whatever ancestry — have “race” (a kind of will-to-power), and these are the makers of history.

Predicting a second world war, Spengler warned in *Hour of Decision* that the National Socialists were not sufficiently watchful of the powerful hostile forces outside the country that would mobilize to destroy them, and Germany. His most direct criticism was phrased in this way: “And the National Socialists believe that they can afford to ignore the world or oppose it, and build their

castles-in-the-air without creating a possibly silent, but very palpable reaction from abroad.” Finally, but after it had already achieved a wide circulation, the authorities prohibited the book’s further distribution.

Oswald Spengler, shortly after predicting that in a decade there would no longer be a German Reich, died of a heart attack on May 8, 1936, in his Munich apartment. He went to his death convinced that he had been right, and that events were unfolding in fulfillment of what he had written in *The Decline of the West*. He was certain that he lived in the twilight period of his Culture — which, despite his foreboding and gloomy pronouncements, he loved and cared for deeply to the very end.

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Aphorisms: From the Writings of Oswald Spengler

Man makes history; woman is history. The reproduction of the species is feminine: it runs steadily and quietly through all species, animal or human, through all short-lived cultures. It is primary, unchanging, everlasting, maternal, plantlike, and cultureless. If we look back we find that it is synonymous with life itself.

Little as we know about the events of the future, one thing is certain: the moving forces of the future will be none other than those of the past — the will of the stronger, healthy instincts, race, will to property, and power.

The question of whether world peace will ever be possible can only be answered by someone familiar with world history. To be familiar with world history means, however, to know human beings as they have been and always will be. There is a vast difference, which most people will never comprehend, between viewing future history as it will be and viewing it as one might like it to be. Peace is a desire, war is a fact; and history has never paid heed to human desires and ideals ...

Talk of world peace is heard today only among the white peoples, and not among the much more numerous colored races. This is a perilous state of affairs. When individual thinkers and idealists talk of peace, as they have done since time immemorial, the effect is negligible. But when whole peoples become pacifistic it is a symptom of senility. Strong and unspent races are not pacifistic. To adopt such a position is to abandon the future, for the pacifist ideal is a terminal condition that is contrary to the basic facts of existence. As long as man continues to evolve, there will be wars ...

Pacifism means letting the non-pacifists have control ... Pacifism will remain an ideal, war a fact. If the white races are resolved never to wage war again, the colored will act differently and become rulers of the world.

The wealth of birth in primitive populations is a natural phenomenon, the very existence of which no one thinks about, let alone its advantages or disadvantages. Where reasons for questioning the existence of life enter the human consciousness, life itself has already become questionable.

Suddenly all those individuals who yesterday felt that “we” meant only their families, their professions, or perhaps their communities, become men of the nation. Their emotions and thoughts, their egos, that “something” within them, all are transformed: they have become historical.

This is our task: to make as meaningful as possible this life that has been bestowed upon us, this reality with which fate has surrounded us; to live in such a way that we may be proud of ourselves; to act in such a way that some part of us lives on.

Animals and primitive men are neither perverse nor licentious. Their Eros is in rhythmic harmony with the universe... Only civilization has made a problem of erotism, converted it into unrestrained greed.

The common man wants nothing of life but health, longevity, amusement, comfort — “happiness.” He who does not despise this should turn his eyes from world history, for it contains nothing of the sort. The best that history has created is great suffering.

In history it is not idealism, goodness or morality that reign — their kingdom is not of this world — but rather resolve, energy, presence of mind, and practical ability. One cannot erase this fact with laments and moral judgments. That is the way man is; that is the way life is; that is way history is.

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Oswald Spengler: Criticism and Tribute

by Revilo P. Oliver ([about the author](#))

Conceived before the First World War is Oswald Spengler's magisterial work, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (Munich, 1918). Read in this country chiefly in the brilliantly faithful translation by Charles Francis Atkinson, *The Decline of the West* (New York, two volumes, 1926-28), Spengler's morphology of history was the great intellectual achievement of our century. Whatever our opinion of his methods or conclusions, we cannot deny that he was the Copernicus of historionomy. All subsequent writings on the philosophy of history may fairly be described as criticism of the Decline of the West.

Spengler, having formulated a universal history, undertook an analysis of the forces operating in the immediately contemporary world. This he set forth in a masterly work, *Die Jahre der Entscheidung*, of which only the first volume could be published in Germany (Munich, 1933) and translated into English (*The Hour of Decision*, New York, 1934). One had only to read this brilliant work, with its lucid analysis of forces that even acute observers did not perceive until 25 or 30 years later, and with its prevision that subsequent events have now shown to have been absolutely correct, to recognize that its author was one of the great political and philosophical minds of the West. One should remember, however, that the amazing accuracy of his analysis of the contemporary situation does not necessarily prove the validity of his historical morphology.

The publication of Spengler's first volume in 1918 released a spate of controversy that continues to the present day. Manfred Schroeter in *Der Streit um Spengler* (Munich, 1922) was able to give a précis of the critiques that had appeared in a little more than three years; today, a mere bibliography, if reasonably complete, would take years to compile and would probably run to eight hundred or a thousand printed pages.

Spengler naturally stirred up swarms of nit-wits, who were particularly incensed by his immoral and preposterous suggestion that there could be another war in Europe, when everybody knew that there just couldn't be anything but World Peace after 1918, 'cause Santa had just brought a nice, new, shiny "League of Nations." Such "liberal" chatterboxes are always making a noise, but no one with the slightest knowledge of human history pays any attention to them, except as symptoms.

Unfortunately, much more intelligent criticism of Spengler was motivated by emotional dissatisfaction with his conclusions. In an article in *Antiquity* for 1927, the learned R.S. Collingwood of Oxford went so far as to claim that Spengler's two volumes had not given him "a single genuinely new idea," and that he had "long ago carried out for himself" — and, of course, rejected — even Spengler's detailed analyses of individual cultures. As a cursory glance at Spengler's work will suffice to show, that assertion is less plausible than a claim to know everything contained in the Twelfth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Collingwood, the author of the

Speculum Mentis and other philosophical works, must have been bedeviled with emotional resentments so strong that he could not see how conceited, arrogant and improbable his vaunt would seem to most readers.

It is now a truism that Spengler's "pessimism" and "fatalism" was an unbearable shock to minds nurtured in the Nineteenth-century illusion that everything would get better and better forever and ever. Spengler's cyclic interpretation of history stated that a civilization was an organism having a definite and fixed life-span and moving from infancy to senescence and death by an internal necessity comparable to the biological necessity that decrees the development of the human organism from infantile imbecility to senile decrepitude. Napoleon, for example, was the counterpart of Alexander in the ancient world.

We were now, therefore, in a phase of civilizational life in which constitutional forms are supplanted by the prestige of individuals. By 2000, we shall be "contemporary" with the Rome of Sulla, the Egypt of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and China at the time when the "Contending States" were welded into an empire. That means that we face an age of world wars and what is worse, civil wars and proscriptions, and that around 2060 the West (if not destroyed by its alien enemies) will be united under the personal rule of a Caesar or Augustus. That is not a pleasant prospect.

Greatness or Optimism

The only question before us, however, is whether Spengler is correct in his analysis. Rational men will regard as irrelevant the fact that his conclusions are not charming. If a physician informs you that you have symptoms of arteriosclerosis, he may or may not be right in his diagnosis, but it is absolutely certain that you cannot rejuvenate yourself by slapping his face.

Every detached observer of our times, I think, will agree that Spengler's "pessimism" aroused emotions that precluded rational consideration. I am inclined to believe that the moral level of his thinking was a greater obstacle. His "fatalism" was not the comforting kind that permits men to throw up their hands and eschew responsibilities. Consider, for example, the concluding lines of his *Men and Technics* (New York, 1932):

Already the danger is so great, for every individual, every class, every people, that to cherish any illusion whatever is deplorable. Time does not suffer itself to be halted; there is no question of prudent retreat or wise renunciation. Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. Optimism is cowardice.

We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the lost position, without hope, without rescue, like that Roman soldier whose bones were found in front of a door in Pompeii, who, during the eruption of Vesuvius, died at his post because they forgot to relieve him. That is greatness. That is what it means to be a thoroughbred. The honorable end is the one thing that can not be taken from a man.

Now, whether or not the stern prognostication that lies back of that conclusion is correct, no man fit to live in the present can read those lines without feeling his heart lifted by the great ethos of a noble culture — the spiritual strength of the West that can know tragedy and be unafraid. And simultaneously, that pronouncement will affright to hysteria the epicene homunculi among us, the puling cowards who hope only to scuttle about safely in the darkness and to batten on the decay of a culture infinitely beyond their comprehension.

That contrast is in itself a very significant datum for an estimate of the present condition of our civilization...

Three Points of Criticism

Criticism of Spengler, therefore, if it is not to seem mere quibbling about details, must deal with major premises. Now, so far as I can see, Spengler's thesis can be challenged at three really fundamental points, namely:

(1) Spengler regards each civilization as a closed and isolated entity animated by a dominant idea, or *Weltanschauung*, that is its "soul." Why should ideas, or concepts, the impalpable creations of the human mind, undergo an organic evolution as though they were living protoplasm, which, as a material substance, is understandably subject to chemical change and hence biological laws? This logical objection is not conclusive: Men may observe the tides, for example, and even predict them, without being able to explain what causes them. But when we must deduce historical laws from the four of five civilizations of which we have some fairly accurate knowledge, we do not have enough repetitions of a phenomenon to calculate its periodicity with assurance, if we do not know why it happens.

(2) A far graver difficulty arises from the historical fact that we have already mentioned. For five centuries, at least, the men of the West regarded modern civilization as a revival or prolongation of Graeco-Roman antiquity. Spengler, as the very basis of his hypothesis, regards the Classical world as a civilization distinct from, and alien to, our own — a civilization that, like the Egyptian, lived, died, and is now gone. It was dominated by an entirely different *Weltanschauung*, and consequently the educated men of Europe and America, who for five centuries believed in continuity, were merely suffering from an illusion or hallucination.

Even if we grant that, however, we are still confronted by a unique historical phenomenon. The Egyptian, Babylonian, Chinese, Hindu, and Arabian ("Magian"), civilizations are all regarded by Spengler (and other proponents of an organic structure of culture) as single and unrelated organisms: Each came into being without deriving its concepts from another civilization (or, alternatively, seeing its own concepts in the records of an earlier civilization), and each died leaving no offspring (or, alternatively, no subsequent civilization thought to see in them its own concepts). There is simply no parallel or precedent for the relationship (real or imaginary) which links Graeco-Roman culture to our own.

Since Spengler wrote, a great historical discovery has further complicated the question. We now know that the Mycenaean peoples were Greeks, and it is virtually certain that the essentials of their culture survived the disintegration caused by the Dorian invasion, and were the basis of later Greek culture. (For a good summary, see Leonard R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, London, 1961). We therefore have a sequence that is, so far as we know, unique:

Mycenaean ' Dark Ages ' Graeco-Roman ' Dark Ages ' Modern. If this is one civilization, it has had a creative life-span far longer than that of any other that has thus far appeared in the world. If it is more than one, the interrelations form an exception to Spengler's general law, and suggest the possibility that a civilization, if it dies by some kind of quasi-biological process, may in some cases have a quasi-biological power of reproduction.

The exception becomes even more remarkable if we, unlike Spengler, regard as fundamentally important the concept of self-government, which may have been present even in Mycenaean times (see L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, cited above, p. 97). Democracies and consti-

tutional republics are found only in the Graeco-Roman world and our own; such institutions seem to have been incomprehensible to other cultures.

(3) For all practical purposes, Spengler ignores hereditary and racial differences. He even uses the word “race” to represent a qualitative difference between members of what we should call the same race, and he denies that that difference is to any significant extent caused by heredity. He regards biological races as plastic and mutable, even in their physical characteristics, under the influence of geographical factors (including the soil, which is said to affect the physical organism through food) and of what Spengler terms “a mysterious cosmic force” that has nothing to do with biology. The only real unity is cultural, that is, the fundamental ideas and beliefs shared by the peoples who form a civilization. Thus Spengler, who makes those ideas subject to quasi-biological growth and decay, oddly rejects as insignificant the findings of biological science concerning living organisms.

It is true, of course, that man is in part a spiritual being. Of that, persons who have a religious faith need no assurance. Others, unless they are determined blindly to deny the evidence before us, must admit the existence of phenomena of the kind described by Franz E. Winkler, M.D., in *Man the Bridge Between Two Worlds* (New York, Harper, 1960), and, of course, by many other writers. And every historian knows that no one of the higher cultures could conceivably have come into being, if human beings are merely animals.

But it is also true that the science of genetics, founded by Father Mendel only a century ago and almost totally neglected down to the early years of the Twentieth Century, has ascertained biological laws that can be denied only by denying the reality of the physical world. Every educated person knows that the color of a man’s eyes, the shape of the lobes of his ears, and every one of his other physiological characteristics is determined by hereditary factors. It is virtually certain that intellectual capacity is likewise produced by inheritance, and there is a fair amount of evidence that indicated that even moral capacities are likewise innate.

Man’s power of intervention in the development of inherited qualities appears to be entirely negative, thus affording another melancholy proof that human ingenuity can easily destroy what it can never create. Any fool with a knife can in three minutes make the most beautiful woman forever hideous, and one of our “mental health experts,” even without using a knife, can as quickly and permanently destroy the finest intellect. And it appears that less drastic interventions, through education and other control of environment, may temporarily or even permanently pervert and deform, but are powerless to create capacities that an individual did not inherit from near or more remote ancestors.

The facts are beyond question, although the Secret Police in Soviet Russia and “liberal” spitting-squads in the United States have largely succeeded in keeping these facts from the general public in the areas they control. But no amount of terrorism can alter the laws of nature. For a readable exposition of genetics, see Garrett Hardin’s *Nature and Man’s Fate* (New York, Rinehart, 1959), which is subject only to the reservation that the laws of genetics, like the laws of chemistry, are verified by observation every day, whereas the doctrine of biological evolution is necessarily an hypothesis that cannot be verified by experiment.

The Race Factor

It is also beyond question that the races of mankind differ greatly in physical appearance, in susceptibility to specific diseases, and in average intellectual capacity. There are indications that they differ also in nervous organization, and possibly, in moral instincts. It would be a miracle if

that were not so, for, as is well known, the three primary races were distinct and separate at the time that intelligent men first appeared on this planet, and have so remained ever since. The differences are so pronounced and stable that the proponents of biological evolution are finding it more and more necessary to postulate that the differences go back to species that preceded the appearance of the homo sapiens. (See the new and revised edition of Dr. Carleton S. Coon's *The Story of Man*, New York, Knopf, 1962).

That such differences exist is doubtless deplorable. It is certainly deplorable that all men must die, and there are persons who think it deplorable that there are differences, both anatomical and spiritual between men and women. However, no amount of concerted lying by "liberals," and no amount of decreeing by the Warren [Supreme Court] Gang, will in the least change the laws of nature.

Now there is a great deal that we do not know about genetics, both individual and racial, and these uncertainties permit widely differing estimates of the relative importance of biologically determined factors and cultural concepts in the development of a civilization. Our only point here is that it is highly improbable that biological factors have no influence at all on the origin and course of civilizations. And to the extent that they do have an influence, Spengler's theory is defective and probably misleading.

Profound Insights

One could add a few minor points to the three objections stated above, but these will suffice to show that the Spenglerian historionomy cannot be accepted as a certainty. It is, however, a great philosophical formulation that poses questions of the utmost importance and deepens our perception of historical causality. No student of history needed Spengler to tell him that a decline of religious faith necessarily weakens the moral bonds that make civilized society possible. But Spengler's showing that such a decline seems to have occurred at a definite point in the development of a number of fundamentally different civilizations with, of course, radically different religions provides us with data that we must take into account when we try to ascertain the true causes of the decline. And his further observation that the decline was eventually followed by a sweeping revival of religious belief is equally significant.

However wrong he may have been about some things, Spengler has given us profound insights into the nature of our own culture. But for him, we might have gone on believing that our great technology was merely a matter of economics — of trying to make more things more cheaply. But he has shown us, I think, that our technology has a deeper significance — that for us, the men of Western civilization, it answers a certain spiritual need inherent in us, and that we derive from its triumphs as satisfaction analogous to that which is derived from great music or great art.

And Spengler, above all, has forced us to inquire into the nature of civilization and to ask ourselves by what means — if any — we can repair and preserve the long and narrow dikes that alone protect us from the vast and turbulent ocean of eternal barbarism. For that, we must always honor him.

About the Author

Revilo P. Oliver, a scholar of international stature, taught Classics at the University of Illinois for 32 years. From 1980 until his death in August 1994, he was a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee. For more about Dr. Oliver, see the memorial tribute to him in the Sept.-

Oct. 1994 Journal, pp. 19-20. This essay, originally written in 1963, is reprinted from the anthology *America's Decline: The Education of a Conservative* (1982), pp. 193-200.

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Revilo Oliver on History

The social and political questions of our day are all primarily historical problems. To think about them rationally, we must begin by consulting the record of human experience in the past. And we soon realize that if only we knew enough about history — and understood it — we should have the answers to all our questions.

No man lives long enough to behold with his own eyes a pattern of change in society. He is like the midge that is born in the afternoon and dies at sunset, and which, therefore, no matter how intelligent it might be, could never discover, or even suspect, that day and night come in regular alternation. Unlike the midge, however, man can consult the experience of the comparatively few generations of his species that have preceded him during the comparatively brief period of about five thousand years in which human beings have had the power to leave records for the instruction of their posterity.

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French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy

Le Pen, Faurisson, Garaudy Fined for 'Holocaust Denial'

by [Mark Weber](#)

In 1789 the French National Assembly enacted the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen,” a guiding document of the French Revolution that solemnly proclaims as “inalienable” the rights of free speech and of the press.

Today French citizens are, by and large, able to express their views freely on nearly any topic. But there is one important exception. Those who challenge the Western world’s most important social-political taboo — on the Second World War treatment of the Jews — are routinely punished for their apostasy.

France’s Fabius-Gayssot law of July 13, 1990, makes it a crime to “contest” the “crimes against humanity” as defined by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal of 1945-46. This one-sided law — which was introduced to the French parliament by Socialist Party deputy Laurent Fabius (a prominent Jewish political figure) and by Communist Party deputy Jean-Claude Gayssot — is applied selectively only to expressions of skepticism about real or alleged atrocities committed by the losers of the Second World War — that is, by Germans and their allies — and only about the wartime treatment of Jews.

Newspapers, government officials and human rights organizations in Europe and the United States that normally are quick to condemn restrictions on civil liberties have been silent about France’s Fabius-Gayssot law and similar “Holocaust denial” laws in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland and Spain.

Jean-Marie Le Pen

In 1987 Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of France’s National Front political party, was found guilty of violating French law by referring to German execution gas chambers as a 'detail' or a 'minor point' in Second World War history. During a September 1987 interview, he said:

Do you want me to say it is a revealed truth that everyone has to believe? That it’s a moral obligation? I say there are historians who are debating these questions. I am not saying that the gas chambers did not exist. I couldn’t see them myself. I haven’t studied the questions specially. But I believe that it is a minor point [point de detail] in the history of the Second World War.

After a drawn-out court battle, Le Pen was convicted by a French court and fined 1.2 million francs (\$200,000).

Ten years later, on December 5, 1997, while in Munich to promote a book about himself written by German author and political figure Franz Schönhuber, Le Pen was asked about his 1987 remark. He replied by saying “There is nothing belittling or scornful about such a statement,” and then added: “If you take a book of a thousand pages on the Second World War, in which 50 million people died, the concentration camps occupy two pages and the gas chambers ten or 15 lines, and that’s what’s called a detail.” (See the accompanying essay, “The Detail,” by Robert Faurisson.)

Seventeen organizations responded by promptly filing a formal legal complaint. Among the groups demanding punishment were the Simon Wiesenthal Center, which is headquartered in Los Angeles and has an office in Europe, and the Paris-based “Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples.”

On December 26, 1997, a Paris Court sentenced Le Pen for his second “detail” remark, ordering him to pay 300,000 francs (\$50,000) to publish the text of the court’s decision in a dozen French newspapers. In addition, he was ordered to pay a large amount of money to eleven of the 17 organizations that had brought a suit against him. Because all this is an interim punishment, an even more severe punishment may be forthcoming.

Le Pen was born in 1928 in a Breton fishing village in western France. He served in the armed forces as a paratrooper, and worked as a fisherman and miner to pay for his studies. As a law student in Paris, he was known as an ardent anti-Communist and political activist who was not afraid of physical confrontations. Even his enemies acknowledge his courage and his skill as a public speaker and organizer.

In 1972 he founded the National Front. After several years of obscurity, the nationalist political party has achieved a significant level of popular support with its call, “France for the French.” In last year’s parliamentary elections the party won 15 percent of the vote. Le Pen, who is an elected member of the European Parliament, personally captured this same percentage of votes in the first round of the presidential election of 1995.

Le Pen has recently said that he would no longer speak publicly about Nazi gas chambers because nonconformist views on this subject are prohibited by law. During an interview on December 12, 1997, he explained: “I won’t respond any more. It’s a taboo subject that is protected by legal and criminal law, and the only opinion one can express about it is that allowed by the media.”

Robert Faurisson

For nearly 20 years, Robert Faurisson has been reviled and acclaimed as Europe’s foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. And no one has been targeted more frequently for violating France’s anti-revisionist than this former professor at the University of Lyon and specialist of text and document analysis. He first publicly explained his skeptical views of the Holocaust gas chamber story in articles published in late 1978 and early 1979 in France’s most respected daily paper, *Le Monde*.

A coalition of nine organizations, led by the Paris-based “International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism” (LICRA), brought a civil lawsuit alleging “personal damages” for Faurisson’s “falsification of history.” Found guilty of “personal damages” but not “falsification of history,” he was convicted on July 8, 1981.

Faurisson appealed the decision, which was upheld by the Paris Court of Appeals on April 26, 1983. It ordered him to pay “damages” to the various Jewish and leftist organizations that had brought the complaint, as well as pay court costs and the cost of publishing the verdict in three French periodicals.

During an interview in December 1980 with the French radio network “Europe 1,” Faurisson stated:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which opened the way to a gigantic political-financial fraud, the principal beneficiaries of which are the State of Israel and international Zionism, and the principal victims of which are the German people — but not their rulers — and the entire Palestinian people.

For these provocative words, Faurisson was brought to trial on criminal charges of racial defamation and incitement to racial hatred. In July 1981 he was found guilty and given a suspended three month prison sentence, fined several thousand francs, and ordered to pay 3.6 million francs for the cost of making public the verdict on television and in periodicals. However, in June 1982 an appeals court threw out the charge of incitement to racial hatred and eliminated the 3.6 million franc payment.

Among his other legal travails, in June 1995 a Paris court ordered Faurisson to pay a fine of \$3,000 for writing *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac sur le problème des chambres à gaz* ("Response to Jean-Claude Pressac on the problem of the gas chambers"), a book that disputes claims of Second World War mass killings in German gas chambers. Henri Roques, another French revisionist, was likewise fined \$3,000 by the court for distributing the work. Roques is also author of *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, published by the IHR. (See “French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book,” Nov.-Dec. 1995 Journal, pp. 13-17.)

Faurisson has had to contend with many other trials and court convictions over the years, as well as the freezing of his bank account. Court officials have visited his house a number of times, threatening him and his wife with seizure of their furniture to pay for the considerable financial “damages” imposed for a simple interview in *Le Choc du mois*.

On September 25, 1997, Faurisson came to trial for a statement made in April 1996 on the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre affair in which he mentioned “the imposture of the Nazi gas chambers.” During the trial he told the court: “We are only three years away from the year 2000, and there are billions of people who are asked to believe in something they have never seen and don’t even know how it worked!”

Judge Jean-Yves Monfort showed considerable respect for the defendant during the trial. He was surprised to learn that there are revisionist web sites around the world, and on several occasions showed that he felt uncomfortable applying the Fabius-Gayssot law. It is true, said Monfort, that the court is asked to participate in a debate that ought to take place among historians.

The prosecutor asked for a new kind of sentence: either imprisonment or a fine, to which Faurisson responded by declaring: “I hereby make a commitment that I shall not buy and shall not pay for my freedom. No one has ever bought me and no one will ever buy me.”

As expected, the Paris court handed down a guilty verdict. On October 23 it ordered Faurisson to pay 120,600 francs (\$20,000), divided into three parts: 50,000 francs as a fine, 20,600 francs for a Jewish attorney, and 50,000 to pay for the publication of the summary of the court’s judgment

in the daily newspapers *Le Monde* and *Libération*, as well as (unprecedentedly) in the *Journal officiel de la République française*.

Faurisson has paid the Jewish lawyer and is paying the fine in installments. However, he will not have to pay to promulgate the court judgment because, he has learned, the anti-revisionist organizations decided that they did not wish to see the publication of the words "the imposture of the Nazi gas chambers."

There seems to be no end in sight for Faurisson's legal travails. He had to appear before a Paris court on March 16, 1998, to stand trial for a short definition of "revisionism," as inaccurately reported in *Rivarol*. The court's verdict is expected on April 27. On that day Faurisson is due to testify in London on behalf of Nick Griffin, who is being tried for having taken expressed revisionist skepticism about Nazi gas chambers in an issue of his magazine, *The Rune*.

On April 8 Faurisson is set to stand trial in Amsterdam for the publication in 1991 in Dutch of his detailed critical analysis of the Anne Frank Diary. Originally written for Ernst Römer, a German who had been put on trial in 1978 in Hamburg, it has been published in various editions (including in the Summer 1982 *Journal of Historical Review*, "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?").

The Anne Frank Museum in Amsterdam and the Anne Frank Fonds in Basel, Switzerland, jointly brought the legal action. The Museum complained that it has been obliged to provide special training for its guides to respond to Faurisson's arguments, and that his critique might reduce the number of its visitors.

In December 1997 he received a summons from a Paris court official for an essay, "The Horned Visions of the Holocaust," that had been posted without his prior knowledge or approval on an Internet web site. In this piece Faurisson wrote that "The Holocaust of the Jews is a fiction." He responded to the summons with a stern letter in which he defiantly declared his refusal to "collaborate" with French justice authorities and police in the repression of revisionism. This case is likely to come to trial in October.

Faurisson has also been the victim of numerous physical attacks for his views. Between November 1978 and May 1993 he was assaulted on ten occasions, with at least nine of the attacks carried out by Jewish organizations or militants. Probably the worst was a savage and nearly fatal attack on September 16, 1989, for which a group calling itself "The Sons of the Memory of the Jews" claimed responsibility. No one was ever arrested for these crimes. (For more, see "Jewish Militants" in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 6-7, and *The Zionist Terror Network* [IHR: 1993], pp. 15-16.)

Reynouard, Garaudy and Others

Faurisson and Le Pen are hardly the only ones whom Jewish groups and French officials have targeted for expressing skepticism of the officially sanctioned version of 20th century history. Other victims include Philippe Costa, Alain Guionnet and Fabrice Robert. Between July 1990 and January 1993 alone, the Fabius-Gayssot law had already been applied 27 times.

In 1997 and early 1998, the principal victim of anti-revisionism in France has been Vincent Reynouard, who was abruptly dismissed without notice from his position as a teacher at a college in Normandy for an expression of unorthodox historical views. Reynouard, 28, is married and has three young children. Michel Adam, a teacher in Brittany in his mid-50s, has similarly been suspended from his post for expressing revisionist views, and will probably be permanently laid off.

Eric Delcroix, Faurisson's attorney, has been sentenced for his book, *La Police de la Pensée contre le Révisionnisme* ("The Thought Police Against Revisionism"). A bookseller in Bordeaux, Jean-Luc Lundi, has received a stiff sentence because he offered revisionist books for sale. In Paris, thugs have repeatedly assaulted bookseller Georges Piscoci-DanESCO and attacked his book shop, which stocked some revisionist titles, while the police have refused protection.

Gabor Tamas Rittersporn, a Jewish sociologist, was dismissed in February from his position as a visiting scholar in Berlin with "Marc Bloch" German-French research center when it was discovered that during the early 1980s he had defended Faurisson, and had expressed skepticism about the existence of Nazi gas chambers while he was associated with the revisionist publishing enterprise *Le Vieille Taupe* ("The Old Mole") of Pierre Guillaume. As soon as the affair began, Rittersporn recanted, saying that he had been wrong to embrace revisionist views and that since then he had come to realize that Faurisson was wrong (*Berliner Zeitung*, Feb. 12, 1998).

In a much-publicized recent case, a Paris court on February 27, 1998, fined French philosopher Roger Garaudy 240,000 francs (\$40,000) — not 120,000 francs, as widely reported — for statements made in his 1996 book *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics," reviewed in the March-April 1996 *Journal*). Specifically, he was found guilty of "denying crimes against humanity" by expressing scholarly skepticism of the Holocaust extermination story, and for "racist defamation" by citing the awesome Jewish role in the Western media.

Garaudy, an 84-year-old convert to Islam, has won considerable support in Arab and Muslim countries for his legal battle, where this case is widely regarded as another example of the hypocrisy that prevails in Europe and the United States on issues involving Jewish and Zionist interests. (More on the Garaudy affair will appear in a forthcoming *Journal* issue.)

On the day that the verdict was pronounced against Garaudy, some 30 thugs of the Jewish youth organization "Betar" (comparable to the Jewish Defense League in the USA) assaulted revisionists at the Paris court house (*Palais de Justice*). At least eight persons were injured: six inside the building and two outside. Although about 120 guards and gendarmes were present, there were no arrests. Faurisson and four others, along with two guards, had to escape from the building through an underground passageway.

Jacques Vergès, Garaudy's defense attorney, and Eric Delcroix, attorney for co-defendant Pierre Guillaume (publisher of Garaudy's book), filed a formal complaint with the court. Faurisson also protested the official toleration of Jewish violence in an open letter to the *Commandant militaire du Palais de Justice*. On several occasions since 1980, Betar thugs have assaulted peaceable court house visitors, acting with impunity as security guards and gendarmes passively stood by. (See "Jewish Militants" in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, esp. pp. 8-9.)

-- March 22, 1998

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The Detail

by Robert Faurisson

On the subject of the Nazi gas chambers, Jean-Marie Le Pen recently stated: “If you take a thousand-page book on the Second World War, the concentration camps occupy two pages and the gas chambers ten or fifteen lines, and that’s called a detail.”

He might have brought up some even harder hitting and more precise arguments, and referred to Eisenhower, Churchill, de Gaulle, Elie Wiesel, René Rémond, Daniel Goldhagen, and even the text of the Nuremberg Tribunal judgment.

Eisenhower, Churchill, de Gaulle

Three of the best known works on the Second World War are General Eisenhower’s *Crusade in Europe* (New York: Doubleday [Country Life Press], 1948), Winston Churchill’s *The Second World War* (London: Cassell, 6 vols., 1948-1954), and the *Mémoires de guerre* of General de Gaulle (Paris: Plon, 3 vols., 1954-1959). In these three works not the least mention of Nazi gas chambers is to be found.

Eisenhower’s *Crusade in Europe* is a book of 559 pages; the six volumes of Churchill’s *Second World War* total 4,448 pages; and de Gaulle’s three-volume *Mémoires de guerre* is 2,054 pages. In this mass of writing, which altogether totals 7,061 pages (not including the introductory parts), published from 1948 to 1959, one will find no mention either of Nazi “gas chambers,” a “genocide” of the Jews, or of “six million” Jewish victims of the war.

Elie Wiesel

The same goes for the autobiographical account, *Night* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1960), in which Elie Wiesel relates his experience of Auschwitz and Buchenwald. Moreover, in the first volume of his memoirs, *All Rivers Run to the Sea* (New York: Random House/Knopf, 1995, p. 74), he writes, “Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination.”

René Rémond

In the third volume of his *Introduction à l'histoire de notre temps* (“Introduction to the History of Our Times”), René Rémond, who was then president of the commission on the history of the deportation within the Comité d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale (Committee on the History of the Second World War), made no mention whatsoever of these gas chambers (*Le XXe siècle de 1914 à nos jours* [“The 20th Century from 1914 to the Present”], Le Seuil, 1974). Fourteen years later, when he had become president of the Institut d'histoire du temps présent (Insti-

tute of Contemporary History), once again he made no mention of them in a 1,013-page work entitled *Notre Siècle de 1918 à 1988* ("Our Century from 1916 to 1988," Paris: Fayard, 1988).

Daniel Jonah Goldhagen

Since March 1996, the Jewish-American historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen has been treated as the darling of the media the world over, thanks to his book *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996, xiv-634 pp.). While he does mention Nazi gas chambers, it is for little more than to note that "their efficiency has been greatly overstated" (p. 10), and that they have always been, and wrongly, "the overwhelming focus of popular and even scholarly attention" (p. 165). Goldhagen goes as far as to declare that "gassing was really epiphenomenal to the Germans' slaughter of the Jews" (p. 533, n. 81) and that "the imbalance of attention devoted to the gas chambers needs to be corrected" (p. 535).

The Nuremberg Judgment

France's Fabius-Gayssot law of 1990 specifically forbids the "challenging" or "contesting" of the portions of the judgment of the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg (September 30 and October 1, 1946) relating to "crimes against humanity," including the use of execution gas chambers. But it is noteworthy that, of the 84,000 words of the judgment's text (in the French version), only 520, extremely vague, are devoted to gas chambers. This is 1/160th of the entire text, or 0.62 percent. In other words, 99.38 percent of the judgment does not deal with these gas chambers.

Why Such Reticence?

Why were Eisenhower, Churchill, de Gaulle, Elie Wiesel, René Rémond, Daniel Goldhagen, and the Nuremberg Tribunal so reserved on the subject of the Nazi gas chambers? Of course, revisionists have explanations for this reticence that, however, the Fabius-Gayssot law forbids us to make public in France.

My own explanations, which cannot be published in France without committing a crime, would include the following:

1. The Nazi extermination gas chambers never existed.
2. Eisenhower, Churchill, and de Gaulle knew or suspected that their own governments' propaganda about gas chambers was not true. (Thus, on August 30, 1943, US Secretary of State Cordell Hull wrote to Standley, US Ambassador in Moscow: "... there is insufficient evidence to justify the statement regarding execution in gas chambers" [Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers 1943. US Government Printing Office, 1963, vol. 1, p. 416])
3. Elie Wiesel probably now regrets that he did not mention gas chambers in his autobiographical work, *Night*.
4. René Rémond revealed to me in November 1978 that he was "ready to follow [me] on the gas chamber matter."
5. Goldhagen probably realizes that the gas chamber story is fishy, and, anyway, prefers to insist on killing methods that permit him to accuse millions of Germans of complicity in crimes, rather than emphasize a specific killing method that implies only a handful of German criminals.

6. The Nuremberg Tribunal judges had nothing substantive to say about the gas chambers because they understood that no investigation had been conducted as to the specifics of the “murder weapon,” and because neither the “witnesses” nor former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss had been asked hard specific questions about the gas chambers.
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History's Little-Known Naval Disasters

Comparing the Titanic Sinking

Many of those who view "Titanic," the new blockbuster motion picture, may leave the movie theater believing that the April 15, 1912, sinking of the great British liner, with the loss of 1,523 men, women and children, was history's greatest maritime disaster.

Others may perhaps think of the British passenger liner Lusitania, which sank on May 7, 1915, after being hit by a German submarine torpedo, taking 1,198 lives.

But these disasters are dwarfed by the sinkings of the Wilhelm Gustloff, the General Steuben and the Goya, three German ships crowded with evacuated refugees and wounded soldiers that were struck by Soviet submarines during the final months of the Second World War.

As John Ries points out in his essay in the Fall 1992 Journal, "History's Greatest Naval Disasters," more lives were lost in the case of each of these vessels than in the sinkings of either the Lusitania or the Titanic.

The first of these German ships to go down was the Wilhelm Gustloff, a 25,000-ton converted luxury liner that had been serving as a hospital ship. When it left the Baltic harbor of Gdynia (Gotenhafen) on January 30, 1945, it was jammed with nearly 5,000 refugees, mostly women and children, and 1,600 military servicemen. At shortly after nine o'clock in the evening, it was struck by three torpedoes from Soviet submarine S-13. Convoy vessels were able to rescue only about 900 from the sub-freezing Baltic waters. At least 5,400 perished.

Eleven days later, shortly after midnight on February 10, the General Steuben sank with a loss of 3,500 lives, making this the third worst maritime disaster in history. The same Soviet submarine that had attacked the Gustloff, and in almost the same location, sank the Steuben with two torpedoes. Crammed with as many as 5,000 wounded soldiers and refugees, the converted passenger liner sank in just seven minutes.

The sinking of the Goya on April 16, 1945, just three weeks before the end of the war in Europe, is acknowledged as almost certainly the greatest maritime disaster, in terms of lives lost, of all time. The converted 5,230-ton transport ship had set out from Hela near Danzig (Gdansk) with its human cargo of some 7,000 refugees and wounded soldiers.

Just a few minutes before midnight, the Soviet submarine L-3 fired two torpedoes at the Goya, which found their marks amidship and stern. Almost immediately the ship broke in half, her masts crashing down upon the passengers crowding the decks. Before anyone could escape from the holds, the onrushing sea quickly drowned out the anguished screams of the refugees below.

The vessel sank in just four minutes, resulting in the loss of nearly 7,000 lives. There were only 183 survivors.

Concluding his essay on this chapter of history, Ries wrote:

Although little known, the sinkings of the Wilhelm Gustloff and the Goya — with a combined loss of more than 12,000 lives — remain the greatest maritime catastrophes of all time. Moreover, the deliberate and unnecessary killing of thousands of innocent civilian refugees and helpless wounded men aboard the Gustloff, the Steuben and the Goya — as well as many other smaller and lesser known vessels — is unquestionably one of the great atrocities of the Second World War.

Lesser known but also worthy of note is the sinking of the German battleship Bismarck on May 27, 1941. Following intense attack in the Atlantic from British planes and four major British warships, it went under with the loss of some 2,200 men.

Even more tragic is the case of the Cap Arcona, a 27,650-ton converted German passenger ship packed with evacuated concentration camp inmates. On May 3, 1945, just a week before the end of the war, it was sunk by fire from a British fighter-bomber as it was moored in Lübeck harbor. Some 5,000 persons, nearly all of them inmates, lost their lives. Only about 500 could be rescued.

A similar fate befell the Thielbek, a German ship likewise packed with 2,800 inmates who were being evacuated from the Neuengamme concentration camp. Succumbing to intense fire from British war planes, it sank on May 3, 1945, with the loss of all on board.

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Robert Graham and Revisionism

by Arthur R. Butz

When I was writing *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I encountered an extraordinary source, namely, the multi-volume collection of documents and commentary *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale* ("Acts and documents of the Holy See relative to the Second World War"). The series, whose principal editor was Robert A. Graham, was still being published by the Vatican, and further volumes were in preparation.

Graham was a former editor of the Jesuit magazine *America*. The "extermination" claim was not challenged in the series, and it was generally understood that Graham's main interest was in defending the wartime Pope Pius XII against charges of tacit consent to, and even collaboration with, Nazi policies of physical extermination of the Jews. Such charges crested with Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy*.

I believed that the Vatican documents constitute an important source. I devoted an entire appendix of my book to discussing them.

In studying the series of volumes I was struck by some of the editorial remarks, and believed that the editor, although not a revisionist in our sense, was implicitly raising fundamental questions of a revisionist bent. A good example was the quotation of some selected passages from some reports, from apparently well informed sources, delivered to the Pope on July 15, 1943, which described Auschwitz as essentially a work camp, and spoke of Jews who had been deported from France sending letters back to their families. ^[1]

These impressions were so strong that I believed it necessary to contact Graham directly. In early 1977 I wrote to him in Rome, thus starting a very satisfactory and years-long correspondence, although the request for copies of documents that I made to him at the time could not be filled, for reasons beyond his control. ^[2]

In summer 1977 I was in Rome and visited him. Our conversation confirmed to me what I had read between the lines in *Actes et documents*; the editor was puzzled by the evidence he had examined, because much of it seemed impossible to reconcile with the "extermination" legend. He showed me a pamphlet I had not seen, published in 1943 by the "Polish Labor Group" which was based in New York but in touch with the Polish underground. Its title was appropriate: *Oswiecim — Camp of Death* ("Oswiecim" is Polish for "Auschwitz"). The pamphlet presented the truth with some embellishment, but what was important to Graham was that it did not speak of "exterminations" in any way reconcilable with the legend. He let me borrow the pamphlet to photocopy.

Volume 10 of Actes et documents was long delayed, and I wrote to Graham several times in my eagerness to see it. When publication finally came in 1980, Graham was thoughtful enough to alert me personally. I got a copy and found references to more interesting but unpublished documents. Again I wrote to Graham and happily, this time, my request was filled. [3]

At the IHR Conference in 1982, I compared the Holocaust legend to the Donation of Constantine, and sent Graham a copy of the paper. In the paper I had noted that the Jewish historian Walter Laqueur understood as I did “that the far-flung nature of the operations of the Catholic Church guaranteed that the Vatican would have known what was happening to the Jews.” [4] Graham acknowledged receipt of the copy of my paper with a very kind, respectful and encouraging letter, referring to and not disputing the remark about the Vatican. He only complained that Laqueur was, without foundation, accusing his group of suppressing relevant documents. That letter from Graham is reproduced here.

I always knew that there was an honest and honorable man editing the publication of the Vatican documents.

Rev. Robert A. Graham, S.J., died in a California retirement home, at age 84, on February 11, 1997.

-- July 31, 1997

Notes

1. ☺ Actes et documents, vol. 9, pp. 42, 393. The footnote on p. 42 should refer to “Nr. 264”, not 164. More examples are given toward the end of “Appendix E” of my book.
2. ☺ I wanted copies of the documents about deportations of Jews that Actes et documents had quoted but not reproduced. Graham told me to send my “request through channels,” that is, to Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, Secretary of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church. I did so but Casaroli replied that because the reports in question “were provided by Jewish authorities in France,” I should address myself to them. I wrote to the Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, in Paris, but received no answer. I also visited the Centre in July 1977, but could not find the documents.
3. ☺ The most interesting document was a letter from Alexandru Safran, Grand Rabbi of Romania, to Msgr. Andrea Cassulo, Papal Nuncio in Bucharest, dated June 30, 1944. It expressed concern that the Jews of Hungary were “exposed to great privations and sufferings,” at a time when the legend would have us believe they were mostly dead. The Jews of Hungary and Romania remained in close contact throughout this period.
4. ☺ The paper, “Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy,” was published in the Winter 1982 Journal, and appears as Supplement B in recent printings of The Hoax of the Twentieth Century. [This presentation is also available on audio cassette, stock #A028, for \$9.95, plus shipping.]

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American-Born Vatican Historian Refuted 'Holocaust Complicity' Charges

One of the most persistent and malicious accusations leveled against the Roman Catholic Church in recent decades is the charge that Pope Pius XII and the Vatican acquiesced in the slaughter of millions of Jews during the Second World War by failing explicitly to condemn the killings. (On this subject, see: Mary Ball Martinez, “Pope Pius XII During the Second World War,” Sept.-Oct. 1993 Journal.)

Greatly contributing to this campaign was a play, “The Deputy,” which provoked intense world-wide discussion following its premiere in 1963. This polemical work by German playwright Rolf Hochhuth is based in large part on the “confessions” of former SS officer Kurt Gerstein. (For more on Gerstein, see Henri Roques' book-length study, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, published by the IHR.)

It is indeed true that Pope Pius XII made no explicit public condemnation during the war of killings of Jews — a fact that is often cited by the Church's critics to accuse the Vatican of grave moral culpability for passive complicity in “the Holocaust.”

But as Dr. Arthur Butz has explained, a more reasonable explanation for this “silence” is the fact that Vatican officials were unable to confirm the rumors of a German policy or program to exterminate Europe's Jews, in spite of voluminous information received during the war years through an outstanding intelligence network. Thus, in late 1942 Pope Pius XII privately told an American official that, with regard to the extermination reports, he “felt that there had been some exaggeration for the purposes of propaganda.” (Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* [1981], pp. 104-105)

As Dr. Butz has further pointed out, neither the Allied governments, the International Committee of the Red Cross, or even the major international Jewish organizations, acted as if they seriously believed wartime stories of mass extermination of Jews. (See Butz' paper, “Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy,” published as Supplement B in the current edition of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.)

In recent years, the most important Vatican voice refuting the “complicity” charge was that of the American-born historian Robert A. Graham, the Catholic Church's foremost authority on the Papacy's role during the Second World War. He once characterized the “complicity” accusations as “an obscenity.”

Graham, a native of San Francisco, was born in 1912, the son of a baseball coach. After his ordination as a Jesuit priest in 1941, he studied at various Jesuit colleges, earned a doctorate in political science from the University of Geneva in 1952, and joined the staff of the Jesuit magazine *America* in New York. While serving as the magazine's associate editor, he began his decades-long investigation of social, historical and diplomatic issues.

Responding to the international furor of the early 1960s regarding the Vatican's wartime role, Pope Paul VI ordered secret Vatican records of the wartime era to be opened, and assigned Fr. Graham and three other scholars the great task of sifting, organizing and publishing this mass of material.

Over the course of the next 17 years, Graham and his associates issued a series of eleven comprehensive volumes of documents, supplemented with informed comment, under the title *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale*. These detailed records show conclusively that Pope Pius XII actively aided large numbers of persecuted Jews during the war years, and that the Vatican was an important haven of refuge and assistance for the continent's Jews.

After the completion of this project in 1981, Fr. Graham continued his archival research and scholarly writing until the final months of his life.

For 24 years he was also a regular contributor to *Columbia*, the magazine of the US Catholic fraternal organization Knights of Columbus.

During his lifetime Graham wrote several books based on his extensive research in Vatican and other archives, including *Vatican Diplomacy* (1959), *Pope Pius XII and the Jews*, and *The Vatican and Communism During World War II* (1996). Over the years he also published many of his findings in numerous articles that appeared in the Rome-based scholarly journal *La Civiltà Cattolica*.

Fr. Graham's scrupulousness and open-mindedness is also reflected in his relations with revisionist researchers, as shown in the two letters reproduced here in facsimile (reduced).

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'Alternative History' in France

In France, a lively new revisionist history periodical *l'Autre Histoire* ("The Other History" or "Alternative History") is making a mark. Now in its third year of publication, a typical issue of this attractively laid out, richly illustrated, and intelligently written magazine-format periodical is 48 pages in length. Editor-publisher is Trystan Mordrel.

The June 1997 issue (No. 8) features an interview with David Irving along with a profile of the controversial British historian. It also includes a lengthy article on the Spanish Inquisition and the "Jewish Question" in Spain during the 15th and 16th centuries (translated and adapted from the Jan.-Feb. 1996 Journal), and a review-essay by Joseph Bishop about Roosevelt's efforts to provoke war with Japan (translated and adapted from the March-April 1996 Journal).

A typical issue includes several pages of readers' letters, a selection of brief news items, short reviews of new books, and summary descriptions of interesting periodicals around the world.

A humorous piece by Bradley Smith about Elie Wiesel, and an interview with the important European revisionist publisher Siegfried Verbeke, are featured in the October 1997 issue (No. 9), along with an essay by Jared Taylor on "race, lies and diversity" (translated from his American Renaissance newsletter).

The seven-page lead article in the August 1995 issue traces the little-known history of militant Zionist groups in Europe from the 1930s to the present, including the working alliance between National Socialism and Zionism during the 1930s. Accompanying the article, which is based on an impressive recent book by Emmanuel Ratier, *Les Guerriers d'Israel* ("The Warriors of Israel"), are striking photographs of uniformed young Jewish men, members of the militantly Zionist "Be-tar" organization. Such groups were not only tolerated in Third Reich Germany, but were encouraged by the regime.

Other items in this issue deal with the elusive "gas chamber" at the Struthof-Natzweiler camp in French Alsace, and the emotion-laden question of differences of intelligence and behavior between races.

For further information, write: *L'Autre Histoire*, BP 3, 35134 Coesmes, Bretagne, France.

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Will Rogers on American 'Moral Leadership' and Foreign Adventurism

'The More Things Change ...'

Until his death in an airplane crash in 1935, Will Rogers delighted Americans with his witty and astute commentary on social and political issues of the day. The following excerpts from his syndicated newspaper columns and radio broadcasts between 1925 and 1935 were compiled by Bryan B. Sterling and Frances N. Sterling, who have published eight books and a play about the “cowboy philosopher.” This collection of excerpts first appeared in the Los Angeles Times, April 28, 1996.

Europe has got a thing that America always falls for, and that's when they tell us they want our “moral leadership.” That's almost like telling an old man he's got sex appeal. It's a line of bunk that this country falls for and always has. Our delegates swell out their chests and really believe that the world is just hanging by a thread.

It has just become almost impossible for a country to have a nice, home-talent little revolution among themselves, without us butting into it. But here we go again. If we ever pass out as a great nation, we ought to put on our tombstone: “America died from a delusion that she had moral leadership.”

Now you can't pick up a paper without reading where our Marines have landed to keep some nations from shooting each other, and if necessary we shoot them to keep them from shooting each other. America has a great habit of always talking about protecting American interests in some foreign country. Protect them here at home. There are more American interests right here than anywhere. What would we say if the Chinese was to send a gunboat up the Mississippi?

Those little Balkan nations, they are like a mess of stray terriers anyhow, they just as well be fighting. I remember when I was over in Europe in the summer of '26, why, they were growling at each other like fat prima donnas on the same opera bill. I hit upon a half dozen of those Balkan nations and Yugoslavia. Now did you know they got their two bands of people, called the Serbians and the Croats? Well, the Croats, they say they are downtrodden. The one thing their whole country is united in, is that they hate Italy.

Now Serbia, she don't want to lose her reputation — they want to go down in history as having started all the wars. You see, the whole mess of 'em, they have no more love for each other than a litter of hyenas. They either lost or gained territory during a war, and they feel — those that did gain — that in another war they could grab off even more, and the ones that lost can't see how

they could possibly make that mistake again. You see, you can't just sit down and cut out a nation on the map. You don't know how many people in any country are pulling for a revolution, for they have a great amount of dissatisfied people in them. The more nations you create, the more chances you have of war. That's self-disintegration of small nations.

You know, we haven't got any business in those faraway wars. Seven thousand miles is a long way to go to shoot somebody, especially if you are not right sure they need shooting, and you are not sure whether you are shooting the right side or not. You see, it's their war and they have a right to fight it as they see fit, without any advice from us.

When we start out trying to make everybody have moral elections, why, it just don't look like we are going to have Marines enough to go Round 1. Why, if it wasn't for the movies picturing Marines going from one country to another, we would never know what they looked like. I had an unusual experience the other day — I seen a Marine in America.

If we keep our nose clean and don't start yapping about somebody else's honor or what our moral obligations are, we might not get dragged into it. But it's going to take better statesmanship than we have been favored with heretofore.

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Book review

Probing Look at 'Capital Punishment Industry' Affirms Expertise of Auschwitz Investigator Leuchter

- *The Execution Protocol: Inside America's Capital Punishment Industry*, by Stephen Trombly. Hardcover. New York: Crown, 1992. (Softcover. New York: Anchor Books, 1993.) 342 pages. Photographs. Index.

Reviewed by [Mark Weber](#)

When French professor Robert Faurisson and other revisionist skeptics first began asking tough questions about how, precisely, the infamous gas chambers at Auschwitz were built and operated, defenders of the Holocaust story responded by declaring that such inquiries were simply not permissible. In a statement issued in February 1979, and published in the prominent French daily *Le Monde*, a group of 34 French intellectuals boldly declared: “The question of how technically such a mass murder was possible should not be raised. It was technically possible because it occurred... There is not nor can there be a debate over the existence of the gas chambers.”

While the Holocaust lobby was suppressing awkward questions about the principal murder weapon used in what is said to be history's greatest crime, skeptics organized their own forensic investigations. The first and most important of these was conducted in February 1988 by an American execution hardware specialist named Fred Leuchter.

In April 1988 Leuchter testified under oath about his investigation and findings at the “Holocaust trial” in Toronto of German-born publisher Ernst Zündel. In a document that is now widely known simply as *The Leuchter Report*, he laid out his findings in detail, explaining each step of his on-site investigation. “It is the best engineering opinion of this author,” his Report concluded, “that the alleged gas chambers at the inspected sites could not have then been, or now be, utilized or seriously considered to function as execution gas chambers.”

Leuchter's findings, which have been subsequently confirmed by other independent forensic investigators, shatter the keystone of the Holocaust legend — the Auschwitz gassing story.

With many tens of thousands of copies of *The Leuchter Report* in circulation around the world, in all the major languages, and through speeches (including addresses at the IHR Conferences of 1989, 1990 and 1992), the impact of this one man's work has been tremendous.

Damage Control

Alarmed by this, the “Never Forgive, Never Forget” brigade wasted no time taking counter-measures. “Nazi hunter” Beate Klarsfeld announced that Fred Leuchter “has to understand that in

denying the Holocaust, he cannot remain unpunished.”

Jewish organizations launched a vicious smear campaign to destroy his reputation and ability to make a living. Leading the charge was Shelly Shapiro and her group, “Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice,” which called Leuchter a fraud and imposter, claiming he lacked qualifications as an execution equipment specialist. (For more on this, see the Winter 1992-93 Journal, pp. 421-492.)

With the cooperation of mainstream journalists and editors, this campaign was successful. Leuchter’s contracts with state governments to manufacture, install and service execution hardware were cancelled, and he was driven into semi-hiding, forced from his home in Massachusetts to take up private work elsewhere. No American has suffered more for his defiance of the Holocaust lobby.

Incontestable Expertise

In spite of the widely disseminated lies about his competence, the facts are incontestable. A feature article in *The Atlantic Monthly* (Feb. 1990), for example, factually described Leuchter as

the nation’s only commercial supplier of execution equipment ... A trained and accomplished engineer, he is versed in all types of execution equipment. He makes lethal-injection machines, gas chambers, and gallows, as well as electrocution systems ...

Similarly, a lengthy *New York Times* article (Oct. 13, 1990), complete with a front-page photo of Leuchter, called him “the nation’s leading adviser on capital punishment.”

An In-Depth Look

The most detailed treatment of Leuchter and his career is provided in *The Execution Protocol*, a examination of the US system of capital punishment by an English-born writer and film-maker who lives in Los Angeles and London. This disturbing but fascinating book is based on extensive interviews with individuals on both sides of what author Stephen Trombley calls “America’s Capital Punishment Industry.”

The book’s prominent treatment of Leuchter relies heavily on a lengthy interview with him at his home and workplace near Boston. Included are photographs showing Leuchter by the control module of his lethal injection machine, and pictures of an electric chair and an lethal injection apparatus he built.

Refuting the main lies that have been spread about him, Trombley confirms (p. 9) that Leuchter is, in fact, “America’s first and foremost supplier of execution hardware. His products include electric chairs, gas chambers, gallows, and lethal injection machines. He offers design, construction, installation, staff training and maintenance.” Leuchter also has a number of impressive inventions to his credit, Trombley notes (pp. 35, 71), including a “modular electric chair — the most advanced ever built,” and the lethal injection machine “by which executions are now carried out in five states.”

Trombley takes a close look at each of five methods of execution that are used in the three dozen states where capital crimes are punished by death: lethal injection, electric chair, gas chamber, firing squad and hanging. Tracing the history and problems of each method, he explains in grim

detail just how things can go wrong in an execution. As it happens, quite a few executions are botched, resulting in deaths that are painful for the prisoner and terrifying for witnesses.

If the rope used to hang a prisoner is not just the right length, thickness or strength, the prisoner can slowly and painfully strangle to death (rather than die instantly with a broken neck). In some botched cases the prisoner is decapitated, or the rope snaps, causing the terrified but still conscious prisoner to plunge to the ground. Firing squads sometimes miss the target pinned to the prisoner's heart, causing him to slowly bleed to death. Even under ideal conditions, firing squad executions are messy. An improperly built or maintained electric chair will literally fry the condemned prisoner, causing excruciating pain. Gas chamber executions are especially likely to be botched, with the condemned prisoner dying in painful, drawn out agony.

Gas Chamber Dangers

Killing someone in a gas chamber is very dangerous for those who carry out the execution, above all because the body of the dead prisoner is saturated with lethal gas. After the execution, explains Leuchter (p. 98), "You go in. The inmate has to be completely washed down with chlorine bleach or with ammonia. The poison exudes right out through his skin. And if you gave the body to an undertaker, you'd kill the undertaker. You've got to go in, you've got to completely wash the body."

Bill Armontrout, warden of the Missouri State Penitentiary in Jefferson City, confirms the danger (p. 102): "One of the things that cyanide gas does, it goes in the pores of your skin. You hose the body down, see. You have to use rubber gloves, and you hose the body down to decontaminate it before you do anything [else]." (Armontrout also testified as an expert witness in the 1988 Zündel trial in Toronto, confirming Leuchter's expertise as America's foremost gas chamber specialist.)

Gas chambers shouldn't be used at all, says Leuchter (p. 13): "They're dangerous. They're dangerous to the people who have to use them, and they're dangerous for the witnesses. They ought to take all of them and cut them in half with a chain saw and get rid of them." Of the five execution methods used in the United States, he prefers electrocution because it is the least painful, least problem prone, and least costly.

With a career built on the motto "Capital punishment, not capital torture," Leuchter takes pride in his work. He is glad to be able to ensure that condemned prisoners die painlessly, that the personnel who carry out executions are not endangered, and that taxpayer dollars are saved.

Fair Treatment

Trombley reports with remarkable fairness on Leuchter's investigations of "gas chambers" at the sites of wartime camps, his testimony in the 1988 Zündel trial, and the campaign against him, including his arrest and expulsion from Britain in November 1991.

Writing with praiseworthy restraint, Trombley volunteers no opinion of his own about Leuchter's controversial investigations on Zündel's behalf, or his motives in speaking out on this emotion-laden issue, but instead permits the execution hardware expert to speak for himself. Leuchter told the author that he when he agreed to carry out the Auschwitz investigation for Zündel, "he fully expected to find evidence of gas chambers" and "was surprised that he didn't." (p. 93)

In response to the author's question, "Do you believe that the Holocaust happened?," Leuchter said (p. 94):

I believed there had been a Holocaust. I believed I would find gas chambers. I told Ernst Zündel — he was positive I wouldn't find them — I told him that if I did find them, or even that [if] these facilities had the capability of being gas chambers, I was going to report such. I was like most Americans and probably most people all over the world, they believed that it happened. I believed what I'd been taught in school. I know that the facilities that everybody points to weren't gas chambers.

I think probably there was a Holocaust, but I think it depends upon how one defines "Holocaust." There are serious questions that have to be asked and answered about that whole period in our history ...

Because the author was sloppy in checking facts, this book is not without defects. A good example is the way he confuses British historian David Irving with French scholar Robert Faurisson (pp. 84-85). Trombley tells readers that Irving

had long maintained that a study of executions by lethal gas in the United States would help to "prove" that the Nazi gas chambers never existed. He argued that American prisons are the only place where cyanide gas has been used to kill human beings deliberately; and that American prison wardens who have carried out gas executions could be important sources of evidence which could disprove the Holocaust "myth."

Trombley goes on to assert that Irving contacted Leuchter to carry out the investigation for the Zündel trial. In fact, it was Faurisson who had long stressed the importance of US gas chambers in understanding the alleged wartime German gas facilities. And it was Faurisson, not Irving, who first established contact with Leuchter in early 1988.

Trombley also asserts that The Leuchter Report has been published in the United States by the "Institute for Historical Research" (p. 87). While it is true that the Institute for Historical Review distributes the Report, it is actually published by others.

In spite of such flaws, this well written and balanced work performs an important service, not least because it authoritatively establishes that Fred Leuchter was indeed "America's first and foremost supplier of execution hardware" at the time he carried out his forensic on-site investigation of the Auschwitz "gas chambers." The Execution Protocol thus vindicates Leuchter and those who have defended him, and debunks the most mendacious of the Holocaust lobby's many lies about him.

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Wilhelm Furtwängler and Music in the Third Reich

Antony Charles

Not only during his lifetime, but also in the decades since his death in 1954, Wilhelm Furtwängler has been globally recognized as one of the greatest musicians of this century, above all as the brilliant primary conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic orchestra, which he led from 1922 to 1945, and again after 1950. On his death, the Encyclopaedia Britannica commented: “By temperament a Wagnerian, his restrained dynamism, superb control of his orchestra and mastery of sweeping rhythms also made him an outstanding exponent of Beethoven.” Furtwängler was also a composer of merit.

Underscoring his enduring greatness have been several recent in-depth biographies and a successful 1996 Broadway play, “Taking Sides,” that portrays his postwar “denazification” purgatory, as well as steadily strong sales of CD recordings of his performances (some of them available only in recent years). Furtwängler societies are active in the United States, France, Britain, Germany and other countries. His overall reputation, however, especially in America, is still a controversial one.

Following the National Socialist seizure of power in 1933, some prominent musicians — most notably such Jewish artists as Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer and Arnold Schoenberg — left Germany. Most of the nation’s musicians, however, including the great majority of its most gifted musical talents, remained — and even flourished. With the possible exception of the composer Richard Strauss, Furtwängler was the most prominent musician to stay and “collaborate.”

Consequently, discussion of his life — even today — still provokes heated debate about the role of art and artists under Hitler and, on a more fundamental level, about the relationship of art and politics.

A Non-Political Patriot

Wilhelm Furtwängler drew great inspiration from his homeland’s rich cultural heritage, and his world revolved around music, especially German music. Although essentially non-political, he was an ardent patriot, and leaving his fatherland was simply out of the question.

Ideologically he may perhaps be best characterized as a man of the “old” Germany — a Wilhelmine conservative and an authoritarian elitist. Along with the great majority of his countrymen, he welcomed the demise of the ineffectual democratic regime of Germany’s “Weimar republic” (1918-1933). Indeed, he was the conductor chosen to direct the gala performance of Wagner’s “Die Meistersinger” for the “Day of Potsdam,” a solemn state ceremony on March 21, 1933, at which President von Hindenburg, the youthful new Chancellor Adolf Hitler and the newly-elected Reichstag formally ushered in the new government of “national awakening.” All

the same, Furtwängler never joined the National Socialist Party (unlike his chief musical rival, fellow conductor Herbert von Karajan).

It wasn't long before Furtwängler came into conflict with the new authorities. In a public dispute in late 1934 with Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels over artistic direction and independence, he resigned his positions as director of the Berlin Philharmonic and as head of the Berlin State Opera. Soon, however, a compromise agreement was reached whereby he resumed his posts, along with a measure of artistic independence. He was also able to exploit both his prestigious position and the artistic and jurisdictional rivalries between Goebbels and Göring to play a greater and more independent role in the cultural life of Third Reich Germany.

From then on, until the Reich's defeat in the spring of 1945, he continued to conduct to much acclaim both at home and abroad (including, for example, a highly successful concert tour of Britain in 1935). He was also a guest conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic, 1939-1940, and at the Bayreuth Festival. On several occasions he led concerts in support of the German war effort. He also nominally served as a member of the Prussian State Council and as vice-president of the "Reich Music Chamber," the state-sponsored professional musicians' association.

Throughout the Third Reich era, Furtwängler's eminent influence on Europe's musical life never diminished.

Cultural Vitality

For Americans conditioned to believe that nothing of real cultural or artistic merit was produced in Germany during the Hitler era, the phrase "Nazi art" is an oxymoron — a contradiction in terms. The reality, though, is not so simple, and it is gratifying to note that some progress is being made to set straight the historical record.

This is manifest, for example, in the publication in recent years of two studies that deal extensively with Furtwängler, and which generally defend his conduct during the Third Reich: *The Devil's Music Master* by Sam Shirakawa [reviewed in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal, pp. 41-43] and *Trial of Strength* by Fred K. Prieberg. These revisionist works not only contest the widely accepted perception of the place of artists and arts in the Third Reich, they express a healthy striving for a more factual and objective understanding of the reality of National Socialist Germany.

Prieberg's *Trial of Strength* concentrates almost entirely on Furtwängler's intricate dealings with Goebbels, Göring, Hitler and various other figures in the cultural life of the Third Reich. In so doing, he demonstrates that in spite of official measures to "coordinate" the arts, the regime also permitted a surprising degree of artistic freedom. Even the anti-Jewish racial laws and regulations were not always applied with rigor, and exceptions were frequent. (Among many instances that could be cited, Leo Blech retained his conducting post until 1937, in spite of his Jewish ancestry.) Furtwängler exploited this situation to intervene successfully in a number of cases on behalf of artists, including Jews, who were out of favor with the regime. He also championed Paul Hindemith, a "modern" composer whose music was regarded as degenerate.

The artists and musicians who left the country (especially the Jewish ones) contended that without them, Germany's cultural life would collapse. High culture, they and other critics of Hitler and his regime arrogantly believed, would wither in an ardently nationalist and authoritarian state. As Prieberg notes: "The musicians who emigrated or were thrown out of Germany from 1933 onwards indeed felt they were irreplaceable and in consequence believed firmly that

Hitler's Germany would, following their departure, become a dreary and empty cultural wasteland. This would inevitably cause the rapid collapse of the regime."

Time would prove the critics wrong. While it is true that the departure of such artists as Fritz Busch and Bruno Walter did hurt initially (and dealt a blow to German prestige), the nation's most renowned musicians — including Richard Strauss, Carl Orff, Karl Böhm, Hans Pfitzner, Wilhelm Kempff, Elizabeth Schwarzkopf, Herbert von Karajan, Anton Webern, as well as Furtwängler — remained to produce musical art of the highest standards. Regardless of the emigration of a number of Jewish and a few non-Jewish artists, as well as the promulgation of sweeping anti-Jewish restrictions, Germany's cultural life not only continued at a high level, it flourished.

The National Socialists regarded art, and especially music, as an expression of a society's soul, character and ideals. A widespread appreciation of Germany's cultural achievements, they believed, encouraged a joyful national pride and fostered a healthy sense of national unity and mission. Because they regarded themselves as guardians of their nation's cultural heritage, they opposed liberal, modernistic trends in music and the other arts, as degenerate assaults against the cultural-spiritual traditions of Germany and the West.

Acting swiftly to promote a broad revival of the nation's cultural life, the new National Socialist government made prodigious efforts to further the arts and, in particular, music. As detailed in two recent studies (Kater's *The Twisted Muse* and Levi's *Music in the Third Reich*), not only did the new leadership greatly increase state funding for such important cultural institutions as the Berlin Philharmonic and the Bayreuth Wagner Festival, it used radio, recordings and other means to make Germany's musical heritage as accessible as possible to all its citizens.

As part of its efforts to bring art to the people, it strove to erase classical music's snobbish and "class" image, and to make it widely familiar and enjoyable, especially to the working class. At the same time, the new regime's leaders were mindful of popular musical tastes. Thus, by far most of the music heard during the Third Reich era on the radio or in films was neither classical nor even traditional. Light music with catchy tunes — similar to those popular with listeners elsewhere in Europe and in the United States — predominated on radio and in motion pictures, especially during the war years.

The person primarily responsible for implementing the new cultural policies was Joseph Goebbels. In his positions as Propaganda Minister and head of the "Reich Culture Chamber," the umbrella association for professionals in cultural life, he promoted music, literature, painting and film in keeping with German values and traditions, while at the same time consistent with popular tastes.

Hitler's Attitude

No political leader had a keener interest in art, or was a more enthusiastic booster of his nation's musical heritage than Hitler, who regarded the compositions of Beethoven, Wagner, Bruckner and the other German masters as sublime expressions of the Germanic "soul."

Hitler's reputation as a bitter, second rate "failed artist" is undeserved. As John Lukacs acknowledges in his recently published work, *The Hitler of History* (pp. 70-72), the German leader was a man of real artistic talent and considerable artistic discernment.

We perhaps can never fully understand Hitler and the spirit behind his political movement without knowing that he drew great inspiration from, and identified with, the heroic figures of European legend who fought to liberate their peoples from tyranny, and whose stories are immortalized in the great musical dramas of Wagner and others.

This was vividly brought out by August Kubizek, Hitler's closest friend as a teenager and young man, in his postwar memoir (published in the US under the title *The Young Hitler I Knew*). Kubizek describes how, after the two young men together attended for the first time a performance in Linz of Wagner's opera "Rienzi," Hitler spoke passionately and at length about how this work's inspiring story of a popular Roman tribune had so deeply moved him. Years later, after he had become Chancellor, he related to Kubizek how that performance of "Rienzi" had radically changed his life. "In that hour it began," he confided.

Hitler of course recognized Furtwängler's greatness and understood his significance for Germany and German music. Thus, when other officials (including Himmler) complained of the conductor's nonconformity, Hitler overrode their objections. Until the end, Furtwängler remained his favorite conductor. He was similarly indulgent toward his favorite heldentenor, Max Lorenz, and Wagnerian soprano Frida Leider, each of whom was married to a Jew. Their cultural importance trumped racial or political considerations.

Postwar Humiliations

A year and a half after the end of the war in Europe, Furtwängler was brought before a humiliating "denazification" tribunal. Staged by American occupation authorities and headed by a Communist, it was a farce. So much vital information was withheld from both the tribunal and the defendant that, Shirakawa suggests, the occupation authorities may well have been determined to "get" the conductor.

In his closing remarks at the hearing, Furtwängler defiantly defended his record:

The fear of being misused for propaganda purposes was wiped out by the greater concern for preserving German music as far as was possible ... I could not leave Germany in her deepest misery. To get out would have been a shameful flight. After all, I am a German, whatever may be thought of that abroad, and I do not regret having done it for the German people.

Even with a prejudiced judge and serious gaps in the record, the tribunal was still unable to establish a credible case against the conductor, and he was, in effect, cleared.

A short time later, Furtwängler was invited to assume direction of the Chicago Symphony. (He was no stranger to the United States: in 1927-29 he had served as visiting conductor of the New York Philharmonic.)

On learning of the invitation, America's Jewish cultural establishment launched an intense campaign — spearheaded by *The New York Times*, musicians Artur Schnabel and Vladimir Horowitz, and New York critic Ira Hirschmann — to scuttle Furtwängler's appointment. As described in detail by Shirakawa and writer Daniel Gillis (in *Furtwängler and America*) the campaigners used falsehoods, innuendos and even death threats.

Typical of its emotionally charged rhetoric was the bitter reproach of Chicago Rabbi Morton Berman:

Furtwängler preferred to swear fealty to Hitler. He accepted at Hitler's hands his reappointment as director of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. He was unfailing in his service to Goebbels' ministry of culture and propaganda ... The token saving of a few Jewish lives does not excuse Mr. Furtwängler from official, active participation in a regime which murdered six million Jews and millions of non-Jews. Furtwängler is a symbol of all those hateful things for the defeat of which the youth of our city and nation paid an ineffable price.

Among prominent Jews in classical music, only the famous violinist Yehudi Menuhin defended the German artist. After Furtwängler was finally obliged to withdraw his name from consideration for the Chicago post, a disillusioned Moshe Menuhin, Yehudi's father, scathingly denounced his co-religionists. Furtwängler, he declared,

was a victim of envious and jealous rivals who had to resort to publicity, to smear, to calumny, in order to keep him out of America so it could remain their private bailiwick. He was the victim of the small fry and puny souls among concert artists, who, in order to get a bit of national publicity, joined the bandwagon of professional idealists, the professional Jews and hired hands who irresponsibly assaulted an innocent and humane and broad-minded man ...

A Double Standard

Third Reich Germany is so routinely demonized in our society that any acknowledgment of its cultural achievements is regarded as tantamount to defending "fascism" and that most unpardonable of sins, anti-Semitism. But as Professor John London suggests (in an essay in *The Jewish Quarterly*, "Why Bother about Fascist Culture?," Autumn 1995), this simplistic attitude can present awkward problems:

Far from being a totally ugly, unpopular, destructive entity, culture under fascism was sometimes accomplished, indeed beautiful ... If you admit the presence, and in some instances the richness, of a culture produced under fascist regimes, then you are not defending their ethos. On the other hand, once you start dismissing elements, where do you stop?

In this regard, is it worth comparing the way that many media and cultural leaders treat artists of National Socialist Germany with their treatment of the artists of Soviet Russia. Whereas Furtwängler and other artists who performed in Germany during the Hitler era are castigated for their cooperation with the regime, Soviet-era musicians, such as composers Aram Khachaturian and Sergei Prokofiev, and conductors Evgeny Svetlanov and Evgeny Mravinsky — all of whom toadied to the Communist regime in varying degrees — are rarely, if ever, chastised for their "collaboration." The double standard that is clearly at work here is, of course, a reflection of our society's obligatory concern for Jewish sensitivities.

The artist and his work occupy a unique place in society and history. Although great art can never be entirely divorced from its political or social environment, it must be considered apart from that. In short, art transcends politics.

No reasonable person would denigrate the artists and sculptors of ancient Greece because they glorified a society that, by today's standards, was hardly democratic. Similarly, no one belittles the builders of medieval Europe's great cathedrals on the grounds that the social order of the Middle Ages was dogmatic and hierarchical. No cultured person would disparage William

Shakespeare because he flourished during England's fervently nationalistic and anti-Jewish Elizabethan age. Nor does anyone chastise the magnificent composers of Russia's Tsarist era because they prospered under an autocratic regime. In truth, mankind's greatest cultural achievements have most often been the products not of liberal or egalitarian societies, but rather of quite undemocratic ones.

A close look at the life and career of Wilhelm Furtwängler reveals "politically incorrect" facts about the role of art and artists in Third Reich Germany, and reminds us that great artistic creativity and achievement are by no means the exclusive products of democratic societies.

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A Note on Wartime Recordings

Among the most historically fascinating and sought-after recordings of Wilhelm Furtwängler performances are his live wartime concerts with the Berlin and Vienna Philharmonic orchestras. Many were recorded by the Reich Broadcasting Company on magnetophonic tape with comparatively good sound quality. Music & Arts (Berkeley, California) and Tahra (France) have specialized in releasing good quality CD recordings of these performances. Among the most noteworthy are:

Beethoven, Third "Eroica" Symphony (1944) — Tahra 1031 or Music & Arts CD 814

Beethoven, Fifth Symphony (1943) — Tahra set 1032/33, which also includes Furtwängler's performances of this same symphony from 1937 and 1954.

Beethoven, Ninth "Choral" Symphony (1942) — Music & Arts CD 653 or Tahra 1004/7.

Brahms, Four Symphonies — Music & Arts set CD 941 (includes two January 1945 performances, Furtwängler's last during the war).

Bruckner, Fifth Symphony (1942) — Music & Arts CD 538

Bruckner, Ninth Symphony (1944) — Music & Arts CD 730 (also available in Europe on Deutsche Gramophon CD, and in the USA as an import item).

R. Strauss, "Don Juan" (1942), and Four Songs, with Peter Anders (1942), etc. — Music & Arts CD 829.

Wagner, “Die Meistersinger:” Act I, Prelude (1943), and “Tristan und Isolde:” Prelude and Liebestod (1942), etc. — Music & Arts CD 794.

Wagner, “Der Ring des Nibelungen,” excerpts from “Die Walküre” and “Gotterdammerung” — Music & Arts set CD 1035 (although not from the war years, these 1937 Covent Garden performances are legendary)

“Great Conductors of the Third Reich: Art in the Service of Evil” is a worthwhile 53-minute VHS videocassette produced by the Bel Canto Society (New York). Released in 1997, it is distributed by Allegro (Portland, Oregon). It features footage of Furtwängler conducting Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony for Hitler’s birthday celebration in April 1942. He is also shown conducting at Bayreuth, and leading a concert for wounded soldiers and workers at an AEG factory during the war. Although the notes are highly tendentious, the rare film footage is fascinating.

About the author:

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Life Styles: Native and Imposed

'The Blame of Those Ye Better'

Kevin Beary

For decades now, African American leaders have been calling for a formal United States apology for the American role in the slave trade, with some even demanding reparations. Indian tribes proclaim their tax-exempt status as something they are owed for a legacy of persecution by the United States. Mexican Americans in the southwest United States seek to incorporate this region, including California, into Mexico, or even to set up an independent nation, Aztlan, that will recreate the glories of the Aztec empire, destroyed centuries ago by the imperialistic Spaniards.

That we live in an age of grievance and victimhood is not news. But did these peoples — these Mexican-Americans, these Native Americans, these African-Americans — really lose more than they gained in their confrontation with the West? Were they robbed of nobility, and coarsened? Or did White subjugation force them to shed savagery and barbarousness, and bring them, however unwillingly, into civilized humanity?

Today our children are being taught that the people who lived in the pre-Columbian Western Hemisphere were not “merciless Indian savages” (as Jefferson calls them in the Declaration of Independence), many of whom delighted in torture and cannibalism, but rather spiritually enlightened “native Americans” whose wise and peaceful nobility was rudely destroyed by invading European barbarians; that the Aztecs were not practitioners of human sacrifice and cannibalism on a scale so vast that the mind of the 20th-century American can hardly comprehend it, but rather defenders of an advanced civilization that was destroyed by brutal Spanish conquistadores; and that Africans were not uncultured slave traders and cannibals, but unappreciated builders of great empires.

But just how did these peoples live before they came into contact with Europeans? Although historical myth is ever more rapidly replacing factual history, not only in popular culture but also in our schools and universities, we may still find accurate historical accounts buried in larger libraries or in used book stores.

Aztec Civilization

In his famous work, *The Conquest of New Spain*, Bernal Diaz del Castillo describes the march on Mexico with his captain, Hernan Cortés, in 1519. The Spanish forces set out from the Gulf of Mexico, and one of the first towns they visited was Cempoala, situated near the coast, where Cortés told the chiefs that “they would have to abandon their idols which they mistakenly believed in and worshipped, and sacrifice no more souls to them.” As Diaz relates:

Every day they sacrificed before our eyes three, four, or five Indians, whose hearts were offered to those idols, and whose blood was plastered on the walls. The feet, arms, and legs of their victims were cut off and eaten, just as we eat beef from the butcher's in our country. I even believe that they sold it in the tianguetz or markets.

Of their stay in Tenochtitlan, the present-day Mexico City and the heart of the Aztec empire, Diaz writes that Emperor Montezuma's servants prepared for their master

more than thirty dishes cooked in their native style ... I have heard that they used to cook him the flesh of young boys. But as he had such a variety of dishes, made of so many different ingredients, we could not tell whether a dish was of human flesh or anything else ... I know for certain, however, that after our Captain spoke against the sacrifice of human beings and the eating of their flesh, Montezuma ordered that it should no longer be served to him.

In renouncing cannibalism, was Montezuma cooperating in the destruction of his Aztec "cultural roots," or was he aiding a victory of civilized custom over barbaric?

A few pages later, Diaz provides a detailed description of

the manner of their [that is, the Aztecs'] sacrifices. They strike open the wretched Indian's chest with flint knives and hastily tear out the palpitating heart which, with the blood, they present to the idols in whose name they have performed the sacrifice. Then they cut off the arms, thighs, and head, eating the arms and thighs at their ceremonial banquets. The head they hang up on a beam, and the body of the sacrificed man is not eaten but given to the beasts of prey.

Diaz also describes the great market of Tenochtitlan, and its

dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feather, cloaks, and embroidered goods, and male and female slaves who are also sold there. They bring as many slaves to be sold in that market as the Portuguese bring Negroes from Guinea. Some are brought there attached to long poles by means of collars round their necks to prevent them from escaping, but others are left loose.

Plainly it was the Spanish who stamped out human sacrifice and cannibalism among the people of pre-Cortesian Mexico. As for slavery, it is as obvious that the Europeans did not introduce it to the New World as it is that they eradicated it, albeit not immediately. Moreover, the moral impulse to end slavery came from the West, specifically out of England. Had the Aztecs, Indians, and Africans been left to their own devices, slavery might well have endured in North and South America, as it does in parts of present-day Africa.

North American Natives

In his epic work *France and England in North America*, the great American historian Francis Parkman describes the early 17th-century recreational and culinary habits of the Iroquois Indians (also known as the Five Nations, from whom, some will have it, the United States derived elements of its Constitution). He tells that the Iroquois, along with other tribes of northeastern United States and Canada, "were undergoing that process of extermination, absorption, or expatriation, which, as there is reason to believe, had for many generations formed the gloomy and meaningless history of the greater part of this continent." Parkman describes an attack by the Iro-

quois on an Algonquin hunting party, late in the autumn of 1641, and the Iroquois' treatment of their prisoners and victims:

They bound the prisoners hand and foot, rekindled the fire, slung the kettles, cut the bodies of the slain to pieces, and boiled and devoured them before the eyes of the wretched survivors. "In a word," says the narrator [that is, the Algonquin woman who escaped to tell the tale], "they ate men with as much appetite and more pleasure than hunters eat a boar or a stag ..."

The conquerors feasted in the lodge till nearly daybreak ... then began their march homeward with their prisoners. Among these were three women, of whom the narrator was one, who had each a child of a few weeks or months old. At the first halt, their captors took the infants from them, tied them to wooden spits, placed them to die slowly before a fire, and feasted on them before the eyes of the agonized mothers, whose shrieks, supplications, and frantic efforts to break the cords that bound them were met with mockery and laughter ...

The Iroquois arrived at their village with their prisoners, whose torture was

designed to cause all possible suffering without touching life. It consisted in blows with sticks and cudgels, gashing their limbs with knives, cutting off their fingers with clam-shells, scorching them with firebrands, and other indescribable torments. The women were stripped naked, and forced to dance to the singing of the male prisoners, amid the applause and laughter of the crowd ...

On the following morning, they were placed on a large scaffold, in sight of the whole population. It was a gala-day. Young and old were gathered from far and near. Some mounted the scaffold, and scorched them with torches and firebrands; while the children, standing beneath the bark platform, applied fire to the feet of the prisoners between the crevices ... The stoicism of one of the warriors enraged his captors beyond measure ... they fell upon him with redoubled fury, till their knives and firebrands left in him no semblance of humanity. He was defiant to the last, and when death came to his relief, they tore out his heart and devoured it; then hacked him in pieces, and made their feast of triumph on his mangled limbs.

All the men and all the old women of the party were put to death in a similar manner, though but few displayed the same amazing fortitude. The younger women, of whom there were about thirty, after passing their ordeal of torture, were permitted to live; and, disfigured as they were, were distributed among the several villages, as concubines or slaves to the Iroquois warriors. Of this number were the narrator and her companion, who ... escaped at night into the forest ...

Of the above account, Parkman writes: "Revolting as it is, it is necessary to recount it. Suffice it to say, that it is sustained by the whole body of contemporary evidence in regard to the practices of the Iroquois and some of the neighboring tribes."

The "large scaffold" on which the prisoners were placed, is elsewhere in his narrative referred to by Parkman as the Indians' "torture-scaffolds of bark," the Indian equivalent of the European theatrical stage, while the tortures performed by the Indians on their neighbors — and on the odd missionary who happened to fall their way — were the noble savages' equivalent of the European stage play.

If the descendants of the New England tribes now devote their time to selling tax-free cigarettes, running roulette wheels or dealing out black jack hands, rather than to the capture, torture, and consumption of their neighboring tribesmen, should we not give thanks to those brave Jesuits who sacrificed all to redeem these “native Americans”?

Native Africans

What kind of life did the African live in his native land, before he was brought to America and introduced to Western civilization? That slavery was widely practiced in Africa before the coming of the white man is beyond dispute. But what sort of indigenous civilization did the African enjoy?

In *A Slaver's Log Book*, which chronicles the author's experiences in Africa during the 1820s and 1830s, Captain Theophilus Conneau (or Canot) describes a tribal victory celebration in a town he visited after an attack by a neighboring tribe:

On invading the town, some of the warriors had found in the Chief's house several jars of rum, and now the bottle went round with astonishing rapidity. The ferocious and savage dance was then suggested. The war bells and horns had sounded the arrival of the female warriors, who on the storming of a town generally make their entry in time to participate in the division of the human flesh; and as the dead and wounded were ready for the knife, in they came like furies and in the obscene perfect state of nakedness, performed the victorious dance which for its cruelties and barbarities has no parallel.

Some twenty-five in number made their appearance with their faces and naked bodies besmeared with chalk and red paint. Each one bore a trophy of their cannibal nature. The matron or leader ... bore an infant babe newly torn from its mother's womb and which she tossed high in the air, receiving it on the point of her knife. Other Medeas followed, all bearing some mutilated member of the human frame.

Rum, powder, and blood, a mixture drunk with avidity by these Bacchantes, had rendered them drunk, and the brutal dance had intoxicated them to madness. Each was armed also with some tormenting instrument, and not content with the butchering outside of the town of the fugitive women, they now surrounded the pile of the wounded prisoners, long kept in suspense for the coup de grâce. A ring was formed by the two-legged tigresses, and accompanied by hideous yells and encouraging cry of the men, the round dance began. The velocity of the whirling soon broke the hideous circle, when each one fell on his victims and the massacre began. Men and women fell to dispatching the groaning wounded with the most disgusting cruelties.

I have seen the tiger pounce on the inoffensive gazelle and in its natural propensity of love of blood, strangle its victim, satiate its thirst, and often abandon the dead animal. But not so with these female cannibals. The living and dying had to endure a tormenting and barbarous mutilation, the women showing more cannibal nature in the dissection of the dead than the stronger sex. The coup de grâce was given by the men, but in one instance the victim survived a few minutes when one of those female furies tormented the agony of the dying man by prostrating herself on his body and there acting the beast of double backs.

The matron, commander of these anthropagies, with her fifty years and corpulous body, led the cruelties on by her example. The unborn babe had been put aside for a *bonne bouche*, and now adorned with a string of men's genital parts, she was collecting into a gourd the brains of the decapitated bodies. While the disgusting operating went on, the men carved the solid flesh from the limbs of the dead, throwing the entrails aside.

About noon the butchering was at an end, and a general barbecuing took place. The smell of human flesh, so disgusting to civilized man, was to them the pleasing odor so peculiarly agreeable to a gastronomer ...

The barbecuing over, an anthropagous repast took place, when the superabundant preserved flesh was packed up in plantain leaves to be sent into the Interior for the warriors' friends. I am silent on the further cruelties that were practiced this day on the unfortunate infirm and wounded that the different scouting parties brought in during the day, supposing the reader to be sick enough at heart at the above representation.

Vanishing History

This is the history that has been handed down to us by men who either were present when the recorded events took place — that is, Diaz and Conneau — or who had access to period documents — that is, Parkman. But this factual history has suffered greatly at the hands of politically correct myth-mongers. The books themselves are disappearing from the shelves: Conneau's book has been out of print for nearly a generation; perhaps Diaz's and Parkman's will follow in the next 20 years. In its place, the most absurd historical fantasies are substituted. As the seemingly inexorable forces of political correctness grind on, we may be left with as much knowledge of our true history as Orwell's Winston Smith had of his.

Were it not for their subjugation by Europeans, Mexicans would perhaps have continued to practice the Aztec traditions of slavery, human sacrifice and cannibalism; many American Indians would probably still be living their sad and perilous life of nomadism, subsistence farming, and warfare; and Africans would likely be expiring in even greater numbers on the fields of mayhem and slaughter (as the world has noted to its horror in Rwanda, Liberia and Congo), when not being bought and sold as slaves (as still is done in Sudan and Mauritania).

In his 1965 work, *The Course of Empire: The Arabs and their Successors*, the sagacious Glubb Pasha wrote in defense of Western colonialism:

Foreign military conquest has not only enabled backward people to acquire the skills and the culture of the conquerors, but it has often administered a salutary shock to the lethargic mentality of the inhabitants, among whom the desire to rise to equality with the foreigners has roused a new spirit of energy ... Britain has permeated Asia and Africa with her ideas of government, of law and of ordered civilization. The men of races who less than a hundred years ago were naked are now lawyers, doctors and statesmen on the stage of the world.

But if the present trend of denigrating the West's mission civilisatrice continues, the achievements of that great civilizing venture might well be squandered and lost forever. If we permit inhumane customs and mores to reassert themselves, the ultimate dissolution of the West itself is

not an impossibility. In his famous poem “White Man’s Burden,” Rudyard Kipling eloquently spelled out the fate of a culture that loses faith in itself and its mission:

And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch Sloth and heathen Folly
Turn all your hope to naught.

About the author:

Kevin Beary is a teacher who writes from his home in New York.

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The Noble Red Man

Mark Twain

The tendency to idealize the Indian is hardly new in American history. Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens), a master debunker of cant and hokum, voiced his contempt for worshipful depictions of America's aboriginal inhabitants in the following essay, which originally appeared in the September 1870 issue of *The Galaxy*.

In books he is tall and tawny, muscular, straight and of kingly presence; he has a beaked nose and an eagle eye.

His hair is glossy, and as black as the raven's wing; out of its massed richness springs a sheaf of brilliant feathers; in his ears and nose are silver ornaments; on his arms and wrists and ankles are broad silver bands and bracelets; his buckskin hunting suit is gallantly fringed, and the belt and the moccasins wonderfully flowered with colored beads; and when, rainbowed with his war-paint, he stands at full height, with his crimson blanket wrapped about him, his quiver at his back, his bow and tomahawk projecting upward from his folded arms, and his eagle eye gazing at specks against the far horizon which even the paleface's field-glass could scarcely reach, he is a being to fall down and worship.

His language is intensely figurative. He never speaks of the moon, but always of "the eye of the night;" nor of the wind as the wind, but as "the whisper of the Great Spirit;" and so forth and so on. His power of condensation is marvelous. In some publications he seldom says anything but "Waugh!" and this, with a page of explanation by the author, reveals a whole world of thought and wisdom that before lay concealed in that one little word.

He is noble. He is true and loyal; not even imminent death can shake his peerless faithfulness. His heart is a well-spring of truth, and of generous impulses, and of knightly magnanimity. With him, gratitude is religion; do him a kindness, and at the end of a lifetime he has not forgotten it. Eat of his bread, or offer him yours, and the bond of hospitality is sealed a bond which is forever inviolable with him.

He loves the dark-eyed daughter of the forest, the dusky maiden of faultless form and rich attire, the pride of the tribe, the all-beautiful. He talks to her in a low voice, at twilight of his deeds on the war-path and in the chase, and of the grand achievements of his ancestors; and she listens with downcast eyes, "while a richer hue mantles her dusky cheek."

Such is the Noble Red Man in print. But out on the plains and in the mountains, not being on dress parade, not being gotten up to see company, he is under no obligation to be other than his natural self, and therefore:

He is little, and scrawny, and black, and dirty, and, judged by even the most charitable of our canons of human excellence, is thoroughly pitiful and contemptible. There is nothing in his eye or his nose that is attractive, and if there is anything in his hair that — however, that is a feature which will not bear too close examination ... He wears no bracelets on his arms or ankles; his hunting suit is gallantly fringed, but not intentionally, when he does not wear his disgusting rabbitskin robe, his hunting suit consists wholly of the half of a horse blanket brought over in the Pinta or the Mayflower, and frayed out and fringed by inveterate use. He is not rich enough to possess a belt; he never owned a moccasin or wore a shoe in his life; and truly he is nothing but a poor, filthy, naked scurvy vagabond, whom to exterminate were a charity to the Creator's worthier insects and reptiles which he oppresses.

Still, when contact with the white man has given to the Noble Son of the Forest certain cloudy impressions of civilization, and aspirations after a nobler life, he presently appears in public with one boot on and one shoe — shirtless, and wearing ripped and patched and buttonless pants which he holds up with his left hand — his execrable rabbitskin robe flowing from his shoulder an old hoop-skirt on, outside of it — a necklace of battered sardine-boxes and oyster-cans reposing on his bare breast — a venerable flint-lock musket in his right hand — a weather-beaten stove-pipe hat on, canted “gallusly” to starboard, and the lid off and hanging by a thread or two; and when he thus appears, and waits patiently around a saloon till he gets a chance to strike a “swell” attitude before a looking-glass, he is a good, fair, desirable subject for extermination if ever there was one.

There is nothing figurative, or moonshiny, or sentimental about his language. It is very simple and unostentatious, and consists of plain, straightforward lies. His “wisdom” conferred upon an idiot would leave that idiot helpless indeed.

He is ignoble — base and treacherous, and hateful in every way. Not even imminent death can startle him into a spasm of virtue. The ruling trait of all savages is a greedy and consuming selfishness, and in our Noble Red Man it is found in its amplest development. His heart is a cesspool of falsehood, of treachery, and of low and devilish instincts. With him, gratitude is an unknown emotion; and when one does him a kindness, it is safest to keep the face toward him, lest the reward be an arrow in the back. To accept of a favor from him is to assume a debt which you can never repay to his satisfaction, though you bankrupt yourself trying. To give him a dinner when he is starving, is to precipitate the whole hungry tribe upon your hospitality, for he will go straight and fetch them, men, women, children, and dogs, and these they will huddle patiently around your door, or flatten their noses against your window, day after day, gazing beseechingly upon every mouthful you take, and unconsciously swallowing when you swallow! The scum of the earth!

And the Noble Son of the Plains becomes a mighty hunter in the due and proper season. That season is the summer, and the prey that a number of the tribes hunt is crickets and grasshoppers! The warriors, old men, women, and children, spread themselves abroad in the plain and drive the hopping creatures before them into a ring of fire. I could describe the feast that then follows, without missing a detail, if I thought the reader would stand it.

All history and honest observation will show that the Red Man is a skulking coward and a windy braggart, who strikes without warning — usually from an ambush or under cover of night, and nearly always bringing a force of about five or six to one against his enemy; kills helpless women and little children, and massacres the men in their beds; and then brags about it as long as he lives, and his son and his grandson and great-grandson after him glorify it among the “heroic deeds of their ancestors.” A regiment of Fenians will fill the whole world with the noise of it

when they are getting ready invade Canada; but when the Red Man declares war, the first intimation his friend the white man whom he supped with at twilight has of it, is when the war-whoop rings in his ears and tomahawk sinks into his brain...

The Noble Red Man seldom goes prating loving foolishness to a splendidly caparisoned blushing maid at twilight. No; he trades a crippled horse, or a damaged musket, or a dog, or a gallon of grasshoppers, and an inefficient old mother for her, and makes her work like an abject slave all the rest of her life to compensate him for the outlay. He never works himself. She builds the habitation, when they use one (it consists in hanging half a dozen rags over the weather side of a sage-brush bush to roost under); gathers and brings home the fuel; takes care of the raw-boned pony when they possess such grandeur; she walks and carries her nursing cubs while he rides. She wears no clothing save the fragrant rabbit-skin robe which her great-grandmother before her wore, and all the "blushing" she does can be removed with soap and a towel, provided it is only four or five weeks old and not caked.

Such is the genuine Noble Aborigine. I did not get him from books, but from personal observation.

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The Papon Trial

Robert Faurisson

On April 2, 1998, after the longest trial in all of French history, Maurice Papon, aged 87, was found guilty of complicity in “crimes against humanity,” and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment as well as ten years' privation of his civic, civil, and family rights. He was also stripped of all his decorations, particularly that of the Legion of Honor. In addition, on April 3 he was ordered to pay 4.6 million francs (about \$766,000) to the plaintiffs. Papon has appealed the verdict with the superior appeals court (the “Cour de Cassation”), the decision of which will probably be known within a year's time. Meanwhile Papon is free on bail. His wife died a few days before the verdict. He is in bad health.

Papon had been charged in 1997 on the basis of his activities from 1942 to 1944 as Secretary General in Bordeaux for the Gironde region. Specifically, he was charged with complicity in the wartime arrests of hundreds of Jews and in their subsequent internment at the custodial camp at Merignac, outside Bordeaux. Some of these Jews were later transferred to the camp at Drancy, in the Paris region, of whom some were deported from France, notably to Auschwitz.

Mr. Papon showed great courage during this trial, which lasted six months, but he did not dare to adopt a revisionist defense strategy, which might have consisted in saying: “I cannot have been an accomplice to a crime, the extermination of the Jews, about which I had no knowledge, for the simple reason that that crime did not happen.”

His main lawyer, Jean-Marc Varaut, opted for a strategy that may be summed up as follows: “My client served, in spite of himself, an abject regime, that of Vichy, but he kept his hands clean.” Varaut is known for having recently written a book in which he praises the Nuremberg tribunal. He maintains relations with a number of prominent political personalities, and among his clients have been several persons implicated in political and financial cases. He also stays on excellent terms with fellow members of the Bar who happen to be Jewish and, throughout the trial, preferred to be seen keeping a certain distance from his own client and, at the same time, to converse in a friendly manner with the plaintiffs' counsel.

On April 5 I wrote a letter about the Papon trial and the behavior of Varaut. I addressed it to Martin Peltier, managing editor of *National Hebdo*, a French weekly that supports the National Front party of Jean-Marie Le Pen. I myself am apolitical. I thank Mr. Peltier for publishing my letter under the title “Histoire: la reculade de Bordeaux” (“History: Backing down in Bordeaux”) in the April 9-15 issue (p. 15).

Here is the text of that letter, preceded by a preface by Mr. Peltier.

Preface

During his recent “crimes against humanity” trial in the Bordeaux court, Maurice Papon, and more so his counsel, waived the use of an important argument for his defense: namely, that the Union générale des Israélites de France (UGIF) [the central Jewish community association], which was under the authority of the [French] government in Vichy, took part in the internment and the deportation of Jews during the Second World War, and even in the great round up at the Paris cycling arena [the “Vélodrome d'Hiver” sports stadium] on July 16, 1942. This shows quite clearly that what has since been called the “Final Solution” was then unknown, and gives one an idea of the complexity of the French government’s policy toward the Jews, of their status during the German occupation, and of the responsibilities of the civil service. The text below expounds the opinion that by criminalizing “Vichy” (for tactical purposes?) attorney Jean-Marc Varaut made his client’s conviction inevitable.

Letter

Dear Sir,

The sentence passed on Maurice Papon ought not to surprise you. For six months his chief counsel, Jean-Marc Varaut, had expressed the abhorrence in which he held the “criminal” wartime government in Vichy, while at the same time describing his client, a high-ranking official of that “criminal” regime, as a perfectly innocent man. “If this were the trial of 'Vichy',” he stated repeatedly, “then I would be among the plaintiffs,” and this as he was defending a former high official of “Vichy”! What juror, or any other person of common sense, could accept such a contradiction?

If the report in the April 2 edition of *Le Monde* is to be believed, the following are the terms used by this attorney, in his pleadings of March 31 alone, on the subject of “Vichy's” policy toward the Jews of Bordeaux: “repulsion,” “shame,” “dishonor,” “horror,” “disgust,” “amazement,” “incomprehension.” After such an onslaught as that, how could anyone expect to fight his way back? How could one get the jury to accept that a high-ranking official had been able to work for such a regime for several years without sully himself? With hell painted in colors like those, who could be persuaded that an angel had lived there?

The judges and the jury drew the conclusion that Mr. Papon must have sullied himself.

They had certainly noted the efforts that J.-M. Varaut made in order physically to keep his distance from Mr. Papon, while showing a remarkable warmheartedness toward most of the plaintiffs' counsel. This was noticeable on the televised reports, and was picked up on by the newspapers. A *Le Monde* reporter put it in these words: “Jean-Marc Varaut likes to be seen to keep his distance from his client” (November 16-17, 1997). From his own standpoint, a *Figaro* journalist noted: “The barrister maintains distant and courteous relations with his client,” before adding that Mr. Varaut’s “consensual temperament” had allowed him “to share chambers for nine years with Mr. Roland Dumas,” the one-time Socialist foreign minister (March 30, 1998).

The press also taught us that Mr. Varaut dreaded the prospect of his client’s closing statement (*Le Monde*, March 10). And for good reason! In that brief speech, Mr. Papon was clear, courageous, and frank. He told the three-judge panel and the nine members of the jury that the only possible outcomes were life imprisonment, on the one hand, or acquittal, on the other.

But how could he, in those few minutes, convince the jurors? The damage had been done.

During an entire six-month trial, and particularly in his summing up, J.-M. Varaut prudently avoided resorting to a good part of the solid and effective argumentation which he had announced two years previously in a *Le Monde* article entitled “L'affaire Papon n'est pas ce que l'on dit” (“The Papon case is not what it is said to be”) (February 29, 1996). At that time he wrote:

[Mr. Papon's role] was analogous to that of the delegates at Bordeaux of the Union générale des Israélites de France [UGIF] who oversaw the convoys, and a good deal smaller than that of the [Jewish] head of the Drancy camp and his officers, French Jews who were in charge of the selection, registration, and composition of the trainloads of deportees headed to the East, and who discriminated in favor of French Jews as against foreign ones!

At the trial, J.-M. Varaut did not really open these two cans of worms: neither that of the UGIF and the “Brown Jews,” nor that of Drancy and the running of that camp by Jews. (Robert Blum used to sign his notes, including those relating to the preparation of deportation convoys, “Lieutenant Colonel Blum, Commandant of Drancy Camp.”)

Varaut avoided reminding the court that the UGIF had taken part in the preparations for the big round-up at the Paris cycling arena, the Vél' d'hiv, in July 1942. In his eagerness to blacken “Vichy,” he greatly minimized certain interventions on the part of the French State, namely those concerning the deportation of the Jews and the settling, in their favor, of various conflicts with the German authorities. For example, when, in the wake of several attacks on German soldiers, the Jewish community was fined one billion francs (about \$250 million, in today's money), [French Head of State] Marshal Pétain and Xavier Vallat (Commissioner General for Jewish Affairs) acted immediately to have that amount covered by the national banking syndicate, against a promise of repayment by the UGIF ... over the next 99 years!

Some leading figures of the Chief Rabbinate and of the Central Consistory of French Jews [the hierarchical religious organization of French Jewry, established in 1808], as well as officials of other Jewish organizations, maintained excellent relations with Marshal Pétain himself or with other high-ranking Vichy officials.

In the September-December 1996 issue of [the French-Jewish journal] *Le Monde Juif* (p. 97), Simon Schwarzfuchs wrote:

Besides, it can be considered that the diverse [French Jewish] communities were not unhappy with the role played by their rabbis during the occupation; the very great majority [of the latter] had not thought fit to leave their posts for [exile in] Spain or Switzerland, nor even to go into hiding. Religious services were held regularly wherever the numbers and the availability of the faithful warranted it. In Paris most of the big synagogues stayed open throughout the period of hostilities.

After the “liberation,” those Jews who ought to have been prosecuted under the [new] laws dealing with collaboration with the enemy escaped the fate reserved to most others, and had their names cleared by “intra-community tribunals,” made up exclusively of [Jewish] co-religionists.

[As Schwarzfuchs noted, p. 100, in his *Le Monde juif* article:]

At that time, Leon Meiss [a senior judge of Jewish origin] had to ... take care of the moral side of the UGIF's dissolution. Intra-community tribunals were set up to hear

the charges made against some of its leaders. In the end, they were all more or less rehabilitated. There was no purge within French Jewry.

Varaut could have shown that his client was being tried for “crimes” infinitely less serious than those of the UGIF which, for its part, was not content with merely cooperating indirectly in the rounding-up and deportation of Jews to custodial or transit camps: indeed it went so far as to hand over Jewish children to the occupying forces for deportation (Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, Yad Vashem, IV, p. 1538).

It is often said that without the French police the Germans would not have been able to carry out their policy of relocation in the East of certain Jews. But what was true of the police was even more true of many French Jews, including the “Jewish Police” of Drancy, sometimes called the “Gestapolak,” a nickname designating the “MS's” or members, male or female, of the “Internal Surveillance Service,” although it was composed mainly of French Jews (Maurice Rajfus, Drancy, Manya, 1991, p. 198).

Varaut could even have left off writing a whole section of his pleadings. It would have been enough for him to request a loan of certain Central Consistory documents from the Hauts-de-Seine departement archives (in the Paris suburbs), or to demand the discovery of the 1944-45 “intra-community tribunals” archives. In them he would surely have found elements of use to his client’s defense, as well as ready arguments (in black and white) that he could have used in Bordeaux in 1997-98 by simply substituting within them the name of Papon for one high-ranking Jewish official or another. He might have rested his case with the questions:

What sort of justice is it which allows a “crime” to be absolved on the spot, and then to be punished half a century later? Is it not a case of the pot calling the kettle black?

Given his hostility to revisionism, one could hardly expect Varaut to use revisionist arguments; but why did he waive, in 1997-98, the use of an argumentation that he himself had put forth in 1996, and which the plaintiffs so dreaded hearing him use? I should be interested in knowing whether there was a precise reason for this “backing down” ...

For Varaut did “back down.” One of the plaintiff’s counsel even mentioned it to him; the remark was reported in *Le Monde*, March 13:

Then, [Mr. Blet] poured scorn on the defense’s case, in advance: the interventions of the French authorities during the deportations? “That’s revisionism!” Mr. Varaut did not bat an eyelash. The Jewish participation in running the Drancy camp? “How revolting of you!” And then, “Happily, you’ve backed down.” Mr. Varaut nodded.

Indeed Varaut has all too often “backed down” and “nodded.”

According to the France-Info radio network, Papon is being charged six million francs (\$1 million) by his lawyers. As he has been ordered to pay another 4.6 million francs (\$766,000) in damages, there may be doubts as to whether he will be able to meet that bill. Happily for Varaut, Papon’s insolvency would not cause the leading [defense] attorney much grief: among his clients are several rich representatives of the Jewish community, particularly Maurice Msellatti-Casanova and his son Charles, owner of the famous Champs-Elysees restaurant “Fouquet’s” (*Libération*, Dec. 2, 1997).

Personally, despite our grave differences of opinion, I had passed on a good deal of information and documents to J.-M. Varaut, material — conventional, non-revisionist — fit to aid in the de-

fense of his client (particularly, a brief article I wrote last year entitled “Maurice Papon and Yves Jouffa: A Double Standard?”). If he did not use any of it, it was deliberately so, and for reasons unknown to me.

-- April 5, 1998

About the author:

Robert Faurisson was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in four books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this Journal.

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Prosecutor Threatens Defense Witness

Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists

Author Jürgen Graf Fined, Sentenced to 15 Months in Prison

A court in Switzerland has punished 47-year-old teacher Jürgen Graf and 78-year-old retired engineer Gerhard Förster with fines and prison terms for writing or publishing allegedly anti-Jewish books.

A district court in the northern Swiss town of Baden on July 21 sentenced Graf, a leading Holocaust revisionist, to 15 months imprisonment for writing several dissident works on the wartime treatment of Europe's Jews, and Förster to 12 months in prison for publishing several allegedly anti-Jewish books, including two by Graf. In addition, each was fined 8,000 Swiss francs (\$5,500). The court also ordered the two Swiss citizens to turn over 55,000 francs (about \$38,000) earned from book sales, with Förster to pay 45,000 and Graf 10,000.

Graf must also pay 1,000 francs to a Basel theology professor as compensation or atonement for having mailed him a copy of one of his books with an allegedly offensive inscription. The court also ordered the confiscation and destruction of a long list of books and booklets. As a consequence of his conviction and sentencing, Graf was fired in early August from his position as a teacher at a private school.

With the verdict now on appeal, Graf and Förster are still free men. It's unlikely that the appeals court will consider the case before January 1999, and even if it upholds the verdict, the case may still go to Switzerland's highest court (Bundesgericht).

The Graf/Förster case is by far the most important so far on the basis of Switzerland's new "Anti-Racism Law," which came into effect on January 1, 1995. During the one-day trial, held on July 16, Graf eloquently defended his skeptical views on the Holocaust story. Similarly, each of the two defense attorneys ably represented his client with vigor, skill and intelligence.

The Baden court found that Graf had violated the law as the author of four books, *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand* ("The Holocaust on the Test Stand"), *Der Holocaust Schwindel* ("The Holocaust Swindle"), *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust* ("Auschwitz: Confessions and Witnesses of the Holocaust"), and *Todesursache Zeitgeschichtsforschung* ("Cause of Death: Contemporary History Research"), as well as a booklet, *Das Rotbuch: Vom Untergang der Schweizerischen Freiheit* ("The Red Book: On the Decline of Swiss Freedom").

Graf was further found guilty of having mailed computer diskettes containing several of his "racist" texts to Ahmed Rami in Sweden and to Ernst Zündel in Canada, who then posted them on the Internet.

Förster was found guilty of having published allegedly anti-Jewish writings by Graf and two other authors.

In explaining the court's severe punishment, Presiding Judge Andrea Staubli cited the defendants' "remarkable criminal energy," and said that their lack of remorse contributed to the decision not to hand down suspended sentences. The five members of the court, three women and two men, were unanimous in their verdict.

Judge Andrea Staubli rejected defendants' arguments that the "criminal" books were scholarly: she characterized them as cynical and inhuman. The court also rejected the argument that Graf should not be punished for at least one of the "offending" books because it was written before January 1, 1995, when the law under which they were being tried came into effect.

As the trial began at eight o'clock on the morning of July 16, all 60 seats in the court room were already occupied, mostly by supporters of Graf and Förster. Some of the sympathizers had traveled from French-speaking western Switzerland, and even from outside the country.

Graf's court-appointed defense attorney, Dr. Urs Oswald, lost no time in calling on the court to quash the case because law under which the defendants had been brought to trial violated the European Human Rights Convention. Even the defense attorneys in this case, he pointed out, risked being punished if they try to show to the court that their clients' views are based on fact. As expected, the court rejected Oswald's motion.

He then asked the court to permit testimony on behalf of the defendants by two witnesses: well-known French revisionist scholar Dr. Robert Faurisson, and Austrian engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich. The court rejected Dr. Faurisson (perhaps because the court and the prosecutor were familiar with him), but agreed to permit Fröhlich to testify (perhaps because they were not familiar with him).

Engineer Fröhlich's Testimony

In his brief introductory remarks to the court, Wolfgang Fröhlich noted that his special fields of expertise are process engineering and gas applications. He told the court that he has carried out numerous gassings to exterminate pests and infectious microbes.

Presiding Judge Staubli warned Fröhlich that any false testimony would be punished with imprisonment. She then asked the engineer if, in his opinion, Graf's books were scholarly in character. Fröhlich replied that he is not able to judge their scholarship as works of history, because he is not a historian. However, with respect to their treatments of technical aspects of the alleged mass exterminations, he affirmed that Graf's statements are absolutely sound.

At this point, public prosecutor Aufdenblatten asked the presiding judge to once again remind Fröhlich of his obligation to provide truthful testimony. She did so, and thereafter the following exchange took place (as recorded verbatim by persons attending the trial):

Aufdenblatten: "In your opinion were mass gassings with Zyklon B technically possible?"

Fröhlich: "No."

Aufdenblatten: "Why not?"

Fröhlich: “The pesticide Zyklon B is hydrocyanic acid absorbed in a granular-shaped carrier substance. It is released through contact with the air. The evaporation point of hydrocyanic acid is 25.7 degrees [Celsius]. The higher the temperature, the more rapid is the rate of evaporation. The delousing chambers in which Zyklon B was used in NS [German wartime] camps and elsewhere were heated to 30 degrees and higher, so that the hydrocyanic acid would be released rapidly from the carrier granules. However, in the half-underground mortuaries of the Auschwitz-Birkenau crematoriums, where witnesses claim that mass killings with Zyklon B took place, the temperatures were very much lower. Even if one allows for the warming of the spaces by the body warmth of the hypothetical prisoners, the temperature would not have been more than 15 degrees, even in summer time. Consequently, it would have taken many hours for the hydrocyanic acid to evaporate.

“According to eyewitness reports, the victims died very quickly. The witnesses mention time frames of 'instantaneous' to '15 minutes.' To be able to kill the gas chamber prisoners in such a short time, the Germans would have had to use ridiculously large amounts of Zyklon — I estimate from 40 to 50 kilograms for each gassing. This would have made any work in the gas chamber fundamentally impossible. The special detachment [Sonderkommando] people, whom the witnesses say were assigned the task of clearing out [dead bodies] from them [the gas chambers], would have collapsed immediately upon entering the rooms, even if they were wearing gas masks. Enormous amounts of hydrocyanic acid would have streamed out into the open, and would have poisoned the entire camp.”

Fröhlich’s statement, which was greeted with applause by many of those in the court room, is entirely in keeping with findings of other specialists. His testimony strengthens and corroborates the investigations and declarations of such specialists as American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter, Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl, American research chemist William B. Lindsay, German chemist Gernar Rudolf, and German engineer Wolfgang Schuster. (See the Winter 1992-93 Journal, esp. pp. 391-420, 427, 428.)

Intimidation

Immediately following Fröhlich’s statement, public prosecutor Aufdenblatten said: “I hereby ask the court to bring charges against you for racial discrimination, on the basis of Article 261 [the Anti-Racism Law] or otherwise I’ll do it myself.”

At this point Förster’s defense attorney, Jürg Stehrenberger, arose to inform the court that in view of this intolerable intimidation of the witness, he would withdraw from the case. Together with Graf’s attorney, he left the courtroom for several minutes. When they returned, the two attorneys expressed their vehement objection to the prosecutor’s behavior, but announced that they would nevertheless continue their duties as defense attorneys.

In threatening punitive legal action against the witness, the prosecutor not only revealed his lack of regard for truth or justice, but himself committed the punishable offense of attempting to intimidate a witness.

Förster’s Testimony

Co-defendant Gerhard Förster, 78 years old, suffers from osteoporosis and other illnesses. He is in such poor health that he had to be brought into the courtroom in a wheel chair. He was born in

Silesia, Germany, and served briefly during the Second World War as a private in the regular German army. His father perished, along with some two million others, in the genocidal flight and expulsion of some 12-14 million ethnic Germans from central and eastern Europe, 1944-1946.

Gerhard Förster moved from Germany to Switzerland in 1967, and has been a Swiss citizen for many years. He is a certified electrical engineer who holds several dozen patents. He is a widower.

With an obviously deficient memory, the elderly man easily became confused as he testified, mixed up dates, and was unable to answer some questions clearly. All the same, he did acknowledge to the court his role as business director of the Neue Visionen Verlag (Postfach, 5436 Würenlos, Switzerland), which published three of Graf's allegedly dangerous books.

Graf's Testimony

The contrast between the testimony of Förster and Graf could hardly have been more striking. Unlike Förster, Jürgen Graf was energetic, articulate and unrepentant in defending the views and arguments presented in his books. His testimony, including cross examination, lasted well over two hours.

Although presiding judge Staubli repeatedly asked Graf to speak more slowly or to shorten his responses, she did permit him to present his views and fully develop his arguments. She also kept the proceedings focused on the critical issues at dispute, and away from such extraneous matters as the defendants' political views.

In response to judge Staubli's question as to whether there had actually been a Holocaust or not, Graf said:

"It's a question of definition. If, by 'Holocaust,' you mean a brutal persecution of the Jews, mass deportations to camps, and the deaths of very many Jews by disease, exhaustion and malnutrition, then this is of course a historical fact. But the Greek term 'holocaust' means 'completely burned' or 'fire sacrifice,' and is used by orthodox historians for the alleged mass gassing and incineration of Jews in 'extermination camps.' That is a myth."

Staubli: "Do you consider yourself a revisionist? What does that expression mean?"

Graf: "Yes, I consider myself a revisionist. In general, the term is applied to historians who subject the official historical account to critical examination. Holocaust revisionism, which is what we are concerned with here, contests three central points: first, the existence of a plan for the physical extermination of the Jews; second, the existence of extermination camps and execution gas chambers; and, third, the figure of five to six million Jewish victims. We cannot know the exact number of victims because the documentation is inadequate. Personally, I estimate probably one million."

Staubli: "Are you a trained historian?"

Graf: "No. But I draw your attention to the fact that both of the most renowned representatives of orthodox 'Holocaust' literature, the Jews Gerald Reitlinger and Raul Hilberg, likewise are not (or were not) trained historians. Reitlinger was a specialist

of art history, and Hilberg is a jurist [actually, a political scientist]. The Frenchman Jean-Claude Pressac, who is praised in the media as one who has discredited revisionism, is a pharmacist. If an art historian, a jurist and a pharmacist has the right to express his views on the Holocaust, certainly a philologist has the same right.”

Staubli: “What is your motive for writing such [revisionist] books?”

Graf: “My main motive is not to defend the German people, even though I like the Germans. My main motive is a love of the truth. I can’t stand lying.”

Staubli: “How do you define the term 'scholarship'?”

Graf: “The characteristic feature of scholarship is that all counter arguments are first taken into account and tested before one formulates his own thesis. Revisionists do that.”

Staubli: “Would you characterize your own books as scholarly?”

Graf: “I would divide them into three categories. 'Auschwitz: Confessions and Witnesses of the Holocaust,' as well as the book on Majdanek I wrote together with Matogno, which will be published soon, are scholarly books. 'The Holocaust Swindle' and 'The Holocaust on the Test Stand' I would call popular-scholarly. In these books, I do not so much present my own findings, but for the most part present the findings of revisionists in general. And, finally, 'Cause of Death: Contemporary History Research' is quite simply a novel, and as such is of course not scholarly.”

Staubli: “What induced you to write your Auschwitz book?”

Graf: “For the alleged mass gassings in Auschwitz there is neither solid evidence nor documentation, only witness testimony. I got the idea to compile, cite, and analyze the most important of these witness accounts ...”

Staubli: “Do you consider that witness testimony is not credible?”

Graf: “Yes. Let us assume that three witnesses describe an alleged automobile accident. The first testifies that the car left the road, caught fire, and exploded. The second witness states that the car collided with another oncoming car. The third claims that the car was crossing over a bridge that collapsed, throwing the car into the river. What would you make of that? And what would you think if no auto wreck was to be seen anywhere nearby [the site of the alleged accident], and that there was no river or bridge?

“The eyewitness testimonies of gassings contradict each other on every conceivable point. And when they do agree, they always contain the same impossibilities that rob them of all credibility. For example, many witnesses testify that three bodies were incinerated in a single oven in 15 minutes. In fact, the capacity is one body per oven per hour. The number cited by the witnesses is therefore exaggerated by a factor of twelve ...”

Staubli: “In the introduction to your Auschwitz book you write that there is no documentary proof for the extermination of Jews in the camps. Do you stand by this testimony?”

Graf: "Of course. The anti-revisionist French historian Jacques Baynac wrote in [the Swiss newspaper] *Nouveau Quotidien* of September 3, 1996, that a lack of evidence makes it impossible to prove the existence of the gas chambers. In 1995 Mattogno and I spent nearly two months in two Moscow archives, where we perused 88,000 pages of Auschwitz documents and thousands of pages of documents from other camps. Not one single document provides proof of the gassing of a single Jew. This did not surprise us, because if such documents existed, the Communists would have triumphantly displayed them to the world in 1945. But no, the documents vanished for 46 years and have only been accessible to researchers since 1991. Why?

"The German documents show very clearly what the National Socialist Jewish policy called for. They wanted to get the Jews out of Europe and, during the war, to exploit their labor."

Staubli: "You write in 'The Holocaust Swindle' that 'after the war the Jews were still there.' What do you mean by that?"

Graf: "I mean that most of the Jews in the area controlled by Germany survived. Rolf Bloch, President of the Holocaust Fund, said in the *Handelszeitung* of February 4, 1998, that there are still more than a million Holocaust survivors alive today. Any insurance statistician can calculate for you that in the Spring of 1945 there must have been more than three million alive. As Walter Sanning proved in his study *The Dissolution* [of Eastern European Jewry], published in 1983 and based almost exclusively on Jewish sources, that at the most four million Jews lived in the area under German control at its greatest extent. Of these, as we have shown, more than three million survived. How can anyone arrive at a figure of six million victims?

Staubli: "Can't you imagine that Jews feel offended by your books?"

Graf: "Yes, and many non-Jews as well. The brain-washing has been so thorough that anyone who inadvertently stumbles upon the truth would be completely upset."

Staubli: "And don't you care if Jews feel offended by your books?"

Graf: "Edgar Bronfman said recently that Switzerland is like a man who has to have his feet held in the fire before he sees reason. Can't you imagine that a Swiss person would feel offended by that? Why is it that only Jewish feelings are taken into account, and never the feelings of non-Jews?"

Staubli: "The Anti-Racism Law was affirmed through a democratic referendum. Shouldn't you respect that?"

Graf: "At the time the people were led to believe that the law serves to protect foreigners against racist violence. In reality it serves exclusively to protect Jews against all criticism. This is irrefutably proven in the booklet *Abschied vom Rechtsstaat* ('Departure from the State of Law'), to which I contributed two short essays. So far not a single Swiss citizen has been indicted or convicted because he criticized a black man, an Arab, or a Turk. Only persons who have criticized Jews have been indicted and convicted."

Staubli: "Did the action you depicted in 'Cause of Death: Contemporary History Research,' the discussion in a German secondary school class, really take place?"

Graf: “The action was, of course, invented.”

Staubli: “But in your introduction you represent it as if it actually took place.”

Graf: “That’s a familiar old literary ploy. Many authors of novels write that they have discovered an old manuscript or found a message in a bottle.”

Staubli: “In this book the pupil Marietta says that if the Germans had had more Zyklon available, fewer prisoners would have died. Justify that statement!”

Graf: “The main reason for the extremely high mortality in Auschwitz was typhus, which is carried by lice. In late Summer 1942 this pestilence accounted for 403 deaths on a single day. The documents show that the Germans repeatedly requested Zyklon B to eliminate the lice, because the supplies were inadequate. Thus, Marietta’s statement is nothing less than a provable historical fact. Incidentally, I bring your attention to the fact that during the war Zyklon B was also delivered to Switzerland, Norway and Finland. Does that mean that Jews were gassed in those countries as well?”

Staubli: “In the booklet [Rotbuch] 'On the Decline of Swiss Freedom' you write that the Holocaust has become a religion for the Jews. Do you want to comment on that?”

Graf: “It is estimated that today one in three Jews no longer believes in God, but they all believe in the gas chambers. Belief in the Holocaust is today the glue that holds the Jews together.”

Staubli: “In the same booklet is the sentence: 'The march toward a police state has begun.' Why do you speak of a march toward a police state?”

Graf: “If a total police state already existed, I would be in jail or dead, and would be unable to speak freely here today. We still are able to protest. If things develop as they are now going, in five years we will no longer have that possibility.”

Graf characterized the legal proceeding against Förster and himself as a “classic political trial.” The defendants are on trial here not because of anything they've done, but rather because of their opinions. The suppression of dissident opinions through the penal code, he said, is the classic feature of a dictatorship.

The Prosecutor Sums Up

In his concluding address to the court, public prosecutor Aufdenblatten did not even try to establish a connection between the incriminating passages in the books published by Förster and the wording of Switzerland’s Anti-Racism Law. Instead, he resorted to emotion-charged phrases such as “pseudo-scholarly,” “anti-semitic incitement,” and “racist propaganda.” Because Graf is highly intelligent, the prosecutor went on, he is doubly dangerous. Graf was not seeking the truth, but rather consciously distorting it. His writings fanned the flames of anti-Semitism and hatred of foreigners.

Because Graf showed no remorse, and even reaffirmed his revisionist views before the court, the prosecutor said, he is not likely to mend his ways. Therefore the court should not consider handing down a suspended sentence against him. The same is true of Förster, the prosecutor went on,

who has been just as unreasonable as Graf. Förster's poor health is no reason to be lenient. If he's too ill to actually serve a prison term, that's something for a physician to decide, not the court.

Förster's Attorney Speaks

In his concluding address to the court, Förster's attorney Jürg Stehrenberger spoke quickly and with conviction. He began by emphasizing the special difficulties involved in defending his client in this case, noting that by merely discussing the testimonies of the defendants and the defense witness he runs the risk of himself violating Swiss law.

The Court was not competent to judge what happened 50 years ago, he continued, but only what one writes today. The Anti-Racism Law violates basic constitutional rights, such as the freedom to express one's opinion, freedom of scholarship, and freedom of the press. Moreover, and as even recognized legal specialists have acknowledged, this new law is vaguely or imprecisely worded. And when there is such ambiguity, the court must give the benefit of the doubt to the defendant, and find on his behalf.

The Anti-Racism Law, Stehrenberger continued, specifically states that to violate this law one must "systematically disparage or slander members of a race, ethnic group, or religion." But no such systematic disparagement is to be found in the books written by Graf or published by Förster.

The Anti-Racism Law specifically refers to "denial" of genocide. However, to deny means to contest against one's better knowledge. Therefore, said Stehrenberger, a person who "denies" genocide out of sincere conviction, even if this conviction is subjective, should not be punished, as even a well-recognized legal specialist has acknowledged.

The law's notion of "flagrant whitewashing" or "gross trivializing" ("gröblich verharmlost") poses additional difficulties, Stehrenberger continued. As an authoritative specialist on the criminal code has commented, human suffering cannot be measured, and therefore the number of victims is essentially irrelevant in determining the crime of genocide. Today, however, anyone who estimates the number of Holocaust victims lower than the commonly accepted Six Million figure is subject to criminal prosecution. There is an inherent contradiction here.

As Stehrenberger noted, anti-revisionist historian Jean-Claude Pressac estimated in the 1994 German edition of his book on "The Crematories of Auschwitz" that the total number of Jewish victims at Auschwitz was between 630,000 and 710,000. (See R. Faurisson's commentary in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 Journal, p. 24.) On this basis, even a prominent anti-revisionist such as Pressac could conceivably be prosecuted under Swiss law for "whitewashing" genocide.

Because of the highly-publicized campaign currently being carried out by Jewish organizations against Switzerland and Swiss banks, Stehrenberger further noted, there is considerable public interest in determining just what Swiss officials knew, and did not know, during the Second World War about the fate of the Jews under German control.

In this regard, he spoke of the inspection visit to the Auschwitz concentration camp by Rossel and other delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on September 29, 1944. How does one explain, he asked, that in their report on this visit, the ICRC delegation stated that they found no confirmation of the rumors of human gassings, and that the prisoners questioned did not mention them? (See Documents relating to the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross for the benefit of civilian detainees in German Concentration Camps be-

tween 1939 and 1945 [Geneva: ICRC, 1975], pp. 76-77. French-language ed., Geneva, June 1946, p. 92.)

No one, Stehrenberger pointed out, not even the public prosecutor, has ever claimed that Graf either falsely cited or translated any of the eyewitness testimonies dealt with in his “Auschwitz: Confessions” book. Furthermore, he pointed out, in October 1994 Förster specifically provided the Swiss Federal Prosecutor’s Office with a copy of this book. It is simply incomprehensible, Stehrenberger went on, that if this book was really “criminal,” this agency did not react to it, in spite of numerous queries, and six months later declared itself unable to determine if this book is legal or not. In any case, this shows that the Federal Prosecutor’s office itself, at least initially, did not regard this book as violating the law.

Stehrenberger went on to note that the public prosecutor had dismissed Graf’s book out of hand, and without good reason, as “pseudo-scholarly.” This is simply unacceptable. In the case of Graf’s fictional work, “Cause of Death,” the imaginary school class referred to numerous historical works, with the sources always clearly cited. To have included such source references in a fictional literary work on a topic of contemporary history is not offensive.

Stehrenberger also told the court that his client has already been tried and found guilty by the media. During the Second World War Gerhard Förster served for just six weeks on the front as a Wehrmacht private, but the Swiss press promoted him to the rank of SS officer, and repeatedly castigated him as a “Nazi.” Because of his German origin, he was considered free game for bigoted “anti-racists.”

Stehrenberger concluded by asking the court to exonerate and acquit his client.

Graf’s Attorney Sums Up

In his concluding address to the court, Graf’s attorney spoke for more than an hour. Dr. Oswald repeatedly assailed the public prosecutor’s arguments, and rejected the indictment as carelessly drawn up and completely indefensible.

For one thing, said Oswald, the books by Graf that were written before the Anti-Racism Law came into effect on January 1, 1995, should never have been the subject of an indictment at all. For this reason he hadn’t even bothered to deal with the contents of these writings. Graf’s “Auschwitz” book, for example, was indisputably written in May 1994 and published in August of the same year. To prosecute someone for books that were written before the law under which he is indicted even came into effect is a violation of the ancient legal principle of *Nulla poena sine lege*, “without a law, no crime.” (This principle is also expressed in the American constitutional prohibition against “ex post facto” laws.)

Neither the prosecutor nor anyone else has ever claimed that Graf himself had marketed his “Auschwitz” book. The prosecutor’s argument that Graf was liable because he had not forbidden the book’s distribution after January 1, 1995, but had expressly agreed to its further distribution, is pathetic and violates basic legal norms.

Even the fact that Graf had continued to sell his two earliest books after the Anti-Racism Law went into effect is not punishable because he had not violated the law’s stricture against “public” distribution. Graf had not advertised his books, nor had he distributed them to libraries, where they would have been available to the general public, but rather had sent them only to persons who had specifically ordered them. How, therefore, can anyone speak of the “public” in this

case? According to prevailing legal norms, even a closed circle of friends is not considered the general “public,” much less a few individuals.

While it is true that Graf’s booklet, “On the Decline of Swiss Freedom,” was written after the Anti-Racism Law came into effect, the allegedly incriminating passages in this work were taken from his “Auschwitz” book, and were cited by him there in response to critics.

Oswald acknowledged that Graf had sent diskettes containing his revisionist writings to Ahmed Rami in Sweden and Ernst Zündel in Canada, who then posted the texts on the Internet. But this is also not a crime, because the “scene of the crime” in this case was not in Switzerland. Graf’s texts have been posted on the Internet in Canada, the United States, and Sweden, where there are no laws against revisionism.

Because any Internet text can be called up in any country, to be consistent with the prosecutor’s view of the world every text posted on the Internet would have to conform to the laws of every country in the world. Anyway, Oswald told the court, the provider and not the author should be held legally responsible for deciding which of the texts to post that he may have received.

Graf’s motive, Oswald went on, has not been to disparage Jews, but rather to pursue the truth. The prosecuting attorney claims the opposite, without however providing any proof. He made no effort whatsoever to substantiate his accusation of “pseudo-scholarship.”

For all these reasons, Oswald summed up, Graf should be acquitted on all counts.

Dr. Oswald’s concluding address was received with warm appreciation by the courtroom’s sympathetic majority, just as the concluding statement by Förster’s attorney had been.

Graf’s Concluding Statement

Presiding Judge Staubli offered defendant Graf ten minutes in which to make a final statement, on condition that he limit himself to discussing issues of the trial itself. After agreeing to this, Graf said the following:

Honorable Madame Presiding Judge, distinguished members of the Court, ladies and gentlemen:

First, permit me two preliminary remarks. I want to thank you, Madame Presiding Judge, for the fair manner and way you have conducted this trial. You’ve permitted me to speak without hindrance and to defend my theses, and for that I am grateful. I [also] thank my attorney Dr. Oswald for his outstanding [final] address ...

This morning an eminently qualified engineer — a specialist in constructing gas chambers for pest control and for exterminating microbes — testified as a witness for the defense. Wolfgang Fröhlich was explicitly instructed on his duty to testify truthfully, and he acknowledged this responsibility. Public prosecutor Aufdenblatten asked him if mass killings of human beings by means of Zyklon B in gas chambers, as has been described by witnesses, were possible, and if not, why not. On the basis of his profound technical knowledge, and faithful to his duty to provide truthful testimony, Fröhlich answered “no” to the question, and he then substantiated his response.

And how did the public prosecutor respond? He proposed criminal charges against him. That, ladies and gentlemen, is pure Stalinism! I know that this is a serious accu-

sation, but I stand by it. As much as you, Madame Presiding Judge, have striven for a fair trial, the public prosecutor has not.

Permit me to say a few words about myself, although I don't like to focus attention on myself. I have knowingly exchanged a secure and well paid position in a state school for an uncertain future. From the outset, I've anticipated facing a trial. I'm surprised that it's taken this long. And then the public prosecutor presumes to read my mind, claiming that I don't really seek the truth, but rather lies. Do you believe that anyone would willingly risk ruining his career for an obvious lie?

We revisionists try hard to get as close to the historical truth as we can. We like nothing more than to have our mistakes pointed out to us. Indeed, there are some mistakes in my books. But do you know who brought them to my attention? Other revisionists! From the other side the only reactions have been insults, smears, threats, legal actions, and trials.

Their absolute helplessness in the face of revisionist arguments was just as glaringly obvious in the statements of the public prosecutor... Not a single argument, but rather only phrases such as "pseudo-scholarship," "anti-Semitism," "racist incitement," and so forth.

[Jewish community leader] Sigi Feigel and his people want to put Förster and me behind bars, and to ban our books. I don't want Sigi Feigel locked up, and if he should manage one day to write a book, I wouldn't want it banned. I invite Mr. Feigel ... or any other representative of the official Holocaust school, to a factual, non-polemical, open discussion of this issue on radio or television. The two major topics of this discussion would be the question of the existence of gas chambers and the number of Jewish victims of National Socialist policies.

As far back as any human being can remember, no Swiss man or woman has been imprisoned for the non-violent expression of his or her opinion. The last such case was early in the last century. Do you, ladies and gentlemen of the court, at the dawn of the 21st century, want to break this tradition? And if you insist on jailing one of us, then please lock me up and not Mr. Förster, who is deathly ill!

You would not shame me by imprisoning me. By doing so, you would shame our country, Switzerland. A Switzerland in which freedom of expression is being abolished, a Switzerland in which a minority of 0.6 percent of the population is permitted to decide who reads, writes, says or thinks what, is dead.

I would like to close my comments by citing my friend in western Switzerland, Gaston-Armand Amaudruz, against whom a trial is being prepared in Lausanne that is similar to the one here today against Förster and me. In issue number 371 of his *Courrier du Continent* newsletter, Amaudruz writes: "As once in early historical times, it is sign of weakness to try to impose a dogma by force. The exterminationists may win trials through laws that muzzle freedom of speech. But they will lose the final trial before the court of future generations."

A Courageous and Able Scholar

Jürgen Graf says that he was not surprised by the court's harsh verdict. Last year, in fact, he had predicted that he and Förster would be found guilty and sentenced.

As one of the most internationally prominent revisionist scholars, Graf has been targeted by Jewish organizations for several years now as a particularly notorious "Holocaust denier." In March 1993, following the publication of his 112-page book, "The Holocaust on the Test Stand," he was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French. (See "Swiss Teacher Suspended for Holocaust Book," Sept.-Oct. 1993 Journal, pp. 36-37.)

Graf, born in 1951, is a meticulous scholar and researcher with an impressive command of languages, including Russian, modern Greek, Mandarin Chinese, and the Scandinavian languages. He makes his home near Basel.

His "Holocaust on the Test Stand" book has appeared in French, Spanish, Dutch, Bulgarian, Italian and Arabic editions. In December 1994 the French-language edition, *L'Holocauste au scanner*, was banned in France by order of the country's Interior Ministry. Some 200,000 copies of an expanded edition of this work have been published and distributed in Russia under the title "The Myth of the Holocaust." (See "A Major Revisionist Breakthrough in Russia," July-August 1997 Journal, pp. 36-37.)

Through the Internet "world wide web," a number of Graf's writings are accessible to millions around the world.

Graf has worked together with other revisionist scholars, including Robert Faurisson and Carlo Mattogno. Graf and Mattogno have made four research visits together to Russia, eastern Europe and the Netherlands, including detailed investigation of documents in Moscow archives. (See the report in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 Journal, pp. 36-37.)

Graf spoke at the Twelfth Conference of the Institute for Historical Review Conference, held in southern California in September 1994. (An adaptation of his address was published in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 Journal, pp. 2-11.) He is also a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee. (See the May-June 1997 Journal, p. 20)

Lessons

One journalist who closely followed the Graf/Förster trial and who is familiar with the Middle East expressed the view that the Swiss court had conducted itself much like an Israeli military tribunal judging Palestinians. The prison sentences imposed against Graf and Förster are all the more shameful and ominous because they were handed down in a country with a traditionally high regard for freedom. Commenting on the severity of the sentences, one American writer quipped: "It's lucky that Switzerland is a country with freedom of speech. Imagine how harsh the sentences would be if it wasn't."

Tellingly, no influential American newspaper or magazine has expressed even a word of criticism of the Graf/Förster verdicts or, for that matter, of any of the numerous legal persecutions of revisionists in western Europe. Perhaps this silence betrays embarrassment over the obvious injustice of this assault against free speech and freedom of research.

In a front-page commentary on the Graf/Förster case that reflects "official" opinion the Alpine confederation these days, the daily *Tages-Anzeiger* (July 22) warned that the defendants are not as harmless as they appear. In an effort to justify the verdicts, the large-circulation Swiss paper went on to tell readers:

Holocaust deniers, with their unspeakable theories, injure the human dignity of the Jews, the memory of the victims, and their history... Their goal is to stir up hatred against the Jews, and their hidden motive is to whitewash the National Socialists and make their dangerous ideology once again acceptable.

One might just as easily argue, and with greater justification, something like the following:

Jewish-Zionist apologists, with their unspeakable theories, injure the human dignity of non-Jews, and especially Palestinians and Germans, the memory of Israel's victims, and their history ... Their goal is to promote an arrogant contempt for non-Jews, and their hidden motive is to whitewash the Zionists and make their dangerous ideology acceptable.

The plain reality is that in Western society today, Jewish interests and sensitivities are treated, both legally and socially, as more important than those of any other group. This special, superior status is codified in Switzerland's Anti-Racism Law, in similar laws in other European countries, and in the United States' "special relationship" with Israel.

The legal persecution of "Holocaust deniers," as well as the intense, and enormously successful, international Jewish campaign of pressure and blackmail to squeeze money from Switzerland and others countries for their supposed transgressions during the Second World War, clearly reflect immense Jewish power and influence.

The Graf/Förster case, and the legal persecution of "Holocaust deniers" in western Europe generally, point up the important quasi-religious role that the Holocaust story has come to play in contemporary Western society. Accordingly, "Holocaust blasphemy" is treated, and punished, as the most serious "thought crime."

Even if only quietly, resentment and opposition to this obvious injustice is growing. For this reason, it's not surprising that Switzerland's respected weekly paper *Weltwoche* expresses concern (July 23) that the Graf/Förster trial, and others like it, are actually likely to promote even more anti-Jewish sentiment. The supposedly anti-Jewish passages in Graf's books, the weekly paper notes, are "harmless compared to what's being said [across Switzerland] these days, not only in bars and coffee shops, but even in theater lobbies."

-- September 6, 1998

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A Dangerous Guilt Complex

by Jürgen Graf

For the Jews the [Holocaust] story has become an indispensable part of their religious heritage, very much like the plight Israel's children had to endure in Egypt or the destruction of the second temple. For non-Jews as well, the Holocaust has gradually been transformed into a religious myth ... Even the slightest criticism of Jews such as Elie Wiesel or Simon Wiesenthal has become taboo: if you criticize a Jew, you're an anti-Semite. Hitler was also an anti-Semite who, as everybody knows, gassed the Jews. So anybody criticizing Jews paves the way to new gas chambers!

As primitive as it is, this kind of argument is remarkably effective. That's what makes the revisionist struggle so exceptionally difficult: not only must we fight an uphill struggle against media censorship, repression and propaganda, but we must also overcome a kind of religious faith. As history shows, refuting religion with rational arguments is not exactly an easy task. But this struggle must be fought, and because the fate of future generations depends on its outcome, we had better win it. The Holocaust lie has poisoned Europeans and other white people of European descent with a guilt complex that threatens to destroy our self-respect and our will to survive.

For all those engaged in this struggle against an enemy with so much clout and virtually unlimited financial resources, the next few years will hardly be devoid of interest. For revisionists, at least, life is not tedious.

-- from the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

July/August 1998 (Vol. 17, No. 4), page 13

Switzerland's Anti-Racism Law

Mark Weber

For many years Swiss law has prohibited discrimination on the basis of race or national origin, similar to provisions of the 1964 and 1968 federal “civil rights” laws in the United States. But Switzerland’s new “anti-racism” law, which is a revision of Article (Section) 261 of the criminal code (Strafgesetzbuch), goes far beyond this. It also criminalizes dissident or revisionist scholarship on the fate of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War — that is, it bans Holocaust revisionism.

With the backing of the country’s leading political parties, the new law was approved by the lower house of the Swiss parliament in December 1992, and by the upper house in March 1993. In a nationwide referendum on September 25, 1994, it was narrowly ratified by 54.6 percent of those who voted. Half of the country’s cantons rejected it.

In effect since January 1, 1995, Switzerland’s new Anti-Racism Law reads as follows:

Whoever publicly incites hatred or discrimination against a person or a group of persons on the basis of their race, ethnicity or religion,

or whoever publicly promotes an ideology that systematically disparages or slanders members of a race, ethnic group or religion,

or whoever organizes, supports or participates in a propaganda action with this same goal,

or whoever publicly through word, writing, illustration, gesture, act of violence, or in any other way disparages or discriminates against a person or a group of persons on the basis of their race, ethnicity or religion, in a way that offends their human dignity or, for any one of these reasons, denies, flagrantly whitewashes [gröblich verharmlost] or seeks to justify, genocide or other crimes against humanity,

or whoever withholds, on the basis of race, ethnicity or religion, a service or product from a person or a group of persons that is offered to the public at large,

will be punished by [up to three years] imprisonment or a fine.

This law’s imprecise or ambiguous wording opens the door to selective, and hence unjust, enforcement. For example, just who or what qualifies as a “racial, ethnic or religious” group? Do the Swiss qualify? Apparently not. In that case, is it therefore legal in Switzerland to disparage or slander the Swiss, but not the Jews?

What constitutes a “crime against humanity”? Does Israel’s repressive treatment of Palestinian Christians and Muslims count? And if so, does the new Anti-Racism Law criminalize writings by Jewish or Zionist historians that “seek to justify” Israel’s repression of Palestinians?

What, precisely, is “genocide”? Is it “genocide” if two percent of a group is killed, or must it be 20 or 50 or 70 percent? And apart from the wartime treatment of Europe’s Jews, just what historical cruelties qualify as “genocidal”? How about the extermination of various native Palestinian peoples by the ancient Israelites, as related in the Bible (see, for example Deuteronomy 20:16-17 and Joshua 10:26-40)? Or how about the dispossession and slaughter of native Indians of North America?

What precisely is “flagrant whitewashing” (or “gross trivializing”) of the Holocaust story? If one estimates the number of Jewish Holocaust victims at four million, is that “whitewashing” or “trivializing”? How about one million? Is it “whitewashing” or “trivializing” to contend that German wartime gas chambers were not as important as historians have been claiming? For example, is Harvard historian Daniel Goldhagen guilty of “whitewashing” for having written in *Hitler’s Willing Executioners* (p. 523) that “gassing was really epiphenomenal to the Germans’ slaughter of Jews.”

A particularly ominous feature of the new Anti-Racism Law, as even Switzerland’s respected weekly *Weltwoche* acknowledges (July 23), is that under its provisions a witness who testifies in court on behalf of a “Holocaust denier,” or an attorney who represents one during a trial, risks indictment, fines and imprisonment for “publicly” expressing revisionist views.

As Jürgen Graf has aptly observed, the threat and intimidation inherent in Switzerland’s Anti-Racism Law smacks of the unjust “justice” of Stalinist Russia.

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Jewish Group Demands More Anti-Revisionist Laws

by Mark Weber

An important association of Jewish legal experts is demanding new and more severe laws against Holocaust revisionism, reports a front-page article in the Athens News, June 28, 1998. A conference of International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists (IAJLJ), meeting in June in the northern Greek city of Thessaloniki, warned that “the international revisionist movement, using the Internet and an orchestrated propaganda campaign, could warp the historical memory of younger generations.”

“The denial movement has a historical institute which is reviewing history and whose real aim is to deny the Holocaust,” charged Itzhak Nener, an Israeli who is deputy president of the IAJLJ. “They have tremendous sums of money,” he added.

“One aim of the conference,” the Athens News reported, “is to convince more countries to pass legislation outlawing Holocaust denial.” As it is, several European countries, including France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland, already enforce censorship laws making it a crime to dispute the orthodox Holocaust extermination story of six million Jewish wartime dead. “Nener and his colleagues said the relevant punishment was too lenient, and more countries should crack down on people claiming the Nazi slaughter of Jews never took place,” the Athens paper went on.

Another conference participant, Isidor Wolfe, a lawyer from Vancouver, Canada, said: “This growing [revisionist] group is using web sites to make amazingly ridiculous claims, like that they measured the gas chambers and found they were not big enough for people.”

The IAJLJ plans to hold conferences in more than 20 other European countries to lobby for more anti-revisionism laws.

The statements by Nener and Wolfe are typical, in that they exaggerate the financial resources of the international revisionist movement and grotesquely misrepresent revisionist arguments and findings. If revisionist arguments were really as absurd as these Jewish legal experts contend, there would hardly be a need for laws to punish anyone espousing them.

Actually, the anti-revisionist laws that are already in place, and the IAJLJ conference’s call for more such legal measures, confirm the tremendous importance of the Holocaust story for Jewish-Zionist interests, and underscore the inability of defenders of the orthodox Holocaust story to respond to revisionist evidence and arguments with compelling evidence of their own.

Given the record, the IAJLJ call for harsher anti-revisionist laws is likely to be successful. In recent years European governments have generally been unwilling to resist Jewish demands for money or legal measures directed against real or perceived enemies.

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An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges: There is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers

Robert Faurisson

Born in 1939, Jacques Baynac is a French historian who is the author of several books. [1] A scholar whose sympathies lean to the left, he harbors a definite hostility toward revisionists (whom he calls “deniers”), and particularly toward revisionist writer and publisher Pierre Guillaume and myself. For years he affirmed the existence of Nazi homicidal gas chambers.

In 1996, though, Baynac acknowledged in two lengthy articles published in a Swiss daily newspaper that, taking everything into account, one is forced to admit — even if it is “as painful to say as it is to hear” — that the well-known “testimonies” are not sufficient proof of wartime homicidal gas chambers, and that it is simply not possible to prove, scientifically, that the homicidal gas chambers actually existed.

Given this lack of any direct proof, he continued, it will now be necessary to seek an indirect proof. Because one cannot prove that Nazi gas chambers existed, he goes on to write, it will instead be necessary to prove that it is impossible that they did not exist! Specifically, he writes: “If scholarly history cannot, because of the lack of documentation, establish the reality of a fact, it can, by means of documentation, establish that the unreality of this fact is itself unreal.” [2]

Baynac made these remarkable statements in two lengthy articles published in the Swiss newspaper *Le Nouveau Quotidien de Lausanne*, September 2, 1996 (p. 16), and September 3, 1996 (p. 14).

The Evasion of Historians

In the first of these two articles, Baynac begins by deploring France’s anti-revisionist “Fabiuss-Gaysot” law of July 13, 1990, which he says allows “the deniers’ sect” to use the courts as podiums for their views. He notes that this law has been criticized by Claude Imbert of *Le Point* magazine, historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet (who has said: “I am ready to kill Faurisson, but not to pursue him in a court of law!”), Madeleine Rebérioux (former president of the “Human Rights League”), anti-revisionist attorney Charles Korman, and several parliamentary deputies of the Gaullist RPR party.

Baynac affirms that the revisionists/deniers have plenty of reason for rejoicing, especially since the Abbé Pierre affair “changed the atmosphere” in their favor. Baynac also notes that among the anti-revisionists, “disarray has given way to consternation,” that historian Pierre Vidal-Naquet “is grieved,” that the prominent French-Jewish intellectual Bernard-Henri Lévy “is beside himself,” that Pierre-André Taguieff “is frightened,” and that the front cover of an issue of the French mag-

azine L'Événement du jeudi ("The Thursday Event") proclaimed "The Victory of the Revisionists."

Baynac denounces Jorge Semprun, an intellectual and former deportee, for having irresponsibly "murdered" a book by Florent Brayard that attacks French revisionist writer Paul Rassinier. Baynac believes that among Leftists there has come into being a "paranoia," a "witch-hunt" (in the words of Jean-François Kahn), and a "disastrous chaos." He notes that Simone Veil and Dominique Jamet share his dislike of the Fabius-Gayssot law, and that "one refuses to debate" the revisionists.

Baynac recalls the declaration by "34 reputable historians" published in the prominent French daily Le Monde on February 21, 1979 — a stupefying declaration that responded to but did not answer my challenge, which had appeared earlier in the paper, calling for an explanation of how, technically, the magical Nazi gas chambers were supposed to have operated. In this regard, Baynac writes of the "evasion" of historians in general, and goes on to declare that "the historians have retreated."

Neither Documents, Traces, Nor Proofs

In the second of his two articles, Baynac deplores the fact that anti-revisionist historians have trusted Jean-Claude Pressac, a pharmacist and "amateur historian," who now concludes that the number of Jewish and non-Jewish dead at Auschwitz amounts "to a total of 600,000 victims." [3] Baynac derides historian François Bayrou, France's Minister of National Education, who, conscious of the difficulties in trying to prove the "Holocaust" genocide and wartime homicidal gas chambers, advocates recourse to a "less burdened" historical method. Baynac sees in this a "light historical concept."

Baynac believes that Nazi gas chambers existed, but thinks that those who have tried to prove their existence have overly employed an "ascientific" methodology, rather than a "scientific" one. In this "ascientific" method, he goes on, "testimony prevails," while in the "scientific" method documents prevail. However, he adds with regret, one is able only to ascertain "the absence of documents, traces, or other material proofs." [4]

Baynac recalls the admission made in 1988 by Jewish-American historian Arno Mayer, who teaches at Princeton University: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable." [5] Baynac goes on to say that "we do not have available indispensable elements for a normal undertaking of the historical method," and that "one must remain silent for lack of documents." He concludes with a remarkable concession: "it is necessary to recognize that the lack of traces involves the inability to directly establish the reality of the existence of homicidal gas chambers." [6] When he writes "the lack of traces," he means, as already mentioned, "the absence of documents, traces, or other material proofs." [7]

Proofs for Tomorrow?

Baynac's study concludes with the suggestion, already mentioned: because it is decidedly impossible to prove that the gas chambers existed, let us try in the future to prove that these gas chambers were not able not to have existed!

This is an example of admitting a present-day inadequacy while postulating an act of faith for the future. Baynac is naive. He believes that because so many historians have emphatically affirmed the reality of the "Holocaust" horrors and the homicidal gas chambers, and so many survivors

have claimed to have seen them, therefore they undoubtedly existed. He does not realize that, with time, one discovers that the writing of history is full of histories that are more or less imaginary.

He continues to believe in the gas chambers, just as he seems to persist in believing in Communism. Tomorrow, one will find proof for these gas chambers. Tomorrow, Communism will be true. Tomorrow, one will get a free lunch. Tomorrow, one will finally have the proof that National Socialism is the incarnation of evil and that Communism is the incarnation of good. Let's hear it for the eternal credulity of the French intelligentsia!

Baynac joins, as it were, the "34 reputable historians" who, as already mentioned, in 1979 published one of the most monumental pieces of nonsense of French academic life: "It is not necessary to ask oneself how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible because it happened." Baynac thus adds his name to those of the 34 orthodox scholars who, without intending it, were obliged to agree with the revisionist historians on several important issues. This inevitably raises a question: how can judges continue to condemn revisionists for contesting a crime that, as Baynac now acknowledges, has not been proven?

Embarrassing Gas Chambers

It is quite clear that the "Nazi gas chambers" are ever more embarrassing for those who uphold the "Holocaust" thesis of Jewish extermination. As early as 1984, Pierre Vidal-Naquet warned friends who were already attempting to abandon the "gas chambers" that to do so would be "to capitulate in open country" [8] And in 1987 a periodical hostile to revisionism published a letter by two French-Jewish teachers, Ida Zajdel and Marc Ascione, suggesting that the Nazis had faked their confessions, and only mentioned gas chambers in order to plant "a delayed action 'bomb' against the Jews, an instrument of diversion and, why not, of blackmail." [9]

There are many other examples worth citing, but I will content myself here with citing just three recent ones: that of Elie Wiesel (in 1994), that of a Dutch professor of Jewish-Polish origin, Michel Korzec (in 1995), and finally, that of the Jewish-American historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen (in 1996):

- In 1994, Wiesel wrote in his memoir, *All Rivers Run to the Sea*: "Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination." [10] In plain English this means: "Let's not try to see, or even imagine, a Nazi gas chamber." What follows inevitably from this is that Wiesel is quite skeptical of the alleged witnesses who, supposedly, have described what happened in the gas chambers.
- In 1995 Michel Korzec declared that too much emphasis has been put on the gas chambers and the number of gassing victims. With dialectic contortions worthy of a cabalist, he went on to argue that it was the Germans, and not the Jews, who are responsible for this error. In Korzec's view, many more Germans participated in the "mass murder" of Jews than has been assumed, and in many more places across Europe — many more than the small number of Germans supposedly involved in gas chamber killings of Jews. [11]
- In his 1996 study, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, an exceedingly anti-German work, Daniel J. Goldhagen wrote: "Gassing was really epiphenomenal to the Germans' slaughter of Jews." [12] And in a 1996 interview with a major Austrian weekly news magazine he stated: "For me the industrialized annihilation of the Jews is not the central question in explaining the Holocaust ... The gas chambers are a symbol. But it is absurd to believe that the Holocaust would not have taken place without the gas chambers." [13]

So, by 1996 the gas chambers had become a symbol!

A Swiss Newspaper Sets An Example

In recent years I have described at various times, in samizdat essays and in interviews recorded by Ernst Zündel in Canada, this evolution by the “exterminationists” regarding the “Nazi gas chambers.” In a text I wrote on September 22, 1993 (and which I intend to publish in my forthcoming book), I predicted that one day organized Jewry eventually would be obliged to give up the lie about Nazi gas chambers, while at the same time still insisting that “the Holocaust” is an irrefutable truth. Consistent with this, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, has decided not to provide any physical representation of a German homicidal gas chamber (except for a door of a delousing gas chamber and an absurd and “artistic” model). ^[14]

The two 1996 articles by Jacques Baynac in the Swiss daily paper are only a stage in this metamorphosis of official historiography. Baynac’s articles confirm that, for quite some time now, historians have broken with the facade of unanimity. Step by step, historians are rejecting the simplistic conclusions of the Nuremberg Tribunal regarding gas chambers and genocide.

When French judges declare that challenging the existence of Nazi gas chambers is to challenge “crimes against humanity” (which the genocide of the Jews would have been), they are correct. However, if there is no longer any proof of a specific murder weapon, logically there is no longer any proof of a specific crime. This conclusion, rather embarrassing for the judges who dare to condemn revisionism, follows inevitably from the position taken by Baynac, a position that, once again, is not in any way peculiar to him but represents a general trend in orthodox historiography. Baynac is simply saying out loud what his colleagues have been thinking in silence.

In publishing these two articles by Baynac, *Le Nouveau Quotidien* of Lausanne, normally so hostile toward revisionism, has shown both discernment and respect for its readers. ^[15]

Jacques Baynac: “There are no proofs, yet I believe.”

Robert Faurisson: “There are no proofs, therefore I refuse to believe.”

For the first: freedom of expression.

For the second: a sentence of one month to one year of prison, a fine of 2,000 to 300,000 francs, and additional penalties.

Notes

Among the most noteworthy of Baynac’s books have been *La Terreur sous Lénine* (“The Terror Under Lenin,” 1975), *Ravachol et ses compagnons* (“Ravachol and His Companions,” 1976), *Mai retrouvé* (“May [1968] Revisited,” 1978), *Les Socialistes révolutionnaires russes, 1881-1917* (“The Russian Revolutionary Socialists, 1881-1917,” 1979), and *La Révolution gorbatchévienne* (“The Gorbachev Revolution,” 1988). In 1987, he published, along with historian Nadine Fresco, an anti-revisionist article in the Paris daily *Le Monde* entitled “Comment s'en débarrasser?” (“How Can We Get Rid of Them?” [that is, the revisionists]), June 18, 1987, p. 2.

1. ☞ "... si l'histoire scientifique ne peut, faute de documents, établir la réalité d'un fait, elle peut, avec des documents, établir que l'irréalité de ce fait est elle-même irréalité. En établissant que l'inexistence des chambres à gaz est impossible, on liquidera définitivement la prétention du négationnisme à se poser comme une école historique ..." *Le Nouveau Quotidien* (Lausanne), Sept. 3, 1996, p. 14.
2. ☞ *La Déportation: Le Système concentrationnaire nazi* ("The Deportation: The Nazi Concentration Camp System"), a work published under the direction of François Bédarida and Laurent Gervereau (BDIC, 1995), p. 196. Here Pressac estimates from 600,000 to 800,000 Auschwitz deaths,
3. ☞ This is quite a drop from the figure of 9,000,000 given in the widely-viewed film "Night and Fog," or 4,000,000 as established by the Nuremberg Tribunal and as inscribed until 1990 on plaques at the monument at the Auschwitz camp site (where since 1995 the new figure is 1,500,000).
4. ☞ On Pressac, see also: R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers," Spring 1991 Journal, pp. 25-66 (Part I), and Summer 1991 Journal, pp. 133-175 (Part II); Arthur R. Butz, "Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus," May-June 1993 Journal, pp. 23-37; Serge Thion, "A French Scholar Responds to a Widely-Acclaimed Anti-Revisionist Work," July-August 1994 Journal, pp. 28 ff.; "The Jewish World' Against Pressac," Jan.-Feb. 1996 Journal, p. 41.
5. ☞ "... l'absence de documents, de traces ou d'autres preuves matérielles ..." *Le Nouveau Quotidien*, Sept. 3, 1996, p. 14.
6. ☞ A. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), p. 362.
7. ☞ "... il faut reconnaître que la manque de traces entraîne l'incapacité d'établir directement la réalité de l'existence des chambres à gaz homicides." *Le Nouveau Quotidien* (Lausanne), Sept. 3, 1996, p. 14.
8. ☞ "Le Secret partagé" ("The Shared Secret"), *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 21, 1984, p. 80.
9. ☞ Article 31, Jan.-Feb. 1987, p. 22.
10. ☞ E. Wiesel, *All Rivers Run to the Sea, Memoirs* (New York: Random House/ Knopf, 1995), p. 74.
11. ☞ M. Korzec, "De mythe van de efficiënte massamoord" ("The Myth of Efficient Mass Murder"), *Intermediair*, December 15, 1995. See also: R. Faurisson, "A New Version of the Holocaust Story," March-April 1996 Journal, pp. 22-23.
12. ☞ D. J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996), p. 521, n. 81. In this same book (p. 523, n. 4) Goldhagen also writes, "The imbalance of attention devoted to the gas chambers needs to be corrected."
13. ☞ *Profil* (Vienna), September 9, 1996, p. 75: "Die industrielle Vernichtung der Juden ist für mich nicht die Kernfrage zur Erklärung des Holocaust ... Die Gaskammern sind ein Symbol. Es ist aber ein Unsinn zu glauben, daß der Holocaust ohne Gaskammern nicht stattgefunden hätte."
14. ☞ During a visit to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum on August 30, 1994, I met with the Museum's Research Director, Michael Berenbaum. He told me, in the presence of witnesses, that "the decision had been made not to present any physical representation of a Nazi gas chamber." See also: R. Faurisson, "The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum: A Challenge," July-August 1993 Journal, pp. 14-17; "[Gas Chamber Door Fraudulently Portrayed at U.S. Holocaust Museum](#)," September-October 1993 Journal, p. 39; and, R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Facts and Legend," July-August 1997 Journal, pp. 16-17.

15. ☞ In the Baynac article in the September 2 issue of *Le Nouveau Quotidien*, p. 16, there are three minor errors: in the second column, one should read “Florent Brayard” (instead of “Florent Rassinier”); in the third column, “Jean-François Kahn” (in place of “Khan”); and, in the forth column, “Il ne faut pas se demander comment techniquement ...,” instead of “Il ne faut pas se demander si techniquement ...,” or, “It is not necessary to ask oneself how” (instead of “ask oneself if”).
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About the author:

Robert Faurisson was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in four books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this Journal.

This essay is a translation and adaptation of a text written in September 1996.

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Book review

Exposing Stalin's Plan to Conquer Europe

How the Soviet Union 'Lost' the Second World War

- *Poslednyaya Respublika* ("The Last Republic"), by Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun). Moscow: TKO ACT, 1996. 470 pages. Hardcover. Photographs.

Reviewed by [Daniel W. Michaels](#)

For several years now, a former Soviet military intelligence officer named Vladimir Rezun has provoked heated discussion in Russia for his startling view that Hitler attacked Soviet Russia in June 1941 just as Stalin was preparing to overwhelm Germany and western Europe as part of a well-planned operation to “liberate” all of Europe by bringing it under Communist rule.

Writing under the pen name of Viktor Suvorov, Rezun has developed this thesis in three books. *Icebreaker* (which has been published in an English-language edition) and *Dni M* ("M Day") were reviewed in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*. The third book, reviewed here, is a 470-page work, “The Last Republic: Why the Soviet Union Lost the Second World War,” published in Russian in Moscow in 1996.

Suvorov presents a mass of evidence to show that when Hitler launched his “Operation Barbarossa” attack against Soviet Russia on June 22, 1941, German forces were able to inflict enormous losses against the Soviets precisely because the Red troops were much better prepared for war — but for an aggressive war that was scheduled for early July — not the defensive war forced on them by Hitler’s preemptive strike.

In *Icebreaker*, Suvorov details the deployment of Soviet forces in June 1941, describing just how Stalin amassed vast numbers of troops and stores of weapons along the European frontier, not to defend the Soviet homeland but in preparation for a westward attack and decisive battles on enemy territory.

Thus, when German forces struck, the bulk of Red ground and air forces were concentrated along the Soviet western borders facing contiguous European countries, especially the German Reich and Romania, in final readiness for an assault on Europe.

In his second book on the origins of the war, “M Day” (for “Mobilization Day”), Suvorov details how, between late 1939 and the summer of 1941, Stalin methodically and systematically built up the best armed, most powerful military force in the world — actually the world’s first super-power — for his planned conquest of Europe. Suvorov explains how Stalin’s drastic conversion of the country’s economy for war actually made war inevitable.

A Global Soviet Union

In “The Last Republic,” Suvorov adds to the evidence presented in his two earlier books to strengthen his argument that Stalin was preparing for an aggressive war, in particular emphasizing the ideological motivation for the Soviet leader’s actions. The title refers to the unlucky country that would be incorporated as the “final republic” into the globe-encompassing “Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,” thereby completing the world proletarian revolution.

As Suvorov explains, this plan was entirely consistent with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, as well as with Lenin’s policies in the earlier years of the Soviet regime. The Russian historian argues convincingly that it was not Leon Trotsky (Bronstein), but rather Stalin, his less flamboyant rival, who was really the faithful disciple of Lenin in promoting world Communist revolution. Trotsky insisted on his doctrine of “permanent revolution,” whereby the young Soviet state would help foment home-grown workers’ uprisings and revolution in the capitalist countries.

Stalin instead wanted the Soviet regime to take advantage of occasional “armistices” in the global struggle to consolidate Red military strength for the right moment when larger and better armed Soviet forces would strike into central and western Europe, adding new Soviet republics as this overwhelming force rolled across the continent. After the successful consolidation and Sovietization of all of Europe, the expanded USSR would be poised to impose Soviet power over the entire globe.

As Suvorov shows, Stalin realized quite well that, given a free choice, the people of the advanced Western countries would never voluntarily choose Communism. It would therefore have to be imposed by force. His bold plan, Stalin further decided, could be realized only through a world war.

A critical piece of evidence in this regard is his speech of August 19, 1939, recently uncovered in Soviet archives (quoted in part in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 Journal, pp. 32-33). In it, Lenin’s heir states:

The experience of the last 20 years has shown that in peacetime the Communist movement is never strong enough to seize power. The dictatorship of such a party will only become possible as the result of a major war ...

Later on, all the countries who had accepted protection from resurgent Germany would also become our allies. We shall have a wide field to develop the world revolution.

Furthermore, and as Soviet theoreticians had always insisted, Communism could never peacefully coexist over the long run with other socio-political systems. Accordingly, Communist rule inevitably would have to be imposed throughout the world. So integral was this goal of “world revolution” to the nature and development of the “first workers’ state” that it was a cardinal feature of the Soviet agenda even before Hitler and his National Socialist movement came to power in Germany in 1933.

Stalin elected to strike at a time and place of his choosing. To this end, Soviet development of the most advanced offensive weapons systems, primarily tanks, aircraft, and airborne forces, had already begun in the early 1930s. To ensure the success of his bold undertaking, in late 1939 Stalin ordered the build up a powerful war machine that would be superior in quantity and quality to all possible opposing forces. His first secret order for the total military-industrial mobilization of the

country was issued in August 1939. A second total mobilization order, this one for military mobilization, would be issued on the day the war was to begin.

Disappointment

The German “Barbarossa” attack shattered Stalin’s well-laid plan to “liberate” all of Europe. In this sense, Suvorov contends, Stalin “lost” the Second World War. The Soviet premier could regard “merely” defeating Germany and conquering eastern and central Europe only as a disappointment.

According to Suvorov, Stalin revealed his disappointment over the war’s outcome in several ways. First, he had Marshal Georgi Zhukov, not himself, the supreme commander, lead the victory parade in 1945. Second, no official May 9 victory parade was even authorized until after Stalin’s death. Third, Stalin never wore any of the medals he was awarded after the end of the Second World War. Fourth, once, in a depressed mood, he expressed to members of his close circle his desire to retire now that the war was over. Fifth, and perhaps most telling, Stalin abandoned work on the long-planned Palace of Soviets.

An Unfinished Monument

The enormous Palace of Soviets, approved by the Soviet government in the early 1930s, was to be 1,250 feet tall, surmounted with a statue of Lenin 300 feet in height — taller than New York’s Empire State Building. It was to be built on the site of the former Cathedral of Christ the Savior. On Stalin’s order, this magnificent symbol of old Russia was blown up in 1931 — an act whereby the nation’s Communist rulers symbolically erased the soul of old Russia to make room for the centerpiece of the world USSR.

All the world’s “socialist republics,” including the “last republic,” would ultimately be represented in the Palace. The main hall of this secular shrine was to be inscribed with the oath that Stalin had delivered in quasi-religious cadences at Lenin’s burial. It included the words: “When he left us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the responsibility to strengthen and expand the Union of Socialist Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we shall honorably carry out this, your sacred commandment.”

However, only the bowl-shaped foundation for this grandiose monument was ever completed, and during the 1990s, after the collapse the USSR, the Christ the Savior Cathedral was painstakingly rebuilt on the site.

The Official View

For decades the official version of the 1941-1945 German-Soviet conflict, supported by establishment historians in both Russia and the West, has been something like this:

Hitler launched a surprise “Blitzkrieg” attack against the woefully unprepared Soviet Union, fooling its leader, the unsuspecting and trusting Stalin. The German Führer was driven by lust for “living space” and natural resources in the primitive East, and by his long-simmering determination to smash “Jewish Communism” once and for all. In this treacherous attack, which was an important part of Hitler’s mad drive for “world conquest,” the “Nazi” or “fascist” aggressors initially overwhelmed all resistance with their preponderance of modern tanks and aircraft.

This view, which was affirmed by the Allied judges at the postwar Nuremberg Tribunal, is still widely accepted in both Russia and the United States. In Russia today, most of the general public (and not merely those who are nostalgic for the old Soviet regime), accepts this “politically correct” line. For one thing, it “explains” the Soviet Union’s enormous World War II losses in men and materiel.

Doomed from the Start

Contrary to the official view that the Soviet Union was not prepared for war in June 1941, in fact, Suvorov stresses, it was the Germans who were not really prepared. Germany’s hastily drawn up “Operation Barbarossa” plan, which called for a “Blitzkrieg” victory in four or five months by numerically inferior forces advancing in three broad military thrusts, was doomed from the outset.

Moreover, Suvorov goes on to note, Germany lacked the raw materials (including petroleum) essential in sustaining a drawn out war of such dimensions.

Another reason for Germany’s lack of preparedness, Suvorov contends, was that her military leaders seriously under-estimated the performance of Soviet forces in the Winter War against Finland, 1939-40. They fought, it must be stressed, under extremely severe winter conditions — temperatures of minus 40 degrees Celsius and snow depths of several feet — against the well-designed reinforced concrete fortifications and underground facilities of Finland’s “Mannerheim Line.” In spite of that, it is often forgotten, the Red Army did, after all, force the Finns into a humiliating armistice.

It is always a mistake, Suvorov emphasizes, to underestimate your enemy. But Hitler made this critical miscalculation. In 1943, after the tide of war had shifted against Germany, he admitted his mistaken evaluation of Soviet forces two years earlier.

Tank Disparity Compared

To prove that it was Stalin, and not Hitler, who was really prepared for war, Suvorov compares German and Soviet weaponry in mid-1941, especially with respect to the all-important offensive weapons systems — tanks and airborne forces. It is a generally accepted axiom in military science that attacking forces should have a numerical superiority of three to one over the defenders. Yet, as Suvorov explains, when the Germans struck on the morning of June 22, 1941, they attacked with a total of 3,350 tanks, while the Soviet defenders had a total of 24,000 tanks — that is, Stalin had seven times more tanks than Hitler, or 21 times more tanks than would have been considered sufficient for an adequate defense. Moreover, Suvorov stresses, the Soviet tanks were superior in all technical respects, including firepower, range, and armor plating.

As it was, Soviet development of heavy tank production had already begun in the early 1930s. For example, as early as 1933 the Soviets were already turning out in series production, and distributing to their forces, the T-35 model, a 45-ton heavy tank with three cannons, six machine guns, and 30-mm armor plating. By contrast, the Germans began development and production of a comparable 45-ton tank only after the war had begun in mid-1941.

By 1939 the Soviets had already added three heavy tank models to their inventory. Moreover, the Soviets designed their tanks with wider tracks, and to operate with diesel engines (which were less flammable than those using conventional carburetor mix fuels). Furthermore, Soviet tanks were built with both the engine and the drive in the rear, thereby improving general efficiency

and operator viewing. German tanks had a less efficient arrangement, with the engine in the rear and the drive in the forward area.

When the conflict began in June 1941, Suvorov shows, Germany had no heavy tanks at all, only 309 medium tanks, and just 2,668 light, inferior tanks. For their part, the Soviets at the outbreak of the war had at their disposal tanks that were not only heavier but of higher quality.

In this regard, Suvorov cites the recollection of German tank general Heinz Guderian, who wrote in his memoir *Panzer Leader* (1952/1996, p. 143):

In the spring of 1941, Hitler had specifically ordered that a Russian military commission be shown over our tank schools and factories; in this order he had insisted that nothing be concealed from them. The Russian officers in question firmly refused to believe that the Panzer IV was in fact our heaviest tank. They said repeatedly that we must be hiding our newest models from them, and complained that we were not carrying out Hitler's order to show them everything. The military commission was so insistent on this point that eventually our manufacturers and Ordnance Office officials concluded: "It seems that the Russians must already possess better and heavier tanks than we do." It was at the end of July 1941 that the T34 tank appeared on the front and the riddle of the new Russian model was solved.

Suvorov cites another revealing fact from Robert Goralski's *World War II Almanac* (1982, p. 164). On June 24, 1941 — just two days after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war:

The Russians introduced their giant Klim Voroshilov tanks into action near Raseiniai [Lithuania]. Models weighing 43 and 52 tons surprised the Germans, who found the KVs nearly unstoppable. One of these Russian tanks took 70 direct hits, but none penetrated its armor.

In short, Germany took on the Soviet colossus with tanks that were too light, too few in number, and inferior in performance and fire power. And this disparity continued as the war progressed. In 1942 alone, Soviet factories produced 2,553 heavy tanks, while the Germans produced just 89. Even at the end of the war, the best-quality tank in combat was the Soviet IS ("Iosef Stalin") model.

Suvorov sarcastically urges establishment military historians to study a book on Soviet tanks by Igor P. Shmelev, published in 1993 by, of all things, the Hobby Book Publishing Company in Moscow. The work of an honest amateur military analyst such as Shmelev, one who is sincerely interested in and loves his hobby and the truth, says Suvorov, is often superior to that of a paid government employee.

Airborne Forces Disparity

Even more lopsided was the Soviet superiority in airborne forces. Before the war, Soviet DB-3f and SB bombers as well as the TB-1 and TB-3 bombers (of which Stalin had about a thousand had been modified to carry airborne troops as well as bomb loads. By mid-1941 the Soviet military had trained hundreds of thousands of paratroopers (Suvorov says almost a million) for the planned attack against Germany and the West. These airborne troops were to be deployed and dropped behind enemy lines in several waves, each wave consisting of five airborne assault corps (VDKs), each corps consisting of 10,419 men, staff and service personnel, an artillery division, and a separate tank battalion (50 tanks). Suvorov lists the commanding officers and home bases

of the first two waves or ten corps. The second and third wave corps included troops who spoke French and Spanish.

Because the German attack prevented these highly trained troops from being used as originally planned, Stalin converted them to “guards divisions,” which he used as reserves and “fire brigades” in emergency situations, much as Hitler often deployed Waffen SS forces.

Maps and Phrase Books

In support of his main thesis, Suvorov cites additional data that were not mentioned in his two earlier works on this subject. First, on the eve of the outbreak of the 1941 war Soviet forces had been provided topographical maps only of frontier and European areas; they were not issued maps to defend Soviet territory or cities, because the war was not to be fought in the homeland. The head of the Military Topographic Service at the time, and therefore responsible for military map distribution, Major General M. K. Kudryavtsev, was not punished or even dismissed for failing to provide maps of the homeland, but went on to enjoy a lengthy and successful military career. Likewise, the chief of the General Staff, General Zhukov, was never held responsible for the debacle of the first months of the war. None of the top military commanders could be held accountable, Suvorov points out, because they had all followed Stalin’s orders to the letter.

Second, in early June 1941 the Soviet armed forces began receiving thousands of copies of a Russian-German phrase book, with sections dedicated to such offensive military operations as seizing railroad stations, orienting parachutists, and so forth, and such useful expressions as “Stop transmitting or I’ll shoot.” This phrase book was produced in great numbers by the military printing houses in both Leningrad and Moscow. However, they never reached the troops on the front lines, and are said to have been destroyed in the opening phase of the war.

Aid from the 'Neutral' United States

As Suvorov notes, the United States had been supplying Soviet Russia with military hardware since the late 1930s. He cites Antony C. Sutton’s study, *National Suicide* (Arlington House, 1973), which reports that in 1938 President Roosevelt entered into a secret agreement with the USSR to exchange military information. For American public consumption, though, Roosevelt announced the imposition of a “moral embargo” on Soviet Russia.

In the months prior to America’s formal entry into war (December 1941), Atlantic naval vessels of the ostensibly neutral United States were already at war against German naval forces. (See Mr. Roosevelt’s *Navy: The Private War of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, 1939-1942* by Patrick Abbazia [Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1975]). And two days after the “Barbarossa” strike, Roosevelt announced US aid to Soviet Russia in its war for survival against the Axis. Thus, at the outbreak of the “Barbarossa” attack, Hitler wrote in a letter to Mussolini: “At this point it makes no difference whether America officially enters the war or not, it is already supporting our enemies in full measure with mass deliveries of war materials.”

Similarly, Winston Churchill was doing everything in his power during the months prior to June 1941 — when British forces were suffering one military defeat after another — to bring both the United States and the Soviet Union into the war on Britain’s side. In truth, the “Big Three” anti-Hitler coalition (Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill) was effectively in place even before Germany attacked Russia, and was a major reason why Hitler felt compelled to strike against Soviet Russia, and to declare war on the United States five months later. (See Hitler’s speech of December 11, 1941, published in the Winter 1988-89 *Journal*, pp. 394-396, 402-412.)

The reasons for Franklin Roosevelt's support for Stalin are difficult to pin down. President Roosevelt himself once explained to William Bullitt, his first ambassador to Soviet Russia: "I think that if I give him [Stalin] everything I possibly can, and ask nothing from him in return, noblesse oblige, he won't try to annex anything, and will work with me for a world of peace and democracy." (Cited in: Robert Nisbet, *Roosevelt and Stalin: The Failed Courtship* [1989], p. 6.) Perhaps the most accurate (and kindest) explanation for Roosevelt's attitude is a profound ignorance, self-deception or naiveté. In the considered view of George Kennan, historian and former high-ranking US diplomat, in foreign policy Roosevelt was "a very superficial man, ignorant, dilettantish, with a severely limited intellectual horizon."

A Desperate Gamble

Suvorov admits to being fascinated with Stalin, calling him "an animal, a wild, bloody monster, but a genius of all times and peoples." He commanded the greatest military power in the Second World War, the force that more than any other defeated Germany. Especially in the final years of the conflict, he dominated the Allied military alliance. He must have regarded Roosevelt and Churchill contemptuously as useful idiots.

In early 1941 everyone assumed that because Germany was still militarily engaged against Britain in north Africa, in the Mediterranean, and in the Atlantic, Hitler would never permit entanglement in a second front in the East. (Mindful of the disastrous experience of the First World War, he had warned in *Mein Kampf* of the mortal danger of a two front war.) It was precisely because he was confident that Stalin assumed Hitler would not open a second front, contends Suvorov, that the German leader felt free to launch "Barbarossa." This attack, insists Suvorov, was an enormous and desperate gamble. But threatened by superior Soviet forces poised to overwhelm Germany and Europe, Hitler had little choice but to launch this preventive strike.

But it was too little, too late. In spite of the advantage of striking first, it was the Soviets who finally prevailed. In the spring of 1945, Red army troops succeeded in raising the red banner over the Reichstag building in Berlin. It was due only to the immense sacrifices of German and other Axis forces that Soviet troops did not similarly succeed in raising the Red flag over Paris, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Rome, Stockholm, and, perhaps, London.

The Debate Sharpens

In spite of resistance from "establishment" historians (who in Russia are often former Communists), support for Suvorov's "preventive strike" thesis has been growing both in Russia and in western Europe. Among those who sympathize with Suvorov's views are younger Russian historians such as Yuri L. Dyakov, Tatyana S. Bushuyeva, and I. V. Pavlova. (See the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*, pp. 32-34.)

With regard to 20th-century history, American historians are generally more close-minded than their counterparts in Europe or Russia. But even in the United States there have been a few voices of support for the "preventive war" thesis — which is all the more noteworthy considering that Suvorov's books on World War II, with the exception of *Icebreaker*, have not been available in English. (One such voice is that of historian Russell Stolfi, a professor of Modern European History at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. See the review of his book *Hitler's Panzers East* in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*.)

Not all the response to Suvorov's work has been positive, though. It has also prompted criticism and renewed affirmations of the decades-old orthodox view. Among the most prominent new de-

fenders of the orthodox “line” are historians Gabriel Gorodetsky of Tel Aviv University, and John Ericson of Edinburgh University.

Rejecting all arguments that might justify Germany’s attack, Gorodetsky in particular castigates and ridicules Suvorov’s works, most notably in a book titled, appropriately, “The Icebreaker Myth.” In effect, Gorodetsky (and Ericson) attribute Soviet war losses to the supposed unpreparedness of the Red Army for war. “It is absurd,” Gorodetsky writes, “to claim that Stalin would ever entertain any idea of attacking Germany, as some German historians now like to suggest, in order, by means of a surprise attack, to upset Germany’s planned preventive strike.”

Not surprisingly, Gorodetsky has been praised by Kremlin authorities and Russian military leaders. Germany’s “establishment” similarly embraces the Israeli historian. At German taxpayers expense, he has worked and taught at Germany’s semi-official Military History Research Office (MGFA), which in April 1991 published Gorodetsky’s *Zwei Wege nach Moskau* (“Two Paths to Moscow”)

In the “Last Republic,” Suvorov responds to Gorodetsky and other critics of his first two books on Second World War history. He is particularly scathing in his criticisms of Gorodetsky’s work, especially “The Icebreaker Myth.”

Some Criticisms

Suvorov writes caustically, sarcastically, and with great bitterness. But if he is essentially correct, as this reviewer believes, he — and we — have a perfect right to be bitter for having been misled and misinformed for decades.

Although Suvorov deserves our gratitude for his important dissection of historical legend, his work is not without defects. For one thing, his praise of the achievements of the Soviet military industrial complex, and the quality of Soviet weaponry and military equipment, is exaggerated, perhaps even panegyric. He fails to acknowledge the Western origins of much of Soviet weaponry and hardware. Soviet engineers developed a knack for successfully modifying, simplifying and, often, improving, Western models and designs. For example, the rugged diesel engine used in Soviet tanks was based on a German BMW aircraft diesel.

One criticism that cannot in fairness be made of Suvorov is a lack of patriotism. Mindful that the first victims of Communism were the Russians, he rightly draws a sharp distinction between the Russian people and the Communist regime that ruled them. He writes not only with the skill of an able historian, but with reverence for the millions of Russians whose lives were wasted in the insane plans of Lenin and Stalin for “world revolution.”

About the author:

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954), a Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957), and recently retired from the US Department of Defense after 40 years of service.

Quotes from JHR Volume 17 number 5

Renewal From the Bottom

“When I look back on the process of history, I see this written over every page, that the nations are renewed from the bottom, not from the top; that the genius which springs from the ranks of the unknown is the genius which renews the youth and energy of the people. The utility, the vitality, the fruitage of life does not come from the top to the bottom, it comes, like the natural growth of a great tree, from the soil, up through the trunk into the branches to the foliage and the fruit.”

-- Woodrow Wilson

A New Meritocracy

“By the 1970s, the principal television news producers and editors were also Jews — Fred Friendly and Richard Salant at CBS, Reuven Frank at NBC, Avram Westin at ABC. In whichever form of expression or communication, the public idiom by then manifestly had ceased to be a province of an Old American elite. It belonged to a new meritocracy.”

-- Howard M. Sacher, *A History of the Jews in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), p. 773.

'Smartest People'

“I think Jews are the smartest people in the world,” says film director Rob Reiner (“A Few Good Men,” “When Harry Met Sally”). “For thousands of years, they didn’t have a homeland. They got kicked out of places. They had to live by their wits, so they always stressed education.

“Because we are the smartest people in the world,” Reiner adds, “we are also the most hated. People feel threatened. We’re the smartest group of people, and yet we’re the lawyers, the doctors, the bankers. We’ve risen to high levels in society and that’s resented.”

With regard to the film industry, Reiner goes one to say, “it’s all run by Jews, even Disney.”

-- Quoted by Paul Freeman in *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*, Dec. 4, 1992, pp. 38, 40.

“All censorships exist to prevent anyone from challenging current conceptions and existing institutions. All progress is initiated by challenging current conceptions, and executed by supplanting existing institutions. Consequently, the first condition of progress is the removal of censorships.”

-- George Bernard Shaw,
“The Author’s Apology” (1902)

Only a Facade

“Today democracy is a facade of plutocracy. Because the peoples will not tolerate naked plutocracy, power is nominally turned over to them, while real power rests in the hands of the plutocrats. In democracies, whether republican or monarchical, the statesmen are marionettes, and the capitalists are the wire pullers: they dictate the political guidelines, they control the voters by buying public opinion, through business and social connections [they control] higher government officials ... The plutocracy of today is more powerful than the aristocracy of the past, because nothing stands above it except the state, which is its tool and helper.”

-- Count Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Pan-european” publicist and political figure, in his book *Praktischer Idealismus* ("Practical Idealism"), Vienna, 1925.

How the Jewish-Zionist Grip on American Film and Television Promotes Bias Against Arabs and Muslims

Abdullah Mohammad Sindi

Unquestionably the most powerful molder of opinion in the world today is the American global media, and especially the Hollywood motion picture industry. Ever since Zionist Jews forcibly established the State of Israel on the land of Arab Palestine in 1948 (with a great deal of American help), and as Arabs and Israelis have struggled for control of this land in the years since, Hollywood and the rest of American mass media have carried out a campaign to disparage Arabs and tarnish their image.

American motion pictures and television — which have promoted negative images of non-Caucasians, including Native Americans, African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, and Asian-Americans — since the 1950s have singled out Arabs and Muslims, more often than any other ethnic-religious group, as objects of hatred, contempt, and derision. (Because Arabs are the world's most numerous Semitic group, this hostility against them is literally anti-Semitic.)

'Villain of Choice'

In American television, writes Professor Shaheen, “the villain of choice today is the Arab.” He also says: “To be an Arab in America today is to be an object of contempt and ridicule by television under the guise of entertainment. To me this anti-Arab image on entertainment manifests itself in the politics of America.” ^[1]

Misconceptions

This media campaign fosters numerous misconceptions about Arabs and their prevailing religion, Islam. For example, although Arabs have lived for centuries in thriving metropolitan centers such as Rabat, Algiers, Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Beirut, Mecca (Makkah) and Baghdad, and have built complex, civilized societies across the Arab world, as well as in Europe's Iberian Peninsula, many Westerners have been persuaded to believe that Arabs are typically uncultured nomads who live in desert tents.

Similarly, while many Americans regard OPEC — the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries — as synonymous with Arabs and the Arab world, and while the US media routinely blames Arabs whenever OPEC decides to raise oil prices, in fact six of the 13 OPEC member states are not Arab.

Also typically, American television and motion pictures often depict Arabs and Muslims, uniquely, as religious bigots, lacking any tolerance for the religious sensibilities of others. In fact, for much of history, Islam has been more tolerant of Christianity (and of Judaism) than vice

versa. Moreover, it was Jewish Zionists who established Israel, in the “promised land” of Palestine, as a state exclusively for the “chosen people.”

While the Arabic word “Allah” is often invoked in American films in a way designed to evoke derision and cynicism, conjuring an image of some weird pagan deity, in fact “Allah” is simply the Arabic word for God. Not only Arab Muslims, but Arab Christians and even Arab Jews, use this word as their term for God.

Although officially classified by US government agencies as “White” or “Caucasian,” Arabs (and particularly Arab men) are sometimes depicted in American television and movies as Negroid blacks, reinforcing a derogatory image of Arabs as so-called “sand niggers.”

“Terrorists” are active all over the world, in countries as diverse as Britain, Italy, Ireland, Russia, Germany, Spain, Japan, Israel, and the United States. (The terrorist record of the Jewish Defense League, for example, is well documented. In 1985 the FBI named the JDL as the second most active terrorist groups in the US.) [2] However, Hollywood has done much to encourage Americans to associate “terrorists” with Arabs (especially Palestinians), and Muslim “militants.”

Arab Takeover?

Highly-publicized Arab purchases of some US corporations in the 1970s and 1980s set off hysterical cries in this country’s periodical press and electronic media about the danger of Arabs allegedly “buying up” America. In reality, these purchases were unexceptional, no different than numerous other cross-border investments carried out routinely around the world over the last century. Actually, during the 1980s Canada, Britain, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Japan accounted for nearly 90 percent of direct foreign investment in the US. Direct foreign investment from OPEC member countries, the US Department of Commerce reported, accounted for less than one percent of the total. [3]

Jewish Power in Hollywood

Negative images of Arabs in American motion pictures are hardly surprising given the major role played by Jews and other supporters of Zionism in Hollywood. In his 1988 study, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood*, Jewish author Neal Gabler shows that Jews established all of the major American film studios, including Columbia, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Warner Brothers, Paramount, Universal, and Twentieth-Century Fox. The American film industry, writes Gabler, [4]

was founded ... and operated by Eastern European Jews ... And when sound movies commandeered the industry, Hollywood was invaded by a battalion of Jewish writers, mostly from the East. The most powerful talent agencies were run by Jews. Jewish lawyers transacted most of the industry’s business and Jewish doctors ministered to the industry’s sick. Above all, Jews produced the movies ... All of which led F. Scott Fitzgerald to characterize Hollywood carpingly as “a Jewish holiday, a gentiles [sic] tragedy.”

So rapidly did Jews come to dominate Hollywood that as early as 1921 Henry Ford’s *Dearborn Independent* was moved to fulminate that American motion pictures are [5]

Jew-controlled, not in spots only, not 50 percent merely, but entirely; with the natural consequence that now the world is in arms against the trivializing and demoralizing

influences of that form of entertainment as presently managed ... As soon as the Jews gained control of the “movies,” we had a movie problem, the consequences of which are not yet visible.

In his detailed 1994 study, *Sacred Chain: A History of the Jews*, New York University professor Norman F. Cantor, pointed out that Hollywood film production and distribution was “almost completely dominated in the first 50 years of its existence by immigrant Jews and is still dominated at its top level by Jews ... The last Gentile bastion in Hollywood, the Disney studio, came under Jewish executive leadership in the early 1990s.” [6]

Jewish historian and journalist Jonathan J. Goldberg, makes a similar point in his 1996 survey, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment*. He writes: [7]

... Jews are represented in the media business in numbers far out of proportion to their share of the population ... In a few key sectors of the media, notably among Hollywood studio executives, Jews are so numerically dominant that calling these businesses Jewish-controlled is little more than a statistical observation.

Hollywood at the end of the twentieth century is still an industry with a pronounced ethnic tinge. Virtually all the senior executives at the major studios are Jews. Writers, producers, and to a lesser degree directors, are disproportionately Jews — one recent study showed the figure as high as 59 percent among top-grossing films.

The combined weight of so many Jews in one of America’s most lucrative and important industries gives the Jews of Hollywood a great deal of political power. They are a major source of money for Democratic candidates. The industry’s informal patriarch, MCA chairman Lew Wasserman, wields tremendous personal clout in state and national politics ...

Hollywood’s Jewish executives greeted the founding of Israel in 1948 with ecstasy. One Jewish film executive, Robert Blumofe, later recalled the euphoric mood of the time: “And suddenly Israel, even to the least Jewish of us, represented status of some sort. It meant that we did have a homeland. It meant that we did have an identity ... All of this was terribly, terribly uplifting.” [8]

In the decades since, Hollywood has presented an image of Arabs that is often cruel and barbaric. Manifesting its support for Israel, and its opposition to the Arab and Muslim worlds, which have strongly opposed the invasive Zionist state, Hollywood developed a cinema genre around the Arab-Israeli conflict. In this spirit, Hollywood has produced numerous “good guy/bad guy” films over the last 50 years, simplistically portraying heroic and righteous Israeli Jews prevailing against treacherous and barbaric Arabs. During the 1960s alone, at least ten such major Hollywood films were produced. [9]

In such films, Israeli Jews and their American friends are frequently played by popular and good-looking Jewish-American actors such as Paul Newman, Tony Curtis, and Kirk Douglas, as well as handsome non-Jewish actors such as Yul Brynner, John Wayne, Jane Fonda, Frank Sinatra, Charlton Heston, George Peppard, Rock Hudson, Sal Mineo, and Arnold Schwarzenegger. Arabs, predictably, are routinely portrayed as and cruel, cynical, and ugly.

During a publicity interview for her 1981 film “*Rollover*” (in which “the Arabs” destroy the world financial system), actress Jane Fonda, “the progressive leftist” of the 1960s, bluntly expressed her own bigoted view of Arabs: “If we are not afraid of the Arabs, we’d better examine

our heads. They have strategic power over us. They are unstable, they are fundamentalists, tyrants, anti-women, anti-free press." [10]

It is not possible to recount here all of Hollywood's many anti-Arab or anti-Muslim pictures over the last several decades, but here are some representative productions:

In "Exodus" (1960), brutal Arabs kill an attractive 15-year-old Jewish girl played by Jill Hayworth; in "Cast a Giant Shadow" (1966), Arabs leer and laugh as they shoot an Israeli woman trapped in a truck; in "Network" (1976, and winner of four Academy Awards), a crusading television news commentator warns that Arabs, "the medieval fanatics," are taking control of the US; in "Black Sunday" (1977) an Israeli plays the hero, while Arabs are the villains and terrorists who want to kill Superbowl spectators, including the President of the United States; in "The Delta Force" (1986), "Iron Eagle" (1986), and "Death Before Dishonor" (1987), Hollywood shows viewers how to deal decisively with the low-life, no-good, dirty Arab terrorists; in the Disney studio's animated film production, "Aladdin" (1992), the theme song brazenly refers to Arabia as barbaric ("It's barbaric, but hey, it's home"); in "True Lies" (1994), an Arab terrorist with nuclear weapons has to be stopped; in "Executive Decision" (1996) yet another group of Arab militants hijacks an American plane; and in "Kazaam" (1996), an Arab criminal and a black genie enjoy eating a "centuries-old Arab delicacy," a plate of goats' eyes.

More recent motion pictures with negative images of Arabs or Muslims include "Not Without My Daughter" and "The Siege." In "The Siege," Muslims wage a bombing campaign against innocent Americans. In response, federal authorities declare martial law and carry out mass arrests of Muslims and Arabs across the United States. [11]

Television

It is difficult to exaggerate the role played by television in shaping the mindset and outlook of the American people. Dr. George Gerbner, former Dean of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania, put it this way: "Television, more than any single institution, molds American behavioral norms and values. And the more TV we watch, the more we tend to believe in the world according to TV, even though much of what we see is misleading." [12]

Like the US motion picture industry, American television is dominated by Jews and supporters of Zionism. While American Jews constitute only about two or three percent of the US population, [13] Irving Pearlberg, a Jewish-American television writer, maintains that no less than 40 percent of American television writers are Jewish. [14] During the early 1990s, notes New York University professor Norman Cantor, "one TV network was already headed by a Jew (Laurence Tisch at CBS), and Jews are prominent executives and producers at the other two major networks as well." [15]

Ben Stein, Jewish-American author of *The View From Sunset Boulevard*, forthrightly acknowledged: [16]

A distinct majority, especially of the writers of situation comedies, is Jewish ... TV people have certain likes ... and dislikes ... and these likes and dislikes are translated into television programming. In turn, this problem raises the public acceptance of the favored groups and the public dislikes of the resented groups.

Given this reality, it is hardly surprising that one rarely, if ever, sees a Jewish or Israeli figure portrayed as a villain on American television. On the contrary, Israelis in particular and the Jews in general are routinely portrayed in the American mass media as heroic, insightful, sophisticated, witty, intelligent, compassionate, physically attractive, confident, humane, and successful.

On the other hand, like the Arab in Hollywood movies, the US television Arab is often physically unappealing, wealthy, stupid, sexist, crude, lazy, uncultured, cruel, rude, greedy, fanatical, anti-American, and anti-Christian. He is often portrayed as a terrorist, a plane hijacker, a polygamist, a sex-maniac, a hostage-taker, a murderer, a kidnapper of young blond-haired, blue-eyed women, an oil sheikh blackmailer, and oddly dressed (often in a red-checkered kuffiyyah headdress, or in ungainly gowns or robes).

News reporting on American television, as well as its presentations of history and other serious subjects, routinely has a distinctly pro-Israeli or pro-Jewish slant. This is understandable, of course, given the prominent role of Jews in television news departments, and the many Jews (often with obvious Zionist biases) employed as reporters, frequently covering the Arab-Israeli conflict or the Middle East generally.

Seldom does America's Zionist-oriented media fairly present the Arab or Muslim point of view, particularly on such issues as the plight of displaced Palestinians, oil politics, or the struggle against Western imperialism. For example, the Zionists who invaded Arab Palestine during the 1930s and 40s, are frequently (and misleadingly) referred to as "homeless" Jews. Similarly, Israeli military actions against Arabs over the last 50 years are routinely justified as acts of "retaliation" against Palestinian and Arab aggression or terrorism.

Whereas the Zionist-Jewish point of view is frequently presented on American television without challenge, the Arab or Muslim point of view (when is even adequately given) is often presented only together with a "balancing" Zionist-Jewish perspective.

In addition to producing films and programming that are supportive of Israel, and distorting the views and positions of Arabs and Muslims (especially with regard to the struggle against the Zionist occupation of Palestine), Hollywood and the American television networks effectively censor pro-Arab and pro-Muslim motion pictures and television programming. During the 1970s, for example, American motion picture theaters and television networks boycotted and "killed" a pro-Palestinian film produced by Vanessa Redgrave, the well-known British actress and leftist activist.

James McCartney, a veteran American journalist, once said what many Arabs and Muslims have thought for decades: ^[17]

It is my personal belief that if the media as a whole in the western world had done an adequate job in reporting from the Middle East, it would not have been necessary for the Palestinians to resort to violence to draw attention to their case.

Christian Apologists

Many non-Jews also help promote a distorted pro-Zionist and anti-Arab portrayal of the past and present on American television. This is especially true of the Christian fundamentalist "televangelists" — such as Pat Robertson, Jimmy Swaggert, Jim Bakker, Jerry Falwell, and Oral Roberts — who have dominated America's "religious" broadcasting. These passionate defenders of Israel and Zionism show no sympathy for the plight of fellow Christians under Zionist rule, but even

castigate Christian and Muslim Palestinians for resisting Zionist oppression and the Jewish subjugation of their historic homeland. This is not only tragic, but ironic in light of the fact that Israel treats the Christians (and Muslims) under its rule essentially as second-class citizens.

Such apologists for Israel often engage in gross distortions of history. For example, some Christian televangelists cite alleged massacres of Hebrews in ancient times (portrayed as the equivalent of modern Israelis) at the hands of the Assyrians (who are portrayed as the equivalent of modern-day Arab Syrians), and at the hands of the Babylonians (portrayed as the equivalent of modern-day Arab Iraqis). Ignored, however, is any mention of the numerous ancient Hebrew massacres of Philistines (the ancestors of today's Palestinians), as reported in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). In the Sixth Chapter of the book of Joshua, for example, we read as follows: "And they [Hebrews] utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep and ass, with the edge of the sword." [18]

Pervasive Negative Images

In his detailed study, *The TV Arab*, Arab-American scholar Jack G. Shaheen — professor emeritus of broadcast journalism at Southern Illinois University — documents pervasive negative imagery of Arabs by all American television networks, and by practically all leading newscasters and personalities working for them. For this book, Dr. Shaheen examined more than 100 popular television programs, totaling nearly 200 episodes, and interviewed numerous television executives, producers, and writers. American television, concludes Dr. Shaheen — including popular entertainment, comedy, drama, documentaries, news, and even sports and religious and children's broadcasting — across the board has, at one time or another, presented distorted and demeaning images of Arabs.

In addition to Hollywood movies and scripted television programming, viewers can also find "humorous" Arab bashing on live, unscripted television broadcasting, even by prominent TV personalities. To get a laugh from a television talk show audience, Merv Griffin (who is not Jewish) once brazenly equated Arabs with animals: "If you lie down with Arabs, [you] get up with fleas." Once, referring to traditional Arab dress and fashion, Jewish television comedienne Joan Rivers laughingly told her viewers: "I can never tell if it's the wife or the husband because they're all in bedsheets." And Jewish comedian Alan King once disparagingly frowned when describing the traditional clothing of Sultan Qaboos of Oman, saying: "What the hell is he dressed up for? Oman's got eleven people and a goat." [19]

Even programming aimed at children has not been free of demeaning portrayals of Arabs. Among the popular animated cartoon characters who have fomented derogatory or hateful images of Arabs, Dr. Shaheen shows, have been Bugs Bunny, Yosemite Sam, Goofy, Woody Woodpecker, Popeye, Scooby-Doo, Heckle and Jeckle, Porky Pig, Plastic Man, Richy Rich, Pinky and the Brain, Animaniacs, and Duck Tales.

Pressing for Explanations

In interviews with American television executives, Dr. Shaheen pressed for an explanation for the hypocrisy and lack of decency and self-restraint in this pattern of Arab stereotyping on TV. Many of those questioned, he reports, were "embarrassed," and reluctantly acknowledged the widespread disparagement of Arabs, without, however, explaining the reasons for such prejudiced imagery.

Donn O'Brien, CBS vice president of broadcast standards, sheepishly admitted to Shaheen that he had never seen a "good Arab" on American television, and that Arabs are routinely presented as covetous desert rulers or as warmongers. "Arabs are rarely portrayed as good guys," acknowledged Frank Glicksman, a Jewish-American TV producer in Los Angeles. "I've never seen them portrayed as anything but heavies in melodrama. That, I feel, is unfair." Another Hollywood television producer, Don Brinkley, conceded: "The depiction of the Arab on television is generally horrendous." And George Watson, vice president of ABC News, admitted: "Arabs have not been seen to be as real, as close, or as tangible, either as individuals or as a group, as the Israelis ..."

[20]

Not all television executives were as forthcoming, however. Jewish television producer Meta Rosenberg, for example, bluntly responded to Shaheen's inquiry by saying that she did not care about the Arabs, and considered the Arab-American community — which now numbers well over three million — to be "insignificant." Shaheen also contacted Norman Lear, one of America's most successful and influential television producers. Among his popular and innovative hit shows have been "All in the Family," and "The Jeffersons." In none of his numerous productions, Shaheen notes, has this Jewish executive ever presented a humane Arab. Lear simply refused to meet with Shaheen, answer any of his multiple letters, or even talk to him by phone. [21]

More than a few of those who work in the media, including some Jews, have expressed concern over the pattern of Arab bashing in American motion pictures and television. Journalist John Cooley, for example, acknowledged that "no other ethnic group in America would willingly submit to what Arabs and Muslims in general have faced in the United States media." [22] Columnist Nicholas Von Hoffman, writing in the Washington Post, told readers that "no national, religious or cultural group... has been so massively and consistently vilified" as the Arabs. Jewish writer Meg Greenfield, a veteran Washington Post columnist, expressed the view that "there is a dehumanizing, circular process at work here. The caricature dehumanizes ... [But the caricature] is inspired and made acceptable by an earlier dehumanizing influence, namely an absence of feeling for who the Arabs are and where they have been." And Steve Bell of ABC News said simply: "The Arab is no doubt a current victim of stereotyping not only on television, but throughout the mass media in the United States." [23]

High Price of Speaking Out

Although criticism of specific Israeli policies is permissible in the United States, it is more or less forbidden to express fundamental criticism of the Zionist state, of America's basic policy of support for Israel, or of the Jewish-Zionist grip on the US media or America's political and academic life. (Remarkably, this is in contrast to the situation in Israel itself, where Jews and even Arab citizens of the Zionist state have much greater freedom than Americans publicly to criticize Zionism and Israeli policies.)

Prominent persons who dare to violate this prohibition are immediately castigated as "anti-Semitic" (that is, anti-Jewish), and pay a heavy price in damage to their reputations or careers. Politicians who publicly speak out against America's support for Zionism risk almost certain political ruin. Among the political or governmental figures whose careers were destroyed because they violated the powerful taboo have been US Senators William Fulbright, Adlai Stevenson III, and Charles Percy, Congressmen Paul McCloskey and Paul Findley, and Deputy Secretary of State George Ball. [24]

Those who merely "slip up" are obliged to recant. Thus, Marlon Brando was promptly and severely chastised after criticizing Jewish Hollywood producers and executives for promoting vi-

cious racist stereotyping of minorities. Even though what the well-known actor had said during an April 1996 broadcast interview with Larry King was demonstrably true, a short time later Brando was forced to issue a craven apology.

Sometimes the price for speaking out is more severe than the defaming of one's reputation or the ruin of one's career. On October 11, 1985, Alex Odeh, the West Coast regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, was killed in a bomb blast when he entered his group's office in Santa Ana, southern California. The previous evening the Palestinian-born Odeh had appeared on a local news show to present an Arab perspective on the Arab-Israeli conflict. The FBI announced that the Jewish Defense League (JDL) was responsible for the murder of Odeh, and at least two other terrorist incidents. The three JDL associates who were suspected of carrying out the killing fled to Israel to avoid punishment. No one has ever been tried for the murder of Alex Odeh. ^[25]

Hate Crimes

Unlike other minority groups in the United States, Arab-Americans have had to endure hostility not only from ignorant and prejudiced individuals, but in addition from powerful Jewish-Zionist elements in the mass media.

For one thing, television and print journalists often identify Arab-Americans or Muslim-Americans who are suspected of crimes by their ethnic or religious origin, a practice that incites already latent public prejudice and hatred. Thus one can find newspaper reports with headlines such as "Arabs Battle Police" or "Muslims are Arrested." Non-Arab criminal suspects are rarely, if ever, similarly identified by ethnic or religious origin.

Whenever acts of terrorism take place against the US or Israel, or the US or Israel is involved in military conflicts with Arab countries or groups, ordinary Arab-Americans become victims of hate.

As a result of the US-led military action against Iraq in late 1990 and January 1991, for example, hate crimes against Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans, including arson, bombings, and assaults, tripled. ^[26] Incidents of harassment and physical attacks against Arab-Americans similarly increased across the country in the wake of the February 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City, and of the April 1995 Oklahoma City federal building bombing. Arab-Americans were targeted as if they were personally responsible for these terrorist attacks.

Immediately following the Oklahoma City bombing, some reporters, such as CNN's Wolf Blitzer, accused Arabs of this act of terrorism. Similarly, CBS newswoman Connie Chung declared: "US government sources told CBS News that [the bombing] has Middle East terrorism written all over it." ^[27] Even after Timothy McVeigh was arrested and indicted for the Oklahoma City bombing, New York Times columnist A. M. Rosenthal baldly asserted that "most other attacks against Americans came from the Middle East." ^[28]

As a result of such hasty and false accusations, in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing there were 227 reported incidents of hostility, both violent and non-violent, against Arabs and Muslims across the US. ^[29] Men and women of Arab origin were insulted, threatened, cursed, picketed, spat on, and, in a few cases, physically attacked. Vandals broke into homes of Arab-Americans and destroyed property. Other hoodlums vandalized Arab-American businesses and other properties, spray-painting hateful slogans such as "Why don't you terrorists go back to your own coun-

try,” “Get out of America,” “You’re not Americans,” “You dirty Arabs,” “You don’t belong here,” “Go back home,” and “You will pay for this.” [30]

In 1997, reports the Council on American-Islamic Relations (Washington, DC), there were 280 incidents of anti-Muslim violence, discrimination, stereotyping, bias and harassment last year in the United States. This is an increase of 18 percent in such incidents over the previous year. [31] The full scope of the and anxiety, fear and humiliation endured by individual Arab-Americans is obviously impossible to measure, but unquestionably many individual Arab-Americans have suffered in their personal, social, and professional lives, particularly if they are immigrants or first-generation citizens who (like this writer) speak English with an accent. [32]

Some Arab-Americans have chosen to endure such bigotry and prejudice in silence. Others have responded by returning to their countries of origin, or by denying or concealing their heritage. Quite a few have “Americanized” or “Westernized” their first and last names, in an effort to “pass” as southern- or eastern-Europeans. Early in his career acclaimed motion picture actor F. Murray Abraham (who received an “Oscar” for his role in “Amadeus”), sought to escape prejudice by hiding his Arab identity.

Ominous Implications

Summing up the deplorable situation, Professor Shaheen has stated: [33]

Because Arabs and Arab civilization are held in contempt by many in Hollywood, many Americans and their political representatives have few if any positive feelings about Arabs. Their impressions are based in part on the clouded image of the TV screen ... Stereotyping tends to be self-perpetuating, providing not only information but ... “pictures in our heads.” These pictures of Arabs reinforce and sharpen viewer prejudices. Television shows are entertainment, but they are also symbols ... A villain is needed in [television and motion picture] conflicts that pit good against evil. Today’s villain is the Arab... depicted as the murderous white-slaver, the dope dealer, the fanatic ... To make matters worse ... America’s TV image of the Arab is marketed throughout the world ...

Non-Jewish Americans are also victims of the Jewish-Zionist grip on America’s motion picture and television industries, propagandistically manipulated by alien interests that foment artificial distrust and enmity between peoples who, objectively, have no conflicting interests.

The hostility and prejudice against Arabs and Muslims engendered by Hollywood and US television infects not only tens of millions of Americans, but also hundreds of millions of credulous viewers worldwide. Such noxious propaganda over a period of decades inevitably has grave long-term consequences. This flood of ethnic-religious poison understandably produces deep resentment among hundreds of millions of Arabs and Muslims around the globe — creating a vast and growing reservoir of resentment and rage that one day will almost certainly erupt with terrible fury.

Notes

1. [U](#) Jack G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State Univ. Popular Press, 1984), p. 11; Quoted in: Richard H. Curtiss, *A Changing Image: American Perceptions of the Arab-Israeli Dispute* (Washington, DC: American Educational Trust, 1982), p. 153.

2. U Mark Weber, *The Zionist Terror Network: Background and Operation of the Jewish Defense League and Other Criminal Zionist Groups* (Institute for Historical Review, 1993), p. 6.
3. U J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), p. 13.
4. U Neal Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood* (New York: Doubleday [and Crown], 1988), pp. 1-2.
5. U Quoted in: N. Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own* (1988), p. 277.
6. U Norman F. Cantor, *Sacred Chain: A History of the Jews* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994), pp. 390, 401.
7. U Jonathan J. Goldberg, *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* (Addison-Wesley, 1996), pp. 280, 287-288. This book was reviewed in the March-April 1998 *Journal*, pp. 37-38.
8. U Quoted in: N. Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own* (1988), p. 350.
9. U Michael Parenti, *Make-Believe Media: The Politics of Entertainment* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p. 30.
10. U Quoted in: M. Parenti, *Make-Believe Media*, p. 30.
11. U Faisal Kutty, Bushira Yousuf, "Hollywood's View of Arabs, Muslims," *Toronto Star*, Sept. 14, 1998. Reprinted in "Other Voices" supplement to *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (Washington, DC), December 1998, p. S-10.
12. U Quoted in: Jack G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), p. 7.
13. U 1997 *Britannica Book of the Year* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica), pp. 311, 739.
14. U Quoted in: J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), p. 127.
15. U Norman F. Cantor, *Sacred Chain* (cited above), p. 401.
16. U Quoted in: J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), pp. 127-8.
17. U Quoted in: Richard H. Curtiss, *A Changing Image: American Perceptions of the Arab-Israeli Dispute* (cited above), p. 145.
18. U Joshua 6: 21-14. See also, for example, Exodus 32: 26-29; Numbers 21: 2-3, 31-35; Deuteronomy 2: 34-35, 3:6, 7: 1-5, 20: 13-17; Joshua 8: 24-29, 10: 28-40, 11: 7-8, 14, 21-23; 2 Kings 10: 17, 30. For more on this, see: Mohammad T. Mehdi, *Terrorism: Why America is the Target* (New York: New World Press, 1998), p. 66.
19. U Quoted in: J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (cited above), pp. 67, 57.
20. U J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), pp. 114, 70, 111.
21. U J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), pp. 127, 62.
22. U Quoted in: R. H. Curtiss, *A Changing Image* (1982), p. 153.
23. U Quoted in: J. G. Shaheen, *The TV Arab* (1984), pp. 122, 7, and back cover.
24. U For details see: Paul Findley, *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby* (Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1985). See also: Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978).
25. U M. Weber, *The Zionist Terror Network* (1993), esp. pp. 5-6.
26. U Richard Wormser, *American Islam: Growing Up Muslim in America* (New York: Walker & Co., 1994) p. 121.
27. U Quoted in: Terry Allen, "Professional Arab-Bashing," *Covert Action Quarterly*, No. 53, Summer 1995, p. 20.
28. U Quoted in: T. Allen, "Professional Arab-Bashing," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Summer 1995, p. 21.
29. U T. Allen, "Professional Arab-Bashing," *Covert Action Quarterly*, Summer 1995, p. 21.

30. ☞ Ann Talamus, "War in the Gulf, Repression at Home: FBI Targets Arab-Americans" *Covert Action Quarterly*, No. 36, Spring 1991, pp. 4-8; R. Wormser, *American Islam* (cited above), p. 4.
 31. ☞ F. Kutty, B. Yousuf, "Hollywood's View of Arabs, Muslims," *Toronto Star*, Sept. 14, 1998 (cited above).
 32. ☞ As an Arab I have faced ethnic-based hostility, from both Jews and Christians, in my academic career. During the 1980s and 1990s, when I taught at four different southern California universities and colleges, I was denied promotion.
 33. ☞ Quoted in: R. H. Curtiss, *A Changing Image* (cited above), p. 153.
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In Saudi Arabia Sindi served as a professor at the Institute of Diplomatic Studies (Jeddah), and as an assistant professor at King Abdulaziz University. In the United States he has taught at the University of California, Irvine, California State University in Pomona, Cerritos Junior College, and Fullerton Junior College.

This essay is adapted from the first chapter of his forthcoming book, *The Arabs and the West: The Contributions and the Inflections* (1999).

'Culture War' Profile

Subverting the Disney Legacy

How Michael Eisner Has Transformed the 'Magic Kingdom'

Mark Weber

For more than 40 years, the company founded and built by Walt Disney offered popular, well-crafted entertainment that upheld American values and traditions. Its films and television programming — even if sometimes sugary — epitomized, to use the much-mocked phrase, wholesome family entertainment.

It was the work largely of one man, Walter Elias Disney (1901-1966), a gifted illustrator, brilliant filmmaker and genial entrepreneur who left a lasting mark on American popular culture. His cartoon characters, animated films, and amusement parks, are recognized around the world.

In 1928 he launched the beloved Mickey Mouse character in an animated film, “Steamboat Willie,” that became an immediate hit. In the decades that followed, Disney dominated animation art with such innovative and hugely popular films as “Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs” (1937), “Pinocchio” (1940), “Fantasia” (1940), and “Bambi” (1942). He also oversaw the production of such enduring feature films as “Treasure Island” (1950), “Robin Hood” (1952), “20,000 Leagues Under the Sea” (1954), “The Swiss Family Robinson” (1960), “The Absent-Minded Professor” (1960), and “Mary Poppins” (1964).

Politically conservative and ardently anti-Communist, the hard-working Disney was habitually involved in every stage of production and management. He and his work were honored with 39 Academy Awards, and hundreds of other awards and tributes.

Under New Management

A period of stagnation that followed the founder’s death came to an end in September 1984 when Michael Eisner became the Disney company’s Chairman and Chief Executive Officer. Eisner moved quickly to install fellow Jews in top positions throughout the Disney operation, and soon Hollywood’s last gentile-run studio passed into Jewish hands.

As media critic Michael Medved has pointed out, “The famous Disney organization, which was founded by Walt Disney, a gentile Midwesterner who allegedly harbored anti-Semitic attitudes, now features Jewish personnel in nearly all its most powerful positions.” (“Jews Run Hollywood. So What?,” Moment magazine, August 1996.) Under the new management, Disney company sales and profits soared, and the revitalized company reclaimed a leading place in the entertainment world.

A Mighty Media Empire

With its acquisition in 1995 of Capital Cities/ABC, Disney became the world's largest entertainment company. The Walt Disney Company today is a sprawling and highly profitable international business empire. (Revenue for fiscal year 1998 was \$23 billion, and net income \$1.9 billion.) With major holdings in film, television, radio and publishing, the company has a tremendous impact on the mindset and behavior of hundreds of millions around the globe.

Through Walt Disney Pictures (headed by Joe Roth), Touchstone Pictures, Hollywood Pictures, Miramax (run by the Weinstein brothers), and Caravan Pictures, it is one of the world's largest film producers and distributors.

Through the 1995 merger, Disney acquired the ABC Television network, which owns ten television stations outright. It also has 225 affiliated TV stations in the United States, and is part owner of several European television companies. Among its other TV holdings are Walt Disney Television, Touchstone Television, and Buena Vista Television. Disney also controls three major cable television networks with more than 100 million subscribers: ESPN (headed by Steven Bornstein), Lifetime Television, and Arts & Entertainment (A&E and the History Channel).

Through its 1995 ABC acquisition, Disney owns 26 AM and FM radio stations, and has more than 3,300 ABC radio affiliates. The company also owns daily newspapers and glossy consumer magazines (including Discover), and Hyperion Press book publishers.

In addition to Disneyland — the “Magic Kingdom” amusement park in southern California opened by Walt Disney in 1955 — the company today owns Disney World (Florida), Epcot Center, Tokyo Disneyland, and Euro Disney (France), as well as the “Mighty Ducks” hockey team and the “Anaheim Angels” baseball team. Each year Disney also sells well over a billion dollars worth of consumer products — toys, books and clothing — through more than 500 Disney stores.

Wealthy and Machiavellian

Michael D. Eisner, born in 1942 into a well-to-do Jewish family, was raised on Manhattan's Upper East Side and educated in private schools. His father was a Harvard lawyer who served as a high-ranking official in President Eisenhower's administration.

As Disney chairman, Eisner has been fabulously — some might say obscenely — compensated. His annual base salary of \$750,000 is only a small portion of his Disney income, which is mostly from stock option profits. In 1993, for example, Eisner's total compensation was a staggering \$203 million, while in 1997 he exercised options on 21.9 million shares for a profit of \$550 million.

Since 1984, chairman Eisner has received nearly \$1 billion from Disney, including base salary, bonuses, and stock options (Los Angeles Times, Dec. 4, 1997). In January 1997 he signed a ten-year extension contract with the company valued at some \$200 million.

Eisner has cultivated a public image of himself as friendly, trustworthy, and even boyish. But those who know him well regard him as treacherous and Machiavellian. David Geffen, a fellow Hollywood mogul who has known Eisner well for years, said of him in a 1995 interview: “Michael is a liar. And anyone who has dealt with him, genuinely dealt with him, knows he's a liar.”

Cultural Revolution

Since 1984, Michael Eisner and his colleagues have refashioned Hollywood's most culturally conservative and family-oriented studio into one of its most culturally seditious and anti-traditional. In doing so, they betrayed the founder's legacy, degraded his values, and demeaned the company's defining spirit.

Under Eisner's direction, the Disney company has turned out motion pictures packed with graphic violence and killing (such as "Pulp Fiction"), as well as rock music albums loaded with gross obscenities (such as "Insane Clown Posse" by "The Great Malenko" "hip hop" band).

Even Commentary, the magazine of the American Jewish Committee (March 1998), was moved to lament: "If the old Disney tells us something inspiring about who we were not so very long ago, the new and even more hugely lucrative Disney is just another signpost marking our long, steep cultural descent."

'Pink Triangle' Disney

While support for homosexuals has been widespread in Hollywood for years, under Eisner the Disney company — in the words of the American Family Association — has become "one of the leading promoters of the homosexual lifestyle, as well as the homosexual political and social agenda in America today." Eisner himself is a board member of "Hollywood Supporters," an influential and aggressive homosexual advocacy organization. The Disney company advertises in homosexual publications such as Out magazine, and has given financial support to at least one benefit for the "National Gay and Lesbian Task Force."

In 1996, actress Ellen DeGeneres "came out" as openly homosexual, both personally and as the lead character on the "Ellen" sitcom series, broadcast on the Eisner-controlled ABC television network. Eisner introduced insurance benefits for same-gender partners of Disney's homosexual employees. For some years now, he has sanctioned "Gay Day" at Disney World, an event that each year draws throngs of boisterous "in your face" homosexuals.

"In the interest of full disclosure," quipped Boston Herald columnist Don Feder, "Disney should change its corporate logo to show a pink triangle flying over Cinderella's castle." He went on to refer to Disneyland as "The Magic Kink-dom."

Assault Against Christianity

Under Eisner, the Disney company has waged a "cultural war" against Christianity, scorning the religious sensibilities of the vast majority of Americans.

In a 1995 statement, the American Catholic Lawyers Association indignantly declared

We all remember the Disney Company from the days when it produced films your children could actually watch without losing their innocence — films which showed a decent respect for Christianity and Christian values. But that was before Mr. Michael Eisner took the helm of the Disney conglomerate. Now the Disney Company has joined the rest of Hollywood in obsessively attacking the Catholic Church and pumping R-rated filth into our culture — under cover of its subsidiary, Miramax Films, whose co-chairmen are Bob and Harvey Weinstein.

A particularly offensive example of the Eisner/Disney assault is “Priest,” a 1995 motion picture released by the company’s Miramax subsidiary. It tells the story of four Roman Catholic clergymen: one is homosexual, another is alcoholic, a third has a mistress, and the fourth is insane.

One of the strongest voices protesting this movie, and Disney’s anti-Christian productions generally, has been that of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, a New York-based civil rights organization. “Priest,” said League president William Donahue, “displays the most profound hostility to the Catholic Church that I have seen in the last 15 years of reviewing movies.” Eisner, Donahue added, would never approve a film that similarly portrays depraved Jewish rabbis or morally bankrupt homosexuals, or which contains cruel caricatures of African-Americans.

Anti-Arab

Reflecting the Zionist sentiments of its top management, the Eisner-run Disney company has produced a number of anti-Arab motion pictures in recent years. In a 1994 movie, “The Return of Jafar,” for example, hook-nosed Arabs are referred to as “desert skunks.” “The Father of the Bride, Part II” (1995), includes a loathsome Arab-American character named Habib (played, ironically, by Eugene Levy). “Kazaam” (1996), produced by Disney’s Touchstone pictures, includes an assortment of villainous Arab characters, including a black marketer named Malik. Other recent anti-Arab Disney films include “In the Army Now” and “GI Jane.”

In August 1996 the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee organized a demonstration outside the Disney studios to protest the company’s pattern of anti-Arab productions.

White America Under Fire

For some years now, Hollywood and American television have churned out numerous films and television productions that distort European-American history and disparage white America’s racial-cultural heritage. Under Eisner, Disney has moved to the forefront of this “politically correct” assault.

Among the recent Disney films that misrepresent and malign America’s European heritage has been “Pocahontas,” a 1995 animated film that portrays Indians (“native Americans”) as liberated, nature-loving, wise and noble, while depicting Europeans as narrow-minded, ignorant, bigoted and greedy.

Under the “Hollywood Records” label, Eisner/Disney has issued CD albums with anti-white lyrics, including one by black “rap” singer “Prince Akeem,” who blames black poverty on a “white conspiracy.” In April 1996 Eisner fired New York City’s most popular radio talk show host, Bob Grant, from his job at Disney-owned WABC for allegedly white racist rhetoric.

'Economic War'

Some of the millions of Americans whom Eisner and his colleagues have affronted are fighting back. Most notably, the nation’s two largest Christian groups — the Roman Catholics and the Southern Baptists — have declared “economic war” against Eisner/Disney.

In 1996 the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights announced a “nationwide charge against Disney, making use of every legal means available — from boycotts to stockholder revolts,” to pressure the company into ending its hostility to Christianity and Catholicism. Roman

Catholic dioceses across the country and the Catholic fraternal association Knights of Columbus sold off millions of dollars in Disney stock.

The Southern Baptists — with 16 million members, the largest Protestant denomination in the United States — voted overwhelmingly in 1996 and again in 1997 to boycott Disney films and products. The group cited the company's trashing of traditional and family values, and in particular its support for homosexuality.

The Assemblies of God church — an evangelical Christian denomination with 2.5 million members — launched its own anti-Disney boycott campaign in 1996. It criticized the company for "abandoning the commitment to strong moral values."

Such boycott efforts seem to have had little lasting impact, however, because Disney company products and services are so widely available, often under non-Disney labels, because pre-Eisner Disney images are still so beloved, and, more generally, because of public apathy.

Seductive and Dangerous

Because Eisner and the others who run the motion picture and television industries are able to shape the public's barely conscious basic assumptions about life and society, thereby profoundly influencing the thinking and actions of millions, they wield greater power than even our elected lawmakers.

A lust for profits does not adequately explain the social-cultural agenda of Eisner and the others who control the American media. Rather, they seem driven by priorities that are fundamentally hostile to this nation's most vital traditions and basic values.

Precisely because the Eisners of Hollywood and New York beguilingly pose as friends, they are more insidious, and ultimately more dangerous, than even a military threat from a foreign power.

Eisner's transformation of Disney parallels, and contributes to, the cultural, social and political transformation of the United States as a whole. Like America's political leaders, Eisner and his Disney colleagues reassuringly display familiar symbols and trademarks from an earlier era, exploiting reputations and good-will painstakingly built up over decades. Those who patronize Disney are reassured that such beloved symbols as Mickey Mouse and Snow White are still in place, just as millions of credulous Americans are reassured about the future of the United States because such icons as the American flag and the US Constitution are still in place. But in each case, the spirit that gave life to these venerable symbols has been driven out by a very different one — a spirit that has not yet dared to show its real face, or speak its real name.

From The Journal of Historical Review, Sept. — Oct. 1998 (Vol. 17, No. 5), pages 10-13.

Disinformation

The Big Hollywood Lie: Denying that Jews Control the Film Business

When country singer Dolly Parton told Vogue magazine a couple of months ago that her idea for a TV series about a country singer who becomes a gospel singer was turned down by Hollywood, she said that “everyone’s afraid to touch anything that religious because most of the people out here are Jewish, and it’s a frightening thing for them to promote Christianity.” Truer words were never spoken.

But the ADL’s chief troublemaker, Abe Foxman, immediately flew into one of his by-now tiresome furies and fired off a letter (which he made available to the news media, of course) to Dolly, scolding her for her innocent, honest comment. Foxman charged that Ms. Parton was invoking “the old antisemitic stereotype of Jewish control of Hollywood and hostility toward Christianity.” He did not, however, directly contradict her or deny that Hollywood is controlled by his fellow Jews.

Being the nice person she is and knowing on which side her bread is buttered, Dolly dutifully and publicly apologized. She wrote to Foxman, “I regret that my words could have conjured up an impression of Jewish 'control' of Hollywood.” Ever the arrogant, whining bully, Foxman accepted Ms. Parton’s atonement, informing the media that it was a “refreshing capitulation.” And the Hollywood lie lives on.

The Jewish denial that Hollywood is controlled by Jews is a great lie which can be attested to by anyone who has ever been associated with the film industry. Here is but one example.

In the late 1970s, New American View editor Victor Marchetti was working as a screenwriter on a spy movie. The producer, the director, Marchetti’s agent and just about everyone else was Jewish. The proposed film was shopped around to several major studios. All the executives at all the studios with whom the project team met, with one exception — Alan Ladd, Jr., then head of 20th Century Fox — were Jewish.

At one meeting, at MCA-Universal (the studio which produced “Schindler’s List”), the discussion was interrupted when a latecomer entered the studio head’s office and took a seat next to Marchetti. He was a little, nondescript person who seemed out of place in the production meeting. The studio head halted the discussion and, turning to the little man, asked if he had any problems with the project after having read the treatment, an abbreviated script. The man, speaking with a foreign accent, said no, smiled at Marchetti, and departed.

“Who is he?” Marchetti asked the studio head.

The powerful Hollywood boss answered, “He’s an Israeli. I just wanted to make sure there was nothing in this movie that he would not like.” As the meeting continued, Marchetti began to

count noses. Of the nine people in the office, Marchetti was the only non-Jew. It reminded him of many meetings he had attended in the publishing world in New York, where often he had been the only Gentile out of a dozen or more people discussing a book project.

Marchetti's Jewish agent leaned over and asked in a whisper, "What are you thinking about?"

"Everybody in the room is Jewish except me." "Forget about that," the agent said. "You just better hope that your Jews are smarter than the studio's. We're talking big bucks."

Since then, Marchetti has had several other involvements with the Hollywood movie crowd. It was always the same. The Jews were, and remain, in control of Tinsel Town. To say otherwise is to lie.

It is bad enough when a group representing less than three percent of the American population — and many of whose members have a self-proclaimed first loyalty to a foreign nation — should be in control of so many of America's cultural, financial and governmental institutions. But it is positively insulting for them to deny their influence and power — particularly when they themselves are continually boasting in their own circles about their "overrepresentation" in these fields. And it is absolutely infuriating when this denial reaches the point that non-Jews are attacked by Jewish agitators and Zionist zealots for stating obvious facts and truth.

Most Americans have always been suspicious of too much power in too few hands. That's what the Constitution is all about. And that is why we have never trusted elitist groups which have tried to dictate to us. So, if we don't trust the old-line establishment, the old elite, why should we not be suspicious of the new elite — the Jewish establishment — and its excessive power in America.

This essay is reprinted from the April 1, 1994, issue of New American View, a newsletter edited by Victor Marchetti. (It is no longer published.) Marchetti served for 14 years with the CIA, where he rose to be executive assistant to the deputy director. His book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, co-authored with John Marks, was the first critical account of the agency written by an insider. Marchetti's presentation at the Ninth IHR Conference, "Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History," was published in the Fall 1989 *Journal of Historical Review*.

Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud

A Holocaust survivor memoir that has received prestigious literary awards and lavish praise has been exposed as a hoax.

In *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood*, Benjamin Wilkomirski describes his ordeal as an infant in the Jewish ghetto of Riga (Latvia), where his earliest memory is of seeing his father being killed. Wilkomirski also tells how he survived the terrible rigors of wartime internment, at the age of three or four, in the German-run concentration camps of Majdanek and Auschwitz.

First published in German in 1995, *Fragments* has been translated into twelve languages. In Switzerland, the country where Wilkomirski lives, the book has been a major best-seller. Two documentary films and numerous personal appearances by the author in schools throughout the country have helped promote the memoir.

The American edition was published by Schocken, an imprint of Random House, which heavily promoted the book with teachers' study guides and other supplementary materials.

Jewish groups and major American newspapers have warmly praised *Fragments*. The New York Times called it “stunning,” and the Los Angeles Times lauded it as a “classic first-hand account of the Holocaust.” It received the 1996 National Jewish Book Award for Autobiography and Memoir, while in Britain it was awarded the Jewish Quarterly Literary Prize, and in France the Prix Memoire de la Shoah.

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC — a federal government agency — was so impressed that it sent Wilkomirski on a six-city United States fund-raising tour last fall.

This past summer, though, compelling evidence came to light exposing Wilkomirski's memoir as an literary hoax.

Although he claims to have been born in Latvia in 1939, and to have arrived in Switzerland in 1947 or 1948, Swiss legal records show that he was actually born in Switzerland in February 1941, the son of an unwed woman, Yvette Grosjean. The infant was then adopted and raised by the Doessekkers, a middle-class Zurich couple. Jewish author Daniel Ganzfried, writing in the Swiss weekly *Weltwoche*, also reports that he has found a 1946 photo of the young Bruno Doessekker (Wilkomirski) in the garden of his adoptive parents.

Comparisons have been drawn between Wilkomirski's *Fragments* and *The Painted Bird*, the supposedly autobiographical “Holocaust memoir” by prominent literary figure Jerzy Kosinski that turned out to be fraudulent.

Reaction by Jewish Holocaust scholars to the new revelations has been instructive, because they seem more concerned about propagandistic impact than about historical truth. Their primary regret seems merely to be that the fraud has been detected, not that it was perpetrated.

In an essay published in a major Canadian newspaper (Ottawa Citizen, Nov. 18, 1998), Jewish writer Judith Shulevitz arrogantly argued that it doesn't really matter much if *Fragments* is authentic. Her main misgiving, apparently, is that the deceit was not more adroit: "I can't help wishing Wilkomirski-Doesseker [sic] had been more subtle in his efforts at deception, and produced the magnificent fraud world literature deserves."

Deborah Dwork, director of the Center for Holocaust Studies at Clark University (Worcester, Mass.), and co-author of *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (Yale Univ. Press, 1996), agrees that *Fragments* now appears to be fraudulent. At the same time, though, she expressed sympathy for Wilkomirski, saying that when she met him he appeared "to be a deeply scarred man." Amazingly, Dwork does not blame him for the imposture, "because she believes in his identity." Instead, she takes the publishers to task for having "exploited" Wilkomirski. (New York Times, Nov. 3, 1998).

Deborah Lipstadt, author of the anti-revisionist polemic *Denying the Holocaust*, has assigned *Fragments* in her Emory University class on Holocaust memoirs. When confronted with evidence that it is a fraud, she commented that the new revelations "might complicate matters somewhat, but [the work] is still powerful."

Daniel Ganzfried reports that Jews have complained to him that even if *Fragments* is a fraud, his exposé is dangerously aiding "those who deny the Holocaust."

American Jewish writer Howard Weiss makes a similar point in an essay published in the Chicago Jewish Star (Oct. 9-29, 1998):

Presenting a fictional account of the Holocaust as factual only provides ammunition to those who already deny that the horrors of Nazism and the death camps ever even happened. If one account is untrue, the deniers' reasoning goes, how can we be sure any survivors accounts are true ... Perhaps no one was ready to question the authenticity of the [Wilkomirski] account because just about anything concerning the Holocaust becomes sacrosanct.

Wilkomirski himself has responded to the new revelations by going into hiding, although he did issue a defiant statement describing the climate of discussion about his memoir as a "poisonous" atmosphere of "totalitarian judgment and criticism."

— M. W.

The Holocaust Museum's 'Black Liberators' Fraud

Mark Weber

Those who promote what Jewish-American scholar Michael Goldberg calls “the Holocaust cult” (in his book *Why Should Jews Survive?*) have for decades sought to make the story more “relevant” and “meaningful” for non-Jewish Americans by appealing to patriotic sentiments. This has meant, for example, emphasizing the role of American troops as liberators of German concentration camps during the final weeks of the Second World War.

Adding to this, Holocaust campaigners have sought to appeal to the racial sensitivities of African-Americans by promoting the story that two all-black US army units — the 761st Tank Battalion and the 183rd Combat Engineers Battalion — liberated the infamous Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps in April 1945. In its issue of May 31, 1988, *The New York Times* reported, for the first time, that black GIs had liberated Dachau and Buchenwald. The paper cited African-American leader Jesse Jackson as the source.

This story was given much greater prominence in late 1992 with the release of *Liberators: Fighting on Two Fronts in World War II*, issued as a much-touted “documentary” film and as a lavishly-illustrated book. In the film, two black veterans of the 761st “recalled” their role in liberating Dachau, ramming their tanks against the camp gates and encountering enemy machine gun fire from a burning barn. Also in the film, two elderly Jews who had been inmates in Buchenwald “recounted” their liberation by black GIs.

The “highlight” of the film, reported the Newsletter of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, is a “deeply moving reunion” at Buchenwald of former inmate Benjamin Bender “with two of his liberators,” E. G. McConnell and Leonard Smith. Actually, this “moving reunion” is a staged fraud. “It’s a lie,” confirmed McConnell in 1993. “We were nowhere near these camps when they were liberated ... I first went to Buchenwald in 1991 with PBS [television], not the 761st.” No black troops participated in the liberation of either Buchenwald or Dachau.

All this has been known since 1993. The “black liberators” fable was dissected, for example, in a four-page report, “Multi-Media 'Liberators' Project Exposed as Fraud,” published in the May-June 1993 *Journal*. But in spite of the 1993 revelations, the US Holocaust Museum — a federal government center operated by the taxpayer-funded United States Holocaust Memorial Council — has continued to propagate this fraud.

“The Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, is perpetrating a falsehood; and, worst of all, it knows it,” wrote Mark Schulte recently in *The Weekly Standard* (August 10-17, 1998, p. 20), an influential “neo-conservative” magazine. On the second floor of the Museum’s permanent exhibition, visitors can view a ten-minute movie. “Spliced into footage of Dachau’s liberation on April 29, 1945,” *The Weekly Standard* report goes on, “are several photographs of Buchenwald [showing black GIs] taken five days after the camp’s liberation, when a small contingent from the 183rd Combat Engineers delivered water purification equipment.”

Similarly, two books published with the cooperation and approval of the US Holocaust Museum also perpetrate the “black liberators” story. In a lavishly illustrated 1993 guide book, *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, author (and Museum official) Michael Berenbaum includes a large photograph (page 188) showing black GIs, identified as “American liberators,” in the Buchenwald camp on “April 11, 1945.” In fact, this photograph was taken five days after the camp’s liberation. This same photo, with a similarly deceitful caption, is also published in *Liberation 1945*, another work produced in cooperation with the Holocaust Museum.

At the time of the Museum’s opening in 1993, Jewish writer Melvin Jules Bukiet aptly noted: “It’s not Jewish tragedy that’s remembered on the Mall this week; it’s Jewish power to which homage is paid.” (*The Washington Post*, April 18, 1993, p. C3). Given the Museum’s origins, and the character of those who run it, deceitful history — of which the “black liberators” story is only one example — is fully to be expected.

Review

Much 'Holocaust' But No History: The Failure of Rabbi Berenbaum

- *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed, and the Reexamined*, edited by Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press (in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum [Washington, DC]), 1998. Hardcover. 851 pages (xv+836). Source references. Index. \$65.00

Reviewed by [Robert Faurisson](#)

Michael Berenbaum, co-editor of this collection of essays, is a theologian and a rabbi. His personal drama arises from having wished, for several years, to pose as a historian, and from finding himself now, with the publication of this book, to be the plain and simple theologian and rabbi who, in reality, he has never ceased to be. Until rather recently (1993-early 1994) he had tried to reply to the revisionists on their own terms, that is, on the basis of material, technical and scholarly arguments: in short, on the level of historical research.

But in this 1998 work there is no more of all that: here we are back to the “Holocaust” dogma, amid statements made without substantiating evidence in a quasi-immaterial world. No longer is anything “disputed” or “reexamined,” except certain near-theological points, like the question of whether the “intentionalists” or the “functionalists” are right in their interpretations of the Germans’ “genocide” of the Jews. This work offers not one photograph, model, drawing or document. Only on the dust jacket does there appear a photograph, that of a heap of shoes. Already in 1993 this image could viewed at the Washington Holocaust Museum, with the caption: “We are the shoes, we are the last witnesses.”

Berenbaum Gives Up on History

In the 1980s and early '90s, several advocates of the “Holocaust” argument tried to adopt an approach based on scholarly and historical reasoning, if only to counter the revisionists. This was the stance of Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Georges Wellers, Adalbert Rückerl, Hermann Langbein, Eugen Kogon, and Serge Klarsfeld (with the aid of the pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac). Even Michael Berenbaum engaged in this pursuit, first in his 1993 Museum guidebook, *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, and then in a 1994 book he co-edited (with Yisrael Gutman), containing essays of 25 contributors: *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, published by Indiana University Press in association with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

But, in August 1994, an event was to disrupt Berenbaum’s life. He allowed me to visit him in his office at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, in the presence of two other high-level Museum officials. Having taken note of his arrogant attitude, I decided to spare him nothing and, before

his two colleagues, I spelled out for him, one by one, certain facts that showed the Museum and his book to be devoid of any scholarly or demonstrative value. In response he became quite angry, and ended up telling me that if the Museum exhibited no real material representation of a gas chamber (the door on display therein being that of a delousing gas chamber, and the model a mere whimsical mock-up), it was because “the decision has been made not to give any physical representation of the gas chambers.”

That interview probably contributed to his more recent decision to abandon the scholarly and historical terrain to the revisionists. It is also likely that the 1995-96 writings of anti-revisionist authors convinced him that the case for the “Holocaust,” with its purported genocide and gas chambers, had become completely indefensible on the scholarly and historical level.

One such author, French journalist and historian Eric Conan, reluctantly admitted that my discovery of the late '70s was legitimate: the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz main camp, visited by millions of tourists since 1948, is merely an imposture and not a “reconstruction.” (See “Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal,” *L'Express* [Paris], Jan. 19-25, 1995, esp. p. 68. See also: “Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud,” Jan.-Feb. 1995 Journal, p. 23.)

Another anti-revisionist writer, Robert Jan van Pelt (who had collaborated with Berenbaum on the 1994 collective work), aligned himself with Conan’s position, and even reinforced it, in his 1996 study, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (with Debórah Dwork, Yale Univ. Press, 1996, esp. pp. 363-64, 367-69).

The coup de grâce was delivered by French historian Jacques Baynac who, in spite of his intense hostility to revisionism, came to recognize that there was no evidence at all with which to establish the existence of wartime homicidal gas chambers. (*Le Nouveau Quotidien* [Lausanne, Switzerland], issues of September 2 and 3, 1996. See: “An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges: There is no Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers,” July-August 1998 Journal, pp. 24-28.)

The Victory of Elie Wiesel and Claude Lanzmann

Concerning the “Holocaust” or “Shoah,” Elie Wiesel and Claude Lanzmann (giving credit where it is due) have always avoided the scholarly historical method as they would the plague. In his memoir the former has written “Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination” (*All Rivers Run to the Sea*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1994, p. 74), while Lanzmann has stated that, if he had been able to find suitable archival photographs for his film “Shoah,” he would have “destroyed them” (David Szerman, “Shoah,” *Le Chroniqueur* [a French Jewish community periodical], June 30, 1993, p. 38).

For his part, historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen has, in a way, followed their recommendations. His much-discussed 1996 work, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners*, is a kind of moral or philosophical dissertation in which the author deliberately neglects the precept that every historian should strive to uphold: to establish the material facts before making any commentary.

The Rabbi’s Wrath, And His Warning

For this latest book Michael Berenbaum has enrolled 54 authors under his banner. The great majority of them are Jewish, and all, including Raul Hilberg, respect the religious dogma of the “Holocaust” to the letter. I consider Hilberg to be gifted, as Arthur Butz has put it, with “a remarkable cabalistic mentality” (*The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* [IHR, 1976/1997], p. 7).

Berenbaum has even rallied to his camp Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer, who at times has suffered from lapses of independence. In 1992, for example, Bauer suddenly rejected the importance of the Wannsee conference, declaring: "It was a meeting, but hardly a conference ... little of what was said there was executed in detail." He continued: "The public still repeats, time after time, the silly story that at Wannsee the extermination of the Jews was arrived at. Wannsee was but a stage in the unfolding of the process of mass murder." ("Wannsee's importance rejected," *The Canadian Jewish News*, Jan. 30, 1992).

But in this new book, which contains a contribution by Bauer, that gathering is referred to (p. 155) as "the eventful Wannsee Conference."

In his contribution to this work, Bauer goes so far as to anathematize Arno Mayer, a professor at Princeton University who, in a book published in 1988, made no secret of his wish to put the "Holocaust" back into the sphere of History. Entitled *Why Did the Heavens not Darken?* (New York: Pantheon), it bore the subtitle *The "Final Solution" in History*, which, in the author's mind, meant "in History and not in legend or mere belief." In that book — and this point deserves stressing — Prof. Mayer committed a grave sin against the dogma, particularly in his treatment of the "gas chambers," of Auschwitz, and of the Einsatzgruppen. In *The Holocaust and History* (p. 15) Bauer dismisses Mayer in a few words, castigating his popularization of "nonsense," his "cocksure" book, and of engaging in a "subtle form of Holocaust denial." Bauer even states that Mayer "flies in the face of well-known documentation."

Also in this anthology, Polish historian Franciszek Piper issues a warning to anyone who might be tempted to engage in an endeavor that, not so long ago, he himself engaged in: that of rationally analyzing the facts and techniques relating to the alleged extermination of the Jews. Thus one may read (p. 384) these words from the pen of Poland's specialist of the Auschwitz camp: "The work ahead requires sensitive attention to the tragedy of the victims and forbids reduction of genocide to a technological process." His master's voice (that of Rabbi Berenbaum) can be heard here.

The Title's Meaning

In choosing *The Holocaust and History* as the title for his new book, editor Berenbaum naturally intended the reader to understand that the "Holocaust" was a historical event. It so happens, though, that the title he selected is, from his own point of view, rather unfortunate because of its unintentionally revealing quality. In effect, the word "and" by itself shows, without his having intended it, that the "Holocaust" is one thing, and History another thing altogether. The "Holocaust" is a fiction, a dogma, a religion. History is, or at least should be, a matter of facts, reason, and science.

This patchwork of texts by 55 writers (Hilberg's contribution dates from 1993) is merely an assortment of essays containing much "Holocaust" but no History. With regard to the aforementioned *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, a work co-edited by Berenbaum and published in 1994 that consists of 25 contributions, I have had occasion to say that this is rather a "Cacophony on the Auschwitz 'Death Camp'." With regard to this new work, published four years later and consisting of 55 contributions, I shall certainly not speak of cacophony. This ensemble's members are in unison; all are playing the same score. We are in a synagogue; chorus and orchestra obey, closely and strictly following Rabbi Berenbaum's baton. It is everything that one could expect in such a setting: a religious assembly, a ceremony, the celebration of a service. But it is definitely not a seminar of historians, nor a historical work.

— August 12, 1998

Robert Faurisson was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in four books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this Journal.

Quotes from JHR Volume 17 number 6

'Holocaust Mono-Culture'

“In the terrible tragedy of the [Second World] war there is a unique element: the deportation and murder of Jews and resistance fighters by the Nazis. But that lasted four years altogether. The much greater crime of the Soviet Gulags took place over decades, and cost the lives of millions. Millions also perished in the Chinese camps, and there have been terrible genocides in Cambodia and Vietnam. None of these crimes has ever received the same consideration as the annihilation of the Jews. And this is a kind of mono-culture, which I find shocking.”

— Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France’s National Front party, quoted in Der Spiegel, No. 46/1996.

“From such a defeat [May 1945], one does not recover any longer, as peoples formally recovered after great battles like Jena or Sedan. Such a defeat marks a turning point in the life of nations.”

— Ernst Jünger, 1945

War: Threat to Liberty

“Of all the enemies to public liberty war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxers; and armies, and debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few. In war, too, the discretionary power of the Executive is extended; its influence in dealing out offices, honors and emoluments is multiplied; and all the means of seducing the minds, are added to those of subduing the force, of the people ... [There is also] an inequality of fortunes, and the opportunities of fraud, growing out of a state of war, and ... degeneracy of manners and of morals ... No nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare.”

— James Madison

'Blameless Victims?'

“... Nowhere is the question asked: to what extent are Jews themselves responsible for the hostility displayed toward them? Since the holocaust, Jewish leaderships the world over have proclaimed the view that as the visible objects of persecution, the Jews are blameless victims. It was not always thus.

“One of the earliest scholarly examinations by a Jew of the causes of Jewish persecution, written by Solomon ibn Verga in the early 16th century, drew attention (in the context of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain [1492]) to the inevitable consequences of patterns of behaviour which inspired envy and reeked of ostentation.

“Nor have Jews always been particularly wise in their political decisions. The Chmielnicki massacres of 1648-56 were in large measure the result of an ill-fated alliance between the Jews of Poland and the Polish nobility, and of consequential Jewish complicity in that nobility’s persecution of the Ukrainian peasantry...

“Part, at least, of the explanation of anti-Jewish prejudice in contemporary Eastern Europe is to be found in the popular image of the Jews as purveyors of communism and allies of Stalin; this image is of course distorted, but reflects a certain unpalatable truth.”

— Geoffrey Alderman, professor of politics and contemporary history, University of London, in “Blameless Victims?,” *The Times Higher Education Supplement* (London), Oct. 22, 1993.

Coming Battle

“America’s battle is yet to fight; and we, sorrowful though nothing doubting, will wish her strength for it. New Spiritual Pythons, plenty of them, enormous Megatherions, as ugly as were ever born of mud, loom huge and hideous out of the twilight Future on America; and she will have her own agony, and her own victory, but on other terms than she is yet quite aware of.”

— Thomas Carlyle

“My conclusions about the late [First World] war remain as follows: (a) that the American pretense of neutrality down to 1917 was dishonest and dishonorable, (b) that the interests of the United States were actually on the side of Germany, and against both England and France, (c) that the propagation of the notion to the contrary was a very deft and amusing piece of swindling ... Every day I meet some man who was hot for the bogus Wilsonian idealism in 1916 and 1917, and is now disillusioned and full of bile. Such men I do not respect.”

— H. L. Mencken, *Baltimore Evening Sun*, June 12, 1922.

Double Standards

“The [1940] massacre of Polish officers in the Katyn forest may have been condemned at Nuremberg as a crime against humanity, yet the man who signed the order, NKVD official Petr Soprunenko, is living peacefully in Moscow as an old-age pensioner. So are Dmitri Kopylansky, Raul Wallenberg’s MGB interrogator, and General Pavel Sudoplatov, Trotsky’s murderer, to name just a few. Are we to forgive them all, without even a court hearing? Are we to accept what the world firmly rejected 45 years ago?

“This is what I call “morally appalling”: the double standards we seem to accept so easily. Why, may I ask, is murdering in the name of National Socialism a crime against humanity while murdering in the name of International Socialism is not? Why did Rudolf Hess die in Spandau prison, whereas Boris Ponomarev can live out his last years in a comfortable Moscow apartment?

Is there no limit to our hypocrisy? No sooner is some bloody monster like the former East Germany's Erich Honecker put on trial than many of the same people who applaud hunting down elderly Nazi war criminals are up in arms pleading in the name of humanity his old age and poor health. If those are our moral standards, why are we so shocked by the atrocities committed in Bosnia? What else did we expect from the former Communist leaders of the former Yugoslavia?"

— Vladimir Bukovsky, author, writing in *Commentary*, October 1993, p. 12.

Absurd

"The notion that a modern society must also be prepared to establish itself as a multicultural society, with as many cultural groups as possible, is one that I regard as mistaken. One cannot belatedly transform Germany, with its thousand-year-old history since Otto I, into a melting pot ... To turn Germany into a immigration country is absurd. That could lead to us being swamped."

— Helmut Schmidt, former German Chancellor, in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Feb. 12, 1992. Quoted in *Nation u. Europa* (Coburg), Jan. 1999, p. 32.

Revisionist Activism in Australia

The Adelaide Institute Conference

For some time now, Australia has been one of the most dynamic battlefields in the worldwide struggle against the historical blackout. And at the forefront of the battle there is the Adelaide Institute, which publishes an important revisionist newsletter and maintains an information-packed Internet web site.

Centered in South Australia's largest city, and funded by donations, the Adelaide Institute was founded in 1994 by Fredrick Töben, who directs its work and edits its newsletter (P.O. Box 3300, Norwood 5067, Australia. E-mail: [\[email protected\]](#)).

Born in northern Germany in 1944, Dr. Töben (Töben) studied at Melbourne University in Australia, as well as at universities in Heidelberg, Tübingen and Stuttgart in Germany, where he earned a doctorate in philosophy. He also hold a Master's degree in education, and has worked as a school teacher in Victoria, Australia.

The Institute's twice-monthly newsletter has developed into one of the most informative revisionist periodicals anywhere, with a keen readership around the world. A typical issue, twelve pages in length, reports on revisionist activism both at home and abroad, and provides news and commentary about recent noteworthy historical news. Aspects of revisionist scholarship are sometimes dealt with in detail.

In the spring of 1997 Töben made a round-the-world tour, financed by Adelaide Institute supporters, that included an inspection visit of the Auschwitz camp site, and meetings with revisionist scholars and activists in North America and Europe.

In radio and television appearances, Dr. Töben has been an outspoken voice for historical accuracy and free historical inquiry.

All this has predictably enraged the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby. In 1997 the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), the country's main Jewish community organization, brought legal action against Töben to shut down the Institute's web site (<http://www.adam.com.au/fredadin/adins.html>). In this case, the first test of the country's Racial Discrimination law involving the Internet, Töben was brought before the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). Outraged by its guiding principle that truth is no defense, Töben walked out of the Commission hearing and refused to cooperate further with it.

A Successful Conference

Over the weekend of August 7-9, 1998, the Adelaide Institute hosted Australia's first-ever revisionist conference. About 50 persons attended the successful three-day meeting in Adelaide,

which was noteworthy for the scope and depth of the presentations. While much of the focus was on the Holocaust issue, other subjects were dealt with as well. The meeting, which began on Friday, the 7th, with registration at a hotel and an informal dinner, continued over the next two days at the comfortable and stately Fernilee Lodge.

Speakers included Arthur Butz and John Sack from the United States, and Jürgen Graf from Europe. In addition, a number of revisionist scholars and activists who could not attend in person “participated” by pre-recorded video cassette or by live telephone hookup, or both. Among those attending was the ambassador to Australia of the United Arab Emirates, Khalifa Bakhit Al-falasi. The envoy’s attendance predictably prompted complaints from Jewish-Zionist groups.

Dr. Töben opened the conference by welcoming the speakers and attendees, and by reading greetings from several political prisoners, including Günter Deckert and Udo Walendy, each of whom has been imprisoned in Germany for their dissident views on history. Attendees then viewed a clip of a 1994 Australian television “Nightline” broadcast on the Holocaust issue that included remarks by revisionist Geoff Muiden (who later addressed the conference), as well as by Jeremy Jones, a prominent Jewish community figure. A second video clip presented to the attendees was an excerpt of another Australian “Nightline” broadcast, this one from March 1998, which also showed Jones bitterly complaining about revisionist “haters.” But this broadcast also presented portions of an interview with Dr. Töben. Among other things, he told viewers: “There is no evidence to prove that the gas chambers existed.”

Traveling from Switzerland for the meeting was educator, researcher and author Jürgen Graf, who delivered two talks, including the keynote address. A few weeks earlier, a Swiss court had sentenced him to 15 months imprisonment and a fine of 8,000 francs for his revisionist writings on the Holocaust issue. (See “Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists” in the July-August 1998 Journal, pp. 2-10.) During his stay in Australia, he learned that he had lost his teaching job due to his July 16 conviction.

In his keynote address, Graf spoke about Majdanek, the large German wartime concentration camp at Lublin, in Poland, which he personally inspected in June 1997. His presentation was based on research conducted for a newly published, 300-page book on this subject, co-authored with Italian scholar Carlo Mattogno. Although Allied officials charged in 1945 that the Germans had killed one and a half million people at Majdanek, it has been a relatively “neglected” camp. Contrary to its image as a top secret extermination center, Graf pointed out, the camp in fact was “completely open” and “visible from all sides.” Any mass killings there could hardly have been kept secret.

By 1943 Germany was battling for existence against industrially and numerically superior enemies. In this situation, Graf noted, it would have been madness to kill valuable workers, or even to let them die.

The death rate in Germany’s wartime camps was high, due especially to typhus and other diseases caused by overcrowding and poor sanitation. German authorities accordingly took measures to deal with the catastrophe. In December 1942, for example, SS Reichsführer Himmler ordered that the death rate in the camps “absolutely must be reduced.” Documents discovered by Graf and Mattogno detail the specific hygienic measures ordered by German authorities to bring down the prisoner death rate at Majdanek. These measures, which largely proved effective, included installation of sewers, running water taps and toilets, and delousing facilities, as well as regular showers for the inmates, and expansion of the prisoner hospital.

In the largest of the alleged homicidal gas chambers at Majdanek, Graf told the conference, there is, remarkably, a large window that doomed prisoners could easily have broken. This “gas chamber,” Graf concludes, was actually a facility for delousing clothes and similar items. Another purported “gas chamber” at Barracks 41, which is routinely shown to tourists, has no traces of Zyklon B. However, visitors can view canisters there that reputedly contained lethal carbon monoxide (CO) gas. Oddly, though, these canisters are marked “CO₂,” which denotes non-lethal carbon dioxide.

Among the clearly baseless, or at least greatly exaggerated allegations about Majdanek is a report that the corpses of 70,000 victims were burned in three ditches. But to burn so many bodies, Graf pointed out, would have required many tons of wood. Furthermore, he went on, it would have taken days for the ditches to cool, tons of human ash would have needed removal, and a grinding mill would have been required to process residual bones on a physically impossible scale.

Graf’s second conference address, “Assault on a Nation,” dealt with the on-going attack against Switzerland by organized Jewry, especially the World Jewish Congress, including the “Swiss bank” scandal.

Arthur Butz

Dr. Arthur R. Butz, a professor at Northwestern University near Chicago, and author of the classic revisionist study, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, flew from the United States to deliver his address, “The Hoax Ends The Twentieth Century” (which appears elsewhere in this Journal issue).

John Bennett

For decades Australia’s most active and outspoken revisionist writer and publicist has been John Bennett, an attorney with a well-deserved reputation as a staunch defender of civil rights.

After graduation from the University of Melbourne, he served from 1966 to 1980 as secretary of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties, and since 1980 has been president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union (P.O. Box 1137, Carlton, Vic. 3053, Australia). He is also the author of *Your Rights*, a widely-circulated citizens’ rights handbook that has been regularly revised and updated since the first edition of 1974.

Since 1979, when he was “converted” by reading *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Bennett has actively promoted revisionism in numerous interviews, in pamphlets mailed to thousands of people around the country, and in successive editions of *Your Rights*. A member of this Journal’s Editorial Advisory Committee since 1980, Bennett has also been a Journal contributor and an IHR conference speaker.

John Sack

Also traveling from the United States was John Sack, Jewish-American author of *An Eye For An Eye*, an extraordinary account of the suppressed story of torture and murder of German civilians in Jewish-run camps in postwar Soviet-ruled Poland. The veteran journalist and historian, who accepts the Holocaust gas chamber and “six million” claims, noted the remarkable efforts by Jews and Jewish groups to suppress his book (which is no longer in print), and even to prevent him from speaking on the postwar mistreatment of Germans at the US Holocaust Memorial Mu-

seum in Washington, DC. (See “Suppressing the Story of Genocide Against Germans,” in the Sept.-Oct. 1997 Journal, pp. 31- 33.)

Nigel Jackson

Just as Shakespeare’s Hamlet had to commit new murders in an effort to hold on to power, remarked Nigel Jackson in his address, so also do the Zionists have to keep “murdering” free speech on the Holocaust issue with newer and ever more restrictive laws. Jackson, a journalist, secondary school teacher, poet and author (*The Case for David Irving*), has made a name for himself in Australia as an eloquent defender of freedom of speech. Further suppression of freedom is inevitable, he warned, unless citizens take “disinfective” steps.

Robert Faurisson

Attendees viewed a pre-recorded video presentation by French revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson, “Marshal Pétain, Anti-Communism and the Revisionist Challenge,” which gave a “tour” of “Vichy France,” the administrative capital of (unoccupied) France from 1940 to 1944. For decades it has been customary to castigate Pétain for his wartime policy of collaboration with Third Reich Germany. It is not well known, for example, that the Vichy administration of Marshal Pétain was duly recognized as the legitimate government of France by more than 16 countries, including the United States.

After his video presentation, Professor Faurisson spoke to the attendees by telephone from France. Regarding the future of revisionism, he expressed the view that “we shall never win and never lose.” Revisionists cannot “win,” Faurisson explained, because we face a three-thousand-year-old Jewish mindset of irreconcilable conflict: “the Jew against the goyim.” Because the Holocaust story has become a religious dogma for Jews, it is impervious to reason and facts. It also endures because it is “big business” and a profitable “golden calf.”

In this great struggle — which Faurisson believes should be regarded as the last great intellectual adventure of this century and the first of the 21st century — he urges revisionist activists and scholars to “try to be clear, simple, not pedantic, and keep a smile on your face.”

David Brockschmidt

In his address on “Schindler’s List,” conference speaker David Brockschmidt related that his father had known Oskar Schindler well, and had been instrumental in saving Jewish lives. However, he received no credit for this, either from Steven Spielberg in his film “Schindler’s List,” or from Tom Keneally in his book of the same name, upon which the motion picture was based. As Brockschmidt noted, Schindler’s widow, Emily Schindler, has dismissed the influential Spielberg film as “lies.”

Geoff Muirden

For several years now, Geoff Muirden has been making a mark in Australia as an articulate and effective partisan of free speech and historical revisionism, both as secretary of the Australian Civil Liberties Union, and, more recently, as Assistant Director of the Adelaide Institute. He provided “An Overview Of Historical Revisionism In Australia,” citing, for example, the impact of John Bennett’s work.

Andrew Gray

A recognized authority on Richard Wagner, and the translator of his autobiography, spoke on “Errors, Lies, and Nonsense” about the great German composer. Because sensuality and sexuality pervades his work, said Gray, this “skull-splitting genius” forever robbed music of its innocence. Gray spoke against the absurd but enduring campaign to blame Wagner, at least in part, for Hitler, who was a great admirer of the composer. More than a century after his death, Gray noted, Wagner is still being vilified for his notorious anti-Jewish essay on “Jewry and Music.”

Olga Scully

In her address, “My Battle Against Australia’s Zionist Lobby,” Mrs. Olga Scully reported on her legal struggle for her right to free speech. Because of complaints by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry about leaflets she had distributed in her home town in Tasmania, she has been brought before the Australian Human Rights Commission. She expressed appreciation for the support she’s received in this legal battle, including backing from David Brockschmidt and Dr. Töben.

Much like a patient on “life support,” said William DeMaria in his address, democracy in Australia is now “in crisis.” Dr. DeMaria, who teaches at the School of Social Work and Social Policy of the University of Queensland, said that an illusion of freedom is maintained to keep the system going. Even the universities have ceased to cultivate an unfettered search for truth, but have instead become “edu-business” job placement training centers.

Video and Telephone Speakers

Most of those who “participated” in the conference did so by telephone and/or pre-recorded video. They included:

- Retired journalist Doug Collins, speaking by telephone from western Canada, reported on the Jewish-Zionist campaign to punish him and the North Shore News for a column criticizing Spielberg’s “Schindler’s List.” This brought the British-born writer before a “Human Rights Commission” where, typically for such bodies, the truth of the allegedly offensive writing is irrelevant. (See “Canadian Jewish Congress Threatens Journalist for Holocaust Heresy,” in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 Journal.)
- Mark Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review, sent greetings to the conference on behalf of the IHR by pre-recorded video presentation. He also spoke briefly to the attendees by telephone from California, congratulating Dr. Töben and his colleagues for their achievement in organizing this important event.
- Friedrich Berg, an American engineer and IHR Journal contributor, spoke by telephone on “The Diesel Gas Chamber Hoax Revisited.” According to the standard Holocaust story, he pointed out, about a million Jews were supposedly killed in gas chambers with Zyklon B, while some two million Jews were supposedly killed in diesel engine gas chambers. Despite its “dirty” appearance, Berg explained, diesel engine exhaust is actually not toxic.
- Germar Rudolf, a German-born certified chemist, author of The Rudolf Report, and editor of the important German-language revisionist quarterly VffG, is currently living in exile to avoid a politically motivated prison sentence imposed by a German court. He submitted a paper on the “gas chambers” of Auschwitz and Birkenau, and spoke to the conference by telephone.

- In a video address to the conference, Dr. Robert Countess, a close associate of the IHR, spoke on “Historical Sources and Their Use in Holocaust Historiography.” Sources for the alleged wartime homicidal gas chambers are rare and unreliable, he pointed out, and he spoke of the often religious nature of the anti-revisionist critique. He cited the [1993 Master’s thesis of New Zealand scholar Dr. Joel Hayward](#) as a noteworthy and courageous study that shows the seriousness of revisionist scholarship, and affirms the validity of numerous specific revisionist arguments.
- Ernst Zündel, the veteran German-Canadian publicist and free speech activist, and his attorney, Doug Christie, addressed the conference by video. Currently Zündel and his “battling barrister” are defending themselves before a “Human Rights Tribunal” in Toronto, that is investigating charges that he has been spreading “hate” through the California-based Internet “Zündelsite.” In this Orwellian case, Christie mentioned, the Tribunal has declared that “truth is no defense.”
- Ingrid Rimland, “webmaster” of the California-based “Zündelsite,” spoke about “My Wandering Years” in her video address to the conference. Her most recent published work is the Lebensraum trilogy.
- Dr. Charles Weber, editor-publisher of a revisionist newsletter, spoke by telephone from Oklahoma. The case for Holocaust revisionism, he said, is much stronger today than it was in 1983 when his booklet, *The Holocaust: 120 Questions and Answers* (no longer in print), was published.
- Speaking by telephone from Sweden, Morocco-born author Ahmed Rami reported on his work and its impact in the Scandinavian country, especially through “Radio Islam,” which he started in 1987. Through this important voice for historical revisionism in Scandinavia, he has often dealt with the Palestine issue and Jewish propaganda.
- Dr. Serge Thion, speaking by telephone from France, described his visits to the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. At neither center, he said, are visitors permitted to take photographs or to record what they see. The Museums invent supposedly historical dialogue. As part of their effort to prove a German program to exterminate Europe’s Jews, they cite the 1942 Wannsee Conference protocol, as well as a reconstructed “gas chamber” model.
- Hans Schmidt, editor-publisher of the GANPAC Brief newsletter, and author of *Jailed in Democratic Germany* (available from the IHR), spoke by telephone from Florida about his arrest and incarceration in Germany for critical remarks about Jews and Freemasons he had written in a letter.
- Robert Brock, African-American community activist, spoke by telephone from Washington, DC, about the Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade.
- Michael Hoffman, II, who operates the “Campaign for Radical Truth in History,” including a newsletter and Internet website (www.hoffman-info.com), spoke by telephone from Idaho about “Racism in the Jewish Talmud.”
- Paul Fromm, director of the Canadian Association for Free Expression (CAFE), spoke by telephone from Canada about the on-going assault against free speech in “Cuba del Norte.”

Paying Tribute to Jewish Power

'Ah, How Sweet It Is To Be Jewish ...'

Robert Faurisson

Alain Finkelkraut is a professor of philosophy at France's elite Ecole Polytechnique who for years has been a darling of a certain section of the Parisian intelligentsia. In 1982, at the time of one of my first trials for calling the Auschwitz gas chamber story a historical lie, he revealed his concern about revisionism in a muddled work entitled *L'Avenir d'une négation* ("The Future of a Denial"). On the first page of this book he described me as being "of the ilk of Big Brother," and on page 66 he wrote: "In terms of method, the deniers of the gas chambers are the spiritual children of the big Stalinists."

In 1987 I had a personal encounter with Finkelkraut in Paris' Latin Quarter, when an anti-revisionist conference was being held at the Sorbonne. Groups of young Jews were roaming the area, on the lookout for potential revisionists. Finkelkraut was with one of these groups. Together with three or four young Jews, he came into the café where I happened to be. I greeted him with the words "They're done for, your gas chambers!" a rash remark for which I was to pay an hour later. But, at that moment, taken aback, he mumbled a reply and quickly left the café with his friends.

Since then I have followed his activities. He has steadily made something of a speciality of denouncing the "Jewish maximalism" of such figures as Claude Lanzmann.

Last October, Finkelkraut wrote an essay defending Cardinal Stepinac (1896-1960), who was being widely attacked for having collaborated with Croatia's wartime "Ustasha" regime. The essay, published in the leading French daily *Le Monde*, October 7, 1998 (p. 14), is entitled "Mgr Stepinac and Europe's Two Grievs" ("Mgr Stepinac et les deux douleurs de l'Europe"). In it Finkelkraut defended both the late Cardinal's memory and the wartime Croatian Roman Catholic Church. He recalled that, from 1941, the Church defended the Jews against the Ustasha regime. Stepinac, he went on, suffered personally as a victim of what he calls "Europe's two grievances": Fascism and Communism.

But what especially catches the reader's attention are the essays opening lines:

Ah, how sweet it is to be Jewish at the end of this 20th century! We are no longer History's accused, but its darlings. The spirit of the times loves, honors, and defends us, watches over our interests; it even needs our imprimatur. Journalists draw up ruthless indictments against all that Europe still has in the way of Nazi collaborators or those nostalgic for the Nazi era. Churches repent, states do penance, Switzerland no longer knows where to stand ...

Obviously, it is “sweet” to be Jewish in these final years of the century, but only a Jew has the right to say so. In effect, as Finkelkraut acknowledges, it is no longer possible to publish without the imprimatur of organized Jewry. In effect, I might add, the Jew reigns unopposed.

Each year in France, the Interior Ministry and certain specialized and generously subsidized agencies carefully note and tally every incident in our country that might be regarded as anti-Semitic. Try as they do to inflate their figures, the result is clear: practically no anti-Semitic incidents can be detected in France.

If it is true that it is so sweet to be Jewish, then what right do Jews have to complain of a (nearly non-existent) anti-Semitism, or to demand, and obtain, ever harsher legal repression of revisionism, which they have succeeded in identifying with anti-Semitism?

This same October 7 issue of *Le Monde* reports that Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France’s National Front party, must once again pay dearly for having had the temerity, at a meeting in Munich in December 1997, to state that the gas chambers are a detail of Second World War history. [See “French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy,” March-April 1998 *Journal*, pp. 14-15.] The European Parliament, by a huge majority, had just voted to suspend Le Pen’s parliamentary immunity. A German court may sentence him to five years’ imprisonment. In the European Parliament, German member Willy Rothley, speaking for the Socialist faction, said that a goal of his country’s penal code is to “protect the young against falsifications of history.” He went on to warn: “If Mr. Le Pen does not answer the summons of my country’s courts, he will be imprisoned as soon as he sets foot on German soil.”

In Germany, repression has reached new heights. (Even Americans traveling in Germany, or a neighboring country, can be thrown into a German jail for revisionist felonies.) For the same offending remark, Le Pen has been, and is again being, prosecuted in France. In 1991, a French court ordered him to pay 1,200,000 francs (more than \$200,000) for his original “detail” remark, made in 1987. On the basis of an emergency interim ruling of December 26, 1997, he is also currently “under investigation” in Paris for his Munich “detail” remark. Thus, for the same statement, he is being charged simultaneously in Munich and in Paris.

Precisely a week after the publication of his *Le Monde* essay, in which he conceded that Jews have nothing to complain about in France, Finkelkraut had the chutzpah to appear as a witness in the Paris Court of Appeal (11th chamber) to complain about the alleged threat to French Jews posed by revisionists. On October 14 he testified against Roger Garaudy, author of *The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics*, and publisher Pierre Guillaume. Finkelkraut regarded Garaudy an anti-Semite and a “Faurissonian.” He declared his approval of France’s anti-revisionist “Fabius-Gayssot” law. The state, Finkelkraut said, must punish hatred. (The first to call for the introduction in France of an anti-revisionist law on the model of the Israeli law of July 1981 was a group of Jewish historians including Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Georges Wellers, united around René-Samuel Sirat, Chief Rabbi of France [*Bulletin quotidien de l’Agence télégraphique juive*, June 2, 1986, p. 1, 3]. This law, called the “Fabius-Gayssot Act,” was promulgated on July 13, 1990.)

Day by day, I follow with interest this mighty rise of Jewish power. In my own modest way, I pay tribute to this power. Each month I send my payment of 5,000 francs (about \$900) to the “Paris Fines Receiver,” which collects the sums I am obliged regularly to hand over for revisionism, that is to say, for having annoyed organized Jewry.

I must constantly reckon with new charges and court battles.

In France, in Germany, in Palestine — indeed, when one looks closely, everywhere in the world, including Japan, it is prudent not to offend, even indirectly or unwittingly, those who, like Finkielkraut, can sigh: “Ah, how sweet it is to be Jewish at the end of this 20th century!”

As for the rest of us, we do not even have the right publicly to mutter: “Ah, how grievous it is not to be Jewish at the end of this 20th century!”

— October 15, 1998

Robert Faurisson was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in four books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have appeared in this *Journal*.

'We Hold the Real Power'

A Jewish Appeal to Russia's Jewish Elite

Most Russians have suffered terribly during the Yeltsin years. According to Harvard University scholar Graham Allison, who is also a former US assistant Secretary of Defense, ordinary Russians have experienced, on average, a 75 percent plunge in living standards since 1991 — almost twice the decline in Americans' income during the Great Depression of the 1930s. But in the midst of this widespread economic misery, a small minority has grown fabulously wealthy since the end of the Soviet era.

Although Jews make up no more than three or four percent of Russia's population, they wield enormous economic and political power in that vast and troubled country. "At least half of the powerful 'oligarchs' who control a significant percentage of the economy are Jewish," the Los Angeles Times has cautiously noted. (See also: D. Michaels, "Capitalism in the New Russia," May-June 1997 Journal, pp. 21-27.)

Almost certainly the most important of the "oligarchs" is Boris A. Berezovsky, a former mathematics professor who heads the Logovaz financial-industrial group, which includes automobile imports and sales, aviation, oil and media. In 1997 Forbes magazine ranked him as one of the 100 richest people in the world, with an estimated net worth of \$3 billion. His extensive media holdings include ORT television, the daily Nezavisimaya Gazeta ("Independent Journal"), and the weekly magazine Ogonok.

The second most powerful business figure is probably Vladimir Gusinsky. In addition to heading the "Most" banking group, he is also called "the Russian Rupert Murdoch" because of his large media empire, which includes the daily newspaper Sevodnya, the weekly news magazine Itogi, and the NTV television network. Gusinsky is also chairman of the Russian Jewish Congress.

Russia's current prime minister is Yevgeny Primakov, who was promoted from his post as foreign minister in September 1998. During the final phase of the Soviet era, he headed the KGB intelligence and security service, and served as a Politburo member. Early in his career, he dropped the obviously Jewish-sounding name he was born with, Yevgeny Finkelstein.

Many other Jews have played major roles in Russia's governmental and political life in recent years, among them Alexander Livshitz and Grigory Yavlinsky, presidential chief of staff Anatoly Chubais, deputy prime minister Boris Nemtsov, and prime minister Sergei Kiriyenko.

Recently there has been considerable discussion among Russian intellectuals of a pointed appeal and frank warning to the Jews who now hold decisive power in that sprawling country. It was written by Eduard Topol, a gifted Jewish writer born in the former Soviet Union who now lives in the United States, where he has become a successful author. Among his English-language novels are *The Jewish Lover* (St. Martin's Press, 1998), *Dermo!* (Plume, 1997), *Red Square* (Quartet

Books, 1983), *Deadly Games* (Quartet Books, 1983), and, *Submarine U-137* (Quartet Books, 1983).

In his appeal, Topol urges Boris Berezovsky and the other Jewish magnates to forsake their lust for wealth and power, and start to show some concern for the Russian people who have suffered so much at the hands of these pitiless masters.

Here is the complete text of Topol's extraordinary "Open Letter to Berezovksy, Gusinsky, Smolensky, Khodorkovsky and other Oligarchs," translated for the Journal by Daniel Michaels from the text published in the respected Moscow paper *Argumenty i Fakty* ("Arguments and Facts"), No. 38, September 1998:

'Start To Love Russia, Boris Abramovich!'

It all started with a fax I sent to Boris Abramovich Berezovsky on June 26. It read:

"Dear Boris Abramovich! My publishers are of the opinion that the success of my books has been the direct result of the avid interest of Western readers in the actual personalities who have shaped contemporary Russian history: Brezhnev, Andropov, Gorbachev, Yeltsin and the people around them.

"I am now working on a book completing the Russian panorama at the end of the 20th century, and it is quite obvious that a writer can find no better a story than your phenomenal biography, and no better a main character in the flow of today's cataclysmic events in Russia than Boris Berezovsky. I hope that you will understand how important our meeting would be in helping me to describe the individual most affecting the course of Russian history at the close of the 20th century ..."

Just two days later Berezovsky received me in his "Reception House" at 40 Novokuznetskaya Street. In this private residence, restored in modern luxurious Russian style, the best trained secretaries served me tea while passing to Berezovsky telephone receivers and notes from various ministers and presidential administrators.

Responding to my thanks for granting me the audience at such a hectic time, Boris Abramovich commented with a faint smile: "You would be writing the book in any case ..."

I understood that my visit was somewhat imposed on him so I got right to the point:

"Boris Abramovich, the real reason for writing this book is this. As you probably know there is a television show called 'The Puppets.' Puppets of Yeltsin, Yastrzhembsky, Chernomyrdin, Kulikov, and others perform. But the main puppeteer is behind the scenes — his name is Shenderovich. And in real life there are Yeltsin, Kiriyenko, Fedorov, Stepashin and the others. But the main puppeteer has a long Jewish name: Berezovsky-Gusinsky- Smolensky-Khodorkovsky, and so on.

"This is to say that for the first time in a thousand years, since the first Jews settled in Russia, we hold the real power in this country. I want to ask you straight out: How do you intend to use it? What do you intend to do in this country? Cast it into the chaos of poverty or raise it from the mud? Do you understand that a chance like this comes only once in a thousand years? Do you understand your responsibility to our [Jewish] people for your actions?"

Boris Abramovich responded with some difficulty: "Of course, as you see, financial power is in Jewish hands, but we have never looked at this from the point of view of historical responsibil-

ity.”

“You have never discussed this matter among your closest associates?”

“No. We have taken note of the disproportionality and have tried to put a strong financial oligarch of Russian ancestry in power. But nothing has ever come of it.”

“Why not? And, by the way, how did it happen that almost all the money in this country has ended up in Jewish hands? Are there really no competent Russian financiers? In old [Tsarist] Russia there were some exceptional Russian commercial figures — Morozov, Tretyakov ...”

“You know,” Boris Abramovich said, “of course there are some very competent bankers among the Russians. But this profession requires a second very important factor — the will power to do the job. Because of our history Jews know how to lose and then get back up on their feet again. This is probably a result of our historical experience. But even the most talented Russians don’t have this ability. They can’t take the blow, and they’re completely out of the game after their first loss. It’s regrettable.”

“Let’s say that is true [I replied]. But now, it’s so happened that we the Jews have all the financial power, while the government is run by half-Jews like Kiriyenko and Chubais. Don’t you realize the full measure of danger to which we subject our [Jewish] people in the event of Russia’s total collapse? Anti-Semitic pogroms could turn into a new Holocaust.”

“That’s out of the question,” Boris Abramovich said. “Do you know the percentage of anti-Semitism in Russia today? It is just eight percent! And that has been scientifically verified!”

Boris Abramovich, I am not going to publish at this time the entire content of our two meetings. There’s no purpose in that. But in the two months that have elapsed since we first met, Russia has fallen into the financial abyss and is now but one step from the nightmare of social madness. And neither you (I mean you personally) nor any of the other Jewish oligarchs recognize this as a Jewish tragedy. It so happened that with the collapse of the USSR and the breakdown of the Soviet regime, you were able to come closer to the threshold than anyone else. Talent, Jewish acumen, and will power have enabled you to secure this success and to multiply it. But if you think that this is your personal due, you are tragically mistaken. And if you simply assume that you were chosen by God to become a super-financier and a super-oligarch, you are committing a grave sin.

Yes, we are God’s chosen people — we really are the people chosen by Him. But we were not chosen for personal enrichment, but only for the purpose of leading the peoples of the world out of barbarism and paganism into the world of the Ten Commandments of civilization: Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s wife ... And this process has not been completed by a long shot. Oh no! For that reason we have been given our talents, our acumen, quickness of mind, and that will power of which you are so proud. When each of us is up there, He the Almighty will not ask whether we have done well or poorly on Earth. He will only ask one question. He will say: “I gave you this talent. How did you use it?” Did you use it for the purpose I sent you, namely, to bring them into humanity, to civilize the people, to enlighten them? Or did you use My gift to fill your safe with a billion dollars and sleep with a million beautiful women?”

And we shall respond in accordance with the measure of the gift received, and our abilities to use it.

Of course, both you and I are atheists, Boris Abramovich, as are your fellow oligarchs. Therefore we do not fear punishment after death; we are above these childish and vulgar fears. As the people are wont to say “Don’t teach me how to live, help me materially.” All right, I will tell you quite materially. Let us forget for a moment the tens of thousands of Jews whom the new Russian Black Hundreds [Tsarist-era nationalists] will cut down in the first wave of pogroms, let us forget about their children and mothers. But even if, after having put them out of your mind, and you are able to fly out of Russia on your private aircraft, you will be finished. You will lose access to the levers of power and to the economy of this country; you will simply become refugees in a land with a foreign language. Believe me, for you this will be like death — even if you have accounts in Swiss banks.

And because you still do not use your money, nor the gift God gave you for the good of this country and its people, the path you are following is suicidal.

And now let us remember, Boris Abramovich, all the other Jews and half-Jews living in this country. You know very well what happened in Germany when all German money fell into the hands of Jewish bankers, who were concerned only with power and multiplying their profits. Hitler appeared and it culminated in the Holocaust.

Today new Russian black shirts [nationalists] and fascists are rising up around you on the fertile soil of Russian misery. And if you want to know how this will end, watch the films of Auschwitz and look into the eyes of the children standing there behind the barbed wire. And the Germans were a highly civilized, great European people. Not one of their poets said: “A German uprising is frightful, senseless, and merciless.”

So, do you seriously believe that in Russia today only eight percent of the people is anti-Semitic? Or do you really believe that pogroms are merely historical phantoms, anachronisms or, as you put it, “It’s out of the question.”

Crap, Boris Abramovich (pardon my Russian).

In 1953 I survived a pogrom in Poltava [Ukraine]. It was during the time of the “doctors' plot,” and real pogroms had already started in the Poltava Podole. After barricading themselves in their apartments, several Jewish families in the center of the city were unable to go out onto the streets for three days. And when they finally dared, they could read on their front steps: “Jews, we're going to paint the roofs with your blood!” Therefore I know and remember how easily it starts. Just give the destitute and the aggrieved a guarantee of immunity from penalty, and they will commit arson, rape, and steal anywhere — in Poltava, Moscow, and even Los Angeles.

I was born and grew up in Baku [Azerbaijan], Boris Abramovich. I have a friend who was fantastically rich even during the Soviet period, at a time when you were living on 120 rubles as a [Ph.D.] candidate of science, and using your friend’s one-room flat for your carnal pleasures. However, one day in the middle of the night his family woke him up and said: “Some people have come and want to talk to you.” He got up, dressed and went outside. Two sobbing Azerbaijani women were standing in the entrance way. They said: “Leonid, help us. Our father has died and is in the hospital morgue, and the doctors are about to open him up [autopsy] before burial. But our Muslim law forbids it. We beg you, we beseech you — stop them. Help us get our father’s body back undisturbed!”

My friend went to the hospital and found the physician on duty, who also happened to be Azerbaijani. My friend said to him: “How can you, an Azerbaijani yourself, violate the laws of your own people. How can you bear it that I, a Jew, has come here to ask you to respect your own

Muslim traditions?” He gave the doctor a bribe and ransomed, as it were, the body of the girls' father. It couldn't have been otherwise.

Those women knew who to turn to for help. My friend had a reputation in all of Baku for his acts of charity. Do you know how this favor was returned? Years later, when pogroms against Armenians began in Baku, my friend's fiancée, who happened to be Armenian, fled her home and hid in her grandmother's flat. He came for her to get her out of Baku. But on the way to the airport she said that she wanted to see her home again for the last time. “It's all smashed up, destroyed, I was there.” “I don't care. Please take me there. I want a final farewell look at my home.” He took her to her home.

The fence was broken, the garden torn up, the house had been torched and was destroyed. She walked about in the ruins and retrieved some family photographs and crockery that was still intact. At that very instant, an infuriated mob of pogromists entered the courtyard. One of her neighbors had informed them that the Armenian woman had returned. “Have you ever seen the face of an enraged mob?” Leonid asked me.

“They went directly at us. My fiancée stood behind me and I felt sure that we would be murdered. There were about two hundred in the mob. Their hands clutched hammers, pipe sections, clubs. I was carrying a pistol, but I knew that I would not even be able to get my hand in my pocket in time.

“Suddenly, at the last moment, when someone was already waving his club or pipe at us, an old man jumped out in front and shouted in Azerbaijani: 'Stop it. I know this man. He has always been good to us. I swear on my ancestors, all Baku knows this. He must leave here unharmed.' And, just imagine, the pogrom mob began to step aside and make a free path through which Ada and I could pass through to my automobile. We got in and left for the airport.”

You are an intelligent man, Boris Abramovich. I'm sure you already understand why I've told the story about my friend. Every Jew should act in the same way. The money that God has granted us, whether during feudalism, socialism, or capitalism, was not in fact given to us, but rather it is to be funnelled through us to the peoples among whom we live. Only then will our riches truly multiply according to His will. And only then are we truly Jews.

Today, the people among whom we reside live in a calamitous state. Poverty, chaos, desperation, hunger, unemployment, and looting by officials and bandits alike prevail. Our beloved Russian women walk the streets. For God's sake, chip in a billion or two.

Don't act like a Jew. Help this nation along in its bloody transition from Communism to civilization. And don't just give money, contribute your brains, talents, skills, your God-given and natural acumen. Use all your strength, will power, position, and wealth to save Russia from total collapse and rid Russia of its Soviet-camp morality and ethics. The people you save will protect you from pogroms, and your mothers, your Jewish mothers, will wish you a quiet mazel tov.

Otherwise, another Klimov [a familiar anti-Jewish writer] will one day write a book called “Jewish Power” about how the Jews exterminated the Russian people. Do you really want that, all you Boris Oligarchovichs?

Some Reactions to Topol's 'Open Letter'

Daniel W. Michaels

For reasons both historical and contemporary, relations between Russians and Jews are now so tense and emotion-laden that many Jews, both in Russia and the United States, fear that Topol's appeal will promote anti-Jewish sentiment among Russians, and could even provoke new pogroms.

The nationally-circulated New York Jewish weekly Forward (October 9, 1998, p. 5) reports that the chief editor of the paper's Russian edition, Vladimir Yedidovich, suspects that Topol's appeal is part of an anti-Jewish conspiracy. Unnamed parties may have commissioned Topol to write the article, the Forward editor believes, to direct Russian wrath against Jews. "Doesn't it seem to you," says Yedidovich, "that the idea behind the article is a provocation of such a large scale that it simply could not have been born in a 'writer's lab' of even such a scandalous writer like Topol?"

Indeed, some Russians have already responded to the "open letter" with bitter but perhaps understandable anti-Jewish hostility. Writing in Zavtra ("Tomorrow"), the main opposition newspaper (No. 40/ 253, Sept. 6, 1998), Vladimir Bondarenko comments:

This [open letter] is not a Russian-Jewish dialogue. This is an argument between Jews on how best to protect Jewish interests. Personally I have nothing against Eduard Topol in this matter. Every true patriot is naturally concerned foremost about his own people. But, why on Earth does a Russian mass-circulation newspaper, rather than, say, Tankred Golenpolsky's Yevreyskaya gazeta ["Jewish Journal"], publish this Jewish-Jewish argument?...

I can see only one good thing in this, and that is that it is time to do away with censorship concerning the Jewish question. Because Argumenty i Fakty has seen fit to raise the question of Jewish domination of our government and of Jewish financial power in our country, it is long since time to have a normal, open Russian-Jewish dialogue on these most sensitive topics in all of Russia's major newspapers. If today the Jew Topol can discuss these problems, the Russian Klimov should have the same opportunity ...

Arrogance, Jewish racial arrogance permeates Topol's article ... He is convinced that the Jews should rule the world ...

Topol is patently wrong when he says that this is the first time in a thousand years that the Jews have had real power in Russia. Lev Trotsky's power in 1918 far exceeded that of Berezovsky today. Jewish commissars and Cheka agents at that time determined almost everything in this country for an entire epoch. That was in fact the first attempt at totally remaking the Russian Orthodox mentality ...

Topol does not conceal the fact that both he and Berezovsky are atheists. For this same atheist writer to refer to himself as chosen by God shows he knows nothing about his own history or religion ... The Jews still argue among themselves as to whether Jewry is a nationality or a religion ... And just what is the relationship of adherents to Judaism to modern civilization and, more specifically, to Christian civilization?... Christ came to the Jews, but they rejected him. Jews do not accept Christ, and are still waiting for their Messiah. But because they have rejected Him, they are no longer the chosen people ... What does Eduard Topol mean by the expression "chosen by God," and into what civilization does he want to force the Orthodox Russian people? We don't need your services to civilization. We understand your fears perfectly. For the financial suffocation of Russia, for the cold and the hunger attribut-

able to Berezovsky and his ilk, [you fear that] the dispossessed, tormented people might take their revenge on your innocent fellow Jews. However, you will not be saved merely by the Jews assuming a more humane attitude to the Russian barbarians, as you propose, but only when your fellow Jews, especially those in power, have adopted a sincere respect for Russian civilization, Russian culture, and Russian traditions. Long ago it was said that “he who comes to us with the sword, shall perish by the sword.” [All the same,] the experience and knowledge of Russian Jews who really do consider themselves a part of Russian society is always beneficial for the rebirth of our great nation.

Also writing in the weekly *Zavtra*, Vladimir Galushin notes that if a piece like Topol’s open letter had appeared in the patriotic Russian media, one could expect it to be widely condemned as anti-Semitic. But given that Jews themselves acknowledge that they do indeed control Russia today, this fact cannot be refuted or discounted. Galushin sees elements of a “Jewish fascism” in such writings. This fascism is manifest in the small group of oligarchs who want to rule Russia. Fascist philosophy, he contends, means the racial superiority of one group over another, the ideology of power over other countries, even over the world. When the Yeltsin government and the Western media express fears of fascism in Russia, Galushin argues, it is not Russian fascism they should address, but Jewish fascism.

Jewish power in Russia, Galushin continues, has resulted in millions of homeless children, widespread tuberculosis and cholera, a shortage of medicines, cheating retirees of their pensions, suicide in the armed forces, and the death of science. What do the Gusinskys, the Berezovskys, the Chubais, the Nemtsovs, the Kiriyenkos, the Smolenskys, the Livshits, and the Gaidars say about this? Millions of Russians have perished under their rule. Are the Russian people ready to judge these scoundrels for their crimes, Galushin asks.

And Viktor Trostnikov, likewise responding to Topol in an article entitled “The World Will Not Belong to You,” states bluntly and unambiguously: “The world is still not yours, and it will never be yours, because Russia will never be yours.”

It would be a mistake to suppose that such sentiments are highly unusual, or represent only extreme right-wing views.

The newspaper *Zavtra* is the voice of the nationalists who hold the great majority of seats in Russia’s Duma (parliament). These include the deputies of the reconstituted Russian Communist Party, headed by Gennady Zyuganov, which has abandoned internationalism and orthodox Marxism-Leninism, and might be more accurately be called the “National Communist” party. In the Duma, “reformers” and those who support Yeltsin’s government are in a decided minority.

And in addition to such periodicals as *Zavtra*, today in Russia there are scores of truly “extremist” publications that may aptly be described as fascistic or neo-Nazi.

Thus, Berezovsky’s remark that anti-Semites make up only eight percent of Russia’s population is off the mark. While this figure may accurately reflect the percentage of Russians who are openly hostile to Jews, the percentage of those who are covertly anti-Jewish, or who hate the (mostly Jewish) oligarchs, is certainly much higher.

In sharp contrast to the intense feelings expressed by such Russian writers over the catastrophic situation in their country today is the seeming indifference of American and German taxpayers who have unwittingly channeled billions of dollars and marks to the oligarchs — who in turn have transferred this largesse to secret Swiss accounts. Who monitors the distribution of these

billions through the World Bank, the IMF, the financial houses, and various banks? Who is responsible for this terrible injustice?

No End in Sight

Germany Has Paid Out More Than \$61.8 Billion in Third Reich Reparations

Since 1951 Germany has paid more than 102 billion marks, about \$61.8 billion at 1998 exchange rates, in federal government reparation payments to Israel and Third Reich victims. In addition, Germans have paid out billions in private and other public funds, including about 75 million marks (\$49 million) by German firms in compensation to wartime forced laborers, the *Welt am Sonntag* newspaper reported recently. These figures are based on calculations by the German Finance Ministry, the influential paper said.

Of the total, Germany has paid out 78.4 billion marks (\$47 billion) on the basis of the 1965 Federal Restitution Law (BEG) to persons, especially Jews, who had been persecuted during the Third Reich era on the basis of race, religion, origin or ideology.

While most of those who were alive during the Second World War are now dead, in recent years Germany was still paying out some 1.25 billion marks (about \$75 million) to 106,000 pensioners in Israel, the United States and other countries on the basis of the 1965 Restitution Law.

A substantial portion of Germany's reparations payments have been to the "Jewish Claims Conference" for Jews who had persecuted by the Third Reich. Recipients include former forced laborers and concentration camp internees, as well as individuals deprived of rights or property under the Nazis. Based in New York City, the Jewish Claims Conference (JCC) has operated for decades as a kind of supra-national governmental agency for Jews around the world.

Between 1992 and July 1998, the German federal government paid out 1.1 billion marks (about \$647 million) to the JCC. During the first half of 1998, it made available 378 million marks (about \$222 million) to the JCC in special one-time restitution payments for Jews who had persecuted by the Third Reich, according to a German government report issued on September 29, 1998. The JCC distributed up to 5,000 marks each to individual claimants.

In recent years Germany has paid out nearly 1.8 billion marks on the basis of special bilateral agreements concluded in 1991 and 1993 with Poland and three successor states of the former Soviet Union — the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus (White Russia) — even though in 1953 Poland and the Soviet Union each renounced any further reparations payments from Germany.

Because there's no sign that German reparations payments will stop anytime soon, the *Welt am Sonntag* wonders if they might be "bottomless." In coming years, Finance Ministry specialists estimate, Germany will pay out an additional 24 billion marks (about \$14.4 billion at a recent exchange rate) in Third Reich reparations.

(Sources: J. Kummer, "Wird die Wiedergutmachung ein Fass ohne Boden?" *Welt am Sonntag*, Oct. 4, 1998, p. 54; Reuters' dispatch, Bonn, Oct. 3, 1998; *The Week in Germany*, published by the German Information Center in New York, Oct. 2, 1998; Focus on "German Restitution for National Socialist Crimes," May 1995 special report by the German Information Center; "Milliardenloch Wiedergutmachung," *D. National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 20, 1998, p. 7. See also: "West Germany's Holocaust Payoff to Israel and World Jewry," in the Summer 1988 *Journal*, pp. 243-250.)

A Nation in Transition

Germans More Criminal, Less Literate, and Older

Germany is not the country it once was. On the positive side, Germans today are more prosperous and have more free time than ever. For some years now, the Bonn republic has led the world in non-working time. But today's Germans also differ from their grandparents and great-grandparents in other, more ominous ways.

The people that once prided themselves as a nation of "thinkers and poets" is less able to read and write. About four million German adults are barely literate. A prominent specialist, Gerd Kegel, has estimated that about 15 percent of adults in western Germany (the former Bonn republic) can "barely write their signature and read simple headlines ... but are unable to read detailed texts or fill out forms."

Crime has increased enormously in Germany over the past several decades. In 1996 there were about seven million (registered) crimes in the German Federal Republic (with a population of about 81 million), whereas in the entire German Reich in 1938 (with a population of 67 million) there were 355,665. In short, Germany's over-all crime rate has increased more than ten-fold in 58 years. More specifically: there were 3,928 cases of murder in 1996, but only 468 in 1938; 6,200 cases of rape in 1996, and 903 in 1938; and, 63,470 robberies in 1996, and 502 in 1938.

During just the past decade or so, even visitors to Germany can see a noticeable increase in graffiti, trash on the streets, general slovenliness, and open drug dealing.

Most significantly for the long-term future, Germans are slowly dying out. During the late 19th century, Germany's birth rate was one of world's highest. In recent decades, though, it has been one of the world's lowest. The fertility rate in recent years has been about 1.4 live births per woman, which is below the replacement level.

With deaths outnumbering births, demographers estimate that in spite of continued net immigration, Germany's total population — now some 82 million — will decrease in the new century. Even if the population was to remain constant, Germany's relative position in the world would continue to decline, given the higher birth rates in most other countries.

Germany is also less "German." According to the most recent official statistics, 7.37 million foreigners and 300,000 asylum seekers live in the country, of whom more than two million are from Turkey. Foreigners now make up nine percent of the total population. These figures do not include illegal aliens, of whom there were an estimated 1.8 million in 1997.

Foreigners tend to be concentrated in the larger cities. In Frankfurt am Main, non-Germans already make up 29 percent of the population. In Stuttgart the figure is 24 percent, and in Munich it is 23 percent. The percentage of foreigners is especially high among the youth. In Munich, for

example, 34 percent of those under 18 years of age are foreigners. In the largest city, Berlin, the percentage of foreigners under 18 years old is estimated to grow to 52 percent by the year 2015.

Writing in the semi-official weekly *Das Parlament* (issue 43-44, 1998), population specialist Prof. Herwig Birg of Bielefeld summed up:

Of all the major industrial countries, Germany has become the most important land of immigration. The number of immigrants per 100,000 of population is several times higher than in the “classic” immigration countries of the United States, Canada and Australia. The German population has a high birth rate deficit, while the birth rate of foreigners [in Germany] has a high surplus. Germany can no longer choose whether it wishes to be an immigration country or not, because the birth deficit will greatly increase due to the dramatically falling numbers of women in their child-bearing years. German society finds itself in a demographically determined existential change, that is, in transition, against its will, toward an immigration society that ignores, suppresses and tabooizes its future demographic problems at the cost of the young generations.

(Sources: R. Wuttke, “Deutsche schaufeln sich das Grab,” *Nation u. Europa*, Coburg, January 1999, pp. 20-22, and, “Ausländer unter uns,” p. 27; *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tübingen, Dec. 1996, citing: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Sept. 20, 1996; *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, April 18, 1996; *Südwest Presse*, June 14, 1996; *Nation u. Europa*, Coburg, March 1997, p. 36 [criminality figures].)

Five Years Imprisonment for Pedro Varela

Spanish Court Sentences 'Thought Criminal'

Mark Weber

A Spanish court has sentenced Pedro Varela, a Barcelona book dealer, to five years imprisonment for “incitement to racial hatred” and for “denying or justifying genocide.”

The sentence, handed down on November 16, 1998, is Spain’s first conviction for “Holocaust denial.” It is based on the country’s 1995 anti-genocide and anti-discrimination law, which effectively creates an ambiguous new class of “criminal” books, and thereby threatens freedom of speech and expression for all Spaniards.

The case began on December 12, 1996, when police raided Varela’s “Libreria Europa” bookstore in central Barcelona while his sister was working in the shop and her young daughter was playing in the back yard. The police seized some 20,000 books, along with numerous periodicals, posters, and audio and video cassettes. Varela was later arrested at his family home.

Among the prominent individuals who publicly condemned the police raid was Fernando Savater, professor of philosophy at the University of Madrid. Writing in the major Madrid daily *El Pais*, he commented critically on the spate of European laws that threaten free speech, and voiced concern that some regard the bookstore’s closure as a “victory for progress.”

During the trial, which took place in Barcelona criminal court on October 16 and 17, 1998, the public prosecutor cited 30 books sold in Varela’s bookstore that praise Third Reich Germany and approve its policies, or which present revisionist arguments on the Holocaust issue. Joining with the prosecution in the case was the Jewish community organization of Barcelona (ATID) and a group called “SOS Racism.”

Varela’s two attorneys called on the tribunal to acquit the defendant, and to declare that the law under which he had been charged is unconstitutional.

The case took nearly two years to come to trial in part because many of the seized books were in English, German and French, and the prosecution insisted on painstakingly translating many of them into Spanish to determine precisely what portions of which books violated the law.

Varela emphatically rejected the charges against him. “I have never provoked racial hatred,” he told the court. As a historian, he explained, he has “the moral duty to tell the truth,” just as a physician has the duty to heal. “As a historian, I must keep researching the past, and when doubt is not permitted, it arises inevitably.” He also declared:

In my opinion it is necessary to review history because it is an open issue and everything is subject to revision ... Every historian must be skeptical of everything and

must also review what has been said thus far. Revisionists question the scope and degree of the alleged persecutions of National Socialist Germany.

Not just history, Varela said, but even the meanings of words such as “fascist” and “revisionist” are polemically manipulated by the media and by social-political interests unconcerned with justice or truth. The term “racist,” he went on, has virtually come to mean “murderer.”

Regarding the items sold in his store, Varela explained that he does not and cannot know the contents of every book he sells; even if that were possible, he said, it’s not the duty of a book dealer. He pointed out that he also sold Karl Marx’ Capital and the Anne Frank Diary, along with 232 titles not related to the Second World War and thus irrelevant to this case.

Varela acknowledged authorship of a leaflet about Anne Frank that stated, accurately, that the famous Jewish teenager had died of typhus, and that her body was not used to manufacture soap. This is no reason not to regret her death, he added.

In his concluding statement to the court, Varela said:

It is my turn to be the scapegoat of a “social alarm” [to use a phrase of the prosecutor] created on purpose ... I fight, condemn and attack any form of “genocide.” I am not guilty of genocide, and have never killed anyone. I have never called for genocide against anyone, or for mass murder of any kind of minority.

On November 16, 1998, the court declared Varela guilty of inciting racial hatred and of denying or justifying genocide, and sentenced him to five years imprisonment and a fine of 720,000 pesetas (about \$5,000). The 20,000 books seized by the police were ordered to be burned (!), even though the court found that only 30 titles, out of some 200 altogether, violated the law.

The case received extensive nationwide media coverage, provoking commentary both sympathetic and hostile to the defendant. A “Comite por la Libertad de Expresion” actively defended Varela. Many writers and journalists expressed disagreement with the verdict, concerned that it threatens freedom of speech. In letters to newspapers and over the radio, many private citizens also protested the court’s ruling.

In October a coalition of Jewish, gypsy, leftist and homosexual groups staged a public demonstration against Varela, carrying cardboard coffins memorializing Holocaust victims. Predictably, the usual professional anti-racists, Marxists, and other self-proclaimed defenders of democracy expressed satisfaction with the court’s verdict and sentence.

On December 10, 1998, Varela’s attorneys appealed the court’s sentence and verdict. He is free pending the ruling of the appeals court.

Outspoken, Articulate and Undaunted

Pedro Varela, 41 years old, is quick-witted, dedicated and articulate. He is also a unapologetic admirer of Hitler and National Socialism who has paid a price for his heretical views.

While attending university, he earned praise as an outstanding student of history, completing a five-year course with high marks and in half the usual time. Also at the university, he endured physical attacks from leftists. For a time he headed the “Spanish Circle of Friends of Europe” (CEDADE), a group noted for its frank sympathy for Germany’s Third Reich and its National

Socialist ideology. In March 1991 Varela spoke (in German) at the “Leuchter Kongress” in Munich, an open-air revisionist meeting organized by Ernst Zündel.

When a major Spanish newspaper, La Vanguardia, once referred to him as a “terrorist,” he brought a lawsuit against the Barcelona daily. Although the judge agreed that the paper had lied in making the claim, he held that Varela’s demand for a retraction was “disproportionate.”

In 1992 he was arrested in Austria on a charge of “reactivating” National Socialism because, during an earlier visit to the country, he had delivered a speech in which he praised Hitler. After being held nearly three months in prison, he was finally brought to trial in mid-December 1992 before a court in Steyr that, amazingly, acquitted him.

(Varela can be reached by mail at: Libreria Europa, Aptdo. de Correos 9169, Barcelona 08080, Spain, and by e-mail at: [\[email protected\]](#).)

Spain’s Ambiguous 'Anti-Genocide' Law

Until 1995 Spain was an oasis of freedom in a continent where several countries had curtailed freedom of expression in the name of fighting “hate” and “Holocaust denial.”

This changed on May 11, 1995, when the Spanish parliament, approved a revision of the country’s criminal code that made it a crime to justify genocide or to promote racial hatred. Duly signed into law by Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and King Juan Carlos, it begins with a preamble that declares:

The proliferation in several European countries of incidents of racist and anti-Semitic violence, carried out under the flags and symbols of Nazi ideology, obliges the democratic states to take decisive action to fight against this ...

This statement is remarkable considering that Spain owes much of its stability and prosperity to the legacy of Francisco Franco, whose authoritarian regime ruled the country for more than 30 years after leading the nationalists to victory in a bloody civil war (1936-1939) with significant military aid from Third Reich Germany and fascist Italy. Ironically, the 1995 law was proposed not by the country’s Socialist party, which had been in power for 13 years, but by the country’s main conservative party, the Partido Popular, which had the backing of supporters of the Franco regime.

Specifically, Spain’s awkwardly worded “anti-genocide” law makes it a crime to express “ideas or doctrines that promote the crime [of genocide], [or] exalt its author,” or to “deny, trivialize, or justify” genocidal actions. It goes on to make it a crime to “attempt to rehabilitate or establish a regime or institution that aids practices that generate the crime of genocide.”

In the section aimed at “racial incitement,” the law declares:

Whoever provokes or incites, directly or by defense or justification (mediante la apolog'a), through communication media or by any other means of publicity, discrimination against persons or groups on the basis of their racial, ethnic or national origin, or their ideology, religion or beliefs, will be punished with a minor or medium prison sentence and a fine of 100,000 to 1,000,000 pesetas.

Spaniards have expressed concern about the law’s slippery imprecision. One book seller, who now wonders if he should act as a censor, said:

Under the new law, the role of the book dealer is unclear. Which books are forbidden? What should I do when my distributor ships me copies of Mein Kampf? Should I denounce him to the authorities, tell him to keep the books, or should I sell them?

At the least, the law is ambiguous because it is difficult to define “genocide” with exactitude. Is it “genocide” if five percent of a group is killed, or must it be 50 or 70 percent?

Pointing up the politically motivated nature of the law is the fact that it has been invoked only against those who (allegedly) “deny, trivialize, or justify” the Second World War treatment of Europe’s Jews. It is not invoked against those who “deny, trivialize, or justify” genocidal acts of any other regime.

Arguably the law could be invoked against those who “deny, trivialize, or justify” the numerous acts of genocide committed by the ancient Hebrews against the native peoples of Palestine, as recorded, for example, in the Old Testament books of Joshua and Deuteronomy. The law’s “racial incitement” section could be invoked against those who defend Israel or justify its policies, which have institutionally discriminated against non-Jews in Israel/Palestine for more than 30 years.

A Well-Organized Campaign

Laws against “hate” and “Holocaust denial,” such as the one in Spain under which Varela was convicted, are hardly spontaneous expressions of righteous indignation. They are, instead, the result of a well-organized, protracted and self-serving Jewish-Zionist campaign. Seventeen years ago, the Institute for Jewish Affairs in London, an agency of the World Jewish Congress, announced that it was launching a worldwide campaign to persuade and pressure governments to outlaw “Holocaust denial” (Jewish Chronicle [London], April 23, 1982). The anti-revisionist “thought crime” laws that were subsequently introduced in several European countries reflect the success of this initiative.

The organized nature of this campaign was recently underscored by the demand of the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists in June 1998 for new and more severe laws against Holocaust revisionism. (See: “Jewish Group Demands More Anti-revisionist Laws,” July-August 1998 Journal, p. 22)

Israel is Developing 'Ethnic Bomb' for Growing Biological Weapons Arsenal

Mark Weber

Israel is working on an “ethnically targeted” biological weapon that would kill or harm Arabs but not Jews, according to Israeli military and western intelligence sources cited in a front-page report in the London Sunday Times, November 15, 1998 ("Israel Planning 'Ethnic' Bomb as Saddam Caves In," by Uzi Mahnaimi and Marie Colvin).

In developing this “ethno-bomb,” the British paper went on, Israeli scientists are trying to exploit medical advances by identifying distinctive genes carried by some Arabs, and then create a genetically modified bacterium or virus. The goal is to use the ability of viruses and certain bacteria to alter the DNA inside the host’s living cells. The scientists are trying to engineer deadly micro-organisms that attack only those bearing the distinctive genes.

The secret Israel program is based at the Institute for Biological Research in Nes Tsiona, a small town southeast of Tel Aviv, the main research facility for Israel’s clandestine arsenal of chemical and biological weapons.

A scientist there said the task is very complicated because both Arabs and Jews are of Semitic origin. But he added: “They have, however, succeeded in pinpointing a particular characteristic in the genetic profile of certain Arab communities, particularly the Iraqi people.” Diseases could be spread by spraying organisms into the air or putting them in water supplies.

Some experts have commented that while an ethnically targeted weapon is theoretically feasible, the practical aspects of creating one are enormous. All the same, a confidential Pentagon report warned last year that biological agents could be genetically engineered to produce new lethal weapons.

US Defense Secretary William Cohen revealed that he had received reports of countries working to create “certain types of pathogens that would be ethnic-specific.” A senior western intelligence source confirmed that Israel is one of the countries Cohen had in mind, the Sunday Times report added.

Reliable Record

The Sunday Times report is all the more credible given the prestigious paper’s past record of reliable reporting. In a detailed front-page report published on June 19, 1977, the Sunday Times first revealed to the world that Israeli authorities had been torturing Palestinian prisoners, that this torture was “widespread and systematic,” and that it “appears to be sanctioned at some level as deliberate policy.” At the time Israeli officials and Jewish-Zionist leaders in the United States protested the Sunday Times revelations, and denied the charge. Later, though, Israeli torture of prisoners was independently verified by Amnesty International, and others.

Another recent Sunday Times article revealed that Israeli jets have been equipped to carry chemical and biological weapons. “There is hardly a single known or unknown form of chemical or biological weapons ... which is not manufactured at the [Nes Tsiona] Institute,” a biologist who is a former Israeli intelligence official told the newspaper. And the Israeli newspaper Yediot Ahronot, citing a foreign report, has told readers that hundreds of bottles of deadly anthrax toxin are stored at the Institute.

The “ethnic bomb” claims have been given further credence in Foreign Report, an authoritative Jane’s publication that closely monitors security and military matters. It cites unnamed South African sources as saying that Israeli scientists, in trying to develop an “ethnic bullet” against Arabs, have made use of similar biological studies conducted by South African scientists during the Apartheid era (and later revealed in testimony before that country’s “Truth and Reconciliation Commission”). Foreign Report also says that Israelis have gained insights into the Arab genetic make-up by conducting research on “Jews of Arab origin, especially Iraqis.”

The British Medical Association has become so concerned about the lethal potential of genetically-based biological weapons that it has opened an investigation. Dr. Vivienne Nathanson, who organized the research, said: “With an ethnically targeted weapon, you could even hit groups within a population. The history of warfare, in which many conflicts have an ethnic factor, shows how dangerous this could be.”

A spokesman for Britain’s biological defense establishment confirms that such weapons are theoretically possible. “We have reached a point now where there is an obvious need for an international convention to control biological weapons,” he said.

The Anti-Defamation League lost no time denouncing the Sunday Times “ethnic bomb” report. Abraham Foxman, national director of the influential Jewish-Zionist organization, called it “irresponsible and dangerous.” The ADL official went on: “This sensational story is reminiscent of the age-old anti-Semitic blood libel myth of Jews deviously targeting non-Jews with poison.” Question: How does Foxman know that this report is not true? Do high-level Israeli officials routinely inform the ADL of the Zionist government’s top-secret military programs?

A senior Israeli government official similarly rejected the Sunday Times report, saying “this is the kind of story that does not deserve denial.” Such Israeli declarations are virtually worthless, however, considering that the Zionist state refuses officially to acknowledge that it has nuclear weapons, a fact that even authoritative American sources have confirmed.

'Human Guinea Pigs'

Victor Ostrovsky, a former case officer of Israel’s Mossad intelligence agency, recalled in his book *The Other Side of Deception* how he first learned of the Zionist state’s secret weapons center:

It was Uri who enlightened me regarding the Nes Zionna [Tsiona] facility. It was, he said, an ABC warfare laboratory — ABC standing for atomic, biological and chemical. It was where our top epidemiological scientists were developing various doomsday machines. Because we were so vulnerable and would not have a second chance should there be an all-out war in which this type of weapon would be needed, there was no room for error. The [captured] Palestinian infiltrators came in handy in this regard. As human guinea pigs, they could make sure the weapons the scientists were

developing worked properly and could verify how fast they worked and make them even more efficient.

As most of the world recognizes, United States policy toward countries that develop nuclear, chemical and biological weapons is sanctimonious and brazenly hypocritical.

Recently, for example, the US government sharply condemned India and Pakistan for testing nuclear weapons. Of course, the only country ever to have actually used nuclear weapons is the United States. In August 1945, American forces instantly killed tens of thousands of Japanese civilians with atomic bombs, first in Hiroshima and then in Nagasaki — even though America’s most competent military leaders held that there was no military need to use the horrific weapon. (See: “Was Hiroshima Necessary,” in the May-June 1997 Journal, pp. 4-12).

To prevent the government of Iraq from developing “weapons of mass destruction” (to use the currently fashionable phrase), the United States regularly bombs the hapless Arab country, and enforces an economic embargo that (according to authoritative estimates) has already claimed the lives of more than 200,000 Iraqi children.

For decades, though, America’s political and intellectual leaders — reflecting their obsequious subservience to Jewish-Zionist interests — condone Israel’s growing arsenal of sophisticated nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

From The Journal of Historical Review, Nov. — Dec. 1998 (Vol. 17, No. 6), pages 24-25.

IHR Response Rejected

John Birch Society Magazine Takes Aim at Holocaust Revisionism and the IHR

Under the ambitious headline “Lessons From the Holocaust,” the biweekly magazine of the John Birch Society recently tackled the emotion-laden Holocaust issue. Promoted as a front-cover feature, the nine-page article by senior editor William Norman Grigg is critical of Holocaust revisionism and the Institute for Historical Review.

In response to Grigg’s broadside, *The New American* published four readers’ letters in the December 7 issue, including a sharply critical one by Michael A. Hoffman II, a former IHR staff member. His letter was not permitted to speak for itself, however, but appeared along with an editorial rebuttal that was lengthier than Hoffman’s published letter.

IHR Director Mark Weber responded with a letter that *The New American* declined to publish, even in part. The full text of Weber’s letter follows:

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659 USA

November 25, 1998

William Norman Grigg
The New American
P.O. Box 8040
Appleton, WI 54913

Dear Mr. Grigg,

We have received several requests to respond to your article, “Lessons >From the Holocaust,” in the November 9 issue of *The New American*, especially because you take specific aim at the Institute for Historical Review and its work.

First of all, I want to express appreciation to you and *The New American* for consistently stressing the scope of Communism’s crimes, which regrettably are played down in our media and by our public leaders. At the same time, I must take issue with a number of points made in your article.

While it is certainly true, as you point out, that Third Reich Germany was an authoritarian state, it is misleading if not deceitful to give the impression that it was comparable to Stalinist Russia. Private property ownership, for example, was not only permitted in Hitler’s Germany, it was greatly encouraged. Unlike in the Soviet Union, farms, homes and businesses in National Social-

ist Germany were privately owned and managed, and there were no restrictions on travel inside the country, by either Germans or foreigners.

Also, religious life, in spite of various restrictions, remained vibrant — indeed Church attendance was much greater during the Third Reich era than it is in Germany today. The official 25-point National Socialist Party program specifically endorsed “positive Christianity.” And whereas the membership of Germany’s ruling National Socialist Party was overwhelmingly Christian, the membership of Soviet Russia’s ruling Communist Party was entirely atheist.

Moreover, to contend that Hitler’s hostility to Communism was “purely tactical” is an grotesque distortion of the historical record. Throughout his life, Hitler remained fervently anti-Communist. And this was not mere sentiment. After taking power in 1933, he lost no time in smashing the German Communist Party — the largest in the world at the time outside of Russia. While it is quite true, as you point out, that Third Reich Germany and the Soviet Union concluded a non-aggression pact in August 1939, this was not a military alliance.

On June 22, 1941, Hitler launched his “Barbarossa” attack against the Soviet Union, the greatest military assault in history. His plan to quickly destroy Soviet Communism failed because he had greatly underestimated Stalin’s military might. Although German troops reached the gates of Moscow, the Red Army ultimately prevailed. As Stalin’s forces planted the Red Flag atop the Reichstag in Berlin in the spring of 1945, Hitler took his life in a nearby command center.

Revisionist scholars do not “deny” the Holocaust. They acknowledge that many hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed and otherwise perished during the Second World War as direct and indirect result of the brutally anti-Jewish policies of Germany and its allies.

At the same time, revisionists point out that numerous specific extermination claims have been quietly abandoned over the years as untrue. For instance, at the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, Allied prosecutors cited seemingly substantial evidence to “prove” that prisoners had been gassed at Dachau, Buchenwald and other concentration camps in Germany proper. But already in August 1960 an official of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich acknowledged: “Neither in Dachau, nor in Bergen-Belsen, nor in Buchenwald were Jews or other inmates gassed.” Today historians now widely acknowledge that no one was ever gassed in any camp in Germany proper.

Much of the now discredited Holocaust “evidence” presented at Nuremberg is of Soviet Communist origin, including “proof” that the Germans killed four million people at Auschwitz and another one and a half million at Majdanek. (Today no reputable historian accepts these fantastic figures.)

As evidence of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz, you cite a postwar “confession” of SS Captain Josef Kramer, who served as commandant of Auschwitz-Birkenau from mid-May 1944 until the end of November 1944 — that is, during the height of the supposed extermination period there. He had already served at other concentration camps, and he finished the war in command of the Belsen camp. He was arrested there by the British and, after a military trial, was hanged in December 1945.

During his trial, Kramer provided a valuable detailed statement about his wartime career, including his role as commandant of Birkenau and Belsen. He frankly acknowledged that as many as 500 Birkenau inmates died weekly during the period when he was in charge, but stressed that these deaths were due to illness and old age, and were not the result of any policy. In fact, every effort was made to keep sick inmates alive, he said, and reported that the camp’s physicians nor-

mally worked ten or eleven hours daily. Some 25 or 30 barracks buildings were set aside as hospital or recuperation quarters.

Kramer forthrightly responded to the persistent charges of extermination and gassings:

I have heard of the allegations of former prisoners in Auschwitz referring to a gas chamber there, the mass executions and whippings, the cruelty of the guards employed, and that all that took place either in my presence or with my knowledge. All I can say to all this is that it is untrue from beginning to end.

Kramer later retreated from this unambiguous stand, perhaps in the hope that a “confession” might save his life. In a “supplementary” statement, he mentioned the existence of a single gas chamber in Birkenau, but added that it was not under his command.

In his 1949 study, *Victor's Justice*, historian Montgomery Belgion reported that Kramer and other “Belsen” trial defendants were tortured, sometimes to the point that they begged to be put to death.

In January 1995 the prestigious French weekly magazine *L'Express* acknowledged that the “gas chamber” in the Auschwitz main camp, which has been shown for decades to tourists in its “original” state, is actually a postwar reconstruction (built under Communist auspices), and that “everything is false” about it.

Several forensic examinations of the alleged “gas chambers” at Auschwitz — probably the most notorious wartime concentration camp — have established that these facilities could not possibly have been used to kill people as alleged, and in fact were never used to kill people as claimed.

To prove the severity of German measures against Jews, you quote from a directive on the “Handling of the Jewish Question.” Contrary to the impression you give, though, this directive is not from the 1930s, but from 1941, and applies not to Jews in Germany, but rather (as the text itself makes clear) to Jews in the newly occupied Soviet territories.

This official “Guidelines for the Handling of the Jewish Question” (Nuremberg document 212-PS) lays out German policy toward the Jews in the occupied Soviet territories. An interesting feature of this secret, internal document is that it is difficult, of not impossible, to reconcile with the orthodox Holocaust extermination story.

Although the measures ordered in this Security Police directive are certainly cruel and harsh, it makes no mention of killing or extermination, but instead stresses the importance of putting Jews to work. It specifically refers to the “peaceful solution of the Jewish question” and mentions “the creation of at least temporary reception possibilities for Jews from the [German] Reich” in the newly-acquired Soviet territories.

The only material issued or distributed by the IHR that you specifically cite is a flyer, “66 Questions and Answers on the Holocaust.” This decades-old, single sheet leaflet is inherently superficial, and anyway is in need of revision and updating. It is not at all indicative of the tremendous scope and depth of historical scholarship published by the IHR since its founding in 1978 in numerous books and in dozens of issues of the Institute's *Journal of Historical Review*.

Misleading is a charitable way to characterize your description of the IHR's drawn out legal dispute with Auschwitz survivor Mel Mermelstein. What your readers were not told is that his campaign against the IHR came to a dramatic end on September 19, 1991, when his \$11 million law-

suit against the IHR was dismissed in Los Angeles Superior Court. Judge Steven Lachs granted the IHR's motion for dismissal of his malicious prosecution complaint, and soon afterwards Mermelstein himself dismissed his libel and conspiracy complaints. His appeal of the ruling was unanimously rejected by the California Court of Appeal. Furthermore, a careful look at Mermelstein's statements and writings over the years shows, contrary to his highly favorable media image, that he is a prevaricator and demonstrable fraud.

Revisionists are often accused of "rewriting history." But the routine way we talk about "the Holocaust" is itself a good example of "rewriting history." This term, as a reference to the World War II travails of European Jewry, was unknown in the decades following the end of the conflict, and did not come into widespread use until the late 1970s.

Just how drastically our perception of the past has been altered over the past 30-40 years has been acknowledged by Michael Berenbaum, Project Director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. "The Holocaust," he has said, "was [once] regarded as a side story of the much larger story of World War II. Now one thinks of World War II as a background story and the Holocaust as a foreground story." (Quoted in The Washington Times, Jan. 10, 1991.)

Along with much of the American media, many public officials have vigorously promoted the campaign that Jewish-American historian Alfred Lilienthal has aptly termed "Holocaustomania." Accordingly, the federal government and all 50 state governments now routinely observe the annual "Holocaust Remembrance Day."

The United States Holocaust Memorial Council — a taxpayer-funded federal government agency — operates an official US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, that commemorates (non-American) victims of a foreign regime. Non-Jewish victims just don't merit the same concern. There are no federal memorials or museums, or official annual observances, dedicated to the millions of victims of Soviet and Chinese Communism.

For many people, the Holocaust has become virtually a new civil religion, one that replaces traditional Judaism and Christianity as a moral guide. In his book *Why Should Jews Survive?*, Prof. Michael Goldberg, an eminent Rabbi, laments the rise of what he aptly calls a "Holocaust cult with its own tenets of faith, rites and shrines."

This "cult" is even used to justify and support the "new world order." This was made clear by Ian J. Kagedan, an official of the Zionist organization B'nai B'rith Canada, in an essay entitled "Memory of Holocaust Central to New World Order" (Toronto Star, Nov. 26, 1991). "In the moral reconstruction of Eastern Europe," he wrote, "coming to terms with the Holocaust must figure prominently... The Holocaust stands as Western civilization's greatest failure... Achieving our quest of a 'new world order' depends on our learning the Holocaust's lessons."

Those who question the "Holocaust cult" are subject to smears, bigoted social ostracism and, sometimes, terror and legal persecution. As you point out, in some countries it is a crime to distribute dissident writings on the Holocaust. In 1978 a teacher in France, François Duprat, was even murdered because of his revisionist views. Our Institute has been repeatedly attacked by the Jewish Defense League, a group that the FBI has identified as a terrorist organization. The IHR office-warehouse was destroyed in an arson attack on July 4, 1984.

Since its founding in 1978, the IHR has steadfastly opposed bigotry of all kinds in its efforts to promote greater public understanding of key chapters of history. Contributors to our Journal have included respected scholars from around the world. We are proud of the backing we have earned from people of the most diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, including Jewish.

The generally acknowledged founder of scholarly Holocaust revisionism was Paul Rassinier, whom you inaccurately call a Trotskyite. Actually, this French educator and underground Resistance activist was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and interned until the end of the war in the Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps. Rassinier's courage and suffering were later recognized with France's highest decoration awarded for Resistance activities, and he was elected to the French National Assembly as a deputy of the Socialist party (SFIO).

If the revisionist view of the Holocaust were really as simplistic and mistaken as you suggest, it would not have gained the support of university professors such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, historians such as David Irving and Harry Elmer Barnes, and former concentration camp inmates such as Paul Rassinier. These individuals did not decide publicly to reject the orthodox Holocaust story — thereby risking public censure, and worse — because they are fools, or because their motives are evil, but rather on the basis of a sincere and thoughtful evaluation of the evidence.

Much more by and about the IHR can be obtained by writing us at P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, or “on line” through our Internet web site: <http://www.ihr.org>

Sincerely,

Mark Weber, Director

Here We Go Again!

New Collins Book Takes Aim at Cant and Bigotry

Doug Collins — the first Canadian journalist to be hauled before a “Human Rights Tribunal” — is once again delighting fans and confounding enemies with the publication of *Here We Go Again!*, a collection of 100 of his North Shore News columns.

This is Collins at his best — adroitly taking aim at cant, bigotry, sophistry and double standards in prose that is unfailingly clear, witty and vigorous. This is a fun read.

Leading off with the notorious “Hollywood Propaganda” essay that brought him before a “Human Rights Tribunal,” this self-published anthology also includes “All Alone on the Rights Grid-dle,” “Massacred by the Media,” “Swastikas and Double Standards,” “Thought Police On Patrol,” “Pokenoses and Pressure Groups,” and “A Redneck to the Rescue.”

He stanchly defends the traditional British-heritage rights of free thought and free speech even for such bothersome Canadians as Paul Fromm, a school teacher who lost his job because of his views on immigration and multiculturalism, and J. Philippe Rushton, a professor who nearly lost his for concluding that racial differences are more than skin deep.

Collins can take special pride in his “Rambo Rough and Ready” column, apparently the first critical look published anywhere of the “memoir” of Australian Donald Watt, who recounted hair-raising experiences as a wartime prisoner at Auschwitz and other German camps. Having been a World War II prisoner of the Germans himself, Collins had special reason to be skeptical of Watt’s boasting. Although it initially received high praise in the British and Australian press, specialists later authoritatively exposed Watt’s memoir as a fraud.

Here We Go Again!, says Collins, is “an act of defiance against the censors. I think this is a valuable piece of journalistic history. The North Shore News and I are the first anywhere in North America to be hauled before a human rights tribunal over an expression of opinion. We are fighting a heresy law. The public should be able to see what it is all about. This book will do that.”

For 13 years — from 1984 until his retirement in September 1997 — Collins’ thrice-weekly column in the North Shore News of Vancouver, British Columbia, was one of paper’s most popular features. In more than 1,400 essays written in lively, straight-forward prose, the British-born Collins laid out well-informed and common-sense views on the country’s most emotion-laden issues, including immigration, the status of Quebec, and special privilege “rights.”

The column that got him into the hottest of hot water was a March 1994 essay, “Hollywood Propaganda,” that skewered Steven Spielberg’s much-hyped motion picture “Schindler’s List.” Collins referred to it as “Swindler’s List” and “hate literature in the form of films.” He also wrote that “the Jewish influence is the most powerful in Hollywood,” and dismissed the fabled “six

million” Holocaust figure as “nonsense.” (Several of Collins' provocative columns, including “Hollywood Propaganda,” have been reprinted in this Journal.)

The Canadian Jewish Congress responded with a formal complaint against Collins and the North Shore News, charging that the column violated British Columbia's amended Human Rights Act. As this free speech case came before the British Columbia Human Rights Tribunal, it attracted nationwide attention and commentary. In late 1997 the Tribunal decided the case by rejecting the CJC complaint, finding that Collins' “Hollywood Propaganda” column “does not itself express hatred or contempt” in violation of a provincial “anti-hate” law. (For more on this, see “Canadian Jewish Congress Threatens Journalist for Holocaust Heresy,” in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 Journal, and “Victory for Collins and Free Speech in Holocaust Heresy Battle,” Jan.-Feb. 1998 Journal.)

A recipient of two of Canada's most coveted awards for journalism, Collins' career has included work as a reporter and commentator for several major Canadian daily papers and on television and radio. *Here We Go Again!* is his fourth book. His earlier works are *P.O.W.*, a chronicle of his Second World War experiences, *Immigration: The Destruction of English Canada*, and *The Best and Worst of Doug Collins*, a 1987 collection of columns. Collins' presentation at the 1990 IHR Conference, “Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech and Revisionism,” was published in the Fall 1991 Journal.

United States readers can order *Here We Go Again!* by check or money order, made out to Doug Collins, for US \$13.00, postpaid (or Can. \$18.95), directly from: Doug Collins, P.O. Box 91831, West Vancouver, B.C. V7V 4S1, Canada.

Scholarly French Journal Strives for 'Exactitude'

Akribeia, the Greek word for “exactitude,” is also the name of an impressive scholarly French-language revisionist journal. Skilfully edited by Jean Plantin, the twice-yearly periodical of some 235-240 pages explores “history, rumors and legends.” Each book-length issue proclaims (quoting French scholar and publisher Pierre Guillaume) that history writing must be revisionist, or it is not real historiography.

The premiere issue of October 1997 includes a lengthy essay by French writer Albert Dauzat on false rumors and legends of the First World War, and a detailed essay by Italian scholar Carlo Mattogno on Germany’s “Final Solution” as seen by neutral and Allied countries in 1941-1942.

The second, March 1998 issue features two lengthy essays by Spanish scholar Enrique Aynat, “Considerations on the deportations of Jews from France and Belgium to eastern Europe in 1942,” and “The reports of the Polish resistance on the Auschwitz gas chambers, 1941-1944.” This issue also contains Theodore O’Keefe’s essay on former Auschwitz inmate Mel Mermelstein, translated from the July-August 1997 Journal of Historical Review, and a detailed article by Mark Weber on the Stutthof concentration camp, translated from the Sept.-Oct. 1997 Journal. Also here is a 14-page “Revisionist Chronology” that summarizes noteworthy events for revisionism in the year 1997.

Almost the entirety of the third issue of October 1998 is devoted to an analysis by Enrique Aynat of the often-cited 1944 “Auschwitz Protocols.”

A valuable and routine feature of the journal is a “Notes de lecture” section, 37 to 41 pages in length, in which dozens of recent books and periodicals, both revisionist and anti-revisionist, are carefully noted, reviewed and summarized.

Carrying on a tradition of solid revisionist scholarship in France, Akribeia fills a major gap left by the demise of *Annales d'histoire revisionniste* (1987-1990), *Revue d'histoire revisionniste* (1990-1992), and *Revue d'histoire non conformiste* (1993-1994).

“Éditions Akribeia” also publishes books, including a French translation of *Falsehood in Wartime*, Arthur Ponsonby’s important study of First World War propaganda lies (with an introduction by Plantin), and a new edition of the 1950 preface by Albert Paraz to Paul Rassinier’s *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* (with a foreword by Robert Faurisson).

For further information, including subscription rates and prices for books and single journal issues, write to: Akribeia, 45/3 route de Vourles, 69230 Saint-Genis-Laval, France.

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Quotes

“Nothing can alter my inner soul: I shall pursue my own straight course and shall do what I believe to be right and honorable. “

-- Frederick the Great

“The good society is marked by a high degree of order, justice, and freedom. Among these, order has primacy: for justice cannot be enforced until a tolerable civil social order is attained, nor can freedom be anything better than violence until order gives us laws.”

-- Russell Kirk, *The Roots of American Order*

“American policy today stirs up everything and settles nothing. The result is that it creates a void, opening the way to new tyrannies instead of new freedoms. At the bottom of America’s attitude is the assumption that all the world wishes to be American. And that assumption is false.”

-- Hadj T'hami el Glaoui, pasha of Marrakesh, in 1944. Quoted in: James J. Martin, *Revisionist Viewpoints* (1971), p. 18.

“When truth is buried underground, it grows, it chokes, it gathers such an explosive force that on the day it bursts out, it blows up everything with it.”

-- Emile Zola

“Whoever would overthrow the liberty of a nation must begin by subduing the freeness of speech; a thing terrible to public traitors.”

-- Benjamin Franklin

“It is always difficult for the non-historian to remember that there is nothing absolute about historical truth. What we consider as such is only an estimation, based upon what the best available evidence tells us. It must constantly be tested against new information and new interpretations that appear, however implausible they may be, or it will lose its vitality and degenerate into dogma or shibboleth. Such people as David Irving, then, have an indispensable part in the historical enterprise, and we dare not disregard their views.”

-- Gordon A. Craig, noted American specialist of modern German history, and professor emeritus at Stanford University. Writing in *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 19, 1996, p. 8.

“The state budget must be balanced. If the state is not to go bankrupt, public debts must be cut back, the arrogance of the officials must be curbed and brought under control, and payments to foreign governments must be reduced.”

-- Marcus Tullius Cicero, 55 B.C.

“I have never, for the life of me, been able to understand the conservative. The conservative seems to me to be always clinging to the last thing which the last radical has forcibly tied him to.”

-- G.K. Chesterton, 1927

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The Little-Known Story of Percy Hobart

They Called Him 'Hobo'

[Trevor J. Constable](#)

Winston Churchill threw down the Sunday Pictorial on the morning of August 11, 1940, with an angry scowl on his face. “We Have Wasted Brains!” blazed the headline to a slashing critical article by Britain’s top military analyst, Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. Dominating the page was a photograph of a hawk-faced officer in the black beret of the Royal Tank Corps, former Major-General Percy Hobart. He was Liddell Hart’s classic example of Britain’s “wasted brains.”

Practical pioneer and developer of the now-dreaded Blitzkrieg technique and former commander of the world’s first permanent tank brigade, Hobart’s revolutionary innovations in armored warfare had won him international military fame — and special attention in Germany. Dire peril now threatened Britain, but General Hobart was not commanding British tanks. He wasn’t even in the Army. He had been found serving as a corporal in the Home Guard [overage men and other civilians otherwise unfit for regular military service, meagerly armed, whose “uniform” was an arm band] — the highest responsibility Britain’s military mandarins were willing to give to the progenitor of the Blitzkrieg.

Aroused by Liddell Hart’s exposure of the situation, Churchill was determined to change Hobart’s assignment. In the process, the prime minister was to launch and bring to its climax a drama of personal resurrection unsurpassed in military history. As Churchill pressed buzzers and rumbled memoranda to his secretaries, the country stood on the brink of ruin. The struggle with the Luftwaffe raged overhead. German armies were massing on the French coast for the projected invasion. The British Army had been routed in France with the modern tank methods first demonstrated to the world by Hobart, now a Home Guard corporal. The Germans had learned and applied only too forcefully the techniques pioneered by Hobart’s tank brigade years before.

The prime minister directed that Hobart should be taken back into the Army. The chief of the Imperial General Staff should give him at least one of the new armored divisions to command. Delay was to be avoided. A personal meeting was to be arranged promptly between Corporal Hobart and the prime minister.

In a modest home near Oxford, lean, bushy-browed Percy Hobart was preparing to leave for his Home Guard duties. The one-time general who had commanded hundreds of armored vehicles in maneuvers and raised and trained the 7th Armoured Division in North Africa took a wry look outside his front door at what was now his “transport.” A baby Austin driven by a member of the Women’s Volunteer Services stood waiting. The telephone jangled, Corporal Hobart answered, and found himself talking to one of Churchill’s secretaries. The tank expert was asked to have lunch with the prime minister at Chequers, the official country residence of the British leader.

Bigger things were in store for the aggressive 55-year-old ex-general, whose stormy and controversial past held the key to his future.

From the early 1920s, when he had transferred to the Royal Tank Corps as a military engineer, Hobart had turned his thinking to the future. He was among the few pioneers in every major nation to whom the tank appeared as the decisive land weapon of any future war. These tank enthusiasts, British, German, American and French, took their tactical inspiration from two outstanding British theorists, J. F. C. Fuller and Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. Liddell Hart in particular was influential. He was even then winning recognition as Britain's leading military brain — in or out of uniform — and he wrote forcefully and persuasively in favor of the new doctrine of strategic mobility. This concept is basic to today's military teachings, but it was heresy in the 1920s. Liddell Hart held that tanks would restore to 20th-century warfare the ancient Mongolian idea of extreme mobility — the Mongols' main instrument of conquest. Bloody slugging matches in the 1914-18 fashion were doomed. Generalship would again flourish and replace the dull butchery of mass frontal attacks by infantry.

Orthodox military minds of that time could not grasp such concepts, which demanded creative imagination no less than military understanding. Men with imagination, vision and ability to carry these qualities over into practical soldiering were rare in the static-minded, socially-centered British Army. Percy Hobart was one such man. His diversified background and interests ensured that imaginative, mobile thinking would be second nature to him. A student of history and its lessons, he had delved also into such creative non-military fields as painting, literature and church architecture. Vibrant facets of mind to which regular military life gave no scope sparkled brilliantly in Percy Hobart.

Liddell Hart's "Mongolian" concept of strategic mobility became the focus of Hobart's considerable intellectual resources. Development of these concepts and their adjustment to the mechanical twentieth century dominated Hobart's life from the time they were put forward. His creative imagination had been fired by the military revolution he could visualize, but his creativity was combined with a rock-hard realism. "Wars cannot be fought with dream stuff," he used to say, as he poured his life's energies into the development of practical machines for armored warfare, and the effective methods of directing these new mobile weapons. His goal was to break military science out of the straitjacket of trench warfare by updating the Mongol methods.

Where the Mongols lived off the country through which they ranged, Hobart planned to carry sustaining rations in the tanks. Refueling would be from lightly-protected dumps in the enemy rear, where the far-ranging armored columns would penetrate and strike. He worked with relentless zeal to cut "the tail" of non-fighting service vehicles which hobbled and almost immobilized conventional army units. Tank forces of the future were to be self-contained for the maximum possible range.

Down-to-earth problems such as these did not prevent Hobart from taking a prescient look up at the sky. He planned for the time when the increasing power and versatility of aircraft would permit mobile armored columns to be completely supplied by airdrop. Standard practice today, this concept was in those times often the subject of mockery. Hobart planned to send his hard-hitting columns ripping into enemy supply lines and nerve centers in the rear, paralyzing command and demoralizing troops in the front lines. Less than twenty years later, America's General George S. Patton was to carry out these tactics on a vast scale and with historic success.

Resistance to these radical ideas began to stiffen. The old order found its neurotic and professional security threatened by the progress of strategic mobility. "Hobo," as he was affectionately

called by his intimates, viewed the old order and its resistance to the new ways with direct and unconcealed contempt. "Why piddle about making porridge with artillery," he said, "and then send men to drown themselves in it for a hundred yards of No Man's Land? Tanks mean advances of miles at a time, not yards!"

Views like these were shared only by a small military minority. The powerful ruling faction of military conservatives was convinced of the value of the tank only in scattered use to support infantry formations. Horsed cavalry had been literally swept from the battlefield by the machine gun, but cavalrymen and cavalry philosophy nevertheless still ruled the high commands of the British Army. Men like these regarded Hobart's ideas as anathema. Professionally, they were maintaining the kind of army that could fight the First World War over again. Content with familiar ideas and concepts, and fearful deep inside that Hobart and others might be right, these controlling conservative elements closed the high commands of the British Army to tank advocates.

During this same period in the USA, despite the nation's massive mechanical heritage, a similar situation prevailed. Development of an independent armored force was stifled on that side of the Atlantic, although General Douglas MacArthur held a vision of the military future similar to that of Percy Hobart. Tank development was largely left to devoted individual officers in both Britain and America.

What Hobart's faction lacked in authority they made up for with energy and persistence. Aided by the strong independent voice of Liddell Hart, the tank enthusiasts were finally able in 1927 to pressure the British military hierarchy into the formation of an "experimental mechanized force." Maneuvers demonstrated dramatically that such a force outclassed old-style formations, leaving them bewildered and embarrassed. The theories of Liddell Hart and Fuller and the practical genius of Hobart's training and organization were vividly vindicated. The writing was on the wall for the old order.

The die-hards reacted with a more energetic campaign against tank advocates and theorists. At all costs tank men were to be kept out of high command. Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, whose writings had been widely acclaimed both in the US and Germany, was the first victim. By a series of subtle maneuvers he was quietly squeezed into retirement and never allowed to hold an important post. Other tank officers were sidetracked and discriminated against professionally.

Hobart was now a rising power in British military circles, and conservative machinations were directed against him. He miraculously survived these early efforts at strangulation of the new ideas, and held a series of commands in the Royal Tank Corps. He worked out a basic modern battle drill for tanks, and used all his considerable powers of persuasion to get radio-telephones for his armored fighting vehicles.

Like most things for which he struggled, radios are indispensable to the military of today. A tank in today's armies would hardly be considered battle-worthy without radio. But Hobart spent months requesting, cajoling, demanding it. When the precious radios were finally obtained, Hobart was as happy as a child on Christmas morning. "Control is as important as hitting power, armor or mobility," he said.

With the radios came a new dimension in tank tactics. The basic equipment for a modern tank force was now to hand and Hobart began building up the techniques of command and control that were to rock the world. He made a sharp departure from the army concepts of leadership then in vogue. He believed in men knowing what they were seeking to accomplish in a military operation, right down to privates. "I do not want automata serving under me," he told his subordinates.

He brought everyone serving with him into intimate contact with the higher strategic and tactical principles he was striving to establish in modern war. Although not an orator, Hobart was possessed of a virile and inspiring eloquence that generated tremendous enthusiasm. His gift was to focus this enthusiasm on practical military matters, charging the mundane with a rare magic. Hobart carried this principle over into the civilian circles where equipment was being manufactured for his tanks. When he finally got his radios, he sought out the young woman scientist who ground the crystals for these long-awaited sets. She was set up in the tank turret beside Hobart and he showed her how hundreds of fighting vehicles depended on the accuracy of her work.

After the young woman had gone away visibly impressed by what she had been shown, Hobart turned to his brigade major. "What a damned boring, awful job that girl has, grinding those crystals — but now she knows where we'd be without her." [1]

The soaring enthusiasm generated by Hobart's methods reached its zenith in the 1st Tank Brigade, formed in 1934 as the world's first permanent tank unit on modern lines. By this time a brigadier despite his radical views on warfare, Hobart was given command of this historic unit. He quickly infused the brigade with a booming esprit de corps unrivalled in the British Army.

Under his control at long last was the kind of formation that could conclusively prove the case for strategic mobility. Hobart lost no time. In a series of brilliantly executed war games, he proved the feasibility of driving to the enemy's rear with fast-moving armored units and completely disrupting enemy organization. He carried the revolution even further.

Hobart proved that armored units could both travel and fight by night. This innovation forced a complete revision of strategic and tactical concepts, for it placed old-style military units more than ever at the mercy of armored fighting vehicles. He firmly established the fundamentals of co-operation between tanks and air power, central to all that is done on the modern battlefield. He drove the 1st Tank Brigade hard. He knew how much could be proved and needed to be proved and that he might not be granted the time by his superiors. Continuing antagonism toward tanks, tank advocates and the new concepts of armored warfare characterized the high command of the army, and Hobart was never sure that his next war game would not be his last.

These unsparing efforts by Percy Hobart gave birth to the basic technique of the Blitzkrieg, the new mode of mobile warfare that was to bring nation after nation tumbling down and force Britain to the brink of defeat. The British high command remained irrationally prejudiced against the military technique that Hobart was unfolding. With a curious kind of intellectual detachment, most British leaders did not believe that the devastating effects of Hobart-style armored units could be carried over into actual warfare. Purling views such as these aroused Hobart's fiercest antagonism: "What in hell is the use of having war exercises," he would fume, "when every lesson they teach us is ignored?" [2]

Skepticism about armor was reinforced by lingering love of the cavalry horse. The logical passage of this beloved beast into military limbo was delayed and obstructed by its devotees. These men became opposed to the tank on emotional, sentimental grounds, and found in Hobart a hostile, aggressive opponent. Horsemen nevertheless carried far more weight than tank men in British military life. Cavalry experts not only ruled the army commands, but had long tentacles into the body politic. Their influence was such that as late as 1936 the then secretary of war, Alfred Duff Cooper, apologized to the cavalry in Parliament for mechanizing eight of its regiments.

Hobart's achievements were running a poor second to the cavalry horse in Britain, but elsewhere they were undergoing dynamic scrutiny. A strong-jawed German colonel named Heinz Guderian probed with Teutonic thoroughness and an enthusiast's zeal into the lessons of every Hobart trial

and exercise. Every report, observation and paper pertaining to Hobart's force was meticulously analyzed by Guderian, the Hobart of the new German Army. These studies formed the basis of the new panzer divisions, armored spearheads of Germany's new army. Hobart's 1st Tank Brigade was Guderian's practical guide, and answered many of the German leaders' early problems. Guderian had his difficulties with German military conservatives, but he accorded his country's tank debunkers little attention. When they spoke of "tank limitations," Guderian would not listen. "That's the old school," Guderian would say, "and already it is old history. I put my faith in Hobart, the new man."

At the conclusion of some prewar maneuvers of Guderian's panzer division, the German general was reported to have offered a farewell toast in champagne — "To Hobart." The dynamic British pioneer was considerably less popular in Britain than he was with the modern military men of Germany. Unreasoning conservatism was taking an even sharper stand against tank men than ever before. The irrational nature of the conservative standpoint, combined with the menace to his country and the disasters that he could already foresee had turned Hobart into an explosively fierce advocate of what he knew to be true and proved by actual test.

The slender general's personal forcefulness and vehement manner of expressing himself in pursuit of his goals had earmarked him for professional extinction. "No man is any good who has no enemies" was one of Hobart's credos. ^[3] By the late 1930s he had more bitter foes in Britain's War Office than any other officer in the British Army. He had become involved in heated arguments with all Britain's military mandarins. Every leader from the Chief of the Imperial General Staff downwards had felt the whiplash of his tongue and the weight of his eloquent logic. Confrontations with senior officers could not long continue. Hobart's passion for the armored idea was actually leading him to risk his all.

Efforts to tone him down had little success. A deeply concerned Liddell Hart, in company with General "Tim" Pile — another long-time tank advocate — took Hobart out to dinner one evening. Their purpose was to save not only Hobart himself, but the armored idea, which Hobart's confrontations with high personages was placing in jeopardy. Relaxing in a pleasant atmosphere, Liddell Hart quietly stressed to Hobart that he was alienating potential War Office converts by his infuriating ways of argument. Like all strong personalities, Hobart could pass from one extreme of behavior to another. Force was balanced in his character by a courtly and irresistible charm. "He apologized disarmingly," Liddell Hart recalls, "and promised that it would not occur again. But only a week later the Chief of the Imperial General Staff complained to me that Hobart had again been intolerably rude to him. I tackled Hobart about it, but he was completely unaware of having been rude to anyone."

In this climate of clash and controversy, Britain tardily began the formation of its first modern armored division. The Germans already had four and were building more. Hobart's fears and predictions were being realized. He was the logical man for the command, and the new secretary of war, energetic, reform-conscious Leslie Hore-Belisha, was determined that Hobart should get the vital assignment. War Office conservatives dug their toes in and treated Hore-Belisha to a bewildering exhibition of bureaucratic and professional resistance. The secretary was unable to put Hobart into the post, and recalled in later years: "In all my experience as a minister of the Crown, I never encountered such obstructionism as attended my wish to give the new armored division to Hobart."

A cavalryman whose most recent assignment had been the training of riding instructors was proposed by the War Office for command of the new armored division. This proposal fairly characterized the uncomprehending state of British military thought on the eve of the world's greatest

war. In a compromise arrangement with the War Office, Hobart became director of military training. Hore-Belisha hoped by this stratagem that Hobart's personal drive, enthusiasm and knowledge of armored warfare could permeate all army training.

The tank genius was now deep in "enemy" territory. He was the last tank man of high rank left in an influential post. Like a loathsome infection, he was gradually walled off by the subtle processes of the War Office organism, while pressure mounted to expel him entirely from that august body. Hore-Belisha was continually urged to dismiss Hobart.

The Munich crisis provided the right emotional climate and an excuse to get rid of him completely. He was bundled on a Cairo-bound aircraft, assigned to raise and train Britain's second modern armored division. With Hobo's removal to the Nile delta, tank thinking was exterminated in Whitehall [Britain's Foreign Office], and as Liddell Hart put it, "The British Army was again made safe for military conservatism." For these decisions on the part of its highest military professionals, Britain was to pay dearly in life and prestige.

Scattered motorized and mechanized troops with obsolescent equipment were all that Hobart found in Egypt as the basis for a modern armored division. A grim enough prospect in itself, the equipment situation was overhung by a demoralizing and obstructive emotional factor. Commanding in Egypt was one of the British Army's remaining conservative hangovers from the First World War, a soldier for whom Hobart, himself a decorated veteran of the first conflict, had never failed to express his professional contempt. The commanding general was also a socially-minded soldier. He especially detested Hobart at the personal level for his 1928 marriage, for which Hobart's wife had gone through the divorce court.

Modern minds would regard such a procedure as little more than a fact of life. To the British Army of the period between the wars, it was a transgression sufficient to bring many threats of professional retribution on Hobart, one of them from the general who now commanded in Egypt.

Hobart's arrival was followed by a brief and brutally unceremonious interview in the quarters of the commanding general. "I don't know why the hell you're here, Hobart," he barked, "but I don't want you."

In this poisonous atmosphere, once again virtually isolated, Hobart buckled down to build the kind of armored division of which he had always dreamed. There was virtually no communication with main HQ, no sympathy with what he was doing, no co-operation and no equipment. Hobart proved his superb qualities under these negative, antagonistic conditions by bringing off the miracle of the 7th Armoured Division.

Troops accustomed to the sleepy garrison routine of Egypt found themselves with a stern taskmaster. Rushed into the desert to train by day and by night they soon found themselves permeated by the unconquerable spirit of the tall, hawk-faced Hobart. He infused them with the same magic morale he had given to the 1st Tank Brigade, and month by month he welded the scattered units into a determined, smoothly functioning fighting division.

Taking the jerboa (desert rat) as their emblem they were soon known as the "Desert Rats." They proved themselves Britain's finest armored division in the whole North African campaign. Lieutenant-General Sir Richard O'Connor, commander of the Western Desert Force of 1940, called the 7th Armoured Division "the best trained division I have ever seen." [4]

The grim and frustrating duels of the War Office and the struggle for the armored idea slipped into the background as Hobart fulfilled himself in a man's job. When war broke out in September

1939, a deadly, hard-hitting and superbly mobile force was under his command. Lean, tanned and hard of body and mind, the 54-year-old Hobo was ready for whatever the war could bring.

Three months later, Hobart was dismissed from his command and sent into retirement.

This shocking blow came at the hands of General Sir Archibald Wavell, who decided to act on an adverse report on Hobart filed by the general who hated him and who had sworn professional retribution. Normally a man impervious to the effects of opposition or professional misfortune, Hobart was shaken to the roots of his being by his abrupt and complete dismissal.

Lady Hobart recalls the 1940 dismissal from the army as the one time in their life together that the general had shown distress over any reverse. "He was a stricken man," she says today. "To anyone lacking his intense fortitude, the wound would have been mortal. No warning whatever was given that this blow was to fall."

General Sir Archibald Wavell, who was himself a man with a keen mobile sense, was unable in later years to explain adequately his action in dismissing Hobart. The loss of the tank genius from the desert command was to have incalculable consequences for British arms and fortunes. Liddell Hart tackled Wavell about Hobart's dismissal personally, and made it clear to him how deplorable and damaging the whole affair had been. "Wavell's explanation was rather lame," says Liddell Hart.

Wavell went on to win his own immortal glories by crushing the Italians with the Hobart-trained 7th Armoured Division — the only unit available and able to nullify the overwhelming Italian advantage in manpower and machines. By one of destiny's strangest twists, Liddell Hart had compiled a list of the most promising officers in the British Army for Hore-Belisha in 1937. Only two men were singled from the multitude of British generals as likely to become great commanders — Wavell and Hobart.

The fortunes of the British Army in North Africa were left after Hobart's dismissal in the hands of high commanders who were no more than amateurs in the handling of modern armored forces. So tight was the conservative grip on command that it was not until the latter part of 1942 that authentic tank officers even reached divisional commands. This continuing prejudice and incomprehension was reflected by the British Army's record in the field. With an inferiority of force but with an intuitive gift for handling mobile forces, Rommel proceeded to thrash humiliatingly a succession of British generals sent against him. The troops in the field, as well as the public all over the world, began to wonder if the British had ever heard of the tank before Rommel. British troops in North Africa, repeatedly let down by their armored forces, began to look on their own tank units with considerable suspicion.

When Hobart went back to England, an appeal against his dismissal was made to the king. The appeal was never put forward by the War Office. In Britain's time of mortal danger, Hobart's foes had eliminated him completely from military affairs, and had no intention of bringing his case to the attention of the monarch. For his general's uniform and badges of rank Percy Hobart substituted the white brassard of the Home Guard on the sleeve of his lounge suit.

He joined the Home Guard without communicating anything of his intense disappointment to his wife and family. A deliberate effort had been made to break Hobart's spirit as well as to end his military career. Self-pity might easily have overwhelmed a lesser man but Hobo was made of sterner stuff. "I cannot do what is ideal, so I must do what I can," he told his wife. He entered seriously into his Home Guard duties as a corporal. As the months passed, he seemed to develop an

inner conviction that his chance would come, and that the wheels of the gods would eventually grind. For Hobo, the wheels of the gods ground along on German tank tracks.

Six months after Hobart's removal from the army, Guderian's panzers had run the British Army out of France in one of history's most humiliating routs. The able and farsighted German leader had used to perfection in war the techniques first tried and proved by Hobart. Never was there a more appropriate time for review of their military affairs and doctrines by the British, for only the miracle of Dunkirk had saved their beaten army from capture or annihilation.

Incredible as it must now seem, the stinging defeat of France and Dunkirk, with its devastating effects on morale and national pride, made little impression on Britain's military conservatives. Their intellectual detachment from the dynamism of events continued. The smashing of their First World War type formations in France was deemed due to some sort of lucky German punch, even though Hobart's Tank Brigade exercises in the middle 1930s had portended the armored revolution with undeniable clarity.

Winston Churchill was not satisfied either with these military notions, or the defeats they had brought upon Britain. He was no friend of military die-hardism. One of the early pioneers of the tank in the First World War, Churchill had helped batter down opposition to its introduction into the earlier conflict. Between the wars, the future prime minister had watched tank developments closely. Hobart's disastrous misemployment incensed Churchill. As prime minister and minister of defense he was the most powerful official in Britain, but getting Britain's leading tank tactician and general back into the army was to take every ounce of his authority, as well as some of his eloquence.

As late as October 1940, Hobart was still unemployed, his appointment obstructed high in the War Office. Churchill was given a dossier listing the reasons why the progenitor of the Blitzkrieg should not be given an armored division. Churchill replied to the resisting spirits in the War Office with a historic minute: [\[5\]](#)

October 19, 1940

Prime Minister to Chief of Imperial General Staff:

I was very pleased last week when you told me you proposed to give an armored division to General Hobart. I think very highly of this officer, and I am not at all impressed by the prejudices against him in certain quarters. Such prejudices attach frequently to persons of strong personality and original view. In this case, General Hobart's views have been only too tragically borne out. The neglect by the General Staff even to devise proper patterns of tanks before the war has robbed us of all the fruits of this invention. These fruits have been reaped by the enemy, with terrible consequences. We should, therefore, remember that this was an officer who had the root of the matter in him, and also vision. I have carefully read your note to me, and the summary of the case for and against General Hobart. We are now at war, fighting for our lives, and we cannot afford to confine Army appointments to officers who have excited no hostile comment in their career. The catalogue of General Hobart's qualities and defects might almost exactly be attributed to any of the great commanders of British history.

... This is a time to try men of force and vision, and not be confined exclusively to those who are judged thoroughly safe by conventional standards.

With this push from Churchill, Hobart's star went into the ascendant. He raised and trained the 11th Armoured Division, earmarked to fight in North Africa. While he set his indelible personal stamp on the 11th, Hobart chafed at the disasters inflicted on the British in North Africa by Rommel. He felt certain that he could defeat the Desert Fox if given the chance, but on the eve of the 11th Armoured's departure for Africa, Britain's military reactionaries took one last ignominious cut at the brilliant tank leader.

Because his military views could no longer be gainsaid, the final effort to oust Hobart was made on medical grounds, and mainly because he was now 56. His opponents were unfortunate in that they made their last effort to ruin and remove Hobart in September of 1942, a black month for the British Army. Only three months earlier, Rommel had sent the powerful British 8th Army reeling back in a rabble from Tobruk. The Desert Fox stood now at El Alamein, readying his final thrust at Alexandria. This reverse had been inflicted by dynamically directed armored forces on the superior British Army and had left Churchill furious. The prime minister had also personally visited and inspected Hobart's new 11th Armoured Division only a few months previously, and had found Hobart in full vigor. Churchill's reaction to the final attempt to oust Hobart was this second historic minute on the tank leader, filed on September 4, 1942: [6]

Prime Minister to Secretary of State for War:

I see nothing in these reports [of the Medical Board report on General Hobart] which would justify removing this officer from command of his division on its proceeding on active service.

General Hobart bears a very high reputation, not only in the service, but in wide circles outside. He is a man of quite exceptional mental attainments, with great strength of character, and although he does not work easily with others, it is a great pity we do not have more of his like in the service. I have been shocked at the persecution to which he has been subjected. I am quite sure that if, when I had him transferred from a corporal in the Home Guard to the command of one of the new armored divisions, I had insisted instead on his controlling the whole of the tank developments, with a seat on the Army Council, many of the grievous errors from which we have suffered would not have been committed.

The high commands of the Army are not a club. It is my duty ... to make sure that exceptionally able men, even though not popular with their military contemporaries, are not prevented from giving their services to the Crown.

As it happened, the assignment of Hobart's 11th Armoured Division to North Africa was cancelled at the last minute. Under Major-General G. P. B. "Pip" Roberts, a Hobart-trained tank leader of great skill, the 11th later became Britain's finest armored division in the whole of the European campaign. Hobart raised and trained the two finest British armored divisions of the war, but a more massive challenge awaited him now, beside which an ordinary divisional command would have been misuse of his unique talents.

The invasion of Europe and the subsequent campaign into Germany required a host of new-type tanks and armored vehicles. Tanks were needed for bridging ditches and rivers, clearing mine fields, throwing flame, destroying pillboxes and emplacements and for swimming ashore from landing craft with the assault waves and crossing rivers. Because these tanks did not exist in usable form, they had to be developed, together with the tactics for their employment. Men would have to be trained in the specialized task of manning these new weapons.

Design and development problems were enormous, and it was not a job for a riding instructor. Britain's new Chief of the Imperial General Staff, General Alan Brooke, had not been a Hobart enthusiast in prewar days. Nevertheless he was man and soldier enough to recognize that at this juncture there was one man in Britain pre-eminently qualified to develop specialized armor for the invasion and conquest of Europe.

General Alan Brooke called a somewhat bewildered and cautious Hobart to his London office in March 1943 and asked him to train a unit in the handling of specialized armor. This unit was later to become known as the 79th (Experimental) Armoured Division. After almost two decades of frustration, disappointment, sidetracking and outright victimization, Hobart suspected some sort of trap. Sir Alan Brooke's prewar apathy to the armored idea remained fresh in his mind. The ex-Home Guard corporal asked for time to consider the offer of command made to him by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Sir Alan Brooke agreed to this request, and Hobart set out to track down Liddell Hart and get his views on the proposal.

Hobart found Liddell Hart at the house of friends in Stoke Hammond, outside London. All urgency and energy, Hobart took the famed military analyst out in the garden for a private talk. Striding up and down in an icy wind for an hour, arguing about the new armored unit as a vehicle for Hobart's talents, they looked like anything but friends. Liddell Hart's wife Kathleen took periodic nervous looks out of the window. The vehemence of their discussion was unmistakable, and she wondered if they were quarrelling.

Liddell Hart finally convinced the gun-shy Hobart that it was an opportunity to be seized, and that such a chance would never come his way again. The 79th was to be the biggest division in the world, and also the first all-armored division. Tempted by the prospects, excited by the challenge, Hobart's resistance crumbled. He took the job.

Hobart's drive, knowledge and will-power became decisive in the building of the epic 79th. Time was short. There was virtually no background of previous experience on which to draw, a situation which placed a premium on Hobart's acumen, experience and military intuition. Challenge and fulfillment came together.

Trials and tests were endless. Hobart's gift for arousing enthusiasm for a new idea found full scope. The 79th (Experimental) Armoured Division took a bull's head as its insignia and soon boasted the same kind of soaring élan and confident professionalism that characterized other Hobart-trained formations. Urgency and excitement pervaded Hobart's environment, and no longer were there blockheads in brass hats to scrutinize and obstruct his requirements. On the contrary, men with wide authority moved heaven and earth to provide him with the necessary resources.

Field Marshal Montgomery, the conqueror of Rommel, was Percy Hobart's brother-in-law. Although a Hobart admirer for many years, Monty had tended to shy away from the tank idea when it was unpopular at the War Office. The hero of El Alamein now put his prestige behind Hobart's work and took up the needs of the 79th with General Eisenhower. The Supreme Commander quickly recognized Hobart's vital role and his unique abilities in developing specialized armor. Eisenhower slashed red tape and gave top priority to the US manufacture of the odd-looking tanks and attachments Hobart required. High-level push of this kind, and Eisenhower's unstinting support of anything likely to save lives, soon provided the resources to assemble Hobart's "Menagerie," as it became known.

Liddell Hart has called the 79th Armoured Division "the tactical key to victory." Because it was not a division that fought as a unit, but had its elements farmed out to the Allied armies wherever they were needed, the 79th has far less historical fame than most of the Allied divisions that

stormed through Europe. How far many other divisions would have been successful without the “funnies” of the 79th is a question for debate.

By the time the Allies reached the Rhine, Hobart’s 79th Division consisted of eight brigades and a total of 17 regiments, quadrupling the complement of armored and tracked vehicles on the establishment of any normal armored division. This huge metal menagerie was spread out at times over a front of ninety miles, and the direction and allocation of its 1,900 armored vehicles kept Hobo hopping.

As the US Army in the beginning did not have specialized armor of its own, the 79th frequently worked in close support of US troops, and was the only British unit to do so. This situation suited Hobart. He liked Americans and they liked him. He was direct, frank and forceful, knew what he was talking about and understood the American character as few British commanders ever did. He would verbally thrash any officer or man he heard speaking against the Anglo-American alliance, to which he was deeply devoted. At one time, he even had an American aide, New York oilman George Thomson Jr., who served with the British Army. Hobart’s radiant admiration for things American, such as know-how and mechanical skill, was not a superficial or transitory thing. He had an intimate knowledge of American commanders and their views, and an extensive knowledge of US military history. He held America’s top generals in the highest regard.

The directness and honesty of most American generals appealed greatly to Hobart. With the US 9th Army commander, General W.H. “Big Bill” Simpson, the feeling was mutual. Simpson was taken aback by Hobo’s quiet boast that he was “the oldest major-general serving in Europe.” Simpson says of the amazing Englishman: “He was the outstanding British officer of high rank that I met during the war, and from his mind and bearing no one could possibly have guessed his age.”

Vigorous and vitally alive, Hobart served with his fantastic steel menagerie until the final gun of the war from which he had almost been excluded. The case for armor had been proved. The basis for future manifold developments of tanks had been laid by the accomplishments of the 79th. Wrote General Eisenhower in his report: [\[7\]](#)

Apart from the factor of tactical surprise, the comparatively light casualties which we sustained on all beaches, except OMAHA, were in large measure due to the success of the novel mechanical contrivances which we employed, and to the staggering moral and material effect of the mass of armor landed in the leading waves of the assault. It is doubtful if the assault forces could have firmly established themselves without the assistance of these weapons.

Hobart had probably done more than any other single individual to advance both tanks and specialized armor on the practical level. Had Hobart’s 79th Armoured Division, with its fearsome bull’s head insignia, not been such a spectacular success, tank innovations may well have halted as they did after the First World War. Tanks are today an integral part of atomic battlefield planning.

Percy Hobart was knighted by King George VI, and from the US received the Legion of Merit, Degree of Commander, a decoration of which he was extremely proud. When he went into retirement after the Second World War, it was in an honorable and upright way, with his admirers far outnumbering his critics. His death in 1957 saw him deeply honored and widely mourned, and to have “served with Hobo” is a real distinction in the British Army, where his one-time juniors and students are now in the highest commands.

From persecution, victimization, and his incredible misemployment as a Home Guard corporal, Hobart's resurrection to a decisive command in the Allied armies is one of the more startling personal stories of the Second World War. His story was hardly the kind of thing likely to impress the public with the efficiency of the war effort, or the quality of Britain's military leadership. Thus he remained almost unknown outside army circles.

The most memorable tribute to Hobart came from Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, whose exposure of the Home Guard episode started the tank pioneer on the road back. All the high British commanders and most of the Americans had passed before the famed analyst in a living parade, as they pursued their careers and often aroused his criticism. Liddell Hart also knew the Germans well — perhaps better than any other military writer and thinker outside Germany. As Britain's leading military brain, his judgment has many times been vindicated, although his warnings all too often went unheeded.

In Liddell Hart's opinion, the independence of a top command would probably have proved Hobart to be the best of the British commanders, capable of matching the best of the Germans on equal terms. In summing up, Liddell Hart writes of Hobart: "He was one of the few soldiers I have known who could be rightly termed a military genius."

Notes

1. 🟢 Personal reminiscence provided by General Sir John Crocker, Hobart's brigade-major in 1934.
2. 🟢 Personal remembrance of General Sir John Crocker.
3. 🟢 Personal recollection of Lady Dorothea Hobart.
4. 🟢 General Sir Richard O'Connor, commander of the Western Desert Force, 1940-41. Cited in: B.H. Liddell Hart, *The Tanks* (Praeger, 1959), vol. I, p. 404.
5. 🟢 Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. II, "Their Finest Hour," 1st ed., pp. 602-603.
6. 🟢 Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. IV, "The Hinge of Fate," 1st ed., p. 791.
7. 🟢 Cited in: B. H. Liddell Hart, *The Tanks* (Praeger, 1959), vol. II, p. 332.

Author's Note

This article is slightly adapted from a chapter of my book *Hidden Heroes*, which was published in London in 1971 by Arthur Baker, Ltd. Since then, this unique collection of biographical sketches has received no exposure or publicity.

Consequently, the little-known Second World War tale of Percy Hobart's victimization and vindication is presented here, for the first time ever, to an American readership.

I remain much obliged, even after more than 30 years, to the late eminent military historian and analyst, Captain Sir Basil H. Liddell Hart. He gave freely of his professional time to assist me with numerous details, insights and clarifications. He patiently corrected my drafts of this story, in which he himself had been intimately involved from first to last.

The late General William H. Simpson, former commander of the US Ninth Army, enthusiastically shared his reminiscences of General Hobart. George Thomson, Jr., of New York, and Major

John Borthwick of Britain, military aides to General Hobart after his “resurrection,” provided valuable insights, each from his own perspective, into a many-sided military genius.

The late Generals Sir John Crocker and Sir Harold “Pete” Pyman, similarly contributed to this portrait of Hobart, as former students who lived not only to see their visionary teacher’s predictions come true, but to be developed further in scarcely conceivable ways. Lady Dorothea Hobart, the great man’s widow, rendered indispensable aid by rallying these eminent men to help me, and was throughout the soul of kindness.

Liddell Hart on Hobart

“Much of the credit [for the February 1941 British victory against larger Italian forces at Beda Fomm, Libya] was due to a man who took no part in the campaign — Major-General P.C.S. Hobart, who had been appointed to command the armored division in Egypt when it was originally formed in 1938, and had developed its high pitch of maneuvering ability. But his ideas of how an armored force should be handled, and what it could achieve when operating in strategical independence of orthodox forces, had been contrary to the views of more conservative superiors. His 'heresy,' coupled with an uncompromising attitude, had led to his removal from command in the autumn of 1939 — six months before the German panzer forces, applying the same ideas, proved their practicability.”

-- B. H. Liddell Hart, in his *History of the Second World War* (New York: 1971), p. 117.

About the Author

Trevor J. Constable, born in New Zealand in 1925, has an international reputation as an aviation historian and author. With Colonel Raymond F. Toliver, he has authored a number of successful works on fighter aviation and ace fighter pilots. He has lived in the United States since 1952. He now makes his home in southern California.

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World Jewish Congress Called 'Morally False'

Hilberg Denounces Jewish 'Blackmail' Against Switzerland

Mark Weber

For several years now, the World Jewish Congress and other major Jewish organizations have waged a fierce and much-publicized campaign to force Switzerland to pay millions to Jewish organizations and Holocaust survivors, to compensate for money allegedly deposited in Swiss banks by Jews who later perished during the Second World War, and for gold purchased from Germany that was allegedly stolen from Jews. On August 12, 1998, major Swiss banks capitulated by agreeing to a “global settlement” payment of \$1.25 billion dollars.

While US politicians and the American media have predictably supported the Jewish campaign against the Alpine confederation, which has included threats of economic boycott, many thoughtful people rightly regard this entire campaign as a disgraceful manifestation of Jewish power. Among those who have spoken out against it is Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg.

“I was nearly alarmed when I heard that the Swiss banks would pay 1.25 billion dollars,” he said in a recent interview published in the respected Swiss weekly *Weltwoche* (January 28, 1999). In the campaign against Switzerland, Hilberg went on, “the Jews have used a weapon that can only be described as blackmail (*Erpressung*).” At another point in the interview he said: “I cannot accept the thesis that the blackmail methods were the only way to deal with this issue.”

Hilberg, one of the world’s most prominent Holocaust historians, is the author of the three-volume work *The Destruction of the European Jews*. Born in Vienna in 1926, he has for decades been a professor at the University of Vermont.

“I believe that the [Swiss] banks have paid more than they actually owe,” Hilberg also told the Swiss weekly. “The demands of the World Jewish Congress are therefore morally false. If something belongs to another person, it doesn’t belong to me. If I say that it belongs to me, I have to prove it. And when, as in the case of Holocaust money, it cannot be proven, a compromise based on healthy human intellect must be reached that is rational and acceptable.”

“There is thus no relationship whatsoever,” he went on, “between what the banks owe the Jews and what the World Jewish Congress has demanded and received.” He expressed concern that the amount of the “global settlement” suggests that Europe’s Jews in the late 1930s and early 1940s were much more wealthy than was actually the case.

Hilberg singled out World Jewish Congress president Edgar M. Bronfman for pointed criticism: “I cannot stress enough that the man who heads the World Jewish Congress does not speak for

me. His family has one and half billion dollars. If he really wanted to, he could help a few poor survivors with money from his own vest pocket.”

Hilberg also spoke about the problem of false Holocaust witness testimony, specifically citing the widely-praised memoir of “survivor” Benjamin Wilkomirski as a fabrication. (See “Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud,” Sept.-Oct. 1998 Journal, pp. 15-16.) Said Hilberg: “This is indeed a problem of Holocaust research: people often make use of survivor testimony. It’s the primary literature. But one must be very careful, because testimonies are often mistaken, memories can deceive, and some things are suppressed.”

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Genocide By Telepathy, Hilberg Explains

[Robert Faurisson](#)

Raul Hilberg, the most prestigious of the authors who defend the thesis of the physical extermination of Jews by the Germans during the Second World War, began his investigation of this subject in 1948.

In 1961, after more than a dozen years' labor, he published *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books). In this work, he presents "the destruction of the European Jews" as a vast undertaking personally supervised by Hitler who, he says, gave two orders to this effect. Then, he continues, various German administrative agencies, especially in the police and the military, acted in conformity with these orders, duly coordinating their efforts to prepare, organize, control and carry out this vast criminal enterprise.

In 1976 appeared *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, a work by the most prestigious of revisionist authors, Arthur R. Butz, who teaches at Northwestern University near Chicago. He shows that the alleged extermination of the Jews constitutes "the hoax of the twentieth century."

In 1978-1979, I published two articles in the prominent Paris daily *Le Monde* demonstrating that the alleged Nazi gas chambers could not have existed, and this essentially for physical and chemical reasons. [1] These articles caused something of a stir. Two well-known French intellectuals, Raymond Aron and François Furet, announced that an international colloquium of experts would be held to establish before the world that the extermination of Jews and the Nazi gas chambers really existed. Among the experts who figured in this was Raul Hilberg.

Just before the start of the colloquium, a lengthy interview with Hilberg appeared in the influential French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur*, in which the German-born Jewish historian expressed some astounding ideas. [2] Regarding the destruction of the European Jews and the Nazi gas chambers, he basically said that no documents exist that really prove these things, but rather only some testimonies that "accord somewhat."

While Hilberg of course holds to his basic extermination thesis, this explanation is radically different from the one he had previously given. It is obvious that revisionism is responsible for this change. Hilberg more or less conceded this, even if only indirectly. Specifically, he declared: [3]

I will say that, in a certain way, Faurisson and others, without wanting to, did us a favor. They raised questions which had the effect of engaging historians in new research. They have obliged us to once again collect information, to re-examine documents and to go further into the comprehension of what has taken place.

The international colloquium took place as scheduled at the Sorbonne from June 29 to July 2, 1982, but behind closed doors. Then, an account of its discussions and conclusions was given at

a press conference. But, to the surprise of everyone present, only Raymond Aron and François Furet appeared at the press conference, declaring, on the one hand, that “despite the most scholarly research,” no one had been able to find any order by Hitler for the extermination of the Jews, and, on the other, that pursuing the revisionists in court was like conducting a witch-hunt. Not one word was said about gas chambers.

Seven months later Hilberg summarized his new thesis before an audience of nearly 2,700 at Avery Fischer Hall in New York City: the entire German policy for the physical destruction of the Jews was to be explained by mind reading! No document attesting to this criminal policy could be found, because no such document existed. For several years, the entire German bureaucratic machinery operated through a kind of telepathy. As Hilberg put it: [4]

But what began in 1941 was a process of destruction not planned in advance, not organized centrally by any agency. There was no blueprint and there was no budget for destructive measures. They [these measures] were taken step by step, one step at a time. Thus came about not so much a plan being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy.

Let us note again those final words: “an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy.” [5]

Two years later, Hilberg confirmed those words and this explanation during the first “Holocaust trial” of Ernst Zündel in Toronto. He did this under oath during his cross-examination by Zündel’s lawyer, Douglas Christie, whom I was assisting. [6]

That same year (1985) the “revised and definitive” edition of his book appeared. In it, the University of Vermont professor did not use the expression “consensus” or “mind reading.” And yet he wrote: [7]

In the final analysis, the destruction of the Jews was not so much a product of laws and commands as it was a matter of spirit, of shared comprehension, of consonance and synchronization.

He also wrote of “countless decision makers in a far-flung bureaucratic machine” without “a basic plan.” He mentioned “written directives not published,” “oral directives and authorizations,” and “basic understandings of officials resulting in decisions not requiring orders or explanations.” There had been “no one agency,” he wrote, and “no single organization directed or coordinated the entire process.” The destruction of the Jews, he concluded, was “the work of a far-flung administrative machine,” and “no special agency was created and no special budget was devised to destroy the Jews of Europe. Each organization was to play a specific role in the process, and each was to find the means to carry out its task.” [8]

For me, this is like explaining what would have been a huge criminal undertaking of industrial proportions based, in particular, on a weapon (a chemical slaughterhouse using an insecticide), operating through the intervention of the Holy Ghost, all of which had been conceived and created through a kind of spontaneous generation.

I refuse to believe that which is not believable. I refuse to believe in the incredible. I refuse to believe in what Hilberg himself calls “an incredible meeting of minds.” I refuse to believe in mind reading or telepathy, just as I refuse to believe in the intervention of the Holy Ghost or in spontaneous generation. I take exception to any historical thesis, any system of historical explanation, based on such hare-brained notions.

On November 23, 1978, the French historian René Rémond declared to me: “As for the [Nazi] gas chambers, I am ready to follow you; as for the genocide, I have the deep conviction that Nazism in itself was sufficiently perverse so that this genocide was part of its motivations and its actions, but I recognize that I have no scientific evidence for this genocide.”

This is indeed the least one might say when one is concerned about historical truth.

Notes

1. [↗](#) "'Le problème des chambres à gaz' ou 'la rumeur d'Auschwitz'," *Le Monde*, Dec. 29, 1978, and, “Une lettre de M. Faurisson,” *Le Monde*, Jan. 16, 1979, Reprinted in: R. Faurisson, *Memoire en Defense* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980), pp. 71-75, 83-88, and in: R. Faurisson, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), published in four volumes in 1999, vol. 1, pp. 122-124, 131-134.
2. [↗](#) "Les Archives de l'horreur," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, July 3-9, 1982, pp. 70-73, 75-76. The interview was conducted Guy Sitbon, regular correspondent in the United States for *Le Nouvel Observateur*.
3. [↗](#) *Le Nouvel Observateur*, July 3-9, 1982, p. 71. Also quoted in the Summer 1985 Journal, p. 170.
4. [↗](#) Quoted in: George De Wan, “The Holocaust in Perspective,” *Newsday* (Long Island, New York), Feb. 23, 1983, p. II/3. Also quoted in the Summer 1985 Journal, pp. 170-171.
5. [↗](#) According to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, “mind reading” is defined as “The faculty of discerning another’s thoughts through extrasensory means of communication; telepathy.”
6. [↗](#) Hilberg testimony on Jan. 16, 1985 (Toronto). Trial transcript, pp. 846-848.
7. [↗](#) Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985, 3 vols.), p. 55.
8. [↗](#) R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), pp. 53-55, 62.

About the Author

Robert Faurisson is Europe’s foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this Journal. This essay is an adaptation of a piece originally written in 1988.

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German 'Indexing' of IHR Leaflets Cancelled

Mark Weber

In October 1996 a German government agency “indexed” as “dangerous to youth” translations of two popular leaflets published by the Institute for Historical Review. Germany’s “Federal Review Agency for Literature Dangerous to Youth” (Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften), acting at the request of the country’s Interior Ministry, “indexed” unauthorized Internet translations of “The Holocaust: Let’s Hear Both Sides,” by Mark Weber, and “The Liberation of the Camps: Facts versus Lies,” by Theodore J. O’Keefe.

An “indexed” item cannot be publicly advertised or otherwise offered for sale to minors. Normally the agency uses its “indexing” authority to restrict distribution of pornography, although it often targets “politically incorrect” books and other literature as well.

In the case of these IHR leaflets, the impact of the agency’s action was mostly symbolic, because these two flawed German translation texts exist only on the “Zündelsite,” a California-based Internet web site that includes writings by German-Canadian publicist Ernst Zündel, reports on his activities, and extensive writings by others.

As any careful reader of the texts in question can easily determine for himself, the key justifications given by the agency for this particular “indexing” decision are simply not true. (See “German Authorities 'Index' Two IHR Leaflets,” July-August 1997 Journal, pp. 29-31.)

Zündel’s German attorney, Jürgen Rieger of Hamburg, formally appealed the agency’s “indexing” of several “Zündelsite” items, including the two IHR leaflets. For one thing, he argued, the agency had failed to explain precisely in what way these items were “dangerous to youth.”

In a letter to the agency, Rieger went on to remark:

Apparently you seem to think that merely to show that someone is a revisionist is sufficient basis for an indexing application. In this regard, I would like to point out that the European Union declined to adopt the comparable German laws [regarding “indexing”], and that the United Nations Organization has issued an official reprimand against the [German] Federal Justice Ministry because the Holocaust law and legal system in Germany violate the basic right of freedom of opinion.

While pushing for ever greater restrictions on freedom of opinion, the [German] Federal Republic, at the risk of loitering in the Middle Ages, isolates itself ever further from the standard of law that prevails, fortunately, around the world.

In January 1999 an administrative court in Cologne agreed with Rieger that the agency lacked a legal basis for its “indexing” of the seven “Zündelsite” items. The 1996 action, it declared, was

therefore contrary to law.

Capable and Dedicated Activist

Over the years Rieger has earned a hard-won reputation as one of his country's most capable and courageous legal defenders of "politically incorrect" nationalists and patriots. And his activism is not confined to the courtroom.

Participating in the large open-air "Leuchter Kongress" rally in Munich on March 23, 1991, he delivered a detailed address on the legal situation in Germany. On September 28, 1996, he addressed 6,000 people at a meeting in Passau of the "German Peoples Union" (DVU), where he was also awarded the "Freedom Prize" of the weekly Deutsche National-Zeitung. He is also a capable writer and editor. At one time he edited the impressive scholarly journal *Neue Anthropologie* ("New Anthropology"), published by the Society for Biological Anthropology, Eugenics and Behavioral Science.

Not surprisingly, Rieger's work has provoked the wrath of spiteful enemies, some of whom have not confined their expressions of hate to mere rhetoric. On August 30, 1995, several masked leftists brutally attacked him while he was walking on a public street in Hamburg. They beat him with wooden clubs and baseball bats, and kicked him after he fell to the ground.

The attacks stopped when passersby intervened. A rescue helicopter quickly flew Rieger to a university hospital, where intensive care unit physicians treated a large head wound, a fractured wrist, and bruises all over his body. They were able to save the almost fatally injured victim only because he had used his briefcase to protect his head. All the same, his right arm and right hand were in a cast for weeks, and he was not able to move his right hand for months.

Only one of the assailants was caught and charged: a 21-year-old Iranian-born student, A. Grakoui, who held a German passport. His parents lived in Berlin where, amazingly, his mother was employed at the Jewish Museum.

Expressing no regret for the cowardly attack, Grakoui refused to name any of his fellow assailants. He was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment for aggravated assault. In addition, Rieger brought a civil lawsuit against Grakoui, who paid 20,000 marks as injury compensation.

If a similar attack had been carried out by German skinheads against an Iranian student, says Rieger, the perpetrators would have been charged with attempted murder (not aggravated assault), and sentenced to eight years (not 15 months) imprisonment.

At the time of the attack, Rieger was defending two young Germans who were being prosecuted for having used the phrase "Auschwitz myth" in a critical commentary they had issued about Spielberg's "Schindler's List" movie.

Revisionist Publications: Around the World

Garaudy Reaches Japanese Readers

In terms of global impact, especially in France and the Arab-Muslim world, one of the most important revisionist works to appear in recent years is *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Policy"), a readable and well referenced work by noted French author and intellectual Roger Garaudy.

In a much-publicized case, a Paris court on February 27, 1998, fined Garaudy 240,000 francs (\$40,000) for statements made in his 1996 book. The octogenarian scholar was found guilty of "denying crimes against humanity" by expressing skepticism of the Holocaust extermination story, and for "racist defamation" by citing the awesome Jewish role in the Western media. Garaudy, a convert to Islam, garnered considerable support in Arab and Muslim countries for his legal battle, where the case has been widely regarded as yet another example of the hypocrisy that prevails in Europe and the United States on issues involving Jewish and Zionist interests. (For more about Garaudy and his travails, see the March-April 1998 Journal, pp. 16-18.)

Garaudy's "Founding Myths" (reviewed in the March-April 1996 Journal, pp. 35-36) quickly appeared in several languages. Now a Japanese edition is available in a handsome, 400-page hard-cover volume, with bibliography, source references and index. Responsible for this edition is revisionist activist Aiji Kimura, a Tokyo journalist who is the author of several books, including a critical treatment of the US-Japanese role in the Gulf War. In November 1994 he visited the IHR office in southern California, where he conducted a videotaped interview with Journal editor Mark Weber.

Attractive Booklet for Czech Readers

Aimed at a wide readership is a handsome, well illustrated, 52-page Czech-language booklet, *Osvětim: fakta versus fikce* ("Auschwitz: Facts versus Fiction"), by Rudolf Seidl. In spite of its title, it covers much more than Auschwitz. Packed with charts, diagrams and numerous good quality photographs, including several in full color, this punchy 1998 booklet is an effective introduction to the revisionist view of the Holocaust extermination story. It sells for 60 Czech koruny each, with bulk rates available. Order from: VHO, Postbus 60, 2600 Berchem 2, Belgium.

Ahead of His Time

The generally acknowledged founder of Holocaust revisionism was Paul Rassinier, a French educator and underground Resistance activist who was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and interned until the end of the war in the Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps. His courage and suffering were later recognized with France's highest decoration awarded for Resistance activities, and he was elected to the French National Assembly as a deputy of the Socialist Party (SFIO).

His memoirs of wartime camp experiences, *Passage de la Ligne* ("Crossing the Line") and *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* ("The Lie of Ulysses"), brought heated rebuke.

In 1950 the gifted French writer Albert Paraz provided a preface to an edition of Rassinier's "Ulysses' Lie." In this remarkable piece, Paraz courageously and elegantly identified with Rassinier's skepticism about the gas chamber story, even calling for an international commission of independent historians to thoroughly investigate this emotion-laden issue.

Paraz' 1950 preface, out of print for many years, is once again available in a booklet published in January 1999, *Préface a Mensonge d'Ulysse de Paul Rassinier* ("Preface to 'The Lies of Ulysses' by Paul Rassinier"). In foreword to this new edition, Robert Faurisson commends Paraz for the "audacity of his thinking and the freedom of his tone." Comparing him to Céline, Faurisson also praises Paraz for "his generosity, his panache, his style." This 60-page, soft cover booklet is available, for 80 francs each, from: Éditions Akribieia, 45/3 route de Vourles, 69230 St.-Genis-Laval, France.

Detailed Majdanek Study

At the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-46, Allied officials charged that the Germans had killed one and a half million people at the Majdanek concentration camp, at Lublin in Poland. In recent decades, though, Majdanek has been little more than a footnote to the Holocaust story, and today no serious historian accepts the once supposedly proven claims of hundreds of thousands of victims there. Moreover, detailed, scholarly information about the camp has been scarce.

To fill this gap, two of Europe's leading revisionist scholars — Jürgen Graf of Switzerland and Carlo Mattogno of Italy — have written *KL Majdanek: Eine historische und technische Studie* ("Majdanek Concentration Camp: A Historical and Technical Study"). This new detailed work is the fruit of two years of diligent archival work and intensive study of original documents from Eastern European archives. Among other issues, the authors examine and debunk the Majdanek "gas chambers" legend.

This soft cover, German-language work of 300 pages was published in 1998. It contains charts, diagrams, facsimile reproductions of original documents, and wartime aerial photographs. There are 30 photographs (including eight in color), as well as a bibliography, copious source references, and an index. It is available, for 45 German marks each, from the publisher: Castle Hill, P.O. Box 118, Hastings, E. Sussex, TN34 3ZQ, England — UK.

Auschwitz Central Construction Office

Italian scholar Carlo Mattogno has written a detailed study of the central SS construction office, or *Zentralbauleitung*, of the Auschwitz camp complex. This agency was responsible for all construction in Auschwitz-Birkenau, including the notorious crematory facilities (with their alleged extermination "gas chambers").

La "Zentralbauleitung der Waffen SS und Polizei Auschwitz," published in 1998, is based on long-suppressed German wartime documents, especially records seized by the Soviets in 1945 and hidden for decades in Moscow state archives.

About half of this 215-page soft cover work consists of facsimile reproductions of original documents, including work orders, labor lists, charts and diagrams. It contains source references and a name index. It is available from: Libreria Ar, largo Dogana Regia, 84121 Salerno, Italy.

German Booklet Aims at Mass Readership

Germany's leading Jewish community figure, Ignatz Bubis, has called on authorities to take legal measures against an effective, information-packed, 40-page revisionist booklet, *Antwort Auf die Goldhagen- und Spielberglügen* ("Answer to the Goldhagen and Spielberg Lies"). By July 1998, some 40,000 copies had been distributed in Germany and Austria, making it the most widely distributed German-language revisionist publication so far. It is now in its fourth edition.

Its clear, easily readable prose style, catchy illustrations and handy format (6½ by 9½ inches) make it well suited for a mass readership. It is available — ten copies for 30 German marks — from the publisher: VHO, Postfach 60, B-2600 Berchem 2, Belgium.

Nuremberg Study in French

Taking aim at well-entrenched myths about the Nuremberg trials is a recently published 125-page soft cover book by Mark Weber, *La Face cachée de Nuremberg* ("The Hidden Side of Nuremberg"). Abundantly illustrated, this is an adaptation, with much added material, of Weber's lengthy essay, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," from the Summer 1992 *Journal of Historical Review*. This is a special 1998 issue of a new the French revisionist periodical. (See "Alternative History' in France," in the March-April 1998 *Journal*, p. 30.) Selling for 125 francs each, this book is available from L'Autre Histoire, B.P. 3, 35134 Coesmes, France.

An Italian Examination of the 'Faurisson Case'

Italian author Cesare Saletta presents an overview of legal repression of Holocaust revisionism in various European countries, with special emphasis on the legal persecution of French scholars Robert Faurisson and Serge Thion, in a December 1997 booklet, *Il Caso Faurisson e il Revisionismo Olocausto* ("The Faurisson Case and Holocaust Revisionism").

This 135-page soft cover book (with index) includes essays by Faurisson and Thion, as well as the much-cited 1980 essay by Jewish-American scholar Noam Chomsky, in which he defends the free speech of Holocaust revisionists. By the same publisher is a 55-page companion booklet, *La repressione legale del revisionismo e l'emergere di una questione ebraica* ("The Legal Repression of Revisionism and the Rise of a Jewish Question"). Both are published by: Graphos, Campetto 4, 16123 Genova, Italy.

A New Look at the Gerstein 'Confession'

For many years the "confession" of SS officer Kurt Gerstein has been widely cited as proof for the existence of German wartime homicidal gas chambers. The first critical and scholarly examination of this postwar "testimony" was provided by French historian Henri Roques in a much-discussed 1986 doctoral dissertation. Striking at the roots of the Holocaust story, Roques concluded in his "thesis of Nantes" that not only were Gerstein's allegations of mass killings of Jews groundless, but prominent Holocaust historians have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein's tortured testimony. Roques' exposé was published in English by the IHR as *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* (available from the IHR for \$9.50, postpaid).

Now Roques has expanded on his 1986 work with a complementary new work, *Quand Alain Decaux raconte l'histoire du SS Kurt Gerstein* ("When Alain Decaux recounts the history of SS [man] Kurt Gerstein"). The title of this recently published, French-language booklet refers to a

work by the well-known French historian Alain Decaux. This bold 76-page booklet (with source references), written together with Vincent Reynouard, further nails the role of the Gerstein “testimony” in the Holocaust extermination legend.

Revisionist Writing from Spain

For some time now the most important revisionist scholar in Spain has been Enrique Aynat, an IHR Journal contributor and a member of this Journal’s Editorial Advisory Committee. His publications include *El Holocausto a Debate: Respuesta a César Vidal* ("The Holocaust in Debate: a Response to César Vidal"), a 182-page booklet with index and source references, and *Estudios sobre el 'Holocausto'* ("Holocaust' Studies"), a 175-page soft cover work.

A more recent publication is a 132-page, 1997 soft cover work, *Estudios sobre Auschwitz* ("Auschwitz Studies"), with charts, source references, and facsimile reproductions of some original documents. It includes a lengthy statistical examination by Aynat of data on the mortality of Jews deported from France to Auschwitz in 1942, as well as a detailed essay by Jean-Marie Boissdefeu on a wartime report about Auschwitz by Belgian Resistance figure Victor Martin. *Estudios sobre Auschwitz* is available from: Apdo. de Correos 12.083, 46080 Valencia, Spain.

Affirmation, Not Denial

A reminder: Revisionists do not deny the genocide and the gas chambers. That is a misconception. Galileo didn’t deny that the earth was stationary; he affirmed, at the conclusion of his research, that the earth was not stationary, but that it rotated on its axis and revolved around the sun. In the same way, the revisionists, after concluding their own research, affirm that there was no genocide and no gas chambers, and that the “final solution of the Jewish question” consisted of the removal of the Jews from Europe — by emigration if possible, and by deportation if necessary.

The revisionists strive to establish what happened; they are positive, while the exterminationists doggedly continue to tell us about things which didn’t happen: their work is negative.

The revisionists stand for the reconciliation of the antagonists in the recognition of what really happened.

— Robert Faurisson

These items are from *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1999 (Vol. 18, No. 1), pages 19-21.

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Jews and Israel

Zionism and Anti-Semitism: A Strange Alliance Through History

[Allan C. Brownfeld](#)

It has, for many years, been a tactic of those who seek to silence open debate and discussion of US Middle East policy to accuse critics of Israel of “anti-Semitism.”

In a widely discussed article entitled “J’Accuse” (Commentary, September 1983), Norman Podhoretz charged America’s leading journalists, newspapers and television networks with “anti-Semitism” because of their reporting of the war in Lebanon and their criticism of Israel’s conduct. Among those so accused were Anthony Lewis of The New York Times, Nicholas von Hoffman, Joseph Harsch of The Christian Science Monitor, Rowland Evans, Robert Novak, Mary McGrory, Richard Cohen and Alfred Friendly of The Washington Post, and a host of others. These individuals and their news organizations were not criticized for bad reporting or poor journalistic standards; instead, they were the subject of the charge of anti-Semitism.

Podhoretz declared: “... The beginning of wisdom in thinking about this issue is to recognize that the vilification of Israel is the phenomenon to be addressed, not the Israeli behavior that provoked it ... We are dealing here with an eruption of anti-Semitism.”

To understand Norman Podhoretz and others who have engaged in such charges, we must recognize that the term “anti-Semitism” has undergone major transformation. Until recently, those guilty of this offense were widely understood to be those who irrationally disliked Jews and Judaism. Today, however, the term is used in a far different way — one which threatens not only free speech but also threatens to trivialize anti-Semitism itself.

Anti-Semitism has been redefined to mean anything that opposes the policies and interests of Israel. The beginning of this redefinition may be said to date, in part, from the 1974 publication of the book *The New Anti-Semitism* by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The nature of the “new” anti-Semitism, according to Forster and Epstein, is not necessarily hostility toward Jews as Jews, or toward Judaism, but, instead a critical attitude toward Israel and its policies.

Later, Nathan Perlmutter, when he was director of the Anti-Defamation League, stated that, “There has been a transformation of American anti-Semitism in recent times. The crude anti-Jewish bigotry once so commonplace in this country is today gauche ... Poll after poll indicates that Jews are one of America’s most highly regarded groups.”

'Semantically Neutral Postures'

Perlmutter, however, refused to declare victory over such bigotry. Instead, he redefined it. He declared:

The search for peace in the Middle East is littered with mine fields for Jewish interests ... Jewish concerns that are confronted by the Semantically neutral postures of those who believe that if only Israel would yield this or that, the Middle East would become tranquil and the West's highway to its strategic interests and profits in the Persian Gulf would be secure. But at what cost to Israel's security? Israel's security, plainly said, means more to Jews today than their standing in the opinion polls ...

What Perlmutter did was to substitute the term "Jewish interests" for what are, in reality, "Israeli interests." By changing the terms of the debate, he created a situation in which anyone who is critical of Israel becomes, ipso facto, "anti-Semitic."

The tactic of using the term "anti-Semitism" as a weapon against dissenters is not new. Dorothy Thompson, the distinguished journalist who was one of the earliest enemies of Nazism, found herself criticizing the policies of Israel shortly after its creation. Despite her valiant crusade against Hitler, she, too, was subject to the charge of "anti-Semitism." In a letter to The Jewish Newsletter (April 6, 1951) she wrote:

Really, I think continued emphasis should be put upon the extreme damage to the Jewish community of branding people like myself as anti-Semitic ... The State of Israel has got to learn to live in the same atmosphere of free criticism which every other state in the world must endure ... There are many subjects on which writers in this country are, because of these pressures, becoming craven and mealy-mouthed. But people don't like to be craven and mealy-mouthed; every time one yields to such pressure one is filled with self-contempt and this self-contempt works itself out in a resentment of those who caused it.

A quarter-century later, columnist Carl Rowan (Washington Star, Feb. 5, 1975) reported:

When I wrote my recent column about what I perceive to be a subtle erosion of support for Israel in this town, I was under no illusion as to what the reaction would be. I was prepared for a barrage of letters to me and newspapers carrying my column accusing me of being "anti-Semitic" ... The mail rolling in has met my worst expectations ... This whining baseless name-calling is a certain way to turn friends into enemies.

What few Americans understand is that there has been a long historical alliance — from the end of the 19th century until today — between Zionism and real anti-Semites — from those who planned pogroms in Czarist Russia to Nazi Germany itself. The reason for the affinity many Zionist leaders felt for anti-Semites becomes clear as this history emerges.

Theodor Herzl

When Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism, served in Paris as a correspondent for a Vienna newspaper, he was in close contact with the leading anti-Semites of the day. In his biography of Herzl, *The Labyrinth of Exile*, Ernst Pawel reports that those who financed and edited *La Libre Parole*, a weekly dedicated "to the defense of Catholic France against atheists, republicans, Free Masons and Jews," invited Herzl to their homes on a regular basis.

Alluding to such conservatives and their publications, Pawel writes that Herzl “found himself captivated” by these men and their ideas:

La France Juive [of Edouard Drumont] struck him as a brilliant performance and — much like [Eugen] Dühring’s notorious Jewish Question ten years later — it aroused powerful and contradictory emotions ... On June 12, 1895, while in the midst of working on *Der Judenstaat*, [Herzl] noted in his diary, “much of my current conceptual freedom I owe to Drumont, because he is an artist.” The compliment seems extravagant, but Drumont repaid it the following year with a glowing review of Herzl’s book in *La Parole Libre*.

In the end, Pawel argues, “Paris changed Herzl, and French anti-Semites undermined the ironic complacency of the Jewish would-be non-Jew.” Yet Herzl was not entirely displeased with anti-Semitism. In a private letter to Moritz Benedikt, written in the final days of 1892, he writes: “I do not consider the anti-Semitic movement altogether harmful. It will inhibit the ostentatious flaunting of conspicuous wealth, curb the unscrupulous behavior of Jewish financiers, and contribute in many ways to the education of the Jews ... In that respect we seem to be in agreement.”

Herzl’s book *Der Judenstaat* (“The Jewish State”), was widely disparaged by the leading Jews of the day, who viewed themselves as French, German, English or Austrian citizens and Jews by religion — with no interest in a separate Jewish state. Anti-Semites, on the other hand, eagerly greeted Herzl’s work. Herzl’s arguments, Pawel points out, were “all but indistinguishable from those used by the anti-Semites.” One of the first reviews appeared in the *Westungarischer Grenzboten*, an anti-Semitic journal published in Bratislava by Ivan von Simonyi, a member of the Hungarian Diet. He praised both the book and Herzl, and was so carried away with his enthusiasm that he paid Herzl a personal visit. Herzl wrote in his diary:

My weird follower, the Bratislava anti-Semite Ivan von Simonyi came to see me. A hypermercurial, hyperloquacious sexagenarian with an uncanny sympathy for the Jews. Swings back and forth between perfectly rational talk and utter nonsense, believes in the blood libel and at the same time comes up with the most sensible modern ideas. Loves me.

After the barbaric Kishinev pogrom of April 1901, when hundreds of Jews were killed or wounded, Herzl came to Russia to barter with V. K. Plehve, the Russian interior minister who had incited the pogrom. Herzl told Jewish cultural leader Chaim Zhitlovsky: “I have an absolutely binding promise from Plehve that he will procure a charter for Palestine for us in 15 years at the outside. There is one condition, however, the revolutionaries must stop their struggle against the Russian government.”

Zhitlovsky, incensed at Herzl for dealing with a killer of Jews, and aware that Herzl had been outsmarted, persuaded him to abandon the idea. Still, the Zionist leaders in Russia agreed with the government that the real responsibility for the pogroms rested with the Jewish Bund, a socialist group urging democratic reforms in the Czarist regime. Zionists wanted Jews to remain aloof from Russian politics until it was time to leave for Palestine.

The head of the secret police in Moscow, S.V. Zubatov, was sympathetic to Zionism as a way to silence Jewish opponents of the repressive Czarist regime. In her book *The Fate of the Jews*, Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht reports that

Zionism appealed greatly to police chief Zubatov, as it does to all anti-Semites, because it takes the Jewish problem elsewhere. Both Zubatov and the Zionists wanted

to destroy the Bund, Zubatov to protect his country, and the Zionists to protect theirs. Zionism's success is based on a Jewish misery index; the greater the misery, the greater the wish to emigrate. The last thing the Zionists wanted was to improve conditions in Russia. Zionists served Zubatov as police spies and subverters of the Bund ...

In his book *Jewish History, Jewish Religion*, Israel Shahak points out that

Close relations have always existed between Zionists and anti-Semites; exactly like some of the European conservatives, the Zionists thought they could ignore the “demonic” character of anti-Semitism and use the anti-Semites for their own purposes ... Herzl allied himself with the notorious Count von Plehve, the anti-Semitic minister of Tsar Nicholas II; Jabotinsky made a pact with Petlyura, the reactionary Ukrainian leader whose forces massacred some 100,000 Jews in 1918-1921 ... Perhaps the most shocking example of this type is the delight with which Zionist leaders in Germany welcomed Hitler's rise to power, because they shared his belief in the primacy of “race” and his hostility to the assimilation of Jews among “Aryans.” They congratulated Hitler on his triumph over the common enemy — the forces of liberalism.

'We Jews'

Dr. Joachim Prinz, a German Zionist rabbi who subsequently emigrated to the United States, where he became vice-chairman of the World Jewish Congress and a leader in the World Zionist Organization, published in 1934 a book *Wir Juden* ("We Jews") to celebrate Hitler's so-called German Revolution and the defeat of liberalism. He wrote:

The meaning of the German Revolution for the German nation will eventually be clear to those who have created it and formed its image. Its meaning for us must be set forth there: the fortunes of liberalism are lost. The only form of political life which has helped Jewish assimilation is sunk.

The victory of Nazism ruled out assimilation and inter-religious marriage as an option for Jews. “We are not unhappy about this,” said Dr. Prinz. In the fact that Jews were being forced to identify themselves as Jews, he saw “the fulfillment of our desires.” Further, he states,

We want assimilation to be replaced by a new law: the declaration of belonging to the Jewish nation and the Jewish race. A state built upon the principle of the purity of nation and race can only be honored and respected by a Jew who declares his belonging to his own kind. Having so declared himself, he will never be capable of faulty loyalty towards a state. The state cannot want other Jews but such as declare themselves as belonging to their nation...

Dr. Shahak compares Prinz's early sympathy for Nazis with that of many who have embraced the Zionist vision, not fully understanding the possible implications: “Of course, Dr. Prinz, like many other early sympathizers and allies of Nazism, did not realize where that movement was leading ...”

Zionist-Nazi Alliance Proposal

Still, as late as January 1941, the Zionist group LEHI, one of whose leaders, Yitzhak Shamir, was later to become a prime minister of Israel, approached the Nazis, using the name of its parent or-

ganization, the Irgun (NMO). The naval attaché in the German embassy in Turkey transmitted the LEHI proposal to his superiors in Germany. It read in part:

It is often stated in the speeches and utterances of the leading statesmen of National Socialist Germany that a New Order in Europe requires as a prerequisite the radical solution of the Jewish question through evacuation. The evacuation of the Jewish masses from Europe is a precondition for solving the Jewish question. This can only be made possible and complete through the settlement of these masses in the home of the Jewish people, Palestine, and through the establishment of a Jewish state in its historic boundaries.

The LEHI proposal continues: “The NMO ... is well acquainted with the good will of the German Reich Government and its authorities towards Zionist activity inside Germany and towards Zionist emigration plans.” It goes on to state:

The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis and bound by a treaty with the German Reich would be in the interests of strengthening the future German position of power in the Near East ... The NMO in Palestine offers to take an active part in the war on Germany’s side ... The cooperation of the Israeli freedom movement would also be in line with one of the recent speeches of the German Reich Chancellor, in which Herr Hitler stressed that any combination and any alliance would be entered into in order to isolate England and defeat it.

The Nazis rejected this proposal for an alliance because, it is reported, they considered Lehi’s military power “negligible.” [For more on this, see: M. Weber, “Zionism and the Third Reich” in the July-August 1993 Journal, pp. 29-37.]

Rabbi David J. Goldberg, in his book *To the Promised Land: A History of Zionist Thought*, discusses the life and thought of the leader of Zionist revisionism, Vladimir Jabotinsky, who was the great influence upon the life of Menachem Begin. “The basic tenets of Jabotinsky’s political philosophy,” writes Goldberg,

are subservience to the overriding concept of the homeland: loyalty to a charismatic leader, and the subordination of the class conflict to national goals. It irked Jabotinsky when, over 20 years later, he was accused of imitating Mussolini and Hitler. His irritation was justified: he had anticipated them ... Given that for Jabotinsky echoing Garibaldi “there is no value in the world higher than the nation and the fatherland,” it is not altogether surprising that he should have recommended an alliance with an anti-Semitic Ukrainian nationalist. In 1911, in an essay entitled “Schevenko’s Jubilee,” he had praised the xenophobic Ukrainian poet for his nationalist spirit, despite “explosions of wild fury against the Poles, the Jews and other neighbors,” and for proving that the Ukrainian soul has a “talent for independent cultural creativity, reaching into the highest and most sublime sphere.”

In a review of the book *In Memory’s Kitchen: A Legacy From The Women of Terezin*, Lore Dickstein, writing in *The New York Times Book Review*, notes that, “Anny Stern was one of the lucky ones. In 1939, after months of hassle with the Nazi bureaucracy, the occupying German army at her heels, she fled Czechoslovakia with her young son and emigrated to Palestine. At the time of Anny’s departure, Nazi policy encouraged emigration. ‘Are you a Zionist?’ Adolf Eichmann, Hitler’s specialist on Jewish affairs, asked her. ‘Ja wohl,’ she replied. ‘Good,’ he said, ‘I am a Zionist too. I want every Jew to leave for Palestine.’”

A 'Close Relationship'

The point has been made by many commentators that Zionism has a close relationship with Nazism. Both ideologies think of Jews in an ethnic and nationalistic manner. In fact, Nazi theoretician Alfred Rosenberg frequently quoted from Zionist writers to prove his thesis that Jews could not be Germans.

In his study, *The Meaning of Jewish History*, Rabbi Jacob Agus provides this assessment:

In its extreme formulation, political Zionists agreed with resurgent anti-Semitism in the following propositions: 1. That the emancipation of the Jews in Europe was a mistake. 2. That the Jews can function in the lands of Europe only as a disruptive influence. 3. That all Jews of the world were one “folk” in spite of their diverse political allegiances. 4. That all Jews, unlike other peoples of Europe, were unique and un-integratable. 5. That anti-Semitism was the natural expression of the folk-feeling of European nations, hence, ineradicable.

Nazi theoretician Rosenberg, who was executed as a result of his conviction for war crimes at the Nuremberg trials, declared under direct examination that he had studied the writings of Jewish historians [IMT, vol. 11, pp. 451-452]. He continued:

It seemed to me that after an epoch of generous emancipation in the course of national movements of the 19th century, an important part of the Jewish nation found its way back to its own tradition and nature, and more and more consciously segregated itself from other nations. It was a problem which was discussed at many international congresses, and [Martin] Buber, in particular, one of the spiritual leaders of European Jewry, declared that the Jews should return to the soil of Asia, for only there could the roots of Jewish blood and Jewish national character be found.

Long-Standing Alliance

Feynwald, the Nazi, in 1941 reprinted the following statement by Simon Dubnow, a Zionist historian and author:

Assimilation is common treason against the banner and ideals of the Jewish people ... One can never “become” a member of a national group, such as a family, tribe or a nation. One may attain rights and privileges of citizenship with a foreign nation, but one cannot appropriate for himself its nationality too. To be sure the emancipated Jew in France calls himself a Frenchman of the Jewish faith. Would that, however, mean that he became part of the French nation, confessing to the Jewish faith? Not at all ... A Jew ... even if he happened to be born in France and still lives there, in spite of these, he remains a member of the Jewish nation.

Zionists have repeatedly stressed — and continue to do so — that, from their viewpoint, Jews are in “exile” outside of the “Jewish state.” Jacob Klatzkin, a leading Zionist writer, declared: “We are simply aliens, we are foreign people in your midst, and we emphasize, we wish to stay that way.” This Zionist perspective has been a minority view among Jews from the time of its formulation until today.

When the term “anti-Semitism” is casually used to silence those who are critical of the government of Israel and its policies, it should be noted that Zionism’s history of alliance with real anti-

Semitism has been long-standing, and this has been so precisely because Zionism and anti-Semitism share a view of Jews which the vast majority of Jews in the United States and elsewhere in the world have always rejected.

This rarely discussed chapter of history deserves study, for it illuminates many truths relevant to the continuing debate, both with regard to Middle East policy and the real nature of Jews and Judaism.

About the Author

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March/April 1999 (Vol. 18, No. 2), page 2

Belgium and its Jews During the War

by Mark Weber

A look at how German authorities treated Jews in Belgium during the years of wartime occupation is revealing because it is difficult to reconcile their policies with a German program systematically to exterminate Europe's Jews.

Belgium was quickly overrun by German military forces in May 1940, and after 18 days the country surrendered. Although the cabinet fled to London, where it established a pro-Allied government-in-exile, the country's King, Léopold III, as well as the head of government and the commander of the Belgian army, remained with their people. During the following four years of occupation, German authority was exercised through a military governor, General Alexander von Falkenhausen, while the overall administration of the country was carried out by Belgium's chief ministry officials and the regular civil service. ^[1]

At the outbreak of the war, about 90,000 Jews were living in this small western European country of some nine million people. Most were not Belgian citizens, and many were recently-arrived refugees from Germany, Austria and Poland. About 80,000 of the country's Jews were concentrated in the two largest cities, Brussels, the capital, and Antwerp, a major seaport. About three-fourths of Belgium's Jews were self-employed, and the diamond trade of Antwerp was largely in Jewish hands. ^[2]

During the months following the German takeover, many thousands of Jews fled the country, or were deported to neighboring France, so that by late 1940 only 52,000-55,000 reportedly remained in Belgium. ^[3]

'Armed Resistance'

Jews played a prominent role in Belgium's anti-German underground. As one Jewish historian later noted with pride, Jews were among the first "to take an active part in the resistance movement and in all forms of sabotage." Eventually, "many hundreds" of Jews "took part in the armed resistance." In one spectacular case in April 1943, "in open battle between the Jewish partisans and the [German] Field Police, many Germans were killed while the partisans got away without loss." Within the overall anti-German underground movement, a special "Ninth Jewish Brigade" was established. "Several weeks before the liberation [September 1944], hundreds of Jewish volunteers answered the call of the Jewish resistance organizations and took part in the final, open battle against the occupying forces." ^[4]

Jacob Gutfreind commanded the country's first Jewish terrorist group, which was organized in late 1941. Its members set fire to factories, derailed trains, attacked garages, and murdered Ger-

mans, Belgians and Jewish “informers” who collaborated with the authorities. Gutfreind and his wife were eventually caught and deported to Auschwitz. They settled in Israel after the war. [5]

Germans weren’t the only ones who were concerned that Jews might constitute a threat to security. Following the Allied liberation of the country, British military authorities in Belgium rounded up and interned as “enemy aliens” some 2,000 Jews (apparently of German citizenship). [6]

Deportations

Beginning in August 1942 and continuing until July 1944, some 25,000 Jews were deported eastward from Belgium. Apparently most were transported to Auschwitz, although some were sent to the Lodz ghetto, the Theresienstadt ghetto-camp, the Bergen-Belsen camp, and elsewhere. [7]

In November 1942 the German Foreign Office representative in Brussels reported that some 15,000 Jews had been deported from Belgium to “the East,” and that additional transports would be following. These deportees, he went on, were Jews of non-Belgian citizenship, mostly of Polish, Czech, German or Russian citizenship or origin, or stateless. [8]

According to some wartime reports, Jews were also deported from Belgium to the occupied Soviet territories. [9] In August 1942 Jews were reportedly taken by train from Belgium to a labor camp in southern Russia where they worked on building fortifications. [10] In October 1942 the leading Jewish community newspaper of neutral Switzerland reported that rail transports of Jews from Belgium and other western European countries had recently arrived in Riga (Latvia) before being taken further. [11]

Such deportations seem inconsistent with a policy to exterminate all of Europe’s Jews. If the goal was simply to kill them, why would the Germans have transported Jews from western Europe to territories far to the east of Auschwitz and other alleged “death camps”?

Remarkably, many Jews in Belgium were exempt from deportation. For one thing, categorically exempted by the Germans from deportation from Belgium (as well as from France and the Netherlands) were Jews who were citizens of the United States, Britain and the British dominions, or the Latin American countries. [12]

More startling, the German military governor, von Falkenhausen, responded to a plea from Belgian Cardinal van Roey and the country’s Queen-Mother, Elizabeth, by ordering Jews of Belgian citizenship exempt from deportation. The only exceptions were about 800 “delinquent” Belgian-citizen Jews who had refused to wear the obligatory Jewish star badge or had violated other regulations. [13]

The Breendonck Internment Camp

A detailed work published after the war by the World Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations, *The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People*, cited testimony evidence to charge that the German authorities had killed 200 persons each month in the Breendonck internment camp in Belgium, which supposedly was “more horrible than Dachau and Buchenwald were before the war.” Prisoners there were reportedly also killed in a special gassing cell. [14] Today Breendonck is barely mentioned in the Holocaust literature, and no reputable historian credits the Breendonck gassing story,

Widely Varying Death Figures

As in the case of other countries, supposedly authoritative estimates of Jewish wartime deaths for Belgium vary greatly. According to the U.S. government's widely publicized 1944 War Refugee Board (WRB) Report, which was submitted as an important American prosecution exhibit at the main Nuremberg trial, "approximately 50,000" Jews deported from Belgium were killed in Auschwitz-Birkenau gas chambers between April 1942 and April 1944. [15]

More or less consistent with this, the so-called "Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry" announced in 1946 that, out of a total of 5.7 million European Jews who perished during the war years, 57,000 were Jews from Belgium. Lucy Dawidowicz estimated that 40,000 Belgian Jews lost their lives during the war, while another Jewish Holocaust historian, Gerald Fleming, estimated 26,000. [16]

A 1977 report by a German government agency affiliated with the International Committee of the Red Cross reported that between August 4, 1942, and July 31, 1944, a total of 25,557 Jews (including 497 Gypsies) were deported from Belgium, of whom 1,271 returned after the war. [17] Raul Hilberg, a prominent Holocaust historian, concluded in his 1985 study that 24,000 Belgian Jews lost their lives during the war years, and that 40,000 Jews in Belgium survived the war. [18]

Historians Gerald Reitlinger and Yehuda Bauer — apparently referring to German and Belgian records — similarly reported that a total of 25,437 Jews were deported from Belgium, of whom 1,276 returned after the war. "More than half of the Jewish population of Belgium survived the war," noted Bauer, and Reitlinger remarked that Belgium "lost virtually none" of its "native Jewish population." [19]

Historians Hilberg, Bauer and Reitlinger thus agree that far more Belgian Jews survived than perished, and that the total number of Belgian Jews who perished (of all causes) during the war years is less than half the number of Belgian Jews supposedly gassed at Auschwitz-Birkenau, according to the U.S. government's authoritative WRB Report.

Notes

1. [↗](#) M. Baudot, et al, ed., *The Historical Encyclopedia of World War II* (New York: Facts on File, 1989), pp. 53-54; I. C. B. Dear, genl. ed., *The Oxford Companion to World War II* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 118-122; Jacob Robinson, *And the Crooked Shall Be Made Straight* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 238-240, 354.
2. [↗](#) Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Bantam, pb. ed., 1976), pp. 491-494; Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 3 vols., 1985), pp. 600-602; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe* (London: Sphere Books, 2nd edition, pb., 1971), pp. 367, 368 (In the 1st U.S. edition, New York: Beechhurst Press, 1953, these are pages 342-345); Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York: F. Watts, 1982), pp. 238-240; Eric J. Epstein & P. Rosen, *Dictionary of the Holocaust* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1997), pp. 26-27; Michael R. Marrus, Robert O. Paxton, "The Nazis and the Jews in Occupied Western Europe, 1940-1944," *The Journal of Modern History*, Dec. 1982 (Vol. 54, No. 4; Univ. of Chicago Press), pp. 706-707.
3. [↗](#) Peter Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden: Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust, 1941-1945* (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1990), p. 265; Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), p. 601 (doc. NG-5219).

4. [↗](#) Abusz Werber, "Jewish Resistance in Belgium," *Yad Vashem Bulletin* (Jerusalem), No. 22, May 1968, pp. 60-61; More than a thousand Jews in Belgium "fought with the Belgian partisans," reports Jewish historian Martin Gilbert in his *Atlas of the Holocaust* (New York: William Morrow, 1993), p. 110.
5. [↗](#) J. Gutfreind, "The Jewish Resistance Movement in Belgium," in: Yuri Suhl, ed., *They Fought Back: The Story of Jewish Resistance in Nazi Europe* (New York: Crown, 1967, and, Schocken, 1975), pp. 304, 308. See also p. 182, which mentions another Jewish member of the anti-German Belgian underground, Giza Weisblum, who was arrested in 1943 and deported to Auschwitz. Weisblum moved to Israel after the war.
6. [↗](#) Raul Hilberg, *Destruction* (1985), p. 1059.
7. [↗](#) Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews* (Bantam, pb. ed., 1976), p. 494; R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), pp. 606-608; G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere, 1971), pp. 368, 369; Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (New York: William Morrow, 1993), p. 110 (and map 134).
8. [↗](#) Nuremberg documents NG-5209 (or NG-022) and NG-5219. P. Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Piper, 1990), pp. 263, 265.
9. [↗](#) For example, in June 1943 the London-based Belgian government-in-exile reported (inaccurately) that "the Germans had removed nearly all 52,000 Belgian Jews to concentration camps in Germany, Poland and occupied Russia." Source: *The New York Times*, June 15, 1943, p. 8. Quoted in: Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 1997), p. 82; *American Jewish Year Book*, 5705, Vol. 46, Copyright 1944 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America), p. 220.
10. [↗](#) "Deportation and Death: Eyewitness Testimony," *Congress Weekly* (New York: Am. Jewish Congress), Dec. 4, 1942, pp. 6-7. The source given for this "eyewitness" report is "Geneva, October 8, 1942." Possibly it was provided by the Geneva office of the World Jewish Congress. This "testimony" was supposedly provided by a Polish Jew who was arrested in Brussels, and was then included in the transport from Belgium to Russia. After working in Russia, he supposedly hid in a train that went to Paris.
11. [↗](#) *Israelitisches Wochenblatt für die Schweiz*, No. 42, Oct. 16, 1942, pp. 10-11.
12. [↗](#) Jacob Robinson, *And the Crooked Shall be Made Straight* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 22-23, 287, n. 59. (NG-183)
13. [↗](#) L. S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews* (Bantam, 1976), p. 494; G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: 1971), pp. 367, 369, 538 (In the 1st U.S. edition, New York: 1953, these are pages 342-345, 494); Nuremberg doc. NG-5219 (cited above); Norman Rich, *Hitler's War Aims*, Vol. 2 (New York: Norton, 1974), pp. 187-188.
14. [↗](#) Jewish Black Book Committee (World Jewish Congress, etc.), *The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People* (New York: 1946), p. 270. A facsimile of this page is in: [Carlos W. Porter](#), ed., *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* (England: HRP, 1988), p. 384; During the war the *American Jewish Year Book* told readers that Jewish "children were reported gassed at Brasschaet, north of Antwerp." *American Jewish Year Book*, 5705, Vol. 46, Copyright 1944 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America), p. 220.
15. [↗](#) Nov. 1944 WRB report. Nuremberg document [022-L \(USA-294\)](#). Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg: IMT, 1947-1949 ["blue series"]), vol. 37, p. 433. (A facsimile of this page also appears in Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p. 207.) See also IMT "blue series" vol. 3, p. 568.
16. [↗](#) Nora Levin, *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry 1933-1945* (New York: Crowell, 1968), p. 715; L. S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews* (Bantam, 1976), p. 544; Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif., 1984), p. 193.

17. ☞ A. de Cocatrix, *Die Zahl der Nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung* (Arolsen: International Tracing Service, April 1977).
18. ☞ R. Hilberg, *Destruction* (1985), pp. 608, 1220, 1048.
19. ☞ G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere, 1971), pp. 367, 369, 538; Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York: 1982), p. 240; Similarly, Martin Gilbert contended that a total of 25,631 Jews were deported from Belgium during the war years, of whom 24,387 were “murdered,” and that 1,244 of the deportees survived. Overall, he added, 40,000 of Belgium’s Jews survived the war years. See: M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Holocaust* (William Morrow, 1993), pp. 110, 242 (map 315), 244 (map 316).

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Clash of Forces in North Africa

Bagnold's Bluff

The Little-Known Figure Behind Britain's Daring Long Range Desert Patrols

[Trevor J. Constable](#)

Specialist military units of the commando type enjoyed wide vogue during the Second World War, and what little military glamor shone through the conflict was confined almost exclusively to these private armies. They were the stuff of which legends are made. Bold leaders harassing armies with mosquito forces naturally became headline heroes in a war of otherwise inhuman mass effects. Ord Wingate and his Chindits in Burma; Evans Carlson and his Marine Raiders in the Pacific; Mountbatten's commandos; "Phantom Major" David Stirling and his Special Air Services force in North Africa; and on the other side the unforgettable Otto Skorzeny. The list of famous names is lengthy, and even today they evoke memories of high adventure and piracy. Missing from among them is the brilliant progenitor of all these private armies of modern times, the soldier-scientist who conceived and built the first and most successful of them all — Ralph Bagnold.

This tough-minded yet visionary Englishman played a decisive part in bringing the Allies through the serious crisis precipitated by Italy's entry into the war. The loss of the entire Middle East was an imminent possibility. The dramatic, unexpected flanking diversion provided by Bagnold's long range patrols — operating across the mountainous, scorching dunes in the interior of Egypt and Libya — tipped the strategic balance against the Axis. Military units had never penetrated these vast, unmapped wastes before, and First World War patrols had gone no farther than their fringe, where they recoiled from the impassable barrier of the giant dunes. Formal military thinking on North African topography routinely took its cue from this experience. The dunes were deemed to be impassable. The success Bagnold achieved in the teeth of these and other orthodox military conceptions opened many minds in the Allied high command, paving the way for numerous specialist units that followed.

The successful ones were built upon the foundation that Bagnold laid. He established the fundamentals of all small force success — planning, organization, the right equipment and communications, and a human element of exceptional quality. Adherence to these fundamentals could produce results out of all proportion to the size of the force, and with minimum casualties.

Today the ability of a small, highly-trained unit to penetrate to the heart of any country on earth has to be taken into account in protecting key leaders in the event of war. The Assassins of the twelfth century may have been the originators of this concept, but it was Ralph Bagnold who first showed in modern times what an élite and resolute small force could achieve in upsetting the

strategy of armies. His achievement had its origin in a seemingly useless peacetime hobby that the English adventurer shared with a few friends. How he turned this hobby into a superior instrument of war, and was then hidden by the sheer bulk of the commando heroes who came later, is an example of historical caprice hardly rivalled in our time.

A professional soldier who entered the British Army as an engineer officer through the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, Ralph Bagnold served in the trenches in the First World War. Posted to Egypt in 1925 as a signals officer, he found himself among a group of kindred spirits sharing a combined officers' mess with the Royal Tank Corps. He began experimenting with the cross-country potentialities and endurance of the Model T Ford, taking these rugged early cars over rough ground and sand drifts where no car had previously ventured. While other officers spent their time at Gezira Sporting Club or enjoying the fleshpots of Cairo and Alexandria, Bagnold and his friends used their weekends and periods of local leave to make adventurous journeys in the desert. They probed eastwards to Sinai, Palestine and Jordan before made-up roads existed. Their leader by free acknowledgment, Bagnold's enterprise, ingenuity and intelligence were the driving force behind these pioneering expeditions.

Unshaven in their informal desert garb hundreds of miles from civilization, Bagnold and his friends might have been considered highly unconventional by those who were content with more mundane recreations. They were intelligent, educated men indulging a common passion for the desert. Their numbers regularly included two young officers of the Royal Tank Corps, Guy Prendergast and Rupert Harding-Newman. Both were expert drivers, and Prendergast was also an enthusiastic airman at a time when flying was still a rare skill. Later they were destined to turn their journeys with Bagnold to good military account, although at the time the far-ranging journeys were merely a hobby.

Growing experience and confidence in his own logistics and specially-designed equipment turned Bagnold's mind inevitably westwards to the frightening immensity of the Libyan Desert — the most arid region on earth. Roughly the size and shape of the whole Indian peninsula, its strange, wind-sculptured wastes, as rainless and dead as the moon, were largely unmapped and untrodden by man or beast since prehistoric times. Scorching, vast and silent, it presented an irresistible challenge. Intrigued by the prospect of conquering this desert of deserts, the English explorer began planning a new adventure.

Could a small, self-financed party of six men, in three of the new Model A Ford cars penetrate the Libyan Desert as far or perhaps even farther than previous expeditions? The most recent exploration effort had been made by the millionaire Prince Kemal el Din, with a fleet of caterpillar trucks supported by supply trains of camels. Three Model A Fords seemed a puny expedition by comparison, but Bagnold felt that perhaps sheer size and resources were not the key to success. Might not a small party even succeed in crossing the enormous dune field of the Great Sand Sea? The width of that barrier was unknown, but it separated Egypt and Libya for five hundred miles from north to south. Prince Kemal el Din had judged the Great Sand Sea to be utterly impassable.

Despite this first-hand judgment by a contemporary explorer, Bagnold resolved in 1930 to try to conquer the dune barrier. His party included two British officials on leave from the Sudan civil service: Douglas Newbold, permanent head of the government, and Bill Kennedy Shaw, archaeologist and botanist. Both were Arabic scholars and experienced camel travellers, and both were burning with enthusiasm to explore the mysteries of the Libyan desert, legends of which abounded in ancient Egyptian records and in Arabic literature.

Bagnold's planning and intuitive pathfinding succeeded. The bold little group discovered a single practicable route for light cars over range upon range of towering sand dunes. In their Model A Fords they covered some four thousand miles of unknown country before returning to Cairo in triumph. The Sand Sea route was retraced and mapped in detail shortly afterwards by Patrick Clayton, a tough, restless Irishman and expert cartographer employed by the Egyptian Desert Survey. Clayton's grey hairs belied his drive, versatility and skill, qualities which earned him Bagnold's respect and friendship.

After this successful penetration of Inner Libya, the Royal Geographical Society supported additional and still longer journeys. The primary exploration of the region was under way, but Bagnold's interest had meanwhile been seized by the sands in a manner quite different from that of a conventional explorer. Fascinated by the extraordinary symmetry and geometrical regularity of the great dunes, he found that little was known to scientists about the formation and movement of these vast natural barriers. Retiring from the army, Bagnold turned scientist and embarked on laboratory research into sand movement. He wrote a treatise entitled "The Physics of Blown Sand," which earned him election to the élite Royal Society of London — an almost unique distinction for a service officer with no academic qualifications beyond a Cambridge BA. He occupied himself with his scientific work in communications, hydraulics and fields connected with sand such as beach formation, until the outbreak of war in September 1939.

Major Bagnold was immediately recalled to the army. Ignoring his unique talents and specialized experience, the British Army bundled him aboard a troopship bound for Kenya — a country of which he knew nothing. The prospect of his years of desert experience going to waste was discouraging, but he could do no more than obey orders.

Fate intervened in the form of a mid-Mediterranean collision involving his troop ship. The vessel was so badly damaged that its passengers were disembarked at Port Said, where they would be required to wait at least a week for another ship. Seizing the chance to visit his many friends in the capital, Bagnold caught the first train to Cairo. A sharp-eyed reporter for the Egyptian Gazette spotted the greying major in Sheppard's Hotel, the famous social mecca of British Army officers in those days. The reporter knew all about Bagnold's prewar desert journeys and began putting two and two together. In his column "Day In, Day Out" he briefly reviewed Bagnold's past achievements for his readers, and ended his column with the following observation:

Major Bagnold's presence in Egypt at this time seems a reassuring indication that one of the cardinal errors of 1914-18 is not to be repeated. During that war, if a man had made a name for himself as an explorer of Egyptian deserts, he would almost certainly have been sent to Jamaica to report on the possibilities of increasing rum production, or else have been employed digging tunnels under the Messines Ridge. Nowadays, of course, everything is done much better.

Square peg Bagnold was, "of course," on his way to a round hole in Kenya, true to the British Army tradition that the newspaperman had criticized. The course of the North African war was nevertheless to turn on what the reporter had written about Bagnold in the Egyptian Gazette. General Sir Archibald Wavell read the thumbnail sketch of Bagnold's desert career in "Day In, Day Out," and thus learned of the explorer's presence in Egypt.

Although Wavell had no official status in the Middle East at that time, he was working behind the scenes on preparations for the inevitable expansion of the war in that theatre. The so-called "Phony War" was in progress in Europe after Germany's conquest of Poland. The Battle of France still lay in the future. Italy was not yet in the war, and the open appointment of an eminent

soldier like Wavell to command the Middle East might have been seized on by Mussolini as a provocation. General Wavell had therefore been sent out from England sub rosa, to plan for Italy's entry into the war, or for a German thrust through the Balkans, or for both together. As if to emphasize his unofficial status, Wavell occupied a small office in the attic of the bulky HQ building of British Troops Egypt (BTE), the peacetime garrison force commanded by General Sir Henry Maitland "Jumbo" Wilson. Bagnold was completely unaware of all these arrangements when he began visiting old army friends.

The major's first call was at the office in the same building of his old friend and contemporary, Colonel Micky Miller, then chief signal officer BTE. Miller's face lit up as Bagnold appeared. "Just the man," he said. "Wavell wants to see you. "Wavell?" said Bagnold, "what's he doing here? I thought Jumbo Wilson was in command." Miller put his fingers to his lips in a gesture of silence. "Hush," he said, "Wavell isn't supposed to be here. Jumbo's our boss. Wavell has no authority to interfere. But he knows everything that goes on and remembers everything and everybody. He's planning something big and he's collecting people — people who know things. You'll certainly be transferred here, Ralph. Come on. I'll take you upstairs."

As they climbed up to the attic Bagnold's puzzlement grew at the modest quarters assigned to such a senior general. From Micky Miller came a quick aside as they reached Wavell's office: "He's got a glass eye, you know. So be careful to look at the good one."

The interview was brief. The one very bright eye, set in a wrinkled, weather-beaten face, looked Bagnold over. The general spoke quietly.

"Good morning Bagnold. I know about you. Been posted to Kenya. Know anything about that country?"

"No sir."

"Be more useful here wouldn't you?"

"Yes sir."

"Right. That's all for now."

As Bagnold walked out he pondered on the inscrutability of that remarkable face. Was it grim, or smiling at the prospect of some half-formed plan? Even in those brief moments there was an impression of quiet power about Wavell.

Two days later a cable from London transferred Bagnold to Egypt, and was followed by a local posting to a signal unit of Major General Hobart's Armored Division at Matruh, on Egypt's Mediterranean coast. He was back in the desert again. Cancellation of his Kenyan assignment was like a redemption, but in later years he would marvel at the delicate pinions of maritime collision and newspaperman's acumen on which his destiny had turned.

Within a few weeks, his geographically broader outlook grasped the alarming weaknesses of the defense situation should the huge Italian armies in Libya and Ethiopia attack the Nile states of Egypt and the Sudan. The one British armored division in North Africa, newly formed and crucially short of transport, would be put to its limit to defend the 60 mile-wide "Western Desert" — the maneuverable coastal strip between the Mediterranean and the northern edge of the great sands. A major Italian thrust to seize the Nile Delta was certain to come from Italian Libya eastwards in the event of hostilities. Five hundred miles to the south, the Italians were known to

maintain a garrison at 'Uweinat on the Sudan border, well beyond the southern limit of the Sand Sea. Bagnold knew this country well. From 'Uweinat it was only 500 miles eastward to the Nile over a sand sheet of billiard-table smoothness. A strong mobile column could cover this distance in two easy days, seize the Aswan Dam, isolate the Sudan and hold Egypt to ransom. Bagnold knew that this situation would be readily apparent to at least one man on the Italian side.

The major's mind turned to his Italian counterpart, Colonel Lorenzini, a man of vision, leadership and daring. Bagnold had met Lorenzini in the remote desert eight years previously and had been deeply impressed by his quality. Lorenzini would instantly grasp the situation in the same way as Bagnold, with all its potential for conquest. If the Italian high command had kept Lorenzini in Libya, surely they would be listening to him now. Complicating the situation and heightening its menace was the lack of aircraft for reconnaissance. The British had no machines available of sufficient range to fly south and investigate Italian intentions.

Summarizing the situation on paper, the analytical Bagnold outlined a suitable establishment for such patrols. He added a note suggesting that since no suitable army vehicles existed, it was high time to begin experimenting on a modest scale with half a dozen selected modern commercial vehicles. He made three copies of his proposal, and gave the original to Major General Percy Hobart to read. The hawk-faced "Hobo," leading practical pioneer of modern armored warfare, who, as we have seen [in the Jan.-Feb. 1999 Journal], had risked his career in the cause of strategic mobility, was in no doubt as to the validity of Bagnold's proposal: "I entirely agree," said Hobo, "and I'll send this on to Cairo. But I know what will happen. They will turn it down."

Hobart was right. General Wavell had not yet come out of his attic. The Cairo brass lived in the peacetime routine of an internal security force stationed in Egypt since 1870 — an atmosphere lethal to any innovations such as Bagnold was now proposing. The formal Cairo view was that the desperate lack of defense troops and equipment made it essential not to provoke Italy in any way. Mussolini had a quarter of a million troops in Libya and a quarter of a million more in the south. He was still sitting on the fence. Roving patrols like Bagnold's — even if they were feasible — might tip Mussolini into war. But this was only the formal view.

The real reason for the rejection of Bagnold's proposal lay in the ignorance of the Cairo brass about the desert on whose edge their own HQ was located. Fear was the inevitable concomitant of this ignorance. One senior staff officer warned Bagnold that if he took troops into the desert where there were no roads "you'll get lost." On the officer's wall hung a map of Egypt's western frontier that was dated 1916. Detail in this faded out with the words, "limit of sand dunes unknown." Comments on Bagnold's suggestion of taking patrols across the 150-mile wide Sand Sea ranged from "ridiculous" to "madness."

Physically a wiry man, without an ounce of spare flesh on him, Bagnold had the moral and mental fibre to match his physical resilience. He decided to try again. He showed the second copy of his patrol force proposal to General Hobart's successor, after "Hobo" had been kicked out of the army to become a Home Guard corporal. The new armored division commander also approved of the plan and recommended it to Cairo. Again it was rejected. There were mutterings among offended brass-hats about this second attempt, and the "bloody nerve" of that major out at Matruh.

Shortly afterwards Bagnold went to Turkey in civilian clothes as the signals member of a small reconnaissance mission, sent at the invitation of that nervous and neutral government. When he returned to Cairo he found the scene transformed. Wavell had come out of his attic. He was now Commander-in-Chief Middle East, a military overlord with responsibility stretching from the Burmese border to West Africa, and from the Balkans to South Africa. A new headquarters, GHQ

Middle East, was being set up in a different and cleaner part of Cairo, and an all-new staff consisting largely of officers fresh out from England was being assembled. The atmosphere was refreshingly alive.

Bagnold was appointed an aide to General Barker, the new Signal-Officer-in-Chief. Involved in the urgent improvisation of communications for Wavell's gigantic and complex command, Bagnold forgot the desert until June 1940 brought crisis. France collapsed. Italy declared war. Both the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez were closed to shipping, virtually isolating the Middle East from a Britain itself set upon by a fleet of U-boats and the Luftwaffe. The threat Bagnold had foreseen with Italian entry into the war was now a stark reality.

Marshal Graziani's 15 divisions — a quarter of a million fighting men — would soon start rolling eastwards along the coast road towards Egypt and the Suez Canal. The Duke of Aosta's similarly massive army in Ethiopia posed a similar threat, pincering in on the Sudan and Egypt from the south. Wavell's immediately available defense forces were outnumbered ten to one. Reinforcements were coming, but with the Mediterranean closed, their arrival and deployment might be delayed for months. There were no war reserves of weapons or equipment. The situation seemed desperate.

The hour was late and Bagnold acted. He dug out the last copy of his earlier patrol force proposal and persuaded the head of the Operations Staff to place it personally on the commander-in-chief's own table. Reaction was immediate. Within an hour, Bagnold was again alone with Wavell.

This time there was no oppressive attic office, lack of authority, or doubt about the crisis that was being confronted. The great man on whom so much now depended sat calm and relaxed in his chair, the one eye bright as before. His greeting set Bagnold at ease, for Wavell acted like a shy man welcoming a friend for a quiet chat. He indicated the crumpled paper lying on his desk. "Tell me about this, Bagnold. How would you get into Libya?" Bagnold walked over to a modern map of Western Egypt hanging on the wall, and his finger stabbed and then moved laterally. "Straight through the middle of the Sand Sea, sir. It's the most unlikely place. The passage is here, due west of Ain Dallah. I've been along it, and I'm sure it will go all right, sir. And the going is good on the other side, what Clayton saw of it."

The C.-in-C.'s weatherbeaten face was impassive. "What would you do on the other side?" he asked. "We would go far enough west to cross both the southerly routes to Kufra Oasis and 'Uweinat. By reading the tracks, we could tell what recent traffic had been along them — the direction of travel and type of vehicle."

Wavell's expression remained unchanged. "What are the risks?" "Two, sir. First the weather. No Europeans have been into the sands in summer. If a south wind gets up, it'll be pretty hot. How hot no one knows. Second, this map of yours, sir. You see the passage across the Sand Sea is printed on it, and it's been on sale in Cairo for years."

Wavell gave a comprehending nod. "You mean they might be waiting for you at Clayton's cairn on the other side?" "Yes, sir. But it's a bleak place for Italians to live at — no water, no life, no shelter and far from anywhere. It's a reasonable risk to assume they won't be there." "What about your wheel tracks, Bagnold? They last for years." "Over gravel country, yes sir, but it's very difficult to follow wheel tracks from the air. The aircraft goes too fast. If you fly low enough to see the tracks, they suddenly jink sideways under the fuselage and are lost. Our tracks over the dunes, of course, would disappear with the first bit of wind."

The C.-in-C. leaned forward a little in his chair, still inscrutable, but obviously interested. “And if you find there has been no activity along the southerly routes, what then Bagnold?” “How about some piracy on the high desert?”

Wavell’s face changed sharply. For an instant Bagnold feared he had gone too far. He had been too flippant with the C.-in-C. But the wrinkled face had creased now into a broad grin, the eye was very bright indeed and the whole head could have belonged to a pirate captain.

“Can you be ready in six weeks?”

“Yes sir.”

“Any questions?”

“Volunteers and equipment, sir.”

“Volunteers are a job for British Troops Egypt. I’ll see that General Wilson gives you every help. Equipment? Hmmm, yes. You’ll meet opposition.”

Wavell reached out and pressed a button. Expecting a clerk or orderly to enter, Bagnold was astonished when the bell was answered immediately by a lieutenant-general. He was Sir Arthur Smith, Wavell’s chief of staff. “Arthur,” said Wavell. “Bagnold seeks a talisman. Get this typed out for me to sign, now.” The C.-in-C. then dictated the most amazing order that Bagnold had heard in his military career: “Most Secret. To all Heads of Branches and Directorates. I wish any demand made personally by Major Bagnold to be met urgently and without question.”

Wavell turned now to Bagnold. “Not a word of this must get out. There are some sixty thousand enemy subjects of all classes loose in Egypt. Get a good cover story from my DMI [Director of Military Intelligence]. When you’re ready to start, write out your own operation orders and bring them direct to me.”

This was absolute *carte blanche* — regardless of desperate equipment shortages.

Leaving the C.-in-C.’s office still hardly believing his ears, Bagnold pondered the sudden reaction and quick decision at the suggestion of piracy. Why had that word precipitated action? He reviewed what he knew of Wavell in search of an answer. A brilliant, mobility-minded strategist, Wavell was a student of foreign armies and the mentality of their leaders. He was also a poet and author. A member of Allenby’s staff in the masterly Palestine campaign of the First World War, he was even now finishing a biography of the former chief. There was something else about Wavell — his grasp of strategic deception. He had made it a science. That must be it. The old man was planning an immense bluff to play for time!

The next six weeks were the most demanding and challenging of Bagnold’s life. A new and untried type of armed force had to be created from nothing, trained for operations never previously attempted and introduced to a hard and novel way of life — all in a few short weeks. Success would depend on combining Wavell’s talisman with a clear-cut plan and a knowledge of which button to push in the giant HQ machine. Bagnold threw all his energy into the task.

He would need the help of his prewar companions. Rupert Harding-Newman was the only one locally available in Cairo, serving as a liaison officer with the non-belligerent Egyptian Army. Guy Prendergast could not be brought from Britain. The archaeologist Bill Kennedy Shaw was curator of the Jerusalem Museum. Pat Clayton was on a surveying job in the wilds of Tan-

ganyika. Shaw's release by the Palestine government was arranged, and Clayton was located by the Tanganyika government and bundled aboard a special aircraft for Cairo. Shaw and Clayton were both in Cairo within three days of Bagnold's request for their services, and both were put into uniform and commissioned as army captains immediately.

Bagnold and Harding-Newman meanwhile went shopping round the Cairo truck dealers. After trying out several types and makes, they settled on a one-and-a-half ton commercial Chevrolet with two-wheel drive. All the dealers in Egypt could supply only 14 of these vehicles. Harding-Newman persuaded the Egyptian Army to part with another 19. The Ordinance Directorate workshops put aside all other jobs to modify these commercial trucks to the specifications rapidly drawn up by Bagnold and Harding-Newman. Cabs were cut off, windshields were discarded, chassis and springs strengthened and gun mountings installed. Open bodies were built to Bagnold's design, into which modular ration and fuel cases fitted precisely for perfect stowage and prevention of fuel loss.

There were to be three patrols, each of two officers and 28 men, carried in ten unarmored trucks with a lighter vehicle for the patrol commander. Each patrol would carry a two-pounder gun, and each truck anti-tank rifles and machine guns mounted for all-round fire. Crews were to be individually armed with pistols and rifles. Bagnold specified endurance requirements unprecedented in military history. His tiny force was required to navigate and operate entirely on its own, far beyond reach of any help or supplies. Each patrol had to be self-contained for fuel, water, food, ammunition, spare parts and radio for 1,500 cross-country miles — the equivalent of 2,800 road miles — and for at least two weeks. Range could be increased by making double journeys to form supply dumps.

Every pound of weight mattered. Only absolute essentials could be carried. For this reason Bagnold had chosen the simpler two-wheel drive trucks. Gearing for the four-wheel drive vehicles added considerable weight and fuel consumption was higher. All the innovations introduced and proved by Bagnold for his expeditions years before were now brought into full use. Every vehicle was equipped with a pair of portable steel channels for "unsticking" from soft sand. These channels were placed under the rear wheels of a truck stuck in soft sand, and provided a sure method of extricating the heaviest vehicle.

Bagnold had also discovered how to conserve water. The regular radiator overflow was blocked up, and another hole made in the top of the radiator. >From this hole, a hose was led to a vertical pipe reaching to the bottom of a two-gallon can bolted to the front fender. With the can initially half full of cold water, steam and boiling engine water which would otherwise escape were collected in the can. Half a minute after the engine was stopped, condensation caused all this water to be sucked automatically back into the radiator. As a precaution against long-continued boiling, possible when plowing through soft sand in a hot following wind, scalding water would ultimately spurt up from a vent in the can top on to the driver, forcing him to stop. With this ingenious Bagnold invention, trucks would need no extra water in hundreds of miles of hard desert driving. (By the end of the 20th century, virtually all passenger cars came fitted with versions of the device Bagnold invented in the 1920s.)

Navigation had long presented a problem in trackless, uncharted desert, mainly because a magnetic compass was unreliable in a moving car. In 1928 Bagnold had produced a simple, home-made sun compass by which the true bearing could be read accurately and quickly even when the vehicle was bumping over rough ground. The navigator could thus make a continuous record of bearing and mileage regardless of the course changes made by his leader to avoid obstacles. This record permitted a reliable plot to be made of the preceding route at every halt. The British Army

had not adopted this type of sun compass, invented by one of its own engineer officers. The Egyptian Army had nevertheless seen the merits of Bagnold's compass, and had fortuitously received a recent consignment from the London makers. Bagnold was able to borrow some of his own inventions from the Egyptians.

Each patrol needed a theodolite, a surveying instrument used for accurate position-fixing by the stars at the end of each day's run. The British Army could produce but one in the entire Middle East. A second was borrowed from Bagnold's old friend George Murray, director of the Egyptian Desert Survey and Pat Clayton's former chief. A third theodolite was located at Nairobi in Kenya and flown to Cairo.

Murray also helped by printing map sheets of Inner Libya on the same useful half-million scale as his own Egyptian maps. Although virtually blank, these sheets were essential for plotting courses and recording information along the route. The British Army had not yet devised any rational method for carrying the great number of maps it needed, toting them about in clumsy bundles of springy rolls which filled a three-ton truck. Bagnold's prewar expeditions had conquered this problem, since maps had to be stowable in the confined space of a Model A or Model T car. Bagnold had devised light plywood portfolios in which maps were packed flat. A supply of these portfolios solved the same problem now.

The health needs of the personnel demanded special consideration. Men would be exposed for long periods to desiccating heat by day while on a limited water ration, and to a large temperature drop after sunset in the desert. Prewar experience had demonstrated the adverse physical and psychological effects of a monotonous diet of army preserved rations under such conditions. Bagnold and his committee of old hands decided that a special ration scale was essential. Pat Clayton unearthed a nine-year-old copy of the *Geographical Journal* in which Bagnold had recorded a diet found suitable by his prewar expeditions. To the Supply Directorate, departure from the London-ordained ration scale was sacrilegious. There was resistance. With Wavell's talisman and the full backing of the Director of Medical Services, Bagnold nevertheless got his way. The new patrol unit was allowed its special ration scale, including the daily issue of rum, abolished for the rest of the army since the First World War.

Staid British quartermasters raised their eyebrows time and again at Bagnold's unorthodox demands. As the patrols would navigate by the stars over trackless desert, Air Almanacs were requisitioned. Army boots, which would fill with sand, were clearly unsuitable, so Bagnold had chaplis — sandals as worn by the Indian frontier tribesmen — made to special order. For protection against wind, sun and sand-blast, he chose the flowing traditional head-cloth of the Bedouin. Secrecy precluded buying this headwear in the Cairo stores, so a supply was arranged from the Palestine Police.

Each patrol needed a long-distance radio. Bagnold chose a lightweight No. 11 army field radio he knew to be reliable. Transmitting range of this set was officially 70 miles, but for a short period in each 24 hours it would have a much greater "skip" range—predictable according to a schedule varying with season and latitude. The No. 11. thus was less than ideal, but nothing else was available. When Bagnold's patrols were equipped, the last No. 11 radio set in the Middle East war reserve went to his third patrol. When he drew his machine guns, three more remained as the reserve for the entire Middle East. Clearly Wavell was dependent on the success of this bluff.

With his unique knowledge and enormous personal drive, Bagnold conquered each problem as it arose. His friend Bill Kennedy Shaw says of this period: "Bagnold's secret weapon was that he knew the desert and he knew the army — and all the quirks of both." The son of a colonel, his

second home was the army and the desert his first love. This proved a winning combination, especially when the time came to turn from equipment to personnel. The imaginative major with unorthodox ideas knew enough about the army not to seek volunteers from among the regular troops. He was a realist. There was no time to unlearn such men of their routine ways. Resourceful, responsible men were needed, with the initiative that formal soldiering all too often extinguishes. His patrol personnel would have to absorb in weeks a mass of desert lore that Bagnold had acquired over two decades. They had to be fighting men, and yet skilled tradesmen, fitters, navigators and radio operators — as well as truck drivers and gunners. Keeping their small self-contained force operating for long periods in remote enemy territory would make heavy demands on their vital powers. They should be men accustomed to the outdoors.

General Sir Henry Maitland “Jumbo” Wilson, GOC [General Officer Commanding] of British Troops Egypt, suggested to Bagnold that he would find the men he wanted in the New Zealand Division. “The commander-in-chief has told me about this job of yours,” said Wilson. “Sheep farmers should suit you, I think. I’ll sound out General Freyberg. These people aren’t very keen on serving with ‘pommies,’ as they call us, but his division has arrived without its weapons, which were sunk at sea.” Wilson set up a meeting.

Armed with a detailed list of his requirements, Bagnold went to the New Zealand camp near Cairo. The bulky, battle-scarred “Tiny” Freyberg, with his unsurpassed fighting record in the First World War, was an almost-legendary hero to his own men, and he guarded their fortunes in turn with vigilance. His initial reaction was hostile. He was reluctant to lose his battalion commanders their best men, for this was in effect what Bagnold was asking. Fate, however, had made him the friend and confidant of Percy Hobart during the latter’s bitter struggle for strategic mobility. Hobart’s ideas had rubbed off on Freyberg, who was also mobility-minded, and Bagnold’s proposal was for mobility on a previously unimagined scale. Freyberg gave in. “All right,” he said, “You can have them, but only temporarily mind you.” As Bagnold left, Freyberg shot after him, “I shall expect them back.”

Freyberg’s circular to his division calling for “volunteers for an undisclosed but dangerous mission” produced more than a thousand applicants. Freyberg selected two officers from these, Captain Bruce Ballantine and Lieutenant Steele, and told them to pick their own team. When the little army arrived in Cairo, the modified trucks were just beginning to emerge from the workshops. The New Zealanders’ initial suspicion of English officers increased when they were received by a major and two captains who seemed to them to be somewhat elderly, greying gentlemen. Qualms were quickly supplanted by enthusiasm as they learned what they were to do, saw the equipment they were to do it with, and how everything had been thought out in meticulous detail.

Under Bill Kennedy Shaw’s instruction, the six navigators-to-be quickly learned how to use the sun compass on the move, to plot dead-reckoning courses and to fix their nightly position by the stars. Unexpected help came from one of the volunteers, Private Dick Croucher, who admitted to being an ex-Merchant Navy officer with a first mate’s ticket. Like many other New Zealand soldiers he had concealed his qualifications for fear of having to spend the war on a busman’s holiday.

Within the six weeks’ time-limit set by Wavell, Major Bagnold was ready with three patrols. Dumps of supplies had been made at Ain Dalla near the Sand Sea crossing as part of their cross-country driving instruction. Another dump had been made at Siwa Oasis to the north of the Sand Sea, whence Pat Clayton had already reconnoitered a second route into inner Libya. With two trucks and five picked New Zealanders, he had penetrated southwards over the hundred-mile-

wide north-western arm of the sands. Clayton also discovered and crossed another vast dune field, little realizing that twenty years later a rich oil field would be located beneath this barrier.

Wavell came personally to say goodbye to the patrols. The great general obviously loved adventurous enterprises, and his weathered face wore a subtle grin as he looked over his “mosquito columns” as he called them. “The old man looks as if he’s dying to come with us himself,” said a New Zealand trooper.

On September 5, 1940, the patrols slipped out of Cairo in secret. Lest the delicate sand structure of the passes over the dunes might not stand the disturbance of so many wheel tracks, two patrols commanded by Clayton and Steele drove to Siwa Oasis. They made a double journey south over Clayton’s new intra-dune route to make a dump on the enemy side at Clayton’s Cairn, the marker built by the surveyor ten years previously. The third patrol, commanded by Captain Mifford, with Bagnold, Intelligence Officer Bill Shaw and Adjutant Ballantine drove to Ain Dalla, to cross the Sand Sea directly from east to west. Graziani’s huge Italian army was already advancing along the coast road to invade Egypt. Siwa Oasis and its dump would probably fall into enemy hands shortly, closing the newer route to Inner Libya from the north. Everything therefore depended for future operations on the practicability of the Ain Dalla route, crossing the dune ranges at right angles. The burden of finally proving his conception thus rested squarely on Bagnold’s shoulders. If he failed, he would fail Wavell at a time when a bluff might be as effective as fifty thousand soldiers in the field — forces that Wavell did not now have.

The patrol quickly reached Ain Dalla, a deserted artesian spring on the eastern side of the sands, two hundred jolting miles from Cairo. The dump was intact. The absence of fresh camel tracks indicated that its existence was still a secret.

After a short rest, refueling and loading up from the dump, the patrol set out for the great dunes a few miles distant. Bagnold took the wheel in the leading truck. Months of planning and effort focused on this tough, austere Englishman whose insight, energies and vision had brought them all to this moment of challenge. He showed no emotion, but only the same pervasive practical confidence they had all come to respect. Tension mounted as the New Zealanders saw ahead a high rampart of sand stretching away unbroken to both horizons. Driving closer, they found the barrier rising ever higher above the fiat and rocky plain over which they were lurching. The dazzling yellow glare struck down from the rampart with ever-increasing intensity, blanching the eyes and so magnifying the steepness of the dune that it seemed like a vertical wall hundreds of feet high. Lumbering towards this frightening mountain in trucks carrying over two tons each, the challenge assumed a terrifying immediacy.

Halting the party some distance away, Bagnold let in the clutch and went rolling forward in his single truck to demonstrate the art of assaulting the dunes. Jamming his foot down to the floorboards he sent the heavy vehicle charging at the barrier with engine roaring and speedometer climbing. At 50 mph the wall of glaring yellow came rushing at them alarmingly. Clutching wildly at the dashboard, the man beside Bagnold let out a terrified bellow. “Christ,” he yelled, “you’re not going to ...” Crashing head on at full tilt into the dune, all wheel motion suddenly seemed to cease. Nose tipping upwards, the truck rose bodily with its cargo as though hoisted from above. “It’s the first hundred feet that matters,” barked Bagnold above the engine noise. “If you can rush that without wavering you’re all right — if you know where to go.”

With a deft, shockless change of gear the truck continued to glide up a long but gentler slope to the crest, where Bagnold slowed and turned quickly. The men with him saw why. A 50-foot

precipice of avalanching sand fell away beside them. Braking very gently, Bagnold brought the truck to rest. He'd done it. A ragged cheer went up from the trucks far below them on the plain.

Seconds later Bill Shaw drove his truck up with the same apparent ease. Alarm turned to confidence as the men saw that once again these veteran Englishmen knew what they were doing. Bagnold waved for the rest of them to tackle the climb. He had lectured them on the art of climbing dunes, but it could be learned only by doing it. Nerves of steel and a cast-iron gut were needed to charge that wall at full throttle. The drivers made the almost inevitable mistakes: lack of initial momentum, getting into the tracks of the truck ahead, wild gear-changing at the wrong moment, and trying to restart on the steep up-grade. A chaotic jumble of trucks resulted, their wheels stuck deep in bottomless sand.

Hours of back-breaking labor under the searing sun were needed to free the trucks, reassemble them and get them to the top. Bagnold was everywhere amid the sweating, cursing men, demonstrating, instructing, guiding — a leader by example. One by one the vehicles were extricated, in a gruelling ordeal that lasted all day. The sun was setting as the last truck reached the top.

They looked westwards over a new and fantastic world of endless repetitive curves. Solid ground could be seen nowhere, submerged as it was to an unknown depth. Range upon parallel range of giant dunes reached away limitlessly to the far horizon, two or three miles apart, like enormous ocean waves about to break but with their motion frozen. In black shadow the setting sun picked out the deep gulfs between each range of dunes. The Great Sand Sea. No more appropriate name was ever given to any natural feature.

Even Bagnold's close friends of prewar years had felt and respected his deep natural reserve, feeling that nine-tenths of the man was essentially hidden. He withdrew by himself now, and sitting propped against a truck he added up the score in the greatest game he would ever play. Distance covered from Dalla: ten miles; distance to the other side: 140 miles of bottomless sand and 40 more of these monumental dune ranges. The trucks could do it, overloaded as they were. He and Bill Shaw had already proved that. The New Zealanders would soon learn. They were adaptable and remarkably intelligent. He comforted himself by remembering the mess his little party had made of their first attempt here ten years ago — and how they had suddenly got the hang of the new driving art.

Bagnold's main anxiety was the weather. Right now it was good. Temperatures were little more than 100 degrees F in the shade, although things in the sun were too hot to touch. No sand moved in the gentle breeze, but if a "qibli" were to hit them in the Sand Sea, the results could be disastrous. He had once left a truck abandoned for two days, and found it lying on its side at the bottom of a ten-foot-deep scour hole. In a "qibli" the whole surface, now so still, would flow like water. They'd have to keep moving, yet it would be impossible to see through the mist of stinging sand grains, impossible to pick a firm route between dry quick-sands, or to keep men and trucks in sight. The Sand Sea could swallow the patrol under such conditions. Only Bill Shaw among them knew of the weather risk, and he would keep it to himself.

Bagnold began the next day with some short practical lessons. "Once you understand one of these dune ranges," he said, "you understand them all. They're all one family. Look at our tracks... barely half an inch deep. The sand here will take great weight, yet its quite loose. You can run your fingers through it. The reason it's firm is that its surface is streamline to the wind. And the wind has fitted the grains one by one to make the densest possible packing." He pointed to a nearby area. "See that different ripple pattern and the slight change of color? That sand was

deposited at random, maybe centuries ago, by avalanching down a dune that has now marched on. Walk over and try it.”

Two soldiers walked to the area and sank in nearly to their knees. Once more, the grey-haired Englishman spoke the truth. “Many patches like that,” he said, “are covered over like thin ice over water. So keep your speed up, in the hope that your momentum will carry you through. But keep a sharp lookout for sudden precipices like this one. If you get stuck in soft sand, never, never try to get out without putting the channels under the back wheels. Remember that even this firm sand here is loose. Treat it like ice and be very gentle on both brake and clutch.”

This learn-as-you-go instruction paid immediate dividends. The patrol covered 40 miles of the Sand Sea the second day. Expertise quickly developed in unsticking bogged trucks, and in foreseeing where the surface was likely to be soft. Confidence increased with skill. On and on they ploughed, until by noon on the third day they emerged triumphant on to a vast, featureless plain of hard, sand-strewn gravel. They were across!

Looking back along their tracks, the men marvelled how anyone could find those narrow ascents on firm sand between so many avalanching sand cliffs. How could any man weave his way so unerringly across that bewildering landscape without a single landmark. How in hell had the major done it? Bagnold overheard some of their incredulous comments and wondered himself how he had been able to pull it off after a lapse of ten years.

Here on the Libyan side of the sands stood Clayton’s Cairn, the surveyor’s professionally-built pillar of loose stones. No man or animal had since visited the God-forsaken spot where they now stood. The only tracks were Clayton’s of ten years previously — still visible in the gravel. Bagnold’s underground route into Libya was still a secret from the enemy. While waiting for Clayton’s two patrols from the north to rendezvous, Bagnold mounted a return journey to Dalla for supplies. The men’s newly acquired skill showed in the scant seven hours they needed for the trip each way. When Clayton arrived, they had a substantial supply dump at Clayton’s Cairn, and the complete mosquito army stood ready for action. Bagnold’s bold concept had been vindicated in its most critical phase.

A military force could cross the Great Sand Sea, and in this brand-new fact lay considerable strategic possibilities. The inner desert no longer provided a defensive flank to an enemy attacking along the coast, but instead lay open before Bagnold’s little force. The slender north-south lines of communication from the Mediterranean coast to Graziani’s bases at Kufra and 'Uweinat in the far south could be harassed at will.

On September 13, 1940, Graziani’s Libyan Army crossed the Egyptian frontier on its eastward advance towards Cairo and the Suez Canal. On that same day, Bagnold launched a two-pronged probe westwards into the heart of Libya. Mitford’s patrol struck westwards across five degrees of longitude, burning the stocks of petrol found on the chain of landing grounds along the Kufra air route. They examined the motor tracks leading south, and kidnapped a small motor convoy complete with vehicles, supplies and official letters.

Pat Clayton meanwhile struck south-westwards, passing between Kufra and 'Uweinat mountain, right across southeast Libya to make contact with an astonished French outpost of Chad Province in French Equatorial Africa. Skirting the enemy garrison at 'Uweinat, the patrols rendezvoused in the desert and returned via Ain Dalla to Cairo. The prisoners and captured letters were handed over to Intelligence, and proved to be a mine of information for General Wavell. From Clayton’s Cairn to Dalla, the patrols had travelled 1,300 miles completely self-contained. 150,000 truck miles had been covered without a single serious breakdown. This was only the beginning.

Other more aggressive raids quickly followed. Enemy desert outposts in the north were bombarded and destroyed, their garrisons routed or taken prisoner. Simultaneously the garrison at 'Uweinat was attacked 500 miles to the south. A collection of aircraft was destroyed on the ground, and a large dump of bombs and ammunition blown up. The attackers seemed to emerge from the fourth dimension to strike and vanish like lethal ghosts. They appeared, struck and disappeared at widely separated points seemingly within hours of each other. British radio monitors in Cairo and elsewhere intercepted enemy messages of alarm and cries for help pouring into Graziani's headquarters from all over eastern Libya.

All Graziani's plans for the conquest of Egypt were based on the assumption, backed by his intelligence reports, that he faced only weak forces. Quick victory and occupation of the Nile Delta were anticipated within a few weeks. Yet within a few days of his first battalions crossing the Egyptian frontier he began getting these disturbing reports of attack — from a direction he believed to be completely secure. The British seemed to be everywhere, operating at incredible distances from their base. These assaults gave the war situation a new dimension. These far-ranging forces might attack his vital rearward lines of communication. Graziani ceased believing his intelligence reports and their central theme of British weakness. In overwhelming strength, the massive Italian army halted its advance. Wavell's bluff was beginning to succeed.

Exploiting the situation to the full, Wavell ordered the number of patrols to be doubled. Twice as much piracy would spring from the additional patrols. >From Long Range Patrols, the force was given a new designation, Long Range Desert Group (LRDG). The new distinguishing badge, showing a scarab riding a wheel, made its wearers among the most respected soldiers in the Middle East. Volunteers from the Brigade of Guards, Yeomanry regiments, the Rhodesian Army and the Indian Army joined the pioneer New Zealanders.

With the doubling of the patrols came a second *carte blanche* from Wavell: stir up trouble anywhere in Libya where the enemy can be harassed, attacked, shaken. Bagnold promptly obliged. He mounted an attack on Murzuk and its landing strip 1,100 miles as the crow flies from Cairo and 1,400 miles over the ground. Murzuk and back was far beyond the maximum range even of Bagnold's patrols, but supply dumping by the Free French in Chad under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel d'Ornano, provided the necessary extension of range. (Colonel d'Ornano's "price" for supply assistance was to be permitted to participate in the Murzuk raid. He was killed in action there.)

The brilliant Free French military commander Leclerc, stimulated by what he had heard of the capabilities of the British patrols, soon afterward resolved to capture the Italian stronghold at Kufra Oasis. Kufra was too tough a nut for Bagnold's small force to tackle alone. By a miracle of improvisation, Leclerc overhauled and equipped sufficient local transport to carry a battalion of native Chad troops and two 75-millimeter field guns, together with supplies for the double journey of a thousand miles. The attack on Kufra, backed by Bagnold's patrols, finally cleared the enemy from the whole interior of eastern Libya. The Murzuk and Kufra strikes were timed to coincide with Wavell's counter offensive in the Western Desert. With the time Bagnold's force had won, Wavell had built up his strength, and by February 5, 1941, he had smashed the Italian Army.

From this time until the end of the North African war, at least one patrol of the Long Range Desert Group was always behind enemy lines. The unit doubled in size yet again. An LRDG "private air force" was added, in the form of two WACO monoplanes purchased from an Egyptian pasha, which aided communication with HQ and evacuation of the wounded. The LRDG guided and carried commando units far behind the front to carry out daring raids. With its unri-

valled travelling and navigating abilities, the LRDG could place espionage agents at the very gates of Axis-held strong-points almost anywhere in North Africa.

LRDG patrols themselves razed airfields in daring nocturnal raids, destroying hundreds of aircraft on the ground between 1940 and 1943. Beating up Axis supply convoys and mining roads hundreds of miles behind the front was their steady war routine. The LRDG set up “road watch” patrols, often lying within earshot of the enemy and reporting every vehicle, weapon and tank that passed by. This precise intelligence of Rommel’s supply position was one of Montgomery’s vital tools in the ultimate defeat of the Desert Fox. When Ritter von Thoma, Rommel’s deputy, was captured in the Battle of Alam Halfa just before El Alamein, the German general was shocked to learn that Monty knew more about the supply status of the Afrika Korps than he did. Most of this information reached Monty via LRDG road watch patrols.

The patrols continued to penetrate Axis territory pretty well as they chose. In the immensity of the desert their vehicles were rarely spotted. Bagnold’s original concept, his detailed development of it, and his far-seeing organization had transformed the inner desert from a text-book “defensive flank” into a serious liability to the enemy.

In action against the Axis forces in North Africa from first to last, the LRDG proved to be the most original, boldly conceived and brilliantly organized “private army” of the war. The success of Bagnold’s patrols helped break down official opposition to those commando-type formations, specialist units and “private armies” that fulfil novel and essential roles for which orthodox forces are neither trained nor equipped. The commando idea had been current for half a century or more, but its modern potentialities under special conditions had never been seriously considered. Those at the top seldom possess the special knowledge and experience to judge the probability of success. Luckily for the Allies, and perhaps for the world, Wavell was a commander willing to take risks. Without the stunning success Bagnold achieved, it is doubtful if some of the later private armies would have been authorized.

Unfortunately for Ralph Bagnold, the modernizer of this kind of auxiliary warfare, the *modus operandi* of his unique force had to be concealed in wartime from the enemy. Security blocked all details of its size and capabilities. Writing about the LRDG was initially forbidden and later heavily censored. For this reason, the LRDG was far less well-known in wartime than other auxiliary forces such as Carlson’s Raiders, Wingate’s Chindits, Stirling’s Parashots or even German Colonel Otto Skorzeny’s glider and parachute commandos. All these leaders became world famous.

Bagnold shared the anonymity of the LRDG in wartime. He left the unit in the summer of 1941 to become Inspector of Desert Troops, (note 1) and shortly afterwards deputy signal-officer-in-chief, with the rank of brigadier. He was decorated for his achievement in forming the LRDG with the Order of the British Empire — an exceedingly modest award for his unique contribution to the security of the Middle East and the defeat of the Axis. As he left the LRDG in 1941, his name ceased to be associated with it thereafter, except by those who knew the whole story and the true story. Later writers tended to assume that the colorful LRDG had come into existence as though grown on a bush. Bagnold’s personal indifference to publicity helped hide him to history, and he was already half-forgotten when his LRDG brought off the classic climax to its career.

From his vantage point on the staff, Bagnold saw the LRDG trigger the end of the North African war, just as it had opened the Allied account in 1940. At Mareth in Tunisia, where Rommel made his final stand, a “left hook” was smashed home against the German forces that ended Axis hopes in Africa forever. This devastating knock-out blow was delivered through country marked “im-

passable” on military maps. Leading the pulverizing stroke was Major-General Sir Bernard “Tiny” Freyberg, who had given Bagnold the first troops for his patrols — back when Bagnold was known in Cairo for his “wild ideas.” Freyberg had followed a route through “impassable” country found for him by, a patrol of the LRDG.

After the war, Brigadier Ralph Bagnold retired from the army for good, the green tranquillity of the Kentish countryside substituting for the golden wastes on which he found high adventure and fulfillment such as comes the way of few men. A busy and respected member of the British scientific community for decades, his fascination with the mysteries of natural physical processes was endless. He was a longtime consultant in the movement of sediments, beach formation and the like. In the words of Bill Kennedy Shaw: “Dry sand being difficult of access for him, he deals with wet mud.”

Although unknown in the United States outside professional circles, in 1969 Bagnold became the first recipient of the G.K. Warren Prize, awarded by the National Academy of Sciences of the USA. The prize recognized his contributions to fluvial geology. In 1970 he was awarded the Penrose Medal of the Geological Society of America. He was further honored by the Geological Society of London with its Wallaston Medal in 1971, and the International Association of Sedimentologists recognized his achievements with its Sorby Medal in 1978. Bagnold died in London on May 28, 1990.

Bagnold’s contribution to Allied victory remained but little known or understood even in his native England, which showered honors and historical affection on other desert and commando heroes. He could rightly be called the Allies’ hidden hero of the North African conflict. Without his “mosquito columns,” events in 1940-41 would have unfolded very differently. The mind boggles at the consequences of the seizure of the Suez canal in the autumn of 1940 by Graziani’s massive army. Rommel’s army was only a third as large when, two years later, the Desert Fox nearly took Egypt and the canal.

With the slenderest resources, Bagnold and Wavell — each a visionary in his own way — aborted the disaster of Egypt and the Middle East being lost in 1940. In modern military history there has rarely if ever been a bluff of such magnitude. Certainly there has never been one pulled with such elegance and finesse as Bagnold’s bluff, invested as it was with the conquering power of an idea whose time had come.

Note

1.  Prewar companion and pilot Guy Prendergast relieved Bagnold as commanding officer (CO) of the LRDG, and happily flew half of the unit’s “air force,” which consisted of two WACO monoplanes. In the Bagnold tradition, Prendergast was the most mobile CO in the North African theater.

Author’s Note

“Bagnold’s Bluff” is a lightly edited version of a chapter of my book *Hidden Heroes*, published in 1971 by Arthur Barker, Ltd. (London). That was during the Vietnam war era when military men were widely disdained in America, and soldiers were sometimes even spat upon. The US market for military history was poor, and I went on to other things. Thus, Ralph Bagnold remained in the obscurity to which wartime security originally consigned him. The story of his re-

markable strategic bluff in the fall of 1940 has therefore remained essentially unknown in the United States, and this essay is presented here to an American readership for the first time.

In August 1940, more than 200,000 Italian troops were massed on Libya's frontier with Egypt, poised to seize Cairo and the Suez Canal and thereby threatening the loss of the entire Middle East to the Axis. The strategic and geopolitical consequences of such a loss would have been incalculable. Nothing better points up the appalling weakness of the British defenders at that time than the fact that when Bagnold drew weapons for his patrols from the available supply, he found just three Vickers machine guns remaining as the total reserve for the entire Middle East. General Wavell used more guile than guns when he sent Bagnold's mosquito columns to raise hell on Graziani's supposedly secure right flank. History has certainly credited Wavell fairly for his February 1941 defeat of the Italians, but it was Bagnold's Bluff that caused wavering, apprehension and irresolution in the Italian command, despite the overwhelming numerical and material superiority of its forces.

The story of Ralph Bagnold strikingly points up how individuals can and do critically shape events of world importance, and thus make a real difference in history. This extraordinary man has never been given proper public credit for his enterprising role in keeping Egypt and the vital Suez Canal from Axis hands, and thus in altering the war's entire course. During the war years, the story of Bagnold's dune-crossing route to inner Libya had to remain secret. And while his patrol force was successively expanded, in 1941 Bagnold himself was promoted away to a lower-profile post, and thereby lost to history. While Wavell has received well-deserved acclaim for his victory over the Italians, Bagnold's key role in Wavell's strategic deception has remained veiled.

In writing this piece, I am grateful above all to Ralph Bagnold himself, with whom I had extensive correspondence. My long research on the Long Range Desert Group convinced me that the most fascinating of the many stories the unit generated was that of its creation, from absolute zero, in beleaguered 1940. As a retired Brigadier, Bagnold kindly assisted me with illuminating detail, which has appeared nowhere else, about this crucial start-up period. A gentleman of formidable intelligence, he kindly vetted my drafts of "Bagnold's Bluff," and provided valuable additions.

My good fortune, also as a young writer in the 1960s, was to become a correspondent of William Boyd Kennedy Shaw, former Major and LRDG Intelligence Officer. His book, *Long Range Desert Group*, published in 1945 by Collins (London), remains the basic work on the subject. An archaeologist and Arabic scholar, Shaw had been one of Bagnold's dependable companions on the prewar expeditions into the Libyan Sand Sea, and beyond, which completed the primary exploration of that region. Through this ineffable gentleman, I was able to contact former Major Pat Clayton, another member of Bagnold's prewar exploration group who later helped him organize the LRDG, as well as retired Captain Richard Lawson, former LRDG medical officer, who kindly loaned me his precious photo negatives of the period.

I am indebted to all these late gentleman for their generous and heart-warming aid.

About the author:

Trevor J. Constable, born in New Zealand in 1925, has an international reputation as an aviation historian. With Colonel Raymond F. Toliver, he has authored a number of successful works on fighter aviation and ace fighter pilots. He has lived in the United States since 1952. He now makes his home in southern California.

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A Critical Response

For a Balanced History of the American Indian

Zoltán Bruckner

As a Journal subscriber of ten years, a supporter of the Institute, and an attendee of the Tenth IHR Conference (1990), I share views similar to yours in most historical issues. But I must protest sharply against two articles about American Indians in the May-June 1998 Journal issue: “The Noble Red Man” by Mark Twain, and “Life Styles: Native and Imposed” by Kevin Beary.

I don’t defend a false or romanticized image of the Indians, as propagated, for example, by Hollywood in such films as “Pocahontas” and the others mentioned in the Journal. But just as inaccurate as the currently fashionable media image of the “Noble Red Man” is the disgraceful picture drawn by Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) in the article reprinted from a 1870 issue of *The Galaxy*, apparently a fashionable magazine of the day.

He mocks the Indian for his external appearance and poverty — by any standard the cheapest way of vilifying someone. The one he describes — wearing a stove-pipe hat and a necklace of sardine boxes and oyster-cans — is certainly not an “original” Indian. He is obviously a pathetic victim of alcohol and other “blessings” of an alien, imposed way of life.

Twain’s description of the Indian’s character is no more fair or objective. He denies him any wisdom whatsoever. The Indian’s heart, Twain finds, is a “cesspool of falsehood and treachery.” If so, such guile did not keep him from being cheated of his continent-wide living space. As is well known, the (White) American government honored virtually none of the treaties it signed with the Indians. Anyway, the Indian had lived in harmony with Nature for centuries, and would have continued doing so “until the end of time” if Whites had not intervened. By contrast, it is the “civilized” White man who has created conditions that now threaten the future of life itself on our planet.

Twain’s description of the Indian’s style of combat is despicably misleading. Actually, it more fittingly describes how Whites decimated and subdued the continent’s native inhabitants, at least in what is now known as the United States: mass killing of helpless women, children and infants.

Certainly Indians sometimes acted atrociously, but such incidents were often preceded by atrocities committed by White settlers or US army troops. And anyway, it was the Indians’ land. They realized that not just the American troops, but even more the White settlers they protected, represented a mortal danger to their land and life as a people. The proof of this is the final outcome: the peoples who once ruled the entire continent were nearly entirely exterminated (as Twain recommended), with the wretched survivors, robbed of their lands, driven into small, mostly barren reservations where, dependent on outside support, they eked out a miserable, forlorn existence.

While the motivation for Twain's one-sided polemic may simply have been money, Kevin Beary merely seems eager to defend, at any price, the rapacious imperialistic campaigns of White men (and the Catholic church) that have devastated numerous cultures and cost countless lives. Beary asks whether "Mexican-Americans," "Native Americans" and "African-Americans" lost or gained more as a result of their confrontation with the "West" (that is, their subjugation by the Whites). Even to pose such a the question is an expression of incredible arrogance.

With regard to the "Mexican-Americans" and the "Native Americans," the White conquerors have eradicated not only the original cultures, but also, to a considerable extent, the peoples themselves. In North America, many Indian tribes no longer exist at all. In Central America, the descendents of the original Aztecs, Toltecs, Zapotecs, Mayas, and so forth, are biologically not the same people who lived there before the conquest. Now mixed with Spanish and African blood, their original biological identity has been lost forever.

By focusing on the Aztecs, Mr. Beary selects the most warlike of all high-culture-bearing peoples of Central America. The story of the Mayas, or virtually any other people of the region, provides quite a different picture. Certainly, the Aztecs waged brutal wars against their neighbors, but they did not exterminate them. They amalgamated with their conquered neighbors, absorbing and mixing with their cultures (much as the Romans had done with the Greeks.)

Beary's choice of Bernal D'az del Castillo as a contemporary witness shows his deceitful selectivity. He was hardly an impartial eye-witness, but rather a participant in the Spanish conquest of Central America. He naturally tried to justify his deeds and those of his commander, Hernán Cortés, to the Church and the Spanish King. The best way to do so was to portray the Aztecs, and the other "pacified" natives, as cruel, bloodthirsty savages who could be saved only by subjecting them to Spanish Christianity.

But even D'az del Castillo, in his *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España* (cited by Beary under the title *The Conquest of New Spain*), recounts incidents that do not conform with the simple image of savage Aztecs and merciful European Christians. An example is a passage (here in my rough translation) about the fate of the Huastecs, a Maya-related people on the Gulf coast of central Mexico: "Still greater evil awaited them when Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán became their governor, who, from the very first day of his governorship, reduced almost all of them to slaves and sent them to the islands for sale." The islands referred to here are the Antilles. Because war, epidemics and slave labor had decimated the original inhabitants, the Spanish imported slaves from the Continent.

Why is Beary silent about such things? Surely he is familiar with the text, which he cites selectively. But there are other reliable contemporary witnesses, such as Hernán Cortés himself. In his letters to the Spanish King, he reported on a punitive action against the Huastecs, which he ordered after an uprising that had been provoked by looting and raping by Spanish soldiers. He sent a captain named Gonzalo de Sandoval to deal with this. After putting down the uprising, Sandoval and his men took 400 "princes and chieftains" as prisoner, that is, in addition to an unknown number of natives of lesser rank, all of whom conquistador Cortés had burned to death "for the sake of justice." Does Mr. Beary even know this? Other eye-witnesses testified to numerous similar atrocities.

Diego de Landa, an important figure in the Spanish subjugation of the Mayas, describes in *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán* (translated as *Yucatán Before and After the Conquest*), the case of a young Mayan woman who had been abducted from Bacalán by Captain Alonso Lopez de Avila. Because she had promised her husband not to give herself to any other man, she refused to

become Avila's mistress, even at the sacrifice of her own life. Upon her refusal to betray her husband, the Spaniards had her devoured by dogs.

After his appointment as head of the Franciscans in Yucatán, this same Diego de Landa ordered a public auto da fé in Man' in July 1562. An enormous pile of Mayan artifacts and books was torched. The Indian princes and others of noble birth were brought into the courtyard of the monastery, stripped to the waist, and clad in poor quality clothes to shame them. Then, with ropes around their necks, the "heretics" were publicly flogged, some to death. Each then had his hair cut short. Finally, each was obliged to wear a dunce hat for one to three years, and to perform forced labor for three to five years. Some 4,500 Mayas were tortured, of whom 157 died during or after interrogation.

Also in his *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*, Landa describes how the Indians in the provinces of Cochua and Chetumal were "pacified" after an uprising:

... They [the Spanish] carried out cruelties without precedent against the Indians, by chopping off their noses, arms and legs, and the breasts of the women, and then, weighted down by squashes, throwing them in deep lagoons. They stabbed the children because they could not march as quickly as their mothers. When some of them, dragged along on chains, could not march as quickly as the others, they chopped their heads off, so they would not need to hold them or free them from the chains. And there was a large number of women and men whom they brought into their service in this manner.

"The Spaniards," Landa also wrote, "pacified [the Indians of Cochua and Chetumal] in such a way, that these provinces where were formerly the thickest settled and most populous, remained the most desolate of all the country."

Thus did Diego de Landa, who was appointed Bishop of Yucatán in 1573, record events in the region. Nowhere do we read of any effort by this pious servant of God to oppose such outrages.

A praiseworthy exception was Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566), who first visited the New World in 1502 and lived there for more than 50 years. From 1514 until his death, including a period as Bishop of Chiapas, this Dominican priest was an untiring defender of the Indians of "Nueva España." He did everything in his power to ease their lot, even traveling to Spain to persuade the King to adopt laws on their behalf. (Spain was far away, however, and enforcement of such laws was lax at best.)

More important, perhaps, were his detailed writings, including *Brev'sima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* (translated as *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*) and *Historia de las Indias* (first published 1875-76). In these detailed works, he provides the most complete account of the Spanish conquest of Yucatán, while immortalizing numberless crimes against the native peoples. He described the Indians very positively, while portraying some of his fellow countrymen as veritable scoundrels.

For example, Las Casas writes of Pedro de Alvarado, a ruthless lieutenant of Cortés who was appointed governor of Yucatán in 1526:

... Like the others before him, [he] abused his post with robberies ... waged cruel wars against those kind and innocent people who were peacefully in their huts, and killed and destroyed countless of them. And, because there is no gold in this land ... he made gold out of the bodies and the souls of those, for whom Jesus Christ died,

and made them all, whom he did not kill, into slaves, in exchange for wine, oil, vinegar and bacon, and for clothes, horses and everything he and his men needed. He let each of them choose among 150 girls, one prettier than the other, whichever they liked, for a couple of liters of wine, oil or vinegar, or for a piece of bacon. And, for the same price could they buy a handsome young boy out of 100 or 200. One boy, apparently the son of a prince, he sold for a piece of cheese, and 100 others for a horse.

In this way, in seven years, from 1526 to 1533 ... he ruined that land and killed those people without mercy, until the news reached them about the wealth of Peru, and his men left him ... But, then, the butcher's servants came again, to carry out still more infamous acts: slave-hunts and great offenses against God, and this shame is going on until our very days.

Reporting on an earlier expedition against other "native Americans," Las Casas writes:

Once the Indians were in the woods, the next step was to form squadrons and pursue them, and whenever the Spaniards found them, they pitilessly slaughtered everyone like sheep in a corral. It was a general rule among the Spaniards to be cruel; not just cruel, but extraordinarily cruel so that harsh and bitter treatment would prevent Indians from daring to think of themselves as human beings or having a minute to think at all. So they would cut an Indian's hands and leave them dangling by a shred of skin and they would send him on saying "Go now, spread the news to your chiefs." They would test their swords and their manly strength on captured Indians and place bets on the slicing off of heads or the cutting of bodies in half with one blow. They burned or hanged captured chiefs.

For understandable reasons, Mr. Beary chooses to neglect such accounts. Instead, he echoes the justifications offered four centuries ago by Diego de Landa:

The Indians did not lose, but gained much through the arrival of the Spaniards ... also in small things ... they already have many good horses and mules ... also many cows, swine, sheep, goats, dogs, cats ... But, not only these useful things ... God gave the Indians, through our Spanish nation, without any payment, things that cannot be bought or deserved ... justice and Christianity and peace ...

Should we rejoice with Diego de Landa for the Indians of Latin America?

When he turns his attention to the Indians of North America, Beary is similarly selective. Ignoring the many peaceful, and even pacifist tribes, he focuses on the Iroquois, the fiercest and most warlike tribe of the region. He cites a single American historian, Francis Parkman, and just one "juicy" selection from his writings.

Yes, the Iroquois did wage ruthless wars against their neighbors — just as Whites have done, and still do. And in these wars they did kill women and children — just as Whites have done. So renowned were the Iroquois for their ferocity and skill in war that the Dutch and the English eagerly supplied them with arms and hired them to fight against the French. For their part, the French provisioned and deployed the Algonkin Montagnais against the Iroquois and their English allies.

Yet, this is only one aspect of the Iroquois character. Other historians, such as Bacqueville de la Potherie and Cadwallader Colden (both cited by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., in *The Patriot Chiefs*, in a chapter about the great legendary chief Hiawatha) wrote of other traits. Drawing on accounts of

French officials who had met in peaceful councils with Iroquois leaders, Bacqueville de la Potherie wrote:

When one talks of the Five Nations [the confederated Iroquois] in France, they are thought, by a common mistake, to be mere barbarians, always thirsting after human blood; but their true character is very different; they are the fiercest and most formidable people in North America, and at the same time as politic and judicious as well can be conceived.

Historian Cadwallader Colden, after a study of minutes and records of treaty meetings in Albany between the British and the Iroquois, concluded: “The Five Nations are a poor barbarous people, under the darkest ignorance, and yet a bright and noble genius shines through these black clouds.”

Other eyewitnesses made similar statements, particularly emphasizing the Iroquois' moral character and the wisdom of their political system (a legacy of Hiawatha), which was based on individual freedom and government by consent. But Mr. Beary does not, or will not, see this “bright and noble genius.”

And while the Iroquois' ferocity against their enemies may seem quite shocking to us, what real difference is there between burning people to death on scaffolding by Indians in the 17th century, and incinerating tens of thousands of people at a time in fire-bombings (Hamburg, Dresden) or with atomic blasts (Hiroshima, Nagasaki) by “civilized” Whites in the “enlightened” 20th century?

With regard to the native Africans, I grant that their cultural level is not at all comparable to that of the native Americans. None of the African tribes ever organized a society even remotely as ordered as that of the Aztecs or the Mayas. The Africans' habits in war and peace were, and are, simpler — shall I say more primitive? And primitiveness often, though not always, is accompanied by brutality and cruelty.

The only contemporary witness of the slave trade whom Beary cites is Theophilus Conneau, a slave ship captain. As such, his credibility is highly suspect. He was part of the game, and therefore had a strong motive for justifying his own actions. What could be easier than to describe the Africans as morally inferior? I am also skeptical of his vivid description of a tribal victory celebration, with its emphasis on the female element. It smells of sensationalism and self-righteousness.

Beary's main point here is that Whites did not introduce the slave trade to Africa, or even to America. However true, it is also true that the trade in human beings would never have reached the vast dimensions it did without White involvement. Whites organized and carried out the shipment of millions from Africa to the Western Hemisphere, of whom millions died during the journey. (And there would be no “African-Americans” today, with all the attendant racial problems, if White businessmen had not shipped their ancestors across the Atlantic.)

The White race has a rich and varied history with many achievements that have benefited all of humanity — achievements to be proud of. The conquest of America does not belong to them. Mr. Beary laments “vanishing history” as written by D'az, Conneau and Parkman. It would indeed be a pity if such writings were to be forgotten, if only as examples of narrow-minded and parochial historiography. Along with many other accounts and narratives, they illuminate history with all its high and lows, triumphs and tragedies, glory and shame. If it is possible to learn from the past so that it actually influences our behavior (which is doubtful, in light of mankind's record through the ages), then only through balanced history.

To strive for a “clean” or righteous history of one’s own people is quite understandable. Nobody wants to be ashamed of his or her own past. That is true for individuals as well as for peoples. But this desire must not permit one to falsify history. A one-sided history, based on selectively chosen sources, is a falsified history. It doesn’t deserve to appear in the Journal.

(For further reading, see: David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992, and, Ronald Wright, *Stolen Continents: The Americas Through Indian Eyes Since 1492*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992.)

Zoltán Bruckner was born in 1930 in Hungary, where he also grew up and studied theology and engineering. He left Hungary in the wake of the 1956 uprising. He holds a Master’s degree in civil engineering, and has worked in Austria, the United States and Sweden (where he currently resides). He has long had a keen interest in Indian cultures, which he has developed through extensive reading and study, and in journeys to Mexico and South America.

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Spanish Court Suspends Varela Verdict

Free Speech Victory in 'Holocaust Denial' Case

by Mark Weber

In a victory for free speech in Europe, a high court in Spain has suspended a lower court conviction of a Barcelona book dealer for distributing publications that dispute Holocaust extermination claims.

On November 16, 1998, a Barcelona criminal court declared Pedro Varela guilty of inciting racial hatred and of denying or justifying genocide, and sentenced him to five years imprisonment and a fine of 720,000 pesetas (about \$5,000).

On April 30, 1999, the Spanish press announced that the provincial court of Catalonia had voted to suspend Varela's conviction. The three judges of the Audiencia court in Barcelona unanimously declared that the law under which he had been convicted may violate Article 20 of the Spanish Constitution, which guarantees the rights of free speech and free expression of opinion. Public skepticism about Holocaust claims, the three judges agreed, is constitutionally protected expressions of free speech.

The case now goes to the Constitutional Tribunal in Madrid. In the meantime, Pedro Varela's conviction is suspended, and he is free.

Spain's 1995 "anti-genocide" and "anti-discrimination" law (Penal Code Section 607.2) makes it a crime to express "ideas or doctrines that promote the crime [of genocide], [or] exalt its author," or to "deny, trivialize, or justify" genocidal actions. It goes on to make it a crime to "attempt to rehabilitate or establish a regime or institution that aids practices that generate the crime of genocide."

If the Constitutional Tribunal finds that this law is not constitutional, the sentence against Varela is annulled. If the Tribunal finds that it is constitutional, the case reverts to the Catalonia provincial court, which will reconsider the sentence.

Pedro Varela is the only person to be tried and convicted in Spain for "Holocaust denial." His November 1998 conviction also effectively created a new class of "politically" forbidden books in that country. (See: "Spanish Court Sentences 'Thought Criminal'," Nov.-Dec. 1998 Journal, pp. 21-23.)

So far the local police has not returned the 20,000 books it seized from Varela's book store during a raid on December 12, 1996. If Varela's conviction is upheld, the books will be destroyed.

'Close Links'

Britain's Searchlight magazine, which calls itself an "international anti-fascist monthly," dealt with Pedro Varela and his conviction in a lengthy, front-cover article (Jan. 1999). "At long last," it gloated, "the forces of law and order have caught up" with Varela. It went on to stress his "neo-Nazi" past and his "international" connections, which allegedly included "close links between Varela's shop with the Institute for Historical Review in the USA, arguably the world's most important and dangerous coordinating centre of historical revisionism." (In fact, these "close links" consisted simply of wholesale purchases of IHR books, which were then re-sold by the Europa book store.)

Mob Violence and Book Burning

Not content with the 1996 seizure of 20,000 books, and the November 1998 sentencing of Varela, more than 500 "anti-fascists" rallied on January 16, 1999, in front of the Europa book store on Barcelona's Séneca street to vent their rage and hatred.

Some of the protestors stormed the shop, smashing protective metal shutters and doors. The political terrorists broke windows, tore down book shelves, and destroyed office furniture and equipment. They gathered up several hundred books, as well some video cassettes, which they heaped into a large pile and set on fire.

Although the police were promptly and repeatedly called, they gave no help against the violent attack. Instead, they stood by passively. As if by order, they did nothing to stop the destruction.

In the aftermath of the attack, Varela commented:

A group of friends is trying, at great personal sacrifice, to rebuild the Europa book store. But the damage is very extensive — about three million pesetas worth. In addition to the doors and the equipment, many books were destroyed, and others are no longer suitable for sale.

Pointing up the prevailing double standard in the media, the bigoted attack on Varela's book store received no attention in US newspapers, and only limited coverage in the Spanish press. A comparable attack by "neo-Nazis" would almost certainly have prompted news coverage in the American press, as well as indignant editorial commentary.

This attack recalls the July 4, 1984, fire-bombing of the offices and warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review in southern California. That devastating arson attack caused an estimated \$400,000 in damages.

Defiant and Determined

In spite of his ordeal, Pedro Varela remains defiant and determined. He says:

When the authorities are not able to subdue those who think differently, they let loose terrorists and their accomplices. And behind all this are fanatics of the dictatorship of thought coordination, enthusiasts for democracy who have contempt for those who think differently, representatives of the anti-racism business, and supporters of reverse racism. These are people of the character of Danton, Marat or Robespierre,

who, in the name of progress, humanity, freedom and tolerance, are ready to order the burning of books, to close or destroy book stores, and to lock up the innocent.

Evil can only be fought with good. We have said that we fight lies with the truth. And so it shall be. If those people, whose views have been brought into doubt by so many authors, really had reason on their side, they would permit skeptical questioning, respond with patience, and not try to hide their documents and their “proofs.” But when they are caught in their lies, they call the judges, hide behind the authorities and use the media, all to criminalize any form of opposition. In acting this way, they show themselves for what they are.

Truth is always calm and composed. Lies, though — as a priest who is friendly to us puts it — demand secular recognition.

(Pedro Varela can be reached by mail at Librer'a Europa, Aptdo. de Correos 9169, Barcelona 08080, Spain, and by e-mail at [\[email protected\]](#).)

Worldwide Struggle for Free Speech

Over several decades a tremendous worldwide media and socio-political campaign has made “the Holocaust” a mighty icon of our culture. As a result, in the United States and in much of Europe, anyone who publicly questions the familiar “Six Million” extermination story can expect public scorn and social ostracism.

In the US, for example, Jewish pressure (1990-93) destroyed the career of execution hardware specialist Fred Leuchter because he had concluded, on the basis of a detailed forensic examination of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, that these facilities were never used to kill people as claimed. (See the Winter 1992-93 Journal, pp. 421-444, 485-492.) And in Japan, Jewish pressure in 1995 forced one of the country’s largest publishing companies to shut down the large-circulation Marco Polo magazine because it had carried an article disputing claims of mass killings in gas chambers at Auschwitz. (See “No Gas Chambers' Says Influential Japanese Magazine,” March-April 1995 Journal, pp. 2-9.)

Not content with that, Jewish-Zionist groups have waged a international campaign to criminalize public expressions of doubt about Holocaust claims. In 1982 the Institute for Jewish Affairs in London, an agency of the World Jewish Congress, announced an effort to persuade governments to outlaw “Holocaust denial” (Jewish Chronicle [London], April 23, 1982). The anti-revisionist “thought crime” laws that were subsequently introduced in several countries reflect the success of this initiative. Today it is illegal in Israel and in about half the countries of Europe, including Germany, France, Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Poland, and Austria, to dispute Holocaust claims.

But this campaign has not always been successful. A plan by the British Labour Party to introduce “Holocaust denial” legislation in the UK was quietly abandoned — for the time being anyway — after it came under considerable public criticism.

In most of the world, including such major countries as the United States, Russia, China, India, Indonesia, Brazil, Japan, and Argentina, people are still free publicly to express doubts about the “Six Million” story. Even in Europe, Holocaust skepticism remains legal in Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Ukraine, Britain, Ireland, and Croatia.

Pedro Varela has won an important victory in the on-going worldwide struggle for free thought and expression. Together with his attorneys and supporters, he has persuaded a high court in Spain publicly to acknowledge the obvious: “Holocaust denial” laws violate traditional Western standards of free speech.

— M.W.

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Were Biological Weapons Used Against Germans at Stalingrad?

Secrets of the Soviet Disease Warfare Program

Mark Weber

Of humanity's many noteworthy achievements and inventions, few are as evil and as horrifying as biological warfare: deliberate, government-ordered mass killing of people with lethal diseases. During the Second World War, the Japanese army maintained a secret biological warfare testing program, as did the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. In 1969 President Nixon renounced the use of such weapons, and the US dismantled its extensive biological warfare operation, thereafter restricting research to defensive measures such as immunization.

But as a remarkable new book lays out in grim detail, no regime made greater "progress" in biological warfare than did the Soviet Union. >From a unique insider's perspective, a former high-level scientist in the Soviet biological warfare program tells the story in *Biohazard: The Chilling Story of the Largest Covert Biological Weapons Program in the World* (Random House, 1999). Ken Alibek (born Kanatjan Alibekov) joined the Soviet "Biopreparat" program in 1975, and was its first deputy chief from 1988 to 1992, when he defected to the United States.

During the terrible Russian civil war of 1917-1921, in which the fledgling Soviet regime defeated the dispersed and divided anti-Communist "White" forces, as many as ten million people lost their lives. Most of these deaths came not in combat, but instead were caused by famine and disease — especially typhus.

Conscious of this, the revolutionary Soviet government early on put a high priority on diseases as a method of warfare. In 1928 it issued a secret decree ordering the development of typhus as a battlefield weapon. In the decades that followed, the USSR built and maintained a wide-ranging biological warfare program. For example, Alibek relates, Soviet scientists developed a sophisticated plague warfare capability, and an arsenal in Kirov (now Vyatka) stored 20 tons of plague aerosol weaponry (p. 166).

Wartime Use Against Germans

While he was a graduate student at the Tomsk Medical Institute (1973-75), Alibek studied Soviet wartime medical records that strongly suggested that the Red Army had used tularemia as a weapon against German troops outside Stalingrad in 1942 (pages 29-31). Tularemia is a highly infectious disease that produces debilitating headaches, nausea and high fevers. If untreated, it can be lethal. It is also hard to extinguish, which makes it attractive to anyone trying to produce biological weapons.

Alibek discovered that the “first victims of tularemia were German panzer troops, who fell ill in such large numbers during the late summer of 1942 that the Nazi campaign in southern Russia ground to a temporary halt.” In addition, he relates, thousands of Russian soldiers and civilians living in the Volga region came down with the disease within a week of the initial German outbreak. Never before had there been such a widespread outbreak of the disease in Russia.

Why had so many men first fallen sick with tularemia on the German side only? Furthermore, 70 percent of the Germans infected came down with a pneumonic form of the disease, which (Alibek reports) “could only have been caused by purposeful dissemination.”

Whereas there were ten thousand cases of tularemia reported in the Soviet Union in 1941, in the year 1942 — when the battle of Stalingrad was at its height — the number of cases soared to more than one hundred thousand. Then, in 1943, the incidence of the disease returned to ten thousand. The battle for Stalingrad raged from September 1942 until February 2, 1943, when Friedrich von Paulus, commander of the German Sixth Army, surrendered along with 91,000 officers and men (of whom only 6,000 survived Soviet captivity).

Alibek became convinced that “Soviet troops must have sprayed tularemia at the Germans. A sudden change in the direction of the wind, or contaminated rodents passing through the lines, had infected our soldiers and the disease had then spread through the region.”

To his professor, a Soviet colonel named Aksyonenko, he explained that the evidence he had found “suggests that this epidemic was caused intentionally.” Aksyonenko responded with a stern warning: “Please. I want you to do me a favor and forget you ever said what you just said. I will forget it, too ... Never mention to anyone else what you just told me.”

Some years later, an elderly Soviet lieutenant colonel who had worked during the war in the secret bacteriological weapons facility in Kirov told Alibek that a tularemia weapon had been developed there in 1941. He also left him “with no doubt that the weapon had been used.” This same officer further suggested that an “outbreak of Q fever among German troops on leave in Crimea in 1943 was the result of another one of the [Soviet] biological warfare agents” (p. 36).

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General Montgomery's 'Racist Masterplan'

Mark Weber

The reputation of Britain's most famous Second World War military commander has suffered a major blow with recent disclosures about his "racist master plan" for postwar Africa.

Sir Bernard Law Montgomery (1887-1976) is perhaps best known for his victory as commander of the British Eighth Army over Afrika Korps leader Erwin Rommel at El Alamein (Egypt) in October-November 1942, and as commander in 1943-45 of British forces in Sicily, France, the Netherlands and Germany. He was promoted to Field Marshal in 1944, and named a viscount in 1946.

In a confidential postwar report to Prime Minister Clement Attlee, "Monty" was scathingly critical of London's policy of encouraging self-government in black Africa. The African, he concluded, "is a complete savage and is quite incapable of developing the country himself."

Montgomery's report, based on a two-month fact-finding tour of eleven African countries in late 1947, was written in his capacity as Chief of the Imperial Defence Staff, a post he held 1946-1948. He recommended a sweeping plan to turn much of sub-Saharan Africa into a British-controlled bulwark against Communism that would be aligned with white-ruled South Africa, which at that time was still dominated by Britain.

Contrary to British policy of the period, Montgomery urged the government to counter popular anti-colonial strivings in Africa: "There is an increasing social and political consciousness developing in the African peoples; this is a very great potential danger and must be watched." His basic attitude toward African autonomy movements is summed up in a recommendation: "We should have no nonsense with the United Nations Organization about Tanganyika; it should be absorbed into the British bosom." He also expressed contempt for black African leaders such as Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, whom he called a pathetic figure.

These revelations were made public in a front-page story, headlined "Secret Papers Reveal Monty's Racist Masterplan," in the prestigious British daily *The Guardian*, January 7, 1999, which was based on recently released papers from Britain's main government archives, the Public Records Office.

Prime Minister Attlee was so alarmed by "Monty's" plan that he called a special meeting of senior ministers to discuss how to handle it. As a result, Montgomery's African fact-finding tour and his embarrassing report were both kept secret, and agents were assigned to watch his lectures to make sure he made no public criticism of government policy.

Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech Jones replied to Montgomery in a secret memo: "We cannot, of course, have anything like a uniform policy in native administration with the Union of South

Africa. They aim at maintaining white supremacy; we aim at building up self-government for the Africans.”

In a January 1948 letter, “Monty” responded to the government’s rebuttal of his proposal by reaffirming his report’s conclusions. He added: “It is obvious we disagree fundamentally ... Time will show which of us is right.”

Historians, relatives and former associates of Montgomery have been concerned about the long-term impact of the new revelations. (Guardian, Jan. 7, 1999, p. 3). “His reputation is irredeemably damaged,” commented historian Lord Chalfont, author of *Montgomery of Alamein*. Nigel Hamilton, Montgomery’s official biographer, remarked “... There’s no doubt he was a racist. He did believe in fairly Aryan views.”

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The Modeler's Bane

How Dangerous is the Swastika?

Dan Desjardin

Since 1945 the swastika has been banned in Germany, where symbols, songs, pictures, slogans and even greetings associated with the Hitler era can earn the offender a stiff fine or even a prison term.

Of course the swastika was hardly unique to Third Reich Germany. Centuries before Hitler adopted it as the symbol of his political movement and, later, of the state, it was familiar around the globe. It was used by the ancient Hellenes and Celts, and displayed by North American Indians, while in India it was revered as a sign of good fortune and prosperity. The word itself comes from the Sanskrit for "well-being."

The German government isn't alone in banning the symbol. For some years now, model enthusiasts have noted its conspicuous absence from plastic model airplanes and other Second World War military equipment models made by some of the leading kit model makers.

During the Second World War, the swastika emblem appeared on the tail fins of German aircraft as well as on the battle flag used by German land and naval forces. In northern Africa, vehicles of the famed Afrika Korps bore a special emblem with a palm tree and a swastika.

Often, though, the symbol is missing from models of these items. Some leading kit model manufacturers, including Revell and Lindberg in the US, and Heller in France, apparently banned the swastika from their products as early as the 1950s. ^[1] But until just a few years ago, one could purchase a Hasegawa model of the Messerschmitt Me-109 fighter, or of an Afrika Korps half-track, with a swastika appearing as a matter of course in the decal markings.

In recent years, the symbol seems to have disappeared from more and more model kits, both foreign and domestic, and even from the kit box covers. In the case of Academy Minicraft's Korean-made 1:72 scale model of the Me Bf-109E fighter plane, the tail swastika has been replaced with the black cross (crux quadrata) that routinely appeared on the wings and sides of German war planes.

A model Me-109 fighter plane made by Heller-Airfix-Humbrol (a French-British amalgamation) simply leaves out the swastika symbol altogether. The Airfix company produces a 1:72 scale model German patrol torpedo boat (or "E-boat") with a battle flag in which a First World War Maltese cross replaces the swastika. Certain older model kits produced by the Heller company of France and the Hasegawa company of Japan have been reissued with the swastika marked out.

For example, a Hasegawa model kit of a German Afrika Korps vehicle includes a decal emblem with the characteristic palm tree, but with a diamond replacing the swastika.

What's behind this censorship? The Senior Manager of Product Planning for Revell-Monogram, one of the largest US model kit manufacturers has explained that's because "in Germany it is a national law that this insignia can not [sic] be used, for any reason." However, in 1997 Revell-Monogram revised its policy. In response to "many complaints," the company restored the swastika on all model kits destined for the non-German market. [2]

These days one can find model kits available with and without the emblem. Thus, during a visit in early 1998 to a large hobby shop in Ohio, one model enthusiast found the following German Second World War aircraft kits: [3]

With Swastika
1:48 Me Bf 109 — Revell
1:72 Fw 190A-8 — Revell
1:72 Me 262A — Revell
1:72 Me Bf 109G-10 — Revell
1:72 Me Bf 110G-4 — Revell
1:72 He-111 & P-47B — Lindberg
1:72 Me 109G — Hasegawa
1:72 Fw 190A — Hasegawa
1:72 Fw 190D — Hasegawa
1:72 Ar 234 — Rovex
1:48 Me 410B-1 — Revell
Without Swastika
1:72 Ar 240C-02 — Revell
1:48 Me Bf 109E-3 — Hasegawa
1:48 Me 262A-1a — DML
1:48 Bf-109G-6 — Fujimi
1:72 Do 335 B-6 — DML
1:48 Me 262A-2a/U2 — Trimaster
1:48 He 111H-22 — Revell
1:48 He 111 — Revell
1:72 Ju 88C-4/C-6 — AMT/Ertl
1:72 Me Bf-109E — Academy
1:72 Me 262B — Hasegawa

If censoring the swastika emblem from model kits inhibits the resurrection of National Socialism or "fascism," why hasn't a similar ban on authentic markings been imposed on model kits of

Second World War Soviet or Japanese aircraft, warships and military vehicles? Perhaps no one believes there's any danger of a resurrection of Soviet Communism or Japanese imperialism.

As a matter of course, models of war-era Soviet "Stormovik" or "Yak" war planes or Soviet naval craft have unabashedly displayed the Communist red star or hammer and sickle emblems, while models of war-era Japanese war planes or naval craft have similarly displayed the battle flag bearing the Imperial rising sun emblem.

Only models of German aircraft, flags and vehicles have been affected by the ban on authentic Second World War markings.

Even more absurd, the double standard censorship isn't confined to swastikas. Recently a Wal-Mart store in Porter, Texas, hastily removed toy German soldiers from its shelves after receiving a complaint from the Anti-Defamation League. The manager of the store abjectly apologized to the powerful Jewish-Zionist organization for having offered the Elite Toy Command Series Field Marshal Erwin Rommel German Soldiers. ^[4]

Amazingly, the passage of time has brought not a lessening but, in general, an increase in such silly suppression. There was less fear and suppression during the first three decades after the end of the Second World War than there is today.

Even in the case of toys, fidelity to historical accuracy is sacrificed on the alter of "political correctness." In these final years of the Twentieth Century, devotion to "democracy" requires such petty distortions of historical authenticity.

Notes

1. ☺ During a telephone conversation on Nov. 23, 1998, Mr. Jim Sniffen, a buyer for Orange Blossom Hobbies in Miami, Florida, spoke of marketing of kit models going back to 1956. He told Daniel D. Desjardins (of Waynesville, North Carolina) that Revell and Lindberg in the US, and Heller in France, have apparently not used the swastika in their model kits for several decades. An exception is the Revell-Monogram's "Pro Modeler" series. Also, a Heller kit (No. 229) of unknown date owned by Desjardins shows that the company did employ the swastika at one time, but at some later point released this kit with the offending symbol crudely marked out.

2. ☺ Letter of April 9, 1998, to Daniel D. Desjardins (Waynesville, N.C.) from Edward F. Sexton, Senior Manager of Product Planning, Revell-Monogram, Inc., Morton Grove, Illinois. Desjardins received no reply to similar letters about the company policy regarding use of the swastika on model kits sent to Hasegawa Seisakusho Company, Ltd. of Japan, to Lindberg Model Company of Toledo, Ohio, and to Heller, S.A., of France. One buyer for a major hobby shop in South Florida suggested to Desjardins that the German government implemented its ban to suppress Nazism, further expressing the view that such a ban was probably both rational and necessary.

3. ☺ Lovely Treasures Hobby Shop, Fairborn, Ohio, in early 1998. Note: DML is a Hong Kong company. Fujimi Europa, of Brussels, Belgium, is headquartered in Toro Shizuoka City, Japan. Trimaster company is in Fujieda-City, Sizuoka 426, Japan. AMT/Ertl company is based in Dyersville, Iowa. Rovex is a United Kingdom company. Academy Minicraft is a Korean company. Lindberg is copyrighted by Craft House Corp. of Toledo, Ohio, but is associated with CE Dexim Hobby-Artikel GmbH of Kirchlingern, Germany.

4. ☺ "Nazi Toys Removed," JTA item, Forward (New York), Jan. 8, 1999, p. 3.

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Auschwitz in History

Ernst Nolte

“Was someone an 'Auschwitz denier' if, a decade ago, he disputed the officially sanctioned thesis that four million human beings were gassed in Auschwitz — that is, in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp? Should Daniel Goldhagen today be considered an 'Auschwitz denier' because, in a passage right at the beginning of his book that reviewers and critics have hardly mentioned, he contends that the efficiency of the gas chambers has been 'greatly exaggerated'? Was someone an 'Auschwitz denier' if, a year ago, he dared to express the suspicion that [the book] *Fragments* by 'Binjamin Wilkomirski,' while certainly a moving recitation, is not, as so many enthusiastic reviewers have agreed, an eyewitness account?

“In truth, Auschwitz was anything but an invention, but like any other historical reality of comparable importance, it must again and again be re-discovered and re-interpreted, also, and precisely within, the context of [historical] genocide and state organized mass murder ...

“No group and no generation should have the right to use the law to set in stone their understanding or the results of their studies, and shut out new arguments or research oriented on the maxims of objectivity.

“... Even incorrect arguments are generally helpful to scholarship because they can serve to sharpen superior arguments, and to increase the critically important scope of research.”

-- Ernst Nolte, professor emeritus of contemporary history (Free University of Berlin), in a review, “Auschwitz als Argument in der Geschichtstheorie” (“Auschwitz as an Argument in Historical Theory”), in the German daily *Die Welt*, January 2, 1999, p. 8. (See also the interview with Nolte, and the review of his 1993 book *Streitpunkte*, both in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 15-22, 37-41.)

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German 'Microwave' Technology to Combat Typhus

High Frequency Delousing Facilities at Auschwitz

by [Mark Weber](#)

According to popular legend, Auschwitz was an extermination center organized to kill as many Jewish prisoners as possible with the greatest possible dispatch. In fact, though, the authorities responsible for Germany's wartime concentration camp network carried out extensive measures at Auschwitz, and other camps, to save inmates' lives. Though for decades widely known among specialized historians, [\[1\]](#) this remarkable story has been unknown to the wider public, and one extraordinary aspect of it has remained secret for decades.

In 1944, during the final year of the war in Europe, the Germans installed and operated state-of-the-art high frequency facilities at Auschwitz to kill disease-bearing lice and other pests. These expensive installations, installed in response to the high death rate wrought by disease, worked on the same principle as the familiar microwave appliances widely used today in households around the world. These Auschwitz facilities, designed to help save lives, proved very effective.

French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac briefly mentioned this remarkable disinfestation facility in his 1994 book about the crematories of Auschwitz. [\[2\]](#) Also, French revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson, in an essay published in 1995, cited the testimony of former Auschwitz inmate Marc Klein, first published in 1946, about "short wave delousing" at Auschwitz. [\[3\]](#)

But the first qualified and detailed look at this subject appeared in two lengthy articles published in 1998 issues of the German-language revisionist quarterly, *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, edited by Germar Rudolf. These articles were based primarily on documents buried in the voluminous collection of wartime German records that were seized by Soviet forces in 1945. For more than half a century these important historical records lay forgotten in Moscow's central archives. (The present article is based in large part on information in these two *Vierteljahreshefte* articles.) [\[4\]](#)

Typhus Danger

Before dealing directly with the high frequency delousing facilities, it is important to understand the general problem of disease, especially typhus, during the war, and the measures taken by the German authorities — particularly at Auschwitz — to combat the deadly scourges.

Typhus or "spotted fever" (German: *Fleckfieber*) is transmitted from one diseased person to another by lice infected with a micro-organism (*Rickettsia prowazeki*). Epidemic typhus flourishes among people in crowded living quarters, including ships, prisons, camps and ghettos, where poor sanitary conditions and bad hygiene prevail.

During the First World War (1914-1918), and even more in the years immediately following, some 25-30 million people in Poland, Ukraine, Russia and the Baltic suffered from typhus, or about 20-23 percent of the total population, of whom several million perished. “At the close of World War I,” the Encyclopaedia Britannica has noted, “the disease was prevalent in Poland, Russia and Rumania, where estimates of cases and deaths between 1919 and 1923 ran into millions. In World War II from these areas it spread again into western Europe and caused devastating epidemics among refugees and displaced persons, particularly in the German concentration camps.” [5] So terrible was the scourge in Poland that the United States dispatched a US Army team to the country, where it carried out extensive efforts to combat typhus among the civilian population, 1919-1921. [6]

When war broke out in Europe in 1939, German medical and military leaders were mindful of the terrible impact of typhus during the earlier conflict, and acted accordingly. At the outset of the Second World War, the most advanced method used to kill typhus-carrying lice was “Zyklon B.” This was the trade name of a pest control agent manufactured from the 1920s to the 1950s by the Degesch company of Frankfurt am Main. “Zyklon” is hydrocyanic or “Prussic” acid (HCN) absorbed in a porous material such as gypsum or diatomaceous earth, which is kept in tightly sealed cans until it is deployed by trained personnel. HCN’s boiling point is 26 degrees C (79 F).

This commercially available pesticide was widely used before, during and after the Second World War by private companies, governmental agencies and military forces throughout Europe. It was frequently used by the German armed forces, including the SS, to delouse clothing and other effects, and to kill insects and rodents in buildings.

It is commonly believed that SS men used Zyklon to kill millions of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz and other German camps. But in fact SS men used Zyklon to help prevent camp inmates' deaths. They deployed it in very large quantities at Auschwitz and other wartime concentration camps by fumigating barracks, by delousing clothing in special gas chambers, and so forth, to destroy disease-bearing vermin. [7]

Combatting Typhus at Auschwitz

In each German concentration camp, including Auschwitz, a “garrison physician” (Standortarzt) was responsible, together with the other medical personnel, for implementing, coordinating and supervising hygiene and sanitary measures. At Auschwitz during this period, the “garrison physician,” or chief medical officer, was SS Hauptsturmführer (captain) Dr. Eduard Wirths. By all accounts, including the surviving wartime documents, he was a dedicated, kindly, and good-natured man who capably and conscientiously carried out his demanding duties in the large camp. [8]

When typhus broke out in the Auschwitz camp for the first time in the summer of 1942, the German authorities there responded resolutely. In an effort to halt the disease, Commandant Rudolf Höss ordered a full-scale quarantine (vollständige Lagersperre) of the camp in July 1942. SS men and their families were not allowed to leave the camp area. As the epidemic continued to spread, Höss ordered further measures, including delousing actions with Zyklon, a prohibition against SS men and their families eating uncooked fruits and vegetables, disinfections of living quarters, obligatory vaccinations, and further restrictions on movement. Special “louse inspection” units were organized, and those who failed to observe the anti-lice measures were punished. [9]

On July 22, 1942, an official in the central Berlin office responsible for concentration camp administration (WVHA) radioed Auschwitz: “I hereby give permission for a five ton truck to go

from Auschwitz to Dessau and back, in order to pick up gas [Zyklon] for gassing of the camp, to fight the epidemic that has broken out.” This was just one of several such deliveries. ^[10]

But these measures proved inadequate. Even as the camp’s hospital blocks were overcrowded with typhus victims, the disease continued to claim many lives. In early December 1942, SS camp physician Dr. Wirths spoke at a meeting that had been called to address the typhus crisis. Reflecting the seriousness of the occasion, the attendees included local and regional government officials, military officers, and important civilian figures. ^[11] Wirths reported optimistically that

three large disinfestation, shower and sauna facilities can be put into operation right now, specifically two facilities for the inmates and one for SS troop members. The capacity of these facilities is some 3,000 to 4,000 persons per 24 hours.

The central WVHA office in Berlin-Oranienburg, which was responsible for the SS concentration camp system, sent a secret directive on December 28, 1942, to every concentration camp, including Auschwitz and Majdanek (Lublin). After sharply criticizing the high death rate, it ordered that

camp physicians must use all means at their disposal to significantly reduce the death rate in the various camps... The camp doctors must supervise more often than in the past the nutrition of the prisoners and, in cooperation with the administration, submit improvement recommendations to the camp commandants... The camp doctors are to see to it that the working conditions at the various labor places are improved as much as possible.

The directive concluded: “The Reichsführer SS [Himmler] has ordered that the death rate absolutely must be reduced.” ^[12]

Richard Glücks, head of the SS agency that supervised the concentration camps, informed the various camp commandants in January 1943: “As I have already pointed out, every means must be used to lower the death rate in the camp.” ^[13]

In a letter of February 25, 1943, to the central WVHA office in Berlin-Oranienburg, which was responsible for the SS concentration camp system, Dr. Wirths summed up the situation: ^[14]

As already reported, after the typhus epidemic in the Auschwitz camp had practically been suppressed in November and December, there followed a new rise in typhus cases among the Auschwitz inmates as well as among troops, brought by the newly arriving transports from the East. In spite of the counter-measures that were immediately taken, a complete suppression of typhus cases has still not been achieved.

Accordingly, the SS camp physician reported that there would be a three-week quarantine of the Auschwitz camp complex, including the main camp and Birkenau. During this period, he continued, two thorough delousing and disinfection operations would be carried out to completely eradicate lice, and thus eliminate the danger of new outbreaks of typhus.

In an April 1943 communication to the camp commandant, Dr. Wirths expressed grave concern about the sewer system in Birkenau, and concluded with a warning that unless appropriate measures are taken, the “great danger of epidemics would be inevitable.” ^[15]

On May 7, 1943, the Auschwitz chief physician had a discussion with Dr. Heinz Kammler, head of the engineering and construction bureau of the central camp administration office (WVHA),

and others, about inmate facilities at Auschwitz. Dr. Wirths warned that [16]

... maintaining the prisoners' health for the major tasks does not seem certain, due to the poor toilet conditions, an inadequate sewer system, a lack of hospital barracks and separate latrines for the sick, and the lack of washing, bathing and disinfestation facilities.

In his report on the meeting, Dr. Wirths noted that his superiors agreed with his assessment:

The Brigadeführer [SS general Kammler] acknowledges the foremost urgency of these matters, and promises to do everything possible to ensure rectification of the shortcomings. He is somewhat surprised, however, that on the one hand, he receives reports from the responsible medical personnel that give a very favorable account of the sanitary and hygienic conditions, and on the other he immediately afterwards receives exactly opposite reports. The director of the ZBL [Auschwitz central construction office] is instructed to present proposals by May 15, 1943, for rectifying all problems under discussion.

This commitment by a high-level SS officer is all the more remarkable considering the growing shortages facing the German leadership due to the worsening military situation, which made it ever more difficult to procure supplies, manpower and money to insure minimal hygiene and sanitary standards.

In keeping with this, camp chief physician Dr. Wirths, in a May 28, 1943, letter to the Auschwitz central construction office (ZBL), asked for six circulating air delousing facilities, to be installed as quickly as possible. (These were in fact ordered the next day.) This request, Dr. Wirths explained, was being made “especially for the delousing and the disinfestation of the sick prisoners and their clothing ...” [17]

Because typhus continued to plague the camp complex, even more rigorous measures were imposed in January 1944. Simultaneously, all inmates were subjected to baths and disinfection, all clothes and bedding were sent to disinfection chambers, and all barracks were treated with Zyklon. This unprecedented campaign worked, and thereafter only sporadic cases of typhus were reported. [18]

A Polish inmate-physician, Dr. Alfred Fiderkiewicz, confirmed after the war that the camp administration and the dedicated SS physicians imposed strenuous and sometimes even radical measures to combat typhus in Birkenau, including large-scale Zyklon delousing of barracks and all clothing, improved diets for sick-bay inmates, and action by a special team to combat lice. As a result, the typhus plague was finally brought under control in January 1944, although tuberculosis was never completely eradicated and continued to claim many lives. [19]

High Frequency Delousing Facilities

In 1936, German technicians had noticed that high frequency radio waves produced by a large transmitter tube used to broadcast the Olympic Games from Berlin that year incidentally killed all nearby insects. Spurred by this, the Siemens-Schuckertwerke (Siemens-Schuckert works), together with the Reich Biology Institute in Dahlem, conducted tests on pest eradication using the high-frequency field of an electron tube.

After the problem of pest extermination once again became pointedly relevant following the outbreak of war in 1939, the Siemens-Schuckert company worked on developing a practical high

frequency or “shortwave” (Kurzwellen) disinfestation facility. Collaborating with the firm on this project was a related company, the Siemens-Reiniger works in Erlangen, which produced medical instruments.

When this new technology was demonstrated to civilian and military authorities, the SS saw its applicability for large camps and quickly ordered several of the new facilities. (In contrast, the regular German army ordered one such installation, which apparently was never completed or made operational.)

The new high frequency facility was produced in both a mobile and a stationary model. The mobile version was designed to fit on a truck trailer. Operating it required access to a 380-volt electrical outlet or to a portable electrical generator.

At the end of June 1943, Dr. Willing of the construction-engineering bureau of the central WVHA agency reported with satisfaction on the efficiency of the new facility: [\[20\]](#)

... After a pass through the ultra-shortwave field, which takes eleven to twelve seconds, all vermin as well as bacteria, germs, brood and nits are killed, and, given non-stop operation, 13,000 to 15,000 pieces of clothing can be sterilized per day.

Auschwitz Installation and Operation

Although the first high frequency disinfestation facility was supposed to arrive at Auschwitz on May 15, 1943, actual delivery was delayed. In mid-June 1943 the Reich Ministry for Munitions and Armaments assigned top priority to the new high frequency facilities.

At a meeting on July 1, 1943, Dr. Wirths assured colleagues that the stationary high frequency delousing facility would be ready to begin operation at Auschwitz in about eight weeks, and that a mobile facility was to arrive at the camp within the next three weeks. Installation of the mobile high frequency disinfestation unit — each step of which is thoroughly documented — was carried out between July 16, 1943 (commission) and October 21, 1943 (last requisition of materials).

The “Osten III” model stationary high frequency disinfestation facility — a modification of the “Osten II” mobile model — was set up in 1944 at the Auschwitz I main camp, in a building (BW 160) that originally was to house 19 Zyklon delousing chambers. It finally went into operation on June 30, 1944, and on July 29, 1944, the director of the SS Hygiene Institute tested its bacteria-killing ability.

Greater Efficiency

Before being treated in the new high frequency facility, the louse-infested clothing was first dampened slightly with a water spray-gun. Then the clothing was bagged into bundles of 12x40 centimeters each and placed on conveyor belts that carried them through the high-frequency generator’s capacitor field. Operating on the same principle as the modern microwave oven, the facility quickly killed all lice and other pests, as well as any typhus-bearing bacteria. The facility could treat 400 kilograms of clothing per hour.

Auschwitz’s new high-frequency delousing facilities immediately proved to be far superior to all other delousing methods of the period, including the widely used method of hydrocyanic gassing with Zyklon B. Treatment of infected clothing with Zyklon required 70 to 75 minutes, and Topf

delousing ovens required 60 to 80 minutes per treatment. Disinfestation in gassing autoclaves required a similarly lengthy amount of time. By contrast, the high frequency delousing facility required just seconds to treat infected clothing.

Furthermore, the new technique was much more thorough. It killed not only lice and their eggs (nits), but even the typhus micro-organisms. The new high frequency facility also took much less space, and was markedly less expensive. The cost of installing the “standard” disinfestation facilities in Auschwitz was 153,000 Reich marks, whereas the cost of installing the high frequency facilities there was 75,000 Reich marks or, according to another source, 98,000 Reich marks.

On August 10, 1944, the Auschwitz camp physician reported to the central WVHA office in Berlin-Oranienburg “on the effectiveness of the stationary shortwave delousing facility.” [21] After taking time to train the required personnel, wrote Dr. Wirths, full operation of the facility began on July 5, 1944. The new facility functioned promptly and reliably, and was in nearly daily use. However, it was not operating at peak efficiency, in part because of power outages.

On daily average, he continued, the new facility processed 1,441 sets of underwear and matching garments, and 449 wool or quilt blankets. In other words, he went on, every 32 working days the facility processed the clothing of 46,122 persons, including their underwear and bedding. Under ideal conditions (with no power outages, for example), Wirths stressed, the facility’s performance would be three times greater. Tests carried out in Auschwitz by the SS Hygiene Institute, Wirths continued, showed that treatment in the facility of three minutes per sack of clothing — that is, about 45 seconds for each individual item — completely destroyed all traces of staphylococcus, typhus and diphtheria.

In November 1944 the Auschwitz central construction office (ZBL) reported that “at the present time there is a stationary high microwave delousing facility in concentration camp I [Auschwitz] and a mobile one in concentration camp II [Birkenau].”

The efficiency of these “high tech” Auschwitz facilities, designed to help save prisoners' lives, contrasts sharply with the absurdly primitive technology of the camp’s alleged homicidal gas chambers, supposedly meant to kill prisoners. As Holocaust historian Jean-Claude Pressac has written, the (supposed) homicidal gassing procedure at Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory facilities IV and V, for example, was cumbersome, “irrational and ridiculous.” [22]

Auschwitz was not the only German concentration camp to receive one of the new “high tech” delousing facilities. In the fall of 1944, a stationary high frequency facility similar to the one at Auschwitz was installed at the Mauthausen camp (near Linz). At that same time, a mobile high frequency delousing facility arrived at Gusen, a satellite camp of Mauthausen, in response to an outbreak of typhus there. Efforts were also made to install a similar stationary facility in the Dachau concentration camp (near Munich), but apparently it was never put into operation.

Development of high frequency facilities continued even as Soviet and American troops were advancing into Germany. A certificate issued by the Reich Ministry for Armaments and War Production on February 22, 1945 — just eleven weeks before the end — noted that although the Siemens-Schuckert works had been evacuated from Breslau (because of the Soviet advance), a new testing and production facility was to be set up in central Germany. The document also stressed that development and production of high frequency devices by Siemens-Schuckert had the highest national priority, and deserved all possible assistance from Party, military and civil authorities. [23]

Summary

Records documenting the Auschwitz high frequency delousing facilities are only a small portion of the mass of German wartime files — 83,000 documents, according to one estimate — that have been uncovered from Russian archives after decades of neglect.

It is highly significant that among this enormous collection of secret German records, not a single one provides any evidence of mass killing, or even refers to a German wartime policy or program of “extermination.” To the contrary, many of these documents — such as those cited in this article — further demonstrate the seriousness of the efforts by high-level government and SS authorities to maintain the health of inmates by combatting disease in the camps.

Deployment of “microwave” delousing facilities was just one of many conscientious measures taken by the SS authorities to save inmates' lives. Confirming this is a report on the high frequency installations, written in September 1945 (four months after the end of the conflict), apparently by a Siemens technician named Bay. The report points out: ^[24]

We regretted that these facilities could not be used for their original application purpose, namely for delousing military equipment for the front, because they seemed more urgently needed by the camp personnel who requested them, because cases of typhus were constantly being observed among the camp inmates.

The discovery of long-hidden records on Germany's wartime high frequency delousing facilities suggests that other significant documents of the period may still await discovery, and that further important historical revelations about Auschwitz and the “Holocaust” issue are quite likely.

The revealing documents cited in this article, and many others like them, are routinely suppressed by those who uphold what Jewish educator Rabbi Michael Goldberg (in his 1996 book, *Why Should Jews Survive?*) aptly calls “the Holocaust cult.” It is noteworthy that such documents have been found and brought to light not by “mainstream” historians, but rather by skeptical dissident (revisionist) scholars — an implicit indictment of the dereliction, if not corruption, of the historical “establishment.”

Notes

1. ^U For example, in his 1989 book, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#), French anti-revisionist researcher Jean-Claude Pressac acknowledged the difficulty of reconciling actual German policies at Auschwitz with the camp's alleged function as an extermination facility. He wrote (p. 512):

“There is incompatibility in the creation of a health camp a few hundred yards from four Krematorien [crematory facilities] where, according to official history, people were exterminated on a large scale ... It is obvious that KGL [camp] Birkenau cannot have had at one and the same time two opposing functions: health care and extermination. The plan for building a large hospital section in BA III [“Mexiko” section of Birkenau] thus shows that the Krematorien [facilities] were built purely for incineration, without any homicidal gassings, because the SS wanted to 'maintain' its concentration camp labor force.”

2. ^U Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich: Piper, 1994), pp. 105-106, 113. Also cited in: R. Faurisson, “Antwort an Jean-Claude Pressac,” in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten*

(Berchem, Belgium: VHO, 1995), p. 63.

3.  Robert Faurisson, "Antwort an Jean-Claude Pressac," in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (Berchem, Belgium: VHO, 1995), p. 63. Source cited by Faurisson: Marc Klein, "Observations et réflexions sur les camps de concentration nazis," *Etudes germaniques*, Nr. 3, 1946, p. 18.

4.  The present essay is based on two articles about short wave (high frequency) delousing facilities at Auschwitz published in 1998 issues of the *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (VffG), Castle Hill Publisher, P.O. Box 118, Hastings, E. Sussex TN34 3ZQ, England — U.K. The first of these, "Kurzwellen-Entlausungsanlagen in Auschwitz," by Dr. Ing. Hans Jürgen Nowak, appeared in the June 1998 VffG (2. Jg, Heft 2), pp. 87-105. The second of these, "Die Kurzwellen-Entlausungsanlagen in Auschwitz, Teil 2," by Dipl. Ing. Hans Lamker, appeared in the December 1998 VffG (2. Jg, Heft 4), pp. 261-273. For more further information and complete source references, see the original articles. These articles can also be downloaded from the VHO web site: www.vho.org. For more about Rudolf and his VffG quarterly, see "Important New German-Language Revisionist Quarterly," in the May-June 1998 Journal, pp. 26-27.

5.  "Typhus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago), 1957 edition, vol. 22, p. 648.

6.  Alfred E. Cornebise, *Typhus and Doughboys: The American Polish Typhus Relief Expedition, 1919-1921* (Univ. of Delaware Press, 1982). See also: Friedrich P. Berg, "Typhus and the Jews," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 433-481.

7.  J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: B. Klarsfeld, 1989), pp. 15-21.

8.  See also the information about Dr. Wirths, especially chapter 18, in: Robert Jay Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).

9.  Essay by Danuta Czech in: K. Smolen, ed., *From the History of KL Auschwitz* (Oswiecim State Museum: 1979), Vol. 2, pp. 28-36, 96-97. See also: Danuta Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1990), p. 202.

10.  Eugen Kogon, and others, *Nazi Mass Murder* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1994), p. 160; E. Kogon, and others, *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1986), p. 223. Also quoted in J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 188. Note similar documents in Raul Hilberg, ed., *Documents of Destruction* (1971), pp. 220-221, and in J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 188, 557.

11.  Document, dated December 4, 1942, cited in *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (VffG), June 1998, pp. 91 and 105, n. 29. Source cited: Moscow central archives, document No. 502-1-332-117/119. Also cited in: Y. Gutman & M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (1994), p. 226.

12.  A. de Cocatrix, *Die Zahl der Opfer der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung* (Arolsen: International Tracing Service/ICRC, 1977), pp. 4-5; D. Czech, comp. *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (1990), p. 291; Nuremberg document PS-2171, Annex 2. Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression (NC&A "red series," 1946-1948), Vol. 4, pp. 833-834. (This directive was quoted, as document E-168, at the main Nuremberg trial by SS defense attorney Dr. Horst Pelckmann on August 7, 1946: Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (IMT "blue series"), Vol. 20, pp. 434-435. It was also cited by Pelckmann on August 26, 1946: IMT, vol. 21, p. 605.)

13. [↗](#) Nuremberg document NO-1523 (Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals [NMT “green series”], Vol. 5, pp. 372-373.)
 14. [↗](#) Quoted by Carlo Mattogno in his essay, “Die 'Gasprüfer' von Auschwitz,” *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (VHO, Belgium), March 1998 (2. Jg., Heft 1), p. 16 (and fn. 26). Source cited: Document 502-1-68, pp. 115-116, from the archives of the Center for the Custody of Historical Document Collection, Moscow.
 15. [↗](#) Actually, the camp sewer system was, relatively speaking, an exemplary one for that period, and especially in that part of Europe.
 16. [↗](#) Source cited (VffG, June 1998, pp. 92 and 105, n. 32): Moscow central archives document No. 502-1-332-219.
 17. [↗](#) A facsimile of this document is in VffG, June 1998 (2. Jg, Heft 2), p. 91. Source cited (p. 103, n. 40, and, p. 105, n. 37): Moscow central archives document No. 502-1-332-28. French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has written that in all there were 25 Zyklon disinfection gas chambers at Auschwitz. J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), p. 550.
 18. [↗](#) Essay by D. Czech in: K. Smolen, ed., *From the History of KL Auschwitz* (Oswiecim: 1979), Vol. 2, pp. 28-36, 96-97.
 19. [↗](#) A. Fiderkiewicz, “Typhus and delousing in the men’s camp in Birkenau,” in: K. Smolen, ed., *From the History of KL Auschwitz* (1979), Vol. 2, pp. 237-256.
 20. [↗](#) This was the same basic technology employed in a procedure for sterilizing foods that “utilizes microwave energy and steam,” which was developed in 1996 by the Göttingen Institute for Agricultural Technology.
 21. [↗](#) A facsimile of this document is in VffG, June 1998 (2. Jg, Heft 2), p. 95. Also, the text is quoted in part on pp. 96-97. Source cited (p. 103, n. 9, and, p. 15, n. 58): Moscow central archives document No. 502-1-19-90.
 22. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 384, 386. Also quoted in a review by M. Weber of this book, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1990, p. 235. Of the (supposed) homicidal gassing procedure at Auschwitz-Birkenau crematory facilities (Kremas) IV and V, Pressac writes:

“Although the operating sequence looks simple enough, it had become [?] irrational and ridiculous. It was irrational to have victims going from the central room to the gas chambers, [and] then being brought back, thus destroying the linear logic of the initial design. It was ridiculous to have an SS man in a gas mask balancing on his short ladder with a one kg can of Zyklon B in his left hand while he opened and then closed the 30 by 40 cm shutter through which he introduced the pellets with his right hand. This performance was to be repeated six times ... A few steps installed beneath each opening would have avoided all this performance.”
 23. [↗](#) A facsimile of this document is in VffG, June 1998 (2. Jg, Heft 2), p. 97.
 24. [↗](#) VffG, December 1998 (2. Jg, Heft 4), pp. 269, 271.
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A Century Ago

The Boer War Remembered

by [Mark Weber](#)

The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 was more than the first major military clash of the 20th century. Pitting as it did the might of the globe-girdling British Empire, backed by international finance, against a small pioneering nation of independent-minded farmers, ranchers and merchants in southern African who lived by the Bible and the rifle, its legacy continues to resonate today. The Boers' recourse to irregular warfare, and Britain's response in herding a hundred thousand women and children into concentration camps foreshadow the horrors of guerilla warfare and mass detention of innocents that have become emblematic of the 20th century.

The Dutch, Huguenot and German ancestors of the Boers first settled the Cape area of South Africa in 1652. After several attempts, Britain took control of it in 1814. Refusing to submit to foreign colonial rule, 10,000 Boers left the Cape area in the Great Trek of 1835-1842. The trekkers moved northwards, first to Natal and then to the interior highlands where they set up two independent republics, the Orange Free State and the South African (Transvaal) Republic. The Boers (Dutch: "farmers") worked hard to build a new life for themselves. But they also had to fight to keep their fledgling republics free of British encroachment and safe from native African attacks.

Their great leader was Paul Kruger, an imposing, passionate and deeply religious man. The bearded, patriarchal figure was beloved by his people, who affectionately referred to him as "Oom Paul" (Uncle Paul). Born into a relatively well-to-do Cape colony farming family in 1825, he took part as a boy in the Great Trek. He married at the age of 17, became a widower at 21, re-married twice, and fathered 16 children. With just a few months of schooling, his reading was confined almost entirely to the Bible. He was an avid hunter, an expert horseman, and an able swimmer and diver.

Over his lifetime, Kruger repeatedly proved his courage and resourcefulness in numerous pitched military engagements. When he was 14 he fought in his first battle, a commando raid against Matabele regiments, and also shot his first lion. While in his twenties he took part in two major battles against native black forces.

Four times he was elected President of the Transvaal republic. His courage, honesty and devotion helped greatly to sustain the morale of his people during the hard years of conflict. A contemporary observer described Kruger as a "natural orator; rugged in speech, lacking in measured phrase and in logical balance; but passionate and convincing in the unaffected pleading of his earnestness." [1]

Gold and Diamonds

The discovery of gold at Witwatersrand in the Transvaal in 1886 ended Boer seclusion, and brought a mortal threat to the young nation's dream of freedom from alien rule. Like a magnet, the land's rich gold deposits drew waves of foreign adventurers and speculators, whom the Boers called "uitlanders" ("outlanders"). By 1896 the population of Johannesburg had grown to more than a hundred thousand. Of the 50,000 white residents, only 6,205 were citizens. [2]

As often happens in history, important aspects of the Anglo-Boer conflict came to light only years after the fighting had ended. In a masterful 1979 study, *The Boer War*, British historian Thomas Pakenham revealed previously unknown details about the conspiracy of British colonial officials and Jewish financiers to plunge South Africa into war. The men who flocked to South Africa in search of wealth included Cecil Rhodes, the renowned English capitalist and imperial visionary, and a collection of ambitious Jews who, together with him, were to play a decisive role in fomenting the Boer war.

Barney Barnato, a dapper, vulgar fellow from London's East End (born Barnett Isaacs), was one of the first of many Jews who have played a major role in South African affairs. Through pluck and shrewd maneuvering, by 1887 he presided over an enormous South African financial-business empire of diamonds and gold. In 1888 he joined with his chief rival, Cecil Rhodes, who was backed by the Rothschild family of European financiers, in running the De Beers empire, which controlled all South African diamond production, and thereby 90 percent of the world's diamond output, as well as a large share of the world's gold production. [3] (In the 20th century, the De Beers diamond cartel came under the control of a German-Jewish dynasty, the Oppenheims, who also controlled its gold-mining twin, the Anglo-American Corporation. With its virtual world monopoly on diamond production and distribution, and grip on a large part of the world's gold production, the billionaire family has ruled a financial empire of unmatched global importance. It also controlled influential newspapers in South Africa. So great was the Oppenheims' power and influence in South Africa that it rivaled that of the formal government.) [4]

In the 1890s the most powerful South African financial house was Wernher, Beit & Co., which was controlled and run by a Jewish speculator from Germany named Alfred Beit. Rhodes relied heavily on support from Beit, whose close ties to the Rothschilds and the Dresdner Bank made it possible for the ambitious Englishman to acquire and consolidate his great financial-business empire. [5]

As historian Pakenham has noted, the "secret allies" of Alfred Milner, the British High Commissioner for South Africa, were "the London 'gold-bugs' — especially the financiers of the largest of all the Rand mining houses, Wernher-Beit." Pakenham continued: "Alfred Beit was the giant — a giant who bestrode the world's gold market like a gnome. He was short, plump and bald, with large, pale, luminous eyes and a nervous way of tugging at his grey moustache." [6]

Beit and Lionel Phillips, a Jewish millionaire from England, together controlled H. Eckstein & Co., the largest South African mining syndicate. Of the six largest mining companies, four were controlled by Jews. [7]

By 1894, Beit and Phillips were conspiring behind the backs of Briton and Boer alike to "improve" the Transvaal Volksraad (parliament) with tens of thousands of pounds in bribe money. In one case, Beit and Phillips spent 25,000 pounds to arrange settlement of an important issue before the assembly. [8]

The Jameson Raid

On December 29, 1895, a band of 500 British adventurers forcibly tried to seize control of the Boer republics in an “unofficial” armed takeover. Rhodes, who was then also prime minister of the British-ruled Cape Colony, organized the venture, which Alfred Beit financed to the tune of 200,000 pounds. Phillips also joined the conspiracy. According to their plan, raiders led by Sir Leander Starr Jameson, a close personal friend of Rhodes, would dash from neighboring British territory into Johannesburg to “defend” the British “outlanders” there who, by secret prior arrangement, would simultaneously seize control of the city in the name of the “oppressed” aliens, and proclaim themselves the new government of Transvaal. In a letter about the plan written four months before the raid, Rhodes confided to Beit: “Johannesburg is ready ... [this is] the big idea which makes England dominant in Africa, in fact gives England the African continent.” [9]

Rhodes, Beit and Jameson counted on the secret backing in London of the new Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain (father of future Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain). Upon taking office in the administration of Prime Minister Salisbury, Chamberlain proudly proclaimed his arch-imperialist sentiments: “I believe in the British Empire, and I believe in the British race. I believe that the British race is the greatest of governing races that the world has ever seen.” Clandestinely Chamberlain provided the conspirators with rifles, and made available to them a tract of land as a staging area for the attack. [10]

After 21 men lost their lives in the takeover attempt, Jameson and his fellow raiders were captured and put on trial. In Johannesburg, Transvaal authorities arrested Phillips for his part in organizing the raid. They found incriminating secret correspondence between him and co-conspirators Beit and Rhodes, which encouraged Phillips to confess his guilt. A Transvaal court leniently sentenced Jameson to 15 months imprisonment. Phillips was sentenced to death, but this was quickly commuted to a fine of 25,000 pounds. (Later, after returning to Britain, the financier was knighted for his services to the Empire, and during the First World War was given a high post in the Ministry of Munitions.)

Although it proved a fiasco, the Jameson raid convinced the Boers that the British were determined, even at the cost of human lives, to rob them of their hard-won freedom. The blood of those who died in the abortive raid also figuratively baptized the alliance of Jewish finance and British imperialism. [11]

Jan Christiann Smuts, the brilliant young Boer leader who would one day be Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, later reflected: “The Jameson Raid was the real declaration of war in the Great Anglo-Boer conflict ... And that is so in spite of the four years truce that followed ... [the] aggressors consolidated their alliance ... the defenders on the other hand silently and grimly prepared for the inevitable.” [12]

Preparing for War

Undaunted by the Jameson Raid disaster, British High Commissioner Milner, with crucial “gold bug” backing, began secretly to foment a full-scale war to drag the Boer lands into the Empire. While publicly preparing to “negotiate” with President Kruger over the status of the “uitlanders,” Milner was secretly confiding his intention to “screw” the Boers. At their May-June 1899 meeting, he demanded of Kruger an “immediate voice” for the flood of foreigners who had poured into the Transvaal republic in recent years. As the talks inevitably broke down, Kruger angrily declared: “It is our country you want!”

Even as the “negotiations” were underway, Wernher, Beit & Co. was secretly financing an “out-lander” army of 1,500, which eventually grew to 10,000. As Thomas Pakenham has noted: “The gold-bugs, contrary to the accepted view of later historians, were thus active partners with Milner in the making of the war.” [13]

Horatio Herbert Kitchener, the illustrious warlord who commanded British forces in South Africa, 1900-1902, later privately acknowledged that a major factor in the conflict was that the Boers were “afraid of getting into the hands of certain Jews who no doubt wield great influence in the country.” [14]

For Britain’s leaders, bringing the Boer republics under imperial rule seemed entirely logical and virtually pre-ordained. On the prevailing mind-set in London, historian Pakenham has written: [15]

The independence of a Boer republic, bursting with gold and bristling with imported rifles, threatened Britain’s status as a “paramount” power. British paramountcy (alias supremacy) was not a concept in international law. But most of the British thought it made practical sense ... Boer independence seemed worse than absurd; it was dangerous for world peace ... The solution seemed to be to wrap the whole of South Africa in the Union Jack, the make the whole country a British dominion ...

Most of Britain’s leading newspapers pushed for war. This was especially true of the Jewish-owned or Jewish-controlled press, which included the influential conservative organ, The Daily Telegraph, owned by Lord Burnham (born Edward Levy), Oppenheim’s Daily News, Marks’ Evening News, and Steinkopf’s St. James Gazette. [16]

Reflecting the official consensus in London, on August 26, 1899, Chamberlain delivered an uncompromising speech directed against the Boers, and two days later sent a threatening dispatch to Kruger. The British Colonial Secretary was, in effect, asking the Boers to surrender their sovereignty. In preparation for war against the republics, the Salisbury government resolved on September 8 to send an additional 10,000 troops to South Africa. When the Boer leaders learned a short time later that London was preparing a force of 47,000 men to invade the their lands, the two republics jointly began in earnest to ready their own troops and weapons for battle.

With war now imminent, and Boer patience now exhausted, Kruger and his government issued an ultimatum on October 9, 1899. Tantamount to a declaration of war, it demanded the withdrawal of British forces and the arbitration of all points of disagreement. Two days later, after Britain had let the ultimatum expire, the war was on.

A People’s War

Boer men were citizen-soldiers. By law, all males in the two republics between the ages of 16 and 60 were eligible for war service. In the Transvaal, every male burgher was required to have a rifle and ammunition. At a military parade held in Pretoria, the Transvaal capital, on October 10, 1899, in honor of Kruger’s 74th birthday, ranchers from the bushveld, clerks and solicitors from the cities, and other battle-ready citizens rode or marched past their leader. Joining them were foreign volunteer fighters who had rallied to the Boer cause, including a thousand Dutchmen and Germans, and a contingent of a hundred Irishmen (including a youthful John MacBride, who was executed 17 years later for his role in the Dublin Easter Uprising). [17]

Even as they prepared to face the might of the world's foremost imperial power, the Boers were confident and determined. Although outnumbered, their morale was good. They were fighting for their land, their freedom and their way of life — and on familiar home territory. As British historian Phillip Knightley has written: [18]

The Boer, neither completely civilian nor completely a soldier, alternating between tending his farm and fighting the British, lightly armed with an accurate repeating rifle, mobile, able to live for long periods on strips of dried meat and a little water, drawing on the hidden support of his countrymen, unafraid to flee when the battle was not in his favor, choosing his ground and his time for attack, was more than a match for any regular army, no matter what his strength.

Boers fighters were also chivalrous in combat. A few years after the end of the war, when passions had cooled somewhat, the London Times' history of the war conceded: [19]

In the moment of their triumph the Boers behaved with the same unaffected kindness ... which they displayed after most of their victories. Although exultant they were not insulting. They fetched water and blankets for the wounded and treated prisoners with every consideration.

Although the Boers scored some impressive initial battlefield victories, the numerically superior British forces soon gained the upper hand. But even the capture of their main towns and rail lines did not bring the Boers to capitulate. Boer “commandos,” outnumbered about four to one but supported by the people, launched a guerilla campaign against the invaders. Striking without warning, they kept the enemy from totally subjugating the land and its people.

Mounted on horseback, the Boer “commando” fighter didn’t look anything like a typical soldier. Usually with a long beard, he wore rough farming clothes and a wide-brimmed hat, and slung belts of bullets over both shoulders.

'Methods of Barbarism'

Lord Kitchener, the new British commander, adopted tactics to “clean up” a war that many in Britain had considered already won. In waging ruthless war against an entire people, he ordered his troops to destroy livestock and crops, burn down farms, and herd women and children into “camps of refuge.” Reports about these grim internment centers, which were soon called concentration camps, shocked the western world.

Britain’s new style of waging war was summarized in a report made in January 1902 by Jan Smuts, the 31-year-old Boer general (and future South African prime minister):

Lord Kitchener has begun to carry out a policy in both [Boer] republics of unbelievable barbarism and gruesomeness which violates the most elementary principles of the international rules of war.

Almost all farmsteads and villages in both republics have been burned down and destroyed. All crops have been destroyed. All livestock which has fallen into the hands of the enemy has been killed or slaughtered.

The basic principle behind Lord Kitchener’s tactics has been to win, not so much through direct operations against fighting commandos, but rather indirectly by bringing the pressure of war against defenseless women and children.

... This violation of every international law is really very characteristic of the nation which always plays the role of chosen judge over the customs and behavior of all other nations.

Shooting Prisoners

John Dillon, an Irish nationalist Member of Parliament, spoke out against the British policy of shooting Boer prisoners of war. On February 26, 1901, he made public a letter by a British officer in the field:

The orders in this district from Lord Kitchener are to burn and destroy all provisions, forage, etc., and seize cattle, horses, and stock of all sorts wherever found, and to leave no food in the houses of the inhabitants. And the word has been passed round privately that no prisoners are to be taken. That is, all the men found fighting are to be shot. This order was given to me personally by a general, one of the highest in rank in South Africa. So there is no mistake about it. The instructions given to the columns closing round De Wet north of the Orange River are that all men are to be shot so that no tales may be told. Also, the troops are told to loot freely from every house, whether the men belonging to the house are fighting or not.

Dillon read from another letter by a soldier that had been published in the *Liverpool Courier*: “Lord Kitchener has issued orders that no man has to bring in any Boer prisoners. If he does, he has to give him half his rations for the prisoner’s keep.” Dillon quoted a third letter by a soldier serving with the Royal Welsh Regiment and published in the *Wolverhampton Express and Star*: “We take no prisoners now ... There happened to be a few wounded Boers left. We put them through the mill. Every one was killed.”

On January 20, 1902, John Dillon once again expressed his outrage in the House of Commons against Britain’s “wholesale violation of one of the best recognized usages of modern war, which forbids you to desolate or devastate the country of the enemy and destroy the food supply on such a scale as to reduce non-combatants to starvation.” “What would have been said by civilized mankind,” Dillon asked, “if Germany on her march on Paris [in 1870] had turned the whole country into a howling wilderness and concentrated the French women and children into camps where they died in thousands? All civilized Europe would have rushed in to the rescue.” [20]

Arming the Natives

Defying the prevailing racial sensibilities of the period, General Kitchener supplied rifles to native black Africans to fight the white Boers. Eventually the British armed at least 10,000 blacks, although the policy was kept secret for fear of offending white public opinion, especially back home. As it happens, the blacks proved to be poor soldiers, and in many cases they murdered defenseless Boer women and children across the countryside. The fate of the Boer women and children who escaped the hell of the internment camps was therefore often more terrible than that of those who did not.

In his January 1902 report, General Smuts described how the British recruited black Africans:

In the Cape Colony the uncivilized Blacks have been told that if the Boers win, slavery will be brought back in the Cape Colony. They have been promised Boer property and farmsteads if they will join the English; that the Boers will have to work for the Blacks, and that they will be able to marry Boer women.

Arming the blacks, Smuts said, “represents the greatest crime which has ever been perpetrated against the White race in South Africa.” Boer commando leader Jan Kemp similarly complained that the war was being fought “contrary to civilized warfare on account of it being carried on in a great measure with Kaffirs.” [21] The arming of native blacks was a major reason cited by the Boer leaders for finally giving up the struggle: [22]

... The Kaffir tribes, within and without the frontiers of the territories of the two republics, are mostly armed and are taking part in the war against us, and through the committing of murders and all sorts of cruelties have caused and unbearable condition of affairs in many districts of both republics.

Concentration Camps

Britain’s internment centers in South Africa soon became known as concentration camps, a term adapted from the reconcentrado camps that Spanish authorities in Cuba had set up to hold insurgents. [23]

A crusading 41-year-old English spinster, Emily Hobhouse, visited the South Africa camps and, armed with this first-hand knowledge, alerted the world to their horrors. She told of internees “... deprived of clothes ... the semi-starvation in the camps ... the fever-stricken children lying... upon the bare earth ... the appalling mortality.” She also reported seeing open trucks full of women and children, exposed to the icy rain of the plains, sometimes left on railroad siding for days at a time, without food or shelter. “In some camps,” Hobhouse told lecture audiences and newspaper readers back in England, “two and sometimes three different families live in one tent. Ten and even twelve persons are forced into a single tent.” Most had to sleep on the ground. “These people will never ever forget what has happened,” She also declared. “The children have been the hardest hit. They wither in the terrible heat and as a result of insufficient and improper nourishment ... To maintain this kind of camp means nothing less than murdering children.” [24]

In a report to members of Parliament, Hobhouse described conditions in one camp she had visited: [25]

... A six month old baby [is] gasping its life out on its mother’s knee. Next [tent]: a child recovering from measles sent back from hospital before it could walk, stretched on the ground white and wan. Next a girl of 21 lay dying on a stretcher. The father ... kneeling beside her, while his wife was watching a child of six also dying and one of about five drooping. Already this couple had lost three children.

Hobhouse found that none of their hardships would shake the Boer women’s determination, not even seeing their own hungry children die before their eyes. They “never express,” she wrote, “a wish that their men must give way. It must be fought out now, they think, to the bitter end.”

Deadly epidemics — typhoid, dysentery and (for children) measles — broke out in the camps and spread rapidly. During one three week period, an epidemic at the camp at Brandfort killed nearly a tenth of the entire inmate population. In the Mafeking camp, at one point there were 400 deaths a month, most of them caused by typhoid, which worked out to an annual death rate of 173 percent.

Altogether the British held 116,572 Boers in their South African internment camps — that is, about a fourth of the entire Boer population — nearly all of them women and children. After the war, an official government report concluded that 27,927 Boers had died in the camps — victims

of disease, undernourishment and exposure. Of these, 26,251 were women and children, of whom 22,074 were children under the age of 16. Among the nearly 115,000 black Africans who were also interned in the British camps, nearly all of whom were tenant workers and servants of the better-off Boers, it is estimated that more than 12,000 died. [26]

After meeting with Hobhouse, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, leader of the Liberal Party opposition (and future Prime Minister), publicly declared: “When is a war not a war? When it is waged by methods of barbarism in South Africa.” This memorable phrase — “methods of barbarism” — quickly became widely quoted, provoking both warm praise and angry condemnation. [27]

Most Englishmen, who supported their government’s war policy, did not wish to hear such talk. Echoing the widespread sentiment in favor of the war, the London Times editorialized that Campbell-Bannerman’s remarks were irresponsible, if not subversive. The influential paper’s reasoning reflected the prevailing “my country, right or wrong” attitude. “When a nation is committed to a serious struggle in which its position in the world is at stake,” the Times told its readers, “it is the duty of every citizen, no matter what his opinion about the political quarrel, to abstain at the very least from hampering and impeding the policy of his country, if he cannot lend his active support.” [28]

David Lloyd George, an MP who would later serve as his country’s Prime Minister during the First World War, accused the British authorities of pursuing “a policy of extermination” against women and children. Granted, it was not a direct policy, he said, but it was one that was having that effect. “... The war is an outrage perpetrated in the name of human freedom,” Lloyd George protested. He also expressed concern over the impact of these cruel policies on Britain’s long-term interests: [29]

When children are being treated in this way and dying, we are simply ranging the deepest passions of the human heart against British rule in Africa... It will always be remembered that this is the way British rule started there [in the Boer republics], and this is the method by which it was brought about.

During a speech in Parliament on February 18, 1901, David Lloyd George quoted from a letter by a British officer: “We move from valley to valley, lifting cattle and sheep, burning and looting, and turning out women and children to weep in despair beside the ruin of their once beautiful homesteads.” Lloyd George commented: “It is a war not against men, but against women and children.” [30]

“The conscience of Britain,” historian Thomas Pakenham later observed, “was stirred by the holocaust in the camps, just as the conscience of America was stirred by the holocaust in Vietnam.” It was largely as a result of public outrage in Britain over conditions in the camps — for which Emily Hobhouse deserves much of the credit — that measures were eventually taken that sharply reduced the death rate. [31]

Propaganda

In this war, as in so many others, propagandists churned out a stream of malicious lies to generate popular backing for the aggression and killing. British newspapers, churchmen and war correspondents invented hundreds of fake atrocity stories that portrayed the Boers as treacherous and arrogant brutes. These included numerous shocking claims alleging that Boer soldiers massacred pro-British civilians, that Boer civilians murdered British soldiers, and that Boers executed fel-

low-Boers who wanted to surrender. “There was virtually no limit to such invention,” historian Phillip Knightley has noted.

A widely shown newsreel film purported to show Boers attacking a Red Cross tent while British doctors and nurses treat the wounded. Actually this fake had been shot with actors on Hampstead Heath, a suburb of London. [32]

Exposing the War-Makers

In the United States, as in most of Europe, public interest in the conflict was keen. Although public sentiment in these countries was largely pro-Boer and anti-British, the government leaders — fearful of the adverse consequences of defying Britain — were publicly pro-British, or at least studiously neutral.

William Jennings Bryan, Andrew Carnegie and many other Americans were embarrassed by the striking parallel between U.S. and British policy of the day: just as Britain was forcibly subduing the Boers in southern Africa, American troops were brutally suppressing native fighters for independence in the newly-acquired Philippines. Echoing a widespread American sentiment of the day, Mark Twain declared: “I think that England sinned when she got herself into a war in South Africa which she could have avoided, just as we have sinned in getting into a similar war in the Philippines.” In spite of such sentiment, the government of President McKinley and the jingoistic newspapers of William Randolph Hearst sided with Britain. [33]

But even in Britain itself, there was considerable opposition to the war. In the House of Commons, Liberal MP Philip Stanhope (later Baron Weardale) introduced a resolution expressing disapproval of Britain’s military campaign against the Boer republics. In tracing the war’s origins, he said: [34]

Accordingly, the [pro-British] South African League was formed, and Mr. Rhodes and his associates — generally of the German Jew extraction — found money in thousands for its propaganda. By this league in [British] South Africa and here [in Britain] they have poisoned the wells of public knowledge. Money has been lavished in the London world and in the press, and the result has been that little by little public opinion has been wrought up and inflamed, and now, instead of finding the English people dealing with this matter in a truly English spirit, we are dealing with it in a spirit which generations to come will condemn ...

Opposition in Britain to the war came especially from the political left. The Social Democratic Federation (SDF), led by Henry M. Hyndman, was especially outspoken. Justice, the SDF weekly, had already warned its readers in 1896 that “Beit, Barnato and their fellow-Jews” were aiming for “an Anglo-Hebraic Empire in Africa stretching from Egypt to Cape Colony,” designed to swell their “overgrown fortunes.” Since 1890, the SDF had repeatedly cautioned against the pernicious influence of “capitalist Jews on the London press.” When war broke out in 1899, Justice declared that the “Semitic lords of the press” had successfully propagandized Britain into a “criminal war of aggression.” [35]

Opposition to the war was similarly strong in the British labor movement. In September 1900, the Trades Union Congress passed a resolution condemning the Anglo-Boer war as one designed “to secure the gold fields of South Africa for cosmopolitan Jews, most of whom had no patriotism and no country.” [36]

No member of the House of Commons spoke out more vigorously against the war than John Burns, Labour MP for Battersea. The former SDF member had gained national prominence as a staunch defender of the British workingman during his leadership of the dockworkers' strike of 1889. "Wherever we examine, there is the financial Jew," Burns declared in the House on February 6, 1900, "operating, directing, inspiring the agencies that have led to this war."

"The trail of the financial serpent is over this war from beginning to end." The British army, Burns said, had traditionally been the "Sir Galahad of History." But in Africa it had become the "janissary of the Jews." [37]

Burns was a legendary fighter for the rights of the British worker, a tireless champion of environmental reform, women's rights and improved municipal services. Even Cecil Rhodes had referred to him as "the most eloquent leader of the British democracy." It was not merely the Jewish role in Capitalism that alarmed Burns. To his diary he once confided that "the undoing of England is within the confines of our afternoon journey amongst the Jews" of East London. [38]

Irish nationalist Members of Parliament had special reason to sympathize with the Boers, whom they regarded — like the people of Ireland — as fellow victims of British duplicity and oppression. One Irish MP, Michael Davitt, even resigned his seat in the House of Commons in "personal and political protest against a war which I believe to be the greatest infamy of the nineteenth century." [39]

One of the most influential campaigners against the "Jew-imperialist design" in South Africa was John A. Hobson (1858-1940), a prominent journalist and economist. [40] In 1899 the Manchester Guardian sent him to South Africa to report first-hand for its readers on the situation there. During his three month investigation, Hobson became convinced that a small group of Jewish "Randlords" was essentially responsible for the strife and conflict. [41]

In a Guardian article dispatched from Johannesburg just a few weeks before the outbreak of the war, he told readers of the influential liberal daily: [42]

In Johannesburg the Boer population is a mere handful of officials and their families, some five thousand of the population; the rest is about evenly divided between white settlers, mostly from Great Britain, and the [native black] Kaffirs, who are everywhere in White Man's Africa the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.

The town is in some respects dominantly and even aggressively British, but British with a difference which it takes some little time to understand. That difference is due to the Jewish factor. If one takes the recent figures of the census, there appears to be less than seven thousand Jews in Johannesburg, but the experience of the street rapidly exposes this fallacy of figures. The shop fronts and business houses, the market place, the saloons, the "stoops" of the smart suburban houses and sufficient to convince one of the large presence of the chosen people. If any doubt remains, a walk outside the Exchange, where in the streets, "between the chains," the financial side of the gold business is transacted, will dispel it.

So far as wealth and power and even numbers are concerned Johannesburg is essentially a Jewish town. Most of these Jews figure as British subjects, though many are in fact German and Russian Jews who have come to Africa after a brief sojourn in England. The rich, rigorous, and energetic financial and commercial families are chiefly English Jews, not a few of whom here, as elsewhere, have Anglicised their names after true parasitic fashion. I lay stress on this fact because, though everyone

knows the Jews are strong, their real strength here is much underestimated. Though figures are so misleading, it is worth while to mention that the directory of Johannesburg shows 68 Cohens against 21 Joneses and 53 Browns.

The Jews take little active part in the Outlander agitation; they let others do that sort of work. But since half of the land and nine-tenths of the wealth of the Transvaal claimed for the Outlander are chiefly theirs, they will be chief gainers by an settlement advantageous to the Outlander.

In an influential book published in 1900, *The War in South Africa*, Hobson warned and admonished his fellow countrymen: ^[43]

We are fighting in order to place a small international oligarchy of mine-owners and speculators in power at Pretoria. Englishmen will surely do well to recognize that the economic and political destinies of South Africa are, and seem likely to remain, in the hands of men most of whom are foreigners by origin, whose trade is finance, and whose trade interests are not chiefly British.

Anti-imperialist and working-class circles acclaimed Hobson's widely read work. Commenting on it, the weekly *Labour Leader*, semi-official organ of the Independent Labour Party, noted: "Modern imperialism is really run by half a dozen financial houses, many of them Jewish, to whom politics is a counter in the game of buying and selling securities." ^[44] In a January 1900 essay, *Labour Leader* editor (and MP) J. Keir Hardie told readers: ^[45]

The war is a capitalist' war, begotten by capitalists' money, lied into being by a perjured mercenary capitalist press, and fathered by unscrupulous politicians, themselves the merest tools of the capitalists ... As Socialists, our sympathies are bound to be with the Boers. Their Republican form of Government bespeaks freedom, and is thus hateful to tyrants ...

Defeat

As the year 1900 drew to a close, British forces held the major Boer towns, including the capitals of the two republics, as well as the main Boer railway lines. Paul Kruger, the man who personified his people's resistance to alien rule, had been forced into exile. By the end of 1901, the Boers' military forces had been reduced to some 25,000 men in the field, deployed in scattered and largely un-coordinated commando units. The hard-pressed defenders had only a shadow of a central government.

In the spring of 1902, with their land almost entirely under enemy occupation, and their remaining fighters threatened with annihilation and militarily outnumbered six to one, the Boers sued for peace. On May 31, 1902, their leaders concluded 33 months of heroic struggle against greatly superior forces by signing a treaty that recognized King Edward VII as their sovereign. President Kruger learned of the surrender while living in European exile, far from his beloved homeland. After devoting his life to his cherished dream of a self-reliant white people's republic, he died in 1904 in Switzerland, a blind and broken man.

Conclusion

When the fighting began in October 1899, the British confidently expected their troops to victoriously conclude the conflict by Christmas. But this actually proved to be the longest, costliest,

bloodiest and most humiliating war fought by Britain between 1815 and 1914. Even though the military forces mobilized in South Africa by the world's greatest imperial power outnumbered the Boer fighters by nearly five to one, they required almost three years to completely subdue the tough pioneer people of fewer than half a million.

Britain deployed some 336,000 imperial and 83,000 colonial troops — or 448,000 altogether. Of this force, 22,000 found a grave in South Africa, 14,000 of them succumbing to sickness. For their part, the two Boer republics were able to mobilize 87,360 fighters, a force that included 2,120 foreign volunteers and 13,300 Boer-related Afrikaners from the British-ruled Cape and Natal provinces. In addition to the more than 7,000 Boer fighters who lost their lives, some 28,000 Boers perished in the British concentration camps — nearly all of them women and children. [46]

The war's non-human costs were similarly appalling. As part of Kitchener's "scorched-earth" campaign, British troops wrought terrible destruction throughout the rural Boer areas, especially in the Orange Free State. Outside of the largest towns, hardly a building was left intact. Perhaps a tenth of the prewar horses, cows and other farm stock remained. In much of the Boer lands, no crops had been sown for two years. [47]

Even by the standards of the time (and certainly by those of today), British political and military leaders committed frightful war crimes and crimes against humanity against the Boers of South Africa — crimes for which no one was ever brought to account. General Kitchener, for one, was never punished for introducing measures that even a future prime minister called "methods of barbarism." To the contrary, after concluding his South African service he was named a viscount and a field marshal, and then, at the outbreak of the First World War, was appointed Secretary of War. Upon his death in 1916, he was remembered not as a criminal, but rather idolized as a personification of British virtue and rectitude. [48]

In a sense, the Anglo-Boer conflict was less a war between combatants than a military campaign against civilians. The number of Boer women and children who perished in the concentration camps was four times as large as the number of Boer fighting men who died (of all causes) during the war. In fact, more children under the age of 16 perished in the British camps than men were killed in action on both sides.

The boundless greed of the Jewish "gold bugs" coincided with the imperialistic aims of British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, the dreams of gold and diamond baron Cecil Rhodes, and the political ambitions of Alfred Milner. On the altar of their avarice and ambition, they sacrificed the lives of some 30,000 people who wanted only to live in freedom, as well as 22,000 young men of Britain and her dominions.

At its core, Britain's leaders were willing to sacrifice the lives of many of her own sons, and to kill men, women and children in a far-away continent, to add to the wealth and power of an already immensely wealthy and powerful worldwide empire. Few wars during the past one hundred years were as avoidable, or as patently crass in motivation as was the South African War of 1899-1902.

Notes

1. [↗](#) M. Davitt, *The Boer Fight For Freedom*, p. 425. See also: A. Thomas, Rhodes, pp. 143-144; F. Welsh, *South Africa: A Narrative History*, p. 303; "Kruger, Stephanus Johannes Paulus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago), 1957 edition, vol. 13, pp. 506-507.
2. [↗](#) F. Welsh, *South Africa: A Narrative History*, p. 302.

3. [↗](#) A. Thomas, Rhodes, pp. 172-181; Reader's Digest Association, Illustrated History of South Africa, p. 174; See also S. Kanfer, The Last Empire, esp. pp. 96, 101-111.
4. [↗](#) See S. Kanfer, The Last Empire.
5. [↗](#) J. Flint, Cecil Rhodes, pp. 86-93. See also: P. Emden, Randlords (1935).
6. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, The Boer War, pp. 86-87.
7. [↗](#) G. Saron and L. Hotz, eds., The Jews in South Africa, pp. 193-194.
8. [↗](#) Report of the Select Committee of the Cape of Good Hope House of Assembly on the Jameson Raid (1897), pp. 165, 167.
9. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, The Boer War, pp. xxv, 87, 121; A. Thomas, Rhodes, p. 284.
10. [↗](#) A. Thomas, Rhodes, pp. 284-304; S. Kanfer, The Last Empire, pp. 129-131; Chamberlain's speech of Nov. 11, 1895, is also quoted in: Robin W. Winks, ed., British Imperialism (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 80.
11. [↗](#) G. Saron & L. Hotz, eds., The Jews in South Africa (1955), pp. 193-194; Second Report from the Select Committee on British South Africa (1897), p. vii.
12. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, The Boer War, p. 1. Also quoted in: A. Thomas, Rhodes, p. 337.
13. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, The Boer War, p. 88.
14. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, The Boer War, p. 518.
15. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, Scramble, p. 558.
16. [↗](#) Claire Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility" (1978), p. 4.
17. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, The Boer War, pp. 90-92, 103, 104, 107.
18. [↗](#) P. Knightley, The First Casualty (1976), pp. 77-78.
19. [↗](#) Quoted in: Phillip Knightley, The First Casualty, p. 75.
20. [↗](#) W. Ziegler, ed., Ein Dokumentenwerk Über die Englische Humanität (1940), p. 199.
21. [↗](#) Reader's Digest Association, Illustrated History of South Africa, p. 246.
22. [↗](#) Reader's Digest Association, Illustrated History of South Africa, p. 246.
23. [↗](#) During the American Civil War, Union forces rounded up large numbers of civilians who were considered hostile to Federal authority and interned them in "posts." President Truman's grandmother, with six of her children, was held in one such "post," which Truman said was really a "concentration camp." Source: Merle Miller, Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman (New York: 1974), pp. 78-79. See also: M. Weber "The Civil War Concentration Camps," The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1981, p. 143. In September 1918, the fledgling Soviet government issued a decree that ordered: "It is essential to protect the Soviet Republic from class enemies by isolating them in concentration camps." Sources: D. Volkogonov, Lenin: A New Biography (New York: 1994), p. 234; M. Heller & A. Nekrich, Utopia in Power (New York: 1986), p. 66.
24. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, The Boer War, pp. 533-539; T. Pakenham, Scramble, pp. 578; A rather detailed report by Hobhouse about the camps is in: S. Koss, The Pro-Boers, pp. 198-207.
25. [↗](#) P. Knightley, The First Casualty, pp. 75-76. Source cited: UK Public Record Office, W.O. 32/8061.
26. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, The Boer War, pp. 607; T. Pakenham, Scramble, pp. 578-579; Reader's Digest Association, Illustrated History of South Africa, p. 256.
27. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, The Boer War, p. 534, 540-541; S. Koss, The Pro-Boers, pp. 216, 238.
28. [↗](#) S. Koss, The Pro-Boers, pp. 238-239 (note)
29. [↗](#) P. Knightley, The First Casualty, p. 72; T. Pakenham, The Boer War, pp. 539-540.
30. [↗](#) In a speech on Nov. 27, 1899, Lloyd George said that the Uitlanders on whose behalf Britain had presumably gone to war were German Jews. Right or wrong, the Boers were

better than the people Britain was defending in South Africa. And in a speech on July 25, 1900, Lloyd George said: "... A war of annexation, however, against a proud people must be a war of extermination, and that is unfortunately what it seems we are committing ourselves to — burning homesteads and turning women and children out of their homes." Source: Bentley Brinkerhoff Gilbert, David Lloyd George: A Political Life (Ohio State Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 183, 191.

31. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. 547-548.
32. [↗](#) P. Knightley, *The First Casualty*, pp. 72, 73, 75.
33. [↗](#) Byron Farwell, "Taking Sides in the Boer War," *American Heritage*, April 1976, pp. 22, 24, 25.
34. [↗](#) Speech of October 18, 1899. S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, p. 43.
35. [↗](#) C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility" (1978), pp. 5, 15; Robert S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism* (1992), p. 105-106, p. 281 (n. 10, 11). Source cited: C. Hirshfield, "The British Left and the 'Jewish Conspiracy'," *Jewish Social Studies*, Spring 1981, pp. 105-107.
36. [↗](#) C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility," pp. 11, 20; Also quoted in: Robert S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism* (1992), p. 281 (n. 11). Source cited: C. Hirshfield, "The British Left and the 'Jewish Conspiracy'," *Jewish Social Studies*, Spring 1981, pp. 106-107.
37. [↗](#) C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility," pp. 10, 20. Burns' speech of Feb. 6, 1990, is also quoted in part in S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, pp. 94-95. It is also quoted (although not entirely accurately) in: R. S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism* (1992), p. 281 (n. 11). Source cited: C. Hirshfield, "The British Left and the 'Jewish Conspiracy'," *Jewish Social Studies*, Spring 1981, p. 105.
38. [↗](#) C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility," pp. 10, 20.
39. [↗](#) An excerpt of Davitt's speech of October 17, 1899, is given in: S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, pp. 33-34. Davitt also wrote a book, *The Boer Fight For Freedom*, published in 1902.
40. [↗](#) Hobson is perhaps best known as the author of *Imperialism: A Study*, a classic treatise on the subject first published in 1902.
41. [↗](#) C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility," pp. 13, 23; J. A. Hobson, *The War in South Africa: Its Causes and Effects* (1900 and 1969), p. 189.
42. [↗](#) J. A. Hobson, "Johannesburg Today," *Manchester Guardian*, Sept. 28, 1899. Reprinted in: S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, pp. 26-27.
43. [↗](#) J. A. Hobson, *The War in South Africa*, p. 197.
44. [↗](#) C. Hirshfield, "The Boer War and the Issue of Jewish Responsibility," pp. 13, 23.
45. [↗](#) S. Koss, *The Pro-Boers*, p. 54.
46. [↗](#) T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, pp. 607-608; T. Pakenham, *Scramble*, p. 581.
47. [↗](#) F. Welsh, *South Africa: A Narrative History* (1999), p. 343.
48. [↗](#) In his honor, the city of Berlin in Ontario province, Canada, was renamed Kitchener in 1916, a move that reflected the anti-German hysteria of the day.

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Mark Weber, director of the Institute for Historical Review, was born and raised in Portland, Oregon. He was educated at Portland State University, the University of Illinois (Chicago), the University of Munich, and Indiana University (Bloomington). He has been editor of *The Journal for Historical Review* since April 1992. This essay is a revision and expansion of an essay that was first published in the Fall 1980 *Journal*.

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Elie Wiesel: One More Lie

by [Robert Faurisson](#)

On February 7, 1996, Elie Wiesel, Nobel Peace Prize laureate and professor at Boston University, was awarded an honorary doctorate by Jules Verne University at Picardy, France. Reporting on the speech delivered by Wiesel on that occasion, the local newspaper (Le Courrier Picard, Feb. 9, 1996) informed readers:

One question the public was anxious be answered: “And what do you make of the emergence of revisionist and Holocaust denying tendencies?” Wiesel responded: “Those are [the work of] virulent and vicious anti-Semites, organized and well-financed. On the day I received the Nobel Prize there were hundreds in the street demonstrating against me. Never will I afford them the dignity of a debate. These are morally sick individuals. While I am able to fight against injustice, I have no idea how to go about fighting against ugliness.”

Here one can see Elie Wiesel’s typical phraseology, but his statement that “on the day I received the Nobel Prize there were hundreds in the street demonstrating against me” is something new, and constitutes yet one more lie by this “prominent false witness,” as I have called him, or “Shoah merchant” as Pierre Vidal-Naquet (in an interview with M. Folco, in *Zéro*, April 1987, p. 57) has called him.

As someone who was present in Oslo at the site of the award ceremony in December 1986, I am able to report that the number of protesters there was precisely zero. Three persons did show up to distribute a leaflet, printed in both Swedish and English, entitled “Elie Wiesel: A Prominent False Witness” [also available as an IHR leaflet]. All three of these persons were Frenchmen: Pierre Guillaume, Serge Thion and myself.

About the author:

Robert Faurisson is Europe’s foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this Journal. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

The Elie Wiesel item is a translation and adaptation of a piece originally written in February 1996, and published in *Rivarol*, March 15, 1996, p. 2. The item about Rossel and Lanzmann is adapted from a text originally written on June 25, 1999.

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Library Removes Revisionist Work

A London library has removed a book from its collection because it questions Holocaust extermination claims. A report on the incident distributed by the World Jewish Congress relates that a copy of *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* was removed “after a local politician discovered it in the history section and voiced his complaint to the library staff.” (Source: WJC dispatch, headlined “Obscene,” in *The Jewish Press* [Brooklyn], June 4, 1999.)

Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence, published by the Institute for Historical Review, is a scholarly revisionist study of Auschwitz and the “Holocaust” issue. It was written by Wilhelm Stäglich, a retired German jurist who served in 1944 with an anti-aircraft unit stationed at Auschwitz, and after the war for 20 years as an administrative judge in Hamburg. (The hardcover edition is available from the IHR for \$14.95, plus shipping.)

Removal from public libraries of books presenting dissident historical views is a form of censorship, of course. In Britain, apparently, librarians will now remove any “politically incorrect” books that a “local politician” finds objectionable.

In the United States, libraries are inconsistent regarding “Holocaust denial” books. Some libraries will not accept such works, and others will quietly remove them after objections are voiced. But many American libraries, including the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, and prominent university libraries, include a range of “denial” books in their holdings, and even subscribe to the IHR’s *Journal of Historical Review*.

In 1979 the German edition of Stäglich’s *Auschwitz* book was “indexed,” effectively prohibiting its open sale in Germany, and a while later authorities seized the remaining copies from the publisher. Because of his public skepticism of Holocaust claims, in 1983 the University of Göttingen revoked his 1951 doctorate in law — on the basis of a Third Reich law.

Stäglich has been member of this Journal’s Editorial Advisory Committee since 1981. The text of his address at the Fifth IHR Conference in 1983 was published in the Spring 1984 Journal issue.

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No Light, No Smoke, No Stench, No Holes

by [Robert Faurisson](#)

In addition to the phrase “No Holes, No Holocaust,” one may now add: “And no light, no smoke, no stench.” This is thanks to Dr. Maurice Rossel, an official of the International Committee of the Red Cross, who, in September 1944, visited the Auschwitz camp Commandant. (For more on this, see my 1980, essay, “Sur Auschwitz, un document capital de la Croix-Rouge Internationale,” reprinted in the 1999 collection of my writings, *Écrits révisionnistes* (1974-1998), pp. 219 ff.)

On the front page of the “Style” section of The Washington Post of June 25, 1999 (pp. C1, C8) appears a lengthy article by staff writer Marc Fisher that sympathetically reports on a new film by French-Jewish filmmaker Claude Lanzmann, “A Visitor from the Living.” [See also: S. Thion, “Claude Lanzmann and 'Shoah': The Dictatorship of Imbecility,” Nov.-Dec. 1997 Journal, pp. 8-10.]

An extract from the Post article about the film:

Lanzmann moves in, his short, calm questions presented like invitations to a dance, with all the proper flourishes and courtesies.

“Did you know you were in an extermination camp?”

“I didn’t know the scale it had reached,” Rossel says, and for the first time, he is looking off, just slightly away.

“Did you see a light glimmering?” It seems the Poles in nearby villages have told Lanzmann that they saw this light from Auschwitz, this reflection of horror.

“I saw none, no smoke,” Rossel says.

“No stench?”

“No stench.”

About the author:

Robert Faurisson is Europe’s foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have

been published in this Journal. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

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Kennedy's 1945 Visit to Germany

In late July and early August 1945, just weeks after the end of the war in Europe, the 28-year-old John F. Kennedy visited war-devastated Germany. Accompanying him on this tour was US Navy Secretary James Forrestal (whom President Truman later appointed as the first Secretary of Defense).

Kennedy recorded his experiences and observations in a diary that was not made public until just a few years ago. (It was published under the title *Prelude to Leadership: The European Diary of John F. Kennedy, Summer 1945* [Washington, DC: Regnery, 1995].)

These diary entries show the youthful Kennedy's wide-ranging curiosity and eye for telling detail — attributes that were also manifest in his two best-selling books, *While England Slept* (1940) and *Profiles in Courage*. Earlier in 1945, he had attended the opening session of the United Nations organization in San Francisco, and had visited Britain to view the parliamentary election campaign, covering both events as a journalist for the Hearst newspaper chain.

In Berlin, Kennedy noted upon his arrival there on July 28, "The devastation is complete. Unter den Linden [boulevard] and the streets are relatively clear, but there is not a single building which is not gutted. On some of the streets the stench — sweet and sickish from dead bodies — is overwhelming." For the Berlin population, he reported, "The basic ration is 1½ pounds a day — approximately 1,200 calories (2,000 considered by the health authorities for normal diet — the ration is only 900 calories in Vienna)."

Kennedy made several diary references to the ferocity of the Soviet Russian occupation of Germany. "The Russians moved in with such violence at the beginning — stripping factories and raping women — that they alienated the German members of the Communistic Party, which had some strength in the factories."

"Raping and looting" by Soviet troops "was general," Kennedy also reported. "What they didn't take, they destroyed." Elsewhere he wrote: "The Russians have pretty well plundered the country, have been living off it ... The Russians have been taking all the able-bodied men and women and shipping them away."

He also took note of the impact of the devastating British-American air attacks: "According to our naval experts, the bombing of Germany was not effective in stopping their production, and production increased three-fold during 1942-1944." Right until the end, Kennedy also reported, an adequate food distribution was maintained in the German capital: "The feeding in Berlin was extremely well organized, even in the most severe blitz."

Ordinary Germans, he reported at another point, "did not realize what was going on in the concentration camps."

Kennedy and Forrestal also visited Bremen, an important north German industrial and commercial center, and a major port city. As Kennedy reported, the Russians were not the only occupation forces to carry out wide-scale looting in Germany: “The British had gone into Bremen ahead of us — and everyone was unanimous in their description of British looting and destruction, which had been very heavy. They had taken everything which at all related to the sea — ships, small boats, lubricants, machinery, etc.”

He also noted misdeeds of US troops. “Americans looted town [Bremen] heavily on arrival,” he wrote. “People do not seem to realize,” he added, “how fortunate they have been in escaping the Russians. As far as looting the homes and the towns, however, the British and Americans have been very guilty.”

In Bremen, Kennedy wrote, the Germans' diet “is about 1,200 calories — ours being 4,000.” In spite of everything, “none of the [American] officers and men here seem to have any particular hate for the Germans.”

Kennedy met and spoke with US Navy officials in Bremen. Because he had been commander of an American torpedo boat in the Pacific — the famous PT-109 — he had a special interest in the German counterpart — the Schnellboot or “E boat.” After looking into the matter in some detail, Kennedy concluded that the German version was “far superior to our PT boat.”

Hitler's Place in History

After Bremen and Bremerhaven, Kennedy and Forrestal flew to Bavaria, where they visited the town of Berchtesgaden and then drove up to Hitler's mountain retreat, which was “completely gutted, the result of an air attack from 12,000 pound bombs by the R.A.F. [British air force] in an attempt on Hitler's life.” They then ascended to Hitler's “Eagle's Nest” lair high in the mountains.

Just after this visit, Kennedy wrote a remarkable commentary in his diary, dated August 1, 1945, about Hitler and his place in history:

After visiting these places, you can easily understand how that within a few years Hitler will emerge from the hatred that surrounds him now as one of the most significant figures who ever lived.

He had boundless ambition for his country which rendered him a menace to the peace of the world, but he had a mystery about him in the way that he lived and in the manner of his death that will live and grow after him. He had in him the stuff of which legends are made.

Less than a year after this European tour, Kennedy was elected to Congress in Massachusetts, beginning a political career that took him to the White House, and which ended suddenly with his death on November 22, 1963.

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Polish Professor Under Fire for 'Holocaust Denial'

Dariusz Ratajczak, a professor at the University of Opole in southern Poland, was suspended in April 1999 from his teaching post following protests over his book, “Dangerous Topics,” in which he writes sympathetically about revisionist scholarship disputing Holocaust claims.

Jewish organizations lost no time in voicing alarm over the new book, which apparently is the most scholarly presentation thus far in Poland of Holocaust revisionism. A Jewish community leader in Poland called it “shocking.”

In the book, which was sold in university bookstores, Ratajczak appears to agree with specialists who contend that, for technical reasons, well-known claims of killing millions of Jews in gas chambers are impossible, that Zyklon B was used only for disinfecting, and that there was no German plan or program to exterminate Europe’s Jews. He also contends that most Holocaust scholars “are adherents of a religion of the Holocaust.”

The 37-year-old professor, who served with the university’s Historical Institute, was popular with students. He responded to the furor with a letter to the influential Polish daily newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, in which he denied being an anti-Semite.

On May 31, 1999, state prosecutors in southwestern Poland brought charges against Ratajczak for violating a recently-enacted law that bans public denial of German crimes. If convicted, the scholar faces three years imprisonment.

In promulgating the law, Poland joins several other European states that criminalize “Holocaust denial.” Unlike similar laws elsewhere, though, the Polish law additionally bans “denial” of Communist crimes.

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Gerhard Förster

Gerhard Förster, a courageous Swiss publisher of revisionist books, died in his sleep during the night of September 22-23, 1998, in a home for the elderly in Baden, northern Switzerland. He was a co-defendant, with Jürgen Graf, in the “Holocaust denial” trial in Switzerland on July 16, 1998 — the most important legal proceeding so far on the basis of Switzerland’s “Anti-Racism Law.”

At the trial, the 78-year-old Förster was in such poor health that he had to be brought into the courtroom in a wheelchair. He was sentenced on July 21, 1998, to 12 months in prison for bringing out several allegedly anti-Jewish books, including two by Graf, through his Neue Visionen publishing firm. In addition, Förster was fined 8,000 Swiss francs (\$5,500). The court also ordered him to turn over 45,000 francs earned from book sales. (See “Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists,” July-August 1998 Journal, pp. 2- 12).

Förster was a retired electrical engineer who held several dozen patents. He was born in Silesia, Germany, and served briefly during the Second World War as a private in the regular German army. His father perished, along with some two million others, in the flight and genocidal expulsion of some 12-14 million ethnic Germans from central and eastern Europe, 1944-1948. Förster moved from Germany to Switzerland in 1957, and had been a Swiss citizen for many years. His wife died before him.

All books of Förster’s Neue Visionen publishing firm are now distributed by, and available from, the Foundation for Free Historical Research in Flanders (VHO, Postbus 60, B-2600 Berchem 2, Belgium).

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Wartime 'Master Race' Photo Deceit

A common deception technique is to falsely caption or otherwise misrepresent an authentic photograph. Shown here is the front cover of a 1943 issue of the British magazine *Parade*, which was a tool of wartime Allied anti-German propaganda. It purports to show a disheveled and malevolent-looking German soldier, above the caption “Master Race.” Derek Knight, an Englishman who served during World War II with the British “Army Film and Photographic Unit,” revealed later that the man in this photo was actually an uncomprehending Egyptian who had been found on a Cairo street. He was persuaded to put on German helmet and a uniform-like jacket, and to permit himself to be photographed.

(Source: K. Sojka, ed. *Bilder, die Fälschen: Dubiose “Dokumente” zur Zeitgeschichte* [Munich: FZ-Verlag, 1999], p. 131; *D. National-Zeitung* [Munich], Oct. 13, 1995, p. 10.)

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Review

New Evidence on the 1941 'Barbarossa' Attack: Why Hitler Attacked Soviet Russia When He Did

- *Stalins Falle: Er wollte den Krieg* ("Stalin's Trap: He Wanted War"), by Adolf von Thadden. Rosenheim: Kultur und Zeitgeschichte/Archiv der Zeit, 1996. (Available from: Postfach 1180, 32352 Preussisch Oldendorf, Germany). Hardcover. 170 pages. Photos. Bibliography.

Reviewed by [Daniel W. Michaels](#)

Until his death in July 1996, Adolf von Thadden was a prominent and respected figure in German "right wing" or "nationalist" (conservative) circles. ^[1] In this, his final book, this prolific writer concisely and cogently explains why Hitler was compelled, for both political and military reasons, to launch his preemptive strike against the Soviet Union when and how he did. "Stalin's Trap" is also his final legacy to future generations, a sort of testament to young Germans.

For decades the prevailing and more or less official view in the United States and Europe has been that a race-crazed Adolf Hitler, without warning or provocation, betrayed a trusting Josef Stalin by launching a treacherous surprise attack against the totally unprepared Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Von Thadden's book — which is based in large part on recently uncovered evidence from Russian archives, Stalin's own statements, and new revelations of Russian military specialists — persuasively debunks this view.

Many Soviet documents captured by the Germans during the course of the war, as well as German intelligence reports on the Soviet buildup in 1941, amply justify Hitler's decision to strike. Presented before an impartial tribunal, this evidence surely would have exonerated the German military and political leadership. Unfortunately, all of these documents were confiscated and kept by the victorious Allies.

In his lengthy December 11, 1941, speech declaring war against the United States, Hitler described in detail the Soviet menace, which was being aided and abetted by Britain and the (still officially neutral) USA. In this historic Reichstag address, the German leader said: ^[2]

Already in 1940 it became increasingly clear from month to month that the plans of the men in the Kremlin were aimed at the domination, and thus the destruction, of all of Europe. I have already told the nation of the build-up of Soviet Russian military power in the East during a period when Germany had only a few divisions in the provinces bordering Soviet Russia. Only a blind person could fail to see that a military build-up of unique world-historical dimensions was being carried out. And this

was not in order to protect something that was being threatened, but rather only to attack that which seemed incapable of defense ...

When I became aware of the possibility of a threat to the east of the Reich in 1940 through [secret] reports from the British House of Commons and by observations of Soviet Russian troop movements on our frontiers, I immediately ordered the formation of many new armored, motorized and infantry divisions ...

We realized very clearly that under no circumstances could we allow the enemy the opportunity to strike first into our rear. Nevertheless, the decision in this case was a very difficult one ...

A truly impressive amount of authentic material is now available that confirms that a Soviet Russian attack was intended. We are also sure about when this attack was to take place. In view of this danger, the extent of which we are perhaps only now truly aware, I can only thank the Lord God that He enlightened me in time, and has given me the strength to do what must be done. Millions of German soldiers may thank Him for their lives, and all of Europe for its existence.

I may say this today: If the wave of more than 20,000 tanks, hundreds of divisions, tens of thousands of artillery pieces, along with more than 10,000 airplanes, had not been kept from being set into motion against the Reich, Europe would have been lost ...

During the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, former high-level Third Reich officials testified about the background to the Barbarossa attack, describing the Soviet threat in 1941, and the staggering amounts of war materiel they encountered after their forces penetrated Soviet territory. But this evidence was brusquely dismissed by the Tribunal's Allied-appointed judges.

Von Thadden cites, for example, the Nuremberg testimony of Hermann Göring: [\[3\]](#)

We learned very quickly, through our close relations with Yugoslavia, the background of General Simovic's coup [in Belgrade on March 27, 1941]. Shortly afterwards it was confirmed that the information from Yugoslavia was correct, namely, that a strong Russian political influence existed, as well as extensive financial assistance for the undertaking on the part of England, of which we later found proof. It was clear that this venture was directed against the friendly policy of the previous Yugoslav government toward Germany ...

The new Yugoslav government, quite obviously and beyond doubt, clearly stood in closest relationship with the enemies we had at that time, that is to say, England and, in this connection, with the enemy to be, Russia.

The Simovic affair was definitely the final and decisive factor that dispelled the Führer's very last scruples about Russia's attitude, and prompted him to take preventive measures in that direction under all circumstances.

As von Thadden also relates, General Alfred Jodl, one of Hitler's closest military advisors, similarly testified before the Nuremberg Tribunal about Germany's "Barbarossa" attack: [\[4\]](#)

It was undeniably a purely preventive war. What we found out later on was the certainty of enormous Russian military preparations opposite our frontier. I will dis-

pense with details, but I can only say that although we succeeded in a tactical surprise as to the day and the hour, it was no strategic surprise. Russia was fully prepared for war.

Allied authorities at Nuremberg denied to the German defendants access to the documents that would have exonerated them. [5] Germany's military and political leaders were hanged, committed suicide, or were deported to the Soviet Union for slave labor or execution. As a result, the task of setting straight the historical record has been left to others, including scholars in Russia and the United States, as well as such honorable Germans as von Thadden.

Further evidence cited by von Thadden about the German-Russian clash was provided by Andrei Vlassov, a prominent Soviet Russian general who had been captured by the Germans. During a conversation in 1942 with SS general Richard Hildebrandt, he was asked if Stalin had intended to attack Germany, and if so, when. As Hildebrandt later related:

Vlassov responded by saying that the attack was planned for August-September 1941. The Russians had been preparing the attack since the beginning of the year, which took quite a while because of the poor Russian railroad network. Hitler had sized up the situation entirely correctly, and had struck directly into the Russian buildup. This, said Vlassov, is the reason for the tremendous initial German successes.

No one has done more than Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun), a one-time Soviet military intelligence officer, to show that Stalin was preparing to attack Germany and the West as part of a long-range project for global Sovietization, and that Hitler had no rational alternative but to counter this by launching his own attack. [6] In "Stalin's Trap," von Thadden discusses and confirms Suvorov's analysis, while also citing the findings of other Russian military historians who, working in archives accessible only since 1990, support and elaborate on Suvorov's work. These include retired Soviet Colonel Aleksei Filipov, who wrote "The Red Army's State of War Preparedness in June 1941," an article published in 1992 in the Russian military journal, *Voyenni Vestnik*, and Valeri Danilov, another retired Soviet Colonel, who wrote "Did the General Staff of the Red Army Plan a Preventive Strike Against Germany?," which appeared first in a Russian newspaper, and later, in translation, in the respected Austrian military journal, *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*.

On the 46th anniversary of the end of the war in Europe, the influential Moscow daily *Pravda* (May 8, 1991) told readers:

Unrealistic [Soviet] plans of an offensive nature were drawn up before the war as a result of an overestimation of our own capabilities and an underestimation of the enemy's. In accordance with these plans we began deploying our forces on the western frontier. But the enemy beat us to it.

More recently, two prominent European historians, one German and one Austrian, have presented further evidence of Soviet preparations for an attack against Germany. The first of these is Joachim Hoffmann, who for many years was a historian with the renowned Military History Research Center in Freiburg. He lays out his evidence in *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg, 1941-1945* ("Stalin's War of Annihilation"), a work of some 300 pages that has appeared in at least three editions. The second is Heinz Magenheimer, a member of the Academy of National Defense in Vienna, and an editor of the *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*. His detailed book has recently appeared in English under the title *Hitler's War: German Military Strategy, 1940-1945* (London: 1998).

Von Thadden also reviews a series of articles in the German weekly *Der Spiegel* about Soviet plans, worked out by General Georgi Zhukov, to attack northern Germany and Romania in early 1941. Commenting on this, Colonel Vladimir Karpov has stated:

Just imagine if Zhukov's plan had been accepted and implemented. At dawn one morning in May or June thousands of our aircraft and tens of thousands of our artillery pieces would have struck against densely concentrated enemy forces, whose positions were known down to the battalion level — a surprise even more inconceivable than the German attack on us.

Stalin's Speeches

Von Thadden cites and quotes at length from several speeches by Stalin, as well as from an order he issued in 1943. According to the author, these show that Stalin — like his predecessor, Lenin — always considered war to be the ultimate vehicle by which to promote world Communist revolution and usher in the global dictatorship of the proletariat.

Perhaps the most revealing of these speeches is Stalin's address to a Politburo meeting on August 19, 1939. Delivered to an intimate circle of associates, it shows his astute but utterly cynical evaluation of political forces, and reveals his cunning foresight. (To this writer's knowledge, no American historian has yet taken public notice of this speech.)

Stalin delivered this speech just as Soviet officials were negotiating with British and French representatives about a possible military alliance with Britain and France, and as German and Soviet officials were discussing a possible non-aggression pact between their countries. Four days after this speech, German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop met with Stalin in the Kremlin to sign the German-Soviet non-aggression pact.

It is important to point out here that Stalin could have prevented war in 1939 by agreeing to support Britain and France in their "guarantee" of support to Poland, or simply by announcing that the Soviet Union would firmly oppose any violation by Germany of Polish territory. He decided instead to give Hitler a "green light" to attack Poland, fully anticipating that Britain and France would then declare war on Germany, making the localized conflict into a full-scale, Europe-wide war.

In this speech, Stalin laid out his shrewd and calculating view of the European situation:

The question of war or peace has entered a critical phase for us. If we conclude a mutual assistance pact with France and Great Britain, Germany will back off from Poland and seek a *modus vivendi* with the Western powers. War would be avoided, but down the road events could become dangerous for the USSR. If we accept Germany's proposal and conclude a non-aggression pact with her, she will of course invade Poland, and the intervention of France and England in that would be unavoidable. Western Europe would be subjected to serious upheavals and disorder. Under those conditions, we would have a great opportunity to stay out of the conflict, and we could plan the opportune time for us to enter the war.

The experience of the last 20 years has shown that in peacetime the Communist movement is never strong enough to seize power. The dictatorship of such a party will only become possible as the result of a major war.

Our choice is clear. We must accept the German proposal and politely send the Anglo-French mission home. Our immediate advantage will be to take Poland to the gates of Warsaw, as well as Ukrainian Galicia ...

For the realization of these plans it is essential that the war continue for a long as possible, and all forces, with which we are actively involved, should be directed toward this goal ...

Let us consider a second possibility, that is, a victory by Germany ... It is obvious that Germany will be too occupied elsewhere to turn against us. In a conquered France, the French Communist Party will be very strong. The Communist revolution will break out unavoidably, and we will be able to fully exploit this situation to come to the aid of France and make it our ally. In addition, all the nations that fall under the "protection" of a victorious Germany will also become our allies. This presents for us a broad field of action in which to develop the world revolution.

Comrades! It is in the interest of the USSR — the workers' homeland — that war breaks out between the Reich and the capitalist Anglo-French block. Everything should be done so that this drags out as long as possible with the goal of weakening both sides. For this reason, it is imperative that we agree to conclude the pact proposed by Germany, and then work that this war, which will one day be declared, is carried out after the greatest possible passage of time...

The Soviet leader's daring calculation to use Germany as an "icebreaker" for war was, von Thadden says, "Stalin's trap."

A version of this speech has been known since 1939, but for decades it has been widely dismissed as a fraud. However, in 1994 Russian historians found an authoritative text of it in a special secret Soviet archive, and quickly published it in a prominent Russian scholarly journal, as well as in an academic publication of Novosibirsk University. ^[7] Shortly after this August 1939 speech, von Thadden points out, Stalin ordered a two-year military mobilization plan, a massive project that culminated in the summer of 1941 with powerful Soviet forces poised to strike westwards against Germany and the rest of Europe.

On May 5, 1941, just seven weeks before the German attack, Stalin delivered another important speech, this one at a ceremonial banquet in the Kremlin to graduates of the Frunze Military Academy. Also attending were the members of Stalin's "inner circle," including Molotov and Beria.

During the war, von Thadden relates, the Germans reconstructed the text of this speech based on recollections of captured Soviet officers who had attended the banquet.

As von Thadden notes, a number of historians have predictably denied its authenticity, rejecting it as a product of German propaganda disinformation. However, several years ago Russian historian Lev Bezymensky found the text of a portion of the speech, which had been edited for anticipated publication, in Kremlin archives. He published this text in a 1992 issue of the scholarly journal *Osteuropa*.

In this speech, Stalin stressed that the recent peaceful policy of the Soviet state had played out its role. (With this policy, the Soviet Union had greatly extended its borders westward in 1939 and 1940, absorbing some 30 million people.) Now, Stalin bluntly announced, it was time to prepare for war against Germany, a conflict that would begin soon. He cited the tremendous buildup of

Soviet military power, both in quantity and quality, during the last few years. The recent German “occupation” of Bulgaria, and the transfer of German troops to Finland, he went on, are “grounds for war against Germany.”

Stalin said:

Our war plan is ready ... We can begin the war with Germany within the next two months ... There is a peace treaty with Germany, but this is only a deception, or rather a curtain, behind which we can openly work ...

The peaceful policy secured peace for our country ... Now, however, with our reorganized army, which is technologically well prepared for modern warfare, now that we are strong, we must now go from defense to attack.

In fully defending our country, we are obliged to act offensively. We must move from defense to a military policy of offensive action. We must reorganize our propaganda, agitation, and our press in an offensive spirit. The Red Army is a modern army, and a modern army is an offensive army.

The motto of a peaceful policy of the Soviet government is now out of date, and has been overtaken by events ... A new era in the development of the Soviet state has begun, the era of the expansion of its borders, not, as before, through a peaceful policy, but rather by force of arms. Our country has available all the necessary conditions for this.

The successes of the German army are due to the fact that it has not encountered an equally strong opponent. Some Soviet commanders have falsely overestimated the successes of the German army ...

Therefore, I propose a toast to the new era that has dawned in the development of our socialist fatherland. Long live the active offensive policy of the Soviet state!

In the face of all the new evidence that has become available in recent years, von Thadden contends here, obviously it will be necessary to reexamine the long-standing official interpretation of the war.

To shore up the beleaguered “establishment” view of the Hitler-Stalin clash, a group of concerned scholars met at an international conference in Moscow in 1995. Historians from Europe, Israel, the United States and Canada met with their Russian counterparts to coordinate the “official” line, in both Russia and the West, on the German-Russian clash and its origins. These historians simply ignored most of the abundant and growing body of evidence for the revisionist view of this chapter of history, including the Stalin speeches and other evidence cited by von Thadden, or the recent substantiating findings of Russian historians.

To show that even “establishment” scholars can change their view about this chapter of history, von Thadden cites French historian Stéphane Courtois. [\[8\]](#)

I work for a reevaluation of Stalin. He was the greatest criminal of this century. But at the same time he was the century’s greatest politician: its most competent and most professional. He understood best of all how to utilize all means in the service of his goals. From 1917 onwards, he had a global vision, and sticking to his project, he achieved it ... Of course, one can easily say that Hitler unleashed the war. But the ev-

idence of Stalin's responsibility is shattering. Stalin wanted to eradicate anyone who opposed the Marxist-Leninist social order.

"Because of the resistance of German soldiers," concludes von Thadden, "the Russians and the Anglo-American 'liberators' met each other not in western Europe, but rather on the Elbe in central Germany."

Notes

1. [U](#) Von Thadden wrote numerous articles and essays, and was a co-publisher of the Coburg monthly *Nation und Europe*. Other books by him include *Zwei Angreifer: Hitler and Stalin*, 1993; *Adolf Hitler*, 1991; *Die verfemte Rechte*, 1984; *Guernica: Greuelpropaganda oder Kriegsverbrechen?*
2. [U](#) "Hitler's Declaration of War Against the United States," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 389-416.
3. [U](#) This portion of Göring's testimony, given on March 15, 1946, is in the IMT "blue series" (Nuremberg), vol. 9, pp. 333-334. On March 27, 1941, Serbian officers in Belgrade, with backing from Britain, and possibly also the United States, overthrew the pro-German Yugoslav government of prime minister Cvetkovic. The new government, headed by General Simovic, quickly concluded a pact with Moscow. The subsequent German invasion of Yugoslavia, launched on April 6, delayed the Barbarossa attack against the USSR by several weeks. See: *Germany and the Second World War* (Oxford Univ. Press: 1995), vol. 3, pp. 480, 498, 499.
4. [U](#) This portion of Jodl's testimony, given on June 5, 1946, is in the IMT "blue series," vol. 15, pp. 394-395.
5. [U](#) See David Irving's study, *Nuremberg: The Last Battle*, reviewed in the July-August 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*. See also, M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," Summer 1992 *Journal*, pp. 167-213.
6. [U](#) Suvorov's first three books on World War II have been reviewed in *The Journal of Historical Review*. The first two, *Icebreaker* and "M Day," were reviewed in Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal* (Vol. 16, No. 6), pp. 22-34. His third book, "The Last Republic," was reviewed in the July-August 1998 *Journal* (Vol. 17, No. 4), pp. 30-37.
7. [U](#) A portion of this speech is quoted in part in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 32-34, and in the July-August 1998 *Journal*, p. 31.
8. [U](#) Works by Courtois include *Histoire du parti communiste français* (1995), *L'etat du monde en 1945* (1994), *Rigueur et passion* (1994), *50 ans d'une passion française*, 1991), *Qui savait quoi?* (1987), and, perhaps best known, *Le livre noir du communisme: Crimes, terreur, repression* (1997).

About the author:

Daniel W. Michaels retired from the U.S. Department of Defense after 40 years of service. He is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954), and a Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957). He writes from his home in Washington, DC.

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German Court Sentences Australian Holocaust Skeptic [Fredrick Töben]

Dr. Töben Free After Seven Months In Custody

Dr. Fredrick Töben, an Australian scholar and educator, is free after seven months in German prison for having disputed Holocaust extermination allegations. He was taken into custody in Mannheim on April 8, 1999, and detained, without bail, until his trial in November. Töben, 55, is a leading Holocaust revisionist writer and publicist in Australia, where he founded and (until his arrest) directed the Adelaide Institute, an important revisionist research and publishing center.

At the conclusion of the three-day trial on November 10, 1999, a Mannheim district court found Töben guilty on charges of incitement to racial hatred, insulting the memory of the dead, and public denial of genocide, because he had disputed Holocaust extermination claims in writings sent to persons in Germany. Presiding Judge Klaus Kern said that there is no doubt that Töben is guilty of “denying the Holocaust,” and that because there is no sign that he would relent his views and activities, a prison sentence was required. The court then sentenced him to ten months imprisonment.

Taking into consideration the seven months he had already served in custody, Judge Kern ruled that Töben could be released on payment of a bail or fine of 6,000 marks (about \$3,500) in lieu of the three months remaining of his prison sentence. German sympathizers quickly raised the money, and he was freed within 24 hours of the verdict.

Important Court Ruling on Internet

In a ruling with potentially far-reaching consequences, the Mannheim court declared that German law has no jurisdiction over Töben’s “on-line” writings or publications. It declined to consider the extensive evidence presented by the prosecution taken from the Adelaide Institute’s Internet web site. Judge Kern said the court could take into account only the material Töben had mailed to or otherwise physically distributed in Germany. Material published on the Internet is not published in Germany. Instead, he went on, its distribution requires the Internet user, acting on his own initiative, to connect with the Adelaide Institute web site, and then to download material from it.

“This is a victory for free speech,” Töben commented upon his release. “We have saved the Internet as a place we can tell the truth and not be punished for it.” The German court’s Internet ruling may be relevant, for example, in the current legal case before the “Human Rights Commission” in Toronto, Canada, which charges Ernst Zündel with distributing “hate” through an Internet web site based in southern California.

Expressing concern that the Mannheim court’s verdict sets a dangerous precedent, prosecutor Hans-Heiko Klein immediately lodged an appeal. “This is the first time,” he said, that “a court in

Germany has decided that some things which are said in [sic] Germany on the Internet cannot be subject to German laws. This is a very bad thing. It will undermine our laws which are very important for ensuring that history in Germany is not repeated.”

Töben’s attorney is likewise appealing the court’s sentence.

Töben remains defiant. “I will not be silenced,” he vowed. “I intend to keep using the Internet to promote discussion on these issues. I believe in seeking the truth. Why are they so afraid in Germany of allowing open discussion about the so-called Holocaust? It can only be because they are afraid of the truth.”

Intimidation of Defendants

On the first day of the trial, November 8, Töben announced that he would not defend himself against the charges because by doing so he would likely be charged for additional violations of Germany’s “Holocaust denial” and “incitement” laws. His lawyer, Ludwig Bock, similarly announced that he would offer no defense on behalf of Töben because he risked being charged himself. “If I say anything I will go to jail myself, and if he says anything there will be another trial,” Bock told a reporter.

Prosecutor Klein later confirmed that such fears were entirely justified. “If they [Töben and Bock] had repeated things in this court which are against the law I would have charged them again,” said Klein. Bock did however read a statement to the court that compared the prosecution of Töben and other “Holocaust deniers” to the trials of witches in the Middle Ages, and which called Germany’s anti-revisionist laws a gross violation of the principle of freedom of speech.

In the German legal system no privilege protects the evidence of witnesses in court. If a defendant, or his attorney, says something in court that repeats the “crime” for which he is being tried, he can be charged again. This makes it all but impossible for defendants in such “thought crime” cases to present effective arguments and pertinent evidence.

“The problem we have,” said Geoff Muirden, Adelaide Institute acting director, “is that since it’s against the law to produce hard evidence to prove aspects of the Holocaust are wrong, we can’t mount much of a defense.”

“I wanted the court to go with me to Auschwitz and see the evidence,” said Töben. “In any case where murder is alleged, there has to be a murder weapon. I have been to Auschwitz and I know there is no mass murder weapon there. The so-called [homicidal] gas chambers do not exist.”

Bock, who is well-known in Germany as a defender of Holocaust “thought criminals,” meanwhile is awaiting the outcome of an appeal of his own conviction (and 9,000-mark fine) earlier this year on a charge of inciting racial hatred because, in defending another revisionist skeptic, Günter Deckert, he had criticized German political leaders and judges for suppressing debate on the Holocaust issue.

In similar cases in the past, German courts have simply refused to consider evidence supporting revisionist claims. In effect, truth is no defense. For example, some years ago German courts fined best-selling British historian David Irving 30,000 marks (about \$21,000) for publicly saying what is now authoritatively conceded. He was punished for having told a Munich meeting in April 1990 that the structure in Auschwitz that has been portrayed for decades to tourists as an extermination gas chamber is a “dummy” (Attrappe).

Irving was found guilty of thus “disparaging the memory of the dead,” a German criminal code provision that effectively “protects” only Jews. The judge refused to consider any of the evidence presented by Irving’s attorneys, including a plea to permit Dr. Franciszek Piper, senior curator and archives director of the Auschwitz State Museum, to testify in the case.

Also in Switzerland, “thought crime” defendants are intimidated by the authorities. During a July 1998 “Holocaust denial” trial in Switzerland, the public prosecutor threatened to charge a court-qualified engineer with “racial discrimination” for having given sworn testimony as an expert witness that confirmed technical arguments the defendants had made. (See “Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists,” July-August 1998 Journal, pp. 2-12)

Töben firmly rejects the premise of German authorities that revisionists are dangerous neo-Nazis:

It’s time we got rid of this conceptual prison in our language which brands anyone who seeks the truth about the Holocaust as neo-Nazi or anti-Semitic. I am neither of these things. There are Jewish people who agree with me that we should establish the truth. The Holocaust is a matter of belief for many people. I respect that. But it is not a matter of fact. I only want to deal in facts.

Töben also rejects the “Holocaust denier” label. “No one denies that this terrible thing happened,” he has said. “We are looking at allegations that Germans systematically killed people, specifically Jews, in homicidal gas chambers.”

Free Speech Groups Protest Detention

In Australia, John Bennett promptly denounced Töben’s detention. The nationally renowned civil rights defender said that Töben had been arrested “under draconian anti-free-speech laws.” Calling this a “classic free speech case,” Bennett urged people to contact German embassies and other appropriate German agencies to protest the arrest. Bennett also helped organize a legal defense fund to secure the historian’s release.

Since 1980 Bennett has been president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union (P.O. Box 1137, Carlton, Vic. 3053, Australia). For decades he has also been a leading revisionist writer and publicist in Australia.

In London, historian David Irving promptly condemned Dr. Töben’s arrest as an “outrage.” The best-selling British author is himself banned from Germany for his dissident views on Second World War history.

Electronic Frontiers Australia (EFA), an independent on-line free speech group, also spoke out against Töben’s arrest, expressing particular concern that German authorities are treating material posted on an Australia-based web site as if it had been published in Germany. EFA chairman Kimberley Heitman, who is also a lawyer, said that the German government is, in effect, trying to legislate for the entire world.

Mark Weber, director of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), strongly protested Töben’s arrest and detention. The southern California-based revisionist history “think tank” closely monitors restrictions on free speech and free historical inquiry in Germany and other countries.

Töben was arrested in April in the office of Hans-Heiko Klein, Germany’s best-known public prosecutor of “Holocaust deniers.” He was taken into custody during a private meeting with

Klein to discuss with him German laws that prohibit disagreement with an official view of Second World War history, especially regarding the wartime treatment of European Jews. “Some people have claimed that I deliberately provoked my arrest in Germany to bring attention to myself. That is absolutely untrue,” said Töben. He was in Europe as part of a European research tour that took him to Poland, Germany, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Ukraine and Germany.

He was held for seven months in “investigative custody,” without bail, on the basis of arrest warrants of April 9 and May 3. Referring to the pertinent sections of the German criminal code, the warrants specifically alleged that Töben, on repeated occasions, had

- A. in a manner suited to disturb the public peace,
 - 1. incited a portion of the population to hatred, and,
 - 2. attacked the human dignity of others, by insulting, by malevolently making contemptuous, or by libeling a portion of the population,
- B. publicly denied, in a manner designed to disturb the public peace, a [genocidal] act ... carried out under National Socialist rule,
- C. insulted others, and
- D. denigrated the memory of the [Jewish] dead.

Reflecting the special status enjoyed by Jews in Germany today, the April arrest warrant also declared:

The claims of the accused as well as the literature offered and distributed by him are suited to awaken and stir up emotionally hostile attitudes toward Jews in general and, in particular, against Jews who live in the Federal Republic of Germany. They are also suited to shake the confidence in public security of the targeted Jewish portion of the population.

Jewish groups predictably expressed satisfaction with Töben’s conviction. In Australia, the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation Commission — similar to the ADL in the United States — responded by calling for stricter legislation in Australia against “racial vilification.”

Disputing Holocaust extermination claims is legal in most countries, including Australia, but it is a crime in Germany, Israel, France, Switzerland, and several other European states. In 1994 Germany’s parliament sharpened the law against “popular incitement” to make it apply more directly to “Holocaust denial.” The new amendment made it a crime for a person “in a manner that could disturb the public peace, publicly or in a meeting” to “approve, deny or whitewash” genocidal actions “carried out under National Socialist rule.” Offenders are liable to fines and up to five years imprisonment. Noteworthy is the fact that the German law applies only to the Third Reich regime and era. It does not criminalize “denial” of genocidal actions carried out by Communist, Zionist, Democratic or other regimes.

Dr. Fredrick Töben (Töben) was born in northern Germany in June 1944, but emigrated to Australia when he was ten. He has lived most of his life in his new homeland, and is an Australian citizen. He studied at Melbourne University in Australia, as well as at universities in Heidelberg, Tübingen and Stuttgart in Germany, where he earned a doctorate in philosophy. He also hold a Master’s degree in education, and has worked as a school teacher in Victoria, Australia.

Centered in South Australia's largest city, and funded by donations, the Adelaide Institute plays a major role in the worldwide struggle against the historical blackout. It was founded in 1994 by Töben, who (until his arrest) directed its work and edited its important newsletter (P.O. Box 3300, Norwood 5067, Australia. E-mail: fredadin@adam.com.au). It also maintains an information-packed Internet web site (<http://www.adam.com.au/fredadin/adins.html>)

In radio and television appearances, Dr. Töben has been an outspoken voice for historical accuracy and free historical inquiry. Over the weekend of August 7-9, 1998, the Adelaide Institute hosted Australia's first-ever revisionist conference, a successful meeting that included speakers from the United States and Europe. (See "The Adelaide Institute Conference," Nov.-Dec. 1998 Journal, pp. 6-10.)

All this enraged the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby. In 1997 the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), the country's main Jewish community organization, brought legal action against Töben to shut down the Institute's web site. In this case, the first test of the country's Racial Discrimination law involving the Internet, Töben was brought before the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). Outraged by its guiding principle that truth is no defense, Töben walked out of the Commission hearing and refused to cooperate further with it.

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CODOH's *Revisionist* Distribution Prompts Media Furor

Bradley Smith is back in the news. The veteran revisionist activist has touched off a major furor that has received nationwide newspaper and television attention with the distribution at Hofstra University in Long Island, New York, of his new 28-page magazine-format publication. He arranged to distribute 5,000 copies of *The Revisionist: A Journal of Independent Thought* as an insert with the October 28, 1999, issue of the student newspaper, *The Chronicle*.

Jewish students and faculty, as well as officials of Jewish-Zionist groups, responded with predictable rage when they learned of the distribution. In a letter published in a subsequent issue of the Hofstra student paper, a Regional Director of the Jewish-Zionist Anti-Defamation League (ADL) complained:

We are outraged that the *Chronicle* chose to include an entire Holocaust denial publication, *The Revisionist*, as an insert in the issue of October 28... [It] contains 27 pages of repeated denials that there ever was a Nazi program to extermination directed at the Jewish people.

While Smith and his Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) are no strangers to generating campus media excitement, the uproar over the distribution of *The Revisionist* at the large New York City-area university has been magnified by the publication's length, evident intelligence, and earnestness of content. It contains thoughtful, topical and informative writing by several revisionist writers, including Smith and IHR Journal Associate Editor Ted O'Keefe. *The Revisionist* includes a look at historical fakery by the US Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, a critical review of Daniel Goldhagen's much-discussed study *A Nation on Trial*, and a sympathetic look at the work and impact of British historian David Irving. (This same issue of *The Revisionist* was distributed to Journal subscribers along with the last JHR issue.)

Distribution of *The Revisionist* represents a new level of CODOH activism. Whereas past campus outreach efforts by Smith often seemed to have prompted debate only about the issue of free speech for revisionism, "Holocaust lobby" officials seem concerned that this new CODOH initiative will generate wider campus discussion of wider historical and social-political issues.

Chronicle editor Shawna Van Ness said that the paper's editorial board decided overwhelmingly to accept the CODOH insert because rejecting it "would be censorship on our part." This has been a consistent policy of the paper, which ran CODOH advertisements in 1997 and 1998.

Smith, who has worked closely with the IHR, has focused much of his attention on campus outreach. Over the years, dozens of student papers around the country have published CODOH advertisements calling for open debate of the Holocaust issue. CODOH also maintains a major revisionist web site: <http://www.codoh.com>. (For more on Smith's activism, see, for example, "Bradley Smith's 'Campus Project' Generates Nationwide Publicity for Holocaust Revisionism,"

July-August 1994 Journal, pp. 18-24; “Brad Smith’s Campus Project,” May-June 1993 Journal, pp. 17-20; “Smith Steps Up CODOH Ad Campaign,” Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal, p. 22; “Smith and Cole Appear on 'Donahue' Show,” May-June 1994 Journal, pp. 19-20.)

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Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters: A Refutation of Pressac's 'Criminal Traces'

Samuel Crowell

As Holocaust historians concede, hard evidence for mass killings in Second World War gas chambers has proven to be elusive. After an extensive search, especially of wartime German wartime records held in Polish archives, French author Jean-Claude Pressac acknowledged in his detailed 1989 study, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#), that he was unable to find any direct proof of wartime gas chamber killings at Auschwitz (including the its nearby satellite camp of Birkenau). Instead, he offered 39 documentary “criminal traces” of such gassings — what he called “indirect proofs.”

These “traces” are wartime documents, mostly from the Auschwitz central construction office, that contain passing references to “gas tight doors,” “gas detectors,” and such. In the view of Pressac, and other defenders of the standard Holocaust story, these are implicit references to equipment or devices that were part of homicidal gassing operations.

In the following essay, American researcher Samuel Crowell presents detailed evidence of benign explanations for these “criminal traces.” ^[1] His basic argument is that the documents cited by Pressac as “traces” of homicidal “gas chambers” are references to air raid shelters, or to their fittings or equipment. Specifically, he contends, the Birkenau crematory morgue rooms — the supposed “gas chambers” where, it is alleged, hundreds of thousands of Jews were killed with “Zyklon” pesticide — were modified to also serve as air raid shelters with features to protect against possible Allied attacks with poison gas.

Crowell extensively cites contemporary German specialized literature on wartime air raid shelters and measures against possible air attacks with poison gas to argue that such shelters, and their equipment, were widely used throughout wartime Germany, including in the concentration camps. He contends that seemingly damning documentary references to “gas tight doors” and so forth actually refer to normal civil air defense equipment. He therefore concludes that there is no documentary proof — direct or indirect — of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Crowell provides an important new perspective on the “gas chamber” issue that merits thoughtful consideration. May his work encourage further investigation and discussion of this crucial issue.

It is well known that although poison gas was used extensively in the First World War, it was not used in the Second. As a result, we tend to forget that in the years before the outbreak of war in 1939, many people expected gas warfare to be a feature of any future conflict. German civil defense literature of the time reflected this anxiety, describing in detail how bomb shelters were to be made secure from both bombs and poison gas. In other words, German bomb shelters were also designed and built as anti-gas shelters. [2]

While the German wartime literature on bomb shelters or anti-gas shelters has been neglected, it is of enormous value to historians as a primary source. It is particularly relevant for historians of the Holocaust, because this literature uses many of the very same terms that are commonly associated with extermination gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

In 1989 an important work by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac appeared in English, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*. [3] This massive, illustrated book of 564 oversize pages was instantly acclaimed as an authoritative refutation of revisionist critics. In it, Pressac sought to prove, strictly on the basis of wartime German documents, that extermination gas chambers were built in each of the four crematory facilities at Birkenau. The core of his demonstration is a list of 39 “criminal traces” of these elusive gas chambers. [4]

But there is something curious here: every one of these “criminal traces” describes a feature of an ordinary German bomb shelter. In other words, every “trace” cited by Pressac as evidence of homicidal gas chambers can also be interpreted as evidence of German bomb shelters or, more precisely, their anti-gas warfare features.

Significantly, others have already noted similarities between the alleged extermination gas chambers and German wartime bomb shelters. To some extent this is even suggested in the Holocaust literature. For example, Miklos Nyiszli, an important source for Pressac, claims in his memoir that during air raids prisoners would take shelter in the gas chamber. [5]

In *Auschwitz and the Allies* Jewish-British historian Martin Gilbert quotes the testimony of a Jewish woman survivor of Auschwitz who describes how, during an air raid, she and many other new female arrivals were led into a dark space and kept until the raid was over. [6] Interestingly, this testimony describes how several of the women became hysterical during the raid, believing themselves to be inhaling poison gas. (By inference this testimony confirms that the SS camp personnel took care to protect Jewish prisoners during air raids.)

Among independent researchers, the observation of Wilhelm Stäglich is noteworthy. In 1944 he was stationed at Auschwitz as an anti-aircraft artillery officer, and after the war he served for years as an administrative judge in Hamburg. In his detailed study of the Holocaust issue, first published in German in 1979, he noted that the presence of gas-tight doors in the cellars of the Auschwitz crematory facilities suggested their use as air raid shelters. “At that time,” wrote Stäglich, “gas-tight doors were not uncommon, since every cellar had to double as an air raid shelter... Air raid shelters had to be secure not only against explosives, but against gas as well.” [7]

American researcher Friedrich Berg has also recognized the importance of German wartime civil defense literature, even though his main research interests lay elsewhere. [8] Among a handful of European researchers, Robert Faurisson made some suggestive comments in an article published in 1991. [9] American scholar Dr. Arthur R. Butz suggested, in an article first published in 1996, that Morgue #1 of crematory facility (Krema) II at Birkenau was in fact a “gas shelter.” [10]

In general, though, the anti-gas features of German wartime bomb shelters has been overlooked. This article seeks to redress this neglect by showing that anti-gas warfare features were basic to German wartime bomb shelter design and construction. In doing so, we cite important but neglected contemporary literature. Finally, we compare this evidence of German wartime anti-gas shelter design and equipment with Pressac's "criminal traces."

This article comprises two main parts. After a brief discussion of the background of poison gas warfare, Part One takes a closer look at contemporary German bomb shelter and anti-gas shelter literature. This section's rather detailed citations from primary source literature are appropriate, we believe, not only because of the importance of this relatively inaccessible evidence, but because the conclusions drawn from it are inherently very contentious, given the very emotion-laden nature of this subject. Part One finishes with some pointed conclusions about characteristics of German bomb shelters.

Part Two deals with each of Pressac's "criminal traces," with references to evidence and points from Part One, as well as to some of the documents in Pressac's own book. Every one of these "criminal traces," we show, can be interpreted in two ways: either as sinister indications of homicidal gas chambers (Pressac's view), or, more plausibly, as benign anti-gas warfare features of common German wartime bomb shelters.

The obvious implication is that there is no contemporaneous documentary evidence whatsoever of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Part One: A Review of German Wartime Anti-Gas Shelter Literature

Poison Gas Warfare Prior to World War II

It is generally agreed that the era of poison gas warfare as we know it began during World War I on April 22, 1915. ^[11] On that day, German forces released a cloud of chlorine gas against French military positions at Ypres. From that date on, both sides used poison gas, causing hundreds of thousands of casualties, of which, however, only a small percentage died.

Poison gas was used in warfare after World War I, but not in Europe. It was used in Russia against Bolshevik "Red" troops, both by British forces and by anti-Communist "Whites." It was also used by British forces in Afghanistan, and by French military units in Morocco. The most infamous use of poison gas during the interwar period was by Italian forces in Ethiopia in 1935, where 15,000 fell victim to mustard gas. With regard to the World War II "gas chamber" issue, the Ethiopian campaign usage was important because the Italian military deployed poison gas by air, which forged the conceptual connection between gas attacks and bombing raids. In line with these all these developments, the Soviet Union began developing large stores of poison gas in the 1920s, as well as hydrogen cyanide, which were produced at the Karaganda works.

Hydrocyanic acid (HCN), or hydrogen cyanide gas — the odorless and invisible poison supposedly used at Auschwitz-Birkenau to kill hundreds of thousands of Jewish prisoners between 1941 and 1944 — was adapted in 1924 in the United States as a means of legal executing criminals. ^[12]

In the years prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, the major European powers, including Germany, prepared for the use of poison gas in any eventual war. These preparations naturally also involved the possible use of hydrogen cyanide. For example, a relatively early Third Reich guide (published in 1936) to protective measures against poison gas specifically discusses

hydrogen cyanide (Blausäure or Cyanwasserstoff). [13] Of the nine gas mask filters described, it mentions that the “G” filter is specifically designed for protection against HCN, with a capacity for 3.6 grams.

The author of this 1936 guide is “Fire Warden” (Branddirektor) Hans Rumpf. Given his title, it should not surprise us that he would draw on his practical experience with fires in discussing the potential dangers of poison gases. Thus, for example, in a table of poison gases, the common pesticide Zyklon B is listed separately from HCN (Blausäure) because of its normal irritant properties. [14] Rumpf also discusses the development of poisonous gases in fires, mentioning, for example, how gases generated by flames will drift to areas with a lower temperature than their boiling point, and then condense into a mist or smoke. He also observes [15]

We know, for example, that leather, celluloid, and proteinous substances give off nitric gas as well as cyanide, while rubber will produce sulphur gas and sulfuric acid. All of these gases are poison gases.

Further confirmation of the threat of cyanide gas usage came during World War II itself. In the summer of 1941, at the time of the outbreak of war with Soviet Russia, the German military obtained a Soviet gas mask with a high tolerance for HCN, and a short time later, it obtained Soviet contingency plans for using cyanide gas by spraying it from low flying airplanes. As a result, in early 1942 the German military conducted its own field tests using farm animals, and also developed the FE 42 gas mask filter, with a particular tolerance for HCN. [16]

To sum up, poison gases had been used for 24 years before the outbreak of war in 1939. During World War I hydrogen cyanide had been used on a limited scale by the Allies against German troops. In 1941 German authorities learned that the Soviet military had developed stocks of HCN, as well as contingency plans for using it. By 1941 the Germans feared gas attacks with HCN, and made appropriate preparations to deal with them. It should therefore not be surprising that the Germans would have produced masks and detectors designed to defend against and detect hydrogen cyanide gas.

Publicly-available literature published in Germany in the late 1930s and during the Second World War shows clearly that it was widely known and understood during the war years that air raid shelters could and should be built so that they also protect against possible poison gas attacks. Accordingly, the need for “gas tight” doors and such in this regard was widely understood.

In 1939 a Berlin publisher issued *Luftschutz durch Bauen* ("Civil Air Defense Through Construction"), a rather comprehensive work that describes how bomb shelters should be constructed, operated, and furnished. One section has two pages of line drawings showing all the things one would expect to find in a normal German bomb shelter, including a container for contaminated clothing, a gas-tight door (gasdichte Tür), a washstand, a medicine cabinet, emergency lighting, benches, and a ventilation system. It also includes a blown-up diagram of an emergency exit showing the exit tunnel, a frame, a gas-tight shutter (Gasglocke), and a protective screen (Trümmerschutz), which looks like a mesh screen with a wide edge around it. [17]

Another section describes the layout of a regular bomb shelter: one enters a small foyer (Vorraum) where the bucket for contaminated clothes is kept, and where one can clean one's shoes in a tray full of sand. From there one moves into a gas lock (Gasschleuse), where one can sit down, and preferably with a cold water tap for washing up. [18] Farther on in the bomb shelter proper (Schutzraum), there are benches, tables, and folding chairs. Apparently conscious of space limitations, the book notes that modern bomb shelters are also designed to also serve as washrooms and dressing rooms (whereas such rooms were separated in earlier shelters).

At another place in the book, the shelter's ventilation system (Schutzraumbelüfter) is described in greater detail. Air is drawn from a pipe at about ceiling level, first passing through a dust filter (Staubfilter). Then as the air pipe turns downward, the flow can be interdicted by a stopcock. Then the air passes through two more filters, including a gas filter (Gasfilter). Finally, after passing through the extraction or pumping mechanism, which can be powered by hand or by electricity, and the now fresh air enters the shelter near the ground level. [19]

Another section of the book describes some of the devices used for protection from rubble and debris: [20]

Among new constructions we mention above all the grill or protective grille. The overhead exit of a light shaft is closed with a strong, rubble-resistant steel grating. One half of the grille is closed from below, so that if the grille is covered by rubble from a building it possible to open a space for an emergency exit from the bomb shelter. The opening of the grille is secured with a chain. On the inside of the cellar opening there is a gas tight shutter.

Further on the book discusses bomb shelters appropriate for factories or large work places. Such a bomb shelter complex (Schutzraumbau) comprises several sections, including a command center (Befehlsstellen), an emergency room (Rettungsstellung), and a decontamination center (Entgiftungsanstalten). [21] The entire structure is equipped with gas detectors (Gasspürer), [22] and the entrance has a gas-tight steel door. To accommodate many people comfortably during an air raid, the waiting room should be rather large. The book goes on to explain: [23]

From the waiting room, doors lead on the one side to the treatment rooms and on the other side to sleeping quarters. Among the treatment rooms for the wounded and for those exposed to poison gas there is a doctor's office and an operating room. In large layouts the doctor's office and the operating room are separate. Farther on there will be sleeping quarters, shelters for lightly wounded, and decontamination centers.

As we can already see, the German wartime bomb shelter is a rather sophisticated facility, based on a systematic design and with a division of functions. In addition, the references in this authoritative work to gas-tight doors, buckets for contaminated clothing, wash rooms, changing rooms, and decontamination centers reflects a very real concern with the possibility of poison gas attacks.

Another noteworthy publication is a booklet published in Berlin in 1939 entitled Schutzraumabschlüsse ("Air Raid Shelter Room Seals"). [24] Written by an engineer named Scholle, it describes in great detail how to make an air raid shelter (Schutzraum) gas tight. Indeed, Dr. Scholle emphasizes the need to make a shelter secure from poison gas (gassicher), debris (trümmersicher), and bomb splinters (splittersicher). [25] Scholle specifies that windows or emergency exits should be protected on the outside from debris and bomb splinters, while the protection from gas should be on the inside. [26] This would mean, in practical terms, that any screening or grille-work would be on the outside of an opening, and any gas tight cover would be on the inside.

In this booklet Scholle also describes the need for bomb shelter doors to be gas tight and to have a gas tight peephole: [27]

Every anti-gas bomb shelter door must be equipped with a peephole. The peephole should be made round, without the use of putty or other easily hardened materials to be made gas tight, and it should have a view of 40 millimeters. The disc of multi-lay-

ered glass of at least six millimeters in thickness should be protected from damage with a perforated steel plate.

The purpose of the peephole in a bomb shelter door was to enable the Fire Warden to check on the inhabitants of a shelter, to ensure their needs and safety, or to enable the inhabitants to check outside conditions before opening the door. The thin glass disc could, in practice, be recessed either on the outside or the inside of the door, depending on its location. The recessed side would be protected from damage. [28] Although a perforated steel plate would be the preferred protection, a number of other means could be used. [29]

Another important publication in this regard is the trade periodical *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* ("Gas Defense and Civil Air Defense"). An article published in 1939 in this periodical describes the latest advances in civil air defense technology as shown at a recent trade exhibition in Leipzig. [30] Attention is given to all the usual features of bomb shelters, including mechanisms for achieving darkening (*Verdunklung*). Darkening was considered very important. In an above-ground bomb shelter, it was the first thing to achieve in the event of an air raid.

This article also discusses modifications for bomb shelters, including doors and window shutters, which can be made of several materials, as well as a discussion of ways of making chimneys and smoke stacks gas tight: [31]

Bomb shelter doors and window shutters come in many different varieties, they are made out of steel, steel- saving constructions, wood, and other building materials ... Among gas protective chimney seals there is a novelty that does not use a steel frame ... consisting of a rubber flap that is pressed against the frame of the concrete chimney flue by means of a bolt.

This construction not only saves steel but also solves the problem of the frame rusting. Another construction for a chimney seal uses a rubber plate which normally hangs loose, but which can be placed into position by means of a hook on the inside of the external flue in order to achieve gas tightness in the chimney shutter.

Another article published in this same periodical in 1939, "Work Place Emergency Rooms", contains a floor plan for a typical anti-gas shelter: "A — Exhaust, E — Drainage, L — Air intake, GT — Gas tight door, N — Emergency exit, S — Stop valve, and U — Pressure release valve." [32] This article, written by Dr. Ing. Karl Quasebart, also contains recommendations on setting up an emergency room (*Werkrettungsstelle*), particularly for gas attacks, as part of the bomb shelter complex: [33]

Those who have been exposed to Yellow Cross or are suspected of same [however] are divided by sex in the undressing rooms, and go from there to the shower rooms, and to the dressing rooms, where extra clothes are available, and from here back to the waiting room, for further transport or direction to the doctor's office.

("Yellow Cross," according to the German gas classification system of the time, denotes vesicants, or blister gases.) [34] Thus, undressing rooms and showers were part of the decontamination process, and (as we have already seen) [35] were envisioned as an integral part of the bomb shelter complex.

Dr. Quasebart's article also contains photographs of such decontamination facilities. A shower room (*Duschraum*) could contain showers, of course, but the photograph in this article captioned *Duschraum* shows not showers but three water faucets with hoses attached and coiled around ex-

posed upright pipes. Another photo, captioned “Bath and Shower Room for Gassing Victims” (Bade- und Duschaum für Kampfstoffverletzte) shows a bathtub with a more typical shower arrangement attached. [36] Clearly, the concepts of “shower room” and “decontamination facility” were rather elastic in their actual application.

Another article in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* appearing in 1939, this one detailing “Practical Lessons for Work Place Bomb Shelters,” recommends Baustahlgewebe, described as “wire mesh of varying gauges that has been welded together at certain points,” to protect bomb shelter apertures. This is a good substitute, readers are told, especially for constructing covers. [37]

In March 1940 this periodical changed its name to *Baulicher Luftschutz* (“Civil Air Defense Construction”). A particularly noteworthy article, “Makeshift Bomb Shelters: Right and Wrong,” appeared that year in the journal. [38] Written by engineer Ernst Baum, it contains several photographs “gas tight window shutters” (gassichere Fensterblende), most of them constructed of wood. It also describes an incorrect method for fixing a shutter up against the grating of the window grille: [39]

Making a window gas tight, according to the regulations, is one of the easiest measures. But even so one observes many mistakes relating to gas tight shutters. It is wrong, for example, to wrap a board in cloth and press it up against the grating of the window grille with a Christmas tree pole.

The article includes a specific reference to “shutters made of wood” (Holzblende).

Another 1940 *Baulicher Luftschutz* article of interest, “Remarks on the Ordinance and Regulations for Building Makeshift Air Raid Shelters,” written by a Reich Air Ministry specialist, offers a series of recommendations for building improvised or do-it-yourself bomb shelters. Among them is a suggestion that when they are not serving to protect in air raids, bomb shelters should be, or at least can be, used for other purposes. [40]

It should be noted that these specifications pertain to makeshift or improvised shelters, that is, shelters which would not be expected to have a sophisticated ventilation system. As we shall see, the maximum limits of occupancy for ventilated shelters were different.

“Hygienic and Psychological Conditions for Building Air Raid Bunkers,” a lengthy article by a Reich Health Office specialist, appeared in a 1942 issue of *Baulicher Luftschutz*. [41] Among other relevant topics, it deals with recommended temperatures and air circulation for bomb shelters.

Also, citing Regulation No. 7 for air raid bunkers, the article recommends air temperatures of 17 C (62.6 F) degrees, and surface temperatures of 16 C (60.8 F) degrees. [42] Hence, efforts to heat or warm air raid shelters by the use of stoves or heated air would be entirely in keeping with these regulations.

A lengthy article by an Air Ministry engineer, “The Role of Heating and Ventilation in Planning Air Raid Bunkers,” published in a 1942 issue of *Baulicher Luftschutz*, covers such air circulation systems in much greater detail, and with several accompanying drawings. [43]

Several advertisements for relevant products appear in various 1942 issues of *Baulicher Luftschutz*. One offers wire grille products (Drahtgeflechte) produced by the Otto Christ Drahtwarenfabrik of Mannheim-Käfertal. Another advertisement offers gas tight doors and shutters (Gasschutztüren und Blenden) produced by the Albus Stahltürenwerk of Dortmund. Potential

customers are assured that the products provide “Absolute safety in use!,” and that “the simple method of construction enables easy, quick usage.” [44]

German measures against possible Allied use of poison gas were also noted in a confidential 640-page guide prepared during the final months of the war by the US War Department. This carefully researched and well-illustrated Handbook on German Military Forces was published in March of 1945. [45] The section on “Chemical Warfare Equipment” presents detailed information, for example, about decontamination vehicles for clothing, a variety of gas protection devices for personnel, horses, and even dogs and pigeons, and decontamination trucks for personnel (which could shower 150 men in an hour).

German anti-gas shelters are specifically mentioned, while a subsection cites a variety of German gas detectors, including detector sets for fortifications, and gas detection laboratories. Widely distributed German gas masks, it mentions, were designed to protect against attacks by HCN and other gases. This shows widespread German awareness of the potential danger of hydrogen cyanide gas attacks, and suggests that the available gas detectors could detect the presence of cyanides in the atmosphere.

Also in this book is a photograph of several air raid bunker ventilators (Schutzraumbelüfter), which the Handbook calls “collective protectors.” [46] The photo shows the extensive overhead ductwork suspended from the ceiling by “stirrups” (Bügel). Because the ceiling appears to be of concrete formwork, we would suspect that the stirrups are attached to some other element, possibly flat wooden squares. It is worth noting also that such “stirrups” are frequently used on the outside of above-ground bomb shelters to brace fortifying elements — timber, sandbags, concrete, and so forth. [47]

Allied Bombings of Auschwitz

The German “Air Raid Guide Emergency Program” (Luftschutz Führer Sofort Programm) of November 1940 specifically required that: “All new constructions, especially in buildings of the armaments industry, are henceforth to be equipped with bomb-proof air raid shelter rooms.” [48] This unquestionably applied to Auschwitz. During the course of the war, the concentration camps — of which Auschwitz was one of the largest — played an increasingly important role in the German war economy. [49]

German authorities had good reason to be concerned about Allied air attacks against Auschwitz. In fact, the camp complex was repeatedly bombed during the war. Because of its critical importance as a major gasoline production center, Auschwitz III (Monowitz) was a target of several Allied bombing raids, and was consequently heavily defended with anti-aircraft flak batteries. Bombers of the Allied Mediterranean Air Force carried out four major raids against Monowitz in 1944: On August 20, September 13, December 18, and December 26. [50]

During the September 13 attack, for example, 96 US air force B-24 heavy bombers dropped almost a thousand 500-pound bombs. Besides Monowitz, the Auschwitz main camp and Birkenau were also hit. Fifteen SS men and 40 inmates, including 23 Jews, were killed at the main camp, and 30 civilian workers were killed at Birkenau. A further 65 inmates and 28 SS men were badly injured. [51]

In mid-November 1943, Auschwitz commandant Arthur Liebehenschel issued an order on measures to be taken in the camp against Allied air raids. [52]

Important in this regard are three wartime documents from the Auschwitz central construction office (Zentralbauleitung) that were recently discovered in Moscow archives. These documents — from October 1943, November 1943, and November 1944 — deal with an extensive network of air raid shelters (Luftschutzdeckungsgräben) at Auschwitz. [53] They indicate that, from the summer of 1943, many such shelters for the protection of prisoners were ordered, planned and under construction at Auschwitz. (We don't know how many were actually completed.) Designed to hold 50 persons each, the shelters were to have ventilation and drainage. The WVHA agency in Berlin, which ran the German concentration camp system, budgeted 110,000 Reich marks for building materials for this large-scale project.

It is noteworthy that the SS authorities would go to considerable trouble and expense to build air raid shelters for Jewish prisoners who, supposedly, were already condemned to death. [54] (Similarly, German authorities provided building materials to the Warsaw ghetto for the construction there of air raid shelters to protect the Jewish inhabitants from Allied bombing attacks.) [55]

Because German air raid shelters were routinely built to protect against possible poison gas attacks, they were often fitted with gas tight doors and other related fixtures. We should naturally expect to find many such shelters at Auschwitz and Birkenau, together with quite a few “incriminating” gas tight doors and similar items. (As already suggested, the “incriminating” items found at Auschwitz at the end of the war, and cited in the years since by Pressac and other defenders of the standard Holocaust story, were most probably features of anti-gas air raid shelters, or of non-homicidal disinfestation facilities.)

It is worth noting that, until now, no mainstream historian has bothered to take notice of the German wartime civil defense equipment, facilities and measures, in relation to the gas chamber claims.

On the basis of the foregoing, the following conclusions may be safely drawn:

1. After 1940, German bomb shelters were routinely constructed to also serve as anti-gas shelters.
2. German bomb shelters, including anti-gas shelters, were built according to a sequential organization plan that allowed for decontamination and several other functions. In large structures, separate rooms were reserved for each of these functions.
3. Decontamination procedures involved a sequence of steps, including undressing, showering or washing, and medical attention. In large structures, a separate room was devoted to each function.
4. Facilities and rooms designed for a variety of purposes could be, and often were, adapted for alternative use as bomb shelters, as needed.
5. Bomb shelters, although usually underground, could be and sometimes were built above ground.
6. In the event of an air raid, particular attention was paid to the darkening of shelters.
7. German air raid shelters often featured an elaborate system of ventilation, which drew air from ceiling height and filtered it out near the bottom. The ventilation ductwork was suspended from the ceiling. In addition, the regulations recommended ventilation capacities allowing for anywhere from 15 to 18 air exchanges. Regulations recommended that the air in bomb shelters be heated to 17 C (62.6 F) degrees.
8. A standard feature of a German wartime shelter was a gas tight door, which could be made of either wood or steel. The seal could be achieved with either rubber or felt.

9. These gas tight doors had glass peepholes, which were usually protected from damage with a perforated steel plate, although other means could be, and were, used.
10. A flat iron bar was frequently bolted along the base of a gas tight door to help insure a gas tight seal.
11. Windows and emergency exits were usually covered with grating, mesh, or grille work of some kind to protect against splinters and rubble.
12. Shelter windows and emergency exits normally were both covered with gas tight shutters, which were installed inside a grating, mesh, or grille. The shutters could be made of steel or wood.
13. An advertisement for wire mesh (Drahtnetz), appearing in a 1942 issue of the specialized German periodical *Baulicher Luftschutz*, suggests that this material was commonly used for window or emergency exit gratings, mesh, or grilles. There is also a specific reference here to using wire mesh screens for splinter and debris protection.
14. Chimneys and smoke stacks were also designed to be gas tight.
15. Gas detectors were a common feature of German military equipment. That German military personnel were equipped to detect HCN is an entirely reasonable inference.
16. The extensive and publicly available German literature on civil defense used a large number of synonyms and neologisms. This is typical of any new field, which takes time to standardize its vocabulary. For example, poison gas victims are described variously as “Gelbkreuzverletzte,” “Gasvergiftete,” and “Kampfstoffvergiftete.” Hence, when reviewing documents and other contemporary material about bomb shelters, we should expect similar variability in the use of terms.

Part Two: Pressac's 'Criminal Traces'

In his much-heralded book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, Jean-Claude Pressac attempted to prove, on a strictly material and documentary basis, the existence of extermination gas chambers in the four crematory facilities at Auschwitz-Birkenau (Kremas II-V).

Specifically, he offered 39 “criminal traces” as “indirect proof” for homicidal gassings. He readily acknowledged that there is no “direct proof” for the alleged murder of millions of Jews in gas chambers, such as a document or diagram that refers, even in passing, to a “gas chamber for killing Jews” or even a document that specifically mentions a homicidal gas chamber. Pressac also acknowledged that the “witness testimony” that is usually cited as evidence is unreliable. He further explained that he was offering these “traces” in response to the insistent demand by French revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson for “one proof, one single proof” of the supposedly incontrovertible mass gassings. ^[56]

As we shall show in the following pages, a benign interpretation for each of Pressac’s “criminal traces” is possible. Therefore there is no proof — even indirect — of “criminal” gassings of Jews at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Criminal Trace 1: The 'Gassing Cellar' Letter

This document, which is the oldest and best known “criminal trace,” has been cited for years as evidence of homicidal gassings at Birkenau. It is a January 1943 letter about Birkenau crematory facility (Krema) II from SS Captain Bischoff of the Auschwitz central construction office (ZBL) to the WVHA in Berlin. Bischoff’s passing mention in this letter to a “gassing cellar,” or Verga-

sungskeller, is regarded by Pressac as a “slip” and an “enormous gaff,” because supposedly this was a thoughtless reference to a homicidal gas chamber.

For more than 20 years, revisionists have offered alternate explanations of it. In an essay published in 1996 and 1997, Dr. Butz persuasively proposed that this “gassing cellar” referred to an air raid “gas shelter.” [57]

Each of the various interpretations offered by revisionists is plausible because the word Vergasungskeller is a neologism, a newly coined term that is also apparently unique. This point should be stressed: The term Vergasung or Vergasungskeller occurs in no other known document or item of literature from this era. [58]

Just what was this “gassing cellar”? No explanation can be definitely proven, but as we shall see, several of the other “trace” documents cited by Pressac contain similarly unconventional wordings.

Clearly this document is not, in itself, a “criminal trace” because benign interpretations of the term Vergasungskeller are possible, if not probable. It could be considered a “criminal trace” only with further corroborating evidence.

Criminal Trace 2: Ten Gas Detectors

This is a February 1943 telegram order for ten gas detectors (10 Gasprüfer), sent to the Topf company in Erfurt that manufactured the Birkenau crematory ovens. As already noted, gas detectors (Gasprüfer or Gasspürer) were common in German chemical warfare equipment and in anti-gas shelter equipment. [59] A benign interpretation is possible, therefore it is not a criminal trace.

There is more to this “trace,” however. In a book on the “crematories of Auschwitz,” published in German and French in 1993, Pressac cited a newly discovered letter of March 2, 1943, from a Topf company engineer to the Auschwitz construction office, reporting that he had not been able to acquire the requested ten gas detectors. [60] The letter, headed “Crematory, Gas Detectors,” refers to the items as “Indicators for residual hydrocyanic acid” (Anzeigegeräte für Blausäure-Reste), which shows that the specific gas to be detected in this case was HCN. (There is no record that the requested detectors were ever located or delivered, much less evidence that they were ever used for the purpose assumed by Pressac.) [61]

This “criminal trace” can be readily dismissed: Germans had been gassed with HCN in the First World War, and they prepared for its possible use in the Second. Gas detectors for HCN have no “criminal” significance at all.

But there is still a problem. We know that the Degesch company that manufactured the HCN pesticide Zyklon had HCN gas detectors, and that the German military had its own gas detectors. Why, then, would one ask for gas detectors from a crematory oven manufacturer (Topf)? And why ten in number? Perhaps the most plausible answer is that these gas detectors were meant for the ten three-muffle crematory ovens of Birkenau crematory facilities (Kremas) II and III, and that they probably had some characteristic (heat resistance?) that made them usable in or near the ovens. [62] It makes sense that the gas detectors would be meant for Kremas II and III because, as Pressac himself notes, the Birkenau crematory facilities were always discussed as pairs (II and III, IV and V), [63] and because Kremas IV and V did not have ten but rather four double muffle ovens each.

We must next ask what the function of these detectors might be. Pressac argues that they prove homicidal gassings with Zyklon in the Birkenau crematory morgue cellars (Leichenkeller). Why else would anyone want gas detectors for a morgue room?

But if so, the responsible personnel certainly would not have needed devices to let them know that near by there were dangerous concentrations of HCN gas. In other words, this request for detectors most plausibly suggests a wish to detect the presence of HCN residues created by processes other than the release of HCN from Zyklon in crematory morgue cellars.

Arthur Butz has argued that burning certain fabrics in the incineration chute behind the crematory ovens of Birkenau Kremas II and III would have generated high levels of HCN in the crematory ductwork, and that this would explain the desire for such HCN detectors. There is merit to this argument. [64]

Recognizing that the important issue here is not the “criminality” of these detectors, but rather the question of why the Topf company was asked to supply them, I accept the general validity of Dr. Butz' thesis, in the absence of a more convincing explanation.

Criminal Trace 3: Gas Door Handle

This document mentions “handle for a gas door, one item” (1 Stck Handgriff für Gastür), presumably meaning a “gas tight door.” As already shown, gas tight doors were a common feature of anti-gas air raid shelters. [65] A benign interpretation is possible, therefore this is not a criminal trace.

It's worth noting that the German term Stück ("unit," "piece" or "item") is abbreviated or misspelled here as “Stck.” There are other such abbreviations or misspellings in the “trace” documents cited by Pressac.

Criminal Traces 4, 5, 10 and 12: Undressing Rooms and Undressing Cellars

In these four documents are passing references to an “undressing room” or an “undressing cellar” (Auskleideraum, Auskleidekeller). Undressing rooms were a common feature of bomb shelters, forming part of the decontamination sequence. [66] A benign interpretation is possible, therefore these are not criminal traces.

Criminal Traces 6, 11, 14 and 29: Gas Doors

These documents contain references to “gas doors,” presumably meaning “gas tight” doors. Probably the most important of these documents is one dated March 31, 1943, that mentions “three gas tight doors (3 gasdichte Türe) and a “gas door ... for morgue cellar 1 of crematory facility III ... with peephole” (Gastür 100/192 für Leichenkeller I des Krematoriums III ... mit Guckloch). [67] Because these specifications exactly match those of a typical bomb shelter door, [68] this should be regarded as a clear-cut reference to a typical anti-gas shelter door. As already noted, gas tight doors were a common feature of wartime German anti-gas shelters. A benign interpretation is possible, therefore these are not criminal traces.

Criminal Traces 7, 15, 17, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28 and 29: Gas Tight Doors

These documents contain passing references to “gas tight doors.” As already noted, gas tight doors were a common feature of anti-gas shelters. Because a benign interpretation is possible, these are not criminal traces.

Criminal Traces 8 and 9: Wire Mesh Devices and Wooden Shutters

A March 1943 construction project inventory form for Birkenau Krema II contains handwritten mentions of “four wire mesh introduction devices” (4 Drahtnetzeinschiebvorrichtung) and of “four wooden shutters” (4 Holzblenden). Because these items are listed next to each other on the same document, are for four items each, and are both in the same handwriting, both we and Pressac assume that their functions are related. Pressac regards this document as “important evidence” that morgue cellar (Leichenkeller) 1 in Birkenau crematory facility (Krema) II was used “as a homicidal gas chamber.” [69]

Pressac contends that these “wire mesh” items were column-like devices through which Zyklon B was poured from a roof opening into a Birkenau extermination “gas chamber.” He also cites this document in a 1994 article on the “machinery of mass murder at Auschwitz” (written with Robert-Jan Van Pelt). Here he translates Drahtnetzeinschiebvorrichtung as “wire netting inserting devices,” adding that these are “grillework columns for pouring Zyklon B into the gas chamber.” [70] However, there is no material or documentary corroboration for this thesis.

Pressac contends that the Holzblenden mentioned in this 1943 document were wooden “covers” or “lids” on the roof of the semi-underground morgue of Birkenau Krema II, which were lifted when dumping Zyklon into the chamber’s wire mesh “columns” to gas Jews.

In fact, Blenden (tendentiously rendered by Pressac as “covers” or “lids”) were simply shutters or blinds. Made of either steel or wood, they were commonly used in German air raid shelters to make an opening, such as a window, gas tight. [71] A benign interpretation of these Holzblenden is possible, therefore it is not a criminal trace.

Drahtnetzeinschiebvorrichtung is a neologism, and we cannot explain definitively what these “wire mesh” devices were. However, we offer the following probable explanation:

At least two advertisements in the pertinent literature depict wire mesh screens in an anti-gas shelter, one depicting a screen behind an open shutter. The anti-gas shelter literature also contains advertising for wire mesh (Drahtnetz). [72] The pertinent literature also specifies that all windows and other openings of German anti-gas shelters must have some kind of mesh, netting, grating or grille work. [73]

Auschwitz work order No. 353, dated April 27, 1943, contains an order for “twelve window gratings” or “window lattice-works” (12 Stück Fenstergitter 50 × 70 cm), which Pressac accepts as a reference to wire mesh screens or grilles for the 12 “gas tight windows” (or doors) (gassdichten Fenster) of Birkenau Kremas IV and V. These were functionally identical to “shutters” (Blenden, Holzblenden). [74]

Therefore, we propose that the “wire mesh” devices cited here by Pressac were functionally related to the “wooden shutters” (Holzblenden) in the same way that the just-mentioned “window gratings” (Fenstergitter) were related to the “gas tight windows” (gassdichten Fenster) of Kremas IV and V.

In addition, given that the specialized literature specifies that such openings must be available for emergency exit, we further hypothesize that these inserts must be removable. [75]

Auschwitz work order No. 78, of March 11, 1943, mentions (translated from Polish): “For the manufacture of screens with scantlings [or screens with edges] for crematory facility II (construction site 30), the gist of which is that wire gauze and wire mesh are to be used to meet the order.” [76] This order is significant because it helps to explain the nature of the “wire mesh” devices cited by Pressac. The order’s reference to screens is not a reference to induction devices, and indeed, they seem most likely to be the screens for emergency exits discussed earlier. [77]

We believe, therefore, that the supposedly sinister “wire mesh induction devices” or “wire netting inserting devices” were most probably simply removable wire mesh screens that were placed into openings that the “wooden shutters” were designed to cover. A benign interpretation is possible, therefore this is not a criminal trace.

It should be noted that Pressac himself has candidly observed that the roof of morgue cellar (Leichenkeller) of Birkenau crematory building (Krema) II — for which these four pairs were designated — has only two holes in its largely collapsed but still intact roof. (It takes some courage to observe that there are two, not four, holes in the roof of morgue cellar 1 of Birkenau Krema II, and they are not where they are supposed to be.) [78] German chemist Germar Rudolf has demonstrated that these holes must have been made after the war. [79] In any case, though, because there are only two holes, in whatever manner these four pairs of “wire mesh” devices and “shutters” were meant to be used, they could not all have been used exclusively in the roof of this morgue cellar. This fact weakens Pressac’s “homicidal” interpretation of their construction and purpose.

Criminal Traces 13 and 26: Flat Iron for 'Gas Doors'

These are references to flat iron bars for gas (tight) door fittings (Flacheisen für ... Stück Gastürbeschläge). Flat iron bars and similar items were often used to improve the seal on gas tight doors or gas tight shutters of German air raid shelters. For gas tight doors, such bars would be placed along the side or on the base of the door. [80] A benign interpretation is possible, therefore it is not a criminal trace.

Criminal Trace 16: Shower heads

A mention of 14 shower heads (14 Brausen) in a June 1943 inventory form is regarded by Pressac as a reference to dummy shower heads in morgue cellar (LK) No. 1 of Birkenau crematory facility (Krema) III. He says that this document, which also mentions “one gas tight door” (“criminal trace” 15), is “the only one known at present that proves, indirectly, the existence of a homicidal gas chamber in Leichenkeller I of Krematorium III.” This inventory form, his Pressac also writes, is “absolute and irrefutable proof of the existence of a gas chamber fitted with dummy showers” in Krema III. [81]

There is no material basis for Pressac’s assertion that these shower heads were fake. In any case, this “criminal trace” is only “relative” — that is, it is criminal only insofar as some other criminal trace(s) can be proved. Showers were a common feature of German wartime bomb shelters, forming part of the decontamination sequence. [82] A benign interpretation is possible. Therefore, it is not a criminal trace. [83]

Criminal Trace 17, 17A, 17B: Gas Tight 'Doors'

This February 1943 document mentions twelve “gas tight doors” (12 St. gasdichten Türen ca 30/40 cm). I agree with Pressac that this is actually a reference to gas tight windows — not least

because of their small size: 30 by 40 centimeters. These are in Birkenau crematory facilities (Kremas) IV and V. As already pointed out, gas tight windows were a common feature of German bomb shelters. [84] A benign interpretation is possible, therefore it is not a criminal trace.

The fact that these small openings — in spite of their small their small size: 30 by 40 centimeters. — are referred to as doors further strengthens our view that the engineers and construction workers at Auschwitz used unorthodox words to describe familiar, but differently named, objects. In addition, and as already noted, these objects are effectively identical to the shutters (Blenden) discussed above.

Criminal Traces 18 and 20, and 19 and 21: 'Gas' Windows and 'Gas' Chamber

“Traces” 18 and 20 mention putting “gass [sic] tight window” in place (Gassdichtenfenster versetzen), while “traces” 19 and 21 mention “concrete in gas chamber” (betonieren im Gasskammer). Pressac regards these “traces” — which are from February and March 1943 and relate to Birkenau Kremas IV and V — as very as very important evidence of homicidal gassings at Birkenau.

As already pointed out, gas tight windows were a common feature of German anti-gas shelters. [85] In addition, and as already noted, these objects are identical to the “shutters” (Blenden).

These four “traces” are dealt with here together because in each the word “gas” (Gas in German) is misspelled. In these four “traces” it is rendered as “Gass.” I do not agree with Pressac’s view that these are simple misspellings. Instead, I’m inclined to think that they are abbreviations: “tight windows for the [anti-gas shelter]” (Gass[chutzraum]dichtenfenster) and “[anti-]gas shelter” (Gass[chutz]kammer). [86]

In any case, a benign interpretation is possible. Therefore, these are not criminal traces.

Criminal Trace 25: Gas Tight 'Towers'

A construction office (Zentralbauleitung) letter of March 31, 1943, mentions “three gas tight towers” (3 gasdichte Türme). Pressac assumes that “towers” (Türme) here is nonsensical, and that it should instead read “doors” (Türen). Is so, these would simply be references to gas tight doors. As already pointed out, such doors were a common feature of German bomb shelters. A benign interpretation is possible, therefore this is not a criminal trace. [87]

But there is more to be said about this. There is no material or documentary support for Pressac’s view that these “towers” are really “doors.” Given that this Türme spelling is repeated in this same document, his contention that this is merely a stenographic error seems strained.

I propose that “gas tight towers” is not an error, but may have been a reference to shutters for chimneys or smoke stacks, which, according to German anti-gas literature, were also supposed to be gas tight. [88] While the word Turm in German means “tower,” it (and its associated diminutive, Turmchen) can also mean, in German building parlance, a turret or ventilation chimney. Referring to the drawings of Kremas IV and V with their shuttered cupolas surmounting the roof, one might easily conclude that these may also have been referred to as “towers.” Supposedly the “extermination gas chambers” of Kremas IV and V were at the opposite end of the building. But this end of the buildings also had chimneys, although much smaller ones. In short, we propose that these “towers” (Türme) were gas tight chimneys of some kind.

Criminal Trace 28: Bolts for 'Gas Tight' Doors

This document mentions “anchor bolts for gas tight doors” (24 Ankerschrauben für gasdichte [sic] Türen). As already emphasized, such doors were a common feature of German wartime bomb shelters. ^[89] A benign interpretation is possible, therefore it is not a criminal trace.

Criminal Traces 30 and 31: Heating a Morgue

In two documents, both from March 1943, there are references to warming or heating “morgue cellar” (Leichenkeller) 1 in Birkenau Krema II. One mentions a “hot air supply” to the morgue, and the other mentions a “pre-warmed” morgue. These are “supplementary traces,” writes Pressac, because “heating a mortuary is nonsensical.” Still, they are “criminal” only to the extent that other traces are shown to be criminal. ^[90]

Actually, warming or heating an anti-gas shelter is mentioned in the relevant literature, where specific temperatures are cited as ideal in keeping the humidity low. ^[91] In addition, warming this semi-underground morgue cellar to keep it from freezing, such as in winter, would not be unusual. ^[92] A benign interpretation is possible. Therefore these are not criminal traces.

Criminal Trace 32: Gas Tight Door Fittings

This 1943 work order for Krema V mentions “fittings for gas tight door” (Beschläge für gasdichte Tür). Because the date of this order is June 17, 1943 — that is, some time after Krema V had begun operation — Pressac argues that this new door was used to replace a faulty or damaged one. However, he offers no material evidence in support of this assertion. Anyway, and as already pointed out, gas tight doors were a common feature to anti-gas shelters. A benign interpretation is possible, therefore this is not a criminal trace.

Criminal Trace 33: Key for Gas Chamber

This July 1943 work order mentions a “key for gas chamber” (1 Schlüssel für Gaskammer). Noting that “doors to the homicidal gas chambers ... were not fitted with locks,” Pressac offers this only as “a dubious 'trace'.” Apparently he cited it only because it contains the word “gas.” Anyway, he adds, this documentary reference is “incomprehensible with our present state of knowledge.” ^[93]

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this document (which is also the source of “criminal traces” 32 and 33) is a portion that Pressac does not mention. Under August 11, 1943, Number 708, there is an order for “30 fittings for red light lamps” (30 Stück Befestigungskonstruktionen für Rotlichtlampen) for Birkenau crematory buildings IV and V. As already noted, the relevant German literature stresses that darkening was very important for bomb shelters, and installing red light lamps in rooms of Kremas IV and V would therefore be very understandable if, as we believe, these rooms also served as bomb shelters, or at least were adapted or modified for that purpose. ^[94] If, as Pressac and other Holocaust historians contend, such rooms only served as homicidal gas chambers, the purpose of red lamps there seems pointless, or at least unclear.

Criminal Trace 34: Gas Chamber

This May 1943 work order mentions “fittings for a door with frames, air tight, with peephole for gas chamber” (Beschläge zu 1 Tür mit Rahmen, Luftdicht mit Spion für Gaskammer). Pressac re-

gards this “trace” as merely “supplementary,” not least because the “gas chamber” mentioned here in this Polish extract or summary is explicitly identified as a disinfestation or delousing chamber (Entwesungskamer [sic]). Moreover, this fits the description of a normal anti-gas shelter door with a peephole. ^[95] A benign interpretation is possible, so no further commentary is necessary.

Some Additional Arguments by Pressac

At another place in his 1989 book, Pressac specifies eleven modifications of crematory facility (Krema) II that, he believes, are evidence of homicidal gassings there. ^[96] Here are these alleged “incriminating” modifications, with a brief response to each.

1. An access stairway was built to morgue cellar No. 2, allegedly the “undressing” room for gassing victims.

The addition of a staircase here at the nexus of the main building with the right angle underground morgues makes complete sense in terms of access to a air raid anti-gas shelter. Without such a staircase, those seeking shelter there would have had to go another 50 yards out of their way.

Given their large size, these semi-underground morgue cellars would have provided effective shelter for many people in the event of a bombing raid or a gas attack. Morgue cellar 1 of Birkenau Krema II was 210 square meters in size, and morgue cellar 2 was 392.5 square meters in size. They could have held from 500 to 1,500 persons each.

Birkenau’s crematory facilities were among the most prominent and solidly-built structures in the entire camp. They were among only a handful of brick structures in Birkenau built by the Germans from the ground up. It seems only natural that they would have been modified or adapted to incorporate features and capacities in addition to their primary role as morgue rooms. Given their sturdy construction, and prominence, one can easily envision their secondary use as anti-gas air raid shelters, decontamination centers, or personnel shelters.

The location of Birkenau’s crematory facilities athwart or near rail lines alone would have insured their strategic importance. In the event of enemy attack with bombs or poison gas (or even artillery fire), there would have been no safer place in the entire camp than the morgue cellars of Birkenau Krema buildings II and III.

2. The double door of morgue cellar 1 of Birkenau Krema II was refitted to open outward.

Pressac contends that this new door was never actually installed. Anyway, an outward opening double door creates further problems for Pressac and other defenders of the standard Holocaust story, insofar as it blocks the corpse lift.

3. This double door was replaced with a single gas tight door.

Although Pressac cites a document to support this contention, it is not completely clear whether this door was meant for morgue cellar 1 or morgue cellar 2. In either case, as we have seen, gas tight doors of both types were used for air raid shelters. Oddly, Pressac claims ^[97] that the double door, with dimensions of 190 × 190 cm, was replaced by a single door 100 × 192 cm in size. A more reasonable explanation is

that this single door was meant for morgue cellar 2, which no one has ever claimed was a homicidal gas chamber.

4. The drainage system was separated from the other drains in the building.

This is a design feature consistent with anti-gas shelter design. If, as we propose, the drainage of morgue cellar No. 1 was designed to evacuate poison gas contaminants, one would certainly want to keep its drainage separate. [98]

5. The efficiency of the morgue cellar 1 ventilation system was tested with Zyklon.

There is no material evidence for this claim.

6. A wooden wall was built in front of the corpse chute.

In this case as well, this modification is consistent with bomb shelter and anti-gas shelter design.

7. Four wire mesh induction columns with lidded chimneys were installed.

This is another claim (discussed above) for which no material evidence is offered.

8. Dummy wooden shower heads were installed in the ceiling of morgue cellar No. 1 (Krema II).

This is another non-material claim. The relevant document actually mentions 14 shower heads, and these are for Krema III. In any case, the decontamination section of an air raid shelter would naturally have showers and shower heads. [99]

9. The three water taps were removed.

This is yet another non-material claim. The presence of water taps was typical in bomb shelters for cleaning and decontamination, and could certainly sustain shower heads, as we have seen.

10. Benches with clothes hooks were installed in morgue cellar No. 2 (Krema II).

The benches are typical of those in the front (waiting) room of large bomb shelters. The clothes hooks would be expected in the undressing rooms of large bomb shelters equipped with decontamination centers.

11. The area of morgue cellar No. 3 was reduced.

It appears that morgue cellar No. 3 (Krema III) was indeed subdivided to provide additional spaces or rooms. This is entirely consistent with the layout of a large bomb shelter. One of these new rooms was, naturally enough, for the collecting of gold and other metals from the dead. This is a perfectly logical procedure, when we recall that these morgues were after all morgues, and that metals are not consumed in cremation. Indeed, cremated tooth fillings emit mercury as a toxic air pollutant. [100]

To sum up, Pressac provides no material evidence of unique or telltale adaptations indicating that the “Vergasungskeller” morgue cellar ever served, or could have served, as a homicidal (extermination) gas chamber. To the contrary (and Dr. Butz has argued), there are several reasons why the Vergasungskeller was most probably an anti-gas shelter, an interpretation that is supported even

by some of the modifications cited by Pressac. Moreover, and as we have shown, all of Pressac's "criminal traces" are consistent with German air defense shelter design.

The contemporary German technical literature explains the design, layout and equipping of these "morgue cellars" as morgues, with modifications for secondary bomb shelter use. We therefore conclude that these cellar rooms were, in fact, designed and constructed as morgues with a secondary or additional use as air-raid shelters. In this context, the morgue cellar with the gas tight door and the shower heads (or water taps) could only be one thing: a decontamination facility (Entgiftungsanstalt), with shower (Duschraum), for treating poison gas victims — in short, a semi-underground decontamination center, or Vergasungskeller.

Conclusions

Each one of Pressac's "criminal traces" can be explained as an anti-gas feature of an ordinary German wartime air raid shelter. More specifically, the "gas tight" features cited by Pressac were not designed to keep poisonous gas in, but rather to keep poisonous gas out. Pressac's "criminal traces" notion assumes that these "traces" must have a criminal interpretation. Our explanations, however, render them invalid. With these "criminal traces" no longer valid, it follows that there is no material or documentary evidence whatsoever for the existence of extermination gas chambers in the four Birkenau crematory facilities. Therefore, the only evidence of extermination gas chambers at these locations is witness testimony and postwar affidavits.

The contemporaneous German technical literature, a small part of which has been cited here, describes the design features, layout, and equipment of German wartime bomb shelters, or air-raid anti-gas shelters.

The design features, layout, and equipment of the alleged "extermination gas chambers" described by Pressac match those of morgues modified or altered to serve secondarily as air defense shelters with anti-gas warfare features.

The available material and documentary evidence shows that the alleged "extermination gas chambers" in the Birkenau crematory facilities were designed and constructed as morgues, with modifications for their additional or secondary use as anti-gas shelters.

How, or even if, these rooms were actually used as air raid shelters, or anti-gas shelters (in addition to their primary use as morgues), and what additional modifications may have accordingly been carried out, is beyond the scope of this article.

It should be noted that if these morgue cellar rooms had in fact been used as extermination gas chambers, as widely alleged, additional modifications or adaptations of them would have been required for that use. ^[101] There is no evidence of such additional modifications.

Notes

1.  This article was first posted on CODOH Web site on March 23, 1997 {<https://www.codoh.com/incon/inconpressac.html>). It was expanded on April 30, 1997. A German translation, edited by Germar Rudolf, was published in the December 1997 issue of Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung (Jg. 1, Heft 4), pp. 226-243. In that form it was slightly altered to include a section pertaining to air raid shelters in the concentration camp system, derived from a sister article, "Defending Against the Allied Bombing Campaign: Air Raid Shelters and Gas Protection in Germany, 1939-1945", which may be found at the CODOH site at

<https://www.codoh.com/incon/inconabr.html>. The present version, edited by Mark Weber, is adapted from the English-language text prepared for the German-language version. See also: Samuel Crowell, "The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes," posted on the CODOH site at <https://www.codoh.com/incon/inconshr123.html>.)

2. ☺ Throughout I have used the terms bomb shelter and anti-gas shelter interchangeably, because the original German terms "Luftschutzraum," "Gasschutzraum," and "Schutzraum," are used as synonyms in the German literature. I have adopted the (translated) term "anti-gas shelter" from a contemporaneous English-language source, Handbook on German Military Forces (published by the US War Department in March 1945, p. 518), which is further discussed in the body of the text.

3. ☺ Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers was published in 1989 by the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation (New York). This book was announced in a sympathetic article by Richard Bernstein in The New York Times, December 18, 1989. Reviews and analyses of Pressac's book that have appeared in The Journal of Historical Review include: M. Weber, Summer 1990 issue (Vol. 10, No. 2), pp. 231-237; C. Mattogno, Winter 1990-91 (Vol. 10, No. 4), pp. 461-485; R. Faurisson, Spring 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 1), pp. 25-66, and Summer 1991 issue (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 133-175.

4. ☺ Actually, the number of criminal traces is something less than 39. The "39" refers to 39 documents, which are photographically reproduced in Pressac's book.

5. ☺ Miklos Nyiszli, Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account (New York: Arcade, 1993), p. 128, or (New York: Fawcett Crest, 1965), p. 97. (This is at the beginning of chapter 22.)

6. ☺ Martin Gilbert, Auschwitz and the Allies (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981), p. 309.

7. ☺ Wilhelm Stäglich, Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence (IHR, 1990), p. 53. This is a translation of Der Auschwitz-Mythos, first published in German in 1979.

8. ☺ Friedrich P. Berg, "The German Delousing Chambers," The Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1986 (Vol. 7, No. 1), pp. 73-94; F.P. Berg, "Typhus and the Jews," The Journal of Historical Review, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 433-481.

9. ☺ Analysis of Pressac's 1989 Auschwitz book, by Robert Faurisson, in The Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 1), pp. 25-66, esp. pp. 55-58. Specifically, Faurisson wrote (pp. 49, 65): "A gas-tight door is a Gastür or gasdichte Tür; English speakers use "gas-proof door" as well as "gas-tight door"; this type of door can be used either for delousing gas chambers or for airlocks (for example, airlocks in an oven room or in an air-raid shelter)... In a bombing attack, the door to an air-raid shelter is supposed to guard against two effects, among others, caused by exploding bombs: suction of the oxygen out of the shelter and penetration of CO into the same shelter."

10. ☺ Dr. Butz' "Vergasungskeller" article was first published on his Northwestern University Internet website on August 6, 1996, and has been revised at least twice since then. It appeared in the January 1997 issue (No. 51) of the Adelaide Institute Newsletter. A revised version was published in The Journal of Historical Review, July-August 1997 issue (pp. 20-23) under the title "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem." (See also note 57.)

11. [↗](#) This section draws on the following sources: Sterling Seagrave, *Yellow Rain: A Journey Through the Terror of Chemical Warfare* (New York: 1981); the article “Poison Gas Warfare” by Major General Sir Louis Jackson, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 12th edition, 1923 (Supplementary volumes to the 11th edition, 1910), volume XXXII, pp. 110-117; and, the article “A Whiff of Death: Chemical Warfare in the World Wars” by David Tschanz, in *Command: Military History, Strategy & Analysis*, issue 33, March-April 1995, pp. 46-57. The author expresses his gratitude to Richard A. Widmann for providing this last reference. Perhaps the most detailed exposition of World War I gas usage is Dieter Martinetz, *Der Gaskrieg, 1914-1918* (Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1996).
12. [↗](#) Stephen Trombley, *The Executioner’s Protocol* (New York: Crown/ Anchor, 1992), p. 12. (This book was reviewed in the March-April 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 34-36.)
13. [↗](#) Branddirektor Hans Rumpf, *Gasschutz: Ein Leitfaden für den Gasschutzlehrer und den Gasschutzmann* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler & Sohn, 1936/ 3rd ed.), p. 46.
14. [↗](#) H. Rumpf, *Gasschutz* (cited above), pp. 49, 52.
15. [↗](#) H. Rumpf, *Gasschutz* (cited above), p. 54.
16. [↗](#) Guenther W. Gellerman, *Der Krieg, der nicht stattfand* (Koblenz: Bernard & Graefe, 1986), pp. 186 f.
17. [↗](#) *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (Berlin: Bauwelt Verlag, 1939), pp. 174-177.
18. [↗](#) *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), p. 180.
19. [↗](#) *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), pp. 178 f.
20. [↗](#) *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), pp. 182 f.
21. [↗](#) *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), p. 205.
22. [↗](#) *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), p. 208.
23. [↗](#) *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), p. 210.
24. [↗](#) Dr.-Ing. R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (Berlin: W. Ernst & Sohn, 1939)
25. [↗](#) R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (cited above), p. 2.
26. [↗](#) R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (cited above), p. 3.
27. [↗](#) R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (cited above), p. 21.
28. [↗](#) R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (cited above), pp. 32, 37.
29. [↗](#) Further research on this precise point indicates that the peephole might be variously shaped or covered, and might be recessed either on the inside or outside of the door, depending on the nature of the construction and available materials. Thus, the peephole cited in R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (1939, cited above), pp. 32, 37, shows the recess and covering on the inside. However, an article in the periodical *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (Berlin-Charlottenberg: Verlag Gasschutz und Luftschutz, 10. Jg., 1940, pp. 6 and 42) shows it on the outside. See also the

photographs of such doors in: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), pp. 29, 46, 48, 49, 50, 61. The literature also shows that, while the perforated steel plate was preferred, many other expedients were used, sometimes wired glass or ordinary glass, and sometimes the peepholes themselves might be rectangular, *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1940, cited above), p. 42.

30. [↗](#) "Der Zivile Luftschutz auf den Frühjahrausstellungen 1939," by Heinz-Guenther Mehl, published in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (Berlin-Charlottenberg: Verlag Gasschutz und Luftschutz), 9. Jg. (1939), p. 106.

31. [↗](#) *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (cited above), 9. Jg. (1939), p. 111.

32. [↗](#) "Werkrettungsstellen" ("Work Place Emergency Rooms"), by Dr. Ing. Karl Quasebart, published in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 9. Jg. (1939), p. 236.

33. [↗](#) *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, p. 237.

34. [↗](#) *Handbook on German Military Forces* (Washington, DC: US War Department, March 1945), p. 528. (Facsimile reprint: Louisiana State University Press, 1990 [with introduction by historian Stephen E. Ambrose].)

35. [↗](#) *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (cited above), p. 210.

36. [↗](#) "Werkrettungsstellen," in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939 (cited above), p. 239.

37. [↗](#) "Aus der Praxis für die Praxis im Werkluftschutz" ("Practical Lessons for Work Place Bomb Shelters"), by Major a.D. (retired) Stein, in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, p. 263.

38. [↗](#) "Behelfsmässige Luftschutzräume, falsch und richtig" ("Makeshift Bomb Shelters: Right and Wrong"), by Dr. Ing. Ernst Baum, in *Baulicher Luftschutz* (formerly *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*) 10. Jg., 1940, pp. 22 ff.

39. [↗](#) *Baulicher Luftschutz* (cited above), 1940, p. 26.

40. [↗](#) "Bemerkungen zur Verordnung und den Bestimmungen über die behelfsmässige Herrichtung von Luftschutträumen" ("Remarks on the Ordinance and Regulations for Building Makeshift Air Raid Shelters"), by K. Otto, Referent im Reichsluftfahrtministerium, published in *Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1940, p. 8.

41. [↗](#) "Hygienische und physiologische Grundlagen für den Bau von Luftschutz-Bunkern" ("Hygienic and Psychological Conditions for Building Air Raid Bunkers"), by Dr. W. Liese, Reichsgesundheitsamt, in *Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1942, pp. 104-110.

42. [↗](#) *Baulicher Luftschutz* (article by Dr. W. Liese, cited above), 1942, p. 107.

43. [↗](#) "Einfluß der Heizung und Belüftung auf die Planung von LS Bunkern" ("The Role of Heating and Ventilation in Planning Air Raid Bunkers"), by Dr. Ing. Hermann Schrader, Regierungsbaurat im Reichsluftfahrtministerium (Reich Air Ministry), published in *Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1942, pp. 110-116.

44. [↗](#) Advertisements in *Baulicher Luftschutz* (cited above), 1942 issues, apparently pp. iv and v. Text portion translations: "Absolute safety in use!" (Unbedingte Betriebssicherheit!), and "the

simple method of construction enables easy, quick usage” (Die einfache Bauart ermöglicht leichte, schnelle Bedienung).

45.  Handbook on German Military Forces (US War Dept., 1945. Cited above), pp. 518-527.
46.  Handbook on German Military Forces (cited above), p. 527 (Figure 125).
47.  Baulicher Luftschutz (cited above), 1942, p. 202.
48.  Luftschutz Führer Sofort Programm ("Air Raid Guide Emergency Program"), November 1940. Quoted in: Samuel Crowell, "Defending Against the Allied Bombing Campaign: Air Raid Shelters and Gas Protection in Germany, 1939-1945." The relevant portion of the text is posted on the CODOH Internet web site: <https://www.codoh.com/incon/inconabr.html>. Sources cited by Crowell for this document: Joachim Stahl, Bunker und Stollen für den Luftschutz im Raum Siegen (Kreuztal: 1980), pp. 23 ff., and, Georg Wolfgang Schramm, Der zivile Luftschutz in Nürnberg, 1933-1945 (Nuremberg: 1983), pp. 327 ff. The wording in German is: "Bei allen Neubauten, insbesondere bei den Bauten der Rüstungsindustrie, sind von vorneherein bombensichere Luftschutzräume auszuführen. Sie sind in die gleiche Dringlichkeitsstufe wie die Bauvorhaben selbst aufzunehmen."
49.  Letter from Oswald Pohl, head of the SS agency that administered the concentration camps (WVHA), to SS chief Heinrich Himmler, with attached order by Pohl to all camp commandants, April 30, 1942. Nuremberg document R-129. Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), IMT "blue series," vol. 38, pp. 362-367. See also: Himmler to Glücks, Jan. 25, 1942. Nuremberg document NO-500. Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals (1949-1953), NMT "green series," vol. 5, p. 365. Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (New York: Holmes & Meier, 3 vols., 1985), p. 917.
50.  David S. Wyman, The Abandonment of the Jews (New York: 1984), pp. 299-300; R. Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (New York: 1985), pp. 981, 1128-1129; At least two of these raids were reported in The New York Times: Aug. 21, 1944, p. 6, and Sept. 14, 1944, p. 6.
51.  Martin Gilbert, Auschwitz and the Allies (New York: 1981), pp. 315-316, and illus. # 32, opp. p. 193.
52.  Order (Standortbefehl) Nr. 51/43 of November 16, 1943, by Auschwitz commandant, and SS officer, Liebehenschel. Quoted by Carlo Mattogno in his "Reply to Samuel Crowell's 'Comments' About my 'Critique of the Bomb Shelter Thesis'," 1999, posted on CODOH web site: www.codoh.com/. In February 1943 Himmler issued an order on measures to be taken in the concentration camps in anticipation of Allied air bombing raids. Source: R. Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (1985), pp. 913-914.
53.  Memorandum (Aktenvermerk), Auschwitz, October 25, 1943. (Betr. Luftschutz-Dekungsgräben), signed by SS-Untersturmführer Dejaco (?). Original in the Central State Archives, Moscow. Document No. 502-1-26-178. Memorandum (Aktenvermerk), Auschwitz, November 5, 1943. (Betr. Luftschutzdeckungsgräben), signed by SS-Untersturmführer Dejaco (?). Original in the Central State Archives, Moscow. Document No. 502-1-26-186 +186R. Letter, from SS WVHA, Berlin, November 9, 1944, to Bauinspektion Kattowitz. (Betr. Errichtung von Luftschutzdeckungsgräben), Copy of copy. Original in the Central State Archives, Moscow. Document No. 502-1-281. These three documents are posted, both in facsimile and retyped text,

along with commentary, on David Irving's Focal Point web site: <http://www.fpp.co.uk/Auschwitz/docs/LSKeller/MoscowDocs.html>. In addition, a document of November 10, 1943, by SS officer Jothann, mentions work on such air raid shelters (Luftschutzgräben). Cited by Carlo Mattogno in his "Reply to Samuel Crowell's 'Comments' About my 'Critique of the Bomb Shelter Thesis'," posted on CODOH web site: www.codoh.com/.

54.  On measures to protect inmates at Auschwitz (including Birkenau) against death by disease, especially typhus, see: M. Weber, "High Frequency Delousing Facilities at Auschwitz," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1999, pp. 4-12.

55.  "The Stroop Report." Nuremberg document 1061-PS. Published in: IMT "blue series" (cited above), vol. 26, pp. 637-638, 672; Nuremberg Tribunal testimony of Joseph Bühler (April 23, 1946), in: IMT "blue series," vol. 12, pp. 75.

56.  J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (cited above), p. 429. On the following pages of his book (pp. 430-457), Pressac presents his 39 "criminal traces," with commentary, source references, and photographic reproductions of each.

57.  Arthur R. Butz, "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997, pp. 20-23. (See also [note 10](#).) Dr. Butz argues here that the large concrete semi-underground morgues of Birkenau crematory facilities (Kremas) II and III, with their reinforced concrete roofs, and their intended bermings, would have been ideal as air raid "gas shelters." Actually, these morgue had features not only of anti-gas bomb shelters, but also of personnel shelters. Such personnel shelters, which were common in German emplacements, would preferably be underground, "or as low as the water level table permits." (See: *Handbook on German Military Forces*, cited above, p. 263). Also, they would be constructed of concrete reinforced with steel rods, have gas locks, be carefully camouflaged, and have four ventilation ducts, two of which would be dummies to thwart enemy attempts to introduce gas or explosives. (See: *Handbook on German Military Forces*, cited above, pp. 262-264). Butz' research shows that "Gaskeller" can mean "Gasschutzkeller" or "gas shelter," and that "Vergasungskeller" can mean "Gaskeller." This is a good etymological argument, and important in this regard because, as we have seen, the construction workers and engineers were very creative in their use of the German language. As already noted, the bomb shelter literature boasted an impressive vocabulary of synonyms and neologisms. Several nouns, that no one has heard before or since, were coined, using "Gasschutz-" or "Luftschutz-" as a prefix. In the subject index for one periodical year, we find at least 20 words that use Gas- or Gasschutz- as a prefix or suffix, including Gasschutzbettchen and Kleinkindergasschutz. Luftschutz- is even more productive, no fewer than 50 terms are listed, including such interesting terms as Luftschutzhausapotheke, and Luftschutztürme (See: *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, cited above, index.) A similar prolificacy affects bomb shelters (Gasschutzraum, -keller, Gaskeller [as Dr. Butz has noted], Luftschutzraum, -haus, -keller, Schutzraum, even Selbstschutz; LS-Bunker only rarely), poison gas victims (Gaserkrankung, Vergiftungen, Kampfstoffvergiftung, Kampfstoffverletzte, Gaskranken, Gelbkreuzverletzte, and others) as well as decontamination centers (Entgiftungsanstalt, Badeund Duschraum für Kampfstoffverletzte, Gasentgiftung, Rettungsstelle). Such terms as Vergasungskeller for Krema II, and Gasskammer for Krema IV and V, would follow naturally in this series of neologisms.

58.  For more on this, see the full, "original" text of this essay, posted on CODOH web site: <https://www.codoh.com/incon/inconpressac.html>. See also: S. Crowell, "The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes" [abstract], particularly Section 3 ["German Delousing Procedures"], posted on the CODOH site at <https://www.codoh.com/incon/inconshr123.html>.

59. [↗](#) Handbook on German Military Forces (cited above), p. 525.

60. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich: Piper, 1994), p. 93, and, J.-C. Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz: la machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1993). This letter is reproduced in facsimile, together with an English translation, by J.-C. Pressac and Robert-Jan Van Pelt in their article in: Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 230-231. See also the discussion of this letter in: Arthur R. Butz, "Gas Detectors in Auschwitz Crematory II," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997, pp. 24-30. The argument that this document is an altered copy or forgery has been advanced by Werner Rademacher in: E. Gauss, ed., *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: Grabert Verlag, 1994), pp. 55-57. Carlo Mattogno has made this same argument, for example, in C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The End of the Legend* (IHR, 1994), p. 66, and in, C. Mattogno, "Auschwitz: Die Ende einer Legende," in Herbert Vorbeke, ed., *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (Berchem, Belgium: VHO, 1995), p. 147.

61. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (cited above), p. 94.

62. [↗](#) At this point it is worth mentioning that the word "Gasprüfer" in the contemporary German literature refers to a device for measuring the mix of gases in a furnace. See: *Hütte, des Ingenieurs Taschenbuch* (Berlin: Verlag von W. Ernst & Sohn [Akademischer Verein Hütte], 1931), vol. 1, p. 1013 (with specific reference to exhaust gas analysis). This page is reproduced in facsimile in: C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The End of the Legend* (cited above), p. 122, and pp. 65-67, 117-122. This is also given in: C. Mattogno, in H. Vorbeke, ed., *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (cited above), p. 152, and pp. 146-152.

63. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), p. 452.

64. [↗](#) "Gas Detectors in the Auschwitz Crematorium II" was published on Dr. Butz' Internet homepage on March 3, 1997, and revised several times thereafter. It was also published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997, pp. 24-30. One such source of HCN when burned is rayon. During the war years German military uniforms were made with an increasingly high proportion of rayon. (Handbook on German Military Forces, 1945, cited above, pp. 541, 543, 551.) It is also not unreasonable to assume that most concentration camp fabrics contained similar proportions of wool and rayon, and that highly flammable rayon fabrics would be treated with flame retardant, which would provide a catalyst for HCN release when burned. In addition, our review of the literature has shown that several other substances — including leather, celluloid, and proteinous matter — produced HCN when burned, and could have a poisonous effect. All of these could have been burned in the incinerator as well. (H. Rumpf, *Gasschutz*, 1936, cited above, p. 55.) A possible counter argument to Butz' thesis is that these gas detectors had special characteristics that made them appropriate for measuring HCN in connection with homicidal gassings. Aside from this being purely speculative, this counter argument offers no clue as to what these characteristics might be. Moreover, this argument would not explain why ten detectors would be needed, or how they would be used or consulted in a space that, after all, had only one door.

65. [↗](#) R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (1939, cited above), pp. 21, 24 f; *Advertisements in Baulicher Luftschutz*, 1942 issues, cited above; and, *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, p. 236.

66. [↗](#) *Luftschutz durch Bauen* (1939, cited above), pp. 180, 205, 210; *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 237.

67. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), pp. 434, 436.

68. [↗](#) R. Scholle, Schutzraumabschlüsse (1939, cited above), pp. 21, 24 f.; Advertisements in Baulicher Luftschutz, 1942 issues, cited above; and, Gasschutz und Luftschutz, 1939, p. 236. The references in these other “trace” documents are to: “Gasdichttür,” “Beschlüge für 1 Stück Gastür,” “4 Gasdichte Türe,” “Gastüren Verankerungen 210 stk,” “4 dichte Türen, mit Türfutter,” für 4 gasdichte Türen,” “Gastüren einsetzen.” Werner Rademacher in Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte (cited above), p. 57, has argued that all these items would have been superfluous for use with the supposed gas chambers, or the gas chamber doors. However, my bomb shelter thesis answers this problem.

69. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz (1989, cited above), pp. 430, 436, 438.

70. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac and R.-J. Van Pelt in Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp (cited above), p. 233. Holzblenden is translated here as “wooden lids.”

71. [↗](#) Gasschutz und Luftschutz (1939, cited above), p. 111, and, 1940, pp. 22 ff, 26. Elsewhere in his 1989 Auschwitz book (pp. 425-428), Pressac provides several photographs of shutters, which he identifies as the “gas tight windows” or “doors” of Birkenau crematory facilities (Kremas) IV and V. These shutters are generally identical in size, shape, and construction to ordinary wooden shutters (Blenden) for air raid shelters, as can readily be seen by consulting the literature cited above, and they are also of about the right size for emergency exits. Thus, “gas tight windows,” “gas tight doors,” “shutters” or “wooden shutters” are, in this context, all the same thing. This is important not only because it demonstrates the propensity of Birkenau construction workers and engineers to describe things by unconventional names, but also because it helps put this “wire mesh” or “wire netting” in context.

72. [↗](#) Advertisements in Baulicher Luftschutz, 1942 issues, cited above.

73. [↗](#) Luftschutz durch Bauen (1939, cited above), p. 182 f; Gasschutz und Luftschutz, 1940, p. 26; Baulicher Luftschutz, 1940, p. 263. German terms used are Rost, Gitterstäbe and Geflecht von Draht.

74. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz (1989, cited above), p. 441.

75. [↗](#) There are several references in the German anti-gas shelter literature to various Schieber, that is, devices that slide in and block, filter, or mediate a space (such as Absperrschieber, Rosetenschieber, or Aufbläseschieber). In each such case, the Schieber is something that it is slid into something else. In no case does it refer to a device into which something else is slid. (R. Scholle, Schutzraumabschlüsse, 1939, cited above, p. 5; Luftschutz durch Bauen, 1939, cited above, pp. 174ff, 182f.) Pressac’s characterization of Drahtnetzeinschiebvorrichtung as “wire mesh induction devices” or “wire netting inserting devices” is therefore semantically incorrect.

76. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz (1989, cited above), p. 440. The relevant portion of the text, in Polish, reads: “na wykonanie zaslon i kontówek dla krematorium II /B.W. 30/, z tresci którego wynika, ze dla wykonania tego zamówienia zuzyto gaze druciana i druciana plecionke.” The original (German-language) order is not available, because, Pressac believes, the original document was taken from the Auschwitz State Museum and has not been returned. (J.-C. Pressac, Auschwitz, cited above, p. 438). This seems to be the only original document that is missing. Pressac therefore relies on a Polish-language abstract, notarized by Jan Sehn.

77. [↗](#) R. Scholle, Schutzraumabschlüsse (1939, cited above), p. 5; Luftschutz durch Bauen (1939, cited above), pp. 174ff, 182f.

78. ↻ J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), pp. 354, 436. On page 436 he wrote: “According to the American aerial photograph of 24th August 1944, the four introduction points were located along a line running the length of the room in the EASTERN half. In the present ruins, two of these openings are still visible at the southern end but in the WESTERN half. Nobody up to now seems to have been concerned by this contradiction, nor to have explained it.” However, on page 354 Pressac wrote: “The reason for this as yet unexplained difference could well be simply that the roof shifted considerably when dynamited.”

79. ↻ R. Kammerer, A. Solms, eds., *Das Rudolf Gutachten* (London: Cromwell Press, 1993), pp. 26, 28. The text is also on the Internet at: <http://www.vho.org>. (See also the English-language summary edition: *The Rudolf Report* [Cromwell Press, 1993], pp. 6-7.) Rudolf argues that the two holes were crudely cut through the reinforced concrete after pouring, and that they could not be made secure or gas-tight under any conditions. Therefore they must have been made after the war. For more about Rudolf and his VffG journal, see “Important New German-Language Revisionist Quarterly,” in the May-June 1998 Journal, pp. 26-27.

80. ↻ R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (1939, cited above), p. 22.

81. ↻ J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), pp. 429, 430, 438, 439.

82. ↻ *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), 1939, p. 276.

83. ↻ It should be pointed out that this reference to 14 shower heads pertains to morgue 1 of Birkenau crematory building (Krema) III, not Krema II. (For Krema II we have the materially unsubstantiated claim that it had 24 shower heads.) According to the Krema II inventory, morgue 1 was equipped with either three or five water taps, which would be consistent with the facilities or equipping of a decontamination shower room. (See: *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*, 1939, cited above, p. 276.)

84. ↻ *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 111; and, 1940, pp. 22ff, 26.

85. ↻ *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 111; and, 1940, pp. 22ff, 26.

86. ↻ Traces 18 and 19 are time sheets filled out by the foreman of a civilian construction firm that worked on Kremas IV and V. These contain two similar spellings, which Pressac considers mistakes: *gassdichtenfenster*, and *Gasskammer*. Traces 20 and 21 repeat the “misspellings” in a log book. I consider these misspellings odd, because there is more than one mistake being made here. For more on all this, see the full, “original” text of this essay, posted on CODOH web site: <https://www.codoh.com/incon/inconpressac.html>.

87. ↻ J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), pp. 452, 453. As Pressac notes here, Polish examining judge Jan Sehn arbitrarily changed *Türme* (“towers”) to *Türen* (“doors”) in producing an “authentic copy” of this document, which he “certified.” Sehn certified as an “authentic copy” a document to which alterations had been made. Certification of altered documents could certainly be characterized as forgery.

88. ↻ *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 111.

89. ↻ *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 111; and, 1940, pp. 22ff, 26. See, for example, the small “towers” above Krema IV or V shown in the drawing on the front cover of Pressac’s 1989 book. It should be noted that “gas tight” (*gasdichte*) is misspelled as *gasduchte*. But this comes from the Polish transcript, not from the German original document.

90. ↻ J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), pp. 230, 433, 454.
91. ↻ *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), p. 276.
92. ↻ The heating of an underground morgue would sometimes be necessary to keep temperatures above the freezing point. See: E. Neufert, *Bauentwurfslehre* (Frankfurt: Ullstein Fachverlag, 1962), p. 423.
93. ↻ J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), pp. 456, 457. This Polish summary or extract of a German work order reads: 1 Schlüssel. für Gaskammer/ Melden bei H.stuf der Apotheke im 44-Revier/. Bestellschein der Verwaltung BBD Nr. 87 Block vom 9.7.43. Pressac translates this as: 1 key. for gas chamber. Report to SS captain of the SS hospital pharmacy. BBD administration Order No. 87 Block of 9th July, 1943. I believe that alternate interpretations of this “trace” are conceivable, and that, anyway, there are several possible mistakes in this extract. Until the original German work order is found, I think it best to leave this “trace” alone.
94. ↻ "Der Zivile Luftschutz auf den Frühjahrausstellungen 1939," by Heinz-Guenther, published in *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* (1939, cited above), pp. 5, 264, 323ff.
95. ↻ R. Scholle, *Schutzraumabschlüsse* (1939, cited above), p. 21. Note the use of the word Spion for the peephole, instead of the more usual Guckloch. This is further evidence of the creative vocabulary of Birkenau construction workers.
96. ↻ J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), p. 286, with pp. 302-303, 310 and 312.
97. ↻ J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989, cited above), p. 434.
98. ↻ Germar Rudolf has also made the point that it would be natural to segregate the drainage of this space if the cellar contained contaminated corpses. R. Kammerer, A. Solms, eds., *Das Rudolf Gutachten* (London: Cromwell Press, 1993). Also on the Internet at: <http://www.vho.org>.
99. ↻ It has been mentioned in this regard that the architectural drawings for morgue cellar #1 of Krema II do not indicate the piping for the shower heads. As a matter of fact, they indicate no shower heads at all, but rather three water taps (actually, symbols indicating three points where water would be piped in) against the eastern wall (Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, pp. 310, 312). It is strange that Pressac suggests (*Auschwitz*, 1989, p. 310) that this same drawing would indicate that the water taps were removed, but on closer inspection it turns out that the water taps were removed according to witness testimony only. Furthermore, it seems odd that Pressac would consider a lack of piping in any way significant. Elsewhere in this same book (Pressac, *Auschwitz*, 1989, pp. 55-57), he presents four drawings of a known delousing station for prisoners: all four indicate the 55 shower heads, but only one shows the piping for the shower heads, which are in turn led back to only four water outlets. A photograph presented by Pressac (*Auschwitz*, 1989, p. 80) shows how such outlets, by the use of exposed piping suspended from iron rods attached to the ceiling, could sustain shower heads in a ratio of 14 to 1. Therefore, it should be clear that this entire issue of piping, shower heads, water taps, and such is, from a documentary point of view, just not relevant.
100. ↻ Kenneth V. Iserson, *Death to Dust: What Happens to Dead Bodies?* (Tucson: 1994), p. 251.

101. ↻ In particular, it would have been necessary to reverse the screens and shutters. Normally (that is, in the case of air raid shelters), the screens would be on the outside, to protect against bomb splinters and debris, while the shutters would be on the inside, to afford gas protection. If not reversed, the intended gassing victims could simply have opened the emergency exits and climbed out. But if reversed, the debris, splinter, and gas protection features would be compromised. In short, converting these rooms to extermination gas chambers would have prevented their effective use as bomb shelters. There is no material or documentary evidence that such modifications were ever made.

About the author:

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Origin and Enduring Impact of the 'Garaudy Affair'

A French Scholar's Look at Israel's 'Founding Myths'

Theodore J. O'Keefe

When *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* — soon to be issued by the IHR as *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel* — was first published in France at the end of 1995, it unleashed a nationwide sound and fury unmatched by any other revisionist book on the Holocaust, before or since. No book by Paul Rassinier, by Arthur Butz, or by Robert Faurisson has precipitated anything approaching the tempest among intellectuals and the uproar in the media that accompanied the appearance of this work by well-known French scholar Roger Garaudy.

Nor did the impact of *Founding Myths* end with the literary controversy that swept France in the first half of 1996. Garaudy's trial and conviction in Paris in 1998 for Holocaust heresy ignited further conflagration across the Islamic Middle East and beyond. As Zionist organizations soon had cause to lament, influential persons and groups in Arab countries, and in non-Arab Muslim nations such as Iran, made, for the first time in the Islamic world, a show of concerted support for the Holocaust revisionist position.

How to account for the extraordinary affair aroused by Garaudy's book? As he himself emphasized throughout *Founding Myths* by his prominent citation of sources in the text, little if anything of the book's scholarship is original — neither the Holocaust revisionism expounded here, nor his summoning of recent Old Testament scholarship against the “chosen people” and “promised land” myths that justify modern Zionism, nor his citation of Zionist leaders and anti-Zionist Jews in evidence against Israeli policies.

Rather, the cause of the uproar lies in the extraordinary syzygy of a man and a movement. The man is of course Roger Garaudy, who has made a twentieth century odyssey through literature, philosophy, and politics, from Christianity to Communism, through Stalinism back to Christianity, and then to Islam, and at last to the radical revising of World War II history that French attorney Pierre Pécastaing called “the great intellectual adventure of the end of this century.”

Roger Garaudy was born in Marseille in 1913. At 14 he became that rarity, a French Protestant, and then graduated from university with a bachelor's degree in philosophy. After service in the French army in 1940, he joined the anti-German and anti-Vichy Résistance, for which he was interned in a French camp in Algeria. After the war Garaudy joined the powerful French Communist Party, then at the height of its prestige following the triumph of Soviet arms.

Garaudy was much more than a mere “card-carrying Communist.” He was elected a Communist deputy to the National Assembly, later serving as deputy speaker and then as a senator. For a quarter century after the war, Garaudy was one of the French Communist Party's leading theo-

reticians, a respected philosopher and authority on Hegel, and an author of dozens of scholarly works, whose views carried weight well beyond party circles.

Although a Stalinist stalwart during the 1940s and 50s, at no time in his career did Garaudy abandon his interest in theology and religion. In the 1960s his growing interest in dialogue with the Catholic Church won him international notice, while his increasing disenchantment with Soviet Communism, signaled by his support for the anarchic student upheaval of 1968 and his condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in the same year, soon led to his expulsion from the Party. He continued to teach philosophy at the university level, and to develop his interest in art and literature from around the world. In 1982 Garaudy converted from Roman Catholicism to Islam, which he had come to see as a more authentic vehicle of the divine call. In the following years he became a respected commentator on Islam in the Muslim world, and a passionate advocate of the Palestinian cause. Despite his break with Communism, he never ceased to proclaim his anti-racist, internationalist, and socialist beliefs.

After two of Garaudy's books on the Palestine question fell victim to unofficial censorship through the familiar means of intimidation and blackout, Garaudy's growing awareness of the role the Holocaust plays in silencing critics of Israel led him to examine the revisionist case. In December 1995 Marxist writer Pierre Guillaume, whose leftist "Old Mole" house had published Robert Faurisson and other French revisionists, brought out Garaudy's *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* (reviewed in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 35-36).

Perhaps it should not surprise anyone that the rise of a French school of Holocaust revisionism antedates that of any other nation. The movement in France that struggles to subject to critical historical analysis the claim that millions of Jews were systematically killed on Hitler's order is closer to the French national genius than might be supposed. Despite its reflexive assignment to the right, the debunking of myths that have been enshrined by capitalist as well as communist powers, that have bolstered the mythologies of more than one nation, and that have been embellished with miraculous details to rival the legends of the saints, draws on a rationalist, critical, spirit that links French revisionism to such ancestors as Voltaire, Renan, and even Anatole France.

The "father" of Holocaust revisionism was Paul Rassinier, a French educator of Marxist and pacifist sensibilities who was arrested in 1943 for his underground Résistance activism and interned until the end of the war in the Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps. Like Garaudy, he was initially an admired figure in the postwar era, when he was elected to the National Assembly as a deputy of the Socialist Party (SFIO). Rassinier was an honest man, however, who — in his memoirs of wartime camp experiences — failed doubly in his duty to Holocaust "memory": he was not only unable to recall atrocities that had been fabricated after the fact, but also unable to forget the misdeeds and collaborations of certain of his fellow deportees who passed for heroes and martyrs after the war. The outspoken integrity and tenacity of Rassinier on what he had witnessed in the camps, as well as his diligent research into the alleged gas chambers, the six million claim, and wartime Germany's actual Jewish policy, resulted in his being pushed to the periphery of French intellectual society, as well as continual targeting in private lawsuits and state investigations.

Yet by the time of his death in July 1967, Rassinier had attracted a small but tenacious following in France, as well as backing from abroad that included, significantly, support from the eminent American historian, Harry Elmer Barnes, and a number of his colleagues.

In the late 1970s, university professor Robert Faurisson emerged as France's leading revisionist. After years of private research and study, this Sorbonne-educated authority on French literary texts, and specialist of document analysis, first made public his skeptical views about the Holocaust extermination story in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in *Le Monde*. Through his meticulous research, careful scholarship, writing, and tireless publicizing, and through the physical assaults and wearing court cases he has endured, he became the foremost French and European revisionist scholar. The "Holocaust" revisionist content of *Founding Myths*, and the scandal that its publication unleashed in France, would be inconceivable apart from Faurisson's contribution.

The appearance of a revisionist book on the Holocaust by an ex-Communist celebrity would have been scandal enough for France's ingrown intellectual community, many of whose members are Jewish. The appearance of Garaudy's *Founding Myths* provoked not only their shrill denunciations, it brought legal complaints under France's notorious 1990 Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. (See "French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy," March-April 1998 *Journal*, pp. 14-18.)

It was the involvement on Garaudy's behalf, however, of an octogenarian Capuchin friar whose well-publicized engagement on behalf of the homeless and other unfortunates has made him one of the most popular men in France, that converted the Garaudy affair into a nationwide event rather than just another spat among the literati. Abbé Pierre, as the Frenchman born Henri Grouès became known during his underground work with the Résistance in smuggling Jews out of France, has the national charisma and presence that a Mother Theresa might have had in America had she been working in Harlem rather than Calcutta. A longtime friend of Garaudy, who had come to share his sympathy for the Palestinians, the Abbé made headlines in April 1996 by seeming to endorse the book. (See: R. Faurisson, "On the Garaudy/ Abbé Pierre Affair," July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 26-28.)

The Garaudy affair was soon enough the Abbé Pierre affair, and the baying pack of intellectuals dogging Garaudy was soon joined by the popular media and by France's most influential religious leaders, including the Archbishop of Paris, the Jewish convert to Catholicism Daniel Lustiger, and the chief rabbi of France, Joseph Sitruk. The controversy was not without its droll aspects: the Abbé Pierre seemed in constant retreat — acknowledging that he hadn't actually read the book, eschewing any allegiance to Holocaust revisionism, calling on Garaudy to correct any mistakes — but he accompanied each concession with a new thrust. He called for a national debate on the Holocaust — and at first got Grand Rabbi Sitruk to agree with him. He pointed out that some Holocaust claims must be wrong, and that there was room for revision. When at last the combined weight of church censure, rabbinical reprimand, the scolding of his left-wing friends, and his expulsion from the International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA) and from the international Emmaus organization, which he had founded, led to Abbé Pierre's temporary flight from France to a monastery in Italy, he could still tell the press: "If the French church intervened to censure me, it did so only in response to the chorus of pressure from the media, inspired by an international Zionist lobby. I am absolutely convinced of that."

There was much truth to the headline that appeared, together with a photo of the Abbé Pierre, on the cover of the weekly *L'Événement du jeudi* (June 27-July 3, 1996): "La victoire des révisionnistes." As the journalist Jean-Francois Kahn had observed two months earlier, in response to Rabbi Sitruk's short-lived call for a debate among historians on the Holocaust, "Could Faurisson and [National Front chief Jean-Marie] Le Pen have hoped for more, even in their wildest dreams?"

Two months later, in a two-part article that appeared in the newspaper *Le Nouveau Quotidien* of Lausanne, Switzerland, establishment historian Jacques Baynac described the paranoia that reigned among French intellectuals during the Garaudy affair, as accusations and denials of a secret devotion to revisionism flew in Paris salons, and Faurisson, though legally muzzled and socially ostracized, was, like a latter-day Scarlet Pimpernel, here, there, and everywhere. (See: R. Faurisson, "An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges ...," July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 24-28.)

Many of those who frothed against Founding Myths gave voice to their embarrassment — real or pretended — at the French law that makes it a crime to question the Holocaust. They would prefer it to be thought that the 1990 *Loi Gayssot*, named for the French Communist deputy who sponsored it, with the blessing of the Jewish premier Laurent Fabius, makes it easy for the revisionists to maintain the moral high ground. Still, it was the mainstream LICRA and MRAP (Movement against Racism and for Friendship between Peoples) that brought the charges that caused the French state to try Garaudy for violating the *Gayssot* law. Leading intellectuals, moreover, offered only feeble opposition to the trial in January 1998 of a man who, in his Communist days, had once been one of their own.

Of the trial itself, it may be said that Garaudy was at best a reluctant champion of his own book's theses on the gas chambers, which had been pruned back in a second edition that appeared in 1995. He drew his strength, rather, from his stand on behalf of the Palestinians, and from the extraordinary support and acclamation that began to flow his way from the Arab and other Muslim countries. This did nothing to deter the Paris court from deciding on a guilty verdict. On February 27, 1998, it fined Garaudy 240,000 francs (\$40,000).

Whereas the appearance of *Founding Myths* had made Holocaust revisionism a sensation in France, the trial of its octogenarian author made Holocaust revisionism a byword throughout the Middle East. In the course of just a few weeks, social, political and intellectual leaders throughout the Arab and Muslim world expressed support for Garaudy and their outrage at his treatment. From the Persian Gulf to the Nile, lawyers, writers and politicians protested publicly. At the trial's outset, for example, Sheikha Zayed ibn Sultan Al-Nahayan, the wife of the president of the United Arab Emirates, donated to Garaudy's defense \$50,000 — the equivalent of the maximum fine for violating the *Gayssot* Law.

Nowhere did Garaudy's star shine brighter than in Egypt, cultural center of the Arab world. Egyptian Nobel laureate in literature Naguib Mahfouz wondered at a society in which one was punished for denying the Holocaust, but free to deny God. As a guest of the country's Minister of Culture, Garaudy lectured and participated in symposiums associated with the annual Cairo Book Fair. His hero's welcome in the most populous Arab country included backing from an array of social and intellectual leaders. "Every Muslim should support Garaudy's thought and stand with all cultural, religious and diplomatic efforts," declared Egypt's highest religious authority, Grand Mufti Nasr Farid Wasel. "It is a duty to defend him and stand by his side."

In Iran, 600 journalists and 160 members of parliament signed petitions backing Garaudy, and during a visit to the country, he was received by the nation's supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, who congratulated the French scholar.

In the months since the Garaudy trial, Holocaust revisionism has continued its advance in the Islamic world. Impelled by the continuing persecution or repression of revisionists in the West, it has graduated from a novelty among Arabs and Muslims to an intellectual fashion and an ideo-

logical weapon. One consequence is that western revisionists are now regularly broadcast to Europe over Radio Iran.

Given this, it is not surprising that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and such American-based Jewish-Zionist support groups as the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Zionist Organization of America have designated such books as Garaudy's *Founding Myths* as the "number one threat to Israel."

Perhaps the best testimony to the service the Garaudy book has done in spreading revisionism to Muslims was given by German-Canadian revisionist publicist Ernst Zündel. During a taxi ride in snow-bound Ottawa, he relates, he had this exchange with the cabbie:

[the] driver, an Iraqi, within a few sentences of our conversation, said, with a smile from ear to ear: "So, you have studied the Holocaust? Then you must be familiar with the work of Roger Garaudy!"

The success of *Founding Myths* in spreading the Holocaust revisionist thesis in the Muslim world — propelled by Garaudy's great prestige and the injustice done to him — is not without its ironies for revisionists. For all his courage, Garaudy, who has not hesitated to invoke Zündel, David Irving, and Fred Leuchter, was inhibited by fear or odd scruple from mentioning the name of Robert Faurisson, without whose influence Garaudy's treatment of the Holocaust would scarcely have been imaginable. Ironical, too, is the fact that in the tumult over the book, the numerous garbled or misattributed citations in the original, above all in the section on the operations of the Zionist lobby in America, seem to have escaped the notice of critics and defenders alike. In this edition, care has been taken to restore, in conformance with the original sources, the numerous citations that give this book its unique character.

For all that *Founding Myths* reveals of its author's frailty and fallibility, whoever reads it with an open mind and heart must marvel at the breadth of spirit, learning, and intellect that propels Garaudy onward in unending quest. That the Faustian striving and the humanist ideals of this old Marxist and recent Muslim have come to encompass the struggle for establishing the truth about the Jewish "Holocaust" attest to the power and magnetism of a vital and unstoppable intellectual movement.

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Theodore J. O'Keefe is book editor for the Institute for Historical Review, and an associate editor of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*. He previously worked at the IHR from 1986 until 1994, serving as chief editor of this *Journal* from 1988 until April 1992. He also addressed the IHR Conferences of 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1992. Educated at Harvard College, he is the author of numerous articles on historical and political subjects that have appeared in a range of periodicals. This essay is adapted from the foreword to the forthcoming IHR edition of Garaudy's *Founding Myths*.

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'Political Correctness' in Germany

The Social Danger of Stifling Free Expression

Claus Nordbruch

Political Correctness, derived from an essentially well-intentioned “Code of Conduct,” has become an instrument of moralistic terror in Germany. The self-appointed “politically correct” think of themselves as the sole possessors of the truth, and refuse anyone else the right to differ. As [German writer] Martin Walser has pointed out, this applies particularly to the best-known German taboos: Germany’s National Socialist history, women and foreigners. When one attempts to deal with any of these themes, even in the most open-minded way, one is beaten down unmercifully with the “fascism club,” a term coined by political scientist Helmut Knütter. Whenever, by means of this deadly method of argument, someone is successfully labeled a racist, fascist or sexist, he is degraded to the status of a leper, with no further opportunity to present his view.

The unfortunate thing about Political Correctness is that, as a result, disputations or discussions often either do not take place at all, or only in the form of a campaign of defamation or a show trial. This prescribed thought control has led to a stunting of intellectual freedom in the former “land of thinkers.” Political Correctness reveals itself as the instrument of intellectual coordination, and, in modern cultural history, sets an extraordinary precedent for censorial manipulation of the process of building public political consensus. ^[1]

Assault on Differentiation

Some telling examples will illustrate this manipulation: For some time now in Germany, presumably motivated by a rejection of discrimination, it is no longer proper to speak of Gypsies [Zigeuner]. In German now the politically correct term is “Roma and Sinti.” But this term is actually incorrect because these are merely the two main Gypsy branches or tribes. In reality, the generalized term “Roma and Sinti” is itself racist, inasmuch as it ignores, and thereby discriminates against, the smaller Gypsy branches, such as the Lallers, the Manusch, the Joneschti, the Polatschia, the Sikligars, the Boschi or the Calé.

In the Spring of 1996, officials of the Lutheran missionary organization Evangelische Missionswerk, in their journal *Eine Welt* ["One World"], advocated human rights for apes! They based this demand on the fact that humans and chimpanzees are genetically very similar. On this basis the theologian Martin Brückner concluded that there is an “incredible similarity,” and contended in all seriousness that the denial of human rights to apes was essentially no different than racism or the denigration of women. Today no idea seems too absurd to be considered as a new and generally valid guide to behavior. The price we pay for this is absurdity and undermining of a sense of self-worth.

The direct consequence of enforcing politically correct modes of behavior, which can be observed daily in much of the German media, is the creation of a sexless, inexpressive and uniform mode of speech, one driven by political calculation. In this way those who were once referred to as alien workers [Fremdarbeiter] became guest workers [Gastarbeiter], and then as foreign employees and foreign fellow citizens, and are now regarded as immigrants. In the course of socialist equalization, the apprentice [Lehrling] became a trainee [Auszubildender], a term that quickly atrophied into the infantile “Azubi.” The cleaning woman [Putzfrau] has become a virtual “shooting star,” rising to room cultivator [Raumpflegerin] and then to parquet beautician. She no longer cleans, but rather devotes herself to the care of inner architectural beauty.

Fighting Against Thought Control

Today it is especially important to fight against restrictions of free thought in scholarship, research and education. Especially in these fields Political Correctness often impedes serious work by tabooizing from the outset certain research projects and problem areas, thereby putting them off-limits to investigation.

Politically correct or “anti-fascist” publications are by no means the only ones to denounce “political incorrectness.” The self-appointed guardians of morality have succeeded in extending their influence to high-level government agencies and positions. Not surprisingly, the Office for Defense of the Constitution [Amt für Verfassungsschutz] succumbs to this jargon. In its questionable view, those who “defend against Political Correctness seek to immunize themselves from criticism of their own extremist viewpoints.” [2] This denunciatory statement sweepingly categorizes as extremist not only political opponents and critical scholars, but every unprejudiced contemporary who seeks to make use of his right to freedom of information and expression. Imposing such a stigma extinguishes a free exchange of views.

Certainly the “Historian’s Dispute” [Historikerstreit] of the mid-1980s showed that for some time scholarship had been divided into political spheres of influence. What Ernst Nolte and other prominent historians demanded was nothing less than the beginning of a revisionist view of history. [3] This does not mean anything disreputable or offensive. The critical re-examination of previous research is essential to all scholarship. The word “revision” is derived from the Latin word “revidere,” meaning “to look at again.” To examine the facts is the foremost and most natural task of any scholar. Historians as well are thus obliged continually to reevaluate and, if necessary, correct the writing of history on the basis of new insights, discoveries and research. This is the one and only tool of serious scholarship.

Revisionism in the Physical Sciences

At this point it seems appropriate to comment in a basic way about revisionism, because this is the target par excellence of the Politically Correct. One may perhaps still recall one of the many “historical facts” of this century that needed revising. Until rather recently millions of God-fearing pilgrims admired Christ’s “Shroud of Turin” — until laboratory tests established that it dated from the Middle Ages. To my knowledge the Pope did not excommunicate the scientists — revisionists! — who conducted the tests, nor were they accused of dishonest methods.

Almost daily new insights are gained, not only in the political and social sciences, but even more in the physical sciences and in technical fields. Here is a representative example from paleontology: most readers of these lines probably believe that the largest and earliest carnivorous prehistoric reptile was *Tyrannosaurus rex*. In September 1995, however, Argentine paleontologists uncovered in northern Patagonia the petrified remains of a previously unknown kind of dinosaur

(*Giganotosaurus carolinii*), which was larger than *Tyrannosaurus rex* and lived 70 million years ago in the Cretaceous period. Yet those who then thought they were in possession of “the truth,” that *Giganotosaurus* was the largest carnivorous reptile, learned better in May 1996 when, in Morocco, scientists discovered a creature 20 million years older and even larger, *Carcharodontosaurus saharicus*, a discovery that of course entailed inevitable revisionist consequences. What is valid for paleontologists, genetic scientists or nuclear physicists is naturally also valid for social science scholars. When he begins his scholarly work, the historian questions or reexamines the starting premises, the previous findings and the current state of research. Today, however, if he proceeds to conduct research on this basis, he is already suspect in the eyes of the politically correct. But scholarly research cannot be conducted except by investigating existing premises and by not assuming existing conclusions to be correct. Otherwise we would still be thinking that the earth is flat.

Barriers to Thought Instead of Discussion

Defaming revisionists out-of-hand as right-wing extremists has nothing to do either with an objective appraisal of their work nor with the necessary critical discussions within scholarship and research. In my opinion it is, instead, politically motivated. The operating motto is as simple as it is effective: “Make your political opponents contemptible instead of respecting them with counter-arguments, and thereby establish your position in a broad spectrum as the single force to be taken seriously.” What is left laying on the ground, of course, is the often-praised “democratic basic order,” which guarantees a free development of political opinion. Horst Mahler, who was once the defense attorney of the Red Army Faction terrorists, said recently: “In France it is estimated that today in Germany there are more political prisoners than there were in the DDR [Communist East Germany] in the year before it collapsed.” ^[4] This is a shocking indicator of freedom of expression as it is practiced in this country.

Political Correctness sets up rigid barriers to thought that block an open discussion aimed at solving problems, and thus impedes further intellectual development. ^[5] Freedom of research must not be restricted by any power that prescribes in advance what may be considered true. Otherwise research threatens to become the ideological instrument of an opinion cartel, and thus of a power cartel, and in so doing to lose its standing as a precondition of intellectually robust and creative people. Political Correctness is a threat to a politically free state, because ultimately it will produce a state of like-minded conformity and ideological uniformity. As the writer Reiner Kunze has put it, political correctness is nourished by the merciless ideological refashioning of intellectual life in Germany. Steffen Heitmann, Saxony’s Minister of Justice, regards this as the symptom of a spiritually sick people. One need not be a psychoanalyst to recognize in this the source of German self-alienation.

Notes

1

Ethnologist Hans Peter Duerr regards Political Correctness as a flight from reality. Its exponents, he writes, create “a dualistic view of the world, an infantile Disney fantasy of good and evil people.” Source: “Ein Lügengespinnst,” *Der Spiegel*, No. 28/ 1994, p. 162. In the book *Die Diktatur der Guten: Political Correctness* (Munich: 1996, p. 9), Klaus J. Groth writes that “Political Correctness means, in fact, incorrectness, and comes close to being a liturgy of inhuman thought and struggle stereotyping, of leftist pressure for conformity, and finally, of censorship.”

2 .	See the interview with Ernst Nolte, professor emeritus of contemporary history (Free University of Berlin), in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal, pp. 15-22, and, in the same issue, the review of his 1993 book <i>Streitpunkte</i> (pp. 37-41). See also Nolte's remarks about Auschwitz in history in the March-April 1999 Journal, p. 36.
3 .	Source cited: <i>Verfassungsschutzbericht Nordrhein-Westfalen 1995</i>. This is the 1995 annual report of the "constitutional protection" agency of the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia. According to the <i>Verfassungsschutzbericht Baden-Württemberg '96</i>, (p. 113), "The goal of 'revisionism,' which has become one of the most important areas of agitation for right-wing extremists, is the rehabilitation of National Socialism by making it once again socially acceptable." Revisionism, according to the <i>Verfassungsschutzbericht Brandenburg '97</i>, p. 137, is a "detestable expression of right-wing extremism."
4 .	Horst Mahler, "Der Geheimagent des Weltgeists," <i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i> (München), Sept. 30, 1998.
5 .	See also: Ludwig Römbild, <i>Politisch nicht korrekt</i> (Bielefeld: 1998), p. 11.

About the author:

Claus Nordbruch is the author of two books on freedom of expression in today's Germany: *Sind Gedanken noch frei? Zensur in Deutschland* ("Still Free to Think?: Censorship in Germany"), published in 1998 by Universitas (Munich), and *Der Vefassungsschutz: Organisation, Spitzel, Skandale* (Tübingen: Hohenrain, 1999). Dr. Nordbruch lives in Pretoria, South Africa. This essay is translated from the text that appeared in the prestigious Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 12, 1999, under the title "Die selbsternannten Tugendwächter im Visier: Schaltet Political Correctness das einstige Volk der Denker gleich?" A lengthier version of this essay, with footnotes, appeared in the quarterly journal *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Postfach 1629, 72006 Tübingen, Germany), June 1999, pp. 12-15.

From the Editor - Opportunity and Challenge in a New Era

With the dawning of a new century, Holocaust revisionism is making headlines everywhere. Around the globe there is real ferment, a new surge of media attention on Holocaust skepticism, and growing criticism of the oppressive impact of the powerful “Holocaust industry.”

“Holocaust deniers” are, of course, still widely portrayed as misguided or malevolent. But we are seeing more and more “mainstream” concessions to historical truth, and open acknowledgment of “Holocaust” manipulation and exploitation. More than ever, the iconic facade seems to be cracking.

In late December, a much-discussed documentary film about American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter was released for public showing, to the accompaniment of commentary in nearly every major American daily paper. (In 1988 Leuchter carried out a forensic examination of the alleged homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau, and concluded that they were never used to kill people as alleged.) The film “Mr. Death” attempts, of course, to discredit Leuchter’s findings; it portrays him as both arrogant and self-deluded; it completely ignores the investigations and studies of other specialists that impressively corroborate the results of his on-site investigation. The director Errol Morris portrays as quite natural and unexceptional the outrageous campaign that destroyed Leuchter’s career as the country’s foremost execution hardware specialist, and even presents without criticism the hateful comments of two of the perpetrators. (Greg Raven’s review of “Mr. Death” appears in this Journal issue.)

But on balance, the film has the merit of focusing renewed public attention on the Holocaust debate, prompting at least a few independent observers to say the unsayable. Film critic Godfrey Cheshire, for one, in the weekly New York Press, told readers that “‘Mr. Death’ is the closest thing we’re likely to get to a film that questions Holocaustolatry, a mild form of which is now firmly established as part of our official culture.” The Holocaust, Cheshire went on, has become a “myth” of “supernatural character,” and “an untouchable, quasi-religious event fraught with a Significance quite beyond anything that mere history might support.”

Another indicator of the changing climate is a recent front-page Los Angeles Times article, “Danger in Denying Holocaust?” For the first time ever, a major American daily newspaper highlighted the fact that in France, Germany, and some other European countries, scholars are jailed, fined and forced into exile for questioning government-ordained Holocaust history.

Written by veteran journalist Kim Murphy, the lengthy January 7 piece begins by citing the persecution of a young German chemist, Germar Rudolf, for concluding — on the basis of a detailed on-site forensic examination — that no one was killed, or could have been killed, in the alleged homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau. As the article goes on to note, this doctoral candidate at Stuttgart University lost his job at the respected Max Planck Institute, saw his doctoral degree put on hold, was sentenced to 14 months in prison, and finally was forced

into exile — all because of his carefully considered evaluation of Holocaust “gas chamber” claims.

More than a few readers of the Times article must certainly wonder: Just what kind of “historical truth” is it that must be protected by the armor plate of police, lawsuits, fines and imprisonment? Because the report suggests that revisionists might at least have a point about the issue of academic freedom, the Jewish lobby lost no time in furiously attacking both the Times and Murphy for this “immoral” article.

Even more important in terms of public awareness is something that happened in London on January 11. On that day began the libel trial brought by British historian David Irving against American Jewish activist Deborah Lipstadt. In his opening statement to the court (reprinted elsewhere in this Journal issue), Irving charges that Lipstadt and her British publisher severely damaged his reputation and career through her book, *Denying the Holocaust*, a strident work that also attacks professors Robert Faurisson and Arthur Butz, revisionist activist Bradley Smith, and the Institute for Historical Review.

Further complicating this already complex case, authorities in Germany announced shortly after the trial began that they would try to extradite Irving to that country on the basis of a fine imposed on him by a German court for having told a meeting in Munich in 1990 that the “gas chamber” at Auschwitz, shown to hundreds of thousands of tourists yearly, is a postwar dummy. Amazingly, one of the witnesses for Lipstadt in the London trial, Robert-Jan van Pelt, has acknowledged the truth of precisely this point in his detailed 1996 study of Auschwitz. (For more on this, see “The ‘Gas Chamber’ of Auschwitz I” in this Journal issue.)

Irving, a literal and figurative David, faces a Goliath. Day after day he sits alone on one side of the courtroom; arrayed against him sits a legal team of some 20 lawyers and para-legal specialists (not to mention the phalanx of support staff posted outside the courtroom). Each day he walks alone into the court house, carrying his own books and documents.

Win or lose, Irving is a marked man, a pariah — more than ever, a target of his enemies' implacable hatred. Independent observers marvel at his unflagging confidence and verbal skill in the courtroom. But even an Atlas would falter under the great emotional and psychological burden of this ordeal — especially because so much of the court battle focuses on a field of history that, as Irving concedes, “is not my patch.”

Whatever the outcome, and whatever wavering or waffling the strain of battle might occasion, Irving is performing a great public service by heightening public awareness of the international debate on this much abused chapter of history.

In a recent essay about the trial published in a major British daily, a prominent Jewish Holocaust historian, David Cesarani, writes with concern about what he calls “the growing backlash against the so-called ‘Holocaust industry’.” He cites as evidence the new book by Jewish-American writer Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, and a forthcoming book, *The Holocaust Industry*, by another Jewish scholar, Norman Finkelstein. This “intellectual backlash,” Cesarani continues, “is taking hold in mainstream and media circles.”

Perhaps the most remarkable fallout thus far from the Irving-Lipstadt case is “The Holocaust on Trial,” a front-cover feature article in the current *Atlantic Monthly* (Feb. 2000), written by London-based American-Jewish writer D. D. Guttenplan. This 19-page essay begins by conceding that “political calculation” has “influenced our knowledge of the Holocaust from the very begin-

ning,” and that “what everybody knows about the Holocaust isn’t always true” — a point that this Journal has been making for 20 years.

Guttenplan notes that no one was ever gassed at Dachau and Belsen, but says nothing about the far-reaching implications of such concessions. Though he implicitly acknowledges that a mass of historical “evidence,” including court judgments and many “eyewitness testimonies,” is worthless, he can neither acknowledge nor publicly regret that men were put to death on the basis of such bogus “evidence.”

“Though it is considered impolite to mention them in public,” Guttenplan writes, “there are still a number of 'live questions' about the Holocaust,” among them the “delicate ... question of survivor testimony.” Much of this “testimony,” he acknowledges, is just plain wrong.

Particularly eyebrow-raising is what Guttenplan tells readers of this leading intellectual/literary magazine about the decades-long efforts by organized Jewry to suppress historical scholarship, even by Jewish academics. As a result of such efforts, “certain aspects of the Holocaust and its aftermath ... became not just controversial but unmentionable.”

As long ago as the early 1960s, Guttenplan shows, Jewish historian Raul Hilberg was accused of “impiety” and “defaming the dead” in the pages of *Commentary*, the American Jewish Committee monthly, because he had taken note of the extent to which wartime German authorities relied on Jews to assist in the “final solution.” Officials at Yad Vashem, Israel’s central Holocaust memorial center, even refused Hilberg access to their archives.

Also in the 1960s, Jewish historian Barbara Tuchman attacked Hannah Arendt for her much-discussed book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, accusing the German-born Jewish intellectual of “a conscious desire to support Eichmann’s defense.” The Anti-Defamation League similarly condemned Arendt’s “evil book,” hurling charges at her that, as Guttenplan notes, were “not just false but the reverse of the truth.”

Another Jewish historian, Princeton professor Arno Mayer, was, in Guttenplan’s words, “practically excommunicated” by organized Jewry for concluding, in his 1989 work on the “final solution,” that Hitler was far more concerned with annihilating Communism than he was with decimating Jews. “It isn’t only Holocaust deniers who twist facts, obscure the truth and, in Deborah Lipstadt’s phrase, create 'immoral equivalencies',” writes Guttenplan. “... Time and time again those who insist on the truth in all its 'complex, unsentimental,' paradoxical, and ambiguous detail are shouted down.”

Another indication of the general worldwide trend is a column about the London trial in the weekly *New York Press* (Jan. 18). “Irving is right to be upset that an influential minority with a political agenda succeeded in destroying his career,” comments George Szamuely.

After pointing out that the epithet “Holocaust denier” is an elastic one, the columnist writes:

In Denying the Holocaust, Lipstadt wrote that Pat Buchanan’s “attacks on the credibility of the survivor testimony are standard elements of Holocaust denial.” Yet, a few years ago [August 1986] the director of Yad Vashem’s archive [Shmuel Krakowski] told a reporter that most of the 20,000 testimonies it had collected were unreliable: “Many were never in the places where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on secondhand information given them by friends or passing strangers.” Is he also then a “Holocaust denier”?

“We now know,” Szamuely continues, “that many of the most lurid stories of the Holocaust are not true ... Whether Irving wins or loses his libel case, we will probably find out that our current knowledge of the Holocaust is much flimsier than we had believed.”

Here at the IHR, we are generally pleased with the overall trend and guardedly optimistic about the future. To be sure, we still face powerful enemies who, to paraphrase Gutfenplan, are determined to “shout down” those who insist on the truth. At the same time, our adversaries are slowly but inexorably being forced to make ever more grudging concessions to truth.

With a recently expanded staff, we're working hard to bring new books into print, prepare for the next full-scale IHR Conference (May 27-29 in southern California), and get the Journal back on schedule (which is why this issue is a combined one). Through greater and more solid awareness of the past, we're doing our best to build a better future for us all.

— January 24, 2000

How the Simon Wiesenthal Center Falsifies History

Photographic Fraud by a Major Holocaust Organization

A doctored wartime photograph of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp displayed by the Simon Wiesenthal Center on its “educational” web site is a good example of how the influential Holocaust organization falsifies history.

The Center posts the photograph on its “Multimedia Learning Center Online” web site under the heading “Photo Gallery: Hungarian arrivals after the 'Selektion' at Auschwitz” (<http://motlc.wiesenthal.com/gallery/pg22/pg0/pg22035.html>). Dated “June 0, 1944,” the photo is captioned: “As these prisoners were being processed for slave labor, many of their friends were being gassed and burned in the ovens in the crematoria. The smoke can be seen in the background.”

The photograph has been altered by adding phony “smoke” to the background, apparently to support survivor testimony about smoke billowing from Birkenau crematory chimneys. The fraud is obvious with a glance at the original photo, which is published in *The Auschwitz Album* (New York: Random House, 1981), page 126 (photo No. 143).

The 185 photos of Auschwitz-Birkenau camp in this album appear to have been taken by German SS camp officials in 1944 — that is, during the supposed high point of the alleged extermination program there. The original album was confiscated by a Jewish inmate, Lili Jacob Meier, who brought it to the United States after the war.

In none of the album’s many photos — several of which show Birkenau crematory facilities — can one see any trace of smoke. Similarly, there is no trace of crematory smoke in any of the Allied aerial reconnaissance photos taken of Auschwitz and Birkenau on random days in 1944. Cremation specialists affirm that crematories do not produce visible smoke. In short, the available evidence does not support the “billowing smoke” claims of many former inmates.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center, based in Los Angeles, is one of the world’s foremost Holocaust organizations, as well as a major Jewish-Zionist pressure group. Reflecting its considerable media influence and political clout, accommodating lawmakers have diverted at least \$10 million in taxpayer funds to the Center. The Center claims more than 350,000 dues-paying members, each of whom receives its glossy magazine, *Response*. Over the years the Center has repeatedly attacked the Institute for Historical Review.

In 1991 its *Response* magazine broadcast the outrageous lie that Iraq was killing Iranian prisoners of war “in gas chambers specially designed for the Iraqis” by a German firm, using German-manufactured Zyklon B gas.

(This doctored “smoking chimney” photograph was brought to our attention by Canadian geologist and aerial photo specialist John Ball, who reported on this on his web site: <http://www.vho.org/GB/Books/dth/fndaerial.html>. Author of The Ball Report, he also addressed the 1994 IHR Conference.

For more about the Wiesenthal Center, see the detailed report in the July-August 1995 Journal, pp. 2-7. For information about the well-known personality for whom the Center is named, see “Simon Wiesenthal: Fraudulent 'Nazi Hunter',” July-August 1995 Journal, pp. 8-16.)

Fraud Exposed in Defamatory German Exhibition

Photo Exhibit of German Army Atrocities Shut Down

Mark Weber

A highly publicized German exhibition of atrocities allegedly carried out by regular German army forces during the Second World War has been closed down in the wake of revelations that many of the harrowing photographs it displayed are deceitful. The organizers of “War of Annihilation: Crimes of the German Armed Forces, 1941-1944,” announced the shutdown on November 5, 1999, after ever more evidence had come to light proving that much of the controversial exhibit is fraudulent.

Since 1995 hundreds of thousands of visitors had viewed the exhibition, which appeared in more than 30 German and Austrian cities. Numerous secondary school classes were guided through it. Many of Germany’s most prominent social, political and business personalities endorsed the exhibit, which was designed to prove that regular German army (Wehrmacht) troops, and not just SS soldiers, carried out “Holocaust” killings of Jews and others.

“The Wehrmacht exhibition,” declared a leading Socialist party (SPD) politician in the German parliament, “is an important contribution to enlightenment. It gives a voice to the victims and, hopefully, to our consciences as well.” To applause from the entire body, a representative of the “moderate” CDU party declared: “I ask that such an exhibition about crimes committed by the German army be accepted with humility, in the spirit of the words of Ignatius, who said: truth against ourselves, that is humility.”

Most of the approximately 800 photographs in the exhibition are from Soviet-era Russian sources. More than half of the total are non-incriminating, while most of the 34 photos proven to be fraudulent or misrepresented actually show victims of the Soviets, and of other non-German forces. Exhibition organizer Hannes Herr also admitted that some of the photographs had been retouched. In some instances, photos taken from different angles of the same event or scene were displayed at different places in the exhibition with captions telling viewers that they showed atrocities at different locations. Also presented in the exhibition were documents that included phony confessions by Germans that had been extracted under torture from Soviets.

The shutdown postponed indefinitely the scheduled debut of an English-language version of the exhibition in New York City. Organizers announced their intention to re-open the exhibition after re-checking each of the hundreds of photographs.

A Polish Historian Speaks Out

A few “right-wing” German periodicals — including the weekly *National-Zeitung* and the quarterly journal *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* — established early on that at least some

of the photos in the anti-Wehrmacht exhibition were deceitful. Many examples of such deceit were also cited in a book published in 1999 by the FZ-Verlag of Munich: *Bilder, die Fälschen: Dubiose "Dokumente" zur Zeitgeschichte* ("Pictures that Falsify: Dubious 'Documents' of Contemporary History").

However, it was only after two non-German scholars — one Polish and one Hungarian — incontestably identified misrepresentation and deceit among the exhibit photographs that “establishment” Germans felt emboldened to voice criticisms. Prof. Hans Moeller, for one, director of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, acknowledged that the exhibition was full of errors, adding that it would be irresponsible to show it in the United States.

Especially important in this process was the role of Bogdán Musial, a youthful Polish historian who works at the German Historical Institute in Warsaw. In an article published in the prestigious Munich historical quarterly, *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, he established that some of the exhibit’s most gruesome photographs — allegedly depicting German army killings of Jews — in reality showed victims of mass killings by the Soviet security police (NKVD).

Just after the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, Soviet authorities summarily shot many thousands of political prisoners, hastily burying their bodies in shallow graves or dumping them down well shafts. As Musial put it: “Beria’s order [by Stalin’s secret police chief Lavrenti Beria] was clear: no 'mortal enemy of Communism' should be freed by the Germans. Tens of thousands were liquidated by shots to the back of the neck or by beatings with sledge hammers. In some cases, the murderers threw hand grenades among the hapless victims, who had been herded together into prison courtyards ... The perpetrators literally waded in blood ...” In the town of Lutsk, for example, the Soviets killed about 2,000 people.

“... Before their flight from [the western Ukraine city of] Lviv [Lvov] in late June 1941,” wrote Musial, “the Soviets murdered some 3,000 to 4,000 prison inmates, most of them in the Brygidki prison. The victims were Ukrainians, Poles and Jews, as well as Soviet and even captured German soldiers.” After the Soviet withdrawal, Lviv residents went to the city’s main prison to search for missing relatives. “In the prison cellars,” relates Dr. Musial, “they saw layers upon layers of corpses ... In the prison courtyard they found two mass graves.”

After Soviet forces fled from Lviv, the people of this ethnically mixed city took bloody revenge on the Jews (who generally had been ardent supporters of the Soviet regime). Many perished in this outburst of murderous rage. “There is, however, no indication that this pogrom was provoked by the Germans,” Musial notes.

What happened in the western Ukrainian town of Zloczów (Galicia) was typical of many others in the region. Following the Red Army takeover in late 1939, Soviet authorities arrested hundreds of “enemies of the people” there and deported them to Siberia and Kazakhstan. Then, in late June 1941, in the face of advancing German forces, Soviet security forces hastily rounded up 700 more allegedly anti-Soviet Zloczów inhabitants, and killed them over a five-day period with shots to the back of the neck. After German forces drove out the Red Army on July 1, 1941, they cooperated in digging up the mass graves of the victims.

In some places in this region, Musial notes, the Germans arrived just in time to rescue people who were about to be killed. “Altogether some 13,000 prisoners were liberated by the Germans.”

Musial compares the “Wehrmacht crimes” exhibit to the propaganda of the Communist regime in Poland. “The strength of this exhibition,” he has said, “lies in the weakness of its critics.”

As Musial explains, photographs of unearthed mass graves of Ukrainians and Poles killed by the Soviets were found by Red Army troops on the bodies of German soldiers who had fallen on the eastern front. These included some taken at Zloczów by a junior officer, Richard Worbs, who fell in 1944. Soviet authorities publicized such photographs as evidence of German atrocities. These same photos, with their deceitful misrepresentations, were acquired by the organizers of the German Wehrmacht crimes exhibition for display to hundreds of thousands of credulous viewers.

In one exhibition photo, Musial explains, the corpses shown were actually Ukrainians who had been killed by the Soviet security police in Borislav (in Galicia, western Ukraine). The German soldiers seen in the photograph had helped unearth the bodies for identification. Another exhibition picture allegedly shows victims of a German massacre in Kraljevo (Serbia) in October 1941. In fact, the victims were Ukrainians and Poles killed by the Soviet NKVD in late June 1941 in a Lviv prison courtyard. “The victims were Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Russians and German prisoners of war,” said Dr. Musial.

Among other apparently damning exhibition photos are some that show German soldiers standing among corpses “at a pogrom in Tarnopol.” In this case as well, the bodies are actually those of Ukrainian and Polish victims of the Soviet NKVD, which had been unearthed after the area came under German occupation.

“It is known that the regular German army carried out crimes,” Musial said in an interview. “It is impossible that among a million soldiers, and above all in the circumstances of that war, there would not have been crimes. But there were also countless decent soldiers.”

When Dr. Musial first made public his criticisms, the Wehrmacht exhibition organizers sought to silence him with a lawsuit and to discredit him with a smear campaign.

A Bold Hungarian Historian

Along with Musial, Hungarian historian Krisztián Ungváry played a major role in discrediting the “Wehrmacht crimes” exhibition. The 31-year-old Budapest scholar, who was named “military historian of the year” in 1998 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, identified additional misrepresentations in a scholarly article.

In an interview with a Berlin newspaper, Ungváry spoke of “false photographs” and “false attributions.” He said that “90 percent of the exhibition must be altered.” Perhaps ten percent of the exhibition’s pictures showed German atrocities, he estimated, while another ten percent showed atrocities by Ukrainians, Finns, Hungarians or the Soviets. The remaining photos (about 80 percent of the total), he went on, showed no atrocities or crimes of any kind.

One of the exhibit’s most often cited photographs purports to show a German army execution squad preparing to shoot several young men. In fact, as Ungváry established, this photo depicts a Hungarian firing squad in the town of Stari Becej (in Vojvodina, which at the time belonged to Hungary) in the fall of 1941. At the time there were no German troops in the area. The doomed men are Communists who had been sentenced to death by a Hungarian military court for treason, murder and sabotage.

“The crimes of the Wehrmacht were dreadful,” says Ungváry, “but they were not unique. The Hungarian, Romanian and Soviet armies also carried out terrible crimes. This is also true of anti-Jewish excesses.”

Missing Context

Apart from its overt deceit by misrepresenting authentic photographs, the exhibition is a propagandistic fraud on a more fundamental level because it makes sweeping generalizations and fails to provide adequate historical context. A good example is the exhibit's most familiar photograph (reproduced on the front cover of Germany's leading news magazine, *Der Spiegel*), which shows German soldiers at an execution of several men in April 1941 in Panchevo, Serbia (Vojvodina region).

What exhibition visitors were not told is that this was an execution of 18 Yugoslav army fighters who, disguised as civilians, had been involved in shootings of German soldiers. They were sentenced to death by a military court. This execution, however grim, was in conformity with internationally recognized military law. (Also unmentioned is the fact that when Yugoslav forces retreated from Panchevo, they took with them nine ethnic German civilians as hostages, who were then murdered in a nearby forest.)

Double Standard

The controversy over the exhibition once again underscores the double standard by which wartime Germany is routinely regarded. In contrast to the heavy stress by politicians and the media on victims of the Third Reich, especially Jewish Holocaust victims, there is comparative silence about victims of the Allies, especially those of America's wartime partner, the Soviet Union.

No one demands, or expects, self-abasing apologies from America's political leaders for the massive US support for Stalin during the Second World War.

While the public is constantly exhorted to "never forget" the victims of the Holocaust, we hear no such admonition for the vastly more numerous victims of Communism.

The scholars who identified falsifications in the Wehrmacht exhibition are — to use the pejorative label that is routinely applied to those who point out false Holocaust claims — "deniers." Historians such as Musial and Ungváry "deny" the atrocities "proven" by the exhibition.

Jewish groups have often criticized Germans for their alleged failure adequately to come to terms with their Nazi past. But it is doubtful that political and social leaders in any other country would give their support to an exhibition that, in effect, indicts their grandfathers as criminals.

In today's Germany, statements that call into question the official view of the Holocaust story can bring legal persecution. And truth is no defense. Several years ago, for example, German courts fined best-selling British historian David Irving 30,000 marks (about \$21,000) for publicly saying what is now authoritatively conceded. He was punished for having told a Munich meeting that the structure in Auschwitz that has been portrayed for decades to tourists as an extermination gas chamber is a "dummy" (Attrappe).

Irving was found guilty of thus "disparaging the memory of the dead," a German criminal code provision that effectively "protects" only Jews. The judge refused to consider any of the evidence presented by Irving's attorneys, including a plea to permit the senior curator and archives director of the Auschwitz State Museum to testify in the case.

It is, of course, very unlikely that those responsible for the Wehrmacht exhibition will ever be charged, much less punished, for violating German laws against “insulting the memory of the dead” or against “popular incitement,” two of the criminal code sections that are routinely applied to “Holocaust deniers.”

One can be sure that organizers of a comparable exhibition of Allied or Zionist crimes, no matter how factually accurate, would doubtless have to reckon with criminal indictment and prosecution.

American newspaper reports about the exhibition’s revelations have tended to play down the scope of its misrepresentations, stressing that only a small portion of the photographs have been proven to be fraudulent. This is at least misleading, though, given that 70-80 percent the exhibition photos portray nothing at all sinister or criminal.

In an article about the exhibition revelations, the London Times warned: “The danger now is that Holocaust revisionists, who seize on all research blunders to bolster their arguments minimizing or denying the Holocaust, will try to argue that the German army was innocent of all war crimes.”

Germany's Climate of Intimidation

This deceitful and defamatory traveling exhibition could only have attained the stature it did with the thoughtless or cowardly cooperation of German historians and politicians. They knew, or should have known, how fundamentally mendacious this exhibit was, but many Germans today keep their mouths shut out of fear of being labeled a “revisionist,” “nationalist,” or “right-winger.”

This is a consequence of a climate of intellectual repression, in which scholars are obliged to abide by a restrictive “political correctness,” or risk public defamation or even legal persecution for daring to write or publish anything that might seem to “exonerate” the Third Reich regime.

As Budapest historian Ungváry has pointed out:

It is certainly not easy for a German scholar to present substantive criticisms on this topic without immediately being labeled a right-winger or being suspected of supporting the wrong side. I find this very worrisome, and it is unfortunate that no one does anything about this in Germany. Criticism of the exhibition has largely been left to the right-wing extremists.

The influential German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote that the revelations highlighted the “intellectual climate” in today’s Germany, which made possible a propagandistic enterprise with such prestigious backing. On another occasion the daily newspaper commented: “The abundance of the exhibition organizers’ errors, mistakes and negligence, proven by researchers, is devastating. One is at a loss for words, considering that this is about such a serious subject. One comes across something comparable only in government-organized disinformation campaigns.”

“Why didn’t German historians expose the many mistakes and misrepresentations in the Wehrmacht exhibition?” wrote the editor of the German news magazine *Focus*. “History professors provide an answer only when we promise not to reveal their names: ‘Every historian immediately saw just how shoddy and slanted the exhibition was set up, but who has any desire to al-

low himself to be publicly ruined?' The persecution of dissident thinkers has had quite an impact."

Commenting on the exhibition controversy, Dr. Musial expresses some hope for the future:

I have the impression that the Germans have difficulties dealing with certain realities. A climate of consternation dominates, and this is certainly good for people such as Hannes Heer or Daniel Goldhagen. One does not really dare to question their views on scholarly grounds. Whoever dares to tackle these things without qualms, as I have, risks being labeled a revisionist. On the other hand, the tremendous response to my work gives me hope that finally in Germany people will begin to discuss, substantively and unhampered, this chapter of contemporary history.

(Sources: W. Hackert, "Diffamierung der deutschen Wehrmacht," *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [Tübingen], Feb. 1998, pp. 22-29; "Leichen im Obstgarten," *Der Spiegel*, Jan. 25, 1999, pp. 52-53; Klaus Sojka, Hrsg., *Bilder, die Fälschen: Dubiose "Dokumente" zur Zeitgeschichte* [Munich: FZ-Verlag, 1999]; Ungváry interview in *Berliner Morgenpost*, June 14, 1999; "Geschichtsverzerrung," *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sept. 1999, p. 14; Musial interview, "Die Spitze eines Eisbergs," *Welt am Sonntag*, Oct. 24, 1999; "Reemtsmas Spukhaus bricht zusammen," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Oct. 29, 1999, pp. 3-4; R. Boyes, "Photo errors arm German neo-Nazis," *The Times* [London], Nov. 2, 1999; "Mörder-Wehrmacht': Die Lüge stirbt," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 5, 1999, pp. 1, 4, 11; *Beweismittel gefälscht, Urteil richtig*, *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 12, 1999, pp. 3-6; "Wehrmacht: Neue Fälschungen," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 19, 1999, pp. 1, 6.

A Munich publisher, FZ-Verlag, recently issued a 416-page German-language book about the Wehrmacht exhibition, *Die Wahrheit über die Wehrmacht: Reemtsmas Fälschungen widerlegt* ("The Truth about the Wehrmacht: Reemtsma's Frauds Debunked"). It is available from Deutscher Buchdienst, Postfach 60 04 64, 81204 Munich, Germany.

The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I

Robert Faurisson

Since 1948, the year of the founding by Polish Communist authorities of the Auschwitz State Museum, millions of tourists — 500,000 visitors per year in the early 1990s — have visited the crematory building of the main camp (Auschwitz I) with its “gas chamber” room.

Museum guides present this crematory structure (Krema) and its “gas chamber” as genuine, but skeptical visitors who ask impertinent questions are told, since my own visits of 1975 and 1976, that this is, in fact, a “reconstruction,” which we are further informed is an identical replica of the original. In reality, the whole is neither authentic nor an identical replica of the original. In 1941-42, the Krema was a very conventional crematory facility with, notably, a cool morgue room for temporary storage of corpses, and an incineration block with six ovens. In 1943-44, the six ovens were done away with and the morgue room, along with other parts of the building, were transformed into an air-raid shelter with a surgical operating room serving the nearby SS hospital.

I made these discoveries in 1975-76, and published the results between 1978 and 1980.

Eric Conan

Fifteen years later, a reporter-historian named Eric Conan, although quite hostile to revisionism, published in the January 19-25, 1995, issue of the large-circulation French weekly news magazine *L'Express* a lengthy essay, “Auschwitz: the Memory of Evil” (“Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal”), in which he denounced the falsifications of the crematory and its “gas chamber.” [See “Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud,” in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.]

On this point, here are the findings of his inquiry (p. 68), to which I have added emphasis to certain words:

In 1948, when the Museum was created, Crematory I was reconstructed [reconstitué] in its supposed original state. Everything in it is false [Tout y est faux]: the dimensions of the gas chamber, the locations of the doors, the openings for the pouring in of Zyklon B, the ovens (rebuilt according to the recollections of some survivors), the height of the chimney. In the late 1970s, Robert Faurisson exploited these falsifications all the better as the Museum officials balked then at acknowledging them.

Conan questioned a Museum official about what he calls a “misrepresentation” and about what, he reports, Théo Klein, former president of the CRIF, the “representative council of Jewish organizations of France,” calls an “artifice.” As Conan writes (p. 68):

Krystyna Oleksy, whose director’s office, which occupies the former SS hospital, looks straight out on to Crematory [building] I, has not resigned herself [to telling the

truth about the “gas chamber”]: “For the time being we’re going to leave it in its present state, and not give any specifics to visitors. It’s too complicated. We’ll see later on.”

This person’s reply amounts to saying: “We have lied. We are lying. We shall continue to lie ... until further notice.”

Debórah Dwork and Robert-Jan van Pelt

In 1996 a 443-page study of the history of Auschwitz, from the year of the town’s founding to the present, was published by W.W. Norton (New York). *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* was written by two historians of Jewish origin, the American Debórah Dwork and the Canadian Robert-Jan van Pelt. They report that Auschwitz State Museum authorities have made alterations, transformations, and falsifications of the Auschwitz I camp site, with regard both to the detainees’ reception building and to Crematory I with its “gas chamber.” The authors use the following words: “postwar obfuscation,” “additions,” “deletions,” “suppression,” “reconstruction,” “largely a post-war reconstruction” (p. 363), “reconstructed,” “usurpation,” “re-created” (p. 364), “falsified” (p. 367), and “falsifying” (p. 369).

On the subject of the “gas chamber” they write (p. 364): “[After the war] four hatched openings in the roof, as if for pouring Zyklon B into the gas chamber below, were installed.”

As they further point out (p. 364), there is no sign or plaque to call the public’s attention to any changes, about which “... the guides remain silent ... when they take the visitors through this building that is presumed by the tourist to be the place where it happened.”

Appeal to UNESCO

The entire Auschwitz complex is registered as a protected world heritage site by UNESCO — the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Some Islamic countries, where there has been considerable indignation over the February 1998 punishment by a Paris court of French scholar Roger Garaudy for having questioned the “gas chambers,” could bring an action at UNESCO regarding the emblematic “gas chamber” at Auschwitz.

They might, on this occasion, demand an impartial forensic examination of the remains of the “gas chamber” at Auschwitz-Birkenau’s crematory building (Krema) II. The caved-in roof of this supposed mass extermination “gas chamber” has visibly never had any of the four special holes (25 by 25 cm, or 9 7/8 sq. in.) through which, we are told, Zyklon B pellets were poured in.

This being the case, how, simply, could an execution gassing operation have even begun here at Birkenau, the core of the so-called “Holocaust”?

About the author:

Robert Faurisson is Europe’s foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this Journal. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

This essay is translated and adapted from a version that first appeared in the French periodical National Hebdo, February 19, 1998, under the title “Aveux Méritoires” (“Commendable Admissions”).

British Wartime Propaganda Lies

During the Second World War, Britain's main "dirty tricks" propaganda agency was the Political Warfare Executive (PWE), a unit of the British Foreign Office. This psychological warfare agency invented and distributed "black" propaganda disinformation to boost morale among anti-German British and Americans, and to promote anti-German sentiment in neutral countries. Its work also included manufacturing and distributing bogus German documents.

Some of the PWE's most bizarre falsehoods were distributed on phonograph records as part of a secret "Special (Venom)" campaign directed to Arabs. These fables included reports that Hitler hated Arabs, and that a Jewish doctor had cut off the German leader's testicles. Epithets applied to Hitler in this report included including "pig," "swine" and "bastard." Such exotic propaganda was considered necessary, the PWE advised, because Hitler's prestige was "tremendous in Arab countries."

The Arab-oriented campaign also included stories suggesting that the Germans were using mosques as brothels in Axis-ruled Tripoli. According to another PWE story, "Germans [were] so short of cloth they are training agents to disinter bodies in Muslim cemeteries and seize shrouds for use as machine rugs in Germany."

One of the most malicious PWE "black" reports was this April 1943 story: "On entering Tunis Allied troops found dead children cut up as butchers' meat in the German army store. Portions of them had already been used as pork ration. Typically enough, the Germans had filed their identity cards."

Some British officials were skeptical of this campaign's effectiveness. For example, a PWE story that Goebbels had enriched himself during the war, and had hidden away a private fortune, said one official, "would evoke admiration and envy rather than disapprobation."

This "Special (Venom)" campaign was first made public in 1994 when the relevant files were declassified from Britain's Public Records Office (and then reported in *The Guardian* newspaper, London, September 8, 1994, p. 22).

During the war years, British agencies produced and disseminated a wide range of anti-German propaganda lies. According to one suggested story, the Germans were using poison gas to secretly kill off their own wounded soldiers. This manufactured "rumor," designed to mislead and demoralize the German public, was proposed by Britain's Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee in October 1941. (A facsimile of the secret wartime document confirming this is published in facsimile in the Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, p. 43.)

Even some of the more bizarre propaganda stories have proven remarkably durable over the years. A good example is the wartime fable that the Germans were manufacturing oil and soap from the bodies of murdered Jews, a report that became an important feature of Jewish and Allied war propaganda. Two major Jewish agencies, the World Jewish Congress and the American

Jewish Congress, energetically promoted this lie. (See: M. Weber, "Jewish Soap," Summer 1991 Journal, pp. 218, 234.)

A British Historian Defends His Livelihood and Honor

Opening Statement in the London Libel Trial

[David Irving](#)

In 1993 a 278-page book called *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* began appearing in book stores across the United States. In this fervent polemic, author Deborah Lipstadt lashes out against those who dispute Holocaust extermination claims. An entire chapter, packed with distortions and factual errors, is devoted to the Institute for Historical Review. (Journal reviews of the book appeared in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 and Sept.-Oct. 1995 issues.)

Lipstadt also took aim at British writer David Irving — author of some two dozen works of history, several of them best-sellers — calling him a “Holocaust denier” and “one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial.” Her attack against him included demonstrably false statements.

Not confining her anti-revisionist activism to this book, Lipstadt wrote and spoke frequently about the alleged danger to truth itself posed by Holocaust skeptics. She played a role in the vicious campaign that ended with the announcement in early April 1996 by St. Martin’s Press that it was cancelling its scheduled publication of Irving’s eagerly-awaited biography, *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*.

Irving had had enough. Now effectively blacklisted among “mainstream” publishers, he brought a [libel suit in London against Lipstadt and Penguin Books](#), the British publisher of *Denying the Holocaust*. While such a lawsuit would be virtually unthinkable in the United States, where there is an almost unlimited right to smear any “public figure,” Irving is on much more solid ground in Britain, where libel laws are far tighter.

On January 11, 2000, the trial opened before the High Court of Justice in London. Whereas the 61-year-old Irving appeared representing himself, on opening day some 20 men and women on the defendants’ legal team were present in the courtroom.

“At times during his legal battle in the high court, David Irving, a man of natural military bearing, resembles a beleaguered Wehrmacht general in some God-forsaken pocket on the Eastern front, desperately trying to beat off the Jewish-Bolshevik hordes,” remarked one Jewish observer. “He stands or sits alone on one side of the courtroom, while the large defense team occupies most of the rest of it.”

Expected to last three months, the non-jury trial is widely regarded as a major battle about “Holocaust denial” and, more broadly, the Holocaust extermination story. Whereas Irving seeks to keep the trial focused on the narrower issue of libel under British law, the defendants want to make Irving himself, and “the Holocaust,” the central issues. (Much more about the trial, including news reports and texts of important documents, can be found on Irving’s web site: <http://www.fpp.co.uk>)

The stakes in this case are enormous, not least because the loser almost certainly will be ordered to pay the costs of the winner. The defendants, together with their associated law firms and allied Jewish organizations, have already invested enormous time and money in the case. If Irving loses, he faces complete financial ruin. But a victory by him would be a tremendous boost for freedom of historical inquiry and expression, and an embarrassing setback for the international Holocaust lobby and, more generally, for Jewish-Zionist interests worldwide.

In his opening statement, Irving said that Denying the Holocaust had generated “waves of hatred” against him and gravely harmed his livelihood as a writer. He charged that Lipstadt has been active in an “organized international endeavor” to destroy his career and reputation. Irving has also contended that Lipstadt’s book, far from being the careful work of a serious scholar, is actually the “product of a research contract funded by an Israeli agency.”

Defense attorney Richard Rampton responded by telling the court that Irving “is not an historian at all, but a falsifier of history. To put it bluntly, he is a liar.”

In keeping with its long-standing support for free speech and free historical inquiry, the Institute for Historical Review supports Irving in this legal battle. At the same time, though, we do not necessarily endorse all his views on history — views that, anyway, he has modified over the decades.

Here is the complete text of Irving’s opening statement in the trial. Brief explanatory or elucidating remarks have been added in brackets.

— The Editor

May it please your Lordship, this is my Opening Statement in the matter of [David Irving vs. Penguin Books and Deborah Lipstadt](#). I appear as a litigant in person, and the Defendants are represented by Mr. Richard Rampton and Miss Rogers of counsel and by Mr. Anthony Julius. There were originally three other Defendants, who can be characterized here as booksellers; but your Lordship will observe that they no longer figure in this action, a settlement having been reached.

This is an action in libel arising from the publication by the First Defendant of a book, entitled *Denying the Holocaust*, written by the Second Defendant, Professor Lipstadt.

As your Lordship is aware, the work complained of has attracted considerable attention, both in this country and in the United States and elsewhere since it was first published in 1993. Your Lordship will have before you my Statement of Claim in which I set out the grounds for my complaint, the consequence of which I am asking that the Defendants be ordered to pay damages of an amount which I will venture to suggest, and I will invite your Lordship issue an injunction against further publication of this work and that the Defendants should make the usual undertakings.

It is almost 30 years to the day since I first set foot in these Law Courts and I trust that your Lordship will allow me to digress for two or three minutes, being (in my submission) something of an historian, on the history of those events; because they are not without relevance to the proceedings upon which we are about to embark.

The occasion of that visit to this building, was an action heard before Mr. Justice Lawton, which became well known to law students as *Cassell vs. Broome and Another*. It too was a libel action, and I am ashamed to admit that I was the “Another,” having written a book on a naval operation, *The Destruction of Convoy PQ.17*.

That was the only actively fought libel action in which I became engaged in 30 years of writing. There were two reasons for this abstinence: first, I became more prudent about how I wrote; and second, I was taught to turn the other cheek.

The man who taught me the latter lesson was my first publisher. He had signed up my first book, *The Destruction of Dresden*, which was eventually published in 1963.

I had been approached in about 1961 by a well known English publisher, Mr. William Kimber. When I visited him in his offices — which were on a site which has long since been buried by a luxury hotel, the Berkeley, in Belgravia — I found him surrounded by files and documents, rather as we are all in this court room today. He wore an air of exhaustion.

Your Lordship may remember that Mr. Kimber and his author Mr. Leon Uris had become involved through a book which Uris had written, entitled *Exodus*, in a libel action brought by a London doctor who had been obliged to serve at Auschwitz. That case was also heard before Mr. Justice Lawton. There was one other similarity that closes this particular circle of coincidence: like me now, Mr. Kimber was in consequence also obliged to spend two or three years of his life wading, as he put it, “knee-deep” through the most appalling stories of atrocities and human degradation.

That day he advised me never, ever, to become involved in libel litigation. I might add that, with one exception that I shall later mention, I have heeded his advice.

There have since then been one or two minor legal skirmishes, which have not involved much “bloodshed”: there was an action against an author, which I foolishly started at the same time as the PQ.17 case and, having lost the latter, was obliged for evident reasons to abandon on relatively painless conditions; and a more recent action against a major London newspaper, who put into my mouth, no doubt inadvertently, some particularly offensive words which had in fact been uttered by Adolf Hitler; that newspaper settled out of Court with me on terms which were eminently acceptable.

I have often thought of Mr. Kimber’s predicament since the 1960s, and more particularly the last three years. I have been plunged into precisely the same “knee-deep” position, ever since I issued the originating writs in this action in September 1996. If I am late with the bundles and papers upon which this Court relies, I can only plead this in mitigation.

I have never held myself out to be a Holocaust expert, nor have I written books about what is now called the Holocaust: if I am an expert in anything at all, I may be so immodest as to submit that it is in the role that Adolf Hitler played in the propagation of World War II and in the decisions which he made, and the knowledge on which he based those decisions.

As a peripheral matter to that topic, on which I have written a number of books, I inevitably investigated the extent to which Hitler participated in or had cognizance of the Holocaust. That was the sum total of my involvement as a book author up to the launching of these writs.

Since then, because of the tactics chosen by the Defendants, I have been obliged, willy nilly, to become something of an expert, through no desire of my own. To my utmost distaste it has become evident that it is no longer possible to write pure history, untrammelled and uninfluenced by politics, once one ventures into this unpleasant field.

I have done my best to prepare the case that follows, but I respectfully submit that I do not have any duty to become an expert on the Holocaust; it is not saying anything unknown to this Court, I remind those present that, the Defendants having pleaded justification, as they have, it is not incumbent upon me as the Claimant to prove the wrongness of what they have published. It is for them to prove that what they wrote was true.

I intend to show that far from being a “Holocaust denier,” I have repeatedly drawn attention to major aspects of the Holocaust and have described them, and I have provided historical documents both to the community of scholars and to the general public, of which they were completely unaware before I discovered these documents, and published and translated them.

It will be found that I selflessly provided copies of the documents, that I had at great expense myself unearthed foreign archives even to my rival historians, as I felt that it was important in the interests of general historical research that [they] should be aware of these documents (I am referring for example to the Bruns Report, which we shall shortly hear; and to the dossier on Kurt [Hans] Aumeier in British files, a dossier which even the Defense Experts admit is one of the most important historical finds, since the writings of Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, were published after the war.

There is one essential plea that I wish to make of this Court; I am aware that the Defendants have expended a considerable sum of money in researching all over again the harrowing story of what actually happened in what they call the Holocaust.

I submit that, harsh though it may seem, the Court should take no interest in that tragedy. The Court may well disagree with me, and show a profound interest in it; but in my submission, we have to avoid the temptations of raking over the history of what happened in Poland or in Russia 50 years ago: what is moot here is not what happened in those sites of atrocities — but what happened over the last 32 years, on my writing desk in my apartment off Grosvenor Square.

To justify her allegations of manipulation and distortion, it will not suffice for Professor Lipstadt to show, if she can, that I misrepresented what happened, but the following: that I knew what happened; and that I perversely and deliberately, for whatever purpose, portrayed it differently from how I knew it to have happened.

That is what manipulation and distortion means, and the other, though fundamental, story of what actually happened is neither here nor there. In effect, this inquiry should not leave the four walls of my study: it should look at the papers that lay before me — and not before some other, magnificently funded researcher or scholar — and at the manuscript that I then produced on the basis of my own limited sources.

My Lord, if we were to seek a title for this libel action, I would venture to suggest “Pictures At An Execution.”

Your Lordship may or may not be aware that I have had a reputation as an historian and as an investigative writer arising from the 30 or so works which I have published in English and other languages over the years since 1961. I am the author of many scores of articles in serious and respected newspapers, including over the years in this country The Daily Telegraph, The Sunday Telegraph, the Jewish Chronicle, the Sunday Express, the Evening Standard, Encounter, and publications of similar repute in Germany, my articles have appeared in newspapers ranging from Die Welt, Die Welt am Sonntag, and magazines and journals like Stern, Der Spiegel, Neue Illustrierte, and Quick.

My books have appeared between hard covers under the imprint of the finest publishing houses. I might mention in this country the imprints of William Kimber, Ltd., Cassell & Co., Ltd., Macmillan, Ltd., Hodder & Stoughton, Penguin and Allen Lane and others. As the Second Defendant is, I understand an American citizen, it might be meritorious for me to add that my works have also been published by her country's leading publishing houses, too, including the Viking Press; Little, Brown; Simon & Schuster; Holt, Reinhardt, Winston; St Martin's Press; and a score of no less reputable paperback publishing houses.

Each of those published works by me contained in or near the title page a list of my previous publications and frequently a sample of the accolades bestowed on my works by the leading names of literature and historiography on both sides of the Atlantic.

This happy situation, namely having my works published in the leading publishing houses of the world, ended a year or two ago under circumstances which I shall venture, if your Lordship permits, to set out later in my remarks. Suffice it to say that this very day the Australia/Israel Review has published in Sydney a presumably well-informed article, coming as it does from their corner, which provides one missing link in the circumstances under which St. Martin's Press finally terminated their contract to publish my book Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich:

... One of the catalysts for the case was Irving's experience with American publisher St. Martin's Press, which, after being warned by Lipstadt and others about Irving's approach to history, then cancelled its agreement to publish Irving's book Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich in the US.

So these Defendants have done very real damage to my professional existence. May I first of all set out the very real pecuniary damage which can be done to an author by an attack on his reputation. It is not merely that he suffers injury and hurt to his feelings from unjustified attacks, whatever their nature.

An author, by virtue of his trade, lives a precarious financial existence. A tenured professor or other scholar can look forward to a brief career, lengthy vacations, high rewards, and eventually a pension. Perhaps some members of the legal profession enjoy the same fortunate expectations.

A writer leads a much lonelier and more hazardous existence. When he first embarks on his career he may write a string of works that are never published. I was fortunate in this respect; when I first started advertising in The Times in 1961, inviting British airmen who had taken part in the principle operations of Royal Air Force Bomber Command to come forward, among those who contacted me was Mr. William Kimber, a publisher of great repute who himself felt deeply about the ethical questions raised by these saturation bombing operations.

I therefore did not have the usual problem that faces most first-time authors, namely that of crossing the difficult threshold from being an unpublished, to a published author. My first book,

The Destruction of Dresden, was serialized by The Sunday Telegraph and attracted much critical acclaim. It was only then that I took the, perhaps fateful, decision to become a writer.

If I may now advance rapidly some 20 or 30 years — and I sense the Court's relief — I would repeat a brief conversation I had with my accountant, at a time when I was earning more than £100,000 in royalties per year. My accountant, no doubt with his eye on the commission involved, asked what steps I had taken in anticipation of retirement. My immodest reply was that I did not intend to retire, and when he murmured something about pensions, I replied that my books were my pension fund.

If I may explain that remark: if an author has written a good book it will be published and republished, and on each occasion a fresh ripple of royalties reaches the author's bank account. Admittedly the ripples become smaller as the years recede, but if he has written enough books in his 30 or 40 years of creativity then the ripples together make waves large enough to sustain him into and beyond the years of retirement. Indeed, they should also provide something of a legacy for his children, of whom I still have four.

That situation no longer obtains.

By virtue of the activities of the Defendants, in particular of the Second Defendant, and of those who funded her and guided her hand, I have since 1996 seen one fearful publisher after another falling away from me, declining to reprint my works, refusing to accept new commissions and turning their backs on me when I approach.

In private, the senior editors at those publishing houses still welcome me warmly as a friend, invite me to lunch in expensive New York restaurants — and then lament that if they were to sign a contract with me on a new book, there would always be somebody in their publishing house who would object. Such is the nature of the odium that has been generated by the waves of hatred recklessly propagated against me by the Defendants.

In short my "pension" has vanished, as assuredly as if I had been employed by one of those companies taken over by the late Mr. Robert Maxwell.

I am not submitting that it is these Defendants alone who have single-handedly wrought this disaster upon me. I am not even denying that I may have been partly to blame for it myself.

Had I written books about the Zulu Wars, as the Air Ministry earnestly advised me in 1963, when my book The Destruction of Dresden was first published, I would no doubt not have faced this hatred.

Unfortunately, World War II became my area of expertise; I generated a personal archive of documents, a network of sources and contacts, a language ability, and a facility to research in foreign archives, and eventually a constituency of readers who expected and wanted me to write only about the Third Reich and its criminal leadership.

What obliges me to make these sweeping opening remarks, is that I shall maintain that the Defendants did not act alone in their determination to destroy my career, and to vandalize my legitimacy as an historian. They were part of an organized international endeavor at achieving precisely that. I have seen the papers. I have copies of the documents. I shall show them to this Court. I know how they did it, and I now know why.

Nearly all of these villains acted beyond the jurisdiction of these Courts. Some of them however acted within, and I have on one disastrous occasion tried to proceed against them too.

I mention here and, only in a few words, that one example: as the Court will no doubt hear, I was expelled in the most demeaning circumstances from Canada in November 1992. I need not go into the background of that event here, but I shall certainly do so later if in their attempts to blacken my name further, the Defendants indulge in that exercise in this Court.

Seeking to establish why Canada — a friendly government — a country which I had entered unhindered for 30 years or more, should suddenly round upon me as savagely as a rottweiler, I used all the appliances of Canadian law to establish what had gone on behind closed doors.

I discovered in the files of the Canadian government, using that country's Access to Information Act, a mysterious and anonymous document blackening my name which had been planted there for the purpose of procuring precisely the ugly consequence that had flowed from it in 1992.

Among the stupid lies that this anonymous document contained about me, was the suggestion that I had married my first wife because she was "the daughter of one of General Francisco Franco's top generals," in order to ingratiate myself with the Spanish fascist regime. Another suggestion was that I lived too well for an author (I have lived for over 32 years in the same house off Grosvenor Square in Mayfair) — that to sustain such a level of living purely from my income as an author was impossible; the implication being that I was receiving secret checks from Nazi fugitives in South America.

I telephoned my first wife to ask her what her father had been, and she reminded me that he was an industrial chemist, a dedicated enemy of the regime after two of his brothers had been shot by Franco's men.

It took over a year to establish beyond doubt who was the author of this infamous document. Eventually it turned out to have been provided secretly to the Canadian government by an unofficial body based in London, whose name I do not propose to state in this Court here, as they are not formally represented in this action [identified out of court as the Board of Deputies of British Jews].

Suffice it to say that when I applied to a judge in chambers for leave to take libel action out of time, the culprits made no attempt to justify their libels, but pleaded that the Statute of Limitations had run; which plea was allowed, though with regret, by Mr. Justice Toulson. The mendacious body concerned then had the temerity to pursue me to the threshold of the Bankruptcy Court for the legal costs that it had incurred in that one day hearing, amounting to over £7,500. It is a rough life, being an independent author.

This brings us to the present case. In 1993 the First Defendant, as they allow in their witness statements, published Denying the Holocaust, the work complained of, within the jurisdiction, written by the Second Defendant.

The book purports to be a scholarly investigation of the operations of an international network conspiracy of people whom the Second Defendant has dubbed "Holocaust deniers." It is not. The phrase itself, which the Second Defendant prides herself on having coined and crafted, appears repeatedly throughout the work, and it has subsequently become embedded in the vernacular of a certain kind of journalist who wishes to blacken the name of some person, where the more usual rhetoric of neo-Nazi, Nazi, racist, and other similar epithets is no longer deemed adequate. Indeed, the phrase appears over 300 times in just one of the Defendants' experts reports!

It has become one of the most potent phrases in the arsenal of insult, replacing the N-word, the F-word, and a whole alphabet of other slurs. If an American politician, like Mr. Patrick Buchanan, is branded even briefly a “Holocaust denier,” his career can well be said to be in ruins. If a writer, no matter how well reviewed and received until then, has that phrase stuck to him, then he too regard his career as rumbling off the edge of a precipice.

As a phrase it is of itself quite meaningless. The word “Holocaust” is an artificial label commonly attached to one of the greatest and still most unexplained tragedies of this past century.

The word “denier” is particularly evil: because no person in full command of his mental faculties, and with even the slightest understanding of what happened in World War II, can deny that the tragedy actually happened, however much we dissident historians may wish to quibble about the means, the scale, the dates and other minutiae.

Yet meaningless though it is, the phrase has become a part of the English language. It is a poison to which there is virtually no antidote, less lethal than a hypodermic with nerve gas jabbed in the neck, but deadly all the same: for the chosen victim, it is like being called a wife beater or a paedophile. It is enough for the label to be attached, for the attachee to find himself designated as a pariah, an outcast from normal society. It is a verbal Yellow Star.

In many countries now where it was considered that the mere verbal labelling was not enough, governments have been prevailed upon to pass the most questionable laws, including some which can only be considered a total infringement of the normal human rights of free speech, free opinion and freedom of assembly.

Germany has not had an enviable reputation in any of these freedoms over the last century. True to form, in Germany it is now a criminal offense to question the mode, the scale, the system, or even the statistics of the Holocaust. No defense is allowed. Some good friends of mine, I have no hesitation in allowing to this Court, are sitting at this very moment in German prisons for having ventured to voice such questions.

In France the situation is even more absurd: any person found guilty in France, under a new law aptly named an “amendment of the law on the freedom of the Press” finds himself fined, or imprisoned, or both. This law, passed in 1991, makes it a criminal offense to challenge (the French word is *contester*) any war crimes or crimes against humanity “as defined by the Nuremberg Statute” of 1945.

Fifty years on, it has become a criminal offense to question whether Nuremberg got it right. History is to be as defined by the four victorious powers in the Nuremberg trials of 1945-1946.

I respectfully submit and would, indeed, hope that your Lordship would find such laws, if enacted in this country, to be utterly repugnant. For that same reason I have no hesitation in saying that some more good friends of mine have been fined under precisely this French law. Indeed, in 1993 or 1994, I myself was fined the sum of £500 by a Paris court under this law: I had given an interview to a French journalist in the study of my home in London; this interview was published in a reputable journal, there were complaints in Paris; and I was summoned before the French magistrates, and fined along with the publisher, editor and journalist concerned for having given this interview. It is indeed a very sorry state of affairs.

We may hear the word “conspiracy” uttered during the next few days and weeks. If there has been a conspiracy, it is a conspiracy against free speech.

I might mention that my father fought as an officer in the Royal Navy in both wars, both in the Battle of Jutland in 1916 and in the Arctic convoys of 1942, and that both my brothers have served in the Royal Air Force. My father was an arctic explorer between the wars, and admiralty charts show two island points in the South Sandwich Islands named after him and his first officer, my uncle.

I come from a service family and I find it odious that at the end of the twentieth century writers and historians going about their own respective businesses, writing books that may indeed have been completely wrong have found themselves suddenly and vicariously threatened with imprisonment or with crippling fines for having expressed opinions on history which are at variance with these new freshly enacted laws, which have been introduced at the insistence of wealthy pressure groups and other enemies of the free speech for which we fought two World Wars in this country.

Your Lordship will undoubtedly hear from the Defendants that I was fined a very substantial sum of money by the German government under these witless new laws. It is no matter of shame for me, although it has had catastrophic consequences, as it now makes me de facto “a convict,” with a criminal record, and as such liable to a concatenation of further indignities and sanctions in every foreign country which I now wish to visit.

The circumstances: I may say here quite briefly that on April 21, 1990, nearly ten years ago, I delivered an address, quite possibly ill-judged, to an audience at a hall in Munich.

When one agrees to attend such functions, one has little way of knowing in advance what kind of audience one will be addressing, and one has no control over the external appearance of the function. I make no complaint about that.

Your Lordship will hear, that in the course of my speech, of which apparently no full transcript in survives, I uttered the following remark:

“We now know that the gas chamber shown to the tourists at Auschwitz is a fake built by the Poles after the war, just like the one established by the Americans at Dachau.”

This may well raise eyebrows. It might be found to be offensive by sections of the community, and if they take such offense, I can assure this Court that I regret it and that such was not my intention. The fact remains that these remarks were true, the Poles admitted it (in January 1995) and under English law truth has always been regarded as an absolute defense.

We shall hear, indeed from the Defense’s own expert witnesses, though perhaps the admission will have to be bludgeoned out of them, that the gas chamber shown to the tourists at Auschwitz was indeed built by the Polish Communists three years after the war was over.

I do not intend to go into the question of whether or not there were gas chambers at Birkenau, some five miles from Auschwitz, in these opening remarks. By the time this trial is over we shall probably all be heartily sick of the debate, which has little or no relevance to the issues that are pleaded.

So what are the issues that are pleaded and how do I propose to address those issues in opening this case?

First, let me emphasize that I also have no intentions, and neither is it the purpose of this trial, to “refight World War II.” I shall not argue, and have never argued, that the wrong side won the

war, for example; or that the history of the war needs to be grossly rewritten. I must confess that I am mystified at the broad thrust which the Defendants have taken in the vast body of documentation which they have served upon this Court — another 5,000 pages were delivered to me on Friday evening, and more last night.

It is all something of an embarrassment to me, and I am being forced into positions that I have not previously adopted. I have never claimed to be a Holocaust historian. I have written no book about the Holocaust. I have written no article about it. If I have spoken about it, it is usually because I have been questioned about it. On such occasions, I have emphasized my lack of expertise, and I have expatiated only upon those areas with which I am familiar. In doing so, I have offended many of my friends, who wished that history was different. But you cannot wish documents away, and it is in documents that I have always specialized as a writer.

Your Lordship will find upon reviewing my various printed works that I have very seldom used other peoples' books as sources. I have found it otiose and tedious, not only because they are ill-written, but also because in reading other peoples' books you are liable to imbibe the errors and prejudices with which those books are beset.

If however, you go to the original documents, you will often find to your joy that the weight of documents you have to read is, pound for pound, or indeed ton for ton, less than the weight of books that you might otherwise have to read upon the same subject. And you are kilometers closer to the original real history.

As for the nature of documents: I remember that in 1969 I visited Professor Hugh Trevor Roper, who is now Lord Dacre and I am glad to say still with us. He very kindly made available to me his collection of several thousand original intelligence documents for my biography of Adolf Hitler, but in doing so he advised me as follows: when considering new documents, you should ask yourself three questions: and if I remember correctly, those three criteria were,

1. Is the document genuine? (possibly, in the light of the “Hitler Diaries” scandal, an unfortunate pre-requisite in this case)
2. Is the document written by a person in a position to know what he is talking about? and
3. Why does this document exist?

The latter is quite interesting, as we have all experienced, in the archives, coming across documents obviously written for window-dressing or for buck passing purposes.

It is the documents in this case which I think the Court will find most interesting and illuminating. And by that I mean documents at every level. The Court will have to consider not only the documents originating in World War II on both sides, but also the documents that have been generated by that painful process known as Discovery.

It will not escape the Court, my Lord, when the time comes, that like many personalities, I have kept the most voluminous records throughout my career as a writer, and indeed even before it. Along with my writing career I kept a diary; sometimes I wondered why, but I think that the reason was basically this — if you are a writer, and self-employed, you need the discipline that a diary imposes upon you. You cannot in conscience enter in a diary at the end of the day: “I did nothing all day.”

Your Lordship will be amused no doubt to hear that at one stage in the Discovery process in this action, at the request of Mr. Julius, I readily agreed to make available to the Defense my entire diaries, in so far as they still exist (a few pages are missing); and that Mr. Julius only then learned

that these diaries occupy a shelf eight feet long; and that in them there are approximately there are probably 10 or 20 million words to be read.

Mr. Julius and his staff have, however, risen most nobly to the challenge that these pages presented, and I am sure that over the next few days and weeks we shall be hearing more than one morsel that they have dredged out of these pages. They will hold it aloft, still dripping with something or other, and read it to this Court with a squeal of delight, proclaiming this to be the Philosopher's Stone that they needed to justify their Client's libels all along. We shall see.

But that is not what this trial is all about.

This trial is not really about what happened in the Holocaust, or how many Jews and other persecuted minorities were tortured and put to death. This Court will, I hope, agree with me when the time comes that the issue before us is not what happened, but how I treated it in my works of history: it may be that I was totally ignorant on some aspects of World War II (and I hasten to say that I do not believe I was). But to be accused of deliberate manipulation, and distorting, and mistranslating is perverse: the Defendants must show, in my humble submission,

1. that a particular thing happened or existed,
2. that I was aware of that particular thing, as it happened or existed, at the time I wrote about it, from the records then before me;
3. that I then wilfully manipulated the text or mis-translated or distorted for the purposes that they imply.

I will submit that in no instance can they prove this to be the case. They certainly have not done so in the documents so far pleaded.

I readily concede that what I have read of the reports submitted by the Defendants' experts, particularly those of the historians, is of the utmost interest. I have to congratulate Professor Jan van Pelt, for the literary quality of his lengthy report on Auschwitz, which will no doubt eventually see general circulation in the bookstores: indeed, I congratulated him three years ago already on the first book that he published on this topic.

I admit too that there are documents contained in the expertise of Professor Browning of which I was not aware, and which have changed my own perception of some aspects of the Nazi atrocities on the Eastern front: for example, I was not aware that the SS Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich had issued instructions to his commanders in the Baltic States, after Operation Barbarossa began in June 1941, not only to turn a blind eye upon the anti-Jewish pogroms started by the local populations in those countries, but also actively to initiate them and to provide assistance.

This document, however, emerged only recently from the Russian archives and there can surely be no reproach against me for not having known that when I wrote my biography of Hitler, published in 1977, or in my later works. That cannot be branded as manipulation or distortion.

What is manipulation or distortion of history would be, in my submission this: knowing of the existence of a key document and then ignoring it or suppressing it entirely, without even a mention.

If, for example, it should turn out, and be proven in this very Courtroom, that in the spring of 1942 the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler was quoted by a senior Reich Minister, in writing, as repeatedly saying that he "wanted the final solution of the Jewish problem postponed until the war is

over"; and if the document recording those remarkable words has been found in the German archives; it would surely be classifiable as manipulation or distortion if a historian were to attempt to write the history of the Holocaust without even mentioning the document's existence? Would it not, my Lord?

The Defendants have, as said, arbitrarily and recklessly decided to label me a "Holocaust denier" — their motivation for doing so we shall shortly hear about. My Lord, before I continue to address this point in my opening statement, may I take this opportunity to read to the Court, and into the public records, a two-page document, which I shall refer to as the Walter Bruns interrogation. I do so because perceptions matter, and I want at this late afternoon hour to leave a firm perception in the minds of all those present. It is a document which first came into my hands some time before 1985.

I should say, my Lord, by way of introduction, that this document, which is in my Discovery, was originally a British Top-Secret document. Top Secret is only one rung lower than Ultra Secret, the classification given to the British decoded intercepts. It was Top Secret, because it is the record of an interrogation which was obtained by methods that were illegal, I understand, under the Conventions.

Enemy prisoners of war were brought into British prison camps, treated lavishly, well-fed, reassured by their relaxed surroundings, and gradually led into conversation, unaware that in every fitting and appliance in the room were hidden microphones capable of picking up. (That was the illegality: you are not allowed to do that under the [Geneva] Conventions.) Released to the British archives only a few years ago were all of these reports, but I had already obtained several hundred 15 or 20 years earlier. I consider these transcripts to be a historical source which, if properly used and if certain criteria are applied, can be regarded as part of the bedrock of real history.

I would say further by way of preamble, my Lord, that the speaker whose recorded voice we are about to hear, as reproduced in this typescript, was on November 30, 1941, the day of the episode he narrates, a Colonel in the German Army Engineers force (the sappers, or Pioniere); he was commanding a unit based at Riga, the capital of Latvia. He had learned to his vexation that it was intended by the local SS unit to round up all the local Jews, including "his Jews" in the next day or two and to liquidate them.

I read from the document itself. It is headed: "Top secret. CSDIC (UK)" which is Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Center UK. "GG Report. If the information contained in this report is required for distribution, it should be paraphrased so that no mention is made of the prisoners' names, nor of the methods by which the information has been obtained" because, of course, it was illegal."

"The following conversation took place between General-Major Bruns," his full name was Walter Bruns. At this time he was at the Heeres-Waffenmeisterschule which was an army school, an armament school, in Berlin, "captured at Gottingen on April 8th 1945, and other Senior Officer Prisoners of War whose voices could not be identified." In other words, it is a conversation between this General and various other prisoners overheard by hidden microphones on April 25th, 1945. "Information received: 25 April 1945," in other words, the war is still running.

Translation: "Bruns: As soon as I heard those Jews were to be shot on Friday, I went to a 21-year-old boy and said that they had made themselves very useful in the area under my command, besides which the Army MT park had employed 1500 and the 'Heeresgruppe' 800 women to make underclothes of the stores we captured in Riga; besides which about 1200 women in the neigh-

borhood of Riga were turning millions of captured sheepskins into articles we urgently required: ear protectors, fur caps, fur waistcoats, etc. Nothing had been proved, as of course the Russian campaign was known to have come to a victorious end in October 1941!" Sarcasm there. "In short, all those women were employed in a useful capacity. I tried to save them. I told that fellow Altenmeyer(?) whose name I shall always remember and who will be added to the list of war criminals: 'Listen to me, they represent valuable manpower!' 'Do you call Jews valuable human beings, sir?'" That was the answer. "I said: 'Listen to me properly, I said valuable manpower. I didn't mention their value as human beings'. He said: 'Well, they're to be shot in accordance with the Führer's orders!' I said: 'Führer's orders?' 'Yes', whereupon he showed me his orders. This happened at Skiotawa(?) eight kilometers from Riga, between Siaulai and Jelgava, where 5,000 Berlin Jews were suddenly taken off the train and shot. I didn't see that myself, but what happened at Skiotawa(?) — to cut a long story short, I argued with the fellow and telephoned to the General at HQ, to Jakobs and Aberger(?) and to a Dr. Schultz who was attached to the Engineer General, on behalf of these people." It is a bit incoherent the way that people talk when they are gossiping with each other. "I told him: 'Granting that the Jews have committed a crime against the other peoples of the world, at least let them do the drudgery; send them to throw earth on the roads to prevent our heavy lorries skidding'. 'Then I'd have to feed them!' I said: 'The little amount of food they receive, let's assume 2 million Jews — they got 125 grams of bread a day — we can't even manage that, the sooner we end the war the better'. Then I telephoned, thinking it would take some time. At any rate, on Sunday morning," that is November 30th 1941, "I heard that they had already started on it. The Ghetto was cleared. They were told: 'You're being transferred: take along your essential things.' Incidentally, it was a happy release for those people, as their life in the Ghetto was a martyrdom. I wouldn't believe it and drove there to have a look." The person he is talking to says: "Everyone abroad knew about it; only we Germans were kept in ignorance."

Bruns continues his narrative: "I'll tell you something: some of the details may have been correct, but it was remarkable that the firing squad detailed that morning — six men with tommy-guns posted at each pit; the pits were 24 meters in length and three meters in breadth — they had to lie down like sardines in a tin with their heads in the center'," like that in the pit.

"Above them were six men with tommy-guns who gave them the coup de grace," who shot them. "When I arrived those pits were so full that the living had to lie down on top of the dead; then they were shot and, in order to save room, they had to lie down neatly in layers. Before this, however, they were stripped of everything at one of the stations — here at the edge of the wood were the three pits they used that Sunday and here they stood in a queue one and-a-half kilometers long which they approached step by step — a queuing up for death. As they drew nearer they saw what was going on. About here they had to hand over their jewellery and suitcases. All good stuff was put into the suitcases and the remainder was thrown on a heap. This was to serve as clothing for our suffering population — and then a little further on they had to undress and, 500 meters in front of the wood, strip completely; they were only permitted to keep on a chemise or knickers. They were all women and small two-year old children. Then all those cynical remarks! If only I had seen those tommy-gunners, who were relieved every hour because of over-exertion, carry out their task with distaste, but no, nasty remarks like: 'Here comes a Jewish beauty!' I can still see it all in my memory: a pretty woman in a flame-coloured chemise. Talk about keeping the race pure: at Riga they first slept with them and then shot them to prevent them from talking.

"Then I sent two officers out there, one of whom is still alive," in April 1945, "because I wanted eyewitnesses. I didn't tell them what was going on, but said: 'Go out to the forest of Skiotawa(?), see what's up there and send me a report'. I added a memorandum to their report and took it to Jakobs myself. He said: 'I have already two complaints sent me by Engineer "Bataillone" from

the Ukraine'. There they shot them on the brink of large crevices and let them fall down into them; they nearly had an epidemic of plague, at any rate a pestilential smell. They thought they could break off the edges with picks, thus burying them. That loess there" — that is a kind of ground — "was so hard that two Engineer 'Bataillone' were required to dynamite the edges; those 'Bataillone' complained. Jakobs" — he was the engineer general in charge of the pioneer corps — "had received that complaint. He said: 'We didn't quite know how to tell the Führer,'" Adolf Hitler. "We'd better do it through Canaris', the Chief of the German Intelligence. "So Canaris had the unsavoury task of waiting for the favourable moment to give the Führer certain gentle hints. A fortnight later I visited the Oberbürgermeister, or whatever he was called then, concerning some over business. Altenmeyer(?)" who was the SS man on the spot "triumphantly showed me: 'Here is an order just issued, prohibiting mass shootings on that scale from taking place in future. They are to be carried out more discreetly'. From warnings given me recently, I knew that I was receiving still more attentions from spies."

Then his interlocutor says to him: "It's a wonder you're still alive." Bruns says: "At Göttingen, I expected to be arrested every day."

My Lord, permit me a word about the credentials of that particular document. It is authentic. It comes from the British archives. A copy can be found in the Public Record Office this very day if anyone wishes to go and see it. First: is the General describing something he had really seen?

I mention this because later, on his sworn oath in the Witness stand in Nuremberg, he claimed only to have heard of this atrocity. Yet there can surely be no doubt of the verisimilitude: it does not take university level textual analysis to realize that if a General says, "I can see her in my mind's eye now, a girl in a flame-red dress," this is a man who has been there and seen it with his own eyes.

This document has in my submission considerable evidentiary value. It is not self-serving. The General is not testifying in his own interest. He is merely talking, probably in a muffled whisper, to fellow prisoners at a British interrogation center, and he has no idea that in another room British experts are listening to and recording every word. We also have the original German text of this document I might add, my Lord.

To what purpose do I mention this? Well, firstly because I shall, later on in these proceedings, add further unknown documents, from the same superb British archives — that is, the Public Records Office — to the events of this one day, documents which show Hitler taking a most remarkable stand on this atrocity.

But I also adduce this document for the following reason:

- if an historian repeatedly refers to this document;
- if he quotes from it;
- if he immediately writes showing it to fellow historians, both Jews and non-Jews alike, and in writing draws their attention to the existence of this document, and its fellow documents, all of which were hitherto unknown to them;
- if moreover that historian reads out this document in public, with its awful, infernal descriptions of the mass killings of Jews by the Nazis on the eastern front, on multiple speaking occasions;
- if this historian, speaking to audiences even of the most extreme hues of left and right, heedless as to their anger, insists on reading out the document in full, thus "rubbing their noses in it" so to speak; and

- if he continues to do so over a period of 15 years, again and again, right up to the present date, and
- if he quotes that document in the text, and references that document in the footnotes of all his most recent works, beginning with the Hitler's War biography republication in 1991, through Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich in 1996 and Nuremberg, the Last Battle in 1997:

Then — is it not a libel of the most grotesque and offensive nature to brand that same historian around the world as a “Holocaust denier,” when he has not only discovered and found and propagated this document and brought it to the attention of both his colleagues and his rivals and his foes, regardless of their race or religion, and to countless audiences? [Irving cited and quoted from this document, for example, at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992. See the March-April 1993 Journal, pp. 23-35, and the July-August 1995 Journal, p. 46.]

This is not an isolated example, my Lord. In the introduction to my biography of Adolf Hitler, Hitler's War, which was published by The Viking Press in America and by Hodder & Stoughton in the United Kingdom and later by Macmillan, we shall find that I have drawn specific and repeated attention of the reader to the crimes that Adolf Hitler committed.

How did all this happen? I shall invite the Court to hear expert evidence on the relationship between the world's Jewish communities and the rest of us, given by a professor of sociology at a leading American university who has published a number of book-length studies on the topic.

The Jewish community, their fame and fortunes, play a central role in these proceedings. It will not surprise the Court, I suppose, that among the allegations leveled against me by the Defendants and by their Experts is the adjective of “anti-Semitic.”

This adjective is both the most odious and the most overworked of epithets. Almost invariably, it is wielded by members or representatives of that community to denigrate those outside their community in whom they find disfavor.

It does not matter that the person whom they label as anti-Semitic has conducted himself towards that community in an irreproachable manner until then; it does not matter that he has shown them the same favors that he has shown to others; it does not seem to matter either that that same community who thus labels him or her, has conducted against him an international campaign of the most questionable character in an attempt to destroy his legitimacy, the economic existence upon which he and his family depends.

If he defends himself against these attacks, he is sooner or later bound to be described as anti-Semitic.

It has become a ritual. No doubt the English people, who in 1940 found it necessary to defend themselves against the Germans, would by the same token earn the title of anti-German. Is a person who defends himself, ultimately and wearily and after turning the other cheek for 20 or 30 years, ipso facto no better than the most incorrigible kind of ingrained anti-Semite with whom we are probably all familiar? I submit that he is not. [sic]

This Court will find that like most Englishmen, I have had dealings with both English and foreign Jews throughout my professional life.

There were to my knowledge no pupils of the Jewish faith at the minor Essex Public School that I (in common with our present Home Secretary) attended from 1947 to 1956; I was surprised

when I recently heard the suggestion that there had been.

I encountered many Jewish students when I attended London University however — I would like to commemorate here the name of my flat mate at Imperial College, Mike Gorb, who died tragically in a mountaineering accident; I regarded as a good friend another senior student, Jon Bloc. True, there was one student, a Mr. Peter L., who began agitating against me for the views that I propounded while at University, views I can no longer remember; and I have to confess that I found his agitation perplexing and irritating because it all seemed rather petty and spiteful at the time.

As my own Witness Statement recalls, at the time of the Anglo-Israeli-French “police action” in Suez in 1956, I joined student demonstrations on behalf of the Israelis, though for the life of me now I cannot remember why.

When my first book was published, *The Destruction of Dresden*, in 1963, I became uncomfortably aware that I had somehow offended the Jewish community. I did not at the time realize why and I do not fully realize why even today. Whatever the reason, their journalists were in the spearhead of the attack on me. As other books appeared, this polarization among the English critics became more pronounced. I remember the name of Arthur Pottersman, writing for a tabloid newspaper — the *Daily Sketch* — as being one of the few vicious critics, not of the Dresden book but of my person.

My publisher, Mr. William Kimber, to whom I have earlier referred, recommended to me the services of his lawyer, Mr. Michael Rubinstein, a name with which the older members of this Court may perhaps be familiar. Mr. Kimber said to me in his drawling, affable voice, “You will like Michael. He is Jewish, very Jewish, but a very Christian kind of a Jew — rather like Jesus Christ.”

It is the kind of inexplicable sentence that one remembers even now nearly 40 years on down the road of life. I found Michael an enormously capable, energetic and likeable person — indeed very English, his advice always sound, and he stood by me as my Legal Adviser for the next two decades. He had a rhinoceros hide, as I remarked once in my diary — a remark seized upon by the Defendants as evidence of my anti-Semitism!

I also formed a long-term friendship, which exists to this day, with well-known writers like the American David Kahn, an expert on code breaking. Being an author dealing with American and British publishers I frequently came into contact with the Jewish members of the publishing profession.

The editor of *Hitler’s War* for the Viking Press Inc. was Stan Hochman, who became, as the correspondence and for all I know also the diaries show, a good friend; Peter Israel, who purchased *Uprising!*, my book on the 1956 Hungarian uprising, was editorial director at Putnam's. And so on.

The Discovery documents show that there was also some kind of relationship between myself and our own George Weidenfeld which was the usual kind of love/hate relationship between authors and publishers. George published several of my books, include my biographies of top Nazis like Field Marshal Erhard Milch and Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, and I do not believe that he made a loss on those operations; behind my back, however, I learned that he made unhelpful remarks about me and I had occasion to write him one or two terse letters about that. But I believe that we are still friends, and my relations with the present Managing Director of Weidenfeld & Nicholson are of the very best.

Those however are all individuals.

Even as I speak of Weidenfeld, it reminds me that during the 1960s and 1970s I became vaguely aware of forces gathering to oppose me. George had originally bought the rights to publish my biography of Adolf Hitler. At some stage Weidenfeld's repudiated the contract. Publishers can always find an excuse to do so if they want, and I was not unhappy as it gave me the chance to offer it to an equally prestigious Publishing House, Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, for an even larger fee.

At the Frankfurt book fair on October 13, 1973 — my diary entry relates the whole of this — George Weidenfeld sat next to me at dinner and lamented, after a few cocktails, his mistake in "tearing up" the contract for Hitler's War; when I asked him why he had done so, he explained, shifting uneasily, "I had to do so. I came under pressure from three Embassies. One of them was a NATO power," which I took to be Germany, "one of them was France and the other was Israel."

It is right that I should state here, and the correspondence shows, that he later denied having said this, but I took a very detailed diary note that same night, which is in my Discovery, the bundle of which (it is marked "Global") we shall look at briefly over the next few days, if your Lordship pleases.

So it became gradually evident — and I have to emphasize that I cannot pin down any particular year in which I finally realized that I was being victimized by this hidden campaign — that I was the target of a hidden international attempt to exclude me, if it could be done, from publishing further works of history.

It did not affect my attitude towards the Jews in the way that perhaps people might have expected it to. I did not go on the stump, up and down the land, vituperating against them.

I merely made a mental note that I had to be on the look-out for trouble. Such trouble had already begun in November 1963 when a three-man squad of burglars, evidently at the commission of the English body to which I earlier made reference, was caught red-handed by the police, whom I had alerted, as they raided my North London apartment, disguised as telephone engineers and equipped with stolen GPO passes.

The leader of that gang, whose name I shall not mention as he is not represented in this Court, told the police that he had hoped to find my secret correspondence with Hitler's henchman, Mr. Martin Bormann! (Perhaps I ought to add that there is no secret correspondence with Bormann.)

I mention this episode for a reason. This gentleman subsequently became editor of a left-wing "anti-fascist" magazine called Searchlight, and he has made it his lifelong task over the intervening 30 years to take his malicious revenge upon me for the criminal conviction which he earned as a result of his felony.

His magazine repeatedly inveighed against me, reporting sometimes true, often part-true but usually totally fictitious rumors about my activities and alleged "Nazi" connections around the world, in an attempt to blacken my name.

I will not say that the rumors are all untrue. They never are. Mr. Winston Churchill once famously said, "The world is full of the most dreadful stories and rumors about me, and the damnable thing about them is that most of them are true!" At least, so rumor has it.

But the untrue ones about me are the ones that have a habit of surfacing again and again, with their original polish undimmed. I mention this case, as the defendants here seek to rely heavily on the outpouring of this troubled soul, the editor of Searchlight.

This Court might wonder why I took no action against this journal, or indeed against any of those parties who had defamed me over the years. One of the things that Michael Rubinstein, like Mr. Kimber my publisher, dinned into me very early on was to avoid at all costs taking libel action.

My Lord, I am sure I don't need to labor the reasons why, in this opening statement. Suffice it to say that I had already realized by 1970, at the time of the Convoy PQ.17 libel action — that is, Broome vs. Cassell — that libel actions are time-consuming, costly, and vexatious, and are indeed in the words of the cliché “to be avoided like the plague.”

Besides, this particular magazine had no assets, so any kind of litigation would have been pointless. I might add that only once in recent years have I been forced to take action in this jurisdiction under the Defamation Act, against a major national newspaper four or five years ago, which resulted in an immediate settlement out of Court which I can only describe as most satisfactory; the terms of this settlement are covered by the usual Court Order — though I fancy they are known to the Defendants here, who asked for, and were given, full disclosure of the relevant papers.

It will become evident to this Court from the evidence that I lead over the next few days the international community started to intensify its campaign to destroy me and to truncate my career as an author either before or at about the same time as The Viking Press and other publishers published my well-known biography of Adolf Hitler, *Hitler's War*, in 1977.

The Court will be shown one internal document, dated April 1977, which I have identified as emanating from the Washington files of the so-called Anti-Defamation League, a part of the B'nai Brith, in the United States, which reveals quite unabashedly how they tried to pressure television producers to cancel invitations to me to discuss the *Hitler's War* book on their programs. It failed, the program in question went ahead, and the ADL noted, aghast, in a secret memorandum, that I was well versed in the matters of history, a formidable opponent who could not however be called anti-Semitic.

I would have to be destroyed by other means.

This is a document in my Discovery. By various entirely legal means I obtained several such disturbing documents from within their files.

From them, and in particular from their details registered under the Data Protection Act in this country, it appears that these bodies, which are also embedded in our society in Britain and elsewhere, have seen their task, unbidden, as being to spy upon members of our society, maintain dossiers on us all, and to deploy those dossiers when necessary to smite those of us of whom they disapprove.

As the Court will see, the dossiers are explicitly designed to hold such material on the subjects' personal lives, criminal records, credit delinquencies, marital difficulties, dietary habits, and even sexual proclivities. That is what we know from their details of registration.

It is not anti-Semitic to reveal this. The spying and smearing by these bodies goes on against fellow Jew and non-Jew alike. The Jewish writer Noam Chomsky relates that he found quite by chance that they were “monitoring” — for that is the word they use — him too.

Several of our own most notable personalities have already commented on this unsavory element of British life: in an article in a U.K. magazine the writer Mr. Auberon Waugh remarked upon how he too inadvertently found that such a file was being kept on him.

May I add that these “dossiers” provided by this London body to the Canadians, to the Anti-Defamation League, and to various similar bodies in Australia, South Africa and elsewhere, have been drawn upon heavily and without question by the Defendants in this action, which is my justification, I submit, for drawing your Lordship’s attention to this disturbing and sleazy background.

When I attempted to take the libel action against the London-based body that I have mentioned, its director, Mr. Michael Whine, admitted in an Affidavit that his body had taken it upon itself to “monitor” my activities — there was that word again — as he called them for many years: he also freely admitted that when secretly called upon by his Canadian associates in 1992 to provide them with a smear dossier for the purposes of destroying my presence in Canada, by planting it in government files in Ottawa, he willingly agreed to do so.

This is how that file turned up in Canadian government resources; which in turn is how it came into my hands, years later, through lengthy “Access to Information Act” procedures. Otherwise I would never have known why I found myself being taken in handcuffs aboard an Air Canada flight in 1992, after 30 years as an honored visitor to that country, and deported, an event to which the Defendants make gleeful reference in their book *Denying the Holocaust*.

I may be rather naive, but this kind of thing offends me as an Englishman, as no doubt the idea will offend many of those present in Court 37 today. The notion that a non-governmental body, equipped evidently with limitless financial resources, can take it upon itself to spy upon law-abiding members of the community for the purpose of destroying them is one that I find discomfiting.

I have never done it to my fellow human beings, and I can think only of the wartime Gestapo and its offshoots in Nazi-occupied Europe as a body engaged in similar practices. It is offensive and ugly comparison, I warrant, and one that I have never made before; but in a legal battle of this magnitude, I consider it necessary to use ammunition of the proper caliber.

I now come to the matter of the glass microfiche plates containing the diaries of the Nazi propaganda Minister, Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Your Lordship will have seen from the Statement of Claim that the Defendants accuse me of having improperly obtained these glass plates from the Moscow archives, or damaged them.

May I set out some of the antecedents of this matter? Your Lordship will perhaps remember the widespread newspaper sensation that was caused by the revelation at the beginning of July 1992 that I had succeeded in retrieving from the former KGB archives in Moscow the long lost diaries of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, a close confidant of Hitler and his propaganda minister and successor as Reich Chancellor.

I may say here that scholars have been searching for a number of diaries ever since the end of World War II: I would mention here only the example of the diaries of Hitler’s Intelligence Chief, Vice-Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, in the search for which I was concerned in the 1960s and 1970s. (The diaries offered to myself and Messrs. William Collins, Ltd. on that occasion turned out to be fake, which I established by use of the appropriate forensic laboratory in the city of London, Messrs. Hehner & Cox.)

Forensic tests are to play quite a large part in these current proceedings too.

In writing my own biographies of the leading Nazis I have attached importance to primary sources, like the original diaries which they wrote at the time. When I have found these documents, as many scholars know, I have invariably and without delay donated them or copies of them either to the German Federal Archives in Koblenz or to the Institut für Zeitgeschichte [Institute for Contemporary History] in Munich; and, in the case of the Goebbels diaries, after I retrieved them, I additionally gave a set of copies to the archives of München-Gladbach, his home town, where they maintain a collection of Goebbels documents.

In fact the only items which I consider to be of greater source value than diaries, which are always susceptible to faking or tampering, are private letters; in my experience, once a private letter has been posted by its writer, it is virtually impossible for him to retrieve it and to alter its content.

If I may take the liberty of enlightening the Court at this point by way of an example, I would say that I had earlier also found several diaries of Field Marshal Rommel; some I retrieved in shorthand from the American archives, and had them transcribed. Those in typescript turned out to have been altered some months after one crucial battle ("Crusader") to eradicate a tactical error which the Field Marshal considered he had made in the western desert; but the hundreds of letters he wrote to his wife were clearly above any such suspicion.

On a somewhat earthier plane, while the diaries of the Chief of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, which have in part been retrieved recently from the same archives in Moscow, yield little information by themselves, I have managed to locate in private hands in Chicago the 200 letters which this murderous Nazi wrote to his mistress, and these contain material of much larger historical importance.

Until my career was sabotaged therefore I had earned the reputation of being a person who was always digging up new historical evidence; that was until the countries and the archives of the world were prevailed upon, as we shall see, to close their doors to me!

After I procured the 600 pages of manuscripts of Adolf Eichmann in Argentina in October 1991, the German Federal Archives grudgingly referred to me in a press release as a Truffle-Schwein, which I hope is more flattering than it sounds.

We are concerned here, however, primarily with the diaries of Dr. Joseph Goebbels of which the Defendants made mention in their book. This is the inside story on those.

I had begun the search for these diaries about 30 years earlier. In my Discovery are papers relating to the first search that I conducted for the very last diaries which Dr. Goebbels dictated, in April 1945 — right at the end of his life; since there was no time for them to be typed up, he had the spiral-bound shorthand pads buried in a glass conserving jar in a forest somewhere along the road between Hamburg and Berlin.

Chance provided me in about 1969 with the "treasure map" revealing the burial place of this glass jar, and with the permission of the Communist East German government I and a team of Oxford University experts, equipped with a kind of ground penetrating radar (a proton magnetometer in fact) mounted a determined attempt to unearth it in the forest.

We never found that particular truffle. Unfortunately, the topography of such a forest changes considerably in 20 years or more, and despite our best efforts, aided by the East German Ministry

of the Interior and a biologist whose task would be to assess the age of the fungi and other biological materials found in and around the jar, we came away empty-handed. This is nothing new. Field work often brings disappointments like that.

Twenty-five years later, I had the conversation which was to lead the retrieval of the Goebbels diaries in Moscow, and indirectly to our presence here in these Courts today.

In May 1992, I invited a long-time friend, a leading historian at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, to have lunch with me at a restaurant in Munich. We had been good friends since 1964, and she is still in the Institute's employ today. As my diaries show, this friend and colleague, Dr. Elke Fröhlich, had dropped several hints during the previous twelve months that she had traced the whereabouts of the missing Goebbels diaries.

We all knew, those of us who had engaged in research in Hitler, Goebbels, and the Third Reich, that Dr. Goebbels had placed these diaries on microfiches — photographic glass plates — in the closing months of the War, to ensure that they were preserved for posterity. But they had vanished since then. His Private Secretary, Dr. Richard Otte, whom I had questioned over 20 years earlier in connection with our search in the forest in East Germany, had told us about these glass plates. I should mention that he was one of the small burial party who had hidden the jar, but he was unable to accompany us, as at that time he was still in West German government employment. We could only presume that the glass plate microfiches were either destroyed in the last weeks of the war, or that they had been seized by the Red Army.

During this lunchtime conversation in Munich in May 1992, Dr. Elke Fröhlich revealed to me that the latter supposition was correct. She had seen them herself a few weeks previously — had held them in her hands! — on a visit to the archives in Moscow.

My recollection of the conversation at this point is, that she continued by saying that the Institute's directors were unwilling to fund a further expedition to procure these diaries.

Now that I have seen some of the documentation provided to the defendants in this action by the Russians and by the Institute, it is possible that my recollection on this point is wrong, namely, that the Institute were not willing to pay for it.

My recollection of the following is however secure: Dr. Fröhlich informed me that the director of the Russian "trophy" archives, as they were known, Dr. Bondarev, was in a serious predicament, as he was faced with the economic consequences of the collapse of the Soviet empire; he no longer had the means necessary for the upkeep of the archives and the payment of his staff.

The plates, in my view, were seriously at risk. Dr. Fröhlich indicated that if I were to take a sufficient sum of foreign currency to Moscow, I could purchase the glass plates from Dr. Bondarev. It was clear from her remarks that Dr. Bondarev had already discussed this prospect with her.

Dr. Fröhlich added that the glass plates were in a fragile condition and needed to be rescued before they came to serious harm. I recall that she said "If you are going to this deal with the Russians, you will have to take a lot of silk paper with you from England, to place between the glass plates. The plates are just packed into boxes — with nothing between them."

I asked how much money we were talking about, and either she or I suggested a figure of 20,000 US dollars. I immediately contacted my American publishers in New York, who seemed the most immediate source of money; I informed them of this likely windfall, and asked if we could increase the cash advance on my Goebbels manuscript accordingly.

My manuscript of the Goebbels biography was at that time complete, and undergoing editing by myself. It was already ready for delivery to the publishers.

The American publishers responded enthusiastically at first, and upon my return from Munich to London I began negotiations through intermediaries with the Russian archivist Dr. Bondarev. (Dr. Bondarev will not, unfortunately, be called by either party in this action; he seems to have vanished, and is certainly no longer employed by the “trophy” archives.)

The first intermediary I used was a Russian-language specialist employed by Warburg’s Bank in Moscow; he undertook the preliminary negotiations with Dr. Bondarev. I instructed him to tell Bondarev as openly as was prudent of my intention to come and look at the glass plates, and also to make it quite plain that we were coming with a substantial sum of hard currency. Many American institutions were currently engaged in the same practice, as I knew from the newspapers.

At about this time it became plain that the German government was also keen to get its hands on these glass plates. Naturally I desired to beat them to it: first, because of professional pride, and the desire to have a historical scoop; and secondly, years of working with the German government archives had proven both to me and many scholars that as soon as high-grade documents like these dropped into their hands they vanish for many years while they were assessed and catalogued and indexed; and sometimes they were even squirreled away for later exploitation by the chief archivists themselves (the “Hossbach Papers” were one case in point).

These vital Nazi diaries would therefore vanish from the public gaze possibly for five or ten years; my fears in this respect had been amply confirmed by events, because many of those glass plates which I saw in Moscow in 1992 have since vanished into the maw of the German government and the Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte and they are still not available even now.

I considered therefore that I should be rendering to the historical community the best service by doing the utmost that I could to extract those glass plates, or failing that copies of them, or failing that copies of the maximum number of pages possible, by hook or by crook, from the KGB archives before a wind of change might suddenly result in the resealing of all these former Soviet archives (and once again this apprehension has been largely confirmed by the attitude of the Russian archive authorities, who have resealed numbers of these files and made them once again inaccessible to Western historians).

The second intermediary upon whom I relied was the former KGB Officer, Lev Bezymenski. I have known Mr. Bezymenski for about 35 years, and over these years we have engaged in a fruitful exercise of exchanging documents: I would hasten to add that the documents which I furnished to Mr. Bezymenski were entirely of a public-domain nature: Mr. Bezymenski in return extracted from Soviet archives for me vital collections of documents, for example, their diplomatic files on Sir Winston Churchill, and the private papers of the commander-in-chief of the German Army, Colonel-General Werner von Fritsch. From the Russian archives I obtained, via Mr. Bezymenski, Fritsch’s personal writings during and about the “Blomberg-Fritsch scandal” of 1938, which had historic consequences for Germany, for Hitler and ultimately for the world. I immediately donated a complete set of those Fritsch papers to the German government archives, where they can still be seen.

Dr. Bezymenski proved unfortunately to be something of a “double agent.” Fearing that Dr. Bondarev was not properly getting my message, I asked Mr. Bezymenski to approach him, and to inform him that there were certain documents he held in which I was interested, and that I was coming as a representative of the Sunday Times, well armed with foreign currency. Mr. Bezy-

menski inquired what those documents were; I refused to tell him, and he replied, “You are referring to the Goebbels diaries I presume.”

This I affirmed. Ten minutes after this telephone conversation from me in London to Mr. Bezymenski in Moscow, I received a telephone call from Dr. Fröhlich in Munich, complaining very bitterly that I had revealed our intentions to Mr. Bezymenski. Instead of acting as I had requested, my friend had immediately sent a fax to the Institut für Zeitgeschichte to alert them to what I was “up to.” This set the cat among the pigeons, and the Institut für Zeitgeschichte left no stone unturned to prevent the Russians from providing me with the diaries or other materials, for reasons which this Court can readily surmise.

I had in the meantime approached the Sunday Times after my American publishers got cold feet, and I had succeeded in persuading Mr. Andrew Neil that I could obtain The Goebbels Diaries from the Moscow archives, and that I was by chance one of the very few people capable of reading that handwriting.

Two years previously, in 1990, my Italian publisher, Mondadori, had commissioned me to transcribe the hand-written 1938 diary volume of Dr. Goebbels, a copy of which they had purchased from a Russian source. I was thus acquainted with the difficult handwriting of the Nazi propaganda minister. At that time there were probably only three or four people in the world who were capable of deciphering it.

The negotiations with Andrew Neil proceeded smoothly. He did express at one stage nervousness at the prospect of entering into another “Nazi diaries” deal — his newspaper group having been made to look foolish for its purchase and publication in 1983 of the forged “Hitler Diaries.” I pointed out that I had warned them in writing months ahead, in 1982, that the diaries were fakes. I added “I am offering the Sunday Times the chance to rehabilitate itself!”

Armed with the prestige and the superior financial resources of the Sunday Times I went to Moscow in June 1992, and negotiated directly with Dr. Bondarev and his superior, Professor Tarasov, who was at that time the overall head of the Russian Federation Archival System.

Dr. Bondarev expressed willingness to assist us, although there could no longer be any talk of the clandestine purchase of the plates which we had originally hoped for, since Mr. Bezymenski had let the cat out of the bag. I say “clandestine,” but I understand that the same archives sold off many other collections of papers, for example to the Hoover Institution in California, and to US publishing giants, and to my colleague the late John Costello. But my own little deal was not to be.

Professor Tarasov is one of the witnesses in this case, my Lord, and your Lordship will be able to study the documents exhibited by him to his Witness Statement; I confess that I fail to see the relevance of very many of them, but no doubt we shall see that difficulty removed by Mr. Ramp-ton in due course.

The Moscow negotiations were not easy. We negotiated with Professor Tarasov for access to the glass plates. The negotiations were conducted in my presence by Mr. Peter Millar, a freelance journalist working for the Sunday Times, who spoke Russian with a commendable fluency. He will also be giving evidence in this action. With my limited “O”-level Russian, I was able to follow the gist in conversation and also to intervene, speaking German, after it emerged that Professor Tarasov had studied and taught for many years at the famous Humboldt University in Communist East Berlin.

By now both Dr. Bondarev and Tarasov were aware, if they had not been aware previously, that these Goebbels diaries were of commercial and historical value. The negotiations took longer than I had expected.

I produced to Professor Tarasov copies of the Soviet edition of my books, which had been published years earlier, and I donated to him, as well as later to the Archives staff, copies of my own edition of the biography Hitler's War.

This established my credentials to their satisfaction, and Tarasov gave instructions that we were to be given access to the entire collection of the 'Dr. Goebbel's diaries.'

It was quite evident to me, when I finally saw the glass plates, that the diaries had been hardly examined at all. It seemed to me, for example, from the splinters of glass still trapped between the photographic plates, that there had been little movement in the plates for nearly 50 years; the boxes were the original boxes, the brown paper around them in some parts was still the original brown paper. The plates were in total disarray and no attempt had been made to sort them. I have seen no work of history, Soviet or otherwise, that has quoted from them before I got them.

My excitement as an historian, getting my hands on original material like this, can readily be imagined.

There is now a dispute as to the nature of the Russian permission — and this alleged agreement is one of the issues pleaded by the Defendants in this action.

It is difficult for me to reconstruct seven years later precisely whether there was any verbal agreement exceeding a nod and a wink, or what the terms were, or how rigid an agreement may have been reached. There is no reference to such an agreement in my contemporary diaries. Certainly the Russians committed nothing to paper about such an agreement. Professor Tarasov's word was law, and he had just picked up the phone in our presence and spoken that word to Bondarev.

My own recollection at the time was that the arrangement was of a very free-wheeling nature, with the Russians being very happy, and indeed proud, to help us in the spirit reigning at that time of glasnost and perestroika, and extreme co-operativeness between West and East; they were keen to give us access to these plates, which they had hitherto regarded as not being of much value. Tarasov did mention that the German government were also interested in these plates, and that they were coming shortly to conduct negotiations about them.

I remember clearly, and I think that this is also shown in the diary which I wrote on that day, that Tarasov hesitated as to whether he should allow us access without first consulting the German authorities; I rather mischievously reminded Dr. Tarasov of which side had won the war, and expressed astonishment that the Russians were now intending to ask their defeated enemy for permission to show to a third party records which were in their own archives, and this unsubtle argument appears to have swayed him to grant us complete access without further misgivings.

There was no signed agreement, either between the Russian authorities and us, or at that time between the Russians and the German Authorities.

I would add here that I was never shown any agreement between the Russians and the German authorities, nor was I told any details of it; nor of course could it have been in any way binding upon me.

We returned to the archives the following morning, Mr. Millar and I, to begin exploiting the diaries.

Millar went off on his own devices. I had brought a German assistant with me to act as a scribe.

Her diary is also in my Discovery, and I admit I have not yet found time to read it (I have an odd aversion to reading other people's diaries). I must admit that I was rather perplexed by the chaotic conditions that I found there — in the Russian archives. There was no technical means whatever of reading the diaries, which the Nazis had reduced to the size of a small postage stamp on the glass plates.

Fortunately, Dr. Fröhlich had alerted me about this possibility, and I had bought at Selfridges [department store] a 12X magnifier, a little thing about the size of a nail clipper, with which by peering very hard I could decipher the handwriting. It was even more alarming to someone accustomed to working in Western archives — with their very strict conditions on how to handle documents, and cleanliness and security — to see the way that the shelves and tables and chairs were littered with bundles of papers; at one stage the Archivist brought in bottles of red wine and loaves of bread and cheese which were scattered among the priceless papers on the tables for us to celebrate the end of the week. That would have been unthinkable in any Western archive building.

My German assistant had worked with me in the US National Archives previously. We spent the first day cataloguing and sifting through all the boxes of glass plates and identifying which plates were which — earmarking, figuratively speaking, the glass plates which were on my shopping list to be read and copied.

Very rapidly, we began coming across glass plates of the most immense historical significance, sections of the diaries which I knew had never been seen by anybody else before. I was particularly interested in the Night of Broken Glass, November 1938, and the Night of Long Knives, June 1934. I also found the glass plates containing the missing months leading up to and including the outbreak of World War II in 1939, diaries whose historical significance need not be emphasized here.

Given the chaotic conditions in the Archives, I took the decision to borrow one of the plates overnight and bring it back the next day, so that we could photograph its contents. I shall argue about the propriety of this action at a later stage. I removed the plate, its contents were printed that night by a photographer hired by the Sunday Times, whose name was Sasha, and the glass plate was restored to its box the next morning, without loss or damage.

The Sunday Times editor Andrew Neil was coincidentally in Moscow at this time, and I showed him one of the glass plates at his hotel, the Metropol. He stated, "We really need something spectacular to follow the Andrew Morton book on Princess Diana, and this is it!"

The next day Dr. Bondarev formally authorized the borrowing of two more such plates anyway, so it was clear to me that nobody would have been offended by my earlier action.

I returned to London and over the next few days a contract was formalized between myself and the Sunday Times under which the newspaper was to pay me £75,000 net for procuring the diaries, transcribing them and writing three chapters based on the principle extracts from the diaries. The contract with the Sunday Times contained the usual secrecy clauses — nobody was to learn of the nature of the contract, or its contents, or the price, or of the existence of the diary.

For reasons beyond my knowledge the Sunday Times, when it came under extreme pressure from international and British Jewish organizations, subsequently put it about that I had only been hired to transcribe the diaries — with the implication that they had obtained them on their own initiative. I was not, however, just a hired help: this was my project which I took to them and which they purchased, as the documents before this Court make quite plain.

It may be felt that £75,000 would have been a substantial reward for two weeks' work; but my response would be that it was for “30 years plus two weeks' work” — we are paid for our professional skills and expertise and experience and reputation. For our track-record, in short.

I returned to London, with arrangements to revisit Moscow in two or three weeks' time.

The Court will find that I have stipulated, in what I believe is known in legal terms as an Admission, that I carried with me two of the glass plates from the Moscow archives to the Sunday Times in London, informally borrowing them in the same manner as previously, namely those vital records recording the 1934 Nazi “Night of Long Knives.”

The reasons for doing so I have already hinted at earlier — the fear that they would either vanish into the maw of German government, or be resealed by the former Soviet archives, or be sold off to some nameless American trophy-hunter, and thus never see the light of day again.

I took these two borrowed plates straight to Munich, to the Institute, where I knew that they had a microfiche printer and reading machine; together with the Institute's Dr. Zirngiebel, who was their expert in the archives, we inserted the appropriate lenses in the microfiche printer for a microfiche of this magnification, and I printed out two copies of each of the 100 or so documents on those two microfiches.

There was no secrecy about this. I at once sent two of these pages upstairs to the experts in the Institute itself, and two more to the German Federal Archives, with the written request that they formally identify these pages as being in the handwriting of Dr. Joseph Goebbels. This was a necessary part of agreement with the Sunday Times, who were being no less cautious than I.

The other principal reason that I had borrowed these two glass plates temporarily from the Russian archives was in order to put them to London forensic experts for the purposes of authentication; in the same manner that others had tested the “Adolf Hitler diaries” and I the Canaris diaries, the Sunday Times quite properly wished to have final proof that the glass plates were indeed of wartime manufacture: namely, that the glass was of wartime origin, and that the photographic emulsion was of wartime chemicals.

The Court may marvel at these precautions that we as, as non-scholars, took; but it seemed perfectly natural to me and to the officials of the Sunday Times. After all, not only were large sums of money involved but also the reputations of myself and a major international newspaper group. We wished to be absolutely certain.

On my return from Moscow and Munich to London, in June 1992 therefore the two glass plates were sent their separate ways, heavily wrapped and protected; one to an Agfa photographic laboratory which tested the age of the emulsion, in a non-destructive manner, and the other to the Pilkington Glassworks, whose laboratory specialists carried out similar tests on the age of the glass. Their reports are part of my Discovery, and these confirm that the tests were appropriate under the circumstances.

My Lord, if I may just anticipate by a few paragraphs what happened to those two glass plates: I returned to Moscow at the end of June, the glass plates were brought out to Moscow personally by a courier of the Sunday Times as soon as the tests on them were complete, and handed to me, standing outside the archives building, as my diary records; and within three minutes I had taken them back into the Archives building and replaced them in the box where they had been for the last 47 years.

What follows is not strictly relevant to the glass plates, but it is relevant to this case and it is best inserted here because of its chronology. When I returned to London with the remaining diaries which the Sunday Times had requested, an awkward situation had developed. Our secrecy had been compromised by an astute reporter of The Independent, a Mr. Peter Pringle, who was based in Moscow at the time that I was using the archives. He too has submitted a witness statement, for the Defendants. He stalked me into the archives, confronted me and learned from Dr. Bondarev of my work on the Goebbels diaries.

The resulting scoop in the The Independent set the press world about its ears, and before I returned to London on July 4, 1992, the entire Fleet Street press and the broadcast media fell over themselves to print stories about the diaries and my own participation. In order to blacken the name of the Sunday Times and its unpopular editor, I was described with every possible epithet.

It is of relevance to this action, in my submission, because the same organizations which had gone to great lengths to furnish the Defendants with the material they needed to blacken my name in the book, Denying the Holocaust, now applied heavy pressure to Andrew Neil and to Times Newspapers, Ltd., to violate their contract with me, and to pay me nothing of the monies which were due to me under the contract.

Under this pressure, which Mr. Neil described to me at the time as the worst that he had ever experienced in his life, the Sunday Times (having in fact paid me the first installment), welshed on the rest of the payments. I was forced to sue them in these courts for breach of contract. The financial consequences of this violation of the contract, in round terms about £65,000, were serious for me.

When I reviewed all the press clippings, and read all the statements made by these various bodies, boards, campaigns, agencies, and organizations attacking my name both during my absence in Moscow and upon my return, I could only say, sadly, from a lengthening experience: "The gang's all here."

The same gang, whom I loosely describe as the traditional enemies of free speech, were to be seen on the following days behind the metal police barricades thrown up outside my apartment, screaming abuse at myself and other leaseholders in our building, spitting, harassing passers by, and holding up offensive placards and slogans including one reading, in the most execrable taste, "Gas Irving" — it can be seen in the newspaper photos. From the photographs of this demonstration, it appears that representatives of every ethnic and other minority were present in these. It was the most disagreeable experience.

On my second visit to Moscow, as your Lordship will find from the relevant passages of my diary, I found a frostier atmosphere. The boxes with which I had so readily been provided on my previous trip, were said to be "missing" and not found. For three or four days I was unable to do anything, and then one box was released to me, which I devoured rapidly.

On the last day but one it became plain that I had jealous and envious rivals in Munich to thank for the difficulties that the Russians were now making. Dr. Bondarev's secretary came into the

reading room and said that there were allegations that I had “stolen” the glass plates. I assured her that while I had borrowed some, every glass plate which had been in my custody was at that moment back in the Archives and that nothing was missing — which was true. I also voluntarily wrote a Statement, which was handed to Dr. Bondarev.

Your Lordship will find that this document in both Russian and English, in my handwriting, is in the Discovery both of myself and of the Defendants, as an exhibit to the report by Professor Tarasov. Professor Tarasov is to be giving evidence before your Lordship, and I shall examine him with particular pleasure.

Dr. Bondarev’s secretary came back a few minutes later, and said that this was just what they required. She now vouchsafed to me the information: “The information came from Munich.”

Your Lordship will see from the “information” which came from Munich, which is in the Defendants’ Discovery, that the Institut für Zeitgeschichte had faxed to Moscow a particularly hateful letter about me in an attempt to destroy my relationship with the Russians.

However I already had all the documents that had been on my shopping list. Either in longhand, or by dictating them on to a hand-held tape recorder, or typed onto my portable typewriter, or as photocopies of a few pages of November 1938, or as photographic prints obtained from the glass microfiches, I had collected several hundred pages of the most important Goebbels diary entries that had been missing ever since the end of the war, and I see no reason not to be proud of this achievement.

It is indicative of the general attempt to blacken my name, and to silence me, that when I spoke to a meeting organized by my private “supporters’ club,” the Clarendon Club, on the evening of July 4, 1992 — my return from Moscow — the hall in Great Portland Street was subject to violent demonstrations outside which required a very large police presence to protect the members of my audience. This will be one of the photographs in the bundle that I shall shortly be submitting to your Lordship.

Later on that year when I addressed a further meeting in a West End Hotel, there even more violent demonstrations.

Such demonstrations do not occur spontaneously. Somebody has to pay for the printing and the bill posting and the bus rentals. I might mention that on one of the days that followed I was violently attacked by three men who identified themselves to me as Jews when I was having a Sunday lunch at a public restaurant in Mayfair with my family. They had laid an ambush for me.

I only recently learned that on the Monday morning after my return from Moscow, July 6 [1992], my long-time publishers, Macmillan, Ltd., seeing the clamor and coming under pressure from unnamed members of the Jewish community, panicked and issued secret instructions for the destruction of all remaining stocks of my books, without ever informing me that they had done so.

This particularly repulsive act by a publisher, reminiscent of the Nazis in 1933, cost me of course many tens of thousand of pounds in lost royalties. At the same time as they were taking these secret decisions to destroy all my books, at the cost to themselves of hundreds of thousands of pounds, my editor at Macmillan continued to write me ingratiating letters expressing interest in the early delivery of my Goebbels biography.

It was altogether a most unhappy period.

My Lord, I am coming toward the end as you can see. I can add one further brief example of how different is my attitude to such documents as the Goebbels diaries from the attitude of my rivals and the scholars.

Dr. Ralf Günther Reuth approached me, saying that he was preparing a five-volume abridged edition of the other Goebbels diaries for Piper Verlag in Germany and had nothing for 1938. There were large gaps in the other years too. I foolishly allowed him to have photocopies of some of the most important passages which until that moment had been exclusive to myself and my as-yet-unpublished Goebbels biography. The thanks that I received for this generous act were scant indeed.

I provided copies to the German Federal Archives of the entire Goebbels diary extracts that I had brought back from Moscow on July 1, 1993. Ten minutes later the director of the Archives informed me, in extreme embarrassment, that on the instructions of the Federal Ministry of the Interior I was permanently banned from the selfsame Archives forthwith and in perpetuity, which is to my knowledge the only time that such a sanction has been ever been applied to a historian. He explained that this decision had been taken “in the interests of the German people.”

I mention these facts, my Lord, to show that it was not just one single action that has destroyed my career but a cumulative, self-perpetuating, rolling onslaught, from every side — engineered by the same people who have propagated the book which is the subject of this action.

Historical Myth Justifies Golan Heights Occupation

Israeli, Syrian and United States negotiators have recently been meeting to work out an agreement by which Israel will return to Syria the Golan Heights, a portion of territory seized by Israeli forces in 1967.

According to Israeli diplomatic sources and Israeli newspaper reports (early January 2000), the Jewish state's price for the turnover is \$20 billion in additional United States military and civilian aid. Much of this aid is to be in the form of sophisticated military equipment, including the Tomahawk cruise missile. (So far Britain is the only foreign country to receive this powerful weapon, which has a range of up to 2,000 kilometers.) Israel is also asking for funding for further weapons systems development, and to offset the cost of resettling 18,000 Jews who have been living on the Heights.

For three decades Israel has cited vital security concerns to justify its seizure of the Golan Heights. Israelis have claimed that from 1948 to June 1967, Syrian military forces repeatedly used the Heights to shell Jewish settlements and installations below. These artillery bombardments, in the widely accepted Israeli and American view, justified Israel's conquest of the Heights in 1967, and its occupation ever since.

Actually, Israel's seizure and occupation of this territory is based on a historical lie. This was frankly acknowledged by Israel General and cabinet minister Moshe Dayan in an interview given in 1976, but which was not made public until April 1997. Dayan, who died in 1981, was a key organizer of Israel's victory in the June 1967 Israel-Arab war.

"I made a mistake in allowing the [Israeli] conquest of the Golan Heights," he said, "As defense minister I should have stopped it because the Syrians were not threatening us at the time." The seizure went ahead, he added, not because Israel was threatened, but in response to pressure from Jews who coveted Syrian land, and from army commanders in northern Israel. "Of course [war with Syria] was not necessary. You can say the Syrians are bastards and attack when you want. But this is not policy. You don't open aggression against an enemy because he's a bastard but because he's a threat."

"At least 80 percent" of the border clashes over nearly two decades associated with the Syrian shellings were initiated by Israel, Dayan continued. "We would send a tractor to plow some [disputed] area ... and we knew in advance that the Syrians would start to shoot. If they didn't shoot, we would tell the tractor to advance further, until in the end the Syrians would get annoyed and shoot. And then we would use artillery and later the air force also, and that's how it was."

"So," a Washington Post columnist recently summed up, "on the authority of what you could call an impeachable source, the situation is very different from what is commonly portrayed. Israel, with an appetite for land, for political profit and for strategic depth, was in the Golan instance — not in all instances — an aggressor, not the victim of aggression." (S. Rosenfeld, "Israel and Syria: Correcting the Record," The Washington Post, Dec. 24, 1999.

Now, it appears, American taxpayers are once again being called upon to generously reward the Zionist regime for aggression and occupation based on a historical lie.

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Israel Given Unique Status in U.S. Satellite Photo Access Policy

The U.S. Congress, in a move that further underscores its deferential support for Jewish-Zionist interests, has given Israel a unique security consideration — one that is not given even to the United States of America.

Two years ago Congress formally approved a law making it illegal for American firms to take high-resolution satellite images of the Zionist state. Israel is the only country in the world to be given this protection by U.S. legislation. John C. Baker, a space policy expert at the Rand Corporation, noted that the ban on satellite photos of Israel is the only exception to the U.S. government's "policy of open skies permitting satellite imagery of the entire earth."

A Colorado firm, Space Imaging, Inc., launched its Ikonos satellite in September 1999, enabling it to provide pictures for sale to the public that will come closer than ever to the quality of U.S. intelligence photographs. The pictures are so good that U.S. intelligence agencies are expected to be among the company's major clients. Its satellite digital color images will be able to depict objects as small as one meter wide from a vantage point 423 miles in space, enabling specialists to distinguish tanks from jeeps on a highway.

(Source: V. Loeb, "Spy Satellite Will Take Photos for Public Sale," *The Washington Post*, Sept. 25, 1999, p. A3.)

The Myth of a 'Land Without People for a People Without Land'

Roger Garaudy

Immediately following its publication in late 1995, *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Policy"), touched off a storm of controversy. Its octogenarian Communist-turned-Muslim author had taken aim at the historical legends cited for decades to justify Zionism and the Jewish state, including the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story. (*Les mythes* was reviewed in the March-April 1996 Journal, pp. 35-36.)

Roger Garaudy brought impressive credentials to this task. During the Second World War he was active in the anti-German Résistance (for which he was arrested and interned). Afterwards he joined the powerful French Communist Party, soon making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism and became a Muslim.

Soon after the publication of *Les mythes*, he was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and, on February 27, 1998, fined him 240,000 francs (\$40,000). His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world. (See: T. O'Keefe, "Origin and Enduring Impact of the 'Garaudy Affair'," July-August 1999 Journal, pp. 31-35; R. Faurisson, "On the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre Affair," July-August 1997 Journal, pp. 26-28.)

In the following essay, adapted from the forthcoming IHR edition of *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, Garaudy takes on a key historical myth used to justify the founding of Israel, and its on-going policies of discrimination and oppression.

— The Editor

Zionist ideology rests on a very simple postulate: it is written in Genesis (15:18): "... the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying, 'To your descendants I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates,...'"

Starting from this, without asking themselves what the covenant consisted of, to whom the promise had been made, or if the Lord's choice had been unconditional, the Zionist leaders, even the agnostics and atheists, proclaimed: Palestine was given to us by God.

The statistics, even those of the Israeli government, show that 15 percent of Israelis are religious. This doesn't stop the other 85 percent from also claiming that this land had been given to them

by God ... in whom they don't believe.

The great majority of modern Israelis neither practice nor believe in a religion, while the different "religious parties," despite comprising only a small minority of the Jewish population, play an important role in the state. This apparent paradox is explained by Nathan Weinstock in his book *Le sionisme contre Israël* ("Zionism Against Israel"):

If rabbinical obscurantism prevails in Israel, it is because the Zionist mystique is coherent only in light of the Mosaic religion. Take away the concepts of a "Chosen People" and a "Promised Land," and the foundation of Zionism crumbles. This is why the religious parties paradoxically draw their strength from the complicity of agnostic Zionists. The inner cohesion of Israel's Zionist structure has compelled its leaders to strengthen the power of the rabbis. It was the social democratic "Mapai" party, not the religious parties, which, at Ben-Gurion's prodding, made courses in religious instruction an obligatory part of the school curriculum.

Weinstock, *Le sionisme contre Israël*, 1969, p. 315

This country exists as the fulfillment of a promise made by God Himself. It would be ridiculous to ask Him to account for its legitimacy. Such is the basic axiom formulated by Mrs. Golda Meir.

Le Monde, October 15, 1971

Begin restated this as:

This land has been promised to us and we have a right to it.

Begin's statement at Oslo, Davar, December 12, 1978

If you have the Book of the Bible, and the People of the Book, then you also have the Land of the Bible — of the Judges and of the Patriarchs in Jerusalem, Hebron, Jericho and thereabouts.

Moshe Dayan, *Jerusalem Post*,
August 10, 1967

Significantly, Ben-Gurion evoked the American "precedent" in which, over the course of a century, the frontier continuously advanced westward, all the way to the Pacific, where the "closing of the frontier" was proclaimed, thanks to the success of the "Indian wars" in driving off the original Americans and seizing their lands.

Ben-Gurion made it very clear:

To maintain the status quo will not do. We have set up a dynamic state, bent on expansion.

Ben-Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, p. 419

Zionist policy has corresponded to this singular theory: take the land and drive out the inhabitants, as did Joshua, the successor to Moses.

Menachem Begin, the Israeli leader most profoundly imbued with biblical tradition, declared:

Eretz Israel will be restored to the people of Israel. All of it. And for ever.

Begin, *The Revolt: The History of Irgun*, p. 33

Thus, from the outset, the State of Israel places itself above all international law.

Imposed on the United Nations May 11, 1949, by the will of the United States, the State of Israel was only admitted on three conditions:

1. That the status of Jerusalem would not be tampered with;
2. That the Palestinian Arabs would be allowed to return to their homes;
3. That the borders established by the partition decision would be respected.

Commenting on the UN resolution to “partition” Palestine, adopted long before Israel’s admission, Ben-Gurion declared:

The State of Israel considers the UN resolution of November 29, 1947, to be null and void.

New York Times, December 6, 1953

Echoing the concept of a parallel between American and Zionist expansion, General Moshe Dayan wrote:

Take the American Declaration of Independence. It contains no mention of territorial limits. We are not obliged to fix the limits of the State.

Jerusalem Post, August 10, 1967

Israeli policy corresponds precisely to the law of the jungle: the UN resolution mandating the partition of Palestine was never honored.

The resolution on the partition of Palestine, adopted by the UN General Assembly (at that time made up almost entirely of Western nations) on November 29, 1947, signaled the West’s designs on its “forward stronghold”: on that date, the Jews were 32 percent of the population and owned 5.6 percent of the land. Partition awarded them 56 percent of Palestine, including the most fertile land. The terms of the partition were agreed to by the General Assembly under pressure from the United States.

President Harry Truman exerted unprecedented pressure on the State Department. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles wrote:

By direct order of the White House every form of pressure, direct and indirect, was brought to bear by American officials ... to make sure that the necessary majority would be at length secured.

Sumner Welles, *We Need Not Fail*,
Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948, p. 63

The secretary of defense at that time, James Forrestal, confirmed:

... The methods that had been used ... to bring coercion and duress on other nations in the General Assembly bordered closely on to scandal.

James Forrestal, *Forrestal's Memoirs*,
New York: Viking, 1951, p. 363

The power of private monopolies was mobilized.

Drew Pearson, in the *Chicago Daily News* of February 9, 1948, provided some details:

Harvey Firestone, owner of rubber plantations in Liberia, used his influence with the Liberian government ...

Beginning in 1948, the Israelis violated these pro-Zionist decisions.

The Israeli leaders took advantage of the Arabs' refusal to accept such injustice by grabbing new territories, notably Jaffa and Acre — so much so that by 1949, the Zionists controlled 80 percent of the country and 770,000 Palestinians had been driven out.

The method was terror.

The most striking instance was at Deir Yassin, on April 9, 1948: 254 inhabitants of this village (men, women, children, and the elderly) were massacred by troops of the Irgun, led by Menachem Begin, by methods indistinguishable from those the Nazis used at Oradour.

In his book *The Revolt: The History of Irgun*, Begin wrote that there would have been no security for the State of Israel without the “victory” of Deir Yassin (p. 162). He added:

Meanwhile, the Haganah was carrying out successful attacks on the other fronts ...
The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting: “Deir Yassin!”

Begin, *Revolt*, p. 165

Any Palestinian who left his residence before August 1, 1948 was considered “absent.”

In this way, two thirds of the land owned by the Arabs (70,000 hectares out of 110,000) was confiscated. When the law on landed property was passed in 1953, compensation was fixed at the value of the land in 1950; in the interim the Israeli pound had dropped to a fifth of its value.

Moreover, from the beginning of Jewish immigration (here again in the truest colonialist style), land was bought from feudal, non-resident landowners (the “effendis”). Through arrangements between the former masters and the new occupants, the poor peasants, the fellahin, who had no say in the matter, were evicted. Deprived of their land, there was nothing left for them but to flee.

The United Nations appointed a mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden. In his first report, Count Bernadotte wrote:

It would offend basic principles to prevent these innocent victims of the conflict from returning to their homes, while Jewish immigrants flood into Palestine and, furthermore, threaten, in a permanent way, to take the place of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in this land for centuries.

He described

Zionist pillaging on a grand scale and the destruction of villages without apparent military necessity.

This report (UN Document A, 648, p. 14) was filed on September 16, 1948. On September 17, 1948, Count Bernadotte and his French assistant, Colonel Serot, were assassinated in the part of Jerusalem occupied by the Zionists.

It was not the first Zionist crime against someone who criticized their treachery.

Lord Moyne, the British secretary of state in Cairo, declared on June 9, 1942, in the House of Lords that the Jews were not the descendants of the ancient Hebrews and that they had no “legitimate claim” on the Holy Land. A proponent of curtailing immigration into Palestine, he was accused of being “an implacable enemy of Hebrew independence.”

In Isaac Zaar, *Rescue and Liberation: America's Part in the Birth of Israel*, New York: Bloch, 1954, p. 115

On November 6, 1944, Lord Moyne was assassinated in Cairo by two members of the Stern Gang (Yitzak Shamir's group).

Years later, on July 2, 1975, The Evening Star of Auckland revealed that the bodies of the two executed assassins had been exchanged for twenty Arab prisoners for burial at the “Heroes' Monument” in Jerusalem. The British government deplored that Israel should honor the assassins and make heroes of them.

On July 22, 1946, the wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem occupied by the British civil and military authorities for Palestine was blown up, causing the deaths of nearly a hundred people, British, Arabs, and Jews. The Irgun, Begin's group, had carried out the attack, and claimed responsibility.

The State of Israel replaced the British colonialists, then used their methods. For example, agricultural aid for irrigation was distributed in a discriminatory fashion, so that Jewish landholders were systematically favored. Between 1948 and 1969, the area of irrigated land rose, for the Jewish sector, from 20,000 to 164,000 hectares; for the Arab sector, from 800 to 4,100 hectares. The colonial system was thus perpetuated, growing even more oppressive: Doctor Rosenfeld, in his book *Arab Migrant Workers*, published by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1970, recognized that Arab agriculture had been more prosperous during the British mandate than it was under the Israelis.

Segregation also figures in housing policy. The president of the Israeli Human Rights League, Doctor Israel Shahak, a professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, relates in his book *Le racisme de l'État d'Israël* (“The Racism of the Israeli State”) (Paris: G. Authier, 1975, p. 57), that in Israel there are whole towns (Carmel, Nazareth, Illith, Hatzor, Arad, Mitzphen-Ramen, and others) where non-Jews are forbidden by law to live.

In cultural matters the same colonialist spirit reigns.

In 1970, the Minister of National Education proposed two different versions of the prayer “Yizkor” for high school students. One version proclaimed that the death camps had been built by “the diabolical Nazi government and the German nation of murderers.” The second version alluded more generally to “the German nation of murderers...” Both contain a paragraph ... calling on God “to avenge before our eyes the blood of the victims.”

“Ce sont mes frères que je cherche,”
Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem, 1990

This culture of racial hatred has borne fruit:

“In the wake of Kahane, we heard more and more about soldiers who, exposed to the history of the Holocaust, were planning all sorts of ways to exterminate the Arabs,” recalled education-corps officer Ehud Praver. “It concerned us very much, because we saw that the Holocaust was legitimizing the appearance of Jewish racism. We learned that it was necessary to deal not only with the Holocaust but also with the rise of fascism and to explain what racism is and what dangers it holds for democracy.” According to Praver, “... too many soldiers were deducing that the Holocaust justifies every kind of disgraceful action.”

Tom Segev, *Seventh Million*, p. 407

The problem had been expressed very clearly even before the State of Israel came to be. The director of the Jewish National Fund, Yossef Weitz, wrote in 1940:

It should be clear to us that there is no room for two peoples in this country. If the Arabs leave it, that will satisfy us ... There is no other way but to remove them all; there must not be a single village left, or a single clan ... It must be explained to Roosevelt and to all the heads of friendly states that the land of Israel is not too small if all the Arabs leave and if the borders are pushed back a little to the north, as far as the Litani, and toward the east, to the heights of the Golan.

Yossef Weitz, *Diary and Letters to My Sons*, Tel Aviv, 1965

In the major Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* (July 14, 1972), Yoram Ben-Porat forcefully reminded Israelis of the Zionist objective:

It is the duty of Israeli leaders to explain clearly and courageously for public opinion a certain number of facts which time causes to be forgotten. The first of these is that there is no Zionism, colonization or Jewish State without the eviction of the Arabs and the expropriation of their land.

Here again we observe the most exacting logic of the Zionist system: How to create a Jewish majority in a country populated by a native Palestinian Arab community?

Political Zionism provided the only solution possible within the framework of its colonialist program: create a settler colony while driving out the Palestinians and promoting Jewish immigration.

Driving out the Palestinians and taking over their land was a deliberate and systematic undertaking.

At the time of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the Zionists possessed only 2.5 percent of the land; at the time UN resolution to partition Palestine in 1947, they had 6.5 percent. By 1982, they possessed 93 percent.

The methods used to dispossess the natives of their land have been those of the most ruthless colonialism, with Zionism adding an even more pronouncedly racist taint.

The first stage bore all the hallmarks of classic colonialism: exploitation of the local work force. This was Baron Édouard de Rothschild's metier: just as he had previously exploited the cheap labor of the fellahin on his vineyards in Algeria, in Palestine he simply enlarged his sphere of activity, exploiting other Arabs in his vineyards there.

A turning point occurred with the arrival from Russia of a new wave of immigrants following the failure of the Revolution of 1905. Instead of carrying on the fight there, side by side with other Russian revolutionaries, the deserters of the defeated revolution imported a strange Zionist socialism into Palestine. They created production and service cooperatives and agricultural kibbutzes, excluding the Palestinian fellahin in order to create an economy based on a Jewish working and agricultural class. From a classical colonialism (of the English or French type), Palestine passed to a settlement colony in the logic of political Zionism, involving an influx of immigrants "for" whom, and "against" no one (accordingly to Professor Klein), land and work had to be provided. From this point on, it was a matter of replacing the Palestinian people with another, and, naturally, of taking their the land.

The starting point of this great operation was the creation, in 1901, of the Jewish National Fund, which had a feature novel even to settler colonialism: the land which the JNF acquired could not be resold, or even rented, to non-Jews.

Two other laws concern the Keren Kayemet (Jewish National Fund; law passed on November 23, 1953) and the Keren Hayesod (Foundation Fund; law passed on January 10, 1956). "These two laws," writes Professor Klein, "permitted the transformation of these societies, which found themselves benefitting from certain privileges" (Klein, *Caractère juif*, pp. 20-21). Without enumerating these privileges, he introduces, as a simple "observation," the fact that lands obtained by the National Jewish Fund were then declared "Lands of Israel," and a law was enacted to decree the inalienability of these lands. This law is one of Israel's four "fundamental laws" passed in 1960 (elements of a future constitution, which still does not exist, fifty years after the creation of Israel). It is unfortunate that the learned lawyer, usually attentive to detail, made no comment on this "inalienability." He does not even define it: a piece of land "reclaimed" by the Jewish National Fund ("land redemption") is a land which has become "Jewish"; it can never be sold to a "non-Jew," nor rented to a "non-Jew," nor worked by a "non-Jew."

Can it be denied that this fundamental law is discriminatory?

Israel's agrarian policy is one of systematic plundering of the Arab peasantry.

The property law of 1943, on expropriation in the public interest, is a relic from the time of the British mandate. This law is perverted from its original intent when it is applied in a discriminatory way, as, for example, in 1962, when 500 hectares were expropriated at Deir El-Arad, Nabel and Be'neh, where the "public interest" consisted of creating the town of Carmel, which was reserved exclusively for Jews.

Another procedure involved the use of "emergency laws," decreed in 1945 by the British against both Jews and Arabs. Law 124 gives the military governor the authority, this time under the pretext of "security," to suspend all civil rights, including freedom of movement. The army has only to declare an area off limits, "for reasons of state security," in order to prevent an Arab from entering his land without authorization from the military governor. If authorization is refused, the land is then declared "uncultivated" and the ministry of agriculture can "take possession of uncultivated land in order to ensure its cultivation."

When the British enacted this savagely colonialist legislation to fight Jewish terrorism in 1945, the lawyer Bernard (Dov) Joseph, protesting against this system of “arbitrary warrants,” declared:

Are we all to be subjected to official terror?... No citizen can be safe from imprisonment for life without trial ... the power of the administration to exile anyone is unlimited ... it is not necessary to commit any type of infraction, a decision made in some office is sufficient ...

The same Bernard (Dov) Joseph, after he became Israeli minister of justice, applied these laws against Arabs.

J. Shapira criticized the British emergency laws at the same protest meeting at which Joseph spoke out, on February 7, 1946, in Tel Aviv (Hapraklit, February 1946, pp. 58-64), declaring even more forcefully: “The order established by this legislation is without precedent in civilized countries. There were no such laws even in Nazi Germany.” The self-same Shapira became the State of Israel’s chief prosecutor, then its minister of justice, and enforced the same laws he had denounced, against the Arabs.

To justify the permanence of these repressive laws, “the state of emergency” has not been lifted in the State of Israel since 1948.

Shimon Peres wrote in the newspaper Davar (January 25, 1972):

The use of Law 125, on which military government is founded, follows directly from the struggle for Jewish settlement and immigration.

The 1948 law on the cultivation of fallow lands, amended in 1949, is even more repressive: without so much as the pretext of “public utility” or “military security,” the minister of agriculture can requisition any abandoned land. The massive exodus of Arabs fleeing Israeli terror tactics, such as at Deir Yassin in 1948, Kafr Kassem on October 29, 1956, or the “pogroms” of “Unit 101,” created by Moshe Dayan and long commanded by Ariel Sharon, “liberated” vast areas. Cleared of their Arab owners or cultivators, they were handed to Jews.

The mechanisms for the dispossession of the fellahin were completed by the law of June 30, 1948; the emergency decree of November 15, 1948 on property of “absentees”; the law relating to lands of “absentees” (March 14, 1950); the law on the acquisition of land (March 13, 1953); and a whole arsenal of measures tending to legalize theft by pressuring the Arabs to leave their land in order to establish Jewish colonies, as Nathan Weinstock makes clear in *Le sionisme contre Israël*.

To obliterate even the memory of the Palestinian agricultural population and to give credence to the myth of the “desert,” the Arab villages were destroyed: their homes, their fences and even their graveyards and tombs. In 1975, Professor Israel Shahak gave, district by district, a listing of 385 Arab villages destroyed, bulldozed, out of the 475 that had existed in 1948.

To convince us that before Israel, Palestine was a “desert,” hundreds of villages were razed by bulldozer with their houses, their fences, their graveyards and tombs.

Shahak, *Racisme*, pp. 152ff.

The Israeli settlements have continued to multiply, with a new lease on life since 1979 on the West Bank, and, in accordance with the most classic colonialist traditions, the settlers are always armed.

The overall result is that after having expelled a million and a half Palestinians, “Jewish land,” — as the people of the Jewish National Fund call it — no more than 6.5 percent in 1947, today represents more than 93 percent of Palestine (of which 75 percent belongs to the state and 14 percent to the National Fund).

The outcome of this operation was remarkably (and significantly) summarized in the Afrikaner newspaper, *Die Transvaler*, well versed in matters of racial discrimination (apartheid):

What is the difference between the way in which the Jewish people struggle to remain who they are in the midst of non-Jewish populations, and the way Afrikaners are trying to remain what they are?

Henry Katzew, *South Africa: A Country Without Friends*, quoted in R. Stevens, *Zionism, South Africa and Apartheid*

The system of apartheid manifests itself in the regulation of individuals no less than it does in the appropriation of land. The “autonomy” which the Israelis want to grant the Palestinians is the equivalent of the “homelands” for the blacks in South Africa.

Analyzing the consequences of the Law of “Return,” Klein raises a question:

If the Jewish people are a large majority in the State of Israel, inversely, one can say that the entire population of the State of Israel is not Jewish, since the country has a sizeable non-Jewish minority, mainly Arab and Druze. The question which arises is to what extent the existence of a Law of Return, which favors the immigration of one part of the population (defined by its religious and ethnic affiliation), can not be regarded as discriminatory.

Klein, *Caractère juif*, p. 33

The author wonders in particular whether the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (adopted December 21, 1965, by the General Assembly of the United Nations) applies to the Law of Return.

By a dialectic of which we shall let the reader be the judge, the eminent lawyer concludes with this subtle distinction: in matters of non-discrimination,

a measure must not be directed against one particular group. The Law of Return was created for Jews who want to settle in Israel; it is not directed against any group or nationality. One cannot see how this law would discriminate.

Klein, *Caractère juif*, p. 35

For the reader who might risk being led astray by this, to say the least, audacious logic — which calls to mind the famous witticism that all citizens are equal but some are more equal than others — let us make the situation created by this Law of Return very clear. The Law of Nationality (5712/1952) specifies those who are not to benefit from the “right of return” in Article 3: “any in-

dividual who, immediately before the founding of the State, was a Palestinian subject, and who didn't become an Israeli by virtue of Article 2" (which concerns the Jews). Those referred to by this circumlocution (and who are considered to have "never had any previous nationality," in other words, were stateless persons) must prove they were living in Palestine over a given period (documentary proof is often impossible because the papers disappeared during the war and the terror which accompanied the establishment of the Zionist state). Failing this, in order to become a citizen, the "naturalization" route requires, for example, "a certain knowledge of the Hebrew language." After which, "if he judges it useful," the minister of the interior grants (or refuses) Israeli nationality. In short, in Israeli law, a Jew from Patagonia becomes an Israeli citizen the moment he sets foot in Tel Aviv airport; a Palestinian, born in Palestine, of Palestinian parents, can be considered a man or woman without a country. No racial discrimination "against" the Palestinians here — simply a measure "for" Jews!

It therefore seems difficult to contest the UN General Assembly's resolution of November 10, 1975 (Resolution 3379-XXX) classifying Zionism as "... a form of racism and racial discrimination."

In actuality, only a tiny minority of those who settled in Israel have come to fulfill "the promise." The Law of Return has had very little effect. This is fortunate, because in every country of the world Jews have played an eminent role in every area of culture, science, and the arts, and it would be deplorable for Zionism to attain the objective the anti-Semites have longed for: to remove the Jews from their respective homelands in order to insulate them in a world ghetto. The example of the French Jews is significant: after the Évian agreements of 1962 leading to the independence of Algeria, of 130,000 the Jews who left Algeria, only 20,000 went to Israel, while 110,000 went to France. This emigration was not the result of anti-Semitic persecution, for the proportion of non-Jewish French colonists who left Algeria was the same. The reason for their departure was not anti-Semitism but the end of French colonialism. The Algerian French Jews experienced the same fate as the other French people in Algeria.

To summarize: Nearly all Jewish immigrants to Israel came to escape anti-Semitic persecution.

In 1880, there were 25,000 Jews in Palestine, out of a population of 500,000.

Starting in 1882, massive immigration began in response to the great pogroms of Tsarist Russia.

From 1882 to 1917, 50,000 Jews arrived in Palestine. Then, between the two wars, came the Polish immigrants and those from the Maghreb (the Mediterranean coast of Africa), who were escaping persecution.

The greatest number, however, came from Germany as a result of Hitler's vile anti-Semitism. Altogether, almost 400,000 Jews arrived in Palestine before 1945.

In 1947, on the eve of the creation of the State of Israel, there were 600,000 Jews in Palestine, out of a total population of 1,250,000.

And so began the systematic uprooting of the Palestinians. Before the 1948 war, about 650,000 Arabs lived in the territory which was to become the State of Israel. In 1949, only 160,000 remained. Yet, due to a high birth rate, their descendants numbered 450,000 at the end of 1970. The Israeli Human Rights League revealed that between June 11, 1967 and November 15, 1969, more than 20,000 Arab houses were dynamited in Israel and on the West Bank.

At the time of the British census of December 31, 1922, there were 757,000 people living in Palestine, of whom 663,000 were Arabs (590,000 Muslim Arabs and 73,000 Christian Arabs) and 83,000 Jews (which is to say: 88 percent Arabs and 11 percent Jews). It is to be remembered that this so-called “desert” was an exporter of cereals and citrus fruits.

As early as 1891, one of the first Zionists, Asher Ginsberg (writing under the pseudonym Ahad Haam, “One of the People”), visiting Palestine, gave this account:

Abroad, we are accustomed to believing that Eretz-Israel is currently almost all desert, without cultivation, and that whoever wants to acquire land can come here and get as much as his heart desires. But the truth is nothing like this. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, it is difficult to find any fields which are not cultivated. The only non-cultivated areas are fields of sand and rocky mountains where only fruit trees can grow, and this, only after hard work and a lot of effort in clearing and reclamation.

Ahad Haam, Complete Works (in Hebrew),
Tel Aviv: Devir, 8th edition, p. 23

In reality, before the Zionists, the “bedouins” (who were in fact settled farmers) were exporting 30,000 tons of wheat per year. The area of Arab orchards tripled between 1921 and 1942, that of orange and other citrus fruit groves multiplied seven-fold between 1922 and 1947, and production rose ten-fold between 1922 and 1938.

So rapid was the growth of Palestine’s orange industry that in 1937 the Peel Report, presented to the British Parliament by the secretary of state for the colonies, estimated that over the next decade Palestine would grow half the world’s winter oranges, as shown in the following table (the figures refer to crates of oranges):

Palestine	15 million
United States	7 million
Spain	5 million
Other Countries (Cyprus, Egypt, Algeria, etc.)	3 million

Great Britain, Colonial Office,
Palestine Royal Commission Report ("Peel Report"),
(Cmd. 5479), 1937, chapter 8, § 19, p. 214

According to a US State Department study submitted to a congressional committee on March 20, 1993:

... more than 200,000 Israelis are now settled in the occupied territories (including the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem). They constitute “approximately” 13% of the

total population of these territories.

Some 90,000 of them reside in 150 settlements on the West Bank, "... where the Israeli authorities control about half of the territory."

"In East Jerusalem and in the outlying Arab suburbs of the city," continues the State Department study,

... approximately 120,000 Israelis are settled in some twelve districts. In the Gaza Strip, where the Jewish State has confiscated 30 percent of an already over-populated territory, 3,000 Israelis reside in about 15 settlements. On the Golan Heights, there are 12,000, scattered among approximately 30 locations.

Le Monde, April 18, 1993

Le Monde cited the following report which originally appeared in the daily newspaper Yediot Aharonot, which has the largest circulation in Israel:

Since the 70's, there has never been such an acceleration in construction within the territories. Ariel Sharon (Minister of Housing and Construction), is feverishly busy establishing new settlements, developing those which already exist, building roads and preparing new sites for construction.

Le Monde, April 18, 1993

(Recall that Ariel Sharon was the general in command of the invasion of Lebanon, who armed the Phalangist militias that carried out the massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. Sharon turned a blind eye to these cowardly slaughters and was complicit in them, as even the Israeli commission appointed to investigate the killings determined).

The maintenance of the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, their protection by the Israeli army and by armed settlers (like the frontiersmen of the American "Wild West" a century ago), makes any real Palestinian "autonomy" — and thus any hope for a genuine peace — impossible. They will remain impossible as long as the occupation continues.

The main thrust of colonialist settlement has been directed at Jerusalem and its environs, with the declared goal of making the decision to annex the whole of Jerusalem irrevocable — although that has been condemned unanimously by the United Nations (including the United States!).

The colonialist settlements in the occupied territories are a flagrant violation of international law, specifically the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949, Article 49 of which stipulates:

The occupying power cannot undertake a transfer of a part of its own civil population into the territory which it occupies.

The pretext of "security," such as from the "terrorism" of the intifada, is illusory: the statistics in this regard are eloquent:

1,116 Palestinians have been killed since the beginning of the intifada ... on December 9, 1987, by shootings by soldiers, policemen or settlers. There were 626 deaths in 1988 and 1989, 134 in 1990, 93 in 1991, 108 in 1992 and 155 from January 1 to September 11, 1993. Among the victims have been 233 children under the age of 17, according to a study carried out by Betselem, the Israeli association for human rights.

Military sources give a figure of nearly 20,000 for the number of Palestinians wounded by bullets, and the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees (UNRWA) gives a figure of 90,000.

Thirty-three Israeli soldiers have been killed since December 9, 1987: four in 1988, four in 1989, one in 1990, two in 1991, eleven in 1992 and eleven in 1993.

Forty civilians, mostly settlers, have been killed in the occupied territories, according to figures provided by the Army.

According to the humanitarian organizations, in 1993, 15,000 Palestinians were being held in civil and military prisons detention centers.

Twelve Palestinians have died in Israeli prisons since the beginning of the intifada, some under circumstances which, according to Betselem, have not yet been clarified. This humanitarian organization also indicates that at least 20,000 detainees are tortured every year during interrogation in the military detention centers.

Le Monde, September 12, 1993

So many violations of international law, treated like a “worthless scrap of paper” — all the more so, as Professor Israel Shahak writes:

... because these settlements, by their very nature, partake of a system of plunder, discrimination and apartheid.

Shahak, *Racisme*, p. 263

Here is Professor Israel Shahak’s testimony on the idolatry which consists of replacing the God of Israel with the State of Israel:

I am Jew who lives in Israel. I consider myself a law-abiding citizen. I do my time in the army every year even though I am over forty years old. But I am not “devoted” to the State of Israel or any other state or organization! I am attached to my ideals. I believe that one must tell the truth and do what is necessary to preserve justice and equality for all. I am attached to the Hebrew language and poetry, and I like to think that I modestly respect some of the values of our ancient prophets.

But make a cult of the State? I can well imagine Amos or Isaiah if they had been asked to make a cult of the kingdom of Israel or Judea!

Jews believe, and repeat three times a day, that a Jew must be devoted to God and to God alone: “You will love Yahweh, your God, with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might” (Deuteronomy 6:5). A small minority still believes in this. But it seems to me that most people have lost their God and replaced Him with an idol, as when they worshipped the golden calf in the desert so much that they gave up all their gold to make a statue of it. The name of their modern idol is the State of Israel.

Shahak, *Racisme*, p. 93

No Punishment for Polish 'Holocaust Denier'

A Polish court has decided not to punish a history professor for a “Holocaust denial” book that presents arguments questioning aspects of the familiar Six Million extermination story.

On December 7, 1999, the regional court in Opole, in southern Poland, found that Dariusz Ratajczak supported revisionist views on the Holocaust issue in his book, *Tematy Niebezpieczne* ("Dangerous Themes"). But it decided not to punish the 37-year-old historian because the self-published volume had limited distribution and was not damaging enough to warrant punishment under a Polish statute that outlaws “public denial” of German wartime crimes. The court called the book “merely a minor social annoyance.” It also took into account that the defendant had distanced himself somewhat from revisionist views in a preface to a second edition.

The public prosecutor has appealed the verdict.

In a five-page section entitled “Holocaust Revisionism,” Ratajczak matter-of-factly cited the work of such revisionists as Paul Rassinier, Robert Faurisson, David Irving and Ernst Zündel, who contend that there was no German plan or program to exterminate Europe’s Jews. He also cited the forensic investigations carried out at Auschwitz and Birkenau by Fred Leuchter and Germar Rudolf, and their conclusions that, for technical reasons, well-known claims of killing millions of Jews in gas chambers are impossible.

While Ratajczak did not explicitly endorse these views, he did call testimony of Holocaust “eyewitness” survivors “useless,” and described establishment Holocaust writers as “followers of a religion of the Holocaust” who impose on others “a false image of the past.”

As the title of the book suggests, Ratajczak understands the dangers of challenging such prevailing taboos. As he put it (on page 8):

To write about Polish-Jewish relations is a dangerous venture, especially for a Pole who holds the view that this relationship must be based on truth. Paradoxically it is accordingly easy to be accused of narrow-minded nationalism, xenophobia and “obsessive anti-Semitism.” The results are often tragic: social exclusion (everyone has the friends he deserves), muzzling of journalistic and publishing activities, and, finally, professional ruin.

Ratajczak, who is popular with students, was suspended in April 1999 from his teaching post at the Historical Institute of the University of Opole after complaints were made to authorities. (See: “Polish Professor Under Fire for 'Holocaust Denial',” May-June 1999 Journal, p. 31.) It was not immediately known whether he would get his position back. With a child to support, his financial situation is precarious.

Commenting on the case, Swiss educator and revisionist author Jürgen Graf writes:

There is concern that Ratajczak's acquittal will be overturned on appeal as a result of pressure from the Jewish lobby, which is extraordinarily powerful in Poland. Especially vicious in the hate campaign against him has been the Jew Adam Michnik, who was a prominent "dissident" during the Communist era.

Dr. Dariusz Ratajczak is a man of firm political and religious convictions, a man of character. Such men are disliked by the government of "liberal democratic" Poland no less than they were by the government of the Polish "peoples democracy."

At his trial in mid-November, Ratajczak said that in his book he had merely summarized arguments of revisionist scholars who dispute Holocaust claims, and that views presented in his book do not necessarily reflect his own. "Historical revisionism is a historical and social fact," he said at the opening of his trial. "My only intention was to present the problem ... with the author's commentary."

"I feel great relief after months of a witch hunt against me in the media, but physically I am exhausted," he commented in the aftermath of the court's decision.

The author of Poland's "Holocaust denial" law expressed concern about the verdict: "I am afraid that the world will get the message that denying Nazi crimes in Poland is not socially harmful." A Jewish community leader called the verdict "outrageous" and "a poor testimonial to Polish democracy," and said that Jewish groups would protest. "Theories voiced by this man [Ratajczak] are an approval of genocide," said Szymon Szurmiej, head of the Federation of Jewish Associations in Poland.

Ratajczak published 320 copies of the first edition of the book at his own expense. Only a few were sold at the university bookstore or directly to students, or were given away to friends, before police seized the remaining copies.

"Holocaust denial" is a crime in several European states, including Germany, France, and Austria. Unlike similar laws elsewhere, though, the Polish law additionally bans "denial" of Communist crimes.

The National Socialist Party in Third Reich Germany

Himmler Talks with an American Journalist

Lothrop Stoddard

During his lifetime Lothrop Stoddard (1883-1950) was one of America's most influential writers. He earned a doctorate from Harvard, and was the author of 15 books, including the much-discussed 1920 work, *The Rising Tide of Color*. He wrote numerous articles and essays, and was an editorial writer and foreign affairs expert for *The Washington Star*.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe, he went to Germany on behalf of the North American Newspaper Alliance to report first-hand from the war-beleaguered Third Reich. During this visit he conducted interviews with such key figures as Hitler, Himmler, and Goebbels. Stoddard compiled his observations and interviews in a 300-page book, *Into the Darkness*, that the *Dictionary of American Biography* called "a fair and honest appraisal of the Nazi state." This remarkable account will soon be re-issued in an attractive new Noontide edition.

In the following essay, adapted from Chapter 20 of *Into the Darkness*, Stoddard presents a skeptical but open-minded look at the role of the all-embracing National Socialist Party. This chapter also includes his January 1940 interview with Heinrich Himmler — the first ever granted to a foreign journalist by the SS leader.

'The Party.' That is the commonest phrase in Germany today. It denotes that all-powerful organization, NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers Party) which dominates, energizes, and directs the Third Reich.

Just what is the Party, and what are its relations with the Nation, the State Administration, and those numberless organizations characteristic of German life? That was one of the first questions I put when I got to Germany. Knowing as I did the range of official literature, I supposed I would be promptly handed a neat manual setting forth the whole subject in the meticulous Teutonic Way. What was my amazement when the Propaganda Ministry informed me that no such manual existed, the reason alleged being that the system was more or less fluid and that changes were continually taking place.

Accordingly, I had to piece the current picture together, bit by bit. You never can be sure, at first glance, what is "Party" and what isn't. For instance, I at first took it for granted that all the Brown-Shirt SA and Black-uniformed SS men I saw were Party members. Presently I learned that this was not true; that many of them were candidates, qualifying themselves for membership by meritorious service. As for the organizations, some were "Party," others "State," still others

are intermediate, while one or two, like the National Labor Service (Arbeitsdienst), were started by the Party but are now under State control. It was all very confusing. Indeed, I frankly admit that even now I haven't got a wholly clear idea of the scheme in all its complex details.

The reason for this seeming confusion appears to be that National Socialism, though a revolutionary movement, evolved as a regular political party with a complete organization of its own, until, by the time it came to power, it had become virtually a State within a State. Instead of merging itself with the State, or vice versa, this separate organization has been maintained. Of course, all branches of the State are headed by prominent Party men, and their higher subordinates are usually Party members. Indeed, a man may simultaneously hold a State and a Party office. But, in such cases, both the offices and their functions are kept consciously distinct from each other.

When Nazis try to explain to you the interactions of State and Party, they usually say the Party is like an electric motor running a lot of machinery. This motor is the great energizer. It revolves very rapidly and tries to make the machine go at top speed. The machine, however, tends to run at a regulated tempo, toning down in practice the motor's dynamic urge. The Party urges ever: "Faster! Faster!" The officials of the State Administration, however, charged as they are with actual responsibilities and faced with practical problems, act as a machine "governor," keeping progress within realistic bounds.

Dr. Robert Ley, head of the Labor Front, occupies the post of Organization-Leader for the entire Party, and on this exalted phase of his activities his views were enlightening.

"Dr. Ley," I asked him in an interview, "for a long time I've been studying the various organizations you direct. I think I've learned considerable about them, yet I know I haven't got the whole picture. Will you explain to me briefly the basic principles underlying all of them? And will you also explain their relations to both the Party and the State?"

It was late afternoon. We were sitting in a cozy reception-room adjacent to the Doctor's study, in the restful atmosphere of tea, cakes, and sandwiches. For some moments, Dr. Ley sipped his tea reflectively.

"Let's see how I'd best put it," he said finally. "As to our basic ideas, they are very simple. First of all, the principle of natural leadership. By this we mean the proved leader who by sheer merit has fought his way up from below to supreme command. This is best exemplified by Adolf Hitler, our Führer, whom we believe to be an inspired genius."

By this time Dr. Ley had fairly warmed to his subject. His gray eyes shone with enthusiasm.

"Our second principle," he went on, "is absolute loyalty and obedience. So long as a plan is under discussion, it is carefully weighed from every angle. Once debate is closed and a decision is made, everyone gets behind it one hundred percent. But behind both those principles is a third which is even more fundamental. This is what we call the Gemeinschaft — the organic unity of a people, founded on identity of blood. Germany is fortunate in being racially united. That is the ultimate secret of our harmonious strength."

"Thanks for the explanation," said I. "Now would you mind going on and telling me how, on those foundations, you have built up the various organizations you direct, and how they stand to the Party and to the State?"

“Before I do that,” Dr. Ley answered, “let me make clear what the Party and the State mean to each other. The National Socialist Party, as others have doubtless told you, may be likened to a motor which supplies the energy by which an elaborate machine is run. To change the simile, we may also compare the Party to the advance-guard of a column of marching troops. Its duty is to pioneer, investigate, make everything safe. The State, on the other hand, is the main body which occupies the ground won and puts everything in final order. One of the outstanding features of the Third Reich is that the Party can, and does, make all sorts of experiments which would be impossible for State officials, tied down as they are by legal regulations and red tape.”

“Would you mind making that a bit more specific?” I ventured.

“All right,” he said. “Take me, for example. I’m not a State official. I’m purely a Party leader whose duty it is to prepare such experiments and set them going. Within my field, I have almost boundless freedom of action. For instance when the Führer ordered me to put through the People’s Automobile (Volkswagen) Plan, I got the large sums needed. Of course I am held rigidly responsible for results. If I botched a job, I’d immediately be called to account. But so long as things go right, I don’t have to waste my time explaining to all sorts of people just what I’m doing. With us, it’s efficiency that counts.”

“Do your experiments always succeed?” I asked.

“Not always,” Dr. Ley admitted. “And when, after a full and fair trial, they are found to be impracticable, we frankly give them up. Sometimes, again, we find an idea to be theoretically sound but, for one reason or another, premature. In that case we lay the idea aside, to be tried again under more favorable circumstances. But when an experiment has proved sound and workable, the Party presently hands it over to the State; which then, as it were, anchors it firmly into the national life by giving it permanent legal status. That’s what has actually happened with the institution we call Arbeitsdienst — the universal labor service required of young men and women. It started as a social experiment run by the Party. Now, having proved itself out, it is a regular state matter.”

“Which means,” I suggested, “that the party is thereby free to take up still other social experiments?”

“Exactly,” he nodded. “And we have so many measures, not merely for bettering life materially but for enriching it as well. We believe the more work we give men to do, the more enjoyment we must give them too. This applies to all grades of persons, with recreation furnished them according to their abilities and tastes. It is not a leveling process — rather is it a grading process, putting people in their right places.”

“To each man according to his abilities?” I remarked.

“Absolutely,” said Dr. Ley. “We are always on the lookout for ability; especially capacity for leadership (Leitungsfähigkeit). That precious quality confers upon an individual the right to an agreeable life, a fine mansion, and many other good things. But the instant he shows himself unworthy of his position he loses them all and is cast aside. National Socialism plays no favorites. While princes and rich men have not been deprived of their titles and wealth, none of them have any prescriptive right to prominence in the Third Reich. If a prince in the Party (and we have them) shows capacity for leadership, he goes ahead. Otherwise, he stays in the background.”

So much for this exposition of Party principles, from its organizational director — to be taken with the usual grain of salt between theory and practice. Now a few words as to the growth and

character of Party membership, as gathered from various official spokesmen.

Down to January 30, 1933, the lists were open to all persons who cared to join. Up to that time the Party was fighting for its very life and every recruit was welcome. On that epochal date, the triumph of National Socialism became virtually assured. At the moment, its membership totaled approximately 1,600,000. These veterans, who joined while success was still doubtful and helped put it across, still enjoy a certain prestige faintly reminiscent of the “Old Bolsheviks” in Soviet Russia. The Nazi “Old Guard” hold most of the leading posts and are generally regarded as most trustworthy. This explains why one sees relatively few aristocratic types in the upper ranks of the Party today, because not many joined up before 1933.

Although a rush to get on the band-wagon began at once, the Party welcomed new members until the following May, when its ranks had swelled to 3,200,000 — just 100 percent. The list were then closed to individual joiners, but were still held open to members of certain nationalistic organizations like the Stahlhelm [veterans association] until 1936, when the Party had 4,400,000 adherents. Thenceforth, accessions were rigidly scrutinized. In fact, applications were discouraged; the Party sought the man, rather than the man the Party. The rule now is that membership is earned only after two or three years' faithful service in some form or other. It takes an outstanding act of merit in Party eyes for a man or woman to be admitted in lesser time. Much of the unpaid work of the country, such as volunteer service in the NSV [the national public welfare organization], Winter-Help drives, or food-card distribution, is done with this in mind. Exceptionally distinguished activity is required for such persons to rise high in the Party organization. Able technicians may soon land good jobs, but that is different from getting into the directing upper crust. I was told that less stringent rules had been in force for candidates from Sudetenland and Poland after the acquisition of those regions, and that the total membership now approximates 6,000,000. After all, that is not a very large figure in comparison with the 80,000,000 Germans who inhabit the Greater Reich. The Party is thus still fairly exclusive, though if we add the families of members, the Nazi bloc probably numbers close to 20,000,000.

Theoretically, any young man or woman of unmixed “Aryan” blood is eligible when they come of age, and it is from the ranks of youth that the Party strives to recruit its membership. However, even here candidates must have an unblemished record, from a party standpoint, in the Hitler Youth, and must be vouched for by their local Party Group. Formal admission takes the form of a solemn oath taken in front of the swastika flag, with the right arm upraised in the Nazi salute. The oath consists of a pledge of unconditional obedience to Adolf Hitler and the party, after which the neophyte subscribes to a long list of commandments, the first one being: The Führer is always right.

From the rising generation, the party thus selects for membership those young men and women best conditioned for its purposes, And from this already selected group is recruited the Schutz Staffeln (Defense Detachments), commonly known as the SS. This is the Party's private army. Originally it was a relatively small elite section of the Brown-Shirt Storm Troopers. But after the Party assumed power the SA men were assigned mainly to routine patriotic duties such as collecting for the Winter-Help. The SS, on the contrary, became the party's mainstay in upholding its all-pervading influence and authority. I was unable to learn its precise numbers, but I understand its present strength to be at least 200,000, organized into regiments, brigades, and divisions, just like the regular army itself.

Furthermore, the SS serves as a training school for both the ordinary police force (Schutz Polizei) and the Political Secret Police — the dread Gestapo. All three allied organizations are

headed by Heinrich Himmler, who built them up to their present efficiency and thus wields a power in the Reich presumably second only to that of the Führer himself.

The typical SS man is tall and blond, young or in the prime of life, with fine physique enhanced by careful athletic training. As Nora Waln aptly puts it, he has “the daily-dozen-followed-by-a-cold-shower look.” As he strides along in his well-tailored black uniform with its symbolic death's-head insignia, he is clearly cock-o'-the-walk — and he knows it. It is interesting to observe how civilians instinctively give him the right-of-way on the sidewalks or in subway trains.

These SS may in many ways be compared to the Janissary Corps of the Old Ottoman Empire. To begin with they are picked men — picked for fanatical loyalty to the Party, for health and strength, and for unmixed “Aryan” blood. Before attaining full membership in the corps they undergo rigorous training, Spartan in character, which is best characterized by Nietzsche’s famous dictum: Be hard! Well-poised hardness both to self and to others is their outstanding attitude. When discussing with foreign residents some harsh or ruthless aspect of the Nazi regime, they would often say: “That’s the SS mentality coming out.”

As might be expected, the SS have a strong esprit de corps. Their pride in themselves and their organization is unmistakable. Every aspect of their private lives must conform to strict standards and is carefully supervised. For instance, when they marry (as they are supposed to do in conformity with the Nazi eugenic program), the bride must be equally “Aryan,” must pass exacting physical tests, and is expected to attend special courses in domestic and ideological training. The pair are thus deemed well-fitted to play the role required of them and to produce plenty of children for that biological aristocracy which is destined to be the natural rulers of the Third Reich. In return, SS families are well taken care of. Two of the best housing developments I was shown in the Berlin suburbs were for SS households.

I understand that the Gestapo, or Secret Police, are equally well disciplined and looked after, but of course they are invisible to ordinary view. I recall an amusing instance on this point. Some time after my arrival in Berlin I was chatting with a high Nazi acquaintance, who asked me casually; “By the way, how many Gestapos have you seen since you got here?”

“None — that I could recognize,” was my reply.

He laughed heartily. “A good answer,” he said. “And you never will — unless they want you to.”

Well, there was one Gestapo that I did want to see — the Big Chief of them all — Heinrich Himmler himself. But I was told that seeing him was almost as difficult as getting an audience with the Führer, because he systematically shuns publicity and is therefore journalistically one of Germany’s most inaccessible personalities. Naturally, that made me all the more eager to interview him. I finally did, the very day before I left Berlin. It was one of those by-products from my enhanced popularity which I encountered when I returned from Budapest, and which was undoubtedly due to my having strictly kept my word regarding the Hitler audience. Journalistically, this was a clear “scoop,” for I was told by the Propaganda Ministry that mine was the first interview Himmler had ever given a foreign correspondent.

Like so many of my experiences in Nazi Germany, the whole affair was quite different from what I had imagined. Off-hand, you would say that the redoubtable Himmler’s headquarters would have a mysterious or even a sinister atmosphere. But it didn’t. It is a stately old building, made over into offices. You need a special pass to enter, but I went with an official, so there was no delay. Ascending to the second story by a broad stone stairway, we were quickly shown the Chief’s quarters, and passed through a suite of offices, light, airy, and tastefully businesslike. There,

young men and women were busy with typewriters and filing-cabinets. If the men had not been in uniform, I might have imagined myself about to meet a big corporation executive. Certainly, there was no “police” atmosphere about the place, secret or otherwise; no obvious plainclothesmen, gimlet-eyed sleuths, or other “properties” of a similar nature.

When I finally entered the inner sanctum I was met by a brisk-stepping individual of medium height who greeted me pleasantly and offered me a seat on a well-upholstered sofa. Heinrich Himmler is a South German type, with close-cut dark hair, a Bavarian accent, and dark blue eyes which look searchingly at you from behind rimless glasses. He is only forty years of age — extraordinarily young for the man who heads the whole police force of the Reich, commands the entire SS, and has charge of the vast resettlement program whereby hundreds of thousands of Germans from the Baltic states, Russia, and northern Italy are coming back willy-nilly to their racial and cultural Fatherland.

Those are certainly three big jobs for one individual. How he does it all is hard to understand. But you get at least an inkling when you meet and talk with him. The longer you are in his presence, the more you become conscious of dynamic energy — restrained and unspectacular, yet persistent and efficient to the last degree. Also you begin to glimpse what lies behind his matter-of-fact exterior. At first he impresses you as a rather strenuous bureaucrat. But as he discusses his police duties, you notice that his mouth sets in a thin line while his eyes take on a steely glint. Then you realize how formidable he must be professionally.

It was this aspect of these activities that I first broached. “I certainly am glad to meet one of whom I have heard so much,” was my opening remark. “Perhaps you know that, in America, we hear rather terrible things about the Gestapo. Indeed,” I added with a smile, “it is sometimes compared to the Russian Cheka, with you yourself, Excellency, as a second Dzerzhinsky!”

Himmler took this in good part. He laughed easily. “I’m sure our police organization isn’t half as black as it’s painted abroad,” was his reply. “We certainly do our best to combat crime of every sort, and our criminal statistics imply that we are fairly successful. Frankly, we believe that habitual offenders should not be at large to plague society, so we keep them locked up. Why, for instance, should a sex-offender who has been sentenced three or four times be again set free, to bring lasting sorrow to another decent home? We send all such persons to a detention-camp and keep them there. But I assure you that their surroundings aren’t bad. In fact, I know they are better fed, clothed, and lodged than the miners of South Wales. Ever seen one of our concentration-camps?”

“No,” I answered, “I wasn’t able to get permission.”

“Too bad I didn’t know about it,” said Himmler. “There you’d see the sort of social scum we have shut away from society for its own good.”

That was all very fine, but I felt that Himmler was hedging a bit. So I proceeded: “You refer there to criminals in the general sense of the term. But how about political offenders — say, old-fashioned liberals? Is any political opposition tolerated?”

“What a person thinks is none of our concern,” shot back Himmler quickly. “But when he acts upon his thoughts, perhaps to the point of starting a conspiracy, then we take action. We believe in extinguishing a fire while it is still small. It saves trouble and averts much damage. Besides,” he continued, “there isn’t any need for political opposition with us. If a man sees something he thinks is wrong, let him come straight to us and talk the matter over. Let him even write me personally. Such letters always reach me. We welcome new ideas and are only too glad to correct

mistakes. Let me give you an example. Suppose somebody sees traffic on a busy corner badly handled. In other countries he could write a scathing letter to the newspapers saying how stupidly and badly the police run things. A hundred thousand people who may never have even seen that corner might get all excited, and the prestige of both the police and the State itself might suffer in consequence. With us, all that man has to do is to write us, and I assure you the matter will be quickly righted.”

Feeling this traffic simile was a bit ingenuous, I tried to lead him back to the point he knew I had in mind. I nodded sympathetically and said, “That sounds reasonable. But how about a political matter? For instance, take a man like Pastor Niemoeller?”

I felt that ought to bring some reaction, because the Pastor is poison-ivy to most Nazis. Only a few days before, one fairly prominent member of the Party had grown red in the face at the mention of Niemoeller’s name and had hissed: “The dirty traitor! If I had my way, I’d order him put up against a wall and shot!”

Himmler took it more calmly. He merely raised a deprecating hand, replying: “Please understand, it was political controversy which got him into trouble. We never interfere with matters of religious dogma.” Then, after a moment’s pause, he added: “If foreign attacks upon us in this affair would cease, perhaps he could be more leniently dealt with.”

It was clear that Himmler didn’t wish to discuss the subject further. His eyes narrowed slightly and a frown appeared above the bridge of his nose. Seeing there was nothing more to be gained on that line, I took another tack.

“Tell me something about the basis of the SS organization?” was my next question.

“The Schutz-Staffel,” answered Himmler blandly, “represents the best and soundest young manhood of the race. It is founded on the ideals of self-sacrifice, loyalty, discipline, and all-round excellence. Besides being soldiers, the SS has many cultural sides. For instance, we have our own porcelain factory, make our own furniture, and do much scholarly research. When you leave me, I shall have you taken to the barracks of the Leibstandarte here in Berlin, the elite regiment which guards the Führer. There you will see the type of young manhood of which the SS is so justly proud.”

“And now, Excellency,” I went on, “a few words, if you will, about your resettlement policy?”

“That policy,” replied Himmler, “can best be expressed in the words of our Führer: ‘To give lasting peace to our eastern borders.’ For centuries, that region and others in eastern Europe have been chronically disturbed by jarring minorities hopelessly mixed up with one another. What we are now trying to do is to separate these quarreling elements in just, constructive fashion. We have voluntarily withdrawn our German minorities from places like the Baltic states, and we shall do the same in northern Italy. We are even marking out a place for the Jews where they may live quietly unto themselves. Between us and the Poles we seek to fashion a proper racial boundary. Of course, we are going about it slowly — you can’t move multitudes of people with their livestock and personal belongings like pawns on a chessboard. But that is the objective we ultimately hope to attain.”

Himmler talked further about his resettlement policies, carefully avoiding the tragic aspects that they involve. He then returned briefly to the subject of his SS. At that point, a smart young aide entered and saluted.

“The motor [car] is ready, sir,” he announced.

“To see the Life-Guards,” explained Himmler. “I certainly want you to get a glimpse of my men before you leave.”

So saying, the redoubtable head of the Gestapo gave me a muscular handshake and wished me a pleasant homeward journey.

It was a wretched day in late January, cold as Greenland and with swirling spits of snow to thicken the blanket already on the ground. As Himmler’s car reached the suburbs, it swerved and swayed ticklishly in hard-packed snow-ruts. However, the SS man at the wheel was a splendid driver and got us to our destination safely and with celerity.

Hitler’s Life-Guards occupy the former Prussian Military Cadet School. The buildings are old, though well kept up. The one exception is the swimming-hall, a magnificent new building with a pool so large that I judged nearly a thousand men could bathe together without too much crowding. The Commandant — a hard-bitten old soldier, small, wiry, and dark-complexioned, in striking contrast to his young subordinates who were all blonds of gigantic size — proudly told me how it happened to be built.

It seems that the Führer came out one day to see how his Life-Guards were housed. At that time, the swimming-hall was an old structure capable of accommodating only one company at a time. Hitler looked it over and frowned. “This is no fit place for my Leibstandarte to bathe,” he announced. “Bring me pencil and paper!” Then and there he sketched out his idea of what the new swimming-hall should be. And on those lines it was actually built.

Such is the “Party” and such are the men who control its destinies. What are we to think of this amazing organization and of its aggressively dynamic creed which so uncompromisingly challenges our world and its ideas?

One thing seems certain: The National Socialist upheaval that has created the Third Reich goes far deeper than the Fascist regime in Italy, and is perhaps a more defiant breach with the historic past than even the Communism of Soviet Russia. This the Nazis themselves claim with no uncertain voice. Listen to what Otto Dietrich, one of their outstanding spokesmen, has to say on this point:

“The Nationalist Socialist revolution is a totalitarian revolution ... It embraces and revolutionizes not only our culture but our whole thought and the concepts underlying it — in other words, our very manner of thinking. Hence it becomes the starting point, the condition, and the impelling force of all our actions ... We are crossing the threshold of a new era. National Socialism is more than a renaissance. It does not signify the return to an old and antiquated world. On the contrary, it constitutes the bridge to a new world!”

Outside of Germany, most persons seem inclined to think that the “new world” envisioned by the Nazis would not be a very desirable abode. However, that does not alter the fact that we are here confronted by a revolution of the most radical kind, and that its leaders are revolutionists from the ground up. Furthermore, though most of them are still relatively young in years, they are all veterans hardened by prolonged adversity and scarred from many battles. They are the logical outcome of the quarter-century of hectic national life which we have already discussed. In my opinion, therefore, both they and their movement may be deemed normal by-products of an abnormal situation.

To give one instance of the grim school wherein they were fashioned, let me cite an episode from my own experience. In mid-summer of the year 1923, I sat in my room at the Hotel Adlon, discussing with a German the deplorable position to which his country had then been reduced. I had just come to Berlin from a trip through the Rhineland and the Ruhr, where I had watched the passive-resistance campaign against the French invaders, seen the black troops, and studied other aspects of that tragic affair. Now, largely in consequence of that desperate maneuver, the Mark was slipping fast to perdition, national bankruptcy was at hand, and utter ruin loomed in the offing.

As my guest discussed the seemingly hopeless situation, he was visibly in agony. Sweat stood out on his forehead. Suddenly, his mood changed utterly. Flinging back his head, he burst into truly blood-curdling laughter, best described by the German phrase *galgenhumor* — gallows-humor. Still shaking with his macabre mirth, he leaned forward and tapped me on the knee.

“Millions of us have already died, on the battlefield and from the British hunger blockade,” he chuckled. “Perhaps millions more of us will perish, and we shall surely be ruined. No one can tell what trials await us, and the world will do little to assuage our agony. But, no matter what happens, it will be mainly the weak and soft who will perish. Soon, the good-natured, easy-going, pot-bellied German will be no more. Dr. Stoddard, let me make you a prophecy. If this goes on, in about fifteen years you will see a New Germany, so lean, so hard, so ruthless, that she can take on all comers — and beat them!”

The desperate spirit of the cornered man I talked to on a long-gone summer day typifies merely one phase of the bitter schooling which made Germany’s present rulers what they are. In post-war Britain, a phrase was coined to depict their English counterparts. That phrase was: The Lost Generation. But if that were true of the war-scarred youth of Britain, how infinitely truer was it of German youth! Well, those war-youngsters are now in the saddle. So what we see in Germany is — the lost generation come to power.

From the moment I first looked at those rulers of the Third Reich, I felt there was something about them which, from my American viewpoint, was queer. As I analyzed them, I realized that it was a sort of twisted cynicism combined with a hard ruthlessness. And when I listened to their life-stories, I saw it could scarcely be otherwise. Most of them had entered the war as volunteers when they were mere boys. One, I recall, was only fifteen at the time; others were not much older. These burningly patriotic lads went through the hell of a losing war, culminating in crushing defeat. Then their abased spirits were given a savage tonic by joining the Free Corps formed to combat the attempt at a “Spartakist” [Communist] revolution. Joyously, they killed Communists for a while. After that, some of them tried to go to college or into business; but few of them could adapt themselves to the life of the Weimar republic which they hated and despised. Some of them went abroad, adventuring; the rest sulked and brooded until their ears heard a sudden trumpet-call. It was Nazidom’s brazen clarion: *Deutschland, Erwache!* “Germany, Awake!” They listened to Adolf Hitler’s oratory which stressed all the longings of their embittered hearts and they fell under his hypnotic spell. Into the ranks of the Storm-Troops they went, with additional years of fighting as they killed more Communists and “mastered the streets.” Then, at last, victory — and undisputed power.

Such, in a nutshell, are the Nazis, as I analyzed them. The rest, only war’s awesome arbitrament can decide.

Review

Flawed Documentary of Execution Expert [Fred Leuchter]

- Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. (1999) Genre: Documentary film. Length: 1 hr. 31 min. MPAA Rating: "PG-13" (www.mrdeath.net). Starring: Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., David Irving, James Roth, Shelley Shapiro, Suzanne Tabasky, Robert-Jan Van Pelt, Ernst Zündel. Director: Errol Morris (www.errolmorris.com). Producers: Dorothy Aulfiero, David Collins, Michael Williams. Released by: Lions Gate Films.

Reviewed by Greg Raven

"Mr. Death" is a stylized documentary that deals with the life and work of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., a US Federal Court qualified expert in execution technology. On the basis of his qualifications, in 1988 Leuchter was commissioned by German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel to conduct the first thorough forensic examination of the alleged Nazi gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau in Poland. After Leuchter testified that the alleged facilities were not — and could not have been — used for mass extermination, Jewish activists ruined his life. (See Winter 1992 Journal, pp. 421-492)

Even though director Errol Morris is known for his portrayals of eccentrics ("Stairway to Heaven," "Fast, Cheap & Out of Control," "The Thin Blue Line," and "Gates of Heaven"), his choice of Leuchter as a subject may seem odd, considering that Morris is Jewish and claims to have lost relatives in the Holocaust, while Jewish groups have attempted to portray Leuchter as a dangerous anti-Semite.

Leuchter's Background

During the opening credits, Leuchter sits in what appears to be an oversized bird cage, which rises from the floor amidst arcing bolts of electricity. From this jarring beginning, "Mr. Death" settles down to allow its subject to retrace the path he took in becoming America's only execution hardware specialist. Leuchter recounts how he grew up around prisons, prison employees and convicts, the result of going to work with his father (a corrections officer for Massachusetts). It quickly becomes apparent that Morris has a gift for combining interviews and new footage (typically seen in documentaries) with contemporaneous images, recreations, and other clips, to make fluid montages that are striking in their impact.

As Leuchter explains, he became involved in the manufacture of execution equipment out of concern with the deplorable condition of the hardware found in most of the state's prisons, "which generally results in torture prior to death."

A number of years ago, I was asked by a state to look at their electric chair. I was surprised at the condition of the equipment and I indicated to them what changes should

be made to bring the equipment up to the point of doing a humane execution.

His first job was refurbishing an electric chair for the state of Tennessee. This led to jobs for other state prisons in a sequence Leuchter acknowledges defies logic:

What lethal injection has to do with electrocution is beyond me... Simply because I'm capable of building an electric chair, doesn't mean I'm capable of building a lethal injection machine; they're two totally different concepts... Essentially the states talk with each other... The reasoning here is that I built helmets for electric chairs, so now I could build lethal injection machines. I now build lethal injection machines, so I'm now competent to build a gallows. And since I'm building gallows, I'm also competent to work on gas chambers because I've done all of the other three. And what really makes you competent is the fact that you have the necessary background, you do the investigation, you find out what the problem is and you solve it.

Throughout the 30 or so minutes required to establish Leuchter's credentials and work history, interruptions are few and minor: most of the time, Morris trains his camera on Leuchter in close-up, letting Leuchter tell his story almost alone. This changes radically, however, in the segments that follow.

The Leuchter Report

In Toronto, Ernst Zündel was being tried under the little-used "false news" law for publishing *Did Six Million Really Die?*, a booklet by British author Richard Harwood that disputes Holocaust extermination stories, including claims of mass killings in Nazi gas chambers. French revisionist Robert Faurisson urged Zündel to have an acknowledged American gas chamber expert conduct a forensic examination of the alleged Nazi gas chambers, which at that time had never been done (See Robert Faurisson, "The Zündel Trials [1985 and 1988]," *Winter 1988 Journal*, pp. 417-431). In the film, Zündel explains, "You can't open up the telephone book and say gas, and then chamber, and then experts, and out come ten Fred Leuchters. No. There's nobody. Fred Leuchter was our only hope." Leuchter concurs:

I testified in Canada for two reasons: First, the trial was an issue of freedom of speech and freedom of belief. As an American, one who supports the Bill of Rights, I believe that Mr. Zündel has the right to believe and say what he chooses. I have this right in the United States.

Secondly, Mr. Zündel was not on trial for a misdemeanor. This was a major felony. He could have faced up to 25 [sic] years in prison for printing a document stating that there were no gas chambers at Auschwitz. I believe that any man, no matter what he's done, has a right to a fair trial, and the best possible defense that he can muster.

I, unfortunately, was the only expert in the world who could provide that defense. There was no one else.

Morris artistically intercuts footage taken by Zündel's videographer of Leuchter's visit to Auschwitz and Birkenau, with his own recreations of Leuchter gathering samples at various sites alleged to have been Nazi gas chambers. Leuchter says, "I was taught that they had gas executions there."

I expected to see facilities that could have been used as gas chambers. I expected to see areas that were explosion-proof. I expected to see areas that were leak-proof.

There have to be holes in walls or areas where they had exhaust fans and pipes. There has to be something to remove the gas after it has been put into the room. There has to be some kind of a device to heat the chalk pellets and sublimate the gas to get it to go into the air. These things didn't exist ... Whether or not these facilities were used for gas execution, that's not a mystery; I don't believe they were, because in my best engineering opinion I don't think they could've been. It's a tough job, to execute several hundred people at once. We have a hard job executing one man. I think it'd be easier to shoot them or hang them ... I did everything possible to substantiate and prove the existence of the gas chambers, and I was unable to.

Tests performed on Leuchter's samples by a prestigious US laboratory revealed there were almost no traces of cyanide compounds in the concrete, bricks, and mortar of the alleged gas chambers.

Leuchter presented his engineering and chemical findings to the Toronto court in 1988, causing an immediate sensation. Zündel quickly published an abridged version of Leuchter's detailed forensic study as the Leuchter Report. Since then, it has been translated into dozens of languages, with hundreds of thousands of copies circulated world wide. (The Leuchter Report is available from the IHR for \$17.00 postpaid, and on the [Institute's web site](#).)

Best-selling British historian David Irving was so impressed by Leuchter's findings that he agreed to testify on Zündel's behalf. While Irving disparages Leuchter personally on film in a variety of ways, he does acknowledge:

He came back with these earth-shattering results. The big point: there is no significant residue of cyanide in the brickwork. That's what converted me. When I read that in the report in the courtroom in Toronto, I became a hard-core disbeliever.

The Attacks Begin

In an attempt to discredit Leuchter's competence and findings, Morris juxtaposes architect Robert-Jan van Pelt, and chemist James Roth. Van Pelt teaches cultural history and architecture at the University of Waterloo, Canada, has written a book about Auschwitz, and has submitted a lengthy expert opinion about the Holocaust and other matters on behalf of anti-revisionist author Deborah Lipstadt in Irving's lawsuit against her in London. (See Irving's opening statement to the court elsewhere in this issue.) Roth, formerly a professor of chemistry at Cornell University, was laboratory manager of Alpha Analytical Laboratories, where Leuchter had his samples assayed. Conspicuously absent are researchers who have independently verified Leuchter's findings, such as Germar Rudolf, formerly of the prestigious Max Planck Institute, and Walter Lüftl, a court-recognized expert engineer in Austria, head of a large engineering firm, and formerly president of the Austrian Engineer's Chamber. (See "[The Lüftl Report](#)," Winter 1992 Journal, pp. 391-420. A summary edition of The Rudolf Report is available from the IHR for \$9.00 postpaid.)

Morris gratuitously includes Jewish activists Shelly Shapiro, director of the Holocaust Survivors and Friends Education Center, and Adjunct Professor at the University of Albany School of Education, and Suzanne Tabasky, founding member of the Malden Holocaust Commission. Neither has any competence in the field of execution technology, forensic science, or chemistry; they appear only to disparage Leuchter's character.

Robert-Jan van Pelt leads off the barrage by dismissing Leuchter as a "fool" who is "no Sherlock Holmes," a taste of what's to come from others. Van Pelt claims to have painstakingly retraced

Leuchter's steps in collecting samples at Auschwitz and Birkenau, and belittles Leuchter for not visiting the Auschwitz Museum archives, where van Pelt claims there exists a "concentration of evidence" for gassings. Morris shows van Pelt handling blueprints in the archives, but their contents are never revealed to the viewer.

Perhaps more damaging are the remarks of James Roth. Although he has never been to Auschwitz or Birkenau, he is portrayed as someone with an expertise greater than Leuchter's. At the 1988 trial of Zündel, [Roth's testimony](#) explicitly supported Leuchter's methodology in collecting samples. However, in "Mr. Death," Roth states:

I don't think the Leuchter results have any meaning... Hindsight being 20/20, the test was not the correct one to have been used for the analysis. He presented us with rock samples anywhere from the size of your thumb up to half the size of your fist... You have to look at what happens to cyanide when it reacts with a wall. Where does it go? How far does it go? Cyanide is a surface reaction, it's probably not going to penetrate more than 10 microns. A human hair is 100 microns in diameter. Crush this sample up. I have just diluted that sample ten thousand, a hundred thousand times. If you are gonna go look for it you are going to look on the surface only. There's no reason to go deep because it is not going to be there.

Which was the exposed surface? I didn't have any idea. That's like analyzing paint on a wall, by analyzing the timber that's behind it. If they go in with blinkers on, they will see what they want to see. What was he really trying to do? What was he trying to prove?

The viewer is left to decide whether Leuchter was the best person to conduct a forensic examination of the alleged gas chambers, or whether he has been miscast all his adult life by people assuming he had skills in one area based on past performance in another area.

Morris intersperses Shapiro's and Tabasky's denigrating commentary among what should properly be a scientific discussion. At one point, for example, Shapiro appears on screen and abruptly declares, "The man is an anti-Semite. There are hate-mongers in this country, and he's one of them." Nothing in Leuchter's manner, tone, or utterances lends any credence to that charge. To leave no doubt as to who "they" are, Morris shows Leuchter addressing the Ninth IHR Conference in 1989, and a meeting in Germany. (Videos of all of Leuchter's IHR conference presentations are available from the IHR.) Morris fails to inform the viewer that Leuchter subsequently was arrested and for months kept in "investigative detention" in Germany because of his findings, or that Leuchter was arrested in Britain and subsequently expelled for the same reason, or that the man shown standing next to Leuchter at the meeting in Germany, Günter Deckert, himself was sentenced to one year imprisonment and had to pay a fine merely for translating Leuchter's remarks. (See "Political Leader Punished," July-August 1993 Journal, p. 26.)

Not until some time later does Morris give Leuchter the chance to say:

Of course I'm not an anti-Semite. I have a lot of friends that are Jewish. I've lost Jewish friends, too, because of what's happened. I bear no ill will to any Jews any place, whether they're in the United States or abroad. I bear a great deal of ill will to those people that have come after me, those people who have persecuted and prosecuted me, but that's got nothing to do with them being Jewish. That only has to do with the fact that they've been interfering with my right to live, think, breathe, and earn a living... They've expressed their unquestioned intent of destroying me simply because I

testified in Canada, not because I have any other affiliation with any anti-Semitic organization, not because I'm affiliated with any Nazi or neo-Nazi organization.

Jewish activists embarked on a relentless campaign of defamation against Leuchter, going so far as to lodge a complaint with the state of Massachusetts that he was practicing engineering without a license. Wardens around the United States received a letter, warning them not to do business with Leuchter. He lost his livelihood, his wife, his car (twice), and eventually had to work anonymously in another state in menial jobs just to feed himself.

Toward the end of the film, Morris asks Leuchter, "Have you ever thought that you might be wrong, or do you think that you could make a mistake?" Leuchter replies:

No, I'm past that. When I attempted to turn those facilities into gas execution facilities and was unable to, I made a decision at that point that I wasn't wrong. And perhaps that's why I did it. At least it cleared my mind, so I know that I left no stone unturned. I did everything possible to substantiate and prove the existence of the gas chambers, and I was unable to.

Morris seems unconcerned that Jewish activists have ruined Leuchter's life and career for alleged thought crimes, and that by slanting his film to alter the viewer's perception of Leuchter, he is participating in the ongoing attempts to destroy Leuchter.

Shabby Treatment

Leuchter comes across just as straightforward and guileless on film as he is in real life. As a result, some viewers of earlier versions at the Sundance Festival, the Toronto Film Festival and Harvard University began to question the Holocaust extermination stories they'd been told, while others suspected that Morris himself might have been converted to Holocaust revisionism. At the eleventh hour, Morris re-edited the film in an effort to emphasize his anti-revisionist point of view. Character assassination aside, the question remains as to whether or not Leuchter's findings regarding the alleged Nazi gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau are correct.

Van Pelt

Perhaps in response to Holocaust revisionists, some anti-revisionists today are attempting to minimize the role of gas chambers in the Holocaust. Van Pelt is not among them. He tells the viewer:

Crematorium II is the most lethal building of Auschwitz. In the 2500 square feet of this one room, more people lost their lives than any other place on this planet. 500,000 people were killed.

In this short statement, van Pelt makes two errors. First, crematory building (Krema) II is not at Auschwitz, but rather at Birkenau. Second, Krema II is not comprised of one room of 2500 square feet, but rather of many rooms. The "one room" to which van Pelt refers is in one of the two large underground areas attached to the crematory building, which are designated on every known contemporaneous drawing and blueprint as a morgue [Leichenkeller], which may explain why Morris and van Pelt did not show them on screen.

If we assume that 2,500 persons were packed into this space (that is, one person per square foot, which is extremely tight), there would have been 200 mass gassings in the 623 days Krema II was in operation (March 15, 1943, through November 27, 1944), or a minimum of roughly one

mass gassing every three days in this one building alone. (Looser packing of victims would require even more frequent gassings.) In support of his belief in this fantastic level of homicidal activity, van Pelt offers four pieces of evidence: a letter requesting “gas detectors” for the crematory building, a letter referring to heating and ventilation in the alleged gas chambers, a letter referring to an order for a gas-tight door with a peep hole, and a letter in which the word Vergasungskeller (carburetion cellar) is underlined in red pencil. Although he mentions them elsewhere in the film as being readily available, van Pelt does not show any devices for introducing Zyklon-B into the alleged gas chambers. He also goes on record to say, “Every year, remains of human beings are found. Bones, teeth. The earth doesn’t rest.” He does not, however, produce any for the film, nor inform the viewer where these remains are located.

Van Pelt’s first document, and thus presumably the strongest evidence in support of his claim that there were hundreds of thousands of gassing victims, is a telegram dated February 26, 1943, to the Topf company in Erfurt from SS Untersturmführer (second lieutenant) Pollok, “Send immediately ten gas detectors [Gasprüfer]. Invoice us later.”

Van Pelt assumes that any mention of gas detectors implies the existence of a gas chamber in which they would be used. However, even one of van Pelt’s collaborators, French anti-revisionist Jean-Claude Pressac, allowed that there might be a non-sinister use for these gas detectors. Without showing what type of gas detectors these were, and how and where they were used, this document is useless. (See Arthur R. Butz. “Gas Detectors in Auschwitz Crematory II,” Sept.-Oct. 1997 Journal, pp. 24-30.)

Van Pelt’s second document is a letter dated March 6, 1943, from camp architect SS Hauptsturmführer (captain) Karl Bischoff, who van Pelt believes was the person responsible for deciding to convert the morgue in Birkenau crematory building II into a homicidal gas chamber. Regarding Kremas II and III, Bischoff writes:

In accordance with your suggestion, Cellar I should be preheated. At the same time we would ask you to send an additional quotation for the modification of the air extraction installation in the undressing room.

Van Pelt’s thinking is no doubt along the lines of Pressac, who believes that there is no need for a heater in a morgue, and that the ventilation system mentioned would be able to clear away residual gasses after a mass execution. However, heating a morgue would be highly desirable to prevent freezing during the winter, and the modified ventilation system alluded to has no more than the capacity normally specified for morgues in Germany at that time, and van Pelt fails to tell the viewer that it was never installed. The mention of a preheater and ventilation system prove the existence of a homicidal gas chamber only if one first assumes the existence of such a gas chamber. (See Carlo Mattogno, “The Crematories of Auschwitz: A Critique of Jean-Claude Pressac,” Nov.-Dec. 1994 Journal, pp. 34-42.)

Van Pelt’s third piece of evidence against Leuchter is a letter dated March 31, 1943, also from Bischoff, that states in part:

Three gas tight doors have been completed. We remind you of an additional order for the gas door from Krematorium III. This must be made with a spy-hole, with double 8 millimeter glass. This order is particularly urgent.

Morris illustrates this point by zooming in on the peep hole on the outside of a metal gas-tight door. Remarkably, however, the zoom “continues” through the peephole using special effects, and the viewer finds himself inside the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz main camp, not

Krema III at Birkenau. Not only has it now been authoritatively acknowledged (even by van Pelt) that the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz main camp is not in its original state, contrary to claims made for many years, but additionally none of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz or Birkenau has such a door. Therefore, in order to prove van Pelt's point, Morris (who traveled to Auschwitz and Birkenau during the making of this film) invents a gas chamber with a gas-tight door. Because Van Pelt neglects to tell us anything about this door, it may well have been for a delousing chamber, like the air-tight door on display at the US Holocaust Museum, or for an air raid shelter, as has been proposed by Samuel Crowell. (See "Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters: A Refutation of Pressac's 'Criminal Traces'," July-August 1999 Journal, pp. 7-30.)

Van Pelt's penultimate piece of evidence to refute Leuchter is a single underlined word, used once in one German wartime document. Van Pelt interprets it as a reference to mass gassings of Jews:

There was a code. The Germans had a coded language. You never talk about extermination, you always talk about "special action," or "special treatment." There was a very clear policy; words like gas chamber would not be used. The letter of Bischoff of the 29th of January [1943], is a kind of exception in this, because it is a letter which is written by a person who manages the whole operation, and who himself had established a policy that you would never use the word "gas chamber." Somebody in the architecture office underlined the word Vergasungskeller, literally "gassing basement," and put on top a note: "SS Untersturmführer [second lieutenant] Kirschneck" exclamation mark. Which means, Kirschneck should be informed about this slip. And it doesn't occur after that. The Nazis were the first Holocaust deniers. Because they denied to themselves that it's happening.

It is worth noting that van Pelt has pulled this one word out of a document without quoting the document in full. This is unfortunate because the two sentences to which he refers tell us a great deal. These sentences read:

The formwork for the reinforced concrete ceiling of the mortuary cellar [Leichenkeller] could not yet be removed on account of the frost. This is, however, unimportant, as the Vergasungskeller [gassing cellar] can be used for this purpose ...

Here is confirmation that preheating might well be needed in an underground morgue in an area of bitterly cold winters. As for the word itself, even if Vergasungskeller could be interpreted to mean "gassing basement" (the German word for gas chamber is gaskammer), this definition raises more questions than it answers. There are no other documents, including blueprints, that make reference to a Vergasungskeller, which means that 1) no one knows for certain what is meant by this term, and 2) no one knows where it was located. Van Pelt concludes that this term refers to an unspecified room somewhere in the crematory building explicitly designated for mass executions, rather than asking if perhaps this "slip" by the very person who supposedly forbade the use of this word simply is nothing more than the use of the wrong terminology in referring to some other location, which would also explain why the term was never used again, and why the "gassing basement" does not appear on the drawings for the crematory building. (See Arthur R. Butz, "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem," July-August 1997 Journal, pp. 20-23.) One wonders if van Pelt believes that more than a million persons were gassed to death at Auschwitz and Birkenau on the basis of these paltry items.

Van Pelt offers nothing even approaching a scientific test, let alone a thorough forensic investigation of the weapon of the crime — the Nazi gas chamber — despite having better resources and complete access to premises believed by van Pelt to have been the site of at least 200 mass homicidal gassings. According to the credits at the end of the film, there were more than two dozen other persons in the Morris entourage who could have helped van Pelt take samples and measurements. (Morris has stated elsewhere that he took a crew of 50 to Poland.) Van Pelt claims to have spared no expense in retracing Leuchter's steps, and was intimately familiar with the methodology used. Throughout the section on Auschwitz, there are numerous cinematic recreations of samples being chipped away with a hammer and chisel.

Yet, with all of these resources, with all the access, with all the time, with all the personnel, with all the knowledge about Leuchter's supposed errors, van Pelt (and Morris) failed to collect samples of their own for James Roth to test (putting his newly-acquired 20/20 hindsight to good use). Instead, van Pelt attacks Leuchter as an ignoramus and a sacrilegious fool for desecrating what van Pelt calls the "holy of holies": Auschwitz. This is not a scientist or dispassionate researcher talking, this is a True Believer wrestling with a heretic.

Van Pelt gets so carried away with his polemics against Leuchter that he makes an astonishing statement:

Leuchter has said a number of times that the place was untouched. I mean, you just open your eyes, you realize that this is utter nonsense... Where are all the bricks of the crematoria?... I think I know where they are. The real places to sample are the farmhouses to the west of the crematoria, the farmhouses where people are living, children are playing, dogs are barking.

While van Pelt is saying this, the camera shows him walking along a low brick wall amid the ruins of a crematory building at Birkenau, and then cuts to brick homes apparently nearby. Many of the crematory building bricks may have been taken elsewhere, and Germar Rudolf established that the foundation walls now visible at the former locations of crematory buildings IV and V were built after the war. Even so, there still remain concrete, bricks and mortar at the alleged gas chamber room of crematory building II, much of which has been protected from the elements by the collapsed roof. As for the bricks from the other crematory buildings, Van Pelt suggests he might know where they are, criticizing Leuchter in passing for not testing them (thus implicitly acknowledging that Leuchter's fundamental approach was correct), and still he doesn't call for a chemical test of the building materials used in the alleged gas chambers.

Roth

Several reviewers of "Mr. Death" have written that James Roth single-handedly demolishes Leuchter's findings. This is based on the fact that the chemical analysis portion of the Leuchter Report was done by Roth's company, and on the mistaken assumption that the Report deals only (or primarily) with chemical testing for cyanide residues in the alleged gas chambers. Clearly, none of these reviewers has compared Roth's critical remarks in "Mr. Death" against statements he made under oath in 1988 in Toronto. For example, in the film Roth states:

You have to look at what happens to cyanide when it reacts with a wall. Where does it go? How far does it go? Cyanide is a surface reaction, it's probably not going to penetrate more than 10 microns. A human hair is 100 microns in diameter.

On the stand in Toronto, however, Roth was shown a color photograph of the blue staining on the wall of hydrogen cyanide (HCN) Delousing Facility No. 1 at Birkenau, from which Leuchter had taken his “control” sample. He indicated that the color was what is commonly referred to as “Prussian blue” (also known as ferric ferro cyanide), formed by the interaction of hydrogen cyanide with iron molecules found in the bricks. The reaction is most efficient in warm, moist environments, resulting in a very stable compound. Roth testified that Prussian blue could penetrate any porous surface, with the depth of penetration dependent on factors such as the porosity of material and available moisture. (Barbara Kulaszka’s exhaustive Report of the Evidence in the Canadian “False News” Trial of Ernst Zündel is available from the IHR for \$53.00 postpaid.)

Does crushing the samples dilute them to the point of meaninglessness? In Toronto, Roth told the court, “In other words, we’re looking at an analysis of a large sample in which we took a sub sample.”

In the film, Roth does not tell us how he determined that the standard operating procedure he cited in his testimony before the Court in 1988 was so flawed that it can cause a disastrous level of dilution in samples.

But only in some samples. On the witness stand in Toronto, Roth stated that all the samples he had tested for iron content contained essentially the same levels, and that the reactivity of the iron in each sample to HCN was similar. The control sample from the delousing chamber tested in excess of 1000 milligrams of cyanide per kilogram of sample. The next two highest samples, from alleged homicidal gas chambers, tested at 6.7 milligrams and 7.9 milligrams of cyanide per kilogram of sample, that is, less than one percent of the control sample. Roth testified that if each “gas chamber” sample had been subjected repeatedly to HCN, Prussian blue should have formed.

Roth now would have us believe that dilution from crushing the samples somehow occurred only in the 30 brick, mortar, and concrete samples taken from the alleged gassing facilities, while the one sample that was not diluted was the control sample from the delousing facility. Clearly, the odds against this happening by chance are astronomical.

It is also worth pointing out that paint on the wall typically does not penetrate to the timbers behind the wall, and that Roth knows (or should know, from photos of the delousing chamber at Birkenau) that the blue staining can in some instances penetrate completely through walls constructed of the type of brick used at Birkenau. Even in cases where blue staining is not visible, Roth testified in Toronto, “Chemically, you can see a lot more than what you visually see.” Perhaps in the film Roth is actually referring to the crushing power of the Jewish lobby, an object lesson which has for him turned Leuchter’s samples meaningless.

Not True to his Art

Reviewers of “Mr. Death” have picked up on Morris’ description that the film is a look at human hubris. This is accurate as far as it goes, but the hubris is not Leuchter’s, but Morris’.

Like so many before him, Morris is a victim of the hubris of believing that he had not been lied to about the Holocaust, and that he knows the facts better than Leuchter, or any other skeptic. In front of the camera, however, far from coming off as some kind of nut, Fred Leuchter ably enunciated the revisionist position simply and persuasively in a way that Morris’ editing could not mitigate. Initially unaware of what had taken on, Morris was caught off-guard by the logic, common sense, and verifiability of Leuchter’s findings, and created a film that was too dangerous to release. Rather than admit to being flummoxed, however, he attempted to salvage his pride and

protect the extermination myth at Leuchter's expense. The resulting film is neither as powerful nor as thought-provoking as it started out to be. "Mr. Death" will not change many minds, let alone provide the spark that at long last ignites a dispassionate look at Holocaust extermination claims.

Still, it is a step forward for historical awareness that forensic testing of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz is the subject of a feature-length film, dozens of articles and film reviews. As if that is not enough, anyone with the price of a movie ticket can see and hear the quiet, unassuming man who helped cause a revolution in Holocaust historiography: Fred Leuchter.

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Letters to the Editor

Not 'Reconstruction' But Falsification

In the Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, page 13, the caption to the photograph of the “gas chamber” at the Auschwitz main camp, shown to many hundreds of thousands of tourists over the years, tells readers that this “is actually a postwar reconstruction.” (Similarly, on page 67 of this same Journal issue, readers are told that this “alleged gas chamber ... is not in its original state.”)

This is, or could be, misleading because it implies that this room might be a faithful “reconstruction” of an original wartime homicidal “gas chamber.”

Over the years, “exterminationists” have called this a “reconstruction” because they have wanted to suggest that it is faithful to the original. For example, in a 1992 video entitled “David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper,” the Auschwitz State Museum senior curator said that today’s Auschwitz main camp “gas chamber” was “very similar” to the original one. Piper was lying: it was not “very similar,” but rather crudely falsified.

David Cole, the young Jewish-American researcher who conducted the interview, could himself have immediately demonstrated this by showing Piper the authentic original blueprints that I discovered in 1976 and published in 1979.

For more than 20 years, I have repeatedly demonstrated that this “reconstructed” Auschwitz main camp “gas chamber” is really a falsification. I made this point most recently in the article “The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I,” published in this very same Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal issue (pp. 12-13). In that article I quoted two anti-revisionist historians who themselves have used the terms “false,” “falsifications,” “falsified” and “falsifying” in describing this “gas chamber.”

More than 25 years ago, in a letter of October 11, 1975, to the famous writer André Malraux, I wrote:

“I have just returned from Poland. I visited, Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek. There the 'museographical frenzy' [a term used by French-Jewish historian Olga Wormser-Migot], in the matter of 'reconstructed' gas chambers, reaches proportions that I would have to describe as stunning if I were still subject to surprise at the base crassness that Man can invent when he lies.”

Robert Faurisson
Vichy, France

Outstanding Work

Please accept my thanks for the documentation and source references you provided last year for a letter I sent to the Journal of Forensic Sciences in regard to a psychoanalytical study of Hitler based, in part, on the spurious reminiscences of Hermann Rauschning. As you know, this collection of invented quotations and events, which was accepted as evidence by the Nuremberg Tribunal, has been proven to be the concoctions of a disaffected National Socialist Party member. Unfortunately, though, this fraudulent document [published in the US under the title *The Voice of Destruction*] is often still cited as an authentic historical source.

A recent Journal item refers to “Opole, in southern Poland.” Your readers may be interested to know that until the massive ethnic cleansing of eastern Germany in 1945-46, this Silesian city of Oppeln was as German as Berlin or Leipzig. Over the years the IHR has courageously upheld the memory of this terrible episode of the Second World War, certainly its greatest war crime. It is ironic indeed that this unprecedented mass expulsion of twelve million human beings — most of them women and children — is eradicated from our collective memory, while the distorted history of another people is relentlessly pounded into us. Today even standard reference works misleadingly refer to such formerly German cities as Stettin, Breslau and Danzig as having been “returned” to the Poles after “liberation” from the Germans.

As the IHR has repeatedly pointed out, history does have fundamental implications for the future. Russo-Germans are being resettled in northern East Prussia, the Königsberg cathedral is being rebuilt, and twice the Russian government has offered to sell this region back to Germany. According to a recent poll, one-third of Poles living in eastern German lands expressed approval of a restoration of German suzerainty.

Allow me to congratulate the Journal on consistently outstanding work. Your articles (really, our articles) are practically unique.

Eric Rachut, M.D.
Moody, Texas

A Revisionist Chronicle

Editor note: the footnotes in this article required correcting as they pointed to the wrong notes.

Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism

Robert Faurisson

The following is the remark, not of a revisionist, but rather by an anti-revisionist: ^[1]

“Holocaust denier,” “revisionist,” “negationist”: everyone knows what such an accusation means. It effectively means exclusion from civilized humanity. Anyone who is suspected of this is finished. His public life is destroyed, his academic reputation ruined.

And he went on to add:

One day people will have to discuss the state of public affairs in a country where to brand a renowned scholar as a Holocaust denier (by hitting him with the 'Auschwitz Lie' club [die Keule der Auschwitz-Lüge]) is enough to destroy him morally, in an instant.

Against the Law

Writings such as this essay cannot be sold openly in my country. They must be published and distributed privately.

In France, it is forbidden to question the Shoah — also called the “Holocaust.”

A law on the “freedom of the press” enacted on July 13, 1990, makes it a crime to question the Shoah, in its three hypostases: the alleged genocide of the Jews, the alleged Nazi gas chambers, and the alleged figure of six million Jewish victims of the Second World War. Violators are subject to a prison term ranging from one month to one year, a fine of 2,000 to 300,000 francs (\$333 to \$50,000), an order to pay considerable damages, and other sanctions. More precisely, this law makes it a crime to question (“contester”) the reality of any of the “crimes against humanity” as defined in 1945 and punished in 1946 by the judges of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, a court established exclusively by the victors exclusively to judge the vanquished.

Debates and controversies about the Shoah are, of course, still permitted, but only within the limits set by the official dogma. Controversies or debates that might lead to a challenging of the Shoah story as a whole, or of a part of it, or simply to raise doubt, are forbidden. To repeat: on this issue, even doubt is proscribed, and punished.

In France, the impetus for such a law (which is of Israeli inspiration), [2] came in 1986 from several historians of Jewish origin, including Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Georges Wellers, and François Bédarida, together with Chief Rabbi René-Samuel Sirat. [3] The law was enacted in 1990 on the initiative of former prime minister Laurent Fabius, then a member of the Socialist government, president of the National Assembly, and himself a Jewish militant of the Jewish cause. During this same period (May 1990), a desecration of graves in the Jewish cemetery of Carpentras, in Provence, had given rise to a media furor that nullified any inclination on the part of opposition lawmakers to mount any effective resistance to the bill. In Paris some 200,000 marchers, with a host of Israeli flags borne high, demonstrated against “the resurgence of the horrid beast.” Notre Dame’s great bell tolled as for a particularly tragic or significant event in the history of France. Once the law was on the statute books (promulgated in the *Journal officiel* on the 14th of July, the national holiday: the same issue, incidentally, that announced Vidal-Naquet’s nomination to the Order of the Légion d’honneur), the Carpentras outrage was mentioned only, if at all, with a certain distance, as a mere reminder. Only the “Fabius-Gayssot” Act remained.

Under pressure from national and international Jewish organizations, and following the Israeli and French examples, other countries similarly adopted laws forbidding any questioning of the Shoah. Such has been the case for Germany, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain and Lithuania. In practice, such specific laws are not absolutely necessary to combat and suppress historical revisionism. In France, as elsewhere, the practice has often been to prosecute questioners of the Shoah under other laws, according to the needs of a given case, on the basis of laws against racism or anti-Semitism, defaming living persons, insulting the memory of the dead, attempting to justify crimes, or spreading false news, and — a source of cash indemnities for the plaintiffs — using personal injury statutes.

In France the police and the judiciary rigorously ensure the protection thus accorded to an official version of Second World War history. According to this rabbinical version, the major event of the conflict was the Shoah, in other words the physical extermination of the Jews that the Germans are said to have carried out from 1941-1942 to 1944-1945. (Lacking any document with which to assign a precise time span to the event — and for good reason, as it is a matter of fiction — the official historians propose only dates that are as divergent as they are approximate.)

A Revisionist Chronicle

Since 1974 I have had to fight so many legal battles that I've been unable to find time to compose the systematic exposition that one is entitled to expect from a professor who, over so many years, has devoted his efforts to a single aspect of Second World War history: the “Holocaust” or the Shoah.

Year after year, an avalanche of trials, entailing the gravest consequences, has thwarted my plans to publish such a work. Apart from my own cases, I have had to devote considerable time and effort to the defense, before their respective courts, of other revisionists in France and abroad. Today, as I write these words, two cases are being brought against me, one in the Netherlands, the other in France, while I must also intervene, directly or indirectly, in proceedings pending against revisionists in Switzerland, Canada, and Australia. For lack of time, I have had to decline helping others, notably two Japanese revisionists.

Around the world, our adversaries' tactic is the same: use courts to paralyze the work of the revisionists, if not to sentence them to prison terms or to order them to pay fines or damages. For those convicted, imprisonment means a halt to all revisionist activity, while those ordered to pay large sums are compelled to set off on a feverish pursuit of money, goaded by threats of bailiffs,

“writs of seizure,” “notices to third parties,” and freezing of bank accounts. For this reason alone, my life over the past quarter of a century has been difficult. It still is and, in all probability, will remain so.

To make matters worse, my idea of research has never been that of the “paper” professor or historian. I consider it indispensable to see the terrain for myself: either the terrain of the forensic investigation, or the terrain where the adversary is deployed. I wouldn’t be entitled to talk about the camps of Dachau, Majdanek, Auschwitz or Treblinka without first having visiting them to examine for myself the buildings and the people there. I won’t talk about anti-revisionist activities, such as demonstrations, conferences, symposia, and trials, without having attended them, or at least delegating an instructed observer to the events — a practice that is not without risk, but which enables one to obtain information from a good source. I have friends and associates produce countless letters and statements. Whenever possible, I go myself to the ramparts. To cite but one example: the impressive international “Holocaust” conference organized in Oxford in 1988 by the late billionaire Robert Maxwell (also known as “Bob the Liar”). I believe I can justifiably say that it aborted so pitifully (as Maxwell himself admitted), ^[4] thanks to an operation on the spot that I personally organized — with the help of a female French revisionist who lacked neither courage, nor daring, nor ingenuity: her activism alone was certainly worth several books.

To the hours and days thus spent preparing court cases or various sporadic actions should be added the hours and days lost in hospital, recovering from the effects of an exhausting struggle or from the consequences of physical attacks carried out by militant Jewish groups. (In France armed militias are strictly prohibited, except for the Jewish community.) ^[5]

Finally, I have had to encourage, direct, or coordinate, in France and abroad, numerous activities or works of a revisionist nature, shore up those whose strength has faltered, provide for the continuance of action, answer requests, warn against provocations, errors, digressions from the goal, and, above all combat ill-conceived accommodations given that, for some revisionists, there is a great temptation in such a struggle to seek compromise with the adversary and, sometimes, even to back down. Examples of war-weary revisionists who have sunk to public contrition are, sad to say, not lacking. I shall not cast a stone at them, though. I know from experience that discouragement is liable to befall each of us because the contest is so unequal: our resources are laughable, while those of our opponents are immense.

Historical Revisionism

Revisionism is a matter of method and not an ideology.

It demands, in all research, a return to the starting point, an examination followed by re-examination, re-reading and rewriting, evaluation followed by revaluation, reorientation, revision, recasting. It is, in spirit, the contrary of ideology. It does not deny, but instead aims to affirm with greater exactitude. Revisionists are not “deniers” (or, to use the French expression, “negationists”). Rather, they endeavor to seek and to find things where, it seemed, there was nothing more to seek or find.

Revisionism can be carried out in a hundred activities of everyday life and in a hundred fields of historical, scientific, or literary research. It does not necessarily call established ideas into question, but often leads to qualifying them somewhat. It seeks to untangle the true from the false. History is, in essence, revisionist; ideology is its enemy. Because ideology is strongest during times of war or conflict, and because it then churns out falsehood in abundance for propaganda needs, the historian working in that area is well advised to redouble his vigilance. In probing

deep into the “truths” of which he has been reminded so often, he will doubtless realize that, when a war has led to tens of millions of deaths, the very first victim is the ascertainable truth: a truth that must be sought out and re-established.

The official history of the Second World War comprises a bit of truth mixed with a great deal of falsehood.

Official history: Its Retreats in the Face of Revisionist Advances

It is accurate to say that National Socialist Germany built concentration camps; it did so after, and at the same time as, a good number of other countries, all of which were convinced that their camps would be more humane than prison. Hitler saw in them what Napoléon III had thought he saw in the creation of penal colonies: progress for humanity. But it is false to hold that Germany ever established “extermination camps” (an expression invented by the Allies).

It is accurate to say that the Germans manufactured gas-powered vehicles (Gaswagen). But it is false to say that they ever built homicidal gas vans (if a single one of these had ever existed, it would be on display at an automobile museum, or at one of the various “Holocaust” museums, at least in the form of a drawing of scientific value).

It is accurate to say that the Germans employed Zyklon (made from a base of hydrocyanic acid and in use since 1922) to safeguard, by disinfestation, the health of large numbers of civilians, troops, prisoners, and internees. But they never used Zyklon to kill anyone, let alone to put to death throngs of human beings at once. In light of the draconian precautions for the use of hydrogen cyanide gas, the gassing of inmates as allegedly carried out at Auschwitz and at other camps would have been fundamentally impossible. [6]

It is accurate to say that the Germans envisaged a “final solution of the Jewish question” (Endlösung der Judenfrage). But this solution was a territorial one (eine territoriale Endlösung der Judenfrage), and not a murderous one. It was a project to induce or, if necessary, to force the Jews to leave Germany and its European sphere of influence, thereafter to establish, in accord with the Zionists, a Jewish national home, in Madagascar or elsewhere. With a view toward such a solution, many Zionists collaborated with National Socialist Germany. [7]

It is accurate to say that a gathering of German officials was held at a villa in Wannsee, on the outskirts of Berlin, on January 20, 1942, to discuss the Jewish question. But the subject of their discussions was the forced emigration or deportation of the Jews, as well as the future creation of a specific Jewish territorial entity, not a program of physical extermination.

It is accurate to say that some German concentration camps had crematories to incinerate corpses. But their purpose was to combat epidemics, not to incinerate, as some have dared assert, living human beings along with corpses. [8]

It is accurate to say that many Jews experienced the hardships of war, of internment, deportation, the detention camps, the concentration camps, the forced labor camps, the ghettos; that there were, for various reasons, summary executions of Jews, that they were the victims of reprisals and even massacres (for there are no wars without massacres). But it is equally true that all of these sufferings were also the lot of many other nations or communities during the war and, in particular, of the Germans and their allies (the hardships of the ghetto aside, for the ghetto is first and foremost a specific creation of the Jews themselves). [9] It is above all most plausible, for anyone who is not afflicted with a hemiplegic memory, and who seeks to acquaint himself with

both sides of Second World War history (that is, the side that is always shown, as well as the side almost always hidden), that the sufferings of the vanquished during the war and afterwards were, in number and in nature, greater than those of the Jews and the victors, especially as concerns deportations.

It is false that there ever existed, as some have long dared to assert, any order whatever, given by Hitler or any of his associates, to exterminate the Jews. During the war, German soldiers and officers were convicted by their own courts martial, and sometimes shot, for having killed Jews.

It is a good thing that the exterminationists (that is, those who believe in the extermination of the Jews) have grown weary to the point that they now acknowledge that no trace of any plan, instruction, or document relating to a policy of physical extermination of the Jews has ever been found and that, similarly, they have at last admitted that no trace of any budget for such an undertaking, or of a body responsible for running such a project, has been found.

It is a good thing that the exterminationists have at last conceded to the revisionists that the judges at the Nuremberg trial (1945-1946) accepted as true certain pure inventions, such as the stories of soap produced from Jewish fat, of lampshades made of human skin, of “shrunk heads,” and of homicidal gassings at Dachau.

It is an especially good thing that the exterminationists have finally recognized that the most spectacular, the most terrifying, the most significant part of that trial — that is, the session of April 15, 1946, in the course of which a former commandant of the Auschwitz camp, Rudolf Höss, testified openly that, in his camp, millions of Jews had been gassed — was merely the product of the tortures inflicted on him. His “confession,” presented for so many years and in so many historical works as the Number One “proof” of the genocide of the Jews, is now consigned to oblivion, at least as far as historians are concerned. [10]

It is fortunate that exterminationist historians have finally acknowledged that the famous testimony of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, an essential element of their case, is devoid of value. It is loathsome that the French University revoked the revisionist Henri Roques' doctorate, earned for having demonstrated that fact in 1985. [11]

It is pitiful that Raul Hilberg, the “pope” of exterminationism, ventured to write, in the first, 1961 edition of his study, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, that there were two orders by Hitler to exterminate the Jews, and then later to declare, in 1983, that the extermination had come about on its own, without any order or plan, but rather through “an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind reading by a far-flung [German] bureaucracy.” So it was that Hilberg replaced a gratuitous assertion with a magical explanation: telepathy. [12]

It is a good thing that the exterminationists have, in effect, finally (or very nearly) abandoned the charge, based on “testimonies,” according to which there were execution gas chambers at the camps of Ravensbrück, Oranienburg-Sachsenhausen, Mauthausen, Hartheim, Struthof-Natzweiler, Stutthof-Danzig, Bergen-Belsen ... [13]

It is a good thing that the most-visited “gas chamber” in the world — that of Auschwitz I — has at last (in a January 1995 article) been recognized for what it is — a fabrication. It is fortunate that it has at last been admitted that “Everything in it is false.” I personally delight in knowing that an Establishment historian has written: “In the late 1970s, Robert Faurisson exploited these falsifications all the better as the [Auschwitz] museum administration balked at acknowledging them.” [14] I delight all the more given that the French courts, in their iniquity, convicted me for basically saying just that.

It is a good thing that, in that same 1995 article, this same historian revealed that such a figure in the Jewish world as eminent as Théo Klein sees in that “gas chamber” only a “trick” (“artifice”).

It is also a good thing that, in that same article, this same historian revealed, first, that the Auschwitz Museum authorities are conscious of having deceived millions of visitors (500,000 yearly in the early 1990s), and second, that they will nevertheless continue to deceive their visitors, for, as the Museum’s assistant director put it: “[Telling the truth about this 'gas chamber'] is too complicated. We'll see to it later on.” [15]

It is fortunate that in 1996 two historians of Jewish origin, the Canadian Robert Jan van Pelt and the American Debórah Dwork, finally denounced some of the enormous fakes of the Auschwitz camp-museum, and the cynicism with which visitors were being duped there. [16]

It is, on the other hand, unconscionable that UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) should maintain its patronage (as it has done since 1979) of a site such as Auschwitz, whose center upholds, in its fake “gas chamber” (to say nothing of other enormous falsifications), an imposture now avowed as such. UNESCO (based in Paris and headed by Federico Mayor) has no right to use the dues of the member countries to sanction such a vast swindle, one so incompatible with the interests of “education,” “science,” and “culture.”

It is fortunate that Jean-Claude Pressac, after having been praised to the skies, has fallen into discredit. Promoted by the Klarsfeld couple, this French pharmacist thought it wise to stake out a half-way position between those who believed in the gas chambers and those who did not. For him, in a sense, the woman in question was neither pregnant nor unpregnant, but rather half-pregnant and even, with time, less and less pregnant. An author of writings that were supposed to be about the Nazi gas chambers, but in which not one comprehensive photograph or drawing of a single one of those chemical slaughterhouses was to be found, this pitiful scribbler would, in a Paris court on May 9, 1995, go on to give a demonstration of his total inability to reply to the presiding judge’s questions as to what, concretely, such a mass murder machine might actually have been. [17]

It is fortunate that, although in ruins, “the gas chamber” of Krematorium II in Birkenau (Auschwitz II), plainly shows that there never was a “Holocaust” in this camp. According both to a German defendant’s statements under interrogation, as well as 1944 aerial photographs “re-touched” by the Allies, the roof of this gas chamber seems to have had four special openings (about ten inches square, it was specified), through which Zyklon was poured in. But as anyone at the site can observe for himself, none of those four openings ever existed. Given that Auschwitz is the capital of the “Holocaust,” and that this ruined crematory is at the core of the alleged extermination process of the Jews at Auschwitz, in 1994 I said (and this phrase seems since to have caught on): “No holes, no 'Holocaust'.”

It is equally fortunate that a plethora of “testimonies” that supposedly confirm these homicidal gassings have thus been invalidated. By the same token, it is extremely deplorable that so many Germans were tried and convicted by their victorious adversaries for crimes they could not have committed, some even being put to death.

It is a good thing that, in the light of trials resembling so many judicial masquerades, the exterminationists themselves voice doubts as to the validity of numerous testimonies. The defective nature of these testimonies would have been much more obvious if one had taken the trouble to carry out an expert examination of the supposed weapon of the alleged crime. But in the course of hundreds of trials concerning Auschwitz or other camps, no court ordered any such inquiry. (The one exception, very little known, was carried out at Struthof-Natzweiler in Alsace, the results of

which were kept hidden until I revealed them.) It was nonetheless known that a good number of testimonies or confessions needed to be verified and checked against the material facts and that, in the absence of those two conditions, they were worthless as evidence.

It is fortunate that official history has revised downwards — often quite drastically — the supposed number of victims. It was only after more than 40 years of revisionist pressure that Jewish authorities and those of the Auschwitz State Museum removed the 19 plaques that, in 19 different languages, announced that the number of victims there had been four million. It then took five years of internal bickering for agreement to be reached on the new figure of one and a half million, a figure that, in turn, was very quickly challenged by exterminationist authors. Jean-Claude Pressac, Serge Klarsfeld's protégé, has more recently proposed a figure of 600,000 to 800,000 Jewish and non-Jewish victims during the entire period of the Auschwitz complex's existence. ^[18] It is a pity that this quest for the true figure is not followed through to reach the likely figure of 150,000 persons — most of them victims of epidemics — in the nearly 40 camps of the Auschwitz complex. It is deplorable that the film "Nuit et Brouillard" ("Night and Fog"), in which the Auschwitz death toll is put at nine million, continues to be shown in French schools. This film perpetuates the myths of "soap made from the bodies," or lampshades of human skin, and of scratches made by fingernails of dying victims on the concrete walls of the gas chambers. The film even proclaims that "nothing distinguished the gas chamber from an ordinary barracks"!

It was a good thing that Arno Mayer, a Princeton University professor of Jewish origin, wrote in 1988: "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable." ^[19] But why was it affirmed for so many years that the sources were countless and trustworthy? And why was scorn poured on the revisionists who, since 1950, had written what Arno Mayer affirmed in 1988?

It was a particularly good thing that the French historian Jacques Baynac, who had made a speciality, in *Le Monde* and elsewhere, of labeling the revisionists as forgers, should finally acknowledge in 1996 that there was, after all, no evidence of the existence of homicidal gas chambers. It was, he made clear, "as painful to say as it is to hear." ^[20] Perhaps, for certain persons, and in certain circumstances, the truth is "as painful to say as it is to hear." For revisionists, though, the truth is as pleasant to say as it is to hear.

Lastly, it is fortunate that the exterminationists have allowed themselves to undermine the third and last element of the Shoah trinity: the figure of six million Jewish deaths. ^[21] It seems that this figure was first put forth by Rabbi Michael Dov Weissmandel (1903-1956). Based in Slovakia, this rabbi was the main inventor of the Auschwitz lie based on the alleged testimonies of Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler. He organized intensive "information campaigns" aimed at the Allies, at Switzerland, and at the Vatican. In a letter of May 31, 1944 (that is, nearly a full year before the war's end in Europe), he did not shrink from writing: "Till now six times a million Jews from Europe and Russia have been destroyed." ^[22]

This six million figure was also published before the end of the war in the writings of the Soviet Jew Ilya Ehrenburg (1891-1967), perhaps the most hateful propagandist of the Second World War. ^[23] In 1979 the six million figure was suddenly termed "symbolic" (that is, false) by the exterminationist Martin Broszat during the trial of a German revisionist. In 1961, Raul Hilberg, that most prestigious of conventional historians, estimated the number of Jewish wartime deaths to have been 5.1 million. In 1953, another of those historians, Gerald Reitlinger, put forth a figure of between 4.2 and 4.6 million. In fact, though, no historian of that school has offered any figures based on the results of an investigation. It has always been a matter of each one's own more or less educated guess. The revisionist Paul Rassinier, for his part, proposed the figure of "about

one million” Jewish deaths. As he pointed out, though, he did so on the basis of numbers furnished by the opposing side. His figure was thus also a product of guesswork.

The truth is that many European Jews perished, and many survived. With modern calculation methods it should be possible to determine what, in each case, is meant by “many.” However, the three sources from which the necessary information might be obtained are, in practice, either forbidden to independent researchers or are accessible only with great limitation:

- First, the enormous body of documentation gathered by the International Tracing Service (ITS) of Arolsen-Waldeck, Germany, which is answerable to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Switzerland. Access to this center is very limited — closely guarded by a ten-nation board, of which Israel is a member.
- Second, documents held in Poland and Russia, including death registries of certain camps, cremation registries, and so forth. Only a portion of these documents is accessible.
- Finally, the names of the millions of Jewish survivors — in Israel or in dozens of countries represented by the World Jewish Congress in New York — who have received, or are still receiving, financial indemnities or reparations. Merely listing these names would show the extent to which communities that so often have been said to be “exterminated” in fact were not at all exterminated.

Even 52 years after the end of the war, the State of Israel put the official number of “Holocaust” “survivors” around the world at some 900,000. (More precisely, it gave figures of between 834,000 and 960,000.) [24] According to a computation made by the Swedish statistician Carl O. Nordling, to whom I submitted that Israeli government evaluation, it is possible, postulating the existence of 900,000 “survivors” in 1997, to conclude that there were, at the end of the war in Europe in 1945, slightly more than three million “survivors.” Even today, a diverse range of organizations or associations of “survivors” flourish around the world. These include associations of veteran Jewish “résistants,” of former children of Auschwitz (that is, Jewish children born in that camp or interned there with their parents at a very early age), of former Jewish forced laborers, and, more simply, formerly clandestine Jews or Jewish fugitives. Millions of beneficiaries of “miracles” no longer constitute a “miracle,” but are rather the result of a natural phenomenon. The American press has reported fairly often on moving reunions of family members, “Holocaust” survivors all, each of whom, we are assured, was at one time convinced that his or her “entire family” had been lost.

To sum up, in spite of the dogma and the laws, the pursuit of the historical truth about the Second World War in general, and about the Shoah in particular, has made headway in recent years, but the general public is kept in the dark about this. It would be stunned to learn that, since the early 1980s, establishment historians have relegated many of the most firmly held popular beliefs to the rank of legend. From this point of view, one can say that there are two levels of “the Holocaust”: on the one hand, that of the public at large and, on the other, that of the conformist historians. The first seems to be unshakable, while the second (to judge by the number of hasty repairs being made to it), seems on the verge of collapse.

Year by year (and especially since 1979), the concessions made to the revisionists by the “orthodox” historians have been so numerous and of such quality that today the latter find themselves at a dead end. No longer having anything of substance to say about the “Holocaust,” they have handed the baton to the filmmakers, novelists, and theater people. Even the museum people are at a loss. At the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, the “decision” has been made not to offer for public viewing “any physical representation of the gas chambers.” (This is according to a statement made to me, and in the presence of four witnesses in August 1994, by the

Museum's Research Director, Michael Berenbaum. He is the author of a guide book of more than 200 pages in which, in effect, no physical representation of gas chambers appears, not even one of the miserable and fallacious mock-up on display for Museum visitors.) [25] The public is forbidden to take photographs there. Claude Lanzmann, maker of "Shoah," a film remarkable for its utter lack of historical or scientific content, today no longer has any recourse but to pontificate in deploring the fact that "the revisionists occupy the whole terrain." [26] As for Elie Wiesel, he calls on everyone to show discretion. He requests that we no longer try to closely examine, or even to imagine what happened in the gas chambers: "Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination." [27] The "Holocaust" historians have turned into theoreticians, philosophers, and "thinkers." The squabbles among them, between "intentionalists" and "functionalists," or between supporters and adversaries of a thesis such as Daniel Goldhagen's on the near-innate propensity of Germans to descend into anti-Semitism and racist crime, ought not to conceal from view the poverty of their historical work.

Revisionism's Successes and Failures

In 1998, an appraisal of the revisionist enterprise could be briefly put as follows: a sparkling success on the historical and scholarly front (where our opponents capitulated in 1996), but a failure on the public relations front. (Our adversaries have closed off all access to the media except, for the time being, the Internet.)

In the 1980s and early 1990s, anti-revisionist authors attempted to cross swords with the revisionists on the field of historical scholarship. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Nadine Fresco, Georges Wellers, Adalbert Rückerl, Hermann Langbein, Eugen Kogon, Arno Mayer, and Serge Klarsfeld, each in turn tried to persuade the media that answers had been found to the revisionists' material or documentary arguments. Even Michael Berenbaum, even the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, in 1993 and in early 1994, wanted to pick up the gauntlet I had thrown down, and try to show just a single Nazi gas chamber, just a single proof — of their own choosing — that there had been a genocide of the Jews. But their failures were so stinging that thereafter they abandoned, ever more progressively, the fight on that turf. More recently, in 1998, appeared a thick book by Michael Berenbaum (together with Abraham J. Peck) entitled *The Holocaust and History*. [28] But far from examining, on the level of historical scholarship, what the authors call the "Holocaust," instead they unintentionally show that the "Holocaust" is one thing, and "History" quite another. The work, moreover, is quasi-immaterial, presenting neither photographs, nor drawings, nor the least attempt to represent physically any reality whatever. Only the dust jacket offers a view of a heap of shoes. Reputedly possessing a certain graphic eloquence, at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum they supposedly tell us: "We are the shoes, we are the last witnesses." This book is merely a compilation of 55 contributions written and published under the watchful eye of Rabbi Berenbaum: in it even Raul Hilberg, even Yehuda Bauer, even Franciszek Piper, abandon any real effort at scholarly research, while at the same time anathema is pronounced against Arno Mayer who, in his 1988 study, tried to put the "Holocaust" back into the realm of history. [29] The irrational has prevailed against attempts at rationalization. Elie Wiesel, Claude Lanzmann, and Steven Spielberg (in his film, "Schindler's List," inspired by a novel), have in the end triumphed over those in their own camp who once tried to prove the "Holocaust."

In future years it will be seen in hindsight that in September 1996 the death knell sounded for the hopes of those who wanted to combat revisionism on historical and scholarly grounds. The two long articles in a Swiss daily paper written by the anti-revisionist historian Jacques Baynac definitively closed the book on attempts at a rational response to revisionist arguments.

In the mid- and late 1970s, I offered my own contribution to the development of revisionism. I discovered and formulated what has since come to be known as the physical and chemical argument, that is, the physical and chemical reasons why the alleged Nazi gas chambers were quite simply inconceivable. At the time, I commended myself for having presented to the world a decisive argument that had never before been expounded either by a German chemist or an American engineer. (Germany is not short of chemists, and the United States has engineers who, given the forbidding complexities involved in making and operating an American penitentiary gas chamber, ought to have realized that, because of certain physical and chemical realities, the alleged Nazi gas chambers could not possibly have operated as claimed.)

If, during that period, amidst the fracas prompted by my discovery, a clairvoyant had predicted that, 20 years later, my adversaries, after many attempts to show that I was wrong, would (as Baynac did in 1996) resign themselves to acknowledging that, after all, there existed not the least evidence with which to prove the reality of a single Nazi gas chamber, I certainly would have rejoiced. I might have also concluded that the myth of the “Holocaust” could never survive such a direct hit, that the media would then quit propagating the Great Lie and that, quite naturally, the legal repression of revisionists would end by itself.

In so reckoning I would have committed an error both of diagnosis and of prognosis.

For the spirit of superstitious belief is different than that of science. It makes its own way in the world. The realm of religion, of ideology, of illusion, of the media, and of fictional cinema can develop at a certain remove from scientific realities. Even Voltaire never succeeded in “crushing the vile foe.” One may therefore say that, like Voltaire denouncing the absurdities of the Hebraic tales, the revisionists — in spite of the scholarly character of their work — are doomed never to carry the day against the wild imaginings of the Synagogue, while the Synagogue, for its part, will never succeed in stifling the voices of the revisionists. The “Holocaust” and “Shoah business” propaganda will continue to flourish. It still remains for revisionists to show how this belief, this myth was born, grew and flourished before, perhaps, one day disappearing to make way, not for reason but for other beliefs and other myths.

How are men deceived, and why do they deceive themselves so readily?

'Holocaust' Propaganda

The masses are most easily fooled through manipulation of images. With the liberation of the German concentration camps in April 1945, British and American journalists rushed to photograph and film true horrors that were then, one may say, made into truer than life horrors. In the language dear to media people, the public was presented with a “put-up” job. ^[30] On the one hand, we were shown real dead bodies as well as real crematories, and, on the other hand, thanks to some misleading comments and a cinematic staging, a deft artifice was effected. I describe this fraud with a phrase that may serve to help unmask all such impostures: We were led to take the dead for killed, and crematories for execution gas chambers.

Thus was born the confusion, still so widespread today, between, on the one hand, the crematories, which actually existed (but not at Bergen-Belsen) for the incineration of corpses and, on the other hand, the Nazi gas chambers allegedly used to kill whole crowds of men and women, but which, in reality, never existed nor could have existed.

The myth of the Nazi gas chambers and their association with the crematories originated, in its media form, in the press and newsreel photographs and media commentary from the Bergen-

Belsen camp — which, orthodox historians now admit, possessed neither mass-execution gas chambers nor even simple crematories.

'Gas Chambers' That Have Never Been Seen or Shown

At a news conference in Stockholm in March 1992, I issued a challenge to the audience of newspaper and television reporters. That challenge was made in the nine words: “Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber.”

The next day, the journalists' reports on the news conference indeed appeared, but they passed over in silence its essential object: precisely that challenge. They had looked for photographs and had found none.

Billions of people over this past half-century assume (or imagine) that they have seen images of Nazi gas chambers in books or in documentary films. Many are convinced that, at least once in their lives, they've come across a photograph of a Nazi gas chamber. Some have visited Auschwitz or another camp where guides told them that this or that structure was a gas chamber. Such visitors are told that before their eyes is (as the case may be) a gas chamber “in its original state” or “a reconstruction” of an original gas chamber. (This latter expression implies that the “reconstruction” is faithful, that it conforms to the “original.”) Sometimes visitors are shown remains of what they are told are “ruins of a gas chamber.” ^[31] Yet, in all such cases, they have been deceived or, better, have deceived themselves. This phenomenon is easily explained.

Many people imagine that a homicidal gas chamber is merely a room with poison gas inside. This reveals confusion between an execution gassing, and a suicidal or accidental one. An execution gassing, such as those of individuals in some United States prisons, is unavoidably a very complicated undertaking. In such a case, care must be taken to kill only the condemned prisoner without causing an accident, and without putting one's own life, or that of one's associates, in danger, especially in the final phase, that is, when the chamber must be entered to remove the contaminated corpse. Most “Holocaust” museum visitors, readers, film-goers, and even most historians, are obviously unaware of any of this. Those in charge of “Holocaust” museums exploit this lack of awareness. For an effective Nazi gas chamber exhibit, they need only show the credulous public a gloomy space or room, a cold morgue room, a shower room (preferably located below ground), or an air raid shelter (with a peephole in its door), and the trick will work. The tricksters can manage with even less than this: it's enough merely to show a door, a wall, or a roof of a purported “gas chamber.” The most clever ones will get by with just a bundle of hair, a pile of shoes, or a heap of eyeglasses, while claiming that these are the only traces or remains left of the “gassed” victims. Naturally, they will refrain from mentioning that, during the war and the blockade, in a Europe beset with general shortages and penury, vast “recovery” and “recycling” programs were organized to reclaim all recoverable materials, including hair, which was used, for example, in textile products.

The 'Holocaust' Witnesses: Unverified Testimonies

A similar confusion reigns with respect to the witnesses. We are presented with bands of witnesses to the genocide of the Jews. Whether orally or in writing, these witnesses claim to assert that Germany carried out a plan for the overall extermination of the Jews of Europe. In reality, these witnesses can truthfully attest only to such facts as the Jews' deportation, their internment in detention camps, concentration camps or forced labor camps, and even, in some cases, the functioning of crematories. The Jews were to so great a degree not doomed to extermination, or to end up in mass-execution gas chambers, that each one of these countless survivors or es-

capees, far from constituting, as some would have us believe, a “living proof of the genocide,” is, on the contrary, a living proof that there was no genocide. As has been seen above, at war’s end the number of Jewish “survivors” of the “Holocaust” probably exceeded three million.

For Auschwitz alone, a lengthy list may be made of former Jewish inmates who have borne witness — in public, orally or in writing, on television, in books, in the law courts — to “the extermination of the Jews” in the camp. [32]

I shall also mention the resounding case of a late arrival — the Swiss clarinettist Benjamin Wilkomirski. It is not clear why, but this false witness was publicly exposed after a three-year spell of glory during which he was honored with the US National Jewish Book Award, the Jewish Quarterly Literary Prize in Britain, the Mémoire de la Shoah prize in France, and an impressive series of dithyrambic articles in the press worldwide. His purported autobiography, in which he relates being deported as a child to Majdanek and to Auschwitz (?), was originally published in Germany in 1995. It appeared in English under the title *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood*. [33] Jewish author Daniel Ganzfried concluded, on the basis of his investigation, that Benjamin Wilkomirski, alias Bruno Doessekker, born Bruno Grosjean, indeed had some experience of Auschwitz and Majdanek, but only after the war, as a tourist. [34] In 1995 the Australian Donald Watt successfully deceived much of the English-language media with a memoir that told of his alleged life as a crematory “stoker” at Auschwitz-Birkenau. [35] Between September and November 1998, a vast media operation was organized in Germany and France based on the sudden “revelations” of Dr. Hans-Wilhelm Münch, one-time SS physician at Auschwitz. The vein is decidedly bountiful.

Primo Levi is still generally treated as a reliable witness. While this reputation was perhaps deserved in 1947, with the publication of his book *Se questo è un uomo* (published in the US under the title *Survival in Auschwitz*), Levi later conducted himself rather unworthily. Elie Wiesel remains the undisputed “star false witness” of the “Holocaust.” In his autobiographical account *Night* he does not mention “gas chambers.” For him, the Germans threw Jews into blazing pits. (As recently as June 2, 1987, he testified under oath at the Klaus Barbie trial in Lyon that he had “seen, in a little wood, somewhere in [Auschwitz] Birkenau, SS men throwing live children into the flames.” (The translator and editor of the German version of *Night* resuscitated the “gas chambers” in Wiesel’s account of Auschwitz. In France, Fred Sedel in 1990 similarly proceeded in re-editing a book that had appeared in 1963, putting “chambres à gaz” [“gas chamber”] where, 27 years earlier, he had mentioned only “fours crématoires” [“crematory ovens”].) [36]

In this same boat of “pious lies” one may also include the testimonies of some non-Jews, in particular that of General André Rogerie. In the original 1946 edition of his memoir, *Vivre, c'est vaincre*, he wrote only of having heard talk of “gas chambers.” But fortified by support from Georges Wellers, he presented himself in 1988 as a “Holocaust witness” who had “beheld the Shoah at Birkenau.” [37] As he himself has related, his lot as a prisoner in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp was a privileged one. He lodged in the barracks of the “bosses” and enjoyed a “royally cushy position” of which he “has fond remembrances.” He ate pancakes with jam and played bridge. Of course, he wrote, “not only merry events take place [in the camp].” Still, upon leaving Birkenau he had this thought: “Unlike many others, I have been better off here than anywhere else.” [38]

Samuel Gringauz got through the war in the ghetto of Kaunas, Lithuania. In 1950 — that is, at a time when it was still possible to speak somewhat freely on the subject — he gave an appraisal of the literature thus far produced by the survivors of the “great Jewish catastrophe.” Deploring the trespasses to which their “hyper-historical complex” was then giving rise, he wrote: [39]

The hyper-historical complex may be described as judeocentric, lococentric and egocentric. It concentrates historical relevance on Jewish problems of local events under the aspect of personal experience. This is the reason why most of the memoirs and reports are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomanic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante [sic] philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies.

One can only assent to this judgment, which could perfectly well apply today to a Claude Lanzmann or an Elie Wiesel. For the latter's "hyper-historical complex," for the "judeocentric, lococentric and egocentric" character of his writings, one may refer to Wiesel's two recent volumes of memoirs, published in the US under the titles *All Rivers Run to the Sea*, and, *And the Sea is Never Full*. In so doing, one may also realize that, far from having been exterminated, a great many of the members of the Jewish community of the little Romanian-Hungarian town of Sighet in all likelihood survived deportation, notably to Auschwitz in May and June of 1944, and internment. Himself a native of Sighet, Wiesel endured the fate of his fellow townspeople. In journeys to various places around the world after the war, he came upon an amazing number of relatives, friends, old acquaintances, and others from Sighet who, thanks to a succession of "miracles," had survived Auschwitz or the "Holocaust."

Some Other Second World War Fables

Just as perplexed as today's generation, those of the future will ask themselves identical questions about a number of Second World War myths besides that of the Nazi gas chambers: in addition to the stories already mentioned of "Jewish soap," tanned human skins, "shrunk heads," and "gas vans," one may also cite the stories of the insane medical experiments attributed to Dr. Mengele, Adolf Hitler's orders to exterminate the Jews, Heinrich Himmler's order to halt said extermination, and the mass killings of Jews by electricity, steam, quicklime, crematories, burning pits, and vacuum pumps. Let us also cite the purported exterminations of Gypsies and homosexuals, and the alleged gassings of the mentally ill. Future generations will also wonder about many other subjects: the massacres on the Eastern front as related in certain writings, and in writing only, at the Nuremberg trial by the professional false witness Hermann Gräbe; such now-acknowledged impostures as the book supposedly by Hermann Rauschning, which in fact was written chiefly by the Hungarian Jew Imre Révész, alias Emery Reves, but used extensively at the Nuremberg trial as though it were authentic; ^[40] the mass killing of Jews near Auschwitz with an experimental atomic bomb, a claim also brought up at the Nuremberg trial; ^[41] the absurd "confessions" extorted from German prisoners; the reputed diary of Anne Frank; the young boy in the Warsaw ghetto shown as going to his death, whereas he most likely emigrated to New York after the war; ^[42] along with various false memoirs, false stories, false testimonies, and false attributions, the true natures of which would, with a minimum of effort, have been easy to ascertain.

But those future generations will probably be astonished most of all by the myth that was instituted and hallowed by the Nuremberg trial (and, to a lesser degree, by the Tokyo trial): that of the intrinsic barbarity of the vanquished and the intrinsic virtue of the victors who, as becomes apparent upon a close look at the facts, themselves committed acts of horror that were far more striking, both in quantity and in quality, than those perpetrated by the vanquished.

A Universal Butchery

At a time when one might be led to believe that only the Jews really suffered during the Second World War, and that only the Germans behaved like veritable criminals, an impartial examination into the true sufferings of all peoples and the real crimes of all belligerents seems overdue.

Whether “just” or “unjust,” every war is a butchery — indeed, notwithstanding the heroism of countless soldiers, a competition in butchery. At the end of it, the winner turns out to have been nothing more than a good butcher, and the loser a bad butcher. So when hostilities have ceased, the victor may perhaps be entitled to give the vanquished a lesson in butchery, but certainly not in Right and Justice. Yet that is just what happened in the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, when the four big winners, acting in their own names and in the name of the 19 victorious entities (not counting the World Jewish Congress, which enjoyed the status of *amicus curiae* or “friend of the court”), had the cynicism to inflict such a treatment on a beaten nation reduced to total impotence.

According to Nahum Goldmann, President of both the World Jewish Congress and the World Zionist Organization, the idea of such a trial was the brainchild of a few Jews. ^[43] As for the role played by Jews in the actual proceedings at Nuremberg, it was considerable. The American delegation, which ran the entire business, was made up largely of “re-emigrants,” that is, of Jews who migrated in the 1930s from Germany to America, and then returned to Germany after the war. Gustave M. Gilbert, the famous psychologist and author of *Nuremberg Diary* (1947), was a Jew who, working behind the scenes with the American prosecutors, did not miss the chance to practice psychological torture on the German defendants. Airey Neave, a member of the British delegation, remarked, in a book prefaced by Lord Justice Birkett, one of the panel of judges, that many of the American examiners were German-born, and all were Jewish. ^[44]

For reasons I deal with in detail in my *Écrits révisionnistes* collection, the Nuremberg trial can be regarded as this century’s crime of all crimes. Its consequences have proven tragic. It accorded the status of truth to an extravagant volume of lies, calumnies, and injustices that over the years have served to justify all kinds of wickedness: in particular Bolshevik and Zionist expansionism at the expense of nations in Europe and Asia, and of Palestine. Given, however, that the Nuremberg judges found Germany guilty, first and foremost, of having unilaterally plotted and instigated the Second World War, we must begin by first examining this point.

Four Giants and Three Dwarfs: Who Wanted War?

Because history is primarily a matter of geography, let us consider a desktop globe of the year 1939 on whose surface a single color would cover four immense aggregates: Great Britain and her empire of a fifth of the Earth, and upon which “the sun never set,” France and her own vast colonial empire, the United States and its vassals, and, finally, the impressive empire of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Then, another color would mark the modest Germany within her pre-war borders, the meager Italy and her little colonial empire, and finally Japan, whose armies at the time occupied territory in China. (We shall not consider here the countries that were later to join the ranks, at least provisionally, of one or the other of these two belligerent blocs.)

The contrast between the geographical areas covered by these two groups is striking, as is the contrast between their natural, industrial, and commercial resources. Of course, by the end of the 1930s, Germany and Japan were starting — as the postwar years further proved — to shake off their yokes, and to build an economy and an army capable of disquieting the bigger and stronger powers. And, of course, the Germans and the Japanese, during the first years of the war, deployed an uncommon measure of energy and succeeded in carving out their short-lived empires. But, all things considered, Germany, Italy, and Japan were mere dwarfs, so to speak, beside the four giants that were the British, French, American, and Soviet empires.

Who today can seriously believe — as was maintained at the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials — that during the late 1930s these three dwarfs deliberately sought to provoke a new world war? Better still: who today can believe for an instant that, during the general slaughter that ensued, the first of these three dwarfs (Germany) was guilty of every imaginable crime, while the next (Japan) came a distant second, and the third (Italy), which changed sides in September 1943, committed no really reprehensible acts? Who today can accept the notion that the four giants did not, to use the Nuremberg terminology, commit any “crimes against peace,” any “war crimes,” or any “crimes against humanity” that, after 1945, would have warranted judgment by an international tribunal?

It is nevertheless easy to show, with solid proof, that the winners, in six years of war and in a few years afterwards, accumulated, in their massacres of prisoners of war and of civilians, in massive deportations, in systematic looting, and in summary or “judicial” executions, more horrors than the losers. Katyn forest, the Gulag, Dresden, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, the expulsion, under horrible conditions, of 12 to 15 million Germans (from East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia), the handing over of millions of Europeans to the Soviet moloch, the bloodiest purge ever to sweep the continent: was all of that really too small a matter for review by an international tribunal? During this past century, no military force has killed as many children — in Europe, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, and Central America — as the US air force. And yet no international authority has held it to account for these slaughters, which the “boys” have always been ready to carry out anywhere in the world, for such is their “job.” ^[45]

Did the French Want War?

“Cursed be war!” reads the inscription on the war memorial in the small French town of Gen-tieux. In the town of Saint-Martin-d'Estréaux, the inscription on the memorial is lengthier, but its “assessment” of the war sends forth the same cry. ^[46] The lists, in churches and on monuments throughout France, of the dead from the 1914-1918 war are heart-rending. Today no one is really able to say for just what reason the youth of France (just as, on its side, the youth of Germany) were thus mown down.

On some of these same memorials in our towns and villages one can also find, though in markedly smaller numbers, the names of young Frenchmen killed or missing during the campaign of 1939-1940: about 87,000 altogether. Occasionally one also finds lists of civilian victims. During the war years, the British and Americans alone killed some 67,000 in their air attacks on France. Occasionally, to round out the list, one can sometimes find the names of a few Résistance members who died in their beds well after the war. Almost never can one find the names of French victims of the “Great Purge” of 1944-1947 — probably 14,000, and not 30,000 or, as is sometimes claimed, 105,000 — in which Jews, Communists, and last-minute Gaullists played an essential role. With rare exceptions the names of the colonial troops who “died for France” are also missing, because they were not natives of the French towns.

For France, the two world wars constituted a disaster: the first, especially because of the sheer volume of human losses, and the second because of its character as a civil war that has persisted to this day.

When reflecting on these lists of First World War dead, including those “missing in action,” when remembering the whole battalions of men who survived with ruined faces, of those wounded, maimed, and crippled for life, when taking stock of the destructions of all sorts, when thinking of the families devastated by these losses, of the prisoners, of those “shot for desertion,”

of the suicides provoked by so much suffering, when remembering as well the 25 million deaths in America and Europe in 1918 from the epidemic of a viral illness wrongly called “Spanish influenza” (brought into France, at least in part, by American troops), [47] can one not understand the pre-1939-1945 pacifists and supporters of “Munich,” as well as the Pétainists of 1940? What right today has anyone to speak blithely of “cowardice,” either with regard to the Munich accords of September 29 and 30, 1938, or to the armistice signed at Rethondes in Picardy on June 22, 1940? Could the Frenchmen who, in the late 1930s, still bore the physical and emotional scars of the 1914-1918 holocaust (a veritable one), and its aftermath, consider it a moral obligation to hurl themselves straight into a new slaughter? And, after the signing of an armistice that, however harsh, was by no means shameful, where was the dishonor in seeking an understanding with the adversary, not in order to wage war but to make peace?

Did the Germans Want War?

“Hitler [was] born at Versailles”: that sentence serves as the title of a work by the late Léon Degrelle. [48] The 1919 Versailles Diktat — for it was not really a treaty — was so harsh and dishonorable for the defeated nation that the American Senate refused to recognize or adopt it (November 20, 1919). And in the years that followed, it was ever more discredited. It dismembered Germany, submitted it to a cruel military occupation, and starved it. In particular, it obliged the defeated nation to cede to the newly created state of Poland the regions of Posen, Upper Silesia, and part of West Prussia. The 440 articles of the “Treaty of Peace Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany” (together with its annexes) signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, constituted, along with the related treaties (Trianon, Saint-Germain, Sèvres), a monumental iniquity which, if anything, only the fury of a recently ended war can explain. As one French writer has put it: “It is easy enough to find fault with the Germans for not having respected Versailles. Their duty of honor as Germans was, first, to get round it, and then to tear it up, just as that of the French was to maintain it.” [49]

Twenty years after that crushing humiliation, Hitler sought to recover some of the territory turned over to Poland, just as France, after its defeat in 1870, sought to recover Alsace and a part of Lorraine.

Unless he chooses to speak flippantly, no historian is in a position to state who in fact is mainly to blame for a worldwide conflict. It is thus wise not to ascribe to Hitler exclusive responsibility for the 1939-1945 war under the pretext that, on the 1st of September 1939, he went to war against Poland. On the other hand, the attempt to justify the entry into war of Britain and France, two days later, against Germany on the basis of a pledge to come to the aid of Poland seems rather unfounded given that, two weeks later (September 17, 1939), the USSR invaded Poland and occupied a good part of its territory, without prompting any military reaction on the part of Britain or France.

Worldwide conflicts resemble tremendous natural disasters in that they cannot accurately be predicted, even if one can sometimes feel them coming. Only after the fact can they be explained, laboriously and, too often, affected by reserves of bad faith in the form of mutual accusations of negligence, blindness, ill will, or irresponsibility. All the same one can note that in Germany during the late 1930s, the pro-war camp, that is, those who urged military action against the western powers was, to all intents and purposes, non-existent. The Germans envisaged only a “push to the East” (Drang nach Osten). On the other hand, in Britain, France and the United States, the anti-German hawks were powerful. The “war party” wanted a “democratic crusade,” and got it. Among these new crusaders figured, with a few noteworthy exceptions, the whole of American and European organized Jewry.

Churchill and the British as Masters of War Propaganda

During the First World War, the British cynically exploited all the resources of propaganda based on wholly fictitious atrocity stories. [50] During the Second World War they remained true to form.

Today people widely condemn Neville Chamberlain for his policy of “appeasement” in dealing with the Germans, whereas people hold, or pretend to hold, Winston Churchill in high esteem for his determination to carry on war against Germany. It is not yet certain that history, with time, will uphold this judgment. New discoveries concerning Churchill’s personality and wartime role raise questions about the dubious justifications for that determination, along with questions about the fruits of his policies. At least Chamberlain had foreseen that even a British victory would entail disaster for his country, her empire, and for other victors as well. Churchill did not see this, or did not know how to see it. He promised “blood, toil, tears, and sweat,” to be followed by victory. He did not anticipate the bitter morrow of victory: the hastened disappearance of the empire he held dear, and the handing over of nearly half of Europe to Communist imperialism.

During an address given several years ago, David Irving, Churchill’s biographer, showed the illusory nature of the justifications given by Churchill, first, to launch his countrymen into the war, and then to keep them in it. The business, if one may so term it, was carried out in four phases.

In the initial phase, Churchill assured the British that it was their obligation to go to the aid of a Poland that had fallen victim to Hitler’s aggression but, two weeks into the war, this motive was nullified by the Soviet Union’s aggression against the same ally.

In the next phase, he explained to his countrymen that they must carry on the war in order to safeguard the British empire. He rejected Germany’s repeated peace proposals, and in May 1941 he had the peace emissary Rudolf Hess incarcerated. Whereas Germany wanted to preserve and maintain the British empire, he chose to conclude an alliance with the empire’s worst possible enemy: the American Franklin Roosevelt. Thus the second motive was then nullified.

In a third phase, Churchill told the British that they were duty-bound to fight for Democracy, including its most paradoxical variety: the Soviet Socialist. He held that a second European front must be opened to relieve the burden on Stalin. This of course meant aiding a dictatorship that had assaulted Poland on September 17, 1939, and which was preparing a new conquest of that country.

As late as one month before the end of hostilities in Europe (May 8, 1945), British propaganda was generally lacking in coherence, while many British and American soldiers were appalled to learn the extent to which their bombers had ravaged Germany.

It was then that suddenly, in April 1945, there occurred a miracle that enabled Churchill to find his fourth, and really good motive: the discovery of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp prompted him to assert that, Britain’s difficult fight over nearly six years, wreaking and enduring so much havoc, was for no less a cause than that of civilization itself. To be sure, on more than one occasion he had already spoken to his countrymen, in his customarily high-flown rhetoric, about Britain as the cradle of a civilization threatened by the Teutonic hordes (the “Huns,” as he called them), but these oratorical devices no longer worked so well. The godsend was the discovery in April 1945 of a pestilence-ravaged camp: a boon for Churchill and for British propaganda.

At Bergen-Belsen, the British Introduce the 'Nazi Crime' Media Spectacle

Situated near Hannover, Bergen-Belsen was originally established as a camp for wounded soldiers. In 1943 it became a detention center for European Jews who were to be exchanged for German civilians held by the Allies. In the middle of the war, Jews were transferred from that camp to Switzerland or, by way of Turkey, even to Palestine (yet another proof, as may be pointed out in passing, of the absence of an extermination program).

Until the end of 1944, conditions for inmates at Bergen-Belsen were about normal: then, along with a convoy of deportees brought from regions in the East facing the imminent Soviet onslaught, there arrived epidemics of dysentery, cholera, and exanthematic typhus. The resulting disaster was aggravated by the Anglo-American bombing raids that severely hampered deliveries of medicine, food, and — most devastating of all — water. The rail transports of Jews from the East no longer took just two or three days to reach the camp, but rather one or two weeks. Because of Allied air bombardment and strafing, the trains could proceed only at night. As a result, the trains arrived containing only dead and dying, or exhausted men and women unfit to withstand such epidemics. On March 1st, 1945, camp commandant Josef Kramer sent a letter to General Richard Glücks, chief of concentration camp administration, in which he described this “catastrophe” in detail, concluding with the plea: “I implore your help in overcoming this situation.” [51]

Germany, on its last legs, could no longer deal with the influx of its own eastern refugees arriving by the millions. It could no longer manage to supply its army with weapons and ammunition, or its population with food. Finally, it could no longer remedy the tragic conditions in camps where even guards were dying of typhus. Himmler authorized Wehrmacht officers to establish contact with the British to warn them that they were approaching, in their advance, a frightful den of infection. Negotiations followed. A wide truce area was declared around Bergen-Belsen, and British and German soldiers decided, by mutual consent, to share the task of camp surveillance.

But what they found in the camp, including barracks and tents flooded with excrement, and the unbearable odor of decomposing bodies, quickly had the British feeling indignant. They came to believe, or were allowed to believe, that the SS had deliberately chosen to kill the inmates or to let them die. And, despite their own best efforts, the British were unable to curb the terrible mortality rate.

Then, like a swarm of vultures, journalists swooped down on the camp, filming and photographing every possible horror. They also proceeded to arrange certain scenes of their own making: a famous one, shown for example in the film “Night and Fog,” is that of a bulldozer pushing corpses into a large pit. Many viewers have been led to believe that they are seeing “German bulldozers.” [52] They didn’t notice that the bulldozer (just one) is driven by a British soldier who, doubtless after a body count, is pushing the corpses into a large trench that had been dug after the camp’s liberation. The Jew Sydney Lewis Bernstein, London head of the Home Office cinema section, called on Alfred Hitchcock to make a film on these “Nazi atrocities.” Hitchcock accepted, but, in the end, only fragments of his film were made public, probably because the complete version contained assertions that might cast doubt on its authenticity. [53]

On the whole, the “shock of Bergen-Belsen” was a great success for Allied propaganda. In every possible way, the media exploited it to show dead and dying camp inmates to the world at large, but while at the same time leading viewers, through commentary, to think that these inmates had been killed, murdered, or exterminated, or else were walking corpses condemned to perish as victims of killing, murder, or extermination. Thus, on the basis of the ghastly conditions in a camp that, as already noted, had neither crematories nor (as conventional historians acknowl-

edge) any homicidal gas chamber, was built the general myth of the existence and use, at Auschwitz and elsewhere, of “gas chambers” coupled with crematories.

Among the most famous casualties of epidemics in that camp were Anne Frank and her sister Margot who, for nearly 40 years, were widely and persistently said to have been gassed at Auschwitz (from where, in fact, they had been brought), or killed at Bergen-Belsen. Today, it is generally conceded that they died of typhus at Bergen-Belsen in February-March 1945.

The “shock of Bergen-Belsen” was very quickly imitated by the Americans who, turning to Hollywood, shot a series of motion pictures on the liberation of the German camps. After editing the extensive footage (6,000 feet of film, of a total of 80,000), they produced a film that was shown on November 29, 1945, at the Nuremberg trial. Everyone, including most of the defendants, found it quite disturbing. A few of the defendants sensed the deceit, but it was too late: the great lie’s bulldozer had been set in motion. It is still running today. The viewers of all the many horror films on the “Nazi camps” have, over time, been conditioned by the choice of images and the commentary. A section of wall, a heap of shoes, a smokestack: it has taken no more than these for the public to believe that they have seen a chemical slaughterhouse.

Fifty-two years after the liberation of the Bergen-Belsen camp, Maurice Druon, secrétaire perpétuel of the Académie française, testified at the trial of Maurice Papon, accused of “collaboration” in the “Final Solution.” Here is an extract of his deposition mentioning gas chambers at that camp (which, as all historians today acknowledge, had none), the famous bulldozer, and the “hair shorn from the dead to help make some ersatz or other”: [\[54\]](#)

When speaking today of the camps, one has in one’s eyes, and the jurors present have in their eyes, those horrid images that the films and the screens offered and offer to us; and it is quite right to do so [that is, to show them], and they ought to be re-shown each year to every secondary school graduating class. But those images, of the gas chambers, of the mounds of hair shorn from the dead to help make some ersatz or other, of those children playing among the corpses, and of those bodies so great in number that they had to be pushed into a pit by a bulldozer, and of those troops of skeletons, staggering and haggard, in striped pajamas, with death in their eyes, those images, and I hereby bear witness, I was, in my modest capacity of information officer, one of the 20 Allied officers to “view” them first, when the uncut footage, as it is called, arrived just after the liberation of Bergen-Belsen by the English. But that was in the spring of 1945. Until then, no one knew. — We must not judge with our trained eyes [sic] of today, but with our blind eyes of yesterday.

Maurice Druon, in reality, had “trained eyes” yesterday and has “blind eyes” today. More than 50 years of propaganda have blinded him. But already during the war, were not he and his uncle Joseph Kessel, both Jewish, blinded by their hatred of the German soldiers when they wrote the atrocious “Partisans’ Song,” which includes the exhortation “Killers by bullet and by knife, kill quickly!”?

The Americans and the Soviets Outdo the British

In 1951, anyway, the Jewish scholar Hannah Arendt had the honesty to write: [\[55\]](#)

It is of some importance to realize that all pictures of concentration camps are misleading insofar as they show the camps in their last stages, at the moment the Allied troops marched in ... The condition of the

camps was a result of the war events during the final months: Himmler had ordered the evacuation of all extermination camps in the East, the German camps were consequently vastly overcrowded, and he was no longer in a position to assure the food supply in Germany.

Let us once more recall that the expression “extermination camps” is a creation of Allied war propaganda.

Eisenhower thus followed Churchill’s lead and set about building, on an American scale, such a propaganda edifice, based on atrocity stories, that soon everything and anything came to be allowed, as much in regard to the vanquished as to the simple, factual truth. In news reports about the German camps there were added to the true horrors, as I have said, horrors truer than life. Eliminated were the photographs or film segments showing inmates with beaming faces, such as that of Marcel Paul, [56] or those in relatively good health despite the severe shortages or epidemics, or, as at Dachau, the healthy Hungarian Jewish mothers with their babes-in-arms. Instead, the public was only shown images of the sickly, the wasted, the human rags, who were actually just as much victims of the Allies as of the Germans, for the former, with their carpet-bombing of the whole of Germany and their systematic aerial strafing of civilians — even of farm workers in the fields — had brought about an apocalypse in the heart of Europe.

Respect for the truth will oblige one to remark that neither Churchill, nor Eisenhower, nor Truman, nor de Gaulle was impudent enough to lend credence to the tales of chemical slaughterhouses. They left that job to their propaganda specialists and to the judges of their military tribunals. Appalling tortures were inflicted on the Germans who, in the eyes of the Allies, were guilty of all of those “crimes.” Reprisals were carried out against German prisoners and civilians. As late as 1951 German men and women were being hanged. (Even in the 1980s, the Soviets were still shooting German or German-allied “war criminals.”) British and American soldiers, at first quite taken aback at the sight both of the German cities reduced to rubble, and of their inhabitants turned into cave-dwellers, could return home with peace of mind. Churchill and Eisenhower were there to vouch for the Truth: the Allied forces had brought down Evil; they embodied Good; there was to be a program of “re-education” for the defeated Germans, including the burning by the millions of their bad books. All told, the Great Slaughter had come to a happy ending, and had been carried out for a righteous cause. Such was the fraud made holy by the Nuremberg show-trial.

A Fraud at Last Denounced in 1995

It took no less than 50 years for a historian, Annette Wieviorka, and a filmmaker, William Karel, to reveal to the general public, in a documentary entitled *Contre l'oubli* ("Against Forgetting"), the 1945 American and Soviet stagings and fabrications carried out in the context of the liberation of the camps in East and West.

Wieviorka, a French Jew, and Karel, an Israeli who has lived in France since 1985, have manifestly been influenced by the French revisionist school. Although quite hostile toward the latter, they have nonetheless admitted that the time has at last come to denounce some of the exterminationist propaganda’s most glaring fictions. On this subject one may refer either to an article by the journalist Philippe Cusin [57] or, especially, to another article that Béatrice Bocard prepared for the repeat broadcast of “Against Forgetting” on Antenne 2 television, a piece whose title alone says a great deal: “The Shoah, from reality to the spectacle. The indecent stagings by the liberators in the face of the deportees' accounts.” [58] In it Bocard wrote:

With only slight exaggeration, it might be said that the liberation of the concentration camps introduced the reality shows ... The first signs of the genre of spectacles that television channels like CNN were to make commonplace 50 years later were already there, with attempts to outdo [one another] at indecency, at voyeurism, and with recourse to staging ... The least infirm of the survivors were made to repeat their script before the cameras: "I was deported because I was Jewish," says one of them. Once, twice ... Not to be outdone by the American "show," the Soviets, who had done nothing at the time of the Auschwitz camp's liberation, shot a "fake liberation" a few weeks afterwards, with Polish extras enthusiastically greeting the soldiers ... "William Karel is the first to have dissected these false images that we had always been told, until quite recently, were genuine," says Annette Wieviorka. How had it been possible to accept them? "People are not in the habit of questioning images as they question texts," the historian explains. "The example of the [purported] mass graves at Timosoara [Romania, December 1989] is not too distant."

It goes without saying that, in this article by Bocard, the manipulations were presented as being offensive ... for the internees. Some German soldiers and civilians denounced this sort of fakery as early as 1945 but, instead of being believed, they were accused of Nazism or anti-Semitism.

The Jewish Organizations' Responsibility for This Propaganda

From its origins in 1941 up to the present, the propaganda that has evolved around the "genocide" and the "gas chambers" has essentially been the product of Jewish organizations. As a result, the general public has gradually become convinced that the Germans carried out a wartime program of physical extermination directed, above all, at the Jews, and that the "gas chambers" were in some way reserved exclusively for them (including for the Jewish "Sonderkommando" members whose supposed job was to lead their fellow Jews to the slaughter). Nowadays, the countless "Holocaust museums" constitute a Jewish monopoly, and a Hebrew word, "Shoah" ("catastrophe"), is used ever more often to designate this purported genocide. Whatever their part in the making of the myth and in its success, the western Allies played only a supporting role, and always under pressure from various Jewish organizations. (The Soviet case may have been different: Moscow's fabrication of an "Auschwitz" in which the fate of the Jews was not particularly emphasized may have been born of the need for a propaganda to be directed less toward the peoples behind the Iron Curtain than toward Western "progressives.")

The fact that today some Jewish voices are being raised to ask that there be less talk of the "gas chambers" has not induced Jewish community leaders to tone down the "Holocaust" or Shoah propaganda. From the standpoint of Jewish historians these incredible "gas chambers" have, to put it simply, become somewhat burdensome in propagating the Shoah religion.

A French political figure, Jean-Marie Le Pen, has said that the Nazi gas chambers are a detail of Second World War history. Yet, in their respective writings on that war, Eisenhower, Churchill, and de Gaulle apparently regarded those chemical slaughterhouses as even less than a detail, given that they did not mention a word of them. A similar discretion can be noted on the part of the historian René Rémond, who was a prominent member first of the French Comité d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale (Committee on the History of the Second World War), then of the Institut d'histoire du temps présent (Institute of Contemporary History): in two of his works where one might expect to read the words "gas chambers," one finds no such thing. The American historian Daniel Jonah Goldhagen speaks of Nazi gas chambers as an "epiphenomenon." In the 84,000-word French version of the Nuremberg judgment, only 520 extremely vague words are devoted to them, a portion amounting to 0.62 percent of the text. ^[59]

For a revisionist, the gas chambers are less than a detail because they quite simply never existed. But the gas chamber myth is much more than a detail: it is the cornerstone of a huge structure of beliefs of all sorts that the law forbids us to question.

“Gas chambers or not, what does it matter?” This question may at times be heard, tinged with skepticism. It bothers Pierre Vidal-Naquet, for whom the abandonment of the gas chambers would be a “surrender in open country.” [60] One can only agree with him. On the matter of the gas chambers' existence or non-existence hinges, in effect, the question of whether the Germans are to be regarded as arrant criminals, or instead, the Jews as arrant liars (or confidence men). In the former case, the Germans, in the space of three or four years, killed industrial proportions of poor unarmed victims by industrial means whereas, in the latter, the Jews, for more than half a century, peddled a lie of historic dimensions.

In 1976 the American Arthur Robert Butz, published his book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. In the newspaper *Le Monde* of December 29, 1978, and January 16, 1979, I published two texts on “the rumor of Auschwitz,” and, at the very start of that same year of 1979, Wilhelm Stäglich published *Der Auschwitz Mythos*. Voicing the grave Jewish worries in the face of the emergence of revisionist writings, the Zionist William D. Rubinstein, professor at Deakin University in Melbourne, wrote at the time: “... Were the Holocaust shown to be a hoax, the number one weapon in Israel’s propaganda armory disappears.” [61] Some time later he similarly declared: “... The fact that if the Holocaust can be shown to be a 'Zionist myth,' the strongest of all weapons in Israel’s propaganda armory collapses.” [62]

Eight years later, as if to echo those statements, a lawyer for the “International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism” (LICRA) wrote: [63]

If [it is true that] the gas chambers existed, then Nazi barbarity has no equal. If not, the Jews will have lied and anti-Semitism will thus be justified. Those are the stakes in the debate.

In Ernst Zündel’s phrase, “the 'Holocaust' is Israel’s sword and shield.”

The stakes are thus not merely historical but also political. And the political stakes present a paradox: the “Holocaust” myth serves, in the first place, to condemn German National Socialism, and secondarily all forms of nationalism or of the national idea — except the Israeli and Zionist variety, which the myth, on the contrary, reinforces.

The stakes are just as much financial, as one may realize when considering that, at least since the “reparations” agreement signed at Luxembourg in 1952, German taxpayers have paid “astronomical” sums (as Nahum Goldmann put it) to the Jewish population of the State of Israel as well as outside (in the Diaspora), and that they are to continue to pay for the crimes of the Shoah imputed to them until at least the year 2030. The “Shoah Business,” denounced even by a Pierre Vidal-Naquet, is inseparable from the Shoah.

Today, the bluff of the Shoah legitimizes a worldwide racket. In the first place, a growing number of either rich or poor countries, including France, find themselves facing claims made by billionaire Edgar Bronfman’s World Jewish Congress, and by immensely wealthy American Jewish organizations, for new “reimbursements” or new “reparations” in the form of mountains of gold and money. The countries of Europe, starting with Switzerland, are not the only ones targeted. For the moment a well-established “mafia” concentrates on four main issues (there will certainly be others in future): “Nazi gold,” Jewish assets, Jewish art collections, and insurance policies taken out by Jews. The chief targets are governments, banks, museums, auction houses, and in-

insurance firms. The New Jersey legislature, under pressure from Jewish organizations, took measures to impose a boycott of Swiss banking institutions. This is but the beginning. The only real argument brought to bear by the blackmailers can be put in one word: Shoah. Not one government, not one bank, not one insurance company dare retort that the matter at hand is one of myth, and that there is no question of its paying for a crime that was not committed. The Swiss, also under pressure from Jewish organizations, were at first so naive as to think that it would be enough to enact a law forbidding any questioning of the Shoah. But no sooner had they enacted this new legislation than Bronfman presented them his bill. They then offered considerable amounts: a wasted effort. An “angry” Bronfman let it be known that it would take infinitely more to satisfy him. “My experience with the Swiss,” he remarked, “is that unless you hold their feet very close to the fire, they don’t take you seriously.” [64]

As for the moral wrong done to Germany in particular and to non-Jews in general by the propagation of the “Holocaust” faith, it is incalculable. Incessantly the Jewish organizations repeat their accusations, not only against a Germany supposedly guilty of a “genocide” of the Jews, but also against Churchill, Roosevelt, de Gaulle, Stalin, Pope Pius XII, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the neutral countries, and still other countries, all guilty, supposedly, of having permitted Germany to commit this “genocide” and, consequently, themselves likewise liable for financial “reparations.”

Jewish Organizations Impose a 'Holocaust' Creed

My writings have dealt little with the “Jewish question.” If, over so long a period, I doggedly pursued this historical inquiry without giving much thought to the “Jewish question” as such, it was because, to my mind, the latter was of only secondary importance. Were I to dwell on it I might risk being thrown off the essential course: for I was seeking, first and foremost, to determine, respectively, the real and the mythical components in the story of the so-called “Holocaust” or Shoah. It was therefore far more important for me to establish the actual facts than to try to uncover the responsibilities.

And yet, in spite of myself, two things made me abandon this reticence: the attitude of numerous Jews toward my work, and the aggressive manner in which they served notice on me to state my position regarding the subject that grips so many of them: the “Jewish question.”

When, in the early 1960s, I approached what Olga Wormser-Migot was to call in her 1968 doctoral thesis “the problem of the gas chambers,” I knew beforehand what sort of consequences such an undertaking might generate. Paul Rassinier’s example was there to warn me that I could expect grave repercussions. I nonetheless decided to go ahead with it, to keep within the framework of research of an entirely scholarly nature, and to publish my results. I also chose to leave to the potential adversary any responsibility for recourse to coercion or perhaps even physical violence should the matter ever go beyond the confines of academic controversy.

And that is precisely what happened. Using a metaphor, I could say that the frail door behind which I drafted my revisionist writings one day abruptly gave way to the pushing and shoving of a loud mob of protesters. I was bound then to remark that, in their entirety or quasi-entirety, these troublemakers were sons and daughters of Israel. “The Jews” had barged into my life. I suddenly found them to be not as I had known them hitherto, that is, as individuals to be distinguished one from the other, but as mutually inseparable elements of a group especially united in hatred and, to use their own word, in “anger.” Frenzied and frothy-mouthed, in a tone at once moaning and threatening, they came to trumpet in my ears that my work outraged them, that my conclusions were false, and that I must imperatively show allegiance to their version of Second World War

history. This kosher version of history put “the Jews” at the center of that war as its victims “second to none,” while in fact the conflict caused probably close to 40 million deaths. For Jews, their slaughter is unique in world history. I was warned that unless I complied my career would be ruined. Soon afterwards I was brought to court. Then, by way of the media, the Grand Sanhedrin made up of the priests, doctors, and other worthies of Jewish Law enforcement launched a virulent campaign against me, advocating hatred and violence. I shall not dwell here on the insults, physical assaults, and court cases that have been its interminable aftermath. [65]

The leaders of these Jewish organizations readily call me a “Nazi,” which I am not. As comparisons go, “Palestinian” seems more befitting in view of my standing with them, for they have treated me like one, and I have come to believe that the Jews in their Diaspora behave toward those who displease them much as their brethren behave in Palestine. My writings are, in a sense, the stones of my Intifada. Frankly speaking, I find no essential difference between the behavior of the Zionist leaders of Tel Aviv or Jerusalem, and that of the Jewish leaders in Paris or New York: the same harshness, the same spirit of conquest and domination, the same insistence on privileges, all against a constant background of blackmail, of pressure accompanied by complaints and moaning. Such is the case in today’s world. Was it different in the past? Were the Jewish people as unhappy in past centuries as they tend to claim? Have they suffered as much from wars, foreign and civil, as have other human communities? Have they experienced as much hardship and misery? Have they really had no responsibility for the hostile reactions of which they are so quick to complain? On this point, Bernard Lazare wrote: [66]

If this hostility, even repugnance, had been brought to bear on the Jews only at one time and in one country, it would be easy to explain the limited causes of such anger; but this race has been, on the contrary, faced with the hatred of all the peoples among whom it has settled. Therefore, because the Jews' foes have belonged to the most diverse races — races inhabiting lands quite distant from one another, living under different laws and governed by opposing principles, having neither the same ways nor customs, and, animated by various ways of thinking, being unable to judge all things in the same manner — the general causes of anti-Semitism must always have lain in Israel itself, and not amongst those who have fought against it.

This is not to assert that the Jews' persecutors have always had right on their side, nor that they have not resorted to all the excesses that may accompany ardent hatred, but merely to postulate that — at least some of the time — the Jews have brought their ills upon themselves.

Lazare was not in the least hostile to his co-religionists — quite the opposite, in fact. He had the frankness to recall, in several passages in his book, how skilful the Jews had been, throughout their history (and thus as far back as Greco-Roman antiquity), in obtaining privileges. He noted that, among those of the poor who converted to Judaism, many “were attracted by the privileges granted to the Jews.” [67]

I trust that I may be permitted here a personal digression.

In my capacity as an erstwhile Latinist, as a defendant prosecuted in court by Jewish organizations, as a university professor prevented from giving his lectures by Jewish demonstrations, and, finally, as an author forbidden to publish because of certain Chief Rabbinate decisions that have been ratified by the French Republic, it has occurred to me that I may compare my experiences with those of some illustrious predecessors. It is thus that my thoughts turn to the Roman aristocrat Lucius Flaccus. In 59 BC Cicero had occasion to defend him, notably against his Jewish accusers. The description of the influence, power, and methods of the Jews in Rome that the bril-

liant orator then gave in the praetorium leads me to think that, if he were to return to this world, in the late twentieth century, to defend a revisionist, he would not, as it were, have to change one word on that subject in the text of his plea (which is known as *Pro Flacco*).

Having taught at the Sorbonne, my thoughts also turn to my predecessor Henri Labroue, author of a work entitled *Voltaire antijuif*. Late in 1942, in the middle of the German occupation, a time when we are expected to believe that the Jews and their supporters were as discreet as possible, he had to abandon his lectures on the history of Judaism. In the words of the present-day Sorbonne luminary André Kaspi: "A chair of the history of Judaism was created at the Sorbonne beginning with the fall term of 1942, and held by Henri Labroue. The first courses provoked hostile demonstrations and incidents that led to the course's cancellation." [68]

Today, dozens of great authors of world literature, including Shakespeare, Voltaire, Hugo, and Zola (the partisan of Captain Dreyfus also wrote "*L'Argent*"), would find themselves in court, sued and prosecuted by Jewish organizations. Among the great names in French politics, even the Socialist and pacifist Jean Jaurès would be in the dock of disgrace.

Such considerations might earn me the label "anti-Semitic" or "anti-Jewish." I reject those epithets, which I see as trite insults. I wish no harm to any Jew. At the same time, I regard as loathsome the behavior of most of the associations, organizations, and pressure groups that claim to represent Jewish interests or "Jewish remembrance."

The leaders of those associations, organizations, or groups obviously have the greatest difficulty in understanding that one may act out of simple intellectual curiosity. I have devoted a good part of my life to revisionism, first in the field of literary studies, then in that of historical research, not at all as a result of some invidious calculation, or in the service of an anti-Jewish plot, but in heeding an impulse as natural as that which makes the birds sing and the leaves grow, and which makes men in the darkness strive after light.

Historical Science's Natural Resistance to this Creed

I could have followed the example set by some other revisionists by proffering my surrender, showing repentance, and retracting certain statements. As another avenue of escape, I might have sought contentment in discreetly devising clever and convoluted maneuvers. Not only did I decide, in the late 1970s, to resist openly and in the public forum, but I also pledged to myself not to play the adversary's game. I resolved to change nothing in my own behavior, and to let the hotheads get hotter by the day, if they so chose. Among the Jews, I would listen only to those who, especially brave, dared to take up my defense, if only for the duration of a season. [69]

On the whole, Jewish organizations brand as "anti-Semites" those who do not adopt their own conception of Second World War history. This is understandable, for the act of going so far as to say, as I do here and now, that these organizations are among those most to blame for the peddling of a gigantic myth, may well seem to be inspired by anti-Semitism. But, in reality, I only draw obvious conclusions from a historical inquiry that seems to have been quite a serious one given that, in spite of the feverish research of plaintiffs and prosecutors, no court has ever found in it a trace of shallowness, negligence, deliberate ignorance, or falsehood.

Moreover, I fail to see why I, for my part, ought to show respect toward groups of persons who have never shown the least respect for my research work, my publications, or my personal, family, or professional life. I do not attack these bodies for their religious convictions or for their attachment to the State of Israel. All human groups revel in phantasmagoria. Consequently, each is

free to offer itself a more or less real, or more or less imaginary, view of its own history. But this conception is not to be forced on others. Yet, the Jewish organizations force theirs on us, a practice that is in itself unacceptable, and all the more so given that this portrayal is manifestly wrong. And I know of no other group in France that has succeeded in making, of an article of its own religious faith (that of the Shoah), an article of the law of the Republic — a group that, with the assent of the Interior Ministry, enjoys the exorbitant privilege of operating its own armed militias; and, finally, which can decree that university teachers who displease it shall no longer have the right to work, either in France or abroad. [70]

For a Forthright Revisionism

The revisionists in fact know neither master nor disciple. They make up a heterogeneous group. They are loath to unite with one another, a trait that brings as many benefits as drawbacks. Their individualism makes them unsuited for concerted action. At the same time, the police are unable to infiltrate such a disparate group and keep it under surveillance; they cannot work their way up the channels of the revisionist structure because there simply is no such thing. These individuals feel free to improvise, each according to his aptitudes or tastes, revisionist activities that may take the most diverse forms. The quality of the work undertaken reflects this disparity, and it must be acknowledged that the results are uneven. From this point of view, one can say that much still remains to be done. The mere amateur is shoulder to shoulder with the scholar, as is the man of action with the researcher in his archives. I shall not mention any names here, for fear of labeling anyone. [71]

Regarding the manner in which the revisionist struggle is to be waged, it goes without saying that the revisionists are divided between supporters and opponents of a kind of political realism. Most of them consider that, given the strength of the taboo, they had better proceed indirectly, thereby avoiding direct clashes with the guardians of orthodoxy. For these revisionists, it is clumsy and ill-advised to state, for example, that the “Holocaust” is a myth. They believe that is more worthwhile to imply that the “Holocaust” did indeed take place, but not to the generally acknowledged extent. Keen on strategy or tactics, they seek to leave Jewish sensibilities unruffled and will suggest, wrongly, that the legendary portion of the “Holocaust” story is above all the work of the Communists or the western Allies, but not of the Jews, or if so, only very little. New revisionists have particularly been inclined to engage in this deceitful fudge, which involves presenting the Jews as victims, like everyone else, of a kind of universal false creed. According to this view, the Jews have been driven, as if by some immanent force, to believe in the genocide and the gas chambers while also being driven, doubtless by the same force, to demand ever more money in reparations for fictitious hardships. [72] A wandering Jew who has just gone over to the revisionist camp will be welcomed by these revisionists as a great genius and savior of the cause. If he appropriates as his own (and even clumsily), findings about Auschwitz of his non-Jewish predecessors', the newcomer is also hailed as a guiding light of scholarship.

I accept certain forms of such political realism, but on condition that it not be done with arrogance. There is no superiority, either intellectual or moral, in deeming that the end justifies the means, and that it is sometimes simply necessary to borrow the adversary's weapons of dissembling and lying. My personal preference is for a forthright revisionism, a revisionism without hang-ups or too many compromises; one that shows its colors; that marches straight toward its goal; alone, if need be; that does not let the enemy off lightly. Besides, long experience in the revisionist struggle has led me to think that the best strategy, the best tactic may be a series of frontal attacks; the adversary does not expect them: he imagines that no one would ever dare defy him in such a way; he discovers that he no longer inspires fear; he is disconcerted.

A Conflict Without End

On more than one occasion revisionists have proposed to their adversaries the holding of a public debate on the questions of the genocide, the six million, and the gas chambers. Jewish organizations have always shied away from this. This proves that they will not accept it. Even the Catholic Church today allows a form of dialogue with atheists. The “Synagogue,” though, will never forget the offense it has suffered, ^[73] nor will it run the risk of engaging in such a dialogue with the revisionists. Moreover, too many political, financial, and moral interests are at stake for the leaders of either the State of Israel or of Jewry in the Diaspora to agree to launch a fair debate on the kosher version of Second World War history.

Therefore, the test of strength will continue. I see no end to it. This conflict between “exterminationism” and “revisionism,” that is, between, on the one hand, a fixed, official history and, on the other hand, a critical, scholarly, secular history, is but one of many in the endless struggles between faith and reason, between belief and science, in human societies for thousands of years. The “Holocaust” or Shoah creed is an integral part of a religion, the Hebraic religion, of which, upon closer examination, the “Holocaust” phantasmagoria plainly appears to be merely one expression. No religion has ever collapsed under the weight of reason, and we are not about to witness the disappearance of the Jewish religion, together with one of its most vital components. That religion, it is currently estimated, is at least 1500 or 3,000 years old, if not 4,000. There is no special reason why those living in the year 2000 should have the privilege of witnessing the demise of a religion so deeply rooted in the ages.

Some say that one day the “Holocaust” or Shoah myth will fade away, just as Stalinist Communism foundered not long ago, or as the Zionist myth and the State of Israel will founder one day. But those who say so are likening unlike things. Communism and Zionism stand on shaky ground; both presuppose largely illusory high aspirations in Man: general absence of selfishness, equal sharing among all, a sense of sacrifice, labor for the common good; their emblems have been, for the former, the hammer, the sickle, and the kolkhoz [collective farm], and, for the latter, the sword, the plough, and the kibbutz. The Jewish religion, for its part, beneath the complex outward appearance provided by the Masora and the pilpul, does not indulge in such flights of fancy. It aims low to aim straight. It relies on the real. Underneath the cover of Talmudic extravagance and intellectual or verbal wizardry, one may see that it is above all hand-in-glove with money, King Dollar, the Golden Calf, and the allurements of consumerism. Who can believe that these “values” will soon lose their power? And besides, why should the demise of the State of Israel bring in its wake dire consequences for the myth of the “Holocaust”? On the contrary, the millions of Jews thus forced to settle or resettle in the rich countries of the West would not miss the chance to bewail a “Second Holocaust” and, once again and even more forcefully, would blame the entire world for the new ordeal visited upon the Jewish people, who would then have to be “compensated.”

In the end, the Jewish religion — and one sees this only too well in the tales of the “Holocaust” — is anchored in that perhaps deepest zone of Man: fear. Therein lies its strength. Therein lies its chance for survival, despite all the hazards and despite the battering that its myths have taken at the hands of historical revisionism. By exploiting fear, the practitioners of Judaism win every time.

I agree with French sociologist and historian Serge Thion, ^[74] who observes that whereas historical revisionism has won all the intellectual battles over the past 25 years, it loses the ideological war every day. Revisionism runs up against the irrational, against a quasi-religious way of thinking, against the refusal to take into account anything that originates from a non-Jewish sphere.

We are in the presence of a sort of secular theology whose worldwide high priest is Elie Wiesel, ordained by the award of a Nobel prize.

The Future Between Repression and the Internet

Newcomers to revisionism must take care not to harbor illusions. Their task will be hard. Will it be less so than it was for Paul Rassinier and his immediate successors? Will the repression be less fierce?

Personally, I rather doubt it. Yet, in the world at large, changes in the political balance and in communication technology will perhaps give minorities an opportunity to be more widely heard than they have been in the recent past. Thanks to the Internet, it will perhaps be easier for revisionists to foil censorship, and historical information will doubtless become more accessible.

The fact remains that at the close of a century and a millennium, humanity is strangely experiencing a world in which books, newspapers, radio, and television are ever more tightly controlled by the masters of finance or by the thought police, while at the same time, in parallel and at increasing speed, new means of communication are being developed which, at least in part, elude those forces' dominion. One might see it as a world of two distinct profiles, one stiffening and ageing, and another, in the insolence of youth, looking keenly to the future. The same contrast can be seen in historical research, at least in the sector that is under thought police surveillance: on one side, the official historians, who bring out countless works on the "Holocaust" or Shoah, isolating themselves within the realm of religious belief or of hair-splitting argument while, on the other side, independent minds strive to follow only the precepts of reason and science. Thanks to the latter, free historical research is today showing an impressive vitality, notably on the Internet.

The upholders of an official history, protected and guaranteed by the law, will be forever doomed to confront the questioners of their ordained truth. The former, long established, have the wealth and the power; the latter, a real future.

A Worsening Repression

If there is one point on which revisionist writings can convey as much information to revisionists as to anti-revisionists, it is that of the repression endured by the former at the hands of the latter.

Nearly every revisionist can provide a good account of what it has cost him to speak out on a taboo subject, but he is not always aware of what his colleagues in other countries have had to endure. The anti-revisionists, for their part, systematically minimize the extent of their repressive actions. They are mindful only of their own torments, which they compare to those suffered by Torquemada and the Grand Inquisitors: they are obliged to flog, ever to flog; their arms grow weary, they feel cramps coming on, they suffer, they groan; they find that, if there are any who deserve pity, it is the executioners; they cover their eyes and plug up their ears to avoid seeing and hearing any of their victims. At times they are even surprised, perhaps in good faith, when shown a list of revisionists whose personal, family, or professional lives they have succeeded in dashing, or of those whom they have ruined, or caused to be heavily sanctioned by fines or imprisonment, or to be gravely injured, or to have acid sprayed in their faces, or killed, or driven to suicide, while, conversely, there is not even a single instance of a revisionist touching even a hair on the head of one of his adversaries.

It must be said that the media tries, as much as possible, to conceal the effects of this widespread repression. On this score the French daily *Le Monde* has made a speciality of keeping silent about abominations that, if their victims had been Jewish anti-revisionists (such as Pierre Vidal-Naquet), would have prompted protest marches and demonstrations around the world. In this regard, the most that one can expect from the apostles of the Shoah is a warning against some excesses of anti-revisionism because these might damage the good reputation of the Jews and the sacred cause of their creed.

Among the recent batch of repressive measures taken against revisionists one may note (beginning with France) the dismissal by the education ministry of Michel Adam from his post as history teacher in a middle school in Brittany; at 57, with five dependent children, he now finds himself utterly without resources, receiving, for the moment, not even public assistance ("rmi"). As for Vincent Reynouard, also dismissed from his state sector teaching job, he was on November 10, 1998, sentenced by a court in Saint-Nazaire to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 10,000 francs for having distributed the Rudolf Report. Aged 29, Reynouard is married with three small children, and he and his wife are destitute. Pastor Roger Parmentier has been expelled from the Socialist Party for having come to the aid of Roger Garaudy in the latter's recent court case, while Jean-Marie Le Pen, for his part, has been indicted, in both France and Germany, for an innocuous statement on "the detail" of the gas chambers. [75]

In Barcelona on November 16, 1998, the bookseller Pedro Varela was convicted — at the behest of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, SOS-Racismo España, the city's two Jewish communities, and the Spanish Liberal Jewish Movement — of "denial of the Holocaust" and "incitement to racial hatred" in his writings. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and ordered to pay a fine of 720,000 pesetas (about \$5,000), as well as heavy court costs. The stock of his book shop (20,972 volumes and hundreds of audio and video cassettes) is to be destroyed by fire. His shop had previously been the target of violent aggression, including arson attacks. On several occasions he and his female employee had been assaulted. [76]

In Germany, more and more revisionist writings are being seized and burned. Gary Lauck (an American citizen extradited to Germany by Denmark), Günter Deckert, and Udo Walendy still languish in prison and can consider themselves lucky if their terms are not prolonged on the least pretext. After serving a one-year sentence, Erhard Kemper, of Münster, finding himself under threat of new, harsher sentences that would probably have kept him locked up for the rest of his life, has had to go underground. Other Germans and Austrians live in exile.

In Canada, the plight of Ernst Zündel and his friends continues before "Human Rights Commission" tribunals — ad hoc courts that blithely flout the defendant's basic rights. It is, for example, forbidden to argue that what one has written concurs with the verifiable facts. Openly declaring that "truth is no defense," these tribunals are only interested in knowing whether the defendants' writing upsets certain persons. Other special commissions, attached to the Canadian Intelligence Service, try cases of revisionists in closed session, on the basis of a file that is not shown to the defendant. [77]

Jewish groups around the world continue to push for the enactment of new and more repressive anti-revisionist laws. At a 1998 conference in Salonica, the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists called for the introduction of such laws in countries that have not yet adopted them, and let it be known that it would be holding similar meetings in more than 20 countries to lobby for new or more severe anti-revisionist laws. [78]

The Duty of Resistance

Whatever storms and vicissitudes may arise now or in future, the revisionist historian must hold firm. To the cult of tribal remembrance built on fear, vengeance and greed, he will prefer the stubborn search for exactitude. In this way he will, albeit perhaps unwittingly, do justice to the true sufferings of all victims of the Second World War. And, from this viewpoint, it is the revisionist who refuses to make a distinction among victims on the basis of race, religion, or community. Above all, he will reject the supreme imposture that gave the crowning touch to that conflict: that of the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, and of the thousand other proceedings since the war in which, even today, the victor, without in the least having to answer for his own crimes, has assumed the right to prosecute and condemn the vanquished.

Contrary to the romantic vision of the aristocratic author Chateaubriand (1768-1848), the historian is hardly “commissioned to avenge peoples,” and still less so to avenge one that claims to be God’s own.

On whatever subject, the historian in general and the revisionist historian in particular have no other mission than to determine the accuracy of what is said. That mission is basic and obvious, but also — as experience teaches — perilous.

Notes

1.  "Holocaust-Leugner,' 'Revisionist,' 'Negationist' — jeder weiss, was ein solcher Vorwurf bedeutet. Er bedeutet soviel wie Ausschuss aus der zivilisierten Menschheit. Jemand, den eine solche Verdächtigung erreicht, ist erledigt. Seine bürgerliche Existenz ist dahin und sein Ansehen als Wissenschaftler ruiniert." "Man wird darüber zu reden haben, wie es um die Öffentlichkeit in einem Land bestellt sein muss, in dem es ausreicht, die Keule der Auschwitz-Lüge zu schwingen, um einem Wissenschaftler von Rang binnen einer Sekunde moralisch zu erledigen." These are the words of Karl Schlögel, writing in defense of Gabor Tamas Rittersporn, who was accused by Maxime Leo of having lent his support to Robert Faurisson’s freedom of speech in 1980. “Holocaust-Leugner im Berliner Center Marc Bloch,” *Berliner Zeitung*, Feb. 12, 1998; “Eine Jagdpartie. Wie man einen Wissenschaftler ruiniert,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb. 18, 1998, p. 42.
2.  "In July 1981 [actually, July 16, 1986], the Knesset passed a law that prohibited the denial of the Holocaust: 'The publication, in writing or orally, of work that denies the acts committed during the period of the Nazi rule, which are crimes against the Jewish people or crimes against humanity, or that downplays their dimensions with the intention of defending those who committed these crimes or of expressing support for or identification with them is liable to five years' imprisonment.' A proposal to impose ten years' imprisonment was not accepted. Thus the extermination of the Jews was no longer a subject for the historians; it was almost as if it had been uprooted from history itself and had become a national doctrine of truth, protected by law, somewhat similar in legal status to religious faith. Indeed, in one way the Holocaust has even a higher status than religion: The maximum punishment for 'crass injury' to religious sensibilities or tradition — including, presumably, any denial of God’s existence — is one year in prison." Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), p. 464.
3.  *Bulletin quotidien d'informations de l'Agence télégraphique juive*, June 2, 1986, pp. 1, 3.
4.  See: Robert Maxwell, “J'accuse,” *Sunday Mirror* (owned by Maxwell), London, July 17, 1988, p. 2.
5.  "Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996, pp. 2-13.

6.  On the complications in using hydrocyanic acid (and Zyklon), see: R. Faurisson, "The Mechanics of Gassing," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1980, pp. 23-30; R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to be Physically Inconceivable," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, pp. 311-317; R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1981, pp. 319-373, esp. pp. 356-358; B. Kulaszka, ed./ comp., *Did Six Million Really Die?: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian 'False News' Trial of Ernst Zündel* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1992), pp. 322-334, 471-489 (including the "Leuchter Report" and Nuremberg document NI-9912).
7.  M. Weber, "Zionism and the Third Reich," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993, pp. 29-37.
8.  The "Jewish babies [were] thrown, alive, into the crematories." Thus writes Pierre Weil, director of the French public opinion poll institute SOFRES, in his article "L'anniversaire impossible," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Feb. 9, 1995, p. 53.
9.  "Moreover, it is worthwhile ... to stress that the ghetto is historically a Jewish invention." Nahum Goldmann, *Le Paradoxe juif* (Paris, Stock, 1976), pp. 83-84. US edition: *The Jewish Paradox* (New York: 1978), p. 66. See also Pierre-André Taguieff, "L'identité juive et ses fantasmes," *L'Express*, Jan. 20-26, 1989, p. 65.
10.  R. Faurisson, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.
11.  H. Roques, *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* (IHR, 1989); H. Roques, *Quand Alain Decaux raconte l'histoire du SS Kurt Gerstein* (1998); "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1995, pp. 13-17.
12.  R. Faurisson, "Genocide by Telepathy, Hilberg Explains," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1999, pp. 15-16.
13.  See, for example, the 1960 letter by Martin Broszat, "No Gassing in Dachau," and, "Wiesenthal Re-Confirms: 'No Extermination Camps on German Soil'," both in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, pp. 9-12.
14.  Eric Conan, "Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal," *L'Express*, Jan. 19-25, 1995, p. 68. note "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1995, pp. 23-24.
15.  E. Conan, "Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal," *L'Express*, Jan. 19-25, 1995 (cited above), p. 68. In 1992, that is, long after "the late 1970s," David Cole, a young Californian revisionist of Jewish origin, was presented as the discoverer of the "gas chamber" falsifications at Auschwitz I. In a mediocre video, he showed, on the one hand, the Museum guides' version (according to which the gas chamber is genuine) and, on the other hand, that of Franciszek Piper, a member of the Museum administration (for whom this gas chamber is "very similar" to the original). There was nothing new in that. The trouble was that Cole and his friends exaggerated greatly — to put it mildly — in later claiming that Piper had acknowledged that there had been a "fraud." There had indeed been a fraud, but unhappily Cole was not able to unmask it because he was too unfamiliar with the body of revisionist work. He could have definitively confounded Piper by showing him, on film, the original blueprints I had discovered in 1975-1976 and published "in the late 1970s." These plainly show that today's alleged "gas chamber" is the result of a certain number of makeovers of the premises carried out after the war. For instance, the ceiling's four alleged "holes for the pouring in of the Zyklon B" were made — quite crudely and clumsily — after the war: the steel reinforcement bars in the concrete were broken by the Polish Communists and remain today as they were left then. (On the Cole video, note G. Raven, "Dramatic New Videotape Presentation Takes Aim at Key Holocaust Claims," and, D. Cole, "A Jewish Revisionist's Visit to Auschwitz," both in *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1993, pp. 8-13.)

16. [↗](#) R. J. van Pelt and D. Dwork, *Auschwitz, 1270 to the Present*, (London: Yale University Press, 1996; New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), pp. 363-364, 367, 369. note R. Faurisson, "The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Dec. 1999, pp. 12-13.
17. [↗](#) See: "French Court Fines Faurisson, Roques for 'Holocaust Denial' Book," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1995, pp. 13-17. note "The Jewish World' Against Pressac," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1996, p. 41. Three years later, Pressac was reduced to writing: "Thus, according to the statements of former members of the Sonderkommando, it is reckoned with firm certainty that a film on homicidal gassings was shot by the SS at Birkenau. Why should it not be found by chance [at some future date] in the attic or cellar of a former SS man?" Source: J.-C. Pressac, "Enquête sur les chambres à gaz," in *Auschwitz, la Solution finale* (Paris), Collections de L'Histoire, no. 3, October 1998, p. 41.
18. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz* (CNRS, 1993), p. 148; J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Piper, 1994), pp. 199, 202. note R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Facts and Legend," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997, pp. 17, 19.
19. [↗](#) Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The "Final Solution" in History* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), p. 362. In this same book he also wrote (p. 365): "Besides, from 1942 to 1945, certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes [starvation, disease, sickness, and overwork] than by 'unnatural' ones."
20. [↗](#) Jacques Baynac in *Le Nouveau Quotidien* (Lausanne), September 2, 1996, p. 16, and September 3, 1996, p. 14. See, beforehand, Jacques Baynac and Nadine Fresco, "Comment s'en débarrasser ?" ("How to get rid of them?" — that is, the revisionists"), *Le Monde*, June 18, 1987, p. 2. note R. Faurisson, "An Orthodox Historian [Baynac] Finally Admits That There is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, pp. 24-28.
21. [↗](#) It has sometimes been held that the six million figure originated in a newspaper article published in ... 1919, under the signature of Martin H. Glynn, former governor of New York: "The Crucifixion of Jews Must Stop!" (*The American Hebrew*, October 31, 1919). In this article Glynn made an appeal for contributions to help six million European Jews who, he wrote, were being subjected to starvation and persecution and were thus experiencing a "holocaust," a "crucifixion." (A facsimile of a portion of this article is in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1995, p. 31.) The word "holocaust," with the meaning of "disaster," is attested in English as early as the 17th century. In this 1919 usage, it designates the consequences of a famine described as an impending disaster. In 1894, French Jewish writer Bernard Lazare (1865-1903) applied the word to the massacres of Jews: "... from time to time, kings, noblemen, or the urban rich offered their slaves a holocaust of Jews ... the Jews were offered in holocaust." B. Lazare, *L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes* (Paris: L. Chailley, 1894; re-issued: Paris, La Vieille Taupe, 1985), pp. 67, 71.
22. [↗](#) Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* (New York: Behrman House, 1976), p. 327. Weissmandel's letters were published in Hebrew in New York in 1960 under the title *Min hametzar*. Portions of two of them are published in translation in *A Holocaust Reader*.
23. [↗](#) For this discovery I am indebted to the German historian Joachim Hoffmann. See: J. Hoffmann, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* ("Stalin's War of Annihilation"), Munich: Verlag für Wehrwissenschaften, 2nd edition, 1995, p. 161, and n. 42 on p. 169. Hoffmann points out that Ehrenburg gave that figure in an article in the *Soviet War News* of January 4, 1945, headlined: "Once Again — Remember!" While trying to verify this point at London's Imperial War Museum, I found nothing under that date. However, I did find the text

mentioned by Hoffmann under another heading and another date: “Remember, Remember, Remember,” in *Soviet War News*, December 22, 1944, pp. 4-5. In the 5th edition of *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* (Munich: Herbig, 1999), see pp. 183, 193-194, 327, 390-393, including facsimile of Ehrenburg’s essay in the *Soviet War News* of Dec. 22, 1944.

24. [↗](#) "Holocaust Survivors," Adina Mishkoff, Administrative Assistant, AMCHA, Jerusalem, August 13, 1997. (The figures are provided by the office of Israel’s prime minister.)
25. [↗](#) The Museum’s miserable and fallacious mock-up has openings in the roof for introducing the Zyklon (openings that, in fact, never existed), as well as allegedly perforated pillars (which, as one can also see today, were solid). This mock-up is reproduced in another guide book published in 1995: Jeshajahu Weinberg and Rina Elieli, *The Holocaust Museum in Washington* (New York: Rizzoli), pp. 126-127. On the other hand, this second guidebook does not show the “document” that Berenbaum had presented in his own 1993 guide, *The World Must Know* (p. 138) as an exhibit par excellence proving the reality of homicidal gassings: an alleged gas chamber door at Majdanek. Regarding this Majdanek “gas chamber” door, see: R. Faurisson, “The US Holocaust Museum: A Challenge,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993, pp. 14-17, esp. p. 16; “Gas Chamber Door Fraudulently Portrayed at US Holocaust Museum,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1993, p. 39.
26. [↗](#) *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30, 1993, p. 96.
27. [↗](#) *All Rivers Run to the Sea: Memoirs*, volume I (New York: Knopf, 1995), p. 74.
28. [↗](#) Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck, eds., *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined*. Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington, DC). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998. xv + 836 pages; 55 contributions. See the review by R. Faurisson of this book: “Much ‘Holocaust’ But No History: The Failure of Rabbi Berenbaum,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1998, pp. 29-31.
29. [↗](#) M. Berenbaum and A. J. Peck, eds., *The Holocaust and History* (cited above), p. 15.
30. [↗](#) Compare this with the media exaggerations about “genocide” in Timosoara, Romania, December 1989. On this see the essay by Faurisson, “Un mensonge gros comme le le siècle,” in his *Écrits révisionnistes* (1999), vol. III, p. 1141-1150.
31. [↗](#) The purported model of a crematory with its “gas chamber” on display at the Auschwitz State Museum, as well as the one at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, are so cursory in design precisely regarding the “gas chamber,” and at such variance with the remains that one may examine on site at Auschwitz-Birkenau, that it is laughably simple to prove that these two models are purely fanciful. See above, note 25.
32. [↗](#) Among the best known are: Odette Abadie, Louise Alcan, Esther Alicigüzel, Jehuda Bacon, Charles Baron, Bruno Baum, Charles-Sigismond Bendel, Paul Bendel, Maurice Benroubi, Henri Bily, Ada Bimko, Suzanne Birnbaum, Eva Brewster, Henry Bulawko, Robert Clary, Jehiel Dinour (alias K. Tzetnik), Szlama Dragan, Fania Fénelon, Arnold Friedman, Philip Friedman, Michel Gelber, Israël Gutman, Dr. Hafner, Henry Heller, Benny Hochman, Régine Jacobert, Wanda Jakubowska, Stanislas Jankowski alias Alter Fajnzylberg, Simone Kadouch-Lagrange, Raya Kagan, Rudolf Kauer, Marc Klein, Ruth Klüger, Guy Kohen, Erich Kulka, Simon Laks, Hermann Langbein, Leo Laufer, Sonia Litwinska, Renée Louria, Henryk Mandelbaum, Françoise Maous, Mel Mermelstein, Ernest Morgan, Filip Müller, Flora Neumann, Anna Novac, Myklos Nyiszli, David Olère, Dounia Ourisson, Dov Paisikovic, Gisella Perl, Samuel Pisar, Macha Ravine-Speter, Jérôme Scorin, Georges Snyders, Henri Sonnenbluck, Jacques Stroumsa, David Szmulewski, Henri Tajchner, Henryk Tauber, Sima Vaïzman, Simone Veil née Jacob, Rudolf Vrba, Robert Weil, Georges Wellers ...

33. [↗](#) The US edition of *Fragments* was published in 1996 by Schocken (Random House), New York.
34. [↗](#) *Weltwoche* (Zurich), August 27 and September 3, 1998; Nicolas Weil, "La mémoire suspectée de Benjamin Wilkomirski," *Le Monde*, October 23, 1998, p. v. note "Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1998, pp. 15-16.
35. [↗](#) Donald Watt, *Stoker: The Story of an Australian Soldier Who Survived Auschwitz-Birkenau* (Simon & Schuster [Australia], 1995). note Doug Collins, "Australian Rambo Unmasked at Last," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1998, p. 5-6.
36. [↗](#) Fred Sedel, *Habiter les ténèbres* ("Living in the Gloom"), Paris and Geneva: La Palatine, 1963, and Paris: A.-M. Métaillié, 1990. note R. Faurisson, "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel," IHR leaflet, 1996; R. Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Facts and Legend," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997, pp. 14-19; R. Faurisson, "Elie Wiesel: One More Lie," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1999, p. 28.
37. [↗](#) *Vivre, c'est vaincre* ("To Live is to Win"), by A. Rogerie (Maulévrier: Maine-et-Loire, France, 1988), is presented as having been written in 1945 and printed in the third quarter of 1946. In 1988, it was republished with fanfare by Héraut-Editions, with, on the cover, a blurb strip reading "J'ai été témoin de l'Holocauste" ("I was witness to the Holocaust"). It was in *Le Figaro* of May 15, 1996, (p. 2) that Rogerie declared that he had "beheld the Shoah at Birkenau." The extremely succinct description of the "gas chambers" and of the ovens with which he was supplied conflicts with today's accepted version: his "witness" had told him of gas entering the chambers from shower heads, and of electric ovens (p. 75).
38. [↗](#) A. Rogerie, *Vivre, c'est vaincre* (cited above), pp. 70, 85, 82 ("Caïds"), 83 ("Planque royale," "je garde de bons souvenirs"), 84, 87 ("A l'encontre de bien d'autres, j'y ai été moins malheureux que partout ailleurs").
39. [↗](#) Samuel Gringauz, "Some Methodological Problems in the Study of the Ghetto," in *Jewish Social Studies* (A Quarterly Journal Devoted to Contemporary and Historical Aspects of Jewish Life), Volume XII, edited for The Conference on Jewish Relations, New York, 1950, pp. 65-72; p. 65.
40. [↗](#) H. Rauschning, *Hitler Speaks* (London: T. Butterworth, 1939). Published in the US under the title *The Voice of Destruction* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1940). Note David Irving, *Hitler's War* (London: Focal Point, 1991), p. 8 (introduction); "Rauschning's Phony 'Conversations With Hitler': An Update," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1985-86, pp. 499-500.
41. [↗](#) Statement by Justice Jackson on June 21, 1946. Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), IMT "blue series," vol. 16, pp. 529-530.
42. [↗](#) M. Weber, "The 'Warsaw Ghetto Boy'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1994, pp. 6-7.
43. [↗](#) Nahum Goldmann, *Le Paradoxe juif* (cited above), pp. 148-149. US edition: *The Jewish Paradox* (New York: 1978), p. 122. note M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, esp. pp. 170-172, 202.
44. [↗](#) A. Neave, *They Have Their Exits* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953), p. 172.
45. [↗](#) The two words in quotation marks, "boys" and "job," appear in the original in English.
46. [↗](#) Gentioux is in the French département of Creuse. Saint-Martin-d'Estréaux, in the Loire département. From a text of about 250 words on the Saint-Martin-d'Estréaux memorial, one may particularly remember the following: "More than twelve million dead! As many individuals thus to go unborn! Still more maimed, wounded, widowed and orphaned! Countless

billions in assorted destructions. Scandalous fortunes made from human misery. The innocent before firing squads. The guilty honored. A horrid life for the disinherited. The frightful price to pay.” Further on it reads: “The spirit of Nations must be improved by improving that of individuals with an enriched and widely expanded instruction. The people must know how to read. And above all to grasp the importance of what they read.” The text ends: “Cursed be war. And its perpetrators!”

47. [↗](#) See: Christiane Gallus, “Une pandémie qui a fait trois fois plus de victimes que la guerre de 1914-1918” (“A pandemic that claimed three times as many victims as the war of 1914-1918”), *Le Monde*, Dec. 31, 1997, p. 17.
48. [↗](#) Hitler: Born at Versailles, by Léon Degrelle (1906-1994). Published by the IHR (hard-cover, 535 pages, with photos).
49. [↗](#) Pierre Kaufmann, “Le danger allemand” (“The German Danger”), *Le Monde*, Feb. 8, 1947.
50. [↗](#) See: Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1929; IHR, 1991).
51. [↗](#) Mark Weber, “Bergen-Belsen Camp: The Suppressed Story,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1995, pp. 23-30. Source cited: Raymond Phillips, ed., *Trial of Josef Kramer and Forty-Four Others (The Belsen Trial)*, (London: William Hodge, 1949), pp. 163-166.
52. [↗](#) Such was the case, for instance, of Bartley C. Crum in his book *Behind the Silken Curtain* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1947), p. 114. As late as 1978, a Jewish publication was to show that bulldozer, but not without shrewdly beheading the driver in such a way as to hide his British army beret. Arthur Suzman and Denis Diamond, *Six Million Did Die: The Truth Shall Prevail* (Johannesburg: South African Board of Jewish Deputies, 1978, 2nd edition), p. 18.
53. [↗](#) Alfred Hitchcock, born in 1899, was already well known in 1945. For his macabre or morbid tastes, his art of manipulating the public,” and the strange fascination brought to bear on his mind by gas, one may read Bruno Villien, *Hitchcock* (Paris: Colonna, 1982), pp. 9-10.
54. [↗](#) *Le Figaro*, October 24, 1997, p. 10.
55. [↗](#) H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951), p. 446, n. 138.
56. [↗](#) A famous French Communist résistant, Marcel Paul, much like General Rogerie, had a rather “good war” in the camps.
57. [↗](#) *Le Figaro*, Jan. 16, 1995, p. 29.
58. [↗](#) “La Shoah, de la réalité aux shows. Face aux récits des déportés, l'indécente mise en scène de leurs libérateurs,” *Libération*, Dec. 18, 1995, p. 41.
59. [↗](#) R. Faurisson, “The Detail,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1998, pp. 19-20.
60. [↗](#) “Capituler en rase campagne”: Pierre Vidal-Naquet, “Le secret partagé,” *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 21, 1984, p. 80.
61. [↗](#) Letter appearing in *Nation Review* (Australia), June 21, 1979, p. 639. (In 1997 Rubinstein was Professor of History at the University of Wales -Aberystwyth.)
62. [↗](#) “The Left, the Right, and the Jews,” *Quadrant* (Australia), Sept. 1979, p. 27.
63. [↗](#) Bernard Jouanneau, *La Croix*, Sept. 23, 1987, p. 2. (LICRA = Ligue internationale contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme)
64. [↗](#) *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), June 2, 1998, pp. A1, 15. Together with his son, Edgar Bronfman, Jr., the senior Bronfman controls the Seagram’s group, a North American alcohol empire that also includes such major media holdings as Universal Studios and MCA. In early

1998 a group of prominent Americans, including former Bush administration cabinet member William Bennett, voted Brofman the first ever “Silver Sewer” award, notably for the Jerry Springer Show, owned by Universal subsidiary USA Networks, which features “pregnant strippers, teenage prostitutes fighting with pimps, or undertakers having sex with corpses.” (Financial Times, March 21-22, 1998, p. 2)

65. [↗](#) See: “Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France,” The Journal of Historical Review, March-April 1996, pp. 2-13. note M. Weber, The Zionist Terror Network (IHR, 1993).
66. [↗](#) B. Lazare, L'Antisémitisme, son histoire et ses causes (cited above), opening page of first chapter. Bernard Lazare (1865-1903), a major French Jewish writer of the late 19th century, played an important role in the Dreyfus affair.
67. [↗](#) B. Lazare, L'Antisémitisme (cited above), p. 27.
68. [↗](#) A. Kaspi, Les Juifs pendant l'Occupation ("The Jews during the Occupation"), revised edition (Paris: Le Seuil, 1997 [1991]), p. 109, n. 27.
69. [↗](#) I sometimes hear it said that there is greater risk for a Jew than for a non-Jew to profess revisionist views. The facts disprove this assertion. Not one Jew has been convicted or held liable in court for revisionism, not even Roger-Guy Dommergue (Polacco de Menasce) who, for years, has produced the most vehement writings against the lies of those whom he calls his “fellow creatures” (congénères). No-one as yet has ventured to invoke either the Pleven (1972) or the Fabius-Gayssot Act (1990) against him. At the same time, the case of the young American revisionist David Cole deserves to be recalled, for it shows to what degree of violence certain Jewish organizations can resort in order to silence Jews who have sided with the revisionist cause. (In January 1992, for example, David Cole was physically attacked by Jewish thugs of the “Jewish Defense League,” who pushed him down a flight of stairs and hit him in the face, bloodying his nose. Source: M. Weber, The Zionist Terror Network [IHR, 1993], p. 14.)
70. [↗](#) Note especially the case of Bernard Notin. R. Faurisson, “The Notin Affair: Jewish Organizations Make the Law,” The Journal of Historical Review, Sept.-Oct. 1997, pp. 17-18.
71. [↗](#) An independent researcher, even if he does not identify himself as a revisionist, can contribute indirectly to revisionism by the mere quality of his work. I shall mention one name here, that of Jean Plantin, director of a publication whose title alone indicates its erudite character: Akribieia, the name of his quarterly, is Greek for “exactitude,” “painstaking care,” and has given French the learned word “acribie” (quality of the scholar who works with extreme care). Akribieia, 45/3, Route de Vourles, 69230 Saint-Genis-Laval, France. (See: “Scholarly French Journal Strives for 'Exactitude',” The Journal of Historical Review, Nov.-Dec. 1998, pp. 31.)
72. [↗](#) See the pertinent analysis by Guillermo Coletti, “The Taming of Holocaust Revisionism,” distributed on the Internet (November 13, 1998) by the Anti-Censorship News Agency (E-mail address: [\[email protected\]](#)).
73. [↗](#) “Forgetting is not our main virtue” — the words of the president of the board (consistoire) of the Toulouse Jewish community, as cited in Le Figaro, Oct. 9, 1997, p. 10.
74. [↗](#) Serge Thion is, in particular, the author of a revisionist work bearing the eloquent title Une Allumette sur la banquise ("A Match to the Ice Floe"). A revisionist book, he writes (p. 90), even if its contents seem like dynamite, perhaps gives off, all told, no more light and heat than a match “in the polar night, put to the ice floe of frozen ideas.”
75. [↗](#) See: M. Weber, “French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy,” The Journal of Historical Review, March-April 1998, pp. 14-18; “Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists,” The Journal of Historical Review, July-August 1998, pp. 2-10.

76. ☞ See: “Un libraire espagnol condamné pour 'apologie de génocide” (“A Spanish Bookseller Convicted for 'Justification of Genocide'”), *Le Monde*, Nov. 19, 1998, p. 3; also, an article by Emmanuel Ratier in his periodical *Faits & Documents* (“Facts & Documents”), Paris, Dec. 1, 1998, p. 12. (See also: M. Weber, “Spanish Court Sentences 'Thought Criminal',” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1998, pp. 21-23.)
77. ☞ In late 1998 it was announced that a new Canadian anti-revisionist law would permit police to make house searches to seize books and other materials that, in their view, might serve to spread revisionism. The proposed law also stipulated that the regular courts are to bring their procedures into line with those of the ad hoc Commission tribunals, which would mean that a defendant would no longer be permitted to argue that what he wrote is in fact the truth. See: “Crackdown on hate materials planned,” *National Post* (Canada), November 25, 1998.
78. ☞ *Athens News*, June 28, 1998, p. 1; “Jewish Group Demands More Anti-Revisionist Laws,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, p. 22.
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Foiling Espionage in Berlin Radio's Arabic Service

Yûnus Bahrî

Among the Lufthansa passengers arriving in Berlin on April 5, 1939 was a cheerful, outgoing, dark-haired man in his late 30s. Though evidently a foreigner, he had a good command of the German language and confidently found his way through the crowds at the airport and into the bustling capital of the Third Reich. Yûnus Bahrî, Iraqi journalist and independence activist, had visited Berlin several times before. He had first met Joseph Goebbels in 1931, before Hitler had even come to power, to enlist the propaganda chief's support for a newspaper Bahrî would publish in Baghdad. As war clouds were gathering over Europe, however, he was now embarked on quite a different mission: to launch and run Radio Berlin's first-ever Arabic language service.

Bahrî was at the microphone on April 25, 1939, at the début of the new radio service. He would continue broadcasting from the German capital until April 30, 1945, after which he would make his way out of the rubble of the dying city, out of the country and, eventually back to the Middle East. There, in Beirut, Lebanon, Bahrî published a memoir of his career in Berlin under the title *Hunâ Berlin! Hayiya al-'Arab!* — “This is Berlin! Long live the Arabs!” — his trademark opening line from his broadcasts.

In his native Iraq, Bahrî had already made a name for himself. He was editor and publisher of the Baghdad daily newspaper *al-'Uqâb* ("The Eagle"), founded in 1931, and he had organized an Iraqi news agency. He had played an important role, as both an administrator and announcer, of his country's first two radio stations (over one of which the country's young king himself spoke each day). He also served as editor and director of the Iraqi periodical, “The Radio.”

In his memoir, Bahrî recounted how Dr. Erich Hetzler, an official with German Radio's short wave service, visited him shortly after the Arabic-language service had begun its broadcasts. Hetzler, who was also a high ranking SS officer, invited the Iraqi broadcaster to accept a commission as a captain in the black uniformed elite. The idea, which Hetzler told him came from General Hermann Fegelein, an SS officer close to Hitler, was for Bahrî to recruit young Arabs living in Germany to form a special detachment. Bahrî agreed, but soon found that the appointment was far more than honorary. “Johannes Bahri,” as this Arab SS officer was officially known, underwent a tough course of military training from September 1939 to February 1940 to prepare him for work as a war reporter. He also recruited and sent out to various Arab countries a number of young volunteer correspondents who had to work secretly and under cover. None of the correspondents, Bahrî wrote later, ever sought payment for this extremely risky work. Bahrî himself was sentenced to death in absentia by the British-controlled Iraqi regime in late 1939.

So what was it that motivated Yûnus Bahrî and other Arabs to work so eagerly for the Third Reich? Before meeting Goebbels, Bahrî had been in the service of Saudi Arabia, the only major Arab country that was independent at the time, traveling widely to promote Arab and Islamic unity. As Bahrî later made clear in his memoir, his motivation for throwing in his lot with the Germans was not infatuation with Adolf Hitler or with the message of *Mein Kampf*. Bahrî, like millions of other Arabs in that age of colonialism, burned with the desire to expel the imperialist powers from the Arab world, to unite the Arab countries, and to frustrate international Zionism's determined campaign to take Palestine. Germany alone among the great powers posed a credible challenge to the empires of Britain and France, and to Zionism. With events in Europe rapidly building to a climax, Bahrî and many of his compatriots felt that the cause of Arab liberation demanded that they contribute whatever they could to help the Reich defeat their common enemies.

Yûnus Bahrî wrote his memoir with Arab readers of the 1950s in mind. In a few places in the text he makes brief references to Arab personalities who are not directly relevant here. These have been deleted, as indicated with an ellipsis (...). In another instance, the author listed names of Arabic broadcasters in Berlin and their country of origin. Inasmuch as this long paragraph of Arabic names is of no particular relevance here, and might seem tedious to many readers, the names have been deleted. Instead, a sentence indicating the number of broadcasters from each Arab country has been added in brackets.

In the following excerpt, Bahrî recalls an episode from 1940. Shortly after the dismissal of one of the original Arab staff members, a new man, Dr. Zakî Karâm, joined the staff as a replacement.

-- The Translator

When Dr. Kamâl al-Dîn Jalâl was dismissed suddenly from the Arabic Service (for reasons that I still don't know), someone suggested to Hamdî Khayât, one of our translator-broadcasters, that we hire Dr. Zakî Karâm to fill the vacancy. I had gotten to know Dr. Karâm many years before the start of the war. He had chosen Berlin as his third home, for he was a Syrian of Arab ancestry — from Aleppo, I think — but he had taken Turkish citizenship because he had served as an Ottoman officer in the First World War ...

I hired Zakî Karâm and he proved an excellent successor to Dr. Jalâl. He and I came to work harmoniously together. Dr. Karâm had an excellent speaking voice, but he moved slowly because of his disability. He had been seriously wounded in the right leg during the First World War. The leg had been amputated and replaced with a wooden prosthesis that kept him from moving about freely. He hobbled about with difficulty, but was for all that very active. If you gave him any assignment, he would take care of it for you quickly and cheerfully.

Dr. Karâm had extensive connections with the leaders of the National Socialist Party in general and with the personnel in the Reich's foreign ministry in particular. Among his friends he also counted many Arab and Muslim leaders throughout the Islamic world and abroad. Whenever the name of a new Middle East leader, or would-be leader, began to circulate, Dr. Karâm would plunge ahead and write to him, establishing personal contact.

Back in 1929, the late king 'Abd al-'Azîz Ibn Sa'ûd of Saudi Arabia sent me to Java, Indonesia [then the Dutch East Indies], in order to popularize the pilgrimage to Mecca. I was accompanied

by the great Kuwaiti historian Shaykh 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Rashîd. In Batavia, now Jakarta, we published a magazine called “Kuwait and Iraq” in which we were the first in modern Arab history to call for the unification of Kuwait and Iraq. At that time Dr. Zakî Karâm had sent me an article he had written supporting our call for Kuwaiti-Iraqi unity, demonstrating that these two fraternal Arab countries together constitute a social and economic unit, neither of which can do without the other. He noted also the strategic importance of the unity of the two lands as regards their position on the sea and the land. King 'Abd al-'Azîz Ibn Sa'ûd also encouraged us in this movement. He funded our mission to Indonesia, and also spent his own personal money on the magazines we published there in Arabic and Malay.

Anyway, since that time I had been friends with Dr. Karâm.

With great energy, Dr. Karâm began his work with the Arabic broadcasts in Berlin. He had a good grasp of his new job responsibilities, and would translate the secret reports that came to us every day — “for our personal information,” and not for broadcast or publication — from various German armed forces commands, and from various German ministries. The doctor's work was, in fact, extremely satisfactory. He gave me some relief from dealing with the laziness of Professor Faraj Allâhverdî (a Turkoman who was one of the station's original translators), which was to become such a chronic problem by early 1941 that I took to calling him chief of the “gentry” of the station, where he had been chief of translation.

I helped get Dr. Karâm appointed as an additional broadcaster, thereby joining an elite group of announcers whom I had trained for the radio. [Altogether these now numbered three from Iraq, one from Lebanon, two from Palestine, two from Syria, and one each from Jordan, Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.] Thus the staff of the Arabic service in Berlin became a miniature Arab League. This was in addition to a tumultuous army of editors, writers, translators, and male and female typists.

When [after the fall of France] we set up the Arabic service of Radio Paris as a branch of our service in Berlin, I was asked to go to Tangier (Morocco) to recruit broadcasters for the North African Arabic service of Paris Radio. I excused myself because of the heavy accumulation of work as a result of the raucous “war of the ether” being waged against us from London, Cairo, Omdurman, Baghdad and Ankara.

I requested instead that one of my assistants fly to Madrid, and from there to Tangier. The next day Dr. Karâm came to me and asked that I send him on the mission to Tangier. He said he could carry out the job well, on account of the fact that he had a Turkish passport and would not attract the attention of Allied spies in that international city, a place overrun with spies, mercenaries, and colonial agents.

I asked, skeptically, “Won't your leg give you trouble on the trip?”

He replied smiling, “I'm an old soldier. I can carry out the mission. After all, I'm not going there to compete in an international track meet.”

“Be ready to travel tomorrow,” I told him. And in fact Dr. Karâm did the job very well, and he earned everybody's trust.

Two months after Dr. Karâm returned from his trip to Tangier, I received a visit by Herr Schabeu, Near East specialist for the National Socialist Party's philosopher, Alfred Rosenberg, and also one of Admiral Wilhelm Canaris' most important men in Berlin. Schabeu was, beside all that, a

close friend of mine. He and I had spent many pleasant evenings in his home, and we would maintain our friendship until the last days of Berlin.

Before he sat down, Herr Schabeu asked with an uncharacteristic frown, “Does this person work at the radio?” And he showed me a passport.

I said that we had sent the owner of this passport to Tangier two months earlier on a secret mission, and he had carried it out admirably.

He stared at me inquiringly and asked, “Do you trust him?”

“Completely,” I replied. “But everybody trusts him!”

“Where is he now?” he asked.

“We gave him a week’s leave starting tomorrow,” I told Schabeu, “to go to Vienna to visit his wife. She’s undergoing medical treatment there.”

“Yesterday your colleague applied for an exit visa from Germany to go to Turkey,” he told me.

“And what’s wrong with that?” I asked.

Herr Schabeu looked at me in surprise and then said, “Your colleague trusts you completely. Can you help us uncover what’s really going on with him?”

“How can I help you?” I asked.

“Catch a flight tonight to Vienna,” he said. “Be in the main lobby of the Imperial Hotel tomorrow morning at ten. A room has already been reserved for you at the hotel.”

I hurriedly recorded my political commentaries for the next day’s radio broadcast, and at nine o’clock that night I was in Vienna. I had lots of friends there, but I really just wanted to enjoy an evening away from the dreadful darkness and silence of the Berlin nights during the blackout — *die Verdunkelung* — that now was in force in most of the country’s major cities. Vienna, in contrast, would remain bathed in bright electric lights until the end of 1940.

My old friend Faraj Tûmâ was the former director of Iraqi Immigration. He had come to live in Vienna in 1932 when a chest ailment forced him into retirement. The doctors had advised him to go to Vienna for treatment. Mr. Tûmâ was an Arab who particularly loved helping other Arabs and looking out for their needs. It made no difference to him whether one was from Iraq or Syria or Egypt or Morocco — anyone who spoke Arabic represented to him the Arab world, with all its diverse ways, countries, and dialects. The fact is, Faraj Al Tûmâ was an example of those generous Arabs who would never turn down any request. Because he had lived for a long time in Paris, Berlin and Vienna, he knew the long-time Arab residents of Germany better than anybody...

I telephoned Mr. Tûmâ from the Victoria Café in the aristocratic Vienna district known as Schottentor, or “Scottish Gate.” He asked, “Where are you calling from?”

“I’ll be at your place in less than a quarter of an hour,” I told him.

At the appointed time I was next to my friend Faraj, who was a walking encyclopedia of information on the Arabs living in Germany, France and Austria. Given that he had been director of the police department that oversaw immigration and residence in Iraq, he would keep track of ev-

everyone's comings and goings just because he liked to be in the know, as well as out of a certain cop inquisitiveness that by now had become an instinct.

Mr. Faraj Al Tûmâ was, unlike his "namesake" Faraj Allâhverdî at the radio station, a fierce enemy of everything Turkish or Ottoman. Around the time the war broke out he was in Germany, and he went out of his way to uncover any slip-ups made by Turks or their supporters, especially because the province of Alexandretta had been detached from Syria and given to Atatürk's Turkey [by the French mandate authorities in 1937].

My friend Faraj welcomed my arrival and asked about my beautiful lady friends Gerda Mason and Fräulein Jeneka. I assured him they were still fine and that I still enjoyed mutual love and affection in my relations with each of them.

"So, what's the secret behind this sudden visit?" he asked.

"Just a change of atmosphere," I replied.

"The political atmosphere — or the love atmosphere?"

"Both," I answered.

With the self-assured tone of a policeman he said, "Come on, Yûnus, you've come to ask me about some Arab guy, isn't that right?"

"Actually I'm not in town to visit you exactly," I said. "I was asked to go to Vienna, and once I was here I phoned you to see if we could spend a wild night in the bars of Grinzing, listening to Schrammelmusik, and enjoying Hans Moser and his famous orchestra."

"Okay, just tell me clearly. I'm ready to help you," he said.

"Do you know Dr. Zakî Karâm?" I asked.

"That cripple?"

"Yes," I said.

And without hesitating or thinking he responded, "He's a Turkish agent."

At ten o'clock the next morning I was in the big lobby of the Imperial Hotel. Ten minutes later I saw my friend, Herr Schabeu, enter the lobby and look to the right and left. I waved to him and he came over. Without shaking hands he said, "Let's go outside."

We got in a car and headed for the Turkish consulate.

There, in front of the entrance to the Turkish consulate at half past ten a traditional Vienna taxi-cab pulled up and stopped. Dr. Karâm got out carrying a briefcase bulging at the seams. As soon as Herr Schabeu saw him he bolted out of our car like lightning, overtook Karâm, and whispered some words to him that I couldn't hear. The doctor retraced his steps to our car, looking troubled and alarmed. But when he saw me he seemed reassured, and said, "Everything's okay, right? What's going on?"

I said, "I really don't know anything about it."

The doctor got into our car, his brow wet with perspiration, and asked, “So what’s this story you’re acting out with me?”

I said, “The matter isn’t about you personally. It’s about Germany.”

“How am I related to Germany?” he asked.

“Like the wolf to the lamb,” I said.

“What do you mean?”

Schabeu intervened, “You are working both sides of the street, the Turkish and the German, or to be more precise, you’re working for the Allies.”

“That’s a dirty crime I’d never stoop to,” he protested.

Schabeu replied, “We’ll sort this out soon enough.”

In a splendid suite in the Imperial Hotel in Vienna we sat, the three of us, studying each other’s faces. We sat in silence, like ones beheaded. We could almost hear the powerful throb of the doctor’s heartbeat. After half an hour I wanted to leave to go to my room and change my shoes, but there were two giant Sicherheitsdienst security service agents barring the door. When I tried to go out, a third guard standing in the middle of the hallway motioned politely for me to go back inside.

I returned and tried to interpret the face of my friend Schabeu, but it told me nothing. After a quarter hour, the double doors opened and four men, all in civilian clothes walked in. The senior one stepped forward, opened a door to an adjacent second room, and asked Dr. Karâm to please step inside. The doctor picked up his briefcase and went into the room with the four men. Schabeu and I remained alone.

An hour passed and we still waited.

As the clock struck one p.m., a German officer with the rank of lieutenant-colonel looked in on us, gave a military salute and then spoke to me in Turkish!

“I believe you can read Turkish written in the Arabic alphabet?”

I replied in the affirmative.

[Prior to the 1920s, Turkish was written in the Arabic alphabet. After the fall of the Ottoman empire, Kemal Atatürk’s nationalist government banned the use of Arabic script, replacing it with a version of the Latin alphabet. Anyone studying Turkish from that time on, including presumably the German lieutenant colonel, would learn the language in the Latin alphabet. Bahrî, on the other hand, grew up and was educated in Iraq when it was still an Ottoman province, and was familiar with the older written form of Turkish. — The translator]

He said, “Please ...” and motioned us to the door through which the doctor and the four men in civilian clothing had passed earlier. There was no sign of the doctor inside, but on a massive table lay his briefcase with its contents spread out — various maps, statistics from the Todt Organization and from Hitler Youth institutions, photographs of the most important secret reports that came to us in the radio service from various commands of the German armed forces!

More noteworthy than all of this was a detailed account of all the employees of German radio's Indian, Iranian, Turkish, and Arabic services, with our pictures, addresses, telephone numbers, citizenship statuses, countries of origin, and the dates each of us had started work for German radio.

I was astonished at this mass of information about us. Even I was not privy to all this kind of detailed data about our staff.

I stared in dismay at the papers and documents. I looked at the captivating yet frightening scene and pictured to myself the delight that these rare documents would excite in the soul of whoever would take possession of them in Ankara. He would be either an American or a Briton, for Turkey would not be interested in anything about us. This proved that the Turkish capital was serving only as a "post office box" for the British and their allies.

As he handed me one of the three fat file folders that lay next to Dr. Karâm's briefcase, the German lieutenant colonel asked me, "Where did this report come from?"

I read in the Turkish written in the Arabic alphabet that the source was "Berlin, No. 21", and I wanted to read more, but he politely interrupted me, "I'd like you to stop there." Then he asked me: "Have you taken the oath?"

I told him, "I'm a German officer with the rank of captain," and I presented my military identification card, which had the authority of a diplomatic passport.

"Read, in the name of the Führer," he told me.

"Report number 63, dated December 10, 1940." I read the report in a loud voice in Turkish while the German lieutenant colonel, whose name I never learned, translated and wrote out the text in German.

Report number 63 contained a detailed description of the course of the Spanish-German negotiations concerning the future relations between the Führer and the Caudillo — the Spanish leader Francisco Franco — and about the [proposed] unification of Morocco by combining Tangier and the French occupied zone, together with the Khalifal areas, and placing Sultan Mohammed V, king of Morocco, and his country under a Spanish protectorate. In accordance with this arrangement, the three parts of Morocco would be transferred from French occupation to Spanish occupation. In return for this "modification" of North African politics, General Franco would commit himself to declare war on Britain and to join with the German and Italian armed forces in occupying Gibraltar and closing the Strait, or, more precisely, closing the Mediterranean Sea in Britain's face.

Report 63 was actually a collection of 15 reports that had come from different agents and sources in 15 cities, and in particular from Madrid, Rome, Paris, Tangier, and Tétouan. They had been sent to the "number 21" headquarters in Berlin, where they were studied, correlated and given their final form in the light of the private reports drawn from trusted sources.

Our work on the papers took just three hours. During that time I also took pictures of all the documents, reports and photographs. False reports that looked like the originals were inserted in the papers and folders. They brought in a briefcase that looked exactly like the doctor's, full of its contents, and sealed with the same wax seal and initials.

The German counterintelligence department, headed by Admiral Canaris, accomplished miracles of outstanding forgery so precise that they bordered on genius. The department had kept Dr. Karâm under surveillance since Hitler attacked Poland, that is since early October 1939. When I hired him to work at Berlin radio, his massive leather briefcase made Canaris's men suspicious. The doctor used to carry the big case, in spite of its weight, and despite the fact that he was of slight build, was disabled, and couldn't walk half a kilometer in an hour. So they measured his briefcase, and noted its appearance inside and out. I myself never wondered at the doctor's case, for I never knew anything about these details until after the dove had fallen into the trap ...

Indeed, it caused them to be suspicious when the doctor replaced his old briefcase with a attractive new one made of expensive pigskin. This was particularly remarkable because all types of leather were considered wartime necessities and rationed according to the Third Reich's wartime measures.

When the first four men escorted the doctor from the room where we were all sitting, they took away his original briefcase and replaced it with their own sealed copy of his case. Then, after we had done what we needed to do with his original briefcase, the duplicate one was slipped away, and his own case was returned to him, the sealed security band indicating it had never been opened.

Thus Dr. Zakî Karâm was made to feel secure. He returned to us by himself at five o'clock and told me, now with his usual voice again, "You did me wrong, Mr. Bahrî. Didn't I tell you I was innocent?"

I said, "Congratulations! Thank God for such a good outcome."

We let Dr. Karâm finish his mission quite freely and without surveillance. He was in the Austrian capital only as a "postman," after all, taking "mail," some authentic and some forged, to its addressee. And only God really knows secrets. After he had left his briefcase or "mail" in the care of the Turkish consulate, he rejoined us. We returned to Berlin, with our valuable catch, on a special military flight. Then, the next day, the doctor caught a flight for Istanbul. Altogether, Dr. Karâm spent a week on leave in Vienna and in Turkey. Then one day I heard the familiar clumping of the doctor's heavy military boot as he made his way down the long wooden hallway leading to my office.

The doctor came in and embraced me like a long lost brother. He asked, "When do I start work?"

"Doctor," I said, "the fact is, and I won't hide it from you, that here at the Arabic service we don't really need high level scientific qualifications or great scholars of the Arabic language. We need young people who want to finish their study. We help them materially to continue their education. You, on the other hand, by God's grace and by virtue of your old military exploits, have already amassed property and wealth that anyone would envy. I'm prepared to give you six months' salary as compensation."

Now, Dr. Karâm was greedier than a locust, always on the lookout for new ways to make money, to count it and to relish it. With lightning speed he calculated the sum, for he was a Turkish artillery officer and knew his math. It amounted to a mouth-watering amount.

Thus it was that the doctor's mission ended. He left the radio station for his home, where he remained under surveillance for the rest of the war. And with that we turned another page in the history of Berlin Radio's Arabic service.

This account is a translation of a portion of the memoir of Yûnus Bahrî (1902?-1979), *Hunâ Berlin! Hayiya al-'Arab!*, volume five, pages 79-93, published in Beirut in 1956 by Matb'at al-Jihâd. It is translated from the Arabic by E.G. Müller, an Arab studies specialist with a Master's degree in political science who is currently working on a Ph.D. at an American university.

Media Coverage of the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

Compiled by Greg Raven

Even before it began on January 11, 2000, the libel trial in London's High Court of Justice brought by historian [David Irving against Jewish activist Deborah Lipstadt and her British publisher](#) had attracted a good bit of attention. And since then it has generated considerable media coverage and commentary, not only in Britain, but around the world.

At the core of the case is Lipstadt's 1993 book, *Denying the Holocaust*, a polemical broadside against those who dispute Holocaust extermination claims. Her attacks against Irving, who she calls "one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial," include demonstrably false statements.

In addition to her book, Lipstadt has played a major role in the ongoing international endeavor to silence those who challenge Holocaust orthodoxy — a campaign that has effectively blacklisted Irving among "mainstream" publishers. (See also "A British Historian Defends His Livelihood and Honor" in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, with the complete text of Irving's Opening Statement. Much more detailed information about the case, including texts of important trial documents, can be found on [Irving's web site](#).

As the following excerpts from press reports and commentary on the case show, this non-jury trial has shaped up as a major battle over "Holocaust denial" and, more broadly, the Holocaust extermination story itself. The headings given here are the original article headlines. Brief explanatory or elucidating remarks have been added in brackets.

Taking a Holocaust Skeptic Seriously

D. D. Guttenplan — The New York Times, June 26, 1999

... British writer David Irving's books have been praised by some of the most eminent scholars in his field. The military historian John Keegan, who says Irving "knows more than anyone alive about the German side of the Second World War," considers his work "indispensable to anyone seeking to understand the war in the round." Gordon Craig, a leading scholar of German history at Stanford University, also calls Irving's work "indispensable." He adds, "I always learn something from him."

Shoah Showdown

Elli Wohlgelernter — Jerusalem Post, September 24, 1999

... Others see in the trial an inherent danger, fearing it will in effect put the entire Nazi operation on trial. Should that happen, then the slightest legal infraction could lead to a judgment that would reward Irving with a technical victory, one he would be sure to exploit to further his agenda.

“That’s always the danger,’ said Efraim Zuroff, head of the Simon Wiesenthal Center’s Israel office. ‘The court is going to deal with facts regarding events that obviously took place, and there is a theoretical possibility that the verdict could in some way diminish those crimes, or question those crimes.

“It seems unlikely, but every time you go to court there is always the danger of losing a case. Any victory for Irving, any defeat for Deborah Lipstadt on any major point, will be a loss for truth and historical accuracy.”

... this trial will dwarf all the others, because of its location, its adversaries, and what it portends for the future.

Zuroff said that what marks this trial is that “the stakes are much higher because of Irving, because of who he is, and the charges.

“This is not a perpetrator saying it didn’t happen, nor a survivor saying it did happen — these are people who are historians, the people who deal with the events rather than the people who lived through the events. This is the beginning of the future. It would not be surprising if such cases don’t happen again and again.”

[ADL director Abraham] Foxman, himself a lawyer, said that bringing the Holocaust to trial “is always a very, very uncomfortable and problematic issue, because those of us who are lawyers and who have experience with the law know that frequently ‘the law is an ass,’ and that decisions can come down on procedural matters which may be spun as a win or a loss which has nothing to do with the essence of the case.”

Emory's Deborah Lipstadt Prepares to do Battle with Holocaust Denier David Irving

Steven H. Pollak — Atlanta Jewish Times, October 8, 1999

... Irving’s chances for success are enhanced in the United Kingdom, where the burden of proof required in libel suits places the defendant at a disadvantage. Lipstadt’s co-defendant is her publishing house, Penguin Books, Ltd.

... “The bottom line is, it’s much easier to win a defamation action in England than it is in the United States,” said Lee. “That’s probably why this suit was brought in England rather than the United States.”

... For his part, Irving said he is the object of hatred by Jewish and other organizations bent on destroying his legitimacy as a historian. He prefers the term “revisionist” to describe his views on the Holocaust. He may have chosen to bring a lawsuit against Lipstadt in England because her book was published there.

“Lipstadt may find it unfortunate that she is the one to be taken out of the line and shot,” he said via e-mail from Key West, Fla. “The fact is that Lipstadt was silly enough to print her libels

within the jurisdiction of the British courts. Others have been more circumspect.”

Danger in Denying Holocaust?

Kim Murphy — Los Angeles Times, January 7, 2000

... Over the last decade, supporters of [revisionist] theories have scrutinized hundreds of thousands of pages of Third Reich documents and diaries made available after the collapse of the Soviet Union. They have analyzed gas chamber construction. They have pinpointed contradictions and hard-to-believe details in stories told by camp survivors and, amid nearly universal scorn from the academic establishment, won testimonials for some of their work from academics at respected institutions, such as Northwestern University and the University of Lyon.

... For Irving, who is regarded in some mainstream quarters as one of the premier documentarians of the Third Reich, it is an issue of professional vindication. It is no accident, he says, that he has been banned from even entering Canada, Italy, Germany and Austria because of Holocaust denial laws in those countries. “They regard me as dangerous, and the word 'dangerous' puzzles me,” he said. “I don’t go around punching people in the face... 'Dangerous' can only mean dangerous to their interests, either in the long term or the short term.

“In the end, it isn’t really a question of whether it’s 6 million or only 1 million” Jews who died. “I think the figures have been inflated, and the significance of the inflation is that the Jewish community is trying to make out that their suffering is unique in its grandeur and the methods applied to achieve it. And it wasn’t. It was just one of the many barbarisms committed under the cloak of war.”

Some revisions in Holocaust history have been generally accepted. Stories that Jewish remains were manufactured into soap and lampshades have been dismissed as myth. There were, most historians now agree, no human gassings at Dachau. Deaths at Auschwitz, once estimated, based on the testimony of Nazi commanders, at up to 3 million have been scaled back to about 1.1 million. Even the widely accepted figure of 6 million Jewish dead all over Europe has been questioned in recent years by some of the world’s most prominent Holocaust scholars.

Raul Hilberg and Robert Jan van Pelt, two of the leading authorities, now believe the figure is probably closer to 5.1 million.

... “I think, by the end of this case, the word 'scholarship' will come to stink,” Irving predicts. “Scholars tend to award that accolade to each other. And their scholarship usually consists of sitting in libraries reading each others' books.”

... Yet Irving has his admirers as well. Christopher Hitchens, writing of Irving’s work in *Vanity Fair*, called him “not just a Fascist historian, [but] ... also a great historian of Fascism.” Gordon A. Craig, considered the dean of German historians, acknowledged that Irving has been an “annoyance” but said: “The fact is that he knows more about national socialism than most professional scholars in his field.” His book on Hitler, Craig said, “remains the best study we have of the German side of the Second World War.”

“I can deal with Himmler. I can deal with Höss. There’s a certain kind of naive honesty in what they do, however evil it is,” van Pelt said. “But the contortions and complete fabrications of these deniers is obscene.”

Holocaust on Trial in London

Douglas Davis — Jerusalem Post, January 11, 2000

... Inside the austere Court 37, Lipstadt and Irving will spend much of the next three months in a detailed battle for the soul of the Holocaust, a battle which British Jewish historian Prof. David Cesarani this week described as “one of the most gripping of modern times.”

“The consequences for both parties will be enormous,” noted Cesarani, “and the consequences will reverberate far and wide.”

Trial Pits Revisionist against Holocaust Scholar

Douglas Davis — Jewish Telegraphic Agency, January 11, 2000

... “I don’t see any reason to be tasteful about Auschwitz,” [Lipstadt defense attorney Richard] Rampton quoted Irving as saying. “It’s baloney. It’s a legend.

“Once we admit the fact that it was a brutal slave labor camp and a large number of people did die, as large numbers of people died elsewhere in the war, why believe the rest of the baloney?

“I say quite tastelessly, in fact, that more women died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy’s car at Chappaquiddick than ever died in a gas chamber in Auschwitz.”

Historians' Views Clash in Court

Bert Roughton Jr. — Atlanta Journal-Constitution, January 12, 2000

... A maverick British historian testified Tuesday that a book written by an Emory University professor was part of an international conspiracy to silence him and end his attempts to challenge conventional understandings of the Holocaust.

... Irving said that Lipstadt’s use of the phrase “Holocaust denier” to describe him has been deeply damaging.

“It is a poison to which there is virtually no antidote,” he said. “It is like being called a wife-beater or a pedophile. It is enough for the label to be attached, for the attachee to find himself designated as a pariah, an outcast from normal society. It is a verbal Yellow Star.

“Far from being a 'Holocaust denier,' I have repeatedly drawn attention to major aspects of the Holocaust,” he said.

Irving, who stated in a 1977 book that Hitler was unaware of the mass slaughter of Jews until 1943, said the term “Holocaust” is meaningless.

“The word 'Holocaust' is an artificial label commonly attached to one of the greatest and still most unexplained tragedies of this past century,” he said.

In his view, Auschwitz was a slave labor camp but not a death camp. He argues that gas chambers at the camp were built after the war.

Holocaust-based Libel Suit Opens in British Court

Ray Moseley — Chicago Tribune, January 12, 2000

British historian David Irving and American professor Deborah Lipstadt confronted each other Tuesday in a British court face-off that has drawn worldwide attention to Irving's attempts to cast doubt on the Nazi Holocaust.

Irving, who has questioned whether 6 million Jews were killed by the Nazis and has sought to absolve Adolf Hitler of responsibility for the Holocaust, has brought a libel suit against Lipstadt.

... Irving said he was able to pursue the expensive libel action only because of contributions from 4,000 supporters around the world. His opponents say he is being bankrolled by right-wing extremists, mainly Americans.

Historian Lied about Holocaust, Libel Trial Told

Neil Tweedie — Daily Telegraph (London), January 12, 2000

The controversial British historian David Irving claimed he was the victim of an "organized international endeavour" to destroy his career at the opening of a libel trial in London yesterday.

... The case is likely to prove one of the most emotive seen in an English libel court in recent years, taking one of the greatest human tragedies of the 20th century as its subject matter. Journalists from Israel, Germany and America crowded into the High Court for the beginning of the trial, which opened with vitriolic attacks from both sides.

'To Put It Bluntly, Mr. Irving Is a Liar'

Neil Tweedie — Daily Telegraph (London), January 12, 2000

... Mr. Irving said at Calgary, Alberta, in September 1991: "I don't see any reason to be tasteful about Auschwitz. It's baloney, it's a legend. I say quite tastelessly, in fact, that more women died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick than ever died in a gas chamber in Auschwitz.

"Oh, you think that's tasteless, how about this? There are so many Auschwitz survivors going around, in fact the number increases as the years go past, which is biologically very odd. Because I'm going to form an Association of Auschwitz survivors, survivors of the Holocaust and other liars, or the ASSHOLS."

'Claims Are Like Being Called a Pedophile'

Neil Tweedie — Daily Telegraph (London), January 12, 2000

... Holocaust deniers "has become one of the most potent phrases in the arsenal of insult, replacing the N-word, the F-word, and a whole alphabet of other slurs ..." Mr. Irving said. The judge would undoubtedly hear from the defendants, he said, that he was fined a very substantial sum of money by the German Government.

"It is no matter for shame for me, although it has had catastrophic consequences, as it now makes me de facto 'a convict', with a criminal record and as such liable to a concatenation of further indignities and sanctions in every foreign country which I now wish to visit." It arose from a re-

mark made during an address he made to an audience in Munich in 1990 — “We now know that the gas chamber shown to the tourists at Auschwitz is a fake built by the Poles after the war, just like the one established by the Americans at Dachau.”

Mr. Irving said: “This may well raise eyebrows. It might be found to be offensive by sections of the community and if they take such offense, I can assure this court that I regret it and that such was not my intention. The fact remains that these remarks were true; the Poles admitted it in January 1995 and under English law truth has always been regarded as an absolute defense.”

Academic Buccaneer vs Bookish Schoolmaster

Alan Hamilton — The Times (London), January 12, 2000

... What is at stake here is not the amour-propre of individuals with grossly inflated egos. Rather it is whether one of the blackest chapters of 20th-century history actually happened, or is a figment of politically motivated Jewry.

... In the absence of a jury, the case has been allotted one of the High Court's smaller and less imposing arenas, where every spare seat is taken by representatives of the British, US and Jewish press.

Mass Gassing of Jews Not Feasible, Says Irving

Neil Tweedie — Daily Telegraph (London), January 13, 2000

David Irving, the historian, denied yesterday that millions of Jews were systematically murdered in the gas chambers during the Second World War.

Giving evidence in a libel action, Mr. Irving claimed that the mass gassing of Jews by the Nazis was not possible, and that there was no evidence of a systematic programme of extermination sanctioned by Adolf Hitler. The 62-year-old author said he had removed the word Holocaust from the second edition of his book Hitler's War because the term was too vague and imprecise.

... Yesterday Mr. Irving, who is representing himself, went into the witness box for cross-examination by Richard Rampton, QC, the counsel for Prof Lipstadt and Penguin. The historian stood by comments he made in Calgary in 1991 in which he claimed that the gassing of millions of Jews in “factories of death” was “just a legend”.

... When asked if he believed that Jews had been gassed in great numbers in the Treblinka and Sobibor concentration camps, Mr. Irving said he had no evidence of it. He said: “I deny that it was possible to liquidate millions of people in the gas chambers.” Mr. Irving also put the number of Jewish dead at between one million and four million, as opposed to the generally accepted figure of six million.

... Mr. Irving said that like most fellow Englishmen of his background and age he regretted the passing of “the old England”. He said: “I sometimes think that if the soldiers and sailors of the Normandy beaches in 1944 could have seen what England was like at the end of the century, they would not have got 50 yards up the beach. They would have given up in disgust.”

Irving Says Holocaust 'Logistically Impossible'

Michael Horsnell — The Times (London), January 13, 2000

The Hitler historian, David Irving, denied yesterday that the Nazis killed millions of Jews in concentration-camp gas chambers. The SS may have had gassing experiments, he said, but such mass murder was logistically impossible.

Mr. Irving, 62, said that the massacre of Jews — as occurred in the East when Germany invaded Russia — was by shooting, but was without the knowledge of Adolf Hitler and was not part of any systematic extermination by the Third Reich.

... “There was a time when he was on the right course and then went off the rails,” he said. “You can’t praise his racial program or penal methods. But he did pick up his nation out of the mire after World War I, reunified it and gave it a sense of pride again.”

... Was it six million who died in one of the blackest chapters of 20th-century history? “A lot of the numbers are very suspect,” the historian said. The judge put it to him: “It’s said against you that you tried to blame what was done against the Jews by the Third Reich on Jews themselves.” Mr. Irving replied: “I have said on a number of occasions that if I was a Jew, I would be far more concerned not at who pulled the trigger, but why. Anti-Semitism is a recurring malaise in society. There must be some reason why anti-Semitic groups break out like some kind of epidemic.”

Mr. Rampton asked him: “Do you accept that the Nazis killed by one means or another — murdered, hanged, put to death — millions of people during World War II?” “Yes,” Mr. Irving said. “I hesitate to speculate. It was certainly more than one million, certainly less than four million.” Mr. Rampton: “Do you deny the Nazis killed millions of Jews in gas chambers in purpose-built establishments?”

Mr. Irving: “Yes, it’s logistically impossible.” He added: “One million people weigh 100,000 tons — it’s a major logistical problem. I deny that it was possible to liquidate millions of people in gas chambers as presented by historians so far.” Asked about the Holocaust, the historian said: “I find the word is misleading and unhelpful. It’s too vague, imprecise and unscientific and should be avoided like the plague.”

Pressed on his own definition of the Holocaust, he said that although tragedy befell the Jews it “was the whole of the Second World War and the people who died were not just Jews but Gypsies and homosexuals, the people of Coventry and the people of Hiroshima.” Asked how many innocent Jewish people he thought the Germans had killed deliberately, Mr. Irving brought up the name of Anne Frank, who died of disease in a camp at the age of 15. “She was a Jew who died in the Holocaust and she wasn’t murdered unless you take it in the broadest sense.”

... He maintained that he had never knowingly or wilfully misrepresented any document nor suppressed information that did not support his case and said that he always passed the information he gathered to other historians.

... This libel trial, dealing with one of the most controversial and complex episodes of the past century, is expected to take at least three months. Both sides will call a host of eminent historians. “The documentary evidence will be enormous,” one lawyer said. Neither side opposed the judge’s suggestion, made before the trial, to dispense with a jury.

Irving in Court: Aspects of Shoah 'Debatable'

Lee Levitt — Jewish Chronicle (London), January 14, 2000

Historian David Irving questioned the extent of the Holocaust as his libel action against an American academic continued in the High Court this week.

... he told the packed court: "I am prepared to deny the possibility that the Nazis liquidated millions of people in gas chambers."

Misleading, Inaccurate, Distorted, and Uninformed Reporting

Michael Berenbaum — The Jewish Journal (Los Angeles), January 14, 2000

... Professor Yehuda Bauer and I, among others, did not find evidence that remains of the dead were manufactured into soap. And when we could not, we published our findings. Each bar of soap given to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum was tested to see if it contained human remains. Since it didn't, we said so. We are the servants of the truth.

Getting it Very Wrong

Tom Tugend — The Jewish Journal (Los Angeles), January 14, 2000

... To survivors and experts on the Holocaust, there is little doubt that the [Los Angeles] Times and reporter Kim Murphy gave credence to the lies of the deniers in the name of journalistic impartiality.

"It is a sign of immaturity, and inexperience on the reporter's part, to try and balance everything, because there are some things that can't be balanced," says Arthur Stern, a veteran of Bergen-Belsen and a Jewish Federation lay leader.

"I fear that at some point in the future, everything reported about the Nazi regime will be gray, and nothing will any longer be black and white," he adds.

Rabbi Abraham Cooper, associate dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, faults the Times' report on the same basis, and also charges that the article suffered from a glaring omission.

"The reporter left out the most crucial element, namely the confessions of the war criminals themselves," says Cooper. "The Nazis left an extensive paper trail and there are any number of quotes and statements by Himmler, Goebbels and Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, clearly documenting the extent of the Holocaust."

To Harold Schulweis, author and rabbi, of Valley Beth Shalom, denial of the Holocaust is "the ultimate obscenity ... like poking in the cremated ashes of a loved one.

"What is the motivation behind saying that Jews died 'only' of starvation and typhus, but not gassing? It's like telling a person after a terrible tragedy to cheer up," he observes.

... "How can you even discuss whether 6 million or 5.1 million Jews were killed?", asked survivor and business leader Nathan Shapell. "After all these years, for a newspaper like the Los Angeles Times to print such an article is ridiculous."

... Whatever the impact of the Times article, it will be eclipsed in the next few months by the London trial of a libel suit by revisionist David Irving against Holocaust historian Deborah Lipstadt.

This courtroom drama, notes the Jerusalem Post, is expected to be the most highly publicized Holocaust trial since Adolf Eichmann's in 1961.

The paper cites the view of the eminent Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer of Yad Vashem, who sees the trial as a wonderful chance to debunk the deniers.

... Others are less sanguine, fearing that the slightest legal infraction could lead to a judgment that would reward Irving with a technical victory.

[David] Lehrer [regional director of the Anti-Defamation League] ... shares the concern. "There is always a possibility, especially under British libel laws, of losing a case on a technicality."

England: Irving Case Continues

Cathy Gordon and Jan Colley — Press Association News, January 13, 2000

Controversial historian David Irving today dramatically revealed that the German government was seeking his extradition for alleged racial incitement.

The 62-year-old author told the High Court in London that it was another example of "the kind of hatred I face and the problems I face because of the repugnant allegations against me".

... After the end of today's sitting, Mr. Irving told the media that the controversy arose over a comment he made during a talk at Weinheim that the gas chambers at Auschwitz were a fake and built after the war. Such a statement was a criminal offense in Germany, he said.

He said he was fined the equivalent of £15,000 in 1992 for making the same statement in Munich in 1990. He was also banned from Germany.

The extradition proceedings revealed in court today were launched in August 1998, said Mr. Irving. No attempt had been made to serve the warrant against him, but the British Government had agreed to co-operate with Germany.

CNN Reports

Charles Glass — CNN television, January 16, 2000

... Next on CNN & TIME, historian David Irving and the Holocaust. Some of his views on the subject may surprise you ...

... GLASS: Don Guttenplan is a journalist writing a book about Irving versus Lipstadt.

GUTTENPLAN: In this case, what he's done is kind of use the libel law as a kind of jujitsu to force her to prove not only that what she said about him is true, but since she says that his views about the Holocaust are nonsensical, she has to prove that they're nonsensical.

... DAVID CESARANI, DIR., WIENER LIBRARY: We now have in the Moscow archives the building plans, the orders for the gas chamber and crematory equipment. This is not to mention the sworn statements taken by Nazis in captivity at the end of the Second World War, and of course, the mass of statements by the survivors.

... IRVING: I'm interested to see if in this coming trial here in London they find the documents and they produce them to the satisfaction of this court that do prove me wrong. And if they prove me wrong, I'll smile sheepishly and say, well done, fellows. It's taken you 40 years.

Last Battle of Hitler's Historians

Neal Ascherson — The Observer (London), January 16, 2000

... if Irving were to win this case, the impact would be far greater than damages. At the last possible moment, his reputation as a credible historian would be salvaged. His version of Hitler and the Holocaust would be given a degree of plausibility.

... Once, in a bout with Rampton over whether the Führer had ordered the extermination of the Jews, David Irving reminded him that no signed order had been found. That, said Rampton, was just negative evidence. Noisily, Irving retorted: "I have to remind you of the basic principle of English law that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty: am I right?"

And at that second there was a tiny stillness in Court 37. We were talking about Adolf Hitler.

Nazi Trains Carried Ample Food for Jews, Says Irving

Daily Telegraph (London), January 18, 2000

The image of the Holocaust was dented by the fact that trains carrying Jews to concentration camps were "well-provisioned," David Irving, the historian, said in the High Court yesterday.

A telegram message about a transportation of 944 Jews from Berlin to Lithuania on Nov. 17, 1941, decoded by British intelligence at Bletchley Park, Bucks, showed that there was 24 days' worth of food on board for the three-day journey.

"It's a bit of a dent, a tiny dent in the image we have of the Holocaust today," said the 62-year-old author of Hitler's War.

It went against the accepted image of victims stuffed into cattle trucks and shipped across Europe with no food or water, to arrive half dead. In fact, he added, intercepted messages indicated that the trains were equipped with a "very substantial amount of food" to keep the Jews going for three weeks after their arrival and their appliances or "tools of the trade".

The Battle to Control the Memory of the Shoah

David Cesarani — The Guardian (London), January 18, 2000

At times during his legal battle in the high court, David Irving, a man of natural military bearing, resembles a beleaguered Wehrmacht general in some god-forsaken pocket on the eastern front, desperately trying to beat off the Jewish-Bolshevik hordes...

He stands or sits alone on one side of the courtroom, while the large defense team occupies most of the rest of it. In his opening statement he referred several times to the existence of an "international endeavor" to destroy his name and career as a writer... Bizarre as they may be, these accusations ... may feed into the growing backlash against the so-called 'Holocaust industry' which, for very different reasons, is taking hold in mainstream media and academic circles.

... Earlier in the year the announcement that the Imperial War Museum North was planning a joint venture with the Manchester Shoah Centre provoked Brian Sewell in the Evening Standard to condemn the 'bandwagon' effect. 'Can we not say to the Jews of Manchester,' he asked, 'that enough has been made of their Holocaust and they are too greedy for our memories.'

Most recently, Sam Schulman in the Spectator warned that 'a new kind of anti-Semitism may emerge in the 21st century, in reaction to the attempt to make 'the Holocaust' central to our civilisation.'...

In 1999, Tim Cole, a British academic responsible for ground-breaking research on the wartime Budapest ghetto, published *Images of the Holocaust: the Myth of the 'Shoah Business,'* which slammed the redemptive and kitschy representation of the Holocaust seen in films and museums the world over. He dubbed this, perhaps foolishly, the 'myth' of the Holocaust.

... But Cole singles out the use of exhibitions and memorials to combat Holocaust denial. "Museums such as the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and movies such as 'Schindler's List' have as a self-conscious goal not simply teaching the public lessons from the past, but also the aim of disproving the claims of those who deny the Holocaust."

In his eyes this is a mistake, since "it amounts to attempting to counter the questioning of the reality of the 'Holocaust' by offering in its place a representation of the 'Holocaust' which only tends to blur the critical distinction between reality and representation." Worse, it's self-defeating: "It was not until it emerged as an iconic event that it was perceived to be an event which was deemed to be worth denying." Memorialization provokes denial.

The intellectual backlash has been more prominent and problematic in the US. Next month will see the publication in Britain of *The Holocaust In American Life* by the respected US historian Peter Novick, in which he maintains that "it was Jewish initiative that put the Holocaust on the American agenda"...

Denial Denial

George Szamuely — New York Press, January 18, 2000

... Irving is a scholar of enormous energy and dedication. He has published innumerable works, most of which have been praised by leading historians of the period...

This cuts no ice with our cultural vigilantes who would spoon-feed us what information they think we need. Back in March 1996, St. Martin's Press was looking forward to bringing out his book, *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*...

The book would have been a fascinating read. But it was not to be. Abraham H. Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League led the charge of the pious bullies...

The usual crowd of smelly little orthodoxies immediately chimed in... Lipstadt herself made the sonorous announcement: "In the Passover Haggadah, it says in every generation there are those who rise up to destroy us ... David Irving is not physically destroying us, but is trying to destroy the memory of those who have already perished at the hands of tyrants." The onslaught in the media was followed by death threats to the publisher.

Inevitably, St. Martin's caved and withdrew the book from publication. Irving is right to be upset that an influential minority with a political agenda succeeded in destroying his career... Irving is

also right to be outraged by the promiscuous use of the phrase “Holocaust denial.” As Lipstadt uses the term, it means whatever she wants it to mean. If you believe that fewer than six million died, are you still a Holocaust denier? Are you a Holocaust denier if you have questions about the precise means of death? In *Denying the Holocaust*, Lipstadt wrote that Pat Buchanan’s “attacks on the credibility of survivor’ testimony are standard elements of Holocaust denial.” Yet, a few years ago the director of Yad Vashem’s archive told a reporter that most of the 20,000 testimonies it had collected were unreliable: “Many were never in the places where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on secondhand information given them by friends or passing strangers.” Is he also then a “Holocaust denier”?

We now know that many of the most lurid stories of the Holocaust are not true. Jews were never made into soap. Jewish skin was not used to make lampshades. Deaths at Auschwitz, once estimated at around four million, have been scaled back to about 1.1 million. There were no gassings at Dachau. Holocaust scholars no longer accept the six-million-Jewish-dead figure; two leading figures — Raul Hilberg and Robert Jan van Pelt — believe the figure is probably closer to 5.1 million. Is this Holocaust denial or merely addition to our knowledge?...

Whether Irving wins or loses his libel case, we will probably find out that our current knowledge of the Holocaust is much flimsier than we had believed. Today, David Irving is banned from entering Canada, Australia and Germany. If our politically correct globalists have their way, he will probably be banned here and everywhere else as well soon. Why? Irving is a scholar, not a criminal. There is something contemptible about democracies terrified of anyone challenging their prevailing pieties. Outlawing him only serves to make him look good and our rulers shabby.

Philosophy of Hate Has No Room for Truth

Alan Gold — Sydney Morning Herald (Australia), January 18, 2000

... Irving denies Hitler knew anything of the Holocaust. So does Australia’s Fred Töben. And Ernst Zündel in Canada. And Arthur Butz and Fred Leuchter in America. And Robert Faurisson in France. And lots of others.

... Deniers like Irving, Töben and the rest are using the Internet to recruit and promote themselves to a vast audience.

... Extremists on both sides of the political divide have adopted the Internet as their preferred medium of communication, but by far the largest number of Web sites propagating denialism and racial vilification are owned by the far right-wing.

... The Internet is a dream come true for today’s historical revisionists. No longer do they have to find a mainstream publisher willing to print their words; nor do they have to rely on the limitations of handing out leaflets on street corners.

Alan Gold is a novelist whose latest book, *Berlin Song*, deals with issues of denialism and the Holocaust.

Irving Insists that Hitler Did Not Order the Holocaust

Tim Jones — The Times (London), January 19, 2000

The historian David Irving refused to accept yesterday that hundreds of thousands of Jews had been sent to concentration camps as part of Hitler's plan to exterminate them.

His denial that the liquidation of Jews was part of a plan personally approved by the Führer came during a sharp exchange with Richard Rampton, QC, during a libel case at the High Court in London.

Referring to the transportation of Jews from Warsaw and other towns and cities to the villages of Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec, near the Russian border, Mr. Rampton suggested that "only a fool and a liar" would suggest that they were being sent there for their health.

... Mr. Irving, 62, who is conducting his own case, replied: "There could be any number of convincing explanations, from the most innocent to the most sinister."

He added: "During World War II large numbers of people were sent to Aldershot but no one believes that there they were put into gas chambers."

In another exchange, Mr. Irving said he could not accept that 1.2 million Jews had been deliberately murdered at the Auschwitz concentration camp.

Mr. Irving, who maintains that the gas chamber at Auschwitz was built by the Poles after the war as a tourist attraction, said: "I don't accept that and I have good reason not to."

He indicated that he would justify his belief about what occurred at the infamous camp when he cross-examines Holocaust experts who are to appear in court during the course of the trial, which is expected to last for more than two months.

Speaking from the witness box in Court 73, in front of a packed public gallery in which there were many Jewish people, Mr. Irving maintained that Hitler had not been aware of the mass slaughter of the Jews. He said that in the records of the so-called "table talks" between Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, the head of the SS, and Joseph Goebbels, his Propaganda Minister, there was no evidence that the Führer knew of the "Final Solution."

Even in 1942, Mr. Irving said, Hitler was talking in terms of shipping the Jews to the island of Madagascar to begin new lives but that operation could not be carried out because of the naval war.

Hitler, he said, did not want the Jews transported to Siberia, which would merely toughen up the strain of the Jewish "bacillus." He wished them to be removed totally from the Greater Reich.

Mr. Irving said that during the conversations, at which Hitler and his henchmen had discussed the course of the war, there was no suggestion that the Jews should be systematically killed.

Mr. Irving, who accepts that hundreds of thousands of Jews were murdered but denies that the killings were part of a systematic programme of extermination, accused Mr. Rampton of disregarding evidence which did not concur with his case.

Herald Sun Regrets Poll

Mark Briskin — Australian Jewish News, January 21, 2000

Melbourne's Herald Sun newspaper has acknowledged that a poll asking readers whether they supported David Irving's views of the Holocaust was "ill-conceived".

The question which appeared in last Friday's edition read. "Do you agree with David Irving's view of the Holocaust?" and invited readers to respond via a "Yes" or "No" phone number. However a poll result did not appear in the following paper.

The reader poll accompanied a story about the David Irving libel trial currently before the courts in London.

Herald Sun deputy editor John Trevorrow said, "The question was ill-conceived and shouldn't have been asked. With a question like that you're allowing for the possibility that you agree with David Irving's view on the Holocaust i.e., that it didn't happen, that it was a conspiracy, which is clearly not something the Herald Sun wants to be associated with. It was a mistake to ask that question."

Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre President Shmuel Rosenkranz said, "The question was simply do you believe Mr. Irving or don't you? It is absolutely ridiculous to put such a question when there is sufficient evidence that the Holocaust did take place. There is sufficient evidence that Mr. Irving is a Holocaust denier par-excellence." He believed the question could give Holocaust denial legitimacy.

Australia Israel Jewish Affairs Council National Chairman Mark Leibler said that making Holocaust denial the subject of questionnaire conferred an inordinate sense of legitimacy to the issue. "It is insensitive to the many Holocaust survivors who live here. It's offensive I would have thought to all Australians of whatever shade or complexion or ethnic background and it's just simply not appropriate."

B'nai Brith Anti-Defamation Commission Executive Director Danny Ben-Moshe said he received several complaints that the poll reflected a lack of understanding about the nature of Holocaust denial and individuals such as David Irving.

"This is a very good example of the way something like Holocaust denial can sort of slip in there. In this particular way, it is a different form of racist hate to deal with, so the educational role we have to play is going to be more not less."

He added, "I think under the circumstances while its original publication was abhorrent and completely unacceptable, it was, dealt with in the most appropriate way."

Mr. Trevorrow said that the individual responsible for the poll had been admonished that the newspaper did not print the results as it wanted nothing more to do with the issue. "The best thing was not to air the subject any further," he said.

New Twists on History

Dennis Roddy — Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, January 22, 2000

... As the libel trial enters its third week, Irving promises fresh proofs that Auschwitz had no gas chambers, evidence he'll unleash when he gets one of Lipstadt's expert witnesses on the stand.

"The battleship Auschwitz as the capital ship of the Holocaust legend will have sunk," Irving assures me.

Defender of Hitler Sues Critics — and Puts Holocaust on Trial

Ray Moseley — Chicago Tribune, January 23, 2000

... Even his critics acknowledge that Irving is the most scholarly of the Holocaust deniers, and few people have searched the wartime archives as thoroughly — and benefited as well from the recollections and diaries of old Nazis whom he befriended.

His memory is prodigious. Rampton produces relatively obscure archival documents, and Irving rattles on at length about minor Nazi bureaucrats mentioned in them, or says with great confidence this is a document he has never seen.

... During one break in the proceedings, a woman accosts him and says her parents were gassed at Auschwitz.

“You may be pleased to know that they almost certainly died of typhus, as did Anne Frank,” Irving replies.

Cyanide Was 'Used to Kill Lice' Claims Irving

Michael Horsnell — The Times (London), January 24, 2000

Traces of cyanide in human hair recovered from Auschwitz and on metal ventilation grilles over the concentration camp's gas chambers were evidence of a delousing program by the Nazis and not of mass extermination, David Irving, the Hitler historian, said yesterday.

Mr. Irving told a High Court judge that the SS used the gas chambers simply to fumigate bodies and clothing and hair shorn after death from inmates of the Polish concentration camp in the face of a plague of lice.

... Yesterday Mr. Irving said that he stood by the man whose work had persuaded him that mass extermination never took place at Auschwitz. Fred Leuchter, a consultant in the design of execution facilities in America, had visited the camp in 1988 on behalf of a German, Ernst Zündel, who was on trial in Canada for publishing material that denied the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz.

Holocaust Skeptic Admits Use of Flawed Evidence

Bert Roughton Jr. — Atlanta Journal-Constitution, January 25, 2000

... David Irving said he still believes no Jews were gassed at Auschwitz because he is unimpressed with evidence supporting the traditional account. “We are entitled to at least one unambiguous, not read-between-the-lines, document that would give us a clear smoking gun,” Irving testified Monday. “That document does not exist.”

... When asked about the overwhelming body of documents, physical evidence and eyewitness accounts of the mass killings at the infamous Nazi concentration camp, Irving said he did not accept the conclusion that Nazis systemically killed as many as 2 million Jews in gas chambers at the camp and then burned their bodies in specially built furnaces.

“No, I don't agree with this,” Irving said. “There are other arguments that are just as plausible.”

Irving, who has never visited Auschwitz, said it was more likely the structures identified as gas chambers were used as air raid shelters or as places to administer poison gas to corpses to kill typhus-carrying fleas and lice.

Auschwitz Had No Gas Chambers, Says Historian

Daily Telegraph (London), January 27, 2000

Eyewitness evidence of the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz was “totally demolished” because there were no holes in the roof through which to insert poison, the historian David Irving told the High Court yesterday.

Mr. Irving, the 62-year-old author of *Hitler’s War*, who is seeking libel damages for being called a “Holocaust denier,” said his theory “blows holes in the whole gas chambers story.” He said a number of “revisionist” researchers had entered the ruins of Crematorium Two at Auschwitz, in which Holocaust historians say 500,000 died.

They photographed the collapsed underside of the roof but found no holes. He said: “I do not accept that the Nazis, in the last frantic days of the camp, would have gone around filling the holes that they were going to dynamite.”

... Mr. Irving said the defense’s “so-called” eyewitnesses were a relatively small number for the large proposition at stake. Apart from that, he said, there was not “a single document of any credible worth” which explicitly set out the defense case in all the “hundreds of thousands” of papers in the Auschwitz museum and the Moscow archives. He submitted that his position on the Holocaust was justifiable and not perverse.

Irving Disputes 'Lurid' Atrocity Stories

Michael Horsnell — The Times (London), January 27, 2000

David Irving, the Hitler historian, challenged in the High Court yesterday the credibility of evidence of Auschwitz survivors.

The veracity of Henryk Tauber, a Jew forced to work in the crematoriums, stretched “a reasonable historian’s credibility,” he claimed. Mr. Irving, 62, who is suing Deborah Lipstadt, an American academic, and her publisher, Penguin Books, for libel over her claim that he is a Holocaust-denier, pointed to Tauber’s eye-witness accounts of one Jew set alight with petrol by the SS and another thrown into a pit of boiling human fat.

This was the sort of “lurid” evidence that should be open to more than normal scrutiny, Mr. Irving said during his cross-examination of Robert Van Pelt, a Dutch Auschwitz expert. Mr. Irving suggested that Tauber’s “precision” was prompted by the Polish authorities.

Judge Warns Irving

Lee Levitt — Jewish Chronicle (London), January 28, 2000

Historian David Irving railed on Wednesday against what he termed the “well-funded ... Holocaust education business” as his libel action against Professor Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books continued in the High Court.

Mr. Irving launched his attack while cross-examining Dutch historian Professor Robert van Pelt, co-author of a history of Auschwitz with American academic Professor Debórah Dwork.

He claimed that Professor Dwork, at Clark University, had obtained \$5 million to finance her chair, and for library, student and other grants.

“It has become big business, and it’s not just me who has said this. The Chief Rabbi of England said it once,” Mr. Irving claimed. “There are all sorts of profitable sidelines.”

Difficult to Counter the Deniers

Per Nygren — Goteborgs-Posten (Sweden), January 28, 2000

... Stéphan Bruchfeld, Sweden’s foremost expert on the deniers, tells that after a ten weeks course he gave notes with the arguments of the deniers to the students, and asked them to answer them. The outcome was a disaster, he said. Not because there are no substance in the arguments of the deniers...

Auschwitz Document 'Shows Genocidal Use,' Court Told

LineOne News (Britain), January 28, 2000

... Prof. van Pelt agreed that none of the blue-prints showed any modification to create holes in the roof necessary for the introduction of cyanide into the chambers.

Mr. Irving, who says that the apparent lack of such holes means that genocidal gassing did not occur, said that he would abandon his action tomorrow if the Auschwitz authorities would agree to clear the rubble from the ruined crematoria and find the holes.

Such a move, he said, would thwart neo-Nazis who currently benefited from the existence of doubts over the gas chambers.

Irving Not anti-Semitic, Libel Case Told

Daily Telegraph (London), February 1, 2000

An expert in Judaism told the High Court yesterday that he did not consider David Irving, the historian who denies the mass gassing of Jews in concentration camps, to be anti-Semitic.

Denial Isn't Out of Style

Yoram Bronowski — Ha'aretz (Israel), February 1, 2000

A television critic who works for this newspaper recently wrote that wallowing in the Holocaust is hard for him and on ordinary days (any day that is not Holocaust Day), the Holocaust interests him less than last Monday’s rainstorm. Although one doubts he would dare to write, let alone feel such a thing, about genocide in Rwanda, what was most impressive about this confession was its unquestionable sincerity, duly rewarded by a letter of praise from a Holocaust survivor. From the sound of it, it was just the bluster of a very young man being negative, and it would be an exaggeration and surely unfair to associate such a pronouncement with anything as serious as Holocaust denial. Nevertheless, I could not help being reminded of this as I watched Yaakov Achimeir

("World News Magazine," Channel One, Saturday, 20:00) briefly interviewing the prime minister of Sweden, Goran Persson, who opened the International Forum on the Holocaust this week in Stockholm. The Forum is devoted to the dangers of denying or forgetting the Holocaust. "There is no need for denial. Indifference and forgetfulness are enough," said the Swede.

... There are all kinds of motives behind Holocaust denial, including the argument that the subject is simply not interesting. Israeli supporters of this view like to hint that through no fault of their own, they already know too much about it, and are plain sick of it. This, in spite of the fact that the Holocaust really takes up very little space in the national agenda or in school curricula.

It seems logical enough that as time goes by, the children of various nations, our own included (the signs are there) will not believe the stories of their parents or grandparents, and demand more and more proof, becoming increasingly disbelieving of what is already so hard to believe. The fears of the Swedish prime minister, it seems, are no joke. The day may come when people will argue about whether the Holocaust happened or not, in the same way that they argue today about the flood in the time of Noah.

The Holocaust on Trial

D. D. Guttenplan — The Atlantic Monthly (Boston), February 1, 2000

"First they came for the Jews ..."

Of all the "lessons" of the Holocaust, Pastor Martin Niemöller's unsparing account of his own complicity in the escalating brutality of life in Nazi Germany is probably the best known. When Americans talk about the Holocaust — from Vice President Al Gore speaking at a Holocaust remembrance ceremony in Washington, DC, to the AIDS activist Mary Fisher at the 1992 Republican Convention — Niemöller's litany of indifference, "but I was not a Jew ...," almost always comes up. It is one of the things everybody knows about the Holocaust, along with the bars of soap made from the fat of murdered Jews, and the gas chambers at Dachau and Belsen.

The problem is, what everybody knows about the Holocaust isn't always true. Although the grisly tale of human beings rendered into soap figured in some of the earliest accounts of events inside Nazi-occupied Europe, it is now universally rejected by historians as a fabrication — similar to the atrocity stories that were a staple of Allied propaganda during the First World War. The concentration camp at Dachau did have a gas chamber, but it was never used. There were no gas chambers at Belsen.

Nor, as it happens, did the Nazis come first for the Jews. In fact, as Peter Novick explains in his brilliant and provocative new book, *The Holocaust in American Life*, "First they came for the Communists" — a circumstance acknowledged by Niemöller, who continued,

but I was not a Communist — so I said nothing. Then they came for the Social Democrats, but I was not a Social Democrats — so I did nothing. Then came the trade unionists, but I was not a trade unionist. And then they came for the Jews, but I was not a Jew — so I did little. Then when they came for me, there was no one left who could stand up for me.

Novick describes Gore, Fisher, and the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., as "prudently omitting Communists" from their versions of Niemöller's homily. But as Novick makes clear, prudence and political calculation have influenced our knowledge of the Holocaust from the very beginning.

David Irving Repeats 'Holocaust Denier' Accusations against Himself on his Web Site

Dan Glove — National Post (Toronto), February 3, 2000

... The dispute has posed a difficult question for observers: Is Irving's mission to win, or to force Holocaust historians to engage him in a theatrical debate on even ground? Irving's limited assets and vulnerability are bound to make any win for Lipstadt and Penguin a pyrrhic one, allowing a martyred Irving to broadcast, via the courts, the newspapers and the Internet, a kind of virtual history no mainstream publisher would be likely to touch.

'I Find the Holocaust Endlessly Boring'

Tom Segev — Ha'aretz (Israel), February 4, 2000

British historian David Irving says that, had the Jews not been allowed to set up a state in Palestine but were sent to Madagascar instead, as proposed in the plan he attributes to Nazi Germany, "the world would be a happier place."

... Irving added that the Jews should ask themselves why they are hated so much, and always have been, everywhere. "What is it in them that generates this hatred? They would do well to think about that."

"There is no doubt that they are hated today in part because of all the 'Holocaust propaganda' they are constantly spreading. It's become impossible to open a newspaper or see a television program these days without coming across the Holocaust. Holocaust, Holocaust, everywhere Holocaust. The Holocaust has 'hijacked' all the media, all of Western culture. The world is fed up with it. People are losing their patience and are liable to resort to acts of violence against Jews. If the Jews don't stop, they can expect a genuine Holocaust."

Where Are All Their Holes?

Tom Segev — Ha'aretz (Israel), February 4, 2000

... What interested him [Irving] more than anything else were the holes that were supposed to be in the ceiling of the chambers, which were ostensibly used for introducing the poison gas. No holes were marked on the plans displayed by the defense witness. Perhaps these were not suffocation chambers, but rather shelters to protect from aerial bombing, suggested Irving, and dramatically promised to withdraw his libel suit if he could only be shown the holes. Where are the holes, he asked again and again. "We had so much fun that day," he said later, because it turned out that there were no holes...

David Irving v. the Dead

Geoffrey Wheatcroft — National Post (Toronto), February 5, 2000

... There are broader points at issue beyond one man and his reputation. Like any other historical episode, the Shoah — the Hebrew word for catastrophe, which some of us prefer to "Holocaust," the Greek word for "burnt offering" — is a legitimate subject for historical inquiry. Only Nazis and nutters deny the Shoah, but there is another serious, though sadly envenomed, debate between historians who believe Hitler was all along determined to exterminate the Jews and those who think it was a form of improvisation.

... While Irving is conducting his own case, the defendants have a full legal team, solicitors, Queen's Counsel and junior, all costing many thousands a day. Taking part in a case like this is catching a cab from Toronto to Vancouver and watching the meter tick over. Since Irving cannot possibly pay even part of the defense costs, he will presumably go bankrupt if he loses, and the defendants can whistle for their money.

And this case shows once again how heavily weighted in the defendant's favor the libel law is. He doesn't have to prove "actual damage" or financial loss, only to assert that his feelings are hurt, as aren't ours all from time to time. The burden of proof is effectively on the defendant. She has no public interest defense, and the plaintiff is not obliged to show (as in American law) that she acted recklessly and with malice.

... It is indeed possible to detest Holocaust deniers while also having grave misgivings about what has been called the Holocaust industry, or "Shoah business," about which Hal Niedzviecki wrote in the National Post last Saturday (Turning the Horror of History into Fun)...

That great man Isaiah Berlin was an acutely conscious Jew, who identified passionately with his people and their fate. And in the words of his biographer Michael Ignatieff, "he actively despised the Holocaust industry and kept his distance from rhetorical invocations of his people's horrible fate. Silence seemed more truthful." While knowing what I think about David Irving, I also know what Isaiah Berlin meant.

Court 73 — Where History Is on Trial

Jonathan Freedland — The Guardian (London), February 5, 2000

... Irving ... reckons he knows enough to deny three key, defining aspects of the Holocaust:

- first, that Jews were killed in gas chambers at Auschwitz,
- second, that Hitler directly ordered their slaughter and
- third that there was any systematic plan to destroy European Jewry.

The defense will have to prove Irving wrong. Not to a jury — both sides agreed to dispense with that — but to the satisfaction of Charles Gray, former libel lawyer and now high court judge.

You would think that would be a simple enough task. We've all seen the archive footage of the camps, the shocking images of human skeletons bulldozed into pits. Surely that evidence settles the matter? Not quite. For Irving looks at those bodies and sees the victims of typhus, an epidemic that thrived in what he admits were the "ghastly" conditions of the concentration camps. He claims these victims were not gassed, but died of "natural causes."

What of the countless volumes of testimony provided by the survivors of the Holocaust, the Primo Levis, Elie Wiesels and Hugo Gryns who, along with thousands of others, described the same, deathly process? They all witnessed the train rides that ended in "selection," with those deemed unfit to work herded away for "delousing," into showers that proved to be gas chambers. What of them? No, Irving would say, the Jews have made it all up. Either these accounts are "a matter for psychiatric evaluation" — the witnesses were out of their minds — or the more sinister fruit of a worldwide Jewish plot to guilt-trip the human race.

So the defense offers the evidence of the Nazi themselves. On Wednesday, Rampton raised Hans Almeyers [Aumeier], the second highest-ranking Nazi officer at Auschwitz. In his interrogation

by British intelligence Almeyer, too, corroborated the witnesses' account of the extermination process.

But that is not good enough for Irving either. “British Army officers ... had ways of making people talk,” the plaintiff said, happily reversing the cliché. If a Nazi confesses to the Holocaust then, according to Irving, his words were obviously beaten out of him. They are worthless.

That leaves two types of evidence, physical and documentary. Physical evidence is hard, since the Nazis took great pains to destroy the death camps ...

All that remains are the documents. Here Irving, acknowledged as a near-obsessive student of Nazi paperwork, takes over. This week he took great delight in cross-examining Robert Jan van Pelt, a Dutch architectural historian who is an authority on the gas chambers. Van Pelt's testimony was crucial to the defense, because he has studied architects' drawings — recently made available — which leave little doubt as to the chambers' function.

Irving grilled van Pelt on one document in particular, questioning its authenticity. He rattled off questions: about a serial number out of sequence, an incorrect rank for the signing officer, the initials of the typist (which Irving said exist on no other document), even the precise location of the margin. All these discrepancies, bragged Irving, suggested a forgery.

This is where Irving is happiest, rolling around in swastika-embossed paper. He knows these documents so well, he knows their mannerisms. On this terrain, Irving can be frighteningly convincing.

After 40 Years, Eichmann Diary Released

Michael S. Arnold — Newsday (New York), February 28, 2000

Jerusalem — Israel's attorney general last night authorized the release of the prison memoir of Adolf Eichmann, architect of the Nazis' “Final Solution” for the extermination of European Jewry.

Attorney General Elyakim Rubinstein also agreed to rush a copy to American scholar Deborah Lipstadt during her libel trial in London ...

The memoir has been locked away in Israeli state archives since Eichmann was hanged in 1962, the only time that Israel has imposed the death penalty. According to the few researchers who have had access to the document, Eichmann offers a detailed description of the systematic attempt to exterminate European Jews. He minimizes his role in the operation, describing himself as a minor cog in the Nazi killing machine.

Forgotten over four decades, the document resurfaced last summer when one of Eichmann's sons demanded the memoir. Rubinstein, son of Holocaust survivors, decided instead that the handwritten notes would be opened to the public ...

Holocaust experts in Israel say the document could be crucial to Lipstadt's defense ...

Holocaust Can't Be Denied

Eric Fetterman — New York Post, March 8, 2000

Although the evidence of Irving's decades-long historical distortions is overwhelming, he may yet prevail in court, thanks to the complexities of British libel law and his own clever wordplay. That would be a devastating blow — for Irving has been in the forefront of a sinister and dangerous campaign that has allowed Holocaust denial to slowly, but surely, creep into otherwise respectable institutions ...

If he wins in court — and the legal onus is on Lipstadt and Penguin to prove their accusations — Irving and his revisionist soulmates will have been handed a license to rewrite history and distort the truth.

From the Trial Proceedings

Excerpts from the Irving-Lipstadt Trial Transcripts

Compiled by Greg Raven

IHR Journal Provides 'Wake Up Call'

January 25, p. 23

Judge Gray: What puzzles me about this is that one of the documents Mr. Irving just handed in says that this further Polish or Auschwitz investigation has been published in the summer 1991 *Journal of Historical Review*. ["An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers'"]

[Professor Robert Jan] Van Pelt [a defense witness]: Yes. The history of that report was kind of a rude wake-up call for the people at Auschwitz [State] Museum, because what happened was that, one way or another, the document, which had not been finalized as far as I know, was leaked to people of the Institute for Historical Review and then immediately published rather triumphantly as a Polish investigation and/or sister Leuchter investigation. It was this kind of experience which then made both the people at the [Auschwitz State] Museum and the people at the Jan Sehn Institute to decide to move with greater care in the future.

Prof. van Pelt on Qualifications

January 25, p. 38

Irving: ... Professor van Pelt, you are a Dutch citizen or Canadian citizen now?

Van Pelt: I am a Dutch citizen.

Irving: ... And you are now Professor of the History of Architecture at the University of Waterloo in Toronto?

Van Pelt: No... I am in the Department of Architecture and hence I am officially a Professor of Architecture. Your title as professor depends on the department you are in. However, I teach in what we call the Cultural History stream, so normally, in order to prevent confusion in ordinary usage, I would call myself Professor of Cultural History because, both in my background, my PhD and my teaching duties, I teach cultural history in the architectural school. However, when I was advised about the way I had to create my curriculum vitae for this proceeding, I was told that I had been to be extremely precise in the legal sense of what I was, so again I put in Professor of Architecture.

Judge Gray: So you are really a cultural historian?

Van Pelt: I am really a cultural historian.

Irving: This is a point of some substance, my Lord. We need to know precisely what your qualifications are to offer your expertise to the court... In Britain, of course, we have the Royal Institute of British Architects. Are you familiar with the fact that it is illegal in England to call yourself an architect unless you are registered with the RIBA?

Van Pelt: That is in most countries like that, yes, I know.

Irving: In Holland, the equivalent is the Bond van Nederlandse Architecten, am I correct?...

Van Pelt: Yes, Bond van Nederlandse Architecten.

Irving: ... Am I right in saying that you are not registered with the Bond van Nederlandse Architecten?

Van Pelt: I have never had any reason to do so since I never studied in an architectural school.

Irving: So you cannot legally pretend to be an architect, if I can put it like that?

Van Pelt: No, I could be prosecuted.

Irving: ... Rather like Mr. Leuchter was prosecuted in Massachusetts for pretending to be an engineer?

Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: ... In other words, your expertise, as an architect, is the same as Mr. Leuchter's expertise was an engineer?

Van Pelt: I do not really know. I have been teaching in architecture school now since 1984. I have taught design courses, specially in small architecture schools one needs to chip in wherever one does. I have been on architectural juries and quick sessions, mostly on a weekly, bi-weekly, kind of frequency. I did —

Irving: You have never learned architecture? You have never studied architecture at university? You have never taken a degree in architecture?

Van Pelt: I do not have a degree in it, but I have been confronted with the architectural practice and, apart from that, I have worked for various architects, one of them, Sir Dennis Leston, here in England, when he was designing the Synagogue in Jerusalem. I have worked with Jack Diamond in Toronto. So I have been in architectural offices very often and other practices.

Irving: ... Very well. So if I am called a pseudo historian, then you are a pseudo architect, if I can put it like that?

Van Pelt: Yes, except I have never claimed to be either an architect or a pseudo architect.

Irving: Except that you are a professor of architecture, you announce you are a professor of architecture, you leave people with the impression that you are an expert on architecture, and yet you have never studied it and you have never qualified and you are not registered as such?

Van Pelt: I must say that I probably would prefer to be called a professor of cultural history, but the fact of the matter is that the university has given me an appointment as professor of architecture. So —

Irving: But you are not giving evidence here on the culture of Auschwitz; you are giving evidence on the architecture of Auschwitz.

Van Pelt: ... I think, as an historian, you can talk about various forms of evidence and the architectural documents is one of these forms of evidence.

Irving: I do not mean these questions in the least sense as a put down, but I think it is important to draw his Lordship's attention to the fact that your qualifications as an architect are, in fact, no greater or lesser than mine?

Van Pelt: I agree that my formal qualifications are exactly the same as yours.

Irving: So when you look at light switches or architectural drawings or blue prints, as you call them, you are no better qualified than I am?

Van Pelt: No ...

The Intimidating Carlo Mattogno

January 25, p. 110

Irving: ... Professor van Pelt, you are probably the world's leading authority on Auschwitz. There is no need to be humble or modest about this. Is this correct?

Van Pelt: It is difficult to say that. I think that the history of Auschwitz is a very big history, a very complex history... I would say that [I am] probably one of the two people, yes, who was most comfortable with all the material.

Irving: You are certainly the best that money can buy ... Is it true that most of these Auschwitz files have now been microfilmed and provided to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC?

Van Pelt: The Auschwitz files from Moscow have all been unblocked microfilmed, and the Museum is now working on a microfilm collection of the files in Auschwitz itself.

Irving: So there are probably not many pages of those archives that have not recently been turned by one researcher or another?

Van Pelt: I do not know what other researchers are doing. I have read in some of, I think in material which comes from your web site, I think, Mr. [Carlo] Mattogno [Italian revisionist] has done a lot of [archival] work in Moscow. I think that, a number of people in the Holocaust Museum seem to have been intimidated by this book and thinks there is no more work to do, but I tell them that there is enough work to do still.

Irving: It is a very well written book, if I may say so ...

Thin Gas Chamber Evidence

February 15, pp. 91-92

Judge Gray: I expect you would accept, Professor [Richard] Evans [a defense witness] ... the number of overtly incriminating documents, wartime documents, as regards gas chambers is actually pretty few and far between?

Evans: Gas chambers, other things such as the systematic nature of the extermination, I am referring to the whole package of evidence ...

Irving: Professor Evans, you accept that we cannot do things that way in this court... As his Lordship has said, you do accept that the documentary basis for the gassings, the gas chambers and for the systematic nature of that is thin compared with the documentation of the Eastern Front shootings?

Evans: Yes ...

Dr. MacDonald's Testimony in the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

An American Professor Responds to a 'Jewish Activist'

Kevin MacDonald

On Monday, January 31, 2000, American professor Kevin MacDonald took the stand at an expert witness in the London libel case of [David Irving vs. Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books](#). (Irving, a prominent British historian, had sued Lipstadt, and her British publisher, for hostile statements made about him in her book, *Denying the Holocaust*. For more on the case, see the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 16-17, including Irving's Opening Statement in the trial.) MacDonald, the only witness to testify voluntarily on Irving's behalf, was not in the stand for long because the defense declined to question him on cross-examination.

Not surprisingly, MacDonald quickly came under fire for his testimony in the case. In addition to carping from the Jewish weekly *Forward* and the influential German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, probably the most detailed and vehement broadside came from Judith Shulevitz in the online magazine *Slate*.

Here is the text of Prof. MacDonald's statement on his trial testimony, submitted to the court before his appearance, and then considerably revised and expanded for public distribution. It is adapted slightly for publication here. Following that is "My Decision to Testify for Irving," which is excerpted from a statement MacDonald posted online in response to criticisms of his decision to testify.

-- The Editor

Statement on Trial Testimony

Irving in the Context of Jewish Intellectual and Political Activism

I am not a historian. Although the history of Judaism is important to my work, I can offer no expert opinion on the work of David Irving except to the extent that I have noted that his work has been favorably reviewed by a considerable number of academic experts on World War II, including Gordon Craig, A. J. P. Taylor, and Hugh Trevor-Roper.

I believe that my background as an evolutionary psychologist and my research into Jewish-gentile relations equips me to describe to the court some competitive features of those relations. Anti-Jewish tactics are widely known, and it is widely accepted that active anti-Semites have and still do exist. But competitive behavior on the part of Jewish organizations is not as widely known. In my research I have reviewed the writings and activities of both Jews and their oppo-

nents, and I think I can help place the actions of Dr. Lipstadt and some Jewish organizations against Mr. Irving into a wider context.

The main point of my testimony is that the attacks made on David Irving by Deborah Lipstadt and Jewish organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) should be viewed in the long-term context of Jewish-gentile interactions. As indicated by the summaries of my books, my training as an evolutionist as well as the evidence compiled by historians leads me to conceptualize Judaism as self-interested groups whose interests often conflict with segments of the gentile community. Anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior have been a pervasive feature of the Jewish experience since the beginnings of the Diaspora well over 2000 years ago. While anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior have undoubtedly often been colored by myths and fantasies about Jews, there is a great deal of anti-Jewish writing that reflects, just as an evolutionist would expect, the reality of between-group competition. Particularly important have been the themes of separatism: (1) Jewish groups have typically existed as recognizably distinct groups, and have been unwilling to assimilate either culturally or through marriage; (2) the theme of economic, political, and cultural domination; (3) the theme of disloyalty.

Because anti-Jewish attitudes and behavior have been such a common response to Jews as a Diaspora group, Jewish groups have developed a wide variety of strategies to cope with their enemies. Separation and Its Discontents discusses a great many of these strategies, including a very long history of apologia dating to the ancient world. In the last century there have been a great many intellectual activities, most notably many examples of Jewish historiography which present Jews and Judaism in a positive light and their enemies in a negative light, often with little regard for historical accuracy.

Most importantly for the situation of David Irving, Jewish groups have engaged in a wide range of political activities to further their interests. In general, Jews have been active agents rather than passive martyrs; they have been highly flexible strategists in the political arena. The effectiveness of Jewish strategizing has been facilitated by several key features of Judaism as group evolutionary strategy — particularly that the IQ of Ashkenazi Jews is at least one standard deviation above the Caucasian mean. In all historical eras, Jews as a group have been highly organized, highly intelligent, and politically astute, and they have been able to command a high level of financial, political, and intellectual resources in pursuing their group goals.

For example, Jews engaged in a very wide range of activities to combat anti-Semitism in Germany in the period from 1870 to 1914, including the formation of self-defense committees, lobbying the government, utilizing and influencing the legal system (for example, taking advantage of libel and slander laws to force anti-Jewish organizations into bankruptcy), writing apologies and tracts for distribution to the masses of gentile Germans, and funding organizations opposed to anti-Semitism composed mainly of sympathetic gentiles. Jewish organizations commissioned writings in opposition to “scientific anti-Semitism,” as exemplified by academically respectable publications that portrayed Judaism in negative terms. Academic works were monitored for such material, and Jewish organizations sometimes succeeded in banning offending books and getting publishers to alter offensive passages. The result was to render such ideas academically and intellectually disreputable. (See: R.S. Levy, *The Downfall of the Anti-Semitic Political Parties in Imperial Germany* [1975], and, S. Ragins, *Jewish Responses to Anti-Semitism in Germany* [1980].)

Jewish organizations have used their power to make the discussion of Jewish interests off limits. Individuals who have made remarks critical of Jews have been forced to make public apologies and suffered professional difficulties as a result. Quite often the opinions in question are quite

reasonable — statements that are empirically verifiable, and the sort of thing that may permissibly be said about other groups or members of other groups.

The main point of my testimony is to discuss Mr. Irving's difficulties which he argues have been brought about by Jewish organizations and with the defendant, Deborah Lipstadt who has contributed to the effort to ban Mr. Irving from publishing his work with reputable publishers. This is a major part of Irving's complaint. As evidence I call your attention to Lipstadt's comments, quoted in *The Washington Post* of April 3, 1996:

In the Passover Haggadah, it says in every generation there are those who rise up to destroy us. David Irving is not physically destroying us, but is trying to destroy the memory of those who have already perished at the hands of tyrants.

They say they don't publish reputations, they publish books ... But would they publish a book by Jeffrey Dahmer on man-boy relationships? Of course the reputation of the author counts. And no legitimate historian takes David Irving's work seriously.

These remarks were made in reaction to the decision by St. Martin's Press to cancel publication of Irving's book, *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich*, and were clearly intended to support that decision. Irving himself decided to sue Lipstadt only after St. Martin's Press had rescinded publication of the book, and only after Lipstadt's public support for that decision. (See D. D. Guttenplan, "The Holocaust on Trial," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 2000, p. 53.)

Moreover, as Mr. Irving noted in his Opening Statement [Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, pp. 16-35], the intense pressure brought to bear by certain Jewish groups against him goes far beyond preventing publishers from issuing his work. Mr. Irving has been prevented from traveling to certain countries, his speaking engagements have been disrupted and canceled, his contracts with other publishers have been voided, and he has been subjected to physical intimidation.

While David Irving has to my knowledge been a target of these organizations far more than any other author, Jewish organizations in the United States, and particularly the Anti-Defamation League, have also attempted to censor books critical of Israel and the pro-Israel lobby in the US. These books include Paul Findley's *They Dare to Speak Out* (L. Wilcox, 1996, p. 82), dealing with the activities of the pro-Israel lobby in the United States, Victor Ostrovsky's *By Way of Deception* which deals with Israeli intelligence operations, including recruitment of Jews in foreign lands to act as spies for Israel, and *Assault on the Liberty* by James Ennes on the role of Israel in the attack on the USS *Liberty* during the 1967 war (recounted in *They Dare to Speak Out* by Paul Findley). For example, an ADL official claimed that Findley's book "is a work of Holocaust revisionism seeking to spread the claim that the Nazi slaughter of Jews was a hoax," although in fact it made no such claim (L. Wilcox, 1996, p. 82). The ADL is also actively trying to censor the internet (*Boston Globe*, March 25, 1999).

Moreover, the ADL has flouted the law by engaging in "espionage, disinformation and destabilization operations, not only against neo-Nazis and Ku Klux Klansmen, but against leftist and progressive groups as well." These activities include illegal penetration of confidential police files in San Francisco and elsewhere. (This story broke in early 1993. See: L. Wilcox, *Crying Wolf*, 1996, p. 7.)

Another example of behavior by Jewish organizations that tends to chill free expression involved the Canadian teacher Luba Fedorkiw. Running for the Canadian Parliament in 1984, she "discovered to her utter amazement that B'nai B'rith Canada ... had circulated an internal memo which accused her of 'Jew-baiting!'" (L. Wilcox, 1996, pp. 81-82). The allegation was repeated in the

Winnipeg Sun along with the assertion that she was being investigated by B'nai B'rith on suspicion of anti-Semitism. The resulting defamation cost her the election to David Orlikow, and subjected her to malicious harassment. According to Ms. Fedorkiw, when the investigation was publicized, she received obscene and harassing telephone calls, a swastika was spray-painted on her campaign office, and a number of her political supporters withdrew their backing. She sued for libel and won a \$400,000 judgment on the basis that a claim that she had said her opponent was “controlled by the Jews” was not true.

In my book, *Separation and Its Discontents*, I discuss several other examples of Jewish activism aimed at suppressing criticism of Jews, Judaism, or Israel. Media critic William Cash, writing in the British magazine *The Spectator* (Oct. 29, 1994), described the Jewish media elite as “culturally nihilist,” suggesting that he believed Jewish media influence reflects a Jewish lack of concern for traditional cultural values. Kevin Myers, a columnist for the British *Sunday Telegraph* (Jan. 5, 1997), wrote that

we should really be able to discuss Jews and their Jewishness, their virtues or their vices, as one can any other identifiable group, without being called anti-Semitic. Frankness does not feed anti-Semitism; secrecy, however, does. The silence of sympathetic discretion can easily be misunderstood as a conspiracy. It is time to be frank about Jews.

Myers went on to note that *The Spectator* was accused of anti-Semitism when it published the 1994 article by William Cash (mentioned above). Myers emphasized the point that Cash’s offense was that he had written that the cultural leaders of the United States were Jews whose Jewishness had effectively been beyond public discussion.

Cash wrote that there is a double standard operating, by which a Jewish writer like Neal Gabler may refer to a “Jewish cabal,” while his own use of the phrase is described as anti-Semitic. He also noted that while movies regularly present negative, stereotyped portrayals of other ethnic groups, Cash’s description of Jews as “fiercely competitive” was regarded as anti-Semitic. As another example, actor Marlon Brando repeated in 1996 statements (originally made in 1979) on a nationally televised interview program to the effect that “Hollywood is run by Jews. It’s owned by Jews.” The focus of the complaint was that Hollywood regularly portrays negative stereotypes of other ethnic groups but not of Jews. Brando’s remarks were viewed as anti-Semitic by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) and the Jewish Defense League (*Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1996, p. F4).

These claims regarding the Jewish role in Hollywood are empirically verifiable, but the response of major Jewish organizations has been to label such claims “anti-Semitic,” and to try to ruin the careers of those who make them. Both Cash and Brando apologized for their remarks and, as part of their public contrition, visited the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles (*Forward*, April 26, 1996). (Cash’s apology came some two years after publication of his remarks.) The *Forward* article suggests that Cash has had trouble publishing his work in the wake of the incident. Moreover, the same *Forward* issue reported that the publisher of Cash’s comments, Dominic Lawson, editor of the *London Spectator*, was prevented from publishing an article on the birth of his Down Syndrome daughter in *The New Republic* when Martin Peretz, the owner, and Leon Wieseltier, the literary editor, complained about Lawson’s publishing of Cash’s article. There is abundant evidence that Peretz strongly identifies as a Jew, and that he has an unabashed policy of slanting his journal toward positions favorable to Israel.

Noam Chomsky, the famous MIT linguist, describes (in his 1988 book, *Language and Politics*, pp. 642-3), his own, similar experience with the ADL:

In the United States a rather effective system of intimidation has been developed to silence critique ... Take the Anti-Defamation League... It's actually an organization devoted to trying to defame and intimidate and silence people who criticize current Israeli policies, whatever they may be. For example, I myself, through a leak in the new England office of the Anti-Defamation League, was able to obtain a copy of my file there. It's 150 pages, just like an FBI file, [consisting of] interoffice memos warning that I'm going to show up here and there, surveillance of talks that I give, comments and alleged transcripts of talks ... [T]his material has been circulated [and] ... would be sent to some local group which would use it to extract defamatory material which would then be circulated, usually in unsigned pamphlets outside the place where I'd be speaking ... If there's any comment in the press which they regard as insufficiently subservient to the party line, there'll be a flood of letters, delegations, protests, threats to withdraw advertising, etc. The politicians of course are directly subjected to this, and they are also subjected to substantial financial penalties if they don't go along... This totally one-sided pressure and this, by now, very effective system of vilification, lying, defamation, and judicious use of funds in the political system ... has created a highly biased approach to the whole matter.

Consider also the comments (from a 1995 essay) of columnist Joseph Sobran, who was forced out of his position as senior editor at *National Review* for remarks critical of Israel:

The full story of [Pat Buchanan's 1996 presidential] campaign is impossible to tell as long as it's taboo to discuss Jewish interests as freely as we discuss those of the Christian Right. Talking about American politics without mentioning the Jews is a little like talking about the NBA without mentioning the Chicago Bulls. Not that the Jews are all-powerful, let alone all bad. But they are successful, and therefore powerful enough: and their power is unique in being off-limits to normal criticism even when it's highly visible. They themselves behave as if their success were a guilty secret, and they panic, and resort to accusations, as soon as the subject is raised. Jewish control of the major media in the media age makes the enforced silence both paradoxical and paralyzing. Survival in public life requires that you know all about it, but never refer to it. A hypocritical etiquette forces us to pretend that the Jews are powerless victims; and if you don't respect their victimhood, they'll destroy you. It's a phenomenal display not of wickedness, really, but of fierce ethnocentrism, a sort of furtive racial superpatriotism.

Deborah Lipstadt as a Jewish Activist

I regard Deborah Lipstadt more as an ethnic activist than a scholar. It is highly significant that Lipstadt's book *Denying the Holocaust* was written with extensive aid from various Jewish activist organizations, including the ADL. Lipstadt's book was commissioned and published by The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism [sic] of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In her acknowledgments, she credits the research department of the ADL, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Institute for Jewish Affairs (London), the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the American Jewish Committee — all activist organizations.

Lipstadt is the Chair of the Institute for Jewish Studies at Emory University. Historian Jacob Katz finds that academic departments of Jewish studies are often linked to Jewish nationalism: “The inhibitions of traditionalism, on the one hand, and a tendency toward apologetics, on the other, can function as deterrents to scholarly objectivity.” The work of Jewish historians, he continues, exhibits “a defensiveness that continues to haunt so much of contemporary Jewish activity” (J. Katz, 1986, pp. 84-85).

Similarly the preeminent scholar of the Jewish religion, Jacob Neusner, notes that “scholars drawn to the subject by ethnic affiliation — Jews studying and teaching Jewish things to Jews — turn themselves into ethnic cheer-leaders. The Jewish Studies classroom is a place where Jews tell Jews why they should be Jewish (stressing “the Holocaust” as a powerful reason) or rehearse the self-evident virtue of being Jewish.” (Times Literary Supplement, March 5, 1999).

Perhaps the best expression of Lipstadt’s activism is in her work as Senior Editorial Contributor of the *Jewish Spectator*, a periodical for conservative, religiously observant Jews. Her column, “Tomer Devorah” (Hebrew: “Under Deborah’s Palm Tree”), appears in every issue, and touches on a wide range of Jewish issues, including anti-Semitism, relations among Jews, and interpreting religious holidays. In her column she has advocated greater understanding and usage of Hebrew to promote Jewish identification, and, like many Jewish ethnic activists, she is strongly opposed to intermarriage. “We must say to young people ‘intermarriage is something that poses a dire threat to the future of the Jewish community’.” She also writes that Conservative Rabbi Jack Moline was “very brave” for saying that number one on a list of ten things Jewish parents should say to their children is “I expect you to marry a Jew.” Lipstadt suggests a number of strategies to prevent intermarriage, including trips to Israel for teenagers and subsidizing tuition at Jewish day schools. (*Jewish Spectator*, Fall 1991, p. 63).

In his recent book, *The Holocaust in American Life*, Peter Novick clearly thinks of Lipstadt as an activist, although not as extreme as some. He repeatedly cites her as an example of a Holocaust propagandizer. He notes that in her book *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust 1933-1945*, Lipstadt says Allied Policy “bordered on complicity” motivated by “deep antipathy” toward “contemptible Jews.” Novick says (p. 48) that while there is no scholarly consensus on the subject, “most professional historians agree that “the comfortable morality tale... is simply bad history: estimates of the number of those who might have been saved have been greatly inflated, and the moralistic version ignores real constraints at the time.” Also, Novick goes on to note (p. 65), Lipstadt attributes the failure of the American press to emphasize Jewish suffering as motivated by “willful blindness, the result of inexcusable ignorance — or malice,” despite the fact that the concentration camp survivors encountered by Western journalists (Dachau, Buchenwald) were 80 percent non-Jewish.

Lipstadt is described (Novick, 1999, p. 229) as an implacable pursuer of Nazi war criminals, stating that she would “prosecute them if they had to be wheeled into the courtroom on a stretcher.” In a discussion of the well-recognized unreliability of eye-witness testimony, Novick writes: “When evidence emerged that one Holocaust memoir [Fragments, by Benjamin Wilkomirski], highly praised for its authenticity, might have been completely invented, Deborah Lipstadt, who used the memoir in her teaching of the Holocaust, acknowledged that if this turned out to be the case, it ‘might complicate matters somewhat,’ but insisted that it would still be ‘powerful as a novel’.” [See: “Holocaust Memoir Exposed as Fraud,” Sept.-Oct. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.] Truth is less important than the effectiveness of the message.

The intrusion of ethnocentrism into historical scholarship is a well-recognized problem in Jewish historiography, discussed at length in *Separation and Its Discontents*. Historians such as Jacob

Katz (1986) and Albert Lindemann (1997) have noted that this type of behavior is commonplace in Jewish historiography. A central theme of Katz's analysis — massively corroborated by Albert Lindemann's recent work, *Esau's Tears* — is that historians of Judaism have often falsely portrayed the beliefs of gentiles as irrational fantasies while portraying the behavior of Jews as irrelevant to anti-Semitism. To quote the well-known political scientist Michael Walzer: "Living so long in exile and so often in danger, we have cultivated a defensive and apologetic account, a censored story, of Jewish religion and culture" (Walzer, 1994, p. 6).

The salient point for me is that Jewish historians who have been reasonably accused of bringing an ethnocentric bias to their writing nevertheless are able to publish their work with prestigious mainstream academic and commercial publishers, and they often obtain jobs at prestigious academic institutions. A good example is Daniel Goldhagen. In his written submission to the court on behalf of Deborah Lipstadt, historian Richard Evans describes Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, as a book that argues

in a crude and dogmatic fashion that virtually all Germans had been murderous anti-semites since the Middle Ages, had been longing to exterminate the Jews for decades before Hitler came to power, and actively enjoyed participating in the extermination when it began. The book has since been exposed as a tissue of misrepresentation and misinterpretation, written in shocking ignorance of the huge historical literature on the topic and making numerous elementary mistakes in its interpretation of the documents.

These are exactly the types of accusations that Lipstadt levels at Irving. Yet Goldhagen maintains a position at Harvard university, he is lionized in many quarters, and his work has been massively promoted in the media — while his critics have come under pressure from Jewish activist organizations. (See: D.D. Guttenplan in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 2000)

In this regard, historian Ruth Bettina Birn comments — in an interview in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (Nov. 17, 1997) — on the "unparalleled campaign since 1995 to promote the Goldhagen book. A literary first effort becomes a world sensation, and immediately the newspapers start hinting that there's a Harvard professorship waiting for the views his book propagates." She also comments on "the attempts to stifle the criticism voiced by me and [her co-author, Norman] Finkelstein," including efforts to pressure her publisher to rescind publication of a book critical of Goldhagen. The contrast between the treatment of Goldhagen and the persecution of David Irving speaks volumes.

Because I am not a historian, I am reluctant to pass judgment on the competence and integrity of Mr. Irving as a historian. However, as indicated by my written statement to the court, I have taken notice of the fact that some well-known historians have praised his work, and have been dismayed at the efforts to censor him — that it is simply false that, as Lipstadt claims, "no legitimate historian takes David Irving's work seriously." Indeed, based on my own reading of Irving, I would venture the opinion that whatever the faults of books like *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich* or *Hitler's War* in dealing with certain issues, such as the role of Hitler in the Holocaust, there is no question in my mind that any student of World War II would benefit from reading this work — that, quite simply, it is an indispensable resource for scholars.

What I find deeply distressing as a scholar is that the pressure on St. Martin's Press exerted by Lipstadt and Jewish organizations like the ADL occurred independently of the content of the volume. The same Washington Post article referred to earlier (April 3, 1996) in quoting Lipstadt's support for the actions of St. Martin's Press noted that several other companies had rejected the

manuscript without having read it. The effort to pressure St. Martin's press was spearheaded by Jewish ethnic activist organizations and by newspaper columnists, such as Frank Rich of the New York Times [especially his April 3, 1996, column], who are not professional historians, and by people like Deborah Lipstadt who do not have the expertise to evaluate a manuscript on Goebbels. In other words, the effort occurred independently of the analytic content of the manuscript and was therefore an illegitimate intrusion on free speech.

Therefore, even if the court comes to believe that the scholarly objections raised, for example, in Richard Evans's report are valid, the fact remains that this book was rescinded because of who Irving is — because his ideology conflicts with that of some Jewish activist organizations, not because of its scholarship. I find that utterly appalling.

Besides promoting Goldhagen and attempting to censor his opponents, the ADL has also condemned responsible scholarship that deviates from its version of the Holocaust. The ADL condemned Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* as an "evil book", presumably because, as Peter Novick notes (p. 137), her depiction of Eichmann "could be read as trivializing the Israeli accomplishment and undermining the claim that he was an appropriate symbol of eternal anti-Semitism." Similarly, the ADL included Arno Mayer, author of *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken*, as a "Hitler apologist" because of his view that Hitler was motivated more by anti-Bolshevism than anti-Semitism. The ADL claimed that Mayer's was an example of "legitimate scholarship which relativizes the genocide of the Jews." Clearly Holocaust scholarship has been politicized to the point that there are received dogmas whose truth is jealously defended by Jewish activist organizations.

Lipstadt and the Uniqueness of the Holocaust

One such politicized dogma is that the Holocaust is unique. In his 1995 book, *Why Should Jews Survive?*, (p. 48), Jewish scholar and rabbi Michael Goldberg writes:

Civil Judaism's belief in the Holocaust's uniqueness as being ultimately significant per se ... thus epitomizes the type of belief for which religious faith is both famous and infamous — a dogma. And like all such dogmatic beliefs, the more it is challenged, the fiercer the faithful become in its defense. For them, the first of the Ten Commandments has been revised [quoting Lapote, p. 56]: "The Holocaust is a jealous God; thou shalt draw no parallels to it."

American Jewish scholar Peter Novick (p. 195) similarly writes:

The most commonly expressed grievance was the use of the words "Holocaust" and "genocide" to describe other catastrophes. This sense of grievance was rooted in the conviction, axiomatic in at least "official" Jewish discourse, that the Holocaust was unique. Since Jews recognized the Holocaust's uniqueness — that it was "incomparable," beyond any analogy — they had no occasion to compete with others; there could be no contest over the incontestable.

As Novick notes, one can always find ways in which any historical event is unique. However, in Lipstadt's eyes, any comparison of the Holocaust with other genocidal actions is not only factually wrong but also morally impermissible, and therefore an appropriate target of censorship. Lipstadt clearly places herself among those who would not merely criticize, but censor scholarship that places the Holocaust in a comparative framework — that is, scholarship that questions the uniqueness of the Holocaust (Novick, 1999, pp. 196, 259).

Novick (p. 330, n. 107) quotes Lipstadt as follows: Denial of the uniqueness of the Holocaust is “far more insidious than outright denial. It nurtures and is nurtured by Holocaust-denial.” In *Denying the Holocaust* (p. 211), Lipstadt castigates Ernst Nolte and other historians who have “compared the Holocaust to a variety of other 20th-century outrages, including the Armenian massacres that began in 1915, Stalin’s gulags, US policies in Vietnam, the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, and the Pol Pot atrocities in the former Kampuchea.” Lipstadt calls these “historians’ attempt[s] to create such immoral equivalencies.” In the section on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, she cites (p. 212) approvingly the claim that “the Nazis’ annihilation of the Jews... was ‘a gratuitous [that is, without cause or justification] act carried out by a prosperous, advanced industrial nation at the height of its power.’” (The inner quote here is from *In Hitler’s Shadow*, a book by Richard Evans, who was also an expert witness for Lipstadt in the Irving-Lipstadt trial.)

While there are different meanings one might attribute to this statement by Evans, I take it as an attempt to make the actions of the Nazis completely independent of the behavior of Jews. In my view, such a position is untenable, and is part of a common tendency among Jewish historians of Judaism to ignore, minimize, or rationalize the role of Jewish behavior in producing anti-Semitism. This is a major theme of my book, *Separation and Its Discontents*.

From my perspective as an evolutionist, bloody and violent ethnic conflict has been a recurrent theme throughout history. The attempt to say that the Holocaust is unique is an attempt to remove it from the sphere of scholarly research, interpretation and debate, and instead remove it to the realm of religious dogma, much as the resurrection of Jesus is an article of faith for Christians. By accepting the type of censorship promoted by Lipstadt’s writings, we are literally entering a new period of the Inquisition wherein religious dogma rather than open scientific debate is the criterion of truth.

Peter Novick presents (pp. 211-212) much interesting material on the political campaign for the uniqueness of the Holocaust. In the same discussion in where he comments on Lipstadt’s statements on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, he notes Elie Wiesel’s idea of the Holocaust

as a sacred mystery, whose secrets were confined to a priesthood of survivors. In a diffuse way, however, the assertion that the Holocaust was a holy event that resisted profane representation, that it was uniquely inaccessible to explanation or understanding, that survivors had privileged interpretive authority — all these themes [have] continued to resonate.

Novick also describes a massive campaign to make the Holocaust a specifically Jewish event, and to play down the victim status of other groups. To speak of 11 million victims, Novick writes (p. 219),

was clearly unacceptable to [Elie] Wiesel and others for whom the “big truth” about the Holocaust was its Jewish specificity. They responded to the expansion of the victims of the Holocaust to eleven million the way devout Christians would respond to the expansion of the victims of the Crucifixion to three — the Son of God and two thieves. Wiesel’s forces mobilized, both inside and outside the Holocaust Council, to ensure that, despite the executive order, their definition would prevail. Though Jewish survivors of the Holocaust had no role in the initiative that created the museum, they came, under the leadership of Wiesel, to dominate the council — morally, if not numerically. When one survivor, Sigmund Strochlitz, was sworn in as a Council member, he announced that it was “unreasonable and inappropriate to ask survivors to share the term Holocaust ... to equate our suffering ... with others.” At one Coun-

cil meeting, another survivor, Kalman Sultanik, was asked whether Daniel Trocme, murdered at Majdanek for rescuing Jews and honored at Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, could be remembered in the museum's Hall of Remembrance. "No," said Sultanik, because "he didn't die as a Jew ... The six million Jews ... died differently."

Jewish activists have insisted on the "incomprehensibility and inexplicability of the Holocaust," Novick writes (p. 178). He continues (p. 200):

Even many observant Jews are often willing to discuss the founding myths of Judaism naturalistically — subject them to rational, scholarly analysis. But they're unwilling to adopt this mode of thought when it comes to the "inexplicable mystery" of the Holocaust, where rational analysis is seen as inappropriate or sacrilegious.

Elie Wiesel "sees the Holocaust as 'equal to the revelation at Sinai' in its religious significance; attempts to 'desanctify' or 'demystify' the Holocaust are, he says, a subtle form of anti-Semitism" (Novick, p. 201). A 1998 survey showed that Jews regarded "remembrance of the Holocaust" as "extremely important" or "very important" to Jewish identity — far more often than synagogue attendance, travel to Israel, or anything else.

Reflecting this insistence on the uniqueness of the Holocaust, Jewish organizations and Israeli diplomats cooperated to block the US Congress from commemorating the Armenian genocide. "Since Jews recognized the Holocaust's uniqueness — that it was 'incomparable,' beyond any analogy — they had no occasion to compete with others; there could be no contest over the incontestable." Abraham Foxman, head of the ADL, has written that Holocaust is "not simply one example of genocide but a near successful attempt on the life of God's chosen children and, thus, on God himself" (Novick, pp. 195, 199).

Novick also shows how the Holocaust successfully serves Jewish political interests. As he points out (p. 155), the Holocaust was originally promoted to rally support for Israel following the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars:

Jewish organizations ... [portrayed] Israel's difficulties as stemming from the world's having forgotten the Holocaust. The Holocaust framework allowed one to put aside as irrelevant any legitimate ground for criticizing Israel, to avoid even considering the possibility that the rights and wrongs were complex.

As the military threat to Israel subsided, the Holocaust was promoted as the main source of Jewish identity, and as part of the effort to combat assimilation and intermarriage among Jews. It was also promoted among gentiles as an antidote to anti-Semitism. In recent years this campaign has involved a large scale educational effort (including mandated courses in the public schools of several states) spearheaded by Jewish organizations and manned by thousands of Holocaust professionals aimed at conveying the lesson that "tolerance and diversity [are] good; hate [is] bad, the overall rubric [is] 'man's inhumanity to man'" (Novick, pp. 258-259). The Holocaust has thus become an instrument of Jewish ethnic interests as a symbol intended to create moral revulsion at violence directed at minority ethnic groups — prototypically the Jews.

A Plea for Tolerance of Heterodoxy

Irving, like many historians, may indeed see events through a filter of personal political and intellectual convictions, and this may even lead him, perhaps unconsciously, to interpret his data in

a particular way. This is a commonly acknowledged difficulty that afflicts all of the social sciences, and Jewish social scientists have certainly not been immune from these tendencies. I have already commented on the many examples of clear apologetic tendencies by Jewish historians in writing about Jewish history — tendencies to view the Jewish in-group in a favorable manner, and to pathologize anti-Semitism as irrational and completely unrelated to the actual behavior of Jews. These works have been published by the most prestigious academic and commercial presses.

It is noteworthy that among the examples of biased historical research cited by Albert Lindemann in his study *Esau's Tears*, he includes the work of Jewish Holocaust historians Lucy Dawidowicz and Daniel J. Goldhagen — a clear indication that the area of Holocaust studies remains politically charged. Moreover, in *The Culture of Critique* I describe several highly influential intellectual movements (Boasian anthropology, Freudian psychoanalysis, the Frankfurt School of Social Research) that presented themselves as science but were strongly influenced the Jewish ethnic agendas of their founders, particularly combating anti-Semitism.

Intellectual blinders and political agendas are a fact of academic life. However, even were it to be proved that David Irving does indeed bring a certain set of biases to his work, even the most biased researchers may well contribute invaluable scholarship. Science emerges when the work of all investigators becomes part of the marketplace of ideas and when scholars are not vilified and their scholarship censored simply because their conclusions fly in the face of contemporary orthodoxy.

My Decision to Testify for Irving

The decision to testify for David Irving was an agonizing one for me, and I want to make clear exactly why I did so. Irving approached me to testify in the trial because I had included the suppression of his Goebbels biography as an example of Jewish tactics for combating anti-Semitism in *Separation and Its Discontents*. Actually the suppression of Irving goes far beyond what I included in my book. Irving has been prevented from publishing his original archival research, from traveling to several countries, and even from giving lectures.

The second defendant in the case, Deborah Lipstadt, has contributed to this effort at censorship. My statement to the court and my entire testimony in court involved this issue, not the Holocaust or the culpability of Hitler. Irving's book on Goebbels was rescinded by St. Martin's Press not because of its scientific merit. (It had passed their review process.) The effort to pressure St. Martin's press was spearheaded by certain Jewish ethnic activist organizations, especially the Anti-Defamation League, and by newspaper columnists, such as Frank Rich of *The New York Times* ...

This is part of a pattern in which certain Jewish activist organizations have attempted to prevent the publication of writings conflicting with their constructions of reality, including books critical of Israel (see L. Wilcox, 1996, and, *Separation and Its Discontents*, Chaps. 2 and 6), and they have condemned books, such as those by Hannah Arendt, Arno Mayer, and even Raul Hilberg, that take disapproved positions on certain aspects of the Holocaust (see D.D. Guttenplan in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb. 2000). I am completely unpersuaded by the argument that free speech issues only relate to government actions, not private corporations like St. Martin's Press. Killing books by private organizations, while not government censorship, is blacklisting. This is exactly what McCarthyite groups did during the anti-Communist hysteria following World War II.

Despite the fact that David Irving contacted me because I had discussed the suppression of his book, I continued to be concerned that this issue might not really be central to Irving's case, and that my purported expertise on Judaism might be irrelevant. The link to the case was that Deborah Lipstadt had joined the effort at suppression despite her lack of scholarly expertise on Goebbels.

In the trial, the defense argued that my testimony was irrelevant, and the judge at first seemed to agree. However, he changed his mind when the link with Lipstadt was made clear. Irving's complaint goes beyond simple libel against him to the assertion of an organized campaign of suppression. Evolutionary theory did not enter into my testimony, and it only entered my written statement to the court in a general way — that I saw in Jewish-gentile relations examples of competition between ethnic groups.

David Irving is in many ways not an ideal person. There is no doubt in my mind that he has strongly held political views — although the extent to which this is a reaction to his demonization by Jewish activist organizations is at least open to conjecture. Whenever a person has strong political views, it is reasonable to assume that these views may color one's perception of reality. Since I am not a professional historian, I am in no position to judge the validity of his archival research. I am very impressed by the fact that Irving is a recognized expert on certain aspects of World War II — recognized by several noted authorities, none of whom are Holocaust deniers or revisionists, for having made original contributions to knowledge in the field. These include Gordon Craig, A. J. P. Taylor, Hugh Trevor-Roper, and John Keegan.

I also felt that Lipstadt exaggerated the extent to which Irving denied the Holocaust, since there are many places in his writings where Irving describes Nazis engaged in organized killing of Jews. I was also swayed by my knowledge that Irving's Goebbels biography had received a positive but critical review in *The New York Review of Books* (Sept. 19, 1996) by Stanford historian Gordon Craig, who cautioned against censoring people like Irving. And finally, after having read Goebbels myself, I decided that, whatever faults a close analysis might reveal, it was highly informative on many points — an indispensable source of information on the man and the period. Obviously I would not trust only my own feelings on this issue, but I had satisfied myself that this is indeed a major contribution to the field.

I was also swayed by finding that Lipstadt is a Jewish ethnic activist whose own writings have been criticized by a well-recognized historian as exaggerating the role of anti-Semitism in the Western response to the Holocaust during World War II. Lipstadt is thus part of a pattern discussed extensively in *Separation and Its Discontents*, in which Jewish historians engage in ethnocentric interpretations of history.

I should mention that after I agreed to testify on behalf of Irving, I was horrified to read the report about Irving written by Cambridge University historian Richard Evans and several research associates. This massive report, written on behalf of the defense, is a scathing summary of alleged misrepresentations and misinterpretations by Irving spanning his entire career. I expressed my reservations to Irving and he assured me that he would be able to defend himself against these allegations. In his reply, he stated that "I have a clean conscience, but I am not sure how to bring that across," and then provided me with several detailed examples where the Evans report misrepresented his writings. As a result, I felt that he was playing by the rules of scholarly discourse.

Moreover, as indicated above, I was also aware of many examples in which the historiography of Jewish history has been influenced by the ethnic agendas of Jewish writers — I devoted an entire

chapter to this sort of thing. Goldhagen is only the tip of a very large iceberg. I reasoned that even if the Evans report was correct, these facts could not have been known by Lipstadt when she made her claims against Irving, and in any case she went way too far when she asserted that “no legitimate historian takes David Irving seriously” and when she claimed that he was not a historian at all. Finally, I developed a reason to distrust Richard Evans after reading sections of his book, *In Hitler’s Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Escape the Nazi Past* (Pantheon, 1989). In her book, *Denying the Holocaust*, Lipstadt cites Evans’ claim that Nazi anti-Semitism was gratuitous. The relevant quote, from Evans’ *In Hitler’s Shadow* (p. 40) is:

Nazi anti-Semitism was gratuitous: It was not provoked by anything, it was not a response to anything. It was born out of a political fantasy, in which the Jews, without a shred of justification, were held responsible for all that the Nazis believed was wrong with the modern world.

This is not the sort of nuanced treatment of anti-Semitism that one would expect from a prominent historian but rather a dogmatic statement that takes the behavior of Jews completely outside of their own history. There is no attempt to determine the factual basis — the truths, the half-truths and the pure fantasies — that have always been characteristic of anti-Semitism over the ages. Seeing passages such as this in Evans and seeing Lipstadt cite Evans reinforced my decision to testify for Irving.

During the same period I received the following message about the Goebbels book from a prominent mainstream historian:

I just re-read my own notes to Irving’s Goebbels, which strongly confirmed my memory that there is much more richness and less partisanship in that book than many would be willing to believe — and that few of his detractors seem to recognize. I’ll also have to say that Evans seems to be taking a strongly polemical position, whereas I would have preferred to see him recognize at least some of Irving’s strong points as well as his weak. But I have not read enough of Evans yet to determine if there are things he later covers that explain why he is so strongly against Irving, so unwilling to recognize anything of merit.

Having read almost the entire Evans report, I was convinced that in fact Evans had nothing positive at all to say about Irving. Indeed, Evans reiterates Lipstadt’s assertion that Irving is not a historian at all. Again, I was confirmed in my belief that testifying for Irving was entirely appropriate.

My view is that political, personal, and ethnic biases are ubiquitous in the social sciences. If the situation were reversed, I would be more than willing to testify on behalf of a Jewish historian suing an anti-Semite because there had been an analogous campaign of suppression against his work.

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Letters

Irving's Doomed Libel Suit

As I recall I said, at a dinner in New York with some revisionists around last Christmas time, that to the extent that Irving claims that Lipstadt damaged his reputation in any measurable sense, he will lose. Irving was not blackballed by the publishing industry because of Lipstadt's book. There was not the element of what American lawyers call "but for cause."

Most of the time the trial considered other issues whose involvement in a libel suit was hard to understand. However, as the legally vital claim of damage by, specifically, the Lipstadt book, could not be sustained Irving's position was hopeless from the outset.

Arthur R. Butz
Evanston, Illinois

No Gas Chamber in Dachau

The May-June 1993 *Journal of Historical Review* (page 12) contains a letter by Dr. Martin Broszat [of the Institute for Contemporary history in Munich] regarding the Dachau concentration camp. Broszat mentions a gas chamber there, never completely finished or put into operation.

Toward the end of World War II I was a US Army captain on the staff of Ambassador Robert Murphy, political advisor to General Eisenhower. I was at Dachau about a month after it had been liberated, either the end of May or the beginning of June, 1945. There was no gas chamber there, nor did I see one in the process of construction. What did occur was that some higher authority in the American occupation government, whether a civilian or military, I don't know, decreed that a gas chamber should be built, which was subsequently done.

I was also at the Buchenwald camp a few days after it was liberated on April 11, 1945. There was a crematory there but no gas chamber.

Homer G. Richey
Charlottesville, Virginia

Judge Gray's Harsh But Predictable Ruling

After the Irving-Lipstadt Trial: New Dangers and Challenges

Mark Weber

A verdict has finally been reached in the much publicized Irving-Lipstadt libel trial in London.

Judge Charles Gray, in a lengthy ruling made public on April 11, 2000, called David Irving an anti-Semitic and racist “Holocaust denier” who has “deliberately misrepresented and manipulated historical evidence.” The judgment could hardly have been more severe. The 62-year-old British historian is now obliged to pay some \$3 million in legal costs to the two defendants: Jewish American writer Deborah Lipstadt, and Penguin Books, the British publisher of her anti-revisionist work, *Denying the Holocaust*.

Irving, now reportedly facing bankruptcy and confiscation of his spacious London apartment, was ordered on May 5 to pay some \$250,000 by June 16 “on account,” as a kind of down payment toward the total he must eventually turn over. Describing himself as “defeated but unbowed,” he announced that he is appealing the verdict.

In his lengthy judgment, Judge Gray harshly concluded:

The charges which I have found to be substantially true include the charges that Mr. Irving has, for his own ideological reasons, persistently and deliberately misrepresented and manipulated historical evidence; that for the same reasons he has portrayed Hitler in an unwarrantedly favorable light, principally in relation to his attitude towards and responsibility for the treatment of the Jews; that he is an active Holocaust denier; that he is anti-Semitic and racist, and that he associates with Right-wing extremists who promote neo-Nazism.

Actually, and as several Jewish commentators had implicitly acknowledged during the trial, the evidence was not at all as clear cut as Judge Gray’s judgment suggested. He could have decided in favor of either Irving or the defendants, depending on how he chose to look at the evidence. Thus, before the April 11 ruling, Jewish commentators engaged in a form of preliminary “damage control” by warning that an Irving victory would not really matter because, after all, the trial wasn’t about the Holocaust story itself.

Several British newspapers commented that the judgment demolishes Irving’s reputation as a credible historian, and thoroughly discredits Holocaust revisionism (or “Holocaust denial”). “Never again,” wrote *The Guardian*, “will the deniers’ claims to standing have even the sliver of credibility that attached to Irving before he took action against Professor Lipstadt.”

Jewish leaders around the world were, of course, pleased. New York City’s Yeshiva University, for example, a bastion of Jewish orthodoxy, hailed the London court’s verdict as a “victory on

behalf of the Jewish people.” (Forward, April 21, p. 4). In a congratulatory message to Lipstadt, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, writing in the “name of the Israeli people and the Jewish people,” commented: “The strength of Israel today ensures that today no second Holocaust will take place, and no one in the world will dare rise against the Jewish nation. But in parallel, a determined struggle is going on against the people who deny the Holocaust that brought the death of a third of our nation.”

Irving himself described the ruling as “perverse,” adding that it “is so laden with historical inaccuracies the grounds for an appeal in the public interest are very evident ... The judge picks up the bucket of slime prepared by the defense counsel and tips it over me.”

A Predictable Defeat

As harsh as it was, Judge Gray’s verdict should not have been surprising. As Irving put it: “The leaders of the Jewish communities around the world have used the most horrific methods to try and destroy me. They had bottomless pockets to afford justice and say go ahead and destroy that bastard — which they just did.”

Irving initiated his libel suit knowing that he faced a formidable and ruthless adversary with vastly greater financial resources. But throughout the grueling nine-week courtroom ordeal, he showed tremendous psychological and physical stamina. “I have been able to take them all on single-handed and give them a very good run for their money,” he said.

As he acknowledges, Irving is himself largely to blame for the scope of this defeat. “At the end, I suppose, it is my own fault for having explained myself with insufficient clarity,” he commented. And however great his fortitude and endurance in the courtroom, he risked additional problems by acting as his own lawyer.

Some fundamental weaknesses of Irving’s case became ever more apparent during the course of the trial. However effectively he was able to show that he had been a victim of an international Jewish-Zionist campaign to silence him, he failed to show convincingly that Lipstadt’s book, *Denying the Holocaust* (much less Penguin Books) had caused any of the specific damages he cited, such as the April 1996 decision by St. Martin’s Press to abandon publication of his Goebbels biography, or his banning from Germany and other countries. Irving never proved that he had been blackballed by the publishing industry or banned from various countries specifically because of Lipstadt’s book. In truth, her *Denying the Holocaust* was only a small part of the vast anti-Irving campaign.

This weakness of Irving’s argument was reflected in the judgment. While Judge Gray agreed that Lipstadt’s book “does indeed represent a deliberate attack on Irving, mounted in order to discredit him as an historian,” he rejected, with justification, Irving’s claim “to have been the victim of a conspiracy in which both Defendants were implicated.” Irving failed to link Penguin Books to the campaign against him.

Irving’s decision to forego a jury trial and instead let Judge Gray alone decide the case was, in hindsight, clearly a major error. No jury verdict could have been any harsher than the one that was rendered. More important, a jury would not have been able to issue a lengthy, scathing written judgment like that of Judge Gray.

The severe verdict was all the more predictable given the personality of the man who decided his fate. Irving could hardly have had a more unsympathetic judge than Charles Gray. In the words

of one knowledgeable observer, Edward Garnier, Queens Counsel and shadow attorney general: “I don’t think I’ve heard of a judge speaking in such terms before ... [Irving] is the most unattractive person that can have come in front of that particular judge.”

'Denier'?

Irving almost certainly damaged his credibility during the course of the trial in abandoning, or seeming to abandon, revisionist positions he had once embraced. While acknowledging that he had revised some of his views during the trial, he said that his overall opinion on the Holocaust and Hitler’s role in it had not changed.

Precisely defining “the Holocaust” and “Holocaust denial” proved a key point of contention in the trial. Insisting that he is not a “denier,” Irving told the court:

The word “denier” is particularly evil, because no person in full command of his mental faculties, and with even the slightest understanding of what happened in World War Two, can deny that the tragedy actually happened, however much we dissident historians may wish to quibble about the means, the scale, the dates and other minutiae.

All the same, Irving reaffirmed — before Judge Gray and the world — some of his most controversial views on specific aspects of the Holocaust issue. For example, he rejected the familiar Six Million figure of Jewish wartime dead, instead expressing the view that between one and four million Jews lost their lives under German or Axis rule during the war. “Do you deny the Nazi killed millions of Jews in gas chambers in purpose-built establishments?” he was asked. “Yes. It’s logistically impossible,” Irving responded. “I deny that it was possible to liquidate millions of people in gas chambers as presented by historians so far.” Such statements sufficed for Judge Gray to label him a “Holocaust denier.”

Lipstadt's Defamation of Irving

In spite of the outcome, there is no question but that Irving was libeled by Lipstadt in her book *Denying the Holocaust*. Even the judge acknowledged that at least two or three of the claims made against Irving in her book were not true. As Gray wrote in his judgment:

... There are certain defamatory imputations [in Lipstadt’s book] which I have found to be defamatory of Irving, but which have not been proved to be true. The Defendants made no attempt to prove the truth of Lipstadt’s claim that Irving was scheduled to speak at an anti-Zionist conference in Sweden in 1992, which was also to be attended by various representatives of terrorist organizations ... Nor did they seek to justify Lipstadt’s claim that Irving has a self-portrait by Hitler hanging over his desk. Furthermore, the Defendants have, as I have held, failed in their attempt to justify the defamatory imputations made against Irving in relation to the Goebbels diaries in the Moscow archive.

Nevertheless, Gray went on, these false and defamatory claims did “not have any material effect on Irving’s reputation.”

In contrast to David Irving’s willingness to make available to the defendants his records, including his voluminous correspondence and exhaustive diary, in all their enormous (and sometimes embarrassing) detail, the defendants were loath to turn over records and documents. This reti-

cence was perhaps most glaring in Deborah Lipstadt's refusal to testify in court. She would not submit to close questioning by Irving because, obviously, she and her lawyers calculated that doing so would prove harmful to their case.

Important Evidence

Regardless of the verdict, much good has come of the trial. For one thing, it has encouraged greater public awareness of the Holocaust controversy. For another, Irving managed to compile and present crucially important facts that — while they may be temporarily overlooked in the celebratory aftermath of the trial — are now permanently on the public record.

As cogently laid out in his Closing Statement (published elsewhere in this Journal issue), he highlighted two broad issues of particular significance:

First, Irving carefully assembled and forcefully presented a mass of evidence showing — perhaps more clearly than has ever been done before — just how the formidable “international endeavor” of Jewish activist organizations operates to smear and silence those who, like Irving, are regarded as threats to Jewish-Zionist interests. He traced a network of secretive collaboration involving the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the Simon Wiesenthal Center, Israel's Yad Vashem center, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and even the US taxpayer-funded US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

“It is quite evident,” Irving told the court, “that the ADL set itself the task of destroying my career, in concert with other similar organizations around the world, many of whom, if not all, collaborated with the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] in writing her book.” Unfortunately, he went on, “the real defendants in this case are not represented in this court.” Irving spoke bitterly of “this secret common enterprise, this frantic international endeavor to destroy my legitimacy as an historian and to deprive me of free speech ...” This “hidden network of Orwellian organizations,” he went on to warn, is “determined to ensure that no version of history of these matters of which they disapproved was [is] given currency, or indeed allowed to survive.”

A concrete and well-publicized expression of this “international endeavor” was the February 29 release by the Israeli government of a long-suppressed memoir written by Adolf Eichmann in 1960-62 while he was awaiting death in an Israeli prison. This memoir of some 1,300 pages (which, in spite of great media hype, contains nothing really new) was made public, at an opportune moment during the trial, at the request of Lipstadt and her legal team.

In dissecting the machinations of this global network, Irving has performed a great public service on behalf of free speech and free historical inquiry — benefiting even many who revile him.

Second, Irving brought out important evidence, some of it new, that challenges key aspects of the Holocaust extermination story. Building on earlier work of pioneer revisionist scholars, he took aim especially at claims of mass killings in the “gas chamber” of Auschwitz-Birkenau Krema II. All this has doubtless encouraged intelligent skepticism on the part of many around the world who had never before seriously questioned the Auschwitz gassing stories.

Evaluating Gas Chamber Evidence

“I have never held myself out to be a Holocaust expert,” Irving announced at the outset of the trial. “I have never claimed to be a Holocaust historian.” And Judge Gray, at the beginning of his April 11 ruling, declared that it is not “part of my function as the trial judge to make findings of

fact as to what did and what did not occur during the Nazi regime.” But he then proceeded, page after page, to do precisely that. In the words of one London daily paper: “The judge started by saying it was not his job to decide what happened under the Nazis; he was a trial judge and not an historian. But, as he hurried through his main findings, that was exactly the role he assumed.” (The Independent, April 12)

Gray did grant that at the outset of the trial he had assumed that evidence of mass gassing in German wartime camps was abundant and compelling. “I have to confess,” he wrote in his judgment, “that, in common I suspect with most other people, I had supposed that the evidence of mass extermination of Jews in the gas chambers of Auschwitz was compelling. I have, however, set aside this preconception when assessing the evidence adduced by the parties in these proceedings.”

But in examining and evaluating the sometimes complex specific historical questions at issue in the trial, Judge Gray proved unable entirely to “set aside” his well-entrenched preconceptions and, as his own disclaimer might suggest, showed himself unequal to the task.

Thus, he concluded:

Having considered the various arguments advanced by Irving to assail the effect of the convergent evidence relied upon by the defendants, it is my conclusion that no objective, fair-minded historian would have serious cause to doubt that there were gas chambers at Auschwitz, and that they were operated on a substantial scale to kill hundreds of thousands of Jews.

In his Opening Statement to the court, David Irving related that, at a meeting in Munich in April 1990, he had said that the “gas chamber” shown for decades to tourists in the Auschwitz I main camp is a fake. (Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, p. 22). Even though he was later fined by a German court for this provocative statement, it is, in fact, completely true. Remarkably, even Robert Van Pelt, a major defense witness in the Irving-Lipstadt trial, himself has acknowledged that this infamous “gas chamber” is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction. (See: R. Faurisson, “The ‘Gas Chamber’ of Auschwitz I,” Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, pp. 12-13.) In his detailed April 11 ruling, Judge Gray took no notice of the Auschwitz I “gas chamber” fraud — passing it over in silence.

Forensic Examinations of Auschwitz

A good portion of the trial proceedings, and of Judge Gray’s judgment, dealt with the Leuchter Report, the path-breaking 1988 on-site forensic examination of the alleged “gas chamber” facilities at Auschwitz (including Birkenau) by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter. (For more on this, see the Winter 1992-93 Journal of Historical Review.) When Irving testified as a witness for Ernst Zündel in the 1988 “Holocaust trial” in Toronto, the British historian cited the Leuchter Report as a crucial factor in his “conversion” to the view that there were no wartime homicidal German gas chambers.

An important aspect of the London courtroom debate on the Report focused on the crucial chemical-technical issue of blue “staining” in the brickwork of the alleged “gas chambers” at Birkenau camp produced by the interaction of hydrocyanic acid (from Zyklon) and iron compounds. Gray accepted as valid the defense contention that this “staining” could not have penetrated the brickwork more than the depth of a human hair. This contention is demonstrably incorrect. As several

independent specialists have affirmed, similar blue “staining” visibly penetrated through the entire depth of brick walls of Auschwitz-Birkenau delousing (non-homicidal) gas chambers.

“I have not overlooked the fact,” Gray continued, “that Irving claimed that Leuchter’s findings have been replicated, notably in a report by German chemist Germar Rudolf. But that report was not produced at the trial so it is impossible for me to assess its evidential value.” Gray also mentioned that Irving had “produced a letter from the Institute for Historical Review” noting that other independent specialists had arrived at conclusions similar to those of Leuchter and Rudolf.

As Judge Gray pointed out, both Irving and defense witness Van Pelt agreed that in “about 1989” Polish authorities carried out forensic tests at Auschwitz that confirmed essential points of the Leuchter and Rudolf investigations. Judge Gray went on to state: “The results of these tests were not published.” In fact, the complete text of this secret Polish forensic institute investigation, with the test results, was published in the Summer 1991 Journal of Historical Review (as Gray himself had acknowledged in passing during the trial [Jan.-Feb. 2000 Journal, p. 54]).

No Roof Holes

Consistent with familiar Holocaust claims, expert witnesses for the defense testified that hundreds of thousands of Jewish prisoners were killed with poison gas (from Zyklon) in a “gas chamber” in “morgue cellar” 1 of Birkenau crematory building (Krema) II. In rejecting this and similar claims of mass killings with poison gas at Birkenau, Irving stressed that there are no roof holes or vents through which deadly Zyklon could have been introduced into the infamous “gas chamber.” Even defense witness Van Pelt acknowledged this crucial point, as Judge Gray noted in his judgment: “Irving produced a photograph which appears to show no sign of any hole in the roof. Van Pelt conceded in one of his supplementary reports that there is no sign of the holes.”

On this point alone, a key element of the Auschwitz extermination story collapses. As Irving so colorfully put it:

They [the defendants] know, and they knew from the outset, that I was right about that roof. Their entire case on Krema II — the untruth that it was used as a factory of death, with SS guards tipping canisters of cyanide-soaked pellets into the building through those four (non-existent) manholes — has caved in, as surely as has that roof.

Amazingly, though, Judge Gray nonetheless concluded:

... I consider that an objective historian, taking account of all the evidence, would conclude that the apparent absence of evidence of holes in the roof of [the] morgue at crematorium 2 falls far short of being a good reason for rejecting the cumulative effect of the evidence on which the defendants rely.

A David-Goliath Battle

In terms of manpower and financial resources, the Irving-Lipstadt clash was a David-Goliath battle. Whereas Irving acted as his own attorney, the Lipstadt-Penguin side employed some 20 courtroom lawyers and legal experts.

Irving’s adversaries were also fabulously better funded. According to British press reports, generous financial aid for the Lipstadt-Penguin defense came from the American Jewish Committee,

Edgar Bronfman, Sr. (co-chairman of the giant Seagram's company, and president of the World Jewish Congress), and Steven Spielberg (filmmaker and Jewish activist). "If that is not evidence of the global scale of the endeavor to destroy me," commented Irving wryly, "I do not know what is."

More than 543,000 pounds (about \$841,650) was paid to defense experts and researchers for their testimony, reports and other help. Of this amount, Robert Jan Van Pelt received a staggering 109,244 pounds (\$169,330), while Richard Evans, a Cambridge University historian, was paid 70,181 pounds (\$109,482), and Peter Longerich received 76,195 pounds (\$118,102). In addition, courtroom lawyer (barrister) fees totalled some 509,989 pounds (\$790,482), of which Richard Rampton alone reportedly received half a million dollars.

Racist?

Responding to Judge Gray's finding that he is a racist, Irving said:

My own feelings about race are precisely the same as 95 percent of the people of my generation ... If the British soldiers on the beaches of Normandy in 1944 could look forward to the end of the century and see what England has become, they would not have bothered to advance another 40 yards up the beach.

But by any objective measure of the term, Deborah Lipstadt must herself be considered a "racist." As undisputed evidence presented during the trial established, she publicly opposes Jews marrying non-Jews, and supports discriminatory Jewish-Zionist supremacy in Israel.

Demonstrable Falsehoods

Even before the London trial, Lipstadt's career had been flourishing. In addition to her position as a professor of "Modern Jewish and Holocaust Studies" at Emory University in Atlanta, she recently served as an advisor to US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Now, in the wake of her London courtroom victory, this 53-year-old Jewish scholar-activist is being awarded an honorary doctoral degree by New York City's Yeshiva University for her "distinguished ... academic career and scholarship."

In fact, she is a sloppy academic — more polemicist than scholar. "I regard Deborah Lipstadt more as an ethnic activist than a scholar," said American professor Kevin MacDonald in his trial testimony. (See "An American Professor Responds to a 'Jewish Activist'," Jan.-Feb. 2000 Journal.)

Her *Denying the Holocaust* book is strewn with factual errors. In the London proceedings, Lipstadt and her lawyers made no effort to defend the more outrageous of her book's falsehoods about Irving. In addition, the book is littered with many other demonstrably untrue statements. In her brief half-page discussion of Holocaust revisionism in Australia, for example, *Denying the Holocaust* contains several factual errors, as Australian civil rights attorney John Bennett has detailed. ("Lipstadt's 'Fine Scholarship'," Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal, pp. 48-49.)

A Threat to Historians

As Jewish writer D. D. Guttenplan pointed out in a recent *Atlantic Monthly* article on the Irving-Lipstadt clash, Jewish activist organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League have for decades routinely sought to stifle and punish historians — even such Jewish scholars as Raul

Hilberg, Hannah Arendt and Arno Mayer — who deviate from the Jewish-Zionist “party line” on 20th century history. (Atlantic Monthly, Feb. 200, pp. 60-62.) As a result of such efforts, notes Guttenplan, “certain aspects of the Holocaust and its aftermath ... became not just controversial but unmentionable.”

“It isn’t only Holocaust deniers who twist facts [and] obscure the truth,” he added. “Time and time again those who insist on the truth in all its ‘complex, unsentimental,’ paradoxical, and ambiguous detail are shouted down.”

Now, in the wake of Irving’s courtroom defeat, Jewish activists are more emboldened than ever to intimidate or smear dissident scholars, and otherwise rigorously enforce the prevailing Zionist dogmatism. “A judgment rendered against me,” warned Irving in his Closing Statement, “will make this paralysis in the writing of history definitive ... Every historian will know that his critique needs to stop sharply at boundaries defined by certain authorities...”

He is not alone in sensing danger. “The news that David Irving has lost his libel case will send a tremor through the community of 20th-century historians,” wrote John Keegan, a prominent and prolific British Second World War historian, and military affairs editor for the London Daily Telegraph (April 12).

Suggesting that Judge Gray could have ruled either way in the case, depending on his own basic attitude toward to the dispute, Keegan wrote:

For more than a year now, the gossip between them [historians] has been about whether he [Irving] would lose or not ... “It all depends whether the judge goes for Holocaust denial or slurs on the reputation,” was the general view. “If the first he’ll lose, if the second he might get away with it.” What this insider talk meant was that Mr. Irving might well persuade the judge of the unfairness of Professor Lipstadt’s accusations of his bad historical method ...

“... Nothing but trouble comes of taking sides over Irving,” Keegan continued. “Decide against him, and his associates accuse one of prejudice... Decide for him, and the smears start. I have written complimentary reviews of Irving’s work as a military historian to find myself posted on the Internet as a Nazi sympathizer.”

In spite of the opprobrium being heaped on Irving, Keegan had the courage to write:

... Mr. Irving’s performance [in court] was very impressive. He is a large, strong, handsome man, excellently dressed, with the appearance of a leading QC [“Queens Counsel” lawyer]. He performs well as a QC also, asking, in a firm but courteous voice, precise questions which demonstrate his detailed knowledge of an enormous body of material ... His skill as an archivist cannot be contested.”

... There are really two Irvings. There is Irving the researcher and most of Irving the writer, who sticks to the facts and makes eloquent sense of them. Then there is Irving the thinker, who lets insecurities, imagined slights and youthful resentments bubble up from within him to cloud his mind ... He has, in short, many of the qualities of the most creative historians. He is certainly never dull.

Prof. Lipstadt, by contrast, seems as dull as only the self-righteously politically correct can be. Few other historians had ever heard of her before this case. Most will not

want to hear from her again. Mr. Irving, if he will only learn from this case, still has much that it interesting to tell us.

Donald Cameron Watt, another eminent British historian (author, for example, of the detailed study, *How War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World War*) echoed Keegan's assessment, specifically noting that historians are uneasy about the trial, that Penguin had been "out for blood," and that "the truth needs Irving's challenges to keep it alive." Remarking on the close scrutiny to which Irving and his writings had been subjected, Watt commented: "Show me one historian who has not broken out into a cold sweat at the thought of undergoing similar treatment."

"For what it is worth," Watt went on, "I admire some of Mr. Irving's work as a historian ... He has ... an encyclopedic knowledge of the truly enormous mass of German documentation ... No book of his has ever failed to come up with new evidence."

Keegan and Watt were not the only historians to reject the assertion loudly and repeatedly made by Lipstadt and Jewish activist organizations that Irving does not deserve to be regarded as a historian. As Watt noted, a recent survey of leading American and British historians found that a "large majority" agreed that Irving is "a historian 'of repute'." Only "those who identify with the victims of the Holocaust" disagreed, added Watt. The eminent American scholar of German history, Gordon Craig (as well as British-American writer Christopher Hitchens) also hold that, in spite of his eccentricities and sometimes annoyingly contrarian views, Irving is an valuable historian.

John Charmley, one of Britain's finest younger generation historians, recently wrote to Irving: "... In the area I am competent to talk about, namely Churchill, although I don't always agree with your conclusions, I am always impressed by the rigor and range of your scholarship ... there are few historians with your record for turning up new and relevant documents."

Even Judge Gray expressed admiration for his ability as a historian and his skill in the courtroom. "As a military historian," declared Gray in his judgment,

Irving has much to commend him. For his works of military history Irving has undertaken thorough and painstaking research into the archives... It was plain from the way in which he conducted his case and dealt with a sustained and penetrating cross-examination that his knowledge of World War Two is unparalleled. His mastery of the detail of the historical documents is remarkable. He is beyond question able and intelligent. He was invariably quick to spot the significance of documents which he had not previously seen. Moreover, he writes his military history in a clear and vivid style. I accept the favorable assessment by Professor Watt and Sir John Keegan of the caliber of Irving's military history ...

Implacable Hatred

As he entered the courtroom on April 11 to hear Judge Gray read out his ruling, enraged bystanders threw several eggs at Irving, one of which hit him. In his ruling, Gray seemed to excuse or justify just such incidents. "I can well understand too, that because of his perceived views, Irving and his family have from time to time been subjected to extreme pressure, for example, when his flat was besieged by rioters in 1994."

Much more ominous than the relatively harmless egg-throwing incident is the implacable hatred harbored by many Jews against Irving and all those who openly defy Jewish-Zionist interests. At a recent meeting in Los Angeles, Deborah Lipstadt called Irving “a contemporary Amalek,” referring to the traditional biblical foe of the Jews. (Jerusalem Post, May 2). Similarly, in an essay about the trial distributed worldwide by a major Jewish news agency, Rela Mintz Geffen, who teaches at Gratz College near Philadelphia, wrote: “Deborah Lipstadt’s work reminds us, as the Torah does in its passage about Amalek, of the importance of memory. In my opinion, it is David Irving and his ilk who should beware.” (JTA dispatch, March 21).

For devout Jews, such words are very serious. According to the Torah (Exodus 17:16, Deuteronomy 25:17, 1 Samuel 15:3-20), the Jewish god called on the ancient Hebrews to “smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and women, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass.” Accordingly, we are told, the early Jews “utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword.” Even today, Jews are admonished never to forget their emblematic enemy, and to wage “war with Amalek from generation to generation” — that is, forever. The inference some will surely (and reasonably) draw here is that Irving and “his ilk” deserve to be killed.

In this same spirit, a high-ranking Israeli government official has publicly suggested that “Holocaust deniers” deserve to be put to death. Rabbi Michael Melchior, Israel’s Minister “for Israeli Society and World Jewish Communities,” said that Judge Gray’s judgment “delivered the message that Holocaust deniers should be regarded alongside the worst of the Nazis.” (London Times, April 12) As the world knows, “the worst of the Nazis” were shot or hanged.

Another high-level Zionist official called for what amounts to a worldwide travel ban on anyone who publicly disputes Holocaust extermination claims. Israel’s ambassador to Britain, Dror Zeigerman called on Australia and other countries to bar Irving and “other members of the Holocaust denial movement.” (AAP dispatch, The Australian, April 13.)

While the judgment in the Irving-Lipstadt trial is certainly a heavy blow for Irving personally, it is only a temporary setback for the ultimately unstoppable march of revisionist scholarship. Irving’s courtroom defeat and its resulting worldwide publicity underscore the vital importance of the work done by the Institute for Historical Review and by those heroic scholars who, at sometimes great personal cost, have been fighting for truth and accuracy in history — even its most politicized, emotion-laden chapters — and struggling against the efforts of those who, for whatever tribal or sectarian concerns, seek to stifle free historical inquiry.

David Irving's Final Address in the London Libel Trial

On March 15, 2000, British historian [David Irving](#) rose before the High Court of Justice in London to deliver his Closing Statement in a dramatic legal battle that had generated enormous media attention.

At the center of the case is a 278-page book by Jewish- American scholar Deborah Lipstadt, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, a detailed polemic against Irving and other revisionists who dispute familiar Holocaust claims. As the plaintiff ("claimant") in the case, Irving charged that Lipstadt and Penguin Books, the British publisher of *Denying the Holocaust*, had libeled him. (For more on this, see the Jan.-Feb. 2000 Journal issue, which includes extensive press reports and commentary on the trial. Extensive coverage of the case, including texts of important trial documents, can be found on [Irving's web site](#).)

Much of the grueling nine-week, non-jury trial dealt with such emotion-laden historical issues as Hitler's role in wartime Germany's "final solution" policies, and the evidence, or lack of it, for mass killings of Jews in gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau. This historical debate is reflected in Irving's final address to the court, which differs markedly in tone and focus from his Opening Statement of January 11 (published in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 16-35).

At least as importantly, Irving's final address provides astonishing details of the concerted global campaign by Jewish organizations to destroy his career and silence him. He traces the secretive activities of this widely feared but little-understood international cabal.

In the defendants' final statement to the court, attorney Richard Rampton — who had spoken on behalf of Lipstadt and Penguin Books throughout the proceedings — echoed claims made at the outset of the trial. "As the evidence in this court has shown," he said, "Irving is a right-wing extremist, a racist and, in particular, a rabid anti-Semite." Rampton said that Irving had chosen "to prostitute his reputation as a serious historian ... for the sake of a bogus rehabilitation of Hitler and the dissemination of his virulent anti-Semitic propaganda."

Judge Gray largely agreed with the defendants, and his detailed judgment (made public on April 11) accordingly was a devastatingly severe condemnation of Irving. Understandably, the resulting worldwide jubilation by Lipstadt and her allies has overshadowed the valuable evidence and arguments presented by Irving during the proceedings, and summed up eloquently in his Closing Statement. It is, therefore, all the more important that the text of this address be made widely available.

Here, then, is Irving's March 15 Closing Statement. (The original text, including reference notes, can be found on Irving's web site.) This text has been slightly edited for

style. Deletions are indicated by ellipses. Brief explanatory or elucidating remarks have been added in brackets.

-- The Editor

The Defendants in this action — the publisher Penguin Books, and the American scholar Deborah Lipstadt — have sought to cast this trial as being about the reputation of the Holocaust. It is not.

The world's press have also reported it in this way. Again, it is not.

This trial is about my reputation as a human being, as an historian of integrity, and — thanks to the remarks made by [defense lawyer] Mr. Rampton — as a father. The Defendants are saying, and have so convinced many people, that I am not entitled to continue to earn a living in the way that I have earned it for nearly 40 years. A judgment in my favor is no more than a judgment that disputed points which I have made about some aspects of the narrative are not so absurd, given the evidence, as to disqualify me from the ranks of historians. Under the laws of defamation in this country, it could not be anything else; nor must the defense team, no matter how powerful, or moneyed, or eloquent, or numerous, be allowed by their tactics to skew it in any other way.

I may add that the points I have made do not necessarily, lessen the horror or the burden of guilt. I always have accepted that Adolf Hitler, as head of state and government, was responsible for the Holocaust. I said, in the Introduction to my flagship biography, *Hitler's War*:

If this biography were simply a history of the rise and fall of Hitler's Reich, it would be legitimate to conclude: "Hitler killed the Jews." But my years of investigation suggested that many others were responsible, that the chain of responsibility was not as clear cut as that.

Nothing that I have heard in this Court since January 11 has persuaded me that I was wrong on this account.

These latter points lead to another consideration. Your Lordship will have heard of the — largely successful — effort to drive me out of business as a historian. This Court has seen the timidity with which historians have already been fraught once the Holocaust is questioned: one notable historian, ordered by summons to attend, showed himself reluctant even to confirm what he had written in my favor, repeatedly, over the last 20 years. A judgment rendered against me will make this paralysis in the writing of history definitive; from then on, no-one will dare to discuss who exactly was involved in each stage of the Holocaust, or how extensive it was. From then, on discussion will revolve around "safe" subjects — sacred texts in the Middle Ages, or Marx in the old USSR, or the Koran in a fundamentalist state today. Every historian will know that his critique needs to stop sharply at boundaries defined by certain authorities. He will have a choice: accept the official version, holus-bolus; or stop being a historian.

A judgment in my favor does not mean that the Holocaust never happened; it means only that in England today discussion is still permitted. My opponents would still be able, just as now, to produce other documents if they can; to expound alternative interpretations. They would be as free as ever to declare that they think I am wrong. They would be impeded in one way only: they would not be able to say in a loud and authoritative voice that I am not a historian, and that my books must be banned. As a result of my work (and of this case) the Holocaust has been researched more. Those who (rightly) believe that these crimes should never be forgotten should

ask whether their case is better served by a compulsory — and dead — text imposed by law and intimidation, or by a live and on-going discussion.

Our Common Law has at its kernel an “adversarial” procedure whereby, it is believed, truth is best elicited by each side putting their case as strongly as possible. I agree with English Common Law.

I read in [the London daily] The Independent, in a lengthy and deeply libelous article published only last week, these words: “But if he wins, it will open the door for revisionists to rewrite any event in history without the requirement to consider evidence that does not suit them and without fear that they will be publicly denounced for their distortion.”

In bygone days, I venture to submit, such an article, published while an action was literally sub judice [under consideration by a court], would have been a clear contempt of Court. Your Lordship will have noticed that I wearied, after a few days, of drawing attention to the coverage of this trial. Allow me however to introduce one cautionary statistic: not including the fuss about the Eichmann manuscript, the British press have published no fewer than 167 reports during the seven days that I was on the witness stand, that is 24 per day; but just 58 reports during the 20 days when the boot was on the other foot and I was cross-examining Mr. Rampton’s witnesses, that is roughly three per day. That is a disparity of some eight to one against me. If Your Lordship has noticed any of these items, you will perhaps have observed that the reporting in both cases is almost exclusively devoted to the defense statements, or their questions to me, and not to the product of the examination. The Court however operates by different standards, and it will not allow public sentiment to guide its verdict. I believe it was Churchill who once said, “There is no such thing as public opinion, there is only published opinion.” Given such a baleful glare from the press gallery, My Lord, I am glad that Her Majesty has such a resolute officer presiding over this case. The outcome is in your hands, and ours alone, and I am confident that nothing that the Press has written, or may yet write, will deflect Your Lordship from arriving at a just conclusion.

The Defendants have sold around the world a book, Denying the Holocaust. May I say that I see here Penguin Books, to my sorrow, as they have published my own works in the past; but they are continuing even today to sell this book for profit, in the knowledge that it contains very defamatory allegations and that these allegations are held to be untrue. It is a reckless, even foolhardy posture.

Neither of these Defendants evidently bothered even to have the manuscript professionally read for libel. I say “evidently,” because we do not know: they have not deigned to enter the witness box to answer even that straightforward and most elementary of questions. Nor have they answered this question when it was put to them in writing ...

Whatever other limited excuses — whether of sheer ignorance, or of innocent dissemination — that the publisher might have (quite wrongfully) deployed for publishing this malicious and deeply flawed work, these were destroyed from the moment when they received my writ in September of 1996, and were thus informed, if they did not in fact know already, of the nature and scope of the libels it contains. And, as said, they have continued to sell it, hoping no doubt to cash in on, to profit from, the notoriety gained by these libel proceedings, a textbook case of *Rookes vs. Barnard* if ever there was one, since the book they are selling still contains even the several libels which they have made no attempt here to justify.

They have to justify their allegations, or their defense fails; and as your Lordship is aware, where the defamations are particularly grave, a higher burden of proof falls upon them than the mere balance of probabilities that is normally acceptable. In both Defendants, moreover, there is clear

evidence of malice, both in those few documents which the author of this work has disclosed, and in the fact that the same firm of publishers had previously distributed a work in which I was variously caricatured as Adolf Hitler, and wearing swastika eye-glasses.

The very worst of the libels are so blatant, that neither Defendant has insulted the intelligence of this Court by offering any justification for them. They hope instead to divert the court's attention by reference to distant and notorious matters of history. In consequence, for 30 days or more of this Court's time we have had to rake over the embers of what may be one of the greatest crimes known to Mankind: a harrowing, time-wasting, and needless effort, which has yielded even now few answers to great questions and mysteries which even the world's finest academics have so far not managed to unravel.

On page 14 of Denying the Holocaust, the Defendants published one of the gravest libels that can be imagined for a respectable English citizen who lives a very public life, namely that I consort with the extremist anti-Semitic Russian group Pamyat, with violent anti-Israeli murderers, with extremist terrorists, and with Louis Farrakhan, a Black Power agitator who is known to be acting in the pay of a foreign power, namely the Libyan dictator. This is not just the simple allegation of associating with "extremists," about which they have made so much.

The words on page 14 are as follows — and I make no apology for reminding the Court of them:

The confluence between anti-Israel, anti-Semitic, and Holocaust denial forces was exemplified by a world anti-Zionist conference scheduled for Sweden in November 1992. Though cancelled at the last minute by the Swedish government, scheduled speakers included black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan, Faurisson, Irving and Leuchter. Also scheduled to participate were representatives of a variety of anti-Semitic and anti-Israel organizations, including the Russian group Pamyat, the Iranian-backed Hezbollah, and the fundamentalist Islamic organization Hamas.

The whole statement was a reckless lie. It appears from their Discovery to have been based on a press release issued by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA), which neither that agency or the Defendants made any attempt to verify. The Court will have noticed in one of my bundles [of evidence] the letters which I sent to every Scandinavian embassy at the time, anxiously denying the malicious JTA allegation. I have pleaded, as Your Lordship is aware, that the innuendo was that I was

thereby agreeing to appear in public in support of and alongside violent and extremist speakers including representatives of the violent and extremist anti-Semitic Russian group Pamyat and of the Iranian-backed Hezbollah and of the fundamentalist Islamic organization Hamas and including the black Muslim minister Louis Farrakhan, born Louis Eugene Walcott, who is known as a Jew-baiting black agitator, as a leader of the US Nation of Islam, as an admirer of Hitler and who is in the pay of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

And

that the true or legal innuendo of the word "Hezbollah" is that used to refer to and describe a known international terrorist organization led by one Sayed Hassan Nasrallah from Beirut in the Lebanon also known as the Hezbollah whose guerrillas kill Israeli civilians and soldiers thereby deliberately provoking retaliation, and which organization has been determined by President Clinton, at the international anti-terror-

ism conference in 1996, as being among the enemies of peace, and whose officials and armed activists are now being hunted down by ... the Israeli army.

As for the Hamas, I set out in paragraph 12 of my statement of claim that “the true or legal innuendo of the words 'Hamas' is that of an Islamic fundamentalist terrorist organization similar in nature to the Hezbollah.”

In my pleadings, I also argued that by these allegations I had “been brought into hatred, ridicule, contempt, risk of personal injury, and/or assassination.” The nature of the libel, and the damage that it caused, hardly need arguing in detail here. To put it in a domestic context, if the Defendants had equally untruthfully stated, for example on a Channel 4 television documentary, that I consorted with Ulster loyalist death squads who were part of a conspiracy to murder Roman Catholic nationalists, itself a grave accusation which also would put me at risk of assassination, and if the Defendants made no attempt to justify that libel, then I respectfully submit that Your Lordship would have no hesitation giving judgment in my favor. I submit that there is no difference between these examples.

The Defendants have relied however on Section 5 of the Defamation Act. In other words, they accuse a respectable Englishman of consorting with terrorists and murderers, and then plead the relative insignificance of the accusation when it turns out to be a reckless lie.

And there are other incendiary lies which they have stuffed into that particular sand-bucket, Section 5, in the hope that they will sputter out: the Defendants repeated the story — first published in *Izvestia* — that I placed a portrait of Hitler over my desk. For that lie too they have offered no justification. I read incidentally recently in *Literary Review*, January 2000, that Lloyd George had signed photographs of both Hitler and Mussolini on display. The only signed photograph in my apartment, as many journalists have observed, is one of Sir Winston Churchill.

I submit that Your Lordship should not accept the Defendants' contention that these allegations should be disregarded on the basis of Section 5. Even if they could sufficiently justify their claim that I deliberately bent history in favor of Hitler, and I submit that they have not, it would still “materially injure the plaintiff's reputation” (thus the wording of Section 5) to say that I had a portrait of Hitler above my desk. The claims which they do seek to justify suggest that I am culpably careless and (perhaps unconsciously) sympathetic to Hitler; bad enough, but having a portrait over my desk implies a full-hearted, 100 percent conscious commitment to that man, which is very different.

I have provided to Your Lordship in one [evidence] bundle a number of passages quoted from A.J.P. Taylor's words. [British historian] Taylor himself accepted that they inevitably improved Hitler's image: maybe he did not originate the actual mass murders himself; maybe he did slip into war with Britain rather than planning it; maybe the Anschluss with Austria was more a stroke of good fortune, which he grasped, rather than long planned as a take-over; maybe the Nazis did not burn down the Reichstag in 1933. These views of Taylor have been criticized as being wrong, even as being too sympathetic to Hitler. But everybody would accept that to suggest that Taylor had a portrait of Hitler “over his desk” would suggest something far worse. So it should be for me too.

Again, for the purpose of Section 5, the allegation that I bend history in favor of Hitler because I am said to admire him, and that I consort with other people holding such views, is a very different kettle of fish from stating, as the Defendants do, that I consort with people who are widely regarded as violent and murderous terrorists. Indeed, the word used by the Defendants in the Hamas/ Hezbollah/ Pamyat context is “confluence,” which suggests something even worse than

“consort.” The passage suggests that I provide support (maybe only theoretical support, but still support) for violence and murder — murder now and murder in the future. I ask therefore that Your Lordship not allow either of these matters to be discarded into Section 5.

My Lord, the Court will be aware that from the very outset I argued that this hearing should not, effectively, leave the four walls of my study, where I wrote my books; and that what happened 50 or 60 years ago was of less moment to the issues as pleaded. The matter at issue, as pleaded by the Defendants, is not what happened, but what I knew of it, and what I made of it, at the time I put pen to paper. To take a crude example: neglecting to use the Eichmann memoirs, released to us only a few days ago, had they contained startling revelations — which they did not — could not have been held against me because they were not available to me in the 1960s, 70s or 80s.

Your Lordship took a different view, and I respectfully submit that it was wrong. The Defendants have invested a sizeable fortune in re-researching the Holocaust, and possibly for that reason alone we have all been dragged through that vast and inhuman tragedy yet again, and quite needlessly in my submission. It would have sufficed for their purposes if they could have proved, on the basis of the total disclosure of my files which I made to them and their experts, that I had indeed “distorted, misstated, misquoted, and falsified.” Fearing or finding, however, that they were unable to prove willful fraud, in effect, they have fallen back on the alternative plea in the tort of negligence: that “Mr. Irving ought to have known.” I respectfully submit that this unsubtle change of defense should not have been allowed to them, as it was not pleaded at the outset.

If my submission on the law is, however, wrong then Your Lordship must ask what effort would have been reasonable on the part of an individual historian, acting without institutional support like that of [the Israel government] Yad Vashem [center], and with the doors of archives increasingly being slammed against him because of the activities of the bodies to which I shall shortly refer. These Defendants have reportedly spent some six million dollars, and 20 man-years, or more, in researching this case: this blinding and expensive spotlight has been focused on the narrowest of issues, yet still it has generated more noise than illumination.

I heard the expert witnesses who were paraded before us use phrases like the “consensus of expert opinion” as their source so often — in fact the word consensus occurs so far no fewer than 40 times in the daily transcripts of this trial — that I began to wonder what archives were for. I suggest that these experts were more expert in reporting each other’s opinions, and those of people who agree with them, than in what the archives actually contain — and do not contain.

The phrase “Holocaust Denier,” which the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] boasts of having invented, is an Orwellian stigma. It is not a very helpful phrase. It does not extend thought or knowledge on this tragic subject. Its universal adoption within the space of a few years by media, academia and government and even academics seems to indicate something of the international endeavor of which I shall make later mention. It is in my submission a key to the whole case. Perhaps this Court should raise its gaze from the red and blue files and bundles for a brief moment, and re-read George Orwell’s brief appendix to 1984, which seems to be very relevant to this case.

From the witness box, with its revelations of the “consensus of opinion,” “moral certainty,” and the mass male-voice choir of the “social sciences” or “social scientists,” on which the Defendants’ German expert Professor Hajo Funke [sociologist with the Free University in Berlin] relies for his certainty as to what is right-wing extremism, we seem to hear more than a vague echo of Orwellian Newspeak — a language that molds minds, and destroys reputations and livelihoods.

Orwell was however wrong in one point: he thought it would take the forces of the State to impose Newspeak: Professor Lipstadt and her reckless publisher, Penguin Books — I shall justify that adjective shortly — have sought to impose it through the machinery of the literary and media establishments. Only the Royal Courts or Justice, independent and proud, can protect the rights of the individual from now on. And those rights include the right, as Lord Justice Sedley recently put it in another Court in this same building, of any person to hold to, and to preach, unpopular views, perhaps even views that many might find repellent.

My Writings and Reputation as a Historian

I have not hesitated to stand in the witness box here, and to answer questions. Mr. Rampton rose to the occasion, and he — or indeed I — may yet regret it. Your Lordship will recall that when I brought a somewhat reluctant and even curmudgeonly Professor Donald Cameron Watt, doyen of the diplomatic historians, into the witness stand, he used these words:

I must say, I hope that I am never subjected to the kind of examination that Mr. Irving's books have been subjected to by the Defense witnesses. I have a very strong feeling that there are other senior historical figures, including some to whom I owed a great deal of my own career, whose work would not stand up, or not all of whose work would stand up, to this kind of examination ...

When I invited him to mention some names, of course he declined. What he was saying was that whatever mistakes, or whatever unconventional interpretations of mine, the Defendants have revealed with their multi-million dollar research, this does not invalidate me as an historian, or my historical methods and conclusions.

Your Lordship will find that Professor Watt continued by suggesting that simply by facing the challenge of the views that I had put forward, “and basing them on historical research, rather than ideological conviction,” this had directly resulted in other historians devoting an “enormous burst of research” to the Nazi massacres of the Jews, an area which can in consequence now support journals and conferences. “This, I think, is a direct result of the challenge which Mr. Irving's work [posed] and the consistency and the effort which he has put into maintaining it in public.” In other words, Watt stated that, far from being a “Holocaust denier,” my work has directly increased historical research into, and understanding of, the “Holocaust.”

Professor Eberhard Jäckel made the same controversial point in his essay in the book published by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, namely that before my book *Hitler's War* was published in 1977, there had been virtually no meaningful research into the tragedy at all. Professor Hans Mommsen, Professor Raul Hilberg, Professor Gordon C. Craig — all have more or less supported my claim to be regarded as a serious historian. The outcome of my research, my books, and my speaking is therefore that people in general are more, not less, aware of the horrors of the Holocaust, and they are certainly better informed.

One of the most damaging [of the defendants'] accusations is that the Plaintiff [Irving], driven by his obsession with Hitler, distorts, manipulates, and falsifies history in order to put Hitler in a more favorable light, thereby demonstrating a lack of the detachment, rationality and judgment necessary for an historian. I submit that in assessing whether I am an historian who “distorts, manipulates and falsifies,” Your Lordship should give most weight to my avowedly historical written works. I suggest that my speeches and the very occasional lapses of taste in them (Mr. Rampton has identified and mentioned, repeatedly, I think, three), are relevant purely as background material. Of those written historical works, I submit that your Lordship give most weight to my

flagship work *Hitler's War*. I ask that Your Lordship read (again, if Your Lordship has already done so) the Introduction to the 1991 edition: this was published well after the year when the Defendants (wrongly) assert that I “flipped over” to become what they call a Holocaust denier.

I have always differed from colleagues in my profession in insisting on using original documents, including where possible the authors' drafts of books or memoirs rather than the heavily edited West German editions, later rewritings, or posthumous adaptations. I also make use of many more unpublished original documents than my historian colleagues. In the 1960s and 1970s this was more difficult than today.

I differ too from others, in making copies of the original documents which I unearth freely available to others as soon as my own works are complete ... As page 14 of *Hitler's War* shows, I donate these records regularly to publicly accessible archives, and I also make them available on microfilm. There are nearly 200 such microfilms, containing nearly half a million pages. I also devote time to corresponding with and assisting other historians and researchers. If, therefore, some of my interpretations are controversial, I also do all that is possible to let other people judge for themselves. This speaks strongly against the accusation that I distort, manipulate and falsify history.

On *Hitler and the Holocaust* I wrote [in *Hitler's War*] the following words — after the time when I had supposedly become a Holocaust denier, obsessed with Hitler, and with exonerating him:

At page 2: “My conclusions ... startled even me. Hitler was a far less omnipotent Führer than had been believed ... His methods and tactics were profoundly opportunistic.”

At page 4: “... The more hermetically Hitler locked himself away behind the barbed wire and mine fields of his remote military headquarters, the more his Germany became a Führer-Staat without a Führer. Domestic policy was controlled by whoever was most powerful in each sector — by Hermann Göring ... Hans Lammers ... Martin Bormann ... Heinrich Himmler ...”

At page 17: “If this biography were simply a history of the rise and fall of Hitler's Reich it would be legitimate to conclude: 'Hitler killed the Jews.' He after all had created the atmosphere of hatred with his speeches in the 1930s; he and Homelie had created the SS; his speeches, though never explicit, left the clear impression that 'liquidate' was what he meant.”

At pages 17-18: “For a full-length war biography of Hitler, I felt that a more analytical approach to the key questions of initiative, complicity and execution would be necessary. Remarkably, I found that Hitler's own role in the 'Final Solution' — whatever that was — had never been examined.”

At page 18: “Every document actually linking Hitler with the treatment of the Jews invariably takes the form of an embargo.” (This is the famous “chain of documents,” and notwithstanding everything we have heard in Court I still adhere to this position.)

At page 19: “It is plausible to impute to him that not uncommon characteristic of heads of state: a conscious desire 'not to know.' But the proof of this is beyond the powers of a historian.”

At page 21: "... Dictatorships are fundamentally weak ... I concluded, the burden of guilt for the bloody and mindless massacres of the Jews rests on a large number of Germans (and non-Germans), many of them alive today, and not just on one 'mad dictator,' whose order had to be obeyed without question."

The similarity here with the thesis propagated by Dr. Daniel Goldhagen in his world-wide best-selling book *Hitler's Willing Executioners* will surely strike everybody in this Court. Allow me to rub this point in: What I actually wrote and printed and published in my "flagship study" *Hitler's War* was that Hitler was clearly responsible for the Holocaust both by being head of state, and by having done so much by his speeches and organization to start it off.

Where I differed from many historians was in denying that there was any documentary proof of detailed direction and initiation by Hitler of the mass murders. The view was considered to be heretical at the time. But this lack of wartime documentary evidence for Hitler's involvement is now widely accepted.

Indeed, on the narrower matter of the lack of wartime documentary evidence on "gas chambers," Your Lordship was already good enough to grant as follows, in an exchange [on February 15] with [defense witness] Professor [Richard] Evans:

Irving: If his Lordship is led to believe by a careless statement of the witnesses that there is a vast body of wartime documents, this would be unfair, would it not, because you are not referring to wartime documents? You are referring to post-war documents?

Evans: I am referring to all kinds of documents.

Irving: You are not referring to wartime documents?

Evans: I am referring to documents including wartime documents, the totality of the written evidence for the Holocaust, which you deny.

Irving: Are you saying there is a vast quantity of wartime documents?

Evans: What I am saying is that there is a vast quantity of documents and material for all aspects of the Holocaust.

Mr. Justice Gray: I expect you would accept, Professor Evans, just to move on, the number of overtly incriminating documents, wartime documents, as regards gas chambers is actually pretty few and far between?

To summarize, in *Hitler's War* I differed from other historians in suggesting that the actual mass murders were not all or mainly initiated by Hitler. I pointed out that my sources were consistent with another explanation: A conscious desire "not to know." (I referred to a Richard Nixon kind of complex.)

I submit that I have not distorted, manipulated, and falsified. I have put all the cards on the table; I made the documents available to all comers, on microfilm and in the archives, and I have pointed to various possible interpretations.

I further submit that, while certainly "selling" my view, I have been much less manipulative than those historians, including some whom you have heard in Court, whose argument has in impor-

tant part been simply this — that I ought not to be heard, because my views are too outlandish or extreme. Disgracefully, these scholars have cheered from the sidelines as I have been outlawed, arrested, harassed, and all but vernichtet [annihilated] as a professional historian; and they have put pressure on British publishers to destroy my works.

To assist Your Lordship in deciding how outlandish and extreme these views of mine are, I allow myself to quote from A. J. P. Taylor's *The War Lords*, published by Penguin — the First Defendants in this action — in London in 1978. Of Adolf Hitler he wrote (pages 55-57, 68-70):

... It was at this time that he became really a recluse, settling down in an underground bunker, running the war far from the front.

... He was a solitary man, though he sometimes accepted, of course, advice from others, sometimes decisions [my emphasis]. It is, I think, true, for instance, that the terrible massacre of the Jews was inspired more by Himmler than by Hitler, though Hitler took it up.

The following quotation is from the foreword ["Second Thoughts"] of A. J. P. Taylor's own flagship work, *The Origins of the Second World War*, [originally] published in 1963:

Little can be discovered so long as we go on attributing everything that happened to Hitler. He supplied a powerful dynamic element, but it was fuel to an existing machine ... He would have counted for nothing without the support and co-operation of the German people. It seems to be believed nowadays that Hitler did everything himself, even driving the trains and filling the gas chambers unaided. This was not so. Hitler was a sounding board for the German nation. Thousands, many hundred thousand, Germans carried out his evil orders without qualm or question.

What I wrote, with less felicity of style than Professor Taylor, was a reasonable interpretation of the information available to me at the time. I might add that my words are often accepted, quoted, and echoed by other historians far more eminent than I (including the government's Official Historians, like Professor Sir Frank Hinsley, in his volumes on British Intelligence). Some may regard my interpretations as not the most probable. But they are never perverse. For the Defendants to describe me as one who manipulates, distorts, and falsifies it would be necessary for them to satisfy Your Lordship that I willfully adopted perverse and ridiculous interpretations. I have not.

The Defendants' Historiographical Criticisms

I now turn to some of the particular matters which exercised Your Lordship, in the list of points at issue.

I trust that Your Lordship will bear in mind that the task facing a historian of my type — what I refer to as a “shirt-sleeve historian,” working in the field, from original records — is very different from the task facing the scholar or academic who sits in his book-lined study, plucking handy works of reference, printed in large type, translated into English, provided with easy indices, and often with nice illustrations too, off the shelves of a university library within arm's reach.

Your Lordship will recall that while researching the Goebbels diaries in Moscow during the first week in June 1992 I had to read those wartime Nazi glass microfiches through a magnifier the size of a nail clipper, with a lens smaller than a pea. [See D. Irving, “Revelations from the Goebbels' Diary,” Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 2-17.] The Court will appreciate that reading even

post-war microfilm of often poorly reproduced original documents on a mechanical reader is a tedious, time consuming, and unrewarding business. Notes have to be taken in handwriting, as there are no “pages” to be Xeroxed. In the 1960s Xerox copies were nothing like as good as they are now, as Your Lordship will have noticed from the blue-bound volumes brought in here from my own document archives. Mistakes undoubtedly occur: the mis-transcription of difficult German words pencilled in Gothic or Sütterlin-style script, a script which most modern German scholars find unreadable anyway; mistakes of copying; mistakes of omission (that is, a passage is not transcribed because at the time it appears of no moment). These are innocent mistakes, and with a book of the size of Hitler’s War, currently running to 393,000 words, they are not surprising.

Your Lordship may recall one exchange I had with Professor Evans:

Irving: Professor Evans, when your researchers were researching in my files at the Institute of [Contemporary] History in Munich, did they come across a thick file there, which was about 1,000 pages long, consisting of the original annotated footnotes of Hitler’s War, which were referenced by number to every single sentence in that book?

Evans: No.

Irving: It was not part of the published corpus. It was part of the original manuscript, but it was chopped out because of the length.

Evans: No, we did not see that.

Irving: Have you seen isolated pages of that in my Discovery in so far as it related to episodes which were of interest, like the Reichskristallnacht?

Evans: I do not, to be honest, recall, but that does not mean to say that we have not seen them.

Irving: You said that my footnotes are opaque because they do not always give the page reference. Do you agree that, on a page which we are going to come across in the course of this morning, of your own expert report, you put a footnote in just saying “See Van Pelt’s report,” that is, see the expert report by Robert van Pelt, and that expert report is about 769 pages long, is it not?

From this exchange it is plain that I was not just a conjurer producing quotations and documents out of a hat; I made my sources and references available in their totality to historians, even when they were not printed in the book.

The allegation that the mistakes are deliberate — that they are manipulations, or distortions, — is a foul one to make, and easily disposed of by general considerations. If I intended deliberately to mistranscribe a handwritten word or text, I would hardly have furnished copies of the original texts to my critics, or published the text of the handwritten document as a facsimile in the same work (for example, the famous November 30, 1941, note [by Himmler of telephone conversations], which is illustrated as a facsimile in all [recent] editions of Hitler’s War); or placed the entire collection of such documents without restriction in archives commonly frequented by my critics.

And if I intended to mistranslate a document, would I have encouraged the publication of the resulting book, with the correct original quotation, in the German language, where my perversion

of the text would easily be discovered? Yet, like all my others works, both Hitler's War and Goebbels have appeared in German-language editions with a full and correct transcription of the controversial texts. Is this is the action of a deliberate mistranslator?

As for the general allegation that the errors or exaggerations or distortions that were made were "all" of a common alignment, designed to exonerate Adolf Hitler, the test which Your Lordship must apply should surely be this: if the sentence that is complained of be removed from the surrounding paragraph or text (and in each book there are only one or two such sentences of which this wounding claim is made) does this in any way alter the book's general thrust, or the weight of the argument that is made?...

The allegation of the Defendants is that in order to "exonerate Hitler" I effectively concocted, or invented, a false version of events on Kristallnacht, namely that Hitler intervened between 1 and 2 a.m. [November 10, 1938] to halt the madness. I submit that their refusal to accept this version is ingrained in their own political attitudes. There is evidence both in the archives, in reliable contemporary records like the Ulrich von Hassell, Alfred Rosenberg, and Hellmuth Groscurth diaries, and in the independent testimonies of those participants whom I myself carefully questioned, or whose private papers I obtained — Nicolaus von Below, Julius Schaub, Karl Wolff, and others — and which the Court has seen, to justify the version which I rendered. It was therefore not an invented story.

It may well be that my critics were unfamiliar with the sources that I used before they made their criticisms. The dishonesty lies not with me, for printing the "inside" story of Hitler's actions that night, as far as we can reconstruct them using these and other sources; but with those scholars who have studiously ignored them, and in particular the Rudolf Hess "stop arson" telegram of 2:56 a.m., issued "on orders from the highest level," which the Defendants' scholars have testified is a reference to Hitler.

Your Lordship may well have marvelled to hear the defendants' witnesses dismiss this message — like the Schlegelberger Document, referred to later — as being of no consequence.

The Kristallnacht diaries of Dr. Goebbels, which I obtained in Moscow in 1992, some years after I first drafted the episode, substantially bore out my version of events — namely that he, and not Hitler, was the prime instigator, and that Hitler was largely unaware and displeased by what came about. Your Lordship will recall that Professor Philippe Burrin, a Swiss Holocaust historian for whom all the witnesses expressed respect, comes to the same conclusion independently of me. Now, he is manifestly not a "Holocaust denier" either.

The Court will also recall that the Witness Evans admitted that, unlike myself, he had not read all through the available Goebbels diaries. He had not had the time, he said; and we must confess a certain sympathy with that position for an academic, time is certainly at a premium. Reading all of the available Goebbels diaries is, however, necessary, in order to establish and recognize the subterfuges that this Nazi minister used through his career as a diarist, in order to conceal when he was creating what I call alibis for his own wayward and evil behavior ...

There is no need to discuss here in detail my various narratives of the Nazis' shooting of Jews in the East. In my view, there is little dispute between the parties on what actually happened, and Your Lordship is aware that I have given these atrocities due and proper attention in the various biographies I have written; I would however add the one caveat, that they are not intended to be reference works on the Holocaust, but orthodox biographies.

I believe I was the first historian to discover and make use of the CSDIC reports relating further details of these killings, particularly the [General] Bruns Report, and I made them available to many other historians. (These are the British eavesdropping reports on German prisoners, using hidden microphones). It took many days to read them; there are thousands of pages in these files. Over the last 20 years I read these horrifying narratives out repeatedly to public audiences, including “right-wing” audiences. This fact alone entitles me to express my contempt at those who would term me a “Holocaust denier.”

We have seen the Defendants scrabbling around at the end of the Bruns Report for its third-hand references by the SS murderer and braggart in Riga, Altemeyer, to an “order” he claimed to have received to carry out such mass shootings more circumspectly in future. But we know from the late 1941 police decodes — a much firmer source document than a snatch of conversation remembered years later, in April 1945 — precisely what orders had gone from Hitler’s headquarters, radioed by Himmler himself, to the mass murderer SS Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, stating explicitly that these killings exceeded the authority that he, Himmler, himself had given, and by the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) [Reich Security Main Office]. We know that the killings of all German Jews stopped at once, for many months.

When, in the 1970s, I first translated the word Judentransport (which can mean “transportation of Jews”) as well as “transports of Jews,” in the plural — being at the time unaware of the surrounding context of data which helps narrow the purport down to the one Riga-bound trainload from Berlin — I was thus inadvertently coming closer to the truth, not further from it: because the liquidation of all the trainloads from Germany was halted the next day, December 1, 1941, by the order radioed from Hitler’s headquarters (whether initiated by Himmler or Hitler seems hair-splitting in this context) ...

Another most difficult piece of historical paper for my opponents is the Schlegelberger Document. In late March or early April 1942, after seeing Germany’s top civil servant [Hans Lammers], who reported only to Hitler, Franz Schlegelberger dictated this famous memorandum, upon which all Holocaust historians, and the Defendants’ expert witnesses in this case have hitherto turned enough blind eyes to have won several battles of Trafalgar. For many years after the war it vanished: but that is another story.

Asked about this specific document after a lecture in the German Institute, here in London in November 1998, Dr. Peter Longerich, who is now the Defendants’ expert witness, had the function’s chairman rise to inform the audience that the speaker was not prepared to answer questions from David Irving.

It is a genuine document, referring in one breath both to Hitler and the “Solution of the Jewish Problem.” Confronted with it in the witness box, he and his fellow experts have argued, either that it was totally unimportant; or that it concerned only the Mischlinge, the mixed race Jews, and not the Final Solution in any broader sense. Ingeniously, Dr. Longerich even tried to suggest that it originated in 1940 or 1941. The document has them in a breathless panic.

The document’s own contents destroy their latter argument: In the first sentence, it says: “Mr. Reich Minister Lammers informed me that the Führer had repeatedly declared to him that he wants to hear that the Solution of the Jewish Problem has been adjourned [or postponed] until after the war.” That this is the broader Final Solution is plain from the second sentence, which shows namely that the Mischling question was something different: “Accordingly,” the memorandum continues, “the current deliberations have in the opinion of Mr. Lammers purely theoretical value.” Those deliberations were, as my opponents themselves have argued, solely concerned

with what to do with the Mischlinge and the like. The document is quite plain; and it was dictated by a lawyer, so he presumably knew what he was writing. There is no room for argument. My opponents have pretended for years that this document effectively does not exist.

I have dealt at length in my statements in the witness box, and while cross-examining the witnesses, with the other contentious items, namely the Goebbels diary entries for March 27 and May 30, 1942, the Himmler minute of September 22, 1942, and his note for his meeting with Hitler on December 10, 1942; meetings with Antonescu and with Horthy in April 1943; the deportation and murder of the Jews in Rome in October 1943, Himmler's speeches on October 4 and 6, 1943, and on May 15 and 24, 1944, and Hitler's speech on May 26, 1944, and Ribbentrop's testimony and evidence from his cell at Nuremberg. I contend that my use of these items was quite proper ...

As for the content of the Kurt [Hans] Aumeier dossier — his [postwar] manuscripts suggest, or confirm, the existence of limited-scale gassings at Auschwitz. The figures are unreliable, and many of the other details conflict with those provided by the equally flawed writings of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. This is in my submission the most likely reason why the Defendants have not relied heavily on either source in their defense.

Nor for that matter have they made any use of the loudly trumpeted Eichmann memoirs prized out of the Israeli government archives [made public on February 29, 2000] — perhaps because in the entire document, although this former SS Obersturmbannführer is writing with brutal frankness, and describing the most appalling spectacles that he has seen, he does not refer even once to being shown a gas chamber during his official guided tours as “executioner in chief” of the Auschwitz and Birkenau camps ...

Hitler's Knowledge of the 'Solution of the Jewish Question'

This became the most controversial issue, both in this courtroom and stretching far back into my writing career; I wish, just because of this, that I had picked a different biographical subject.

Because of the inescapable conclusion — that Hitler had probably not ordered, or been aware until relatively late, of the ultimate fate of the European Jews — I forfeited, as my US agent predicted, perhaps half a million dollars or more of lucrative sub-licensing deals with major corporations — the Reader's Digest, paperback houses, reprints, The Sunday Times. After I completed a first draft of the book in about 1969-1970, I realized that there was this inexplicable — and unexpected — gap in the archives.

I hired a trusted friend, Dr. Elke Fröhlich of the [Munich] Institute for Contemporary History [IfZ], to go through all the then-available German archives again, with the specific task of looking for documents linking Hitler with the Final Solution. She did a conscientious and excellent job, working for me in the files of the Nuremberg state archives, the Institut für Zeitgeschichte [IfZ], the Berlin Document Center, the Bundesarchiv [German Federal Archives], and the military archives in Freiburg. Her resulting research materials, my correspondence with her, the index cards and photocopies, form a part of my Discovery in this action. It was she who produced for me for example the then-unpublished diary entry of Governor-General Hans Frank — actually a meeting transcript of December 13, 1941, currently being edited by her colleagues at the [Munich] Institute — to which I duly made reference.

I would incidentally rely on this episode as one further instance of my integrity as an independent historian: Inherently dissatisfied with the results of my own research, I hired and paid out of

my own pocket for this second opinion, as an *avocatus diaboli*, to trawl once more, and with a net of finer mesh, across the same fishing grounds for documents that might in fact destroy my, then still tentative, hypothesis. In a similar step, which I think I took to appease the now worried American publishers, I wrote in December 1975 to four or five of the major international Jewish historical research institutions, appealing for “evidence proving Hitler’s guilt in the extermination of the Jews.”

All of these inquiries by me drew a blank, except for one. As I summed up in a letter to The Sunday Telegraph on June 19, 1977, “... all offered their apologies, except Professor Raul Hilberg, author of the standard history on the subject, who honorably conceded that he too has come to the view that Hitler may not have known.” (His letter is in my *Discovery*). The other institutions stated that they had no such evidence, or they did not reply.

The International Endeavor to Destroy my Legitimacy as an Historian

Before I proceed to the problems with the accepted version of the history of Auschwitz, I turn first to the submissions that Your Lordship will allow me to make on the 30-year international endeavor by a group of organizations to destroy my legitimacy as an historian. I submit that I am entitled to draw these documents to Your Lordship’s attention, because these bodies, acting with that secret and common purpose, compiled dossiers and reports on me with the intention of destroying me. They did so exercising no proper care for accuracy; and, as is evident from the Second Defendant’s *Discovery*, and from the Introduction to her book [*Denying the Holocaust*] in which she explicitly acknowledges the assistance provided by many of these bodies, she drew upon these tainted wellsprings as the source for much of the poison she wrote about me.

We shall hear that, buried in the files of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Toronto, is a document, now also in Ms. Lipstadt’s files — they sent it to her — which forms something of a blueprint for the attempt to destroy my name. A researcher for the Centre, commissioned to investigate my life in detail, recommended in that compilation, after referring to my “thorough archival research” and “genuine historical insight” as follows: “Given this accurate version of reality, it is all the more clear why his activities must be curtailed, and why his [Irving’s] alleged legitimacy must be eradicated.”

I have been subjected since at least 1973, and probably before then, to what would be called in warfare a campaign of interdiction. I know of no other historian or writer who has been subjected to a campaign of vilification even one tenth as intense. The book *Denying the Holocaust* was the climax of this campaign. There exist, as I said in my opening speech [published in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal*], various bodies in this country and around the world who have at heart the interests of special groups. I make no protest about that: but many other Englishmen have noticed, or found out, usually by chance, that these bodies keep files on us, which they use to our disadvantage if they believe we are a danger to their interests. Despite the best intentions of the Data Protection Act, it seems that we have no means of checking those files, or revising their content, let alone of cleansing them of libels. To give one particularly gross example: Under the cover provided by the United States First Amendment, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency accused me in 1995 of having supplied the trigger mechanism for the Oklahoma City bomb. That item was picked up by the American, and then faintly echoed by the British press. It was only months later that I found out who had started that lie.

But regrettably this has become a campaign to defame people whom they regard as a danger. A number of special bodies exist solely for this purpose. Some of them are listed on my website index as being “... some traditional enemies of Free Speech.” Professor Kevin MacDonald, of Cal-

ifornia State University-Long Beach, a sociologist who is the world's leading expert on these things, expressed forceful opinions to this Court in his expert report [published in the Jan.-Feb. 2000 Journal] — on which he offered himself for cross-examination — and I urge Your Lordship not to disregard the substance of what he had to say.

These bodies will not endear themselves, if found out, to the victims of their campaigns.

Mr. Rampton made much of Mr. Ernst Zündel's gross and ill-considered reference to the "Juden-pack" ["pack of Jews"] — as anti-Semitic a word as one might hear. In consequence, Mr. Rampton labels this man as an extremist and an anti-Semitic. The Court has been told nothing by Mr. Rampton of what, if any, remarks, or incidents, preceded the outburst by Mr. Zündel. We do know, and I can so inform this Court, that his home [in Toronto] has been attacked and torched. Such violent incidents certainly cannot excuse the violent remarks; but they can explain them.

Because they don't like what he writes or publishes, these bodies have attempted to destroy his life with criminal prosecution in an attempt to have him deported or jailed. They have failed, and Canada's highest Court has ruled that he is free of any criminal taint. Your Lordship may consider that this finding by a judicial body has some bearing on the label of extremism. Quite probably as the direct result of these bodies' agitation against him, he was subjected to violent assault. He was sent a large parcel bomb which the [Canadian] RCMP police authorities took away and detonated. The instigators were a British Columbia group of "anti-fascists." Mr. Zündel ought not, of course, to have used such an expression. Apart from anything else, his opponents are not Jews in general, but self-appointed bodies of would-be censors. The Court will readily accept that I — Mr. Zündel is not the claimant here — have not used such language in all the thousands of pages, videos, and recordings which I have readily disclosed.

My own experience at the hands of these self-appointed censors has not been so very different. It began in 1963 when agents of Searchlight [a British "anti-fascist" periodical] raided my home and were caught red-handed in this criminal attempt. Ever since then that publication has tweaked my tail with a stream of defamatory articles: a 37-year onslaught, to which I as a good Christian turned the other cheek. After ten years this campaign had begun to threaten my livelihood.

Lord Weidenfeld, one of my favorite publishers — he published no fewer than three of my major works, including my best-selling Rommel biography — was the first publisher, first of a long and illustrious line, to come under clandestine pressure to tear up his publishing contract with me because my books offended these special-interest groups. He told me at the Frankfurt Book Fair on October 13, 1973, that "he had cancelled the book [Hitler's War] under extreme outside pressure, he said, from officials of Zionist groups, and representations made by certain embassies."

It might be said that the real Defendants in this case are not represented in this Court, but their presence has been with us throughout. These are the people who commissioned the work complained of, and provided much of the materials used in it. I understand they have provided considerable funds for the defense — I am talking primarily of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League [ADL] of B'nai B'rith, a long-established American body.

I know very little about the former body, but I am aware that the latter [the ADL] has a \$50 million annual budget, substantially greater than an author commands whose livelihood has been destroyed by their activities. When your Lordship comes to such things as costs and damages, I would respectfully submit that you bear these things in mind.

We have them to thank for the spectacle that has been presented in this courtroom since January. Without their financial assistance, it is unlikely that Mr. Rampton and his defense team and his instructing solicitors could have mounted this colossal onslaught on my name. One day in 1998 I was shown a letter written that morning by Mr. Julius [attorney for Lipstadt] to some of the country's richest men, inviting them to bankroll this action. It had chanced into our hands. That is the other side of a piece of legal coinage that has recently come back into currency — champerty and maintenance. For over three years this well funded team sitting opposite me has drilled down deep into my private papers and burrowed on a broad front into the archives of the world, on a multi-pronged attack — trying to establish that what I have written over the last 35 years is distorted or mistranslated in pursuance of an agenda (namely the exoneration of Adolf Hitler); and trying to dig up every little morsel of dirt on me that they can.

My book *Hitler's War* was published by the Viking Press in New York in April 1977, and by Hodder & Stoughton in this country in June of that year. What can be seen as a coordinated attack on the book began. The Viking Press was one of that nation's most reputable publishers (and is now owner of the First Defendant company [Penguin]). Public attacks on the book in the press were concerted, with clandestine attempts to have my book squelched and me, as its author, ostracized.

The Anti-Defamation League (or ADL) — a body which turns out to have been closely in league with the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] in the current action — did what it could to disrupt my USA lecture-circuit and television tour promoting the book. The ADL had its Washington branch put pressure on the Channel 5 television network that was to carry a "Panorama" interview with me: we are rather well informed about how this American lobby of bigots carries out its duties, and I reproduce these extracts of its secret internal report on its efforts. Hearing of the booking for me to attend the program, the local ADL agent reported to headquarters: "As a consequence, I arranged with the show's producer to place on the same show in a debate posture my associate, Randy Koch, which airing took place on April 18, 1:00 to 1:30 p.m. A cassette of the show is being sent to you under separate cover for your advice and analysis." They added: "The following information is provided to you so that in addition to the cassette you may better appraise Irving's knowledgeability and toughness as an adversary in conjunction with ADL's problems with him."

What were the ADL's "problems" with me, one wonders? I had had no dealings with them whatsoever. If we had been able to cross-examine Professor Lipstadt, we might have asked her, since her own *Discovery*, limited though it is, shows her to have been in cahoots with them.

With more fervor than accuracy, the ADL report continues with the remarkable disclosure:

David Irving is the nom de plume of John Cawdell, a revisionist historiographer of Adolf Hitler, particularly regarding Hitler's role in and knowledge of the mass extermination of European Jewry. His major premise is that Hitler was largely oblivious to the large-scale killing of Jews in the death camps. He alleges and underscores the lack of historical evidence in documentation form that will show any orders from Hitler to Himmler, Heydrich or others. Irving further maintains that no direct documentation exists of Hitler giving orders to liquidate Jews ...

The agent's report continues that the book [*Hitler's War*] is a work of over 900 pages, including 100 pages of footnotes. "It would appear from the quantity of research and time that Irving put into the work that the author appears knowledgeable and expert in subject area." The cause for ADL concern then follows:

My monitoring of the aforementioned telecast leads me to conclude that Irving comes through as an extremely knowledgeable and tough adversary although he is extremely defensive in debating his latest work ... I see no problem in our joining in debate situations with him provided our proponent does sufficient homework.

The report adds that they had questioned a local [Jewish] Board member, identified as James Jacobs, an atomic scientist who had allegedly befriended me when I was researching my book *The Virus House*, the history of the German atom bomb project. While I have to confess that I have no memory of that man, the 1977 report adds: "Jacobs states that Irving is definitely not anti-Semitic, that he is an excessive German-phile ..."

This was no doubt an accurate report on my private conversations with the man. [The ADL agent's report continues:]

According to Jacobs, Irving is extremely thorough in his research and cites in this connection an inordinate amount of time spent by him in the United States going over the German archives reports and time spent in discussions with eminent authorities in the field covering associate matter concerning Irving's writings. Jacob's appraisal concurs with mine that as a consequence of the foregoing, Irving does make a tough adversary.

The report concludes that Jacobs would "co-operate with you" — the addressee, evidently the ADL's London friends, the Board of Deputies [of British Jews], "in any way he can to further assist you in your appraisal."

When I then began my lecturing activities around the USA in the early 1980s, speaking at private functions, schools, and universities, the ADL headquarters sent out a secret circular, a "Backgrounder," to all their local agents. The backgrounder, dated July 6, 1983, began with the words: "British author David Irving has been of concern to ADL, as well as to the Jewish community generally, since the 1977 publication of his book *Hitler's War*," and it indicated that it was the controversy over Hitler and the Jews that was the reason. We have heard of similar such circulars being generated by them on other famous literary names, for example the Daily Telegraph writer Auberon Waugh, and Noam Chomsky, who though an eminent Harvard professor also found mysterious problems in getting material published. In my case the ADL instructed its "regional offices": "Should he [Irving] surface in your region, please notify the Fact Finding Department and your Civil Rights Coordinator."

It is quite plain that the ADL were not concerned with promoting civil rights, but in abrogating one of the most basic rights of all, the right to freedom of speech.

The circular about me was so defamatory and untrue that after a copy was passed to me I sent a written warning on October 15, 1983, to the then director of the ADL in New York to desist from spreading what I referred to even then as this "libelous garbage." I warned that I had prevailed in a number of defamation actions in the German law courts enforced against provincial newspapers, political groups, and trades unions, including the giant [German labor union] IG Metall, and that other people who innocently spread such legends, including the Israeli author Ephraim Kishon, had preferred to apologize to me in writing for mistakenly giving currency to such smears. The ADL did not reply, and they continued their illiberal campaign against me.

Correspondence with my literary agent showed by 1984 already that the international smear campaign was inflicting financial damage on me. It was at precisely this time, 1984, that the Second Defendant [Lipstadt], then teaching in the Near Eastern Languages Center of the University of

California at Los Angeles, offered her services to Yehuda Bauer in Jerusalem. She attached “A Proposal for Research: The Historical and Historiographic Methodology of the Holocaust Revisionists.” I ask Your Lordship to note that on page 38 of this synopsis the Second Defendant mentioned my name in these words: “They [deniers] also find it expedient to associate themselves with those such as David Irving who do not deny that the Holocaust took place but seek to shift the blame to others.” (My added emphasis).

To conclude this, on the matter of her employment: on May 31, 1988, she was awarded an additional \$16,000 agreement for research on this topic by the Vidal Sassoon Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This research, it should be added, was what finally bore fruit as the book complained of, *Denying the Holocaust*. The publisher at that time was to be Robert Maxwell, who was liaising with Professor Yehuda Bauer.

During this period the international campaign against me achieved some ugly successes. Through their Vienna collaborators, the Documentation Archive of the Austrian Resistance [DÖW], a recognized Communist-front organization, they prevailed upon Austria’s Interior Minister, Karl Blecha, to have me illegally deported in June 1984. In July 1986 after an appeal by myself this was overturned, and Austria was ordered to pay me compensation. I have to admit that as a writer I was not prepared for this kind of campaign. I do not expect that any of the expert witnesses we have seen have ever had to experience anything like it.

When I toured universities and other speaking venues in Australia and New Zealand in 1986 and again in 1987, I learned that every organizer, every television producer had received an information pack from the ADL; and that every university library had received a letter from the corresponding Australian body pleading with them to take my books off the shelves. This may remind Your Lordship of where Professor Evans said he found my book hidden in the British Library.

In short, there was and is a hidden network of Orwellian organizations determined to ensure that no version of history of these matters of which they disapproved was given currency, or indeed allowed to survive; the alternative history should be destroyed, its publishers ruined, and the writers themselves *ausgerottet* [eradicated].

The Second Defendant’s *Discovery*, which includes such correspondence with, and items from, ADL as she [Lipstadt] has seen fit to provide, throws some interesting lights on the ADL’s methods. When a local newspaper, *The Daily Pilot*, published in [Costa Mesa/Newport Beach] Orange County, south of Los Angeles, reported a function of the Institute for Historical Review (the IHR), the ADL was horrified, as the ADL regional office reported, to find that the reporter, “seems to find an air of legitimacy surrounding the group.” The reporter, Bob Van Eyken, who evidently had not gotten the message, even described the IHR members [at the 9th IHR Conference, February 1989] as “neatly dressed ... evok[ing] a sense of reasoned dignity.” This clearly clashed with the skinhead, jackbooted, extremist stereotype that the ADL, like the expert witnesses in this case, wished to project for the IHR and other “right-wing” groups. This material, though clearly discoverable in this action, was withheld from *Discovery* by the Second Defendant until a summons was issued to produce all her correspondence with the ADL.

We know that the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] has had extensive dealings with the ADL. Even from her own limited *Discovery*, about the deficiencies in which I shall have to say more later, we know that she was provided with smear dossiers by them. She thanks them in her introduction [to *Denying the Holocaust*]. She made no attempt to verify the contents of this material with me (or so far as this Court knows, with others), but recklessly published it raw and unchecked. A 25-cent phone call to me would have saved her endless trouble. Instead she preferred to rely on

smear sheets like the “confidential” and defamatory four-page item dated October 23, 1986, headed: “Profile on David Irving,” evidently supplied to her by a Canadian body. Characteristically, the “profile” was disclosed to me by her solicitors without any covering letter from its author or custodian and shorn of any identifying material; I wrote more than once in vain asking for missing pages to be provided.

It is quite evident that the ADL set itself the task of destroying my career, in concert with other similar organizations around the world, many of whom, if not all, collaborated with the Second Defendant in writing her book. The pinnacle of their achievement came in 1996, when the Second Defendant, as she herself boasted to The Washington Post, was among those who put pressure on St. Martin’s Press, who had been one of my US publishers for some 15 years, to violate their publishing agreement with me and [in April 1996] abandon publication of Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich.

For a few days, these enemies of free speech stepped up the pressure. They publicized the private home addresses of St. Martin’s Press (SMP) executives on the Internet. They staged street demonstrations in Manhattan. They organized a walkout by SMP staff. When SMP refused to be intimidated, Lipstadt wheeled out the rhetoric: To Frank Rich, a columnist of The New York Times, she accused me of being a repeat killer: “What David Irving is doing ... is not the destruction of live people, but the destruction of people who already died. It’s killing them a second time. It’s killing history.” [New York Times, April 3, 1996.] This was not far distant from the outrageous claim on page 213 of her book, to which no justification has been pleaded, that I justified the incarceration of Jews in Nazi concentration camps. Quoted by The Washington Post on April 3, 1996, Deborah Lipstadt stated:

They say they don’t publish reputations, they publish books. But would they publish a book by Jeffrey Dahmer on man-boy relations? Of course the reputation of the author counts. And no legitimate historian takes David Irving’s work seriously.

We have heard quoted in this Court two tasteless remarks I am recorded as having made, about Chappaquiddick and about the Association of Spurious Survivors, and I do not deny that those words were tasteless. But bad taste is not what is in the pleadings, while express malice is: and the odiousness of Professor Lipstadt’s comparison, in a mass circulation newspaper of record, of a British author with Jeffrey Dahmer, a madman who had recently murdered and cannibalized a dozen homosexuals in the mid-West of the USA, is surely compounded by the fact that Lipstadt had at that time not read a single book I had written, let alone the manuscript on Dr. Goebbels that she had joined in trying to suppress. It is clear that neither she nor the ADL was concerned with the merits, or otherwise, of the Goebbels biography. They wanted it put down, suppressed, ausgerottet: and me with it.

Having, like St. Martin’s Press, thoroughly read it, the major US publisher Doubleday had selected this book as their May 1996 choice for History Book of the Month. But that deal depended on the SMP contract, and thus it too collapsed. The financial losses inflicted on me by this one episode in April 1996 were of the order of nearly half a million dollars (\$312,500), which might seem proper reward for the eight years’ hard work that I had invested in writing this book, and hauling it through its five draft versions.

From the publication of Hitler’s War onwards, the attitude of the print media to me changed. A strategically placed review written in one afternoon, by one man furnished with the appropriate dossier on me, could go a long way to destroy the product of six or eight years’ research. That was why these dossiers had been created.

To the right journalists or writers, such as the Second Defendant, these dossiers were on tap. A fax from Professor Lipstadt to the Institute of Jewish Affairs in London, or to the ADL in New York, or to the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Toronto, released to her a cornucopia of filth, which she had no need to double-check or verify, because in the United States such writings are protected by the authority of the First Amendment to the US Constitution, in the laudable name of the freedom of speech, or by the authority of *New York Times vs. Sullivan*, which effectively declares to libelers that it is open season on any public figure.

Thus my book *Uprising*, on the Hungarian uprising of 1956, published in 1981 by Hodder & Stoughton, was savaged by certain reviewers: Neal Ascherson, Arthur Koestler and others disliked it. Ion Trewin, then that firm's chief (and now head of Weidenfeld) wrote to me: "I must say I'm rather shocked by the abuse leveled at you from certain quarters — the obvious liberal ones of course." And Penguin Books, now Defendants in this action, wrote to me, "Criticism may have been occasionally necessary, but venom, though to be expected, was not called for." (Had that same firm remembered that dictum 15 years later, we should not be here today).

This unfair attack on my works was a source of great concern to me. Reviews are an author's life blood, but the trend of lying reviews continued. When *The War Between the Generals* (the Eisenhower and Montgomery story) was published in New York in 1981, one review in *The New York Times* on March 8 of that year by John Lukacs, to which I referred in Court, sank the book without trace, and in fact destroyed the highly reputable American publisher, a close personal friend of mine, too. I will not weary the Court with the precise mechanism by which one such review can inflict so much damage, but such is the power of the press.

Whenever I now appeared in the United States to lecture, there were well-orchestrated tumults. Well-meaning bodies were tricked by the vile propaganda into organizing against me. At the University of California at Berkeley there was violence on October 14, 1994, encouraged openly by the "Hillel" [Jewish campus organization] in conjunction with the Marxist and Spartacist organizations — they boasted about this to the campus newspapers — which the campus and city police forces were quite unable to control. One building was comprehensively wrecked, with tens of thousands of dollars of damage being done and several elderly members of my audience hospitalized.

This Court will surely not take it amiss of me that I refused to be intimidated by these truly "Nazi" methods, and that I have on a very few occasions used perhaps tasteless language about the perpetrators. The violence spread around the world, and always it was orchestrated by the same organizations.

It would be otiose to list them all here. Some of them [have been] ... On November 5, 1989, the Israelite Community of Vienna, Austria, called for violent action to stop me speaking in that city. I initiated police prosecution of the leader of the Community for his public incitement to violence.

In 1990 the two Canadian bodies, the League of Human Rights of the B'nai B'rith Canada and the Canadian Jewish Congress, announced that they were to "monitor" my tour of that country. "Monitoring" turns out to be euphemism for a campaign of letters, pressure, and threats of violence and commercial pressure against hotels, halls, and lecture-theatres that had been hired, and against which every body, student society, military institute, or group that had invited me to speak. Attempts to force the prestigious Ottawa Congress Center to violate its contract failed, resulting in a violent demonstration organized by the same two bodies. One such letter came into my hands, from the League of Human Rights of the B'nai B'rith Canada to an Ottawa restaurant

owner written in September 1991. Its content, which I shall not quote here — it is in the evidence before Your Lordship — shows clearly the methods used to get hall owners to violate their contracts. They did this to us, acting as Jews; if we had done the same to them, as Jews, the uproar would have been intense.

To a visiting lecturer and writer like myself, a guest in their countries, finding myself up against powerful and wealthy political lobbies, the situation was deeply disturbing. My livelihood and personal safety were at stake, but I was determined not to be browbeaten or defeated. Seen from the outside, at first this campaign, this huge international endeavor against me, appeared to be coincidental; but eventually it began to bite. Perhaps publishers are made of less stern stuff than myself. After Andrew Lownie, my new UK literary agent, wrote warning me that four major UK publishers “just do not want to be associated” with me, on November 30, 1990, I wrote expressing astonishment and concern at how rapidly this situation had developed, and stating: “I have begun to suspect a concerted effort ... to rob me of my publishing basis, not just in the UK but worldwide.”

In England a parallel campaign was launched by the [Jewish] Board of Deputies, and by other organizations which we know to have collaborated with the Defendants in producing this libelous book. This had kicked into high gear after my own imprint [Focal Point] published an abridged edition of the Leuchter Report in June 1989. Pressure was put on the World Trade Centre in the City of London to repudiate our contract for the press conference. A picket was staged outside our front door to prevent journalists from attending when the conference was switched to my own home. The Board arranged an early day motion in the House of Commons, as a privileged way of publishing a smear on my name. On June 30 of that year the Jewish Chronicle revealed that representations had been made to my principal British and Commonwealth publisher, Macmillan, to drop me as an author.

Macmillan had already published several of my books, and were under contract to publish several more. I had no fears that they would succumb to this intimidation. They had informed me that Hitler’s War was running so successfully that they intended to keep it permanently in print. I am entitled to mention this background, as I have mentioned the Board’s other clandestine activities against me, because it was said by Mr. Rampton that I later made one public tasteless remark (in October 1991) about the Board of Deputies. If somebody attacks, using secretive and furtive means, the very basis of the existence of my family then it may be at least understandable that I speak ill of them.

It is worth mentioning that when I invited Mr. Leuchter privately to address my Clarendon Club at Chelsea Town Hall in November 1991, the [Jewish] Board tried strenuously to have him gagged. They just do not understand the word “debate.” They piled pressure onto Kenneth Baker, then the Home Secretary, to stop him coming, and Ben Helfgott of the Holocaust Education Trust, of whom we will shortly hear more, threatened in July 1991 that “violence would greet the revisionists if they were allowed in.” Secretly, on July 17, 1991 — 50 years to the day after Hitler granted police powers to Himmler in the occupied Soviet Union — the Board of Deputies wrote to the president of Germany’s Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV), a body of which we have heard greatly admiring words from [defendants’ witness] Professor Funke; this English Board urged that they take steps to stop me, a British citizen like no doubt the members of the Board, from entering Germany.

Germany is a country on whose publishers and archives I have been heavily dependent, as the Court is aware. We have only the BfV’s reply, dated August 9, 1991, to Neville Nagler of the Board of Deputies. I retrieved a copy of this letter from the files of the Prime Minister of Aus-

tralia; so the same Board, in London, had evidently also secretly sent its dossiers to its collaborators in Canberra, and no doubt other countries, in its efforts to gag me worldwide. That is an indication of the world-wide networking that went on, this secret common enterprise, this frantic international endeavor to destroy my legitimacy as an historian and to deprive me of free speech, of which the Defendants have made themselves the willing executioners.

As is evident from a letter from the Austrian ambassador dated June 22, 1992, the Board also applied pressure on that country to ensure that I did not enter, or that I was to be arrested if I did. The equivalent Argentinean body, the DAIA, launched a well coordinated smear on me when I arrived in Argentina in October 1991 to lecture, in Spanish and German, on historical themes at universities and to private associations. When the DAIA headquarters building was blown up with heavy loss of life a few months later, it now was inevitable that my name would be linked with that outrage too, and my Argentinean publisher was obliged in consequence to abandon its contracts with me, as they revealed privately in a letter to me. (Four years later the similar lie was circulated that I was directly involved in the Oklahoma City bombing.)

These tides of hatred and suppression lapped at the doors of my London publishers. On November 27, 1991, a note appeared in the internal files of my publisher Macmillan, listing the remaining stocks of my books and the current contract positions. This was an ominous sign. In another internal Macmillan memorandum, editor-in-chief Alan Gordon Walker stated to his editors, "We will not publish Irving again." I was not told this; in fact my own editor there continued to write oleaginous letters to me, as they were waiting for the Goebbels biography which they had paid for, and which was under contract.

What had happened meanwhile? Firstly, I had established my own publishing imprint which was capable of producing a better quality of book than Macmillan was currently achieving, while using the same printing firm in Somerset. The new omnibus edition of Hitler's War, published in November 1991, was one of its first products. This was just as well. On December 6, 1991, an Internal Office Memo from Macmillan's files records that "quite a number of people" had commented unfavorably to Macmillan's about them publishing my books, and one person, an unnamed "Oxford Professor of Politics," who had evidently learned nothing from the book burning episodes of Nazi Germany, stating "that they would be more inclined to publish with us [Macmillan] if we were not publishing Irving." (The Oxford professor of politics was probably Peter Pulzer, identified by Lipstadt in her book as such and quoted by The Independent at the time).

This campaign had been coordinated by the Board of Deputies. In some of its members, it seems that the illiberal spirit of Dr. Goebbels lived on behind the Board's facade. Meeting behind locked doors at their headquarters on December 12, 1991, a body identified as the "Education and Academic Committee" of the Holocaust Educational Trust, registered as a charitable body, had a conference on several matters, of which one point specifically indicated that those present, including Mr. Helfgott, were searching for ways to silence my publications. After this meeting, minutes were written, including this point 6:

David Irving: Concern was voiced over the publication of the 2nd edition of Hitler's War. There was debate over how to approach Macmillan publishers over Goebbels diary. It was agreed to await new[s] from Jeremy Coleman before deciding what action to take.

We know more of this meeting from the statement to this Court by my witness Dr. John Fox, who was present at this cabal in his capacity as editor of The British Journal of Holocaust Education. He testifies:

As an independently-minded historian, I was affronted by the suggestion concerning Mr. David Irving ... At a certain point in the meeting, attention turned to the subject of Mr. Irving and reports that the publishing company of Macmillan would be publishing his biography of Joseph Goebbels. Mr. Ben Helfgott, the Chairman of the main United Kingdom Yad Vashem Committee, spoke about how that publication by that publishing firm might be stopped. Mr. Helfgott then turned to me, the only non-Jew present at the meeting, and suggested that “John could approach Macmillan to get them to stop publication.”

I refused point-blank to accede to that suggestion, arguing that in a democracy such as ours one simply could not do such a thing. That amounted to censorship, especially since nobody present had the least idea what Mr. Irving’s biography of Goebbels would contain. For me, such attempted censorship was totally unacceptable. I said that if people did not like what Mr. Irving wrote, the time to respond to him was when anything was actually published. I — and to their credit, at least two other (Jewish) committee members — rejected Mr. Helfgott’s proposal out of hand.

Nevertheless, as the Committee minutes make it clear, it was planned by some to consider further action about how best to scupper Mr. Irving’s publishing plans with Macmillan.

The clandestine pressure on Macmillan’s began at once. My editor at Macmillan’s, Roland Philipps, who had married the new Managing Director Felicity Rubinstein, noted in an internal memo of January 2, 1992, that they should reassure prospective authors that they had turned down many other book proposals from me, and had no plans to continue publishing me after Goebbels. It was not the bravest of postures to adopt, this Court might think. “If this helps you to reassure any prospective authors we are happy for you to say it (although not too publicly if possible).” The desire of Macmillan’s for this stab in the back to be kept secret from their own highly successful author is understandable. Their ultimate stab in the back was, however, still to come, in the summer of 1992.

In May 1992 we find Deborah Lipstadt providing a list of her personal targets, including now myself, to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington; she advised the USHMM to contact Gail Gans at the Research Department of the ADL in New York City for additional names, and “tell her I told you to call her.” This establishes that the Defendants considered that the Museum, a US taxpayer-funded body, was actively participating in their network, and the Museum duly provided press clippings from London newspapers relating to me, which have now turned up in the Defendants’ files.

The attempts to suffocate my publishing career continued. A second arm of this attack also needs to be mentioned. Since my own imprint would not be intimidated as easily as Macmillan’s, or indeed at all, the hostile groups applied pressure to major bookselling chains to burn or destroy my books, and in particular the new edition of Hitler’s War. Some of the press clippings reporting this nasty campaign ... include reports of a sustained campaign of window smashing of the branches of Waterstone’s bookstore in the biggest Midlands cities, after complaints by “local Jewish and anti-racist groups.”

Waterstones informed one Newcastle newspaper that they were taking the book off public shelves “following a number of vandal attacks on book stores across the country.” The Nottingham Waterstones took the book off display after a brick was thrown through its window. The campaign was clearly centrally coordinated from London. None of this was reported in the national press, but one would have thought that these groups would have recognized the bad karma

in any campaign of smashing windows or burning books. I wrote privately to Tim Waterstone guaranteeing to indemnify his chain for their costs of any uninsured claims. He refused to be intimidated by the campaign, which is one reason why I removed the names of four Waterstones branch employees from the list of Defendants in this action at an early stage. Others took a different line. According to the Evening Standard, Mr. Ivan Lawrence, a QC [Queen's Counsel], MP [Member of Parliament], and a member of the Board of Deputies, justified the vandals who committed the window smashing and book burning outrages (while formally "condemning" them).

The Board was at this time actively organizing violent demonstrations outside my residence. Its address appeared on at least one leaflets posted over the West End calling for demonstrations outside my private address. The Campaign against Fascism in Europe (CAFE, a body identified by a Sunday Express investigation as a Mossad front), set up a "broad based temporary united front" in a "Committee to Stop Irving." Its primary purpose was to stage what it called "a mass militant demonstration" to prevent me from lecturing to a private seminar in Central London on July 4, 1992, (the topic was Freedom of Speech); it called for "a working class alliance of ... black, Jewish, lesbian and gay" communities. The leaflets which this faceless body handed out in the West End stated that I "whitewash Nazi crimes and incite racist murder." I gave copies of these leaflets to the police. The resulting demonstration was violent and pointless, because I was still in Moscow. A photograph in The Observer shows one of the CAFE posters reading "Gas Irving Now!" The newspaper reported that seven people were arrested in the violence, and that my home was under round-the-clock police guard. It quoted me as saying that I had received four or five death threats in the last 24 hours. "For 30 years I have been subjected to a reign of terror."

The same newspaper reported that the Anti-Nazi League and its parent body, the Board of Deputies, were applying pressure to The Sunday Times to violate its contract with me. One reason why I mention all of this may well be apparent to Your Lordship: when I made remarks about certain of my critics, occasionally using vivid language, I had reason.

As an indication of the pressure my family was under: the West End Central Police station telephoned to ask permission to film the interior of my residence, in case we had to be rescued. An officer informed me that they had received information of a planned attack. For twelve months after our young child was born, we lived with a wicker Moses basket in the furthest corner of our apartment, near a window, attached to a length of wire rope in case the building was set on fire and we had to lower her to safety. I arranged with the Grosvenor Estate to increase the fire safety precautions in the building. I have lived since then with a four foot steel spike stowed in a strategic point inside my apartment. No historian should have to live with his family in a civilized city under such conditions. An orchestrated barrage of abuse and death threats began on my unlisted phone number. One of them I recorded. It is one of the transcripts which the Defendants have not shown to Your Lordship.

At the same time as they organized this campaign of intimidation, and the attacks on my London and foreign publishers, the Board and its collaborating foreign bodies did what they could to hamper my freedom of movement. On April 1, 1992, South Africa informed me that I would no longer be allowed to enter the country. On June 5, 1992, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies wrote a letter to Michael Whine, executive director of the corresponding London Board, gloating over this success. An Israeli survey on subsequent events summarized: "In 1993 the controversial right-wing historian David Irving was granted a three month visa to visit South Africa on condition that he refrain from addressing any public gathering. The South African Jewish Board of Deputies objected to the visit. In December it was reported in the press that Irving had been refused the special permission he needed to visit South Africa during 1994." (It has taken Nelson Mandela and the ANC to lift this ban imposed by the outgoing regime.)

On June 9, 1992, I was denied entry to Italy to address university students in Rome. That bars me from access to the Archivi Segreti del Stato, the Italian state archives in which I worked on Mussolini's papers.

In Canada, Sol Littman, director of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Toronto, joined this formidable international endeavor to destroy my career. Once again we do not have to rely on something as vague as a scholarly "consensus," or on the opinion of "the social sciences," to learn what happened. Quoting Littman in their global report Response at the end of 1992, the parent Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles boasted:

Alerted through its international contacts that Irving was about to begin his 1992 [Canadian] tour, the Wiesenthal Center was determined to drop Irving in his tracks to prevent him from entering Canada. A legal research team provided the Canadian Department of Immigration with a brief pointing to Irving's conviction in Germany

-- which [conviction] was for describing the Krematorium I ["gas chamber"] currently on display to tourists at Auschwitz, truthfully, as a fake.

The League of Human Rights of B'nai B'rith Canada made a similar boast in its confidential annual report to the 1993 B'nai B'rith Canada convention. Dr. Karen Mock bragged in this document — and I rely on this too as proof of the international nature of this endeavor, to which the Defendants on this action have added their weight:

British Holocaust denier David Irving attempted to conduct one of his cross-Canada tours in 1992, but thanks in part to League [that is, League of Human Rights of B'nai B'rith Canada] interventions, and excellent co-operation between a number of police agencies and government departments, Irving was arrested and deported. He is no longer permitted to enter Canada without ministerial consent. In both these cases, the League worked to warn the Immigration department of these individuals' impending visit and provided information to government officials. Australian and South African Jewish communities have used materials provided by the League to lobby their governments for similar treatment of Irving.

Where did the Canadian "materials" come from? Michael Whine, executive director of the Board of Deputies, unashamedly revealed the answer in an affidavit sworn in November 1996. He swore this affidavit in connection with the libel action that I later sought to bring against the Board. He confirmed that in response to an appeal by the Wiesenthal Centre in Toronto for dirt that they could plant on government files in Canada — a country I have visited countless times since the 1960s — the Board of Deputies furnished to their Canadian counterparts two "confidential" intelligence reports that they had concocted on me; the second such report was covered by a letter dated June 17, 1992. The letter also relayed to Toronto reports from similar Jewish organizations in Cape Town and Germany, boasting of their success in getting me banned from South Africa and fined in Germany.

The intelligence reports which Whine has admitted he furnished to his Canadian friends contained vicious and damaging libels: I was said to have married the daughter of one of General Franco's top generals to ingratiate myself with the Spanish Falangist movement. This gives a clue to the fantasy world that the Whines of this world live in. "Uncorroborated evidence," the document continued, "implies that Irving has been the recipient of substantial funding from unknown sources. It has repeatedly rumored that these sources are Nazis." I had been, the report stated confidently, "active in the British Union of Fascists." That was another lie. There were hints that I had maintained improper relations with the East German authorities, and the totally

untrue statement that during the 1970s “Irving appeared annually on the public list of 'Enemies of the State'” compiled by the German Office for the Protection of the Constitution. And so on.

When I found out — too late — that this fake evidence had been planted on Canadian files, I was angered and astounded that a British organization could be secretly doing this to British citizens. It turned out from these files that academics with whom I had freely corresponded and exchanged information, including Gerald Fleming, had been acting as agents and informants for this body. I submit that these are the bodies that collaborated directly or indirectly with the Defendants in the preparation of the book, and that the Defendants, knowing of the obvious fantasy in some of what they said, should have shown greater caution in accepting their materials as true.

There was an immediate consequence of this fake data planted on Canadian files. One data report recorded the “fact” that I had written many books denying the Holocaust. That was of course untrue. In August 1992 a docket was placed on Canadian Immigration files about me, saying among other things, “Subject is Holocaust denier, may be inadmissible” under section A19(1)(d)(1) of the Act. The Canadian government had been provided by the Wiesenthal Centre with a list of my proposed travel dates across Canada in October and November 1992. After more lying data was placed on Ottawa files about me, which I have since retrieved by the Access to Information Act, a letter was sent to me by courier stating that I might not be allowed to enter Canada. I did so, legally, on October 26; I was arrested on October 28 at Vancouver, and deported permanently from Canada on November 13, 1992, causing me great damage and financial loss. [See “Irving’s Most Un-Excellent Adventure,” Jan.-Feb. 1993 Journal.] Access to the Public Archives of Canada was as essential for my future research as access to the Public Record Office in Kew [England] or those archives in Italy. That is one proof of the direct and immediate cost of the pernicious label, “Holocaust denier.”

There was at this time also a determined attempt to secure my exclusion from the United States. If successful, this would finally have sabotaged my career. A document, purporting to be an official US government intelligence (of the Office of Special Investigations), was circulated about me. On my protest to the US security authorities, they were good enough to confirm to me, after making inquiries, that it was a fake. In the same month, when I arrived at Washington’s Dulles airport I was held in immigration custody for several hours. A senior official then apologized to me that their inquiries had determined that somebody had planted a forged dossier about me on their Immigration Service computer in an attempt to keep me out. “A yard and a half of garbage,” was how he described it. The US government again apologized to me, and assured me in writing that the computer file had now been cleansed. A few months later Washington-area Jewish organizations started putting pressure on the big bookstore chains to stop selling my books, but here they met with blank refusals to comply. [“Area book chains sell work of Hitler apologist,” Washington Jewish Week, May 26, 1994, pp. 6, 19.]

The Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Toronto, which had orchestrated the Canadian attack on my freedoms, prepared similar intelligence reports of its own on me, and one of these eventually came to light — though not without difficulty — in Professor Lipstadt’s Discovery in this action, with a covering letter from its chief executive, Sol Littman, addressed to Professor Lipstadt, the Second Defendant. It goes in my submission to other issues in this action, namely damages and costs, that it required me to issue a summons and make an application for a court order to enforce the proper disclosure of these items; and that copies of the documents to which I was entitled under Order 24 were withheld from me until the eve of the hearing of my application; and that Mishcon de Reya [defendants’ London law firm] only then furnished me with photocopies of the document, and with a covering letter which had seemingly been backdated — the postmark was dated after the receipt of my summons.

In a letter to Professor Lipstadt, Sol Littman asked her to recognize that one intelligence report was “not for publication or direct quotation.” “It contains,” he explained, “many phrases and comments that neither you or I would use in a situation which clearly involves considerable delicacy.” The paper itself, which was originally disclosed to me shorn of any indication of institution, or author, or date, was entitled “History Rewritten: The World of David Irving.” It listed a number of quotations from my works, but confirmed what it called my “enticing writing style and thorough archival research,” and complained that I continued revisionist themes “interspersed with genuine historical insight.”

Claiming that it was my underlying purpose to rehabilitate Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich, the anonymous Canadian author stated these words, words coming from my enemies which characterize the whole of the global endeavor to silence me: “Given this accurate version of reality, it is all the more clear why his activities must be curtailed, and why his alleged legitimacy must be eradicated.”

I make no apology for quoting that sentence in full again, notwithstanding Mr. Littman’s desire that it should not be quoted. The word eradicated may even jar us all somewhat, after two months of debate about meanings of *ausrotten* [“eradicate,” “root out,” “wipe out,” “exterminate”], but the fact remains that this is what these enemies of free speech have tried for 30 years to do — by hook or by crook, to ruin me, and to destroy my hard won legitimacy as one of the world’s most original and incorruptible writers on the Third Reich and its history.

Writing in Response [Winter 1992], the Wiesenthal Center world report, Sol Littman reported from Canada that “while David Irving squirmed, bullied, and lied, in the end he was booted out of Canada, never to return without the express permission of the Immigration Minister.” The Jewish Chronicle reported on November 13, 1992, that Bernie Farber, national director of the Canadian Jewish Congress, had stated that I was “finished” in North America, which seems therefore to have been their common intent. Mr. Farber was to have been one of the witnesses of fact chosen by the Defendants; he has recently been disallowed by Canadian courts from appearing as a witness in a similar case, because he is held to be prejudiced. His evidence is no longer before this Court.

I now come to Macmillan’s final stab in the back. That is, the hand on the blade was Macmillan’s, but the blade had been forged and fashioned by all the Defendants in this courtroom, and by their hidden collaborators overseas. On July 4, 1992, as this Court knows, I had returned from Moscow with the missing entries of the Goebbels diaries exclusively in my possession, having gone there on behalf of The Sunday Times. This hard-earned triumph caught my opponents unawares. Newspapers revealed that the ADL and its Canadian collaborator, the League of Human Rights of B’nai B’rith Canada, sent immediate secret letters to Andrew Neil at The Sunday Times demanding that he repudiate their contract with me. On Sunday, July 5, the London Sunday newspapers were full of the scoop, and also with hostile comment. On Monday, July 6, The Independent newspaper reported under the headline “Jews Attack Publisher of Irving Book,” that a UK body which it identified as “the Yad Vashem Trust” was piling pressure on Macmillan’s to abandon its contract with me to publish my forthcoming biography of Goebbels, failing which they would urge booksellers not to stock or promote it.

Macmillan’s finally took fright that same day, as I only now know. After their directors inquired, in an internal memo, how many of my books were still in their stocks, and having been given totals of several thousand copies of all three volumes of my Hitler biography, representing a value of several hundred thousands pounds, my own editor Roland Philipps on July 6 issued the secret order reading: “Please arrange for the remaining stock of [Irving’s Hitler’ War] to be destroyed.

Many thanks.” They prepared a “draft announcement,” but it was not released. Although still a Macmillan author, I was not told. The royalties due to me on the sale of those books were lost, destroyed with them. The Defendants' campaign to destroy my legitimacy as a historian, of which the book published by the Defendants became an integral part, had thus reached its first climax.

Macmillan was still under contract to publish my Goebbels biography. In September that year, 1992, still not suspecting that they had done the dirty on me and destroyed my books, I wrote to them asking them to revert all rights in that new biography to me. Allan Brooke of Hodder Headline, the second biggest UK publishing group, made a very satisfactory offer two years later for the rights; he had published my books before while at Michael Joseph. Within a few days however the offer had been formally withdrawn — something which had never happened to me in a lifetime of publishing. Brooke told me that he had come under pressure to revoke his offer. The Defendants' book had now been published and was now, as yet unknown to me, in the bookstores.

The campaign to silence me was on a broad front, indeed a global scale, but it also took unusual and petty forms. For 25 years I had spoken as a guest at my old school, twice a year, to history classes and sixth formers. On September 19, 1992, the school informed me in a letter that, under “pressure which built up yesterday from Jewish parents, the Anti-Nazi League and ... the press,” they had to withdraw their latest invitation, which they recognized as “a sad day for the school and for freedom of speech.” When my club held a private lecture-meeting that same month, leaflets and stickers appeared all over the west end with slogans like “Stop the fascist agitators,” “No more Rostocks” (a reference to an incident in which an asylum seekers' hostel was burned down), and, more threateningly, “meet at Irving's home,” and providing my private address. The global nature of all this is evident from an Israeli survey issued in Tel Aviv “in co-operation with the [New York based] ADL.” This stated, among successes in preventing various meetings and lectures from occurring, that “in London the Jewish community and other groups worked together ... and made it difficult for David Irving and his followers to maintain the fiction of the 'Clarendon Club'.”

Letters obtained by legal methods in Canada show that on October 21 and November 3, 1992, the Board of Deputies applied secret pressure on the German embassy to stop me, a British citizen like themselves, from entering Germany. If a ban was applied, it would spell the end for me as a World War II historian because I could no longer reach my publishers, or access my own collections there of valuable documents which I had donated to the German archives, let alone the archives of the German government.

Australia was the next country to be worked over. The Israeli document quoted above reported unhappily on the press backlash that had arisen from pressure applied to the Australian government to silence me, which, it said, had attracted editorials in major Australian newspapers unfavorable to the Jewish community: “The implication was that a minority group, with extraordinary clout, had pressured the Australian government to act against the country's interest.” Nothing, they implied, could be further from the truth. [See “Victory for Irving in Australia Free Speech Struggle,” Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal, pp. 12-15.]

What had happened was this: In September 1992 I announced to Australian university professors that I would be visiting their continent for a third lecture tour early the following year. Alerted to this tour by the German professor Konrad Kwiet, one of the Holocaust experts I had written to, the same organizations applied secret pressure on the then prime minister, Paul Keating, to refuse me entry. The Australian Jewish News set up a hue and cry, reporting that I had “sneaked into

Canada,” to give lectures “denying the Holocaust really happened,” and stating that I “incite the gullible to racist violence,” and that I “have a record of contempt for anti-racism and immigration laws.” Every single one of these statements was a lie.

But the lying was now getting out of hand. When a Munich Court [in January 1993] increased the fine on me for denouncing the Krema I [“gas chamber”] building at Auschwitz as a postwar fake, the Board of Deputies issued a press release calling me a “Nazi propagandist” who has attended Nazi training camps, and they welcomed the trebling of the fine [to 30,000 marks]. Not surprisingly, no British newspaper dared to reproduce such libels, but a copy is, significantly, in Professor Lipstadt’s discovery. I am of course barred from using it as the basis for the action which it deserved.

Opponents released to Australian television the heavily edited version of Michael Schmidt’s 1991 videotape of me addressing the crowd at Halle [Germany]. As edited, it omitted my visible and audible rebuke to a section of the crowd for chanting Hitler slogans. Grotesque libels about me swamped the Australian press, printed by various organizations including the New South Wales Board of Deputies and the Australian Jewish News (February 5, 12, and 19, 1993). One example was an article by a lecturer in politics: “He [Irving] has a history of exciting neo-Nazi and skinhead groups in Germany which had burned migrant hostels and killed people ... Irving has frequently spoken in Germany at rallies ... under the swastika flag ... himself screaming the Nazi salute ...” Unsurprisingly in retrospect, on February 8, 1993, the Australian government announced, though to the astonishment of the regular Australian national press, that I was to be refused a visa as I was a “Holocaust denier.” They had thus adopted the phrase that the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] prides herself on having invented.

The new and very damaging ban on visiting Australia now made it impossible for me to work again in the National Library of Australia in Canberra. At great personal expense I appealed to the Australian Federal Court. The Court declared the minister’s refusal of a visa to be illegal. The government in Canberra therefore changed the law in February 1994 to keep me out, and on May 3, 1994, they again refused my application for entry. We note from Professor Lipstadt’s own Discovery that the immigration minister faxed the decision direct to one of her source-agencies that same afternoon.

In July 1994, as the resulting fresh legal actions which I had started against the government still raged, the Second Defendant was invited by Australian organizations, all expenses paid, to visit their country; she was to be hired to tour Australia, and to slander my name and reputation and add her voice to the campaign to have me refused entry. The Court will perhaps remember the Australian TV video which I showed, entitled “The Big Lie.” Broadcast on July 1994, it showed both the [Defendants’] expert witness Professor Van Pelt, and Fred Leuchter standing on the roof of the Krema II [structure at Birkenau], which Van Pelt declared to be the center of the Nazi genocide, and the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] being interviewed while still in Australia (and refusing once again to “debate” with the revisionists, rather as she has obstinately refused to go into the witness stand here). Thus I found myself excluded from Australia and, inevitably, New Zealand too. I lost the ability to visit my many hundreds of my friends down under, and my own daughter too, who is an Australian citizen; and I lost all the bookshop sales that this ban implied in Australia — where my Churchill’s War biography had hit the No. 1 spot on the best seller lists.

There was one interesting little postscript which helps to tie all these things together: I produced a video, a rather unpretentious document entitled “The Search for Truth in History,” which was to travel the Australian continent until I could again enter myself. A closed session of the video censorship authority in Sydney was convened, at the request of the special interest groups who

urgently wanted to suppress my video. Afterwards, the security authorities discovered that a hidden microphone had been planted in the chamber. Indicating that he already had the answer, the leader of the opposition, Tim Fisher, challenged the government to admit that it was planted by the Mossad. This is an indication that some very dangerous forces indeed had aligned themselves behind the Second Defendant and against me.

My lecturing engagements in the British Isles came under similar attack. In the past I had often spoken to universities and debating societies, including the Oxford and Cambridge Unions. But now, in one month, in October 1993, when I was invited to speak to prestigious bodies at three major Irish universities, I found all three invitations canceled under pressure and the threat of local Jewish and “anti-fascist” organizations. The irony will not elude the Court that these Defendants on the one hand have claimed by way of defense that I speak only to the far-right and neo-Nazi element, as they describe it, and that it turns out their own associates are the people who have done their damndest to make it impossible for many others to invite me.

Deborah Lipstadt had meanwhile made some progress with her book. She told her publisher that she had written a certain statement “with the marketing people in mind” — in other words, sometimes money mattered more than content. She had revealed in September 1991: “I have also spoken to people in England who have a large cache of material on David Irving’s ‘conversion’ to denial.” We don’t know, but we can of course readily suspect, who in this case those “people” were. She is, once again, not presenting herself for cross-examination, so there are many things we cannot ask her ...

In the light of Mr. Rampton’s strictures on my now famous little ditty, supposedly urging my nine-month old little girl not to marry outside her own people, I should also have wanted to ask questions of Professor Lipstadt’s views on race. We know that she has written papers, and delivered many fervent lectures, on the vital importance of people marrying only within their own race. (“We know what we fight against ...,” she wrote, “intermarriage and Israel-bashing, but what is it we fight for?”) She has attracted much criticism from many in her own community for her implacable stance against mixed marriages. In one writing Lipstadt quotes a Wall Street Journal interview with a Conservative Rabbi, Jack Moline, whom she called “very brave” for listing ten things that Jewish parents should say to their children: “Number one on his list,” she wrote (in fact it was number three), “was ‘I expect you to marry Jews’.” My one little ditty was a perhaps tasteless joke. Professor Lipstadt’s repeated denunciation of mixed marriages addressed to adults was deadly serious.

Professor Lipstadt accuses me of error and falsification, but is apparently unable to spot a fake even at a relatively close range. She has admitted, according to Professor Peter Novick, that she used the memoirs of the spurious Auschwitz survivor Benjamin Wilkomirski in her teaching of the Holocaust. Those “memoirs” have now been exposed, worldwide, as fraudulent. When it turned out the Wilkomirski had never been near the camp, or in Poland for that matter, but had spent the war years in comfort living with his adopted Swiss family, she acknowledged that this “might complicate matters somewhat,” but she insisted that the Wilkomirski “memoirs” would still be “powerful” as a novel. [See “Holocaust Memoir Exposed as Fraud,” Sept.-Oct. 1998 Journal, pp. 15-16.] It may seem unjust to Your Lordship that it is I who have had to answer this person’s allegation that I distort and manipulate historical sources.

We have Professor Lipstadt’s handwritten notes, evidently prepared for a talk delivered to the ADL in Palm Beach, Florida, in early 1994. In these, if I have read her handwriting correctly — and she appears to be relying on something that Lord Bullock had just said — she states that my aim seems to be to de-demonize Hitler; and that I had said that FDR, Hitler, and Churchill were

all equally criminal. This is hardly “exonerating” any of them. Summarizing Hitler’s War (the 1977 edition), she calls me merely a “historian with a revisionist bent” like A.J.P. Taylor — and she adds, and this seems significant — “Irving denies that Hitler was responsible for the murder of European Jewry. Rather, he claims that Himmler was responsible. But he does not deny its occurrence.” Had she stuck with that view, which is a very fair summary of my views both then and now, she and we would not find ourselves here now.

But she was led astray. She fell in with bad company, or associates. These things happen. We know that, in conducting her research for the book, she spoke with the Board of Deputies, the Institute of Jewish Affairs, and other such worthy bodies, since she thanks them all in her introduction.

Some time in 1992 her book was complete in its first draft, and she sent it to the people who were paying her, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. We do not know what was in the book, since I cannot question the Second Defendant and she has not disclosed that early draft, with Professor Yehuda Bauer’s “scribbles” on it, in her sworn list of documents. It was clearly discoverable. We do know however what was not in it: we know that there was no mention of Hezbollah and Hamas and Louis Farrakhan and the November 1992 terrorists in Stockholm, or of the lie about my speaking on the same platform with them; in fact we also know that in this first draft I was merely mentioned in passing. This is evident from the letter which Professor Yehuda Bauer wrote, congratulating her on November 27, 1992: Bauer complained that the book lacked the “worldwide perspective,” and said: “Irving is mentioned, but not that he is the mainstay of Holocaust denial today in Western Europe.”

Somehow, therefore, I had to be shoe-horned into the text before publication. Bauer also urged her not to write things that inadvertently might convince the reader that there was “something” to what revisionists (“deniers”) said, although that is hardly a true scholar’s method, to suppress mention of opposing arguments. In a letter to Anthony Lerman of the Institute of Jewish Affairs (the same Mr. Lerman who would later spread the lying word that I had supplied the trigger mechanism for the Oklahoma City Bomb), Lipstadt revealed that there was an “earlier incarnation” of the book: that “earlier incarnation” has not been disclosed in her sworn list either. She had been ordered to swear an affidavit on her list. When I made a subsequent complaint about deficient discovery, her solicitors reminded me that I could not go behind her affidavit until she presented herself for cross examination. This chance has been denied to me.

Lipstadt spent much of that last month of 1992 putting me into the book, and so herself, into this courtroom today. They were the weeks after the spectacular success of the global campaign to destroy my legitimacy, which culminated in getting me deported in manacles from Canada on November 13. “I am just finishing up the book,” she wrote to Lerman on December 18, “and as you can well imagine David Irving figures into it quite prominently.” She pleaded with Lerman to provide, indeed to fax to her urgently, materials from “your files.” Your Lordship may think that this haste to wield the hatchet compares poorly with the kind of in-depth, years-long research which I conducted on my biographical subjects. “I think he [Irving] is one of the more dangerous figures around,” she added, pleading the urgency. It was a spectacular epiphany, this Court might think, given that only three weeks earlier the manuscript barely mentioned me, as Bauer had complained.

Lerman faxed his materials to her a few days later: we don’t know precisely what, as here too the Defendants’ Discovery is only fragmentary, and these items were provided to me only in response to a summons.

That is an outline of the damage, and the people, including specifically the Defendants in this action, who were behind it. Mr. Rampton suggested at a very early stage that I had brought all of this on myself, that I had even deserved it — he was talking about the hate-wreath that was sent to me on the death of my daughter. We shall see.

Auschwitz Concentration Camp

Auschwitz has been a football of politicians and statesmen ever since World War II. The site has become, like the Holocaust itself, an industry, a big business in the most tasteless way. The area is, I am informed, overgrown with fast food restaurants, souvenir and trinket shops, motels, and the like. Under prime minister Josef Cyrankiewicz (who had been prisoner number 62,993) it was known at its opening in 1948 as a “monument to the martyrdom of the Polish and other peoples.”

Auschwitz was overrun by the Red Army in January 1945. The last prisoner had received the tattooed number 202,499. Informed by Colonel-General Heinz Guderian that the Russians had captured Auschwitz, Hitler is recorded by the stenographers as merely acknowledging: “Yes.” The Court might find it significant that he did not prick up his ears and say something like, “Herr Himmler, I hope you made sure that the Russians will find not the slightest trace of what we have been up to.” (Or even, “I hope you managed to get those holes in the roof slab of Krema II cemented over so there’s no trace, before you blew it up.” I will shortly explain the significance of that.) When the name of SS Gruppenführer Hans Kammler, the architect of the concentration camps, was mentioned to him a few days later by Goebbels, it was evident that even Kammler’s name meant little to Hitler.

How many had died at Auschwitz? We still do not know with certainty, because the tragic figure has become an object of politics too. Professor Arno Mayer, Professor of European History at the University of Princeton, a scholar of considerably greater renown than Professor Evans, and himself a Jew, expressed the view in one book [his 1989 study, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The 'Final Solution' in History*, p. 365] that most of the victims of the camp died of exhaustion and epidemics. “... From 1942 to 1945, certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes than by 'unnatural' ones.”

The Russians who captured the camp did not at first make any mention in their news reports of “gas chambers” ... The Russians set up an inquiry including some very well known names — including “experts” who had examined the “Nazi mass graves” at Katyn, and even the notorious [Soviet geneticist Trofim] Lysenko, and they announced that four million had been murdered at Auschwitz. Under the Polish Communists, a monument to “four million dead” was duly erected, a number adhered to until the 1990s, even under Franciszek Piper, one of the later (but still Communist) directors of the Auschwitz State Museum Archives. After the Communist regime ended that the figure was brought down, to 1.5 million, and then to 750,000 by the acknowledged expert Jean-Claude Pressac. The Defendants’ own expert Peter Longerich spoke of one million deaths there from all causes, and in response to cross-examination by myself and to Your Lordship’s queries Dr. Longerich confirmed that he included all non-homicidal deaths, deaths “from other causes,” including epidemics and exhaustion, in that figure.

As for the overall death roll of the Holocaust, what meaning can one attach to figures? The International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg found that “the policy pursued resulted in the killing of six million Jews, of which four million were killed in the extermination institutions.” But the six million figure derives, as US chief prosecutor Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson recorded in his diary in June 1945, from a back of the envelope calculation by the American Jewish lead-

ers with whom he met in New York. [See D. Irving, *Nuremberg: The Last Battle*, 1996, pp. 61-62.] Professor Raul Hilberg put the figure at 5.1 million or less. Gerald Reitlinger [in his book, *The Final Solution*] had the figure at 4.6 million, of which he stated about three million were conjectural as it was not known how many Jews had escaped into the unoccupied part of the USSR. The Israeli Prime Minister's office, we are told by Norman Finkelstein, recently stated that there were still nearly one million living survivors. [See R. Faurisson, "Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism," Jan.-Feb. Journal, pp. 8-9.]

There are doubts not only about precise figures but also about specific events. The same [Nuremberg] IMT ruled on October 1, 1946, that the Nazis had attempted to "utilize the fat from the bodies of the victims in the commercial manufacture of soap." In 1990 historian Shmuel Krakowski of [Israel's] Yad Vashem [center] announced in the world's press that that too had been a ("Nazi") propaganda lie. Gradually the wartime stories have been dismantled. As more documents have been found, widely stated propositions have been found to be doubtful. [See "Jewish Soap," Summer 1991 Journal, pp. 217-227.]

For a long time the confident public perception was that the Wannsee protocol, of the January 20, 1942, meeting, recorded the actual order to exterminate the European Jews. Yehuda Bauer, the director of Yad Vashem, the premier Holocaust research institution in Israel — and one of the correspondents of the Second Defendant [Lipstadt] — has stated quite clearly: "The public still repeats, time after time, the silly story that at Wannsee the extermination of the Jews was arrived at." In his opinion Wannsee was a meeting but "hardly a conference," and he even said: "Little of what was said there was executed in detail." ["Wannsee's importance rejected," (JTA), Canadian Jewish News, Jan. 30, 1992.] Despite this, Your Lordship has had to listen to the "silly story" all over again in this Court from the expert witnesses.

Surely, say my critics, there must now be evidence for a Hitler Order?

Back in 1961 Raul Hilberg, one of Yehuda Bauer's great rivals for the laureate, asserted in the first edition of his study, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, that there had been two such orders, one in the spring of 1941 and the other soon after. By 1985 — after I had corresponded with him and voiced my own doubts — Hilberg was back-pedaling. He went methodically through his text, excising from the new edition the allegation of a Hitler Order. "In the new edition," as Professor Christopher Browning, an expert who testified [on behalf of the defense] before this Court, criticized in a learned journal, "all references in the text to a Hitler decision or Hitler order for the 'Final Solution' have been systematically excised. Buried at the bottom of a single footnote stands the solitary reference: 'Chronology and circumstances point to a Hitler decision before the summer [1941] ended'." "In the new edition," Browning repeats, scandalized, "decisions were not made, and orders were not given." [See B. Kulaszka, comp., *Did Six Million Really Die?*, Toronto: 1992, pages 192, 300, 349.] Your Lordship will find my exchange with Browning as to whether he had indeed written those words in 1986 ... you will find too that he regretted that he could not recall clearly the events of 15 years ago, which invited a rather obvious riposte from me about the probably similar memory-deficiencies in the eye-witnesses on which he had on occasions relied.

The director of the Yad Vashem archives [Shmuel Krakowski] has stated [in 1986] that most survivors' testimonies are unreliable. "Many," he said, "were never in the places where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on second-hand information given them by friends or passing strangers" — the phenomenon I have referred to as "cross-pollination." Your Lordship may have been as startled as, I confess, was I, upon learning the degree to which the case for the mass gassings at Auschwitz relies on eye-witness evidence, rather than on any firmer sources.

Your Lordship will remember the exchange I had with Donald Watt, professor emeritus of history at the London School of Economics, and a learned diplomatic historian, early on in the trial, about the value of different categories of evidence:

Irving: Professor, I was not going to ask you about eyewitness evidence, but where would you rank eyewitness evidence on the scale, if you had, for example, aerial photographs, if you had prisoner of war intelligence, contemporary prisoner of war intelligence, if you had intercepts from Bletchley Park, if you had captured documents, either captured during the war or after the war, and eyewitness evidence, in other words, anecdotal evidence and, finally, interrogations, whether under oath or not in Court, how would you classify those in order of reliability, starting with the least reliable?

Prof. Watt: I do not know that there is any way of classifying those, because it depends so much on the individual. I did a great deal of interviews, particularly in the period before the 1967 Public Records Act released documents of 30 years of age, and in my experience the kind of evidence I got differed according to the personality of the person giving it. In some cases I found that the man I was interviewing had his own documentary record and was consulting it, and that what he said was confirmed later. In other cases, including at least one Minister of the Crown, I was given a very plausible and, for all I know, a very true story of a meeting at which he was supposed to have been present; and when the records of that meeting subsequently became available, it was clear that he was not. He should have been, but he just was not that day, and he must have heard the story from one of the people there and then repeated it.

Irving: But he seriously believed that he had been there?

Prof. Watt: ... If a gentleman who holds the rank of Admiral of the Fleet and is a junior Minister in the Cabinet tells you that he is there, one's reaction is not to question him ...

Irving: So to repeat my original question, where you would rank on that scale of material that is lying before you, at one end of the bench you have the eyewitnesses and at the other end of the bench you have, for example, the Bletchley Park intercepts?

Prof. Watt: The Bletchley Park intercepts, in so far as they are complete, are always regarded as the most reliable because there is no evidence that the dispatcher was aware that his messages could be decoded and, therefore, he would put truth in them.

This supports my view that eyewitness evidence is less credible than forensic evidence and the Bletchley Park intercepts. I do not completely ignore eye-witness evidence, but I feel entitled to discount it when it is contradicted by the more reliable evidence, which should then prevail.

The Leuchter Report

I am criticized by the Defendants for having relied initially on what is called the Leuchter Report. At the time they leveled their criticism at me, the Defendants appear to have been unaware that subsequent and, more able, investigations were conducted by both American [actually, German] and Polish researchers. The tests were in other words replicated.

First, the Leuchter Report: In April 1988 I was introduced by defense counsel at the Canadian trial of Ernst Zündel to the findings made by a reputable firm of forensic analysts of samples extracted from the fabric of various buildings at Auschwitz and Birkenau by Fred Leuchter, who was at the time a professional American execution-technology consultant. These, and his investigations at the Majdanek site, formed the backbone of his “engineering report.”

Since there have been tendentious statements about why the Leuchter Report was not admitted in evidence at that trial, I have studied the transcripts of that trial. It emerges that engineering reports are not generally admissible under Canadian rules of evidence unless both parties consent; in this case the Crown did not consent. As Mr. Justice Thomas [the Judge] explained, “I get engineering reports all the time [in civil cases]. That doesn’t make them admissible because they’ve prepared reports. They [the expert witnesses] go in the box, they’re qualified as experts, and they testify.” The non-admission of the report by Mr. Justice Thomas was no reflection on the worth of the report or on the qualifications of the witness.

Mr. Leuchter testified on April 20 and 21, 1988, as an expert in gas chamber technology. He had inspected the three sites in February, and taken samples which were subsequently sent for analysis by a qualified analytical chemist in the United States, a Dr. James Roth of Cornell University, who was not told where the samples had come from. His firm, Alpha Laboratories, were told on the test certificates only that the samples were from brickwork. Mr. Justice Thomas ruled that Leuchter could give oral evidence, but that the report itself should not be filed. He held further that Mr. Leuchter was not a chemist or a toxicologist.

But he agreed that Mr. Leuchter was an engineer, because he had made himself an engineer in a very limited field. A summary of the rest of the judge’s findings was that Leuchter was not capable in law of giving the expert opinion that there were never any gassings or exterminations carried on in the facilities from which he took the samples. For the same reasons he was not capable of testifying regarding the results of the analysis. He was restricted to testifying as to the actual extraction of the samples, and his own observations on the feasibility of the buildings that he had examined being used as gas chambers.

The Second Defendant therefore was wrong to state on page 164 of her book [Denying the Holocaust], “The judge ruled that Leuchter could not serve as an expert witness on the construction and functioning of the gas chambers.” To give evidence in a criminal trial, Mr. Leuchter must have been accepted as an expert. Professor Lipstadt further stated, on pages 164-5 of her book: “The judge’s finding as to Leuchter’s suitability to comment on questions of engineering was unequivocal.” In fact the Judge’s findings referred only to his lack of qualifications to testify on the results of the laboratory tests for cyanide and iron (this was Dr. Roth’s area, and he gave the testimony on those matters).

On page 169, Professor Lipstadt insists: “The exposure to the elements lessened the presence of the hydrogen cyanide ... Nor did Leuchter seem to consider that the building had been exposed to the elements for more than 40 years so that cyanide gas residue could have been obliterated. He also took samples from a floor that had been washed regularly by museum staff.” Dr. Roth however testified under oath that the formation of Prussian Blue was an accumulative reaction, that it augmented with each exposure to the gas; and that it did not normally disappear unless physically removed by sandblasting or grinding down.

Roth seems since then to have changed his mind, to judge by the film “Mr. Death” [reviewed in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal] ... Zündel’s counsel comments, “He [Roth] obviously is frightened” and no wonder, considering what was subsequently inflicted upon Mr. Leuchter. Your Lordship

will remember that in order to destroy Roth's absurd argument, quoted to the Court by learned Counsel, that the Prussian Blue stain would have penetrated only a few microns into the brickwork, I showed a photograph of the stain penetrating right through the brickwork to the outside face of one of the cyanide fumigation chambers, where it has been exposed to sun, wind, and rain for over 50 years, and where it is still visible, as deep and blue as ever.

Krema II [building at Birkenau] has been protected from these outside elements; it is possible to crawl beneath the famous roof [of the alleged homicidal "gas chamber" there] — about which roof I shall have more to say — but neither Jan Sehn, nor Fred Leuchter, nor James Roth, nor Germar Rudolf, nor any of the subsequent investigations found any significant traces of cyanide compounds present in the fabric of this building, despite the eye-witness accounts of that same chamber having been used for the gassing of half a million people. Moreover, the wood-grain of the original wooden formwork (or molds) can still be seen on the face of the concrete, which is evidence that it has not been sandblasted or ground down.

The Morgue Roof

I referred earlier to the [defendants'] expert witness on Auschwitz and Birkenau in this case, Professor Robert Van Pelt. He has made unequivocal statements both here and elsewhere about Krema II, that is, Crematorium [building] No. II at Birkenau. To him, it was the factory of death, the mass gassing chamber of Birkenau. He did not mince his language. In the new film "Mr. Death" we saw him speaking as the film camera showed Fred Leuchter descending into the hole which was broken post-war through the collapsed concrete roof slab and reinforcing bars of Leichenkeller 1 (morgue cellar No. 1) of Krema II, and we heard him (Van Pelt) uttering these words:

Crematorium II is the most lethal building of Auschwitz. In the 2500 square feet of this one room, more people lost their lives than any other place on this planet. 500,000 people were killed. If you would draw a map of human suffering, if you created a geography of atrocity, this would be the absolute center.

The Court will recall that on the ninth day of this action I cross-examined this witness most closely about this statement, and I offered him a chance to change his mind about the pivotal importance of Krema II and its underground Leichenkeller 1, the chamber which Pelt alleged had been a mass-gassing chamber.

Irving: Very well. You say: "In any case, Krematorium II is the most lethal building of Auschwitz. In the 2500 square feet of this one room," and you are pointing downwards, "more people lost their lives than in any other place on this planet. 500,000 people were killed. If you would draw a map of human suffering, if you create a geography of atrocities, this would be the absolute center." That is a reference to Krematorium II, and you are standing on the roof of Leichenkeller No. 1?

Prof. Van Pelt: It is a reference to Krematorium II, but I am actually not in the picture. It is Fred Leuchter standing on the roof of Leichenkeller 1.

Irving: But you are speaking yourself?

Prof. Van Pelt: But I am speaking ...

Irving: Professor, just so that we can be completely clear about this and the record can be clear, you are describing Krematorium II as being the place where 500,000

people were killed or —

Prof. Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: — give or take a few numbers.

Prof. Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: And that this was the center of the atrocity?

Prof. Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: So if I am to concentrate a large part of my investigation in this cross-examination on that one building and, in fact, on Leichenkeller 1, the one arm of the crematorium [building], this is not entirely unjustified if I am trying to establish that the factories of death did not exist as such?

Prof. Van Pelt: No. I think that the obvious building to challenge would be Krematorium II.

The expert witness could hardly have been clearer in his answer. I then asked him to identify the buildings referred to, on the aerial photographs of Birkenau and Krematorium II, so that there could later be no doubt as to which precise building he had just agreed was the “factory of death.”

The great problem about accepting that this building was an instrument for mass murder is that the evidence produced by Professor Van Pelt relies on three “legs”: a handful of eye-witnesses; a few architectural drawings; and a slim file of documents.

The eye-witnesses have turned out to be liars, particularly those who testified to the SS guards opening manhole covers on top of the flat roof of Leichenkeller 1 (morgue No. 1) [at Birkenau Krema II], and tipping tins of Zyklon B pellets inside. One witness was David Olère, an artist, who drew sketches [from memory] later in Paris, obviously intending to sell them. His sketches show flames and smoke belching from the crematorium chimney of Krema III, which was quite impossible; he portrays the victims of the Nazi killers mostly as nubile young females, all naked and sketched in a pornographic way, often clutching naked teenage children to their breasts. It was Olère, I invite the Court to remember, who told Jean-Claude Pressac that the SS made sausage in the crematoria out of human flesh (a passage which Mr. Van Pelt did not inform us of). [J.-C. Pressac, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation](#), 1989, p. 554.]

Ada Bimko proved at the Belsen Trial that she too had lied. Entering another “gas chamber” building at Auschwitz she said she “noticed two pipes which I was told contained the gas. There were two huge metal containers containing gas.” She evidently did not even know that the “gas” supposed to have been used, Zyklon B, was actually in pellet form, not cylinders. Distorting her account too, Pelt also omitted this part of her testimony. Dr. Bendel, another of Pelt’s eye-witnesses, stated that at Krema IV [in Birkenau] the people crowded into the gas chambers found the ceiling so low that “the impression [was given] that the roof was falling on their heads.” This too was untrue, as the Court has seen how high those ceilings were in the computer-generated “walk through.” The Court will find that in my cross-examination of Van Pelt, I destroyed the worth of each supposed eye-witness after eye-witness in the same way.

Let us first look for those holes. The roof pillars [of the Birkenau Krema II “gas chamber”] were blown up in 1945, and the reinforced concrete roof slab pancaked downwards into the morgue basement, starred but otherwise intact. Van Pelt suggested that the Zyklon B introduction holes in the roof of Leichenkeller 1 were not much larger in diameter than tennis balls. The evidence of his eye-witnesses Henry Tauber and Michal Kula was that they were closer to the size of man-holes — “70 centimeters [27 inches] square.” Kula testified that the wire-mesh columns that he had made were of that cross section [size], and three meters (ten feet) tall. One witness said the concrete covers had to be lifted off “with both hands.” As the ceiling height in Leichenkeller 1 was 2.40 meters, 60 cm of each column would have had to extend through the “holes” in the concrete ceiling, with about six inches poking up outside.

There is no trace of those holes in the roof today. The underside, which can be inspected and photographed from beneath, is intact. Even if one could lose sight of the much smaller, three-inch diameter holes in the pancaked concrete roof, of which Van Pelt spoke, one could not possibly have lost sight of four holes as large as manholes. Those holes would be perfectly obvious today, on the ground at Auschwitz [Birkenau], to any observer using the naked eye, without the slightest possible doubt as to their location.

Van Pelt accepts that those holes are not in that roof slab now. In his expert report [prepared for the Irving-Lipstadt trial] — and for this honesty I give him full credit — he writes:

Today, these four small holes that connected the wire-mesh columns and the chimneys cannot be observed in the ruined remains of the concrete slab. Yet does this mean they were never there? We know that after the cessation of the gassings in the fall of 1944 all the gassing equipment was removed, which implies both the wire-mesh columns and the chimneys. What would have remained would have been the four narrow holes and the slab. While there is no certainty in this particular matter, it would have been logical to attach, at the location where the columns had been, some formwork at the bottom of the gas chamber ceiling, and pour some concrete in the hole and thus restore the slab.

Van Pelt thus asserts, without any evidence at all, that late in 1944, with the Red Army winding up to launch their colossal final invasion only a few miles away on the River Vistula, the Nazi mass murderers would remove the “Zyklon introduction columns,” and then fill in the holes to “restore the slab” (before dynamiting the pillars supporting it anyway). He again asserted, when I cross-examined him on January 25, that: “It would have been logical to attach at the location where the columns had been, some formwork at the bottom of the ceiling, and pour some concrete in the hole and thus restore the slab.”

How would this have been more logical than completely removing the roof of Leichenkeller [morgue cellar] 1, as the Nazis had removed the roof of Leichenkeller 2, identified by van Pelt as the “undressing rooms,” as shown in the aerial photos taken on December 21, 1944, that one can see on page 15 of *The Holocaust Revisited*, the booklet published [in 1979] by Dino A. Brugioni of the CIA. The originals of this photo were shown to Van Pelt in Court. To believe his version, we would have to believe that the Nazis deliberately created architectural relics of Leichenkeller 1 to confound later generations of tourists and Holocaust researchers.

The fact is that the holes are not there — at least they are not visible from a distance of zero to four feet, or when photographed from the underside. Unable to point them out to us in close-up at ground level, the Defendants invited us to consider instead either vertical aerial photographs taken from 35,000 feet up, or a horizontal photograph taken from several hundred yards away,

past a locomotive, where three (not four) unidentified objects are placed irregularly on the rooftop (the fourth “object” turns out to be a window on the wall behind).

The Court will recall what my response was to the not unexpected discovery that during building works such objects as barrels of tar were parked on a large flat slab ... The notion that the high flying [Allied reconnaissance] plane could have photographed an object of 27 centimeters in diameter, let alone of tennis ball size, protruding six inches above the ground, is quite absurd. The four smudges seen on one photograph are evidently many feet long.

On Day 11 [of the proceedings], I brought into the Court half a dozen vertical aerial photographs taken by the Americans or South African air forces during 1944, and I invited van Pelt to find those same smudges on that roof.

Where, until that moment, he had seen dots on another photograph with no difficulty, the witness Van Pelt now pleaded poor eyesight (“I have now reached the age I need reading glasses,” he said, “and I do not have them with me. I did not expect this kind of challenge.” Precisely.) Had he used even a microscope, he would not have found the dots on the 1944 pictures I showed him. Because the holes were not there, and are not there, and he and the Defendants know it.

Even if the Nazi architects did willingly agree to the weakening of the roof by having makeshift holes of that size cut through the slab right next to the supporting pillars — I say “makeshift” holes, because there is no provision for them in any of the architectural drawings — we should certainly expect to see the holes now ...

They [the defendants] know, and they knew from the outset, that I was right about that roof. Their entire case on Krema II — the untruth that it was used as a factory of death, with SS guards tipping canisters of cyanide-soaked pellets into the building through those four (non-existent) manholes — has caved in, as surely as has that roof.

Accordingly the eye-witnesses who spoke of those holes also lied, or bluffed: and I have called their bluff. In the absence of the holes themselves, and minus his “eye-witnesses,” Professor van Pelt’s only remaining proofs that Leichenkeller 1 of Krema II was an instrument of mass murder — a factory of death in which 500,000 Jews were gassed and cremated — are these: architectural drawings (rather oddly for a “professor of architecture” he calls them blueprints), and wartime documents. He confirmed this to Your Lordship, when your Lordship asked.

As for the wartime documents, he referred for instance to the — to him, sinister — requirement that the morgue should be vorgewärmt [pre-warmed] by a central heating plant. In cross-examination I drew his attention to the relevant section of the wartime Neufert, the architect’s handbook or building code which was standard for the SS architects, which specifies that morgues must have both cooling and central heating facilities to avoid damage to the corpses. Document after document fell by the wayside in the manner. Mr. Rampton introduced the timesheet of one humble workman in March 1943, showing him actually concreting “the floor in the Gaskammer.” But Birkenau camp was full of [non-homicidal] gas chambers. In his fine facsimile book of the camp documents [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation, 1989], Jean-Claude Pressac has printed the drawing No. 801 of November 8, 1941, for an Entlausungsanlage (delousing installation) for the prison camp, right in the middle of which drawing is a Gaskammer. He also reproduces drawing No. 1293, dated May 9, 1942, of the drainage and water supply of the delousing barracks, buildings BW5b. Here too there is a Gaskammer smack in the middle of the drawing

...

The bottleneck in the entire Krema II “factory of death” story is the little freight elevator that was installed between Leichenkeller 1, as in any such state-of-the-art crematorium, to haul the bodies from the basement-level morgue up to the crematorium furnaces on the ground floor. We are told by the Defendants that this elevator was never anything more sophisticated than something like a builder’s hoist. It had no door, or cage, or walls — it was just a platform jolting up and down that elevator shaft. We do know that, as finally installed, it had a specified load bearing capacity of 1500 kg. Van Pelt suggested that the hoist could therefore have hauled 25 cadavers at a time. In practice, as there was just a flat platform with no walls or door, jolting up and down the narrow concrete elevator shaft, it would have been impossible to stack onto one small flat platform 25 naked cadavers in the conditions of filth and slime that were described by the eye-witnesses ...

One thing is plain: that one elevator in Krema II was the inescapable bottleneck, and it makes plain that, whatever was happening downstairs in Leichenkeller 1, it was not on the huge scale that history now suggests.

In response to Your Lordship’s helpful questioning, Professor van Pelt stated that the wartime documents had to be interpreted if they were to be relied on for this proof. These interpretations are tenuous. He produced to us a document referring to the special secrecy to be attached to the crematorium drawings, and suggested that this was because of the mass gassings being carried on in it. It stressed that this was because of the wehrwirtschaftlich importance [that is, for the wartime economy] of the work being conducted there. But van Pelt confirmed under my cross-examination that the homicidal Final Solution, the genocide, was never regarded as being wehrwirtschaftlich important. I submitted that the reference was clearly to keeping secret the ugly business of the looting by the SS of gold and valuables from the corpses processed by the building, a system which was undoubtedly wehrwirtschaftlich important to the SS ...

During his slide-show Professor Van Pelt told us that one cardinal piece of evidence in these drawings was the relocation of an internal double-door which sealed off Leichenkeller 1 from the interior of the [Birkenau crematory] building, from the inside of the Leichenkeller door frame (in a December 1942 drawing) to the outside (January 1943). I pointed out that in the new layout, the doors were shown as being actually rebated into the door frame, and I suggested to the witness that this was indicative of a gas-tight door being fitted as in any standard air raid shelter design. Air raid shelter doors are fitted outside the shelter, to open outwards, so as to withstand blast. Neufert, the wartime architects' handbook, bears this out.

The witness seems not to have considered this possibility. The doors allegedly found around the Birkenau and Auschwitz sites subsequently are all of standard air-raid shelter design, complete with the obligatory peephole that is fitted to air raid shelter doors. [See: S. Crowell, “Wartime Germany’s Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters,” July-August 1999 Journal, pp. 7-30.]

The amendment of the drawings to provide for an external door, leading from the far end of the subterranean Leichenkeller 1 to the open air, was also consonant with its dual use as a shelter, and I put this to the witness on Day 11 [of the proceedings], as was the relocation of the main entrance staircase from the back of the building, to the street-side. Among the architectural drawings provided to us from the Auschwitz archives is one entitled: “Modification of the old Crematorium,” namely Krema I in Auschwitz; subtitled: “Air Raid Bunker for SS Station HQ with an Operating Theater.” So such modifications of the morgues to provide air raid shelters were clearly nothing extraordinary. Mr. Rampton made a lot of the order for doors with peepholes. But peep holes were standard fittings not only on the gas tight air raid shelter doors, but also to delousing facilities. Jean-Claude Pressac prints photos of two such doors on the “Canada” delousing chamber at Birkenau.

Krema II as Air Raid Shelter

Krema II, like its mirror-image Krema III on the other side of the [Birkenau] road, was originally designed as a state-of-the art crematorium, possibly not just for the camp but for the whole catchment area of Auschwitz which had for centuries been an area of pestilence and plague. No expense was spared in its design; the best equipment and architects were used on what was clearly a permanent facility. Building the Leichenkeller underground, instead of above ground, increased construction costs by several times, but provided for keeping the morgue cool during the baking hot Central European summers. Had the building been designed from the start as a human slaughterhouse, it would certainly not have been designed on several levels, with the resultant handling problems. Slaughterhouses are normally built on one level.

We saw in Prof. Van Pelt's slide-show [a wartime photo of] the pouring of the concrete roof slab of the subterranean Leichenkeller 2; the roof was undoubtedly much the same as that of Leichenkeller 1, with a six inch reinforced steel mesh. This undoubtedly made the new building one of the most robust on the site: certainly more robust and fireproof in an air raid than the flimsy wooden horse-barracks in which the prisoners and slave laborers were housed.

The captured Bauleitung [central construction office] records of Auschwitz, which are now housed in Moscow archives, confirm that from mid-1942 onwards the German authorities began to consider the construction at the camp of shelters, splinter trenches, and other Air Raid Precaution (ARP) measures. After the Allied air raids on Cologne, Rostock, Lübeck, and so forth, etc., in March-April 1942, the German High Command recognized the likelihood that air raids would spread across Poland and central Europe, and they ordered the construction of extended ARP facilities throughout the occupied eastern territories, insofar as they were within bomber range. Existing basements were to be converted into shelters, anti-gas-equipment provided, and personnel trained in anti-gas warfare, as gas attack was widely expected. I put one such document to Prof. Longerich, and on Day 10 [of the proceedings] I said: "... the Defense rely on a number of photographs of doors found scattered around the compound of Auschwitz and Birkenau, and we will show that these are standard German air raid shelter doors complete with peep holes."

These precautions were not in vain. In May 1943 [1944?], there was an air raid on the nearby Auschwitz [Monowitz] Buna plant. This is reflected in Auschwitz documents. At least one of the American aerial photographs of Birkenau that I produced to the Court and to the witness Van Pelt shows a stick of heavy bombs just released by the plane that took the photograph. By the end of the war there was also an anti-aircraft unit assigned to defending the region, as shown by the reference to Judge Stäglich's membership in the flak [anti-aircraft] unit that manned it. [S. Crowell, July-August 1999 Journal, p. 13.]

Your Lordship will also recall that during his slide show the Dutch historian Van Pelt showed the Court a series of most interesting computer-generated "walk-through" reconstructions of the interiors of [Birkenau] Kremas IV and V. Your Lordship memorized the dimensions of the shutters designed to be fitted on the openings inside: 30 cms by 40 cms. There were also said to be steps leading up to the openings. The wartime German civil defense journal *Luftschutz* ("Air Defense") shows precisely this arrangement of gas-tight shutters and steps as a standard air raid shelter feature, designed for the event of gas warfare.

I put this to the witness Van Pelt: "Would you agree that those shutters that have been found in the Auschwitz camp are in fact standard German air raid shutters supplied by manufacturers to a standard design?"

Eye-witnesses have stated that thousands of victims were gassed in these rooms, and their bodies burned in large pits to the building's rear. But the contemporary air photographs reveal no such pits, nor are they evident today. Confronted with what your Lordship has yourself referred to as the lack of any documentary evidence for the gassings, Van Pelt could only offer the suggestion that the use of gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau was a "moral certainty." Three times in his report he fell back upon that semi-religious phrase. The available proofs certainly do not support the belief that the gassings there occurred on a mass scale.

I will not dwell long on the uniformly poor evidentiary basis on the other extermination camps, known to the Court as the Operation Reinhard camps: Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka. Here we do not even have the "moral certainty" which comforted Professor Van Pelt. I can challenge here only the scale and the systematic nature of the alleged gassing of more than one million people in these centers.

The Defendants' own witness, Professor Browning, admits that the documentation for these camps is "scant." I place great weight on this admission. Here, the expert cannot even find one contemporaneous document. He relies entirely upon the eye-witnesses: men of the ilk of Kurt Gerstein, Jan Karski, Adolf Eichmann and Rudolf Höss. The fictional elements — the "130 foot mountains of clothes," which Browning in his first draft skipped over, the "electrocution chambers," the "steam chambers," the deliberately inflated death tolls, which would otherwise shriek their warnings to critical researchers — are ignored or suppressed, in order to maintain appearances.

There is an impressive level of documentation which demonstrates liquidation by shooting [in the occupied Soviet territories] of hundreds of thousands of Jews, probably over a million, by the Einsatzgruppen, but there is nothing of equivalent value for the Reinhard camps. One word, Why?, justifies a revisionist's skepticism.

The Walter Föhl letter produced a similar response [Quoted in: Götz Aly, 'Final Solution', London: Arnold, 1999, pp. 174-175]. It was found in his Berlin Document Center personnel file. Föhl, an important resettlement organizer [deputy director of the German Generalgouvernement Population and Welfare department] in Krakow, Poland, wrote on June 21, 1942, to his SS comrades:

Every day, trains are arriving with over 1,000 Jews each from throughout Europe. We provide first aid here, give them more or less provisional accommodation, and usually deport them further towards the White Sea to the White Ruthenian [Belarus] marshlands, where they all — if they survive (and the Jews from [Berlin's fashionable] Kurfürstendamm or Vienna or Pressburg [Bratislava] certainly won't) — will be gathered by the end of the war, but not without having first built a few roads. (But we're not supposed to talk about it.)

The expert witnesses [for the defense], unable otherwise to explain this document, dismissed it as obvious "camouflage" talk. But why should Föhl use camouflage writing to his "SS comrades"? As I pointed out to Dr. Longerich, Reinhard Heydrich himself had spoken of the White Sea option on February 4, 1942, in Prague. [G. Aly, 'Final Solution', 1999, p. 174.]

It was also noticeable elsewhere that none of the [defendants'] experts was willing to give documents their natural meanings when they did not accord with their views. The Ahnert document, recording a meeting at the RSHA in Berlin, under Eichmann, on August 28, 1942, was one example. [Quoted in P. Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, 1990, pp. 241-242.] There was talk of the need for the deportees to be provided with blankets, shoes and eating uten-

sils before dispatch to Auschwitz. Eichmann requested the purchases of barracks for a Jewish deportee camp to be erected in Russia, with three to five such barracks being loaded aboard every transport train. In each case, because the document did not accord with their “exterminationist” views, the expert had failed to pursue it. Dr. Longerich, who had included it as document 94 in work he himself had edited, *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, had forgotten it even existed when I cross-examined him about it.

The Allegations of Racism and Anti-Semitism

The Defendants have resorted to the allegations that I am anti-Semitic and racist. Mr. Rampton’s highly paid experts have found one 1963 diary entry of four lines written 37 years ago, about a visit to my lawyer Mr. Michael Rubenstein, to discuss a satirical magazine article, after which I commented. “Thick skinned these Jews are!” This is all that they could find from the millions of words available to them? When I remarked [in Court], on March 2, upon the obvious paradox that an alleged anti-Semite would have retained Michael Rubenstein as his solicitor and respected adviser for over 20 years, Mr. Rampton’s comment, which Your Lordship may remember, was: “Many of my best friends are Jews too, Mr. Irving.” This stock line does not disguise the paucity of his evidence against me.

In further support of this contention they have taken isolated remarks made in lectures and speeches — of which they have transcribed around half a million words. I trust that your Lordship will in each case consider both the context in which the remarks are made, and also the broader surrounding countryside, if I may put it like that. For 30 years, as I set out earlier, I have found myself subjected to vicious attack by bodies, acting, as they freely admit, as Jews. For 30 years I endeavored to turn the other cheek, and I hope I have succeeded.

Mr. Rampton drew attention to the fun I poked at Simon Wiesenthal, a joke made explicitly about his other-than-good looks. He called that remark “anti-Semitic.” It was not. It was a joke about his looks, of the same genre that Mr. Rampton made on Day 28 [of the proceedings] when he inquired rhetorically of [defense witness] Professor Funke whether a certain outer-fringe Swedish revisionist [Ditlieb Felderer] seen, in one video shown to the Court, with long blonde hair, was a man or a woman.

In view of the manner in which the two Simon Wiesenthal Centers have been abusing my name in their fund raising leaflets, and endeavoring to destroy my own livelihood, the Court might think that my fun-making, while tasteless, was not undeserved, possibly even rather reserved. It was not anti-Semitic, and Mr. Wiesenthal is no more immune from criticism either as a person, or as a public figure, than I am. Searching hopefully for evidence of “anti-Semitism” in me, the investigators of the Board of Deputies in 1992 came up empty-handed in their secret report to be planted on the Canadian government: they confirmed that I had dealings with Jews in my professional life, and added that I “use this as an excuse” to say that I am not an anti-Semite. These people are hard to please: “He is far too clever an opponent,” the Board writes, “to openly admit to being an anti-Semite.” “We endorse all condemnation of anti-Semitism,” they quote me as writing in my newsletter issued on January 31, 1982. All of these things, including this secret 1992 Intelligence report filed by the Board of Deputies, were disclosed to these Defendants in my *Discovery*.

The Defense quoted a passage from a speech delivered, they said, in May 1992. In fact, as my diary confirms, it was delivered in May 1993, by which time my family and I had been subjected to a catalogue of insults by the leaders of these various bodies. If a writer’s books are banned and burnt, his bookshops smashed, his hands manacled, his person assaulted, his printers burned

down, his access to the world's archives denied, his family's livelihood destroyed, his phone lines jammed with obscene and threatening phone calls and death threats, his house beset by violent and angry mobs, the walls and posts around his address plastered with stickers inciting the public to violence against him, and a wreath sent to him with a foul and taunting message upon the death of his oldest daughter — then it ill behoves people to offer cheap criticism if the writer finally stops turning the other cheek and rounds upon his tormentors.

In this respect I single out the Executive Director of the Board of Deputies, Mr. Michael Whine, whose organization staged the demonstrations outside my home of such a violent and ugly nature that police reinforcements had to be called. Whine had caused defamatory documents about me to be placed in the files of foreign governments with the intention that my free access to those countries should be impeded. He had caused the surroundings of my home to be stickered with labels bearing inflammatory slogans inciting violence against me. Some of these offensive items have been before the Court. Whine had issued a press release in January 1993, no doubt one of many, in which he accused me of attending “Nazi Training Camps.” My only response, as Your Lordship has seen, apart from a failed and very costly attempt to sue his Board of Deputies in libel, during which they did not plead justification, but merely that I was out of time, was to make fun of Whine's name. That may have been tasteless, but it was not anti-Semitism, and it was certainly justified under the circumstances.

The references that I have made to what is now formally called the instrumentalization of the Holocaust have also been adduced as evidence of anti-Semitism. Are non-Jews disbarred from making a criticism that is being made increasingly vocally by others, such as Professor Peter Novick [author of *The Holocaust in American Life*]? Or by Leon Wieseltier, literary editor of the *New Republic*? He wrote there on May 3, 1993, at page 20:

“It's a sad fact,” said the principal philanthropist of the grotesque Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, “that Israel and Jewish education and all the other familiar buzzwords no longer seem to rally Jews behind the community. The Holocaust, though, works every time.” His candor was refreshing, even if it was obscene. On the subject of the extermination of the Jews of Europe, the Jews of America are altogether too noisy.

I would also draw your Lordship's attention to the article by Norman Finkelstein in the *London Review of Books* of January 6, 2000, whose title gives the whole tenor of the piece: “How the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 gave birth to a memorial industry.” Finkelstein makes in this piece the sarcastic comment: “Every questioning of the uniqueness of the Holocaust is taken by American Jews to be an example of Holocaust denial.” I could produce a sheaf of such quotations; they are all equally near the knuckle, equally true, and no more anti-Semitic than my own remarks on the matter.

As for the allegation that I am racist, I have produced to the Court enough evidence that I am less reluctant to hire Colored personal staff than, for example, certain legal teams evidently are. I hire personal staff on a form that has always stated my policy that we are an equal opportunity employer: “We do not and will not discriminate on the basis of race, religion, national origin, sex, age, handicap, marital status” ...

I voluntarily provided all my private diaries to the defendants, after securing the proper assurances. Those diaries total some 20 million words. Mr. Rampton produced from them one 19-word ditty, attached to another quite harmless one about the “messica dressica” of my infant daughter Jessica. [“I am a baby Aryan / Not Jewish or sectarian / I have no plans to marry an /

Ape or Rastafarian."] To find, in all those diaries and telephone conversations written since 1959, just one 19-word ditty [from September 1994] that Mr. Rampton could trot out for the media does not suggest that I am as obsessed with race and racism as he, or, for that matter, the newspapers that report these things ...

The Speeches and Lectures

My Lord, the Defendants have also fished into my lectures and writings and books, all of which have been provided to them — literally millions of words — and they have put into evidence a minute fraction of those words, comparable to the one-millionth part of the diaries which the ditty represented.

I am not going to defend or justify those utterances seriatim. In general I would invite your Lordship to pick out one such utterance as a sample; to reach then for the transcript of the entire speech — to take note of the rest of its content, its clear references to the very real sufferings of the Jews, the liquidations, the Bruns Report and the rest; and then ask: Was the remark true, was it explicable, was it rhetorically justified as part of the skilled lecturer's armory?

Your Lordship has been told of my remark that more women had died on Kennedy's back seat than in that gas chamber at Auschwitz — the one shown to the tourists. It is tasteless but, quite literally, true. It is, as I have now shown in this court, even true if the main "gas chamber" at Birkenau is brought into the equation, the notorious Krema II "factory of death," because the eye-witnesses lied about that one too. The Poles have admitted that the Auschwitz [main camp] building and its chimney are a post-1945 fake. [See: R. Faurisson, "The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I," Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, pp. 12-13.] My colorful language was a rhetorical way of bringing that extraordinary revelation home to audiences.

Extremist Organizations and People

My files confirm that I occasionally addressed audiences [in Germany] of the Association for Free Journalism (GfP), the National Democratic Party (NPD), and the German People's Union (DVU) ... I disclosed to the Defendants English translations of the policy leaflets and manifestos of these bodies, which in my submission do not show them to be extreme in any way. These were, furthermore, bodies which were accepted at that time under Germany's very strict laws as being legal and constitutional.

The Court is more concerned, I believe, with individual personages. I have not the slightest doubt that the Court will find that I did not have any meaningful contact with the ugly ragbag of neo-Nazi extremists mentioned by Professor Hajo Funke people with whom, to make the point quite clearly, the Defendants, their experts, and their legal team seem more familiar than I. Most of the names were completely unknown to me, and the defense have sought in vain for them in my diaries and papers, to which, I emphasize yet again, I gave them unlimited and privileged access. This has not stopped them from bringing them forward, and mentioning these alleged links in open Court, in an attempt to smear me still further — with an eye particularly to the German media ...

May I again remind Your Lordship of my basic principle on lecturing. Unlike the Defendants, who have proudly stated that they refuse to debate with opponents, I have expressed a readiness to address all and any who are willing to listen ...

I may secondly point out that were it not for the clandestine activities of the violent and extremist bodies dedicated to destroying my right to free speech, and the rights of all audiences in the United States and elsewhere — at Berkeley, at Dublin, at Pretoria, or wherever — to hear my opinions; and equally dedicated to intimidating my publishers around the world and smashing bookstore windows; — were it not for their hate-campaign, I would have been enabled to continue in the normal manner with my exemplary professional career.

It rings hollow that the same shabby bodies who have generated the hatred against me, now point their crooked fingers at me and abuse me, using the very considerable privileges afforded to them by this Court, for continuing to make my voice heard wherever I can; and that when I use words to describe them in detail, which they well deserve, they wring their hands and lament about “extremism.”

I have pointed out that so far as Germany is concerned, none of the German bodies who invited me to speak was illegal or banned. In fact when first invited to address the German People's Union, I wrote to, and telephoned, the German embassy, as the documents in my Discovery show, and asked them specifically whether this was a legal and constitutional body. The embassy confirmed in writing on July 25, 1984, that it was. The “extremism” was in the eye of the beholder. The further to the Left the beholder squinted from, the more distant these bodies may have seemed from him ...

As for his [Prof. Funke's] allegation here in court that I “should have known” that various organizations [in Germany] were going to be banned in years ahead: it is difficult for an Englishman, coming from a country with deeper democratic traditions than Professor Funke's, to implant himself into the brain, or mind-set, of the authoritarian German mold, where book-burning is now once again *de rigueur*, where a German academic like Funke does not bat an eyelid upon hearing that a teacher is still serving a seven-year jail sentence imposed for chairing a lecture at which I spoke, where the two District Court judges who acquitted that teacher were reprimanded, and finally retired in disgrace, by order of the minister of justice, and where recently governments have begun routinely banning fringe opposition parties and circumscribing even their legal activities. Germany now has several hundred political prisoners in her jails.

The security authorities in Germany, so readily quoted by Professor Funke, are nothing more than the political arm of each provincial or federal minister of the interior. They have little concern with legality. As the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reported on September 15, 1995, Dr. Ernst Uhrlau, president of the Hamburg branch of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV) said: “The persistent steps taken by the state authorities against right-wing extremists have largely paralyzed their legal possibilities of action.” The paralyzing of the “legal possibilities of action” of opposition parties can hardly be considered a matter for pride in any normal democratic government. None of these banned parties has anything to do with violence.

My general response to this attempt at “guilt by association” is to compare it with the worst excesses of the inquisitions conducted by Senator Joseph McCarthy ...

As for the Institute for Historical Review (IHR): I have little to add to what I stated in my various written replies. It is clearly unsatisfactory, though not surprising, that establishment scholars feel the need to dismiss any rival body of scholars as “extremist,” merely on the basis that these others propagate a different version of history from their own “consensus” version. The officials of the IHR nearly all hold academic qualifications. True, they are not all trained historians, but then neither are some of the most famous names of historians in both ancient and contemporary times. It is clear from correspondence before the court that I recognized shortcomings in the old IHR,

and was keen to introduce them to new speakers including main line scholars and historians like John Toland (who did in fact speak there), Professor Ernst Nolte, and Michael Beschloss.

I am not, and never have been, an official of the IHR; at most, one of many friendly advisers. As for speaking engagements, my association with the IHR has been the same as my association was with, for instance, the Cambridge University Fabian Society, or the Trinity College Dublin Literary and Debating group, or any other body of enlightened people keen to hear alternative views.

Professor Evans, in his odious attempts to smear and defile my name, which I hope will long haunt him in the common rooms of Cambridge, called me a frequent speaker at the IHR. And may I say, So what: none of my lectures had a Holocaust-denial, or anti-Semitic, or extremist theme. I spoke on Churchill, on Pearl Harbor, on Rommel, on the Goebbels diaries, on my Eichmann papers find, and on general problems of writing history. The Court has learned that I have in fact addressed functions of the IHR only five times in 17 years, one lecture each time. No amount of squirming by this expert witness could increase that figure. It is true that I socialized before or after the event with the IHR officials and their wives. So what. It is true that I use their warehousing facilities. So what. It is true that the IHR (along with thousands of other retail outlets) sell my books. So what.

It is also true that I introduced them to subjects which some members of the audience found deeply uncomfortable, for instance the confessions of Adolf Eichmann, the harrowing Bruns Report, and the Kristallnacht. [See, for example, Irving's address to the 1992 IHR Conference, and his exchange with Prof. Faurisson on this point, in the March-April 1993 Journal, pp. 24-25, and, Irving's essay in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 Journal, pp. 14-15, from his address at the 1994 IHR Conference.] I would willingly read out the relevant extracts of my lectures to the IHR, but my Lord, through the courtesy and industry of the Defendants solicitors, which I have had cause already to praise, Your Lordship is already funded with extensive transcripts of those talks, and I would ask that Your Lordship read them with this paragraph in mind. I am accused of telling audiences what they want to hear; that may partially be true, but by Jove, having done so I then used the goodwill generated like that to tell them a lot of things they very much did not want to hear! The Defendants would willingly overlook this aspect of my association with the IHR. I trust that the Court will not ...

There remain one or two, in my view, minor matters.

The Defendants allege that I willfully exaggerated the Dresden death roll in my 1963 book *The Destruction of Dresden*, and afterwards, and had no basis for my figures. In fact I have satisfied this Court, I believe, that at all times (a) I set and published the proper upper and lower limits for the estimates that I gave, giving a range of figures which necessarily decreased, overall, over the years as our state of information improved; (b) I had adequate basis for the various figures which I provided in my works.

It has to be said that authors have little or no control over the content of books sub-licensed to other publishers. Revisions are not encouraged for cost reasons.

I have always been aware of the highly-charged political nature of the figures quoted for this event. The highest figure, of 250,000, which I only mentioned in my works as the maximum ever alleged, was given for example by the German Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer in an official West German government publication which I showed the court ...

The lowest figures only became available in a book published in 1994 by Friedrich Reichert, *Verbrannt bis zur Unkenntlichkeit*. A copy of this book was provided to me in 1997. By that time I

had already published the latest [1995-96], updated edition of my book, now called Apocalypse 1945: The Destruction of Dresden, in which I had lowered the death roll still further on the basis of my own investigations and considerations. This was the first edition over which I, and not the publisher, had total control ...

Press Round-Up

Media Coverage of the Irving-Lipstadt Trial

Compiled by Greg Raven

Historian Irving Says He's Been Object of Campaign of Vilification

Associated Press, March 15, 2000

LONDON — Historian David Irving, who has outraged survivors of Nazi death camps by saying the Holocaust was exaggerated, told Britain's High Court on Wednesday that he had been the victim of a 30-year international campaign to destroy his reputation as a historian...

He said attempts to "suffocate" his publishing career had included "hostile groups" applying pressure to major book selling chains to burn or destroy his books...

Irving told the packed courtroom the case was not about the reputation of the Holocaust but about his reputation "as a human being, as an historian of integrity."

"A judgment in my favor does not mean that the Holocaust never happened; it means only that in England today discussion is still permitted."

British Holocaust Trial Ends with Claim of Jewish Conspiracy

Douglas Davis

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 15, 2000

LONDON — David Irving told the High Court in London this week that some of the world's largest Jewish organizations are involved in an international conspiracy against him.

The self-described Holocaust revisionist's claim Wednesday was the centerpiece of his 104-page closing address at the end of a two-month libel case against American Holocaust historian Deborah Lipstadt and her British publisher, Penguin Books...

The trial, which has attracted international attention, has been described as the most important trial involving the Holocaust since Adolf Eichmann, the chief engineer of the Holocaust, was convicted in Israel in 1961...

The plaintiff and defendant have shown sharply contrasting styles. Irving — who served as his own attorney and appeared to relish the spotlight — wasted no opportunity in and out of court in

making statements supporting his claims that Auschwitz was not a death camp or that there was no systematic, mass destruction of Jews; Lipstadt, a professor at Emory University in Atlanta, has sat silently throughout the proceedings.

Asserting that Israeli Holocaust specialist Yehuda Bauer paid for and directed Lipstadt's book, Irving alleged that Bauer urged Lipstadt to incriminate him.

The book, said Irving, is part of a 30-year international campaign, led by the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, JTA, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and others, which had aimed to discredit him.

"It is quite evident that the ADL, in cahoots with Lipstadt, set itself the task of destroying my career," he said, asserting that "the real defendants in this case are not represented in this court." But, he added, "We have them to thank for the spectacle that has been presented in this courtroom since January."

Without their financial assistance, he said, it is doubtful whether the expensive defense team could have "mounted this colossal assault on my name."

"This blinding and expensive spotlight has been focused on the narrowest of issues," he said, "yet it has still generated more noise than illumination."

Irving was particularly scathing about JTA. He claimed the news agency provided material in 1992 for Lipstadt's assertion that Irving was to have participated in a gathering in Sweden, which was later canceled, that would have been a "confluence between anti-Israel, anti-Semitic and Holocaust denial forces."...

Irving also claimed that a 1995 JTA report accused him of "having supplied the trigger mechanism for the Oklahoma City bomb."

Revisionist History

Seth Gitell

Boston Phoenix, March 16, 2000

Reform Party presidential hopeful Patrick Buchanan answered questions Tuesday [March 14] on WTKK FM 96.9 with talk-show host Jay Severin, a friend and former aide to the perennial candidate. Responding to a call on the show, Buchanan repeated assertions about the Holocaust that he's made in the past — assertions that minimize Hitler's guilt. "If Hitler had won, and overrun the Soviet Union quickly, you might have had no Holocaust whatsoever," Buchanan said. He added that he's preparing to write a book documenting his belief — leading this listener to think that Buchanan is preparing to join the ranks of David Irving and other Holocaust deniers.

Holocaust Trial about Freedom, Says Irving

Michael Horsnell

The Times (London), March 16, 2000

David Irving, the controversial Hitler historian, said yesterday that if a judge ruled against him in his libel trial, academics could become too scared to discuss the Holocaust...

He said his editor at Macmillans had issued a secret order in July 1992 to destroy several thousand copies of all three volumes of his Hitler biography worth hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Mr. Irving said his family was placed in constant fear and West End Central Police Station in London had asked to film inside his Mayfair flat in case they needed to be rescued.

He added: “For 12 months after our young child — Jessica — was born, we lived with a wicker Moses basket in the furthest corner of our apartment near a window, attached to a length of wire rope in case the building was set on fire and we had to lower her to safety ... I have lived since then with a four-foot steel spike stowed in a strategic point inside my apartment. No historian should have to live with his family in a civilized city under such conditions.”

Irving: 'I Aided Shoah Research'

Helen Jacobus

Jewish Chronicle (London), March 17, 2000

In his closing statement on Wednesday [March 15], David Irving stood by his view that Hitler did not know about the Final Solution.

He also said no gas chambers had been used for mass extermination at Auschwitz. And he told Mr. Justice Gray, before a packed public gallery, that there had been “no meaningful research” into the Holocaust until his book, *Hitler’s War*, in 1977.

“Far from being a 'Holocaust-denier,' my work has directly increased historical research into, and understanding of the Holocaust,” he said.

He said the defense had not proved he had “falsified” history. Though they were backed by “multimillion-dollar research, this does not invalidate me as an historian.”

He maintained an international network — which he later said included the Board of Deputies and the Institute of Jewish Affairs — had waged a campaign against him. Professor Deborah Lipstadt’s book, *Denying the Holocaust*, had been “the climax of this campaign.”

This had resulted in loss of income. “Because of the inescapable conclusion that Hitler had probably not ordered, or been aware until relatively late, of the ultimate fate of the European Jews, I forfeited “perhaps half-a-million dollars” in publishing deals, he said.

Much of Mr. Irving’s closing submission focused on what he termed proof at the trial that a complex of buildings at Auschwitz was not “a slaughterhouse” — a contention that prompted defense counsel Richard Rampton to intervene, at one point, to contend that the historian was misrepresenting evidence heard in the two-month-long libel hearing. Mr. Irving said there was no forensic evidence to prove the roof of a gas chamber at Auschwitz had been built with holes through which SS guards could have thrown “canisters of cyanide-soaked pellets.”

He said the defendants’ “entire case, the untruth that crematorium II was used as a factory of death ... has caved in, as surely as had that roof.” He also said the figure of six million Jewish victims of the Holocaust had been a “back-of-the-envelope calculation by American Jewish leaders” whom the prosecutor in the Nuremberg trials had met in 1945.

Referring to right-wing groups in Germany which he had addressed and had since been outlawed, Mr. Irving added: "Germany now has several hundred political prisoners in its jails."

A Question of History: Why I Spoke Up for David Irving

Peter Millar

Sunday Times (London), March 19, 2000

Playing the devil's advocate is something most writers can cope with. It is another thing entirely getting an e-mail from him asking you to be his witness in court.

David Irving, of course, is not the devil. Or so he maintains. He has, he says, been demonized by a global conspiracy determined to ruin him and enforce his silence. That has been the essence of his libel case now awaiting judgment in the High Court. As Joseph Goebbels's biographer, he does not quite echo the man he considers the real architect of the Third Reich's crimes, and say it is a "Jewish-Communist conspiracy." But he comes close.

Such is Irving's ogre status that I had some trepidation even appearing in the witness stand — called by a man who says the greatest crime in human history is largely a myth — in a capacity that shocked friends, described (wholly mistakenly) as "for the defense." Mistakenly, because Irving is the claimant. I was doing something even more apparently outrageous: appearing, in a loose and non-legalistic manner of speaking, "for the prosecution."

Unlike me, Sir John Keegan, defense editor of The Daily Telegraph and an eminent historian who praised Irving's book *Hitler's War* for its research, had to be subpoenaed into the witness box. Under oath, he admitted that his refusal to give evidence was based on fears of being "misunderstood." Irving said that was proof of the strength of the conspiracy against him...

If even half of Irving's claims were true, it would — as he insists — be evidence of a massive conspiracy of lies and distortion. A conspiracy that, except to Irving and a few others, defies belief.

It would be sad if we allowed political correctness to condemn Irving for thinking (or even saying) the unsayable. Nor is it our affair if he believes the unbelievable. But what if he preaches it...?

Could David Irving Succeed?

Douglas Davis

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 20, 2000

... Was Auschwitz really a death camp where Jews were systematically slaughtered en masse? Did the Holocaust really happen? Did Hitler order, still less know about, the destruction of European Jewry? No, no, no, thundered Irving.

Given the wealth of historical documentation, physical evidence and eyewitness testimonies, including those of former death camp commandants, the questions might have been redundant to most reasonable people. But not, apparently, to Irving.

To Irving, Auschwitz was an awful slave labor camp where most of the 100,000 Jewish inmates — his figure — died of natural causes. To Irving, the Holocaust was the sum total of all the casualties of World War II. To Irving, Hitler was the best friend the Jews had in the Third Reich.

So who was to blame for the suffering of the Jews? Why, says Irving, the Jews themselves who, by their unspeakable behavior and insatiable greed, have invited the hatred and persecution of their hosts wherever they have lived over the past 3,000 years...

Whatever the outcome, it would be entirely wrong to assume that Irving is a cardboard cut-out fascist or a raving lunatic. His public speeches might be intemperate, but his actions are carefully calculated. He is a prolific author, an articulate spokesman for his cause and he has a presence — physical and intellectual — that commands attention.

In other circumstances, Irving might have been a front-line academic, a political leader or an effective courtroom advocate. Instead, he has found a niche for himself as the jewel in the crown of right-wing extremism, its intellectual guiding star.

Holocaust Deniers Can't Be Ignored

Kenneth Lasson

Baltimore Sun, April 2, 2000

... Irving maintains that he is a legitimate historian who challenges orthodox views. Here are a couple of his statements:

"I don't see any reason to be tasteful about [the gas chambers at] Auschwitz. It's baloney. It's a legend... I say quite tastelessly, in fact, that more women died on the back seat of Edward Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick than ever died in a gas chamber in Auschwitz... The holocaust of the Germans of Dresden (right) was real. The holocaust of the Jews in the Auschwitz gas chambers is a fabrication."

"I would say that [Jews are] a clever race. I would say that as a race they are better at making money than I am. That's a racist remark, of course. If I was going to be crude, I would say not only are they better at making money, but they are greedy."...

... the trial has serious ramifications. "I used to wonder why one must even dignify such an absurd position," says British historian Eric A. Johnson. Given the deniers' increasing numbers and influence, he now feels they can no longer be ignored.

Indeed, Irving has been recognized by some as a meticulous researcher. By his own account, he's "scrupulously fair." But if Irving is able to dismiss the testimony of tens of thousands of witnesses, where does that leave history?...

But Irving is hardly a lone wolf in the academic wilderness. Many university libraries classify Holocaust-denial books under "Holocaust." Ignorance about what happened is widespread and growing; recent polls found that 38 percent of American high school students and 28 percent of American adults could not identify the Holocaust.

There can be little doubt that Holocaust denial will gain strength once there are no more victims alive to supply eyewitness testimony about Nazi atrocities.

The need to remember is made all the more critical by the existence of well-known political figures who at various times express sympathy for accused Nazi war criminals or doubt the extent of the Holocaust, such as Patrick Buchanan and Louis Farrakhan...

In 1947, Thomas Dodd, the former U.S. senator who was one of the American prosecutors at the Nuremberg Trials, said of the evidence he was about to present that “the proof will be so overwhelming that I venture to predict not one word I have spoken will be denied.” Of course, Dodd hadn’t countenanced Irving, who himself is living proof that one may be both a scholar and a bigot. As the generation of survivors dwindles, whose words will win?

Lipstadt: Libel Trial Strengthened Me

Janine Zacharia

The Jerusalem Post, April 4, 2000

PHOENIX, Arizona — Deborah Lipstadt, the US professor of Holocaust studies who is fighting a libel suit filed by Holocaust denier David Irving in England, told The Jerusalem Post this week she has been strengthened by the experience...

Asked about Israel’s decision to release the prison papers of Adolf Eichmann to help her case, Lipstadt said she was grateful to the Israeli government for the decision, but her lawyers had not used them. “The Eichmann papers were important. But we didn’t use them in the trial really because they came in very late,” she said.

Faux Historians' Political Agendas Deserve Exposure

George Will

The Washington Post, April 6, 2000

... Irving, whose current ideological purposes prevent him from writing real history, fancies himself a “revisionist,” a term of scholarship that he and kindred spirits have hijacked for their anti-Semitic purposes. Lipstadt is author of the 1993 book *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, in which she called Irving “one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial.” He is dangerous because he is indefatigable, skillful and cunning in mining archival material to give his tendentious arguments a patina of scholarship...

Holocaust denial and revisionism is a tangle of assertions, many of them made simultaneously and never mind the mind-bending contradictions. The assertions include:

The Holocaust (the killing of both sexes and all ages of an entire human group as quickly as possible using the full employment of the resources of a modern industrial state) never happened; many people died in camps but only as a result of wartime stresses (excessive labor, inadequate hygiene, misguided security measures); the gas chambers were only for showers or fumigation; the gas Zyklon B was too weak to produce mass deaths, or so strong it would have killed persons emptying the chambers; the Holocaust happened but not on the scale propagandized by Jewish interests for political and financial gain (German “confirmations” were made to curry favor with their captors); it happened but it was not Hitler’s fault (overzealous subordinates acted without his knowledge); it happened but it was the Jews’ fault (for frustrating Hitler’s attempts to achieve Germany’s reasonable aims diplomatically)...

What worries Lipstadt most is not the historical amnesia of millions of barely educated people. And what worries her most is not the epistemological indeterminacy of ignorant sophisticates in academia who preach that there are no facts, only “interpretations” based on individuals’ “perspectives,” so everything is a matter of mere opinion and all opinions, including Irving’s, are created equal.

Rather, what worries her most is hatred and the political agenda of the haters. Holocaust deniers usually espouse a generalized racism but particularly aim to vilify Jews and delegitimize Israel. As survivors of the Holocaust and others with firsthand knowledge of it die, Holocaust deniers will redouble their efforts. But their task has been made more difficult by what Lipstadt has achieved — an emphatic denunciation of those who torture history in order to rehabilitate torturers and open careers for future torturers.

Historians Fight Battle of the Books

T. R. Reid

The Washington Post, April 6, 2000

LONDON — The emotional and engrossing legal battle playing out here this spring was initially billed as “the Holocaust on trial.” In fact, it has turned out to be “history on trial,” as the litigants argue over what historians should be allowed to write about World War II and about each other...

The case, with some of the world’s leading World War II historians in the witness box, was initially expected to put the fact of the Holocaust itself on trial. But Irving scotched that issue in his opening statement. “No person ... can deny that the tragedy actually happened,” he said, “however much we dissident historians may wish to quibble about the means, the scale, the dates and other minutiae.”

Instead, the courtroom battle dealt mainly with why Irving and his books are now so vilified. Is it because Irving is “a liar ... a racist and a rabid anti-Semite,” as Lipstadt’s lawyer argued? Or is it, as Irving sees the issue, because “an international conspiracy” determined that “there is a single politically correct view of that war, and no historian will be allowed to challenge it.”...

In one of the more stunning moments of the trial, Irving argued that no one has ever found a signed order from Hitler calling for the extermination of Jews. Turning toward the transfixed spectators, he said: “I have to remind you of a basic principle of English law — that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty.”

Irving does not stop there. He maintains that Anne Frank’s diary is “a romantic novel rather like *Gone With the Wind*.” He says the number of Jews killed by the Nazis was “far smaller” than the widely accepted figure of six million; in an interview, Irving said the number was “of the order of one million.” He says that most of the victims died of disease or were shot to death, and “there was no industry-scale gassing of Jews.”

Finally, Irving fills his books with comparisons that Lipstadt calls “immoral equivalencies.” He denies that the Jews suffered uniquely in World War II. He compares the Nazi killing of Jews to the Allies’ killing of German civilians in bombing raids. He argues that the word “holocaust” should be used to describe the Allied bombing of Dresden.

Years ago, Irving received respectful attention for his research from some mainstream historians...

But over time, Irving became increasingly isolated. He was convicted of violating Germany's Holocaust-denial laws and barred from several countries. Publishers dropped his books and backed out of contracts for new ones.

Irving concluded that these sanctions were the work of a conspiracy, at the heart of which was Lipstadt...

Lipstadt's book became a central element of contemporary Holocaust studies, and publishers worldwide brought out local editions. Penguin Books published a British edition in 1995...

The result has been a trial studded with long lectures, angry exchanges and bitter insults ...

At one point, Irving ... launched into a long exegesis on the ballpoint-pen markings found in the manuscript of Anne Frank's diary. Rampton stood up and complained: "Really, my lord, I really do think this is becoming the most frightful waste of time."

"Well," Gray responded, "at least this one is relevant."

Even if Irving wins, it's difficult to imagine that any trial result could make up for the losses he has sustained in recent years.

Verdict Looms in Libel Trial of Emory Scholar

Bert Roughton Jr.

Atlanta Journal-Constitution, April 9, 2000

... On the surface, the lawsuit by writer David Irving against Emory University professor Deborah Lipstadt has been a test of his charge that she libeled him in her 1994 book, *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*.

Yet, in many ways, the case has been an exploration of basic assumptions about what happened in Germany and Eastern Europe during the World War II era.

The Israeli government considered the trial important enough to provide Lipstadt's lawyers with the unpublished prison papers of Hitler lieutenant Adolf Eichmann to help undermine Irving's assertions. However, the documents were too late to be used in the case.

The witness box has been filled with experts who packed the record with documents and analyses to sustain accepted accounts of the Holocaust...

Irving contends the Nazis didn't kill as many as six million Jews in a systematic extermination effort. But he accepts that the Nazis were responsible for the deaths of many Jews, maybe one million, most of whom were killed by malnutrition, disease or firing squads.

Furthermore, he contended the scope of the Holocaust has been overblown by Jews seeking to boost reparations from Germany.

Irving also rejected as fiction accounts of Nazis gassing Jews at concentration camps and says the gas chambers still seen by tourists at Auschwitz are fakes.

A biographer of Hitler, Irving also argued that the Nazi leader was unaware of the campaign against Jews and other minorities until late in the war. Hitler, in Irving's words, had "a Richard Nixon kind of complex" and didn't really want to know what others were doing to Jews.

In his 104-page closing address, Irving asserted that Lipstadt's book had been financed and directed by Israeli Holocaust specialist Yehuda Bauer, then a professor at the Hebrew University, who, he said, had urged Lipstadt to incriminate him.

He said this was part of a 30-year international campaign against him, led by the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and others. "It is quite evident that the ADL, in cahoots with Lipstadt, set itself the task of destroying my career," he said.

As a result of their campaign, he said, he is banned from Germany, Austria, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

"I have been subjected since at least 1973, and probably before then, to what would be called in warfare a 'campaign of interdiction,'" he said... He said his once lucrative career as an author and public speaker has been left in ruins.

Irving's War

Andrew Walker

BBC News, April 11, 2000

... David John Caldwell Irving was born in 1938, the son of a Lieutenant Commander in the Royal Navy who had seen service at the battle of Jutland. Although he entered Imperial College, London, to study Physics, Irving failed to graduate.

He was rejected by the Royal Air Force as being medically unfit and decided, as an alternative to National Service, to move to Germany, finding employment as a steelworker in the Ruhr.

Returning to Britain, he wrote a controversial first book, *The Destruction of Dresden*, which described the 1945 air raid on the city as "the worst single massacre in European history." The book was, nevertheless, popular and Irving followed it with a series of best-sellers, including *The Mare's Nest* and *The Virus House*, about the Nazis' atomic research program. In 1968 he found himself in court following the publication of *The Destruction of Convoy PQ17*. Captain J. E. Broome, who commanded the doomed convoy's escort, sued for libel and won.

But Irving bounced back and, in 1977, produced the work for which is probably best known — *Hitler's War*. The book looked at the conduct of World War II from Hitler's perspective, "from behind the Führer's desk," as Irving put it.

He berated fellow historians for their idleness over research, as he had unearthed a vast collection of previously unexploited Nazi documents and had conducted many interviews with members of Hitler's personal staff while writing the book.

The vast work, which took 13 years to produce, contained the astounding thesis that, until late 1943, Hitler knew nothing of the Holocaust and that he never gave the order for the physical destruction of European Jewry. He offered £1,000 to anyone who could produce a written docu-

ment showing that Hitler had given such an order. Indeed in the following years, Irving went even further, stating that gas chambers did not exist and that six million did not die.

At the time, Irving drew high praise. Hugh Trevor-Roper wrote, “No praise can be too high for his indefatigable scholarly industry” and A. J. P. Taylor commended his “good scholarship.”

Most, though, were outraged by what they saw as Irving’s unacceptable views. Irving underwent verbal attacks, the door of his house was smashed with a sledgehammer and he was banned from Germany, Australia and Canada.

Irving now views himself as a champion of what he calls Real History. He blames a vast, largely Jewish, conspiracy of “the traditional enemies of free speech” for losing book contracts and income and now sees his works published free online on his own web site.

History Under Scrutiny

Jon Silverman

BBC News, April 11, 2000

The marathon libel action which historian David Irving lost against American academic Deborah Lipstadt has been about history and truth. And underpinning the trial is what many consider the most heinous crime of the 20th Century — the Holocaust.

However, in his closing speech, Mr. Irving, representing himself, said the case was not about the Holocaust but about “his reputation as a human being, as an historian of integrity.” He told Mr. Justice Gray that a judgment in his favor did not mean that the Holocaust never happened, merely that in England, discussion was still permitted.

His opponents agree that at the heart of the case is the historian’s reputation. But they deny that his freedom of expression is an issue. And they allege that Mr. Irving’s agenda is far wider than an academic interest in the Holocaust...

Mr. Irving also lost ground — if not in court then amongst Holocaust deniers — by admitting that he had been wrong when he said that the gassing of Jews in trucks was done “on a limited and experimental basis” only.

This was the first time in 36 years that the Holocaust had been the central issue of a libel case at the High Court. And for that reason, the judgment is likely to be quoted for many years to come.

History Needs David Irvings

Donald Cameron Watt Evening Standard (London), April 11, 2000

... Eight months before the case came to court, The New York Times asked a number of leading American and British historians whether they regarded Irving as being a historian “of repute.” The large majority of those polled, ranging from the ultra-conservative Right to the ex-communist Left, answered yes. Only those who identify with the victims of the Holocaust disagreed. For them Irving’s views are blasphemous and put him on the same level of sin as advocates of pedophilia. In a number of countries “Holocaust denial” is a crime. In Britain and America pressure is brought on publishers not to print works embodying this version of history. Irving claimed the accusation to be a threat to his livelihood; he sought compensation; and he sought to silence his

critics. Make no mistake, however. Both sides in this action were engaged in what that great historian R. H. Tawney once called “the gladiatorial school of historical controversy.”

Penguin was certainly out for blood. The firm has employed five historians, with two research assistants, for some considerable time to produce 750 pages of written testimony, querying and checking every document cited in Irving’s books on Hitler. Show me one historian who has not broken into a cold sweat at the thought of undergoing similar treatment.

For what it is worth, I admire some of Mr. Irving’s work as a historian. Thirty-five years ago I collaborated with him in the publication of a lengthy German intelligence document on British policy in the 12 months before the British declaration of war on Germany in September 1939. Ten years ago he published, on his own in German, a revised version of the book. From every point of view it was a considerable advance on the work I had collaborated on. He had found a lot more documents and had identified and interviewed a number of officers of the organization in question. In the American archives he had found a lengthy post-war American evaluation of the organization, incorporating a British intelligence document, which will now, we hope, be released to the Public Record Office. Irving’s book, *The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe*, is still recommended by historians of the war in the air. That is one side of Irving.

As a historian he betrays some of the characteristic faults of the self-taught... He has also an encyclopedic knowledge of the truly enormous mass of German documentation which fell into the hands of the victors in 1945. Moreover, his first book, on the bombing of Dresden, opened to him private papers, diaries and so on, previously unknown, of “respectable” German officials who had gone along with the Nazis. No book of his has ever failed to come up with new evidence...

Professional historians have been left uneasy by the whole business. Many distinguished British historians in the past, from Edward Gibbon’s caricatures of early Christianity to A. J. P. Taylor, are open to the accusation that they allowed their political agenda and views to influence their professional practice in the selection and interpretation of historical evidence.

... The truth needs an Irving’s challenges to keep it alive.

The Trial of David Irving — And My Part in His Downfall

John Keegan

The Daily Telegraph (London), April 12, 2000

The news that David Irving has lost his libel case will send a tremor through the community of 20th-century historians. For more than a year now, the gossip between them has been about whether he would lose or not, a subject on which all hedged bets. “It depends whether the judge goes for Holocaust denial or slurs on his reputation,” was the general view. “If the first he’ll lose, if the second he might get away with it.”

What this insider talk meant was that Mr. Irving might well persuade the judge of the unfairness of Professor Lipstadt’s accusations of his bad historical method. That was what he cared about and he would no doubt argue his case well. If, however, her accusation that Irving’s version of the Holocaust was so untruthful as to outweigh his merits as an otherwise objective historian, then he would get no damages and have to pay enormous costs...

... Prof Lipstadt’s case was that the bad in Irving was so bad that it robbed all he wrote of value. Irving’s case was that, if some historians of reputation praised parts of his work, the praise ex-

tended to all his work. Both positions are, of course, highly artificial.

Fortunately, I did not have to give my opinion of Prof Lipstadt's work...

I stepped down but stayed to watch the rest of the morning's proceedings. Mr. Irving's performance was very impressive. He is a large, strong, handsome man, excellently dressed, with the appearance of a leading QC [Queen's counsel]. He performs as well as a QC also, asking, in a firm but courteous voice, precise questions which demonstrate his detailed knowledge of an enormous body of material.

There it was all around us, hundreds of box files holding thousands of pages telling in millions of words what had been done and suffered in Hitler's Europe. Irving knows the material paragraph by paragraph. His skill as an archivist cannot be contested.

Unfortunately for him, the judge has now decided that all-consuming knowledge of a vast body of material does not excuse faults in interpreting it. Irving, the judge said, "repeatedly makes assertions about the Holocaust which are unsupported by or contrary to the historical record."

... [Irving] wants to be praised for his source notes, for his exegesis, for his bibliographies, for what historians call "the apparatus."

As a result, his books positively clank and groan under the weight of apparatus. Very good it is too. Irving, never confident enough to believe what he reads about himself, really is admired by some of those whose approval he seeks...

... He has, in short, many of the qualities of the most creative historians. He is certainly never dull. Prof Lipstadt, by contrast, seems as dull as only the self-righteously politically correct can be. Few other historians had ever heard of her before this case. Most will not want to hear from her again. Mr. Irving, if he will only learn from this case, still has much that is interesting to tell us.

Switzerland: Prison Term for 'Holocaust Denial'

On April 10, 2000, a Swiss court sentenced 79-year-old publicist and retired teacher Gaston-Armand Amaudruz to one year in prison for “denying” the existence of homicidal gas chambers in World War II German concentration camps.

Amaudruz was found guilty of violating Switzerland’s five-year-old “anti-racism” law, which makes it a crime to “deny, grossly minimize or seek to justify genocide or other crimes against humanity.” He had broken the law, the court ruled, through his distribution of revisionist books, and for two articles in 1995 issues of his newsletter *Courrier du Continent*. In one of the offending items he had written: “For my part, I maintain my position: I don’t believe in the gas chambers. Let the exterminationists provide the proof and I will believe it. But as I’ve been waiting for this proof for decades, I don’t believe I will see it soon.”

In addition to the non-suspended prison sentence, the criminal court in Lausanne ordered Amaudruz to pay a fine of 1,000 Swiss francs (about \$600) to each of four civil parties in the case: the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities, the Paris-based International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA), the Association of Sons and Daughters of Deported Jews of France, and a Jewish concentration camp survivor. Amaudruz must also pay the trial costs, as well as the costs of publishing a notice of the court’s judgment in three daily newspapers and in an official gazette.

Jewish groups expressed satisfaction with the judgment, which Amaudruz is appealing.

The three-day trial (April 3-5) was his first appearance before a court for anything he has written or published. For half a century, Amaudruz has been putting out his *Courrier* newsletter with no detectable harm to the country’s Jews, much less to Swiss society as a whole.

'Long Live Revisionism!'

Shortly before the trial began, Amaudruz wrote an intentionally provocative article, “Vive le révisionnisme!,” that appeared in the April 2000 issue (No. 418) of his *Courrier* newsletter. He wrote:

Revisionism exists to call into question our “certainties,” even the most seemingly solid ones. This methodology, very familiar to scientists, applies to all fields of knowledge.

In several countries there is an untouchable dogma: the “Six Million” and the “gas chambers”... In Switzerland, Section 261 of the criminal code ... supposedly meant to suppress “racial discrimination,” does not define the offense, thereby leaving the definition up to the judges, who can condemn or acquit the accused as they see fit, or

on the basis of received instructions. And just what in the world does disputing the Six Million figure have to do with 'racial discrimination'?...

As one who has been indicted for revisionism, I repeat:

- The Six Million figure is impossible.
- I do not believe in the gas chambers, because there is no proof for them.

My trial is a political trial; the verdict is based exclusively on the appropriateness of considerations of the moment.

I prefer to obey my conscience rather than an immoral and criminal law, and I hold to my conviction. Long live revisionism!

In his testimony during the trial, Amaudruz defiantly repeated his skepticism, “for lack of proof,” of gas chamber claims, and said that it was “impossible” for six million Jews to have been killed by German authorities during World War II.

Amaudruz was asked why he continued to express disbelief in gas chambers and the Six Million even after Switzerland's Anti-Racism Law came into effect in early 1995. He responded by saying that there is nothing in the law about gas chambers or the Six Million, and he did not know at the time that these two dogmas were untouchable. He added:

If the Six Million figure were correct, and the gas chambers existed, it would not be necessary to suppress dissident opinions with a muzzle law. In such a situation one should be able to present proofs. The existence of Section 261 [Anti-Racism Law] is the best argument against the standard version of the fate of the Jews in the Second World War. Given how the media incessantly serves up this version, doubts are practically obligatory.

Why, he was asked, does he continue to express doubts about the Holocaust? “Because,” he replied simply, “the lobby continues to put out its propaganda.”

An Unabashed Racist

While on the witness stand, Amaudruz was asked if he is a racist. “Yes,” was his forthright reply, “and on the basis of the Petit Larousse [a standard dictionary] of 1947, which defines Racism as 'the theory of those who seek to defend the unity of the race of the nation'.” Today, he went on, “those who want to exploit or exterminate other races are called 'racist'.” In that sense, he said, he is not a racist, because he doesn’t want to exploit or kill anyone.

When asked if his opposition to racial mixing is not discrimination, he replied: “Race-mixing destroys that which nature has created over eons of time. Racism protects the rights of all human societies.” Amaudruz reaffirmed his long-standing conviction that “the European peoples must remain white.” He also expressed opposition to abortion, and support for the right to life of all human beings.

Half a Century of Dedication

Amaudruz, born in Lausanne in December 1920, is author of three books, holds a certificate of political science and social sciences, and for a time worked as a language teacher. Already as a 28-year-old he questioned claims of wartime German homicidal gas chambers in his book, *Ubu*

Justicier au Premier Procès de Nuremberg (Paris, 1949). He played an important role in the founding, in 1951, of the Zurich-based “New European Order,” an anti-Capitalist and anti-Communist organization with a “racialist” outlook inspired in part by the writings of Italian philosopher Julius Evola (1898-1974).

Since 1946 he has been editor and publisher of *Courrier du Continent*, a mimeographed French-language newsletter with a circulation of about 400 that is issued ten times yearly.

Amaudruz is not the first person to be punished under the country’s Anti-Racism Law. In July 1998 a Swiss court punished two revisionists, Jürgen Graf and Gerhard Förster, with fines and prison terms for writing and publishing allegedly anti-Jewish books. (See “Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists,” July-August 1998 Journal, pp. 2-13, esp. p. 13.)

A dramatic high point of that trial was the testimony of Austrian engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich, who told the court that mass gassings with Zyklon at the German wartime camps, as alleged, are technically impossible. As he spoke, the public prosecutor threatened to bring “Holocaust denial” charges against Fröhlich for his sworn testimony. Even the defense attorneys in the case risked indictment for trying to show the court that their clients' views are based on fact.

Three Jewish Witnesses

With court permission, the prosecution brought to the stand three “Holocaust survivors” (Toman, Reich and Klein). The court rejected a request by Amaudruz' attorney to permit testimony by Prof. Robert Faurisson, Europe’s foremost revisionist scholar, and Eric Delcroix, an attorney who has defended revisionists in numerous court cases in France. Faurisson was rejected without explanation (either at the time of the request, or during the trial, or in the judgment). As for the rejection of Delcroix, the judge gave a convoluted explanation.

“Establishment” media coverage of the Amaudruz trial was predictably slanted. In its report on the sentencing, Switzerland’s most prestigious daily paper, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (April 11, p. 13) told readers: “While conceding that human beings suffered in the camps, he [Amaudruz] does not believe in the gas chambers. Naturally Amaudruz' faith was not shaken a bit by the court’s calling in three witnesses who reported on the gas chambers from their own experience.”

In fact, says Jürgen Graf, who attended the proceedings, none of the three Jewish witnesses “reported on the gas chambers from their own experience.” None claimed to have observed or witnessed a gassing of human beings.

The witness Reich, who was interned during the war in two labor camps, as well as in the Gross Rosen and Buchenwald concentration camps, told the court that he never saw a gas chamber. The witnesses Toman and Klein, who were interned in Auschwitz-Birkenau (among other places) during the war, did not claim to have witnessed gassings of people. They merely stated that they had observed people entering buildings, and did not see them come out.

Toman and Klein also testified to having seen flames shooting up from Birkenau crematory chimneys. (For technical reasons, this latter claim is absolutely impossible.) It is quite possible, says Graf, that these two witnesses were not consciously lying, but rather have confused what they saw 56 years ago with what they've heard and read in the years since.

The wartime fate of these three “Holocaust survivors,” notes Graf, is itself difficult to reconcile with the Holocaust extermination story. Reich survived wartime internment in four German

camps, while Toman survived internment in various German camps from December 1941 until the end of the war in 1945. Both Toman and his mother survived internment in Auschwitz.

Noting that Amaudruz was targeted not only by the state prosecutor, but also by several Jewish organizations, including a foreign one, Graf calls this a “Stalinist” trial. “In its illegality and malice,” he says, “the proceedings against Amaudruz surpass all previous trials of revisionists in Switzerland, including the one against my publisher Gerhard Förster (since deceased) and me.”

Summing up, Graf comments: “In his dignified and steadfast behavior [in the courtroom] Amaudruz showed himself to be a man of character and honor. The contrast between him and his accusers could hardly have been greater. Those who observed the trial saw in action two vastly different types of the species *homo sapiens*.”

Another False Holocaust Witness

Officially Sanctioned Fraud at Dachau

Mark Weber

Each year many thousands of tourists visit the site of the notorious Dachau concentration camp in southern Germany, not far from Munich. They see the crematory, the memorial shrines, and the museum. And in recent years, as an almost daily fixture, they see Martin Zaidenstadt. This elderly Jewish man lectures visitors to Dachau on his experiences as a wartime prisoner there. He is particularly passionate about the horrors of the camp's gas chamber where, he explains, many prisoners were put to death with poison gas. He even claims that this gas chamber served as a model for Auschwitz (New York Times, Oct. 26, 1997). Zaidenstadt's listeners respond to his heart-rending testimony with unquestioning sympathy. Many reach generously into their wallets.

But now a new 50-minute documentary film, "Martin," and a new book, *The Last Survivor: In Search of Martin Zaidenstadt*, written by journalist Timothy W. Ryback and published by Pantheon, have subjected that testimony to critical review. Ryback establishes that the octogenarian Zaidenstadt was born in Jedwabne, Poland, but that his story of Dachau internment is a fraud. He probably never visited the camp until the 1990s, says Ryback, and his tales of gas chamber killings are untrue.

Although supposedly authoritative evidence of gas chamber killings at Dachau has been cited over the years — including "eyewitness" testimony at the main Nuremberg trial of 1945-46 — today no reputable historian credits such claims. It is widely acknowledged, even by the well-known "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal, that no one was ever "gassed" at the camp. (See, for example, "Wiesenthal Re-Confirms: 'No Extermination Camps on German Soil,'" *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, pp. 9-12.)

In today's cultural climate, one is obliged to regard "Holocaust survivors" such as Zaidenstadt with an almost reverential indulgence. For example, the director of the state-run Dachau camp memorial, Barbara Distel, seems unbothered by Zaidenstadt's deceit. Even though she is a government official, she permits his mendacious pan-handling. (One can hardly imagine Distel tolerating anyone who spent hours explaining to camp site visitors that American GIs who liberated the camp on April 29, 1945, summarily killed 500 German prisoners there. For more on this, see, J. Cobden, "The Dachau Gas Chamber Myth," *March-April 1995 Journal*, pp. 14-26.)

Also typical is the attitude of Howard Kaplan, a Jewish writer in Los Angeles. In a recent article about Zaidenstadt published in an influential Israeli magazine, he acknowledges that "a difficult question arises from Martin's fabrications," but concludes on an upbeat note: "But is exaggerating the horror really an affront to truth? I'm not persuaded... What matters is that Martin has ultimately found his way back to Judaism at the doors of the crematorium." (H. Kaplan, "The Man by the Door," *The Jerusalem Report*, April 10, 2000, pp. 46-47.)

A recent New York Times article about the new “Martin” film acknowledges that Zaidenstadt’s “assertion” of Dachau gassings is “contrary to the official stories.” But instead of forthrightly identifying his “provocative contentions” as lies, the Times coyly tells readers: “In the end we learn that Mr. Zaidenstadt’s version of things isn’t entirely reliable, but isn’t to be dismissed either... The implicit message of 'Martin' [is] that everyone has a truth to deliver...” (“Holocaust Documentary Explores One Man’s Truth,” April 3, 2000.)

No one seems concerned about the toll that such deceit takes on the residents of the Bavarian town of Dachau, who must live in the shadow of the camp’s government-promoted infamy. For example, to avoid the stigma of having children born in the notorious city, many expectant mothers go elsewhere to deliver their babies.

The Zaidenstadt story points up the social-intellectual corruption that is an intrinsic by-product of what Rabbi Michael Goldberg (in his 1995 book *Why Should Jews Survive?*) aptly calls “the Holocaust cult.” All the same, Zaidenstadt now joins a growing list of demonstrably false “Holocaust survivor” eyewitnesses — a slate that includes Jerzy Kosinski and best-selling author Benjamin Wilkomirski. (See “Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud,” Sept.-Oct. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.)

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Estee Lauder Ads Evoke 'Nazi Image'?

The giant cosmetics firm of Estee Lauder has recently come under fire for some of its advertisements depicting blond models. Critics say the photos “evoke the Nazi image of the perfect race,” according to a report in the weekly *Jewish Press* of Brooklyn, New York (“Lauder Ads Called Nazi Like,” March 10, 2000). A Lauder company spokesman, however, rejects the charge as “totally ludicrous,” adding that anyone who is familiar with the Lauder name knows that it would never do anything having “Nazi undertones.” The company, which is run by Leonard Lauder, said it might pull ads from the trendy *Talk* magazine, whose creative director, Oliveri Toscani, made the remarks.

Not only is the Lauder family Jewish, but Leonard’s brother, Ronald Lauder, plays a prominent role in international Jewish-Zionist affairs. He is head of the Jewish National Fund, an important quasi-governmental Israeli agency, the Chairman of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, a powerful Jewish-American organization, and heads the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation, which works to advance Jewish interests in Eastern Europe.

Jews in American Film and Television

America's motion picture industry is so keenly attuned to Jewish concerns and sensibilities that even some Jewish observers seem amazed. Noting that a Jewish-theme film has received the Oscar award in the documentary film category for three years in a row, Ami Eden, a writer for the Jewish Exponent — a paper serving the Jewish community of Philadelphia — offered this tongue in cheek commentary in a recent column (March 30, 2000, p. 5):

Rumor has it that non-Jewish films are actually eligible to win the Oscar for best documentary, but someone seems to have forgotten the judges. This year, the choice was "One Day in September," which examines the murder of eleven Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. Two Holocaust-related films, "The Long Way Home" and "The Last Days," took home the honor in 1998 and 1999, respectively.

So as not to raise any more false hopes among producers of non-Jewish films, rumor has it that the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences has decided to change the name of the category. Next year, expect the announcement to read something like this: The Oscar for Best Documentary on a Jewish Topic goes to ...

'Incredibly Favorable' Media Treatment

No less than Hollywood, American television is keenly sensitive to Jewish interests and concerns. Joseph Aaron, a regular writer for the Chicago Jewish News and other Jewish community papers, candidly observed in a recent column: "The fact is that Jews get just about the most favorable media treatment of any group in this country ... Not only are we not covered unfairly but we are, in fact, portrayed incredibly favorably ..." (Jewish Journal, Los Angeles, April 7, 2000, p. 66)

Aaron went on to write glowingly of a recent episode of the popular television series "Touched by Angel," in which Judaism is portrayed in affectionate detail. One of the episode's script writers, Aaron noted, is an Orthodox rabbi. So sympathetic to Jews and Judaism is this episode that Aaron gushes: "Amazing, remarkable ... How many other religions get their sacred moments shown lovingly and accurately on national TV on a prime time series?"

"Part of our problem, I think," Aaron goes on to tell his Jewish readers,

is that we've elevated being suspicious to an art form. Even though no one is chasing us anymore, we can't shake the feeling that there must be someone out there gunning for us. And so if there isn't, we imagine it.

... We complain and moan about how the media treat us, portray us and yet we fail to see how often and how much they portray us as they did on Sunday night's "Touched by an Angel."

Jews: A Religious Community, a People, or a Race?

Mark Weber

Defining “Jew” has never been simple. Is he someone who practices Judaism, the Jewish religion, or is he identified by his ancestry? While many Americans assume that Jews are essentially a religious group, Jews themselves take for granted that their community is much more ethnic-national than it is religious.

Benjamin Netanyahu, until recently Israel’s prime minister, frankly regards Jews as members of a racial group. Speaking in February to a gathering of nearly a thousand Jews in southern California, he said: “If Israel had not come into existence after World War II than [*sic*] I am certain the Jewish race wouldn’t have survived.” (*Daily Pilot*, Newport Beach/Costa Mesa, Feb. 28, 2000, front page)

The Israeli leader went on to exhort his audience: “I stand before you and say you must strengthen your commitment to Israel. You must become leaders and stand up as Jews. We must be proud of our past to be confident of our future.” (Similarly forthright appeals by non-Jews to racial-ethnic pride are, of course, routinely condemned as “racist” or “neo-Nazi.”)

Echoing Netanyahu, an influential Jewish community paper with a nationwide readership recently referred to Jews as a racial group. An editorial entitled “Some Other Race” in the March 17, 2000, issue of the New York weekly *Forward* urges readers to fill out the federal government census form. It goes on to suggest: “... On question eight [of the form, which asks about race], you might consider doing what more than one member of our redaktzia [editorial staff] has done: checking the box 'some other race' and writing in the word 'Jew'.”

Charles Bronfman, a main sponsor of the \$210 million “Birthright Israel” project to “sell Jewishness” to American Jews, expresses a similar sentiment. He is co-chairman of the powerful Seagram company, and brother of Edgar Bronfman, Sr., president of the World Jewish Congress. “You can live a perfectly decent life not being Jewish,” says Charles Bronfman, “but I think you’re losing a lot — losing the kind of feeling you have when you know [that] throughout the world there are people who somehow or other have the same kind of DNA that you have.” (“Project Reminds Young Jews of Heritage,” *The Washington Post*, Jan. 17, 2000, p. A19)

Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, stressed in his seminal book *Der Judenstaat* (“The Jewish State”), published in 1896, that Jews around the world constitute a Volk, that is, a people or nationality, with interests different than those of the non-Jews among whom they live. Accordingly, Israeli political figures and Jewish community leaders in the United States routinely speak of “the Jewish people.”

Consistent with that, Jewish leaders express alarm that so many Jews are marrying non-Jews (an attitude that is denounced as “racist” if expressed by non-Jews). Charles S. Liebman, a professor

at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, bluntly declares that intermarriage “violates the most basic norms of Judaism [and] threatens Jewish survival.” (Los Angeles Times, April 17, 2000)

For decades a small number of American Jews — notably Alfred Lilienthal, author of *The Zionist Connection*, and Rabbi Elmer Berger, leader of the American Council for Judaism — worked hard to persuade fellow Jews to reject Jewish nationalism (Zionism), and instead regard themselves essentially as a religious group. Overwhelmingly, though, Jews have rejected such pleas. Indeed, some of the most prominent Jewish personalities of the past century — including Albert Einstein, Ilya Ehrenburg, and Israel’s first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion — have been non-religious.

As a matter of basic state policy, Israel actively encourages immigration of Jews — defined by ancestry — from around the world, while at the same time strongly discouraging settlement by non-Jews, even forbidding immigration of non-Jews who were born in what is now Israel.

Reviews

Gorbachev's New Look at Soviet History: Insightful and Naive

- *Gorbachev: On My Country and the World*, by Mikhail S. Gorbachev. Translated from Russian by George Shriver. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999. Hardcover. 300 pages. \$29.95.

Reviewed by [Basil Dmytryshyn](#)

Just how and why did the Soviet Union collapse? Was the demise of this once-mighty empire inevitable? In this important book, the last leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1985-1991), and the last President of the USSR (1989-1991), offers answers to these questions and provides valuable insights on the 70-year Soviet experiment, including its origins and collapse, an assessment of his tenure as the last Soviet leader, and reflections on current global issues.

On My Country and the World is organized into three parts. In the first, entitled “The October Revolution: Its Sense and Significance,” Gorbachev takes a close look at Soviet history. He states “absolutely and definitively” that “the October Revolution [which brought Lenin and the Bolsheviks to power] was historically inevitable” (p. 3). This is patently untrue; demonstrably only death and taxes are inevitable!

Having made this assertion, Gorbachev then seems to contradict himself, correctly noting that, in the years before the outbreak of the First World War (1914), Imperial Russia experienced rapid economic growth, including enormous railroad construction, and broad social, political and cultural development, including great expansion in education and the cooperative movement, along with the emergence of political parties and labor unions, the rise of an independent judiciary, and a silver age in music, literature, and art — in short, profound changes that had a generally positive impact on every aspect of Russian life.

Gorbachev is right in noting that Russia’s disastrous involvement in the First World War, which resulted in millions of casualties, enormous suffering and dire shortages of basic needs, triggered the popular February 1917 revolution that ended the ancient Romanov dynasty. He is, however, dead wrong in stating that the short-lived Provisional Government was “helpless, cowardly, and self-seeking” (p. 6). Here he repeats the standard Soviet version of history, and ignores Lenin’s obstructionist tactics during that chaotic period, as well as the putsch-like character of the Bolshevik seizure of power. Instead Gorbachev praises Lenin’s promises of peace, land, bread, national self-determination, and workers’ control of factories — none of which ever materialized.

Gorbachev contends that Lenin tried but failed to introduce “Communist principles” in Russia, and blames Stalin for the failure. This assertion is totally wrong. It was Lenin, not Stalin, who created this first totalitarian system of the 20th century. Lenin outlawed all opposition political

parties; abolished freedom of the press and assembly; declared anyone who opposed him an enemy of the people; established concentration camps; reneged on his promises to give land to the peasants and self-determination to non-Russian nationalities; imposed secrecy and iron discipline on all party members; introduced purges; and established the Communist Party's monopoly control of all communications media. Stalin's "contribution" to Leninism was physical brutality on a mass scale.

Stalin, Gorbachev writes, was a "cunning, crafty, cruel, and merciless individual, and a morbid suspiciousness was an innate part of his character" (p. 16). While this characterization is correct, Gorbachev fails to note that Stalin — as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR from 1924 to 1953 (and thus Gorbachev's predecessor) — faithfully carried out all of Lenin's policies.

These included the rapid industrialization of the country (which Lenin had proposed in 1922), an enormous, coerced program that, Gorbachev claims, transformed backward Russia into a leading industrial power "comparable to the advanced countries of the world" (Gorbachev's italics, p. 26). This is not true. On the eve of the First World War, Imperial Russia was fifth in world coal production; second in oil; fifth in pig iron and steel; fourth in the cotton industry; second in railroad mileage; and first in sugar beet cultivation and refining. In short, Russia was already a major industrial and economic power before the 1917 Revolution.

Gorbachev is correct in saying that the Soviet people paid a very heavy price for the Lenin-Stalin program of accelerated industrialization, which according to official propaganda was designed to overtake and surpass the West. And even after the Stalin era, the people continued to pay heavily. As Gorbachev quite rightly notes, the "overtake and surpass" policy ruined the peasantry, destroyed the competent and the industrious, profligately wasted the country's natural resources, and was enforced by brutal terror. It was carried out largely without modern science and technology (contacts with foreign scientists was prohibited), and relied heavily on prison labor and a vast state apparatus of corrupt bureaucrats who were masters of serving and surviving. "Collectivization and the Gulag together destroyed the human potential of our nation," writes Gorbachev, "and they strengthened the dictatorial regime."

Yet even after acknowledging all this, Gorbachev goes on to cite what he calls "astonishingly great achievements" (p. 28) of the Soviet era, which, he says, included guaranteed employment, free education, public health service, inexpensive housing and transportation, and accomplishments in the theater, arts, film and sports. Having visited many foreign countries, Gorbachev acknowledges that "the standard of living in the Soviet Union remained significantly lower than in most developed countries" (p. 29). This reviewer would like to interject that, except for its military might and space program, by the standards of industrialized countries, and even many developing ones, Gorbachev's Soviet Union (like the current Russian Federation) was backward in many, many ways.

Gorbachev attributes this congenital backwardness to the paralyzing constraints of the Stalinist apparatus (which, as already mentioned, was actually initiated by Lenin). Gorbachev praises Khrushchev's "de-Stalinization" effort (1954-64), viewing it as a forerunner of his own 1980s policies of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness). Unfortunately, but inevitably, these efforts were doomed to failure because both Gorbachev and Khrushchev remained loyal to Leninism, and each fell victim to an intra-party coup.

After each coup, Gorbachev observes correctly, the nation fell back more deeply into stagnation, corruption, demoralization, and disenchantment. It was this legacy, it seems, that induced Gor-

bachev to turn to the works of such early critics of Lenin's experiment as Karl Kautsky, Otto Bauer, and Friedrich Adler, all of whom he quotes. Apparently under the influence of such critics, Gorbachev was converted to western European Social Democratic ideas that emphasized freedom and decency. Gorbachev does not, however, reveal exactly when and how he became a convert to these concepts.

Also in Part One, Gorbachev discusses Soviet ideological distrust of the capitalist world, Soviet efforts (open and secret) to overthrow it, and the building of an enormous military and industrial complex designed to expand Soviet power in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Gorbachev takes due credit for ending the Cold War by introducing perestroika and glasnost in foreign policy, a broad initiative that, he claims, benefited everybody. As he notes, his new policy encountered strong opposition from threatened members of the privileged Soviet hierarchy (or nomenklatura), as well as skepticism from Western leaders. All the same, Gorbachev believes, his new vision undermined the foundations of the totalitarian system at home, and of the Soviet-Western confrontation abroad.

In Part Two of this book, "The Union Could Have Been Preserved," Gorbachev details his own role in the dramatic events that culminated in the collapse of the USSR at the end of 1991. He maintains that "no one foresaw the dissolution of the Soviet Union" (p. 83). That is really not correct. At least a few academic observers in the West saw this, but their foresight was largely ignored. The popular media and the political-scholarly establishment — impressed by Soviet military might and Soviet propaganda — took no interest in trying to understand the inherent weaknesses of the Soviet system, above all the powerful ethnic-national tensions that ultimately destroyed the USSR — the same forces that have brought down other multi-national empires.

Gorbachev tried to maintain the multi-national USSR, but reorganized on a voluntary basis. What he failed to appreciate is the deeply entrenched resentment based on the fact that the country's many non-Russian nationalities (who made up nearly half the total population) had been forcibly brought under Moscow's control by military might, both Tsarist and Soviet.

The first serious outbreak of popular hostility to Russian rule, Gorbachev contends, was at a March-April 1986 confrontation between Russian and Yakut students in north-east Siberia. (He fails to mention that earlier there had been many suppressed anti-Russian demonstrations that had erupted in various parts of the USSR.) In the wake of that incident, he continues, ethnic hostility erupted in Kazakhstan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Lithuania and other non-Russian regions. As Gorbachev correctly notes, many of these demonstrations were directed not just against Russians, but against other ethnic groups as well. Alarmed at the spreading ethnic strife, Gorbachev reports, the Soviet leadership debated various possible solutions at numerous Politburo meetings.

Realizing that these powerful forces could tear apart the country, Gorbachev and his associates drafted a new union treaty to replace the one that had established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922-24. Gorbachev was committed to preserving the USSR in some form, and accordingly he details here his efforts to that end, including a nationwide referendum on March 17, 1991, in which every Soviet citizen was to answer the question: "Do you consider it necessary to preserve the USSR as a renewed federation of equal, sovereign states-republics in which the rights and freedoms of persons of all nationalities will be fully guaranteed?" (p. 118). As Gorbachev notes, 76 percent voted their approval.

Just before the new federation was to come into being, though, everything was derailed by a dramatic coup staged on August 19, 1991, by "hard line" members of the top nomenklatura echelon

(including his own vice president and several other close colleagues whom he himself had appointed), as well as by the actions of his principal rival, Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation within the USSR. Gorbachev devotes several pages to the failed three-day coup that squandered the last remnants of Communist Party authority and prestige, and which, along with the decision by Russia, Ukraine and other republics to opt for independence, finally sealed the fate of the USSR.

Still believing that the USSR could have been preserved, and that its breakup was a tragedy for everyone, Gorbachev is very critical of the decision by Russian president Yeltsin and the leaders of other Soviet republics to discard the USSR. In support of this view, he quotes at length from transcripts of Politburo debates. While revealing, these high-level debates ignored the prevailing popular mood of the time. Gorbachev's promises in 1991 to establish a new federation on a just and equitable basis were widely equated with the broken promises made by Lenin and his successors about the original USSR. Consciously or not, events affirmed the truth of Lincoln's familiar adage that one can fool some of the people all of the time, and all the people some of the time, but not all of the people all of the time. Because Moscow's leaders had so abjectly failed to live up to their past promises, most people opted for national independence to manage (or mismanage) for themselves.

Gorbachev is very critical of the December 8, 1991, meeting at which the leaders of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus publicly rejected the USSR and agreed on independence for their respective countries. When the leaders of other union republics joined them in establishing a loose "Commonwealth of Independent States" to replace the USSR, the Soviet Union passed into historical oblivion. Gorbachev acknowledged the new reality in a nationally televised address on December 25, 1991, in which he announced his resignation as president of the USSR. With the formal termination of the Soviet Union, the hammer and sickle banner that had once inspired both dread and pride was lowered from the Kremlin for the last time. The next day the Russian tricolor flag was hoisted in its place.

In Part Three, "The New Thinking: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," Gorbachev reflects on international and global issues. As he notes, when he assumed power in 1985, the Soviet Union was embroiled in a bitter and costly war in Afghanistan, relations with China were strained, and the USSR was mired in the protracted "Cold War" rivalry with the West. The country was devoting a whopping 25 to 30 percent of its GNP to military spending — five to six times more than that of the NATO countries. These factors, Gorbachev writes, forced him to adopt his radical "new thinking" initiative to sharply reduce military rivalry and international tension, and thereby to end the "Cold War."

He credits leading Russian and Western scientists, as well as the leaders of the United States, Britain, West Germany, Japan, India and China, for supporting him in his daring campaign. Not surprisingly, he notes, his bold new approach met with considerable opposition at home and suspicion abroad. But this did not dissuade him from his goal. He cites Einstein's comment that in a nuclear war there can be no winners. His realization that "nuclear war is irrational; it makes no sense" (p. 191), sets him apart from such men as Stalin and Mao Zedong.

With some justifiable pride, Gorbachev cites specific achievements of his dramatic foreign policy initiatives. These include the December 1987 US-Soviet treaty on the elimination and destruction of medium and short-range missiles, the July 1991 treaty that substantially reduced strategic offensive weapons, the November 1990 treaty on reducing conventional weapons in Europe, as well as a series of bilateral agreements on wide-ranging cooperation with France, Italy, Spain, West Germany, and the European Union. Gorbachev also notes the impact of his new policies in

East Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. As he correctly points out, one of the most important results was the unification of Germany in 1990.

In the remaining pages of Part Three, Gorbachev offers some perspectives on the challenges for Russia and humanity in the “post-confrontational” world. On this eve of a new century, his assessment of the present and future is pessimistic, notably because “individual countries have not only made no effort to counter disorganizing developments but have often displayed impotence or indifference in the face of dangerous chaotic processes” (p. 215).

On this point is he absolutely correct. With few exceptions, today’s political leaders formulate their nation’s policies not on a realistic and far-sighted assessment of national interests, but rather according to fickle public opinion about current events, as measured in media-orchestrated polls. The resulting confusion, he believes, has undermined essential principles, including freedom of choice, recognition of pluralism, rejection of brute force as an instrument of world politics, and, more generally, patience and tolerance.

“It is alarming today,” writes Gorbachev at another point, “to see that the world, which had begun to move away from confrontation and toward unity, is once again being pushed onto a dangerous path... The responsibilities of those involved in international politics increase with each passing day. A new and higher quality of world politics is required.”

Gorbachev also deplores the current moral degradation of the individual and of society, the decline of spiritual values, and the spread of terrorism, organized crime, and drug trafficking — all of which, he says, have created a breeding ground for the criminalization of politics. He expresses concern about the impact of the information revolution on the world economy, the globalization of finance and banking; the spread of trans-national corporations; environmental problems; and the challenge of burgeoning population growth.

As Gorbachev correctly notes, “the peoples of the world are seeking self-identity and independence” (p. 232) in determining their own futures. At the same time (and in typical Soviet style), he blames many of the Third World’s current problems on western colonialism. He is also silent about Imperial Russian and Soviet expansion and subjugation in the Baltic region, Ukraine, Central Asia, Siberia, the Far East, and the Caucasus. (Incidentally, he offers no explanation for the Kremlin’s current genocidal war in Chechnya, a region that was forcibly brought under Russian rule in the mid-19th century.)

Concerned about the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, Gorbachev believes that the United States, Russia, China, Britain, and France should reduce their nuclear arsenals, stop testing nuclear weapons, terminate arms exports, and bolster the United Nations as a potent international peace keeping force.

Gorbachev is highly critical of US foreign policy in recent years, including ever more vocal United States claims to world “leadership.” In this regard, he cites the war unleashed in 1999 against Yugoslavia (Serbia) by the US-dominated NATO military alliance, and the expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe, a move that, he maintains, will promote European division, not unity. Writes Gorbachev: the United States, “which plays a commanding role in NATO, is willing not only to disregard the norms of international law but also to impose on the world its own agenda in international relations and, in fact, to be guided in world relations only by its own ‘national interests,’ taking the United Nations into account only if UN decisions and actions serve US interests.” As a possible antidote to this, Gorbachev proposes that “the rights and powers of the UN General Assembly may need to be revised” (p. 228).

As this book further attests, Gorbachev's rise to the top of the Soviet hierarchy is more than remarkable; it is, to borrow Churchill's well-known expression, "a mystery inside an enigma." Just how was it possible for this Communist heretic to conceal his non-conformist attitudes as he climbed ever higher in the Soviet power structure? How did the Communist Party's strict surveillance apparatus fail to identify this heretic of Leninism-Stalinism? Gorbachev provides no answers to this mystery.

In spite of this reviewer's often critical remarks about Gorbachev's views, and even his treatment of historical facts, this book by the man who once held the highest position of power in the Soviet Union, and who presided over its demise, is an important document. Because it contains many valuable revelations and suggestions, it deserves to be read carefully, especially by those in authority.

About the author:

Basil Dmytryshyn, Professor Emeritus of History, was born in Poland. He holds a Ph.D. from University of California, Berkeley (1955). For years he taught history at Portland State University. He is the author or editor of several books, including *USSR: A Concise History*, and of numerous articles published in various scholarly journals.

Reviews

Veteran American Journalist Provides Valuable Inside Look at Third Reich Germany

- *Into the Darkness: A Sympathetic Report from Hitler's Wartime Reich*, by Lothrop Stoddard. Newport Beach, Calif.: [Noontide Press](#), 2000. (Facsimile reprint of the original 1940 edition, with new introduction.) 312 pages. Softcover. Index. \$13.95.

Reviewed by [Theodore J. O'Keefe](#)

After 60 years of oblivion, Lothrop Stoddard's *Into the Darkness*, based on the author's journey to central Europe from October 1939 to early 1940, has, thanks to the Noontide Press, re-emerged into the light of day. This is a welcome event, for this book is a rare even-handed account of the Third Reich — its leaders, its people, its politics and society — at the outset of the Second World War.

Lothrop Stoddard was not just any journalist, but perhaps the foremost popular American writer on race of the 20th century. Stoddard's Harvard Ph.D. in history (his dissertation on the slave revolt in Haiti was published in 1914 as *The French Revolution in San Domingo*) and his languages and wide travel set him apart from most scribblers of his day, and ours. *His Rising Tide of Color* was a best-seller in the 1920s, when Stoddard's notions on race, immigration, and eugenics were in national vogue, but that and his other books were banished not long afterward to a shadowy existence of reprinting by obscure houses and availability almost entirely by mail.

Traveling to Europe in late 1939 as a correspondent for the North American Newspaper Alliance, the 56-year-old Stoddard was given generous entree to Germany's leaders, from Hitler on down. Maneuvering his way around the blacked-out country (whence the book's title), whether shepherded by officials or on his own, Stoddard was aided not merely by his intimacy with Germany, dating from before the First World War, and his fluency in the language, but also by his keen reportorial eye and ear. The result is a highly readable account of Germany in the months between the victorious Polish campaign and the conquest of Denmark, Norway, France and the Lowlands. Read today, *Into the Darkness* resembles a time capsule from a forgotten age, an age before the atrocity mills were working to capacity and before the Nuremberg Tribunal had stamped its falsehoods with the seal of authenticity.

Most American journalists' books on Third Reich Germany have focused on politics, nearly always from the standpoint of Hitler's opponents. Stoddard, while hardly neglecting the Party, the Wehrmacht, the SS, and the police, is largely concerned with describing Germany's economic and social life and institutions. He was able not merely to get access to Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler, Robert Ley, Wilhelm Frick, Walter Darré, Gertrud Scholz-Klink and many other leaders, but to talk directly and knowledgeably with them about their achievements, problems, and goals. Stoddard then went off to observe what the Nazis were doing — on the farm, in the

workplace, with the Labor Service, through the Winterhilfe aid campaign, and in the eugenics court. (Before visiting the last, he talked with such figures of the Reich's racial and genetics programs as Eugen Fischer, Fritz Lenz, and Hans F. K. Günther.) What Party officials and government ministers wouldn't tell him, he was often able to learn from taxi drivers, letter carriers, and cleaning women — and still found time to travel to Slovakia, where he interviewed the country's president, Monsignor Josef Tiso, and to Hungary, where he celebrated New Year's eve with his many friends among the Magyars.

Readers of *Into the Darkness*, whether they share Stoddard's racial views or not, may be surprised to discover how objectively he described what he saw. The fact that his views on racial hierarchy and the preponderant influence of inheritance over that of environment largely jibed with those of the Nazis did not make the American Yankee a starry-eyed sympathizer, let alone a propagandist for, the National Socialist experiment. The old-stock Yankee from Brookline, Massachusetts, was acutely aware of the regime's all-encompassing propaganda techniques, and part of the appeal of his narrative lies in his canny observations on how German officialdom did its best to micromanage appearances (though not necessarily in a heavy-handed way) from the Reichskanzlei to the Gasthaus.

For Stoddard, unlike William Shirer, Dorothy Day, and the other "crusading" US journalists who covered Germany under Hitler, the Third Reich limitations on freedoms guaranteed by the American Constitution were sufficient grounds for distaste, if not censure, of the regime. While *Into the Darkness* doesn't gloss over the pervasive censorship, the concealed presence of the Gestapo, the ring tightening around the Jews, and the first rumors (some all too true) of German outrages in Poland, Stoddard was disinclined to bandy, let alone manufacture, atrocity tales. Thus his picture of Germany, even under the heightened censorship, rationing, and other wartime measures, accurately describes a far freer, safer place, for the great majority of its people, than was the Soviet Union. (That the Moscow treaty of August 1939 continued in force during Stoddard's visit afforded the author opportunity to make a public show of defiance to his hosts' foreign policy when, together with other journalists, Stoddard toasted the Finnish resistance to the late-1939 Soviet invasion.)

In 1940, however, accuracy and objectivity on Hitler's Germany was not what was wanted by America's intellectual and policy establishment. Even before *Into the Darkness* was published, Time magazine sniped at Stoddard as "persona grata to Nazis," running a grotesquely truncated version of his interview with Goebbels (already published through the North American Newspaper Alliance). By the time his book appeared, Germany's armed forces had conquered Denmark and Norway, overrun the Lowlands and conquered France, and driven British troops back across the Channel. While the United States, in accord with the wishes of the great majority of Americans, would stay officially neutral for a further a year and half, the climate in the publishing world, the academy, and government was such that Stoddard felt constrained to include an apologetic "Statement" on the book jacket. It begins "Personally repellent and depressing though Nazi Germany was to me, as it must be to any normally-minded American ..." and continues in the same mode for two paragraphs. Stoddard's aim then was to salvage himself and his book by advertising *Into the Darkness* as a clarion call to preparedness against the German "New Sparta with its cult of ruthless efficiency"; today, Stoddard's apology for *Into the Darkness* stands more as a sad tribute to the intimidating power, even then, of America's Orwellian media combine. One can't help noting that none of Stalin's many apologists among American journalists seems to have felt compelled to write a similar disclaimer.

Sixty years after it was written, the text of *Into the Darkness* is both a refutation of its author's apologia and a rebuke to his detractors. This is a journalistic account that still lives and breathes,

that informs and entertains.

Part of this is due to Stoddard's sympathy for so many of his subjects, and his empathy for all of them. Part is due to the book's dynamic objectivity, which arises from Stoddard's efforts to get at the facts behind the German propaganda rather than devise his own counter-propaganda.

And part of the continued vitality of *Into the Darkness* is certainly owing to our knowledge of how things will end, five years hence, for Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels and Tiso, and so many of their countrymen.

This reviewer has no evidence that Lothrop Stoddard actively opposed American entry into either the First or the Second World War. His *Into the Darkness*, nevertheless, is a vivid reminder that Germany under Hitler, as late as 1940, was not the inferno of persecution alleged by its detractors. Reading it today, armed with a hindsight unavailable to Stoddard, one may profitably wonder whether the (actual, as opposed to invented) Nazi excesses over the following five years owed more to the war and its conduct by the Allies than to the evil of the Nazis or the Germans.

Noontide's new edition of *Into the Darkness* includes an up-to-date and informative introduction on Stoddard's career by Rachel Dixon, and a new cover design which easily excels that of any of the author's earlier books. Neither revisionists nor connoisseurs of Stoddard's various writings on race will want to be without this highly readable, and most informative, re-issue.

About the author:

Theodore J. O'Keefe is book editor for the Institute for Historical Review, and an associate editor of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*. He previously worked at the IHR from 1986 until 1994, serving as chief editor of this Journal from 1988 until April 1992. He also addressed the IHR Conferences of 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1992. Educated at Harvard College, he is the author of numerous articles on historical and political subjects that have appeared in a range of periodicals.

13th IHR Conference: A Resounding Success

Optimism, Confidence Mark International Revisionist Meeting

A landmark meeting, characterized by confidence and optimism, brought together scholars, activists and friends of the Institute for Historical Review over the weekend of May 27-29, 2000. Some 150 men and women — some flying in from as far away as Australia, Argentina, Chile, Switzerland and Finland, as well as from across the United States — met in a spirit of continuity and renewal at a pleasant hotel in Irvine, southern California.

This 13th IHR Conference, by all accounts a resounding success, and perhaps the most spirited and successful ever, featured leading figures in the international revisionist movement. The forthright banquet talk by former Congressman Pete McCloskey and the rousing address by British historian David Irving were probably the most memorable high points of the three-day meeting. Four of the featured speakers — Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz, John Bennett and Ernst Zündel — had addressed the very first IHR Conference in 1979, and one attendee — Harvey Taylor — had been at all 13 IHR conferences.

This Conference not only had more featured speakers than any previous IHR meeting — 17 in all — it also had more students and younger people in attendance. Also, more students than ever were given financial assistance to attend. An unusually high portion of attendees, perhaps 30 to 40 percent, had never before been to an IHR conference. Appropriately for a meeting held over Memorial Day weekend, quite a few of those attending were US armed forces veterans.

Bringing together attendees and speakers from a wide range of political leanings and varied ethnic and religious backgrounds was a common passion for intellectual freedom and truthful history, scorn for the enemies of free thought and expression, and a healthy skepticism of dogmatic or “official” history.

As usual, this was an ideal opportunity for like-minded men and women from near and far to compare experiences and exchange views. Some remained engrossed in conversations until well into the early morning hours. This year’s Conference was unmarred by disruption or incident. Given the attacks by Jewish activists against past IHR meetings, the precise location of this Conference was not made public. (In 1989, for example, the Jewish Defense League used threats, intimidation and harassment to force the IHR from two hotels.)

Live Internet Broadcast

This was the best publicized IHR gathering ever. For the first time, lectures were broadcast live over the Internet through the www.Revisionism.com web site. (Links to the recordings can be found at the IHR’s web site, www.ihr.org.) While some 400 people listened in on the first evening, this number grew rapidly over the next few days. Altogether some 4,445 people tuned in to live or recorded lectures between May 27 and June 2. So many were listening at one point

that the main server carrying the broadcast crashed on the third day. However, people were still able to listen through an alternate server.

Unprecedented Media Coverage

For the first time ever, a major daily paper closely covered an IHR meeting. Veteran Los Angeles Times journalist Kim Murphy attended nearly every lecture, producing a rather detailed report, 40 column inches in length, that included apt quotes from addresses by Irving and McCloskey, and four paragraphs of excerpts from IHR Director Mark Weber's keynote address. Murphy's report was read not only by hundreds of thousands of Times readers when it appeared on May 30, but many others learned about the IHR and its conference when a lengthy portion of her article appeared in other daily papers.

A leading Israeli daily, The Jerusalem Post (June 1), also reported on the IHR Conference in an item based largely on the Los Angeles Times piece. In the meeting's aftermath, Weber conducted interviews with the leftist Los Angeles radio station KPFK and the Los Angeles bureau of the Reuters news agency.

Because it was unusually informative and generally objective, Murphy's Times report predictably enraged Jewish community figures. "Once again," complained Michael Berenbaum, a prominent Jewish activist and a former US Holocaust Memorial Council official, "the Los Angeles Times has allowed itself to be used as a propaganda instrument for Holocaust denial [sic] ..." The Times story, Berenbaum went on, "portrays the deniers [sic] as persecuted lambs who are harassed because of their ideas ... It can't seem to get the story right ..."

Two southern California Jewish community weekly papers — the Los Angeles Jewish Journal and Heritage/ Southwest Jewish Press — responded to the Times report with fury bordering on hysteria. Heritage called the IHR Conference a meeting of "cuckoos," "Nazis" and "narcissistic psychopaths" who gathered to "exchange fulminations, conspiracies, delusions and lies." The Jewish weekly blasted the IHR as a "Nazi front," and lashed out at the Los Angeles Times as a "towering monument to journalistic arrogance, incompetence, bias and stonewalling."

Murphy, a seasoned Times journalist with an impressive record covering the Middle East and the Bosnia war, had also written a generally fair front-page piece (January 7) on the Irving trial that, for the first time ever, informed readers of a major American daily paper of the routine legal persecution in Europe of revisionists. She cited specific cases of dissidents in Germany, France and other countries who have been imprisoned, fined or driven into exile merely for challenging official historiography.

Michael Shermer, editor-publisher of the anti-revisionist Skeptic magazine, attended a few of the Conference lectures. He is the co-author, along with veteran Jewish-Zionist activist Alex Grobman, of a just-published anti-revisionist polemic, Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It? (University of California Press).

Greg Raven, Journal associate editor, opened the Conference on Saturday evening with a formal welcome to attendees and speakers. Then, as MC, he capably kept the proceedings on track during the next two days with succinct, informative and witty introductions.

Pete McCloskey

“I came because I respect the thesis of this organization,” said former Congressman Paul (Pete) McCloskey, Jr., “that thesis being that there should be a reexamination of whatever governments say or politicians say or political entities say.” In his Sunday evening banquet address, the one-time federal lawmaker from northern California spoke bluntly about the corrupting role of Jewish-Zionist special interest groups, especially the powerful Anti-Defamation League.

Jewish leaders promptly denounced McCloskey’s participation in the Conference. Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, for example, said that his “appearance under the same tent as someone who has just been crowned the leading intellectual Jew-hater in the world [Irving], I guess speaks volumes.”

McCloskey spoke in some detail about the ADL’s record of illicit spying activities against groups deemed harmful to Israeli interests. The ADL, he noted, secretly arranged with officials of major metropolitan police departments to exchange unlawfully obtained information about groups and individuals. This information was sometimes also passed on to Israeli government agencies. ADL agent Roy Bullock, McCloskey went on, would write down the license plate numbers of people attending meetings of “anti-Israel” groups, whose identities would then be established with help from corrupt police officials.

During the 15 years he served as a US Congressman (1967 to 1983), McCloskey was regarded as a liberal. He was an early opponent of the Vietnam war, but as a decorated Korean War veteran (Silver Star, Navy Cross and two Purple Hearts), he could not be dismissed as a coward or pacifist. He was also the first Republican in Congress to call for the resignation of President Nixon. As McCloskey noted, he was at first regarded favorably by the Jewish community. But that changed when he spoke out against Israel’s illegal use in Lebanon of US-supplied cluster bombs. From that moment on, he said, he was a “marked man.”

The Jewish community, said McCloskey, has the power to suppress information embarrassing or damaging to Israel. The ADL routinely refuses to debate its adversaries, he stressed, preferring instead to use its clout to suppress facts about Israel.

Organized Jewry played a key role in defeating US Senator Charles Percy in Illinois, and California state political figure Ed Zschau, McCloskey said. Along with another former US Congressman, Paul Findley, who had likewise been targeted by Jewish-Zionist organizations, McCloskey founded the Council for the National Interest (CNI) to promote a Middle East policy that reflects the interests of the American people.

The ADL and the Jewish campus organization Hillel, McCloskey recalled, tried to bar him from teaching at Stanford University. Also at Stanford, he went on, Jewish groups targeted Norman Davies, a world-class British-born historian, and author such acclaimed works as *God’s Playground: A History of Poland*, and *Europe: A History*. Although Davies could not, by any rational measure, be considered anti-Jewish, the ADL was enraged by his balanced treatment of historical relations between Jews and Poles. It was enough that he had failed to portray Jews as innocent victims, and historical conflicts between Jews and Poles as entirely the fault of Poles. Even though Davies was considered an outstanding scholar of European history, and especially Polish history, Jewish pressure barred a seemingly certain professorship for him at Stanford.

Stressing the importance of historical revisionism, McCloskey cited, for example, the 1857 massacre near Cedar City, Utah, by Mormons of 120 men, women and children traveling westward in a wagon train. For 93 years, he said, the facts of this atrocity were suppressed by the Mormon Church, becoming known to the general public only in 1950 with the publication of *The Moun-*

tain Meadows Massacre, a book by Juanita Brooks. McCloskey also mentioned his interest in the current investigation of alleged Korean War atrocities by US troops against civilians.

“A historian should be dispassionate,” McCloskey admonished, adding that it’s important to avoid emotion-laden language. It’s “unseemly,” he went on, to dismiss an opposing point of view as “propaganda.”

McCloskey spoke of the “courage” of revisionists in France, Germany and other countries, who are legally persecuted for their dissident scholarship. “I don’t know if you are right or wrong about the Holocaust,” he said, but “I hope you’ll keep examining history.” He praised the Institute for Historical Review as the “striking edge” of the revisionist movement, and concluded by wishing the IHR “good luck.”

David Irving

In his first address to a meeting since the severe April 11 judgment against him in the London libel case, David Irving spoke to Conference attendees with remarkable confidence about the future. In a riveting and entertaining talk, delivered with his usual verve and passion, the best-selling British historian laid out reasons for optimism in his forthcoming appeal of Judge Gray’s verdict in his much-publicized libel suit against Deborah Lipstadt and her British publisher, Penguin Books.

“There’s been something akin to a grave injustice done,” said Irving. “It’s sad to say that in the battle between David and Goliath, David doesn’t always win. But I think I can say in this particular battle, David is going to win, and the victory is going to be sweet when it comes.” (An analysis of the dramatic London trial, and Irving’s Closing Statement in the case, are in the March-April 2000 Journal. Additional details can be found on his web site: www.fpp.co.uk.)

Judge Gray’s seemingly fair treatment of Irving during the court proceedings, the British historian suggested, actually masked an inner hostility. He noted that Judge Gray is a close friend of Richard Rampton, the attorney who spoke on behalf of the defendants throughout the proceedings. And according to one newspaper report, Irving said, Gray had begun writing his judgment long before the conclusion of the proceedings.

Millions of dollars were provided to the defendants, Irving said, by Steven Spielberg, the famous movie maker and Jewish activist, by Edgar Bronfman, Jr., chief of the giant Seagram’s corporation, and by the American Jewish Committee.

During the trial Irving was able to establish that star defense witness Robert Jan Van Pelt, is not — contrary to the image he cultivates of himself — an architect. The payment of some \$200,000 to Van Pelt for his services as a defense witness amounts to “corruption,” Irving said.

Quite lot of the nine-week London trial, Irving noted, had dealt with the question of whether any holes existed in the roof of the alleged “gas chamber” at morgue cellar 1 of Krema building 2 at Auschwitz-Birkenau, through which deadly Zyklon was supposedly poured in. In response to his arguments during the trial, Irving said, Auschwitz Museum authorities are carrying out an investigation of this matter, but the results are not known. This secretive investigation, said Irving, has been publicly mentioned only briefly in an on-line London Times report.

During the trial, Irving revealed, some 20 lawyers and some 20 historical specialists around the world assisted him in preparing his arguments and questions for witnesses before each day’s session.

As part of the defendants' demand for their “pound of flesh,” Irving said, by June 16, 2000, he must pay 150,000 pounds (\$223,000) “on account,” as a kind of down payment toward the total (estimated at some \$3 million). Raising this large sum will be difficult, Irving acknowledged.

Irving reported that US Congressman Tom Lantos (Dem.-Calif.), a prominent Jewish-Zionist activist, has been trying to ban him from entering the United States, and the US immigration and border control agency, the INS, had consulted with the Simon Wiesenthal Center about him.

Mark Weber

This gathering, said IHR Director Mark Weber in the keynote address, could well be called “the conference of the persecuted,” with several of the speakers having been imprisoned, fined, beaten, dismissed, and banned for expressing dissident views on 20th century history. He went on to highlight the powerful Jewish-Zionist forces behind the worldwide campaign of intimidation, persecution and censorship to enforce what amounts to a Jewish view of history. “We are expected to look at US and world history from what, in truth, is a Jewish perspective,” said Weber.

“How a society views history both reflects and greatly helps to determine its essential values and priorities,” he said. “How we view the past is crucially important in determining how we view ourselves, our place in the world, and, more important, our future as a people or society.” Citing specific, telling examples, he explained how our view of history has been drastically skewed over the past century.

Speaking of the devastating six-year-old legal dispute caused by the embezzlement of millions of dollars from the IHR and its parent corporation, Weber said that “the Institute has weathered the storm.” He spoke of the future with confidence. After six belt-tightening years, he said, the IHR is now rebuilding. This Conference, he added, is an expression of that renewal.

Weber concluded by stressing the Institute’s determination to carry on, “with greater clarity and sense of purpose than ever... our educational work of truth in history, for the sake not only of our own nation and heritage, but for all humanity.”

John Sack

In a dramatically delivered and information-packed lecture, John Sack traced the origins and impact of *An Eye for an Eye*, his headline-making exposé of the brutal mistreatment of ethnic Germans by Jewish Communist authorities in postwar Poland. The book — now available from the IHR in an expanded and thoroughly referenced new edition — explains that 60,000 to 80,000 Germans perished in the 1,255 concentration camps operated in Communist-ruled Poland by the notorious “Office of State Security,” and that three-fourths of its officers were Jews.

The veteran journalist and author related his adventures in censorship at the hands of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and other enemies of open discourse. He said that the World Jewish Congress called him, and his US publisher, “anti-Semites” (even though he is Jewish himself). During an interview on the nationally-broadcast “Charlie Rose” television show, Sack said, Deborah Lipstadt called him an “anti-Semite” and a “neo-Nazi.” And during a one-on-one telephone conversation, he related, Lipstadt told him that he is “worse than a Holocaust denier.”

During a question and answer period, Sack was asked when Jewish groups such as the ADL might permit a Holocaust revisionist to address their meetings. To everyone’s delight, he re-

sponded: “They won’t even let me speak!”

Sack affirmed that he accepts that Jews were killed in gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau and other wartime German camps. His participation at this IHR conference thus discredits the often-made charge that the Institute for Historical Review is ideologically dogmatic, sectarian or anti-Jewish.

Robert Faurisson

“Revisionism is not an ideology, it is a method,” stressed Robert Faurisson, the French professor who for decades has been Europe’s foremost revisionist scholar. In his well-received address, Dr. Faurisson called for a revisionism that is bold, daring and severe, a “nuts and bolts revisionism” that “goes to the center of the question.” Revisionist scholarship, he went on, should be free of pedantry.

Faurisson brought to the podium the insight, wit and savvy of a scholar who was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and who served for years as a professor at the University of Lyon II. His groundbreaking writings and courageous advocacy of Holocaust revisionism have resulted in academic sanctions, endless trials and murderous assaults.

Faurisson also spoke about the Anne Frank diary, relating his first-person interview with Otto Frank, Anne’s father, at his home in Switzerland in 1977, and responded to the “definitive” version of the diary published in 1989 by the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation.

Gerhard Rudolf

Speaking with authority based on bitter personal experience, Gerhard Rudolf reported on the growing legal repression of dissidents in Germany. Between 1994 and 1999, he related, 58,000 persons were prosecuted in Germany for “thought crimes.” In 1999 there were 11,248 such prosecutions, of which 8,698 were “right wing” violations, 1,015 were “leftist,” and 1,525 involved foreigners or non-German issues.

Among recent German efforts to curtail human and civil rights, Rudolf cited attempts to curb access to supposedly subversive Internet materials. He also spoke of the country’s insidious “youth protection” measures. While ostensibly designed to “protect youth,” they are largely a pretext for ideologically-driven censorship. “Germany today is a totalitarian police state,” said Rudolf, adding that freedom is similarly restricted in Austria.

The 35-year-old German-born chemist, a leading representative of a younger generation of revisionist scholars and activists, was forced into exile in 1996 after being sentenced to 14 months imprisonment for his critical on-site forensic examination of the Auschwitz and Birkenau “gas chambers” (the “Rudolf Report”). Since 1997 he has been editor of the German-language revisionist journal, *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*.

Rudolf spoke of the strong (Jewish) religious-ethnic or ideological prejudices of Robert Jan Van Pelt, a prominent defense witness in the Irving-Lipstadt London trial who is now widely regarded as a world-class expert on German wartime “gas chambers.” In “Mr. Death,” the recent documentary (by Jewish film maker Errol Morris), Van Pelt spoke of Auschwitz-Birkenau as the “holy of holies,” and of World War II as a “moral war ... a war between good and evil,” and that “the core of this war... is Auschwitz.” (“Mr. Death” is reviewed in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal,

pp. 62-69.) Rudolf also mentioned important new documents about Auschwitz-Birkenau found by Italian researcher and author Carlo Mattogno.

Of his own decision to carry out a forensic investigation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, an undertaking that he knew might well upset his life, Rudolf said that he first hesitated, asking himself “Why me?” But he then asked himself “Why not me?,” and resolved to go ahead.

Gladye Whitney

In a lecture entitled “How Psychology Lost Darwin,” Gladye Whitney, a professor of Psychology at Florida State University, Tallahassee, explained how the prevailing view of race and race relations has changed radically over the past 70 years.

No one played a more important role in this process, he explained, than Franz Boas (1858-1942), a German-born Jewish scholar who taught for years at Columbia University. An ideologically driven man with Marxist-Leninist sympathies, Boas promoted racial equality and Jewish group interests. Magnifying Boas' impact were his sometimes illustrious graduate students, of whom perhaps the most important was Margaret Mead (1901-1978), author of the highly influential but dishonest work *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928).

During the question and answer period, the quick-witted Whitney made a number of striking points. Whereas Darwinian evolution was widely accepted at the beginning of the 20th century, he said, this is no longer true. Egalitarianism, “multi-culturalism,” and modern liberalism are now entrenched in psychology (as well as in the other social sciences), and Darwinism is now attacked as racist and “Nazi.” This drastic, ideologically-driven transformation has taken place in spite of empirical evidence to the contrary. Indeed, added Whitney, “psychological traits are every bit as inheritable as physical traits.” In the worldwide struggle in psychology, he concluded bleakly, “international Socialists are winning,”

Arthur Butz

In his closely-reasoned lecture, Arthur Butz — Northwestern University professor and author of the path-breaking revisionist study, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (first published in 1976) — commented on three broad aspects of the ongoing “Holocaust” discussion. He discussed, for example, implications of the fraudulent “testimonies” of such “Holocaust survivor” fakes as Benjamin Wilkomirski and Laura Grabowski, and made some detailed criticisms of some of Michael Shermer’s anti-revisionist arguments. In trying to understand “our adversaries,” said Butz, a “complication is that we think of religion as universal and other worldly.” But “Judaism, by contrast, is a tribal religion of this world, in which contention with gentiles is a major ingredient, both in practice and in myth.”

Theodore O’Keefe

IHR book editor Theodore O’Keefe took a close, critical look at the wartime activities of Oskar Schindler, the legendary hero of *Schindler’s List*, the best-selling novel and well-known Steven Spielberg film. Separating fact from myth, O’Keefe showed, for example, that the story of the miraculous rescue of “Schindler’s” women from Auschwitz is a historical lie, and that there is no evidence that the Bruennlitz sanctuary depicted in the Spielberg film (where the “Schindler Jews” waited out the war’s final months) was substantially different from many similar subcamps of the Gross Rosen concentration camp network. This was the sixth time O’Keefe had addressed

an IHR conference. After having worked for the IHR from 1986 until 1994, his return in September 1999 is a mark of the Institute's revival.

Fredrick Töben

In his wide-ranging address, the director of the revisionist Adelaide Institute in Australia provided a first-person account of his trial and seven months' imprisonment in Germany for "Holocaust denial," with pointed remarks about the hypocrisy of the Federal Republic's "justice" system as it operates in practice. (See "German Court Sentences Australian Holocaust Skeptic," July-August 1999 Journal, pp. 2-5.)

Dr. Fredrick Töben offered a range of comments and observations that reflected his training and bent as a philosopher. "Every thinking human being is a revisionist," he noted, for example. He spoke of several recent headline-making cases of fraudulent "Holocaust survivors," and drew encouragement for the future from two recent books: Peter Novick's *The Holocaust in American Life*, and Jacques Barzun's *From Dawn to Decadence*. Töben and the Adelaide Institute continue routinely to make headlines in the Australian press, and the Adelaide Institute has a growing impact far beyond the country's shores through its newsletter and web site www.adelaideinstitute.org.

Jürgen Graf

Citing suppressed or generally ignored wartime documents, and other historical evidence, Jürgen Graf took aim at the often-made claim that Jews who were deported to Auschwitz and not registered there were immediately put to death. The Swiss educator, author and researcher explained how the clear historical evidence simply cannot be reconciled with the standard Holocaust extermination story. He also spoke in some detail about the fate of the hundreds of thousands of Jews deported from Hungary to the Reich, May-July 1944. Along with Italian researcher and author Carlo Mattogno, Graf has unearthed many revealing wartime documents that have lain unnoticed for decades in eastern European and Russian archives.

In Russia, Graf reported, people are eagerly open to Holocaust revisionism. He spoke with enthusiasm of his productive meetings with like-minded colleagues in Russia, and noted that more than 100,000 copies of the Russian edition of one of his books have been distributed.

In October Graf will begin serving the 15-month prison sentence that was handed down in July 1998 for his "thought crime" violations of Switzerland's recent "anti-racism" law. (See "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," July-August 1998 Journal, pp. 2-13.)

He prefers to serve the outrageous sentence rather than go into political exile and lead the life of a fugitive (as Germar Rudolf has done).

John Bennett

Since the late 1970s, John Bennett has been a leading voice for revisionism in Australia, where he is also well known as a staunch defender of civil liberties. Copies were made available to attendees of the most recent edition of his widely-distributed handbook, *Your Rights*, which often contains revisionist material. Bennett made comments and offered suggestions based on his years of experience. For one thing, he said, he would welcome more humorous treatment of Holocaust claims, especially the obviously ludicrous ones.

Bradley Smith

Bradley Smith, veteran of hundreds of radio and television appearances, brought attendees up-to-date on his work in bringing revisionism to America's colleges and universities. In his usual genial manner, Smith told how his ad campaign and new magazine, *The Revisionist*, have shaken up one campus after another across the country, enraging the traditional self-appointed censors.

Robert Countess

Robert Countess, scholar and revisionist ambassador, provided an enthusiastic and anecdote-filled report about his globe-trotting activism, including insights from his role in the recent international Holocaust conference in Stockholm. He also spoke about his role in helping to produce the forthcoming English-language anthology of revisionist writings, *Dissecting the Holocaust*, compiled and edited by Germar Rudolf. During the Conference, he promoted new "No holes, No Holocaust" T-shirts.

Ernst Zündel

Canada's leading revisionist activist spoke with his usual verve and passion about his seemingly unending struggle for freedom of expression and truth in history in his adopted homeland. Twice Zündel was brought to trial in two history-making "Holocaust trials," but was ultimately vindicated only when the country's Supreme Court threw out as unconstitutional the archaic "false news" law under which he had been prosecuted.

Holding forth in his typically upbeat and irrepressible style, Ernst Zündel delighted attendees with a vivid report on the latest political and judicial efforts to silence him and the California-based "Zündelsite" web site operated by Ingrid Rimland. Speaking optimistically about the future, the prominent German-Canadian civil rights figure provided apt observations on the recent Irving-Lipstadt trial in London, and on the much-publicized 1999 documentary film "Mr. Death" (about Fred Leuchter, whose forensic examination of Auschwitz he commissioned for his 1988 trial in Toronto).

"Our job now is to ring the bell for freedom for as long as we can," Zündel said. "The ghetto will not win!," he concluded defiantly.

Charles Provan

Charles Provan, independent researcher and author, presented a lively dissection of the "testimony" of Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, a physician at Auschwitz-Birkenau whose memoir has been widely cited for decades as proof of mass killings in gas chambers. The US edition of his "memoir," *Doctor at Auschwitz*, has remained in print for many years, and continues to sell well. In debunking Nyiszli's "eyewitness testimony," Provan cited numerous documents and other historical evidence unearthed in years of patient research.

Among his most flagrant false claims, Nyiszli declared that four million Jews were killed at Birkenau Krema II alone. He also claimed that the Germans used "Zyklon A" to kill pests, and "Zyklon B" to kill Jews. This is nonsense, Provan pointed out, noting that Zyklon B was simply the trade name for a commercially produced pesticide that was widely used throughout Europe before, during and after World War II. As Provan pointed out, there are major differences in the

various language editions of Nyiszli's "memoir." He also noted that Nyiszli was a member of the Communist Party of Romania until his death there in 1956.

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13th IHR Conference Keynote Address

'The Conference of the Persecuted'

A Bulwark of Truth and Sanity Against the Enemies of Free Speech

[Mark Weber](#)

It was in September 1979, and also here in southern California, that the newly-organized Institute for Historical Review held its first “International Revisionist Conference.” That we are meeting here this weekend, nearly 21 years later, and at the dawn of a new century, at this 13th IHR Conference, is not only an achievement, it is a tribute to the dedicated support of so many loyal men and women over the years. Several of those who are here this weekend were also at that first-ever IHR meeting, including Harvey Taylor, a good friend who has attended every single Conference — as well as four of our speakers: Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz, Ernst Zündel and John Bennett.

Our meeting this weekend is especially important because it’s been nearly six years since the last full-scale IHR Conference, the 12th, in September 1994. Those years have often been very difficult ones, above all because of the great cost, in money, time and manpower, fighting a terrible legal battle caused by the embezzlement of millions of dollars from the IHR and its parent corporation — a legal fight that, if we had lost, would have meant the end of the Institute.

This is not the time or place to name all those who have made possible, through their generosity and dedication, the Institute’s survival. But this evening I do want to publicly express my appreciation for one particular person: Greg Raven, our MC. For some five years, often under very trying conditions, it was largely he and I alone who held the fort, keeping the IHR alive.

Now, I am glad to say, the Institute has weathered the terrible storm, and, thanks to the commitment of good friends and supporters — including many of those here this weekend — we are once again on solid ground, at last repairing and rebuilding. One expression of that endurance is the return to the staff of Ted O’Keefe, who is playing a major role in forging a revitalized IHR.

This get-together could well be called “the Conference of the Persecuted.” Six of our speakers this weekend have been punished as “thought criminals” — with imprisonment, court-ordered fines, or travel bans — for publicly expressing dissident views on history. Several of the other speakers this weekend have suffered in their careers for likewise expressing views that run contrary to prevailing dogmas. Books written by six or seven of our speakers, and at least one or two attendees, have been banned, burned, or otherwise suppressed.

I, for one, feel privileged to stand together with men and women of such courage and idealism. These individuals have been victims of an awesome international power that, during the past 20th century, has greatly increased its impact and influence in the world.

We revisionists are often accused of “rewriting” history, and for this reason the term “revisionism” is frequently used in the media, often by writers who should know better, as a synonym for “historical distortion,” or for deliberately misleading historical writing. In keeping with the definition of the term revisionism, and its Latin root, re-videre, that is, to “look again,” we are dedicated, not to “rewriting” the past, but simply to promoting history that is written and presented in accord with facts and sound perspective.

To anyone who gives any real independent thought to the matter, it is obvious that the prevailing or official history has itself undergone a tremendous rewriting over the past 50-60 years. There is, of course, no more obvious expression of this than the social-cultural role that has come to be played by what is called “the Holocaust” — a term that did not even come into popular usage until the 1970s.

In this drastic re-writing of history, the fate and role of Jews is a paramount consideration. Michael Berenbaum, one-time Research Director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, and a Georgetown University theology professor, put it this way several years ago: “The Holocaust was [once] regarded as a side story of the much larger story of World War II. Now one thinks of World War II as a background story and the Holocaust as a foreground story.” [1]

We are often asked why we seem obsessed with “the Holocaust.” The answer is very simple. As any child can easily observe, it is not revisionists or the IHR who are fixated on the fate — 55 or 60 years ago — of a small minority of the population of a foreign continent. It is, rather, our own political, social and intellectual leaders who have made the fate of Europe’s Jews during World War II a central icon of our age. We deal with the Holocaust as we do because it has come to play a major, even crucial role in our society.

If anyone in 1950 or even 1960 had predicted that by the end of this century political leaders of the United States and other major countries, even Germany, would routinely be honoring something called “the Holocaust” or “the Shoah,” he would have been dismissed as delusional. But so swiftly and drastically have things changed that by 1992 Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer, a professor at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, was moved to declare: [2]

Whether presented authentically or inauthentically, in accordance with the historical facts or in contradiction to them, with empathy and understanding or as monumental kitsch, the Holocaust has become a ruling symbol of our culture... Hardly a month goes by without a new TV production, a new film, a new drama, new books, prose or poetry, dealing with the subject, and the flood is increasing rather than abating.

Since 1993 we have even had, in Washington, DC, an official, taxpayer-funded United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, run by a federal government agency, the United States Holocaust Memorial Council — a mighty expression of, and a monument to, Jewish power. [3] There is no comparable US museum dedicated, for example, to the vastly greater numbers of victims of Soviet tyranny, or to the victims of slavery.

Jewish scholar and rabbi Michael Goldberg, in his book *Why Should Jews Survive?*, wrote with insight about what he calls “the Holocaust cult,” a cult with “its own tenets of faith, rites and shrines.” [4] No less a figure than Abraham Foxman, national director of the Zionist Anti-Defamation League, has affirmed the iconic, even religious character of this cult. In a 1994 issue of the ADL newsletter, Foxman wrote: “The Holocaust is a singular event. It is not simply one example of genocide but a near successful attempt on the life of God’s chosen children and thus, on God himself.” [5] When one starts talking like this, one is no longer dealing with history, but rather has crossed over into dogmatic mysticism.

No comparable attention is given to the tens of millions of other World War II victims, including, for example, the many millions of Chinese who perished in the war. Largely forgotten in this cult of the Holocaust have been the tens of millions of victims of America's great wartime ally, Stalinist Russia, along with the tens of millions of victims of China's Maoist regime, as well as the 12 to 14 million Germans, victims of the flight and expulsion of 1944-1949, of whom some two million lost their lives.

We are expected to look at US and world history from what, in truth, is a Jewish perspective.

One can tell the real values and priorities of a society by what it prohibits. As several of those here in this room this evening can attest from personal experience, what our society — and by this I mean the United States and most of Europe, as well as Japan — forbids is anything deemed to be anti-Semitic. What is particularly prohibited in our “new world order” is any questioning or playing down of what has become the most sacred icon of our age — the Jewish “Holocaust” or “Shoah.”

From the late 1940s until the 1970s, the official, or at least prevailing view was that the dreadful Nazi regime was more or less foisted on the basically decent people of Germany, Austria, and other European countries by Hitler and his evil henchmen. However, since the late 1970s, and especially during the past decade, this has changed drastically. Now the prevailing, socially-sanctioned view is that Nazism (or even less accurately, “fascism”) — by which we are supposed to understand, above all, the harsh suppression of Europe's Jews in the 1930s and 1940s — was supported, or at least passively tolerated, by nearly the entire Western world.

The supposed “guilt” for what is often characterized as the most evil deed in history is now routinely ascribed to, not only the great majority of Germans (a view most outspokenly presented by Jewish academic Daniel Goldhagen in his hateful book *Hitler's Willing Executioners*) but to virtually all of non-Jewish humanity. Entire nations, we are now told, must acknowledge a collective responsibility, even a collective guilt or complicity, for this allegedly greatest of all human crimes. Excepting only a small number of such “righteous gentiles” as Oskar Schindler, the Germans, the Poles, the Hungarians, the Ukrainians, the French, and so forth, are held to be historically responsible for the “Shoah.” In one of the most amazing re-writings of history, even Pope Pius XII and the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church are held to share in this common guilt.

History or historiography is, of course, an academic pursuit, a specialized field of scholarship. But it is also much more than that. How a society views history both reflects and greatly helps to determine its essential values and priorities. How we view the past is crucially important in determining how we view ourselves, our place in the world, and, more important, our future as a people or society. As Oswald Spengler put it “history lessons and the political education of the people are one and the same.”

In this sense, “history” is not and cannot be “neutral.” Different groups understandably look at the past from very different perspectives. In a valuable book published some years ago, *America Revised*, historian Frances Fitzgerald explained not only how our common perspective on American history has changed radically over the past half century, but how it is impossible to portray American history in a way that is “positive” and coherent for all of America's diverse population groups. [6]

The history books now being produced for use in American colleges and universities both reflect and help to shape the “politically correct” spirit of our age. Typical is a new book by Cornell University history professor Richard Polenberg, *The Era Of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933-1945*.

[7] Polenberg praises Roosevelt for his supposed commitment to moral principles and his “pragmatism.” But he also criticizes FDR for his failure to do more “to advance the cause of racial justice,” and for his wartime internment of West Coast Japanese. And, of course, Polenberg subjects Roosevelt to special criticism for his not doing more on behalf of Europe’s Jews. While the book devotes five pages to what the index calls “Jews, government response to Holocaust,” it contains just a single, neutral mention, and only in passing, to Stalin — Roosevelt’s important wartime ally. Readers of this all-too-typical book can easily be forgiven for failing to appreciate the crucially important historical role played at the time by Stalin and Soviet Russia. Polenberg similarly ignores Roosevelt’s well-documented record of lying on a massive and routine scale to the American public, his covert, unconstitutional war-mongering, his friendship with the Soviet dictator, or the massive US material and military support for the Soviet war machine.

During the past 20th century, we have witnessed an unbelievably enormous increase in Jewish power and influence everywhere in the world. It was in 1896 that Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, published his seminal book *Der Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State"), in which he argued that Jews around the world constitute a Volk, that is, a people or nationality, with interests different than those of the non-Jews among whom they live. (Consistent with that, Israeli political figures and Jewish community leaders in the United States routinely speak of “the Jewish people.”) And a year later, in 1897, Herzl convened the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland. Five decades later — in May 1948 — the Zionist state of Israel was proclaimed in Palestine. Today, armed even with nuclear weapons, Israel is one of the world’s most important military powers. What an amazing expression of resolve, determination and power that achievement represents!

Just how important is this Jewish power and influence today? Well, as early as 1968 the renowned drama critic Walter Kerr could declare in *The New York Times*: [8]

What has happened since World War II is that the American mentality has become part Jewish, perhaps as much Jewish as anything else ... The literate American mind has come in some measure to think Jewishly. It has been taught to, and it was ready to. After the entertainers and novelists came the Jewish critics, politicians and theologians. Critics and politicians and theologians are by profession molders; they form ways of seeing.

As accurate as those words were when they were written more than 30 years ago, they are vastly more true today. In a book published in 1995, *Jews and the New American Scene*, two well-known Jewish writers, Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, noted: [9]

During the last three decades Jews [in the United States] have made up 50 percent of the top two hundred intellectuals ... 20 percent of professors at the leading universities ... 40 percent of partners in the leading law firms in New York and Washington ... 59 percent of the directors, writers, and producers of the 50 top-grossing motion pictures from 1965 to 1982, and 58 percent of directors, writers, and producers in two or more primetime television series.

And even more recently, the prominent French Jewish writer Alain Finkielkraut, writing in late 1998 in the prestigious Paris daily *Le Monde*, had this to say: [10]

Ah, how sweet it is to be Jewish at the end of this 20th century! We are no longer History’s accused, but its darlings. The spirit of the times loves, honors, and defends us, watches over our interests; it even needs our imprimatur. Journalists draw up ruth-

less indictments against all that Europe still has in the way of Nazi collaborators or those nostalgic for the Nazi era. Churches repent, states do penance ...

Consistent with this, Jewish power enforces a pervasive double standard in our political and cultural life. While Jews are encouraged to cultivate and promote their peoplehood and particular group interests, Westerners are expected to accept, even embrace, their own collective racial-cultural dispossession. Thus, while Jewish leaders routinely express alarm that so many Jews are marrying non-Jews, a comparable attitude if expressed by non-Jews is swiftly denounced as “racist.” (Just recently, for example, a professor at Bar-Ilan University in Israel bluntly declared that intermarriage “violates the most basic norms of Judaism [and] threatens Jewish survival.”) [11]

Benjamin Netanyahu, until recently Israel’s prime minister, just last February addressed a gathering of nearly a thousand Jews here in southern California, in which he said: “If Israel had not come into existence after World War II then I am certain the Jewish race wouldn’t have survived.” [12] The Israeli leader went on to exhort his audience: “I stand before you and say you must strengthen your commitment to Israel. You must become leaders and stand up as Jews. We must be proud of our past to be confident of our future.” Similarly forthright appeals by non-Jews to racial-ethnic pride are, of course, routinely condemned as “racist” or “neo-Nazi.” As a matter of basic state policy, Israel actively encourages immigration of Jews — defined by ancestry — from around the world, while at the same time discouraging settlement by non-Jews, even forbidding immigration of non-Jews who were born in what is now Israel.

Can this awesome Jewish power become any greater than it already is? Unfortunately, there are signs that the situation can get even worse.

During the recent libel trial in London, David Irving performed a great public service by presenting to the world details of just how international Jewish organizations work together to silence and ruin those who, like Irving, are perceived, because of their writings, to threaten Jewish interests. One of the most ominous consequences of Judge Gray’s April 11 ruling in the Irving-Lipstadt trial, I think, is that it has greatly emboldened these powerful enemies of free speech, strengthening their resolve to destroy their intellectual adversaries. For example, one high-level Zionist official, in the aftermath of the ruling, called for what amounts to a worldwide ban on travel by those who dispute Holocaust extermination claims. Israel’s ambassador to Britain, Dror Zeigerman, called on Australia and other countries to bar Irving and “other members of the Holocaust denial movement.” [13]

The recent Irving-Lipstadt trial also showed, once again and with clarity, that behind this ruthless international Jewish campaign is a deep-seated, implacable hatred. At a recent meeting in Los Angeles, Deborah Lipstadt herself called David Irving “a contemporary Amalek,” referring to the traditional biblical foe of the Jews. [14] Similarly, in an essay about the trial distributed worldwide by a major Jewish news agency, a Jewish academic who teaches at Gratz College near Philadelphia wrote: “Deborah Lipstadt’s work reminds us, as the Torah does in its passage about Amalek, of the importance of memory. In my opinion, it is David Irving and his ilk who should beware.” [15]

For devout Jews, such words are very serious. According to the Torah, [16] the Jewish god called on the ancient Hebrews to “smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and women, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass.” Accordingly, we are told, the early Jews “utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword.” Even today, Jews are admonished never to forget their emblematic enemy, and to wage “war with

Amalek from generation to generation” — that is, forever. The obvious inference here is that Irving and “his ilk” deserve to be killed.

In this same spirit, a high-ranking Israeli government official publicly suggested, in the wake of Judge Gray’s April 11 ruling, that those whom he calls “Holocaust deniers” deserve to be put to death. Rabbi Michael Melchior, Israel’s Minister “for Israeli Society and World Jewish Communities,” said that Judge Gray’s ruling “delivered the message that Holocaust deniers should be regarded alongside the worst of the Nazis.” ^[17] As the world knows, of course, “the worst of the Nazis” were shot or hanged.

The Institute for Historical Review and our supporters openly declare our defiance of the ADL, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the World Jewish Congress, and so forth — and all their non-Jewish helpers. Against their power the IHR stands, and will continue to stand, as a beacon and a bulwark, not only for truth and reason in understanding the past, but for sanity in tackling the challenges of the future.

While we are confident that the march of revisionist scholarship is ultimately unstoppable, we are also encouraged by the knowledge that our adversaries’ power is artificial and unrooted. It is built on an inherently unstable foundation of deceit and hypocrisy — something that is acknowledged, if only indirectly, by their constant expressions of anxiety that their power can and may be suddenly swept away.

To stand against this power is often thankless and disheartening work, but it is absolutely necessary. Our adversaries are enemies not only of freedom of speech and free historical inquiry, they also strive relentlessly to belittle and break down the cultural, religious, racial and ethnic integrity and cohesion of all groups other than their own. And because it attacks traits of our being that make us human, this insidious power harms all of non-Jewish humanity.

Exposing this insidious power — in its many manifestations — will continue to be a major task of the IHR. In this new century as well, we pledge to carry on — with greater clarity and sense of purpose than ever — our educational work of truth in history, for the sake not only of our own nation and heritage, but for all humanity.

Notes

1. ^U The Washington Times, Jan. 10, 1991. Quoted in The Journal of Historical Review, May-June 1994, p. 44.
2. ^U From a 1992 lecture, published in: David Cesarani, ed., *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 305, 306. Also, quoted in The Journal of Historical Review, Sept.-Dec. 1999, p. 56.
3. ^U On the occasion of the opening of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, Jewish author and critic Melvin Jules Bukiet wrote: “It’s not Jewish tragedy that’s remembered on the Mall this week; it’s Jewish power to which homage is paid.” Melvin Jules Bukiet, “The Museum vs. Memory: The Taming of the Holocaust,” The Washington Post, April 18, 1993, p. C3.
4. ^U Michael Goldberg, *Why Should Jews Survive?: Looking Past the Holocaust Toward a Jewish Future* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995), p. 41.
See also: Tim Cole, *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler: How History is Bought, Packaged and Sold* (New York: Routledge, 1999), and, Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Houghton Mifflin, 1999).

5.  Abraham Foxman, "Director's Corner: Schindler's List — The Meaning of Spielberg's Film," *On the Frontline* (ADL newsletter), Jan. 1994, p. 2. Also quoted in *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1994, p. 41.
6.  Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979 [and, New York: 1980]).
7.  Richard D. Polenberg, *The Era Of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933-1945: A Brief History With Documents* (New York: St. Martin's Press, [March] 2000). Polenberg is a professor of American history at Cornell University. He is the author of several books, and was once a visiting professor at Hebrew University in Israel.
In April 1996 St. Martin's Press, with much fanfare and in response to tremendous Jewish pressure, cancelled its publication of David Irving's biography *Goebbels: Mastermind Of The Third Reich*.
8.  Walter Kerr, "Skin Deep is not Good Enough," *The New York Times*, April 14, 1968, pp. D1, D3. Quoted in: Kevin MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique* (Praeger, 1998), p. 243. (Cited in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal of Historical Review*, p. 49.) Walter Kerr (1913-1996) was a playwright and Pulitzer prize-winning drama critic, for years with the *New York Herald Tribune* and then *The New York Times*.
9.  Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *Jews And The New American Scene* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 26-27. (Quoted in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal of Historical Review*, p. 56.)
A 1985 study written by Lipset and Raab, "The Political Future of American Jews," found that Jews are effectively the single most influential ethnic or religious group in American political life. According to the study, which was sponsored by the American Jewish Congress, Jews contribute to political parties disproportionately to their numbers in the US population: Jews give more than half the money collected by the Democratic Party and up to a quarter of Republican funds. K. Sawyer, "Jews Cautioned on Narrow Issues," *The Washington Post*, March 6, 1985, p. A5.
The influence of American Jewry in Washington is "far disproportionate to the size of the community, Jewish leaders and US official acknowledge. But so is the amount of money they contribute to [political] campaigns." One member of the influential Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations "estimated Jews alone had contributed 50 percent of the funds for Clinton's 1996 re-election campaign." Janine Zacharia, "The Unofficial Ambassadors of the Jewish State," *The Jerusalem Post* (Israel), April 2, 2000. Reprinted in "Other Voices," June 2000, a supplement to *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, June 2000, p. OV-4.
10.  Alain Finkielkraut, "Mgr Stepinac et les deux douleurs de l'Europe," *Le Monde*, Oct. 7, 1998, p. 14. Quoted by Robert Faurisson in his essay in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1998, pp. 11-12.
11.  *Los Angeles Times*, April 17, 2000, p. A14 R. The Bar-Ilan university professor is Charles S. Liebman.
"...Policy recently handed down by the Conservative [Jewish] movement's rabbinical authorities" holds that "Judaism has, from its earliest roots, been concerned about the issue of intermarriage. Statements found in early sources are unequivocal in their prohibition of intermarriage." Fears that sharing food and drink with non-Jews could lead to intermarriage prompted prohibitions against drinking the wine of non-Jews or eating their bread. Source: E. Gootman, "Conservative Jewry...", *Forward* (New York), Oct. 16, 1998, pp. 1, 13.
12.  "'Strengthen your commitment'," *Daily Pilot* (Newport Beach/ Costa Mesa, Calif.), Feb. 28, 2000, p. 1.
13.  AAP dispatch, *The Australian*, April 13, 2000.

14. [↗](#) Tom Tugend, “Lipstadt Recounts Battle With 'Amalek',” The Jerusalem Post, May 2, 2000.
 15. [↗](#) Rela Mintz Geffen, “First Person FOD (Friend of Deborah) exits trial believing Irving is one to 'beware',” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, March 21, 2000.
 16. [↗](#) Exodus 17:16, Deuteronomy 25:17, 1 Samuel 15:3-20.
 17. [↗](#) "Racist Who Twisted the Truth,” The Times (London), Wed., April 12, 2000.
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About the Author

Mark Weber, Director of the Institute for Historical Review and editor of the IHR's Journal of Historical Review, was born in 1951 in Portland, Oregon, where he was also raised. He studied at the University of Illinois (Chicago), the University of Munich (Germany), and Portland State University, from where he received a Bachelor's degree in history (with high honors). He did graduate work in history at Indiana University (Bloomington), where he served as a history instructor and received a Master's degree in European history in 1977. In March 1988 he testified for five days in Toronto District Court as an expert witness on the “Final Solution” and the Holocaust issue. He has worked full time for the IHR since January 1991.

This essay is adapted from the keynote address, delivered May 27, 2000, at the 13th IHR Conference, Irvine, California.

Anti-Defamation League Suffers Major Legal Defeat

Colorado Jury Orders Jewish Group to Pay \$10.5 Million for Defamatory Statements

In a legal decision rich with irony, a jury in a federal court case in Denver, Colorado, has found that the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), a powerful Jewish special interest group, had defamed a local couple. On April 28, 2000, the jurors awarded \$10.5 million in damages to William and Dorothy Quigley. This is the first court verdict ever against the influential 87-year-old organization. The award, a quarter of the ADL's \$45 million annual budget, was substantially more than the Quigleys had requested.

At a 1994 news conference, the ADL had accused the Quigleys, a couple in the Denver suburb of Evergreen, of perpetrating the worst anti-Semitic incident in the area in ten years. The ADL accused them of launching a campaign against their Jewish neighbors, Mitchell and Candace Aronson, to run them out of town and threatening to commit acts such as painting oven doors on their neighbors' home. Concluding a four week trial, the jury found that more than 40 statements by Saul F. Rosenthal, director of the ADL's Mountain States chapter, were defamatory and "not substantially true."

The Quigleys, who are Roman Catholic, and the Aronsons — neighbors on the same street two houses away — got along until the Aronsons' large dog allegedly attacked the Quigley's smaller dog. As the dispute escalated, Mitchell Aronson tuned in a police scanner to eavesdrop on private conversations by the Quigleys over their cordless telephone. The Aronsons' nearly 100 hours of recorded telephone conversations violated the amended federal wiretap law, which makes it illegal to record conversations on a cordless telephone, to transcribe the material, and to use the transcriptions for any purpose.

The Aronsons sought help from the ADL, whose local director publicly denounced the Quigleys as anti-Semites. Director Rosenthal illegally used the tapes to charge at a news conference in December 1994 that the Quigleys were engaged in "a vicious anti-Semitic campaign." He expanded on these charges later that same day in an interview on a Denver radio talk show.

No overt acts or physical actions followed any of the recorded conversations.

Acting on complaints from the Aronsons, the local District Attorney filed ethnic intimidation charges against the Quigleys. But the county prosecutor later dropped the charges and, in an open letter, apologized to the couple, saying he had found no evidence that either had engaged in "anti-Semitic conduct or harassment." The DA also paid the Quigleys \$75,000 as part of an out-of-court settlement.

Lawsuits by the Aronsons and the Quigleys against each other were eventually resolved, with no exchange of money.

In their lawsuit against the ADL and its local director, the Quigleys charged not only that the ADL had defamed them, but that the Jewish group was supportive of the illegal invasion of their privacy through its use of the improperly recorded telephone conversations.

During closing arguments, Quigley attorney Jay Horowitz said that while Dorothy Quigley had a “big mouth,” and may have said things over the telephone that she later regretted, there is no evidence that the Quigleys were anti-Semites. When talking about damages suffered by the Quigleys, Horowitz noted that William Quigley, who was employed by United Artists theaters, was a marked man because of the ADL’s public allegations of anti-Semitism. His income, Horowitz argued, was less than half of what it would have been.

The numerous damage awards include one million dollars in economic and non-economic damages for William Quigley and \$500,000 for Dorothy Quigley. The couple was also awarded more than \$8.7 million in punitive damages and other, lesser amounts.

The ADL is appealing the verdict, expressing confidence that the jury’s award will be reduced, or even that the verdict will be thrown out altogether.

The Washington Jewish Week, a paper that serves the Jewish community of the nation’s capital, commented with sympathetic concern in an editorial: “In a disturbing irony, the Jewish world’s premier discrimination fighter, whose mission is ‘to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all people alike,’ found itself convicted of defamation ... When does being in the forefront mean invading someone’s personal privacy, and even violating the human dignity that ADL holds so dear?”

The Denver court’s verdict shows that the sometimes seemingly invincible Jewish activist group is not invulnerable. Unlike prominent political and social figures, who are often beholden to special interest groups such as the ADL, independent-spirited citizens, acting as jurors, can sometimes still defy such powerful organizations.

The ADL’s defeat in a Denver court was a consequence of its own arrogance in recklessly defaming the Quigleys. Such brazen contempt — not only for decency and common ethics, but even the law — is nothing new for the ADL. Similar arrogance was also manifest in the ADL’s extensive spying operation, which was uncovered in 1993, and its decades of censorship and intimidation activities directed against libraries, book publishers, journalists and Internet service providers. (See *The Watchdogs: A Close Look at Anti-Racist 'Watchdog Groups'*, a well documented 102-page booklet by independent researcher Laird Wilcox [and available through the IHR].)

Although the ADL claims to fight discrimination and promote “fair treatment,” for decades it has been a staunch defender of Israel and its well-entrenched policies of discrimination against non-Jews, and of the Zionist state’s wars of aggression and numerous violations of international law. Similarly, in the United States the ADL upholds a double standard in ardently promoting Jewish ethnic-religious particularism while protesting comparable ethnic-racial particularism by non-Jews.

(Sources: “Charges of bigotry backfire,” *The Denver Post*, April 29, 2000; M. Janofsky, “Privacy Rights Win Over Bias Charges in Defamation Case,” *The New York Times*, May 13, 2000; “ADL won’t be deterred by court defeat,” JTA, *Washington Jewish Week*, May 18, 2000, p. 14; “Defaming Defamers,” Editorial, *Washington Jewish Week*, May 16, 2000, p. 16; H. Berkowitz & A. Foxman, “ADL in Denver: setting the record straight,” *Washington Jewish Week*, May 25, 2000, p. 18.)

Treblinka Ground Radar Examination Finds No Trace of Mass Graves

A detailed forensic examination of the site of the wartime Treblinka camp, using sophisticated electronic ground radar, has found no evidence of mass graves there.

For six days in October 1999, an Australian team headed by Richard Krege, a qualified electronics engineer, carried out an examination of the soil at the site of the former Treblinka II camp in Poland, where, Holocaust historians say, more than half a million Jews were put to death in gas chambers and then buried in mass graves.

According to the Encyclopedia of the Holocaust (1997), for example, “a total of 870,000 people” were killed and buried at Treblinka between July 1942 and April 1943. Then, between April and July 1943, the hundreds of thousands of corpses were allegedly dug up and burned in batches of 2,000 or 2,500 on large grids made of railway ties.

Krege’s team used an \$80,000 Ground Penetration Radar (GPR) device, which sends out vertical radar signals that are visible on a computer monitor. GPR detects any large-scale disturbances in the soil structure to a normal effective depth of four or five meters, and sometimes up to ten meters. (GPR devices are routinely used around the world by geologists, archeologists, and police.) In its Treblinka investigation, Krege’s team also carried out visual soil inspections, and used an auger to take numerous soil core samples.

The team carefully examined the entire Treblinka II site, especially the alleged “mass graves” portion, and carried out control examinations of the surrounding area. They found no soil disturbance consistent with the burial of hundreds of thousands of bodies, or even evidence that the ground had ever been disturbed. In addition, Krege and his team found no evidence of individual graves, bone remains, human ashes, or wood ashes.

“From these scans we could clearly identify the largely undisturbed horizontal stratigraphic layering, better known as horizons, of the soil under the camp site,” says the 30-year old Krege, who lives in Canberra. “We know from scans of grave sites, and other sites with known soil disturbances, such as quarries, when this natural layering is massively disrupted or missing altogether.” Because normal geological processes are very slow acting, disruption of the soil structure would have been detectable even after 60 years, Krege noted.

While his initial investigation suggests that there were never any mass graves at the Treblinka camp site, Krege believes that further work is still called for.

“Historians say that the bodies were exhumed and cremated toward the end of the Treblinka camp’s use in 1943, but we found no indication that any mass graves ever existed,” he says. “Personally, I don’t think there was an extermination camp there at all.”

Krege is preparing a detailed report on his Treblinka investigation. He says that he would welcome the formation, possibly under United Nations auspices, of an international team of neutral,

qualified specialists, to carry out similar investigations at the sites of all the wartime German camps.

Krege and his team are associated with, and funded by, the Adelaide Institute, a south Australia revisionist “think tank.” Its director, Dr. Fredrick Töben, was jailed in Germany for seven months in 1999 for disputing Holocaust extermination claims.

(Sources: “‘Vernichtungslager' Treblinka: archäologisch betrachtet,” by Ing. Richard Krege, in Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung, June 2000 [4. Jg., Heft 1], pp. 62-64; “‘No Jewish mass grave' in Poland,” The Canberra Times, Jan. 24, 2000, p. 6; “Poland’s Jews ‘not buried at Treblinka’,” The Examiner [Australia], Jan. 24, 2000. [The latter two newspaper items are reprinted in facsimile in VHO-info, May 2000, p. 30.]; Information provided by Richard Krege; M. Weber and A. Allen, “Treblinka,” The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1992, pp. 133-158; “German Court Sentences Australian Holocaust Skeptic,” The Journal of Historical Review, July-August 1999, pp. 2-5; Y. Arad, “Treblinka,” in I. Gutman, ed., Encyclopedia of the Holocaust [New York: 1997], pp. 1481-1488.)

Revisionist Master's Thesis Under Fire

New Zealand University Resists Jewish Demands

A New Zealand university is rejecting demands by Jewish groups to revoke a master's degree it awarded six years ago for a thesis that disputes Holocaust extermination claims. Citing academic traditions of open scholarship, the University of Canterbury (in Christchurch) has told Jewish community leaders that it will not rescind the degree earned by Joel Stuart Hayward, who endorsed revisionist arguments about Germany's wartime policy toward Europe's Jews in his master's thesis.

Hayward, who now teaches at Massey University in northern New Zealand, recently expressed regret over the thesis.

At the center of the dispute is Hayward's carefully researched 360-page overview of the development and impact of Holocaust revisionism from 1948 to 1993. Written in 1991 and 1992, *The Fate of the Jews in German Hands: An Historical Enquiry Into the Development and Significance of Holocaust Revisionism*, was approved in 1993 with first class honors by the University of Canterbury.

In it Hayward presents evidence to show that there was no German policy to exterminate Europe's Jews, that fewer than six million European Jews died during the Second World War, and that numerous claims of killings in gas chambers are untrue. He points out the unreliability of "eyewitness" evidence of "Holocaust survivors," and notes that numerous Holocaust claims "have been quietly dropped by historians over the years, although few non-specialists have been informed of this and, consequently, the claims are continually repeated."

On the emotion-laden question of wartime killings of Jews in gas chambers, Hayward wrote: "A careful and impartial investigation of the available evidence pertaining to Nazi gas chambers reveals that even these apparently fall into the category of atrocity propaganda." Among the evidence he marshals in support of this view, Hayward cites the 1988 forensic examination by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter of the alleged "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek ("The Leuchter Report"). "Leuchter's unorthodox conclusions, which at first seem incredible, do appear to be supported by ample evidence," wrote Hayward.

In summing up "the revisionists," Hayward writes: "It is worth repeating one point made above: some revisionist books and articles (such as those by Weber, Irving and Faurisson) are balanced and authoritative, containing both solid research and highly-developed analysis. They contribute substantially to the accumulated body of knowledge about the Holocaust, and should not be ignored or discounted out-of-hand by historians upholding received opinion. The truth-seeking historian has nothing to fear from these scholars." In a 60-page chapter on the Institute for Historical Review, Hayward praises Mark Weber (now IHR Director) as a "thoughtful and serious histo-

rian” who has produced “consistently well-researched and cogently-argued writings on the Holocaust and other historical topics.”

In his thesis' conclusion, Hayward sums up:

... The gassing claim is irreconcilable with the overwhelming weight of evidence on the nature of official Nazi policy on the Jewish question. That policy, our careful and unbiased reading of the evidence suggested, was not one of total extermination, but was a brutal policy of deportation and forced labor.

... The weight of evidence supports the view that the Nazis did not systematically exterminate Jews in gas chambers or have an extermination policy as such, [even though] it cannot be denied that Jews in German hands suffered terribly during the Second World War ... The total would undoubtedly be more than one million and far less than the symbolic figure of six million.

In an analysis of the thesis published in the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle (April 2000), a Jewish academic, Prof. Dov Bing, speculated that “in 1991 it seems that [Joel Hayward](#) had been caught in the web of Holocaust deniers. Although he set out to critically analyze their views in an objective academic manner, he ended up supporting them. He came to admire people like Irving, Faurisson and Weber.”

Jewish groups are understandably upset with Hayward’s thesis, especially because it was approved — after seemingly careful supervision and review — with first class honors, and then remained unchallenged for five years. The New Zealand Jewish Council, the main body representing organized Jewry in that country, has asked Canterbury University to revoke Hayward’s master’s degree.

As soon as the thesis was accepted, Hayward imposed an embargo on it, allowing only those with his permission to see it. Until last year its contents remained unknown, except to a small number of revisionist scholars around the world. Then it was posted, without his authorization, on the Internet, and Fredrick Töben, director of the revisionist Adelaide Institute, sought to use it (also without Hayward’s authorization) in a legal dispute in Australia.

At this point, Hayward issued an addendum to his now-public thesis, repudiating its main conclusions. In his “recantation” he wrote:

My thesis represents an honest attempt on my part to make sense of events I wanted to understand better. Yet I now regret working on such a complex topic without sufficient knowledge and preparation, and I hope this brief addendum will prevent my work causing distress to the Jewish community here in New Zealand and elsewhere, or being misused by individuals or groups with malevolent motives ... With the benefit of hindsight and eight years of subsequent research, I can now see that it [the thesis] contains several errors of fact and interpretation ...

In a recent letter to the New Zealand Jewish Chronicle, Hayward wrote: “I believe that, without doubt, around six million Jews perished during World War II. They were murdered by Nazis and their allies. The perpetrators used a range of methods, including gas chambers, shooting, physical exhaustion and starvation, to carry out this monstrous crime.”

How sincere is Hayward’s “recantation”? One indication that his most recently expressed views on the Holocaust may be less than entirely sincere is that they were issued only after his thesis

had (without his authorization) been made public, and was beginning to come under attack. As recently as November 1998, Hayward was sharply critical of anti-revisionists. For example, he called Deborah Lipstadt's book, *Denying the Holocaust*, "hopeless. Very poor indeed."

Hayward was born in 1964 in Christchurch, New Zealand. While in his twenties, he adopted Joel as his first name to affirm his partial Jewish ancestry. Today he is a well regarded member of the academic faculty at Massey University in Palmerston North, New Zealand, where he is "senior lecturer" and program coordinator of defense and strategic studies in the university's School of History, Philosophy and Politics.

Hayward writes and teaches on military history, strategy and operational art. In addition to numerous articles published in scholarly journals, he is the author of a critically well-received 395-page historical study, *Stopped at Stalingrad: The Luftwaffe and Hitler's Defeat in the East, 1943-1943*, which was published in 1998 by the University of Kansas Press.

The Kupka Affair

In a related affair in New Zealand, Jewish groups recently demanded that Waikato University expel from its doctoral study program a German student who, they charge, is an anti-Jewish "Holocaust denier." Hans-Joachim Kupka, 55 years old, had been working on a Ph.D. dissertation that would analyze the contribution to New Zealand society of immigrants from Germany and Austria.

Jewish groups expressed alarm that before moving to New Zealand in 1992 Kupka had been active in Germany in the allegedly "neo-Nazi" Republikaner party. During the 1980s he was the party's regional chairman in lower Bavaria, and in 1987 became deputy chairman of the party's Bavarian section. Jewish academics also cited writings by Kupka in recent years that he had posted on the Internet, calling them "anti-Semitic Holocaust denial." Jewish students organized protest marches at the University demanding his expulsion.

On the other hand, three Waikato University professors who evaluated Kupka's writings concluded that they "could in no way be interpreted as being remotely right-wing." Similarly, the university's vice chancellor found that the writings did not constitute "Holocaust denial."

With Jewish pressure mounting, Kupka suddenly withdrew from his doctoral study program. In spite of this, the local Waikato Times reported (July 6, 2000), "the Jewish community will not let the matter rest," and demanded a critical review of the university's handling of the matter.

The Roques Affair

The Hayward and Kupka affairs recall the 1986 case of Henri Roques, a French scholar whose doctoral degree was revoked by government order — for the first time in the nearly eight centuries of French university life — because the revisionist conclusion of his doctoral dissertation enraged Jewish groups. In his dissertation, Roques closely examined the "confessions" of SS officer Kurt Gerstein, which for decades have been a main piece of evidence for gas chamber killings. Roques concluded that Gerstein's postwar testimony is "extravagant and crammed with improbabilities," lacks the evidentiary value one should require of a historical document, and cannot be accepted as a proof for the existence of wartime homicidal gas chambers.

Roques' doctorate was revoked even though his dissertation had been accepted by a panel of three professors at the University of Nantes. And even after the "Roques scandal" became public, the

prominent British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre) praised Roques' dissertation (in a 1990 letter) as “an entirely legitimate, scholarly and responsible work of Quellenkritik [source critique] on a limited but important subject.” (See the Sept.-Oct. 1993 Journal, pp. 40-41.)

Roques, a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee, addressed the Eighth (1987) IHR Conference. (See H. Roques, “From the Gerstein Affair to the Roques Affair,” in the Spring 1988 Journal, pp. 5-23.) His dissertation was published in English by the IHR under the title *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*, and is still available for sale from the IHR.

German Professor [Werner Pfeifenberger], Accused of Revisionism, Com- mits Suicide

Mark Weber

Werner Pfeifenberger, a German professor of political science, took his life in Austria on May 13, 2000, a few weeks before he was to go on trial in Vienna for an allegedly revisionist and “neo-Nazi” essay published five years ago. The 58-year-old scholar was scheduled to appear on June 26 before a district criminal court, where he faced up to ten years imprisonment for a 1995 writing that allegedly violated Austria’s anti-Nazism law. His attorney said that Pfeifenberger, fearing an unfair trial, had announced his intention to take his life.

Pfeifenberger, born in October 1941, was once a well-regarded scholar. After studying law, economics and political science, he taught at colleges or universities in Salzburg, Münster, Paderborn, Grenoble (France), Stellenbosch (South Africa), and Taipei (Taiwan). For a time he served as director of the semi-official Austrian Institute for Political Education, and from 1978 to 1983 was responsible for its periodical, “Political Education.”

For years Prof. Pfeifenberger had been under fire from leftist and Jewish groups, which cited his support for allegedly “neo-fascist” or “neo-Nazi” organizations such as the “Austria Cultural Foundation” and the “German-South Africa Society.” Critics also cited his defense of the apartheid government in South Africa, and his writings for “right wing” periodicals.

His troubles became much more pronounced after his essay, “Internationalism and Nationalism: a Never-Ending Mortal Enmity?,” appeared in the 1995 Year Book of the Academy of Austria’s Freedom Party. A prominent Jewish journalist, Karl Pfeifer, took aim at Pfeifenberger and his essay. Writing in the magazine of Vienna’s Jewish Community, Pfeifer accused him of employing “neo-Nazi tones” (“Neo-Nazi Töne”), of extolling the “national community” (“Volksgemeinschaft”), and of reviving “the old Nazi legend of a Jewish world conspiracy.” The Jewish periodical cited Pfeifenberger’s mention of a “Jewish war against Germany,” referring to world Jewry’s 1933 declaration of an international boycott action (economic war) against Third Reich Germany, and his portrayal of former Austrian president Kurt Waldheim as a victim rather than a perpetrator.

The Jewish journalist’s broadside began a campaign against Dr. Pfeifenberger that finally ended with the professor’s suicide.

In Germany, a leading member of the Social Democratic faction in parliament expressed concern about the essay’s supposedly “anti-Semitic tendencies,” and in 1997 the government of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia dismissed Pfeifenberger from his teaching post at a specialized college (Fachhochschule) in Muenster. This summary dismissal was overturned in April 1998. and in October 1999 he was given a new position at a specialized college in Bielefeld. However, be-

cause this substitute position was only as a researcher, his career as a teacher was effectively finished.

In Austria's parliament, members of the Social Democratic and Green parties denounced Pfeifenberger's essay, and pressed for legal action against the Year Book's publisher, namely the rival Freedom Party of Joerg Haider. And a court in Vienna, affirming a charge made by the Jewish community magazine, found that Pfeifenberger's essay contained "Nazi tones" ("Nazitöne").

Typical of such cases in Germany and Austria, the accuracy or truthfulness of Pfeifenberger's writing was not an issue. An offensive "tone" or "diction" is enough to bring legal action against an author.

This was also manifest in a case involving David Irving. At a meeting in Munich in April 1990, the British historian told his audience that the "gas chamber" shown for decades to tourists at the Auschwitz I main camp is a fake. Irving was quickly charged, and a German court duly fined him 10,000 marks. In January 1993 a Munich court trebled the fine to 30,000 marks (about \$21,000). It simply didn't matter that Irving's provocative statement was, in fact, completely true. Remarkably, even Robert Jan Van Pelt, a major defense witness in the recent Irving-Lipstadt trial in London, has himself acknowledged that the infamous Auschwitz I "gas chamber" is actually a fraudulent postwar reconstruction. (See: R. Faurisson, "The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I," Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, pp. 12-13.)

The Pfeifenberger case is not only another blow against freedom of expression and research in Germany and Austria, it manifests the hypocritical "democracy" that prevails in much of Europe today.

Even before he decided to commit suicide, noted the Vienna weekly paper *Zur Zeit* (June 2-8, 2000), Werner Pfeifenberger's professional life had already been destroyed. Rather than endure further disgrace and ruin, he chose death. The "politically correct" enemies of freedom of expression and scholarly research can proudly claim another victim. Whatever justification there may have been for Austria's law banning any revival of National Socialism (Nazism), the paper went on to comment, the broadening of that law in 1992 has provided the enemies of intellectual freedom with a "fascism club" to intimidate adversaries. "As one can see," *Zur Zeit* continued, the 1992 law has proven to be "a serious mistake, for which Werner Pfeifenberger has paid with his life."

Pfeifenberger's death recalls the suicide five years ago of a retired German chemist. On April 25, 1995, Reinhold Elstner took his life in downtown Munich by setting himself on fire in protest half a century of "defamation" and a "Niagara flood of lies pouring down on our nation." In a statement written before his death, he explained: "Fifty years of ceaseless defamation, ugly lies and demonization of an entire people are enough!... Now 75 years old, there's not much more I can do. Through my death in flames I can nonetheless still give a final visible expression of my views. If, as a result, even one German comes to his senses and finds the way to truth, then my sacrifice will not have been in vain ..." (See "A German Takes His Life to Protest Defamation and Historical Lies," Sept.-Oct. 1995 Journal, pp. 23-24.)

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Polish Professor Fired for Dissident History Book

Mark Weber

A Polish history professor has been fired by his university and banned from teaching elsewhere for publishing a book suggesting that wartime Germany did not have an overall plan or policy to exterminate Europe's Jews. The state-run University of Opole announced in early April 2000 that Dariusz Ratajczak, 37, had violated ethical standards and would be banned from teaching at other universities for three years.

Ratajczak, who is popular with students, was suspended in April 1999 from his teaching post with the university's Historical Institute after state prosecutors opened an investigation into the publication of his book *Tematy niebezpieczne* ("Dangerous Themes"). With a child to support, his financial situation is precarious. (See: "Polish Professor Under Fire for 'Holocaust Denial'," May-June 1999 Journal, p. 31.)

In December 1999 a court in Opole (Silesia) found Ratajczak guilty of spreading revisionist views on the Holocaust, but the court did not punish him, saying that the book's limited distribution was not damaging enough to warrant punishment under a Polish law that makes it a crime to publicly deny German wartime or Communist-era crimes. The court also noted that Ratajczak had distanced himself from revisionist views in a preface to the second edition of the book. (See "No Punishment for Polish 'Holocaust Denier'," in the Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, p. 47.)

Ratajczak argued that he had merely summarized opinions of historians who hold dissident views on the Holocaust issue, and that his own views are not in line with all the opinions in his book. "I was only presenting various views on the Holocaust to students," he said.

In a five-page section of his book entitled "Holocaust Revisionism," Ratajczak matter-of-factly cited the work of such revisionists as Paul Rassinier, Robert Faurisson, David Irving and Ernst Zündel, who contend that there was no German plan or program to exterminate Europe's Jews. He also cited the forensic investigations carried out at Auschwitz and Birkenau by Fred Leuchter and Germar Rudolf, and their conclusions that, for technical reasons, well-known claims of killing millions of Jews in gas chambers are impossible.

While Ratajczak did not explicitly endorse these views, he did call Holocaust "eyewitness" testimony "useless," and described establishment Holocaust writers as "followers of a religion of the Holocaust" who impose on others "a false image of the past." He also argued that three million Jews died in "the Holocaust," not the often-claimed six million.

Ratajczak published 320 copies of the book in March 1999 at his own expense. Only a few were sold at the university bookstore or directly to students, or were given away to friends, before police seized the remaining copies. In September 1999 he financed a second edition of 30,000

copies, which were offered in kiosks and by mail order across Poland. The publisher, a small firm in Warsaw, reportedly censored the most “extreme” statements, placing them in notes at the book’s end. A few thousand copies have been sold, Ratajczak reports.

“Holocaust denial” is a crime in several European states, including Germany, France, and Austria.

Faurisson's Three Letters to Le Monde (1978-1979)

On December 29, 1978, a short item headed “‘The Problem of the Gas Chambers' or 'The Rumor of Auschwitz',” appeared in the pages of France’s most influential daily paper, *Le Monde*. With the publication of this piece, written by a professor of literature at the University of Lyon II, the “Faurisson affair” burst into public awareness. In the same issue of the paper were also several anti-revisionist articles, including one entitled “Abundance of Proofs” by the Jewish scholar Georges Wellers.

On the basis of the “right of reply,” provided for in French law, Faurisson responded to the barrage of attacks with a second letter in *Le Monde* on January 16, 1979. His adversaries struck back a few weeks later with further items in the issue of February 21, including a solemn declaration drafted by two leading French Jewish intellectuals, Léon Poliakov and Pierre Vidal-Naquet. This declaration, signed by 34 historians, responded to Faurisson’s provocative question about how, precisely and technically, the alleged wartime homicidal gassings were carried out by German authorities. In words that amount to an expression of intellectual bankruptcy, the 34 historians declared:

It must not be asked how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible given that it took place. That is the requisite point of departure of any historical inquiry on this subject. It is incumbent upon us to simply state this truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.

Still under fierce attack in the pages of *Le Monde*, Faurisson sent yet another “right of reply” letter to the Paris daily, this one entitled “One proof ... one single proof.” *Le Monde*, doubtless alarmed at the extent to which the affair had grown, refused to publish it. At the same time, though, the paper invited his adversaries to continue their attacks.

In the decades since he wrote those *Le Monde* items, Prof. Faurisson has broadened and refined his outlook in interviews, books and numerous letters and essays. It goes without saying that, on such or such a point, he might today express himself differently. In his letter of January 16, 1979, for example, he almost certainly would not write as he did of the well-known January 1943 Bishoff letter, and its “Vergasungskeller” reference. (On this, see A. Butz in the July-Aug. 1997 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 20-23, and S. Crowell in the July-Aug. 1999 *Journal*, pp. 16-17.)

Those who are familiar with the development of revisionist scholarship over the years may note that occasionally someone will trumpet as his “discovery” something that, in fact, had already been found and announced by Robert Faurisson in 1978-

1979. In 1992, for example, a young Jewish-American revisionist named David Cole made quite a fuss over the fact that a young female Polish guide of the Auschwitz State Museum told him, and tourists, that the Auschwitz I “gas chamber” is “in its original state,” even though a prominent Museum official told him, on film, that this “gas chamber” is only “very similar” to the original. However, Faurisson had already pointed out this contradiction in his January 16, 1979, *Le Monde* letter. Of course, this room is not at all “very similar” to an original “gas chamber,” and portraying it as such amounts to an outright fake — as Museum officials more or less acknowledged in 1994. (See R. Faurisson, “The ‘Gas Chamber’ of Auschwitz I,” Sept.-Dec. 1999 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 12-13.)

In spite of the passage of time, Faurisson’s three *Le Monde* items are still valuable, not only for an understanding of the development of revisionist scholarship, but as trenchant presentations of important revisionist arguments about the “Holocaust.” Here, then, are authorized English translations of the complete texts of these three landmark essays.

-- The Editor

'The Problem of the Gas Chambers' ^[1] or 'The Rumor of Auschwitz'

No one questions the use of crematories in certain German camps. The mere frequency of epidemics throughout Europe at war demanded the cremation, for example, of the bodies of typhus victims (see the photographs).

It is the existence of “gas chambers,” veritable slaughterhouses for humans, that is called into question. Since 1945, the questioning has been growing. The mass media is aware of this.

In 1945, the official historiography affirmed that the “gas chambers” had functioned in the former [pre-1938 German] Reich as well as in Austria, Alsace and Poland. Fifteen years later, in 1960, it revised its judgment: “gas chambers” had operated, “above all” (?), only in Poland. ^[2] This drastic revision of 1960 reduced to naught a thousand “testimonies,” a thousand “proofs” of supposed gassings at Oranienburg, at Buchenwald, at Bergen-Belsen, at Dachau, at Ravensbrück, at Mauthausen. Appearing before British or French judicial bodies, the heads of Ravensbrück camp (Suhren, Schwarzhuber, Dr. Treite) had admitted the existence of a “gas chamber” whose functioning they had even, in a vague manner, described. A comparable scenario had been acted out by Ziereis, of Mauthausen, or by Kramer, of Struthof. After the deaths of the condemned men, it was discovered that those gassings had never taken place. Flimsiness of testimonies and confessions!

The “gas chambers” of Poland — as will surely be admitted in time — were no more real. It is to the Polish and Soviet judicial bodies that we owe most of our information about them (see, for instance, the horrifying confession of R. Höss, Commandant of Auschwitz).

Today’s visitor to Auschwitz or Majdanek discovers, in the way of “gas chambers,” facilities in which any gassings would have spelled catastrophe for the gassers and their entourage. A collective execution by gas, supposing that it were practicable, cannot at all be likened either to a suicidal or to an accidental gassing. In order to gas a single convict at a time, with his wrists and ankles shackled, the Americans employ a special gas [hydrogen cyanide] within a small space, from which, after its use, it is extracted and subsequently neutralized. So then, how could two

thousand people (and even three thousand) be held in an enclosure of 210 square meters (!), at Auschwitz, for example, to have a common and powerful insecticide called Zyklon B poured onto them; finally, just after the victims' deaths, how could a team be sent, without gas masks, into that place saturated with hydrogen cyanide, in order to remove the corpses infused with cyanide? Some too little-known documents [3] show, moreover: 1) That the structure in question [at Auschwitz-Birkenau Krema II], which the Germans are said to have blown up shortly before their departure, was nothing but a typical morgue (Leichenkeller), built underground (to protect it from the warmth of the air) and fitted with a single small door for entry and exit; 2) That the Zyklon B could not be evacuated by a rapid ventilation, and that it needed at least 21 hours to evaporate. Whereas thousands of documents on the Auschwitz crematories (including invoices precise to the last Pfennig) are in our possession, there exists neither a directive to build, nor a study, nor an order of material, nor a blueprint, nor a bill, nor any photograph, as regards the “gas chambers,” which, we are told, adjoined those crematories. At a hundred trials (Jerusalem, Frankfurt, etc.), no evidence has been produced.

“I was at Auschwitz. There were no 'gas chambers' there.” Those who dare bear witness on behalf of the accused by pronouncing that sentence are hardly listened to. They are prosecuted. Still in 1978, anyone in Germany who speaks out in favor of Thies Christophersen, author of “The Auschwitz Lie,” risks a conviction for “defaming the memory of the dead.”

After the war, the International Red Cross (which had investigated “the rumor of Auschwitz”), [4] the Vatican (which had been quite well informed about Poland), the Nazis, the collaborators, all declared, along with many others: “The 'gas chambers'? We did not know.” But how can one know of things that did not exist?

Nazism is dead and gone, together with its Führer. There remains today the truth. Let us dare to proclaim it. The non-existence of the “gas chambers” is good news for poor humanity. Good news that it would be wrong to keep hidden any longer. [5]

-- Le Monde, December 29, 1978, p. 8.

A Letter from Mr. Faurisson

Until 1960, I believed in the reality of those gigantic massacres in “gas chambers.” Then, upon reading Paul Rassinier, a wartime résistant and deportee who had written *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse*, I began to have doubts. After 14 years of personal reflection, then four years of sustained research, I became certain, as have 20 other revisionist authors, that I had before me a historical lie. I have visited and revisited Auschwitz and Birkenau where the authorities exhibit a “reconstituted gas chamber” [6] together with remains said to be those of “crematories with gas chambers”. At Struthof (Alsace) and at Majdanek (Poland), I have examined the buildings presented as “gas chambers in their original state.” I have analyzed thousands of documents, particularly at the Paris Centre de documentation juive contemporaine: archives, transcripts, photographs, written testimonies. I have tirelessly pursued specialists and historians with my questions. I have tried to find, but in vain, a single deportee who could prove to me that he had really seen, with his own eyes, a “gas chamber.” I especially did not want an illusory abundance of evidence; I was willing to settle for one proof, one single proof. I have never found that proof. What I have found, on the contrary, is much false evidence, worthy of the witchcraft trials, dishonoring the judges who have admitted it. And then I have found silence, embarrassment, hostility, leading finally to slander, insults, and physical blows.

The retorts recently prompted by my brief piece on “The Rumor of Auschwitz” are those I have read more than once in 18 years of research. I do not call into question the sincerity of their authors, but I will say that they are teeming with errors long since pointed out by the likes of Rassinier, [Franz] Scheidl and [Arthur] Butz.

For example, in the letter of January 29, 1943, (bearing the regular mention “Secret”) which is quoted to me, Vergasung does not signify “gassing,” but rather “carburetion.” Vergasungskeller designates the room, below ground, in which the “gaseous” mixture that fed the crematory oven was prepared. This oven and others like it were supplied by the firm Topf & Sons, of Erfurt (Doc. NO-4473).

Begasung designated the gassing of clothing in autoclaves. If the gas used was Zyklon B — “B[lausäure] preparation,” that is, Prussic acid or hydrogen cyanide - then “blue gas chambers” were mentioned. Nothing to do with the purported “slaughterhouse gas chambers”!

The Diary of physician Johann Paul Kremer must be cited correctly. It will thus be seen that, if he speaks of the horrors of Auschwitz, it is in allusion to the horrors of the typhus epidemic of September-October 1942. On October 3 he wrote: “At Auschwitz, whole streets have been annihilated by typhus.” He himself would contract what is called “the Auschwitz disease.” Germans died of it. The sorting of the sick and the well was the “selection,” or one of the forms of “special action,” carried out by physicians. This sorting was done either inside the buildings or outdoors. Never did Kremer write that Auschwitz was a Vernichtungslager, that is, in the terminology invented by the Allies after the war, an “extermination camp” (by which is to be understood: a camp equipped with a “gas chamber”). In reality, he wrote: “It is not for nothing that Auschwitz is called the annihilation camp (das Lager der Vernichtung).” In the etymological sense of the word, typhus annihilates those whom it strikes. Another serious translation error: under the date of September 2, 1942, Kremer’s manuscript reads: “At three a.m. today I was, for the first time, present at a special action outdoors.” Historians and judges traditionally suppress the word “outdoors” (draussen) to have Kremer appear to say that the action in question took place in a “gas chamber.” Finally, the horrid scenes before the “last Bunker” (that is, in the yard of Bunker 11) are executions of the condemned, executions that the physician was obliged to attend. Among the condemned there were three women who had arrived in a convoy from Holland: they were shot.

[7]

The “Krema” buildings of Birkenau were perfectly visible to all. [8] A good number of plans and photographs prove this, and they prove as well the thorough material impossibility that these “Kremas” could have contained “gas chambers.”

If, with regard to Auschwitz, someone quotes to me, yet once again, the confessions, memoirs, or miraculously unearthed manuscripts (with which I am already acquainted), I shall ask to be shown in what way the imprecise precision of their information differs from the imprecise precision of the information in all the documents which led the Allied military tribunals to rule that there were “gas chambers” where, in the end, it has since been acknowledged that there were none: for example, in the whole of the former Reich!

In my article I cited the [Nuremberg] industrial documents NI-9098 and 9912. One should read these before countering what I say about the “testimonies” of Pery Broad and R. Höss, or (why not?) the “confessions,” made after the war, by J. P. Kremer. These documents establish that Zyklon B was not in the category of gasses considered susceptible to ventilation; its makers had to agree that it was “difficult to remove by ventilation because it sticks to surfaces.” In carrying out a chemical test to prove the disappearance of the gas from its confines, a room infused with

cyanide by Zyklon B fumigation can be entered only by someone wearing a gas mask fitted with a “J” filter — the very strongest — after approximately 20 hours. [9] Mattresses and blankets must be beaten in the open air for between one and two hours. Nevertheless, Höss wrote: [10] “Half an hour after the start of gassing, the door was opened and the ventilation device turned on. The removal of the bodies began immediately.” Immediately (sofort)! And he goes on to add that the team, assigned to handle two thousand cyanide-infused corpses, entered the place (which was still full of gas, was it not?) and took them out while “eating and smoking,” that is, if I understand correctly, without any gas masks. That is impossible. All the testimonies, as vague or conflicting as they may be about the rest, [11] agree at least on this point: the crew opened the chamber either immediately or “shortly following” the victims' deaths. I say that this point, in itself, constitutes the touchstone of the false testimony.

In Alsace, the Struthof camp's “gas chamber” is interesting to visit. The confession of Joseph Kramer can be read on the spot. It was through a “hole” (sic) that Kramer poured a “certain quantity of hydrogen cyanide salts,” then, “a certain quantity of water,” a mixture giving off a gas that killed in about one minute. The “hole” that is seen today was made in so sloppy a manner, with a chisel, that four earthenware tiles were broken. Kramer used a “funnel with a tap.” I cannot see how he could keep the gas from coming back out of this crude hole, or how he could thus willingly allow that gas, leaving the chimney, to spread toward the windows of his own house. Moving on to an adjacent room, I would like to have an explanation of this business of the corpses preserved by Professor Hirt in “vats of formaldehyde solution” that are, in fact, nothing but vats for sauerkraut and potatoes, with simple, non-airtight wooden lids.

The most commonplace weapon, if suspected of having killed or wounded someone, is subjected to forensic examination. It will be noted with some surprise that these prodigious criminal weapons — the “gas chambers” — have never been subjected to any official examination (whether legal, scientific, or archaeological) whose report may be examined. [12] If, tragically, the Germans had won the war, I suppose that their concentration camps would have been presented to us as re-education camps. By questioning such a presentation of the facts, I should doubtless have found myself accused of being an objective ally of “Judeo-Marxism.” I am neither objectively nor subjectively a Judeo-Marxist nor a neo-Nazi. I feel admiration for those Frenchmen who courageously struggled against Nazism. They defended the right cause. If today I state that the “gas chambers” did not exist, it is because the difficult duty to be truthful obliges me to say so.

[In accordance with the law of July 29, 1881, we hereby publish Mr. Faurisson's text. Any response directed against him or his statements would in turn offer him a new right of reply.

Nonetheless, we do not consider the case opened by Darquier de Pellepoix's declarations to be closed.] [13]

-- Le Monde, January 16, 1979, p. 13.

One Proof ... One Single Proof

In a lengthy declaration, 34 French historians have recently let us know that it is of course “natural” to ask oneself all sorts of questions about the Second World War, but that, nonetheless, “there is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.”

For my part, I remark that there is a debate about the existence or the non-existence of the “gas chambers,” and I believe that this debate is a legitimate one. It has for a long time pitted a few

specialists of the school of revisionist historians against a few specialists of the official history. This debate opened, in a way, in 1960 when Dr. Martin Broszat, representing the very official Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, had to make a huge concession to the revisionist Paul Rassinier: he was obliged to acknowledge that in spite of an alleged over-abundance of evidence, documents, testimonies and confessions (all of them reliable), not a single “gas chamber” ever existed in any of the concentration camps in the former Reich. In 1968, the discussion was revived, on the official side, by Olga Wormser-Migot who, in the face of a veritable storm of protest, dared to speak, in her thesis, of what she then termed “the problem of the gas chambers.” Since 1974, this debate has little by little become a public one in western Europe and in the English-speaking world at large (including, just recently, Australia!). The French press can no longer ignore this, lest it practice a form of censorship.

This debate is already richly instructive. An attentive reader of *Le Monde* will have learned much just from a perusal of the February 21, 1979, issue, where a whole page was exclusively devoted to a rendering of the official history’s arguments. To begin, the reader will have learned that, in certain camps, fake “gas chambers” are presented to “pilgrims and tourists” (the only pity is that he is not told the names of those camps). Then, he will have learned that the figure for Auschwitz of three million dead is “surely an exaggeration,” news that will come as a surprise if he recalls that the official figure is four million. He will have noted that, in places where the German archives are declared to be “silent,” ^[14] there is a tendency to interpret them. He will have seen that, where Third Reich documents are “apparently innocuous,” they are interpreted to the point, for example, of saying that “to treat accordingly” signifies ... “to gas.” He will have noted that the orders of Himmler either to build or to destroy the “gas chambers” are not in the least precise, the fact being that such orders apparently never existed. He will have learned that the “document” of the SS engineer Gerstein is deemed “unquestionable,” not in its entirety but “for the most part.” With a bit more attention, he will have noted that, according to the passages of the [Gerstein] document that those in charge care to quote to him, there were from 700 to 800 persons in a “gas chamber” whose area was about 25 square meters, with a height of 1.8 meters, which gives us from 28 to 32 persons standing in the space of each square meter! Among the list of the 34 historians, he will perhaps have noticed that there is but a single specialist of the history of the camps. In the bibliography list, he will have twice come across the name of Olga Wormser-Migot for secondary works but not for her thesis, doubtless considered dangerous; and he will not have found any book or any article devoted to the “gas chambers,” for the good reason that, on the official side, there is none, neither in French nor in any foreign language (in this regard, beware of certain deceptive titles!).

The *Le Monde* reader is told of an account of the “final solution to the Jewish question” dated January 20, 1942. One may well wonder why the text of this account is not called by its name, as is normally the case: “Wannsee Protocol.” I observe that, for some time, it has been realized that these strange minutes (for the word “Protocol” is a misnomer) are full of oddities and that they lack any guaranty of authenticity. They were typed on ordinary paper, with no indication of the place or date it was written, no indication of its origin, no official letterhead, no reference, no signature. That said, I think that the meeting of January 20, 1942, did take place, and that it dealt with “the solution, at last, of the Jewish problem,” which is to say that, as their emigration to Madagascar had been made impossible by the war, it was decided to expel the Jewish populations to the East of Europe.

Whoever bases any accusation at all on the Gerstein “document” (PS-1553) shows, by so doing, proof of an inability to find a solid argument for the existence of the “gas chambers.” Not even the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg cared to exploit this text, which had emerged from its archives. Other tribunals, it is true, have been content to use it. The confession by R.

Höss is not worth any more. I shall not go back over the matter of this “confession,” drafted under the surveillance of his Polish and Soviet jailers. The least effort of analysis shows its fabricated nature; on this point I refer the reader to the works of Paul Rassinier and, in particular, to his study of the Eichmann trial (*Le Véritable Procès Eichmann*). As for Kremer’s diary, written during the war, it is genuine, but certain meanings are abusively coaxed out of some passages, or indeed the text is twisted in order to have us think that Kremer is speaking of the horrors of the “gas chambers” where, in reality, he describes the horrors of a typhus epidemic. After the war Kremer, indeed, did confess what he was led to confess, in accordance with all the stereotypes of the confession specialists. I am rebuked for having hidden this confession. I have not hidden it. I have expressly mentioned the existence of these “confessions.” I have not analyzed the text because, quite simply, my opponents have felicitously refrained from presenting it to me as evidence of the existence of “gas chambers” at Auschwitz! When Kremer speaks of three women being shot, I am willing to believe him. It could happen, I think, that a convoy of 1,710 persons contained three who were to be shot on arrival, at Auschwitz. But when Kremer, after the war, tells us that the incident involved women who had refused to enter the “gas chamber,” I believe none of it. I need only go back to what he claimed to have seen of an alleged gassing operation, observed from his car. Kremer is among those people according to whom the reopening of the “gas chamber” was carried out “a moment” after the victims’ death. ^[15] I have already shown that this is a material impossibility. And then, I note that, in an attempt to explain one confession, Kremer’s, another confession is relied upon, that (as chance would have it) of Höss. The disturbing point is that these two confessions, both obtained by Polish military justice, contradict one another much more than they uphold one another. One should take a close look at their respective descriptions both of the victims and the surroundings, and of the executioners and the mode of execution.

I do not understand the reply made in regard to Zyklon B. Used in a “gas chamber,” it [hydrocyanic acid] would have stuck to the ceiling, to the floor, and to the four walls, and would have permeated the victims’ bodies and their mucous for at least 20 hours. The members of the Sonderkommando (in fact, the crematory crew) charged with the task, it is said, of taking the bodies out of the “gas chamber” half an hour after the pouring in (?) of the Zyklon B, would have been instantly asphyxiated. And the Germans could hardly have scoffed at that, for the job would thus not have been done, and no new batch of victims could have been brought to the spot.

One must not confuse a suicidal or accidental asphyxiation with an execution by gassing. In the latter case, those carrying out the job must avoid the least risk. Thus, the Americans, in order to gas a single prisoner at a time, use a complicated procedure in a small and hermetically sealed space. All movements are begun on the outside. The condemned man has his wrists and ankles bound and his head immobilized. After his death, the gas is extracted and neutralized, and the guards must wait more than an hour before entering the little enclosure. A “gas chamber” is not a bedroom.

For four years I have expressed the wish to debate publicly, with anyone whom the other side may care to name, “the problem of the gas chambers.” I am answered with court writs. But the witchcraft trials, like the witch-hunts, never proved anything. I know of a way to move the debate forward. Instead of repeating ad nauseam that there exists an overabundance of evidence proving the existence of the “gas chambers” (let us be reminded of what this supposed overabundance was worth for the former Reich’s — mythical — “gas chambers”), I suggest, in order to begin at the beginning, that my adversaries provide me with a proof, one single clear-cut proof, of the actual existence of a “gas chamber,” of a single “gas chamber.” Then we shall examine that “proof” together, in public.

-- 'Right to Reply' letter of February 26, 1979, refused publication by Le Monde, responding to items in the issues of February 21, 1979 (p. 23) and February 23, 1979 (p. 40).

Notes

1. [↗](#) 1 The phrase is that of Olga Wormser-Migot (*Le Système concentrationnaire nazi*, thesis published by the Presses Universitaires de France, 1968).
2. [↗](#) 2 "Keine Vergasung in Dachau", by Dr. Martin Broszat, director of the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich (*Die Zeit*, August 19, 1960, p. 16). [Original text, in facsimile, and complete translation in English, in the May-June 1993 *Journal of Historical Review*, p. 12.]
3. [↗](#) 3 On the one hand, photos from the Auschwitz Museum (negatives 519 and 6228), and, on the other hand, Nuremberg trial documents (NI-9098 and NI-9912).
4. [↗](#) 4 See *The Work of the ICRC for Civilian Detainees in German Concentration Camps from 1939-1945*, (Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross, 1975) [French edition 1946] reproducing in part (I have a copy of the full confidential text) document No. 9925: "Visit by an ICRC delegate to the Commandant of Auschwitz Camp (September 1944)", pp. 76-77 [French edition, pp. 91-92]. A crucial sentence of this document was deftly truncated of three words in the book by Marc Hillel, *Les Archives de l'espoir* ("The Archives of Hope"), Fayard, 1977, p. 257, and the most important sentence ("The inmates themselves said nothing [about a gas chamber]") was simply left out.
5. [↗](#) 5 Among the score of authors who refute the existence of the "gas chambers," I cite Paul Rassinier, wartime deportee (*Le Véritable Procès Eichmann ... 1962*), and, especially, the American A. R. Butz for his remarkable book on *The Hoax of the 20th Century*.
6. [↗](#) 6 Presented to tourists as being in its original state.
7. [↗](#) 7 *Auschwitz vu par les SS*, Auschwitz State Museum edition, 1974, p. 238, n. 85 [the English edition, *KL Auschwitz seen by the SS*, had been published in 1972.] [See also: R. Faurisson, "Confessions of SS Men Who Were at Auschwitz, Summer 1981, *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 103-136.]
8. [↗](#) 8 A soccer field "was located beside the Birkenau crematories" (Tadeusz Borowski, in the words of H. Langbein, *Hommes et femmes à Auschwitz*, Fayard, 1975, p. 129) [German edition: *Menschen in Auschwitz*, Vienna, Europa Verlag, 1972.]
9. [↗](#) 9 French regulations concerning the use of hydrogen cyanide are as draconian as the German: see the Ministry of Public Health decree 50-1290 of October 18, 1950.
10. [↗](#) 10 *Kommandant in Auschwitz*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1958, pp. 126 and 166.
11. [↗](#) 11 *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, University Press Amsterdam, Band XIII (1975), pp. 134-135.
12. [↗](#) 12 The general gullibility is easily satisfied: it is enough to show us a door fitted with a peephole and catch-bolted and there we have it: a "gas chamber"!
13. [↗](#) 13 Louis Darquier de Pellepoix (1897-1980) was head of the Vichy government's Commissariat général des affaires juives ("General Office for Jewish Affairs") from May 1942 to February 1944. With the advent of "Liberation" and the subsequent Épuration (purge), he fled to Spain, where he lived until his death. In 1978, some French journalists, besieged with letters from Professor Faurisson and sensing that an "affaire Faurisson," which had been lying quiet like live coals since July 1974, threatened eventually to flare up, decided to make a firebreak. One Philippe Ganier-Raymond, a journalist and part-time swindler (previously held liable by a Paris court, with the aid of Faurisson, for literary fraud concerning

a text written by Céline), got in on the act. In October of 1978, in the weekly L'Express, he published an alleged interview with Darquier de Pellepoix in which the latter was quoted as stating that at Auschwitz only lice had been gassed. As a result, Faurisson ended up seeming, a few weeks afterwards, like the twin of a notorious wartime collaborator. [Note by translator S. Mundi.]

14. ☞ 14 The fact that some deportees were not registered at Auschwitz, as could well be expected, does not signify that those deportees disappeared or that they were “gassed.” For more details on this point, see S. Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la déportation des Juifs de France*, Paris, 1978, p. 10 and 12.
15. ☞ 15 *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, University Press Amsterdam, Band XVII (1977), p. 20.

Review

Made-for-TV Movie More Fair than the 'War Crimes' Trial It Depicts

- "Nuremberg" (television drama miniseries). Based on the book *Nuremberg: Infamy on Trial*, by Joseph E. Persico. Screenplay by David Rintels. Produced by Alec Baldwin, Jon Cornick, Gerry Abrams, Suzanne Girard, and Peter Sussman. Directed by Yves Simoneau. Turner Network Television (TNT). Actual running time: 180 minutes (four hours with commercials, in two parts). First segment premiere Sunday, July 16; conclusion premiere Monday, July 17. Web site: http://www.tnt.turner.com/movies/tntoriginals/nuremberg/frame_main_exclude.html

Reviewed by Greg Raven

Critics of the International Military Tribunal, and its trial of Third Reich leaders held in Nuremberg after the Second World War, believe it was illegitimate because of its application of *ex post facto* laws, use of questionable evidence and false testimonies, mistreatment of defendants and witnesses, and hindrances to defense attorneys. (See Mark Weber. "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992), Despite these serious failings, the judgments rendered at the IMT, and at numerous follow-up German war crimes trials, largely shape the modern view of the war. The IMT has achieved such currency that most accounts of its proceedings and verdicts blindly perpetuate the unfairness of the trial itself, with little fear that repeatedly pointing out its flaws will invalidate or even tarnish this progressive standard.

It must be remembered that even documentaries produced by Hollywood are often so far removed from the truth as to be highly misleading, and TNT's made-for-television production of "Nuremberg" is not a documentary, but a drama. As such, it takes considerable license with the facts. Because there is little pretense here that history is being presented as it actually happened, it would be a waste of time to closely compare "Nuremberg" to the historical record.

More important is what is shown in addition to the seemingly obligatory Nazi-bashing common in films dealing with this era. For example, any mention of Adolf Hitler, Nazis, or Nazism without harping on the Holocaust is inconceivable, and "Nuremberg" does its share of perpetuating the myth that the trials were necessary, fair, and unremarkable in terms of jurisprudence, largely because of what is alleged to have happened in the German-run concentration camps. But where most sympathetic treatments of the IMT differ only in their attempts to excuse its extra-legal aspects, TNT's "Nuremberg" naively acknowledges its unfairness, as if to say that the ends (the condemnation of Nazism and the punishment of Nazi leaders) justify the means.

What's more, some of the accused, notably Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring (Brian Cox), are convincingly portrayed as men with some depth of character, a complete departure from the typical "Nazi = evil incarnate" formula found in most British and American films made since 1933. Although no doubt unintended, the nuances in "Nuremberg" set it apart from nearly all other mainstream treatments of the IMT.

“Nuremberg” establishes right away that the German leaders initially did not expect to be charged as criminals for conduct that up until then had been considered normal behavior by governments, and that many of their Allied counterparts considered it distasteful to turn over for trial men such as the charming and witty Göring and the brilliant Albert Speer (Herbert Knaup) who, recent hostilities notwithstanding, are accepted by their captors as honorable men who had served their country capably.

This soon changes, however. Samuel Rosenman (Max von Sydow), former speech writer and confidant of President Franklin Roosevelt, contacts Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson (Alec Baldwin) to convince him to serve as the lead U.S. prosecutor at an “international” war crimes trial, made up of the “four powers” (United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union). After word comes down from on high, the mood turns ugly as the arrests are made, and in a nod toward the widespread but concealed beatings and tortures of German leaders awaiting trial, the movie-makers show Hans Frank (Frank Moore) being pummeled by a gauntlet of Allied soldiers, and finally kicked in the groin after he collapses to the ground.

Jackson’s character is given an interesting wrinkle right off the bat, as he tells his wife that she can’t go because there are “no wives allowed,” yet he takes his secretary, Elsie Douglas (Jill Hennessy). Just in case anyone misses this foreshadowing of Jackson’s eventual intimate relationship with Douglas, she is repeatedly shown gazing at him with what can only be unrequited love. (In the Persico book on which this mini-series is based, she is referred to as “Mrs. Douglas,” and there is nothing about a love affair, as there is no evidence one ever took place.) Jackson is thus portrayed as a noble idealist who is so committed to making the world a better place that he doesn’t have time to worry about trivialities such as keeping the promise he made to his wife on their wedding day.

During the flight to Europe, prosecution liaison Telford Taylor (Christopher Shyer) calls everyone’s attention to the extra-legal nature of their task: “How do we start,” he asks. “There are no precedents, no existing body of law, not even a court.” As the others ignore the import of his question and begin a seemingly arbitrary selection of whom to prosecute, Taylor insists, “I’m still wrestling with the validity of this trial. Crimes committed during war have never been called crimes. To define acts as crimes after they’ve been committed, even by Nazis — that’s not real law. It’s *ex post facto* law ... My fear is that at the end of the day, this will be perceived as nothing more than the triumph of superior might — the winners exacting punishment on the losers.” Only a Hollywood film could make Taylor out to be a proto-revisionist!

Once the entourage arrives in Nuremberg, it is clear that even civilian targets in Germany have been bombed relentlessly. Elsie Douglas remembers pre-war photos of the city sent by her brother, and is shocked by the destruction and the stench she encounters. “There are still 30,000 bodies trapped under the rubble,” Eisenhower’s deputy General Lucius Clay informs her. “We’re getting disinfectant to counter it.”

On arrival at their jail cells next to the courtroom in Nuremberg, Reichsbank president Hjalmar Schacht (James Bradford) and Field Marshall Wilhelm Keitel (Frank Fontaine) protest their arrest, Schacht and Admiral Karl Dönitz (Raymond Cloutier) denounce *Der Stürmer* publisher Julius Streicher (Sam Stone) as “filth,” “garbage,” “disgusting,” and “a pornographer and a Jew-baiter,” deftly giving additional depth of character to the accused, where it would be easier to portray them all as malicious and filled with hatred for Jews.

While awaiting trial, the German leaders are kept in what prison psychologist Gustav Gilbert (Matt Craven) tells Nuremberg prison commandant Colonel Burton C. Andrus (Michael Ironside)

is a “perfect suicide ward,” where the defendants — with nothing to distract them and little hope of survival — will inevitably attempt to take their own lives. In response, Andrus allows Gilbert access to the prisoners to mitigate the dreariness of their circumstances, on the proviso that Gilbert secretly report back everything he hears.

Like others on the prosecution team, Gilbert is taken aback by Göring’s self-assurance and perspicacity. In many ways, “Nuremberg” is a showcase for Göring, as he moves from strength to strength, rallying the other defendants both before trial and during recess, intimidating Jackson, and at one point, nearly gaining control of the entire proceedings.

Almost from the time they arrive at Nuremberg months before the trial begins, the defendants are shown as expecting to be executed. Cox as Göring uses the “freedom” that comes from knowing his fate to excellent advantage, in contrast to Baldwin’s somewhat wooden portrayal of Jackson, who can do little more than react to Göring. Göring is absolutely certain about who he is, what he stands for, and his place in the world, whereas Jackson is portrayed as barely knowing what he is doing and why he is doing it in Germany, let alone whether he has the commitment to do the job he has taken on. Time after time, Göring passionately rallies his fellow defendants, and trumps Jackson in the courtroom. In desperation, Jackson first moves to limit Göring’s testimony, and ultimately succeeds only after playing the “Holocaust” card, showing footage from the liberation of the western camps (where no one now claims there were any exterminations) and putting Hollywood’s version of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss (Colm Feore) on the stand. As Cox himself acknowledged, “For the film, we have to see Göring lose it a little, but in reality, Göring ran rings around Jackson.” (*Los Angeles Times TV Guide*, July 16, 2000)

“Nuremberg” tacitly acknowledges the tremendous lopsidedness of the proceedings themselves. Jackson is shown in private meetings with the judges, which would certainly be illegal in any jurisdiction in the United States. The prosecutors are shown wallowing in German documents, including Hans Frank’s diaries — which he is certain will exonerate him — while the defense attorneys are virtually invisible, if not impotent. The Allies spare no effort refurbishing the courthouse for the trial, while average Germans starve. These and other straightforward admissions of the grotesquely unbalanced nature of the trials are all the more astonishing if one considers that currently in France, one can be fined and jailed for disputing findings of this court of the victorious.

Perhaps the biggest drawback to “Nuremberg” is that all its teaching and Internet materials support the traditional (anti-revisionist) position. Even so, the inclusion in a TV mini-series of little-known aspects of the shabby post-war treatment of Third Reich leaders is itself proof that the passage of time gives us all a better vantage point on historical events.

Letters to the Editor (May/June 2000)

The 13th IHR Conference

Congratulations on your excellent conference. It was very well organized and informative — very good for everyone's morale.

John Bennett
Carlton, Australia

Swastika Charm

Regarding the March-April 1999 *Journal* article about the swastika, and the remark [p. 34] that “in India it was revered as a sign of good fortune and prosperity,” it is notable that such was also the case in the USA well into the 20th century. An example is seen in the 1931 Hollywood movie “Blonde Crazy.” In the latter part James Cagney examines a two inch square metallic “swastika charm.” The dialogue makes clear that Americans generally interpreted such a charm as a “good luck piece.” (The title of the movie does not fit well. The original title, “Larceny Lane,” was better.)

Arthur R. Butz
Evanston, Illinois

Massive Historical Distortion

While we are inundated with “remembrance” of the greatest war crime that never occurred, the record of the greatest such crime that actually did occur are being expunged. I refer to the expulsion at the conclusion of World War II of twelve million Germans from the real east Germany — Silesia, Pomerania, East Prussia, the Sudetenland, and other areas east of the Oder-Neisse line — which involved the deaths of some two million people.

Then these lands, which constituted a quarter of Germany's territory, were incorporated by the Allied leaders into Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Although just as German as the rest of Germany, these regions had the geographic misfortune to be vulnerable to Allied, and especially Stalinist, vengeance.

With this great crime has come distortion of history on a grand scale. My 1986 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (a work under the guidance of the University of Chicago) refers to east German cities as being “under Prussian control” until “liberated” by the Poles in 1945. A Maps of the war on the History Channel and on the boxes of model airplanes show postwar boundaries. An article in the neo-conservative magazine *The American Spectator* imagines a wartime event occurring in “Wroclaw” (Breslau). A few years ago Poles in the city of Stettin (Szczecin) cele-

brated the city's 800th anniversary. With the current Pope in attendance, they arranged the festivities as a celebration of their history. Even some Germans seem eager to eradicate their historical heritage and collective memory. During a visit to the Nietzsche house in Naumburg in 1998, I was startled to see the philosopher's life traced on wall maps not of his era, but of today.

Eric Rachout, M. D.

Moody, Texas

The 1945 Sinkings of the Cap Arcona and the Thielbek

Allied Attacks Killed Thousands of Concentration Camp Inmates

Mark Weber

All prisoners of German wartime concentration camps who perished while in German custody are routinely regarded as “victims of Nazism” — even if they lost their lives as direct or indirect result of Allied policy. Similarly, all Jews who died in German captivity during World War II — no matter what the cause of death — are counted as “victims of the Holocaust.”

This view is very misleading, if not deceitful. In fact, many tens of thousands of camp inmates and Jews lost their lives as direct and indirect victims of Allied action, or of the horrors of the Second World War. For example, the many thousands of Jews who perished in the notorious Bergen-Belsen camp during and after the final months of the war in Europe, including Anne Frank, were primarily victims not of German policy, but rather of the turmoil and chaos of war.

Among the German concentration camp prisoners who perished at Allied hands were some 7,000 inmates who were killed during the war’s final week as they were being evacuated in three large German ships that were attacked by British war planes. This little-known tragedy is one of history’s greatest maritime disasters.

The Cap Arcona, launched in May 1927, was a handsome passenger ship of the “Hamburg-South America” line. At 27,000 gross registered tons, it was the fourth-largest ship in the German merchant marine. For twelve years — until the outbreak of war in 1939 — she had sailed regularly between Hamburg and Rio de Janeiro. In the war’s final months she was pressed into service by the German navy to rescue refugees fleeing from areas in the east threatened by the Red Army. This was part of a vast rescue operation organized by the German navy under the supervision of Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz. All but unknown in the United States today, this great undertaking saved countless lives. The Thielbek, a much smaller ship of 2,800 gross registered tons, was also used to transport refugees as part of the rescue operation.

In April 1945, Karl Kaufmann, Gauleiter of Hamburg and Reich Commissioner for merchant shipping, transferred the Cap Arcona and the Thielbek from naval command, and ordered them to Neustadt Bay in the Baltic Sea near the north German city of Lübeck.

Some 5,000 prisoners hastily evacuated from the Neuengamme concentration camp (a few miles southeast of Hamburg) were brought on board the Cap Arcona between April 18 and 26, along with some 400 SS guards, a naval gunnery detail of 500, and a crew of 76. Similarly the Thielbek took on some 2,800 Neuengamme prisoners. Under the terrible conditions that prevailed in what remained of unoccupied Germany during those final weeks, conditions for the prisoners on board the two vessels were dreadful. Many of the tightly packed inmates were ill, and both food and water were in very short supply.

On the afternoon of May 3, 1945, British “Typhoon” fighter-bombers, striking in several attack waves, bombarded and fired on the Cap Arcona and then the Thielbek. The two ships, which had no military function or mission, were flying many large white flags. “The hoisting of white flags proved useless,” notes the Encyclopedia of the Third Reich. The attacks were thus violations of international law, for which — if Britain and not Germany had been the vanquished power — British pilots and their commanders could have been punished and even executed as “war criminals.”

The Thielbek, struck by rockets, bombs and machine gun fire, sank in just 15-20 minutes. British planes then fired on terror-stricken survivors who were struggling in rescue boats or thrashing in the cold sea. Nearly everyone on board the Thielbek perished quickly, including nearly all the SS guards, ship’s officers and crew members. Only about 50 of the prisoners survived.

The burning Cap Arcona took longer to go under. Many inmates burned to death. Most of those who were able to leap overboard drowned in the cold sea, and only some 350-500 could be rescued. During the next several days hundreds of corpses washed up on nearby shores, and were buried in mass graves. Having sunk in shallow water, the wreck of the capsized Cap Arcona remained partially above water as a grim reminder of the catastrophe.

A German reference work, *Verheimlichte Dokumente*, sums up:

A particularly barbaric Allied war crime was the bombing on May 3, 1945, by British Royal Air Force planes of the passenger ships Cap Arcona and Thielbek in the Lübeck bay, packed with concentration camp inmates. Among the many 'nameless' victims were many prominent political figures, a fact that is hushed up today because the fact that concentration camp inmates, many of them resistance fighters against Hitler, perished as victims of the terror of the 'liberators' does not conform to the portrayal of the 'reeducators'.

Another reference work, *Der Zweite Weltkrieg* (1985), notes:

A unique tragedy is the end on May 3, 1945, of the 'Hamburg-South' passenger steamship Cap Arcona and the steamship Thielbek, both carrying concentration camp prisoners on board who believed that they were saved, but who were now bombed in the Neustadt Bay by Allied air planes. On the Cap Arcona alone, more than 5,000 perished — ship personnel, concentration camp inmates, and SS guards.

The deaths on May 3, 1945, of some 7,000 concentration camp prisoners — victims of a criminal British attack — remains a little-known chapter of World War II history. This is all the more remarkable when one compares the scale of the disaster with other, much better known maritime catastrophes. For example, the well-known sinking of the great British liner Titanic on April 15, 1912, took “only” 1,523 lives.

Actually, among the greatest naval disasters in history are the Baltic Sea sinkings of three other German vessels by Soviet submarines in the first half of 1945: the Wilhelm Gustloff, on January 30, 1945, with the loss of at least 5,400 lives, mostly women and children; the General Steuben on February 10, 1945, with the loss of 3,500, mostly refugees and wounded soldiers; and, above all, the Goya on April 16, 1945, taking the lives of some 7,000 refugees and wounded soldiers.

Sources: Fritz Brustat-Naval, *Unternehmen Rettung* (Herford: Koheler, 1970), pp. 197-201; C. Zentner & F. Bedürftig, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (New York: Da Capo, 1997), pp. 126, 644-645, 952; W. Schütz, Hrsg., *Lexikon: Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert*

(Rosenheim: DVG, 1990), pp. 66, 455; Dr. Bernhard Steidle, Hrsg., *Verheimlichte Dokumente*, Band 2 (Munich: 1995), pp. 212, 230; "Britische RAF mordete Tausende KZ-Häftlinge," *National-Zeitung* (Munich), May 19, 2000, p. 11; Kay Dohnke, "5 Minuten, 50 Meter, 50 Jahre: Gedenken an die Cap Arcona, nach einem halben Jahrhundert," *taz: die tageszeitung* (Hamburg Ausgabe), May 3, 1995, also on line at <http://www.theo-physik.uni-kiel.de/~starrost/akens/texte/diverses/arcona.html>; "The Cap Arcona, the Thielbek and the Athen," on line at <http://www.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/rz3a035/arcona.html>; Konnilyn G. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (New York: 1981), p. 214; Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (New York: 1986), p. 806; M. Weber, "Bergen-Belsen: The Suppressed Story," May-June 1995 *Journal of Historical Review*, pp. 23-30; M. Weber, "History's Little-Known Naval Disasters," March-April 1998 *Journal*, p. 22.

For further reading, these books are available: Rudi Goguel, *Cap Arcona* (Frankfurt/Main: Röderberg, 1972); Günter Schwarberg, *Angriffsziel Cap Arcona* (Hamburg: Stern-Buch, 1983/Göttingen: Steidi, 1998), with portions on line at <http://www.reger-online.de/buchcd/w7506002.htm>; Wilhelm Lange, *Cap Arcona: Dokumentation* (Eutin: Struve, 1988).

Insights on the 1944 Deportations of Hungarian Jews

What Happened to the Jews Who Were Deported to Auschwitz but Were Not Registered There?

Jürgen Graf

1. Introduction

According to the standard or official version of 20th century history, millions of European Jews were murdered in gas chambers at Auschwitz and other German wartime camps during the Second World War. This mass killing was supposedly carried out as part of a systematic policy by Third Reich Germany to exterminate Europe's Jews.

In support of this view, orthodox "Holocaust" historians cite nothing beyond "eyewitness" testimonies — testimonies that contradict each other in every possible way, and are full of technical, natural-scientific, and logical impossibilities. [1]

Factual or documentary proof for a German policy to exterminate Europe's Jews, or for the existence of homicidal gas chambers, simply does not exist. On the contrary, the huge amount of wartime German documents not only provides no proof for the existence of an extermination policy, they point to the contrary. To cite just one example: German wartime documents in the archives of the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland show that 15,706 wartime camp prisoners, nearly all of them Jewish, received medical care at the hospital of the Auschwitz III (Monowitz) camp between July 1942 and June 1944. Of these prisoners, 766 died in the hospital, while the rest of them were released. [2] This fact simply doesn't square with an extermination policy.

The on-site forensic examinations carried out by revisionists show that the "eyewitness" accounts of mass murder, as well as the alleged disposition of the corpses, are impossible. These technical-scientific investigations also establish that the alleged "gas chamber" rooms or spaces were not constructed for homicidal purposes and, for structural-technical reasons, could not have been utilized as killing chambers. Moreover, the capacities of the crematories — insofar as they existed at a given camp — were woefully inadequate to cremate the vast number of corpses of the alleged victims. [3]

Those who defend the "Holocaust" story of Jewish extermination and mass killings in gas chambers have no coherent response to the results of revisionist research. In particular, they have no response to the forensic findings of the revisionist experts. Alone among the "exterminationists," French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has attempted to prove systematically that mass killings in gas chambers, as well as the cremation of the alleged number of bodies, was technically possible. [4] His arguments have been refuted in great detail by Robert Faurisson and Carlo Mattogno. [5] Anyone may compare for himself the arguments and evidence presented by each side on this issue. Such a comparison speaks for itself.

In discussions with opponents and skeptics, revisionists are invariably confronted with the question: “If they weren’t killed, what happened to the missing Jews?” This question deserves serious consideration. We revisionists should not be content merely to refute the official “Holocaust” story; we should also attempt to explain, as clearly as possible, what actually did occur. Naturally, this involves the question of the whereabouts of the missing Jews.

In this paper, I deal with the question of the fate of Jews who were deported to Auschwitz, but were not registered there. At the outset I want to say that no one is able to provide a complete answer to this question. If we possessed documents that clarified this issue, this paper would be unnecessary. As it happens, documents on this aspect of camp history are very spotty and incomplete. For the time being we are therefore obliged to deal, for the most part, with hypotheses, and to point to tasks that revisionists will likely confront in the future.

The first, or “destructive” phase of revisionist work — the refutation of the official “Holocaust” story — is largely behind us. It is now time to concentrate on the second, and more difficult, “constructive” phase, which is to provide a more complete picture of the actual fate of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War. Although authors such as Arthur Butz, Walter Sanning, Stefan Werner, Enrique Aynat and Jean-Marie Boisdefeu have already carried out some pioneering work, this second phase of revisionist research is still in its beginning.

2. An 'Official' Account of the Numbers of Jews Deported to Auschwitz

Shortly after the Red Army’s takeover of the Auschwitz camp in January 1945, the Soviets told the world that four million persons had died there. [6] Although this absurd figure was widely cited in the West, and was officially defended in Poland until 1990, few Western historians accepted it. Then, in 1993, the head of the historical research division of Poland’s Auschwitz State Museum, Franciszek Piper, presented new estimates of the numbers of Auschwitz victims, figures that represented a sharp reduction in the “official” figures. [7] Piper’s 1993 publication on the numbers of Auschwitz victims is the most carefully researched study on this issue presented so far by an “orthodox” historian. In contrast to historians such as Raul Hilberg, who don’t deem it necessary to provide evidence or sources for their numbers, [8] Piper explained in some detail how he arrived at his figures.

Piper wrote that altogether 1.3 million prisoners were brought to Auschwitz, of whom only 400,000 were registered. Among those deported to the camp were 1,095,000 Jews, of whom 205,000 were registered and 890,000 were unregistered. According to Piper, of 400,000 registered Jewish and non-Jewish inmates, 200,000 survived interment in the camp — that is, half of them. Similarly, he estimated, about half of the registered Jewish prisoners — that is, about 100,000 — survived Auschwitz internment. Because nearly all the unregistered Jews are supposed to have been killed in gas chambers, Piper concludes that “at least 1,100,000 persons were killed or died in the camp.” [9]

Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has provided estimates of Auschwitz victims that are significantly lower than those of Piper. In the 1994 German-language edition of his second book Pressac estimates the total number of Auschwitz camp victims as between 631,000 and 711,000. [10] Interestingly, though, he was not permitted to cite these figures in an important semi-official anthology, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*, a collection of two-dozen essays by Pressac and various “orthodox” Holocaust historians. [11] Considering these circumstances, one can conclude that Piper’s estimates reflect the current “official” historiography.

Piper's estimates of the numbers of registered inmates at Auschwitz (both Jewish and non-Jewish) are well-grounded. With regard to the number of the deceased among these inmates, however, revisionist researchers Carlo Mattogno and Franco Deana arrive at a lower figure. In 1994 they estimated the total number of registered prisoners — both Jews and non-Jews — who died at Auschwitz at 160,000 to 170,000. ^[12] (Mattogno, the leading revisionist specialist on Auschwitz, is currently working on a detailed study on the mortality rate at the camp in which he slightly reduces his 1994 figures.) ^[13]

With regard to the number of victims among the registered prisoners at Auschwitz, the leading “exterminationist” expert (Piper) and the most knowledgeable revisionist specialist (Mattogno) thus arrive at figures that, while they differ by 30,000 to 40,000, essentially agree on the order of magnitude. However, the situation is radically different regarding non-registered prisoners. Piper contends that in addition to 890,000 un-registered Jews at Auschwitz, there were also approximately 15,000 un-registered non-Jews at the camp.

For most of the European countries of origin, the contemporary wartime German documents show rather clearly just how many Jews were deported to Auschwitz. We know, for example, that more than 75,000 Jews were deported from France, of whom 69,000 were sent to Auschwitz. ^[14] Similarly reliable documentation shows just how many Jews were deported to Auschwitz from most of the European states of origin. For these countries, Piper's figures can hardly be contested. Not so clear, however, are his estimates of the number of deportees from the two countries from where, by far, the largest number of Jews arrived — namely Hungary and Poland.

Telegrams sent to Berlin in 1944 by Germany's special ambassador in Budapest, Edmund Veesenmayer, ^[15] put the number of deported Hungarian Jews at 437,000. In his classic revisionist work *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, Arthur Butz contends that at least some of the Veesenmayer dispatches are forgeries, and that the actual number of Jewish deportees from Hungary is much lower — only a fraction of what has been claimed. ^[16] I will go into this matter in more detail, but at this point I shall simply state that the Butz thesis, which I had endorsed in my book *Der Holocaust Schwindel*, ^[17] is probably not valid. I now accept the number of 437,000 deported Hungarian Jews as a working hypothesis.

Piper estimates the number of Polish Jews deported to Auschwitz at 300,000, a figure that is certainly too high. In support of this, he refers to the *Kalendarium*, an important, semi-official Polish work about Auschwitz compiled by Danuta Czech. ^[18] Piper puts the number of deportees from Poland at 225,000, and adds to this some 55,000 to 65,000 Jews deported from Lodz to Auschwitz who were overlooked by Czech. Piper therefore concludes that a total of 280,000 to 290,000 Polish Jews were deported to Auschwitz, a figure that he rounds off to 300,000. But in reality the *Kalendarium* figure of 225,000 must be reduced by at least some 43,000 because approximately 30,000 Jews arrived at Auschwitz from Polish labor camps, and are thus counted twice. Another 13,000 Polish Jews who were allegedly deported to Auschwitz in sealed cars and led to the gas chambers without selection only exist in the tales of “eyewitnesses”; they are, so to speak, “non-existing persons,” as George Orwell would put it. And finally, the number of Jews brought from Lodz to Auschwitz was not more than approximately 20,000. ^[19] For these reasons, the figure of 300,000 Polish Jews (allegedly) transported to Auschwitz is greatly inflated, and must be reduced by around 100,000.

To summarize: According to Franciszek Piper, 1.1 million Jews were deported to Auschwitz — of whom 300,000 were Polish Jews. From this latter figure we subtract 100,000, while at the same time accepting his figures for all other countries, including Hungary (at least provisionally), and arrive, therefore, at about a million Jews deported to that largest of the German concentration

camp. Of these, 200,000 were registered. According to Piper, half of them survived the camp, while Mattogno and Deana arrive at a higher percentage of survivors. Therefore, there remain some 800,000 Jews who arrived at Auschwitz but were not registered there (at least according to the camp records). According to official historiography, virtually all of these unregistered Jews were gassed in Auschwitz. According to the 1944 Veesenmayer telegrams from Budapest to Berlin, more than half of this 800,000, namely 410,000, arrived at Auschwitz from Hungary, of whom only 28,000 were registered in the camp.

I shall return to the question of the Hungarian Jews in the final part of this paper, but for now I turn to the fate of the non-registered Jews from other countries.

3. The Non-registered Jewish Prisoners from Countries Other than Hungary

It is well known that many wartime German documents speak of the “evacuation” (“Evakuierung”) or “expulsion” (“Abschiebung”) of the Jews. A good example is the August 21, 1942, memorandum by Martin Luther, a high-ranking official (Unterstaatssekretär) in the German Foreign Office (and who represented it at the January 1942 Wannsee Conference). Referring to a decision by Hitler two years earlier to remove the Jews from Europe, Luther wrote: ^[20]

The principle of the German Jewish Policy after the [National Socialist] assumption of power was to promote Jewish emigration by all means ... The present war gives Germany the opportunity and also the duty to solve the Jewish question in Europe ... The evacuation [Evakuierung] of the Jews from Germany began on the basis of the above-mentioned Führer directive [Führerweisung]. It was logical to include immediately the Jewish citizens of the countries that had also adopted anti-Jewish measures ... The number of Jews deported [abgeschoben] in this way to the East did not suffice to cover the labor needs there.

Historians who contend that “evacuation” and “relocation” are sinister camouflage terms for “extermination,” will have some difficulty explaining the remark in Luther’s memo that “the number of Jews deported in this way to the East did not suffice to cover the labor needs there.”

Even more problematic for Holocaust historians, perhaps, is the deportation of a considerable number of Jews from western European countries to the occupied Soviet territories (notably to the Baltic lands and Belarus). Deportations of German and Czech Jews to Riga (Latvia) and Minsk (Belarus) have been dealt with in detail by Raul Hilberg, who also emphasizes in his three-volume study the economic importance of Jewish prisoners working in those territories. He writes, for example, of “a widespread demand for Jewish workers,” and that in Riga German and Latvian Jews worked for the SS, the army, the navy, the air force, the railroad, and in commercial enterprises. ^[21]

Jews were being deported from Germany to Riga in December 1941. In that same month, according to orthodox historiography, the first so-called “extermination camp” was opened at Chelmno, and in March of 1942, a second “extermination camp” supposedly began operation at Belzec. Given that a camp does not appear overnight, the decision to build Chelmno and Belzec must have been made quite some time earlier. In Hilberg’s view, everything points to a decision having been made by Hitler before the end of the Summer of 1941 to annihilate the Jews, that is, at least two months before the deportation of German Jews to Riga and Minsk. ^[22] If so, why then were Jews who were supposedly destined for extermination deported from Germany to far-off Riga and Minsk rather than to the much closer “extermination camps” of Chelmno and Belzec? The argument that they were temporarily spared because they were needed as workers in the occupied

Soviet territories simply does not hold up. As Hilberg reports, many of these German Jewish deportees were “cripples, war invalids, and people over 70 years of age” [23] who were utterly unsuited for employment. Such people would “logically” have been sent straight to the “extermination camps” (if such existed).

In October 1942 Switzerland’s main Jewish community weekly, the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt für die Schweiz*, reported: [24]

For some time there has been the tendency to dissolve the ghettos in Poland. That was the case with Lublin, and now Warsaw is to follow. It is not known to what extent this plan has already been carried out. The previous inhabitants of the ghettos are going off farther to the East into the occupied Russian territory. They were partially replaced by Jews from Germany ... An eyewitness, who until recently was in Riga and was able to escape, reports that there are still 32,000 Jews in the Riga ghetto. Since the occupation, thousands of Jews died. The Jews must assemble in the morning for compulsory labor outside the city ... Recently, in Riga, it has been noticed that transports of Jews from Belgium and other western European countries, which, however immediately go on further to unknown destinations.

The official “Holocaust” literature is silent about the transport of Polish Jews to the occupied Soviet territories. The Polish Jews evacuated from the ghettos are supposed to have been gassed in “extermination camps.” Nor is there any mention in the official literature of the deportation of Belgian Jews to Riga. According to the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, for example, “by far the greater part of the [Jewish] deportees [from Belgium] perished in Auschwitz; some small groups were also sent to Buchenwald, Ravensbrück and Bergen-Belsen.” [25] As we have seen, the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt* also mentions in October 1942 transports of Jews from other western European countries to Riga, from where they go to unknown destinations. According to the official historiography, however, there were six extermination camps in October 1942. If so, why would the deported Jews have been transported far to the east of the six “death centers” to the occupied Soviet territories? Defenders of the orthodox “Holocaust” story, who hold that the Belgian Jews would never have been allowed to reach the occupied Eastern territories, are simply unable to answer such elementary questions.

It is quite obvious that for many Jews from Belgium and other western European countries, Auschwitz served merely as a transit camp. The article from the Swiss Jewish weekly cited above is no isolated case. Two revisionist authors, the Spaniard Enrique Aynat and the Frenchman Jean-Marie Boisdefeu, [26] have found additional examples. Here are some of them:

- A Slovak Jew, Gisi Fleischman, reported in March of 1943 that in the region of Lublin (Poland), he encountered other Slovak Jews, as well as Belgian Jews. [27]
- In 1942 Jews from Belgium, Netherlands and France arrived by train in Lvov (Lviv), Ukraine, according to testimony of the eyewitness I. Hertz provided in 1946 by the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the USSR. [28]
- The French Communist underground newspaper *Notre Voix* reported in its April 1944 issue: [29]

News that will please all the Jews of France was broadcast by Radio Moscow. Who among us has not had a brother, a sister, a spouse or a parent among those deported from Paris? And who will not rejoice when he hears that 8,000 Paris Jews have been rescued by the glorious Red Army! One of them reported on Radio Moscow how he was saved from death together with

8,000 other Paris Jews. They all found themselves in Ukraine at the time of the latest Soviet offensive, and the SS bandits wanted to shoot them before they left the country.

One might object, of course, that such reports are not German wartime documents, and consequently are not conclusive. All the same, they give additional support to the thesis that Auschwitz also functioned as a transit camp. Why should an underground Communist newspaper in France have published in April of 1944 a false news report about Jews being rescued by the Red Army in Ukraine? And why should the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the Soviet Union have spread false information about deportations of French and Belgian Jews to Ukraine? There is no valid reason to believe such reports are false.

In addition, some surviving German wartime documents also refer to the deportation of western European Jews to the occupied Soviet territories. On August 28, 1942, an SS conference on “the Jewish question” was held in Berlin, at which specific problems arising from the deportations were discussed. The official record of the conference included the following on deportations of stateless Jews from France: [30]

During the course of the discussion, SS Lt. Colonel [Obersturmbannführer] Eichmann made known that the current evacuation problem (deportation of the stateless Jews) should be concluded by the end of this calendar year. The end of June 1943 is anticipated as a deadline for the deportation of the remaining foreign Jews ... Eichmann requested the immediate purchase of the barracks that had been ordered by the Commander of the Security Police in the Hague [Netherlands]. That camp is to be built in Russia. The transport of the barracks can be arranged so that three to five barracks can be taken along with each transport train.

The implication of this document is clear: Only a portion of the Jews who had been deported from France to Auschwitz remained in the camp. The remainder were transported further east, namely to the occupied Eastern territories ("Russia"), where a camp was to be built for them. The barracks for this camp were to be transported by train.

In his *Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France*, Serge Klarsfeld mentions a May 1944 transport of 878 French Jews to Tallinn (Reval), Estonia, as well as to Kaunas, Lithuania. Among the deported, there were also children between 12 and 15, of whom most were definitely too young to work. So why were they sent to the Baltic lands?

This is not the only documentary evidence to show that Jews who were unable to work were not killed in Auschwitz, but instead were taken further to the East. A July 1942 SS memo on Jewish deportations reports: [31]

On July 20, 1942, SS Lt. Colonel Eichmann and SS First Lieutenant [Obersturmführer] Nowak of the Reich Security Main Office [RSHA] IV B4 [Jewish affairs section] telephoned. With SS Lt. Colonel Eichmann, the question of the relocation of children was discussed. He decided that as soon as transport into the [Polish] Generalgouvernement is once again possible, transports of children would roll. SS First Lieutenant Nowak assured that by late August or early September approximately six transports would be possible into the Generalgouvernement. They would contain all types of Jews (including those unable to work and the elderly).

This memorandum refers to the transport of Jewish children as well as unemployable and elderly Jews into the Generalgouvernement. Auschwitz was not in the Generalgouvernement, but rather in a portion of south-western Poland that had been annexed to Germany in 1939. Unemployable

and elderly Jews were not gassed in Auschwitz, but rather were sent further eastward, undoubtedly to be billeted there in a ghetto. The objection that they were perhaps murdered in an eastern extermination camp would be preposterous because there is no reason to divert such people from the “gas chambers” of Auschwitz in order to murder them in the “gas chambers” of Treblinka.

In 1945, I am convinced, the victorious Allies undertook measures to cull out German documents that were clearly at odds with Allied extermination claims, which is why documents such as those cited here are available only in sparse numbers. In all probability, this is the reason why almost no documents are available concerning the alleged extermination camps of Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec. Almost certainly these three “Operation Reinhard” camps in the German-occupied Generalgouvernement territory were transit camps through which Jewish deportees — especially Polish Jews, but also a certain number of western European Jews — went on into the occupied Eastern territories.

According to official “Holocaust” historiography, Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec functioned purely as extermination centers, in which all arriving Jews were immediately put to death (except for a handful of “working Jews” [Arbeitsjuden] who were temporarily spared). But there is no doubt that Treblinka, for example, functioned as a transit camp. This is corroborated by various eyewitness reports. For example, a Polish Jew named Samuel Zylbersztain reported some time after the end of the war that in 1943 he, together with some 500 other Jews, was transferred from Treblinka to Majdanek (Lublin). ^[32] But why were these 500 Jews deported to Majdanek? Certainly not to be gassed there. After all, he also survived this second “extermination camp.” Indeed, he later survived eight additional (regular) concentration camps. He is yet another living witness that the Germans did not exterminate the Jews.

In an interesting book published in Germany in 1990, *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft* (“The Second Babylonian Captivity”), Steffen Werner provides evidence for German wartime deportations of Jews from various countries to Belarus (Belorussia). ^[33]

Finally, I want to raise the question of the fate of the Jews who were deported to the occupied Soviet territories. Undoubtedly the mortality was very high due to the general wartime deprivations, especially given that many of the deportees were old and physically unable to work. It seems possible to me that many of the surviving Polish Jews opted to stay in the Soviet Union at the end of the war because Poland had been devastated during the war and because anti-Semitic feelings were rampant there. On the other hand, I think it unlikely that many surviving Jews from western European countries would have voluntarily remained in the Soviet Union.

Werner and Boisdefeu speculate that those western European Jews deported to the occupied Soviet territories who survived the war were probably rounded up by the Soviets and deported to Siberian camps. At that time Stalin and the Soviet regime already supported the myth of the annihilation of the Jews in gas chambers, and a massive return of Jews to western Europe from the USSR would have discredited that story. However, this is only speculation, and Werner and Boisdefeu are unable to prove this thesis. Such unanswered questions can presumably be clarified only through documents held in archives in Russia and in other countries of the former Soviet Union. There are reasons to hope that a future nationalist government in Russia will one day make such documents public. I do not need to spell out the obvious dramatic and politically important consequences of such a step.

4. The Non-Registered Hungarian Jews

It is generally accepted that Hungarian Jewry suffered from three big deportation waves in 1944.

- Between May 15 and July 9, mass deportations from the provinces were carried out. As already mentioned, Germany's special ambassador in Budapest, Edmund Veesenmayer, reported in telegrams to Berlin that altogether 437,000 Jews were deported to the Reich. This was about half of Hungary's Jewish population at the time. (In 1944 the Hungarian state was geographically far larger than it is today, because in 1939 and 1940 it had annexed portions of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania, which it lost again in 1945.) Conscious of the worsening military situation, and responding to protests from Allied and neutral governments, the Hungarian head of state, Miklos Horthy, ordered the deportations stopped on July 9, 1944. As a result, the Jews in the capital of Budapest, who were next slated for deportation, were spared.
- In the second half of June, 20,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to the Strasshof camp, near Vienna. Most of them survived the war. [34]
- After the downfall of the Horthy government in October 1944, and the assumption of power by Ferenc Szalasi and his "fascist" Arrow Cross movement, thousands of Budapest Jews were force-marched to the border of the Reich to construct ramparts against Soviet tanks. A considerable number of them must have perished, but because these deaths are not so directly related to "the Holocaust," I shall not deal further with that here. I will confine myself to dealing with the first and most massive deportation wave.

According to the original version of the "Holocaust" story, all of the Hungarian Jews deported between May and July 1944 were sent to Auschwitz and gassed upon arrival, except some 28,000 Jews who were registered there. In a scholarly article published in 1983, French-Jewish historian Georges Wellers calculated that 409,640 Hungarian Jews were killed at Auschwitz-Birkenau. [35] In fact, Wellers' figure was a deliberate deception. Already in 1964, Polish historian Danuta Czech revealed, in the first edition of her *Auschwitz Kalendarium*, the existence of the so-called transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) in Auschwitz-Birkenau. [36] Under the date of July 14, 1944, she wrote:

The unregistered Jews (the so-called 'transit Jews') neither received camp numbers, nor were they tattooed with numbers. They were temporarily billeted in the camp BIIC, the evacuated gypsy camp BIIE or a camp called 'Mexico' by the prisoners. This latter one was the unfinished third sector of the camp that on the plans was designated as BIII (*Bauabschnitt III*). This is where the women were billeted.

Under the date of August 22, 1944, Danuta Czech's *Kalendarium* reports that on that day there were 30,000 unregistered Hungarian Jews in the Birkenau "transit camp." [37] All this is irrefutable evidence that many Birkenau Jews were neither registered nor gassed, but instead were simply transferred elsewhere.

As to the number of victims among the Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz, the "orthodox" historians provide contradictory figures:

- According to the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, "most of the Hungarian Jews were gassed in Birkenau shortly after their arrival." Prudently, however, no figure of these "gassed" Jews is given. [38]
- In his three-volume study, Raul Hilberg similarly contends that "the great majority" of the deportees from Hungary were "gassed" upon arrival at Auschwitz. [39] Further on in this same work, however, he contradicts himself, putting the total losses of Hungarian Jewry at "over 180,000," [40] which implies that a clear majority of the deportees must have survived. But where and how? Hilberg mentions "several thousands" who were transferred

elsewhere," [41] but provides no information about the fate of the other Hungarian Jews who survived.

- Jean-Claude Pressac fixes (arbitrarily, it seems) the number of Hungarian Jews who died in Auschwitz at 292,000. [42]

All these figures are fundamentally impossible because cremating such masses of corpses in the purported eight-week time period was technically not feasible. Not even in the Third Reich were the laws of nature suspended. During the period of the deportation of Hungarian Jews to Birkenau, May-July 1944, four crematory facilities with a total of 46 muffle furnaces were in operation there. As Carlo Mattogno has established, the theoretical maximum capacity of the Birkenau crematories was 1,248 corpses per day. [43] For the entire 55-day period when Hungarian Jews were arriving at the camp (May 15 through July 9, 1944), the maximum theoretical cremation capacity would therefore have been about 68,640 bodies. In reality, even this figure is excessive. Thanks to the many wartime German documents on crematories and cremation that survived the war, we know that the crematory ovens often broke down and had to be repaired. Finally one must take into account that in addition to the hypothetical number of murdered Hungarian Jews, the corpses of other (non-Hungarian) prisoners who died during this same period had to be cremated as well. Even if we accept Hilberg's relatively low figure of 180,000 Hungarian Jews who died in Auschwitz-Birkenau, this is still about 111,000 higher than the number of corpses that could have been cremated during this period.

Some "Holocaust" writers, apparently struck by such technical considerations, have greatly exaggerated Birkenau's crematory capacities. Citing eyewitness testimonies, such as those of Filip Müller, [44] they claim that the corpses of many of the alleged gassing victims were incinerated in open-air cremation pits (in the courtyard of crematory [Krema] V, and near crematories II and III, and "Bunker 2"). Thanks to a fortunate coincidence, Birkenau was twice photographed from the air by Allied reconnaissance aircraft on May 31, 1944, [45] a day when 15,000 Hungarian Jews arrived at the camp. Moreover, we are authoritatively told, some 184,000 Jews had arrived there from Hungary during the previous 14 days — an average daily total of some 13,000. The aerial reconnaissance photographs show not the slightest trace of the alleged extermination action: No trace of pits, no lines of people in front of the crematories, no evidence of open-air burning in the areas mentioned by witnesses.

The German documents of this period clearly reveal the reasons for the mass deportation of Hungarian Jews to the Reich: Germany urgently needed labor for armaments and other war-related enterprises. On May 9, 1944, Heinrich Himmler reported in a letter to the chief of the SS Hauptamt as well as the head of the SS central economic administration office (WVHA) that 10,000 soldiers were to be assigned to guard the workers engaged in the Jäger (pursuit plane) construction program, because otherwise "the placing, the guarding and the efficient employment of approximately 200,000 Jews" was impossible. [46] A report two days later further explained: [47]

The Führer has ordered that for the guarding of the 200,000 Jews, the Reichsführer SS [Himmler] will dispatch 10,000 Waffen SS soldiers, with their officers and petty officers, who shall be detailed to the concentration camps of the Reich in order to employ them in the large constructions of the Organization Todt and other militarily important duties.

With regard to these 200,000 Jews, Himmler must have been thinking of the Hungarian deportation action, which was about to begin, because at that time no other large-scale deportations of Jews was either underway or imminent.

On August 15, 1944, the Concentration Camp department of the SS central WVHA office reported that there were 524,286 inmates, and that an additional 612,000 prisoners were in the process of being added to the camp system. Of this latter group, 90,000 were Jews who were being brought in as part of the “Hungarian program (Jewish action).” [48]

In my opinion, these documents not only discredit the familiar claims of mass extermination in Birkenau — which was technically impossible anyhow — they also refute the thesis proposed by Arthur Butz in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* that the 1944 Veessenmayer telegrams are, at least for the most part, forgeries. [49] In support of his thesis, he presents several points, perhaps the most important of which is the Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its Activities During the Second World War. [50] This detailed 1948 document makes no mention at all of mass deportations of Jews from Hungary in the spring and summer of 1944, and, rather to the contrary, reports that it was only in October 1944 that “the full tide of the great tribulations of the Hungarian Jews” began. Given that the ICRC delegates in Budapest were at that time housed in the same building as the Hungarian Jewish Council, it is unthinkable that the International Red Cross representatives could have failed to know of any large-scale measures being taken against Hungary’s Jews.

I readily admit that I am at a loss to explain this mysterious ICRC report. But even among the Red Cross delegates there must have been incompetent persons, and it is to such a person that this report’s defects should most probably be attributed.

The German wartime documents clearly suggest that hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews were deported, and that, therefore, the Veessenmayer telegram figure is not an exaggeration. Let’s recall the figures: In May 1944, Himmler, referring to Hitler, spoke of 200,000 Jews who were to be employed in war-related work. On August 15, the ongoing integration of 90,000 Hungarian Jews into the camp system was reported, and a week later, 30,000 Jews from Hungary are reported to still be in the Birkenau “transit camp.”

Given that a high percentage of the deported Hungarian Jews were either unemployable or only marginally employable, these figures suggest that altogether several hundred thousand Hungarian Jews were deported. As already mentioned, the Veessenmayer telegrams put the figure at 437,000. A forgery meant to discredit the Germans and/or Hungarians would have made sense only if the actual number had been much lower. If, for example, 350,000 Hungarian Jews had been deported, the difference would not have been important enough to justify such a sophisticated and elaborate forgery.

Another strong argument for the validity of the Veessenmayer telegram figure is that it is almost exactly corroborated by the wartime transportation lists provided by Laszlo Ferenczy, the chief of the Hungarian police. Ferenczy put the total number of Hungarian Jewish deportees at 435,000. These Ferenczy documents were submitted as evidence in the Eichmann trial in 1961 in Jerusalem. [51] When Carlo Mattogno and I visited the Hungarian National Archives in March 1999, we were told that the transportation lists had disappeared from the cellar of some unidentified ministry. In a private conversation, one of Hungary’s leading “Holocaust” experts confirmed this information, and confided to us that the “disappearance” of these documents was due to “political intrigue.”

While one might suspect that these documents were hidden or destroyed because they show figures of deportees that are much lower than those that have been generally accepted. Although this possibility cannot be entirely excluded, it seems to me much more likely that the Ferenczy lists are embarrassing for the official historiography because they indicate the destination of the

deportees. If the “missing” Ferenczy transport lists show that even a substantial minority of the deportees was not destined for Auschwitz, this would imply, of course, that the large-scale 1944 deportation of Hungarian Jews was not organized as part of any extermination program. (According to the official “Holocaust” story, Auschwitz was the only operational extermination camp between May and July 1944.) [52]

Important in this regard are the 1944 transport lists stored in the archive of the former Stutthof concentration camp. These records show that between June 29 and October 28, 1944, a total of 48,619 predominantly female Jewish prisoners arrived at the Stutthof camp (located east of Danzig/ Gdansk in present-day northern Poland). About half of these deportees — 25,043 — had arrived from two Baltic camps: Kaunas (Lithuania) and Riga (Latvia). These prisoners had been evacuated in the face the advancing Red Army. Almost as many — 23,566 — had arrived from Auschwitz. [53] For three of the large transports from Auschwitz (August 14, 16 and 28, 1944) we have more or less complete lists of the deportees, with names and nationalities. Over 99 percent of the deportees in the first two of these three transports were Jewish females from Hungary. How many of them had been registered in Auschwitz, and how many had been held in the Birkenau “transit camp” without being registered, remain unknown.

Remarkably, some of the Jewish women transferred to Stutthof from Kaunas and Riga were of Hungarian nationality. For example, more than 90 percent of the 793 Jewish women who made up the August 4 transport from Kaunas were originally from Hungary. A certain number of the 9,537 who arrived at Stutthof in the transports from Riga of August 9 and October 1 were likewise Hungarian Jewish women. It is quite possible that these Jewish females had first been sent to the Baltic region by way of Auschwitz, but it’s equally possible that they were sent to Lithuania and Latvia directly from Hungary. In the Baltic lands they were doubtless employed in work that was important for the war economy, possibly for the Todt Organization, until the advance of the Red Army forced the Germans to evacuate them to Stutthof. There such Jewish females were employed in the numerous sub-camps, predominantly in industrial work, but some also in agriculture. [54]

Piece by piece, such document fragments provide an overall view of the important May-July 1944 period. Although many gaps still remain, a coherent and logical picture is emerging. Approximately 437,000 Jews were deported from Hungary. This was done, first of all, because at that time Germany desperately needed labor. (Virtually every able-bodied German man had been called to military service.) Furthermore, security considerations almost certainly played a role. At that time, an invasion of Hungary by the Red Army had become a real possibility, and Hungary’s large Jewish population naturally (and understandably) would have sided with the Soviets. Auschwitz was the first destination for most, and perhaps nearly all, of the Jews deported from Hungary. Some 28,000 of these Jewish deportees were registered in Auschwitz, but the rest either remained in the Birkenau “transit camp” for some time or were soon distributed to various labor camps or labor units. In March 1999 in Budapest, Carlo Mattogno and I met in person with one of these wartime deportees. He told us that he had spent only a few days in Auschwitz before being sent to the Silesian labor camp of Gross-Rosen.

In the 1994 German edition of his second book, Jean-Claude Pressac writes: [55] “By the end of the war, according to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Hungarian Jewish males and females were found in 386 concentration and labor camps, as well as in labor units, where they had survived a real martyrdom. They were seen everywhere, from a few hundred in the labor units to tens of thousands in the 'big' camps.”

We see no reason to doubt the veracity of this statement. One of the most crucial unsolved problems is the question of where the unemployable Hungarian Jews were billeted. Birkenau simply could not accommodate all of them. We are not aware of documents about a camp situated outside Auschwitz where these people were housed. If such documents existed, they were most likely destroyed or hidden by the victors, as they were radically incompatible with the legend of the end of Hungarian Jews in Birkenau's gas chambers.

The fact that among the deported Hungarian Jews there was a certain number of children is due, most probably, to the German policy of not separating families. (Of course, it would have been better for these children if they had not been deported at all, but that's another matter.) The Jewish children were by no means murdered as "useless eaters," as the official "Holocaust" history contends. Proof of this are the documents Mattogno and I found during our third research visit to Russian archives. I am referring in particular to a 217-page report written in early 1945, shortly after the Soviet liberation of Auschwitz. It was written, in German, under the auspices of the Soviets by four former camp inmates, the Jewish physicians Lebovits, Weil, Reich and Bloch. It contains more than a thousand names of Auschwitz prisoners, nearly all of them Jews, with information about each one's age and date of imprisonment. These prisoners had been in the Auschwitz hospital on January 27, 1945, when the Red Army took control of the camp. Among those patients are 97 boys and 83 girls in ages ranging from a few months to 15 years. [56] One was a three-year-old Hungarian Jewish boy, J. J. Malek, and another was an eleven-year-old Hungarian Jewish girl, R. M. Salomon. [57] The former had arrived at Auschwitz in May 1944, the latter in July of the same year. According to the official "Holocaust" story, these two Jewish children would never have lived to see the year 1945; they would have been gassed immediately upon arrival.

Under the present circumstances, it is of course not possible to determine the number of victims among the deported Hungarian Jews, but it was probably on the order of several tens of thousands. It is a well-known fact that countless prisoners succumbed to diseases in the chaotic final months of the war. At any rate, Jews were not exactly an endangered species in postwar Hungary. They almost completely dominated the Communist Party and the dreaded secret police during the first years of the brutal Soviet-imposed regime headed by the Jew Matyas Rakosi. [58] For a time in the early 1950s, there was only one non-Jew in the Central Committee of the ruling Hungarian Communist Party. (According to a popular joke of the time, he had been given this position to ensure that someone in the Central Committee would be able to sign death sentences on the Sabbath.)

5. Conclusion

With their historical and technical arguments, the revisionists have demolished the "Holocaust" extermination and gas chamber legends. But their task is far from complete. Thus far, they have only partly succeeded in demonstrating what really did happen to Europe's Jews during the Second World War.

Many revisionists regard Walter Sanning's 1993 book, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, [59] as the definitive answer to this question. And while Sanning has indeed produced an admirable work that no serious researcher can afford to ignore, what I said about Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* may equally apply to Sanning's demographic study: Even an outstanding work can contain errors. Sanning's book suffers from two flaws: The author does not take into account the "Korherr Report," [60] the most important German wartime document about Europe's Jewish population, and he puts too much faith in Soviet sources. For example, he relies heavily on David Bergelson, head of the wartime Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, who said that

more than 80 percent of the Soviet Jews were evacuated prior to the arrival of the advancing German forces, and therefore never came under German control. Sanning does not consider the possibility that Bergelson exaggerated the number of evacuated Soviet Jews to enhance the image of the Soviet regime as the “Savior of the Jews from Fascism.” The declarations of a Soviet propagandist should be regarded with skepticism.

Decisive progress in the investigation of the fate of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War, including reliable estimates of Jewish wartime losses, can be expected only after historians gain access to previously unknown documents from archives in eastern Europe and the former USSR. When I say “historians” I naturally mean the revisionists, because our opponents will not tackle this task.

Notes

1.  See: Manfred Köhler, “Der Wert von Aussagen und Geständnissen zum Holocaust” in Ernst Gauss (Germar Rudolf), ed., *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1994); Jürgen Graf, *Auschwitz: Tätergeständnisse und Augenzeugen des Holocaust* (Würenlos/Switzerland: Neue Visionen, 1994).
2.  Panstwowe Muzeum w Oswiecimiu (Auschwitz State Museum archives), Syg. DAuI-III-5/1, 5/2, 5/3, 5/4.
3.  Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., [The Leuchter Report] *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1988); Germar Rudolf, Germar (R. Kammerer + Armin Solms, eds.) *Das Rudolf Gutachten: Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den “Gaskammern” von Auschwitz* (London: Cromwell Press, 1993); Walter Lüftl, “The Lüftl Report,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93, pp. 391-420. See also: Wolfgang Schuster, “Technische Unmöglichkeiten bei Pressac,” *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen), June 1991, pp. 9-13; M. Weber, “Fred Leuchter: Courageous Defender of Historical Truth,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93, pp. 421-428; Note also the testimony of Austrian engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich in the trial in Switzerland of Jürgen Graf and Gerhard Förster, in “Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1998, pp. 2-4.
4.  Jean-Claude Pressac, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#) (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993).
5.  Robert Faurisson, “Antwort an Jean-Claude Pressac,” and, Carlo Mattogno, “Auschwitz: Das Ende einer Legende,” both in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten: Eine Erwiderung an Jean-Claude Pressac* (Berchem, Belgium: VHO, 1996). Mattogno’s study has been published in English: *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend* (IHR, 1994). Faurisson’s detailed critique of Pressac is also published in French in *Revue d'Histoire Revisionniste*, No. 3, Nov.-Dec. 1990-Jan. 1991, pp. 65-154, and in English in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991, pp. 25-66 (Part I), and Summer 1991, pp. 133-175 (Part II). Other reviews and analyses of Pressac’s 1989 book that have appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review* include: M. Weber, Summer 1990, pp. 231-237; C. Mattogno, Winter 1990-91, pp. 461-485; Arthur Butz, “Some Thoughts on Pressac’s Opus,” May-June 1993, pp. 23-37; Serge Thion, “A French Scholar Responds to a Widely-Acclaimed Anti-Revisionist Work,” July-August 1994, pp. 28 ff. See also: R. Faurisson, “An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges: There Is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers,” July-August 1998 Journal, pp. 24-28; M. Weber, “Tell-Tale Documents and Photos from Auschwitz,” Spring 1991 Journal, pp. 65-154; “‘The Jewish World’ Against Pressac,” Jan.-Feb. 1996 Journal, p. 41.

6.  Nuremberg document USSR-008. International Military Tribunal (IMT), Nuremberg "blue series," Vol. 39, pp. 241, 261; IMT, vol. 7, p. 589.
7.  Franciszek Piper, *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz* (Verlag Staatliches Museum in Oswiecim, 1993). See also F. Piper, "The Number of Victims," in Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press [with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC], 1994), pp. 61-76.
8.  Hilberg claims that some 1.25 million people (one million Jews and 250,000 non-Jews) died in Auschwitz, but he gives no sources for his estimates. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier ["Revised and definitive edition," 3 vols.], 1985), pp. 894, 1219. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997], pp. 955, 956.)
9.  F. Piper, *Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz* (cited above), pp. 200-202; F. Piper, "The Number of Victims," in Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), p. 71.
10.  J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (Munich/Zurich: Piper, 1994), p. 202. In the original French version, *Les crematoires d'Auschwitz* (CNRS, Paris 1993, p. 148), Pressac had mentioned a higher figure (775,000 to 800,000). See the remark by R. Faurisson in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1995, p. 24.
11.  Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), pp. 183-245; R. Faurisson, "Zur englischen Ausgabe von Pressacs neuestem Buch," in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (cited above), p. 163.
12.  Carlo Mattogno and Franco Deana, "Die Krematoriumsöfen von Auschwitz und Birkenau," in E. Gauss (G. Rudolf), ed., *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (cited above), p. 307.
13.  This study is scheduled to appear in the summer of 2000.
14.  Serge Klarsfeld, *Le Mémorial de la Déportation des Juifs de France* (Paris: 1978), without page numbering.
15.  Nuremberg documents NG-5573, NG-5615, NG-5616. Cited in Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 1997), pp. 155-156, and in, R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above), p. 849.
16.  A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (cited above), pp. 152-158, 169 and 234, esp. pp. 158-160.
17.  Basel: Gideon Burg Verlag, 1993.
18.  F. Piper in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), pp. 68, 74 (n. 47). Two editions of the *Kalendarium*: Danuta Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1990); D. Czech, comp., *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt [2nd ed.], 1989).
19.  Detailed information on this will be provided by Carlo Mattogno in his forthcoming work about mortality in Auschwitz.
20.  Nuremberg document NG-2586-J. Published, in German and English, in John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 11, pp. 148-186. English translation also published in Nuremberg Military Tribunals (NMT) "green series," Vol. 13, pp. 243-249, and in A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (cited above), pp. 205-210.
21.  Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 359-360. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], p. 377.)

22. [↗](#) R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 402, 406. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], pp. 420-421.)
23. [↗](#) R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), p. 359. (German edition : R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], p. 377.)
24. [↗](#) *Israelitisches Wochenblatt der Schweiz*, Oct. 16, 1942, No. 42, pp. 10-11. (Cited in M. Weber, "Belgium and its Jews During the War," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1999, pp. 2 and 5, n. 11.)
25. [↗](#) Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 162-163. (German edition: E. Jäckel, P. Longerich, J. Schoeps, *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust* [Berlin: Argon, 1993], p. 170.)
26. [↗](#) Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto": La deportación de judíos de Francia y Bélgica en 1942* (Valencia: Gráficas Hurtado, 1994); Jean-Marie Boisdefeu, *La Controverse sur l'Extermination des Juifs par les Allemands*, Tome 2: *Réalités de la "Solution finale,"* (Berchem, Belgium: Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, 1996).
27. [↗](#) Enrique Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto"* (cited above), p. 58. Source cited: Michael Dov Weissmandel, *Min Hametzar*. (On this, see also: Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* [New York: Behrman, 1976], pp. 318, 391.)
28. [↗](#) The Jewish Black Book Comm., *The Black Book: The Nazi Crime Against the Jewish People* (New York: 1946), pp. 198, 531 (n. 228). Cited in: E. Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto"* (cited above), p. 58.
29. [↗](#) Facsimile reproduction in: J.-M. Boisdefeu, *La Controverse sur L'extermination des juifs par les Allemands* (cited above), Tome II, p. 86.
30. [↗](#) Facsimile in: J.-M. Boisdefeu, *La Controverse sur L'extermination des juifs par les Allemands* (cited above), Tome II, pp. 78-80. This report is Nuremberg document NG-1965 (RF-1228), and document XXVI-59 of the Centre de Documentation juive contemporaine (Paris). It is also published in: Peter Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden: Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust, 1941-1945* (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1990), pp. 241-243.
31. [↗](#) Vermerk. Paris, 21.7.1942. Betr.: Judenabschub. Facsimile in E. Aynat, *Estudios sobre el "Holocausto"* (cited above), p. 86. This memo is document DLXVI-7 or XXVI-46 of the Centre de Documentation juive contemporaine (Paris). It is apparently also Nuremberg document RF-1233. It is published in: P. Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (cited above), p. 246.
32. [↗](#) Samuel Zylbersztain, "Pamiętnik Wieków dziesięciu obozów," in: *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (Warsaw), No. 68, 1968. On Treblinka's role as a transit camp, see also: M. Weber and A. Allen, "Treblinka," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1992, pp. 139-140.
33. [↗](#) Steffen Werner, *Die zweite babylonische Gefangenschaft: Das Schicksal der Juden im europäischen Osten* (Pfullingen: Selbstverlag, 1990). For example, Werner cites (on page 89) the following, from a book based on memoirs of Soviet partisans and German "anti-fascists" that was published in Communist East Berlin in 1976: "In the fraternal family of the Belorussian [Belarus] partisans, Czechs and Slovaks, French and Yugoslavs, Greeks and Dutch, Spaniards and Austrians, Germans and members of other nations fought courageously against fascism." (Source cited: *In den Wäldern Belorusslands* (Berlin [East]: 1976), p. 9.) How could anti-fascists from all these countries have come to Belarus if they were not deported there? Werner contends that millions of Jews were deported to Belarus (White Russia) during the war years, a view that I regard as impossible. In spite of some obvious defects, Werner's book is a good starting point for further research.

34.  Enzyklopädie des Holocaust (cited above), p. 1467.
35.  G. Wellers, “Essai de détermination du nombre des juifs morts au camp d'Auschwitz,” in *Le Monde Juif*, Oct.-Dec. 1983, p. 153. For a critical look at Wellers' essay, see F. Piper, “The Number of Victims,” in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (cited above), pp. 67 ff.
36.  D. Czech, “Kalendarium...,” *Hefte von Auschwitz* (Wydawnictwo Panstwowego Muzeum w Oswiecimiu), No.8, 1964. The 1990 English-language edition of the *Kalendarium* reports:

“In mid-May 1944, when the mass transports of Hungarian Jews start arriving in Auschwitz, the young, healthy, and strong Jews of both genders are dispersed for a time as so-called depot prisoners to various barracks at Birkenau, but are not recorded in the camp registers. They are accommodated in Camp B-IIIc [sic], where young, able-bodied female Jews are kept; in the recently vacated Gypsy Family Camp B-IIe, where young, able-bodied male and female Jewish prisoners are accommodated who eventually are taken to the other camps; in Camp B-IIb, which is empty since the liquidation of the Theresienstadt Family Camp; and finally, in Section B-III, still under construction, known as 'Mexico' to the prisoners and also intended for female Jews. The Jews temporarily located in Birkenau receive no I.D. numbers and are not tattooed. Selections are conducted at specific intervals: When the camp administration has a need for laborers, it sends some prisoners from these camps to specific auxiliary camps or to the labor squads. Then they are registered and given numbers. Under the direction of the WVHA, others are transferred to armaments plants in the interior of the Reich.”

There is also this note for a July 1944 entry: “The male and female Hungarian Jews who were not registered but were kept as so-called depot prisoners or transit Jews in Camps B-IIc, B-IIe, and Section B-III — called “Mexico” — are not included in the occupancy level of Auschwitz II.” (D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* [London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 1990], pp. 563-564, 664.)

37.  D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (cited above), p. 695.
38.  “Hungary,” *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, p. 702. (German edition: *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust*, p. 1467.)
39.  R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (cited above), p. 1000.
40.  R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 1220. (German edition: R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* [cited above], p. 1300.)
41.  R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (cited above), p. 999.
42.  J.-C. Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz* (cited above, 1993), pp. 147, 148. In the 1994 German edition of this work (*Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* [cited above], p. 201), Pressac contends that 160,000 to 240,000 Hungarian Jews died in Auschwitz.
43.  C. Mattogno, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend* (IHR, 1994), pp. 23-26; C. Mattogno, “Auschwitz: Das Ende einer Legende,” in *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (cited above), p. 115.
44.  Filip Müller, *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers* (New York: Stein & Day, 1984), pp. 133-141 (German edition: Filip Müller, *Sonderbehandlung* [Frankfurt am Main: Steinhausen, 1979], p. 207 ff.)

45. [↗](#) Records of the Defense Intelligence Agency (RG 373), mission 60/RPS/462 60 SQ, Can 1508. Exposure 3055, 3056. Published in John Ball, *Air photo Evidence* (Delta, B.C., Canada: Ball Resource, 1992), and in, John Ball, *The Ball Report* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1993), pp. 5, 16. Note also: Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (1981), p. 216. Rail transports of Hungarian Jews arrived at Birkenau on May 31, 1944, according to the official *Kalendarium*. See: D. Czech, comp., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (cited above), p. 637.
46. [↗](#) Nuremberg document NO-5689. Note also: R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1985 ed.), pp. 934-935.
47. [↗](#) Nuremberg document NO-5689.
48. [↗](#) Nuremberg document PS-1166, published in IMT “blue series,” vol. 27, pp. 46-49. This is also Nuremberg document NO-1990, published in the NMT “green series,” vol. 5, pp. 388-89.
49. [↗](#) A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (cited above), pp. 152-158, 169 and 234, esp. pp. 158-160.
50. [↗](#) Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its Activities During the Second World War (Geneva: ICRC, 1948; 3 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 641-657, esp. pp. 647-651. This portion is also published in A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1997), pp. 133-142, esp. pp. 138-139.
51. [↗](#) State of Israel Ministry of Justice, *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann, Volume VI* (Jerusalem: 1994), Acts 1159, 1160, 1161 & 1163-1167.
52. [↗](#) According to standard “Holocaust” literature, Chelmno was reactivated in June and July 1944 for a period of 21 days, but nobody claims that Hungarian Jews were gassed there. The alleged gassings at Majdanek are said to have been stopped in November 1943.
53. [↗](#) Stutthof Archiwum Muzeum, I-IIB-8; Danuta Drywa, Ruch transportow miedzy KL Stutthof a innymi obozami, in: *Zeszyty Sztutowo*, No. 9, 1990; J. Graf and C. Mattogno, *Das Konzentrationslager Stutthof* (Hastings, England: Castle Hill, 1999), pp. 28-29. On Stutthof in general, see also: Mark Weber, “Stutthof,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997 (Vol. 16, No. 5), pp. 2-6.
54. [↗](#) J. Graf and C. Mattogno, *Das Konzentrationslager Stutthof* (cited above), pp. 107-110.
55. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz* (cited above), pp. 199-200.
56. [↗](#) Gossudarstvennyy Archiv Rossiskoi Federatsii (Moscow), document 7021-108-23.
57. [↗](#) Gossudarstvennyy Archiv Rossiskoi Federatsii (Moscow), document 7021-108-23, pages 181 and 183.
58. [↗](#) Istvan Deak, a Professor of History at Columbia University, and a specialist of Hungarian history, has written of the postwar period there: “...Most of the police interrogators, nearly all of the Hungarian Stalinist leaders, and most of the Communist victims were Jews... Most of the Hungarian Communists were Jews.” Source: I. Deak, “Hungary: The New Twist,” *The New York Review of Books*, August 18, 1988, p. 48.
59. [↗](#) Published in 1983 in English by the Institute for Historical Review, and in German by Grabert Verlag (Tübingen).
60. [↗](#) Nuremberg documents NO-5193 through NO-5198. Complete texts in German and English in: Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *The Holocaust and the Neo-Nazi Mythomania* (New York: 1978), pp. 165-211 (appendices). Also published in: John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 12, pp. 210 ff.

Graf’s address to the Twelfth IHR Conference (1994), “The Social and Political Impact of the Holocaust Campaign in Today’s Europe,” was published in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 Journal.

In July 1998 he was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment, and to pay a large fine, because of his writings. (See “Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists,” in the July-August 1998 Journal, pp. 2-13, esp. pp. 9-10.)

This essay, translated by Russ Granata and Jürgen Graf, is adapted from his address at the 13th IHR Conference (May 2000).

A Reply to Jürgen Graf:

On the 1944 Deportations of Hungarian Jews

Arthur R. Butz

I sometimes hear revisionists point out that there exists no record of a Hitler order to exterminate the Jews. The point must be made, but its significance is too easily misunderstood.

If such an order, written and of incontestable authenticity, were found then I would not renounce my thesis that the Jews were not exterminated. I would only renounce my claim that there was no plan or official program to exterminate the Jews. I would say yes, there was such a plan, but it was not carried through. The reasons have been given by revisionists over the years.

Such a Hitler order would, however, raise new problems for historians. Was Hitler serious? If so, did he change his mind? Or was he defied?

In the context of debates in which it is insufficiently recognized, in my opinion, that evidence must be commensurate with the allegation, it would be easy to ridicule such a position, but I would consider it a solid one. I am confident that we will never be in that position, but perhaps I am in a similar position on the major problem having to do with the Hungarian Jews. I quickly review the salient points of the received legend:

1. Hungary came under German control on March 19, 1944, at which time the Germans intended to recruit employable Jews for labor outside Hungary and deport the remainder, thus approximating what had already been done with German and Austrian Jews.
2. From May 15 until July 9, 1944, virtually the entire intended program was carried out, except for the Jews of the Budapest area. The deportations started with Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ukraine, annexed from Slovakia) and northern Transylvania (annexed from Romania). The total number deported, mainly to Auschwitz, was about 438,000, and the greater number of these was killed on arrival at Auschwitz. During this period the daily average of Jews deported was therefore about 7,500. There were also the deportations of much lesser extent to Strasshof.
3. On July 7 the Regent of Hungary, Admiral Miklos Horthy, under international pressure, defied the Germans and ordered an end to the deportations.
4. Due to military reversals, a crisis erupted in Hungary in October 1944. Horthy was deposed by the Germans and replaced by a government headed by the Hungarian Nazi Ferenc Szalasi. About 30,000 Jews, mainly from the Budapest area, were conscripted for labor and deported toward Germany via Austria, by forced march. ^[1]

As I understand it, Jürgen Graf and I accept points 1, 3, and 4 of the legend. We do not accept point 2, but we differ on the extent or sense of our dissent on this crucial point. Graf accepts the 438,000 figure, but denies the killing. I also deny the killing of those who were deported, but I

also deny the 438,000 figure or, more precisely, the idea that the May-July deportations virtually emptied Hungary of Jews, except for the Budapest area. I accept however that many Jews were deported in May-July 1944, mainly for labor. I cannot give a figure, but I believe it would have been only a fraction of 438,000. Graf cannot tell us what happened to most of the 438,000 Jews. Indeed the question that is the title of his paper remains begged.

My main reasons for holding as I do were given many years ago in Chapter 5 of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and the reader should review those arguments there. I can briefly summarize the principal ones:

1. Such clearing out of the Hungarian Jews was wildly impractical, given the transport shortages at that militarily critical phase. This consideration continues to be a principal basis for my disputing the clearing out of the Hungarian Jews. As of April 19, 1944, the German authorities in Hungary were “encountering greatest difficulties” procuring rail transport for 10,000 employable Jews on their hands, and on April 27 they reported that, while transport had finally been arranged for 4,000 of them, rail shortages were still delaying the deportations for labor, which at that point contemplated 50,000 employable Jews. [2]
2. The 1948 report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) cannot be reconciled with the legend as it relates to the point in contention. [3] It is unambiguous and emphatic in saying that the major events for the Hungarian Jews were in October, and the ICRC was very close to the Jews and therefore well informed. Though the report notes that there were deportations before July 9, it implies that the Jews had not been emptied out of the provinces outside Budapest, because it states that with the onset of the October crisis, the Jews “lost many killed, especially in the provinces,” and that “In November, one hundred thousand Jews poured into Budapest from the provinces,” points not mentioned by Graf.
3. The documentary evidence is suspect. It consists mainly of texts of telegrams, allegedly as received at the German Foreign Ministry, from the German plenipotentiary in Hungary, Edmund Veessenmayer, reporting the progress of the deportations in detail. I shall refer to them as the “Veessenmayer telegrams.” The documents were put in evidence in the Nuremberg trials. However essentially the only authentications of these telegrams are signatures and initials of Horst Wagner and Eberhard von Thadden, the Jewish specialists at the German Foreign Ministry, who then acquired a strange immunity from prosecution. The man in charge, who held the power of life and death over Wagner and von Thadden, was Robert M.W. Kempner, a German Jew and naturalized US citizen. Kempner had been an anti-Nazi prosecutor in Prussia before Hitler came to power. In *Hoax*, I related a perjury trial in the US, almost simultaneous with the Nuremberg trials, in which the defense successfully attacked the testimony of a prosecution witness, Baron Herbert von Strempel, as coerced while he was incarcerated in Germany and under Kempner’s power. [4] In the Nuremberg trials themselves, it was shown that Kempner had threatened to turn potential witnesses over to the Soviets if they did not cooperate. [5]

The number of Jews the legend asserts were deported in eight weeks is about two-thirds of the sum deported from Germany, Austria and Western Europe in the three year period of late 1941 to late 1944. I should have stressed more strongly that I have no record of protests, by German officials charged with conventional military logistic duties, against the dedication of massive rail transport, in the context of the military crisis (around the time of D-Day), to a militarily irrelevant (at best) operation of moving non-employable Jews. I did refer to the case of Albert Speer, deeply involved in deportations of employable Hungarian Jews, who claimed he knew nothing of exterminations at the time. [6] In any case he made no protest over such a diversion of transport means.

Consider the practical implications of deporting all Hungarian Jews in such a short time interval. In Hungary the Jewish situation was similar to what it had been in Germany and Austria before Hitler: the Jews were a strongly entwined group, especially in the economy. The Nazis had about ten years to effect the emigration and/or expulsion of the 600,000 Jews of Germany and Austria, and even there the expulsion was not complete. The expulsion of all Hungarian Jews, or even of only those in the provinces outside Budapest, in an interval of two months, would have been like a virtual atom bomb dropped on the Hungarian economy.

As for the Red Cross report, it is unacceptable to simply dismiss the author as “incompetent.” The ICRC delegate in Budapest from October 1943 was Jean de Bavier. However the President of the ICRC, Max Huber, was unsatisfied with de Bavier, who did not speak German. Thus de Bavier was replaced by Friedrich Born, who took over in an acting capacity in mid-May 1944. Both de Bavier and Born had conferred with the Jewish leader Saly Mayer in Geneva before going to Budapest. [7]

Friedrich Born died in 1963, and in 1987 he was designated “Righteous” by the Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. [8] Since the 1948 ICRC report on Hungary describes his work as “courageously undertaken,” he may not have been its actual author, but we should assume that it was Born who provided the information for the report, and that he most probably reviewed it prior to publication.

I digress with one point for the benefit of those reading this who believe the extermination legend. Deportation of hundreds of thousands of Jews from Hungary, to make the difficult journey across the mountains of Slovakia to Auschwitz, only to be killed there, makes no sense on practical grounds. If such were the objective, why not improvise means to kill them in Hungary, and perhaps even blame it on the Hungarians? Whoever might object by saying that Auschwitz had specially designed means for extermination has not been studying the subject matter. The legend claims that the means of extermination at Auschwitz were improvised anyway! The gas was the pesticide Zyklon, the gas chambers were rooms that had been built as morgues in the crematory buildings (Kremas), and the crematories turned out to be inadequate in capacity to dispose of the bodies, so the corpses were burned outdoors in huge pyres. All of that could have been done in Hungary! Whoever might object by contending that Auschwitz was in an isolated region, where large-scale things could be done in secrecy, knows nothing of the circumstances under which the site for the industrial activities around Auschwitz was chosen. It was near the major city of Cracow, and was served by major rail lines. Civilian workers in the Auschwitz industries communicated more or less freely with outsiders. [9] The camp was visited in September 1944 by ICRC delegates, who were able to interview British POWs there. [10] This industry was strategically important and received the scrutiny of the Allies, who made many aerial photos of the camp and bombed it. The Hungarian Jews whose bodies allegedly were burned in huge pyres at Auschwitz are not to be found in the aerial photos the Allies took of the camp during this very same period, and which were only made public in 1979. [11]

To return to my argument, I should cite additional data from the Vatican that became available to me in 1980. It relates mainly to Romania but bears on Hungary as well. Northern Transylvania is a province that has been sometimes in Hungary, sometimes in Romania, and must not be confused with Transnistria, further east in an area of Ukraine, beyond the Dniester River, to which many Romanian Jews were deported in 1941. When by late 1943 Russian advances made it impractical to try to keep them there, they started returning, but their movements were suspended when the Russians overran Transnistria in the spring. Our concern is with Hungary and northern Transylvania, which was transferred from Romania to Hungary in 1940. However Jewish leaders

in Romania remained in touch with events effecting Jews not only in northern Transylvania, but also in Hungary generally. [12]

On June 30, 1944, Alexander Safran, Grand Rabbi of Romania (later Grand Rabbi of Geneva), wrote to Andrea Cassulo, the Papal Nuncio in Bucharest, to acknowledge his “noble action” in favor of Romanian Jews, particularly those evacuated from Transnistria. He added that such support encourages him to ask for papal support for Jews in Hungary “exposed to great deprivations and suffering.” The only reference to deportations is of the Jews of Transnistria. [13] There is no reference in Safran’s letter to exterminations of Hungarian Jews, or to their mass deportation.

Two more documents were obtained from the Vatican in 1980. On July 11 Cassulo had sent the Safran letter of June 30 to the Vatican, and on July 28 he transmitted another letter to the Vatican that, he said, “confirms the sad fact” of Safran’s letter. The new communication was an undated letter to Cassulo signed by six “Jewish personalities.” It said [14]

... the Hungarian government has ordered the deportation of the Jews. Impacted by this order were mainly the Jews living in northern Transylvania, who were compelled without exception to leave their homes. For a long time we have known nothing of our relatives, since all our attempts to learn their fate have been fruitless.

I assume this letter was written some time in July, and it implicitly denies that the Jews had been cleared out, since “mainly” the Jews of northern Transylvania were effected, and the authors were not even sure what the situation was with them. Cassulo interpreted the letter as a plea for the Catholic Church “to alleviate in some manner the lot of so many unfortunates forced to leave their homes and live in concentration camps,” and authoritative enough to be forwarded to the Vatican.

I note in passing a remark about northern Transylvania in the 1948 ICRC report, in the section on Romania. In its December 1944 report to Geneva the ICRC delegation in Bucharest said that

... thanks to consignments from the Joint Committee of New York and to collections made on the spot, it had been able to come to the help of (6,000 Hungarian Jews) who had succeeded in escaping deportation and were found in Northern Transylvania.

This says that there were deportations from northern Transylvania and that 6,000 Jews of northern Transylvania later came into contact with the delegation in Bucharest (about 200 miles from the major north Transylvanian city of Cluj). It does not say that only 6,000 Jews were left in northern Transylvania after the deportations.

The third document obtained from the Vatican is a letter to Cassulo, dated December 11, 1944, from the General Jewish Curatorship of Northern Transylvania (then resident in Bucharest). It says that in May and June 150,000 Jews, of all ages and conditions, were deported from northern Transylvania to Auschwitz. Direct information on their fate is not available, but escapees say some have been exterminated. The letter asks that the Vatican intervene with the German government to arrange distribution of parcels to them. [15] The late date and the reference to “escapees” as a source of information suggests lesser probative value for this document, because the reference is probably to what I called the “War Refugee Board Report” (WRB Report, also called the “Auschwitz Protocols”), published in Washington on November 25, 1944, which I have discussed at length. [16] The structure of the mass extermination claim had been largely settled on by then, so that reports can be suspected of being based on what was by then widely said to have happened, rather than actual observations and experiences of the reporters.

The document which later became the WRB Report was in limited circulation in Europe in June and was reported in the New York Times in July. [17] Its receipt was probably the reason the ICRC felt obliged to make the September visit to Auschwitz.

One should also carefully consider the document of August 15, 1944, quoted by Graf, which speaks of 612,000 prisoners in the process of being added to the camps. Of this number 90,000 were Hungarian Jews from the “Jewish Action” there, and 400,000 were Poles from Warsaw. Graf does not make clear that these people were not yet physically in the camps, because he does not take into account the final sentence of the relevant section of the document: “A large number of the prisoners is already on its way and will arrive during the next days for delivery to the concentration camps.” One infers that most were being held elsewhere on that date. For the Hungarian Jews, the only place they could have been at the time, if they were not in the German camps outside Hungary, would have been in some sort of detention in Hungary. The document is at best irrelevant to Graf’s thesis; all it implies is that in mid-August there were at least 90,000 Jews in Hungary that were viewed as well enough organized for quick transport. They could have been either Budapest Jews or Jews in the provinces. These 90,000 new Hungarian Jewish camp inmates did not in fact materialize in the sense of the document (as even Graf implies in his paper), probably because of transport shortages that finally had to be overcome in the fall by making Jewish labor conscripts walk.

In 1984 Mark Weber called to my attention a document that had been cited during the proceedings of the Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946, but which I had missed when writing my book. An excerpt, which was a British prosecution exhibit, was also published in the official Nuremberg Tribunal record. [18] I wrote Graf about this document on November 5, 1993.

The document is the August 23, 1944, edition of *Die Lage* (“The Situation”), an information bulletin published by the Goebbels ministry of propaganda. Theoretically it was intended for a restricted readership, as it is specified “Strictly Confidential!” (*Streng vertraulich!*), but that has to be taken with a grain of salt considering, for example, that the first section of this issue reports that the Allied landings in France had been successful because of the Allies’ complete control of sea and air — hardly a secret.

The second section is about the Hungarian Jews, and is very consistent with the legend. It says that the German authorities

commenced with the cleaning up of the northeastern area — north Transylvania and the Carpathian province — where the Jewish element was the strongest numerically. Then the Jews were collected in the remaining Hungarian provinces and transported to Germany or German controlled territories. A hundred thousand Jews remained in the hands of the Hungarians to be employed in labor battalions ... By July 9 approximately 430,000 Jews from the Hungarian provinces had been handed over to the German authorities. The handing over takes place on the Hungarian national frontier ... As a final stage of the Jewish measures the Jews from Budapest were to be deported. It is a question of approximately 260,000. But in the meantime pressure from enemy and neutral countries ... had become so strong that those circles in Hungary that are friendly to the Jews attempted to influence the Hungarian Government to prevent any further measures against the Jews ...

This may seem to settle it in favor of Graf’s thesis but please bear with me. The many objections, especially those regarding the basic physical plausibility, and even possibility, of the alleged events still stand. I shall return to this Goebbels ministry matter.

We should consider writings by historians who accept the essentials of the received legend. Randolph L. Braham has written more on this subject than anyone else, and his magnum opus is his two-volume work *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*. [19] As for the mass deportations, Braham's principal evidence is

1. The Veessenmayer telegrams.
2. Reports attributed to László Ferenczy, effectively the Hungarian police chief, in the form of transcripts on Police of Israel stationery, said to be transcribed from confirmed photocopies. In 1993 Graf sent me a copy of the one that he specifically cites. Braham presents a table comparing the Veessenmayer and Ferenczy figures. [20]
3. A summary of transports that allegedly passed through Kassa (the present Kosice in Slovakia) on the way to Auschwitz (Braham's Appendix 6). The typical train carried, according to this document, 2,000 to 3,000 people, sometimes more or less, a typical day saw 2 to 5 transports pass through, and there were literally daily transports May 16 through June 6. The first two transports are specified as passing through Kassa on May 14. These figures are said to have been collected by the Railway Command of Kassa and first published in 1984 in a Jewish magazine in Toronto by a lawyer who had been a resident of Kassa. Thus the document does not appear in the original edition of Braham's work, published in 1981.

Braham also reproduces a June 30 letter from the Hungarian government to Angelo Rotta, the Papal Nuncio in Budapest, no doubt written to counter the by then widely publicized stories that a general deportation of Hungarian Jews was in progress: [21]

We take this opportunity to mention that Hungarian Jews are not slated for deportation. A large number of Jewish manual laborers is being placed at the disposal of the German government, and the fact that their families were sent together with them to Germany is the result of the decision to keep families undivided, since greater performance can be expected from Jews when they are relaxed by the presence of their families. In this connection, we saw to it that in the retention within the country of the manpower absolutely needed to maintain industrial and economic life, priority be given to the converted Jews and to their families.

This June 30 Hungarian government letter seems to me a fair representation of the situation at that time, both in Hungary for Jews in general, and among Catholic representatives, who were particularly concerned with the lot of Jewish converts to Catholicism.

Prominent among the projects contemplated for the Hungarian Jews conscripted for labor was fighter aircraft production, and armaments minister Albert Speer and colleagues were eager in this period to get the promised Jews from Hungary. Thus they complained at a May 26 meeting that [22]

Till now two transports have arrived at the SS camp Auschwitz. For fighter construction we were offered only children, women, and old men with whom very little can be done... Unless the next transports bring men of an age fit for work the whole action will not have much success.

This implies non-employables were not killed on arrival at Auschwitz. It also suggests another less noble motivation for deporting "families": fulfillment of quotas in the context of rivalry among nominal allies. Such a situation arose in 1943 when Oswald Pohl, the head of the concentration camp system, complained "that the prisons transferring (prisoners to the camps) have literally released inmates who are in the worst possible physical condition." [23] The first thought of a warden, if given the choice, is to get rid of the useless ones and retain the useful.

Returning to the May 26, 1944, document, we note that it was a transcript of the stenographic minutes of a regular meeting of the “Jägerstab,” the group formed of representatives of the air force and Speer’s ministry to oversee the production of fighter planes. Therefore the statement, that up to that date only two transports of Jews from Hungary had arrived at Auschwitz, cannot be taken as authoritative in itself. However I believe that the remark has independent confirmation. The first transport would have been the group of 4,000 Jews, said above to be ready for transport on April 27, that arrived in two transports on or about May 1, but were referred to in this conference as one transport. The second transport would have been a group that arrived later in May, and from which 4,000 Jews were registered, 2,000 on each of the two days of May 22 and 24. A transport that apparently arrived during the night of May 25 would have been too recent to be taken account of at the May 26 meeting. [24] Apart from whether or not the remark was strictly correct, I do not believe it would have been made in that form if Jews had for about a week been pouring into Auschwitz, at a rate of some 7,500 per day, in two to five transports per day, for whatever purpose. There would have been complaints that, with so many people pouring in, more useful labor ought to be offered. On the contrary the “next transport” was only speculated for some unknown future date, and the transports they were talking about fairly represented the “whole action.” The May 26 conference remark disagrees not merely in detail or degree, but in kind, from what would have been said if the massive regular transports claimed had been real.

To return to Braham, I must admit I have not read all of his massive work of 1,500 pages, partly because it is mainly about well known things I do not contest, and partly because it is clear that treatments of the problems that I would consider serious tests are either not there or support my original theory when they are there. Let me explain.

Historical events can only occur in association with other events. Every such event is accompanied by ancillary, correlative and consequent events. If a stone is thrown in the water, then the event must create ripples on the surface. If there is a forest fire, then there must be smoke. In a competent criminal investigation it is necessary to test such events. There is the classic question “Did the dog bark?” It is easy to formulate an internally consistent phony confession or perjured testimony which speaks in general terms of a crime, but it is not easy to anticipate the questions that a competent interrogator will ask about the details, related events, and consequent events. Those are the sorts of events lacking when I consider the claim that the Hungarian Jews were cleared out.

The obvious questions that occur to me in considering Graf’s thesis are the problems of transport and destination. I insist that the provision of transport for clearing out the Hungarian Jews in the time interval claimed would have generated controversy and even conflict among the Germans. To be more blunt, I think that such transport capabilities did not exist, but I am willing to consider their provision as a hypothesis.

Even if such transport could have been provided, there is the problem of destination. Where were the Jews sent, and why? The Germans were in retreat. Destination is not a problem for Braham, because he thinks they were killed at Auschwitz. It has not been a problem for me, since I don’t believe the Jews were cleared out. It is however a problem for Graf, and he does not solve it. For him it is not just an unresolved detail, but a consideration challenging the credibility of his entire thesis. His failure to explain this is a more serious defect in his theory, in my opinion, than his failure “to explain this mysterious ICRC report.”

Both Graf and Braham have the problem of the provision of adequate rail transport. Graf does not confront it. Braham has a section on the general subject of transport, but the conflict and controversy among the Germans are not there. This is not to say that further digging will not uncover

any controversy over rail transport. For example it is likely that the German authorities in Hungary had to quarrel with somebody to procure the late April transport for the 4,000 employable Jews; that is suggested by the relevant documents.

Rather than relate to us a controversy among the Germans on the allocation of transport, Braham serves us another gem to ponder. By 1971 it was realized that the accomplishment of such deportations would have required the unusually enthusiastic support of the German railway (Reichsbahn). Accordingly its executive director, Theodor Ganzenmüller, was indicted that year in Germany. Repeating the episodes we have already seen in the cases of German Foreign Office Jewish specialists Eberhard von Thadden and Horst Wagner, trial was repeatedly postponed and then never held at all. [25] This datum has importance beyond the immediate problem of Hungary.

There is also the problem of resistance by the Jews, or at least their obstruction of the wholesale deportation operations. Far from giving such details, Braham's section on this subject tells us there was no resistance or serious obstruction. [26] In fact there was no organized Jewish resistance during the time interval under discussion.

An analogy. I am told that a child has just thrown a boulder into the water. I object that the child is not strong enough. I learn that five witnesses of unblemished probity testify to the event. I observe that the event created no splash and no waves, and that the boulder can't be found at the bottom. What would you conclude? I would say the reputations of the witnesses have been greatly damaged. The only unanswered question would be why they lied or how they were deceived.

I am not alone in complaining of the lack of substantial historical detail in the alleged May-July mass deportations. In 1994 there were several conferences on the 1944 events in Hungary, and the published records of them are interesting. *Genocide and Rescue: the Holocaust in Hungary 1944* (edited by David Cesarani) includes most of the papers presented at a London conference. Papers presented at a 1994 Budapest conference are included in *The Holocaust in Hungary: Fifty Years Later* (edited by Randolph L. Braham and Attila Pók). A 1994 conference at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum is represented by *The Nazis Last Victims: The Holocaust in Hungary* (edited by Randolph L. Braham and Scott Miller).

Tim Cole, a social historian at the University of Bristol, complained in a review that both the Cesarani and Braham & Miller books have remarkably little on the events of late spring and early summer 1944: "Such silence is not simply puzzling, but troubling." [27] It ought to be.

As for the Braham & Pók book, about half of the papers are in Hungarian, which I can't read, but there are English language summaries. The book was reviewed by István Deák of Columbia University, who did not confront the issues I have identified. [28] As with all these conference proceedings, the various papers do not appear to me to confront them, except in the sense of trying to explain why there was no Jewish resistance.

The point here is not that the 1994 conferees did not try to prove that the mass May-July deportations took place. If they regarded them as well established then of course they would not try to prove they happened, just as a postwar article about the military campaigns of 1940 does not have to prove that the Dunkirk rout took place, since it is well known. I am referring to a lack of exposition about events directly related to the alleged deportations. In general I would have to say that the alleged mass deportations of 1944, if they had happened, would have generated so many related events as to dominate any 1994 conference.

Cole's complaint was right on the mark. Graf is not alone in providing no account of how such events unfolded. I know of no source that relates the events at the operational levels, except for the "Veesenmayer telegrams."

I believe that historians are not writing such papers because the documentary evidence is faulty and does not correlate with ascertainable events. The documentary evidence of the clearing out of the Hungarian Jews is apparently a historiographic dead end. Historians write papers when they have something to write about. If one forged a report asserting that the World Trade Center was blown up and destroyed, then some people might believe it, but historians would find no record of correlative events, such as disruptions of the operations of many companies that do business there or funerals of thousands of their employees. If they believed the claim then there would be nothing for them to say, beyond saying it happened and citing the forged document, but that would already have been done. That appears to be what has happened with the 1994 conferences on Hungary, and indeed generally with writings on this subject. Scholars are supposed to say something new when they write papers; they can't work at historiographic dead ends.

I made related remarks in my 1982 IHR conference paper, recently ably translated into German by Graf, when I said that historical claims must "be tested by the normal method of placing them as hypotheses in appropriate historical context and seeing if they cohere." [29] That is what I am attempting to do here. It is our basic defense against historical fraud.

We nevertheless have a problem on our hands. The Goebbels ministry report. How do we account for it? It is here that I feel somewhat as I would if confronting a Hitler order to exterminate the Jews.

This problem had continued to bother me until I read Graf's report of August 10, 1997, on his and Carlo Mattogno's research trip in Eastern Europe of that year. There appears the following paragraph:

It was completely new to us that evidently many Hungarian Jews were deported to Riga(!) even in summer 1944, which seemed illogical in view of the military situation at the time. From Riga they were later transferred to Stutthof.

In his present paper Graf refers to these movements, without repeating that the deportations to Riga were "illogical in view of the military situation at the time." For me Graf's 1997 passage supported a hypothesis that I had raised in my letter to him of November 5, 1993. I repeated it to Graf in Australia in 1998 and at the IHR conference in 2000.

In my book I wrote that at his trial Eichmann claimed that, after Stalingrad, the deportations were stepped up "for camouflage reasons" to conceal the desperate military situation. [30] That could be the key to understanding the Goebbels account of deportations of almost all Hungarian Jews, in the absence of convincing evidence that such actually happened, and in consideration of convincing reasons to believe they could not have happened.

>By May 1944, there is no doubt that the Germans wanted to clear the Jews out of Hungary; they made that clear. Goebbels was the propaganda minister, responsible for maintaining the morale of the German population. Why admit that the desired deportation could not be accomplished? The point of sending a small number Hungarian Jews to Riga could have been precisely that it was illogical. It implied a false military and logistic situation. That was also the case for the general claim of mass deportation of Jews out of Hungary. It was, in a sense, a semi-hoax of the sort that propagandists are hired to create. Graf declares, "The declarations of a Soviet propagandist should be regarded with skepticism." So should the declarations of a Nazi propagandist.

There exist dozens of photos showing deported Hungarian Jews upon their arrival at Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944. Taken by one or more anonymous German photographers, they were published in a 1981 book *The Auschwitz Album*. [31] (Several of these are also in Jean-Claude Pressac's 1989 book, and in a more recent work published by the Auschwitz Museum, which identifies them as "taken by the SS, 1944.") [32]

Braham remarks that "It was during the deportations from Hungary that the SS authorized for the first time the taking of photographs in Auschwitz." He means of course photos of people from arriving Jewish transports. I believe Braham is right, since I can't recall seeing comparable photos taken at earlier dates. He adds "the Germans also produced a propaganda film" on the deportations. [33] I believe I have seen excerpts of this film.

Braham should have said "ordered" rather than "authorized", for these are clearly official photos. Why did the German authorities take these photos? My hypothesis would explain why, and why they would have taken other publicity measures such as make a film on the deportations.

In summary I think I must refine my earlier conclusions only slightly. [34] I implied that only employable Jews were deported. That is not true. Some families were deported for reasons given above, and perhaps also as part of a camouflage operation. As for the number deported, I had written "somewhat less than 100,000"; now I would be more reticent to give a number, but I can't believe any number on the order of 438,000 for May-July, for reasons given, and my original statement is probably valid provided the October-November deportations on foot are not included. It is possible that a fairly precise number will be determined some day. In all accounts, northern Transylvania receives a great emphasis. Perhaps that region was more hard hit by deportations than others.

Jürgen Graf and Carlo Mattogno are commended for their hard work and their research visit to Hungary. This is a difficult problem, as is suggested by Graf's wavering positions on it over the years. As for Graf's present paper, it is on the whole a good one.

I believe that starting in March 1944 the Germans made a lot of noise about wanting to deport the Hungarian Jews, and the Jewish propagandists then decided to take them up on it, giving the story their own twist. If I am right then Goebbels was an unwitting co-author of the Hoax!

Notes

1. ☞ The figure comes from Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1967), p. 553, and in the 3-volume 1985 Holmes & Meier (New York) edition, p. 838. I am not confident of its accuracy. I gave a slightly higher figure in my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976 and 1997), p. 144.
2. ☞ Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1976 and 1997), p. 170.
3. ☞ A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), pp. 134-142, reproduces the relevant section from the ICRC's Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its activities during the Second World War (September 1, 1939 — June 30, 1947), (Geneva: May 1948, 3 vols.), vol. 1, pp. 641-657.
4. ☞ A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), pp. 162f.
5. ☞ A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), p. 164.
6. ☞ A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), pp. 179f.
7. ☞ Jean-Claude Favez, *The Red Cross and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 234-237.

8. [↗](#) Jewish Chronicle (London weekly), June 12, 1987, p. 3.
9. [↗](#) On these points the reader can consult for example, Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980/ New York: H. Holt, 1998). Paradoxically, Laqueur argues that the exterminations at Auschwitz, which he believes in, could not have been a “secret,” and yet they were! He still has not figured out the simple resolution of the paradox.
10. [↗](#) A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), pp. 110f. ICRC, *Documents sur l'activité du CICR en faveur des civils détenus dans les camps de concentration en Allemagne (1939-1945)*, (Geneva: 1947), pp. 91f. The propaganda claims of exterminations at Auschwitz had by then (September 29) received wide circulation, but the ICRC reported that the British POWs were unable to get confirmation of such rumors from other inmates. When they were interrogated by the Soviets in 1945 they still “knew nothing at all” of exterminations.
11. [↗](#) In his *World War II Photo Intelligence* (New York: Scribner's, 1981), Roy M. Stanley II discusses the wartime aerial reconnaissance photos of Auschwitz and remarks (p. 348) on the “film of 31 May 1944 showing (apparent) ongoing cremations” at Birkenau. The weasel word “apparent” is his, as are the parentheses. In fact what appears on the film are three columns of black smoke coming from small point sources. Given that diesel engines smoke that way when they are given full throttle or encounter an irregular load, and given that the smoke is coming from a part of Birkenau that was still under construction, my guess is that the smoke is diesel exhaust. The truth of my guess may not be obvious, but it is obvious that the smoke is not coming from a mountain of burning Jews. A person such as I, with no expertise in aerial photo interpretation, can only be disgusted and furious when such lies come from the technically qualified experts.
12. [↗](#) Randolph L. Braham, “Romanian Nationalists and the Holocaust,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Winter 1996 (vol. 10, no. 3), pp. 211-251.
13. [↗](#) This letter is quoted from in vol. 10 of *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège Relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1980), p. 45, but specified as non-published on p. 347. I obtained a copy from the Vatican in 1980.
14. [↗](#) *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège ...* (cited above), p. 365. The term “Jewish personalities” is from the Vatican’s cover letter to me.
15. [↗](#) *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège ...* (cited above), pp. 46, 510f.
16. [↗](#) A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), pp. 89-99, 150-152, especially on alleged Report author Rudolf Vrba. Also see my further remarks on Vrba in A. R. Butz, “Some Thoughts on Pres-sac’s Opus,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, pp. 23-37. At least one prominent author on the Auschwitz survivor circuit had to change his tune on Vrba as a result of my writings. Erich Kulka authored a chapter in the collection *They Fought Back*, Yuri Suhl, ed. (New York: Schocken, 1975 [originally published in 1967]). There he discussed the “dramatic” escape from Auschwitz of Rudolf Vrba (as Walter Rosenberg), and the “completely authentic” account he brought to the outside world. Later he had an article, entitled “Attempts by Jewish Escapees to Stop Mass Extermination,” in *Jewish Social Studies*, Fall 1985 (vol. 47), pp. 295-306. There he portrayed Vrba as a scoundrel whose book (*I Cannot Forgive*, New York: Grove, 1964) contains “contradictory and problematic statements” that were “misused” by me. A similar article by Kulka appeared in *Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 13, 1986, pp. 381+. Appearing as a prosecution witness at the first Zündel trial in Toronto in 1985, Vrba admitted that his book is not true; according to him it is “only ‘an artistic picture’.” (*Toronto Sun*, January 24, 1985, p. 52).
17. [↗](#) A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), p. 147.
18. [↗](#) Nuremberg document D-908 (GB-534), excerpted in the International Military Tribunal (IMT), 42-volume “blue series,” vol. 36, pp. 1-3. It was also cited and quoted during the proceedings on July 30, 1946. See IMT, vol. 20, pp. 48-50.

19. [↗](#) Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, two vols. (Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1993 [revised edition]). Reviewed by Egon Mayer in *Holocaust and Genocide Stories*, Spring 1996, pp. 98ff.
20. [↗](#) R. L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide* (cited above, 1993), p. 674.
21. [↗](#) R. L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide* (cited above, 1993), pp. 1219f.
22. [↗](#) Document NOKW-336, quoted in *Trails of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals*, the NMT “green series,” vol. 2, pp.555ff. Also quoted by Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (cited above, 1967), p. 599, and p. 935 in the 3-volume Holmes & Meier edition of 1985.
23. [↗](#) A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), p. 126.
24. [↗](#) D. Czech, ed., *Auschwitz Chronicle* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990/London: I.B. Tauris, 1990), pp. 618, 630, 632. There are references in this source to additional transports in the interval of May 16-25, but the only specific information given for them is that very small groups of Jews were registered from them. These transports, to the extent that they are real, I interpret as involving the registration of people who arrived either in special groups too small to be called “transports,” or as “depot prisoners” from earlier transports. At many points in the *Auschwitz Chronicle* one reads that, when registration of prisoners in the camp is noted, “The remaining people are killed in the gas chambers.” That is not true, and there is no documentary evidence for the claim. As Graf remarks, the evidence for such gassings is the collection of testimonies that revisionists and even some anti-revisionists have discredited over the years. In many cases there may not even have been any “remaining people” that could have been sent to the “gas chambers,” if such chambers had existed. The *Auschwitz Chronicle* requires some expertise to read, and even then one is left with uncertainties, because purely factual data are mixed with fantasy with no indication of where the line between the two is. For example, it passes along without apology (pp. 633f) a claim attributed to the “camp resistance movement” that, from the middle of May to May 25, each day saw 13 trains arrive, each train consisting of 48 to 50 cars, 100 Hungarian Jews to a car. That’s 62,400 to 65,000 per day! Incidentally this formulation reminds me of the Talmud passage that claims that in the village of Bethar, besieged by the Romans in 135 A.D., there were 400 synagogues, each having 400 teachers, each teaching 400 students. 64 million Jewish kids in the village! The Holocaust legend is fairly oozing and dripping with Talmudic formulations. The Romans wrapped each kid in his scroll and burned them all! That yarn has also been transposed to Auschwitz. See A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), pp. 246f.
25. [↗](#) R. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide* (cited above, 1993), pp. 669, 685 (note 18). R. Hilberg, *The Destruction* (cited above, 1985), vol. 3, p. 1095, says “Albert’ (sic) Ganzemüller worked for Höchst A.G. 1955-1968, was indicted in Düsseldorf in 1973, but was “not tried because of ill health.”
26. [↗](#) R. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide* (cited above, 1993), pp. 1123-1148.
27. [↗](#) *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Spring 2000, pp 135ff, esp. p. 137 and note 2. Cole is also the author of *Selling the Holocaust: From Auschwitz to Schindler: How History is Bought, Packaged and Sold* (New York: Routledge, 1999). I have not yet seen this book. Cole will soon learn, if he has not already, that he is treading on dangerous ground, though he is a Holocaust believer. See his “Constructing the ‘Jew,’ Writing the Holocaust: Hungary 1920-1945,” in *Patterns of Prejudice*, July 1999 (vol. 3, no. 3), pp. 19-27. As co-author of “Ghettoization and the Holocaust: Budapest 1944,” *Journal of Historical Geography*, July 1995 (vol. 21, no. 3), he finds Holocaust revisionism “distasteful” (p. 313).
28. [↗](#) *Holocaust and Genocide Stories*, Spring 1998, pp. 161-169.
29. [↗](#) Arthur R. Butz, “Context and Perspective in the ‘Holocaust’ Controversy,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982 (vol. 3, no. 4), pp. 371-405. Posted on the IHR web site at

www.ihr.org/jhr/v03/v03p371_Butz.html . This paper has been reproduced as a supplement in recent printings of my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Graf's translation is published in *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, Dec. 1999 (vol. 3, no. 4), pp. 393-410 (Castle Hill Publishers; PO Box 118; Hastings TN34 3ZQ; England) and posted on Germar Rudolf's web site at <http://vho.org/VffG/1999/4/Butz391-410.html>. An Italian translation, "Contesto storico e prospettiva d'insieme nella controversia dell'Olocausto," was published in 1999 by Graphos; Campetto 4; 16123 Genoa, Italy.

30. ☞ A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), p. 113.
 31. ☞ *The Auschwitz Album* (New York: Random House, 1981)
 32. ☞ Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: B. Karsfeld, 1989), pp. 251, 343; Teresa Swiebocka, ed., *Auschwitz: A History in Photographs* (Oswiecim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, and, Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1993). Three of these photos are also reproduced in the recent anti-revisionist book by Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2000), pp. 134, 146, where they are unhelpfully attributed only to "Yad Vashem, Jerusalem."
 33. ☞ R. Brahm, *The Politics of Genocide* (cited above, 1993), p. 792.
 34. ☞ A. Butz, *Hoax* (cited above), pp. 170, 216f.
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Changing Perspectives on History in Germany

A Prestigious Award for Nolte: Portent of Greater Historical Objectivity?

Mark Weber

For decades Ernst Nolte has been one of Germany's best known historians, as well as one of the most reviled. His numerous books include "The Germans and Their Past," "The European Civil War," and *Streitpunkte* (or "Points of Contention," reviewed in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal). In the United States his best known work is probably his 1963 study, published here under title *The Three Faces of Fascism*, which compares "fascism" in France, Italy and Germany. Widely regarded as a path-breaking study, it remains indispensable for every serious student of the subject. After years on the faculty of the Free University in Berlin, the 77-year-old scholar is now a Professor Emeritus.

For at least two decades, his provocative views on 20th-century European history, and especially Third Reich Germany and World War II, have stimulated wide discussion about the past, even among non-historians. In a 1980 lecture entitled "Historical Legend and Revisionism?," for example, he said:

The Third Reich should be removed from the historical isolation in which it remains... The demonization of the Third Reich is unacceptable ... [Rather, it] must become an object of scholarship, of a scholarship that is not aloof from politics, but that is also not merely a handmaiden of politics ...

Nolte's detractors — especially his Jewish critics — have been particularly distressed by his suggestion that Hitler's wartime treatment of the Jews might legitimately be regarded, at least in part, as a defensive response to the threat of Bolshevik mass murder of Germans. In his 1980 lecture, he said:

... It is hard to deny that Hitler had good reason to be convinced of his enemies' determination to annihilate long before the first information about the events in Auschwitz became public ... [Zionist leader] Chaim Weizmann's statement in the first days of September 1939, that in this war the Jews of all the world would fight on England's side ... could lay the foundation for the thesis that Hitler would have been justified in treating the German Jews as prisoners of war (or, more precisely, as civilian internees), thus interning them.

During the 1980s Nolte was at the center of Germany's so-called "historians' dispute" (*Historik-erstreit*), an intense debate about the Third Reich and World War II, and their "lessons" for the present and the future. It began with a 1986 essay by Nolte in a prestigious daily paper in which he argued that, 40 years after the end of the war, Germans should be allowed to embrace their past without a permanent sense of guilt. The two most prominent protagonists in the ensuing debate were Nolte and the leftist intellectual Jürgen Habermas. (For more on this see the interview

with Nolte, and the review of his 1993 book *Streitpunkte*, both in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal, pp. 15-22, 37-41, as well as “Auschwitz in History,” from a more recent essay by him, in the March-April 1999 Journal, p. 36.)

In a 1989 interview with an Italian newspaper, Nolte summed up his view of the phenomenon of “fascism” in Europe and of World War II:

I am convinced that European history cannot be written as the history of individual states and also not as the history of a destructive ideology which only emerged in Germany. Throughout Europe there existed a fear of Communism, and this was present even in the USA. The history of the first half of the twentieth century must therefore be written as that of a great ideological civil war in which neither of the two contending sides was entirely in the right. It was a matter of a struggle in contrasts, in propaganda, which exaggerated claims until the defeat of one party, National Socialism.

Expressions of hostility toward Nolte have not been merely rhetorical. In 1994 a gang of 30 leftists physically assaulted him, inflicting injuries so severe that he had to be taken to a hospital. On another occasion terrorists set fire to his car.

Adenauer Prize

Nolte’s place in German society, where the past is always present, is thus a measure of the general social-political outlook. That’s why people took notice when he was recently honored with the “Konrad Adenauer Prize” for literature, one of Germany’s most prestigious literary awards. It was given at a ceremony on June 4, 2000, along with 10,000 marks (\$4,800), by the Munich-based Germany Foundation (Deutschlandstiftung).

In his acceptance speech, Nolte showed that he has not retreated from his earlier controversial remarks. “We should leave behind the view that the opposite of National Socialist goals is always good and right,” he said. According to news reports, he again raised the question of “whether Hitler’s anti-Semitism may not have had a kernel of truth” or a “rational, comprehensible core.”

Because, he went on, Third Reich Germany was the “strongest of all counter forces” to Soviet Communism, a movement with wide Jewish support, Hitler may have had “rational” reasons for persecuting Jews. Nolte also denounced the “collective accusation” continuously leveled against Germany since 1945, and spoke out against those who advocate “an unstoppable transition toward a world civilization.” A “Jewish paradigm” of history, he said, has become more important in recent decades and now threatens to become a “quasi-religion” in which German National Socialism is regarded as a “new satan.”

Möller’s Praise for Nolte

As significant as the award itself was the speech in praise of Nolte given on the occasion of the ceremony by another prominent historian, Horst Möller, director of the renowned Institute for Contemporary History (Institut für Zeitgeschichte). The taxpayer-funded, quasi-official Institute, established in the aftermath of the Second World War, played an important role for decades in “reeducating Germans,” that is, promoting the historical perspective of the victorious western Allies. It publishes the influential historical quarterly *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*.

While explaining that he does not agree with all of Nolte’s views, Möller praised his “life’s work of high rank,” which “has earned national and international attention.” Nolte, said Möller, is “the

only philosopher of history among the German historians, and the only historian among the German philosophers of history.” It takes extraordinary courage, Möller went on, “to deviate from the main course of the current intellectual life in Germany, and to honor the historian who has been made an ‘unperson’.” Möller also spoke out against the “hate-filled and defamatory” efforts to quash open debate in Germany on 20th century history.

Möller, director since 1992 of the Munich-based Institute, has overseen an expansion of its output and impact. Also under his leadership, it played an important role in discrediting the highly-publicized “Wehrmacht Exhibition,” a traveling photo exhibit of atrocities allegedly committed by regular German armed forces during the war years. (See “Fraud Exposed in Defamatory German Exhibition,” Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, pp. 6-11.)

Möller’s speech, along with the award for Nolte, prompted some protests. A professor of history at Berlin’s Humboldt University, Heinrich Winkler, complained in a letter published in the influential leftist weekly *Die Zeit* that “Mr. Möller allowed himself to become a party to an intellectual political offensive aimed at integrating rightist and revisionist positions into the conservative mainstream.”

Jewish groups were predictably enraged by the award for Nolte. The American Jewish Congress, for example, dismissed the historian’s views as “intellectual garbage” and “old and shabby lies.” A statement by AJ Congress president Jack Rosen, issued in the aftermath of the Germany Foundation award, declared that “conservative, nationalist forces in Germany, like their counterparts in Austria, still refuse to accept the implications of the Nazi era for themselves and for their country.” As the world knows, these “implications” include uncomplaining German (and Austrian) acceptance of seemingly endless humiliations, self-abasing contrition, and reparations payments to Israel and world Jewry. (See “Germany Has Paid Out More Than \$61.8 Billion in Third Reich Reparations,” Nov.-Dec. 1998 Journal, p. 19.)

The AJ Congress also condemned the “remnants of the Hitlerian impulse still present in Germany,” a reference to the sparks of resistance to the international campaign against the German nation and heritage.

Typical of the American media’s warped coverage of such matters was a tendentious New York Times report (June 21) that appeared under a headline that absurdly referred to Ernst Nolte as a “Hitler Apologist.” Similarly, a New York Times editorial (June 25) told readers that Nolte is “a well-known historian who argues for breaking taboos that have constrained Germany’s debate about the Nazi era. But some of his ideas are repugnant, and he deserves no awards.”

In reality, Nolte’s effort to dispassionately explain or understand Hitler and German National Socialism is no more an “apology” than comparable efforts by other historians to explain Napoleon, Stalin or Franklin Roosevelt, and such historical phenomena as the French Revolution, the American Civil War, or Soviet Communism.

Martin Walser’s Speech

The Nolte award ceremony is not the only sign of a greater German openness about the past. Another was an important and much-discussed speech in October 1998 by Martin Walser, one of Germany’s most prominent writers. He gave it at the Frankfurt Book Fair, the world’s largest trade exposition of book publishers, during a ceremony honoring him with the annual Peace Prize of the German Association of Publishers and Booksellers.

“Auschwitz,” said Walser, “is not suited to becoming a routine threat, a tool of intimidation that can be used any time, a moral cudgel [Moralkeule] or merely a compulsory exercise.” He lamented the “exploitation [instrumentalisierung] of our disgrace for present purposes,” an apparent reference to the seemingly endless campaign by Jewish groups for reparations.

Walser also criticized the “monumentalization of the shame,” and said that Auschwitz is exploited as a “ceaseless presentation of our shame.” The audience, which included some of the country’s most prominent cultural and political figures, rose to standing applause at the speech’s conclusion.

Even though Walser expressed himself cautiously and with considerable restraint, Jewish leaders reacted with rage bordering on hysteria. Ignatz Bubis, the influential chief of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, called the address “intellectual arson” and complained: “I was listening to this speech and I was more and more astonished. I thought I was taking part in a neo-Nazi rally.” American newspaper comments echoed Bubis’ outrage.

At least as important as the speech itself was the heated, weeks-long discussion it prompted in newspapers, magazines and television. “The trend in Walser’s speech is something that is more and more widespread of late,” Bubis said. “Intellectual nationalism is spreading, and it is not free of an understated anti-Semitism.”

A Changing Historical Perspective?

Since 1945 it has been difficult for historians, especially in Germany, to deal objectively with the Third Reich. As a writer for the London Times (June 22) recently wrote: “How far can German historians discuss Hitler in a normal way — advancing positive as well as negative elements — without seeming to be Nazi sympathizers?”

What’s behind this abnormal situation? It endures in part because, as the old saying goes, history is written by the winners. In the aftermath of World War II, the victorious Allied powers understandably sought to demonize the defeated Nazi regime. But this is only part of the answer.

Now, more than half a century after the end of the conflict, the continuing distortion of World War II history is due — as Ernst Nolte has cautiously suggested — above all, to the powerful Jewish-Zionist role in society and cultural life. Jews understandably regard Germany’s anti-Jewish Führer as one of the great villains of their collective history, along with the Egyptian Pharaoh who opposed Moses, Amalek of Torah legend, and the ancient Persian prime minister Haman. Reflecting their tremendous influence in the world today, especially in the United States, Jews have been amazingly successful in foisting a Judeocentric view of history on non-Jewish society. Thus, Hitler is portrayed as a peculiarly, even uniquely evil figure — far more so than, for example, Soviet dictator Stalin or Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong — each of whose victims vastly outnumber Hitler’s.

A Jewish view of 20th-century history — which includes what even some Jewish intellectuals call the “Holocaust cult” or “Holocaust industry” — is obviously incompatible with a treatment that is objective and truthful.

As a result of this aberrant view of the past, Germany remains — even after half a century — a nation permanently “on parole.” Because it has already been collectively tried and convicted, so to speak, any “relapse” brings swift condemnation and threat of renewed punishment.

But as Jewish leader Bubis complained, and as the recent award to Ernst Nolte suggests, there are signs that the intellectual climate is changing. Not just in Germany, but across Europe, there is growing acknowledgement that the historical view imposed by the victorious Allies in 1945, as well as the Judeocentric view that now prevails, is a crass and even dangerous distortion. Contributing to this “historicization” has been the end of the Soviet empire, with its outpouring of new revelations about the grim legacy of Soviet Communism, and the collapse of a major pillar of the “anti-fascist” view of 20th-century history. Although powerful interests may succeed for a time in stemming the tide, in the long run a more “revisionist” treatment of history, even Third Reich history, is inevitable.

A Deceitful Swipe at the IHR

Mark Weber

In an advertisement that appeared in The New York Times, April 18, 2000, the American Jewish Committee took (another) swipe at the Institute for Historical Review. Along with the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Congress, the AJ Committee is generally regarded as one of the three most influential Jewish-Zionist organizations in the United States.

The Times ad, headlined “Hate for Sale,” sharply criticized two major on-line booksellers, Amazon.com and Barnes & Noble, for selling the Protocols of the Elders of Zion — a purported Jewish plan to control the world that most specialists regard as a fraud. The AJ Committee ad went on declare: “The main US publishers of the Protocols editions offered by these booksellers are [Noontide Press](#) — once linked to the racist and anti-Semitic [Liberty Lobby](#) and now the printing arm of the so-called Institute for Historical Review, the leading organ of Holocaust denial worldwide — and Book Tree Press, supplier of an array of extremist materials.”

There are several falsehoods here. First, Noontide Press does not publish the Protocols. Like Amazon.com and Barnes & Noble, Noontide markets copies supplied by an outside printer/ distributor. Secondly, Noontide Press has never been the “printing arm” of the IHR. It is simply an affiliated publishing enterprise. The IHR publishes books under its own imprint. Finally, the IHR is not an “organ of Holocaust denial.” The term “Holocaust denial” is both stupid and polemical. As anyone who is really familiar with the IHR and its work knows, this characterization is a cheap smear. Unfortunately, the falsehoods in this advertisement are all too typical of the distortions of the AJ Committee and similar Jewish-Zionist groups.

Many people regard the Protocols as the authentic blueprint of a diabolical Jewish scheme to control the world. Others dismiss it as a pernicious fraud concocted nearly a century ago by the Tsarist Russian secret police. The AJ Committee luridly calls it “the most bloodstained volume in modern history.” The Committee’s call for banning this work echoes the arguments of censors throughout the ages, who contend that others, will be seduced or misled by an “offensive” work. If the Protocols deserve to be banned, why not other “offensive” works? Why not the Communist Manifesto, the Jewish Talmud, or even the Bible? We believe that all such works, including the Protocols, should be available for public scrutiny and study. All the same, the Noontide Press catalog description specifically warns the prospective buyer that the Protocols is “offered caveat lector.”

Peenemünde and Los Alamos: Two Studies

Donald E. Tarter

Abstract

The Second World War produced two great and memorable scientific and technological teams: the German Peenemünde rocket team under the direction of Dr. Wernher von Braun, and the American Los Alamos atomic bomb team under the direction of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Taken together, the contributions of these teams created the post-war capability for intercontinental nuclear warfare. These teams, working in different countries under radically different political systems, encountered severe political difficulties during and after the war. Each, in its own way, has had to live with its deeds, endure public suspicions, and bear the judgment of history. This article, based on 13 hours of interviews recently completed with members of the von Braun Peenemünde team, together with an analysis of several hours of video interviews of members of the Oppenheimer Los Alamos team, seeks to present a meaningful contrast and description of the environments and the pressures under which each worked.

Introduction

Late in 1982, the United States Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI) began a series of interrogations of a former von Braun rocket team member, Arthur Rudolph. Rudolph had been one of the central figures in the American Apollo Lunar Program, having been the Saturn 5 project manager. He had left his previous home in Huntsville, Alabama, site of the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center, and was then residing in San Jose, California.

Throughout 1983, OSI continued its investigations, and late that year informed Dr. Rudolph that it believed there was sufficient evidence to link him to war crimes activity at the World War II German rocket facility, Mittelwerk, a forced-labor installation in the Harz Mountains. OSI threatened prosecution and indictment unless Dr. Rudolph signed an agreement to leave the country and renounce his citizenship. After agonizing over the prospects of a long and expensive trial or doing as the OSI requested, Dr. Rudolph decided in November 1983 to leave the United States. On March 27, 1984, he and his wife boarded a plane in San Francisco en route to Germany.

The disposition of the Rudolph case bitterly incensed many of Rudolph's original German colleagues and many of his associates in the American space program. In early 1989, an effort was launched by several of his friends and colleagues in Huntsville to have the government allow his return to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the lunar landing in July. That effort failed.

A 1989 editorial in the Huntsville Times ^[1] noted that Rudolph chose to leave the USA because there was a possibility of prosecution, and a chance that if successfully prosecuted he would be deported and lose his government benefits. The editorial added:

The right and justice of the matter have never been established. The aging retiree chose to acquiesce rather than fight. The West German government has said it did not find evidence to prosecute him.

... [This] leaves unanswered the question of the basic justice of the Rudolph case. The OSI's decision is, of course, subject to review. Rudolph has recourse through the federal courts, but to date, he has not taken it. And his dilemma is what it always was: a court order dissolving his voluntary surrender of citizenship would also set aside the OSI's side of the agreement. By starting the case over, Rudolph would be exposed to prosecution with the prospect of deportation and the loss of retirement benefits.

It is a dilemma best left to history.

In late 1983 and early 1984 Mr. Konrad K. Dannenberg and I were beginning a project at the University of Alabama in Huntsville which would add to the recorded recollection of members of Wernher von Braun's Peenemünde rocket team. Dannenberg himself was a former member of that team. He had served as a propulsion engineer on the first successful A-4 (later termed V-2) launch in October 1942. Later, among other duties in the United States, he had served as deputy director of the Saturn Program at George C. Marshall Space Flight Center. Both Dannenberg and I were most interested in seeing that early recollections of German rocketry were preserved. Likewise, we were interested in obtaining comments about the future of space development as anticipated by these pioneers. Hence our project was entitled, "Our Future in Space: Messages from the Beginning."

As a sociologist, I was also interested in obtaining a sense of the human responses to the conditions under which scientific and technical work was conducted in the totalitarian environment of Nazi Germany. Epochal work was being done. It was work that would literally begin the space age. While popular perception dates the beginning of the space age to the famous Soviet Sputnik launch on October 4, 1957, in fact the first human-designed object ever to ascend into the environment of space was launched some 15 years and one day earlier, October 3, 1942. That object was the German A-4 rocket, launched from the Peenemünde test facility, reaching an altitude of over 80 km (50 miles) and a range of 192 km (120 miles).

Thus, at a place now almost forgotten, humanity began its ultimate adventure into the cosmos. As a realist, I know that the drive behind much of human technology has been the military advantage that it might give. As an idealist, I am opposed to the use of science to further human destructiveness. As a behavioral scientist, I wanted to understand how men refined by sophisticated scientific and technological training could be reduced to the service of tyranny and human oppression.

For over two decades I have had the privilege of associating with many of the members of the von Braun team both as a neighbor and as a scholar interested in the social impact of the space age. That association with these gentlemen who stood at the beginning of the space age has, I believe, given me some insight into the questions I have asked. It has always been difficult, at best, to discuss such matters with them. Even in the most relaxed of times, the subject is not an object of easy reflection. I had hoped that our project to videotape the remembrances of key scientific and technical personnel at Peenemünde would be able to probe for answers to difficult and sensitive moral and political questions. The news of the Rudolph case, and the fact that other members of the original rocket team were also under investigation by the Department of Justice, left a heavy pall over any such discussion. Many of the group who had originally agreed to hour-long

video sessions decided that they did not wish to grant such an interview under the existing circumstances of rumor and suspicion. Television networks and newspapers were, at the time, contacting me in attempts to obtain materials that would be useful to assist in compiling their own reports on the possible connection of the Peenemünde Team to Nazi atrocities. Some members of the group who decided to go ahead with the interviews stipulated that as a condition for their appearance they would talk about the history and circumstances of technological development, but did not wish to enter into a discussion relating to politically sensitive subjects. Although circumstances made our project most difficult, a grant from the University of Alabama in Huntsville and assistance from the Huntsville affiliate of the Alabama Public Television Network permitted us to obtain 13 hours of videotaped interviews from a dozen members of the original Peenemünde rocket team, but for the reasons stated above I have relied more on information obtained in my 20 years of association with members of the Peenemünde team than on comments made directly in the video interviews. [2]

During the same period that we were recording the recollections of the Peenemünde pioneers, I, along with several of my students, was engaged in an in-depth analysis of the experience of the Los Alamos atomic bomb team, directed by the late Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Through an extensive search of the literature and analysis of several hours of videotaped interviews with key members of that team, we compiled what we thought were some interesting points of comparison between the experiences of the members of the Los Alamos project and those working at Peenemünde. We felt that such a comparison could, perhaps, put the whole question of the moral and political posture of those at Peenemünde into somewhat sharper focus. In addition, I had at least two reasons to seek such a comparison. Firstly, taken together, the contributions of these two great technical teams made the age of intercontinental nuclear warfare possible. Secondly, these were ends not consistent with the motives that drove them in their youth.

The young men who were later to go Peenemünde and begin the space age dreamed of interplanetary space flight. Almost all of them with whom I have talked have specifically mentioned their thrill and excitement about the early German science fiction movie, *Frau im Mond* ("Girl on the Moon"). This Fritz Lang movie, filmed in consultation with the early Romanian space pioneer Hermann Oberth, stimulated an entire generation of young idealists into seeking careers in space technology. Likewise, as youths, the men who were to go to Los Alamos to begin the atomic age had their own captivating visions that stirred within them. The young Oppenheimer was intrigued by a box of minerals given to him as a gift and was soon exploring the rock formations of Central Park in New York City. At the age of 11 he was accepted into the New York Mineralogical Club. The young Edward Teller was seized by the excitement of science through the works of Jules Verne. The young Leo Szilard showed an almost prescient childhood fascination with the classic Hungarian poem of pessimism, *The Tragedy of Man*, which, perhaps, accounts in part for his lifelong mission to forestall nuclear tragedy.

The youthful dreams and aspirations of these men did not involve the development of weapons of destruction. Rather, they hoped as adults to understand the laws of nature and to travel into interplanetary space. The world as it was, however, demanded that their noble aspirations be put to the service of much less noble ends. Though they were to move to the very edge of human understanding, they could not escape the political, economic, and social forces of their time. Their dreams were laid aside while their professional talents were channelled into designing means of death and destruction. What types of readjustment are required for such an awesome redirection of one's own purpose for existence? This question led me to investigate the experiences of these two groups for answers.

Their members shared an early experience that an increasing number of scientists and technologists in our current world now face. Out of the processes set in motion at Peenemünde and Los Alamos, the world has now evolved a global militarized culture. A very substantial portion of scientists and technologists trained for participation in our modern world economy find themselves in a situation where their prime opportunity for employment and career development lies in the service of the international arms industry. As nations drain their resources in search of military superiority, many of the more productive and hopeful goals of humankind are cancelled or delayed. The experience of those at Peenemünde and Los Alamos may give us a fuller understanding of the forces that have increasingly put science and scientists in pursuit of destructive goals.

Los Alamos and Peenemünde: A Sense of Perspective

In seeking to gain perspective through comparison of Los Alamos and Peenemünde, it is informative to consider the forces that led each group to come together as a team. Few of their members anticipated careers associated with the military establishments of their respective countries. Yet all of them found that the military was their prime avenue of career development.

In the case of the Peenemünde group, many of its members had been affiliated with small German rocket societies such as the Society for Space Travel (Verein für Raumschiffahrt, or VfR) that had been forming since the late 1920s. [3] While such organizations were not taken seriously in their early days, publicity that played upon the intriguing possibilities of interplanetary space flight made them an object of public curiosity.

Many accounts of German military developments prior to the Second World War suggest that the concept of the high-angle rocket appealed to German officialdom because it might offer a legal way around the restrictions placed on the development of artillery weapons in the Treaty of Versailles. [4] While a case be made for this, it should be remembered that development of potentially illegal artillery had been underway for some while. In the words of Dr. Georg von Tiesenhausen, [5]

When I was drafted in 1936, I found the 8.8 cm anti-aircraft cannon already developed, including its advanced semi-automatic range finders, and velocity and direction indicators. This was a superior masterpiece of engineering development that must have started many years earlier.

Indeed, Dr. Gerhard Reisig points out that [6]

The development of the '88' (as it was commonly called) had begun as early as 1929, in the Weimar Republic. Its use as a replacement for aging weapons was allowed under the treaty. However, the same weapon had great potential for anti-aircraft purposes, making it of questionable legality.

Given the general drift away from the strictest adherence to the standards of the Treaty of Versailles, even in the Weimar Republic, it is unlikely that legal questions overshadowed more practical considerations of feasibility and economics in the earliest days of rocketry.

Early military development of German rocketry fell under the aegis of Walter Dornberger, an artillery captain who, in 1930, had graduated from the Technische Hochschule, Berlin. In the fall of 1932, Dornberger recruited Wernher von Braun as his chief technical assistant, thus making von Braun the ranking civilian in the rocket program. Subsequently von Braun obtained his doctorate in physics in 1934 at army expense. In the meantime, on 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler had been officially appointed Chancellor and the Nazi Party of Germany quickly consolidated its power.

Thus, as the Weimar Republic crumbled, the young von Braun was completing his formal education under circumstances that were to obligate him to serve the German army.

It should also be remembered that the Great Depression hit Germany with a vengeance. The severe economic climate motivated individuals to take employment anywhere it could be found, and, with the early rocketeers, it could be found only in the army. Neither German universities nor private industry showed the slightest interest in rocketry. At the best of times, private funding for studying rocket propulsion would have been most difficult to obtain, but, with the depression threatening the very survival of German industry, such a venture into basic research was out of the question. Arthur Rudolph, like so many of his counterparts, found himself without work and without money. Captain Dornberger moved through this cadre of unemployed engineers looking for ideas that might serve the army's interest in rocketry. From his recruitment efforts and from the lack of any available economic alternative, several young rocketeers were brought on to the government military payrolls. For reasons completely beyond their control, and toward ends that were divergent from their dreams, an increasing number of young German space visionaries found themselves in the service of a military establishment that was later to serve Nazi Germany.

As the activities of the early rocket pioneers grew, it became obvious that they would need a larger and more elaborate facility to test their new generation of vehicles. The first test facilities at Kummersdorf, some 25 kilometers south of Berlin, were rapidly becoming inadequate. The vicinity of the small fishing village of Peenemünde on the Baltic Coast seemed to provide the perfect place. First suggested to von Braun by his mother, the site offered isolation and a place to fire the still highly experimental vehicles. As political tensions heightened in Europe, the advanced guard of the Peenemünde team was almost totally preoccupied with the elaborate preparations involved in the opening of the world's first large-scale rocket test facility. The Army Research Center at Peenemünde became fully staffed in August 1939. On September 1, 1939, Hitler ordered his troops to invade Poland, thus formally beginning the Second World War. By 1942, the facility at Peenemünde employed 1,960 scientists and technicians and some 3,852 other workers. Work on rocket development was then proceeding at maximum intensity.

The nearly complete mobilization of German society in the course of the Second World War saw many individuals with scientific and technical skills pressed into the military service. Among the interview group was Dr./Lance Corporal Ernst Stuhlinger, who was serving on the Russian front as an infantryman when he received orders to report to Peenemünde. This was a place and a project of which he had never heard. Likewise, Konrad K. Dannenberg, an infantry lieutenant in France, was called away from the battlefield to join the rocket development center. For individuals such as these, the motivation was clear: build rockets or dodge bullets.

In contrast, the factors that led to the assembly of the Los Alamos atomic bomb team were remarkably different. The scientists who were to comprise the core group at Los Alamos came from the well-established scientific field of physics. Physics, as a discipline, had become increasingly important since the turn of the century, and had acquired respect in major universities. In Germany, however, with the rise of the Nazi Party, the physics community had suffered a terrible blow. Fully 25 per cent of academic physicists in Germany, almost all Jewish, found themselves forced from their positions shortly after Hitler came to power. By 1934, one of every five institute directorships in Germany was vacant. [7] The number of physicists who left Germany was large, but the quality was truly astounding. Fascism flushed away the cream of European physics: Albert Einstein, Hans Bethe, Edward Teller, Leo Szilard, Eugene Wigner, John von Neumann, Michael Polanyi, Theodor von Karman, George de Hevesy, Felix Bloch, James Franck, Lothar Nordheim, Enrico Fermi, Niels Bohr and Eugene Rabinowitch. Along with some sympathetic

non-Jewish scientists such as Erwin Schrodinger and Martin Stobb, these men were to become the driving force behind atomic research in Britain and the USA.

Hence, there was a stark contrast between the unemployed and unknown engineers and technicians who were seeking affiliation with the German army, and the relatively affluent and widely known physicists who were leaving Germany in droves. Of the Peenemünde team, only a few members could be considered to have outstanding credentials in science. Among them were von Braun, with a Ph.D. in physics; Ernst Stuhlinger, also with a Ph.D. in physics; and Carl Wagner, a Ph.D. physical chemist. Engineers did not yet enjoy the status of scientists. As Ernst Stuhlinger stated: [8]

According to my own observations, during the late twenties and the thirties, the general public held natural scientists in higher regard than philosophers. Engineers were considered with less awe than scientists, but their high value to society was well recognized — more than that of philosophers. Engineer covers a very broad field; engineers were never treated all alike. After all, engineers built the fabulous new airplanes and ocean liners, the worldwide telephone networks, and the television systems that began to appear during the mid 1930s, but engineers were also those simple-minded people who were at fault when the electric light did not work; when the car had a defect; when a train was late; or when the elevator got stuck between floors. The scientist, in the conception of the public, presented a far more homogeneous image than the engineer. There is no doubt that scientists found a far greater degree of respect than engineers in social circles during the 1920s and 1930s.

Even in the USA, in the 1950s and 1960s, it was not unusual to find lingering traces of status comparisons among certain scientists who sometimes referred to the transplanted Peenemünde Team as “von Braun’s plumbers.”

Stuhlinger continues:

During the war, many things were different. From the standpoint of those who felt responsible for the conduct of the war, those scientists and engineers who contributed directly or indirectly to the war effort were, of course, of utmost importance. For Hitler and his immediate entourage, things were again different. Hitler did not like scientists (because they failed to rally around his flag), and he let them feel it. During the first years of the war, he denounced them, or at least neglected them, saying that he did not need them. He wanted production experts who could deliver large quantities of ammunition and other war matériel. He needed and wanted engineers who could help with that production. Only toward the end of the war, when things went badly for Germany, Hitler complained bitterly that his scientists had not provided him with the wonder weapons he would have needed to win the war.

This complaint, Stuhlinger insists was directed primarily at the scientific community, not the engineering and technical community. Hitler felt that his initial mistrust of scientists had been verified. These fuzzy minded dreamers had failed to deliver on their promises, not only in terms of rocket technology, but in terms of a host of land, air and sea weapons.

According to Stuhlinger, considerations of relative status were not a factor within Peenemünde itself. Scientists, engineers and technicians worked together without reference to privilege or prestige. Whatever the general public or the Führer thought of their relative merits, for practical purposes such considerations were unimportant. [9]

Neither the community of Jewish physicists nor the community of non-Jewish scientists and engineers was particularly active politically. The prevailing attitude of both was, insofar as possi-

ble, to ignore the political world and get on with their chosen professions. There were exceptions, most notably among the academic physicists such as Szilard, Bohr and Schrodinger, but the activist attitude was not the norm. Alan D. Beyerchen, in his study of the political posture of the physics community in the Third Reich, refers to this attitude as a form of “inner migration.” [10] Edward Teller expressed much the same early rejection of political involvement by noting that the continuing European political difficulties forced him to be “enveloped in the feeling that only science is lasting.” [11]

In Germany, this apolitical posture was even more pronounced for the Peenemünde group. At least three reasons can be identified that may account for this. First, their educational backgrounds had certainly not prepared or predisposed them to ask political questions or seek out political activities. Second, as they gravitated toward the closed and restricted environments of Kummersdorf and later Peenemünde, they became progressively more isolated from the intellectual currents at play in the cities and in the universities. Third, and perhaps most important, their lot was improving under the rule of the Third Reich. For the most part, the men of Peenemünde were plain, practical men, mostly members of the volkisch ideal, the German or Nordic middle class. Their training was in practical, not theoretical matters. They were, in the eyes of the Aryan thinkers, the finest example of native German utilitarianism.

Hitler’s Aryan ideology even found its way into physics, in a movement led by two Nobel laureates, Philipp Lenard and Johannes Stark. [12] Perhaps the most prominent statement of the philosophy of Aryan physics can be found in Lenard’s *Deutsche Physik*, published in four volumes during 1936 and 1937. [13] Aryan physics proclaimed the applied and experimental over the theoretical. Applied physics was German; theoretical physics was Jewish. Technology was preferred over theory. Non-Jewish German theoretical physicists such as Heisenberg were chastised for bringing a Jewish spirit to German physics, yet statements from the Peenemünde group tend to confirm the failure of Aryan physics to become an influential part of German physics, even in the darkest days of the push toward ideological conformity. Physicist Ernst Stuhlinger observes,

When Lenard’s book, *Deutsche Physik*, was published, it met with head shaking and amazement among colleagues. We young physicists read a few pages out of curiosity, and then put it aside. I remember that Hans Geiger once said to a group of students, “This is all very strange. One cannot do away with the facts of physics just like that. I’m so surprised that Lenard should have digressed so far; he used to be a very fine experimenter.” Under the circumstances, it was very courageous for Geiger to say that much. We students got the message. I remember that I was very glad to have this assurance and confirmation of my own thoughts.

Stuhlinger goes on to confirm Alan Beyerchen’s observations that Aryan physics was very ill-defined, and fraught with internal contradictions. [14]

The names connected with Aryan physics were Lenard, Stark, Tomaschek and a few hot-headed students, but that was an extremely small minority among the hundreds of physicists who were active at universities at the time. Lenard, Stark and Tomaschek were really ostracized. Physics was taught as usual, with Einstein’s relativity, Bohr’s atom model, Heisenberg’s and Schrodinger’s quantum mechanics, Pauli’s principle, etc.

Gerhard Reisig, who was in the field of engineering physics, dismissed Lenard and Stark as being thought of as eccentric old men, opportunists seeking to resurrect their declining careers. [15] Georg von Tisenhausen thinks they had virtually no influence in the practical or intellectual activities of engineers. In his words, “Aryan Physics? I never heard of it.” [16]

Hence, as the 1930s drew to a close, we see an interesting phenomenon among the community of German scientists and technologists. Large numbers of an old intellectual elite had been dethroned, while a new and emergent elite of physicists and engineers was assuming command. Pressures for ideological conformity were apparent, even to the most politically detached, but an ideological physics was destined to be stillborn.

The historical trap was set. The engineers and technicians bound for Peenemünde were absorbed by new and seemingly unlimited opportunities. The rush of excitement and the promise to be able to pursue the long-held dream of opening the door to the cosmos dimmed their already feeble propensity to question political policy. The Peenemünde team was lured into a political and moral lethargy that would later be enforced by the powers of a police state.

The Jewish physicists who were destined to become a major component of the yet-to-be Los Alamos team were busily directing their efforts toward the rescue of their families and colleagues. What little time was left was spent urging the British and American governments to prepare to develop the ultimate weapon against Fascism: the atomic bomb. Those who were to be at the core of the Los Alamos team were made callous by the human outrages occurring around them. In the process, their concerns for survival surpassed the moral questions raised by a weapon of mass destruction.

Social scientists have long held that moral questions can only be understood within the context of their times. Perhaps that is why so many members of these two technical teams answer the probes of modern moral investigators with the response, "You just don't understand."

The War Years

The Peenemünde research facility became fully operational in August 1939. It was not until April 1943 that the Los Alamos atomic development facility was opened. Some comparisons of these two major research and development facilities are useful in understanding the behavior of those who worked at each. Both facilities were secret and isolated. Peenemünde had nearly 6,000 operational personnel at its height, the Los Alamos facility had a total workforce of nearly 5,000. Both facilities were heavily dependent upon support facilities in other parts of their respective countries. In Germany, these support facilities were increasingly disabled by Allied attacks as the war progressed. In the United States, the support facilities were secure and increasingly grew more productive. Peenemünde itself came under direct bombing attack in August 1943. Los Alamos never had such concerns. The mission at Peenemünde was open-ended and growing. It was assigned to develop, produce and supply an increasing variety of rocket-propelled vehicles for military use. The mission at Los Alamos was singular and finite: produce an atomic weapon. Both Peenemünde and Los Alamos operated under a military commander: General Walter Dornberger in Germany and General Leslie R. Groves in the United States. Both project directors were civilian scientists — Dr. Wernher von Braun and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer — and both were natives of their respective countries. Peenemünde operated in the totalitarian environment of war-ravaged Germany, whereas Los Alamos operated in the more open and democratic environment of a secure United States. Because collaborative scientific and technological enterprises require a great deal of free discussion and exchange of ideas, both facilities seemed to maintain a good deal of internal freedom with regards to discussion of the best strategies to achieve their stated mission. Open discussion of other applications of technologies, most specifically space travel, were forbidden at Peenemünde, and political discussions were most certainly forbidden, while at Los Alamos the political ramifications of the work were an open but infrequently discussed topic.

From the date the Peenemünde facility became fully operational to the date of the first successful A-4 test, October 3, 1942, there was a lapse of three years and two months. From the date that Los Alamos opened to the first successful test of the atomic bomb at the Trinity Site, July 1945, there was a lapse of two years and three months. The time from the first successful A-4 test launch in October 1942 to its first successful military use in September 1944 was one year and eleven months. The less complex V-1 weapon was ready some two and a half months earlier and was first used on the battlefield on June 13, 1944. The time from the test of the atomic weapon at the Trinity site in New Mexico on July 16, 1945, to its first use in warfare at Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, was a mere three weeks. Credible analysts estimate that the German V-weapon effort cost approximately three billion war-time US dollars. The Manhattan atomic bomb project cost approximately two billion dollars. [17]

While it is impossible to judge with quantitative certainty, the general conditions under which the two research and development facilities existed, and the missions they were assigned to accomplish, suggest that the task faced by the Peenemünde group was more difficult than that faced at Los Alamos. The industrial, university, and governmental support facilities that were necessary for the completion of the Manhattan Project were enormous, and they were located in a country that was not under direct attack. The administrative and production challenges faced by Peenemünde, being open-ended and constantly subject to disruptions through enemy attack, were far greater than those of Los Alamos.

The Peenemünde facility first came under direct attack with the Allied aerial bombardment of August 17, 1943. Although the Royal Air Force specifically intended its mission to kill as many of the expert technical and administrative personnel as possible, in fact only two key figures were killed, Walter Thiel and Erich Walther. Seven hundred and thirty-three other individuals died in the raids, and major damage was done to personnel housing and development works. Following the Peenemünde bombing, systematic raids were launched against supporting assembly plants and hydrogen peroxide production facilities. Peenemünde itself was not bombed again for almost a year, and never with the same intensity. This was because intelligence reports indicated that much of the testing and production had been moved elsewhere. [18] Helmut Zoike, the engineer at the control panel who actually launched the first human object in space, stated in our interviews that “The bombings came too late to hinder the A-4 development, this was already done. The raids were, also, too early to interfere with deployment. It really came at a very opportune time from the German perspective.” [19] Thus, the actual raid on Peenemünde was not as crippling to the program as the continuing raids on support facilities.

It was, nevertheless, in an increasing atmosphere of desperation that the decision was made to move rocket production underground into the infamous Mittelwerk facility. This site was the location of an old gypsum mine in the Harz Mountains in north-west Germany. The conversion from mine to missile-production facility was a harsh and dirty task, performed under intense pressure, and using forced labor from a mixture of criminals, homosexuals, prisoners of war and political prisoners. Von Braun described the conditions of the labor force at Mittelwerk as “horrible;” Albert Speer used the term “barbarous;” and Arthur Rudolph calls the treatment of prisoners “primitive” and “awful.” Prisoners were literally worked to death or exposed to such unsanitary conditions that they died of disease. Those who resisted faced summary execution. Bodies were disposed of in a local crematory. Only eleven months after General Dornberger had proclaimed the A-4 vehicle to have opened the doorway to the heavens, it was being produced in the dungeons of hell. [20]

The universal question asked by students of the history of technology and ethics comes here. Did the Peenemünde personnel know the composition of the Mittelwerk task force? Clearly, they did.

Were they personally terrified, or did they shrug off the barbarities because it was the job that mattered? It has been their position that it was the former: their welfare and the welfare of their families depended on their compliance with the situation as it was. Given the tyranny and the desperation of the Nazi regime, this seems a distinct possibility. Social science has no power to read the minds and motives of human beings. We can describe events, describe the behavior of individuals in those events, and record their explanations of their behavior. It is up to the student of history to interpret his or her acceptance of those explanations.

Rudolph, and others at Mittelwerk, were frequently reminded that they too could join the forced labor teams if they did not fully cooperate with the SS authorities. Previously, in March 1943, Wernher and Magnus von Braun, Klaus Riedel, Helmut Grottrup and Hannes Lührsen had been arrested by the (Gestapo at Peenemünde and charged with treason for describing the A-4 as a space vehicle rather than a weapon of war. Obviously, this arrest was not over mere semantics, but was designed as a warning to key members of the team that nobody was immune from the force of SS control.

The madness of war became complete. German atrocities at home and in occupied territories mushroomed. This was followed by the growing insensitivity to human suffering on the part of the Allies. In July 1943, the mostly civilian city of Hamburg was fire-bombed, and in one night 45,000 Germans died — most of them old people, women and children. ^[21] Other cities such as Cologne and Dresden were to suffer the same fate. Hostility had escalated into mutual barbarity. With these developments, the world's first generation of space vehicles changed their name from A-weapons, which innocuously meant assembly, to V-weapons, in which the V meant, ominously “vengeance” (Vergeltung).

By comparison, the scene surrounding the isolated mesa that was home to the Los Alamos laboratory appeared almost serene. Here, desperation was nowhere apparent on the landscape, but, rather, was hidden in the emotions and fears of the men who labored frantically against a possibility that proved eventually to be a phantasm. These scientist worked with a fair certainty that Japan would not be able to develop the atomic bomb, but there was much less certainty about what the German potential might be. In their minds, the real enemy was Germany. Japan was a force to be dealt with after the demise of Hitler was assured. Emotional responses to the Third Reich were unusually intense because of the personal associations that many at Los Alamos had with the Third Reich. Several, including Oppenheimer, had relatives who were suffering and dying under Nazi persecution. Whether they shared personal experience or not — Jewish, non-Jewish, American-born and foreign-born — all at Los Alamos were melded together into a coordinated and determined force to produce the agent of mass destruction that they knew was possible.

Motivations had been internalized. These men did not work under the threat of midnight arrest. There was no possibility of being assigned to forced-labor parties. They worked voluntarily for a cause they considered essential. This, too, made the task at Los Alamos easier. There were reservations expressed and even some resignations, but the team as a whole had an esprit de corps that was remarkable.

Interestingly, from a behavioral science point of view, the positive esprit de corps at Los Alamos had its counterpart in a sort of “negative” esprit de corps at Peenemünde and Mittelwerk. Dr. Paul Figge, who was a major figure in A-4 production, described it thus: ^[22]

The bombings hardly affected progress on the A-4 program, because our enthusiasm still remained high to accomplish the goal. So actually, the more difficult the conditions became, the

more the enthusiasm grew to finish what we had begun. “Enjoy the war — the peace will be terrible” was the motto.

Caught up as they were in the enthusiasm for their task, members of the Los Alamos team, as well as their Peenemünde counterparts, were to come to accept and take pleasure in the pernicious products of their science and technology. No member of the Los Alamos team, during the course of his work, ever had to witness a summary execution. No member ever lost one of his immediate family or a close colleague to enemy bombing. No member of the Los Alamos team ever had to look into the wretchedly pitiful face of a slave laborer dying in the process of being forced to serve a cause he detested. Yet the war culture prevailed. Its all-consuming power instilled into the Los Alamos team a growing callousness that effectively precluded deep moral and ethical reflection on the ultimate consequences of their deeds.

Donald A. Strickland, in his study of the atomic scientists' political movement of 1945 and 1946, notes that at Los Alamos there was “no political arousal before the end of the war, save for a few private conversations.” He calls this an “arresting” fact, considering that the politically active Niels Bohr, Enrico Fermi, Eugene Wigner and Leo Szilard were frequent visitors to this remote site. [23] The drive to achieve the task was too intense for reflection. It was after the grisly weapon was a *fait accompli* that the ponderous questions of morality were asked.

Fermi moved to Los Alamos in September 1944. Although he was technically an enemy alien until his American citizenship was granted in 1945, he was allowed to become a lab director. Bohr, on the other hand, had incurred the severe displeasure of Winston Churchill over his insistence that the Soviets be informed as to the existence of the weapon and invited to collaborate in a scheme of international control. Bohr had further made unauthorized disclosures about the project to Chief Justice Felix Frankfurter. It has been reported that, for this, Churchill was on the edge of ordering Bohr's arrest. [24] Roosevelt adopted Churchill's position and became extremely cool toward Bohr. Despite these political difficulties, Bohr was allowed a major consultancy role at Los Alamos. These two cases seem to demonstrate that the practical matter of building the bomb was placed above political questions about those who were building it. It is not likely that the same lenience would have been extended to the key technical personnel on the Peenemünde team.

While most at Los Alamos simply lost themselves in the task at hand, there were more glaring examples of growing insensitivity to humanitarian considerations. From the time Edward Teller arrived, he set his sights not on the mission at hand, but the even greater destructive potential of the hydrogen bomb, or the “super,” as he almost affectionately called it. Teller eventually refused to work under Hans Bethe on further calculations concerning mere fission weapons, and was given his own small group at the laboratory for investigation of the, development of a thermonuclear weapon. [25]

In addition to this minority thrust toward overkill, there was a disquieting theoretical possibility that the ignition of the fission weapon might just produce enough heat to cause a reaction between deuterium and nitrogen, and thereby set fire to the world's atmosphere. On hearing this, Oppenheimer immediately set Hans Bethe to work checking Teller's initial calculations. Was this, the ultimate catastrophe, really possible? For the first but not the last time in history, human beings had to make a decision as to whether a task at hand was worth the risk — albeit infinitesimal — of ending our collective existence. The logic we used then may give us a hint of the logic we shall have to use again.

According to Teller, the matter was firmly laid to rest in 1942, when some of his initial calculations were found to be in error. As Peter Goodchild notes in his classic study of Oppenheimer, several scientists were, over the next three years, to make the same calculations as Teller; and because Teller's initial calculations had been kept secret, they too came to Oppenheimer with great alarm. [26] Calculations were checked and rechecked right up to 1945, shortly before the first test detonation at the Trinity site. Rumors of the potential total human catastrophe had become so widespread among all levels of personnel at Los Alamos that the authorities drew up contingency plans for psychiatrists at the Oak Ridge facility to be flown to Los Alamos should panic ensue. Arthur H. Compton has said that his group calculated a three-in-a-million chance of destroying the world, and that was an acceptable risk. Edward Teller, on the other hand, insists that they were able to dismiss the possibility entirely. At that time such statements of high confidence seemed most reassuring. [27] Looking back from the perspective of a generation that has heard similar confident risk assessments before events such as Three Mile Island, Chernobyl and the space shuttle Challenger, those expressions of high confidence sound more hollow.

A final observation on the darker face of Los Alamos is now in order. The prevailing pathos of the general culture had affected all who labored there, but perhaps the extent to which it had changed basic human values is best illustrated by J. Robert Oppenheimer himself. Based on information recently obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, Joseph Rotblat, a physicist who assisted in bomb design, and one of the few who left prior to project completion, relates the following story. In a letter dated May 25, 1943, from Oppenheimer to Enrico Fermi, the issue of using radioactive materials to poison German food supplies was raised. Oppenheimer was asking Fermi whether he could produce enough strontium without letting too many in on the secret. Oppenheimer continued, "I think we should not attempt a plan unless we can poison food sufficient to kill a half a million men." Rotblat offers the following observation, "I am sure that in peacetime these same scientists would have viewed such a plan as barbaric; they would not have contemplated it even for a moment. Yet, during the war, it was considered quite seriously, and I presume, abandoned only because it was technically unfeasible." [28]

Richard Rhodes comments on the same incident as follows, "There is no better evidence anywhere in the record of the increasing bloody-mindedness of the Second World War than that Robert Oppenheimer, a man who professed at various times in his life to be dedicated to Ahimsa (the Sanskrit word that means doing no harm or hurt ...) could write with enthusiasm of preparations for the mass poisoning of as many as five hundred thousand human beings." [29]

After The War

Their accomplishment in the Second World War made the members of the Los Alamos and Peenemünde teams into legends. Their actions and statements after the war shaped and moulded the public perceptions of these legends, yet the environments that the two groups faced after the war were radically different. It is those differences that have done much to shape our postwar evaluations of them. Members of the teams at Peenemünde and Mittelwerk fled their posts as the Allied forces closed their grip around Germany in early 1945. They arranged a rendezvous at a small Austrian village named Reutte. There they surrendered to the American forces, and their journey to the United States began. The code name Project Paperclip was given to this movement. Some 118 individuals comprised the first group of Peenemünde personnel coming to the USA. Later, several hundred additional individuals, including family and colleagues, joined them. One member of the core group, Helmut Grottrup, decided to remain in what was to become East Germany and work with the Soviet missile program. A small cadre of other German rocket personnel joined him and were later transferred to the Soviet Union.

From the time von Braun and his group surrendered until some years after their arrival at Fort Bliss, Texas, they remained, as Ordway and Sharpe put it, “prisoners of peace.”^[30] They were allowed substantial freedom of movement and association, but they were subject to governmental restrictions and objects of continued surveillance by the FBI and other government agencies. Although acceptance by the American public was generally polite, some degree of suspicion and hostility was occasionally apparent. In contrast, the key figures at Los Alamos, their mission completed for the most part, sought to leave weapons work and return to academic environments. They did so with an enhanced prestige that made them instant scientific celebrities wherever they went. They existed in an atmosphere of honor and respect, and they were encouraged to express their views freely on what they had done and what it might mean for our future.

There was pressure on the atomic scientists to help us think about the new issues we faced in the nuclear age. Their academic settings made this possible. Their organization into politically active groups and their launch of the influential *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* were reflections of this type of environment. But for those who had come from Peenemünde, conditions were very different. Between 1945 and 1950, there was little public discussion of their role or their activities. They worked for the US army on the remote missile test ranges of Texas and New Mexico and their actions were shrouded in secrecy. Occasional announcements of V-2 launching were made, but very little was said about the German team that assisted. The United States government was still too uncertain about the possible public reaction to play up the presence of these men from Peenemünde.

It was not until the early 1950s that the public began to learn of the activities of these men. Shifting as they did from the sparsely populated regions of Texas and New Mexico to the more populated regions surrounding Huntsville, Alabama, they came increasingly to public attention. The focus of publicity was on Dr. Wernher von Braun. His charismatic manner and his ability to capture public attention were immediately apparent. He began to publish books such as *Across the Space Frontier*, *Man on the Moon*, and *Mars Project* in the early 1950s. As these works came to public attention, the Cold War intensified. With the advent of the Soviet launch of Sputnik, in October 1957, attention focused on the Germans at Huntsville. The USA increasingly began to look to them to save its international prestige by answering the Soviet challenge with its own successful orbital vehicle. After dismal failures by the Navy in its Vanguard program, von Braun’s team at Huntsville was given the task and, on January 31, 1958, the Redstone rocket lifted the USA’s first satellite, Explorer I, into orbit. The space age for the United States had now really begun, and Dr. Wernher von Braun was its leader.

The passions of the late 1950s and 1960s were assertive and not reflective. This was mirrored in von Braun’s writings, which became commonplace in the scientific and popular press. These dealt almost entirely with the prospects of new hardware in space and new missions for space vehicles. The more sensitive subject of science and its relation to political and foreign policy issues was almost never discussed. By contrast, the atomic scientists made such issues their central focus.

Suspensions concerning the historical role of the Peenemünde team were occasionally expressed in public dialogue in the late 1960s and 1970s, but they were seldom answered by the team itself. Their continued affiliation with the Army, and later NASA, dampened any thoughts of embroiling themselves in controversial questions. After the successful Apollo Lunar Program there was a feeling among several of von Braun’s close associates that he was a victim of lingering prejudice against Germans by not being considered for the top job at NASA. His resignation from NASA in 1972 was rumored to be a result of such prejudices but, in traditional low-key style, he and his colleagues shied away from discussion of such allegations. When we sought clarification on this

point for our project, Stuhlinger, Reisig and von Tiesenhausen all confirmed that they felt prejudice was a factor. But all agreed that it was more than just prejudice. As Stuhlinger pointed out, [31]

At the time when the first American satellite was planned, 1955-57, there were people who thought that an American satellite should be built by native Americans, not naturalized immigrants — who even had been enemies less than ten years earlier. That attitude was probably the real reason why the Navy-supported Vanguard, and not the Army-supported Explorer, was America's satellite project for the 1957-1958 International Geophysical Year. However, in my talks with large numbers of people who knew von Braun, it is clear that the true reason was neither von Braun's background as a builder of rockets for the German Army, nor a lingering prejudice against Germans in general, but "very simple human jealousy." Von Braun's popularity was extraordinary, not only with the public and the news media, but also, with Congress. For some within the high ranks of NASA, this was just too much to bear.

Reisig noted that "We found out that Americans like success but not too much success." [32]

In a strange historical irony, the leaders of these two great scientific and technical teams met their final demise in much the same way. Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's career with government came to an end with a denial of his security clearance because of past political associations. However, professional jealousy was also a key part of this decision. In the Oppenheimer case, the principal source of opposition has been identified as Edward Teller, who, in the words of Peter Goodchild, saw Oppenheimer as "a man of rival power and opposite persuasion." [33] Likewise, von Braun's fate was sealed by the same combination of past political associations and professional rivalry. Oppenheimer received strong expressions of support from his colleagues and stirred much public debate. With von Braun, there was a minimum of public discussion. Right up until 1984, when the US Department of Justice completed its investigation of Dr. Arthur Rudolph and he chose to leave the country rather than face trial, the Peenemünde team avoided public controversy.

The news of the Rudolph affair shook the German group. Virtually all had now retired and were free to express themselves on events in Germany. Some did, but most felt that their best interest could be served by remaining silent. Indeed, many long decades of silence about the political winds that had constantly buffeted them throughout their careers had crippled their capacity for public expression about these issues. It was as if by spending a lifetime in difficult circumstances where silence was the seeming solution, when public expression was demanded they had no capacity for it. At this point, they as a group, their ranks now thinned by death and debility, stood wounded and demoralized. Their great goal of leading the moon race, though accomplished, had been followed not by respect but by what they perceived as a sense of public rejection.

Los Alamos and Peenemünde: A Reflection

Now, nearly 50 [sic] years after the last great war, emotions have not yet cooled enough to look dispassionately upon events of that epoch. The exile of Dr. Rudolph and some lingering pressures to investigate other members of the Peenemünde group attest to this fact. It is not the purpose of this article to attempt to assess guilt or innocence of any individual, or to try to place a moral judgment on either team. It is to place them side by side and note the points of similarity and the points of contrast. In so doing, I have sought to show that both were the product of the peculiar and seemingly pathological forces of their time. Nearly 13,000 individuals died as a result of the machines built by the men of Peenemünde. This death toll was dwarfed by the 340,000 individuals who ultimately died as a result of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the context of those times, such numbers became mere abstractions in a cultural ambience that had come to ac-

cept the atrocity of mass annihilation. Today, perhaps, we can look at these figures with some sense of perspective. [34]

We may conclude from this contrasting viewpoint of these two great technological teams that human evaluations are not based on absolute deeds, but upon the relationship of those deeds to a larger cultural and historical context. The Los Alamos team stands as an honored and esteemed group to which individuals still proudly claim affiliation. The Peenemünde team, to this day, prefers a low profile and elicits a curious public response. As the remaining members of both teams now live out their final days, they must examine their own consciences, ponder their own products and judge their own role in history. Their experience has taught those of us who would pass judgment that technology in service to war and its weapons brings, to those who prepare such weapons, honor or disgrace based not upon the lethal impact of their work but upon the moral judgments that are defined by the victors and endured by the vanquished.

Notes and References

1. [↗](#) Editorial, The Huntsville (Ala.) Times, January 27, 1989.
2. [↗](#) The videotaped interviews are available through the library of the University of Alabama in Huntsville or the library of the United States Space and Rocket Center, Huntsville. The author would like to thank the following individuals for their willingness to participate in this project: Konrad K. Dannenberg, Jim Fagan, Rudolph Hermann, Otto Hirschler, Dieter K. Huzel, Fritz K Müller, Willibald Prasthofer, Eberhard Rees, Wernher K. Rosinski, Gerhard Reisig, Ernst Stuhlinger, Georg von Tiesenhausen and Helmut Zoiike. This is a revised and expanded edition of a paper presented at the 38th Annual Congress of the International Astronautical Federation, Brighton, United Kingdom, October 1987.
3. [↗](#) The nature and history of the early German rocket societies has been detailed in Frank H. Winter, *Prelude to the Space Age: The Rocket Societies, 1924-1940* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983).
4. [↗](#) For a more detailed account of this historical matter, see Frederick Ordway, and Mitchell R. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1979), pp. 16-20.
5. [↗](#) As stated by Dr. Georg von Tiesenhausen in personal correspondence to the author, February 1989.
6. [↗](#) As stated by Dr. Gerhard Reisig in interview, February 1989.
7. [↗](#) These figure are reported. Alan D. Beyerchen, *Scientists Under Hitler: Politics and the Physics Community in the Third Reich* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 200.
8. [↗](#) As stated by Dr. Ernst Stuhlinger in personal correspondence to the author clarifying points in the video interview, February 1989.
9. [↗](#) Ernst Stuhlinger, source cited above (note 8).
10. [↗](#) A. Beyerchen, *Scientists Under Hitler*, cited above (note 7), p. 201.
11. [↗](#) Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1986), p. 113.
12. [↗](#) A. Beyerchen, *Scientists Under Hitler*, cited above, chaps. 5 and 6.
13. [↗](#) Philipp Lenard, *Deutsche Physik*, 4 vols. (Munich; J.F. Lehmanns, 1936).
14. [↗](#) E. Stuhlinger, source cited above (note 8).
15. [↗](#) G. Reisig, source cited above (note 6).
16. [↗](#) G. von Tisenhausen, source cited above (note 5).
17. [↗](#) F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above (note 4), p. 242.

18. ☞ F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above, pp. 121-124.
 19. ☞ As stated by Helmut Zoike in the video interviews: “Our Future in Space: Messages from the Beginning” (Library, University of Alabama in Huntsville and the archives of the United States Space and Rocket Center).
 20. ☞ This refers to General Dornberger’s talk on the evening of October 3, 1942, the date of the first successful A-4 launch, in which he stated that “We have invaded space with our rocket for the first time.” See F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above, p. 42.
 21. ☞ R. Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*, cited above (note 11), p. 474.
 22. ☞ F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above, p. 69.
 23. ☞ Donald A. Strickland, *Scientists in Politics: The Atomic Scientists Movement, 1945-46* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 34-35.
 24. ☞ Isaac Asimov, *Isaac Asimov’s Biographical Encyclopedia of Science & Technology* (New York: Equinox Books, 1972), p. 902.
 25. ☞ Peter Goodchild, *J. Robert Oppenheimer: Shatterer of Worlds* (New York: Fromm International, 1985), p. 105.
 26. ☞ P. Goodchild, *J. Robert Oppenheimer*, cited above (note 25), pp. 63-4.
 27. ☞ P. Goodchild, *J. Robert Oppenheimer*, cited above, p. 63.
 28. ☞ Joseph Rotblat, “Learning the Bomb Project,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 47, N. 7, 1985, p. 18.
 29. ☞ R. Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb*, cited above, p. 57.
 30. ☞ F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above, p. 362.
 31. ☞ E. Stuhlinger, source cited above (note 8).
 32. ☞ G. Reisig, source cited above (note 6).
 33. ☞ P. Goodchild, *J. Robert Oppenheimer*, cited above, p. 252, indicates the rivalry between Oppenheimer and Teller.
 34. ☞ These figures were obtained from F. Ordway and M. Sharpe, *The Rocket Team*, cited above, pp. 734, 740. Various studies produce different numbers, but these seem to be approaching the norm of estimates.
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The Great Challenge Facing the West

Today more or less everywhere — in the Far East, India, South America, South Africa — industrial regions are in being, or coming into being, which, owing to their low scales of wages, confront us with a deadly competition. The unassailable privileges of the white nations have been thrown away, squandered, betrayed. The others have caught up with their instructors. Possibly — with the cunning of the colored races and the over-ripe intelligence of their ancient civilizations — they have surpassed them.

Where there is coal, petroleum or water-power, there a new weapon can be forged against the heart of Faustian [Western] civilization. The exploited world is beginning to take its revenge on its masters. The countless hands of the colored races — at least as clever, and far less demanding — will shatter the economic organization of the whites at its foundation. The accustomed luxury of the white worker, in contrast to that of the coolie, will be his doom. The labor of the white is itself becoming superfluous. The huge masses of men centered in the Northern coal areas, the great industrial works, the capital invested in them, whole cities and districts, threaten to succumb to the competition. The center of gravity of production is steadily shifting away from them, especially given that even the colored races' respect for the whites came to an end with the [First] World War. This is the real and final basis of the unemployment that prevails in the white countries. It is no mere crisis, but the beginning of a catastrophe ...

Faced as we are with this destiny, there is only one world-outlook that is worthy of us, that which has already been mentioned as the Choice of Achilles — better a short life, full of deeds and glory, than a long life without content. Already the danger is so great, for every individual, every class, every nation, that to cherish any illusion whatever is deplorable. The march of time cannot be halted; there is no question of prudent retreat or clever renunciation. Only dreamers believe there is a way out. Optimism is cowardice.

We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the lost position, without hope, without rescue, like that Roman soldier whose bones were found in front of a door in Pompeii, who died at his post during the eruption of Vesuvius because someone forgot to relieve him. That is greatness. That is what it means to be a thoroughbred. The honorable end is the one that can not be taken from a man.

— Oswald Spengler, *Der Mensch und die Technik* (Munich: C.H. Beck: 1931), pages 86-89.

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Before the 'Human Rights Tribunal'

The Importance of the Zündel Hearing in Toronto

Mark Weber

Now into its fifth year, a little-known legal dispute in Canada with important international implications for Internet freedom of speech, is quietly being fought out before the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal in downtown Toronto.

Responding to Jewish complaints, the Canadian Human Rights Commission charges that Ernst Zündel, the controversial German-born Holocaust revisionist publisher and civil rights activist, has been promoting “hatred or contempt” against Jews through the American-based and -operated “Zündelsite” Internet web site. Lined up against him before the Tribunal are lawyers representing Canada’s major Jewish organizations, including the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association, and the League for Human Rights of B'nai B'rith (counterpart of the Anti-Defamation League in the US), along with Sabrina Citron (a Jewish community figure who has pursued Zündel in courts for some 20 years), the Toronto Mayor’s Committee on Community and Race Relations, and the Canadian Human Rights Commission.

Zündel is charged with violating Section 13(1) of the Canadian Human Rights Act, which reads:

It is a discriminatory practice for a person or a group of persons acting in concert to communicate telephonically or to cause to be so communicated, repeatedly, in whole or in part by means of the facilities of a telecommunication undertaking within the legislative authority of [Canada's] Parliament, any matter that is likely to expose a person or persons to hatred or contempt by reason of the fact that that person or those persons are identifiable on the basis of a prohibited ground for discrimination [that is, by race, ethnicity, religion, and so forth].

This code section, drafted before the Internet was in wide use, was originally meant to prohibit telephone answering machine “hate messages” that callers might access. Given that all of the allegedly offensive Zündelsite Internet postings are written communications, it is a stretch to call them “telephonic.” In spite of its name, the web site is run by Ingrid Rimland, not Ernst Zündel. Moreover, it has always been based in the United States, and therefore only very dubiously comes “within the legislative authority of [Canada's] Parliament.”

Probably the slipperiest term in this “Hate Messages” code section is “likely,” because determining what is “likely” to expose someone to “hatred or contempt” is unavoidably subjective.

Zündel is probably best known as the defiantly outspoken defendant in two high-profile “Holocaust trials.” For having published an edition of an early revisionist booklet, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, he was charged and brought to trial, defending himself tenaciously in two costly and drawn-out Toronto courtroom battles, 1985 and 1988. In August 1992 Canada’s Supreme Court overturned his conviction, declaring the archaic “false news” law under which he had been prosecuted to be unconstitutional. This was therefore not only a vindication for Zündel, but a victory for the rights of all Canadians.

Zündel’s main attorney in the current “human rights” case has been Doug Christie, who also ably represented him in the 1985 and 1988 trials. Working closely with Zündel and Christie has been Barbara Kulaszka, an attorney who was part of the defense team in the 1988 trial, and is the editor/compiler of a valuable 562-page documentary work on that case.

Also on the Zündel side in this case is Paul Fromm, director of the Canadian Association for Free Expression (CAFE), which has been involved as an “intervenor” throughout the Tribunal proceedings. He regards this case an important battle for free speech.

Despite its name, the Human Rights Tribunal is not a court. The two persons who preside over the proceedings of this quasi-judicial body, Claude Pensa and Reva Devins, are “Commissioners,” not judges, who are appointed by the same federal Human Rights Commission that brought the charge against Zündel. (One of the original Commissioners resigned months ago, reportedly because the proceedings had dragged on so long.) If they find Zündel guilty, they have authority to issue a “cease and desist” order, which would then be registered and enforceable through a Canadian federal court.

This case has been expensive. In addition to the fees for the attorneys of the various Jewish “intervenor” groups in the case, as of late May 1999 the Canadian Human Rights Commission had spent \$420,561 of Canadian taxpayers money going after Ernst Zündel. For their role services as Commissioners, Pensa and Devins receive more than \$500 per day, plus travel and expenses.

Truth is No Defense

Amazingly, “truth is no defense” in this bizarre proceeding. Neither the truthfulness (factuality) of a “complained of” writing, nor the motive of the writer, may be considered in determining if it is “likely” to expose persons to “hatred or contempt.” As Chairman Pensa bluntly put it:

“It is the finding of this Tribunal that truth is not an issue before us. Parliament has spoken. The use of telephone messages for purposes prohibited by section 13 of the Act cannot be justified by asserting that such messages are truthful. The sole issue is whether such communications are likely to expose a person or persons to hatred or contempt.” Observes CAFE director Fromm: “This mad hatter’s tea party has decided that ‘truth is no defense,’ that truth doesn’t matter. It’s only the feelings of the aggrieved minority that determines whether a statement is ‘likely’ to expose them to hatred or contempt’.”

Many of the three dozen “complained of” Zündelsite documents specifically cited by Canadian authorities were not written by Zündel. Several are from the Institute for Historical Review, including Fred Leuchter’s essay, “Inside the Auschwitz Gas Chambers,” based on his address at the 1989 IHR Conference, Theodore O’Keefe’s essay on “The Liberation of the Camps,” and two essays by me, “Jewish Soap,” from the Summer 1991 IHR Journal, and one that has been published for years by the IHR as a leaflet entitled “The Holocaust: Let’s Hear Both Sides.”

What Jewish groups were unable to achieve through the regular courts in the 1980s, they are now trying to achieve through this quasi-judicial body. They seek to ban writings posted on the Internet that, when published in Canada in printed form, are perfectly legal. Probably the most striking example of this is the booklet *Did Six Million Really Die?*, which Jewish groups and Canadian authorities were unable to criminalize in their costly and drawn-out 1980s legal battle against Zündel. Now this same booklet is the first of the “complained of” documents in this Human Rights Commission action.

With the passage of time, it is ever more difficult, even absurd, to argue that the “complained of” paragraphs from the vast Zündelsite are somehow socially dangerous. During the past two years, Zündel’s “case” has become stronger, given that several books and numerous articles and reviews have appeared during this period, both in Canada and in periodicals and web sites around the world, that parallel the supposedly hate-promoting Zündelsite documents cited by the Human Rights Commission. In that sense, Ernst Zündel’s “sin” is that he is a man ahead of his time.

Probably the most important of these recent writings is *The Holocaust Industry*, a fervent and much-discussed new book by Jewish scholar Norman Finkelstein, a professor at Hunter College in New York City and the son of parents who survived wartime internment in the Warsaw ghetto and German concentration camps. *The Holocaust Industry* (available from the IHR for \$23, plus shipping) was accepted as an defense exhibit in the proceedings, and discussed in detail as part of my testimony.

Restrictions on Testimony

As an witness on Zündel’s behalf, I experienced first-hand some of the absurdity and hypocrisy of Canada-style “human rights.”

I first came before the Tribunal in December 1998, when I was closely questioned to determine if I would be accepted as a witness. After several days of interrogation and argument by the attorneys, Commissioners Pensa and Devins accepted me as an expert witness “in Holocaust revisionism as he [Weber] and others have defined that field,” but permitting me to testify “only for the very limited purpose of establishing the context in which the Holocaust revisionist community operates.”

I returned to Toronto in early October, nearly two years later, to testify. At the outset of my three days on the stand — October 4-6, 2000 — the two Tribunal Commissioners and the anti-Zündel attorneys made clear that I would be severely, even absurdly, restricted in the scope of my testimony. In his interrogation of me, Doug Christie was obliged to phrase his questions in terms of how a given writing or event was regarded by, or “resonated” within, “the revisionist community.” By carefully phrasing his questions to conform to the Tribunal’s cumbersome restrictions, he was able to put “on the record” much of what he had intended.

On the first day of my testimony, Christie asked me about Zündel’s place in Holocaust revisionism: “What part, to your knowledge of the revisionist field, has Zündel played in revisionism, specifically Holocaust revisionism?”

“Ernst Zündel,” I responded, “is not a Holocaust scholar; he is not a historian. He doesn’t claim to be a historian. He calls himself an impresario. He is a facilitator...” Before I could finish my answer, John Rosen, attorney for the Simon Wiesenthal Center, excitedly jumped to his feet to loudly protest that my answer was “beyond the bounds” of my expertise, and that I am “not entitled to give this evidence. This is an apology for Ernst Zündel.”

Commissioner Pensa, apparently accepting Rosen's absurd objection, said to me: "You are not entitled to go into an apologia of Mr. Zündel." I replied by telling Pensa that what I had said is "not an apologia," and went on to explain:

We [revisionists] regard him [Zündel] as a facilitator, a publicist if you will or, to use his word, an impresario. That is not an apology for Ernst Zündel. It is simply a statement of fact of the role that he plays in the [revisionist] community, about which I am quite familiar ... He is not a scholar. He doesn't play the same role in the revisionist community or movement, or whatever you care to call it, that a Robert Faurisson does, or that I do, or that many others do. His motives are different. His goals are different ...

A good part of my testimony was devoted to trying to show that numerous statements in Finkelstein's book, as well as in other widely available periodicals and Internet postings, closely parallel — often in even more strident language — the supposedly "hateful" remarks in the "complained of" Zündelsite documents.

Mark Freiman, attorney for the Human Rights Commission, objected to our efforts to establish this parallel, repeatedly pointing out that the Tribunal had not qualified me as a historian or expert in text and document analysis. (This in spite of the fact that in March 1988 I had testified for five days in Toronto District Court as an expert witness on the "Final Solution" and the Holocaust issue in the second Zündel "Holocaust Trial." [See "My Role in the Zündel Trial," Winter 1989-90 *Journal*.])

For example, when Christie asked me to compare a passage in *The Holocaust Industry*, with a passage in the revisionist booklet *Did Six Million Really Die?* (one of the "complained of" documents), Freiman objected: "This witness cannot opine as to the similarity between one text and another text ... This witness is not qualified to perform a comparative analysis of texts."

On another occasion Christie asked me "Is Finkelstein the only contemporary source which has repeated the Holocaust revisionist themes?," a question that should have been permissible even within the constraints imposed by the Tribunal, Freiman protested: "I object for the same reason as yesterday, that it calls on the expertise of a historian." On other occasions Freiman similarly objected that I am "not an expert in comparative text or historical analysis," and that I am "not competent to analyze texts, to compare them with other texts, or to comment on history."

Finkelstein's 'Holocaust Industry'

In going through *The Holocaust Industry*, Christie and I highlighted Finkelstein's indictment of the way that organized Jewry has fostered a deceitful and self-serving perception of history. As I repeatedly pointed out, Finkelstein's views echo points that revisionist writers and scholars have made many times over the years. He writes, for example, that given the "nonsense churned out daily by the Holocaust industry, the wonder is that there are so few skeptics..." He also writes:

- "The challenge today is to restore the Nazi holocaust as a rational subject of inquiry."
- "Articulating the key Holocaust dogmas, much of the literature on Hitler's Final Solution is worthless as scholarship. Indeed, the field of Holocaust studies is replete with nonsense, if not sheer fraud."
- "Because ["Holocaust"] survivors are now revered as secular saints, one doesn't dare question them. Preposterous statements pass without comment."

- Israel “invents stories about the Holocaust” in order to “receive more money from Germany and other Western establishments.”
- "In recent years, the Holocaust industry has become an outright extortion racket.” Finkelstein also refers to “this double shakedown of European countries as well as legitimate Jewish claimants,” and to “the Holocaust restitution racket ...”

“The Holocaust,” he concludes, “may yet turn out to be the 'greatest robbery in the history of mankind'.”

Commenting on one of these passages, I stated:

It is a startling thing for revisionists that Finkelstein explicitly says what revisionists have emphasized over the years: that Israel and, by extension, others in the organized Jewish community, invent stories about the Holocaust in order to receive more money from Germany and other western establishments. This is a point that has been made repeatedly by revisionists over the years. It is startling for revisionists to see a Norman Finkelstein, a professor at Hunter College, affirming that same view as, in fact, he does in this passage.

Another passage from Finkelstein’s book that Christie cited was this: “... The Holocaust industry orchestrated a shameless campaign of vilification. With an infinitely compliant and credulous press ready to give banner headlines to any Holocaust-related story, however preposterous, the smear campaign [against Switzerland] proved unstoppable.”

Commenting on this, I told the Tribunal:

The revisionist community has emphasized the incredibly shameless nature of this campaign, and how compliant and credulous the media is in giving banner headlines and credence to claims that later turn out to be completely wrong, completely untrue, not only with regard to the Holocaust campaign but, of course, with regard to all sorts of specific stories about the Second World War and Jewish suffering which also turn out to be untrue, however preposterous, as Finkelstein says. There are numerous examples of that, that I and other revisionists have made over the years, some of which I think appear in the complained of documents [cited by the Commission]. This smear campaign, as Finkelstein says and the revisionist community would agree, has proved unstoppable. The revisionist community has made the point over the years that the willingness of the United States of America and other countries to put up with one amazing humiliation after another carried out by the World Jewish Congress and other Jewish organizations seems boundless.

What Causes Anti-Semitism?

Getting into the emotion-laden question of what causes anti-Jewish sentiment, Christie quoted a passage from Finkelstein’s book:

The shakedown of Switzerland and Germany has been only a prelude to the grand finale: the shakedown of Eastern Europe. With the collapse of the Soviet bloc, alluring prospects opened up in the former heartland of European Jewry. Cloaking itself in the sanctimonious mantle of 'needy Holocaust victims,' the Holocaust industry has sought to extort billions of dollars from these already impoverished countries. Pursu-

ing this end with reckless and ruthless abandon, it has become the main fomenter of anti-Semitism in Europe.

Christie then asked: “Is that in any way related to or echoed in the field of Holocaust revisionist opinion?” Mindful of the constraints imposed by the Tribunal, I replied:

Holocaust revisionists have very often stressed a similar sentiment, and that is that this extortion, this campaign against Switzerland and Germany, is but one chapter in a campaign that targets many other countries, and there seems to be no end to it. In fact, I think [that] since this book was published, revisionists have been struck that now the first faint signs of a campaign directed against United States institutions also now seems to be in the works.

One of the most striking passages here for revisionists is the final one that you quoted: “Pursuing this end with reckless and ruthless abandon, it has become the main fomenter of anti-Semitism in Europe.” This is particularly striking because revisionists have over and over made a statement[s] consistent with this, which is completely at variance with what the Holocaust industry or what Holocaust organizations insist, and that is that anti-Semitism has no relationship whatsoever to what Jews do.

We are told over and over — in our universities, and [in] magazines and newspapers, and by organizations like the Anti-Defamation League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — that anti-Jewish sentiment is a pathological, inexplicable manifestation of tortured, diseased personalities, and has no relationship to what Jews do. Finkelstein says here that hostility or sentiment against Jews is fomented by actions that Jewish organizations carry out. This gets, I think, really at the core of a lot of what this whole Hearing is about, from the point of view of the revisionist community, and that is: What is the origin of anti-Jewish sentiment in not only this society in North America, but also in any society throughout history?

Revisionists have, over a long period of time and in numerous articles, that have been published in *The Journal of Historical Review* and elsewhere, stressed that there is a relationship between anti-Jewish sentiment and what Jews, particularly organized Jewry, do. Revisionists have also strongly stressed that any number of Jewish leaders have on occasion made this same point ...

A short time later I added:

Revisionists have also stressed on a number of occasions that these campaigns by the World Jewish Congress, by Israel, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, and so forth have had the impact, the effect, of increasing anti-Jewish sentiment in Austria, in Switzerland and in other countries. For example, *The Journal of Historical Review* has talked about the increase in anti-Jewish sentiment in Austria after the World Jewish Congress, in a very public way, went after Austria’s President, and insisted or demanded that Austrians not elect Kurt Waldheim, so much so that the World Jewish Congress President, Edgar Bronfman, in a [1986] speech in [Montreal] Canada referred to Austrians as “dirty, anti-Semitic dogs.” Statements like that, revisionists have pointed out, have the effect of increasing hostility toward Jews in Austria and other countries.

Revisionism and Anti-Semitism

On the relevance of Holocaust revisionism for relations between Jews and non-Jews, I testified that revisionists have repeatedly emphasized

that historical truth and historical understanding are essential for any kind of tolerant relationship between Jews and every other nationality in our world and that, far from promoting anti-Semitism, Holocaust revisionism should ultimately have the effect of diminishing it; that the alternative is to permit a one-sided, exploitive version of history to take hold in society, and [that] ultimately will have the effect, as Finkelstein suggests in this passage, of increasing hostility toward Jews ...

This is a point that revisionists have also made many times, that this entire Holocaust campaign has the danger certainly, if not the actual import, of harming the interests of “little Jews,” or most Jews, or the majority of Jews, and that it benefits only those [Jews] in power and position.

Crossing Swords with Rosen

A high point of my testimony was the cross-examination on Friday, the 6th, by Wiesenthal Center attorney John Rosen, who was every bit as belligerent and arrogant toward me as he had been in December 1998 when I was being qualified as a witness. He repeatedly interrupted my answers to his own questions, rudely demanding that I respond with a one-word “Yes” or “No” answer. At one point he even interrupted me as I was speaking to Tribunal Chairman Pensa. (On at least one occasion Rosen put a question to me in a form that, in keeping with the Tribunal’s restrictions, was not permitted to Doug Christie.)

Rosen sought to keep me from testifying as the Tribunal had directed, and as I had sworn to do, giving “the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.” His outrageous behavior was not merely an insult to me, but to the Tribunal Commissioners who had qualified me as an expert witness to assist them in their deliberations. Nevertheless, Pensa and Devins repeatedly indulged Rosen’s rude and insulting behavior, thereby manifesting what seems to be an underlying bias in favor of the anti-Zündel side.

One exchange in particular pointed up Rosen’s arrogance, and the Commissioners’ indulgence of his bigotry.

Rosen: “You say, as a revisionist, that there was no Final Solution?”

Weber: “No, I don’t say that ...”

Rosen: “Was there a Final Solution?”

Weber: “Excuse me, Mr. Rosen. If I could not be interrupted again ...”

Rosen: “The answer just called for a ‘yes’ or a ‘no,’ sir, not a speech, but go ahead.”

Weber: “Mr. Pensa...?”

Rosen: “Mr. Pensa, I asked a question that called for a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer.”

Weber: “I would just like it if he would not interrupt me.”

Chairperson Pensa: “Do you understand the question?”

Weber: “Yes, and I would like to give my answer, and I don’t like to be interrupted.”

Pensa: “You should answer the question as responsively and as succinctly as possible.”

Weber: “Yes, and I would like it if he would not interrupt me.

In fact, Mr. Rosen [I went on], to the contrary, there was a German policy called 'the Final Solution.' I have written extensively about it, [including] in the very document [No. 31] that is in the 'complained of' documents. There is an essay by me which tries to explain the Final Solution policy. It refers to an official German document from the Second World War, a memorandum of the Foreign Office which goes into detail about what the Final Solution policy was. I don’t dispute that there was a Final Solution policy. I don’t know any revisionist who does ...

The essay I referred to has been published by the IHR for years as a leaflet, “The Holocaust: Let’s Hear Both Sides.” It was downloaded by Canadian Human Rights Commission officials from the Zündelsite, who cited as document ("Tab") No. 31 in the official compilation. If Rosen had carefully read through the documents that are at the heart of this dispute, he would have known that I not only describe Germany’s wartime “final solution” policy, but to explain it I quote a confidential German Foreign Office memorandum of August 21, 1942 (Nuremberg document NG-2586-J). Rosen’s arrogant display of ignorance about the documents at issue in this case suggests that the Simon Wiesenthal Center, which presumably pays him well to represent its interests in these proceedings, is not getting its money’s worth from him.

'The Germans'

In another question put to me, Rosen said that “the Nazis — that is, the Germans — during the Second World War executed a plan that was designed to exterminate Jews who fell under their control...” With some emotion, I responded by saying that the form of this question is itself outrageous, implying as it does that “the Germans” are collectively guilty of mass extermination:

First of all, the way you put the question in its original form is outrageous. You referred to a plan carried out by “the Germans.” This is typical language used by people who are defaming or castigating others, to talk about “the Germans.” “The Germans” didn’t carry out any execution plan of any kind, Mr. Rosen, and it is wrong to refer to a nationality or a group of people in that way, just as it is wrong to refer to “the Jews” killing people in Palestine, or “the Jews” doing this or that. To put a question in that way is already outrageous.

Seemingly taken aback, Rosen responded by claiming that I had “misquoted” him. “I did not say 'the Germans'; I said 'Germans',” he protested. This was simply not true, as the official transcript proves. Indeed, I had been so struck by Rosen’s slanderous reference to “the Germans” that I jotted down his precise words immediately after he uttered them.

The Tribunal, typically, was unperturbed by Rosen’s hateful characterization of Germans. (Such anti-German bigotry is so widespread in our society that it routinely passes without objection, or even comment.) Especially given that, as the Tribunal has held, truth and motive may not be considered in determining if a statement is “likely” to promote “hatred or contempt,” these words by the Wiesenthal Center attorney violate the spirit of very the law under which the Human Rights Commission was prosecuting Zündel. Rosen’s statement, made in this public and official forum,

is at least as “likely” to promote “hatred or contempt” for Germans as any Zündelsite statement is to promote “hatred or contempt” for Jews.

'Big Tent' Revisionism

After Rosen’s bout, it was Freiman’s turn to question me. His main point was to get me to say that Norman Finkelstein is not a Holocaust revisionist. However valid Finkelstein’s points may be, he suggested, they should not be compared with the parallel remarks cited in the supposedly hateful Zündelsite documents. I readily acknowledged that Finkelstein apparently accepts the standard Holocaust extermination story, and holds views about specifics of World War II history that differ from those expressed by such revisionists as Robert Faurisson, Arthur Butz and myself.

All the same, I defined Holocaust revisionism rather broadly, saying that it includes not only a skeptical or critical look at the role and treatment of Europe’s Jews during the Second World War, but also the social, political and cultural impact of those events in society today. On this basis, I said, Finkelstein may “arguably” be regarded as a Holocaust revisionist. Not surprisingly, I pointed, some Jewish critics of his work have denounced him as a Holocaust revisionist or denier. (For example, Rabbi Irving Greenberg, Chairman of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, a US federal government agency, calls Finkelstein’s book “a form of Holocaust denial” [New York Jewish Week, Sept. 8, 2000].)

Holocaust revisionism, I repeatedly pointed out, is a “big tent” that includes writers, scholars and activists who sometimes disagree among themselves about specific historical issues. In this regard, I mentioned disagreements (aired in this Journal) between, for example, Jürgen Graf and Arthur Butz, and between Robert Faurisson and David Irving. I also pointed out that prominent revisionists have, over the years, modified their views about specific issues, in somewhat the way that Raul Hilberg, perhaps the most prominent “establishment” Holocaust historian, has strikingly modified his views over time.

Double Standard

An important early witness against Zündel in this case was Gary D. Prideaux, a Professor of Linguistics at the University of Edmonton. In his testimony about the “complained of” documents downloaded from the Zündelsite, he said that “the epithet 'Holocaust lobby'” is used “to refer to Jews,” and that “the term Holocaust lobbyists is used as a negative epithet for Jews.”

This is simply not true, as any open-minded person can readily grasp, especially taking into account the entirety of the site’s postings. Contrary to the claims of the anti-Zündel side, the “complained of” Zündelsite documents do not attack “Jews, but instead take aim at “the worldwide Holocaust lobby,” “Holocaust lobbyists,” and “the Jewish lobby — or the Israeli lobby, as some like to call it.”

This important distinction is obvious, for example, in one of the allegedly “hateful” passages carefully culled by Canadian officials from the vast Zündelsite. In this “complained of” document (“tab” 22), taken from a March 1997 issue of Zündel’s Power newsletter, he expresses concern, not “hatred or contempt,” for the mass of Jews. Zündel writes: “I fear for the 'little Jew' who has no voice and no say in this matter, but ultimately will have to suffer the fallout!”

As was brought out during Christie’s examination of me, a number of Jewish writers have made this same point in recent years. In *The Holocaust Industry*, Prof. Finkelstein stresses that major

Jewish organizations carry out a “shakedown” that cheats authentic Jewish wartime victims of reparations payments that Jewish leaders have “extorted” in their names.

By the standard that Canadian authorities are applying to Zündel, Internet communications even by established news services should be subject to prosecution. For example, on February 1, 2000, the renowned British news service BBC distributed through the Internet, and without comment, an editorial published the day before in a major Syrian daily paper, Tishrin. The editorial, which Jewish groups vehemently denounced as anti-Semitic, told readers:

... Zionist organizations are trying, as usual, to revive their own distorted view of history and exploit it in deceiving the world public, winning its sympathy and then blackmailing it ... Zionism has invented the Holocaust myth to blackmail the world and terrorize its intellectuals and statesmen. It is applying the Holocaust method in dealing with the Arabs.

An Orwellian Concept of Rights

Is Canadian society so fragile that an Ernst Zündel can seriously be regarded as a danger to its cohesion or stability? Apparently so. In spite of its Anglo-Saxon heritage of respect for civic rights, fearful Canadian leaders are quietly revoking traditional freedoms. For example, Canadian customs officials regularly (albeit haphazardly) seize “politically incorrect” books, magazines and compact disks at the border. They are confiscated under a code section that bans “hate propaganda,” including items “alleging that an identifiable group is racially inferior and/or weaken other segments of society to the detriment of society as a whole,” and items “alleging that an identifiable group is manipulating media, trade and finance, government or world politics to the detriment of society as a whole.”

Among the items that have been seized by Canadian authorities over the years have been assorted issues of the IHR’s Journal of Historical Review and various IHR leaflets, as well as such books as Shockley on Eugenics and Race, a scholarly anthology by the late Nobel prize laureate William Shockley, Race, Intelligence and Bias in Academe, by Roger Pearson, The Dispossessed Majority, by Wilmot Robertson, and The Immigration Invasion, by Wayne Lutton and John Tanton.

Less understandable have been the seizures of copies of Advance to Barbarism, a 50-year-old anti-war classic by British jurist F.J.P. Veale, and From Moscow to Berlin: Zhukov’s Greatest Battles, the memoir of Soviet World War II General Georgi Zhukov (originally published in the US in 1969 by Harper & Row).

In the Zündel “Human Rights” case, the bias of at least one of the Commissioners is a matter of public record. In April 1999 a Canadian Federal Court found that there existed a reasonable apprehension of bias by Reva Devins because, in 1988, when she was with the Ontario Human Rights Commission, this provincial agency had issued a public statement applauding Zündel’s criminal conviction for publishing an edition of the booklet Did Six Million Really Die?.

In this landmark case, a coalition of powerful and influential Jewish organizations is using a Canadian government agency, the Orwellian “Human Rights Commission,” to censor writings they don’t like — writings that are otherwise entirely legal.

The same Jewish groups that demand, in the name of “human rights,” that Zündel be silenced, have well-documented records as staunch defenders of, and apologists for, the Zionist regime in

Israel that routinely, and as a matter of state policy, oppresses people on the basis of ancestry. Israel's immigration policy, for example, which is based on ancestry criteria that parallel the strictures of Third Reich Germany's infamous 1935 "Nuremberg Laws," even prohibits non-Jews who were born in what is now Israel (including the occupied territories) from returning to their native land.

By any objective standard, these Jewish groups deserve to be in the dock at least as much as does Ernst Zündel. The hypocrisy and gross double standard of this entire case is all the more shameful because it is enforced by a Canadian government agency. Given all this, it's no wonder that Zündel fully expects the Tribunal's Commissioners to issue a sweeping, harshly-worded "cease and desist" order against him.

Ominous Implications

Why are major Jewish organizations devoting so much money and effort to this case? There seem to be three goals:

First, they are forcing Ernst Zündel, whom they hate, to spend a lot of his time and money. Reportedly he has already devoted some \$140,000 (Canadian) to defending himself in this case.

Second, Jewish organizations will quickly register a Tribunal "cease and desist" order with a federal court, and then cite any refusal by Zündel to obey it to demand that authorities expel him from the country. (Zündel, who holds German citizenship, lives in Canada as a "landed immigrant," a legal status comparable to that of "permanent resident" in the United States. In the 42 years he has lived in Canada, he has been a peaceful and productive member of society, maintaining an unblemished legal record.)

Third, and probably most important, if Jewish groups succeed in censoring the (USA-based) Zündelsite, they'll be set to have authorities censor every Internet site they don't like in Canada. Jewish groups in other countries could cite the Zündelsite precedent in Canada to demand that authorities ban or censor web sites elsewhere they don't like. If they succeed in banning or censoring an Internet site, Jewish groups would be emboldened to target books, newsletters, newspapers, magazines, videotapes, and even radio and television broadcasts.

Given that this case has far-reaching implications for the rights of all Canadians, it is a shame, as Paul Fromm has pointed out, that the Canadian media has all but ignored it.

Speaking Engagements

My visit to Canada provided an opportunity to address appreciative audiences in two packed meetings. More than 100 persons heard me speak in Toronto, and about 40 were on hand in Kitchener, about 60 miles to the west, with Paul Fromm introducing me on each occasion. Putting the Holocaust "extortion" campaign in historical and social-political context, I spoke about the tremendous power of organized Jewry. (My talk in Canada can be heard on-line through "Radio Freedom" on the "Freedomsite" <http://www.freedomsite.org/r-free>. It is also available on audio cassette tape from CAFE, P.O. Box 332, Rexdale, Ont. M9W 5L3, Canada.)

Zündel Concludes His Case

In the weeks after I testified, the Zündel side offered as witnesses for the defense two university professors. Dr. Tony Martin, who teaches African history at Wellesley College in Massachusetts,

was to testify on efforts by Jewish groups to silence him, and Dr. Heinz Joachim Klatt, who teaches psychology at Kings College, University of Western Ontario, was set to testify on “political correctness.” Commissioners Pensa and Devins rejected both witnesses.

In late November, after a motion to dismiss the case on the grounds that the statute under which it is being prosecuted is unconstitutional, Ernst Zündel abruptly concluded his defense. In his newsletter he cited the Tribunal’s bias, the rejection by Canada’s Supreme Court of his motions, and the prohibitively high cost of continuing the legal battle. Final arguments in the case are scheduled for February 28, 2001.

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Jürgen Graf Welcomed in Iran

Swiss Revisionist Forced Into Exile for Thought Crime

A prominent Swiss revisionist author who fled his homeland rather than serve a 15-month prison sentence for “Holocaust denial” has been welcomed in Iran.

Rather than begin serving the politically-motivated prison term that was to commence in October, Jürgen Graf is staying in Tehran at the invitation of a group of Iranian scholars and university professors who are sympathetic to Holocaust revisionism. (Contrary to some reports, he has not been given political asylum in Iran, nor has he requested it.) He has written an 80-page overview of the history and impact of Holocaust revisionism that is being translated into Persian and Arabic for distribution to scholars, journalists and religious and political leaders. Graf will also be giving lectures at Iranian universities. He learning Persian (Farsi) in an intensive study course.

Graf arrived in Tehran on November 17, 2000, concluding a journey that had taken him to Poland, Russia, Ukraine and Turkey. He is impressed with the hospitality and helpfulness of his hosts, as well as with the orderliness, cleanliness and sense of security in the Iranian capital.

At the conclusion of his trial in July 1998, a court in the Swiss town of Baden sentenced Graf to 15 months imprisonment and imposed a heavy fine because of his writings. (See “Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists,” July-August 1998 Journal.)

Graf does not intend to return to Switzerland until normal rights of free speech and free intellectual inquiry are restored. However, he has not yet decided where he will settle and make a new home.

Jürgen Graf, born in 1951, is an educator, researcher and author of several books, including “Holocaust on the Test Stand,” which has appeared in more than half a dozen languages. In March 1993, following publication of the 112-page German edition, he was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French. (See “Swiss Teacher Suspended for Holocaust Book,” Sept.-Oct. 1993 Journal.) In December 1994 the French-language edition, *L'Holocauste au scanner*, was banned in France by order of the country's Interior Ministry. Some 200,000 copies of an expanded edition of this work have been published and distributed in Russia under the title “The Myth of the Holocaust.” (See “A Major Revisionist Breakthrough in Russia,” July-August 1997 Journal.)

In recent years Graf has examined the sites of numerous wartime German camps, and has carried out historical research at archives in Poland, Russia, and other countries. (See, for example, “Important Documents Found in Moscow Archives,” Nov.-Dec. 1995 Journal.) During the coming months he intends to bring out, in collaboration with Carlo Mattogno and Richard Krege, a book

about Treblinka, the wartime German camp in Poland where, it is widely alleged, more than 750,000 Jews were killed between July 1942 and April 1943.

Since 1997 Graf has been a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee. His addresses at the Twelfth and 13th IHR Conferences appeared in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 and July-August 2000 Journal issues.

In several countries, including Germany, France, Israel, Austria and Switzerland, it is a crime publicly to dispute standard "Holocaust" claims that six million Jews were systematically killed during World War II, most of them in gas chambers. Numerous writers and publishers have been fined or imprisoned for "Holocaust denial." These one-sided "thought crime" laws are the result of a well-organized campaign by the World Jewish Congress and other powerful Jewish organizations.

Growing Support

Awareness of the importance of the Holocaust story as a key propaganda tool of Israeli-Zionist interests is growing throughout the world, especially in Muslim countries. This was manifest, for example, during the 1998 trial in Paris of the prominent French scholar Roger Garaudy, who was fined \$40,000 for his book *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, which presents compelling evidence refuting the orthodox Holocaust story and other historical legends. (An attractive American edition is published by the IHR.)

Religious and political leaders, scholars and journalists in Egypt, Lebanon, Iran and other countries expressed support for Garaudy and Holocaust revisionism. (See T. O'Keefe, "Origin and Enduring Impact of the 'Garaudy Affair'," July-August 1999 Journal, pp. 31-35.) A professor at Cairo University, Dr. Amina Rashid, for example, declared: "Zionist propaganda, well entrenched in France, is exploiting the guilt complex among the French for the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis ... The Zionist lobby keeps concentrating on the 'Six Million victims' in spite of the corrections to this figure." In Iran, 600 journalists and 160 members of parliament signed petitions backing Garaudy, and during a visit to the country, he was received by the nation's chief of state, Ayatollah Khamenei, who congratulated the French scholar.

Iran's official radio voice to the world, IRIB, has in recent years expressed support for Holocaust revisionism by broadcasting sympathetic interviews with leading revisionist scholars and activists. Several interviews with IHR Director Mark Weber have been aired on the English-language service, and similar interviews have been broadcast with Ernst Zundel in German and with Ahmed Rami in Arabic. IRIB short-wave radio reaches millions in the Middle East, Europe and Asia.

An editorial, "Myth of the Holocaust," in the English-language Iranian paper *Kayhan International*, Dec. 6, 1999, commented sympathetically on Holocaust revisionism, and criticized German government persecution of Dr. Fredrick Töben and others who dispute Holocaust claims. The paper called Töben an "Australian historian of German origin who is known for his authoritative research on the myth of the Holocaust ... He was jailed and he was fined for having exposed the fabrications of the gas chambers where, Zionist propaganda says, six million Jews perished ..." The paper referred to the "preposterous figure of six million," and praised revisionist scholars for their "courageous research and highlighting of facts of the Second World War."

On May 1, 2000, the Iranian embassy in Vienna granted refuge to an Austrian engineer, Wolfgang Fröhlich, who had been hounded for expressing dissident views on history. At Graf's 1998

trial, Fröhlich had testified that, for technical reasons, mass gassings with Zyklon could not have been carried out in the German wartime camps as alleged. In his request for asylum, he reported that he had been offered \$5 million to repudiate his expert testimony in the Graf trial, and instead state that mass killings with Zyklon could somehow have happened as claimed.

Since the Iranian revolution of 1978-79, which overthrew the repressive and pro-Zionist regime of Shah Pahlavi, the Islamic republic has steadfastly opposed Zionist oppression and aggression. United States policy toward Iran has accordingly been hostile, and includes a ban on trade and investment. This belligerent policy, which reflects America's subservience to Zionist interests, is hypocritical. By any objective standard, Iran is today a much more "democratic" state than many with which the US has cordial relations, including Israel, China, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. US efforts to isolate the nation of some 65 million people have been a failure. Reflecting its good relations with the rest of the world (apart from the US and Israel), Iran's popular President, Mohammed Khatami, has in recent years made successful state visits to Italy, France, Germany and Britain.

The warm welcome being given to Jürgen Graf in Iran is not only a dramatic expression of support for intellectual freedom and human rights, it further refutes the often-made claim that Holocaust revisionism has no significant public or scholarly support.

-- M.W., December 23, 2000

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International Conference on Revisionism and Zionism Set for Beirut

Prominent scholars, researchers and activists will participate in a landmark international conference on “Revisionism and Zionism” in Beirut, Lebanon, March 31-April 3, 2001. The meeting reflects, and will further strengthen, growing cooperation between revisionist scholars in the West and in Muslim countries.

The event is being organized by the Swiss revisionist organization Vérité et Justice, in cooperation with the Institute for Historical Review. Conference addresses will be given in Arabic, French and English. Measures have been taken to insure complete security for the event.

Vérité et Justice director Jürgen Graf, who was sentenced by a Swiss court in July 1998 to 15 months imprisonment for “Holocaust denial,” has fled his homeland to live in political exile rather than serve the politically-motivated sentence. The 49-year-old educator is currently visiting Tehran, Iran, as a guest of scholars.

Guests are welcome to attend the Beirut conference, but they must cover their own travel and hotel expenses. United States citizens traveling to Lebanon require a valid US passport and a visa issued by the Lebanese embassy or a Lebanese consulate.

Updated information is posted on the special “[Beirut Conference](#)” section of the IHR web site.

-- December 26, 2000

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Australia Orders Censorship of Töben Web Site

Jewish Groups Demand Ban on Revisionist Writings

A important legal battle is shaping up in Australia over an effort initiated by Jewish-Zionist groups to ban Internet web site writings that reject standard “Holocaust” extermination claims. In a landmark decision with international implications for freedom of speech, the government has ordered a leading Australian revisionist history resource center to remove from its site material that “denies the Holocaust,” and to issue an abject written apology to the country’s Jews.

Acting at the behest of Australian Jewry, the country’s “Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission” (HREOC) on October 10, 2000, issued its order against the Adelaide Institute, which is headed by Dr. Fredrick Töben. HREOC Commissioner Kathleen McEvoy declared that the Institute had violated Section 18C of the country’s 1975 “Racial Discrimination Act” by posting material whose main purpose was to denigrate Jews. The material, “none of which was of a historical, intellectual or scientific standard,” she declared, should be banned because it is “bullying, insulting and offensive.”

The order came in response to a 1996 complaint by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), the country’s most influential Jewish community organization. Welcoming the order, ECAJ national vice-president Jeremy Jones said that “Töben’s Holocaust denial is offensive, insulting and, as HREOC has now confirmed, unlawful.” He added: “The Commissioner has demonstrated an understanding of the need to apply laws which cover... the Internet and has also endorsed the view expressed in other jurisdictions that anti-Semitism masking as pseudo-history is as pernicious as more overt forms of racial hatred.”

“This is a landmark case,” said Peter Wertheim, a Jewish community leader, and ECAJ lawyer in the legal action, “because it deals with hate on the Internet, and it’s the first in Australia, and quite possibly anywhere in the world, to have done so.”

Consistent with his attitude throughout this legal battle, Töben immediately declared his defiance of the HREOC order, saying that he would not apologize for posting “factually correct material.” The only consideration for the HREOC, he noted, is whether Jews were offended by the posted material. “I shall do nothing,” he said, “because I consider the proceedings [that led to the order] to have been immoral because truth was not a defense.”

Töben has persistently protested the HROEC’s standards and procedures. Noting that in such “human rights” cases, the truthfulness or accuracy of the material is not a consideration, he said: “Truth is not a defense. I cannot defend myself against someone’s hurt feelings.” In September 1997 Töben walked out of a preliminary hearing regarding his publications. “I cannot proceed,” he declared, “because if truth is no defense, the lie must prevail. We have an inquisition here.”

He also withdrew from a public hearing scheduled for December 1997, protesting that he and the Adelaide Institute were being denied “natural justice.”

Alan Gold, president of the “anti-defamation unit” of the Jewish-Zionist B'nai B'rith organization commented: “The decision by McEvoy to order the removal of material from the Adelaide Institute’s web site is one of the first serious moves to be made against the real menace which the Internet has made possible...Her decision should rightly send shockwaves through the Internet community, to the racists who publish their viewpoints and service providers who allow their businesses to be used by these people.” (Sydney Morning Herald, Oct. 19)

In early November 2000, the Australia/Israel & Jewish Affairs Council joined the ECAJ in calling on the country’s Federal Court to enforce the HREOC censorship order against Töben and the Adelaide Institute. Freedom of speech not an absolute right, argued ECAJ president Nina Bassat. “Hurtful, abusive and incorrect” statements cannot be permitted, she said.

Olga Scully, an associate in Tasmania of the Adelaide Institute, is similarly being targeted by the HREOC and ECAJ. She engaged in “unlawful conduct,” the HREOC has declared, by placing anti-Jewish literature in letter boxes and by selling such material at a market. She has been ordered to desist, and to apologize to Jews. The ECAJ has announced plans to bring her case to Federal Court. Scully — a Russian-born 57-year-old grandmother — is not intimidated, and says that she is “quite prepared” to go to prison. “I’ve lived through worse horrors in my childhood — certainly my family did. A few months or years in jail — that’s not going to be any worry to me whatever.” Jewish Bolshevik officials killed both of her grandfathers, she says. Fleeing Communism during World War II, her parents brought her as an infant with her two brothers to Germany in 1943 where, she says, her family was treated with kindness.

Fredrick Töben was born in 1944 in northern Germany, but emigrated with his family to Australia when he was ten. He has lived most of his life in his new homeland, and is an Australian citizen. He studied at universities in Australia, New Zealand and Germany, and holds a Master’s degree in education and a Doctorate in philosophy. He has worked as a teacher in Germany, New Zealand, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Australia.

He founded the Adelaide Institute in 1994. Centered in South Australia’s largest city, and funded by donations, it plays a major role in the worldwide struggle against the historical blackout through its web site, an informative newsletter, and other activities. It can be reached at P.O. Box 3300, Norwood 5067, Australia. Web site: <http://www.adelaideinstitute.org> E-mail: [\[email protected\]](#)

Last year Töben was jailed for seven months in Germany (April-November 1999) for having disputed Holocaust extermination allegations. (See “German Court Sentences Australian Holocaust Skeptic,” July-August 1999 Journal, pp. 2-5.) He reported on his arrest and imprisonment in his address on May 28, 2000, at the 13th IHR Conference in southern California.

Standards and Power

Standards for determining just what is “offensive” are, obviously, elastic and subjective. Many people feel “offended” or “insulted” by much of what appears in magazines, books, as well as on the Internet. That’s life. If anyone wants to avoid being “offended” by what’s on the Adelaide Institute web site, or any other Internet site, he merely has to refrain from viewing the material. Simple.

In practice, only the politically powerful are able to translate their notions of what is “offensive” or “insulting” into law that everyone must obey. No government anywhere has attempted to censor Internet web sites that present a pro-Communist view of history, even though such sites presumably “offend” many victims of Communism. The only serious efforts — so far, anyway — to censor the Internet have, not accidentally, been in response to Jewish complaints.

The laws in various countries that criminalize skepticism of Holocaust extermination claims are the result of a well-organized, long-term Jewish campaign. In 1982 the Institute for Jewish Affairs in London, an agency of the World Jewish Congress, announced that it was launching a worldwide campaign to persuade and pressure governments to outlaw “Holocaust denial” (Jewish Chronicle [London], April 23, 1982). The anti-revisionist “thought crime” laws that have subsequently been enacted in several European countries, as well as in Australia, reflect the success of this initiative. Underscoring the organized nature of this campaign, in June 1998 the International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists called for new and more severe laws against Holocaust revisionism. (“Jewish Group Demands more Anti-Revisionist Laws,” July-August 1998 Journal, p. 22.)

In Canada a censorship effort is underway similar to the one against Töben. Acting on a complaint from a Jewish group, a similarly named “Human Rights Commission” has called German-born publicist and civil rights activist Ernst Zundel before a “Human Rights Tribunal” in Toronto on charges that material posted on the US-based “Zundelsite” is “likely to expose” Jews to “hate or contempt.” In this case as well, the truth or factuality of the allegedly offensive material is irrelevant.

Australian Voices Against Censorship

The effort to censor the Adelaide Institute is particularly ominous because it comes in a country with a fairly strong tradition of free speech and civil liberties. If Australia’s Federal Court upholds the precedent-setting “Human Rights Commission” order banning Internet material, Jewish groups might next seek to censor books, newspapers and television broadcasts they deem “offensive” or “insulting.”

Happily, at least a few voices are speaking out against the effort to censor the Adelaide Institute web site. (These echo the criticisms in 1993 by Australian newspapers and civil liberties groups of a government order banning British historian David Irving from the country. See “Irving Barred From Australia: Major Newspapers and Civil Liberties Groups Denounce Ban Against Historian,” May-June 1993 Journal, pp. 13-15.)

A leading Australian daily paper, the Herald Sun of Melbourne, commented (Nov. 13): “To see how our over-bossy complaints industry can cause more harm than good, check the Executive Council of Australian Jewry’s bid to close down the web site of Dr. Fredrick Töben.” While calling Töben “a worry,” the influential daily warned that the Jewish campaign is only contributing to his “martyrdom.” Töben and Adelaide Institute associate Olga Scully, the paper concluded, can “now pose as a victims of a Jewish bid to deny them free speech, and there’s sadly just enough truth in that to make them [sic] a real menace.”

Terry Lane, a veteran newspaper columnist and television commentator, was more pointed in his criticism. “Are we to take it,” wrote Lane in The Sunday Age (Melbourne, Oct. 15), “that the human rights commissioner is going to order every outspoken person who offends some group or other to desist and apologize?” Töben’s claim about gas chambers, he added, is one that “can be proven or disproved by evidence. It does not need to be censored in advance of the argument ...

If Töben is telling the truth, nothing will stop it. If he is a malicious fantasist, then he will be ignored. We should test his assertions, not silence them.” (See also Lane’s remarkable 1992 commentary, “I Surrender,” in the May-June 1993 Journal, p. 15.)

Nigel Jackson, an Australian author and civil rights defender, called the HREOC order “a victory of interests over principles.” He continued:

The HREOC can fairly be described as a pseudo-judicial body which was established and entrenched a few decades ago by servile and foolish governments to advance the interests of Jewish pressure groups and other minority ethnic bodies.

Any fair-minded person who studies the publications of the Adelaide Institute over recent years will quickly realize that the HREOC’s poorly articulated claim that none of its “Holocaust material” is “of historical, intellectual or scientific standard” is nonsense.

During the last 50 years a significant number of highly intelligent and academically qualified people have cast profound doubt on the received version of “the Holocaust,” which was promoted after World War Two and became prominent in the seventies. The simplistic claim (of doubtful veracity) that all “mainstream historians” agree that “the Holocaust” consumed “the lives of six million Jews” will not remove that doubt. It is probably tautologous, the definition of “mainstream” being “those who accept the received version.” Historical disagreement of this kind should be dealt with by free and open debate in the intellectual forums of the land and not by appeal from a financially powerful elite to biased commissions or the courts.

For Jewish-Zionist groups, the campaign against “Holocaust” skeptics is nothing less than a war. Thus, WIZO Victoria, an Australian Zionist women’s organization, recently sponsored a special “War Against Holocaust Denial” meeting, at which prominent Zionist speakers addressed more than a hundred persons.

The struggle continues.

-- M.W.

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Update

German Court Ruling Threatens Internet Freedom

In an ominous blow against on-line freedom of speech, Germany's highest court declared on December 12, 2000, that German law banning "Holocaust denial" material applies even to foreigners who post such content on Internet web sites outside of the country, as long as the material is accessible in Germany.

The federal supreme court in Karlsruhe, the Bundesgerichtshof, was ruling on issues arising from a lower court's verdict against Dr. Fredrick Töben, director of the Adelaide Institute in Australia, for material posted on its web site. Töben was jailed for seven months in Germany (April-November 1999) for having disputed Holocaust extermination allegations. (See "German Court Sentences Australian Holocaust Skeptic," July-August 1999 Journal, pp. 2-5.) According to news reports, German authorities are considering asking Australia to extradite Töben to Germany for further prosecution.

With this ruling, Germany is claiming the right to punish citizens of the United States and every other country for posting material on the Internet that is legal in most of the world. Echoing a darker past, the ruling attempts to censor the so far almost entirely unrestricted Internet world wide web. If other countries, in keeping with the German court's decision, tried to enforce their domestic laws outside their own borders, the result would be international chaos. Internet freedom for dissident views on World War II history is thus an important litmus test for on-line freedom of speech generally.

The German court's ruling could even affect German citizens who post "right-wing" material on the Internet while visiting the United States, warned the Berliner Zeitung (Dec. 15).

If the German court's decision were to set an international precedent, the consequences could be bizarre and far-reaching. Americans visiting China could presumably be arrested there if they had ever posted material, even while in the United States, that supports independence for Tibet or calls for an end to Communist rule in China. US citizens who had ever posted material on the Internet supporting social tolerance or equality for homosexuals could be arrested while visiting countries where such views are against the law. Similarly, Americans who had ever posted material supporting discrimination against homosexuals could be arrested while visiting countries where such discrimination is illegal. Americans who have ever posted pornographic material on the Internet could be arrested while visiting countries where pornography is illegal.

"This German court wants to judge over the whole world in effect," commented Andy Mueller-Maguhn, a prominent figure in Germany's Internet scene. The ruling, he added, "seems to be the worst Internet-dependent court decision so far. If other countries would take this as an orientation

and start to apply their laws on the citizens of other countries acting in their countries, the world-wide free flow of information could lead very fast to an unfree situation in the real world.”

Jewish groups applauded the German court’s ruling. “We have to commend the Germans and the French for basically saying 'in our societies, this is how we deal with the problems of hate, racism and Holocaust denial',” said Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

German newspapers seemed cautiously supportive of the high court’s ruling. Munich’s liberal *Süddeutsche Zeitung* praised it as “a small, boldly formulated contribution to combatting socially harmful Internet sites.” Web sites such as those of the Adelaide Institute “endanger an important legal value of the Germans, namely peaceful cooperation among population groups.” The conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* questioned whether the Karlsruhe court “may not have gone beyond its means of enforcement. It will be difficult for the federal supreme court to plug this hole with a national penal code.”

Ulrich Sieber, a University of Munich professor of criminal law and information law, said that the Karlsruhe court decision “is a courageous step, but it will remain a toothless tiger” because it is difficult to enforce. “The ruling is only significant for people such as Mr. Töben, who are so imprudent as to come to Germany.” Extending German penal law to other countries is problematic, says Sieber, because other countries could similarly extend their criminal laws to Germany and elsewhere. “The Internet would then become a dangerous thing, because everyone who posts material on it would have to be concerned that he has thereby broken the law somewhere around the world.” The result would be an “informationally impoverished” Internet. “What we need,” says Sieber, is a harmonizing of the criminal codes of the various countries. There’s no other way to solve the problem.”

In a related case, a Paris court in late November ordered the American Internet giant Yahoo to block all French access to sites selling Nazi memorabilia. The case had been brought by three Jewish and “anti-racist” groups, who said that sites accessed through Yahoo violated French laws against “hate” publications and the sale of racially offensive material. In its defense Yahoo argued that it would be impossible to bar only French users, as US-based sites are accessed by people around the world. The French court gave Yahoo three months to comply with its ruling, or face hefty fines of more than \$10,000 per day.

In late October a German court found a 36-year-old man guilty on four counts of “popular incitement” (*Volksverhetzung*) for having posted from his apartment in Zurich, Switzerland, on a Jewish web site a text that “denied the genocide of the Jews” in World War II. The court in Freiburg imposed a fine of 3,000 marks and a six month prison sentence (suspended), and ordered the seizure of the defendant’s computer. The defendant acknowledged that in material posted on the discussion forum of the “haGalil” web site, which promotes Jewish interests in Europe, he had cited various sources to dispute the familiar figure of six million Jewish wartime dead, and had questioned, on technical grounds, the familiar claims of mass killings of Jews in wartime gas chambers using the commercial pesticide Zyklon B. He had hoped, he said, to thereby promote a healthy discussion of historical issues. (Sources: “Haftstrafe als Prävention,” *Badische Zeitung*, Oct. 21; “Im Internet gegen den Holocaust polemisiert,” *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Oct. 23).

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The Greatest Dirty Open Secret

Arthur R. Butz

In the trials and tribulations of Fredrick Töben one can observe in operation the greatest dirty open secret of our day. In explaining that remark here, I will do my best to be objective, despite the fact that because of the conditions I am to discuss several of my friends have been imprisoned or fined for doing the sorts of things I also do.

In October 1997 I received a request from Töben, director of the Adelaide Institute and a Holocaust revisionist, to be a defense witness for him in his hearings before the Australian Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). The role would have involved writing a letter for him and perhaps testifying by telephone from my home near Chicago.

I resisted this request, pleading a shortage of time and the fact that he had told me, earlier that year in Chicago, that the Australian "Human Rights" legislation has no teeth and that he did not have to pay any attention to such proceedings against him. Both pleas were true but I had another strong reason for my reticence, which was too complicated to state in these rapid-fire e-mail messages, but which can be explained here in due course.

In any case I relented after a few passionate e-mails from Töben. I wrote a two page letter, intended to be submitted to the HREOC hearings. The letter, dated November 5, declared:

Alas I must say that you are arguably guilty of some of the charges. I looked over Jeremy Jones' stuff and I infer that the "Racial Discrimination Act" proscribes what might "offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate another person or group of people." Well, revisionism certainly does the first three! It does not however "intimidate"; at least, I have never noticed such a case ... Heated controversy is a price of open debate, the foundation of a rational society.

Jeremy Jones was the representative of the Jewish organization that had brought charges against Töben. I commented on Jones' letter by declaring Töben guilty. Some defense witness!

Far from acting betrayed by me, Töben submitted the letter to the HREOC. I believe that he was starting to see my real reason for reluctance to get involved as a defense witness. Such matters as I had expertise in were irrelevant to the proceedings, which related not to historical truth, but to offending, insulting, etc.. For the most part I could not understand the notion of culpability as used in the proceedings, but to the extent that I could understand, Töben was guilty. I am at least as guilty, as are many of my revisionist friends. The situation was structured such that nothing I could have said would have helped attain a favorable verdict, as became clear to Töben shortly later.

On December 7 Töben ended his participation in the hearings, complaining that he was unable to defend the position of the Adelaide Institute because the HREOC was not interested in historical truth. The breaking point seems to have come when the Commission rejected the witness statement of Dr. Robert Faurisson as “irrelevant.” [1] In a hearing conducted by telephone on November 27, the Commission had told Töben that for the most part the witness statements he had submitted had to be disqualified either because (1) they “make comments about the desirability, validity, constitutionality or sensibleness of this law” under which the hearings were being held or (2) they comment on “the substance” of the historical problem, that is, “the truth of the Holocaust, the extent of the Holocaust, its existence” which “is not of much significance” for the hearings. [2]

Of course these two questions are, to our common sense (or as Töben puts it our sense of “natural justice”), the only relevant questions. There is almost nothing left to be said if these two questions are excluded. I felt vindicated, because even the accused had decided to submit no defense. I could not be accused of failing him. Faurisson had written one of his usual masterfully incisive analyses of the historical problems, formulated for the layman, and his statement was rejected. The implicit effect of what I wrote was to question the law itself, but I declared Töben guilty so my statement was accepted. We may make the basic observation that it was impossible to determine what Töben was being charged with, apart from saying things that annoyed some people. The commission was not interested in the intentions behind Töben’s public declarations, or in their actual effect.

This observation raises the general question of the legal formulations under which Holocaust revisionists are persecuted in various countries. For purposes of such a discussion, we can take two: the “Human Rights Act” (such an Orwellian term!) in Canada and the 1990 Fabius-Gayssot law in France.

These two legislations do contrast sharply, but in practice they operate similarly, as I now explain.

In the Canadian case, the code excludes the relevance of three considerations:

1. The truth of the offending statements.
2. The intent behind the expression of the statements, for example, whether they were intended to cause people to hate Jews.
3. The actual effect of the statements, for example, whether they caused people to hate Jews, whatever the intent of the author.

We simple minded people will scratch our heads and wonder what is left to try. It is this: whether the statements “exposed” somebody to hatred or contempt.

It is impossible for me to clarify that standard because, to the extent I understand it, reference is being made to a condition into which all of us are born. Somebody may start hating us, and often does. Holocaust revisionists are hated more than most, but exposure to hatred is basically part of the human condition. One can be argued to be innocent of such an offense only in that sense, that is, that the condition referred to is a condition we are all in, independently of what statements are made by anybody. If that plea is unacceptable, then of course we are all guilty. Anybody may be hated in the future for all sorts of reasons. Witness human history.

By contrast, the French Fabius-Gayssot law is very clear. It proscribes contesting the truth of any finding in the “Crimes Against Humanity” section of the 1946 judgment in the main Nuremberg

trial. It candidly expresses, without any tergiversation, what all legal moves against revisionists are trying to do: freeze received history in the state of the end of war hysteria of 1945-1946. This sort of law contrasts with the typical “human rights” legislation, since here there is no doubt what offense an accused is being charged with.

The Australian statute resembles the Canadian, and the formulation of the French law is approximated in Germany, with its “denial of established fact” clause. These are two starkly contrasting formulations, and Töben may be unique in having been prosecuted under both, for as this book relates at length, in April 1999 he was jailed in Germany while traveling there.

That the two formulations have something important in common is suggested by what finally happened when Töben’s trial came up in Germany in November 1999. Again, he decided to remain silent and offer no defense, and his lawyer did likewise. I commented on my web site: [\[3\]](#)

If I must conjecture the specific grounds for Töben’s silence during the trial, I would guess that his protest is based on the impossibility of arguing the truth of any of the claims he has made, for which he is being prosecuted. I suppose in the court’s eyes there is a certain amount of logic in that situation which, as so often happens, makes legal sense but not common sense. If, for example, there were a law outlawing the denial that Germany is on the planet Mars, and if I deny that Germany is on the planet Mars and am prosecuted for the claim, then the question of whether Germany is on the planet Mars is irrelevant to the question of whether I broke the law. Truth is no defense. In those circumstances I would adopt the strategy Töben adopted, silence, which for me would make both legal sense and common sense.

Thus the two contrasting formulations confront the accused revisionist with the same practical situation: the impossibility of seeking to justify the offending statements in relation to the accusations. Before a “Human Rights” tribunal, a Holocaust revisionist confronts unintelligible accusations. Under the French or German laws, the Holocaust revisionist is accused of being a Holocaust revisionist. If I had been a defense witness for Töben in Germany, I could not have helped him and indeed he could not think of anything to help himself. There was nothing for him to say, and nothing a defense witness could have effectively said in his support. Such court victories as revisionist defendants have won have been based on legal and constitutional technicalities.

Since western society has, for many years, made freedom of expression one of its highest values, the reactions of the civil liberties groups to this offensive and scandalous situation are of great interest.

Their reactions are equally offensive and even more scandalous. The leading (in terms of general prestige) international civil rights group is Amnesty International, headquartered in London. Amnesty has a designation, “prisoner of conscience,” which it describes thus: [\[4\]](#)

“Prisoners of conscience” is the original term given by the founders of Amnesty International to people who are imprisoned, detained or otherwise physically restricted anywhere because of their beliefs, color, sex, ethnic origin, language or religion, provided they have not used or advocated violence.

The concept of a prisoner of conscience transcends class, creed, color or geography and reflects the basic principle on which Amnesty International was founded: that all people have the right to express their convictions and the obligation to extend that freedom to others. The imprisonment of individuals because of their beliefs or origins is a violation of fundamental human rights; rights which are not privileges “be-

stowed” on individuals by states and which, therefore, cannot be withdrawn for political convenience.

Amnesty International seeks the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of conscience.

Early in Töben’s German incarceration John Bennett, the Melbourne civil liberties lawyer, wrote to Amnesty to request them to formally adopt Töben as a “prisoner of conscience” which, in ordinary meaning, is what he was. In a long letter Amnesty declined, declaring that

in 1995 the organization decided at a meeting of its International Council — the highest decision making body of Amnesty International — that it would exclude from prisoner of conscience status not only people who have used or advocated violence, but also people who are imprisoned “for having advocated national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence.” The decision codified Amnesty International’s intention to exclude from prisoner of conscience status those who advocate the denial of the Holocaust and it confirmed what had in fact had been the de facto interpretation of the prisoner of conscience definition contained in Article 1 of Amnesty International’s Statute.

That seems to say that “those who advocate the denial of the Holocaust” are viewed by Amnesty as thereby advocating “national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence.” That is rubbish, an obvious logical non sequitur, empirically contradicted by easy observation; I have never seen such advocacy in the Adelaide Institute newsletter. It is such obvious rubbish that it must be called a lie. Töben is not in the class of an Elie Wiesel, who has incited hatred of Germans, or of Zionists who have incited discrimination and violence against Arabs.

Amnesty has declined to support freedom of expression for Holocaust revisionists for political reasons. It is, therefore, not worthy of respect.

The organization’s hypocrisy is highlighted by the case of Nelson Mandela, who during his sabotage trial in South Africa in 1964, admitted that he believed in violence to achieve his political objectives and for that purpose had been a leader of a campaign of sabotage. Mandela was a hot subject of debate at Amnesty’s meeting in September 1964 because, while the overwhelming sentiment was to continue to support him, one of the rules pertaining to the prisoner of conscience category was that those who used or advocated violence were not eligible. Thus the meeting decided against adopting Mandela thus, but it also voted for supporting him anyway. [5] A mere label was withheld, not the support. Töben needed the support more than the label.

Thus we see in the Töben case hypocrisy at high levels of contemporary public life, but I opened by promising “the greatest dirty open secret of our day,” and I have yet to explain.

Like the study of taboos, the study of hypocritical exceptions to agreed norms is highly instructive on the real, as opposed to declared, values of a society. That free expression of ideas must be a fundamental value of the sort of society we purport to be has virtual unanimous support, at least in the abstract. True, the ideal of free expression must be qualified in various ways, for example by national security laws and restrictions against distribution of pornography in some circumstances. However it is hard to make even a bad case for censorship of the history of the remote past unless that history impacts in some way on the present; in such event bad cases can be and are made.

The past and the present are linked, in the case of Holocaust revisionism, by Zionism. Many Israeli leaders agree that the Holocaust is “what this country’s all about.” [6] That statement is more true than the speaker intended, because apart from Zionism’s obvious contemporary exploitation of the Holocaust legend, there is the lesser known role that Zionism played in establishing, during the years 1942-1948, the legend that was to become its life blood, as I have discussed at length elsewhere. However even that is not the “greatest dirty open secret of our day.”

It is widely imagined that the various national-socialist movements that flourished in Europe more than 50 years ago are dead, but that is not true. Yes, gone are not only Hitler’s Nazis and Mussolini’s Fascists, but also the British Union of Fascists, the Croatian Ustashe, the Hungarian Arrow Cross, the Romanian Iron Guard, the Parti Populaire Français, and all such national-socialist movements except Zionism, a movement born and nurtured in Europe during the heyday of nationalism and socialism, and which is quite vigorous today. Its völkisch principle, that of the “chosen people,” is the oldest and best tested extant.

Despite occasional rhetoric by various governments and organizations like Amnesty International, for example against torture of prisoners, Israel and thus Zionism are essentially untouchable in international affairs. One cannot imagine, for example, Israel being treated harshly for defying UN resolutions, even with measures less severe than those used against Iraq during the past decade. Our institutions not only support Israel as a state, they also support Zionism in domestic policy by means tailored for each country. In Europe critical examination of Zionism’s sustaining legend is outlawed.

That is not the case in the USA, for constitutional reasons, but US institutions look kindly on this European repression nevertheless. There are occasional references in the US press to the European anti-revisionist laws, but I have never seen an editorial condemnation of them from these editors who so righteously scold China for its human rights violations. A frightening episode occurred in 1993 and 1994, when FBI Director Louis Freeh held talks with the German Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (Federal Office for Protection of the Constitution), the euphemistically named agency that performs many of the functions once entrusted to the more honestly named Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo or Secret State Police). The talks sought to find ways the US could stop the flow, from the USA to Germany, of literature banned by German law but lawful in the USA. [7] The talks seem to have come to nothing but the point was clearly made that the USA approves of such German repression of civil liberties. The role of the USA in supporting Israel diplomatically, financially and militarily is well known. The USA is also the mainstay of the operation of the related Holocaust restitution racket.

Thus the institutions of some major Western countries, flouting established legal and ethical norms, are as intellectually repressive as anybody’s Gestapo, in enforcing service to the only surviving European national-socialist movement, and the others are tacitly or even openly supportive of that repression. That is the greatest dirty open secret of our day.

-- September 2000

Notes

1. ☺ Adelaide Institute newsletter, Jan. 1998, pp. 1, 8.
2. ☺ Adelaide Institute newsletter, Feb. 1998, p. 10.
3. ☺ <http://pubweb.northwestern.edu/~abutz/>
4. ☺ Prisoners of Conscience (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1981), pp. 1-2.

5.  Egon Larsen, *A Flame in Barbed Wire* (London: Frederick Muller, 1978; New York: W.W. Norton: 1979).
 6.  Efraim Zuroff, Israel director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, quoted in the *New York Times*, Jan. 14, 1995, p. 6.
 7.  *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1993, sec. 1, pp. 1,16; Dec. 19, 1993, sec. 1, p. 4; June 27, 1994, sec. 1, p. 4. Publicly the talk was about stopping “neo-Nazi” propaganda, but that is a common camouflage or package term when Holocaust revisionism is a target that it would be inexpedient to identify.
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About the author:

Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. In addition to numerous technical papers, Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*.

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A Black November for Revisionists

Robert Faurisson

On November 1, 2000, French historian and sociologist Serge Thion, 58 and a father of three, was dismissed from the Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), without salary or severance pay. [Thion is the author of numerous scholarly articles and several books, including *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*, a collection of revisionist essays published in Paris in 1980. He is also a contributor to this Journal.]

On November 6, the University of Lyon 2 began proceedings against Jean Plantin, 35, to revoke his diplôme d'études approfondies (DEA, "advanced studies degree"), obtained in 1991. France's Education Minister, Jack Lang, will make the final decision in the matter. (Lang, who is Jewish and a major Socialist party figure, has been a promoter, along with Laurent Fabius, also Jewish, of the anti-revisionist "Fabius-Gayssot law" of July 13, 1990.) On November 24 the teaching staff of the history department of the University of Lyon 3 let it be known that they are in favor of an identical course of action that, they hope, will strip Plantin of the master's degree conferred by their faculty in 1990. [Plantin is editor of the scholarly revisionist journal *Akribeia*, and director of a small publishing center of the same name, which has issued French editions of several revisionist works, including Arthur Ponsonby's *Falsehood in Wartime* and, most recently, Ralph Keeling's *Gruesome Harvest*. See "Scholarly French Journal Strives for 'Exactitude'," Nov.-Dec. 1998 Journal.]

On November 17, Vincent Reynouard, a 31-year-old father of three small children, was dismissed from his position as a teacher of mathematics and science. Having been forced to leave a similar job at a state secondary school, he had just obtained this position in a Roman Catholic establishment run by a priest. Certain colleagues, who had heard his name on the "France-Culture" radio network, were either alarmed or angered by his presence among them. They all demanded that he be sacked.

On November 20, the Paris tribunal de grande instance ("high court") ordered the director of the giant American Internet firm Yahoo! to impose several forms of censorship in France and, in particular, to remove from its search engines links to revisionist web sites.

Outside of France as well, repression against revisionists is growing steadily more severe. In Germany on May 23, Münster university professor Werner Pfeifenberger was driven to suicide. [See "German Professor, Accused of Revisionism, Commits Suicide," May-June 2000 Journal.] Also in Münster, Erhard Kemper, age 73, is once again in prison. His request for leave to go to the bedside of his wife, who is terminally ill with cancer and almost completely immobilized, was rejected on November 24 by unanimous decision of the judges.

Udo Walendy, 73, has been in prison for 28 months for having published dissident historical writings on the Holocaust issue. His request for normal release upon serving two-thirds of his sentence was recently rejected on the grounds that he is unlikely to change his views on history. Walendy suffers from a serious eye ailment. [See "Dissident German Historian Punished for Revisionist Writings," July-August 1998 Journal.]

In France, Henri Lewkowicz, who is half-Jewish, said in a radio talk show broadcast with Jean-Marie Le Pen that the Nazi gas chambers are a hoax. On September 7 in Paris, he was sentenced to, among other things, undergo a psychiatric examination that could lead to mandatory hospitalization.

On December 4, Jean-Louis Berger, a teacher of French and Latin at a secondary school near Metz (Lorraine), 55 years of age and the father of three, appeared before a disciplinary board. He will likely be expelled from the teaching profession, without salary or severance pay.

In Austria, Switzerland, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, the hunt for revisionists is intensifying.

In the mainstream media, not a single voice is raised in defense of the persecuted.

Last minute news: On December 8 the Internet servers for the revisionist web sites "Radio Islam" (which receives some 90,000 visits per day) and "aaargh" (with about 7,000 visits per day) has definitively shut down the two sites. It will be some time before new addresses are known.

In Paris a 35-year-old man has been arrested for putting on the Internet allegedly anti-Jewish, and probably revisionist, material. His arrest was made possible through a recently created French police agency, the Brigade des affaires sanitaires et des libertés publiques (BASLP, "Health Affairs and Public Liberties Brigade"). The French Interior Ministry bureau responsible for censorship is called the "Public Liberties Office." (Le Journal du dimanche, Dec. 10, 2000)

In Nantes a teacher has been suspended for revisionism. (Details about the case, including the teacher's name, are not yet known.)

I cannot recommend strongly enough that those who have the means to do so come to the financial aid of any of the four latest French victims of anti-revisionist repression:

- Jean-Louis Berger, 146, Rue de Leitzelthal, 57230 Philippsbourg, France
- Jean Plantin, 45/3, Route de Vourles, 69230 St. Genis Laval, France
- Vincent Reynouard, 107, Chaussée de Vleurgatt, 1000 Brussels, Belgium
- Serge Thion, 1, Aubray, 91780 Chalo Saint Mars, France

-- December 13, 2000

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Germar Rudolf Joins Journal Advisory Committee

We are pleased to welcome Germar Rudolf, a leading revisionist writer and activist, as a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee. He is perhaps best known as the author of *The Rudolf Report*, a detailed 1993 forensic study based on an on-site investigation, chemical analysis of samples and meticulous research, which concludes that the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, including Birkenau, were never used to kill prisoners as alleged. (An English-language summary edition is available through the IHR for \$5.99, plus shipping.) For the past four years, the 36-year-old German-born chemist has been forced to live in exile after a German court sentenced him to a prison term for expressing dissident views on history.

Rudolf was born on October 29, 1964, in Limburg/Lahm, Germany. After completing studies — *summa cum laude* — in chemistry at the University of Bonn, 1983-1989, he received certification as a chemist (Dipl.-Chem.). He then served with the German air force, 1989-1990.

In the Winter of 1990-91, while working toward a doctorate in chemistry at the renowned Max Planck Institute for Solid State Physics in Stuttgart (Oct. 1990-June 1993), he began a scientific investigation of the credibility of the Leuchter Report, a 1988 forensic examination by American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter of the alleged mass execution gas chambers of Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek (Lublin). Rudolf's "Technical Report on the Formation and Detectability of Cyanide Compounds in the 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz," first published in January 1992, corroborates and strengthens the findings of earlier forensic investigations of purported Auschwitz "gas chambers." (For more on *The Rudolf Report*, see the Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal, pp. 25-26, and the Nov.-Dec. 1994 Journal, pp. 14-15.)

Following predictable protests from Jewish community leaders, he was fired from his position with the Max Planck Institute. Similarly, the University of Stuttgart rejected, on political grounds, his doctoral dissertation, in spite of laudatory recommendations.

A Stuttgart court declared that the *Rudolf Report* constitutes "denial of the systematic mass murder of the Jewish population in gas chambers," and therefore violates German laws against "popular incitement," "incitement to racial hatred," and "defamation." The judge in the case called Rudolf an anti-Semite who is "fanatically committed" to "denying the Holocaust." The court rejected Rudolf's request for evidence and expert testimony on the gas chamber issue because, it declared, "the mass murder of the Jews" is "obvious" (*offenkundig*).

German authorities also went after Rudolf for his role in writing and editing *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, a revisionist anthology. (For more on this, see the May-June 1995 Journal, p. 43.) In 1996 a court fined the publisher 30,000 marks (about \$18,000), and ordered all remaining *Grundlagen* copies to be seized and burned.

While he was still living in Germany, police carried out raids on his residence in 1993, 1994 and 1995, and on two occasions he and his family were evicted from their apartment, in each case when his wife was pregnant. After a German court sentenced him to 14 months imprisonment, Rudolf fled the country in 1996 to avoid serving the politically motivated sentence.

Since 1997 he has been director of Castle Hill Publishers in Britain (P.O. Box 118, Hastings, England TN34 3ZQ, UK), which has issued several important revisionist works, as well as editor-publisher of the scholarly revisionist journal *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*. (See "Important New German-Language Revisionist Quarterly," May-June 1998 Journal, pp. 26 ff.)

Since October 1999, a sensational British media campaign has targeted Rudolf as a "neo-Nazi fugitive," with British authorities reportedly seeking to extradite him to Germany. (He is emphatically not a "neo-Nazi.") The campaign also prompted new calls, above all by Jewish groups, for a British law to criminalize "Holocaust denial" similar to those in Germany, France, Switzerland and other European countries. Rudolf's legal status in Britain is unclear because he has done nothing illegal under British law.

Rudolf has worked together with the Foundation for Free Historical Research, or *Vrij Historisch Onderzoek* (VHO), based in Flanders, Belgium. (See the VHO web site <http://www.vho.org>, and "A Belgian Foundation Battles for Free Speech," Jan.-Feb. 1996 Journal, p. 46.)

Rudolf is the editor of or contributor to several important revisionist anthologies, including *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* (1993) and *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (1994), both published by Grabert in Tübingen under the pen name of Ernst Gauss, as well as *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (1995), and *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte* (1996), each nominally edited by H. Verbeke, and published in Belgium by VHO. Rudolf's most recent publication is an impressive 603-page English-language anthology, *Dissecting the Holocaust* (available from the IHR for \$50).

He was married in 1994, and has two young children, but amid the turmoil and difficulties of living in exile, his marriage has fallen apart. He addressed the 13th IHR Conference, May 27-29, 2000. Speaking with authority based on bitter personal experience, he dealt with the legal repression of dissidents in Germany.

For more about Rudolf, see the detailed article by Dr. Costas Zaverdinos in this Journal issue, as well as the information posted on the VHO web site: http://www.vho.org/Authors/Germar_RudolfE.html E-mail reaches Rudolf at: [\[email protected\]](#)

-- M.W.

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'Reductio ad Hitlerum'

“The propagators of the new religion of the holocaust are not actually interested in the sufferings of the Jews but in the destruction of every good thing that can be tarred with the Nazi brush: Lutheran and Catholic Christianity, patriotism and the affection for one’s own people and traditions, conventional morality, traditional art and literature.

“Leo Strauss called it the reductio ad Hitlerum. If Hitler liked neoclassical art, that means that classicism in every form is Nazi; if Hitler wanted to strengthen the German family, that makes the traditional family (and its defenders) Nazi; if Hitler spoke of the “nation” or the “folk,” then any invocation of nationality, ethnicity, or even folkishness is Nazi ...”

— Thomas Fleming, editor, *Chronicles* (Rockford, Illinois), May 2000, p. 11.

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Young Germans Resist 'Holocaust Education'

No country, with the possible exception of the United States, has been so massively subjected to “Holocaustomania” as Germany. The campaign includes mandatory “Holocaust education” in schools, extensive treatment on television and in newspapers and magazines, “Holocaust”-theme motion pictures, and formal government ceremonies and solemn pronouncements by public figures. But this costly, seemingly endless effort doesn’t seem to be paying off, especially in shaping the attitudes of younger people.

Two-thirds of Germans aged 14 to 18 do not even know what the term “Holocaust” means, according to a new “Emnid” public opinion survey cited recently by a member of the Baden-Württemberg provincial legislature. Moreover, 20 percent of Germans youths are unfamiliar with the term “Auschwitz.” (“Aufklärung über NS-Zeit verbessern,” *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, No. 190, Aug. 18, 2000.)

A clear majority of young Germans surveyed — 62 percent — oppose punishing persons who “deny the Holocaust.” (In Germany, as in several other European countries, “Holocaust denial” is a crime.)

As a result of all this, lamented SPD legislator Norbert Zeller, many teenagers don’t regard the events of the Holocaust as objectionable. To counter this, he went on to declare, German schools should deal even more intensively with the “Holocaust.”

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A Dark Secret of World War II Comes to Light

After more than half a century, facts about a grim chapter of World War II history are coming to light: the widespread rape by American military servicemen of local women on the Pacific island of Okinawa. The discovery in 1998 of the bones of three wartime US Marine Corps men, each one 19 years old and black, has — according to a New York Times report (June 1, 2000) — “re-focused attention on what historians say is one of the most widely ignored crimes of the war, the widespread rape of Okinawan women by American servicemen.”

More than 200,000 soldiers and civilians, including one-third of the population of Okinawa, were killed in the April-June 1945 battle for the Pacific island.

As many as 10,000 Okinawan women may have been raped, one scholar estimates. Rape was so prevalent in the months following US subjugation of the island that most Okinawans over age 65 either know or have heard of a woman who was raped in the aftermath of the war. Marine Corps officials say they have no records of such mass rapes, but books, diaries, newspaper articles and other documents refer to rapes by American soldiers of various races and backgrounds. Apparently few if any Okinawan women reported being attacked out of fear and embarrassment, and those who did were ignored by the US military police.

The three black Marines whose bones were found in 1998, and who were identified by dental records, were apparently killed by men of the remote Okinawan village of Katsuyama because the three had repeatedly come to their village to rape their women. Elderly Okinawans who grew up in village told a New York Times reporter that three armed Marines would come to Katsuyama every weekend and force the village men to take them to their women, who were then carried off to the hills and raped. One day, villagers, with the help of two armed Japanese soldiers who were hiding in the jungle, ambushed three marines in a mountain pass. They were shot and beaten to death with sticks and stones, and their bodies dumped in a hillside cave. Because the three were black, the cave where their bodies were dumped became known as “Cave of the Negroes.”

“It would be unfair for the public to get the impression that we were all a bunch of rapists after we worked so hard to serve our country,” says Samuel Saxton, a retired Marine Corps Captain who has an interest in the case. There are no plans to prosecute anyone for the crimes.

-- M.W.

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Suppressing Debate about Auschwitz:

The Rudolf Case, Irving's Lost Libel Suit and the Future of Revisionism

Costas Zaverdinos

This essay illustrates how Germar Rudolf, a young German chemist who is passionate about objective truth, was condemned as the exact opposite, and even labeled a “neo-Nazi,” by a prejudiced and ignorant society. ^[1] In the months since British historian David Irving (sometimes called a revisionist) lost his libel case against American Jewish activist Deborah Lipstadt — largely, I believe, because of his ignorance of Rudolf’s work — the issues raised in his headline-making trial have become all the more urgent for the future of revisionism.

All too often history is written for propaganda purposes. This is especially common when a state strives to inculcate the youth with its political views, but it also occurs when zealous writers seek to defend the historical rights, as they see them, of their own people.

Can history be objective? The question seems to have been first asked two and a half thousand years ago by Thucydides, historian of the 30-year war between ancient Athens and Sparta. At the beginning of his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Thucydides states that his aim is to preserve an accurate record of the war, not only for its intrinsic interest but in the hope this would be useful for “those who desire an exact knowledge of the past as a key to the future.” He wished his *History* to be “a possession forever, not the rhetorical triumph of an hour.” ^[2]

Thucydides writes that as other authors “take rumors for granted and copy uncritically from each other,” his own work “because of its lack of fiction may be less pleasing than theirs.” ^[3] This sentiment is the hallmark of a true historian: aiming to separate myth from reality and not to please any party. ^[4]

This goal can only be achieved by closely examining all the available evidence. As Italian scholar Carlo Mattogno has emphasized, there is really nothing new about Holocaust revisionism: it simply calls for the same evidential rigor that is normally demanded when historians examine events other than the “Nazi genocide of the Jews.” ^[5]

History is important because the way we perceive the past fundamentally — and often unconsciously — affects our perception of the present. For example, Nicholas Ridley, a minister in the British government of Margaret Thatcher, cited Auschwitz and all it stands for as an argument to keep Britain out of the European Union, in which Germany plays a major role. Others see the Union as a means of “keeping Germany in check.” On the eve of Germany’s reunification, author Günther Grass remarked that “Auschwitz speaks against our right to self-determination,” showing how in modern Germany patriotism has been completely turned on its head. ^[6]

Nearly all the evidence supporting allegations of mass homicidal gassings in wartime Germany is eyewitness testimony, given at postwar trials of alleged war criminals or written down after the war, often decades later. The critical historian wishes to distinguish carefully between what a witness claims to have seen personally and what he or she has heard from others.

Historians should have asked some basic questions before concluding that German authorities planned the physical destruction of all Jews, and used gas chambers to carry out mass killings. As pioneer revisionists such as Robert Faurisson have demanded: show us an order, not necessarily from Hitler, but from any of his subordinates, to exterminate the Jews just because they were Jews; and, “show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!” [7]

At the Nuremberg “International Military Tribunal” of 1945-1946, or at the great Frankfurt “Auschwitz Trial” of 1963-1965, where defendants were convicted of participating in so-called selections of victims for gas chambers, the defense did not demand that forensic scientists examine the alleged “weapon of the crime,” that is the homicidal gas chamber. Why not? This is remarkable, considering that scholars of ancient history defer to the archaeologist, not only when in doubt, but as a matter of course? [8]

Although there may be more to this problem, there seems little doubt that the rot set in at the main Nuremberg trial, the International Military Tribunal (IMT), which set the precedent in not only requiring no scientific evidence for the worst allegations of mass murder, but actually forbidding any such evidence. [9] This meant that the Nuremberg court could accept allegations as “self-evident” facts and that it could (indeed, was bound to) take seriously any report made by Soviet and other “special commissions” expressly set up to “investigate” the alleged crimes. [10]

Today, hardly anyone claims that the Germans manufactured soap from murdered Jews. But why did it take many decades to admit this officially? Was it really so difficult to carry out a forensic test of any one of the notorious soap bars marked “RIF”? The irony is a sample of “human soap” was submitted evidence at Nuremberg by the Soviets with no effort by the defense to challenge its authenticity. [11]

Several other “facts” — also “proven” at Nuremberg — are no longer taken seriously by historians, such as homicidal gas chambers in camps located in the German “Altreich” (Germany in its borders of 1937), and bizarre killing machines operated with electricity or steam. [12]

The Leuchter, Rudolf and Cracow Reports

Some readers will be familiar with the origin of the Leuchter Report. The German-Canadian publicist Ernst Zündel was twice put on trial for allegedly knowingly spreading “false news” because he re-published *Did Six Million Really Die?*, an early revisionist booklet by Richard Harwood (Richard Verral) that was banned in numerous countries, including South Africa. [13]

For the second trial in 1988, [14] Zündel engaged Fred Leuchter, widely acknowledged as the foremost US authority on execution gas chambers, as an expert witness. He sent Leuchter to Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek to determine, based on an evaluation of samples taken there, and other factors, whether the alleged extermination facilities there could have performed their grisly task as claimed.

It is generally agreed that hydrocyanic acid (HCN), a poisonous gas, was widely used at Auschwitz-Birkenau, and that it was extensively used to kill lice and other disease-carrying vermin. The gas was contained in a commercially-produced pesticide, Zyklon B. [15] For nearly 30

years a small group of historians has questioned the widely held view that this gas was used to kill hundreds of thousands of prisoners there. If the allegations are true, shouldn't traces of this gas be detectable today? Fred Leuchter took brick and mortar samples from an acknowledged disinfestation chamber, as well as from the ruins of crematory buildings (Kremas) where, it is widely alleged, mass killings with poison gas were carried out. These samples were later independently analyzed for cyanide residues by Alpha Analytical Laboratories in Ashland, Massachusetts. The results appeared astonishing: 1050 mg/kg of cyanide was found in the sample taken from the delousing chamber, but less than 10 mg/kg in the alleged homicidal chambers. This fact was cited in supporting Leuchter's conclusion that "none of the facilities examined were ever utilized for the execution of human beings." [16]

After issuing his report and testifying in April 1988 in the second Zündel trial in Toronto, Fred Leuchter came under vicious attack, above all from Jewish organizations. His health, marriage and livelihood were ruined, and he literally went into hiding in an effort to quietly rebuild his life. [17] But film maker Errol Morris persuaded him to cooperate in making "Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.", a film in which Ernst Zündel, David Irving and others also make appearances. [18] Having seen "Mr. Death," my overall impression is that Leuchter comes across as rather naive — even a bit of a "weirdo" — but not evil. On the other hand, those who brought him down appear as fanatics bent on destroying him at all costs. As with the Irving-Lipstadt trial, even bad publicity may be better than none. From a technical point of view, possibly the worst failing of "Mr. Death" is that it avoids any mention of the relatively huge concentration of cyanide found in Leuchter's sample taken from a non-homicidal delousing chamber.

Apart from attacks aimed at ruining his reputation and livelihood, there have been some reasoned criticisms of Leuchter, if not all of the same standard. One who thought he had decisively discredited the Leuchter Report (and the revisionists) was French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac. [19]

Aside from some uncalled for ad hominem attacks against Leuchter, Pressac raised pertinent issues that called for reasoned response. For example, he made the important point that much smaller amounts of hydrocyanic acid are needed to kill humans than lice, and that the delousing chambers were exposed to warm gas (to increase its effect) and for much longer periods than those (allegedly) used to kill human beings. [20] Regarding the matter of remnants of cyanide in the "homicidal gas chambers," Pressac claimed that after nearly half a century of exposure to the elements "it is practically a miracle that any measurable traces of hydrocyanic compounds still remain." [21] The inside walls of some of the delousing chambers are quite blue with ferric ferrocyanide (commonly known as Prussian Blue) as a result of their exposure to HCN, but Pressac goes so far as to claim that "the 'blue wall phenomenon' ... permits the immediate distinction ... with absolute certainty between delousing gas chambers, where the phenomenon is present, and the homicidal gas chambers, where it is not." [22] He further writes: "... In a homicidal gas chamber, the action of highly concentrated HCN was rapid and intense (never more than 15 to 20 minutes), then the room was aired ... as quickly as possible ... The acid ... did not have enough time to impregnate and stain the brick." [23]

It took a man of letters to first propose that the chemistry of the gas chambers be investigated by competent scientists: Robert Faurisson suggested the idea of taking brick and mortar samples to be later analyzed. Others, notably William Brian Lindsey, have considered chemical aspects of the problem. [24] Germar Rudolf, a graduate doctoral student employed by the prestigious Max Planck Institute for Solid State Physics in Stuttgart, began his own investigations in the early 1990s. He set himself the task of thoroughly investigating problems such as those posed by Pres-

sac, who had written that the formation of Prussian Blue “occurs under the influence of various physico-chemical factors which have not yet been studied.” [25]

At about the same time, Paul Grubach in an article titled “The Leuchter Report Vindicated,” dismissed some of Pressac’s claims by pointing out that damp and cool environments favor the formation of stable iron compounds; heating prevented condensation of the gas. Like Leuchter, he concluded that “if the alleged extermination gas chambers had actually been used to kill people..., ferric ferrocyanide [Prussian Blue] would have been found in them in amounts comparable to those found in the delousing facility.” [26]

In 1989, the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute in Cracow, Poland, commissioned by the Auschwitz State Museum, took samples from the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau, and conducted its own chemical tests, the results of which, in the eyes of many revisionists, appeared to confirm Leuchter’s findings, even though the Cracow Institute itself came to the opposite conclusion. (More will be said on this below). [27]

Germar Rudolf praised the Leuchter Report for its “ice-breaking function” which, he said was of “inestimable value.” But he also had some criticisms:

First of all, as a scientist one checks carefully if the work is solidly backed up by references to competent authorities. Unfortunately, Leuchter’s report hardly has such a foundation. For one thing, none of the chemical conclusions is properly referenced. On their own, a few chemical results say nothing; they must be correctly interpreted. One cannot simply claim: there are no cyanides, therefore nobody was gassed. In the end, there could be other explanations for the lack of cyanide compounds. Leuchter ought to have scientifically eliminated these beforehand.

According to Rudolf, other shortcomings were that only one sample was taken from a delousing chamber and that there was no control analysis. Leuchter, a non-chemist, should have consulted specialists in this field. He had no original plans, which led him to make the incorrect claim that the Leichenkeller (underground morgues) in Kremas (crematory buildings) II and III had no ventilation. “Leuchter regards an approximately 1% by volume mixture of HCN with air as explosive while a table in his report clearly shows that only concentrations of more than 5% are explosive.” [28]

Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl shared Rudolf’s view that “Leuchter is correct, even though he provided no detailed scientific proof in his report,” adding that the final word has not been said on this subject. [29]

At the Ninth IHR Conference in 1989 Leuchter himself called for the formation of an “international commission of scientists, historians and scholars to investigate the facilities in Poland and make an impartial report of their findings to the world at large.” [30]

When Rudolf first came across Leuchter’s report, he told Journal contributor Fritz Berg: “I felt as though I had been hit on the head. I knew it straight away, either this American was a charlatan or my entire world-picture was completely false.” To Berg’s question, whether Leuchter had persuaded him, Rudolf replied “No, not at all,” explaining that more questions were left open than had been answered, but he was keen to apply his scientific knowledge to test independently the validity of revisionist arguments. [31]

Writing that Leuchter’s study “should not be regarded as the end but rather as the beginning of more comprehensive investigations of the subject,” [32] Rudolf recalled that he had expressed

some of these reservations in a 1990 letter to the German periodical *Junge Freiheit*, noting that “Leuchter’s report does not tell us in exactly what condition the supposed gas chambers are, how stable these residues (more precisely, cyanide compounds) are, and moreover whether they would even have formed in the first place ...” [33]

Otto Ernst Remer, who as a German army officer played a major role in putting down the ill-fated anti-Hitler Putsch of July 20, 1944, had for years disputed the “gas chamber” claims, and was consequently indicted for “incitement of the people,” “disparaging the memory of the dead” and “inciting racial hatred,” and sentenced to 22 months imprisonment. [34]

As a result of Rudolf’s letter to *Junge Freiheit*, Hajo Hermann, attorney for Remer, came into contact with the young scientist and commissioned him to compile a Leuchter-like forensic report on the alleged “gas chambers” of Auschwitz. [35]

This was a unique opportunity for Rudolf to further explore the issue. Having made a thorough study of the extant literature, he traveled to Auschwitz (including Birkenau) where he took brick, concrete and mortar samples from various facilities. Rudolf’s 119-page report, *Das Rudolf Gutachten* (the Rudolf Report), is a thorough technical investigation of the “gas chambers” of Auschwitz-Birkenau, which seems to confirm and complement the Leuchter Report in a spectacular way. [36]

In the first chapter of his Report, “Construction Methods used for the Gassing Facilities at Auschwitz,” Rudolf points out that a study of such methods is important because the type of building material and the way it was used, as well as how the various facilities were outfitted, could have significantly affected the formation of cyanide compounds.

In Chapter 2, “Formation and Stability of Prussian Blue,” Rudolf discusses in detail the composition and properties of cyanide compounds, in particular those of the extremely stable and insoluble iron compound ferric ferrocyanide (Prussian Blue), as well as the conditions under which such compounds may form. The author considers the influence of moisture, reactivity of iron, temperature (which affects the adsorption, or sticking-effect, of hydrogen cyanide gas on walls) and the effects of acidity levels. Rudolf goes deeply into the question of the long-term stability of Prussian Blue, [37] thoroughly surveying a number of related questions.

In chapter 3, “Procedures for Gassing with Hydrocyanic Acid (HCN),” Rudolf presents an overview of the toxicology of HCN, and he compares the gassing procedures for delousing chambers and what they theoretically should have been for the alleged homicidal chambers. He argues that eyewitness accounts, in particular the commonly made claim that death followed quickly (3-10 minutes) implies that large amounts of Zyklon B would have been needed to carry out the killing process. This affects the detectability of cyanide compounds today, as do other factors, such as the rate of evaporation of HCN gas from its holding material, [38] the distribution of Zyklon B in the underground Leichenkeller (morgue cellar) No.1 of Birkenau Kremas II and III [39] (the ‘homicidal gas chambers’), and the rate at which the morgues were ventilated, as well as their dampness.

In chapter 4, “Evaluation of the Chemical Analyses,” Rudolf relates how the samples he collected were analyzed by the prestigious Institut Fresenius in Taunusstein, Hessen, Germany, without the institute being informed of the origin of the samples. [40]

This chapter includes a comparison of the methods and results of the Institut Fresenius, Alpha Analytical Laboratories and the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute. Rudolf regards the analytical method of the Cracow institute as altogether unreliable, mainly because it excludes the possibility of de-

tecting stable compounds of cyanide like Prussian Blue, which should account for the vast majority of compounds detectable today. [41] Table 15 in Rudolf's Report gives the precise place from where each sample was taken, the type of material it contains, the depth in the wall from which it originated, the iron concentration and, finally, the cyanide (CN-) content, measured in the standard ratio of milligrams per kilogram (mg/kg). Results from morgue No. 1 in Krema II, allegedly the chief killing location, show concentrations of 7.2 mg/kg or less, while the samples from the inner and outer walls of the delousing chambers show up to 13,500 mg/kg, quantities which are not merely larger but of different order. Rudolf also discusses the results of experiments in which he exposed building material to HCN under various laboratory conditions.

The fifth chapter contains Rudolf's conclusions (cited below). In chapter six, "Critique of Counter Reports," he responds to the 1945 and 1990 expert reports by the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute (Cracow), [42] and also to the "anti-Leuchter" findings of French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac, German writer Werner Wegner, [43] G. Wellers, Austrian chemist J. Bailer, [44] Prof. G. Jagschitz, [45] and historian Gerald Fleming.

Prussian Blue stains are formed on walls as follows: First the hydrocyanic acid (HCN) gas sticks to the walls, where it is adsorbed on the surface in a purely physical process. Later HCN combines with ferrous iron and, eventually, ferric iron in the building materials to form the permanent blue compound. [46] Finally, the compound begins to "migrate" into and through the wall. [47] The presence of moisture, as in the damp morgue-cellars of Birkenau Kremas II and III, hastens this chemical process, which may take a long time to complete.

This can be observed in Auschwitz-Birkenau buildings BW (Bauwerk) 5a and 5b, which had delousing or disinfestation chambers that used Zyklon B. The north-west interior wall of the delousing tract in building BW 5a shows intense blue coloring, and there are dark blue patches on the exterior walls of both these buildings, especially the wall of BW 5b which was exposed to wet westerly winds. This shows that Prussian Blue has "migrated" right through the brick. The claim that exposure to the elements would have "washed away" any cyanide compounds is thus shown to be false. [48] On the contrary, as Rudolf explains, the wet Polish winds have encouraged the process of Prussian Blue formation in the walls of the disinfestation chambers (especially the west-facing outer-wall of the gas chamber in building BW 5b). If Birkenau's alleged homicidal "gas chambers" — the damp morgue rooms in Kremas II and III — had been exposed to Zyklon/HCN as claimed, Prussian Blue staining should have been similarly visible.

Rudolf cites the interesting case of a sample of building material taken from a farmhouse in the Bavarian countryside that showed a cyanide concentration of 9.6 mg/kg, which is of the same order as the 7.2 mg/kg found in the "gas chamber" of Krema II. This suggests that such low concentrations may well be a phenomenon of nature, or be below the practical detection level. [49]

Some revisionists have suggested that the morgue cellars (where homicidal gassings were allegedly carried out) may have been disinfected from time to time with HCN, thus accounting for these low levels of cyanide. This is possible, [50] but pharmacist Pressac has plausibly pointed out that HCN would not normally be used as a disinfectant. [51] As already noted, however, it appears that such low concentrations may have nothing to do with occasional exposure to Zyklon (HCN). In fact, though, we simply do not know if the morgues were disinfected with Zyklon B or not. If the figures for cyanide found in the Leichenkeller indeed have nothing to do with applications of Zyklon B, that would surely be more satisfactory than having to account for partial gassings there.

Rudolf's Concluding Remarks

(A) The investigation concerning the formation and long-term stability of cyanide remnants in the witnessed facilities and the analysis of the brick and mortar samples resulted in the following conclusions: [52]

1. The cyanide in the walls, which has been activated into Prussian Blue possesses a long-term stability of centuries ... Cyanide remnants should therefore be detectable in almost undiminished quantities, irrespective of the influence of the weather. This is proved by the intense blue in the outer walls of the delousing chambers of the buildings BW 5a and 5b which contain large amounts of cyanide.
2. Under the actual conditions, as testified to by eyewitnesses of massive homicidal gassing in the disputed chambers, traces of cyanide residues would have formed of the same order of magnitude as those found in the delousing chambers, including the blue coloration of the walls.
3. The traces found in the alleged gas chambers are just as insignificant as those to be found in any building chosen at random.

Conclusion: On chemical and physical grounds, the mass gassing with hydrocyanic acid in the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, as described by witnesses, could not have taken place.

(B) The investigation of the practical and technical data regarding the witnessed mass gassing in the indicated facilities and their physical and chemical analyses resulted in the following conclusions:

1. The alleged main gas chambers of Auschwitz, that is the morgue in the main camp, and the morgue number 1 of Kremas II and III in Birkenau, had no means to introduce the poison. Holes visible today in the roofs were made after the war.
2. The release of the lethal hydrogen cyanide gas from its carrier material could not have taken place in the short time span indicated by eyewitnesses. In fact, it would have taken hours before the gas was completely released.
3. The necessary ventilation of the alleged gas chambers of Kremas II and III, at the rate of one air exchange every 15 minutes would have taken at least two hours, contradicting all eyewitness accounts.
4. An effective ventilation of the alleged gas chambers of Kremas IV and V and Bunkers I and II [53] was not possible. The Sonderkommandos could not have removed the corpses from the chambers without wearing protective clothing and gas masks fitted with a special filter.

Conclusion: The mass gassing as described by witnesses cross-examined before courts, as stated in verdicts and published in literary and scientific writings could not, for chemical and physical reasons, have taken place. [54]

Rudolf concludes with the declaration: "The author of this report can only refer to existing eyewitness accounts and documents, which can be the only basis for any historical consideration of the matters under discussion. Should the belief nevertheless arise that the eyewitnesses erred in their statements, then the author of the present report can only assert that there is no other basis for putting together a specialist report, and therefore ... there is no longer any legal basis for courts to prosecute certain opinions. The invention of new mass-murder techniques and scenarios which contradict all eyewitness testimony may be fine for the Hollywood horror industry but is unsuited for writing history."

Not all these conclusions are new, but as a scientist Rudolf rightly emphasizes that he can only go by existing evidence, either based on eyewitnesses testimony or on accepted scientific principles.

The 1994 Cracow Institute Report

In 1994 the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute published a second, lengthier technical report on the Auschwitz gas chambers, basing its conclusions on chemical analyses of numerous brick and mortar samples taken from various buildings. [55] If one accepts the methods used by the authors of this report, the results would appear to prove that there were homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz, as they found cyanide residues in the (non-homicidal) delousing chambers in amounts comparable to those found in morgue No. 1 of Krema II (an alleged homicidal gas chamber).

What, if anything, is wrong here? The Polish investigators called the blue wall phenomenon “controversial,” and possibly due to paint! In a fax exchange with the Cracow Institute and the authors of this report, Germar Rudolf reminded them that, by their own admission, they had deliberately chosen an analytic method that would not detect Prussian Blue, [56] that is, the vast majority of stable cyanide compounds present in the walls. [57] This fact is crucial to their results and cannot be overemphasized, especially given that the Polish researchers offer no satisfactory explanation for their assertion that the Prussian Blue stains are “controversial,” apart from the arbitrary conjecture that “this dye” (as they call it) may have resulted from “paint.” They were not even sure if the “blue” was due to cyanide, something they could easily have ascertained. [58]

If the standard DIN method used by Rudolf is the proper or correct one, then, we can conclude, with Rudolf, that the chemical results of the Jan Sehn Institute are completely meaningless.

Even a single gassing with hydrocyanic acid can be instructive. A fascinating instance of a one-time gassing is that of a church which was treated with HCN to rid the woodwork of bore beetles. A few months later intense blue patches began to show on the walls, and eventually all the plaster had to be removed to get rid of the Prussian Blue. The significance of this is clear: even a single gassing can result in the formation of large remnants of cyanide. It should be noted that the interior church walls had been freshly plastered some weeks before they were exposed to HCN, and that the chemical reaction producing Prussian Blue stopped only a year later, confirming the long-term action of the process. [59]

Professor Richard Green, a chemist, joined the discussion — against the “deniers,” as he calls them — about the conditions under which Prussian Blue is formed. While accepting that cyanide compounds of iron are present in the delousing chambers, he disputes whether they would have formed in the “homicidal gas chambers.” Green regards Rudolf’s “church” example as an exception rather than the rule, and believes that the Jan Sehn Institute’s 1994 report “provided real information.” [60]

John C. Zimmerman, an Associate Professor at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, responded critically to a Los Angeles Times article [61] that had given a fair description of Rudolf’s forensic results. In a letter published in the paper, [62] Zimmerman wrote: “The problem for deniers like Rudolf is to explain why any traces of poison gas turned up in structures identified by numerous eyewitnesses as homicidal gas chambers.”

In a reply to Zimmerman, Rudolf wrote: “Contrary to your false claim, I have no problems to explain the minimal cyanide residues in the walls of those morgues: They are not reproducible and

in the same order of magnitude as in samples taken from all sorts of locations. In other words: These values close to the detection level cannot be interpreted at all.” Rudolf also reminded Zimmerman of the faults of the second Cracow report. [63]

Because the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute used much the same methods for both its reports, revisionists should not cite the earlier report as somehow confirming Leuchter’s findings. [64]

(One of the charges brought against Rudolf in 1993 was, remarkably, the publication of his correspondence with the Jan Sehn Institute in the Berlin periodical *Sleipnir*.) [65]

The Trial of Germar Rudolf

The court in Schweinfurt, Germany, that tried Otto Ernst Remer refused to accept Rudolf’s Report in evidence. It found the former Major General guilty of the charges brought against him, and, in October 1992, sentenced him to 22 months imprisonment. Before fleeing to Spain in February 1994 he once again showed his defiance by adding his own polemical comments to a new edition of Rudolf’s Report, publishing it, and then distributing it to leading German personalities, including many accomplished professors of inorganic chemistry. Remer’s foreword or preface, as well as the epilogue (afterword) were added without Germar Rudolf’s permission. When copies of the new edition began arriving at the Max Planck Institute in the middle of April 1993, heated discussions took place between Rudolf and his doctoral supervisor, Professor H. G. von Schnering. A letter of complaint by the Central Council of German Jews expressed anxiety that the Report “might all too easily be used as pseudo-scientific support for denial of the mass murder of the Jews.” [66]

The uproar led not only to Rudolf’s dismissal from the Max Planck Institute, [67] but also to his indictment for collaboration with Remer. Formal charges were brought against him on April 19, 1994, [68] with the indictment accusing him of having “concomitantly (1) attacked the dignity of others in a way suited to disturbing public order by (a) inciting hatred against sections of the population (b) abusing these people, maliciously making them appear despicable and calumniating them; (2) defamed the memory of the dead, and (3) defamed others.” [69]

In the indictment as well as the judgment (Urteil), the term Gutachten (expert report) is consistently given in quotation marks, apparently to denigrate the value of Rudolf’s forensic investigation. We read in the indictment, for example: “In this 'Gutachten', the notorious systematic mass murder of the Jews, which was committed by means of gas chambers in concentration camps of the Third Reich, in particular at Auschwitz-Birkenau, is denied in a degrading way and, in at least a partial identification with Nazi persecution and motivated by a tendency to exonerate National Socialism from the stain of having murdered the Jews, it is claimed that as a result of allegedly scientific research [angeblich wissenschaftlich fundierter Untersuchungen], neither at Auschwitz nor at Birkenau were there gas chambers for the destruction of human beings nor were they suitable for such a purpose.” [70]

The indictment then quotes Rudolf’s “Concluding Assessments” (A) and (B) as given above, and goes on to state that the accompanying text of the 'Gutachten' “blames the Jews for the 'gassing lie'.” The indictment supports the charges against Rudolf by accusing him of sanctioning these additions as well as their distribution — although it accepts that he did not write them. The charges are further justified with the claim that the “degrading denial” of the “historically documented murder of Jews in gas chambers... represents a particularly serious slur on their memory,” and the allegation that the “actual [factual?] determinations [tatsächlichen Feststellungen] of the 'Gutachten' are completely unsuited for proving the conclusions (A) and (B).” It is further

alleged that “considering the content of the 'Gutachten' and the accompanying text, it follows that the accused identifies with National Socialist racist ideology, and is thus determined to arouse feelings of hatred toward the Jews ...”

Remer’s foreword holds German politicians and the media responsible for what is called an “unbelievably satanical distortion of history,” and Jews are not even mentioned. The added epilogue — which covers Remer’s trial and some revisionist material — consists only of brief quotes from a few Jewish personalities. [71]

Thus the charge that Rudolf “blames the Jews for the 'gassing lie'” was paper-thin to begin with. My understanding is that the “aggavating circumstances” — his revisionist work — was the real object of the trial, as I will try to show.

Although during the trial he categorically denied having collaborated with Remer, Rudolf has subsequently acknowledged that, through a third person he, in fact, gave Remer permission to distribute what he thought would be the unpoliticized version of his Report. [72] In a deposition he explained that publication of the politicized version of his Report could only have detracted from its value. For one thing, it had already appeared in all its essentials under the pen-name of Ernst Gauss in the book *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* before Remer’s action had begun.

Rudolf has repeatedly stressed, both before and during the trial, that only dry, material arguments have a chance to be being taken seriously. It is difficult to see how the court could regard such an attitude, which he repeatedly emphasized in writings and dealings with others, as “particularly refined deception.” In his deposition he explained that the pen name “Ernst Gauss” had gained prestige, while the name of Otto Ernst Remer “is not an advertisement, as the public prosecutor alleges, rather it frightens people off [from reading revisionist literature].” [73]

Without justification the court regarded as insincere even statements made by Rudolf in private letters. In a personal letter to his godmother, for example, he rejected David Irving’s “propaganda methods,” and wrote of Remer, “I do not wish to be associated with his totally obnoxious views.” [74] The judges cited this as an “index” of how Rudolf played down his connections with the extreme right! In the court’s opinion the publication of Remer’s edition of the Rudolf Report was a “publicity trick” which served as an advertisement for the later authorized version. Allegedly, another purpose of Remer’s publication was to enable Rudolf to avoid the penal consequences of publishing the official version! The court declared: “The 'Gutachten' was ... the basis of a 'revisionist' publication campaign in which the theme of Auschwitz was discussed at various levels in order to force a public debate on the issue.” [75]

Imagine! A public debate! How dare Rudolf! In its judgment the court claimed that because Rudolf could not find a publisher for his report outside the “national camp,” and in order “to avoid possible negative repercussions for his career..., he, together with his co-workers feigned the self-defense action [76] of a third person,” namely Remer, whereby the accused would “create the impression that he would be under pressure to prove his supposedly pure scientific aims by opposing the out-of-date Remer-version of the 'Gutachten' with that of a more current and purified version.” [77] This nonsense continues with the claim that “finally, by sending it to all professors of inorganic chemistry, from whom he expected no reaction, [78] the foundation would be laid for the later pseudo-argument that allegedly no technical errors had been found in the 'Gutachten'.” [79]

Not once did the court address any of Rudolf’s technical arguments, while it regarded his conclusions — (A) and (B), above — as constituting aggravating circumstances. Further aggravating circumstances were that Rudolf continued his revisionist work during the trial. The court cyni-

cally pronounced that “freedom of the sciences remains unrestricted, and is unaffected by the verdict ... In its totality, the Remer version of the 'Gutachten' ... is not scholarly. This follows already from the polemical character of the comments ... the court does not need to test whether parts are of a scientific nature or not — which, considering the political objectives of the accused and the way he treats facts..., seems improbable. The accused and his accomplices made use of the scientific-looking major section of the work with the express aim of committing the stated offence by means of the foreword and accompanying text.” [80]

The court ordered a “self-reading procedure” for the Report itself, so that it was not be read in open court. The court justified this order by explaining that “in spite of damage done to transparency,” “the work is extremely extensive and difficult to read and understand,” thus implicitly admitting it was not qualified to form an opinion on the technical issues discussed by Rudolf. [81] While seemingly conceding that the Report is written in an “essentially scientific style” (im wesentlichen wissenschaftlichen Stil gehalten), the court withdrew its “recognition” by tying a “strategy” to the Stil. The “Report,” it patronizingly stated, “is concerned with a “difficult to explain ... chemical detail,” [82] “whose real purpose is, following a common 'revisionist' strategy, to fix on a central point and then draw general conclusions.” [83] Throughout the trial the court maintained that Rudolf’s methodology has only the appearance of objectivity, his arguments are “pseudo-arguments,” there is merely a “claim to scholarship,” and that he merely gave the “impression” of being an unprejudiced researcher. [84] In his submission for a review, attorney Ludwig Bock emphasized the court’s negligence in testing any of the Report’s theses, let alone whether Rudolf’s arguments had any substance to them.

On a wall of the main Sauna at Auschwitz, one can still see the slogan Eine Laus Dein Tod ("One Louse Your Death"), warning prisoners of the ever-present danger of typhus. Because this is quoted in Rudolf’s Report, the court found that the accused “cynically ... identifies with National Socialist terminology.” As Rudolf comments in a note, “the truth is not cynical; cynical are judges who punish the proclamation of truth under the pretext of protecting the law.” [85]

The court refused to admit extensive testimony that would have favored the defendant. For example, it dismissed as of no importance the avowal by a Jewish friend that Rudolf was no anti-Semite. [86]

Likewise, the court regarded as insignificant the fact that Rudolf had given a public lecture praising the German-Jewish patriot Eduard von Simson, the first president of the Reichstag. Similarly, in an introductory chapter of the anthology Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte, Rudolf expressed the hope that a resolution of the Holocaust issue might lead to a re-establishment of the fruitful German-Jewish “symbiosis.” “In any case it is my wish, that both peoples may again find each other in a partnership of mutual respect and resume an epoch which brought so many benefits to the world, to Jewry and to the German people. It is also my wish that a chapter of history which has been full of mutual contempt, mistrust and fear can be finally closed. I long for the end of a period which, like none other before it, has brought so much unhappiness to the world, to Jews and Germans.” [87] The court arbitrarily dismissed this sincere appeal for reconciliation as merely an “attempt to make an impression.” [88]

That the court saw Rudolf’s “crimes” as more than his alleged approval of Remer’s additions to his Report is already clear from the court’s repeated citing of Rudolf’s revisionist work, including Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte and Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte, both of which had nothing at all to do with the main charge. In support of its award of punishment, the court asserted that by means of his “specially refined and concealed strategy ... the accused made it as difficult as possible for the victims [survivors] to defend themselves.” [89] I interpret this as saying (among

possibly other things) that the arguments in Rudolf's Report leading up to his conclusions appeared extremely difficult to see through.

On June 23, 1995, Germar Rudolf was sentenced to 14 months imprisonment. According to Judge Dietmar Mayer, Rudolf, who continued his revisionist work (for example on Grundlagen) "in spite of and while the trial was proceeding" was "an anti-Semite fanatically committed to the cause of Holocaust denial [fanatischer Überzeugungstäter]," with the result that no part of the sentence could be suspended. Thus there were "no mitigating circumstances which would make his offence 'more understandable.' On the contrary, the calculating and refined way in which he camouflaged his crime is to be seen as particularly aggravating." [90]

One of the major flaws in the German judicial system is the lack of any records of statements made by witnesses. Since 1979 even summaries of such statements were dispensed with, thus allowing for later distortions and even contradictions during judgment. [91]

Significantly, during the post-war trials of "war criminals" this same system was in operation. [92]

Because he had been convicted of a "thought crime," the University of Stuttgart refused to accept Rudolf's doctoral thesis — ironically on the basis of a 1939 law signed by Hitler that permits German universities to withdraw or withhold academic titles in cases of "lack of academic dignity." [93]

At the time of his flight from Germany there were other cases pending against Rudolf. Rather than serve his 14-month sentence, he fled the country, first going to Spain and then settling in England. Since its founding in 1997, Rudolf has been editor of the quarterly Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung (VffG), [94] a scholarly, intellectually ambitious revisionist quarterly journal. Rudolf also runs Castle Hill Publishers, which has brought out new and important revisionist works. [95]

"German neo-Nazi fugitive is found hiding in Britain" headlined a report in the British Sunday Telegraph of October 17, 1999. The writers, Jessica Berry and Chris Hastings, claimed that they had "tracked down" a "neo-Nazi who fled Germany after being convicted of inciting racial hatred." Rudolf was quoted as saying "In Britain I work as an Holocaust revisionist 24 hours a day. My work has brought me into contact with people on the far Right. I have met leading members of the National Front and the British National Party while I have been in England. I have also made contact with David Irving. But I want to make clear that I am not a member of any far-Right organisations. I am not a total apologist for the Nazis like a lot of people who support my work. I miss Germany but I am a political prisoner who came here because I wanted to be free."

Based on the Sunday Telegraph article, the German news agency dpa issued a report about the "wanted German neo-Nazi" that appeared in several German newspapers, and a German radio station told listeners that Germany's Jewish Community demanded that the German government ask Britain to extradite Rudolf to Germany. [96]

Rudolf immediately issued a response to the Sunday Telegraph, which the paper did not publish. In this letter of response, [97] Rudolf categorically denied that he ever was "involved in a neo-Nazi organisation," or held "political views which are even close to National Socialism." He was, in fact, "a patriotic conservative with strong libertarian convictions," adding that he had been living quite openly in England since he arrived there in the Spring of 1997, that the German police knew this and had not been "looking" for him. Furthermore, Rudolf continued, his only reason for contacting the head of the British National Party was because he "wanted to report [in VffG] about him [the BNP leader] being prosecuted for 'Holocaust denial'." Dismissing the im-

putation that he might be a partial “apologist for the Nazis,” Rudolf wrote that his “business is not to apologize for what happened or did not happen in Germany 60 years ago, but to try to bring historiography into accord with the facts.” Finally, he reminded the Sunday Telegraph of the circumstances under which he was unable to complete his doctorate, and that he had not been “expelled from [his] university course.”

Rudolf also recalled that reporter Chris Hastings “was very curious about the situation in Germany regarding freedom of speech.” Rudolf had told him of the thousands of prosecutions each year for “thought crimes,” “as published by the German authorities,” and that these authorities “burned many thousands of books” in recent years “even if German professors testified ... that some of these books are scientific and should be protected by ... internationally guaranteed human rights.” Rudolf had “offered Hastings hard evidence for these things” but to no avail. [98] Instead, the Sunday Telegraph article reported that “the ease with which Rudolf has been able to continue his revisionist work ... has intensified calls for the introduction of Holocaust denial and race hate legislation in Britain. Andrew Dismore, the Labour MP for Hendon and a member of the Council Against Anti-Semitism, said: 'I think a cause like this can only strengthen the case for Holocaust denial legislation to be introduced in Britain. I hope the German authorities will take immediate action to deal with this man. I intend to refer the case to the Director of Public Prosecutions.' Lord Janner, the chairman of the Holocaust Education Trust, said: 'Holocaust denial legislation is long overdue in Britain. I intend to refer this particular case to the Home Secretary'.” [99]

It is encouraging to note that former Conservative MPs Michael Howard and Sir Leon Brittan, to mention only two of Jewish origin, have vigorously opposed such legislation. The article confirmed that “there is a warrant out for [Rudolf’s] arrest,” and Rudolf told his supporters “They won’t get me, I promise you all.” “Did Britain fight two World Wars and sacrifice its empire in order to end up in a unified Europe that is being ruled by German political paranoia?,” he asked in his letter to the Sunday Telegraph.

Two weeks later the Sunday Telegraph again reported on the Rudolf case. “The disclosure that Rudolf is likely to be extradited has been welcomed by MPs and Jewish groups. Stephen Twigg, the chairman of the lobby group Labour Friends of Israel, said: 'I welcome any action that would bring this man to justice.' Mike Gates MP, the vice-chairman of The Council Against Anti-Semitism said: 'This is excellent news. This country should not be used as a haven for people who have committed crimes abroad'.” [100] In January 2000 this same paper assured its readers that “police here have joined the hunt for Germar Rudolf ... If he is arrested on British soil, he faces extradition or deportation. One source close to the case said: 'Concern about this man’s presence in Britain has been raised at the very highest level. The Home Secretary is likely to want to do all he can to help the Germans bring this man to justice'.” [101]

The manhunt turned into hysteria with a BBC report about Rudolf on March 28, 2000, which was repeated the next day by the south English regional TV station ITV. This television report included six or seven photographs of Rudolf, which had been taken from Rudolf’s website. The public was warned to be aware of this “nazi sympathizer”, as though Rudolf was some dangerous skinhead. Michael Whine of the British Jewish Board of Deputies appeared on screen to announce that Britain was dealing with a “new breed of dangerous Nazis.” The local press chimed in once again with a report on “Escaped Neo-nazi still hiding in Hastings ...” [102]

In May 2000, the British Home Secretary — responding to an inquiry by a Member of Parliament — stated: “The Government are aware of the reports in some quarters that Mr. Rudolf may

be in the United Kingdom. The police have also been informed of the allegations against Mr. Rudolf." [103]

Thus Rudolf is treated as a common criminal. No one bothers to read a single word of his writings, let alone take any of it seriously. Or is his writing taken so seriously as to be regarded as a threat? [104]

The Irving-Lipstadt Libel Trial

In his well-publicized libel action against Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books for what Lipstadt had written about him in her book *Denying the Holocaust*, [105] British historian David Irving made almost no use of the Rudolf Report. Had he made good use of it he would possibly have stood a better chance in the London Royal Courts of Justice. [106] At least the airing of some of Rudolf's scientific research might have aroused wider public interest in revisionism. As it was, Irving had no legal representation, while the defendants' case was ably argued by Richard Ramp-ton, Queen's Counsel. [107]

Deborah Lipstadt, professor of Jewish Studies at Emory University claimed in her book that "Irving is one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial. Familiar with historical evidence, he bends it until it conforms with his ideological leanings and political agenda." [108] Irving, she further stated, "is best known for his thesis that Hitler did not know about the Final Solution, an idea that scholars have dismissed ... he has been accused of skewing documents and misrepresenting data in order to reach historically untenable conclusions, particularly those that exonerate Hitler." [109] Most of Lipstadt's statements merely echo the opinions of others, and are properly referenced. [110]

The three-month trial began on January 11, 2000, and ended April 11, 2000, with Justice Gray's finding in favor of Lipstadt and Penguin Books. [111] Under English law a libel case favors the plaintiff because the defendants are obliged to prove the "substantial truth of the defamatory imputations." [112] It is fair to say that, had Irving brought this action in the United States, he would have stood just about zero chance of winning his case. The defendants called numerous "expert witnesses," who submitted lengthy "expert reports," for which they were handsomely paid. [113] They included Professor Richard Evans of Cambridge University (England), Robert Jan van Pelt, author (with Debórah Dwork) of a detailed book about Auschwitz, [114] as well as the American historian Christopher Browning, [115] and the German historian Dr. Heinz Peter Longerich.

Irving claimed that the defendants conspired with what he calls "the traditional enemies of truth" to ruin his reputation and income. They influenced publishers not to publish his books and even to break existing contracts. [116] Justice Gray correctly identified these "traditional enemies" as Jewish [117] and pointed out "that ... it would be necessary for him to prove on the balance of probability that both the Defendants were implicated in the alleged conspiracy," that Lipstadt "was acting in league with the Anti Defamation League, the Board of Deputies of Jews and other organizations intent on targeting him." [118] Justice Gray did not consider, on the evidence placed before him, that this claim of Irving was established. [119]

To decide whether calling Irving a "Holocaust denier" constitutes libel, Justice Gray wished to know how "the notional typical reader ... would have understood the words." [120]

While I agree that our century has known many holocausts, Irving should have been aware of the commonly accepted meaning of "Holocaust denier": one who denies that National Socialist Germany murdered Jews on an industrial scale in gas chambers. In fact, Prof. Richard Evans devotes

almost a hundred pages of his 740-page “expert report” to finding a suitable definition of the expression, [121] concluding it fits Irving quite well. [122]

Irving wrote in his Statement of Claim that “the true or legal innuendo of the words 'Holocaust denier' is that any person described as such wilfully perversely and with disregard to all the existing historical evidence denied and continues to deny all and any occurrence of one of the worst crimes known to history, namely the mass murder by whatever means by Hitler’s agents and their associates of the Jewish people and hence genocide and hence a crime against humanity.” [123]

The rest of this section will explore to what extent Irving should be regarded as a spokesperson for Holocaust revisionism, and to his responses to the arguments of his adversaries, especially those dealing with chemistry.

The trial was puzzling from the start, with Irving determined not to make this a debate about the Holocaust as such, [124] on which he is no expert [125] — and which in any case “bores” him [126] — but to defend his reputation as an historian. [127] Yet, on the very first day Irving stated: “The most interesting part of the action in the light of history is, undoubtedly, the Holocaust and Auschwitz, and is also, I think we all apprehend, the most complicated to prepare.” [128] On another day he declared “When you are an author, you are constantly receiving letters from members of the public suggesting you have got things wrong. Sometimes you ignore them... But when you are conscientious, then you will put those objections to other people who are probably better informed than yourselves and say, 'What do you say about this?' This is precisely what I did.” [129]

How well Irving was prepared for the trial and how much he followed his own advice is problematic, as we will see.

Just as the trial was getting under way, Robert Faurisson wrote: “I expect David Irving to make twists and turns and recantations. He writes and publishes too much in order to allow himself the time, beforehand, to read attentively the documents which he quotes or which the opposing side submits. If he is acquainted with the revisionist literature, it is only just barely; he cannot be considered a spokesman for historical revisionism. I have always called him 'the reluctant revisionist.' Strong in appearance, he is, in reality, fragile. His opponents will have an easy time tripping him up.” [130]

In the introduction to his edition of the Leuchter Report, Irving wrote that “chemistry is an exact science ... the laboratory reports were shattering ... I myself would, admittedly, have preferred to see more rigorous methods used in identifying and certifying the samples ...”. [131] And although it dealt only with Auschwitz and Majdanek, the Report appeared to convince him that the homicidal gas chambers of the Third Reich were a total myth [132] — except possibly for some “experimental” gas vans. [133] Whenever he spoke of the report in public, he expressed no doubts about it beyond what he had written in the introduction to his own edition of the Leuchter Report. Statements such as “the gas chambers that are shown to tourists in Auschwitz are fakes” [134] give the impression that the gas chambers at Birkenau are also fakes since for most people “Auschwitz” includes Auschwitz II. Irving found it easy to use such loose language when talking to admiring audiences, but it harmed his case. [135]

In 1977 David Irving touched off a lively historical controversy with the presentation, in his book *Hitler’s War*, of his provocative thesis that Hitler was not responsible for the Holocaust, and hardly knew about it until quite late in the war. [136] Revisionism has since moved on and we now ask “what is it exactly that Hitler was supposed to know?” Not so for David Irving, who in this trial conceded just about every point made by the opposition, including their objections to the

Leuchter Report, but could not help himself and returned again and again and again to the “Hitler didn’t know” theme.

In my view, Irving’s worst blunder was to neglect the work of Germar Rudolf, who did not appear as an expert witness. [137] Neither his own report nor his technical opinions on Van Pelt’s report [138] were placed in Irving’s discovery. At Irving’s request Rudolf wrote a “Critique of the ‘Findings on Justification’ by Judge Gray,” for use in a possible appeal. [139] However, nearly everything Rudolf wrote there on the chemical and physical aspects of gassing could already be found in the Rudolf Report and his other pre-trial writings. [140] Often trumpeted by Irving as a more thorough study than Leuchter’s, [141] the Rudolf Report was never submitted, and this tied Gray’s hands in forming his judgment. On the morning of the ninth day, Irving promised to have it couriered for the afternoon session, but it failed to arrive. [142] The next day there was a repeat of this tragicomedy as the “dozen copies” of the “glossy blue publication” that should have been handed to his Lordship were “through an oversight... not listed in discovery,” for which Irving apologized. [143]

Then Robert Jan van Pelt took the stand, and defense attorney Rampton examined him on Rudolf’s work, as well as on the various reports made by the Institute of Forensic Research in Cracow, [144] even though Van Pelt admitted he was far from qualified as a chemist. With regard to Rudolf’s Report, van Pelt said that he was “vaguely familiar with it.” But given that he thought it had “something like” 20 pages, van Pelt could hardly have looked at it. [145] Van Pelt said that he was “hesitant to give any kind of definite opinion,” but thought that “in substance the Leuchter results were substantiated by Rudolf, which means a high level of Prussian Blue.” Citing the compilers of the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute reports, he said “What I do know is that they [the Polish investigators] found that the Prussian blue test was problematic,” [146] and he proceeded to expound on the perceived merits of their 1994 report. [147]

Furthermore, had Irving been familiar with Rudolf’s work, [148] he might have been able to counter van Pelt’s arguments, as well as those of Dr. James Roth, who had analyzed Leuchter’s samples in 1988, but who now says “I do not think that the Leuchter results have any meaning ...” [149] Moreover, David Irving would not have reiterated again and again the “virtues” of the 1990 Cracow report, which, if accepted, logically compels one to accept the 1994 Cracow report as forensic evidence for the existence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. [150]

Had David Irving examined more thoroughly his doubts about the Leuchter Report — and made them “plain to his audiences” [151] — before the trial, instead of having his nose rubbed in them during the proceedings, he might have been in a better position to counter the rather thin arguments of his opponents. The strongest criticism of Leuchter was that he had grossly overestimated the concentration of HCN gas that would have been needed in the “homicidal gas chambers.” [152] That Irving did have some doubts concerning this issue emerges from the correspondence he had in the 90’s with one “Colin Beer” (probably a pseudonym), who raised this very point — causing Irving to write: “these criticisms ... have to be taken on board.” Rampton reminded Irving of this. He responded: “I completely agree and you are absolutely right. There are probably concessions [which] have to be made at both ends of this scale.” [153]

Although Irving held on to Leuchter’s forensic chemistry, he lacked the necessary knowledge to back up his argument. When confronted with technical details he had to confess: “I am afraid I am way out of my depth there,” “I am lost.” [154]

Irving probably made his strongest impact with Faurisson’s “No Holes, No Holocaust” reasoning. Although Justice Gray agreed that “Irving’s argument deserves to be taken seriously,” he

also agreed with Van Pelt that the now-collapsed roofs of the “gas chambers” are too fragmentary to permit any firm conclusions, and that “it is unclear how much of the roof can be seen in the photograph on which Irving relies.” [155]

Irving also pointed out that Roth was wrong in assuming that cyanide is only a “surface reaction,” given that cyanide had penetrated to the outer walls of the delousing tracts. Questioned whether the outside walls had been tested, Irving answered: “Yes, by Germar Rudolf.” [156]

Two days later Van Pelt acknowledged that the blue stains on the outside walls were due to cyanide. [157] With nobody an authority on the subject, it was really a case of the blind leading the blind. On day nine Van Pelt, in his discussion of the 1994 Cracow Institute report, pointed out that samples taken from blue stains on both the inside and outside walls of the building mentioned by Irving, showed “relative high readings,” comparable to those from morgue number 1 of Birkenau Krema II. This was supposed to constitute “a positive proof that the spaces in the crematoria they had tested had been used with Zyklon B” [sic]. [158] However, since Van Pelt mentioned that the Cracow Institute had not tested for Prussian Blue, what then was the point of taking samples from the “blue stains”? Not even once did Irving challenge Van Pelt’s “evidence,” and his ignorance of Rudolf’s arguments was once again his nemesis. The heart of the matter is that the analytic methods used by the Cracow forensic institute do not pick up total cyanide, and are therefore suspect.

David Irving repeated Leuchter’s challenge: “If you don’t like Leuchter’s results, go and do the tests yourself and prove that I am a nincompoop.” [159] But in the end Irving accepted that in Birkenau “gas chamber experiments were conducted.” [160]

What is one to make of Irving’s statement about the “Reinhardt” camps, Belzec, Treblinka and Sobibor? “For the purposes of this trial,” he said, “we are accepting that gassing did occur in those camps.” [161] Was this merely a tactical manoeuvre? Asked if he accepts that “hundreds upon thousands of Jews were from ...the spring of 1942, and in Chelmno earlier, and probably Belzec, deliberately killed in Sobibor, Treblinka and Belzec,” Irving responded “I think on the balance of probabilities, the answer is yes,” but added that “the evidentiary basis for that statement is extremely weak.” He repeated once more: “I have to keep on emphasizing I am not an expert on the Holocaust...,” but agreed that hundreds of thousands were killed in those camps. [162]

Although he scored some good points on the Gerstein documents, [163] Justice Gray indicated that Irving’s arguments had no real purpose because he was already “accepting that gas chambers were used [to] kill Jews in those three camps.” [164]

Regarding Chelmno and the “gas vans,” Irving was more explicit: “I have repeatedly allowed that [Jews] were killed in gas vans” — and he included Yugoslavia among the places where such vans were used. [165] A dramatic moment in the proceedings came when Irving was shown a document describing the gassing of 97,000 Jews in Chelmno “gas vans.” [166] Although he claimed to have first seen this document only five or six months earlier, he accepted it as genuine. It showed “systematic, huge scale, using gas trucks to murder Jews.” [167]

As Rampton put it in his closing speech: “Mr Irving has been driven, in the face of overwhelming evidence presented by Professor Robert Jan van Pelt, Professor Christopher Browning and Dr Longerich, to concede that there were indeed mass murders on a huge scale by means of gassing at Chelmno in the Warthegau and at the Reinhardt camps of Belzec, Treblinka and Sobibor; and even that there were ‘some gassings’ at Auschwitz.” [168]

The Future of Revisionism

In many countries revisionists are outcasts, and their writings suppressed; in some countries questioning “the Holocaust” is a crime. In France for example, Professor Faurisson has repeatedly been convicted for so-called “Holocaust denial,” ^[169] as have others in Germany, including David Irving. The list grows longer and longer. ^[170]

Why are authorities so determined to stamp out revisionism? Some claim that the answer lies in Jewish influence, in particular in the power of the “Jewish lobby.” There is much truth in this, but I believe the matter is more complex than that, even if I don’t claim to have the answer. Let it be said, though, that if six million innocent men, women and children were indeed killed in cold blood only because of their birth — in other words if one accepts the standard picture of the Holocaust, with all its chilling details — then it is not so surprising that humanity’s conscience should be deeply troubled, and that thinking people would want to keep the memory of it alive, especially the German leaders. “The Holocaust,” it has often been said, forms the foundation stone of the Federal Republic of Germany. ^[171] All the same, political leaders, especially in Germany, should be aware of the dangers posed by officially sanitized truth! ^[172] Even German judges must see the absurdity of condemning a thesis while ignoring its content. A strong hint that a condition set for German reunification by the victors of World War II was that the German authorities clamp down on revisionists can be gleaned from a 1994 *Der Spiegel* interview with the then Interior Minister for Brandenburg, Alwin Ziel, who stated: “The Allies only allowed Germans to consider reunification on the condition that a catastrophe such as National Socialism would never again take root in Germany ... Restrictions on freedom of opinion and association, which before unification were viewed critically, are now justified. Today Germany and her basic law are different from what they were before unification.” ^[173]

“The Holocaust,” it seems, has taken on quasi-religious characteristics and, like any religion, is used and abused — by Jews as well as non-Jews — for political purposes. However, we must accept that, on the whole, the “Holocaust promotion lobby” is concerned with preserving what it perceived as truth. Let us also not forget that what did happen to Europe’s Jews during World War II was dreadful enough. There cannot be any reasonable doubt about the realities of the forced deportations of millions, including the very young and the very old, of forced labor, or of anti-Jewish pogroms and massacres in the East. Surely it is a bitter irony that many talented Jews would likely have remained patriotic Germans and contributed to Germany’s struggle for equality among nations, had not the regime turned against them only on account of their birth. I do not think it will ever be possible to really understand why National Socialist Germany carried out such harsh measures against Jews as a people. One day, perhaps, it might be possible to better “understand” these measures, and Irving’s question is perfectly valid: “Why were the Jews so hated?” At this junction however, any insensitive approach to the problem can only harm historical revisionism. ^[174]

It is clear to me that historians should long ago have challenged the prosecution evidence at the Nuremberg trials, especially regarding the alleged systematic extermination of six million European Jews. By the 1980’s at the latest, serious and respectful consideration should have been given to the revisionist critique of the Holocaust story, certainly in the wake of the arguments presented by Robert Faurisson in *Le Monde*, and of two books published in 1980, Faurisson’s *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire* and *Vérité historique ou vérité politique* by Serge Thion. ^[175] How, then, is it that revisionist scholarship is continually subjected to ridicule and that serious revisionists are habitually vilified? While it is generally normal to be wary of, sometimes even hostile to a new idea that challenges the status quo, the very nature of the Holocaust issue intensifies such feelings a hundredfold, and not just among Jews.

Shock waves from the Hitler period are still being felt, above all in Germany. In no other country would a head of state call his own people a nation of criminals — ein Tätervolk. [176]

A major impediment to revisionist views gaining legitimacy is the fact that many of revisionism's adherents often have their own, all too obvious, political-ideological agendas, which frightens off those who might otherwise be interested, even supportive. This is the "baggage" that Skeptic editor-publisher Michael Shermer spoke of in his July 1995 debate with Mark Weber. [177] Frequently spokespersons for revisionism (self-proclaimed or otherwise) give the impression that in their view Hitler's Germany did nothing wrong, and that the Jews were themselves ultimately responsible for their fate. Some Internet users with ill-considered, even irrational, viewpoints are increasingly labelled "revisionist," or label themselves thus, so that the term may be losing any clear or precise meaning.

All this adds to the widely held perception that Holocaust revisionism is not serious or scholarly, and gives ammunition to those who regard revisionists as "Neo-Nazis, nostalgics and agitators." [178] What self-respecting established historian would risk being confused, let alone identified, with such persons? Of course many other factors play a role, for example the perception that questioning the Holocaust is a little like committing the crimes all over again. [179]

In order to facilitate cross-fertilization with academic historians, genuine Holocaust revisionists may ultimately have to distance themselves from those who use and abuse the, often still tentative, results of revisionist research for overt political ends. It cannot be overemphasized that for revisionism to be taken seriously, "... only publications with a content that is dry, objective, serious (sachlich) and demand high scientific standards can be productive", as Germar Rudolf has underscored. [180] We also have to keep in mind that only a tiny proportion of historians accepts the revisionist thesis — that is, there was no plan to exterminate the Jewish people, there were no gas chambers to carry out such a plan, and the number of Jewish dead has been vastly exaggerated. Furthermore, we need to remind ourselves that nothing is one hundred percent certain, and this also applies to Auschwitz, the camp most thoroughly studied by both sides. Although apparently based on standard scientific methods, Rudolf's results should not be regarded as the final word on the subject, and need to be confirmed by other competent scientists. Compared to Auschwitz, much less is known about the "purely extermination" camps (Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, Chelmno). [181] Extensive research also remains to be done on the special security police units, the Einsatzgruppen and the Ordnungspolizei, [182] on the extent to which local militia in the occupied Eastern territories were responsible for massacres, [183] and on the number of Jewish deaths, [184] and exactly how these came about.

Should Auschwitz go the way of "Jewish soap," it is obvious that many historians would consider questions on the Holocaust with a far more open mind and, in fact, find themselves forced to re-examine all aspects of that terrible period. [185]

To get to the truth, a completely open debate is needed — something that revisionists have wanted for a long time. [186] Let us hope historian Donald Cameron Watt is wrong in speculating that the Irving case "could have one undesirable outcome — to drive the Holocaust deniers underground. 'We need to have this stuff out in the open ...'" [187] As a small group that holds a dissident, minority viewpoint, our impact and importance is limited. Revisionism will only have a wider impact once it starts to filter down from recognized authorities to the public at large. [188]

There are several criteria for judging revisionist progress. The most important one will always be the quality of work published, but another is the extent to which it is accepted by historians of

more general standing, and the degree to which revisionist work is acknowledged in quality journals, newspapers, and so forth.

In conclusion, let me quote Germar Rudolf's words from a statement he made in 1994: "Our challenge must be to write a comprehensive history of the persecution of the Jews during the Third Reich: one that says not merely what did not happen, but above all tells us what really did happen." [189]

Notes

1. ☐ This essay is adapted from a talk given on March 28, 1998, at a meeting in Costa Mesa, southern California, organized by the Institute for Historical Review. It was an honor to have shared, at that meeting, the platform with David Irving, the historian who first made me aware, more than 20 years ago, that not all was well with the standard account of Second World War history. I wish to thank the Institute, and especially its director Mark Weber, for this invitation and for the financial assistance afforded me, and to thank both Mark and his wife, Priscilla, for their hospitality. A very special thanks to Dr. Robert Countess and his wife Elda for their generous hospitality and for financial assistance which they procured, without which my first visit to America would have been much more difficult. Last but not least, I wish to thank Germar Rudolf for much information and for making many useful suggestions after carefully going through this text.
2. ☐ Book A. As quoted in the "Thucydides" entry in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1957 and 1959 editions.
3. ☐ Thucydides, Book A, §20, §22. I have translated "mythos" as "fiction."
4. ☐ Thucydides could not fulfill his ideal; many of the speeches he quotes at length are reconstructed, as he says himself.
5. ☐ Intervista sull' Olocausto (Edizioni di Ar, undated), p.11; English translation: My Banned Holocaust Interview (Granata, Box 2145 PVP, CA 90274, USA, 1996), p. 5.
6. ☐ Minister Nicholas Ridley expressed his horror at Britain becoming closely associated with Germany when he told journalists: "Only two months ago I was in Auschwitz ..." (Spectator, July 14, 1990). For the G. Grass quote see Die Zeit, February 23, 1990. Expressions of the perceived ingrained brutality of Germans are frequent and widespread. See for example Luc Rosenzweig's Le Monde article of March 29, 1990 (The Guardian Weekly, April 15, 1990, p. 14), in which he asks "Could Auschwitz make reunification morally unacceptable?," Newsweek of March 5, 1990, in which George Will poses the question whether "there is some character trait, some national chromosome that makes Germans dangerous ...", or the article "Will German Unity Breed a Monster?" in the Natal Mercury of March 3, 1990.
7. ☐ Faurisson's challenge has been repeatedly made since 1978. See, for example, Le Monde of December 28, 1978, p. 12, "Le problème des chambres à gaz ou 'la rumour d'Auschwitz'." (Authorized translation published in "Faurisson's Three Letters to Le Monde, The Journal of Historical Review, May-June 2000, pp. 40-41.) The bankruptcy of traditional history, when it concerns the Holocaust, was manifest in 1979 when 33 historians countered Faurisson's demand for scientific proof of the alleged Nazi gas chambers with the absurd response that "such a mass murder was technically possible since it took place." ("La politique hitlérienne d'extermination: une déclaration d'historiens," Le Monde, February 21, 1979, p. 23). His books and articles, many of which have appeared in The Journal of Historical Review, are all immensely worth reading. See in particular "A challenge to David Irving," an abridged version of which is in the Winter 1984 Journal (Vol. 5, Nos. 2,3,4), pp. 289-305, as well as "Response to a Paper Historian" in the Spring 1986

- Journal (Vol. 7, No. 1), pp. 21-72. One of my favorites, "How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss," appeared in the Winter 1986 issue (Vol. 7, No. 4), pp. 389-403. See also his article "Jean-Claude Pressac's New Auschwitz Book" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, January-February 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 23f.
8. [↗](#) See R. Faurisson, "Response to a Paper Historian" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1986 (Vol. 7, No. 1), pp. 21-72. For a revisionist view of the Frankfurt trial, see Wilhelm Stäglich's *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*, published in 1990 by the IHR, a translation of *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (Grabert, 1979).
 9. [↗](#) Article 19 of the IMT Charter states that "the Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence. It shall adopt and apply to the greatest possible extent expeditious and non-technical procedure, and it shall admit any evidence which it deems to have probative value." Article 21 states that "the Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge but shall take judicial notice thereof. It shall also take judicial notice of official government documents and reports of the United Nations ..."
 10. [↗](#) See the Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg, Germany, 1947-1949; 42 vols.). For some of the more absurd accusations made at the Nuremberg IMT, see Carlos W. Porter's *Made in Russia: The Holocaust* (Historical Review Press, 1988). Porter's book is reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1989 (Vol. 9, No. 1), pp. 89-95. A CD containing the complete official records of the Nuremberg trials has been produced by James Joseph Sanchez: Nuremberg War Crimes Trial Online (Copyright 1995 Aristarchus Knowledge Industries, PO Box 45610, Seattle, WA 98105, USA). It contains the 42-volume IMT "blue series," the eleven-volume "red series" Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression (NCA), the Nuremberg Military Tribunal (NMT) "green series," and the Final Report to the Secretary of the Army (TTFR). This useful tool for researchers is available from the IHR (P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA).
 11. [↗](#) RIF stood for Reichsstelle für Industrielle Fettversorgung ("Reich Center for Industrial Fat Provisioning"), and not, as some have alleged, for Rein Jüdisches Fett ("Pure Jewish Fat"), which should in any case have been abbreviated as "RJF," not "RIF." See "Jewish Soap" by Mark Weber in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 217-227. In addition to submitting samples of "human soap" (IMT exhibit USSR-393), the Soviet prosecution also presented a sample of untested "semi-tanned human skin" (USSR-394).
 12. [↗](#) IMT "blue series," Vol. 6, p. 213, Vol. 7, pp. 376, 377, 576, 577, 586, Vol. 12, p. 369, Vol. 19, pp. 598-599, Vol. 32, pp. 153-158. A striking absurdity is the "confession" of SS man Paul Waldmann (IMT document USSR-52), who claimed that 840,000 Soviet prisoners of war were killed at Sachsenhausen, and described a bizarre foot-operated device used there to kill prisoners by bashing their heads. See Carlos W. Porter's *Made in Russia: The Holocaust*, pp. 14-16, 378-380, and Sanchez, pp. 10343-10350, 10946-10953, 33733-33744.
 13. [↗](#) On the first (1985) Zündel trial see *The Great Holocaust Trial* by Michael A. Hoffman II (2nd edition, IHR, 1985), or the "Expanded, Third Commemorative Edition," Wiswell Ruffin House (PO Box 236, Dresden, New York 14441), 1995 which includes, among other things, a brief description of Zündel's second (1988) trial. In spite of often loaded language (for example, needlessly labeling Sabina Citron, the person who brought charges against Zündel, as a "commissar"), the booklets contain invaluable information. To mention only one example, at the first trial, Raul Hilberg, author of a "standard work" on the Holocaust, *The Destruction of the European Jews: Revised and Definitive Edition* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985), and widely regarded as the world's foremost Holocaust authority, was forced to admit under cross-examination that there is no scientific evidence to support alle-

gations of German wartime mass gassings. Asked about a Hitler order to exterminate the Jews, he tied himself in knots asserting that Hitler “wanted the Jewish Bolshevik commissars liquidated” — something quite different. Hoffman quotes Hilberg from a 1983 speech, as reported by *Newsday* of February 23, 1983: “Thus came about not so much a plan [to exterminate the Jews] being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus; mind-reading by a far-flung bureaucracy.” (*The Great Holocaust Trial*, third edition, pp. 51-54). In the first (1961) edition of *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Hilberg maintained that there were two Hitler orders to exterminate the Jews. There are no such claims in the 1985 “Definitive Edition”. See also Robert Faurisson, “The Zündel Trials (1985 and 1988),” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 417-431.

14.  See Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian “False News” Trial of Ernst Zündel* — 1988 (Samisdat Publishers, 206 Carlton St., Toronto, M5A 2L1, Canada, 1992; Available from the IHR). Shorter, but worth consulting is Robert Lenski’s *The Holocaust on Trial: The Case of Ernst Zündel* (Decatur, Alabama: Reporter Press, 1989), also available from the IHR.
15.  See for example Jean-Claude Pressac’s lengthy work, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#), commissioned and published 1989 by the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation. In it (p. 15) Pressac states that “over 95 percent” was used for non-homicidal, sanitation purposes. Raul Hilberg, in an interview by the French paper *Le Nouvel Observateur* (“Le document de la semaine,” July 3, 1982, pp. 70-76) was asked why he thought Zyklon B was used for mass murder and not just for disinfestation purposes. “Not in such quantities,” he replied, adding “of course, they also disinfected some clothing,” while he was unsure if the same gas chambers were used for both purposes! (p. 76). When one realizes that this interview was aimed at discrediting Faurisson, it is scandalous that a historian who claims to specialize in the Holocaust could be so ignorant of such a basic matter.
16.  The full report, *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland* prepared for Ernst Zündel, April 5, 1988 by Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. with a foreword by Robert Faurisson is available from Samisdat Publishers (Toronto). An abridged or summary version is available from the IHR.
17.  For information on this and Leuchter’s arrest in Germany, see his articles “Witch Hunt in Boston” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1990 (Vol. 10, No. 4), pp. 453-460 and “Is There Life After Persecution?” the Winter 1992 issue (Vol. 10, No. 4), pp. 429-444, as well as M. Weber’s article “Fred Leuchter: Courageous Defender of Historical Truth” in that same Winter 1990 Journal issue, pp. 421-428.
18.  See the review “Flawed Documentary of Execution Expert” by Greg Raven in *The Journal of Historical Review*, September-December 1999 (Vol. 18, No. 5/6), pp. 62-69. Nearly all mainstream reviews of the film have been very critical of Leuchter and Holocaust revisionists. For example, Scott Timberg’s “Unwanted Thoughts,” in the *New Times Los Angeles Online*, Dec. 23-29, 1999, and Simon Hattenstone’s “When it comes to killing, this man knows it all,” in the *British Guardian*, October 22, 1999, which describes Leuchter’s trip to Auschwitz as “horrifying,” presumably because he took samples from the “gas chambers.” Cyber-activists like Ingrid Rimland at <http://www.zundelsite.org>, Russ Granata at <http://www.codoh.com> and Michael Hoffman at <http://www.hoffman-info.com> have informed their readers by e-mail about media reports, often adding comments of their own. In her reports of September 19 and 21, 1999, Rimland claimed that the Morris documentary was “the biggest breakthrough, next to the two Great Holocaust Trials of 1985 and 1988 and the cyberwar of 1996 around the Zündelsite,” and that it “will change the course of Revisionism.” This seems like hyperbole. In an e-mail of December 11, 1999, Granata mentioned how he had the opportunity to publicly challenge Morris (who considers Leuchter to be “insane”) about a second version of “Mr. Death.” After a showing at Harvard, Morris

found “something very disturbing” according to “Unwanted Thoughts” by Steve Dewall in the New Times Los Angeles of December 23-31, 1999: “Some of the students were convinced by Leuchter and started to wonder if the Holocaust had ever happened, while others thought that Morris was convinced by Leuchter and thought the Holocaust had never happened. It was here that Morris turned to several historians and Holocaust activists for balance.” “People bought into Fred’s story, hook, line and, sinker... That response was unacceptable,” according to Hal Niedzviecki writing in the National Post of January 29, 2000, pp. B1, B6. So, in the new version, according to Jennifer Rosenberg, “the documentary is not solely the voice of Leuchter but also of Ernst Zündel, David Irving, Leuchter’s estranged wife, James Roth (laboratory manager of Alpha Analytical Laboratories), Robert Jan Van Pelt (co-author [with D. Dwork] of *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present*), Shelly Shapiro (Director of the Holocaust Survivors and Friends Education Center), and Suzanne Tabasky (founding member of the Malden Holocaust Commission). These and other people discuss Leuchter’s ‘findings’” (See [http:// history1900s.about.com/education/](http://history1900s.about.com/education/), Dateline January 24, 2000).

19.  See Pressac’s magnum opus *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), as well as Shelly Shapiro (ed.), *Truth Prevails. Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of the “Leuchter Report,”* (The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1990), especially the chapter by Pressac, with its additional notes, “The Deficiencies and Inconsistencies of the ‘Leuchter Report,’” pp. 31-73. For a review of this book see Mark Weber’s essay, “Book-Length ‘Scholarly’ Polemic Fails to Discredit Leuchter,” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992 (Vol. 12, No. 4), pp. 485-492. For reviews and critiques of Pressac’s *Auschwitz*, see Mark Weber’s article in *The Journal of Historical Review* (Summer 1990 (Vol. 10, No. 2), pp. 231-237), which concludes that “in spite of its defects, [Pressac’s book] is an important and enlightening work, even if not for the reasons intended by either the author or the publishers.” See also Carlo Mattogno’s article, “J.-C. Pressac and the War Refugee Board Report,” in the Winter 1990-91 *Journal* (Vol. 10, No. 4), pp. 461-485; the extensive two-part critique by Robert Faurisson, “*Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers, or, Improvised Gas Chambers & Casual Gassings at Auschwitz & Birkenau According to J.C. Pressac (1989)*” in the Spring 1991 *Journal* (Vol. 11, No. 1), pp. 25-66. and Summer 1991 *Journal* (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 133-175. This is followed in the same *Journal* issue by Enrique Aynat’s “Neither Trace Nor Proof: The Seven Auschwitz ‘Gassing’ Sites According to Jean-Claude Pressac,” pp. 177-206. Arthur R. Butz’s essay, “Some Thoughts on Pressac’s Opus,” is in the May-June 1993 *Journal* (Vol. 13, No. 3), pp. 23-37. Robert Faurisson responded briefly to Pressac’s later book, *Les Crématoires d’Auschwitz: la machinerie du meurtre de masse* (CRNS, France, 1993; (German edition: *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz: Die Technik der Massenmordes*, Piper, 1994) in *The Journal of Historical Review*, January-February 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 23-24: “Jean-Claude Pressac’s New Auschwitz Book”. A fuller rebuttal is Faurisson’s *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac*, (R.H.R. (1994), B.P. 122, 92704 Colombes Cedex, France). This appears in German translation in the anthology *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten: Eine Erwiderung an Jean-Claude Pressac*, which also includes contributions by Germar Rudolf, Carlo Mattogno and Serge Thion (*Vrij Historisch Onderzoek*, ed. Herbert Verbeke, Postbus 60, B-2600 Berchem, Belgium, 1996 (online: <http://www.vho.org/D/anf/AR.html>). The introduction by Germar Rudolf (“Ernst Gauss”) is dated May 15, 1995, a month before Rudolf was sentenced by a Stuttgart Court to 14 months imprisonment. A critique by Serge Thion of Pressac’s second book on Auschwitz, “A French Scholar Responds to Widely Acclaimed anti-Revisionist Work about Auschwitz,” appeared in *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 4), pp. 28-39. Another response to Pressac’s second book is Carlo Mattogno’s “The Crematories of Auschwitz: a Critique of J.-C. Pressac,” in

the November-December 1994 Journal (Vol. 14, No. 6), pp. 34-42. Mattogno's more complete response, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*, is available from the IHR.

20.  Pressac states that 0.3 gm per cubic meter of air "is immediately fatal" for humans as opposed to 5 gm applied for at least 10 hours for lice. He then claims that "40 times the lethal dose ... killed without fail one thousand people in less than five minutes." *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, p. 53. On p. 63 of *Truth Prevails* Pressac gives figures of at least 12 hours per day for delousing and "5 to 10 minutes [of gassing] every day or two" for killing humans.
21.  *Truth Prevails*, p. 44.
22.  On p. 66 of *Truth Prevails* Pressac proposes a totally unjustified explanation for the absence of cyanide in Leuchter's sample No. 5 (taken from the 'gas chamber' of Krema II): "... an accomplice could have slipped him — or could have already planted — a 'harmless' piece of brick ... In this case the temptation to practice deception was too much."
23.  *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), p. 59.
24.  Dr. William B. Lindsey, for 33 years a research chemist with the Dow Chemical company, testified at the first Zündel trial that in his opinion, homicidal mass gassing with Zyklon B was an impossibility. (See *The Great Holocaust Trial*, 3rd edition, pp. 65, 85). He also authored the excellent article "Zyklon B and the Trial of Dr. Bruno Tesch" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1983 (Vol. 4, No. 3), pp. 261-303.
25.  *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, p. 53.
26.  *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93 (Vol. 12, No. 4), pp. 445-473. Paul Grubach, in an open letter of December 22, 1991, to Michael Shermer (editor of *Skeptic* magazine) was highly critical of the latter's treatment of Holocaust Revisionism in *Why People Believe Weird Things: Pseudoscience, Superstition & Other Confusions of Our Time* (New York: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1997). *Skeptic* magazine, Vol. 2, No. 4 (1994), has a "Special Section on Pseudohistory" aimed at discrediting Holocaust revisionism (pp. 32-87).
27.  "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz Gas Chambers" appeared in translation in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 1), pp. 207-216. This report was also published in part in *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (DGG), Vol. 39 (1991), No. 2, pp.18-19 and on p. 48 of *Historische Tatsachen*, No. 50 (1991). Online it can be seen at [http:// www.vho.org/ D/DGG/IDN39_2.html](http://www.vho.org/D/DGG/IDN39_2.html).
28.  *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* ("Lectures on Contemporary History"), (Tübingen: Grabert Verlag, 1993), pp. 180f. The book has recently been banned in Germany: see Grabert's *Euro-Kurier* of June 2000. It is available online at: <http://www.vho.org/D/vuez/v1.html> Also, an English-language edition is in preparation by Thesis and Dissertation Press in "Holocaust Handbooks Series," under the title: Ernst Gauss / Germar Rudolf, *Lectures on the Holocaust. Points at Issue Cross-Examined*. See the website [http:// tadp.org](http://tadp.org).
29.  "The Lüftl Report," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992 (Vol. 12, No. 4), pp. 391-420 (p. 418).
30.  This challenge is unfortunately not in the printed version, "The Leuchter Report: The How and the Why" (*The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1989, pp. 133-139) but can be heard on the audio recording of his talk, available from the IHR. The same challenge is repeated by Faurisson in the January-February 1994 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 14, No. 1), p. 24.
31.  Wilhelm Schlesiger (ed.), *Der Fall Rudolf*, London: Cromwell Press, 1994, pp. 6f. This text is also online at [vho.org/D/ Fall.html](http://vho.org/D/Fall.html), where one will also find an English translation.
32.  *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte*, p. 181.

33. ☞ Der Fall Rudolf, p. 7.
34. ☞ These criminal offenses, Volksverhetzung, Verunglimpfung and Aufstachelung zum Rassenhaß , are laid out in Sections 130, 189 and 131 respectively of the German Penal Code. For information on Remer see: “My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944” in The Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1988 (Vol. 8, No. 3), pp. 41-53; “Otto-Ernst Remer Sentenced to 22 Months Imprisonment for Revisionist Publications,” March-April 1993 Journal (Vol. 13, No. 2), pp. 29-30; “Remer Evades Imprisonment for 'Thought Crime',” May-June 1994 Journal (Vol. 14, No. 3), pp. 42-43; “Remer Seeks Asylum in Spain,” July-August 1995 Journal (Vol. 15, No. 4), pp. 33-34, and, “Remer Dies in Exile,” January-February 1998 Journal (Vol. 17, No. 1), pp. 7-9.
35. ☞ Der Fall Rudolf, p.7. See also the Journal articles on Remer, cited above.
36. ☞ The authorized (first) edition: Das Rudolf Gutachten: Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den 'Gaskammern' von Auschwitz, Rüdiger Kammerer, Armin Solms (Hg.) ("Expert Report on the Formation and Detectability of Cyanide Compounds in the 'Gas Chambers' of Auschwitz," Rüdiger Kammerer, Armin Solms (editors)), Cromwell Press (London), 1993. For a brief review of Rudolf's Report see “Three Revisionist Books from Germany: The Rudolf Report” and “Valuable “Lectures” in The Journal of Historical Review, November-December 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 6), pp. 25-26. Udo Walendy commented on the Report in Historische Tatsachen, No. 60 (1993): “Naturwissenschaft ergänzt Geschichtsforschung.” There is also a 16-page “summary” edition in German (which is really an unauthorized commentary on the report) and its translation into English: The Rudolf Report (Cromwell, 1993), available from the IHR. To the best of my knowledge, the full report has so far been translated only into French and Dutch. An English edition is in preparation as volume 2 in the “Holocaust Handbooks Series” by Thesis and Dissertation Press: Germar Rudolf, The Rudolf Report. Witch Hunting Germar Rudolf for his Research about Auschwitz. Its website <http://tadp.org> announces its publication by the end of 2000. The report is regularly updated online at vho.org/D/rga/rga.html, and a second German edition should soon be available from Castle Hill Publishes, PO Box 118, Hastings TN34 3ZQ, England, UK. The first review of the Rudolf Report, “Le Rapport Rudolf” was written by Célestin Loos and appeared in the French revisionist journal Revue d'histoire révisionniste (RHR), No. 6, May 1992, pp. 9-21. On April 11, 1997, the Journal Officiel de la Republique francaise announced the banning of the French edition of the Rudolf Report, which had been published by Vrij Historisch Onderzoek (VHO), and also distributed by La Vieille Taupe. See Serge Thion's electronic release of April 20, 1997, of Le Temps irreparable. See also the French scientific review La Recherche of July-August 1997 (No. 300), a German translation of which appeared in Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung (VffG), December 1997 (Vol. 1, No. 4), pp. 223-225. La Recherche has a declaration by the members of the chemistry division of the French Academy of Scientists: “This work [Rudolf's report] is a remarkable example of the perversion of science; it is only of interest at the psychological level but is clearly dangerous because of its serious appearance.” This is very reminiscent of the 1979 anti-Faurisson declaration issued by 33 historians (mentioned above). Personally, I am surprised that it has taken historians (including some revisionists) so long to recognize the full significance of Rudolf's report.
37. ☞ This long-term stability of Prussian Blue was testified to by Dr. James Roth, laboratory manager at Alpha Analytical Laboratories, at the second Zündel trial. See Barbara Kulaszka, ed., Did Six Million Really Die? (1992), pp. 362f. In the later version of Morris's film “Mr. Death,” Roth understands things differently. As a result, Michael Shermer of Skeptic magazine challenged Rudolf with this new angle as follows: “Leuchter chipped off huge chunks of concrete and brick and ground up the entire chunks into powder when they were analyzed (or, more to the point, the chemist whom he gave the samples to did because

Leuchter didn't tell him what they were), thereby diluting the Zyklon-B traces by hundreds of thousands of times. As you must know, Zyklon-B gas only penetrates about 10 microns into concrete (a human hair, by comparison, is 100 microns thick). What was your procedure for controlling this problem?" (Sent by on March 12, 2000, and re-transmitted by Russ Granata). Rudolf responded the next day as follows: "Please read my reply to Prof. van Pelt, posted at ... Search for 'Roth' to see my response to his utmost reputation-wrecking nonsense. This stuff is out there for a long time. Even the reply to van Pelt is nothing but a rearrangement of the stuff posted on www.vho.org/D/rga and other material posted on the internet for more than two years. The same material was published in printed form in 1993 and 1994, and some of it even much earlier. I am not willing to repeat myself endlessly. Should you and your folks continue to ignore the facts and opinions of others, then this proves your pseudo-scientific behavior. Period."

38. U Carlo Mattogno discovered a Zyklon B variant, patented in 1926 and which released practically all its HCN gas within 10 minutes but nobody seems to know whether this product was ever used. Since the sources cited by Rudolf indicate that it takes about two hours before 80 percent of the HCN is released from its carrier material, Rudolf's arguments could well be adversely affected if it is shown that the 1926 variant came into use. See section 5.4 of the chapter "Die 'Gaskammern' von Auschwitz und Majdanek" by G. Rudolf (and "Ernst Gauss") in the anthology *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte: Ein Handbuch über strittige Fragen des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, Grabert, 1994). It is posted on the vho web site, and an expanded version has been published in English under the title *Dissecting the Holocaust. The Growing Critique of 'Truth' and 'Memory.'* (Thesis and Dissertation Press, P.O. Box 64, Capshaw, Alabama 35742, USA: 2000). This work is available from the IHR. See also the web site <http://www.tadp.org>. Chemist Dr. Wolfgang Lambrecht gives a detailed description of how the features of Zyklon B changed between 1925 and 1943 — leading to an increased rate of evaporation — in *VffG*, March 1997 (Vol. 1, No. 1), pp. 2-5; online in the vho.org web site. The *VffG* journal is edited and produced by Germar Rudolf (P.O. Box 118, Hastings TN34 3ZQ, England, UK).
39. U Kremas II and III were mirror-images of each other. Each had a had Leichenkeller (morgue) 1 and 2, labeled as such on the original plans, first discovered and published by Robert Faurisson.
40. U In order to avoid bias one way or the other, such a procedure is scientifically (and ethically) correct. Nevertheless, the Max Planck Society for the Advancement of Science, in a press release dated May 25, 1993, implicitly criticized Rudolf for withholding such information from the Fresenius Institute; Rudolf in turn castigated the Society in an open letter for its generally unscientific approach in matters pertaining to the Holocaust. See *Der Fall Rudolf*, pp. 15ff.
41. U See the Rudolf's report, §6.6, "Gutachten Krakau," pp.105-106 and *Vorlesungen*, §3.10, "Die Ergebnisse des Krakauer Gutachtens," pp. 182-184. The analytical method used by the Fresenius Laboratories was that of the standard DIN (Deutsches Institut für Normung/German Institute for Standardization) 35 405/D14; the Jan Sehn Institute used a method due to J. Epstein (*Analytical Chemistry* 19(1947), pp. 272f). The 1994 article by the Jan Sehn Institute was inspired by J. Bailer's chapter "Der Leuchter-Bericht aus der Sicht eines Chemikers," ("The Leuchter Report From the Viewpoint of a Chemist") in the anti-revisionist anthology *Amoklauf gegen die Wirklichkeit* ("Running Amok Against Reality"), eds., Dokumentationszentrum des österreichischen Widerstandes, Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kultur (Vienna 1991), pp. 47-52. Since Bailer found it difficult to believe that Prussian Blue could form in bricks exposed to HCN, the Jan Sehn Institute took up the cue and referred to the blue on the walls of the delousing chambers as the "controversial blue dye." See below on the 1994 report.

42. ☞ The later, 1994 Cracow Institute report is discussed below.
43. ☞ Werner Wegner contributed an extensive critique of the Leuchter Report, “Keine Vergasung in Auschwitz? Zur Kritik des Leuchter-Gutachtens” in the anthology *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit — Impulse zur Historisierung des Nationalsozialismus*, edited by U. Backes, E. Jesse and R. Zitelmann (Ullstein, 1992), pp. 450-476. Wilhelm Stäglich, author of *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence* (IHR, 1985) has also written a critique of Wegner, *The Leuchter Report: Reply to a Critique* (History Buff Books, undated).
44. ☞ In 1995 the Viennese publisher Deuticke brought out *Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge*, edited by Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, Wolfgang Benz and Wolfgang Neugebauer. (Now out of print, it has been superseded by *Die Auschwitzleugner* [Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1996], with the same editors.) In his contribution, “Die 'Revisionisten' und die Chemie” (“The 'Revisionists' and Chemistry”), J. Bailer takes to task both F. Berg and G. Rudolf. Rudolf responded with “Zur Kritik an 'Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge,’” in the collection of his essays, *Kardinalfragen: Eine Sammlung kontroverser Stellungnahmen von Germar Rudolf alias Ernst Gauss zum herrschenden Zeitgeist in Wissenschaft, Politik, Justiz und Medien* (Ed. Herbert Verbeke, Stiftung Vrij Historische Onderzoek, 1996 (online in German and English at www.vho.org/D/Kardinal), pp. 91-108. In his contribution to *Die Auschwitzleugner* (pp. 130-152), Bailer continues to doubt that the presence of Prussian Blue in the delousing chambers has anything to do with the application of Zyklon B. Finally, he insists that the two phenomena are unrelated (p. 149). This contradicts the opinions of both Pressac (as we have seen), and the chemist Richard J. Green. (See the section below on the 1994 report of the Jan Sehn Forensic Institute.)
45. ☞ G. Jagschitz gave expert evidence in the trial of Austrian Gerd Honsik. See p.106 of Rudolf’s report and n. 59 for details.
46. ☞ In his response to J. Bailer’s criticism that only iron unfavorable to the formation of Prussian Blue (trivalent iron Fe^{3+} instead of divalent Fe^{2+}) exists in bricks and slaked lime, Rudolf points out that the CN-ion itself acts as a reduction agent — converting Fe^{3+} to Fe^{2+} , the CN-ion itself thereby losing its negative charge — especially in an alkaline ambience, bringing about the right conditions for the formation of stable cyanide compounds. See also *Vorlesungen*, pp. 290-299. For an elementary account of oxidation/reduction processes see K. M. Mackay and R.A. Mackay, *Introduction to Modern Inorganic Chemistry* (4th edition, Prentice Hall, 1989), especially §2.17.
47. ☞ Rudolf refers to this “migration” as an *Anreicherungsprozess* or “enrichment process”.
48. ☞ See in particular the color photographs in *Dissecting the Holocaust* (Capshaw, Alabama: 2000), between pages 368 and 369. These remarkable photos are also published in *Vorlesungen*, pp. 186-188 (photos 3.3-3.5), and in *Das Rudolf Gutachten* (1993), pp. 87-90, as well as on the back cover of the English summary version, *The Rudolf Report*. Robert Faurisson has emphasized the lack of blue stains in the “homicidal gas chambers” (in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991, pp. 38f), but it should be noted that an inner wall of the delousing chamber in building BW 5b at Birkenau shows no such stains, though it is rich in cyanide compounds. See samples 19a and 19b in *The Rudolf Report*, and in *Vorlesungen*, p. 192. In a private communication Rudolf informed me that the color blue is present only very near the surface, and is perhaps only 100 m thick. It accumulated there due to water-diffusion, carrying with it soluble cyanide compounds. In BW 5b (sample 19a) this transport process failed because the contact between plaster and wall was poor, preventing any ground water from diffusing to the surface since it evaporated between plaster layers. The result was that the upper plaster layers fell off, as can be seen in the delousing tract of this building.

49.  See sample 25 in the Rudolf Report, tables 15 and 16, pp. 84f, and the discussion in § 4.3.3.4, pp. 91ff. Apparently the presence of calcium (in the form of lime/carbonates) can simulate the presence of small quantities of cyanide, so that concentrations of under 10 mg/kg detected by standard DIN methods may not be meaningful. See also Vorlesungen, §3.8, pp.175ff and §3.12 (Kontrollanalysen), pp.194ff. Some of Rudolf's samples were also analyzed by the Institut für Umweltanalytik, Stuttgart (IUS). The results of the two chemical analyses of sample 11 taken from an inner-wall of BW 5a differed considerably: The Fresenius institute found 2640 mg/kg of CN-content, while IUS found 1430 mg/kg, showing how careful one should be about using figures. For the "farmhouse" sample 25, both laboratories gave exactly the same concentration.
50.  In the introduction to the Leuchter Report, Robert Faurisson writes: "The extremely low levels of cyanide found in some crematoria was likely, in my opinion, to have resulted from disinfection of the premises during the war."
51.  "Only products such as diluted cresyl, bleach, or gaseous formaldehyde are currently used for this [disinfecting] purpose": Truth Prevails, p. 62.
52.  Rudolf Report, pp. 98-99.
53.  These "bunkers" are said to have been two farmhouses just outside Birkenau, in which people were allegedly gassed. An important "eyewitness" to a gassing was the former SS man Richard Böck, who stated that he saw a blue haze coming from the "gas chamber" after the doors were opened. The fact is that HCN gas is colorless, and so cannot be seen. At David Irving's first "Real History" meeting of September 26, 1999 (Cincinnati, Ohio), Russ Granata reported that Carlo Mattogno "affirms that so-called Bunkers 1 and 2 never existed." See R. Granata's "open letter to Yehuda Bauer" of February 16, 2000 on the Internet, as well as the video "Russ Granata Reports on Carlo Mattogno," available from Granata, P.O. Box 2145 PVP, CA 90274, USA. For a more detailed critique of Böck's testimony, see the Rudolf Report, pp. 63f.
54.  I have slightly paraphrased Rudolf here.
55.  The authors — Jan Markiewicz, Wojcieh Gubala, Jerzy Labedz of the Instytut Ekspertyz Sadowych im. Prof. dra Jana Sehn, PL 31-003 Krakow, ul. Westerplatte 9, Poland — published "A study of the Cyanide Compounds Content in the Walls of the Gas Chambers in the Former Auschwitz and Birkenau Concentration Camps" in Z Zagadnien Nauk Sadowych, z. XXX, 1994, pp. 17-27. This can be seen online at www2.ca.nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/orgs/polish/institute-for-forensic-research/post. Rudolf informs me that the deceased first author was not a chemist.
56.  The three Polish authors wrote: "J. Bailer writes in ... 'Amoklauf gegen die Wirklichkeit' [cited above] that the formation of Prussian Blue in bricks is simply improbable; however he takes into consideration the possibility that the walls of the delousing room were coated with this dye as paint. We decided therefore to determine the cyanide ions using a method that does not induce the breakdown of the composed ferum cyanide complex (this is the blue under consideration) ..."
57.  See "Leuchter-Gegengutachten: ein wissenschaftlicher Betrug?," first published in Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Tübingen), Vol. 43 (1995), No. 1, pp. 22-26, and is reprinted in the 1996 anthology Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte, pp. 81-85. Rudolf points out there that 99.9 percent of the compounds present in the walls of the delousing chambers are undetectable by the method used by the Jan Sehn Institute. See also Rudolf's exchange of letters with the Cracow Institute, "Briefwechsel mit dem Jan-Sehn-Institut Krakau," first published in Sleipnir (Berlin), Vol. 3, 1995, pp. 29-33, and reprinted in Kardinalfragen, pp. 86-90. See especially the section "Stellungnahme zur Krakauer Erwiderung," pp. 87-86. Rudolf points out that the methods used by the Jan Sehn Institute

cannot be reconciled with those of Alpha Analytic Laboratories, the Institut Fresenius or the Institut für Umwelt-und Schadstoffanalytik. Unlike Leuchter and Rudolf, the Polish researchers did not give their samples to an independent laboratory for analysis, but kept the whole exercise “within the family,” a most unscientific approach.

58. [↗](#) On March 21, 1996, I wrote a detailed letter to the authors, querying this very point: “On p. 20 of your study you cite J. Bailer ... as stating that 'the walls of the delousing room' may have been 'coated with this dye as paint.' What does 'this dye' refer to? Is it a paint based on Prussian Blue, as you seem to suggest on p. 20 where you write that 'this is the blue under discussion'? You state that 'it is hard to imagine the chemical reactions ... that would have led to the formation of Prussian Blue in that place', and quote Bailer who says that the 'formation of Prussian Blue in bricks is simply improbable.' Did you not write to Werner Wegner, saying die blauen Flecken auf den äusseren Wänden des Bauwerkes 5a in Birkenau sind nicht leicht zu erklären. Vor allem müssen wir prüfen, ob es wirklich Berliner-Blau ist? [the blue patches on the outside walls of BW 5a are not easy to explain. First of all, we must test if it is really Prussian Blue]”. Your article is very ambiguous about this. How can Rudolf have 'confirmed the high concentrations of cyanogen compounds' when at the same time you express reservations with phrases such as 'this may be so' (p. 18)? You claim that the 'blue dye' is 'controversial' while making no effort whatsoever to settle the very simple question: is it Prussian Blue or not? In my opinion this problem should have been properly settled right at the beginning of your study. If, for example, the blue in the outer walls of the delousing chambers of BW 5a and 5b is due to the presence of Prussian Blue, then there would be no need to accuse Rudolf of indulging in “wissenschaftliche Spekulationen.” No reply to this letter has been received.
59. [↗](#) Rudolf found this information in a journal specializing in the study of damage to buildings. See “Leuchter-Gegengutachten: ein wissenschaftlicher Betrug?” in Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte, p. 82, and note 7 for the source.
60. [↗](#) See “Leuchter, Rudolf & the Iron Blues” as well as “The Chemistry of Auschwitz” at the vho website. Rudolf’s most recent article in this matter, a refutation of an article written by the Richard E. Green, was presented at the first Australian Revisionist Conference held by the Adelaide Institute on August 9, 1998: “Some considerations about the 'Gas Chambers' of Auschwitz and Birkenau.” Here Rudolf explains why he thinks the Jan Sehn Institute’s analytic methods amount to fraud. This is likewise posted on the vho web site: <http://www.vho.org>.
61. [↗](#) “Danger in Denying Holocaust?,” a front-page (p. A-1) article by veteran journalist Kim Murphy appeared in the Los Angeles Times, January 7, 2000. It began “A young German chemist named Germar Rudolf took crumbling bits of plaster...,” and went on to state that compared with the delousing chambers “there was up to a thousand times less in the rooms described as human gas chambers.” Murphy also wrote that Rudolf “could be called as a witness” at the forthcoming Irving-Lipstadt trial. For more about Kim Murphy, and her Los Angeles Times report on the 13th IHR Conference, see the May-June 2000 Journal of Historical Review, p. 2-3.
62. [↗](#) “Holocaust Deniers,” Los Angeles Times, letters page, January 16, 2000.
63. [↗](#) In an e-mail letter to Zimmerman of January 19, 2000, Rudolf wrote: “In 1994/ 95 I proved that the 1994 Cracow expertise [report] about cyanide residues is at least biased, if not a serious attempt at fraud. As a member of www.holocaust-history.org you know this because you are aware of the exchange between R. J. Green and me. Ignoring that makes you an accomplice of these frauds. You are right regarding the principle difference in the time required to gas lice and humans (though one has to argue about the actual values). But you ignore the factors that made it much more likely that long-term stable cyanide residues would form in the cold underground morgues of Krema II and III rather than in the heated

ground-floor delousing chambers (humidity, kind of material). You ignore the fact that wide parts of the under-ground morgue 1 of Krema II, the allegedly most frequently used 'gas chamber,' are fairly well intact and protected by environmental influences." Zimmerman believed he dealt revisionism a mortal blow with his article "Body Disposal at Auschwitz: The End of Holocaust Denial," at holocaust-history.org. Carlo Mattogno has tentatively answered Zimmerman with "Preliminary Observations," posted on Russ Granata's site, where Granata also announces Mattogno's two-volume work to be published by Edizioni di Ar in 2000: *I forni crematori di Auschwitz. Studio storico-tecnico, con la collaborazione del dott.ing. Franco Deana*, comprising 500 pages of text, 270 documents, and 360 photographs. An extensive reply to Zimmerman, in English (and Italian) is on Granata's website: "Supplementary Response to John C. Zimmerman on his 'Body Disposal at Auschwitz'."

64. [↗](#) Robert Faurisson has expressed the view that of the three reports confirming Leuchter's findings (the 1990 Cracow, Rudolf's and Lüftl's) the "most stunning" was this Cracow report. (See B. Kulaszka's *Did Six Million Really Die?*, p. V.) Leuchter has expressed a similar opinion: "It should be noted that a recent study by the Polish Forensics Institute has confirmed my findings of no gas residue at the alleged Auschwitz Gas Chamber" in *The Fourth Leuchter Report*, Fred A. Leuchter Associates, Inc., p.25. There are a number of other passages in *The Fourth Report* where, in my opinion, Leuchter comes to conclusions too hastily and without supporting his claims with references to authorities. Thus in paragraph 8.008 he accepts without expressing any reservations Arthur Butz's original interpretation of Vergasungskeller, as "carburetion cellar." Butz himself has clearly not been happy with this view: "The Nagging 'Gassing cellar' Problem," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997 (Vol. 16, No. 4), pp. 20-23). In paragraph 8.010 of *The Fourth Report* Leuchter makes dogmatic assertions about the 10 Gasprüfer 'discovered' as a 'criminal trace' by Pressac. Again, other interpretations are possible. See Butz's "A 'Criminal Trace'? Gas Detectors in Auschwitz Crematory II," in the September-October 1997 (Vol. 16, No. 5) *Journal*, pp. 24-30. Leuchter's suggested explanation in paragraph 8.033 of a note written by a foreman working in Krema IV that made reference to a gas chamber may cause some to laugh, but will contribute little to history: "Perhaps he [the foreman working in Krema IV who had noted betonieren in GassKammer [sic] or someone in his crew was flatulent ... He may have put this in his daily report as a joke".
65. [↗](#) See "In der Bundesacht: Die Entrechtung unliebsamer Bürger" in the collection *Kardinalfragen*, p. 54 and n.28.. For further details see "Die Rolle der Presse im Fall Germar Rudolf," pp. 65-73 and n.16 in *Kardinalfragen*. For a rebuttal of the anti-revisionist collection *Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge* edited by Brigitte Bailer-Galanda, Wolfgang Benz and Wolfgang Neugebauer (Deuticke, Vienna, 1991 and 1992) see Rudolf's article "Zur Kritik an "Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge"" in *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 91-108.
66. [↗](#) See *Der Fall Rudolf*, pp.7-11 (interview with Journal contributor Fritz Berg), where one will also find interesting material on the reactions of members of the Max Planck Society, including Rudolf's doctoral supervisor. The letter from the Central Council is reproduced in facsimile on p. 14. See also "In der Bundesacht," *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 51-57.
67. [↗](#) "In der Bundesacht" contains details of this and other events leading up to the trial of Rudolf. An almost fair account of his dismissal from the Max Planck Institute is in "Holocaust denial research disclaimed," by Alison Abbott, in *Nature*, Vol. 368 (April 7, 1994), p. 483. In the article the Max Planck Society (MPS) "is said to be extremely upset ... particularly ... about claims from right-wing groups that the society supported the report's findings and that Rudolf's dismissal was orchestrated by the Central Council for Jews in Germany — charges which the Society vigorously denies" (and so does Rudolf: see *Der Fall Rudolf*, p. 15). "Last week it [the MPS] issued a statement saying that it supports the German Supreme Court's ruling that mass murder of Jews is a historical fact that needs no fur-

ther proof. A spokesman for the Society says that even if the samples sent to the Fresenius Institute are genuine, Rudolf's interpretation of the data is invalid because there are so many unknown factors involved, such as whether or not the chosen chamber was one of those known to have been rebuilt before the allied troops entered the camp, or whether residues in the delousing chambers could have remained because much higher concentrations of cyanide were used to kill lice". Rudolf responded to each of these points in an open letter to the MPS. See *Der Fall Rudolf*, pp. 15-19.

68. ☞ Verfahren gegen Germar Scheerer, LG Stuttgart 17 KLS 83/94. After his marriage Rudolf officially changed his name to Scheerer, his wife's maiden name. His defense attorney was Günther Herzogenrath-Amelung. Many details of the sequence of events leading up to the conviction of Rudolf, 'denunciation', 'prosecution', 'vilification by the media', 'destruction of the private domain', 'homelessness', 'special treatment' can be found in his article "In der Bundesacht" ("Federal Banning"), which first appeared in the Munich journal *Staatsbriefe*, No. 12/1995 (Verlag Castel del Monte, Postfach 14 06 28, 80456 München, Germany), pp. 10-15, and subsequently in the 1996 anthology *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 51-57. Apart from *Der Fall Rudolf*, other sources used for the present article include the *Prozessprotokoll*, or court records with the *Aktenzeichen* (file numbers), the *Anklageschrift* (indictment brief, Staatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart, 4 Js 34417/93), the Court's 240-page *Urteil* (judgment or verdict). The collection of documents, *Der Prozess: Verfahren gegen G. Scheerer*; LG Stuttgart; 17 KLS 83/94, was privately published by Rudolf and includes the *Urteil*, the defense's *Revisionsbegründung* (basis for a review of the trial and to have the sentence set aside), compiled by attorney Ludwig Bock, Rudolf's critical notes on the *Urteil*, as well as the *Urteilschelte*, which is an analysis of the *Urteil* as a whole. *Der Prozessverlauf*, the "report of an observer" at the trial, has also been consulted, as well as *Plädoyer der Staatsanwältin* (plea of the public prosecutor), *Plädoyer des Verteidigers* (plea of the defense attorney) as well as *Schlusswort des Angeklagten* (closing speech of the accused).
69. ☞ On p. 6 of the indictment these are listed as coming under the following sections of the Penal Code (*Strafgesetzbuch*) (1)(a) and (b): Incitement of the people (*Volksverhetzung*), §130, Nos. 1, 3; (2): Denigration of the Memory of the Dead *Verunglimpfung des Andenkens Verstorbener*, §189 and §194 par. 2.2; (3): §185 and §194 par. 1.2. "Inciting racial hatred" also fell under §131. Although Rudolf was tried under the less harsh "Lex Engelhard" law of 1985 — which did not yet make questioning of the Holocaust as such an offense — it is difficult to gainsay the impression that Rudolf's judges covertly applied the more repressive law passed in December 1994. On the development of these laws see A. Weusthoff's essay "Endlich geregelt? — Zur Ahndung der Holocaust-Leugnung durch die deutsche Justiz" by in the collection *Die Auschwitzleugner* (pp. 252-272), cited in note 43 above. See *Consilieri* 1 cited in note 187 below for a revisionist angle.
70. ☞ Indictment, pp. 3, 4f, 9-14. On p. 14 note how the qualification "partial" has been dropped.
71. ☞ The first quote is from someone who claimed that an uncle was gassed at Dachau, the second is by Britain's chief rabbi I. Jakobovits on the Holocaust industry, and the third is by Michael Wolffsohn, a professor of history at Germany's Bundeswehr academy, who states that Auschwitz is "the one remaining foundation for Jewish identity."
72. ☞ In an e-mail communication to me of October 28, 2000, Rudolf wrote the following:

"You might add this declaration of mine to any upcoming publication:

"Even though I frequently stressed during my trial in Germany in 1994/95 that I was not involved in the production and distribution of General Remer's politically commented version of my Expert Report about the gas chambers of

Auschwitz, this is not entirely true. The truth is, that in early 1993 I was approached by an acquaintance of General Remer. This person asked me if I would be opposed if Remer, in an act of self-defense, would send copies of my Report to representatives of Germany's High Society. In 1992, Remer, though over 80 years old and having suffered two strokes, was sentenced to 22 months imprisonment for, inter alia 'Holocaust denial.' His judges did not allow him to present any evidence to prove his innocence. Every attempt by the defense lawyers to introduce such evidence, including my Expert Report, was rejected since German jurisdiction regards the Holocaust as 'self-evident.' Remer would most likely have died in prison. Therefore, he, his lawyers and associates considered this sentence to be a death penalty. Hence, they thought they had the right to go to extremes and publish my report in order to make Germany's High society aware of how a German court hands down a death penalty against someone — whom many people considered to be an old, severely ill WWII war hero — on account of his dissenting historical views. In 1997, three years after he fled Germany, Remer died in Exile. So he most likely would indeed have died in prison.

“Though I anticipated that Remer's intended action might cause problems for me, I nevertheless did not deny him his right to self-defense, and that is what I told his acquaintance. After all, why do we do revisionism in the first place? To hide it? To refuse to help people in distress? Did I prepare a legal expertise for the defense of people and then refuse to let them defend themselves with it?

“This 'nod' was all I ever contributed to Remer's distribution of my Report. I was not involved in the production nor distribution of his version, nor did I know anything about the preface (a justification for Remer's action) or the epilogue (a report of his own trial) which Remer and his associates had added to my Report. I actually learned about these additions only after Remer's distribution had started in April 1993, and I read them for the first time in my life during my trial in 1995. For these additions, but not for my Report — which was considered to be formally scientific by the court itself, I was eventually sentenced to 14 months imprisonment.

“It was the obvious intention of the court not only to put me in prison for a 'thought crime' I did not commit, but to put all people in prison who were involved in Remer's desperate act of self-defense. It therefore agreed not to reveal the identity of any other persons involved in order to protect them. We succeeded in this. The court, on the other hand, conducted its proceedings in a vicious show trial manner, since this of course was the only way for them to either break me and make me reveal the real 'culprits' or to 'prove' an obviously innocent man guilty. A court, however, that does not try to seek truth, justice and fairness, but tries to destroy as many innocent citizens' lives as it can, did and does not deserve the truth.

“Germar Rudolf, Hastings, 27th October 2000.”

It is not clear to me what Rudolf means by “formally scientific,” but I understand the expression to mean that the outer form of his Report has all the trappings of a scientific paper. Compare the ruling of the Bundesverfassungsgericht (Federal Constitutional Court) on what it means to be scientific, as cited by

Rudolf in his interesting essay “Über richtige und falsche Erkenntnisse,” reprinted in *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 19 -47: For a text to enjoy protection of the basic law, “the only pre-requisite is that it concerns itself with science; here falls anything which according to content and form (nach Inhalt und Form) is to be regarded as a serious attempt to discover the truth” (p. 22). In Rudolf’s case, in order to get around the “content” part, the court simply ignored it! See below, especially note 85.

See his deposition regarding the charges against him: *Stellungnahme zur Anklageschrift der Staatsanwaltschaft Stuttgart*, Az. 4 Js 34417/93, in the *Prozessprotokoll*, Section A, Paragraph 2. The official trial record (*Prozessprotokoll*) contains only a basic record of the trial proceedings, such as when a witness appeared, and that he/she made a statement to the subject (*zur Sache*), without recording anything of what was actually said. (On such procedures, see also notes 92 and 93 below). The *Prozessprotokoll* also includes written submissions by the defense and the accused.

73. ☞ Rudolf’s statement of May 3, 1995, on why he used the pen name Ernst Gauss. For the book *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* he did this in order not to endanger his doctorate, while he was persuaded by his publisher to use the same name for *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* because Remer had ruined his own name and he wished to spare the revisionist cause “further immeasurable harm.” He chose this particular pen name because the research topic of his Ph.D. involved the work of one of the greatest mathematicians of all time: Carl Friedrich Gauss.
74. ☞ Urteil (judgment), pp. 171-172.
75. ☞ Urteil, pp. 11f, 137 and 228f. On p. 137 we read that the aim of publishing his Report in the Spring of 1993 was “to initiate the long sought-for discussion on 'revisionist' themes ...”
76. ☞ Notwehraktion: the word used by Remer in his pirated copy.
77. ☞ Urteil, p. 12.
78. ☞ How could the judges possibly think they knew this?
79. ☞ Urteil, pp. 12-13.
80. ☞ Urteil, pp. 235-240. The court turned down the defense’s submission (*Hilfsbeweis Antrag*) to have Rudolf’s conclusions (A) and (B) tested by competent scientists, since “jurisdiction decided long ago that the mass-murder of the Jews, perpetrated in particular at Auschwitz, is a notorious (*offenkundig*) historical fact and needs no proof.” (Urteil, pp. 231f).
81. ☞ The defense unsuccessfully objected to this procedure (*Selbstleseverfahren*). For the court’s justification, see protocol exhibit 1 for November 25, 1994. The same procedure was ordered for the introductory chapter of *Grundlagen*. In this way the court avoided open reading of texts that might have favored the accused. (See also *Der Prozeßverlauf*, p. 2). According to Rudolf, the court declared on the second day of the trial (November 23) that it was technically unqualified to judge his Report. See “Die Rolle der Presse im Fall Gernar Rudolf,” *Kardinalfragen* p.72.
82. ☞ Urteil, pp. 15, 23. The statement on p. 15, on how the revisionists aim to have a public debate on “difficult to explain details of National Socialist mass-crimes [*schwer aufklärbare Details der nationalsozialistische Massenverbrechen*]” clearly looks forward to the “chemical detail” mentioned on p. 23. How much like French National Front Leader Jean Marie Le Pen’s claim that the wartime German 'gas chambers' are a “detail” of the Second World War! (*Liberation*, Sept. 15, 1987, p. 6). Nobody seems willing to forgive Le Pen for his silly remark, and he is seldom quoted in full. Thus the London Sunday Times of March 2,

1997 (p.19) writes that he referred “to the Holocaust as a 'detail in the history of the second world war'.”

83. ☞ Urteil, pp. 23f. The awkward reasoning is the court's, not mine.
84. ☞ So for example in the indictment: angeblich wissenschaftlich fundierter Untersuchung (p. 3); “Revisionismus”-Bewegung, pseudowissenschaftlichen Methoden, “Gutachten” (twice), “Rudolf-Gutachten,” “Leuchter-Report” (p. 9); seiner “Arbeit”(p.13). Similarly, in the judgment (Urteil) one finds: seine angeblich rein wissenschaftlichen Absichten (p.12); Scheinargument (p.13); sachlich erscheinen sollte, objektiv erscheinende Schriften, “revisionistisches,” Anschein der Objektivität, Anspruch auf Wissenschaftlichkeit, sachliche erscheinende, ging es ihm ... darum, eine lebhaft Diskussion über den Inhalt des “Gutachtens” und andere “revisionistische” Thesen nach aussen hin vorzutäuschen (pp.18f); Anschein seiner Objektivität, “wissenschaftlichen” Schriften (p. 20), Eindruck einer unbefangenen ... Wissenschaftlichkeit (p. 23), Aus Gründen der scheinbaren Glaubwürdigkeit (p. 24 — in a note on this Rudolf writes: “baseless impudent imputation”), die Strategie der Sachlichkeit (p. 24), in objektivem Stil (p. 25 — referring to a summary of the Rudolf’s report in DGG of May, 1993), größtmöglicher Anschein von Sachlichkeit (“maximum possible show of objectivity,” p. 26, referring to Grundlagen). Compare the closing speech of the Public Prosecutor: Es bestand Interesse an einer Form, die den Anschein einer rein wissenschaftlicher Arbeit erweckt, which Rudolf calls unfundierte (unfounded) Spekulation (n. 7 of his edition).
85. ☞ Cited in point 7 of Rudolf’s deposition respecting the charges against him.
86. ☞ According to the Prozeßverlauf, p. 21, the court refused to accept into evidence the statements of 10 witnesses that the accused decisively distanced himself from National Socialist ideology. On January 9, 1995, defense witness Horst Lummert testified before the court. Deeply rooted in his Jewishness, he stated that he was especially sensitive to lies, with the result that he respected the revisionists' approach to the Holocaust issue more than that of their opponents. Having maintained a correspondence with the accused for about a year, he understood that Rudolf had reservations about going ahead with his revisionist research because he was concerned about the detrimental consequences it might have for Jews. Because he, Lummert, had encouraged the accused to proceed further with his revisionist activities, he felt that he, and not Rudolf, should be in the dock. In a June 30, 1994, letter to Rudolf, Lummert had written that Ignatz Bubis (head of the Central Council of German Jews) could well be called Germany’s “Godfather,” adding that “behind this so-called Russian Mafia lay hidden Chechnyans, Ukrainians, Russians and above all Jews... No one would dare to speak correctly of a 'Jewish Mafia'.” Thus, Lummert went on, misuse of the Holocaust impeded the fight against organized crime. See Der Prozessverlauf, pp.10f. The full text of Lummert’s letter is reproduced in n.6. Lummert has his own website, which posts articles on the Holocaust and revisionism at www.kokhavivpublications.com.
87. ☞ Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte, “Streitpunkt Judenvernichtung: Eine Einleitung,” pp. 15-39. Also, Dissecting the Holocaust (2000), pp. 13-14.
88. ☞ Urteil, p. 26f
89. ☞ Urteil, pp. 273f.
90. ☞ Urteil, p. 238ff. The quotation marks in 'more understandable' are in the original (“verständlicher” machen). The translation of Überzeugungstäter is taken from the South African Citizen of June 24, 1995, p. 18, which also cites the court’s claim that Rudolf “selectively used evidence to provide a scientific cover to a gruesome lie that feeds neo-Nazi sentiment.”
91. ☞ Although it appears in the charge sheet, at no time during the entire trial was the absurd claim raised that Rudolf identifies with National Socialist racial ideology. Nevertheless, it

appears in the judgment, from where the press picked it up. See “Die Rolle der Presse im Fall Germar Rudolf” in *Kardinalfragen*, pp. 65-73 (p. 71 and footnote 34). Rudolf’s study, “Webfehler im Rechtsstaat” (*Kardinalfragen*, pp. 59-63), fills a gap in our knowledge of the trial and how this flaw in the law affected his case.

92. ↪ It is worth quoting Ruth Bettina Birn (who is Chief Historian in the War Crimes Section of the Department of Justice, Canada): “Statements in the German legal system are not verbatim transcriptions, but a summary prepared by the interrogator; they are not the words of the person himself, and only in some cases are direct quotations inserted,” in “Revising the Holocaust” from *A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth* by Norman G. Finkelstein and Ruth Bettina Birn (New York: An Owl Book: Henry Holt and Co., 1997), pp.106-107. Records, such as they are, are kept at the Zentralstelle der Landesjustizverwaltung in Ludwigsberg, and have been used (for example) by Christopher R. Browning for his *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992).
93. ↪ See “In der Bundesacht,” *Kardinalfragen*, p. 53.
94. ↪ About the VffG, see “Important New German-Language Revisionist Quarterly,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1998, pp. 26-27. Rudolf was the editor of VffG from its inception (private communication). Its first nominal editor had been Herbert Verbeke, who founded the *Stiftung Vrij Historisch Onderzoek* (“Foundation for Free Historical Research”), P.O. Box 60, B-2600 Berchem 2, Belgium. On the VHO foundation, with remarks on revisionism (including the “Auschwitz-Lüge”) in Belgium, see “A Belgian Foundation Battles for Free Speech,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1996 (Vol.16, No.1), p. 46. Since the summer of 1998, Rudolf has used his own imprint: Castle Hill Publishers (PO Box 118, Hastings TN34 3ZQ, England — UK). For more on VffG and Castle Hill publishers, see the VHO website www.vho.org/chp.
95. ↪ Perhaps the most important of these works is the first thorough study of the Majdanek (Lublin) concentration camp, *KL Majdanek: Eine historische und technische Studie* by Jürgen Graf and Carlo Mattogno. For the entire program of Castle Hill books, whether available for free online or for purchase, see the VHO website. The writings of Leuchter, Faurisson and Rudolf are all to some extent criticized in this book. Rather than regarding this criticism as unkindness to fellow revisionists, it may well indicate that they now feel confident enough of the essential correctness of their central theses to criticize one another openly. For the controversy surrounding this publication, see “Eine Revisionistische Monographie über Majdanek” by R. Faurisson in VffG, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1999), pp. 209-212; “Offener Brief an Prof. Robert Faurisson” by J. Graf in VffG, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1999), pp. 327-330; Faurisson’s response, “Antwort an Jürgen Graf” in the same issue of VffG, pp. 330-332; and Carlo Mattogno’s online reply (in Italian and English) at Granata’s website.
96. ↪ Rudolf e-mail statement, October 18, 1999.
97. ↪ Rudolf e-mail statement, October 19, 1999.
98. ↪ For a list of works restricted or banned in Germany, see Germar Rudolf’s website.
99. ↪ Proposals to introduce legislation making “Holocaust denial” a criminal offense in Britain date back at least to 1996. That year the *Electronic Telegraph* of October 4, reported under the heading “Delegates in tears over Dunblane’s handgun plea” that “LEGISLATION to make it a criminal offence to deny the Holocaust was called for by delegates yesterday. They decided unanimously to make it a criminal offence to publish, broadcast, distribute or display material that denies six million Jews were killed by the Germans. Sharon McColl, of Paole Zion, the Jewish society affiliated to the Labour Party, told delegates that it was already an offence in many countries including Australia, France, Spain, Switzerland and Israel. 'Denial of the holocaust is a deliberate falsification of history for political purposes.

This is deeply hurtful to survivors and victims of the Nazi regime', she said, adding that 'Making it a criminal offence is the only way to make sure this obscenity is removed.'" For further information see also "Labour plans jail for denial of Holocaust in the Sunday Times of September 29, 1996, p. 1.24. According to the two dissident former Labour MPs Christopher Mayhew and Michael Adams, Labour has had a formal affiliation with Paole Zion since 1920 (Publish It Not: The Middle East Cover-Up (Longmans, 1975), pp. 26, 33f, 38), an organization which "operates a racial test for membership" (p. 44, note). Labour seems to have temporarily abandoned the idea of legislating against Holocaust skeptics (The Electronic Telegraph, Friday, January 21, 2000).

100.  Electronic Telegraph, Issue 1619, Oct. 31, 1999.
101.  January 16, 2000.
102.  The Hastings and St. Leonards Observer, March 31, 2000.
103.  MP Dismore proposed "To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will make a statement concerning the case of Germar Rudolf." Response, May 22, 2000, by Home Secretary Mike O'Brien, <http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk>.
104.  A letter by Paul Stocks protesting the prejudiced reporting of Hastings and Berry was published by the Electronic Telegraph of October 20, 1999, as was David Irving's in the Sunday Telegraph of October 24, 1999. Unfortunately, Irving, followed by Stocks, repeats the error that Rudolf's doctoral thesis was about "the permanence of cyanide compounds ... [and was] highly praised by his peers." My own attempts to draw the attention of Sunday Telegraph editor Dominic Lawson to the unreasonableness of condemning someone for his writings without having read any of it, and that anti-revisionist legislation would be "un-English" (Matthew Parrish in The Times of February 7, 1997) were apparently ignored. The Electronic Telegraph of July 29, 1999, published in all seriousness "Germans attacked for 'forgetting' Holocaust'," the 'attacker' being none other than Ignatz Bubis himself!
105.  Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory, was first published New York 1993, and in England the following year by Penguin Books. Reviews of Lipstadt's book appeared in The Journal of Historical Review, Nov.-Dec. 1993 and Sept.-Oct. 1995.
106.  Royal Courts of Justice 1996-I-No. 113, Queen's Bench Division, Royal Courts of Justice Strand, London, before Mr. Justice Gray, between David John Cawdell Irving, Claimant, and (1) Penguin Books Limited (2) Deborah E. Lipstadt, Defendants. The transcripts of the trial can be found on Irving's website <http://www.fpp.co.uk/online.html>, which also contains thousands of references, including press reports on the trial. References to the transcripts will be made by day only, so that "day 1" refers to the proceedings of Tuesday, January 11, 2000. Due to the technology used for transcribing the stenographic notes of Harry Counsell & Company, the transcripts contain many misspellings of proper names. On the trial, see "Media Coverage of the Irving-Lipstadt Trial, The Journal of Historical Review, Jan.-Feb. 2000, pp. 40-53, and, "From the Trial Proceedings," in the same Journal issue, pp. 54-55.
107.  Rampton was instructed by Davenport Lyons and Mishcon de Reya.
108.  Chapter 9, "The Gas Chamber Controversy," p. 181.
109.  Denying the Holocaust, chapter 9, p. 161.
110.  In notes 18 and 17 to chapter 9 she refers to the London Sunday Times of June 12 and July 10, 1977. Likewise, her claim on p. 161 that "Scholars have described Irving as a 'Hitler partisan wearing blinkers' and have accused him of distorting evidence and manipulating documents to serve his own purposes" is ascribed in note 16 to Martin Broszat, Vierteljahrshäfte für Zeitgeschichte (October 1977), pp. 742, 769, cited in Patterns of Prejudice, Nos. 3-4 (1978), p. 8.

111. [↗](#) Judgment to be Handed Down on Tuesday, 11th April 2000 at 10.30 a.m. in Court 36, Royal Courts of Justice. Henceforth cited as Judgment.
112. [↗](#) Judgment, §4.7.
113. [↗](#) For details, see Irving's website <http://www.fpp.co.uk>.
114. [↗](#) Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present (New York, 1996). In his expert report Van Pelt stated it was a "moral certainty" that Auschwitz was an extermination camp (pp. 8, 183). In the Morris film "Mr. Death," Van Pelt repeats this phrase, stating that the place was the "holy of holies," and that he regarded Leuchter's descent into Krema II to collect samples as unforgivable. He is described as an historian of architecture on the cover of Auschwitz, but during the libel trial he described himself as a "cultural historian" (day 9 of the proceedings, p. 38 of the transcript).
115. [↗](#) Professor Browning testified for the prosecution in the second, 1988 Zündel trial. See B. Kulaszka's *Did Six Million Really Die?*, pp. 84-157.
116. [↗](#) See Irving's opening speech on day 1 of the proceedings, particularly pp. 55-87. The text of Irving's Opening Statement in the trial is in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Dec. 1999, pp. 16-35.
117. [↗](#) Judgment, §3.6.
118. [↗](#) Judgment, §3.8.
119. [↗](#) In an e-mail message sent out the day after the verdict Arthur Butz wrote: "As I recall I said ... to the extent that Irving claims that Lipstadt damaged his reputation in any measurable sense, he will lose. Irving was not blackballed by the publishing industry because of Lipstadt's book. There was not the element of what American lawyers call 'but for cause.' Most of the time the trial considered other issues whose involvement in a libel suit was hard to understand ... Irving's position was hopeless from the outset." Also published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 2000, p. 71.
120. [↗](#) Judgment §2.13.
121. [↗](#) Chapter 3, pp. 41-102.
122. [↗](#) Evans expert report, § 3.6.1
123. [↗](#) Served on September 5, 1996.
124. [↗](#) "I do not intend to go into the question of whether or not there were gas chambers at Birkenau" (Day 1, p. 29). Ernst Zündel, in his *Power* newsletter of January 11, 2000 (Issue No. 250), remarked on Irving's "wish to stay away from the Holocaust and make these trials strictly libel trials..." and predicts that "David is going to have a Holocaust trial whether he likes it or not."
125. [↗](#) As he himself emphasized throughout the trial. See, for example, the proceedings of day 1 (p.30): "I have never claimed to be a Holocaust historian ... If I have spoken about it, it is usually because somebody has asked me a question, I have been questioned about it. On such occasions I have emphasized my lack of expertise and I have expatiated only upon those areas with which I am familiar. In doing so I have offended many of my friends who wish that history was different, but you cannot wish documents away, and it is in documents that I have always specialized as a writer." He repeated this disclaimer on day 2 (pp. 234, 242); day 5 (p. 126); day 6 (pp. 41, 81) and day 8 (p. 183). That he only talks about the Holocaust when someone asks a question is plainly untrue, as can be seen from his talk "Battleship Auschwitz," given at the Tenth (1990) IHR Conference, and published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1990-91 (Vol. 10, No. 4), pp. 491-508.
126. [↗](#) On day 14 of the proceedings (p. 131) Rampton put it to Irving that at his October 10, 1995, speech at Tampa, Florida, he had said "I find the Holocaust endlessly boring." Irving

said much the same thing in his speech at the IHR meeting in Orange County, California, on March 28, 1998.

127. [↗](#) Irving's closing speech on day 32 (p. 49): "This trial is about my reputation as a human being, as an historian of integrity ...". On this see also pp. 59, 61, 66, 135 of the same day as well as pp. 132, 141 of day 2.
128. [↗](#) Day 1 of the proceedings, p. 2. Another aspect of the "strangeness" of the trial was Justice Gray's avowal that it was not for him to judge the facts of history, yet in his Judgment that is precisely what he did when he found Lipstadt's "experts" to be more credible than Irving. On this and other interesting aspects of the trial, see Mark Weber's article "After the Irving-Lipstadt trial: New Dangers and Challenges," in the March-April 2000 Journal of Historical Review (Vol. 19, No. 12), pp. 2-8.
129. [↗](#) Day 8, p. 120f.
130. [↗](#) Faurisson dated his piece, "David Irving en ce moment," January 19, 2000. Both the English and French versions have been posted on Irving's site: "What Revisionists Say about The Irving Trial" also includes the views of Bradley Smith, Ernst Zündel, Robert Faurisson, Serge Thion, Ingrid A. Rimland, Germar Rudolf, A. S. Marques and Michael A. Hoffman II.
131. [↗](#) Focus on History No. 1: Auschwitz: The End Of the Line: The Leuchter Report. The First Forensic Examination of Auschwitz (London: Focal Point Publications, June 1989). It is also on Irving's website.
132. [↗](#) For most people it would not make sense to take "this myth" in Irving's introduction as referring only to Auschwitz. In the 1991 Focal Point edition of Hitler's War we read: "By late 1945 the world's newspaper's were full of unsubstantiated lurid rumours about 'factories of death' complete with lethal 'gas chambers'" (p. 466). Compare Irving's letter of May 21, 1989, to Rainer Zitelmann: "It is clear to me that no serious historian can now believe that Auschwitz, Treblinka, Majdanek were Todesfabriken [death factories]. All the expert and scientific (forensic) evidence is to the contrary," as quoted by Justice Gray in Judgment, §8.16.
133. [↗](#) David Irving, "The Suppressed Eichmann and Goebbels Papers" (presented at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992), The Journal of Historical Review March-April 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 2), pp. 14-25 (p. 22).
134. [↗](#) Made at the Latvian Hall, Toronto, November 8, 1990, cited by Rampton on p. 25 of day 20 of the proceedings.
135. [↗](#) For example, on day 29. Rampton: "You frequently refer to the non-existence of any gas chambers in the plural." Irving: "I think you will have to show me the passages where I frequently say this." Justice Gray: "The point is you deny the existence of gas chambers and, when you do that, you do not talk only of the dummies such as the one that was constructed after the war at Auschwitz. That I think is the point." In his closing speech Irving corrected his error when he spoke of "the one shown to tourists" (day 32, p. 189).
136. [↗](#) Hitler's War (Hodder and Stoughton, 1977; and, New York: Viking, 1977). Irving's thesis prompted the response by Gerald Fleming, Hitler and the Final Solution (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif., 1984). In Germany Irving's thesis contributed to the Historikerstreit or "historians' dispute," involving most of the country's leading historians, including Martin Broszat, who became head of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History) in Munich and who disagreed strongly with Irving's thesis. (On this see also the interview with Ernst Nolte in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal of Historical Review.)
137. [↗](#) Among the contributions to "What Revisionists Say about The Irving Trial" is Germar Rudolf's remarks "Those who choose to be their own lawyer choose a fool." We also read there that "David Irving refused to present Germar Rudolf as an expert witness." Irving

himself claims the opposite, as can be seen on his index to items on the libel case: “Max-Planck Institute scientist Germar Rudolf (who turned down Mr Irving’s request to attend court as a special adviser, for security reasons) ...” This claim is rather hollow given that any expert witness had to be presented a year earlier, and an expert report had to be handed in many months before the trial actually started, neither of which was done. Rudolf informs me that early in 1999 Irving asked him if he would be willing to appear as an expert witness, and that although Rudolf agreed, he “never heard from him again.” Given that this “request” was made long before the anti-Rudolf press campaign, there can be little justification for Irving’s claim that he did not want to jeopardize Rudolf’s security. On the same occasion Rudolf tried hard to convince Irving that the very brief summary of Rudolf’s report was falsely claimed to be the report itself, but to no avail. Later that year Irving sent Rudolf a copy of van Pelt’s submission, asking him to comment. Rudolf again asked if he was to appear as an expert witness and again received no reply. Only a week before van Pelt took the stand did Irving finally admit that it was far too late to use Rudolf’s expertise. It seems clear that Irving never had any intention of doing this anyway. His comment to Rudolf on *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* says it all: “I don’t read the books of others.” Rudolf tells me that on other occasions Irving was more frank, declaring that he “didn’t want to associate with a convicted criminal and neo-Nazi ... didn’t want to get into the Auschwitz-affair in the first place...”

138. [U](#) "Critique of Chemical Claims Made by Robert Jan van Pelt," is on Rudolf’s website. Version 1 is dated January 2000 and version 2, January-February 2000.
139. [U](http://www.vho.org/GB/Contributions/CritiqueGray.html) <http://www.vho.org/GB/Contributions/CritiqueGray.html>
140. [U](#) In “Critique of Chemical Claims Made by Robert Jan van Pelt,” Rudolf has added a number of references not in his previous works. In section 6(b) he writes: “The cement plaster used in the morgues has a much higher tendency to accumulate HCN than the lime plaster used in the delousing facilities, and this tendency prevails longer as cement mortar and plaster stays alkaline for many months and years, whereas lime mortar become neutral relatively quickly (in weeks rather than months, depending on temperature, humidity, amount of CO2 available and on the consistency of the mortar,” with a reference to the discussion about his report at <http://www.vho.org>.
141. [U](#) For example, on day 8, p. 56: “Gelman [Germar] Rudolf did a much more detailed scientific test,” also on day 8, pp.76f, day 9, p. 13, day 18, pp. 94f, day 20, p. 17.
142. [U](#) Consider the tragicomical scene on Day 8 (p. 187): Mr Rampton: “I have never seen the Rudolf Report because it is not in Mr. Irving[’s] discovery”. Irving: “Yes, it is.” Rampton: “I am told it is not.” Irving: “If it is not then I humbly apologise. It certainly should have been, and I will provide copies immediately.” Mr. Justice Gray: “Professor van Pelt needs time particularly because he will be the one who has to deal with it. How easy would it be for you to dig it out?” Irving: “I can have it couriered around this afternoon.” Mr. Justice Gray: “That would be helpful ...” That Rudolf’s report never made an appearance at the trial is clear from Justice Gray’s statement: “... I do not consider that an objective historian would have regarded the Leuchter report as a sufficient reason for dismissing, or even doubting, the convergence of evidence on which the Defendants rely for the presence of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. I have not overlooked the fact that Irving claimed that Leuchter’s findings have been replicated, notably in a report by Germar Rudolf. But that report was not produced at the trial so it is impossible for me to assess its evidential value.”(Judgment, §13.80).
143. [U](#) Day 9, p. 14.
144. [U](#) Day 9, pp. 21-35. The first report was made in 1945. Cyanide traces were found in some women’s hair and metal objects found in Krema II but the results are only qualitative, not

quantitative. This was touted at the trial as the first proof of homicidal gassings. See Rudolf's report, §6.1 for a brief critique.

145. ☞ Why did Rampton show Van Pelt what was clearly the summary version of Rudolf's report and point out that the 120-page Rudolf Report was advertised on the inside cover? Is it possible that Irving had brought this flimsy brochure into court? (P. 23). Indeed it is, because he rarely reads the works of others, and probably had not even read this "summary."
146. ☞ Day 9, pp. 23-26.
147. ☞ "I have been very impressed in general by the professionalism of the historians at Auschwitz" declared Van Pelt on day 9 (p. 66).
148. ☞ Especially chapter 6 of Rudolf's report (if only §6.6 on the 1990 Cracow report), as well as the articles cited above, "Leuchter-Gegengutachten: ein wissenschaftlicher Betrug?," and Rudolf's correspondence with the Jan Sehn Institute (Kardinalfragen, pp. 81-90). Expressly in connection with Irving's trial, Rudolf has placed his comments on the Cracow reports, "A Fraudulent attempt to refute 'Mr. Death'," on the Internet at vho.org/GB/contributions/, which will also shortly appear in The Revisionist.
149. ☞ In an interview shown in Errol Morris' film "Mr. Death". See day 8 of the proceedings, p. 59. See Greg Raven's review of "Mr. Death," in The Journal of Historical Review, Sept.Dec. 1999, pp. 62-69.
150. ☞ Not only from what Rudolf wrote, but just a little common sense tells one that Prussian Blue should not be "problematic." This was pointed out in my March 28, 1998, talk when Irving was in the audience, and later at a dinner organized by Mark Weber. Before the London libel trial Germar Rudolf pleaded with Irving not to bring this up, and also not to claim that his doctoral work dealt with cyanide compounds — all to no avail. Instead, on numerous occasions during the trial Irving explicitly cited the Cracow Institute as a confirmation of Leuchter — for example on day 8 (pp. 44, 62f, 76, 186), on day 9 (p. 13), and in his closing address (day 32, pp. 151, 155), which is also in the March-April 2000 IHR Journal, p. 37. It is likewise disappointing that the IHR Update newsletter of May 2000 would still site the Cracow Institute as failing "to substantiate evidence of mass murder."
151. ☞ To borrow Rampton's expression (day 8, p. 178).
152. ☞ Day 8, pp. 41-82. On day 7 Irving's press conference of 23rd June 1989 launching the Focal Point edition of Leuchter's report was raised. Irving had stated "... hydrogen cyanide is wonderful for killing lice, but not so good for killing people unless in colossal concentrations". In agreement with Rampton, he had not taken "any steps to verify the scientific and biological correctness of that statement". The lawyer was in fact correct to say that "it is complete rubbish." The whole issue is discussed in detail by Rudolf. See chapter 4, especially §4.4 of his report, or Vorlesungen zur Zeitgeschichte, chapter 3, especially §3.3 where "Gauss" expresses "no doubt" that higher concentrations are needed for killing insects than for killing humans. My own feeling is that this issue will become central when, one day, Rudolf's work is discussed rationally.
153. ☞ Day 8, pp. 54f. See also p. 82.
154. ☞ Day 8, pp. 39, 69. Rampton, referring to Leuchter's statement on "exposed porous brick and mortar" [which would allow HCN to penetrate into the wall] said "It is just logical rubbish, is it not?" and Irving conceded: "It does strike me as being unscientific, that particular sentence, yes" (p.112).
155. ☞ Judgment, §13.83. Days 10 and 11 were spent arguing photographic evidence. If the "gas chamber" had been used for fumigating (as Irving at one stage contended), then Justice Gray thought "it would seem that ducts or some other form of aperture would have been required to introduce the pellets into the chamber, since the morgue had no windows and a

single gas-tight door.” (§13.82). Since this is not the standard way to fumigate, this is plain nonsense.

156. ☞ Day 8, pp. 59-62. ("Germar" is misspelled "Gelman" in the transcript.)
157. ☞ Day 10, p. 113.
158. ☞ Day 9, pp. 29-33.
159. ☞ Day 8, p. 56.
160. ☞ Day 29, p. 32.
161. ☞ Day 23, pp. 15f.
162. ☞ Day 5, pp. 125f. Irving: "You asked if it was true that large numbers of people and you said hundreds of thousands" — Rampton: "I said hundreds of thousands." Irving: — "were killed at these places to which I agreed that they were killed at those places, which included Treblinka, but this does not mean to say that Treblinka was a factory of death existing solely for that purpose." (p. 133).
163. ☞ Critical studies of the writings of Kurt Gerstein, the main "eyewitness" of gassing at Belzec, are Henri Roques' *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein*, (Published in English by the IHR, 1989), and Carlo Mattogno's *Il Rapporto Gerstein: Anatomia di un Falso*, reviewed by R.A. Hall in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1986 (Vol. 7, No. 1), pp. 115-119. For the consequences suffered by Roques for writing a doctoral dissertation about Gerstein, see "From the Gerstein Affair to the Roques Affair" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988 (Vol. 8, No. 1), pp. 5-23, and "How Fairs the Roques Thesis?" in the Fall 1990 Journal (Vol. 10, No. 3), pp.371f.
164. ☞ Day 17, p. 154.
165. ☞ Day 6, pp. 38, 51.
166. ☞ This is the odd five-page RSHA note of June 5, 1942, signed by W. Just — held in Bundesarchiv as "Koblenz Document" R 58/ 871. Ingrid Weckert provides an analysis of this issue in "Die Gaswagen — Kritische Würdigung der Beweislage," in *Grundlagen*, pp. 193-218, and "The Gas Vans: A Critical Assessment of the Evidence," in *Dissecting the Holocaust*, pp. 217-243. An extensive revisionist study of the "gas vans," which includes a study of mechanical aspects of the issue, is Pierre Marais' 325-page study *Les camions à gaz en question* (Paris: Polémiques, 1994). Irving is obviously unfamiliar with these works.
167. ☞ Day 6, pp. 49f. These are Rampton's words, answered by Irving's "No question at all ... Again, there is no reference to Hitler, I am afraid." On a later day the topic was again raised, and Irving noted "I am not interested in that aspect of the history, no. I am interested in Adolf Hitler's personal role in decisions taken during World War II." (Day 14, pp. 68-70). Another example of Irving's rearguard actions is when he subsequently pointed out that the document in question has numerous linguistic anomalies.
168. ☞ Day 32, pp. 20f.
169. ☞ On October 23, 1997, a criminal court in Paris fined Robert Faurisson more than \$20,000 because he considered "the Nazi gas chamber as an" 'imposture'." See I. Rimland's *Z-Gram* of October 31, 1997, as well as Faurisson's articles, "Revisionism on Trial: Developments in France, 1979-1983," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1985 (Vol. 6, No. 2), pp. 133-181, and "My Life as a Revisionist (September 1983 to September 1987)" in the Spring 1989 Journal (Vol. 9, No. 1), pp. 5-63. *Histoire du négationnisme en France* by Valérie Igounet (Éditions du Seuil, March 2000), a work of 691 pages, purports to be a history of revisionism in France.
170. ☞ Since April 1995 the book *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* has been banned in Germany. For a brief report of its banning, see "Revisionist Books Seized in German Police Raid" in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1995 (Vol. 15, No. 3), p. 43. According to cir-

culars dated July 1, 1996, and issued by S. Verbeke and Germar Rudolf, Judge Burkhardt Stein of the Tübingen District Court (Amtsgericht) decided that Rudolf had to be arrested because of Grundlagen. The judge also ordered the confiscation of all remaining copies of the book, which meant that they would quite literally land up in the fire. The publisher, Wigbert Grabert, was ordered to pay a fine of DM 30,000. See Kardinalfragen, pp. 49f: "Deutsches Gerichtsurteil: Wissenschaftliches Werk wird verbrannt!". In the article "Über richtige und falsche Erkenntnisse" (Kardinalfragen, pp.19-47), Rudolf gives a list of works that suffered a similar fate between 1993 and 1995. In the scandalous case of Günter Deckert, who had to be tried and re-tried until he was found guilty, judges who had 'only' imposed a fine and a suspended sentence were severely criticized and forced into early retirement. See "Political Leader Punished," The Journal of Historical Review, July-August 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 4), p. 26, and "Two-Year Prison Sentence for 'Holocaust Denial'" by Mark Weber in the May-June 1995 Journal (Vol. 15, No. 3), pp. 40-42, where further sources can be found. See also "How-To for Neo-Nazis" in Time, August 22, 1994, p. 44, and Der Spiegel 47/1994, p. 35, and 11/1995, pp. 36f, in which the question of whether charges should be brought against the judges is considered. The Deckert case was also covered by the South African press: "Judge who sparked row is reinstated," the Citizen, September 20, 1994 (p. 12); "Anti-Semite: 'Court was too lenient'," the Citizen, December 16, 1994 (p. 14); "Judge who was soft on 'Nazi' retires," the Citizen, May 11, 1995 (p. 20); "Ruling gives right to forget," the Sunday Times, March 20, 1994 (p. 17). For a more complete study of the Deckert case see Günther Anntohn, Henri Roques, Der Fall Günter Deckert (DAGD/Germania Verlag, Weinheim 1995), a work banned in Germany (Kardinalfragen, p. 45). Members of the IHR Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee have been prosecuted and sentenced to prison. In Germany, Udo Walendy was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment without parole on account of his series Historische Tatsachen. (See the July-August 1998 Journal of Historical Review, pp. 14-16.) In Switzerland Jürgen Graf and his publisher Gerhard Förster were sentenced to prison terms for writing or publishing allegedly anti-Jewish books that "deny the existence of Nazi gas chambers." See "Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists," and associated articles, in The Journal of Historical Review, July-August 1998, pp. 2-13. (By late 2000 Graf should already be serving his sentence.) In July 1998 Auschwitz State Museum authorities banned a British Broadcasting Company (BBC) television team and David Irving from visiting the former camp site. The BBC had invited Irving to be interviewed there. Irving was also barred from using the Museum's archives. See "Polish authorities Ban BBC Team and David Irving from Auschwitz," July-August 1998 Journal of Historical Review, pp. 16-17. The French organisation aaargh reports regularly on the persecution of revisionists in Europe. For example, the legal steps taken against the editors of Sleipnir: see "Nachrichten vom Tiergarten: aus der Bundeslächerlich Deutschland," a press release issued by the journal's editor in chief, Andreas Röhler (Verlag der Freunde, Postfach 350264, 10211 Berlin, Germany). Sleipnir regularly sends out e-mail reports and commentaries.

171.  On the "moral foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany" see Die Zeit, December 12, 1993, cited in Kardinalfragen, p. 18, n. 8. "In der Bundesacht" relates how Rudolf had been a member of the Bonn branch of the Catholic Students' Union AV Tuisconia Königsberg since 1983, but when in the Spring of 1994 his revisionist activities became known he was excluded from this Union. This was primarily justified as follows: "The Holocaust and its avowal forms the normative basis of our constitution. The legitimacy — in the sense of worthiness of recognition (Anerkennungswürdigkeit) — of the constitution presupposes acknowledgement of National Socialist crimes to which the Jews fell victim in a massive way, having been destroyed by technical means. As Brother (Bundesbruder) Rudolf places the Holocaust, conceived of as planned mass murder, in doubt, he also casts doubt on the normative consensus which forms the basis of our constitution." To protest the introduction

of the sharpened 1994 form of laws criminalizing “Holocaust denial” I wrote to all members of the Bundesrat. One answer informed me that questioning the Holocaust amounted to insulting the memory of the dead, and since the respect for human dignity (Menschenwürde) is the very basis of the Federal Constitution, its enforcement has to take priority over freedom of expression. Annual reports on the “protection of the constitution” are published in the official Verfassungsschutzbericht edited by the Bundesministerium des Innern (Grauheindorfer Straße 198, 53117 Bonn) and give a good idea of the types of activity regarded as threatening to the constitution. Thus the 1993 issue, apart from chronicling the activities of genuine political radicals of both the right and the left, refers to “Holocaust denial” under Neonazismus and describes it as “anti-Semitic agitation.” On p. 115 a partial reproduction of the front page of the July 1993 issue of Remer Depesche mentioning Rudolf is shown. In his Action Report of July 1998 (Online fpp.co.uk/) David Irving reproduced a newsletter from the Washington Embassy’s “German Information Center ... justifying Bonn’s human rights abuses”

172.  For a detailed study of the history and scandals surrounding the “protection of the constitution” in Germany, see Claus Nordbruch’s study, *Der Verfassungsschutz* (Tübingen: Hohenrain, 1999). Claus Nordbruch has also written a critical, thoroughly researched study of the suppression of free speech in Germany, with special emphasis on the 20th century: *Sind Gedanken noch frei? Zensur in Deutschland* (Universitas, 1998). His interesting article, “Political Correctness in Germany,” which first appeared in the Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 12, 1999, is published in translation in the July-August 1999 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 18, No. 4), pp. 36-38.
173.  One recalls Faurisson’s famous statement on the “historical lie” whose “principal victims ... are the German people — but not their leaders — ...” See “Revisionism on Trial: Developments in France, 1979-1983” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1985 (Vol. 6, No. 2), p. 162. Ziel’s statement is in *Der Spiegel*, 35/1994, p. 38, col. 3.
174.  On day 12 of the proceedings of the Irving-Lipstadt trial the American psychologist Professor Kevin McDonald appeared as an expert witness for Irving. On his testimony, see “An American Professor Responds to a 'Jewish Activist',” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 2000, pp. 54 ff. MacDonald propounds a theory of Judaism based on a Darwinian viewpoint: How Jews as a group have developed various strategies for survival. For information on this see the review “What Causes Anti-Semitism?” by P. Harrison in the May-June 1998 *Journal of Historical Review* (Vol. 17, No. 3), pp. 28-37. Irving posed his question to an audience at Washington State University, Pullman, on April 13, 1998.
175.  *Le Monde*, December 29, 1978, and January 16, 1979. Translations of these letters are in “Faurisson’s Three Letters to *Le Monde* (1978-1979),” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 2000, pp. 40-46. The two books were published by La Vieille Taupe. A four-volume collection of Faurisson’s revisionist writings over the years was published privately in 1999, *Écrits révisionnistes* (1974-1998).
176.  German President Roman Herzog as quoted by Deutsche Welle radio Sept. 9, 1996, at 7.30 GMT. Consider what Frank Furedi, author of *Mythical Past, Elusive Future: History and Society in an Anxious Age* (Pluto Press, 1992) writes on p. 42: “Whether or not this is stated, the discussion is always about how to come to terms with the experience of the Holocaust which remains a major obstacle to the reworking of a German identity. It is obvious that a past that includes such barbarism cannot be readily recruited to legitimize the present order. Various factors, more international than domestic, make it impossible to pretend that the Holocaust was a minor event or that it never happened.”
177.  See “Debating the Undebatable: The Weber-Shermer Clash,” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1996 (Vol. 16, No. 1), pp. 23-34.

178. ☞ Die Auschwitzleugner (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1996) cites many “deniers” who are quite clearly motivated by political or ideological considerations. Logically, disagreement with someone’s politics should not automatically entail rejection of his/her arguments, but human behavior is not always governed by logic. Ernst Zündel may well ask himself if it was wise to boast that the Leuchter Report was introduced in court on Hitler’s birthday (as can be seen in Morris’s “Mr. Death”).
179. ☞ See, for example, “Olocausto atto secondo” (“Holocaust, Act 2”), a “response” to Carlo Mattogno, published in the Italian magazine L’Espresso of March 27, 1990, and reproduced in Mattogno’s *La soluzione finale: problemi e polemiche* (“The Final Solution: Problems and Controversies”), Edizioni di Ar, 1991.
180. ☞ Translated from a private letter of Rudolf, written on October 23, 1991, at about the time when the first drafts of the Rudolf Report (“Das Blau Buch”) were being completed. This information was cited on June 13, 1995 by Rudolf’s attorney Günther Herzogenrath-Amelung during his final plea before the Stuttgart court trying Rudolf: See *Plädoyer des Verteidigers*, p. 10.
181. ☞ David Irving’s concessions during his trial will no doubt provide a new stimulus to study these “Reinhardt” camps and also the “gas vans”. His Action Report 2000 online reported a most interesting use of special radar to investigate the alleged mass graves at Treblinka. In the article an image is shown and Irving asks of it: “What is this interesting pattern below? A psychedelic painting? The Lord Chancellor’s latest wallpaper? No, it is a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) scan of the alleged mass grave site at Treblinka, Poland, conducted to a depth of eighteen feet by an expert in November 1999: it seems the ground has remained undisturbed for millions of years. Clever old Nazis, to have put every stone back in place where it was — and in the panic of defeat.” Although during the trial he hinted at GPR in his cross-examination of Van Pelt on day 9 (p. 82), he never took it further, let alone call as an expert witness the (unnamed) person who conducted the search, who is Richard Krege. See “‘Vernichtungslager’ Treblinka: archäologisch betrachtet” in *VffG*, June 2000 (4. Jg. Heft 1, pp. 62-64), cited in “Treblinka Ground Radar Finds No Trace of Mass Graves,” in the May-June 2000 *Journal of Historical Review*, p. 20. The only full-length IHR Journal article about the camp is “Treblinka,” by M. Weber and A. Allen, in the Summer 1992 issue (Vol. 12, No. 2), pp. 133-158. The one scientific study of the “diesel gas chambers” allegedly used in this and other camps set up “purely for killing” is F.P. Berg’s pioneering (and yet to be refuted) article “The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth Within a Myth” in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984 (Vol. 5, No. 1), pp. 15-46. According to the standard version, about half of all Holocaust deaths were by means of Diesel exhaust, nearly a million at Treblinka alone. An adaptation of Berg’s article appears, under the title “Die Diesel-Gaskammern: Mythos im Mythos,” in *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 321-345, and under the title “The Diesel Gas Chambers” in *Dissecting the Holocaust* (2000), pp. 435-465. See also the contribution by Arnulf Neumaier, “The Treblinka Holocaust,” in *Dissecting the Holocaust*. Udo Walendy’s interesting critical analysis of the photographic evidence concerning Treblinka is in *Historische Tatsachen*, No. 44. In 1989 Samuel Willenberg’s *Surviving Treblinka* (Basil Blackwell) appeared in English. Willenberg describes meetings with Jankiel Wiernik, from whom he learned about the “gas chambers” in the so-called Upper (“Death”) Camp of Treblinka II (pp. 125-126). By his own account it is clear that Willenberg had no direct knowledge of the Upper Camp. He appears as a guest in “The Road to Treblinka,” the fifth episode of the 1997 BBC series “The Nazis — A Warning from History.” The producers hide from us that Willenberg was never in the “Death camp,” but with the full confidence of one who was on the spot, Willenberg relates details which he never witnessed. For example, that the Germans shouted “Schnell, Schnell” as the victims “were pushed into the gas chambers by the Ukrainians ... Here where I’m standing now

within this small area 200 × 300 meters here lie buried about 850 000 bodies. Here they buried in enormous ditches which they dug out by a digger. Here they dumped the corpses of those who had been gassed.” (Transcribed from the English subtitles). This is pure deception.

182.  The Ordnungspolizei (security police battalions) are the subject of Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992). British historian and official Churchill biographer Martin Gilbert concentrates much of his *The Holocaust* (Fontana Paperbacks, 1987) on shootings. Most historians, including David Irving, accept that large numbers of Jews were murdered by such methods and buried “sardine-like” in pits. In the Hardtalk interview conducted by Tim Sebastian and broadcast by BBC World on April 27, 2000, Irving stated unequivocally that “millions” were killed in this way. Was this (also) a tactical maneuver? And what is one to make of his statement made at the Pullman meeting on April 13, 1998: “Daniel Goldhagen has written a very good book [Hitler's Willing Executioners] on the Holocaust”? Referring to the IHR during his libel action, Irving boasted: “At their conferences I regularly rubbed their noses in what actually happened in the Holocaust.” (Day 20, p.167. See also day 1, pp. 45-46, day 6, pp. 66-69, and day 28, pp. 91-96). It has been pointed out that the Einsatzgruppen reports on the numbers killed may be exaggerated, but by how much is a legitimate question. See Mark Weber's article “My Role in the Zündel Trial,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1989-1990 (Vol. 9, No. 4), pp. 389-425: “Although the Einsatzgruppen reports would indicate that 2.2 million Jews were killed, every reputable historian who has written on this subject acknowledges that this figure bears little relationship to reality” (p. 402). Strong reservations concerning the trustworthiness of the Einsatzgruppen reports have been expressed by Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, regarded as one of the outstanding authorities on the subject, co-author with Helmut Krausnick of the detailed work *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges: Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Stuttgart, 1981). See his interesting essay, “Offene Fragen der Holocaust Forschung,” pp. 403-425, in the collection *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit: Impulse zur Historisierung des Nationalsozialismus* edited by U. Backes, E. Jesse and R. Zitelmann (Frankfurt/M + Berlin: 1992). Wilhelm's essay is based on a lecture with the same title he gave to the International History Conference held at the University of Riga, Latvia, Sept. 20-22, 1988. Here is the relevant passage from p. 11 of this lecture (which however does not appear in this form in *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit*): “Wenn auf nicht-statistischem Gebiet die Verlässlichkeit nicht grösser ist, was sich nur durch einen Vergleich mit anderen Quellen aus der gleichen Region erhärten liesse, wäre die historische Forschung gut beraten, wenn sie künftig von allen SS-Quellen viel misstrauischer Gebrauch machte als bisher.” (“If, in the non-statistical sphere, the reliability [of these reports] is not greater, something which could only be confirmed by a comparison with other sources from the same region, researchers would be well-advised to make far more distrustful use of all SS sources in future than they have hitherto made.”) I owe this source to R. Countess, who allowed me to make a copy of Wilhelm's Riga lecture. The essay by Margers Vestermanis, “Der lettische Anteil an der 'Endlösung',” in *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit* (pp. 426-449), examines the part played by Latvians in wartime executions of Jews. Although far from settling the issue, one source cited by Vestermanis attributes half the executions in the rural areas to a single Latvian commando unit (p. 436). On reprisals in the face of guerrilla actions, see the articles in *VffG*, June 1999, “Repressalie und Höherer Befehl,” by K. Sigert (pp. 131-144), and “Partisanenkrieg und Repressaltötungen,” by G. Rudolf and S. Schröder (pp. 145-153).
183.  According to a top secret order of July 2, 1941, by security chief Reinhard Heydrich, the Einsatzgruppen were instructed “to execute” (zu exekutieren) Communist functionaries, “Jews in party and state positions” (Juden in Partei-und Staatsstellungen), and “other radi-

cal elements (saboteurs, propagandists, snipers, assassins, agitators, etc.” They were also instructed to “promote” (fördern) pogroms, euphemistically dubbed “self-cleansing attempts” (Selbstreinigungsversuchen), by local anti-Jewish elements but “without trace” (spurenlos) of German involvement.” This document is clearly relevant regarding the participation of local militias in massacres of Jews. This document was cited by Prof. Browning in §4.2 (“Escalation”) of his expert report for the Irving-Lipstadt case. It was published some years earlier in P. Longerich, ed., *Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Piper, 1990), pp. 116-118, and in Y. Arad, et al., *Documents on the Holocaust* (Yad Vashem, 1981), pp. 377-378.

184.  Years ago Robert Faurisson suggested that a principal source for solving the problem of the numbers of “Holocaust” victims would be the records archive of the International Tracing Service (ITS) in Arolsen, Germany, which has been “closed to Revisionists since 1978.” See “My Life as a Revisionist,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1989 (Vol. 9, No. 1), pp. 5-63, here p. 52. See also R. Faurisson, “Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism,” in the Jan.-Feb. 2000 Journal, p. 8. That the ITS withholds information was recently confirmed in “Die Zeitzeugen sterben,” *Der Spiegel*, 4/2000, pp. 60, 63. Ingrid Rimland’s e-mail message of Feb. 21, 2000, dealt with this *Spiegel* article, but I found no mention there of the “criminals” she cited. The major revisionist work in the demographic area remains Walter N. Sanning’s *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* (third IHR printing, Nov. 1990). This demographic study uses almost exclusively Jewish and Soviet sources. Germar Rudolf has made a comparative study of this in the “Holocaust Victims: A Statistical Analysis — W. Benz and W.N. Sanning: A Comparison,” *Dissecting the Holocaust* (2000), pp. 183-216. This essay first appeared in *Grundlagen*, pp. 141-168.
185.  Arthur Butz was the first person to perceive this clearly: “Although six extermination camps are claimed, one of them, Auschwitz, is the key to the whole story,” *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (IHR, 10th US printing, 1997), p. 35. Faurisson has quoted Wilhelm Stäglich: “the extermination thesis stands or falls with the allegation that Auschwitz was a ‘death factory’,” (*The Leuchter Report*, p. 4).
186.  For more than 20 years Robert Faurisson has called for an open and public debate on the “gas chambers” and “Holocaust” issues. See, for example, “Faurisson’s Three Letters to *Le Monde* (1978-1979),” *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 2000, pp. 40-46. The videotaped exchange between Mark Weber and Michael Shermer on July 22, 1995, comes as close as can be expected to such a free debate. (See “Debating the Undebatable: The Weber--Shermer Clash,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1996, pp. 23-34.) Georg Batz of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) also organized such a debate, which took place in Nuremberg on September 20-22, 1991, under the auspices of the liberal and FDP-affiliated Thomas Dehler Foundation. (See “Liberal German Political Foundation Sponsors Open Debate on Holocaust Issue,” *IHR Newsletter*, July-August 1992, pp. 7-8.) Batz invited Swiss educator Arthur Vogt to present the revisionist side at the seminar, which he described as “The Holocaust as Seen by the Revisionists: a Swiss Analyzes Contemporary History.” The upshot of it all was that Vogt was later arrested for having stressed the importance of Leuchter’s findings, while Batz was let off scott-free! Germar Rudolf attended this seminar, and it was here that his troubles began. A certain Dr. Körber swore at Rudolf and his companion there, calling them swine because they had dared give precedence to material evidence over that of eyewitnesses. Körber subsequently denounced Rudolf to the German police. See “In der Bundesacht,” *Kardinalfragen*, “Erste Schritt: Denunziation,” pp. 51-52, as well as Rudolf’s deposition respecting the charges against him, in which he relates how he tried to maintain a reasoned exchange with Körber even when he knew that Körber was betraying him. For a full analysis of the seminar with its political and legal implications, see Karl Salm, “Der Justizskandal im Fall Thomas-Dehler-Stiftung: Der Rechtsverfall,” in

Consiliarien 1, 1995, pp. 13-49. This special issue of Staatsbriefe (Castel del Monte, Postfach 14 06 28, Munich 80456, Germany) is devoted to scholarly articles exclusively concerned with legal and other consequences of the sharpened anti-revisionist law, which was passed on October 28, 1994, and became law on December 1, 1994. With this major amendment, which sharpened the 1985 law, section §130 of the German criminal code now explicitly stipulates, in subsections 3 and 4, that anyone who in speech or writing publicly condones, denies or minimizes crimes committed under the leadership of the National Socialists, in such a way as to disturb public order, will be liable to a fine or up to five years imprisonment.

187.  Time, April 24, 2000, p. 33. In response to a witness summons, Watt testified for Irving on day 7 in the Irving-Lipstadt trial. See also Watt's statement, from the Evening Standard, April 11, 2000, in the March-April 2000 Journal of Historical Review, pp. 52-53.
188.  The prestige that David Irving enjoys (or has enjoyed) has contributed enormously to the "respectability" of revisionism. Important progress in this direction was the tribute made by former deportee Michel de Boüard to the objectivity of revisionist research. (See the interview he gave to Ouest France, translated in The Journal of Historical Review, Fall 1988, pp. 381-384.) From letters he wrote to Henri Roques shortly before his death, it is clear that he recognized the importance of the Leuchter Report. The fact that Roques obtained his doctorate on The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein from Nantes University (even though it was subsequently revoked) is highly significant. (See Roques' article, "From the Gerstein Affair to the Roques Affair," The Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1988, pp. 5-23.) For an appreciation of this thesis by an orthodox historian, see "British Historian Hugh Trevor-Roper on the Gerstein 'Confessions' and the Gas Chamber Question," The Journal of Historical Review, Sept.-Oct. 1993 (Vol. 13, No. 5), pp. 40f. The article contains a letter to Roques by Lord Dacre (Trevor-Roper). Although disagreeing with the revisionists on some essential points, he writes: "... I regard your thesis as entirely legitimate and very interesting." Another sign of progress is the tribute paid to revisionists by the respected German historian Ernst Nolte, and his uncompromising defense of their right to free speech. See "Ein Gesetz für das Aussergetzliche," Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, August 23, 1994, p. 7; "Ein historisches Recht Hitlers?," Der Spiegel, 40/1994, pp. 83-103; "Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History: A Conversation with Professor Ernst Nolte," interview by Ian B. Warren, The Journal of Historical Review, Jan.-Feb. 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 15-22; as well as, in the same Journal issue, pp. 37-41, a review by M. Weber of Nolte's 1994 book Streitpunkte ("Points of Contention"). Nolte refers to Holocaust revisionists as "radical revisionists," and chapter 15 of Die Schatten der Vergangenheit (pp. 304-319) is devoted to them. It is clear that he at least takes them seriously, even if rejecting their conclusions. Joel S. A. Hayward's thesis, The Fate of Jews in German Hands: An Historical Enquiry Into the Development and Significance of Holocaust Revisionism, was awarded an MA with distinction by Christchurch University, New Zealand, and was a breakthrough regarding recognition by establishment institutions. Hayward recently repudiated his thesis, even requesting the university to withdraw it from its library. (See "Varsity leader defends historian," New Zealand Herald, April 15-16, 2000, and, "Revisionist Master's Thesis Under Fire, May-June 2000 Journal, pp. 21-23). The publication of Roger Garaudy's Les Mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne (La Vieille Taupe, 1995, Samisdat, 1996), and the support given him by the Abbé Pierre must also be seen as signs of progress, even though Garaudy hardly acknowledges the work done by revisionist pioneers. See "French Study of Israel's 'Founding Myths' Provokes Furious Attack," The Journal of Historical Review, March-April 1996 (Vol. 16, No. 2), pp. 35-36, and "On the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre Affair," by R. Faurisson, in the July-August 1996 Journal (Vol. 16, No. 4), pp. 26-28. For the impact of Garaudy's trial on the Arab world, see the English editions of the semi-official Egyptian

weekly Al-Ahram, Jan. 22 and 29, 1998. An expanded edition of Garaudy's book, *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, with an introduction by Theodore O'Keefe, was published by the IHR in the first half of 2000. Grudging acknowledgement occasionally comes from establishment circles. The prestigious French weekly L'Express has admitted that everything about the Auschwitz I "gas chamber" is phony. (See "Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal," by Eric Conan, Jan. 26, 1995, pp. 30-49, intl. edition; "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," Jan.-Feb. 1995 Journal, pp. 23-24.) The Swiss daily paper Le Nouveau Quotidien had two revealing articles by the historian J. Baynac ("Comment les historiens délèguent à la justice la tâche de faire taire les révisionnistes" ("How historians leave to justice the task of putting a stop to the revisionists"), Sept. 2, 1996, p. 16, and "Faute de documents probants sur les chambres à gaz, les historiens esquivent le débat" ("Because of a lack of convincing documents for the gas chambers, historians dodge the debate"), Sept. 3, 1996, p. 16. These articles (kindly sent to me by R. Faurisson) point out that traditional historiography is seriously flawed when it concerns the "Nazi gas chambers." In the second article Baynac writes that it may be necessary "to prove" that their "non-existence is impossible"! See R. Faurisson, "An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges: There is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers," July-August 1998 Journal, pp. 24-28. The Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH), an organization headed by [Bradley R. Smith](https://www.codoh.com), is online at <https://www.codoh.com>. It has placed numerous advertisements in college newspapers, and reaches out to many people, giving them an idea of revisionist arguments. It would be interesting to know something about the effect these advertisements are having. Have students begun to cite revisionist sources? Are some instructors now encouraging debate? Partial breakthroughs to a scholarly open debate on the Holocaust can be seen from two articles in the May-June 1994 Journal of Historical Review (pp. 16-20): "'60 Minutes' Takes Aim at Holocaust Revisionism" and "Smith and Cole Appear in 'Donahue' Show in Major Media Breakthrough for Revisionism."

189.  "Rudolf's 'Mystery Speaker' Statement," read out at the Twelfth IHR Conference, Sept. 3-5, 1994. The Journal of Historical Review, Nov.-Dec. 1994 (Vol. 14, No. 6), p. 15.

About the author:

Costas Zaverdinos was born in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 1938. Since 1970 he has been with the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), which awarded him a Ph.D. in mathematics in 1984. He is currently an honorary senior lecturer with the University's School of Mathematics, Statistics and Computer Technology of the Faculty of Science. He is the author of several papers in internationally recognized scholarly journals. Since 1997 he has been a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee. (For more about him, see the May-June 1997 Journal, p. 19) This essay is adapted from an address he gave at an IHR meeting in southern California on March 28, 1998.

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An update

The Diary of Anne Frank: Is it Genuine?

[Robert Faurisson](#)

This article, written in June 2000 at the request of Italian scholar Cesare Saletta, is adapted from the preface to the recently-published Italian edition of Dr. Faurisson's essay, "Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?," which was originally written in 1978 for submission to a Hamburg court, and published in French, two years later, in a work by Serge Thion. ^[1] In the following essay, the author takes another look at the famous diary (or diaries), taking into account developments since then, including the publication in 1986 by a Netherlands government agency of a comprehensive "critical edition" of the Anne Frank diary.

-- The Editor

Pierre Vidal-Naquet in 1980: 'A Doctored Text'

In 1980, the prominent French Jewish scholar Pierre Vidal-Naquet, in whose eyes I am nothing but an "assassin of memory" (Jewish memory, it is understood), nonetheless wrote: ^[2]

It sometimes happens that Faurisson is right. I have said publicly, and repeat here, that when he shows that the Anne Frank diary is a doctored text, he may not be right in all details, [but] he is certainly right overall and an expert examination made for the Hamburg court has just shown that, in effect, this text was at the very least revised after the war, since [it was written] using ballpoint pens which appeared only in 1951. That is plain, clear and precise.

Those familiar with Vidal-Naquet, and his penchant for chopping and changing, will not be surprised to learn that, a few years afterwards, the professor repudiated this statement.

The 1986 'Critical Edition' of the Anne Frank Diary

In 1986 there appeared in Amsterdam, under the direction of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation — Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (RIOD) — a big volume with "scholarly" pretensions. ^[3] (The dust jacket of the US edition calls this "the most fascinating, comprehensive study of that diary in existence," while the dust jacket blurb of the French edition similarly calls this the "complete edition of the diary's three versions.") Those words communicated, not that Anne Frank's "diary" was genuine, but rather — and what a surprise, this plural! — that her "diaries" were. With much circumspect wording, this book accused the young girl's

father, Otto Heinrich Frank, of having carried out manipulations of the original texts, and of having lied. Of the abusive “corrections” and “cuts” imputed to the latter, the Netherlands Institute stated straightforwardly: [4]

All this may seem natural and understandable in one who aspired merely to publish the essence ("das Wesentliche") of the literary bequest, the document humain, of his daughter, in what appeared to him a fit and proper manner. However, the sentence inserted on his authority at the conclusion of the Dutch edition of the Diary: “With the exception of a few sections of little interest to the reader, the original text has been retained,” must be seen as something more than an obvious understatement.

Otto Frank stuck to this conviction to his death: “the essence” had been published and that was the end of the matter. No amount of argument could make him change his mind.

As a result, over the long years during which the diary went on to play an increasingly important role in the view of millions of people who came to look on it as a historical document rather than as a work of literature, he did not make it easier to ward off attacks on the book.

The Netherlands Institute thus conceded to me a point of capital importance: I had been right in reproaching Otto Frank and in attacking his stubbornness in hiding the truth about his manipulations. But the “critical edition” held that there had nevertheless existed a whole series of Anne Frank diaries, all genuine, and that thus I had been wrong on the other, essential question, of the diary’s authenticity. I had, therefore, the right to expect both a rebuttal of my arguments on that point, and a demonstration of the authenticity of the diaries. Yet, in this purportedly scholarly Netherlands Institute edition, I found nothing of the kind.

A Diversionary Tactic

This 720-page work resembles the sort of deception whereby an attempt is made, through a show of learning on a given subject, to draw attention away from the matter at hand. In this case, the demonstration is essentially nothing more than a handwriting analysis. Accompanied with a generous array of photographs and tables, stress is laid in this “scholarly” book on the similarities between handwriting samples, while differences — glaring even to a layman — are handled with great discretion.

A crucial point: We are not shown the two handwriting samples that I had reproduced in my analysis (page 297 of Thion’s 1980 book), and no analysis of them is offered by the Netherlands Institute. I refer here to two extraordinarily divergent samples: the “adult” cursive script dated June 12, 1942, and the “childish” printed script dated four months later, October 10, 1942; the two “Anne Frank” signatures alone differ peculiarly. It was in this regard that I most wanted an answer, for this goes to the heart of the matter. [5]

There is no sample of Isa Cauvern’s handwriting, about whose involvement I had voiced suspicions. She had been Otto Frank’s secretary. She married Albert Cauvern, a dramatist working for a Dutch radio station. Isa and Albert Cauvern worked on the “diary” manuscript and on the various typescripts. In 1947, the year that the first edition of the “diary” was published in the Netherlands under the title *Het Achterhuis*, she committed suicide, a fact that the Netherlands Institute’s “critical edition” does not mention. [6]

Nor is there any analysis, or even a sample, of the manuscript of the short stories attributed to Anne Frank, published as “Tales from the Secret Annex.” I had been struck by the appearance of this manuscript: the “Tales” handwriting resembles that of a meticulous elderly accountant. Why, of all the manuscripts attributed to the girl, had this one not been made available to the experts?

Above all, however, the authors of this “scholarly” edition, by insisting so much on the study of handwritings, have abdicated what ought to have been their main task: the examination of the content. They should have made it their first task to provide the reader with evidence that, contrary to what I had written, the “diary” account actually does mirror a physical or material reality. Moreover, they should have shown that this account, in all the forms of it that we know, is coherent and comprehensible — which is far from the case. But there is no such demonstration. At the beginning of this detailed work, there is indeed an attempt to grapple with the physical or material impossibilities I had pointed out, but this attempt comes to a sudden end. A response is made to a single point: that of the noises, at times quite loud, made by eight persons over a period of more than two years in a small space, presumed to be uninhabited; noises even at night, while “the enemies” are absent, the slightest noise must be avoided and, if someone has a cough, he or she takes codeine. Yet, in the attic, in the middle of the day, Peter cuts wood in front of an open window! My argument on this point is derided: my adversaries dare to respond, in the face of conclusive textual proof to the contrary, that “the enemies” were not there, at this or that precise moment, to hear anything. [7] All of my other arguments are passed over in silence. For his part, Otto Frank, during my meeting with him in 1977, after I had put him in an awkward position with my utterly down-to-earth questions, found no better reply than:

Mr. Faurisson, you are theoretically and scientifically right. I agree with you one hundred percent ... What you point out to me was, in fact, impossible. But, in practice, it was nevertheless in that way that things happened.

To which I answered that, if he would be so good as to agree with me that a door could not be both open and shut at the same time, it followed that he, in practice, could not have seen a door in such a state. Yet, if I may put it thus, such physical or material impossibilities as simultaneously open and shut doors were already legion in the Anne Frank diary as we knew it at the time. What can one say of the likely growth in number of those impossibilities in the “diaries” (plural)?

A Financial Swindler?

Here is nonetheless a part of this “scholarly” edition that I cannot recommend enough to readers. It is that in which the rather unsettling prewar past of Otto Frank and his brother Herbert is revealed. In a preventive step against a possible revisionist inquiry into the matter, the authors inform us that in 1923 Otto Frank founded, in Frankfurt, a bank called “M. Frank and Sons.” The three men who headed this firm were Herbert and Otto Frank and — this detail is of some importance for the story of the Anne Frank diary — one Johannes Kleiman, a man who appears in the diary under the name of Jo Koophuis and who, after the war, was to act as an informer against “collaborators” for the Dutch “Political Criminal Investigation Department.” [8] Even before Hitler came to power in January 1933, the bank was implicated in various shady dealings. A trial was held, but Herbert, the principal, chose not to appear. He fled the country, finding refuge in France. As for Otto Frank, the Netherlands Institute authors do not tell us anything clear about what happened to him. They go only so far as to inform us that the relevant court records are missing, and that this is “in any case regrettable,” [9] an observation which lends a somewhat dubious aspect to the documents' disappearance. In any event, Otto Frank may have fled to the Netherlands in 1933 to evade German justice.

Before engaging in a kind of literary swindle, had Frank been involved in financial swindling? During the war, thanks to various subterfuges and to the support of his three main partners (all “Aryans”), he had the satisfaction of seeing his two firms make money in their dealings with, among other concerns, a Dutch mainstay of the Dresdner Bank, one of Germany’s largest banking firms. It can be stated that, even during his time in hospital at Auschwitz, his Amsterdam business carried on under the supervision of his associate Jan Gies. Back in Amsterdam after the war, he had a brush with the Dutch legal authorities, who were very attentive to matters of economic collaboration with Germany during the occupation. But an arrangement, we are told, was found. ^[10]

Worthless Evidence and Doubtful Witnesses?

The authors of this Netherlands Institute “critical edition” deal severely with the evidence and witnesses advanced by Otto Frank.

To begin with, they consider that the three expert analyses on which Frank based his claim of the diary’s authenticity are devoid of any value. ^[11] Let us recall that those analyses, the absurdity of which I had pointed out, nevertheless received, in the 1960s, the endorsement of German judges, who used them in convicting those who, before me, had cast doubt on the diary’s alleged authenticity.

Similarly severe is the appraisal of the Netherlands Institute of Ernst Schnabel’s book *Spur eines Kindes* (published in the United States under the title *Anne Frank: A Portrait in Courage*), which Otto Frank had enthusiastically advised me to read, and which also served to defend his argument. According to the Institute’s “critical edition” authors: “Since it [Schnabel’s book] contains various errors, all quotations from it should be treated with reservation.” ^[12] As for Frank’s star witness, the all-too-famous Miep Gies, it is an understatement to say that, on certain vital points of her testimony, she inspires no great confidence at the Netherlands Institute. The same goes for Victor Kugler (“Victor Kraler”). ^[13]

The Netherlands Institute 'Critical Edition' Fiasco

All things considered, the Netherlands Institute’s “critical edition” of the Anne Frank diary is a disaster for the late Otto Frank and for his experts, friends, and those who have vouched for him. Clearly, Frank’s cause has been deemed indefensible. But, by cutting away the deadwood in an attempt to preserve the tree, that is, by sacrificing Frank’s reputation in order to save that of his daughter’s alleged diary, the pruners at the Netherlands State Institute have found themselves confronting a kind of nothingness. Only a questionable “handwriting analysis” emerges from it all, which is all the more laughable given that, a few years after the publication of their “critical edition” in 1986, other samples of the girl’s writing in various personal letters and postcards appeared on the open market. These samples, which seem genuine to me, have rendered worthless the Netherlands Institute’s laborious analyses. In any case, the experts’ work must now be reviewed from beginning to end.

Finally, I shall add that this big book contains no plan of the house in which, for more than two years, the eight persons allegedly lived in hiding. ^[14] Previous editions of the diary did carry such a plan, on which I have commented and which I compared with the house as I found it. This examination provided an argumentation with which to prove the fictitious nature of the whole account. The authors of the “scholarly” edition chose not to include a plan of the house. This is both an admission and an evasion.

In short, behind its show of erudition, this “comprehensive” Netherlands Institute edition is a fiasco.

The 1991 'Definitive' Edition

In the wake of the publication of the Netherlands Institute’s study, it was only fitting to issue, for the general readership, a new “standard” edition of the diary to replace the one that Otto Frank had brought out in 1947. There was a real need to repair the damage wrought by the father, damage denounced by the Netherlands Institute. A certain Mirjam Pressler was entrusted with the job and, in 1991, there appeared a revised (*herziene*) and enlarged (*vermeerderde*) Dutch-language edition, which was presented as conforming fundamentally with what Anne Frank had written. This edition was described as “definitive.” In 1995 there appeared an English translation — similarly presented as “definitive.” ^[15]

An anomalous note, if not deceptive advertising, appeared on the title page, where the editor had the audacity to write: “The definitive edition... established by Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler.” Dead since 1980, Frank could hardly have collaborated with Pressler on this 1991 work — one that, moreover, is for him a posthumous snub. I venture to say that never has a French paperback book been so laden with confused explanations on its title page and introductory page, in its foreword, in the pages of the “note on the present edition” and, finally, in its afterword. One is barely able to make head or tail of it all. The editor’s unease is obvious. Clearly he did not know just how to convey to the reader that this new Anne Frank diary is — this time for sure, and once and for all — the genuine diary.

We are told that Mirjam Pressler is “a popular, prize-winning writer of books for young readers and a well-known translator,” and that she lives in Germany. But we are not told what method she might have employed to establish this text, based on the three texts of the “critical edition.” How did she make her choices? What was her reason for keeping one fragment and discarding another? These questions remain unanswered.

I am not alone in noticing these irregularities. Even among aficionados of the legendary figure of Anne Frank, this odd Pressler edition is sometimes criticized, and in forceful terms. Writing in the British monthly *Prospect*, Nicolas Walter devotes three columns to the English edition. His article bears a title with a double meaning: “Not completely Frank.” ^[16] He observes that the amalgamation of the three versions (the old translation and the two new ones) leaves us “with the result that all sorts of distortions and discrepancies remain.” He adds: “The English version is said to be 'basically... as she wrote it,' which is not true, and it is described as the 'definitive edition,' which is nonsense.” Walter goes on to write that this “standard” version is indeed “about one third longer” than the old “standard” version, but notes:

...it is still an eclectic conflation of A and B [that is, the first two versions of the “critical edition”], and it is marred by errors and omissions; many passages are in the wrong places and several passages are missing.

Walter concludes by asking whether Anne Frank’s memory “should not ... be properly served by a satisfactory reading edition of her diary after half a century.”

The Afterword by Rosselin-Bobulesco

The 1992 French edition of this new “standard” version includes an afterword by Isabelle Rosselin-Bobulesco that, unhappily, is absent from the English-language edition. The author de-

fends, of course, the argument according to which the “scholarly” edition settled the controversy about the authenticity of Anne Frank’s diary — a claim that, as can be seen, amounts to wishful thinking. Still, I recommend reading the section devoted to “The authenticity of the Diary” and, in particular, pages 348-349, where my own position is outlined almost forthrightly, and where reasons for doubting that authenticity, which were inspired by Otto Frank’s behavior, are mentioned. I regret only that, at least in the passage that I will quote here, these reasons are presented as if it were a matter of obvious things on which everyone agreed. In reality it was, for the most part, my 1978 analysis that brought to light all that follows in the passage, and which evoked, at the time, all of the attacks on me — attacks that, as can be seen today, were in fact slanders.

Here I yield the floor to Rosselin-Bobulesco, highlighting some of her words:

At his death, Otto Frank bequeathed all of Anne’s writings to the Netherlands State Institute of War Documentation, the RIOD. In the face of the assaults calling the authenticity of the diary into question, the RIOD considered that, in view of the Diary’s quasi-symbolic aspect and historical interest, it had become indispensable to allay the doubts. We know that inaccuracies were not lacking. The diary was written in several notebooks and on loose-leaf. Anne Frank herself had drafted two versions. There had been several typed versions that did not entirely follow the original text. Modifications, additions, or removals had been effected by her father. Besides, corrections had been introduced by persons whom Otto Frank had asked to reread the diary, lest his own insufficient knowledge of Dutch prevent a proper weeding out of his daughter’s mistakes in spelling and grammar. Furthermore, the Dutch editor himself had also modified the text by removing certain passages of a sexual character, deemed at the time to be too shocking, those in which Anne speaks of her menstrual periods, for example. As for the different translations, they evinced disparities. There were inaccuracies in the German translation, certain passages had been suppressed so as not to offend the German reader. The translation had been made from a typewritten text that was not the definitive text that had served as the basis for [the original book in Dutch]. In the American edition, certain passages that had been removed from the Dutch version had, on the contrary, been reinserted. Several expert analyses of the handwritten text were carried out, several lawsuits had been filed, in response to the attacks against the diary. Never had there emerged a clear picture of the situation, even if the outcome of the court cases and of the inquiries upheld Otto Frank.

Isabelle Rosselin-Bobulesco may minimize the actual facts as she wishes, and she may present things in the colors of her choice: all the same, this passage makes clear that I was perfectly well founded in believing neither the text of the alleged Anne Frank diary nor the replies to my questions by Otto Frank.

The December 1998 Amsterdam Judgment Against Me

Nevertheless, on December 9, 1998, a court in Amsterdam found a way to rule against me for my analysis of the diary of Anne Frank. This study, which I drafted 20 years earlier for a German court, had been published since 1980 in France and in a number of other countries without ever prompting legal action. In the Netherlands, however, it will not do to lay an impious hand on the icon of Saint Anne Frank.

The intrepid Siegfried Verbeke had translated my 1978 study into Dutch-Flemish, publishing it in a 1991 brochure entitled “The ‘Diary’ of Anne Frank: A Critical Approach” (Het ‘Dagboek’ van Anne Frank: een kritische benadering). ^[17] Verbeke introduced my text with a foreword that was

certainly revisionist in character but altogether moderate in tone. Two associations then filed a lawsuit against us: the Anne Frank Foundation in Amsterdam, and the Anne Frank Fund in Basel. These organizations are known for the ruthless war they wage against each other over the corpse of Anne Frank and the remains of her late father, but in this case, faced with danger to their identical financial interests, they decided to make common cause. It must be said that an enormous business has grown up around Anne Frank's name, a veritable "industry," as Nicolas Walter calls it.

The plaintiffs claimed, in particular, that my analysis gave "negative publicity" to their associations, with unpleasant financial results. For example, the Anne Frank Foundation, which runs the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam as a popular tourist center, revealed that it had to spend time and money combatting the booklet's harmful effect. Indeed, my own information leads me to believe that the personnel of the Anne Frank House receive special training enabling them to respond effectively to queries or arguments from visitors who have been influenced by reading Verbeke or Faurisson. The Foundation added:

Moreover, the statements in the booklet may in the long term cause the number of visitors to Anne Frank House to diminish, with Anne Frank House's management finding itself in difficulties as a result.

In its decision, the court did not fail to adopt, as its own, the plaintiffs' views on "the symbolic function that Anne Frank has acquired," and on the decidedly perverse nature of the revisionists Verbeke and Faurisson. Relying solely on the handwriting analysis requested by the Netherlands State Institute, the Amsterdam court declared that it was impossible to call into question the authenticity of the work attributed to Anne Frank. The court added:

Toward the victims of the Holocaust and their surviving relatives, the remarks [of Verbeke and Faurisson] are hurtful and needlessly offensive. It follows inescapably that they cause [the survivors] psychological or emotional injury.

Copyright Infringement?!

The most staggering part of the ruling was the court's finding that I had personally breached the law on copyright by quoting numerous extracts from the Anne Frank diary. The court ruled, without citing evidence, that "the quotations [on pages 36-39 of the booklet] are removed from their context in an unwarranted manner." This referred to the beginning of my analysis, that is, the parts I had numbered from four to ten, in which, with a salvo of very brief quotations, I listed the manifold physical or material impossibilities in the "diary." Quite obviously, neither Otto Frank nor anyone else has ever found a reply to this. But that court in Amsterdam found, if not an answer, then at least a way out: in the court's view, my quotations are simply not to be considered because, apparently, they infringe copyright.

In my long experience with law courts, in France and abroad, I have had occasion to witness a good deal of baseness, of sophistry, of warping and twisting the truth, as well as every sort of judicial ploy. Nonetheless, I believe that this Amsterdam court, in its decision of December 9, 1998, overstepped the bounds of decency in rebuking me for having, in a textual analysis, repeatedly quoted from the text. Not one of those quotations, incidentally, had been removed from its context. On the contrary, with painstaking diligence, I had, I believe, demonstrated great care in looking over, as closely as possible, all the words of the text proper, then putting those same words back into their most direct context. But it is likely that the court understood the word "context" in a broad and flexible sense, as too often happens, that is, of a context that is histori-

cal, sociological, psychological, and so forth. In doing so, the court, of course, gave its own subjective view of the history or psychology of an Anne Frank whom it conceived in line with its own imagination, without paying the slightest heed to the words that, one by one, constitute a work called the diary of Anne Frank.

A Judgment With the Help of the French Police and Justice System

Verbeke and I were ordered to pay heavy court costs, and the sale of our book was banned in the Netherlands on pain of a fine of 25,000 Dutch guilders per day per copy displayed in public.

Let us add, for the record, that the plaintiffs had the long arm of the law on their side. From Amsterdam, they had gotten the French police to call on me at home in Vichy, had me summoned to the station for questioning, and had bailiffs drop by bearing court orders and formal demands. The French justice ministry's Service civil de l'entraide judiciaire internationale, with the French taxpayer footing the bill, worked very well in tandem with the Dutch police.

A Field of Research for Computer Specialists

In 1978 I was not able to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the computer. With pen in hand, I sedulously studied the Anne Frank diary, searching for certain words that, at times, were far removed from one another, "cutting and pasting" them with scissors and glue, and counting them on my fingers. As a result, there occurred errors of detail on my part that I have sometimes managed to correct. I am aware of the imperfection of the final result as it stands today. It is my hope that, in the future, researchers who are adept with computers will take up my analysis and revise it on those points.

The four editions of the Netherlands Institute (RIOD) diary — one each in Dutch, German, French and English — open up a superb field of research for such people. Working from the old versions in Dutch, German (two German versions!) and French, I was able to demonstrate the existence, as it were, of different Anne Franks, irreconcilable with one another, as well as the existence of contradictory accounts. Today, with the more recent versions from the Netherlands Institute and Mirjam Pressler, persons skilled in the use of computers should find it possible to take apart, bit by bit — and better than I had done — this literary forgery.

For the same can be said of the "diary" of Anne Frank as of any imposture: the more someone strives to defend it, the more he provides, in spite of himself, arguments that discredit it. In other words, by shielding a lie, one becomes ensnared in one's own lies. To take but one example dear to revisionists, the fallacious character of Kurt Gerstein's so-called testimony is exposed just as well by analyzing a single version of it as by comparing it with other, contradictory versions.

But let us be practical: to begin at the beginning of this new job of analyzing the Anne Frank "diary," I suggest that a team of researchers with good computer skills, all possessing a good knowledge of Dutch and German, undertake a comparative study of the following:

1. In Dutch, first the 1947 version (published by Otto Frank under the title *Het Achterhuis*), then the 1986 Netherlands Institute (RIOD) versions, and finally, Mirjam Pressler's 1991 edition.
2. The corresponding German versions, it being understood that, as I discovered in 1978, there appeared, after the version published in 1950 by Lambert Schneider, a slightly different one in 1955, published by Fischer Verlag.

At a later stage, it will still be permissible to carry out an analysis of the different French and English versions and then, to settle the matter for good, there can be a comparison of the ten or so Anne Franks who emerge from all the Dutch versions and various translations.

Only then, and regardless of what the profiteers who have exploited her memory for so long may have to say about it, will justice finally be done to the one, the genuine Anne Frank, who never wrote this “cock-and-bull story,” first published in Dutch in 1947 and then published (in its US editions), in 1953 as *The Diary of a Young Girl*, re-christened, in 1986-1989, after renovation and makeshift repairs, *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition*, before ending up being called, in 1995 (for English readers), after much patching and façade work, *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition*, by “Anne Frank.”

Post scriptum

On pages 94-96 of the US edition of the Netherlands Institute’s “Critical Edition,” David Barnouw proclaims that he has summarized what he is willing to call my analysis, but not without insinuating that I am a trickster.

Of all my material or physical arguments, he responds to only one, that of the loud noises made by those hiding in the “Annex.” Then, of all the instances of noises I cite, he deals with only three. He claims that, in these three cases, I concealed the fact that Anne Frank specified that, because the “enemies” were not nearby, there was no risk of the noises being heard. My reply is that perhaps the nearby “enemies” (for example, the two shop assistants) weren’t there, but that the other “enemies,” indefinite in number, could have heard those noises: that of the vacuum cleaner, every day at 12:30 p.m., as well as the “endless peals of laughter” or “a doomsday racket.” Barnouw is much distressed at having to explain these noises and others, sometimes dreadfully loud, in a dwelling where the stillness of the grave should have prevailed. Additionally, he resorts to ruminations as diffuse as they are murky, to spare himself effort as well as to mislead. He writes: [\[18\]](#)

From the diary it appears that the inhabitants of the Annexe, too, had to brave many dangers, not least the chance that they might make too much noise and be overheard. Faurisson, however, did not examine the overall picture of life in hiding in any depth, or concern himself greatly in this context with the fact that the Frank family and their fellow fugitives were in the end arrested.

Here Barnouw evinces a pathos that allows him to conclude shamelessly: “Given the above extract [of Faurisson’s analysis of the question of noise], we have no need to subject all the examples mentioned by Faurisson to review.” In my opinion, this last remark is proof that the Netherlands Institute authorities, by their own admission, have not wished to “submit to review” an essential part of my analysis, that which concerns the physical or material impossibilities of the account.

On another point Barnouw insinuates that I am dishonest. On page 261 of Serge Thion’s book, I had mentioned my discovery, during my investigation into the circumstances of the arrest of the eight fugitives in Amsterdam on August 4, 1944, of an especially interesting witness. I wrote:

This witness [in 1978] made us promise, myself and the person accompanying me, not to divulge her name. I gave her my word to keep it secret. I shall only half keep my promise. The importance of her testimony is such that it seems to me to be impossible to pass over it in silence. This witness’s name and address, together with the name and address of the person accompanying me, are recorded [on a paper] in a

sealed envelope contained in my “Appendix no. 2: Confidential” [for submission to the court in Hamburg].

Barnouw begins by quoting these lines, but not without excising the sentence which revealed the reason for my discretion: the witness had made us promise — that was the word — not to name her. Then Barnouw adds deceitfully:

A photograph of this sealed envelope is printed as an appendix to Faurisson’s “investigation,” albeit only in the French version of 1980; the publisher of the Dutch version had the sense to leave out this piece of evidence.

In other words, Barnouw suggests, I had fooled my readers, leading them to believe, by means of this alleged trick, that the envelope in reality contained no names. Barnouw suggests that this envelope, if it ever even existed, was empty. The truth is that I had indeed submitted to the court in Hamburg an envelope containing the names and addresses of the two persons in question. Today, 22 years later, I believe myself justified in divulging these names, which have long been known to the court: Mrs. Karl Silberbauer and Mr. Ernst Wilmersdorf, both of whom lived in Vienna.

On this occasion I will also reveal the names of three French academics of whom it is stated, on page 299 of the Thion book, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*, that they concurred with my findings on the alleged diary of Anne Frank. The first is Michel Le Guern, a professor of literature who at the time was lecturing at the University of Lyon-2 and who has recently published, in the prestigious “Bibliothèque de la Pléiade” series, a scholarly edition of Blaise Pascal’s *Pensées*. It would be difficult to think of a more proficient authority on literary analysis.

The closing sentence of Le Guern’s written testimony of 1978 reads as follows:

It is certain that the conventions of literary exchange authorize Mr. Frank, or anyone else, to put together as many fictitious personae of Anne Frank as he may wish, but on condition that he not identify any of these fictional beings as the real Anne Frank.

Two other academics were about to come to a similar conclusion when suddenly, in November 1978, the “affaire Faurisson” exploded in the press. They are Frédéric Deloffre and Jacques Rougeot, both professors at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne.

Today these three men are all retired. That is why I have decided to reveal their names. I had not, in any case, given them any pledge of confidentiality.

Notes

1.  Serge Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980), pp. 213-300. This essay, “Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?,” was published in English in the Summer 1982 Journal (vol. 3, no. 2), pp. 147-209. See also: R. Faurisson, “Anne Frank’s Handwriting,” Spring 1989 Journal (vol. 9, no. 1), pp. 97-101; M. Weber, “Anne Frank,” May-June 1995 Journal (vol. 15, no. 3), p. 31. In 1989, 1993 and 1995, respectively, I wrote three items dealing with a work that claimed to disprove my findings. These three items may be found in my *Ecrits révisionnistes 1974-1998*, a four-volume collection of my revisionist writings, privately published by me in 1999 for restricted distribution: pp. 856-859, 1551-1552, 1655-1656.
2.  Interview in *Regards*, weekly of the Centre communautaire juif of Brussels, November 7, 1980, p. 11. Among his many publications, Pierre Vidal-Naquet is author of the anti-revi-

sionist book *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*, which is reviewed by M. Weber in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 Journal, pp. 36-39.

3. ☺ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: Doubleday, 1989). David Barnouw and Gerrold van der Stroom, eds. "Prepared by the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation."
4. ☺ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (New York: 1989), cited above, p. 166 ("Afterword"). The German and French editions were published in 1988 and 1989 respectively. I have in my possession these four bulky volumes, that is, the Dutch original and the three translations. Comparisons between them reveal some odd differences.
5. ☺ These can be seen in *The Journal of Historical Review*, along with articles by Faurisson: Summer 1982 Journal, p. 209, and Spring 1989 Journal, pp. 99-100.
6. ☺ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 63-64.
7. ☺ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 95-96.
8. ☺ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 30-31. This agency is not to be confused with the "Supervisory Board for Political Offenders," mentioned on p. 34.
9. ☺ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, p. 4.
10. ☺ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 15, 55-56.
11. ☺ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 88-90.
12. ☺ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, p. 19, n. 41.
13. ☺ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 36-45.
14. ☺ Of the various language editions of the "critical edition," there is a partial plan of the "Annex" house only in the English-language edition. See: *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, p. 213. This plan is only for three floors, whereas the house actually had five (as I have shown in the photographs I published, for example, in S. Thion's book, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?*).
15. ☺ Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition*, (New York: Doubleday, 1995.) "Edited by Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler." Translated by Susan Massotty.
16. ☺ *Prospect*, August-September 1997, p. 75. *Prospect* is aimed at an intellectual and academic readership.
17. ☺ See "A Belgian Foundation Battles for Free Speech," Jan.-Feb. 1996 Journal, p. 46.
18. ☺ This and the following quotes or citations in this "Post scriptum" section are from *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition* (1989), cited above, pp. 94-96.

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Historical Past vs. Political Present

Arthur R. Butz

“A Holocaust museum is built in Washington. Sixty-five million people watch 'Schindler's List.' The German president apologizes to Israel. Then what can you say about these guys who say the Holocaust never happened? They're a fringe movement of charlatans.”

-- Michael Berenbaum, identified as “a distinguished professor of Holocaust studies at Clark University,” quoted in *Forward*, April 14, 2000, p. 20. Berenbaum has also served as director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and director of Steven Spielberg's Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation.

“The Pope deposes and crowns emperors and excommunicates kings to bend them to his will. England, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, Portugal and other lands are papal vassals. The schism with Constantinople has ended. The Pope's Lateran Council has not only acted to clarify the practice of the Faith and moved against heresy, but has also established rules for education and instituted long overdue reforms in the civil law. Then what can you say about these guys who say the Donation of Constantine is a forgery? They're a fringe movement of charlatans.”

— A non-existent commentator in 1216 A.D., in a statement concocted by this author in 2000 A.D.

In this paper I wish to focus on three broad subjects, making remarks of general interest.

1. My attempt to use the archives of the Berlin Document Center.
2. Some writings of mine that have been objects of ridicule. There are things to learn by taking another look, and I won't apologize.
3. Some things that came out of the Wilkomirski affair that deserve more stress than they have been given till now, and which raise basic questions on the nature of our disagreements with our adversaries, and we should have no illusions that that is the right word.

1. The Berlin Document Center

From 1945 to 1953 the western Allies gathered the surviving records of the Nazi Party, and affiliated organizations such as the SS, into a collection that was housed at the “Berlin Document Center” (BDC) under the jurisdiction of the US Army. In 1953 jurisdiction was transferred to the US Department of State. The expenses of operating the BDC were borne by the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany). ^[1]

Most of the records at the BDC were biographical files, such as Nazi Party membership records and SS personnel files. Some non-biographical records were transferred to the FRG in 1959-1962, many after being microfilmed by the American Historical Association or the Hoover Institution for the use of scholars.

In 1989 the Bundestag of the FRG unanimously requested the transfer of the BDC files to German control. An agreement to do this, effective July 1, 1994, was reached in October 1993, subject to the condition that all records would first be microfilmed, at German expense, the microfilms being turned over to the US National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). In the process the BDC system of “finding aids” was to be reproduced, and a computer data base of the files was to be created, for the use of NARA. [2]

I was happy to hear of this development, but I became alarmed when I read in a September 1994 publication of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL): [3]

The League is working with Members of Congress and non-governmental representatives to establish a group to monitor access to Nazi documents and records which were recently transferred to the control of the German government. The records, the largest and most valuable collection of materials documenting the Third Reich, are stored in the Berlin Document Center.

The correct interpretation of “monitor access” was not clear. The most obvious interpretation, and the one that alarmed me, was that access to the NARA microfilm files would be effectively blocked to revisionists and other unapproved prying eyes.

The ADL and other Jewish representatives had testified in the congressional hearings on the transfer in April 1994. However in these hearings the only concern relevant to monitoring was a concern that the Germans may not permit free access to their original files while the microfilming was in progress, following warnings by Gerald Posner in a New Yorker article. [4] My worry did not appear to be confirmed by these hearings.

Recently I sought to use the NARA BDC collection for a specific purpose. The famous internal SS investigation of Konrad Morgen netted Karl Koch, commandant of Buchenwald, Amon Goeth, commandant of Plaszow, of “Schindler’s List” notoriety, and a number of smaller fry, one of them being the head of the Gestapo office at the Auschwitz concentration camp, SS-Untersturmführer (Second Lieutenant) Maximilian Grabner. All the SS personnel arrested were charged with corruption, and it is said that Grabner was charged in addition with murdering either 40 or 2,000 prisoners, receiving a death sentence later commuted to twelve years in prison. [5] In some versions of the Grabner story, his trial was postponed and never concluded. [6] Grabner was executed by the Poles in 1947. [7]

Since it is obvious that prosecution by the SS, for murder, of the head of the Gestapo office at Auschwitz does not harmonize with the claim that thousands were killed daily at that camp, I wanted to clarify just what the charges against Grabner were and how they were disposed of. The BDC collection was the obvious source to consult. I wanted his service record.

The BDC archives are vast. There is a published hard copy index for 177 of the 40,000 rolls of microfilm, this index covering mainly non-biographical records. [8] I found no help on the Grabner problem there. The really attractive possibility seemed to be the computerized index, which had been promised in the congressional hearings by Dr. Lewis Bellardo of NARA, who assured the hearings that [9]

we will make records available to all categories of non-government researchers on an equal basis. There will be no “scholarly research” requirement for access ... A final note relating to access is that this microfilm is accompanied by a computerized index. The index in conjunction with the microfilm allows the researcher to search much more quickly for a selected file than if the search had to be conducted using manual indexes and paper records.

In these days of e-everything I thought I was entitled to assume that the computerized index was accessible through the NARA web site (www.nara.gov) but I could not find it there. An e-mail address for inquiry was given, however, so I inquired about access to the computerized index. I was told that

Unfortunately, the computerized index worked fine in Berlin, but not here in the US. So it is not available. We do have rolls lists for all the microfilm, however, showing first and last names on each roll. But there are many separate collections comprising the BDC microfilm, so multiple searches of microfilm are usually necessary. How can we help you further?

I then inquired whether the computerized index is available on a web server in Berlin, and the answer was: “No, it was never meant to be online for the public, just for in-house use.”

Having exhausted all possibilities of searching the BDC files myself, I told the NARA staffer that I was looking for the service record of Grabner. He could not find it, explaining that “Not all the SS records survived the war,” but he found one document that at least mentioned Grabner as head of the Gestapo office at Auschwitz. He sent it to me but it shed no light on the problem of interest.

The NARA staffer seemed to be as helpful as he reasonably could be. The impediments I encountered were not put there by him, but they are there nevertheless. I noticed no mechanism for keeping revisionists out, but I was disappointed. The promises in Lewis Bellardo’s congressional hearings testimony have not been kept, and it is very difficult for US-based individual researchers to search the BDC files without spending a prohibitive amount of time examining rolls of microfilm.

As for the computerized index that works in Berlin but not elsewhere, the situation seems ludicrous. If the data exists in electronic form, it can be set up to be accessed and searched on the Internet with appropriate software design requiring an effort only a fraction of what was required to compile the index in the first place. It is not clear to me whether the Germans use the computerized index. If they do, I doubt they would be cooperative with requests from abroad for searches, since NARA does not seem to have access to the index itself. As for the option of a revisionist going to Germany to use the computerized index, the Leuchter, Irving and Töben cases make that a bad joke.

In summary, it may be just an accident that the situation is bad for revisionists, but in any case it is bad.

It was taken for granted in the preceding that computer and Internet usage is now a commonplace in the gathering of information. Despite the lack of a Berlin Documents Center online search function, a development of recent years has been the availability of much information on the web. The information can be computer searched, with or without downloading. Some good archives that I have downloaded for that purpose have been the Adelaide Institute newsletters (www.adelaideinstitute.org), the English translation of Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte (www.vho.org), Dissecting the Holocaust, ^[10] and the Irving-Lipstadt trial transcripts

(www.fpp.co.uk/online.html). Searching these sources may not bring up exactly the information you want, but even then you may get pointed in the right direction.

There are many other documents at these sites and also the CODOH (www.codoh.com) and IHR (www.ihr.org) web sites, but you have to be selective in downloading specific articles. I look forward to Robert Faurisson's four volume *Écrits Révisionnistes* becoming available in electronic form. Dare I also hope for an English translation?

One can also search the web without downloading. In this connection I should mention the search engines available on Germar Rudolf's web site, at www.vho.org/Search/searchRev.html, and on the IHR site at www.ihr.org. These search the main revisionist web sites for search terms supplied by the user. However in most cases when research is being done then a limitation in a web search to only revisionist web sites does not seem wise to me. The well known search engines such as Altavista have a general scope. One of the big problems with such general searches is that they often return thousands of unhelpful and/or irrelevant sites, but careful choice of search terms can mitigate this problem.

2. Some Ridicule of Butz

During his recent trial David Irving made available on his web site the "expert opinion" that Robert Jan Van Pelt prepared for Irving's adversaries in the trial. This raises historiographic issues in the sense of how conclusions should be drawn from historical data. I read some of this and I was surprised, as others have been, to see Van Pelt claim that the roles of Auschwitz, Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka as extermination camps were "moral certainties." In his report he appears to define "moral certainty" as something between "beyond reasonable doubt" and "unqualified certainty," but then he applies it to the claims of the legend in connection with Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka, while admitting that the evidence is scant for those places. Thus I am not sure how to interpret the phrase as he uses it, and he probably isn't either. ^[11]

In any case I read part of Van Pelt's report, including the part dealing with my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and the reading confirmed the inference, that has been made before by me and others, that the Auschwitz legend rests entirely on alleged eye witness accounts. The "extermination" cannot be deduced, or even suspected, from the documents, from the ordinary historical record of how the principals behaved, or from physical evidence at the site. All of the material means that play a role in the legend (for example, Zyklon, crematories) have in fact non-homicidal interpretations, with dual homicidal interpretations being supplied by the alleged eye witnesses. Van Pelt's report also confirms the opinion I expressed many years ago, that in these debates ^[12] we must maintain context and perspective and above all be on our guard against being tricked into quarreling so much over details that we lose sight of simple observations, as I shall explain. ^[13]

I think it is fair to say that today the defenders of the legend argue, with an exception to be noted, not that available forensic evidence shows that the gassings took place, but that it was possible that they took place. This is something that must be inferred from their writings, because they don't put it that way and maintain an air of dogmatic certainty. A good example is their defense against the Leuchter and later investigations relating to cyanide residues in the crematoria at Auschwitz. ^[14] In the most honest versions of their defense they concede the main point, namely that the residues are very scarce in the alleged homicidal gas chamber in the crematory structures, but exist in abundance in the walls of a nearby delousing gas chamber, in the form of iron-cyanide compounds. Then they argue in effect, employing largely unsupported technical asser-

tions and making adjustments in “eye witness” testimonies, that the results do not exclude that people were gassed in the structures in question. [15]

In my 1992 IHR conference paper I said that the procedure is like sawing off a tree limb that one is sitting on. [16] The logic is circuitous. We are told to believe the gassing stories, not because the documents and physical evidence say so, but because the witnesses say so. Then we are told that we should make some adjustments in the accounts of the witnesses, because features of their testimonies are inconsistent with the alleged fact of the gassings.

A dishonest version of their defense is to ignore the delousing gas chamber issue entirely, as is done in the Errol Morris film on Fred Leuchter entitled “Mr. Death”; at least, that was how it was handled in the version I saw last February. Another instance of this dishonesty, which could perhaps be dismissed as blazingly stupid rather than dishonest, was taken in that 1994 report of the Institute of Forensic Research in Cracow. [17] The argument, to the extent that it was intelligible enough to be summarized at all, was that they did not understand how the iron-cyanide compounds got to be there, so they decided to ignore them in reaching their conclusions. I don’t understand how the moon got there, so I will ignore all effects associated with it, such as tides. I hope I don’t drown.

Revisionists have carried this point as far as necessary. The legend’s defenders are claiming “events continental in geographic scope, of three years in temporal scope, and of several million in scope of victims,” [18] and they must provide commensurate evidence. They are claiming events that by their nature and scale would leave emphatic commensurate evidence, physical and otherwise. A few witnesses won’t do, just as they wouldn’t do if the claim were that New York City burned down. When we dissect such witness testimony we play a game in which larger issues are not at stake. Never forget that. If I can’t offhand find internal contradictions in the testimony of a man who claims that New York City burned down, you would not conclude that it did burn down.

Van Pelt’s report resurrected the defense of the legend offered in Michael Shermer’s article a few years ago in his Sceptic magazine. [19] In his critique of revisionism Shermer chose to give prominence to the unusual word “consilience,” apparently coined in 1840 by the English philosopher William Whewell. The word has been used more recently as the title of a book by Edward O. Wilson to mean “a ‘jumping together’ of knowledge by the linking of facts and fact based theory across disciplines to create a common groundwork of explanation,” or in Whewell’s words what “takes place when an Induction, obtained from one class of facts, coincides with an Induction, obtained from another different class. This consilience is a test of the Theory in which it occurs.” Wilson’s book argues for the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the social sciences and the humanities, to achieve a grand synthesis. [20]

Shermer also proposes to apply a test of a “convergence of evidence” as “a less cumbersome phrase.” I think that is also a more acceptable phrase than “consilience,” because the various classes of evidence that Shermer considers are not from diverse fields of study. They are the usual sources that have been assembled by those who have been specifically interested in pressing the genocide claim.

If a true “convergence of evidence” is sought then we must of course consider the behavior of the Allies at the time, the behavior of the Red Cross, the behavior of the Vatican, the behavior of the German opposition to Hitler, the behavior of the Jewish organizations, the vast numbers of Jews in Europe immediately after the war, many in camps and bound for Palestine, the USA, and other destinations (often employing concealment and deception in regard to their numbers and identi-

ties), the contemporaneous German documents, the aerial photos, the lack of physical evidence for “extermination,” and the lack of evidence for engineering design projects to create equipment for the extermination of large numbers of human beings in gas chambers (remember it hadn’t been done before — they say the Germans silently adapted other means to the novel and gigantic undertaking). That is a real test of convergence. Long ago, I wrote an article presenting this convergence of evidence, though I didn’t call it that. The article was entitled “Context and Perspective in the Holocaust Controversy,” and was given in lecture form at the IHR conference in 1982.

[21]

Though he says the test of historical truth is a “convergence of evidence,” Shermer presents first only “A Case Study in Convergence” and then explains that “it is not possible in a magazine-length article to adequately cover all of the points made above” (that is, the general case for convergence). How is it, then, that I say that I wrote an article presenting a convergence of evidence, but Shermer could not? It is very simple. I could refer to other works on how the Allies acted, how the Vatican acted, how the Jewish organizations acted, and so forth. Books had been written about massive Jewish movements after World War II, and virtually all books on the subject acknowledge that an extermination program is not to be found in the German documents. All studies of the German concentration camps acknowledge the high death rates due to disease, the use of Zyklon for hygienic purposes, and the cremation of the victims. Other investigators, virtually all of whom would have rejected my conclusions, had done the work for me. Shermer said he could not present the convergence because he was only writing an article. I say he couldn’t present it because it wasn’t there.

Shermer avoided considering how the various principals acted; that perspective is missing. He could not find any scholarship to correspond to the massive scholarship that supports the revisionist observations, such as “nobody acted as if it was happening,” or “at the end of the war, the Jews were still there,” or “the German documents speak of a program of expulsion and resettlement,” or “catastrophic death scenes in the camps in 1945 were fraudulently represented as evidence of intentional extermination.” On our adversaries' side, there are only such things as “leading Nazis said...,” or “all historians say...,” or “survivors say,” or “Höss confessed that,” or “this inmate testified that.”

Having been unable to argue “convergence,” Shermer examines two special subjects: Nazi statements about exterminating or annihilating Jews and the gas chamber/crematoria issue. Thus he ends up arguing special points rather than convergence.

He begins with the occasional Nazi use of the German word “Ausrottung” (extermination) in application to the Jews. He is right in saying that the standard translation is “extermination”; moreover the standard translation of “Vernichtung,” also sometimes used by Nazis, is “annihilation.” However in actual practice in English both words can be used in contexts where they are not taken to mean killing, and a further complication is that the Nazis were notorious for hyperbole or rhetorical inflation; for example, everything they did had to be the “greatest,” or “most glorious,” and so forth.

Without realizing it Shermer demolishes his case on this matter with a February 18, 1937, quote from Himmler, addressing a meeting of his Gruppenführers: [22]

I have the conviction that the Roman emperors, who exterminated (ausrotteten) the first Christians, did precisely what we are doing with the Communists. These Christians were at that time the vilest scum, which the city accommodated, the vilest Jewish people, the vilest Bolsheviks there were.

Shermer's problem is that it does indeed seem that Himmler is claiming that he is physically exterminating Communists and/or Jews, and there were many of both in Germany then. It would be very difficult to argue, on the basis of internal analysis, against such an interpretation. However Germany was not doing such things in 1937. Communist leaders and other political enemies had only been put into concentration camps.

If Himmler can seem to claim mass killings that did not actually exist, where does that place later occasional comparable statements by him and other Nazi leaders? In a discussion of this problem in my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* I remarked that in connection with comparable statements Hitler "could have chosen his words more carefully." [23] I have been a butt of ridicule for that passage, but I stand by the statement and the analysis.

The second special subject that Shermer takes up is the gas chamber/crematory issue, which has given rise to a second basis for ridicule of my work, as I shall explain. However the general issue has been well worked over in other revisionist writings and I shall not take it up here. I only remark in this connection that Shermer misrepresented the results of the forensic investigations discussed above, by claiming that "forensic tests have now been conducted demonstrating the homicidal use of both the gas chambers and the crematoria for the express purpose of exterminating large numbers of prisoners." That is an amazing lie that the other defenders of the legend are not guilty of, as far as I know. [24]

It is common for promoters and defenders of the legend to focus only on Germany, an elementary historiographic error. Alas, revisionists also commit it. When there is a focus elsewhere, the scope of the exposition is similarly limited. For example a treatise excoriating the wartime Pope, for not acting as though a "Holocaust" were in progress, will not properly take into account that nobody else so acted.

A focus distributed on all principals can throw light on what may seem mysterious or enigmatic if considered out of its historical context. In another phase of his discourse on the use of the word "Ausrottung," Shermer reproduces and discusses a memo from Rudolf Brandt, a member of Reichsführer SS Himmler's personal staff, to the chief of the security police and SD in Berlin, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, dated February 22, 1943. [25] It says "On the instructions of the Reichsführer-SS, I am transmitting herewith to you a press dispatch on the accelerated extermination (Ausrottung) of the Jews in occupied Europe." Shermer did not point out, though his source did, that the press report involved was the story that appeared eight days earlier, on February 14, 1943, in both the *London Times* and the *New York Times*, headed in the latter case "Execution 'Speed-Up' Seen," and on which the *New York Times* commented editorially on February 18. [26] Both Shermer and his source consider the document incriminating, but I can't see why mere transmission of a story implies acceptance of it as truth. I often send a revisionist some piece of Holocaust propaganda without insulting the other's intelligence by explaining to him that I think its claims are false. In the case of the Brandt letter, the press report referred to there figured in a clash later in 1943 between the US State Department and Henry Morgenthau's Treasury Department, because the former considered the story, received from Jewish sources in Switzerland, bunk, and sat on it, as I discussed long ago in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. [27] There is no reason to assume Himmler thought otherwise of it.

History should be written in cognizance of all principals, and in the case of the "Holocaust" legend the conclusion such evidence converges to is obvious. The legend's defenders got jolted in the early 80s. For example Walter Laqueur used ordinary historical methods in his study focused on Auschwitz, entitled *The Terrible Secret*, and the result was a book that, with just a little bit of tweaking, would be a revisionist book. Laqueur merely applied ordinary historical methods and

common sense to observe that mass exterminations at Auschwitz were a “terrible secret,” that is, not generally known, and that mass exterminations at Auschwitz could not have been kept secret. While Laqueur did not draw the obvious conclusion, the fact remains that he had simply taken the sort of historical and logical perspective that otherwise proves to us that New York City did not burn down, and excuses us from considering the claims of alleged eye witnesses who might say otherwise.

Ordinary historical analysis can’t find a “Holocaust.” They pretend to find it with the methods of funny history. Don’t forget that either.

Nevertheless we should not ignore their narrow selection of evidence, especially because final comprehension of it can elucidate unpredictable matters. A special emphasis in Van Pelt’s critique of my work is on the difficulties I have had, over the years, with one document. I am speaking of the “Vergasungskeller” document that I have spoken and written of before, so I will not repeat myself unnecessarily. [28] Suffice it to say that my 1976 book offered an interpretation that was linguistically and technically sound, but turned out to be wrong, my 1992 IHR conference paper speculated on various interpretations that made technical sense but did not fix on any one, and my 1996-1997 paper proposed that the “Vergasungskeller” was a reference to a basement morgue in crematory structure (Krema) II in Auschwitz-Birkenau, in its secondary role as a gas shelter. Van Pelt tries to present my fluctuating interpretations on this one document as ridiculous.

The point I want to make right now is not the right interpretation of the document in question. In reading Van Pelt a contrast occurred to me. I could not imagine Van Pelt or any of the other defenders of the legend giving such an extended treatment, over many years, to the interpretation of a single document. Why the difference? I think it is because for us problematic documents are exceptions or aberrations. We let documents mean what they say so that for us, for example, the countless German documents speaking of the Jewish policy as one of emigration mean what they say. “Sonderbehandlung,” special treatment, has no necessary homicidal interpretation. A shower is just that, as is a morgue.

On their side, one of the hermeneutic principles (to use a more charitable term than “methods of funny history”) is that documents are to be interpreted under the a priori constraint that the policy was one of extermination. Another arbitrary constraint that I have inferred is that the number of Jews killed must have been at least four million, though no scientifically acceptable evidence supports such a figure, or even half that.

That being the case, the only sorts of problems they can have with document interpretation are which of the several fixes to apply in specific cases. They are playing with a deck of Jokers. The document may have been in code language, or it may have been written by a person in ignorance of real policies, or, as in the case of crematory construction, the hygienic purposes expressed in the documents may have been genuine at the time the documents were written, but an undocumented decision was later made to apply the equipment otherwise. All these fixes are reasoned in terms of the a priori constraints, and apply to the corpus of records of several governments. They accuse us of dismissing any document that does not fit our preconceptions. They dismiss more than 99 percent of the written historical record.

If they run into a document with a single word they like, then they pounce on that word, ignoring what the document says, as they do with the Vergasungskeller document, whose natural meaning is that the Germans were in a rush to get the crematory into operation as a normal crematory.

They claim that the appearance of the allegedly incriminating word was an “enormous gaff” (sic) or a “leak.” [29]

That is also done in the case of a document that refers to hydrocyanic acid (HCN) gas detectors for an Auschwitz crematory that are supposed to be supplied by the furnace maker Topf. They like the reference to HCN, the lethal ingredient in Zyklon. However they do not observe that the Topf role challenges the assumption that the HCN in this case had anything to do with Zyklon, because there already existed a special department at Auschwitz with the relevant expertise and equipment for the use of Zyklon. [30]

I wish that somebody would make an objective evaluation only of the hermeneutics of the defense of the legend. I do not mean an evaluation of the merits of its conclusions. I mean only an evaluation of the historiographic logic and methods that are employed. I prefer that such an evaluation be carried out by somebody in no camp on “Holocaust” controversy. I have already indicated what I think of their methods and logic, and this is what I meant earlier when I said that “we must maintain context and perspective and above all be on our guard against being tricked into quarreling so much over details that we lose sight of simple observations.” It is permissible, or at least I hope it is, to become enthralled with the problems of interpreting a single document, but we must not lose sight of the reasons why the defenders of the legend do not have such problems.

As for the idea that the Germans did not consign the extermination program to writing because it would be incriminating, I have on other occasions tried to express how silly that idea is. [31] Moreover this claim clashes with the claim (by Shermer, for example) that leading Nazis publicly admitted physical extermination, because such public admissions would obviate the need for code language in confidential government documents. At a 1989 conference at Northwestern University on the “Holocaust,” those who wished to ask questions were required to identify themselves before asking. I was recognized by the chairman, rose and identified myself, and asked speaker Saul Friedländer the following: “I want you to clarify something you said earlier. Do you believe that the German leaders calculated that the European Jews could be exterminated in secrecy?” After listening to my question he refused to answer, claiming that I have no respect for the norms of intellectual discourse, or words to that effect. [32]

3. Wilkomirski and What it Means

Here it will be seen that the Wilkomirski affair relates directly to the issues of interpretation I have just discussed.

The story of the impostor “Binjamin Wilkomirski” has been generally well known for almost two years, but new revelations were coming out as late as last fall. I think there are some aspects of it that deserve added stress and contemplation. There is more here than the tale of a con man being nabbed.

In 1996 a book appeared, authored by Binjamin Wilkomirski, entitled *Fragments: Memories of a Childhood 1939-1948*. It had been published the previous year, in its original German. In this book the author related that he was born a Jew in Latvia and was separated from his parents at age three, was sent to German concentration camps, to Majdanek, then Auschwitz, where he endured a living hell. Liberated at the end of the war, he was adopted by a Swiss family named Dössekker, from which he took the name Bruno Dössekker. His memoirs, which immediately won wide acclaim, were promoted by the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and won the Na-

tional Jewish Book Award for 1996. In France his book won the Prix Mémoire de la Shoah, and in Britain the Jewish Quarterly literary prize.

Eventually his tale was supported by a woman named Laura Grabowski, who said she was also a Jewish survivor of Auschwitz and remembered Wilkomirski: “He’s my Binji, that’s all I know,” she said. [33] She had her own tale of suffering at Auschwitz at the hands of Josef Mengele and other Germans, and the scars to prove it. Wilkomirski and Grabowski went on lecture and concert tours individually and together.

Raul Hilberg appears to have been an early skeptic. Swiss Jewish journalist Daniel Ganzfried heard rumors that Wilkomirski’s story was not true. He investigated and determined that the Latvian Jew “Benjamin Wilkomirski” was actually a Swiss gentile, born on February 12, 1941, to an unwed Swiss mother named Yvonne Berthe Grosjean, and later adopted by the Dössekker family. He was never incarcerated at Auschwitz. Ganzfried’s expose was published in the Swiss weekly *Weltwoche* during August and September 1998. Wilkomirski subsequently refused to submit to a DNA comparison with Max Grosjean, Yvonne’s brother. [34]

Laura Grabowski was exposed as a fraud in October 1999 by the Christian magazine *Cornerstone*. Her real name was Laurel Rose Willson, born to Christian parents on August 14, 1941, in Washington state, and of course she was never incarcerated at Auschwitz. She had earlier written books under the name Lauren Stratford, claiming she had suffered ritual satanic abuse, citing the same scars which she later claimed were inflicted by Mengele. (The scars were apparently self-inflicted.) As such she appeared on talk shows such as *Oprah* to relate her ordeals. When she decided that she would also be Laura Grabowski, she transposed the stories of ritual satanic abuse to the new setting Auschwitz. [35]

An important observation is that the downfalls of Dössekker and Willson did not come about because their claimed experiences were determined to be phony. Though Ganzfried and others thought there was something fishy about Wilkomirski’s story in itself, for example, his claim that as a lone Jewish child, four years old, he was able to survive the “Holocaust,” they were nailed on the issue of identity. They are gentiles who were not in a German concentration camp during World War II; they only visited them years later.

They are contrasted for example to Elie Wiesel, who cannot be discredited on the basis of identity, since he is a Jew who was actually interned at Auschwitz. Against Wiesel’s concoctions society has yet to develop an effective defense, by listening to revisionists instead of its current leaders. Wilkomirski’s *Fragments* is no more or less plausible, in itself, than Wiesel’s *Night*. For example, Wiesel admitted in Chapter 5 that, when the Germans evacuated Auschwitz, he had the option of staying at the hospital, with his father registered as a patient, to await the Soviets. He chose rather to join the evacuation, taking his father with him, on a predictably difficult journey to another German concentration camp. That is as implausible as anything in Wilkomirski’s book if one is to believe Wiesel’s tale of the horrors inflicted by the Germans at Auschwitz. His story also has the claim, common among the “eye witnesses,” that the crematories at Auschwitz belched flames from the chimneys (Ch. 3). Crematories do not operate that way, and such flames are not seen on any of the aerial photos of the camp. His claim to have seen piles of children being burned by the Germans at Auschwitz is lifted from the Talmud, with the Romans replaced by the Germans. [36] I could go on and on about Wiesel’s absurdities, but I won’t. I recommend reading Faurisson’s 1993 leaflet about him. [37] My point right now is that Wilkomirski was discredited only on the basis of identity. We can also observe that the Wilkomirski book shows that the filthy imagination that was required to create Elie Wiesel’s *Night* is not unique to Jews.

What I now want to focus on is the amazing obstinacy of many people in supporting these two, especially Wilkomirski, long after they had been exposed. After Ganzfried published his expose “he received several complaints from Jews who said that, even if Mr. Wilkomirski turns out not to be a survivor, Mr. Ganzfried is feeding the fires of those who deny the Holocaust.” Deborah Lipstadt, who used Wilkomirski’s book in her course at Emory University, said that if Wilkomirski is a phony it “might complicate matters somewhat. But [the book] is still powerful” as a novel. [38]

There was no attempt to rescind his National Jewish Book Award. Norman Finkelstein has discussed this phenomenon recently, recalling Elie Wiesel’s earlier obstinate loyalty to Jerzy Kosinski long after his 1965 “basic Holocaust text,” *The Painted Bird*, was exposed as a fraud. (Kosinski committed suicide in 1991, perhaps because his fraud had been exposed a few years before by Polish journalist Johanna Siedlecka.) Finkelstein noted that Yisrael Gutman, a director of the Yad Vashem center in Jerusalem, has said it isn’t important that the Wilkomirski yarn is a fraud: “Wilkomirski has written a story which he has experienced deeply; that’s for sure... He is not a fake. He is someone who lives this story very deeply in his soul. The pain is authentic.” [39] Another Yad Vashem official who defended the Wilkomirski book when the controversy erupted was Lea Balint. [40] Bear in mind that Yad Vashem holds itself to be the central and official repository of “survivor” accounts.

Willson had her devoted friend and supporter in Jennifer Rosenberg, who ran the Holocaust web site www.holocaust.about.com as a counterweight to revisionist web sites. Grabowski-Willson befriended Rosenberg and helped her run the site. On her site Rosenberg related that, before she visited Auschwitz, Laura Grabowski gave her a pair of pink sandals to leave at the crematorium in memory of her childhood friend, Anna, who Laura said died there.

Rosenberg maintained her friendship with Laura for at least five months after Laura was exposed as a fraud, claiming that the imposture was unimportant and not being sure what to do about the posted story of the pink shoes: [41]

“Whether I can say this is true or not true, I would have to do my own research.” Ms. Rosenberg says, and adds that she is too busy to do so. Of Laura, whom she still considers a friend, she says, “She’s a very sincere and sweet person.”

“If it isn’t real, and if Anna isn’t real, there are so many young children and babies who went through that... It really was a metaphor for the children. For Laura, it was for Anna. I did it for the children. When I did it I was obviously doing it for Anna, but seeing it there, it was also for all the children, the loss of life, what they should have had, could have had.”

“I don’t want to be involved in this... My main goal is to educate people on the Holocaust.” Ms. Rosenberg says she expends significant energy deleting messages with links to the sites of Holocaust deniers such as Mr. Irving and otherwise blocking correspondents who undermine the historical record. Postings to the bulletin board are not pre-screened, so sometimes a denier’s comments show up before she can remove them. To keep them away entirely, Ms. Rosenberg says, “I would have to have a 24-hour shift.”

Laura Grabowski knew that censoring the discussion would amount to more than a full time job (so) she said she volunteered to help Ms. Rosenberg monitor the discussion late at night, since she had insomnia. Ms. Rosenberg taught her how.

I think Rosenberg's position is that "to educate people on the Holocaust" consists in suppressing revisionist views, and not being concerned about those views and stories that sound more or less like the usual yarns. Impostors and con-artists such as Wilkomirski and Grabowski are thus not seen as people "who undermine the historical record," even after exposure. As for the web site, its url has been changed to <http://history1900s.about.com>. On 21 April I took the "Holocaust" link there and used the site's search function to try to find mention of the pink shoes or Laura Grabowski but I couldn't. I assume that mention of them has been deleted, and Rosenberg has finally lost her friend.

The most significant of all these obstinate friends is, I believe, the American Orthopsychiatric Association (the "Ortho"), an organization of psychiatrists who specialize in various forms of abuse and persecution, especially of children. In March 1999, about six months after Ganzfried's expose, the Ortho announced that at its April 10 meeting it would honor Benjamin Wilkomirski with its Max A. Hayman award "to celebrate work done to increase our understanding of genocide and the Holocaust." Naturally there was great controversy on the appropriateness of this award, both inside and outside the Ortho. Wilkomirski had the support of psychiatry professor Dori Laub, a scholar long associated with Yale's Holocaust-testimony video archive. Laub argued that the award "re-establishes the priority of human experience and memory" over the written documentation preferred by historians, though the award leaves open the question of the authenticity of Wilkomirski's account. There is no doubt that Wilkomirski's work was "being taken seriously among therapists who treat Holocaust survivors," and in fact Wilkomirski has worked "with Israeli psychiatrist Elitsur Bernstein in developing 'an interdisciplinary therapy' to treat such child survivors"; a paper by Wilkomirski and Bernstein was well received at a 1998 Holocaust conference at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana. Ortho member Harvey Peskin, identified as "a Holocaust scholar and psychotherapist," argued that Wilkomirski's account can be accepted as true because it is "consistent with the memories of other child survivors and with the historical record." Though Peskin conceded that Wilkomirski could be a phony he argued, and I think I am summarizing him right on this, that denunciation or rejection of Wilkomirski could discourage real Holocaust survivors from coming forward, and would be hurtful to them in any case. He wrote "such disparagement of witness gives comfort to a new revisionism that no longer attacks the truth of the Holocaust itself but only individual claims of survival" and "Wilkomirski [is] then not only disbelieved, but [his] cause cannot be left standing: ... to urge the child survivor's recovery of forfeited personal identity through raveling a daunting trail of unforfeited Holocaust memory." [42]

Wilkomirski accepted the award at the April 10 meeting, to the standing applause of the attendees, the gist of whose reactions being that his memoirs are essentially true. Lea Balint of the Yad Vashem, an enthusiastic supporter from the beginning and faithful to the end, e-mailed Wilkomirski that "You deserve this award." [43] I apologize for repeating that Yad Vashem holds itself to be the central and official repository of "survivor" accounts, but the point is important, in view of the crucial role such testimonies play in supporting the legend. This was not the first time Yad Vashem got mud in its eye for publicly backing a phony, as it vouched for the witnesses who in 1987 testified in Israel to John Demjanjuk operating a gas chamber at Treblinka. Demjanjuk was later proved to have not been at Treblinka, and released in 1993. [44]

Cynthia Ozick, a New York writer who has authored an anti-revisionist Holocaust play, *The Shawl*, which was not well received by critics, [45] reacted to the award by declaring "If Mr. Wilkomirski is indeed a fabricator, then to laud him is to take a stand — politically — on the side of those who insist that the Holocaust is a fabrication." [46] There is a partial truth in this. I accept the core of the analysis of the psychiatrists who supported the award, in the sense of agreeing that Wilkomirski's account does indeed sound a lot like those of the "survivors" who have testi-

fied to atrocious German cruelties in the camps, though I would prefer to turn that around: the accounts of those survivors sound a lot like Wilkomirski's. Because of the Ortho award, you now have that evaluation from a group of professional psychiatrists. Where that leaves the Holocaust peddlers, whose foundation is the accounts of "eye witnesses," is obvious.

That is the first lesson to draw from the Wilkomirski episode that goes beyond a "tale of a con man being nabbed." The second lesson relates to a question that I raised at the Adelaide conference in 1998. The immediate occasion was some remarks about Deborah Lipstadt that had been made earlier: [47]

Earlier today we heard of a concern from their camp that I have heard many times before. This time it was expressed by Deborah Lipstadt: the "survivors" are now dying off at such an alarming rate that it will soon be difficult to confound the revisionists. Such a view can only be advanced in hysteria, because of what it tacitly admits. No sane person would fear that, because all those alive at the time of the US Civil War are now dead, it will be difficult to confound those who might deny it happened. The defenders of the hoax have quite lost their grip on historical reality, and on what it means for something to "happen" in real time and real space.

Lipstadt has many times expressed the view of which I spoke. [48] There have been others, an example being Deborah Dwork, co-author with Van Pelt of a book on the history of Auschwitz and head of the Holocaust studies program at Clark University in Massachusetts. [49] A related view is expressed in the Berenbaum remark that heads this paper; his argument, that the Holocaust obviously happened, appeals only to well known events of the 90s. I classify these as related views because they imagine the "Holocaust" as something that exists more substantially in the present rather than the past. The Wilkomirski episode forces my thoughts to return to this point. Does our dispute with the defenders of the entrenched legend arise not over what happened, but over what it means for something to "happen"? Is the dispute metaphysical rather than historical? Or is it neither?

My question is urgently practical. If I must try to express in comprehensible terms the metaphysical principle suggested by Lipstadt and many of the defenders of Wilkomirski and Grabowski, I would say it is the idea that "happen" means something like "said, with emotion and apparent conviction, to happen," or perhaps "believed fervently to have happened," though both of these descriptions necessarily fall short, as I cannot empathize with the mentality involved. This interpretation is reinforced by the religious function played by the "Holocaust," which many have observed. Religious faith is self-validating, impervious to reason, and regards proposals to scientifically validate its claims as profane in all senses of the word.

In the recent film about Fred Leuchter, the Jew Van Pelt expresses offense that, by entering the ruins of a crematorium at Auschwitz, Leuchter had transgressed on "the holy of holies." That expression has a specific historical and liturgical meaning in Judaism as the "Kodesh Kadashim," being the most sacred chamber housing the Ark of the Covenant in, while the Jews were wandering, the Tabernacle, and later in the Temple, and which only the high priest could enter. [50] It is in that sense that one must interpret Elie Wiesel's remark "Let the gas chambers remain closed to prying eyes, and to imagination." [51] The Temple and the Ark no longer exist; some act as though the ruins at Auschwitz can substitute. In any case, no revisionist would qualify as the high priest.

That might be considered a neat explanation of our differences with the promoters of the legend, but after some consideration I can't accept it, at least not in its simplicity. For one thing, it is not simple. That I have given an interpretation in terms of religious myth may only seem to make the matter more familiar, but I think it has really made it more elusive. It is understood, of course,

that I am not speaking here of the historical problems; I am only trying to understand our adversaries.

The complication is that we think of religion as universal and other worldly. Judaism, by contrast, is a tribal religion of this world, in which contention with gentiles is a major ingredient, both in practice and in myth (for example, their “cheerfully reported genocidal wars”, as Wilson puts it [52]). As Kevin MacDonald writes, Judaism is among other things “a group evolutionary (and) reproductive strategy that facilitates resource competition by Jews with the gentile host society.” [53] We have nothing in our religious experiences that begins to resemble those of a Jew in relation to Judaism. I believe that, excluding from consideration some idiots, their idea of what it means for something to happen is about the same as ours, but there is a paucity of evidence for what they want to claim happened. As shown by the Laqueur book, the facts of the past do not support them, and they will avoid Laqueur’s path henceforth. However they do possess the present, politically. That is emphatically expressed in the Berenbaum outburst that opened this paper. A cold calculation shows that a strong weapon in promoting the legend is bawling “survivors” who will not be challenged because to do so would only increase the hurt to them. [54] Kosinski and Wilkomirski may be frauds but, hey, we don’t want people to develop a habit of reading such writings critically. That concern simmered, not very well hidden, in the defense of the “Ortho” award to Wilkomirski. People may even start wondering about Elie Wiesel, as did Alfred Kazin, who accused Wiesel, Primo Levi and Jerzy Kosinski “of ‘making a fortune off the Holocaust’ and inventing atrocities.” [55] They may even start wondering about those Auschwitz alleged eye witness testimonies, and the Auschwitz legend doesn’t have much else.

A variation on the “survivor” is the person who claims to have lost relatives. Usually the right answer to their challenge “What happened to them?” is “I don’t know.” That should end the exchange. In rare cases it may be possible, over time, to nail a liar. The case of Leo Laufer in Dallas comes to mind, but even in that case the nailing could not have been accomplished in a verbal exchange between strangers. [56]

In many circumstances it is better to possess the present than the past, but the whole point of history is the past. That is what revisionists talk about.

Now I will close by rendering my simple opinion on the Wilkomirski controversy: both sides were right, and the revisionists are right as well. To see how this can be possible, consider in analogy the revisionist assessment of a not very hypothetical debate on whether or not Hitler knew of an extermination program, a controversy that David Irving started in 1977 with his Hitler’s War. One side says the evidence shows that Hitler did not know. The other side argues that events on the scale of the “Holocaust” would have to have become known by Hitler. The two sides can’t possibly agree because they are both right and know it. Only the revisionist can explain why there is no contradiction in saying both are right, but only provided it is understood that the revisionist is right.

If I may return to Laqueur, a similar seeming contradiction arose as a paradox, because the same man held what appeared to him to be two contradictory opinions: mass exterminations at Auschwitz were a “terrible secret,” and mass exterminations at Auschwitz could not have been kept secret. Only the revisionist sees that there is no contradiction. Laqueur is right on both counts, but of course given his preconceptions he was unable to resolve the contradiction and left the subject. Again, the revisionist resolves the seeming contradiction.

Consider the dispute over the wartime role of Pope Pius XII. One side says he did nothing against the “Holocaust.” The other side says he gave as much help as reasonably possible to the

Jews. The dispute is illusory. Both sides are right, as is the revisionist, but only the revisionist has the key. There was no Holocaust for the Pope to act against.

Holocaust revisionism hovered constantly, usually in the background but there nevertheless, in the Wilkomirski controversy. Both sides were right, and of course the revisionists are right, with the new twist that the accusations hurled by the two sides explicitly accuse the other of helping the revisionists. One side says Wilkomirski is a phony; the other says his account emphatically sounds like those that have been accepted as authentic. The dispute is illusory. Both sides are right and so is the revisionist. All accounts comparable to Wilkomirski's are phony. One side says Wilkomirski is an impostor, and defense of him helps the revisionists. The other side says that, even if Wilkomirski is an impostor, rejection of him stains and discourages survivor testimony generally, giving rise "to a new revisionism"; for reasons I have explained that also helps the old revisionism. Both sides are right; the revisionist case is advanced however one reacts to Wilkomirski's fall after his brief dance in the ghoulish spotlight of Holocaustomania adulation.

Notes

1.  Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, "U.S.-German Agreement on the Transfer to German Control of Nazi Party Records in the Berlin Document Center," Hearing before the subcommittee on international security, international organizations and human affairs, April 28, 1994 (US Government Printing Office, 1994, ISBN 0-16-044867-0), p. 41.
2.  Comm. on Foreign Affairs, "U.S.-German Agreement ...," same source, pp. 42, 89.
3.  ADL on the Frontline, Sept. 1994, p. 15.
4.  Committee on Foreign Affairs, "U.S.-German Agreement ...," cited above.
5.  Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939-1945* (New York: Henry Holt, 1990), pp. 537, 542, 544, 723f, 812, 819.
6.  A. Strzelecki, "The Plunder of Victims and Their Corpses," in Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 257f.
7.  D. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, cited above, p. 812.
8.  Irving Horn, ed., *Berlin Document Center Library microfilms; annotated finding aid*, (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1998).
9.  Committee on Foreign Affairs, "U.S.-German Agreement ...," cited above, pp. 88f.
10.  "Ernst Gauss" (Germar Rudolf), ed., *Dissecting the Holocaust: The Growing Critique of "Truth" and Memory* (P.O. Box 64; Capshaw, Alabama 35742; USA; Theses and Dissertations Press, 2000; www.tadp.org) [Also available from the IHR.]
11.  Van Pelt dealt with the concept of "moral certainty" on pp. 8, 14, 183 and 218 of the pdf version of his report as posted on David Irving's web site at one time. I assume that the report will eventually be published as a book. The reports of Van Pelt and other Lipstadt witnesses are now posted on her web site. Take the "Evidence" link at <http://www.Holocaust-DenialOnTrial.org>.
12.  There are rarely literal "debates" in the sense of direct encounters; an exception is the Mark Weber — Michael Shermer debate in 1995. I am speaking of the implicit debates that occur when the two sides comment on the other's writings.
13.  Arthur R. Butz, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust Controversy,'" *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982 (vol. 3, no. 4), pp. 371-405. Posted on the IHR web site at www.ihr.org/jhr/v03/v03p371_Butz.html. This paper was originally delivered at the IHR conference in 1982. It has been subsequently reproduced as a supplement in recent print-

ings of my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. It has appeared recently in German (translated by the Swiss revisionist Jürgen Graf), in *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, Dec. 1999 (vol. 3, no. 4), pp. 393-410 (Castle Hill Publishers; PO Box 118; Hastings TN34 3ZQ; England); this German translation has been posted on Germar Rudolf's web site at <http://vho.org/VffG/1999/4/Butz391-410.html>. A French translation is also to be found there at <http://www.vho.org/F/j/RHR/2/Butz87-137.html>. An Italian translation, "Contesto storico e prospettiva d'insieme nella controversia dell 'Olocausto'," was published in 1999 by Graphos; Campetto 4; 16123 Genoa, Italy.

14.  See Germar Rudolf's recent comments at www.vho.org/GB/Contributions/RudolfOnVanPelt.html.
15.  Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), pp. 16, 53.
16.  A. R. Butz, "Some Thoughts on Pressac's Opus," *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, pp. 23-37.
17.  J. Markiewicz, W. Gubala and J. Labedz, "A study of the cyanide compounds content in the walls of the gas chambers in the former Auschwitz and Birkenau concentration camps," *Z. Zagadnien Nauk Sadowych*, vol. 30, 1994, pp. 17-27. I assume the report is still available from the Dept. of Forensic Toxicology, Institute of Forensic Research in Cracow; Westerplatte St. 9; 31-033 Cracow; Poland. See Germar Rudolf's discussion at www.vho.org/GB/Contributions/Fraudulent.html. Rudolf considers the Polish report "one of the big scientific frauds of the twentieth century." I wouldn't grant it even that much dignity.
18.  A. R. Butz, "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust Controversy,'" *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, cited above.
19.  Michael Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1994, pp. 32-57. See also: Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying History* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 2000).
20.  Edward O. Wilson, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), esp. pp. 8-12, 266+.
21.  A. R. Butz, "Context and Perspective ...," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, cited above.
22.  M. Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1994, cited above, p. 48. Shermer gives the slightly erroneous date January 1937. His source is Peter Padfield, *Himmler: Reichsführer-SS*, (New York: Henry Holt, 1991), pp. 185, 188. Padfield gives as source US National Archives microfilm class T-175, Roll 89, frames 1869ff.
23.  A. R. Butz, *The Hoax*, cited above, p. 73.
24.  M. Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, 1994, cited above, pp. 51f.
25.  M. Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic*, 1994, cited above, pp. 44ff.
26.  David Irving, *Hitler's War* (New York: Viking, 1977), p. 867.
27.  A. R. Butz, *The Hoax*, cited above, pp. 62-66, 78.
28.  A. R. Butz, "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1997 (vol. 1, no. 4), pp. 20-23. A more recent version is to be found at my web site <http://pubweb.northwestern.edu/~abutz/di/dau/vk.html>. The paper first appeared on the web on August 6, 1996.
29.  Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), cited above, p. 217. J.-C. Pressac and R.-J. Van Pelt, "The Machinery of Mass Murder at Auschwitz," in Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1994), p. 227.

30. [↗](#) My views on this problem, also discussed by Van Pelt, were first expressed on my web site (<http://pubweb.northwestern.edu/~abutz/di/dau/detect.html>) on March 4, 1997, and published in revised form in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1997, pp. 24-30. See Carlo Mattogno's related article at www.codoh.com/gcgv/gcgvpruf.html. Mattogno does a rather more thorough job than I did in showing that the desired gas detectors could not have had anything to do with Zyklon, but his conclusion, that the document in question is a forgery, is not mine.
31. [↗](#) A. R. Butz, "Context and Perspective ...," *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1982, cited above.
32. [↗](#) *Daily Northwestern*, November 17, 1989, pp. 1,6. In the *Daily Northwestern*, Nov. 28, 1989, p. 6, campus Hillel Rabbi Michael Balinsky claimed that the "poor acoustics ... prevented the speaker, Saul Friedländer, and others from realizing who had asked the question. I immediately called out in a loud voice that it was Butz, and Friedländer responded that he would not answer the question." That was a lie. The acoustics were excellent and indeed after I identified myself there was a general gasping by the audience, shocked that I was there. The gasping had died down however when I asked my question, which Friedländer heard in its entirety. However Balinsky was correct in saying that Friedländer refused to answer after Balinsky interrupted, rising without recognition to tell Friedländer, not that it was Butz, but that there was no need to answer Butz. There was an unusually long time interval between the publication of Balinsky's letter on Nov. 28, and the Nov. 17 editorial he was responding to. This may be explained by the fact that the Tuesday, Nov. 28 issue of the student newspaper was nearly the last for the calendar year, as final examinations and the Christmas break loomed. I wrote a letter in reply, but of course by the time publication was resumed in early January the matter was passé, so the letter was not published and Balinsky's lie went unchallenged. That probably explains the "unusually long time interval."
33. [↗](#) *The New York Times*, Dec. 29, 1999, p. E5. [See also: "Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1998, pp. 15-16.]
34. [↗](#) E. Lappin, "The Man With Two Heads," *Granta*, no. 66, Summer 1999, pp. 7-65.
35. [↗](#) See the Christian magazine *Cornerstone* (ISSN 0275-2743), vol. 28, no. 117 (1999), pp. 12-16,18. It was posted at *Cornerstone Magazine Online* (www.cornerstonemag.com/home.htm) on Oct. 13, 1999, and reported in the Jewish weekly *Forward*, Oct. 15, 1999, p. 1.
36. [↗](#) I discussed the Talmudic features of the Holocaust yarns in *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp. 246f. Wiesel has been immersed in Talmud, as discussed in *The New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1989, in a review of a PBS — TV interview of Wiesel, and as discussed in the *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 31, 1995, book review section, pp. 1f.
37. [↗](#) Robert Faurisson, "A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel," Oct. 1993, reproduced at <http://ihr.org/leaflets/wiesel.html>.
38. [↗](#) *Forward* (New York), Sept. 18, 1998, p. 1.
39. [↗](#) N. Finkelstein, "The Holocaust Industry," *Index on Censorship* (London), April 2000, Issue 2/2000, pp. 120+. See also his recent book, *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering* (London and New York: Verso, 2000), esp. pp. 55-58.
40. [↗](#) *Forward*, Sept. 18, 1998, p 1.
41. [↗](#) The quoted material about Rosenberg was in *Forward*, March 17, 2000, p. 1.
42. [↗](#) *Forward*, March 19, 1999, p. 1; April 9, 1999, p. 2; *The Nation*, April 19, 1999, pp. 34-38. Peskin's article entitled "Memory and Media," in *Readings: A Journal of Reviews and Commentary in Mental Health* (a publication of the Ortho), Dec. 1999, pp. 18-23, is remarkable in attempting to discredit the motives of Wilkomirski's detractors, and the effects of their actions. This article places him unambiguously in the camp of those who say that

Wilkomirski's real identity is unimportant, because he has contributed greatly to increase awareness where it is needed.

43. ♪ Forward, April 16, 1999, p. 20.
44. ♪ I discuss this at <http://pubweb.northwestern.edu/~abutz/di/dj/jpwar.html> and <http://pubweb.northwestern.edu/~abutz/di/dj/jkrak.html>.
45. ♪ The New York Times, June 16, 1996, sec. 2, p. 6; June 21, 1996, p. C1; July 5, 1997, p. 11. I have not seen this play but I can't resist passing along some information from the review of June 21, 1996. The revisionist in the play is a certain Garner Globalis who "belongs to a Midwestern think tank that exists to disprove that the Holocaust ever took place." In one scene Globalis, confronting camp survivor Stella, "kisses the number tattooed on Stella's arm, promising a sensual erasure of all that number signifies."
46. ♪ Commentary, June 1999, p. 7.
47. ♪ Adelaide Institute (newsletter, ISSN 1440-9828), no. 82, Nov. 1998, p. 1. Reproduced in The Journal of Historical Review, Nov.-Dec. 1998 (vol. 17, no. 6), pp. 2f.
48. ♪ She expressed the view in a January 16, 2000, CNN program on the Irving trial. Tom Segev, in an article in the English edition of Ha'aretz, February 4, 2000, reported her belief that when "there will be no more survivors left ... the influence of the Holocaust deniers is liable to increase." The same view was attributed to her in an article by Elli Wohlgelehter in the Jerusalem Post, Sept. 24, 1999, "Friday" section, p. B5; my book The Hoax of the Twentieth Century is described as "the turning point" in the development of Holocaust revisionism ("Holocaust denial" to Lipstadt).
49. ♪ Newsday (Long Island), Dec. 6, 1999, p. A13. Dwork's argument is self-promoting. She thinks that academic programs such as hers must get more support to compensate for gradually disappearing survivors: "the actuarial tables are an extra strong argument for the establishment of serious scholarship in academia."
50. ♪ Dagobert D. Runes, Concise Dictionary of Judaism (New York: Philosophical Library, 1966), pp. 65, 114.
51. ♪ Elie Wiesel, All Rivers Run to the Sea. Memoirs (New York: Random House, 1995), p. 74.
52. ♪ E. O. Wilson, Consilience (1998), cited above, p. 6.
53. ♪ Kevin MacDonald, A People That Shall Dwell Alone.: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy, (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994), pp. ix-x. Related books by MacDonald are The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements (Praeger, 1998), and Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism (Praeger, 1998) [Reviewed in the May-June 1998 Journal of Historical Review, pp. 28-27.]
54. ♪ I once used this strategy myself. Among the many lies I told when I was a child, there was one I told a teacher once. I don't remember the specific circumstances or the teacher, but my problem had to do with a failure to do something. My excuse was "death in the family." I got away with it, as the teacher did not want to risk increasing my hurt. I had probably picked up the tactic from a radio program or movie. I plead that I am sure I used the trick only once, and was ashamed of it. Our enemies use it over and over in promoting their extermination legend. The existence of such protestations of hurt is also used to argue that revisionists should not be heard or published. For example Northwestern University history professor Peter Hayes assumed a gutter posture when he told a meeting of students that "he sympathizes with students who might show up to heckle" me if I were to give a lecture on Holocaust revisionism, since "We're talking about something that people who live around here have relatives and loved ones involved in." Daily Northwestern, May 1, 1991, p. 5.

55. ☞ Chicago Tribune, Dec. 31, 1995, book review section, pp. 1f.
56. ☞ Leo Laufer, a Dallas man, read a column in 1977 about my book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* and wrote a letter to the editor (Dallas Times-Herald, Feb. 10, 1977, p. B3. This newspaper is now defunct.). He said he spent two years as an inmate at Auschwitz, and repeated the long discredited yarn that the Germans made soap out of Jews, claiming even that he was still in possession of samples of this soap. He also made a claim that would normally be impossible to discredit. He said he “lost (his) entire family of two brothers, three sisters, (his) father and mother, and aunts and uncles.” Such a claim can carry some weight in public controversy, because of course nobody wants to contradict a stranger about the history of his own family. However that was not the end of the matter. In 1994 Laufer wrote another letter (Dallas Morning News, April 20, 1994, p. 18A.). There he described himself as “a Holocaust survivor who lost the entire family — father, mother, three brothers, four sisters and not counting hundreds of family members.” His story gained two dead siblings in the interim.
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This article, copyright (c) by A.R. Butz, is slightly revised from his address delivered on May 27, 2000, at the 13th IHR Conference, in Irvine, California.

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John Sack's Defective *Esquire* Article

Mark Weber

An important sign that Holocaust revisionism is having a greater impact on society at large is the seemingly more respectful coverage that revisionists are receiving in the mainstream media. One example is the detailed, objectively written report on the May 2000 Institute for Historical Review Conference that appeared in the Los Angeles Times (May 30), one of America's most influential daily papers. Written by a veteran journalist who attended the entire three-day gathering, the 40-column-inch article enraged Jewish community figures. (See the detailed report, "Thirteenth IHR Conference: A Resounding Success," in the May-June 2000 Journal.)

A more recent example of such coverage is an eleven-page article in the February 2001 issue of *Esquire*, a slick, literate and prestigious monthly magazine with a national circulation of some 600,000. Written by seasoned journalist and author John Sack, "Inside the Bunker" is based largely on the Jewish author's observations and role as a speaker at the May 2000 IHR Conference in Irvine, California.

Opinion within the revisionist community about this first-person article has ranged from joyful approval to disgust. Among its positive features, Sack contrasts the open-mindedness of revisionists with the bigotry and hatred he's found at Jewish gatherings, deftly deflating such sanctimonious icons as Elie Wiesel and Edgar Bronfman:

Despite their take on the Holocaust, they [revisionists] were affable, open-minded, intelligent, intellectual. Their eyes weren't fires of unapproachable certitude and their lips weren't lemon twists of astringent hate. Nazis and neo-Nazis they didn't seem to be. Nor did they seem anti-Semites ...

... I wanted to say something therapeutic [at the IHR Conference], to say something about hate. At the hotel [where the Conference took place], I'd seen none of it, certainly less than I'd seen when Jews were speaking of Germans. No one had ever said anything remotely like Elie Wiesel, "Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set aside a zone of hate — healthy, virile hate — for what persists in the Germans," and no one had said anything like Edgar Bronfman, the president of the World Jewish Congress. A shocked professor told Bronfman once, "You're teaching a whole generation to hate thousands of Germans," and Bronfman replied, "No, I'm teaching a whole generation to hate millions of Germans." Jew hatred like that German hatred, or like the German hatred I saw on every page of [Daniel Goldhagen's] *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, I saw absolutely none of...

Sack also acknowledges that many specific points made over the years by revisionists ("deniers") are, indeed, true:

... The Holocaust deniers say — and they're right — that one Auschwitz commandant [Rudolf Höss] confessed after he was tortured and that the other [Holocaust] reports are full of bias, rumors, exaggerations and other preposterous matters, to quote the editor of a Jewish magazine five years after the war. The deniers say, and again they're right, that the commandants, doctors, SS, and Jews at Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, and whole alphabet of camps testified after the war that there were cyanide chambers at those camps that all historians today refute.

Sack takes note of the way in which the Holocaust campaign has skewed our historical perspective:

Americans who don't know if one hundred thousand, two hundred thousand or one million of our own soldiers died (and certainly don't know that fifty million people died in China) know exactly how many Jews died in World War II. Once, said Michael Berenbaum, the former research director of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, "the Holocaust was a side story of World War II. Now one thinks of World War II as a background story [to] the Holocaust." Among many ways Jewish leaders accomplished this was to tap out an SOS, an all-points alarm, whenever in any dark corner they spotted a knavish denier.

Also here, perhaps for the first time ever, a nationally-circulated American magazine disapprovingly informs readers that in a number of countries individuals are routinely fined, jailed, and driven into exile for expressing views on Second World War history that, in at least some cases, are demonstrably true. Writes Sack:

Sixteen ... [revisionist] speakers spoke ... [at the IHR Conference] and I'd counted six who'd run afoul of the law because of their disbelief in the Holocaust and the death apparatus in Auschwitz. To profess this in anyone's earshot is illegal not just in Germany but in Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Poland and Israel, where denying the Holocaust can get you five years, while denying God can get you just one. One speaker, David Irving, had been fined \$18,000 for saying aloud in Germany that one of the cyanide chambers at Auschwitz is a replica built by the Poles after the war. A replica it truly is, but truth in these matters is no defense in Germany. Another speaker, a Frenchman, had been fined in France, and another speaker, a German, had been sentenced to fourteen months in Germany ... but had fled to England. Another speaker, an Australian, had come from seven months in a German jail for writing in Australia (alas, on the Internet, which Germans in Germany can read) that there were no cyanide chambers in Auschwitz... The fifth speaker was a Swiss, a man ... who'll go to jail for three months in Switzerland for questioning the Auschwitz cyanide chambers.

On the debit side, Sack's *Esquire* article contains such errors or distortions of reality that it amounts to deceit. Already in the opening sentences, which set the tone of the entire piece, he takes a gratuitous and untrue swipe at the IHR, calling it "the central asylum for the delusion that the Germans didn't kill any Jews and that the Holocaust is, quote unquote, the Hoax of the Twentieth Century..." Throughout his patronizing piece, Sack uses the epithet "deniers" to refer to Holocaust revisionists or skeptics.

Sack's half-humorously mentions the IHR's conference security measures as if they were an expression of groundless paranoia. In fact, Jewish thugs — most notably, the band of Zionist misfits who call themselves the Jewish Defense League — have threatened, harassed, and intimi-

dated several hotels into canceling IHR meetings. Similarly unmentioned by Sack is the July 4, 1984, arson attack that devastated the IHR's offices and warehouse.

Sack refers to several revisionist scholars who addressed the IHR Conference — Robert Faurisson, Germar Rudolf, Jürgen Graf and Fredrick Töben — but without mentioning their names. Similarly, none of the three IHR staff members who addressed the Conference is mentioned by name. Also ignored is former Congressman Pete McCloskey, who in his banquet address spoke in detail about Jewish-Zionist censorship, lies and underhanded manipulations.

Instead, Sack devotes considerable attention to Charles Provan, a forthright and diligent part-time historical researcher who runs a printing business in a small town in western Pennsylvania. Contrary to the impression given by Sack, Provan is actually a peripheral figure in the Holocaust debate.

Misleading Photographs

For many people, perhaps most, the first and strongest impression of any magazine article is made by the accompanying pictures. In this case the four large color photographs that illustrate Sack's article are about as misleading as pictures can be. While Sack describes revisionists as "affable, open-minded, intelligent, intellectual," the photographs portray them as odd, unfriendly and vaguely sinister. Everyone looks grim. No one is smiling.

Leading off the article is a full-page photograph of Charles Provan with his wife and seven of their ten children. They look like a poverty-stricken, intellectually challenged clan from the "Deliverance" backwoods of Georgia. Even the youngsters are frowning, and two are barefoot.

Whereas Sack describes Ernst Zündel, accurately, as "eternally jolly," a large photograph shows him scowling and hostile, seated in a sinisterly lighted car next to an equally unsmiling Ingrid Rimland. This may well be the most unrepresentative picture of Zündel ever to appear in print.

Probably the greatest failing of Sack's article is to portray Holocaust revisionism as a semi-cultic fellowship of belief. Even though, as already noted, he grants that many specific revisionist arguments or points are valid, Sack simply ignores the impressive body of well-researched scholarship that girds revisionist skepticism. He compares reasoned, well-grounded skepticism of fantastic Holocaust claims to his own frivolous belief that living dinosaurs today roam hidden valleys somewhere in central Africa.

In the years to come, there will doubtless be more articles and books similar to Sack's Esquire contribution — a piece that, in spite of its errors and defects, is another basically positive landmark in a protracted struggle.

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John Schmitz, RIP

Mark Weber

A good friend of the Institute for Historical Review, John Schmitz, has died. The former US Congressman, Marine Corps officer and political science teacher is remembered with respect by both friend and foe alike as an articulate, witty and fervent champion of his conservative principles.

He died of cancer on January 10, 2001, at the National Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, Maryland, surrounded by his family. He was 70. His body was laid to rest with military honors at Arlington National Cemetery.

Schmitz attended at least two IHR Conferences, and was a subscriber for many years to the IHR's Journal of Historical Review. From time to time bought extra copies to give away to friends.

He provided crucial help to the Institute during the difficult Ninth IHR Conference in February 1989. A day before the meeting was set to begin, the southern California hotel where it was to be held cancelled the contract, caving in to threats and intimidation by the Jewish Defense League (JDL). Another hotel was quickly found, but it too succumbed to JDL intimidation. Following the two cancellations, and with no alternative hotel willing to stand up to JDL threats, the speakers and attendees who were arriving from across the country and abroad had no place to meet. It seemed that the Conference might be cancelled just as it was to begin. In this emergency, Schmitz contacted Joe Bischof, a friend who owned the Old World shopping center in nearby Huntington Beach. Bischof graciously offered his facilities, and the Ninth IHR Conference — one of the most spirited ever — was held in a packed basement meeting room, in spite of continued harassment by JDL thugs.

Also in 1989, when the IHR suddenly needed a lawyer to replace one who had abruptly quit, it was Schmitz who recommended his friend, Bill Hulsy, who ever since has served as the IHR's main corporate attorney. (Bill Hulsy and his wife, Karen, had been long-time friends of the Schmitz's, who were god-parents of the Hulsys' daughter.)

John George Schmitz was born in August 1930 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the US Marine Corps in 1952. After earning his pilot wings in 1954, he was assigned to a base in North Carolina, flying F2H4 Banshees and F9F8 Cougars in the first operational Marine Corps jet fighter squadron. He subsequently qualified as a helicopter pilot, served as officer in charge of a unit in Mt. Fuji, Japan. For a time he lectured on Communism at the Fleet Marine Force Pacific Leadership School at the El Toro Marine Corps base in southern California. In the Reserves, he rose to the rank of Colonel, and served as commanding officer of a unit at the El Toro base.

He first made headlines in 1962 while stationed in southern California as a Marine officer. With nothing more than the sheer authority of his voice, he disarmed an attacker who was stabbing a woman near the El Toro base.

His career in public service — which would eventually span 18 years — began in 1964 when, at the age of 34, he was elected as the Republican state senator from Orange County, then nationally known as a conservative bastion. He was reelected two years later.

In 1970 he easily won election as Orange County's US Congressional representative. In Washington, DC, where he served on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and on the House Internal Security Committee, he quickly established himself as a one of the country's most articulate and outspokenly right-wing political figures. A writer for a San Diego newspaper remarked: "Schmitz has developed a reputation as a respected adversary, even though still the greenest of freshmen under House seniority rules. And even some liberal opponents begrudgingly give him credit for providing light moments in a city that has too few of them."

Throughout his political career, Schmitz was a steadfast supporter of such causes as limited government, states' rights, and a strong national defense, and a staunch opponent of abortion and Communism. When asked about his principled conservatism, Schmitz explained that the "middle of the road" is determined by how far either side, left or right, is willing to push.

Political supporters and opponents alike respected and even admired John Schmitz the man. A close friend and colleague summed up:

Schmitz is not a man to make enemies easily. Unlike many with firm and unyielding principles, he can disagree without being disagreeable. He has won the grudging respect even of political foes. With all who share his deep and abiding concern about the future of individual liberty in America, he accentuates common interests while stirring admiration for his refusal to compromise on fundamentals... A constant imp of humor leavens his earnestness and dogged sense of purpose. Few who meet him can dislike him.

On the occasion of his death, the Chairman of the Orange County Republican Party said: "His sense of humor, intelligence and enthusiasm will long be remembered by his Orange County friends."

Schmitz is perhaps best remembered for his colorful 1972 bid for the US presidency as the candidate of the American Party. After a boisterous campaign, he received 1.1 million votes in 32 states. Political commentator Michael Barone observed that he distinguished himself with his direct talk and "puckishly humorous" wit. For example, commenting on Richard Nixon's famous 1972 visit to China, he quipped: "I have no objection to President Nixon going to China. I just object to his coming back." When asked about Nixon's Defense Secretary, Melvin Laird, Schmitz said that he had no complaint, adding: "Of course, Otto von Bismarck was my first choice."

During the 1972 campaign, he often repeated his simple, three-point platform: One, in foreign affairs, we should always treat our friends better than our enemies; Two, never go to war unless you plan on winning; Three, domestically, those who work ought to live better than those who won't.

In 1978 he returned to the California state senate after election as a Republican representing Newport Beach.

Schmitz' sometimes tragic personal and family life also made headlines. His political career came to sudden end in 1982 after it was revealed that he had a pregnant mistress and 15-month old son by the woman, who had been his student in a political science class he taught at Santa Ana College. In 1997 one of his daughters, Mary Kay LeToureau, a married teacher in Washington state at the time, was convicted of carrying on a sexual relationship with a 13-year-old pupil, by whom she eventually had two children.

Schmitz received a Bachelor's degree from Marquette University in 1952 with a major in philosophy and a minor in history, and, after attending night classes, a Master's degree in 1960 from California State University at Long Beach. He was a Ph.D. candidate in Political Philosophy at Claremont Graduate School, and did a sabbatical at Georgetown University. Following his active duty in the Marine Corps and throughout his years of elected public service, he taught political science and philosophy at Santa Ana College in southern California, retiring as a professor in 1990.

Among his publications are two books: *The Viet Cong Front in the United States* (1971); and *Stranger in the Arena: The Anatomy of an Amoral Decade 1964-1974* (1974). He also wrote the Introduction to Gary Allen's best-seller, *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* (1971).

Schmitz also played the violin, was an able political cartoonist, and painter of Orange County seascapes. He was a devout Roman Catholic. In recent years he devoted much time to the family-owned vineyard, "Chapelle Charlemagne," in Rappahannock County, Virginia.

John and his wife of 47 years, Mary, had seven children. Two of their sons are lawyers in the Washington, DC, area. In addition to his wife and children, Schmitz is survived by numerous grand-children, as well as five brothers and sisters in the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, area.

He will be missed by his many friends and admirers.

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Foreword to the Arabic Edition of Garaudy's The Founding Myths of Modern Israel

Mohamed Hasanein Heikal

Whereas "Holocaust denial" is a crime in France, Germany and some other European countries, skepticism of the familiar Six Million story is widespread in Arab and Muslim countries. Gamal Abdel Nasser, the charismatic Egyptian president and pan-Arab leader, said in a 1964 interview: "No one, not even the simplest man in our country, takes seriously the lie about six million murdered Jews." More recently this skepticism was manifest in an outpouring of support from across the Muslim world for French scholar Roger Garaudy when he was brought before a Paris court for daring to challenge Holocaust claims in his book on Israel's "Founding Myths." (See T. O'Keefe, "Origin and Enduring Impact of the 'Garaudy Affair'," July-August 1999 Journal.)

Mohamed Heikal has for decades been widely acknowledged as the most influential journalist in the Arab world. Under his editorship, the Cairo daily Al Ahram became one of the world's most often quoted newspapers. His weekly column in the influential paper was eagerly read as a reliable reflection of informed and official opinion in Egypt.

Born in Cairo in 1923, he was for years a personal friend of Gamel Nasser, and served as a cabinet minister in President Nasser's government. A skillful writer and leading Arab authority on contemporary Middle East politics, Heikal is the author of numerous books, several of which have been published in English.

Because of his international stature, it is significant that he not only agreed to contribute a foreword to the Arabic edition of Garaudy's controversial book, but that in doing so he endorsed the revisionist view of the Holocaust issue. (The Arabic-language edition of Garaudy's Founding Myths, translated from French by Mohammad Hisham, was published in Cairo in 1998 by Dar Al-Shurooq. The Founding Myths of Modern Israel is published in the US by the Institute for Historical Review.)

Here is the complete text of Mohamed Heikal's foreword, translated for The Journal of Historical Review by Dr. Abdullah M. Sindi, an author (The Arabs and the West: The Contributions and the Inflections) and Journal contributor ("How the Jewish-Zionist Grip on American Film and Television Promotes Bias Against Arabs and Muslims," in the Sept.-Oct. 1998 Journal), and by E. G. Mueller, an Arab studies specialist who translated "Foiling Espionage in Berlin Radio's Arabic Service," in the Jan.-Feb. 2000 Journal.

I don't exactly know how to present this book to Arabic readers. I want to recommend it. Yet I don't want to get involved in a discussion of its contents — something that writing a foreword usually entails.

I would have preferred that this book in particular not include a foreword written by someone other than the author. Some manuscripts — including this book — can do very well without them. In fact, it is possible that a foreword can become a burden on a book rather than a support for it.

In such cases the forewords, directly or indirectly, offer an interpretation of the book according to the bias of the person writing the foreword. Such a slanted interpretation can sometimes distort a work's message. This is a sensitive matter in the case of a book such as this: *The Founding Myths of*

Modern Israel by Mr. Roger Garaudy. This is a collection of Zionist myths summarized by Garaudy as follows:

1. The "Promised Land" for Jews in Palestine
2. The Jews as God's Chosen People
3. A "Land Without People for a People Without a Land"
4. The Nazi Holocaust
5. The Jewish faith and political Zionism, and the distinction between the two

In his presentation of these founding myths of Israeli policy and the state of Israel, Garaudy did not author a book in the traditional sense, but rather was careful to weave events into a fabric of facts. The author's task in such a case is to act like a loom, stretching the threads horizontally and vertically to create an expanse of material that can be looked at, studied, and examined for its cohesiveness and tenacity.

In relating each of these founding myths of Israeli policy, Garaudy did not want to discuss or contradict them himself. Instead he drew the facts out of the primary sources and the original documents and let them speak for themselves, and follow their logical courses to reach their own natural conclusions by themselves.

There were others, in fact, before Mr. Garaudy, who tried to approach this subject. Yet he surpasses them in the comprehensive way by which he deals with all the Israeli myths. All Garaudy's predecessors, at least so far as I know, concentrated on a single myth. Most of the focus was on the Nazi holocaust, which according to Israeli myth claimed six million Jewish victims alone. Perhaps the furor that has surrounded this myth in particular stems from the struggle between the European conscience or feeling of guilt, on the one hand, and on the other, the attempt by Zionists to put pressure on that conscience and torture it for the benefit of their own project.

It was natural for the European conscience to try to seek the truth and to put this period in its proper place in the context of human history. On the other hand, it was also natural for the Zionist movement to do its utmost in order to put Israel where it wanted it to be on the map of the Middle East!

I have been following these battles ever since I read *Far and Wide*, a book by Douglas Reed that was published in the United States in 1947 [1951]. Reed was one of the most prominent British

journalists who covered World War II. After the war, the legend of the Nazi Holocaust and its promotion, particularly in the US, attracted Reed's attention. Reed's approach in discussing this myth in practice was based primarily on demographic data and what they pointed to. Such data, Reed felt, do not lie. He cited the statistics of the League of Nations on the number of Jews in the world in 1938, the last annual report of this global organization before World War II. Then he compared those data with the figures found in the first post-war population statistics published in 1947 by the United Nations — the organization that replaced the League of Nations. The comparison revealed that the number of Jews in the world after the war of 1939-1945 was the same as it had been before the war — just under eleven million persons.

Douglas Reed estimated that the number of the victims of the Nazi holocaust — which had indeed occurred — did not exceed 300,000 or 400,000 — the range of natural growth of the Jewish population over a period of seven or eight years.

This is, in any case, a dreadful figure — enough not only to torture the European conscience, but that of all humanity. Nevertheless the Jews were not the ones who sacrificed the most victims in the Nazi inferno; more were Germans themselves, and Russians, Poles, and Gypsies. (And then there were the Palestinians, who were blameless, but who were forced by the Zionist movement to atone for the guilt that weighed on German and European consciences. It fell on them to pay that debt with compound interest many times over, and to pay with their native homeland of Palestine itself, their history, land, people, and future!)

Douglas Reed was subjected to a vicious campaign. His book disappeared from libraries and bookstores. He himself vanished from journalistic life and from public life as a whole, buried in oblivion!

Later I was able to see for myself — and not just by reading — what happened to the meticulous British historian David Irving. By chance I witnessed the vicious physical beating he received [on July 12, 1992] while eating breakfast at the Richoux restaurant in South Audley Street in London, near the Egyptian Embassy. The reason for this beating was not that David Irving wrote about the Nazi holocaust, but that he spent time investigating and researching it. It became widely known in many circles that he was on the verge of finding the truth, because he had obtained access before everyone else to the Soviet archives, whose vaults held the real secrets of the Nazi holocaust due to the circumstances surrounding the end of the war.

For it was the Soviet army that marched into Poland to pursue and chase out the Nazi army in 1944. Since more than 80 percent of pre-World War II Jewry had been living in Poland, the most important and famous of all Nazi camps for Jews, such as Dachau [sic], Auschwitz and Treblinka, were on Polish territory. Accordingly, it was the Soviet military that entered them, and were the first to uncover and observe their secret contents. Later, all of the documents of the camps with all their secrets came to rest in the vaults of the Soviet state archives, which the state then closed and locked, just as it closed and locked everything else. Finally the doors to these archives were opened to Irving, when the grip of that state loosened and its power collapsed due to the decay and collapse of the Soviet state itself.

David Irving knew where and how to dig out the secrets of the Nazi holocaust. His feet trod the damp corridors and his hands reached for the shelves and into the drawers!

An angry storm erupted against Irving and escalated so far that he was harassed and physically assaulted in the street. There was incitement against him that went so far as a boycott. All of this occurred before he had written up his findings in a book. It was enough that he had come the closest of all researchers to the truth by using sources that were more precise and more accurate.

Apparently the evidence David Irving turned up led one to conclusions similar to those reached by Douglas Reed. In other words, the comparison of the figures published by the old League of Nations with those of the post-war United Nations — and also the figures that could be extracted from the Soviet archive material were all notably similar. Thus it is probable — perhaps certain — that between 300,000 and 400,000 Jews paid with their lives as a result of the insane notion of racial purity that led to the Nazi madness.

Still, it is evident that even within the limits of these figures it is humanely and even politically possible for the Arab mind to realize two facts:

First, that there was indeed a tragedy inflicted on the Jews in Europe under Nazi rule (and also before it). It is not acceptable fundamentally to deny the tragedy just because Israel uses it to camouflage and cover up another, even more catastrophic tragedy: that perpetrated by Israel on the Arabs of Palestine, whose people were killed and whose homeland was stolen.

Second, that the “myth” of the holocaust plays a real role in the existence and subconscious of contemporary Jews. It is therefore a dangerous mistake to leave the true part of the holocaust story to the scheming of the Zionist movement, so that it can be exploited as myths have usually been exploited throughout history.

All through history — and this is the difference between myth and general tall tales and fairy stories — the raw material of myth has been extracted from the convolutions of the distant or recent past to be remade and reconstructed for the purpose of carrying out its assigned task. The task of myth has always been to mobilize people. Mobilization is a preparation for confrontation, while confrontation is preparation for struggle, and the struggle that follows is simply a ready description of war. Hence, myth is often haunted by the specter of a fighter, and in some circumstances this spectral fighter is better able to kill than a real cavalier is able to fight.

Perhaps it was the desire to distinguish between history and its facts, on the one hand, and the myths and their specters, on the other, that moved an Arab intellectual of the stature of Edward Said to demand that the Arabs acknowledge the holocaust. He believes that this is the only way to “banish the specter,” allowing the facts of history to remain as much as possible, while the effects of myth could be removed from it — at least as much as possible.

There have been other writers and historians who have tackled other founding myths of the Israeli policy, particularly the myth of “a land without a people for a people without land.” Their writings, however, did not set off as many battles as have been sparked by the subject of the holocaust. The reasons for this could be understood in the fact that these writings were part of political or moral debates that lacked the heat of the tragedy or the flame of the holocaust. In addition, none of these writings evoked that confrontation between a tortured European conscience, trying to place facts in their proper places, on the one hand, and a Zionist movement that exploits the pains of the whole of humanity in order to put Israel on the map of the Middle East!

Professor Garaudy’s attempt has finally come, all the same. And he has made it a much more difficult battle because he did not tackle just one myth, but all the myths at once.

He did not publish a book, but rather wove a complete tapestry out of the fabric of events.

The most distinguishing feature of Garaudy’s attempt, though, is that it comes from a man who knows what awaits him and is well prepared for it in advance. In addition, with his notoriety and stature, he is not a man who could be easily buried in oblivion, as happened to Douglas Reed, for example, or be beaten and boycotted, as happened to David Irving.

Even so, it has been proved that when confronting Zionist power no one is impregnable and there are no guarantees. Yet, to judge from the long discussion I had with him in Cairo recently, Garaudy knows the danger that faces him and I saw that he was ready for it. It was strange for me to see this man who has passed the 85th year of his life, not only ready for danger, but even relishing it. That is one of the traits of courage. To choose a course where danger is known to be waiting is different from accidentally leaping into its path. The first situation is a case of bravery, while the second is a sign of foolishness, and there is a great distance between the two!

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Douglas Reed

Mark Weber

As Egyptian journalist Mohamed Heikal notes in his foreword to the Arabic edition of Garaudy's *Founding Myths*, Douglas Reed was a very influential writer who was later consigned to public oblivion for writing frankly about Zionist power.

Born in Britain in 1895, Reed began working at the age of 13 as an office boy. At age 19 he worked as a bank clerk until enlisting in the British army at the outbreak of the First World War. At the age of 26, and "relatively unschooled" (as he once described himself), he began working for the *London Times* as a telephonist and clerk. He reached journalism at the age of 30 as a sub-editor. Three years later he was the venerable paper's assistant correspondent in Berlin, before transferring to Vienna as its chief central European correspondent. He went on to report, as a *Times* correspondent, from Warsaw, Moscow, Prague, Athens, Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest and other European centers.

He left *The Times* in 1938, almost simultaneously with the publication of his book *Insanity Fair*, which sold very well (including its US edition), and brought him world fame. He later wrote: "I let off all this pent-up steam and said just what I thought about the coming war and the folks who were letting it happen in a book, *Insanity Fair*." A year later came another bestseller, *Disgrace Abounding*, and then others, including *Prophet at Home*, *All Our Tomorrows*, *Lest We Regret*, and *Somewhere South of Suez*. Reed also found time to write four novels and a play.

He provided readers with elegantly-crafted reporting and analysis based on seasoned but common-sense observations of the international scene. Although he addressed all the major issues of the day, it was his forthright writing on the machinations and impact of the Zionist movement that got him into trouble. In *Somewhere South of Suez* (London: 1950), for example, he wrote:

... During all that period and to the present time, it was not possible freely to report or discuss a third vital matter: Zionist Nationalism. In this case the freedom of the press has become a fallacy during the past two decades ... When I came to America I found that this ban, for such it is in practice, prevailed even more rigidly than in my own country... In daily usage, no American or British newspaper, apparently, now dares to print a line of news or comment unfavorable to the Zionist ambition ... The inference to me is plain: the Zionist Nationalists are powerful enough to govern governments in the great countries of the remaining West!

In his next book *Far and Wide* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1951), Reed took a skeptical look at the much-hyped Jewish-Zionist claims of six million Jewish wartime deaths. He wrote:

During the Second World War I noticed that the figures of Jewish losses, in places where war made verification impossible, were being irresponsibly inflated, and said so in a book. The process continued until the war's end when the figure of six millions was produced (and the Arabs were immediately chastised). A transparently worthless estimate was not only being used for mass-delusion through newspapers, but even given official status!

... No proof can be given that six million Jews 'perished'; proof can be adduced that so many could not have perished ... Certain mathematical rules govern destruction on such a scale; you need pursuers, jailers, prisons, camps, transport, executioners in numbers inconceivable ...

In a matter where nothing is verifiable, one thing seems sure: that six million Jews were never even contained in German-occupied territories ... Yet this massive assertion about the six millions was used by politicians in the highest places, by prosecutors at Nuremberg, and habitually by mass-newspapers which in lesser matters would print no statement unverified!

The familiar six million figure, Reed went on, is "one which not bear any scrutiny by independent investigators." Citing publicly available sources, he suggested that total Jewish wartime losses may have been between two and a half million and something more than three and a half million.

After the publication of *Far and Wide*, Reed was all but banned by establishment publishers. Still, he remained undaunted. His final book, *The Controversy of Zion* (Veritas [Australia] and Noontide [USA], 1985), provides a detailed and literate dissection of the origins and international impact of the Zionist movement, including its corrupting influence in Britain and the United States. Once again devoting several pages to the issue of Jewish wartime deaths, he concluded:

The starting point for consideration of this question [of Jewish wartime losses] is the fact that six million Jews, or anything approaching that number, cannot possibly have been 'done to death' or caused to 'perish' ... The very assertion, made before the Nuremberg court, was an affront to their 815,000 fighting-men, sailors and civilians, killed in all theatres of war, of which only the Western politicians of this century would have been capable.

However little known Douglas Reed may be today, his work — as Mohamed Heikal's foreword to the Arabic edition of Roger Garaudy's book attests — has not gone entirely unappreciated.

Zionist Groups Denounce Beirut Meeting

Interest Mounts for 'Revisionism and Zionism' Conference

Preparations are continuing according to plan for the landmark international conference on “Revisionism and Zionism” in Beirut, Lebanon, March 31-April 3, 2001. The event’s importance is reflected in the eager inquiries from journalists in several countries, in the steady stream of guest registrations, and in the anxious denunciations recently issued by leading Jewish-Zionist groups.

The Anti-Defamation League, one of the world’s most powerful Zionist organizations, issued a [special news release, February 11](#), bitterly complaining about the Beirut conference. It specifically denounced the Institute for Historical Review, which is helping to organize the event. Apart from numerous errors of fact, blatant bias, and childish accusations of the allegedly evil motives of the “deniers,” nearly all the factual information in the ADL release is simply taken from the IHR web site. The Simon Wiesenthal Center, another ardent apologist for Israel, the next day issued [its own strident condemnation of the Beirut conference](#). It similarly took a swipe at the “so-called Institute for Historical Review.”

Prominent revisionist scholars, researchers and activists from a range of countries are scheduled to address the Beirut conference, which will both reflect and further strengthen the growing cooperation between independent scholars in Europe, the United States and Middle East countries. Conference addresses will be given in Arabic, French and English.

The four-day event is being organized by the Swiss revisionist organization Vérité et Justice, in cooperation with the IHR. Vérité et Justice director Jürgen Graf, who was sentenced by a Swiss court in July 1998 to 15 months imprisonment for “Holocaust denial,” has fled his homeland to live in political exile rather than serve the politically-motivated sentence. The 49-year-old educator is currently in Tehran as a guest of Iranian scholars.

Guests are welcome to attend the Beirut conference, but they must cover their own travel and hotel expenses. There is no registration or attendance fee. United States citizens traveling to Lebanon require a valid U.S. passport and a visa issued by the Lebanese embassy or a Lebanese consulate.

Further details about the Beirut conference are posted on the ["Beirut 2001" section of the IHR web site: http://ihr.org](#).

See also:

- [Reuters article](#) of February 22
- [Canadian Jewish News article](#) of February 22

November/December 2000 (Vol. 19, No. 6), page 40

Book review

Examining Stalin's 1941 Plan to Attack Germany

- *Unternehmen Barbarossa und der russische Historikerstreit* ("Operation Barbarossa and the Russian Historians' Dispute"), by Wolfgang Strauss. Munich: Herbig, 1998. Hardcover. 199 pages. Illustrations. Source references. Bibliography. Index.

Reviewed by [Daniel W. Michaels](#)

No two peoples suffered more during the Second World War than the Russians and the Germans. In the carnage of that great global conflict, nothing matched the massive destruction of life and property wrought on the Eastern front by Russian and German forces fanatically driven by irreconcilable ideologies.

Now, more than 50 years after the end of the “clash of the titans,” free Russian and German historians are collaborating to ascertain the historical decisions and actions that led to that bloodiest of all conflicts. Wolfgang Strauss, a respected German Slavicist and political analyst, explains this clarifying historical process in “Operation Barbarossa and the Russian Historians' Dispute,” his most recent work. [1] He examines here the research of revisionist scholars in Russia and Germany on Stalin's role in igniting the German-Russian conflict and his efforts to expand the Soviet empire across Europe. Perhaps most importantly, he also shows how a shared understanding of the war is contributing to reconciliation between these two great European peoples.

Strauss affirms the view of German historian Ernst Nolte that Hitler's militant anti-Communism was an understandable reaction to the looming Soviet threat to Europe and humanity. Put another way, the militancy of the “fascist” movements that arose in Germany, Spain, Italy and other European countries in the 1920s and 1930s was, in essence, a response to the undisguised Bolshevik goal of dominating Europe. [2] This view, Strauss contends, has now largely been embraced by Russian revisionists and the French historian François Furet. [3] It is basically irrelevant whether one regards the war that broke out in June 1941 between Germany and Soviet Russia as a war of aggression, a preventive war or a counterattack. For each side, Nolte and others contend, this was a life or death struggle to decide which world view and way of life would prevail in Europe — atheistic, internationalist Communism or the bourgeois Christian civilization of the West.

The Black Book

In no way does Strauss dismiss or whitewash Hitler's brutal excesses. He also holds that Hitler's racist concept of the inferiority of the Slavic peoples and his attempt to colonize their lands was not only wrong but doomed his military campaign, and ultimately the Third Reich, to failure. At the same time, Strauss stresses the monumental brutality of Soviet and international Commu-

nism. In this regard he cites *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror and Repression*, a recent 860-page work by French scholar Stéphane Courtois and others. [4]

As Courtois stresses, many American and European scholars have upheld a morally peculiar view of history that fervently condemns National Socialist Germany while maintaining a meretriciously non-judgmental “objectivity” toward Soviet Russia. But there is no hierarchy of death and suffering. As Courtois writes: “The death of a Ukrainian peasant child, deliberately exposed to starvation by the Stalinist regime, is just as important as the starvation of a child in the Warsaw Ghetto.”

As Strauss relates, Courtois finds that 1) some 100 million human beings lost their lives as a result of Communist policies in the Soviet Union, Red China and other Communist states 2) The Communists made mass criminality an integral part of their governmental system; 3) Terror was part of the Soviet regime from the outset, beginning with Lenin; 4) Class and ethnic genocide, begun by Lenin and systematized by Stalin, preceded Hitler’s dictatorship by years; 5) Stalin was unquestionably a greater criminal than Hitler; and 6) Stalin’s joint, if not primary, responsibility for the outbreak of Russo-German War is undeniable. [5]

It is often forgotten that the Russian people were the first victims of Communism. Citing evidence from British, Russian and other sources, Strauss shows that those who imposed Communist despotism on the Russians were primarily non-Russian and non-Christian aliens — above all, Jews. [6] Their goal was nothing short of eradicating Christianity and European civilization, at whatever the human cost. Many Russians place the primary responsibility for the crimes of Communism, particularly in the first ten years of Soviet rule, on the Bolshevik party’s non-Russian elements. For example, Strauss notes, the Russian press has referred to the execution of Tsar Nicholas II and his entire family as a “Jewish ritualistic murder.” [7] In a similar context, Strauss cites from Solzhenitsyn the names of the ruthless Soviet secret police (NKVD) chiefs — all of them Jews — who put tens of thousands of slave laborers to death under appallingly inhumane conditions in building the White Sea Canal. [8]

One should not, however, get the impression that Slavs were the exclusive victims of Stalin’s terror, or that the murderers were all non-Russians. [9] During the Great Purge of 1937-39, Strauss points out, Stalin executed many Jews who had played a prominent role in the early Soviet regime. In 1940 Stalin succeeded in killing his greatest rival, Lev Trotsky (Bronstein), who had once been the second most powerful figure in the Soviet state. And when Stalin installed the Russian Nikolai Yezhov as head of the NKVD, replacing the Jewish Genrikh Yagoda, thousands of Yagoda’s followers and their families, mostly Jews, were murdered or committed suicide.

Pioneering Russian Revisionists

One of the earliest Russian revisionists of World War II history was Pyotr Grigorenko, a Soviet Army Major General and highly decorated war veteran who taught at the Frunze Military Academy. Already in the early 1960s, during the Khrushchev era, he was a “dissident,” publicly supporting civil rights for oppressed ethnic minorities. (Authorities committed him to a mental asylum.) In 1967, Strauss relates, he was the first leading Soviet figure to advance the revisionist arguments, which became well known during the 1980s and 1990s, on Stalin’s preparations for aggressive war against Germany. In an article submitted to a major Soviet journal (but rejected, and later published abroad), Grigorenko pointed out that Soviet military forces vastly outnumbered German forces in 1941. Just prior to the German attack on June 22, 1941, more than half of the Soviet forces were in the area near and west of Bialystok, that is, in an area deep in Polish occupied territory. “This deployment could only be justified” wrote Grigorenko, “if these troops were

deploying for a surprise offensive. In the event of an enemy attack these troops would soon be encircled." [10]

The best known Russian historian to advance revisionist arguments on Stalin's preparations for a first-strike against Germany has been Viktor Suvorov (pen name of Vladimir Rezun). Strauss recapitulates his main arguments (which have been treated in detail in the pages of this Journal). [11]

Strauss examines three significant speeches by Stalin (which have also been dealt with by Suvorov, as well as in the pages of this Journal): [12] 1. In his address of August 19, 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war, Stalin explained why a temporary alliance with Germany was more beneficial to Soviet interests than an alliance with Britain and France. 2. In his speech of May 5, 1941, Stalin explained to graduate officers of military academies that the impending war would be fought offensively by Soviet forces, and that it would nonetheless be a just war because it would advance world socialism. 3. In the speech of November 6, 1941, some four months after the outbreak of the "Barbarossa" campaign, Stalin stressed the importance of killing Germans. (This speech helped to "inspire" the Soviet Jewish writer Ilya Ehrenburg to make his notorious contribution to the war effort in the form of murderously anti-German propaganda.)

Recent Russian Revisionist Historiography

A radical revision of World War II history, Strauss contends, became possible only after the collapse of the multinational Soviet Union (1991), when some 14 million previously classified documents dealing with all aspects of Soviet rule were finally open to free examination. This book's greatest contribution may well be to highlight for non-Russians the research of Russian revisionists. Strauss is very familiar with this important work, which has been all but entirely ignored in the United States. The most important publications cited by Strauss in this regard are two Russian anthologies, both issued in 1995: "Did Stalin Make Preparations for an Offensive War Against Hitler?," and "September 1, 1939-May 9, 1945: 50th Anniversary of the Defeat of Fascist Germany." [13] The first of these contains articles by revisionist scholars as well as by critics of revisionism. (The "Russian historians' dispute" referred to in the subtitle of Strauss' book echoes the "German historians' dispute" of the 1980s, in which Ernst Nolte played a major role.)

As Strauss notes, the most prominent critic of the revisionist view of Suvorov and others has been Israeli historian Gabriel Gorodetsky, who teaches at Tel Aviv University. (Strauss suggests that he is a long-time apologist for Stalin.) Gorodetsky is the author of a 1995 Russian-language anti-Suvorov work, "The 'Icebreaker' Myth," and a detailed 1999 study, *Grand Illusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia*.

In his discussion of "Did Stalin Make Preparations for an Offensive War Against Hitler," Strauss writes (pages 42-44):

Even though revisionists as well as the critics of revisionism have their say in this book, the end result is the same. The anti-Fascist attempts to justify and legitimize Stalin's war policy from 1939 do not hold up. The view that the Second World War was "a crime attributable solely to National Socialist Germany" can no longer be sustained. The historical truth as seen by Russian revisionists is documented in this collection of articles published by Bordyugov and Nevezhin as well as by the renowned war historian Mikhail Melitiukhov, academic associate of the All-Russian Research Institute for Documentation and Archives.

This most recent compendium of Russian revisionist writings deepens our understanding of Stalin's preparations for a military first-strike against Germany in the summer of 1941. The strategic deployment plan, approved by Stalin at a conference on May 15, 1941, with General Staff chief Georgi Zhukov and Defense Commissar Semen Timoshenko, called for a Blitzkrieg:

Tank divisions and mechanized corps were to launch their attack from the Brest and Lviv [Lemberg] tier accompanied by destructive air strikes. The objective was to conquer East Prussia, Poland, Silesia and the [Czech] Protectorate, and thereby cut Germany off from the Balkans and the Romanian oil fields. Lublin, Warsaw, Kattowice, Cracow, Breslau [Wroclaw] and Prague were targets to be attacked.

A second attack thrust was to be directed at Romania, with the capture of Bucharest. The successful accomplishment of the immediate aims, namely, to destroy the mass of the German Army east of the Vistula, Narev and Oder rivers, was the necessary prerequisite for the fulfillment of the main objective, which was to defeat Germany in a quick campaign. The main contingents of the German armed forces were to be encircled and destroyed by tank armies in bold rapid advances.

Three recurrent terms in the mobilization plan of May 15 confirm the aggressive character of Stalin's plan. "A sudden strike" (vnyyzapni udar), "forward deployment" (razvertyvaniye), and "offensive war" (nastupatel'naya voyna). Of the 303 [Soviet] divisions assembled on the western front, 172 were assigned to the first wave of attack. One month was allotted for the total deployment — the period from June 15 to July 15. Mikhail Melitiukhov: "On this basis it appears that the war against Germany would have to have begun in July."

This anthology also devotes much attention to analyzing Stalin's speech of May 5, 1941, delivered to graduates of Soviet military academies. In this speech Stalin justified his change of foreign policy in connection with the now decided-upon attack against Germany. From the Communist point of view even a Soviet war of aggression is a "just war" because it serves to expand the "territory of the socialist world" and "to destroy the capitalist world." Most important in this May 5 speech was Stalin's efforts to dispel the "myth of the invincible Wehrmacht." The Red Army was strong enough to smash any enemy, even the "seemingly invincible Wehrmacht."

Strauss lists (pages 102-105) the major findings and conclusions of Russian revisionists, derived mostly from the two major works cited above:

- Stalin wanted a general European war of exhaustion in which the USSR would intervene at the politically and militarily most expedient moment. Stalin's main intention is seen in his speech to the Politburo of August 19, 1939.
- To ignite this, Stalin used the [August 1939] Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, which: a) provoked Hitler's attack against Poland, and b) evoked the declarations of war [against Germany] by Britain and France.
- In the event Germany was defeated quickly [by Britain and France], Stalin planned to "Sovietize" Germany and establish a "Communist government" there, but with the danger that the victorious capitalist powers would never permit a Communist Germany.
- In the event France was defeated quickly [by Germany], Stalin planned the "Sovietization" of France. "A Communist revolution would seem inevitable, and we could take advantage of this for our own purposes by rushing to aid France and making her our ally. As a result

of this, all the nations under the 'protection' of a victorious Germany would become our allies.”

- From the outset Stalin reckoned on a war with Germany, and the [Soviet] conquest of Germany. To this end, Stalin concentrated on the western border of the USSR operational offensive forces, which were five- to six-times stronger than the Wehrmacht with respect to tanks, aircraft and artillery.
- With respect to a war of aggression, on May 15, 1941, the Red Army's Main Political Directorate instructed troop commanders that every war the USSR engaged in, whether defensive or offensive, would have the character of a “just war.”
- Troop contingents were to be brought up to full strength in all the western military districts; airfields and supply bases to support a forward-strategy were to be built directly behind the border; an attack force of 60 divisions was to be set up in the Ukraine and mountain divisions and a parachute corps were to be established for attack operations.
- The 16th, 19th, 21st, 22nd and 25th Soviet Armies were transferred from the interior to the western border, and deployed at take-off points for the planned offensive.
- In his speech of May 5, 1941, to graduate officers of the academies, Stalin said that war with Germany was inevitable, and characterized it as a war not only of a defensive nature but rather of an offensive nature.
- Stalin intended to attack in July 1941, although Russian historians disagree about the precise date. Suvorov cites July 6, [Valeri] Danilov [a retired Soviet Colonel] gives July 2, while Melitiukhov writes: “The Red Army could not have carried out an attack before July 15.”

Hitler's Proclamation

In an appendix of documents, Strauss includes portions of Hitler's “Operation Barbarossa” directive of December 18, 1940. Also here, in facsimile, is a German press announcement of June 22, 1941, that gives Hitler's reasons for Germany's attack against the Soviet Union:

This morning the Führer, through Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels, issued a proclamation to the German people in which he explains that after months-long silence he can finally speak openly to the German people about the dangerous machinations of the Jewish-Bolshevik rulers in Soviet Russia. After the German-Russian Friendship Treaty in the Autumn of 1939, he hoped for an easing of tensions with Russia. This hope, however, was crushed by Soviet Russia's extortionist demands against both Finland and the Baltic states as well as against Romania.

After the victory in Poland the Western powers rejected the Führer's proposal for an understanding because they were hoping that Soviet Russia would attack Germany. Since the Spring of 1940 Soviet troops have been deploying in ever increasing numbers along the German border, so that since August 1940 strong German forces have been tied down in the East, making any major German effort in the West impossible.

During his [November 1940] visit to Berlin, [Soviet foreign minister] Molotov posed questions regarding Romania, Finland, Bulgaria and the Dardanelles that clearly revealed that Soviet Russia intended to create trouble in eastern Europe. To be sure, the Bolshevik coup attempt against the [Romanian] government of Antonescu failed, but, with the help of the Anglo-Saxon powers [Britain and the United States], their putsch in Yugoslavia succeeded. Serbian air force officers flew to Russia and were immediately incorporated in the Army there.

With these machinations Moscow has not just broken the so-called German-Russian Friendship Treaty, it has betrayed it. In his proclamation the Führer stressed that further silence on his part would be a crime not only against Germany, but against Europe as well. On the border now stand 160 Russian divisions, ^[14] which have repeatedly violated that frontier. On June 17-18 Soviet patrols were forced back across the border only after a lengthy exchange of fire. Meanwhile, to protect Europe and defend against further Russian provocations, the greatest build-up of forces ever has been assembled against Soviet Russia. German troops stand from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, allied in the north with Finnish troops and along the Bessarabian border with Romanian forces.

The Führer concluded his proclamation with the following sentences: “I have therefore decided to once again lay the fate and the future of the German Reich and of our people in the hands of our soldiers. May the Lord God help us especially in this struggle!”

Coming to Terms With the Past

Even though more and more independent Russian, German and other European historians support the revisionist arguments of Suvorov (and others), it still seems impossible, especially in Germany, to reapportion historical responsibility from Hitler to Stalin. In this regard, Strauss recalls (pages 45-46) a discussion in May 1993 at the Military History Research Office in Freiburg involving German historian Dr. Joachim Hoffmann, decades-long associate of the Research Office, and Russian historian Viktor Suvorov. Hoffman told of conversations on the “preventive war” issue he has had with prominent Germans, including President Richard von Weizsäcker, the influential journalist Marion Gräfin Dönhoff, and political figures Egon Bahr and Heinrich Graf von Einsiedel. In every case he was told that even if Suvorov is correct, and Hitler’s attack indeed preceded Stalin’s by weeks, this must not be acknowledged publicly because it would exonerate Hitler. This is typical, says Hoffmann, of the immoral attitude that prevails in Germany. In their egotism, he adds, these Germans do not realize that they are, in effect, demanding that Russians accept the propaganda lies of the Stalin era.

Strauss contrasts the very different attitudes of Germans and Russians toward 20th century history, and the role of historical revisionism. Whereas Germans are imbued with a national masochistic guilt complex about their collectively “evil” past, which was instilled during the postwar occupation as part of Allied “reeducation” campaign, and reinforced ever since in their media and by “their” political leaders, Russians are much more free and open about their Communist past, largely because they have not been occupied by foreign conquerors, and their media and educational system has not come under the control of outsiders. ^[15] Although die-hard Communists try to uphold the historiography of the Soviet era, most Russians want to know the truth about their past. After all, Strauss points out, one out of every two Russian families suffered under the Stalinist tyranny. For the time being, anyway, nothing is taboo in Russia, including the role of Jews in the Communist movement. (By contrast, Germans are forbidden by law to say anything derogatory about the political activities of Jews in the first half of the 20th century.)

The term “genocide” is used to refer particularly to the World War II treatment of Europe’s Jews. Without in any way minimizing the sufferings of innocent Jews caught up in that maelstrom, one should not forget that Stalin’s Soviet regime inflicted a much more ruthless and widespread genocide against the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. It is estimated that in the Soviet Union about 20 million people, the vast majority of them Slavs, lost their lives as a result of Soviet policies, either executed or otherwise perished in the Gulag prison network or as victims of imposed

famine, and so forth. Millions of Germans were also victims of genocide. It is estimated that some four million Germans were killed or otherwise perished during the 1944-1948 period, victims of Allied-imposed “ethnic cleansing,” starvation, slave labor in the USSR, and in inhumane POW camps administered by the victorious Allies. [16]

In promoting greater understanding of the calamitous German-Russian clash of 1941-1945, German and Russian revisionist scholars foster reconciliation between these two peoples. Strauss cites recent developments that attest to this process. In Volgograd, victors and vanquished have joined to erect a monument dedicated to all the victims of the Battle of Stalingrad. Its inscription, written in Russian and German, reads: “This monument commemorates the suffering of the soldiers and civilians who fell here. We ask that those who died here and in captivity will rest in eternal peace in Russian soil.” On the outskirts of St. Petersburg a German soldiers' cemetery and memorial was recently dedicated. Across Russia today, it is not unusual for Russian women to tend the graves of German soldiers. (Because the Soviet government did very little to help identify and provide decent burials for their war dead, few Russian women have had any idea where their own sons, brothers, and husbands fell.)

In the book's epilogue, Strauss describes the fervent indignation and rage of Russians over the criminal capitalism that has taken hold in their country. The inequities between the nouveau riches and the mass of Russian working class people are now greater than under Soviet rule. Many Russian revisionists see an intrinsic resemblance and affinity between capitalism and Communism. Given that many former Soviet officials still hold office or otherwise wield power in the “new Russia,” everyone readily sees how easy it has been for members of the old Soviet elite — the Nomenklatura — to reemerge in Russia's predatory capitalism as racketeers, gangsters, money speculators, bank frauders, extortionists and mafiosi. On the ruins of the Soviet system, writes Strauss, has emerged a new dictatorship of pitilessness, corruption, criminality, social division, poverty and despair. Resentment against the “reformist” policies advocated by the United States is widespread.

In this regard Strauss cites the views of Spanish writer Juan Goytisolo, who asserts that if this social pathology endures in Russia, then Karl Marx's analysis will be proven correct, at least in part. While Marx was wrong about the promised virtues of Communism, writes Goytisolo, events seem to confirm his critique of capitalism, especially of unrestrained monetarism that knows only one value, namely, maximum profits regardless of human cost. [17]

'Strong and Free'

Whether they call themselves “Reformers” (Westernizers), Communists or nationalists (“Eurasians”), Russians today, writes Strauss, overwhelmingly reject all forms of internationalism, whether Communist or capitalist. They want a Russia that is strong and free.

Toward this goal, many look to geopolitics, an outlook built on the Eurasian “heartland” theory expounded by 20th-century British geographer Halford Mackinder and promoted in Third Reich Germany by Karl Haushofer. (According to this theory, Russia has the potential for great power and prosperity because it is the core of the vast, resource-rich Eurasian heartland.) The leading exponent in Russia today of this view is Alexander Dugin, whose book, “The Basics of Geopolitics: Russia's Geopolitical Future,” has been influential with both old Communists and new nationalists in a grouping sometimes referred to as the “national Bolshevik alliance,” and whose adherents are known as “Eurasianists.” Dugin is a close associate of Gennady Zyuganov, head of the country's largest political party, the Russian Communist Party (which, in spite of its name, is

much more nationalist than Marxist). Zyuganov himself is the author of a recent book, “The Geography of Victory: The Bases of Russian Geopolitics.”

Russia’s parliament, the Duma, has established a Committee of Geopolitical Affairs, chaired by Alexey Mitrofanov, a member of Vladimir Zhirinovksy’s Liberal Democratic Party. (Zhirinovsky proposes the formation of a Berlin-Moscow-Tokyo axis, and has been quoted as saying: “Today, the United States of America is the major enemy of our country. All our actions and dealings with America from now on should be undertaken with this in mind.”)

Notes

1.  Strauss, born in 1931, was arrested for anti-Communist activities as an Oberschuler (secondary school student) in East Germany (DDR) and imprisoned, 1950-1956. He is the author of several other notable books on Russia, including *Russland wird leben: vom roten Stern zur Zarenfahne* (1992), *Drei Tage, die die Welt erschütterten* (1992), *Bürgerrechtler in der UdSSR* (1979), and *Von der Wiedergeburt slawophiler Ideen in Russland* (1977). He is also a frequent contributor to scholarly journals. He currently lives in Bavaria, where he works as a Slavic affairs specialist.
2.  See: Ernst Nolte, *Der Europäische Bürgerkrieg 1917-1945: Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus* (Munich: 1997 [5th ed.]). Nolte has strongly suggested that Hitler’s wartime treatment of the Jews might legitimately be regarded as a defensive response by Hitler to the threat of Bolshevik mass murder of the Germans. In a 1980 lecture he said: “It is hard to deny that Hitler had good reason to be convinced of his enemies’ determination to annihilate long before the first information about the events in Auschwitz became public.” See also the interview with Nolte in the Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal (Vol. 14, No. 1), pp. 15-22, and “Changing Perspectives on History in Germany: A Prestigious Award for Nolte: Portent of Greater Historical Objectivity?,” July-August 2000 Journal, pp. 29-32.
3.  François Furet and Ernst Nolte, *Feindliche Nähe: Kommunismus und Faschismus im 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Briefwechsel* (Munich: 1998).
4.  The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression, by Stéphane Courtois and others (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999). Original edition: *Le livre noir du communisme: Crimes, terreur, répression* (Paris: 1997). Earlier works by Courtois include *Histoire du parti communiste français* (1995), *L’etat du monde en 1945* (1994), *Rigueur et passion* (1994), *50 ans d’une passion française* (1991), and *Qui savait quoi?* (1987).
5.  Courtois has also written: “I am fighting for a reevaluation of Stalin. He was to be sure the greatest criminal of the century. But at the same time he was the greatest politician — the most competent, the most professional. He was the one who understood most perfectly how to put his resources at the service of his goals.”
6.  Russian nationalists are fully aware, just as were the anti-Bolshevik “White Russians,” that the leaders of Russia’s Marxist movement — Mensheviks and Bolsheviks alike — were predominantly not Russian at all. As evidence of the alien character of the Bolshevik revolution and of the early Soviet regime, Russian nationalists (along with many others) often cite *The Last Days of the Romanovs*, a work by British writer Robert Wilton (and now translated into Russian). In an appendix to the 1993 IHR edition of this work (pp. 184-190), Wilton also notes: “According to data furnished by the Soviet press, out of important functionaries of the Bolshevik state... in 1918-1919 there were: 17 Russians, two Ukrainians, eleven Armenians, 35 Letts [Latvians], 15 Germans, one Hungarian, ten Georgians, three Poles, three Finns, one Czech, one Karaim, and 457 Jews.” See also: M. Weber, “The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Early Soviet Regime,” Jan.-Feb. 1994 Journal, pp. 4-14.

7. [↗](#) A special 1996 edition of the Moscow newspaper *Russkiy Vestnik* lists the names of the executioners: Yankel Yurovsky, Anselm Fischer, Istvan Kolman, A. Chorwat, Isidor Edelstein, Imre Magy [?], Victor Grinfeld, Andreas Wergasi and S. Farkash. The article concludes: "All of this attests to the non-Russian origin of the murderers."
8. [↗](#) According to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the six directors were Semyon Firin, Matvei Berman, Naftali Frenkel, Lazar Kogan, Yakov Rappoport, Sergei Zhuk. The Head of the Military Guards was Brodsky, the Canal Curator of the Central Executive Committee was Solts, the GPU and NKVD heads were Yagoda, Pauker, Spiegelglas, Kaznelson, Sakovskiy, Sorensen, Messing and Arshakuni. As the names indicate, all were non-Russians. Stalin awarded most of these murderers the honorary title "Hero of Labor." See: Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, III-IV, Book Two (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 79, 81, 82, 84, 94, etc.
9. [↗](#) This generalization is mostly valid for the first 20 years of Soviet rule. However, following the Great Purge (1937-1939), and except for several years after World War II in East Europe where Stalin used Jewish Communists to instal puppet regimes, the dictator until his death actively opposed elements he referred to as cosmopolitans, parasites, and so forth.
10. [↗](#) Grigorenko originally submitted his article to the Soviet journal *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, which (of course) rejected it. It was published in 1969 by Possev, a Russian emigré publishing house in Frankfurt am Main.
11. [↗](#) Suvorov's first three books on World War II have been reviewed in *The Journal of Historical Review*. The first two, *Icebreaker* and "M Day," were reviewed in Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal* (Vol. 16, No. 6), pp. 22-34. His third book, "The Last Republic," was reviewed in the July-August 1998 *Journal* (Vol. 17, No. 4), pp. 30-37.
12. [↗](#) See the review of *Stalins Falle* ("Stalin's Trap"), by Adolf von Thadden, in the May-June 1999 *Journal*, pp. 40-45.
13. [↗](#) *Gotovil li Stalin nastupatel'nyuyu voynu protiv Gitlera* ("Did Stalin Make Preparations for an Offensive War Against Hitler?," by Grigoriy Bordyugov and Vladimir Nevezhin (Moscow: AIRO XX, 1995), and, *1 sentyabrya 1939-9 maya 1945: Pyatidesyatiletie razgroma fashistkoy Germanii v Kontekste Nachala Vtoroy Mirovoy Voyny* ("September 1, 1939-May 9, 1945: the 50th Anniversary of the Defeat of Fascist Germany in the Context of the Beginning of the War"), edited by I.V. Pavlova and V. L. Doroshenko (Novosibirsk Memorial, 1995). The latter work was briefly cited in the Nov.-Dec. 1997 *Journal*, pp. 32-34.
14. [↗](#) The German High Command greatly underestimated the number of Soviet divisions, as well as the quality and quantity of Soviet tanks. Hitler and the Wehrmacht were to find not 160 divisions on their doorstep, but more than 300. See: David Irving, *Hitler's War* (New York: Viking, 1977), pp. 205-206, 297. On the correlation of forces in June 1941, see also Joachim Hoffmann, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* (Munich, 1995), Chapter 1, and esp. pp. 31, 66.
15. [↗](#) Ominously, however, the "oligarchs," most of them Jewish, exercise considerable control over the Russian media. See: Daniel W. Michaels, "Capitalism in the New Russia," May-June 1997 *Journal*, pp. 21-27, and, "A Jewish Appeal to Russia's Elite," Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 13-18.
16. [↗](#) See: Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, *The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), Alfred-M. de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam: The Expulsion of the Germans From the East* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska, 1989 [3rd rev. ed.]), James Bacque, *Other Losses* (Prima, 1991), J. Bacque, *Crimes and Mercies* (Little, Brown, 1997), Ralph Keeling, *Gruesome Harvest: The Allies' Postwar War Against the German People* (IHR, 1992).

17. 📖 Juan Goytisolo, *La Saga de los Marx* (Barcelona: Mondadori, 1993). Although Goytisolo was undoubtedly one of Spain's foremost 20th century novelists, both his political views and private life were highly controversial. Expelled from Spain by Franco, he lived most of his life in France.
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Document

Hitler's 'Barbarossa' Proclamation

On the morning of June 22, 1941, Reich Minister Joseph Goebbels announced to the world the startling news that German forces, together with Finnish and Romanian troops, had struck against the vast Soviet Union. On German radio he read Adolf Hitler's historic proclamation justifying the attack. Among other things, he said that Stalin had massed some 160 divisions to strike westwards. In reality, more than 300 Soviet divisions were assembled against Germany and Europe. Hitler and his generals had thereby greatly underestimated the Soviet danger — a fateful miscalculation that ultimately proved catastrophic, and not just for Germany. To the Italian leader Benito Mussolini, Hitler wrote that deciding to attack Soviet Russia was “the most difficult decision of my life.” And even though it meant engaging Germany in a two-front war, something he had specifically warned against in *Mein Kampf*, this was a decision he never regretted. Hitler's strike against the Soviet Union, code-named “Barbarossa,” has often been called his worst single military blunder because the immense clash he unleashed ended four years later, in May 1945, with his suicide in his Berlin command post, Soviet forces hoisting the Red hammer-and-sickle banner above the Reichstag, and Germany's unconditional surrender. Hitler's “Barbarossa” assault is often, but simplistically, portrayed as a treacherous and unprovoked surprise attack against a peaceable ally, motivated by greed, dreams of empire, loathing of Russians and other Slavic peoples, and visceral hatred of Communism. Today, 60 years later, German and Russian historians continue to grapple with the origins of this mightiest military clash in history. Because Hitler's proclamation of June 22, 1941, helps to explain the German leader's motives for turning against Soviet Russia, it is a document of historic importance. The text is given here in full.

-- The Editor

German people! National Socialists!

Weighed down with heavy cares, condemned to months-long silence, the hour has now come when at last I can speak frankly.

When on September 3, 1939, the German Reich received the British declaration of war there was repeated anew the British attempt to thwart every beginning of a consolidation of Europe and thereby its rise, by fighting against whatever power on the Continent was strongest at any given time. That is how, in times past, Britain ruined Spain in many wars. That is how she conducted her wars against Holland. That is how later she fought France with the aid of all Europe, and that

is how, at the turn of the century, she began the encirclement of the then German Reich and, in 1914, the [First] World War. It was only on account of its internal lack of unity that Germany was defeated in 1918. The consequences were terrible.

After hypocritical declarations that the fight was solely against the Kaiser and his regime, and once the German army had laid down its arms, the annihilation of the German Reich began according to plan.

While the prophecies of a French statesman that there were two million Germans too many — in other words, that this number would have to be eliminated by hunger, disease or emigration — were apparently being fulfilled to the letter, the National Socialist movement began its work of unifying the German people, and thereby initiating the resurgence of the Reich. This rise of our people from distress, misery and shameful disregard was in the form of a purely internal renaissance. In no way did that affect, much less threaten, Britain.

Nevertheless, a new, hate-filled policy of encirclement against Germany began immediately. Internally and externally there came into being that plot, familiar to all of us, between Jews and democrats, Bolsheviks and reactionaries, with the sole aim of inhibiting the establishment of the new German people's state, and of plunging the Reich anew into impotence and misery.

Apart from us, the hatred of this international world conspiracy was directed against those nations that, like ourselves, were neglected by fortune and were obliged to earn their daily bread in the hardest struggle for existence.

Above all, the right of Italy and Japan, just as much as that of Germany, to share in the goods of this world was contested and in fact was formally denied. The alliance of these [three] nations was, therefore, purely an act of self-protection in the face of the egoistic global combination of wealth and power that threatened them. As early as 1936 [Winston] Churchill, according to statements by the American General Wood before a committee of the American House of Representatives, declared that Germany was once again becoming too powerful and must therefore be destroyed.

In the Summer of 1939 the time seemed to have come for Britain to begin to realize its intended annihilation by repetition of a comprehensive policy of encirclement of Germany. The plan of the campaign of lies staged for this purpose consisted in declaring that other people were threatened, in tricking them with British promises of guarantees and assistance, and of getting them to go against Germany, just as had happened prior to the [First] World War.

From May to August 1939, Britain thus succeeded in broadcasting to the world that Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Finland and Bessarabia. as well as Ukraine, were being directly threatened by Germany. Some of these states allowed themselves to be misled into accepting the promise of guarantee proffered with these assertions, thus joining the new encirclement front against Germany. Under these circumstances I considered myself entitled to assume responsibility, before my own conscience and before the history of the German people, not only of assuring these countries or their governments of the falseness of these British assertions, but also of setting at rest the strongest power in the east [the Soviet Union], by especially solemn declarations regarding the limits of our interests.

National Socialists! At that time you probably all felt that this step was a bitter and difficult one for me. The German people has never harbored hostile feelings against the peoples of Russia. However, for more than two decades the Jewish Bolshevik rulers in Moscow had been endeavoring to set aflame not only Germany but all Europe. At no time did Germany ever attempt to carry

her National Socialist worldview into Russia, but on the contrary Jewish Bolshevik rulers in Moscow unswervingly endeavored to foist their domination upon us and other European nations, not only by ideological means but above all with military force. The consequences of the activity of this regime were nothing but chaos, misery and starvation in all countries.

I, on the other hand, have been striving for two decades, with a minimum of intervention and without destroying our production, to arrive at a new socialist order in Germany, one that not only eliminates unemployment but also permits the productive worker to receive an ever greater share of the fruits of his labor. The achievements of this policy of national economic and social reconstruction — which strove for a true national community by overcoming rank and class divisions — are unique in today's world.

It was therefore only with extreme difficulty that I brought myself in August 1939 to send my [Foreign] Minister [von Ribbentrop] to Moscow in an endeavor there to counter the British encirclement policy against Germany. I did this only out of a sense of responsibility toward the German people, but above all in the hope of finally, in spite of everything, achieving long-term détente and of being able to reduce sacrifices that otherwise might have been demanded of us.

While Germany solemnly affirmed in Moscow that the designated territories and countries — with the exception of Lithuania — lay outside any German political interests, a special [supplementary] agreement was concluded in case Britain were to succeed in inciting Poland into actually going to war against Germany. In this case, as well, German claims were subject to limitations entirely out of proportion to the achievements of the German forces.

National Socialists! The consequences of this treaty, which I myself desired and which was concluded in the interests of the German nation, were very severe, particularly for Germans living in the countries concerned. Far more than half a million [ethnically] German men and women, all small farmers, artisans and workmen, were forced to leave their former homeland practically overnight in order to escape from a new [Soviet] regime that at first threatened them with boundless misery and sooner or later with complete extermination.

Nevertheless, thousands of Germans disappeared. It was impossible ever to determine their fate, let alone their whereabouts. Among them were no fewer than 160 men of German Reich citizenship. To all this I remained silent because I had to! For, after all, it was my one desire to bring about a final relief of tension and, if possible, a permanent settlement with this [Soviet] state.

However, already during our advance in Poland, Soviet rulers suddenly, and contrary to the treaty, also claimed Lithuania. The German Reich never had any intention of occupying Lithuania, and not only failed to present any such demand to the Lithuanian government, but on the contrary refused the request of the then Lithuanian government to send German troops to Lithuania in that spirit for that purpose as inconsistent with the aims of German policy.

Despite all this I complied also with this fresh Russian demand. However, this was only the beginning of continually renewed extortions, which have been repeated ever since.

The victory in Poland, which was won exclusively by German troops, prompted me to address yet another peace offer to the Western powers [Britain and France]. It was rejected, due to the efforts of the international and Jewish warmongers. Already at that time the reason for this rejection lay in the fact that Britain still had hopes of being able to mobilize a European coalition against Germany, which was to include the Balkans and Soviet Russia. It was therefore decided in London to send Mr. Cripps as ambassador to Moscow. He received clear instructions under all circumstances to resume relations between Britain and Soviet Russia, and develop them in a pro-

British direction. The British press reported on the progress of this mission, except insofar as tactical reasons did not impose silence.

In the fall of 1939 and the spring of 1940 the first results actually made themselves felt. As Russia undertook to subjugate by armed force not only Finland but also the Baltic states, she suddenly motivated this action by the assertion, as ridiculous as it was false, that she must protect these countries from an outside threat, or forestall it. This could only be meant to apply to Germany, for no other power could even intervene in the Baltic area, let alone go to war there. Still I had to be silent. However, those in power in the Kremlin immediately went further.

Whereas in the spring of 1940 Germany, in accordance with the so-called Friendship Treaty [of Sept. 28, 1939, with Soviet Russia], withdrew her forces from the eastern frontier and, in fact, for the most part cleared these areas entirely of German troops, a deployment of Russian forces at that time was already beginning, to an extent that could only be regarded as a deliberate threat to Germany.

According to a statement that [Soviet Foreign Minister] Molotov personally made at that time, there were 22 Russian divisions in the Baltic states alone already in the spring of 1940. Given that the Russian government always claimed that it had been called in by the local population, the purpose of their presence there could only be a demonstration against Germany.

While our soldiers from May 10, 1940, onward were breaking Franco-British power in the west, Russian military deployment on our eastern frontier was continuing to an ever more menacing extent. From August 1940 onward I therefore considered it to be in the interest of the Reich to no longer permit our eastern provinces, which moreover had been laid waste so often before, to remain unprotected in the face of this tremendous deployment of Bolshevik divisions.

Thus, and just as intended by this British-Soviet Russian cooperation, there came about the tying up of such strong [German] forces in the east that a radical conclusion of the war in the west, particularly as regards aircraft, could no longer be vouched for by the German leadership. This, however, was in line with the goals not only of British but also of Soviet Russian policy, for both Britain and Soviet Russia intended to let this war go on for as long as possible in order to weaken all Europe and render it ever more impotent.

Russia's threatened attack on Romania was in the last analysis equally intended to gain possession of or, if possible, to destroy, an important base of the economic life of not only Germany, but of all of Europe. Since 1933 the German Reich sought with boundless patience to win over states in southeastern Europe as trading partners. We therefore also had the greatest interest in their internal consolidation and order. Russia's advance into Romania and Greece's alliance with Britain threatened to quickly turn these regions as well into a general theater of war.

Contrary to our principles and customs, and at the urgent request of the then Romanian government, which was itself responsible for this development, I advised that it acquiesce to the Soviet Russian demands for the sake of peace, and to cede [the province of] Bessarabia. The Romanian government believed, however, that it could answer for this before its own people only if Germany and Italy in compensation would at least guarantee the integrity of what still remained of Romania. I did so with heavy heart, above all because when the German Reich gives a guarantee, that means it also abides by it. We are neither Englishmen nor Jews.

I still believe at this late hour to have served the cause of peace in that region, albeit by assuming a serious obligation of our own. In order, however, finally to solve these problems and achieve

clarity concerning the Russian attitude toward Germany, as well as under pressure of continually increasing mobilization on our eastern frontier, I invited Mr. Molotov to come to Berlin.

The Soviet Foreign Minister [during their November 1940 meeting] then demanded Germany's clarification of or agreement to the following four questions:

Molotov's first question: Is the German guarantee for Romania also directed against Soviet Russia in case of attack by Soviet Russia against Romania?

My answer: The German guarantee is a general one and is unconditionally binding upon us. Russia, however, never declared to us that she had other interests in Romania beyond Bessarabia. The [Soviet] occupation of Northern Bukovina was already a violation of this assurance. I did not therefore think that Russia could now suddenly have more far-reaching intentions against Romania.

Molotov's second question: Russia again feels itself menaced by Finland, Russia is determined not to tolerate this. Is Germany ready not to give any aid to Finland, and above all immediately to withdraw German relief troops marching through to Kirkenes?

My answer: As ever, Germany has absolutely no political interests in Finland. A new war by Russia against the small Finnish nation could not, however, be regarded any longer by the German government as tolerable, all the more so because we could never believe that Finland could threaten Russia. Under no circumstances did we want another theater of war to arise in the Baltic.

Molotov's third question: Is Germany prepared to agree that Soviet Russia give a guarantee to Bulgaria and, in this regard, send Soviet troops to Bulgaria, in connection with which he — Molotov — was prepared to state that the Soviets did not intend on that account, for example, to depose the King?

My answer: Bulgaria is a sovereign state, and I have no knowledge that Bulgaria had ever asked Soviet Russia for any kind of guarantee such as Romania had requested from Germany. Moreover, I would have to discuss the matter with my allies.

Molotov's fourth question: Soviet Russia absolutely requires free passage through the Dardanelles, and for her protection also demands occupation of a number of important bases on the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Is Germany in agreement with this or not?

My answer: Germany is prepared at any time to agree to altering the Treaty of Montreux [1936] in favor of the Black Sea states. Germany is not prepared to agree to Russia's taking possession of bases on the Straits.

National Socialists! Here I adopted the only attitude that I could adopt as the responsible leader of the German Reich, but also a conscientiously responsible representative of European culture and civilization. The result was to increase the activity in Soviet Russia directed against the Reich, above all, however, the immediate commencement of undermining the new Romanian state from within, and an attempt to remove the Bulgarian government by propaganda.

With the help of confused and immature leaders of the Romanian [Iron Guard] Legion a coup d'etat was staged in Romania whose aim was to overthrow Chief of State General Antonescu and produce chaos in the country so as to eliminate the legal authority and thus remove the precon-

dition for implementing the German guarantee. I nevertheless still believed it best to remain silent.

Immediately after the failure of this undertaking, there was renewed reinforcement of concentrations of Russian troops on Germany's eastern frontier. Panzer detachments and parachute troops were transferred in ever increasing numbers to dangerous proximity to the German frontier. The German armed forces and the German homeland know that until a few weeks ago not a single German tank or motorized division was stationed on our eastern frontier.

If any final proof was required for the coalition meanwhile formed between Britain and Soviet Russia, despite all diversion and camouflage, the Yugoslav conflict provided it. While I made every effort to undertake a final attempt to pacify the Balkans and, in sympathetic cooperation with the Duce [Mussolini], invited Yugoslavia to join the Tripartite Pact, Britain and Soviet Russia jointly organized that coup d'etat which, in a single night, removed the government that had been ready to come to agreement.

For today we can inform the German nation that the Serb putsch against Germany did not take place merely under the British, but primarily under Soviet Russian auspices. While we remained silent on this matter as well, the Soviet leaders now went one step further. They not only organized the putsch, but a few days later [April 5, 1941] concluded that well-known friendship treaty with those submissive creatures, which was meant to strengthen the Serbs in their will to resist pacification of the Balkans, and to incite them against Germany. And this was no platonic intention: Moscow demanded mobilization of the Serbian army.

Because, even then, I still believed it better not to speak out, those in power in the Kremlin went still further: The government of the German Reich today possesses documentary evidence proving that Russia, in order finally to bring Serbia into the war, gave her a promise to supply her, by way of Salonika, with weapons, aircraft, munitions and other war materials against Germany. And this happened almost at the very moment that I was advising Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka to bring about an easing of tensions with Russia, still hoping thereby to serve the cause of peace.

Only the rapid advance of our incomparable divisions to Skoplje, as well as the capture of Salonika itself, frustrated the aims of this Soviet Russian-British plot. Officers of the Serbian air force, however, fled to Russia and were there immediately received as allies.

It was only the victory of the Axis powers in the Balkans that thwarted the plan to tie down Germany this summer in months of fighting in southeastern Europe while meantime steadily completing the deployment of Soviet Russian armies and strengthening their readiness for battle in order, finally, together with Britain and supported by anticipated American supplies, to tie down and then defeat the German Reich and Italy.

Thus Moscow not only broke but miserably betrayed the stipulations of our friendship treaty. All this was done while the rulers in the Kremlin, exactly as in the case of Finland and Romania, up to the last moment pretended peace and friendship and issued seemingly harmless denials.

Although I have been obliged by circumstances again and again to keep silent, the moment has now come when to continue as a mere observer would not only be a sin of omission but a crime against the German people — yes, even against the whole of Europe.

Today something like 160 Russian divisions are standing at our frontier. For weeks there have been constant violations of this frontier, not only affecting us but also in the far north [against

Finland], as well as Romania. Russian airmen consider it sport nonchalantly to overlook these frontiers, presumably to prove to us that they already feel themselves masters of these territories. During the night of June 17 to 18 Russian patrols again penetrated into Reich territory, and could only be driven back after prolonged exchange of fire.

This has brought us to the hour when it is necessary for us to counter this plot of Jewish-British warmongers and equally the Jewish rulers of the Bolshevik center in Moscow.

German people! At this moment a deployment of forces is taking place that, in its extent and scope, is the greatest the world hitherto has seen. United with their Finnish comrades, the fighters of the victory of Narvik are standing in the Northern Arctic. German divisions commanded by the conqueror of Norway [General Dietl], together with the heroes of Finnish freedom under their Marshal [Mannerheim], are protecting Finnish soil. Formations of the German eastern front extend from East Prussia to the Carpathians. German and Romanian soldiers are united under Chief of State Antonescu from the banks of the Prut along the lower reaches of the Danube to the shores of the Black Sea.

The task of this front, therefore, is not merely the protection of individual countries, but the safeguarding of Europe, and thereby the salvation of all.

I therefore decided today to once again lay the fate and future of the German Reich and our people in the hands of our soldiers.

May the Lord God help us especially in this fight!

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Letters to the editor — Volume 19 number 6

'Mr. Death'

Among the many accounts that I have read of “Mr. Death,” Errol Morris' film about Fred Leuchter, I think that Greg Raven's is the most instructive ("Flawed Documentary of Execution Expert", Sept.-Dec. 1999 Journal, pp. 62-69). In it the basic dishonesty of Jewish director Morris is well displayed. It is simply a pity for Raven that he does not point out that, in some scenes, it is not Leuchter who appears on the screen but an actor disguised as him so that Leuchter is portrayed as a “desecrator” in the ruins of an alleged Nazi gas chamber. (This point is explained on the [AAARGH web site](#), “Actualités de novembre 2000,” in an article entitled “Simplet,” French for “simpleton,” the term used, altogether unjustly, by David Irving in his interview with Morris to describe Leuchter.)

There is an essential factor that neither Raven nor any other revisionist, to my knowledge, seems to have noticed: the absence, in this alleged documentary, of any depiction of an American gas chamber designed for the execution of condemned prisoners. Fred Leuchter is described in words as a sort of technician of death administered in four ways: electrocution, hanging, lethal injection, and gassing. But while Morris takes care to illustrate the first three methods of execution with numerous images, he carefully avoids showing even one image of an American penitentiary gas chamber. And he is right to do so, for the mere representation of the imposing door of such a chamber would, in my opinion, be enough to let the attentive viewer grasp that the putting to death of one man by gassing with hydrocyanic acid calls for extensive safety measures and a highly sophisticated technique.

I have devoted a part of my life to citing again and again what I call “the argument of the American gas chamber,” to demonstrate the absurdity of the alleged Nazi [homicidal] gas chambers. I have often published or shown, as I did at the Zündel trials, photographs of the Baltimore penitentiary's gas chamber, along with the text of the “Procedure Check List” for executions there. (See S. Thion, *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* [1980], pp. 301-309; “The Mechanics of Gassing,” Spring 1980 Journal, pp. 23-30, reproduced in B. Kulaszka, *Did Six Million Really Die?: Report on the Evidence in the Canadian “False News” Trial of Ernst Zündel* [Toronto: 1992], pp. 322-324; “The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?,” Winter 1981 Journal, esp. pp. 326-327.)

But I have the impression of not having convinced very many. Neither Fred Leuchter, nor Germar Rudolf, nor Walter Lüftl, has taken up my argument. I am therefore happy to note that Errol Morris, for his part, seems, in his own way, to have been receptive to that argument.

Robert Faurisson
Vichy, France

An Angry Episode

Having just read the July-August 2000 Journal, I want to say that I found all the articles interesting. One thing struck me: the articles all read so very well. You could say I read it from cover to cover in one sitting (actually two).

Your piece on the 1945 sinkings of the Cap Arcona and the Thielbek reminded me of an episode when I spent a six-month sabbatical at Reading in England during 1983. I was walking along the Kennet and Avon canal with the Telegraph under my arm. It contained a letter from an arrogant Englishman (probably a major or officer from World War II) who dismissed with contempt any possibility that the British could in any way be responsible for this bombing. It made me so angry that I threw the paper into the canal, and I found a large stone to throw on the paper to make sure it sank forever!

Costas Zaverdinos
Pietermaritzburg
South Africa

A Blessing In Disguise

Although “Holocaust denial” laws have created physical and mental hardship for such scholars as Dr. Fredrick Töben, David Irving, Jürgen Graf and Dr. Robert Faurisson, they have actually created an interest in this historical period for people, myself included, who normally would not be interested.

My first encounter with a prominent revisionist was when I phoned Dr. Töben at his Australian residence from my New York office, not realizing I was ringing him at 6:00 in the morning, his time. A few days later I learned from David Irving’s web site that the first person in the revisionist movement I contacted had been arrested in Germany.

I was perplexed. Why would there be laws to sabotage historical research for Dr. Töben? His arrest had an impact on my own pursuits in historical research. What struck a chord in my new thinking about the Holocaust, in

particular, was a point he made during our conversation a few days before his infamous arrest. When I asked him what he believed, he said “I don’t believe in anything. I want to know.” As simple as it sounds, that was my turning point in my immersion into historical revisionism.

His words, “I want to know,” coupled with his arrest motivated me to become a web journalist and create RePortersNotebook.com, a collection of journalistic truths suppressed by the mainstream media. Its mission statement is the following: “The ramifications of dishonest news reporting divides people. Our purpose is to rectify false concepts in history writing and contemporary news reporting.”

I am indebted to researchers such as Dr. Töben for the sacrifices forced on them, and for their courage in speaking out, at the risk of suffering physical and mental hardships. (And I would not have known about Dr. Töben, or his arrest, if I had not been exposed to the World Wide Web.)

As we enter a new millennium, it is mind boggling that it is a taboo to want to know about certain historical events.

Michael Santomauro
New York City
[]

Motivation?

I am student in Denmark. Having read through your article about Simon Wiesenthal [from the Sept.-Oct. 1995 Journal], I was quite disturbed by the accusations you make. It is not my intention to discuss whether even just one of these so-called frauds you claim Wiesenthal is guilty of, truly is a fraud. I am merely interested: Why even dig through all that information and commit yourself so heartedly to prove it wrong, if not for some political conviction? Do you intend to write off the entire Holocaust? And if so, would that not make you a Nazi in the eyes of this entire world, including me? Or have I gotten this all wrong?

Søren R. Staugaard
Denmark [by e-mail]

Today the “Nazi” accusation is little more than a cheap epithet. It is used not to explain or define, but to smear. I am not a “Nazi.” But whether I am or not should basically be irrelevant in assessing the accuracy of what I've written about Simon Wiesenthal.

My purpose in writing about Wiesenthal was to focus attention on facts — verifiable facts — about this deceitful man. This is important, even necessary, because he is such an influential man in our society. He is portrayed, by himself and others, as a great moral guide. He's nothing of the kind, as I think the facts clearly show.

If what I wrote about Wiesenthal is accurate, your indignation should be directed at him and those who, for their own self-serving reasons, portray him as an icon.

— The Editor

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From the Editor

Ted O'Keefe

There are different kinds of revisionism, and different sorts of revisionists. That's no news to veteran revisionists. In fact, the diversity of opinion among revisionists has been far more troubling to the wardens of opinion on the Holocaust and other historical taboos than to the revisionist movement. Ernst Zündel's association with Jews such as Josef G. Burg and David Cole outraged the Holocaust police, not the revisionists.

This issue of the Journal, from its cover photo of Ernst Zündel and John Sack to its concluding [review of Richard Evans' snarling attack on David Irving](#), will surely affront the high priests of the extermination cult. Containing as it does two feature articles by authors who avow their belief in gassings at Auschwitz, it will doubtless surprise many revisionists as well.

As it happens, both of these dissident revisionists, John Sack and Charles Provan, figured in a landmark article that appeared in the February 2001 issue of *Esquire*, as did Ernst Zündel, who is also featured in this issue. Sack, of course, wrote that article, based largely on his participation in the Institute of Historical Review's conference of May 2000. And while the JHR has criticized aspects of Sack's article (see "John Sack's Defective Esquire Article," Nov-Dec 2000 JHR), it was still a long stride forward in major media treatment of Holocaust revisionism: for the first time revisionists were portrayed as persecuted, rather than as persecutors, and as humane and tolerant, to boot.

The tolerance that allows revisionists to give a fair hearing to their adversaries is far from a flabby indulgence. On the same day that the chummy photo that graces our cover was taken, Ernst Zündel and John Sack could be overheard at IHR's offices jousting wholeheartedly on the Holocaust, the origins of the Second World War, the Jewish involvement in Communism, and John Sack's book *An Eye for Eye*. There was no sacrifice of either civility or passion: tolerance need not mean stifling criticism, abiding untruth, or abandoning the relentless search for facts.

World-class journalist John Sack has written many controversial stories in his fifty years of journalism, but, as he relates here, none as controversial as the story of those Jews who ran postwar concentration camps for Germans. Himself Jewish, [Sack tells of his struggle](#) to research, write, publish, and promote that story in the face of stonewalling by Yad Vashem, censorship at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, and attacks from major Jewish organizations — a toughening that stands him in good stead here as he runs a gauntlet of polite but skeptical questioners at IHR's conference.

Freelance researcher Charles Provan, whom Ernst Zündel calls "a revisionist who believes in the gas chambers," [has found important new documents on a key Auschwitz witness, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli](#), just when it seemed that revisionist researchers had said the last word on the Hungarian

pathologist. Provan suggests a “novel” solution to the inconsistencies and absurdities in Nyiszli’s testimony. His solution may trouble the Auschwitz orthodox more than it does revisionists.

Revisionists tend to think of Ernst Zündel as more a warrior than a diplomat, but in this issue the victor in the Toronto Holocaust trials urges that revisionists be tolerant: not only of our adversaries, but of ourselves. In his [address to IHR’s May 2000 conference](#), Ernst shows several of his many sides: transcontinental publisher of revisionist research; Prospero of worldwide revisionist outreach; spin doctor on the Irving trial; and prophet of the present Palestinian revolt.

It has been a while since the Journal ran dual reviews of one book, yet, like Arno Mayer’s *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*, reviewed by both Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson in the fall 1989 JHR, Peter Novick’s *Holocaust in American Life* is that rare book from the historical establishment that merits extended consideration. After [Greg Raven](#) and former academic [Samuel Crowell](#) mine Novick’s jaundiced study for its many implications and admissions, Crowell examines Norman Finkelstein’s still more acidulous *Holocaust Industry*. Then Crowell dissects two books that testify to the establishment’s increasingly dishevelled efforts to counter and to contain Holocaust revisionism, Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman’s *Denying History* and Richard Evans’s post-Irving trial [Lying about History](#).

This issue of the Journal of Historical Review marks an editorial changing of the guard that signifies both growth and continuity. As the Institute of Historical Review builds and expands in the aftermath of the long Carto wars, IHR director Mark Weber, who since 1992 has edited this journal to the highest standard, finds himself compelled to devote all of his considerable talents to his directorial duties. I shall devote my energies and my experience as editor of the JHR (1988-1992) to upholding that standard.

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Revisionist news and comment

World Revisionist Conference Banned in Lebanon under Jewish Pressure

Whoever doubted the social-political importance of Holocaust revisionism could doubt it no more following the success of frantic efforts this March by Jewish groups, supported by the U.S. government, to ban a peaceful, privately organized revisionist meeting in Lebanon.

Caving in to pressure from the State Department and powerful Zionist organizations, the Lebanese government banned the much-publicized “Revisionism and Zionism” conference nine days before it was to begin in Beirut. Scholars, researchers, and activists from a range of countries had been set to address the four-day meeting, which was to take place March 31 through April 3. Organized by the Swiss group Vérité et Justice (“Truth and Justice”), in cooperation with the Institute for Historical Review, the revisionist historical conference would have been the first in an Arab country. It was meant to reflect and further strengthen the growing cooperation between independent scholars in Europe, the United States, and Middle East countries.

Among those scheduled to address the conference were:

- [Robert Faurisson](#), Europe’s leading revisionist scholar, repeatedly persecuted by French authorities for his views.
- [Roger Garaudy](#), prominent French scholar, author of *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel* (published in the U.S. by the IHR), for which he was fined \$40,000 by a Paris court in 1998.
- Horst Mahler, noted German attorney and author.
- [Jürgen Graf](#), Vérité et Justice director, who was sentenced by a Swiss court in 1998 to fifteen months imprisonment for “Holocaust denial,” then chose exile rather than serving the politically motivated sentence.
- [Fredrick Töben](#), Ph.D., director of the Adelaide Institute in Australia.
- [Henri Roques](#), French scholar and author of *The “Confessions” of Kurt Gerstein*.
- [Mark Weber](#), American historian and IHR director.
- Oleg Platonov, Russian historian.
- [Robert Countess](#), Ph.D., American educator, writer, and publisher.

A dozen reporters had registered to cover the event, including writers for *Newsweek* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and journalists from the United States, Lebanon, Egypt, Britain, Germany, Austria, and Sweden.

Weeks before the conference was to begin, three influential Jewish groups — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — publicly demanded that Lebanese authorities ban it.

Typical was a declaration by the Anti-Defamation League, which mendaciously claimed that this “anti-Semitic and racist” meeting of “Holocaust deniers” would promote “hatred” in the Middle East. (The ADL has been in the news recently for its role in persuading President Clinton to pardon fugitive felon Marc Rich, who had given \$250,000 to the Jewish group.)

In line with the Jewish effort, the U.S. government brought covert pressure on the Lebanese to ban the meeting, as the Beirut daily *As-Safir* revealed on March 3. The paper’s seasoned Washington correspondent reported that the State Department had warned Lebanese officials of harmful consequences for their country if they did not prohibit the meeting. Washington’s pressure was brought to bear on Lebanon’s ambassador in Washington, and also conveyed by the American ambassador in Beirut and certain some U.S. Congressmen.

On learning of the *As-Safir* report (which other newspapers later independently confirmed), the IHR immediately contacted the State Department’s public affairs bureau for an explanation. Although an official named Greg Sullivan promised to look into the matter and quickly respond, in spite of numerous follow-up calls and letters he never did.

The IHR strongly denounced the campaign to prohibit the conference, stressing that the peaceful, privately organized meeting would be entirely legal in most countries, including the United States. Similar meetings hosted by the IHR have been held peacefully in the U.S. for over twenty years, IHR director Weber pointed out. “People everywhere,” he said, “should have the right to investigate and make up their own minds about twentieth century history, including ‘the Holocaust,’ free of censorship and intimidation. Lebanese are entitled to the same standard of freedom of speech and expression as people in other countries.”

The Zionist groups behind the campaign, said Weber, “betray an arrogant double standard. That these Jewish groups, ardent supporters of Israel’s oppressive and criminal policies, should demand anything of Lebanon, a country that has repeatedly been a victim of Zionist aggression, is an expression of brazen arrogance.”

The campaign to ban the revisionist history meeting “underscores the need for precisely such a conference. It shows, once again, how greatly Zionist groups fear open debate about ‘the Holocaust,’ which is a major weapon in the Israeli-Zionist arsenal. This ban points up the fragile and mendacious character of what even a few courageous Jewish scholars are aptly calling the ‘Holocaust cult’ and the ‘Holocaust industry.’”

The conference ban, said Vérité et Justice in a statement, “dramatically demonstrates how a small group manipulates public opinion, thereby depriving the public of its legitimate right to know.” Behind the cancellation, the statement continued, are “the Zionists who, thanks to their iron grip on the media of the West, have succeeded for more than five decades in imposing their distortions of history on the world. They control, to a large extent, newspapers, books, films, theater, and even universities. This control has enabled them to brainwash the broad public, which unknowingly accepts many Zionist legends and downright lies as indisputable historical facts. The so-called ‘Holocaust’ is but the most extreme example.”

Washington’s secretive campaign to ban the Beirut conference is “hypocritical and bullying,” said Weber, who also called the Lebanese government ban “an outrageous assault against freedom of speech and expression.”

Although the conference cancellation was a disappointment and a setback, the organizational effort was not in vain. The widespread media attention it generated boosted international awareness of Holocaust revisionism, including the work and impact of the Institute for Historical Review.

While most press coverage was unfriendly, even hostile, some reports — seemingly reflecting a steady tread — were remarkably objective. A number of articles respectfully quoted IHR spokesmen on a basis of parity with spokesmen for well-entrenched Jewish groups.

In a statement made public in mid-March, fourteen Arab intellectuals condemned the Beirut conference and called on Lebanese authorities to ban it. But the widely publicized declaration soon proved something of an embarrassment for its backers. Edward Said, a prominent Palestine-born scholar who teaches at Columbia University, repudiated the statement two weeks later, saying that he had been deceived about its content. He explained that he had never, in fact, approved any call to ban the conference. Another signer, Elias Khoury, expressed embarrassment that the statement was hailed by Israel's ambassador to France.

Further information about the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference, including numerous press reports on the campaign to ban it, is posted on the "Beirut 2001" section of the IHR web site: <http://ihr.org>

Around the globe, awareness is growing of the importance of the Holocaust story as a key propaganda tool of Israeli-Zionist interests. Ever more Europeans, for example, understand how Israel and Zionist groups exploit "the Holocaust" to blackmail countries and corporations for billions of dollars for Israel and Zionist organizations, and to excuse otherwise inexcusable policies of the Jewish state.

This growing awareness has been transmitted to the Middle East, above all as a consequence of the 1998 trial in Paris of the prominent French Muslim scholar Roger Garaudy, who was fined \$40,000 for his book *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, which presents compelling evidence refuting the orthodox Holocaust story and other historical legends. (An attractive American edition is published by the IHR.)

Iran's official radio voice to the world, IRIB, has in recent years expressed support for Holocaust revisionism by broadcasting sympathetic interviews with leading revisionist scholars and activists. Several interviews with IHR Director Mark Weber have been aired on the English-language service, and similar interviews have been broadcast with Ernst Zündel in German and with Ahmed Rami in Arabic. IRIB short-wave radio reaches millions in the Middle East, Europe, and Asia.

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Revisionism on the Web

The Thought Heard 'Round the World

by Greg Raven

Even though seven years have elapsed since the Internet burst into prominence in 1994 due to the addition of the “World Wide Web” (often abbreviated “WWW”) to electronic mail (“e-mail”), file transfer, and other existing features, it is difficult to know whether this is the wave of the future, a passing fad, or a stepping-stone to something yet to come. One thing certain is that revisionist materials on the Internet drive anti-revisionists crazy.

The *Journal* has covered efforts by governments to silence revisionists. If these attempts to regulate freedom of speech are successful, then the Internet cannot survive, and freedom of speech everywhere is threatened. However, the premise that the laws of one country should be used to determine Internet content in other countries, is ludicrous, and almost certainly will lead to the downfall of efforts to control Internet content; imagine Muslim countries attempting to control the Internet because pornography is available, or the Communist Chinese because some Web sites publicize human rights abuses.

Discussions and Debates

Before the World Wide Web made the Internet so popular, electronic presentations of revisionist viewpoints were confined to computer systems of which one had to be a member. Non-members had no way of following discussions, and material presented on one computer system would not appear on any other computer system without someone laboriously copying it.

Now, virtually anyone who can connect to the Internet can view revisionist materials, and participate in discussions and debates with others interested in revisionism. The longest-running and most active of these forums is alt.revisionism, an Internet discussion area (technically, a “news-group”) that allows visitors to read existing messages, respond to topics of interest, and post new messages. Discussions are free-wheeling, to say the least, and are often larded with the type of personal attacks that tend to surface when one is not face-to-face with one’s target.

There are also moderated discussion areas. Although typically moderators do not allow participants to express revisionist viewpoints, even so, it can be worthwhile to monitor discussion areas such as this to keep up with the current trends in establishment historiography.

Electronic Messages

It is difficult to overstate the extent to which e-mail (electronic mail, most often sent over the Internet) facilitates communication. It does not matter whether your message is going to the next-

door neighbor or to a far continent, delivery is free, and in many cases, almost instantaneous. In addition, one message can be sent to dozens or even hundreds of recipients simultaneously with a few keystrokes, eliminating printing costs, envelope stuffing, and postage expenses.

These characteristics have been a boon to revisionists. Revisionists major and minor around the world use mass e-mail to keep other revisionists up-to-date on breaking news and developments. Recipients can easily (and often do) “forward” copies of received messages to others, so that in a matter of hours revisionist news can move around the globe at a speed that makes fax machines look antiquated.

Registration for the recent (since cancelled) revisionist conference in Beirut was greatly facilitated by e-mail, as messages from speakers, participants, and journalists flooded into the IHR, where they were answered and sent back within twenty-four hours. Without e-mail, pulling together such a diverse group of persons from dozens of countries around the world would have been next to impossible.

If receiving streams of revisionist material every day is a problem because you live in a country where such material is forbidden, it is trivially easy to obtain a free e-mail account under an alias. These accounts have the additional advantage that they allow retrieval of messages from just about any computer anywhere in the world. Even if you are on the move, you don’t have to be out of touch with the revisionist community.

The Web

The utilitarian nature of other Internet features notwithstanding, the multi-media capabilities of the Web are what is driving the explosion in interest in the Internet. In 1994, when IHR material first appeared on the Web, there were relatively little few Web sites in existence, and not much other interesting material. The growth in the intervening years has been dramatic, to the point that now, newcomers to the Web take for granted that whatever they are seeking is available somewhere, and usually for free. Library card catalogs (including that of the Library of Congress), historical documents, and out-of-print books are all available on the Web. Today, the average Internet user has more news and information at his fingertips than editors at major metropolitan daily newspapers had ten years ago.

The integration of Web materials and e-mail capabilities make it possible for any Internet user to act as a “clipping service,” e-mailing others magazine and newspaper articles, and other Web materials, without having to retype them. To use the Beirut Conference as an example once again, articles in the Arab-language press were picked up by Arabic-speaking IHR associates from Web sites in the Middle East, translated into English, and e-mailed to the IHR, where they were available the next day on our Web site in translation.

With dozens of supporters around the world sending electronic “clippings” every day, not every clipping is going to be germane. Even so, those materials that cannot be used by the IHR are often forwarded electronically to others for use elsewhere.

Simple and Effective

Without the Internet, the control of the mass media by groups and individuals hostile to historical truth would doom a small publisher such as the IHR to eking out an existence on the fringe. With a well-designed and highly visible Web site (www.ihr.org), the IHR can be on nearly equal foot-

ing with huge organizations such as the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Simon Wiesenthal Center in making material available to the average computer user.

This has led to an increasing number of citations of revisionist Web sites in articles dealing with historical topics such as the Holocaust. Not only does the IHR Web site allow journalists from around the world to quickly and easily contact the IHR, it allows their readers to quickly find and peruse revisionist materials, so they can make up their own minds about historical events.

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Media Review

The Shoah: Fictive Images and Mere Belief?

Robert Faurisson

The photography exposition “Mémoire des camps,” currently on view in Paris at the seventeenth century palace known as the Hôtel de Sully, is stirring disquiet in some Jewish circles. This exposition, from which care has been taken to eliminate a few too obvious fakes, renders all the more stark, in our materialist age of the image, of photography and television, the absence of any photograph and of any material element which might prove that the Jews were, during the 1939-1945 war, “victims of an industrially planned extermination.” The last six words are those of Jacques Mandelbaum, a staff writer at the daily *Le Monde*. In an article entitled “La Shoah et ces images qui nous manquent” (“The Shoah and those images we lack,” January 25, 2001, p.17), the journalist does not conceal his perplexity.

Mandelbaum writes that “no [true] images describing this crime are available.” He speaks, with regard to Auschwitz, of Soviet “propaganda pictures,” adding:

Some of these [Soviet propaganda] pictures were nonetheless reused later as authentic archival documents. All the known images concerning this crime are thus, if not false, at least inappropriate. Including, and perhaps especially, those of the heaps of corpses discovered in the concentration camps, the spectacular horror of which is still far from the reality.

He reminds the reader that it is precisely because of the non-existence of real images that it has been “possible to produce images by way of fiction,” and he thinks that fiction “is in the process of winning out.” The organizers of the exposition go so far as to assert, as has Jean-Claude Pressac, that this or that photograph was taken from inside an Auschwitz gas chamber. Skeptical, the journalist asks: “From a gas chamber or from another building?”

Despite the objections voiced by revisionists, certain authors have dared to claim that, in the 1944 photographs taken by Allied pilots from high above the Auschwitz complex, the buildings containing the homicidal gas chambers could be discerned. Mandelbaum notes that, in these photographs, all “things existing at Auschwitz can be deciphered, except the presence of the gas chambers.” He returns to “the insufferable lack of [authentic] images of the extermination,” and he mentions a dispute amongst exterminationist authors “literally haunted by the near-total absence of photos relating to the extermination.” In passing, he assails “the ineptness of the [exposition's] organizers.”

In sum, this Shoah, the historical character of which Mandelbaum of course upholds, is at present reduced, on the one hand, to fictive images (he writes “images largely inappropriate”) and, on the

other hand, to a belief, itself founded on fictive images.

Mandelbaum concludes:

If seeing is believing, how can it be admitted henceforth that, with regard to the Shoah, the [authentic] image is precisely what is lacking?

This last question, which is clear, and the other quoted remarks, which are not without punch, have been wrested with much difficulty from the fuzzy mass of Mandelbaum's article. The journalist, writing in a yeshiva-style French, employs numerous contortions of language. He strives systematically to save the Holocaustic bacon, and also, perhaps, to leave an eventual escape route for himself and his newspaper — whereupon *Le Monde*, come the day when the myth of the Shoah needs scuttling, will be able to pride itself on Mandelbaum's article and on a few others just as oblique.

More than twenty years ago, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and his co-religionists began to beat a retreat in the face of the revisionist upsurge, disowning some of the more blatant lies of their own propaganda. Over the years, they have made a habit of attributing such deceptive inventions to the Communists, the Russians, or the Poles. In this case, it is clear that *Le Monde*'s journalist is imputing the counterfeit coin of Auschwitz to the Soviets.

January 25, 2001

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First Person

At the Tolerance Museum

MacKenzie Paine

Teaching tolerance through “Holocaust education” in the public schools is now the law in cities, counties, and states across America. As revisionists are well aware, the standard account of the Jewish Holocaust taught in such courses is more than dubious. So too are the controversial methods, including “role playing” and similar types of psychological manipulation. But does Holocaust education really promote tolerance?

I recently had the opportunity to answer that question for myself when I visited the Simon Wiesenthal Center’s Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles. And, since it is our children who are now the chief targets of “Holocaust education,” I took my own two sons with me to gauge the museum’s impact, and their reactions.

Prior to our visit, I interviewed my sons on things the Museum of Tolerance regards as key issues for elementary school pupils. Their innocence was evident. They had no concept of Jewishness, were aware of no people or nation that was inherently evil, and knew of Hitler and the Nazis only what they had seen in Hollywood movies. They are both fifth-graders who attend a Catholic school in Mexico, and their outlook is entirely appropriate for their ages and life experience.

On a dreary Sunday morning in early March, we joined the long line for the Museum of Tolerance. Germar Rudolf, visiting town to discuss his role as an expert witness in David Irving’s upcoming appeal, accompanied us. We waited, along with dozens of school groups, as each visitor was subjected to a security procedure more searching than any airport or border check I’ve ever experienced.

After a short explanation of how the tour would proceed, we were pointed toward two large doors. Above them, bright red neon signs designated one door “Not-Prejudiced,” the other, “Prejudiced.” On a nearby video, a rather sarcastic actor challenged the visitors to consider whether or not they were prejudiced. Then each of us was instructed to choose the door that matched our attitudes. As the already humbled mass ambled herd-like toward the “Prejudiced” portal, I opted to try the “Not-Prejudiced” door. It couldn’t be opened — it was fake. So began the brainwashing of yet another group of young Americans.

The first part of the tour is an emotional barrage of film clips and still photos showing racial strife, riots, and suffering Third World children. There may have been a European-American pictured without a Ku Klux Klan robe, but if there was I missed it. It hurt to see my sons viewing such violence and carnage, so I tried to rush them through as quickly as possible.

Then came the feature presentation, the Holocaust exhibit. The tour is self-guided, so there is no one to ask questions of, no one to challenge. The visitors simply go from one grayish display of mannequins and recorded “conversations” to another. All of them “explain” the political environment of 1930s Germany, without the least attempt at balance or accuracy. As Germar dryly commented after the causes of the Second World War had been neatly packed into a three-minute explanation, “They forgot to mention the Russian Revolution.”

The third part of the tour is an emotional assault on the psyche. I watched my two sons gulp, their eyes wide, as they viewed the usual photographs of heaps of corpses and listened to recorded descriptions of diesel gassings, viewed photographs “ordinary” Germans said to have helped the Nazis shoot Jewish civilians, black and white films of people carrying all of their worldly belongings, and more. All of these images flash across multiple screens in a darkened room, and the students absorb them like sponges.

Then came the grand finale, a forty-five minute lecture from Elizabeth Mann, a self-professed Holocaust survivor, to a now traumatized roomful of students and teachers. At the end of her monologue I asked Mrs. Mann why she had told so many impressionable young people that the Germans made soap out of Jewish corpses during the Second World War, when even the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum says that wasn’t so. She responded that she disagreed with the USHMM. How’s that? Differences of opinion are one thing, but arguing for a heinous accusation that has never been substantiated, and is dismissed by virtually all historians as false, is quite another. But this was lost on the students.

I next asked Mrs. Mann why she had told her audience that the “gas chamber” at Auschwitz was a dual-purpose shower room, which could be converted into a homicidal gas chamber with the flip of a switch. The lethal gas, she had told us, came out of the showerheads. When I pointed out that all the “orthodox” Holocaust literature on Auschwitz describes only rooms into which the poison was dropped — in granules — through windows or holes in the roof, the room erupted into hisses and boos. Mrs. Mann, saved by the booing, made no response.

Once outside the lecture hall, the students called me over to ask me how I could possibly question such a sweet, elderly woman who had suffered so much. They accused me of calling her a liar. I was happy to explain to them, as a mother to her children, that I hadn’t accused Mrs. Mann of lying. I had simply questioned some of the things that she had said. I looked out into the group and could see fear in some of the faces, as if they were being confronted by a lunatic with a gun, and I beseeched them to visit the USHMM’s Internet Web site and read for themselves what that museum’s authorities say about the soap libel, and about gassing at Auschwitz. When one of the teenagers asked me how I knew that soap wasn’t made at Auschwitz, Germar, identifying himself as a chemist, told them calmly that it would have been physically impossible to make soap out of human fat in the buildings at Auschwitz. There had been no facilities for such an undertaking.

With each of our responses the group became more unruly, sarcastic, and intolerant. Rather than ask responsible questions or make clear arguments, at last they resorted to taunting us, calling Germar a Nazi and telling us to “f___ off.” They frightened my sons, so we left, but not before they ended their outburst by chasing our van out of the underground parking lot. Their teacher was helpless to stop them, although she tried.

My sons and I learned a lesson at the Museum of Tolerance, a lesson about intolerance — taxpayer-funded, state-sanctioned intolerance — not merely of Germans and Christians and European-Americans, but also of intellectual curiosity and reasoned dissent. While I was able to “de-program” my sons with some healthy discussion and simple logic, I’m one of the fortunate few

who have heard the revisionist side. If that angry mob of teenagers is indicative of the effect Holocaust studies have on our children, America risks schooling a generation in bigotry.

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Behind An Eye for An Eye

Revenge, Hate and History

John Sack

Three years ago I was scheduled to speak at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. The speech was announced in this brochure and also on the Internet. But then the Museum canceled it.

For the next forty-five minutes, I'll say here what I'd planned to say at the Holocaust Museum, and then, just as I'd have done at the Museum, I'll stay here as long as you'd like, answering questions. The audience at the Museum would have been historians, mostly, and I'd have said something like ...

Thank you. Thank you for inviting me, thank you for listening to me. What I'm going to talk about happened fifty years ago. And for fifty years, no one, no historian, no one at all has spoken about it in public anywhere in the world. Not until now.

Now myself, I'm not an historian, I'm a reporter. And what I write is the raw material of history, something that historians will — I hope — someday make some sense of. I go places. I watch events. I listen to people. And then I tell stories. And I'll start by telling one now. A true story about a teenage girl.

Lola

Blonde hair, brown eyes, very pretty. In high school she's doing the flying rings, trapeze, acting in Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs. She's one of the title characters. She comes home. She's skipping through the streets singing, "On the Good Ship Lollipop ..." Not exactly. She's really singing [in accented English], "On the Good Ship Lollipop ..." Because she's a Polish girl, and she's in Bedzin, Poland, in the 1930s. Her name is Lola Potok.

And when she's 18 years old, the Nazis invade. Lola is put on a train to the town of Oswiecim — we know it as Auschwitz. Her baby, one year old, is ripped from her arms; she never sees the baby again. She isn't sent to the cyanide chamber, but her mother is. Her mother is killed, her brother and sister, nieces and nephews are killed. Fourteen people.

(You know, I wasn't going to say this at the Holocaust Museum, but in this particular room I know there are people who don't believe there were cyanide chambers at Auschwitz. I believe, and Lola believes, there were cyanide chambers at Auschwitz.)

Her mother was killed. Her brother and sister, nieces and nephews were killed. Fourteen people. The one brother at Auschwitz who's still alive stands on the gallows and says in Yiddish, "Nem nekumah! Take revenge!" Then he's hanged.

Revenge

In January 1945, Lola escapes. She weighs sixty-six pounds. Her eyes are hollow. Her hair is this short. Her back has been broken. Her hand is mangled. She's wearing two left shoes. All the people she loves are dead, or she thinks so, and she is just bursting with hate. She wants to release that hate, to spew it onto the Germans. One of her childhood friends is in the Polish government, and Lola goes to him and tells him, "I want revenge."

And two months later the war is still going on, and Lola is now in Germany, the part occupied by the Russians and administered by the Poles. Lola's in an olive-colored uniform. On her jacket are brass buttons. On her collar, what the GIs call scrambled eggs. On her shoulders are stars. On her hip is a Luger. Lola is working for the Polish government, she is the commandant of a prison for Germans, and she is attempting to take revenge for the Holocaust.

Now, Lola is a Jewish girl. She's studied the Torah, and the Torah says, "You shall not take revenge." Lola knows that. She's disobeying that. But is there any of us here who'd condemn her? Any of us who can't understand her? I can understand her, and I can have rachmanis, compassion, for her.

I met Lola Potok. It was in April 1986. I'm living in Hollywood. I'm a writer, and I have a meeting at Paramount. And the secretary there, she's reading something I wrote about the Billionaire Boys Club. She tells me, "I like it. It reminds me of my family."

I say, "The Billionaire Boys Club? Your family?" Secretary says, "Yes, all those murders. My mother, Lola, was at Auschwitz." I say, "Oh." Secretary says, "And after that, my mother commanded a prison full of Nazis." I say, "What? She commanded ..." I say, "Do you know there's a movie there?" I say, "You should tell Lynda," Lynda is the producer, the secretary's boss, but the secretary tells me, "I know there's a movie. I won't tell Lynda. I want to produce it myself!"

There's a saying in Hollywood: a producer is someone, anyone, who knows a writer. I'm a writer, the secretary knows me, and therefore she's a producer. We're in business together. The deal is, I'll write a magazine article on Lola, her mother, and the secretary will make a movie from it.

Cut. A few days later. Hollywood, the Moustache Cafe. I'm having spinach crepe. I'm having dinner with Lola. An elegant woman. Coral lipstick, black eyeliner, like on a femme fatale. Speaks five languages fluently. She's sixty-six years old. And Lola starts telling me her story.

Gleiwitz

At the end of World War II, she tells me, she commanded a prison in Gleiwitz, Germany. She says the inmates were German soldiers. But she says some were Nazis, even SS, pretending to be German soldiers, and Lola was looking for them. Looking for Höss and Hössler, the commandants at Auschwitz. Looking for Mengele, the man who once said to her mother, "Go left, you die"; who said to Lola, "Go right, you live." And if Lola ever found him, she didn't know what she'd do. But she'd do it.

And Lola tells me: One day in her prison she found a Gestapo man. Fat, forty years old. Under his arm was a tattoo. It said A or B. It was his blood type. Everyone in the Gestapo had it. Lola freaked out. She started screaming, “Du schmutziges Schwein! Du verfluchtes Schwein! Du ... How many Jews did you kill?” She slapped him. The man was down on the floor. He was hugging her boots, saying, “Gnade! Gnade! Have mercy on me!,” and Lola was kicking him and kicking ...

This story of Lola's: Is there anyone here who likes it? I didn't like it. I didn't want to write it. I thought it was ugly. Lola didn't like it. She told me her mother, if she were alive, wouldn't like it. Her mother used to read to her from the Torah and tell her, “You mustn't hate. It only hurts you. It corrodes your soul.”

And Lola said that after some months in Gleiwitz, she remembered this. She was in the prison one day. And there was a Jewish guard there. His face was red. His teeth were bare. There was spit on his teeth. Ugly, ugly. The man had a whip. He was screaming in Polish, “You son of a whore.” He was whipping a German prisoner. Lola said, “Stop.” Lola said, “Why are you whipping him?” The man said, “Well, the Germans did it to me!” Lola said, “And now you hate them?” The man said, “I despise them!” Lola said, “Well, if you despise them, why do you want to be like them?” Because to Lola, to Lola, this man, this Jew, he looked, talked, acted just like the Nazis she'd known at Auschwitz.

At that time, Lola didn't care about the Germans, the German prisoners. They could have dropped dead for all she cared. But she told me she cared about the Jewish guard. For years the Nazis had called him a pig, a dog, and if now he'd truly become a beast, then who had won, the Jew or the Nazis? So according to Lola, she called all the guards to her office and said to them that from now on, we'll treat the Germans like human beings. And from then on, Lola told me, that's what she did.

Writing Lola's Story

Now, this story I liked. If it was true, this was a story worth telling. I had this dream: maybe the Serbs and Croats will read it, the Irish Catholics and Protestants will read it, the Hutus and Tutsis, the Israelis and Palestinians ... Maybe they'll read it, and maybe they'll learn, as Lola did, that to hate your neighbors may or may not destroy them, but it does destroy yourself. And maybe these people will stop their revenge, stop their genocide.

We Jews always say of the Holocaust, “Never again. Never again will people hurt us simply because we are Jews.” But Lola was apparently saying, “Yes, and never again will I hurt a German simply because he's a German.” Fifty years ago, Lola was apparently saying, “Let there be peace on earth, and let it begin with me.” This story I wanted very much to write. So ...

I start interviewing Lola. At the Inn of the Seventh Ray in Los Angeles. At a Jewish cemetery in New Jersey. On the Champs Elysées in Paris. I interview Lola on and off for two-and-a-half years. Her memories just pour out, and she also introduces me to a dozen other people, all Jews: people who knew her in Gleiwitz, prison guards in Gleiwitz, even the man who appointed her the commandant in Gleiwitz.

I write a twenty-page article on Lola's revenge and Lola's redemption. Lola reads it and likes it. The story runs in California magazine. Lola, at her own expense, comes to Washington to promote it on National Public Radio. The story is sold internationally, and it's reprinted in Best

Magazine Articles, 1988. We have movie offers. Bette Midler and Suzanne Somers want to play the Lola part.

And then I write a book proposal. I write, "It's Lola's redemption, not Lola's revenge, that this book's about." I'll go to Germany. I'll find some prisoners maybe. I'll go to Poland. I'll find some more guards, maybe. I'll write a book. The title will be Lola. And in August 1988, the publisher Henry Holt in New York City says, "Okay! We want it!" Good news, and I phone it to Lola.

And Lola on the telephone says, "Listen, John, I don't want you to write it." I say, "Lola? Lola, this is the first time you've told that to me." I say, "Lola, we signed a contract." We had signed one. Lola had written, "I grant you the exclusive right to write and to publish a book about my life."

Threats

That night I go to Lola's apartment in Hollywood. Anyone here ever been in an encounter group? Remember your first night? Everyone shouting and screaming. You're just sitting there stupefied. You're thinking, "What is going on?" Well, I'm in Lola's condo. Lola is saying, "Lookit, John. I don't like the way you write. You write like a reporter. If you start writing this book, I will stop you. I will stop you!"

Lola's daughter is there. She's saying, "John, give it up. I'm begging you to give it up. John! Give it up!" Another daughter of Lola's is there. She's a lawyer, and she says, "John! You're going to have instantaneous and very expensive litigation!" Lola's saying, "I'll go to court." The daughter's saying, "John, I want you to sign this release. John! Sign the release!" The other daughter's saying, "John! Just leave us! Just go!" Lola's saying, "John! Get out of our lives!"

I leave. I telephone Lola but she doesn't answer. I write her, but she sends the letters back, unopened, inscribed "refused."

And not just Lola. Lola's second-in-command at the prison in Gleiwitz was Moshe, also a Jew. He won't talk to me. His wife on the telephone says, "We don't give you the permission to write this." I say, "I ... You ..." That's what I say, "I ... You ... One doesn't need permission!" I have permission, from the Constitution of the United States. Moshe's wife hangs up.

And then there is Jadzia, also a Jew, she was one of Lola's guards in Gleiwitz. Jadzia says on the telephone, "I was never in Gleiwitz!" Then she says, "Yes, I was in Gleiwitz, but I'll never talk about it!" And then she talks for an hour saying, "I don't know nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing. Nothing! Nothing!"

People won't talk to me. People tell other people, "Don't talk to John Sack." People talk to me, and they lie to me. People say they'll sue me, they'll destroy me, they'll kill me. One man takes my driver's license, writes down my address, and says, "If you write about me, I will call the Israeli Mafia."

Here's some advice. Never tell a reporter, "You'd better not write this." I have a contract with Henry Holt. I've made a promise to Henry Holt. I keep my promises.

Doing the Research

In April 1989, I fly to Germany. I go to this castle, this concrete castle, high on a hill above the Rhine. It's the German Federal Archives, and they've got forty thousand statements there by Germans who lived in what now is Poland during World War II. The statements of course are in German, in German script, and I find five statements from Germans who were in Lola's prison.

I go to another place in Germany: a great medieval hall, with banners on the stone walls. It's a reunion of a thousand people from Gleiwitz. They're drinking beer. They're eating sausages and sauerkraut. They're laughing and singing, "Ein prosit, ein prosit ..." And I'm like a little flower girl. You know, the girl who goes from table to table selling roses? I'm going around asking, "Uh, excuse me. Anyone here who was in prison in Gleiwitz?" Yeah, I am a party pooper. I admit it. But eventually I find five of Lola's prisoners.

I take the train to Gleiwitz. Now it's Gliwice, Poland. And going through Communist East Berlin, I'm arrested, taken off the train, and locked up in a little room because with me I have a copy of the book *Die Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus den Gebieten östlich der Oder-Neisse* ["The Expulsion of the German Population from the Territories East of the Oder-Neisse," published in the 1950s by the Bonn government]. Hours later I'm let out and I get to Gleiwitz/Gliwice at four in the morning. It's a city of two hundred thousand people, almost none of whom speak English. I don't speak Polish, but I find three of Lola's guards. They remember her well.

It's 1989, Poland is still Communist, but I get into Lola's prison, into the prisoners' cells. I tell them, "Dzien dobre. Good morning." I see the prison records. Remember when, according to Lola, she went to the Polish government and said, "I want revenge"? Well, I find her application, in her own handwriting. She wrote, "I want to cooperate against our German oppressors." I find the official document appointing her commandant in Gleiwitz.

After that, I go to Germany eleven more times, to Poland three more times, to France, Austria, Israel, Canada, and all around the United States. Through interpreters I talk to two hundred people in Polish and Russian, Danish and Swedish, German and Dutch, French and Spanish, Yiddish and Hebrew. I left out English. I get three hundred hours of tape-recorded interviews, and I see thousands of documents.

And what do I learn? Well: Lola was telling the truth. She was the commandant in Gleiwitz. And she was taking revenge. She slapped the Germans around. And just as she said, she stopped. I remember one day in 1989, I'm having lunch with one of her guards at the Hotel Leszny. We're eating wienerschnitzel. And out of the blue the man says, "You know, Lola stopped. She told us, 'Stop!' She said, 'We're going to show the Germans we're not like them.'"

The Facts Come Out

So Lola was telling the truth. But, she wasn't telling the whole truth. Lola had told me the people in her prison were German soldiers. And yes, twenty of them were German soldiers, men who worked as painters, carpenters, and such. But there were a thousand other prisoners there, and they were German civilians: German men, German women, German children.

One prisoner was a fourteen-year-old boy. He had been out in Gleiwitz wearing his boy scout pants. A man cried out, "You're wearing black pants! You're a fascist!" and he chased the boy and tackled him at the Church of Saint Peter and Paul, and then took him to Lola's prison. Now, the boy was completely innocent. So were most of the people in Lola's prison. They weren't Gestapo. They weren't SS. They weren't even Nazis. Out of a thousand prisoners, just twenty were ever even accused of it.

But the Germans in Lola's prison were slapped and whipped. And I'm so sorry to have to say it, but they were also tortured. The boy scout: the guards poured gasoline on his curly black hair and set it on fire. The boy went insane. The men: they were beaten with a Totschläger, a "beater-to-death." It's a long steel spring with a big lead ball at the end. You use it like a racketball racket. Your arm, your wrist, the spring: they deliver a triple hit to a German's face.

Lola didn't tell me, but the Germans in her prison were dying. I found their death certificates in Gleiwitz city hall. One of Lola's guards told me, "Yeah, the Germans would die." He told me, "I'd put the bodies in a horse-drawn cart. I'd cover them with potato peels so no one would see. I'd ride to the outskirts and, after I threw the potato peels out, I'd take the Germans to the Catholic cemetery. To the mass grave."

We all know about Auschwitz. But I have to tell you, the Germans in Lola's prison were worse off than Lola had been at Auschwitz. Lola at Auschwitz wasn't locked in a room night and day. She wasn't tortured night after night. She herself told me: "Thank God, nobody tried to rape us. The Germans weren't allowed to." But all of that happened to German girls at Lola's prison in Gleiwitz.

One woman I talked with wasn't even German. She was Polish. In 1945 she was twenty years old: a tall, blonde, beautiful medical student. The guards at Lola's prison pulled off her clothes and told her, "Let's do it!" They beat her and beat her, night after night, until she was black and blue. One morning, she came back to her cell and fell on the floor, sobbing. Her cellmate asked her, "What, what is that blue thing you're wearing? Oh, oh, it's your skin."

And ten feet away was Lola's office. Lola in her brass, braid, and stars. I once asked her, "Lola, where did you get that uniform?," and Lola said, "Well, the Russians must've given it to me." That wasn't the whole truth either.

Lola was in the Polish secret police. Its name was the Office of State Security, in Polish the Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego. The Germans called it the Polish Gestapo. One of its missions was to round up Nazi suspects. But for all practical purposes, if you were a German, you were a Nazi suspect. So the mission was to round up Germans, imprison them, interrogate them, and if they confess, prosecute them.

In the Office of State Security, the lower ranks were Polish Catholics, but most of the leaders were Polish Jews. The chief of the Office in Warsaw was a Jew. (When I was in Poland he wasn't alive, but I met some of his family.) The department directors, all or almost all of them, were Jews.

In Silesia, the province where Lola was commandant, the director of the Office of State Security was a Jew. I met him in Copenhagen, a little bald-headed man. The director of prisons was also a Jew. I met his whole family in Tel Aviv. The secretary of state security was a Jew. I met him time and again at his home in New Jersey. And in the Office of State Security in Silesia in February 1945, of the officers — not the enlisted men, not the guards, but the lieutenants, captains and such — one-fourth were Catholics, and three-fourths were Jews.

Solomon Morel

I interviewed twenty-four of them. And I learned that the Office of State Security ran 227 prisons for German civilians like Lola's. It also ran 1,255 concentration camps, and I interviewed four of the commandants. They were also Jews. One was Lola's boy friend, a man who'd lost in the

Holocaust his mother, his father, all his brothers (he had no sisters), all his uncles and aunts, and all but one of his cousins. I hope that, like me, you can all have compassion for Solomon Morel.

But one night in February, 1945, Solomon went to his concentration camp in the city of Swietochlowice. He went into the Germans' barracks, and said, "My name is Captain Morel. I am a Jew. I was at Auschwitz. I swore I would take revenge on you Nazis." They weren't Nazis, but Solomon said, "Now! Everyone! Sing the Horst Wessel song!" That was a Nazi anthem. No one wanted to sing it. One boy, fourteen years old, didn't even know it.

Solomon had a club. He said, "Sing it!" Some people began, "Die Fahne hoch! Die Reihen fest geschlossen ..." "Sing it! Sing it, I say!" They started singing, "Clear the streets for the brown battalions. Clear the street for the Storm Section men." Solomon had all this hate inside him, and he released it. He picked up a wooden stool and he started beating the Germans to death. For this one camp, I found the death certificates for 1,583 Germans.

Death Toll

In other camps and other prisons, thousands of German civilians died. German men, women, children, babies. At one camp there was a barracks for fifty babies. They were in cribs, but the camp doctor, Dr. Cedrowski — he was a Jew who had been in Auschwitz — he didn't heat the barracks, and he didn't give the babies milk. He gave them only some soup, and forty-eight of the fifty babies died.

All in all, sixty to eighty thousand Germans died. Some were killed by Jews, some by Catholics, and many by typhus, dysentery, and starvation, but sixty to eighty thousand died in the custody of the Office of State Security. Now, someone, a German, once told me that this was another holocaust. Well, I'm sure it seemed like a holocaust to the Germans.

But let's not forget: sixty thousand is one percent of the number of Jews who died in the capital-H Holocaust. Jews didn't do what the Germans did. We didn't plot to exterminate the German people. We didn't mobilize all the Jews and the Jewish state. (There was no Jewish state.) We didn't send the Germans systematically to cyanide chambers.

But let's also remember that sixty to eighty thousand civilians is more than the Germans lost at Dresden, and more than, or just as many as, the Japanese lost at Hiroshima, the Americans at Pearl Harbor, the British in the Battle of Britain, or the Jews at Belsen or Buchenwald.

Cover-up

All this was covered up for nearly fifty years. Jews who were involved didn't talk about it. For example, the chief of police in occupied Breslau, Germany, in 1945, who was Jewish, later wrote a book about the Holocaust. And in telling about his time as chief of police in Breslau, all he says is, "We moved westward to Breslau and ... from there ... to Prague." That's it. And Jewish reporters who knew didn't write about it. There's a working reporter right now in New York City who was in Poland right after World War II. He told me, "Whatever, whatever the Germans tell you, believe me, it's true." But he himself, he never wrote about it.

The truth was covered up, and was still being covered up. In 1989, I went to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, Israel's central Holocaust center. As you may know, they have fifty million documents there about the Holocaust. I ask them, "Well, what do you have on the Office of State Security?" They have nothing. I ask them, "What do you have on the Jews in the Office of State Security?"

Nothing. I say, “Well, there were Jewish commandants, Jewish directors, Jewish ...” The chairman of Yad Vashem responds, “It sounds rather imaginary,” and the director of archives says to me, “Imm-possible! Impossible!”

Denial, denial. I know that denial is a very human thing. But historically I don’t think it’s a Jewish thing. When Abraham, Isaac and Jacob committed sins, we Jews didn’t deny it. Yes, Abraham, the father of our people, sinned. God told him to go to Israel, instead he went to Egypt, and we admitted it in the Book of Genesis. Judah (the word “Jew” comes from Judah) made love to a prostitute. We admitted it in Genesis. Moses, even Moses sinned, and God didn’t let him into the Promised Land. We admitted that in Deuteronomy. Solomon — good, wise, old King Solomon — did evil. He “worshipped idols.” We didn’t cover it up. We admitted it in the Book of Kings.

It seems to me that that’s the Jewish tradition. How can we say to other people — to Germans, to Serbs, to Hutus — “What you’re doing is wrong,” if we ourselves do it and cover it up? I wish it were someone else who was here today. Abraham Foxman. Elie Wiesel. I wish he or she would simply say yes, some Jews, some Jews, did evil in 1945. But when the Jewish establishment didn’t say it, then I had to say it.

I’m a reporter. That’s what reporters do. Someone kills sixty thousand people, we report it. If we don’t report it, it might become common, or more common, than it already is. But also I’m a Jew, and the Torah says (Leviticus 5:1), that if someone does evil, and if I know it and don’t report it, then I am guilty too.

So I start writing this book. The title now won’t be Lola. It’ll be An Eye for an Eye. And on the third page I write, “I hope that An Eye for an Eye is something more than the story of Jewish revenge: that it’s the story of Jewish redemption.” I write about Jews taking revenge, yes. But that is one tenth of An Eye for an Eye. Mostly I write ...

I write about Zlata, Moshe, Mania, and Pola. They were Jews who refused to look at, much less work at Lola’s prison. I write about Ada, who visited the prison once, just once, and then fled to Israel. I write about Shlomo, who was in the Office of State Security and, at the risk of his life, told people in it, “You must stop doing this.”

I write about Lola. I write that in Gleiwitz she finally remembered how a Jew should act and, at the risk of her life, she got bread, her own bread from her own home, and smuggled it to the German prisoners. Now this isn’t something that Lola told me. No, the prison guards told me. They said that if Lola had been caught, she’d have gone to prison herself.

And I write that at Yom Kippur, 1945, Lola — again at the risk of her life — escaped from Gleiwitz, just as she had escaped some months earlier from Auschwitz, and came to the United States. Almost all the Jews in the Office of State Security escaped, at the risk of their lives, in September, October, and November 1945. And I write that too. They crept through the woods into Germany, or climbed the pass into Italy. They did what the SS never did: they deserted, they defected.

Rejection

I was crying while I was writing this. My advance from Henry Holt was \$25,000, and for three years I was writing An Eye for an Eye. In September 1991 I finally finished it, wrapped it up, and mailed it to Henry Holt in New York. And I told myself: “Okay. I’ve done it. That’s the end of the cover-up.”

No. Because then the people at Henry Holt say, “We don’t want it.” They don’t say it’s wrong. They know it’s right. They just say, “We don’t want to publish it. Keep the twenty-five thousand.” Okay. My agent and I send the manuscript to other publishers: to Harper’s, to Scribner’s — you name it, we sent it — to two dozen other publishers.

And let me tell you. The letters we get from these people, they’re practically blurbs. The publishers say: “well-written,” “extremely well-written,” “chilling,” “compelling,” “disturbing,” “dismaying,” “shocking,” “startling,” “astonishing,” “mesmerizing,” “extraordinary,” “I was riveted,” “I was bowled over,” “I love it!” And the publishers all reject it. The letter from St. Martin’s Press says, “I am always moved by Holocaust books, but I’d have trouble distinguishing this book ... from other books ... in this vast area of literature.”

Okay. My agent and I agree that if we can’t sell a book, we’ll try magazines. One of the chapters is on Solomon Morel. Remember? The man who lost his mother, father, all his siblings, uncles, and aunts in the Holocaust. The man who had so much hate for the Germans, he had to disgorge it, who commanded a concentration camp at Swietochlowice, and beat Germans to death.

Solomon is still alive. He’s wanted by Interpol for crimes against humanity. Interpol has an international warrant out for his arrest. But he’s fled to Israel. He’s taking refuge in Tel Aviv, and no one in America — no newspaper, magazine or television network — has ever reported it.

So we send the chapter on Solomon Morel to Esquire magazine. I’ve been a contributing editor there, a war correspondent in Vietnam, Iraq, Bosnia. Esquire says, “No.” We send it to GQ magazine. GQ says, “Yes!” The editor says it’s the most important story in GQ’s history. He even tells that to an editor of Esquire at a bar in Greenwich Village. He tells him, “Ha, ha! You don’t have it! We do!”

For six weeks GQ is fact-checking. They don’t find a single error. They send me the galley proofs, the page proofs, and on Wednesday the presses will roll. And then the telephone rings at my home in the Rocky Mountains. The editor of GQ says, “John, this isn’t a happy phone call. We aren’t going to run it.” He tells me to keep the \$15,000 and to sell the story somewhere else.

So once again my agent and I are making calls, sending faxes, passing out the GQ page proofs. Harper’s magazine says no. Rolling Stone says no and “I’m sure you’ll understand.” Mother Jones, that great exposé magazine (“Extra! Extra! Cigarettes are bad for you!”) doesn’t even call back. The New Yorker (which has published ten pieces by me) refuses even to look at it.

The Attacks Begin

But finally, finally, in March 1993, the story of Solomon Morel is published in the Village Voice. And in November, *An Eye for an Eye* is published by Basic Books, a division of HarperCollins. So, thank God, now it’s all over. I can relax now. Not.

Because one day later there’s a telephone call to Basic Books. It’s from the executive director of the World Jewish Congress. He says he wants an immediate retraction, and if he doesn’t get it he’ll call a major press conference tomorrow. He says he’ll denounce me, Basic Books, and HarperCollins, and say, “They are all anti-Semites.” Well, we don’t retract, and the World Jewish Congress doesn’t denounce. But ...

Then the reviews come out. And the reviewers say that *An Eye for an Eye* isn’t true, that what I wrote there never happened at all.

Please! Much of *An Eye for an Eye* had been fact-checked by California magazine, fact-checked by GQ, and, for the Village Voice, fact-checked by a woman who is the Fact-Checker from Hell. She and I checked every single word, even if we had to call up Poland. And when, after two weeks of this, night and day, we were finally done, the editor of the Voice gave an interview saying, “This may be the most accurate story in the history of American journalism.”

Much of *An Eye for an Eye* was corroborated by 60 Minutes, which found eight eyewitnesses I hadn’t found. It was corroborated by the New York Times and the International Herald Tribune. Historians hired by major newspapers in Germany went to the German Federal Archives and wrote, “The facts are true,” “The facts are right,” “The facts are iron-bound.”

But in the United States, one review was entitled “False Witness.” Another was headed “The Big Lie, Continued.”

The Jewish paper Forward said, “Sack is transparently writing docudrama,” and told readers that Lola Potok was not the commandant of the prison in Gleiwitz. Well, Lola herself had told me, “I was the commandant,” and thirty-five other people, including the current commandant, including the current director of prisons, said yes, Lola was the commandant. I have the document that says, “We appoint Citizen Lola Potok Commandant,” and I have a document signed by Lola Potok, Commandant. But still the Forward said, “The unlikelihood is overwhelming but Sack ... seems ... oblivious.” As I read this, I felt I was being lectured by Chico Marx. Remember? “Who you gonna believe? Your own two eyes or me?” I wrote a letter to the Forward. Over the last seven years, I’ve had to write, at last count, about 1,500 letters about *An Eye for an Eye*. And all those letters, added up, are twice as long as the book is.

Maybe you’re wondering. What sort of a crazy man am I? Why don’t I just say the hell with it? Why do I carry on?

I’ll tell you. There are eighty-five thousand books about the Holocaust. And none of them, if you ask me, has an honest answer to the question, “How could the Germans do it?” How could the Germans — the people who gave us Beethoven, the Ninth Symphony, the Ode to Joy, “Alle Menschen werden Brüder, All men will be brothers” — perpetrate the Holocaust?

This mystery, we’ve got to solve it. We’ve got to, or we’ll keep on having genocides in Cambodia, Bosnia, Zaire. Well, what I report in *An Eye for an Eye* is that Lola has solved it. The Jews from the Office of State Security have solved it. Because in their agony, their despair, their insanity, if you will, they felt they became like the Germans — the Nazis — themselves.

Wages of Hatred

And if I had been there, I’d have become one too, and now I understand why. Lola, like a lot of Jews, understandably, were full of hate in 1945. They were volcanoes of red-hot hate. They thought if they joined the Office of State Security, and spit out their hate at the Germans, then they’d be rid of it.

No. It doesn’t work that way. Let’s say I’m in love with someone. I don’t tell myself, “Uh, oh. I’ve got inside of me one, two pounds of love, so if I love her and love her, then I’ll use all of my love up, and I’ll be all out of love.” No. We all understand that love is a paradoxical thing, that the more we send out, the more we’ve got.

So why don’t we understand that about hate? If we hate, and if we act on that hate, then we hate even more later on. If we spit out a drop of hate, what happens? Well, we stimulate the saliva

glands, and we produce a drop and a quarter of it. If we spit that out, we produce a drop and a half, then two drops, three, a teaspoon, tablespoon, a Mount Saint Helens. The more we send out, the more we've got, until we are perpetual-motion machines, sending out hate and hate until we've created a holocaust.

You don't have to be a German to become like that. You can be a Serb, a Hutu, a Jew. You can be an American. We were the ones in the Philippines. We were the ones in Vietnam. We were the ones in Washington, DC, for ten thousand years the home of the Anacostia Indians. They had one of their camp grounds at what now is the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

We all have it in us to become like Nazis. Hate, as Lola discovered, hate is a muscle, and if we want to be monsters all we have to do is exercise it. To hate the Germans, to hate the Arabs, to hate the Jews. Hate. The more we exercise it, the bigger it gets, just as if every day we curl forty pounds, far from being worn out, in time we are curling fifty, sixty pounds. We become the Mr. Universe of Hate. We all can be hate-full people, hateful people. We can destroy the people we hate, maybe, but we surely destroy ourselves.

That's what the Jews in the Office of State Security have taught us. That's what I tried to write, what I did write, in *An Eye for an Eye*. The very first words are the dedication. I'd like to read them: "For all who died and for all who because of this story might live."

That's what I'd planned to say at the Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Questions from the Audience

Question: I'm very much moved by your presentation. I wish to commend you for your courage. Did you mention that Solomon Morel was also the commander at Jaworzno? At Jaworzno, there were young people, young boys — fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen — Poles, Germans, and Lithuanians — and other ethnics were tortured and murdered there. There is now a group of Jaworzno, and also Swietochlowice, survivors (as they use the term), who are getting together, Poles, Germans, Lithuanians, whoever.

John Sack: Morel was at Jaworzno afterwards. Jaworzno was a camp for Poles. By that time they were putting Poles in the camp, rather than —

Q: There were Germans there also.

JS: There were? Thank you.

Q: What would you recommend on the hate train that we're on here in the United States and the hate laws that are being promulgated?

JS: Well, I don't think that we're on a hate train. I'm writing an article for *Esquire* magazine about the revisionists and in the three conferences that I've been to, and certainly at this conference, I have not seen hate manifested. I don't see people who feel hate. Even people who are called neo-Nazis, like Ernst Zündel, who is not a hate-filled man.

Q: No, I mean in the United States, we're seeing hate laws, thought police, politically correct speech, people are winding up ... as many have here, for that matter ...

JS: Well, of course I'm for free speech, and even if what Fred Töben said was hateful — and it wasn't — and even if what Germar was saying was hateful — and it certainly wasn't — and

what Ernst was saying and what Faurisson was saying was hateful — and none of it was — even if it was, it should be allowed, of course, and I'm glad it's allowed in the United States.

Q: What has Lola's reaction been to the book?

JS: Lola actually called me right before the book came out. We had a nice talk. We chatted. I sent her the book. It took her about half a year to read. Her only comment on it was that I had made a mistake, that she was first in Germany and then she came to Paris and there she met her husband and she went back to Germany and got married, and I had it the other way around. That was her only comment. She's now living in Australia and I understand she has Alzheimer's disease.

Q: Would I be correct in assuming that these people should be brought to justice, given a fair trial, and hanged? After all, we're still prosecuting seventy-five-year-old German corporals.

JS: Well, I wish we wouldn't. I think it's too late for anybody to be brought to justice. But I think there should be a trial of Solomon Morel, if for no other reason than to bring out the facts. I would hate to see him go to jail, and as a matter of fact most of his prisoners at Swietochlowice, his former prisoners do not want to see him go to jail, but they want the facts to come out. They would like him just to apologize.

Q: Both the German government and the Polish government are wishy-washy on this. They aren't really seeking to have Solomon Morel extradited from Israel.

JS: That's true. The German government had a prosecution of him going and that just fell by the wayside, disappeared, and the Polish government was very strange. They could have accused him of murder. There were witnesses that saw him commit murder. They just accused him of brutality and other things that expired under the statute of limitations in 1965.

Q: Not only that, but Solomon Morel, living in Israel, is collecting a pension from the Polish government and the "Polish" government is not Polish. The Polish government is a Communist government, and most of them, not all, are Jewish — they call themselves "former Communists." So, the "Polish" government is not Polish, and we heard about what's happening in Germany a little while ago. So, what chance is there of catching this monster and exposing him to the world?

[Voice] Kidnap him like the Israelis did Eichmann.

JS: I suppose that would be one answer. As I understand it Solomon Morel cannot collect his pension unless he's in Poland — that's why he wanted to stay there — I don't know whether that may have changed.

Q: Has Solomon Morel said anything?

JS: Solomon Morel, people keep going up to his door every couple of weeks. Once they camped in front of his door for a couple of days, and his daughter comes to the door and says that he doesn't want to give interviews and says that he's writing a book about all of this. That's just what they say. I don't know if it's true.

Q: You say that you believe in the gas chambers. Have you gotten far enough into it that you could produce any evidence that you could present here tonight?

JS: Do I have any evidence here tonight about the existence of gas chambers? No. I accept that people of good faith, honest people, can really look at the evidence and feel that there's not

enough evidence that there were gas chambers. I hope that you accept that other people can look at the evidence and conclude that there is enough evidence, and that's my conclusion. I don't think that anybody who disagrees is a "neo-Nazi" or an "anti-Semite" or a hate-filled person. I think that you just happen to have a different opinion from me.

Q: Can you talk about your own experience being discriminated against and called an "anti-Semite," and yet you're a Jew. These reviews and articles were obviously libelling you.

JS: On the Charlie Rose show I was called an "anti-Semite" and a "neo-Nazi" by Deborah Lipstadt. [laughter and applause] I called her up after that and reminded her that I'd read her book, and I sent her a nice note about it and told her what I was trying to do in my book, and I said "How could you have said that about me?" She said "You are worse than a 'Holocaust denier,'" and I said "Deborah, I'm worse than a 'Holocaust denier'?" and she said "You are worse than a 'Holocaust denier.'" I said "Could you explain why?," and she said "No. I have a faculty meeting," [laughter] and that's the last I talked to her. It doesn't scare me. It doesn't hurt me. It amuses me.

Q: Are there any Jewish organizations, major Jewish organizations which would permit our principal speakers to speak in front of them?

JS: Not only that, are there any major Jewish organizations that would permit me to speak in front of them? [laughter and applause] So far, none, and believe me I've asked. I asked Hillel at UCLA. I certainly asked the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and no, so far, none.

Q: You refer to Nazis as a model for hate. As a German-American I consider the model for hate to be the Jewish Bolshevik regime that killed anywhere from thirty to sixty-six million people. I've just become aware of that by reading Solzhenitsyn's three books and I'm wondering if you have read these books?

JS: I haven't, but you know, when you talk about the Jewish Bolshevik regime be aware that just because, if most of the Bolsheviks, I don't know, were Jews, please be aware that most of the Jews weren't Bolsheviks, and never were.

This essay, slightly edited, was presented on May 29, 2000, at the 13th IHR conference. For more about his travails with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, see "Suppressing the Story of Genocide Against Germans," in the Sept.-Oct. 1997 Journal. "Inside the Bunker," a lengthy article by Sack based on his participation at the 13th IHR Conference, appeared in the February 2001 issue of *Esquire*.

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New Light on Dr. Miklos Nyiszli and His Auschwitz Book

Charles D. Provan

In 1951, portions of a memoir attributed to a former inmate of Auschwitz, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, appeared in France. Nyiszli's account caught the eye of another former prisoner of the Germans during the Second World War, Professor Paul Rassinier. He was struck by the exaggerations and absurdities of Nyiszli's story, which allowed the reader to conclude that the Nazis had gassed twenty-nine million people at Auschwitz over four and a half years, and that the gas chamber at Birkenau had been one meter wide. He also made careful note of the discrepancies between subsequent editions in French, German, and English. It was Rassinier who fired the first shots over the historicity of the book. He wrote in 1961: "The versions that have been made public are divergent and contradict one another from one page to the next. The author speaks of places he obviously never visited, etc..." In 1964, Rassinier broadened his critique to the existential, declaring that "[E]ither Dr. Miklos Nyiszli never existed, or if he did exist he never set foot in the places he describes."

Subsequent revisionist writers have had much to say about this unusual book. Wilhelm Stäglich called it "in part, simply absurd." Professor Robert Faurisson has endorsed Rassinier's characterization of Nyiszli's book as a "rascally trick." Dr. William Lindsey called Nyiszli "legendary." Mark Weber called Nyiszli's claims "fantastic." Ditlieb Felderer wondered: "Seeing so little is correct about Nyiszli and about that which he writes - what then is the real truth about Nyiszli?" Arthur Butz refers to "the writings attributed to one Miklos Nyiszli, which we should not accept on anything, least of all a number."

My Involvement

When I read Henri Roques's excellent "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein about ten years ago, I was already a believer in the revisionist method. After conducting various experiments on gas chamber capacity and diesel emissions, I became convinced that millions of Jews had indeed been gassed during the war, chiefly at the Operation Reinhard camps. This made me simultaneously a revisionist and an exterminationist, or, as Ernst Zündel put it several years ago, a revisionist who believes in the gas chambers. Intrigued by the numerous criticisms of Dr. Nyiszli in the revisionist literature, I decided to undertake a study of his book to determine if it could be substantiated. I got more than I bargained for.

In Search of the Historical Nyiszli

The most radical of the revisionist questions struck me as very important: Did Dr. Nyiszli even exist? As I pondered how to answer it, I recalled seeing, in an early edition of *Auschwitz*, a small photo of the title page of Miklos's Nyiszli doctoral dissertation, *Selbstmordarten auf Grund des*

Sektionsmaterials des Breslauer Gerichtsärztlichen Instituts von Juni 1927-Mai 1930 [Types of Suicide, Based on the Autopsy Material of the Breslau Forensic Medicine Institute from June 1927-May 1930]. This dissertation was written for the Medical Faculty of the Silesian Friedrich Wilhelm University in Breslau, and its author given as “Nicolaus Nyiszli” (“Miklos” being the Hungarian version of “Nicolaus,” or Nicholas). Nyiszli refers several times in Auschwitz to having attended medical school in Germany. He writes, “I had spent ten years in this country, first as a student, later as a doctor ...” (p. 23) and “Suddenly I recalled another scene; fifteen years before, the Rector of the Medical School of Frederick Wilhelm University in Breslau shook my hand and wished me a brilliant future as he handed me my diploma, 'with the congratulations of the jury'” (p. 27). (All citations from the English-language version of Auschwitz in this article are taken from the 1997 edition, published by Arcade [New York], and distributed by Little, Brown.) Nyiszli’s recollections seemed to jibe with his purported dissertation, so I decided to search for a copy. My earlier research had acquainted me with the National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints, which enumerates libraries which hold the listed books. I checked the catalog, and there it was: a single copy of Nyiszli’s dissertation, at Yale’s Whitney Medical Library. I requested an inter-library loan, and waited, and waited some more. A second request earned me only more waiting. Finally, I called the library myself.

This frustrated, and frustrating, phone call unlocked the Nyiszli case for me. After being transferred from extension to extension, I finally spoke with a librarian who told me that Yale definitely had the publication: he had seen it. But, he told me, the section of the library where it was shelved was being rearranged, and the books were still out of order, making the Nyiszli dissertation unavailable. In my disappointment, I informed the librarian that I had hoped to examine the document to establish that Dr. Miklos Nyiszli had actually existed. At this the librarian exclaimed, “Of course he existed! Two of my friends knew him personally, and I remember reading his account of Auschwitz in a Budapest newspaper when I lived in Budapest shortly after the war.” I was floored: even though Yale couldn’t locate its copy of Dr. Nyiszli’s doctoral dissertation, all of a sudden I had several new lines of attack.

The librarian went on to suggest that perhaps a copy of the dissertation had been received by the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland. I called them, and he was right: there was a copy of *Selbstmordarten* in their History of Medicine Division. I obtained a photocopy, and had it translated.

Nyiszli’s 1930 Medical Dissertation

Nyiszli’s dissertation is a study and statistical analysis of suicide victims in the Breslau area over a three year period. Published in 1930, it classifies and analyzes each autopsied victim according to sex, method of suicide, and medical conditions and personal circumstances which might have inclined the victim to take his or her own life.

The dissertation contains references which connect with those in Auschwitz. Nyiszli writes, “In conclusion, I should like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Professor Dr. Reuter and Professor Dr. Strassmann for the support and stimulation they provided for my work.” A Dr. Strasseman [sic] is mentioned in Auschwitz: “No one present knew that I had spent three years at the Boroslo [sic] Institute of Forensic Medicine, where I had had a chance to study every possible form of suicide under the supervision of Professor Strasseman” (p. 35).

The final page of the dissertation supplies some biographical particulars about the author:

I, Nicolaus Nyiszli, was born on June 17, 1901 in Simleul-Silvaniei (Transylvania). I attended elementary school for four years and the Humanistic Roman Catholic Episcopal Higher Gymnasium in Simleul-Silvaniei (Transylvania). In autumn 1920 I passed the Abitur [final examination].

First I studied medicine for two semesters in Klausenburg (Romania); then for three semesters in Kiel; from 1925 to 1927 I did not continue my studies because of the bad economic situation. In the summer semester of 1927 I was able to resume my studies and studied medicine in Breslau. At the end of the summer semester of 1927 I passed the preliminary examination for the medical degree, and in the middle of April 1930 I passed the state medical examination, both examinations at the Silesian Friedrich Wilhelm University in Breslau. I am a Romanian citizen.

Two Postwar Acquaintances of Dr. Nyiszli

With the help of the librarian at Yale, I was able to contact the two men who had known Dr. Nyiszli after the war. One of them had been a friend of Dr. Nyiszli, and recalled once visiting Nyiszli and finding him at work on his Auschwitz book. This surprised me, because at that time I was proceeding under the hypothesis that Nyiszli's book had in fact been written by someone else.

This, I thought, might explain such gross errors the "four elevators" at Birkenau crematorium 1. According to Auschwitz:

... they dragged the slippery bodies to the elevators in the next room. Four good-sized elevators were functioning. They loaded twenty to twenty-five corpses to an elevator. The ring of a bell was the signal that the load was ready to ascend. The elevator stopped at the crematorium's incineration room ...(p. 53).

As most readers doubtless know, the crematorium Nyiszli is describing has only one elevator, as is apparent from the blueprints and the present-day ruins, which I have visited myself. Taking my cue from errors in several manuscripts of the Old Testament transcribed from dictation, I supposed that the most reasonable explanation for Nyiszli's writing "four large elevators," when there was only one, was as follows. In Hungarian, I had learned, Nyiszli's text has "Négy nagy teherfelvonogép." "Négy" means "four." "Nagy" means "large." Now, if Nyiszli had actually lived in crematorium 1 at Birkenau, as he claims, he would have to have known that there was only one elevator. To explain the mistake in Auschwitz, I supposed that as Nyiszli spoke of a "large, large" elevator, his transcriber wrote the similar sounding (in Hungarian), but mistaken, "four large" elevators" (Hungarian: "Nagy nagy teherfelvonogép").

Now, however, a personal friend of Nyiszli's had told me he had seen Nyiszli writing his Auschwitz book. Nyiszli himself, then, had to have been responsible for its errors. Could the integrity of Nyiszli's Auschwitz still be upheld?

My interviews of the two acquaintances of Dr. Nyiszli, both of whom were Jewish, gained me interesting information about Nyiszli's relations with the Jewish community after the war. His personal friend told me that everyone took notice when Nyiszli's daughter (who, like his wife, had survived Auschwitz) married a gentile after the war. The other acquaintance confirmed this, though the two disagreed on the nationality of Nyiszli's gentile son-in-law. One said he was a Russian officer; the other, a Romanian officer.

The man who was merely acquainted with Nyiszli informed me that he had met him at a state hospital, where Dr. Nyiszli was on the staff. Dr. Nyiszli had given him an injection for an illness. This man disagreed with Nyiszli's friend on an important issue. He told me that many people, Jews and others, disapproved of Nyiszli's relations with the Nazis at Auschwitz, and viewed Nyiszli in a very negative light; my informant concurred.

Dr. Nyiszli's Visit to America in 1939

On page 61 of my marked-up edition of Auschwitz, I had noticed this intriguing annotation:

Dr. Nyiszli came to the United States in the summer of 1939, and remained until February of 1940, as a member of the Rumanian delegation to the World's Fair. — Tr[anslator].

To investigate this statement, I first consulted literature on the famous World's Fair of 1939-40, which was held in New York, and learned that the records of the fair are held by a division of the New York Public Library System. I contacted that department, and although they were able to locate and examine the records of the Romanian delegation to the fair, they could find no mention of Dr. Nyiszli.

Another avenue of investigation proved more successful. In Joseph J. Culligan's book *You, Too, Can Find Anybody*, I discovered that the National Archives contained records of arrivals by foreigners at many ports in the United States for much of the twentieth century. I cajoled a good friend into traveling to the Archives in Washington, D.C. Using the time-consuming but valuable Soundex coding system, which transforms a name into a numeric code that indicates how it sounds, rather than how it is spelled, my energetic associate was at last able to locate Dr. Nyiszli on the passenger manifest of a ship called *Nea Hellas*, which had sailed from Piraeus in Greece and arrived in New York City on December 1, 1939.

The exact citation was found in National Archives Passenger Lists, Roll 6427, Volumes 13,836-13,837, New York Passenger List Number 15, and lists the following information for Dr. Nyiszli:

Family Name: Nyiszli
Given Name: Nicolae
Age in Years: 38
Sex: Male
Married or Single: Married
Calling or Occupation: M. Doctor
Nationality: Rumania
Race or people: Hebrew [a handwritten correction to the typed "Rumanian"]
Place of birth: Simleul, Rumania

Notice that Nyiszli's age in this document tallies with the date of birth given in the short life history at the end of his doctoral dissertation, June 17, 1901. He would have been thirty-eight when he received his passport in August 1939, and when he arrived in New York City in December 1939. The passenger list partially confirmed the translator's footnote in Auschwitz, and provided further evidence that Miklos Nyiszli was a real person.

Nyiszli's Deposition in 1945

Leafing through Robert Jay Lifton's *The Nazi Doctors* one day, I noticed that Dr. Nyiszli was frequently mentioned, and bought the book on the spot. Especially interesting was the citation of a deposition of Dr. Nyiszli, dated July 28, 1945, hitherto unknown to me. I contacted Dr. Lifton through his staff in New York, and learned that his researchers had discovered the document in Hungary. Dr. Lifton's staff graciously provided me with a copy of an English translation of the deposition. This testimony, unmentioned in the Auschwitz literature before Dr. Lifton's discovery, is entitled, "Deposition: Miklof Nyifcli [sic] A Physician from Nagyvarod in Hungary," and dated July 28, 1945.

There are several unmistakable parallels between this document and Dr. Nyiszli's later book, but noticeable differences too. Among the parallels were his selection to perform autopsies by Dr. Mengele, his residence in crematorium 1, and his unusual assertion that the victims of the gas chamber at crematorium 1 were executed with chlorine granules. "The ganuales [sic] fell down and through contact with the air, a chlorine gas was produced which within five to ten minutes caused death through agonizing suffocation." This last point is of great interest, because in the earlier editions of Nyiszli's book the death of the Jews was accomplished by poisoning by chlorine gas. The original 1947 Hungarian edition states: "On one of the boxes they press in the top of a snap and they spill its contents - bean-sized, lilac-colored granular material - into the opening. The spilled material is cyclone or the granular form of chlorine; it immediately becomes gas upon contact with air." The French Julliard edition of 1961 says the same, but in the corresponding passage in my 1997 edition the equation of "cyclone" (Zyklon) and chlorine gas is eliminated. A translator's footnote, however, states:

In reply to a query concerning the origin and composition of cyclon gas, Dr. Nyiszli wrote that it was manufactured during the war by the IG Farben Co., and that, although it was classified as Geheimmittel, that is, confidential or secret, he was able to ascertain that the name 'cyclon' came from the abbreviation of its essential elements: cyanide, chlorine and nitrogen. During the Nuremberg trials the Farben Co. claimed that it had been manufactured only as a disinfectant. However, as Dr. Nyiszli pointed out in his testimony, there were two types of cyclon in existence, type A and type B. They came in identical containers; only the marking A and B differentiated them. Type A was a disinfectant; type B was used to exterminate millions. — Tr. (p. 111)

Though I can understand how Dr. Nyiszli might make an "educated guess" in discussing Zyklon B, it is rather amazing that such material could still be printed about the Holocaust (or, as I prefer, "Judenausrottung") in 1997. In fact, Zyklon A had been discontinued years before the Second World War; Zyklon B was not a secret, nor did it emit chlorine gas; and Gerhard Peters, the agent for the manufacturer, DEGESCH, insisted that he and his company had had no idea that Zyklon B was being used to murder Jews. (Given Hitler's decree on euthanasia, as well as his "humane" comment in his last will, Zyklon B would have been most inappropriate, although I believe that it was in fact used at Auschwitz, through great ignorance of its effects.)

The differences between Nyiszli's deposition of 1945 and his subsequent book are marked, and in some cases irreconcilable. For example, Nyiszli states in his deposition that he arrived at Auschwitz on May 22, 1944, stayed one day, and then was transferred to a labor detail in the sub-camp Monowitz. After about two weeks (thus in June 1944), all doctors with experience in pathology were asked to report to the authorities. Nyiszli and one other doctor (evidently a Hungarian who had worked at Strasbourg University) did so, and were taken to crematorium 1 at Birkenau. After several hours Dr. Mengele appeared, and examined the two doctors. In Auschwitz, Nyiszli never goes to Monowitz; is recruited as a pathologist by Dr. Mengele in May, not June, 1944; and his fellow pathologist has disappeared!

In his deposition, Nyiszli describes his and the other pathologist's duties as including taking the measurements of abnormal people, who were then shot by a German officer working for Mengele. The two doctors would then autopsy the victims, after which they would dissolve the bodies and ship the bones to a renowned anthropological institute in Berlin-Dahlem. On one night, according to Nyiszli, Mengele ordered the two pathologists to assist him with a group of fourteen Gypsy twins. Nyiszli, ordered by Mengele, undressed a fourteen-year-old girl, and placed her on the dissection table, whereupon Mengele gave her a shot to cause sleep, then killed her with a chloroform injection. She was then removed to another location. The remaining thirteen twins were one by one treated in the same manner. When all fourteen twins were dead, Mengele asked Nyiszli and his colleague how fast they could do the autopsies. They told him four a day, to which Mengele agreed. Interestingly, and disconcertingly, this story is omitted from Auschwitz. Dr. Lifton and I believe that it was left out due to Nyiszli's admitted involvement in the murders. In the absence of the threat of his own death, Nyiszli could be considered an accomplice.

Another oddity is this description of cleaning out the crematorium gas chamber: "The special command rinsed off the corpses with a water hose and then began the transport of the corpses in an elevator up to the boiler room." Note that here Nyiszli correctly lists crematorium 1 as having one elevator, not four, as in his book.

At the end of his 1945 deposition, Nyiszli mentioned that all personnel of the Sonderkommando were killed on November 17, 1944 — except for the doctors who worked for Mengele, and their assistants. They were ordered away from the machine guns by Dr. Mengele himself: he needed their further help for his racial biology work. In Auschwitz, however, Dr. Mengele saves Nyiszli and the others on the date of the Auschwitz camp revolt a month earlier, which goes unmentioned in his deposition.

Several Wartime Witnesses to Dr. Nyiszli at Auschwitz

Filip Müller, a member of the Sonderkommando at Birkenau, has stated several times outside of his well-known book that he knew Dr. Nyiszli at Auschwitz. In correspondence with John Bennett in 1980, he wrote, "Your justified questions demonstrate that you are very familiar with the concentration camp literature which unfortunately does not always present correct testimonies. Many legends have been written about this tragic truth and a few falsehoods have crept into the writing of Dr. Nyiszli." Further: "I got to know Dr. Nyszli [sic] very well in early summer 1944. He had to work in the Sonderkommando with his colleagues, Prof. Görög and others, as a pathologist for Dr. Mengele. He was an outstanding and optimistic man ... I never saw Dr. Nyiszli again after the war. He is supposed to have died in 1949-1950." Thus, according to Müller, Nyiszli was a pathologist for Mengele at Birkenau, but his book contained at least a few falsehoods. Müller also testified about Dr. Nyiszli during the 1964 Frankfurt "Auschwitz Trial." In Hermann Langbein's account of the trial, Müller stated:

When in the year 1944 the Hungarian transports came, two Hungarian pathologists were brought into the crematory, where they stood available to Dr. Mengele. One was named Dr. Nyiszli. I saw once that Dr. Nyiszli had to put the corpse of a hunch-backed person into a container in which there were salts or acids in order to get the skeleton of this person. I also saw how the flesh was cut away from the thighs of those who had been shot dead.

Notice that Müller mentions Nyiszli dissolving a corpse to obtain a skeleton (also in Auschwitz), and the cutting of flesh from corpses (mentioned only in the original Hungarian version of Nyiszli's book). He also states that two Hungarian pathologists worked for Mengele.

Further confirmation of Nyiszli's presence at Auschwitz was supplied by a very helpful associate of Dr. Lifton, who sent me two testimonies about Dr. Mengele that mentioned Nyiszli. Milton Buki from Poland had this to say: "The suspect [Mengele] also went several times into that room where the prisoner's [sic] doctors were busy with the dissection of the dead bodies. From the prisoner's [sic] doctors, of which we had several ones, I only knew Dr. Niczly [sic] by name. He was an imposing presence, a bit fat ..." The description "a bit fat" is certainly unusual for an inmate at Auschwitz-Birkenau, and might indicate Nyiszli's favor with Dr. Mengele.

From Lifton's files as well came the following statement by Mrs. Jozsef Szabo, a Hungarian deported to Auschwitz:

... in September 1944, in the block of the twins, an approximately thirty-year-old woman who came from Szombathely died of disease. Her dates are not known to me. The corpse of this woman, fully unclothed, four of us carried on a board to the crematorium. I do not remember which number the crematorium had, I can only remember that the way thither led through a wooded terrain. We knocked on the iron door of the crematorium, whereupon several persons in white coats opened [it] to us. Over to these we gave the dead [woman] on whose breast a large 'Z' was drawn. Then a [female] companion, who was helping with the carrying of the corpse, commented [that] she had recognized Dr. Nyiszlit Miklos [sic], a deported physician, as she said, she knew Nyiszlit still from Nagyvara [sic].

Frau Szabo's description of the crematorium to which the body was delivered as near wooded terrain agrees in part with Nyiszli's book, which states that in late 1944 he was transferred to Birkenau crematorium 4, which was in a wooded area. I learned of other reports (some unfavorable) of Dr. Nyiszli assisting Dr. Mengele at Birkenau, but since they appear in psychiatric interviews, they are at present closed to the public.

First Appearance of Nyiszli's Auschwitz Book

Following up on the Yale librarian's recollection of reading Nyiszli's book in the pages of the Budapest newspaper Vilag ("World"), I corresponded with two Hungarians with library connections. They kindly assisted me in locating, then copying the entire book from back issues of Vilag. Here at last was the long-sought original edition of Nyiszli's book! In the newspaper version, which ran serially from February 16, 1947, through April 5, 1947, Nyiszli's book consisted of forty-one chapters and an epilogue. Its title was: "I Was Mengele's Autopsy Doctor in Auschwitz: A Hungarian Doctor's Diary from Hell."

In the days before Nyiszli's book appeared for the first time, in the pages of Vilag, the newspaper ran three ads to publicize the book. English translations of those ads follow:

Vilag, February 14, 1947

Chief physician Dr. Mengele directed 660 thousand people "to the left" ...

Gondor Ferenc's paper, the Ember ["Man"], published an interesting open letter from Budapest titled "This Is How Chief Physician Mengele Killed Aggie Zsolt's little girl." The author of the letter, Aggie Zsolt, has written down with moving words, how her thirteen-year-old little daughter was taken away on October 18, 1944, "by the notorious yellow car of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp."

Chief physician Dr. Mengele's "pleasantly ingratiating voice" resounded again this day, and one of the cruelest mass murderers in world history again separated out the "ladies," as he liked to call, sarcastically, his victims before death by gassing. Whomever Mengele's fluted voice directed to the left was gassed to death that day, and altogether the German chief physician of Auschwitz directed 660,000 victims "to the left."

Dr. Miklos Nyiszli of Nagyvarad is the only surviving direct eyewitness to the mass murders in Auschwitz. The doctor kept a diary, titled "I Was Mengele's Autopsy Doctor in Auschwitz," on the infernal events in the Nazi hell.

Starting February 16, these world-important documents [sic] will be published serially in Vilag.

Vilag, February 14, 1947

I was Mengele's autopsy doctor in Auschwitz. Not a novel! [Hungarian: "Nem regény!"] A Hungarian doctor's diary from the Nazi hell.

The only Hungarian eyewitness to the Nazis' mass murders in Auschwitz, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, medical doctor, has described with cold objectivity how the Nazi butchers killed two million innocent people — Christians, Jews, Hungarians, Russians, Poles, Czechs — in Auschwitz. The types of death: gas, injection, shooting in the back of the head, the bonfire, flame thrower. Every four months they killed the auxiliary personnel, so there would be no eyewitnesses. The story of the only revolt in Auschwitz.

Starting February 15 [sic], this world-important document will be published serially in Vilag.

Vilag, February 15, 1947

What did the only surviving eyewitness of the mass murders in Auschwitz record in his diary?

Vilag begins publication tomorrow of the memoirs of Mengele's autopsy doctor.

Tomorrow, Saturday, Vilag will begin serialization the diary of Dr. Miklos Nyiszli of Nagyvarad, titled, "I Was Mengele's Autopsy Doctor in Auschwitz." Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, the only surviving direct witness of the mass murders, did not write a novel [Hungarian: "nem regényt"], but endeavored to record his hellish experiences factually.

He makes the following statement in the introduction of his diary:

"The undersigned Dr. Miklos Nyiszli was a doctor — bearing the tattooed number A.8450. As a concentration camp prisoner, [I] wrote the work that appears under my authorship, which contains the darkest pages of the history of humankind, free from all emotion, in accord with reality, avoiding the smallest exaggeration and embellishment, as a direct observer of the work of the crematoriums and bonfires of

Auschwitz, in which millions of fathers, mothers, and children were consumed. As the doctor of the crematoriums of Auschwitz, I wrote innumerable autopsy and medical reports and signed them with my tattoo number. These were countersigned by Dr. Mengele, and then mailed to one of the world's most distinguished medical forums, the Berlin-Dahlem Institut für Rassenbiologische und Anthropologische Forschungen. In writing this, I am not striving for literary success. I was not a writer, I was a doctor, when I experienced horrors beyond imagination, and now they have been recorded, not with a reporter's pen, but with a doctor's."

It will be observed that the newspaper made some rather extravagant claims in advertising Nyiszli's book. According to Vilag, Nyiszli was the only surviving witness (one ad says "Hungarian witness") to the Nazi mass murder at Auschwitz, and the newspaper was publishing the diary he had kept in the Birkenau crematorium.

The first published version of Nyiszli's book is important for determining the truth concerning various points which revisionists have attacked over the years. We shall now list several of these.

Nyiszli's Auschwitz Errors

On February 23, 1947, Vilag published the seventh installment, titled "20,000 Murders Daily," which included this passage:

The corpses turn to ash in 20 minutes. The crematorium has 15 ovens. This means the burning of 5,000 people per day. Four crematoriums operate at that same capacity. A total of 20,000 people a day pass through the gas chambers and from there to the incineration ovens. The souls of 20,000 innocent people depart, up the gigantic chimneys. Nothing more remains of them here than a heap of ash in the courtyard of the crematorium, whence trucks take it to the flowing Vistula about 2 kilometers from here."

Among the notable mistakes in this passage is the claim that Birkenau's four crematoria each had fifteen ovens. In fact, crematoria 1 and 2 had fifteen each, but crematoria 3 and 4 had eight ovens.

According to Auschwitz, in the summer of 1944 Nyiszli learned that the Birkenau had been constructed in bad winter weather by ten thousand prisoners, and had been in operation killing people for four years. The Vilag edition concurs: four years in operation. Yet, at the rate per day stated in the Vilag excerpt above, the victims of the gas chambers and the crematoria would add up to about twenty-nine million, not counting crematorium victims after summer, 1944, or victims killed in other ways. Nyiszli's claim that the crematoria were operating in 1940 is belied by the Auschwitz records, which show that they were completed in 1943.

"Later I learned that the Auschwitz KZ had, at certain periods, held more than 100,000 people within its enclosure of electrified barbed wire." Thus reads the English version of Nyiszli. In the French edition, however, Nyiszli claims that the camp had sometimes held over 500,000 inmates, a gross exaggeration of the actual maximum figure. But it is the French version that is faithful to the Hungarian original, wherein Nyiszli specified 500,000.

The English and the French versions state that there were four large elevators to haul the murdered victims up to the cremation ovens on the ground floor of Birkenau crematorium 1. My hypothesis that this was a transcriber's error for the single elevator indicated by the building's blue-

prints and ruins had been shaken by my discovery, from Dr. Nyiszli's friend, that Nyiszli had written the book himself. Now I learned that the original Hungarian edition translates: "This is how they pull the bodies, made slippery from water, to the elevators in the neighboring place. Four large freight elevators are working here. They put the dead on these, twenty, twenty-five to an elevator." Worse, in a later installment in the original Vilag version, Nyiszli again refers to "elevators." Worse still, in a passage that appears only in the newspaper edition, there is reference to the "elevators" being "giant" (a different Hungarian word than that for "large") in size, another blow to my theory of a transcription error in the original Hungarian.

This room is as big as the dressing room ["about 200 meters long"], just that the benches and hangers are missing. In the middle of the room, placed about 30 meters apart from one another, columns stretch from the cement floor to the ceiling. Not supporting columns, but square iron-tin pipes, their sides everywhere full of holes like a screen. The sub-officer holds four green-colored tin boxes in his hands. They step on the grass, where thirty meters apart from one another low cement chimneys are sticking out of the ground.

While this description is self-contradictory, and also contradicts the blueprints and the ruins of crematorium 1, the author's length for the gas chamber there is clear from the reference to the size of the dressing room: "about 200 meters long." In reality, this exaggerates the actual length of the room in question by nearly seven-fold: the actual room is 30 meters long.

'Comrade Doctor'

After the last installment of Dr. Nyiszli's book appeared, for several days Vilag ran letters to the editor on the serial, some of them quite critical. Nyiszli himself wrote responses to two critics (one of whom was a writer well known in Hungary) who had attacked him for his conduct during and after the war. Nyiszli's replies were published as separate letters in Vilag on April 10, 1947. In the first, Nyiszli wrote that his accuser was "in this matter truly a lay person," uncomprehending of the amazing reality of Auschwitz, "the hell of hells." "In this gigantic death factory which pushes every apocalyptical imagining into the background, Dr. Mengele was the satanic factory boss ... I do not feel guilty ... I also do not feel guilty that after I made my way home and the memories of my traumatic experiences calmed, I dared to write my diary and objectively present the public with truthful documents on the secrets, heretofore unknown, of the death factory in Auschwitz. I did not seek or chase after sensations, much less material advantage."

The second letter Nyiszli responded to was more vindictive. It reads in part, "This Nyiszli, who through long [newspaper] columns sorts knocked out teeth, smoking crematoriums, corpses shot to death, invoking his instinct for self-preservation, did everything possible to earn the Germans' satisfaction. Now he saddles fortune and reaps the laurels, as probably the only Jew who profited from Mengele." Nyiszli responded to this attack in a long letter, stating that the author (who had served in the German-allied Hungarian army as a corporal) should have been ashamed to have served under Admiral Horthy (Hungary's wartime leader). Nyiszli claimed to have saved many lives at Auschwitz. Then, flexing his muscles, Nyiszli blustered: "... 'this Nyiszli,' coming from a corporal. Would it be too much to call me 'Doctor'? In the Communist Party, of which I am a member, they call me 'Comrade Doctor,' and that's the way it should be."

The next mention of Nyiszli in Vilag, so far as I have been able to ascertain, came on September 30, 1947, when an article reported on his summons to Nuremberg for the trial of IG Farben (case number six before the Nuremberg Military Tribunal). I regard this article as critical to understanding the true nature of Dr. Nyiszli's book on Auschwitz: it provides a solution which makes

sense of all the incorrect information contained therein, and allows Nyiszli's other statements to be examined and assessed independently of his book.

Mengele's Autopsy Doctor, Doctor Nyiszli, as Crown Witness in Nuremberg

Following its serial publication by Vilag, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli's Auschwitz diary has gone all over the world. The extremely interesting novel [again, "regény" in Hungarian] of experience entitled, "I Was Mengele's Autopsy Doctor" has been one of the most enduring documents of the German horror.

Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, of Nagyvarad, has now received an interesting invitation from the supreme court for war criminals, or rather, the Allied tribunal headquartered in Nuremberg. Russian delegate E. E. Minskoff signed the letter summoning Miklos Nyiszli before the highest tribunal. The expansive communication lists in several points the questions which the Nuremberg tribunal will put to Miklos Nyiszli, the most competent prosecution witness. The first question is: Are you aware of the inhuman methods of treatment employed in the IG Farben concentration camp?

As is known, 40,000 prisoners worked in the so-called "Monowitz" camp for the Germans. Most of them were brought from the eastern territories. English pilots and other Allied soldiers were prisoners in this camp. Doctor Nyiszli was an inmate of this terrible camp for two weeks ...

... Dr. Nyiszli arrived in Budapest and will spend a day here in transit. We spoke with the author of the famous book, who said the following: "I strove to gather all the data so that I can be at the disposal of the Supreme Tribunal [sic] in Nuremberg in this horrible trial of humanity. Unfortunately, I cannot furnish written evidence, for I myself escaped from the Auschwitz camp with just the clothes on my body. But I am taking all my notes with me, and of course some copies of my book. I will travel to Nuremberg by plane, and I will stay for 2-3 weeks.

Several details of this newspaper article can be confirmed from other sources. Visiting the National Archives, I learned that among their records of the Nuremberg trials are two card catalogs containing information about witnesses in the war crimes trials. Dr. Nyiszli is listed in both of them. His cards list him as "Dr. Nicolae Nyiszli, born June 17, 1901 in Simleul-Silvaniei, requested as a voluntary witness by Minskoff." I also came across an affidavit (Nuremberg document NI-11710), dated October 8, 1947, by accident, while examining an alphabetical listing of various witnesses from the Nuremberg trials, where the affidavit was misfiled under the last name "Nicolae." This was for me a wonderful find, although I later learned that the outstanding researcher Carlo Mattogno, the premier revisionist writer on Nyiszli, had already discovered it.

NI-11710 has much in common with Nyiszli's 1945 deposition. It mentions his arrival at Auschwitz; his transfer to Monowitz, and his work there on a labor crew; and his subsequent transfer (along with an unnamed pathologist) to Birkenau, where he began work as a crematorium pathologist for Dr. Mengele. What is different about the affidavit is its partial emphasis upon the Monowitz sub-camp. It also has a rather subdued section on how gassings were conducted at the Birkenau crematorium, with nothing about the four giant elevators to a crematorium or the 200-meter-long gas chambers which appear in his book.

Although Dr. Nyiszli was summoned to Nuremberg to testify in the IG Farben trial, he was not called to the stand, presumably because he was only at Monowitz for about two weeks, and could

provide little in the way of useful evidence. At some point in the trial, he was allowed to return home to Romania.

An Interview with Dr. Nyiszli's Granddaughter

Information about Nyiszli's subsequent life were graciously provided to me by his granddaughter Monica, whom I was able to locate through the kind help of the Romanian government and a Jewish organization there. Dr. Nyiszli and his wife Margareta had one daughter, Susanna, born in 1929, while Dr. Nyiszli was attending medical school in Breslau. Susanna had indeed married a gentile, a Romanian cavalry officer, in 1952, and their daughter (and Nyiszli's granddaughter) Monica was born in 1955. Miklos Nyiszli passed away on May 5, 1956; his daughter Susanna passed away in 1983. Before his death, the Romanian secret police placed Nyiszli under investigation for "cosmopolitanism," perhaps in part because of his correspondence with people in the West. About fifteen years after Nyiszli's death, when Monica was around sixteen, the secret police confiscated some of his papers, including a map he had drawn of Birkenau. It was not returned.

Conclusions about Nyiszli's Book and His Other Writings

When I read in the September 30, 1947, Vilag article that Miklos Nyiszli's book on his experiences at Auschwitz was a novel, it was as if a blindfold had fallen from my eyes. I had never considered this possibility before, but it certainly made sense on reading the article. It not only explained the inflated figures, the factual errors, and the singular account of the Sonderkommandos (thirteen in all!); it also removed all difficulties of "explaining away the details." Auschwitz is a novel. If a character in a novel meets a real personage, there is no historical issue to resolve. Dr. Nyiszli's 1945 deposition and his 1947 affidavit disagree with the book on many details because they are recording what he actually thought was the truth, while the book was deliberately crafted as a historical novel.

Within a few years of Vilag's admission that the book was a novel, it was translated into French and German, and English, and wrongly declared to be an authentic history. This untruth aroused a storm of criticism, starting with the founder of Holocaust revisionism, Paul Rassinier, who himself had been a prisoner of the German concentration camp system for helping Jews under Nazi domination. While Rassinier's questions were justifiable on many points, they are moot, because Dr. Nyiszli's published treatment of Auschwitz was knowingly written as historical fiction, which accounts for its disconcerting mixture of truth and non-truth.

Thus the revisionists, although sometimes off course, were correct all along in concluding that there were serious problems with Auschwitz. For example Carlo Mattogno's critique, *Medico ad Auschwitz: Anatomia di un falso*, is a wonderful treatment, exhaustive and extremely thorough. Meanwhile, the defenders, translators, and publishers of the Nyiszli book have dealt with the revisionists' criticisms with silence, or by deliberately changing sections of Nyiszli's novel without advertising that. What is needed now is an annotated edition of the original book, along with a complete collection of Dr. Nyiszli's writings and testimony on Auschwitz, to clear the air on this long-standing problem.

Acknowledgments

I would like to extend my thanks to the many people who were of great assistance to me in my extended search for information about Dr. Nyiszli and his writings. Included among those who

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Waging and Winning the Information War

Ernst Zündel

It's a real pleasure for me to be here. I always love to come to an IHR conference, because it lets you put faces with names. For instance, this morning I met a lovely black lady, young, pretty. I soon found out that I've been talking to this woman for four or five years on the telephone. Only when she spoke to me did I realize, "Ah! This is my telephone partner, Anita!" So it's nice to put faces with names. It's one thing to go over thousands of names in your office, but then to come here and read people's badges and think, "Imagine that! This white-haired man, that white-haired lady has been helping me with my court fights for two decades, and I'm meeting them face to face for the first time." There is something very human, very touching about this, and I think that's what has sustained me, the knowledge that we have loyal friends and comrades that year in, year out, tolerate your peccadillos.

UFOs to the Rescue

Professor Butz has always been a little leery of me, because in my distant past I published books on UFOs. What kind of a revisionist is that? And yet, whenever we needed help from Professor Butz — good advice, sound advice — he was always there. He forgave me that I was a little weird when it came to those books. But the Jewish side of the equation hasn't forgiven me for my UFO books: there are two or three UFO sites on the Internet with fake Zündel names, spelled Z-u-n-d-l, that advertise my old UFO books to embarrass me. Well, I'm still getting orders for these books — from Iran, from Johannesburg, from Brazil — at 1972 prices, naturally. I simply photocopy the original German or English edition, which otherwise I couldn't give away and which these Jewish people are advertising free of charge. You know, I'm a little embarrassed about these books myself, and yet, this way they're selling for me. Am I to blame for filling a market niche?

I was interviewed by Errol Morris in Boston for Mr. Death, his film about Fred Leuchter. Errol Morris is a very gifted film-maker. He's invented a camera he calls the "Interrotron." It has a kind of glass plate in front of it, on which he appears to the person being interviewed while he's off in another room. You look directly into the lens of the camera, and that creates an amazing effect. When you appear on the big screen, you're talking directly to everybody in the audience, because the camera's pointing right at you, and you're looking right into the camera. It is totally different from being filmed by a video camera, which allows you to shift this way and that. As Morris put very good questions to me in his four-hour interview, it suddenly dawned on me that my initial Holocaust trials and revisionist publications were financed in considerable part by people who had bought my UFO books. There's something for the ADL's file! I realized, too, that Fred Leuchter winged his way to Poland on a sizeable donation from a lady who was one of my UFO fans, and who had bequeathed a substantial amount of money to me in 1985, with which I was able to pay much of my first trial. She came to me through the UFO books. All I'm telling you is

that we revisionists have to be tolerant, not only of our opposition, but of ourselves. For where would Ernst have been without all that UFO money?

John Sack

I want to thank Greg Raven, Mark Weber, Ted O’Keefe, Ron Gray, and all the others who helped make this conference possible. It is really important, really important. Many people have told me how invigorating this experience of coming together without hostility has been. Like all movements, and revisionism is a historical movement, we have what we Germans call *Flugelkämpfe*, factional rivalries. The nice thing about revisionists is that we have been really very tolerant of one another. What makes us pliable, viable, and dangerous to our enemies is that we’re not calcified and dogmatic.

John Sack has republished his book *An Eye for an Eye*. John and I had it out in four-hour sessions in which I told him, “John, you can’t publish this. It’s full of lies about Auschwitz from these Jewish ‘eyewitnesses.’” And yet, I’m quite glad to see that the book has been republished because this Jewish writer, John Sack, has for the first time provided the American public with a detailed description of the tortures and the humiliation and the suffering of German people in Silesia. When I assailed him with my criticisms, he was gracious enough, and he told me, “Ernst, I am just quoting what these people said.” And in a way, you see, the only choice he had was not to let them speak. What a one-sided book that would have been!

We revisionists are so tolerant that we say, “All right, John Sack, half of your book is historical bunk that’s been refuted by Faurisson and many other revisionists, but the other half book is worthwhile, and you are welcome in our midst.” That’s what I like about us. Or take Charles Provan: he used to believe in the gas chambers. Then he became a revisionist and he didn’t believe in them. The next time I hear from my friend Charles Provan, he’s telling me, “Ernst, I believe that you could put eight hundred people in a gas chamber at Treblinka.” “Charles,” I said, “come on now, somewhere down the road you’re going to have to recant once again, and you’re going to embarrass yourself” — although everybody has the right to embarrass himself. The fact that here we have a man who once believed in the gas chambers, then disbelieved, and then went back to believing in them doesn’t mean we’re going to bar the doors to him. Charles Provan does extremely good revisionist work in many other areas, and I have interviewed him several times for my radio broadcasts, which are heard all across the United States and Canada. I think that the IHR is quite correct in welcoming these two men here.

David Irving

That brings us to David Irving. I’m not going to preempt David Irving’s time, but I think his recent trial is on everybody’s mind, and I think that we should all view it from the same vantage point. I want it understood that there is nothing that we can change about the Irving-Lipstadt trial. The verdict is in. The condemnation is shrill. Our enemies are dancing in the streets. They are virtually drunk with victory. To outsiders, to those of you who haven’t gone through trials this may seem frightening, and even ominous. But I can tell you that after every one of my many defeats in the courtroom, the headlines were as shrill. The condemnation was as vicious. They made my name dirt in Canada, which didn’t prevent total strangers from walking up to me on the street, shaking my hand, patting me on the shoulder, fumbling in their pockets, and pulling out some money: “Ernst, that’s for your case!” This after I’ve been condemned as the most evil neo-Nazi racist monster.

It's no different with David Irving. David Irving has done excellent revisionist work on the Third Reich. Although he says, "I'm not a revisionist," he means, perhaps "I'm not a gas chamber revisionist" — not that it helped him any. We know that, but I want to say that the concessions he made during the trial came as a shock only to us. To the man and woman in the street, who read the papers and listened to the newscasts, David Irving's concessions were meaningless. Do millions of people in England watching the evening news care whether 97,000 people allegedly did, or didn't die, in gas vans?

The larger picture is that, although we revisionists were disappointed, David Irving performed a sterling service. Take his cross-examination of that arrogant ignoramus, Jan Van Pelt. Reading the transcript, I wondered if David Irving had looked at Barbara Kulaszka's book *Did Six Million Really Die?* to see how my attorney, Doug Christie, went after Raul Hilberg. That David Irving didn't, to my knowledge, consult Mark Weber, or Dr. Faurisson, or Doug Christie, or Barbara Kulaszka, or Dr. Butz before he brought suit against Penguin and Lipstadt means he is his own man. We revisionists had no alternative but to help him. Although David Irving sometimes strikes me as a prickly customer, I try to help him because I have a tremendous amount of admiration for this battling, courageous, handsome, and occasionally reckless man.

Yes, it was a setback. Yes, it would have been nice to have won. Realistically, though, I don't think there's a single person in this room who thought David Irving had much chance of winning. If he had fought a hard-core revisionist case, the written record of the trial, the transcripts and expert reports, would have been more revisionist, more historically accurate — that's really my only criticism. But it wouldn't have altered the outcome: a judgment so injudicious in its ferocity and in its nastiness to this man that it raises doubts about our opponents' self-confidence. I do not think that a system that feels secure in its power, let alone unassailable, would have needed to stoop to such personal vilification. The ad hominem attacks didn't reflect the mindset of people who feel secure or all-powerful. They betrayed a nervous twitching, and a shrillness, and to me their gloating seemed a bit contrived.

Worldwide Publicity

The worldwide avalanche of publicity unleashed by this Englishman will trouble our enemies for a long time to come. I think they realize that David Irving has put Holocaust revisionism on the map, certainly in the English-speaking world. I have a collection of the newspaper coverage in England. Now, British newspapers are the old-fashioned type, large enough in dimension to sleep on, like the big ones we used to have here in North America. During the Irving-Lipstadt trial they often ran full-page headlines, an inch high or more, and many times David Irving, who is admittedly one formidable-looking, and handsome, man, looked out at British newspaper readers with his serious demeanor and his fountain pen poised as if it were about to lance a boil. To me, as a graphic artist, and yes, as a propagandist, it was an advertiser's dream.

Certainly he lost. I lost, too. Had he won, the result would have been buried on page 34, in an article the size of business card. That's what happened to me. When I lost, it was always front-page news. But revisionism got name-brand recognition during the Irving trial, big time. You see, if you couple a story with a picture, you get eighty percent more attention paid to it by readers. All that's necessary in the short run, which is really the focus of modern merchandising, advertising, and propaganda, is brand recognition. There isn't a literate newspaper reader in all of England or Australia, and I dare say Canada or America, who wasn't confronted at one time or another with the story that this English historian, this English revisionist, an author who has written thirty-four books, believes that there is something drastically wrong with the Holocaust story. That quote of all quotes, "More people died on the back seat of Ted Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick than died

in the gas chamber at Auschwitz,” went around the world in so many translations it’s amazing. People will remember those words longer than they’ll remember the ludicrous idea that 97,000 people were gassed in experimental gas vans.

Today many people are aware that there is something wrong fundamentally with the Holocaust story, and these people were able to go directly to the Web sites. During my trials I prayed for the opportunity to share the courtroom transcripts with thousands of people on the outside. Imagine how many Englishmen, Americans, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Jews went to David Irving’s Web site. It was addictive. For the first time, a trial was vicariously watched and analyzed by people around the globe, instantaneously. That was another benefit of the fallout from the Irving trial.

Bouncing Back

We will overcome the setback. There’s absolutely no doubt in my mind that revisionism can do so. Our enemies are not all-powerful. They are human, and they can be defeated. This has just been proven by the South Lebanese Army fiasco in Lebanon. Now, you may say “Oh Ernst, that’s stretching it.” Well, let me tell you: it isn’t. The reason these Hezbollah people won is this: they fought an informational campaign. In all modesty, I must tell you that in 1981 I was banned from the Canadian mail for publishing a booklet called “The West, War, and Islam.” In it I had outlined to the Arab world: “Please don’t spend any more money on hand-me-down, worn-out American or British military equipment. It’s all garbage, and anyway, Israel always will get the state of the art in military hardware. You will never outgun these people in modern weaponry.

Although the Arabs cannot reverse this gap in military technology, the Hezbollah found a way to fight back — with video cams and mini cams. They would go out with little patrols and film their guerrillas blowing up an Israeli truck with a rocket launcher. What a picture! Then they would take it to their community centers, and broadcast it over Arab television. The Israeli press, always hungry for sensational footage, would even play this Palestinian footage. So the Palestinians were able to reinforce their own people’s staying power by saying, “Look, we’re inflicting damage on the enemy,” with video footage. At the same time they were working on the Jewish mothers whose sons were serving in southern Lebanon, weakening their will to resist because they were watching trucks with Jewish soldiers in them being blown up. Thus it was the informational campaign that weakened the Israelis’ will to occupy Lebanon, even though they were armed to the teeth. These Palestinians managed to work on the mind of their enemies and virtually achieved what the Viet Cong achieved with Jane Fonda’s footage in the United States in the Vietnam War. What I told the Arabs in 1981 has come true. Don’t buy guns. Don’t buy machine guns. Don’t buy those rusty tanks or second-hand jets. Buy camcorders. Get on the Internet, and of course listen to Ernst’s short-wave broadcasts. The pen is mightier than the sword.

What happened in southern Lebanon was revisionism. They certainly revised the borders. The Israelis slunk back, and what did their Lebanese vassals — I hate to insult Quisling — find when they got to the Israeli border? Their former trainers and teachers had their guns trained on them; suddenly they were no longer welcome. The kids in the streets of Gaza are going to remember that. They’ll remember that Israel, too, has an Achilles heel. I wouldn’t want to be an Israeli military strategist or political planner just now, because there’s nothing that succeeds like success. Those teenaged Palestinian kids are going to say, “Our brothers up north did it, and we can do it too.” While Israel’s atomic stockpiles (which they don’t admit to but everybody knows they have) sit idle in the desert, the kids are going to create havoc with their rocks. The film from the camcorders will be broadcast from Arafat’s Palestinian television station, and it will go to work on the minds of Israeli mothers and Israeli veterans. Fatigue has set in, and Israel is an artificial

creation. Israel as we have known it, that strutting, macho military power, throwing its weight around in the Middle East, may find itself humiliated, because there are so many Palestinians, so many Arabs, and so few Israelis. Nothing lasts forever.

Eastern Revisionism

While we build monuments to the six, five, four, three, one, million, whichever million you believe, in Eastern Europe, in the Baltic states, and in Belarus they're building monuments to SS men. Latvian and Estonian veterans of the SS are marching down the streets of their capitals with people on the curb cheering and saluting them. You don't hear much about that unless you're attuned to Eastern Europe, but that too is revisionism, and revisionism there is a movement that is just beginning to gather steam. It delights me that Jürgen Graf has had so many revisionist texts, so many of his own books quietly published in Russia. I have very good contacts with Russian nationalist publications, and the original version of *Did Six Million Really Die?* has been translated, expanded, improved upon, published, and reprinted in Russia. We've given the financially strapped Russian patriots revisionist works — about the “Holocaust,” on my trials — in printing flats and on diskettes in Russian, so that all the Russian publisher has to do is run them off. As Jürgen said, there is an amazing thirst for knowledge and for understanding over there; and revisionists have more freedom in Russia than in the West. Can you believe that? We Western Europeans have always looked down on the “Russkies.” We've always had a superiority complex about the East. Yet they can teach us a lesson when it comes to freedom, and courage, too, because there is more freedom for revisionists in Russia today than there is for German or French or Swiss revisionists in Western Europe.

The Future and the Internet

So, as we look around the globe, things don't look so dismal for us. Things actually look very good for revisionism. There's the Internet: Dr. Faurisson was telling me that Ahmed Rami, a former military officer from Morocco, has a Web site, and that recently it had 500,000 hits in a two week period. Imagine that! One nice thing about the Internet is that while you're sleeping, someone in Johannesburg or Brazil is looking at your Web site. Ingrid [Rimland]'s Zundelsite has just been completely revised. If you are Internet devotees, I suggest you go to the Zundelsite.org or Lebensraum.org. It's amazing what you can do today with this technology, absolutely amazing.

Of course there are frantic attempts to censor the Internet. In a recent decision by a French court, Yahoo is facing a fine of \$97,000 every day, if they don't find some way of blocking information that gets to French people. No, I don't know how this will all play out, but for the moment we are reaching millions, in the far-flung corners of the world. Ingrid puts out a daily bulletin, the ZGram. I've seen many of the letters that come in. A sheep farmer in Australia writes, “Dear Dr. Rimland, I'm not going out to tend my sheep before I've had my morning coffee and my ZGram.” There are people right in this room who have just met Ingrid for the first time, but have long been reading her ZGrams. The Internet allows for worldwide, almost instantaneous contact with people of different cultures, races, nationalities, ages. What an age we live in! Why should we despair? The Simon Wiesenthal Center, B'nai B'rith Canada, all these self-appointed censors are quaking in their boots at all the intelligent, computer-literate young people who go to revisionist sites to research their term papers. Many of them come to the Zundelsite for information, something that never happened before the Internet. It's a phenomenal development, the democratization of information, the leveling of the playing field. Suddenly, on the computer screen, we look as important as any of the big boys.

Legal Woes

As I must now share with you, last week was a tough one: I lost in court four times. In each instance, I'm required to pay my opposition's legal costs. That hurts all the more because I hate to give money to the lawyers for B'nai B'rith Canada and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. These Jewish groups had appealed my victories of April 13, 1999, against the Human Rights Tribunal, and the judges saw things, not surprisingly to me, the way they did. The good news is that I've instructed my attorneys to ask for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court, because the cases that we have brought are very substantial cases that deal with fundamental issues, such as truth. The State has told me, "Truth is not a defense in this case." Now, truth is fundamental to any civilized court of law; it is the rock upon which any justice system is built. Whenever you enter the witness box, you are brought a Bible and told to put your hand on it and to swear "to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God." When they ask me to step into the witness box now, and to swear on the Bible, what do I say? "Yes, I, Ernst Zündel, will tell lies and nothing but lies — because truth is not a defense"?

I also lost my Security Intelligence Review Committee appeal. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service called me, without any foundation in truth or fact, a security threat to Canada. They delivered that smear in a note from the Minister of Immigration as I was rebuilding my house after it had been firebombed by Marxist terrorists. I was up on the third floor, ripping down the roof because it was completely charred. I looked down, and there was a man in a black suit handing a letter to one of my men. I didn't even have a roof on my burned-out house. Two weeks later I was sent a parcel bomb. The arsonists and the bombers have never been arrested, but the government had the nerve to call me, a man who has spent forty-four years in Canada, and an absolute advocate of Gandhi's non-violent protest methods, a security threat to that country. I have spent lots of money to reverse this disgusting labeling.

Venue Shopping

What's behind it all is that my opponents have gone institution shopping. Until now, they have lost in every venue. They lost the postal hearings. They were unable to deport me. They convicted me of the crime of spreading "false news," but I won on appeal in the Supreme Court. Finally, after losing every case against me, desperate to find a venue where they could prevail, they went to the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal. There they told me, "Truth is not a defense." Dr. Faurisson testified there, Mark Weber was an expert witness. They can tell how vicious, humiliating, and unconscionable was the behavior of the (mostly Jewish) Human Rights Commission lawyers. One of my associates remarked jokingly, "There's only one difference between these people and the mafia. They carry law degrees in their violin cases instead of Uzis." In the end, they're just as deadly. Their goal is to criminalize me, to convict me first before the Human Rights Tribunal, then before the Security Intelligence Review Committee, so that they can ship me off to the gulag of my native Germany.

Some people, even in our own ranks, have criticized me for spending too much money on court cases. A few have said that I'm addicted to the courtroom. Whoever believes that knows nothing about Ernst Zündel. I am the least prone to grace the inside of a court room. I cringe every morning I go to court. I'm an artist by trade. I'd much rather paint beautiful pictures. I'd just as soon study the Talmud as sit there going over words and phrases with lawyers. Every fiber of my being rebels against these court cases. But I had no choice: if I hadn't fought them I wouldn't be here. I wouldn't have been here in 1994. I would have been off to Germany in 1985, at the very latest, to suffer the same fate as Fredrick Töben, Günther Deckert, Udo Walendy, in a land where there is no justice. The victorious Allies saw to that after 1945.

I do not battle in the courts because I like to. Please understand that, just as I understand that there exists what I call empathy, and donation, fatigue. The latest cases that our enemies have hurled at us are now so convoluted, so twisted, so talmudic that I can no longer proclaim that I'm tilting directly at the Holocaust windmill. It is now so complicated that even I have to call my lawyer and ask, "Barbara [Kulaszka], please, can you explain to me what the heck this means?"

Like the Lilliputians tying up Gulliver and pinning him down, that's what they're doing to me. That's what they plan for Jürgen Graf. It's really a tribute to Dr. Faurisson that they have been after him for so many years, because they fear him — and they fear us. People who are self-assured, people who have the truth on their side, can tolerate history being written the way things actually happened. They don't have resort to persecution. Most people understand that, so our struggle is worth fighting.

Doing What Needs to Be Done

Fred Töben was wondering whether he should return to Germany to appeal his sentence, at the risk of serving the rest of it. Well, I went back to Germany to appeal my conviction, because I'm one to fight when a principle is at stake. I went back, and they kept me there for five or six weeks. Finally, I had to fly back to Canada for a Supreme Court hearing four days before Christmas. Two days later I flew back to Germany just to be convicted, as I knew was going to happen anyway. So I paid \$2,750 for a one-way ticket to Germany to get convicted. Yet, the court record is an important historical record. We are leaving a legacy to our people, to our children. We are also setting examples to those who watch us.

As for Fred Töben, I'll give him some advice. I would not go back there to collect my conviction by Heiko Klein. There is nobody in this room, there is nobody in the revisionist movement that demands that you impale yourself on the fixed bayonets of the German repressive system. Now, Udo Walendy had the choice of leaving Germany before he went to jail. He could have gone to Spain. Many of you here know this white-haired, blue-eyed, ramrod-straight German: he said "Nein. I cannot do it." He's served his first term, and now, although he's in his seventies, Udo Walendy is serving his second jail term, for nothing more than trying to bring truth to his German people. Ultimately it's Fred's personal choice, but to me there is no shame in recognizing overwhelming odds, so overwhelming that to attack frontally would be suicide. I don't think it's heroism to neutralize yourself. That's my honest opinion. Conviction is a foregone conclusion throughout Europe. Things have gone so far that an Austrian revisionist, the engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich, has had to seek asylum in the Iranian embassy. Seeing Europe, that once great continent, sunk so low, its people seemingly unable to liberate themselves, instead wallowing in wealth and forsaking all principle, fills me with shame. It is our job to fight back, by ringing the bell for freedom wherever we can, as loud as we can, as long as we can.

In closing, Mark Weber asked me, "Where do you think the IHR should be going?" There is still so much work to be done, so many minds to be liberated, so many people to be informed. The liberation of the Western world can only come through information. Only information will liberate our people — and revisionism is the tool. I'm not saying we cannot improve on what we have been doing. But I'm quite sure now that the IHR has turned the corner, that things are looking up, and that our outreach programs will improve. New topics will be touched on. New blood is coming in. New thinkers are emerging. Younger people are joining. This is an exciting time, and we are going to lick these people.

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Book review

The Holocaust in American Life

- *The Holocaust in American Life* by Peter Novick. Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999. Hardcover. 373 pages. \$27.00. Index, source references.

by Greg Raven

Promotion of Holocaust claims has been a boom industry of late, considering the run-away best-seller by Daniel Goldhagen (which claimed that all Germans were responsible for mass executions of Jews), the financial extortion of the Swiss banks and German businesses, the legal travails of anyone outside of the U.S. who has the temerity to question even the smallest Holocaust-related claim, and the daily onslaught of Holocaust-related articles, movies, television shows, and books that continues unabated.

Even so, there is also a counter-trend, in which a few non-revisionist authors are questioning — if not the details — the implications of the Holocaust in contemporary life. Among these are last year's *Selling the Holocaust* by Tim Cole, and this year's powerful *The Holocaust Industry* by Norman Finkelstein. Peter Novick's *The Holocaust in American Life* is another book in this fast-expanding genre.

Novick, a professor of history (University of Chicago), believes that the Holocaust became ubiquitous in American life because certain events, such as the kidnapping and trial of Adolf Eichmann, gradually led to the realization by American Jews of the importance of the Holocaust, and its value as a lesson for mankind. He presents Jewish immigrants to America after the Second World War as wanting to tell of their experiences during the war, but holding off, in an attempt to fit in (p. 158) until non-Jews in America became more receptive to their message, which according to Novick happened because we came to see Israel as an ally in the Middle East, in the aftermath of their June 1967 "Six Day War" against Egypt, Jordan, and Syria.

In the course of presenting his case, Novick, like Finkelstein, offers page after page of amazing acknowledgements regarding, among other things, the massive public relations campaign that turned the Jewish experience in Europe during the Second World War into "the Holocaust," and the uses to which it has been put by Jewish leaders and others. But where Finkelstein brings passion to his subject, Novick presents himself throughout as the calm, rational scholar, ever-sensitive to nuance and alternate viewpoints.

Whence 'the Holocaust'?

Even if you're not a revisionist, you might wonder why the experiences of a bunch of foreigners, which happened more than fifty years ago, half-way around the world, have become so central to

modern American life. So does Novick (p. 2):

The Holocaust took place thousands of miles from America's shores. Holocaust survivors or their descendants are a small fraction of 1 percent of the American population, and a small fraction of American Jewry as well... Americans, including many American Jews, were largely unaware of what we now call the Holocaust while it was going on ... So, in addition to "why now?" we have to ask "why here?"

Novick is hardly the first person to observe that "the Holocaust," which we are now told is all-important, was barely mentioned before the late seventies, suggesting that the fate of the Jews during the war was for many years viewed as being little different from the fates of others. Novick concurs (p. 2):

... surely there were some American Jews ... for whom the Holocaust was a traumatic experience. But the available evidence doesn't suggest that, overall, American Jews (let alone American gentiles) were traumatized by the Holocaust, in any worthwhile sense of that term.

What changed? Novick disingenuously writes (p. 6) that "... Jews have taken the initiative in focusing attention on the Holocaust in this country."

Why Jews? Novick recounts (p. 7) that "The Holocaust, as virtually the only common denominator of American Jewish identity in the late twentieth century, has filled a need for a consensual symbol." As a result (p. 200):

... in what might be called American "folk Judaism" — less bound by tradition and less scrupulous about theological consistency — a de facto sacralization of the Holocaust has taken place.

For America's largely non-Orthodox Jews, this now has led to the Holocaust "displacing Israel at the center of American Jewish consciousness" (p. 168). This has happened, Novick explains (p. 120), to those who think that history — including Holocaust history — has more to do with facts and context than with feelings and whim, that "Every generation frames the Holocaust, represents the Holocaust, in ways that suit its mood."

Lest anyone think that Americans have participated in this framing (as opposed to having it thrust upon them by what can only be called non-Americans), Novick later clarifies (p. 278) this point:

For all of the extent to which the Holocaust has reverberated throughout American society, it's not clear that the Holocaust is an American collective memory in any worthwhile sense.

It's not as though no one has made an effort to connect Americans to the Holocaust, though (p. 235):

Only a minority of the European Jews murdered by Hitler resembled middle-class Americans, but that's how they've been most often represented to American audiences.

Promotion

According to Novick, that's largely because American Jews have been doing the representing. Novick writes (p. 208):

How did this European event come to loom so large in American consciousness? A good part of the answer is the fact ... that Jews play an important and influential role in Hollywood, the television industry, and the newspaper, magazine, and book publishing worlds. Anyone who would explain the massive attention the Holocaust has received in these media in recent years without reference to that fact is being naïve or disingenuous.

Jews in politics played their role (p. 208):

What were, de jure, government initiatives were often, de facto, those of Jewish aides, simultaneously promoting projects in which they believed and helping their employers score points with Jewish constituents.

As Novick makes clear (p. 216), the reason politicians need to “score points with Jewish constituents” is because of Jewish power:

[President Jimmy] Carter's initiative [to create the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum] was an attempt to placate American Jews, who were increasingly alienated by what they saw as the president's “excessive evenhandedness” in dealing with Israelis and Palestinians.

And how did the USHMM come into being? According to Novick (p. 195):

It was American Jews' wealth and political influence that made it possible for them to bring to the Mall in Washington a monument to their weakness and vulnerability.

Pyramid Power

Novick also deals (pp. 8-9) extensively with the post-war victimization cult in America, going so far as to imply that those Jews in America today who claim victim status are doing so fraudulently (he calls it “vicariously”):

American Jews were by far the wealthiest, best-educated, most influential, in-every-way-most-successful group in American society — a group that, compared to most other identifiable minority groups, suffered no measurable discrimination and no disadvantages on account of that minority status. But insofar as Jewish identity could be anchored in the agony of European Jewry, certification as (vicarious) victims could be claimed, with all the moral privilege accompanying such certification.

Novick acknowledges that Jews are atop the victimization pyramid, and notes (p. 223) that their only competition is from other Jews:

... unlike other groups that wanted to be recognized as victims of the Holocaust, gays do have political and cultural resources, and they don't face the same hostility to inclusion, based on prewar and wartime experience, encountered by Poles and Ukrainians. Their inclusion, moreover, could be seen as a contribution to the cause of combating homophobia. And many of their spokesmen, who press for inclusion, are Jewish.

By being “more equal” than others, one gains “moral capital.” In this formulation, the revisionist movement isn’t just to bring history into accord with the facts, but something far more sinister (p. 156):

Holocaust deniers, according to David Singer of the American Jewish Committee [in 1993], seek to “rob the Jewish people and the state of Israel of the moral capital.”

There’s no point in Americans looking for the benefits of this moral capital in the media, politics, or any other cultural institution; Novick himself says (p. 230) that the campaign against Swiss banks is really just seizing the “moral high ground.”

Novick, however, is so intent on proving that the rise of Israel led to the rise of Holocaust promotion, that he ignores events that nullify his thesis: Zionist terrorism prior to the formation of Israel, the appointment of terrorists to the highest offices in Israeli politics, Israel’s purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia, the kidnapping of Adolf Eichmann from Argentina, the Israeli attack on the USS Liberty, the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism, Israel’s continuing defiance of the United Nations, Israel’s collaboration with then-pariah South Africa in the development of nuclear weapons, Israel’s own development of nuclear weapons, Israel’s improper sales of weapons to everyone from the communists in China to Serbs in Kosovo, the 1973 attack on a Libyan airliner that resulted in the deaths of hundreds of civilians (p. 154), the Pollard spy scandal, and atrocities in occupied territories too numerous to mention here. If as Novick claims it was the public image of Israel that accounts for the tremendous increase in Holocaust propaganda, then why haven’t these negative images of Israel counter-balanced the (largely false) image of an “embattled Israel”? The answer, which Novick acknowledges without examining it too closely, lies in the dominant power of American Jewry.

Jews and Communism

In the U.S., where for decades Jews have comprised between two and three percent of the population, Novick notes (p. 93):

... it was also correct, and becoming manifest, that a great many — perhaps most — American Communists in these years [1940s] were Jews.

You don’t have to take his word for it (p. 92):

Lucy Dawidowicz — later well known as an historian of the Holocaust, but in these years [after 1945] the American Jewish Committee’s expert on Communism — kept running tabulations for the Committee on the percentage of Jews among “hostile witnesses” before various investigative bodies. Jews, she found, often made up 75 percent or more of the totals.

By the late forties, a time when Novick points out that Jewish leaders were promoting the “sameness” of European Jews and Americans, communists were invoking Holocaust claims to drive a wedge between the U.S. and West Germany. The Holocaust was also a pretext used by Julius Rosenberg to justify his espionage for the Soviet Union (p. 94).

Novick’s treatment of the tension between the drive to promote “sameness” (that is, the view that Jews in America had nothing to do with communism) during the Cold War, and the fact that the communists were making Holocaust claims (“featuring the Holocaust was ... Communist Party policy”), is the most intriguing section of the book. Unfortunately, Novick never deals with the issues of how, by the late fifties and early sixties, the communist’s distorted Holocaust claims

came to be so widely known in America, or why, once the survivors felt free to express themselves, so little of this Soviet disinformation was repudiated.

Discards

You wouldn't expect Novick, a historian who is not above quoting (p. 56) the discredited "confessions" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, to discard any part of the received Holocaust legend. Yet he does. The story that the corpses of Jews were turned into soap is "... now dismissed as without foundation by historians of the Holocaust" (p. 23). About Babi Yar, he writes (p. 22):

Thus, after the Soviet recapture of Kiev, the New York Times correspondent traveling with the Red Army underlined that while Soviet officials claimed that tens of thousands of Jews had been killed at Babi Yar, "no witnesses to the shooting ... talked with the correspondents"; "it is impossible for this correspondent to judge the truth of falsity of the story told to us"; "there is little evidence in the ravine to prove or disprove the story."

Another oft-repeated Holocaust claim is that everyone knew there was a (secret) Nazi plan to exterminate the Jews, and no one did anything to stop it. Novick notes that it didn't seem to make much of an impression at the time (p. 105):

Leo Bogart ... wrote a thesis on [postwar American Jewish response to the Holocaust]... One of his approaches ... was soliciting lengthy written statements from a number of young Jews. He found that except for two individuals who were in the armed forces in Europe at the end of the war, it did not appear that "the extermination of Europe's Jews had had any real emotional effect upon the writers of the statements, or that it has influenced their basic outlook."

As Arthur R. Butz pointed out at the IHR's Thirteenth Conference, statements such as these are a paradox ("How could they have known about it and not cared?") only if you postulate that there was something about which to care in the first place. If the alleged extermination did not happen as we have been told, then there is no paradox, and the statement seems self-explanatory.

Recently, there have been increasing accusations by Jews that Pius XII did nothing to save European Jews during the War. Novick points out (p. 143), "... at the time of Pius's death in 1958 they [Jewish groups] had vied with each other in fulsome tributes to his wartime role in rescuing Jews."

In contrast to the position of Holocaust scribes such as Elie Wiesel and Deborah Lipstadt, who simultaneously claim that the Holocaust was unique, and that by being reminded of it constantly we can somehow apply (compare) it to other situations, Novick writes (p. 9):

The assertion that the Holocaust is unique — like the claim that it is singularly incomprehensible or unrepresentable — is, in practice, deeply offensive.

Novick seems unconcerned (p. 156) that those who "universalize" the Holocaust are sometimes charged with plundering the "moral capital" it brings Jews.

The Survivors

Virtually all the Holocaust presentations being pushed on Americans are built on the testimony and statements of Jewish “survivors.” Elie Wiesel has stated that any survivor has more to say about the Holocaust than any historian (though he also reminds us that it is impossible to put the Holocaust experience into words). Novick informs (p. 83) us what their contemporaries thought of this national treasure:

American Jews, or Jews in the Yishuv [Palestine], would have been incredulous at the idea, later a commonplace, that survivors' memories were a “precious legacy” to be preserved.

This “precious legacy” is now reaping untold benefits (pp. 259-60): “A different kind of interest — often overwhelming students — is generated by the frequent visits of survivors to classrooms.”

Thanks to the “important and influential role” Jews play in the media, it now often seems that one cannot pick up a newspaper without reading something related to the Holocaust. Novick has noticed this, too (p. 276):

After having gone through thousands of newspaper stories on the Holocaust, I'm struck by how often the pathos of interviewing or quoting a local survivor was the peg on which such stories were hung.

Even so, Novick doesn't have a very high opinion (p. 275) of the typical survivor's testimony:

... it is held that survivors' memories are an indispensable historical source that must be preserved ... In fact, those memories are not a very useful historical source.

Part of the reason memories are faulty has to do with the passage of time, intensity of emotion, and many other factors. Novick goes even farther (pp. 68-69), to implicitly condemn the character of the living:

Samuel Lubell wrote in the Saturday Evening Post: “For the Jews of Eastern Europe the Nazi gas chambers constituted a kind of grim, perverted Darwinism, psychologically and physically. Six years of systematic extermination ... bred a strange pattern of tenacious survival... It was a survival not of the fittest, not of the most high-minded or reasonable and certainly not of the meekest, but of the toughest.” “Often,” wrote one local Jewish official, “it was the 'ex-ghetto' elements rather than the upper class or white collar groups who survived ..., the petty thief or leader of petty thieves who offered leadership to others, or developed techniques of survival.” From Europe, a top leader of the American Jewish Committee wrote to a colleague in New York: “Those who have survived are not the fittest ... but are largely the lowest Jewish elements, who by cunning and animal instincts have been able to escape the terrible fate of the more refined and better elements who succumbed.” ... And in David Ben-Gurion's view, the survivors included “people who would not have survived if they had not been what they were — hard, evil and selfish people, and what they underwent there served to destroy what good qualities they had left.”

Shaking the Money Tree

Novick does make the connection between Jewish feelings of being outsiders and the Holocaust as a fund-raising tool (p. 165):

The peaks of monetary contributions to Israel were in 1967 and 1973 when the Jews of Israel were thought to be on the eve of another Holocaust.

Jewish fund-raisers in America were quick to note this, and soon (p. 145):

... the Holocaust came to be regularly invoked — indeed, brandished as a weapon — in American Jewry's struggles on behalf of an embattled Israel.

He even goes one step farther, though, to show (p. 188) the cynical use of “the Holocaust” by Jewish leaders seeking funds:

The millionaire who provided most of the original funding for the Simon Wiesenthal Center told a reporter that it was “a sad fact that Israel and Jewish education and all the other familiar buzzwords no longer seem to rally Jews behind the community. The Holocaust, though, works every time.”

Flexing Muscle

Novick can't find (p. 166) any proof that the Holocaust has had any effect on U.S. foreign policy, but acknowledges that (p. 155):

The Holocaust framework allowed one to put aside as irrelevant any legitimate grounds for criticizing Israel, to avoid even considering the possibility that the rights and wrongs were complex.

He also recognizes that powerful Jewish interests in America will do anything to get their way (p. 167):

AIPAC [American Israel Public Affairs Committee] ... has lavishly rewarded members of Congress who have supported Israel and ruthlessly punished those who have been critical of Israeli policies.

So here we have Novick, who believes that the image of Israel as “embattled” lead to the rise of Holocaust awareness, has acknowledged that the Holocaust is used as a weapon to deflect criticism (as well as gain advantages otherwise unavailable), and knows that pro-Israel lobbying groups are very effective in persuading members of Congress (and others?) to do their bidding, yet he can't find proof that the Holocaust has had any effect on U.S. foreign policy.

Lessons of the Holocaust

Novick implies (p. 253) that the Holocaust can sensitize us to other tragedies. After a couple of false starts at coming up with his “lesson of the Holocaust,” Novick weakly offers (pp. 262):

There was a disposition, before the Holocaust, to think of the most barbarous deeds as being the work of the most barbarous folk — the least cultured, the least advanced. We've learned from the Holocaust that that's wrong. Perhaps there are other lessons, but nothing that will fit on a bumper sticker, and nothing to inspire.

He believes that the urge to teach the “lessons of the Holocaust” (which he can't quite pin down) comes from the hope that out of it will come “something that is, if not redemptive, at least useful.” However, he concludes, “I doubt it can be done” (p. 263). Nowhere does Novick, who lists

some “good” reasons for remembering the Holocaust (pp. 239ff), point out the penalties for failing to do so.

Holocaust and Historiography

Novick’s calm demeanor and nuanced approach crack only when he refers to Holocaust revisionists. Novick mischaracterizes revisionists as “deniers” who are a “tiny band of malicious or deluded fruitcakes” (p. 13), a “tiny band of cranks, kooks, and misfits” and “fruitcakes” (p. 270) who “deny that the Holocaust took place.” Novick also claims (pp. 270-2) that revisionists would be inconsequential, had it not been for powerful Jewish forces who in 1993 used the threat of revisionism to usher in the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Throughout his book, Novick continues what has been referred to as “the long tradition of Jewish scholarship that deliberately distorts the historical record to further Jewish group interests” (Brian Chalmers, “The 'Jewish Question' in 15th and 16th Century Spain,” Jan.-Feb. 1996 Journal). Because many of his points are couched so obscurely that trying to determine what Novick actually thinks often exasperates, what stands out most are individual statements. Novick’s book — like Finkelstein’s — is a gold mine of information for revisionists. Novick’s approach to these datum points, however, seems so conscious of Jewish group interests that the book appears to be written only for other Jews.

To put a scholarly veneer over the gaping holes in his account of the Holocaust’s rise to power, Novick claims (p. 261):

If there is ... any wisdom to be acquired from contemplating an historical event, I would think it would derive from confronting it in all its complexity and its contradictions; the ways in which it resembles other events to which it might be compared as well as the ways it differs from them.

With regards to Holocaust claims, this is exactly what Novick has failed to do, aside from granting that it is (and should be) compared to other historical events. His lip service to historiography ends quickly, however, as he then writes (p. 261):

It is not — least of all when it comes to the Holocaust — a matter of approaching the past in a neutral or value-free fashion, or of abstaining from moral judgment. And it’s not a matter of taking a disengaged academic stance.

Does this mean that if you agree with what he and other Jewish historians say about the Holocaust, there’s no sense in reining yourself in? Does this mean that anti-Semites and neo-Nazis would make fine historians of the Holocaust, as long as they don’t “abstain from moral judgment”? Will one approach be deemed better than another because it is more subjective? We can only wonder what Novick had in mind in juxtaposing these two statements.

Typical Effort

Not reflected in the cites above is Novick’s systematic distortions of history, and of the roles of Jews in that history. Novick notes (p. 158) that Jews sometimes present themselves as the same as Americans (when they are powerless, or in need of help), and that they sometimes present themselves as being different (p. 159) or even superior (p. 170) when they are in a position of power. Even though he claims to be searching for reasons why the Holocaust came to inhabit such a vaunted position in American life, he completely fails to notice that Jews were essentially

silent about Holocaust claims when they were relatively powerless in American society, and increasingly vocal about these claims as their power grew. Novick is blind to this phenomenon, which has given rise to the characterization of Jews as being “at your feet or at your throat.” For him, the two positions are nothing more than two different, equally valid postures Jews might take at any given time.

Novick nowhere even hints that some of the problems between Jews and non-Jews might be due to actions of the Jews themselves. For Novick, there is no need for Jews to change any of their behaviors, and in fact, Jews must remain separate (p. 185). Novick seemingly accepts this, and offers (p. 189) a stunning example:

... a survey of American Jewish volunteer fund-raisers in the late seventies found three quarters agreeing that “I feel more emotional when I hear Hatikvah [Israel’s national anthem] than when I hear the Star-Spangled Banner.”

This supports one of the most common charges, that Jews are more committed to Jewish interests than the interests in the countries in which they live. Novick quotes (p. 182) Wiesel to this effect: “By working for his own people a Jew ... makes his most valuable contribution ...”

Important for Revisionists

One aspect of “the Holocaust” that comes through clearly in Novick’s book is that there was never any intention of remembering Jewish suffering primarily as part of the historical record: there was always some secondary agenda tied to its promotion. Whether the goal was fund-raising, political power, Jewish unification, or all-purpose warrant and extenuation, “the Holocaust” was seen as merely the means to the end. (To be fair, this is little different from American Jews raising money for Israel, even though they themselves have no intention of going there.)

This book is not important because it reveals new details about Holocaust claims, or because it cites heretofore unknown documents, or because it breaks new ground in interpreting contemporaneous evidence. It is important because a Jewish historian has stated truths about the Holocaust and its use by Jews, the voicing of which by persons such as Ernst Zündel in Canada has landed in court, and even in prison. Revisionists have long since gone more than halfway in bridging the gap between what we know about the Holocaust and what we have been told. It’s nice to see someone on the other side making an effort, no matter how small, to arrive at a more complete understanding.

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Book reviews

Making Room for the Revisionists

- *The Holocaust in American Life* by Peter Novick. Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999. Hardcover. 373 pages. \$27.00. Index, source references.
- *The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering* by Norman Finkelstein. London, New York: Verso, 2000. Hardcover. 150 pages. Index.

reviewed by Samuel Crowell

In the past couple of years, two books by American Jewish professors have served to initiate public debate about the use and abuse of the Holocaust. In his 1999 *Holocaust and American Life*, Peter Novick, a professor of history at the University of Chicago, traced the evolution of the concept “Holocaust” in the United States since the Second World War. Norman Finkelstein, a professor of political theory at City University of New York, went on to take Novick’s ideas several steps further in his *Holocaust Industry*, which stridently attacks the manipulation of the Holocaust for the financial gain of Jewish agencies. Neither book rehearses any of the traditional historical revisionist arguments, but in fact their focus on the abuse of the Holocaust, and its unnatural dominance in American public life, repeats old revisionist themes. More important, both books have begun to create a climate in which a more skeptical attitude toward the facts of the Holocaust will become possible, and that in turn will only work to the benefit of revisionist research.

A Thing Called 'The Holocaust'

Novick’s point of departure was a mixture of curiosity about the extent to which the Holocaust was invoked in American life and skepticism about the usefulness of its dominant role. Hence his study is simply an attempt to reconstruct chronologically how the Holocaust was perceived from the Second World War to the present, and in this sense his book might be called a history of the idea of the Holocaust.

This creates some problems in the early chapters of his book, because Novick soon realizes that the idea of the Holocaust today did not exist in the Second World War, or even for some years thereafter. To be specific, until the late 1960s, whatever had happened to the Jews was subsumed into the general idea of “Nazi atrocities” carried out against all of the Third Reich’s political opponents, by a very small circle of individuals, and almost entirely in secret “extermination camps” the knowledge of which was concealed not only from the world at large but even from the German people. As a result, when Novick claims that the Holocaust was or was not discussed in the 1940s or '50s, he is usually using a very expanded definition of the term that in effect in-

cludes the entire Nazi concentration camp system. This can be a little disconcerting to the reader when he compares Novick's statements to the footnotes that underlie them.

Yet this discontinuity tends to underline one of the book's strengths, which is that it succeeds in locating the creation of the idea of the Holocaust in the 1960s, and specifically in the time frame of the Six Day War of 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973. This separation of idea and events is fruitful in many ways. In the first place, it makes it clear that criticism of the idea of the Holocaust can be separated from the events that comprise it: one can criticize the abuse of the idea without being a "Holocaust denier." But on the other hand Novick's citing of the concept in the 1960s also suggests that the re-evaluation of allegations of Nazi atrocity in the Second World War should be able to proceed without reference to the "Holocaust" at all.

A further value of Novick's placement of the birth of the Holocaust idea is that it helps explain the internal chronology of Holocaust revisionism. In a lecture to the first IHR conference in 1979, Arthur Butz expressed some wonderment about the fact that a number of independent researchers all reached similar revisionist conclusions in the same general time frame: the late 1960s and the early 1970s. But according to Novick's analysis, this coincides with the origination of the Holocaust concept along with its first widespread usage in international politics. It may be seen, then, that Holocaust revisionism was the natural complement to the development of the idea of the Holocaust itself.

As to the cause of the development of this Holocaust idea, Novick is much less clear. While recognizing the takeoff of the Holocaust idea at the time of Israeli emergence as a military power in the Middle East, he gives little credit to the notion that Zionist propaganda was consequential in its emergence, partly because he doesn't believe that America's policy towards Israel is shaped by the Holocaust. Moreover, since his emphasis is on the idea of the Holocaust in America alone, he is able to ignore the extent to which Holocaust imagery has always been central to Israeli politics.

By failing to deal with the evolution of the Holocaust concept in Israel, Novick is left with something of a mystery. He has a situation in which the Holocaust became prominent in the United States but only some twenty-five years after the events described under its rubric transpired. Novick attempts to explain this by suggesting that the Holocaust was repressed (a position he ultimately rejects), and tends rather to argue that it was suppressed, because, in the prevailing Cold War climate, it raised uncomfortable questions about the Jewish involvement in European communism. To the extent that Novick is able to support this argument by reference to the internal papers of Jewish organizations that were active in the 1950s in suppressing associations of Jewishness and communism in the media, he stands on firm ground. But it seems to us that a simpler explanation for the growth of the Holocaust idea in America would be that the Zionist conception of the Holocaust was simply exported here and took root.

Novick tends to explain the pre-eminence of the Holocaust idea in American culture in the last two decades by reference to "market forces" and the simple fact that "[Jews] are not only 'The people of the book' but the people of the Hollywood film and the television miniseries, of the magazine article and the newspaper column, of the comic book and the academic symposium" (p. 12). According to this argument, the prominence of Jews in the media makes Jewish concerns prominent. Further, American Jews have been led to see the Holocaust as the fundamental characteristic of their identity since the ordinary appeals to the Jewish life and religion have lost their attraction. In other words, the Holocaust is used as a kind of threat to ensure, in effect, that Jews remain Jews; because of the Jewish dominance in the media, the non-Jewish majority is constantly exposed to this message.

It is at this point of his book that Novick begins to criticize the inaccuracy and vulgarity of many Holocaust representations, including those of Elie Wiesel, and to decry the “mystification” of the Holocaust. Being a liberal humanist, as well as a Jew, Novick takes offense with such claims that the Holocaust is “unique” or that it “cannot be rationally comprehended” or that it cannot be compared to other instances of mass persecution and murder, in other words, genocide. In this respect, Novick puts himself at odds with the majority of Holocaust authors, including Deborah Lipstadt, who is singled out for criticism. (In a fascinating footnote, Novick reveals that the author of the term “genocide,” Raphael Lemkin, implicitly endorsed the idea of comparison in the 1950s in his correspondence with German-Americans by suggesting that the postwar expulsion of the Germans was itself a form of genocide.)

It is certainly difficult for revisionists to disagree with Novick’s judgments in these later chapters, especially since they are identical to the kinds of things revisionists have been saying for decades. However, Novick goes out of his way to dissociate himself from revisionism, calling revisionists “crackpots” and “fruitcakes” in his rare references to them. But then, Novick never asked himself why the Holocaust has become “mystified,” “beyond reason,” and “incommensurable” in the first place. If he had, he would have realized that these clichés represent an attempt to obscure the events and dissuade the skeptic or scholar from testing the facts and attempting to put them in a meaningful historical context. In other words, Novick’s contempt is misplaced: in our view, the “sacralization” of the Holocaust idea occurred as a direct response to the revisionist challenge to the Holocaust on discrete factual terms. One may, as Novick does, object to the irrationality of Holocaust remembrance, but the substitution of reason for mystery is the essence of Holocaust revisionism.

Novick’s book is important in several respects. It has allowed a wide public airing of many criticisms of the Holocaust ideology long made by revisionists such as Butz, Faurisson, and Lilienthal. It locates the emergence of the Holocaust as an idea at a specific point in time, incidentally helping to explain the chronology of Holocaust revisionism. It helps separate the ideology of the Holocaust from the disputed facts of the Holocaust, although it questions few of these. Finally, it helps create space for broader, deeper criticism of the “instrumentalization” of the Holocaust, as well as more critical thinking. Indeed, *The Holocaust in American Life* provided the actual springboard for Norman Finkelstein.

The Selling of the Holocaust

Late in 1999, Norman Finkelstein was asked to write a review of Novick’s book, and that review, fleshed out with considerable detail and moral indignation, has become *The Holocaust Industry*. To understand Finkelstein’s approach it is important to understand a few things about his background. Both of Finkelstein’s parents were Polish Jews, who were deported from the Warsaw Ghetto and who survived a series of concentration camps, including Auschwitz and Majdanek. Finkelstein clearly venerates their memory and the sufferings they underwent. He also deeply honors the memory of his parents, who, by what he tells us, interpreted the suffering of the Jewish people in the Second World War in a universalist context. As a result, Finkelstein’s main approach to the Holocaust is that the Jewish people should not be singled out as victims nor should the German people be singled out as perpetrators. These are attitudes that Finkelstein has discussed elsewhere, as for example in *A Nation on Trial*, in which Finkelstein condemned Daniel Goldhagen’s tract *Hitler’s Willing Executioners* as a group libel on the German people.

Another characteristic of Finkelstein’s thinking is that he is suspicious of all political elites, whether Jewish or gentile, and has always been sharply critical of Zionism. Indeed, Finkelstein first made a name for himself in the 1980’s with his critique of Joan Peters’ *From Time Immemorial*.

rial, a Zionist version of Middle East history which essentially argued that before the Jewish immigrants arrived there were no Arabs in Palestine. As a result, Finkelstein has always been sharply critical of the manipulation of the Holocaust. Indeed, in *A Nation on Trial* he even went so far as to call the Holocaust as usually discussed essentially the ideology-laden Zionist “version” of the Holocaust.

Finkelstein benefits from Novick’s distinction of the Holocaust as an idea as separate from the events themselves. In *The Holocaust Industry* he is now able to strongly criticize the Holocaust as a representation without having to get mired in details about the scope or methods of the Nazi persecution of the Jews.

In the first chapter of his brief book, Finkelstein gives his own version of the emergence of the Holocaust idea. Unlike Novick, who centers the idea in support for Israel, later to be overtaken by the utility of the concept in defining Jewish identity, Finkelstein traces the promotion of the Holocaust idea to its usefulness to the United States government and in particular to the “Jewish elites” (a favorite phrase) who benefit from such promotion with wealth and power. In this area, Finkelstein’s analysis is a bit more convincing than Novick.

While he disagrees with Novick about the actual mechanics of the Holocaust idea’s emergence, Finkelstein agrees with Novick, and goes much further than his elder colleague, with the idea that the Holocaust serves ideological purposes by casting the Jews as eternal victims of irrational gentile enmity. In this way, suggests Finkelstein, not only does Israel become immune to criticism, but so do any Jews, as they retreat into conservative positions to defend their vested interests.

In the following section, Finkelstein deplores the abuse of the Holocaust, and the “hoaxers” and “hucksters” who stand behind it. Repeating criticisms from his own writings, Novick’s book, and thirty years of revisionist analysis, Finkelstein excoriates the various poseurs who have made a living off the Holocaust, among whom he lists not only Wiesel, but Jerzy Kosinski and of course “Binyamin Wilkomirski,” the Swiss clarinetist who successfully passed himself off as a child survivor of the camps until recently exposed. He also allows himself to attack the various buzzwords of the Holocaust vocabulary, but, unlike Novick, is able to say something in support of revisionists, duly referencing Gordon Craig’s defense of David Irving, and Arno Mayer’s use of revisionist authors in his *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* (As we know, Mayer’s bibliography referenced the writings of both Arthur Butz and Paul Rassinier, which in academic usage points to their respectability. [See the reviews by Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson in volume nine, number three of *The Journal of Historical Review*.])

It is in the final section of his book, entitled “The Double Shakedown,” that Finkelstein most clearly makes his mark. This long section, comprising almost half the text, is a relentless retelling of the means whereby a handful of Jewish agencies, without apparently any constituent support, used class action lawyers and the American media to in effect blackmail the Swiss government for \$1.25 billion dollars. Then, Finkelstein goes over the story of how the same forces worked together to compel the German government to make yet another compensation deal, this time for \$5 billion, ostensibly to be paid to the survivors, Jewish and non-Jewish, whose labor had been exploited in concentration and labor camps.

Finkelstein registers his disgust not just with the tactics employed, although his narrative contains much shocking detail of greed and cynicism: he also raises questions about where all these billions in compensation are going. For example, if the Volcker Commission established that the amounts held in dormant “Holocaust Era” accounts in Swiss banks were significantly less than

\$1.25 billion, one may legitimately inquire as to the ultimate destination of the remainder. Finkelstein makes it clear that he believes that these funds will disappear into the coffers of the Jewish agencies that initiated the action, or into the pockets of the enterprising lawyers they employed.

Finkelstein applies the same skepticism to the German compensation plan. This plan is keyed to estimated numbers of both Jewish and non-Jewish survivors. Finkelstein correctly notes that if the number of Jewish concentration camp survivors today numbers around 135,000, as the Jewish agencies maintain, they must have numbered half a million or more in 1945. But such a calculation, which accords with revisionist analysis, contradicts the very low estimates of Holocaust historians. Finkelstein concludes therefore that the number of survivors has been deliberately inflated, and that little of the \$5 billion in German money will ever reach the elderly or destitute Jewish men and women who most need it.

Conclusion

Novick's *Holocaust in American Life* was a welcome addition to discussions of the Holocaust primarily because it succeeded in separating the concept from the events, which in turn made it possible to criticize the abuse of the Holocaust idea. Thus Novick opened the door for Finkelstein to write a far more biting critique, which essentially has argued that the Holocaust idea has become an exploitative tool for agencies that wish to increase their wealth and extend their power. If Finkelstein's analysis is correct, it appears the Holocaust ideology currently serves only a tiny group of people with no roots even in the Jewish community, let alone any meaningful roots in the social or political realities of America, Europe, or Israel.

These are the kinds of things that revisionists have been saying for years, and indeed one can find much of both Novick and Finkelstein prefigured in the early writings of Butz and Faurisson. Yet that does not mean that either Novick or Finkelstein derived their views from revisionists. Rather it means that once one adopts a critical attitude toward the manipulation of the Holocaust, one is bound to come to the same conclusions about its abuse.

It is also important to keep in mind that both Novick and Finkelstein distance themselves from Holocaust revisionism as it concerns the facts of the Nazi persecution of the Jews. On the contrary, both dismiss revisionism, and Novick does so in quite scathing terms. Paradoxically, however, their books serve to support the more rational and meticulous study of the "mystery" of the Holocaust, because both books are ultimately directed against the power of the Holocaust as an ideology. Towards the end of *The Holocaust Industry*, Finkelstein observes that "The abnormality of the Nazi holocaust springs not from the event itself but from the exploitive industry that has grown up around it" (p. 150), and that "The challenge today is to restore the Nazi holocaust as a rational subject of inquiry."

We would have to agree: the Holocaust ideology has been the greatest inhibition to a rational analysis of Europe's troubled past. As that ideology weakens, the events themselves will become less potent for ideological or financial manipulation, emotions will accordingly dissipate, and revisionists will be able to pursue their studies and present their conclusions about the facts without harassment and vilification, even if not with immediate or complete agreement. It would seem that the days of a more balanced view of twentieth century European history are in the offing.

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Book review

Denying History

- Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Didn't Happen and Why Do They Say It? by Michael Shermer & Alex Grobman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. Hardcover. 312 pages. Bibliography. Index.

Samuel Crowell

For some years now Michael Shermer, an adjunct professor at Occidental College and the editor of Skeptic magazine, has been a fixture on the revisionist scene: not because he agrees with revisionists, but because he is willing to openly discuss and debate elements of the Holocaust legend with them. Over the years he has, generally with good humor, engaged in lively exchanges with several leading revisionists, including Bradley Smith, Mark Weber, and Robert Faurisson. These contacts lent a highly personal and anecdotal flavor to his previous writing about Holocaust revisionism, in his 1997 book, *Why People Believe Weird Things*. In *Denying History*, Shermer has teamed with a devout Jew from the Simon Wiesenthal Center, Alex Grobman, ostensibly with a view to refuting once and for all the arguments of the "Holocaust deniers."

The book has some strong points. Shermer is an earnest popularizer, and goes to great lengths to describe his pragmatic attitude towards historical knowledge. As a result he provides a readable but nevertheless fairly sophisticated discussion of modern-day historical methods, academic arguments about those methods, and epistemology. On the other hand, when the discussion actually turns to the Holocaust and the various classes of evidence offered, Shermer and his co-author are for the most part reduced to repeating over and over the now well-known mantra of the "convergence of evidence."

By "convergence of evidence" Shermer means a situation in which data from a variety of different fields all point to a specific factual conclusion. Shermer argues that there are eighteen kinds of data that converge on the fact of the Holocaust: five testimonies, four Nazi speeches, blueprints of the crematoria, photos of dead inmates, more testimonies, Zyklon B orders, Eichmann's confession, postwar statements of the German government, and many missing Jews (p. 118). No, the list does not add up to eighteen, and no, we are not making fun of Shermer's argument: this is exactly what he says, except that by the end of his litany the eighteen kinds of data have become eighteen proofs "all converging on one conclusion."

There are at least three things wrong with Shermer's argument. The first problem is that if we accept the word "Holocaust" as a rubric to describe everything that happened to Jewish people in the Second World War we immediately run into a problem of relating the disparate parts to each other. For example, it is well known that thousands of dead persons were photographed by the Americans and the British in such camps as Bergen Belsen, Buchenwald, and Dachau: these pho-

tographs prove that there were many dead, Jews and others, in these camps when they were captured, nothing more. Sophisticated exponents of the Holocaust are in agreement with revisionists that such evidence has no bearing on what did or did not happen in alleged “extermination” camps such as Auschwitz or Treblinka.

The second problem is that the evidence does not necessarily converge on the stated conclusions. For example, when discussing the mass gassing claim, Shermer argues that we know mass gassings took place because of (1) testimonies, (2) blueprints of crematoria, (3) Zyklon B traces, (4) photographs, ground level and (5) aerial, and (6) existing ruins. But these categories of evidence provide distinctly different levels of evidentiary value. The testimonies, as is well known, are frequently implausible, were generated at a time when gassing stories had been widely disseminated, and were given before courts committed to upholding the gassing claim. The blueprints, on the other hand, only show that crematoria were planned. The existence of Zyklon B traces, in camps where the product was widely used for disinfection, is automatically moot. The ground level photos show piles of dead bodies. The aerial photos prove that crematoria were built. The ruins provide evidence that delousing stations, as well as crematoria, were built. None of the non-testimonial classes of evidence would necessarily lead to a conclusion that mass gassings took place, while the testimony itself remains unreliable.

Shermer’s “convergence of evidence” argument appears to be rather that, if various classes of evidence do not contradict the central assertion, these other classes of evidence corroborate, or converge, on that central conclusion. In the same way, an old woman in the seventeenth century could have been shown to have gamboled in a midnight glade with Satan — and then been burned at the stake, so long as a broom and a cat were produced.

The third problem with Shermer’s “convergence” model is that by returning again and again to rather weak categories of evidence — such as eyewitness stories, aerial photos, cans of Zyklon, the use of the word “Ausrottung” (extirpation) in public speeches — he passes over the enormous gap in the documentary record. It is precisely this documentary gap — the absence of any reliable documentation at any level that points to homicidal gassing, and the absence of documentation to indicate that the Third Reich was pursuing a policy of exterminating all Jews — that leads people to the revisionist perspective.

Of particular interest to my own studies is Shermer and Grobman’s attempt to prove that mass gassings took place. As expected, there is quite a bit of emphasis on testimonies, but there are a few nuggets of information to be mined. We learn, for example, that the shower room in the Mauthausen crematorium was equipped with “a heavy steel door with a peephole” (p. 168), in other words, a bomb shelter door (p. 168), and that the “gas chambers” at Majdanek underwent severe alterations after the war (p. 164). Unfortunately, Shermer handles this data in a manner that is simplistic, if not deliberately tendentious. For example, he quotes a source who claims that the “gas chambers” at Majdanek used “pure carbon monoxide” (p. 165), although the actual tanks at the site are clearly marked “carbon dioxide,” with some other ingredient scratched out (probably a disinfectant for which the carbon dioxide served as a dispersant.) The height of naïveté is achieved in the discussion of Mauthausen, where Shermer argues that the presence of a radiator, ventilation, and fake showers proves the existence of a homicidal gas chamber, and that “no other explanation ... is plausible” (p. 172). Since the shower arrangement at Mauthausen is not fake, however, Shermer is reduced to arguing that equipping a shower room with ventilation or heating is necessarily sinister.

Around this central core, Denying History groups several long chapters at the beginning which discuss the writing of history, and provide in depth personal descriptions of many leading revi-

sionists, including Mark Weber of the Institute for Historical Review. Towards the end of the book there are several arguments designed to convince the reader that, yes, Hitler was responsible for the Holocaust, and yes, it was the worst thing that ever happened. None of this is particularly edifying. Meanwhile, Shermer and Grobman seemed locked in a time warp: they fail to discuss any of the extensive revisionist forensic and documentary research of the past several years.

On the whole, *Denying History* is simply an expansion of what Shermer offered in his previous book: various vignettes about leading revisionists, speculations as to why they believe what they believe, without the slightest thought that they might be at least partly right. Shermer, as before, deserves praise for his patient, almost didactic tone when discussing revisionists, but, also as before, he falls far short in his efforts to provide any proof of what he alleges as fact. The sole novelty of the book comes from the presentation of additional evidence for mass gassing and the existence of an extermination program. But this evidence, as usual in Holocaust histories, doesn't really move beyond the implausibilities of the eyewitness accounts, and the supplementary detail in the end proves nothing, except, perhaps, the existence of a bomb shelter in the Mauthausen crematorium.

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Book review

Lying about Hitler

- *Lying about Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial*, by Richard J. Evans. New York: Basic Books, 2001. Hardcover. 318 pp.

Samuel Crowell

Doubtless one of the more memorable episodes from last year's libel trial of David Irving v. Deborah Lipstadt was the lengthy clash between Irving, acting as his own attorney, and expert witness Richard Evans, the British historian, who had submitted an eight hundred-page assault on Irving's character and historical career. For eight days, Irving poked holes in Evans's arguments and tried to get Evans to support his positions *ex tempore*, while Evans, hands thrust deep in pockets, refused to meet Irving's gaze and read out long and stultifying passages from his report.

The present book is essentially Evans's memoir of the trial, accompanied by a condensed version of his expert report in support of Lipstadt, and his observations on the trial's aftermath. The trial, it will be remembered, hinged on Irving's claim that Deborah Lipstadt had libeled him in her 1993 book *Denying the Holocaust*, a book that was bankrolled by the Jerusalem-based Vidal Sassoon Center for the Study of Antisemitism. To bolster her defense, Lipstadt's supporters, including Schindler's List director Steven Spielberg, hired several historians to write reports that argued that Lipstadt's criticisms of Irving were justified. Some of the reports were professionally done and seemed objective, as for example the expert opinion of Christopher Browning, though most revisionists would disagree with his conclusions. On the other hand, the reports of Robert Jan Van Pelt and, in particular, Evans himself were so heavily interlarded with condemnations of David Irving it was difficult to separate legitimate historical analysis from gratuitous attacks.

Lying about Hitler suffers from the same problem. While this book is somewhat milder in tone than Evans's vociferous expert report, nevertheless the seeming compulsiveness with which Evans appears obliged to accuse David Irving of falsifying and manipulating documents gets in the way of whatever historical value this book may have.

The book comprises seven chapters. The first describes Evans's introduction to the Irving suit, the next two discuss Adolf Hitler's role in the "Final Solution," a further chapter discusses Irving as a "Holocaust denier," while a fifth considers the bombing of Dresden, the subject of Irving's first book. Two further chapters discuss Evans's testimony and post-trial perspectives. Of most direct interest to revisionists is the chapter entitled "Irving and Holocaust denial," in which, oddly enough, the kinder and gentler Richard Evans is most apparent.

For the most part Evans gives a fair treatment to revisionists, describing the writings of Paul Rassinier, Arthur Butz, Wilhelm Stäglich, and Robert Faurisson more or less accurately and with no evident malice. Evans avoids, for example, the rather silly name calling that mars Peter Novick's *Holocaust in American Life*. Nor does Evans rush to judgment in assessing the motives of revisionists: for example, Evans sees Rassinier's motives rooted not in anti-Semitism but in his actual experiences in the camps. This generally fair beginning breaks down rather quickly, however, for two reasons. First, because Evans is out to prove that David Irving is a "Holocaust denier"; second, because Evans is clearly out of his depth when discussing the Holocaust in any detail.

Evans tends to focus on such things as Irving's comments about the number of victims, or his ridicule of some claims. Armed with excerpts from Irving's videotaped speeches, Evans goes on to argue Irving's status as a "denier." Yet Evans' standards of what constitutes denial constantly change. On the one hand, Evans stipulates that it is "denial" to claim a wartime Jewish death toll in the hundreds of thousands, but while Irving at one point conjectured a death toll between one and four million, that doesn't count, because many of these deaths were attributed to disease. Nor is Evans above pure ad hominem arguments: a lengthy section in this chapter consists of nothing more than detailing Irving's relationship with the Institute for Historical Review, which is also smeared.

On the subject of gassing, Evans is particularly weak. He claims that there is documentary evidence for gassing at the extermination camps of Chelmno, Treblinka, Sobibor, Belzec, and Auschwitz-Birkenau, thus contradicting Christopher Browning's expert report, which explicitly discusses the absence of such documentation, as well as Van Pelt's report, which references only a few ambiguous documents. Beyond this point, Evans simply repeats the standard anti-revisionist lore: how the Leuchter report has been "discredited," how much more Zyklon was needed to kill bugs rather than humans, and so on.

Evans' sole independent speculation on the subject of gassing falls completely flat. At one point, he tries to argue that the spurious "gas chamber" at Dachau is a non-issue for the general credibility of the gassing claim because "not even Irving claimed that the evidence presented at Nuremberg said that the gas chamber at Dachau ever actually came into use" (p. 124). In his footnote, Evans argues that "only one witness at Nuremberg claimed to have seen bodies in the [Dachau] gas chambers: they may have been moved there temporarily from the adjacent crematorium, which was used for executions," and quotes from what is apparently the Dachau tourist brochure (p. 286). Bearing in mind the actual content of Nuremberg witness Dr. Franz Blaha's justly famous affidavit, in which he claimed to have examined gassing victims, two or three of them still stirring, in the Dachau gas chamber (Trial of the Major War Criminals, Nuremberg: 1947, vol. 5, pp. 172-173), we conclude that Professor Evans is indeed qualified to discourse on the falsification and/or manipulation of historical documents, if only on the basis of personal experience.

There are many gaps in Evans's treatment of the gassing claim, particularly for Auschwitz. For example, except for a brief glancing reference in the conclusion, there is no discussion at all of the missing holes in the roof of the Crematorium II "gas chamber," without which any gassing in conformance with all received accounts would have been impossible. Nor does Evans bother to discuss the gastight air raid-shelter interpretation of the crematorium basements, even though it was an important part of Irving's defense, and even though it was discussed by all the relevant parties to the case. This leads to the most mysterious gap of all, the virtual non-existence of Professor Robert Jan Van Pelt in this book. In fact, Van Pelt is reduced to only one substantive mention, when he supposedly counseled Evans not to look Irving in the eye, because "[I]t'll just make

you angry” (p. 199). Thus the expert who was the most highly paid, who covered the camp where the most people were supposedly gassed, and whose expert report most nearly rivaled Evans’s in sheer bulk, is mentioned solely in connection with explaining away Evans’s rude behavior in the dock.

Toward the end of the book, Evans shifts his sights away from Irving to those who defended him, both before, during, and after the adverse judgment. Here Evans drops his new-found civility and goes after any and all who have had the temerity to praise Irving, or to minimize his errors. This part of the book is amusing, if only when one reflects on the amount of spite and cheek needed to sustain these argumentative assaults on the likes of Sir John Keegan and several others. Donald Cameron Watt, another distinguished British historian, and much Evans' senior, comes in for particularly rough treatment, with several ambushes in the endnotes.

On the whole, the book contributes little that is new or interesting to anyone who followed the Irving trial with any degree of attention. It is obvious that Richard Evans has an animus against David Irving, but such animus could not sustain his expert report nor does it sustain this much shorter book. Furthermore, the title, *Lying about Hitler*, is a false indication of the book’s scope: it is not about Hitler at all, but rather David Irving. Perhaps “*Lying about David Irving*” would be a better indication of the book’s contents.

March/April 2001 (Vol. 20, No. 2), page 2

From the Editor (March/April 2001)

Authoritative opinion has long held that Auschwitz is emblematic of twentieth century evil, the nexus of a high technology refined and perfected in the interest of a totalitarian regime and a fanatical ideology based on group hatred. So we are informed, with constant certitude and growing stridency, by statesmen and scholars, ecclesiastics and pundits, leaders of the left and the right, Germans and Jews.

Despite the fact that the opprobrium for the alleged extermination of more than a million Jews has steadily expanded from the Nazis to the Germans, to their wartime allies, to the neutrals, to the Catholic Church, to countries annexed or occupied by the Germans, and at last to the leadership of the Allies in the anti-German coalition, since the Second World War only the revisionists have dared ask the question: What are the facts?

This issue of the JHR is largely devoted to up-to-the minute research on the evidence for mass murder at Auschwitz. While revisionists have studied Auschwitz since the 1950s, if anything we often neglect to appreciate the insight and penetration of the pioneers who worked in the Cold War years, at a time when the Auschwitz site and the Auschwitz documents lay inaccessible behind the Iron Curtain. Working from the tiny trickle of arbitrarily selected and sometimes unreliable Auschwitz documents that had reached the West, Arthur Butz, Robert Faurisson, and their colleagues were able to lay the groundwork for the research that has followed the collapse of the Soviet system at the end of the 1980s.

Two methods are on view here. The first is forensic: it seeks to determine, from the best possible scientific and technical analysis, answers to key questions about physical evidence. Reading Germar Rudolf's [scintillating overview](#) of revisionist forensics at Auschwitz, and of the evasive, slovenly, and dishonest efforts of the official authorities there, prompts one to wonder at the incuriosity of the many millions in thrall to Auschwitz. After all, in America as elsewhere, the twentieth century was a forensic century: while adults argued over the merits of Hauptmann's ladder or Oswald's rifle or the killer's DNA in the Lindbergh, Kennedy, and Simpson cases, young people were enthralled by Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes at work over his microscope, or devoured popular literature extolling the myriad capabilities of the FBI's crime laboratory. Rudolf's essay on forensic evidence and gassing at Auschwitz, unrivaled in English for its simplicity, scope, and immediacy, is required reading not merely for revisionists but for all who understand that forensic evidence is vital in determining guilt or innocence, at Auschwitz and elsewhere.

While the emergence of thousands of new documents from Auschwitz might seem less dramatic than the on-site forensic investigations by Rudolf and Fred Leuchter, the evidence from the archives may ultimately be more telling. [Here](#) Samuel Crowell uses an Auschwitz document unearthed by JHR advisor Carlo Mattogno in the Moscow archives to further demolish the significance of a "criminal trace" that Jean-Claude Pressac, erstwhile protégé of Serge and Beate Klars-

feld, believed was the “one proof, one single proof” demanded by his former mentor, Robert Faurisson.

Both Crowell and Richard Widmann explore findings from the documents, and from secondary sources, to investigate what actually happened to the Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz and elsewhere. Widmann offers, in a **brilliant little essay**, a thesis that links the expanding inmate population in the concentration camps of the Reich in 1944 to the numbers of Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz, but never registered as inmates there. Crowell, a fluent reader of Hungarian, uses research from post-Communist Hungary as well as more traditional sources to present **an informed and rounded study** of the fate of Hungarian Jewish deportees, and to conclude that whatever happened to these Jews, it was not mass extermination at Auschwitz.

This issue isn't all about Auschwitz, to be sure. IHR director Mark Weber **exposes** some documentary skullduggery on the part of the author of a series of alleged interviews with Gestapo commandant Heinrich Müller. Dan Michaels **hails** a new study of the World Jewish Congress' s blackmail of Switzerland and its banks, and of the American politicians who facilitated it. And, since fictional media are increasingly shaping the public perception of history, Scott Smith **signals** what will be a larger focus in the JHR by reviewing a film set in Stalingrad.

The attack on the Auschwitz myth merits the last word, however. Crowell's dissection of an academic version of the foolish lamentations over America and Britain's failure, despite a dozen sorties over the camp, to target the alleged gas chambers, says all that need be said on that score. As for bombs over Birkenau, today it's we revisionists who are dropping them, on the Auschwitz legend.

Theodore J. O'Keefe

March/April 2001 (Vol. 20, No. 2), page 3

A Brief History of Forensic Examinations of Auschwitz

Germar Rudolf

“Auschwitz” has come to symbolize the greatest crime in human history. The significance of the alleged murder of a million or more persons, most of them Jewish, by gassing at the German concentration camp of that name has elicited endless discussion among philosophers, theologians, and litterateurs as well as jurists and historians, and evoked numberless platitudes from journalists and politicians. The focus of this article, however, is on the following questions:

1. Should the alleged monstrous crime be subject to careful scrutiny by means of thorough forensic analysis?
2. What forensic examinations of the purported crimes scenes at Auschwitz have been conducted thus far, and with what findings? How are we to assess the results?

The Moral Obligation of Forensic Examination

In late spring 1993, the Max Planck Institute in Stuttgart issued an internal memorandum informing its employees that a doctoral candidate there had been dismissed for research he had done on Auschwitz. The institute explained that in view of the horror of the National Socialists' crimes against the Jews, it was morally repugnant to discuss the specific manner in which the victims had been killed, or to try to determine the precise number of the dead. That one of the world's leading scientific research institutes stated to its personnel that to determine accurate quantities is not only unethical, but reprehensible, and cause for dismissal, is not without its own irony.

Does it really matter just how many Jews lost their lives in the German sphere of influence during the Second World War? Is it so important, after so many years, to attempt painstakingly to investigate just how they died? After all, it is surely morally correct that even one victim is one too many; and nobody seriously denies that many Jews died.

To affirm these things, however, is not to raise a valid objection — moral or otherwise — to the scientific investigation of a crime held to be unique and unparalleled in the history of mankind. Even a crime that is alleged to be uniquely reprehensible must be open to a procedure that is standard for any other crime: namely, that it can be — must be — subject to a detailed material investigation. Further: whoever postulates that a crime, alleged or actual, is unique must be prepared for a uniquely thorough investigation of the alleged crime before its uniqueness is accepted as fact.

If, on the other hand, someone sought to shield so allegedly unparalleled a crime from investigation by erecting a taboo of moral outrage, the creators of that taboo would, at least morally, themselves commit a singular offense: imputing an unparalleled guilt, beyond any critique and defense, to an entire people, the Germans. To demonstrate just what kind of double standard is be-

ing applied to “the Holocaust” (the definition of which usually includes the purposeful annihilation of millions of Jews by the Third Reich), let us note the international reaction to several recent examples of “crimes against humanity.” After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, numerous mass graves, containing hundreds of thousands of victims of the Soviets, were discovered and investigated. Not only was the number of victims determined, but in many cases the specific cause of death as well. In the same regions where many of these mass graves were found, one million or more Jews are said to have been shot by the Einsatzgruppen: yet no such grave has ever been reported found, let alone dug up and investigated, in the more than half a century during which these areas have been controlled by the USSR and its successor states.

During the conflict in Kosovo in 1999, rumors about mass killings by Serbs spread around the world. After the fighting was over, an international forensic commission arrived in Kosovo, searching, excavating, and forensically investigating mass graves. These graves proved to be not only fewer than the Serbs' Albanian opponents had alleged, but to contain small fractions of the numbers of victims claimed.

Did the Allies attempt, during the war and in the years immediately following, to find and to investigate mass graves of persons said to have been victims of the Germans? So far as is known, only once: at Katyn. But the findings of the Soviet forensic commission, which blamed the mass murder of several thousand Polish officers buried there on the Germans, are today generally considered a fabrication. The report of the international forensic commission invited by the Germans in 1943, on the other hand, which found that the Soviets had carried out this mass murder, is today considered accurate even by the Russian government.

A Definition of Forensic Science

Forensic science is generally seen as a supporting science of criminology. Its aim is to collect and to identify physical remnants of a crime, and from these to draw conclusions about the victim(s), the perpetrator(s), the weapon(s), and the time and location of the crime, as well as how it was committed, if at all. This science is relatively new, and entered the courtrooms only in 1902, when fingerprint evidence was accepted, in an English court, for the first time. The 1998 CD-ROM Encyclopaedia Britannica writes of forensic science:

A broad range of scientific techniques is available to law enforcement agencies attempting to identify suspects or to establish beyond doubt the connection between a suspect and the crime in question. Examples include the analysis of bloodstains and traces of other body fluids (such as semen or spittle) that may indicate some of the characteristics of the offender. Fibres can be analyzed by microscopy or chemical analysis to show, for instance, that fibres found on the victim or at the scene of the crime are similar to those in the clothing of the suspect. Hair samples, and particularly skin cells attached to hair roots, can be compared chemically and genetically to those of the suspect. Many inorganic substances, such as glass, paper, and paint, can yield considerable information under microscopic or chemical analysis. Examination of a document in question may reveal it to be a forgery, on the evidence that the paper on which it is written was manufactured by a technique not available at the time to which it allegedly dates. The refractive index of even small particles of glass may be measured to show that a given item or fragment of glass was part of a particular batch manufactured at a particular time and place.

Hence, forensic research is exactly what revisionists, starting with Robert Faurisson, have called the search for material evidence. The revisionists' demand for such material evidence is entirely consistent with the normal practice of modern law enforcement. And, as is generally acknowl-

edged, forensic evidence is more conclusive than eyewitness testimony or documentary evidence.

Forensic Science and Auschwitz

The 1946 Krakow Auschwitz Trial

In 1945, the Krakow Institute for Forensic Research (Instytut Ekspertyz Sadowych) prepared a report on a forensic investigation of Auschwitz that was submitted in evidence in the 1946 Auschwitz trial in Krakow, Poland. [1] This expert report should be treated with caution, because forensic examinations and judicial procedures under the Communists have been anything but trustworthy, and Poland was in 1945 a Stalinist satellite. One need only point to the example of Katyn, the Soviet account of which was fully endorsed by Poland's Communist regime. [2]

The Krakow forensic investigators took hair, presumably cut from inmates, and hair clasps from bags found by the Soviets in Auschwitz. Tested for cyanide residues, both hair and clasps showed positive results. Additionally, a zinc-plated metal cover was tested for cyanide and found to have a positive result as well. The Krakow Institute claims that this metal cover once shielded the exhaust duct of a supposed homicidal "gas chamber" at Birkenau.

The tests conducted by the institute were qualitative, not quantitative, analyses. In other words, they could only determine whether or not cyanide was present, not how much of it was there.

As to whether or not homicidal gassing with hydrogen cyanide took place in Auschwitz, these analyses are worthless, for three reasons:

1. There is no way of determining the origin and history of the hair and hair clasps obtained from bags in Auschwitz. Assuming that the analytic results are correct, from a chemical point of view the following can be noted: A positive test for cyanide in human hair proves only that the hair has been exposed to HCN (hydrogen cyanide). But that result does not suffice to establish that the persons from whom the hair came were killed by cyanide. It is a good deal more likely that the hair had already been cut when it was exposed to the gas: in German as well as Allied camps, it was standard to cut off prisoners' hair for hygienic reasons. When hair over a certain length was later recycled, [3] it had to be deloused beforehand (often with Zyklon B, the active ingredient of which is hydrogen cyanide). Hence, positive cyanide results from loose hair do not prove human gasings.
2. We face a similar problem with the zinc-plated covers allegedly used to cover the ventilation ducts of the supposed "gas chambers": their exact origin and history is unknown. It would have been much preferable for the Krakow Institute to have analyzed samples from the walls of the alleged "gas chambers" instead of obtaining samples from pieces of metal:
 - a. Whereas the origin and history of these metal covers was uncertain, the origin and (at least partly) the history of the walls of the morgues allegedly used as "gas chambers" was known.
 - b. In contrast to cement and concrete, zinc-plated metal covers prevent the formation of stable iron cyanide compounds. [4] The developing zinc cyanide compounds are relatively unstable and must be expected to vanish in a short period of time. [5]
 - c. The tendency of porous wall material in moist underground rooms to accumulate and to bind hydrogen cyanide, physically as well as chemically, is hundreds of times higher than that of sheet metal.

d. As a matter of fact, the letter accompanying the samples sent to the Krakow Institute actually mentions that a mortar sample allegedly taken from a so-called “gas chamber” is enclosed as well and should also be tested for cyanide. However, for unknown reasons, the Krakow Institute did not mention this mortar sample in its report, perhaps because it did not show any positive result.

3. There is no evidence that either analysis has been successfully reproduced.

The 1964-1966 Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial

Several expert reports were prepared during the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial, the best known being those of the Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History). [6] However, none of these reports was forensic in nature. They addressed legal, historical, or psychological topics. Throughout this mammoth trial, neither the court, nor the prosecution, [7] nor the defense [8] ever suggested that material traces of the alleged crime be secured and investigated. The prosecution had at its disposal numerous statements by eyewitnesses and confessions by perpetrators, and it considered this material entirely sufficient to establish beyond doubt the existence of a program to exterminate Jews in Auschwitz and elsewhere during the Third Reich. [9] The abundance of such evidence has since been used to argue that the lack of documentary and material evidence was irrelevant. [10] That no material evidence was presented during the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial was freely conceded by the court in its ruling:

The court lacked almost all possibilities of discovery available in a normal murder trial to create a true picture of the actual event at the time of the murder. It lacked the bodies of the victims, autopsy records, expert reports on the cause of death and the time of death; it lacked any trace of the murderers, murder weapons, etc. An examination of the eyewitness testimony was only possible in rare cases. Where the slightest doubt existed or the possibility of confusion could not be excluded with certainty, the court did not evaluate the testimony of witnesses[.]

The 1972 Vienna Auschwitz Trial

Between January 18 and March 10, 1972, two architects responsible for the design and construction of the crematoria in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Walter Dejaco and Fritz Ertl, were put on trial in Vienna, Austria. [11] During the trial, an expert report on the possible interpretation of the blueprints of the alleged gas chambers of the Auschwitz and Birkenau crematoria was presented to the court. The report concluded that the rooms in question could not have been gas chambers, nor could they have been converted into gas chambers. [12] Thanks to this first methodologically sound expert report on Auschwitz, the defendants were acquitted.

In Search of Mass Graves

In 1966 the Auschwitz State Museum commissioned the Polish company Hydrokop to drill into the soil of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp and to analyze the samples. It is not known whether this research was done in the context of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial. The results, however, vanished into the museum’s archives: they have never been released, which by itself is revealing enough. Years later, however, several pages from this report were photocopied and sent to the German revisionist publisher Udo Walendy, who published them with commentary in an issue of his periodical. [13] Traces of bones and hair allegedly found at several places might indicate mass graves. The few pages published by Walendy, however, do not reveal whether these findings led to an excavation or a subsequent forensic study of the traces. It is not even evident whether the bone and hair samples collected are human or animal remains.

Faurisson Pulls the Trigger

It took a professor of French literature to inform the world that determining whether mass murder took place at Auschwitz is a matter for forensic evidence. Robert Faurisson, professor of French, and an analyst of documents, texts, and witness statements at the University of Lyon 2, began to doubt the standard historical version of the Holocaust after much critical study of the eyewitness testimony and intensive scrutiny of documents said to support the claim of mass murder. Faurisson first asserted the thesis that “there was not a single gas chamber under Adolf Hitler” in 1978. [14] Thereafter he buttressed his position with numerous physical, chemical, topographic, architectonic, documentary, and historical arguments. He described the existence of the homicidal gas chambers as “radically impossible.” [15] At the end of 1978 *Le Monde*, the leading French newspaper, afforded Professor Faurisson the opportunity to present his thesis in an article. [16]

It took almost a decade, however, for the first expert to accept Faurisson’s challenge and to prepare the first forensic report on the alleged homicidal “gas chambers” in Auschwitz: Fred Leuchter’s now famous report of 1988. [17] The background and history of the Leuchter Report are well known to readers of the *Journal of Historical Review* and need not be repeated here. [18] Suffice it to say that the Leuchter Report was a pioneer work that initiated a series of publications, the scope of which broadened more and more into various fields of forensic science [19] and soon encompassed many interdisciplinary studies of material and documentary evidence. [20]

Reaction of the Jan Sehn Institute

The reaction of the Krakow Institute which had carried out the faulty 1945 investigation — by 1988 named after the Communist judge who presided during the Polish Auschwitz and Rudolf Höss trials — to the Leuchter Report has caused much confusion in revisionist circles. To this day, many believe that in 1990 four investigators from this institute corroborated the Leuchter Report, [21] but this is quite incorrect. Clearing up the misunderstanding requires that the post-Leuchter findings of the Krakow Institute be treated in some detail.

A Short Chemical Introduction

To expose the errors of the Krakow investigators requires presenting a little basic chemistry — so basic that equations have been omitted. First of all, until 1979, Zyklon B was the German trademark for a pesticide based on hydrogen cyanide (HCN). As every student of chemistry knows, hydrogen cyanide forms salts, often simply referred to as cyanides. Like hydrogen cyanide itself, these salts are usually highly poisonous. There is one group of cyanides, however, which are not poisonous at all. The best known representatives of this group are the iron cyanides, especially so-called Prussian blue, a pigment discovered in Prussia a few centuries ago. Every college student of chemistry knows Prussian blue, for one of the more important things a chemist must learn is how to dispose of poisonous cyanide salts without endangering life (including one’s own). One simply makes Prussian blue out of it by adding certain iron compounds. Then it can be poured down the sink in good conscience, for Prussian blue is extremely stable and releases no cyanide into the environment.

Understanding the controversy surrounding the Leuchter Report is much easier if one keeps in mind that when hydrogen cyanide and certain iron compounds come together, they form Prussian blue. That is exactly the phenomenon that one can observe when entering the Zyklon B delousing facilities that were used across Europe during the Third Reich. A few of them, for example in the Auschwitz, Birkenau, Majdanek, and Stutthof concentration camps, are still intact today. All

these facilities have one thing in common: their walls are permeated with Prussian blue. Not just the inner surfaces, but the mortar between the bricks, and even the outside walls of these delousing chambers abound in iron cyanides, exhibiting a patchy blue coloration. Nothing of the sort can be observed in the alleged homicidal “gas chambers” of Auschwitz and Birkenau. [22]

The iron compounds needed to form Prussian blue are an integral part of all building materials: bricks, sand, and cement always contain a certain amount of rust (iron oxide, usually between 1 and 4 percent). That is what gives bricks their red, or ocher, color and what makes most sands ocher, too.

Now, let’s examine the way in which the investigators from the Jan Sehn Institute approached the problem of analyzing and interpreting samples from Auschwitz.

A Lack of Understanding

The team from the forensic institute, Jan Markiewicz, Wojciech Gubala, and Jerzy Labedz, claims not to have understood how it was possible for Prussian blue to have formed in walls as a result of their being exposed to hydrogen cyanide gas: “It is difficult to imagine the chemical reactions and physicochemical processes that could have led to the formation of Prussian blue in that place.” [23]

There is no shame in not understanding. Actually, this is the beginning of every science: the cognition of not understanding. In pre-scientific ages, humans tended to find mystical or religious answers to unsolved questions; modern scientists approach problems they don’t understand, and sometimes can scarcely imagine, as challenges to investigate, in order to understand. This quest for knowledge is the chief driving force of modern humanity. Should we not expect, then, that the Krakow researchers would next have attempted to learn whether Prussian blue can be formed in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide and, if so, how?

More Lack of Understanding

In 1991 Dr. Markiewicz wrote, via a mutual acquaintance, that he was unable to understand how Prussian blue could possibly form in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide. He thought that quite unlikely, and suggested that its presence might stem from a different source, for example from Prussian blue wall paint used to give the interior walls of the delousing chambers a fanciful, patchy blue coloration. (What for?, one is tempted to ask. [24]) I suggested that he look at the outer surfaces of the walls, which are exposed to environmental influences, and which were partly patchy blue as well. Their color cannot be explained by paint, but only by cyanide compounds spreading to the outside walls over the years, and being converted to Prussian blue. He replied that these blue patches were hard to explain, and first it had to be established that they were indeed Prussian blue. [25] So there were even more questions to be answered before these scientists could conduct their analysis.

Disregard of Key Questions

At length, the Polish investigators published an article on their findings, in 1994. [23] Surprisingly, perusing their article reveals that they did nothing to establish whether or not Prussian blue can form in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide. Nothing indicates that they did basic research on the behavior of cyanide compounds under conditions similar to those in brickwork. Nor did they do anything to establish whether or not the blue patches on the external walls of the delousing

chambers were caused by Prussian blue. Should you wonder why, just be patient: it gets even worse.

Ignoring Peer Opinions

Had the researchers found a scientific source which stated in a reliable way that Prussian blue cannot develop in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide, that would have made things easy for them, by rendering any new research obsolete. On the other hand, if they had discovered literature claiming in a scientific way that the formation of Prussian blue in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide was possible, the scientific method would have compelled them to do either of two things: to abandon their position that Prussian blue cannot form thus, or to refute the opposing position by proving that it cannot form. That is what the scientific process is all about: verification or refutation of theses postulated by peers. Ignoring peer opinions is a strong indicator of unscientific behavior.

In fact, the Krakow researchers quoted one book that deals intensively with the question of Prussian blue formation. [26] On consulting it, however, one quickly realizes that it proves the exact opposite of Markiewicz's thesis. The work demonstrates in detail how, and under which circumstances, walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide can indeed form Prussian blue, and that this was not only possible but very likely, at least in the Auschwitz delousing chambers.

Do the Krakow researchers claim that this book shows the opposite? Not at all. In fact, they cite it not to refer the reader to its chemical arguments, but, instead, merely as an example of scientific studies these authors from the Jan Sehn Institute intend to combat with their report. All arguments advanced in the book are simply ignored, while the work is stigmatized as an example of "undesirable science." Let it be recalled that Dr. Markiewicz is a professor, meaning: he professes to adhere to the ideals of science and the scientific method!

Excluding the Unwanted

The authors of the Krakow study ignored all arguments proving them wrong, although they were certainly aware of them, as they quoted them. They made no attempt to prove or to disprove their own claims. They did nothing to understand what they claimed not to have understood.

Was there a reason for their strange conduct?

The answer is very simple: The researchers wanted to exclude Prussian blue and similar iron cyanide compounds from their analyses. Excluding these compounds can only be justified on the assumption that Prussian blue in the walls of the delousing chambers must have a different origin, e.g. from paint. As the Krakow investigators wrote in their 1994 article:

We decided therefore to determine the cyanide ions using a method that does not induce the breakdown of the composed ferrum cyanide complex (this is the blue under discussion) [.]

What does this mean?

In fact, the exclusion of Prussian blue from analytical detection must result in much lower cyanide traces for the delousing chambers, as non-iron cyanide compounds are not very stable and would therefore hardly be present after fifty years. The same is true for every room ever exposed to hydrogen cyanide. In fact, values close to the detection level must be expected. These

are generally so unreliable that a proper interpretation is close to impossible. It can therefore be expected that the analysis of samples tested with such a method would deliver similar results for nearly every sampling of material that is many years old. Such an analysis would make it practically impossible to distinguish between rooms massively exposed to hydrogen cyanide and those which were not: all would have a cyanide residue of close to zero.

Comparison of the order of magnitude of analyses results of different samples

Author:	Markiewicz et al. [23]	Leuchter [17]	Rudolf [27]
Detection of:	cyanide without iron cyanides	total cyanide	total cyanide
Delousing chambers:	0-0.8 mg/kg	1,025 mg/kg	1,000-13,000 mg/kg
Alleged gas chamber:	0-0.6 mg/kg	0-8 mg/kg	0-7 mg/kg

I believe that is exactly what the researchers from the Jan Sehn Institute wanted to achieve: values for both the delousing chambers and the alleged homicidal “gas chambers” with similar levels of cyanide residues. This would allow them to state: “The same amount of cyanides, hence the same amount of gassing activity: thus, humans were gassed in the crematoria cellars. Thus, Leuchter is refuted.”

The analyses results of the Krakow report showed just that, and its authors drew the requisite conclusions.

If we examine the analyses results of samples taken by different people, and obtained with different methods of analysis, it is evident that Markiewicz and his co-workers fudged their results by adjusting their method to deliver what they wanted.

If that doesn’t smell like scientific fraud, well ... we aren’t through with the Krakow report yet.

Suppressing Unwanted Results

In 1991, a document leaked out of the Jan Sehn Institute in Krakow into the hands of the revisionists, and was eventually published in their periodicals. [21] It showed that Dr. Markiewicz and his co-workers had prepared a first report as early as 1990. This report was never published. Its results were discomfiting: although the researchers were already employing their deceptive analytical method, only one of the five samples taken from alleged homicidal gas chambers resulted in an extremely small amount of cyanide (0.024 mg/kg); the rest had no detectable cyanide. On the other hand, samples taken from a delousing chamber showed values up to 20 times higher (0.036-0.588 mg/kg). These results seemed to confirm Leuchter’s findings. Hence, in their 1994 paper, the Krakow investigators suppressed any information about their initial results. Normally, researchers guilty of such unethical conduct are expelled from the scientific community.

Today, most revisionists are aware of the findings revealed in 1991, but not of the later ones published in 1994 that seem to refute Leuchter.

Krakow Guidelines: Not Scientific Truth, but a Political Agenda

In a subsequent correspondence with the Krakow researchers, I asked for a scientific explanation of their method of analysis. I gave them irrefutable proof that Prussian blue can be formed in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide gas, citing a recent case documented in expert literature. [28] The authors of the Krakow report were unable to give a scientific reason for their deliberate failure to test for Prussian blue and refused to admit that they had made a mistake. [29]

Finally, in their article as well as in a letter to me, the Krakow researchers stated that the purpose of their paper was to refute the “Holocaust deniers” and to prevent the whitewashing of Hitler and National Socialism. In other words, their purpose was not the search for truth, but to serve a political end.

Conclusions

To summarize the extremely unscientific and politically biased approach of Markiewicz and his co-workers:

- a. The most important task of a scientist is to try to understand what hasn't been understood. The investigators from the Jan Sehn Institute for Forensic Research in Krakow did just the opposite: they chose to ignore and to exclude what they didn't understand (the formation of Prussian blue in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide).
- b. The next important task of a scientist is to discuss other scientists' attempts to understand something. The Krakow team did just the opposite: they chose to ignore and to exclude from discussion all that might let them (and others) understand how Prussian blue can be formed.
- c. These choices allowed them to employ methods that would produce the results desired.
- d. They suppressed whichever results didn't fit their purposes.
- e. Finally, they admitted that the purpose of their research was not to seek truth, but to contribute to the continued disrepute of the long defunct Adolf Hitler.

Therefore, I publicly called, and continue to call, these researchers scientific frauds. There is only one place for their research findings: the garbage. Neither Markiewicz nor his co-workers have ever responded to my accusations. Dr. Markiewicz, who was an expert in technical testing, not a chemist, died in 1997; the remaining two authors have continued to remain silent.

A German Corroboration of Leuchter

In early 1990, a few months after beginning work on my Ph.D. at the Max Planck Institute for Solid State Research in Stuttgart, Germany, I started investigations to verify the chemical claims made in the Leuchter Report: namely, that long-term stable cyanide compounds were still to be expected in the alleged homicidal gas chambers, if the mass gassings with Zyklon B took place in them as claimed by witnesses. Initially I was interested only in finding out whether the resulting compound — iron blue or Prussian blue — is stable enough to survive forty-five years of exposure to harsh environmental conditions. After this was confirmed, I mailed the results to some twenty people I thought might be interested in these results. Subsequently I got in contact with several engineers and lawyers, the former willing to help me in doing forensic research, and the latter primarily interested in using the results for their clients. I made two trips to Auschwitz and did eighteen months of further research until, in January 1992, the first, 72-page long version of the so-called Rudolf Report was distributed to opinion leaders in Germany. Briefly summarized,

it corroborates Leuchter's claim that, for several technical and chemical reasons, the mass gassing attested to by witnesses could not have occurred. My report was subsequently updated and enhanced, and finally published in July 1993 as a 120-page paperback booklet. [30] Dutch and French versions appeared in 1995 and 1996, but an English version has never been printed. (A short 16-page summary published in summer 1993 is often mistakenly assumed to be a full version of my report.) An updated and enhanced version is currently in preparation; publication is planned for later this year. [31]

Because I can't be the judge of my own work, I will not discuss my own research here. Scientific discussion of my report began with a German book, consisting mainly of unfounded attacks, in 1995. [32] The first serious critique to date, unfortunately riddled with ad hominem attacks, has appeared only on the Internet. [33] Its author, Richard Green, is, like me, a chemist with a Ph.D. thesis in physical chemistry. He has made some far-reaching concessions in his critique:

- a. In order to kill humans as quickly as attested to by the witnesses, hydrogen cyanide in concentrations similar to those used for delousing procedures is required. Leuchter was frequently attacked by his opponents on the basis that much less poison would have been required to kill humans than to kill lice. Although this is generally true, it does not apply to a scenario in which many hundreds of humans are supposed to have died from this poison within a few minutes.
- b. Iron blue (Prussian blue) can indeed be the result of exposing walls to hydrogen cyanide, and, when found in the delousing facilities in Auschwitz and elsewhere, HCN is most likely the cause.

The latter concession obviously destroys the reputation of the Krakow researchers (and their supporters), who summarily declared that the vast amount of iron blue in the walls of delousing facilities must have a different origin, which in turn "allowed" them to exclude it from analysis. Green, however, is undisturbed by this, and still claims that their results ought to be taken as standard by everybody. To my question of why the Krakow investigators had not responded to my inquiries as to their obviously unscientific behavior, Green responded as follows:

Rudolf complains that Markiewicz et al. have not responded to his queries. Why should they do so? What credibility does Rudolf have, that demands they answer his every objection no matter how ill-founded?

Other Forensic Approaches

Chemistry is obviously not the only science to be consulted when it comes to solving the mysteries of Auschwitz. Engineers, architects, physicians, geologists, and other experts can contribute to this, too. Nor does their work stop with trying to decipher the hidden messages of material traces on site. Original wartime documents on the facilities and events in Auschwitz require the expertise of engineers, architects, physicians, and geologists as well. When it comes to reconstructing the infrastructure of the camp, down to the function and purpose of every building and every room, the technical modes of operation and capacities of its installations, the extent and modernity of the treatment in its hospitals, the effect of the water table of the swamps, most of which can be determined by analyzing the tens of thousands of documents that have been found or released during the last decade, the historian alone simply cannot do the job, nor can I as a chemist.

'No Holes? No "Holocau\$ts"!

Ditlieb Felderer was the first to deal intensively with the question of whether or not there were holes in the roof of the alleged homicidal “gas chambers,” although he seems not to have published anything about it. Leuchter touched on this topic only superficially in his report. It was this question, rather than whether or not there were still any chemical residues of the poison gas allegedly used, which made me most curious to go to Auschwitz, to search for these holes by myself. On August 16, 1991, while standing on the collapsed roof of the alleged “gas chamber” of crematorium II in Birkenau, I lost my faith in the “Holocaust,” because I could find no holes that deserved the name. This I described in detail in my report. In 1994, Robert Faurisson made the famous quip that subtitles this section. Yet it was not until 2000, during David Irving’s libel case against Deborah Lipstadt, that the world took notice of the revisionist allegation that no holes can be found in this roof.

Charles Provan has since written an Internet article in which he claims to have refuted this revisionist finding. He did, indeed, find holes in the roof of the morgue of crematorium II. [34] But are they the same holes used fifty-five years ago to introduce Zyklon B into the “gas chamber,” as claimed by the witnesses? Or are they merely results of the collapsing roof being pierced by the concrete supporting pillars? I am convinced that the latter is the case. My conviction doesn’t matter, however. What matters are facts. But how are we to establish facts in such a case?

According to Robert Van Pelt:

In the twenty-five hundred square feet of this one room more people lost their lives than in any other place on this planet. Five hundred thousand people were killed. If you would draw a map of human suffering, if you create a geography of atrocities, this would be the absolute centre. [35]

Now, let us consider a somewhat different, but still tragic case. We all know what happens after an airplane crash: hundreds of experts swarm out to retrieve the debris of the accident, in order to assemble it all like a gigantic, three-dimensional jigsaw puzzle. The purpose is to determine the cause of the accident in order to prevent it from happening again. No expense is spared.

Would it not be appropriate to do the same with the morgues of crematoriums II and III in Birkenau? To assemble a staff of hundreds of historians, engineers, architects, and archaeologists to exactly retrieve all the debris of these rooms and to reassemble them, like piecing together a huge puzzle, in order to determine what they really looked like fifty-five years ago? Would it not be logical to attempt to determine what vestiges we have to expect when looking for holes, before ecstatically jumping to conclusions at the mere sight of a crack in the concrete?

During the last few years, I have heard, to my horror, of people walking up to these rooms and breaking off reinforcement bars protruding from cracks or holes, [36] or taking shovels and clearing the roof of debris in order to look for holes. [37] What would a paleontologist say of someone who wanted to use a shovel to excavate the skeleton of a *Tyrannosaurus rex*? Sometimes one has cause to wonder: Where have all the *homo sapiens* gone? When will people begin to think and act about the Holocaust like wise human beings?

The question of whether or not there were holes in the roof of crematorium II is not a trivial one. If there were none, then it would have been impossible to introduce Zyklon B into the alleged “gas chamber” in the manner claimed by the witnesses — discrediting all those witnesses. Because eyewitness accounts are the sole pillar on which the Holocaust rests, this would sooner or later lead to the collapse of the entire Holocaust story. This, in turn, is no trivial matter. The international order established by the victorious powers after the Second World War rests mainly on the “given” of the Holocaust. The Holocaust is used to control Germany (and hence Europe), to

suppress national movements, and to maintain American dominance — to say nothing of the power leftist and internationalist movements derive from it, and the use to which Jewish and Zionist groups put it.

Who, then, wants to know the truth? Wouldn't it be easier to blow up the Auschwitz crematoria and remove the debris once and for all, and be content with the witness accounts?

If revisionist researchers don't do the work of establishing what really took place in Auschwitz, nobody will. Considering our limited means and the legal restrictions placed on us, it might be only realistic to conclude that nobody ever will. Thus all we can do right now is to meticulously map and document the material remains as they are today, from top to bottom, and hope that eventually reason will prevail.

Criminal Traces?

The discovery in German wartime documents of ambivalent words for which a sinister meaning can be interpreted is quite common in mainstream historiography on the Holocaust. Jean-Claude Pressac is not the first to have done so, but he is perhaps the most determined, taking it well beyond the bizarre. [38] The revisionist responses have been thorough and, for the exterminationists, devastating. [39] Revisionist interpretations have been based, on the one hand, on thorough knowledge of the documents dealing with Auschwitz — including Allied air photos — as well as their context, and on expert knowledge in various fields of engineering and architecture on the other.

Exculpatory Traces!

That approach, applied to a great number of documents on Auschwitz, has yielded another, even more important result that sheds revealing light on the history of the Auschwitz camp system. Samuel Crowell has unearthed material on air raid shelters built by the SS to protect inmates from Allied air raids. Hans Lamker and Hans Nowak have shown in detail how the SS installed modern (and highly) expensive microwave delousing facilities to protect the lives of inmates. [40] Together with Michael Gärtner and Werner Rademacher, they are currently working on a comprehensive history of the Auschwitz camp, equipped with all means necessary to ensure the survival of tens of thousands of prisoners: hospitals, dentists, kitchens, laundries, butchers, as well as recreation facilities like sport fields and gardens. Together with the fact that the overall costs of erecting this camp complex were on the order of magnitude of some five hundred million dollars, these facilities clearly contradict an intention by the German authorities to use this camp as an extermination center. There are cheaper ways of killing humans than to spend 500 dollars per capita. [41]

The Future of Auschwitz Forensics

Since the dawn of science, scientists have sought the perpetuum mobile. They seem never to have noticed that they had found it at the beginning of their search: science itself. So it can be expected that forensic research about Auschwitz will never cease, especially if one considers the controversial and highly ideological implications of any potential findings. The direction and methods of research, however, are clearly being set by the pioneers in this field, the revisionists, who lack neither the imagination nor the curiosity to discover whether the mass gassing claims of the Holocaust are true, whatever their use for political or financial purposes. The Auschwitz camp system will, as before, be at the very focus of it all.

To name one recent instance, in early 2000 the Australian engineer Richard Krege employed ground penetrating radar in order to locate (or not to locate) mass graves in the vicinity of alleged German extermination camps. A preliminary study was published in my German language revisionist quarterly in early 2000. [42] Krege has promised more thorough investigations, together with a proper introduction into this geological method of determining disturbances in the soil beneath our feet. His work is going to break new ground, as Leuchter's work did thirteen years ago. No doubt he will not be the last pioneer to challenge reigning dogmas and taboos.

Conclusions

As they do for all alleged crimes in the historical past, the forensic sciences hold the key to the riddles of Auschwitz. No group with the power to conduct, or else to demand, forensic research on the necessary scale seems willing to do so: on the contrary. Those in power have no stake in changing our view of Auschwitz, and consequently of the Holocaust, and forensic research is liable to do exactly that. Instead, authorities the world over persecute and prosecute those who advocate or attempt such research. This may slow us down, but it will not stop us.

When revisionist researchers achieve a sudden breakthrough through forensic research, they are countered not merely with slander and persecution, but also with academic forgery and professorial deceit, of which the Krakow forensic report is so evident an example. How desperate must they be, the keepers of the flame of the Holocaust legend, to resort to such methods? By guarding the purported graves and "gas chamber" ruins of Auschwitz from scientific inquiry, they risk the burial of their own reputations, and the ruin of the Auschwitz myth.

Notes

1.  Published in German by the Dokumentationszentrum des Österreichischen Widerstandes (Documentation Center of the Austrian Resistance) and the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education and Culture, in *Amoklauf gegen die Wirklichkeit* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 36-40; the original is in the Auschwitz State Museum.
2.  See F. Kadell, *Die Katyn Lüge* (Münich: Herbig, 1991).
3.  Letter from the SS Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungs- hauptamt, Oranienburg, to concentration camp commanders, August 6, 1942, IMT Document 511-USSR, cited in: *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof* (Nuremberg, 1949), pp. 553f. The letter ordered the recycling of prisoners' hair twenty centimeters or more in length.
4.  Zinc prevents the formation of rust, which is required to form long-term stable iron cyanides.
5.  Like earth alkaline cyanides, zinc cyanides are slowly decomposed by humidity.
6.  H. Buchheim et al., *Anatomie des SS-Staates* (Freiburg: Walter, 1964).
7.  Throughout his writings, Adalbert Rückerl, one of the most prominent German prosecutors in "Holocaust cases," dispenses with any mention of material evidence. Instead, he declares documentary evidence the best and most important form of evidence, even in the absence of material evidence for the authenticity and correctness of the documents themselves (in J. Weber, P. Steinbach, eds., *Vergangenheitsbewältigung durch Strafverfahren?* [Munich: Olzog, 1984] p. 77). Rückerl reports that it is practically impossible to find a suspect guilty solely on documentary evidence, so that, especially given the increasing time span separating alleged crimes from trial, it is almost always necessary to fall back on eyewitness testimony, even though its unreliability is clear, particularly in trials of so-called "National So-

cialist violent crimes” (A. Rückerl, NS-Verbrechen vor Gericht [Heidelberg: C. F. Müller, 1984], p. 249; Rückerl, Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse [Munich: dtv, 1978], p. 34; Rückerl, NS-Prozesse [Karlsruhe: C. F. Müller, 1972], pp. 27, 29, 31.).

8. U Such total naiveté, combined with legal incompetence, on behalf of the defense is best exemplified in Hans Laternser, *Die andere Seite im Auschwitzprozess 1963/65* (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1966).
9. U The most prominent advocate of this thesis is Professor Nolte, in his book *Streitpunkte* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1993), pp. 290, 293, 297.
10. U For example, the verdict of the Schwurgericht (jury court) of Frankfurt am Main stated that there was no evidence as to the crime, its victims, the murder weapon, nor even the perpetrators themselves; Ref. 50/4 Ks 2/63; cf. I. Sagel-Grande, H. H. Fuchs, C. F. Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 21 (Amsterdam: University Press, 1979), p. 434.
11. U Ref. 20 Vr 6575/72 (Hv56/72); this reference number is different from the one Robert Van Pelt quotes in his report: *The Pelt Report, Irving vs. Lipstadt* (Queen’s Bench Division, Royal Courts of Justice, Strand, London, David John Cawdell Irving ./. [1] Penguin Books Limited, [2] Deborah E. Lipstadt, Ref. 1996 I. No. 113; p. 135 n. 59: 20 Vr 3806/64 and 27 C Vr 3806/64).
12. U Personal communication from the expert, who must, for the time being, remain anonymous. See Michael Gärtner, “Vor 25 Jahren: Ein anderer Auschwitzprozess,” *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (VffG)1, no. 1(1997), pp. 24f. (vho.org/VffG/1997/1/Gaertner1.html)
13. U Udo Walendy, *Historische Tatsachen 60* (Vlotho: Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung, 1993), pp. 7-10.
14. U Cf. *Mémoire en défense* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980); Serge Thion, ed., *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980) (online: <http://www.vho.org/aaargh/fran/histo/SF1.html>); R. Faurisson, *Écrits révisionnistes*, 4 vols., published by author, Vichy, 1999; see also Faurisson, *Es gab keine Gaskammern* (Witten: Deutscher Arbeitskreis Witten, 1978).
15. U R. Faurisson, “Le camere a gas non sono mai esistite,” *Storia illustrata* 261 (1979), pp. 15-35 (online: <http://www.vho.org/aaargh/fran/archFaur/RF7908xx2.html>); cf. Faurisson, “The Mechanics of Gassing,” *The Journal of Historical Review* (JHR) 1, no. 1 (spring 1980), pp. 23ff. (online: <http://www.vho.org/aaargh/engl/FaurisArch/RF80spring.html>); Faurisson, “The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to Be Physically Inconceivable,” *JHR* 2, no. 4 (winter 1981), pp. 311ff. (online: vho.org/GB/Journals/JHR/2/4/Faurisson312-317.html)
16. U “Le problème des chambres à gaz’ ou ‘la rumeur d’Auschwitz,” *Le Monde*, December 29, 1978, p. 8; see also “The ‘problem of the gas chambers,” *JHR* 1, no. 2 (summer 1980), pp. 103-114 (online: ihr.org/jhr/v01/v01p103_Faurisson.html).
17. U F. A. Leuchter, *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland*, Samisdat Publishers Ltd., Toronto 1988 (ihr.org/books/leuchter/leuchter.toc.html).
18. U For Leuchter’s own statement, cf. “Witch Hunt in Boston,” *JHR* 10, no. 4 (winter 1990), pp. 453-460; “The Leuchter Report: The How and the Why,” *JHR* 9, no. 2 (summer 1988), pp. 133-139.
19. U To name only a few of the more prominent early publications: J.-C. Pressac, *Jour J*, December 12, 1988, i-x; Pressac in: S. Shapiro, ed., *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of the Leuchter Report*, (NY: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1990); W. Schuster, “Technische Unmöglichkeiten bei Pressac,” *Deutschland in Geschichte und*

Gegenwart (DGG) 39, no. 2 (1991), pp. 9-13 (vho.org/D/DGG/Schuster39_2); Paul Grubach, "The Leuchter Report Vindicated: A Response to Jean-Claude Pressac's Critique," JHR 12, no. 2 (summer 1992), pp. 248ff. (codoh.com/gcgv/gc426v12.html); Helmut Auerbach, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, letter to Bundesprüfstelle, München, Oct. 10, 1989; Auerbach, November 1989, both published in U. Walendy, Historische Tatsache 42 (Vlotho: Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung, 1990), pp. 32 and 34; see my technical appraisal of Auerbach's writings in Henri Roques, Günter Anthon, Der Fall Günter Deckert (Weinheim: DAGD/Germania Verlag, 1995), pp. 431-435 (vho.org/D/Deckert/C2.html); W. Wegner, "Keine Massenvergasungen in Auschwitz? Zur Kritik des Leuchter-Gutachtens," in U. Backes, E. Jesse, R. Zitelmann, eds., Die Schatten der Vergangenheit (Frankfurt: Propyläen, 1990), pp. 450-476 (vho.org/D/dsdv/Wegner.html, with interpolated critique by the present writer); on this cf. W. Häberle, "Zu Wegners Kritik am Leuchter-Gutachten," DGG 39, no. 2 (1991), pp. 13-17 (online: vho.org/D/DGG/Haeberle39_2.html); J. Bailer, "Der Leuchter-Bericht aus der Sicht eines Chemikers," in Amoklauf gegen die Wirklichkeit, pp. 47-52; cf. E. Gauss (alias G. Rudolf), Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte (Tübingen: Grabert, 1993), pp. 290-293; Gauss, "Chemische Wissenschaft zur Gaskammerfrage," DGG 41, no. 2 (1993), pp. 16-24 (online: vho.org/D/DGG/Gauss41_2); J. Bailer, in B. Bailer-Galanda, W. Benz, W. Neugebauer, eds., Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge (Vienna: Deuticke, 1995), pp. 112-118; cf. my critique "Zur Kritik an 'Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge,'" in Herbert Verbeke, ed., Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte (Berchem: Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, 1996), pp. 91-108 (vho.org/D/Kardinal/Wahrheit.html); English: "Critique of 'Truth and the Auschwitz-Lie'" (online: <http://vho.org/GB/Books/cq/critique.html>); G. Wellers, "Der Leuchter-Bericht über die Gaskammern von Auschwitz," Dachauer Hefte 7, no. 7 (November 1991), pp. 230-241.

20.  Most notably the works of the Italian historian Carlo Mattogno, the American historian Samuel Crowell, and a group of South German engineers and architects comprising Michael Gärtner, Hans Lamker, Hans Jürgen Nowak, Werner Rademacher, Gottfried Sängler. For a comprehensive list of their works, enter their names in the search tool of the revisionist online database at www.vho.org/i/a.html.
21.  J. Markiewicz, W. Gubala, J. Labedz, B. Trzcinska, Prof. Dr. Jan Sehn Institute for Forensic Research, Department for Forensic Toxicology, Krakow, September 24, 1990; partly published in DGG 39, no. 2 (1991), pp. 18f. (vho.org/D/DGG/IDN39_2.html); English: "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers,'" JHR 11, no. 2 (summer 1991), pp. 207-216 (vho.org/GB/Journals/JHR/11/2/IHR207-216.html).
22.  It is a bit different in Majdanek and Stutthof, where rooms that unquestionably served as delousing facilities are claimed to have served as homicidal gas chambers as well. Thus we cannot make the same observation for them as for Auschwitz. However, because the prevailing opinion generally claims that high iron cyanide residues cannot be the results of homicidal gassings — for fallacious reasons unable to be discussed here — it is generally accepted by all sides in this controversy that the blue staining generally originates in the use of these rooms as delousing facilities.
23.  Jan Markiewicz, Wojciech Gubala, Jerzy Labedz, "A Study of the Cyanide Compounds Content in the Walls of the Gas Chambers in the Former Auschwitz and Birkenau Concentration Camps," Z Zagadnien Nauk Sadowych / Problems of Forensic Science 30 (1994), pp. 17-27 (online: www2.ca.nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/orgs/polish/institute-for-forensic-research/post-leuchter.report).
24.  There are no wall paints that contain Prussian blue, because Prussian blue decomposes on fresh plaster (it is unstable in alkaline environments). Thus, nobody could have painted these walls with Prussian blue.

25. [↗](#) Prof. Dr. Jan Sehn Institute for Forensic Research, Dept. for Forensic Toxicology, Krakow, letter to W. Wegner, undated (winter 1991/92), signature illegible, but probably Dr. Markiewicz himself, unpublished, partly quoted in: Rüdiger Kammerer, Armin Solms, eds., *Das Rudolf Gutachten: Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den "Gaskammern" von Auschwitz* (London: Cromwell Press, 1993) (vho.org/D/rga/krakau.html).
26. [↗](#) E. Gauss (alias G. Rudolf), *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1993); on the chemistry involved here, cf. pp. 163ff., 290-294 (vho.org/D/vuez/v3.html#v3_4 and [~v5.html#v5_5](http://vho.org/D/vuez/v5.html#v5_5)).
27. [↗](#) G. Rudolf, *Das Rudolf Gutachten*, 2nd ed. (Hastings, Eng.: Castle Hill Publishers, 2001).
28. [↗](#) A construction damage case occurred in 1976 in Bavaria (Meeder-Wiesenfeld), when a recently plastered church was fumigated with Zyklon B. After several months the plaster was covered with blue patches formed by Prussian blue. See Günter Zimmermann, ed., *Bauschäden Sammlung*, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Forum-Verlag, 1981), pp. 120f.; reprint in Ernst Gauss (alias G. Rudolf), ed., *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1994, pp. 401ff.; (codoh.com/inter/intgrgauss.html; English: vho.org/GB/Books/dth/fndwood.html). Furthermore, every one of the delousing facilities of the former concentration camps in eastern Europe that is still standing today has developed enormous amounts of Prussian blue throughout the walls, cf. my report, note 25 above (vho.org/D/rga/prob9_22.html and following pages); Jürgen Graf, Carlo Mattogno, *KL Majdanek: Eine historische und technische Studie* (Hastings, Eng: Castle Hill Publishers, 1998) (vho.org/D/Majdanek/MR.html); Jürgen Graf, Carlo Mattogno, *Das Konzentrationslager Stutthof und seine Funktion in der nationalsozialistischen Judenpolitik* (Hastings, Eng: Castle Hill Publishers, 1999) (vho.org/D/Stutthof/index.html).
29. [↗](#) G. Rudolf, "Leuchter-Gegengutachten: Ein Wissenschaftlicher Betrug?," *DGG* 43, no. 1 (1995), pp. 22-26 (vho.org/D/Kardinal/Leuchter.html; Engl.: vho.org/GB/Books/cq/leuchter.html); G. Rudolf and J. Markiewicz, W. Gubala, J. Labedz, "Briefwechsel," *Sleipnir* 1, no. 3 (1995), pp. 29-33; reprinted in Verbeke, ed., *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 86-90 (online: as above).
30. [↗](#) Kammerer, Solms, eds., *Das Rudolf Gutachten* (vho.org/D/rga/). For background, history, and consequences of my report, see W. Schlesiger, *Der Fall Rudolf* (London: Cromwell, 1994) (online: vho.org/D/dfr/Fall.html); English: *The Rudolf Case* (vho.org/GB/Books/trc); and Verbeke, ed., *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte* (vho.org/D/Kardinal/); English: *Cardinal Questions about Contemporary History* (vho.org/GB/Books/cq/); cf. "Hunting Germar Rudolf," vho.org/Authors/RudolfCase.html.
31. [↗](#) This large-format, 350 pp. hardcover book may be ordered for \$30. at www.tadp.org or by writing to Theses & Dissertations Press, PO Box 64, Capshaw, AL 35742.
32. [↗](#) J. Bailer, in B. Bailer-Galanda, W. Benz, W. Neugebauer, eds., op. cit. (see note 19 above); see my answer to this, "Zur Kritik an 'Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge'"/"Critique of Truth and the Auschwitz-Lie," in Herbert Verbeke, ed., *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*. Even less sophisticated: B. Clair, "Revisionistische Gutachten," *VffG* 1, no. 2 (1997), pp. 102-104 (vho.org/VffG/1997/2/Clair2.html); my answer: "Zur Kritik am Rudolf Gutachten," *ibid.*, pp. 104-108 (vho.org/VffG/1997/2/RudGut2.html); further, La Vieille Taupe/Pierre Guillaume, "Rudolf Gutachten: 'Psychopathologisch und Gefährlich': Über die Psychopathologie einer Erklärung," *VffG* 1, no. 4 (1997), pp. 224f. (vho.org/VffG/1997/4/Guillaume4.html). Robert Van Pelt did not discuss my report, but preferred to repeat and aggravate Pressac's errors: op. cit. (see note 11 above); cf. G. Rudolf, "Gutachter und Urteilsschelte," *VffG* 4, no. 1 (2000), pp. 33-50

(vho.org/VffG/2000/1/Rudolf33-50.html); more exhaustively, in English, vho.org/GB/c/GR/RudolfOnVanPelt.html and .../[CritiqueGray.html](http://vho.org/GB/c/GR/CritiqueGray.html).

33.  Richard J. Green, "The Chemistry of Auschwitz," May 10, 1998, holocaust-history.org/auschwitz/chemistry/, und "Leuchter, Rudolf and the Iron Blues," March 25, 1998, holocaust-history.org/auschwitz/chemistry/blue/, with considerable proselytizing "anti-fascist" bias. A detailed description of the deficiencies of the paper appeared in "Das Rudolf Gutachten in der Kritik, Teil 2," VffG 3, no. 1 (1999), pp. 77-82 (vho.org/VffG/1999/1/RudDas3.html); English.: "Some Considerations about the 'Gas Chambers' of Auschwitz and Birkenau," vho.org/GB/Contributions/Green.html; for the response see: Richard J. Green, Jamie McCarthy, "Chemistry is Not the Science," May 2, 1999, holocaust-history.org/auschwitz/chemistry/not-the-science/. About 50 percent of the article consists of political accusations and vilification. For a response, see G. Rudolf, "Character Assassin," online: vho.org/GB/Contributions/CharacterAssassins.html.
34.  Charles D. Provan, "No Holes? No Holocaust?: A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller I of Krematorium 2 at Birkenau" (www.revisingrevisionism.com)
35.  Van Pelt's testimony in Errol Morris's documentary film Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.
36.  As did at least one revisionist, in spring 1996, on the roof of morgue 1 of crematorium II.
37.  As did an engineer named Barford; his colleagues are assisting in the conservation and restoration of the camp for the Auschwitz Museum administration. He informed David Irving of this.
38.  Jean-Claude Pressac, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#) (NY: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: la Machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993).
39.  For criticisms of Pressac's first book, see R. Faurisson, JHR 11, no. 1 (spring 1991), p. 25ff.; JHR 11, no. 2 (1991), p. 133ff. (French: www.lebensraum.org/english/04.adobe.faurisson/pressac.pdf); F. A. Leuchter, *The Fourth Leuchter Report* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1991) (www.zundelsite.org/english/leuchter/report4/leuchter4.toc.html); for a criticism of Pressac's second book see: Herbert Verbeke, ed., *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (Berchem: VHO, 1995), pp. 101-162 (online: vho.org/D/anf/; English: *Auschwitz: Plain Facts*, vho.org/GB/Books/anf/; for a criticism of the principles underlying Pressac's methodology, see G. Rudolf, "Gutachten über die Frage der Wissenschaftlichkeit der Bücher *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* und *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz. la Machinerie du meurtre de masse* von Jean-Claude Pressac," in Schlesiger, *Der Fall Rudolf* (vho.org/D/dfr/Fall.html#Gutachten); English: see vho.org/GB/Books/trc#expert-report; see also Pierre Guillaume's criticism, *De la misère intellectuelle en milieu universitaire*, B.p. 9805, 75224 Paris cedex 05, 1995 (aaargh.vho.org/fran/archVT/vt9309xx1.html). See also S. Crowell's various writings and Mattogno's responses to them, referenced at www.vho.org/i/a.html, as well as the upcoming English version of my report, which will include a summary of this topic.
40.  H. Nowak, "Kurzwellen-Entlausungsanlagen in Auschwitz," VffG 2, no. 2 (1998), pp. 87-105; English version in Gauss, ed., *Dissecting the Holocaust* (Capshaw, AL: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2000), pp. 311-324; H. Lamker, "Die Kurzwellen-Entlausungsanlagen in Auschwitz, Teil 2," VffG 2, no. 4 (1998), pp. 261-273; see also Mark Weber, "High Frequency Delousing Facilities at Auschwitz," JHR 18, no. 3 (May-June 1999), pp. 4-12.
41.  W. Rademacher, M. Gärtner, "Berichte zum KL Auschwitz," VffG 4, no. 3-4 (2000), pp. 330-344.
42.  R. Krege, "Vernichtungslager Treblinka — archäologisch betrachtet," VffG 4, no. 1 (2000), pp. 62-64.

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The Basement Showers of Crematorium III

Samuel Crowell

Well before the Second World War ended, the claim that the Nazis lured their victims into gas chambers under the pretense that they were entering showers was widely reported in the press. This linkage of showers and gassing is probably one reason why Allied soldiers, finding naked bodies in the camps, simply assumed that these were gassing victims, although we now know that typhus victims were stripped after death in order to burn the clothing and destroy the typhus-bearing lice.

Nonetheless the linkage of showers and gas chambers enabled Jean-Claude Pressac to argue, in his 1989 book, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#), that an inventory sheet in the transfer documents from the building office to the camp administration which listed “14 shower heads” [Brausen] for one of the basement rooms of crematorium III at Birkenau proved that that crematorium had housed a gas chamber. Pressac assumed the shower heads were fake, but, as Robert Faurisson was perhaps the first to note, that was simply presumptuous: the inventory specified “shower heads,” not “fake showers.”

Pressac offered another document regarding showers in crematorium III in Auschwitz. This was a telegram dated May 14, 1943, from Karl Bischoff, the head of the Auschwitz Central Construction Office, to Kurt Prüfer, the head engineer for Topf & Sons, which built the crematorium ovens and sought to provide other products to the camp as well. It reads:

Bring Monday [May 17] rough plan for production of hot water for about 100 showers. Fitting of heating coils or boiler in the waste incinerator at present under construction crem. III or system using the high temperatures of the flue gases. It would be possible to raise the brickwork of the furnace to take a large tank. Herr Prüfer is requested to bring the relevant drawings on Monday 15/5. Sig. Bischoff

The standard explanation of this document has been that the SS planned to install showers after they had completed their program of gassing and burning their enemies. As Carlo Mattogno has argued, however, this does not very well explain why the telegram is marked “Urgent” (dringend).

Pressac’s commentary on this document is worth quoting:

In this telegram, Jährling requested the urgent study of an installation to obtain hot water from the waste incinerator of Krematorium III, then under construction, to supply about one hundred showers (probably to be located in an annex building built on the southern wall of the Krematorium). Prüfer was supposed to bring the relevant drawings with him on the 17th of May. [This plan was never implemented, although

such installations were built in other camps, for example in the crematorium of K L Natzweiler (Struthof) where the incinerator was the main source of heat for the showers.] Although this request for a hot water system for a hundred NORMAL showers was in no way criminal, it was recorded in the Krematorium III worksite 30a, file under the heading “SONDERMASSN [AHMEN] / SPECIAL MEASURES” because the building was connected with these measures, the killing and cremation of Jews unfit for work.” [emphases in original]

This interpretation is incorrect in all respects. The telegram to Topf & Sons is part of a longer report, in four parts, that is contained in the Auschwitz Central Construction Office files, now archived in Moscow.

The report commences with a cover letter from Bischoff to Kammler which begins:

Auschwitz, am 16.5.1943

Bftgb.[correspondence number] 28 941/43/Eg/Lm Betr.[re]: Sondermassnahme für die Verbesserung der hygienischen Einrichtungen im KGL-Auschwitz

In English: “Special Measure for the Improvement of Hygiene at the POW Camp Auschwitz,” that is, Birkenau.

The text of the letter begins: “Attached hereto is a report on the measures carried out to date for the improvement of the hygienic facilities in the POW camp.”

There follows a two-page report that is headed: “Report on measures completed for the implementation of the special program ordered by the SS-Brigadeführer and Major General of the Waffen-SS, Dr. Ing. Kammler”

The report dates the particular special program to May 12, 1943, and lists seven categories of activity, including work on the sewage treatment plant, cutting the King’s Ditch (Königsgraben, the main drainage ditch at Birkenau) through to the Vistula, work on the lavatories (Abortbaracken), washing barracks, and so on.

The sixth listing is particularly relevant:

Disinfection Station

For the disinfection of the prisoners' clothing in the several parts of BA [Baubschnitt: i.e., Birkenau sector — ed.] II an Organization Todt disinfection station is envisioned. In order to achieve a complete bodily delousing for the prisoners, both of the existing baths for prisoners in BA I will be equipped with hot water heaters and boilers, so that there will be hot water for the existing showers. It is further planned to run heating pipes from the incinerator at crematorium III, to be used for the water in the showers to be set up in one of the basements of crematorium III.

The report is dated May 16, 1943, as is the covering letter. Next, we have a copy of the telegram sent to Prüfer, dated May 14, 1943, supplementing the previous report.

Finally, we have a further three-page report, dated May 13, 1943, which details the job assignments for the “special measures,” now referred to as an “emergency program” (Sofortprogramm). Paragraph 9 reads as follows:

Civilian worker Jährling is to carry out the construction of the hot water heaters and boilers in the washing barracks, as well as the showers in the undressing room of crematorium III. SS-Sturmbannführer Bischoff still needs to talk to the camp commandant, SS-Obersturmbannführer Höss, about the showers. For the delousing ovens the SS-WVHA has still to send an Organization Todt drawing.

Note that Bischoff refers to himself in the third person here: because this letter comes three days before the report of May 16, we feel it is safe to conclude that Bischoff had authorization from Höss by that time. Mattogno has added a few more points to the question whether or not the showers under discussion were fake or genuine, by referring to two more documents strongly suggesting that they were genuine indeed:

On June 5, 1942, Topf sent Drawing D60446 to the Zentralbauleitung “regarding the installation of the boilers in the rubbish incinerator.” This project also involved the installations for crematorium II. In an undated “questionnaire” apparently written in June 1943 regarding the Birkenau crematoriums, in answer to the question “Are the exhaust gases utilized?,” the head of the Zentralbauleitung, Bischoff, responded: “Planned but not carried out,” and in response to the following question: “If yes, to what purpose?,” Bischoff answered, “for bath facilities in crematorium II and III.” ^[1]

On the basis of the above report, which is put into context thanks to the work of Mattogno, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. The fourteen shower heads mentioned in the June 24, 1943 transfer documents for crematorium III were genuine. To support the argument that the fourteen shower heads in the transfer documents were fake, it would be necessary to conclude that real showers were planned, but then a month later were replaced with fake ones. Indeed, the traditional narrative holds that morgue 1 of crematorium II had been used for two months before this report to gas people in a room equipped with fake shower heads. Because crematorium III was supposed to have a comparable function, it would mean that morgue 1 of crematorium III was originally meant to have fake showers, then real ones, and then fake ones again. This is not believable.
2. “Undressing rooms” are meant in the ordinary mortuary sense, not in any special sense. Bischoff originally suggested the location of the showers in an undressing room, which means that the room was understood to be an undressing room before the showers were contemplated. This can only mean that the word “undressing room” is being used in an ordinary mortuary sense, that is, as a space where bodies are cleaned and prepared before burial, or in this case, cremation.
3. The implementation of hygienic measures took precedence over any other alleged purposes for the crematorium cellars. The traditional narrative holds that the crematoriums were built to destroy the traces of persons who would be murdered in the cellars with poison gas. But the report leaves no doubt that, for the sake of camp hygiene, this undocumented, allegedly intended purpose of the crematoriums was going to be suspended so that the camp population could take hot showers.
4. The crematoriums were going to be used to provide ad hoc hygienic measures, before the completion of the Central Sauna (BW 32, which was opened at the beginning of 1944), and possibly at times of high traffic thereafter. In this case, at minimum, it was intended to use the basement spaces of crematorium III to provide ad hoc showers for the camp population, and it is known that fourteen showers were installed. We note again that Mattogno has cited documents from June 1943 which indicate that the water for the showers was not heated in the manner Bischoff envisioned in this report, and that the plans for installing showers cov-

ered both crematoriums II and III. This suggests that the fourteen showers in morgue 1 were not heated, or were heated by other means. Mattogno's data also suggest that crematorium II may also have been equipped with showers at this time, or even before. The fact that showers were not mentioned on the transfer documents for crematorium II could be explained by the fact that the showers were not originally planned for these structures, but were improvised. In addition, while crematorium III was handed over to the camp authorities in late June, that is, after Bischoff's report, crematorium II was officially transferred to the camp authorities at the end of March 1943, so any inventory document of that time could simply not include items added afterwards.

5. Bischoff's telegram to Prüfer was overly ambitious and probably deliberately so. The overall thrust of the report is that Bischoff wished to reassure Kammler that, despite the delays in construction, work was proceeding energetically to solve all the issues related to camp hygiene. Our surmise is that showers never could have been installed, but it made an impressive figure to report to Kammler, by way of a copy of the telegram to Prüfer. It also appears that Bischoff seemed to waver on the location: one hundred showers would make most sense in the largest morgue (morgue 2, the "undressing room"). But in the end a smaller number of showers was installed in the smaller morgue. The modest number of showers actually installed could also be explained by the failure to exploit the high volume source of thermal energy that the incinerator would have provided.
6. The dual use of the crematoriums for hygienic purposes may have included the installation of ad hoc disinfestation stations. The apparent plan to temporarily install Topf hot air delousing facilities in crematorium II fits with the fact that showers were actually installed at the same period of time. Facing tremendous hygienic problems, the camp authorities obviously attempted to convert the basements of the crematoriums into a hygiene center with inmate showers and delousing facilities for their clothes.

In sum, the Bischoff report of May 16, 1943, settles once and for all the question of whether or not the showers in crematorium III were real. It also strongly supports the idea that the crematoriums were equipped with temporary delousing and disinfection facilities in the spring of 1943, which revisionists have argued for years. The revelations in the Bischoff report also clearly contradict the idea that these same basements were used to gas thousands of prisoners or that the crematoriums were built for the purpose of exterminating the camp population.

Notes

1.  Mattogno's documents concerning the possible use of hot air delousing facilities and showers in the crematoriums are described in "Leichenkeller von Birkenau: Luftschutzräume oder Entwesungskammern," in *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsschreibung* 4, no. 2 (2000), pp. 152-158.

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Transfers to the Reich

The Unregistered Inmates of Auschwitz

Richard A. Widmann

Orthodox historians of the Holocaust have long maintained that most Jews who arrived at Auschwitz, and were not soon registered as inmates there, met a quick end in the gas chambers. Typical of the prevailing view is the opinion of Yisrael Gutman, chairman of Yad Vashem's Academic Committee, that "more than one million Jews were murdered in the gas chambers [of Auschwitz] on arrival and their bodies incinerated in the camp's crematoriums without the victims ever being registered." [1]

Revisionist scholars have long disputed the claim that Auschwitz arrivals who were not registered as inmates were sent immediately (or any time thereafter) to the gas chambers. Lately, Swiss researcher Jürgen Graf has addressed the matter in this journal. [2] Similarly, Germar Rudolf has recently challenged Wolfgang Benz and Serge Klarsfeld on the fate of unregistered detainees of Auschwitz. [3]

Interestingly, a number of orthodox historians of the Holocaust have also advanced alternative explanations of the fate of unregistered Auschwitz detainees. Shmuel Krakowski, the chief archivist of Yad Vashem, Israel's national memorial to the Holocaust, states:

The Germans did not register the prisoners who were sent to quarantine; nor did they compile statistical data on the number of prisoners sent there. Those who were transferred to other concentration camps were not registered, either. Only those prisoners who were selected for work in the Auschwitz satellite camps were registered and tattooed with Auschwitz concentration camp numbers. [4]

Danuta Czech, former head of the research department of the Auschwitz Museum, explains,

The separate section of Camp B-IIe for unregistered male and female Jews, Camp B-IIc, and Section B-III (Mexico) are referred to in camp documents as the so-called Auschwitz II Transit Camp. The female Jews without numbers are referred to in the camp records as "transit Jews." [5]

Holocaust historian Gerald Reitlinger, author of *The Final Solution*, has also noted that "... very large groups of Jews in 1944 stayed in the camp without registration, awaiting transfer elsewhere, and they stayed long enough to die of epidemics." [6] The issue is really not whether unregistered inmates were transferred elsewhere but rather just how many were transferred.

Given the gaps in the available documentary record, computing the numbers of unregistered transferees is not a simple operation. Studying the inmate population statistics from the records of the concentration camp system, however, allows a strong inference as to the numbers and origins of transfers to Reich camps in 1944. The numbers of registered inmates for the entire concentration camp system during the years of Auschwitz's existence are known. Analyzing the data for all camps, we find that the system averaged around 100,000 inmates in 1941 and 1942. By August of 1943, the numbers had doubled to 220,000. They continued to rise, reaching 520,000 by August of 1944. In January 1945, when Auschwitz was abandoned, the population of the concentration camp system was recorded as 710,000 inmates. [7] Among the camp population statistics for Auschwitz alone are: August 1943, 74,000; August 1944, 105,168; January 1945, 67,000. [8]

In the period from 1944 to 1945, when the entire camp system population grew dramatically (five to seven times the 1942 population), large numbers of inmates were being transferred from the east to the west. Initially, these transferees were non-Jewish:

Declaration of the Reich territory as "Judenfrei" precluded the transfer of Jewish Auschwitz prisoners to camps inside Germany. Since the prohibition did not apply to non-Jewish prisoners, many non-Jews, especially Poles, were moved to camps in the German interior. [9]

This situation would change by the spring of 1944, when large numbers of Jews were transferred to concentration camps in the Reich. Dr. Franciszek Piper, head of the Department of Historical Research at the Auschwitz Museum, has acknowledged that "The subsequent lifting of the prohibition [of sending Jews to the Reich] in the spring of 1944 marked the onset of mass transfers of manpower surpluses into the Reich. A new category of prisoners was established. These prisoners were not assigned serial numbers." [10] It is from this time, the spring of 1944, that Auschwitz "became the center for the distribution of Jewish labor for the entire network of concentration camps." [11]

Arno Mayer noted, in his analysis of the "final solution," that while huge numbers of Jews were being delivered to Auschwitz-Birkenau:

... thousands of others were being shipped out by train to camps in Germany, including Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, and Sachsenhausen. These evacuations were part of the frantic effort to remove valuable labor and incriminating evidence from the path of the Red Army. During the second half of 1944 about 400,000 foreigners were forcibly taken to Germany, most of them from the east and a large number of them Jews. [12]

We know as well that at this time Hermann Göring and Albert Speer, desperate to increase the output of fighter planes, proposed a plan to build an impregnable underground factory at Auschwitz. On April 7, 1944, Hitler offered to urge Heinrich Himmler to help procure the necessary manpower by impressing 100,000 Hungarian Jews. On May 11, Himmler notified Oswald Pohl, who was responsible for administering the concentration camp system, that Hitler had ordered 10,000 Waffen-SS troops be detached "to guard the 200,000 Jews ... [about] to be transferred to the Reich's concentration camps for assignment to large construction projects of the Todt Organization or to other essential war work." [13]

A notable indicator of the policy of transfers to the west is the case of famous diarist Anne Frank. Anne Frank and her family were deported to Auschwitz on September 5, 1944. Anne and her sister Margot were transferred from the transit camp in Auschwitz II to Bergen-Belsen on October

28, 1944, along with some 1,300 other female Jews. [14] It is worth considering that during this span of seven weeks that the Frank sisters were transferred from the Netherlands all the way to Auschwitz on the Polish border, only to be sent nearly all the way back, to Bergen-Belsen, two or three hours from the Dutch border.

As stressed in recent articles by Graf and Arthur Butz, the deportations of Hungarian Jews are an extremely important element of the extermination thesis. The transfer of Hungary's Jews represents the largest single group to be deported in 1944. We now know that while some of the Hungarian Jews were retained to work in Auschwitz itself, large numbers were dispersed to over 386 camps, the great majority of these in the concentration camp system within the German Reich. [15] The largest groups were sent to Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Gross Rosen, Gunskirchen, Mauthausen, Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, and Sachsenhausen. [16]

In this connection it is perhaps worth reminding that, by the summer of 1944, the alleged extermination centers in the east (excluding Auschwitz) were no longer in operation (see table 1). Auschwitz had become, in Franciszek Piper's words, "a center for distribution of Jewish labor." It is also clear, as Shmuel Krakowski concedes, that Jews sent to other concentration camps via Auschwitz were not registered as they awaited transfer from Auschwitz. It is thus safe to say that many Jews who were deported to Auschwitz were never registered until their arrival in the western camps.

Table 1. Duration of operation of six alleged "extermination camps"

Camp	Beginning Date	Ending Date
Belzec	December 1941	December 1942
Chelmno	December 1941	March 1943
Treblinka	July 1942	August 1943
Sobibor	May 1942	October 1943
Majdanek	November 1941	July 1944
Auschwitz	June 1940	January 1945

At this time, we shall accept, as a provisional figure for the unregistered inmates of Auschwitz (disregarding his estimation of their fate), the figures offered by Reitlinger. Reitlinger claims "550,000 to 600,000 may have been gassed on arrival." [17] We find that Jean-Claude Pressac corroborates this estimate; Pressac suggests that 630,000 victims were gassed. [18] We shall assume the higher of these estimates and analyze Pressac's figure of 630,000 unaccounted for at Auschwitz.

If we return to the camp system statistics, we find that, by assuming the 630,000 unaccounted-for inmates of Auschwitz arrived evenly throughout the months of April 1944 through January 1945, we arrive at an average number of 70,000 (630,000 ÷ 9) transferees per month. Clearly some portion of these transferees died en route to their destination camps in the west. A precise estimate of the number who died in this fashion is difficult to determine. In some cases, trainloads arrived without any casualties. In other cases, the numbers were significant. If we assume that on average 1 percent of the transferees died en route to their final destination, that leaves 623,700 (630,000 - 6,300) transferees from Auschwitz still unaccounted for.

Looking at the camp system population statistics, we know that 280,000 inmates were registered in April of 1944. We know that in August of 1943 the total system death rate was 2.09 percent. [19] An analysis of the number of prisoners who died at Dachau shows no major increases in the number of casualties until July 1944. The numbers jump again in November of 1944 and remain high throughout 1945. [20] Attempting to model this pattern, I have applied a conjectured death rate starting at 2 percent in April of 1944 and increasing to 5 percent by January of 1945. Using these statistics, we arrive at a total camp system population of 707,949 by the end of January 1945 ($280,000 + (630,000 - 6300) - 195,751$) (see table 2). Recall that the total camp population reached 710,000 in January of 1945.

The statistics bear out that 630,000 transferees can be and in all probability were absorbed into the overall camp statistics. As Jews and others were being transferred to Auschwitz, many were held as unregistered detainees. By May 1944, large numbers of unregistered inmates were being transferred back into the Reich.

Clearly the extermination thesis is not the only possible solution to the question of the fate of unregistered prisoners at Auschwitz. Indeed, it seems much more likely, based on the statistics of the camp system and the above analysis, that unregistered arrivals at Auschwitz were deported or transferred to other camps. While a large number of these transferees died in those camps, their deaths there were for the most part recorded and have long been accounted for in the official literature. Thanks to the faulty methods of the official historians, there has resulted a double counting of these victims: once as unregistered “victims” at Auschwitz, and once at the camps in the Reich, where many deportees actually perished.

Table 2. Actual Concentration Camp System Population Statistics,
in Light of Assumed Transfers of Unregistered Inmates from Auschwitz

Month	Start	Pop. Transfers	Deaths en route	Total Pop.	Death Rate	Total Deaths	End Pop.
Apr	280,000	70,000	700	349,300	.02	6,986	342,314
May	342,314	70,000	700	411,614	.02	8,232	403,382
Jun	403,382	70,000	700	472,682	.02	9,454	463,228
Jul	463,228	70,000	700	532,528	.03	15,976	516,552
Aug	516,552	70,000	700	585,852	.03	17,576	568,277
Sep	568,277	70,000	700	637,577	.03	19,127	618,449
Oct	618,449	70,000	700	687,749	.03	20,632	667,117
Nov	667,117	70,000	700	736,417	.04	29,457	706,960
Dec	706,960	70,000	700	776,260	.04	31,050	745,210
Jan	745,210	...	...	745,210	.05	37,260	707,949
Total	...	630,000	6,300	195,751			707,949

Notes

1. [U](#) Y. Gutman, “Auschwitz — An Overview,” in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (AADC) (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 7.

2. ☞ J. Graf, "What Happened to the Jews Who Were Deported to Auschwitz But Were Not Registered There?," *Journal of Historical Review (JHR)* 19, no. 4 (July/August 2000), pp. 4-18.
3. ☞ G. Rudolf, "Holocaust Victims: A Statistical Analysis," in E. Gauss, ed., *Dissecting the Holocaust* (Capshaw, AL: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2000), pp. 189-190.
4. ☞ S. Krakowski, "The Satellite Camps," in AADC, p.52.
5. ☞ D. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939-1945* (NY: Henry Holt,1997) p. 564.
6. ☞ G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Jason Aronson, 1987), p. 460.
7. ☞ A. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* (NY: Pantheon, 1990), p. 336.
8. ☞ F. Piper, "The System of Prisoner Exploitation," in AADC, p. 39.
9. ☞ *Ibid.*, p. 47.
10. ☞ *Ibid.*
11. ☞ *Ibid.*
12. ☞ Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens ...?*, p. 424.
13. ☞ *Ibid.*, p. 375.
14. ☞ Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle ...*,pp. 702, 741. Czech notes that October 28 is "probably" the date of the Franks' transfer to Bergen-Belsen.
15. ☞ R. Braham, "Hungarian Jews," in AADC, p. 466.
16. ☞ *Ibid.*
17. ☞ Reitlinger, *Final Solution*, pp. 460-61.
18. ☞ J.-C.Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz: la machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993), p. 148.
19. ☞ J. Cobden, *Dachau: Reality and Myth* (Newport Beach, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1994), p. 5; P. Berben, *Dachau: 1933-45, The Official History* (London: Norfolk, 1975), pp. 94 -95.
20. ☞ Cobden, p. 4.; Berben, p. 281.

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Beyond Auschwitz

New Light on the Fate of the Hungarian Jews

Samuel Crowell

According to the standard anti-revisionist history of the Holocaust, from May to July of 1944 approximately 430,000 Jews from wartime Hungary were deported to Auschwitz, and about ninety percent of them immediately selected out, gassed, and burned. Most of the remainder were held as “transport Jews” (Durchgangsjuden) until their transfer to other camps. [1] The support for this version derives from several contemporaneous sources in Hungary that indicate the deportation of about 430,000 Hungarian Jews in May-July 1944; from evidence that some Hungarian Jews were registered at Auschwitz that summer, and, as usual, a number of rather implausible eyewitness testimonies and postwar confessions.

While the above is the standard story, it is important to note that in recent years even traditional Holocaust scholars have shown that they are not completely comfortable with it.

For example, Jean-Claude Pressac, in an early edition of his second book on the crematoriums at Auschwitz (1993), argued that the number of “transport Jews” was 118,000, that is, 27 percent, rather than 10 percent, of the 430,000 deported, and in a later edition of the book argued that only between 160,000 and 240,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz at all. [2] Robert Jan Van Pelt, in his expert opinion for the defense in the Irving v. Lipstadt trial, indicated his discomfort with the standard calculations, but pointedly dismissed Pressac’s revisions. Van Pelt further claimed that the current numbers for the disposition of Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz — both arrivals and those allegedly killed — were accurate within a range of about ten percent. [3]

In our view, the fact that Pressac, as probably the leading anti-revisionist student of Auschwitz, should have so much trouble establishing precise figures for the Hungarian Jews only goes to show how slender is the evidence which upholds the traditional narrative. No less an authority than Istvan Deak, a leading expert on Hungarian history, has recently written: “Let me note here that statistical data on such things as the number of Second Army soldiers and forced laborers, or the casualties they suffered, or the number of Hungarian Jews gassed at Auschwitz, or the total number of Jewish dead, are not much better than guesses. There exists no reliable information on these subjects.” [4]

There have been two revisionist responses to the general claim of a massive Hungarian Jewish extermination. The first, articulated by Professor Arthur R. Butz in his 1976 book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, is that the documentation is so slender that no revisionist is bound to accept it. [5] In addition, Professor Butz has suggested that there may have been some manipulation of the documentary record.

The other response, recently made by Jürgen Graf, and responded to by Professor Butz, [6] is that the number of Jews deported is probably correct, but that they were widely distributed in the concentration camps. Graf's thesis rests largely on his discovery, along with Carlo Mattogno, of records of the passage of some thousands of Hungarian Jewish women through the concentration camp of Stutthof, near Danzig. The data further indicate that some of them had earlier been in Riga, Latvia and Kovno, Lithuania. All three locations, of course, are far beyond Auschwitz. Graf also appeared emboldened by a comment of Pressac that Hungarian Jews could be found in some 386 camps. [7]

Describing the fate of the Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz is difficult, for reasons which will be discussed below. Nevertheless, in our own research we have been surprised to find a number of approaches, and types of data, which, we believe, suggest a provisional solution. In this article, we simply want to elaborate and expand on what we consider to be the main questions concerning the Hungarian Jewish deportations, to provide some generally unused data, and to point to how the question might be ultimately settled.

The main questions seem to us to be the following: How many Hungarian Jews were deported? How many were deported to Auschwitz? After arriving at Auschwitz, to what other places were they sent? To what purpose? Is there evidence concerning Hungarian Jews that specifically contradicts the extermination claim? How many of these deportees survived the war?

The scope of the deportations

The claim that 430,000 Hungarian Jews were deported derives principally from a series of telegrams to the German Foreign Office prepared by Edmund Veesenmayer, a German bureaucrat who worked with the Hungarian government. The telegrams, issued every few days, list the number of Jews that had been deported as of that date. The telegrams do not, however, indicate specific destinations, other than that they were being sent to "the Reich." The numbers in Veesenmayer's telegrams are more or less corroborated by notes by Ferenczy, an official of the Hungarian police, or gendarmerie, as well as by the recently discovered lists of an attorney in Kosice, a Slovakian town on the main rail spur through which the trains would have traveled to Auschwitz. [8]

The support these documents provide for a deportation on the scale alleged is not particularly compelling. First of all, we have reason to believe that Veesenmayer and Ferenczy both received their numbers from the same source: namely, the Hungarian gendarmerie. In essence, then, this evidence consists of two bureaucrats who are simply repeating information obtained from someone else, which means their numbers do not independently corroborate each other. Instead, the proper focus should be the accuracy of the original gendarmerie data.

Second, none of the evidence moves much beyond giving us numbers of deportees. We lack the kind of layered documentation such a massive movement of people would entail: railway records, memos about delays, shortages of guards or fuel, complaints about the timetable, emergencies and their resolution, and so on. It must also be said that the lists of the Hungarian attorney, which surfaced only in 1988, are not much better on detail than Veesenmayer and Ferenczy, and furthermore offer an unlikely scenario: that the trains stopped in the Slovakian town of Kosice for accurate head-counts before proceeding, that the attorney and his friend carefully recorded the date, place of origin, and numbers for each transport, and then, apparently, forgot about them for over forty years. [9]

Still, if we accept that the deportation lists are generally accurate, an interesting statistic emerges: only about 150,000 of the deportees come from inside the boundaries of Hungary as determined by the Treaty of Trianon in 1919 and, later, after the Second World War. The rest of the deportees, including 150,000 from Transylvania, and 85,000 from Sub-Carpathia, come from areas that, while traditionally part of the Kingdom of Hungary, were under Hungarian control after Trianon only from 1938 to 1945. In other words, if the deportations were on the scale alleged, they still would have affected only about a third of the Jews of interwar or postwar Hungary, that is, about 150,000 out of a total population of 450,000. This might help explain the well-known comment of the Red Cross in its postwar report, which describes 100,000 Hungarian Jews fleeing to Budapest from the provinces in November of 1944. ^[10]

In our judgment, there are certainly good reasons to question the suitability or even the veracity of the evidence offered for the deportations. The Veessenmayer and Ferenczy data represent high-level documents with no underlying support. Meanwhile, the notes of the Hungarian attorney at Kosice present an unlikely scenario, were discovered late, and, given the highly charged and partisan nature of this topic, are bound to be viewed with suspicion.

Still, we are inclined to believe that hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews were deported in the summer of 1944. The reason lies in three data points that we have for the population of the German concentration camp system. The first, developed by Richard Widmann in an interesting statistical study, ^[11] is that the total population of the German concentration camp system in April 1944 was 280,000.

The second data point, a well-known telegram by Wilhelm Burger, indicates that by the beginning of August that population had swelled to 524,286. ^[12] The third data point, a letter from Himmler dated February 20, 1945, but evidently based on data from the end of January, indicates 700,000 prisoners in the camp system, exclusive of Auschwitz and Monowitz, and including 28,000 prisoners over the age of 50, and 5,000 over the age of 60. ^[13]

It follows that the growth of the German concentration camp system tracks fairly closely the influx of large numbers of Hungarian Jews, and other Jews, who would have been entering the camp system via Auschwitz at this time. However, we should keep in mind that to the extent that the Veessenmayer-Ferenczy statistics are inaccurate, any other calculations will be skewed accordingly.

To Auschwitz or Elsewhere?

Assuming that there was a general plan to deport all of the Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz, for whatever reason, we can expect that there would have been exceptions to the rule. In his writings, the father of Holocaust Revisionism, Paul Rassinier, provided an example: ^[14]

Once again, my personal testimony: I refer to a group of Hungarian Jews whose convoy, originally bound for Auschwitz, had arrived at Dora at the end of May 1944. Of the 1,500 or so people of this convoy, a certain number were sent to satellite camps around Dora as soon as they arrived. How many remained with us, I do not know; maybe they filled an entire block ... After a little while, the special surveillance over them became hardly more than a facade: once in a while we could exchange a few words with them, and even have short conversations. Thus it was that we learned about their odyssey. They told us about what they had had to leave behind when they came into the camp, and, since we were old hands in their eyes, they asked if they would get it back, when, how, and so on. They had been transported from Hungary to

Dora, 70 to 80 persons in a car, with all of their baggage. They had made a long periplus of six to seven days before arriving. They had been told when leaving that they were being taken to Auschwitz, and when they learned that it was at Dora that they would be unloaded, they were pleased. They told the most appalling things about Auschwitz. There were neither women nor children among them. The latter had been separated out on departure, and at the moment it did not surprise us since that is what happened to us.

Of course, as eyewitness testimony or hearsay, we cannot give too much weight to Rassinier's observation. But, as with all eyewitness testimony, it can in many cases give us an inkling of what might have occurred, not only in this case, but in others. The one detail that appears most striking is the claim that the women and children were separated out before departure: this reminds us that the Hungarian Jews were incarcerated in ghettos, and that these ghettos could have been the source of all kinds of numbers that would be reported by the Hungarian gendarmerie to Budapest. The second point is that the separating out of the women and children would seem to violate the whole purpose of the deportations, if that purpose was mass murder.

Strangely enough, a personal letter written just after the war was over, and which is posted on an anti-revisionist site, supports Rassinier's account. ^[15] Recently translated from Hungarian, the eleven-page letter describes in great detail the experiences of a Hungarian woman during the deportations in late June 1944. On the appointed day, the Jews were gathered in a synagogue, the women to age twelve were inspected for pregnancy, and then, over the course of some ten days, they passed through a series of staging areas by truck and train until they ended up in Szeged. There, the Germans demanded a list of those Jews under the age of twelve and over the age of fifty: to the horror of the woman writing the account, her parents, in-laws, and four-year-old daughter were all placed on the list. Again according to her account, the woman managed to place herself on the list with the rest of her family, so as to share their fate. The rest of the letter describes the journey of the woman with her family to Strasshof, outside Vienna, and to Bergen-Belsen toward the end of the war. The only fatality described is the death of the woman's mother-in-law, apparently from typhus, a few days after the war was over.

Naturally, when we consider that the source of this letter is a website very hostile to revisionism, we are inclined to be skeptical of this account, and would prefer to see the letter authenticated. Nevertheless, we consider the account probably true. Moreover, there is independent corroboration: in the last days of June 1944, over 20,000 Hungarian Jews were sent to the Strasshof camp, including 5,200 from Szeged, which would have been the transport the woman described. ^[16]

To sum up, it is clear that there were significant numbers of Hungarian Jewish deportees who were not sent to Auschwitz. Moreover, the selecting out of those incapable of work appears to have taken place at least in certain areas and at certain times throughout the course of the deportations, and that the deportations themselves involved the confinement and transfer of the Hungarian Jews in several different locations within Hungary. This last circumstance could also have contributed to inaccurate statistics.

After Auschwitz

Those who argue for the massive gassing and burning of the Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz usually claim that there are no significant records of Hungarian Jews sent from Auschwitz to anywhere else, and rest their case on the Auschwitz Chronicle, compiled by Danuta Czech, a Polish Communist.

Most of Czech's data consists of various lists of prisoners who were registered in the camp, in various number sequences. It is assumed, of course, that most of those registered were ultimately gassed themselves, and it is furthermore assumed that any quantity of registrations presupposes a much larger quantity gassed without registration. Thus, for example, we might read that on a certain date one hundred Jews were selected from an RSHA transport from Hungary and assigned a range of inmate numbers, and that the rest were taken to the gas chambers. Such an entry might appear authoritative, but in fact usually the only source material at Czech's disposal is a list of the prisoners (in this case, one hundred) who were registered on the day in question. In short, we have no way of knowing how many Hungarian Jews were in fact sent to Auschwitz. Even so, Czech's statistics do indicate that some 26,000 Hungarian Jews were registered in the camp between May and early September 1944 (usually in the "A" series), and that another 25,000 were transferred to other camps, including 20,000 in May, June, and early July alone, usually in packets of 1,000 or more, and usually to Buchenwald and Mauthausen. The combined total, some 50,000, is the general upper bound of Hungarian Jews not exterminated on arrival. ^[17]

Yet Czech's data are glaringly incomplete. The German historian Isabell Sprenger's history of the Gross Rosen concentration camp lists in an appendix a chronology of all known transports to that location. ^[18] For May 16-17, 1944, that is, at the very beginning of the Hungarian deportations, we find reference to a transport of 1,500 Hungarian Jews arriving at Gross Rosen from Auschwitz. There is no record of this transport in Czech. Another transport, from May 24, lists 3,189 Hungarian Jews arriving in Gross Rosen from Auschwitz. This is not properly recorded by Czech. Still another, on June 8, records the arrival of 4,000 Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz. Again, Czech makes no mention of this transport, and, in fact, mentions no numbers for Gross Rosen at all until the fall, where a transport of 200 Hungarian Jews to Gross Rosen is recorded for September 19.

It is a certainty that the initial transport of May 16-17 was not registered at Auschwitz, indeed, it is likely that the prisoners were not even debarked from their train before being sent on. So this is not a question of double-counting. However, the fact that 1,500 Hungarian Jews would be sent to a non-extermination camp after passing through a camp supposedly designed for their extermination, and in the very first transports, strongly contradicts the assertion that the Hungarian Jewish deportations ever had mass murder as their aim. Furthermore, in reviewing the incoming transports for only one camp, out of some twenty main concentration camps, and several hundred satellite camps, we have already accounted for almost 10,000 Hungarian Jews, who would normally be assumed to have been gassed and burned at Auschwitz. This points up the serious unreliability of the Auschwitz Chronicle as a source for accurate statistics.

Indeed, other sources for other camps provide further missing Hungarian Jews. For example, the records of Mauthausen indicate a shipment of 2,000 Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz on May 28, 1944, which also is not recorded by Czech. ^[19] Of course, Czech also fails to record the Hungarian Jews in Riga, Kovno, or Stutthof discovered by Graf and Mattogno.

The overall approach of attempting to quantify the Hungarian Jews outside of Auschwitz would entail locating all the camps where Hungarian Jews were sent, gathering data, and then analyzing the results. For lack of time and resources, we can only make a few observations in this area. To begin with, the 386 camp figure that Graf cites from Pressac almost certainly derives from a passing comment made by Randolph Braham in his lengthy *Politics of Genocide*, later repeated in an article in *Auschwitz: Anatomy of a Death Camp*. ^[20] The source of Braham's figure, cited in the first book, is an appendix to a study on Hungarian forced labor by the Hungarian historian Szabolcs Szita, which has not been translated from Hungarian. Consulting Szita's book ourselves, we find that it contains not just a list of 386 camps, but rather of over 520 locations where

Hungarian Jews were held, including seventeen main concentration camps, hundreds of their satellites, and over a hundred other kinds of camps in which Hungarian Jews were imprisoned. [21]

Some of the satellite camps in Szita's list are well known and have been the subject of special studies in English, for example, the story of the thousand or so Hungarian women sent to the Hessisch Lichtenau sub-camp of Buchenwald in order to work in an explosives factory. [22] Of greater interest are those locations listed that are not affiliated with any concentration camp, for example, Unterlüss near Hannover, or Moerfelde-Walldorf near Frankfurt. Van Pelt indicated that large numbers of Hungarian women worked at Unterlüss, [23] which was a subsidiary camp of Rheinmetall, while news reports inform us that 1,700 Hungarian Jewish women labored at Moerfelde-Walldorf building an airstrip for the construction firm Zueblin, after having been transferred from Auschwitz in May. [24] Again, neither of these locations appears to be mentioned in the Auschwitz Chronicle. The fact that significant numbers of Hungarian Jews eventually were assigned outside the concentration camp system makes the numbers for Hungarian Jews derived from records of the growth of the concentration camp prisoner population seem underestimates of their actual numbers in the Reich.

Turning to the Baltics, we find that Szita has Hungarians listed in several concentration camps and labor camps throughout the region, including Kovno, Klooga, Riga-Kaiserwald, Stutthof, and several sub-camps. According to Andrew Ezergailis, author of *The Holocaust in Latvia*, one of these sub-camps, at Dundaga, employed between two to five thousand Hungarian Jewish women who had been transferred from Auschwitz from May 1944 on. [25]

Overall, by following up on the data gathered by Szita and other historians of Hungarian forced labor, we find that there was a very wide distribution of Hungarians throughout the German areas of influence very soon after the deportations began. In many cases, the Hungarians at these other camps are described as having been sent from Auschwitz. It may be presumption in some cases to claim that these Hungarian Jews passed through Auschwitz, yet it seems clear that the deportations of Hungarian Jews were very extensive. This is indicated not only by the fact that Hungarian Jews were distributed to so many different locations, but also because it was typical to dispatch concentration camp inmates for labor in packets of 500 to 1,000. [26]

The Purpose of the Deportations

The idea that the Hungarian Jews were deported simply for the purpose of killing them would seem to be a strategy contrary to the interests of the German Reich, which, by May 1944, was fighting for its life. It seems therefore reasonable to argue, as many have done, that the deportations of the Hungarian Jews are simply not credible given the priorities of the war, transport and otherwise.

Yet, if we consult the documents and the various public declarations of the time, we find unanimity about the desperate need for labor for a variety of war-related programs, and specifically for the kind of labor that the Hungarian Jews would provide. These include the remarks of Himmler, referencing the planned influx of 200,000 Hungarian Jews for labor purposes, the specific authorization of Hitler to allow these intakes, and records of the various conflicts among the various agencies desperate for labor. [27] Among these projects were the construction of large concrete bunkers for Speer's Organization Todt, the assembly of V-2 rockets for the V-weapon campaign, the construction of defensive barriers on the eastern frontier of Austria and Czechoslovakia, the construction of fighter planes for the Luftwaffe, and many other war-related projects. [28] These

needs alone, vital to Germany's war effort, could have allowed for the prioritization of Hungarian Jewish transports of considerable size.

On the other hand, if forced labor was the purpose of the deportations, that does not very well explain the reason why considerable numbers of women, children, and the elderly also appear to have been deported. Part of this appears traceable to conflicts with the Hungarian government. We should keep in mind that many Hungarian Jewish men wore the uniform of the Hungarian Labor Service, and, while discriminated against, tens of thousands of them lost their lives serving their country, which was, after all, Germany's ally in the war against the Soviet Union. It also appears that the Labor Service underwent significant expansion at the time of the deportations, and that thousands more Hungarian men avoided deportation in this manner. [29] (This too may have contributed to statistical inconsistencies.) These drafts of Hungarian Jewish men help explain why the Germans were initially surprised to be receiving so many women, and others incapable of work. Still, it is known that Himmler and Oswald Pohl, chief of the concentration camp system, soon found a way to integrate the Hungarian women into the German war economy. [30]

But what of those Hungarians incapable of work? No doubt interned because of the unjust suspicion that they, as Jews, would foment rebellion before the advancing Red Army, there is plenty of evidence that they were not exterminated as a matter of course. We have seen, for example, Himmler's reference to over 30,000 concentration camp inmates outside of Auschwitz over the age of fifty: it is a certainty that the vast majority would be Jewish prisoners, and probably included many incarcerated at Theresienstadt. At Theresienstadt itself, we find a record of 1,150 Hungarian Jews, apparently transferred from Auschwitz, and by definition non-workers: twelve had died by the end of the war. [31] We can also find records of Hungarian Jews incapable of work — by definition, including children and the elderly — at Bergen Belsen, where there were at least two camps for Hungarian Jews, and at Buchenwald, which had a block set aside for over a thousand children of various nationalities. Even at Auschwitz itself, as Graf has noted, significant numbers of children and elderly were liberated by the Red Army, including Hungarian Jewish children mentioned by name. This is the proper context for the famous photograph showing a group of smiling Hungarian Jewish women, liberated at Dachau with their newborn babies on their laps.

Calculating the Survivors

The final question one can pose about the Hungarian Jews deported in the summer of 1944 is the most difficult to answer, because, as we have seen, there is some uncertainty about the accuracy of the numbers of the deportations.

The first thing we have to recognize is that the losses of Hungarian Jews are usually calculated globally: that is, the problem is looked at in terms of the overall losses of the Hungarian Jewish community, but not in terms of how many survived the summer 1944 deportations. Indeed, the latter question is never addressed in detail. At the same time, there are several categories of Hungarian Jewish losses related to the war or to the deportations of fall 1944 that have nothing to do with the deportations to Auschwitz, and the combined totals are hard to analyze. There is a canonical number of Hungarian Jewish victims of the Holocaust, but instead of six million it is six hundred thousand, generally rounded up from about 560,000. The ultimate source of this number is calculations of the World Jewish Congress made in 1945 and 1946. [32]

The statistics concerning Hungarian Jews have been extensively analyzed over the past decade by the Hungarian historian Tamas Stark. There are three main aspects of Stark's analysis. First, he is wary of official statistics, knowing full well their potential political import, and so tries to

compare them with any other known sources. Second, Stark tries to address the gaps in the statistical record by itemizing the many reasons for Hungarian Jews not to have returned home, or to have been unable to do so, after the Second World War. Third, Stark is the only expert in this field to stress the fact that after the war large numbers of Hungarians indeed did not return home, but instead emigrated to other countries.

Stark's work has exposed him to some criticism, and perhaps because of this he has revised his calculations. Originally, he estimated the total loss of life for Hungarian Jews at 390,000, but in a recent study he has raised that number to about 500,000. [33] The point, as far as our analysis is concerned, however, is that any increase in the number of Hungarian survivors generally increases the number of Hungarian Jews who survived the summer 1944 deportations.

To put it another way: it is generally conceded that about 500,000 Hungarian Jews were deported in 1944: these include the assumed 430,000 deported May through July, and another 50,000 or more deported to the Austrian border in the fall. [34] Of this number, it is universally conceded that about 100,000-120,000 returned from deportation. Assuming a proportional split, this means that about 20 percent of the Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz returned home. [35]

Yet Stark points out that there were reasons not to return home, and, if returning home, not to declare one's Jewish identity. First, there was the psychological dread of returning home and failing to find one's family. [36] Second, there was the fact that the Red Army typically seized Hungarian Jewish men and dragged them off to forced labor in the Soviet Union (Stark estimates that 30,000 Hungarian Jews went from one dictatorial system to the other: they were never heard from again). [37] Third, Hungarian Jews were on a path of heavy assimilation even before the war, and there would be little reason for many to return to the community after the war, especially in view of the severe persecution Jews had just endured. [38] Yet precisely such a failure to be counted in the Jewish community in the postwar period would have contributed to artificially low numbers of returnees. The World Jewish Congress, after all, was interested in determining the size of Jewish communities, not in counting Jews by racial criteria as was the case under the Nazi, Horthy, or Arrow Cross regimes.

In the absence of reliable statistics, Stark did considerable research in contemporary newspapers and other periodicals, noting especially references to Hungarian Jews who remained in Germany or in other countries and who did not return. His research suggests that a considerable number, perhaps as many as 100,000 or more, remained outside of Hungary and made their homes elsewhere. [39] It is by settling on a conservative figure of 50,000 that Stark arrives at his overall figure of approximately 500,000 Jewish deaths among the Hungarian population in the Second World War.

However, Stark's calculation essentially increases the number of those Hungarian Jews who survived the summer 1944 deportations by 50,000 as well, which in turn means that over one third survived. If his higher estimate of 100,000 Hungarian expatriates is used, that percentage rises to over 45 percent. With such numbers, one cannot sustain the contention that the Hungarian Jews were deported in the summer of 1944 with the intention of exterminating them.

Conclusions

The issue of the fate of the Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz has long dominated Holocaust studies, because the deportations took place in the midst of a large-scale media campaign in which the Allies and several Zionist groups protested the deportations even before they began. [40]

Although the current narrative continues to hold that vast numbers of Hungarian Jews were gassed and burned at Auschwitz, the evidence we have consulted contradicts that notion. Specifically, we can now provisionally answer the questions with which we began.

It appears that hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz. These included Jews of all ages and conditions. However, it seems likely that the figures quoted — 430,000 — could well be inaccurate, if only because these figures might have derived from one of the early stages of the deportation process before the deportations beyond Hungary's borders actually took place. Perhaps some tens of thousands were not deported beyond their staging areas; perhaps, too, some thousands of Hungarian men were drafted into the labor service from these areas. It is further possible that some thousands or tens of thousands managed to escape, at least temporarily, to Romania. It is interesting to quote Adolf Eichmann in this regard: ^[41]

All told, we succeeded in processing about half a million Jews in Hungary. I once knew the exact number that we shipped to Auschwitz, but today I can only estimate that it was around 350,000 in a period of about four months. But, contrary to legend, the majority of the deportees were not gassed at all but put to work in munitions plants. That is why there are thousands of Jews happily alive today who are included in the statistical totals of the "liquidated." Besides those we sent to Auschwitz, there were thousands and thousands who fled, some secretly, some with our connivance. It was child's play for a Jew to reach relative safety in Rumania if he could muster the few pengö to pay for a railroad ticket or an auto ride to the border. There were also 200,000 Jews left in a huge ghetto when the Russians arrived, and thousands more waiting to emigrate illegally to Palestine or simply hiding out from the Hungarian gendarmerie.

If the number of deportees was appreciably lower than 430,000, and if they managed to remain in the provinces, or in nearby Romania, that would help explain where the 100,000 Jews came from who fled to Budapest in November of 1944. Incidentally, Stark also discusses this flight, which he claims took place from Sub-Carpathia and Transylvania, that is, areas supposedly cleared out by the May-July deportations. ^[42] Yet, if the number of deportees was 350,000, as Eichmann claims, or even lower, as Pressac has argued, there still would be ideological reasons to suppress such data. As the controversy over Stark suggests, the Hungarians are as committed to the number of six hundred thousand Hungarian Jewish victims almost as much as Holocaust historians are committed to the six million statistic.

Whatever the number, the Hungarian Jews, from the moment they began arriving at Auschwitz, were sent to other camps: Gross Rosen, Buchenwald, Mauthausen, Stutthof, and hundreds of other camps. This influx of Hungarian Jews into the concentration camp system directly tracks the statistical growth of the concentration camp system as a whole. Nor should we forget that by being sub-contracted to private firms, it seems likely that some thousands of Hungarian Jews would never have appeared on the concentration camp rolls at all. At the same time, our analysis indicates that there are yawning gaps in the canonical record of comings and goings at Auschwitz.

The Hungarian Jews deported to these various other camps were involved in labor that was of critical importance to Germany's war effort and moreover there was considerable competition for their services. It is not believable that any Hungarian Jew capable of work would have been exterminated.

Nor is it believable, on the basis of the data reviewed, to assert that Hungarian Jews incapable of work were automatically killed. While the saving of Hungarian Jewish lives is usually explained by the intercession of this or that saintly diplomat or businessman, there is no easy way to get around the fact that there were significant numbers of Hungarians who did not work in several camps, and who survived the war. This is not to deny the idea that some portion of non-working Hungarian Jews could have been killed: it simply means that the known exceptions are varied enough that the thesis of an extermination policy, let alone an extermination plan, is decisively undercut. Nor should we forget the survival rates implied by Stark's analyses, suggesting that 35 percent to 45 percent of the 430,000 deported survived the war.

But what of the missing Hungarian Jews who apparently did not survive? What happened to them, if they were not exterminated? The question brings us back to the statistical measurements of returnees, and émigrés, measured by Stark in the range of 150,000 to 200,000 or more, versus the canonical statistic of 430,000 deportees, or lower estimates of 350,000 by Eichmann and 160,000 to 240,000 by Pressac. Using Stark's low estimate of returns and emigrations, along with Pressac's low estimate of deportations, we could arrive at a death rate among the May-July deportees of about ten thousand, which strikes us as absurdly low.

We have to remind ourselves that there were many ways for people to die in the closing months of the Second World War, and not just in the concentration camps. Disease no doubt played a large role, as we know that tens of thousands of camp prisoners died in the last months of the war and even after from various epidemics, tuberculosis, and above all, typhus. Nor can we ignore the high death rate in the concentration camp system overall, brought on by poor nourishment and overwork in a psychologically debilitating atmosphere, a death rate that was always high but which reached catastrophic levels in 1945. Combined with Allied bombings, Soviet ship sinkings, and random shootings by panicked soldiers or SS, we could easily account for most of the missing Hungarian Jews, even if we set that number at 150,000 or more.

Still, we cannot exclude the possibility that some number were killed at Auschwitz, although, bearing in mind the many other dangers Hungarian Jews would encounter during the war, and the estimated numbers of returnees and émigrés, that number could not have been more than a few tens of thousands at most. Here we have to keep in mind the iron rule imposed by the limits of the Birkenau crematoriums. Rather than saying that 90 percent of the Hungarian deportees died at Auschwitz, it should be possible to argue the reverse: the evidence suggests that 90 percent of the Hungarian Jews did not die at Auschwitz, regardless of their ultimate fate.

When the Auschwitz death toll was officially revised from four million to about one million in 1989, the traditional figure of 400,000 Hungarian Jews killed at Auschwitz assumed greater importance than ever before. The Hungarian Jews, now 40 percent of the total, became the largest group of Jews said to have been exterminated in that camp. However, the evidence we have reviewed makes it clear that the Hungarian Jews deported in the summer of 1944 were deported for labor in war-important industries, and they were in fact employed in such labor after being transferred from Auschwitz to hundreds of other camps. In addition, we have seen evidence that significant numbers of Hungarian Jews unfit for labor were not in fact exterminated. We have also seen the overall population of the camp system increase, commensurate to the influx of large numbers of Hungarian Jews. Finally, we have seen reasonable statistics that indicate that 45 percent or more of these deportees survived, in spite of the catastrophic death rates that prevailed in the camps at the end of the war.

Determining the fate of the Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz with some finality would entail a detailed analysis of the records of all of the camps and sub-camps of the concentration camp sys-

tem, as well as all the private and government agencies which had a declared interest in Hungarian Jewish labor in 1944. Probably such materials could be located in the various files pertaining to forced labor during the National Socialist period not only in German archives, but also in those of Washington, Budapest, and above all, the former Soviet Union. It seems likely that such records exist, given the scope of some of the material we have reviewed. We expect these records will continue to be uncovered and used, especially by Hungarian historians, as they try to reconstruct the wartime fate of their countrymen, Jewish and non-Jewish.

It seems to be generally recognized today that the mass exterminations that are supposed to have occurred in “extermination camps” such as Auschwitz have been manipulated for political and ideological purposes. [43] This does not make the extermination claims automatically false, but what such abuse does accomplish is to reduce the people involved to passive statistics, fit only for posthumous martyrdom.

We say this because the reduction of death statistics at extermination camps is frequently said to rob the victims of their dignity in death. But on the contrary, as the studies of Szita and Stark suggest, a more detailed and nuanced study of the experiences of a people does not diminish, but rather enhances, the dignity and the tragedy of their individual lives. And, as such studies tell us what did happen, they also make it rather clear what did not.

It follows from the evidence at our disposal that 430,000 Hungarian Jews were not gassed and burned at Auschwitz, and that the death toll for that camp should again be revised downward by about 40 percent. But it also follows that historians have barely begun to grasp the fate of Hungary’s Jews in the Second World War.

Notes

1. [↗](#) The general estimates of Hungarian Jewish casualties come from Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (Boulder, CO: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 792, and László Varga, “The Losses of Hungarian Jewry,” in Randolph Braham, ed., *Studies on the Holocaust in Hungary*, East European monographs, no. 301 (Boulder, CO: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 256-265. Of an estimated 509,000 deportees, Varga reckons 383,000 died (p. 262), and gives remarkably low estimates for emigrants, and survivors who did not return (5,000 for each of the se two categories). These estimates were repeated by Robert Jan Van Pelt in his expert report for the Irving v. Penguin/Lipstadt trial (pp. 46-48). His expert opinion, though unpublished, can be found both on Irving’s website (www.fpp.co.uk) and a site maintained on Deborah Lipstadt’s behalf (www.holocaustontrial.com).
2. [↗](#) Detailed in Van Pelt’s expert opinion, pp. 47-48, the changes occurred between the original French version, *Les Crématoires d' Auschwitz*, and the Italian and German editions of Pressac’s book.
3. [↗](#) Van Pelt, op. cit., p. 48.
4. [↗](#) István Deák, “A Fatal Compromise? The Debate over Collaboration and Resistance in Hungary,” in István Deák, Jan T. Gross, and Tony Judt, eds., *The Politics of Retribution in Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 72 n. 22.
5. [↗](#) Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Newport Beach, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1977), pp. 133-159, 170-171.
6. [↗](#) Jürgen Graf, “What Happened to the Jews Who Were Deported to Auschwitz but Were Not Registered There?,” and Arthur R. Butz, “On the 1944 Deportation of Hungarian Jews,” in the *Journal of Historical Review* (JHR) 19, no. 4 (July-August 2000), pp. 4-29.

7. [↗](#) Graf, *ibid.* The source of the “386 camps” will be discussed below.
8. [↗](#) The various classes of data are discussed extensively in Tamás Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust and after the Second World War, 1939-1949: A Statistical Review*, translated by Christina Rosznyi, *East European Monographs* (Boulder, CO: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 21ff. This is essentially a translation of his *Zsidóság a vészko-rszakban és a felszabadulás után, 1939-1955* [Jewry during the Holocaust and after Liberation, 1939-1955] (Budapest:1995). Szabolcs Szita also discusses the scope of the deportations in *Halálérőd: A munkaszolgálat és a hadimunka történetéhez* [Death Fort: On the History of the Labor Service and Military Labor] (Budapest: 1989), pp. 45ff., and provides the lists of the attorney in Kosice.
9. [↗](#) Stark, *op. cit.*, pp. 24f.
10. [↗](#) Quoted and discussed by Butz, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 142ff.
11. [↗](#) See Widmann, “[Transfers to the Reich: The unregistered inmates of Auschwitz](#)” page 21, current issue of the JHR.
12. [↗](#) In this August 15, 1944, telegram, Burger also describes 90,000 Jews as part of the Hungarian action. By our interpretation, the 90,000 Hungarian Jews mentioned by Burger refers either to transit Jews not yet assigned to work or to Hungarian Jews who were incapable of work in Auschwitz-Birkenau as of that date. Because, moreover, we know that there were no further Hungarian deportations to Auschwitz later than August 15, 1944, it seems as if the actual population of the concentration camp system would be 90,000 higher, if these 90,000 were included. Braham, *op. cit.*, p. 793, misuses this document, a misuse traceable to Danuta Czech’s erroneous claim that the document refers to the population of Auschwitz only, rather than to the concentration camp system as a whole.
13. [↗](#) Robert N. Proctor, *The Nazi War against Cancer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 260, 346 n. 31, and references German researcher. Proctor assumes (p. 260) that the figure is too high for the camps alone, but the magnitude is generally accepted by most scholars, cf. Ulrich Herbert, *Fremdarbeiter* (Bonn: Dietz Verlag, 1999), p. 426.
14. [↗](#) Paul Rassinier, *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*, Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1978, p. 365
15. [↗](#) www.mazal.org
16. [↗](#) Stark, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
17. [↗](#) Van Pelt, *op. cit.*
18. [↗](#) Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien, Neue Forschungen zur Schlesischen Geschichte*, vol. 6 (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1996), pp. 335-359.
19. [↗](#) Szita, *op. cit.*, pp. 217ff.
20. [↗](#) Braham, *op. cit.*, pp. 792f. and “The Hungarian Jews,” in Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), p. 466.
21. [↗](#) Szita, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-287. To be fair, Szita also mentions some locations in Russia where Hungarian Jews of the Labor Service were employed, for example, Kiev, locations that were clearly not available as destinations by May, 1944.
22. [↗](#) Dieter Vaupel, “The Hessisch Lichtenau Sub-Camp of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, 1944-45,” in Braham, ed., *Studies*, pp.194-237.
23. [↗](#) Van Pelt, *op. cit.*, pp. 26ff.
24. [↗](#) The Detroit News, Saturday, July 25, 1998 (Internet edition).
25. [↗](#) Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941-1944: The Missing Center* (Riga:1996), p. 367.

26. ☞ Vaupel, op. cit., p. 195, for the minimum figure.
27. ☞ Himmler quoted in Wilhelm Stäglich, *Auschwitz* (Newport Beach, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1986), pp. 73ff. See also Graf, op. cit., p. 13; also Albert Speer, *Infiltration* (NY: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 289-291, and Herbert, op. cit., pp. 426-431.
28. ☞ Speer, op. cit. Szita's various books describe many aspects of Hungarian forced labor, especially for the lower Danube defense works, and for the Mauthausen complex. There are also testimony and documents about the use of Hungarian forced labor in the records of the Nuremberg Military Tribunal (NMT), especially Case 2 (the Milch case), Case 4 (the Pohl, or Concentration Camp, case) and Case 5 (the Farben case).
29. ☞ Stark, op. cit., pp. 28ff.
30. ☞ The famous exchange between Pohl and Himmler, culminating in Himmler's insistence that enough garlic be provided the Hungarian Jewish women, was recorded in documents of Case 4 of the NMT, and is cited in Braham, *Politics*, p. 783.
31. ☞ Terezin website, www.scrapbookpages.com/CzechRepublic/Theresienstadt/statistics.html; Stark, op. cit., p. 74, cites five to six thousand Hungarian Jews at Theresienstadt at the end of the war.
32. ☞ Braham, *Politics*, p. 1298; Stark, op. cit., p. 127.
33. ☞ Stark's original estimate in "A magyar zsidóság veszteségei" (The Losses of Hungarian Jewry), *Historia* (Budapest), no. 1-2 (1989), pp. 54-56, the later number discussed in Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust*, pp. 136-138. In his original article, Stark gave rough calculations as follows (p. 56): 490,000 deportations, 360 non-returns (inferring 130,000 returns), a minimum of 50,000 who emigrated, and therefore 310,000 deaths among the deportees, or 63% mortality.
34. ☞ Other sources claim 100,000 or more deportees from Budapest in this period. However, most of the sources cited by Stark (op. cit., pp. 32-35) mention 30 to 35 thousand. Stark settles on "50-100 thousand." It is a key point, because the lower the numbers deported from Budapest, the lower the overall number of deportees, and, because the number of returnees is fixed at about 100 to 120 thousand, the higher the survival rate among the May-July deportees.
35. ☞ This is a key issue, because there is a tendency to assume that the returnees would comprise mostly those deported to the Austrian border in the fall of 1944. Szita's work, however, makes it clear that the death rate on the Austrian border was very high, and that, furthermore, the deportees from the fall were mostly from Budapest, not the provinces targeted during the May-July deportations. Stark *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust*, pp. 79f., meanwhile, lists 83,000 registered returnees, of which only about 20-25% come from Budapest, which means the balance must have come from the May-July deportations.
36. ☞ Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust*, p. 75, quoting a contemporary newspaper.
37. ☞ Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust*, pp. 46-56, esp. 56.
38. ☞ Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust*, pp. 85-86, 87, 89, esp. 90, 91, 93.
39. ☞ Stark (see note 33 above).
40. ☞ Compare the discussion in Butz, op. cit., and particularly the large literature concerning of the bombing of Auschwitz.
41. ☞ *Life* 49, no. 22, November 28, 1960, p. 109.
42. ☞ Stark discusses the influx of Hungarians, presumably including Jews, from the outlying provinces to escape the advancing Red Army, as well as the flight of provincial Jews to the capital to escape deportation.
43. ☞ E.g., Norman Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry* (NY: Verso, 2000) and Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (NY: Basic Books, 2001).

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Book review

An Exercise in Futility

- The Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies Have Attempted It? edited by Michael J. Neufeld and Michael Berenbaum. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. Hardcover. 350 pp. Bibliography, index, illustrations.

Samuel Crowell

Given the belief that Auschwitz was a unique slaughterhouse in which a million, or several millions, were gassed and burned, the question of whether the Allies could have done something to stop the supposed slaughter there is a natural one. In fact, aerial attacks on the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz were proposed during the war, when several Jewish agencies tried to prod the United States and Britain to intervene militarily during the evacuation of 400,000 Hungarian Jews in 1944.

Following the war, interest in the question of the Allied failure to bomb Auschwitz receded, although it was still common enough for Arthur R. Butz to mention in his *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1977), along with his correct speculation that the Allies must have taken aerial photographs of the Auschwitz complex. In the following year, David Wyman wrote an article pressing the case for the Allies' dereliction in failing to bomb the "gas chambers and crematoria," an argument he would recapitulate in his 1984 book *The Abandonment of the Jews*. (We should note that "gas chambers and crematoria" are always discussed in tandem by Holocaust historians, evidence for the latter being considered sufficient proof of the former.) In 1979, when Brugioni and Poirier discovered the long-forgotten aerial photos of Auschwitz-Birkenau, they were seized upon, enabling Elie Wiesel to claim, "The world knew and kept silent ... nothing was done to stop or delay the process. Not one bomb was dropped on the railway tracks to the death camps" (p. x)

The present book, derived from a symposium held at the occasion of the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum 1993, is basically a meditation on Wiesel's accusation of Allied inaction. The book comprises fifteen contributions which take up about two-thirds of its length, detailed notes, an extensive appendix of contemporary telegrams and cables, but only an edited version of the famous Vrba-Wetzler report.

A number of the articles are of an impressionistic nature. Gerhard Weinberg, the American professor who first proclaimed the bogus Hitler Diaries genuine, offers little except his opinion that the Nazis were "nasty people" who fundamentally enjoyed slaughtering Jews and who would have found a way to do so even if the gas chambers and crematoria had been bombed: to argue otherwise is "preposterous" (p. 25). Henry L. Feingold suggests in his piece that the proper route would have been to bomb the German cities in retaliation: after all, the cities were being de-

stroyed anyway, so why not simply justify the practice by referencing Auschwitz? It is difficult to take such casual arguments seriously.

Richard Breitman, who is remarkable among orthodox historians of the Holocaust for his industry in consulting the archives on some occasions, contributes a marginally off-topic article about the ULTRA decodes. While his description of the results of the British effort that broke the German “Enigma” codes fails to address the book’s central premise, he does mention that the British were unable to make a connection between the transports being sent to Auschwitz and mass killings. Breitman goes on to say: “More suggestive was a later (November, 1942) message that Auschwitz urgently needed six hundred gas masks to equip its new guards, but that, too, was only one little piece of a picture” (p. 29). Such a large number of gas masks would not have been necessary for any kind of gassing, fumigation or otherwise. On the other hand, the decode fits in nicely with other evidence developed over the past few years that indicates that Auschwitz and sites in occupied Poland were concerned about poison gas attacks at that time, and even before the crematoria were completed.

Several of the rest of the articles are of a highly technical nature. For example, the article by Frederick Kitchens, an Air Force expert, revels in the vocabulary of tactical bombing, describing the crematoria as “relatively soft targets of brick construction” (p. 86). Later Kitchens describes the prospective mission: a “dauntingly complex objective consisting of five widely spaced buildings (four at Birkenau, one over a mile away at Auschwitz I) which had to be identified and attacked in concert with little loiter time and no release error” (p. 90). Evidently, Kitchens was not informed that the base camp crematorium had been decommissioned the previous year, then turned into a bomb shelter. Other contributions go over similar details, and there are several diagrams showing the layout of the camp, the position of the Birkenau crematoria, and differently shaded circles and boxes to show the extent of damage to be expected around them.

Given the wealth of detail from an air force perspective, one would have expected a corresponding analysis of the passive ground defense at Auschwitz. Yet there is no discussion of the civil defense fixtures, including gastight doors, with which the basements of the crematoria were equipped. Perhaps the authors did not want to contend with the paradox that, of all the structures in Auschwitz, the spaces they designate as “gas chambers” were in fact the best designed to withstand aerial bombardment. Meanwhile, while the authors are meticulous in estimating the collateral damage of a bombing raid in terms of prisoner casualties, none of them seems concerned that bombing the crematoria would also have involved the destruction of the sewage treatment plant as well as the Central Sauna. One is left with the absurd idea of a bombing raid that would destroy all of the hygienic facilities in an over-crowded camp, which would inevitably have engendered terrible epidemics.

The threat of diseases at the camp is, however, treated by Stuart G. Erdheim. It is his claim that had the crematoria been destroyed by bombardment, the Germans would have been unable to burn great numbers of corpses in ditches “due to the problems posed by humidity as well as the threat of disease. It was for these very reasons, in fact, that Himmler had ordered the crematoria built in the first place” (p. 355). Thus Erdheim’s position might seem to be that the Nazis were committed to killing the prisoners in Auschwitz, but were hesitant to burn their bodies in ditches, for fear that this would lead to epidemics which would, no doubt, kill the prisoners at Auschwitz.

In general, the “technical” analyses all share two basic problems. First, there seems to be no clear appreciation of the actual capacities of the “gas chambers” or the crematoria, let alone the capacities as they were envisioned by the Allies in 1944. Most of the authors, quoting testimonies or postwar novels, dogmatically describe how the “gas chambers and crematoria” could destroy a

thousand or ten thousand persons per day. But that calculation is irrelevant to the counterfactual scenarios they devise, because it is clear from the primary source material in the back of the book that the figure being tossed around in 1944 was sixty thousand per day.

That a killing rate of sixty thousand per day was even believed possible in 1944 is important to reconstructing the mindset of the Jewish groups and of American and British officials, from which one should be able to derive some conclusions about their concern, or lack of concern, for what was transpiring at Auschwitz. Yet so incredible a death rate should also have led the authors to attempt to establish the actual capacities of their assumed “gas chambers.” If they had done so they would have found that the spaces they envisioned bombing had no extraordinary features. In effect, a basic analysis of the gassing claim, if it did not lead the authors to a revisionist perspective, would at least have led them to acknowledge that any closed space with a secure enough door would suffice, which means that bombing the “gas chambers” would have been utterly pointless.

The second basic problem concerns cremation. The underlying assumption appears to be that the Nazis were eager to carry out mass gas exterminations, but only if they could destroy all evidence of the crime. This idea suggests that the crematoria had some kind of magical ability to destroy the evidence of mass murder, and without such machines the mass murder would not have gone forward. This notion ignores the standard claim that several million Holocaust victims were killed with no expensive cremation facilities to dispose of their remains. Furthermore, since most of the authors endorse the idea of cremation pits at Auschwitz capable of destroying the remains of thousands on a daily basis, and must, according to the traditional view, endorse the idea for other locations, it is hard to see why the destruction of cremation facilities would be vital. We may leave aside the fact that bombing the crematoria would have, at the very least, provided the Nazis with a surfeit of bomb craters ready made for cremation. Still, it seems to us that the proper point of departure for any researcher attempting to evaluate the feasibility of a bombing run on the crematoria would have been to investigate the actual capacities of such a structure. If such is done, and realistic cremation rates selected, the point of bombing the crematoria is rendered moot.

Aside from the primary documentation provided in the back, there is on balance little to recommend *The Bombing of Auschwitz*. The technical articles, ranging over all the contingencies involved in the proposed bombing of the “gas chambers and crematoria,” are fatally flawed by the ignorance of the authors about the very objects they envision destroying, which renders the rest of their highly learned commentary of little if any value. The impressionistic pieces, on the other hand, simply repeat well-known, but by now rather trite, moral judgments. There is, however, one pleasant surprise: Deborah Lipstadt, in an overview revised for this release, declares that the use of the Holocaust for political purposes, including the question of the Allied failure to bomb Auschwitz, is “ahistorical” — which fairly well sums up the nature of this flawed book.

About the reviewer

Samuel Crowell is the pen name of an American writer who describes himself as a “moderate revisionist.” At the University of California (Berkeley) he studied philosophy, foreign languages (including German, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian), and history, including Russian, German, and German-Jewish history. He continued his study of history at Columbia University. For six years he worked as a college teacher.

Reviewer: Mark Weber

Title: Not quite the Hitler diaries

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Book review

Not Quite the Hitler Diaries

- *Gestapo Chief: The 1948 Interrogation of Heinrich Müller* by Gregory Douglas. San Jose, CA: R. James Bender, 1995. Hardcover. 283 pages. \$35.95. Bibliography, index, illustrations.

Mark Weber

Gestapo Chief, more than seventy thousand copies of which have reportedly been sold, is the product of an inventive mind and much hard work. It purports to present long-suppressed secret documents with startling revelations about Third Reich Germany, Hitler, Roosevelt, Churchill, and the Second World War.

This book, and three others in the *Gestapo Chief* series, are based primarily on what the author claims are detailed revelations from Heinrich Müller, the Bavarian-born policeman who, from 1939 until 1945, was chief of the Gestapo, the Third Reich's "Secret State Police" (Geheime Staatspolizei), a branch of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). He was the immediate boss, for example, of Adolf Eichmann, who headed the RSHA bureau that oversaw Germany's wartime Jewish deportation program. Müller reported to RSHA chief Reinhard Heydrich (until his assassination in Prague in 1942), and then, until the end of the war, to Ernst Kaltenbrunner.

Just what happened to "Gestapo" Müller has never been satisfactorily established. He was last seen in Berlin in April 1945, vanishing in the chaos and turmoil of the great battle for the German capital shortly before the end of the war in Europe. His corpse has never been found. For decades rumors persisted that he escaped to South America, or that he worked for Soviet or American intelligence.

Half a century after the end of the war, an elusive American who sometimes calls himself "Gregory Douglas" emerged to present in *Gestapo Chief* what he claims is proof that in 1945 Müller escaped to Switzerland, where he was recruited by American intelligence. From December 1948 until 1952, "Douglas" contends, Müller lived in the Washington, DC, area, where he worked for U.S. military intelligence in the Truman administration, rising to the rank of U.S. Army brigadier general. According to "Douglas," the former Gestapo commandant participated in high-level White House security conferences, and even met President Truman.

"Douglas" lays out this amazing story, with ever more tantalizing revelations from Müller, in four *Gestapo Chief* volumes issued by R. James Bender, a northern California publisher that specializes in militaria, especially of Third Reich Germany. In addition, the first volume in this series was published in Germany under the title *Geheimakte Gestapo-Müller*. Three of the four vol-

umes are supposedly based on conversations between Müller in 1948 in Switzerland and an American intelligence agent named James Kronthal; the fourth is purportedly based on a private diary he kept while living in the United States.

In addition, this first volume contains extensive excerpts of what are claimed to be German intercepts of secret wartime trans-Atlantic telephone conversations between Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. In a purported conversation on November 26, 1941, President Roosevelt tells Churchill that a Japanese strike force is preparing to attack the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on the weekend of December 7-8, 1941. This “smoking gun” document seemingly proves that the American president knew in advance of the impending Japanese attack, and failed to give adequate warning to Pearl Harbor’s defenders.

Perhaps this book’s most sensational “revelation” is that Hitler did not commit suicide on April 30, 1945, as those who were with him in the final days of the war later unanimously testified, but instead escaped to Spain. Müller insists that, with his help, Hitler and his mistress, Eva Braun, left Berlin on April 22, 1945, and flew from Austria on the 26th in a special four-motor aircraft that arrived the next day in Barcelona. “Listen to me,” Müller tells his American interrogator. “Hitler went to Spain. I know for certain his plane landed safely ...”

To confirm this testimony, the author presents what appears to be a facsimile reproduction of an authentic German document dated April 20, 1945. Headed “Special Führer journey to Barcelona,” and signed by Müller, it declares that “the Führer and his entourage will depart from airfield Hörching [near Linz] on April 26, 1945.”

Müller says that, as part of the escape operation, he found a man who looked like Hitler to serve as a “double.” Thus, Müller says, Hitler’s wedding to Eva Braun in the Berlin bunker on April 28 or 29, 1945, was “pure theater.” Afterwards, Müller goes on, the “double” was shot and his body left so that the Russians would find it, to mislead them into believing they had discovered the Führer’s corpse.

My view that the Gestapo Chief series is an elaborate hoax is based not only on an examination of the books themselves, but on lengthy telephone conversations with the author. From these talks, I can attest that “Gregory Douglas” is intelligent, loquacious, knowledgeable, and literate, but also amoral, evasive, and vindictive. Those who have spoken at any length with him are struck by his chronic cynicism — a trait that, interestingly enough, is reflected in the words he attributes to Müller throughout the Gestapo Chief series.

The man who crafted this series of books is a known fabricator of documents who has used a variety of names over the years, including Peter Stahl, Samuel Prescott Bush, and Freiherr Von Mollendorf. His real name, apparently, is Peter Norton Birch or Peter Norwood Burch.

His son, with whom I have also spoken, sometimes fronts for his father as the author of the Gestapo Chief books. For more than a year the son has been living and working in Rockford, Illinois, under the name Gregory Douglas Alford. He is also a former staff writer for the Sun-Star newspaper of Merced, California, and the Journal-Standard of Freeport, Illinois. Apparently he has sometimes used the name Gregg Stahl.

David Irving, who is probably more familiar with wartime German documents than any other living historian, dismisses Gestapo Chief as “a carefully crafted historical novel.” Some years ago, Irving says, “Peter Stahl” tried to sell him forged documents. Another British historian, John Costello (author of *Ten Days to Destiny* and other works), whom I knew rather well until his

death in August 1995, told me that Douglas/Stahl similarly tried to sell him wartime documents of dubious authenticity.

Perhaps the most obviously suspect feature of the Gestapo Chief series is that the author will not permit any independent examination of his “original” documents. (To be sure, not all the documents he presents are fraudulent. To add credibility to his book, “Douglas” includes, among his forgeries, a number of indisputably authentic wartime documents.)

During one telephone conversation, “Douglas” told me with some pride that his book would soon be coming out in German, and that the 1948 Müller interrogations were being translated into German. But how, I asked, was that possible, given that (as Gestapo Chief readers are told) these interrogations took place in German and the “original” transcripts are already in German. The normally suave and loquacious “Douglas” was at a loss for words.

Characteristic of this entire series is the clearly fraudulent “facsimile document” of April 20, 1945, presented on page 275 of Gestapo Chief. This is actually the author’s second, “corrected” version. The first appeared with an article he wrote for the spring 1990 issue of *The Military Advisor*, a magazine issued by the same firm that publishes Gestapo Chief. But whereas the “SS” characters are rendered in this earlier “facsimile” as normal typescript letters, they are rendered in Gestapo Chief as “lightning bolt” runes.

How did these amazing documents come into the author’s possession? In Gestapo Chief, the first volume of the series, “Douglas” tells the reader that “In the early 1980s, by means that are not of concern here, all of Müller’s personal files came into private hands.” Later “Douglas” claimed that Müller personally gave him these extraordinary documents (*Spotlight*, Jan. 6, 1997). In another *Spotlight* interview (Nov. 9, 1998), “Douglas” claimed to have met Müller in 1963, and to have known him well until his death in 1983. Remarkably, no mention of this twenty-year relationship appears in volume one of Gestapo Chief.

To credit Douglas’ fantastic yarns requires one to accept that Hitler’s personal and political testaments of April 29, 1945, are phony, and that all those who were with him in the final days in the Berlin bunker, and who survived the war, conspired for decades in a lie to hide the German leader’s escape to Spain. These persons include Hans Baur, Hitler’s pilot; Traudl Junge, the secretary who typed Hitler’s final testament; the pilot Hanna Reitsch; Otto Günsche, Hitler’s personal adjutant, who carried the body of Eva Braun from the bunker up to the courtyard where it was burned; Erich Kempka, the chauffeur who helped burn the bodies of Hitler and his wife; Heinz Linge, Hitler’s valet; and Artur Axmann, the Hitler Youth leader (Linge and Axmann later testified to having seen Hitler’s corpse). Some of these witnesses were questioned by British historians Hugh Trevor-Roper and David Irving; others, during Soviet captivity, by the Russians. Their stories tally.

Finally, it is utterly implausible to believe that Hitler would have vanished without trace after arriving in Spain, and that not a single one of the many persons who would have noticed his arrival there has ever spoken of it.

How has “Douglas” gotten away with his fraud? One important factor has been the unwavering support he’s received for years from Willis Carto. In spite of repeated warnings that “Douglas” is a liar and that his *Gestapo Chief* books are frauds, Carto has steadfastly promoted “Douglas” and his books in two periodicals he controls: *The Spotlight*, the weekly [Liberty Lobby](#) tabloid, and *The Barnes Review*, a bi-monthly history magazine.

For years Carto has promoted and offered for sale the *Gestapo Chief* series through the Barnes Review book club. He has arranged for publication of numerous articles by and interviews with “Gregory Douglas.” Typical is a Spotlight interview (Jan. 5-12, 1998) headlined “Establishment Can’t Keep Lid on Blockbuster Gestapo Books.” Another uncritical interview with “Douglas” appeared in the April 1997 Barnes Review. A few months later, the November 1997 issue of The Barnes Review featured a laudatory review of the second Gestapo Chief volume. Written by veteran Spotlight staff writer Fred Blahut, it assures readers that “Douglas proves, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Muller did, indeed, survive [the war] and was, in fact, interrogated by the CIA. Following these extensive sessions, he was employed and moved to Washington ... He was a key player in the Cold War ... Douglas presents the facts and lets the chips fall where they may.”

Gestapo Chief is a fraud nearly as audacious as the notorious “Hitler Diaries” hoax of 1983. For those who care about accurate and honest historiography, the case of Gestapo Chief is an instructive one.

Reviewer: Daniel W. Michaels

Title: In the name of the Holocaust

Date: March/April 2001

Issue: Volume 20 number 2 Page 43

Book review

In the Name of the Holocaust

- *Between the Alps and a Hard Place: Switzerland in World War II and Moral Blackmail Today* by Angelo Codevilla. Washington, DC: Regnery, 2000. Hardcover. \$27. 263pp. Index.

Daniel Michaels

In *Between the Alps and a Hard Place*, distinguished U.S. foreign policy adviser (and long-standing supporter of Israel) Angelo Codevilla takes the Clinton administration to task for collaborating with the World Jewish Congress to extract, by means of moral blackmail, billions of dollars from Swiss, Austrian, and German banks and businesses. Codevilla charges further that American politicians, mostly Democrats, received generous political contributions for their support of the WJC's campaign.

Put bluntly, the WJC operation strongly resembled a shake-down, whereby the Swiss would stand accused of crimes against the Jewish people if they failed to fork over a sum finally set at over a billion dollars. The WJC had already secured, through lavish contributions, the practical, if not official, support of the Clinton administration. The "moral" support of U.S. establishment media was of course to be counted on, as in all such cases involving the "victims of Nazism."

At the federal level, President Clinton offered the "good offices" at the State Department of his good friend, Stuart Eizenstat, who also acted as U.S. special envoy for property claims in Central and Eastern Europe. Thus Switzerland was lumped, for the first time, in the category of Nazi collaborator and recipient of assets stolen in the Second World War. Eizenstat promptly and dutifully presented a report on the Swiss matter that was pleasing to the WJC. His report stated that "our task is to complete the unfinished business of the twentieth century's most traumatic and tragic events and of doing things now that couldn't be done then." In these words he dismissed decisions on lost assets made under the Truman administration, and provoked ill-feelings against a nation with which we have long had friendly relations. The final irony of the Eizenstat report, as Codevilla notes, is that it contains only sixteen pages on its ostensible main subject — heirless assets in Switzerland — and even those pages contain not a single finding on how many victims of Nazism put how much money where, or what happened to it (p. 168). "Stu" Eizenstat kept pushing the Swiss bank case for the best settlement possible, right up to President Clinton's last day in office.

Edgar Bronfman, head of the WJC, was the prime mover and main plaintiff in the action against the Swiss banks for allegedly having collaborated with the Nazis and having failed to disclose and return heirless deposits made by Jewish victims before the war. Such deposits would have

had to be made surreptitiously, since the National Socialist government had put limitations on the amounts of money that could be exported and had made currency speculation a crime.

At hearings before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs in April 1996, Bronfman assumed moral authority on behalf of Jews worldwide, living and dead, to reclaim this “patrimony” (p. 6): “I speak to you today on behalf of the Jewish people. With reverence, I also speak to you on behalf of the six million who cannot speak for themselves.”

To introduce the issue and himself before the Committee, Bronfman first employed the services of its chairman, Republican Senator from New York Alfonse D'Amato, who opened the hearings by proclaiming (p. 5): “We have in our possession recently declassified documents that shed new light on Switzerland’s role in World War II.”

It mattered not, Codevilla notes, that Senator D'Amato was unable to produce any credible new evidence, nor that President Harry Truman had settled the issue of “heirless assets” in 1949, when he signed Senate Bill 603, setting upper limits on such claims. It did not even matter that Mr. Bronfman in no way represented the Jewish people as a whole. When Codevilla queried his contacts in the Israeli Foreign Ministry to ascertain whether the Israeli government backed Bronfman’s action, the Israelis denied it, and told him that Switzerland was one of Israel’s best supporters (p. 165, 174).

As is standard in legal actions involving numerous plaintiffs, the WJC filed a class action suit against the Swiss. By doing so, they could rely on maximum favorable publicity, and hope for a settlement before going to trial to prove the truth of their accusations. It is well known that most of the proceeds won in such cases are swallowed up by lawyers and the organizations hiring them. The many individuals on whose behalf the suit is presumably filed normally receive very little compensation.

The most important concern in class-action suits, as Codevilla explains, is the need to select a sympathetic venue and an equally well-disposed judge. New York City, specifically the Borough of Brooklyn, with its heavily Jewish population, was seen by the plaintiffs as the perfect venue. After some consideration Judge Edward Korman, a Democrat who had been appointed to the federal bench through the political patronage of Senator Patrick Moynihan, was selected to preside.

New York City Comptroller Alan Hevesi, chief financial official in America’s financial capital, was able to exert additional pressure on the Swiss. In his office as Comptroller, Hevesi and his committee had the authority to grant or reject licenses for major business transactions in New York. At the time of the suit, the Union Bank of Switzerland was requesting a license to merge with the Swiss Bank Corporation, which would create UBS, Europe’s largest bank. Since these banks do a business of about \$4 billion per year in New York, the Swiss could ill afford to displease Hevesi.

After much haggling a settlement was reached in the case (the Swiss agreed to pay \$1.25 billion), and a “special master,” Judah Gribetz, was appointed by Judge Korman to administer the distribution of the award to the plaintiffs and their attorneys. Gribetz had been a member of the Judicial Selection Committee that had advised Senator Moynihan on federal judicial appointments, including that of Judge Korman. Gribetz was also president of the Jewish Community Relations Council and a lifetime advocate of Jewish causes (p. 193).

As Codevilla describes it, an unseemly, even obscene, fight over the distribution of the monies to be awarded ensued almost immediately between lawyers representing individual victims, lawyers

representing the various Jewish organizations, and still others representing themselves and fighting for their own fees. Aside from the legal suit filed by the WJC, whose main strategist was Rabbi Israel Singer, the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles had its attorneys, Michael Hausfeld, Melvyn Weiss, and Martin Mendelsohn, open legal proceedings, as did still a third camp headed by Edward D. Fagan, another Holocaust activist. While the lawyers bickered and bad-mouthed each other, the WJC consolidated its central role in the claims.

The internecine squabbling led no less than Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League to comment: “I don’t want an industry to be made on the memory of the victims because there are so few survivors out there who will benefit from it.” The columnist Charles Krauthammer deplored the rancorous bickering of the contending parties. While agreeing that the suit was justified in order to reveal any wrongdoings on the part of the Swiss or others against Jews, Krauthammer thought that the emphasis on money cheapened the entire proceedings. Krauthammer: “But money? It should be beneath the dignity of the Jewish people to accept it, let alone seek it.”

In 1997, the Swiss government and industry established a \$200 million fund for Holocaust victims and designated the WJC to disburse the monies. A year later, only 10 percent of this amount had actually been allotted. The effective beneficiaries, Codevilla states, turned out, as expected, to be the organizations themselves, especially the WJC.

Once the money had been turned over to the WJC for disbursal, the media’s vilification campaign against Swiss banks ceased to be news. Codevilla comments cynically that postwar financial settlements follow the principle that “the strong keep what they can while the weak give up what they must.” By the strong, Codevilla apparently means the United States, acting in concert with Jewish interests. Thus was a million dollar investment in the form of a political contribution parlayed into a billion dollar payoff — all in the name of the victims of the Holocaust.

Codevilla rightly points out the displeasure and even hostility toward the United States that this affair engendered abroad. When a private interest group such as the WJC is able to recruit and involve U.S. government officials in a grievance suit against a foreign country for injustices, real or alleged, that occurred more than half a century ago, it is manifestly unfair to the accused country, and may even violate U.S. law, for our government to lend its prestige and weight to the unproven claims of the plaintiffs. It then appears to all the world that the United States is ever ready to serve as Jewry’s “cat paw” in disputes (social, economic, financial, political) around the globe.

If any country should be the champion of Jewish concerns and grievances the world over, it should be the State of Israel, but of course Israel lacks the clout that the United States can bring to bear. The U.S. government is legally and rightfully the guarantor and protector of the rights of all U.S. citizens — Christians, Jews, or Muslims — here or abroad. What happened, or is alleged to have happened, to individuals abroad — before they emigrated to this country and acquired U.S. citizenship — is not rightly our business. Indeed, most citizens of the United States emigrated to this country precisely because of grievances, injustices, or hardships — real or perceived — suffered abroad.

Codevilla might be criticized for spending too much time in defending Switzerland’s difficult position in the Second World War. Switzerland really needs no defense or explanation for its wartime actions. The author also expends too many words to explain the gold trade during the war. Readers of this type of literature know full well that most countries and governments are Mammon’s children with regard to wartime loot and booty. And, finally, some readers might find

this book too partisan, exaggerating the (grantedly predominant) role of Democrats in letting WJC contributions guide their actions.

As to granting Jewish refugees shelter and a haven in their time of need, Switzerland did more in proportion to its size and wealth than did the United States. At the Evian Conference in 1938, Switzerland even offered to be a staging area for an exodus of Jews from Germany, but no country, including the United States, would take significant numbers of refugees. Still later, at the Bermuda Conference of 1943, Codevilla reminds, the United States and Britain refused to take any practical steps to mitigate the plight of the Jews. Ironically, by far the greatest number of European Jews, about 350,000, found haven in Spain and Portugal, whose Catholic leaders, Franco and Salazar, have often received unfavorable press in this country (p. 104).

Notwithstanding these small faults, Codevilla, with the best interests of the American and Jewish people in mind, rightly condemns the Clinton administration for its officious and sanctimonious involvement in the Swiss bank affair, thereby subordinating U.S. foreign policy interests to those of a minority pressure group. By so doing, Clinton and his helpers distorted and abused the U.S. legal system, and created a foreign policy fiasco. Citizens would be justified in asking why and for how long and at what cost to America's own international interests is the United States to be the exclusive champion of Jewish claims and accusations.

About the reviewer

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954), and a former Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957). He is retired from the US Department of Defense after 40 years of service.

March/April 2001 (Vol. 20, No. 2), page 45

Film review

D for History, A for Entertainment

- *Enemy at the Gates*. (2001) Genre: film (war, drama). Length: 131 minutes. MPAA rating: R. Starring: Jude Law, Joseph Fiennes, Ed Harris, Rachel Weisz, Ron Perlman, Gabriel Marshall-Thomson, Matthias Habich. Director: Jean-Jacques Annaud. Producers: Jean-Jacques Annaud, John D. Schofield. Released by: Paramount. Grade: B+.

Scott L. Smith

The success in 1998 of Steven Spielberg's smarmy *Saving Private Ryan* has inspired a reawakening of interest in epic movies of the Second World War. The latest of these, *Enemy at the Gates*, set in the cataclysmic siege of Stalingrad, is long on drama, short on historical accuracy.

As historical epic to rank with *Lawrence of Arabia*, or even *Doctor Zhivago*, *Enemy at the Gates* fails miserably. Nevertheless, it offers a compelling plot that features a duel between master snipers, and a romantic triangle among the Soviets.

The deadly contest in marksmanship takes place between a character based on a real-life Hero of the Soviet Union, Vassily Zaitsev (Jude Law), a sniper credited with hundreds of kills, and a fictitious German sniping expert, Major König (expertly played by Ed Harris). Meanwhile, Zaitsev and his handler, a Jewish commissar and propagandist, Comrade Danilov (Joseph Fiennes), vie for the beautiful Jewish soldier Tanya.

The love-interest does serve to divert the viewer from much of the movie's historical and tactical absurdity. For example, we learn in a cameo that General von Paulus (Matthias Habich), has placed his Sixth Army's entire hopes on Major König's skill in bringing down the Soviet propaganda icon, sharpshooter Zaitsev — and thus winning the pivotal battle of the war with a single well-placed bullet.

Ron Perlman briefly plays the captivating Kulikov, a German-trained sniper who mentors Zaitsev. "Don't have any illusions," the older man tells his study, baring wide the virtues of Soviet dentistry. But the major theme is the relentless duel between the ruthlessly efficient Major König and Comrade Zaitsev: two eyes peering behind two telescopic sights, one of Prussian blue and one of Russian Red.

This would never happen in real life. When a sniper fires he must extricate himself immediately: shock troops are on the way. In this film the protagonists act as amateur detectives in a dead metropolis, stalking each other underneath burlap camouflage. Where are the picket lines? Why is it that every German general likes to take a bath in grenade-range of still-steaming Russian corpses?

The weaponry is accurate, but one would really have expected much more from Berlin's Babelsberg studios, once home to Marlene Dietrich and Fritz Lang.

In a rip-off of *Saving Private Ryan*, the Soviets cross the Volga in barges bombed and strafed by the Luftwaffe — exciting, but not the same as the first few minutes of *Ryan*, where one could almost feel the MG-42 rounds ripping into the landing craft. Despite the cockney casting of the comrades — Bob Hoskins makes a particularly awful scene as Khrushchev, resembling a cross between Noriega and Boris Badenov — deep down we know that these are Russians. The Red Army throws them into the breach without weapons — political commissars standing by to shoot wafflers in the back. It's the legendary Russian way to win a war, where we forget that it was the Germans who were ultimately surrounded, but fought on!

A gripping though impossible drama, the love triangle is awkwardly played out with the required happy ending. Comrade Danilov does the right thing, instead of sending Vassily to the gulag over the affections of Tanya. You may even be able to trick your wife or girlfriend into seeing it with you. Tanya's "I knew you weren't dead." [Why?] "Because we've just met!" is no more mawkish than *Casablanca*'s "We'll always have Paris."

Once you forget that the outcome of the war in Europe is supposed to hinge on the plot, you may well enjoy this movie. The Germans have more Panzers and Stukas at first, but the tormented virtuoso with a Mauser rifle, Major König, is no Vassily Zaitsev. König, who stereotypically closes the drapes, unable to bear seeing wounded German soldiers in the train next to him, can certainly make an example of a double-dealing Dickensian street urchin named Sasha (Gabriel Marshall-Thomson), implausibly acting as spy for both snipers. What will become of the young Sasha? What will become of the complex Major König?

The price of admission is worth finding out. Just don't expect a history lesson. But if you've ever wondered how to make love in a cold bunker full of sleepy muzhiks, you will find out from *Enemy at the Gates*.

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Letters — March/April 2001

Nothing to It

In the September-October 2000 issue of the Journal, Costas Zaverdinos writes:

Regarding Chelmno and the “gas vans,” Irving was more explicit: “I have repeatedly allowed that [Jews] were killed in gas vans” — and he included Yugoslavia among the places where such vans were used. A dramatic moment in the proceedings came when Irving was shown a document describing the gassing of 97,000 Jews in Chelmno “gas vans.” Although he claimed to have first seen this document only five or six months earlier, he accepted it as genuine. It showed “systematic, huge scale, [sic] using gas trucks to murder Jews.”

As [Deborah Lipstadt’s attorney] Rampton put it in his closing speech: “Mr. Irving has been driven, in the face of overwhelming evidence presented by Professor Robert Jan van Pelt, Professor Christopher Browning and Dr. Longerich, to concede that there were indeed mass murders on a huge scale by means of gassing at Chelmno in the Warthegau and at the Reinhardt camps of Belzec, Treblinka, and Sobibor; and even that there were “some gassings” at Auschwitz.

Irving is no Holocaust historian, as he himself admits. Therefore, why did Zaverdinos allow Irving’s statements to go unchallenged? And why did the JHR let these statements stand unchallenged?

If there really is substance to Rampton’s assertions, particularly about mass murders using gas vans, I’d to know about it. Everything that I can recall reading about “gas vans” in the Journal said that there was really nothing to it.

Phil Eversoul

Los Angeles, CA

The narrative and analytical focus of Dr. Zaverdinos’s article (“The Rudolf Case, Irving’s Libel Suit and the Future of Revisionism,” JHR, 19, no. 5, pp. 26-61) precluded his criticizing Irving’s trial positions at every instance. Nevertheless, his remarks on page 39 take careful issue with Irving on diesel gassings in vans and in the Reinhardt camps. In any case, the evidence for these gassings is even less substantial than that for the alleged Zyklon (cyanide) gassings at Auschwitz and elsewhere. For the most informed and up-to-date analysis of the pitifully scanty evidence, see the articles by Fritz Berg, Ingrid Weckert, and Arnulf Neumaier in *Gerhard Rudolf’s Dissecting the Holocaust*, available from IHR for \$55.00 postpaid (foreign orders please add \$1.50 shipping). — Ed.

May/June 2001 (Vol. 20, No. 3), page 2

From the Editor (May/June 2001)

This issue's cover photo, showing Australian revisionist Dr. Fredrick Töben meeting university students in Iran, expresses themes of travel, discovery, communication, teaching, and learning that have been central to historical revisionism since at least 1926, when revisionism's founding spirit, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, made his first research and lecture tour of Europe. It also documents a white-hot recent trend: the rapid growth of Holocaust revisionism, fueled by increasing cooperation between Muslim and Western revisionists, across the Islamic world.

As Mark Weber's [report](#) on the latest revisionist developments in the Middle East elucidates, the international pressure orchestrated by Jewish groups against last spring's Beirut conference (which the Institute for Historical Review helped organize) has backfired badly. To be sure, diplomatic armtwisting, above all from the U.S. state department, induced the Lebanese government to forbid the gathering, while the circulation of an open letter, signed by fourteen eminent Arab intellectuals, against the Beirut conference provided a fig leaf for the naked intervention of outside forces in Arab affairs. Yet the cancellation of the Beirut conference served only to excite the curiosity of free-minded Arabs about Holocaust revisionism. Next IHR's [Open Letter](#), ably rebutting that of the fourteen submissive savants, and widely published in the Arab world, gave interested Arabs an organizational focus for revisionism, as well as a reasonable, knowledgeable refutation of the slurs on IHR and other revisionists.

The moving spirit behind the first successful organized Arab response to the black-out of Beirut, Ibrahim Alloush, came to revisionism through reading Roger Garaudy's *Founding Myths of Modern Israel* (available in the definitive English edition from [Noontide Press](#)). A Palestinian Arab of Jordanian citizenship, educated as an economist at American universities, Dr. Alloush made the connection to IHR through the networking of the indefatigable revisionist MacKenzie Paine (whose spirited "Defy the Bully" essays may be accessed through www.vho.org/mlm). This activist Arab intellectual's [article](#) and [interview](#) reveal a man attuned to Western ideas, but rooted in his Arab, Islamic identity. He writes with frankness and insight on the key importance of revisionism to Arabs, and on the crisis of those Arab intellects who support Zionism, whether from opportunism or alienation. Dr. Alloush also offers some candid (and welcome) advice to Western revisionists.

It is no accident that at the May 13 conference of the Jordanian Writers Association in Amman, Dr. Alloush read at length from Robert Faurisson's [planned address](#) to the Beirut conference, or that Dr. Faurisson participated by telephone in a television discussion broadcast across the Arab world shortly afterwards. As Dr. Alloush and other Arab revisionists make clear, the painstaking, meticulous scholarship of researchers like Faurisson and Arthur Butz demonstrates revisionism's substance and refutes its enemies better than any polemic. That Beirut lecture, included in this issue, will endure as a brilliant, outspoken, and uncompromising analysis of the role of revisionism in the Arab struggle.

Fredrick Töben, like Robert Faurisson and many other Holocaust challengers today, embodies another trait that has caught the Middle Eastern imagination: the stubborn refusal to be deterred from speaking what revisionists believe, after diligent search, to be the facts. Dr. Töben, a trained philosopher who lives as philosophers were once supposed to, **describes** his quest for truth and justice in today's Germany, and the injustice and loss of freedom that search cost him. Then Robert Faurisson **weaves** a modern tale à la Andersen and Voltaire out of the rich fabric of Töben's exploits and the frailer thread of the Holocaust cult.

This issue contains as well Samuel Crowell's remarkably concessive **review** of Jan Gross' *Neighbors*, which finds that Gross' attempts to call Poles to self-examination over their treatment of Jews in the Second World War fall flat on his own (unexamined) Jewish chauvinism. Scott Smith's **in-depth look** at the movie *Pearl Harbor* — by now an economic and artistic flop — examines the ways in which today's Hollywood bends historical truth by distortion and omission.

Many readers won't fail to note the different spellings of Holocaust/"Holocaust" specified by our authors, or the occasional toughness of language in denoting "Jews" as a collective. While your editor prefers, in the liberal Western tradition, to keep responsibility personal, the seldom challenged claims of Jewish entities to act for Jewry as a whole, as well as their penchant for collective indictments of non-Jewish nations and religions, counsel a certain realism. In any case, the Journal will continue to adhere to the same openness on these and other revisionist issues as is evident in the **closing exchange** between Crowell and Jürgen Graf on the fate of the Hungarian Jews.

Theodore J. O'Keefe

May/June 2001 (Vol. 20, No. 3), page 3

An Anti-Holocaust Intifada Grows among the Arabs

At a time when Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation is stiffening and the brutality of Zionist oppression is becoming ever more obvious, Holocaust revisionism is catching fire across the Arab world. “The trend among public opinion in the Arab world today,” one prominent Arab journalist recently wrote, “whether we like it or not — is to question the veracity of the accepted wisdom about the extent of the killing of Jews by the Nazis.” [\[1\]](#)

An influential Israeli-American journalist, Yossi Klein Halevi, while predictably misrepresenting Arab attitudes toward the Holocaust, and exaggerating Arab sympathies for Hitler, agrees on the rise of revisionism among Arabs:

The Arab world has become obsessed with the Holocaust, and two camps have emerged. One camp, which includes the government-controlled newspapers of Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinian Authority, argues that the Holocaust never happened; the other camp, which includes at least one government newspaper in Egypt, acknowledges that the Holocaust did happen and is grateful to Hitler for implementing it.

Indeed, nowhere except in the Arab world is both Holocaust denial and admiration for the Final Solution as mainstream, including among intellectuals... Hiri Manzour [Khairi Mansur], columnist for the Palestinian Authority-controlled newspaper *Al Hayat al Jadida*, April 13: “The figure of six million Jews cremated in the Nazi Auschwitz camps is a lie for propaganda.” [\[2\]](#)

Elli Wohlgeleirter, writing in the *Jerusalem Post*, similarly lamented the growing acceptance of Holocaust revisionism. In an article littered with factual errors, Elli dismissed revisionist scholars as “deniers” who claim “that Chelmno, Dachau and Auschwitz were merely disinfection sites.” [\[3\]](#) Referring to Deborah Lipstadt, the well-known Jewish critic of Holocaust revisionism, he wrote:

Her fear for the future are [sic] Arab students walking around saying they know there was no Holocaust, because they learned it in their textbooks. “A colleague of mine said: ‘The bombs last a minute, and they can do terrible damage. But this stuff is an incendiary device that lasts generations.’”

Contributing significantly to this trend was the publicity surrounding preparations earlier this year for a four-day conference on Holocaust revisionism and Zionism in Beirut, Lebanon, which the Institute for Historical Review helped to organize and promote. Three influential Jewish groups — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — publicly demanded that Lebanese authorities ban the meeting, and the U.S. government brought covert pressure on Lebanon to ban it.

Shortly before the conference was to begin on March 31, Lebanon’s prime minister announced that it would not be permitted. (See the January-February 2001 Journal.)

The worldwide media attention paid the Beirut conference, and its cancellation under Zionist and official U.S. pressure, greatly boosted Arab awareness of Holocaust revisionism, including the work and impact of the Institute for Historical Review.

Activism in Jordan

Nowhere has recent support for revisionism been more open and ardent than in Jordan, where the Jordanian Writers Association (JWA) and numerous scholars and journalists have done much to promote awareness of Holocaust deceit. Prominent in this effort has been Dr. Ibrahim Alloush, who is active in the JWA and the Association against Zionism and Racism (AZAR). Dr. Alloush writes a regular column for the popular Jordanian weekly *Assabeel*, and is editor of the Free Arab Voice web site (www.fav.net).

During a packed, standing-room-only AZAR meeting on April 7 in Amman, the Jordanian capital, which had been called to show solidarity with the Palestinian resistance to Zionist occupation, speaker after speaker rose to express support for revisionist historians, and to condemn Arab intellectuals who had called for the banning of the Beirut conference.

The JWA succeeded in holding a meeting devoted to Holocaust revisionism in Amman on May 13. About two hundred persons packed JWA headquarters for the gathering, entitled “What Happened to the Revisionist Historians Conference in Beirut?” This much-anticipated meeting had been postponed twice: once in April after Jordanian authorities expressed concern that it might harm relations with the United States while the country’s monarch, King Abdullah, was visiting Washington, and again earlier in May.

The attendees called on colleagues in other countries to join in supporting the work of revisionist historians in uncovering lies and exaggerations in the Holocaust extermination story. Historical revisionism, explained journalist Hayat Atiyeh in her address to the meeting, is not an ideology but a position, supported by facts and meticulous analyses, about a historical event — “the Holocaust.” Revisionists include Muslims, leftists, Jews, and Christians, she said, and many revisionists have been fined, fired from their jobs, socially ostracized, and even assassinated for their dissident views on the Holocaust. During the 1980s, Atiyeh continued, experts carried out scientific examinations of the alleged gas chambers in which Jews were reportedly killed during the Second World War, and found that they could not have operated as described in the extermination myth.

Another journalist, Arafat Hijazi, noted that Israel’s first prime minister, David Ben Gurion, had used the Holocaust to justify the creation of the “Zionist entity.” Hijazi also told the meeting that Jews had exaggerated the number of their people killed in the Second World War, and misrepresented how they perished.

In his address to the meeting, Ibrahim Alloush quoted at length from a detailed statement by French revisionist Robert Faurisson, that Faurisson had prepared for delivery at the cancelled Beirut conference. (See pages 13-22 in this issue of the Journal.)

Zionists, Alloush told the meeting, have succeeded in portraying themselves in Western public opinion as a people who were so victimized in the Holocaust that they practically deserve free license from the West to act with impunity against anyone at any time. The myths of the Holocaust are extremely important to the Zionist movement, Alloush continued, explaining that Jewish claims about unique persecution and systematic extermination during the war are used to justify

a need for their own safe haven in Israel. This myth basically provides a justification for the rape of Palestine, he said.

“In human history, the argument of the uniqueness of Jewish deaths provides a justification for Israel and the Zionist movement to violate every ethical and legal code in the book, and to persecute opponents, like the revisionist historians and the Arabs, without any reprimand, even with sympathy, from the West,” said Alloush.

Revisionists do not deny that Jews died in the Second World War, Alloush stressed. On the contrary, revisionists affirm “that hundreds of thousands of Jews died, along with the forty-five million who perished in that war.” Revisionist scholars apply science to prove that gas chambers were not used to exterminate Jews systematically, he continued. Crematories, on the other hand, were used to “dispose of the corpses of people of different nationalities to circumvent plagues.”

News reports and commentary on the May 13 JWA meeting appeared in many newspapers, and Zionist groups, including the influential Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Anti-Defamation League, were quick to denounce the conference. Extensive videotaped portions of the JWA meeting were broadcast on June 30 and again on July 2 on Lebanon’s Hezbollah satellite television channel “Al Manar.”

On June 20 the Free Arab Voice distributed by e-mail an editorial essay, “The Modern Relevance of Nazi-Zionist Cooperation,” along with “Zionism and the Third Reich,” an article by Mark Weber reprinted from the July-August 1993 Journal of Historical Review.

IHR Open Letter

In a statement issued in mid-March, fourteen prominent Arab writers called on authorities in Lebanon to ban the “Revisionism and Zionism” conference in Beirut. But the widely publicized declaration soon proved something of an embarrassment for at least two of its backers. Edward Said, a prominent Palestine-born scholar who teaches at Columbia University in New York City, repudiated the statement two weeks later, saying that he had been deceived about its content. In a semi-public letter, he explained that he had never, in fact, approved any call to ban the conference. Another signer, Elias Khoury, expressed embarrassment that Israel’s ambassador to France publicly praised the Arab intellectuals’ statement. A third signer, Mahmoud Darwish, publicly repudiated the statement on July 15.

The IHR responded to the statement with an “Open Letter to 14 Arab Intellectuals” (see pages 6-7 in this issue of the Journal). Written by IHR director Mark Weber, and headed “No to Censorship!, No to Bigotry!,” it has been widely published in the Arab world. It appeared in the Saudi Arabian daily paper Al Watan, April 25, in Al Arab Al Yowm, one of Jordan’s three major daily newspapers, May 8, and in the influential Beirut daily paper An Nahar, May 9. It was also published in Arabic in the Jordanian weekly Assabeel, April 25-30, one of the country’s largest-circulation magazines, and in the Kuwaiti weekly magazine Al-Mujtamaa, May 26. The IHR Open Letter also appeared in at least two on-line Arab periodicals, Aljareeda and Al Shaab. (The IHR’s Open Letter is posted on the “Beirut 2001” section of the IHR web site, along with numerous press reports on the on-going Middle East struggle for revisionism.)

Television Breakthrough

On the evening of May 15, coincidentally the fifty-third anniversary of the founding of Israel, Holocaust revisionism was the subject of the popular current affairs show, Opposite Directions,

broadcast on the Arabic-language satellite television channel “Al Jazeera.” Free of government control or censorship, this independent channel is well regarded across the Arab world, reaching some thirty million viewers from Morocco to Bahrain.

Representing the anti-revisionist view on the live, two-hour show was a Tunisian intellectual who lives in Paris, Al Afif Lakhdar, who defended the March statement by the fourteen Arab intellectuals. The show’s main revisionist speaker was Hayat Atiyeh, who had addressed the May 13 JWA meeting in Amman. She spoke effectively, making her points with lucid arguments and convincing references. Displaying photographs of Palestinian victims of Zionist oppression, she told viewers: “This is the real holocaust. The other one is a fake.” Atiyeh also showed a photograph of Robert Faurisson after a nearly fatal attack against him by Jewish thugs, as well as photos of an attack against a book store in Paris that sold revisionist books.

Ibrahim Alloush participated by telephone, explaining the importance of revisionism to Arabs. Also joining the discussion by telephone, Robert Faurisson deftly rebutted Lakhdar’s argument that Arabs would lose support in the United States and Europe if they embraced Holocaust revisionism. “If you want to avoid any trouble with Zionists,” said Faurisson, “surely it is better to forget about discussing the Holocaust.”

During the broadcast, viewers were invited to respond to an on-line poll on the “Al Jazeera” web site. Viewers could respond affirmatively to one of three questions:

1. Do you think that Zionism is worse than Nazism?
2. Do you think that Zionism is the same as Nazism?
3. Do you think that Zionism is better than Nazism (not as bad)?

The results, made public at the conclusion of the broadcast, showed that more than 84 percent thought that Zionism is worse than Nazism, over 11 percent think that Zionism is the same as Nazism, and only 2.7 percent think that Zionism is better, or not as bad, as Nazism.

As even the show’s moderator declared, the broadcast was a resounding victory for the revisionists.

A Legacy of Skepticism

In spite of the worldwide, decades-long Holocaust campaign, enforced in several European countries with laws that criminalize “Holocaust denial,” millions of people around the world have never accepted the claim of six million Jewish wartime victims. Thirty-seven years ago, for example, Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser said in an interview that “No one, not even the simplest man in our country, takes seriously the lie about six million murdered Jews.” ^[4]

In 1996-1998 this skepticism was manifest in an outpouring of support, especially from Arab and Muslim countries, for French scholar Roger Garaudy when he was indicted and then punished for daring to challenge Holocaust claims in his book on The Founding Myths of Modern Israel. Mohamed Heikal, for decades perhaps the most influential journalist in the Arab world, endorsed the revisionist view of the Holocaust issue in his foreword to the Arabic edition of Garaudy’s controversial book. ^[5]

As the growing trend among the Arabs suggests, popularly and scholarly revisionist rejection of the Holocaust is going to play an increasing role in the moral and intellectual struggle against Zionism, Israel, and their founding myths.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Rami Khouri, a Palestinian journalist based in Amman and former editor of the Jordan Times, in "A View from the Arab World," Toronto Globe and Mail, May 22, 2001, p. A15.
2. [↗](#) Yossi Klein Halevi, "Dance of Death Overtakes the Arab World," Los Angeles Times, May 15, 2001.
3. [↗](#) Elli Wohlgeleirnter, "In a State of Denial," Jerusalem Post, June 12, 2001.
4. [↗](#) Nasser interview with the Deutsche (Soldaten und-) National-Zeitung (Munich), May 1, 1964, p. 3. Quoted in: Robert S. Wistrich, Hitler's Apocalypse (London: 1985), p. 188.
5. [↗](#) "Heikal's Foreword to the Arabic Edition of Garaudy's Founding Myths," Journal of Historical Review, November-December 2000, pp. 30-35.

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No to Censorship! No to Bigotry!

An Open Letter to Fourteen Arab Intellectuals

April 10, 2001

To:

Adonis (Ali Ahmad Said)
Mahmoud Darwish
Mohammed Harbi
Elias Khoury
Gerard Khoury
Salah Stetie
Mohamad Berada
Jamel Eddine Ben Sheikh
Edward W. Said
Dominique Edde
Fayez Mallas
Farouk Mardam-Bey
Khalida Said
Elias Sanbar

Recently you issued a public statement calling on authorities in Lebanon to ban the “Revisionism and Zionism” conference in Beirut, scheduled for March 31 through April 3, which our Institute had been helping to organize. (This was reported, for example, in *Le Monde*, March 16.)

Your call came shortly after three major Jewish-Zionist organizations — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — denounced the meeting and demanded that Lebanon forbid it. Not surprisingly, Israel’s ambassador in France publicly praised your statement.

Together with the United States and other foreign governments, these three Jewish groups put pressure on Lebanon to ban the four-day meeting. In response, Lebanon’s prime minister announced on March 22 that the “Revisionism and Zionism” conference would not be permitted.

Your call to Lebanese authorities to forbid a peaceful, privately-organized meeting of scholars, writers and researchers that would be perfectly legal in most countries, including the United States, is a blow against the cause of freedom, peace and justice.

You condemned the conference before knowing anything about the content of the lectures or, apparently, even the identities of the speakers.

Your statement insultingly implies that Lebanese lack the discernment to make an intelligent, informed decision on their own about 20th century history. Everyone should have the right to make an informed decision about revisionist arguments. There should not be one standard of free speech in most of the world's nations, and another, inferior one for Arabs.

You justified your call for censorship by claiming that our conference would be "anti-Semitic." This is pathetic, considering how readily defenders of the Zionist state have hurled this cheap epithet at those who oppose Israel's criminal policies.

For more than 20 years our Institute has consistently opposed bigotry, censorship and repression in striving to promote greater historical awareness.

Speakers at our meetings and contributors to our Journal of Historical Review have included respected scholars from around the world, including Palestinian historian Issa Nahkleh, author of the two-volume Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem, and Sami Hadawi, author of Bitter Harvest: Palestine 1914-1979.

Other IHR conference speakers have included Pulitzer-prize-winning American historian John Toland, author of several best-selling works of history; John Bennett, noted Australian civil liberties attorney and president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union; and former U.S. Congressman Paul "Pete" McCloskey.

The IHR publishes an authoritative English-language edition of The Founding Myths of Modern Israel, the powerful expose by French scholar Roger Garaudy that has earned praise from across the Arab world.

Is it your view that such individuals should not be permitted to speak anywhere, or just not in Lebanon, or just not at a meeting organized by the IHR? Is your call for censorship limited to Lebanon, or may we expect calls from you to ban similar meetings in France, Canada, the United States, and other countries? Consistent with your call to ban the "Revisionism and Zionism" meeting, may we now expect your support for censorship of revisionist books, magazines and broadcasts?

We are proud of the backing we have received from people of the most diverse political views and ethnic and religious backgrounds. At the 13th IHR Conference held last May in southern California, a featured speaker was John Sack, who is Jewish. A report by this veteran American journalist and author based on his participation in our three-day meeting appeared in the February 2001 issue of Esquire magazine. Rejecting the often-repeated lie that the IHR and the revisionists are "haters" or bigots, Sack described those who spoke at and attended the IHR conference as "affable, open-minded, intelligent [and] intellectual." He also affirmed that numerous revisionist arguments and findings are, indeed, true.

Around the world awareness is growing that the Holocaust campaign is a major weapon in the Jewish-Zionist arsenal, that it is used to justify otherwise unjustifiable Israeli policies, and as a powerful tool for blackmailing enormous sums of money from Americans and Europeans. Even a few courageous Jewish writers have spoken out against what they call the "Holocaust cult," the "Holocaust racket," "Holocaustomania," and the "Holocaust industry."

In working to promote greater public awareness of history, the IHR has pointed out that Jewish-Zionist distortions of the past are not confined to the history of Palestine and the Middle East, but include historical lies about 20th century European history. Palestinians may be the most obvious victims today of Jewish-Zionist lies about history, but they are by no means alone. Millions of

Europeans have also been victims of similar distortions of the past, most notably through the Holocaust campaign. But we must reject all such historical lies, rooted as they are in contempt for non-Jewish humanity, whether about the Middle East or Europe or the United States.

If the revisionist view of the Holocaust were really as simplistic and mistaken as our critics suggest, it would not have gained the support of university professors such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, historians such as Roger Garaudy and Harry Elmer Barnes, and former concentration camp inmates such as Paul Rassinier. These individuals did not decide publicly to reject the orthodox Holocaust story — thereby risking public censure, and worse — because they are fools, or because their motives are evil, but rather on the basis of a sincere and thoughtful evaluation of the evidence.

Instead of endorsing a statement that only serves Israel and Zionist interests, you should be speaking out on behalf of the victims of bigotry and oppression.

In a number of countries, those who dispute Holocaust claims are treated as criminals — fined and imprisoned for their non-violent views, even for statements that are demonstrably true. Moreover, numerous revisionists have been physically attacked for their views. One was murdered. Even here in the United States, revisionists have been beaten, assaulted and blacklisted. Our Institute has repeatedly been a target of hate and violence. In July 1984 our offices were burned down in a devastating arson attack, a crime for which no one was ever arrested.

In 1980, Jewish-American scholar Noam Chomsky showed great courage in publicly defending free speech for Holocaust skeptics. In spite of intense criticism, he never repudiated that stand — which is, of course, the only ethically defensible one that an honest intellectual can take. Now, some 21 years later, you have shamefully lent your names to a call for state repression of dissident historians.

Coming to grips with history, even with the emotion-laden Holocaust issue, demands open, reasoned debate, not name-calling and censorship. Your contemptible support for censorship of revisionist scholars will be remembered as a blot on your reputations.

We ask you to reconsider it.

Sincerely,

Mark Weber
Director, Institute for Historical Review

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A Conversation with Dr. Ibrahim Alloush

Ibrahim Alloush is a journalist and university lecturer in Amman, Jordan. A regular columnist for the weekly Jordanian newspaper Assabeel, he is active in the Jordanian Writers and in the Association against Zionism and Racism (AZAR). He is also editor of the Free Arab Voice web site (www.fav.net). Dr. Alloush lived for thirteen years in the United States. He earned graduate degrees at Ohio University and Oklahoma State University, where he earned a doctorate in economics. In his student days in America, he supported himself partly by "flipping burgers, mopping floors, and delivering pizza."

Editor: Nearly a decade ago the Moroccan revisionist Ahmed Rami said that in proselytizing Muslims, Holocaust revisionists were pushing on an open door. In other words, Muslims already mistrusted everything Jews and Zionists said and did--so why make an exception for the Holocaust hoax? Was Rami correct? If so, why have Arabs and Muslims recently begun to investigate and reject the Holocaust imposture?

Ibrahim Alloush: Of course, the Arab public is distrustful of anything the Zionists say or do, and of the Western media in general. However, distrust in and of itself cannot be a satisfactory political defense. Distrust in this context means two specific things: 1) that Zionists and the Western media would have a hard time convincing Arabs of the "Holocaust," and 2) that revisionists would have an easier time with the Arab public than with the Western public. But distrust doesn't mean that the Arab public is forever immune to the myths of the "Holocaust," or that revisionists need not work to bring revisionism to the Arabs.

Many revisionists are jubilant because in the last few months their cause, work, and struggles have been relatively well publicized in the Arab world. Nevertheless, there is a negative aspect to this development as well. In the past several months, we have discovered that the mythology of the "Holocaust" has made far-reaching inroads among Arab intellectuals at the highest levels, and that this mythology has established solid footholds amongst Arabs living in the West and among westernized Arabs in the Arab world. This is a very dangerous development. It arose in the atmosphere of defeatism that prevailed throughout the Arab world in the 1990s, an atmosphere that formed the backdrop for efforts to Zionize the Arab mind by, among other things, spreading the myths of the "Holocaust."

Thus, strategically speaking, Arabs are now on the defensive, if one looks beyond the recent progress of revisionism in the Arab world. You have prominent Arab intellectuals now actively proclaiming the "Holocaust" religion from the rooftops: this would have been unimaginable not long ago. You have the largest circulating Arab daily, Al Hayat of London, actively spreading "Holocaust" myths: until recently this would have been unimaginable. You have Arab governments succumbing to Zionist pressures to ban revisionist conferences: earlier this would have been unimaginable, if only out of concern for their popular image.

Surely, there is still a great deal of distrust towards anything Zionist in the Arab world, as far as the average citizen is concerned. But that is not enough. Without more sophisticated defenses, i.e., without historical revisionism, the campaign to Zionize the Arab mind is likely to gain even more ground. Distrust cannot possibly substitute for serious political or historical education. This is even more relevant nowadays, since the Zionists choose to speak through the voices of certain prominent Arab intellectuals. What we need therefore is a coherent, principled, cognizant response to the campaign to Zionize the Arab mind. Therein lies the promise of historical revisionism for us Arabs, and the importance of the work of revisionists like Ahmed Rami and his colleagues.

After consolidating their gains in the West, the Zionists have essentially succeeded in bringing the battle to the Arab collective psyche through such Trojan horses as the fourteen Arab intellectuals who signed the petition to ban the conference on “Zionism and Revisionism” in Beirut. When persons such as Edward Said and Mahmoud Darwish, who occupy so estimable a stature in the Arab intellectual realm, openly embrace the religion of the “Holocaust,” this means that the cancer of the “Holocaust” has metastasized outside the West. We cannot rely only on natural Arab defenses, as strong as these may be, to fight this cancer. We must resort to more conscious means of resistance, hence, historical revisionism.

On the other hand, the above analysis would be incomplete if it were not pointed out that those Arabs who embrace the “Holocaust” have lost significant political credit in the last few months, in exact proportion to the ascendancy of revisionism in the Arab world. These people have chosen to become the purveyors of an intellectual virus naturally rejected by the Arab mind. By so doing, they have either risked self-alienation by sincerely embracing the “Holocaust,” or have lost a great deal of respect by seeming to espouse the “Holocaust” for opportunistic reasons. In this context, please be aware that certain Arabs who are spreading the “Holocaust” myths welcome direct attacks from revisionists or other Arabs, since they hope to use such attacks for benefits and privileges from the West and the Zionists.

Editor: How did you first encounter Holocaust revisionism?

Alloush: My first encounter with it was through Roger Garaudy’s *Founding Myths*, then through hearing a couple of lectures by Pierre Guillaume. In this regard, I would like to make a point about how revisionists operate. The most important revisionist works are volumes written in abstruse language that is difficult for the average person, whether in the West or in the Arab world. We should learn from what Roger Garaudy did in *Founding Myths*. Painstaking research findings are not enough: revisionist findings should be popularized in pamphlets and articles directed to the average person, who has neither the time nor the background to delve into thick volumes. The research findings of historical revisionism can only become politically effective if they reach the people. Therefore, revisionist work should proceed along two parallel lines: the serious academic work of debunking the “Holocaust” myths, and the even more important work of popularizing revisionism. A division of labor is needed. The way in which Roger Garaudy’s book was received shows the need for popular revisionism. He was not the foremost revisionist historian, but he was able to popularize revisionism in the Arab world, because he was able to simplify revisionism and to connect it to current political events.

The other lesson from the experience of the Garaudy book lies in recognizing the relevance of revisionism beyond its traditional boundaries. Since revisionism is not an ideology, but a method of historical research, it is crucial that revisionism obtain spokespersons from across the ideological spectrum, from the extreme left to the extreme right. As a Muslim, Roger Garaudy was able to reach many who were inaccessible to revisionists before. Now revisionists may revise the Sec-

ond World War out of different ideological motives, but they all abide by a certain scientific logical structure in their work. What I am suggesting here is that efforts be made to reach people from different continents, races, and ideological affiliations. For example, in the Arab world, many supporters of revisionism are leftists. For them, the myths of the “Holocaust” are associated with rationalizing Zionist and imperialist hegemony in the Arab world, and exposing the “Holocaust” is associated with resisting that hegemony. To be sure, there are many leftists, Muslims, Catholics, Jews, et al. amongst revisionists already. However, these elements are overshadowed by a myth that Zionists spread about revisionists: that they are all Nazi sympathizers seeking to justify Nazi crimes. More efforts need to be made to speak to each people in its own idiom, just as the Zionists do. I, for one, consider myself totally opposed to any form of racism and racist ideology, including Nazism. Yet it is precisely that perspective which makes me oppose the most important form of racism and racist ideology prevailing in the world today: Zionism. As one of the ideological bulwarks of Zionist power, the “Holocaust” must be exposed. I should add that many of those who claim to be anti-Nazi have colonial and racist track records that surpass that of the Nazis by any objective standard. Furthermore, many use the banner of anti-Nazism today to spread their colonial tentacles across the globe, and that is the more current threat: Zionism and racism hiding behind the banner of anti-Nazism.

Editor: What was your initial opinion of Holocaust revisionism?

Alloush: It introduced me to a new aspect of the Arab-Zionist conflict, and, more important, it helped me understand much better why public opinion in the West supports Zionists and ignores Palestinian suffering. I realized that those times I had seen the “Holocaust” brought up to eclipse Palestinian Arab suffering at the hands of Zionists were part of a central Zionist strategy, not mere aberrations or excesses of misguided souls.

Of course, I have learned a lot more, especially in the last few months. But there is still so much more to learn. I have been especially intrigued by the ideological variety among revisionists. I think this variety should be highlighted, not suppressed, because it dispels the myth that revisionists are a monolithic group of Nazi sympathizers.

Editor: What are the most common objections among Arabs to Holocaust revisionism?

Alloush: Some of the most common objections to revisionism in the Arab world arise out of considerations of political expediency. These objections typically come in the form of the claim that “Holocaust” revisionism alienates public opinion in the West because whether the “Holocaust” is true or not, Westerners believe in it. So we are better off just “going with the flow,” or “getting with the program.” A variation on this is the shrewd political strategy of the ostrich: simply to avoid the subject altogether. “The events of the Second World War are not relevant to us. We don’t want to get into it. Then it will just go away!” Or, in a more sophisticated variation of the ostrich strategy, one that has gained ground recently: “Let’s pay lip service to the myths of the ‘Holocaust’ to avoid trouble, but let’s work as hard as possible to dissociate the ‘Holocaust’ from such political applications as its justifying the settling of alleged ‘Holocaust’ survivors in Palestine, justifying Zionist violations of international law, and justifying Western financial, political, and military support for the Zionist movement.” This is basically an adaptation of [Norman] Finkelstein’s approach. Predictably, it prompts Arabs to parrot “Holocaust” myths, without necessarily succeeding in dissociating these myths from the political applications which the “Holocaust” was invented to serve. The most frequent objection, however, echoes the cliché that associating with revisionists would stigmatize us as Nazi sympathizers, and thus discredit our cause.

Editor: How do you answer these objections?

Alloush: Many of these objections were tackled in recent issues of the Free Arab Voice (www.fav.net). But, very briefly, it should be made clear that revisionists neither deny nor condone the deaths of Jews during the Second World War. However, the “Holocaust” ceased long ago to be about the Jews who died in that war. The “Holocaust” is about Zionist power and policies. As stated, the “Holocaust” myths serve specific objectives: justifying Zionist settlement in Palestine; cultivating a guilt complex in the West over the “Holocaust” as the result of Western anti-Semitism; mobilizing Western public opinion behind financial, political, and military support for the Zionist movement; and condoning Zionist infractions of international law under the pretext that the wartime deaths of the Jews were unique and unparalleled in human history!

The problem, however, is that one cannot separate the “Holocaust” from its political objectives. The “Holocaust” is the ideological arm of the Zionist movement. Given its political power and reach, it has to be confronted. You can yield to it or you can face it down, but you cannot pretend, as some would have us do, that it doesn’t exist. Accepting 1) that five or six million Jews died in the Second World War, 2) as a result of a deliberate Nazi policy of genocide, 3) in alleged gas chambers — the essence of the “Holocaust” accusation, today includes attributing responsibility to the entire non-Jewish world for this allegedly singular event — and accepting, to compensate for it, that the “survivors” deserve a new homeland, that the “Holocaust” can be invoked as an extenuating circumstance every time the Zionists commit crimes against humanity, and so on.

On the other hand, putting the wartime Jewish deaths in the proper context has no such political implications. It should be made clear then that several hundred thousand Jews did die in the Second World War, along with tens of millions of others; that there was no Nazi policy to exterminate the Jews, but rather one of deportation, including deportation to Palestine; and that there were no gas chambers, but instead crematoria, used to incinerate the bodies of those, of all nationalities and religions, who died from all causes, but chiefly disease. Note that the above, while not condoning Nazi practices — especially, from the Arab standpoint, the deportation of Jews to Palestine — puts the wartime deaths of Jews in proper perspective, and eliminates all political implications with the power of the truth. The Jewish losses were not unique, and didn’t happen in an unprecedented way. They don’t justify a guilt complex in the West, and do not justify any favoritism whatsoever for the Jews. Thus, contrary to the political short-sightedness of those who think that revisionist arguments revolve merely around statistics (refuting the six million figure), the truth about how, how many, and why Jews died in the Second World War can liberate humanity from the extortion of the high priests of the “Holocaust” religion. Until that happens, accepting the received version of the “Holocaust” necessarily implies accepting its political implications. Criticizing the “Holocaust” industry, on the other hand, purports merely to preserve “Holocaust” myths from the excesses of its high priests. It does not deter the Zionist strategy of the “Holocaust” from its political objectives.

Editor: What of the accusation that associating with revisionists would stigmatize Arabs as Nazi sympathizers and discredit their cause in the West, especially in the light of the fact that El Haj Amin al Husseini cooperated with Germans?

Alloush: Let’s set the historical record straight. The cooperation between Zionists and Nazis preceded that of El Haj Amin al Husseini with Nazi Germany by many years. In fact, the main purpose of El Haj Amin al Husseini’s contacts with the Germans was to thwart their support for the Zionists. Between 1933 and 1938, the Nazis were on decidedly good terms with the Zionists, as evidenced by the Haavara agreement, which facilitated Jewish immigration to Palestine as well as economic and logistical support through Jewish capital. In 1938, the Nazis decided to take a more balanced approach towards the Arabs, while maintaining their cooperation with the Zionists; El Haj Amin tried to use this opening to put an end to Nazi support for Zionists. Evidently

his strategy eventually bore fruit, since Nazi-Zionist cooperation came to an end around 1942. If cooperation with the Nazis is the criterion for condemning El Haj Amin, then the Zionists were guiltier by far than El Haj Amin al Husseini. Nazi-Zionist cooperation was the direct precursor of al Husseini's cooperation with the Germans, in addition to British support for the Zionists, of course.

Editor: Is there any leader or faction who is or might be most disposed to champion Holocaust revisionism in your part of the world?

Alloush: To the best of my knowledge, most Arab regimes and leaders would not dare embrace "Holocaust" revisionism openly. However, it enjoys a great deal of support among the people, the intellectuals, the activists, and even among officials of Arab regimes, so long as they don't have to profess it openly. When revisionist ideas have been presented, the people have been extremely receptive. The Arab world is fertile ground for revisionist seeds. Still, much work is needed, as mentioned above.

Editor: Holocaust revisionism seems to be alive, and growing, among Muslims and Arabs of many nationalities, from Morocco to India, but it would seem that it should be flourishing above all among the Palestinians, who are the chief victims of the Holocaust racket and whose own experiences most parallel those claimed by the Jews. How is Holocaust revisionism faring among Palestinians at home and in exile?

Alloush: If it weren't for a few Palestinian and Arab intellectuals, revisionism would be dominant among Palestinians. In fact, Arabs and Palestinians who embrace "Holocaust" myths in the Arab world do so with a very low profile. In the nineties, Arafat tried to proclaim his belief in the "Holocaust," but everyone, including the Zionists, realized that he was doing so for tactical reasons. There has been one Palestinian political group on the left which seems to be emitting signals indicating its timid embrace of the "Holocaust" religion. I shall refrain from naming this group because it has yet to take a public stand to that effect, although many of its supporters have been criticizing our revisionist efforts. Still, many Palestinians who reside in Western nations have either imbibed the myths of the "Holocaust" wholeheartedly, or simply pay tribute to such myths to avoid clashes with the mainstream.

Editor: Based on your own experiences in America as a student and as an academic, do you have any advice for readers of the Journal on how best to educate their fellow Americans on the Palestine question and the Holocaust myth?

Alloush: I think the most important thing for revisionists in the next stage of their work is to shatter the Zionist accusation that the purpose of revisionist work is to whitewash Nazism. They should establish beyond reasonable doubt that the purpose of their work is to promote truth and justice. To accomplish that, they need to reach out to people from across the ideological spectrum, from many races and continents. In addition, as it stands now, revisionism has too many prophets and not enough preachers. The next step will be to popularize revisionism, and to bring it the non-Western world.

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It's Time the Arab Leaders Ended Their Silence on the 'Holocaust' Imposture

Robert Faurisson

Five introductory remarks:

1. I do mean “the leaders,” and not: “the intellectuals, the academics, the journalists,” some of whom have already expressed themselves on the matter;
2. The word “Holocaust” (always to be placed in quotation marks) designates the triple myth of the alleged genocide of the Jews, the alleged Nazi gas chambers, and the alleged number of six million Jewish victims of the Second World War. In the course of a history full of fury, blood, and fire, humanity has known a hundred holocausts, that is, appalling losses of human life or bloody catastrophes (presented, at the origin of the word’s use in this manner, as a sort of offering demanded by some superior forces); but our contemporaries have been conditioned to keep in mind only one holocaust, that of the Jews; it is written today with a capital letter, and has become unique: there is no longer the need to add “of the Jews.” None of the previous holocausts has given rise to any financial indemnity, reparation, or compensation to match that which the Jews have claimed and obtained for a catastrophe, or “Shoah,” which they describe as unique and unprecedented, and which would indeed be so if its three components (genocide, Nazi gas chambers, and six million victims) had been real. If many European Jews suffered and died during the war, without that suffering amounting to what today’s Jews mean by the term “Holocaust,” many other peoples and communities, in particular the Germans, the Japanese, the Russians, and the Chinese, suffered, in reality, a fate far worse than that of the Jews; let us but think of the phosphorous- or nuclear-fueled firestorms in which at least a million Germans and Japanese met an atrocious death (and what of the wounded and mutilated?). It is, moreover, fitting to add that millions of European Jews survived this alleged policy of physical extermination to go on to enjoy, after the war, a power and a prosperity without precedent in their history. To privilege, as is thus done nowadays, the alleged “Holocaust” is to inflate Jewish suffering beyond all measure in both quality and quantity and to reduce, in direct proportion, the suffering of all others, none of whose ordeals receives even so much as a specific name;
3. Imposture is an imposed lie; here it is a question of a historical lie, meaning that, forged by liars or fabricators of outlandish tales, it has subsequently been adopted by an ever-expanding number of people who, in good faith or bad, have peddled it; in the event, we are thus dealing with a tiny number of liars and a plethora of peddlers;
4. The opposite of such a lie, fabricated or peddled, is the factual truth. Still, as the word “truth” is vague and overused, I prefer “exactitude.” Revisionism consists in trying to examine and correct what is generally accepted, with a view to establishing with exactitude the nature of an object; the reality of a fact; the worth of a figure; the authenticity, the veracity, and the import of a text or document;

5. Zionism is an ideology, while revisionism is a method. As a revisionist I shall be making a judgment less of Zionism itself (at the dawn of the twenty-first century) than on the use which it makes of the “Holocaust” imposture.

If the leaders of the Muslim states planned to quit their silence on this imposture and if, in so doing, they put a challenge to the Jewish and Zionist lobby, they would obviously need first a) to assess the adversary correctly, then b) to decide on an appropriate strategy and, finally, c) to determine the exact area on which to concentrate their attacks. To discuss these three points, I shall divide my talk into three parts.

In a first part, in order to avoid any mistakes as to the opponents' identity and to ensure that they are correctly sized up, I shall expound on what are, in my view, the seeming weak points of the Jews and Zionists, then on their true weak points. In a second part, concerning the strategy to adopt, I shall sum up certain conclusions that I reached, in November 2000, during my visit to Teheran, in the company of representatives of the Center of Strategic Studies of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Finally, in a third part, I shall designate the precise target to hit: “the magical Nazi gas chamber” (as Louis-Ferdinand Céline put it).

I. The Jewish and Zionist Adversary

A deceitful adversary may display fears that he does not really feel. He may expose to the view of all certain weak points which in fact are not such and try to hide what it is that causes him real disquiet. In so doing he will be attacked where it does not bother him in the least, and be spared an attack that would truly do him harm. Here, the adversary is almost indifferently Jewish or Zionist. The Jews are undeniably diverse (“Two Jews, three synagogues,” says the Yiddish proverb) and, politically speaking, they have never formed a single bloc, not even against Hitler; but, without Jews, there is no Zionism (“Zionism is to the Jew what the hammer is to the carpenter,” as Ahmed Rami thinks) and, except for some rare instances, the Jew will feel solidarity with the Zionist and the Zionist with the Jew if both notice that their common “Holocaust” myth is in peril; this is why the distinction that usually deserves to be made between the two hardly belongs here.

a) The adversary's false fears and seeming weak points:

1. Despite their display of fear of a military attack on the state of Israel, the Zionists who rule that state and the Diaspora Jews who support them do not really dread the enemy's military strength, for they know that the enemy in question will always be outclassed by the Israeli army, thanks to the technology and money supplied from abroad, especially by the Americans and the Germans;
2. They do not really fear the variety of anti-Judaism improperly called anti-Semitism; on the contrary, they feed on it; they need to be able to cry out against anti-Semitism, if only to collect more money in the Diaspora; in general, moaning is of vital necessity to them: “The more I sob, the more I get; the more I get, the more I sob”;
3. Jews and Zionists are not really afraid of the Jewish denunciations of “Shoah business” and the “Holocaust industry” made by the Peter Novicks, Tim Coles, or Norman Finkelsteins, for there it is a matter, paradoxically, of more or less kosher denunciations in which care is taken to show reverence for the “Holocaust” itself; it will be noted, moreover, that if the industrial or commercial exploitation of the real or supposed sufferings of the Jews constitutes a lucrative line of business, criticism of this exploitation has over the last few years become another such line; but these two lines of business, especially the latter, happen to be strictly reserved for Jews; they are “off limits,” and a Gentile who ventured to imitate

Finkelstein in his denunciation of the “Holocaust” mafia would immediately be set upon by a pack of its watchful henchmen;

4. They do not really fear anti-Zionism as such; at times they even authorize its expression;
5. In particular, they have not much cause to worry about a now commonplace form of anti-Semitism which consists in attacking all of the founding myths of Israel except that which has become essential for them: the “Holocaust”;
6. They need not be anxious about accusations of racism, imperialism, and Judeo-Nazism since such accusations, even if at times founded, resemble ritual, mechanically uttered slogans, coined in outdated language. To see the Jews being compared to Hitler, then hear it said that the Zionists are, like the Nazis, carrying out a policy of “genocide” is not altogether disagreeable to the Jews and Zionists, for it serves to reinforce the images of Hitler and the Nazis that they themselves have succeeded in fabricating; this helps them to fix firmly in all minds the illusion, first and foremost, of a “genocide” of the Jews. In reality, Hitler was no more a monster, as his Jewish enemies claim, than was Napoleon an “ogre,” as English propaganda used to have it. Although a racist, and hostile to internationalist Jews (but not to Zionist ones), Hitler never ordered or allowed the killing of anyone on account of his or her race or religion; moreover, his military tribunals or courts martial meted out sentences — sometimes the death sentence — to German soldiers, officers, or civil servants who had been found guilty of killing a single Jewish man or woman (even in regard to acts committed, during the war, in Poland, Russia, or Hungary); here is a point of history that has been shrouded by the exterminationist historians and regrettably overlooked by revisionist authors. If Hitler had been such a monstrous racist as described, never would so prestigious an Arab and Muslim personality as the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (the Palestinian Haj Amin al Husseini) have remained on his side until the end. Despite the episode of the Germano-Soviet pact (August 1939-June 1941), Hitler was essentially hostile to Stalinism and to what he called, because of the decisive Jewish contribution to Bolshevism, “Judeo-Bolshevism.” The German soldier, like the European, Russian, Asian, or Muslim volunteer who fought beside him, had but Moscow-style Communism as his essential enemy;
7. Although they pretend the contrary, the Jews and Zionists laugh — not without reason — at those who talk of a “Jewish plot” or a “conspiracy of Auschwitz,” since there is no “Jewish plot” (any more than a Masonic, Jesuit, papal, American, or Communist plot) but a Jewish power, or influence; in the same manner, there is no “Auschwitz conspiracy” but rather an Auschwitz lie; incidentally, ideas of plot or conspiracy, dear to the Jewish tradition, ought to remain the privilege of the latter; we should be wrong to turn to them.

b) The adversary’s true fears and actual weak points:

1. In Israel-Palestine, Jews and Zionists truly fear the weapons of the poor (children’s stones, their slingshots like that of David against the giant Goliath, the suicide attacks), and all that may endanger persons and business; they fear a demeaning of their image; they dread having to choose one day between the suitcase and the coffin;
2. But they are above all apprehensive of “the poor man’s atomic bomb,” that is, the disintegration, by historical revisionism, of the lie of the gas chambers, the genocide, and the six million; they dread this weapon that kills no one but that would not fail, if properly used, to explode their Big Lie like a bag of hot air;
3. They fear seeing revealed before the eyes of the world that it is the imposture of the “Holocaust” that permitted, in the wake of the Second World War, the creation in the land of Palestine of a Jewish colony called Israel, and this at a time when, throughout the globe

(except in the Communist empire), a gigantic decolonization movement was well under way;

4. They know that to lose the “Holocaust” is to lose the sword and the shield of Israel as well as a formidable instrument of political and financial blackmail; Yad Vashem, which, in Jerusalem, is a “Holocaust” memorial and museum all in one (now undergoing expansion), is still more precious to them than the Wailing Wall; every foreign personality who visits Israel for political or financial dealings is, before all other business, obliged to call at this museum of horrors so as to be well imbued with a feeling of guilt which will render him more malleable; sometimes there is a dispensation from this formality for representatives of those rare nations which the Jews and Zionists, try as they might, cannot rebuke for an active or passive role in the alleged “Holocaust”; it is then amusing to notice the Israeli officials complaining about the difficulty in dealing with partners whom they have not been able to condition beforehand;
5. They are aware that “were the Holocaust shown to be a hoax, the number one weapon in Israel’s propaganda armory disappears [sic]” (letter of W. D. Rubinstein, professor at Deakin University, Melbourne, in *Nation Review*, June 21, 1979, p. 639);
6. They know only too well of “the fact that, if the Holocaust can be shown to be a 'Zionist myth,' the strongest of all weapons in Israel’s propaganda armory collapses” (the same academic in “The Left, the Right and the Jews,” *Quadrant*, September 1979, p. 27);
7. They nearly faint at the thought that the general public might finally learn of the sum of iniquities represented by all the purges: the cases brought in the style of the judicial masquerades of Nuremberg; the confessions extorted on the subject of gas chambers or gas vans which had, in fact, never existed; or the further confessions about implausible killings imputed to the Einsatzgruppen; the hunting down of old men, even patients in homes for the aged, more than half a century after their alleged crimes; the indoctrination of all minds, from primary school to university, in books, newspapers, on radio and television, on every continent, morning, noon, afternoon, evening, night; all this is accompanied by a fierce repression of the revisionists, carried on especially in a Germany subjugated to its conquerors (and with which no peace treaty has yet been signed); these revisionists have committed the awful crime of simply demanding the right to verify either staggering accusations devoid of proof or testimonies received as truthful, albeit in the absence of examination and cross-examination concerning the material nature of the purported facts and without, beforehand, a single investigation of the alleged weapon of the alleged crime;
8. To sum up, the nightmare of these Jews and Zionists would be to have to hear repeated everywhere a certain sixty-word sentence pronounced on the air more than twenty years ago on Radio Europe 1, before the journalist Yvan Levaï, by a French revisionist, disciple of Paul Rassinier. Here is that sentence which, at the time, was to earn me a heavy fine in a Paris court:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which has permitted a gigantic political and financial swindle the main beneficiaries of which are the state of Israel and international Zionism and whose main victims are the German people — but not their leaders — and the Palestinian people in their entirety.

II. How to Wage the Struggle to End This Silence

1. In November 2000, I spent a week in Iran at the invitation of the Center of Strategic Studies, a body directly attached to the office of the president of the Islamic Republic, Mr. Mohammed Khatami. I had no contact with the country’s press, radio, or television, but only with a few personalities who were well-informed about revisionism. I delivered no public

lecture but enjoyed an interview of several hours with the head of the Institute for Scientific Political Research, Professor Soroush-Nejad, and a few of his colleagues. There again, I was struck by the knowledge of revisionism that certain Iranians could have. At about that time, the Swiss revisionist Jürgen Graf made his appearance in Iran, and I am indeed pleased that, some months later, thanks to his intense activity and to the contacts which I, at my end, had maintained with the Iranian authorities after returning to France, the Teheran Times undertook the publication of a series of revisionist articles, the first of which was to bear the signature of Professor Soroush-Nejad.

2. In exchange for the information which I had been able to provide him, I asked my main partner in discussion within the Center why, up to the present, revisionism seemed not to have found much of an echo in the Arab and Muslim countries. He willingly listed eight reasons. Some of these, in light of the quite recent events in Palestine, appeared to each of us, by and by, to be no longer valid; others seemed to be imputable to misunderstandings; other reasons, in the end, unhappily retained all of their force, in particular the following: in the Western countries, who ought to preach by example before complaining of the silence of others, there were but a laughably small number of revisionists who had resolutely committed themselves, in their own names and without any reservations or skilful maneuvering, to following the road opened up by Rassinier;
3. I attempted to explain that this deplorable record was largely due to what one must call the fear (*metus Judaeorum*) inspired everywhere by the groaning and threatening Jew (which Cicero felt in 59 B.C.). I added that no political figure of today, be he Iranian, Lebanese, Chinese, or Japanese, could avoid feeling this fear in the face of a community so rich and powerful in the Western world that its leaders have the means with which, at any moment, to invade the media with their grievances and recriminations in order to demand, in the end, the economic boycott of whichever nation's leaders failed to make a rapid enough act of "repentance" or resisted Jewish demands;
4. I then went over the reasons why the leaders of the Muslim states must nonetheless, as a proper policy, quit their silence and how, in my opinion, they could do so. I shall not expound on those reasons here but shall in the following words sum up my feelings as to the path to follow: one or more of these leaders should cross the Rubicon resolutely and, above all, without the least thought of turning back. My long experience of the Jews or Zionists in this regard has convinced me that the hoaxers are disconcerted by the hardness of anyone who dares to confront them in the open. Just as the false witness, if one can catch his glance, must be questioned eye to eye, so must the Edgar Bronfmans, the Elie Wiesels, the Simon Wiesenthals (the latter two hate and envy one another more Judaico), or the rabbis Marvin Hier and Abraham Cooper, be defied in direct proportion to their habitual threats;
5. I warned my hosts against the temptation to resort, be it only at the first stages, to a form of bastardized revisionism; here again, experience has proved that wet-dog revisionism leads to defeat. One must also, in order to take a firmly revisionist stand, be well acquainted with the physical, chemical, documentary, and historical argumentation of revisionism. I reminded them, for example, that the myth of the alleged Nazi gas chambers had already died on February 21, 1979, when, in the daily *Le Monde*, thirty-four French historians showed themselves to be unable to take up my challenge concerning the technical impossibilities of those absurd chemical slaughterhouses. The general public is unaware of that event, just as it is unaware of the succession of defeats and debacles suffered by the "Holocaust" historians in their entirety since 1985 (the date of the first Zündel trial in Toronto). It is now up to the leaders of the Muslim states to bring out into the light of day information like this, which is still being kept under a bushel;
6. In these different countries, institutes of history, sociology, or political studies ought to equip themselves with a section specializing in historical revisionism. Research resources

and archives would enable scholars from around the world who have been chased out of their respective countries' universities, centers of research, or libraries because of their revisionist opinions or tendencies to come to work at the side of their colleagues of the Muslim lands. The various ministries of education, research, culture, foreign affairs, and information would collaborate on this project of international scope;

7. If one takes into account the fact that the "Holocaust" religionists harbor and maintain not only lies but also hatred, it will seem appropriate to plan the establishment on an international level of a "movement against the imposture of the 'Holocaust' and for friendship among peoples";
8. It would be fitting to try to bring some equilibrium to the balance of forces in international relations by inviting the political or diplomatic personnel of the great powers to show more modesty; these people, who never spare the rest of the world their morality lessons, should be reminded that they themselves bow a bit too low before an international mafia that specializes in lies, swindles, and contempt for human rights; the so-called international community, which constantly invokes those rights, should re-establish them in the cases of revisionists before rebuking the Arab or Muslim countries for intolerance or obscurantism. Such accusations could easily be turned against those states which, intolerant of challenges to a legend become official history and now protected by special laws, forbid their citizens from casting light on certain historical subjects;
9. A new and powerful medium of information, the Internet, allows an accelerated diffusion of revisionism (see, in particular, the sites attributed to Ahmed Rami, with their sections in Arabic); here is a chance for the Arab and Muslim intellectuals, overly influenced by the dominant ideology in the Western universities where they have often been educated, to become detoxified from the "Holocaust" drug;
10. In sum, the feeling of grave disquiet shown by the Jewish and Zionist leaders in the face of both the Intifada of young Palestinians living in destitution and of the activities of revisionists possessing nowhere near the economic or financial resources at the disposal of the Great "Holocaust" Mafia reminds one of the ancestral fear that the rich feel in the face of the poor, the colonizers before the colonized, and the masters at the sight of their slaves. The Jewish and Zionist leaders groan, threaten, and strike. They see themselves as rich (never rich enough, of course), armed with all sorts of weapons (including blackmail and racketeering as well as military weapons), and they know how to make themselves feared by all the leaders of the most privileged nations; they are, in particular, aware that the German leaders are devoted to them, willing even to expend the blood of German soldiers against the foes of Israel, and ready to intensify their repression of revisionism all the more unmercifully. Yet Jews and Zionists are haunted by the thought of having to confront the courage of those who no longer have anything to lose in the double Intifada, Palestinian and revisionist. The rich and mighty are enraged to see that they can be defied as they are by the Palestinians, armed only with stones, and by the revisionists, armed only with pens.

III. The Main Target: 'The Magical Gas Chamber' (Céline)

Let us learn to take aim. Let us not scatter our efforts. Let us apply ourselves to setting our attention on the center of the adversary's operation. The center of the huge edifice forming the religion of the "Holocaust" is none other than the Auschwitz lie. And the heart of the Auschwitz lie is, in turn, the prodigious "gas chamber." That is where we must aim. Placards waved by Palestinian or other Arab demonstrators bearing the words "The 'Holocaust' of the Jews is a lie," or "The six million are a lie," would of course worry the "extor-Zionists," but those formulations are still too vague; they are less vivid, less precise, and less striking than "The gas chambers are a lie."

No one is able to show us, at Auschwitz or anywhere else, even one of these chemical slaughterhouses. No one is capable of describing to us their exact appearance and workings. Neither a trace nor a hint of their existence is to be found. Not one document, not one study, not one drawing. Nothing. Nothing but some occasional, pitiful “evidence,” which vanishes, like a mirage, as soon as one draws near, and which the Jewish historians themselves, in recent years, have finally been obliged to repudiate. Sometimes, as at Auschwitz, tourists are shown around an alleged “re-constituted” gas chamber, but the historians, and the Auschwitz museum authorities too, know quite well that, in the words of the French anti-revisionist historian Eric Conan, “Everything in it is false” (*“Auschwitz : la mémoire du mal,” L'Express, January 19-25, 1995, p. 68*).

Still, the Jews are lucky. They are believed on their word. Almost nobody asks to see the technological prodigy that a Nazi gas chamber would have been, a veritable large-scale chemical slaughterhouse. Imagine that someone has told you about an airplane capable of transporting two or three thousand passengers from Paris to New York in one half hour (according to the exterminationist vulgate, in a single alleged gas chamber at Auschwitz, a batch of two or three thousand Jews could be killed in half an hour). Would you not, in order to begin to believe it, demand to see at least an image of something that would constitute a technological leap forward such as science has never known? Are we not in an age of exact sciences and of the audio-visual? Why this sudden shyness when it comes to our gas chamber?

The peddlers have an easy game. They show you the equivalent of either your garage or your shower and tell you: “Here is the place where the Germans gassed the Jews in groups of a hundred or a thousand.” And you believe it. You are shown human hair like that which you could see at a barber’s or a wig maker’s and told, without the least proof, that it is the hair of gassing victims. You are offered shoes and they are labeled “shoes of gassing victims.” You are presented with photographs of dead bodies and you believe that you see victims of gassing. You are made to shudder at the sight of crematory ovens which are in fact perfectly unexceptional. There exists a very simple means by which to show that we are being fooled about the prodigious yields of German crematory ovens in the 1940s: it is simply to compare them to the present-day yield of the most modern crematoria.

I also know an irrefutable way to prove that the alleged gas chambers for the killing of Jews with hydrogen cyanide gas could not have existed: it entails visiting today, as I myself did in 1979, the execution gas chamber of an American penitentiary, or otherwise acquainting oneself with the highly complex nature of the gas chamber, its very complicated structure, and the quite draconian procedure of an execution by gassing, in the 1940s or '50s, in the prisons of Carson City, Nevada; Baltimore, Maryland; or Parchman, Mississippi; to be precise, those executions were and still are carried out with hydrogen cyanide gas. They are so dreadfully dangerous for the executioners that the putting to death of one individual requires drastic precautions and a most complex technology (quite aside from the recently achieved sophistication due either to technological progress or to a multitude of safety measures).

On the alleged Nazi gas chambers, let us listen to ... Céline! I hold Louis-Ferdinand Céline (1894-1961) to be the loftiest genius of French literature in the twentieth century. His force, his finesse, his clear-sightedness were incomparable. His life, unhappily, was largely one of hardship. From the day in 1937 when he began to display the fear of seeing a new world war flare up, he brought on his own doom. Seriously wounded during the First World War, he feared a new butchery with all his body and soul. France’s Jews, for their part, did not see things that way. Most of their leaders clamored for a crusade against Hitler. Céline then condemned their feverish desire to punish Germany, their frantic warmongering. He foresaw the catastrophe, and later, when Great Britain and France had taken it upon themselves to go to war with Germany, he

could only remark in what “fine bed-sheets” France was lying. In 1944, he narrowly escaped the summary justice then being administered, in particular, by Jews and Communists. He fled to Germany in its agony of the final months of the war, then to Denmark, where for nearly a year and a half he was imprisoned in the worst conditions. When he eventually returned to France, it was to live the life of an outcast. France is a particularly cruel land for its great writers. It is still the case today, sixty years after their respective publication in 1937, 1938, and 1941, that three of his works, masterly satires detested by the Jews, remain prohibited *de facto*. No law, in principle, prevents their republication, but everyone knows that the Jewish organizations would go on the warpath should Céline’s widow, still living, authorize their appearance. Such is the unwritten law of the modern Talmud.

Other examples of this Jewish privilege are well known. Thus, to cite the case of an academic guilty of having once written a revisionist sentence, Bernard Notin has, since 1990, been prohibited from lecturing at his faculty at the University of Lyon. No law has been passed, no judicial or administrative decision has been issued, that would render this prohibition official. Today, at the same university, it is the turn of Professor Jean-Paul Allard to be branded with the mark of Cain for having presided, more than fifteen years ago, during the oral examination of a revisionist doctoral candidate. A great hue and cry has been mounted against Allard.

Formerly, if one remarked to the Jews that they tracked down the revisionists like wild animals, they would protest, boldly denying anything of the sort. But times have changed. The Jews no longer conceal this practice of theirs, and proudly assert responsibility for such violent actions. On March 1, 2001, the weekly *Actualité Juive* headed one of its articles: “La chasse à Jean-Paul Allard est ouverte” (“The Hunt for Jean-Paul Allard Is On”). The contents of the piece amounted to an incitement to kill. The Jewish organizations cynically intend to make themselves feared, and it is correct to say, today more than ever, “*metus regnat Judaeorum*” (fear of the Jews reigns). In Allard’s case they seem to be reaching their goal: just recently, this professor, exhausted by the chase, has been hospitalized for a stroke and has lost his capacity for normal speech. Lately the Jews and their friends have also succeeded in attempts to have the revisionist Serge Thion, sociologist and historian of merit, removed from his post at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), and this by means of a procedure so openly arbitrary that the most arrogant of employers would not use it against his humblest employee, lest he have to pay heavy damages. I shall say nothing of the suffering endured by the revisionists who have fought openly, in their own name, the most admirable of them being, for his intelligence and his heart, in my view, the German Ernst Zündel. For forty years a resident of Canada, he has waged a titanic struggle against the international “Holocaust” lobby, aiming in particular to obtain justice for his maligned homeland. Without him revisionism would have continued to live in semidarkness. But one cannot swim up the Niagara Falls, and, in the face of an almighty coalition of political, financial, and judicial forces, Zündel has recently been obliged, in spite of several brilliant victories, to leave Canada. In his new exile, he continues, with the aid of his German-American wife, Ingrid Rimland, to fight for a just cause.

If, towards the end of this talk, I have called to mind the lofty figure of the author of *Journey to the End of Night*, it is because Céline, by one of his customary strokes of genius, had already suspected, just five years after the war, that the alleged physical extermination of the Jews might be but a fable, a work of trickery. It must be said that from 1945 on, floods of Jews from Central Europe, who were thought to have been exterminated, headed for France, when they had not headed for other Western countries or for Palestine; in France, they had just reinforced a Jewish community of which four fifths were spared the wartime deportation measures. In November 1950, upon a reading of Paul Rassinier’s first sizeable work, *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse*, Céline wrote to his friend Albert Paraz:

Rassinier is certainly an honest man [...]. His book, admirable, is going to cause quite a stir — after all, it tends to cast doubt on the magical gas chamber! no small matter! A whole world of hatreds is going to be compelled to yelp at the Iconoclast! It was everything, the gas chamber! It permitted everything!

As for us, we can only admire this lucid and scintillating vision of things, this foresight.

Yes, the gas chamber really is “magical.” As I have often remarked, no one, in the end, has proved capable of showing or even of drawing one in reply to my challenge, “Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!” No one has been able to explain its operation to us. No one has been able to tell us how, at Auschwitz, the Germans could pour pellets of Zyklon B, a powerful hydrogen cyanide-based insecticide, into alleged holes made in the roof of the “gas chamber,” for this alleged gas chamber (in reality, a cold storage room for corpses awaiting cremation) has, as a careful look at the ruins shows, never possessed even a single such orifice, a fact that has permitted me to state the four-word conclusion “No holes, no 'Holocaust'!” No one has been able to reveal to us the mystery, implied by the standard version, of how the Sonderkommando, the squads of Jews under the orders of the Germans, could enter that great gas chamber with impunity so soon after the alleged mass killings, to remove energetically, day after day, the thousands of corpses lying in tangled heaps.

Hydrogen cyanide gas is difficult to remove by ventilation, which is a time-consuming process; it penetrates and lingers within plaster, brick, concrete, wood, paint, and, above all, the skin and the mucus of humans; thus one could not enter, move about, and do such work in what would have been an ocean of deadly poison, handling corpses which, infused with that poison, would poison whoever touched them. It is, furthermore, well known to specialists in the field of disinfection (or disinfestation) that it is essential, in such an atmosphere, to avoid physical effort for, if such effort is made, the breathing quickens and the gas mask filter will then allow the poison to pass through, killing the wearer. Finally, no one has been able to instruct us as to how those amazing Jews of the Sonderkommando, ever dragging out the corpses of their co-religionists, could perform such exploits while eating and smoking (in one version of the “confession” ascribed to Rudolf Höss, the best known of the successive Auschwitz commandants); for, if one understands correctly, they did not even wear gas masks, and smoked amidst the noxious fumes of an explosive gas.

Like the imaginary flower dreamt of by the French symbolist poet Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898), who wrote of “the one missing from every bouquet,” the Nazi gas chamber, capable of astounding work, is “missing from all reality.” It remains truly magical, but of a sinister and nauseating magic; it is nothing other than a nightmare that dwells in Jewish brains, while, for their part, the high priests of the “Holocaust” work to make this gruesome illusion haunt the world for eternity, and to hold humankind in a state of near-hypnosis: their livelihood depends on it.

Céline is right again to add, on the subject of the magical gas chamber, that it is “no small matter!” In reality, as he says further on, it is everything and it permits everything. Without it, the “Holocaust” edifice would collapse totally. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, sorry herald of the anti-revisionist struggle, has himself acknowledged as much. Noting that some of his friends, grown weary of the struggle, were decidedly tempted to discard the cumbersome gas chambers without further ado, he beseeched them not to, and voiced this cry of alarm: “I beg your pardon: that would be to surrender in open country” (“Le Secret partagé,” *Le Nouvel Observateur*, September 21, 1984, p. 80). The Nazi gas chamber is said to be the only tangible (but in fact impossible to find) evidence of a physical extermination (that never took place) and that is, moreover, brazenly described to us

as having been concerted, planned, and of a monstrously industrial nature, with production yields worthy of the name “death factories.”

Céline, finally, is right to conclude “A whole world of hatreds is going to be compelled to yelp at the Iconoclast!” For my part, I should add, more than half a century after that prognosis, or prophecy, that the yelps, increasingly deafening, have not ceased for an instant against those iconoclasts who are the revisionists. In today’s France, the latter are labeled with the barbarous term “négationnistes,” whereas they negate or deny nothing. On the contrary, at the end of their research, they affirm that a gigantic historical imposture holds sway.

Conclusion

The revisionists haunt the days and nights of the upholders of Jewish law, and of those who Céline — again — called “the martyrs' trust.” To revisionists who seek to defend themselves against it, the trust shows no mercy. It drives some to suicide, causes physical injury and disfigurement, it kills, or forces others into exile. It sets fire to houses and burns books. It has the police, the judges, the prison authorities do its bidding. It applies pressure, it extorts and steals. It sets the dogs of the press on us, it throws us out of our jobs, it heaps insults upon us. On our side, not one among us has ever, to my knowledge, struck one of these perpetual law enforcers. On April 25, 1995, in Munich, a German revisionist killed himself, burning himself alive. He meant this act to be a protest against “the Niagara of lies” showered upon his people. In his suicide letter, he stated his hope that the flames which consumed his body would burn as a beacon for the generations to come. The German police proceeded to arrest the persons who soon afterwards came to leave a bouquet at the spot where Reinhold Elstner had immolated himself. On May 13, 2000, the German political science professor Werner Pfeiffenberger, 58, ended his own life after having long endured a legal persecution launched against him by a Jewish journalist in Vienna, one Karl Pfeifer, who had detected a whiff of revisionism (called, of course, neo-Nazism) in the academic’s writings.

The revisionists live a life of hardship, and the Palestinians are living a tragedy. In particular, many Palestinian children are destined for a sorrowful fate. Their Israeli killers are, on a modest scale, the worthy successors of the American air force, the military corps which, in all of a cruel human history, has contributed to killing, mutilating, disfiguring, or starving more children than any other, first in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, then in Japan, in Vietnam and in much of the rest of Asia, then in the Near and Middle East and in many other places in the world, whenever the American soldier receives from his superiors the order to hunt down a new “Hitler” and to prevent a new “genocide.”

May the leaders of the Muslim states hear the Palestinians' and the revisionists' appeals! Our ordeals are similar and our Intifadas identical.

May those leaders finally end their silence on the biggest imposture of modern times: that of the “Holocaust”!

May they, especially, denounce the lie of the alleged Nazi gas chambers! After all, not one of the leaders on the winning side of the Second World War, despite their hatred of Hitler’s Germany, stooped so low as to claim that such gas chambers had existed. During that war, in their speeches, as afterwards in their memoirs, not once did Churchill, or de Gaulle, or Eisenhower mention this diabolical horror which they surely saw propaganda agencies tirelessly peddling during the war. A quarter of a century ago, in a masterly book, the American professor Arthur

Robert Butz called the grand imposture “the Hoax of the Twentieth Century.” That century is over; now its hoax must vanish into the rubbish bins of history.

The tragedy of the Palestinians demands it, the ordeal of the revisionists makes it essential, and the cause of humanity as a whole makes it our historical, political, and moral duty: the Grand Imposture must be condemned. It is a fomentor of hatred and war. It is in everyone’s interest that the leaders of the Muslim states end their silence on the imposture of the “Holocaust.”

-- March 22, 2001

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Between Public Relations and Self-Alienation: Arab Intellectuals and the 'Holocaust'

Ibrahim Alloush

Defective Strategies for Coping with External Threats: A Preview

Children sometimes mimic the sounds and gestures of characters, whether fictitious or real, that they see as frightening and omnipotent, including parents, teachers, and older siblings. These become rich sources for emulation in play, alone or with other children. From the inception of consciousness, humans search for mechanisms to cope with perceived threats from external sources of power. Primary among these mechanisms is the attempt to thrust ahead through emulation, defined here as adopting the methods, tools, attitudes, or aggression of that which frightens and awes. The psychological imbalance induced by anxiety over potential threat is thus averted by becoming one with that threat, either by exchanging roles or by internalizing the perceived source of overwhelming fear.

Hence, one may alleviate anxiety caused by a perceived threat, if only temporarily, by projecting the threat onto third parties, real or imagined. Yet by fabricating a shoddy and fragile imitation of the original threat, potential victims restore psychological equilibrium only at the expense of losing their balance in the larger context of personality, identity, or even humanity. Although not physically injurious, the resultant, self-inflicted wound cuts to the integrity of the person threatened.

Adults are no different in their need to control perceived sources of anxiety and threat in order to maintain mental and psychological balance. They attempt to emulate seemingly more authentic sources of actual or potential threats, even if their attempts to emulate such sources of danger take more socialized and politicized forms and expressions. Still, the basic process of self-alienation remains the same: the perception of an overwhelming threat generates the need to restore psychological and mental balance by internalizing that threat, then projecting it outwards, or by becoming one with it through emulation, to bridge quickly and thoroughly the wide gap between the inferior's feelings of worthlessness, weakness, and guilt and the imagined omnipotence of the perceived aggressor. At the core of this process, then, lies a relationship of inferiority between: the fearsome and the fearful, between the powerful and the powerless, between the wealthy and the impoverished, between the conqueror and conquered.

This process is the mechanism by which the values and perspectives of ruling elites in any society become those of the "mainstream." It is also the means by which the world today is being Americanized. To be sure, this is a two-way process. It is true that ruling elites in all societies, and at the global level, control the production of contemporary symbols and values, through control of the mass communications media and of the means of intellectual production (and thus of

intellectual property rights). Yet that control only furnishes the material basis for creating a pliable mainstream. The prerequisite for controlling the mainstream (or the masses, in more archaic political terminology) is that the latter be completely self-alienated, and utterly disposed to emulate the wealthy, the powerful, and the fearsome.

Over a century ago Thorstein Veblen, in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, traced the process by which the values and beliefs of the ruling classes become those of the rest of society through economic emulation. What Veblen described as “conspicuous consumption” by the wealthy led to the emergence of a cult of “consumerism,” whereby the rest of society attempted to imitate the rich and thus bridge their perceived inadequacy.

In the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized, the process of emulation leads the colonized to adopt the positions and the attitudes of the European colonizers toward them. This leads to self-hatred and self-degradation on the part of the colonized. In his *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon analyzes the process by which European colonizers made some Africans loathe their race and seek to become “whiter,” so to speak. In his letter of resignation from the hospital where he worked as chief psychiatrist during the Algerian war of independence, Fanon discusses how his therapeutic work with his Arab patients revealed that many of their problems originated with feelings of inferiority inculcated over decades by the European colonizers: his patients had internalized their oppressors' image of them. [1]

Paulo Freire, in his well-known work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), raised the political and social analysis of emulating and internalizing the oppressor to new heights. Freire dissected the process by which revolutionary regimes become oppressive, like the regimes they have just overthrown: during the struggle the new regimes had absorbed the value systems of their former oppressors, and their attitudes towards the oppressed. To these revolutionaries, liberation meant “becoming like the oppressors.”

Why revolutionary regimes turn oppressive is beyond the scope of this article. The point remains that Veblen, Fanon, and Freire, at different times, and on different social and political levels, each discovered how the oppressed internalize their oppressors and their oppressors' worldview, including their perception of the oppressed. At the micro level, the level of the individual, Anna Freud was the first to identify, in 1936, the process of internalizing the aggressor among children. Finally, in his *Social Backwardness: An Introduction to the Psychology of the Coerced* (first published in 1981), a classic that makes for highly illuminating, indeed indispensable reading for any Arab progressive, Dr. Mustafa Hijjazi of Lebanon establishes an analytical linkage between the internalization of the aggressor at the individual level and the internalization of the oppressor at the social and political levels. Unfortunately, Hijjazi does not mention Veblen or Freire in his book: these two writers could have greatly enhanced his analysis.

The thesis of these works can be abstracted as follows: the oppressed, because of their condition, develop feelings of inferiority, incompetence, and vulnerability, which in the absence of objective awareness (real consciousness) of the relationships that create that oppressive condition, lead them to adopt the oppressor's view of the world and themselves. This deepens their sense of inferiority and pushes them further to emulate the oppressor, in a vicious cycle that reinforces their condition of oppression. Stated simply, being the inferior in a relationship based on fear impels the oppressed to adopt the oppressor's worldview.

Self-Alienated Arabs: A Political Application

In cultural and political terms, one can apply the emulation paradigm to Arab intellectuals and social strata seeking to sever their connections to their Arab-Islamic heritage and identity, and to devour and regurgitate the rhetoric and narratives of the Zionist movement and of the overseers of the “New World Order.” Feelings of guilt and ineptitude grow as the oppressor’s worldview is internalized, turned against oneself, and even more so against one’s group, as an extension of the self. The self-alienated Arab then begins to associate his Arab identity — suddenly grown flat, monotonous, degraded to a stereotype — with all that is negative and inferior. Everything positive, enlightened, and superior is now ascribed to America, the West, Jews, Zionists. This state of psychological imbalance can only be resolved by the self-alienated Arab’s attempted escape from self, his becoming a bridge to the values, beliefs, practices, and the oppressor’s worldview.

For the average Arab, this self-alienation becomes an obsessive fascination with the lifestyle, music, culture, food, clothes, and gadgets of the dominant societies. Like certain “British Indians” or “French Algerians” before them, for these Arabs salvation becomes the ability to lose their identities and to melt into that of the aggressor, oppressor, or invader.

Self-alienated Arab intellectuals, on the other hand, express their alienation by becoming spokespersons for globalization, Zionism, and peace with “Israel.” To the extent these Arabs speak for their oppressors deliberately, either to cultivate them for personal benefit or privilege, or to avert reprisals and punishment, one may call them opportunistic. Insofar as they rationalize oppression out of conviction rooted in their self-alienation, however, they better fit the emulation model: they have completed the process of self-abnegation.

To underscore this point, it might be useful here to bring up a crucial difference between supporters of the Oslo “peace process” and those Arab politicians and intellectuals actively promoting Zionism, in theory and practice, to their fellow Arabs (where Zionism, as defined by Herzl, is the creation of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine).

To be sure, both groups represent defective social and political ways of coping with overwhelming oppression, namely, the Jewish invasion of Palestine. Supporters of Oslo tell their constituents that they are merely enduring a status quo they cannot change (and thus might as well make the most of it), a transparently defeatist argument. The Arab politicians and intellectuals promoting ideological rationalizations of oppression are, in the long run, infinitely more dangerous. They typically advance arguments and standards that present imperialist and Zionist domination as acceptable, even desirable, to Arabs. One such brainchild of the self-alienated is the self-destructive embrace of the notion of “Middle Easternism,” by which the Arab-Islamic heritage and identity is to dissolve in a globalized “Middle East,” in which the Arabs are to be even further fragmented along sectarian and ethnic lines. [2]

The self-alienated Arab intellectuals and politicians, who may oppose Oslo clamorously, promote arguments and ideas that lead to the moral acceptance of “Israel,” not merely the recognition of its right to exist, as Oslo supporters do out of political expediency. Examples of such ideas include the notion of the bi-national state (which abrogates the Arab identity of Palestine); criticizing Zionism primarily for its racism (rather than for its occupation of Palestine); advocating winning over Israeli public opinion by abandoning armed resistance against the occupation (although, as the historical record from South Lebanon to the Vietnam war shows beyond question, it is effective armed resistance that is most capable of swaying public opinion in the enemy camp); proclaiming adherents to the Jewish religion as a nation with the right to self-determination in Palestine while denying, for example, that the Arabs are a nation (self-evident alienation when coming from an Arab); and the whole slew of contrite calls for “dialogue with the other” and for “understanding the other” (where the now neutral “other” is nothing but the invader and

oppressor). In short, exactly what we would expect from Arab intellectuals or politicians who realize themselves only through absorbing and voicing values and ideas that bring them closer to the oppressor, albeit as inferiors.

The practical difference between the opportunists and the emulators is that political expediency can change with political circumstances, whereas ideas and value-systems that bind the oppressed in subservience to the oppressor are much more stable. Evidence of this can be readily found in the active role supporters of the Fateh organization in the West Bank and Gaza are playing in the current Aqsa Intifada: for the previous seven years they were seen as the enforcers of Oslo, mere policemen serving as security for the invader. Clearly the ideological subjugation of the oppressed penetrates more deeply into the collective mentality than does political subjugation, and therefore it is much more dangerous. Words may wound worse than weapons. Indoctrination from within is far more brutal than external domination. External domination stimulates resistance, even if it be entirely covert; indoctrination is a self-made prison for the spirit, that serves only the oppressor.

The Oppressive Narrative of the 'Holocaust'

Frequently, meek submission to external domination sets the stage for indoctrination. The process typically starts with self-delusions about “playing the PR game,” “playing it smart with the mainstream,” and other rationalizations designed to take the edge off defeatism or capitulation before an irrationally overwhelming force. Let us next examine how certain Arabs deal with the oppressive narrative of the “Holocaust,” a narrative of which the Arabs, in particular Palestinian Arabs, have been primary victims.

The “Holocaust” has long since ceased to be about the Jews who died in the Second World War, or about opposing all forms of racialism, including Nazism. It has become instead a generator of contemporary symbols and political values for rationalizing Zionist power and its support by ruling elites in the West in furtherance of their own imperialist interests in the Arab world. Oppression cannot prevail solely by the argument of force; to achieve long-term stability it must be complemented by the force of argumentation. Thus acceptance of the received version of the “Holocaust” has become a necessary condition for rationalizing Zionism and its international support network. To be specific, the “Holocaust” serves three simultaneous objectives:

1. it justifies a Zionist state in Palestine on the grounds that the Jews need a special refuge from an alleged worldwide “anti-Semitism”;
2. it rationalizes unlimited Western financial, military, and political support for the Zionist movement and Israel with reference to the guilt complex inculcated in the West over the “Holocaust” as the culmination of “anti-Semitism”;
3. it condones violations of international law and of all legal and divine codes by the Zionist movement and Israel under the pretext that the alleged uniqueness of the “Holocaust” in human history should allow Jews leeway in the application of the law.

Many Arabs chide themselves for not campaigning effectively enough in the media to win over public opinion in the West. In their much-needed media efforts to explain their cause to Westerners, however, these same Arabs insist on ignoring the biggest obstacle to their success: the fact that the most important source of sympathy for Israel in Western public opinion is the received version of the “Holocaust,” and the mass-communications media’s churning out of daily “Holocaust” reminders to constantly increase that sympathy, overshadowing every Zionist injustice or excess. Therein lies the importance of revisionist historians to Arabs. These brave souls (who are of varying ideological backgrounds) work meticulously and systematically to undermine the

three basic pillars of the “Holocaust”: 1) the myth that the Nazis pursued a policy of genocide against the Jews (the Nazi policy regarding Jews was deportation, including, unfortunately, deportation to Palestine); 2) the myth that six million Jews died in the Second World War (that number exceeds by far the numbers of Jews living in Nazi-occupied areas during the war); and 3) the myth of the gas chambers in which millions of them supposedly perished (no one has yet been able to prove the existence of, or explain the way in which, 19-25 these chambers supposedly functioned). [3]

In a classic show of self-alienation, however, fourteen Arab intellectuals recently called on the Lebanese government to cancel a historical revisionist conference in Beirut. By doing so, these intellectuals were derelict in their duties as Arab intellectuals. They asked an Arab government to ban an intellectual forum. More important, they publicly gave their unreserved credence to a false narrative that empowers Zionism, instead of exposing it. Such acceptance of the “Holocaust” is the essence of cultural “normalization” with the invader; it is intended to lead eventually to making Arabs no less intellectually subservient to the “Holocaust” myths than Westerners are today. Thus these Arab intellectuals, either out of indoctrinated self-alienation or for opportunistic reasons, become the intellectual beachhead from which Zionism launches its invasion of the Arab mind.

The Jerusalem Post: An Arab Voice?

It is perfectly understandable that Zionists grow enraged when the totem of the “Holocaust” is scrutinized critically. After all, it is a lucrative source of income, arms, and Zionist legitimacy. Thus when the Jerusalem Post (of June 8, 2001), reported on a symposium on historical revisionism organized in Amman, Jordan by the Jordanian Writers Association (JWA) on May 13, 2001, it was most unsurprising to encounter a constellation of Zionist academics, politicians, and commentators frenziedly denouncing the symposium and the JWA. [4] It was not the first time, nor will it be the last, that Zionists attacked Arabs who dared to put the “Holocaust” to rational discussion.

Predictably, the long story in the Jerusalem Post did not contain a single sentence in response to the scholarly research that debunks the three basic myths of the “Holocaust.” Instead, it conveyed two messages, one for Arabs, the other for Westerners. Arabs were told: leave the “Holocaust” alone. Questioning it is bad media strategy (since when have the Zionists worried about the Arabs' media strategies?). The message to Western public opinion, on the other hand, was that Arabs who challenge the “Holocaust” are equivalent to Arab who lay claim to the “Temple Mount” (site of the Al Aqsa mosque) and other property and prerogatives claimed by the Zionists in Palestine.

Note that there is a great, though undeclared, psychological extortion at the heart of both messages, based on the Zionists' success in establishing the myths of the “Holocaust” in the Western mind beyond a shred of doubt: the “Holocaust” has acquired a potency that overwhelms and oppresses. None of those interviewed in the Jerusalem Post article remarked on the logical and scientific evidence refuting the myths of the “Holocaust.” Instead, they invoked the “Holocaust” as an overpowering, numinous force with which to threaten Arabs: Stay out of this fight. Give up! Back off! Adore our gods or else! For their part Westerners, more deeply initiated into the rites of the “Holocaust” religion, are told: A few of the Arabs dare to question the “Holocaust,” and denying the “Holocaust” is no different from denying any of the Jewish claims to Israel.

In the face of such an onslaught, there can only be three kinds of Arab responses: that of the self-alienated Arabs, who embrace the “Holocaust” religion wholeheartedly; that of the defeatist

Arabs, who pay lip service to the “Holocaust” out of political expediency, without embracing the “Holocaust” cult; and finally that of those Arabs willing to stand up for truth and justice by fighting the Holocaust imposture.

Thus when the Jerusalem Post story quoted Hussein Ibish, communications director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), as taking part in the Zionist attack on the Jordanian Writers Association and on all Arab intellectuals who dare to question the “Holocaust,” the immediate question became: What kind of Arab (or Arab-American) is Ibish? Is he the kind that embraces the values of the enemy’s religion wholeheartedly, as do certain Arab intellectuals, or is he of the sort that serves the false cult out of political expediency?

Examining Ibish’s statements against Arab intellectuals who question the “Holocaust,” one will note that the evident strategy closely resembles that of the supporters of Oslo: yield to the enemy on basic principles, settling for scraps while improving one’s position against the enemy wherever possible. In this case, the ADC’s communications director capitulated to the Zionists by: 1) lending them the voice of the ADC to condemn Arabs who dare to question the “Holocaust,” 2) publicly declaring the adherence of the ADC to the three founding myths of the “Holocaust” religion, and 3) reassuring Zionists and Westerners that those Arabs willing even to listen to a critical appraisal of the “Holocaust” are too few to worry about. [5]

All the same, despite having yielded so much of basic principle, the ADC’s communications director appears to have sought to avoid a slavishly pro-Zionist stance on the “Holocaust.” Thus Ibish included Gypsies, Slavs, and others in the “Holocaust,” which somewhat diminishes Zionist claims for its historical uniqueness. He also pretended to take issue with Arab criticism of the “Holocaust” as a tool to justify Zionist excesses, only to present what he “disagreed with” at length. Notwithstanding these petty subterfuges, Ibish still gave the Zionists the invective they needed from an Arab for their attack on the Jordanian Writers Association and on the Arab intellectuals who dared to question the myths of the “Holocaust.”

Had Ibish’s critique appeared from an Arab forum, instead of as a voice in the Zionist chorus from the Jerusalem Post, it might be better classified as a case of indoctrinated self-alienation. But when the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee was called upon by the Jerusalem Post to show its “goodwill” towards Zionists by venerating the “Holocaust,” it capitulated meekly before what is (rightly) perceived as an overwhelming threat, the prospect of vilification by and exclusion from the Western media. By mimicking the gestures and words of the oppressor, Ibish and the ADC preserved their threatened psychological equilibrium at the expense of a larger imbalance in their personal and political integrity.

What Zionists fail to understand when dealing with supporters of Oslo, the Palestinian National Authority, or those Arabs who yield to overwhelming Zionist force, is that we Arabs have long experience in humoring oppressive forces. For more than a thousand years now, our people have had to endure both external and internal oppressive structures, including the Zionist occupation. The defeatists and opportunists among us may compromise basic principles, a reprehensible practice by any standard, but even they will try to filch whatever scraps they can from the oppressor on the sly. Even when the Zionists accuse the Palestinian enforcers of Oslo of not abiding by this or that detail of their one-sided relationship, the Zionists underline the larger realities of the Zionist oppression and occupation. Enter those Arab intellectuals who reconcile Arabs ideologically to Zionism: their work, far more serious, much more dangerous, aims to implant the equivalent of an Israeli agent in every Arab mind. This threat makes the fight against cultural normalization with the invader one of the most important aspects of the Arab-Zionist conflict today.

The above remarks on emulation and on the adoption of the value-systems and beliefs of others should be interpreted strictly in the context of oppressive conditions between humans on the individual or social level. In the absence of oppressive conditions, that is, in cases where people work, communicate, interact, and struggle together for a common goal in a spirit of camaraderie and cooperation, it is quite normal for shared beliefs, symbols, perceptions, and values to arise quite naturally. The difference, of course, is that in the latter case social interaction makes persons whole, not self-alienated. To repeat, oppression, exploitation, occupation, victimization, calls for “dialogue with the other” and “understanding the other” can only reflect the fundamental imbalance of power between victor and vanquished. To preserve the humanity of the oppressed under such conditions, the necessary form of dialogue with oppressors is the kind that occurs in revolutions, whether political or intellectual.

Notes

1.  Cited in a paper in Arabic that was published in Beirut in 1970 in the monthly journal Arab Studies, issue no. 5, “Frantz Fanon and the Philosophy of Revolutionary Violence.”
2.  To read about why the concept of 'Middle Easternism' is self-alienating to Arabs and Muslims, please go to: <http://www.fav.net/yesWeSupportPeace.htm>. To learn more about Zionist designs to fragment Arab states into smaller units, and to establish a “Palestinian” state in Jordan, please see the Kivunim document at: http://www.fav.net/ZionistConspiracy_DivideTheArabWorld.htm
3.  For more on the myths of the “Holocaust,” please go to: <http://www.fav.net/Faurisson.htm> [A version of Robert Faurisson’s Beirut address that appears elsewhere in this issue — ed.]
4.  To view the June 8, 2001, Jerusalem Post article aimed at the Jordanian Writers Association and Arab intellectuals, please go to: <http://www.jpost.com/Editions/2001/06/10/Features/Features.27849.html>
5.  Readers interested in learning why the last statement is totally inaccurate should go to: <http://www.fav.net/AnotherResoundingVictory.htm>

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To the Mannheim Jail: Justice and Truth in Contemporary Germany

Fredrick Töben

My seven months' imprisonment in Mannheim, Germany in 1999 was quite a physical and mental experience for me, and I shall attempt to contextualize this within a personal historical narrative that may shed some light on the persecutors' mind-set.

I can ask you: which version of my story do you want to hear? The good one or the bad one? The good story is all about my making the most of a difficult situation. But afterwards you may say: Hey, I don't have to feel sorry for you anymore. The bad story is all about the pain of being deprived of personal freedom — and it will make you feel very sad, not only for me, but also for anyone who in some way has lost the physical and mental freedom that we normally take for granted.

Of course, there really is nothing new in this. During the same year I was jailed, German historian Ingrid Weckert was fined 3,000 marks for having written an article published in the German journal *Sleipnir* in which she contrasted diary entries — one positive, the other negative — written by two men who spent time in Dachau.

For me personally, it was interesting to meet members of Germany's judiciary and legal profession, and to find out what made them tick. For example, what makes people such as German public prosecutor Hans-Heiko Klein pursue revisionists fifty-five years after the end of the Second World War?

Soon after my arrest, on April 8, 1999, rumor had it that I had deliberately gone into the lion's den to sacrifice myself for the cause. The only truth to this is that I have tried to lead by example, and for years I have proclaimed that we must be prepared to go to prison in order to defend free speech.

I talked and talked about it, and still consider my approach to be based on reason — to speak to friend and foe alike. Why? Well, if we stop talking to one another, then other forms of communication emerge not based on reason.

While in prison I had a lot of time to think, and I formulated the following: "If you deny me my freedom to think and speak, then you take away my humanity, and you commit a crime against humanity. Truth is my defense." It's elementary, but so is our human nature — and we take for granted the freedom to think and to speak without realizing that there are forces that wish to take it from us.

Linked to the freedom concept, and vital in any human enterprise, is the moral value of truth-telling. Who today wants to hear the word Truth? It is a rare commodity, particularly in any government agency.

Work to Do

Let me briefly go back to the beginning of my second revisionist tour. On February 22, 1999, the day of my departure from Australia, our local Wimmera Mail-Times newspaper in Horsham accurately reported my intentions in visiting Germany: to discuss this Holocaust business with lawyers, public prosecutors, and judges — something I subsequently did, both before my arrest and after my release on November 11, 1999.

During my imprisonment, information about the outside world became vitally important for me. More than a hundred people worldwide wrote and offered their support. For that I am forever grateful to them. I never formally thanked the IHR for supporting me — I do that now.

It was also important for me to know that our work at Adelaide Institute was continuing. While I was in prison, Richard Krege — our associate in the Australian Capital Territory — led an expedition to the site of the wartime German camp of Treblinka in Poland, where he carried out an investigation using a sophisticated Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) device. The GPR images did not confirm the official Treblinka story. [See the May-June 2000 Journal, p. 20.] Although this research is still not complete, we can safely say that yet another Holocaust myth has been destroyed with the help of state-of-the art technology.

The aim, it must be stressed, is not to destroy myths for the sake of destroying myths. We all need our myths. The worry begins when some insist that their myths rest on some physical reality. When such a claim is clearly wrong, it becomes a lie. Greek and Egyptian myths, for example, do have some connection with reality, as archeologists illustrate when they confirm elements of them through their investigations. The Holocaust homicidal gas chamber extermination myth, on the other hand, has no such connection with physical reality, and hence legal means are used to prevent public expression of such dissident skepticism.

The Feverish Mind

The mind that creates and upholds the Holocaust myth is a feverish one, abandoning any cherishing of truth-telling as a moral virtue. Here is an example of what I mean, written by a professed Holocaust survivor:

I grew up and became an adult in a time and in a society that didn't want to listen, or perhaps was incapable of listening. "Children have no memories, children forget quickly, you must forget it all, it was just a bad dream." These were the words, endlessly repeated, that were used on me from my school days to erase my past and make me keep quiet. So for decades I was silent, but my memory could not be wiped clean. Very occasionally I would make timid attempts to share at least some parts of it with someone, but these attempts always went wrong. A finger tapping against the forehead or aggressive questions in return soon made me fall silent, taking back what I'd revealed. It is so easy to make a child mistrust his own reflections, to take away his voice. I wanted my own certainty back, and I wanted my voice back, so I began to write...

Legal accredited truth is one thing — the truth of a life another. Years of research, many journeys back to the places where I remember things happened, and countless conversations with specialists and historians have helped me to clarify many previously inexplicable shreds of memory, to identify places and people, to find them

again and to make a possible, more or less logical chronology out of it. I thank them all.

This rather moving account of a child finding his identity within the Holocaust mythology, of pain and suffering endured, comes from the afterword of Benjamin Wilkomirski's book *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood*. [See the September-October 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.] We now know that this work, which is still sold in book stores, is a total fabrication. It is fiction sold as fact.

Wilkomirski's "memoir" is a prime example of the level of ruthless emotional exploitation to which the Holocaust racket has sunk. Historical revisionists are not the only ones who are critical of the Holocaust myth makers. Peter Novick, in his 1999 study *The Holocaust in American Life*, says of Wilkomirski's book: "When evidence emerged that one Holocaust memoir, highly praised for its authenticity, might have been completely invented, Deborah Lipstadt, who used the memoir in her teaching of the Holocaust, acknowledged that if this turned out to be the case, it 'might complicate matters somewhat,' but insisted that it would still be 'powerful' as a novel."

I may ask: With what kind of moral framework is Professor Deborah Lipstadt imbuing her students? With impunity she is still defaming and inciting hatred against the German people — which is a crime against the Germans' human rights. Lipstadt is thus committing a crime against humanity. Then again, the Germans are letting it happen!

Natural Justice: From the 'Educators'

Let's go back 15 years, to February 1985, when Ernst Zündel began his legal battle with the world Holocaust lobby. The first "great Holocaust trial" was beginning in Toronto.

In Australia, I had just been dismissed from my teaching post, and was beginning an eight-year legal battle against the Victorian Education Department, ultimately to succeed in having the dismissal reversed. How did I manage that? The issue in court was whether I had been given "natural justice," that is, the right of reply to an allegation. The principle of natural justice is, of course, not a part of statute law but rather of common law. The Crown solicitor stated in the interrogatories — the question and answer section of the proceedings where preliminary matters are tested to find out how strong each side's case is — that I "was given every opportunity to respond to the allegations — and in fact did so" during the formal hearing in the director-general's office. This legal opinion rested on documentary evidence: during the formal hearing on February 7, 1985, a legal officer had taken notes when my witnesses and I talked with the director-general. This legal officer had written that I "was given every opportunity to respond to the allegations, and in fact did so." My legal counsel of one year — I had already been rejected by four legal firms — threw in the towel, claiming that I could not win the case because "you have been given natural justice."

What to do next? I insisted that I had not been given the opportunity to respond to the allegations leveled against me — seven allegations of incompetence and five allegations of disobedience (the latter all alleged to have happened during a time-span of less than five minutes).

On the day of the formal hearing — February 7, 1985 — I attempted to hand to the director-general my written response to the eleven allegations. I still recall his words: "Dr. Töben, it is not a matter of you responding to these allegations point-by-point. Give me a reason why I should not act on the legally constituted enquiry's recommendation that your services be dispensed with."

Luckily I had secretly recorded this whole interview, and a young barrister to whom I played the tape listened intently: “I think your case has stumps, not yet legs, but certainly stumps. I think we can run this case.” He then had the whole tape transcribed. At the end of the trial, the judge found that because the official inquiry looked into my competence, but not into the disobedience allegations — that were no doubt simply added to give weight to the former allegations — I had not been given natural justice, that is, the right of reply. The judge also said something about the director-general “shifting ground” — that’s a euphemism for lying.

It was only a technical victory because I was not reinstated. But in 1992 I presented my case to the South Australian Teachers' Registration Board, and was given permission to teach in South Australian schools.

Complicated court cases rarely produce outright winners or losers. Knowing this, lawyers shrug their shoulders with a cynical attitude, “win some, lose some.” In my case, the concept of natural justice — a right of reply — thus defeated outright lying.

Natural Justice: Before the 'Human Rights Commission'

In 1996, I encountered the same unprincipled legal framework. When the Adelaide Institute set up its own Internet website, Australia’s leading Zionist, Jeremy Jones, was quick to act — following a signal sent around the world by Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, who had designated our website a “hate site.” Jones — vice-president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) — brought us before a “Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission” (HREOC), bitterly complaining on behalf of all Australian Jews that our work violated the recently enacted Racial Discrimination Act.

Like many similar tribunals, this commission was meant to provide low-cost conflict resolution, outside of the normally much more expensive and time-consuming regular court system. Parties before a commission tribunal are encouraged to first resolve their conflicts through conciliation meetings, before coming to a formal hearing. Our case was different, though. Jones refused to attend any conciliation meetings, and instead pressed hard to bring the matter to a formal hearing.

The lady who initially prepared our case, before any formal hearing date had been set, advised me before leaving the HREOC that our case was an international political matter. With this revelation, I was slowly beginning to understand those individuals who spoke of a “Jewish conspiracy,” a notion I had rejected outright. I still do. I simply demand to be given the names of those who are doing the persecuting.

When it was time for the hearing, it was not held in Adelaide, where the alleged offense occurred, but rather in Sydney. This was a tactical move on the part of Jones and the ECAJ, and the HREOC commissioner — who hails from Adelaide — granted Jones' request, thereby placing additional financial hardships on me.

The formal hearing began in Sydney with Jones trying to pull a fast one on the commissioner, who was already biased against me. He claimed to represent all of Australia’s Jews on this matter. I protested that Mr. Jack Selzer — Adelaide Institute’s associate in New South Wales — was Jewish, and certainly would not have Jones representing him before the commission. The application was suitably amended.

Then came my twenty-seven witness statements in support of our work. (Those of you whom I asked for help with this will recall my request.) What happened? Sifting through the statements,

the commissioner quickly deemed most of them to be irrelevant.

I then turned to her with a question: “Is truth a defense in these proceedings?” She pussyfooted about, saying something about having to follow the wording of the Racial Discrimination Act. I continued with words to the effect: “If truth is not a defense in these proceedings, then lies will flourish. Where lies flourish an immoral situation occurs because truth is a moral virtue. These proceedings are immoral and I cannot continue to participate in them any further.” With that I left the room.

[On October 10, 2000, the Australian government’s “Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission” (HREOC) ordered the Adelaide Institute to remove from its Internet website material that “denies the Holocaust,” and to issue an abject written apology to the country’s Jews. To date the Adelaide Institute’s website (www.adelaideinstitute.org) continues to challenge the gas chamber myth.]

The Hayward Thesis

In each hearing we submitted a copy of [Dr. Joel Hayward’s 1993 master’s thesis](#), wherein he endorses the revisionist view that the alleged homicidal gas chambers did not exist. [See the May-June 2000 Journal, pp. 21-23.] Dr. Hayward had sent me a copy of his original along with a written authorization to use it however I wished. This written consent was later withdrawn, but by then the damage had already been done.

Hayward’s recent recantation does not worry me at all. He is just a good revisionist who has changed his mind. He has done so, he says, after studying the trial transcript and judgment in the London Irving-Lipstadt defamation case. Of course, it is his right to change his opinion, but I’d like to know his reasoning in detail, because that is what he, as a scholar, owes the world. Otherwise his intellectual integrity is shot to pieces.

After I returned home from prison, Hayward rang me and we had an hour-long conversation. He informed me that threats had been made against him by a staff member of the Israeli embassy in Auckland, New Zealand. He told me that he had been advised that he would never be allowed to travel to Israel, but that if, by some chance, he did get in, he would never get out. If that is not a threat, I don’t know what is. Hayward dutifully made a public apology (very much in the style of David Cole) to New Zealand’s Jewish community for the hurt, pain, and suffering his research, thesis, and held opinion on the Holocaust had caused them.

I consider historical writings to be professional opinion based on a specific store of information, and on the author’s moral values. This store of information waxes and wanes — often influenced by outright political constraints, as, for example, when Marxist regimes ban scholars who fail to toe the party line.

During a visit in the 1970s to then-Communist East Berlin, I met with a historian at the Humboldt University. He had nothing to do. As he explained to me, the process of exclusion had been a gradual one. First his lectures were vetted to make sure nothing he said violated Marxist dogma, then he was assigned to menial work, and finally he was removed entirely from contact with students. He turned up at the university with nothing to do. (I don’t know what subsequently happened to him.)

So, now I embrace two concepts.

First: Natural Justice — the right of reply, or talking with someone instead of someone talking about me, because the latter is persecution, and,

Second: Truth as a Defense in Court Proceedings — carrying on discussion with reference to truth-content.

Asking Questions

It has always been important for me to speak to friend and foe alike. In 1997, when I undertook my first revisionist world trip, I met many like-minded persons, as well as a few not so like-minded, such as public prosecutor Hans-Heiko Klein in Mannheim, and Rabbi Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

Rabbi Cooper had labeled our website a “hate site.” Why did he do it? During our meeting, he complained that our site was linked with those of non-historians such as that of Arthur Butz. I reminded him that we were linked even with the Simon Wiesenthal Center’s own site because we believe it is important to have a free flow of information. He agreed that this is important, and even agreed that questioning things is essential for our mental development. Then he asked me: “Do you question the gassings?” I replied that, of course, I wanted to know what the murder weapon looked like. That was enough for him. He rose and said this ended our meeting.

Likewise with Klein, that first time. I had a cordial discussion in his office. While showing me a Leitz file folder packed with material, he said: “I know all about Adelaide Institute.” He also asked the gassing question, and I indicated to him that I am aware of the German law that prohibits such questioning. He muttered something about my being like Leuchter on this free speech issue.

So, for Cooper and Klein, merely asking questions is an offense. This is a crime against humanity, because without asking questions we become mental slaves, dependent on someone else interpreting life for us. We thus never develop our own worldview, and that is bad.

To Know, Not to Believe

In August 1998 Adelaide Institute held Australia’s first International Revisionist Symposium, something that upset Jeremy Jones. [See the November-December 1998 Journal, pp. 6-10.] We had the pleasure of hosting, as a visitor, His Excellency, the Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates.

We also had John Sack as a speaker, and some individuals were upset when he began his talk with the words: “I believe in the Holocaust.” I pointed out that holding such a belief is, of course, John’s right, and his participation shows how tolerant Holocaust revisionists really are. However, if he were to assert, “The Holocaust is an historical fact,” then I would take issue with him, asking him to provide detailed proof supporting his assertion.

I want to know, not to believe.

The Arrest

In March 1999, some months after Jürgen Graf had participated in our revisionist symposium, I joined him and Carlo Mattogno on their archival research tour in former Communist countries.

On April 8, 1999, I visited prosecutor Klein's office, and was subsequently arrested. Because a couple of versions of the arrest are floating about, let me briefly tell you what happened.

After arriving that morning at the local Mannheim police station, I inquired where state prosecutor Klein's office was located. An officer rang Klein and confirmed that my meeting with him was set for 2:00 p.m. I had other things planned for later in the afternoon, including travel to Bielefeld to meet, next day, with Judge Luetzenkirchen, the jurist who had confirmed Udo Walendy's earlier prison sentence.

So, around 9:30 a.m. I walked into Klein's office and asked whether he could bring forward the time of our meeting. He agreed to meet at 11 a.m. When I later walked into his personal office, I saw Klein sitting at his desk and another man sitting in a chair in front of me. I was introduced to Herr Mohr. Sensing something, I spontaneously asked Mohr: "You're not here for me, are you?" Mohr responded — and this was corroborated by Klein almost in unison — "No, I'm here just by chance."

Klein then invited me to present the information I had, and among other things, I mentioned that a new sign had gone up at Auschwitz-Birkenau Krematorium II telling visitors about the alleged gas induction holes at the top of the Krema morgue roof. He asked me a few questions designed to trap me into denying the gas chamber's existence, which I avoided answering. But it was no help to me, and Klein then informed me that he was arresting me, and that Mr. Mohr would be taking me to the police station. Mohr began fiddling with his handcuffs, and I said that that would not be necessary because I would not attempt to run away. I had come here to study German justice, I said, and this would help me to learn more about it.

In Germany an arrested person must, by law, be brought before a judge within twenty-four hours. I was, and the arrest warrant that was issued against me reflected the haste with which it had been written up. I didn't recognize myself in what was said about me. I was seemingly the author of most of Ernst Zündel's works and of Germar Rudolf's publications. (It also appeared from my correspondence with Professor Gerald Fleming that he had lodged a complaint against me with the German authorities. Andreas Röhler, publisher of *Sleipnir*, soon established contact with Fleming, who assured Röhler that my imprisonment had nothing to do with him, and that he opposed it.)

Jail

This arrest warrant (*Haftbefehl*) was enough to send me to jail. Bail was refused, citing the experience with Fred Leuchter. [The American gas chamber specialist, author of the 1988 "Leuchter Report," was arrested in Cologne on October 28, 1993, just before he was to appear as a guest on a television program, and held for thirty-four days until his release on November 30, 1993. See the November-December 1993 *Journal*, pp. 22-23.] Klein alleged that Leuchter had skipped the country after he had been let out on bail. Later a confidential prison source informed me that the German authorities had, in fact, wanted Leuchter to leave Germany and return to the United States.

It is common practice to challenge an arrest warrant, and a week later this was done. By that time, though, Klein had gotten his act together, and a second arrest warrant was issued on May 3 that listed five allegedly criminal writings, all taken from Adelaide Institute's website.

Let me just clarify; I was held on remand, or in detention, while awaiting trial, or, in German, *Untersuchungshaft*, literally "investigative custody." Imprisonment, that is, a prison term follow-

ing sentencing for a crime, is Haft in German. However, I tend not to differentiate between detention, house arrest, imprisonment, or jail, because each amounts to a loss of personal freedom.

During my seven months in prison I had a dream every night — but not once did I have one that unsettled me. Nor did I suffer from depression, as many prisoners do during their first few weeks in jail.

It was obvious to me that my case was an attempt by Klein to play world policeman over the Internet, something opposed even by German jurists (such as Prof. Ulrich Siebert of Würzburg University, who wrote a detailed paper in July 1999 about my case).

The day after the second arrest warrant was issued, a local radio station broadcast a news item about my further detention in Mannheim prison. It also reported that the State of Israel had sent good wishes to the Mannheim public prosecutor's office. When I heard that, I knew that I had become a political prisoner.

My attorney, Ludwig Bock, and I had decided not to mount a defense, because any revisionist evidence offered by either of us in our own defense would itself constitute an additional violation of law. Bock also informed the judge he would no longer act as my attorney because he, Bock, was facing a similar charge. (At the time I accepted Bock as my lawyer in this case, I did not know that Klein had charged Bock with inciting racial hatred for having, two years earlier, too vigorously defended yet another German "thought criminal," Günter Deckert. Three weeks before my arrest, Bock was found guilty and fined 9,000 marks. His conviction was later upheld.)

Rejecting Bock's plea, the court ordered him to continue to represent me. But to protect himself, on the first day of my trial, November 8, Bock read out a statement saying this court case was like a witch trial, and that he and I would remain silent throughout the proceedings because evidence is not privileged in such cases.

In addition to the five allegations listed in the arrest warrant, Klein introduced a number of items of evidence that the two judges, Kern and Schmetzer, each read aloud in turn. One was a letter to me in prison from Jürgen Graf, who admonished me for having visited Klein. Graf wrote that he, along with Carlo Mattogno, Robert Faurisson, and so forth — the list was a lengthy "Who's Who" of revisionists — had all warned me not to visit this madman. Klein cited this letter to prove that I was one of the world's leading revisionists, and therefore as evidence of my criminal mindset.

Court Fight

At the end of the first day of trial I had time to think about my situation. I came to the view that instead of going down with barely a whimper, I should put up a fight. So on the second day of my trial, before the proceedings commenced, I read out the following statement:

1. It would be painful for me if I let myself be forced to be silent, especially if it concerns seeking clarification or solving problems.
2. I regard this trial as a state-sanctioned mental rape of my person.
3. Through a lifetime of philosophical studies I have liberated myself from my own ignorance, thereby not shying away from becoming a citizen who voices his concerns and who takes a moral-ethical stand against injustices.
4. After I left the court Monday afternoon I reflected a lot on what was happening in court. I also saw a television news item in which reporter Volker Hurre insulted me and incited ha-

tred against me. Yesterday morning I read articles by Ulrich Willenberg in the Frankfurter Rundschau and the Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung that also offered an ideologically distorted picture of my endeavors, and thereby defamed and incited hatred against me.

5. Every thinking human being is a revisionist. Revisionism is nothing but a method, a heuristic principle, with which to construct one's world view. Opinions are constantly revised through a free flow of information. Only encrusted minds cannot absorb new information, preventing moral responsibility from coming to the fore. Then citizens such as myself are arrested during a private discussion and thrown into prison.
6. I revised my plans last night when I heard German president Johannes Rau's address, given on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Rau said that no one is expelled from Germany for disagreeing with the government's opinions. He also talked about freedom, and how justice requires it. I now add that in Germany there is a basic law that protects my human rights. I therefore request that I may defend myself in this court with a new lawyer, Dr. Thor von Waldenstein.
7. I am now in my eighth month in Mannheim jail, and I have gained many impressions of the German justice system. I was elected spokesperson for the 250 prisoners on remand, and I hear many prisoners insult prosecutors and judges as "racists" and "Nazis." Public prosecutor Klein — that's the irony — also defames me with these words. He even decorates his office wall with a swastika!
8. I see prosecutors and judges order prisoners on remand placed in their cells for twenty-three hours a day. They are treated like convicted prisoners, and not as innocent persons. Convicts are better off than prisoners on remand, who are not even allowed to participate in the church service and in the Bible study group. This is human rights abuse — the prevention of exercising one's religious belief. Why do Hurrle and Willenberg not focus on such injustices?
9. I have no criticism to make of the staff of the Mannheim jail. They attempt to do their best in coping with a difficult situation, but they can do only so much, and they are often just overburdened.

A Free Man

Judge Klaus Kern refused my request to remove my silent lawyer, Ludwig Bock, from my case, and to order a new trial with proper legal representation.

In his summation, prosecutor Klein demanded a sentence of two years and four months for me because, he said, "it is obvious that the seven months in prison have had no effect on him." He also claimed that my criminal intent was evident in my revisionist mindset, and that this makes me a hard-core revisionist, an anti-Semite, and a racist.

After adjourning for about an hour, the judges returned. Judge Kern read out the sentence: three months for allegations one through three; six months for an open letter I had written to Judge Clapiér-Krespach (violating section 130 of the criminal code, which outlaws "popular incitement," because I had mailed it, and several copies, to persons in Germany); and three months for allegation five. The judge rounded this down to ten months, and then set bail at six thousand marks. Because I had already spent seven months behind bars, and had been well behaved during my imprisonment, the "two-thirds" rule applied. I was therefore released for time served in custody.

This deprivation of my mental freedom rests on the Holocaust myth, the Holocaust dogma. The dogma is all-pervasive and gaining in strength, but the stronger it becomes, the more resistance

will grow against it. These are interesting times. The United States of America, with its free speech guarantee, will continue to play a leading role in keeping the controversy alive.

[On December 12, 2000, the federal German appeals court in Karlsruhe criticized the Mannheim court for its leniency, and ordered that Fredrick Töben be retried. The appeals court upheld the principle that German courts may try foreigners for actions which are lawful in the countries in which they are committed.]

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The Töben Affair, Seen by Voltaire

Robert Faurisson

For the historian, the sociologist, or the jurist, the case of Australian revisionist Fredrick Töben is one of the simplest and most instructive. It is also both appalling and amusing.

One day, moved by curiosity, this German-born Australian departed the antipodes for France, to confer with a revisionist who had coined the phrase “No holes, no 'Holocaust.’” Next, he journeyed to Poland, to Auschwitz, where with his own eyes he observed the absence of any “holes” in the collapsed roof of an alleged homicidal gas chamber, and concluded that there was cause to doubt whether such chemical slaughterhouses had ever existed at that spot, the veritable center of the “Holocaust.” Finally, on a pilgrimage to the Germanic lands, he shared his doubts and asked for explanations, conduct that, forthwith, earned him a stay in prison.

Voltaire would have liked this “affaire Calas” (of a less tragic sort). From it he could have drawn inspiration for a tale entitled: “The Emperor’s New Clothes, or the Imposture.” It seems right to imagine that, as in a classical French play, the story should evolve in five acts.

In the first of these acts, our hero from the southern hemisphere hears tell that a certain European emperor, dear to the Jews, and thus also to today’s Germans, is, in the eyes of his court, bedecked in the most resplendent attire, while in reality he is quite simply naked. It is said that certain ingenious rascals had pretended to create for the emperor garments of an exceedingly rare cloth, costing a fortune. In the next act, our Australian, a modern-day Huron after Voltaire’s tale *Le Huron ou l'Ingénu*, armed with advice on how to pursue his inquiry, arrives in Europe and prepares to see for himself. At the imperial court, he forms the impression that this emperor could well be naked. In the third act, he makes inquiries at the court, even whispering to the courtiers: “Is it possible that your emperor is naked?”

For want of a fitting reply, he resolves to go to the German realms and consult a man of the craft. This man, certainly a German, perhaps a Jew as well, has a reputation the world over for so good a grasp of the solution to the riddle that he will abide no answer but his own. A prosecutor of lugubrious mien, he invites the skeptic to return the next day to receive his answer. This our Australian does not fail to do. In the prosecutor’s office, with a stranger present, he is asked to repeat his question. He does. And so it is that, in the fifth and final act, the curious traveler finds himself behind the bars of a German jail.

In the real-life Töben case, the prosecutor was one Heiko Klein, the stranger was a policeman, and Töben spent seven months in the Mannheim jail.

Voltaire would have been no less inspired by what came next. The treatment Töben received in court throws a stark light on how the German justice system operates today, and on the behavior

of many Western democracies whenever the most hallowed of their taboos, that of the “Holocaust,” appears to be in peril.

Fredrick Töben, guarded and in handcuffs, was led from his jail cell into a courtroom. Given the gravity of his case, however, he was only allowed a mock trial. He was, of course, provided with counsel, but his attorney was made to understand that he would do well to keep quiet if he did not want to join his client in prison. The lawyer kept quiet, and Töben was found guilty, sentenced to time served and a heavy fine, and then released.

The Australian authorities were careful not to intervene in favor of the victim. Indeed they fell little short of applauding the judges' decision, most likely envying the German magistrates' freedom of action.

In the rest of the Western world, everyone, by and large, fell into line with Germany and Australia. The “elites” in place either approved, or kept silent. It occurred to none of them to decry the outrage. There were no petitions in support of the heretic, and no demonstrations. “Amnesty International” considered it natural and normal that an intellectual, an academic, should be treated thus. Indeed, precisely because Töben is a professor, many must think that he ought surely to know that some questions simply outrage decency.

Twenty Years Earlier

Twenty years previously, I myself lived through an experience comparable to that of my Australian colleague. In the columns of *Le Monde* (Feb. 21, 1979), thirty-four French historians — some of whom, like Fernand Braudel, enjoyed international renown — issued a joint declaration rebuking me for having put a question that propriety should have forbidden me even to conceive.

I had discovered that the existence and operation of the alleged Nazi gas chambers was, for physical and chemical reasons understandable to a child of eight, fundamentally impossible. In the late seventies I had therefore asked Germany's accusers how, for them, such mass murder by gassing had been technically possible. The answer took some time in coming, then gushed forth:

It must not be asked how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible given that it took place. That is the requisite point of departure of any historical inquiry on this subject. It is incumbent upon us to simply state this truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.

I was awkward enough to think that I had just brought off a decisive victory. My adversaries were taking flight. They showed themselves unable to reply to my arguments except by nimbly evading them. For me, the myth of the gas chambers had just breathed its last.

Pressac's Surrender, Spielberg's Triumph

Of course, from a scientific standpoint, gas chambers had fallen into nothingness. The following years confirmed this. From 1979 to 1995, every attempt to demonstrate their existence would abort: the Rückerls and Langbeins, the Hilbergs and Brownings, the Klarfelds and Pressacs would all suffer the most humiliating failures. It is not I who say this but rather one of their most fervent disciples, the historian Jacques Baynac. In 1996, in two lengthy and particularly well-informed articles, this fierce opponent of the revisionists drafted, with a heavy heart, an assessment of the vain efforts to establish the existence of the Nazi gas chambers (*Le Nouveau Quotidien*, Lausanne, Sept. 2 and 3, 1996). [See the July-August 1998 Journal, pp. 24-28.] Baynac's conclu-

sion: the historians had failed totally and, as a result, recourse was had to the judiciary in order to silence the revisionists.

In March 2000, the renegade revisionist Jean-Claude Pressac was, in a way, to announce his own surrender. On this point one may read an interview with him published by the French scholar and historian (and staunch anti-revisionist) Valérie Igounet, in her book *Histoire du négationnisme en France* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2000, pp. 613-652). The last two pages of the interview are stunning: Pressac states that the “rubbish bins of history” await the official story of the concentration camps! This text of a recorded talk, supposedly on June 15, 1995, must have been somewhat modified afterwards.

As is well known, however, the sphere of science, on the one hand, and that of the mass media, on the other, are plainly different in nature. In the latter sphere, while the Nazi gas chambers have had a very rough time of it, the adjoining myths of the genocide and the six million have prospered, thanks to thunderous promotion. Hilberg and his like may have failed in their work as historians, but Spielberg, the master of special effects cinema, triumphs with his “Holocaust” epics. Today, the official version of Second World War history has the force of law and of custom to such a degree that the nasty “deniers” seem annihilated.

The Particular Case of Fredrick Töben

Nevertheless, a number of these rebels called revisionists remain alive, and very much so, to the despair of the thought police and their servitors among prosecutors, the judiciary, and the media. One of these revisionists, Fredrick Töben, upon leaving prison, had not the decency to show the least contrition or, as is said today, repentance. It may be feared that, for him, the Emperor (of the Jews) will remain indisputably naked, and that he will continue to go about repeating “No holes, no 'Holocaust,’” or, in an allusion to the non-existent fabric, “No clothes, no 'Holocaust.’”

Beginning with the indomitable Paul Rassinier, numerous other revisionists besides our Australian have endured, or still endure, a thousand travails. A few months ago, one of them, in Germany, was driven to suicide. Werner Pfeifenberger, a professor in Münster, killed himself on May 13, 2000, after years of exhausting struggle against his persecutors. [See the May-June 2000 *Journal*, pp. 24-25.] On April 25, 1995, in a Munich square, Reinhold Elstner immolated himself by fire. [See the September-October 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.]

What distinguishes Töben’s case from those of other revisionists is its simple and swift unwinding, and therefore its illustrative value. One might call it a synopsis, even a précis. It is nothing but the story of a man who, for having made a prosaic remark about a material fact, finds himself in prison. To whoever cared to listen, he declared: “At Auschwitz-Birkenau, they tell us a lethal poison was poured through four openings cut into a reinforced concrete roof, killing, day after day, thousands of people locked in the room below. Well, just looking at the roof today you can see that none of those four holes ever existed! Yes, the roof is in ruins, but there is not a trace of such an opening, either above ground or, if you go down into the ruins, on the ceiling below. How do you explain that?” He received no answer. He then sought out a man who, by definition, would certainly know the answer to his query (and the answer to several others of the same type, i.e. material, basic). The sole reply that wise man could make was to throw the questioner in jail. But, out of jail again, what did our impertinent friend do? He repeated his question, but this time “urbi et orbi,” to the whole world, and with renewed vigor.

A story edifying by its brevity, and not without spice.

Töben in an Ingénu Role Out of a Tale by Voltaire

I shall say it again: a Frenchman familiar with Voltaire is tempted to see in this antipodean a reincarnation, in his own mode, of Candide or the Huron (the original ingénu). Under Voltaire's pen, the ingenuousness, real or feigned, of those two heroes, wholly of his imagining, ended up putting them through numerous ordeals — but it also helped them overcome adversity, not without providing interesting perspectives on the beliefs and superstitions underpinning our society and institutions. The story of Fredrick Töben (a German, as was, in fact, Candide) would probably have appealed to Voltaire on another score, that of the execrable intolerance of the Jews and their high priests. (See: Henri Labroue, *Voltaire antijuif* [Paris: Les Documents contemporains, 1942].)

Today, in France, new editions of certain works of the “patriarch of Ferney” are expurgated, for fear of displeasing the Jews. No one can doubt that, if he came back to this world, Voltaire, following Töben's example, would be locked up for his disrespectful questions. Today even Switzerland, where in his time Voltaire knew he could find refuge, would surely put him in jail.

* * *

A note to the reader: Voltaire (1694-1778) was notably the author of *Candide ou l'Optimisme* (philosophical tale, 1759) and *Le Huron ou l'Ingénu* (satirical tale, 1767) as well as the *Dictionnaire philosophique ou la Raison par alphabet* (1764). He intervened in a series of court cases, such as that of the Calvinist Jean Calas, to speak out against what he called the crimes of intolerance or of superstition. He spent his last twenty years at Ferney, near the Swiss border.

Note on a falsely attributed statement: the following remark is mistakenly attributed to Voltaire: “I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it,” sometimes with the adjunct “Monsieur l'abbé ...” In reality, a London author, in a book published in 1906, wrote, of Voltaire's attitude in cases of intense disagreement with his adversaries: “I disapprove of what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it was his attitude now.” The author called himself Stephen G. Tallentyre (real name: Evelyn B. Hall), and the book was entitled *The Friends of Voltaire*. Source: Paul F. Boller, Jr., and John George, *They Never Said It: A Book of Fake Quotes, Misquotes, and Misleading Attributions* (New York and Oxford: O.U.P., 1989, pp. 124-126). Such, anyway, is the information I have from an article in *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux* (Nov. 1993, p. 1157), kindly sent to me seven years ago by the Belgian revisionist Pierre Moreau, to whom I had confided my failure to find the remark in any of Voltaire's writings.

-- August 22, 2000

Book review

The Debate about Neighbors

- *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* by Jan T. Gross. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001. Hardcover. 216 pp., index, photos, maps.

Samuel Crowell

The publication of Jan Tomasz Gross' *Neighbors in Poland* in the spring of 2000 elicited strong protests in the author's native country. Many considered the book, a meditation about a massacre of Jews allegedly carried out by Poles in the summer of 1941, an accusation of Polish complicity in the Holocaust. When Princeton University Press published *Neighbors* in English translation in April, similar reactions from outraged Polish nationalists could be heard in the United States. Conversely, there was gloating in certain Jewish quarters, since the book, in its depiction of Jewish suffering at the hands of malicious Poles, served to reinforce longstanding prejudices many Jews continue to harbor against the Polish people.

The debate has tended to focus largely on the facts of the massacre, which in turn shape the secondary debate on the massacre's implications. That there was a massacre no one really disputes. Yet there has been sharp criticism of Gross, not only for his lack of qualifications to write history — he is a sociologist who teaches political science in New York City — but also because of some unusual departures from accepted historical method that Gross inarguably makes. Some critics have even fastened on Gross' Jewish paternity: although his mother is Catholic, Gross left Poland in 1968 during a state-sponsored “anti-Zionist” (in fact, anti-Jewish) campaign, and one could surmise a connection between that trauma and this book. Recently, the debate has been heightened following excavations by the Polish Institute of National Memory, a newly created agency designed to investigate the recent past and hand down OSI-style indictments, and these excavations have revealed some serious factual inaccuracies in Gross' account.

Nevertheless, to attack Gross' book for its historiographical deficiencies is to miss the point of *Neighbors*. To begin with, it is not structured as a work of history, being little more than a medium length journal article — some 35,000 words — in which Gross uses the setting of a burning barn in Jedwabne as a backdrop for delivering several pronouncements about the nature of Polish-Jewish relations. *Neighbors* seems not so much intended as an historical inquiry as it is an appeal to conscience, a call for Poles to confront their past as actors rather than as victims.

Of course, many will bridle at the attempt to use an isolated incident for the purposes of making general observations about a people, an incident which was in any case hardly typical of Polish-Jewish relations. In that sense, *Neighbors* certainly passes the Goldhagen test of making vast and offensive generalizations based on limited data. On the other hand, hyperbole is a useful device to draw attention to a problem, and, when the problem in this case is the recriminatory nature of Polish-Jewish relations, perhaps it could be justified. To be sure, there will still be those who feel

that Gross should have also called the Jewish people to self-examination: his failure to achieve such balance is the weakest aspect of the book.

Still, given the hysterical nature of the debate, with fevered expressions of chauvinism from both Polish and Jewish sides, there seems little doubt that books that attempt what *Neighbors* claims to be needed, if Europe is ever to recover its underlying unity and sense of purpose.

The Story

Gross' book is built around a series of allegations concerning what transpired in the Polish village of Jedwabne, in the northwest corner of present-day Poland, not far from Bialystok. In the fall of 1939, Jedwabne was among the territories annexed by the Soviet Union, as part of the secret protocol of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Given Jedwabne's small size (about 3,000 inhabitants), its composition (approximately half Jewish and half Roman Catholic), its impoverishment and agricultural base, it could be said that Jedwabne was typical of probably hundreds of small villages throughout Eastern Europe.

The period from 1939 to 1941 was a difficult one for Poles in the regions annexed by the Soviet Union. Soviet rule was accompanied by widespread "expropriation" of the "bourgeoisie." During the twenty-one months of occupation the Soviet secret police, the NKVD, arrested and deported well over a million Poles, including some tens of thousands of Polish Jews, most of who disappeared into Siberia. It is important to note that Gross, in an earlier book, *Revolution from Abroad*, was quite clear about the extent of Polish suffering during this period: this should be kept in mind when evaluating the apparent lack of objectivity in *Neighbors*. Another feature of the Soviet occupation, very relevant to reconstructing the events in Jedwabne, is the fact that there was widespread cooperation between elements of the Jewish community and the Soviet occupiers, which could easily have led to ethnic hatred. However, this aspect of the Soviet occupation, forthrightly described by Polish historians, including, in his earlier book, Gross, seems deliberately downplayed, and indeed, with the claim of implied Polish gentile complicity with the Soviets later in the book, turned upside down.

With the Soviet occupation as a setting, Gross describes how matters changed following the German invasion of the USSR in June of 1941. According to several eyewitness accounts, beginning on June 25, several "town hooligans" began to harass the Jews of Jedwabne in several ways, mainly through beatings and robberies. According to Gross, the culmination of these anti-Jewish actions came on July 10, 1941, when the Jews of Jedwabne — numbered at 1,600 by the author — were rounded up in the town square by their Polish neighbors, beaten and subjected to various indignities, and then finally marched to a nearby barn, where they were locked in and burned alive.

The Backlash

One of the first criticisms of Gross' book was that it relied largely, but not exclusively, on a single deposition describing the pogrom, as well as testimony from a couple of postwar trials which that deposition generated. The trials were held in Communist Poland during the late Stalinist period (1949-1953). For the most part, Gross depended on the deposition of Shmuel Wasserstein (Szmul Waszerstajn), a Jedwabne Jew, who, according to some sources, was a member of the Polish secret police (Security Office, or "UB") during the time of the postwar trials. Furthermore, Wasserstein was not strictly speaking an eyewitness, since he was hiding in another part of town during the massacre. While several Poles were convicted of participation in the events of July 10, 1941, there were several acquittals, and no death sentences were ever carried out.

One of the mysteries to Gross is how Wasserstein's deposition — originally drafted in April 1945 by a Jewish agency in Warsaw — could have led to a trial by the Polish state in a backwater town four years later. It seems likely that, if Wasserstein was indeed a member of the secret police by this time, the impetus for the trial could well have come on his initiative. On the other hand, the general unwillingness of the state authority to pass judgment on Poles for their conduct during the German occupation would be a likely explanation for the light sentences. Certainly, one of the most unusual things about the postwar Jedwabne trials is that, while held, they generated no spectacle of retribution: they were, in effect, show trials with no show. Bearing in mind that trials under Communist systems invariably contain an element of political "education," this is most unusual.

Another criticism of Gross is that he failed to consult records in other archives, specifically, the records of the German Einsatzgruppen, known to have been active in the area at the time, for his account of the massacre at Jedwabne. Gross has been the target of several barbs for this research failure. Such criticism, however, presupposes that Gross' intent was to exhaustively reconstruct the events of the massacre. That this was not the case can be clearly seen from an endnote entry (p. 210f.) in which Gross admits that, while he relied on Wasserstein's April 5, 1945, deposition (numbered 301/152), a later affidavit, also by Wasserstein (numbered 301/613), describes the deaths of fifty Jewish youths at the cemetery (which lay directly behind the burning barn). Clearly, the second deposition suggests a rather different massacre, at least in terms of scale, yet Gross has chosen not to explore these discrepancies.

Eyewitnesses

Perhaps in anticipation of such criticism, Gross makes an unusual appeal about the nature of eyewitness evidence about two-thirds of the way through his book. He writes:

I suggest that we should modify our approach to sources for this period. When considering survivors' testimonies, we should be well advised to change the starting premise in appraisal of their evidentiary contribution from a priori critical to in principle affirmative. By accepting what we read in a particular account as fact until we find persuasive arguments to the contrary, we would avoid more mistakes than we are likely to commit by adopting the opposite approach, which calls for cautious skepticism towards any testimony until an independent confirmation of its content can be found. (pp. 139f.)

This reads as an extraordinary appeal to ignore the most basic canons of historiographical practice, but the wording also suggests that Gross had in mind specific practices of Polish historians in ignoring eyewitness testimony.

It should be said that the issue of eyewitness testimony is a problem of twentieth-century history writing, for the greater democratization of societies has created a situation in which virtually anyone's narrative of a historical event is considered historiographically valid. It is an issue particularly dear to revisionists, since so many of the events revisionists dispute — in particular the narratives concerning "extermination camps" in which three million were gassed and burned — rest almost entirely on eyewitness accounts. This has even led a few revisionists to the position that all eyewitness testimony should be declared invalid and ignored as much as possible.

Yet this approach seems both extreme and misguided. Eyewitness testimony is a very valuable tool to the historian attempting to reconstruct events. The key issue is the basic credibility of what the eyewitness narrates. If an eyewitness describes a massacre of Jews in a small Polish village, whether it be by Polish marauders or by the Gestapo, then the event might well have oc-

curred, since it does not strain credulity. The problem with the “gas chamber” narratives is not that they are based on eyewitness testimony, but rather that the testimony offered is incredible on its face, and can only become credible if there is an underlying mass of credible documentary and forensic evidence. Of course, the entire point of Holocaust revisionism is that this underlying evidence does not exist.

Excavations and Motive

In May 2001, the Institute of National Memory conducted excavations of the site of the massacre, that is, in the area of the burned-out barn and between the barn and the former Jewish cemetery. The results offered confirmation and contradictions of aspects of Gross' account. In the first place, the excavations revealed the remains of a statue of Lenin that the Jews had been forced to remove from the square, a detail which tallies with several accounts. On the other hand, while the total number of bodies could only be estimated, due to Jewish complaints of desecration, it appears that no more than 200 or 250 people were killed in the massacre of July 10, 1941. In addition, some ammunition of German manufacture was discovered at the site.

The data have been interpreted variously by the partisans in the debate. The presence of German ammunition, for example, has been taken as proof that the killings were carried out by the Gestapo, although that doesn't very well explain why so many people in the area seemed to have no difficulty in admitting that Poles carried them out. Even the defendants in the 1949 and 1953 trials, who later claimed to have been tortured during their confinement, did not generally dispute the claim that at Jedwabne Poles killed Jews, while Germans were not involved. Moreover, German ammunition was widely used throughout Eastern Europe during this time, and thus the presence of German bullets is meaningless: recall that the NKVD used German ammo at Katyn.

The presence of the Lenin statue is rather more significant, for it strongly suggests that the massacre was carried out in revenge for perceived Jewish participation in Soviet rule, and the deportations these engendered. Indeed, it is hard to find any other explanation, and the presence of the statue also tends to refute one of Gross' main arguments, that the violence of the Poles against their Jewish neighbors was not due to rationally explicable motives, such as intergroup competition, class resentment, or even revenge, but rather to such superstitious causes as deicide and the blood libel. (Towards the end of the book Gross charitably offers theft as a possible quasi-rational motivation.)

The estimation of only 200 dead has been taken as vindication by Polish nationalists, who consider this reduction to have somehow removed the blot on Polish honor cast by Gross, as though the mob murder of 200 people is significantly less a moral stain than the murder of 1,600. Here we should emphasize that, patriotism apart, no good can come from attempting to explain away mass murders. The proper aim of rationalization is to help us understand the causality of tragedies such as Jedwabne, which otherwise run the risk of becoming mystified or two-dimensional: but understanding can never be equated with justification.

In reality, the excavations raise more questions than they answer. We can summarize the matter as follows: It appears that about 200 Jewish citizens of Jedwabne were murdered in 1941 by their Polish neighbors in retaliation for real or imagined collaboration with the Soviets. After the war, a monument blaming the deaths of some 1,600 Jedwabne Jews on the Nazis was erected in the town. At the same time, trials were held in which Polish defendants admitted to their exclusive role in murdering the Jedwabne Jews. The forensic evidence does not contradict this general narrative.

However, if only 200 Jedwabne Jews were killed, what happened to the rest? If they fled with the Soviets — as seems likely — why were the Nazis blamed for killing all 1,600? Why would the Communist government present essentially two different stories to account for the absence of Jedwabne's Jews, who in any case were not killed there? These are difficult questions, but they may conceivably again go back to what might have been a complex of competing interests in the late 1940s and 1950s.

We can imagine a situation in which Soviet and Polish Communist governments would be willing to ascribe any population losses to Nazi conduct. The absence of Jews or even ethnic Poles from Jedwabne or elsewhere could be explained away by accusations of Nazi mass murder. In this way, one could avoid facing the more politically incorrect but more likely explanations that the missing people were either deported or forbidden to return home by the Soviet Union or had escaped to freedom in the West. On the other hand, we can also see the desire of Polish Jews who survived the war to see a measure justice or revenge meted out. In sum, while the events of July 10, 1941, seem rather clear in outline, the delineation of Poland's historical memory of the war years since then seems to have been a much more complex and competitive process. Perhaps further study will reveal that *Neighbors* itself is a part of that process.

Summary

As noted above, Gross' book has been severely criticized for its historiographical deficiencies. Yet, in our view, such critiques tend to miss the point of Gross' book, which was not so much meant to be historiographically precise as it was meant to force the Polish people to confront their legacy of anti-Jewish thoughts and deeds. There are several reasons that lead us to the conclusion that this was the main purpose of *Neighbors*.

First, we should always keep in mind that *Neighbors* was originally published in Polish for a Polish audience: this means it can only secondarily be construed as yet another entry in the Holocaust literature so common in the United States. However, recognizing this fact means that we have to try to read the book the way a Pole would be expected to read it, as an intimate commentary by a former fellow citizen about a common past. Under those circumstances it is hard to support the argument that *Neighbors* is just another anti-Polish diatribe. To be sure, the publication of the book in English elicited precisely such anti-Polish stereotypes, but that is not relevant in determining Gross' original intent.

Second, Gross concedes that the events surrounding the pogrom in Jedwabne may well be inexact; yet this observation was relegated to the endnotes, which simply emphasizes the extent to which *Neighbors* is meant as a call to conscience among his former Polish compatriots, rather than a work of history. In the same way, the frankly one-sided nature of Gross' appeal also tends to diminish the book's claims.

Third, Gross emphasizes that witness testimony should be accepted as true a priori: the normal strictures of historiographical skepticism should not be applied. To non-Poles, and particularly to revisionists, this argument must be viewed as breathtakingly broad and naïve. On the other hand, if it is seen as a response to attempts to deny, diminish, or to impute to others every wrong in modern Poland's undeniably contentious history with the Jews, it is at least understandable. If there has been a habitual tendency among nationalist Poles to refuse any responsibility for mistreating Jews — and the controversy over *Neighbors* suggests that is the case — then a reminder that one should not be quick to dismiss eyewitness accounts, especially if they are otherwise credible, can only be salutary.

Fourth, Gross argues in *Neighbors* for diminishing the extent of Jewish-Soviet collaboration in the crucial period of 1939-1941, even though he has conceded the extent of such collaboration elsewhere. Instead, he attempts to argue that non-Jewish Poles were as involved, if not more involved, in collaboration with the Soviet occupiers. What this suggests is that, for this particular argument, and for the proving of this particular point, Gross sought to invert the issue of collaboration in order to avoid the typical apologetic reaction in which an anti-Jewish pogrom would be explained away as a consequence of collaboration.

Fifth, in a related vein, Gross argues, towards the close of *Neighbors*, that the true facilitators of the hated Communist regime in Poland were not Jews, but anti-Semites, inasmuch as the kind of Jew-hating opportunists who would have taken part in the Jedwabne massacre were precisely the kinds of individuals who would have amorally served the postwar puppet government. Again, such a reversal of stereotypes is of little use in assessing the responsibility for Jedwabne, but it makes sense if the purpose of Gross' book is to remind his former countrymen of a famous wise-crack by a noted American philosopher from the wetlands. Nevertheless, Gross' implied "We have met the enemy, and he is you" doesn't have quite the rhetorical and moral force as Pogo's "We have met the enemy, and he is us."

One of the most striking things about *Neighbors* is that it has reminded us of the extent to which many nations, particularly in Eastern Europe, have tended to interpret the Second World War through a very strict prism of self-interest and chauvinist pride. Holocaust revisionists are well aware, for example, of the tendency of Jewish historians to interpret Jewish history in such a way that the Jewish people are always the innocent victims of someone else's wickedness; but we tend to forget that this tendency toward apologetics is common to many Europeans. In fact, the only European nation that does not engage in such chauvinist representations of its own history is Germany, and that is only because any change to the Nuremberg narrative is considered "revisionism," so that, in effect, Germans are not entitled to articulate a self-serving narrative of their past because by so doing they would encroach on someone else's self-serving narrative. On the other hand, the arguments between Poles and Jews about what happened at Jedwabne are nothing less than this.

An argument can be made for the need for Germans to tell their side of the story, if only to balance out the relentless anti-Germanism of the other narratives. However, historical revisionism, and Holocaust revisionism, should be dedicated not to simply allowing each nation's partisans a voice, but to constructing a narrative that is at once true but which also attempts to reconcile the competing patriotisms of different peoples. To do this, revisionists need to continue their work in separating fact from fiction with regard to the Holocaust story. But they also need to have studies that will challenge the different peoples of Europe — including the Jewish people — to give up parochial and chauvinist myths about the past.

Thus, as a call to Gross' former countrymen to alter their idealized vision of the past, *Neighbors* might have served a purpose, and even have been of some service to revisionism. Yet, in this book and in other recent writings, Gross has shown a tendency to engage in apologetics — in his case, Jewish apologetics — that distort, indeed, undo the message he wishes to impart. Poles, no less than Germans or Jews or Americans, should be willing to heed the call to responsibility for their own history that Gross' book represents. But to make such a call without at least touching on the history of Polish-Jewish hostility and competition from both sides is simply to pose one species of chauvinism in place of another. For this reason the moral appeal of *Neighbors* remains seriously impaired: never a work of history, it ultimately fails even as a polemic.

About the reviewer

Samuel Crowell is the pen name of an American writer who describes himself as a “moderate revisionist.” At the University of California (Berkeley) he studied philosophy, foreign languages (including German, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian), and history, including Russian, German, and German-Jewish history. He continued his study of history at Columbia University. For six years he worked as a college teacher.

Reviewer:	Samuel Crowell
Title:	The debate about <i>Neighbors</i> (review)
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Film review

Disney's \$140 Million Dud

- Pearl Harbor. (2001) Genre: film (war, drama). Length: 183 minutes. MPAA rating: PG-13. Starring: Ben Affleck, Josh Hartnett, Kate Beckinsale, Alec Baldwin, Cuba Gooding, Jr., Mako, Jon Voight. Director: Michael Bay. Producer: Jerry Bruckheimer. Screenplay: Randall Wallace. Released by: Buena Vista. Grade: D.

Scott L. Smith

At three hours long, Pearl Harbor strains to be an epic. Unfortunately, it falls short both as epic fact and epic fiction. The movie's chief focus is on the feelings and motives of a few young Americans in 1941, with a well-known Japanese attack thrown in. The 45-minute-long battle sequence just suffices to make Pearl Harbor a passable summer action movie. As for the rest of the film, it's a stitched-together mini-series suffers by comparison to the made-for-TV remake of From Here to Eternity, let alone the original.

Nor is Pearl Harbor a match its 1970 predecessor, Tora! Tora! Tora! At the time that more focused account of "the day of infamy" was released, Japan was a firm ally in the Cold War and had yet to become America's economic rival. While it was a big-budget box office bomb, Tora! Tora! Tora! presented the enemy with balance, though some diehard veterans grumbled about minor technical inaccuracies in a very historically detailed movie.

Similar grumbling won't affect Pearl Harbor's fortunes. Screenwriter Randall Wallace simply did not write a historical documentary for enthusiasts to quibble over. While this PG-13 movie is about the Greatest Generation, it is not really for them. No need to let historical details get in the way when Pearl Harbor's emotional kitsch is not even aimed at the men and women who actually experienced the war.

Two boys from Tennessee, played by Ben Affleck and Josh Hartnett, become Army aviators, and vie for the same serially monogamous Navy nurse, played by Kate Beckinsale. The characters are ultimately dull and forgettable: nearly every one of them could have been cast by MTV. Although Pearl Harbor's makers loudly promised the movie would include strong female roles, its adorable nurses are looking for little more than pilot officers to marry. While this might have made a good vehicle for Elvis Presley, action-movie director Michael Bay (Armageddon) was clearly overmatched by Pearl Harbor's triangulated love-dilemma: the awkward plot resolutions are implausible and unconvincing.

Pearl Harbor seeks to reinforce a vision of "America the Noble" by concocting a romantic story of historical convenience. Screenwriter Wallace's initial take on Pearl Harbor came from a William Faulkner story about two brothers in bucolic Mississippi who hear about the Japanese attack on the radio, with the older one going away to enlist: nobody gets away with treating

America like that! When we need an American response, a quintessentially pure-American response is what we'll get.

The filmmakers want to show a new generation that Americans make stupid decisions as a people, but can be brave and worthy as individuals. It doesn't take a seminar in revisionist history to know that for Hollywood, nothing could be more stupid than isolationism. When U.S. Army combat pilot Ben Affleck leaves to shoot down Germans for the RAF — during a Battle of Britain that takes place, in this movie, in 1941, a year after it actually occurred — a British commander asks the Yank why he is so awfully anxious to die: "Not anxious to die, sir; anxious to matter." And Hollywood's Americans so want to matter, fighting other countries' wars, out of season!

We do get a little history. The Japanese actor Mako (*Seven Years in Tibet*) treats us to an uncanny period portrayal of Admiral Yamamoto, whose strike was brilliant but whose strategy was flawed. Overall, however, the Japanese are simply presented as stereotypical "nips," who deliver almost every line in staccato Jap plainsong (not quite replete with spittle on the chin). Are they plotting a surprise attack, or a corporate takeover?

The movie's efforts to provide historical context are predictably feeble: what's this thing all about — oil or something? Fortunately, we don't see enough of the enemy to really reconstitute any old venom. There is the usual Japanese spy (for once historically grounded), and even a duped Japanese-American dentist who gets an anonymous call at his office overlooking Pearl Harbor, asking humbly about the weather. But there is at least one Japanese-American good guy, a Hawaiian medic who confidently assists after the attack, and some Japanese pilots who wave Boy Scouts to take cover, an apparently true story.

There is one, rather incoherent, nod to popular revisionism (no revisionist thesis on the Second World War has received more support than the notion that the surprise attack was no surprise — to President Franklin Roosevelt and his advisers). Dan Aykroyd, of all people, plays a captain in naval intelligence able only to voice intuitive, equivocal warnings for the deaf ears around him in Washington — a character not far removed from the spooked clients he succored in *Ghostbusters* ("Who ya gonna call?")

Against the defenders of Pearl and its associated bases, complete surprise was achieved — no mean accomplishment! The movie compromises with the pro- and anti-Admiral Kimmel factions by depicting the commander of the Pacific Fleet, like some imperial nabob, at the golf course that Sunday morning (he wasn't), but hurrying back to take command.

In Pearl Harbor the Japanese attack seems to last for hours. In fact, the movie devotes 45 minutes to the two-pronged onslaught (in actuality, the first wave lasted 40 minutes, the second 36). Here, Disney's bombs fall with their fuses winding, like deadly toys; torpedoes churn with agonizing slowness toward their targets (the preferred point of view is that of the ordnance). Mostly the Pearl Harbor battle lacks verisimilitude, and the soundtrack is overbearing. After the long, loud, and pious orchestral accompaniment, watching the attack is like listening to a Japanese motorcycle race while watching battle scenes from *Star Wars*. If you blink once or twice the looping Zeros, Kates, and Vals turn into Tie Fighters.

Cuba Gooding, Jr. reprises his now lukewarm role of a black guy struggling to be all he can be in a segregated navy. He plays real-life Dorie Miller, a cook and pugilist on the West Virginia who jumps onto a machine gun that he has never been trained to use and downs a Jap plane. In reality, the black sailor may not have gotten one, but it makes for a good story and Miller, who was

killed later in the war, was awarded the Navy Cross for his service at Pearl Harbor. Gooding's character is not developed, however: a callous waste of big box-office talent.

The aftermath, as U.S. capital ships list, burn, and capsize, is just a rip-off of Titanic, but without the empathy. Indeed, this reviewer saw not one wet eye in the house. In a feeble tribute to the female heroes, director Bay tries to convey the chaos in the hospital during and after the attack. But with a PG-13 rating, about all that can be done to horrify us is the surreal "shakycam" style of photography long since so trendy it seems more like a bad, if not satiric, music video. Beckinsale alone is resourceful, with nylon stockings for tourniquets and copious red lipstick to mark the foreheads of triage patients.

Meanwhile, our two flyboy heroes struggle into the air that Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, with Hawaiian shirts and hangovers to match, and manage to down seven Japanese planes between them, recreating the actual accomplishment of Lieutenants George S. Welch and Kenneth Taylor, but with fancy aerobatics that have rightly drawn scorn here and in Japan. What would the Tora! Tora! Tora! gadflies have made of them?

Jon Voight shines as FDR. The movie accurately shows a president very much in the minority in his desire to enter a world war, but who underestimates a despised enemy. After the Pearl Harbor attack Roosevelt promises payback for an angry nation. The military says it's not possible, so the crippled commander-in-chief inspires them by struggling on his own to stand erect from his wheelchair. This would be absurdly out of character for the vain Mr. Roosevelt, but it certainly fits with the windy nature of our movie.

Our two fighter jocks, Affleck and Hartnett, are implausibly assigned to fly B-25 bombers for a little thirty-second public relations stunt over Tokyo on April 18, 1942, led by Lieutenant Colonel Jimmy Doolittle, played convincingly but with camp by Alec Baldwin. Showing atomic bombings would spoil the schmaltzy kind of payback that our movie promises — but by now we hardly care to wait for it any longer. Thus Doolittle's raid seems almost the start of a second movie--but while it would have been a very interesting one, it must receive short shrift. The Doolittle raiders' crash-landing in China merely serves to tie up the loose ends of Pearl Harbor's icky love triangle, with a Christlike sacrifice to boot, but no real surprise, and not much impact.

From Pearl Harbor you will likely leave unmoved after three hours of flag-waving. And if you knew nothing beforehand about the complex political dynamics that would in 1941 lead an aspiring Japanese superpower — undefeated on the battlefield, but nevertheless stuck in a Chinese quagmire not unlike our own Vietnam — brutally to awaken a military giant such as the United States, you will leave this movie none the wiser. In our modern era of button-pushing diplomacy, where cruise missiles are launched as the public opinion polls waver, this is not good history at all.

About the reviewer

Scott L. Smith holds a B.A. in history from Idaho State University. He served in the U.S. Army Signal Corps, and has worked as a radio-television engineer.

Reviewer:	Scott L. Smith
Title:	Disney's \$140 million dud

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Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz and Beyond: An Exchange

Samuel Crowell's essay "Beyond Auschwitz" (in the March-April 2001 *Journal*) is spoiled by his unfounded assertion that "some portion of non-working Hungarian Jews *could* [emphasis added] have been killed," but that their number "could not have been more than a few tens of thousands at most." While Hungarian Jews may well have been executed for real or alleged violations of camp regulations, the killing of "a few tens of thousands" could only have happened as part of a limited extermination policy. Obviously, the first victims of such a policy would have been those unable to work, but as Crowell admits, many such Hungarian Jews, including children and old people, survived the war at Auschwitz and other camps — so who were the mysterious "tens of thousands" who "could have been killed"?

Because Crowell dismisses the gas chambers, such mass killings would have required other methods, most likely shooting. How is it that there is no eyewitness testimony at all to such mass shootings?

Crowell's claim that up to 55 percent of the deported Hungarian Jews may have perished before the war's end is equally absurd. Raul Hilberg, who supports the gassing and mass extermination claims, puts the number of Hungarian Jewish victims at 180,000, which means that most Hungarian deportees must have survived. How then does Crowell, who rejects the gassing myth, arrive at his impossibly high percentage? In fact, no more than several tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews can possibly have died in the camps.

Well acquainted with the documents, and possessing remarkable linguistic skills, Crowell could contribute substantially to revisionist research. He should therefore refrain from making irresponsible statements that damage his credibility.

Jürgen Graf

The aim of "Beyond Auschwitz" was to derive some concrete indications about the fate of Hungarian Jews, whether from neutral sources or even those hostile to revisionism. These sources indicate beyond cavil that, assuming maximum deportations, about half of the Hungarians deported in the summer of 1944 survived the war, and that the Hungarian Jews who died, or were killed, at Auschwitz, could not realistically have exceeded 10 percent of those deported, as opposed to the 90 percent usually alleged.

Of course some will still consider these losses too high; but I see no reason to engage in special pleading for the lowest conceivable number. Part of the problem is the great difficulty in accurately establishing how many Hungarian Jews were actually deported, let alone the number who returned, the number who refused to declare themselves as Jews after the war, or the number who chose to emigrate. Clearly, Tamás Stark's estimates for these latter categories could be increased,

but I see no reason to increase them without any evidence. Failing such arbitrary increases, we are left with large numbers of Hungarian Jews to account for.

On the other hand, the evidence that Szabolcs Szita and others provide indicates a very high death rate among camp inmates during the last several months of the war, due to epidemics and starvation, Allied bombing attacks, and shootings during forced marches. By my calculations, Hungarian Jews could have been the largest component among Jews in the concentration camp system at that time, so it follows that their losses were probably devastating. Naturally, this supposition could be wrong, but in the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary, I see no reason to abandon it.

The same logic suggests that considerable numbers of Hungarian Jews may have died at Auschwitz. There is plenty of testimonial evidence as to the killing of Auschwitz inmates incapable of work, either by shooting or injection. Unlike the gassing claims, these allegations are not incredible, and thus ought not to be rejected out of hand. We know, too, that 70,000 people perished at Auschwitz through 1943. In 1944, by my projections, twice as many people passed through the camp as in prior years. Therefore, to assume the deaths of tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz in 1944 is completely unremarkable.

Finally, Hilberg's estimated Hungarian losses are based on pre-war Hungary: these figures are not useful unless compared to his numbers for Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR. The combined total should yield figures comparable to those of standard historians.

I think it is important in revisionist research to be willing to state one's conclusions conservatively and fairly. It may be that to concede a large number of deaths among Jews, or, in this case, Hungarian Jews, may damage the credibility of a revisionist among some other revisionists. On the other hand, a refusal to concede severe losses among the Jewish people, even if such projections lack the final balance of proof, will appear even more irresponsible and damaging to one's credibility to the vast majority who are not revisionists. It is this majority, I believe, that should be our audience.

Samuel Crowell

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From the Editor

Theodore J. O'Keefe

First word of the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon reached us at the Institute for Historical Review shortly after 7 a.m. (PST), September 11. As we followed the breaking news on our radios and over the Internet, our initial consternation was quickly followed by an awareness of the possible implications of these events for revisionists.

Would the Institute be exposed to new pressures? Would IHR's revisionist associates abroad be vulnerable to further harassment by their governments and to additional attacks from Jewish "activists"?

Over the years, the IHR has been the target of terrorist assaults on its employees and premises. These have included the vandalizing of our vehicles; physical attacks; shots fired into our offices; and firebombings culminating in the July 4, 1984, destruction of our offices and stock. Those responsible for these criminal acts have never been identified, let alone apprehended, but there is little doubt that they are part of that international Zionist terror apparatus so often ignored by our leaders, law enforcement agencies, and media.

These efforts to terrorize the Institute not only failed, they have had as their effect increased security measures and a heightened vigilance against all comers. Thus we were prepared for anything from governmental snooping in the name of "security" to cutoffs in Internet service due to "business decisions," and even "demonstrations" mounted by what's left of the Jewish Defense League. Thus, too — need it be said? — we were able to dismiss any consideration of muzzling the Institute's voice, whether out of timidity or "patriotic" piety, and to renew our resolution to confront our leadership with its mistakes, past and present, as revealed by painstaking and non-partisan review of the historical record.

The decision to devote this issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* to the fast brewing, though undeclared, "war on terror," was an obvious one. As the lead editorial makes clear, the conflict arises out of causes and factors that revisionists have long warned of, from America's infatuation with Israel to our short-sighted, selfish meddlings in the Islamic world.

Despite the existence of a growing Arab and Muslim lobby, the Institute and its journal are uniquely qualified to inform the American, and world, publics of the facts and implications of our leaders' Middle Eastern policy mistakes. As the [IHR's quick response to the September 11 attacks](#), written by director Mark Weber, demonstrates, the Institute has no organizational rival in its ability to express the facts reasonably, effectively, and without concession to the political shibboleths and historical taboos which cripple so many other attempts to explain events.

News of an important, though little noticed, libel trial in Israel, and a brief account of the long-standing Zionist campaign to smear an eminent Palestinian nationalist as an accomplice to the “Holocaust,” signal a trend toward more material about the Mideast in coming issues of the JHR. No one can question the critical need for this focus; and this issue’s reports on the troubled historiography of Israel’s 1948 ethnic cleansing and on the propaganda frame-up of Haj Amin al Husseini relate closely to the *Journal’s* traditional revisionist concerns.

In their attempts to provide context for the September 11 disasters, the best that most commentators could do was to evoke the Battle of Britain. A rather more illuminating comparison, perhaps, is offered by the vast sufferings of German civilians and the selfless struggles of German emergency personnel through five years of Allied terror from the air, as detailed by Samuel Crowell in “[Defending against the Allied Bombing Campaign: Air Raid Shelters and Gas Protection in Germany, 1939-1945](#).” This essay, although written several years ago (for the Committee on Open Debate of the Holocaust’s website at www.codoh.com), is more timely than ever. Crowell’s measured tone and absence of direct censure for the authors of the attacks that claimed in excess of 600,000 civilian lives make his article’s unspoken indictment of the unpunished attackers — Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and their underlings — all the more effective.

Mark Weber [assesses](#) David Irving’s long anticipated middle volume of his wartime biographical trilogy on Churchill. This new volume, in its exposé of the weakness that lay beneath Churchill’s bluster, is timely for its implicit warning against the intellectual obtuseness and moral blindness that threatens America today. While the United States, unlike Churchill’s Britain in the last world war, is nobody’s junior partner, we may well profit from Churchill’s legacy, that of a man who, in six years, fumbled away his country’s imperial past and blighted its national future, bequeathing in their stead a handful of empty phrases and grandiloquent gestures.

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Our Mission and the New War

After an imperial century abroad, America has suffered, on its home soil, an attack on its citizens unprecedented in its history. As so often in the past six decades, whether at Dresden or Hiroshima, Beirut or Baghdad, terror came from the sky. At this writing, the United States is once again waging an undeclared war on an ill-defined enemy. To date, our government has failed to acknowledge the stated grievances of those it considers the attackers, to clarify the underlying causes of the war, or to specify what the nation hopes to win.

We at the Institute for Historical Review shared, with hundreds of millions of Americans and friends of America around the globe, first the emotions of shock and disbelief, then those of sorrow and anger. Each of those feelings was reinforced by the terrible, surreal images of the destruction, and by the news of the great toll of lives among the helpless, and among the brave men who had gone to their rescue.

The civilian deaths from the attacks of September 11, while certainly far short of the “collateral damage” in civilian losses inflicted by U.S. forces in military operations during the past quarter century — including those in Iran, Lebanon, Grenada, Libya, Panama, Kuwait, Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Serbia, and Afghanistan — easily outnumber all our military dead since 1975. The devastation here, among the dead, the injured, and the bereaved, recalls to us American revisionists, at least, things that we as a nation had inflicted, but until September 11, 2001, not endured.

As revisionists, we are suspicious of official explanations, and wary of appeals to patriotism. If the admonitions of America’s Founding Fathers to avoid entanglements abroad, above all those arising from sentimental (or venal) attachments to foreign nations and causes, were not enough, we would need only recall how our leaders have inveigled our country into one war, “conflict,” or “peacekeeping operation” after another since 1898. Today’s slogans, in echo of yesteryear’s “Remember the Maine!” and “Remember Pearl Harbor!,” should serve not so much to summon to a vengeance that may well be largely misplaced, but to remind that our imperial victories over Germany and Japan have sent us stumbling into quagmire and defeat in Asia, and to the brink of mutual nuclear devastation with our former Soviet ally.

Crusade or Coalition?

A month after the attacks, American bombs were still falling on Afghanistan, and the alleged mastermind of the terror, erstwhile CIA protégé Osama bin Laden, was still at large. For all the frenzied jingoism directed at the shadowy Saudi — archetype of Asiatic villainy, in the mold of Tipu Sahib and Fu Manchu, that he has become — the vital interests of Americans hang on the nature of the larger American response, strategic and diplomatic, that continues to take shape as of this writing.

Political realities indicate two possible courses of action. The first is for the United States to lead a broad coalition, including Muslim nations, with its goals not merely to punish the specific attackers, but to impose a just and workable solution of the Palestinian question, and to scale back the massive American military presence in Arabia and the Persian Gulf. The alternative is for America to embark on an open-ended jihad against Islam, on the pretext of rooting out “terrorism,” that would threaten the lives and liberties of its citizens as never before. Taking the first course would likely benefit not only the United States, but also the civilized world, including the Muslim nations. Choosing the second would serve only two kinds of fanatics: those radical Muslims who evidently seek an expanding, escalating war against the alleged enemies of Islam, and those Zionist fanatics in the West as well as in Israel and its patently illegal colonies who have already done so much to unleash armageddon on their neighbors, on themselves, and on the rest of the humanity.

Set in this stern context, President Bush’s first fumbling pronouncements did not reassure. The president quickly managed to affront potential Muslim allies by calling for a “crusade” against the attackers, then seemed to usurp the Almighty by dubbing the planned retaliatory strike “Operation Infinite Justice.” Omitting all mention of our long and partisan involvement on behalf of Israel, or of our numerous recent sallies against Islamic countries, Bush informed the American people that the terrorists’ entire motivation had been blind hatred of our freedom and our goodness.

The president’s initial ineptness, together with the general haste to legislate and to decree without debate, the strident demand for “unity,” and the baying chorus of pundits and yahoos in support of instant attacks on Israel’s enemies, all made it seem, in the first fortnight after September 11, that America was being rushed to war against nebulous foes, and that a government clampdown on civil liberties might follow.

Then President Bush, clearly harkening to the advice of the American wing of his administration, began to give promise of charting a measured response to the attacks. To the disgruntlement of the pro-Israel forces, the United States sought the cooperation of Muslim countries, including such “radical” states as Pakistan, Iran, Syria, as well as “moderate” Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. The president scaled down his original calls for a quixotic, worldwide war against terrorists and those who “harbor” them; redubbed the military operation, somewhat less grandiosely, “Enduring Freedom”; and even expressed care to minimize civilian casualties. Secretary of State Colin Powell, who earlier in the month had ordered a U.S. delegation to exit an international conference on racism in solidarity with Israel against the world, now took steps to rein in Israel and to urge a viable statehood for the Palestinians.

This turn in American policy was abetted by the intransigence and incompetence of such influential Israelis as Binyamin Netanyahu, the former prime minister, who initially hailed the murderous attacks on New York and Washington as “very good” for Israel, and the current foreign minister, Shimon Peres, who called for the United States to lead an anti-terror crusade — that Israel would sit out. Then it was the turn of Israel’s prime minister, Ariel Sharon, whose cumulative brutalities — unchecked by his American patron — have done more than anything else to bring the Middle Eastern cauldron to its present boil. When Sharon discovered that a more sensible policy seemed to be taking shape in Washington, he insultingly invoked the old “appeasement” canard, wailing that Israel was being sold out, as Czechoslovakia allegedly was at Munich in 1938. Instead of being truckled to, however, Sharon was quickly put in his place by President Bush’s Jewish spokesman, Ari Fleischer.

Despite all the indications that U.S. intentions might be to limit its military action to reasonable objectives, the prognosis remained cloudy as this issue of the JHR went to press. The powerful Zionist lobby is still in place, and is bringing great pressure to widen the war to include attacking Iraq and other Israeli bugbears with no provable links to the events of September 11. And to date the United States has made no observable moves to end Israeli aggression against the current Palestinian territories, which continue to be besieged and invaded by Israeli troops with American ordnance.

The Task of Revisionism

Few longtime readers of the Journal of Historical Review can have been surprised to learn that the attacks of September 11 stemmed from America's failed policies in the Middle East, above all from its unconditional support for Israel. The revisionist critique of these policies has been a vital component of the Institute's work since its founding nearly a quarter century ago. During the past twenty-five years the IHR has welcomed such learned critics of our nation's Middle Eastern mistakes as Alfred Lilienthal, Robert John, the late Ivor Benson, former Congressman Paul McCloskey, and the Palestinian scholars Sami Hadawi, Issa Nakhleh, and Ibrahim Alloush to its conferences and the pages of the JHR.

As we of the Institute know, to understand the origins of the present Middle East quagmire requires grounding in the central object of revisionist study: an unbiased accounting of the origins, conduct, and outcome of the twentieth century's world wars. It was during the First World War that Great Britain, to enlist international Jewry's power of the purse and the press on behalf of the Entente, issued the Balfour declaration promising the Jews a homeland in (then Turkish-ruled) Palestine; among the postwar settlements was the League of Nations mandate whereby the Zionists began laying the basis for a Jewish state in Palestine, and for the dispossession of the land's Arab inhabitants.

After helping secure American entry into the Second World War on the side of England and the U.S.S.R., Jews — many of them Zionists — played an increasing part in charting policy, during and after that war, that began America's tilt away from its traditional Mideast policy toward one of recognition, friendship, and eventually support for Israel. Just as the Jewish "homeland" was implemented under the authority of the League of Nations, so too is Israel a creature of the United Nations (for all its subsequent defiance of UN resolutions). And when Palestine's Arab inhabitants were dispossessed in 1948, they were replaced largely by Jews who had emigrated from war-wracked Europe.

Even more striking than the diplomatic antecedents has been the Zionists' exploitation of propaganda themes developed during the world wars. Israel is an embattled "democracy" ever menaced by "aggression" from its enemies, always vulnerable to "appeasement" by its allies (as its prime minister has just sought to remind us). Above all Israel is threatened by another "Holocaust," a dubious danger which Israel's increasingly sophisticated and potent international lobby has nonetheless parlayed into a bugbear, a fundraising operation, an excuse for censorship, and a means of moral blackmail unrivaled in the annals of persuasion. Few things testify to the relatedness of Middle East and world war revisionism than the manner in which Israel's conflicts served to crystallize the obsession of Jews with the alleged "Holocaust" in the 1970s, and to subsequently inflate that to full-blown Holocaustomania among Jews and gentiles alike.

Only the IHR, among opponents of America's unconditional support for Israel, has properly grasped the nexus between that support, the Holocaust cult, and the other myths from the Second World War, or understood why the "good war" (as its Jewish chroniclers lovingly call it) must

never be allowed to end, and the Holocaust never fade. Like other critics, IHR has been blacked out by the major media and the academy: in the estimation of the Israel lobby, our arguments and positions, presented to the American people, would be irrefutable. Even so, by using the new and still uncontrolled medium of the Internet, and by reaching out to new constituencies, including the Institute's rapidly multiplying contacts in the Muslim world, we can capitalize on the growing urgency of the revisionist message at speeds that round the globe in minutes.

Whatever revisionists' grasp of the past, we cannot foresee the future. What kind of war our country will eventually make this, against whom, and on behalf of whom, is hardly clear now. If, however, America wages the sort of war Israel and its American backers desire, then it is, alas, likely that many more innocent Americans will have cause for sorrow — and the blank check on U.S. dollars that we long ago handed the Israelis will be followed by another one, on American lives. How long, in that case, will it be before the great majority of our fellow citizens are able to join Alfred Lilienthal and the IHR in asking, "What price Israel"?

For American revisionists this is a time for calm, for clarity of purpose, for strength of will, and for civic engagement to the maximum of our capabilities. We at the Institute know that our voice is small. Nonetheless we are able to speak truths that few others dare whisper — and we are willing, as so many of our associates have been, to pay the price for speaking the truth. We revisionists possess a powerful method. With that method — historical revisionism — we have, despite our censors, torn the veil of deception from our enemies' holy of holies. Today it is our duty, to the nation and to humanity, to put that method, and the knowledge it has won us, to work against the hidden makers and mongers of Middle East war — the Zionists and their accomplices — and for the attainment of a just and lasting peace, at home and abroad.

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A Brief Chronology of the 'Special Relationship'

1948	U.S. recognizes Israel; Israeli forces occupy territories assigned to Palestinians by U.N. partition plan; massacre at Deir Yasin by forces commanded by Menachem Begin; other massacres, expulsions by Israeli forces create unsolved Palestinian refugee problem; U.N. mediator Folke Bernadotte murdered on orders of Yitzhak Shamir; President Truman authorizes initial U.S. economic aid to Israel, which reaches an estimated \$90 billion by 2001
1953	Israeli army unit commanded by Ariel Sharon attacks West Bank village of Kibya, dynamiting numerous homes, killing over 50 civilians
1954	Israeli agents bomb American installations in Egypt in an attempt to rupture U.S.-Egyptian relations
1956	U.S., under Eisenhower, condemns Israeli invasion of Egypt, pressures Israel to withdraw from Sinai in the next year
1967	Israel invades and occupies parts of Jordan, Egypt, and Syria, annexes, for all practical purposes, East Jerusalem; U.N. Resolution 242 calls for Israel's withdrawal from these territories; Israeli aircraft attempt to sink U.S.S. Liberty, monitoring Israel's impending attack on Syria, murder of Egyptian POWs (34 Americans killed, 171 wounded), as President Johnson orders U.S. fighters sent to relieve the Liberty back to carriers; Washington facilitates cover up of Israel's responsibility
1969	Jewish Defense League, U.S.-based pressure group, comes under operational control of Yitzhak Shamir, former operations director of Israeli spy agency Mossad; JDL begins murderous terror campaign against Soviet diplomatic and cultural activities in the U.S.
1960s, '70s	Nuclear materials and know-how smuggled from U.S. help Israel to become an atomic power, defying American-backed international strictures against nuclear proliferation; Israel's atomic arsenal remains a political taboo in the U.S.

1973	Egypt and Syria attack Israel to regain occupied territories; massive U.S. arms airlift enables Israeli victory; Arab states begin oil embargo; Senator William Fulbright states "The Israelis control the policy in the Congress and the Senate."
1974	U.S. Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff, General George Brown, reveals Israeli emissaries pressure Pentagon for arms, promising: "Don't worry about the Congress. We'll take care of Congress"; Sen. Fulbright defeated in Arkansas primary after heavy donations from Jewish contributors to his rival, the first of several Congressional critics of U.S. Mideast policy to be targeted and defeated by Zionist fundraisers
1975	Seventy-six senators sign a petition warning President Ford not to diminish support for Israel
1978	Prime Minister Menachem Begin launches invasion of Lebanon in reprisal for Palestinian attacks; Egypt and Israel reach accord over occupied Sinai at Camp David, Maryland
1981	Israeli air force destroys Iraq's nuclear reactor; Israel annexes Golan Heights, seized from Syria in 1967; Begin condemns President Reagan's weak condemnation as treating Israel like a "vassal state," calls Reagan administration "anti-Semitic" for proceeding with sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia
1982	Israel invades Lebanon after wounding of its ambassador to Britain; Israeli bombing and shelling of Beirut kills 20,000, mostly civilians (Israel flouts U.S. law by employing munitions supplied only for use against attacking armies); evacuation of PLO forces to Tunisia; U.S. military intervention; after assassination of Lebanese premier, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon facilitates massacre, by Lebanese Christian faction, of over a thousand unarmed Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps
1983	U.S. embassy (80 dead) and Marine barracks (260 dead) blown up in separate terrorist attacks
1985	Israelis retreat from Lebanon, but continue to employ mercenary force in the south; Israeli air force bombs PLO headquarters in Tunis with heavy loss of life; Jonathan Pollard, an American Jew employed by U.S. naval intelligence, is arrested as a spy for Israel, subsequent investigation revealing vast security damage and probable passage of data from Israel to the U.S.S.R.

1987-1991	First intifada — Palestinians riot against three decades of Israeli military rule; Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin orders Israeli troops to break bones of youthful demonstrators; hundreds of Palestinians are shot dead for trivial offenses
1990	Israeli troops kill 17, wound hundreds of Palestinians protesting Jewish zealots' laying of temple cornerstone near Muslim shrines in Jerusalem
1993	Accords reached between Israeli PM Rabin and PLO chairman Arafat at Oslo provide for Palestinian recognition of Israel, Palestinian self-rule on West Bank, Gaza strip; Israel continues to build and expand settlements on Palestinian territory
1995	Rabin assassinated by Zionist fanatic with links to the Israeli security service
1996	Israelis open tunnel under Muslim mosques in Jerusalem, triggering riots in which 70 Palestinians die
1998	President Clinton brokers accords between Israel and Palestine, supposedly to regulate Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories, near Wye River, Maryland; the U.S. and Israel reportedly reach a (still secret) strategic agreement at Wye
Sept. 28, 2000	Sharon, leader of the Likud party, visits Al Aqsa mosque, site of third holiest spot for Islam, accompanied by 1,000 police and soldiers, who fire on Palestinian protesters, igniting second, "Al Aqsa" intifada; presence and conduct of Israeli settlers, now numbering around 300,000, chief focus of Palestinian rage
Feb. 6, 2001	Sharon elected prime minister; in following months, intensified suppression of demonstrations, Palestinian reprisals, including killing of Israeli settlers, suicide bombings in Israeli cities
Sept. 3, 2001	Israel and U.S. delegations exit U.N. anti-"racism" conference in Durban, South Africa, after condemnation of Israeli policies
Sept. 6, 2001	U.S. State Department spokesman dismisses proposed enforcement of laws barring Israeli use of American-supplied heavy weapons against Palestinian civilians as "legalistic"

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Learning from the September 11 Attacks

IHR director Mark Weber's response to the events of September 11, circulated via the Internet, has elicited more response, nearly all of it favorable, than any other such writing in the history of the Institute for Historical Review. To date "Learning from the September 11 Attacks" has resulted in three hour-long guest appearances on U.S. radio programs, as well as an interview by Iran's English-language shortwave radio service. It is also being distributed in Arabic and German translations.

With thousands of victims and riveting images of death and destruction, war has come home to America with terrible, devastating suddenness. Together with our fellow citizens, we mourn the many victims of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon building. But beyond the feelings of grief and fury must come clarity and understanding.

President George W. Bush said on national television that "America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world." The next day he said that "freedom and democracy are under attack," and that the perpetrators had struck against "all freedom-loving people everywhere in the world."

But if "democracy" and "freedom-loving people" are the targets, why isn't anyone attacking Switzerland, Japan or Norway? Bush's claims are just as untrue as President Wilson's World War I declaration that the United States was fighting to "make the world safe for democracy," and President Roosevelt's World War II assurances that the U.S. was fighting for "freedom" and "democracy."

In the wake of the September 11 attacks, speculation has been rife about who the perpetrators may have been. That itself is an acknowledgment that so many people hate this country so intensely that one cannot easily determine just who may have mounted these well-organized attacks of suicidal desperation.

These shocking attacks were predictable. In 1993 Islamic radicals set off a bomb at the World Trade Center that claimed six lives. In August 1998 the United States carried out missile attacks against Afghanistan and Sudan, strikes that senior Clinton administration officials said signaled the start of "a real war against terrorism." In the wake of those attacks, a high-ranking U.S. intelligence official warned that "the prospect of retaliation against Americans is very, very high." (The Washington Post, Aug. 21, 1998, p. A1)

Our political leaders and the American mass media promote the preposterous fiction that the September 11 attacks are entirely unprovoked and unrelated to United States actions. They want everyone to believe that the underlying hatred of America by so many around the world, especially in Arab and Muslim countries, that motivated the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks is un-

related to this country's policies. It is clear, however, that those who carried out these devastating suicide attacks against centers of American financial and military might were enraged by this country's decades-long support for Israel and its policies of aggression, murderous repression, and brutal occupation against Arabs and Muslims, and/or American air strikes and economic warfare against Afghanistan, Sudan, Iraq and Iran.

America is the only country that claims the right to deploy troops and war planes in any corner of the globe in pursuit of what our political leaders call "vital national interests." George Washington and our country's other founders earnestly warned against such imperial arrogance, while far-sighted Americans such as Harry Elmer Barnes, Garet Garrett and Pat Buchanan voiced similar concerns in the 20th century.

For most Americans modern war has largely been an abstraction — something that happens only in far-away lands. The victims of U.S. air attack and bombardment in Vietnam, Lebanon, Sudan, Libya, Iraq and Serbia have seemed somehow unreal. Few ordinary Americans pay attention, because U.S. military actions normally have little impact on their day-to-day lives.

Just as residents of Rome in the second century hardly noticed the battles fought by their troops on the outer edges of the Roman empire, residents of Seattle and Cleveland today barely concern themselves with the devastation wrought by American troops and warplanes in, for example, Iraq.

Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General, has accused the United States of committing "a crime against humanity" against the people of Iraq "that exceeds all others in its magnitude, cruelty and portent." Citing United Nations agency reports and his own on-site investigations, Clark charged in 1996 that the scarcity of food and medicine as a result of sanctions against Iraq imposed by the United States since 1990, and U.S. bombings of the country, had caused the deaths of more than a million people, including more than half a million children.

Madeleine Albright, Secretary of State in President Clinton's administration, defended the mass killings. During a 1996 interview she was asked: "We have heard that half a million children have died [as a result of sanctions against Iraq]. I mean, that is more children than died in Hiroshima ... Is the price worth it?" Albright replied: "... We think the price is worth it." (60 Minutes, May 12, 1996).

President Bush is now pledging a "crusade," a "war against terrorism" and a "sustained campaign" to "eradicate the evil of terrorism."

But such calls sound hollow given the U.S. government's own record of support for terrorism, for example during the Vietnam war. During the 1980s, the U.S. supported "terrorists" in Afghanistan — including Osama bin Laden, now the "prime suspect" in the September 11 attacks — in their struggle to drive out the Soviet invaders.

American presidents have warmly welcomed to the White House Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir, two Israeli prime ministers with well-documented records as terrorists. President Bush himself has welcomed to Washington Israel's current prime minister, Ariel Sharon, whose forces have been carrying out assassinations of Palestinian leaders and murderous "retaliatory" strikes against Palestinians. Even an official Israeli commission found that Sharon bore some responsibility for the 1982 massacres of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

Jewish and Zionist leaders, and their American servants, have predictably lost no time exploiting the September 11 attacks to further their own interests. Taking advantage of the current national

mood of blind rage and revenge, they demand new U.S. military action against Israel's many enemies.

In the weeks to come, therefore, we can expect the U.S. government, supported by an enraged public, to lash out violently. The great danger is that an emotion-driven, reactive response will aggravate underlying tensions and encourage new acts of murderous violence.

What is needed now is not a vengeful "crusade," but coherent, reasoned policies based on sanity and justice.

In the months and years ahead, most Americans will doubtless continue to accept what their political leaders and the mass media tell them.

But the jolting impact of the September 11 attacks — which have, for the first time, brought to our cities the terror and devastation of attacks from the sky — will also encourage growing numbers of thoughtful Americans to see through the lies propagated by our nation's political and cultural elite, and its Zionist allies, to impose their will around the world. More and more people will understand that their government's overseas policies inevitably have consequences even here at home.

In 1948, as the Zionist state was being established in Palestine, U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall, along with nearly every other high-level U.S. foreign affairs specialist, warned that American support for Israel would have dire long-term consequences. Events have fully vindicated their concerns.

Over the long run, the September 11 attacks will encourage public awareness of our government's imperial role in the world, including a sobering reassessment of this country's perverse "special relationship" with the Jewish ethnostate. Along with that, rage will grow against those who have subordinated American interests, and basic justice and humanity, to Jewish-Zionist ambitions.

For more than 20 years the IHR has sought, through its educational work, to prevent precisely such horrors as the attacks in New York and Washington. In the years ahead, as we continue our mission of promoting greater public awareness of history and world affairs, and a greater sense of public responsibility for the policies that generated the rage behind the September 11 attacks, this work will be more important than ever.

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Oblivion in the Land of Memory

The massacre at Deir Yasin, the Palestinian village near Jerusalem where Menachem Begin's Irgun and Yitzhak Shamir's Lehi slaughtered over two hundred fifty Palestinians on April 9, 1948, has long symbolized the ruthlessness with which the Zionists seized the Holy Land and killed or displaced so many of its inhabitants. Strange to say, the notoriety of Deir Yasin may have served to obscure as many as forty similar slaughters by Israeli forces in 1948, despite the labors of an increasingly able Palestinian historiography, and of an Israeli revisionism that has re-examined the expulsion and flight of three quarters of a million Arabs from their homes during the "war of independence."

A recent issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies* (20, no. 3, spring 2001), by way of a report on the fate of a master's thesis in history devoted to one such massacre, throws needed light on Israel's past and present.

The author of the thesis, Teddy Katz, a committed Zionist studying the history of Israel's 1948 war at the University of Haifa, was investigating the "microhistory" of Jewish expulsions of Arabs around Haifa when he stumbled across a mass shooting of unarmed inhabitants of Tantura, a fishing village twenty miles south of Haifa, by Israeli regular troops immediately following their capture of village on May 22-23, 1948.

Since the written record was slight and elliptical, Katz recorded several dozen interviews with surviving villagers, and with veterans of the Israeli army's Alexandroni brigade, the military unit involved. Katz's findings, culled from the interviews, amplified by additional written accounts, revealed that Israeli forces shot over two hundred Palestinians after they had been disarmed. The killings took place in two stages, the first a rampage by the Israeli infantry immediately after Palestinian resistance had ceased, the second the cold-blooded and systematic shootings of suspected Arab soldiers by Israeli intelligence. The details included the shootings of sons in the presence of fathers, fathers in the presence of sons, rapes, and other horrors.

Katz's thesis, which received high marks, might have remained unnoticed except for an article in Israeli newspaper Ma'ariv in January 2000, which was quickly followed by a libel suit by Israeli veterans of the Alexandroni brigade who had taken part, including some who had been interviewed by Katz. In the trial, which began in December 2000, the plaintiffs were able to show only minor discrepancies in Katz's references. Nonetheless Teddy Katz suddenly aborted the trial by retracting his master's thesis with a published apology that brings to mind confessions in the old Soviet Union, or (more to the point) the apologies of certain Jewish revisionists of the Holocaust who have come under duress. The attack on the Katz thesis and its author's integrity by Israeli academics, including those from his own university, reminds, too, of the long campaign to strip Holocaust revisionists of their academic degrees, including those earned for work which had no relation to their subsequent revisionist activities.

Israeli professor of history Ilan Pappé, who graded Katz's thesis at Haifa, provides a judicious account of the affair in the JPS, including a nuanced consideration of the validity of oral testimony in this case and in general. As Pappé notes, the libel suit against Katz is so far the only instance in which any of Israel's 1948 massacres of Palestinians has ever been subject to investigation in an Israeli court.

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The Mufti and the Holocaust

Among the many tart insights in Robert Novick's *Holocaust in American Life* (reviewed in JHR 20, no. 1 [January-February, 2001]) is his brief consideration of the part that Haj Amin al Husseini, the mufti of Jerusalem, has played in Zionist and Holocaust propaganda. As Novick notes, Husseini, the leading Palestinian nationalist leader from the 1920s through the 1940s, plays a "starring role" in the four-volume *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (edited under the auspices of Yad Vashem by Yisrael Gutman):

The article on the Mufti is more than twice as long as the articles on Goebbels and Göring, longer than the articles on Himmler and Heydrich combined, longer than the article on Eichmann — of all the biographical articles, it is exceeded in length, but only slightly, by the entry on Hitler.

There is much more to Zionist distortions of the mufti's wartime role than its vast overemphasis in the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. In fact, accusations that the mufti (the title given a judge of Islamic law) was not only privy to, but deeply involved in the alleged genocide of the Jews have been a staple of Zionist propaganda since 1945.

To be sure, Husseini was no friend of Israel. Of a prominent Palestinian family, the young ex-Ottoman officer was appointed mufti of Jerusalem, at British behest, early in their mandate over Palestine. Any hopes that Husseini would prove a colonial tool were dashed when he led the resistance to Britain's pro-Jewish policies, culminating in the Arab revolt of 1936-1939. After he fled Palestine, the onset of war and his role in an unsuccessful rising against the British in Iraq drove Husseini to Axis Europe in 1941.

There, according to objective historians, the mufti helped the Germans with propaganda and recruiting among his fellow Muslims, steadfastly opposing any German actions that would facilitate Jewish emigration to Palestine (which National Socialist policy had earlier supported).

Those verifiable grievances have never been enough for Zionist publicists, however. The earliest accusations seem to stem from the circle of Rudolf Kastner, whose Zionist "rescue" operation dickered with Adolf Eichmann for Jewish emigration in return for trucks and other supplies in Budapest in 1944. Shortly after the war Kastner submitted an affidavit to British authorities in which he claimed that Eichmann's subordinate Dieter Wisliceny had told Kastner he was convinced that the mufti had "played a central role in the decision to exterminate the Jews." Rather than indict Husseini at Nuremberg, the British dismissed this and other charges as Zionist propaganda. (Philip Mattar, *The Mufti of Jerusalem* [NY: Columbia University Press, 1988], pp. 105-107)

In another early postwar smear effort, Simon Wiesenthal, in his 1947 *Grand Mufti — Grossagent der Achse* (Grand Mufti — Axis Agent Extraordinary), related that Husseini had visited

Auschwitz and Majdanek, paying close attention in both camps to the efficiency of the crematoria, and praising personnel particularly conscientious at their grisly work. (Joseph Schechtman, *The Mufti and the Führer* [NY: Thomas Yoseloff, 1965], p. 160)

Shortly after Israeli agents kidnapped Adolf Eichmann and spirited him to his show trial in Israel, the once prominent journalist Quentin Reynolds was hired by the Israelis to do a hatchet job on Eichmann. Based on material supplied by the Zionists, Reynolds's *Minister of Death* claimed that the mufti had been a close confidante of Eichmann, and had displayed an avid interest in the extermination machinery. Reynolds quoted the mufti as telling friends "the Palestine problem will not be solved in a diplomatic conference but by other means — simple and radical like the gas chambers," and reported that "[h]is green turban was seen many times in Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Majdanek." Yet the author offered no sources for any of these claims, which were published by Harold Guinzburg's respected Viking Press in 1960.

Following the deaths of Kastner (in 1957) and Eichmann (in 1961), the need to displace the charge of collaboration from Zionists to Palestinians grew less urgent, and Zionist writers retreated from the more brazen charges to innuendo. Thus Joseph Schechtman's 1965 *Mufti and the Führer*: "It is hardly accidental that the beginning of the systematic physical destruction of European Jewry by Hitler's Third Reich roughly coincided with the Mufti's arrival in the Axis camp," and Zvi Elpeleg: "It is impossible to estimate the extent of the consequences of Haj Amin's efforts to prevent the exit of the Jews from countries under Nazi occupation, nor the number of those whose rescue was foiled and who consequently perished in the Holocaust." (*The Grand Mufti*, London: Frank Cass, 1993, p. 72)

While the more scrupulous Zionist writers have fallen back on weasel words, and the mufti goes unmentioned in such orthodox versions of the Holocaust as Hilberg's and Reitlinger's, the diabolization of the Palestinian freedom fighter by the Holocaust lobby continues. The website of the tax-supported Simon Wiesenthal Center's, carrying on its namesake's libels, profiles the mufti as follows: "He supported the Nazis, and especially their program for the mass murder of the Jews. He visited numerous death camps[,] encouraged Hitler do [sic] the extend the 'Final Solution' to the Jews of North Africa and Palestine." (at <http://motlc.wiesenthal.org/pages/t031/t03148.html>) Any search of the Internet will reveal many similar accusations.

As Palestinians and other Arabs discover the revisionist challenge to orthodoxy on the alleged Jewish Holocaust, they are taxed by Zionists with wielding "denial" as a weapon against Israel. Yet long before most Palestinians had ever heard of the Holocaust, they were being smeared for complicity in it, thanks to lies about one of their greatest leaders, Haj Amin al Husseini, mufti of Jerusalem.

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Doug Collins Dies at 81

Doug Collins, award-winning journalist, staunch defender of freedom of speech, and friend of historical revisionism, died on September 29, 2001, after a brief illness. He was eighty-one. He is survived by his wife, three adult sons, and seven grand-children.

From 1984 until his retirement in 1997 his regular column in the *North Shore News* of Vancouver, British Columbia, was one of paper's most popular features. In more than 1,400 essays, Collins laid out well-informed, commonsense views on Canada's most heated issues, including immigration, the status of Quebec, and special privilege "rights." Collins delighted his readers with provocative, irreverent writing that was reminiscent of H. L. Mencken — adroitly taking aim at cant, bigotry, sophistry, and double standards in prose that was unfailingly clear, witty, and vigorous.

Few North American journalists have come under more sustained attack for their views. His detractors castigated him as a bigot, a racist, and a Hitlerite anti-Semite. At the same time, he was widely admired as a rare and defiant voice for Canada's "silent majority."

The column that got Collins into the hottest of hot water was a March 1994 essay, "Hollywood Propaganda" (reprinted in the May-June 1994 *Journal*), that skewered the much-hyped motion picture Schindler's List. Collins referred to it as "Swindler's List" and "hate literature in the form of films." He also wrote that "the Jewish influence is the most powerful in Hollywood," and dismissed the fabled "six million" Holocaust figure as "nonsense."

The Canadian Jewish Congress responded with a legal complaint in July 1994 against Collins and the *North Shore News*, charging that the "Hollywood Propaganda" column violated British Columbia's Human Rights Act. Collins became the first Canadian journalist to be tried for infringing "human rights," and his defense of freedom of opinion before the British Columbia Human Rights Tribunal attracted nationwide attention. In November 1997 the tribunal rejected the CJC complaint, finding that the column, although "deliberately provocative and insulting," did "not itself express hatred or contempt" in violation of the provincial "anti-hate" law. A subsequent complaint based on the "Hollywood Propaganda" column was upheld by the tribunal, and was being appealed when Collins died.

Until just days before his death, Collins continued turning out essays that were distributed via the Internet. As he wrote a few months before his passing: "I defended freedom in the 1940s when Hitler was on the loose, in the 1970s when the federal hate laws were passed, and in the 1990s when those idiots in Victoria passed their misnamed Human Rights Act, and that I shall go on defending freedom until the day I die."

Distinguished Career

Collins was born in England on September 8, 1920. During the Second World War he served in the British Army. A sergeant in the infantry, he was captured in 1940 at Dunkirk. He was later awarded the Military Medal for bravery during that campaign.

During his four years as a prisoner of war, he made no fewer than ten escape attempts. He was able to escape from a German POW camp in Silesia and stealthily made his way to Hungary. After being captured there, he made another daring escape, this time making his way to Romania. There he was imprisoned once again, but when Romania capitulated in 1944, he was freed and returned to Britain, serving in combat with British forces in northwest Europe during the war's final months.

In 1952 Collins moved to Canada, where he began a distinguished career in journalism that spanned four decades. It included work as a reporter and commentator for three major daily papers: the Calgary Herald, the Vancouver Sun, and the Vancouver Province. He also worked for Canada's CBC television network, and for a time hosted an open-line radio talk show in Vancouver.

Doug Collins was the recipient of two of Canada's most coveted awards for journalism, the National Newspaper Award (1953) and the MacMillan Bloedel Award (1975). In 1993 he was awarded the Commemorative Medal for the 125th anniversary of Canada's Confederation, given to persons "who have made a significant contribution to their fellow citizens, their community, or to Canada."

Collins was the author of four books, including his wartime memoir, *POW: A Soldier's Story of His Ten Escapes from Nazi Prison Camps* (1968), and *Here We Go Again!*, a collection of one hundred of his *North Shore News* columns, including the notorious "Hollywood Propaganda," published in 1998.

Over the years numerous articles about, and essays by Doug Collins have appeared in this Journal. He addressed the IHR's tenth conference in 1990. His presentation, "Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech, and Revisionism," was published in the fall 1991 Journal (and is also available on audio- and video-tape from the IHR).

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Defending Against the Allied Bombing Campaign: Air Raid Shelters and Gas Protection in Germany, 1939-1945

Samuel Crowell

Recently the argument has been advanced that each of the crematoria at Birkenau was equipped with a gastight bomb shelter. The argument was first made in the summer of 1996 by Arthur R. Butz, with respect to Crematoria II and III in his *Vergasungskeller* article. ^[1] In the spring of 1997 the concept was extended to cover all of the crematoria in Birkenau in my article "Technique and Operation of German Anti-Gas Shelters in World War Two" [hereinafter, "Technique"]. ^[2]

Although the identification of these spaces as gastight bomb shelters was corroborated in "Technique" by extensive reference to contemporary German civil defense literature, public acceptance of the thesis has been slow. Part of the reason, no doubt, is that the "Bomb Shelter Thesis" contradicts the work of Jean Claude Pressac and others, notably, Robert Jan van Pelt. ^[3] In addition we must recognize that the thesis, in either the Butz or Crowell variant, seems at first glance both unusual and even extraordinary.

But the argument for bomb shelters in the Birkenau crematoria seems extraordinary only because the scope of the German civil defense program is so little known. Hence, when the crematoria are identified as having had gastight bomb shelters the first reaction of the skeptic will be, "Why would there be alterations for the crematoria to serve as air raid shelters? Why not other buildings?," without recognizing that similar shelters were quite common in Germany, and, we believe it possible to show, also in the concentration camp system and Auschwitz-Birkenau in particular. So it should be clear that the argument for gastight bomb shelters in the Birkenau crematoria is strengthened to the extent that analogous structures can be shown to have existed both in the concentration camp system as well as in German cities.

The present article is an attempt to carry the argument for comparison and corroboration forward, in this case by supplementing the contemporary civil defense literature cited in "Technique" with secondary studies of German civil defense in the Second World War, comprising both recent German studies as well as U.S. government studies prepared in the immediate postwar period. The result will be the broader realization, widely recognized in the secondary literature, that gastight bomb shelters were a common feature on the wartime German civilian and concentration camp landscape.

We will begin by reviewing the rules and recommendations for German civil defense, and will find that the precautions the Germans took for bomb and gas attacks were extensive. A review of the actual types of structures will show a wide array of constructions, including adaptations of natural geologic formations, existing structures for secondary bomb shelter use, covered trenches for concentration camp internees, and a particular emphasis on aboveground structures, all of

which were designed to defend against both bombs and gas attacks. Provisions for gastight doors, including those that would lock from the outside, reinforced concrete roofs, including those with brick ventilation shafts, and gas-filtering ventilation systems will be shown to have been quite common, according to both the documentary evidence and the oral testimony of the men, women, and children who took part in the large civil defense network. In addition, we will note the particular emphasis placed on chemical decontamination facilities, which would usually be sited in only a few dual-purpose locations in a city, and which, along with the specially trained decontamination crews, would also be used to combat vermin and the spread of infectious diseases, including typhus.

In the course of such a review we cannot pass by the opportunity to describe some of the circumstances whereby the Germans used this civil defense apparatus to maximum advantage, overcoming terror, destruction, and massive casualties to survive and endure. For if the story of the civil defense precautions in the concentration camp system is little known, so too has the German people's battle for survival in the Allied bombing campaign been largely ignored.

Civil Defense in Germany

Regulations

It was generally accepted after the First World War that aerial bombardment would be a feature of any future war, and that civilian populations would be targets. "Strategic" bombing in this sense was a kind of indirect warfare, meant to rupture the enemy's economy or demoralize its population so that the enemy army would be forced to capitulate. ^[4] Such indirect warfare is a classic feature of siege warfare as well as naval blockade. The last circumstance may explain why Great Britain became the leading practitioner of strategic area bombing in the Second World War. A famous expression of Britain's point of view was made by Stanley Baldwin in the House of Commons on November 10, 1932:

I think it is well for the man in the street to realize that there is no power on earth that can protect him from being bombed. Whatever people may tell him, the bomber will always get through. The only defense is in offense, which means that you have to kill more women and children more quickly than the enemy if you want to save yourselves. [H43f, S12] (See Key to Sources Used, p. 39.)

Recognizing such a position, Germany made attempts to protect itself passively from future air attack in the 1920s, even though active defense — searchlights, flak guns, and so on — were forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles. [S11] By 1931 the Ministry of the Interior was issuing guidelines for civil defense, and in 1932 the first issue of the *Vorläufige Ortsanweisung für den Luftschutz der Zivilbevölkerung* was issued, which by war's end would comprise twelve chapters with numerous comprehensive attachments. [S12]

After Hitler took power Germany began preparing mobilization plans, and these included provision for the defense of cities. The mobilization plans of the *Luftwaffe* included a special attachment breaking down the cities of Germany into Civil Defense Areas (*Luftschutz-orten*) of Class I, II, and III. [S14] The difference in classes was primarily a matter of local control, inspection, and preparedness. The controls would be in the hands of the *Luftschutzleiter* (civil defense leader), usually the mayor or sometimes the local Nazi *gauleiter*. The 104 cities in Class I (or LSO-I) included all cities with large populations, and other cities that were considered vital for war industries. Thus Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, and Dresden were naturally LSO-I: but so was

Siegen, with a population of 60,000. Siegen's inclusion was based on its location near the Ruhr, its status as a garrison city, and its war-important industries.[S16]

It would be tedious to go over the voluminous regulations governing the civil defense establishment in Germany from 1933 forwards, but there are two documents that deserve special attention: The Code of Practice for Building Shelters [Bestimmungen für den Bau von Luftschutz Bunkern] and the orders pertaining to the Luftschutz Führer Sofort Programm, that is, the Guidelines for the Emergency Air Raid Program, usually referred to as the LS-Führerprogramm.

The United States, in its postwar surveys, stressed the detailed nature of the Code and its provisions.[CD152f] In fact, the Code also laid down basic guidelines in which civil defense had to be viewed. The basic concepts turned on the collective nature of the enterprise: any program was to cover the whole city, and the program had to be worked into any urban development programs. The Code gave preference to aboveground shelters, because underground shelters were costlier. In addition, it specified various details, such as the number of gas locks for entry (preferably two), the width of entries, the size of the staircases, the need for washrooms, first aid rooms, and so on. [CD153]

If the Code underlay Germany's civil defense approach, the LS-Führerprogramm of November 1940 stressed the same points with greater detail and greater urgency. By the time of its issuance, Germany was reconciled to a long air war; therefore the details of the program were meant to be comprehensive and prescriptive, as a listing of some of its provisions shows:

1. For buildings (municipal buildings, dwellings, lots) which up to now have either inadequate air raid shelters, or none at all, do-it-yourself air raid measures will be adopted.
2. Existing or newly constructed streets or transportation paths (e.g., subways and tunnels) are to be adapted for the construction of underground and bombproof air raid shelters.
3. The openings to the outside in existing air raid shelters are to be removed and at the same time connections are to be made [to other shelters] with collapsible fire walls.
4. New public air raid shelters are to be constructed, and existing air raid shelters are to be made as bombproof as possible.
5. All new constructions, particularly in buildings for the armaments industry, are henceforth to be equipped with bombproof air raid shelters. Such shelters are to have the same priority as the structure being built itself. [S23f, N327ff]

A few clarifications to the program are necessary. "The openings to the outside" that needed to be closed has to do with the demonstrated insecurity of some emergency exits; this would lead eventually to the filling in of emergency exit passages with sand, or boxes of gravel, or even the filling in with a narrow wall. Second, the Brandmauerdurchbruch, or collapsible fire wall, was meant to connect a series of buildings, such as one would find in large cities. Such an expedient would of course be useless in situations where a building was isolated. The most striking thing about the LS-Führerprogramm, aside from the extensive construction that followed after it was issued, is the fact that it was global: all buildings, new or old, were to be equipped with bomb shelters.

Civil Defense in Cities

The organization for civil defense in Germany was extremely widespread. The Reichsluftschutzbund (hereinafter, RLB) [5] numbered 12 million members by 1939 [B13], and it is

only reasonable to assume that its numbers swelled as the war continued. Each city had a complicated hierarchy of positions and departments whose functions were clearly marked out.

The basic structure was the Sicherheits- und Hilfsdienst (SHD) (Security and Auxiliary Service), which was further subdivided. The Sicherheitsdienst (S-Dienst) functioned as security and police in the event of air raids, the Feuerlöschdienst (F-Dienst) were the firefighting crews, the Instandsetzungsdienst (I-Dienst) were charged with technical and emergency repairs, including bomb disposal and the rescue of bombing victims, and the Sanitätsdienst (San-Dienst) worked closely with the Red Cross and the municipal health authorities in handling all problems of health, emergency care, and hygiene that grew out of the bombing raids. There was even a special department devoted to veterinary care, with emergency stations for the care of draft animals and pets. [N46-143]

The final division of the civil defense forces was the Entgiftungsdienst, or Decontamination Service. The decontamination workers were normally attached to the firefighters, and indeed in Nuremberg they were amalgamated with the firefighters in 1940, so that the gas protection function of the E-Dienst became auxiliary. [N77] By 1939, Nuremberg, with a population of about 450,000, had 15 decontamination squads with 15 NCOs and 300 men; in addition, there were 56 gas testers (Gasspürer) attached to the central authority. [N48] The role of the gas testers was to follow up on any suspicions of gas usage and take samples to one of 25 gas testing labs. Other fixed sites related to the work of the Decontamination Service included five decontamination centers with 5 NCOs and 20 men, and five centers for the decontamination of materials (Sach-entgiftungsanstalten), also divided among 25 personnel. The location of these stations is difficult to establish today but it is clear that they made use of existing locations that featured laundries and public bathing facilities. [N78, CD164] It seems probable also that the municipal disinfection centers (several German cities possessed these) were earmarked for dual purposes. [6] The example of the city of Nuremberg can safely be extrapolated to Germany at large, not least because of the global nature of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey's report, which covers German gas protection measures in detail.[CD164f]

The members of the Decontamination Service throughout Germany were issued special protective clothing, including rubberized suits and boots, and, like other important personnel in the Civil Defense Program, had higher quality gas masks (some 12 million gas masks in all were distributed). [CD153,CD164] The U.S. Strategic Survey Final Report considered it significant that the production of this anti-gas warfare gear continued until the end of the war.[CD164]

In addition, the members of the decontamination squads received special training: of the 150 hours of instruction for these auxiliary firefighters, no less than 25½ hours were devoted to chemical warfare.[N78] On the other hand, in order to reduce anxiety, the average citizen received only about a half hour of chemical warfare instruction. [CD165] In addition to the decontamination squads, gas testers, the various fixed sites and their work crews, gas protection also included trucks and even ships equipped with cleansing apparatus, and chemicals and decontamination equipment, including trucks and supplies held in reserve to be sent to afflicted areas. [CD164f]

As to the application of gas protection features to air raid shelters, it was a given that bombproof also meant gasproof, as one author remarks: "Particular attention had to be given to the entrances to the bunkers. Each bunker had to have at least two entrances and each entrance had to be equipped with a gas-lock. It was understood that bombproof meant proof against gas bombs!" [S40] The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey corroborates: "All buildings and public shelters con-

structed or modified to house air-raid protection activities were gas proof.” [CD164] Further evidence of the pervasive nature of gas protection in Germany can be found in “Technique.”

Shelters and Equipment

Secondary sources pertaining to the civil defense procedures of individual cities are a good source of information on the types of shelters erected. But an extremely useful summary of such structures can also be found in an essentially contemporary publication of the U.S. government, the Civil Defense Division Final Report, issued in its second edition in January 1947.

The most basic shelter was the home shelter, or do-it-yourself shelter (Behelfsmässige Luftschutzraum), such as one would find in private homes or apartment buildings. Since some 22 million Germans lived in 58 cities of 100,000 or more [H128], and there were 104 cities with priority civil defense classification (i.e., Luftschutzort I) [S15], we can imagine that there must have been literally hundreds of thousands of cellars that were fitted out with at least minimal bomb and gas protection. Here, the numerous “how-to” articles in periodicals such as Gasschutz und Luftschutz indicate the extent of the preparation. According to the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, such shelters were subject to inspection and approval by the local authorities [CD155] and had to meet the following specifications:

1. at least rudimentary gas-proofing,
2. at least one emergency exit (usually to an adjoining cellar through a Brandmauerdurchbruch, or collapsible fire wall),
3. the sealing of all other openings to the outside, and
4. in some cases rudimentary struts of wooden beams or brick. [CD155]

The costs of such private shelters were frequently subsidized by the government [CD155]: a wise move, as during the heavy raids the line between private and public shelters was frequently erased. As can be imagined such basic basement shelters provided only marginal support in the heaviest raids, but the insistence on gas proofing is certainly significant in evaluating the importance and pervasiveness of anti-gas measures.

A secondary category involved semi-public shelters, which included schools and other municipal buildings. These were probably the most numerous of the various dual purpose shelters that served a public function; the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey specifies that they were equipped with gastight steel doors.[CD156] The problem with such converted shelters is that in some parts of the country, notably in the east and south, the building of communal shelters was delayed until late in the war, precisely at the point when building materials were most difficult to obtain. For example, Bavaria was long called the “Air Raid Shelter of Germany” on the understanding that it would not be bombed because of its distance from Britain. This assumption also led to the “Kinder Land Verschiebung,” a program in which children were evacuated from the north and west to the south. [U.S.214] But from 1943 onwards all parts of the country would be bombed, and this probably explains the variability in the children’s death toll, ranging from 10 percent in places like Hamburg and Nuremberg to 30 percent in cities like Darmstadt (see discussion below) because the children in the latter locations would not have been evacuated. Acceptable bomb and gas protection seem to have been widely available in converted shelters, as we shall see, but given the nature of the firestorm raids from 1943 onwards these would be of little help; cities such as Munich, Augsburg, and Dresden were seriously affected by a lack of preparedness.

Of the dedicated public shelters, there were several types. Probably the most numerous of these were the trench shelters, such as one would find in the labor camps and concentration camps

(these will be discussed in more detail later). Stollen, essentially semicircular tunnels bored into a hillside, were also found, although often downtown underground bunkers would mimic the structure of Stollen. Since the vertical protection would depend on the height of the hill being bored into, we can imagine that they were quite secure. The main problem with such shelters was that they could only be built where the lay of the land would support them. And there were occasional design lapses: one Stollen in Stuttgart, designed to hold 1,000, was notorious for lacking any restrooms. [S99]

Another common shelter, particularly in the cities, was the large Luftschutzbunker. Sometimes building these involved the expansion of existing basements, or the digging of sub-basements. The floor plans for some of these shelters are mind-boggling in size: one that was inspected could hold 10,000 people. [CD157] Although priority was given to aboveground shelters, the Germans ended up building many under ground because of the lack of space, particularly in the centers of cities. [CD157] These were usually long, flat structures with flat roofs of reinforced concrete. Forced ventilation was standard, with standard Schutzraumbelüfter, operated by electricity or by hand. Air intakes (Entlüftungs-rohre) would usually be equipped with a gastight flap, as drawings indicate. [S77] Sometimes the air intake would have a large and heavily sloped brick chimney, which, due to the slope, would occupy a mass many times greater than the aperture. [N569] It was apparently not unusual to use vent pipes for camouflage purposes. [CD162]

The large Hochbunker (or aboveground bunker) was a German innovation that had no counterpart among the Allies. They were usually large concrete blocks built aboveground and designed, like the Luft-schutzbunkern, for multiple use: for people, important documents, artworks. Even-tual peacetime use was envisioned for the Hochbunker: indeed, in Hamburg many of these would be converted to office blocks after the war. [G69] They could be classed in various categories, including those that were provided with false roofs and painted-on windows that looked like gigantic chateaux, others that resembled squat skyscrapers with bricked-in windows, still others that were round and faced with brick, like the keep of a castle, and still others that looked like tapered towers. [S26ff, CD157f]

Although aboveground shelters would seem particularly vulnerable because they were exposed, in practice they seem to have worked quite well. Since they were of concrete, they did not catch fire, and since they were detached from other buildings they were not as directly affected by other burning buildings; hence the effects of heat or gases would not be as great. In the Hamburg raids of late July 1943, the second to last of which created the famous firestorm, only 100 people in aboveground shelters perished, largely as a result of two direct hits on smaller structures. Considering that more than 50,000 people were killed that night and that over eleven hundred tons of high explosives were expended, that seems a remarkably low total.

Perhaps one of the most unusual public air raid shelters was the Parkhöhle in Weimar. The Parkhöhle is a long jagged series of caves that lie beneath the city, several hundred meters in length, caused by water cutting through the rock formations. Long a tourist attraction, the Parkhöhle was converted to bomb shelter use late in the war, with some brick strutting done, as well as the provision of some other equipment. Because of its size, it was not felt necessary to ventilate its long corridors. The caves were also the site of extensive archaeological work by Johann Wolfgang Goethe and his son: the ethnographic museums of Weimar today still display their finds of ancient bones and other materials from the Old Stone Age. [P19ff,49]

As already noted in the discussion in "Technique," ventilation in the air raid shelters was a problem insofar as it had to provide sufficient air per person (11 cubic feet per minute), had to provide temperatures in the acceptable range (24C to 17C), and provide for humidity control.

[CD158] In addition, the more secure shelters would be flooded with refugees in the event of severe raids. Overcrowding was always a problem.

It is difficult to reconstruct the number of shelters or the types of shelters built before and during the war, but various indications from the secondary literature provide a number of clues. It is known, for example, that Hamburg had over 2,000 public shelters for about 500,000 persons, out of a population of over 1 million. [G69] Wuppertal, with a population of 400,000, built or converted over 100 shelters. [S98] Since Hamburg was one of the better-prepared cities in the Reich, it is a safe inference that the rest of the residents were distributed in smaller home shelters and LS-Kellern, the colloquial name for the cellars of apartment buildings adapted for bomb shelter use. [N442] Dresden, on the other hand, had no dedicated public shelters, and only a few converted public shelters, yet home and apartment protection appears to have been up to standard. [D166f]

A detailed study of the city of Siegen provides information that can be extrapolated to the rest of the Reich. Under the LS-Führerprogramm, over 10 million RM was spent in the construction of 17 large public shelters, another 6 million for 8 Stollen, and close to another million in the conversion of 100 or so existing buildings to semi-public shelters. For a total outlay of over 17 million Reichsmarks, Siegen was able to provide adequate public shelter for about 20 percent of its population of 60,000, the rest falling back on home and cellar shelters. [S86]

There is also the case of Nuremberg. Early in the course of the LS-Führerprogramm, four shelters were designed for a cost of 3.6 million RM, even though the city began the war with dozens of public shelters. [N385] In 1943, the budget called for 52 new public shelters, the improvement of 294 old shelters, and the strutting and splinterproofing of 3,600 home shelters for a cost of one and a half million RM.[N450] But neither in Nuremberg, nor in any other city, was funding, principally by the government, ever lacking — “Geld war genug da” — the money was there. [N385] Further data on Nuremberg indicates that in 1942 there were 13,500 Kellerräume, that is, shelters for home and apartment dwellers. [N446]

Considering that there were over 12 million in the Luftschutzbund in 1939, that over 22 million Germans lived in 58 cities highly vulnerable to air attack (over 75 cities were essentially leveled by the RAF alone) [H374f], we can easily arrive at the conclusion that the program built thousands of dedicated public shelters, tens of thousands of semi-public conversions, and hundreds of thousands of home and cellar shelters at a total cost of billions of marks.

German Civil Defense in Practice

The test of the German civil defense system came when the bombs started to fall. In spite of the careful planning, many precautions would not function in firestorm conditions. Then survival became a matter of luck, desperate courage, or strong leadership among the RLB Feldwebeln (sergeant majors) and fire wardens.

Under normal conditions the system seemed to operate well enough, with the usual precautions functioning normally. Thus one man would recall his boyhood experiences:

I was a Hitler Youth messenger. As such, I was stationed at an air raid shelter bunker built both aboveground and underground. When an air raid alarm sounded, we had to be there on time and open the bunker with the “block leader,” a party official who was responsible for the street. We had to care for the children, give them milk, and so on, if the alarm lasted a long time. [...] The block leader or the women from the Nazis' women's organization sent around and handed out

toys to the children and light sedatives to the adults. And the louder the attack got outside, the quieter it got in the bunker.

The underground shelters were more like “tube bunkers.” When you came through the steel door, fitted with rubber around the edges to make it airtight, you entered a diagonal hallway. This hallway was joined by three or four tube-like hallways perpendicular to it. Each of these, in turn, was a separate bunker. Air was pumped through each tube by machines which we Hitler Youth operated. That was one of our jobs. My duties also involved running messages from one bunker to another if the telephones went dead. We were outfitted with gas masks, steel helmets, etc. We had to go out at all times, even when the bombs were falling. I was 13 years old at the time. [V211]

The above not only indicates the ordinariness of underground shelters, gastight steel doors, and hand-cranked ventilators, but also the integral role that women and children played in civil defense. One woman, in Dresden, describes surviving the American daylight raid after the famous firestorm:

Normally, there were only 20 to 25 of us down in the cellar. But now, with many people off the street, including those who'd stopped over at our house, there were about 100 of us. Nevertheless, no one panicked — we were too numb and demoralized from the night before. We just sat there. The attack rolled closer, and then a bomb hit. It was like a bowling ball that bounced, or jumped perhaps, and at that moment the lights went out. The whole basement filled with dust. When the bomb carpet reached us, I crouched in a squatting position, my head between my legs. The air pressure was immense, but only for a moment. The rubber seals on the windows and the steel doors probably helped to absorb some of the impact. Someone screamed, and then it was quiet. Then a voice shouted, “It’s all right, nothing’s happened.” It was the shelter warden. [V231]

The above quote is informative in a couple of ways. It describes the typical gastight seals on steel doors and windows. Such fixtures appear to have been common, even in Dresden, where, instead of specially built bomb shelters, existing facilities were used for virtually all large public shelters. [S99f,D166f] In addition, the role of the shelter warden in maintaining calm in the shelters is suggested. Indeed, it appears in several cases that the survival of thousands if not tens of thousands depended on the leadership and resource of the Feldwebeln (sergeant majors), Branddirektoren (fire wardens), and the roving rescue squads of the SHD. The experiences of Sergeant Major Schäfer and Fire Warden Bey of the Hamburg RLB, as related to Gordon Musgrove for his Operation Gomorrah, are both typical and extraordinary. [G71f,73f,91f]

Schäfer was bombed out of his own apartment the day before the firestorm and had moved down the street to take up residence. When the firestorm raid began, he withdrew to the shelter of his new building, along with about 400 others. Over the course of the next half hour or so, he was led to make several trips out of the shelter into the flames, in order to determine the extent of the damage, from which he determined very early on the need for immediate evacuation. And here we encounter a common theme in shelter rescues: the need for forceful and even brutal leadership to save lives.

In Schäfer’s case, his shouted demand for evacuation was greeted with fear and apathy, a reaction often cited in the air war literature. Schäfer’s response was immediate: he grabbed the first two people near the exit by the scruff of their necks, dragged them up and out into the flaming street, and took them down to the corner to point out the way to safety in a nearby park. He repeated this exercise several more times, leading out by force a number of women and their children, which in turn brought everyone else out. When everyone had exited the shelter, he followed behind. On the way, he broke into a building that was not yet in flames, rescuing another party

there, then made several dashes into the street to save women whose clothing had caught fire, passed out and was revived by some his people, retreated to the park with them, found temporary relief from a water tower, and finally, after several hours, was rescued with his full complement several blocks further away. There seems little doubt that without Schäfer's energetic leadership his party would not have survived, for the building from which they escaped collapsed minutes after his departure. What makes his self-control and presence of mind even more remarkable is that the last person to leave his shelter was his wife, and as she did so she handed him their three-month-old child.

At this point it is necessary to pause and understand why there would be so much reluctance to leave the shelters. Most of the city raids were fire-raisers and several culminated in firestorms. Outside one had to contend with exploding bombs (including delayed action bombs), bomb splinters, falling masonry or entire buildings, and wooden roofing and construction beams that would fly around in the storm winds like matchsticks. In addition, all commentators make reference to a kind of continual shower of sparks, using metaphors like "swarms of fiery bumblebees," or "blizzards of red snow": these sparks could not only burn and blind but could also set one's clothes on fire. Finally, there was the heat, the gusting winds that would whipsaw back and forth and create clouds of sparks and debris at intersections, and which would reduce many trying to escape to crawling on all fours. Under these circumstances the difficulty in breathing was terrible: oftentimes one finds the comment "the air just wouldn't come" and similar sentiments. [U.S.22] One warden, standing outside his shelter, was seized with a terrifying premonition of his own death, and not long after, suddenly passed out. Mercifully, he was right outside of a Hochbunker, and was dragged back in to safety. [G98] Another survivor describes falling to the ground and being forced to breathe off the pavement during the firestorm, burning his lips and mouth in the process. After an hour and a half the crisis had passed. Dead people were lying all around him. [G111f] In the Dresden raid, a survivor described a group of young girls who finally took the risk to dash across a courtyard and open a gate that would allow them to escape from the fires. Yet, as they were struggling with the gate, a building nearby collapsed, killing all of them. [D170] Seeing or hearing of such situations no doubt led many, and particularly women, women with children, and the elderly, to forsake the frightening uncertainty outside for what they believed would be the comparative security of the bunker. These people rarely survived.

The leadership and professionalism of the air raid crews were of particular importance during firestorms, for here the elaborate systems of precaution frequently broke down. Collective protector ventilation systems might start billowing smoke; emergency exits and shutters might crash in from the impact of bombs and offer no more protection; fire walls might be broken down in an effort to escape, only to allow in lethal fire and smoke. Here again the human element made the difference between life and death.

Fire Warden Bey was another air raid leader in Hamburg. When the firestorm raid on Hamburg began, he was walking around the block, gathering up stragglers, but he too was soon forced to retreat to his shelter. Within a matter of minutes the street was ablaze and the shelter was becoming overcrowded with people from outside or from other shelters that had failed. Some of them wore clothes which had already begun to smolder, others had ripped their clothes off to avoid the flames. The ventilation system soon broke down and the lighting soon failed; and, while he had no real hopes of fixing it, Bey made a shrewd display of instructing a few men to work on it, hoping that that would placate his anxious crowd and give them hope. Meanwhile, Bey and one of his NCOs went out on a number of patrols looking for help or safety. No clear escape route was found, nor did they find any of the emergency squads, which were roaming the blazing city in trucks, but they did find some water, which they carried back to the bunker, by now extremely

overcrowded. A series of cracks made in the connecting walls with other cellars did not lead to safety either, but brought even more dazed survivors into the shelter.

Going out into the street one more time, Bey finally flagged down a major of the SHD with a rescue party and organized an evacuation. Returning to his shelter, Bey found that his people had given up all hope, but finally he was able to coax a few to follow him out so that he could explain the plan. No sooner had he stepped onto the street to encourage the others to join him, when two adjoining buildings collapsed, knocking him down and covering him with dust and debris. Meanwhile, his observers panicked and dashed back to safety. Bey got to his feet and returned to the shelter, and finally succeeded in goading and hectoring his people into the street. One by one the people from the shelter stepped out, encouraged by an exhausted Bey, forming a human chain down two streets and into a park. After inspecting the shelter one last time, he followed behind where he found all of his people in safety. Clearly the tenacity and perseverance of Fire Warden Bey was instrumental in their survival, but so too were the roving squads of the SHD, who abandoned their role of fire monitoring and fire fighting early on in order to save as many lives as possible. In this particular case, the lives of more than 700 were spared.

A particularly harrowing example of rescue concerns the city of Braunschweig, which was bombed on October 15, 1944. Here the breakdown concerned what in retrospect would seem both foolish and tragic: the tendency of some shelter doors to be locked and bolted from the outside to prevent panicked civilians from rushing outside prematurely. The raid began at 2:30 in the morning and developed a minor firestorm in the city center within 45 minutes. But this same area contained eight large bunkers and public shelters which housed 23,000 people. It was impossible to get through because of the firestorm, and thus the rescue of these people depended solely on the ingenuity of the firefighters.

By 5 am they were ready. Hoses were leapfrogged forward group by group, throwing up a “water alley” of protection for the next group that would detach its hoses, move forward, reattach, and create the next segment of the alley. Overcoming numerous complexities and failures, the firefighters finally got through to the bunkers at 7 o'clock the next morning, and “As the doors were unbarred and unlocked the rescuers heard the sound of 'many people talking quietly but nervously under their breath.'”[D64f] Then the survivors were led back to safety in an enormous human chain under the canopy of water.

There is a tendency when discussing war to expect the greatest demonstrations of leadership on the battlefield, and to view civilian victims as mere passive statistics, whose numbers are then manipulated for political purposes. Yet the narratives that have been recounted here remind us otherwise. The leadership, courage, and devotion to duty demonstrated by Sergeant Major Schäfer, Fire Warden Bey, and the Braunschweig firefighters — along with many others — were in the finest traditions of any military organization. They were charged with saving as many lives as possible. At great personal risk, they accomplished that mission.

The Number of Victims

Yet it must be said that hundreds of thousands died. A usual figure for dead German civilians in the air war is about 593,000 — most round up to 600,000, others tend to argue for a lower figure, 300,000 to 400,000. [H11,DD171n] Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, insisted in his memoirs that “the total number of victims of the air war will probably never be found. In my estimation there were probably several million. The casualty figures were never made public. They were top secret.” [DD171] But the value of Höss' estimation is only a problem for those who consider him reliable in other areas.

The 593,000-600,000 figure, in turn, accepts a low estimate for Dresden, about 35,000. But it is doubtful that the figures for Dresden were so low. Hamburg, with a population of 1.2 million, suffered about 50,000 in the firestorm of July 29, 1943. But this was during the third of several attacks, and we should expect that many had fled from the city by the time of the third attack (the overall reduction in Hamburg's population was 43 percent). [G162] We know that the population of several cities was reduced as a result of air raids: Nuremberg's population of about a half million had been halved by late in the war. [N445] In addition, Hamburg suffered its terrific casualties even though it was well equipped with thousands of shelters.

On the other hand, Dresden, with a pre-war population of 600,000, had been swelled with hundreds of thousands of refugees from the east, fleeing the Soviet army: its population at the time of the raid was probably comparable to Hamburg's at that city's zenith. Dresden was also struck by a firestorm: but it lacked almost all of the safeguards present in Hamburg. There were no large Hochbunkern in Dresden where people could wait out the storm. Death from asphyxiation would seem to be guaranteed.

Additionally, the hundreds of thousands of refugees in the city would have no way of orienting themselves or knowing how to escape: we can assume panic among many of them, and desperate retreat into overcrowded underground converted public shelters that would ultimately become death traps. Moreover, since Dresden had never before been seriously bombed, the population had neither fled, nor been reduced in number, nor were they likely well versed in procedures that would save their lives: and only one, evacuation, would save them in the firestorm. On top of this, the second wave of British bombers was designed to bomb the center of the city at precisely the time when the maximum amount of aid would be in the streets trying to save the lives of the victims from the first wave: that percentage of losses must also be considered. Finally, the third blow by the Americans, next day, doubtless brought its casualties, along with the P-51 Mustangs which, according to some accounts, strafed survivors. [D182,SF180]

Finally, there is the matter of accurate counting due to the problems of cleaning up the destruction. It is well known that tens of thousands were burned on pyres in the center city, but bodies were still being recovered when the Soviets took over the city on May 8, 1945. And, as in the case of other cities, the recovery of dead bodies was not the highest priority: bodies were recovered when possible, and there were several cases after the war when the bulldozing of previously impassable rubble turned up human remains. [G167] Hans Voigt of Bielefeld, whose diary was employed by David Irving in his famous study of the Dresden raid, described his job in the gathering, identification, and disposal of remains: his final estimate was 135,000. [D208ff] While Hamburg is usually conceded to have caused 50,000 deaths, it is well to keep in mind that at the time the death toll was given out as between 30,000-40,000 [G167]: therefore, for people to assume similar casualties at Dresden would have seemed normal at the time. However, the conditions were definitely much worse in Dresden, for the reasons given, and therefore it seems likely that the casualty figures were much higher than those of Hamburg. In that case, Hans Voigt's projection seems reasonable, which would mean that the overall loss of life in the air war was in the neighborhood of 700,000.

Of the 15,802 bodies that were identifiable after the Hamburg firestorm, 6,072 were men, 7,995 were women, and 1,735 were children (children usually meaning pre-teenage). The percentages are thus 38.4 percent men, 50.6 percent women, and 11 percent children. [G167] For Darmstadt, which also experienced a firestorm but which was not as well prepared as Hamburg, there were 936 military deaths, 368 POW deaths, and 492 foreign laborer (i.e., forced laborer) deaths. Of 6,637 identifiable civilian dead (twice that many died) 1,766 were men, 2,742 were women, and 2,129 children. The percentages are thus 26.6 percent men, 41.3 percent women, 32 percent chil-

dren. [H325f] Other raids show similar breakdowns, from which we conclude that the Allied campaign directed at German civilian morale killed mostly women and children.

There is a melancholy footnote to the Dresden raid, which, whatever its final counting, was surely the worst air raid in the European theater. As is well known, Churchill proceeded with the raid because he wished to make a demonstration of British might on the continent to the Soviets. [D148,D214] In the event, however, the raid, which was promised to hold up communications and transport for the front, and thus abet the Soviet offensive, was a failure: within three days, the marshalling yards were back to limited operation, and the city was not taken until after the war was over. [D177f] It is interesting to note that Churchill, in his memoirs, describes his determined effort to ensure that Eisenhower not capture the city. [D232] One can suggest a number of reasons for this; certainly the Americans crossed the Elbe at several other points. Popular perceptions of Dresden continue to be informed by Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse Five*, a tremendously popular and widely read novel that describes the raid as "the greatest massacre in European history." [SF101] In opposition, we have the occasional little-read book which assures us that the bombing of Dresden was not a crime. As Vonnegut might say, so it goes.

After the Raids

The morning after the raids was the time for cleanup and rescue, although even before the raids were over the people would be out in the street; women putting out fires, boys working water pumps for the firefighters, members of various crews and civilians organizing ad hoc rescue operations. The first priority was locating and rescuing survivors, as well as treating the injured, who, as in a real battle, would far outnumber the dead. Doctors had been privately informed that the threat of carbon monoxide poisoning was high, even in open areas: therefore they were told to give priority to unconscious victims ahead of those who had been buried, burned, or suffered broken bones. [U.S.24f] In Hamburg alone 37,439 were injured seriously enough to be counted, including many amputees and those with severe and lifelong burns. [G167]

Locating the living had its problems, because if they were in shelters their location might have been covered by tons of brick and masonry. To help orient the crews, underground cellars were supposed to have white paint markings several meters up the side of their buildings pointing down to the air raid shelter. [N495,N540] The I-Dienst was equipped with listening equipment, which consisted of a console from which highly sensitive microphones were led and then placed in piles of rubble. A photograph from the period shows two members of a rescue crew, one gesturing for silence, as they listen intently for the sound of breathing. [N538,N79-105] Everyone was involved in rescues, including forced laborers and prisoners of war, who would be trucked in or marched in from local camps. Naturally, the prisoners and laborers did not have much choice, but it appears that in the immediate aftermath of a raid the political hatreds that had inspired it were forgotten and the common denominator of humanity took over. Irving relates how British POWs threw themselves into rescue work after Dresden, improvising listening devices, running pipes down into the debris to provide air to those below, putting themselves at risk to save lives. [D183,D194] It was probably the same after all of the raids.

The center of the bombing zone was usually marked off, and the people were forbidden access. As Vonnegut described it, "Germans were stopped there. They were not permitted to explore the moon." [SF213] Then the work crews, supplemented by POWs and camp internees, would turn to the grisly task of recovering the dead. After the Kassel firestorm of 1943, the police president issued suggestions on the things that would be required by the rescue crews, including protective suits, rubber gloves, goggles, disinfectants, and also tobacco (probably to defeat the sense of smell), alcohol (to encourage the workers), and shears and bolt cutters to cut off the fingers of the

dead wearing jewelry, which would later be used to identify the victims.[H320] Buckets of rings were recovered from the Dresden dead in this fashion. [D208] In Dresden, the devastation had been so great that there were no rubber gloves available; an American POW describes how they improvised:

The guard pointed at the corpse as one I should remove. He indicated I take a belt off another body and put it around the one I was to remove. It's surprising how much could be communicated by hand motions. I put a belt around the neck of this man and started to drag it towards the ramp, but [the body] broke in half. That was too much for me. I sort of lost it for a bit. I began to scream, yell and dance around. I tried to go out but they wouldn't let me. They got me quieted down, pointed to one of the bottles on the table and insisted I have a few swallows. That was the first I ever tasted liquor of any kind. [A408]

While it was understood that the decontamination squads would work as firefighters until needed for special purposes, it should be obvious that their protective clothing, equipment, and training made them perfectly suited for such activities as corpse handling, as well as in the disinfection of shelters, where for example "corpse water" (Leichenwasser) was found. [N77]

At that point the decontamination squads would be subordinated to the Sanitation Service (about one third of the Nuremberg decontamination personnel were so assigned)[N135], whose duties involved not only medical care but also water purification, corpse handling, garbage disposal, pest control, and disease control. [N77f,N123f,N298ff] In fact in Nuremberg, in the last years of the war, the municipal disinfection center was used not only for the combatting of rats and flies but also for the delousing of city residents. [N123f]

The reward for these levels of sanitation prophylaxis was that German cities were untouched by epidemics throughout the war, despite the intensive destruction. One doctor, writing for the U.S. Strategic Air Survey after the war, was "incredulous" at this fact, which he initially considered "inconceivable." [U.S.82] His explanation focused on three factors: first, the German people had high standards of personal cleanliness and orderliness even under the most extreme conditions; second, the RLB aggressively pursued a program of education on personal hygiene, for which citizens were required to attend six lectures each quarter throughout the war; and finally the cooperation (Dr. Enloe calls it "docility") [U.S.82] of the population in such measures as boiling water after an air raid or in laying out traps during designated rat extermination campaigns.

Nevertheless, there were some outbreaks of disease, including typhus fever, which did not appear until after "foreign laborers" had been imported from Eastern Europe, where the disease was endemic (it is assumed that these foreign laborers were largely Soviet POWs and Eastern Jews). [U.S.30] Although the foreign workers and POWs were inspected, and one assumes, deloused, twice on entering Germany [U.S.30f, cf. SF86], Dr. Bauer believed that the conditions of the labor camps, including overcrowding and lack of sanitation, contributed to the outbreaks; so, too, did the air raids, in which the civilian population came into contact with the internees in the shelters, or during evacuations. He also cited the extension of working hours and the lack of soap as contributing factors. Another likely influence was the fact that the firefighting crews frequently wound up using raw sewage in combating fires. [U.S.63]

That the gas decontamination squads would become involved in such activities (corpse handling, disinfection, vermin control, and delousing) creates a number of powerful associations that point to multi-purpose roles in situations where facilities or personnel are scarce. To put it another way, the decontamination paradigm of treatment, featuring undressing, washing, and dressing in clean garments, is also the model for the handling of infectious material, including the disposal of the

dead, as well as for the municipal disinfection stations, and the delousing stations in concentration camps.

Most descriptions of the cleanup procedures contain not only wrenching but also seemingly fantastic descriptions, particularly when dealing with the recovery of the dead. Thus one reads of an “undulating layer of gray ash” that is supposed to represent firestorm victims [D45], or reductions of people to puddles, or multicolored corpses, and so on. But unlike other fantastic descriptions that have emerged from the war, such descriptions have a strong documentary, forensic, and even photographic basis. After the war the United States published studies that were based on the extensive reports prepared by German doctors for the secret use of the German government. These attest to, and explain, the reality of these fantastic descriptions.[U.S., 14, 16, bibliography p. 29]

The discoloration of corpses is one feature that even historians do not seem to clearly understand. Thus, David Irving, who describes corpses that are blue, orange, and green, seems to think that carbon monoxide poisoning was somehow responsible [D48], while Max Hastings, who even cites the color purple, seems to think that the discoloration was due to pyrotechnics. [H319,H315] In short, the descriptions are not understood, so the authors have simply projected explanations onto the situation. This is human nature: confronted with sights and sounds that we do not understand, we project onto the reality an explanation that accords either with what we have been taught, or what we expect, or simple guesswork.

Corpse discoloration also accounted for similar projections by the German people during the course of the war. A particular case concerns the city of Kassel after the raid of October 22, 1943. This raid, which raised a firestorm, killed fewer than 8,000 out of a population of 228,000, and it appears that the extensive precautions of the RLB were a major factor. [D46ff] But when many of the dead were found in their shelters days after the attack, the brilliant hues their bodies had assumed brought forth the charge of poison gas usage. To stabilize the situation, doctors conducted extensive postmortems; part of their report, dated November 1, 1943, reads as follows:

Five of the corpses selected by the chief Police-doctor in Kassel, Herr Senior Staff Police-doctor Fehmel, were dissected at the cemetery. The corpses concerned, of people killed during the terror-raids on Kassel on 22.10.43, had been recovered from basements after several days. Closer particulars are not known. Two corpses were of the male sex and about 18-20 years old; three were of women, of which one was between about 50 and 60 years old, the other two about 30 years old. There were no external injuries manifest on the corpses, which were in a condition of high-degree putrefaction. [...] The skin was partly colored a uniform red as a result of the hemolysis which had set in, but in extensive areas it was already colored green. This green coloring is attributed to the action of the ammonium sulphide with the reduced hemoglobin, which had, of course, permeated the skin as a result of the hemolysis that had preceded it. This green coloration, the analysis of which had been specially stressed in the conferences in Kassel, is as such purely a post mortem manifestation of corpses, cannot be connected with any particular poisonous chemicals which might have been employed by the enemy during the terror-raids. [emphasis in original, D 235f]

The issue is confirmed also in mortuary literature, which clarifies the details of the Kassel report:

The first sign of putrefaction is a greenish skin discoloration appearing on the right lower abdomen about the second or third day after death. [...] Both color and smell are produced by sulphur containing intestinal gas and a breakdown of red blood cells.

Under normal conditions, the intestinal bacteria in a corpse produce large amounts of foul-smelling gas that flows into the blood vessels and tissues. It is this gas that bloats the body, turns the skin green to purple to black, makes the tongue and eyes protrude, and often pushes the intestines out through the vagina or rectum. The gas also causes large amounts of foul-smelling blood-stained fluid to exude from the nose, mouth, and other body orifices. [I42]

This last is no doubt a reference to the “Leichenwasser” (or corpse-water) described above, which occurs as the internal organs liquefy [I 43], as well as a confirmation of such descriptions as “The bottom steps were slippery. The cellar floor was covered by an eleven- or twelve-inch deep liquid mixture of blood, flesh and bone.” [D194]

The Kassel report, supplemented by the mortuary literature, is important in several respects. In the first place it makes it clear that putrefaction could engender a wide variety of hues and it is possible that fire and heat even extended this palette. [H315] Thus the claim of multi-colored corpses is strikingly confirmed. Second, the mere issuance of the report indicates not only a widespread ignorance of the discoloration that attends dead bodies, but also the widespread, if not paranoid, assumption that discolored corpses must have been killed with poison gas. This will be, I believe, an important factor to consider when evaluating Allied reports from the last days of the war. But finally, the fears of the populace with regards to the danger of poison gas were in a sense justified: although the fact was not publicized at the time, many of the victims had died from poisoning by carbon monoxide, which is, after all, a poison gas.

Firestorms and Carbon Monoxide

Carbon monoxide deaths were usually brought on by the fires set by the Allied bombers' incendiary bombs. To grasp the widespread nature of such deaths, we must first explain the nature of firestorms, which, in turn, will not only explain the high incidence of carbon monoxide poisoning but also some other seemingly fantastic reports pertaining to the victims of air raids.

Firestorms are caused when a number of small fires converge into a single blaze, creating a huge conflagration which in turn sucks in oxygen at high speeds and at very high temperatures. In Hamburg, the conflagration eventually enveloped 4½ square miles, developed 100 mph winds [G110], and reached temperatures of at least 600 to 800 degrees Celsius [U.S.19](other firestorms have been said to generate temperatures of 1,500 to 2,000 degrees Celsius). [H314] By way of comparison it should be noted that startup temperatures for crematoria are between 600 and 700 degrees Celsius. [I262]

Under such conditions “flash overs” or incidences of spontaneous combustion were not uncommon. [G103] Several testimonies refer to people in the street or in apparent safety in a park whose clothing would suddenly burst into flames with no apparent trigger by way of a spark. The same conditions could be found in the cellars, many which were too hot to excavate until weeks after the raid: when a cellar was reopened, it was not uncommon for the inrush of oxygen to cause the remains of victims, or coal and coke supplies, to burst into flames. [U.S.23,G167]

Carbon monoxide gas played a major role in the fatalities, particularly in incendiary raids, which were the type usually employed against population centers. Although this development was unexpected, it was soon recognized as the typical cause of death for those found in underground cellars or bunkers. [U.S.24f] It was also a frequent cause of death in aboveground casualties, because the concentrations of the gas were so great in the streets and because heart attacks and other pathologies could result from exposure to less than lethal levels. [U.S.24f] In Wesermünde,

for example, of 210 people killed in a fire caused by an air raid, 175 perished from carbon monoxide poisoning. [U.S.24] Of the victims of the Hamburg raid, 70 percent were poisoned with the lethal gas. [U.S.24] It should be noted that carbon monoxide was generated not only from incomplete combustion but also by exploding bombs: gas from a high explosive shell contained 60 percent to 70 percent carbon monoxide. [U.S.24] The Germans attempted to develop a number of tests that would test carbon monoxide hemoglobin in corpses even after putrefaction. The indications are simply astonishing: while CO levels of .5 percent can kill, some bodies found in bomb shelters contained concentrations of up to 95 percent. [U.S.25]

Aside from forensic tests, the influence of the poisonous gas could usually be detected by inspecting the posture of the remains. Because carbon monoxide is odorless, tasteless, and invisible, it is possible to inhale a lethal dose without knowing it and then simply fall into a deep sleep. As a result most carbon monoxide victims showed a relaxed and unthreatened posture when found: death was painless and came without premonition. [U.S.25] The results of their surveys presented the authorities with a dilemma, because there were no effective preventive measures to take. As a result, the secret of the CO poison gas threat was concealed from the public. [U.S.25] The Strategic Bombing Survey would report after the war:

In all the cities visited, carbon monoxide poisoning was regarded as the primary cause of death or injury, sometimes reaching to as much as 80 percent of all incendiary raid casualties. [U.S.28]

As already suggested, cleanup after the raids was a daunting proposition. Many of the dead would be found lying naked in the streets; it is known that many of these had stripped down to their shoes to avoid flashover.

Initially, the corpses would swell, but after a few hours “the bodies shrunk to small objects with hard brownish black skin and charring of different parts, and frequently to ashes and complete disappearance.” [U.S.22] This description, from the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, shows three photographs of shelter dead who have been between 50 percent to 80 percent cremated — the presence of hair and even clothing indicates that the destruction was achieved through high heat alone, and not through exposure to flame. [U.S.17-21, cf. figs. 8,14-16]

Access to the shelters could take months, and this would affect not only the body counts but also the appearance of the remains. In the absence of testing, the lack of escape movements indicated carbon monoxide poisoning. [U.S.25] The odor of putrefaction was a frequent clue to the location of the dead, except in cases where total cremation had occurred. [U.S.23] Bodies were often found “lying in a thick greasy black mass which was without doubt melted fat tissue.” [U.S.23] The systematic shrinkage, probably caused by the burning, which removed the water mass, led the Germans to call such victims *Bombenbrandschrumpf-leichen*, or “fire bomb-shrunken bodies.” [U.S.23] “Many basements contained only bits of ashes and in these cases the number of casualties could only be estimated.” [U.S.23] Of course, given the temperatures that are known to have been achieved in the course of a fire-storm, none of these characterizations should be surprising. As Gordon Musgrove, a highly decorated pilot for Bomber Command, has noted:

The enormous heat seems to have turned the cellars and underground shelters into crematoria. The exits and emergency exits were surrounded by fires; steel doors, specially installed as a safety precaution, became red-hot or jammed; ceilings, weakened by excessive heat, collapsed under the weight of falling masonry; and even when they were not actually invaded by fire, many rooms were made untenable by smoke or fumes. [G94]

Musgrove was at least half right. The inhabitants of the shelters found themselves in the abnormal situation of hiding in their basements while their buildings burned above them. As the inten-

sive heat dried them out and turned their faces puffy and red before heat stroke set in, the deadly concentrations of carbon monoxide would slowly and silently kill them. The cellars and underground shelters were both crematoria and gas chambers combined.

Civil Defense in the Camps

Three documents should be kept in mind when we try to evaluate the role of civil defense in the concentration camp administration. The first is the LS-Führerprogramm of November, 1940, which stipulated that all existing structures had to be modified for air raid shelter use and that all new structures, particularly in the armaments industry, had to have bomb shelters.

The second document is an order from Oswald Pohl, head of the SS economic administration, dated October 25, 1943, and marked Secret (Geheim!) to nineteen concentration camp commanders, including Rudolf Höss at Auschwitz, concerning the care and feeding of prisoners. The importance of this document for our purposes lies not in the fact that Pohl goes into pedantic detail about how the prisoners should be clothed and fed, even to the point of emphasizing that hot meals should not be overcooked, [7] but in the reasons given for the document. Pohl begins:

In the past two years the labor in the concentration camps on behalf of the armaments industry has become a factor of decisive importance for the war.

The claim is specific; the prisoners are, and have long been, necessary for the armaments industry. Therefore it is not only natural that they would eventually fall under the rubric of the Führerprogramm but also that the camps would eventually be targeted for air attack, as indeed they were. Thus raids on the Buchenwald complex (including Nordhausen) killed thousands of prisoners in April 1945; after the camp was liberated days later, photographs of these dead were interpreted by many as further evidence of Nazi atrocities. [Z222, 223, n13]

The final document, whose existence could be inferred from the above, is an order issued by Heinrich Himmler on February 8, 1943. The order enumerates a number of measures that are to be carried out in the concentration camp system to prevent mass escapes in the event of air raids. [8] Thus, no later than early February 1943, there was a heightened awareness at the highest ranks of the SS that the concentration camp system was vulnerable to air attack. It should also be noted that it was precisely at this time that the construction office of Auschwitz Birkenau began to receive a flurry of work orders for gastight fixtures. The conclusion, absent presuppositions, would seem to be obvious.

Developing the idea of bomb shelters in the concentration camp system is not easily achieved today. Many of the records for the camps are not widely available and most records for the eastern camps are still in Russian or Polish archives. But there is still a variety of ways in which we can uncover clues to the existence of bomb shelters in the concentration camp system, above and beyond the documentation already noted.

In the first place, we can inspect the documents that are available and look for objects and descriptions of objects that correspond to materials in the civil defense literature. For example, references to “gastight doors” or “gastight windows” as well as “Blenden” or “Holzblenden” correspond to common civil air defense terms. At the very least, Jean Claude Pressac should be credited with unearthing no fewer than thirty-nine documents that provide strong documentary evidence that each of the Birkenau crematoria was equipped with a gastight bomb shelter. [9]

A second method would be to inspect the physical evidence, most often through photographs. For example, a number of the small “gastight” doors for Crematoria IV and V were photographed, and there is no doubt that these are identical to the wooden shutters that are discussed extensively in such periodicals as *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*. [ATO426ff, *ibid.*]

Perhaps the strongest example of such correspondence concerns a steel door to a medium-sized room at Majdanek concentration camp. Equipped with the characteristic round peephole with perforated steel cover, this is unambiguously a bomb shelter door, although it has never been recognized as such. Instead, it is usually claimed as the door to a delousing chamber [ATO557], and yet, in spite of this, a replica of this door was later made and is currently on display at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, where it sits as a representation of a door to an extermination gas chamber.

The same method can be applied to still other gastight fixtures. For example, a number of photographs of gastight doors with peepholes from Auschwitz-Birkenau have survived; these closely match diagrams for such doors in the contemporary literature, although, here again, such doors are usually said to have functioned as delousing chambers. ^[10] Pressac has argued that the doors to the crematoria morgues were identical, but there is no proof of this.

Another way in which photographs can be analyzed involves looking for tell-tale fixtures and features outside of a building. For example, a photograph of Höss' residence at Auschwitz clearly shows a gastight shutter affixed to the right of the entrance, with a narrow Lüftungsrohr just to its left, from which we may safely conclude that the cellar to this building had been converted to air raid use.

Another example concerns the so-called delousing chamber to Block 1. The bricked-in window with a smaller bricked-in aperture is very similar to the outside window indentations of ordinary aboveground shelters, and the gastight door parallels the kind found in the literature.

Yet the fact that this space has been described as a delousing installation makes us cautious about identifying this space as a bomb shelter, and reminds us that photographic analysis on its own is not always conclusive. On the other hand, there is a handful of work orders, which, in their abstracts from Jan Sehn's court, make reference to gastight fixtures, and these not only appear to cover the additions to Block 1 but make other references to materials which, while adequately explained in a bomb shelter context, are inexplicable in an extermination context. [ATO456f, ATO27ff]

For example, work order #516 for June 17, 1943, makes reference to the fittings for a gastight door, which was completed 10/6/43 [sic!]. But under either date the door makes no sense in terms of the claimed operation of the extermination gas chambers.

Another work order, dated July 12, 1943, contains a number of misspellings. Again, in the Polish transcript it reads: “1 Schlüssel. für Gaskammer/Melden bei H.stuf der Apotheke im 44-Revier.” Pressac has made the assumption that the “44” is a misspelling for “SS” in its runic form, and therefore translates it as follows: “1 key. for gas chamber. Report to SS captain of the SS-hospital [i.e., SS-Revier] pharmacy.” But this translation seems inadequate. In the first place, while Revier can mean hospital, it can also mean “district,” or “area,” in civil defense terminology. “SS-Revier” therefore is ambiguous, and if we are going to interpolate spellings for “44-Revier” we could just as easily interpolate “LS-Revier,” which makes perfect sense, this being a common term for a civil defense district. “Gaskammer,” by the same token, could be a bracket form for “Gas[schutz]kammer,” a common civil defense term. Furthermore, neither delousing chambers nor “gas chambers” have keys: but gastight bomb shelter doors, if and when they were locked

from the outside, were supposed to have a key inside a locked glass box nearby. [CD153f] It is perhaps also relevant that medical supplies in air raid shelters were usually kept in a small cabinet called a “Schutzraumapotheke.”

The final work order appears to be directly relevant to Block 1. It reads, again in the Polish transcript, “Entwesungskamer [sic!] Die Beschläge zu 1 Tür, luftdicht mit Spion für Gaskammer, 2/1 Lattentür” (i.e., “Disinfection Chamber. Fittings for 1 door, airtight with peephole, for Gaskammer, 2/1 lath door”) The first thing we note is that Entwesungskammer has been misspelled: this is chronic in the Polish transcripts. Now it is supposed that Block 1 was at one time a disinfection chamber (Entwesungskammer), yet the order refers to an airtight door with peephole for a Gaskammer. But why the use of two distinct terms for what was supposedly the same operation? It is true that Gaskammer can also be used to describe disinfestation facilities — the drawings for BW 5A and 5B are very clear about this — and we stress that no one has ever claimed homicidal gassings in any of these locations: thus, there is nothing sinister about the word “Gaskammer” per se. But one possible explanation would be that the Entwesungskammer, superseded in its use by other facilities, was being converted to a gastight air raid shelter, i.e., Gas[schutz]kammer. In this respect the bricked-in window, and the smaller shutter-sized aperture inside to serve for emergency exit or ventilation, along with the gastight door with peephole (which required brick-ing in below the old door’s lintel), tend to support the bomb shelter thesis. As for the opposite interpretation, there has still been no convincing explanation for the need for a peephole in the gastight door of a delousing facility.

To sum up the issue with respect to Block 1, the inference that it was converted to bomb shelter use has significant corroboration, but not proof. To put it another way, the bomb shelter thesis explains Block 1, its physical features and its relevant work orders. The gas chamber thesis, which holds that references to gastight fixtures usually have a sinister connotation, does not. And that underlines another characteristic of the bomb shelter thesis versus the gas chamber thesis: the bomb shelter thesis explains, while the gas chamber thesis is left with strange clues that cannot be made to fit the model. All three of the documents noted above fit easily into an explanatory model keyed to bomb shelter construction. None of them can be made to fit the extermination model. Of course, one could ask where the original documents are today, since they were obviously in the hands of the Polish authorities at the time of the Höss trials, and their emergence would help resolve these ambiguities. But in this case we have an unprecedented situation, in which the original documents have not yet been made available to Western scholars more than fifty years after their discovery.

Another particularly striking example of photographic evidence concerns the existence of long low mounds in front of the barracks in Birkenau, which appear in both aerial photographs and ground shots. These correspond to the Splittergräbe that are described in other concentration camps, for example, in Buchenwald, and which were designed for internees.

The United States Strategic Bombing Survey describes them as follows:

The trench shelter was slightly below ground and usually covered by a concrete slab from one foot to three feet thick on which one foot to five feet of earth had been placed. The trench was usually about seven feet high on the inside and about six feet wide. The walls were of either concrete or wood. The length of the trench varied seemingly with the available space, but sections or off-sets usually divided it into galleries for some 50 persons each, and minimized a longitudinal blast. At each end of the trench there was an entrance usually through a wooden door, although some had steel. With few exceptions, wooden benches had been provided for each side of the

trench. Forced ventilation, toilet facilities, and running water were not available. Little if any protection could be had from a direct hit of the smallest bomb although they were, in most cases, splinter-proof. The advantages of the trench type were rapidity of construction and low cost. This type of protection was standard for slave labor or foreigners but was used by others in emergencies. [CD156]

Still another category of evidence to be evaluated concerns the design drawings for facilities. The Central Sauna at Birkenau, for example, which was constructed after the four crematoria and which stood to the west of Crematoria IV and V, was equipped with a basement which also clearly shows the typical configuration of an emergency exit. [ATO70, Schnitt C-D]

Another characteristic of bomb shelters which is commonly shown in the drawings is the presence of small rooms that lead into larger rooms, that is, gas locks that are sealed with gastight doors (e.g., Vorraum, Gasschleuse). The floor plan of the Auschwitz Crematorium I, in drawings from its role as an air raid shelter clearly show these squarish closetlike entries. [Z253] The drawings for BW 5A and 5B in some versions have clearly marked "Gasschleuse"(gas locks) [ATO57], and the intact Bath and Disinfection Center at Majdanek has three such entries, whose doors are clearly air raid shelter doors. [Z 276]

Some further remarks concerning Majdanek seem appropriate. Most of the alleged gas chambers in that camp were supposed to have been part of the Bath and Disinfection Complex II, whose floor plan is reproduced above. There is no doubt that this structure originally served the purpose of showering arrivals in its still operable shower room, and delousing clothing in other rooms, by a variety of methods, including the use of Zyklon B. [Z 276, and n125 referencing Marszalek] Thus the question concerns the nature of further adaptations.

Room "A," noted above, has occasionally been cited as an extermination gas chamber, but it has a plate glass window with some blue staining around it, which means that the window must have been in place at the same time as any Zyklon usage. But Room "A" also has extensive wooden strutting, as well as a square wooden opening in the ceiling that leads into the roof crawl space. It should be emphasized that this opening was plastered after construction: but this plaster, unlike that around the window, shows no blue staining. [Z 277] Therefore it would apparently not have been exposed to ambient cyanide. The characterization of this room as a homicidal gas chamber is difficult to substantiate in view of the window, the nature of the two inward opening doors, and other characteristics that have been commented on in David Cole's 46 Unanswered Questions about the Gas Chambers. However, the strutting accords with typical expedient adaptations for bomb shelter use, and the wooden opening looks very much like a typical emergency exit. Moreover, the absence of iron berline on the plaster around the ceiling opening would accord with the concept that this room, once used for delousing, was converted later to an air raid shelter.

It should be noted that Room "A" and Room "B" are both equipped with boilers, which, in their original configuration, would have been equipped with fans for blowing hot air. Further, on the far left of the diagram, we can see another gas lock (Vorraum) in a part of the building with no known sinister connotations.

Rooms "B," "C," and "D" are also alleged to have been gas chambers. But interestingly, all three are equipped with steel doors with peepholes covered with perforated steel plate — in other words, typical German bomb shelter doors — and the glass of these peepholes is exposed to potential breakage from inside. Finally, these steel doors can be opened from inside or outside [Cole, op. cit.], and appear to have latching mechanisms both inside and outside [ATO, 557]: Michael Berenbaum's *The World Must Know* (p. 138) provides a reverse image of one of these

chambers (Room “B”), and there is apparent smudging precisely at the points on the door where the latching mechanisms would be visible.

Finally, and returning now to Birkenau, there is a further characteristic of Morgue 1 in both Crematoria II and III which is significant. Morgue 1 of Crematorium II has a vertical passageway along its western wall which features a concrete lid and metal rungs.

While Pressac describes this as a sewer, it is unclear why a sewer entrance that would allow people to climb in and out would be necessary next to Morgue 1.[ATO228,229] According to the bomb shelter thesis, this would be an emergency exit. It should be noted that Crematorium III’s remains are similarly equipped.

There is also oral testimony, as well as other records. Numerous testimonies describe air raids at the Auschwitz complex, including testimonies concerning seeking shelter in below ground spaces. Danuta Czech’s *Auschwitz Chronicle* ^[11] enumerates several raids on the Auschwitz complex, including a raid that ended up dropping bombs on Birkenau by mistake (this destroyed a “dugout” in Czech’s words, clearly a reference to a trench shelter). The testimony of Dr. Nyiszli specifically describes the use of Morgue 1 of Crematorium II as a bomb shelter, although he also claims the same space was used for a gas chamber. ^[12] Other testimonies from Buchenwald, for example, describe trench shelters, while some subcamps of Buchenwald (i.e., Nordhausen) clearly describe Stollen.

To sum up, we can reconstruct the existence of bomb shelter facilities from a number of different sources. The two most prominent are language that correspond to the civil defense literature, and photographs or drawings that depict ordinary civil defense features, such as gastight doors, shutters, wire screens or other protected apertures, emergency exits, ventilation ducts, camouflage, bricked in windows, ventilation chimneys, and cellar spaces that suggest adaptations or are equipped with the characteristic zigzag construction of emergency exits.

It should be stressed that the identification of features in photographs does not prove bomb shelter use. However, the photographic evidence, supplemented by the documentary evidence and drawings, seems fairly conclusive — the crematoria at Birkenau were adapted for bomb shelter use at a time when several other locations in that camp were also being adapted for that purpose. Keeping in mind the stipulations of the LS-Führerprogramm, which mandated that all buildings old and new should provide bomb and gas protection, the claim that the Birkenau crematoria contained gastight bomb shelters should arouse no further controversy. The question “Why would there be bomb shelters in crematoria?” is incorrectly framed: the crematoria were buildings, buildings were supposed to have bomb shelters, and therefore they had them. The real question is that, given that the crematoria served as bomb shelters, why has this fact never been recognized? ^[13]

Conclusions

The primary impetus for this article arose out of the desire to explore the claim that the Birkenau crematoria were equipped with gastight bomb shelters. But in the course of exploring this issue we found out much about the experience of the German people in the air war. Therefore it seems fitting that our conclusions begin and end with remarks on the bombing campaign, and the defense against it, among the civilian population.

We have found that the civil defense establishment in Germany was huge. With a 1939 enrollment in the RLB of twelve million, we are describing a body that embraced about one seventh of

the population: it seems likely that there were as many people involved in civil air defense, at least part-time, as in all three branches of the Wehrmacht.

At a cost that would project to billions of marks, we have found that tremendous sums were expended on shelters of all types, including what we would conservatively estimate to be hundreds of above and below ground public shelters of reinforced concrete, thousands of public access shelters (öLSR), and tens of thousands of air raid cellars (LS-Keller) and home shelters. The regulations stipulated that all of these shelters were to be equipped for chemical warfare defense, and the references to gas- or airtight steel doors in the literature and testimony are so frequent as to scarcely deserve further comment.

Supporting these structures were the clearly articulated supporting staffs of the SHD, numbering thousands, which included decontamination crews especially equipped for chemical warfare, and specially designated locations (laundries, public baths) that in the event of gas attack would have their normal function subordinated to the role of chemical warfare decontamination. The decontamination crews, in addition, were specially trained and equipped, which soon led to their involvement in corpse handling and other sanitation procedures. The sanitation service was in turn engaged in all kinds of sanitation prophylaxis including disinfection, pest control, and delousing of citizens to prevent the spread of infectious diseases including typhus. The fundamental identity of the decontamination, disinfection, and delousing paradigms could hardly be more clear.

Running throughout this service and its wartime operation was an intense awareness of the possibilities of gas warfare. Not merely the decontamination squads are evidence of this, but also the gas testing centers, the locations earmarked for decontaminating belongings, the special trucks loaded with decontamination equipment, the twelve million gas masks issued, the demands for gastight doors, and the ventilation systems that could filter poison gas. And, as we have seen, the fear of poison gas even entered the popular mind, such that the grotesque appearance of the victims would lead many to rashly assume that the enemy had decided to use this terrible weapon.

It would take a philosopher or a psychologist to appreciate what happened subsequently. For the documentary, forensic, and photographic evidence clearly shows that the majority of the hundreds of thousands of German men, women, and children indiscriminately killed in the air war perished from the inhalation of poisonous carbon monoxide gas and in many cases were at least partially cremated. Yet their plight was totally submerged in the postwar period by even more horrifying claims of gassing and burning made against Germans. One begins to wonder whether the suffering of the German people was forgotten, or whether it was simply inverted.

Contrasting the situation among the civilian population with that in the concentration camps, we find ample reason to expect analogous levels of bomb and gas protection. The camps were important to the war effort. Himmler expressed concerns about prisoners escaping from the system, including Auschwitz Birkenau, during air raids at precisely the time when Auschwitz Birkenau began to make numerous requests for gastight doors and other gastight fixtures such as were common for civil defense in other parts of Germany.

In addition to the morgues in the crematoria, which show evidence of having been converted from morgues to serve also as anti-gas shelters and decontamination centers in the event of gas attack, we find that the dormant morgue in Crematorium I in Auschwitz was in fact converted to a bomb shelter. And, given what we have found out about the need for cleanliness in the handling of corpses when discussing the bombing victims, the original presence of showers for corpse handlers in any crematoria should not surprise us.

The blueprints for the Birkenau Central Sauna also show evidence of dual purpose, and the characteristic aperture of an emergency exit can be clearly seen in its cellar. The disinfestation blocks BW 5A and BW 5B, which were no longer used for that purpose after late 1943, are equipped with gas locks and thus could have been easily converted, if indeed they were not built with a dual purpose in mind. Block 1 at Auschwitz provides visual evidence of having been converted to a bomb shelter in late 1943. The commandant's house was clearly converted for bomb shelter use. Finally, it appears that the prisoners themselves were provided splinter trenches in front of every barrack. Apparently there were dozens, if not hundreds, of air raid shelters at Auschwitz Birkenau; and again, bomb protection in the German scheme of things also meant gas protection.

Turning now to Majdanek, we find that the Bath and Disinfection Complex II was equipped with a gas lock at one end of the building as well as standard steel bomb shelter doors with peepholes. In addition, the interior rooms had added wooden strutting for reinforcing the roof, and at least one wooden emergency exit. In the context of the documents, the contemporary civil defense literature, and the photographic evidence, it should be obvious that the Bath and Disinfection complex at Majdanek was adapted at some point in its existence to provide bomb and gas protection, and that its showers were meant to serve as a decontamination center for gassing victims.

We should note here that this same complex was claimed by the Soviets in a Special Commission report from 1944 to have been a site where 1.5 million people were gassed with Zyklon B. Yet, while no one claims more than a tenth of that number of victims for Majdanek today [Z 277, n129 surveys contemporary downward revisions], neither has anyone explained how these manifest bomb shelter features could have been misunderstood or misinterpreted for so many years.

The nature of the German people's plight in the air war has also been misunderstood. Although doubtless thousands perished in utter helplessness, hundreds of thousands more survived, thanks to the skillful preparations of the people and the RLB, and due to the courage and resourcefulness of the sergeant majors, fire wardens, and countless others. We recall that the twin objectives of the air war were the destruction of German industry and the breaking of German morale. But neither of these twin objectives was achieved, and in this light it is doubly tragic that more than fifty thousand brave British airmen perished in a fruitless venture that left a blot on Britain's conduct of the war. Far from being mere passive martyrs, the German people won the air war because they, too, did not "flag or fail." Even so, their sacrifice remains unmourned and unremembered.

Unremembered and unmourned: except for a curious and ironic artifact. If you travel to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, you will find many reminders of the terrible ordeal of the Jewish people in the course of their persecution by the German National Socialists. These objects serve as memorials to the many Jews who suffered, died, and were killed in what has come to be known as the Holocaust. But in another part of the building, alone, and dimly lit, we find a silent sentinel, which, by its presence, serves as an admonishment to those who insist on the most narrow interpretation of history, an almost Till Eulenspiegel-like reminder that remembrance is irrepressible, and a memorial to those German women and children who perished in the gas and flames of the air war holocaust: a steel door, with handles, a peep-hole, with a perforated steel cover — a German bomb shelter door.

Key to Sources Used

A

Gerald Astor, *A Blood-Dimmed Tide* (NY: 1992)

ATO	Jean Claude Pressac, <i>Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers</i> (NY: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989)
B	Helmut Vogt, <i>Das 5. Luftschutzrevier von Bonn</i> (Bonn: 1994)
CD	United States Strategic Bombing Survey, <i>Civilian Defense Division Final Report</i> , 2nd edition (n.p.: 1947)
D	David Irving, <i>The Destruction of Dresden</i> (NY: 1964)
DD	Rudolf Höss, <i>Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz</i> (ed. Steven Paskuly), (NY: 1996)
G	Gordon Musgrove, <i>Operation Gomorrah: The Hamburg Firestorm Raids</i> (London: 1981)
H	Max Hastings, <i>Bomber Command</i> (NY: 1989)
I	Kenneth V. Iserson, <i>Death to Dust: What Happens to Dead Bodies?</i> (Tucson, AZ: 1994)
N	Georg Wolfgang Schramm, <i>Der zivile Luftschutz in Nürnberg, 1933-1945</i> (Nuremberg: 1983)
P	Walter Steiner, <i>Die Parkhöhle von Weimar: Abwasserstollen, Luftschutzkeller, Untertagmuseum</i> (Bremen: 1996)
S	Joachim Stahl, <i>Bunker und Stollen für den Luftschutz im Raum Siegen</i> (Kreuztal: 1980)
SF	Kurt Vonnegut, <i>Slaughterhouse Five</i> (NY: 1993)
U.S.	United States Strategic Bombing Survey, <i>The Effect of Bombing on Health and Medical Care in Germany</i> (Washington, DC: 1945)
V	Johannes Steinhoff, et al., eds., <i>Voices from the Third Reich</i> (NY: 1994)
Z	Ernst Gauss [Germar Rudolf], <i>Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte</i> (Tübingen: 1994)

Notes

1.  "Vergasungskeller" was first published on August 6, 1996; revised on November 7, 1996, in which form it was published by the Adelaide Institute in January, 1997; and revised again on January 7, 1997 and June 26, 1997. The article may be found on Dr. Butz' web site at: <http://pubweb.northwestern.edu/~abutz/di/dau/vk.html>.
2.  "Technique and Operation of German Anti-Gas Shelters: A Refutation of J. C. Pressac's 'Criminal Traces'" was first published on the CODOH website on March 23, 1997, revised April 7, 1997, further revisions April 30, 1997. It is located at <https://www.codoh.com/incon/incompressac.html> An expanded version of "Technique and Operations," "Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters: A Refutation of Pressac's 'Criminal Traces,'" was published in the Journal of Historical Review 18, no. 4 (July-August 1989), pp. 7-30.
3.  Pressac's magnum opus, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, is hard to find. His *The Crematoria of Auschwitz* (NY:1993) is more accessible. Beginning with an article in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington, IN: 1994), Gutman, Berenbaum, and Gutman, eds., he has been assisted by Robert Jan van Pelt, who has also written, with Deborah Dwork, *Auschwitz: 1270 to Present* (NY:1996). The general thrust of all of these interpretations is consistent.

4. ☞ An excellent treatment of the evolution of British strategic bombing thinking may be found in Hastings, *Bomber Command*, esp. pp. 37-58; 106-122.
 5. ☞ The Reichsluftschutzbund is usually rendered ARP or A.R.P. by British historians, apparently on the analogy with their own Air Raid Protective services. Its members would extend all the way down to the operation of each shelter: the SHD, on the other hand, worked from centralized locations.
 6. ☞ On municipal disinfection centers in Germany, see “Die Umgestaltung und Vergrößerung der Desinfektionsanstalt der Stadt Dortmund” in *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, September 27, 1941, p. 523ff.
 7. ☞ H. Friedlander and S. Milton, *Archives of the Holocaust*, vol. 20, document 169, p. 462ff, 463.
 8. ☞ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (NY: 1960), p. 584.
 9. ☞ See the extensive discussion of the “Criminal Traces” in “Technique and Operation of the German Anti-Gas Shelters.”
 10. ☞ *Ibid.*
 11. ☞ Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (NY:1997), p. 692, 697n, p. 708. These entries fairly well explode the claim that Auschwitz was never bombed. My thanks to Richard Widmann for these references, and for other editorial suggestions.
 12. ☞ Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz* (NY: 1993), p. 128.
 13. ☞ It should be stressed that the arguments set forth here in 1997 have undergone significant elaboration. Part of this has been due to strong critiques from both Carlo Mattogno and Robert Jan van Pelt, and part is due to a number of documents obtained in 2000 and published in “Bomb Shelters in Birkenau”(www.codoh.com/incon/inconbsinbirk.html). The documents in that article prove that civil defense concerns, and thus gastight fixtures, were common at Auschwitz Birkenau, but, at the same time, there are ongoing disputes concerning the appropriateness of the Bomb Shelter Thesis in explaining such gastight fixtures for the crematoria.
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Reviewer: Mark Weber

Title: An unsettled legacy: [David] Irving's *Churchill's War, Volume II* (review)

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Review

An Unsettled Legacy

- *Churchill's War: Triumph in Adversity* (Vol. II), by David Irving. London: Focal Point, 2001. Hardcover. 1060 pages. Photographs. Appendices. Source references. Index. (Available from the IHR for \$50, plus shipping.)

reviewed by Mark Weber

It has been fourteen years since the publication of the first volume of David Irving's three-part biography of Britain's legendary wartime leader. This second volume, subtitled "Triumph in Adversity," traces Winston Churchill's career from June 1941 through July 1943, the pivotal period when, after calamitous setbacks, the tide of the war turned decisively in favor of the Allies.

With this handsome, meticulously referenced and generously illustrated work (including many color photographs), Britain's best-known and most controversial historian once again displays his extraordinary knack for extracting information from overlooked diaries and suppressed records, and his gift for turning mountains of data into well-crafted prose. This measured, masterful examination of Britain's towering twentieth-century premier is Irving at his best.

It is difficult to avoid being impressed, even dazzled, by Churchill's colorful personality, in comparison with which most political leaders of the past fifty years seem pale midgets. From the pages of this book emerges a vivid portrait of an often exasperating and sometimes callous man of quick wit, myriad prejudices, puckish humor, arresting eloquence, and enormous energy.

As with Irving's other biographical works, this book's strength is also its weakness. While it is packed with day-to-day and even hour-to-hour detail, Irving sometimes, and perhaps unavoidably, neglects context and the larger picture. He sheds new light on Churchill's relations with major and minor figures of the fragile Allied wartime coalition, including, for example, his deep, abiding loathing of "Free French" leader Charles De Gaulle. Irving traces Churchill's wartime hypocrisy and treachery — most tragically toward the Poles, on whose behalf Britain had declared war against Germany in 1939. Excessive space is devoted to speculation about the July 1943 death of Wladyslaw Sikorski, prime minister of Poland's London-based government in exile. Irving musters evidence to suggest that Sikorski's death in a freakish airplane crash at Gibraltar was not an accident, as officially announced, but instead may have been secretly arranged by British authorities, perhaps on Churchill's order.

As Irving notes, Churchill and other British officials received reports — from Jewish agencies, from intercepted and decrypted secret German dispatches, and from other sources — of killings of Jews in the lands under Axis rule. ^[1] And yet, in his own six-volume history of the great con-

flict, The Second World War, some 4,448 pages altogether, he made only passing references to wartime Germany's harshly anti-Jewish policies (what is now called "the Holocaust"), and no mention whatsoever of "gas chambers" or "gassing." [2]

Adding significantly to the work of such skeptical historians as John Charmley (notably in his 1993 work, *Churchill: The End of Glory*), Irving delivers here another powerful blow to Churchill's well-manicured image as the heroic figure who "saved" Britain and "Western civilization." Churchill, writes Irving in the introduction, "won the war in spite of himself... Britain, in short, surrendered her own empire to defeat a chimera conjured up by Winston Churchill, a putative danger from Nazi Germany — a threat which never existed except when Churchill needed to call upon it. He sacrificed the substance to defeat the myth."

During our own cynical era, when the reputations of once-towering figures are routinely debunked and discredited, Winston Churchill is still held in high regard. Churchill, says British-American writer Christopher Hitchens, has become a "totem" of the Establishment. "His titanic standing depends principally on a set of rotundly defiant speeches made in the years 1940 and 1941, when he staked everything on resistance to Hitler," writes Hitchens. "... For innumerable readers and reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic (Arthur Schlesinger prominent among them) the iconic status of Churchill is an indispensable 'fact' of life. If it can be shown that he was a vain old fool, then their world would turn upside down." [3]

In the view of the influential Jewish writer Charles Krauthammer — a *Washington Post* columnist (and fervent apologist for Israel) — Churchill is "the only possible" individual to be regarded as "Person of the Century." Krauthammer explains: "Take away Churchill in 1940 ... and Britain would have settled with Hitler — or worse. Nazism would have prevailed. Hitler would have achieved what no other tyrant, not even Napoleon, had ever achieved: mastery of Europe. Civilization would have descended into darkness." [4] Henry Kissinger has called Churchill "the quintessential hero." [5]

Contributing not insignificantly to the durability of his reputation was Churchill's lifelong philo-Semitism. Throughout his career, as Irving makes clear in both the first and second volumes of his trilogy, Churchill was an ardent booster of Jewish and Zionist interests. [6] He believed Jews to be "the most formidable and the most remarkable race which has ever appeared in the world." In the words of British historian Andrew Roberts, Churchill "felt an instinctive affinity for their genius as well as a historian's respect for their trials, and he supported Jewish aspirations wherever they did not clash with those of the Empire. He may have inherited this philo-semitism from his father, but he certainly give it a new lustre in his own life." [7]

The well-entrenched idealization of Churchill is part and parcel of a drastically misleading view of the Second World War that Americans have been fed for decades. One common deceit is to give the impression that Hitler sought war against Britain and France, and that Germany aggressively attacked those two countries. Routinely suppressed is the key fact that Hitler strenuously sought to avoid conflict with Britain and France, and that it was those two countries that declared war against Germany. As Irving points out: "Britain was the one country of which Hitler consistently spoke favourably. From 1918 to the day of his suicide in 1945 he avowed that his one ambition had been to work in unison, even in grand alliance, with the British empire. There is nothing to be found in the archives to contradict our view that he meant it."

Churchill's enduringly stellar image is all the more remarkable considering that his views on a range of issues were, by today's standards, hopelessly backward and politically incorrect. He was, for example, a strong and seemingly sincere supporter of the British empire. [8] In Novem-

ber 1942, for instance, he declared: "Let me, however, make this clear, in case there should be any mistake about it in any quarter; we mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." [9]

Along with most Britons (and Americans) of his era, he was also an unabashed racist. Blacks he dismissed as "niggers" and "blackamoors," Arabs were "worthless," Chinese were "chinks" or "pigtails," and dark races were "baboons" or "Hottentots." Indians, in his view, were "the beastliest people in the world, next to the Germans." [10] Churchill not only favored white supremacy in Britain, and disparaged racial mixing, but, as Irving points out, wanted English-speaking whites — whom he was not ashamed to proclaim as a superior breed — to rule the entire world. "We are superior!," he exclaimed during a White House luncheon, to which vice president Henry Wallace responded sarcastically: "So you believe in the pure Anglo-Saxon race. Anglo-Saxondom über alles!" [11] Given such views, it is not surprising, as Irving records, that Churchill and other high-ranking officials were distressed over the impact on British society caused by the wartime arrival of thousands of black U.S. servicemen. [12]

Similar sentiments voiced by Irving earned censure during his well-publicized lawsuit against Deborah Lipstadt. [13] To Judge Charles Gray's castigation of him as a "racist," for example, Irving retorted: "My own feelings about race are precisely the same as 95 percent of the people of my generation ... If the British soldiers on the beaches of Normandy in 1944 could look forward to the end of the century and see what England has become, they would not have bothered to advance another 40 yards up the beach." [14]

Although Churchill's harshly anti-Hitler rhetoric is well known, as late as 1937, in his book *Great Contemporaries*, he was extolling the German leader's "patriotic ardor and love of country." The story of Hitler's struggle, Churchill went on, "cannot be read without admiration for the courage, the perseverance, and the vital force which enabled him to challenge, defy, conciliate, or overcome, all the authorities or resistances which barred his path." [15] In another publication from that same year Churchill wrote: "One may dislike Hitler's system and yet admire his patriotic achievement. If our country were defeated, I hope we should find a champion as indomitable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among the nations." [16]

Churchill is often praised for his outspoken criticism of his government's policy in 1938 and early 1939 of "appeasement" of Hitler and Third Reich Germany. In parliament his eloquent voice was nearly the only one raised against Neville Chamberlain (whom he would succeed as prime minister in May 1940) for his short-lived effort to accommodate Hitler's demands for self-determination for ethnic Germans living in what was then Czechoslovakia, and, by extension, accepting German hegemony in central and eastern Europe.

But when Churchill himself held power as prime minister, he carried out a policy of appeasement far surpassing that of his predecessor. The foreign leader whom Churchill (and Franklin Roosevelt) appeased was not Hitler, though, but rather the Soviet premier Stalin — a dictator who, by any measure, was a far more ruthless ruler than Hitler, and whose victims, by all accounts, vastly outnumber those of the German leader. Churchill not only cynically sanctioned Stalin's brutal hegemony over central and eastern Europe, helping him dispose of the fates of many millions of people against their will, he also collaborated with the Soviet ruler on issues of military strategy.

Although Churchill spoke out against the Soviet Union before and after the war, during the war years he spoke cordially of the Soviet dictator. On several occasions he praised Stalin, repeatedly calling him his "friend." [17] Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the great Russian writer who was a prisoner in Stalin's "Gulag" camps, has commented: "In their own countries, Roosevelt and Churchill are

honored as embodiments of statesmanlike wisdom. To us, in our Russian prison conversations, their consistent shortsightedness and stupidity stood out as astonishingly obvious ..." [18]

In Churchill's first address as prime minister — the famous "blood, toil, tears, and sweat" speech of May 13, 1940 — he proclaimed his goal in the war: "You ask, What is our aim? I can answer in one word: It is Victory — victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror; victory, however long and hard the road may be." Did those who thrilled to such defiant rhetoric fully grasp what this meant? Were they really willing to support victory "at all costs"? As it turned out, the cost was very high indeed.

During the war Churchill made clear his simple aim in the great conflict: "I have only one purpose, the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby. If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favourable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons." [19] In keeping with that aim, Churchill refused even to consider Hitler's repeated offers of peace, thereby condemning the people of Britain, and Europe, to years of horrific warfare.

In the early 1950s, historian Francis Neilson produced a stern portrait of the British leader, *The Churchill Legend*, which remains worth reading despite the passage of years:

Churchill had but one aim; only one desire. In *The Grand Alliance* he states, "I have only one purpose, the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby." It is his life that is to be satisfied. England? Europe? Are they merely the arenas that provide the accessories of the conflict? His life is to be "simplified" by throwing the world into chaos again. His purpose is the destruction of one man; and the last chance to maintain the culture of a thousand years must be abandoned because a politician's life is to be "simplified." [20]

Alan Clark — historian and one-time British defense minister — more recently handed down a similarly harsh verdict of Churchill's war policy:

There were several occasions when a rational leader could have got, first reasonable, then excellent, terms from Germany ... The war went on far too long, and when Britain emerged the country was bust. Nothing remained of assets overseas. Without immense and punitive borrowings from the U.S. we would have starved. The old social order had gone forever. The empire was terminally damaged. The Commonwealth countries had seen their trust betrayed and their soldiers wasted ... [21]

"Victory at all cost" also meant accepting the Allied "United Nations" principles of egalitarianism and liberal democracy, which laid the groundwork for the dismantling of empire and for a massive influx of former imperial subjects, ushering in drastic changes in every area of life in Britain (and the rest of Europe) in recent decades.

In 1945, at the end of the terrible five-and-a-half-year conflict, Britain did not "win" — it merely emerged on the victorious side, together with the two great powers that really did "win" the war: Soviet Russia and the United States.

British writer Peter Millar echoed this assessment a few years ago:

... The accepted view that his [Churchill's] "bulldog breed" stubbornness led Britain through its "finest hour" to a glorious victory is sadly superficial ... In no sense, other than the moral one, can Britain be said to have won. She merely survived. Britain went to war ostensibly to honour an alliance with Poland. Yet the war ended

with Poland redesigned at a dictator's whim, albeit Stalin's rather than Hitler's, and occupied, albeit by Russians rather than Germans. In reality Britain went to war to maintain the balance of power. But the European continent in 1945 was dominated by a single overbearing power hostile to everything Britain stood for. Britain, hopelessly in hock to the United States, had neither the power nor the face to hold on to her empire.

... The "evil genius bent on world conquest" that most Americans believe Hitler to have been, is a myth. The evil genius had more precise aims in eastern Europe. A Britain that would have withdrawn from the fray and from all influence in Europe to concentrate on her far-flung empire would have suited him admirably. [22]

It is to his credit that Churchill acknowledged, on at least one or two occasions, the tragedy of his own life's work. During a dinner with close associates in early 1945 — as his private secretary confided to his diary — a "rather depressed" Churchill was "saying that Chamberlain had trusted Hitler as he was now trusting Stalin (though he thought in different circumstances) ..." [23]

Three years after the end of the war, Churchill wrote: "The human tragedy reaches its climax in the fact that after all the exertions and sacrifices of hundreds of millions of people and of victories of the Righteous Cause, we have still not found Peace or Security, and that we lie in the grip of even worse perils than those we have surmounted." [24] Later, reflecting wistfully on his legacy as wartime leader, Churchill mused: "Historians are apt to judge war ministers less by the victories achieved under their direction than by the political results which flowed from them. Judged by that standard, I am not sure that I shall be held to have done very well." [25]

No man did more to bring about that "human tragedy" than Churchill himself, who had devoted so much energy and effort to crafting the wartime alliance that so greatly aided Stalin and the Soviet Union, the source of the "worse perils." And, as David Irving painstakingly lays out in this outstanding, unsparing work, no man among the Allied wartime leaders better deserves to be judged by the results that flowed from his victories than Britain's legendary wartime premier.

Notes

1. ☞ David Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. II, pp. 546-548.
2. ☞ Robert Faurisson, "The Detail," *The Journal of Historical Review* (JHR) 18, no. 2 (March-April 1998), p. 19. Similarly, neither Dwight Eisenhower nor Charles De Gaulle made any mention of Nazi gas chambers in his memoir of the war.
3. ☞ Christopher Hitchens, "Whose History Is It?," *Vanity Fair*, December 1993, p. 110.
4. ☞ Charles Krauthammer, "Einstein Was Wrong Choice," *Washington Post* column, as it appeared in the *Press Democrat* (Santa Rosa, CA), January 2, 2000.
5. ☞ Quoted by Ralph Raico, "Rethinking Churchill," in John V. Denson, *The Costs of War: America's Pyrrhic Victories* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1997), p. 255. Source cited: H. Kissinger, "With Faint Praise," *New York Times Book Review*, July 16, 1995, p. 7.
6. ☞ For example, Churchill wrote to Roosevelt in August 1942: "I am strongly wedded to the Zionist policy, of which I am one of the authors." F. L. Loewenheim, Harold D. Langley, and Manfred Jonas, eds., *Roosevelt and Churchill: Their Secret Wartime Correspondence* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1975), p. 234.
7. ☞ Andrew Roberts, "Winston Replied That He Didn't Like Blackamoors," *The Spectator*, April 9, 1994, p. 11.

8. ☞ David Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. I (Bullsbrook, Western Australia: Veritas, 1987), p. 437.
9. ☞ Francis Neilson, *The Churchill Legend* (Appleton, WI: C.C. Nelson, 1954), p. 432; quoted in part in Irving, vol. II, p. 624.
10. ☞ Roberts, "Winston Replied...", pp. 10-11; Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. II, p. 624.
11. ☞ Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. II, p. 789.
12. ☞ Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. II, pp. 560-563.
13. ☞ See Mark Weber, "After the Irving-Lipstadt Trial: New Dangers and Challenges," *JHR* 19 no. 2 (March/April 2000), pp. 2, 6.
14. ☞ Weber, "After the Irving-Lipstadt Trial," p. 6.
15. ☞ Winston Churchill, *Great Contemporaries* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937), p. 232. Quoted in Neilson, *The Churchill Legend*, pp. 374-375.
16. ☞ Churchill, *Step by Step* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1939), pp. 143-144. Quoted in Neilson, *The Churchill Legend*, pp. 373-374, 444.
17. ☞ Examples or citations can be found in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: Road to Victory*, vol. VII (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986), pp. 1031, 1035, 1066, 1173-1174, 1186, 1194, 1229, 1320. During the Feb. 1945 Yalta conference, for example, Churchill declared: "It is no exaggeration or compliment of a florid kind when I say that we regard Marshal Stalin's life as most precious to the hopes and hearts of all of us ... I walk through this world with greater courage and hope when I find myself in a relation of friendship and intimacy with this great man, whose fame has gone out not only over all Russia but the world." (p. 1194). In 1943 in Iran, at the conclusion of the Tehran conference, Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill, issued a joint statement that concluded: "We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose." Declaration of December 1, 1943. Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *A Basic History of the United States* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1944), p. 530.
18. ☞ Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, vol. 1-2 (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), p. 259n.
19. ☞ Churchill, *The Grand Alliance* p. 370. Quoted in Francis Neilson, *The Churchill Legend*, pp. 411, 444.
20. ☞ Neilson, *The Churchill Legend*, p. 444.
21. ☞ Alan Clark, "A Reputation Ripe for Revision," *Times* (London), January 2, 1993.
22. ☞ Peter Millar, "Millar's Europe: Question over Glory Days," *The European* (London), January 7-10, 1993.
23. ☞ Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: Road to Victory*, p. 1232.
24. ☞ W. Churchill, *The Gathering Storm* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), pp. iv-v.
25. ☞ R. Boothy, *Recollections of a Rebel* (London: 1978), pp. 183-184. Quoted in Raico, "Re-thinking Churchill," in Denson, *The Costs of War*, p. 291.

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Letters

Unanswered Challenge

Phil Eversoul, in a letter to the editor that appeared in vol. 20, no.2 of the Journal, citing my article “The Rudolf Case, Irving’s Lost Libel Suit and the Future of Revisionism” (JHR 19, no. 5, pp. 26-61), asks “... why did Zaverdinos allow Irving’s statements to go unchallenged?” The *Journal's* editor wrote in reply that “the ... focus of [my] article precluded [my] criticizing Irving’s trial positions at every instance,” and then mentioned that I did indeed challenge Irving on some issues. The fact is that from the very first paragraph, in which I express the view that Irving lost his case mainly on account of ignorance of the scientific work done by Germar Rudolf, and throughout the section and notes on the lost libel suit against Deborah Lipstadt, I made criticism of Irving’s position an integral part of the essay. Thus I can only conclude that Eversoul did not actually read what I wrote. Sections such as the one he cites are there only to show that Irving through his concessions and twistings and turnings exposed himself at every turn as ignorant of revisionist arguments on a subject which anyway “bores him endlessly.” I challenged Irving not only for his ignorance, but for his arrogance as well, namely his implicit assumption that if something does not emanate from Irving himself it cannot be worth very much. For example, he would not have been tripped up so easily on crematory capacities had he been familiar with Carlo Mattogno’s work.

Apart from the revisionist sources cited by the editor, I cite from many more and I believe that I do challenge Irving at almost every instance of his trial positions, if not every single one.

Recently I repeated my views on Irving in a private letter that found its way to him without my authorization. This prompted him to write: “You should remind Z[aeverdinos] that it was my head on the chopping block, not his. He has not fought a case in a British court of law. I have no respect for Monday morning quarterbacks.”

Mentioning that I had been an admirer of his writing for twenty-five years, I replied that even a “Monday morning quarterback” could see that he was hopelessly unprepared for his trial and referred him to my article for details. Finally, I asked Irving how it was possible that he still got standing ovations seeing that so much of what he used to tell admiring audiences was retracted during the trial.

No reply has been received to this challenge.

C. Zaverdinos
Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

[Editor: Dr. Zaverdinos reports elsewhere that he recently received cordial replies from South Africa’s Minister in the Presidency, Dr. E. G. Pahad, and Deputy Minister

of Foreign Affairs, Aziz Pahad, after sending each a copy of Roger Garaudy's *Founding Myths of Modern Israel*. He also notes that "the walkout of the U.S. hand in hand with Israel from the recent Durban conference has not gone unnoticed" in South Africa.]

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From the Editor

Theodore J. O'Keefe

This expanded issue of the Journal coincides with the sixtieth anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack. As it goes to press, the same questions about Pearl Harbor — to what extent did U.S. policies invite the attack? how much did our government know in advance? — still swirl around the ruins of the World Trade Center and the badly damaged Pentagon. Skepticism of the official version is hardly limited to these two “surprise attacks,” however, for in Russia, in Germany, and even in America a growing number of historians is challenging the standard story that Hitler’s June 1941 invasion of the USSR was unprovoked aggression. Each of these issues is dealt with incisively and informatively in this double issue of the JHR.

In the following pages Robert Faurisson **argues** that we Americans, after decades of support for Israeli oppression of the Palestinians and years of waging of push-button wars against Muslim countries, should certainly have been forewarned. He argues that the cult of the “Holocaust,” with its message that the Jews are only victims and always victims, and thus all is allowed them, may propel the world into a real holocaust, where all will be victims. An expanded Revisionist News & Comment section looks with a jaundiced eye at the latest on 9/11, including the explosive, and scandalously underreported, news that scores of Israeli agents may have been spying on the alleged perpetrators of the World Trade and Pentagon massacres — and that those Israelis who weren’t spying on the terrorists were probably spying on us.

Russian specialist Dan Michaels, whose work has appeared frequently in these pages, **assays** the latest literature from Russia and Germany on the growing historical debate over Operation Barbarossa. **Michaels examines** the increasing evidence that Josef Stalin was aware of the German build-up, and was planning to strike first, and considers, if so, why the cunning Red despot was beaten to the punch. Then an editorial review looks at two recent books on Pearl Harbor, each of them claiming to solve the mystery of how much FDR and his government knew.

We are honored to publish the text of former Congressman **Paul McCloskey’s lecture** to IHR’s last conference. This highly decorated combat Marine and eminent American patriot placed defending his country’s real interests, upholding its laws, and supporting justice at home and abroad ahead of his own political career. While McCloskey has made it clear that he is not a revisionist on the essentials of the Holocaust, his lecture shows that revisionism has a wide spectrum, and a growing potential to engage men and women of outstanding character and achievement.

IHR director **Mark Weber takes aim** at the sacrosanct Six Million number, by way of an examination of the career of one of its chief authorities, ex-SS officer (and ex-CIA agent) Wilhelm Höttl. The result is a fine essay that reevaluates Höttl’s credibility in light of new documents, and shows that the “Six Million” is not merely a sacred cow, but one that is industriously milked by the Holocaust industry.

Perhaps the most important article in this big issue focuses on the seemingly insignificant. Yet in his brilliant survey of the evidence for (and against) needed to have introduced the killing agent into the most notorious “gas chamber” of Auschwitz, Brian Renk, a longtime revisionist researcher with a professional knowledge of construction techniques, **establishes** that there are no holes, and there were no holes, in the “gas chamber” roof. His deconstruction of the evidence offered by the other side’s leading experts, in last year’s riveting Irving trial and elsewhere, aims a mortal blow at an Achilles heel of the Auschwitz myth.

That’s far from all, of course. Our double year-end number features a review of **Jürgen Graf’s valuable take-down** of Raul Hilberg’s hypertrophied Holocaust history. **Samuel Crowell surveys** Paul Weindling’s double-edged book on epidemics and genocide in eastern Europe between 1890 and 1945. There is much news, and more comment, with detailed reports on revisionist conferences here and abroad, an update from Robert Faurisson on persecution and France and Switzerland, notice of items of interest in the professional journals, and more.

As long-suffering subscribers will recognize, this double issue is meant to help us to catch up as well as to catch you up. You have our promise that we’ll make up the “missing” pages, and be back on schedule at last, as quickly as possible during the next year.

September/December 2001 (Vol. 20, No. 5), page 3

Review and Revision

Afghanistan

“To robbery, slaughter, plunder, they give the lying name of empire; they make a desert, and call it peace,” wrote the Roman historian Tacitus, in a free version of a British terrorist’s anti-Roman rant nearly two millennia ago. Afghanistan seems to have been mostly desert even before the past twenty years of war and anarchy, but whatever hadn’t been desert is today, after official America morphed the angry zeal of the populace against the suspected masterminds of the 9/11 attacks into a general war to overthrow the Afghan government. President Bush and his advisors evidently believed that, like the unfortunate hamlet in Vietnam, Afghanistan had to be destroyed to save it. As ordnance rained down in unprecedented quantity and quality, considering the size of the targets, we Americans were able to chortle over colorful but sanitized graphics demonstrating the efficacy of this or that bomb or missile, in the warm comfort of their own living rooms, as the Afghans died in their thousands and fled in their millions. There were even instances of civilians being brained by cases of the dehydrated junk food that Uncle Sam is dropping as a salve to the consciences of our softer-hearted citizens (while the threat of mass starvation rises unabated). It is well that our leaders refer to this as a war, and not a “police action”: as of this writing a tape of the elusive Osama bin Laden has been found, but not the world’s most wanted criminal.

Kunduz

One didn’t have to be a revisionist to wonder about the official story of a prison uprising by non-Afghan volunteers who had fought for the Taliban. Supposedly these foreign prisoners of war, evidently particularly hated by their Northern Alliance captors, had somehow secreted weapons on their persons, and then managed to smuggle them, while captive, into the fortress prison at Kunduz (one hopes that those of their warders who receive the bonus of immigration papers to America will find employment elsewhere than in airport security). Evidently the U.S. special forces and the civilian commissars from the Defense Department and the CIA who were supervising the NA on the spot had somehow been distracted. What happened next certainly had many of the earmarks of a massacre (as British foreign minister Jack Straw called it), with hundreds of the POWs slaughtered by machine gun fire and by air strikes called in by a “hero” Green Beret (as if he and a handful of Montagnards had been beset by a Viet Cong battalion). We can’t help wondering what the “international community” would have made of such a slaughter if it had happened at the hands of the Serbs in Kosovo, or been perpetrated by other certified bad guys. Meanwhile, the United States continues to pursue, try, and depart 80- and 90-year-old men whose only crime was to stand guard outside a forced labor camp in central Europe sixty years ago.

Washington

The debate in the councils of the U.S. government over the aims of the global war against terrorism seems to have taken shape as a contest between two wings of the Bush administration. Team America, headed by Secretary of State Colin Powell, is doing battle with Team Israel, led by an undersecretary (!) from the Defense Department, Paul Wolfowitz, for the heart and mind of President George W. Bush. Team Israel, needless to say, desires that America's armed forces begin doing Israel's immediate bidding against Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and whatever other targets the government in Jerusalem may designate. The opportunists who abound in any Washington administration, such as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, who's added a steel edge to his tin-horn core in his manic impersonation of Robert McNamara, are poised to jump whichever way will advance their personal fortunes. While many say that after 9/11, everything has changed, it's good to see that some things haven't, such as the presence of Richard Perle as a top advisor in the unabashedly Zionist Wolfowitz camp. In the 1970s, Perle was investigated for passing intelligence to Israel while a congressional staffer with access to America defense secrets, dealing with defense matters in the 1970s. (Surprise! The case unaccountably petered out.). We hesitate to use the term "dual loyalist" for the Wolfowitzes and Perles ... at least until we discover which is the second country that they're loyal to.

Capitol Hill

Twenty-six years ago, three quarters of the U.S. Senate in effect pledged allegiance to Israel by publicly demanding that President Ford continue providing Israel with a free lunch (courtesy of American taxpayers) and a free hand in the Middle East, U.S. laws and American interests be damned. Recently eighty-nine spineless U.S. senators provided a new profile in cowardice. Apparently stung by lip service the Bush administration had given to the proposition that the Palestinians deserve something like their own country, infested by Israeli colonies, police, and soldiers though it might be, on the 22 percent of pre-1948 Palestine that remains to them, the legislators, with the dog-like fidelity of a mutt bringing its master his slipper, reprimanded the president for being insufficiently attentive to Israel's interests. Soon enough, President Bush was cozying up to Prime Minister Sharon, posturing in front of the Mogen David, and insuring that our ambassador to the UN veto any resolution critical of Israel's racist, murderous policies against the Palestinians. Two images from this past autumn stick in our mind: the New York city firefighters, many of them heavily laden with equipment, toiling up the stairs of the burning World Trade Center towers, and the entire U.S. Senate, its vast entourage of staffers and camp followers hot on its heels, swarming pall-mall out of the Capitol at the first word that a letter containing anthrax had made its way to their post office.

Justice

Against the ominous backdrop of the new P.A.T.R.I.O.T. law (with its disarmingly corny acronym and its threatening implications for our constitutional liberties), Jewish groups that have long enjoyed an entree with law enforcement groups were spreading fabrications aimed at revisionists and revisionist groups. Thus in October Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center told the world press that unnamed revisionists who had attended a conference in Beirut together with "Islamic militants" earlier in the year might well be behind the anthrax attacks. The rabbi's fib that the conference had taken place (it was banned under U.S. pressure), and his strong implication that IHR staffers and associates involved in conference preparations had been busily dispatching anthrax spores, wound up in prominent outlets such as the Washington Post (October 27) and the (London) Observer (October 28), sandwiched among less explicit accusations against the American "right wing" from U.S. government sources. Despite a Halloween flurry of similar reports featuring denunciations from Cooper, the Southern Poverty Law Center,

and other professional anti-anti-Semites, the FBI recently announced that all such “leads” have proved worthless.

Treachery

News that at least sixty Israelis have been detained and investigated for espionage by the U.S. government since September 11 may account for the squid-like efforts of Cooper and other cuttlefish to jet obfuscatory ink, while Israel-firsters inside and outside the American government work feverishly to control the damage. The story, broken by Fox News on December 12, reveals that as many as two hundred likely Israeli agents are strongly suspected of having spied on the terrorists who carried out the September 11 attacks, as well as on American military bases, the FBI, the Drug Enforcement Agent, and American officials throughout law enforcement and intelligence. The Fox report also revealed that American officials believe that the Israelis may have known of the attacks in advance, but failed to inform the U.S. In another choice revelation, Fox reported that six of the suspects worked for an Israeli-based company, Amdocs, which has had access to virtually any private telephone call made in the United States through its telephone “security” contracts with America’s twenty-five biggest phone companies. (Is that why Bill Clinton tried to warn Monica a few years back — or had she already been “warned”?). This story was still unfolding as this issue went to press, but only on Fox News: five days after its first part was released, America’s thousands of other news hounds, normally straining at the leash for any plausible scuttlebutt or scandal, were acting like the timid lapdogs they are when faced with real news.

Terror

The arrest of Zionist goon Irv Rubin and his thuggish aide-de-camp, Earl Krugel, for allegedly plotting to assassinate U.S. congressman Darrell Issa and to blow up a mosque in Los Angeles, comes better late than never, or so we may hope. Rubin is reportedly still considered a suspect in the 1985 bombing murder of Palestinian poet Alex Odeh, just a few miles up the road from the IHR’s offices. There was no mention in the news reports of the July 4, 1984, destruction of the Institute’s offices and stocks, although Rubin visited the wreckage of the building and the heaps of ruined revisionist books to gloat publicly over the attack, as he later gloated over Odeh’s death. Convicted for that murder, after years of delay (as the suspects lurked in Israel’s occupied territories on the Jordan’s West Bank, allegedly beyond Israeli reach): several former members of Rubin’s Jewish Defense League who were probably trained, and certainly protected, by the State of Israel. Did someone say “terrorism”? Be sure it wasn’t the Bush administration.

New York/Jerusalem

Did six thousand really die? As inflated figures for WTC deaths were being revised, to coin a word, downward, New York’s Mayor Rudy Giuliani renewed a long mayoral tradition of snubbing Arabs (Robert Wagner refusing to meet with Saudi Arabian King Ibn Saud; Ed Koch snubbing Yasser Arafat; Giuliani snubbing Arafat) and snuggling with Israelis. Soon after the attacks, Giuliani turned down a ten million dollar contribution to the survivors and victims’ families from a wealthy Saudi who had dared to name Israeli oppression of the Palestinians as a factor in the attacks. Then, not too long after having participated by telephone in a Jerusalem conference organized to expel the Palestinians from the West Bank and their refugee camps on the Gaza strip, the mayor doffed his Yankee cap for a yarmulke, to mourn the only Mideast victims who really count, together with war/peace criminal Sharon and various of his accomplices in Jerusalem. The Butcher of Beirut, now wanted by Belgium for his role in the Sabra and Shatila massacre (a re-

cent BBC program reported that dozens of the massacre victims had been led off to be dealt with by the Israelis) and lately reprimanded by Amnesty International for his current policy of torturing prisoners, had earlier promised Giuliani that Israel would be planting five thousand scrawny trees in Jerusalem in memory of the dead. Sounds to us like a poor trade for ten million dollars of relief for those in need — and don't think the Israelis aren't waiting for the casualty figures to drop some more before they start planting.

The Holocaust

Rumors of the demise of the big H on September 11 turn out to have been greatly exaggerated. After all, James D. Bindenagel, America's official ambassador to the Holocaust (or was it from the Holocaust?) continues his work of arm-twisting and indoctrination in support of still more "reparations" and ever more Holocaust "education." If some readers imagine that the designation "Holocaust ambassador" is a tad overdrawn, the unembroidered truth is that Bindenagel, a career diplomat, was raised to ambassadorial status and designated "Special Envoy on Holocaust Issues" by President Clinton in 1999 (reportedly as a reward for his service in helping Stuart Eizenstat gouge Germany for \$5.2 more billion, this time in "reparations" to "slave laborers.") Bindenagel, reported a little-noticed story issued by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency back on July 10, "is proud to be the full-time point person," and hails "the emphasis the Bush administration has placed on Holocaust issues, as evidenced by his 'open-ended' mandate." He's still at it, of course, devoting what was once Americans' hard-won money to "promoting national memorial days and programming in schools and helping develop teacher training programs" in ten different foreign countries, probably even as you're reading this ... The Holocaust is alive and well, too, in the universities. In a recent and typical incident, a flyer announcing a lecture on the "Search for Survivors: The Fate of the Saint Louis" was circulated in the mathematics department of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Given on October 1, it didn't coincide with any of known Holocaust holidays and didn't seem to speak to any particular concerns of mathematicians. If anything, the Holocausters would seem to need schooling in math (arithmetic might suffice) more than mathematicians need Holocaust "education." ... Like the Flying Dutchman, the St. Louis, the Hapag liner that carried Jews from Europe to Cuba — and back again — in 1939 seems to be popping up everywhere these days. The latest sighting was in a big-think essay by Stephen Steinlight, a Senior Fellow of the American Jewish Congress, that counsels American Jews to rethink their traditional support for unlimited immigration (except for revisionists and Nazi "war criminals"). It's rather evident that, its orotund arguments aside, the Steinlight article (titled "The Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography," accessible at <http://www.cis.org/articles/2001/back1301.html>, the website of the Center for Immigration Studies) means to say that too many Muslims are coming to America now for Jewish comfort. The St. Louis makes its appearance in an elaborate bit of shtick (subtitled "Leaving Inviolate the Holy of Holies") wherein the writer takes pains not to seem to give comfort to the American immigration policy that prevailed from the 1920s to the 1960s. Here Steinlight decries America's "evil, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, and Red Menace-based Great Pause" — and he's only talking about the 1920s! As for American policy in the 1930s and 1940s (when in fact hundreds of thousands of Jews were admitted to the U.S.), Steinlight informs us with poker face that "... only handful were grudgingly granted safety here"; decries the nation's "vast moral failure"; bewails "appalling tales of grotesque treatment" (of prospective Jewish immigrants); and invokes the odyssey of the St. Louis (which, contrary to Steinlight's imaginings, never even attempted to land in the U.S.) as "perhaps the most poignant and most widely known instance of this monstrous policy." Aside from what Steinlight's article reveals about Jews' perceptions of Jewish influence over U.S. immigration policy, for all its nods to "civic virtue" it reveals an appalling self-centeredness: as when Steinlight hazards that America's restrictive immigration laws were "arguably the greatest moral failure in its history," nosing out, one supposes, the execution of the

Rosenbergs, the Pollard sentence, slavery, and the dispossession of the Indians (probably in that order).

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'Real History' in Cincinnati

With a robust attendance and informative, stimulating addresses, David Irving's third annual "Real History" conference was a roaring success. About 150 persons, most of them from the eastern and central United States, and a few from as far away as Australia, met over Labor Day weekend — Friday, August 31, through Monday, September 3 — at a large, first-class hotel in a suburb of Cincinnati.

Irving, the conference organizer and host, was the central figure of the four-day event. The well-known British historian also delivered several talks himself and introduced and commented on the presentations of the other speakers.

In his opening night talk, "The Modern Plague: Historical Conformism," Irving expressed the hope that in coming years the term "conformist historian" will become a widely used epithet. On Sunday Irving spoke about Winston Churchill's secret wartime communications with President Roosevelt, exchanges that are dealt with in some detail in his Churchill's War trilogy.

In a Saturday lecture, "Hitler and the Final Solution: Are We Any Nearer to the Truth?," Irving cited copies of little known World War II documents that were also distributed to the attendees. Particularly noteworthy was a Dec. 1, 1941, order by Heinrich Himmler that, Irving said, apparently was issued following a stern rebuke by Hitler because of an unauthorized mass shooting of Jews the day before near Riga, Latvia, including several hundred Jews who had just arrived by train from Germany.

Writing to SS General Jeckeln, the SS and Police Leader for the large Ostland region that encompassed the Baltic lands and Belarus, Himmler ordered: "The Jews resettled in the Ostland region are to be treated only in accord with the guidelines laid down by me or by the Reich Security Main Office. I will punish those who act on their own authority or in contravention [of the guidelines]."

Irving reported on his legal and financial struggles in an off-camera talk given on Monday. Even when speaking about the courtroom defeats in his well-publicized libel lawsuit against Deborah Lipstadt and her British publisher, the historian struck a confident and upbeat tone. He also spoke eagerly about his forthcoming legal battle against Gitta Sereny, whom he is suing for libel.

As if to prove his vitality and endurance in spite of legal setbacks, freshly-printed copies of the long-awaited second volume of Irving's Churchill's War trilogy were available for sale.

Weber's Address

The first guest speaker to address the conference was IHR director Mark Weber. In his Friday evening lecture, he expressed particular appreciation for the opportunity to address, for the first

time, a meeting hosted by Irving, especially given that he has had the honor of introducing Irving at a number of IHR meetings over the years. He also recalled his first meeting with Irving 22 years ago at the National Archives in Washington, DC.

Taking aim at the incessantly repeated Six Million figure of alleged wartime Jewish “Holocaust” victims, Weber pointed out that even before the end of the war, this figure was already a feature of Allied war propaganda. At the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal of 1945-46, Weber noted, the only basis for the familiar Six Million figure was the dubious November 1945 affidavit of Wilhelm Höttl, a one-time SS intelligence officer.

Weber went on to examine, and discredit, the flawed methodology and deficient evidence presented by Holocaust historians to support the Six Million figure, and he cited evidence to support reasonable estimates of between one and two million Jewish wartime deaths.

One attendee was so impressed with the address that he donated \$1,000 to the IHR.

Other conference speakers included:

- Tony Martin, professor of African-American studies at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, spoke about the Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. He related how he came under tremendous fire for dealing with this emotion-laden subject in his classroom courses. It was the Jewish Talmud, Martin argued, that first provided (allegedly) divine authority for the contention that the slave status of blacks was ordained by God.
- Phillip Supina, professor of history at Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania, reviewed Third Reich Germany’s progressive policies in the fields of environmental protection, forestry management, humane treatment of animals, and public health. These measures, he related, were the most comprehensive and advanced in the world at the time.
- Joseph Sobran, well-known conservative columnist and author, spoke on “Lincoln, the Democrat Monarch.” His after-dinner talk, sparkling with insights and observations collected in researching a forthcoming book, was delivered during a river boat cruise.
- Michael A. Hoffman II, independent revisionist writer, showed an impressive knowledge of Jewish religious doctrine and history in his address, in which he detailed the hatred by Deborah Lipstadt and others like her for those whom they regard as enemies of the Jewish people. Lipstadt and other Jewish activists, he noted, have repeatedly compared Irving and other non-conformist historians to “Amalek,” the Old Testament-derived personification of the eternal enemy of the Jews. (Hoffman’s own report on the Irving conference is posted on his web site: www.hoffman-info.com)
- Douglas Christie, Canadian attorney and prominent civil liberties activist, gave a passionate address in defense of freedom of speech. In his after-dinner address, he reviewed a number of important free speech battles in which he had been involved, including the headline-making cases of Doug Collins and Ernst Zündel. Following Christie’s talk, attendees were treated to a spectacular riverside Labor Day fireworks display.
- Peter Kirstein, professor of history at St. Xavier University (Chicago), provided an informative and eloquently delivered talk on the background and meaning of the August 1945 US atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- Triumph of the Will, the well-known film documentary of the 1934 National Socialist party congress in Nuremberg, was shown on Saturday afternoon. This path-breaking film work was made by the legendary Leni Riefenstahl, whose 99th birthday was on August 22.

Provan-Renk Debate

Two independent researchers, Charles Provan of Pennsylvania and Brian Renk of British Columbia, squared off on Sunday for a lively debate about wartime mass killings in gas chambers in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp.

Much of the debate focused on some apparent holes in the ruins of the collapsed roof of morgue cellar (Leichenkeller) 1 at Birkenau crematorium (Krema) II. Both Provan and Renk presented enlarged transparency photos of these crude holes, with steel reinforcement bars (rebars) sticking out. Provan argued that these holes are the remains of carefully and deliberately made openings for pouring in Zyklon B to kill trapped Jews inside, while Renk expressed the view that these are merely coincidental holes that resulted from the explosive blowing up of the structure in 1945.

To most attendees these jagged openings did not appear to have been carefully or conscientiously constructed. For example, none of the holes seemed to have a straight edge or smooth finish, which one would expect if they had been designed and built as an openings for pouring in Zyklon.

Provan readily acknowledged that many claims about Auschwitz are empty propaganda. He even expressed the view that the holes shown on enlargements of 1944 Allied aerial reconnaissance photographs of morgue cellar (LK) 1 at Krema II were drawn in, which suggests tampering with photographic evidence.

Provan and Renk also discussed the wartime investigations, and the postwar testimonies, of Konrad Morgen, an SS investigator whose bureau carried out hundreds of judicial inquiries into murder and other abuses in the wartime camps. Morgen and his SS colleagues brought some 400 fellow officers to trial, of whom 200 were punished. Five SS camp commandants were arrested, and two were put to death for their crimes.

With Irving's permission, Weber briefly contributed to the debate. He noted that, as even anti-revisionist researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has acknowledged, the Birkenau crematory structures were woefully, even laughably, unsuitable and inappropriate as facilities for mass killings. Kremas II and III, Weber continued, were constructed in late 1942 and early 1943, and completed between March and late June 1943 — that is, months after a decision had supposedly been made to kill hundreds of thousands of Jews in these facilities.

The official story these days, he went on, is that these Kremas were built as ordinary crematory facilities with morgues, but were later modified or adapted to serve as mass killing facilities. As Pressac has further acknowledged, not only Kremas II and III, but also Kremas IV and V, which were built even later, were not designed or built as mass killing facilities, and were at best only very awkwardly suited for this purpose.

Weber also spoke about Konrad Morgen, about whom he had testified at some length in the second, 1988 Zündel trial in Toronto. Weber related his feeling of awe upon reading for the first time, at the National Archives in Washington, the original indictment brief drawn up by Morgen against Buchenwald commandant Karl Koch, who was executed by the SS for murder and corruption. Weber stressed that Himmler sanctioned Morgen's investigation and prosecution of camp commandants, even for murder of inmates. This included Morgen's investigation of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. Weber stressed the difficulty of reconciling Morgen's work with a German extermination program.

A set of ten video cassette recordings of the conference addresses are available for sale for \$130, including shipping, through Irving's "Focal Point" web site: <http://www.fpp.co.uk/> Also on this site is additional information about the meeting, including a few color photographs.

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Trieste Meeting: 'Revisionism and Dignity'

In Europe, revisionists met in Trieste under the auspices of the Nuovo Ordine Nazionale last October 6-7. Civilized Italy has lagged behind northern Europe in making it a crime to doubt the prescribed (and imposed) history, and speakers from four different continents were on hand to question and discuss questions ranging from Mussolini's unsuccessful diplomacy for peace in 1939 to the background of the 9/11 attacks and their implications for policy, and above all the attempts to involve the West in a world struggle against the Muslim nations. Theme of the conference: "Revisionism and Dignity of the Defeated Countries."

Two French educators, each of whom has lost his job for questioning shibboleths of the Second World War and the Holocaust, told how their confrontation with the Holocaust cost them their careers. Former high-school teacher Jean-Louis Berger related how telling his students that dead inmates from Nordhausen shown in a well-known photograph had not been exterminated by Germans but rather killed in an Allied bombing raid. This, and other demonstrable facts revealed to his class, sufficed to get Berger convicted as well as drummed out of the national teaching corps. The fact that Berger had run for office as a candidate of the National Front, whose leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, several years ago received a huge fine for stating that the gas chambers were a "detail" of the history of the Second World War, only heightened the media hysteria.

Vincent Reynouard was hunted from his position at a technical school, and banned from the state educational system, for his extracurricular activities in historical research and writing. He reminded attendees of some realities of Weimar and interwar Austria, including the propensity of governments before Hitler's to suspend constitutional guarantees in emergencies, and the demand for union with Germany in Austria's post-Saint Germain constitution. Reynouard also discussed the Duce's efforts to mediate peace between France, England, and Germany in October 1939, which the Allies rebuffed.

Ahmed Rami, who spoke at IHR's eleventh conference in 1992, noted that, thanks to "the gigantic bluff of the Holocaust," Jews have more rights in Western nations than do their ancestral peoples. The former Moroccan officer, in exile for many years after trying to overthrow his country's corrupt and despotic monarch, called for Muslims to return from their diaspora throughout the Christian world to "liberate, develop, and democratize" their homelands. Rami further urged rejection of efforts by Israel and its outriders abroad to promote a clash of civilizations between Muslims and Christians.

Two more hard cases of Holocaust denial, Jürgen Graf and Fred Töben, each of whom has addressed an IHR conference, discussed the search for historical truth about the Holocaust and its consequences. Graf put the case for a figure of 300,000, not Six Million, Jewish victims, and reviewed Holocaust atrocity accusations, forgotten and remembered, in the light of similar propaganda charges of the twentieth century. Graf is currently seeking refuge from his native Switzerland, where he has been sentenced for historical heresy. Dr. Töben, convicted in German court

for his Internet postings from Australia, tied the falsehoods of the Holocaust to current manipulations of the truth. He reminded of one fact seemingly destined for the memory hole: that Osama bin Laden “is a creation of Washington, of the CIA” (no wonder he'll never stand trial in open court!).

Two Americans well known to IHR supporters rounded out the conference. Dr. Robert Countess, advisor to this journal, gave the talk he had planned for the Beirut conference. The retired professor asked pointedly why Israel's crimes against Palestine weren't being judged by Nuremberg standards, and exhorted the Muslim world to embrace revisionism. Proud Sicilian-American Russ Granata, lecturing at the Boot's other end, speculated on what the Israeli and American secret services knew about the 9/11 attacks in advance.

As if the presence of dangerous “deniers,” Muslim extremists, and a potential anthrax-spreading doctor of divinity weren't enough, the gathering was under the auspices of a (quite legal) “fascist” group. Evidently some revisionists avoided the conference out of philosophical distaste for its organizers, or from a general aversion to political associations, or other prudent considerations. Italian Fascism remains the most innocuous of the major authoritarian movements of its era, and in any case the participation of successor parties to Mussolini's in postwar Italian governments without noticeable calamity seems to be diminishing the power of the “fascist” stigma.

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In Other Journals

The July-September 2001 issue of the French journal *Vingtième Siècle* includes a useful, if gingerly, refutation of a canard that has resurfaced long after it was hatched at Nuremberg: the claim that Himmler had stated that he planned to starve thirty million Slavs in connection with the Russian campaign. This accusation, part of the testimony of prosecution witness (and former SS general) Erich von dem Bach Zelewski, had been long forgotten, but has been recently revived by several German historians (surprising no one), including Christian Gerlach, Suzanne Heim, and Götz Aly. Jean Stengers, professor of history at the University of Brussels, easily shows that there is not even a whisper of truth to the claim. His treatment of comments by Rosenberg and Göring that have been adduced to bolster the spurious Himmler remarks shows that their words fall well short of expressing such a plan. Stengers, doubtless wary of Europe's Holocaust police, is extravagantly polite to Gerlach and company and takes many pains to underscore his allegiance to the alleged Jewish genocide. (*Vingtième Siècle* is published by Presses de Sciences PO, 44 rue du Four, 75006 Paris, France.)

John E. Moser, visiting assistant professor at the University of Georgia, offers a rare even-handed look at "The 1941 Senate Investigation of Hollywood" in the summer 2001 issue of *The Historian* (vol. 63, no. 4). Moser shows that the anti-interventionist senators, led by Burton K. Wheeler (D-Montana), who investigated an upsurge of anti-German propaganda films that began in 1940, were not motivated by crude anti-Semitism. In fact, examining the movie industry was well within the purview of Senator Wheeler's Interstate Commerce Committee, which had aggressively investigated other areas of big business in the 1920s and '30s, in line with the progressivism of Wheeler and his colleagues. Moser suggests that the committee, while it did not ignore the pervasive role of Jews in Hollywood, was not notably anti-Semitic. While the investigation, begun in September 1941, came to little, and America was moved stealthily and steadily into war, the records of its inquiry into anti-German and pro-British filmmaking doubtless merit study. (*The Historian* is published quarterly from 301 Morrill Hall, Michigan State University, Lansing, MI 48824-1036.)

The September 2001 issue of *The Historical Journal* contains an informative article on the vexed question of English and Irish fascism by John Newsinger of Bath Spa University College. Newsinger is at pains to stress the radical and anti-Jewish nature of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists in the 1930s, rejecting Mosley biographer Robert Skidelsky's more temperate evaluation in his 1981 *Oswald Mosley*. Considering whether Eoin O'Duffy's National Guard (or Blueshirts), were genuinely fascist, rather than authoritarian conservatives, he leans toward the former, which seems to strain the evidence. If fascists they were, Duffy and most of his followers surely inclined more to Francoism than the values of the Falange of José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Newsinger also takes a brief look at the role of the Blueshirts in the nationalist ranks during the Spanish Civil War, as well as a peek at the Irish Christian Front, which played a leading role prominent in Irish politics in the late 1930s, and in which Father Denis Fahey, author of *The*

Rulers of Russia, was a leading activist. (*The Historical Journal* is published quarterly by Cambridge University.)

In the May 2001 issue of *Irish Historical Studies*, Andreas Roth examines the radio broadcasts that Irish poet and novelist (in English and Irish) Francis Stuart made from Berlin to his home country in 1942-44. Roth finds that Stuart, who lectured on Anglo-Irish literature at the University of Berlin while in Germany, advocated a united, neutral Ireland while attacking the tyranny of finance, but rarely touched on the Jewish question, and was in general successful in resisting German pressure to put a sharper edge to his broadcasts. The effect of his broadcasts on the Irish is not known, but cannot have been powerful. Unlike his one-time countryman William Joyce, Stuart was not punished after the war: his citizenship was incontestably Irish, and his country had been neutral. Stuart is still alive and his writings continue to draw interest; several years ago he made something of a stir when an Irish television documentary quoted him as saying that “the Jew was always the worm that got into the rose and sickened it.” (*Irish Historical Studies*, Department of History, Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland.)

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Was Holocaust Survivor Viktor Frankl Gassed at Auschwitz?

A recent article has revealed that Viktor Frankl, the famous psychiatrist and emblematic Auschwitz survivor, greatly embroidered on his meager time at Auschwitz. This news casts a shadow over the veracity of Frankl's famous memoir, *Man's Search for Meaning*. Of even more interest, however, is a question that arises when considering the Auschwitz State Museum's records regarding Frankl's time at Birkenau: Was Viktor Frankl gassed at Auschwitz?

Few men who emerged from the camps can match the late Viktor Frankl for acclaim. A psychiatrist from Vienna who died in 1997, Frankl gained international renown for the theories of mental health he expounded through his psychiatric school, logotherapy. Inextricably bound up with Frankl's fame, teachings, and moral authority was his experience of the German concentration camps, above all Auschwitz, as described in *Man's Search for Meaning* (U.S., 1959) a worldwide bestseller that has been ranked as one of the ten most influential books of the twentieth century by the Library of Congress.

In his reminiscence, Frankl recounted his stay at Auschwitz as if it had lasted an eternity. Now comes Timothy Pytell, adjunct professor of history at the Cooper Union in New York City, to inform us that, based on his research for an intellectual biography of Frankl, the celebrated survivor spent at most three days at Auschwitz, while in transit from Theresienstadt in Bohemia to a subcamp of Dachau in October 1944. As Pytell observes, a reader of *Man's Search for Meaning* would "be stunned to discover that Frankl spent only a few days in Auschwitz." In the book, Frankl devotes some thirty pages to Auschwitz. Besides recording his experiences on arrival (shaving, showering, delousing, etc.), Frankl makes observations about the lot of inmates there that strongly imply that, at the very least, he spent months, not days, at the camp. ("We had to wear the same shirts for half a year, until they had lost all appearance of being shirts.") As Pytell writes of Frankl's depiction of his stay at Auschwitz: "But if truth be told, Frankl's rendition is contradictory and profoundly deceptive."

Pytell notes that Frankl was transferred from Theresienstadt on October 19, 1944, on a train that carried 1500 persons to Auschwitz, and that the prisoner's log of the Dachau sub-camp Kaufering III records Frankl's arrival on October 25, 1944. Indeed, Frankl himself told the American evangelist Robert Schuller, in an interview published in Schuller's magazine *Possibilities* (March-April 1991): "I was in Auschwitz only three or four days ... I was sent to a barrack and we were all transported to a camp in Bavaria." Thus the credibility of yet another star survivor has been tested and found wanting. Like the testimony of Miklos Nyiszli, Filip Müller, Rudolf Vrba, Mel Mermelstein, and a host of other eyewitness oracles, Viktor Frankl's Auschwitz stories are now an embarrassment to the Holocaust industry, rather than an indictment of the Germans.

There's more, however. While Pytell wasn't up to examining the implications of Frankl's stay at Auschwitz for the reliability of the camp's official history, records compiled by exterminationist researcher of Theresienstadt H. G. Adler and by the Auschwitz State Museum make clear that if

Frankl arrived at Auschwitz on October 20, 1944, he must have left Theresienstadt on a train with 1,500 passengers, designated “Es.” The English-language edition of the supposedly authoritative *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939-45* (editor Danuta Czech, London: I.B.Tauris, 1990), based on material from the Auschwitz State Museum, reports of that train:

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1,500 Jewish men, women, and children are sent in an RSHA transport from the ghetto in Theresienstadt. After the selection, 169 women are admitted to the transit camp and 173 men as prisoners to the camp. The men receive Nos. B-13307-B-13479. The remaining 1,158 people are killed in the gas chamber of Crematorium III.

Now, while Viktor Frankl reports at length in his chatty memoir about his reception at Auschwitz (including the obligatory brush with Dr. Mengele), he says not a word about being registered, assigned a number, tattooed with that number, or transferred to the Auschwitz Stammlager, the permanent camp). Thus one can conclude that he was not admitted as a prisoner to the camp. And the *Chronicle's* entry speaks of no surviving, non-registered persons from that shipment. Ergo, according to the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, and the records on which it claims to be based, Viktor Frankl must have gassed nearly fifty-three years before his widely announced death in September 1997. Who was it, then, who was sent out of Auschwitz a few days later, and went on to write all those books?

As Robert Faurisson, Carlo Mattogno, Enrique Aynat Eknes, Jürgen Graf, and other revisionist researchers have made plain, there is a way out of this seeming quandary. The survival of Frankl, like the survival of sundry other persons counted dead by the record keepers at the Auschwitz State Museum — most notably French and Euro-politician Simone Veil — was due, not to some miraculous intervention, but to the sloppy and dishonest research of the Auschwitz authorities. Despite recent revisions in the *Chronicle* that allow for the survival of some non-registered inmates, the widely consulted reference continues to consign, more or less automatically, arrivals not officially assigned to the Auschwitz camp to the gas chambers.

No doubt if the Auschwitz records were open to a thorough revisionist combing, we would learn of many more survivors who are counted, officially, as gassed. Needless to say, such life-affirming findings are entirely unwelcome to the Holocaust industrialists, whether at the Auschwitz State Museum, or the Red Cross's international tracing center at Arolsen, Germany, or at Yad Vashem in Israel. And — who knows? — stating that Viktor Frankl wasn't gassed might earn one a fine, or a prison sentence, in more than one “democracy.”

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Machinations of the Anti-Defamation League

Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.

You might wonder why a man would leave northern California and come to southern California in the middle of a lovely weekend. I came because I respect the thesis of this organization — the thesis being that there should be a reexamination of whatever governments say or politicians say or political entities say. I was in politics for fifteen years, and I think you should start with the assumption: never trust a politician.

In 1964 I was on active duty in the Marine Corps over at Camp Pendleton, a few miles from here. I was then leading a Marine Corps Reserve officer class studying counter-insurgency. It was during that time that the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was enacted by Congress [August 7, 1964], and you may remember that the Secretary of State [Dean Rusk] and the Secretary of Defense [Robert McNamara] came before Congress and said that [North Vietnamese] torpedo boats had attacked two U.S. destroyers, the Maddox and the Turner Joy. The Congress voted nearly unanimously to authorize the President to go to war in Vietnam, one of the most tragic mistakes that we ever made. The two men I fought under in Korea, General MacArthur and General Ridgeway, both said: Never again fight a land war on the Asian continent; it is not a place for Americans. Nevertheless we went to war, and a great American, Senator William Fulbright, said it is the responsibility of the politician to lead in the reexamination both of policy and in historical fact, which is exactly the thesis of this organization. Because if you're going to make policy decisions, you need to know what the facts are.

You may remember when Lyndon Johnson announced [March 31, 1968] that he would not run for a second term as president. For some years he had told everyone in the Congress that we were doing the right thing in Vietnam: that we had to bring the coonskin home because we couldn't afford to be, as President Nixon put it, a "pitiful, helpless giant." We had to win that war, he said, and for a long time he was convinced, based on his daily briefings, that we were winning the war.

One of my friends from Stanford law school, and my debate partner in the moot court debates there in 1950, was John Ehrlichman. Years later, when he went to prison in 1975, I asked John what had caused a fine, honest lawyer to become a corrupt servant to President Nixon and to lie to the Congress. And I asked him why Henry Kissinger had been making the foreign policy of the United States, rather than the Secretary of State, William Rogers, who by law was entrusted with that responsibility. And he told me: "Pete, it's this way. Every morning at seven o'clock Richard Nixon gets his briefing of events around the world. There were briefings from State, Defense, and the CIA, but we couldn't trust any of those three agencies because the warfare amongst them was greater than their desire to tell the truth to the President of the United States. Therefore, Kissinger became the censor of those three reports. He took and collated the State, Defense and CIA reports, so that the President got a single briefing from Henry Kissinger. Well,

Kissinger's policies being what they were, you can imagine what that could do to the policy of the United States."

Free speech and civil courage

Earlier here today I listened to speeches about the courage of men in France, Britain, Germany, and New Zealand who have spoken out against the commonly accepted concept of what occurred during the Second World War in the so-called Holocaust. And I wanted to tell you a story that every American ought to know, because we do have free speech in this country, and a judicial system with the right to jury trial. Whatever you may think of the ability of given judges, or the ability of given members of the press, the independent judiciary and press have saved us from the kind of things that have been described here today in Germany or Britain or Canada.

I remember that one time, during a visit to New Zealand, a radio talk show host there commented that, based on statistics, four percent of the one hundred men in New Zealand's Parliament would be homosexual, which meant that four members of Parliament could be homosexual. Well, they hauled this talk show host up in front of a parliamentary committee and threatened to lock him up and throw away the key for contempt of Parliament. He whined and whimpered, and said, "I didn't mean to say four members of the parliament are homosexual, but that's just the statistics, and if they are a representative sample of the population, four would be homosexual." With his apology and humbling, they let him go. Within six months, three members of the New Zealand Parliament admitted they were homosexual.

But it's different in America. How many of you know the story of John Peter Zenger? If you re-examine history, and go back to 1733-1735 in New York, the royal governor of this British colony was a man named William Cosby. And a very brave editor, John Peter Zenger — maybe the **David McCalden** or the Mark Weber of his time — came out and said in his paper that "Cosby is corrupt. He's taking money from the royal treasury. The government is corrupt, and the governor is corrupt." He was hauled up for trial [on a charge of seditious libel]. In keeping with English common law, he had a right to a jury trial, and the chief justice in the case instructed the jury, twelve men tried and true: "You must find John Peter Zenger guilty because he has criticized the government. It is important and essential to the preservation of government that people have a good opinion of it. Therefore, you must find him guilty." [Zenger's lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, argued that because what Zenger had written was true, he should be acquitted.] Well, the jury took about twenty minutes to acquit Zenger. As a result, when we later adopted our Bill of Rights [1791], we put into it two essential rights: the right of free speech and free press, and the right of trial by jury. And that has generally protected people in this country in expressing whatever dissenting views they cared to express — from everything except the scorn of their peers in the same field.

I may not agree with you about everything I've heard today, or what you might feel, but your right to say what you believe and to research things that are alleged as true, and to try to disprove them, is perhaps the most important part of our democracy.

That's what we're up against now with the Anti-Defamation League, and I think ultimately we're going to win. When you think about those rights — which they don't have in Canada or Britain or New Zealand or France or Germany, where people can go to jail for expressing unpopular thoughts — thank God we're Americans.

Reactive repression

Let me go back now to the ADL — after all, this speech is entitled “Machinations of the ADL” — and let me tell you a little about my experiences. I'm a fourth generation Californian. My father and both grandfathers were lawyers here in southern California. I grew up in a little town called San Marino, a classic all-white suburb. The last I heard there were 9,000 voters, 8,700 of them Republicans. There were no blacks in San Marino, and there were no Jews. They kept Jews out of San Marino by asking, “What's the maiden name of your mother?” The real estate people had a conspiracy. As with blacks, Jews in your neighborhood were supposed to make property values drop.

My father was a member of a law firm called Horwitz & McCloskey, which was on Spring Street in downtown Los Angeles when that was the city's legal center. I remember once when I was a boy, he said, “Son, we Irish need the Jews. We have half of the good traits of mankind and half of the bad ones, and the Jews are exactly the opposite. They've got the good traits where we're weak, and they have the weak traits where we're strong.” I've always remembered that.

Anyway, in 1960 I was the president of the Palo Alto Bar Association. The next year I was elected president of the California Conference of Barristers. (That's all lawyers in the state under 36 years of age.) That year Proposition 13, which some of you may remember, came up for a vote in California. Very simply it read: “A person shall have the right to sell or rent his home to whomever he chooses.” Sounds good. What that means in practice, however, is that a person is free to discriminate against anybody that he doesn't like because of race or some other reason. The state Bar convention had never taken a position on political initiatives, but that year we felt that because we were constitutional lawyers, and because this initiative was clearly unconstitutional, the Bar ought to speak out.

Three of us addressed the conference, arguing that the Bar Association should take a position on this matter of constitutional interest. We got a lawyer in his late seventies named Herman Selvin — a tax lawyer with a famous Jewish firm in Los Angeles called Loeb & Loeb — to make the concluding speech. At the end of his marvelous, very persuasive speech, he said, “We lawyers have shown we've got great minds, and we've got great hearts. Now let's show we have some guts.” And the Bar Convention, 3,000 people, voted two-to-one to take a position against Proposition 13. But it proved useless, because the people of California voted two-to-one to pass Proposition 13, although later our Supreme Court held it to be unconstitutional.

Well, after he had given his speech at the convention, we took Herman Selvin out for a beer, and we complimented him, as young lawyers will an elderly sage. He told us that anti-Semitism was alive and well. A friend of his, he went on, had invited him to the posh Montecito Country Club in Santa Barbara, but when they got to the door, there was a man in a tuxedo who looked down a list and then said: “Selvin. We don't take Jews here.” Now that was in 1963! In my own lifetime, this state has had a long record of anti-Semitism.

And what do people do when they're discriminated against? They form networks. By June 1967, when the Six Day War occurred, the Jewish communities in America had built up a large network of mutual support in the synagogues and the Jewish community centers. At that time there were thirty-three major Jewish organizations. One of them was the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which became the most militant voice for Israel. To be a good Jew meant that you had to support Israel. It was as if “Israel über Alles,” or “Israel above all,” became the watchword of the ADL.

Stifling debate

They built up an intelligence organization to learn about their enemies. There were people like Roy Bullock, who masqueraded as a kind of rotund antique dealer, at first in the East, and then in the Midwest, before he moved to Los Angeles and then to San Francisco. He would pass himself off as a sympathizer with whatever group the ADL deemed to be hostile to Israel. By the 1980s the ADL's main purpose was no longer to try to stop anti-Semitism and bigotry, but instead to discredit any voice that was hostile to the policies of Israel — and not only to discredit people who spoke out against Israel, but to deny them a forum.

Now, I've always been willing to debate. I once debated Meir Kahane in front of two thousand Jews in San Francisco. I've debated Irv Rubin of the Jewish Defense League. But no ADL leader will debate me on the subject of Israel. If a public television station, for example, wants to organize a debate on the Middle East, they'll first call the ADL to find someone to speak for the Jewish community. Then they'll call for someone on the other side — for example someone from the Council for the National Interest, a group I founded some years ago with [former Illinois Congressman] Paul Findley. But when they call the ADL back to ask, “Will you debate Congressman McCloskey or Senator Percy or Senator Adlai Stevenson?” the answer is always “No, no.” If there is a skilled speaker on the other side, they refuse to debate. The ADL does not want the facts to come out. They want to suppress any facts that are critical of Israel. You must understand that that's their goal. Above all else, they want to preserve the “special relationship” between Israel and the United States; preserve a good public opinion of Israel on the part of the American people, so that the money keeps coming; defeat any political figure, such as Paul Findley or Chuck Percy or even Ed Zschau, who was defeated mainly by Jewish money in his bid for the Senate here in California.

The ADL's purpose is to discredit and to deny a forum to anybody who might jeopardize the Israel-U.S. relationship. So of course the IHR is a major bull's-eye target. Now, given the extensive intelligence organization they've built up, I am almost certain that someone in this room is reporting to the ADL. Roy Bullock, for example, would go to the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and say “I'm in sympathy. Let me pass out your literature.” But this was only a masquerade.

My wife was once working in San Francisco on behalf of something called Proposition W, which called for cutting aid to Israel by the amount of money they were putting into the settlements on the West Bank and Gaza. So of course she got listed; she became targeted because she was taking a view hostile to Israel. I got a call from a police captain, who said: “Mr. McCloskey, in the records of the San Francisco ADL is a note that when your wife crossed from Jordan into Israel in 1987, she was involved in an altercation at the Allenby Bridge.” Well, I was with her at the time, along with Jim Abourezk, the Arab-American senator from South Dakota. We had visited Jordan, and my wife wanted to go across and see Jerusalem and Jericho. All in all there were five young women, in their 20s and early 30s, who were crossing the bridge. The Jewish border guard stopped them. My wife, with a name like McCloskey, or Smith or Jones: No problem. But one of the girls was named Aziz, that is, she had an Arab name. She had married a young Arab-American. All five were American citizens. The Israeli border guard turned to the one named Aziz and said, “Take off your clothes.” It was a humiliating, demeaning experience. My wife was offended, and she spoke up about her feelings. But to find that turning up six years later in the office of the San Francisco Anti-Defamation League meant that information was going from Israel to the United States, as well as from the U.S. to Israel. Victor Ostrovsky, a former Israeli Mossad case worker, has written [in his book, *By Way of Deception*] about the cooperation of American Jews with the Israeli government.

The ADL would ingratiate itself with police departments so that they could get information about anti-Semitic or anti-Israel activity. Roy Bullock, the ADL spy, would come to a meeting like this one, and after sitting down, would go out to the parking lot and take down the license plate numbers of all the cars parked there. And then he would take the numbers to Tom Gerard at the San Francisco Police Department and ask: "Would you get me the names of these people?" And back would come the names and the addresses of the people who owned the cars parked at the meeting, along with a notation that these people are "anti-Israel" or "pro-Palestinian," or that they're Vietnam war "peaceniks." And that information would be passed on the ADL office in Los Angeles or New York or Washington, DC. Even Portland, Oregon, might get it. The 31 ADL offices, in major U.S. cities, as well as in Israel, were in constant communication with each other. The ADL compiled detailed dossiers, so that if one wanted to find out if such and such a person was anti-Israel, or had ever said anything that was anti-Israel, the ADL was able to quickly respond with a "No" or a "Yes," which would condemn you.

Marked man

Until 1980, when I first spoke out against Israel, I had been known as a relative friend of Israel. On issues like Vietnam or a woman's right of choice, things of that kind, I shared views with most Jews. But once I took a position that was deemed hostile to the state of Israel, including opposition to Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon and its use of cluster bombs, I was a marked man.

Let me tell you what happened when, after 15 years in the House, I came back to California in 1982 to run for the U.S. Senate. Here's an example: My finance chairman in southern California was a savings and loan company executive. He was a very loyal man. He'd known my father, and he wanted to help me. He thought I'd make a good senator. In 1982, you may remember, there was a savings and loan crisis. Three of his biggest Jewish depositors came to him and said, "Mr. X, we see you're the chairman of McCloskey's finance committee. You get off that committee, or we will withdraw our deposits."

In the 1982 primary election race I lost the Republican party nomination for the U.S. Senate to Pete Wilson. He went up to the San Fernando Valley and made a promise to the Jewish leaders of that powerful Jewish area that if elected to the Senate he would favor Israel's annexation of the West Bank and Gaza. That story was reported, but then absolutely hushed up. You've never heard the story since. The Jewish community has the power to suppress, either by advertising or control of the media, news reports that are hostile to Israel, and they have the ability to discredit anyone who speaks out. And that's their purpose.

I'm going to give you a couple of examples of what they've done to friends or clients of mine to achieve their goal of protecting the good public image of Israel. In 1983 two young women, Carol Al Shahib and Audrey Shabbas, who were wives of Arab professors at San Jose State University and the University of California, had organized a small educational program to educate people about Arab culture and Muslim culture. They put on seminars and taught people about Middle East history. They quickly came under the eye of the ADL as threats to Israel because they had spoken about justice for Palestinians. When a Saudi Arabian art exhibit came to San Jose, they signed a contract with the San Jose Museum of Art to host the exhibit. This foundation was run by twenty-one of the community's leading citizens. The chairman happened to be Jewish. Carol and Audrey also scheduled two speakers, one of them a lady from Texas who had spoken on behalf of Palestinian rights.

One of the foundation's board members thought he recognized the name of the speaker, and he called the local ADL representative, William Brinner, a famous professor at the University of

California (Berkeley). And Brinner said, “Those people are anti-Israel.” The two women had invested about \$5,000 to put on this four-day exhibition, and had sent out letters to all the local school teachers. Called up in front of the board, they were told that the speakers were controversial, and that the exhibition would have to be cancelled. These two women would perhaps have made maybe \$15,000 from the seminar, probably paying half or two-thirds of that amount in expenses. So the ADL effectively ended their ability to earn a living by teaching people about the Arab world.

Liberty Denial

My second story begins during the Six Day War in June 1967. An American navy ship called the USS Liberty was sailing off the coast of Egypt and Gaza, well outside the three-mile limit. It was a radio antenna ship. You can call it a spy ship. It had a crew of 294 seamen and officers commanded by Captain William McGonagle. In the early morning of June 8, 1967, the ship was flying a big American flag. A fellow named Jim Ennes, who was a lieutenant and officer of the deck, had run up an American flag so big you could see it for miles. They were under surveillance by flights of Israeli jets, not once but twice. But in the early afternoon, Israeli jet fighters roared in and strafed and machine-gunned the ship, knocking out all of the antennas. Israel torpedo boats came out and launched a torpedo into the Liberty.

Nearly everyone on deck was killed or wounded. Out of a crew of 294, there were 34 killed and 171 wounded, the greatest number of casualties on a U.S. naval ship since Okinawa. The ship started to go down, and they put out life boats. Israeli torpedo boats directed machine-gun fire at the life boats. Obviously they intended that there be no survivors.

Captain McGonagle was able to save the Liberty, which limped back to Malta. The dead were buried. McGonagle took care of the wounded. The Navy gave instructions that the crew was to be separated. No one crew member was to go to the same base, but instead the Navy spread them over ships and stations all around the United States. The Liberty crew was awarded a presidential unit citation, but they were never told about it. Captain McGonagle was later given the Congressional Medal of Honor for saving the ship, but he’s the only Congressional Medal of Honor winner in history to be given it at the Washington Navy Yard and not at a ceremony at the White House.

Israel claimed that it had all been a terrible mistake, and that their pilots hadn’t really seen the American flag. Well, since then individuals have come forward to say “I was in the headquarters on that day. I was a naval reserve officer. Yeah, they knew it was the USS Liberty. They had a big American flag on it. They bombed it, strafed it, deliberately.”

The story was suppressed for years. Finally, Jim Ennes wrote a book about it, Assault on the Liberty, but copies of it began disappearing from libraries. Clearly, there was an effort afoot to silence Jim Ennes’s story about the Israeli attack.

Enemies of the Library

There’s a small town up in Wisconsin called Grafton, a town of about 10,000 people north of Milwaukee. Two old gentlemen who lived there, Ted and Ben Grob, ran a machine tool shop, which was the most successful business in Grafton. Back during the Depression, when people in Grafton were in trouble, the Grobs could be counted on to help out. They were good people. They were quiet people. They were German.

In 1993 the town's leading citizens decided to build a new library. They called in a professional consultant, who told them "You need two and half million dollars. Okay, first you've got to raise the initial quarter of a million. One-tenth of it. You should raise it from one person, who will start it off so that people have hope that they'll get the full two and half million. And so the first gift has got to be \$250,000, and then ideally you'll get five gifts of \$50,000, and then you go out publicly and put up a big thermometer on the town square. As you get closer and closer to your goal, the thermometer goes up and people get inspired, and finally you put it over the top." And the good people of Grafton asked, "Well, how do we get that first \$250,000?" And the pro says, "Well, it's simple. You agree to name the library after whoever gives you the \$250,000."

So the Grob brothers gave the first \$250,000, and soon they raised the entire two and a half million. And shortly before the ground-breaking ceremony, the town's leading citizens went to the Grob brothers to ask them how they'd like the library named. Well, these two brothers had been reading *The Spotlight*, which had picked up the story of the USS Liberty. (The Spotlight used to pillory me regularly. Editorially it was no friend of mine.) And so the Grob brothers replied that they wanted to name it the "USS Liberty Memorial Library."

Well, all hell broke loose. The ADL went right up the wall. They got editorials in the Milwaukee Journal and the Chicago papers. By God, it was said, to name a library in memory of a U.S. ship that had been strafed and torpedoed by the Israelis would increase anti-Semitism. The ADL got about a third of the teachers at the Grafton high school to oppose naming the library after the USS Liberty. They got the high school valedictorian, a young 17-year-old, to speak in his graduating class address against naming the library after the USS Liberty. And all of this was sponsored and pushed by the ADL because of an incredible fear that merely raising the issue of the USS Liberty would increase public opinion against Israel. And that's what you're up against.

I don't know whether you're right or wrong about the Holocaust, but anytime a historian takes a position against Israel, that brings down their wrath and concentrated numbers and economic power.

Historical Correctness

Let me tell you another story about a friend of mine named Norman Davies, a man acknowledged around the world as a leading historian on Eastern Europe. He's one of the few historians who can write readable books. One of them is *Europe: A History*, which was a best-seller. You don't often find history books that are best-sellers. Well, I had just gotten out of Congress, and had returned to the practice of law in Palo Alto. (It was a country town when I had left, and now it's a kind of headquarters of Silicon Valley.)

I had been invited to be a guest professor at Stanford, to teach a course on political science. And I was hired in spite of a fierce campaign against me by the Jewish campus group, Hillel, and by the ADL. Well, Norman Davies was scheduled to be named to a prestigious chair at the history department. Stanford has a procedure whereby the department votes on whether or not to approve the appointment. To be appointed a professor at Stanford you have to be at the top of your field. Some twenty-five consultants, called outside referees, were asked about Davies, and all of them agreed that he was among the top one or two who might be considered for this professorship.

Some ten days before the matter came to a vote — it was in December 1983, I think — a history professor at Stanford who was also a member of the ADL contacted the ADL office in San Francisco, and the word then went out to all of the Jewish members of the faculty: "Have you read

what Davies wrote about the Jews in Poland” [in his book *God’s Playground: A History of Poland*]? Well, you can’t write a book about Poland without dealing with the Jews, who were a large and important part of the population. In his book Davies had dared to suggest that not all Poles were anti-Semitic. And that ran counter to the view of history held by the Israelis and the Jewish community in the United States; that the Poles were anti-Semitic and they all discriminated against the Jews. Lucy Dawidowicz [Jewish historian] wrote that Davies was, in effect, a revisionist, and that his view of the history of Europe was detrimental to the Jewish community around the world. I’ve talked to a lot of Poles over the years, and I’ve known some who didn’t like Jews and I’ve found some that helped Jews. In occupied Poland during the Second World War the Poles who helped Jews were shot by the Nazis if they were caught.

In any event, what Davies wrote was deemed by the ADL to be hostile to Israel because of the simple suggestion that not all Poles were anti-Semitic. But we took them on in a lawsuit, which we lost on appeal. In that case we had a famous psychiatrist examine what Davies had written. Of 52 references he found 26 that one could infer were favorable to the Poles, and 26 critical, and 26 favorable to the Jews, and 26 critical. But that wasn’t enough for the ADL. They circulated a notice to the thirteen history professors who were Jewish, “Be there for the vote.” Now, not all of the thirty-eight history professors came to vote. And when the vote was held, it was thirteen to twelve to deny the chair to Norman Davies. The Jews were happy. The ADL was happy. They had denied a forum for a voice of reason, for a voice that spoke out for a different view of history.

The ADL once got caught up in a funny deal. My wife was holding a seminar on the Middle East at Mills College. Roy Bullock was there on behalf of the ADL to check on anyone who was speaking against Israel. And if anyone did speak in favor of the Palestinians or against Israel, the name and the license plate number went on his list. The information was passed around so that dossiers compiled on each person were sent to ADL offices across the United States, available only to the ADL.

Spying for South Africa

But if you’ll remember, back in the late 1980s, Israel had an ally, a fellow pariah in the international community named South Africa. And South Africa was not adhering to the United Nations’ resolution on Namibia, which they were supposed to give up. And Israel was similarly defying United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 [of 1967] and 338 [of 1973], which required that, along with an Israeli state, there also be a Palestinian state. But Israel didn’t want to give up the occupied territories. It was in violation of these resolutions. There’s pretty good evidence that Israeli nuclear weapons were tested by the South Africans.

Bullock and the ADL started looking at groups that were against apartheid in South Africa. Now, there were a lot of nice American ladies who thought it was time to end apartheid in South Africa, including many in the San Francisco Bay area and Los Angeles. Well, Bullock started going to their meetings. And suddenly the ADL was developing intelligence not only about people who were hostile to Israel, but people who were hostile to the Smuts-Botha apartheid government in South Africa. Soon South African intelligence people came out to see Bullock and Gerard, and over lunch they said: “We’ll pay you money if you can get us information about the people in the United States who are against apartheid in South Africa.” So Bullock and Gerard collected, I think, \$16,000. They sent twenty-seven reports to the South African intelligence agency about Americans who opposed South Africa’s apartheid government. The thinking was, if they’re against South Africa, they must be against Israel, and if they’re against the Jewish state, they’re against Jews. Anyway, that’s the new definition of anti-Semitism given by Nathan Perlmutter of

the ADL [and by ADL officials Arnold Foster and Benjamin Epstein in their book, *The New Anti-Semitism*].

Well, at about that time, the FBI got word that South Africans were trying to pirate technology from Silicon Valley. After a while the FBI caught Bullock collecting information, put him under surveillance, and then they called him in and interrogated him. And Bullock said, “Yeah, absolutely, I’m helping the ADL. Of course. We’ve been looking at the anti-apartheid people.” And so the FBI went to the San Francisco police, who were — well, they’re like cops in a lot of places. They’re not bright. They’re Irish. Or Italian. So these Irish cops didn’t know that the Jews were so powerful in San Francisco, and that they funded nearly every Democratic party candidate from the governorship down to the Congress. And that’s how the San Francisco police learned that their officer Gerard was illegally obtaining information from the Department of Motor Vehicles, the Post Office, and from others, and funneling it — not only to the Israeli consulate or to Jewish organizations — but also selling it to South African intelligence.

And what did the Irish cops do next? They got search warrants to go into the ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Well, they ran into a funny thing. It turned out that, for some years, the Israelis or the ADL had been funding ten or twelve police officers. They’d given them two weeks in Israel, all expenses paid — take them over there, buy them drinks, and everything else that went with it, a two-week stay! A visit to a foreign country. Why? Because they wanted to ingratiate themselves with police departments to get information from them about people who were hostile to Israel. And in return the Jewish groups would tell the police the identity of anyone who desecrated a synagogue. This connection between the Israeli Mossad and the ADL and the police went up even to the level of the FBI. The head of the FBI would be invited to dinners, where he would urge everyone to cooperate with the ADL, saying “They’re really a fine group, against bigotry and anti-Semitism.”

So the ADL helped build up an organization that was able to destroy the careers of people, whether they were in politics or even somebody like Audrey Shabbas who was trying to educate schoolteachers, or Norman Davies, the history professor who was denied a prestigious chair, because of their expressed views on Israel and Jewish history. That kind of power does exist in this country. Luckily the pendulum swings back and forth. Now it swings one way to excess, as I believe, in favor of Israel and the Jewish community. But sooner or later it will swing back.

The important thing is never to accept what somebody says is history, whether it was ten years ago, or thirty or fifty years ago. Because those who first try to write that history are people who want to give a message that is consistent with their political views. And if you’ve suffered two thousand years of anti-Semitism, you can justify practically anything to preserve a Jewish state.

Cluster bombs on Lebanon

I’ll close with a humorous incident I hope you’ll enjoy. I was outraged when the Israelis invaded Lebanon. The 1954 Arms Control Act requires that if a country to which the U.S. gives arms uses those arms to invade a foreign country, we must by law cut off arms assistance to that country. When Turkey invaded Cyprus [in 1974] we cut off aid to Turkey, a NATO ally.

When the Israelis invaded Lebanon [June 1982], they used U.S.-supplied cluster bombs. It’s a terrible, devastating weapon. It drops out of a plane to about a thousand feet. Then, a big napalm-type canister blows apart, and maybe two hundred bombs float out and scatter over twenty-five acres. They’re timed to go off every five minutes. The first group goes off on contact, the next five minutes later, and so forth. And even after the planes are gone, these things are lying around

on the ground. Troops know enough to stay away from, but little kids don't, and they pick them up and get their hands blown off.

After the 1973 war we gave Israel cluster bombs on the basis of an agreement, according to which they could use them only if they were invaded by the armies of more than one country. In other words, Israel could use these weapons only if it was invaded by two countries. Also, they could never use them in cities, or in partisan warfare, against irregular units. That is, they could never use them in civilian areas, and only against regular troops.

Well, a journalist named Nick Thimmesch, who later [1985] died rather mysteriously, reported that Israel was using cluster bombs. He came to my office in Washington and gave me some cluster bomb fragments. And I said publicly that Israel is using cluster bombs. The Israeli government immediately denied it, but in this world somebody always leaks, and the State Department guys knew that Israel was using cluster bombs in violation of the treaty. And even though the Israeli lobby could make things difficult for the State Department guys, it couldn't get them out of their jobs. So State Department people kept telling me, "You're right, McCloskey. Keep saying it." So I made speeches about Israel's illegal use of cluster bombs. Finally the Israelis admitted that they had been lying, and that they had been using cluster bombs in Lebanon in violation of the treaty.

Well, there was enough concern in the Congress that six of us went over to the Middle East in 1982. In Syria we met with President Assad, and in Jordan we met with King Hussein. And went to Lebanon where we met with Christian Maronites, with Shi'ites, and with the Druze. In Beirut we had to stay at the American embassy residence because they'd blown up the embassy itself. And we met with Yasser Arafat in his bunker in West Beirut. I remember meeting with Bashir Gemayel, the Maronite Christian leader who was elected president of the country and later killed. That was in July, when Israeli planes were bombing West Beirut. I asked him, "How can you run for president when West Beirut and one-sixth of your country is being attacked by the Israelis?" And he replied, "That's not my problem," because for the Maronite Christians, the Muslims and most of the country weren't really their problem. That was a few weeks before the Sabra and Shatilla massacres [Sept. 1982], when the Israelis unleashed the Christian militiamen into those Palestinian refugee camps to kill women and children.

Censorship, Israeli style

After we had met with those various Arab leaders, we went on to Israel and Egypt. In Jerusalem we were put up at the King David Hotel, the same hotel that Israel's prime minister, Menachem Begin, and his group, the Irgun, had blown up [July 22, 1946] when they were fighting the British for control of the country.

From an Israeli television studio I was interviewed by Tom Brokaw in New York for NBC national television. I'll never forget what happened. He asked what we had found, and about our talks with Assad, Hussein and Arafat. You know, you just get five-minute sound bites. I was asked what I thought of Begin. And I said that he's the same guy who, back in 1947, had hanged British soldiers. He was terrorist. Even most Jews thought of him as a terrorist. Some called him a Jewish Hitler, I believe. And I was asked what I thought of Ariel Sharon [who was then Israel's defense minister]. "Well, he's a butcher," I said. "He's a mean guy." I was asked about Yitzhak Shamir. I said something similar about him.

And then Brokaw asked me what I thought about Yasser Arafat. "Well," I said, "I think he's a man of peace." At that point, the Israeli military censor cut off the interview and the link to NBC

in the United States. As I was walking out of the studio, I heard the guy who ran the show arguing with the military censor, a major general or brigadier general. The producer was saying, "You can't shut off an American speaking to an American audience!," and the general was saying, "We don't care what he says about our leaders. We probably agree with him. But nobody can say on Israeli television that Yasser Arafat is not a terrorist." And that, of course, was the ADL position at the time. You might remember that Paul Findley lost his seat in Congress because he had met with Arafat, and that Andrew Young was dropped as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations because he had met with PLO officials.

So, you've got this incredibly powerful organization. When you think how many people from the ADL have been appointed to the Clinton Administration, it's enough to make you a Republican. And it's true, incidentally, that the Democrats are far more beholden to the Israeli lobby than Republicans. Republicans tend to get their money from big business, and that's sometimes corrupt. But in this state, if you're a Democrat you can't get elected without the support of Jewish money. That power has, I think, reached its zenith.

Dispassion and truth

I hope you'll keep examining history. I would caution you against one thing I've heard a bit of today. A historian should be dispassionate. I use that word deliberately. Do not let the conduct of your enemies cause you to become less than dispassionate in your historical views. I hate to hear the word "propaganda." I've heard it ever since I've been a young man, calling the enemy story "propaganda." It's unseemly, in my judgment, to say that one point of view is propaganda.

The great American Constitution was probably enacted because of an 82-year-old American named Ben Franklin. On the last day of the constitutional convention, after laboring four and a half months in a sealed room in Philadelphia, they came out with a constitution. When people say you're too old to be in the Congress, you just remind them of Franklin's speech. He was 82 when he got up and said: "Gentleman, the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, even on matters that I was once certain of, because when I receive fuller information, or new arguments, I found that I was often wrong in the opinions that I originally formed."

A historian, ideally, should be like a juror in California. Every juror, before being sworn in, has to advise the court that he will wait to hear all the evidence on both sides of an issue before reaching a judgment of guilt or innocence, or liability or non-liability. That should also hold true in a special way for the historian, I think. Some of those who viciously oppose you may be tools of the Israeli state, but the historian's words ultimately receive the credit of the community. Think of the first persons who spoke out against the Vietnam war. Most people in my district thought I was a Communist. I got away with it because I had been a Marine in Korea, and they couldn't really say that a Marine was not patriotic. But if some college professors said they were against the war, I remember colleagues in the Congress calling them traitors.

The great source of inquiry ought to be the college campus. The minds of students should be formed by instructors who present both sides of issues. When I was a freshman at Stanford, the rednecks and right-wingers in southern California wanted to get rid of an economics professor there because he was a Communist.

A man who is still revered in the Marine Corps, Smedley Butler [1881-1940], fought for thirty years in every important campaign — Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua. After he retired [in 1931], he was asked about his career. He said:

I spent 33 years and four months in active military service as a member of this country's most agile military force, the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from Second Lieutenant to Major General. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers ... I helped make Mexico, especially Tampico, safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street ... I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927 I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.

If you had suggested, at the time, that Marines were dying in Nicaragua or Haiti for the United Fruit Company or other big American corporations, public opinion about U.S. intervention in Latin America might have been the same as it was later about Vietnam.

When people finally learn the truth, they turn against those who have been lying to them. And I think that if the movement of which you people are the cutting edge can retain dispassion in the face of outrages, setbacks and humiliations, the truth can ultimately prevail.

You are doing something worse than criticizing the government of the United States; you're threatening the security of the state of Israel. And the Jewish community is dedicated to preserve that state, and to destroy those who speak against it. Good luck!

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Wilhelm Höttl and the Elusive 'Six Million'

Mark Weber

So ingrained has the Six Million figure become in the popular consciousness that while the average American may be quite sure that six million Jews were slaughtered by the Germans in the Second World War — that is, in what is now called “the Holocaust” — he has no idea of how many British, Poles, Russians, or even Americans died during that global conflict, or, for that matter, of how many of his fellow countrymen lost their lives in the American Civil War.

This is hardly surprising, considering how relentlessly the Six Million figure is hammered into the public consciousness, not only in newspapers, magazines, motion pictures, and television, but also routinely in our schools, and even by a special taxpayer-funded U.S. federal government agency, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, which runs the imposing U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC.

The familiar World Book Encyclopedia tells readers, for example: “By the end of 1945, the Nazis had slaughtered more than 6 million Jewish men, women and children — over two-thirds of the Jews in Europe.” [1] German president Richard von Weizsäcker, in his much cited commemorative speech of May 8, 1985, spoke of “the six million Jews who were murdered in German concentration camps.” Anglo-Jewish historian Martin Gilbert, a prolific writer who is also the “official” biographer of Winston Churchill, has referred to “the systematic murder of six million Jews.” [2] The Encyclopaedia Judaica states flatly: “There can be no doubt as to the estimated figure of some six million victims.” [3] An information sheet issued by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council describes the grand Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, as a “living memorial to the six million Jews and millions of other victims of Nazi fanaticism who perished in the Holocaust.”

Just what is the basis for this familiar figure?

Even before the end of the Second World War in Europe, that is, before any careful or detailed investigation was possible, the Six Million figure was already in wide circulation. For example, in essays published in late 1944 and early 1945, the prominent Soviet-Jewish writer Ilya Ehrenburg repeatedly told his many readers that “the Germans” had killed six million Jews. In an article published in March 1945, for instance, in the English-language London weekly, *Soviet War News*, he wrote: “The world now knows that Germany has killed six million Jews.” [4]

Some weeks later, as David Irving has related, this figure was affirmed in New York by representatives of major Jewish organizations: [5]

In June 1945, just a few weeks after the end of the war in Europe, three Jewish lawyers who represented major Jewish organizations, met in New York with Robert

Jackson, who would soon be serving as the chief U.S. prosecutor at the so-called “International Military Tribunal” in Nuremberg. Jackson asked how many Jews had lost their lives in all Nazi-occupied lands. The number, he was told, was six million.

By remarkable coincidence, some twenty-five years earlier the American Jewish community had been warning of a “holocaust” of six million Jews in Europe. In an address published in 1919 in a leading Jewish American paper, the American Hebrew of New York City, under the headline “The Crucifixion of Jews Must Stop!,” the former governor of New York state, Martin Glynn, spoke repeatedly of “six million” European Jews who were “dying” and “being whirled toward the grave” in a “threatened holocaust of human life.” [6]

Given all this, it is hardly surprising that someone was found to provide “proof” for the Six Million figure at the most extravagant judicial undertaking in history, the 1945-46 trial in Nuremberg of Hermann Göring, Rudolf Hess, and other high-ranking Third Reich personalities. The legendary figure was fixed in history at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, where it was cited by chief British prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross in his closing address, and by the Allied judges in their final judgment. [7]

This figure was not the result of any careful investigation, research, or calculation. The only specific evidence presented for it to the Nuremberg Tribunal was the hearsay testimony of former SS officer Wilhelm Höttl (sometimes spelled Hoettl), who said that he recalled it from a remark by Adolf Eichmann, the wartime head of the Jewish affairs section of Himmler’s Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). Höttl, who also served with the RSHA during the war, stated in an affidavit dated November 26, 1945, and provided to the U.S. prosecution at Nuremberg, that Eichmann confided to him in August 1944 that some four million Jews had been killed in the “various extermination camps,” and another two million had been killed in other ways, mostly in shootings by Einsatzgruppen forces in the course of the military campaign in Russia. [8]

Eichmann himself, it should be noted, later called the Höttl story “nonsense,” vigorously denied ever having made the alleged remark, and speculated that Höttl may have picked up the figure from a radio or newspaper report. [9]

If it were not for Wilhelm Höttl’s role in branding into the world’s consciousness the trademark Six Million figure, his place in history would likely be little more than a footnote.

Who was this man, and how reliable is his historic affidavit?

He was born in Vienna in March 1915. In 1938, at the remarkably young age of twenty-three, he received a doctorate in history from the University of Vienna. While still a student there, he joined the National Socialist party and the SS. From 1939 until the end of the war in Europe, Höttl was employed almost without interruption by Germany’s central intelligence agency, the RSHA. He was first stationed in Vienna with the “foreign bureau” (Amt Ausland, later Amt VI), and then, from early 1943, in Berlin in the “Southeastern Europe” branch E of Amt VI, with the SS rank of major (Sturmbannführer).

In March 1944 Höttl was assigned to Budapest, where he served as second in command to Himmler’s SS representative in Hungary, and as political advisor to Hitler’s ambassador there, Edmund Veessenmayer, who reported to Berlin, for example, on the large-scale deportations in 1944 of Jews from Hungary. On May 8, 1945, as German forces were unconditionally surrendering to the Allies, American troops arrested Höttl in Austria, and for several years after that he worked as an intelligence agent for the United States. He died in 1999, not long after the publication of his self-serving memoirs.

In April 2001 the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency made public thousands of pages of long-suppressed documents from its files of major German wartime figures, including the bulging Höttl file. Along with the release of these documents, two U.S. government employees wrote and issued a detailed report about Höttl based on those recently declassified CIA files, which sheds revealing light on his wartime and postwar career. This report, entitled “Analysis of the Name File of Wilhelm Hoettl,” was written by two “historical researchers” of the U.S. government’s “Inter-agency Working Group” (IWG), Miriam Kleiman and Robert Skwirot. ^[10]

These documents establish that Höttl was a completely unreliable informant who routinely fabricated information to please those who were willing to pay him. In their report, the two U.S. government researchers write:

Hoettl’s name file is approximately 600 pages, one of the largest of those released to the public so far. The size of the file owes to Hoettl’s postwar career as a peddler of intelligence, good and bad, to anyone who would pay him. Reports link Hoettl to twelve different intelligence services, including the U.S., Yugoslav, Austrian, Israeli, Romanian, Vatican, Swiss, French, West German, Russian, Hungarian and British.

Soon after his arrest by the Americans in May 1945, Höttl began working for the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the predecessor to the Central Intelligence Agency, and then for the U.S. Army’s Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC). As the two U.S. government researchers put it: “Upon his arrest, Hoettl played to the interests of his captors ...” It was during this period, while he was secretly working for American intelligence, that Höttl provided his historic and damning “six million” affidavit for submission by the American prosecution at the Allied-run tribunal at Nuremberg.

Höttl benefited from his readiness to tell those who paid him what they wanted to hear, but this eventually proved his undoing. All the same, it took several years for U.S. intelligence to firmly conclude that it was being had.

In June 1949 one U.S. intelligence official cautioned against using Höttl for any reason, calling him “a man of such low character and poor political record that his use for intelligence activities, regardless of how profitable they may be, is a short-sighted policy by the U.S.” In August 1950, CIA messages referred to Höttl as a “notorious fabricator [of] intelligence.” A U.S. Army CIC report in early 1952 deemed his information useless, noting that Höttl “is involved in extensive intelligence activities for almost anyone who is willing to purchase his findings.” In April 1952 his reports were called “worthless and possibly inflated or fabricated.”

Interestingly, numerous U.S. intelligence reports identify connections between Höttl and Simon Wiesenthal, the well-known “Nazi hunter.” One U.S. Army CIC document described Wiesenthal as the “Chief Austrian Agent of the Israeli Intelligence Bureau.” A U.S. Army CIC report in January 1950 noted that for the last three or four months Wiesenthal had “recruited the services of Wilhelm Höttl,” and had hired him to gather information for reports by the “Nazi hunter.”

In July 1952, when U.S. Army intelligence finally broke completely with Höttl, a letter on U.S. Army stationery warned:

Dr. Höttl has long been known to this headquarters and other allied military organizations in Austria as a fabricator of intelligence information. His reports normally consist of a fine cobweb of fact, heavily padded with lies, deceit, conjecture and other false types of information. This organization will have absolutely nothing to do with

Dr. Höttl or any members of his present entourage. He is persona non grata to the American, French and British elements in Austria.

In their report on his postwar career, U.S. government historical researchers Kleiman and Skwirot conclude:

The voluminous materials in Wilhelm Höttl's personality file ... trace the activities of a notorious intelligence peddler and fabricator, who successfully convinced one intelligence service after another of his value, and then proceeded to lose such support.

Indeed, and as already noted, Höttl "successfully convinced" the American and British prosecutors, and the judges, of the inter-Allied tribunal in Nuremberg, and many others around the world ever since, that German authorities killed six million Jews during the Second World War. And even though U.S. intelligence services and U.S. government researchers have, finally, as it were, discredited him, Höttl's most historically important claim remains widely, and even officially accepted.

The recently released U.S. intelligence documents on Höttl, and the U.S. government report about his postwar career, confirm what some revisionist scholars have contended for years. In his pathbreaking book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, first published in 1976, Dr. Arthur Butz cited sources that were publicly available even in the 1950s to show that, during the war, Höttl had gotten into trouble more than once with SS authorities. His involvement in a shady Polish land deal led in 1942 to an SS investigation of his activities. An internal SS report characterized him as "dishonest, scheming, fawning,... a real hoaxer," and concluded that he was not fit even for SS membership, let alone a sensitive intelligence service position. ^[11] Höttl was, accordingly, demoted. But his luck improved after his friend and fellow Austrian, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, was appointed in 1943 to head the RSHA. It seems that Kaltenbrunner protected him from a second disciplinary action, this one for misappropriation of security service funds.

Regardless of the unreliability of Höttl's infamous affidavit, the more important question remains: How valid is the six million figure?

The most common technique used by Holocaust historians to calculate figures of between five and six million Jewish extermination victims is to compare prewar and postwar estimated Jewish population figures for various European countries and areas, and then assume that the differences between the figures were all killed. This was the method used, for example, by Jacob Lestchinsky to produce a figure of 5,957,000 Jewish Holocaust deaths, in his important 1946 World Jewish Congress report. ^[12] It is also the technique used by the late Lucy Dawidowicz, another prominent Jewish Holocaust historian, who estimated a total of 5.9 million Jewish victims. ^[13]

However, this method fails to take into account substantial numbers of Jews who emigrated or fled to Allied or neutral countries during the war years. It also ignores the fact that many Jews, particularly in Eastern Europe, did not return to their original homelands at the end of the war, but instead emigrated to Palestine, the United States, and other countries beyond Europe.

It further assumes that all Jewish deaths (or "losses") were due to German or Axis policy. Thus, all Jews in areas under German or Axis control who died during the war years are routinely and misleadingly counted as "victims of the Holocaust," regardless of the cause of death. This includes Jews who died of natural causes, perished in Allied bombings of cities and concentration camps, who died as Allied soldiers, particularly in the Soviet military, or who — like hundreds of thousands of German civilians — succumbed to exhaustion, disease, and exposure in the particularly catastrophic final months of the war. Raul Hilberg, probably the most prominent Holocaust

historian, acknowledges that a distinction should be made between “Jewish losses” and “Holocaust victims.” He notes, for example, that the average age of Jews in Germany at the outbreak of the war was abnormally high anyway. [14]

It is unlikely that there were ever six million Jews under German control during the war.

The wartime representative of the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland, Gerhard Riegner, confidentially reported to London and Washington in August 1942 that the total number of Jews in the countries occupied or controlled by Germany was three and a half to four million. [15] This figure presumably referred to Jews in the “Greater” German Reich (including Poland), as well as in France, Holland, Belgium, Slovakia, and the occupied Soviet territories. If one adds the approximately 1.2 million Jews estimated to be living in Hungary and Romania, the total number of Jews that came under direct or indirect German control during the war years could not have been more than 5.2 million.

The unreliable character of the legendary Six Million calculation is also shown in the manipulation of Holocaust statistics in the cases of specific countries. In this regard, it is much more fruitful to examine Jewish losses in western European countries, where much more reliable statistics and other data are available, than to attempt to estimate Jewish losses in such eastern territories as Poland, where reliable data is not available. (In the case of Poland, even the country’s borders changed drastically during and just after the war.) An important feature of these manipulations is that even though figures of alleged Jewish wartime losses in individual countries may be inflated and deflated over the years, there is an obvious effort to juggle figures so that the overall total is kept as high as possible.

The Case of Denmark

Consider, for example, the case of Denmark. In 1946 the “Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry” announced in its widely quoted report that, out of a total of 5.7 million European Jews who perished during the war years, 1,500 were Danish Jews. [16] Raul Hilberg, in his highly regarded, three-volume 1985 study, gave a similar figure of 1,000 Danish Jews “lost” during the war years. [17]

In fact, fewer than 500 Jews were ever even deported from Denmark. (Most Danish Jews fled to Sweden in 1943.) All of these deportees from Denmark were sent to the ghetto-camp of Theresienstadt (or Terezin) where precisely 51 Danish Jews (mostly elderly) died, all of natural causes. [18] Thus, even if these 51 are counted as “Holocaust victims,” Jewish “losses” for Denmark were exaggerated approximately 30 times by the supposedly authoritative “Anglo-American Committee,” and 19 times the true figure by Hilberg.

The Korherr Report

At the beginning of 1943 SS chief Heinrich Himmler ordered his “Inspector for Statistics,” Richard Korherr, to prepare a report on the “Final Solution of the European Jewish Question.” Relying for the most part on information and figures supplied by the Reich Security Main Office, Korherr wrote a sixteen-page statistical survey that he submitted to Himmler on March 23, 1943. A few weeks later he produced a shorter supplemental version with the same title. [19]

Even though, as Hilberg has pointed out, much about these reports, including their origin and purpose, “remains obscure,” they are nevertheless the most authoritative wartime statistical records available on the fate of Europe’s Jews. [20] These top level, secret German documents

contain no mention of an extermination program or mass killings of Jews, a fact that seems hardly possible if such a program had existed. Furthermore, as Jewish historian Gerald Reitlinger noted, they suggest that nothing like six million Jews could have been killed, even assuming the most sinister interpretations of the data. [21] Korherr, a staunch Catholic, declared after the war that he had not been aware that his reports had any sinister or murderous significance. [22]

Jewish Restitution Claims

Another important indication that the Six Million figure is not accurate is the large number of Jewish “Holocaust survivors” who have received restitution payments (Wiedergutmachung) from the German government in Bonn and, more recently, in Berlin. Individuals who were “persecuted for political, racial, religious or ideological reasons” by the wartime German regime have been eligible for money from the Bonn and Berlin government under the terms of the Federal Compensation Law (BEG) of 1953 and 1956. This includes Jews who were interned in camps or ghettos, were obliged to wear the star badge, or who lived in hiding. [23]

As of January 1984, there were 4.39 million successful individual BEG restitution claims. The great majority of these were from Jews. Raul Hilberg has said that “about two thirds” of the allowed claims have been from Jews. [24] This is a realistic but possibly conservative estimate. Approximately 40 percent of those receiving payments were living in Israel, 20 percent in West Germany, and 40 percent in the United States and other countries. [25]

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution newspaper reported in 1985 that an estimated 50 percent of Jewish “survivors throughout the world are on West German pensions.” [26] But this estimate is very probably too high. For example, Jews in Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Romania, and Czechoslovakia were not eligible for restitution, at least not at that time. [27] In the United States, only about 66 percent of the Jewish “Holocaust survivors” in the Atlanta (Georgia) area in 1985 had received German restitution money. [28]

If one conservatively estimates that two thirds of the 4.39 million individual claims for German restitution have come from Jews, that would mean some 2.9 million Jewish claims. And if half of the Jewish “Holocaust survivors” around the world have not received any restitution (which is probably a low figure), and granted that the number of claimants may be somewhat larger than the number of claims, it would appear that some six million European Jews “survived” the Second World War. (Of course, some European Jews who lived through the war years died before the German BEG restitution law was enacted in 1953.) And given that there were no more than some eight million European Jews under German wartime control, [29] the number of Jews who died in Europe during the Second World War must be fewer than three million. As we shall see, the actual figure of Jewish wartime dead is substantially lower.

Finally, estimates of “Holocaust survivors” provided in recent years by authoritative Jewish sources cannot be reconciled with the generally accepted “Holocaust” story or the Six Million figure.

Before going further, it is a remarkable fact that, in recent years, the number of “Holocaust survivors” has actually been increasing. This is because — as Norman Finkelstein stresses in his important book, *The Holocaust Industry* — Israel, the World Jewish Congress, and other major Jewish organizations, all of which demand and collect billions in the name of “Holocaust survivors,” have an interest in inflating figures both of wartime victims and of postwar survivors.

A report issued in July 1997 — that is, fifty-three years after the end of the war — by a committee organized by the Israeli prime minister’s office estimated the number of “Holocaust survivors” (admittedly defined rather broadly) at between 834,000 and 960,000. A similarly authoritative report issued in June 2000, that is, fifty-five years after the end of the war in Europe, estimated the number of Jewish “Holocaust” survivors at between 832,000 and 935,000. [30] These figures, Robert Faurisson has written, suggest that there were slightly more than three million Jewish “survivors” in Europe at the end of the 1939-1945 war. [31]

Norman Finkelstein, a professor of political science at Hunter College in New York, and author of *The Holocaust Industry*, has commented that, on the basis of these Israeli or Jewish figures, there would have been eight million Jewish “Holocaust survivors” in Europe at the end of the war in May 1945. Remarking on this, Finkelstein has said: [32]

There were fewer than eight million Jews in all of Nazi-occupied Europe. In other words, if these numbers are correct, the Holocaust didn’t happen. As my mother used to say, if everyone who claims to be a Holocaust survivor actually is one, who did Hitler kill?

How many Jews did die during the Second World War? A year after the end of the war, an apparently impartial Swiss analysis entitled “How high is the number of Jewish victims?” concluded that no more than 1.5 million European Jews could have perished (of all causes) under German rule during the war. It appeared in June 1946 in the respected daily *Baseler Nachrichten* of neutral Switzerland. [33] The widely-cited figures of between five and six million Jewish dead, the analysis noted, were not based on official sources, but merely private and semi-official estimates that greatly exaggerated the number of Jews that ever came under German control.

Stephen F. Pinter, a U.S. War Department attorney who was stationed in Germany after the war, published a statement in 1959 in which he condemned what he called “the old propaganda myth that millions of Jews were killed by the National Socialists.” He went on to write: [34]

From what I was able to determine during six postwar years in Germany and Austria, there were a number of Jews killed, but the figure of a million was certainly never reached. I interviewed thousands of Jews, former inmates of concentration camps in Germany and Austria, and consider myself as well qualified as any man on this subject.

Some revisionist historians have reached similar conclusions. Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson have written that as many as one million European Jews may have died of all causes during the war years (not counting those serving in military forces). [35] Walter Sanning, a European-American scholar and university lecturer, concluded in his detailed 1983 study that total Jewish losses during the Second World War were “in the neighborhood” of 1.25 million, many of whom died as Red Army soldiers or in Soviet camps and forced evacuations. [36]

A common rejoinder to expressions of skepticism about the Six Million is rhetorically to ask: “What difference does it make how many were killed? It would be terrible if just one million, or even one thousand, Jews were murdered.” To many people, efforts to establish the true numbers seem like insensitive and perhaps irrelevant quibbling. But the skeptics are not the ones who incessantly and insistently go on about Six Million murdered Jews. It is not the revisionists who have made a totem of this legendary figure, or who invoke it as quasi-sacrosanct ritual symbol. In any case, striving for historical exactitude, even about the iconic Six Million, is precisely what historians are supposed to do.

Notes

1.  World Book Encyclopedia, 1984 edition, s.v. "Holocaust." vol. 9, pp. 263-264.
2.  Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1986), p. 811.
3.  Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1971 edition, s.v. "Holocaust."
4.  The Ehrenburg essays, published in *Soviet War News* (London), Dec. 22, 1944, Jan. 4 and March 15, 1945, are reprinted in facsimile in the fifth edition of Joachim Hoffmann's detailed study, *Stalins Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* (Munich: Herbig, 1999), pp. 390-393 (see also p. 183), and in Hoffmann, *Stalin's War of Extermination 1941-1945* (Capshaw, Alabama: TADP, 2001), pp. 189-190, 402-405.
5.  David Irving, *Nuremberg: The Last Battle* (London: Focal Point, 1996), pp. 61-62.
6.  The American Hebrew (New York), Oct. 31, 1919, p. 582. Facsimile in *The Journal of Historical Review* 15, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1995), p. 31. Also cited in Irving, *Nuremberg*, p. 62.
7.  Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal (IMT), vol. 1 (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), pp. 252-253; IMT, vol. 19, p. 434; and IMT, vol. 22, p. 496.
8.  Höttl affidavit of Nov. 26, 1945: 2738-PS (USA-296) in IMT, vol. 31, pp. 85-87, and Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression (NC&A), vol. 5 (Washington, DC: 1946-1948), pp. 380-382; 2615-PS in NC&A, vol. 5, pp. 338-339. On the ad hoc and self-serving origins of the Höttl affidavit, see Otto Skorzeny's letter of Dec. 14, 1956, in Gerd Honsik, *Freispruch für Hitler?* (Gibraltar and Barcelona: 1994), pp. 196-197.
9.  R. Aschenauer, ed., *Ich, Adolf Eichmann* (Leoni [Bavaria]: Druffel, 1980), pp. 460-461, 474; Jochen von Lang, ed., *Eichmann Interrogated* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983), pp. 117-118. Dieter Wisliceny, another former SS officer, made a statement similar to Höttl's at Nuremberg on Jan. 3, 1946, but spoke of "only" four or five million Jews killed. IMT, vol. 4, p. 371. Eichmann later called Wisliceny's comments "theater," and said that he never had any figures of "exterminated" Jews. See von Lang, ed., *Eichmann*, pp. 164-165, 94-95, 110-117.
10.  The report is posted on the U.S. National Archives web site: <http://www.nara.gov/iwg/declass/hoettl.html>
11.  Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Newport Beach, CA: IHR, 1997), p. 81.
12.  Jacob Lestchinsky (Leszczynski), "Balance Sheet of Extermination," 1946 and revised in 1955. Cited in Nora Levin, *The Holocaust* (New York: Crowell, 1968), p. 718; Leon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), p. 335 (*Revue d'histoire...*, Oct. 1956); Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), p. 1202.
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14.  Hilberg, *Destruction*, p. 1206.
15.  Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980; New York: Henry Holt, 1998), p. 77.
16.  Levin, *Holocaust*, p. 715; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere Books [pb., 2nd ed.], 1971), p. 546; Wolfgang Scheffler, *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Colloquium, 1960), p. 114.
17.  Hilberg, *Destruction*, p. 1048.
18.  Leni Yahil, *The Rescue of Danish Jewry* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1969), p. 318; Dawidowicz, *The War*, p. 505.

19.  Documents NO-5193 through NO-5198. Complete texts in German and English in: Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *The Holocaust and the Neo-Nazi Mythomania* (New York: B. Klarsfeld Foundation, 1978), pp. 165-211 (appendices). Also published in: John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 12, pp. 210 ff. (The two reports are sometimes together referred to as “the Korherr report.”) See also Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 1204-1206; Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution*, p. 136, 138; von Lang, ed., *Eichmann*, pp. 112-115.
20.  Raul Hilberg, “The Statistic,” in: François Furet, ed., *Unanswered Questions: Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews* (New York: Schocken, 1989), p. 158.
21.  Reitlinger, *Final Solution*, pp. 534-535.
22.  Gerald Reitlinger, *The SS: Alibi of a Nation, 1922-1945* (New York: Viking/Compass [pb.], 1968), pp. 221-223; Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 1205-1206. In a letter to *Der Spiegel* (Nr. 31, July 25, 1977, p. 12), Korherr specifically stated that the term “special treatment” in a report’s first draft did not refer to killing.
23.  Focus on “Restitution in Germany,” No. 1, May 1985, p. 3. (Information bulletin of the German Information Center, New York City, an agency of the German Federal government); see also: Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 1165, 1166; Mark Weber, “West Germany’s Holocaust Payoff,” *JHR* 8, no. 2 (summer 1988), pp. 243-250.
24.  Hilberg testimony in Zündel case, Toronto District court, Jan. 18, 1985. Transcript page 1229.
25.  Focus on “Restitution in Germany” (German Information Center), May 1985, p. 3.
26.  Atlanta Journal and Constitution, Sunday, March 31, 1985, p. 15 A.
27.  Hilberg, *Destruction*, p. 1170; D. Margolick, “Soviet Emigre Lawyer...,” *New York Times*, March 10, 1983, p. B2.
28.  Atlanta Journal and Constitution, March 31, 1985, pp. 15 A, 17A.
29.  Jacob Lestchinsky, statistician for the American Jewish Congress, estimated that in 1939 there were 8.25 million Jews in the lands that came under German or Axis control. “Balance Sheet of Extermination,” in Levin, *Holocaust*, p. 718. Lucy Dawidowicz estimated that the “pre-Final Solution population” of the lands that came under Axis control was 8.86 million. Dawidowicz, *The War*, p. 544.
30.  Number of Living Holocaust Survivors, July 27, 1997, report of the “Spanic Committee,” organized by the Israeli Prime Minister’s Office (with estimates slightly revised in May 1998), and the “Ukeles” report, June 28, 2000, commissioned by the “Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany,” a semi-official Jewish agency. Both cited in: “Special Master’s Proposed Plan of Allocation and Distribution of Settlement Proceeds,” (Sept. 2000, also referred to as the “Gribetz Plan”), Volume I, Annex C, “Demographics,” pp. C-2, C-8, C-9. Posted on line at the “Official Information Web Site for the Holocaust Victim Assets Litigation Against Swiss Banks and other Swiss Entities”: <http://www.Swiss-bankclaims.com/media>
31.  Robert Faurisson, “Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism,” *JHR* 19 (Jan.-Feb. 2000), pp. 9, 28 (n. 24).
32.  Interview with Norman Finkelstein, by Viktor Frölke, in Salon.com, “Shoah business,” August 30, 2000. Posted on-line at: <http://www.salon.com/books/int/2000/08/30/finkelstein/index.html> See also: N. Finkelstein, “How the Holocaust Industry Stole the Swiss Monies,” June 2001, Postscript to *Foreign Translations*. Posted on-line: <http://www.normanfinkelstein.com/id112.htm>
33.  “Wie hoch ist die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer?,” *Baseler Nachrichten* (Abend-Blatt), June 13, 1946, p. 2. (This newspaper, founded in 1845, is no longer published.)

34. ☞ Pinter letter in the national Catholic weekly, *Our Sunday Visitor*, June 14, 1959, p. 15.
 35. ☞ Butz, *Hoax*, p. 239; Robert Faurisson interview with *Storia Illustrata* (Italy), August 1979. Authorized translations in: Serge Thion (with Robert Faurisson), *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Paris: 1980), p. 197, and *JHR* 2 (winter 1981), p. 348.
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Convergence or Divergence?: On Recent Evidence for Zyklon Induction Holes at Auschwitz-Birkenau Crematorium II

Brian Renk

What has been described as “the most extensive judicial examination of the Holocaust period since the [1961] Adolf Eichmann trial in Israel,” David Irving’s libel action against Deborah Lipstadt, generated a wealth of fresh research and renewed the debate over gassing at Auschwitz during the Second World War. [1] No aspect of the Auschwitz gassing claim was more contested at that trial than the evidence for and against four holes in the roof of an underground room of crematorium II at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The jousts over this evidence between Irving and the defense expert on Auschwitz architecture, Professor Robert Jan van Pelt, provided some of the trial’s most heated exchanges.

Trivial as the question of openings in a roof might seem, both sides of the debate, revisionists and “exterminationists,” are agreed that such holes would have been necessary for the introduction of the alleged killing agent, the cyanide-based pesticide Zyklon B. The holes are thus central to the accusation that victims were murdered by gas in a cellar of Crematorium (crematory facility or Krema) II in 1943 and 1944. Indeed, in the eyes of Professor van Pelt, considered the historical establishment’s leading expert on the design and function of the Auschwitz crematoria: “Crematorium II is the most lethal building of Auschwitz. In the 2,500 square feet of this one room, more people lost their lives than any other place on this planet. 500,000 people were killed. If you would draw a map of human suffering, if you created a geography of atrocity, this would be the absolute center.” [2]

Revisionist investigators, mindful of Arthur Butz’s opinion that Auschwitz “is the key to the whole story” of the mass gassing allegation, have long focused on that camp. [3] In doing so, some revisionists have called attention to the absence of evidence for the necessary holes in the roof of the alleged gas chamber of Auschwitz’s Crematorium II. In the late 1970s, when Auschwitz was administered by Poland’s Communist government, the Swede Ditlieb Felderer took hundreds of photographs of the remains of the Auschwitz crematoria ruins, and noted the seeming absence of holes for introducing Zyklon B, as described in eyewitness testimony. Fred Leuchter and Germar Rudolf conducted more exacting forensic examinations of the ruins in the late 1980s and early 1990s, drawing the same conclusion. The eminent French revisionist Professor Robert Faurisson summed up the problem of the holes in 1993 with a simple slogan, “No holes, no Holocaust.”

During the Irving trial it was not merely the evidence for and against the all-important holes that was in dispute, but also the manner in which that evidence was to be evaluated. In his Judgement of April 11, 2000, the Hon. Mr. Justice Charles Gray questioned whether British historian David Irving had “bent or falsified or misrepresented evidence,” something that the Lipstadt defense eagerly asserted. [4]

On the other hand, during the trial van Pelt invoked an explanatory concept seemingly diametrically opposed to bending the facts: “convergence of evidence.” This is a process of evaluation by which independent strands of evidence, when considered together with other individual pieces of evidence, are said to indicate a common conclusion, even in the absence of a “smoking gun.” [5]

The chief purpose of this article is the careful examination of recent and seemingly authoritative attempts to establish the presence of roof holes in Leichenkeller (or morgue) 1 of crematory facility II, by Lipstadt expert witness Robert Jan van Pelt and others. Mindful of the concern for careful interpretation of the evidence in the Irving trial, this article will also examine the differing kinds of evidence offered for the roof openings in the light of both bending and convergence: is there an actual convergence of evidence for the holes, or has quite divergent evidence been bent and twisted in order to make it seem as if it converged?

Missing Holes

In his judgment in favor of Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books, the Hon. Mr. Justice Charles Gray summarized the contrasting arguments of the defendants and David Irving on the defense’s evidence for openings in the roof of the alleged gas chamber in Crematorium II:

It is common ground that the roof of Leichenkeller I was supported by seven concrete pillars. The Defendants allege that adjacent to four of these pillars there ran hollow ducts or chimneys made of heavy wire mesh which protruded through holes in the roof where the pellets were poured into them and ran down into the chamber below. These ducts were 70 square centimeters in size but tapered at the top where they passed through the roof. It is Irving’s case that these ducts never existed. He made that assertion because, he said, there is no trace in what remains of the roof of any holes through it. Furthermore the chimneys do not appear in the blueprints for the construction of the Crematoria. Part of the roof of Leichenkeller I is intact, although it has pancaked down on to the floor. Irving produced a photograph which appears to show no sign of any hole in the roof. [6]

In his next sentence Justice Gray pointed to a major concession by Robert Jan van Pelt, the defense’s expert witness on the Auschwitz crematoria: “Van Pelt conceded in one of his supplementary reports that there is no sign of the holes.” Or, as van Pelt wrote in his expert report for the Lipstadt defense: “Today, these four small holes that connected the wire-mesh columns and the chimneys cannot be observed in the ruined remains of the concrete slab.” [7]

Under cross-examination by David Irving on January 28, 2000, van Pelt admitted that he had “frequently visited the roof of the alleged factory of death,” but had not seen the requisite holes there:

Irving: You have not seen any holes in the roof, have you, in the — when you went there? You have not found any holes?

Van Pelt: I have not seen the holes for the columns, no.

Irving: Not for the introduction of the cyanide?

Van Pelt: No. [8]

In his expert report, van Pelt advanced an odd rationale for the absence of these holes:

Yet does this mean they were never there? We know that after the cessation of the gassings in the Fall of 1944 all the gassing equipment was removed, which implies both the wire-mesh columns and the chimneys. What would have remained would have been the four narrow holes in the slab. While there is not certainty in this particular matter, it would have been logical to attach at the location where the columns had been some formwork at the bottom of the gas chamber ceiling, and pour some concrete in the holes, and thus restore the slab. [9]

During cross-examination, Irving poured scorn on this argument. As the BBC News Online reported, Irving told the court: “I do not accept that the Nazis, in the last frantic days of the camp, when they were in a blue funk, would have gone around with buckets of cement filling the holes that they were going to dynamite.” [10]

A 'Restoration' So Perfect It Left No Traces?

There are sound technical reasons for joining Irving in rejecting van Pelt’s claim that the Germans filled, let alone “restored,” the alleged Zyklon holes in the roof of Leichenkeller 1. In the first place, it would simply not have been possible to “restore the slab,” as van Pelt alleged was done.

The concrete roofs of the Leichenkeller were reinforced with lengths of rebar (short for reinforcing bar), steel rods placed in concrete when it is poured. If holes had been designed prior to the original concrete pour, and created by means of formwork placed to exclude inflowing concrete (as Van Pelt believes), then naturally the steel reinforcement rods would have been confined to the surrounding concrete.

To be sure, it would have been possible to “pour some concrete in the holes” at a later time. If at the end of the war wooden formwork was placed beneath the holes and concrete poured into them (van Pelt’s scenario), then square blocks of concrete would have formed within the apertures after drying. These blocks could not have been affixed to the existing rebar grid. Indeed, there are only two ways in which these areas could have been partially reinforced to prevent the concrete blocks from falling out of the holes upon removal of the formwork:

- chipping or cutting the sides of the apertures to create ridges, or divets, to secure the blocks in place, or else increasing the size of the holes on top, so that the blocks poured to fit could not fall through the holes in the ceiling below;
- drilling horizontally into the concrete roof on all four sides of each opening, allowing the placement of steel dowels, which would support the concrete blocks once they cured.

Neither of these construction techniques would have secured the concrete in the holes for long, however. In early 1945 Auschwitz personnel inserted powerful charges in the concrete roof support columns immediately adjacent to the alleged positions of the filled-in holes, and then dynamited the Leichenkeller roof. [11]

Van Pelt’s claim that concrete was simply poured into the holes, and then blown out when the building was dynamited, does little to advance the argument that the holes existed. As Irving observed, it would seem senseless for the Germans to have filled the holes with concrete, and then blown the filler blocks out by placing massive dynamite charges directly beneath them a few weeks later. More important, despite several onsite searches van Pelt has conceded, as we have seen, that today the alleged holes “cannot be observed in the ruined remains of the concrete slab.”

Let us consider what would necessarily be visible had the holes, or their concrete fillers, somehow survived the explosion. Both would be easy to spot today, even in the ruins. The places where concrete had been poured long after the initial pour of the roof slab would be easily distinguishable from the surrounding slab. Variations in concrete mixing compounds (ratios of sand, cement, and water, etc., as well as consistency of source for materials), curing conditions (temperature and humidity), drying lines and hairline cracks due to shrinkage, and aging (yellowing) all contribute to variations in appearance and consistency in finished concrete products. The “re-stored” areas of the concrete roof slab would be recognizable, from above and below, as concrete repair patches. Van Pelt, who consults with architects in his faculty at the University of Waterloo, should certainly know this. Yet despite numerous inspections of the ruins of the roof slab of Crematorium II by van Pelt and his allies, to date none of these researchers has been able to discover any traces of such a restoration. This doubtless explains why van Pelt, for all his architectural expertise on Auschwitz, made no attempt at the Irving-Lipstadt trial to present physical evidence for the murderous holes of Crematorium II, whether filled in or not.

The Problem of The Wire Mesh Columns

Unable to find physical evidence of Zyklon-induction holes at the site, or a single reference to them in the camp’s voluminous design and construction records, van Pelt was forced to rely on the postwar testimony of two Auschwitz survivors, Henryk Tauber and Michal Kula.

Cross-examined on his impression of the former Sonderkommando worker Henryk Tauber, who gave his testimony before a Soviet-Polish investigative commission on May 24, 1945, Van Pelt answered: “Tauber is an amazingly good witness ... very precise in general.” ^[12]

In his testimony Henryk Tauber described, in meticulous detail, the means by which Zyklon B granules were supposedly introduced into the room. According to Tauber (and thus van Pelt), the holes in the roof opened to accommodate an introduction device constructed of wire mesh:

The roof of the gas chamber was supported by concrete pillars running down the middle of its length. On either side of these pillars there were four others, two on each side. The sides of these pillars, which went up through the roof, were of heavy wire mesh. Inside this grid, there was another of finer mesh and inside that a third of very fine mesh. Inside this last mesh cage there was a removable can that was pulled out with a wire to recover the pellets from which the gas had evaporated. ^[13]

Van Pelt, in both his expert report and his cross-examination, augmented Tauber’s testimony with that of Michal Kula, who claimed to have constructed the wire mesh “pillars” described by Tauber. On June 11, 1945, Kula testified to examining magistrate Jan Sehn (like Tauber’s questioners a Communist functionary):

Among other things the metal workshop made the false showers intended for the gas chambers, as well as the wire-mesh columns for the introduction of the contents of the tins with Zyklon into the gas chambers.

These columns were around 3 meters high [ca. 9 feet, 10 inches], and they were 70 centimeters square in plan. Such a column consisted of 6 wire screens which were built the one within the other. The inner screen was made from 3 millimeter [ca. one-eighth of an inch] thick wire, fastened to iron corner posts of 50 by 10 millimeters. Such iron corner posts were on each corner of the column and connected on the top in the same manner. The openings of the wire mesh were 45 millimeters square. The

second screen was made in the same manner, and constructed within the column at 150 millimeters distance from the first. The openings of the second were around 25 millimeters square. In the corners these screens were connected to each other by iron posts. The third part of this column could be moved. It was an empty column with a square footprint of around 150 millimeters made of sheet zinc. At the top it was closed by a metal sheet, and at the bottom with a square base. At a distance of 25 millimeters from the sides of these columns were soldered tin corners supported by tin brackets.

On these corners were mounted a thin mesh with openings of about one millimeter square. This mesh ended at the bottom of the column and from here ran in the [Verlaenderung] of the screen a tin frame until the top of the column. The contents of a Zyklon tin were thrown from the top on the distributor, which allowed for a equal distribution of the Zyklon to all four sides of the column. After the evaporation of the gas the whole middle column was taken out." [14]

According to van Pelt, the wire mesh devices have vanished: "The wire mesh columns had been totally dismantled after the cessation of gassings and before the demolition of the crematoria, and no remains were found." [15]

These two testimonies are not merely van Pelt's chief evidence: they are his only evidence of substance for the existence of openings through which Zyklon could have been introduced into the alleged chamber in Crematorium II, ground zero of the Holocaust myth.

The Incredible, Undetectable, Shrinking Zyklon Holes

The two testimonies on which van Pelt is constrained to rely are not without their pitfalls for the champions of the holes. It will be remembered that in his Judgment, Justice Gray took note of van Pelt's claim, made under cross-examination, that the wire mesh columns described by van Pelt's witnesses "were 70 square centimeters [etc.] in size but tapered at the top where they passed through the roof." Van Pelt defended this position at some length in the following joust with David Irving in London's High Court on January 25, 2000:

Irving: I only wanted to know roughly what size of wire mesh we are talking about, what the width of this column going up to the ceiling was. We have probably got a pretty clear picture of [the] kind of thing it was, larger than a drainpipe.

Van Pelt: Yes. Kula says these columns were around 3 meters high and they [were] 70 meters square.

Irving: 70 meters?

Van Pelt: 70 centimeters.

Irving: The wire mesh columns?

Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: 70 centimeters is of the order of 2 feet 6 inches?

Van Pelt: Yes, a little less, 2 feet three inches.

Irving: So this hole in the roof or these holes in the roof, how many wire mesh columns were there, four?

Van Pelt: Four.

Irving: So the holes in the roof would have been up to 2 foot 6 inches across?

Van Pelt: Absolutely not, because the whole column may be 2 feet 4 inches, but Zyklon B is only introduced right in the centre piece. The centre piece, we have concentric columns, so ultimately the centre piece can be a rather narrow thing, so the hole through the roof could have been a relatively narrow pipe.

Irving: But we are told here he had a concrete cover with two handles covering this whole, which rather suggests something larger than a tennis ball?

Van Pelt: But the concrete cover, we have a picture of these actual chimneys in the documents. Of course you do not when you create this pipe which comes up out the centre of the wire mesh columns, of course you take a larger kind of little chimney around it.

Justice Gray: As a funnel?

Van Pelt: As a funnel, yes. Like a chimney itself always is wider than the actual smoke channel going through it. ^[16]

Here, size very much matters, because the 70 cm square roof holes that Irving is arguing for are in fact on the order of eight times greater in area than the 25 cm or so square apertures for the “centre piece[s]” that van Pelt insists on. For if persistent searches of crematorium roof have yielded nothing like a proper Zyklon introduction aperture, then the smaller the missing holes are supposed to have been, the better.

Yet van Pelt’s contention that only the central core of the wire mesh column continued through the roof, and thus “... the hole through the roof could have been a relatively narrow pipe,” misrepresents van Pelt’s only evidence, the testimony of Tauber and Kula. As Kula stated to the examining magistrate, Sehn:

These columns were around 3 meters high, and they were 70 centimeters square in plan ... The third part of this column could be moved. It was an empty column with a square footprint of around 150 millimeters made of sheet zinc.

In [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#) (1989), anti-revisionist French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac furnished a drawing of these wire mesh devices as described by Kula. ^[17] It depicts each of the wire columns as “around 3 meters high.” The drawing shows a type of removable basket in the center of the device. Yet without any basis in Kula’s testimony, and in contradiction to the drawing, Van Pelt asserted that the outer sides of these rectangular columns rose only to the ceiling, and invented a “relatively narrow pipe” (contradicting his witness’s description of a removable “empty column”), that might have fit in van Pelt’s four elusive and arbitrarily diminutive roof openings, if only he could find them — and somehow lay hands on the missing four narrow pipes.

Kula’s stated dimensions (a column 3 meters high and 70 centimeters square) cannot be reconciled with van Pelt’s claim that the holes, if they existed, were smaller than 70 cm square. Archi-

tectural drawings indicate that the distance from the floor to the ceiling (or underside of the roof) was 2.4 meters. The roof itself was 20 cm (.2 meters, or eight inches) thick. Kula's columns would have thus exceeded the distance from the floor to the top of the roof by an additional 40 cm (.4 meters, or 16 inches), and to the underside by an additional 60 cm (.6 meter, or 2 feet). Nor does Kula's testimony give any support to van Pelt's claim that only a fixed, narrow pipe, or column, continued through the roof.

In his efforts to demonstrate that once there were holes — small holes — in the roof, van Pelt proclaimed that survivor witness Henryk Tauber's testimony "converged" with Kula's descriptions. And indeed, despite various discrepancies, the two witness in fact converged on one vital point.

Tauber stated: "The sides of these pillars, which went up through the roof, were of heavy wire mesh." Tauber's description of the columns offers no support to van Pelt's contention that only "a rather narrow thing" of lesser dimensions continued through the roof. Tauber makes clear that the outermost layer of Kula's 70 cm squared wire pillars "went up through the roof," all the more so since he distinguishes in his testimony between the outer "heavy wire mesh" and inner grids of "finer mesh" and "very fine mesh."

That claim strengthens another argument against the smaller roof holes, based on the size of the columns as described by van Pelt's source, Kula. According to his testimony, he built the elaborately constructed columns, complete with "soldered tin corners," in the camp metalwork shop — not in the Leichenkeller. Even if these 3 m tall, "heavy wire mesh" devices had been somehow maneuvered down the stairs and through the door into the Leichenkeller, they could not have been stood vertical from within a room with a 2.4 m high ceiling. Thus, if such columns existed, they can only have been installed by way of holes in the roof wide enough to admit them at the dimensions claimed for their base: 70 cm square.

Van Pelt, in searching for openings rather smaller than 70 centimeters square, has misrepresented the testimony of the two witnesses on whom he has staked his case (in the absence of any forensic or documentary evidence) for the existence of the holes. His radical distortion of the testimony of his key witnesses, conscious or not, would seem to suggest a motive: as we shall see below, if there had been openings of 70 cm (over two feet) square on the roof, they would be easily discernible even today. And, as we have already learned from van Pelt's admission, the wire-mesh chimneys have disappeared, too.

Recent Investigations: The Holes 'Rediscovered'?

Wartime Photographs

Van Pelt sought to corroborate his negligible testimonial evidence for the Zyklon holes through wartime photographs that show the roof of Leichenkeller 1 of Birkenau's crematorium II. In his attempts to find images of the holes and their "chimneys" on photos taken on the ground and from the air, van Pelt ran up against the findings, not only of revisionist researchers, but also those of maverick Holocaust researcher Charles Provan. Provan has provided an in-depth analysis of the air and ground photos in his booklet *No Holes? No Holocaust? A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller I of Krematorium II at Birkenau*), which contests the revisionist position. While Provan agrees with van Pelt that hundreds of thousands of Jews were gassed in Leichenkeller 1 of Crema II by Zyklon dropped through holes in the roof, his interpretation of the evidence for the existence of these holes is often diametrically opposed to van Pelt's.

Ground Photos

Van Pelt points to a photo from the Auschwitz archives, taken in February 1943. [18] It shows what appear to be objects on the roof. Provan has independently verified through a perspective drawing, however, what revisionist Germar Rudolf earlier established: the three objects are all on the southern half of the roof, contradicting the “eyewitnesses” and (as will be seen) the aerial photos. [19]

There exists, however, another ground photo, taken in late January 1943, which shows nothing but an eloquent blanket of snow on the completed roof of the Leichenkeller. [20] If, as van Pelt maintains, the holes had been included in the original concrete pour of the roof, it would have been senseless and potentially hazardous for the “chimney” surrounds to have been formed and poured appreciably later than the roof was completed. Aside from the inefficiency in construction technique, leaving the holes unprotected for weeks in winter would have caused massive water-proofing problems. [21]

Cross-examined by Irving about this picture, Van Pelt was quite unable to explain the absence of the holes and of their superstructures (or “chimneys”) that he identified in the February 1943 picture (above). At first, on January 26, van Pelt stated that the chimneys could not be seen because they were buried under earth and snow:

OK. Then the explanation is simple. What happens is that after the dirt was brought on top of the roof of the gas chamber or morgue No. 1, the protection [protrusion] would have been less. If we then had snow on top of that, it is very unlikely we would have seen much of these little chimneys. [22]

Two days later, evidently recognizing his mistake, van Pelt changed his testimony. Realizing that the photo shows that there were only a few inches of snow on the roof, he stated that the holes would have been covered with boards, implying that the “introduction chimneys” had not yet been built in late January. [23] Van Pelt’s radical modification of his interpretation of this basic document, which must have been known to him, neither inspires confidence in his expertise nor in his claim that holes were made in the roof of Leichenkeller 1 of Crematorium II at the time it was constructed.

For Provan, on the other hand, this photo shows:

... the clearest view of the gas chamber in any of the three [Kamann photos], before the roof was covered with earth. The roof is covered with snow, and no vents for Zyklon B are visible. Since the picture is dated from January 20-22 1943, we can deduce that any holes for Zyklon B insertion must have been put in after that date. [24]

That the Kamann ground photo of late January 1943 offers no evidence whatsoever for van Pelt’s unlikely hypothesis of invisible holes covered with similarly invisible boards, with the concrete chimneys yet to be added, is all too obvious. Provan is quite right to argue that the photo militates against the construction of holes and chimneys by the date it was taken, and to recognize that in fact the picture provides no evidence that the holes and chimneys were ever added. On the ground photos of the roof of the alleged gas chamber, then, we have anything but a convergence of interpretation of the evidence from these two researchers.

Air Photos

Van Pelt cited aerial reconnaissance photographs taken by the Allies in 1944, which were first published by the CIA in 1979. The most important of these, taken on August 25, 1944, shows four dark areas on the Leichenkeller roof. These areas, van Pelt argued, correspond to the chimneys over the holes, and their shadows. [25] Irving responded by pointing out that the four dark areas visible on the photo of August 25, 1944, do not match the positions of any holes in the ruins of the roof today. (As we have seen, van Pelt had conceded that the alleged Zyklon insertion holes cannot be found in those ruins.)

Provan's analysis of the air photos is consistent with that of revisionist researcher John Ball. [26] He notes that the necessary holes are said to have been covered "at ground level" (that is, above the layer of earth heaped onto the roof — not at roof level), and surrounded by low covers, according to Myklos Nyiszli and other self-professed eyewitnesses. Yet, as Provan correctly observes, if these areas (he calls them "smudgey marks") on the air photos "are shadows [cast by the low chimneys], the height has been calculated as about 3 meters, using the known height of the Krematorium chimney, and the length of its shadow as a reference." (three meters is about nine feet, ten inches.) Indeed, Provan "agrees with Ball that some of the marks which show up on the August 25, 1944, reconnaissance photograph are in fact drawn in," and notes that "some of the photographs of Auschwitz-Birkenau show roof marks where no Zyklon B vents are supposed to be." [27]

Provan fails, however, to alert his readers to the key problem, noted by Jean-Claude Pressac, posed by the marks on this and several other air photos:

According to the American aerial photograph of 24th August 1944, the four introduction points were located along a line running the length of the room in the eastern half. In the present ruins, two of these openings are still visible at the southern end but in the western half.

Nobody up to now seems to have been concerned by this contradiction, nor to have explained it. [28]

According to van Pelt and Provan, basing themselves on Tauber's testimony, two of the holes should be located on the western half of the roof. As Pressac observes, however, this and the other air photos invariably display the four disputed marks on the Leichenkeller roof "along a line running the length of the room in the eastern half." Here one must recall Henryk Tauber's statement: "The roof of the gas chamber was supported by concrete pillars running down the middle of its length. On either side of these pillars [emphasis added] there were four others, two on each side."

If Tauber's testimony is correct, then the aerial photos should show two dots on each side of the longitudinal central support beam. But as Pressac has noted, the Tauber statement and the air photos contradict each other: the areas van Pelt identifies as holes on the air photos are staggered slightly, but are all on the east of the central support beam; Tauber testified that two were on the west side of the beam. The two sources of evidence do not converge.

Of the marks on the air photos, Provan writes: "No matter what one thinks of the authenticity of the smudgey marks, it is impossible to view them, whether authentic or not, as 'vents.'" Thus, in Provan's words, air photos "cannot be used to prove or disprove that the underground rooms were gassing facilities." [29] Van Pelt has been able to point to no evidence that contradicts Provan.

'Genocide by Telepathy' Revisited?

Having noted the absence of photographic evidence for the Zyklon roof holes, Provan makes an important concession. Regarding the value of the documentary and photographic evidence in Auschwitz and Allied records for demonstrating the holes, he writes: "[T]he eyewitness testimony concerning the underground gas chamber of Krema II is the main evidential basis for historians of the *Judenausrottung* (extermination of the Jews). The other forms of evidence used to support the eyewitness accounts of holes in the roof of the gas chamber are unable to supply proof that these Zyklon B introduction holes existed." [30]

While such findings might daunt a researcher of lesser persistence and imagination, Provan has discovered a rationale for the absence of the holes from the construction documents and photos: the need for secrecy that surrounded the Auschwitz gassing operation. Provan cites Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, who testified at Nuremberg on April 1, 1946: "I immediately got in touch with the chief of a construction unit and told him that I needed a large crematorium. I told him that we were going to receive a large number of sick people, but I did not give him my real reason." [31]

Provan suggests that Karl Bischoff, chief of construction projects at Auschwitz-Birkenau, was not told of the building's "real purpose" until after the building's completion, if ever. Provan believes this explains why the holes were broken through the roof only after the building was completed, in contradiction to van Pelt's thesis.

Provan's suggestion creates many problems in place of the single problem he is trying to solve. During the same interrogation cited by Provan, Höss claimed to have sent the plans for the gas chamber in Leichenkeller 1 of Crematorium II to Himmler "after we had completed our plans," and "after I had changed them in accordance with the real purpose of his instructions," whereupon "they were approved." If Höss's story about the holes, taken in its totality, is true, then new drawings, amended drawings and plans, and on-site specifications for new construction and alterations to planned facilities would have all been necessary. Putting holes in the roof of Leichenkeller 1 would have required construction specifications outlined by and for the engineers, construction foremen, fabricators, and installers upon construction. These designations would also have been mentioned in numerous correspondences in the Zentralbauleitung (main construction office) files. They are not. Where are the drawings that were changed "in accordance with the real purposes of [Himmler's] instructions"? And why not, in view of all the above, include the holes in the original construction of the roof? Formwork would have been constructed and placed differently, the placement of the rebar grids would have been modified to allow for holes and to compensate for loss of strength in the surrounding areas of the roof, and the support beam and columns would also require engineering modifications to compensate for loss of strength at the all-important slab-column junctures (with several tons of soil, snow, and rainwater also requiring careful engineering considerations).

Most importantly, the waterproof membrane would have required special attention and modification before holes and their alleged chimney surrounds could have been incorporated into the roof construction. Simply placing the membrane (bituminous felt) under the thin, permeable concrete topcoat and then through (what would later become) the edges of the holes would have been disastrous. And beyond that, the supposed wire mesh devices described by witnesses would have required extensive design and installation requirements.

Provan is mistaken in stating that the drawings to be consulted "would only include details for a crematorium, not a homicidal gassing facility." How, for example, would secret drawings or

plans for “wire mesh pillars” sent only to Himmler have been transmitted to Michal Kula in the metalwork shop months after these items had been deemed necessary? How could Kula have built these elaborate objects without such a drawing? Is this another example of what Robert Faurisson has called “genocide by telepathy”? [32]

Here Provan is also at cross purposes with Pressac. The French researcher has labored through the Auschwitz records and at the Auschwitz sites to unearth, in the absence of hard evidence, supposed “criminal traces” of the gas chambers from bits of hardware, carpentry, and construction records. Much of Pressac’s work here has been embraced by van Pelt. As I have written elsewhere, however, the idea of recognizable criminal traces creates a big problem for Provan’s interpretation:

If the crematoria architects did not know what the “real” purpose of the building was, then all of the so-called “criminal traces” of Pressac, such as the alleged removal of the corpse chute [sic], the word “Vergasungskeller” appearing in a civilian firm’s worksheet, the design of the ventilation system, and all provisions for gas-tightness, etc., must then also have necessarily been understood by the architects as non-homicidal in purpose. If the holes were deliberately excluded from an alleged criminal conversion as a matter of secrecy, then no aspect of the alleged criminal conversion could have preceded the completion of the building’s construction. Either the building was adapted for criminal use prior to completion or it was not. If it was, there should be evidence of “Zyklon B holes” in the construction photographs [and drawings] of 1943, but there is not. [33]

In Provan’s opinion, holes were subsequently “knocked” or “punched” through the solid concrete after the concrete roof was poured. He refers to the testimony of Rudolf Höss regarding the conversion of the Leichenkeller of Krematorium I at the Auschwitz main camp as evidence for an alleged homicidal conversion. However, the problem arises that Krematorium I was built and used as a morgue, and is alleged to have only later been converted for homicidal usage in 1941. Krematorium II was also supposedly designed for non-homicidal usage, but, according to van Pelt, was designated for homicidal adaptation in August 1942, more than 5 months prior to the concrete pour of the Leichenkeller roof. [34]

To summarize, it would have made no sense to knock holes through a solidly poured concrete roof, or to build alleged chimney-surrounds for the wire mesh devices after the holes were created. Provan theorizes that the concrete was first poured, then some time later broken away where required, then poured again to create “chimneys.” These “chimneys” would have required special waterproofing at their bases, to keep the rainwater and melting snow of January-February 1943 from seeping through the holes. As has been noted above, all of this could have been accomplished in one operation by setting wooden formwork to create the necessary chimneys and apertures during the construction of the roof.

There is no evidence that any of this was done, just as there are no openings that would have accommodated the wire pillars described by Michal Kula.

In this context, Provan’s invocation of an ill-defined and improbable commitment to secrecy by Höss (is the commandant supposed to have jack-hammered the holes himself by moonlight?) as the warrant for otherwise unaccountably slipshod methods emerges as more rationale than explanation.

Provan's Eyewitness Problem

In contrast to Van Pelt and other historians of Auschwitz, who have been content to rely on excerpts from a handful of testimonies, Provan has presented sixteen mostly contradictory witness statements on the alleged holes and their attributes. He attempts to reconcile these testimonies with investigations he conducted at the site, although oddly enough in *No Holes* he starts from the testimony, and then proceeds to his on-site investigation.

Provan discounts seven of the testimonies as “of lesser value,” deeming nine of them to be “of greater value.” It must be stated that his analysis of these testimonies is not always clear, and his criteria seem to have left ample room for circularity. While some of his testimonies of “lesser value” can be easily impeached (Janda Weiss' claim that small children were thrown into the subterranean Leichenkeller through a non-existent window), others seem to be excluded for failing to match facts not yet established. Thus, Provan discounts the testimony of Filip Friedman because Friedman places the hollow pillars in the “four corners of the Leichenkeller, which is not true.” [35]

Interestingly, Provan did not include the deposition of Michal Kula, who described 70 cm “wire mesh pillars,” in the testimony he analyses. He thus ignores one of van Pelt’s two star witnesses, although he has included witnesses that describe such oddities as Weiss’s non-existent “windows through which the Nazis could toss children,” the throwing of “gas bombs,” or what Provan calls “things impossible to see [from outside the crematorium].” [36] The reason for this omission seems obvious. Kula specifically stated that he constructed the “wire mesh pillars,” but the dimensions he gave (3 meters high $\times$ 70 cm squared) are impossible to reconcile with the absence of anything like holes of that size on the Leichenkeller roof, as the failed efforts of van Pelt and (as we shall see below) Provan abundantly demonstrate.

Having omitted Kula’s testimony, Provan considers the statement of Karl Schultze, a Topf employee who is said to have installed the ventilation system in Leichenkeller 1 on March 11-13, 1943, to be of great importance. In 1946, Schultze was asked about the “internal arrangement of the gas chamber.” He described it as follows: “The building was eight meters wide and thirty meters long. Inside it was completely empty. The height came to 2.6 meters. In the ceiling were four square openings, 25 $\times$ 25 centimeters.” [37]

It must be noted that Schultze gave accurate outside dimensions for the building, which he could only have been gleaned from the architectural drawings (the inside dimensions were 7 meters wide and 2.4 meters in height), rather than personal observation. Provan seems unconcerned that Schultze’s statement contradicts the claim that wire mesh pillars had been installed (“inside it was completely empty”). Nor does Schultze mention the alleged “concrete chimneys.” These are remarkable omissions of observation, considering the lateness of the known dates on which the ventilation system was installed (mid-late February 1943).

Evidently what matters to Provan is that he has found a witness who gave dimensions for smaller holes (25 $\times$ 25 cm), holes that could possibly be shown to have existed in the roof.

The Holes Discovered?

We have established that Robert van Pelt has misread the Tauber and Kula descriptions of “wire mesh pillars,” which actually strongly imply an outside dimension of 70 cm squared, a dimension that would have carried through the roof, as these devices are also described as “approximately 3 meters” high. We have established, on the evidence presented so far, that there are no holes of that dimension in the ruins of Leichenkeller I or crematorium II.

Unlike Van Pelt, Provan claims to have found the holes in the rubble. Are there smaller holes in the existing ruins of the roof? Yes. Are they problematic? Yes, but not for revisionists.

It is a physical certainty that Leichenkeller I was dynamited in 1945. The violence of that explosion tore a number of apertures and cracks in the roof slab. Since 1945, additional apertures have been created. For example, revisionists have written rather extensively of the two large manually created holes in the southwestern part of the roof, holes located in the wrong areas for them to have been a “Zyklon B introduction ports” to judge from the aerial photos and the “convergence” of van Pelt and Provan in accepting the testimony of Henryk Tauber. The rebar in these areas was either cut back or bent back, demonstrating that these holes are post-war constructs. One of these openings, located next to the first of seven support pillars, is simply an enlargement of a hole that was created when the building was dynamited. The rebar grid and cut rebar tips are visible in the present ruins. There is a crack emanating from the area where the concrete support pillar came to rest, one meter away, continuing through the hole to the other side. This crack would have made it easier for the Soviets or Polish Communists to chisel out the area after the war. Conversely, there is no indication that this hole existed prior to the pouring of the concrete roof. Finally, it is too large to have been a Zyklon B port of less than 1 ft. (i.e., 25 cm) square, and too small to have been 70cm square. [38]

Running down the middle of the length of Leichenkeller 1 was a central support beam, 40cm in width and height. Seven concrete pillars were placed at even intervals beneath the length of this beam, 3.8 meters apart from center to center. This central support beam was extensively damaged by explosive charges placed in those areas in 1945. Provan has identified three areas, in immediate proximity to the central concrete support beam, as possible locations of Zyklon B holes. These areas of broken concrete are located next to the areas where the first, third, and fifth concrete pillars were located.

Provan writes:

We consider it quite significant that [two holes] were located immediately to the east of the central roof column [beam], each of them right next to a supporting pillar (in these cases, pillars 3 and 5). It should be noted that the central column to the west of both holes is destroyed, with only the rebars remaining. The roof above the reinforcement bars is also destroyed in both locations. [39]

The case for the number and location of the alleged Zyklon holes of Crematorium II, as well as for their existence, depends on testimony, as Provan acknowledged. At the Irving-Lipstadt trial, van Pelt presented a large number of documents to the court, in an attempt to validate the testimonial evidence. Judge Gray recognized “the force of many of Irving’s comments upon some of those categories [of evidence]. He [Irving] is right to point out that the contemporaneous documents, such as drawings, plans, correspondence with contractors and the like, yield little clear evidence of the existence of gas chambers designed to kill humans”. Gray also wrote that “the photographic evidence for the existence of chimneys protruding through the roof of morgue 1 at crematorium 2 is, I accept, hard to interpret.”

The key witness, for both van Pelt and Provan, is Henryk Tauber. Tauber asserted that there were four holes, two west of the Leichenkeller central roof beam, and two east of it. The “smudges” or “dots” on the air photos are staggered, slightly zig-zagged. If Tauber’s testimony and the air photo dots are to be accepted together, then the existing holes must traverse the longitudinal central support beam, with two on each side. Provan has identified two successive apertures, both east of the roof beam. As Pressac noted, however, the Tauber statement and the air photo features

contradict each other insofar as the air photos show areas identified as holes staggering slightly only on the east side; Tauber claimed that two were on the west side of the beam. These two sources of evidence, as Pressac recognizes, do not “converge.” Provan’s on-site investigations have done nothing more than highlight this irreconcilable discrepancy. He has selected openings in the roof next to support pillars which are no different than another opening beside a pillar that cannot have been, on the basis of his evidence, the location of a “Zyklon B introduction port.” Charles Provan, through his labors on site at Leichenkeller 1, has also shown conclusively that “wire mesh pillars” of the dimensions (70 cm square) described by Michal Kula and Henryk Tauber could not have existed, which is also a problem for van Pelt.

It is a pity that Provan seems not to have consulted Pressac’s 1989 book to corroborate the significance of his observations. There Pressac published a photo, which he took from inside the Leichenkeller, of the area surrounding the second support pillar. ^[40] No witness or researcher has suggested that a Zyklon B port was located here. Nor would it make sense to suggest that. Significantly, Pressac’s photo clearly shows the same characteristics that Provan observes at 1, 3, and 5. The concrete at the juncture of the supporting pillar and the central roof beam has been shattered by explosive charges. The roof has shifted to the east slightly, and a square hole has been created in the roof directly above and to the east of the pillar. Two pieces of rebar connect the hole to the support pillar. It is obvious that the square aperture in this area of the roof was created during the explosion, exactly as at pillars 3 and 5, and as at pillar 1 in the opposite direction (in the latter area, the roof shifted westward during the explosion). The roof lifted and settled, and the 20cm roof slab was broken apart, probably along rebar lines. There is no mystery here: the violent displacement of the roof created apertures.

Conclusion

On the matter of the missing roof holes of Leichenkeller 1 of Crematorium II, Justice Gray recognized that “Irving’s argument deserves to be taken seriously,” and that “in the end, the task for an historian is to weigh the evidence of the absence of the signs of holes in the roof of the morgue against the opposing evidence that there were chimneys running through the roof.” ^[41]

This paper is not merely the product of a gracious acceptance of Gray’s historical challenge, for it seeks not only to weigh the evidence for and against the presence of the holes, but also the manner in which advocates of the holes have advanced that evidence. We have demonstrated that at nearly every instance in their evaluation of the admittedly slender evidence for these critical openings, van Pelt, Provan, Pressac, and Shermer have differed among themselves on what they have found. Van Pelt has scoured the ruins of the crematorium roof, and found nothing. Provan has done likewise, and says he’s found the holes. While each claims smaller holes than testified to by the key witness, the man who swore he manufactured the wire mesh pillars that went through the roof holes, van Pelt accepts his testimony, and then distorts it; Provan disregards it. Van Pelt claims that the holes were made when the roof was poured; Provan claims they were broken through weeks later. Van Pelt sees holes and chimneys in contemporaneous photographs where Provan sees none. Their colleague Pressac notes that aerial photos show the holes on a part of the roof at odds with van Pelt and Pressac’s witness testimony; Pressac, like van Pelt, misses that the marking on the air photo cannot show the chimneys or the holes. Shermer has tilted the photo so the holes will seem to be in line with the testimony favored by van Pelt and Provan.

It is Shermer who has made a mantra out of “convergence of evidence.” He found a willing echo from the Lipstadt expert in the London court. To survey the surreal divergence of these Holocaust savants in their diverse fumbblings for the missing holes, as they warp and twist each bit of

fact and fancy to substantiate the holes, is to understand that for them, at least, “convergence of evidence” stands for contrivance of evidence.

If Zyklon holes in the roof of Leichenkeller 1 had been there, as described by the most important witnesses within months after the capture of Auschwitz, indisputable evidence of their existence would still be discernible there today. But there is none, and the efforts of the most qualified exterminationist expert and the most diligent exterminationist amateur to account for the absence of that evidence, and of any contemporaneous evidence other than statements from a Soviet show trial and its successors, has produced nothing but a tragicomedy for the Holocaust industry. In fact, there were no Zyklon holes at Crematorium II of Auschwitz-Birkenau, and the absence of those humble openings leaves the Auschwitz myth as blasted as the concrete, and as contorted as this rebar, in the ruins of the morgue there today.

Notes

1.  Steve Lipman, “Holocaust Denial Trial: Do We Care?,” Jewish Week, February 24, 2000. Deborah Lipstadt is the author of *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (NY: Free Press, 1993). Penguin Books Ltd was the other principal defendant in Irving’s libel suit.
2.  Transcript, *Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred Leuchter, Jr.*, 1999, a documentary film directed by Errol Morris.
3.  Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Newport Beach, Cal.: Institute for Historical Review, 1993), p. 14.
4.  The Hon. Justice Gray’s Judgment on Tuesday 11th April 2000 in the High Court of Justice 1996 I. No. 113, Queen’s Bench Division ([David John Cawdell Irving vs. Penguin Books Limited & Deborah E. Lipstadt](#)), Section 13.127. Available on-line at <http://www.fpp.co.uk/> (internet). Hereinafter: Judgement.
5.  Michael Shermer, “Proving the Holocaust,” *Skeptic* 2, no.4, pp. 41-43. Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying the Holocaust: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 31-35, 117-119, 133-137, and 249-251. Expert Opinion of Robert Jan van Pelt, D. Lit., Professor of Architecture at the University of Waterloo Ontario, Canada, on Instructions of Davenport Lyons and Mishcon de Reya, Solicitors, for the Purposes of Assisting the Queen’s Bench Division in the High Court in London in the Case between David John Cawdell Irving, Plaintiff, and Penguin Books Limited and Deborah E. Lipstadt, Defendants (copyright 1999 by Robert Jan van Pelt), part four {cf. note 7, 9}, “Chapter VII: Auschwitz and Holocaust Denial,” pp. 3-5. Hereinafter: van Pelt expert report. MS-Word document courtesy of David Irving.
6.  Judgement, Section 7.92.
7.  Van Pelt expert report, “Chapter IX, The Leuchter Report,” p. 295. It should be noted that van Pelt, in the sentence quoted, properly distinguishes between the alleged wire mesh devices and chimneys; Justice Gray seems to have conflated them in the summary from his Judgement quoted above.
8.  In the High Court of Justice 1996 I. No. 113 Queen’s Bench Division, Royal Courts of Justice, London. January 28, 2000. P-129, P-130. Hereinafter: Transcript.
9.  Van Pelt expert report, “Chapter IX, The Leuchter Report,” p. 295. Also, see Judgement, 7.118: “The Defendants accept that the physical evidence remaining at the site of Auschwitz provides little evidence to support the claim that gas chambers were operated there for genocidal purposes. The explanation, according to the Defendants, is that, after the

revelations in the Allied media concerning the gas chambers at the camp at Majdanek in late 1944, Himmler ordered the dismantling of the extermination installations in the crematoria at Auschwitz.”

10. [↗](#) "Gas Chambers Did Not Exist — Historian," BBC online, January 26, 2000. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/uk/newsid_619000/619619.stm. The BBC's report is a close paraphrase of Irving's remarks in Transcript, January 25, 2000. P-187.
11. [↗](#) Charles D. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust? A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller 1 of Krematorium 2 at Birkenau* (Monongahela, Penn., 2000), pp. 24-31. Also on-line at: <http://www.revisingrevisionism.com/>
12. [↗](#) Transcript, January 26, 2000. P-84. "Sonderkommando" (special detail) designated, among other units, the prisoner contingents which worked in the crematoria.
13. [↗](#) Van Pelt expert report, "Chapter IV, Attestations 1945-46," p. 44.
14. [↗](#) Ibid, p. 45.
15. [↗](#) Ibid.
16. [↗](#) Transcript, January 25, 2000. P-181, P-182.
17. [↗](#) Pressac, Jean-Claude, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), p. 487.
18. [↗](#) Transcript, January 26, 2000. P-6-16.
19. [↗](#) PMO [Auschwitz State Museum] neg. no. 20995/494, Kamann series. Published in Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique*, p. 340. See also Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, pp.17-18, and Ernst Gauss (Germar Rudolf), ed., *Dissecting the Holocaust* (Capshaw, Ala: Theses and Dissertation Press 2000, p. 346-347. As Rudolf suggests, the three objects on the roof may have been construction materials.
20. [↗](#) PMO neg. 20995/506 Kamann series. In Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique*, p. 335. See also Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, pp. 18-19. Also on-line at <http://www.vho.org/GB/Books/dth/fndaerial.html>.
21. [↗](#) "We know that the modifications, at least from the plan we saw there, the modifications of the design were decided — I mean certainly for the hanging of the door in that new staircase was in December the building had been — that the genocidal programme in Auschwitz had been adopted in August, the roof was probably being finished in December, so there was no reason to hack through the roof. They could immediately have made the holes in the roof as they were constructing it." (Irving-Lipstadt Trial transcript, Day 11, PP-127-128.) Van Pelt refers to the Auschwitz Zentralbauleitung drawing 2003 of December 19, 1942, Auschwitz State Museum, box BW (B) 30/2, file BW 30/12, in Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (NY: Norton, 1996), plate 17. Van Pelt, Pressac, and Gerald Fleming have argued that the apparent elimination of the corpse chute indicates (only) live bodies walking into the basement rooms, a poor analysis, suggesting the victims of "natural death" could not have been brought into the underground morgues. Interestingly, the only material features noted for the entire basement section (Kellergeschoss) are the subject of the drawing itself, i.e.the basement entrance on the streetside (Verlegung des Kellerzuganges an die Strassenseite), and the elevator (Aufzug). There are many subsequent construction drawings from 1943 showing the inclusion of the corpse chute and other basement details. See *Auschwitz 1270 to the Present: Critical notes* by Carlo Mattogno (note 11) at: <http://www.russgranata.com/irving-eng.html> (internet).
22. [↗](#) Transcript, January 26, P-17
23. [↗](#) Transcript, January 28, P-109-113.
24. [↗](#) Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, p. 18.
25. [↗](#) Transcript, January 26, P-27.

26. ☞ John C. Ball, *Air Photo Evidence* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1994). See also <http://www.vho.org/GB/Books/dth/fndaerial.html>.
 27. ☞ Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, pp. 13, 14. Provan attributes the alteration of the photo evidence to a benign didacticism on the part of the CIA authors, one of whom was an expert of faked photography during his career with the agency.
 28. ☞ Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique*, p. 436.
 29. ☞ Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, pp. 13, 30.
 30. ☞ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
 31. ☞ *Ibid.*, p. 15. Provan's allegation contradicts Dwork and van Pelt, *Auschwitz*, p. 316: "Himmler ordered the expansion of Auschwitz-Birkenau to 200,000 inmates and instructed Eichmann to fill the camp with Jews capable of work." (Based on a plan of 15 August 1942, Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, box BW (B) 2/1, file BW 2/10). Also, "Bischoff drew up a master plan for the transformation of Auschwitz-Birkenau into a 200,000 inmate labor pool for the armaments industry," *ibid.*, p. 321.
 32. ☞ Robert Faurisson, "Genocide by Telepathy, Hilberg Explains," JHR 18, no. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1999).
 33. ☞ Brian Renk, "Additional Comments on the Provan booklet *No Holes? No Holocaust? A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller I of Krematorium II at Birkenau*" at: <https://www.codoh.com/gcgv/gcgvholes2.html>. For a brilliant analysis of Pressac's "criminal traces," see Robert Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers (part 1)," JHR 11, no. 1 (spring 1991), pp. 46-59.
 34. ☞ Renk, "Additional Comments,"
 35. ☞ Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, p. 10.
 36. ☞ *Ibid.*, p. 10
 37. ☞ *Ibid.*, p. 4. From *Der Spiegel*, no. 40, 1993, p. 162 ("Protokolle des Todes").
 38. ☞ Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, appended photographs. Also at <http://www.revision-greversionism.com/>
 39. ☞ *Ibid.*, p. 29.
 40. ☞ Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique*, pp. 353.
 41. ☞ *Judgement*, 13.83.
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An Imaginary Holocaust May Lead to a Real Holocaust

Robert Faurisson

Without the lie of the alleged Holocaust and the alleged gas chambers, the State of Israel would not exist, and the world would be a more peaceful place. The false Holocaust has become the sword and the shield of Israel, endangering peace. An imaginary holocaust, invented and nurtured by the Zionists of Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora, may lead to an actual, global holocaust.

The Jews and the Americans

In 1947-1948, representing themselves as the survivors of an alleged genocide, the Jews obtained, by blackmail and terrorism, the right to create a state in the land of Palestine. Nonchalantly, they persuaded the international community that, in compensation for an unprecedented tragedy (their supposed "Holocaust"), they merited an unprecedented remedy: the award of lands belonging to other peoples. After receiving this exorbitant gift, they enlarged their territory considerably in chronic wars, paying no heed to the restrictions instituted by the United Nations to protect the Palestinians, restrictions which the Zionists had made a commitment to respect. For over fifty years, with the help of the Jewish Diaspora, they have carried out a colonial policy of conquest and apartheid against the Palestinian people. The Zionists have violated one international agreement after another, treating some sixty UN resolutions against their practices as null and void. America's political leaders have supported, armed, and defended Israel as devotedly as if it were the foremost state of the United States of America. It must be said that they cannot afford to defy the Jewish lobby, which closely monitors all their country's political and media spheres. Nonetheless, most Americans, intoxicated by the holocaust propaganda, are all too ready to derive their own belief in a world divided into two groups — one good (Jews and their associates), the other evil (Nazis and their ilk) — from the inventions of a Jewish neurosis. For these Americans, the Nazi, supreme villain, ever bent on killing the poor Jew, paragon of innocence and virtue, is the measure of all things. It is not mere coincidence that the ghastly hulk which houses the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum stands in the immediate proximity of the Washington Monument, not far from Capitol Hill.

The Arabs and the Muslims

The Jews have finally exhausted the patience of the Arab and Muslim world. During their long history they had, down the centuries, worn out their welcome with every European nation which had admitted them in large numbers, in particular the English, the French, the Spanish, and, especially, the Germans and the Poles. Until rather recently the example of the long-standing (relative) tolerance of the Arabs toward the Jews served as fodder for morality lessons regularly addressed to European nations. Today, such lessons are no longer possible. The Arab exception is

no more: even their fellow Semites are now rising against the Jewish people, “domineering and self-assured” (as Charles de Gaulle called them in 1967). To be sure, within the Jewish community there have occasionally been efforts on the part of a few clear-sighted spirits such as Noam Chomsky and the late Israel Shahak, author of *Jewish History*, *Jewish Religion*, to warn the zealots, but these have gone unheard. That said, Chomsky, like Shahak, has always endorsed the great Jewish myth, thus authorizing Israel to continue to employ, with an untroubled conscience, its best argument and the number one weapon in its arsenal: the “Holocaust,” of course. The Arabs, the Muslims, and the entire Palestinian people are today the principal victims of this weapon and this argument fashioned from a lie.

The New Crusade

On September 11, 2001, the weak struck at the citadel of the mighty, in New York. The heart of Jewish-American power, the financial district centered on Wall Street, where the fortunes of the world’s lowly billions are daily decided, was hit by the full force of “terrorists” brave enough to sacrifice their lives in a suicide mission.

On that day in New York, the first tower of the World Trade Center (a name that meant business!) might have been called “Hamburg” or “Hiroshima,” the second “Dresden” or “Nagasaki.” Yet, their destruction seems to have left, by various estimates, no more than between three and five thousand dead — a far cry from the great feats of annihilation of the U.S. and British air forces in the early 1940s.

In response America has embarked on another crusade. In the 1940s, General Dwight Eisenhower (who would later be rewarded with the presidency) launched a “Crusade in Europe,” a military-industrial undertaking which was to prove most fruitful for the United States (“The Best War Ever”) but quite the opposite for the peoples of Europe: for them it meant millions of dead, immense destruction, and the consignment of a good part of their continent to the Soviet Russian Moloch. This “liberation” of Europe, moreover, brought in its wake a cruel political purge, the murderous expulsion of twelve to fifteen million Germans, arbitrary dragnets and roundups, the dismemberment of a great country, its complete military occupation, a regime of censorship, and the imposition of tribunals in which the victors, as judges and prosecutors both, tried the vanquished in patently sham proceedings. Today, in 2001, trials of the same kind allow the children of Israel to exact vengeance on octogenarians or nonagenarians accused, on the strength of Jewish testimony alone, of “crimes against humanity.”

The Previous Crusades

In reaction to the attacks of September 11, America, this time, is out for “infinite justice,” by slaughtering civilians for the twentieth time in sixty years. From 1941 to 2001, no military corps has killed or burnt more civilians, more children, and more infants than the air armada consisting of the U.S. Air Force and the squadrons of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, sometimes seconded by their ally, the RAF. The knights-errant of phosphorus, napalm, Agent Orange, fragmentation bombs, nuclear fire, and uranium (enriched or depleted) are about to inflict their time-honored lessons in international law, justice, virtue, and “enduring freedom” on desperately poor lands, as they have done to Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, and to Europe at large (67,000 killed in the “liberation” of France alone), as well as to Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada, Panama, Yugoslavia, and elsewhere. In just sixty years the Americans, who are also the world’s biggest industrial polluters, have battered the Earth’s surface with billions of bombs, shells, missiles, and mines, especially anti-personnel mines, so dangerous to civilians. Concerned about the lives of their own soldiers — which is understandable

— the U.S. armed forces usually opt for a particularly cowardly method of combat. Dropping bombs at high altitude, launching missiles from a great distance, spreading terror among unarmed civilian populations, the American military has for some years sought a zero-death war, which, as French revisionist Vincent Reynouard puts it, amounts to waging wars in which, on one side, the death toll is zero, or close to it, while the dead of the other side count for ... nothing. Comfortably ensconced on their aircraft carriers or on bases well behind the front, the boys, inhaling their snacks and downing their beer, rain down death and destruction from afar.

The Real Holocaust of the German Cities

Beside the martyrdom of the German cities in the last war, the fate of those who fled Manhattan after the destruction of the two towers was enviable. They escaped the scene of the disaster without being strafed with machine gun bullets. Unlike so many Germans from 1942 to 1945 — starved, sleepless, grief-stricken day by day by news of the deaths of their brothers and husbands, above all on the Russian front — the refugees from Manhattan were not turned into human torches targeted by fighter-bombers. The victims of the carpet bombings often fled with their hair and their clothing in flames. They would dive into water to extinguish the flames, which would die down, only to flare up anew when the poor souls came up for air: phosphorus. The last to die in the firestorm perished from heat so intense it blistered the roofs of their mouths. As for the firemen and first-aid workers, many of them were killed by delayed-action bombs.

The Futile Lessons of the Past

In this Black September, Americans were able to get an idea — though only a small one — of what they have inflicted on so many countries over so many years. In Vietnam they suffered a humiliating defeat, and brought home 56,000 bodybags. They seemed to have learned what it might cost to scorn those smaller, weaker, and poorer than themselves. France and Britain had experienced identical humiliations during the collapse of their colonial empires; they also appeared to have learned some useful lessons. Now, however, the United States, Britain, and France, all seized by martial frenzy, are forgetting the lessons from their recent histories.

Terrorism Magnified by Those Who Complain of It

It is a bit ludicrous to see the mighty denounce the terrorism of their adversaries. Not only did these same mighty invent terrorism on the grand scale, they promoted it, praised it, and sublimated it, under the term “resistance.” Roosevelt, Churchill, de Gaulle, Tito, and their friend Stalin all, in varying degrees, made the ambush murder of enemy soldiers and civilians their policy. In this way these leaders cold-bloodedly provoked reprisals by the enemy, carried out in conformance with international conventions, so that slaughter would breed slaughter. Thereby the Allies made covert warfare, the coward’s war, a fixture of the twentieth century. Assuredly the spirit of resistance is a noble one, but not in that form. And what is to be said of the terrorism practised by the founders of the Zionist state, who murdered, for example, Lord Moyne, Count Bernadotte, and so many others? A model, it would seem, for struggle in a just cause.

The Luck of the Jews

The twin office towers in New York were under long-term lease to one Larry Silverstein, who will doubtless get fat “reparations.” His coreligionist Madeleine Albright, daughter of a thief named Körbel, stated in 1996 that even if American policy toward Iraq had caused the deaths of half a million Iraqi children, “the price ... was worth it.” The Israeli Netanyahu could not hide

his joy on learning of the destruction of the towers and the deaths of thousands of Americans: it was good news for the Jews, because America would now understand that its own interests and those of Israel were identical. Sharon, the butcher and incendiary, along with Shimon Peres, saw in it an opportunity both for his policy of planting Jewish settlements amidst the Arab masses and for his program of systematic assassination. For the nonce, the United States lets him kill Palestinian adults and children at will, with bullets, shells, missiles, tanks, helicopters, and planes paid for by the American taxpayer.

Hard Luck Ahead for the Jews

The Americans and Israelis can have their sport. It may cost them dearly, however, for the State of Israel is doomed. It won't last even as long as the ephemeral Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. A bin Laden or a second Saladin won't be needed. Not weapons, not money, not the United States, nor the Jews of the Diaspora, nor Germany which, prey to its national masochism, would be capable of sacrificing its soldiers for the survival of the leech state, will stop "the Descent" (as the Hebrews call Jewish emigration from Israel, as opposed to "their Ascent" to the Promised Land). For the Israelis are already jumping ship. In Tel Aviv, in Jerusalem, in the settlements, Jewish fathers and mothers fear for their own lives and for those of their children, for their careers, for their businesses. The tax burden imposed by Israel's military budget, and the length and the dangers of military service (for both men and women), are decreasing the numbers of taxpayers and potential recruits, by way of the phenomenon of "re-emigration." The Promised Land is becoming the most hazardous spot on earth for Jews. It had been a safe haven for swindlers and thieves, in particular for that mafia called "Russian," which is in fact Judeo-Russian. Israel has granted extradition requests from countries attempting to prosecute Flatto Sharon and similar crooks only very rarely. Today, however, French courts are finding, in cases connected with the gigantic bank swindle known as the "affaire du Sentier," that brazen crooks who had fled France for refuge in Israel prefer to return, even if it means going to prison. The land of milk and honey is awash in blood and tears. Whose fault is that?

Between the Suitcase and the Coffin

So the wandering Jew is about to hit the road again. In nearly every place he has sojourned, his conduct has aroused the revolt of the host population, which has finally ordered him to choose between the suitcase and the coffin. In today's Israel, he will soon have need to pack his suitcase. He will make his way back to the rich lands that have been brainwashed by his holocaustic propaganda. Bewailing a second "Holocaust" and a third Destruction of the Temple will suffice: then he'll demand new reparations, new privileges. The Shoah business and Holocaust industry will renew their vigor, this time, however, at risk of reaching the saturation point.

In a worst-case scenario, Israel may experience a civil war waged by an underground army of desperados. In the end, Tel Aviv could suffer the fate of Algiers in 1962, and Jewish Jerusalem go down like Saigon in 1975. A less dramatic fall, similar to that of communist East Germany or of the Soviet empire, is also possible. In any case, the epicenter of the present conflict is Israel, and Israel is finished.

War Propaganda

The lot of Palestinians of all faiths will be tragic, provoking ever more despair and fanaticism. The masses of the Arab-Muslim countries already hope to see the West punished for the crimes which, in their view, it has committed or tolerated, in Palestine (more so than for its misdeeds in

Saudi Arabia, Iraq, or Afghanistan). A spirit of jihad, or holy war, is growing among these masses, as well. Aya-Torahs and ayatollahs incite one another. On both sides, in the rich and powerful West and among the deprived populations of the Arab-Muslim world, passions and fears are intensifying. There is going to be a great deal of killing and a great deal of lying. The prodigious lie of the alleged "Holocaust" of the Jews, sword and shield of Israel and the Diaspora, could thus lead to a real holocaust of global dimensions. Revisionist authors have long warned that the religion of the false "Holocaust," with its imaginary "gas chambers" and its alleged "Six Million," carried within it a frightful catalyst for hatred. Contemporary events give cause for fear that this hatred will culminate in setting the planet ablaze and provoking a worldwide holocaust.

Revisionist Carefulness

The revisionists will follow the example set by Paul Rassinier, the first revisionist. Proof against all war propaganda, they will aim for exactitude even as emotions on both sides are breeding lies. They will refuse to spread the inventions of anti-American, anti-Jewish, or anti-Arab propaganda. As for September 11, they are duty-bound to spare us such typical conspiratorial scuttlebutt as "Bush knew," "The CIA must have known," "The FBI was in on it," "It was all a Mossad plot," "Four thousand Jews didn't show up for work that day," "Explosives had been planted in both buildings," etc. Arab propaganda will harp more than ever on the myths of Jewish ritual murder or Jews poisoning gentiles' wells, and it will invoke that patent forgery, the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Many more rumors, delusions, lunacies, and examples of mass delusion are to be anticipated. The Americans will underestimate the numbers of victims of their bombings and the Afghans will exaggerate them. God or Jehovah, on one side, and Allah on the other, will, together with their prophets, be called upon to incite hatred and fear. False witnesses, false reports, false interviews, and fake documents will proliferate. In this field Bush the son will perhaps surpass Bush the father's story of the incubators unplugged by the Iraqis in Kuwait. Censorship, of course, will increase without governments even having to pass new laws.

The Holy Alliance of the Mighty

In France, the daily *Le Monde*, which I call the "oblique journal," made its obeisance at the outset. Under the by-line of its editor, the hunched, sweaty-palmed Jean-Marie Colombani, its lead was headlined "We Are All Americans." With that, France found itself in a state of war. It is a tradition dear to the left (which, as everyone knows, has a monopoly on warm-heartedness and intelligence) to plunge the country into war without prior consultation of Parliament, nor any decision on the latter's part. This amounts to a total disregard for the law, for the constitution, but no matter! It allows the French citizen to go to sleep at peace and to wake up to war. To be fair, let us remember that the president, Jacques Chirac, a former Communist turned Gaullist, feels even more bellicose and American than his prime minister, Lionel Jospin, the head of a Socialist-Communist-Green coalition. A kind of holy alliance has been forged against the turbaned pariah from whence all the evil: Osama bin Laden, to call him by name. Once upon a time, his name was Adolf Hitler. Did he not commit an unforgivable crime by meddling with gold, the Jews, and Communism? He had had the effrontery to reject the gold standard. He did so well without it that his new economic system enabled him to trade on a large scale with other gold-poor countries, notably Italy, Japan, and certain central European and Latin American states. Britain, France, and the United States were panic-stricken: Germany was encroaching on their turf, taking away their markets. The rich (in gold) never appreciate the revolt, the coalition, and the success of the poor (in gold). At the end of the 1930s, the three wealthy nations, which claimed to share the same democratic system, were, more than anything, bound, one to the other, by a chain of gold. After

the war, in 1947, L. Genet and Victor-L. Tapié were able to publish, in their *Précis d'histoire contemporaine, 1919-1939* (Paris: Hatier), a quotation which would read in English: "It is thus not an ideological link but a chain of gold that bound the great democracies to one another" (p. 206); they added: "Six years of self-sufficiency made Germany the world's greatest industrial country" (p. 209). The Jewish financiers took even more umbrage than the rest: How could anyone get along without them and their gold?! As for Communist Russia, it watched Hitler put into actual practice the social program of which the Soviets dreamed. The rash dictator was to pay a high price for his temerity — all the higher since he began to push his luck with the recklessness of a gambler on a roll. Then came the catastrophe, for Europe and for Asia, of the Second World War.

Today's new holy alliance of the Western democracies and Russia against the new spoilsport augurs ill for tomorrow. Beneath the usual veneer of generosity and unselfishness, the United States will deal ruthlessly with the Arab-Muslim masses, who might threaten Uncle Sam's supplies of natural resources, his "World Trade," and his economy. Invoking their cherished "Holocaust" and the need to avoid a second "Holocaust," the Jews will be just as ruthless to the Palestinians. The Russians will crush any notions of independence among their Muslim minorities — and Russia already has its hand out for American alms in recompense.

The Only Chance for Peace

The only chance for peace lies in the spirit of resistance to the propagandists' lies. Today the most dangerous propaganda does not come from the poor. It comes from the rich and powerful, and their hirelings, all of whom are capable, if they feel truly threatened, of setting the whole world afire. The most dangerous propaganda comes from the neurotics with their false "Holocaust": the Jews, the Americans, and their minions.

Had the revisionists been heeded, the religion of the false "Holocaust" of the Jews would no longer prosper, nor still be feeding the sympathy of a large part of the Western world for the Zionist enterprise. The Diaspora would display less arrogance. To begin with, the State of Israel would not exist.

Historical lies breed hatred, a crusading zeal, and war. A return to historical exactitude would promote reflection and peace.

-- October 8, 2001

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Revising the Twentieth Century's 'Perfect Storm'

Russian and German Historians Debate Barbarossa and Its Aftermath

Daniel Michaels

- *Grand Delusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia* by Gabriel Gorodetsky. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999. 408 pages.
- *Samoubiystvo (Suicide)* by Viktor Suvorov. Moscow: AST, 2000. 380 pages. Illustrations.
- *Upushchenny shans Stalina (Stalin's Lost Opportunity)* by Mikhail Meltiukhov. Moscow: Veche, 2000. 605 pages. Illustrations, maps.
- *Stalin's War of Extermination, 1941-45: Planning, Realization, and Documentation* by Joachim Hoffmann. Capshaw, Ala.: Theses and Dissertations Press, 2001. 415 pages. Illustrations.

Revising the history of the Second World War's crucial Russo-German campaign is very much a work in progress, nowhere more so than in Russia and Germany. Ever since Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun) broke the ice a decade ago with his sensational *Ledokol* (published in English as *Icebreaker* [reviewed in the *Journal of Historical Review* 16, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1997)]), Russian historians have been reexamining the many myths, legends, and fantasies associated with the outbreak of the death duel between Communism and National Socialism. The role of Joseph Stalin, in particular, has aroused the most heated controversy.

In Russia, the debate has involved two major groups. The first asserts that the Soviet Union had no aggressive designs against Germany or Europe and was unprepared for war, while the second maintains that Stalin and the Red Army indeed had plans for a surprise attack against Germany and Europe, but were beaten to the punch by Hitler.

Contending Factions

To the first group have belonged such notables as the late Marshal Georgi Zhukov, journalist Lev Bezymenski (also professor at the Academy of Military Sciences), General M. A. Gareyev, V. A. Anfilov, and Yu. A. Gorkov. This group, in general, also contends that Stalin had decapitated the Red Army by purging many high-ranking officers just before the war; that he was too trusting of Hitler, wrongly believing that the Führer would never deliberately initiate a two-front war; and that Stalin was the cause of Communism's failure. These views are shared by many, regardless of political leanings.

An Israeli, Gabriel Gorodetsky, much ballyhooed in the English-speaking world, also fits in this company. Gorodetsky is a colleague of Lev Bezymenski, as he was of the late General Dmitri Volkogonov. Gorodetsky, Suvorov contends, has been granted unparalleled access to selected archives of the Russian Foreign Ministry, the General Staff, the NKVD, the GRU, and other

records usually closed to researchers, above all revisionists, who might probe too deeply. For this reason Suvorov suspects Gorodetsky of being a conduit for information that the Russian government chooses to have disseminated.

To the second group belong military historians such as Viktor Suvorov, Mikhail Meltiukhov, V. A. Nevezhin, V. D. Danilov, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, as well as several Germans (Joachim Hoffmann, Wolfgang Strauss, Fritz Becker) and Austrians (Heinz Magenheimer, Ernst Topitsch). (See review of Topitsch's *Stalin's War* in JHR 8, no. 2 [summer 1988]). They argue that Stalin trusted no one, least of all Hitler; that Stalin had, together with Marshal Zhukov, devised his own plan for a surprise offensive against Germany, with the ultimate goal of establishing Communism in Europe; and that it was the USSR, not Germany, which was better prepared for war. Suvorov has also argued that Stalin's purges actually improved the Red Army, by ridding it of the heavy-handed political commissars, most of whom were Trotskyite thugs despised by the people. As is well known, many of Trotsky's followers were his fellow Jews, often foreign born rather than native to Russia.

The American historians Richard Raack and R. H. S. Stolfi (see review in JHR 15, no. 6 [Nov.-Dec. 1995]) have joined the debate, lending it a worldwide dimension. Professor Raack in particular has reinforced the arguments of the Suvorov group, writing that "in fact the discussion is now international ... the genie of truth is out of the bottle."

The first group has been taxed with harboring Stalinist apologists for the old Soviet Establishment, the second of seeking to justify Hitler's German invasion. Polemics aside, the historiographical roots of the division are manifest in the reliance of the first group on the Soviet political literature to substantiate its arguments, as opposed to the second group's reliance on historical analysis based on military science, studying and comparing troop deployments, weapons systems, and so on.

In the past few years, several major books have appeared from representatives of both sides of the dispute. Gorodetsky, supported in his research by many former Soviet Jews now residing in Israel, has recently published *Grand Delusion*. Widely circulated in the West, it has won the acclaim of most of its Anglo-American reviewers. The irrepressible Suvorov, who resides in England, has published his fourth major book on the war, entitled *Samoubiystvo* ("Suicide"), dealing with events immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities, while Meltiukhov, currently associated with the All-Russian Scientific Research Institute of Documentation and Archival Science, has just published *Upushchenny shans Stalina* ("Stalin's Lost Opportunity"). Regrettably, with the exception of *Icebreaker*, none of Suvorov's and Meltiukhov's works are currently available in English, and they have only rarely been reviewed or evaluated in the English-speaking world. Finally, an excellent translation of *Stalin's War of Extermination*, by Joachim Hoffmann, historian at Germany's Military History Research Office (MGFA), has now been made available to English speakers. This book has gone through several editions in Germany and is widely read there.

Suvorov's works enjoy the greatest sales and circulation of serious Russian literature on the war. At first his opponents (almost all professional historians) tried to ignore him. Later, when compelled to recognize his work, they attempted to dismiss his theses as the product of a fantasist who had had no access to official documents whatsoever. Yet, working solely from Soviet open source literature on the war, Suvorov deduced the Soviet plan to invade Germany, predicting that in time official documents would be found to substantiate his conclusions. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, such documents have surfaced with increasing frequency, and in recent years Suvorov has found a perfect partner in Meltiukhov, who, with his experience in documentation and

archival science and his easier access to Soviet-era records, has provided documentation for Suvorov's theses.

Plan of attack

The Zhukov Plan of May 15, 1941, discussed briefly in these pages last year (see JHR 19, no. 6 [Nov.-Dec. 2000]), continues to be the focus of analysis and discussion. Recently, on the fifty-ninth anniversary of the German attack, Vladimir Sergeyev described and published excerpts from the Zhukov document, which was discovered in the Archives of the President of the Russian Federation some years ago. For ultimate security, the original twelve-page text had been handwritten by then Major General, later Marshal, A. M. Vasilevski, and addressed to the chairman of the USSR Council of Peoples Commissars, Joseph Stalin. The document, marked "Top Secret! Of Great Importance! Stalin's Eyes Only! One Copy Only!," was authorized and approved by People's Defense Minister S. K. Timoshenko and Zhukov, then chief of the Red Army general staff.

A key passage in the war plan not previously cited in these pages reads:

In order to prevent a surprise German attack and to destroy the German Army, I consider it essential that under no circumstances should the initiative for freedom of action be given to the German High Command[. I consider it essential] to preempt enemy deployment, to attack the German Army when it is still in the stage of deployment and has not yet had time to organize his front and the interaction between his service arms.[The word for "preempt" was underlined twice in the original document. — D. M.]

Thus did Zhukov propose to Stalin precisely what the German Army would do to his forces a month later.

The Suvorov school and certain German military analysts speculate that Stalin's failure to attack before the German onslaught of June 22, 1941, was probably because his own forces had not yet fully deployed for the offensive. Sergeyev, on the other hand, suggests that the attack plan prepared by Zhukov was faulty.

Upon his return from the successful blitzkrieg operation he had orchestrated in the battle of Khalkin-Gol in Mongolia (August 1939), Marshal Zhukov was put in charge of the Kiev Special Military District, where he commanded the Soviet Southwestern and Western fronts. His plan of May 15, 1941, assigned these fronts the task of destroying the Wehrmacht units before them, then advancing southwest across Poland to the German border. This operation was intended to cut German forces off from the Balkan theater of operations and from their Romanian and Hungarian allies, including their vital oil fields.

Zhukov was unaware that the main deployment of German forces was not on the Soviet left flank, but in Army Group Center, further to the north. Thus, had Soviet forces attacked toward Cracow-Lublin, as Zhukov's plan called for, Army Group Center could easily have cut through the exposed right (northern) flank of the Soviet thrust, upset the Soviet offensive, and then advanced along the Minsk-Smolensk line toward Moscow. In that event, the Red Army would have found itself in an even worse situation than after the outbreak of the actual German offensive on June 22. Zhukov admitted as much later to military historian V. A. Anfilov: "In retrospect it is good that he [Stalin] did not agree with us. Otherwise, our forces might have suffered a catastrophe."

Stalin's Aims

In a more detailed study of the May 15 document, L. A. Bezymenski notes that the plan had even more ambitious goals. After completion of the first stage of the offensive, Soviet forces were to turn north and northwest to destroy the northern wing of the German front, thereby occupying East Prussia and all of Poland. Meanwhile, to the north, the Red Army would once again invade Finland. According to Bezymenski, Zhukov's bold offensive plan had very probably been influenced by Stalin's speech of May 5 to Soviet military academy graduates, in which the Soviet leader emphasized the superiority of offensive over defensive military planning.

Soviet mobilization and deployment in the period January-June 1941 took place in three stages:

- first stage, January-March, the call-up of about a million reservists, industry ordered to step up production of T-34 and KV tanks, first echelon troops brought up to strength;
- second stage, April-June, second echelon forces moved up to the western border, Far Eastern troops moved west;
- third stage, June 1-June 22, Stalin agrees to open mobilization and to advancing second echelon armies to the front. All these operations were to be carried out in secrecy, without the enemy taking note. Once mobilized and in position, the Soviet forces were to launch a sudden, decisive offensive against Germany and her allies.

According to Meltiukhov, the correlation of forces along the front from Ostroleka (Poland) to the Carpathians at the time of the planned Zhukov offensive was as shown in the table below.

	Red Army	Wehrmacht	Ratio
Divisions	128	55	2.3:1
Troop strength	3,400,000	1,400,000	2.1:1
Field guns	38,500	16,300	2.4:1
Tanks	7,500	900	8.7:1
Aircraft	6,200	1,400	4.4:1

The attack was to begin in typical blitzkrieg fashion — without warning, with air raids on enemy airfields, and with heavy artillery bombardment of front-line enemy forces. The USSR would thus have had the clear advantage of superior forces and the benefits of the first strike. Why Stalin did not give the order to attack is unknown.

In “Stalin's Lost Opportunity,” Meltiukhov establishes, with meticulous documentation, that in the years 1938-40 the Soviet Union had carried out a massive build-up of military muscle that made it the superpower of the day, far exceeding the might of any enemy. Meltiukhov presents the comparative strength of the major belligerents for August 1939, on the eve of Germany's invasion of Poland, as shown in the table above.

Accounting for Stalin's Delay

Meltiukhov minces no words on Stalin's intent: “The content of the Soviet operational plans, the ideological guidelines and the military propaganda, combined with information on the immediate military preparations of the Red Army for an offensive, attest unambiguously to the intention of the Soviet government to attack Germany in the summer of 1941.” He concludes that at first the

opening strike against Germany (Operation Groza [Thunderstorm]) was scheduled for June 12, 1941, but that the Kremlin later fatefully shifted the date to July 15. According to Meltiukhov: “Unfortunately, what we now know today was a secret in 1941. The Soviet leadership made a fateful miscalculation by not striking first.”

Meltiukhov speculates that Stalin delayed the date for the attack when he learned, on May 12, of Rudolf Hess' flight to Scotland. Stalin feared that if the Hess peace mission succeeded, and the British withdrew from the war, the Red Army would be left to stand alone against the Germans. When it became clear that the Hess mission had failed, Stalin set July 15 as the date for Operation Thunderstorm — twenty-three days after Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa. Had the Red Army attacked on the originally scheduled date, Meltiukhov believes, it would have succeeded.

Although Soviet intelligence had been informed of the precise date of the German attack by its agent Richard Sorge in Japan, and by its “Korsikanets” and “Starshina” sources in Berlin, Stalin refused to be convinced. Moreover, Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt had also warned Stalin, to no avail: Stalin knew that Britain desperately needed the USSR in the war against Germany for its own sake. By failing to strike first, as planned, the USSR lost 800,000 men (Germany, 80,000), 4,000 aircraft (Germany, 850), 21,500 field guns and 11,800 tanks (Germany, 400) during the first two and a half weeks of the war. By the end of 1941 the Soviet Union had lost three million Red Army troops.

Meltiukhov rejects the term “preventive war.” For a true preventive war, it is necessary for the attacker to know definitely that his adversary is about to invade. Meltiukhov maintains that, while the each side was aware of the other’s build-up and deployment of forces, neither the Germans nor the Russians knew with certainty that the other was about to attack. Stalin believed, with some logic, that Hitler would never open a second front while the Britain was still in the war, but the German leader chose not to wait until the Red Army launched its attack: he unleashed his own blitzkrieg. The situation best resembles two cats sitting on a fence waiting to see which will jump off first. On the day before the attack, Hitler signaled his frame of mind in a letter to Mussolini:

Even if I were forced to lose 60-70 divisions in Russia by the end of the year, this would still only be a small fraction of the forces I would have to maintain constantly on the eastern border under the present conditions.

In the end Germany failed, Meltiukhov states, simply because it had neither the resources nor the reserves necessary to bring a long war to a successful conclusion.

A Suicidal Invasion?

The ever controversial, iconoclastic Suvorov dedicates his new book to his adversaries. He writes, “You can’t dedicate a book with this title [Ledokol, or “Suicide”] to friends, so I dedicate it to my enemies.” An enemy of the Soviet regime who defected to England, Suvorov was tried in absentia and sentenced to death. Although his opponents are legion, including many in the post-Soviet as well as the Anglo-American establishments, in today’s Russia he is the most popular writer on the history of the Second World War.

Suvorov joins Meltiukhov in the belief that if any side was unprepared for the war that ensued, it was the Germans. On June 22, 1941 when Germany launched its desperate attack, Stalin had

some 13,000 aircraft to Hitler's 2,500. Moreover, the Red Army had an even greater advantage in numbers and quality of tanks (24,000:3,700).

In "Suicide" Suvorov analyzes secondary sources in German, just as he did in his books on Russian war plans, and concludes that Hitler had lost the war even before the first shot was fired. It is Suvorov's contention that Hitler and the Nazi leadership were irresponsible in launching a war against the much larger, better prepared, and better armed Soviet Union in the absurd belief that the USSR could be defeated in ninety days — July-August-September. Hitler and the German high command unpardonably underestimated the strength of the Soviet armed forces, which Stalin had been building up since the mid-1920s. Germany, of course, did not begin rearming until the mid-1930s, and would delay mobilizing for total war until around 1943.

Stalin and his advisors knew that the Wehrmacht lacked all the essentials for a protracted war under conditions of extreme cold. Through their intelligence services and agents, the Soviets had learned that: German tanks were inferior to their own in both quantity and quality; Germany was critically short of oil; Germany did not manufacture cold-resistant lubricants; the German forces had not been issued winter clothing; Germany was dependent for its war effort on the import of many raw materials; and much more.

Exasperated by the short-sighted, superficial German plan for victory in three months, Suvorov asks a few rhetorical questions: Did Hitler think that May followed October in Russia? Had he learned nothing from Napoleon's campaign? Did he not know that, even if he reached Moscow, Russia would have continued the war from the Urals in the interior, far beyond the reach of German long-range bombers?

By the end of the fourth month of Barbarossa, the German economy was already groaning. Fritz Todt, chief of arms production, advised Hitler to arrange for an armistice. Large-scale German tank operations had to be curtailed for lack of fuel. The German panzer units, with their limited number of tanks, were often forced to cover long distances to quell unforeseen exigencies, thereby further exhausting fuel supplies. (Large-scale blitzkrieg operations, ensuring the greatest possible encirclement and bag of prisoners, require that the tanks moving out from one pincer proceed with minimum diversion in order to meet those jumping off from the other pincer, thereby closing the encirclement.)

Beyond the Propaganda

Suvorov's list of villains is long indeed. Hitler, Goebbels, and the subservient German generals are castigated for their recklessness. But Suvorov's venom is mostly directed at the Communist and post-Communist establishment, whose spokesmen continue to mouth the Party line. He ridicules and mocks what he considers the falsehoods, misconceptions, myths, and errors about the German-Russian war invented and circulated by the various Soviet and post-Soviet "scientific institutes," including the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Institute of Military History, whose researchers have tried to dismiss Suvorov's findings as "unscientific."

Suvorov dismisses typical official Soviet sources for the war as specious propaganda devoid of hard facts or figures. The main message of the original six-volume History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941-45, Suvorov contends, is that Nikita Khrushchev (under whose administration the work was compiled) won the war single-handedly. Suvorov goes on to observe that when the twelve-volume revised edition of this official history was written under Leonid Brezhnev, it was revised to show that it was actually Brezhnev who had won the Great Patriotic War.

Suvorov singles out the memoirs of Marshal Zhukov for special criticism. He hazards that these were probably written by Glavpur (the Main Political Directorate of the Red Army). Thus “Zhukov” writes that on June 22, 1941, the Germans enjoyed a 5-6:1 advantage over Soviet forces in field pieces, tanks and aircraft, when in fact the ratio was to Russia’s advantage.

Suvorov considers Stalin to have been Hitler’s superior in cleverness, rationality, emotional stability, international politics, cruelty, and blood-letting. Stalin was much better informed about German capabilities than Hitler was of Russian. Suvorov introduces a Russian adage to demean Hitler’s attempt to outwit Stalin: “Never try to trick a trickster.” The only reason for Hitler’s initial success, for Suvorov, was that Barbarossa was an entirely irrational decision, which the thoroughly logical Stalin could not possibly have anticipated. In the opinion of this reviewer, that was precisely why Hitler took the gamble. Suvorov’s Russian nativism shines forth when he writes: “Only a fool would consider defeating Russia! Only a complete idiot would ever think of defeating it in a three-month campaign!”

As brilliant as Suvorov has been in exposing the historical lies of the corrupt Communist and post-Communist regimes, even sympathetic readers must take issue with him on certain points. As with Heinrich Schliemann’s discovery of Troy, Suvorov’s findings may not satisfy the more professional historians in every detail — and some of them will be subject to revision.

Overrating Stalin

Occasionally Suvorov contradicts himself. For example, he argues that when Hitler turned his troops southward to Kiev before Moscow was taken, he all but lost the war. But elsewhere Suvorov recognizes that in war the best strategy is to defeat the enemy’s armed forces, not to take prestige cities. In fact the German forces turned south not so much to take Kiev as to destroy another Soviet army. The German generals, who after all had some experience in the conduct of war, were of course perfectly aware of the pointlessness of capturing large cities merely for trophy value. When the enemy’s armed forces are destroyed, his cities will fall on their own.

Only in the case of Stalingrad did the German invaders commit all their forces and energies to take a city — with disastrous results. The previous winter, after the failure to take Moscow, reason had prevailed and the Germans retreated to a more defensible line, where they were able to regroup and reinforce their armies. Without the help of the Finns, German forces were inadequate to take Leningrad, so they bypassed the city. But Hitler forbade any retreat from Stalingrad. Its capture had been aimed, among other things, at blocking oil shipments up the Volga north to the Soviets. The Wehrmacht was no less concerned to fuel its own war machine: it had secured the Crimea in order to protect its chief sources of petroleum, in Romania and Hungary, from Soviet air attack from that peninsula.

Suvorov’s excessive regard for Stalin’s leadership and his equally overdone criticism of Hitler’s ignores the fact that Germany nearly did defeat the Red Army. Had the United States, Great Britain, France, and other allies not supported Stalin with arms, trucks, provisions, and other necessities of war, the outcome might have been quite different. It must also be recalled that, throughout much of the long Russian-German conflict, Germany was compelled to divert twenty to thirty percent of its war effort to the Western front.

Suvorov’s main contention, that Stalin groomed Hitler to do his dirty work in Europe, is untenable. It gives far too much credit to the Soviet dictator. Germany never wanted a war in the west, let alone one against Britain. True, the Germans suspected France — especially under the government of Léon Blum’s popular front — of further mischief.

It must be recalled that Germany's ill-fated attack on the Soviet Union followed several successive attempts at its encirclement by its enemies. In the 1930s British and French diplomacy had succeeded in surrounding her with hostile nations. Then came the attempted Scandinavian and Balkan encirclement, and finally that of the U.S., UK, and USSR. With both Soviet and Western forces increasing in strength, Germany took a desperate gamble to break the ring, rather than wait until the Red Army seized the most opportune time to pounce. True, the gamble failed. Today's Germany, however, is a prosperous country, much smaller than it might have wished, but the remnant of Stalin's USSR, stripped of the Tsar's empire, is not much more than an overgrown economic basket case.

Suvorov exaggerates Stalin's "genius." While it is true that he created a police state and built up the Red Army to superpower status, his armed forces failed miserably at the time they were most needed, June 1941. It is also true that Stalin dominated Churchill and Roosevelt, above all in the several conferences that determined postwar arrangements among the "Big Three," but the Western leaders had cast themselves in the role of supplicants who needed the Red Army to contain and destroy Germany.

For all that, Suvorov has made a great contribution to correcting the history of the Second World War by dispelling, once and for all, the myth of a peace-loving Soviet Union invented by Communist propagandists and circulated in the West by their dupes and sympathizers.

Trusting Stalin

According to Gorodetsky's version of the Soviet Union, the USSR planned only counter-attacks in defense of the homeland, and its leader, Stalin, was too trusting of Adolf Hitler. Gorodetsky completely ignores the Soviet Union's military build-up from the 1930s until the outbreak of hostilities in 1941. The tens of thousands of advanced tanks and aircraft; the training of hundreds of thousands of paratroopers; the forward deployment of airfields, depots, and attack units on the eve of the attack in June 1941 are all hard evidence of Stalin's real intentions.

The Israeli researcher has limited himself almost entirely to examining statements from official Soviet sources. For the most part, he ignores military analysts (whether Russian, German, or American), who are better equipped than he to evaluate military capabilities and designs. These researchers tend increasingly to agree with Suvorov.

Gorodetsky retains the stale support of the old Soviet establishment, while Suvorov has gained many post-Soviet adherents in recent years. While Gorodetsky is read mostly in England and the United States, erstwhile allies of Stalinist Russia, Suvorov is read widely in Russia and Germany, whose peoples experienced Stalin's and Hitler's war first hand.

No Room for Chivalry

In *Stalin's War of Extermination* Joachim Hoffmann examines both the underlying causes and the ruthless execution of the war by Russians and Germans alike, in a thoroughly engrossing, systematic approach that is unsurpassed with respect to comprehensiveness, objectivity, and documentation. Hoffmann has made extensive use of interrogations of Soviet prisoners of war, ranging in rank from general to private, conducted by their German captors during the war. These interviews, combined with the traditional exploitation of open-source, unclassified literature and recently declassified materials, irrefutably dispel the myth of a peace-loving Soviet Union led by a trusting, pacific Joseph Stalin. Hoffmann's research confirms conclusively that the Soviet Union was making final preparations for its own preemptive attack when the Wehrmacht struck.

Besides the POW interrogations, Hoffmann cites such military authorities as Dmitri Volkogonov, to the effect that Stalin needed only a few more weeks to bring his forces into complete battle readiness; Soviet military analyst Colonel Danilov, who agrees that the “vozhd” (commander) only needed a bit more time; and Colonel Karpov, who has written:

In the early grayness of a May or June morning, thousands of our aircraft and tens of thousands of our guns would have dealt the blow against the densely concentrated German force, whose positions were known down to battalion level — a surprise even more inconceivable than the German attack on us.

Hoffmann contends that war between these two mutually hostile, ideologically driven nations was inevitable: it was merely a question of which side would initiate hostilities. He reminds that the First World War had brought Communism to power over the one sixth of the one sixth of the Earth’s surface that had been the Russian empire. A second world war, Lenin preached, would advance Communism throughout Europe. Stalin, Lenin’s faithful disciple in propagating Communism, acted from the outset of his rule to increase the USSR’s military might to that end. By 1941, the Red Army’s aircraft, tanks, and field artillery exceeded Germany’s by a factor of at least six to one in each category. In that year, the USSR’s paratroops and submarines, exclusively offensive forces, exceeded those of the rest of the world combined.

The main principles of Soviet military doctrine in the spring of 1941 were: 1) the Red Army is an offensive army; 2) war must always be fought on enemy territory, with minimum friendly losses and the total destruction of the enemy; 3) the working class in the enemy’s country is a potential ally and should be encouraged to rebel against its masters; and 4) war preparations must serve to ensure offensive capabilities.

So confident was Stalin of Soviet military superiority, Hoffmann asserts, that he doubted Germany would ever be foolish enough to attack, especially as long as Britain remained in the war. Dumbfounded at the German successes at the outset of Barbarossa, the Soviet dictator realized that he had underestimated Germany’s chances of defeating the Red Army. Suvorov has described Stalin’s probable state of mind as comparable to that of the designer of the Titanic after learning it had sunk. Nevertheless, vowing vengeance, still confident of ultimate victory, Stalin demanded the total extermination of the German invaders. On November 6, 1941, he declared:

Well now, if the Germans want a war of extermination, they will get it. From now on it will be our task, the task of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the task of our fighters, commanders, and the political officials of our Army and Navy to exterminate to the last man all Germans who have invaded Homeland as occupiers. No mercy to the German occupiers! Death to the German occupiers!

Hitler, for his part, by underestimating the military strength of the Soviet Union, led his country to a catastrophic defeat. Goebbels, in his diary, suggested that had Hitler known the actual strength of the Red Army, he might have at least paused before taking his fateful gamble. Yet, however disastrous the Axis attack finally proved for the German nation in the end, Hoffmann believes that all Europe would have suffered as grim a fate had the Red Army succeeded in striking first.

This clash to the death between two ideologically driven states, Hoffmann observes, left no room for chivalry, or for the strict observance of international conventions on land warfare. Stalin insisted that Soviet soldiers not surrender, and used maximal terror to prevent them from doing so. Soviet POWs were deemed deserters, and any Soviet soldier who surrendered was to be killed on falling into Soviet hands. (Near the end of the war German soldiers who refused to fight were

shot and hanged from lamp posts for all to see.) Throughout the Great Patriotic War, as the Soviets dubbed it, “Soviet patriotism” and “mass heroism” were heavily dependent on terrorism. As Hoffmann writes, the head of Red Army Political Propaganda, Commissar Lev Sakharovich Mekhlis, was empowered by Stalin to use every device of terror to keep the Red Army fighting. This Mekhlis did with relish. In consequence of the activity of this and other commissars, Stalin’s terror against his own people (soldiers and civilians) during the war accounted for a substantial percentage of the estimated twenty-five million Soviet war dead. (See also Walter Sanning’s essay on Soviet losses, “Soviet Scorched-Earth Warfare,” in JHR 6, no. 1 [spring 1985]). Even so, more than five million Soviet soldiers managed to surrender to the invaders by the end of the war. Of those who survived the war, many had cause to wish they hadn’t following their repatriation to the USSR.

Unpunished Crimes, Aggressive Plans

From the onset of the war, German soldiers unfortunate enough to be taken prisoner were often mutilated and murdered. When the Soviet forces entered Germany, men and boys were murdered or drafted for forced labor; the women were often raped, sometimes murdered, and, if strong enough, dragooned for forced labor.

Although by about 1950 Stalin decided to lessen the influence of Jews in the Communist Party, Jews were very much involved in murderous assignments during the war. In addition to Mekhlis, there was Lazar Kaganovich, responsible for the deaths of millions; General Abakumov, who headed the NKVD/MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs, or secret police), and Generals Reichman and Chernyakhovski, who were especially ruthless. Hoffmann hastens to add that the criminal actions of individual Jews should no more reflect on the Jewish people as a whole than the criminal actions of individual Nazis on the German people. Yet Nazis charged with war crimes have been, and continue to be, tried and punished, while, curiously, no courts appear to be interested in bringing Communist criminals to justice.

The thoroughness and reliability of Hoffmann’s work (which helpfully includes an appendix containing key original documents in Polish, Russian, English, and German) is nicely exemplified in his treatment of Zhukov’s plan of May 15, 1941. While Sergeyev and Bezymenski seem to suggest that the plan was only recently discovered, Hoffmann makes manifestly clear that the plan has long been known and analyzed. Colonel Valeri Danilov and Dr. Heinz Magenheimer examined this plan and other documents that indicate Soviet preparations for attack almost ten years ago in an Austrian military journal (*Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*, nos. 5 and 6, 1991; no. 1, 1993; and no. 1, 1994). Both researchers concluded that the Zhukov plan of May 15, 1941, reflected Stalin’s May 5, 1941 speech (see above) heralding the birth of the new offensive Red Army. Hoffmann reproduces an original document, referred to as “Short Notation of Comrade Stalin’s Speech to the Red Army Academy on May 5, 1941,” which concludes with the words:

But now that we have reconstructed our army and abundantly saturated it with the technology to wage modern warfare, now that we have become strong — now we are obliged to go from defense to attack. In defending our country we are obliged to act in an offensive manner. To switch over from defense to a military policy of offensive action. We must reconstruct our training, our propaganda, our agitation, and our press in the spirit of attack. The Red Army is now a modern army, and a modern army is an army of attack.

The Zhukov plan of May 15, 1941, indicates clearly that the Red Army planned a preemptive strike against the German forces across the border. Hoffmann further notes that a few days later,

on May 20, 1941, Mikhail Kalinin, then chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet and nominally head of state, gave a speech in which he said:

War is a very dangerous business, laden with sorrows, but when a time comes when it is possible to expand the realm of Communism, war should not be discounted ... and the zone of Communism must be expanded. The capitalist world can only be destroyed by the red hot glowing steel of a holy revolutionary war.

Kalinin thus strongly implied that the war the USSR was about to wage was not a preventive war forced upon it by Germany, but a war of conquest to expand the Communist empire.

The Perfect Storm

The preponderance of documents uncovered in the past decade, including further analyses of the Zhukov plan of May 15, 1941, by members of the Suvorov school, should convince the impartial reader that: Germany was woefully unprepared for a long war; that the Soviet Union was not only armed to the teeth, but poised to spring in July 1941; that Stalin was Lenin's disciple in striving to advance Communism to the rest of Europe, especially to Germany; and that the governments of Britain and France were totally oblivious of the greater danger Communism posed to them when they declared war on Germany over its border dispute with Poland. The failure of the British, French, and American leaderships to perceive that the Soviet Union was by far the deadlier threat, even in 1939, was a mistake that has taken half a century to rectify, at the cost of countless millions of lives.

Hoffmann concludes that the war between the two irreconcilable ideologies was inevitable and unavoidable. Stalin's fanatical adherence to Communism (class hatred) and Hitler's equally fanatical adherence to racial theories (Hoffmann cites Disraeli: "The race question is the key to world history") led their peoples to a catastrophe unmatched since the Thirty Years' War. Hoffmann blames the horrible excesses the Red Army inflicted on German civilians on hate-obsessed war propagandists such as Ilya Ehrenburg in Russia who deliberately exaggerated German crimes. Thus, Hoffman notes, Ehrenburg announced a death toll of four million for Auschwitz on January 4, 1945, weeks before the capture of the camp. Likewise, months before the war's end, Ehrenburg reported that six million Jews had been murdered by the Germans. Moreover, in many instances, including the infamous Katyn forest massacre of Polish prisoners, Red propagandists shamelessly tried to blame the German army for crimes committed by the Soviets.

Like his colleague Wolfgang Strauss, Hoffmann advocates reconciliation between the peoples of Germany and Russia. The policies of both Stalin's Communist regime and Hitler's National Socialist state were aberrations far removed from the traditional friendship between the two peoples as prevailed under Bismarck and before him. In that spirit Hoffmann makes special mention of Drs. Heinz Magenheimer, Werner Maser, Ernst Topitsch, Günther Gillesen, Alfred M. de Zayas, Viktor Suvorov, and also Aleksandr Moiseevich Nekrich and Lev Kopelev, two former Soviet wartime commissars of Jewish extraction, for their courageous contributions to revisionist history. (Nor has Hoffmann been less than courageous: he testified in a German court to the scholarly quality of Germar Rudolf's Holocaust revisionist anthology, *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, later published in English as *Dissecting the Holocaust*.)

The extreme economic and political conditions that afflicted much of the first half of the twentieth century devastated Germany and Russia. The slaughter of the First World War, the triumph of Communism in Russia, the treaty of Versailles, and the Great Depression combined to culminate in the political storm of the century, the Second World War, much as unique and unforeseen me-

teorological conditions in October 1991 — three merging hurricanes — combined to create what writer Sebastian Junger called “the perfect storm,” a devastating “nor'easter” in the North Atlantic. In historians such as Suvorov and Hoffmann, the historical tempest of the twentieth century is, increasingly, finding able and objective chroniclers.

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Pearl Harbor: Case Closed?

- *Day of Deceit: The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbor* by Robert B. Stinnett. New York: Simon and Schuster, Touchstone, 2000. Paperback. 399 pages. Index, illustrations, maps.
- *Pearl Harbor Betrayed: The True Story of a Man and a Nation under Attack* by Michael Gannon. New York: Henry Holt, 2001. Hardcover. 340 pages. Index, illustrations, maps.

Theodore O'Keefe

As the sixtieth anniversary of what President Franklin Roosevelt called “a date which will live in infamy” (and who would know that better than he?) passes, the controversy over Pearl Harbor is as lively as ever. In no other area of the history of the Second World War have revisionists had quite as much success in convincing a broad section of public that the official version has it wrong: that it is President Franklin Roosevelt, not local commanders General Walter Short and Admiral Husband Kimmel, who should bear the blame for the devastating Japanese attack.

Two recent books argue that Admiral Husband Kimmel, in particular, was gravely wronged by his superiors, not merely after December 7, 1941, but in the weeks and months before. One, Robert Stinnett's *Day of Deceit*, is radically revisionist, claiming to abound in new evidence for a conspiracy involving the president, the war and navy departments, the army chief of staff, and the chief of naval operations, among many other participants. The other, Michael Gannon's *Pearl Harbor Betrayed*, makes no explicit accusations of conspiracy, nor does it seriously fault America's confrontational diplomacy vis-a-vis Japan in the years leading up to the attack. Odd as it might seem, this reviewer found the second the more satisfying book.

Stinnett has worked for many years on the question of whether American leaders, civilian and military, had foreknowledge of the Japanese attack on America's army and navy bases on Oahu. His review of the diplomatic evidence merely confirms what Charles Beard, George Morgenstern, Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles Callan Tansill, Percy Greaves, James Martin, and other revisionists have firmly established: that Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Secretary of War Henry Stimson desired, and provoked, war with Japan, and that they certainly knew that Japan was going to war a day or more before the December 7 attacks (which hit U.S. bases in the Philippines as well).

Stinnett's attempts to establish that America's civilian and military leadership was, or should have been, privy to the Japanese plans for Pearl Harbor through the interception and reading of certain of Japan's naval codes is harder to credit. A fair amount of his case rests on a sizable number of messages from ships and units of the Japanese navy that Stinnett was able to make public for the first time, not without diligent effort, under provisions of the Freedom of Information Act. It is difficult for a layman to interpret the significance of these documents, however, for Stinnett often fails to provide such key details as how they were routed and when they were read. Many of Japan's pre-Pearl Harbor messages were decoded only after the war.

A central contention of *Day of Deceit* is that American cryptanalysts solved the main operational code of the Japanese navy (designated as the “5-Num code,” for its five number groups, by the code breakers) well in advance of the post-Pearl Harbor solution date accepted by most historians. On page 71 Stinnett writes that not only the Americans, but also the British, the Dutch, and the Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist Chinese had solved the 5-Num code by fall of 1941. Here, however, he is writing of three other codes as well, so the reader must leaf back to page 23 to discover that “Recovery [of the 5-Num code] was effected [by the U.S.] before April [1941].”

But what does Stinnett mean by “recovery”? In numerous passages he implies that the code was fully cracked and readable by the date he has given, and an uncareful reader of his pages 73-81, the section of *Day of Deceit* that deals most thoroughly with the decoding of the 5-Num code, will likely take it that this was the case. Yet Stinnett supplies little documentation about just how much of this key Japanese naval code — the U.S. Navy’s ability to read it was the key to the stunning American victory at Midway in June 1942 — could be understood before Pearl Harbor; none of his sources demonstrates that more than a small fraction of the chief operational code of the Japanese fleet could be read until later. His habit of grouping facts under a blanket statement that doesn’t cover all of them can’t disguise that what he calls on page 73 “an example of Num-5 and SM [ship movement code] decryption” turns out to have been merely an example of SM code decryption. Stinnett could have spared his readers a good deal of confusion and frustration by featuring more prominently a statement, buried at the bottom of a long footnote, that seems to be his clearest and most unambiguous statement on the matter: “There is no reliable evidence, found by the author, that establishes how much of the 5-Num text could be deciphered, translated, and read by naval cryptographers in 1941.” (p. 334, n. 18)

Stinnett hasn’t made things any easier for his readers by his often disconcerting manner of exposition. Although a retired journalist, Stinnett tends to overcomplicate his story. His exposition, particularly in the first several chapters, is complicated, and sometimes nightmarish, for he makes repeated, arbitrary cuts back and forth, both in theme and chronology. Whether these jarring shifts are due to authorial wool-gathering and editorial negligence, or whether they are part of some deliberate purpose, they make concentrating on the facts a constant chore. In turn, the frequent jumps force endless repetition, which does little to smooth the muddy flow. Just as bad, he can be a master at deflating his own suspense: *Day of Deceit* begins with breathless account of Edward R. Murrow’s claim that he had gotten the biggest story of his life at a meeting with FDR on the evening of December 7 (“The Biggest Story of My Life”), but the biggest story turns out to be ... nothing. “In the end, Murrow’s story remained unwritten and unbroadcast.”

Stinnett makes much of a memorandum that he discovered in the National Archives and which he believes explains U.S. policy toward Japan from October 1940 on. Written by the chief of the Office of Naval Intelligence’s Far East desk, Lieutenant Commander Arthur McCollum, the eight-part memorandum calls for U.S. diplomatic and military measures, in conjunction with British and Dutch forces in the South Pacific, aimed at driving the Japanese to the wall. These measures included imposing a total embargo on Japan, aiding Chiang Kai-shek, and moving U.S. forces westward, to include bases in Singapore and the Dutch East Indies, and the basing of the “main strength” of the U.S. fleet in the vicinity of the Hawaiian islands. Confrontational though these proposals were, Stinnett is not able to show that Roosevelt or any other high official ever saw them. Several were not adopted, including the proposed colonial bases; one or two were in force before the memorandum; in one case the author has equated a handful of U.S. cruiser sorties in and around Japanese waters (most of them near Japanese mandates in the Pacific) with the stationing of a division of heavy cruisers in the Far East. In any case, the McCollum memorandum would seem to be incidental to Roosevelt’s and the well-known Japanophobe Stimson’s growing need for a “back door to war.”

Many of Stinnett's allegations are highly technical and demand fairly expert treatment, but nearly any reader will be given pause by the vast conspiracy to deny General Short and Admiral Kimmel knowledge of the attack that Stinnett posits in this book. Starting with Roosevelt, Stimson, Hull, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, Chief of Naval Operations Harold Stark, and Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, it runs down a long roster of top officers, including General Douglas MacArthur. Especially prominent among Stinnett's culprits are officers from naval intelligence and signals intelligence, including Commander Joseph Rochefort, the chief naval cryptographer in Hawaii; Lieutenant Commander Edward Layton, Admiral Kimmel's fleet intelligence officer and his ardent defender in later years; and Commander Laurance Safford, the U.S. Navy's chief code breaker and a man who, if Stinnett is to be believed, must have fooled plenty of the revisionist historians with whom he worked closely on the Pearl Harbor question over the decades. Various of Stinnett's allegations leave an unsavory taste, such as his repeated implication that Admiral Walter Anderson, former chief of naval intelligence, commander of battleships at Pearl Harbor on December 7, resided away from the naval base due to foreknowledge of the attack.

While some, or even much, of the material that Stinnett has been able to have declassified and released may be of use to revisionists, to this reviewer Day of Deceit raised many more questions than it satisfactorily answered. Until these are answered, Stinnett's book is potentially a dangerous one, far more so to revisionists than to partisans of the official version on Pearl Harbor.

Michael Gannon's *Pearl Harbor Betrayed*, on the other hand, is an outstanding example of historiographical writing: it is well-organized, well-documented, and in its depiction of the well-worn story of the Japanese attack, fresh, informed, and dramatic.

Like Stinnett, Gannon defends Admiral Kimmel's response to the attack, and far more actively.

Sometimes, in reflecting the deep loyalties of Kimmel's family and his fellow officers, he sounds a bit like a cheerleader. This is quite pardonable, however, in view of the grievous and unjust harm done Kimmel's reputation (he was relieved of command and labeled derelict of duty) in order to clear Roosevelt, Stimson, Marshall, Stark, and their henchmen for, at the very least, failing to provide the commander of the Pacific Fleet and the commander of the Hawaii Department, General Short, with the men, materiel, and information necessary to defend their commands.

Gannon is particularly strong on Washington's failure to provide Kimmel (and Short) with the ships, planes, and guns needed to defend Pearl Harbor and the other bases on Oahu, where the fleet's headquarters had been transferred only over the strong objections of Kimmel's predecessor, Admiral Richardson. He stresses that, as the Roosevelt administration was gearing up to involve America in a war against Germany, it was not merely failing to provide Pearl Harbor with the means to defend itself, it was systematically stripping Hawaii of its defenses, diverting ships from the Pacific Fleet to anti-German purposes in the Atlantic, and sending patrol planes and advanced fighter planes desperately needed in Hawaii to Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Gannon provides a thorough, even vivid account of Kimmel's efforts to get his fleet battle ready. As he notes, the fleet's anti-aircraft guns were manned and firing within four minutes of the opening of the attack, but their guns were out of date and nearly useless against fast, low-flying planes.

Gannon pretty much toes the line regarding a unilaterally aggressive Japan; on the other hand, he is quite acute in noting the progressive violations of neutrality by FDR in his undeclared naval war in the Atlantic in alliance with England. Here the research he has done in conjunction with Operation Drumbeat, his much hailed account of the initial German submarine campaign against American shipping, and other works continues to prove its worth. He has even discovered orders from Admiral King, commander of Atlantic fleet, to the captains of his escort ships authorizing

them to shoot on sight in July 1941, well before FDR's issuance of that order following the Greer incident in September. Gannon makes clear that he is at least mildly contemptuous of such Roosevelt stratagems as decreeing that the Western Hemisphere extended to the east of Azores, or occupying Iceland (to which he compares the Japanese occupation of Indochina).

Pearl Harbor Betrayed offers a detailed and careful account of all the major issues in the Kimmel case. In nearly every instance the author comes down on the admiral's side, and against his political and naval superiors in Washington. Gannon methodically demonstrates that Kimmel could not have done a better job of air reconnaissance with the planes available to him, and that he was denied key intelligence, including access to Japan's top-secret diplomatic code (called "Purple") and to reports from a Japanese naval spy in Honolulu that clearly indicated an attack on Pearl Harbor (all of this intelligence was made available to U.S. commanders in ... the Philippines!). Gannon is at his best in parsing the key orders Kimmel received from Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, Chief of Naval Operations Harold Stark, and Secretary of War Henry Stimson in the final weeks and days before the attack: steeped in naval procedure, he shows that Kimmel, after being left blind by his superiors, was given imprecise, misleading, and wrongheaded directives that all but left him and his fleet sitting ducks. His defense of Admiral Kimmel makes the 1995 finding by Undersecretary of Defense Edwin Dorn that Kimmel and Short were not solely responsible for the fiasco, and the recent recommendation of Congress that the admiral be restored to his highest wartime rank, all the more satisfying.

Little of this, except for Gannon's grasp of detail and bloodhound's instinct for sources, is new to knowledgeable revisionists. And revisionists will rightly cavil at Gannon's reluctance to lay more than a kind of procedural blame on Stark, Turner, et al., let alone Franklin Roosevelt, whom he seems to acquit in a footnote aimed at Gore Vidal's unblushingly conspiratorial novel *Golden Age* (leitmotiv: FDR? Did he ever know!):

One need not hold FDR to blame for what happened at Pearl Harbor if one's wish is to exonerate Kimmel and Short. One need only cite the faithlessness and ineptitude of the war and Navy Departments, about which much has been written in these pages. (p. 363, n. 62)

Bad as that sounds, Stinnett's fulsome tributes to Roosevelt are worse, for he tells us that none of the numerous treacheries he attributes to Roosevelt throughout *Day of Deceit* "diminish Franklin Delano Roosevelt's magnificent contributions to the American people." What both authors really mean to say, of course, is that Holocaustomania is alive and well, and that any questioning of America's entry in the great anti-fascist crusade is liable to render one an accomplice to the most recently discovered Holocaust crime.

The more important of these two books, *Day of Deceit* (if only for its ambition), may provide some new evidence for a conspiracy including FDR as well as his underlings, but seems untrustworthy. *Pearl Harbor Betrayed* is well worth reading, for its up-to-date consideration of the key questions as well as for the reasons stated above, but shies away from uncovering a conspiracy. The book that solves the Pearl Harbor mystery, however, remains unwritten.

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Typhus and Cholera, Nazis and Jews

- *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe, 1890-1945* by Paul Weindling. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Hardcover. 463 pages. Index, illustrations.

Samuel Crowell

There is a certain class of history books that are interesting and valuable in spite of a lack of original insight or creativity on the part of the author. Richard Evans's massive tome on the nineteenth century outbreaks of cholera in North Germany, *Death in Hamburg*, is one such. Paul Weindling's *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe* is another. Weindling's book, however, contains elements of Jewish apologetics and consistent anti-German condemnation that are exceptional even in today's climate, and are perhaps the book's most striking feature.

For the most part, the book is a highly detailed and commendably researched description of the development of medical procedures developed for combating epidemic diseases in Eastern Europe from the mid-nineteenth century through the end of the Second World War. In this respect it provides a useful supplement to Fritz Berg's pioneering English language studies in this area. The book also raises themes discussed in my own work: it would not be too much to say that Weindling provides an enormously expanded treatment of the history of disinfection summarized in chapter three of *The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes*, an essay which sought to demonstrate the reasonableness of revisionist doubt in the face of threats of censorship. Weindling's book is, after all, based on many of the same sources.

It would wrong, however, to suggest that Weindling argues from a revisionist perspective, or that he gives due credit to revisionist contributions. On the contrary, the main thesis of his book is that the Germans developed the techniques of disinfection — showers, poison gas, and cremation — and then, working from an evolving perception of Jews as vermin to be eradicated, employed these techniques during the war as part of a "lethal trinity" for genocidal purposes. For example, Weindling writes that "the medical techniques of disinfestation, fumigation, and disinfection ... were unleashed by the Nazis for genocide" (p. 400), a thesis which is dropped into the text dozens of times, but nowhere really argued, let alone proved. Similarly, his notion of a developed concept of associating Jews with vermin, and thus requiring extermination, rests entirely on a series of vaguely anti-Jewish remarks culled from almost a hundred years of German medical literature on the typhus problem in Eastern Europe.

Which brings us to the larger issue of Weindling's extreme apologetic tendencies. That Eastern European Jews — like virtually any other Eastern Europeans — were vectors of typhus and other diseases endemic to the region is a simple fact. Similarly, the aversion of Eastern Europeans to disinfection measures, such as head-shaving and showering, is also universally attested by commentators, and indeed by many of the sources Weindling quotes. Yet any expression of irritation at the evasive or dilatory reactions to disinfection, or of fear of the contagiousness of Eastern Eu-

ropeans, is likely to be catalogued by Weindling as simply further indication of the supposedly evolving anti-Semitic stereotype that would, decades later, make possible mass murder.

Weindling's defensiveness in this area reaches a high point in his discussion of the well-known cholera epidemic of 1892, which struck Hamburg, and New York City later the same year. Weindling quotes the assessment of leading German physician Robert Koch that the cholera had been brought in by Russian immigrants. Yet, at the end of a tortured paragraph of reasoning, Weindling argues that "there is no conclusive proof for the view held at the time by anti-Semites that Russian Jews caused the Hamburg cholera epidemic" (p. 63). Our first reaction to this kind of display is to wonder why the author chooses to waste the reader's time with such argument. If Russian immigrants were the source of the disease in Hamburg, and most of them were Jews, then the conclusion should be obvious. We should stress that this in no way should be considered a slur on the Jewish migrants: they were, after all, fleeing persecution, carrying diseases to which they themselves succumbed, and were usually destitute: King Cholera, like most diseases, reigned mostly over the poor. But to argue around the point, just so anti-Semites will never be right, or, perhaps, to ensure that a people is never stigmatized, is not only to distort history but to write history which hardly bears reading.

Unfortunately, these apologetic tendencies are repeatedly at work in this book. Resistance against disinfection is excused because it was harsh and dehumanizing. Avoidance of head shaving was justified because there was divided opinion as to whether head lice were vectors of typhus. If Germans characterized Polish Jewish prostitutes as disease-ridden and lousy, Weindling is quick to point out that the incidence of gonorrhea and syphilis was higher in German cities. The threat of typhus in Eastern Europe was exaggerated by unnamed "medical elites" in order to justify the enormous expenditures by Germans, Britons, and Americans to combat it. Typhus itself is described in innocuous terms; the delirium of the disease as it approaches climax is characterized as an "act of spiritual resistance" when experienced by concentration camp inmates (p. 6). And so on.

Weindling is just as biased when it comes to arguing his thesis, which seems to involve little more than demonizing Germans. The rigor of German procedures is routinely characterized in the most unflattering terms; the developments of German medicine are stereotypically portrayed as flat-footed, unimaginative, and factious. On one page, Weindling will praise the American development of DDT, while castigating German caution. On the next page, he is bound to admit that "Ironically, the Germans showed greater awareness of the toxicity of DDT, problems of acquired resistance, and the ecological hazards of its deployment" (p. 380) — in other words, precisely the factors that led them to be cautious in the first place!

Elsewhere, Weindling notes the fact that the Germans developed extensive procedures to protect against gas warfare; but because "the Germans were deploying poison gas against civilians," this must have been meant to protect the "perpetrators" (p. 387). Elsewhere, while scrupulously avoiding any mention of the notorious British anthrax plans, Weindling launches into a long discussion about German plans for biological warfare, a discussion which, in the end, seems to turn on the fact that the Germans were afraid of being attacked by such agents themselves, and had unreasoning fears about being attacked with diseases by their captive populations. To be sure, the German fears were probably excessive, but it would have helped if Weindling had mentioned that Jan Karski, among others, has bragged about how Polish resistants were infecting German soldiers with typhus. In the same vein, Weindling uncritically repeats Stalinist accusations of German biological warfare in the 1930s.

The all-important section of the book, for relevance to revisionism, proposes the linkage of the highly developed German disinfection procedures with the assumed mass extermination policies in the camps. Here the main character is Joachim Mrugowsky, head of the SS Hygiene Institute. Weindling proposes Mrugowsky's culpability in genocide, by association if nothing else, in a lengthy argument, while Mrugowsky's protestations that Zyklon was used solely for disinfection are duly referenced and completely ignored.

Strikingly absent from the discussion as well, especially for a book as thoroughly researched as this one, is Dr. Mrugowsky's order of May 13, 1943, mandating to the entire concentration camp system that henceforth Zyklon would be used solely for fumigating barracks. (See Crowell, "Bomb Shelters in Birkenau," section 3.7, <https://www.codoh.com/incon/inconbsinbirk.html>) Certainly this document is important in assessing Mrugowsky's veracity. Another omission of this type concerns World War One disinfection measures: although Weindling is thorough in referencing the literature that revisionists have used in the past, he omits in his discussion of Austrian disinfection procedures any reference to the fact that such procedures, as Faurisson has shown, led to false reports of mass gassing. As though to compensate for this omission, Weindling relates without comment the accusation that the Turks gassed Armenian infants in 1917 in a steam bath. (p. 106)

When discussing the actual mechanics of the Holocaust, Weindling's impressive grasp of the archives gives way to a derivative section depending largely on the contributions of Jean-Claude Pressac, Henry Friedlander (for euthanasia), Robert Jan Van Pelt and Deborah Dwork, and Eugen Kogon's compendium *Nazi Mass Murder with Poison Gas*. As is well known to revisionists, these books in turn are based largely on testimony and anecdote, supplemented occasionally with interrogation records and a smattering of survivor accounts. As a result, Weindling's discussion of the Jewish catastrophe amounts to little more than a disjointed and gullible regurgitation of the greatest hits of Holocaust arcana, all the way from Kurt Gerstein's wild reports to such suspicious claims as the story of the champagne party thrown by the staff of the Hadamar euthanasia center on the cremation of their ten thousandth corpse. This is the weakest and least interesting part of the book.

The book is poorly written, not only because of its endless slanting and argument, but because the body of the text consists in many places of repeated information, to no clear purpose. While that makes the book largely unusable for the general reader, *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe, 1890-1945* is a great boon for those who are deeply interested in its subject. The book contains much interesting and surprising detail that will delight the expert, and the scope of the research commands respect.

In the end, these elements save this book. Although betraying an irritating bias, Weindling has written a good and solid book about the dilemmas of epidemics and their prevention that will be of great use to Holocaust scholars, and to revisionists in particular. We can only regret that he didn't write from a more objective and humane perspective, for then he might have produced a much better one.

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Destruction Destroyed

- *The Giant with Feet of Clay: Raul Hilberg and His “Standard Work” on the Holocaust* by Jürgen Graf. Capshaw, Alabama: Theses and Dissertations Press, 2001. Paperback. 128 pages. Index, bibliography, illustrations.

Theodore O’Keefe

In *The Giant with Feet of Clay*, the able and productive revisionist researcher and polemicist Jürgen Graf has undertaken to examine the standard scholarly treatment of the Holocaust, Professor Raul Hilberg’s *Destruction of the European Jews*, in exacting detail. Graf’s treatment of *Giant* is both less and more than a book review. He has chosen to concentrate on the essentials, those sections of *Destruction* which bear directly on the alleged mass killing, ignoring the great swathes of Hilberg’s elephantine work which describe the undisputed persecution of Jews throughout wartime Axis Europe. The result is a first-rate introduction to the substance and method of the revisionist challenge to the Holocaust, at no more than the size and length of pre-1993 editions of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

Even the case-hardened revisionist will be surprised to see how little of *Destruction* remains after the 1,231 pages of the three volume edition of 1985 are winnowed of all but those sections that deal with the evidence for a plan and an order to exterminate European Jewry, the actual mass killings, and the number of Jews said to have perished as a result of them. Graf is sharp on tracking Hilberg’s unexplained turnabout on the existence of the Hitler extermination order. He notes that Hilberg had claimed two successive Hitler orders in the original (1961) edition of *Destruction*, then points out that the historian has omitted all mention of any such order by Hitler in his “definitive” 1985 edition. Graf’s reminder of Hilberg’s 1983 statement that the Holocaust was not planned in advance, nor organized centrally by any agency, without blueprint or budget, but was instead achieved by “an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus-mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy,” deftly torpedoes his target’s credibility here (as well as underlining the advisability of junking most of the flow charts and the rosters of bureaucrats and policemen with which *Destruction* abounds).

In the world of orthodox Holocaustry, Hilberg passes for a document and policy man, who more than once has expressed his distaste for the indulgence given the eyewitness testimony of “survivors” and other self-interested parties, such as the late propagandist Jan Karski. As Graf mercilessly exposes in his focus on the heart of the Holocaust claim, however, the professor is for all practical purposes entirely dependent on the testimony of survivors and the confessions of German captives in his efforts to substantiate the outlandish accusations made on what Hilberg calls “the killing centers.” Vrba, Wiesel, Nyiszli, Filip Müller, Gerstein, Höss, and more: every one of these key Hilberg witnesses to the gas chambers has had his credibility annihilated by the revisionists, and is increasingly doubted by exterminationists as well. In quick but deft analyses of the testimony of each of Hilberg’s eyewitness authorities for the gas chambers, Graf shows why.

Graf shines brightest in dispelling the murk that veils Auschwitz, Treblinka, and other supposed “killing centers.” Here the author, instead of devoting himself to the spatial studies (“gas chambers” and crematoria) preferred by other revisionists, has carefully studied the timeline alleged by Hilberg for the development of the extermination process (from gas vans to stationery chambers, from burial to open-air burning to cremation, etc.). Carefully correlating Hilberg’s sources, including Gerstein and Höss, Graf makes mincemeat of Hilberg’s widely accepted schema: instead of rational development there is contradiction, confusion, backtracking, and general absurdity. Nowhere, Graf shows, is the “incredible meeting of the minds” less credible in explaining the alleged “final solution” than in accounting for the origins and functioning of its key machinery.

Giant’s treatment of Hilberg’s accounts of the deportations, mass shootings, and estimated number of Jewish dead is spirited, though in view of the space and evidence, available, not as comprehensive. Each treatment, however, gives a more than adequate survey of how the state of recent knowledge renders Hilberg’s “standard treatment” not merely out of date, but dead wrong.

This is a translation, and an adequate one. Graf has worked from the 1997 German edition of *Destruction*, but mercifully his citations are in the English of Hilberg’s original, rather than rendered into a variant retroversion, as happens all too commonly. There are too many Britishisms, and too many Germanisms. The sarcasm and argumentativeness of *The Giant* do not always work well in translation.

The Giant with the Feet of Clay remains a very worthwhile book. According to the Arthur Butz, who took Hilberg’s measure a quarter century ago in his magisterial *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*: “This book has great educational value provided it is studied, rather than read.” That’s true: a clever sixteen year old who reads *Giant* will be able to crush Hilberg and flabbergast her instructor. (She’ll probably come away with an F, but that’s another matter.) Which isn’t to deter those readers who might look on *Giant* as a homework assignment: Jürgen Graf has written a lively, readable, up-to-date handbook to reveal that Raul Hilberg and his Holocaust, if not exactly giants, certainly have feet of clay.

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From the editor

Ted O'Keefe

This issue of the Journal centers on the issues of memory and truth. Orwell's memory hole, down which goes evidence of authentic events displeasing to Big Brother, has long captured the imagination of readers of his 1984. Yet it's doubtful that many of today's readers grasp the proliferating parallels between the control of information in the novel and in contemporary Europe and North America. It isn't simply that news that threatens or embarrasses the authorities is routinely suppressed: we are taught (and conditioned) to forget what is true, and to remember what is false — sometimes under legal sanction.

None of the other taboos equals that of questioning the Holocaust and its heroes. Our latest exposé of Simon Wiesenthal builds on recently unearthed documents and previous Journal studies to show that this leading merchant of Holocaust "memory" has repeatedly changed his story on the most important aspects of his wartime experience. Furthermore, we demonstrate that Wiesenthal, who has often been extolled for his elephantine recall in the service of Holocaust vengeance, has chosen to forget some of his most revealing recollections of those years.

[Don Heddesheimer](#) examines the wartime journalism of Soviet reporter Boris Polevoy, known to revisionists for his early, and imaginative, reporting on Auschwitz. Heddesheimer uncovers the roots of Polevoy's writing in the Russian classics, and analyses the literary techniques which allowed the journalist to manufacture "memory" out of fantasy on the front line during the Second World War. As Heddesheimer shows, Polevoy's war reporting was highly effective in getting ordinary people in the USSR and around the world to struggle for communism for many years after it appeared. Our researcher's consideration of Polevoy's writings on Auschwitz and other camps serves also to remind of the too often neglected role of Soviet propagandists in the creation of the contemporary hoax.

Frequent contributor Dan Michaels, an expert on modern Soviet military and political history, provides a haunting overview of the vast network of penal camps that spanned the USSR for most of the twentieth century, and of recent attempts to commemorate some of their millions of victims. These camps, for all the efforts of a gallant few historians and writers, continue to exist only at the edges of Western consciousness. Nor has there been any effective effort to bring the functionaries of the Soviet terror apparatus to account for their actions. What a contrast to the vast enterprise that has hunted, caught, tried, and punished German and other Axis personnel from 1945 to the present! This valuable article establishes that neither the victims of the camps nor those that created and ran them are yet forgotten — or should they be.

Whatever its shortcomings, David Irving's stouthearted single combat against the arrayed forces of the Holocaust industry in the Lipstadt trial two years ago continues to power revisionist advances. Brian Renk's study of the evidence for the all-important crematoria roof holes, which

grew out of his research for Irving in that trial, in our last issue is followed here by Samuel Crowell's review of *The Case for Auschwitz* (!), an important new book by Lipstadt expert witness Robert Jan van Pelt. Crowell reports van Pelt's surprising readiness to consider revisionists' positions, including Crowell's, and analyzes the author's attempts to answer them. Crowell's review, likely not the last word on *The Case for Auschwitz* in these pages, masterfully examines van Pelt's concessions and arguments, in particular as they bear on his research on Irving's behalf.

That we revisionists differ among ourselves on many issues is recalled by Arthur Butz's polite challenge to David Irving's assessment of the ancestry, and motives, of financier and gold miner Henry Strakosch, who rescued Winston Churchill from bankruptcy at a key point in his career.

Robert Faurisson delineates and defies the mushrooming contempt for intellectual liberty among the leaders of his own country and its neighbors in a piercing answer to a judicial summons from Switzerland — a place to which Voltaire and other dissenters could flee their censors in more enlightened times. And John Weir, in an engaging essay on how imaginative exterminationist methods of deciphering wartime German documents stack up against medieval English savant William of Ockham's famous counsel of interpretative parsimony, well demonstrates how the revisionist approach better fits the methods of science and scholarship, as evolved over the centuries, than the logic-chopping and appeals to authority of our opponents.

In closing, we hope that you will find this issue a memorable one, but we trust you will read even these pages in a critical spirit, to hasten our progress toward "bringing history into accord with the facts," in the words of Harry Elmer Barnes.

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Review and Revision

Axis to Grind:

As America's hollow, but cheap, victory over the Taliban continues to unravel in Afghanistan, President Bush has disheartened those of us who had hoped that what we recently called the "American wing" of his administration would prevail in the national councils. By designating Iran, Iraq, and Red herring North Korea as the "Axis of Evil" in his annual State of Union speech, the president both signaled the ascendancy of his administration's Zionist faction, and reduced the rest of the planet, including our chief allies and clients (save one), to consternation and confusion.

Thus the emotional response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, with its (understandable) aura of preliminaries to a World Wrestling Federation match, has not been supplanted by a sober strategy that sets realistic limits to U.S. intervention abroad and puts American, not foreign (or "international"), interests first. The bizarre monicker "Axis of Evil" alone gives cause for trepidation. Those (often cuttingly cruel) skits parodying George W. on Saturday Night Live begin to seem believable, and it grows more difficult to repress the fancy that the president's daily intelligence briefing comes in comic book format, with our leader confronting a Saddam Hussein who declaims: "Stand back, Pretzel Man, or, by Allah and Lex Luthor, I shall destroy the universe!"

The Bush administration has offered no credible evidence that Iran and Iraq (which have long detested one another), let alone North Korea, supported or took part in, jointly or singly, the murderous attacks on U.S. soil of September 11, 2001. Lately none of their regimes seems any more active than any of their neighbors (including Israel) in supporting attacks on innocent civilians. But both Iran and Iraq are opponents of Israel, so that President Bush has been forced, like a bumbling chef, to fold "seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction" into his anti-terrorist omlet. In his moral ardor (or, perhaps, ardor to pass for moral) the president made it seem as if seeking such weapons were worse than having them, and having them were worse than having used them (although, to be sure, Iraq used such a weapon against its own minorities and against Iran in the 1980s, when Saddam Hussein was our *de facto* ally against the now long forgotten Shiite menace). Of course, just as Bush decides who's a terrorist today, tomorrow he will be the judge of which nations are guilty of attempts to come by nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons (who doubts that Israel, with its large and stealthily acquired nuclear arsenal, will emerge unchastened?). And, thanks to a timorous Congress and a slumbering citizenry, in his role as commander in chief President Bush has virtually a free hand to attack any country that meets the criteria he finally settles on with the help of Paul Wolfowitz and the rest of the administration's Zionist wing.

Afghan Unraveling:

We've vanquished the Taliban with minimal casualties of our own, and the truth is that U.S. bombing was not as murderous as we and other critics had feared. Indeed, it's probable that U.S. and British bombs killed more non-combatants on many a single night over Germany than in the Afghan campaign to date. Nonetheless, our forces have failed to capture putative 9/11 mastermind Osama bin Laden, or a single leader of his network. At this time that effort continues, with mounting American casualties. Simultaneously the U.S. is roiling the contentious ethnic and factional mix by yet another patronizing, and likely doomed, attempt at "nation-building" (it's difficult to recall a successful republic ever being founded by a convention largely peopled by "warlords"). The different gangs are already tweaking Uncle Sam into bombing rivals falsely tagged as Taliban, exposing deficiencies in gathering and assessing local intelligence that augur ill for U.S. military ventures already underway in the Philippines, the Caucasus, and Yemen, or being mooted for Colombia, Somalia, and elsewhere. By far the worst effect of the Afghan affair, however, has been its transformation of George Bush into a war president (without a declaration) who seemingly intends to keep American forces in constant combat around the planet — at least until his approval ratings begin to drop.

'Little Brown Brothers':

The ominous news that the U.S. has dispatched hundreds of "military advisors" to the Philippines has been underplayed in the media, and thus largely overlooked by the public. The ostensible purpose of the intervention is to train the Philippine armed forces attempting to subdue "terrorists linked to Al Qaeda" in the southern part of the archipelago. Our leaders assure us that this expedition will ignore Muslim separatists in and around the island of Mindanao who have been waging a guerrilla war unrelated to Osama bin Laden for decades now. American commanders have acknowledged that our troops will accompany Filipino regulars into battle, and take part as necessary. Clearly the nexus "Southeast Asia-jungle-guerrillas" no longer gives pause.

If Vietnam has slipped our minds (except for the occasional war movie), the first American foray into the Philippines has vanished into oblivion. Yet the Spanish-American War, as the American republic's portal to overseas empire, is worth remembering. The climate for the war was stirred up beforehand by American newspaper reports. These consisted largely of atrocity propaganda aimed at the concentration, or "reconcentration," camps the Spaniards had instituted for interning Cuban guerrillas and their families. (In today's spin, those Cuban "freedom fighters" might qualify as "terrorists.") Despite Spain's recall of its commanding general, Valeriano Weyler, and the relaxation of his internment policy in late 1897, the propaganda continued. The explosion and sinking of the U.S.S. Maine in Havana's harbor in early 1898, blamed (not very convincingly) on the Spaniards, led to an American declaration of war against Spain and the invasion of Cuba. Admiral Dewey's quick victory over a Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and the rise of an armed Filipino independence movement put Spain's Philippine colony on the table, too. By the terms of the peace treaty Spain was forced to give up the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam, as well as Cuba.

Of these four former colonies, only Cuba was granted formal independence immediately. This came at the cost, however, of the inclusion in Cuba's constitution of the humiliating Platt Amendments, by which the United States was awarded the somewhat paradoxical prerogative to intervene in Cuba whenever it deemed the island's independence to be threatened. After President McKinley declared his intent "to take them all and to educate ... and civilize and Christianize" the largely Catholic Filipinos (to whom McKinley insultingly referred as Americans' "little brown brothers"), their islands were made an American colonial dependency. When the Filipino guerrillas continued their fight for independence against American rule, U.S. troops waged a grueling, merciless war against them in the jungles. The methods of our forces soon rivaled those of

the Spaniards in Cuba. In the words of the American diplomatic historian Samuel Flagg Bemis: “The maddening guerrilla tactics of the natives caused the Americans to feel some measure of sympathy for ‘Butcher’ Weyler, and to do him the honor of adopting a form of reconcentration.” While many countries have fared worse than the Philippines under half a century of American rule (and nearly as long a period of U.S. suzerainty), no one denies that the Filipinos were happy to see us go.

Thus, as in the First and Second World Wars, did a foreign policy begun in proclaimed altruism and pursued with thundering self-righteousness end not only in failure, but in a betrayal of America’s professed national ideals.

As of this writing, ten of the American soldiers sent to the Philippines have perished, in a helicopter crash that may have been caused by enemy fire.

On the 'Homeland' Front:

To date there has been no serious inquiry into why our bloated intelligence and security apparatus failed to detect the 9/11 plot and foil the attacks (the incipient Congressional investigation is not expected to be very searching). CIA chief George Tenet, who continues to deny that the disasters represent a failure of U.S. intelligence, not only remains in place (seriously inhibiting his underlings from blowing any whistles), but is a leading strategist in the continuing Afghan imbroglio. Meanwhile, the FBI continues to dawdle in apprehending a suspect in the anthrax killings, although a prominent scientist has recently revealed that the feds have known for months that the perpetrator probably worked in a laboratory for biological warfare at Ft. Detrick, Maryland, and certainly was a government insider. In January, sources in the Justice Department were still disseminating the lie that revisionists, among other “extremists,” might have been behind the murderous mailings. Finally, a propaganda office hatched in the Pentagon fell victim to guileless military spokesmen who let out that the purpose of the Office of Strategic Information was to disseminate false information. Administration efforts to deny this embroiled spokesmen in difficulties that recalled those ancient paradoxes so appealing to the Sophists: “Donald, a Pentagon official, says that all Pentagon officials are liars ...”

Mideast Mayhem:

Israel’s treatment of the Palestinians remains the number one lightning rod for Muslim discontent with the United States. Heartened by their American patron’s indifference, the Israelis are plumbing new depths of cruelty and depravity in their war on refugee camps. The hard truth is that the responsibility for what our media miscall “the cycle of violence,” including the abominable attacks on civilians by Israelis and Palestinians alike, lies chiefly with the United States. Were it not for our government’s insistence on financing Zionist mistreatment of the land’s rightful inhabitants, and its persistence in rejecting the advice of the rest of the planet, the Israel-Palestine quandary could have long ago been resolved under international supervision.

Realm of the Senseless:

France is formally a republic, but when it comes to freedom of thought and inquiry, King Holocaust rules with an iron fist. Government measures against revisionists — which over the years have included outlawing dissent on the Holocaust, fining or imprisoning heretics, dismissing them from jobs, ending their careers, revoking academic degrees, draining them by lawsuits, and

allowing them to be physically attacked — have lately intensified. Now the French government has expanded its onslaught against free speech to target an entire university.

One might think that the University of Lyon III, where Jean Plantin's master thesis (on Paul Rassinier) was annulled last June, eleven years after it was duly accepted with high marks, had earned the congratulations of France's powerful Holocaust lobby. Instead, a commission formed by France's Jewish minister of education, Jack Lang, will comb through university records dating back to the 1970s in an attempt to sniff out a plot by revisionists to recruit and advance their own kind. That there have been a few Lyon III professors willing to listen to revisionists is true (two of them, Jean-Paul Allard and Pierre Zind, sat on the jury that awarded Henri Roques a doctorate, based on his study of the testimony of Kurt Gerstein, that was subsequently revoked by order of an earlier French minister of education). What would have been dubbed a witch hunt had it targeted Communists during the Cold War has been gearing up for months with scarcely an admonitory notice from the press of what used to be known as the "Free World." Education minister Lang explains that he has no desire to restrict academic freedom, but reminds that combating "xenophobia and Holocaust denial" in line with French law is the higher principle. Although the mayor of Lyon has formed a separate commission to investigate the university, banshee-like wails are already rising from various Holocaust-affirming groups affronted at the slow progress of the inquisition.

Jean Plantin, the scholarly, industrious, and courageous revisionist from Lyon, who was convicted of Holocaust denial and given a suspended sentence one year before his master's degree was effectively revoked, has continued to irk the Holocaust bullies by privately circulating his *Etudes Révisionnistes* — but not so privately that the local Holocaust enforcers didn't get wind of it and sound the alarm. While Plantin is legally within his rights, his attackers figured that the police and judges could get around such technicalities — and so they have: in the form of a long list of court-prescribed harassments by judges, probation officers, and policemen issued last November.

On December 19 of last year, Robert Faurisson prevailed against an appeal of his successful suit against the magazine *L'Histoire* for denying his legally prescribed right to respond to a personal attack. On the next day, however, *Quid*, a one-volume reference work widely consulted by French students, knuckled under to five Jewish pressure groups by agreeing to omit an estimate of deaths at Auschwitz by Dr. Faurisson, which had somehow crept into the book, from future editions. The media hullabaloo over the affair doubtless caused more than a few curious students surreptitiously to look up this latest offering to France's memory hole.

King Holocaust, despotic usurper that he is, continues to pauperize such French revisionists (and family men) as Jean Plantin, Serge Thion, and others who have paid with jobs and careers to keep the torch of Paul Rassinier, the first systematic revisionist of the Holocaust, ablaze. They need, and deserve, our support. (Contributions earmarked for Plantin, Thion, and other French revisionists may be sent to the IHR, which will see that they reach the intended recipients.)

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Open Season on Revisionists

Robert Faurisson

[Dr. Faurisson wrote this article some eight months ago. While some of the legal circumstances have changed (as the preceding article makes clear), his description of the continuing persecution of revisionists in France, Switzerland, and elsewhere in Europe has lost none of its freshness, acuity, or defiance. — Editor]

This very day, Serge Thion is being tried in Paris, while Vincent Reynouard answers a summons to appear before an examining magistrate in Limoges. I myself have been notified by Michel Favre, an examining magistrate in Fribourg (Switzerland), of his finding that I am guilty of violating Switzerland's anti-revisionist law by writing a revisionist article. He has sentenced me to one month's imprisonment without bail. My article had appeared in a booklet published in August 2000 by the society Vérité et Justice (CP 355, CH 1618 Châtel Saint Denis, Switzerland). The society's three leaders currently face legal proceedings which will allow them to be heard in court.

As for me, I received no word whatsoever that I was being prosecuted. The examining magistrate neither warned me nor informed me. He didn't send me a summons; he didn't question me. What he did do, if I may say so, was to convict me by mail. Some will be astounded by this. They don't know that when it comes to suppressing those who anger Jewish or Zionist organizations, trust, and law, and justice no longer matter. Those who have been designated "Holocaust deniers," "war criminals," "criminals against humanity," or even "Palestinian terrorists" by these organizations have learned this to their cost.

Our Fribourg judge strikes me as less deceitful than such French justices as Simone Rozès, Pierre Draï, or Françoise Simon, who notify me, summon me to appear, pretend to listen to me, and convict me, no matter what arguments I make in my defense. Tomorrow, I shall inform Michel Favre by registered letter that I shall not appeal his ruling; I am ready to surrender to the Canton of Fribourg to serve my sentence. Were I naive enough to challenge his decision before a Swiss court, I would receive the same treatment as Swiss revisionists in the past: first, I would be told that mounting a revisionist defense would violate the law anew; thus my counsel could only raise legalistic quibbles, and plead mitigating circumstances; finally, any witness who testified on the heart of the case, historical accuracy, would, at the urging of the prosecution, be charged immediately. I would then be sentenced to twelve or fifteen months in prison, and my fines and costs would be considerable. To avail myself of the protection of my French nationality doesn't even bear considering: French authorities, in their attempts to please the Grand Sanhedrin, would cooperate with Switzerland against me, as they did with a Dutch court in my Anne Frank case. Besides, I no longer have the time, the money, or the strength to compete in these unwinnable judicial marathons.

In Switzerland as in France, and a good number of other countries in the world, Jewish organizations have, through constant pressure, obtained the passage of special laws providing for the prosecution of those who don't believe in the kosher version of the history of the Second World War, with its genocide of the Jews and its Nazi gas chambers (not to be confused with the crematory ovens, the existence and usefulness of which, in camps ravaged by epidemics, are contested by no one). The Fabius-Gayssot Act of July 13, 1990, provides for a prison term of from one month to a year, a fine of from two to three hundred thousand francs, and still other penalties against skeptics in France (it is a violation of this law merely to express doubt). An identical law has oppressed Switzerland since 1995. Needless to say, these laws are insolently labeled "anti-racist" by their authors and enforcers.

For the reader's information, I should note here that, like my other revisionist articles, the piece that earned me today's conviction was inspired by the sixty-word sentence that I uttered during an interview with Ivan Levaï on the Europe 1 radio network in December 1980:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which has permitted a gigantic political and financial swindle the main beneficiaries of which are the state of Israel and international Zionism and whose main victims are the German people — but not their leaders — and the Palestinian people in their entirety.

In the jargon of our so-called examining judge in the land of the "glaciated Swiss" (Céline: *Suisses glaciés*), "a favorable prognosis cannot be posited." He means that no penance or repentance can be expected from me. Here for once is a clear-sighted judge! He must know that ten physical assaults and a stream of court convictions, writs of seizure, a recent police search of my house, banning from my profession, torrents of slander in the national and foreign press (particularly *Le Monde*, the oblique daily) have only strengthened me in my determination, especially because, in terms of scientific argumentation, we are still right where we were on February 21, 1979, when a "historians' declaration" published in the self-same newspaper amounted to a declaration that there was no one who could answer me on the subject of the Nazi gas chambers.

I shall continue my revisionist intifada all the way to prison.

19 June 2001

NB: In Lyon, so virulent has been the campaign that Jewish organizations are waging against the Universities of Lyon II and III that the officials of those institutions, one after another, have groveled before them, in a display of the most shameful servility. Thus revisionist scholar Jean Plantin has been summoned by the president of the University of Lyon III to reappear before the jury which, eleven years ago, awarded him the mention "très bien" for his master's thesis on Paul Rassinier. The Jewish groups, and those who follow their lead, are demanding that the thesis be invalidated — and thus the degree. In so doing, the president has cited no law, rule, or administrative regulation. Nothing finer was ever devised in the Kingdom of the Absurd.

Recently, Jean-Louis Berger lost his right to teach high school, and Serge Thion was expelled from the CNRS (Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique).

Registered letter addressed to Michel Favre

I was never notified, either by you or any other Swiss authority of your country, of the initiation of the proceedings against me. I see that, in the secrecy of your cham-

bers, without having heard me, you have just sentenced me to a month in prison without bail and ordered me to pay 230 Swiss francs in “court costs.”

Your penal order of June 15, 2001, was delivered to me yesterday, June 19. I am ready to surrender to the Canton of Fribourg to serve my sentence. You must inform me as quickly as possible of the place and date of my incarceration.

I would like, if possible, to see your face.

Robert Faurisson

Vichy, Wednesday, June 20, 2001

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The Razor and the Ring

John Weir

“Plurality is not to be assumed without necessity.” William of Ockham

The fourteenth century Franciscan theologian, William of Ockham, is credited with using a method to trim logical absurdities out of arguments that came to be named for him. This method, today known as Occam’s Razor, or “Entities are not to be multiplied without necessity,” was developed to show that the realm of theology was separate from that of science; scientific proof for the existence of God, he concluded, was not possible. Therefore science and theology, being different, required different methods for their advancement.

This division of science from theology allowed modernism to take hold in the West. Scientific investigation could now go forward unfettered by religious dogma, which men relegated to the world of metaphysics. Scientific knowledge thereby became restricted to that which could be observed and tested. Theology, on the other hand, advanced through thoughtful speculation and faith.

The basis of the razor is simplicity. A model based on the simplest explanation of the data available is usually the best. Scientists and mathematicians, therefore, strive for simplicity and elegance in their theories describing the physical reality that surrounds them.

Consequently, a basic question that needs answering is whether history is to be described using scientific principles, since the events of history occur in the physical world, or whether it is part of theology, since historical events are used in the making of myths that support a particular world view and popular basic philosophical truths.

Recently, several documents have been “discovered” in archives. A few of them have only recently been declassified, and they purportedly shed light on certain details of the Jewish Holocaust that were not known before. These recent revelations are an illustration of the taffy pull of history that is going on now between the scientific Occam’s Razor and Holocaust theology’s magic decoder ring.

For Zionists, the Holocaust is more than an historical event. It is the embodiment of their view of the world. The Shoah verifies that Jews can never trust Gentiles, but must control their own destiny. Otherwise, only death — at the hand of the Gentiles — awaits them. The Holocaust is proof of that and reinforces the need for a Jewish state to safeguard their survival. The theological dogma to this must only be supported — not undercut — by historical events. Therefore, events and documents dealing with the fate of the Jews at the hands of the Nazis must be interpreted only in a way that supports this Holocaust theology and Zionist view of reality.

The first of the documents is a Chilean diplomatic report dated November 24, 1941, and was in the hands of the American Office of Strategic Services [the chief U.S. intelligence agency during the war — ed.] by March 1942. This report has been quoted in the press to read in part “The Jewish problem is being partially solved in the Protectorate [Reich Protectorate of Bohemia], as it has been decided to eradicate all the Jews and send some to Poland and others to the town of Terezin, whilst looking for a more remote place.” The press articles somehow concluded from this that the OSS, and therefore the American government, knew the Germans planned to kill all of the Jews of Europe by March of 1942 and that the Germans had planned this by the previous November. Yet that is clearly not what the Chilean diplomat’s report says, or means.

Next, in January of 1942, the famous Wannsee Conference was held to finalize the details of the extermination of the Jews, or so it has been said. Yet this is not what the minutes of the meeting actually say. They read, in part, in translation to English as follows: “Under proper direction the Jews should now in the course of the Final Solution be brought to the East in a suitable way for the use as labor... The evacuated Jews are to be brought first group by group into the so-called transit ghettos, in order to be transported from there farther to the East.” This is consistent with the Chilean document: Jews were to be deported to the East.

The third document was very recently discovered and published. Its publication was treated by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) in an article posted on their Web site on Wednesday, January 16, 2002. (See: <http://www.fpp.co.uk/History/General/Korherr/JTA150102.html>)

This document is a translation of an intercepted German encoded message, dated January 11, 1943, that summarized the activity at the so-called transit ghettos, described in the Wannsee Protocol, for the year 1942.

The JTA’s correspondent, Toby Axelrod, states that this intercept “indicates” the number of Jews killed at these “extermination camps” during 1942. Enter the decoder ring, here not the cereal box premium once prized by aspiring boy “G-men,” but rather a mighty decipherer of hidden meanings in Holocaust texts. The document doesn’t say the Jews were killed, it only indicates the number for each camp: 434,508 at Belzec, 101,370 at Sobibor, and 713,555 at Treblinka. The document also provides a total of 24,733 for Lublin (Majdanek), but since Lublin is not considered by the keepers of the Holocaust to be an extermination camp, that is omitted from the article.

If this document doesn’t in fact describe mass exterminations, what does it reveal about the fate of the Jews at these camps? The encoded wireless telegraph message marked “State secret!” describes these numbers as “recorded arrivals.” In the document the same terminology is used for Lublin as is used for the imagined “extermination camps,” but the wielders of the decoder ring can tell the difference: When the Nazis used the term “arrival” for three of the four camps, that “indicated” the Jews were killed on arrival, but — for one out of the four — it did not.

The total recorded arrivals for the four camps for the year 1942 was 1,274,166. It was this number that stimulated the interest of researchers Stephan Tyas and Peter Witte, the discoverers of the intercept, because it matches a number which appears in an April 1943 secret statistical report by a Nazi statistician, Richard Korherr, on “The Final Solution of the European Jewish Problem.” (See David Irving’s website, at <http://www.fpp.co.uk/History/General/Korherr/index.html>)

This report was assembled by Korherr on the order of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler. The purpose of the report was to estimate the change in the number of Jews in Nazi-controlled territory from 1933 to the end of 1942. Korherr subdivided his statistics into several categories: Deaths over Births, Emigration, Evacuation, and Other. There was no listing for “Killed in Death

Camps” or anything like it. The number that appeared in the intercept and also in Korherr’s report is listed under the heading “Transport of Jews from the Eastern Provinces to the Russian East: Processed through the Camps in the Government-General,” which falls under the “evacuation” category.

Because the number of deaths for Jews at Lublin, as of the end of 1942, is recorded separately in Korherr’s report as 14,348, it is obvious that “arrivals” means something other than “murdered” in the context of the January, 1943 intercept, because the figure in it is over ten thousand higher than the number listed as dead for Lublin (Majdanek) by Korherr in his report. In light of the Korherr report, therefore, the decoder ring “solution” of the January 11, 1943, is an arrant fraud.

Though it is clear from the context of his report that Korherr didn’t consider “evacuated” to mean “killed,” today’s guardians of “Truth and Memory” reject the obvious. Korherr’s report was a secret document created for Himmler, who certainly would have known what the report was about, because he had commissioned it. Yet we are told that it contains code words to hide the fact the Jews were being murdered en masse — despite the report’s explicit statement that the evacuated Jews were to be considered a reduction in the population of Europe’s Jews for purposes of the report only.

Like the word “arrival,” the terms “transported east,” “evacuated,” “resettled,” and “sent to Poland” are all phrases which mean “killed,” according to the Holocaust cryptographers. This principle, applied to Nazi documents dealing with the Jews, can make just about any word mean “murdered.” All you need is the Holocaust document decoder ring. Those who wield this wondrous ring can discover new meaning even in documents that have already been decrypted and translated. Even better, with this magical device one can find any meaning desired.

The decoder ring is the theological opposite of the scientific razor. It allows one to add a layer of complexity so that evidence can be manipulated to fit the theory. No longer does a document have to mean what it says. For dogmatists, this makes the decoder ring much more useful than the razor, for Occam’s Razor enjoins inflexible simplicity, while the ring promises infinite possibilities and complexity.

The conclusion to this conundrum is rather simple: since there are two choices of how to interpret Holocaust documents, which to select depends on one’s philosophical outlook.

If the answer has already decided upon, apply the ring: then “arrival” means murdered; and “evacuated” means murdered; “resettled” means murdered as well, as does “transported.” This is convenient when restating dogmas known a priori.

Conversely, if the answer has yet to be determined, apply the razor. The documents mean what they say: The Jews were assembled and transported east by the Nazis where the Jews were put into ghettos deep inside occupied Soviet territory.

Which to use is a matter of taste. Revisionist historians employ Occam’s razor; the defenders of “Truth and Memory” use their Holocaust decoder rings, which allow the evidence to “converge” wherever, and however, their dogmas desire.

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Was Churchill's Gold Bug Jewish?

Arthur R. Butz

In volume 5 of his biography Winston S. Churchill, published in 1976, historian Martin Gilbert relates the working relationship that existed during the 1930s between Churchill and the South African economist and gold mining executive Sir Henry Strakosch. Most of the figures on German armaments that Churchill brought to the House of Commons and publicized elsewhere were supplied by Strakosch, who wished anonymity in the affair.

Strakosch eventually had to pay heavily for such services. Gilbert relates that Strakosch saved Churchill from financial ruin in 1938 when, due to declines in the New York markets, Churchill's brokerage account went into debt in the amount of £18,000 (\$90,000), which Churchill could only begin to cover by selling his house Chartwell. Strakosch picked up the tab for this fancy sum, at a time when a decent American salary was perhaps \$2,000 per year. In addition, Strakosch bequeathed Churchill £20,000 when he died five years later. ^[1]

In the first volume of his Churchill's War (1987), David Irving repeats this story but adds that "Strakosch was a Jew born in Moravia, Czechoslovakia." The purpose of this note is to express my skepticism that Strakosch was a Jew, and to expose the specific political cause that his involvement served.

Evidence Strakosch Wasn't Jewish

Strakosch died near London on Saturday, October 30, 1943, and The Times (London) published a long obituary on November 1, eulogies on the second, and on the fourth a report of a memorial service for Strakosch. It was clearly a Christian service, held at St. Michael's, Chester Square.

Thus Strakosch died a nominal Christian. That does not exclude the possibility that he was partially of Jewish descent or converted from Judaism, but neither David Irving nor anybody else has been able to provide hard evidence in that respect.

From several sources we learn the following about Strakosch. ^[2] He was born May 9, 1871, in Hohenau, Austria, son of Edward Strakosch and Mathilde Winterburg. Hohenau is on the Austria-Moravia border, and Edward Strakosch was a pioneer in the Austrian beet sugar industry. Henry was educated at the Wasa Gymnasium in Vienna and then privately in England. He joined the Anglo-Austrian bank in London in 1891, rising quickly to become foreign exchange manager. He then became interested in gold mining and finance and emigrated to South Africa in 1895. He joined the gold mining enterprise Goerz and Co. in 1896 as assistant managing director, rising to chairman in 1924, a position he held until his death (the company had become Union Corp. in 1918). He was known as "keen on polo, an inveterate motorist, and a bachelor."

Strakosch was adviser to the government in the drafting of the South African Currency and Banking Act of 1920, which led to the establishment of the South African Reserve Bank. From 1925 on, India retained him for similar purposes. He was knighted in 1921, and became a Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1924, and Knight Grand Cross of the British Empire in 1927.

He got married late in life, in 1941, to the widow Mrs. Mabel Elizabeth Vincent Temperley, in a Christian ceremony at St. Andrew's in Kingswood, Gloucester.

None of the sources on which the above summary is based gives any indication of a Jewish connection for Strakosch.

Two books that ought to have had much about a man of Strakosch's importance, if he had been Jewish, do not list him in their indexes. They are *Jewish Roots in the South African Economy*, by Mendel Kaplan (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1986), and *The Jews in South Africa: A History*, editors Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955).

The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971) mentions two Jewish Strakosches, but not Sir Henry (it also mentions one Jewish Irving, but not David). If a Jew, or someone of partial Jewish descent, or a Jewish convert to Christianity had played such an important part in the background to the Second World War then it would seem that the *Encyclopaedia* would have at least mentioned it.

The death and obituary notices in the four issues of the London weekly (Fridays) *Jewish Chronicle* for November 1943 contain no mention of Strakosch.

The simple explanation for all of this is that Strakosch was not a Jew.

Who Says That He Was?

The *Jüdisches Biographisches Archiv* (1994), a massive database available on microfiche, cites two sources that indicate he was a Jew. The first is a book or pamphlet entitled *The Jews' Who's Who: Israelite Finance: Its Sinister Influence* (London: Judaic Publishing Co., 1920). A copy of this publication could not be consulted but the *Jüdisches Biographisches Archiv* quotes from it as follows:

Strakosch, Henry. Director of A. Goerz & Co. £1,500,000. This company which is a South African "control" house, has now extended its tentacles to West Africa, Nigeria, and Mexico. In addition to its very considerable direct mineral holdings, this House has interests in a huge number of companies, mostly mining, with property all over the world. It is in consequence a close Jewish preserve, and not a single Anglo-Saxon was on its Board in 1914. It is technically a purely British Co., but it has been suggested that its cosmopolitan and Asiatic flavour entitles it to be called "Britisch."

The text goes on to list other directors of the company. The names given are not obviously Jewish names but one gets the impression that the reader is supposed to consider any non-British, especially German, name a Jewish name. [3] It lists some other companies that Strakosch was allegedly a director of, and there are indeed Jewish connections there, but that was unavoidable. The most important example is the Geduld company, controlled by Samuel Marks and Isaac Lewis, both Jews from Lithuania. [4]

In defense of the author of the pamphlet it should be noted that the leading German-speaking entrepreneurs who migrated to South Africa in the nineteenth century were predominantly Jewish.

The assumption German-Jew was an understandable fallacy, but a fallacy nevertheless.

The main defect of the pamphlet is that it seems ignorant of the history of Goerz and Co. at the time of publication (1920). In fact there was no company of that name in 1920; it became the Union Corporation in 1918. Its founder, Adolf Goerz (1857-1900), was an immigrant from Germany and not a Jew. [5] Although the company had maintained close relations with Germany and in particular the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, Goerz had incorporated it in England. On the outbreak of war in 1914 five of the eight directors were German subjects. The British forced them off the board and by 1918 both the name of the company and the character of the board had changed. [6] The British would not have distinguished in this purge between Germans and German Jews, and Austrians would have been considered Germans. Strakosch survived, no doubt on account of his strong British connections. The basic objection to this pamphlet, therefore, is its apparent ignorance of the status of the matter treated at the time of its publication. The Goerz board of 1914 was irrelevant in 1920. It also sounds like the sort of publication that is recklessly eager to seize any stick to beat a Jew, of which we have seen many.

The second source mentioned by the Jüdisches Biographisches Archiv is more credible. In a 1949 article Albert M. Hyamson listed about 2500 prominent “Anglo-Jewish” people, each getting one or two lines in his sixty-nine pages. One of them was:

Strakosch, Sir Henry (1871-1943). Economist & banker; The Times, 1.11.43; Ann. Reg.; “Randlords.” [7]

The first two references are to Strakosch’s obituaries, already cited here, which do not say he was a Jew. The third is to the book *Randlords*, by Paul H. Emden. Emden merely gives some biographical information about Strakosch and mentions his relation to Adolf Goerz thus:

One of the earliest collaborators of Adolf Goerz (from 1896 on) was the present Sir Henry Strakosch, whose influence and importance extend far beyond the limits of gold production. He is recognized the world over as an authority on monetary matters and exchanges; his influence on the development of currency and the organization of Banking in South Africa was so great that the objection was expressed that “the Commission seems to have been clay in the hands of Sir Henry Strakosch.” [8]

Emden does not say that Strakosch was a Jew, and there appears to be no basis for Hyamson classifying him as such. One notes that Emden was listed in Hyamson’s acknowledgements as having made “valuable criticisms and suggestions.” Perhaps Emden told him privately that Strakosch was a Jew.

According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* Hyamson was a Zionist Jew who became anti-Zionist after serving as Britain’s Chief Immigration Officer in Palestine, 1921-1934. He published several books about Jews and also a general (not specifically about Jews) reference work, *Dictionary of Universal Biography*, issued in 1915, 1950 and (in the U.S.A.) 1951. His entry for Strakosch in the last is:

Strakosch, Sir Hy.; Hung.-Eng. econ. and financ., 1871-1943. S

The “S” signifies that his obituary is to be found in the *Annual Register*. In accord with his general objectives in this work, Hyamson does not declare Strakosch to be Jewish, but he does declare him to be Hungarian-English. None of the other sources indicates he was Hungarian. Strakosch came from a town in Austria distant from Hungary, but as an Austrian he no doubt had some dealings with Hungarians. His father’s beet sugar business probably reached into Hungary.

Another connection to Hungary is via Adolf Goerz, who managed gold mines and other interests in Hungary before emigrating to Africa around 1890. ^[9] None of that makes Strakosch Hungarian.

Another basis for dissatisfaction with Hyamson's classification is that I can't trust any source which, after his death, classifies Strakosch as a Jew without at least mentioning that he died a nominal Christian. I consider Hyamson to be not well informed about Strakosch, whose name was just one of thousands he listed in his various works. I think the weight of the biographical information is against Hyamson's classification of Strakosch as a Jew.

The idea that Strakosch was a Jew has become part of folklore; just search the Internet for "Strakosch"! In his 1994 biography Churchill, Clive Ponting also says that Strakosch was a Jew, in a phrase that smells very much as though carried over from Irving. I suspect that the spread of the belief is largely due to Irving's remark.

Then What Was He Up To, and Why?

The question of Strakosch's ethnicity is only important in relation to the question of what political forces were acting, during the thirties, to destroy Hitler. If Strakosch was a Jew, then political motivations that would explain his conduct would be obvious. If he was not a Jew, then the question of motivation arises. Why was he out to get Hitler? An answer is given in a booklet he published in 1935, in which the gold miner argued for the restoration of an international gold standard for currency. ^[10] Strakosch considered that the cooperation of Britain and other "Sterling countries" was attainable, but it was not possible to attain a full measure of recovery unless America and Germany are also brought into the fold ... Substantial progress in this direction has already been achieved in America ... The German situation, on the other hand, remains hopelessly confused, not so much because her problems are fundamentally so very different and so much more difficult, but because of the manner in which they are being faced. There is hardly a single one of the many and varied measures she has taken which can be said to be of real value for her restoration — indeed, most of them tend to impede it ... ^[11]

It is well known that this judgment of the efficacy of Hitler's economic policies was wrong. The Nazi economic policies were notoriously successful, and have been called "The Nazi Miracle," which Hitler performed knowing at the outset that "The international financial world would stand on its head and attack our currency with all the means at its command." ^[12]

The important point is that we see the motivations that Strakosch brought to the campaign against Germany. Hitler was on the way to proving him wrong. Thus to describe Strakosch as a "Jew" in this context is to do more than make a mistake about ethnicity. Strakosch should, rather, have been described as "a South African gold miner campaigning for restoration of the international gold standard." If he had been a Jew, I still would not have described him as Irving did. I would have written "a Jewish South African gold miner campaigning for restoration of the international gold standard."

Ironically, one conclusion to draw is that it doesn't really matter much whether or not Strakosch was Jewish, as long as it is understood what interests he represented. Irving's treatment of Strakosch, however, has the unintended effect of camouflaging a very important dimension of the background to the Second World War.

This investigation resulted from a discussion Dr. Butz had with Mr. Safet Sarich of Chicago, who passed away as this issue was going to press. Only he and his wife Ingeborg knew that his days

were numbered, as he maintained his keen interest in the future of his family, nation, and civilization to the end. We mourn the loss of this good friend and supporter of IHR.

Notes

1. [↗](#) The Times, Feb. 7, 1944.
 2. [↗](#) Annual Register (London, 1943); The Times, August 15, 1941; John F. Riddick, *Who Was Who in British India* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1998); Eric Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 6th edition (London and New York: Frederick Warne, 1973); C.J. Beyers, *Dictionary of South African Biography* (Cape Town: Tafelberg-Uitgewers, 1977); Walter H. Wills and R.J. Barrett, *The Anglo-African Who's Who and Biographical Sketch-Book* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1905).
 3. [↗](#) It should be noted that at the time many Britons associated Jewish intrigues with Germany. See Nesta H. Webster, *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements*, 1924, especially pp. 365ff.
 4. [↗](#) Robin McGregor, *McGregor's Who Made South Africa*, vol. 1 (Saxonwold, S.A.: Purdey, 2000), pp. 26-30. McGregor presents a chart indicating who was and was not Jewish.
 5. [↗](#) *Ibid*, pp. 138-141. As the preface explains this is vol. 1 of a projected series on "the positive contributions made by each of South Africa's twenty-five-odd cultural groups to its development ... the Jewish contribution ... comprises the first part of this volume. As a significant number of Jews are of German origin, it seemed appropriate to relate the contribution made by the Germans as the second part."
 6. [↗](#) Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The Randlords* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1985), pp. 118, 244.
 7. [↗](#) Albert M. Hyamson, "Plan of a dictionary of Anglo-Jewish biography," in *Anglo-Jewish Notabilities: Their Arms and Testamentary Dispositions* (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 1949). Hyamson was president of this society.
 8. [↗](#) Paul H. Emden, *Randlords* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935), pp. 217, 342. Remarks in this article on what books say about Strakosch are based on the pages indicated in the indexes to those books. In the writer's opinion, the burden of more exhaustive research in search of credible evidence that Strakosch was a Jew is that of those who make the claim.
 9. [↗](#) McGregor's *Who's Who*, p. 140.
 10. [↗](#) Sir Henry Strakosch, *The Road to Recovery: With Special Reference to the Problem of Exchange Stability and the Restoration of the International Gold Standard* (New York: Economic Forum, and London: The Economist, 1935). Seventy pages, of which 27-36 were missing from the copy consulted.
 11. [↗](#) *Ibid*, p. 51.
 12. [↗](#) Alan Milard, in the *London Review of Books*, January 23, 1986, p. 21. Milard reviews several books on the subject.
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Glayde Whitney, 1940-2002

The Institute lost a friend in January, when Glayde Whitney passed away in Tallahassee at the age of sixty-two. Professor Whitney, a member of the faculty of Florida State University, had achieved eminence for his research in the field of behavioral genetics. A few years ago he made waves at his university and among his colleagues by writing an introduction to David Duke's *My Awakening* (available from the [Noontide Press](#)), which contains a popular treatment of the case for Holocaust revisionism. Professor Whitney was a speaker at the Institute's thirteenth conference two years ago, and proved to be as personally engaging as he was dedicated to researching and standing up for free inquiry in pursuit of knowledge. His presence is missed.

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The War Years of Simon Wiesenthal: New Light on a Dark Past

Theodore J. O'Keefe

The Institute for Historical Review has recently obtained from the U.S. National Archives a copy of a document dating from 1945 that provides new evidence that famed “Nazi hunter” Simon Wiesenthal collaborated with the Soviet Union during the Second World War. ^[1] The author of the document, a “curriculum vitae” submitted to American military authorities at the former concentration camp at Mauthausen, in Upper Austria, is Wiesenthal himself. He claims in this autobiographical statement that he served the Soviet occupation regime in the east Galician city of Lwów (today Lviv) as an engineer and was well rewarded for his services to the Communist government. Wiesenthal’s 1945 account offers strong corroboration of a sworn statement he made to U.S. authorities in 1948, first published in the Journal of Historical Review, that he had functioned as a “Soviet chief engineer” in Lwów during the 1939-41 Soviet occupation. ^[2]

Thus, in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, Wiesenthal twice contradicted what would later become his standard story of his time in Soviet-ruled Lwów: that he was forced to work as a poorly paid factory mechanic and narrowly escaped deportation to the interior of the USSR. The “curriculum vitae” and accompanying documents provided by Wiesenthal in 1945 contain additional statements that contradict important aspects of Wiesenthal’s standard account of his war years. These records are of further interest in that they provide the first documentary evidence of Wiesenthal’s career as a denouncer and tracker of alleged German war criminals.

Lwów: The Missing Years

On May 25, 1945, some three weeks after American forces had captured the camp, the recently liberated inmate Simon Wiesenthal submitted his “curriculum vitae” and a list of ninety-one men and women he alleged were guilty of war crimes to the “U.S. Camp Commander, Camp Mauthausen.” In an accompanying cover letter, Wiesenthal, writing with the restraint that was to become his trademark, claimed: “Many of these have caused incalculable sufferings to myself as well as to my fellow inmates,” and went on to state: “Many of these I have personally seen commit murder phantastic in number and method.” The list of “war criminals” itself, and Wiesenthal’s efforts to identify, characterize, and accuse them, will be considered briefly below. Because it is “Ing. Szymon Wiesenthal,” as he signed these documents nearly fifty-seven years ago, who is under investigation here, his statements about himself rather than about his quarry are of chief interest.

Wiesenthal opens the “curriculum vitae” (actually closer in form to a short autobiography than a standard c.v.) that accompanied his other submissions with a brief and seemingly unremarkable paragraph about his origins and education. The next paragraph reads:

After the outbreak of the war I stayed in Lemberg and after the entry of the Red Army continued my work as a construction engineer and a designer of refrigerating plants and other various constructions as well as private dwellings. During this period I invented an artificial insulation material for which the Soviet Government awarded me a premium of 25,000 rubles.

These two sentences supply more concrete detail regarding Simon Wiesenthal's work, status, and relationship to the Soviet authorities during the twenty-one months the USSR occupied Lemberg (as Lviv is known in German) than any other statement or account by Wiesenthal that has appeared to date. As noted above, Wiesenthal's 1948 testimony to a U.S. Army interrogator lends corroboration to his 1945 statement and provides further details about his activities from September 1939 to mid-1941: "Active until 1939 in Poland as a professional engineer architect [sic], between 1939-1941 Soviet chief engineer employed in Lemberg and Odessa. 10 days prior to the outbreak of war between Germany and Russia I returned to Lemberg, where I experienced the German entry." Wiesenthal's express claim to have been a "Soviet [emphasis added] chief engineer" is telling in itself. If, as he states, he worked in Odessa, some three hundred miles away in Soviet Ukraine, then he enjoyed travel privileges afforded only a few inhabitants of the occupied lands of prewar eastern Poland. The only USSR destination for most citizens of Poland during the first Soviet occupation was the Gulag.

Simon Wiesenthal's 1967 "memoirs," *The Murderers among Us*, strongly contradict his claims of 1945 and 1948. [3] *Murderers* has the following to say about his employment in Communist-ruled Lwów: "By the middle of September, the Red Army was in Lwow, and again Wiesenthal found himself 'liberated[.]'... The Wiesenthals managed to stay in Lwow, but Wiesenthal's days as an independent architect were over. He was glad to find a badly paid job as a mechanic in a factory that produced bedsprings." [4]

If what Wiesenthal said in his statements from 1945 and 1948 about his employment, status, and means under the Soviets is correct, [5] then there are other questions to be answered on the full extent of his activities and affinities in Lwów from 1939 to 1941. Was he a member of the Communist party? Did he acquire Soviet citizenship? Did he take part in the persecution of the city's Polish and Ukrainian Christian majority? And why was Wiesenthal — apparently trusted by the Soviets, capable, and with vital skills — not evacuated with the Red Army, as were so many others, when it abandoned Lwów in mid-1941?

Saved by the Bells?

One of the most famous tales from the Wiesenthal canon describes his arrest and hair's breadth escape from execution at the hands of Ukrainian auxiliary police a few days after the arrival of the Wehrmacht. As recounted in *The Murderers among Us*, [6] on the afternoon of July 6, 1941, a Sunday, Wiesenthal was arrested by a Ukrainian policeman and brought to Lwów's Brigidki prison. In Wiesenthal's telling, after about forty Jews had been collected in the prison courtyard, the Ukrainians lined them up and began shooting them, one by one. Wiesenthal relates that the killers feasted on sausages and swilled down vodka between murders. The memoirs relate: "The shots and the shouts of the dying men were getting closer to Wiesenthal. He remembers that he stood looking at the gray wall without really seeing it. Suddenly he heard the sounds of church bells, and a Ukrainian voice shouted 'Enough! Evening mass!'" That night, his account continues, Wiesenthal was rescued thanks to a chance encounter in his cell with a Polish acquaintance serving in the Ukrainian auxiliary police. The policeman devised an audacious plan: he would tell the other police that Wiesenthal was a Soviet spy, and that he had to bring him before a Ukrainian commissioner elsewhere in the city. Although Wiesenthal claims to have been badly

beaten, the friendly policeman was able to lead him and another “spy” (a friend of Wiesenthal's) out of the prison, and — “after a series of narrow escapes” — both men were back home the next morning.

Wiesenthal’s concededly laconic account in the 1945 curriculum vitae clearly contradicts the story told in his memoirs. He writes:

When after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war that city was taken by the German troops, I was immediately arrested on July 13, 1941, as one of the Jewish intelligentsia. Of independent means, through a bribery I succeeded in getting out of prison.

In this 1945 version, less than four years after the purported event, Wiesenthal’s arrest comes a week later than in his memoirs. Here he attributes his release from prison to a bribe, rather than to a chance encounter and the implied altruism and sang-froid of a Polish friend. Although in this document and the 1948 interrogation Wiesenthal describes countless atrocities he claims to have suffered or witnessed, they mention no festive shootings by Ukrainian auxiliary police.

Wiesenthal’s 1948 testimony strengthens the presumption against his miraculous escape from a Ukrainian massacre by omitting any mention of an incarceration in July 1941. Instead, he tells this story: “On 8 July I was forcibly removed from my residence by two soldiers and a Ukrainian auxiliary policeman — a group of about sixty Jews, who had been similarly dragged from their homes, was waiting on the street; we moved slowly down the street, because new Jews were continually brought from their homes. When there were around 100 or 120 of us, we were brought to the German army railroad yards, where the army engineers awaited us. We were forced to run the gauntlet and nearly every one of us received a kick or the lash of a whip.” Wiesenthal goes on to state that he continued to work as a forced laborer at the railroad yards, returning home nights, for at least the following two weeks.

Jewish apologists understandably make much of various scurrilous stories, oftentimes quite untrue, that have been directed at the Jews over the centuries. In the light of Wiesenthal’s testimony from 1945 and 1948, which contradicts as well as omits the dramatic account of his escape from the Ukrainian bloodbath, might the story in his memoirs be a carefully crafted “blood libel” against Ukrainians — and their church?

A Charmed Life?

While the evidence of Wiesenthal’s 1945 and 1948 statements points toward his having collaborated with the Communists during the war, Wiesenthal has more frequently been accused of collaborating with the Germans than with the Soviets. ^[7] While published evidence of such collaboration remains scarce, interesting questions arise from his different accounts of certain wartime experiences — such as his strange and conflicting stories about his recapture and subsequent treatment by the Germans in 1944.

Wiesenthal is consistent in his claims to have escaped from German custody in Lwów in 1943. ^[8]

His accounts of how he spent his several months of freedom differ, however. While in his memoirs he claims merely to have hidden from the Germans, in his 1945 curriculum vitae Wiesenthal wrote that he had joined and fought in the ranks of “Jewish partisans.” In the 1948 interrogation he testified that he had been a major with the partisans, specializing in designing bunkers and fortifications, and strongly implied that his group had Soviet backing.

He claims to have been recaptured in June 1944. In the 1945 curriculum vitae, he provides this version of what happened:

It was while I was fighting in the partisan ranks against the Nazis that we managed to collect and bury for safekeeping considerable amount [sic] of evidence and other materials proving the crimes committed by Nazis. When the partisans were dispersed by the Germans I fled to Lemberg on February 10, 1944, and again wnet [sic] into hiding. On June 13, 1944, I was found during a house to house search and was immediately sent to the famous Lacki camp, near that city. Since there was no escape for the partisans who were caught, I attempted suicide by cutting the veins on my arms but was saved.

The 1945 statement does not explain how, as a Jew and a partisan, he was “saved” while in the custody of the German security forces. Wiesenthal had an answer for that question in his 1948 interrogation, however. He testified: “On 13 June 1944 we were in this bunker [in Lwów — Ed.]... A search for arms was carried out and we were discovered. We were in a position where we could not even make use of our own arms...” After being arrested, Wiesenthal states: “I immediately cut open my artery. We were taken to the Lonsky prison and they found some of my records. We had been waiting every day for a Soviet offensive, so we made certain records at this time concerning the whole partisan area where we were. These notes were in our possession, and I owe it specially to this circumstance that I was not killed right away as so many other Jews, for these records seemed to be very valuable and therefore [sic] I was taken into a prison hospital after my attempted suicide.” Thus, according to Wiesenthal’s 1948 account, he was not merely a Jew and a partisan, but an armed Jewish partisan. Inasmuch as the Red Army was driving toward the city at that time (the Germans abandoned Lwów a month later), it is difficult to understand how a partisan officer and specialist caught with partisan documents was, at the least, not speedily interrogated — rather than being allowed to recuperate in a hospital for over a month, as Wiesenthal states elsewhere in the 1948 interrogation.

As noted above, there is nothing about Wiesenthal’s having been a partisan in his memoirs. Nonetheless, *Murderers among Us* states that he was captured with a pistol (for which surely he would have been dealt with as a partisan), and “a diary [he] had kept and a list of SS guards and their crimes that he’d compiled, believing that one day it might be useful.” [9] Although the memoirs report that the pistol was immediately stolen by one of the arresting officers for sale on the black market (if Wiesenthal correctly divined his purpose), in this account Wiesenthal is nonetheless caught with a sheaf of juicy allegations against individual German officers for eventual presentation to the Allies at some later day.

Once again, Wiesenthal is not only spared, but by his account never interrogated. He claims to have evaded torture by twice attempting suicide — first by cutting his wrists, then by attempting to hang himself. After he has been hospitalized and fattened up on a fortifying diet, however, on July 15, 1944, the day appointed for his interrogation, the Germans seem to forget Wiesenthal’s diary and list: the Red Army is drawing near, and Wiesenthal is sent westward with a contingent of Jewish prisoners. [10]

Whatever is to be made of the discrepancies and improbabilities touched on above, it is worth noting that in each of the above tellings one of the most prominent “survivors” of Hitler’s alleged attempt to exterminate the Jews has acknowledged that he survived circumstances which, given an extermination policy, should have guaranteed his speedy death. [11] And, given the various implausibilities in his several accounts, the suspicion arises that Wiesenthal was in fact interrogated, raising the question: if so, why has he chosen to deny it?

Falsus in Uno ...?

A venerable legal saw has it, “Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus,” meaning, more or less, “Once a liar, always a liar.” The objection to that is that many people sometimes tell lies, yet that doesn’t mean that they always lie, let alone that their speaking a truth makes it untrue. Clearly, the less stringent interpretation must govern the evaluation of personal testimony, including that of Simon Wiesenthal. Nonetheless, often enough Wiesenthal gives us pause.

In his 1945 c.v. Wiesenthal declares: “It was during this time that my life was several times placed in extreme danger, and that I lost both of my parents who were killed by the Nazis.” In the accompanying cover letter, he writes: “With all of the members of my family and of my nearest relatives killed by the Nazis, I am asking of your kindness to place me at the disposal of the U.S. authorities investigating the war crimes.”

Wiesenthal’s memoirs, however, after noting that his father served in the Austrian army during the First World War, state unambiguously: “He was killed in action in 1915.” ^[12] Might Wiesenthal have been referring in his 1945 statement to his step-father, then? Not according to his memoirs: “Wiesenthal’s stepfather was taken to a Soviet prison, where he soon died.” ^[13] Wiesenthal is silent on the fate of his parents in his sworn statement of 1948.

Studying Wiesenthal’s false attribution of his father’s death to the Germans in 1945 (doubtless to gain sympathy from the Americans) and the many other contradictions in his testimony tempts one to augment the categories of the legists with a new one: “falsus in pluribus.”

Wiesenthal's List

The list of alleged war criminals Wiesenthal offered the American forces fills four pages, and is the first hard evidence of his Nazi-hunting activities. Deprived of the list he claims that he buried in the forest (or that perhaps the Gestapo had confiscated from him), Wiesenthal was forced to rely on his own prodigious memory, with consequences that will be noted below. There is no evidence that Wiesenthal testified in the trial of anyone designated on the roster, which as will be seen gives little hard data as to specific misdeeds of those listed, and few clues as to their whereabouts. Nonetheless, Wiesenthal’s list serves to anticipate his career as a gifted publicist of atrocity allegations — and may provide hints about certain of his wartime doings.

In the brief heading that introduces the list of ninety-one names, Wiesenthal writes: “The following is a brief list of SS men and Gestapo agents as well as Nazi party members whom I had the opportunity of seeing to partake in murder and other crimes against human life.” The list is divided into two groups, those whom Wiesenthal had encountered (or perhaps heard of) in “District Galicia (Lemberg)” and those in “Camp Cracow-Plashow” [sic].

Wiesenthal makes many accusations of mass murder (added up, the death toll he ascribes to his ninety-one Nazis comes to about 1,150,000), but gives details on very few of the crimes he alleges: in fact he names the date and place of a specific crime in only three instances. Thus, while Wiesenthal claims that someone he calls simply “Krieger, Maj. Gen. SS” (probably Obergruppenführer Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger) “On Aug. 18, 1941 finished personally 13,000 people by shooting,” and that four officers “Killed 7,000 on Nov. 18, 1943 in Lwów,” usually he favors the diachronic perspective: “Killed 1,200 Jews in his shop, Lemberg” (of Georg Gross, “chief of the Lemberg railway shops”); “Killed 8,000 Jews in Tarnopol alone” (of “Rokita,” said to be an Untersturmführer); “Greatest killer of all. His victims run into thousands” (of “Amond [sic] Goeth,” commander of the Plaszow camp near Cracow); “Responsible for several thousands of deaths”

(of someone designated simply as “Hasse”); or “Ditto” (of “Kipko, Untersturmführer” who follows “Hasse” on the list).

Despite its lack of precise information on specific misdeeds, Wiesenthal’s list abounds in concrete characterizations of those he accuses. His only accusation against one “Schermer” (perhaps Julian Scherner, who served as SS- und Polizeiführer of the Cracow district) is “Killed sick in the hospital,” while “Hujar Untersturmführer” is described as “Winner of numerous wagers by sending one bullet through two heads at a time” and “Lied,” said to be an Unterscharführer, is called a “Degenrat [sic] collector of his victims' skulls.” In some cases Wiesenthal takes care to specify exact methods, a few of which sound like categories in a hellish Holocaust Oscar night: “Worst sadist and killer using ax only,” others of which sound simply foolish: “The last two specialized in hanging and chopping men alive.” There are many lesser or vaguer accusations (“Camp’s recorder. Many cruelties”; “Introduced keenest sadism”; “‘Worked’ in Bohemia”), while about twenty persons on the list are not accused of committing any crime. The list shows glimmerings of its author’s knack for devising colorful nicknames for the headlines, but Wiesenthal was as yet short of mastery, e.g. of one “Engels, Gestapokommissar”: “Timekeeper and schedule maker for mass killing throughout Galicia.”

Although the implication of the heading is that Wiesenthal witnessed many of the misdeeds of those he lists (“whom I had the opportunity of seeing to partake in murder and other crimes against human life”), he is explicit about witnessing only one crime, the alleged shooting of thirteen men with American passports “on [sic] August, 1944.”

Seemingly deficient as hard evidence of criminal acts, the Wiesenthal list would also seem not to have been very helpful in locating the 91 persons it enumerates. Although Wiesenthal provides rank or (sometimes general) office for some 70 of those listed, he is able to supply the first names (and in one instance simply an initial) of a mere 18 of them. Forty-two of the alleged war criminals are identified by their hometowns or places of origin, but nearly all these refer simply to cities (while 2 are said to be from “Holland,” and 3 from the Batschka region, at that time occupied by Hungary). Only 5 listings mention streets, and of those just 2 give specific addresses. And Wiesenthal is able to identify the civilian occupations of only 12 of the 91 listed, and those of an additional 3 of their relatives.

It is beyond the scope of this article to attempt properly to identify the 91 persons on Wiesenthal’s list, let alone whether they committed the crimes alleged by Wiesenthal, or what became of those of them who actually existed. An analysis of Wiesenthal’s list yields data of possible significance in reconstructing certain of its author’s wartime associations, however. Wiesenthal identifies 13 of those listed as “Gestapo agent[s],” 8 of whom he places in Lemberg/Galicia, the other 5 in Cracow/Plaszow. For the remaining 78 persons listed he is able to provide 10 first names and 1 first initial (14.1 percent); 34 places of origin (43.6 percent); and 10 civilian occupations, including two of family members (12.8 percent). For his 13 alleged Gestapo agents, however, Wiesenthal gives 7 first names (53.8 percent); 9 places of origin (69.2 percent); and 5 civilian occupations, including that of one in-law (38.5 percent). Wiesenthal’s assignment of a military or police rank to only one of the 13 designated as Gestapo agents (in contrast to the other 78, for 54 of whom, among them Gestapo officers, he lists military or police ranks) strengthens the implication of the term “agent” that these were undercover operatives, whether military or civilian. That Wiesenthal is able to provide so many more particulars for such shadowy figures than he can for the more readily recognizable officers and NCOs he names would seem to add weight to the suspicion that Wiesenthal was himself an agent of the Gestapo.

Wiesenthal beneath the Whitewash

As is well known, Simon Wiesenthal has been the object of something approaching a cult since the 1960s. His skillful packaging of vengeance disguised as justice and his (often invented) adventures on the trail of euphoniously nicknamed Nazi supercriminals have made him a hero throughout the Western world. While he has had his detractors, including Israeli diplomats and intelligence operatives, Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky, and the Institute for Historical Review, their voices have been all but drowned out by a tidal wave of media acclaim. ^[14] Within the Holocaust industry, a sizable Wiesenthal industry has long flourished: there are dozens of books by and about Wiesenthal, he has been depicted in numerous films, both documentary and fictional; and the Los Angeles foundation that pays for the use of his name has raked in tens of millions of dollars in contributions and government grants.

Nonetheless, there is compelling evidence that at least one of Wiesenthal's recent biographers had access to the documents that Wiesenthal composed in 1945. In *Simon Wiesenthal: A Life in Search of Justice*, Hella Pick discloses that Wiesenthal submitted a list of ninety-one names, dated May 25, 1945, to U.S. Army authorities at Mauthausen. Pick quotes virtually the entire text of Wiesenthal's covering letter — with the notable exception of its last sentence: "To furnish you with the personal data regarding my person, a brief curriculum vitae is attached." In fact, while the author cites most of the heading, or introduction, to Wiesenthal's list, and quotes freely and accurately from various of its accusations, she makes no mention whatsoever of the curriculum vitae, which follows the cover letter and precedes the list of war criminals in the Cracow war crimes case file in which the 1945 documents are contained. ^[15] Nor does the author refer to this document in any of the corresponding passages of her account of Wiesenthal's life under the Soviets, or during the rest of the war. ^[16]

While Hella Pick and other biographers may have suppressed the evidence of Wiesenthal's wartime collaboration and general duplicity revealed in the 1945 letter, list, and c.v., that is surely less important than the massive gullibility exhibited by Wiesenthal's vast audience of admirers throughout his long career. If Pick is audacious enough to quote, approvingly, Wiesenthal's claim that "My memory in those days was excellent" immediately after her account of his 1945 statements, ^[17] doesn't such calculation accurately mirror the credulity, apathy, and sloth of the wider public? For nearly forty years now his unending "hunt" for one category of alleged criminal and his defiance of due process and historical accuracy have brought Wiesenthal the highest national honors that governments can bestow as well as the uncritical adulation of multitudes.

Wiesenthal's long life is reportedly nearing its end, leaving little hope for a thorough investigation and exposure of his actual past before his death. That should by no means preclude such an inquiry by a competent group of researchers in the years to come. Punching through the lacquered facade of the Wiesenthal myth to reveal the rot behind it would uncover at least some of the decay at work throughout Western society, past and present. And, even after Wiesenthal is gone, establishing his actual behavior during the war would likely bring the Nazi hunter's reputation down a rung or two, for facts are the nemesis of "memory."

Notes

1. ^U Memorandum from Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces. Subject: war crimes, 6 July 1945. Folder 000-50-59, Records of Headquarters U.S. Army Europe (US-AEUR), War Crimes Branch, Record Group 338, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland. A recent biography quotes Wiesenthal to the effect that he wrote the original documents in Polish the English versions held by the National Archives bear his

name, and he has made no attempt to disavow authorship. See Hella Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal: A Life in Search of Justice* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), pp. 84-5.

2. [↗](#) Interrogation no. 2820. Records of the Interrogation Division of the Evidence Branch of the Office of the Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, Record Group 238, National Archives Microfilm Publication M1019, roll 79, National Archives at College Park, College Park, Maryland. Wiesenthal's 1948 interrogation took place on May 27 and 28, ostensibly in investigation of alleged crimes by the Wehrmacht. The interrogation was conducted in German; the extracts in this article were translated by the editor, and occasionally differ from translations in the article "New Documents Raise Doubts As to Simon Wiesenthal's War Years," in the *Journal of Historical Review* 8, no. 4 (Winter 1988-89), pp. 489-503.
3. [↗](#) Simon Wiesenthal, *The Murderers among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Memoirs*, ed. Joseph Wechsberg (New York: Bantam, 1968). (The original edition was published in New York by McGraw-Hill in 1967.) While this book somewhat peculiarly combines first-person accounts of Wiesenthal's Nazi-hunting derring-do with four chapters that relate Wiesenthal's life story "as told to [editor Joseph] Wechsberg" (p. vi), it may be presumed that the biographical section has met with Wiesenthal's approval.
4. [↗](#) *Ibid.*, p. 25.
5. [↗](#) It is worthy of note that each of two recent admiring biographies of Wiesenthal, while attempting to sustain Wiesenthal's later claim to have been a bedsprings mechanic victimized by the Communists, states that he worked for a time as an architectural engineer in Odessa during the Soviet occupation. See Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal*, pp. 48-9, and Alan Levy, *The Wiesenthal File* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Co., 1994), pp. 33-4. Both books are said to be based on extensive interviews of Wiesenthal; neither account of his activities in Soviet-ruled Lwów provides any reference to documents or transcripts of the interviews.
6. [↗](#) *Murderers*, pp. 26-27.
7. [↗](#) For example, Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky, a Jew and an inmate of Nazi concentration camps, claimed that Wiesenthal collaborated with the Gestapo during the war. See his statement in Mark Weber, "Simon Wiesenthal: Fraudulent Nazi Hunter," *JHR* 15, no. 4 (July-August 1995), pp. 9-10.
8. [↗](#) See *Murderers*, pp. 33-34; 1948 interrogation; 1945 c.v.
9. [↗](#) *Murderers*, p. 34.
10. [↗](#) *Ibid.*, 35-7.
11. [↗](#) In another sworn statement, this one an application for reparations to a state pension board in Düsseldorf dating from 1954 ("Eidesstattliches Erklärung über die Zeit meiner Verfolgung," in Robert Drechsler, *Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation* [Vienna: n.p., 1982], *Dokumente zur Zeitgeschichte* 1/1982), Wiesenthal claims that he was tortured (presumably to gain information) just after his capture, but escaped by cutting his wrists and being taken to the hospital. Wiesenthal's willingness to contradict his other accounts on this detail might be explained by his desire to obtain reparation monies. This statement contains no information about his time under Soviet occupation.
12. [↗](#) *Murderers*, p. 23.
13. [↗](#) *Murderers*, p. 25.
14. [↗](#) Mark Weber, "Simon Wiesenthal: Fraudulent Nazi Hunter," *JHR* 15, no. 4 (July-August 1995), *passim*.
15. [↗](#) Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal*, pp. 85/6.
16. [↗](#) Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal*, pp. 48-73, *passim*. According to Pick (p. 85) the well-known screenwriter Abby Mann (*Judgement at Nuremberg*) consulted the Wiesenthal documents from 1945 at the National Archives while researching his Emmy Award-winning script for

the 1989 television miniseries *Murderers among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story*. Although we have not seen the miniseries, reports make clear that Mann, who befriended Wiesenthal while a U.S. Army lieutenant at Mauthausen in 1945, omitted anything seriously jarring to the legend in his script.

17.  Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal*, pp. 85.

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'Nothing Has Been Invented': The War Journalism of Boris Polevoy

Don Heddesheimer

Krushinsky and I had been the first correspondents to visit Oswiecim, then still called by its German name, Auschwitz. We had flown in after our troops and seen this vast death camp virtually still in running order ... By the time Sergei Krushinsky and I reached Birkenau, all the buildings of this fake junction and the gas chambers had been blown up and only a maze of railway tracks remained. An ordinary railway time-table was jutting out of the heaps of smashed concrete: "Train departures to Vienna ... Belgrade ... Paris ... Milan ..." We met a Polish partisan in a railwayman's uniform and square cap who knew Russian. He told us about everything that had been going on here. He showed us the so-called bath house lying in ruins and gray mounds of something resembling charcoal mingled with white stony fragments. This was ash, human ash from the ovens, 'fireplaces,' as they were called here. It crackled rather strangely as though it were moaning in pain and begging for retribution." [1]

These emotive words, written over twenty years after the war, are those of Soviet journalist Boris Polevoy. [2] Once a celebrated literary figure in the USSR, today Polevoy is known to revisionists as the author of one of the first news reports on Auschwitz after its capture on January 27, 1945. Thanks to the work of Faurisson, Walendy, and others, that story, which appeared in Pravda, the leading newspaper of the Soviet Communist party, on February 2, 1945, is now widely known to differ drastically from the later orthodox account of the camp. Polevoy described how Auschwitz inmates were exterminated, not in gas chambers, but on an electric conveyor belt that electrocuted hundreds of them simultaneously, then dropped their bodies into a flaming blast furnace. He reported enormous mass graves, filled with at least four layers of bodies. Polevoy also described zinc-covered benches fitted with straps for restraining inmates, on which inmates were beaten to death with truncheons manufactured by the Krupp factory in Dresden. [3]

Revisionist researchers have concentrated chiefly on the factual discrepancies of Polevoy's report, consistent with their general approach to the extermination literature. Such work is of course vital, but Polevoy's activity as a journalist was not limited to writing on Auschwitz or the Holocaust. As a propagandist Polevoy had few equals in depicting German savagery or in glorifying Soviet heroism. His numerous writings on the war, published in the most influential newspaper of the USSR, not only epitomized Soviet propaganda but also influenced Soviet behavior. The purpose of this article is to acquaint readers with Boris Polevoy, his writings, and certain literary techniques which rendered them effective.

A Life for the Soviet

Few reporters of the Second World War were as accomplished, or as influential, as the Soviet writer Boris Nikolaevich Kampov (1908-1981), who wrote under the pseudonym Boris Polevoy.

Polevoy, the son of a physician, although of Jewish heritage, was born “beyond the pale” in Moscow in 1908. As a young writer he showed enough promise to join a select group of Soviet writers under the patronage of Maxim Gorky. [4]

It was not until the Second World War that Polevoy became famous throughout the Soviet Union. From the 1939-40 “winter war” with Finland to the fall of Berlin, Polevoy covered the front as a reporter for Pravda, while holding the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Red Army. He served six months on assignment to Stalingrad, and was present when General von Paulus emerged to surrender from his headquarters in a department store basement. Polevoy reported on the Red Army’s advance from Kharkov through Bessarabia, across Poland, and into the heart of Germany. When American and Soviet forces met on the Elbe, Polevoy was there, and he visited Hitler’s underground bunker in Berlin while fighting still raged in the German capital. [5] Following the Allied victory Polevoy, heading a team of Soviet journalists, reported on the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg as special correspondent for Pravda.

Polevoy’s books, articles, and political commentaries gained him an international readership well before the end of the war. He remained influential until his death in 1981, at which time he was secretary of the all-powerful Union of Soviet Writers. During his lifetime, Polevoy was named a Hero of Socialist Labor and awarded the Stalin Prize for literature, three Orders of Lenin, two Red Banners, the Red Star, and the Gold Medal of the World Peace Council. To this day a commercial cargo ship bears his name; [6] an opera has been written about him; [7] and at least one of his admirers still leads a nation: Fidel Castro praised one of Polevoy’s books in a meeting with Leonard Brezhnev. [8]

Gorky's Influence

Polevoy’s mentor Maxim Gorky (Alexei Maximovich Peshkov, 1868-1936), whose pseudonymous last name means bitter, had been a close friend of Lenin. While his attitude toward the Soviet Union was sometimes ambivalent, in his last years he became a committed Communist. Gorky was the USSR’s leading authority on the complex relationship between political and literary issues, so important in the history of Russian letters, and was the most important link between pre-revolutionary and Soviet literature. [9]

Gorky set out to create a literature that would express the ideals and further the goals of the Bolshevik revolution. He saw “the people,” rather than religion, as the only inexhaustible spring of spiritual values. Indeed, Gorky’s school of Soviet writers strove to produce a literature that would instill in the masses the kind of loyalty and dedication to the Soviet regime that they had once felt toward religion. “This concept of the people, and the new Communist Russia they belonged to, gave rise to a feeling for the mother country which could lead people to dedicate their lives to it.” [10] Gorky elaborated these goals in the 1920s and 1930s, and, put into practice by his many disciples, they exercised a profound influence on Soviet literature in the following decades.

Gorky urged his apprentices to study and learn from the great Russian writers of the past. In one recorded counsel to Polevoy, Gorky, commenting in 1928 on one of the younger writer’s manuscripts (probably “The Forge Shop”), wrote that “just as a lathe worker shapes wood or metal, the literary man must know his material: language and words.” [11]

Reportage in Red

During the war Polevoy wrote diary-like accounts of his activities as Pravda correspondent with the Red Army. His reports on his own experiences and on his interviews with soldiers and civil-

ians reliably followed the Soviet line. Polevoy portrayed the German invaders as technologically advanced barbarians who had assaulted the peaceful USSR treacherously and without provocation, unleashing a struggle between good, personified by the Soviet peoples, and the evil of Nazi “fascism.” What made Polevoy’s writing stand out, however, was not rote propaganda abstractions, but the impact of particular, tangible, and often ordinary details that lent both credibility and emotion to his words.

Typical of this genre of Polevoy’s reportage was “Regimental Colors,” ^[12] which was published in England in 1945, but had certainly appeared in the Soviet Union before that. It describes how eight survivors of a Red Army tank regiment that had been decimated in battle saved their unit’s standard, then fought on behind the lines as partisans. Nazis from the Gestapo captured three of the Soviet tankers turned guerrillas, and interrogated them to no avail. After stripping the Soviet heroes to expose them to the full fury of the frigid Russian winter, the fiendish Nazis poured cold water over the Soviets until they were frozen into statues. The secret they went to their terrible deaths to conceal? Where they had hidden their regimental colors. The Nazis then went to work on the peasants. Polevoy assures his readers that the Germans “burned their bodies with soldering irons, drove nails into their arms and legs and lopped off their ears, sliced their noses and gouged out their eyes,” but the peasants too went to their deaths rather than reveal the banner’s whereabouts. And the regimental flag was never captured: a lovely young collective farm girl had wrapped it in clean linen and wound it around her body. She wore it day and night until the arrival of its rightful bearers, the Red Army.

“A Copy of Pravda” ^[13] recapitulates that simple story of Red loyalty and heroism in defense of Soviet ideals, as objectified in the regimental banner, against Nazi savagery. But Polevoy tells his Pravda tale with a twist that reminds of his aim, as Gorky’s disciple, to transform the religious fervor of the people into a burning dedication to the Communist regime. Writing of how fervently the leading party newspaper was esteemed by Soviet readers under German occupation, Polevoy writes, quoting one of them:

There are all kinds of legends current in our village about this paper. It is said that the Germans threw it in the fire but it didn’t burn; then they tried to drown it in the river but it wouldn’t drown. So they became furious, crumpled it, pushed it into a shell and fired the shell, but the paper wasn’t lost and now there are thousands of them.

Thus, in Polevoy’s telling, a solitary copy of *Pravda* proves indestructible, and even (metaphorically) capable of multiplying independently and indefinitely. The irony of the single most influential newspaper of the world’s leading force for dialectical materialism behaving like a prop in a fairy tale was probably lost on a good many of Polevoy’s readers.

Polevoy could conjure up the mawkish as well as supernatural in the service of Soviet propaganda. One of his dispatches from the battle of Berlin was entitled “Front Line at the Eisenstrasse” (which he described as an avenue lined with old beech trees that ran through no man’s land). He reported that a curly haired German girl, no more than two or three years old, wandered out between the two front lines, lost and crying. She was rescued by a Soviet soldier — but no sooner than he had performed that heroic act, he was cut down by an SS man’s bullet (a statue commemorating this alleged incident still stands in eastern Berlin). The absence of an Eisenstrasse in Berlin was remedied some thirty years later when the Communist East German authorities decided that Polevoy meant “Elsenstrasse,” and that the “l” on the street sign must have been hit by a bullet so that it looked like an “i.” ^[14] Whatever the truth of this suspicious story, it stands the actual conduct of Soviet troops toward German civilians on its head.

Polevoy's most successful and widely sold book was *A Story about a Real Man*. ^[15] It became the basis of an opera by Prokofiev, was made into a popular Soviet motion picture, and gained Polevoy the Stalin Prize in 1951. Written shortly after the war, this semi-documentary "non-fiction" novel's protagonist was Alexei, a Soviet pilot who had been shot down in combat behind enemy lines and lost both his feet to gangrene before being rescued by partisans. While being treated in a Moscow hospital, he was inspired by a comrade who had also been wounded, Commissar Vorobyov. The commissar told Alexei of socialist heroes who had overcome similar difficulties and gone on to hold important positions in the party. Vorobyov used his influence to enable Alexei's rehabilitation and return to the front. Fitted with artificial feet, Alexei learned to walk, and just as important, to fly again. Reassigned to his old unit, he returned to combat. In the book's climactic episode, Alexei wins a dogfight with a pilot from the Richthofen squadron: it is the German flier who flinches, not the Soviet man of steel.

A Story about a Real Man has been translated into many different languages, and inspired Communists around the world. A Soviet literary magazine reported handwritten copies of it made by North Vietnamese soldiers, and there exists a copy said to have been pierced by a bullet and stained with the blood of a Greek partisan. ^[16] Unfortunately for Polevoy's bona fides, the great popularity and resultant scrutiny of *A Story about a Real Man* aroused a burning desire among its readers to find out more about Alexei and Commissar Vorobyov. While Polevoy was able to produce a pilot who had lost his feet, he eventually had to admit that Commissar Vorobyov existed only in the author's imagination. ^[17]

Verisimilitude and Chicken Soup

Many of Polevoy's accounts begin with such words as, "Nothing has been invented," or "All of the people in this book really lived," or "There is nothing imaginary in this book." In straightforward works of fiction, such statements would be seen as literary devices. In Polevoy's reportage and non-fiction books, his assurances that he is telling the unembroidered truth set the tone for his development, in concrete and realistic terms, of his accounts of persons met and things witnessed or heard. Polevoy tells readers how, where, and when he met his narratives' heroes, whether real or invented. He sets his scenes with prosaic exactitude. What comes next, whether an over-the-top atrocity story, a miraculous tale of Red courage, or an invented commissar, becomes believable because it seems to have evolved naturally from the ordinary and specific details that led up to it. In these writings of Polevoy, Commissar Vorobyov, a copy of Pravda, the regimental flag for which Germans torture and Soviets die, the nonexistent Berlin street where a Red Army man gave his life to save a small German girl, and the human ash that crackles as though moaning in pain and pleading for revenge at Auschwitz all function as markers of verisimilitude even as they convey a highly emotional message.

Polevoy carefully shapes and develops his narratives to maximize the emotional involvement of his readers. Take his use of a simple bowl of chicken soup. While most people are vaguely aware that chicken soup comes from chickens, wherever there is chicken soup, there is a story of the life and death of a chicken. In *A Story about a Real Man*, the hero Alexei, behind enemy lines and unable to walk, is given chicken soup by an old woman in a village. Polevoy weaves in a moving tale: the Germans have shot her whole family, all except for one chicken. The chicken hid up in the loft whenever the Germans came, and was therefore nicknamed Partisanka by the villagers. To feed Alexei chicken soup, the old woman must kill Partisanka. Thus the giving of chicken soup to a soldier becomes the occasion of a sacrifice, if not a sacrament.

Atrocity Tales

Seen in the above light, the accounts by Polevoy — and many other propagandists — of German atrocities become rather more transparent. For instance, it is not enough for Polevoy to write that the Germans requisitioned the University of Kharkov. He reported that they turned the buildings into a breeding ground for pigs, covering the parquet floors with straw and droppings. [18] In the same “Soviet war correspondent’s notebook” that contains the Kharkov tale, Polevoy describes a school in Moldavia which the Germans took over and converted into a stable, amusing themselves in the schoolyard by setting up a shooting gallery, playing soccer with the school’s globes, “drinking the alcohol out of jars containing zoological specimens and roasting pork on a fire fed by school books.” [19]

Needless to say, Polevoy was in his element at Nuremberg, where libellous lies of the same kind as he churned out for the Soviet public were given the seal of authenticity by the Allied judges. He was one of the most eminent writers of an entire corps of Soviet journalists, which included the notorious Ilya Ehrenburg. His later book *The Final Reckoning: Nuremberg Diaries*, based on his notes from the trial, contain harrowing descriptions, crafted with loving care, of such discredited evidence against the Germans as “human soap” and a head claimed to have been shrunk and turned into a curio in a concentration camp.

Note the consistency of Polevoy’s technique in describing the head:

A human head was standing on an elegant marble base under a bell-glass. Yes, a human head with long, swept back hair, shrunk in some incomprehensible way to the size of a large fist. It was apparently one of the ornaments and knickknacks made by some of the monstrous “craftsmen” in a concentration camp, which were then presented as souvenirs to distinguished visitors by the camp chief. The prisoner who caught the gentleman — or lady — visitor’s eye was killed, the brain and crushed bones of the head were extracted by some technique through the neck, the head was shrunk by some process, stuffed and mounted as a statuette or ornament. [20]

And see how he breathes life into the faded soap and skin lies:

On the Prosecutor’s instructions, all the sheets were removed from the display stands and tables. We saw a display of human skin in various stages of processing: freshly flayed, cleaned of flesh, tanned and, finally, furnished leather articles — elegant ladies’ shoes, handbags, briefcases, blotting pads and even jackets. Boxes of different kinds of soap were also lying on the tables: ordinary soap, household soap, baby soap, industrial soap and fragrant toilet soap in attractive colorful wrappings.” [21]

The Nuremberg Trials: Final Reckoning is a very readable book, and certainly captures much of the spirit of the trials. As Polevoy wrote in a brief introduction, however, a key motive in his writing it over twenty years after Nuremberg was to combat a resurgence of revisionism: “Recently, however, books have begun to appear in the West whose authors have attempted to cast doubt on the justice meted out by the International Military Tribunal, and have even declared the trial a historical mistake.” [22]

'Check Up on Me'

Young Boris Nikolaevich Kampov may have chosen the pen name of Boris Polevoy to evoke the classical nineteenth century Russian writer Nikolai Polevoi. Nikolai Polevoi wrote fiction based on famous historical events, changing and distorting facts to fit his story. In the introduction to

An Oath at the Holy Sepulcher, an historical novel by Nikolai Polevoi first published in 1832, the earlier classical Polevoi provides this imaginary dialogue between the reader and the author:

Reader: Should we believe everything you will tell us? You speak of a true story, but perhaps, all this will turn out to be fiction.

Nikolai Polevoi: What is the problem? Check [up on] me. [23]

Advice to be heeded from the original Polevoi: for it applies not only to the writings of the Communist journalist and novelist who adopted his name, but also to many another chronicler of war — past, present, and future.

Notes

1. ↪ Boris Polevoi, *The Final Reckoning: Nuremberg Diaries* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978), pp. 113, 161.
2. ↪ Sometimes transliterated from the Cyrillic alphabet to English as Polevoi or Polowej.
3. ↪ <http://www.fpp.co.uk/Auschwitz/docs/Pravda020245.html>
4. ↪ Vadim Kozhevnikov, "In Memoriam, Boris Polevoy," in *Soviet Literature*, Nov.1981, pp. 189-191.
5. ↪ Boris Polevoi, *Final Reckoning*, dust jacket notes.
6. ↪ Boris Polevoy, a ship owned by the Metz Container Line, which maintains offices in Beirut, Montreal, Egypt, Romania, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere. <http://www.metz.ca/boris.htm>
7. ↪ David Finko, *That Song*, one-act opera after Boris Polevoy. Finko, a Russian-Jewish emigre, has taught music at several American universities, including Yale, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Texas.
8. ↪ "Conversation with Comrade Fidel, February 20, 1974" at: <http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/cb/cuba/castro/1974/19740220>
9. ↪ Irwin Weil, *Gorky, His Literary Development and Influence on Soviet Intellectual Life* (New York: Random House, 1966).
10. ↪ Otto Hoetzsch, *The Evolution of Russia* (London: Thames and Hudson,1966), pp. 196-7.
11. ↪ Weil, *Gorky*, p.116.
12. ↪ Boris Polevoi, *To the Last Breath* (New York: Hutchinson and Co., 1945). Should the reader wonder, this book has been classified as non-fiction by the Library of Congress.
13. ↪ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
14. ↪ S. Dangulov, "Boris Polevoy: New Works," *Soviet Literature*, Feb. 1980.
15. ↪ Boris Polevoi, *A Story about a Real Man*, first published in English in 1952 by Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Reprinted in 1970 by Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut.
16. ↪ *Soviet Literature*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1968), pp. 152-6.
17. ↪ *Ibid.*, p. 154.
18. ↪ Boris Polevoi, *From Belgorod to the Carpathians: From a Soviet War Correspondent's Notebook* (New York: Hutchinson and Company Ltd., 1945). This is a war diary that covers the period August 1943 to April 1944.
19. ↪ *Ibid.*, p. 144.
20. ↪ *Final Reckoning*, p. 112.

21. ↻ Ibid., p. 112.

22. ↻ Ibid., p. 53.

23. ↻ Dan Ungurianu, “Fact and Fiction in the Romantic Historical Novel,” *The Russian Review*, July 1998, pp. 380-4.

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The Gulag: Communism's Penal Colonies Revisited

Dan Michaels

During the twentieth century it became common practice for nations to detain citizens whose loyalty to the state was considered unreliable or suspect in times of war or “national emergency.” To sequester such persons Britain, the United States, and Germany all established centers, variously called (often depending on who won and who lost) relocation centers, detention centers, labor camps, concentration camps, or death camps. Depending on circumstances, the treatment of inmates varied from benign to cruel. Such facilities in these countries were, however, temporary measures undertaken during times of national peril. Only in the Soviet Union, where such camps were collectively known as the Gulag (an acronym in Russian for the Main Directorate of Corrective Labor Camps and Colonies), were they a permanent and integral part of the government.

Beginning in the 1970s, British researcher Robert Conquest and Russian Nobel laureate (and former Gulag detainee) Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn did much to alert the world to the horrors of the USSR's vast penal empire. Conquest's readership has been limited largely to historians and the better educated, while today Solzhenitsyn's monumental Gulag Archipelago is scarcely read at all, except in a condensed version. Over the past decade, however, their pioneer work has been supported and elaborated on by serious studies compiled by survivors of the Soviet camps and by Russian, French, and German scholars. The most important of these (and the basis for this essay) are: The Gulag Handbook by Jacques Rossi; Sistema ispravitel'no-trudovoykh lagerey v SSSR.1923-1960 (The System of Corrective Labor Camps in the USSR, 1923-1960), by a team of Russian researchers; Ralf Stettner's recent study of the Gulag under Stalin; former Gulag administrator D.S. Baldaev's Gulag Zeichnungen (Sketches from the Gulag); Avraham Shifrin's somewhat older Guidebook to Prisons and Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union; and the powerful Black Book of Communism, by Stéphane Courtois. ^[1]

For whatever reason, American researchers have seemed content to relegate the “Gulag archipelago” to the dustbin of history. Pitifully for the reputation of the United States and Great Britain, all too many of their scholars, writers, artists, and politicians ignored, or even sought to justify, the Soviet camps when Communism ruled Russia. Their infrequent condemnation of the Soviet penal system was all too often on behalf of Communists who had fallen from favor. In 1944 Franklin Delano Roosevelt's vice president, Henry Wallace, visited one of the worst and most brutal of the Soviet penal camps, Magadan, lauding its sadistic commander, Ivan Nikishov, and describing Magadan as “idyllic.”

Workings of the Gulag

Organizationally the Gulag was subordinated to the secret police entity of the day (successively, Cheka, GPU, OGPU, NKVD, MVD, and KGB, from the last of which emanate many of the leaders of today's Russian Federation). The founder of the Soviet secret police, Feliks Dzerzhinsky,

expressed the guiding principle of the Cheka in 1918: “We represent in ourselves organized terror — this must be said very clearly.” All subsequent Soviet governments have rigorously observed that principle. In one consequence of that rigor, conditions in the camps of Communist Russia were typically far more brutal than those of the dreaded Siberian exile under the Tsars.

If France had one notorious penal colony — Devil’s Island — the Soviet Union had hundreds. Of several thousand work camps of various types, more than five hundred were officially ITL (for “*ispravitel'no-trudovoy lager*”), corrective labor camps and penal colonies. The first of these was established in 1917; eventually the ITL camps extended across the breadth of the USSR, from the severe arctic conditions of the far north to the scorched plains of Central Asia. Or, as Solzhenitsyn put it: “from the Cold Pole at Oy-Myakon to the copper mines of Dzhezkazgan.”

Since the camp system was essential to the Soviet economy, the inmates were put to work in every aspect of hard labor — in railroad construction, road building, canal building, forestry, mining, agriculture, construction sites, etc., under conditions that were usually inhuman and unhealthy, and oftentimes deadly. Women, though housed in separate barracks, often shared the same work camps as the men — and worked side by side with them at the same labor. There were special camps for children, for mothers with babies, and other exceptional cases. Psychiatric wards (*psikhol'nitsy*) “treated” other intractable “enemies of the people.”

In 1943, with the “Great Patriotic War” raging, the Communists introduced an even severer category of labor camp, the “*katorga*” (hard labor camp), within the ITL system. Prisoners assigned to a *katorga* were assigned the hardest work and received the lowest rations and the least medical attention. (The word “*katorga*” stems from in Tsarist times, when hard labor, along with “*ssylka*,” or Siberian exile, were standard, though much milder, punishments.)

As was the practice in the Soviet civilian sector in general, and long predating the German use of similar slogans in their concentration camps, the importance and joys of work were proclaimed and extolled by countless slogans posted in the camps: “Work is a matter of honor, fame, courage, and heroism”; “Shock work is the fastest way to freedom”; or, more ominously, “No work, no food.”

The basic daily food ration (the “*payka*”) ranged from 400 to 800 grams of bread, which accounted for more than half the prisoner’s daily calories (1200-1300). This amount varied, depending on whether the prisoner was a shock worker or a Stakhanovite, an invalid, in isolation, etc. The most productive workers received a food bonus of fish, potatoes, porridge, or vegetables to supplement his bread. (Coincidentally, the American Morgenthau Plan for occupied Germany called for the allotment of about the same number of calories [1300] a day per German.) The UN World Health Organization sets the minimum requirements for heavy labor at from 3100-3900 calories per day.

The inmate population reflected a cross-section of the USSR: Christian and Muslim clergymen, “*kulaks*” (or independent farmers), political dissidents, common criminals, “economic criminals,” the remnants of the old elite, Communists who had fallen from favor, ethnic minorities, the homeless, “unpersons,” “hooligans,” and persons who had been, once too often, tardy at work.

Within the camps of the Gulag, inmate society came to be broken down into categories that depended on the prisoner’s particular crime. Most political prisoners or counterrevolutionaries were referred to as “58ers” for having violated Article 58 of the criminal code; common criminals were called “*urki*” or “*blatnyaki*”; less violent criminals accused of violating some aspect of the civil code were categorized as “*bytoviki*”; individuals accused of undermining Soviet economic laws were referred to as subversives or pests — “*vrediteli*” in Russian; trustees or “*pridurki*” in

the camps, those most likely to survive their imprisonment, acted as camp service personnel. All inmates were referred to as “zeki,” the acronym for the Russian word for prisoner.

Reform, Soviet Style

Of all those who helped devise and perfect the slave labor system of the Gulag, special mention must be made of Naftaly Aronovich Frenkel. Frenkel, a Jew born in Turkey in 1883, had been a prosperous merchant there, but after the Bolshevik revolution he moved — as did an appreciable number of Jews — to the Soviet Union. Based in Odessa as an agent of the State Political Administration, Frenkel was responsible for the acquisition and confiscation of gold from the wealthier classes. The unscrupulous Frenkel was unable to resist this temptation, however, and in 1927 was arrested, on orders of the Moscow central office, for skimming off too much gold for himself. Convicted of economic crimes, he was sent to the Solovetsky Special Purpose Camp (or SLON, as it was designated by the Soviet bureaucracy), a bleak Arctic penal colony. Frenkel’s special talent for improving inmate work efficiency was quickly noticed by the camp officials there, and it was not long before he was ordered to explain his ideas and methods to Stalin personally. His main proposal was to link a prisoner’s food ration, especially hot food, to his production, essentially substituting hunger for the knout as the main work incentive. Frenkel had also observed that a prisoner’s most productive work is usually done in the first three months of his captivity, after which he or she was in so debilitated a state that the output of the inmate population could be kept high only by removing (killing off) the exhausted prisoners and replacing them with fresh inmates. Another method of stimulating enthusiasm for work among prisoners — and at the same time culling the camp population by killing off the weak — was quite simple. When the prisoners were called out on a work detail, they fell into line. The last man in to line up would be shot as a laggard (“dokhodyaga”), one weakened enough to be useless for work. These policies would ensure a constant inflow of new prisoners, providing fresh labor while weeding out opposition to Stalin and his party.

So pleased was Stalin with Frenkel’s ideas on the efficient exploitation of inmate labor that he made him construction chief of the White Sea Canal project, and later of the BAM railroad project. In 1937 Stalin appointed Frenkel head of the newly founded Main Administration of Railroad Construction Camps (GULZhDS). In that capacity, Frenkel was called upon to provide railroad transport facilities to the Red Army in the 1939-40 “Winter War” against Finland, and for the duration of Soviet participation in the Second World War. He was eventually awarded the Order of Lenin three times, named a Hero of Socialist Labor, and promoted to the rank of general in the NKVD.

The methods instituted by Frenkel in building the White Sea-Baltic Sea Canal became the standard operating procedures for most subsequent labor camps, including the BAM (Baltic-Amur Magistral) railroad project, the Dalstroy (Far East Construction), Vorkuta, Kolyma, Magadan, and countless other hell holes. Working on the BAM project after the war, the inmates noted that many of the rails were marked “made in Canada” — a reminder of the aid given by the Western powers to support the Soviet war effort.

Welcome Guests

The number of inmates varied over time. Thus, for example, there were roughly 300,000 prisoners in Soviet labor camps as early as 1932, a million in 1935, and two million by 1940. (President Roosevelt officially recognized the Soviet Union in 1933, extending the hand of friendship to its leader just as Stalin was starving and imprisoning millions of his subjects in Ukraine and Russia.) During the war, Stalin displayed his own brand of clemency by permitting some one million

inmates to serve in various Red Army penal units. These were employed in clearing out mine-fields, not infrequently by walking through them at gunpoint, and in other hazardous tasks. Nevertheless, the population of the Soviet concentration camp system rose precipitously in 1945-46.

From 1939 on, the Gulag filled up with nationals from the USSR's enemies: Finns, Poles, Germans, Italians, Romanians, and Japanese, many of whom were held for years after 1945. Although, technically, German prisoners of war were under the jurisdiction of GUPVI (Main Directorate for POW and Internee Affairs), they were nonetheless used no differently than other Gulag inmates. Indeed, in the first few years of the war the death rate for POWs exceeded that for non-POWs in the camps. Comparatively few German were taken alive before Stalingrad. Most were shot out of hand, many of them mutilated. Of the 95,000 German POWs captured at Stalingrad, only 5,000 survived to return home. Of the dead, some forty thousand did not survive the march from Stalingrad to the Beketovka camp, where 42,000 more perished of hunger and disease. Particularly murderous treatment was inflicted on SS POWs, many of whom, along with remnants of the Vlasov forces, were imprisoned and died on Wrangel Island.

By the war's end, the USSR held 3.4 million German soldiers prisoner. Under the provisions of the Yalta Agreement, the U.S. and U.K. had agreed to the use of German POWs in the Soviet Gulag as "reparations-in-kind." Thus, rather than repatriate them to their homeland, Stalin began incorporating this captive human booty into the work camps in the summer of 1945. Recognizing that the German prisoners of war were productive workers, Stalin ordered that they be given food rations proportionate to their work. The ration included 600 grams of black bread every day, spaghetti, a little meat, sugar, vegetables, and rice. Officers got somewhat more, while, naturally, Axis "war criminals" got less. Nonetheless, between 1941 and 1952, almost a million German POWs died in the camps. The last of the surviving POWs (10,000 men) were released from the Soviet Union in 1955, after a decade of forced labor. Approximately 1.5 million German soldiers from the Second World War are still listed as missing in action. Of an additional 875,000 German civilians abducted and transported to the camps, almost half perished.

When the war ended in May 1945, British and U.S. civilian authorities ordered their military forces in Germany to deliver to the Communists great numbers of former residents of the USSR, including men who had taken up arms with the Germans against the Soviets, prisoners of war, forced and voluntary workers in the German wartime economy, and numerous persons who had left Russia and established different citizenship many years before. This "repatriation" of 4.2 million ethnic Russians and 1.6 million Russian POWs from defeated Germany was augmented, as noted above, by a great influx of German POWs and the arrival of large numbers of civilians abducted or deported from Germany and Eastern Europe. Tens of thousands of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians were deported to Soviet camps, to be replaced in their homelands by Soviet settlers. While most repatriated ethnic Russian civilians, chiefly the women and children, were eventually reincorporated into Soviet life, the Russian POWs and the Vlasov men were put under the jurisdiction of SMERSH (Death to Spies), which sentenced about a third of a million to serve from ten to twenty years in the Gulag. In 1947, swollen by the dictates of Yalta and by Operation Keelhaul, the total number of Gulag prisoners hit its peak at about nine million.

After Stalin

After the war, the most wretched and hazardous work continued to be relegated to the inmates of the Gulag. Thus, under the direct supervision of secret police chief Lavrenty Beria, thousands of Gulag inmates were used to support the Soviet nuclear bomb project by mining uranium and preparing test facilities on Novaya Zemlya, Vaygach Island, Semipalatinsk, and dozens of other

sites. Later, the Soviet navy employed Gulag prisoners to rid decommissioned nuclear-powered submarines of radioactivity.

In 1953, the year of Stalin's death, the Gulag held around 2.7 million prisoners. Over the next two years the number of inmates fell rapidly — which is not to say that the Gulag withered away under Stalin's successors.

Danchik Sergeyevich Baldaev, an MVD major who worked in the Gulag from 1951 until his retirement in 1981, has published a book of drawings depicting the travails and agonies of Russians and others declared “enemies of the people” in the post-Stalin Gulag. Baldaev's book is arranged thematically, with sections on camp organization, tortures and cruelties, sex, food and housing, climatic conditions, common and political criminals, and so on. Despite his own past and the horrors of his topic, he succeeds in depicting the entire pathology of the Communist camps and their overlords in an almost clinical manner, starkly and without theatrics.

As Baldaev makes clear, while officially the KGB administered the operation of the camps, unofficially, inside the barracks, common criminals (murderers, rapists, and psychopaths of every variety) ruled, using and abusing the women and the weak. Calling themselves “vory v zakone” (literally, thieves within the law, the type of which is a ceremonially installed criminal leader who decides disputes and divides spoils), these thugs were Mafiosi of the lowest type.

Women in the Gulag were preyed upon from all quarters. During their transport to the camps they were often raped on the transport ships or in the railroad cars. Upon arrival at their destination they would be paraded naked in front of the camp officials, who would select those they fancied, promising easier work in exchange for sexual favors. These officials, according to Baldaev, preferred German, Latvian, and Estonian women, who most likely would never see home again, over native Russian women, who might. Women not selected by the camp officials became “prizes” for male (and sometimes lesbian) criminals. Besides the everyday tortures of starvation, work exhaustion, exposure to the cold of the far north, and physical abuse, the more intractable prisoners of either sex might be subjected to isolation, impalement, genital mutilation, or, more mercifully, a bullet in the back of the head.

Empire of Death

It is estimated that more than thirty million prisoners entered the Gulag during the half century in which it flourished. Not all of them perished, of course. Short termers, especially, might endure their five-year sentence and be released. In some cases, however, prisoners who had served their time in the Gulag were denied return to their homes, and forced to live out the remainder of their lives in towns near the camp. Robert Conquest, who of Western scholars has done the most to investigate and to reveal the crimes of the Soviet regime, estimates that one out of every three new inmates died during the first year of imprisonment. Only half made it through the third year. Conquest estimates that during the “Great Terror” of the late 1930s alone, there were six million arrests, two million executions, and another two million deaths from other causes in the camps. It is Conquest's belief that, by the time of Stalin's death in 1953, about twelve million had perished in the Gulag. Certain investigators, such as the late Andrei Sakharov, have put the figure much higher, from 15 to 20 million. These apparent discrepancies result from honest historians studying crimes, committed in a closed society, of a magnitude never before seen, without reliable documentation.

A grotesque ritual evolved for the thorough disposal of the wasted bodies of inmates who had succumbed to hunger, exhaustion, exposure, and malnutrition. A wooden marker with the de-

ceased inmate's identification number was affixed to his left leg, and gold teeth or fillings pried out. To ensure that the death was not feigned, the skull of the inmate was smashed with a hammer, or a metal spike driven into the chest. The near naked corpse would then be removed from the camp area and buried in an unmarked grave.

Voices against Oblivion

In recent years various German groups have, with the cooperation of the Russians, been establishing memorials for the German civilians and soldiers who died in the Soviet Union. Recently, a Russian Jew, Aleksandr Gutman, produced a documentary film in which he interviewed four German women from East Prussia who as young girls had been raped by Red Army troops, then transported soon after the war to a particularly hellish outpost of the Gulag, no. 517, near Petrozavodsk in Karelia. Of the 1,000 girls and women who were transported to that camp, 522 died within six months of their arrival. These women were among tens of thousands of German civilians, men and women, deported, with the acquiescence of the Western powers, to the Soviet Union as German "reparations-in-kind" for slave labor. One of the women interviewed by Gutman remarks: "While the diary of Anne Frank is known throughout the world, we carry our memories in our hearts." Recently, German philanthropists established a memorial cemetery for those women who perished in slave pen no. 517. [2]

After rejection by numerous film festivals due to its "controversial" nature, Gutman's *Journey Back to Youth* (Russian title: *Puteshestviye v yunost*) was finally accepted by the 34th International Film Festival in Houston, Texas, where it won the top prize — the Platinum Award — for 2001 (the film subsequently earned the U.S. International Film and Video Festival's Gold Camera award). When Gutman attempted to show the documentary in New York City, however, it opened and closed to such taunts as: "He should be killed for making such a movie. Shame, a Jew describing the sufferings of Germans."

The Perversion of Memory

Today we Americans, from children to dotards, are bombarded with Holocaustiana, a saturation that borders on, and in some case results in, Holocaustomania. Yet rarely are we informed of the cruel purposes and the sadistic workings of the Soviet labor camps. More than half a century after the end of the Second World War, the U.S. Justice Department maintains a special branch — the Office of Special Investigations — exclusively dedicated to the investigation, prosecution, and deportation of former Axis soldiers and officials. Most of those who have been prosecuted served as low-ranking guards at wartime German camps. But no such American office has ever been created to hunt out the officials who headed and ran the Communists' camps. The most recent book on the Gulag, Smirnov's *System of Corrective Labor Camps*, lists more than five hundred camps with their administrative officers through the 1960s. More than a few may well be U.S. citizens today. If our leaders were suddenly to be fired with the same passion for pursuing Soviet persecutors that they have for tracking old Nazis and alleged terrorists, Smirnov's book might be the place to start.

While many of Germany's concentration camps have been preserved (some would say enshrined), and are evidently intended to be maintained in perpetuity as memorials to their former inmates and to the wickedness, not only of their jailers, but of the entire German people, the far more extensive Soviet Gulag camp system has in the past decade continued to disappear from the Russian landscape, and from collective memory. [3]

Recent attempts of former inmates of the Soviet labor camps to establish (at the very least) a museum of the Gulag have been frustrated by higher authorities. As Yuri Pivovarov, director of the Institute of Social Science Research at the Russian academy of Sciences, puts it: “People simple do not equate the ethical and moral horrors and shame of Nazism with those of Communism.” Many who now object to the idea of a museum were formerly high-ranking Communist officials, who today steer Russia into the New World Order. Then, too, the Soviet Union was never conquered, and thus never subject to conquerors' demands.

Among the Forgotten

Not long ago the well-known British travel writer, Colin Thubron, trekked across Siberia. During his journey Thubron deliberately departed the usual itinerary to view the ruins of two notorious Gulag camps: Vorkuta and Kolyma. ^[4] In his recent book *In Siberia*, Thubron describes them with a grim lyricism:

Kolyma was fed every year by sea with tens of thousands of prisoners, mostly innocent. Where they landed, they built a port, then the city of Magadan, then the road inland to the mines where they perished. People still call it the 'Road of Bones.' ... Kolyma itself was called 'the Planet,' detached from all reality beyond its own — death.

Of his visit to the dread Vorkuta, Thubron writes:

Then we reached the shell of Mine 17. Here, in 1943, was the first of Vorkuta's katorga death-camps. Within a year these compounds numbered thirteen out of Vorkuta's thirty: their purpose was to kill their inmates. Through winters in which the temperature plunged to -40 F, and the purga blizzards howled, the katorzhane lived in lightly boarded tents sprinkled with sawdust, on a floor of mossy permafrost. They worked twelve hours a day, without respite, hauling coal-trucks, and within three weeks they were broken. A rare survivor described them turned to robots, their grey-yellow faces rimmed with ice and bleeding cold tears. They ate in silence, standing packed together, seeing no one. Some work-brigades flailed themselves on in a bid for extra food, but the effort was too much, the extra too little. Within a year 28,000 of them were dead ... Then I came to a solitary brick building enclosing a range of cramped rooms. They were isolation cells. Solzhenitsyn wrote that after ten days' incarceration, during which a prisoner might be deprived even of clothing, his constitution was wrecked, and after fifteen he was dead.

Departing Vorkuta, Thubron stumbled on a stone on which a message had been scratched. It read:

“I was exiled in 1949, and my father died here in 1942. Remember us.”

Notes

1. ^[5] Jacques Rossi, *The Gulag Handbook* (New York: Paragon House, 1989); M.B. Smirnov, et al., *Sistema ispravitel'no-trudovoykh lagerey v SSSR. 1923-1960* (Moscow: Zven'ya, 1998); Ralf Stettner, *Archipel Gulag: Stalins Zwangslager: Terrorinstrument und Wirtschaftsgigant* [The Gulag Archipelago: Instrument of Terror and Economic Giant] (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996); Danchik Sergeyevich Baldaev, *Gulag Zeichnungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1993); Avraham Shifrin, *The First Guidebook to Prisons and Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union* (New York: Bantam Books, 1982);

and Stéphane Courtois, et al., *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (London: Harvard University Press, 1999).

2. ☞ Aleksandra Sviridova, in *V novom sverte* (In the New World), a Russian-language newspaper published in New York, May 18-24, 2001, pp. 14-15.
 3. ☞ Only recently, however, Dr. Judith Pallot, a geography lecturer at Oxford University, reported that at least 120 “forest colonies” (forced labor camps) dating from the Stalin era are still being used to house tens of thousands, all of them common criminals as opposed to the mix of former years. The camps Dr. Pallot reports on are located in the Perm region of the Northern Urals. The average yearly temperature in that region is about minus 1° C (c. 30.8° F), although during the long winter from October to May it falls as low as minus 40° C (c. -40° F). As in Czarist times, many prisoners choose to remain as settlers in the vicinity of the camps when their sentences have ended. Michael McCarthy, “Thousands of Russian Prisoners Are Still Suffering in the Gulag Archipelago,” in <http://www.independent.co.uk>.
 4. ☞ Colin Thubron, *In Siberia* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999).
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A Holocaust Expert Moves from Moral Certainty toward Open Debate

- The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial by Robert Jan van Pelt. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002. Hardcover. Index, bibliography, illustrations.

Samuel Crowell

When the British historian [David Irving brought Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books to court for libel in early 2000](#), the defense submitted a number of expert opinions by historians in order to buttress the claim that Irving was a “Holocaust denier.” Christopher Browning wrote a brief but professional report on the Reinhardt camps that, although arriving at conclusions revisionists would reject, avoided personal attacks on Irving. On the other hand, Robert Jan van Pelt, of the University of Canada at Waterloo, contributed a huge and diffuse opus concerning the Auschwitz concentration camp as an “extermination camp” with a highly personalized approach directed at Irving. The present book is a revised version of that text.

It must be admitted that in the revision Professor van Pelt’s book has been much improved. Gone are the obscure philosophizing and the attacks on Irving. Gone too are the quotations from *Penguin Island* and *Alice in Wonderland* that gave us an Auschwitz embellished with whimsy. The report’s most famous passages, concerning the “moral certainty” of its author’s opinion, along with his assertion that the holes in the roof of the basement of Crematorium II had been filled in prior to being blown up, are now hard to find (though far easier to locate than the elusive holes themselves).

Nevertheless, whatever the changes in the successive drafts, it must be granted that this is an important book. First, because it represents the first serious attempt to discuss the arguments of revisionists; second, because the treatment of the arguments, while incomplete, is thorough, civil, and touches upon the writings of a number of prominent researchers, including Faurisson, Butz, Stäglich, Rudolf, and this reviewer. (A significant omission is that of Carlo Mattogno, perhaps because Mattogno’s authoritative analyses of crematories operation are not easily refuted.)

Because van Pelt indicates (p. 138) that he structured his original report as a response to my short monograph “The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes” (published to date only on the Internet), [\[1\]](#) and because Van Pelt’s structure is largely intact, I will frame my review of van Pelt’s book in terms of issues of particular importance to my own research interests and writings, recognizing that other revisionist researchers will find their own points of departure.

From Baker Street to the Himmelstrasse

In early 1997 I sketched out a brief polemic that would be designed to argue on behalf of freedom of speech for Holocaust revisionists. Delayed by other research and writing throughout that year, “The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes” was finally posted on the website of the Commit-

tee for the Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) in December 1997. It was revised and slightly expanded a year later, pursuant to Bradley Smith's intention to mail several dozen copies to assorted historians and opinion makers in order to influence the debate then raging over censoring revisionists. Further revisions, in 2000, were made available to the French scholar Jean Plantin, who has published several chapters in French translation, but "Sherlock" remains very much a work in progress.

This background needs to be kept in mind. Notwithstanding van Pelt's opinion that my monograph "raised negationist discourse to a new level" (p. 140), it must be said at the outset that my purpose in writing it was not, in fact, to offer a comprehensive rebuttal of the mass gassing claim, but rather merely to provide a synoptic review of the problem.

The main purpose of "Sherlock" was to show that the revisionist interpretation on the subject of mass gassing was possible, and since possible, a particularly unworthy candidate for censorship. A concern for developing strategies for overcoming the taboo surrounding the Holocaust, as well as the existing censorship laws, has been the unspoken hallmark of all my revisionist writings.

Although "Sherlock" began as a brief polemic, I can understand that it might be seen as a more substantial piece. But while the work may be a fair survey of the gas chamber problem, it makes no claims to comprehensiveness and thus cannot be legitimately criticized on that account. Indeed, many features still indicate its primarily polemical and rhetorical origin. Its fanciful title was chosen to attract a British audience, at a time when censorship beckoned there. It was deliberately plotted to surprise the reader. And it was constructed to provide support to the two main revisionist conceptions that must be true if there were no homicidal gassings in the Second World War. First, that the manifold testimonies can be shown to be interconnected and to go back to rumors and propaganda; second, that the documentary evidence that appears to discuss mass gassings is in fact about other things.

Hence, the two main parts of van Pelt's book depend on the issues of testimony and material evidence, and I will discuss each of these in turn.

Testimonies

The Holocaust gassing claim is unusual in that it is comprised of much testimonial evidence, and a rather small sheaf of documentary evidence that is suggestive but never explicit. That is the core of the historiographical problem of the gas chambers, as Faurisson recognized long ago.

The basic rule in evaluating testimony, and indeed any historical evidence, is that it be as near as possible to the events described; it becomes distinctly less valuable the farther from the event. There are two main reasons for this: first, because there is a natural tendency to embroider and embellish memory, and, second, the possibility of cross-pollination from other accounts increases with the passage of time.

Therefore, the first thing to be done in order to examine eyewitness claims concerning mass gassings is to arrange them chronologically. The next step requires the identification of elements in the claims that might constitute evidence of such cross-pollination. I identified several of these elements, of which the shower-gas-burning sequence was the most pervasive.

The shower-gas-burning sequence is the core of the narrative: if it can be shown by other means (e.g., documents or forensics) to reflect reality, then the revisionists are wrong, and the point must be conceded. But if the claim does not reflect reality, the story must have taken shape some-

how. The question is then: where and by what means? Two possible sources occurred to me at first: a widespread anxiety about disinfection procedures, which involved simultaneous fumigation (or gassing) of possessions, and showers for their owners; and similar fears in the 1930s over the possibility of gas warfare against civilians. What I had not anticipated was my discovery that the roots of both sources for the shower-gas-burning narrative could be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century, if not earlier. It should be added that my approach differs from that of most revisionists, for I view the evolution of, and belief in, the gassing claims as more the spontaneous result of cultural and psychological forces (such as those which generate urban legends in our own time) rather than as a consequence of deliberate falsehood.

Even if a general anxiety about poison gas and specific anxieties over what fumigation and communal showering might entail, joined to a horror of cremation, was found to have given rise to the gas chamber stories, however, that in itself would not suffice to solve the problem of how the gassing stories were disseminated. There were undoubtedly many rumors about gassings in Europe during the Second World War, but what I needed was evidence that was both specific and contemporary. This line of inquiry led me to several clues suggesting that mass gassing stories were widely reported and discussed throughout the war. Even as the Irving trial was being fought, Eric A. Johnson published a book called *Nazi Terror*, which revealed that the author had successfully located the long lost BBC broadcast transcripts from the war years. These, along with other contemporary evidence, proved conclusively that radio broadcasts concerning gassings were beamed back to Germany, Poland, and other parts of occupied Europe, beginning in summer 1942 and continuing through the war, and that rumors of gassings in general had been rife from the fall of 1940.

In researching these ideas I was generally following by my own route a path that had been blazed by Butz, Faurisson, and Berg years ago. I had no preconceived theory of delusion, nor did I take the Princeton psychologist Elaine Showalter as my inspiration, as van Pelt claims. On the contrary, I sought out Showalter's work near the end of my research, because I was looking for contemporary discussion of hysterical symptoms that would bolster my theory.

Such attributions of influence do not refute the basic idea: the priority of propaganda and rumor to any non-anonymous account of mass gassing simply means that we cannot exclude the possibility that all subsequent eyewitnesses are simply repeating the omnipresent rumor.

Naturally, this premise could be misleading. It may be that the eyewitnesses are entirely truthful, and that the disseminated propaganda and rumor reflected that truth. In that case, however, one would first have to prove the veracity of the gassing claims by other means in order to show that the rumors and propaganda did not cause the later accounts. Second, it would have to be explained how the gassing program was carried out, as claimed, with stealth and cunning under the full glare of Allied publicity. In short, I concluded that the priority of rumor and propaganda, while not disproving the mass gassing claim, justifies revisionist skepticism.

As this is my basic argument for evaluating testimony, van Pelt attempts to work around it. In his expert report for the Irving trial, he claimed that I had failed to show any evidence of media influence, specifically, of radio broadcasts. In fact, "Sherlock" referenced several, and in the three years since van Pelt wrote his original report more have come to light, including Johnson's discovery of the BBC transcripts, and several references to gassing reports as heard by the German Jew Viktor Klemperer and recorded in his recently published wartime diary. Together these are enough to torpedo van Pelt's argument.

Thus, van Pelt's case falls back on two other arguments. One, which appeared in the original report, is van Pelt's assertion that the Allies had no need to engage in propaganda because there was a willingness to fight, a "resolve" that had not been present in the First World War (p. 134). This argument assumes that lying about one's enemy is directly correlative to the extent to which popular support is lacking for war. That contention strikes us as at once far too wide-reaching — it is the kind of argument that would require a separate study to successfully argue — and furthermore, it seems to stand the relationship of the two wars on its head. If anything, the First World War was fought with greater gusto and idealism by all combatants than the Second, which began without the enthusiasm of 1914, and for the most part was waged with little more than dogged resignation on all sides.

Van Pelt's second argument on the testimony involves the claim, repeated whenever a new witness statement is introduced, that it "independently confirms" the content of someone else's testimony. But no evidence is advanced for the independence of these testimonies, only the assertion.

Furthermore, the thesis of independent confirmation would require that the Nazis' former prisoners, and the German POWs who testified in wartime trials staged by the Soviets, were not only oblivious to the news, broadcasts, and rumors circulating around them during the war, but even after the war, when such claims were universally trumpeted as evidence of the depravity of the Nazi regime. In addition, this thesis would require that the postwar interrogators and judges were similarly oblivious to these reports, and had absolutely no expectations of gas chamber testimony in the course of their questionings.

Next we must turn to the substance of the testimonies that van Pelt considers most accurate. In general, van Pelt's approach is to leave out the elements that tend to rebut a witness, or to explain such elements away. For example, when discussing the testimony of Ada Bimko, van Pelt's explanation of her notorious assertion that the poison gas at Auschwitz came in big round tanks is that Bimko misunderstood what she was shown (p. 234). ^[2] Similarly, in treating the diary entries of Dr. Kremer, and after discussing Faurisson's deconstruction of these texts, ^[3] van Pelt makes the surprising assertion that if Dr. Kremer were alive today, he would contradict Faurisson's reading (p. 290).

Even if one grants that van Pelt's explanations are possible, it should be clear that he is allowing a high degree of interpretative intervention into these texts. Therefore, he cannot legitimately claim that less invasive alternative explanations are not possible.

Of course revisionism's opponents are quick to complain about revisionist techniques of text criticism. Sometimes these critics have a point: just because a witness makes unlikely claims elsewhere, or even appears to deliberately lie, does not by itself mean that the witness is necessarily making things up about homicidal gassings. On the other hand, if a witness, speaking of matters other than gassing, is shown to have said untrue things, then questions regarding the reasons, and the motives, for such false statements clearly are in order. In such cases, one must conclude that the testimony may be doubted, including the claims of homicidal gassing.

No one can read the testimonies without concluding that something terrible was going on in these camps. To be frank, some of the testimonies van Pelt cites seem more probable than others, for example, the statements attributed to Kurt [Hans] Aumeier, and the brief comments of Josef Klehr and Hans Münch in recent decades. Nonetheless, the revisionist position that testimony may be doubted, not only because of the social and judicial pressures surrounding such testimony, but also because the gassing claims themselves originated in an atmosphere of anonymous rumor which makes all testimony potentially derivative, is irrefutable.

Documents

Of course, the eyewitness testimonies only have value if they can be correlated with the material and documentary reality of the camp. Here the revisionists have made important contributions in the past twenty-five years or so, based largely on the on-site investigations of Faurisson, which in turn have led to the forensic studies of Leuchter, Rudolf, Mattogno, and many others. The importance of the revisionist work is that the testimonies can now be evaluated in terms of the limits of the actual physical layout of the camps, and assessed in the knowledge of the scientific limits of Zyklon B usage and crematory operation. Hence, eyewitness testimonies that claim that the downstairs gas chambers were accessible to gigantic dump trucks, or describe clouds of blue or yellow poison gas, or maintain that a crematory undressing room was the length of two football fields, can all be safely set aside as being based on hearsay, or imagination, but not on reality.

The other aspect of the material approach concerns the documentary record of the camp, as it pertains to the operation of the crematories as “factories of death.” Here van Pelt relies largely on his by now well-known analyses of a few key documents. Thus he claims that the much discussed “Vergasungskeller” (“gassing cellar”) note was actually written by the building supervisor, Kirschneck, for signing by Auschwitz construction chief Bischoff, but that Bischoff noticed that Kirschneck had used a forbidden word (“Vergasungskeller,” the interpretation of which remains contested) and therefore underlined it and sent the note back to its author, writing Kirschneck’s name on it. Or he argues that the word “Sonderbehandlung” (special treatment), which occurs in a document concerning electrical consumption, must have had something to do with ventilating the gas chambers after a gassing, because “Sonderbehandlung” always means killing.

At this point I found myself becoming dissatisfied with Professor van Pelt’s treatment, so superficial did his interpretations seem. I was able to discover several Auschwitz documents with Kirschneck’s name scrawled on the top, which I reproduced in a monograph published shortly after the Irving trial. ^[4] By van Pelt’s logic, this must mean that Kirschneck was continually being upbraided by his superiors, although of course the more likely explanation was that Kirschneck’s name was simply written on his copies. As for the “simultaneous cremation and special treatment” in the electrician’s memo, I can only repeat my argument that the alleged twenty minute ventilation time of the gas chamber would be meaningless within the time frame of a mass burning that would have taken at least two days, at a time when the crematory was still unequipped with a ventilation system.

Bomb Shelters

My dissatisfaction turned to disappointment on encountering van Pelt’s thoroughly revised discussion of bomb shelters. During the past five years I have written three long monographs on this topic in order to advance the idea that German civil defense measures, including gas-tight doors with peepholes, are sufficient explanation for at least some of these fixtures, found at Auschwitz and other concentration camps, that are alleged to have been used for murder by gassing.

While it may surprise Professor van Pelt, the issue of bomb shelters had no place in the original scheme of “Sherlock.” Rather, my bomb shelter articles were written separately, for a very specific purpose, namely, to force the establishment to credit a revisionist contribution to Holocaust historiography. Thus, even here, I was making a case against censorship: for, if the establishment was forced to concede the point, then the drive for censorship would be defeated, as the interdependence of the two positions would have been demonstrated. I was so rash as to expect in 1997 that the establishment, as well as other revisionists, would concede that the gas-tight doors with peepholes found at Auschwitz were bomb shelter doors by design and construction, regardless of

whether they had been used for other purposes, say, disinfection chambers or homicidal gas chambers. That would have suited me, and the discussion could have continued from there. Yet there has been no concession. One might propose a number of reasons why the Holocaust establishment fails to concede the point, but in any case its obtuse refusal to face reality only underlines the extent to which the traditional story rests on rigid patterns of thinking that are serious need of the fillip revisionism provides.

Van Pelt's approach to the issue of bomb shelters is to be narrow and literalistic. Thus, Van Pelt argues, that because the first document concerning the construction at Auschwitz of dedicated bomb shelters comes only from November 1943, there could not have been any provision for civil defense, including gas-tight fixtures, before then. In the same way, van Pelt follows my revisionist critics in arguing that evidence for bomb shelters in 1944 is completely irrelevant, because the crematoriums had been constructed and fitted out with gas-tight materials a year earlier.

These lines of argument strike me as unnaturally narrow in scope. In the first place, van Pelt ignores the sizable amount of evidence that indicates an awareness and intention to implement civil air defense in existing buildings at Auschwitz, and points further east, in occupied Poland, beginning in the summer of 1942. It is true that we have no single document proving that the gas-tight doors from the spring of 1943 were put in place to fulfill civil defense requirements. But we don't have any documents indicating that these doors were put in place to gas people, or the objects that were unquestionably fumigated in the camps, either.

By ignoring the later documentation, van Pelt is able to ignore the fact that the gas-tight doors described from March 1944 are indistinguishable from the doors installed at the crematories the previous spring. Furthermore, he is oblivious to a contradiction implicit in his scenario: for he claims that doors of the same model, designed for the anti-fragmentation trenches for the guards, the workers, and even the prisoners, are supposed to have been used for homicidal purposes not only simultaneously, but at the time when the flood-tide of Auschwitz gas exterminations was supposed to have taken place, as according to the standard narrative half a million people were gassed in the second half of 1944.

Van Pelt commits another blunder by ignoring the 1944 documentation on gas-tight bomb shelters, which shows that the crematory in the base camp, during its air raid shelter conversion, was to be equipped with gas-tight shutters, 60 cm × 80 cm. The design of these shutters is identical to that of the wooden shutters found there by Pressac some years ago, which he has claimed for Crematoriums IV and V. Pressac gave the measurements of their doors alone as 43 cm × 52 cm, corresponding to the specifications for the air raid shelter shutters, arguing that the original openings on the drawings were enlarged. Van Pelt, however, who describes handling the shutters, nevertheless persists in claiming that the shutters are 30 cm × 40 cm, that is, half the size they appear to be, and in flat contradiction to Pressac. He also omits the fact that according to the relevant work order they were made of sheet metal, rather than wood. I must confess my perplexity here.

Convergent Remains

The balance of van Pelt's book turns on other types of evidence at his disposal, evidence that he claims converges on a gassing interpretation, and cannot be explained otherwise. These include a discussion of cyanide traces which the resulting discussions between Rudolf and Richard Green (a Ph.D. chemist working for the U.S. chemical weapons program) has rendered moot, as cyanide was widely used at the camp for non-homicidal purposes.

Van Pelt devotes much consideration to the “insertion devices” whereby the poison gas would have been introduced into the gas chambers. [5] Yet these devices, the existence of which is supported solely by postwar depositions, are nowhere to be found. In the same way, there is no trace of these objects either in the work orders or in any of the architectural drawings, except via a contentious reading of a single inventory. Because these are the sole elements that would unambiguously point to the homicidal use of the basements of crematoria II and III, the absence of this evidence is quite important, despite van Pelt’s attempt to compensate by providing numerous drawings of what the things must have looked like. Nor, in promoting the existence of these complicated wire mesh contraptions for two of the crematories, does van Pelt ever explain why there is no indication of there ever having been such devices in the two above-ground crematories, which, according to van Pelt, were purpose-built for killing.

The obverse of the claim for the wire-mesh insertion devices is, of course, the traces of the holes in the roof of the basement in which van Pelt maintains a half million people were murdered. It was on this point that Irving famously challenged van Pelt in court. To this charge, van Pelt describes first the advice Sir Martin Gilbert gave him over tea: to change the subject (p. 465), and second a report of recent date, as yet unpublished, that claims to have found three of the four holes. While van Pelt seems convinced a priori of the existence of the holes, his gestures on this topic, for whatever reason, come across as diffident and rather less than authoritative.

Toward a Respectful Dialogue

Professor van Pelt wrote this book as a historian, but when he testified at the Irving trial, he spoke not merely as a historian but as a man, a Dutch Jew who lost several family members to Nazi persecution, and for whom testifying was a way to bear witness to their memory. The anguish of van Pelt and the other members of the defense team also comes through from time to time in the pages of this book, as though revisionist criticism of the standard interpretation of what occurred at Auschwitz negates the cruelty and injustice of what the Jewish people experienced there. This attitude should be respected by revisionists, because it is a very important part of how Jews regard the Nazi persecution, and I believe that a rapprochement between traditional and revisionist interpretations cannot succeed otherwise.

Regardless of its defects, van Pelt’s book is deserving of praise, even though it reaches conclusions that almost all revisionists will reject. This is due not only to his willingness to avoid offensive nomenclature (thus, “negationist” in place of “denier”) and ad hominem arguments, but also to his readiness to look again at the evidence and debate the issues with revisionists point by point. To be sure, there are many points where, as indicated, van Pelt stopped short: he could have gone much farther with the evidence available. But the truth will not come all at once, especially concerning events, whatever the facts and whatever the dimensions, which are still a source of incalculable grief in the Jewish community.

With that in mind, I can accept criticism for my temerity in recent times in advocating the revisionist position. My efforts would not have been necessary had there not been a foolish effort to suppress, by blacklisting, prison terms, and harassment, those who dared to offer an alternative version of Nazi history.

It is to be hoped that van Pelt’s book will give rise to much comment, and that his various interpretations will be subjected to a variety of critical responses by revisionists. If these commentaries, in turn, are couched in an objective and collegial spirit, as van Pelt’s book generally is, then we might anticipate further development in Professor van Pelt’s thinking and writing as time

goes on. In that case, at least, my own purpose, so long frustrated, will have been achieved: for nothing serves as a greater bulwark to censorship than respectful dialogue.

Notes

1. [U](#) "The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes" has been posted to the website of Bradley Smith's Committee for Open Debate of the Holocaust and may be read at www.codoh.com/incon/inconshr123.html
 2. [U](#) For a dissection of the perjured testimony of Ada Bimko, who later served, under the name of Hadassah Rosensaft, on the committee that supervised the creation of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, see Carlo Mattogno's article "Two False Testimonies from Auschwitz" in JHR 10, no. 1 (Spring 1990).
 3. [U](#) See Faurisson's "Confessions of SS Men Who Were at Auschwitz," in JHR 2, no. 2 (Summer 1981).
 4. [U](#) This study, "Bomb Shelters in Birkenau," may be consulted at www.codoh.com/incon/inconbsinbirk.html My "Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters: A Refutation of Pressac's 'Criminal Traces,'" a shorter article touching on many of the same issues, appeared in JHR 18, no. 4 (July-August 1999).
 5. [U](#) See Brian Renk's careful study of Van Pelt's Irving trial testimony on these, "Convergence or Divergence? Recent Evidence for Zyklon Induction Holes at Birkenau Crematory II," in JHR 20, nos. 5/6 (September-December 2001).
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Le-Pen's Notorious 'Detail' Remark About World War II

Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's National Front party stunned the world on April 21, 2002, when he came in second in the French presidential race, to challenge the incumbent Jacques Chirac. In the May 5 runoff election, Le Pen garnered 18 percent of the vote.

Press coverage of the veteran nationalist political figure has been more than unfriendly; he has been maligned with outright falsehood. It is widely claimed, for example, that he dismissed "the Holocaust" as a "detail" of history. The *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 25, 1999, told readers that Le Pen "once dismissed the organized killing of six million Jews by Nazi Germany as a simple 'detail' of World War II." A widely published Associated Press report of April 21, 2002, informed readers that Le Pen "is notorious for describing the Holocaust as 'a detail' of history." Even the reputable BBC "World Service" has echoed this claim.

What are the facts?

On two or three occasions Le Pen has referred to Nazi "gas chambers" — not "the Holocaust" — as a "detail" or "minor point" (*point de detail*) of World War II. During an interview in September 1987, he said: "Do you want me to say it is a revealed truth that everyone has to believe? That it's a moral obligation? I say there are historians who are debating these questions. I am not saying that the gas chambers did not exist. I did not see them myself. I haven't studied the questions specially. But I believe that it is a minor point [*point de detail*] in the history of the Second World War."

Le Pen was brought to trial. In France, as in several other European countries, "Holocaust denial" is a crime. After a drawn-out court battle, he was convicted and fined \$200,000.

In a 1996 interview with a German magazine, Le Pen was asked about his infamous "detail" remark (*Der Spiegel*, No. 46, 1996, p. 176):

Q: Your remark nine years ago, that the gas chambers of Auschwitz are only a detail in the history of the Second World War II, has not been forgotten.

A: When you write a two thousand page history of the Second World War, the deportations and the concentration camps will take up five pages, and the gas chambers perhaps 20 lines. One must be crazy or perverse to regard that remark as disparaging.

Q: Not at all, because you give the impression of denying the uniqueness of the Holocaust.

A: Everyone sees drama from his own perspective. My father was killed by a German mine, while I lost other relatives in Allied bombing attacks. The Second World War claimed tens of millions of victims. For some the most terrible aspect of it was the deportations, while for others it was the leveling bombings or the mass deaths by starvation and cold.

Q: By comparing the genocide of the Jews with the other horrors of war, you relativize Auschwitz. In Germany this has led to a dispute among historians [*Historikerstreit*].

A: In the terrible tragedy of the war there was a unique fact: the deportation and murder of Jews and resistance fighters by the Nazis. But that lasted four years at the most. The much greater crimes of the Soviet Gulags occurred over decades and cost millions of lives. Millions also perished in the Chinese camps, and there have been terrible genocides in Cambodia and Vietnam. None of those crimes has received the same consideration as the annihilation of the Jews, and that is a kind of one-sidedness [*Monokultur*] that shocks me.

During a visit to Munich on Dec. 5, 1997, Le Pen was again asked about his 1987 remark. He replied by saying “There is nothing belittling or scornful about such a statement,” and “I have said and I repeat, at the risk of being sacrilegious, that the gas chambers are a detail of the history of the Second World War.” He added: “If you take a book of a thousand pages on the Second World War, in which 50 million people died, the concentration camps occupy two pages and the gas chambers ten or 15 lines, and that’s what one calls a detail.”

Seventeen organizations — including the Simon Wiesenthal Center and the “Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples” — promptly responded by filing a formal legal complaint. On Dec. 26, 1997, a Paris court sentenced Le Pen for this second “detail” remark. It ordered him to pay \$50,000 to publish the text of the court’s decision in a dozen French newspapers, and to pay a large amount of money to eleven of the organizations that had brought the complaint.

In a December 1997 interview Le Pen said that he would no longer speak publicly about Nazi gas chambers because nonconformist views on this subject are prohibited by law. “I won’t respond any more,” he explained. “It’s a taboo subject that is protected by legal and criminal law, and the only opinion one can express about it is that allowed by law.” (See “French Courts Punish Holocaust Apostasy,” March-April 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*.)

What no major newspaper or news service has bothered to mention is that Le Pen’s “detail” remark is valid. As French revisionist scholar Robert Faurisson has noted, neither Dwight Eisenhower in his 559-page World War II memoir, *Crusade in Europe*, nor Winston Churchill in his six-volume history, *The Second World War* (4,448 pages), nor Charles de Gaulle in his three-volume *Mémoires de guerre* (2,054 pages), makes a single mention of Nazi “gas chambers,” or of a “genocide” of the Jews, or of “six million” Jewish victims of the war. (See “The Detail,” by R. Faurisson, also in the March-April 1998 *Journal*.)

What is “notorious” is not Le Pen’s remark about gas chambers, but rather that he was brought before a court and punished for having made it (and on the basis of an Orwellian French law), and that the media misrepresents, without censure, what he actually said.

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Weber Speaks on Jewish Power at IHR Meeting in Virginia

At a special Institute for Historical Review meeting in Arlington, Virginia, on Saturday, March 2, 2002, IHR director Mark Weber traced the rise of Jewish power in the United States over the past 60 years and emphasized the immense power and influence today of Jews in America's political, cultural, intellectual and economic life.

Among the 38 men and women who attended this meeting — the first IHR event in years in the Washington, DC, area — were two nationally prominent writers, several attorneys and other professionals, and a gratifying number of younger people.

Although Jews make up no more than three or four percent of the total U.S. population, said Weber, they now wield greater power than any other single ethnic, racial or religious group. In this regard he cited a private conversation in 1972 between President Richard Nixon and the prominent religious leader Billy Graham, which had just been made public, during which the two agreed that Jews have a “stranglehold” on the U.S. media, and that as a result “the country’s going down the drain.”

In his lecture, entitled “Jewish Power: Its Meaning for America and the World,” Weber said:

The most direct and obvious victims of Jewish-Zionist power are, of course, the Palestinians who live under Israel’s harsh rule. But as the IHR has made clear for years, in truth we Americans are also victims — through the Jewish-Zionist grip on the media, and the organized Jewish-Zionist corruption of our political system. We are pressured, cajoled, flattered, and deceived into propping up the Jewish state, providing it with billions of dollars yearly and state-of-the-art weaponry, and even sacrificing American lives — as in Israel’s 1967 attack on the “USS Liberty” — thereby making us accomplices of its crimes.

The truth is that if we held Israel to the same standards that we apply to Serbia, Afghanistan and Iraq, U.S. bombers and missiles would be blasting Tel Aviv, and we’d be putting Israeli prime minister Sharon behind bars for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

“Today the danger is greater than it’s been in many years,” said Weber. “Just the other week the French ambassador in London, Daniel Bernard, privately acknowledged that Israel — which he called ‘that shitty little country’ — is threatening world peace. ‘Why should the world be in danger of World War III because of those people?’ Bernard bluntly said. Influential Jewish organizations and political figures, and much of the Jewish-dominated media, in collaboration with Israel’s leaders, and backed by this country’s pro-Zionist ‘amen corner,’ are now prodding our country into new wars against Israel’s enemies.”

Throughout history, said Weber, Jews have time and again wielded great power to further group interests that are separate from, and often contrary to, those of the non-Jewish populations among whom they live. This creates an inherently unjust and unstable situation that, as history shows, never lasts. As Weber put it: “We are today witnessing, and enduring, merely the most recent enactment of a great and tragic historical drama that has, through the centuries, played itself out time and time again, in country after country, in different cultures and ages.”

Weber also spoke about the Institute’s work and impact in recent years, including the international attention generated by the IHR’s role in last year’s revisionist conference in Beirut, which was canceled by Lebanese authorities under pressure from the US government and Zionist organizations. He also reported on preparations for the 14th IHR Conference in southern California, June 21-23.

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Jewish Militants Arrested in Bomb Plot

Two members of the Jewish Defense League, a militant Zionist group with a long record of terrorist activities, were arrested on Dec. 11, 2001, on suspicion that they were preparing to blow up a Los Angeles mosque and the office of an Arab-American congressman. Irv Rubin, 56, JDL chairman, and Earl Krugel, 59, another JDL activist, were arrested after “explosive powder,” the last component of a bomb, was delivered to Krugel’s residence, a federal prosecutor said. Other bomb components were seized at Krugel’s home. The two are accused of preparing to attack the King Fahd Mosque in Los Angeles and the office of U.S. Representative Darrell Issa (R.-Calif.), a grandson of Lebanese immigrants. They have been held in custody pending their trial, which is likely to begin in October 2002.

In 1985 the FBI identified the JDL as “the second most active terrorist group in the United States,” linking it to 37 terrorist attacks carried out from 1977 to 1984. (Orange County Register, Nov. 19, 1985). Another federal agency, the Department of Energy, similarly characterized the JDL in a 1986 report: “For more than a decade, the Jewish Defense League (JDL) has been one of the most active terrorist groups in the United States.” In 1987 the FBI announced that Jewish extremist groups had carried out 24 terrorist acts from 1981 through 1986, 17 of which were the work of the JDL.

The Institute for Historical Review, a dissident history research and publishing center based in southern California, was a target of systematic JDL violence and harassment during the early 1980s. The attacks included a drive-by shooting, three firebombings, vandalism of IHR employee-owned vehicles, 22 slashings of tires of employee automobiles, demonstrations outside the IHR office, and numerous telephone threats.

This campaign culminated in a devastating arson attack on the Institute’s offices and warehouse in Torrance in the early morning hours of July 4, 1984. Damage was estimated at \$400,000. Two days later, JDL leader Rubin showed up at the site of the gutted IHR offices publicly to praise the fire-bombing. The JDL, he declared, “wholeheartedly applauds the recent devastation of the offices of the Institute for Historical review.” Denying any personal responsibility himself, Rubin said that the arson had been carried out by a former JDL activist named Larry Winston (Joel Cohen). No one was ever arrested in connection with this crime.

In February 1989, JDL intimidation forced the cancellation at two hotel sites in southern California of a three-day IHR conference. The meeting was successfully held at a makeshift alternate site, in spite of further harassment by a handful of JDL thugs led by Rubin.

In a statement issued following the Dec. 2001 arrest of Rubin and Krugel, the IHR expressed the hope that the two will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, especially during this time of heightened awareness of the dangers of terrorism.

Further information about Rubin and the JDL can be found in “The Zionist Terror Network,” a detailed IHR report that is posted on the “Books On-Line” section of the IHR web site.

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State Department Acknowledges Pressure on Lebanon to Cancel Revisionist Meeting

The State Department has finally acknowledged that the United States government pressured Lebanon to ban a peaceful four-day meeting that was to be held in Beirut in the spring of 2001.

Gregg Sullivan, a spokesman for the Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, confirmed during telephone conversations with IHR director Mark Weber on December 10 and 11, 2001, that the State Department had told the Lebanese government earlier this year that "it would not be in the best interests" of the country to allow the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference to take place as scheduled, March 31 through April 3, 2001, because to do so would be "perceived badly internationally." The closely watched meeting was organized by the Swiss revisionist organization Vérité et Justice, in cooperation with the California-based Institute for Historical Review.

Shortly before the four-day conference was to begin, Lebanon's prime minister announced that it would not be permitted to take place. The cancellation followed public demands by three major Jewish organizations — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — that Lebanese authorities ban the meeting.

When asked to explain why the meeting would be "perceived badly," Sullivan said that conference speakers would have endorsed "terrorist aims" and "unilateral" or "extremist" solutions to the Middle East conflict. He added that the U.S. government opposes any "unilateral solution."

Weber responded by telling Sullivan that, to the best of his knowledge, none of the conference speakers would have expressed support for "terrorist aims." There is simply no basis for this charge, said Weber. This assertion is all the more remarkable considering that the conference presentations, and even the identities of several of the speakers, were not made public.

When Sullivan was pressed to provide evidence for his assertions, he was unable or unwilling to do so.

In a letter to the State Department official, Weber wrote:

I suspect that you have no such evidence. I further suspect that the U.S. government asked Lebanon to ban this meeting in deference to Jewish-Zionist organizations and the Israeli government.

In our view, it is outrageous and arrogant for the U.S. government to tell the government of a friendly foreign country to ban a peaceful, legal meeting — one that, by the way, would be perfectly legal in our own country. As you must know, many meetings

similar to the one scheduled to take place in Beirut have been held over the years in the United States.

Imagine the response in Washington if the Mexican government was to tell American authorities to ban a meeting in San Diego because it didn't like what some of the scheduled speakers might say. We would indignantly tell the Mexicans to mind their own business, pointing out that our citizens are free to express views that foreign governments, and our own government, do not approve.

We do not believe that the U.S. government should uphold one standard of free speech for the United States, while pressing for another, inferior one, for Arab countries.

The State Department campaign to pressure Lebanon was first revealed by the Lebanese daily *As Safir*, March 3, 2001. The Beirut paper's Washington, DC, correspondent reported:

The American government desires of Lebanon that it prohibit convening a conference in Beirut of groups and organizations that deny that the Nazi "Holocaust" against the Jews occurred. It expressed its concern over the negative effects such a conference would have, not only on the reputation of Lebanon abroad, but also over the effects it might have on the attitude of Congress toward Lebanon and the aid it will grant it.

This has appeared at the same time that several American Jewish organizations demanded that the Lebanese government prohibit the convening of the conference, whose sponsors these organizations accused of being racist and anti-Semitic.

Informed American sources have told *As Safir* that Washington informed Lebanon of this position via its ambassador, David Satterfield in Beirut, and in communication with the Lebanese ambassador in Washington, Farid Abboud. Sources in Congress have also conveyed their reservations about the conference to the Lebanese government.

American officials say that Iran and "Hezbollah" in Lebanon are behind the organization of the conference, although they say that they have no firm proof of that. They add that if Lebanon cannot prohibit the conference on the grounds of freedom of expression — particularly since similar conferences have been held in America and the authorities could not ban them — then Lebanon must at least declare that it has no connection with the conference. American uneasiness over the conference stems from the content of the conference as well as from its timing — coinciding as it does with an explosion of the situation between the Palestinians and Israelis and the tension that the region as a whole is experiencing.

The U.S. pressure campaign was also confirmed by the *Forward*, a well-informed, nationally circulated Jewish weekly. "The Lebanese government called off the event under pressure from American diplomats and the Simon Wiesenthal Center," reported the New York paper in a front page article, Nov. 23, 2001.

Detailed information about the "Revisionism and Zionism" conference and the Jewish campaign to ban it is posted on the "Conferences" section of the IHR web site.

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My Revisionist Method

Robert Faurisson

I'm not accustomed to receiving compliments and congratulations in my country, *douce France*.

[1] Only a few days ago, in *Le Figaro* [May 26, 2000], one Gérard Slama wrote that I was “the past master at the art of blackmailing scientific truth.” Recently, on the front page of *Le Monde des Lettres* [March 24, 2000], I read the following characterization of me by Pierre Vidal-Naquet:

[2] “In the presence of the lie, of which Faurisson is the purest expression, one feels a kind of peculiarly philosophical giddiness.” I hope that you will not feel giddy.

Yet there is also good news from France, in particular, the publication of a book by a young lady named Valérie Igounet. Her *Histoire du négationnisme en France* [3] (Paris: Le Seuil, 2000), which is seven hundred pages long, grew out of a doctoral thesis. It is totally against us revisionists — but we are quoted so often that one could say the book is a good introduction for a layman who would like to know what revisionists have to say. Perhaps she should be prosecuted for that.

The book ends with an astonishing interview with Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Pressac. As you know, he is the darling of the Klarsfelds, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, and their like. But what is he saying here? Surprisingly enough, he seems to be more or less abandoning exterminationism. Pressac states that the exterminationist position is “rotten” [in French, *pourri*]. “There are too many lies” — not Jewish lies, according to Pressac, but *Communist* lies. He asks, “Can things be put right?,” and answers: “It is too late.” Pressac declares that there is no longer any future for the “official certainties.”

Perhaps we have converted Pressac. If so, perhaps it's because in May 1995 I asked the court to order Pressac to testify at one of my many trials. Foolishly enough, he came. I was barred from questioning him, so I coached my attorney. I wanted to simplify things for him, so I told him: “You need to ask him only two questions.” The first: “You recently published a book called *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du Meurtre de Masse* [4] that contained sixty illustrations: photos, drawings, etc. Can you show us a photo or a drawing of a gas chamber?” Pressac of course could not. Then he was asked, “What is a gas chamber? Please describe one.” Pressac, as usual, talked at length about ventilation and ventilators. He so lost his way that the presiding judge, a lady, tried to help him out, observing, “But, Mr. Pressac, a ventilator is supposed to ventilate.” I can tell you because I had a good seat (under the circumstances). I could see that Pressac was about to cry. He said to the three judges, “You must understand that I have only one life. You must understand that I am alone in my battle.” So, you see, some things are changing. Now, directly to my lecture.

I know that those of you who have attended previous IHR conferences would be disappointed if a Faurisson lecture were not in three parts. This one will be in three parts. The first part will be on my revisionist method in literature, for I was a revisionist in literature before I was a historical

revisionist. Perhaps you will be a little bewildered, especially those of you who don't know French literature. Have no fear: I'll make it easy. Second, my revisionist method in history — and not only on “the Holocaust.” In the third part, I'll suggest several new investigations, investigations I can no longer undertake, but which might be carried out by a new generation of revisionists. I will suggest new types and methods of research into, first, the Anne Frank diary; second, the Einsatzgruppen problem; next, the fate of children in Auschwitz; fourth, the “brown Jews,” as we in France refer to those Jews who collaborated with the Germans during the war; and fifth, the writing and publication of a counter-guide to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

My Revisionist Method

Revisionism is not an ideology. It is a method of working. It is the process of checking, and double-checking, views which are generally accepted. One may revise in any field, in physics, in history, wherever, but there are different ways of practicing the revisionist method. Your revisionist method depends on you, your character, and your education. I won't tell you that mine is the best possible method, but I shall try to describe my method, for which I had special training, and a special education.

I have searched for adjectives to describe this method. Here is what I have found: it is a method that is classical, direct, bold, daring, and severe — very severe. It is matter of fact. Sometimes I use the expression “nuts and bolts revisionism.” My method rejects big words. Be simple, which is so difficult. Go directly to the center of the center of the question, and try first to bring me the pudding. I don't want words. I'm going to taste the pudding, but first, bring me the pudding — meaning no intellectual pretensions and no pedantry.

You may have noticed that I have used the word “method.” I didn't say “methodology.” In December 1998 I testified in Toronto at the trial of my dearest friend, Ernst Zündel. A Jewish lawyer asked me, “The professor who testified on Ernst Zündel and his writings explained his methodology to us. What is your methodology, Mr. Faurisson?” My answer was, “I have none.” You should have seen the lawyer's smile. He was so pleased. Here we had a professor — but he had no methodology! I said, “I have only a method. I believe I have noticed that, very often, people use the word 'methodology' as a pretentious substitute for method.” When I returned to France, I opened my cherished *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. I looked up “methodology,” and there I found, in a usage note: “Increasingly used as a pretentious substitute for method.” I sent a photocopy to the lawyer, and to both the judges (an odd trial that has two judges!).

My method is difficult, and risky — sometimes even physically — for it requires that sometimes I must enter places where I am unwelcome, and ask some hard questions. Employing my revisionist method may earn you a slap in the face or a trip to jail. But you can't be bashful when investigating historical problems. You can't limit yourself to paper and archives — something which is very easy to do.

At times you have to confront people face to face, as I did Anne Frank's father in his home, or Michael Berenbaum in his office at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Berenbaum has recently written the foreword to a very weighty book, a copy of which a friend of Ernst Zündel has given me. I'm holding it up for the camera: *The Holocaust Chronicle*. ^[5] Listen: the sound of emptiness.

Berenbaum's problem is that he's writing books which are thicker and thicker — and while they demand more and more muscles, they require less and less brains. Try to find a gas chamber in

here! There are hundreds of photos. Here is one, you will observe, that shows two walls. It is the Dachau gas chamber, “never used” (as has been admitted since 1960 and is stated on a placard at the Dachau museum) except that, elsewhere in the book (on page 609), we are told that it was used, just a little bit (“... relatively few of the inmates of Dachau were gassed”). Here’s another one, another photo, of the Belzec gas chamber. But ... oops! It’s really a picture of the gas chamber in Auschwitz I, which, as we now know, is a fake.

My Revisionist Method in Literature

I began to study Latin in 1939, when I was ten years old. When I was twelve, I began the study of Greek. I think that it was then that I began to be a revisionist. I’ll tell you why. I loved Latin and Greek, but mastering them was very demanding. To translate Latin into French or English is difficult; translating Greek into French or English is more so; but most difficult of all is to translate French or English into either Latin or Greek.

Translating French into Latin and Greek taught me a painful truth: we are unable to read even our own languages carefully. We think that we can, yet we cannot. It is only when one is forced to translate his own language into another that he realizes that he has not been reading with care. Reading carefully is something that is very difficult to do. I believe that if you really want to understand something, you should put it into a language that is quite different from your own: Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew, or Chinese. Thanks to my study of Latin and Greek, I had much practice at this.

When I began teaching French literature, I had difficulty at first. In France, the practice is to assign one’s students a short text to explain and to comment on. Instructors are required to provide several questions to aid the students in understanding the text. I, too, did this, at the beginning. I obeyed. One day it dawned on me that the questions were distracting my students from concentrating on the careful reading of the text itself, and I decided that I would no longer assign them the questions. I would ask them only to explain the text, and tell them not to comment on it.

My method of teaching literature was not without its perils for my students. I would tell them: “When you study a text, strive to understand its meaning. Read carefully. And now I will tell you something difficult: to accept at the start that there is either *one* meaning, or there is *no* meaning. Do not confuse meaning with commentary.” I taught them a kind of technique. I would say “You must read the text, and forget the author. The author of every text will be *auctor ignotus*” [author unknown]. This way, you will have no preconceptions. Beware the title: the author uses it to influence you. It is just as if the author said, “This is pure orange juice,” and you tested it, and it wasn’t pure orange juice. And I told my classes to treat poetry exactly as if it were prose, which is almost a crime in France.

In France, as you know, we have a very sophisticated intelligentsia. They have devised all manner of theories, one of which is this: When it comes to poetry which is complex, like that of Gérard de Nerval, Arthur Rimbaud, Charles Baudelaire, Lautréamont, Apollinaire, and Paul Valéry, one must not try to understand it. Given my nature, however, I wanted to understand their poetry, line by line, word by word. I would sometimes spend (or waste) weeks on a short text — a difficult text — by Gérard de Nerval. Perhaps my method was good, because I often got results.

In the 1960s I made a name for myself in French literature. I had a wonderful life. I once wrote that my life was in four parts: The first one was my family — my wife, my three children — and the pleasures of life. The second was my profession, teaching. The third was my research in literature. The fourth part, as you can imagine, was my historical research. Perhaps I should have

stopped at the third part, and not ventured into this troublesome fourth part, but I became a revisionist in history, as well.

My Revisionist Method in History

I shall discuss my method in history at more length. I began by using a very precise method of interrogation to investigate the “Bloody Summer” of 1944, which in France we call the “Big Purge” (“L’Épuration”). As with my approach to poetry, I tried to concentrate my efforts, focusing on a small area of France. I sought to study the question of the executions carried out by the *maquis* (or French resistance). It was difficult and dangerous work. I had to find and question men who had been on the firing squads, and ask them, “Why did you take part? How were you able to?” It is a very trying way of working. You need to go see the sites where the executions took place. You have to get the names of the firing squad right. At that time, in the sixties, people were very afraid, especially of the Communists. But I investigated executions by the resistance, and I wrote about my findings. [6] You must remember that we are told that during the war there were “resistants” in France. We hear of “resistants” and “collaborators.” I say that there were *two* kinds of resistants during the war: resistants to the German occupation, and resistants to Communist terror.

I now come to the “Holocaust.” How did I proceed? I had heard people say that there were gas chambers. Others said, even back then, that there had been no gas chambers. What method of revising history was in accord with my nature, myself? It was to say: “Very well, I see that people are arguing over whether the gas chambers existed, but, a simple question, please: ‘What is a Nazi gas chamber? I need to see one.’”

So I went to Paris, to the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine. I remember the archivist asking me what I wanted. I told him, “A photo of a Nazi gas chamber.” The man said “We have many books.” I said, “A photo.” He continued, “We have many testimonies.” I said, “A photo.” “We have many documents.” I said, “A photo.” Then he summoned Mrs. Imbert (I remember her name): “Come in. This gentleman wants a photo of a Nazi gas chamber.” I swear to you she said, “We have many testimonies.” The archivist, exasperated, told her, “But this gentleman wants a photo.” I was told to sit down. I sat there for sixty minutes. That poor woman rifled the shelves, opening book after book without success. At last she brought me a photo known to everybody, of the helmeted American soldier standing in front of the disinfection gas chambers in Dachau, and similar pictures. I thought to myself, “There’s a problem here.”

My method’s directness lies in going to the *center of the center*: even a Jewish documentation center. The so-called Jewish Documentation Center in Paris had a file called “Extermination Gassings.” I said, “I’m in luck! The most substantial of the accusations against Germany must be in here. I’ll start with the strongest ones.” Well, I went through the strongest accusations of gassing, and I found precisely nothing.

I decided to visit the places said to have had gas chambers. First I visited Struthof-Natzweiler, near Strasbourg, and I discovered that the “gas chamber” there was not a gas chamber at all, despite prominent signs that read: “Gas Chamber.” No sooner had I published the results of my inquiry than the “gas chamber” was closed to the public. Try and visit it! The “Gas Chamber” signs are still up, but visitors are told, “We cannot let you see it because there have been instances of vandalism,” which is untrue (and in any case hardly an acceptable explanation).

When I visited Majdanek, I headed immediately to the site where the gas chamber is supposed to have been. This building still bears a prominent sign, put up by the German authorities who ran

the camp, which reads: “Bad und Desinfektion [bath and disinfection].” I thought to myself, “Inside this building I will either find 'Bad und Desinfektion,' period, or 'Bad und Desinfektion' and something else suspicious.” What I found was nothing more than “Bad und Desinfektion,” including something quite characteristic: a little stove, close to the so-called “gas chamber,” for disinfection (for heating the air to speed the delousing process) and, in the middle of the door, a place for a thermometer. As you see, my method is not too dissimilar from the way the police investigate a crime.

I visited Auschwitz, Treblinka, and similar places. In each of them I found a disappearing gas chamber. No sooner than I drew near, the gas chamber would vanish. I would never put questions to the guides. As we all know, these poor people are reciting a lesson. Each time I visited a camp, I would ask to speak to an expert, from whom I would then request an explanation of the missing gas chamber. I never received one.

As a result I published an article in the newspaper *Le Monde* on December 29, 1978, and a letter there on January 16, 1979. I asked simple questions (always be simple): How was it possible to enter a gas chamber to collect the bodies, because that would have been like entering an ocean of hydrocyanic acid? How could the workers have handled the bodies, because touching even the skin could poison them? What about the physical exertion in removing the bodies — we know that one must not strain even to open a window in a place that has just been disinfected with hydrocyanic acid, because breathing faster will increase the chance of being poisoned?” All I asked was: “How could that be done? Tell me. Give me an explanation that makes sense technically.” Do you know how Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Léon Poliakov, and thirty-two other historians answered my questions? They had a marvelous response, which they published in *Le Monde* on February 21, 1979. They wrote, “One must not ask how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was possible technically because it took place.”

Perhaps I should have left off, should have said: “Very well, they can’t answer me. I’ll just wait for their answer.” I don’t know why I kept on battling and battling. I was the first to publish the plans of the alleged gas chambers. It was the other side that should have published them.

On January 19, 1995, I had the shock of my life — and I’ve had many. When I opened the weekly magazine *L’Express*, I found a long article by Eric Conan, a historian who is totally against us. It was titled “Auschwitz: La Mémoire du Mal” [“Auschwitz: The Memory of Evil”]. There, on page 68, I read these words on the gas chamber in Auschwitz I: “Everything in it is false.” Conan wrote in the same article about what he himself calls “falsifications”: “It was easy for Faurisson to say that, all the more so because the authorities of the museum balked at responding to him.” So, there it was. All along it was I who was supposed to have been the falsifier. The exterminationists were supposed to be telling the truth. Then, in 1995, an orthodox historian declares: “Faurisson was right,” but adds, in effect: “So what?”

Visiting a site can yield another effective argument, one that, surprisingly, not even Fred Leuchter advanced. If you wish to show that the output claimed for the German ovens was impossible technically, you can do something simple. You don’t need to write two hundred pages. Just go and see a crematory. Find out the output of today’s crematory ovens, and compare that output with those alleged for Auschwitz, nearly sixty years ago. You can do the same thing to investigate a gas chamber. Go and visit an American gas chamber. Why not do it, you Americans? You would see how complicated it is to gas just one person. Now, of course, we know that certain aspects of a formal execution are something of a luxury. Just imagine how it was in 1924, when, for the first time, an execution by gas was carried out in the United States. You will see how awfully complicated a gassing needs to be, even today. You need only juxtapose an actual

gas chamber at an American penitentiary, on the one hand, with a so-called Nazi gas chamber, on the other. You'll see that conducting a gassing in the alleged gas chambers of the Nazis would have been impossible.

Confrontation

Not only do you need to inspect the sites, you have to talk to people. Just as I did, you've got to go where the danger is. In 1994 I dropped in on Michael Berenbaum, at that time research director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. After I had toured the exhibit with two American friends, I phoned Michael Berenbaum from the lobby. I told him over the phone, "My name is Robert Faurisson. I would like to visit you." Berenbaum answered unhesitatingly: "It's a quarter to four. That means that at a quarter past four you will be in my office." It was as if he had been waiting all year for me!

As I entered his office, I saw not only Berenbaum, but two gentlemen on a sofa. They were the directors of the museum. I was flanked left and right by my own witnesses. Berenbaum asked, "So, what are your questions?" I told him, "Downstairs, in the guest book, I wrote 'I have visited this place on August 30, 1994. [I love dates.] I have not found an answer to my challenge: 'Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber.'" (Although I knew there was a mock-up of a gas chamber in the museum, I wanted to hear Berenbaum tell me that it was a good mock-up. I knew he wouldn't.) He asked me, "Why should I answer your questions? Whom do you have on your side? Ernst Zündel. Bradley Smith. You should know that in the past year we have had two million visitors. So, who are you?" I said "You must answer my question in the guest book." He replied, "I don't see why." Suddenly I had an inspiration. I told him, "Yes, you are obliged to answer, because you are making an accusation against the Germans." For the first time in his life, I think, Berenbaum realized that he was accusing Germany simply by saying that the gas chambers had existed. I thought he was going to slap me in the face. Berenbaum became enraged, and for a minute I thought he would call security. I seem to recall that he stopped the tape recorder — and for the next hour I tortured the poor man.

A revisionist needs to be just a little bit sadistic. He must come back and say "Is this the tooth that hurts you?" "Yes." "Really? This one?" That's the way I've tried to conduct all my investigations.

Keep It Simple ...

When I was revising in literature, my model was Jean-François Champollion, the man who in 1822 deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphics. Champollion didn't rely on big words or grand theories. He simply tried, word by word, to understand. Do you know that before Champollion's success, there were many professors able to talk about those texts that they didn't understand? Of course, their explanations were always sublime. This text was an "invocation to the gods," that one to "the souls of whomever or whatever," and the like. After Champollion had deciphered the ancient Egyptian writing system, such texts would often turn out to be in reality lists of so many cows, so many goats, so many sheep. That's the way intellectuals come to work: always big ideas, always philosophy. I hate philosophy. I hate it because in fact I do not understand it.

My model for revisionism in history would be Sherlock Holmes. Like him, one must be courageous. And like Holmes, one must be very brief and to the point. That is how I came up with my saying, "No holes, no holocaust," of which you have heard. Surprisingly, perhaps, I first stated that at our 1994 conference. I remember that nobody reacted at the time. No one seemed to understand, perhaps because of my poor English. Then, two or three years later, revisionists such as

Dr. Robert Countess began pointing out, “But we have to be careful. Your formulation is very short.” I can understand that objection. When something is very short, maybe it’s too short. Complicated things, it seems, cannot be put in few words. I can well understand why people are careful and standoffish, but sometimes brevity is a good thing.

I think “No holes, no holocaust” was a good saying. Here’s how I explain it. When you have a very big problem, you know that you cannot grasp the whole of it. That would be impossible. It’s just too big. What must you do, then? You must go, courageously, to the center of the center of the core of it. The center of the “Holocaust” is Auschwitz. Auschwitz is its capital. Thus, we have a big circle which is “H,” “Holocaust,” then, inside it, a smaller circle: “A,” as in “Auschwitz.” Now, what is the center of Auschwitz? It is “C,” the crematoria, each supposed to have contained a gas chamber to kill people. What is the center of “C”? It can only be the one crematorium that is claimed to be relatively intact, without being a “reconstruction.” Today that is crematorium number two, at Auschwitz-Birkenau. To be sure, it was dynamited by the Germans (or possibly the Russians — it doesn’t matter). Our opponents say: “This is the place.” We have to travel, then, to crematorium II, and, once there, we must seek the very epicenter of the “Holocaust”: the holes in the roof of the alleged gas chamber in crematorium II. For it is these holes through which the SS men are supposed to have dropped the Zyklon B pellets. Go to crematorium II. Search for those holes. You will not find a single one.

Yesterday Charles Provan gave me this pamphlet. ^[7] He’s revising my revisionism, which is quite a good thing. Now I’m going to revise his revising of my revisionism. I’m sorry, but I haven’t finished reading it, so I must be careful. But I’m going to give you my first impressions. I told Mr. Provan that I would say something about it.

I think that it’s a good work. First, it is short. Unlike Berenbaum’s books, it doesn’t require strong muscles to hold it. So far as I can tell, it’s well done. It is precise. Clearly some hard work went into it. Yet there is a bad mistake in the method of this study. To put it simply, you mustn’t mix up the testimony with what you find on the site, that is, the physical evidence.

You began, Mr. Provan, with the testimony. But instead of separating the physical evidence for the supposed holes from the testimony, in your evaluation of the testimony you talk about what we are supposed to find at the location. That’s mixing things up. To make a comparison, instead of bringing oil, then vinegar, to make vinaigrette, you first brought the vinaigrette, and here you are working very hard to try to distinguish oil from vinegar, which is too difficult, you see? More on that later. But Charles Provan has done real work, and we have to take it seriously.

Revisionist Methods for the Future

Now, on the revisionist method for a new generation. I must say that I was quite moved, when I arrived here, to see Germar Rudolf and Jürgen Graf working very hard together. This is the new generation. One of them, Germar Rudolf, is in exile. What a shame, far from his homeland, far from his career, his wife, and his two children! Jürgen Graf, from Switzerland, has been sentenced to jail for fifteen months. Isn’t that a shame? But you should have seen the two of them. They were working joyfully, and working very hard. It is to people like this that I shall now speak, and outline several ideas for future investigations.

Let me begin with the Anne Frank diary. Perhaps you will remember that I visited Anne Frank’s father, Otto Frank, in Basel, Switzerland in the 1970s. Like all conmen, he was quite charming, very charming indeed. Sometimes you’ll hear people say, “But he was so charming. How could he have been a conman?” Conmen are always charming!

So I went to see Otto Frank. I like to look people in the eye. I told him that I had serious doubts about the authenticity of the Anne Frank diary. He said “That’s quite all right. I am ready to answer your questions.” I was fortunate that his (second) wife was present. (As you will see, she is important to the story.) Frank had said that he was prepared for my questions, but he was a bit like Michael Shermer, who interviewed me in 1994. Perhaps Otto Frank thought, as did Shermer, “Ah, a French intellectual. It’s going to be very intellectual, with considerations on the psychology of a young girl, on the interaction among eight people living hidden in the same place, on political opinions about the Jews at that time, and so on.”

Well, here I came, with my nuts and bolts revisionism. I said “Mr. Frank, you couldn’t make any noise, even during the night. If you had to cough, you took codeine. There were eight of you in those tiny rooms, surrounded by other rooms occupied by 'enemies,' in Amsterdam for two years. 'Enemies' were listening.” “Yes,” he agreed. “How is it, then, that sometimes the young man, Peter, is splitting wood in the attic to show off his strength to Anne? Can you imagine the noise? Peter even makes furniture, and every morning the alarm clock rings. There’s the radio, the screams as the dentist [one of the eight] works on his patients, and so forth. How do you explain all that?” He had no explanation.

Next I asked him, “What about the garbage?” Listen to the French intellectual! “What about the garbage? You say that it was burned in the stove.” “Yes.” “But you moved in on June 12. You say you lit the stove for the first time on, I think, the twelfth or the fifteenth of October. So, during the summer, what about the garbage, and later what about the smoke? You were living in a place that was supposed to be unoccupied. But smoke, especially at night, means that someone is there. Take a look at smoke during the night.” Otto Frank had no answer.

I asked the poor man many such questions. His wife would say, “Amazing! Yes, how did you manage?” Or, “How can that have been?” Suddenly, he told her, in German, “Maul zu [Shut up]!” I continued, and all at once Otto Frank had a stroke of genius. He told me “Mr. Faurisson, I agree with you a hundred percent. Scientifically, theoretically, it is impossible, but so it happened.”

I told him, “Mr. Frank, you're making things difficult for me. If you'll agree with me that a door cannot be both open and shut at the same time, then we have no need for 'theoretically,' 'scientifically,' but if you go on to tell me that you have seen such a door with your own eyes, I'm going to have trouble with that. Please answer my questions.” Of course, there was no answer.

The next day he brought me to a bank. It was the first time I had ever been in the vault of a Swiss bank, or of any bank. I saw the impressive safe deposit boxes, in which one can store money, jewelry, manuscripts. Otto Frank took out the manuscripts. He said, “See, here they are.” We went back to his house to look at them. I said “Mr. Frank, I am not a handwriting specialist. I'm not interested in the manuscripts. What I want is for you to explain the story to me so that it holds up — but you can’t.” When I returned home from Basel, I drafted a report on the question of the diary, and made it available to a German friend who was having difficulties with the German courts for having expressed doubts about the authenticity of the diary.

A German judge ordered an analysis of the handwriting of the “Anne Frank” manuscripts. Here we revisionists must be careful. I often hear people say, “They discovered handwriting with a ball-point pen.” Be careful! The report was totally inadequate. It concluded that everything in the manuscripts was written by the same hand. Remember that. The report stated that there was handwriting in ink from a ball-point pen, but it gave no specifics. We can’t tell how much of it, in how many places, and so on. Therefore, be cautious about that German report.

Otto Heinrich Frank died in 1980. In 1986 a “critical edition” of the supposed diaries of Anne Frank was published in Amsterdam. [8] Over the next six years a German edition, a French edition, and an English edition appeared. Each of the four was nearly as thick as *The Holocaust Chronicle* (with Berenbaum’s foreword), which I’ve showed you. People thought “Ah, this is the answer to Faurisson.” The book even says so: “This is the answer to Faurisson.”

Well, you should read what the editors say about Otto Frank. They all but call him a liar. I was right! At the end of this “critical edition” they write that Otto Frank ought never to have claimed that what he published was the actual diary of Anne Frank. Nevertheless, this “scholarly edition” is just a big bluff. They show you handwriting throughout, and they say “You see, it’s the same.” I don’t see that it’s the same, but I’m not a specialist, so I have to be careful. But my question wasn’t about the handwriting. My question was: “Can you explain all the problems I have with the story?” Instead of answering me, at the beginning of the book one of the editors summarized his version of what I had written. It was obviously a caricature. Had I said stupid things, of course, they would have reported my exact words.

I advise you to be careful. The question of the handwriting of Anne Frank is what you call a “red herring.” I would like someone who is able, and who is familiar with Dutch and German, to make a comparison by computer between the Anne Frank diary as it was published — the popular edition — and the new popular edition, edited by a woman named Mirjam Pressler. I myself had discovered two or three different Anne Franks. Now, if one were to make this kind of comparison today, I think we would be up to eight or ten Anne Franks.

Now, regarding the Einsatzgruppen: I think that this is the most important of my suggestions for future research. I would like to see work done on the specific topic of those Germans who were executed by the German army for killing Jews. Yes, in Marinka, a place in Russia, the mayor of the city killed one Jewish woman. He was court-martialed by the German army, condemned to death, and executed. I have many such examples.

Field Marshals List, von Kuechler, von Manstein; General Otto Desselloch; Field Marshall von Kleist; General Kittel: each of these men ordered the execution of a German soldier, officer, or civil servant who had killed one or more Jews. How was that possible if there was a policy to exterminate physically the Jews? In my opinion, they should plant trees for von Manstein, List, von Kuechler, von Kleist, and Kittel on the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles in Jerusalem. And why not one for Adolf Hitler? Hitler ordered the execution of persons who had killed Jews. This is the type of question that we revisionists should be researching.

I have no time to talk about the “brown Jews,” the Jewish children at Auschwitz, and what I would call the “Counter Guide to the Holocaust Memorial Museum,” a revisionist guided tour of the Museum.

Perhaps you have heard of my pessimism. I want to say a few words about that. For reasons I have no time to get into, I am rather pessimistic. Let me explain. On my first visit to this country, in 1979, my friend Gene Brugger greeted me at Kennedy Airport. Yesterday he reminded me that I was carrying a copy of Arthur Butz’s *Hoax* and a tennis racquet. Gene, who is of German extraction, had a question for me. He said, “You are French. Why are you doing this for the Germans?” He tells me I answered, “It’s not on behalf of the Germans. A bird sings. It can’t help but sing, because that is in its nature. The bird can’t help it. So, even a pessimistic bird must sing.”

The other day, as I was leaving France, I received a phone call from Adrien, one of my grandchildren. He said “So, you are going away.” I answered yes. “Where are you going?” “To the United States.” “Why?” “I have work to do.” He is very gentle with me, my grandson. He told me,

“Now, grandfather, you should stop. You work day and night. You are very old. Very soon, you are going to die.”

As you can see, I am still alive and well. And, although I am an old bird, I think that I am going to continue to sing.

Notes

1. ☞ "Douce" meaning gentle, or clement, from France's post-revolutionary traditions of openness to dissent and affording refuge for other countries' political and intellectual dissidents. [Ed.]
2. ☞ Professor Vidal-Naquet is a noted historian of ancient Greece, and one France's most vociferous defenders of the Holocaust claim. [Ed.]
3. ☞ Valérie Igounet, *Histoire du négationnisme en France* [History of Denialism in France] (Paris: Le Seuil, 2000).
4. ☞ Jean-Claude Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La Machinerie du Meurtre de Masse* [The Crematoria of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Murder] (Paris: CNRS éditions, 1993).
5. ☞ Michael Berenbaum, introduction to *The Holocaust Chronicle: A History in Words and Pictures*, ed. David Aretha, pub. Louis Weber (Lincolnwood, Ill.: Publications International, 2000).
6. ☞ See Robert Faurisson's "A Dry Chronicle of the Purge: Summary Executions in Certain Communes of Charente Limousine," in the *Journal of Historical Review* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1992), pp. 5-30. [Ed.]
7. ☞ Charles D. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust? A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller 1 of Krematorium 2 at Birkenau* (Monongahela, Penn.: n.p., 2000). Also on-line at: <http://www.revisingrevisionism.com/>
8. ☞ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition*, prepared by the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation, edited by David Barnouw and Gerrold van der Stromm, translated by Arnold J. Pomerans and B. M. Mooyart (New York: Doubleday), 1989.

About the Author

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, educated at the Sorbonne, Professor Faurisson taught at the University of Lyon from 1974 until 1990. Specializing in close textual analysis, Faurisson won widespread acclaim for his studies of texts by Rimbaud and Lautréamont. After years of private research and study, Faurisson revealed his skepticism of the "Holocaust" gas chambers in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. He has written numerous articles on all aspects of the "Holocaust," many of which have appeared in this journal. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

This essay is adapted from his address, May 29, 2000, at the 13th IHR Conference, Irvine, California.

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'Reexamining Assumptions': An Interview with Tom Sunic

Tomislav Sunic was born in Zagreb, Croatia, in 1953. He studied French and English at the University of Zagreb before taking a Master's degree at California State University, Sacramento, in 1985. He received a doctorate in political science in 1988 from the University of California, Santa Barbara. He has taught at California State University, the University of California, and Juniata College in Pennsylvania. He is the author of several books, including *Against Democracy and Equality: The European New Right* (reviewed in the Sept.-Oct. 1994 Journal). Articles, reviews and essays by Sunic have appeared in a range of newspapers and journals, including *Chronicles*, *Le Monde*, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. He has been interviewed many times on radio and television, including CNN and "The McNeil-Lehrer News Hour." For a time he served as a diplomat with the Croatian foreign ministry. Currently he resides with his family in Croatia, where he works as a free lance writer. He is scheduled to address the 14th IHR conference, June 21-23, 2002, on the fate of ethnic Germans in communist Yugoslavia, 1945-53.

Q: What experiences have shaped your general outlook and career path?

A: I grew up in communist Yugoslavia, where I obtained my B.A. in literature and languages. But I think that never during my educational period did I take anything for granted: no ideology, no system, no belief, no sense of group victimhood. One needs not just to reexamine history; one must first reexamine his often self-serving assumptions. In liberal America and western Europe, to which I immigrated, I obtained a Ph.D. in political science, and in the United States I also worked as a professor. Later on, I lived and lectured all over Europe, and for a while worked as a Croatian diplomat.

To be frank, my curricular period at schools and universities was largely a waste of time. What I was taught was mostly ideologically based drivel delivered by mediocre leftist academics — whether in Europe or in the United States, yet with remarkably similar egalitarian and freudo-marxophile affinities.

Q: The re-emergence of an independent Croatia in 1989-1991 from the ruins of Yugoslavia was seemingly a rebuke to the European order imposed after the First World War, and reaffirmed after the Second. Do you see the situation this way?

A: The emergence of an independent Croatian state, first in the wake of 1939-1941, and then in 1989-1991, was an incidental fallout of international disorder. For centuries a strong nationalist sentiment thrived among the Croat people, but it never took the form of a durable statehood. The Croatian state that emerged in 1991 filled the void left by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, backed by the strongly anti-Versailles policies of the late Croat president Franjo Tudjman.

Q: Has political independence from Yugoslavia been good for Croatia, and is it good for Europe?

A: Making value judgments about “good” or “bad” with regard to Croatian independence, or for that matter about any historical event, is irrelevant. Looking at history, I prefer as a method of analysis Vilfredo Pareto’s cold, value-free disinterestedness. But anyway, haven’t the ruling classes in the West over the last century repeatedly carried out punitive military strikes in the name of the myths of progress and human rights?

From the point of view of much-aspired economic benefit, Croatia’s independence has proven to be a disappointment. Today, and since the death [in Dec. 1999] of President Tudjman, Croatia is an ungovernable, Western-sponsored entity in search of identity. The mass craving for quick entry into the “rich men’s club” of the European Union did not materialize. On the other hand, and viewed from a transcendental, nationalist perspective, Croatia’s independence in 1991 was perhaps an inevitable, self-fulfilling prophecy. Conversely: no multicultural entity — whether one speaks of the former Yugoslavia, the ex-Soviet Union, or today’s South Africa (or, tomorrow, multicultural France and the USA?) — lasts for long, however seductive its promise of ecumenical harmony. Nightmare always lurks on the horizon. I think that the ruling class in the USA and the EU, each with its multiracial experimentation, will learn the tragic lesson of Yugoslavia.

Q: Croatia was an ally of Germany during the Second World War. What factors influenced that policy?

A: Geography is destiny. A major factor was that Croatia is geographically close to Germany. Suppose Jefferson or Washington had to fight the England of George III to secure the independence of a country the size of Scotland or Belgium? They would have failed, and today nobody would even know their names. America’s distance from Britain was a tremendous advantage for those who worked for independence. Space helps.

Another factor was that for centuries Croatia was part of the larger, yet truly European, multicultural Austro-Hungarian Empire. Moreover, its cultural and perhaps even ethnic survival during the Turkish onslaught in the 17th century must be credited to the geographically proximate Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

Now, in hindsight, and given the disastrous legacy of European mini-statehoods and intra-European nationalist bickering, one may regret the passing of that supra-national imperial age. Worse, the legacy of endless intra-European squabbles among Europe’s various nation states now lends legitimacy to today’s uprooted global plutocratic system. But, perhaps, if the Holy Roman Empire had been more durable, likely it would have sooner or later spawned its own mortal enemies.

Q: Croatia’s World War II Ustashi regime is often accused of having committed terrible atrocities, even a campaign of virtual extermination, against Jews and Serbs, with the support of the nation’s Catholic hierarchy. How valid are these accusations?

A: Facts and fiction are often intertwined in modern official history writing. And this is likewise true of every nation’s political mythology. To endure and survive, every nation resorts to its own national mythical narrative, no matter how aberrant it may seem to historians and even future generations. Georges Sorel, the French thinker, understood and described that human trait.

With regard to Croatia’s pro-fascist World War II regime, it’s worth noting that some prominent figures in the regime were married to Jews — a point that even Hannah Arendt noted. One of the founding fathers of modern Croat nationalism in the late 19th century was Joseph Frank, a baptized Hungarian Jew. So influential was he that Ustashi followers were sometimes called

“frankovci.” All the same, in Croatia proper Jews played a very minor and negligible role. For centuries Croatia has been a deeply Roman Catholic country, and Catholicism and the Catholic clergy were closely intertwined with Croatian nationalism.

Serbs, by contrast, have tended to seek a negative legitimization in a national mythos of exaggerated victimhood. Through the Versailles peace treaty of 1919 they received a mandate to dominate the new Western-sponsored and multi-ethnic “Yugoslav” entity. Hence the justifiable anger of the Serbs over what they regard as abandonment and betrayal by their former allies — France, Britain and America — when Yugoslavia dissolved in 1991, and when those powers recognized Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Unfortunately, no effort has been made by the Croat and Serb political and cultural elites, either of the left or the right, to jointly reexamine and cross examine their respective historical roles, including the emotion-laden issue of casualties during and after World War II. The level of mutual suspicion is still enormous. Pseudo-historical mythology still thrives among the Balkan peoples, and very likely will generate yet another bloody but ultimately futile conflict.

Q: As commander of the Communist partisans during World War II, Tito (Josip Broz), who later ruled the reconstituted Yugoslavia for three and a half decades, was certainly involved in his own share of atrocities. Has there been any serious effort to hold Tito, who died in 1980, historically accountable for his misdeeds during and immediately after the war?

A: Tito fought with the Soviets and the Western Allied forces during the war, and was therefore on the victorious side in 1945. His role as a perpetrator of Balkans’ “killing fields” in the aftermath of World War II was staggering, especially against Croats and ethnic Germans. Since then, and for obvious reasons, neither American nor European scholars or media, have conscientiously examined the violent Titoist and Yugoslav past, except in a passing fashion. The Hague Tribunal has been even less willing to take on the Titoist past. If it were to do so, many features of what we today regard as “international law,” “ethnic cleansing,” or for that matter modern history writing, would be exposed as a fraud.

Q: How strong is the desire among Croatians to refute, with historical facts, unfounded accusations of war crimes during the Second World War? If so, has that fostered an interest in the larger issues raised by historical revisionism, including the origins and outcome of the war, the Holocaust question, and so forth?

A: Franjo Tudjman, a communist turned Croatian nationalist, openly challenged some greater-Serbian, Yugoslav and Communist myths in his books. For his critical reassessment of World War II estimates of deaths in the Balkans, he was imprisoned during the communist era. In terms of free historical inquiry, Croatia is today probably more open than the countries of the European Union. But under pressure from various EU and U.S. interest groups, the country is now well on its way toward globalist “normalcy.” Throughout European academe and media, the term “revisionism,” due in part to its semantic imprecision, has now acquired a pejorative meaning, with an undertone of criminality. Many scholars refrain from open debate for fear of having their reputations attacked, including seeing their titles or expertise disparaged in quotation marks in hostile newspaper reports. Regardless of whether one agrees or disagrees with what revisionists write, when a country’s judiciary, that is, its thought police, step in — as now happens in today’s France and Germany — then freedom of speech becomes an empty phrase. What we see in the European Union today is the replica of the judicial mind control that I endured as a child in Titoist Yugoslavia — even though this thought control is implemented in today’s EU in a much more sophisticated manner. I do not think that any freedom loving and tolerant man or woman is a priori trying to “deny” or “assert” anything. With the passage of time, some of our ardently held beliefs

or conventional platitudes must inevitably be discarded. Historical events are inevitably bound to be reexamined within new time frames, and in perpetually new causal relationships.

For my part I have difficulty accepting the often-repeated claim by anti-communists of a hundred million victims of communist rule.

Moreover, so many millions could not have perished without the active or tacit collaboration of the vast majority of communized and scared citizens. To critically reexamine the communist “terror of all against all,” one must read such scholars as Claude Polin, Alexander Zinoviev, and Ernst Nolte — men who are sometimes dubbed by the media as “revisionists,” or worse, “right wingers.”

I well understand the anger of Serb intellectuals over the negative Western media portrayal of the Serb role during the recent wars in the Balkans. Yet both Serb nationalists and leftists continue to cherish their cultic view of Serbs as victims of World War II Croat fascists. Possibly with the help of independent foreign scholars, the great Serbian icon of World War II victimhood might be brought down to size, and perhaps even exposed as yet another example of Balkan historical mythology.

Q: What is your view of the bloody conflicts in recent years in the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia and Kosovo? Were those conflicts inevitable? What can be done to lessen the likelihood of similar conflicts in the future?

A: These conflicts, including those in Bosnia and Kosovo, appear, especially in hindsight, as futile and a terrible waste of life, property and time. But the root causes of the conflicts are to be found in the post-World War I Versailles settlement, the ideology of multiculturalism, and the various forms of political romanticism that have shaped our world.

Q: What lessons do you think the United States, and the world, can learn from the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia?

A: Putting different people together into larger, unnatural entities brings disaster. Mutual vilification and name calling eventually become the norm. Among the similarities between the former Soviet Union and present-day America is a comparably linear and static view of history. In the former Soviet Union the ruling elites and their scribes fostered an artificial social order with decrees and formulas. When people lose trust in their ruling class, they inevitably seek recourse in abstract laws and practices that hardly reflect the pulse of a nation. This is manifest in the ambiguity of the much vaunted liberal “rule of law” in today’s America. For example, local and federal authorities in the USA naively seek to address the country’s deep-rooted racial problems with ever more social engineering, “affirmative action,” multiculturalism, and “integration.” Or when the economy takes a turn for the worse, the call grows for even more deregulation and cut-throat market democracy. The results, as a rule, are contrary to those expected. Exactly the opposite is what should be done.

Q: The United States now seems to be the indisputably dominant power in today’s world — militarily, culturally and politically. How permanent do you regard this hegemony, or do you see signs of fragility?

A: Contrary to the view held by many, especially in Europe, I do not think that America ever concocted a secret or conspiratorial plan for world hegemony. Every form of reductionism is a form of self-serving intellectual sloth. Even among those who embrace theories of alleged “dark forces” and “conspiratorial” elements, there is no unanimity. Historically, America has always

stepped, sometimes on purpose, sometimes not, into geopolitical voids left by others. Let us leave aside whether this is good or bad. Probably it is bad, but here I am just trying to identify the process.

Europeans were incapable of stopping the recent bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia, and it is fortunate that the USA was able to do so. A similar analysis could be applied on the global level. When a nation, a race, or an individual gives up his civic courage and indulges in self-censorship or feigned guilt feelings, he signs his own death warrant. He then becomes easy prey even to an unarmed preacher, or some Oriental guru or Levantine messiah. Historical examples of this are plentiful. Those who are responsible for this state of affairs in the American and European educational systems, the media and public life today, are wealthy, spineless white European and U.S. elites, who while saluting freedom of thought and expression indulge in grotesque fawning and thought self-control. They will hardly elicit sympathy at the hands of tomorrow's enemy.

Q: What do you think are the most important misconceptions by Europeans of the United States and American history?

A: In many ways America, according to its founding fathers, was at the same time a rejection and a fulfillment of European dreams. I am sure that if Washington or Jefferson were to be resurrected today they would be dissidents in the country that uses and misuses their name. But which America are we talking about today anyway? A virtually vicarious, open-border, MTV America, or an America that is a remnant of the "deep south," or something else? Present-day Europe, both East and West, is a poorly mimicked replica of this double travesty of what, in my view, America should not be.

Q: What do you think are the most important misconceptions by Americans of Europe and European history?

A: Europe is far from being homogeneous. A strange complex of inferiority exists on both sides of the Atlantic. Many French and German intellectuals tend to ridicule America's alleged historical ignorance, but few of them have any deep understanding of what is happening even on the other side of the Rhine River. In fact, American thinkers have achieved some extraordinary insights, particularly in the realm of sociobiology, a field that is still widely ignored in Europe. What both Europe and America need is a true elite whose value system is based on non-materialistic foundations of a common Greco-Roman heritage, while avoiding tribal agendas with their suicidally destructive tendencies.

Q: In his new book, *The Death of the West*, Patrick Buchanan paints a grim and gloomy portrait of the future for Europe and European culture. Do you share his pessimism? What are the causes of this catastrophic situation, and what, if anything, can be done to reverse the trend?

A: I agree with Pat Buchanan. But unlike many conservatives, I tend to look critically at the root causes of the approaching death of the West. Was it not the Western millennium-long belief in one bizarre form of Oriental monotheism, that is, Christianity, along with its modern egalitarian derivatives, that have brought us today to our modern "love thy exotic neighbor" entropy, and self-hate? It seems to me that the only way to stop the process of Western collective suicide is by discarding the ideology of progress, the myth of egalitarianism, and the theology of market democracy.

Q: How much do nations, or leaders, really "learn" from history?

A: They never do, because they never bother to learn. The linear concept of the “end of history,” a currently fashionable notion that holds that liberal democracy is a final or a permanent form of social order, is a willful act of intellectual stupidity. History is always open to new deliriums and hoaxes, but it is also open to new rebirth. The great problem is that many fine people get killed in the process. I have no illusions about a static world. After all who says that even in a static paradise we would not experience, after a prolonged bliss, periods of boredom? The static “end of history” view reminds me of the “static poems” (“Statische Gedichte”) by the German poet Gottfried Benn, who was punished by literary oblivion after World War II.

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Subversion of Science: How Psychology Lost Darwin

Gladye Whitney

Introduction

When real history is finally written, mainstream social sciences during most of the twentieth century will be exposed as consisting largely of ethnically motivated disinformation. Much has already been written about the subversion of American anthropology: the shift from legitimate science to ideological pap under the direction of the Jewish immigrant Franz Boas (Degler, 1991; MacDonald, 1998; Pearson, 1996). Much less has been written about how psychology was transformed from a branch of natural science into a section of the Marxist-influenced social sciences. In this paper I will provide information on the subversion of psychology, pointing out the role of Boas and others in the subversion of psychology.

To understand what happened to the social sciences in the twentieth century, it helps to first place it in the context of the on-going ideological and political war. In the sciences this has been strange war because it has been so one-sided. On one side are effective ideological warriors, well versed in persuasion techniques and ruthless in the pursuit of their agenda. On the other side have mostly been naive, non-political scientists engaged in an objective search for truth about the real world. What's worse is that many on the side of objective science have never even realized that a war was being waged. Viewing honesty as an essential first requirement and highest virtue in science, they naturally, but naively, have assumed that all those who call themselves scientists share these same values and objectives. Thus, at least in the short-term, honest science has been devastatingly out-gunned by adversaries who pursue very different objectives, and with a very different rulebook.

In this regard, I refer to two general commentaries about the cultural scene in America, and, by extension, in the West, that, in their titles, catch the flavor of the great transformation. One is entitled *It's a War, Stupid!*, written by David Horowitz, Peter Collier and J. P. Duberg (1997). Horowitz is one of America's most prolific "neo-conservative" writers. "Neo-conservatives" are mostly radical-left activists from the 1960s who have adopted a "conservatism" that is characterized particularly by militant support for Israel. Horowitz is a self-proclaimed "red diaper baby," raised in the Communist party atmosphere of New York City's Jewish community. *It's a War, Stupid!* makes the point that throughout the twentieth century, socialists waged a one-sided ideological war against traditional society. As in any war, truth is one of the first casualties. Horowitz's message is that many of traditionalism's supporters never even realized what was going on. The title could just as aptly have been *Wake Up, Stupid!*

The other book is *America's 30 Years War: Who is Winning?*, by Balint Vazsonyi (1998). Vazsonyi escaped his native Hungary during the short-lived 1956 anti-Soviet revolution. Having lived under two socialist totalitarian regimes, the Nazi and the Soviet, he is personally familiar

with the tactics of each. In his book, his main concern is that socialism is slowly transforming America. While the media happily tells us that the collapse of the Soviet Union marks the end of the Cold War, in fact the international socialists are winning a worldwide ideological war. Vazsonyi identifies four American founding principles — rule of law; individual rights; guarantee of personal property; and a shared cultural identity — that, he says, are rooted in this country's unique English, Anglo-Saxon heritage. These basic principles, he warns, are slowly being replaced by socialism. Thus, we today have government-mandated group rights, government controlled redistribution of property, and divisive multiculturalism.

It wasn't always that way.

Early Darwinian Psychology

At the beginning of psychology as a science there was Darwin. In 1844 Charles Darwin (Desmond & Moore, 1991) penned a 230-page manuscript outlining his basic theory. It was never published, although Darwin instructed his wife to have it published in case he died. In 1859 his theory was presented to the public in what Darwin described as a “short abstract” — it was 490 pages of text — entitled *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection Or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. The essential features of this the theory are three straightforward notions. First, Differences: individual differences in many traits. Second, Heredity: the individual differences were to some extent inherited. And, third, Selection: the individually different heritable traits could contribute to differential success in the struggle for life. If the most successful types in this struggle for life differ from the average, if superior survivors had more or less of certain traits, then a species could change, that is evolve, under the pressure of natural selection.

In the *Origin of Species* Darwin almost completely avoided mention of man. Indeed the only comment on man is a brief passage near the end: “In the distant future I see open fields for far more important researches. Psychology will be based on a new foundation, that of the necessary acquirement of each mental power and capacity by gradation. Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history.” (Darwin, 1859, p. 458, 1st edition).

It was Sir Francis Galton (Whitney, 1990), Darwin's half-cousin, who immediately pursued the implications for psychology. Galton was one of the many scientists who, upon exposure to Darwin's theory of natural selection, reacted by saying something along the lines of “Of course! Why didn't I think of that?” By 1865 Galton had published two papers dealing with the inheritance of individual differences, published under the title *Hereditary Talent and Character*, which were then elaborated in his 1869 book, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences* (Galton, 1869).

In his enthusiasm to discover the laws of inheritance, Galton originated much of biometrics, and invented many of the statistical techniques, such as regression, correlation, partitioning of variance, that are still in general use today (Stigler, 1986). Galton discovered that individual differences for many traits were distributed according to a normal distribution. Indeed, it was Galton who named the familiar bell curve “normal,” in the sense of commonly observed. He also discovered that psychological traits were no less heritable than were physical traits. He coined the term “eugenics” (well born) for the new science of human inheritance and evolution, and for the applications of this new science to the welfare of mankind (Whitney, 1990).

By the beginning of the twentieth century many social progressives were eugenicists, and the intellectual founders of the new social and psychological sciences were thoroughgoing hereditari-

ans and Darwinists. For example William James, often called America's first psychologist, and G. Stanley Hall, the founder of the American Psychological Association, along with many others viewed psychological science as a branch of natural science. Psychology's main concerns included study of two central aspects of Darwinian evolution, first the study of heritable individual differences and second, a study of natural selection which resulted in human instincts and inherited behavioral predispositions. The major theoretical orientation in American psychology was named "Functionalism," to emphasize the study of "function" in the sense of what good was some trait — how did it function — in the struggle for survival that was natural selection (Dessler, 1991; Goodwin, 1999).

After a beginning in which Darwinian evolution was central to psychological theory, during the twentieth century Darwin was lost to mainstream psychology.

A Radical Shift to Egalitarianism

By the end of the twentieth century a remarkable theoretical and ideological shift had taken place. The basic tenants of a Darwinian approach — according to which inherited differences matter in real life — are routinely attacked as being morally and ethically repugnant. (In this view, truth or falsity is irrelevant, and only "feel good" slogans matter.) In this ideologically driven atmosphere, emotion-charged terms such as "racist," "sexist," "Nazi" and "neo-Nazi," are routinely hurled at proponents of a Darwinian perspective.

Darwinian scientists are castigated for "genetic determinism," which is dismissed as being overly simplistic. But this is a dishonest criticism. The label is a "straw man." In fact, no Darwinian scientist has ever been a "genetic determinist." Today the so-called social sciences support the prevailing notions and slogans of modern liberal democracy. These notions and slogans include: egalitarianism, the leveling down of everyone in society; environmental determinism, which assumes that heredity is socially insignificant; biological equality with cultural relativism, the "Politically Correct" view according to which all cultures are equally good, except for "bad" Western Christian civilization; Marxist socialism and Communism, which are regarded as the broadly "progressive" path to an ideal future (Hunt, 1999; Pearson, 1996; 1997; Whitney, 1997; 2000).

This radical shift from Darwinian science to an egalitarian or Marxist ideology occurred not on the basis of any new empirical evidence, but actually in opposition to many new empirical discoveries.

The anti-Darwinian ideology originated from within European social/political movements of the nineteenth century. Beginning with the French Revolution (1789) and then across Europe throughout the nineteenth century, the Jews of Europe were gradually "emancipated." The last legal restrictions on their activities (at least outside of Russia) ended with the new German constitution of 1871. Although Europe's Jews were legally treated as equal and fully integrated citizens in what was then a largely Christian civilization, much of the Jewish intelligentsia remained bitter hostile toward traditional European culture. Perhaps the most influential example was Karl Marx. Although his father was a lawyer who had been baptized as a Christian for social-business reasons, Marx was the descendent, through both parents, of a long line of rabbinical scholars.

Darwin formulated the theory of natural selection as a mechanism for evolution at about the same time that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels issued the *Communist Manifesto*. Shortly after its publication in 1847, a wave of attempted revolutions broke out across Europe. The first volume of Marx's great work, *Das Kapital*, appeared in 1867, nine years after the publication in 1859 of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, and two years before Galton's *Hereditary Genius*. Marx had

wanted to dedicate *Das Kapital* to Darwin, out of appreciation for Darwin's evolutionary materialism and the notion of progress in the world. But Marx was certainly no biologist.

According to Marx, mankind had evolved by Darwinian natural selection until the appearance of language and culture. Then a different mechanism of history completely replaced biological evolution. After the "means of production" came into private hands at the dawn of recorded history, Marx explained, struggle and warfare between social-economic classes became the all-decisive motor of human development. Along with nearly all educated persons of his time, Marx was, by current standards, both a racist and a sexist. But the intellectual and political movement that bears his name soon came to stand for a radical egalitarianism that is also characteristic of contemporary (and "politically correct") democratic liberalism.

Franz Boas, a German-born intellectual who lived most of his life in the United States, is rightly credited, above all others, for displacing Darwinian evolution, at least in this country. But for insight into his approach and influence, we need to start with a consideration of his uncle-by-marriage, Abraham Jacobi.

Some Major Players

Abraham Jacobi (1830-1919). His family was close friends of Franz Boas' mother's family, the Meyers of Minden. When Jacobi was sent to study at the *Gymnasium* in Minden, Westphalia, he spent most of his social time at the Meyers' household. Living there was a son his own age, as well as a younger boy whom he tutored, and the Meyer sisters, Sophie and Fanny. Sophie later married Meier Boas and become mother of Franz, while Fanny eventually married Abraham Jacobi. Uncle-by-marriage Jacobi remained a strong, life-long influence on Franz Boas.

Even while at *Gymnasium* the young Abraham Jacobi was attracted to ideas of the radical left. Later while a medical student he, along with Sophie Meyer and sister Fanny, were members of a radical political club. All three engaged in various activities in support of the Communist League during the failed revolutions of 1848-1851.

In a letter that has survived, Sophie expressed her bitter disappointment at the revolution's failure, and her frustration over the role of women in traditional society (Cole, 1999). Sophie was also active in the revolutionary movements of the 1870s. Young Franz Boas would absorb these attitudes, almost literally, at his mother's breast.

In August 1851, following Abraham Jacobi's arrest in Berlin for high treason, the police searched his sister's home in Minden. Jacobi was incarcerated for two years. After his release, but fearing another arrest, he fled to England.

Jacobi visited Karl Marx in London, and for a time was a guest of Friedrich Engels in Manchester. (Cole, 1999). Finding it difficult to practice medicine in England, Jacobi moved on to the United States, where he settled in New York. In due time he became a successful physician, a leader in New York's Jewish community, and a professor of medicine (pediatrics) at Columbia University.

Let there be no mistake with regard to Jacobi's interests and activities. While benefiting from the freedoms in the largely Anglo-Saxon American republic, Jacobi strove to undermine the very society whose freedoms allowed him to thrive. Karl Marx took note of Jacobi's activities promoting revolutionary socialism in the United States. Marx wrote "Jacobi is making good business. The Yankees like his serious manner." (Putnum, 1967, p.17). And on March 29, 1917, he signed a cable of congratulations to the new liberal-democratic government in Russia. Other signatories

were his fellow Jewish community leaders, Oscar Straus and Rabbi Steven S. Wise (Szajkowski, 1972).

Jacobi also helped Franz Boas. He introduced Franz to his future wife, the daughter of a successful New York physician. And it was Jacobi who encouraged Franz to emigrate, in 1886, to the United States, where he arranged for his friend a fellow “Forty-eighter” Carl Schurz to get Franz a job at a museum. (Schurz, prominent in American political and intellectual life, was for a time a U.S. Senator from Missouri and Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes.) Even with such influential backers, Franz Boas for some years drifted from one temporary or part-time position to another.) In 1896, after a full ten years in the U.S., Columbia University reluctantly offered him a part-time, and temporary, position as lecturer assigned to its Psychology Department. He landed this post only after Abraham Jacobi, the University’s influential professor of medicine, personally guaranteed to pay one-half of Boas’ salary (Cole, 1999).

In 1899 Franz Boas was finally appointed as a Professor of Anthropology in a newly created Department of Psychology and Anthropology (Hyatt, 1990). He secured this post, however, only after Jacobi had guaranteed, once again, to underwrite a major portion of his salary (Cole, 1999).

Franz Uri Boas (1858-1942) grew up in a radical socialist Jewish household where he early developed an enduring dislike — hatred may not be too strong a word — for the traditional Prussian Christian culture that surrounded him. Later, from his position in the United States as an anthropologist, he attacked and subverted traditional European-American heritage, norms and values.

Never a coward, as a student in Germany Franz fought numerous duels in response to real or imagined slights and anti-Semitic incidents. The tip of his nose was snipped off in one fight, and he lost a bit of scalp in another. He gained a scar above one eye, and a slash from chin to temple on one side of his face.

As early as 1894 Boas was arguing that biological race was not a factor in intelligence or ability (Hyatt, 1990). Even his sympathetic biographers make the point that Boas’ work on behalf of Negroes and prejudice was merely a convenient screen; the self-serving aspects of his work would have been only too evident had he directly addressed Jewish interests. By working toward leveling whites and blacks he was directly contributing to the ascendancy of Jews, because if the whites could be convinced to accept blacks as equals, they would then accept anyone (Hyatt, 1990).

Indeed, writing in the flagship journal *American Anthropologist*, Jewish author Gelya Frank maintains that

Franz Boas’ theories concerning race and culture were consistent with the assimilationist strategies of German Jews in America ... By endorsing civil rights for blacks through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League, David Levering Lewis notes, if perhaps too dismissively, that Jews fought anti-Semitism by “remote control.” “By assisting in the crusade to prove that Afro-Americans could be decent, conformist, cultured human beings, the civil rights Jews were, in a sense, spared some of the necessity of directly rebutting anti-Semitic stereotypes; for if blacks could make good citizens, clearly, most white Americans believed, all other groups could make better ones.” (Lewis, 1992: 31, in Frank, 1997, p. 735)

Numerous authors have dealt with the influence of Boas in leading anthropology and associated sciences into the egalitarian and environmentalist fallacies. Carleton Putnam, for one, has insightfully commented:

What could have been more natural than that a movement calling itself, here, Communism, there, Marxism, somewhere else Socialism (but always having a base which I found easiest to describe by the word equalitarianism) should in its strategy include subversion of sciences as well as governments? (Putnam, 1961, p. 16)

Putnam went on to write that as he read Boas,

page by page my amazement grew. Here was clever and insidious propaganda posing in the name of science, fruitless efforts to prove unprovable theories ... the pattern began to repeat itself, the slippery techniques in evading the main issues, the prolix diversions, the sound without substance. (Putnam, 1961, p. 18)

While much more could be said here about Boas' technique, here I wish to point out explicitly the intellectual and personal ties between Boas, the Boasian approach to social sciences, and the development (or, perhaps, devolvment) of psychology.

The main propagandist for the elimination of Darwinian considerations in psychology, and their replacement with environmentalism, was John Broadus Watson, the father of so-called "behaviorism." Watson was so influential that by mid-century much of academic psychology had re-defined itself as the "study of behavior".

Among critics the shift from psychology as the study of mind to psychology as the study of behavior, led to some bitterly insightful jokes. One was that psychology — the word comes from "psyche" the greek word for soul, and "ology" which means the study of — began as the scientific study of the soul, the very basis of humanity. Then with the rise of materialistic science, psychology first lost its soul and became the study of mind and consciousness. Then came the rise of Freudian psychoanalysis with its emphasis on the importance of the unconscious; psychology lost consciousness. With Watson and behaviorism, it finally lost its mind.

John Broadus Watson (1878-1958) was born at Reedy River, South Carolina, and named by his devout mother after a famous Baptist minister, John Broadus. In the fall of 1900, J. B. Watson began graduate studies at the University of Chicago (Buckley, 1989). To understand his development as a protagonist of anti-Darwinian psychology, we need to look into what he encountered at Chicago.

A gift from John D. Rockefeller, the University of Chicago opened in 1892. Being very well endowed, it early became a leader in graduate education by hiring the best-available faculty. The so-called "functionalist" approach to psychological theory, which (as mentioned earlier) emphasized Darwinian natural selection, was often called "The Chicago School" because of its emphasis by important scholars at the University of Chicago (Buckley, 1989; Goodwin, 1999). This is somewhat ironic because it was an education provided by Chicago that led to the ridicule and downfall of "The Chicago School." To understand the formation of Watson's outlook, we must look at the influence on him of three of his professors there: John Dewey, Jacques Loeb, and Henry Donaldson.

John Dewey, famous for his endeavors in experimental and progressive education, was for ten years chairman of Chicago's Philosophy Department, before moving on in 1904 to Columbia University. Although Dewey is famous for a number of things, including an emphasis on apply-

ing the results of experimental psychology to education, and for his support of so-called “progressive” movements in society and education, he was not a Communist. Indeed, although early a supporter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), during the 1930s he resigned from the ACLU with the complaint that it had been taken over by Communists (Scruton, 1995). J. B. Watson originally applied to Chicago to study philosophy under Dewey. He rather quickly shifted to psychology, later saying that he never understood anything Dewey said. (Dewey is said to have been a terrible lecturer.) Although Watson switched his major to psychology, he kept philosophy, and Dewey, as a minor.

Jacques Loeb was a famous physiologist who emigrated from Germany in 1891. He was also one of the more outspoken socialist radicals of his time. He was bitterly hostile to Darwinian evolutionary theory because, he said, it could be used to support Christian theology and free markets. He also argued that evolution did not fulfill the true role of a science because it was not experimental enough (Pauley, 1987). J. B. Watson later emphasized that a true science of psychology would be able to “predict and control” behavior — a mantra that he acquired from Jacques Loeb. Loeb taught that the control of behavior was the ultimate object of scientific research. For Loeb, “Scientific knowledge was a tool to modify and control the behavior of existing organisms and ultimately to produce new organisms artificially through biological engineering” (Buckley, 1989, p. 41).

This was a message that the young Watson thoroughly absorbed.

The third strong influence on J. B. Watson was the well-known brain specialist, Henry H. Donaldson. Before going to Chicago in 1892, Donaldson had been on the faculty at Clark University where, at the same time, Franz Boas held a one-year-at-a-time appointment as a docent. Donaldson and Boas, with their respective wives, lived only one block apart, were of nearly the same age, and each had one child, also about the same age. Furthermore, their wives got on famously together. They quickly became fast friends. Years later Boas would describe Donaldson as his best friend in America; the Boas' even named a later baby (Henri) after Henry Donaldson (Hyatt, 1990; Cole, 1999). It was in the laboratory of this best friend and soulmate of Franz Boas that John B. Watson did his research for his doctoral dissertation. A volume was put together to honor Boas on the 25th anniversary of his Ph.D. (Boas, 1906). The first paper in this special honorary volume was authored by Henry Donaldson, with appreciation to J. B. Watson (Donaldson, 1906). Thus Watson's indoctrination in progressive socialist environmentalism, and anti-Darwinism, came through three of his most influential teachers in his graduate education.

By all accounts Watson was a bright student and a hard worker. When he was awarded his doctoral degree in 1903 he was, at 25, the youngest person to ever earn a doctorate from Chicago up to that time. Also in 1903 Watson married a 19-year-old undergraduate student that provided another link to liberal socialism. His new wife, Mary Ickes, was the younger sister of Harold Ickes (Buckley, 1989). Watson's new brother-in-law played a major role in promoting egalitarian, socialist policies in the United States. For a time Harold Ickes was president of the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He later was Secretary of the Interior under President Franklin Roosevelt, who put him in charge of some of the most famous “New Deal” make-work projects (Clarke, 1996; Watkins, 1990). So dedicated was Ickes to racial egalitarianism that historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., described him as the Roosevelt administration's “informal Secretary of Negro Relations” (Schlesinger, 1957).

As a 65-year-old widower, Harold Ickes married a woman nearly 40 years his junior. Their son, also named Harold Ickes, later held influential posts, both official and unofficial, in the Clinton administration.

Thus did John B. Watson begin his academic career well connected, both academically and politically, to liberalism. In 1913 he was invited to present a series of lectures at Columbia University. The first was published under the title “Psychology as the Behaviorist Views it” (Watson, 1913). One of its main themes was that the “theoretical goal” of psychological science should be “the prediction and control of behavior”, and that behaviorism would produce techniques for social control to improve society.

In 1915, Watson’s presidential address to the American Psychological Association was entitled “The place of the conditioned reflex in psychology” (Watson, 1916). Here Watson introduced the conditioned reflex, studied by the Russians Pavlov and Bechterev, as central to all psychological development. In his view learning-conditioning was central, while inherited influences on development were simply unimportant.

Watson continued to write for decades in a provocative and propagandistic style. Here are some samples of that style, from his 1930 book *Behaviorism*:

Our hereditary structure lies ready to be shaped in a thousand different ways — the same structure — depending on the way in which the child is brought up... Objectors will probably say that the behaviorist is flying in the face of the known facts of eugenics and experimental evolution — that the geneticists have proven that many of the behavioral characteristics of the parents are handed down to the offspring... Our reply is that the geneticists are working under the banner of the old “faculty” psychology. One need not give very much weight to any of their conclusions. We no longer believe in faculties nor in any stereotyped patterns of behavior which go under the names of “talent” and inherited capacities. (Watson, 1930, pp. 97-99)

Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in, and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select — doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief and, yes, beggar-man and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors. (p. 104)

Watson’s view could hardly have been more incorrect. As one eminent psychologist has pointed out, “Since Watson’s pronouncement, no single year has passed without publication of some evidence showing it to be wrong” (McClearn, 1962, p. 237). Against the evidence, this extreme environmentalist and anti-hereditarian view in time became the entrenched “traditional view” that is today tamely accepted by most psychologists.

This anti-hereditarian view does not differ in essence from the ludicrous “Lysenkoism” of the Soviet Union, which is often cited as a sterling example of the folly of trying to subordinate science to political ideology (Soyfer, 1994). But whereas the Lysenkoist anti-hereditarianism of the Stalin-era Soviet Union was imposed by government order, in the United States it prevails de facto by “consensus.” Sadly, these counter-factual egalitarian and environmental determinist theories are still central to the views of many social scientists, and today underlie much social and educational policy in the United States (Whitney, 1998a).

What Watson did for psychology, another disciple of Boas did for sex. Margaret Mead (1901-1978), a bi-sexual graduate student of Franz Boas, went to Somoa to carry out the research for her doctoral dissertation. Upon her return she published her findings in a book entitled *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization* (Mead, 1928), which became one of the most influential works in the United States from the 1940s through the 1970s. The sub-title should have been a warning. The gist of Mead’s best-selling book is that the

sexual constraints of traditional Western Christian civilization caused the emotional difficulties of puberty and led to wars, prejudice, bigotry, and suppression of women. Mead claimed that Samoan adolescents were allowed, in fact encouraged, to engage in free, casual, promiscuous sex. The result was a society of happy, well adjusted, peaceful, open, kind people. This outlook was expressed in the popular late-1960s slogan, "Make Love, Not War," and encouraged the "sexual revolution" of that era. In the final years of her life, Margaret Mead was a cultural icon.

Cultural anthropologists loved *Coming of Age in Samoa*, who made it one of most often assigned works in the field. In the early 1980s it was exposed as a pack of lies (Freeman, 1983; O'Keefe, 1983). In the year 2000, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute of Wilmington, Delaware, named Mead's 1928 treatise the worst nonfiction book of the past century. They could have named it the worst book of fiction. On this there is now broad scholarly consensus. The main unresolved question is who was the worst liar: was it Mead herself, or was she misled by her young native informants (Freeman, 1998)? But even though it has been thoroughly discredited, some anthropologists maintain that the importance and goodness of Mead's message overrides her book's lack of veracity (Barkan, 1992; Foerstel & Gilliam, 1992; Lamb, 1994). "Mead's first husband, Luther Cressman, later recalled Mead's characteristic response upon being shown that a conclusion of hers was not true: 'If it isn't, it ought to be,' she would say." (Price, 1999, p. A17)

Among Mead's other influential works was another classic of creative writing, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935). Here Mead tried to show that the male chauvinism of Western Civilization was a cultural phenomenon with no basis in human biology. She claimed that in other cultures, with their non-Western traditions, relations among the sexes were very different. In one, she contended, women were the sexually aggressive ones while the males played coy. Women ran things politically, while men tended the home. In another non-Western culture, she maintained, both men and women were peaceful and lady-like, while in a third both were nasty strivers, similar to white, Western males. In the three cultures she portrayed, along with Western civilization, every possible combination of female-male dominance relationship was manifest. The conclusion was obvious: differences in the social roles of the men and women in Western and European culture must be due to the evils of traditional Western Christian civilization.

Pontifical Authoritarianism

Franz Boas and his disciples were not always bashful about proclaiming the social and political implications of their ideology. Boas received funding, in part, from the American Jewish Committee and from Jacob Schiff, the prominent Jewish banker who, it is said, helped to finance the February 1917 Russian revolution. And Boas himself was a member of more than 40 organizations identified as Communist or Communist front groups (Hyatt, 1990). (Interestingly, the daughter of vice president Al Gore, Jr., married Andrew Schiff, the grandson of Jacob Schiff.)

In October of 1935, Franz Boas wrote to Raymond Pearl requesting a statement on race that, after being signed by prominent scientists, would be widely circulated. In demurring Pearl wrote that he questioned

the wisdom and strategy of taking the action you suggest in your letter... I have strong aversion to round-robins by scientific men, and most particularly where the pronouncement is really, however camouflaged, about political questions or angles of political questions which have more or less relation to purely scientific matters... I am unalterably opposed now and all times towards any attitude of pontifical authoritarianism under the aegis of science. (Provine, 1973)

Perhaps the most outstanding example of “pontifical authoritarianism under the aegis of science” was the 1950 UNESCO Statement on Race, which, after scientific protests, was modified and reissued in 1952. Among its other falsehoods, this widely cited statement declared that there was no evidence for hereditary psychological differences among races. The UNESCO declaration was the product of a committee headed by one of Boas' students, Ashley Montagu (born Israel Ehrenburg) (Provine, 1973; Pearson, 1996). Montagu had earlier authored a heavily promoted book that sought to debunk the biological reality of race, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (1942). The UNESCO statement was sent to 106 anthropologists or geneticists for comment. Of the 80 who responded, 31 had substantial criticisms, principally about the provision implying equality of mental traits among races. Twenty-six disagreed with details, while only 23 accepted the statement as presented (Provine, 1973).

Kenneth Clark, a prominent, Columbia-trained black psychologist, was secretly funded by the American Jewish Committee (Svonkin, 1997). Clark provided false and misleading testimony that the U.S. Supreme Court used in its landmark 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka Kansas*, which forced school desegregation (van den Haag, 1960).

Another Boasian, psychologist Otto Klineberg (1899-1992), spelled out the social-political agenda in his supposedly scholarly book *Race Differences* (1935):

The general conclusion of this book is that there is no scientific proof of racial differences in mentality... There is no reason therefore, to treat two people differently because they differ in their physical type... There is no reason to make immigration laws stricter for one people than another... There is no reason to pass laws against miscegenation... There is no innate aversion of races to one another.

There is an increasing tendency to see in the race problem merely one aspect of the class war, in which those who are in a position of privilege make of unimportant differences in skin color or religion or language a convenient excuse for their own continued domination. Those who look upon race relations from this point of view see little hope of any real improvement until the present competitive system has been replaced by a new social order. They point with conviction to Russia, where the economic change has been accompanied by a more sympathetic treatment of minorities, and where the class struggle and the race problem seem to have disappeared together. (Benjamin, 1997, pp. 617-618)

Suppression of Common Knowledge

That the social sciences have been largely corrupted, mainly by Jews with a leftist ideological agenda, is common knowledge among academics in the field. An example is Franz Samelson, in his 1978 paper, “From 'race psychology' to 'studies in prejudice',” published in the scholarly *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*. After taking note of what some regard as a paradigm shift in psychology, “from evolutionary genetics to the culture concept, from Darwin to Boas,” Samelson wrote: “It seems arguable that a change in the pattern of ethnic backgrounds among psychologists contributed significantly to the shift... Early American science was predominantly 'Puritan' or at least Anglo-Saxon. From the twenties on, however, ethnics began to move into the profession in ever-increasing numbers, at first primarily with recruits from Jewish backgrounds.” (Benjamin, 1997, p. 639).

Gelya Frank (1997), in an example of Jewish triumphalist writing, points out that cultural anthropology remains largely a Jewish endeavor that consists of training for social activism. Svonkin

(1997) writes in a similar vein. MacDonald (1998) presents an extensive and excellent study of these activities.

With knowledge of behavior genetics and race differences increasing at a prodigious rate (Whitney, 1999), members of the Jewish intelligentsia are, if anything, becoming more strident in attempting to subvert Darwinian psychology. Examples include the widely praised book by Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (1997), which argues against genetic race differences, and *Alas, Poor Darwin: Arguments Against Evolutionary Psychology* (Rose, 2000).

Even though this process is common knowledge among academics, the suppression of knowledge about Jewish involvement in issues linking genetics, race, psychology is being actively pursued. In many countries “politically incorrect” discussion of these topics can get one fired, while worldwide the Anti-Defamation League, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, and allied pressure groups are pushing to criminalize any serious discussion of race differences (Whitney, 1998b). Hopefully the tide will turn before the “traditional enemies of the truth” gain total control.

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About the Author

Glayde Whitney (1939-2002), was a nationally renowned psychologist. At the time of his death, he was a full professor of psychology at Florida State University (Tallahassee), where he had taught for 31 years. This essay is adapted from his lecture on May 29, 2000, at the 13th Conference of the Institute for Historical Review, Irvine, Calif. Preparation for this paper was supported in part by a grant from the Pioneer Fund.

Killing Gentiles

Joe Sobran

Ariel Sharon has finally gone too far. Israel's thuggish prime minister thought he could crush the Palestinian revolt with a policy of violence, killing Palestinians until they begged for mercy. But the policy has backfired by getting lots of Jews killed too, and the violence on both sides is escalating dangerously. Even Sharon's indulgent American patrons, George W. Bush and Colin Powell, have called for a halt to the madness.

Sharon is acting according to his lights. He has never concealed his contempt for "the goy" — the gentile. Israel is based on the principle that Jews have rights "goyim" don't have. Hence its abuse of Arab gentiles and its defiance of Western gentiles.

Mark Weber, of the Institute for Historical Review, has summed up the situation in one pithy sentence: "The truth is that if we held Israel to the same standards that we apply to Serbia, Afghanistan, and Iraq, U.S. bombers and missiles would be blasting Tel Aviv, and we'd be putting Israeli prime minister Sharon behind bars for war crimes and crimes against humanity."

Unless I've missed something, even such alleged "anti-Semites" as David Duke and Louis Farrakhan don't advocate treating Jews as Israel treats gentiles. Anyone with a spark of decency would be ashamed to treat Jews that way. Yet a gentile can be accused of anti-Semitism even for the purely verbal sin of criticizing Israel, whereas a Jew who supports Sharon's physical cruelty is accused of ... well, nothing. We have no handy word for even the most brutal Jewish treatment of gentiles.

To challenge the Jews' right to oppress Palestinians is called "denying Israel's right to exist." Apparently its "right to exist" includes the right to oppress, and is indeed inseparable from it. Even the "peace plans" that call for separate Jewish and Palestinian states seem to take for granted the right of the Jewish state to treat Arabs within its borders as inferiors.

Perish the thought that Jews and gentiles should be equal! That would be anti-Semitism.

According to Israel's "amen corner" in this country, Israel can do no wrong, except to concede too much to the Palestinians. Israel is a heroic "democracy" even when it treats its minority like dirt, and a "reliable ally" of the United States even when it steals American military secrets and sells them to Communist countries.

It's an article of faith among the Amen Corner that the Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard — a national hero in Israel, by the way — has been punished far too harshly for his crimes, since the United States should have shared those secrets with Israel anyway. And far from recoiling from Sharon's brutality, the Amen Corner defends him at every turn, just as Stalin's fellow travellers in this country used to justify Uncle Joe — except that some in the Amen Corner think Sharon isn't going far enough.

Not all the members of the Amen Corner are Jewish. Many are Christians — a shameful fact, since they never raise their voices in defense of Palestinian Christians. “See how these Christians love one another!” This kind of loyalty might make Judas Iscariot queasy.

The obvious danger is that the United States will once more be drawn into war with Israel’s enemies, chiefly Iraq. If that happens, we probably won’t be as lucky as in the 1991 Gulf War, which ended with an easy American victory and little cost until last September 11. This time the whole Middle East could erupt in war and revolution, leaving us with countless millions of bitter enemies on top of those we already have. It will be a boon to al-Qaeda recruitment.

The U.S. Government is toying with the possibility of using nuclear weapons in the war ahead — the war that the “war on terrorism” may morph into. We can be sure that the fanatical Sharon won’t object, and some of his American apologists are sounding rather interested in the idea of nuking Arabs. If the United States does it, Israel won’t have to.

We can only hope that Bush, Powell, and the rest of the top echelon of the government — which may or may not include Congress these days — will come to their senses before they decide to strike Iraq. U.S. support for Israel has already cost us far too much, and it may yet cost us far more. Ariel Sharon leaves no excuse for blindness about what we are dealing with.

About the Author

Joe Sobran is an author, lecturer and syndicated columnist. For 21 years he wrote for National Review magazine, including 18 years as a senior editor. He is editor of the monthly newsletter, Sobran’s (P.O. Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183, or see www.sobran.com) “Killing Gentiles,” March 12, 2002, and “Is It Worth It?,” Sept. 20, 2001, are reprinted by arrangement with Griffin Internet Syndicate. All rights reserved.

Is It Worth It?

Joe Sobran

One thing is clear: the recent horrible events in New York and Washington had nothing whatsoever, in any way, shape, or form, to do with U.S. support for Israel. Many Arabs and Muslims hate this country and would hate it just as bitterly if there were no such thing as Israel.

At least this is what we are hearing from Israel's apologists. The European press seems to assume that America's policy toward Israel helped provoke the 9/11 attack. To the naive eye this would seem rather obvious. Yet we are assured otherwise.

Writing in *The Wall Street Journal*, Norman Podhoretz asserts that "if Israel had never come into existence, or if it were magically to disappear, the U.S. would still stand as an embodiment of everything that most of these Arabs consider evil. Indeed," he goes on, "the hatred of Israel is in large part a surrogate for anti-Americanism."

According to this argument, the terrible violence we have suffered has no connection to our alliance with Israel; that alliance not only has no cost for us, but is a positive blessing. We are lucky to have such an ally.

In fact, by this logic, the cost of the alliance falls on Israel. It would seem to follow that Israel, in its own interest, should break its special ties to the United States and reject any further American military and financial aid. Why should the Israelis, who have their own problems, take on all our enemies in addition?

Podhoretz's argument is an insult to his readers' intelligence. Of course American support for Israel has cost this country dearly. Any fool can see that, though in some quarters only a fool would say it out loud.

A personal note is relevant here. Fifteen years ago, Podhoretz and his circle tried to get me fired from my job at *National Review* for saying as much. That experience taught me a lot about the limits of free speech.

When it comes to Israel, an American journalist speaks his mind at his own risk. That helps explain why so few voices in the U.S. press are saying what European journalists may say without fear.

In the early 1980s it became clear to me that the pro-Israel lobby was trying to steer the United States into conflict with the Arab world. I saw nothing in the American interest in that; and my own two sons were approaching the draft age. Until then, I had been strongly pro-Israel myself; but sacrificing my boys for Israel was a higher price than I wanted to pay. Nor did I want other Americans to pay it.

But as soon as I began arguing publicly that the U.S.-Israel alliance was not only costly but dangerous to the United States, I became the target of Zionist vituperation and worse. Some, like Podhoretz, tried to ruin my career. And I've seen others get the same treatment.

Yet it should be clear even to those who see nothing to criticize in Israel that America pays a price for supporting it — and the price just got much heavier. No doubt there are other things that make this country hated and despised in the Arab-Muslim world, but to deny that Israel is a chief irritant is dishonest. And we must be free to say so.

My point here is not that Israel, or for that matter America itself, is to blame. It's simply in the nature of things that, for all sorts of reasons, the interests of nations conflict; and when a nation projects force abroad, sooner or later it is going to provoke a strong reaction. What happened to us last week was only to be expected; I don't feel like a psychic for having predicted it for many years.

Now we have to ask ourselves a simple question: Is it worth it? It's a question we should have asked much earlier. Of course we have to weigh the rights and wrongs of the Middle East, but there comes a time when even taking the right side may bring unbearable costs.

It's not encouraging that the U.S. military response to the 9/11 attack has been gauchely dubbed "Operation Infinite Justice." Mercy may be infinite, but justice is always a matter of measure. And a sense of measure is just what has been missing in American foreign policy for lo, these many years.

About the Author

Joe Sobran is an author, lecturer and syndicated columnist. For 21 years he wrote for National Review magazine, including 18 years as a senior editor. He is editor of the monthly newsletter, Sobran's (P.O. Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183, or see www.sobran.com) "Killing Gentiles," March 12, 2002, and "Is It Worth It?," Sept. 20, 2001, are reprinted by arrangement with Griffin Internet Syndicate. All rights reserved.

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Myths About Britain's 'Finest Hour'

Alexander Cockburn

There's a myth now about the British hanging together in those dark days [of 1939-1941]. "London can take it," Ed Murrow told America in his CBS broadcasts. Actually, morale was appalling. Most people correctly had little confidence in the competence of their government and thought Germany was going to win. In the Channel Islands, which the Nazis did take over, the people greeted them hospitably and turned in Jews with zest. The British Ministry of Information employed 10,000 people to read people's mail surreptitiously, intercepting about 200,000 letters a week, and discovered that people were deeply pessimistic and thought Churchill was "played out."

A secret government report spelled out the popular lack of nerve: "Portsmouth — on all sides, we hear that looting and wanton destruction had reached alarming proportions. The police seem unable to exercise control ... The effect on morale is bad and there is a general feeling of desperation ... their nerve had gone."

Churchill's famous speeches about their "finest hour" and so forth didn't have much effect either. He delivered them in the House of Commons, and when the BBC asked him to rebroadcast them on the radio, he refused. So the BBC secretly used an actor named Norman Shelley to read them, pretending to be Churchill. Shelley's usual role was to play Larry the Lamb on "Children's Hour." Most people didn't actually know what Churchill's voice sounded like, and those who did thought it sounded funny. Letters poured into No. 10 Downing St. asking what was wrong with the PM.

Many people tried to shut out the war as much as they could. By the end of 1940, nearly a third of the population admitted to not following news of the war. When asked what depressed them most, people put the weather first, then war news, then the air raids. Life was rotten anyway for a huge slab of the population, which was malnourished, poorly housed, barely educated and deeply discontented. When they visited the [London] East End, the king and queen were soundly booed. In the summer of 1941, a woman got five years in prison for saying "Hitler is a good man, a better man than Mr. Churchill."

-- Alexander Cockburn, author and columnist, who was born in Britain in June 1941, writing in "Remembrances of War and Summer," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 2000.

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Israel's Ariel Sharon Speaks

“Israel may have the right to put others on trial, but certainly no one has the right to put the Jewish people and the State of Israel on trial”

Ariel Sharon, BBC News, March 25, 2001.

“Jews as individuals are great individuals — talented, ambitious, intelligent, smart. As a people [though], I would not give them as high a grade. Jews know how to hate.”

Ariel Sharon, in an interview with the Israeli daily *Yediot Aharonot*, Feb. 1, 2002. Quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 2, 2002, p. B3.

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Is Israel Our Friend?

“Every time anyone says that Israel is our only friend in the Middle East, I can’t help but think that before Israel, we had no enemies in the Middle East.”

John Sheehan, S.J.

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Copenhagen: Uncertainty in Life and in Science

Copenhagen by Michael Frayn. New York: Anchor, 2000. 132 pages.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Michaels

Peter Frayn's play *Copenhagen*, recently returned to the stage in America, speculates on what might have transpired during a meeting between Nobel laureates Niels Bohr and Werner Heisenberg in Copenhagen in September 1941, at the height of the German advance into Russia and just three months before America's entry into the war. The power of National Socialist Germany was at its pinnacle, and the Germans had just been made aware, through Swedish sources, of U.S. plans to build an atomic bomb.

The meeting was at Heisenberg's behest. As Germany's leading theoretical physicist and head of the German Uranium Club, the organ which would assess the possible war uses of nuclear energy, he was the man best situated to advise his government on the creation of an atomic bomb. The older Bohr was not only a professional colleague of Heisenberg, but a close personal friend as well. The play ponders the possible reasons for Heisenberg's visit, linking them to the failure of the Germans to develop the bomb.

The stage is set austere, with but three actors in the roles of Heisenberg, Bohr, and Bohr's wife, Margrethe. The set resembles a university physics seminar, with about two dozen members of the audience arranged in a semicircle around the circular center stage, as though participating in the seminar or sitting in judgment at a tribunal. The principals, Heisenberg and Bohr, orbit around the stage like electrons around the nucleus, Margrethe, who comments on the actions and words of her husband and Heisenberg. She is obviously disposed against the latter.

The action of the play encompasses the initial meeting of the two physicists in Copenhagen in 1941, another encounter in 1947, and finally an imagined meeting that takes place after all three characters have died. Margrethe, Bohr's wife, is present in all scenes as interlocutor and commentator. Even after death they are unable to ascertain with certainty (thus, the uncertainty principle in human life) precisely what was said in Copenhagen in 1941, what was implied, and what was inferred. Did Bohr understand what Heisenberg intended to convey? Did Bohr misinform — intentionally or unwittingly — the Western Allies of Germany's wartime plans?

As Frayn notes (*Copenhagen*, p. 96), dialogue plays an important role in Heisenberg's own memoirs, because he wanted "to demonstrate that science is rooted in conversations." In the play Margrethe says of her husband and Heisenberg: "The first thing they ever did was to go for a walk together ... Walk, and talk. Long, long before walls had ears."

Did Heisenberg ask to meet Bohr in order to confirm the reports concerning an American effort to build an atomic bomb? Did he want Bohr to disassociate himself from the American project?

Did he want Bohr to dissuade the West from developing the bomb because he, Heisenberg, intended to discourage Germany from building the bomb? Did he tell Bohr that Germany would build only a reactor — an engine — and not a nuclear weapon? Or was he attempting to mislead Bohr about Germany's real intentions?

Michael Frayn has based the historical background to his play on two major books — Thomas Powers's *Heisenberg's War* and Robert Jungk's *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns* — each of which views Heisenberg more favorably than did Allied opinion in the first decades after the war. [1] Until the appearance of these books (as well as David Irving's 1967 *The German Atomic Bomb*), [2] Heisenberg was treated with undeserved hostility and contempt by many of the physicists who had been involved in the U.S. Manhattan Project, some of whom were his former students or friends. On this, Frayn has Heisenberg comment: "When I went to America in 1949 a lot of physicists wouldn't even shake my hand. Hands that had actually built the bomb wouldn't touch mine."

Because it presents Heisenberg in a favorable light, *Copenhagen* has drawn the particular ire of Paul Lawrence Rose, Professor of Jewish Studies and European History, as well as the director of the Center for Research on Anti-Semitism, at Pennsylvania State University. [3] Rose finds the play to be a travesty of scientific history, a white-wash of Heisenberg's and Germany's inability to make the bomb, and (of course) anti-Semitic. (Frayn says that the true inventors of the bomb, Otto Frisch and Rudolf Peierls, were Jews.) Heisenberg, in the play, also helps arrange safe-passage for boatloads of Jews, including Bohr and his wife, from Denmark to Sweden in 1943. Furthermore, Frayn asserts, to Rose's dismay, that Churchill and Roosevelt were amoral power-wielders just like Hitler.

For years the Allies insisted that Germany had intended to build an atomic bomb but had failed because its scientists didn't understand bomb physics, hadn't made the proper calculations, had used the wrong materials, disagreed among themselves, and so on. Some American physicists accused German physicists, especially Heisenberg, of concocting a false story of moral scruples that constrained them from building so diabolic a weapon.

Samuel Goudsmit, a top physicist and occasional personal friend of Heisenberg, was appointed head of the Allied wartime mission (codenamed "Alsos") charged with obtaining and evaluating scientific intelligence on the German uranium project. In its findings "Alsos" contemptuously dismissed what it called the moral pretensions of the German physicists, concluding that Heisenberg and his colleagues had never fully understood the fast-neutron reaction in the U-235 bomb, and that under the Nazi regime no such advanced research could have ever hoped to succeed.

Heisenberg disparaged the "Alsos" report, praising Irving's study of the German effort instead:

I did not like the Goudsmit book, Alsos. It was not a good book. I felt that he wrote it for political propaganda. I can only say that Irving really has studied the documents much better than Goudsmit has. In Irving you get the facts practically correct. He has done very careful work.

Rose objects strenuously to Frayn's attempt to establish a moral equivalency between the positions of Heisenberg and Bohr. Heisenberg, according to Rose, was a brilliant but weak man, whose shallow moral character allowed him to be easily corrupted by his nationalist German sympathies into colluding with Nazism. Most interesting, Rose has explicitly condemned *Copenhagen* for its revisionism: [4]

Thanks to the play's chic postmodernism as well as the complexity of its idea, the subtle revisionism of *Copenhagen* has been received with a respect denied to such cruder revisionisms as that of David Irving's Holocaust denial. Revisionism it is, nonetheless, and *Copenhagen* is more destructive than Irving's self evidently ridiculous assertions — more destructive of the integrity of art, of science, and of history.

It was not until 1976, the year of Heisenberg's death, that Samuel Goudsmit revised his earlier dismissal of his friend's scientific abilities and moral concerns. The former head of Alsos wrote:

Heisenberg was a very great physicist, a deep thinker, a fine human being, and also a courageous one. He was one of the greatest physicists of our time, but he suffered severely under the unwarranted attacks by fanatical colleagues. In my opinion he must be considered to have been in some respects a victim of the Nazi regime. (*Copenhagen*, p. 110)

As portrayed in *Copenhagen*, Heisenberg again and again expresses his doubts as to whether scientists should cooperate with the state in developing weapons of war. As an individual and a loyal German Heisenberg was confronted by a moral dilemma. If he chose to thwart Germany's development of the bomb, he might threaten the very existence of his country, since he knew the enemy was building a bomb. And indeed the preponderance of historical evidence suggests that Heisenberg chose to dissuade the German war office from building the bomb by providing spurious and exaggerated estimates of the materials and time required.

The *New York Times* reviewed *Copenhagen* just before the play opened on Broadway, with an emphasis on the staging and scientific content rather than the moral issues. The review particularly emphasized the “elegance and clarity” with which director Michael Blakemore presents the complexities of Heisenberg's uncertainty principle (the more precisely you measure one variable, the less precise your measurement of the related variable can be), complementarity (perceiving something from two incompatible standpoints), Bohr's quantum mechanics, and other advances in physics. The reviewer gives particular note to the ways in which these findings in physics are echoed in human behavior: for one, uncertainty surrounds the reasons and motives for Heisenberg's position regarding a German attempt to build the atom bomb. [5]

In *Copenhagen* Bohr describes his complementarity principle thus:

Particles are things, complete in themselves. Waves are disturbances in something else. We must choose one of the two ways of seeing, but as soon as we do we can't know everything about them.

In illustration of the principle of complementarity in life, during a heated discussion between the two principals Heisenberg says:

You thought I was trying to arm Germany with nuclear weapons. It was a war. You were absolutely entitled to kill me. Of course, this didn't even occur to you because while I'm your enemy, I'm also your friend. I'm an enemy to mankind, but I'm also your guest. I'm a particle but I'm also a wave.

It must be stated that although a German patriot, Heisenberg never joined the Nazi Party, and always got along with his Jewish colleagues. “I am not a Nazi, but a German!” he often said. Because of his unprejudiced views on theoretical physics, he was accused by some Party members of being a “white Jew,” a gentile who took Einstein's relativity theory seriously. In the drama Heisenberg expresses his attachment to Germany:

Germany is where I was born. Germany is where I became what I am. Germany is all the faces of my childhood, all the hands that picked me up when I fell, all the voices that encouraged me and set me on my way, all the hearts that speak to my heart. Germany is my widowed mother and my impossible brother. Germany is my wife. Germany is our children.

Tortured by the importance of his recommendations to the German government on whether or not to build an atomic bomb, Heisenberg is torn between his own personal reluctance and moral compunction about building the bomb, and his concern for his homeland and family if he recommends against it. In Frayn's dialogue, Heisenberg looks back to the consequences of Germany's defeat in 1918, including Communist uprisings and the Allied hunger blockade:

I have to know what I am deciding for them! Is it another defeat? Another nightmare like I grew up with? Bohr, my childhood in Munich came to an end in anarchy and civil war. Are more children going to starve as we did? [referring to the postwar British blockade] Are they going to have to spend winter nights as I did when I was a schoolboy, crawling on my hands and knees through enemy lines, creeping out into the country under the cover of darkness in the snow to find food for my family? And maybe I'm choosing something worse even than defeat. Because the bomb they're building is to be used on us. On the evening of Hiroshima Oppenheimer said it was his one regret that they hadn't produced the bomb in time to use on Germany.

When Bohr interrupts him to say that Oppenheimer also tormented himself afterwards, Heisenberg retorts:

Afterwards, yes. At least we tormented ourselves a little beforehand. Did a single one of them stop to think, even for one brief moment, about what they were doing? Did Fermi, or Teller, or Szilard? Did Einstein when he wrote to Roosevelt in 1939 and urged him to finance research on the bomb? Did you, when you escaped from Copenhagen two years later, and went to Los Alamos?

Bohr replies that at least he and the Los Alamos group weren't supplying the bomb to a Hitler. To which Heisenberg responds:

You weren't dropping it on Hitler, either. You were dropping it on anyone who was in reach. On old men and women on the street, on mothers and their children. And if you'd produced it in time they would have been my fellow countrymen. My wife. My children. That was the intention. Yes?

Bohr: That was the intention.

Much has been made of the comments by a number of Germany's leading physicists (referred to as the Farm Hall transcripts) during their detainment in Britain for six months after the war. It was during that time that they learned that an atomic bomb had been dropped on Japan. Since they unquestionably assumed that their remarks were being recorded, the German scientists no doubt said one thing for the ears of the British and other things among themselves during their daily walks. Jeremy Bernstein has made a fair and objective analysis of the transcripts, concentrating mostly on scientific considerations. He does not believe that Heisenberg ever made the crucial calculations necessary to determine the critical mass of the bomb, although he obviously knew quite well that a bomb would require fast (U-235) rather than slow (U-238) neutrons. Of the man Heisenberg, Bernstein writes: "He had the first truly quantum-mechanical mind — the

ability to take the leap beyond the classical visualizing pictures into the abstract, all-but-impossible-to-visualize world of the subatomic." [6]

The main reason for Heisenberg's visit to Copenhagen in 1941 appears to have been his hope that Bohr in the West, and he in Germany, would be able to discourage work on a bomb. In Germany Heisenberg argued that building a nuclear-fission bomb when the war was still raging would be beyond Germany's technical capabilities. Moreover, he incorrectly informed the German war office that more than a ton of fissile material would be required.

Heisenberg chose to build instead an *Uranmaschine* (a nuclear reactor). He drew a simple sketch of the reactor for Bohr, but at the time the Dane apparently did not yet understand the difference between a reactor and a bomb. Bohr assumed that Heisenberg's drawing was a bomb sketch and passed his opinion on.

In *Copenhagen* Heisenberg tells Bohr explicitly that he is not working on a bomb, but on a reactor. "A machine to produce power! To generate electricity, to drive ships!"

Theatrically, the most dramatic moment in the play occurs as Heisenberg, at Bohr's urging, performs the crucial calculation for the critical mass of U-235 that would have given Germany the key to the bomb:

Bohr: Why are you confident that it's going to be so reassuringly difficult to build a bomb with 235? Is it because you've done the calculation?

H: The calculation?

B: Of the diffusion in 235. No, it's because you haven't calculated it. You haven't considered calculating it. You hadn't consciously realized there was a calculation to be made.

H: And of course now I have realized. In fact it wouldn't be all that difficult. Let's see ... The scattering cross-section's about 6×10^{-24} , so the mean free path would be ... Hold on ...

At this point an explosion, white light, and thunderous noise fills the stage, simulating the burst of an atomic bomb.

As to Frayn's accuracy in depicting the principals in the play, Heisenberg's son, Jochen Heisenberg, currently professor of physics at the University of New Hampshire, has criticized the playwright's representation of his father: "You can't try in a play to reproduce real people. There are many differences between how Heisenberg is presented and how the real person is. He was a rational person, not outwardly emotional. His emotions came through when he played music. That last part when his long monologue regrets the destruction of his country — my father would never have done something like that."

On the other hand, Bohr's grandson, Vilhelm Bohr, currently a researcher at the U.S. National Institutes of Health, called the play "a wonderful piece of drama, very exciting" and agreed that "some of the character of my grandfather comes through. In many ways it is accurate about my grandfather's personality." [7]

No relatives seem to have expressed themselves on the portrayal of Bohr's wife, Margrethe, but to this reviewer she comes across as a querulous woman unable to conceal her disdain for

Heisenberg.

The central question of whether Heisenberg willingly refused to calculate the amount of the U-235 isotope necessary to sustain a chain reaction, or whether he deliberately fudged his estimate to discourage the German war leaders, or whether he simply was unable to make the calculations, is not answered in *Copenhagen*. In response to Bohr's direct question as to why he didn't make the crucial calculation, Heisenberg answers simply but convincingly.

Frayn's dialogue:

H: Why didn't you calculate it?

B: Why didn't I calculate it?

H: Tell us why you didn't calculate it and we'll know why I didn't.

B: It's obvious why I didn't.

H: Go on.

M: Because he wasn't trying to build a bomb!

H: Yes, thank you. Because he wasn't trying to build a bomb. I imagine it was the same with me. Because I wasn't trying to build a bomb. Thank you.

In several interviews after the war, Heisenberg stated explicitly that he and a few colleagues had calculated the critical mass quite accurately but chose not to inform the German government. In 1967 he stated: "The German physicists knew from their calculations how many kilograms were needed to build an atomic bomb — and these figures agreed well, as was shown after the war, with the American ones." [8] And in 1970, in a letter to Ruth Nanda Anshen, the editor of his memoirs: "Dr. Hahn, Dr. von Laue, and I falsified the mathematics in order to avoid the development of the atom bomb by German scientists."

To summarize the uncertainty surrounding Heisenberg's wartime decisions and actions, Frayn has the German physicist say, somewhat sarcastically: "Everyone understands uncertainty. Or thinks he does. But no one understands my trip to Copenhagen."

Ironically, paradoxically, it was Bohr who, in a small way, contributed to the bombs that were dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Heisenberg's wartime activities contributed to no one's death.

It is this reviewer's opinion that some of the uncertainties about Heisenberg's role in the German wartime nuclear research program can be removed by reconstructing the war situation and by questioning the basic assumption upon which U.S. physicists have doubted Heisenberg's integrity and competence. U.S. scientists, led by Einstein in 1939, were the first to begin work on an atomic bomb, justifying the need for it on the assumption that the Germans were working, or would be working, on the bomb. Heisenberg repeatedly stated that at that time he and the Uranium Club were attempting to build a reactor — an engine. In the absence of any physical evidence of attempted bomb construction, or of any official German documents authorizing the building of a bomb, Heisenberg must be taken at his word.

Werner Heisenberg's entire life was exemplified by excellence: in classical studies, in music (he was an accomplished pianist), and of course in theoretical physics. Before the war he was gener-

ally considered by his colleagues to be the most gifted mathematician in the field. His personal integrity has only been questioned out of political enmity over his alleged wartime role.

Professor Rose, in deriding *Copenhagen's* subtle revisionism, speaks for many of Heisenberg's (and Germany's) critics. Their agenda, of course, is all too patent: to begrudge the physicist and the Germans their humanity, while obscuring the inhumanity of the Allied leaders and scientists. Years after the meetings with Bohr, Heisenberg all too charitably remarked of his detractors: "After a great war, history is written by the victors and legends develop that glorify them." [9] By its unraveling a key such legend that glorifies the victors and smears the vanquished, *Copenhagen*, though a drama, gives substantive impetus to the revisionist quest for a fair and accurate picture of the Second World War.

Notes

1. [↗](#) Thomas Powers, *Heisenberg's War: The Secret History of the German Bomb* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 610 pp. Robert Jungk, *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns: A Personal History of the Atomic Scientists* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1958), 369 pp.
2. [↗](#) David Irving, *The German Atomic Bomb: The History of Nuclear Research in Germany* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1967), 329 pp.
3. [↗](#) Paul Lawrence Rose, *Heisenberg and the Nazi Atomic Bomb Project: A Study in German Culture* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1998), 352 pp.
4. [↗](#) Paul Lawrence Rose, "Frayn's 'Copenhagen' Plays Well, at History's Expense," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 5, 2000, B4-B6.
5. [↗](#) *New York Times*, April 9, 2000, "From Physics to Metaphysics and the Bomb."
6. [↗](#) Jeremy Bernstein, "The Farm Hall Transcripts: The German Scientists and the Bomb," *New York Review of Books* 13, no. 14 (August 13, 1992), pp. 47-53.
7. [↗](#) Ann Geracimos, "'Copenhagen' Descendants Differ Too," *The Washington Times*, March 4, 2002, p. B6.
8. [↗](#) Cited in Rose, *Heisenberg*, pp. 58-59.
9. [↗](#) Cited in Rose, *Heisenberg*, p. 55.

Unfounded Assertion

Samuel Crowell's article, "Beyond Auschwitz" (March-April 2001 Journal, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 26-35) is spoiled by his totally unfounded assertion that "some portion of non-working Hungarian Jews could have been killed," but that their number "could not have been more than a few tens of thousands at most" [p. 33].

While it can not, of course, be excluded that some Hungarian Jews were executed for real or alleged violations of camp regulations, the killing of "a few tens of thousands" would have been possible only as part of a limited extermination policy. Obviously, the first victims of such a policy would have been those unable to work, but as Crowell himself admits, many Hungarian Jews unfit for labor, including children and old people, survived the war at Auschwitz and other camps. So who were the magical "tens of thousands" who "could have been killed"? As Crowell does not believe in the gas chambers, such mass killings would have had to have been carried out by methods other than gassing, most likely by shooting. But if so, how come there is no eyewitness testimony at all to such mass shootings?

Equally absurd is Crowell's claim that up to 55 percent of the deported Hungarian Jews may have perished before the end of the war is equally absurd. Raul Hilberg, who supports the gas chamber and mass extermination claims, puts the number of Hungarian Jewish victims at 180,000, which means that the majority of the Hungarian Jewish deportees must have survived. Therefore, how does Crowell, who rejects the gas chamber legend, arrive at this impossibly high percentage? In reality, the number of Hungarian Jews who died in the camps can not possibly have exceeded some tens of thousands.

Being well acquainted with the documents, and having remarkable linguistic skills, Crowell could make a substantial contribution to revisionist research. He should therefore refrain from making irresponsible statements that damage his credibility.

Jürgen Graf
[by e-mail]

The Journal of Historical Review

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Polite Suggestion

I want to make a polite suggestion. So many of my friends and relations personally saw the Nazi death camps during the last days of World War II that I myself am convinced that there was a deliberate policy of extermination of Jews, Poles, gypsies, and homosexuals by the Nazi leadership. Numbers of the specific events can be challenged, but it is my personal view that the IHR would be far more effective if it were to concede that a holocaust did occur and focus on the ADL's distortions of truth. Andy Killgore's and Dick Curtiss' publication would be an ideal example to follow.

Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.
Redwood City, Calif.

Crackdown Against VHO in Belgium

The Foundation Vrij Historisch Onderzoek was dissolved by court on Feb. 22, 2002, and the VHO post office box address was closed. Our new postal address is: Postbus 46, B-2600 Berchem 1, Belgium.

Some people are putting pressure on the government to stop our activities altogether and because of legal problems this is likely to happen this year. Nearly five years ago half of our stock was seized, and since then we have not had an opportunity to defend our case in any court. We have also had to contend with minor seizures, interrogations, and so forth.

In fact, VHO activities are being continued under the similar name Vogelvrij Historisch Onderzoek (www.vho.org). The Dutch word “Vogelvrij” has two meanings: “free as a bird” and “living like an outlaw,” which is how revisionists in Europe today are obliged to live.

With regard to the article by Brian Renk in the Sept.-Dec. 2001 *Journal*, “Convergence or Divergence?,” p. 43, col. 1, final sentence: Renk writes that Germar Rudolf had earlier established that the three objects on the roof are all on the southern half of the roof. Actually, it was not Rudolf, but rather Jean-Marie Boisdefeu, a Belgian revisionist researcher, who discovered all this. He also described this extensively, with illustrations, in his two-volume book *La Controverse sur L'extermination des juifs par les Allemands*, published by VHO (1996 and 1998).

S. Verbeke
Berchem, Flanders, Belgium

The 14th IHR Conference: Confident Spirit Marks Successful Meeting

Outstanding speakers and an upbeat spirit marked the 14th Conference of the Institute for Historical Review, June 21-23, in Irvine, California. Among the high points of the successful three-day meeting was the witty, thought-provoking banquet talk by columnist Joseph Sobran, and the rousing keynote address by IHR Director Mark Weber.

More than a hundred men and women — some coming from as far away as Australia, Argentina, Switzerland and Britain — came together in a shared passion for intellectual freedom and truthful history, scorn for the enemies of free expression, and a healthy skepticism of “official” history.

Greg Raven opened the Conference on Friday evening with a welcome to attendees and speakers, and then, serving as MC during the next two days, capably kept the proceedings on track and provided succinct, informative introductions of the speakers. In a brief welcome of his own, Mark Weber praised Greg’s dedicated performance during his ten years with the IHR. For the past seven years, said Weber, Greg has quietly shouldered the primary responsibility for handling the Institute’s complex financial, business and legal affairs. Greg also played a major role in organizing this conference.

Phillip Tourney

Thirty-five years ago, Israeli warplanes and torpedo boats carried out a surprise attack against the USS Liberty, an American intelligence ship operating in the eastern Mediterranean. Among the 172 American seamen wounded in the murderous attack on June 8, 1967, was Phil Tourney, who spoke on Friday evening. He impressed attendees with his calm earnestness and obvious sincerity and good will. Tourney, who was awarded the Bronze Star for his heroism under fire, is now President of the USS Liberty Veterans Association. He is also co-producer of a stunning new video about the 1967 attack, “The Loss of Liberty,” which was presented at the Conference.

The 1967 Zionist attack, said Tourney in a recent Open Letter to President Bush, is “probably the most shameful day in American history.” Copies of this Open Letter, published as a full-page advertisement in *The Washington Times* (June 6, 2002), were distributed to all Conference attendees. “Israel’s premeditated, sneak attack, on the *USS Liberty* was a direct attack on America,” Tourney continued. “The disgraceful refusal of unpatriotic American governmental officials of dubious allegiance to defend America and come to the aid of brave Americans under attack can only be characterized as treasonous.”

Joseph Sobran

Syndicated columnist and author Joe Sobran was in top form on Saturday evening. In his stimulating banquet address, entitled “For fear of the Jews,” he presented a witty and effective critique of the US-Israel “special relationship.” He deftly dissected the Zionist state’s familiar pretensions, and detailed how the Holocaust story is used to justify support for Israel. Sobran praised the IHR’s *Journal of Historical Review* for its “calm virtue of critical rationality.” And after referring to Mark Weber, whom he has known for years, as a “polite, good-humored, scholarly man,” he remarked: “If they can’t tell the truth about 'Holocaust deniers,' how can they tell the truth about 'the Holocaust' itself?”

Acknowledging that he is not a specialist of “the Holocaust,” Sobran said that he does not consider himself either a “Holocaust denier” or a “Holocaust affirmer.” Instead, he said, he is a “Holocaust stipulator.” During the question and answer period he spoke of his years-long relationship with *National Review* and its publisher William Buckley, and about how the influential magazine has changed drastically over the decades.

Robert Faurisson

Since he addressed the first IHR Conference in 1979 — 23 years ago — Dr. Faurisson has been a steadfast friend of the Institute. On this occasion, the French scholar presented numerous specific examples of punishments during the Second World War of Germans, by German authorities, for mistreatment of Jews. Such cases cannot, of course, be reconciled with the familiar “Holocaust” extermination story.

He cited, for example, a case in 1944 in German-occupied France involving two German soldiers who, together with French criminals, intimidated French Jews in Nice and forced them to hand over money and jewels. A German military court sentenced one of the soldiers to death and the other to twelve years imprisonment. In its judgment of April 11, 1944, the German court declared: “the fact that the violence in question was directed against Jews in no way excuses the perpetrators... the German reputation has thereby suffered.”

Faurisson said that his presentation should not be considered conclusive, but is rather meant to encourage further research on a subject that has been ignored for too many years. “The silence with which this topic has been met up to now, by official Holocaust historians and revisionists alike, is astonishing.” This silence is all the more remarkable given that the evidence he cited is not difficult to find. Indeed, some is published in the official 42-volume “blue series” record of the postwar Allied “International Military tribunal” of Nuremberg, 1945-1946.

Mark Weber

In his keynote address the IHR Director began by reviewing some highlights of the Institute’s work and impact since the 13th Conference, in May 2000. These include the tremendous worldwide media attention garnered last year for the Institute and revisionism through the IHR’s role in organizing the “Revisionism and Zionism” conference in Beirut, Lebanon, which was banned shortly before it was to begin by authorities bowing to pressure from the US government and Jewish organizations.

Most of Weber’s Saturday afternoon address was devoted to a penetrating look at the origins, nature and impact of Jewish-Zionist power. Citing almost exclusively Jewish sources, Weber stressed the immense power and influence wielded by Jews in today’s America. “Throughout history,” he said, “Jews have time and again wielded great power to further group interests that are

separate from, and often contrary to, those of the non-Jewish populations among whom they live. This creates an inherently unjust and unstable situation that, as history shows, never endures.”

“Exposing this insidious power — in its many manifestations — will continue to be a important task of the IHR,” Weber concluded. “In this new century as well, we pledge to carry on our educational work of truth in history, for the sake not only of our own nation and heritage, but for all humanity.” The address was enthusiastically received, with the audience giving it a standing ovation.

In a second address delivered on Sunday afternoon, Weber dealt at length with the future of the IHR and revisionism. The Holocaust story, he said, has become less socially and politically important in recent years, and especially since the September 11 terrorist attacks. At the same time, he added, people everywhere are showing greater interest in, even a craving for, truthful information about the origins of the Israel-Palestine conflict, Zionism, Israel, the US-Israel relationship, and the “Jewish question.”

While stressing that the IHR will not abandon its long-standing commitment to revisionist scholarship on “the Holocaust,” he said that broadening the IHR’s focus is essential if the Institute is to survive and prosper. “The changing world situation offers new opportunities for the IHR, which is almost uniquely positioned to deal candidly and forthrightly, and in a serious way, with topics that are of intense worldwide interest.”

Tony Martin

Dr. Martin, a professor of African studies at Wellesley College (Massachusetts), presented a closely reasoned look at the techniques used by Jewish groups to marginalize, discredit and silence those whom they regard as harmful to their interests. He cited numerous specific examples, including outright lying and misrepresentation, use of *ad hominem* and “straw man” arguments, and arranging for pliant stooges to front for Jewish groups. Martin, who has authored or compiled/edited eleven books, came under tremendous attack from organized Jewry in 1993 because he had included a book on the Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in a course he was teaching. He recounted the astonishing ordeal in his book, *The Jewish Onslaught*.

Tom Sunic

Dr. Tom Sunic, a one-time professor of political science in the United States, and, until recently, a diplomat in the foreign service of his native Croatia, provided a detailed look at the little known mistreatment and mass killings of German prisoners of war and ethnic German civilians in the former Yugoslavia, 1945-1953. He displayed maps showing the network of prison camps in Communist-ruled postwar Yugoslavia, in which many thousands perished.

Said Arikat

A seasoned writer and commentator who has often appeared in American television gave a moving and insightful Palestinian perspective on the seemingly intractable Israel-Palestine conflict. Taking aim at the hypocrisy of US policy in the Middle East, Said Arikat said that US support for Israel’s brutal oppression of Palestinians is a betrayal of that ideals that Americans claim to uphold. The US routinely holds Arab and other countries to one standard of conduct, while holding the Zionist state to another. For example, he pointed out, US political leaders demand that Palestinians adopt a new constitution, one that is more acceptable to Israel, even though Israel has never had a constitution of any kind.

Robert Countess

In a spirited and sometimes humorous address, Robert Countess took a look at the new anti-revisionist study by Robert Jan van Pelt, *The Case for Auschwitz: Evidence from the Irving Trial*. Countess called van Pelt a “superficial Holocaustian,” and said that his life and career “is inextricably bound to his religious philosophy of good and evil, with Auschwitz and Nazis as absolute evil and Jews as representing ultimate goodness.” As an example of the mystical outlook that, Countess said, is manifest in this book, he cited van Pelt’s statement that “the gas chambers changed the whole meaning of architecture.”

Fredrick Töben

In his wide-ranging address spiced with humor and philosophical insights, the director of the Adelaide Institute, a leading Holocaust revisionist center in Australia, provided a detailed update on his drawn out legal ordeal. Six years ago, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, the country’s main Jewish community organization, filed a complaint with the federal “Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission,” demanding that Dr. Töben remove allegedly “offensive” material from the Adelaide Institute web site. In 2000 the Commission found the material to be “insulting” and “offensive” to Jews, and a violation of the “Racial Discrimination Act.” Töben has sought to comply with the ruling, but refuses to issue an apology, as the Jewish group demands. Unable to hire an attorney, Töben has been obliged to represent himself in this costly legal battle.

Bradley Smith

One of the most dedicated of revisionist activists, Bradley Smith, traced his intellectual odyssey over the years in a personal, anecdote-filled talk. Referring to his passionate, life-long commitment to free speech, he mentioned, for example, his arrest during the 1950s for selling a book by Henry Miller at his Los Angeles bookstore. Smith spoke about his new, autobiographical work, *Break His Bones: The Private Life of a Holocaust Revisionist*.

Canceled Press Coverage

This Conference was not marred by disruption or incident, even though a major local radio station broadcast an excited report about it on June 21. (In 1989 Jewish activist Irv Rubin and his thuggish Jewish Defense League used threats, intimidation and harassment to disrupt the Ninth IHR Conference, forcing it to move from two hotels. This year, Rubin is in jail, pending his trial on charges of preparing a bomb attack against a mosque in Los Angeles and the office in southern California of a US Congressman of Lebanese ancestry.)

Slightly fewer people than usual attended this 14th IHR Conference because it was held on a weekend that unexpectedly caused scheduling conflicts for quite a few regular attendees, and because this year’s conference was organized more hastily than usual, which meant that there was less time to publicize and promote it.

A large-circulation local daily paper, the *Orange County Register*, assigned staff writer Barbara Kingsley to cover the Conference. In preparation for her report, she interviewed the IHR Director for two hours, and the paper sent a staff photographer to the IHR office. Kingsley also attended sessions on the opening night and on Saturday. Her report, which was expected to be lengthy and rather fair, was set to run on the Sunday morning edition.

On Saturday evening editor Tonnie Katz read Kingsley's article, and then decided to kill it. Katz' decision not to publish the story, in spite of the time and effort the paper had invested in it, was apparently motivated, at least in part, by concern that it would give positive publicity to the IHR's work and views.

The decision by the Register to make no mention whatsoever of the 14th IHR conference is all the more remarkable considering that the last IHR conference — the 13th, in May 2000 — was covered by the rival *Los Angeles Times* in 40-column-inch story, and that even this year's conference was mentioned in the June 14 issue of the *Forward*, a prominent, nationally-circulated Jewish community weekly, in a front-page story about the IHR and its work.

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For Fear of The Jews

Joseph Sobran

The news that I would be addressing the Institute of Historical Review came to some people as, well, news. It was mentioned in the Jewish newspaper *Forward* [June 14] and on the Zionist *Wall Street Journal OnLine*. The editors of two conservative magazines called and wrote me to express their concern that I might damage my reputation, such as it is, by speaking to “Holocaust deniers.”

I'm not sure why this should matter. Even positing that I was speaking to a disreputable audience, I expect to be judged by what I say, not whom I say it to. I note that my enemies have written a great deal about me, yet they rarely quote me directly.

Why not? If I am so disreputable myself, I must at least occasionally say disreputable things. Is it possible that what I say is more cogent than they like to admit?

My enemies are always welcome to quote anything I say, if they dare. I would say the same things to them, and they may consider my remarks to the IHR as addressed to them too. I wasn't just speaking to “Holocaust deniers,” but also to Holocaust believers.

Because I've endured smears and ostracism for my criticism of Israel and its American lobby, some people credit me with courage. I'm flattered, of course, but this compliment, whether or not I deserve it, implies that it's professionally dangerous for a journalist to criticize Israel. That tells you a lot.

But if I'm “courageous,” what do you call Mark Weber and the Institute for Historical Review? They have been smeared far worse than I have; moreover, they have been seriously threatened with death. Their offices have been firebombed. Do they at least get credit for courage? Not at all. They remain almost universally vilified.

When I met Mark, many years ago, I expected to meet a raving Jew-hating fanatic, such being the generic reputation of “Holocaust deniers.” I was immediately and subsequently impressed to find that he was just the opposite: a mild-mannered, good-humored, witty, scholarly man who habitually spoke with restraint and measure, even about enemies who would love to see him dead. The same is true of other members of the Institute. In my many years of acquaintance with them, I have never heard any of them say anything that would strike an unprejudiced listener as unreasonable or bigoted.

It was their enemies who were raving, hate-filled fanatics, unable to discuss “Holocaust deniers” in measured language, without wild hyperbole, loose accusation, and outright lies. I began to wonder: if they can't tell the truth about “Holocaust deniers,” how can they tell the truth about the Holocaust itself?

Even if the Holocaust had really happened, as I assumed, maybe it should be studied with a critical rationality most of its believers obviously lacked. After all, even Stalin's crimes might be exaggerated, quite understandably, by his victims. As Milton puts it, "Let truth and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" Even those in error might have something to say, some marginal clarification to offer. Why stop our ears against them?

Why on earth is it "anti-Jewish" to conclude from the evidence that the standard numbers of Jews murdered are inaccurate, or that the Hitler regime, bad as it was in many ways, was not, in fact, intent on racial extermination? Surely these are controversial conclusions; but if so, let the controversy rage. There is no danger in permitting it to proceed. It might be different if denying the Holocaust could somehow affect the course of events, as the denial of Stalin's crimes by the *New York Times* in the 1930s helped him to continue committing them. Why is the Institute for Historical Review notorious, while the *Times*, despite its active support of Stalin at the height of his power, remains a pillar of respectability?

The Holocaust has never been a consuming interest of mine. But as I read the *Journal of Historical Review* over the years, I found in it the same calm virtue of critical rationality I'd found in Mark himself. And it was applied to many other subjects besides the question of whether Hitler had tried to exterminate the Jews. An article it carried about Abraham Lincoln some years ago caused me to revise my entire view of Lincoln and stimulated me to write a book about him. [Robert Morgan, "Abraham Lincoln and the Issue of Race," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1993.]

The IHR's mission can't be fairly summed up as "Holocaust denial." Its real mission is criticism of the suffocating progressive ideology that has infected and distorted the telling of history in our time. But of course its specific skepticism of the standard Holocaust story is regarded as blasphemy, and has earned it the dreaded epithet of anti-Semitism.

Not long ago the only label more lethal to one's reputation was that of child molester, but, as many men of the cloth are now discovering, there is this difference: a child molester may hope for a second chance.

There is also another difference. We have a pretty clear idea what child molestation is. Nobody really knows what "anti-Semitism" is. My old boss Bill Buckley wrote an entire book called *In Search of Anti-Semitism* without bothering to define anti-Semitism.

At the time I thought this was an oversight. I was wrong. The word would lose its utility if it were defined. As I observed in my own small contribution to the book, an "anti-Semite" used to mean a man who hated Jews. Now it means a man who is hated by Jews.

I doubt, in fact I can't imagine, that anyone associated with the IHR has ever done harm to another human being because he was Jewish. In fact the IHR has never been accused of anything but thought-crimes.

The same is true of me. Nobody has ever accused me of the slightest personal indecency to a Jew. My chief offense, it appears, has been to insist that the state of Israel has been a costly and treacherous "ally" to the United States. As of last September 11, I should think that is undeniable. But I have yet to receive a single apology for having been correct.

If I were to hate Jews *en masse*, without distinction, I would be guilty of many things. Obviously I'd be guilty of injustice and uncharity to Jews as human beings. I would also be guilty of willful

stupidity. More personally, I'd be guilty of ingratitude to my benefactors — which Dante, in his *Inferno*, ranks the worst of all sins — since many of my benefactors, in large ways and small, have been Jewish.

Moreover, I would be becoming exactly the man my Zionist enemies would like me to be; a man like them, in whom ethnic hostilities take priority over all other values and considerations. I would justify them in treating me as an enemy. In fact I'd go so far as to say that I would be helping to justify the state of Israel. I consider that if I fight these people on their terms, they have already won.

What, exactly, is “anti-Semitism”? One standard dictionary definition is “hostility toward or discrimination against Jews as a religious or racial group.” How this applies to me has never been explained. My “hostility” toward Israel is a desire not for war, but for neutrality — out of a sense of betrayal, waste, and shame. Our venal politicians have aligned us with a foreign country that behaves dishonorably. Most alleged “anti-Semites” would wince if Jews anywhere were treated as Israel treats its Arab subjects. Moreover, Israel has repeatedly betrayed its only benefactor, the United States. I have already alluded to the place Dante reserves for those who betray their benefactors.

These are obvious moral facts. Yet it's not only politicians who are afraid to point them out; so are most journalists — the people who are supposed to be independent enough to say the things politicians can't afford to say. In my thirty years in journalism, nothing has amazed me more than the prevalent fear in the profession of offending Jews, especially Zionist Jews.

The fear of the label anti-Semitic is a fear of the power that is believed to lie behind it: Jewish power. Yet this is still pretty much unmentionable in journalism. It's rather as if sportswriters covering pro basketball were prohibited from mentioning that the Los Angeles Lakers were in first place.

There has been a qualitative change that is downright eerie in American conservatism generally. The “fear of the Jews,” to use the phrase so often repeated in the Gospel according to John, seems to have wrought a reorientation of the tone, the very principles, of today's conservatism. The hardy skepticism, critical intelligence, and healthy irony of men like James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall, and the young Buckley have given way to the uncritical philo-Semitism of George Will, Cal Thomas, Rush Limbaugh, and of course the later Buckley — men who will go to any lengths, even absurd and dishonorable lengths, to avoid the terrorizing label anti-Semite.

It was once considered “anti-Semitic” to impute “dual loyalty” to Jews — that is, to assert that most American Jews divide their loyalty between the United States and Israel. This is now *passé*. Today most politicians assume, as a matter of course, that Israel commands the primary loyalty of Jewish voters. Are they accused of “anti-Semitism” for doing so? Does this assumption cost them Jewish votes? Not at all! Dual loyalty nothing! Dual loyalty would be an improvement!

Once again, it's a practical necessity to know what it would be professional suicide to say. No politician in his right mind would accuse Jews of giving their primary loyalty to Israel; but most politicians act as if this were the case. And they succeed.

You can read Jewish publications like *Commentary* for years, and you'll read interminable discussions about what's good for Israel, but you'll never encounter the slightest suggestion that what's good for Israel might not be good for America. The possibility simply never comes up. The only discernible duty of Jews, it seems, is to look out for Israel. They never have to choose between Israel and the United States. So much for the “canard” of dual loyalty.

I've often noticed how eager and desperate mainstream conservatives are to avoid Jewish wrath. Again, they don't just speak favorably of Israel: they refuse to acknowledge any cost to American interests in the U.S.-Israel alliance. They treat the two countries' interests as identical; when they scold either government, it's always — always — the U.S. Government for failing to support our “reliable ally. They are in headlong flight from reality. They have none of the realism of James Burnham, whose writings and style of thought would be wholly unwelcome in today's conservative movement.

They are frightened. You can sense this in their bluster, in the vicarious jingoism with which they address Israel. Their fear produces a peculiar intellectual thinness that pervades all their thinking on foreign policy. Individualists have been replaced by apparatchiks. Zionism has infiltrated conservatism in much the same way Communism once infiltrated liberalism.

Here I should lay my own cards on the table. I am not, heaven forbid, a “Holocaust denier.” I lack the scholarly competence to be one. I don't read German, so I can't assess the documentary evidence; I don't know chemistry, so I can't discuss Zyklon-B; I don't understand the logistics of exterminating millions of people in small spaces. Besides, “Holocaust denial” is illegal in many countries I may want to visit someday. For me, that's proof enough. One Israeli writer has expressed his amazement at the idea of criminalizing opinions about historical fact., and I find it puzzling too; but the state has spoken.

Of course those who affirm the Holocaust need know nothing about the German language, chemistry, and other pertinent subjects; they need only repeat what they have been told by the authorities. In every controversy, most people care much less for what the truth is than for which side it's safer and more respectable to take. They shy away from taking a position that is likely to get them into trouble. Just as only people on the Axis side were accused of war crimes after World War II, only people critical of Jewish interests are accused of thought-crimes in today's mainstream press.

So, life being as short as it is, I shy away from this controversy. Of course I'm also incompetent to judge whether the Holocaust did happen; so I've become what might be called a “Holocaust stipulator.” Like a lawyer who doesn't want to get bogged down debating a secondary point, I stipulate that the standard account of the Holocaust is true. What is undisputed — the massive violation of human rights in Hitler's Germany — is bad enough.

What interests me is the growth of what Norman Finkelstein has called “the Holocaust Industry.” True or not, the Holocaust story has been put to many uses, some of them mischievous. It is currently being used to extort reparations and to blacken reputations, for example. Daniel Goldhagen is soon to publish a book blaming the Holocaust on the central teachings of the Catholic Church. This is only the most ambitious project of a school of thought, largely but not exclusively Jewish, that sees Christianity as the source of all “anti-Semitism.”

So if you want to avoid being called “anti-Semitic,” the safest course is to renounce Christianity. Whether this is a safe course for your immortal soul is a question Goldhagen doesn't address. The important thing is to avoid Jewish censure. Obviously this sort of thinking presupposes Christian fear of the Jews. Jews themselves are not unaware of Jewish power; some of them have rather exaggerated confidence in it.

But the chief use of the Holocaust story is to undergird the legitimacy of the state of Israel. According to this view, the Holocaust proves that Jewish existence is always in danger, unless the Jews have their own state in their own homeland. The Holocaust stands as the historical objectification of all the world's gentiles' eternal “anti-Semitism.” Jewish life is an endless emergency, re-

quiring endless emergency measures and justifying everything done in the name of “defense.” Jews and Israel can’t be judged by normal standards, at least until Israel is absolutely safe — if even then. Their circumstances are forever abnormal.

But the daily news reports suggest that Israel may not really be the safest place for Jews. Theodore Herzl’s original dream was of a Jewish state where Jews could at last live the normal lives they were denied in the Diaspora. Yet today it’s Diaspora Jews who live relatively normal lives, at least in the West, while they must worry about the very survival of Israel. And far from being the independent state Herzl hoped for, Israel depends heavily on the support not only of Diaspora Jews but of foreign gentiles, especially Americans.

Israel insists that its “right to exist” is nothing more than the right of every nation on earth to be left in peace. This right is allegedly threatened by fanatical Arabs who want to “drive the Jews into the sea,” as witness the recent wave of Palestinian terror. But in truth, Israel’s claimed “right to exist” is much more than it seems at first sight. It means a right to rule as Jews, enjoying rights denied to native Palestinians.

We are told incessantly that Israel is a “democracy,” and therefore the natural ally of the United States, whose “democratic values” it shares. This is a very dubious claim. To Americans, democracy means majority rule, but with equal rights for minorities. In Israel and the occupied territories, equal rights for the minority are simply out of the question.

Majority rule itself has taken a peculiar form in Israel. The original Arab majority was driven out of their homes and their native land, and kept out. Meanwhile, a Jewish “majority” was artificially imported. Not only the first immigrants from Eastern Europe, but every Jew on earth was granted a “right of return” — that is, “return” to a “homeland” most have never lived in, and in which none of their ancestors has ever lived. A Jew from Brooklyn (whose grandfather came from Poland) can fly to Israel and immediately claim rights denied to an Arab whose people have always lived in Palestine. In recent years Israel has been augmenting its Jewish majority by vigorously encouraging Jewish immigration, especially from Russia. Ariel Sharon has told a group of American senators that Israel needs a million more Jewish immigrants.

Israel rejects demands for a “right of return” for Palestinians exiled since 1948. Its reason? This would mean “the end of the Jewish state.” An Arab majority would surely vote down Jewish ethnic privileges. If Israel remained democratic, it wouldn’t long remain Jewish. It must be the only “democracy” whose existence depends on inequality.

American gentiles, bemused by the propaganda claim that a beleaguered little democracy is fighting for its very right to exist, still haven’t figured out that Israeli “democracy” is essentially and radically different from — even repugnant to — what they understand as democracy. Put otherwise, Zionism is a denial of the “self-evident truths” of the Declaration of Independence. To acknowledge those truths, and to put them into practice, would mean the end of Israel as a Jewish state. Again, honest and rigorous Zionists have always seen and said this.

With the verbal sleight-of-hand at which they are masters, the Israelis always appeal to the Holocaust. Maybe they have nuclear weapons, but their existence is threatened — once more! — by rock-throwing Arab boys. The Arabs are the new Nazis, repeating and perpetuating the eternal peril of the Jews. Israel is determined to prevent another Holocaust and must crush the Arab threat by any means necessary, including harsh measures.

Israel without the Holocaust is hard to imagine. But let’s try to imagine it.

Suppose the Holocaust had never occurred, had never been alleged, had never been called “the Holocaust.” Imagine that no great persecution had provided the Jewish state with a special excuse for oppressive emergency measures. In other words, imagine that Israel were forced to justify itself like any other state.

In that case, Israel’s treatment of its Arab minorities would appear to the world in a very different light. Its denial of equal or even basic rights to those minorities would lack the excuse of a past or prospective “Holocaust.” Civilized people would expect it to treat those it ruled with impartial justice. Special privileges for Jews would appear as outrageous discrimination, no different from insulting legal discrimination against Jews. The sense — and excuse — of perpetual crisis would be absent. Israel might be forced or pressured, possibly against its will, to be “normal.” If it chose to be democratic, its Jews would have to take their chance of being outnumbered, just like majorities in other democracies. Nobody would suppose that losing elections would mean their annihilation.

In short, the Holocaust has become a device for exempting Jews from normal human obligations. It has authorized them to bully and blackmail, to extort and oppress. This is all quite irrational, because even if six million Jews were murdered during World War II, the survivors are not entitled to commit the slightest injustice. If your father was stabbed in the street, that’s a pity, but it’s not an excuse for picking someone else’s pocket.

In a peculiar way, the Holocaust story has promoted not only pity, but actual fear of the Jews. It has removed them from the universe of normal moral discourse. It has made them victims with nukes. It has made them even more dangerous than their enemies have always charged. It has given the world an Israel ruled by Ariel Sharon.

Benjamin Netanyahu has written that Israel is “an integral part of the West.” I think it would be truer to say that Israel has become a deformed limb of the West.

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Israel's 'Knife in the Back' Attack Against America

Phillip Tourney

Here is the text of the open letter by Phillip Tourney, President of the USS Liberty Veterans Association, published in a full-page advertisement in the daily Washington Times, June 6, 2002 (p. A11).

U.S.S. LIBERTY VETERANS ASSOCIATION
P.O. Box 1887, Washington, DC 20013-1887

June 1, 2002

President George W. Bush
Commander in Chief, White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

Saturday, June 8, 2002 marks the 35th anniversary of probably the most shameful day in American history. That day America's banner and honor were treacherously trashed by our so-called ally, Israel. Thirty-four Americans were brutally slaughtered, 172 wounded, including myself. America's most sophisticated intelligence ship was so badly damaged it had to be scrapped. Israel deliberately attacked America's virtually unarmed *USS Liberty* in international waters, knowing full well our identity, in an assault that lasted as long as the attack on Pearl Harbor.

On that bright, sunny, infamous day, the Liberty had a large American flag flapping in the wind and ten foot high I.D. markings on her hull, which were clearly visible during the full six hours (6:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon) that low-flying, slow-moving, propeller recons, distinctly marked with Stars of David, reconnoitered our ship. Overheard radio transmission of the pilots confirmed that the Israel had positively identified the Liberty as American.

Suddenly at 2:00 p.m., the government of Israel put a knife in the back of America. In a diabolic attempt at deception, the Israelis began the attack with unmarked jet fighters using rockets, cannons, and napalm on our unprotected ship. Then three motor torpedo boats arrived on the scene and fired six torpedoes at us, one hitting its mark, midship on the starboard side, instantly blowing to bits 25 of America's finest young men. The torpedo gunmen shot at our firefighters and stretcher-bearers, using us as target practice, maiming and murdering as many of America's sons as they could.

The captain ordered us to prepare to abandon ship, as the ship was in grave danger of sinking from a torpedo hit that left a 40 foot by 40 foot hole in her. There were only three life rafts left that they hadn't already destroyed. We put them over the side to put as many wounded in as pos-

sible. The torpedo boats machine gunned the life rafts and sank two of them and took one aboard their boat — no survivors were to be taken! Helicopters were overhead to board our ship with Israeli commandos at the ready to finish us off.

Responding to an S.O.S. from the *Liberty*, the *USS Saratoga* launched their jets approximately 15 minutes into the vicious Israeli attack. Within minutes after the launch, incredibly and inexplicably, Washington shamefully and unconscionably recalled the jets, abandoning helpless American sailors under fire, and subjecting them to an additional two hours of barbaric Israeli bombardment and butchery.

Fortuitously, when the Israelis picked up an invalid message that U.S. help was on the way, Israel reluctantly was forced to terminate its ongoing assault. Without that break, I would not be alive writing this letter.

Ironically, help did not arrive until 18 hours after the attack, when it was only 15 minutes away. When an American rescue ship finally arrived, what they found was shocking: the *Liberty* was in shambles, death on the water. There were 821 rocket and cannon holes in her hull, thousands of 50 caliber armor-piercing bullets riddling her skin, a tunnel size torpedo cavity in her broad side, and the residue of napalm that had been dropped to burn us up. Blood and body parts were strewn across the deck. A sad, outrageous story, but unfortunately true.

The crew of the most decorated naval ship in American history was ordered to remain silent under threat of court martial, imprisonment or worse, and we all knew what worst meant. The U.S. government has never challenged the obviously phony Israeli excuse of “mistaken identity,” nor have they attempted to expose the dishonorable cover-up that continues to date. Truth and America’s honor were ignominiously sacrificed to provide cover for Israel’s transparent lies and despicable act of perfidy.

Israel’s premeditated, sneak attack on the *USS Liberty* was a direct attack on America. The disgraceful refusal of unpatriotic American governmental officials of dubious allegiance to defend America and come to the aid of brave Americans under attack can only be characterized as treasonous.

Mr. President, on behalf of the courageous crew of the *USS Liberty*, dead and alive, I respectfully request that you commission a presidential panel to finally investigate the attack and cover-up of the *USS Liberty*, and report the truth to the American people.

Thank you, Mr. President. God bless you! God bless America!

Respectfully,

Phillip F. Tourney, President

USS Liberty Veterans Association

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Israeli Attack on the Liberty Was No Accident

An Interview with James Ennes

Question: When did you join the *USS Liberty* and what position did you serve on June 8, 1967?

Answer: I joined the ship in April 1967. I was a lieutenant and was assigned to be the ship's Electronic Materiel Officer, responsible for the maintenance and repair of all of the ship's electronic equipment. I also stood watches on the bridge as Officer of the Deck.

Q: There have been many cases of "friendly fire" and misidentification in wartime. Unlike other cases, the attack on the *USS Liberty* has lingered for 35 years and still remains unresolved. Israelis claim that the attack on the *Liberty* was also a case of mistaken identity, and that they misidentified the *Liberty* for an Egyptian horse carrier, *El Quseir*. One of the reasons that they present for their argument is that the attacking jets circled the ship three times looking for a flag, but no flag was flown. Do you agree with that statement?

A: "Friendly fire" is a brief, accidental attack. This was a prolonged, carefully coordinated attack. It has been called the most carefully planned "accident" in the history of warfare. The Israeli account of the attack is untrue. We flew a flag at all times, and it stood out clearly displayed in a good breeze. Israeli jets circled us 13 times during the several hours before the attack, and during that period we heard their pilots informing their headquarters by radio that we were American. When the attack started, the attacking jets passed high overhead once, then turned 180 degrees and came down the centerline firing without any attempt to identify us. Long after the attack I was contacted by an Israeli pilot who told me that on his first flight over the ship he saw our American flag and informed his headquarters that we were American, but was told to ignore the flag and attack anyway. He refused to do so and returned to base where he was arrested. I was told by an Israeli in the war room that they knew we were American. I have been told by several American intelligence analysts who read, or in some cases heard, the messages between the pilots and their headquarters that these messages make it very clear that the pilots and their headquarters knew we were American.

Q: You have written a book titled *Assault on the Liberty*. What are some of the most convincing reasons or evidences you presented in that book to prove that the Israelis knowingly attacked the *Liberty*?

A: Among other things, the extensive reconnaissance, the fact that the attack continued for 75 minutes, and the fact that they compiled a totally false account of what happened. After the torpedo explosion the torpedo boats examined our name in English on the stern and our American flag on the mast from less than 50 feet away, and continued to fire from close range for another 40 minutes. As US Secretary of State Dean Rusk said later, an accident may occur for a few min-

utes, but there is no way our very distinctive-looking ship could have been fired upon for 75 minutes from close range without it being recognized as American.

In the hours after the attack a “consensus report” was written reflecting the view of all American intelligence agencies that the attack was deliberate. This report was circulated, but was withdrawn and cancelled and all copies destroyed because it was too embarrassing politically to be allowed to stand.

Q: Being small in size and population, Israelis have always relied on spying to get intelligence information. They have spied on many Arab and non-Arab countries including the US. In October 1954 quite a few of the Israeli spies were arrested and two of them were executed in Egypt. Elias Cohen was the Israeli spy who was caught in 1965, and later executed in Syria, and I am sure you know about Jonathan Pollard, the Israeli spy whose spying activities cost the lives of America’s most loyal and best agents in the Communist world. Generally speaking, how could the Israelis not have known that *El Quesir* was not even there?

A: They could not have made such a mistake. Israeli naval officers have told me they are embarrassed by the claim that they could be so incompetent as to make such a mistake.

Q: It has been reported that after the *Liberty* radioed for help, two aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean responded by launching fighter aircraft, but they were recalled before reaching their destination to help the *Liberty*. Can you tell us who gave the orders, and why they were recalled?

A: Secretary Robert McNamara ordered the recall of rescue aircraft. He has refused to discuss the matter. The recall order was confirmed by President Lyndon Johnson. President Johnson later said that he would not risk shooting down Israeli aircraft, even if Americans died as a result.

Q: Quite often the American government is referred to as a “government of the people, for the people, by the people.” In 1967 your responsible officials, by recalling the launched aircraft, left you practically unprotected, and since then, your government not only blocked every effort to launch an investigation, but in fact did everything it could, to cover it up for 35 years. Is there any doubt in your mind that the very government, that you put your life on the line to protect, betrayed you and your shipmates?

A: Someone in our government certainly failed to protect us after promising that we would be protected.

Q: There are certain motives behind any crime that is committed. If indeed, as you believe, the Israeli attack on the *Liberty* was premeditated, what was their motive for attacking the *Liberty*?

A: The *USS Liberty* was an intelligence ship. Clearly someone in Israel feared that we would learn something that Israel did not want the US to know. Some American intelligence experts have said that they believe this was the pending invasion of Syria to capture the Golan Heights.

Q: In recent years an impressive number of American officials, including Admiral Thomas Moorer, who was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) at the time of the *Liberty* incident, have gone on record insisting that the Israeli action was, in fact, deliberate. Are you optimistic that after 35 years of cover up, the truth may finally come out?

A: No. I fear that Israel has so many friends in the Congress and the White House that no effective investigation is ever likely to be conducted. But we can continue to report the facts so that the world may learn the truth. In 1956 President Eisenhower forced the Israelis to cease their ad-

vance toward Suez. This was still a bitter memory in Israel in 1967. The Israelis did not want to risk having to withdraw from the Golan Heights as they had from Suez, so they disabled the *USS Liberty* in the hope that the US could be kept in the dark until the Heights were in Israeli hands.

This week a *Navy Times* survey of its readers showed that about 90 percent support a call for a new investigation of the attack. Yet few members of Congress are likely to support an inquiry, as it would certainly prove embarrassing to Israel.

Q: Generally speaking, in an incident like the *Liberty* attack, one would feel that the most valuable, viable and valid sources of information would be people such as yourself, who were present on the battlefield on June 8, 1967. A. Jay Cristol, a pro-Israeli federal judge and one of the most outspoken critics of the *Liberty* story, is the author of a book titled *The Liberty Incident*. He supposedly has done extensive research, and has interviewed many of the survivors. It has been reported that you refused to cooperate with him. Was there any particular reason that caused you not to cooperate?

A: After a brief telephone conversation, I did not trust him to treat the subject fairly or objectively. His dissertation and his later book proved that judgment to be valid, in that he has distorted many of the facts.

For instance, his book makes much of what he claims is the visual acuity of fighter pilots, yet experienced pilots tell me that pilots can see much more than Cristol claims, and could easily have seen our flag. Cristol discounts as untrue the unanimous eyewitness reports of American survivors, but accepts as true virtually every false claim by the Israelis. He relies upon the Court of Inquiry, which is itself false and has been discredited by its own legal counsel. He claims *Liberty's* radio intercept range was only 25 miles, which is dead wrong. He claims the *Liberty* had no radio telephone contact with Washington, which is untrue. He claims only a few survivors regard the attack as deliberate, yet the truth is that survivors are unanimous in calling the attack deliberate. He claims our radios were not jammed, when even the corrupt Court of Inquiry says they were. He claims he came to Seattle to interview me, and that I broke a promise to see him, which is untrue. In fact, he had asked only to talk to me by telephone during a layover in Seattle, and I chose not to take the call because I realized that his intent was to try to discredit us, not to report our story objectively.

In fact, Cristol claims to have made numerous trips to Israel and to have interviewed over 200 people for his book, but his research is very unbalanced, drawing primarily from Israeli sources while ignoring or discounting most eyewitness reports. He has interviewed few survivors, and those only very briefly. He brands *Liberty's* senior intercept officer a liar, yet made no attempt to interview him. His research appears to be aimed entirely at attempting to discredit survivors, not to investigate the attack objectively. He claims to be the world's foremost expert on the attack, but I have never heard from a survivor who believes he can be taken seriously.

Q: Upon returning to the US, the *Liberty* crew members were ordered and in fact threatened to be silent. Who gave the order and why?

A: Survivors were visited in hospitals all over the US by many different officers and warned to be quiet. Aboard the ship, Admiral Kidd called men together in groups and warned them never to talk about the attack with anyone, not even their wives and mothers, or risk being sent to prison.

Q: In November of 1979 the Iranian students in protest to the US government policy of letting the former Shah of Iran in the US for medical treatment, stormed the US embassy in Tehran and held 52 American hostage for 444 days. ABC news almost immediately launched a new [televi-

sion] program by the name of “Nightline,” with correspondent Ted Koppel reporting on the condition of the hostages as well as the developments of the story itself, night by night. The title of the nightly report was: “The Iran Crisis: America Held Hostage.” As I am sure you know, the hostages finally came home safe and sound, and were given a hero’s welcome, and “Nightline” has continued its special reports on important events, including many interviews with former hostages. By comparison, the brutal and tragic Israeli attack on the *USS Liberty*, in which 34 innocent young Americans were killed and 171 others were badly wounded, is something that most Americans, who are well-informed about President Bill Clinton’s affair with Monica Lewinsky, may not even be aware that it ever took place. You know, Mr. Ennes, one wonders why there wasn’t a similar program like “Nightline” launched for the *Liberty* and her survivors? What would have been wrong if ABC news had a nightly report with a title such as “The Middle East Crisis: Israeli Attack on the *USS Liberty*”? It seems as if the mainstream mass media had a tacit agreement with the US government to keep the public in the dark about the *Liberty* and the plight of its survivors. Don’t you feel that they have acted very selectively, and in fact unfairly, in regards to the *Liberty* incident?

A: There is much opposition in this country to this story being told. Ted Koppel is an interesting case. In 1982 Ted Koppel invited several survivors to his studios in Washington, DC, where we filmed a full report on the attack. It was edited and scheduled for broadcast, and then on the very day it was to be broadcast Israel invaded Lebanon, and that bigger story replaced the *Liberty* story. Later, when broadcasters planned to present the *Liberty* show, the films had mysteriously vanished from the file room, never to be found.

Q: Jean-Paul Sartre, the famous French philosopher, has said, and I quote, “Man is a product of time and place.” By reading chapter six of your book, one can see that on June 8, 1967, you experienced perhaps the worst day of your life. The political officials who were supposed to help you, betrayed you. The president and military officials who were supposed to rescue you and your shipmates, recalled the aircraft and left you unprotected against the attacking Israeli jets. The mass media, which was supposed to give extensive coverage to the *Liberty* and the plight of its survivors, has acted with deafening silence, and finally, taking your experience with A. Jay Cristol into consideration, one could say that the pen that should have elicited the facts and told the truth, has distorted it. Can you please tell us how the *Liberty* incident has affected your life?

A: I published the first edition of this book in 1980, expecting to go on to other things. To my surprise, the story lives on. Twenty-two years later I continue to get daily mail and phone calls. I have created the web site at <http://www.ussliberty.org> to help answer the many questions that still arise.

Q: Is there anything else that you would like to say regarding the *Liberty* or in general.

A: My shipmates and I have tried for 35 years to tell the truth about the attack to the American public and to the world. We appreciate the opportunity you have given us to tell the story to the Iranian people. We wish you peace.

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New 'Official' Changes in the Auschwitz Story

Mark Weber

Since the end of World War II, authoritative claims about the character and scope of killings at the Auschwitz concentration camp have changed drastically. One particularly striking change concerns the various “official” estimates of the number of victims — a number that since 1945 has been steadily declining.

Today, more than half a century after the end of the war, the process of “establishment” revisionism still continues. It finds recent expression in a lengthy article, “The Number of Auschwitz Victims,” published in the May 2002 issue of the scholarly German journal *Osteuropa*, issued by the prestigious Society for Eastern European Studies. The article is written by Fritjof Meyer, a respected foreign policy analyst, author of several books, and managing editor of Germany’s foremost weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*. ^[1]

Drastic Reductions

The Auschwitz camp complex, located in what is now south-central Poland, was set up by German authorities in 1940. Large numbers of Jews were deported there between 1942 and mid-1944. The main camp, or *Stammlager*, was known as Auschwitz I. Birkenau, or Auschwitz II, is regarded as the main extermination center.

At the postwar International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (1945-1946), the victorious Allied powers charged that the Germans exterminated four million people at Auschwitz. This figure, which was given in a report produced by a Soviet government commission, was uncritically accepted for many years, and often appeared in major American newspapers and magazines. ^[2]

Other figures, both higher and lower, were sometimes also claimed during the decades after the end of World War II. ^[3]

One of the most widely read books on the German wartime camp system is a detailed study written shortly after the end of the war by former Buchenwald inmate Eugen Kogon. This much-praised work, published in the United States under the title *The Theory and Practice of Hell*, reports that at Auschwitz alone there were “at least 3,500,000 victims, probably 4,500,000.” ^[4]

The 1955 French documentary film “Night and Fog,” which is still widely shown in France, and has been seen by many in the United States, claims that nine million people lost their lives in Auschwitz. ^[5]

In his *Osteuropa* article, Meyer writes that Gerald Reitlinger, a prominent Jewish specialist of this subject, estimated in his 1953 book *The Final Solution*, that a total of one million people per-

ished in Auschwitz, of whom as many as 750,000 were murdered by gas. [6]

Until 1989, notes Meyer, it was forbidden in eastern Europe to dispute the official finding that four million were killed at Auschwitz. At the Auschwitz State Museum, staff members who expressed doubts about this figure were threatened with disciplinary measures. In 1989 Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer said that it is time to finally acknowledge that the familiar four million figure is a deliberate myth. [7] In July 1990 the Auschwitz State Museum, a Polish government agency, along with Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust Center, announced that altogether perhaps one million people (both Jews and non-Jews) died at Auschwitz. [8]

Franciszek Piper, director of the Auschwitz State Museum, in an essay published in a semi-official 1994 American anthology, put the number of Auschwitz victims at 1.1 million. [9] More or less consistent with that, prominent American newspapers in recent months have been telling readers that "more than a million" Jews lost their lives at Auschwitz. [10]

In a book published in 1994, the French anti-revisionist writer Jean-Claude Pressac estimated 631,000 to 711,000 deaths at Auschwitz, of which 470,000 to 550,000 were from gassing. [11]

In his recent *Osteuropa* article, Fritjof Meyer presents a further revision downwards. He writes: "These considerations are the basis for the conclusion here that in Auschwitz half a million people were murdered, about 356,000 of them with gas." Similarly, Meyer ends his article by concluding that 510,000 lost their lives in Auschwitz, of whom 356,000 "probably" were killed by gas.

The Höss 'Confessions'

For decades key evidence cited for mass killings at Auschwitz has been the postwar testimony of Rudolf Höss, who was commandant of the camp from May 1940 until December 1943, and again between May and July 1944. Since the end of the war, his statements of March and April 1946, and his testimony in April 1946 as a witness at the main Nuremberg trial, have been widely cited in numerous history books, newspapers, and magazine articles. [12] In those statements, and in that testimony, he declared that three million died at Auschwitz, of whom two and a half million were killed "there by gassing and burning." [13]

In a detailed 1985 essay, Prof. Robert Faurisson established that the Höss "confession" is a false document that was extracted under torture. [14] Fritjof Meyer, echoing arguments and points made 17 years earlier by Faurisson, writes that Höss' "confession" was wrung out of him after "three days of sleep deprivation, torture, beatings after every answer, being held naked, and forcibly intoxicated," and, finally, with the use of a whip.

Martin Broszat's Deceit

In his *Osteuropa* article, Meyer refers to the deceit of Martin Broszat, one of Germany's most prominent postwar historians. From 1972 until his death in 1989 Broszat was deputy director, and then director of Germany's semi-official Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. "The unreliability of Höss' million-large figures," writes Meyer, "is so serious that Martin Broszat simply left out some of them in the publication of the Höss papers that he edited."

Specifically, Meyer notes, Broszat deleted from Höss' "memoir" statements about millions of non-existent Jews who were scheduled for extermination, including "about four million Jews from Romania," as well as "an estimated two and a half million Jews from Bulgaria." In fact,

Meyer writes, in 1940 there were only about 342,000 Jews in Romania altogether, and the total number of Jews in Bulgaria, according to more or less reliable estimates, was between 48,000 and some 63,000. Höss had exaggerated the actual number of Jews in Romania by more than ten times, and in Bulgaria by about 50 times.

So far, anyway, no public outcry has arisen against Dr. Broszat, who consciously falsified an important historical document, or against the prestigious scholarly institute he directed. Similarly, no one has yet apologized for this deception — or even demanded that an apology be made.

Downplaying the Birkenau 'Kremas'

For decades it has been authoritatively claimed that mass killings of Jews were carried out at Auschwitz — above all, by poison gas in semi-underground cellars adjacent to the Birkenau crematory structures (*Kremas*). This has been the view, for example, of Robert Jan van Pelt, a Jewish scholar who is regarded as an authority on Auschwitz and who was a key witness against British historian David Irving in the headline-making Irving-Lipstadt trial of January-March 2000. In his testimony in the trial, van Pelt referred to *Krema* II at Birkenau as “the most lethal building of Auschwitz,” the place where “more people lost their lives than any other place on this planet. Five hundred thousand people were killed.” ^[15]

In his *Osteuropa* article, Meyer discounts the importance of these “lethal buildings.” In a significant revision of the familiar Auschwitz story, he shifts the focus of gassings from Birkenau *Krema* II and III to two “farm houses” or “bunkers,” which were also known as the “white house and the “red house.” Meyer writes: “The actual genocide that was carried out probably took place mostly in the two reconstructed farm houses outside of the camp; the foundations of the first, the 'White House' or 'Bunker I,' were recently discovered.”

Meyer unhelpfully does not explain what he means here by “probably” and “mostly.”

Unsystematic Mass Killings?

Meyer also calls into question another important aspect of the familiar extermination story. According to the “standard” story, in the summer of 1941 or, at the latest, in the summer of 1942, Hitler ordered the systematic extermination of all the Jews of Europe under German control. In keeping with that, SS chief Heinrich Himmler supposedly ordered Commandant Höss to carry out systematic killings of Jews at Auschwitz, which was to serve as a central killing center. Only employable Jews who could be “worked to death” were to be temporarily spared.

This story is not accurate, Meyer suggests. Several months after the end of the war in Europe, he relates, former SS officer Hans Aumeier testified that in November 1942 Höss received an order from Himmler to gas all weak, sick or otherwise unemployable Jewish prisoners as a measure to prevent further spread of disease in the camp. ^[16] Aumeier’s testimony, which Meyer accepts as valid, suggests that Jews were killed at Auschwitz not as part of an comprehensive extermination program systematically to kill all European Jews, but rather as an exceptional measure to curb the horrific epidemics that were ravaging the Auschwitz I and Birkenau camps. ^[17]

A Dubious Document

Meyer also takes a skeptical look at a document that has been cited for years as a key piece of evidence for mass killings at Auschwitz: a June 28, 1943, letter from SS officer Karl Bischoff, head of the Auschwitz camp central construction department, to the WVHA center in Berlin. In

this letter, Bischoff reports that all the crematory ovens in the Auschwitz main camp and in Birkenau could process as many as 4,756 corpses every 24 hours. This document is cited, for example, in the semi-official book, *Nazi Mass Murder*, in a section headed “the Perfected Gas Chambers at Birkenau.” [18]

But as long ago as 1989, the French anti-revisionist researcher Jean-Claude Pressac expressed doubt about the figures given in this document. In a detailed book published that year, he expressed the view that the true cremation figures may perhaps have been one-half or one-third of those given in the Bischoff letter. [19] Noting that some years ago Pressac had characterized this document as “an internal propaganda lie” of the SS, and that even van Pelt has cut in half the figures in the Bischoff letter, Meyer writes of the “entirely permissible doubts about the authenticity of the document.”

Meyer also discounts the familiar image of “factory like” crematories at Birkenau, operating day and night and continually belching smoke. He points out that these crematories operated only fitfully, and often broke down. He cites, for example, Birkenau’s crematory facility (*Krema*) II, which went into operation on March 22, 1943. Cracks in the chimney were already visible on April 3, and by mid-May the crematory was no longer operational. Because Birkenau’s crematories could not possibly have “processed” as many corpses as has been claimed, Meyer concludes that between December 1942 and March 1943 tens of thousands of corpses were cremated there in the open air.

Meyer does not consider an obvious problem inherent in this claim: If Birkenau had really been a center for a well-planned, systematic extermination of hundreds of thousands of Jews, why did the authorities in charge fail to arrange for the construction of adequate crematory facilities to process the anticipated numbers of victims? To put it another way, cremation of tens of thousands of corpses in makeshift open-air pyres cannot be reconciled with Birkenau’s supposed role as a center where, on the basis of orders from the highest level, a program of systematic extermination was carried out.

It is largely on the basis of his understanding of cremation capacity in the camp, and his estimate that a total of perhaps 433,000 corpses were cremated at Auschwitz (including Birkenau), that Meyer concludes that some 500,000 people perished there.

Conclusion

Compared to the recently “authoritative” figure of approximately one million Auschwitz deaths, Meyer has reduced the number of Jewish victims there by at least 450,000. If he were held the legal standards that are routinely applied to revisionist skeptics, he would be prosecuted for violating Germany’s law against “relativizing” or “denying” Jewish deaths.

Meyer seems vaguely aware of this. In an apparent effort to provide a “politically correct” justification for his “denial” and “relativizing,” he pompously writes: “Accordingly, the dimension of the breach of civilization becomes conceivable and, for the first time, is a convincing portent for those born afterwards ... This result does not 'relativize' the barbarism, but rather verifies it — and serves as a severe warning against a new shattering of civilization.”

Meyer’s article is subtitled “New Revelations through new archival findings.” In fact, Fritjof Meyer and *Osteuropa* journal affirm the decades-old skepticism of the “deniers,” embracing even some of the same “physical” or “forensic” arguments presented for years by revisionists such as

Robert Faurisson. ^[20] Meyer unintentionally affirms that the skeptics were right to reject the “official” story, which — as his article shows — is still changing.

Notes

1. ^U Fritjof Meyer, “Die Zahl der Opfer von Auschwitz: Neue Erkenntnisse durch neue Archivfunde,” *Osteuropa: Zeitschrift für Gegenwartsfragen des Ostens*, 52. Jg. 5/2002, Mai 2002, pp. 631-641. (*Osteuropa* is published by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde.)
Fritjof Meyer, managing editor (*leitender Redakteur*) of *Der Spiegel*, was born in 1932. He holds several certifications of expertise: Dipl. DHP, Dipl.-Politologe, Dipl.-Kameralist. He is the author, for example, of *Weltmacht im Abstieg: der Niedergang der Sowjet-Union* (München: C. Bertelsmann, 1984).
A leading German daily has reported on the impact of Meyer’s comment on the impact of, or response to, Meyer’s *Osteuropa* article. See: Sven Felix Kellerhoff, “Der Fall des angesehenen Journalisten Fritjof Meyer,” *Die Welt*, August 28, 2002. (This text is posted on David Irving’s web site.) See also: “Auschwitz: Die Wahrheit,” *National-Zeitung* (Munich), No. 30, July 19, 2002, pp. 1, 5.
2. ^U Nuremberg document 008-USSR (May 6, 1945). International Military Tribunal, Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg: 1947-1949; IMT 42-vol. “blue series”), Vol. 39, pp. 241, 261; C.L. Sulzberger, “Oswiecim Killings Placed at 4,000,000,” *The New York Times*, May 8, 1945, and, *The New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1986, p. A4.
3. ^U Robert Faurisson, “Combien de morts a Auschwitz?,” Dec. 18, 1995, in *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1999), vol. 4, pp. 1730-1740.
German translation: R. Faurisson, “Wieviele Tote gab es im KL Auschwitz?,” *Vierteljahresshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, Sept. 1999 (3. Jg., Heft 3), pp. 268-272. Note also Faurisson’s comment on Auschwitz figures in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1995 (Vol. 15, No. 1), p. 24.
4. ^U Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1950; and, New York: Berkley, 1984 [pb.]), p. 253. The original German edition was entitled *Der SS Staat*.
5. ^U “Night and Fog” (“Nuit et Brouillard”) is a film by Alain Resnais (distributed by Classic Releasing, 1993). Approximately 55 seconds from the end, as the grounds of Auschwitz are panned, the English subtitle reads: “Nine million dead haunt this landscape.” See also Robert Faurisson’s mentions of this film in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1994, p. 24, and in *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1999), vol. 4, pp. 1730-1731 (incl. footnote), 1738.
6. ^U In the second edition of *The Final Solution*, Gerald Reitlinger estimated that altogether perhaps 700,000 to 900,000 people (Jews and non-Jews) perished at Auschwitz. See: G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe* (London: Sphere Books, pb., 1971. 2nd edition), pp. 500-501.
7. ^U Y. Bauer, “Fighting the Distortions,” *The Jerusalem Post* (Israel), Sept. 22, 1989.
8. ^U “Auschwitz Deaths Reduced to a Million,” *The Daily Telegraph* (London), July 17, 1990; “Poland Reduces Auschwitz Death Toll Estimate to 1 Million,” *The Washington Times*, July 17, 1990.
9. ^U F. Piper, “The Number of Victims,” in Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, 1994), p. 71.

10. U Recently The Wall Street Journal told readers that at Auschwitz “more than one million people [were] murdered here, 90 percent of them Jews.” See: “Burden of History: Auschwitz Repairs Force Tough Debate over Preservation,” The Wall Street Journal, Aug. 14, 2002, p. A1. Similarly, Prof. John K. Roth, in a review of a new book by two prominent Jewish Holocaust historians, wrote that “more than a million Jews perished” in Auschwitz-Birkenau, “most of them gassed to death.” See: Los Angeles Times “Book World,” Sunday, Sept. 22, 2002, p. 4.
11. U Jean-Claude Pressac, *Die Krematorien von Auschwitz: Die Technik des Massenmordes* (Munich: Piper, 1994), p. 202.
12. U Höss' testimony is described as “crucial” and of “critical importance” in Y. Gutman, M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, 1994), p. 29.
13. U Höss statement, March 14 (or 15), 1946. Nuremberg document NO-1210 (749-D); Höss statement, April 5, 1946. Nuremberg document [3868-PS](#) (Exhibit USA-819). International Military Tribunal, Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal (Nuremberg: 1947-1949; IMT 42-vol. “blue series”), Vol. 33, pp. 275-279. This latter Höss statement, including its figures of Auschwitz deaths, was quoted by the Nuremberg Tribunal in its final judgment. See IMT “blue series,” Vol. 1, pp. 251-252.
14. U Robert Faurisson, “How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87 (Vol. 7, No. 4), pp. 389-403. (https://www.ihr.org/jhr/v07/v07p389_Faurisson.html) The original French text was first published in *Annales d'Histoire Revisionniste* (Paris), No. 1, spring 1987, pp. 137-152. It was also reprinted in: R. Faurisson, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1999), vol. 2, pp. 657-669.
15. U “David Irving’s Final Address in the London Libel Trial,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 2000 (Vol. 19, No. 2), pp. 37-38. Together with Deborah Dwork, Robert Jan van Pelt is author of *Auschwitz: 1270 to Today* (New York: Norton, 1996), and, most recently, also with Dwork, *Holocaust: A History* (New York: Norton, 2002).
16. U Source cited by Meyer (in note No. 8 of his Osteuropa article): CIA Special Collections, Reference Coll., Box 3; Bericht von BB-175 über Aumeiers Vernehmung im Gefängnis Akkerhus, Norwegen, vom 29.10.1945.
See also the report on the interrogation of Kurt Aumeier of August 10, 1945, posted on David Irving’s web site (<http://www.fpp.co.uk/Auschwitz/Aumeier/100845.html>). Source cited by Irving: National Archives (Washington, DC), RG.319 - IRR - XE.003245 Hans Aumeier. According to this report, Aumeier stated that in November 1942, he was told in strictest confidence of an order from Berlin “that all Jewish prisoners who were infirm, sick or incapable of work were to be gassed in order to prevent further spreading of diseases.”
17. U On epidemics at Auschwitz, see: Y. Gutman and M. Berenbaum, eds., *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, 1994), pp. 27, 214, 328, 381, 388. See also: M. Weber, “High Frequency Delousing Facilities at Auschwitz,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1999 (Vol. 18, No. 3), pp. 4-12, esp. pp. 2-8.
18. U Eugen Kogon, and H. Langbein, A. Rückerl, and others, *Nazi Mass Murder: A Documentary History of the Use of Poison Gas* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1994), p. 157. Original German edition: *Nationalsozialistische Massentötungen durch Giftgas* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1986), p. 219.
This document is also cited, and reproduced in facsimile, in a six-page article in *Der Spiegel*, No. 40/ 1993, Oct. 4, 1993, pp. 151, 156. More recently, Prof. John K. Roth, in a review of a new book by D. Dwork and R. J. van Pelt, wrote that the four crematory structures at Birkenau, which “included eight gas chambers, 46 ovens and the capacity to dis-

pose of 4,416 corpses a day.” This calculation is from the June 28, 1943, Bischoff letter (4,756 minus 340 for the crematory in the Auschwitz I main camp). Los Angeles Times “Book World,” Sunday, Sept. 22, 2002, p. 4.

19. ☞ J.-C. Pressac, [Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers](#) (New York: B. Klarsfeld, 1989), pp. 244, 247.
20. ☞ See, for example, “Faurisson’s Three Letters to Le Monde (1978-1979),” *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 2000, pp. 40-46.

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So, Who Was Right, Then?

A commentary by [David Irving](#), issued in Sept. 2002, on Fritjof Meyer's May 2002 *Osteuropa* article.

In January 1995 the French news magazine *L'Express* reported that Auschwitz staff now admitted that the gas-chamber known as "Krema [Crematorium] I" (the one still shown to visitors) had in fact been erected in 1948 by Polish communists for the foreign tourists' benefit. Fred Leuchter had already demonstrated the deception in 1988.

British historian David Irving (*The Destruction of Dresden*) spread word of this extraordinary admission in 20,000 postcards mailed to German notables by his worldwide circle of friends. This endeavour earned him yet another mention in dispatches by Berlin's Office for the Protection of the Constitution (he had already been outlawed from Germany "in the German national interest" in November 1993).

In his January 2000 London libel action against the US history teacher Deborah Lipstadt, Mr. Irving adopted the following positions — strongly differing from those of Germany's conformist historians: The real number of Jews dying in Auschwitz ("four million") had been exaggerated tenfold; none whatever had been gassed in the big underground Kremas II and III; and key historical records had been faked.

For this "incorrigible falsification of history" his case was dismissed by Mr. Justice Gray with an annihilating Judgment. On May 21, 2002, Irving's final appeal was denied, and pursuant to the English legal system his home of 34 years and his entire property and records were seized two days later.

Now the cruel irony: That same month, May 2002, buried deep in the learned journal *Osteuropa* (president: former German Parliamentary Speaker Dr. Rita Süßmuth) there appeared a lengthy paper by the leftist historian Dr. Fritjof Meyer, a managing editor of *Der Spiegel* for 34 years (title: "The death-toll at Auschwitz. New facts from new archival finds.")

Says Meyer, in accord with Lipstadt's chief expert witness Prof. Robert Van Pelt: "The actual genocide probably took place outside the camp site, in two converted farmhouses." Moreover: The figures had been exaggerated — as recently as 1989 Auschwitz staff were threatened with instant dismissal if they expressed doubts about them. And: To cover up "discrepancies" the late Prof. Martin Broszat had rewritten and doctored vital sentences in the memoirs of executed camp commandant Rudolf Höss before his Institute of Contemporary History officially published them. (Broszat of course had neither his home nor his property seized).

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By Keith Stimely

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Description of WWI Allied propaganda techniques.

Al-Abid, Ibrahim. *127 Questions & Answers on the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. P.O. Box 5376, Beirut, Lebanon: Near East Ecumenical Bureau for Information & Interpretation; 1973.

One of the best Arab works to expose Zionist banditry. Factual and referenced.

Zuckerman, Solly. *From Apes to Warlords*. Harper and Row; 1978.

The memoirs of one of Winston Churchill's wartime scientific advisors, an expert on the effects of aerial bombardment on life, industry, and morale. Zuckerman was co-author of the survey-report which formed the basis for Prof. Lindemann's famous Minute to Churchill of 30 March 1942, advocating saturation-bombing of residential districts in German industrial cities. His comments on Lindemann's misinterpretation of that report, and on the famous Tizard-Lindemann conflict over bombing policy, are illuminating, though ultimately he raises more questions than he answers.

Anderson (editor), George L. *Issues and Conflicts: Studies in Twentieth Century American Diplomacy*. University of Kansas Press; 1959.

Contains a long and favorable essay on "Historical Revisionism Following the Two World Wars," by Louis Martin Sears, Professor Emeritus of History at Purdue University. The court historian editor was so incensed at Sears' sympathetic discussion of Revisionism that he felt compelled to disrupt the essay with some footnote-insertions of his own, thus unwittingly providing an excellent example of the smear-treatment accorded Revisionists by the Establishment.

Anonymous. *The Myth of the Six Million*. Noontide Press; 1969.

The first ever English-language book to refute the "Holocaust" Allegedly written by a California professor.

Anonymous. *The Nuremberg "Trial"*. Sons of Liberty; 1978.

(First published 1946) One of the first booklets to appear in America attacking the "delayed drumhead court-martial" otherwise known as the Nuremberg Trial. Particular attention is paid to the activities of Chief U.S. Prosecutor Robert H. Jackson in rigging up the "trial" and indictment which carefully overlooked any crimes committed by the Allies. Also examined are the excellent qualifications of two of the American "judges" at the "trial": Francis Biddle and Owen Roberts. The former was well-versed in the legal nuances involved in defining "aggressive war," having conjured up all sorts of pseudo-legal justifications for FDR's attempts to provoke a high-seas shooting war with Germany in 1941. The latter was the man behind the infamous Roberts Commis-

sion lie-report on Pearl Harbor. These two thus provided rather appropriate company for Russia's own legal whores in dispensing the Stalinoid brand of justice at Nuremberg.

App, Austin J. *A Straight Look at the Third Reich*. Boniface Press; 1974.

A distinguished American scholar asks the question: "Hitler and National Socialism, How Right? How Wrong?" and comes up with some unorthodox answers. These must be all the more "shocking" to the unenlightened victims of the history-blackout by virtue of App's trademark "no-holds-barred" style.

App, Austin J. *Autobiography*. Boniface Press; 1977.

Frank and revealing memoirs of the foremost German-American figure of the postwar era — and one of the earliest and most vocal World War II Revisionists. Forty-three chapters cover all aspects of App's life, from his boyhood in Michigan through his long and distinguished career as an educator to his postwar forays into political, social, and historical consciousness-raising (and hell-raising). His polemicism earned him the honor of obtaining the life-long enmity of such types as Drew Pearson, Walter Winchell, and Ben Hecht. Perhaps App's main contribution to Revisionism is that his has been the principal voice in raising and keeping alive the issue of the "unholy trinity" (Morgenthau Plan Forced Repatriation, the German Expulsions) of Allied war crimes after World War II.

App, Austin J. *Morgenthau Era Letters*. Boniface Press.

An interesting and illuminating collection of 119 letters written by the author (three-fourths of them in the 1941-1950 period) to various influential personages and publications, presenting vigorous comments on the causes and course of World War II, and the Allied occupation policies and actions in post-war Germany.

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Brief but factual essay on the post-war implications of the "Holocaust" fraud.

App, Austin J. *The Sudeten-German Tragedy*. Boniface Press.

A short but succinct description of the atrocities committed against the expatriate Germans in central Europe.

Armstrong, Anne. *Unconditional Surrender*. Rutgers University Press; 1961.

The standard scholarly book on the history and implications of the outstanding political and diplomatic blunder of the Allies in WW II.

Bailey, T. A. *The Man in the Street*. Macmillan; 1948.

This book is by a leading American diplomatic historian who is a strong partisan of Roosevelt. Nevertheless he is honest enough to concede that the President lied this country into war. Bailey justifies this mendacity on the grounds that such deception was necessary, since the American people were not capable of understanding their own best interests.

Balabkins, Nicholas. *Germany Under Direct Controls*. Rutgers University Press; 1963.

The treatment of West Germany. Morgenthau Plan from 1940.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Revisionism & The Promotion of Peace*. Privately published; 1960.

A short essay on the state-of-the-art of revisionism. Reprinted from *Liberation* (Summer 1958). [v03p-53_Barnes](#)

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *The Genesis of the World War.*, 3rd edition. Knopf; 1929.

Best survey of the subject for the general reader, with useful annotated bibliography.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *In Quest of Truth and Justice.* National Historical Society; 1928.

The most complete summary of the Revisionist controversy over the causes of the first World War.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *World Politics in Modern Civilization.* Knopf; 1930.

Last half of this book is the standard Revisionist survey of war guilt literature and the main problems created by the post-war treaties.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Shall the United States Become the New Byzantine Empire?.* Privately published; 1947.

One of Barnes' first forays into Cold War Revisionism, and an anticipation of themes raised by the later generation of "New Left" revisionists. Criticizes Truman's plans to bail out the British Empire (yes, again) in its troubles in the Balkans and the Middle East.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Rauch on Roosevelt.* Sons of Liberty; 1978.

(Reprint of privately printed 1952 edition.) Barnes demolishes court historian Basil Rauch and his Roosevelt From Munich to Pearl Harbor—one of the most extreme and vulnerable attempts at defending and obscuring the Roosevelt pro-war policy. One of Barnes' hardest-hitting booklets, a classic example of one historian calling another's bluff.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Crucifying the Saviour of France.* Privately published; 1945.

In this, his first Revisionist brochure on the second world war, Barnes outlines the case for Marshall Pétain, as presented by Mrs. Seton Porter in her lengthy manuscript on Pétain's role in stepping in to save France from the ravages of a stupid war. (Unfortunately, Mrs. Porter's book remains unpublished to this day.) Pétain himself read a translation of this booklet in his prison cell, shortly before his death.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Selected Revisionist Pamphlets.* IHR; 1980.

(Reprint of 1972 Arno Press edition.) A handy collection of some of Barnes best. Excellent introduction to the whole Revisionist controversy after World War II through the eyes of the protagonist.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *The Chickens of the Interventionist Liberals Have Come Home to Roost.* Sons of Liberty; 1977.

(Reprint of privately printed 1954 edition. Also available in Barnes' *Selected Revisionist Pamphlets*.) Describes the ideological "flip-flop" of those "old liberals" who, mindful of the lessons of Revisionism of World War I, were all for neutrality and pacifism in the early thirties — until The Devil Himself came along in Germany, to be replaced at the end of the war by a new League of Devils from Russia. This is one of the most biting critiques of the new "totalitarian liberalism" and its concomittant "globaloney" ever to appear in print. Writing in 1954, at the height of the much-exaggerated "McCarthy era," Barnes does not try to conceal a certain satisfaction that the liberal totali-

tarians are at last getting a taste of the fear-and-smear techniques they themselves used against non-interventionists and Revisionists in the late thirties and forties. Poetic Justice.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Was Roosevelt Pushed Into War By Popular Demand in 1941?*. Sons of Liberty; 1977.

(Reprint of privately printed 1951 edition.) Barnes' reply, delivered at the 1950 convention of the American Historical Association, to a paper of Prof. Dexter Perkins in which Perkins had argued that Roosevelt merely "followed the lead" of American public opinion (as measured by polls in 1940-41) in moving toward war. Barnes notes how Perkins distorted and twisted his statistics in order for them to follow his "line," and then examines those polls himself, concluding that when the often "loaded" questions are "unloaded," the real answer of the American people at that time becomes clear, a consistent and overwhelming opposition to any moves recognized as likely to get America into war.

Barnes, Harry Elmer [and others]. *Select Bibliography of Revisionist Books Dealing with The Two World Wars and Their Aftermath.* Privately published; 1958.

Compiled by Barnes and 7 other scholars, this includes often-colorful synopses of each work listed. Much Revisionist work has been done since this was put together, but it remains the indispensable guide to early Revisionism. (The entire contents have been incorporated into the present bibliography.).

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Blasting the Historical Blackout.* Boniface Press; 1976.

Originally published by the author in 1962, this 42-pager is devoted to an appraisal of the Revisionist breakthrough marked by the publication of Taylor's *Origins of WWII* (q.v.).

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Pearl Harbor After a Quarter of a Century.* IHR; 1980.

A reprint of Barnes' 123-page monograph on Pearl Harbor, originally published in 1968 in the journal *Left and Right* (and later by Arno Press & The New York Times, 1972). Murray Rothbard called this article "(Barnes') final word on the task which had occupied him for the last quarter of a century: the true story of Pearl Harbor ... the culminating synthesis of a quarter century of Revisionist inquiry."

Barnes (editor), Harry Elmer. *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace.* Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers; 1953.

A comprehensive symposium by eight leading Revisionist scholars dealing with all important phases of the second world war insofar as it affected the United States, including the European background and the disastrous aftermath. Especially notable for demonstrating the determined effort of historians, newspaper editors, and commercial publishers to prevent the truth from reaching the American public, and for its exposure of the shameless efforts to stifle the truth concerning Pearl Harbor. The best general book on the causes and results of the entry of the United States into the second world war.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *The Court Historians Versus Revisionism.* Privately published; 1952.

Barnes takes apart two war-mongering books: Langer & Gleason's *The Challenge To Isolation 1937-1940*, and Herbert Feis's *The Road to Pearl Harbor*. Cynical in the extreme.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Revisionism & Brainwashing*. Privately published; 1962.

A survey of the war-guilt question in Germany after two world wars.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *The Barnes Trilogy*. IHR; 1979.

Compilation of three of Barnes' best-known Revisionist pamphlets: *The Court Historians Versus Revisionism*, *Blasting the Historical Blackout*, and *Revisionism & Brainwashing* (q.v.).

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *Revisionism: A Key to Peace, and Other Essays*. (Cato Paper No. 12). Cato Institute; 1980.

The title essay, here presented for the first time since its appearance in the Spring, 1966 *Rampart Journal*, is the lengthy bibliographic review and summing-up of the state of revisionism. In it Barnes develops the theme that the Historical Blackout has been supplemented by the "blur-out" (by which the Establishment at last guardedly admits long-time revisionist contentions, but blurs them out by dwelling on a mass of irrelevant and secondary detail — the classic example being Roberta Wohlstetter's whitewash, *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*) and the "smother-out" (by which discussion of critical issues is drowned out in a cacaphony of wailing about alleged "Nazi atrocities"). Also presented here are "Revisionism and the Historical Blackout" and, for the first time, Barnes' long-suppressed essay on "How '1984' Trends Threaten American Peace, Freedom, and Prosperity." Introduction by James J. Martin.

Barnes, Harry Elmer. *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout*., 9th edition. Privately published; 1952.

Probably Barnes' single most important World War II Revisionist brochure — and the longest, continually revised and expanded. In describing the story of the Blackout as it unfolded, Barnes reviewed each significant development in Revisionist historiography, and then examined the treatment (or lack of treatment) given by the mass media, the reviewers, and the Establishment generally. Court historians like Samuel Elliot Morison, Samuel Flagg Bemis, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Thomas A. Bailey, and assorted other Liberal ideologues learned to think twice about what they were going to say in print, knowing that Barnes would call their bluffs in future editions of this devastating brochure.

Barron, Bryton. *Inside the State Department*. Comet Press.

Critical and informing analysis of the make-up, policies and methods of the U.S. State Department in recent years. Reveals the growth of a large and unwieldy permanent bureaucracy which controls much policy and virtually all publication, irrespective of the party in power. Especially stresses the delays and censorship in publishing diplomatic documents which might reflect on the integrity and wisdom of the president and high officials in the State Department. Throws much light on official contributions to the "Historical Blackout."

Bartlett, Bruce R. *Cover-Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor 1941-1946*. Arlington House; 1978.

Very thorough re-statement of the revisionist position on Pearl Harbor and the subsequent cover-up by and for FDR and his henchmen — containing new findings from the National Archives. Traces the origins of American involvement in the Atlantic and Pacific theaters and the "back door to war" plan, the scapegoating of Adm. Kimmel, and the progression of the official investigations culminating in the Joint Congressional Investigation of 1946. An appendix reproduces the complete John T. Flynn pamphlet, *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*.

Bass (editor), Herbert J. *America's Entry into World War I.* Dryden Press; 1964.

An "American Problem Studies" anthology, presenting differing interpretations of the reasons why America entered the war. Was the primary cause really Germany's submarine campaign against America? Or was it in fact the very un-neutral American diplomacy — and the vested interest of powerful American financiers and industrialists in the ultimate victory of the Allies whom they were so abundantly and profitably supplying — provoked this campaign, with all its consequences? Includes selections from the Revisionist writings of Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles Callan Tansill, Horace C. Peterson, Edwin Borchard, and Paul Birdsall.

Bausman, Frederick. *Facing Europe.* Century; 1926.

Brilliant statement of the lessons which should have been learned from the first world war by American citizens. They were learned from 1926 to 1937, and then unlearned under the leadership of President Roosevelt.

Beale (editor), Howard K. *Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal.* University of Kentucky Press; 1954.

The memorial volume on the Revisionist whom even critics concede is the likeliest candidate for the title: greatest American historian of this century. This is not a traditional festschrift; a massive volume along that line had been planned as early as 1939, but because of Beard's foreign policy views and World War II Revisionism, many scholars and friends deserted him and the project.

Beard, Charles A. *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940.* Yale University Press; 1946.

These books by the late dean of American historians constitute the most complete and authoritative treatment of the evolution of Roosevelt foreign policy from isolationism to interventionism and war. The second volume is the most detailed account of Roosevelt's maneuvering the Japanese into the attack at Pearl Harbor, providing the full political and diplomatic background.

Beard, Charles A. *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941.* Yale University Press; 1948.

These books by the late dean of American historians constitute the most complete and authoritative treatment of the evolution of Roosevelt foreign policy from isolationism to interventionism and war. The second volume is the most detailed account of Roosevelt's maneuvering the Japanese into the attack at Pearl Harbor, providing the full political and diplomatic background.

Beatty, Ilene. *Arab and Jew in the Land of Canaan.* Regnery; 1957.

Judicious, informed and readable account of Jewish-Arab problems and relations in Palestine. An historical and analytical treatment, with reasonable suggestions for a solution short of a third world war.

Beazley, Raymond. *The Road to Ruin in Europe, 1890-1914.* Dent; 1932.

Brilliant and realistic summary of the causes of the first world war by one of the most distinguished of contemporary British historians.

Beck, Philip. *Oradour: Village of the Dead.* 196 Shaftesbury Avenue, London WC2H 8JL: Leo Cooper; 1979.

A senior British journalist describes the Oradour massacre of French civilians by Alsatian soldiers with remarkable restraint and objectivity.

Belgion, Montgomery. *Victor's Justice.* Regnery; 1949.

Brief but powerful pioneer work on the war-crimes trials underlining their inhumanity and injustices. Previously published in England as *Epitaph on Nuremberg*, Falcon Press, 1946.

Beloff, Max. *The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, 1929-1941.*, 2 Vols. Oxford University Press; 1949.

The most complete and reliable account of Russian foreign policy in the decade preceding the German attack on Russia in June 1941.

Berger, Elmer. *Who Knows Better Must Say So.* American Council for Judaism; 1956.

First-hand observations on the Middle Eastern problems by a leader of the Jewish anti-Zionists in the United States.

Berger, Elmer. *Memoirs of an Anti-Zionist Jew.* Institute for Palestine Studies; 1978.

Fascinating biography of a unique rabbi.

Bethell, Lord Nicholas. *The Last Secret.* Basic; 1974.

Adds much material to Epstein's research on the repatriations of Russians and their families who ended the war on the wrong (i.e. losing) side.

Bewley, Charles. *Hermann Göring and the Third Reich.* Devin-Adair; 1962.

The first ever full-scale Revisionist treatment of the life of a major figure of the Third Reich. Bewley was Irish Minister to Berlin in pre-war days, and knew Göring well. He explodes a lot of myths about Göring the man and the statesman, but does not spare him certain criticisms. The last 100 pages are an extended treatment of the Nuremberg Trial and Göring's role in it. Highlighted is his brilliant performance under Justice Jackson's cross-examination, which reduced the U.S. Prosecutor to fits of trembling incoherency. Bewley also conclusively proves that the Reichsmarschall knew nothing of any "extermination" plan. This massive (500-page) tome remains the definitive biography of Hitler's second-in-command.

Bishop, Jim. *FDR's Last Year.* London: Hart-Davis, McGibbon; 1975.

Details the fantastic cover-up involving medical men and government officials alike, of the state of the President's physical and mental health in the crucial last year of the war. The image of Roosevelt at Yalta is that of a sick and hopelessly naive old man, hypnotized by his own platitudes, who didn't know what was going on. What "went on," of course, was the caning up of Eastern Europe for Uncle Joe.

Borchard, E. M. and Lage, W. P. *Neutrality for the United States.* Yale University Press; 1940.

The first half of this book is an unrivalled and extremely competent indictment of the Wilson-Lansing diplomacy for its drastic departures from neutrality and strict international law.

Borning, Bernard C. *The Political and Social Thought of Charles A. Beard.* University of Washington Press; 1962.

Brandenberg, Erich. *From Bismarck to the World War.* Oxford University Press; 1927.

Good summary from the German viewpoint by one of the ablest of modern German historians, and a specialist on this period.

Brandt, Karl. *Germany is Our Problem.* Human Affairs (Regnery?); 1946.

One of three works by Brandt critical of Germanophobia and its dubious and immoral practical postwar results, by the distinguished agricultural economist of Stanford University's Food Research Institute. The first two are pamphlets lamenting the vengeful policy of "Morgenthauism" whereby Germans were to be systematically starved by not allowing them to produce enough to pay for their own food. The last is a book which, although strongly anti-Nazi, defends the German people and holds that European unity and independence can only be accomplished by the integration into Europe of a reconstructed Germany as a strong and equal partner. Brandt reviews American foreign policy toward Germany and points out the incredible blindness toward Soviet intentions and the counter-productive stupidity of the Morgenthau-inspired postwar plans which characterized this policy.

Brandt, Karl. *Is There Still a Chance for Germany?.* Regnery; 1949.

One of three works by Brandt critical of Germanophobia and its dubious and immoral practical postwar results, by the distinguished agricultural economist of Stanford University's Food Research Institute. The first two are pamphlets lamenting the vengeful policy of "Morgenthauism" whereby Germans were to be systematically starved by not allowing them to produce enough to pay for their own food. The last is a book which, although strongly anti-Nazi, defends the German people and holds that European unity and independence can only be accomplished by the integration into Europe of a reconstructed Germany as a strong and equal partner. Brandt reviews American foreign policy toward Germany and points out the incredible blindness toward Soviet intentions and the counter-productive stupidity of the Morgenthau-inspired postwar plans which characterized this policy.

Brandt, Karl. *Germany: Key to Peace in Europe.* Claremont College; 1949.

One of three works by Brandt critical of Germanophobia and its dubious and immoral practical postwar results, by the distinguished agricultural economist of Stanford University's Food Research Institute. The first two are pamphlets lamenting the vengeful policy of "Morgenthauism" whereby Germans were to be systematically starved by not allowing them to produce enough to pay for their own food. The last is a book which, although strongly anti-Nazi, defends the German people and holds that European unity and independence can only be accomplished by the integration into Europe of a reconstructed Germany as a strong and equal partner. Brandt reviews American foreign policy toward Germany and points out the incredible blindness toward Soviet intentions and the counter-productive stupidity of the Morgenthau-inspired postwar plans which characterized this policy.

Brittain, Vera. *Massacre by Bombing.* New Vision Publishing Company; 1944.

A courageous wartime exposé of the British American policy of area-bombing German civilian centers, by a prominent English writer-lecturer. Put out under the auspices of the heretical Bombing Restriction Committee, this book gained a considerable amount of publicity since it set the liberal wolf-pack howling. These ardent pen-wielding defenders of (but rarely front-line fighters for) "democracy," "humanity," and "goodness," were forced by Miss Brittain's inconvenient revelations and her passionate moral outrage to either some how "defend" the slaughter-from-the-air of thousands of

innocents (“scientific baby-killing”) or to challenge her claims as to the official nature and extent of the bombings. Of the first tactic, the less said the better though the wartime hate-writings of the Establishment press, evidencing its moral bankruptcy, do make interesting reading today. Of the second, her horrific assertions were indeed complacently admitted in the later official military histories and the memoirs of those involved in Bomber Command.

Brown, E. C. *The Enemy at His Back*. New York: Bookmailer; 1957.

Historical background of the pro-Russian policy of Roosevelt and his associates at Yalta and before, which prolonged war with Japan, and made unnecessary and fatal concessions to Stalin at Yalta. Walter Trohan has shown that Roosevelt had received, even before he left for Yalta, Japanese peace terms virtually identical with those accepted in August after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Butterfield, Herbert. *History and Human Relations*. Macmillan; 1952.

Able collection of essays by a distinguished English historian who was not carried away by wartime propaganda. Contains a classic chapter on “Official History: Its Pitfalls and Criteria.”.

Butz, Arthur R. *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. IHR; 1979.

The most scientific and comprehensive research work to date exploding virtually all the standard myths of the “Holocaust,” including the “six million” yarn, the “gas chambers,” the alleged genocide policy and many others.

Cadin, Martin. *The Night Hamburg Died*. Ballantine; 1960.

Accurate and dramatic presentation of the bombing and burning of Hamburg, which ranked next to the destruction of Dresden as the worst Allied bombing atrocity in World War II.

Callander, Thomas. *The Athenian Empire and the British*. London and Toronto: Weidenfeld; McClelland and Stewart; 1961.

A trenchant little volume by a famous classical scholar with a wide knowledge of the first World War, pointing up the serious responsibilities of the British and the parallels between the lack of statesmanlike foresight alike of the leaders of the Athenian and British empires.

Calleo, David. *The German Problem Reconsidered*. Cambridge University Press; 1978.

A series of brilliant essays by a Johns Hopkins professor, offering provocative Revisionist interpretations of the “German Problem,” 1870 to the present. Focuses on the geo-political role of a unified Germany arriving “late” in the European community during Europe’s expansionist phase, and the hypocritical double standard with which other nations and their “victors’ history” have viewed Germany’s attempts to gain her rightful place, and to act as Europe’s bulwark against the East. This is a good antidote to court historian Gordon A. Craig’s *Germany : 1866-1945* (a sophisticated example of the Vansittart-Shirer-Hearnshaw school of “history”), which appeared at the same time.

Cameron, E. R. *Prologue to Appeasement*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs; 1942.

Scholarly account of French foreign policy from 1933-1936. Reveals some of the main trends that matured and converged in 1939.

Carr, E. H. *German-Soviet Relations Between the two World Wars.* Johns Hopkins University Press; 1951.

Brief but authoritative survey of relations between Germany and Russia under the Weimar Republic and the National Socialist regime of Hitler by a leading English authority on recent Russian history.

Carr, E. H. *International Relations Between the Wars.* Macmillan; 1947.

One of two excellent books by this author on the period between the two World Wars by a leading English specialist in international relations and diplomacy. The first is an objective treatment of the political and diplomatic history of this period, and is very critical of Versailles. The second provides a very realistic analysis of international relations and the so-called morality of nations.

Carr, E. H. *The Twenty Years Crisis.* Macmillan; 1951.

One of two excellent books by this author on the period between the two World Wars by a leading English specialist in international relations and diplomacy. The first is an objective treatment of the political and diplomatic history of this period, and is very critical of Versailles. The second provides a very realistic analysis of international relations and the so-called morality of nations.

Castle, E. W. *Billions, Blunders and Baloney.* Devin-Adair; 1955.

A forceful exposure of the extent, nature, costs and results of the “hand-out” and “give-away” program of the United States in foreign aid since 1945. The story thoroughly matches that of the “Truman scandals” in domestic policy during the same period, and the financial balance-sheet is far more appalling.

Castle, E. W. *The Great Giveaway: The Realities of Foreign Aid.* Regnery; 1957.

Brings his earlier book up to date and draws the logical conclusions as to the results of this policy, both economic and political.

Chamberlin, W. H. *America's Second Crusade.* Ralph Myles; 1961.

The best book for the general reader on the entry of the United States into the second world war. Treats the historical background after 1919, and is especially full on the disastrous results of American entry into the war. Comparable to Millis' Road to War on American participation in the first world war.

Chambers, F. P. *The War Behind the War, 1914-1918.* Harcourt, Brace; 1939.

Substantial and stimulating work on developments behind the scenes during the first world war, many of which belied the wartime propaganda and “war aims” and helped to produce the post-war crises.

Chesterton, A. K. *The New Unhappy Lords.* Christian Book Club; 1979.

This former editor of “The Blackshirt,” cousin of the novelist, and late chairman of the British National Front, provides an interesting analysis of post-WWII events.

Christophersen, Thies. *Auschwitz: Truth or Lie.* Toronto: Samisdat; 1974.

A German botanist who worked at Auschwitz relates how he never saw any evidence of “gas chambers.”

Taylor, A. J. P.; Plumb, J. H.; James, Robert Rhodes; Hart, Basil Liddell, and Storr, Anthony. *Churchill Revised: A Critical Assessment.* Dial Press; 1969.

This symposium, which cannot be described as an “anti-festschrift” only because of the judiciousness with which its extremely critical interpretations are presented, consists of five essays by British scholars interpreting various elements of Churchill’s career. A. J. P. Taylor explores Churchill the Statesman; J. H. Plumb, the Historian; Robert Rhodes James, the Politician; Basil Liddell Hart, the Military Strategist; Anthony Storr presents a psychoanalytic profile. Taken together, the picture that emerges is in considerable contrast to the “Great Man” image so assiduously cultivated by the historical Establishment.

Cochran, M. H. *Germany Not Guilty in 1914.* Stratford Press; 1931.

A devastating refutation of the thesis of primary German responsibility for the first world war, as embodied in Bernadotte Schmitt’s *The Coming of the War*, Scribner, 1930, the final and most voluminous American effort to pin responsibility for the war on Germany.

Cohen, Warren I. *The American Revisionists : The Lessons of Intervention in World War I.* University of Chicago Press; 1967.

An examination of the Revisionist controversy in America after the first world war, with particular attention paid to the interwar Revisionist careers of Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles Beard, C. Hartley Grattan, Walter Millis, and Charles Callan Tansill.

Colby, Benjamin. *‘Twas a Famous Victory.* Arlington House; 1974.

Deception and black propaganda in the war against Germany.

Cole, Charles R. *The Mind of A. J. P. Taylor.* Claremont Graduate School; 1971.

An analysis of A. J. P. Taylor and his historical writings, including his World War II Revisionism. Taylor is seen as a true individualist, having no use for the politico-historical dogmatics of either Left or Right. This work remains an unpublished Master’s thesis.

Cole, G. D. H. *A Guide Through World Chaos.* Knopf; 1932.

Able and incisive obituary of the collapse of the war aims of the Allies in the post-war world.

Cole, W. S. *America First: the Battle against Intervention 1940-1941.* University of Wisconsin Press; 1953.

Competent account of the activities of the chief organization which sought to maintain American neutrality and keep the United States out of the second world war. Not sympathetic but neither is the book a smear.

Connors, Michael F. *Dealing In Hate.* Institute for Historical Review; 1979.

Excellent pamphlet on the efforts of the Allies to arouse primitive emotions amongst their populations. Covers Vansittart in some detail. Originally published by Britons (London) in 1966, and in USA by Citizens Council (1962?) as *The Development of Germanophobia*.

Cook, Chris and Sked (editors), Alan. *Crisis and Controversy: Essays in Honour of A. J. P. Taylor.* Macmillan; 1976.

The festschrift for the most widely-read, and publicly-discussed, contemporary British historian. The essays explore his impact on British and Continental historiography; Donald Watt contributes a comprehensive examination of Taylor's theories on appeasement in the thirties, and how these have affected the historical consensus.

Cowling, Maurice. *The Impact of Hitler*. Cambridge University Press; 1975.

A forthright British Revisionist assessment of the politics of appeasement in the thirties. The author blasts many of the sacred cows about the "inevitability" of the war and the "cowardice" of appeasement, and dissects the twisted logic of the Churchill-Eden-Halifax war party demonstrating how their aggressive stances related to internal political considerations. Cowling suggests that appeasement, far from being wrong, did not go far enough. The policy pursued by Chamberlain and Halifax was not real appeasement but British opposition at almost every turn to Hitler's legitimate goals in revising the Versailles settlement; the "appeasement" part of it was only that Britain would back down in the end humiliating steps that need never have been taken had she minded her own business and, after Munich, not strewn useless and provocative guarantees around. Chamberlain's mistake was not the inevitable abandonment of the internally disintegrating, crazy-quilt state of Czechoslovakia in 1939, but the giving of a guarantee to her in September 1938 which set in motion the disastrous course of continental involvements, more guarantees to more states, that culminated in the declaration of war on Germany in September 1939. Cowling implies that the wisest British policy would have been one of rearmament and disinterestedness in Eastern Europe, and he questions whether Hitler really had any designs, short-term or otherwise, on Britain.

Polish Cultural Foundation. *The Crime of Katyn: Facts and Documents*. London: Polish Cultural Foundation; 1965.

A comprehensive collection of original source materials documenting one of the most gruesome, yet relatively unsung, atrocities of the second world war.

Crocker, George N. *Roosevelt's Road to Russia*. Regnery; 1959.

Also in a Gateway paperback edition. Brilliantly written account of the Allied Wartime Conferences, especially indicating their effect on the growth of Soviet power.

Current, R. N. *Secretary Stimson*. Rutgers University Press; 1954.

Readable and authoritative account of the public life of Henry L. Stimson whose non-recognition, sanction list, and other related doctrines played a leading role in bringing the United States into war in 1941, after he had failed to do so in the Far East in 1932.

Dacey, Norman F. *"Democracy" in Israel*. IHR; 1980.

The noted economist sheds some brilliant light on the darker corners of Israeli society.

Dacey, Norman F. *"Democracy" in Israel*. American Palestine Committee; 1976.

The noted economist sheds some brilliant light on the darker corners of Israeli society.

Dall, Curtis B. *FDR: My Exploited Father-In-Law*. Liberty Lobby; 1970.

Revealing memoir of Roosevelt and his coterie of cronies and "advisors" (Hopkins, Baruch, Morgenthau, Frankfurter White-Weiss, et al.). Traces the culture-distorting influence of these and others over the President and the country, which could (and was meant to) lead only to war.

Dalleck (editor), Robert. *The Roosevelt Diplomacy and World War II.* Holt, Rhinehart & Winston; 1970.

An anthology in the “American Problems Studies” series. This fair-minded offering of contrasting Revisionist and orthodox interpretations of Roosevelt foreign policy considers the question of America’s entry into the war, but tackles also the issues of U.S. war aims and wartime diplomacy especially as regards “unconditional surrender” and the legacy of the Yalta conference.

Dallin, D. J. *Soviet Russia’s Foreign Policy, 1939-1942.* Yale University Press; 1942.

Good summary in English of Russo-German relations between the Pact of 1939 and the outbreak of war in 1941. Critical of Soviet diplomacy.

Dank, Milton. *The French Against the French.* Cassell; 1974.

A fair and documented account of the French collaboration with the German occupation forces during WWII.

Delmer, Sefton. *Black Boomerang.* Secker and Warburg; 1962.

Authoritative account of the amazing operations of British political warfare against Germany in World War II through what was known as “black propaganda “.

Davis Jr., Franklin M. *Come As Conqueror.* Macmillan; 1967.

An unofficial, but highly revealing, account of occupation of Germany. Candid admissions regarding the attitude taken toward German civilians.

Dennis, Lawrence and St. George, Maximilian. *A Trial on Trial.* Chicago: National Civil Rights Committee; 1946.

A first-hand completely documented account of notorious Sedition Trial of 1944-1945 which was based upon the doctrine of “guilt by association.” When the same doctrine was later turned on the liberals and radicals who helped to foment the Sedition Trial they protested with great vehemence against any such invasion of civil liberties.

Dennis, Lawrence. *The Dynamics of War and Revolution.* IHR; 1980.

(Reprint of 1940 Harper edition.) Penetrating analysis of the operational aspects of the international forces that promoted war after 1919. His thesis is amply confirmed by developments from 1939 to the present day. Introduction by James J. Martin.

Dickens, Gerald. *Bombing and Strategy.* London: Sampson, Low and Marston; 1947.

A leading British military authority indicts the “hate Germany” school of strategy, the unconditional surrender policy, and saturation bombing of civilians.

Dickinson, G. L. *The International Anarchy, 1904-1914.* Century; 1926.

The best general work by an-English scholar on the causes of, and responsibility for, the first world war.

Dirksen, Herbert von. *Moscow, Tokyo, London: Twenty Years of German Foreign Policy (1919-1939).* University of Oklahoma Press; 1952.

Memoirs of one of the abler German diplomats who served between the two world wars. Opposed Hitler’s foreign policy, especially after 1937. Valuable for observations on British policy in 1938-1939, when von Dirksen was the German ambassador in

London. Documents later available show that he greatly exaggerated British willingness to negotiate in 1939.

Divine (editor), *Robert A. Causes and Consequences of World War II.* Quadrangle; 1969.

An anthology of differing interpretations of the origins diplomatic conduct, and legacy of America's participation in World War II. Topics explored include Roosevelt's "quarantine" speech, Pearl Harbor, unconditional surrender, Yalta, the atomic bomb, and the origins of the Cold War. Assembled mainly from the "New Left" Revisionist and anti-Internationalist point-of-view.

Dobson, Miller and Dobson, Payne. *The Cruellest Night.* Little Brown; 1979.

The previously untold story of the greatest maritime atrocity of all time. In 1945 the Soviets deliberately torpedoed three German refugee ships in the Baltic. 18,000 were killed, almost all of them civilians.

Doenecke, Justus D. *The Literature of Isolationism.* Ralph Myles; 1972.

Excellent and astonishingly comprehensive bibliography, in running-text form, of non-interventionist scholarship, 1930-72. Includes books, pamphlets, articles, reviews, manuscripts and collections, Ph.D. and Masters dissertations/theses, and oral history projects. While not dealing with Revisionism per se, there is much material of value on Revisionist trends, historians, and publicists. Especially good for the scholarship of the interwar years.

Doenecke, Justus D. *Not to the Swift: The Old Isolationists in the Cold War Era.* Associated University Presses; 1979.

One of America's leading historians of Isolationism here considers the varying approaches to the emerging Cold War, 1943-1954, taken by the pre-1941 Isolationists. He condemns the "Authorized Version" of the Isolationist movement (as interpreted by the court historians of the FDR era and their heirs of the present) as incredibly superficial, and demonstrates that the Isolationists far from being simple-minded, head-in-the-sand folks were actually of quite widely varying ideological hues, many being extremely internationalist-minded on all issues except war. And he suggests that they may well have been vindicated in their World War II views by the disastrous course of postwar events. An excellent chapter, "The Revisionist Counteroffensive: The Battle of the Books," analyzes the crucial debate over how the U.S. got into World War II.

Donnelly, Desmond. *Struggle for the World: The Cold War.* St. Martin's Press; 1965.

Detailed history of the Cold War from 1917 to 1965. The best historical presentation, non-Revisionist in nature.

Durham, Edith. *The Serajevo Crime.* London: Allen and Unwin; 1925.

Good summary by an English expert on the subject. The most complete works on the subject by M. Bogitschevlch have never been translated into English.

Eggleston, George T. *Roosevelt, Churchill and the World War II Opposition.* Devin-Adair; 1979.

A Revisionist autobiography by one of the few writers to oppose intervention in WWII. Fascinating parallels with the smearing of modern "Holocaust" Revisionists.

Ekirch Jr., A. A. *The Civilian and the Military.* Oxford University Press; 1956.

An able historical survey of the relations between the civilian population and the military establishment throughout American history. The concluding portion treats of the enormous recent growth of military power over our government and its political and economic policy.

Eich, Hermann. *The Unloved Germans*. Stein and Day; 1965.

A brilliant and restrained interpretation of Germany and of German ideals and political policies, especially during the National Socialist and post-War periods, by a leading German Journalist. Strongly anti-Hitler.

Engelbrecht, H. C. and Hanighen, Frank. *Merchants of Death*. Dodd, Mead; 1934.

Exposure of the propaganda and achievements of the armament industry in fomenting and exploiting war. Probably the best reflection of the implications of the Nye Committee investigation of the armament moguls.

Ennes, James M. *Assault on the Liberty*. Random House; 1979.

The best book written so far on the 1967 Israeli attack on the USS *Liberty*. Ennes was a crew member. First class research and true “survivor testimony.”

Epstein, Julius. *Operation Keelhaul*. Devin-Adair; 1973.

The very first book to expose the betrayal of thousands of anti-Communist Russians, sent to their deaths in the USSR by Churchill and Truman.

Ewart, J. S. *The Roots and Causes of the Wars.*, 2 Vols. Dora; 1925.

A comprehensive and decisively Revisionist work by a distinguished Canadian jurist. Is especially severe on British diplomats.

Fabre-Luce, Alfred. *The Limitations of Victory*. Knopf; 1926.

Most forthright of the substantial French Revisionist books on 1914. Decisively rejects the thesis of primary German responsibility for the first world war.

Farr, Finis. *FDR*. Arlington House; 1972.

A lively and scathingly critical biography, rivalling John T. Flynn’s classic *The Roosevelt Myth* as the book doing the best job on the war-President. Farr rather skims over Roosevelt’s specific role in anticipating Pearl Harbor, but extended treatment is given his general two-year plan to get an unwilling America into war. We see how the “indispensable man” in the White House relished his role as wartime leader (especially as it took his mind off all those boring domestic problems), and just how his famous “charm” worked (?) on good old Uncle Joe Stalin at the Big Three conferences. Farr sees FDR as perfecter of the role of king-President. a tradition developed by Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, and one which has left an awful legacy for today.

Faurisson, Robert. *The “Problem of the ‘Gas Chambers’” or “The Rumor of Auschwitz”*. Revisionist Press; 1979.

A translation and reprint, in brochure form, of Faurisson’s controversial series of articles in *Le Monde* of Dec.-Jan. 1978-1979. Centering his argument that the “Holocaust” never happened on the specific question of the existence or non-existence of “gas chambers,” Prof Faurisson completely demolishes the claims of such critics of Revisionism as Martin Broszat and Leon Poliakov. Indeed, he points out that Broszat (of the left-wing Institute for Contemporary History in Munich) had to admit in 1960 that

none of the camps in Germany proper were “extermination camps” or had gas chambers thus reducing to nothing the thousands of “testimonies” and “proofs” of alleged gassings at these places. Faurisson’s analysis of the camps in Poland including a minutely-detailed study of Auschwitz leads him to conclude that all of the claims regarding these camps are just as false. In a forthcoming book he will present his researches and conclusions in full.

Fay, S. B. *The Origins of the World War.*, 2 Vols. Macmillan; 1928.

(2nd edition in one volume, Macmillan, 1930) The standard scholarly treatise on the causes of, and responsibilities for, the first world war. The first volume covers the period from 1871 to 1914.

Fehrenbach, T. R. *FDR’s Undeclared War.* David McKay Co.; 1967.

This book marked something of a watershed in the approach to FDR’s foreign policy by his admirers. Fehrenbach lays it all out: the Rooseveltian attempts to create a war-provoking “incident” in the Atlantic in 1941, Roosevelt’s lying about the facts of the naval “incidents” after they backfired, his determination to get America into war somehow, and his recognition that the “back door” of the Pacific might be the way. No longer do any real scholars even the most vociferous pro-Roosevelt ones attempt to hide or gloss over the facts of FDR’s “undeclared war”; thus there has finally emerged a general acceptance of at least a part of the Revisionist view of the events of 1939-41, and the Rauch-Feis school of idolatory Roosevelt-defense is surely dead. Fehrenbach admires Roosevelt’s “initiative” and “foresight” in moving America toward what he thought of as an “inevitable conflict,” but he does express some concern over the resultant precedents set in the area of presidential prerogative.

Felderer, Ditlieb. *Anne Frank’s Diary — A Hoax.* IHR; 1980.

Provocative thesis by a Swedish Jehovah’s Witness. The author’s correspondence with Anne’s father is particularly enlightening. Many illustrations, including comparative examples of “Anne’s” handwriting.

Fish, Hamilton. *FDR: The Other Side of the Coin.* IHR; 1980.

(Paperback edition) Subtitled “How We Were Tricked into World War II,” this memoir-history by the venerable and vocal non-interventionist congressman (ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs committee during the war) runs through the entire litany of FDR’s “dirty tricks” in getting America into the war it did not want. Most of the research is drawn from other published sources, but as an introduction to these, and as an account of Fish’s own thoughts and experiences at the time, the book has value. It also has its faults: there is some (conscious or unconscious) plagiarization from John T. Flynn’s *The Roosevelt Myth*, and in his analysis of Winston Churchill Fish falls wide of the mark. This book was written before the pioneering Revisionist studies of the “holocaust” became known, so Fish may be forgiven his especial pride at having fallen for the “Jewish genocide” yarn even before the Roosevelt administration did.

FitzGibbon, Louis. *Katyn.* IHR; 1979.

FitzGibbon’s 1971 work *Katyn : A Crime Without Parallel* brought up to date. Describes the atrocity and the attempts made by the Anglo-Americans to cover up for the Soviets, right up to the present day.

Fleming, D. F. *The Cold War and Its Origins.* (2 vols.). Doubleday; 1961.

A monumental Revisionist history and analysis of the Cold War, but strongly anti-Revisionist on Germany and World War II.

Flynn, John T. *As We Go Marching*. Doubleday, Doran; 1944.

A courageous and well-reasoned book indicating the trends toward military state capitalism in the United States as a result of our intervention in foreign wars.

Flynn, John T. *The Decline of the American Republic*. Devin-Adair; 1955.

Supplements his earlier book by a brief historical treatment of the rise and fall of the republican tradition and system in the United States. Unfortunately, fails to stress the role of militarism and intervention in this process, the vital significance of which the author is so well aware.

Flynn, John T. *The Roosevelt Myth*. Devin-Adair; 1948.

1948 — a bad year for the FDR sanctifiers and historical flacks who were out to preserve in perpetuity the holy memory of America's great führer. For in that year appeared not only Charles A. Beard's monumental President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War 1941, but this striking biography, which the hagiographers have cringed at ever since. Surprisingly, this book actually managed to pierce somewhat the Historical Blackout, becoming a best-seller and going through 19 editions. In 1939, Roosevelt in a private letter to an influential editor had personally tried to get John T. Flynn "barred hereafter from the columns of any presentable daily paper, monthly magazine, or national quarterly." Such totalitarian tactics did not work, and Flynn survived the President to write as a journalistic veteran uniquely equipped to do so the story of Roosevelt as it had never been told before. The private character of the man is explored at length, as well as his political rise, the New Deal, the devious roads to war in the Atlantic and Pacific, and the sell-outs at the Big Three conferences.

Flynn, John T. *The Smear Terror*. Privately published; 1947.

In this lengthy pamphlet Flynn rips into and exposes the nefarious doings of the private Jewish and Liberal "gestapos" that terrorized American noninterventionists before and during the Second World War. The real aim of such groups as the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, the Friends of American Democracy, and, of course, the omnipresent Anti-(sic) Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, was not to expose "Fifth Columnists" and "Fascist saboteurs" (who were practically nonexistent), but to smear and defame responsible and respected critics of the FDR war-policy by falsely linking them to various rabble-rousing fringe groups. Particular attention is paid here to the case of "John Roy Carlson" (pseud. of Avedis Derounian), whose collection of lies titled Undercover: My Four Years in the Nazi Underworld of America, had a tremendous sale with the gullible wartime public. Flynn exposes the secret ADL backing of Derounian, and reviews each of those four court cases where Derounian was dismissed in judicial review as a liar and libeler.

Frey Jr., Richard Clark. **John T. Flynn and the** *United States in Crisis 1928-50*. University of Oregon; 1969.

An unpublished doctoral dissertation, currently being expanded for publication as a full-length biography. Covers all phases of Flynn's most productive years from his crusading liberalism (of the true variety that was virtually wiped out by FDR and the war), his early support, then renunciation, of the New Deal, his lonely and controversial years as the New Republic's only noninterventionist columnist, his involvement with

America First, the writing of his Revisionist studies of the war, to his critique of post-war America as a State-capitalist global monstrosity.

Fuller, J. F. C. *The Second World War*. Duell, Sloan and Pearce; 1949.

A leading military authority condemns the WWII Allied “dirty tricks.”

Garrett, Garet. *The American Story*. Regnery; 1955.

Veteran journalist summarizes in brilliant fashion the disastrous impact of interventionism and globaloney on the American Republic.

Gelfand, L. E. *The Inquiry: American Preparations for Peace, 1917-1919*. Yale University Press; 1963.

Masterly account of American preparations for the ill-fated Treaty of Versailles.

Glaser, Kurt. *Czecho-Slovakia: A Critical History*. Caxton; 1961.

A realistic account for a change of the synthetic state created out of the Austro-Hungary Empire after 1918, devoid of the romantic fiction about its founding Bohemian political &hemers. Prof. Glaser stresses the built-in weaknesses resulting from its nearly 50% non-Bohemian minorities, and the drastic consequences of the decisions which led to the confrontation with its German ethnics, the slide toward pro-Stalinist accommodation and the related policies which found it becoming the most docile Soviet puppet occupying the lands behind the Iron Curtain after 1948.

Goddard (editor), Arthur. *Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader*. Ralph Myles; 1968.

Barnes died just before this massive “festschrift” was published. This great tome represents a tribute to his encyclopedic scholarship by his students and colleagues, many of whom are outstanding revisionists in their own right today.

Göring, Hermann. *Göring's Last Letter: To Winston Churchill*. Sons of Liberty; 1976.

(Reprint of edition translated and originally published 1949 by Johann Shoeman.) The complete text of Göring's famous letter to Churchill, smuggled out of the Nuremberg jail days before he was scheduled to hang. In this remarkable and prophetic political document, Göring — in a mellow mood, resigned to his fate and satisfied that he did what he could at Nuremberg to rectify for posterity the true meaning of the Third Reich and its struggle for Europe against Bolshevism — tells Churchill that his “victory” over Germany will prove hollow indeed, as a “victory” over someone not a real foe is no victory at all but a defeat. This edition contains much extraneous material by the publisher.

Gollancz, Victor. *Our Threatened Values*. Regnery; 1946.

One of two books by a leftist British publicist, containing a mass of documentary material on Allied, especially British, conduct in Germany during and after the war which reflects seriously on the British pose of superior morality.

Gollancz, Victor. *In Darkest Germany*. Regnery; 1947.

One of two books by a leftist British publicist, containing a mass of documentary material on Allied, especially British, conduct in Germany during and after the war which reflects seriously on the British pose of superior morality.

Gollancz, Victor. *Shall Our Children Live or Die?* Gollancz; 1942.

The courageous British leftist publisher explains why he refuses to “hate” Germany and the Germans, and decries the “savage appeal to primitive blood lust and a base propaganda of hatred and revenge” which are the hallmarks of Vansittartism.

Grattan, C. H. *The Deadly Parallel*. Stackpole; 1939.

Astute prediction that the interventionist trends of 1914-1917 would be repeated after 1937 and that the United States would be involved in a second world war.

Grattan, C. H. *Why We Fought*. Vanguard; 1929.

The pioneer work for the general reader on the intervention of the United States in the first world war. Sound on all essential points.

Grenfell, Russell. *Unconditional Hatred*. Devin Adair; 1953.

One of the most courageous and absorbing books in the whole of Revisionist literature, by England's leading naval historian. Indicts and refutes the senseless hatred of Germany by the British, and realistically analyzes British responsibilities in both world wars, emphasizing the disastrous results. The book completely obliterates the fantastic literature of Germanophobia, such as Richard Brickner, *Is Germany Incurable?* F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Germany the Aggressor Throughout the Ages*; T. N. Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish*; Henry Morgenthau Jr., *Germany is Our Problem*; Louis Nizer, *What to Do With Germany*; Lord Robert Vansittart, *The Black Record and Lessons of My Life*; Paul Winkler, *The Thousand Year Conspiracy*; Knight Patterson, *Germany from Defeat to Conquest*; and Brian Connell, *A Watcher on the Rhine*.

Grieb, Conrad K. *Justice Like Charity Begins at Home*. Pioneer News Service; 1945.

A long open letter to President Truman, reprinted in pamphlet form. In the face of the proposed “war crimes” trials of German leaders, Grieb appeals for a justice based on the true (not the “official”) facts of the war's origins, especially the role played by America via Roosevelt and his roving ambassador William C. Bullitt in transforming a European border-crisis into a world war. Considering that only America's entry into the war made possible the devastation of Western Europe, Grieb wonders whether a true postwar “justice” would not involve bringing the bar America's own war criminals.

Grieb, Conrad K. *Uncovering The Forces For War*. Examiner Books; 1947.

Interprets as one of the main causes of this century's wars the influence over governments of the representatives of stateless, rootless International Finance.

Grieb, Conrad K. *American Manifest Destiny and The Holocausts*. P.O. Box 783, New York City, NY 10022: Examiner Books; 1979.

An interesting collection of documents regarding the “other Holocausts” when millions of non-Jews were exterminated by the forces of Zionism, Interventionism and Communism.

Griffin, G. Edward. *The Fearful Master: A Second Look at the United Nations*. Western Islands; 1964.

If there is one work that can counteract the universal effects of elaborate and expensive pro-UN propaganda, this is it. A dispassionate, fact-filled compendium of what this super-national organization has really been doing in the name of “peace and humanitarianism.” Should our children's civics and history texts be revised to incorporate this

shocking data, the one-world government, globalony syndrome would be dealt a severe and lasting blow. This is the definitive book on the real UN.

Grimm, Hans. *Answer of a German: An Open Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.* London: Euphenon Books; 1952.

Effective retort, with much valid material, to the British political and ecclesiastical moralizing on the crimes and inferiorities of the Germans. Grimm's brilliant study of Hitler and his policy, Warum, woher, aber, wohin? has not been translated into English.

Grimstad, William N. *The Six Million Reconsidered.* Noontide; 1979.

An American journalist examines the psyche behind the myth-manufacturing of the Holocaustees. Professionally illustrated and attractively presented.

Grondzins, Morton. *Americans Betrayed.* University of Chicago Press; 1949.

One of the first to condemn the internment of Japanese-Americans in West Coast concentration camps.

Gun, Nerin E. *The Day of the Americans.* Fleet; 1966.

Candid admissions — with photographs — of the murder of German guards at Dachau by the U.S. "liberators." Written by a Turkish inmate.

Hagood, Johnson. *We Can Defend America.* Doubleday; 1937.

Authoritative defense of the thesis that American security in the 1930's was compatible with neutrality, by another American general of the type which has all but disappeared from the contemporary scene.

Hale, O. J. *Germany and the Diplomatic Revolution.* University of Pennsylvania Press; 1931.

Competent and scholarly Revisionist book which clears Germany of the common charge of primary responsibility for the trend of European diplomacy toward war in the pre-1914 days.

Hallgren, Mauritz. *A Tragic Fallacy: A Study of America's War Policies.* Knopf; 1937.

Very able indictment of the interventionist policies of the United States from Wilson to Roosevelt. An extremely stimulating work reflecting the anti-war sentiment of the 1930s.

Hamilton, Alastair. *The Appeal of Fascism.* Macmillan; 1971.

A refreshingly objective country-by-country study of those European intellectuals and artists who, convinced of the decadence of modern society, found in one or another variety of fascism the saving creed of the West. Includes discussions of Croce, Gentile, Pirandello, Spengler, Junger, Heidegger, Cocteau, Céline, Drieu La Rochelle, Brailach, Yeats, Pound, Eliot, Mosley, Wyndham Lewis, Campbell, and even Shaw (who, though of course never a fascist, saw a lot of truth in the fascist critique of liberal-capitalist democracy). This book presents a convincing alternative for those who, after the assault of mass-media propaganda and pseudo-history, suppose that fascism was only a gutter-level movement of ignorance and blind reaction.

Hankey, Lord Maurice. *Politics: Trials and Errors.* Regnery; 1950.

Brief but effective critique of the whole war-crimes episode and policies by a distinguished English statesman and jurist.

Harris, Sir Arthur. *Bomber Offensive*. London: Collins; 1947.

The head of the British Air Force in the second world war confirms Mr Spaight's assertion of British initiative in bombing of civilians, and admits that Germany lost the "Battle of Britain" primarily because her original bombers, designed for tactical operations, were not armed to carry on this kind of air warfare. He asserts that the RAF could shoot them down as easily "as shooting cows in a pasture."

Hart, B. H. L. *The Revolution in Warfare*. London: Faber and Faber; 1946.

Leading English military writer deals with the introduction of strategic bombing as a barbarous innovation in military methods.

Hart, B. H. L. *The German Generals Talk*. Morrow; 1943.

Remarkable collection of statements of German military commanders after the second world war dealing with Nazi military strategy and political policy during wartime. Reveals Hitler's fundamental desire for friendship with Great Britain and proves that Nazi Germany constituted no direct threat to the security or prestige of that country.

Hart, B. H. L. *The War in Outline*. Random House; 1936.

Brilliant and informed indictment of military stupidity in the first world war.

Harwood, Richard. *Six Million Lost And Found*. Historical Review Press; 1974.

The original title was *Did Six Million Really Die?* but this had to be changed to get around a ban on the book in the Republic of South Africa. This short magazine-style publication has been responsible for converting untold thousands of people to the Revisionist cause, despite its several flaws. It has been translated into a dozen languages, and has had a circulation of over one million.

Harwood, Richard. *Nuremberg & Other War Crimes Trials: A New Look*. Historical Review Press; 1978.

Much better than his earlier work, Harwood here presents a detailed, well-researched, and above all accurate, description of these one-sided kangaroo courts. Much of the material is primary research, although he also draws on Butz and Colby.

Hastings, Max. *Bomber Command*. Dial; 1979.

An objective assessment of the strategic bombing offensive waged by the British against Germany 1939-45. Fully covers the controversy surrounding terror bombing against civilian targets.

Hayes, Paul M. Quisling. *David & Charles*; 1971.

A fair and objective account of a man whose name has been as unfairly used in the English language as "blitz."

Hecht, Ben. *Perfidy*. Julian Messner; 1961.

No one is more vitriolic about Zionism than this one-time ardent Zionist who saw the light. Deals extensively with wartime Zionist collaboration with the Nazis.

Helmreich, E. C. *The Diplomacy of the Balkan Wars*. Harvard University Press; 1938.

Detailed and reliable study of the Balkan situation prior to the first world war and of the diplomatic activities and intrigues which lay back of Austro-Russian friction and the outbreak of the war in 1914.

Hewins, Ralph. *Quisling: Prophet Without Honor.* W. H. Allen; 1965.

Revisionist study of Quisling, his operations and fate. Holds that if Norway had listened to Quisling and armed, it would never have surrendered to Germany.

Hilder, Anthony J. *The War Lords of Washington.* Box 333, Fullerton, CA 92632: Educator Publications.

A 50-page transcript of an interview with Colonel Curtis Dall, FDR's son-in-law, about Roosevelt's chicanery over Pearl Harbor.

Fest, Joachim. *Hitler.* Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; 1974.

No writer has yet attempted, nor would any major publisher dare bring out, a full-scale revisionist biography of Adolf Hitler. It will clearly be some time before we see the realization of the philosopher Francis Parker Yockey's prediction (in *Imperium*) that readers of the year 2050 will see Hitler in a quite different light than did contemporaries. This book, while certainly not "revisionist" in the usual sense of the term, and whose author would doubtless not appreciate that designation, nevertheless throws significant new light on Hitler and, by approaching the subject rather more objectively than has been common, accomplish to a degree the rescue of history from the Liberals who certainly deride the "simplistic" use by others of a "devil theory" to explain things, but who eagerly apply it themselves in the case of Hitler. Fest states at the outset in his massive study that had Hitler died in 1939, he would be widely admired as one of the greatest political leaders and statesmen in all history. He also provides perhaps the best description yet of Hitler's dream of a New Europe; somehow — if one is knowledgeable enough to discount the lurid atrocity-mongering — it does not sound so bad! It should be noted that this book accepts and repeat to some degree the standard atrocity fairy-tales, but read with a critical eye they can indeed be illuminating, and can provoke some thoughts that we are not supposed to think.

Maser, Werner. *Hitler: Legend, Myth, and Reality.* Harper & Row; 1975.

No writer has yet attempted, nor would any major publisher dare bring out, a full-scale revisionist biography of Adolf Hitler. It will clearly be some time before we see the realization of the philosopher Francis Parker Yockey's prediction (in *Imperium*) that readers of the year 2050 will see Hitler in a quite different light than did contemporaries. This book, while certainly not "revisionist" in the usual sense of the term, and whose author would doubtless not appreciate that designation, nevertheless throws significant new light on Hitler and, by approaching the subject rather more objectively than has been common, accomplish to a degree the rescue of history from the Liberals who certainly deride the "simplistic" use by others of a "devil theory" to explain things, but who eagerly apply it themselves in the case of Hitler. Maser's biography provides a myth-shattering look at Hitler the human being, and stresses his late-in-life medical condition (and his fears about it) as a significant factor influencing his time-table for the destruction of Soviet Communism and the reordering of Eastern Europe. It should be noted that this book accepts and repeat to some degree the standard atrocity fairy-tales, but read with a critical eye they can indeed be illuminating, and can provoke some thoughts that we are not supposed to think.

Maser, Werner. *Hitler's Letters and Notes.* Harper & Row; 1975.

No writer has yet attempted, nor would any major publisher dare bring out, a full-scale revisionist biography of Adolf Hitler. It will clearly be some time before we see the realization of the philosopher Francis Parker Yockey's prediction (in *Imperium*) that readers of the year 2050 will see Hitler in a quite different light than did contemporaries.

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Stone, Norman. *Hitler*. Little Brown & Co.; 1980.

No writer has yet attempted, nor would any major publisher dare bring out, a full-scale revisionist biography of Adolf Hitler. It will clearly be some time before we see the realization of the philosopher Francis Parker Yockey’s prediction (in *Imperium*) that readers of the year 2050 will see Hitler in a quite different light than did contemporaries. This book, while certainly not “revisionist” in the usual sense of the term, and whose author would doubtless not appreciate that designation, nevertheless throws significant new light on Hitler and, by approaching the subject rather more objectively than has been common, accomplish to a degree the rescue of history from the Liberals who certainly deride the “simplistic” use by others of a “devil theory” to explain things, but who eagerly apply it themselves in the case of Hitler. Stone’s analytical study provides the most balanced account of Hitler to date. He even considers David Irving’s claim (which most historians shy away from) that Hitler did not order and knew nothing of any “extermination” program. It should be noted that this book accepts and repeat to some degree the standard atrocity fairy-tales, but read with a critical eye they can indeed be illuminating, and can provoke some thoughts that we are not supposed to think.

Hitti, P. K. *The Arabs: A Short History*. Regnery; 1956.

A very readable summary of the history of the Arabs by one of the world’s foremost authorities in this field.

Hoehling, A. A. *The Week Before Pearl Harbor*. W. W. Norton; 1963.

Brief Revisionist presentation of the failure to warn the Pearl Harbor commanders of an imminent Japanese attack. Fairly adequate for mistakes of the Navy at Washington but whitewashed the Army and General Marshall.

Hoggan, David L. *The Myth of the New History*. Craig Press; 1965.

The American author of the monumental *Der Erzwungene Krieg* (The Imposed War) on the origins of World War II, here presents an overview of nationalist and Revisionist schools of thought on different periods of international crisis throughout American history. Included are valuable discussions of (and study-guides for) World Wars I and II and the Cold War. Interestingly, Hoggan is critical of the idealistic and relativistic “New History” movement founded early in this century by Charles Beard, J. H. Robinson, and Hoggan’s own mentor, Harry Elmer Barnes.

Horne, Alistair. *Return to Power: A Report on the New Germany*. Praeger; 1956.

The most useful and readable book in English on post-war recovery in Western Germany. A good anticipation and implicit refutation of such examples of neo-Vansittar-

tism as Brian Connell's, *A Watcher on the Rhine*.

Huddleston, Sisley. *France: The Tragic Years, 1939-1947*. Devin-Adair; 1955.

The most competent description of wartime France by an eyewitness. An honest and restrained account of the nature, policy and problems of the Vichy Government. The only available account of the horrors of the "Liberation" period when the Communists, encouraged by the Allies, ran wild. Over 100,000 Frenchmen were murdered, judicially or otherwise, in an era which, for savagery, dwarfed the Reign of Terror of the French Revolution or the Communard Movement of 1870-71.

Huddleston, Sisley. *In My Time*. Dutton; 1933.

Reminiscences and observations of the man who was, perhaps, the ablest journalist dealing with international relations between the two world wars. While valuable for personal data, its greatest merit lies in its brilliant critique of the "Geneva system," the League of Nations, and Eden's diplomacy, which he correctly regards as a leading cause of the second world war.

Huddleston, Sisley. *Pétain Patriot or Traitor?*. London: Dakers; 1951.

A revisionist study, including an interview, with France's wartime leader.

Huddleston, Sisley. *Popular Diplomacy and War*. West Ridge, New Hampshire: R. R., Smith; 1954.

Forceful and convincing indictment of the "open diplomacy," dominated by the mob mind, sensational journalism, and excessively publicized international conferences, since it was introduced at Paris by Woodrow Wilson in 1919. Stresses the menace to peace provided by "goldfish bowl" diplomacy conducted by travel maniacs. A book of fundamental and permanent importance.

Hughes, Emrys. *Winston Churchill: British Bulldog*. Exposition Press; 1955.

Very readable and informing account of the public life of Winston Churchill, with special reference to his activities during the second world war and its aftermath. A substantial critical appraisal by a member of the House of Commons who has given special attention to international affairs.

Hunt, Frazier. *The Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur*. Devin-Adair; 1954.

Absorbing biography dealing with the later phases of MacArthur's military career. Stresses his handicaps and superb achievements in the second world war and the Korean War, and his able services in the post-war administration of Japan. Highly critical of his treatment by the Truman Administration.

Hutchison, E. H. *Violent Truce*. Devin-Adair; 1956.

Candid presentation of the Arab-Israeli tensions in the Middle East by a naval officer who served as head of the Israeli-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission.

Huxley-Blythe, Peter. *The East Came West*. Caxton Printers; 1964.

The first major book to expose the horrors of the Allies' forced repatriation of the more than one million anti-communist Russians and Slavs back into certain death or slavery at the hands of Stalin's NKVD. Deals mainly with the cases of the Cossack.

Hyde, Montgomery. *Room 3603*. Farrar and Straus; 1964.

An authoritative account of the operations of the British fifth column in the United States before Pearl Harbor under the direction of Sir William Stephenson, the “Quiet Canadian.”

Ingram, Kenneth. *History of the Cold War.* New York: Philosophical Library; 1955.

The first competent history and analysis of the development of the Cold War which has amply borne out Orwell’s prediction as to the general system of politics and economics into which the world is moving.

Irving, David. *The Destruction of Dresden.* William Kimber; 1963.

Accurate and thorough account of the chief Allied bombing atrocity in Europe. Perhaps the most beautiful city in Europe, it had no military significance. As many lost their lives as at Hiroshima and Nagasaki combined.

Irving, David. *The War Path.* Viking; 1978.

Using only primary research data, Irving portrays a picture of Hitler in the years 1933-39 which is much at variance from the monster the “court historians” make him out to be.

Irving, David. *Hitler’s War.* Viking; 1977.

Using his expert knowledge of German, and a unique facility with primary data, the author states, inter alia, that Hitler never knew about any “extermination program.” However, he does not attempt to refute the allegation that the program existed.

Izzeddin, Nelja. *The Arab World.* Regnery; 1954.

Able book by an Arab publicist describing the Arab nations in the Near East, their aspirations and policies.

Jaksh, Wenzel. *Europe’s Road to Potsdam.* Praeger; 1963.

(First published in Germany, 1958). A lengthy and rueful commentary on the state of political affairs which led to half of Europe ending within the Stalinist orbit, by a chastened Sudeten German Social Democrat. The latter chapters dealing with the World War II era are especially useful.

Japanese American Citizens’ League. *Iva Toguri d’Aquino: Victim of a Legend.* JACL; 1975.

A booklet produced in conjunction with the campaign of the National Committee for Iva Toguri to obtain a presidential pardon (eventually granted) for Miss Toguri better known as “Tokyo Rose. ” Contains the full story of her postwar frame-up (even after she had been cleared by Army and Justice Dept. investigations), the sensational press campaign against her, and her 30-year fight for vindication.

Jarausch, Konrad. T *he Enigmatic Chancellor: Bethmann Hollweg and the Hubris of Imperial Germany.* Yale University Press; 1973.

The product of a truly massive research-effort combing every source, this sympathetic and definitive biography of Germany’s First World War Chancellor (1909-17) conclusively refutes the portrayal of him in Fritz Fischer’s *Griff Nach der Weltmacht* as a dyed-in-the-wool “annexationist” following in an alleged tradition of “continuity” in German expansionist aims. In reality there was less “continuity” than continued tension between the aggressive Pan-German minority and the moderate, responsible statesmen. As one of the latter, it was Bethmann Hollweg’s fate to be caught between

the two poles of opinion at the time when external pressure on Germany from the three encircling hostile powers caused the tension to build to a boiling point. In the process of refuting the “black” picture of Bethmann painted by Fischer, this book also forces a serious questioning of Fischer’s methodology and his general thesis as to German war aims in the First World War. (For more on the “Fritz Fischer controversy,” see below: Gerhard Ritter, *The Sword and the Sceptre*.)

Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. *Jehovah’s Witnesses in the Divine Purpose*. Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society; 1959.

A book of mainly sectarian interest and somewhat innocent and over-simplified historical interpretation, but containing most revealing documented chapters on the treatment of this neutralist minority faith in World War II all over the world. The mobbing, maiming and even lynching of these people, the jailings without recourse to habeas corpus, and the forced labor and ferocious treatment for refusal to respond to conscription and other wartime patriotic pressures, effectively dispose of the tiresome bromide of American liberal supporters of the war that the excesses of the first world war were absent in the second.

Johnson, H. S. *Hellbent for War*. Bobbs-Merrill; 1941.

Brief and vigorous summation of anti-interventionist doctrine and policies, and a sharp critique of the interventionist group.

Johnson, Niel M. *George Sylvester Viereck*. University of Illinois Press; 1972.

A biography of the famous German-American publicist poet, novelist, and historian. Although not at all an uncritical portrait, the common picture of Viereck as just a “German agent” is here considerably revised, and he is seen to have been genuinely concerned, as an American citizen who also loved his old land, for American neutrality and for the development of good relations with Germany in a world at peace.

Johnson, Walter. *The Battle Against Isolation*. University of Chicago Press; 1944.

While vigorously interventionist, the author naively provides the most complete survey of the machinations of the interventionists in their determined effort to involve the United States in the conflict. Incidentally and quite unintentionally it presents the best case in print for the activities of “America First” during this period.

Jucker, Ninetta. *Curfew in Paris*. London: Hogarth Press; 1960.

An interesting memoir by an Englishwoman who spent the entire time of World War II in or around Paris. Though understandably far from pro-German, her observations range far beyond carping at the enemy and are unusually free of mindless idealization of the “Allies,” representing that part of the social system not involved in the “resistance” underground, this latter undeniably a fraction of one percent of the residents of France. There is much gossip and rumor in her account, an important part of a book of this kind as these are obvious factors in the making of political views and opinions. Her shock at the Allied bombing of French cities, a topic few know anything about, is a novelty in wartime accounts of this kind, as well as her discussion of the veritable “industry” which prevailed in France devoted to the smuggling out of moneyed Jews and others seeking escape from the German occupiers. Her sharp letter to Duff Cooper of September, 1944, which is an appendix to the book, summarizes her irritation and unhappiness with the fiasco of the propaganda war waged from Britain insofar as it affected the French.

Kaps (editor), Johannes. *The Martyrdom of Silesian Priests 1945-46.* Munich: Christ Unterwegs; 1951.

An important documentary trilogy detailing the unspeakable horrors inflicted upon the Silesian and other Eastern German peoples by the conquering Red hordes.

Kaps (editor), Johannes. *The Tragedy of Silesia 1946-46.* Munich: Christ Unterwegs; 1952.

An important documentary trilogy detailing the unspeakable horrors inflicted upon the Silesian and other Eastern German peoples by the conquering Red hordes. This volume is a massive general account, including an overview of what happened, a brief survey of Silesian history through 1945, and 500 pages of eyewitness reports and documents describing the expulsions, mass murders, desecrations of churches, and the general orgy of rape, mutilation, torture, and looting that made of the Eastern German lands a hell on earth in 1945-46.

Kaps (editor), Johannes. *The Martyrdom and Heroism of the Women of East Germany 1945-46.* Munich: Christ Unterwegs; 1955.

An important documentary trilogy detailing the unspeakable horrors inflicted upon the Silesian and other Eastern German peoples by the conquering Red hordes.

Keeling, Ralph Franklin. *Gruesome Harvest: The Costly Attempt to Exterminate the People of Germany.* Institute of American Economics; 1947.

One of the earliest and best books dealing with the general post-war treatment of conquered Germany. The Morgenthau proposals, the mass-expulsions, the deliberate famine, the prostration of German capital and industry, the fallacies of denazification and reeducation, the amputations of centuries-old German territories, the enslavement of German labor, the infiltration of Communist and Left-wing elements into positions of power in the East and West!, the cynical designs of the the Kremlin and the West's astounding naivete and trust all these are explored and combined with a broad Revisionist treatment of the matters of German "war guilt" and "collective guilt." This thoroughly researched, movingly written book has become a classic. Hundreds of painstaking reference notes provide an excellent guide to primary and periodical sources of the day.

Kennedy, Thomas C. *Charles A. Beard and American Foreign Policy.* University Presses of Florida; 1975.

A comprehensive, scholarly account of the development of Beard's views on America-in-the-world, which culminated in his advocacy of a non-entanglement policy coupled with internal liberal ("old liberal") reform, and his courageous exposure of the lies and duplicity that got us into World War II.

Kerr, George. *Formosa Betrayed.* Houghton Mifflin; 1965.

Critical treatment of handing over Formosa to Chiang Kai-shek and vigorous exposure of Madame Chiang Kai-shek and the missionary lobby.

Kessler, Leo. *The Iron Fist.* Futura; 1977.

This paperback from the supermarket racks is remarkably accurate and candid about the torture of the Waffen SS defendants in the Malmedy trial of 1946.

Keynes, J. M. *Economic Consequences of the Peace.* Harcourt, Brace; 1920.

Able, influential and authoritative indictment of the economic fallacies in the Versailles Treaty, and forceful argument for the rectification of these mistakes.

Keynes, J. M. *A Revision of the Treaty*. Harcourt, Brace; 1922.

Able, influential and authoritative indictment of the economic fallacies in the Versailles Treaty, and forceful argument for the rectification of these mistakes.

Kimball, Warren F. *Swords or Plowshares? The Morgenthau Plan for Defeated Nazi Germany 1943-1946*. Lippincott; 1976.

The most comprehensive scholarly account of the Morgenthau Plan. Kimball concentrates on the genesis of the plan and the cabinet-politics within the Roosevelt administration between the pro-Morgenthauists (including FDR himself) and those against the plan (including Secretary of State Hull). The last half of the book is a selection of 40 key American and British documents relating to Allied visions of post-war Germany.

Kimmel, H. E. *Admiral Kimmel's Story*. Regnery; 1955.

Full proof by the Pearl Harbor naval commander that Washington deliberately withheld from the Hawaiian authorities the information which would have prevented the Japanese attack. Also an excellent account of the details of the "Day of Infamy."

Klein, B. J. *Germany's Economic Preparation for War*. Harvard University Press; 1969.

Definitive exposure of the myth that the National Socialist economy in Germany was primarily devoted to armament and war. Shows that Britain and France devoted more of their industrial output to these purposes.

Knappen, Marshall. *And Call It Peace*. University of Chicago Press; 1949.

Restrained but effective critique of post-war Allied policy in Europe, especially in Germany, which underlines the gap between wartime propaganda and promises and the post-war achievements.

Knieriem, August von. *The Nuremberg Trials*. Regnery; 1959.

A massive and detailed critical study of the NMT series of 12 trials run by the Americans under Allied Control Council Law No. 10, 1946-49. (These are not to be confused with the more famous "International Military Tribunal" or IMT trial of top Nazi leaders in 1945-46.) Von Knieriem was long-time General Counsel of the I.G. Farben Corp., and found himself in the dock during the Farben trial accused of "war crimes." (He was acquitted.) He examines the many disturbing problems of procedure, jurisdiction, punishability, substantive law, and international law raised by the trials and reviews individual cases in depth. He demonstrates exactly how and why the particular charge of "aggressive war" brought against the German Industrialists collapsed ignominiously, and pays tribute to the judges for their courage in rejecting this claim of the prosecutors. But he laments that all too often the popular historical view of these trials has paid more attention to the sensational prosecution charges than to the final judgments of the tribunal.

Knightly, Phillip. *The First Casualty*. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich; 1975.

A British journalist examines the role of the war correspondent from Crimea to Viet Nam; as a hero, propagandist, and Myth Maker. A much expanded version of Ponsoby, and this time written from a leftist-liberal viewpoint.

Koestler, Arthur. *The Thirteenth Tribe*. Random House; 1976.

A prominent Jewish author shows how the Jews' origins are in Kazakhstan, not Palestine.

Krasnov Jr., N. N. *The Hidden Russia*. Holt, Reinhart & Winston; 1960.

The repatriation of the Russian PoWs to the Soviets, as told by one of the victims. Subtitle is "My Ten Years as a Slave Laborer." Excellent answer to the "Holocaust survivor" frauds which accumulate every year.

Kubek, Anthony. *How the Far East Was Lost*. Regnery; 1963.

Comprehensive and informing account of the Communist takeover in China and the Far East from a resolutely conservative point of view.

Lane, A. B. *I Saw Poland Betrayed*. Bobbs-Merrill; 1948.

An able, first-hand case-study of perhaps the most flagrant of the wartime and post-war betrayals.

Langsam, W. C. *The World Since 1914*. Macmillan; 1933.

A readable, comprehensive survey of the post-war world, based on moderate Revisionist assumptions and implications.

Lansing, Robert. *War Memoirs*. Bobbs-Merrill; 1935.

Rather frank admission of the unneutral conduct of American diplomacy from 1915 to 1917 by the American Secretary of State.

Lasswell, H. D. *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. Knopf; 1927.

Exposé of WWI Allied propaganda tricks.

Lavine, Harold and Wechsler, James. *War Propaganda and the United States*. Yale University Press; 1940.

Good summary of the propaganda efforts and agencies that pressed for American entry into the war.

Leasor, James. *The Uninvited Envoy*. I. McGraw-Hill; 1962.

Able account by an English author of the flight of Rudolph Hess to England in May, 1941, and its aftermath, including the scandalous treatment of Hess at Nuremberg and his brutal imprisonment since that time.

Lee (editor), Dwight E. *The Outbreak of the First World War: Who Was Responsible?*. revised edition. D. C. Heath; 1963.

Sidney Fay, George Peabody Gooch, Harry Elmer Barnes, Max Montgelas, and Erich Brandenburg provide concise summaries of the Revisionist position in this "Problems in European Civilization" anthology. Also included, besides contrasting statements of the orthodox view, is the partial text of the agreement between French and German historians meeting in 1951, in which it was affirmed that no one nation could be saddled with the responsibility for the war.

Lenczowski, George. *The Middle East in World Affairs*. Cornell University Press; 1957.

Comprehensive, highly factual, and reasonably objective survey of Middle Eastern problems since the outbreak of the first world war.

Lewis (editor), William Roger. *The Origins of the Second World War: A. J. P. Taylor and His Critics.* John Wiley & Sons; 1972.

Good introduction to the controversy caused by Taylor with the publication of his *Origins* ... in 1961. An anthology of the major reviews, good and bad, as well as Taylor's replies.

Lewis, Wyndham. *Left Wings Over Europe.* Jonathan Cape; 1936.

Sub-titled "How to Make a War about Nothing," this bitingly irreverent polemic against the anti-fascist "Popular Front" mentality and its stodgy Establishment supporters caused a stir in intellectual circles with its enthusiastic defense of Hitler and National Socialist Germany. Lewis, one of the country's greatest prose stylists, was virtually forced to leave England at the outbreak of war as a result of the "heretical" views expressed in this and other works.

Lilienthal, Alfred M. *The Other Side of the Coin.* Devin-Adair; 1965.

Frank discussion of the Near East, Israel, and American Zionism by a well-informed Jewish critic of Zionism, with a broad plan for the solution of the Arab-Jewish problem.

Lilienthal, Alfred M. *What Price Israel?.* Regnery; 1953.

A courageous and restrained account by a non-Zionist Jew of the impact of Zionism and the creation of the Jewish state in Palestine on both the United States and the Middle East.

Lilienthal, Alfred M. *There Goes the Middle East.* Devin-Adair; 1957.

Brings his earlier book up to date, including the Suez War and its immediate aftermath. An indispensable book.

Lilienthal, Alfred M. *The Zionist Connection.* Dodd, Mead; 1979.

This 872-page block-buster is the most comprehensive book ever on the extraordinary control of the Zionist lobby over American affairs. The author a Jew himself even examines the way the Zionists use the "Holocaust" to intimidate all who oppose them. Excellent.

Littlejohn, David. *The Patriotic Traitors.* Doubleday; 1972.

This book obliterates the myth of a near-universal resistance to and hatred of Hitler and his aims among the peoples of occupied Europe. Also it debunks the notion that most of those who "collaborated" were part of a tiny minority of cynics out only for personal gain. Country-by-country studies of those European patriots who, either through right-wing "nationalist" or "European Unity" sentiment, joined with Germany in the struggle against Bolshevism. Littlejohn concludes that if Hitler had treated his many friends as well as he had treated his enemies badly, he might have won the war.

Lohbeck, Don. *Patrick J. Hurley.* Regnery; 1957.

Interesting biography of a colorful public character. Contains much valuable information critical of the Roosevelt-Truman-Acheson policy in the Far East.

Lord, Walter. *The Day of Infamy.* Holt; 1957.

Detailed and absorbing account of the attack on Pearl Harbor, from the departure of the Japanese task force from the Kurile Islands to the destructive bombing of the American

fleet. While the author does not draw the logical conclusions from his data, their implications constitute a tremendous indictment of President Roosevelt and the army and navy officials in Washington, whose deliberate refusal to warn Short and Kimmel at Pearl Harbor was responsible for any “ineptitude” in the latter place on “the Day of Infamy.”

Lukacs, John. *The Last European War 1939-1941.* Anchor Press/Doubleday; 1976.

The title of this massive and provocative Revisionist tome refers not to the latest, but to the last, “European War.” Far more important than that Prof. Lukacs brings a lot of buried and ignored truths to light and blasts many historical lies and stupidities, is the brilliant, even moving, tone in and purpose for which he writes. An intense feeling of “the search” for the real meaning of the European fratricide in its historical, political, philosophical, and cultural perspective pervades this work, which is something of an elaboration on themes presented in Lukacs’ earlier *Passing of the Modern Age*. Highly recommended, not just for understanding the true meaning of the second world war, but for understanding the 20th century itself.

Lutz, Hermann. *Franco-German Unity.* Regnery; 1957.

Important and very authoritative book stressing the relation of the war-guilt lie lodged against Germany and her Allies in 1918-1919, and the Treaty of Versailles to European trends between the two world wars and to the outbreak of the second world war.

Lutz, Hermann. *Lord Grey and the World War.* Knopf; 1928.

The definitive book on English responsibility for the outbreak of war in 1914.

Manly, Chesly. *UN Record: Ten Fateful Years for America.* Regnery; 1955.

Exposé of the anti-American policies of UNO.

Martin, James J. *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941.* (2 vols.). Devin-Adair; 1964.

A monumental account of the transformation of American liberalism from support of peace and neutrality to intervention and war in the 1930’s. The most impressive product of World War II Revisionism.

Martin, James J. *Revisionist Viewpoints.* Ralph Myles; 1971.

A libertarian professor — who studied under Barnes — debunks many of the WWII notions of the “court historians” in this collection of essays. He examines war crimes trials, saturation bombing, wartime propaganda techniques, and Fascist economics. Excellent.

Martin, James J. *The Saga of Hog Island; And Other Essays in Inconvenient History.* Ralph Myles; 1977.

An iconoclastic collection of Revisionist studies covering various topics, including the Framing of Tokyo Rose, Pearl Harbor, the Morgenthau Plan. Witty and irreverent. A must for any Revisionist library.

Maser, Werner. *Nuremberg: A Nation on Trial.* Scribner’s; 1979.

This was a bestseller in its German, 1977 edition, which obviously shows that at long last the German citizenry are beginning to wake up and question the Allied brainwashing programs. This book is one of the best researched, and most critical, texts on the

kangaroo court. Ten years of research — much of it with unpublished material — have paid off. Excellent.

Mayer, Milton. *They Thought They Were Free: the Germans, 1933-1945.* University of Chicago Press; 1955.

Courageous and convincing book which demonstrates that Germans during the National Socialist era were not all demented and enthusiastic slaves of a brutal totalitarianism.

Mears, Helen. *Mirror for Americans: Japan.* Houghton Mifflin; 1948.

Probably the best Revisionist book dealing with the mistakes of American policy in our relations with Japan both before and after the second world war.

Melosi, Martin V. *The Shadow of Pearl Harbor.* Texas A&M University Press; 1977.

Explores the political controversy, 1941-1946, caused by the Pearl Harbor attack and subsequent cover-up. The full story of the investigations, the missed chances for the Republicans to make it a campaign issue in 1944, and the bitter divisions in Congress between Administration defenders and critics.

Menuhin, Moshe. *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time.* Institute for Palestine Studies; 1969.

The father of the famous violinist vigorously attacks Zionism as being anti-Judaism. A postscript, Quo Vadis Zionist Israel? is incorporated in later editions, but was previously published separately.

Michon, Georges. *The Franco-Russian Alliance, 1891-1917.* Macmillan; 1929.

Able and decisively revisionist French study of the alliance which was the primary factor in producing the first world war.

Miksche, F. O. *Unconditional Surrender.* London: Faber and Faber; 1952.

Proves with abundant historical evidence that the “Unconditional Surrender” slogan adopted at Casablanca in January 1943 was the most calamitous decision in recent history, not only in the way of prolonging the second world war for more than a year but also in making a third world war much more likely.

Mills, C. W. *The Power Elite.* Oxford University Press; 1956.

Reveals the triumph of military state capitalism in the United States. By all means the ablest work on the transformation of American society as a result of the developments during the war and post-war years.

Millis, Walter. *Viewed Without Alarm: Europe Today.* Houghton Mifflin; 1937.

Brief but candid description and interpretation of the main political and economic trends in Europe in the mid-1930's. Sympathetic with the revision of Versailles by Hitler. Reflects the era of good-feeling between Britain and the Nazis.

Millis, Walter. *Road to War.* Houghton Mifflin; 1935.

Extremely popular work, and a very effective attack on the Wilsonian diplomacy which led us into the war. The most widely read of all Revisionist books dealing with the first world war.

Miner, Richard. *Victors' Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial.* Princeton University Press; 1971.

A critical look at the Far East version of Nuremberg the international trial of 28 top Japanese leaders (including Tojo Hidecki) for war crimes and crimes against peace. The 55-count indictment rested primarily on the theory that since 1928 this "criminal, militaristic clique" had dominated Japan and carried out a conspiracy to "secure the domination and exploitation by the aggressive states of the rest of the world ..." Miner views this theory as simple-minded and ridiculous in the extreme, a product of postwar victors' mentality, and he succeeds in his frankly stated task of demolishing the credibility of the trial and its verdict. Besides considering the problems of international law and legal process, Miner reviews the history of the period under consideration and arrives at Revisionist conclusions. In particular he rejects the notion that the tripartite Axis Alliance was some kind of fantastic, well-laid and unified scheme to conquer the world.

Mitchell, Jonathan. *Goose Steps to Peace.* Little, Brown; 1931.

Brilliant indictment of the failure of the victors and the League to revise the treaties after the war, restore justice, and assure peace. Debunks the "war to end war" myth.

Mock, J. R. and Larson, Cedric. *Words that Won the War.* Princeton University Press; 1939.

Allied WWI propaganda techniques.

Moellering, R. L. *Modern War and the American Churches: A Factual Study of the Christian Conscience on Trial from 1939 to the Cold War Crisis of Today.* 489 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.: American Press; 1957.

A courageous, lucid and realistic book which does for the second world war and its aftermath what R. H. Abrams did for the first world war in his *Preachers Present Arms*. Debunks the alibi that the second world war was morally a "different war" from any preceding conflict.

Montgelas, Count Maximilian. *British Foreign Policy under Sir Edward Grey.* Knopf; 1928.

Briefer work than Lutz and a sharper indictment of Grey.

Montgelas, Count Maximilian. *The Case for the Central Powers.* Knopf; 1925.

The most authoritative German book in English on the crisis of 1914. The latest and most complete German work on the outbreak of the first world war, Alfred von Wegerer, *Der Ausbruch des Weltkrieges*, 1914, Hamburg, 1939, has not been translated into English. It is the definitive book on the subject in any language.

Morgan, Sir Frederick. *Peace and War.* Hodder and Stoughton; 1961.

Interesting reminiscences of a British general on World War II and Allied occupation, with an invaluable exposure of the favoritism and scandals in the administration of U.N.R.R.A.

Morgenstern, George. *Pearl Harbor.* Devin-Adair; 1947.

The first substantial revisionist book on the entry of the United States into the second world war. Deals with both the diplomatic background and the final efforts to maneuver the Japanese into making the attack. Stresses the vigorous Japanese peace efforts and the criminal failure of the Washington authorities to warn the Hawaiian command-

ders. A veritable tour de force which has been confirmed on every important point by subsequent publication and documentation.

Moulton, H. G. *The Reparation Plan*. McGraw-Hill; 1924.

The calamity of the Versailles Treaty's reparations clauses.

Muhlen, Norbert. *The Return of Germany*. Regnery; 1953.

Describes the rebuilding of the German economy, despite extreme Allied looking policies.

Muralt, Leonard von. *From Versailles to Potsdam*. Regnery; 1948.

Brilliant brief summary of trends and events which made the second world war an inevitable heritage of the Versailles "settlement. ".

Murphy, Robert. *Diplomat Among Warriors*. Greenwood.

Recounts how German PoWs were tortured by the peaceloving American liberators.

Neilson, Francis. *Hate the Enemy of Peace: A Reply to Lord Vansittart*. n.p.; 1944.

Another castigation of the stupidity and immorality as well as historical inaccuracy of the Vansittart propaganda policy.

Neilson, Francis. *The Churchill Legend*. C. C. Nelson, Co.; 1954.

Details the role of Winston Churchill in recent English and world history, with special reference to his relation to the two world wars. Neilson was long a resident in England, served for a time in the English House of Commons, and knew Churchill and his associates intimately. Effectively deflates the "Churchill Myth."

Neilson, Francis. *The Tragedy of Europe*., 5 Vols. C. C. Nelson Co.; 1940-46.

A reminiscent, day-by-day diary of the period of the second world war. It is a vast storehouse of information gained from a lifetime of observation and reflection.

Neilson, Francis. *How Diplomats Make War*. Huebsch; 1916.

A British Member of Parliament traces the factors which lead to warfare.

Neilson, Francis. *The Makers of War*. Appleton, Wisconsin: C. C. Nelson Co.; 1950.

Readable and realistic analysis of the forces and personalities that have produced two world wars, by a veteran observer who had a special knowledge of the English situation and politicians.

Neumann, W. L. *The Genesis of Pearl Harbor*. Pacifist Research Bureau; 1945.

Traces Japanese-American relations in the period preceding Pearl Harbor: the Roosevelt administration's belligerencies and provocations, the policy of "maneuvering the Japanese into the position of firing the first shot," etc. This pamphlet itself was the genesis of this distinguished scholar's classic *America Encounters Japan*.

Neumann, W. L. *America Encounters Japan*. Johns Hopkins Press; 1963.

Best general Revisionist survey of American relations with Japan from Perry to MacArthur.

Neumann, W. L. *Making the Peace*. Regnery; 1948.

Brief but informing account of the major wartime and postwar allied conferences. Actually reveals how peace was lost.

Newman, Simon. *March 1939: The British Guarantee to Poland*. Oxford University Press; 1976.

An excellent addition to the Revisionist literature of “appeasement,” this is the definitive study of the processes leading up to the fateful guarantee that only “guaranteed” another European war. The author concludes that a genuine appeasement was never really tried the British were always committed to maintaining the status quo and the traditional policy of not allowing any one Power to attain a predominant position on the continent. He demonstrates that the British leaders knew their guarantee would almost certainly lead to war, but preferred this course to a possible independent settlement between Germany and Poland over the Danzig and corridor questions. In particular Newman confirms the work of David Hoggan (whose massive and definitive study of the origins of the war, *Der Erzwungene Krieg*, has not yet been published in English) in pinpointing the role of Lord Halifax as war-instigator, and in recognizing that Hitler’s ideal goal was an alliance with Britain. Newman bravely commits academic heresy by declaring that the Revisionist arguments of Hoggan, Peter Nicoll (Britain’s Blunder), and Kurt Glasser (*Der Zweite Weltkrieg und die Kriegsschuldfrage: die Hoggan Kontroverse*) deserve more consideration than they have been given.

Nicoll, Peter H. *Britain’s Blunder*. Communications Archives; 1973.

(First published 1946) A brilliant examination by a courageous Scottish clergyman of the causes, conduct, and consequences of the second world war. Nicoll begins by bluntly stating that the British declaration of war on Germany of 3 September 1939 was the worst blunder in her history a blunder compounded by her later failure to consider Hitler’s peace offers, and whose apotheosis was reached in the simultaneous Red over-running of half of Europe and disintegration of the British Empire.

Nuseibeh, H. K. *The Ideas of Arab Nationalism*. Cornell University Press; 1957.

Competent, well-informed summary and analysis of the nature and impact of Arab nationalism in its historical and sociological setting.

Orton, W. A. *Twenty Years’ Armistice*. Farrar and Rinehart; 1938.

Very readable survey and commentary validating the thesis that the inter-war period was more truly an armistice than an era of peaceful adjustment.

Orwell, George. *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Harcourt, Brace; 1949.

The classic forecast of the now prevalent system of linking political tenure and economic prosperity to cold and phony war. Should be supplemented by more complete material in Richard Rovere, *The Orwell Reader*, Harcourt, Brace, 1956.

Paget, Lord Reginald. *Manstein*. Collins; 1951.

Manstein’s defense counsel gives the background to this, one of the most absurd, “war crimes” trials.

Pal, Justice Radhabinod. *International Military Tribunal for the Far East: Dissident Judgment*. Calcutta, India: Sanyal; 1953.

The published version, condensed from its original 1,900-page length, of Justice Pal's brilliant dissenting opinion on the verdict of the Tokyo war crimes tribunal of which he was a member. He rips to shreds the list of charges against the accused, and in his moral outrage against the conduct and the very fact of the trial even states that the whole farcical trial and hanging of the Japanese was itself "a war crime of peculiar gravity."

Pearson, Anthony. *Conspiracy of Silence*. Quartet; 1978.

A Penthouse writer describes the Israeli strafing of the USS Liberty in 1967, and the subsequent cover-up. Fairly detailed, although some of the peripheral material is rather tenuous.

Peterson, H. C. *Propaganda for War*. University of Oklahoma Press; 1939.

Another analysis of WWI propaganda methods.

Peterson, H. C. and Fite, Gilbert C. *Opponents of War 1917-1918*. University of Wisconsin Press; 1957.

The classic study of "the American reign of terror" when the Wilson administration, the mass media, and assorted vigilante groups pulled out all stops in making sure Americans had the "correct" attitude toward the war. Details the persecutions (sometimes involving lynchings and mob violence) of socialists, pacifists, aliens, Americans of German descent, the I.W.W., and all those who were not deemed 110% patriotic. Also explores the role of America's first propaganda minister, George Creel, and his "Committee on Public Information," which took the lead in censoring unwanted opinions.

Pirey, Philippe de. *Operation Waste*. London: Arco Publications; 1954.

Realistic and critical account of the Indo-Chinese War by a French commando parachutist.

Ponsonby, Arthur. *Falsehood In Wartime*. IHR; 1980.

Completely debunks the Allied WWI propaganda, such as the "Belgian baby with no hands" and the "corpses turned into soap" (which was later re-cycled during WWII). New IHR reprint of this 1928 Dutton volume.

Powell, Col. E. Alexander. *Thunder Over Europe*. Macmillan; 1931.

One of two lucid accounts of the troubled European scene, the first about Central Europe, the second largely about Germany, by an experienced English observer, world traveler and author of some 30 books. Col. Powell's emphasis is upon the destructiveness of the Versailles system in preventing any real peace to follow the 1918 armistice, while describing the revolutionary brewing in the region between the Rhine and the Vistula. These are two remarkably balanced narratives, and like his fellow English correspondent, Sisley Huddleston, Col. Powell was aware that another war was clearly in sight unless some extended reforms took place to rectify the gravely unfair settlements of World War I.

Powell, Col. E. Alexander. *The Long Roll on the Rhine*. Macmillan; 1934.

One of two lucid accounts of the troubled European scene, the first about Central Europe, the second largely about Germany, by an experienced English observer, world traveler and author of some 30 books. Col. Powell's emphasis is upon the destructiveness of the Versailles system in preventing any real peace to follow the 1918 armistice,

while describing the revolutionary brewing in the region between the Rhine and the Vistula. These are two remarkably balanced narratives, and like his fellow English correspondent, Sisley Huddleston, Col. Powell was aware that another war was clearly in sight unless some extended reforms took place to rectify the gravely unfair settlements of World War I.

Pribram, A. F. *Austria-Hungary and Great Britain, 1908-1914*. Oxford University Press; 1951.

A defense of Austrian policy before the first world war which stresses the harmony in Anglo-Austrian relations once the Bosnian crisis had passed. Helps to explain why Berchtold did not expect England to intervene in 1914.

Puleston, W. D. *The Influence of Force in Foreign Relations*. Van Nostrand; 1955.

Able exposition by an American naval authority of the thesis that it is disastrous to limit military action by political commitments, to pretend peaceful intentions while inadequately and dishonestly preparing for war, and to wage war competently without reckoning with the probable political results of the warfare, even if victorious in a military sense. A very realistic book which questions the statecraft and military strategy of both Roosevelt and Churchill.

Radosh, Ronald. *Prophets on the Right*. Simon and Schuster; 1975.

A "New Left" Revisionist historian presents favorable profiles of five leading Revisionist and anti-interventionist thinkers usually associated with the Right-wing: Charles A. Beard, Oswald Garrison Villard, Robert A. Taft, John T. Flynn, and Lawrence Dennis. The author recognizes that in many ways the old distinctions between "Left" and "Right" in foreign policy thinking were and are false and misleading ones fostered by the interventionist, global-crusading liberals and conservatives alike who have no use for a pro-American, neutralist foreign policy.

Ramsay, Archibald H. M. *The Nameless War*. Britons; 1946.

(Reprinted 1977.) British naval Captain and M.P., who was unjustly imprisoned during the second world war (along with Oswald Mosley and many others who opposed the senseless European fratricide), reviews the history in Britain and in Europe of Germanophobic war-mongering especially among a certain "influential segment" of the population. Ramsay who knew Neville Chamberlain well, but couldn't dissuade him from the war-posture the "hawks" had forced him into justifies Hitler's goal of a Revision of Versailles, and laments that Britain and the West did not mind their own business and allow Germany to fulfill her historic role of defending European Culture against the East.

Rassinier, Paul. *The Drama of the European Jews*. Steppingstones; 1975.

A French socialist schoolteacher who was interned at Buchenwald tells of his search for witnesses to "gassings" and his negative results.

Rassinier, Paul. *The Real Eichmann Trial*. IHR; 1979.

An analysis of the background of the Nuremberg Trials of 1945-46, the Eichmann Trial of 1960, and the "Auschwitz" Trial at Frankfurt of 1960-61. This book is a translation and revision of *Le Veritable Procès Eichmann* (The Real Eichmann Trial) and *Procès d'Auschwitz* (The Auschwitz Trial).

Rassinier, Paul. *Debunking the Genocide Myth*. IHR; 1978.

A translation from the French of three of Rassinier's pioneering books. Contains *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* (The Lie of Ulysses) 5th edition which in turn contains *La Passage de la Ligne* (The Crossing of the Line) and *Le Drame des Juifs Européens* (The Drama of the European Jews). Despite a rather eccentric writing style, Rassinier's work remains essential to any study of Holocaust Revisionism on account of his first-hand experiences at Buchenwald.

Read, J. M. *Atrocity Propaganda, 1914-1919*. Yale University Press; 1941.

Probably the best exposé of WWI "Black propaganda." Nobody has owned up yet to similar "dirty tricks" during WWII.

Reed, Douglas. *The Controversy of Zion*. Dolphin Press; 1978.

Although Reed here spends a good deal of time on the roots and development of political Zionism, he feels it necessary to a real understanding of the causes of World War II and other armed conflicts. His analysis of the "behind the scenes" manipulations of key interventionists is incisive, proving this ex-London Times correspondent to be a courageous, truth-seeking and amazing fact-gathering observer of world events. Some of the more Revisionist chapters deal with Churchill, Balfour, Pearl Harbor the Israel enigma and the machinations of the "kept press."

Reel, A. F. *The Case of General Yamashita*. University of Chicago Press; 1949.

Courageous and informing book by an able American lawyer dealing with the trial and execution of the Japanese military commander, under the authority of General MacArthur.

Regnery, Henry. *Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher*. Harcourt Brace; 1979.

The autobiography of the man responsible for publishing some of the seminal books of World War II revisionism. For years the Regnery Co. shared with the Devin-Adair Co. the lonely distinction of being courageous enough to defy the totalitarian liberals and print Revisionist books. In these memoirs Regnery describes some of the trials, tribulations, and satisfactions of his company's attempt to bring some of the truth about recent history to Americans, in spite of the blackout-efforts of the "free press."

Reiners, Ludwig. *The Lights Went Out in Europe*. Pantheon Books; 1956.

Very readable Revisionist book on the background and course of the first world war. Especially good for its treatment of the personalities involved.

Renouvin, Pierre. *The Immediate Origins of the War*. Yale University Press; 1928.

Most scholarly French work on the subject. His Revisionism is restrained but he does refute the Versailles condemnation of Germany and her Allies as solely responsible for the first world war.

Richardson, Dorsey. *Will They Pay?* Lippincott; 1933.

The best book on the manner in which the Allies reneged on their war debts to the United States.

Ritter, Gerhard. *The German Problem*. Ohio State University Press; 1965.

A restrained, objective analysis of the "problem," which has been the grounds for so much tragedy in this century, of Germany's internal and external position vis-a-vis the rest of Europe Ritter effectively counters the Germanophobia of those wartime and

postwar writers who would like to trace a straight line from Satan to Arminius to Luther to Hitler in order to prove an historic German chauvinism and barbarism. But in so doing he also frankly explores the very real isolation and “contrast between (Germany) and western Europe in the manner of political thinking and political institutions” that has existed since the Reformation. In particular he describes the newly-unified Germany’s efforts to play catchup ball with the other powers during the European period of expansion and imperialism, the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He examines as few of the Germanophobes have been willing to do the German question in its European context, and finds in 20th century German totalitarianism and expansionism the fruition not of characteristically German, but of wide and unsettling European political and social trends. These factors, combined with Germany’s isolation in other matters, and especially her geographic position so susceptible to encirclement, created earth-shaking events and have left us a complex historical problem which no mere placing of “guilt” on the German nation alone can hope to answer.

Ritter, Gerhard. *The Sword and the Sceptre.*, Vol. II: “The European Powers and the Wilhelminian Empire 1890-1914,” and Vol. III: “The Tragedy of Statesmanship: Bethmann Hollweg as War Chancellor 1914-1917.” . University of Miami Press; 1970 and 1972.

In these two middle volumes of his monumental four-volume, 1800-page study of the problem of militarism in German history, Professor Ritterdean of postwar German historians demolishes the controversial Fritz Fischer thesis of German responsibility for and war-aims in the first world war. Although Ritter’s study was conceived before Fischer published his neo-Germanophobic *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (1961, translated as *Germany’s Aims in the First World War*, Norton, 1967), these two volumes were written afterward, and provide the most massive and scholarly refutation of Fischer that has been made (and there have been many). Ritter himself no uncritical viewer of Wilhelmine Germany points out the numerous and serious factual, methodological, and interpretive errors in Fischer’s book and notes that Fischer almost entirely ignores the role of the other European powers in the 1914 crisis and their war preparation and aims an indispensable consideration if one is to make pronouncements on the question of “war responsibility,” as Fischer does. Ritter’s entire work stands as a contemporary classic not only as an overwhelming reply to a polemical work of pseudo-history, but in its own right as the definitive analysis of German militarism and statecraft in the Second Reich. (Translated by Heinz Norden.).

Roberts, Stephen. *The House that Hitler Built.* Harper; 1939.

Able work by an Australian professor which, along with Henri Lichtenberger’s *The Third Reich*, Greystone Press, 1947 constitute the earliest objective works on the Nazi regime.

Robertson (editor), E. M. *The Origins of the Second World War: Historical Interpretations.* Macmillan; 1971.

This anthology includes chapters on and by A. J. P. Taylor and his critics, a comprehensive historiographical essay, a review of recent German interpretations of the Third Reich, and essays by Alan Bullock, D. C. Watt, T. W. Mason, H. W. Koch (“Second Thoughts on the Status of Some of the Documents”), and Robert Ferrell (“Pearl Harbor and the Revisionists”).

Robinson, H. M. *Fantastic Interimi.* Harcourt, Brace; 1943.

Very readable account of the return to “normalcy” in the United States after the war.

Rogerson, Sidney. *Propaganda in the Next War.* Geoffrey Bles: London; 1938.

After a review of the British propaganda which involved the United States in the first world war, Rogerson, a British intelligence officer, argued that these same tactics would not work a second time. He then proceeded to detail the manner in which the United States could be brought into a war against Germany through the back door by successfully promoting a Japanese-American conflict. A cynical but astute and almost uncannily prophetic book. Could have been written a decade later as a summary of what actually happened.

Rooney, Andy and Hutton, Bud. *Conqueror's Peace*. Doubleday; 1947.

Vivid journalistic account by two "Stars and Stripes" reporters of the manner in which the Allies, after battling against and destroying the Nazi concentration camps, almost turned Germany into one vast concentration camp.

Rossi, A. *The Russo-German Alliance, 1939-1941*. Beacon Press; 1951.

Brief but useful summary of the Russo-German diplomacy that led to agreement in 1939 and to war in 1941. Stresses Russian self-interest in the 1939 pact, but exaggerates Russian desire for peace in 1941.

Roth, Heinz. *Why Are We Being Lied To?*. Refo-Druck Verlag; 1975.

A German publisher looks at the questions of war-guilt and the alleged "genocide" of the Jews, in an effort to get at the truth behind media lies. Instead of original research, the reliance is mainly on other European Revisionists' findings most of which have not been translated into English, thus making this booklet especially valuable as an introduction to their research for American readers.

Rothfels, Hans. *German Opposition to Hitler*. Regnery; 1948.

Brief but incisive and authoritative demonstration that the Germans were not united to a man behind Hitler. Stresses the folly of the British and French in not cooperating with the opposition element in Germany to avert the second world war. Reveals the idiotic character of the Casablanca unconditional surrender declaration of January, 1943, which prolonged the war for a year or more and led to immense and unnecessary loss of life and property.

Rumpf, Hans. *The Bombing of Germany*. Holt, Reinhart and Winston; 1963.

Accurate and authoritative account of the chief Allied military atrocities in World War II, which the British began on May 11, 1940, despite Hitler's proposal to ban bombing of civilians.

Russett, Bruce M. *No Clear and Present Danger: A Skeptical View of the U.S. Entry into World War II*. Harper Torchbooks; 1972.

Yale political scientist takes a second look at his own long-standing "orthodox" interpretation of the second world war, and concludes that American involvement was neither necessary nor justifiable, and in fact set a dangerous precedent for the further U.S. global "crusades" with which we are all familiar.

Salomon, Ernst von. *Fragebogen*. Doubleday and Co.; 1955.

Somewhat cynical but highly illuminating and informing memoirs of a prominent German intellectual from the end of the first world war until the revival of German prosperity under the Bonn Republic. Especially valuable for impressions of the Nazi regime before and during the second world war and of the American occupation. Criti-

cal of both the Nazis and the Americans. Favors a government of the elite, but holds that the Nazis did not qualify for this.

Sanborn, F. R. *Design for War*. Devin-Adair; 1951.

One of the best books on American entry into the second world war. Is especially to be commended for its demonstration that Roosevelt moved toward war primarily to retain tenure of office.

Sargent, Porter. *Getting U.S. into War*. Boston: Sargent; 1941.

A vast mass of cogent and authoritative material on the interventionist tactics and activities which involved the United States in the second world war. Ill-organized and poorly arranged, but a gold mine of information for the patient student.

Scheider (editor), Theodor. *The Expulsion of the German Population from the Territories East of the Oder-Neisse Line*. Bonn: Federal Ministry for Expellees; 1957.

The West German government's description of the expulsions.

Schilling, Baron. *How the War Began*. London; 1925.

Invaluable source for Russian developments in the days before the outbreak of war, which was precipitated by the Russian general mobilization.

Schofield, William G. *Treason Trail*. Rand McNally; 1964.

The most important part of this otherwise vapid account of the American WWII "radio traitors" trials is the photographs. Every one of the defendants was a physical wreck after their ordeal.

Schoonmaker, Edwin D. *Our Genial Enemy*. France: Long and Smith; 1932.

Amiable but devastating rebuttal of the "Lafayette We Are Here" attitude and the myth of unique French friendship for the United States.

Schoonmaker, Edwin D. *Democracy And World Dominion*. Richard Smith; 1939.

Blasts a hole in the sanctimonious attitudes of the "democracies." A book designed to keep America out of war. Where did it fail?

Schroeder, Paul W. *The Axis Alliance and Japanese-American Relations 1941*. Cornell University Press; 1958.

Although superficially hostile to Pearl Harbor revisionism and the general "back door to war" theory of American intervention, this study does present a thoroughly Revisionist view of the events leading to war in the Pacific. The author believes that American policy toward Japan from July to December 1941 was a grave mistake, making inevitable a war that was in fact unnecessary and avoidable. He cites the unreasonable and unalterable American demands — especially regarding Japan's presence in China — as examples of America's tendency to place its lofty and dogmatic version of what is "morally right" ahead of the actual good a policy will do for those on whose behalf "morality" is invoked, in this case the Chinese. In the end, American policy did not help the Chinese, and it provoked Japan into attacking Pearl Harbor, an attack resorted to "only when she had her back to the wall as a result of America's diplomatic and economic offensive." Schroeder demolishes the myth that the Axis Alliance was a grand scheme to conquer the world for "fascism." In actuality, Japan was always uncomfort-

able with the pact, and — like her co-signers — was in it mainly for reasons of immediate national self-interest.

Schuman, F. L. *Night Over Europe*. Knopf; 1941.

Vigorous defense of Russia's role in the era of Nazi-Soviet understanding and the outbreak of war in 1939 and 1941.

Schuman, F. L. *Europe on the Eve*. Knopf; 1939.

Valuable for its emphasis on the pro-Nazi sympathies of leading English public figures. The book itself is intensely anti-Nazi and more mildly pro-Russian.

Schweitzer, Arthur. *Big Business in the Third Reich*. Indiana University Press; 1964.

Extended debunking of the theory that the Germany economy under National Socialism was harnessed to autocracy and armament production. It was actually a roughly Keynesian set-up.

Selzer, Michael. *Deliverance Day; The Last Hours at Dachau*. Lippincott; 1978.

Candid admissions of the murder of German guards by U.S. "liberators."

Shiroyama, Saburo. *War Criminal*. Kodansha; 1977.

The life and death of Hirota Koki, the only Japanese civilian to be hanged by the Americans for "war crimes."

Sibley, Mulford Q. [and others]. *Conscription of Conscience*. Cornell University Press; 1952.

A scholarly investigation of the problem of the war objector in the United States during World War Two, with the emphasis on those persons with religious and related reservations and convictions. A generally much neglected phase of the social history of the era.

Skidelsky, Robert. *Oswald Mosley*. Holt, Rinehart & Winston; 1975.

A massive biography of the British political leader who, as a young man shaken by his experience in the Great War and determined to fight for a newer and better world, rose to heights as a promising Labour M.P., then turned to British Fascism as the solution to the country's socio-economic and political ills, and after the second war crusaded for a "United States of Europe." Although Skidelsky by no means offers an uncritical portrait, he revises considerably the standard "dark" interpretation of Mosley (characterized by otherwise restrained historians suddenly relapsing into the "omigod" syndrome whenever considering him), and indeed regards him as perhaps Britain's great "lost leader" of this century. Mosley's ideas — including those of his Fascist period — are seen not to have been given the objective consideration they deserve.

Smith, Bradley F. *Reaching Judgment at Nuremberg*. Basic; 1977.

Puts forward mild criticism of the trials.

Smith, R. Harris. *O.S.S.* University of California Press; 1972.

Smith reveals the clandestine operations of this fore-runner of the CIA, both during WWII in Europe, and afterward in Indo-China. Shows how John Birch was killed aiding Mao Tse Tung, not fighting against.

Snell (editor), John L. *The Outbreak of the Second World War: Design or Blunder?*. D.C. Heath; 1962.

A volume in the “Problems of European Civilization” series this anthology brings together orthodox, Revisionist, and Soviet interpretations of the origins of the 1939 war. Includes selections from A. J. P. Taylor, Charles C. Tansill, H. R. Trevor-Roper, Adolf Hitler, and the official Nuremberg Judgment. Valuable bibliographical essay at the end.

Snow, John Howland. *The Case of Tyler Kent*. Domestic and Foreign Affairs; 1946.

Informative and sympathetic treatment of the Tyler Kent affair. Kent, a code clerk in the U.S. embassy in London in 1939-40, spent five years in a British prison for making copies of the secret communications between Roosevelt and then-First Admiralty Lord Churchill (who was thus bypassing his own head of State) communications designed to figure out a way to get America into the war. Kent aimed at exposing to the U.S. Congress and people this “secret diplomacy,” but his imprisonment and the iron clamp of British and American censorship kept him quiet.

Ophuls, Marcel. *The Sorrow and the Pity*. Outerbridge & Lazard (distributed by E. P. Dutton Co.); 1972.

Introduction by Stanley Hoffman. A complete transcript, with photos and appendix material of the controversial French documentary film of 1969 by Marcel Ophuls. The film sets out to explode the “Myth of the French Resistance.” This “myth” is not that the Resistance was not a heroic and powerful force — the film’s bias is extremely pro-Resistance — but that it was surely the representative of “all France” and that the great masses of Frenchmen rallied to its banner and worked with it or believed in it. The film shows just how much of France did collaborate, even enthusiastically, with Vichy and the Germans, or at least accepted them complacently. Though it amounts essentially to an anti-collaborationist epic and an extended smear of the Vichy regime, this study is valuable for its presentation of the realities and extent of collaboration.

Spaight, J. M. *Bombing Vindicated*. London: Geoffrey Bles; 1944.

The Principal Secretary of the British Air Ministry in the second world war reveals that the British had decided to bomb civilians in the next world war as early as 1936, and put this policy into operation on 11 May 1940, despite Hitler’s proposal that bombing be limited strictly to military objectives.

Sontag, R. J. *European Diplomatic History, 1871-1932*. Century; 1933.

A mildly Revisionist work, and the most readable general diplomatic history of the background of the first world war.

Stieve, Friedrich. *Isvolsky and the World War*. Knopf; 1926.

Shows how Isvolsky and the French war group, led by President Poincaré, brought on the first world war. Based on Russian documents released by the Bolsheviks.

Stenehjem, Michele F. *An American First: John T. Flynn and the America First Committee*. Arlington House; 1976.

A sympathetic study of Flynn’s leading role, as chairman of the New York chapter of America First, in the battle against intervention. The focus here on the northeastern regional section of the Committee provides an important corrective to previous studies which tended to see America First as primarily a “midwest isolationist” phenomenon. This book well supplements the Eggleston, Colby, and Martin accounts of how decent noninterventionists were hounded and smeared and blacked out by an Estab-

lishment promoting a war for “freedom of speech” and “democracy.” At the end, Stenehjem suggests history’s vindication of the America First position, and also notes the tragic precedent established of a congress and a people abdicating the warpower to a strong Executive.

Stoddard, T. L. *Europe and Your Money*. Macmillan; 1932.

How America’s allies in Europe reneged on their loan repayments.

Stone, I. F. *The Hidden History of the Korean War*. Monthly Review Press; 1952.

The first important Leftwing Revisionist book since the 1930s. While the author’s ideological bias must always be kept in mind, the book supplies abundant material embarrassing to President Truman and Secretary Acheson which they failed to disclose to either Congress or the American public.

Summers, Robert E. *Wartime Censorship of Press and Radio*. H. W. Wilson; 1942.

Very frank description for war-time readers of the philosophy and necessity of censorship. Early WWII examples from radio, movies, the press, and government show how censorship extended beyond purely military and strategic matters into the very realms of “correct” political thought. Makes for extremely interesting reading, considering the “free speech” for which we were supposedly fighting.

Swain, J. W. *Beginning the Twentieth Century*. Norton; 1933.

Wider coverage than diplomatic history, but the chapters on diplomacy are the best Revisionist summary of the underlying diplomatic causes of the first world war.

Szaz, Z. M. *Germany’s Eastern Frontier*. Regnery; 1961.

Best presentation in manageable length of the facts about the expulsion of the Germans from their historic eastern homelands after World War II, the worst political atrocity of the Allies during which upwards of four million expellees lost their lives through starvation, disease, exposure, and massacre.

Tansill, C. C. *America Goes to War*. Little, Brown; 1939.

The unrivalled scholarly account of the entry of the United States into the first world war. Even superior to the work of Fay on the European situation.

Tansill, C. C. *Back Door to War*. Regnery; 1951.

A book of great scholarship and learning which devotes most of the sections dealing with the United States to demonstrating how Roosevelt turned to war with Japan after vainly seeking to intervene directly in Europe. One of the most important Revisionist books so far published on the great “war to end all wars “.

Taylor, A. J. P. *The Origins of the Second World War*. Fawcett; 1978.

The only Revisionist account of the causes and onset of World War II in the English language. A brilliant and reliable work. Unfortunately, Taylor falls for the “Holocaust” myth without questioning.

Taylor, A. J. P. *The Second World War: An Illustrated History*. Putnam’s; 1975.

This is one of the more scholarly and worthwhile volumes in the recent spate of “illustrated history” books. The introductory chapter is valuable for its discussion of the origins of the war Taylor demonstrates again that Hitler had no desire for a general Euro-

pean conflict in 1939 or ever, had no designs on the West, and made no plans for such a war (though he was willing to risk it in his program of revising Versailles and gaining lebensraum in the East). The rest of the book is valuable in a different way: it shows just how conformist the “non-conformist” Taylor can be when approaching the war-as-a-whole. He accepts the “Holocaust” hoax outright, even to the point of blithely repeating some of the more ridiculous claims. And, despite the shady, blundering-quality of its origins, and its disastrous results for the Western Culture, he calls the war “just.” Must reading for those who, having read *The Origins of the Second World War*, wish to understand the limits of Taylor’s Revisionism.

Ten Broek, Jacobus; Barnhart, Edward, and Matson, Floyd. *Prejudice, War and the Constitution*. University of California Press; 1954.

Deals with the evacuation of the Japanese from the Pacific Coast following Pearl Harbor, largely at the insistence of Henry L. Stimson. A serious blot on the record of a country which was about to engage in a battle against Nazi tactics and behavior.

Taracouzio, T. A. *War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy*. Macmillan; 1940.

A detailed, well-informed and dispassionate treatment of Soviet diplomacy which provides a good background for understanding the 1939 agreement.

Theobald, R. A. *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor*. Devin-Adair; 1954.

Best book on the days immediately preceding Pearl Harbor. Shows that the Washington authorities had ample fore-knowledge of the time and place of the Japanese attack, and that the failure to warn General Short and Admiral Kimmel was due to Roosevelt’s order that no warning should be sent, lest their preparations for defense might frighten off the Japanese from making the attack. Theobald also shows that Pearl Harbor was denied a decoding (“Purple”) machine lest the Pearl Harbor commanders might independently decode Japanese messages and take steps to ward off the attack.

Thomson, G. M. *The Twelve Days*. Putnam; 1964.

Most modern Revisionist book on the causes and outbreak of World War I. Very readable and reveals Winston Churchill as the main warmonger in 1914.

Thompson, H. K. *Dönitz at Nuremberg*. Amber; 1976.

A collection of critical commentaries on Nuremberg by leading Western military men and politicians.

Tittman, A. O. *The Planned Famine*. Sons of Liberty; 1976.

(Reprint of 1947 edition.) One of two impassioned contemporary attacks by this author on the brutality and insanity of the Allies’ postwar “Morgenthau Plan” (officially endorsed by Roosevelt and Churchill) for the systematic starvation of millions of German men, women, and children. Despite official disclaimers after the revolting details of the plan became public knowledge, many of its provisions were in fact being enacted under JCS Directive 1067. This policy of starvation industry-wrecking, and general economic debilitation designed ultimately to reduce Germany to a depopulated “pasture” was abandoned only with the onset of the Cold War and the realization that perhaps live Germans would be more useful to the “democracies” than dead ones.

Tittman, A. O. *Incredible Infamy*. Sons of Liberty; 1976.

(Reprint of 1947 edition.) One of two impassioned contemporary attacks by this author on the brutality and insanity of the Allies’ postwar “Morgenthau Plan” (officially en-

dorsed by Roosevelt and Churchill) for the systematic starvation of millions of German men, women, and children. Despite official disclaimers after the revolting details of the plan became public knowledge, many of its provisions were in fact being enacted under JCS Directive 1067. This policy of starvation industry-wrecking, and general economic debilitation designed ultimately to reduce Germany to a depopulated “pasture” was abandoned only with the onset of the Cold War and the realization that perhaps live Germans would be more useful to the “democracies” than dead ones.

Tobias, Fritz. *The Reichstag Fire*. Putnam; 1964.

An exhaustively researched study of the startling incident of January, 1933 which world Communist and affiliated propaganda succeeded in blaming on the Hitler regime at the time. The author, a political opponent of the Nazis, has demonstrated conclusively that the latter were correct in charging the Communists with the commission of this famous act of arson.

Togo, Shigenori. *The Cause of Japan*. Simon and Schuster; 1956.

The Japanese Foreign Minister at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack presents the case for Japan, seeking to demonstrate that Japanese policy was based on a desire for peace and that Japan was forced into war for self-preservation. His case would have been greatly strengthened if he had been able to use all of the documents available to the best American writers on the subject. Incidentally, he reveals the fact that the Japanese government sought peace by early spring of 1945 and that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was entirely unnecessary to bring a quick victory for the Allies.

Tolstoy, Nikolai. *The Secret Betrayal*. Charles Scribner; 1978.

A descendant of the famous novelist tells the horrific story of the forced repatriation of Russian PoWs and their families.

Trefousse, H. L. *Germany and American Neutrality, 1939-1941*. Bookman Associates; 1951.

While strongly pro-Roosevelt, this book is the most complete summary of Roosevelt's determined but futile efforts to provoke the Germans to make war on the United States because of our unneutral acts, especially in regard to convoying.

Turner, J. K. *Shall It Be Again?*. Huebsch; 1922.

Emphasizes the fallacies in the Wilsonian war propaganda, stresses economic factors in our intervention, and reveals that Wilson ultimately accepted the same interpretation of the war for which he imprisoned Eugene Debs.

Turnwald (editor), W. K. *Documents on the Expulsion of the Sudeten Germans*. Munich: University Press; 1953.

Extensive source material on the Czech brutalities and massacres during the expulsion of the Germans from the Sudeten area. Shows that the unfortunate episode of Lidice was reproduced many times by the Czechs themselves in their treatment of German expellees, who often turned even to the Russians for protection from the Czechs.

Utley, Freda. *The High Cost of Vengeance*. Regnery; 1949.

Excellent, readable, well documented account of the cruelties, and of the disasters, to victors and vanquished alike, which resulted from the application of the slightly modified Stalin-White-Morgenthau Plan to conquered Germany after 1945.

Van der Vlugt, Ebed. *Asia Aflame*. Devin-Adair; 1955.

Vivid and informative book showing the results of the ill-advised Roosevelt plan for destroying the military and naval power of Japan, the only country which could and would have checked Communist penetration and domination of the Far East;.

Vary, Colin. *The Victims*. P.O. Box 926, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Self-published; 1979.

An Australian photographer shows how easy it is to fake photographs, and illustrates with some WWII examples.

Veale, F. J. P. *Advance to Barbarism*. IHR; 1979.

The best general book on the Nuremberg Trials. It not only reveals the illegality, fundamental immorality, and hypocrisy of these trials but also shows how they are bound to make any future world wars (or any important wars) far more brutal and more destructive to life and property. A very readable and impressive volume and a major contribution to any rational peace movement.

Veale, F. J. P. *Crimes Discreetly Veiled*. IHR; 1979.

Interesting collection of Allied war crimes, with special emphasis on the Russian murder of thousands of Polish officers and nobles in the Katyn Forest.

Viereck, George S. *Men Into Beasts*. Fawcett; 1952.

The second of two volumes of Viereck's autobiography. In this, he recalls his efforts to keep America out of war, and the ridiculous Sedition Trial of 1944-45, in which prosecutor O. John Rogge (the American "Vyshinsky") attempted to implicate him and others as "agents" in a "Nazi World Conspiracy."

Viereck, George S. *Spreading Germs of Hate*. Liveright; 1930.

WWI black propaganda.

Villari, Luigi. *Italian Foreign Policy under Mussolini*. Devin-Adair; 1956.

Able first-hand presentation of the Italian case by the dean of Italian diplomatic historians. An authoritative and indispensable book.

Villari, Luigi. *The Liberation of Italy*. C.C. Nelson Co.; 1959.

Authoritative account by leading Italian historian and diplomat of the fall of the fascist state in Italy and the massacres carried out by the Communist underground.

Walendy, Udo. *Forged Atrocities Malign The German Nation*. Vlotho, Germany: Udo Walendy; 1979.

An interesting collection of WWII "atrocities" photographs, which the author seeks to prove are faked. Some examples more convincing than others.

Walendy, Udo. *The Methods of Re-education*. Verlag fur Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung; 1979.

The post-war period brought the Germans the blessings not only of "Victors' Justice" (Nuremberg), but of "Victors' Truth" (denazification and re-education). Indeed, this re-education is still going on and not just for the Germans' benefit. In this illustrated 40-page brochure, a distinguished German Revisionist looks critically at democratic-liberal-communist style "re-education," particularly as it pertains to the "Holocaust" and "war-guilt" lies. An interesting section recounts the author's frustrations in trying to

find the originals of supposedly incriminating SS-documents: copies abound, but the “originals” are “not available !”.

Waller (editor), George M. *Pearl Harbor: Roosevelt and the Coming of the War.*, revised edition. D.C. Heath; 1965.

An anthology in the “Problems in American Civilization” series. Selections from the Revisionist works of Beard, Tansill, Theobald, Chamberlin and Kimmel share space with the court history of Feis, Rauch, Morison, and Wohlstetter. Paul W. Schroeder offers an anti-Revisionist “Appraisal” at the end, but the Introduction by Waller is a model of scholarly fairness and objectivity.

Waller (editor), Willard. *War in the Twentieth Century.* Random House; 1939.

An able and authoritative symposium which treats of the social and cultural impact of war and states the logical lessons taught by the first world war and its aftermath. It was the impressive but ineffective “swan song” of the interwar Revisionism.

Watts, V. O. *The United Nations: Planned Tyranny.* Devin-Adair; 1955.

Self explanatory title.

Wedel, O. H. *Austro-German Diplomatic Relations, 1908-1914.* Stanford University Press; 1932.

A solid, dispassionate, and well-documented presentation of the Austro-German situation and understandings between the Bosnian crisis and the coming of the first world war.

Wegerer, Alfred von. *Origins of the Second World War.* R. R. Smith; 1941.

Brief presentation of the German case by a leading German authority on the causes of the first world war. Documents which have since become available make the case against Britain and Poland far more impressive.

Wegerer, Alfred von. *Refutation of the Versailles War Guilt Thesis.* Knopf; 1930.

The most thorough and competent exposure of the fallacy of the Versailles verdict to the effect that Germany and her Allies were solely responsible for the first world war. Based on a careful study of the latest documents.

Weglyn, Michi. *Years of Infamy.* William Morrow; 1978.

Now a famous clothes designer, Mrs. Weglyn was one of the unfortunate 120,000 Japanese-Americans to be rounded up in 1941 and interned without trial in a concentration camp. Excellent first-hand and researched material.

Weingartner, Jarnes J. *Crossroads of Death.* University of California Press; 1979.

A liberal academic examines the “Malmedy Massacre” war crimes trial and finds substantial evidence of U.S. Army torture of German defendants.

Weizsacker, Ernst von. *Memoirs.* Regnery; 1951.

Reminiscences of the capable and dignified German diplomat who served as State Secretary in the German Foreign Office from 1938 to 1943. Especially valuable for its documentation on events from the Anschluss with Austria in March, 1939, to the outbreak of war with Russia in June, 1941. Critical of von Ribbentrop and sympathetic with the growing opposition to Hitler after 1941.

Wheeler-Bennett, J. W. *The Wreck of Reparations*. Morrow; 1933.

Best general appraisals of the Reparations fiasco and its effect on world trends.

Whitcomb (translator), Philip W. *France During the German Occupation, 1940-1944*. 3 vols. The Hoover Institute and Stanford University Press; 1958.

A remarkable collection of materials, amounting to over 1,600 pages, mainly based on affidavits filed by French civilian and military personalities who were part of the wartime regime in France, which give a startlingly-different picture of what happened in France between the debacle of spring, 1940 and the Allied invasion in mid-1944 than is found in the literature of either the "resistance"-guerilla elements or even the Gaullists. A mass of unpublished material about equal to this set and which may be even more revealing remains unpublished in the Hoover Institute archives. Whitcomb was a widely-known correspondent who spent the entire war either in France or adjoining Monaco.

Whitehead, Don. *The FBI Story*. Random House; 1957.

Contains a cogent chapter: "Espionage Limited," which reveals how the FBI agents at Pearl Harbor were prevented from intercepting and decoding Japanese messages which would have warned General Short and Admiral Kimmel in ample time to repel the attack.

Widener, A. *Behind the UN Front*. The Bookmailer; 1955.

Severely criticizes the United Nations for its effect on both the foreign relations and the domestic policy of the United States.

Willis, I. C. *England's Holy War*. Knopf; 1928.

Brilliant and astute debunking of the British war myth, especially as expounded by British Liberals, such as A. G. Gardiner, H G. Wells, and others.

Wilmot, Chester. *The Struggle for Europe*. Collins; 1952.

Masterly account of the struggle between East, West, and Axis for the European continent. A generally orthodox interpretation (accepting the myth of Nazi war-guilt, and the necessity of the war), it nevertheless severely criticizes the Allied policy of "unconditional surrender," the saturation bombing of Germany, and the Morgenthau Plan mentality. Points out the Western Allies' incredible naivety in dealing with Stalin, and their lack of any real war-aim save a "victory" which proved Pyrric indeed.

Wittmer, Felix. *The Yalta Betrayal*. Caxton Printers; 1953.

Brief and critical discussion of the Yalta Conference and its unfortunate results.

Wormser, R. A. *The Myth of the Good and Bad Nations*. Regnery; 1954.

A realistic review of diplomatic, political and military history which devastatingly refutes the now popular conception that wars and oppressive policies are always due to the moral degradation and racial inferiority of enemy peoples. Vindicates Revisionism on a broad historical canvas.

Zawodny, J. K. *Death in the Forest*. University of Notre Dame Press; 1962.

The definitive account of the murder of some fifteen thousand Polish prisoners of war in the Katyn Forest and elsewhere.

Zayas, Alfred M. de. *Nemesis at Potsdam.* Routledge & Keegan Paul; 1979.

A new edition of this detailed description of the expulsion of millions of ethnic Germans from their homelands in eastern Europe.

Zink, Harold. *American Military Government in Germany.* Macmillan; 1947.

Straight-forward and authoritative account of American military government in occupied Germany.

Barnes, Harry Elmer [and others]. *Select Bibliography of Revisionist Books Dealing with The Two World Wars and Their Aftermath — Supplement.* Privately published; 1966.

Compiled by Barnes and 7 other scholars, this includes often-colorful synopses of each work listed. Much Revisionist work has been done since this was put together, but it remains the indispensable guide to early Revisionism. (The entire contents have been incorporated into the present bibliography.).

Fish, Hamilton. *FDR: The Other Side of the Coin.* Vantage; 1976.

Subtitled “How We Were Tricked into World War II,” this memoir-history by the venerable and vocal non-interventionist congressman (ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs committee during the war) runs through the entire litany of FDR’s “dirty tricks” in getting America into the war it did not want. Most of the research is drawn from other published sources, but as an introduction to these, and as an account of Fish’s own thoughts and experiences at the time, the book has value. It also has its faults: there is some (conscious or unconscious) plagiarization from John T. Flynn’s *The Roosevelt Myth*, and in his analysis of Winston Churchill Fish falls wide of the mark. This book was written before the pioneering revisionist studies of the “Holocaust” became known, so Fish may be forgiven his especial pride at having fallen for the “Jewish genocide” yarn even before the Roosevelt administration did.

Viereck, George S. *My Flesh and Blood: A Lyric Autobiography With Indiscreet Annotations.* Liveright; 1931.

The first of two volumes of Viereck’s autobiography. In this, he recounts his revisionist activities and writings relating to World War I.

Revisionist Biographies

Here are biographical profiles of some noteworthy non-conformist (revisionist) historians and activists. "Revisionist" history is history writing that challenges official or orthodox portrayals of the past. All productive and worthwhile historical writing is "revisionist" in the sense that it takes into account newly available historical evidence and new insights and perspectives.



The most bold and controversial revisionists are those who challenge official or orthodox claims about the treatment of Europe's Jews during the Second World War. In some countries, "Holocaust denial" is a crime, and persons who express skepticism of Holocaust claims are punished with imprisonment or fines, or are forced into exile.

Most biographies included below were taken from either revisionists.com or *The Journal of Historical Review* article's directly, but not all Journal article references have been transferred here, and may still be found in article footers.

A

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Andrew Allen
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Harry Elmer Barnes
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Ted O'Keefe	Vincent Reynouard	Keith Stimely	Charles E. Weber
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Abbe Pierre	Tijudar Rudolph	John Toland	Z
Carlos Porter	S	V	Costas Zaverdinos
Charles Provan	John Sack	Pedro Varela	Ernst Zündel

James Alexander

James Alexander is the pen name of a West coast writer on political and historical topics. His articles and reviews have appeared in a variety of magazines, newspapers and scholarly journals. His [review essay](#) about the life and work of British historian J.F.C. Fuller appeared in the May–June 1993 Journal.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Andrew Allen

Andrew Allen is an attorney who lives and practices law in the San Francisco bay area. He holds a bachelor's degree in history from the University of California at Berkeley. In 1988-1989, he represented the family of Martin Bartesch, an accused "Nazi war criminal," in a suit against the U.S. Justice Department's "Office of Special Investigations" to clear Bartesch's name. In another case that recently came before the U.S. Supreme Court, Allen successfully defended the right of Holocaust revisionists to publicly present their views in spite of intimidation and threats by groups like

the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. As part of his extensive study of the Holocaust issue, Allen has visited Auschwitz, Belzec, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Srinidhi Anantharamiah

Srinidhi Anantharamiah was born in 1967 in Bombay, India. He holds a bachelor's degree from Rutgers University (business, 1989), and a master's degree from New Mexico State University (economics, 1990). He is currently a graduate research assistant and doctoral candidate (economics) at Utah State University (Logan).

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Gaston-Armand Amaudruz

For more than half a century, Gaston-Armand Amaudruz has been active in his native Switzerland as a dissident publicist and educator.

Born in Lausanne in December 1920, he is the author of three books, holds a certificate of political science and social sciences, and for a time worked as a language teacher. Already



as a 28-year-old Amaudruz questioned claims of wartime German homicidal gas chambers in his book, *Ubu Justicier au Premier Procès de Nuremberg* (Paris, 1949). He played an important role in the founding, in 1951, of the Zurich-based "New European Order," an anti-Capitalist and anti-Communist organization with a "racialist" outlook inspired in part by the writings of Italian philosopher Julius Evola (1898-1974).

Since 1946 he has edited, produced and published *Courrier du Continent*, an information-packed French-language newsletter. Issued ten times years, it has a modest circulation of 400-500.

On April 10, 2000, a Swiss court sentenced Amaudruz to one year in prison for "denying" the existence of homicidal gas chambers in World War II German concentration camps. The 79-year-old publicist and retired teacher was found guilty of violating the Swiss "anti-racism" law that makes it a crime to "deny, grossly minimize or seek to justify genocide or other crimes against humanity." He had broken the law, the court ruled, through his distribution of revisionist books, and for two articles in 1995 issues of his newsletter *Courrier du Continent*. In one of the offending items he had written: "For my part, I maintain my position: I don't believe in the gas chambers. Let the exterminationists provide the proof and I will believe it. But as I've been waiting for this proof for decades, I don't believe I will see it soon."

In addition to the non-suspended prison sentence, the criminal court in Lausanne ordered Amaudruz to pay a fine of 1,000 Swiss francs (about \$800) to each of four civil parties in the case: the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities, the Paris-based International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LICRA), the Association of Sons and Daughters of De-

ported Jews of France, and a Jewish concentration camp survivor. Amaudruz was also ordered to pay the trial costs, as well as the costs of publishing a notice of the court's judgment in three daily newspapers and in an official gazette.

Shortly before the three-day trial began, Amaudruz wrote an intentionally provocative article, "Vive le révisionnisme!," that appeared in the April 2000 issue (No. 418) of his newsletter. He wrote:

"Revisionism exists to call into question our 'certainties,' even the most seemingly solid ones. This methodology, very familiar to scientists, applies to all fields of knowledge.

"In several countries there is an untouchable dogma: the 'Six Million' and the 'gas chambers'... In Switzerland, Section 261 bis of the criminal code ... supposedly meant to suppress 'racial discrimination,' does not define the offense, thereby leaving the definition up to the judges, who can condemn or acquit the accused as they see fit, or on the basis of received instructions. And just what in the world does disputing the Six Million figure have to do with 'racial discrimination'?...

"As one who has been indicted for revisionism, I repeat:

- The Six Million figure is impossible.

- I do not believe in the gas chambers, because there is no proof for them.

"My trial is a political trial; the verdict is based exclusively on the appropriateness of considerations of the moment. I prefer to obey my conscience rather than an immoral and criminal law, and I hold to my conviction. Long live revisionism!"

In his testimony during the trial, Amaudruz defiantly repeated his skepticism, "for lack of proof," of gas chamber claims, and said that it was "impossible" for six million Jews to have been killed by German authorities during World War II.

An appeals court later reduced the sentence handed down in April 2000 to three months imprisonment.

On January 13, 2003, Gaston-Armand Amaudruz -- 82 years old and in poor health -- began serving the three month sentence in the prison of Plaine d l'Orbe in Vaud (Waadt) canton.

Following his April 2000 trial, Amaudruz described his legal ordeal in a book that included the incriminating essays. The authorities regarded this as a new violation of Switzerland's "anti-racism" law. Accordingly, he was again brought to court, this time together with René-Louis Berclaz and Phillippe Georges Brennenstuhl, co-founders of the Swiss revisionist group "Verité et Justice" that had published the book.

On May 22, 2002, the criminal court of Veveyse (Fribourg canton) sentenced Amaudruz and Brennenstuhl to three months imprisonment, and Berclaz to eight months. In August 2003 the Swiss federal court upheld the sentences. In March 2002 "Verité et Justice" was dissolved by order of a Swiss court.

For more about Amaudruz and the legal restrictions in Switzerland against free expression about "the Holocaust," see:

["Amaudruz Jailed in Switzerland for Holocaust Doubts."](#) IHR news release, Jan. 14, 2003:

["Switzerland : Prison Term for 'Holocaust Denial',"](#) The Journal of Historical Review, March-April 2000

["Swiss Court Punishes Two Revisionists,"](#) The Journal of Historical Review, July-August 1998

Source: Revisionists.com

Robert Atelier

Robert Atelier, a pseudonym, is a writer and computer programmer living in Southern California. He is currently doing historical research for The Agorist Institute, and has written for

New Libertarian.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Austin J. App

Austin App, a German-American scholar, was a major revisionist author and publicist.

Austin Joseph App was born on May 24, 1902, in Wisconsin. His father had immigrated to the United States from Wuerttemberg, and his mother had come from Bavaria. Until he began attending first grade at his home town's bi-lingual Catholic elementary school, he spoke German at home. He spent most of his youth on the family farm near Milwaukee. As a boy he was a voracious reader.



After attending local public and parochial schools, he entered St. Francis seminary near Milwaukee, where he received a liberal classical education. For a time he studied for the priesthood, but decided that he did not have a clerical vocation.

After obtaining a B.A. degree in 1923, he went on to graduate studies at Catholic University in Washington, D.C., where he earned Master's and Ph.D. degrees in English literature. His 1929 doctoral dissertation, *Lancelot in English Literature: His Role and Character*, was published to critical acclaim.

From 1933 through 1968 he was an instructor or professor of English at various American institutions of higher education. At the University of Scranton in 1939 he was awarded the school's Faculty Gold Medal as an "outstanding educator of men." In 1948 he accepted a professorship at La Salle College in Philadel-

phia, where he remained until his retirement in 1968.

During World War II he served briefly in the US Army.

He was first politically active in 1917, when, together with school colleagues, he collected signatures on petitions against US entry in World War I. He similarly opposed US entry in World War II.

In the aftermath of World War II, he began a “second career” as a prolific publicist, bringing to public attention suppressed facts about the brutal oppression, dispossession and expulsion of millions of ethnic Germans from their ancient homelands in central and eastern Europe. His first writing in this spirit, a ten-page pamphlet entitled *Ravishing the Woman of Conquered Europe*, which was quickly followed by *The Big Three Deportation Crime*, and *Slave-Laboring German Prisoners of War*. These tracts proved immediately popular. Before long, tens of tens of thousands of copies were in print in English, with editions in four other languages.

Predictably App was viciously smeared by the Zionist Anti-Defamation League and media figures such as Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson.

Throughout his life, he was a devout Roman Catholic and fervently anti-Communist.

He served as national chairman of the Federation of Americans of German Descent, 1960-1966, and thereafter was its permanent national honorary chairman.

App was the author of more than a thousand articles, columns and book reviews, which appeared in a wide range of American and European periodicals, as well as of eight books, including *History's most Terrifying Peace*; *Courtesy, Courtship and Marriage*; *The True Concept of Literature*; *Making Good Talk: How to Improve Your Conversation*; *Ways to Creative Writing*; *The Sudeten-German Tragedy*; and an

autobiography, subtitled *German-American Voice for Truth and Justice*.

A collection of his essays and pamphlets from 1946 to 1978 was published in 1987 by the Institute for Historical Review under the title *No Time for Silence*.

In Germany he addressed large rallies of German expellees, and meetings of the German Peoples Union (DVU). In 1975 he was honored with the European Freedom Prize of the DVU and its weekly paper, the *National-Zeitung*.

He addressed the first IHR Conference in 1979, and the [text of his presentation](#) was published in the first issue of the Institute's *Journal of Historical Review*.

Austin App was a man of rare courage, principle and decency.

He never married. “The worst thing about trying to be a writer,” he once wrote, “is that one is always harried for time. It presses one to sacrifice everything, however pleasurable, which can no longer enrich one's knowledge or experience... Though I could well wish to be married, I have never been able to adjust myself gracefully to the time-killing exigencies of courtship long enough to make it adequately reciprocal!”

He died on May 4, 1984. After his death, 73 boxes of his personal papers, business records and library items were archived with the American Heritage Institute at the University of Wyoming (Laramie).

A [tribute to Dr. App](#) appeared in the Winter 1984 issue of the *IHR Journal*.

Source: Revisionists.com



Enrique Aynat

Enrique Aynat Eknes was born in Spain in 1954. He holds a Bachelor of Law degree. He is the author of *El Diario ABC* y *El Holo-*

causto, a study of a leading Spanish daily newspaper's wartime coverage of the "Holocaust," and of Los "Protocolos de Auschwitz": ¿Una fuente histórica? ("The 'Auschwitz Protocols': A Historical Source?"), a study of the first detailed investigations of homicidal gassings at Auschwitz, and of Estudios sobre el "Holocausto" (1994), and of El Holocausto a debate (1995).

Source: Revisionists.com



Harry Elmer Barnes, 1889-1968

Harry Elmer Barnes (1889-1968), historian and sociologist, was one of the most influential American scholars of the twentieth century. He was a major figure in developing the school of history writing known as "revisionism," that is, the critical, scholarly examination of official or orthodox history, especially of the origins and consequences of the two world wars.



Revisionism, Barnes wrote in a 1958 essay, "implies an honest search for historical truth and the discrediting of misleading myths that are a barrier to peace and goodwill among nations. In the minds of anti-Revisionists, the term savors of malice, vindictiveness, and an unholy desire to smear the saviors of mankind. Actually, Revisionism means nothing more or less than the effort to correct the historical record in the light of a more complete collection of historical facts, a more calm political atmosphere, and a more objective attitude."

He taught economics, sociology and history at various institutions of higher learning, including the New School for Social Research, Smith College, and Columbia University. His output of books, essays, reviews and lectures was prodigious. His consistently clear, effective and

knowledgeable prose earned him the appreciation of the educated public as well as praise from scholars.

Of Barnes *The Columbia Encyclopedia* notes: "His wide interests generally centered about the main themes of the development of Western thought and culture. His ability to synthesize information from various fields into an intelligible pattern showing human development profoundly affected the teaching of history."

During the 1920s Barnes played a leading role in debunking the propaganda myth of sole or primary German responsibility for the First World War. He remained true to his principles even after World War II when the American intellectual climate became markedly more restricted and conformist. His skeptical view of the official history of that great conflict, and particularly its origins and the US role in it, along with his outspoken criticism of conformist "court historians," made him an ever more marginalized figure during his final 20 years.

Throughout his career he did much to encourage other scholars. For example, he helped **David Hoggan** to produce and publish his detailed revisionist study of the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939. (Hoggan's book, first published in German in 1961, finally appeared in English in 1989 under the title *The Forced War*.)

Shortly after Barnes' death on August 25, 1968, historian and economist Murray Rothbard wrote a tribute that appeared in *Left and Right: A Journal of Libertarian Thought* (Vol. IV, 1968):

".... Harry Elmer Barnes was the last of the truly erudite historians. In a field of accelerating narrowness and specialization where the expert on France in the 1830s is likely to know next to nothing about what happened in France in the 1840s, Harry Barnes ranged over the entire field of historical study and vision. He was the Compleat Historian, and it was the historical approach that informed his work in all the other social science disciplines in which he was so remarkably productive: sociology, crim-

inology, religion, economics, current affairs, and social thought. Surely his scholarly output was and will continue to remain unparalleled, as even a glance at a bibliography of his writings will show.

“... He was that rarity among scholars, a passionately committed man. It was not enough for Harry to discover and set forth the truth; he must also work actively and whole-heartedly in the world on behalf of that truth... He believed, properly but increasingly alone, that it was the ultimate function of the vast and growing scholarly apparatus to bring about a better life for mankind...”

“It was Harry’s passionate commitment to truth that lost for him the applause of scholars and multitudes alike and cast him, for the last two decades of his life, in outer darkness. ...Other men might grow more conservative and timid and accommodating to the powers-that-be as they grew older and more settled; but never Harry Elmer Barnes. That was to be his great burden during the remaining years of his life; but that as also to be his undying glory.”



Noteworthy writings by Harry Elmer Barnes:

Social History of the Western World (1921)

The Genesis of the World War (1926)

The History of Western Civilization (2 vols., 1935)

A History of Historical Writing (1937)

An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World (3 vols., 1937)

Social Thought from Lore to Science (with Howard Becker, 1938)

“[World War of 1914-1918](#),” in W. W. Waller, ed., *War in the Twentieth Century* (1940)

Survey of Western Civilization (1947)

[Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace: A Critical Examination of the Foreign Policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and its Aftermath](#) (H. E. Barnes, editor. 1952 and 1983)

“[Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace](#)” (1958)

“[The Public Stake in Revisionism](#)” (1967)

“[Pearl Harbor After a Quarter of a Century](#)” (1968)

[Barnes Against the Blackout: Essays Against Interventionism](#) (1991)

The best single volume on his life and work is [Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader](#) (1968).

For a critical assessment of his life, see: Justus D. Doenecke, “[Harry Elmer Barnes](#),” *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Summer 1973, pp. 311-323.

Source: [Revisionists.com](#)

Also see the [1981 Revisionist Bibliography](#).



Kevin Beary

Kevin Beary is a teacher who writes from his home in New York.

Source: [Journal of Historical Review](#)



John Bennett

John Bennett (1936-2013) was for decades well known in Australia as a vigorous and outspoken defender of civil liberties and freedom of speech and inquiry. He is also known as a Australia's leading revisionist writer and publicist, and was vilified by Jewish-Zionist groups as a "Holocaust denier."

John Tuson Bennett was an honors graduate of the University of Melbourne in both law (1958) and arts (1966). For more than 20 years

-- 1974 to 1996 -- he worked for the Victorian Legal Aid Commission and its predecessors. He served as secretary of the Victorian Council for Civil Liberties (now Liberty Victoria) from its founding in 1966 until 1980. From 1980 onwards he served as president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union.



Bennett was the author of *Your Rights*, a widely-circulated citizens' rights guide to handling the most often encountered legal problems. The popular handbook appeared in more than 25 editions, regularly revised and updated since the first in 1974. Over the years, more than 500,000 copies were sold or otherwise distributed.

"*Your Rights 1999* is an extraordinary publication – a must read for just about everyone," commented the prestigious Law Institute Journal. Sir Walter Crocker, former Australian diplomat and author of several books, said: "*Your Rights 2002* is well up to the high standards of earlier editions. The material is well chosen, well arranged and highly useful to a wide variety of people. Excellent value at \$6.50."

Over the years, and especially during the 1980s and 1990s, Bennett was a leading voice in Australia for Holocaust revisionism. In numerous interviews, in pamphlets mailed to thousands around the country, and in successive editions of *Your Rights*, he vigorously encouraged a skeptical view of the orthodox Holocaust story.

Bennett addressed several conferences of the Institute for Historical Review, including the first in September 1979 and the 13th in May 2000. For years he was a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*.

His contributions to the IHR's *Journal* included "[Orwell's 1984: Was Orwell Right?](#)" and "[Revisionism and Censorship Down Under](#)".

Source: Revisionists.com



Friedrich P. Berg

Friedrich P. Berg is a mechanical engineer by profession. He received his B. S. in 1956 from the Columbia University School of Mines. He has worked as a technical writer and environmental consultant in the New York City area. For several years he has devoted himself to studying the possibility, from a technical standpoint, of the [Nazi gassings](#) alleged in the Holocaust story.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Joseph Bishop

Joseph Bishop studied history and German at a South African university. Currently employed in a professional field, he resides in the Pacific Northwest with his wife and three children. An occasional contributor to a variety of periodicals, this is his first contribution to the Journal.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Karl Otto Braun

Karl Otto Braun (1910-1988) was a German diplomat and historian.

He was born in Bavaria, and received his secondary education at the prestigious *Wilhelms-gymnasium* in Munich and the humanistic *Gymnasium* in Coburg. He studied English, history, geography and international law at the universities of Munich, London and Berlin, including study under the great historian Dr. Karl Alexander von Müller in Munich. Braun's special areas of emphasis were Manchuria, the League of Nations and the works of Shakespeare. After receiving his Dr. phil. (Ph.D.) in 1935, he studied Japanese at the University of

Berlin's center for oriental languages. (He also spoke English, Italian, Spanish and French.)

He received a year of training for the diplomatic service at the German Foreign Office in Berlin, and then, from 1938 to November 1940, he served in Japan as a cultural attaché with the German embassy in Tokyo and as an economic affairs Vice Consul with the German Consulate General in Osaka. From 1941 until the end of the Second World War he was with the East Asia section of the Political Department of the German Foreign Office in Berlin. During the final two years of the war, he headed the section. In that capacity, he met in Berlin with the legendary Indian nationalist leader Subhas Chandra Bose, and played a role in arranging Bose's dramatic submarine voyage from Europe to Asia. In July 1944 he lost his brother, Major Wilhelm Braun, who was killed in action in Poland.

In the aftermath of the war, all former German officials with university degrees were subject to "automatic arrest" under the provision of U.S. occupation directive SCS 1067, regardless of whether or not they had been members of the National Socialist Party. Dr. Braun was accordingly seized by American occupation forces in 1945 and interned at the Dachau concentration camp, which was then run by U.S. authorities. He escaped in the fall of 1946, in part to avoid being forced to testify against his former colleagues. (A common U.S. practice at the time was to coerce former German officials into testifying against their former colleagues by threatening to turn them over to the Soviets.)

After the escape, he fled with his wife and infant daughter to South Tyrol, the ethnically German region of northern Italy, where he worked for two years as a journalist. He then moved to Argentina where he worked in Buenos Aires for the German steel industry as an independent merchant, 1948-1954. He returned to Germany where he was employed by major steel corporations until his retirement in 1975.

Dr. Braun devoted the final years of his life to historical research and writing, with a special emphasis on American foreign policy toward Germany and Japan under Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. During the last decade of his life, Braun authored numerous historical essays and reviews, which appeared in a variety of West German publications, as well as a book, *Pearl Harbor in neuer Sicht* ("A new view of Pearl Harbor").

He also translated a number of essays from English into German. For example, he translated and skillfully condensed an important essay by Tyler Kent, along with an introduction by Mark Weber, from *The Journal of Historical Review* (Summer 1983) for publication in the German monthly *Nation Europa*, February 1984. In the same issue of *Nation Europa* was his translation of a presentation by Leon Degrelle from *The Journal of Historical Review* (Fall 1982). He also translated former U.S. Congressman Hamilton Fish's book *FDR: The Other Side of the Coin*, for which he also provided a foreword and footnotes for the German edition published in 1982.

Although he served as an important official in a government which was at war with the United States. Dr. Braun had a genuine regard for America's welfare and long-term interests. He was very troubled, for example, by the threat posed by Zionist power and influence to America's national integrity and basic values.

Braun was a good friend and supporter of the Institute for Historical Review. His first contribution to *The Journal of Historical Review* (Winter 1984) was an essay on the legacy of the policies of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt on Europe. He was a featured speaker at two IHR conferences. His presentation at the Sixth IHR Conference (Feb. 1985) was an informative and partially autobiographical address, "Reflections on German and American Foreign Policy, 1933-1945," which was published in the Spring 1985 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. His younger daughter, Sabine, accompanied him to the Eighth IHR Conference (Oct. 1987), where he spoke about Richard Sorge, the Soviet master spy who ob-

tained tremendously important secrets for the Kremlin from the German embassy in Tokyo while working as the Japan correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* newspaper. Braun knew Sorge during his posting in Tokyo.

Braun remained productive until the end. Even during his final days in the Munich hospital where he died, he worked on a translation of an American book about Franklin Roosevelt and Wall Street.

In spite of a serious physical disability, he was also an active outdoorsman and mountain climber who scaled several of Europe's highest peaks.

Braun's work on behalf of historical justice for Germany was rooted in an abiding devotion to the heritage and culture of his people. His search for historical truth was also motivated by a heartfelt concern for world peace and international harmony.

As a conscientious scholar, Dr. Braun combined a devotion to truth and justice with careful attention to accuracy and detail. His firm belief in the ultimate triumph of historical truth, was reflected in a Latin phrase he often quoted: "Veritas magna est et praevalebit." ("The truth is great and will prevail").

His character and spirit were manifest in his address to the 1985 IHR conference. Each revisionist historian, he said, must

"... weigh his words carefully, must maintain a sense of balance and, about all, must stick to the facts. Revisionism has a mission. It is to find facts. Historical fact-finding has a purifying effect because it embodies the struggle for truth ... Nations should promote a regard for history, thereby strengthening their memory and power.

"The dawn of another Renaissance is approaching! Believe me: Moral values have a more enduring life than shrewd tactics! If we stoop to the level of Marxist lies and self-deception, as Franklin Roosevelt did, we fall into the hands of our more cunning enemies;

whereas if we keep ourselves on a morally elevated plane, we will emerge victorious. When all is said and done, our blue shining planet, our universe, is in the hands of God ..."

Both in person and in his correspondence, Karl Otto Braun was invariably kind, tactful and encouraging. He patiently and selflessly encouraged many others during the final decade of his life, and it gave him great pleasure to know younger men and women who would carry on the work that was so dear to his heart. He is remembered with admiration and appreciation.

Source: Revisionists.com



Jerome Brentar

This Croatian-American trained social worker and Christian activist has helped every falsely accused "war criminal" -- from [Frank Walus](#) to Dr. [Arthur Rudolf](#) to Mr. Bartesch. He was of immense help to [John Demjanjuk](#). Due to the tireless work of this saintly man, Walus and Demjanjuk won their cases in the end. Brentar spent almost \$500,000 of his own funds to help pay for the lawyers' fees, translators, flights, hotel accommodations, meals, and witness fees. He lost his once thriving travel agency because of the vicious publicity engendered, and now lives at the edge of poverty in forced retirement on his social security pension. Researcher, advisor and witness in [Ernst Zündel's](#) 1985 Holocaust trial.



Repercussions:

His reputation tarnished and his company boycotted, Brentar lost his livelihood for saving a man from the noose.

Writings:

Jerome A. Brentar. "[My Campaign for Justice for John Demjanjuk](#)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 13 no. 6 (November/De-



Jerome A. Brentar was born in 1922 in northern Ohio, the son of immigrants from Croatia. During the Second World War he served in Europe with the US Army's 93rd Armored Cavalry. From 1948 to 1950, he worked in postwar Europe as an eligibility/screening officer for the International Refugee Organization (IRO) of the United Nations. From 1954 to 1957 he worked in Europe for the Catholic Relief Service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, a Roman Catholic refugee assistance agency. Besides English and Croatian, Brentar speaks German, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian. He studied at Michigan State University and at the University of Munich in Germany. Back in Ohio, he founded and for many years directed Europa Travel Service, a travel agency in Cleveland. This essay is adapted from his address at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992. (Brentar's presentations at the 1989 and 1992 IHR conferences are available on both audio and video cassette from the IHR.)

Source: Journal of Historical Review



J. G. Burg (Joseph Ginsberg)

Author of many books ("Schuld und Schicksal", "Zionazi", "Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank", "Auschwitz in alle Ewigkeit" etc.) as well as many pamphlets and two documentary interviews with Ernst Zündel. Chief Jewish advisor, mentor and Zündel witness in the [1988 Great Holocaust Trial](#).



Repercussions:

Persecuted and beaten by Holocaust enforcers of Jewish Defense League type thugs. Denied burial in the Munich Jewish cemetery. (Ernst Zündel and Otto Ernst Remer gave the eulogies.)

Arthur R. Butz



Dr. Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the [Institute for Historical Review](#).

Dr. Butz is the author of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century: The case against the presumed extermination of European Jewry*. This book is available from [Noontide Press](#).

Repercussions:

Vilified and persecuted for almost three decades.



Writings:

Arthur R. Butz. "[The International 'Holocaust' Controversy](#)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 1 no. 1 (Spring 1980), p. 5.

Arthur R. Butz. "[Letter to The New Statesman, Jan. 17, 1980](#)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 1 no. 2 (Summer 1980), p. 162.

Arthur R. Butz. "[Letter to The New Statesman, Nov. 18, 1979](#)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 1 no. 2 (Summer 1980), p. 153.

Serge Thion. *Verite Historique Ou Verite Politique?* Reviewed by Arthur R. Butz. *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 1 no. 4 (Winter 1980), p. 323.

Arthur R. Butz. "Letter to Commentary, Dec 16, 1980," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 2 no. 3 (Fall 1981), p. 210.

Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit. *Intolerable Intolerance* (& Robert Faurisson. *Memoire En Defense*). Reviewed by Arthur R. Butz. *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 3 no. 3 (Fall 1982), p. 341.

Arthur R. Butz. "Context and Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 3 no. 4 (Winter 1982), p. 371.

W. D. Rubenstein; Walter Sanning, and Arthur R. Butz. "'The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry': An Exchange," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 5 no. 2, 3, 4 (Winter 1984), p. 367.

Jack Eisner. *The Survivor; Moshe Mizrahi, Director; War and Love*. Reviewed by Arthur R. Butz. *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 7 no. 4 (Winter 1986), p. 469.

Arno J. Mayer. *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The 'Final Solution' in History*. Reviewed by Arthur R. Butz. *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 9 no. 3 (Fall 1989), p. 361.

Arthur R. Butz. "A Brief Introduction to Holocaust Revisionism," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 11 no. 2 (Summer 1991), p. 251.

Jean-Claude Pressac. *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*. Reviewed by Arthur R. Butz. *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 13 no. 3 (May/June 1993), p. 23. Some thoughts on Pressac's opus: A response to a major critique of Holocaust revisionism.

Arthur R. Butz. "New ADL Campaign? [Letter]," *The Journal of Historical Review*, vol-

ume 14 no. 3 (May/June 1994), p. 48.

Arthur R. Butz. "Considerable Element [Letter]," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 15 no. 6 (November/December 1995), p. 48.

Arthur R. Butz. "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 16 no. 4 (July/August 1997), p. 20-23. Another look at the "Vergasungskeller" question.

Arthur R. Butz. "Gas Detectors in Auschwitz Crematory II," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 16 no. 5 (September/October 1997), p. 24. A "criminal trace"?

Arthur R. Butz. "Robert Graham and Revisionism," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 17 no. 2 (March/April 1998), p. 24.

Arthur R. Butz. "Peter Sagal's 'Denial'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 17 no. 3 (May/June 1998), p. 18.

Arthur R. Butz. "Pope Pius XII and the Jews," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 17 no. 4 (July/August 1998), p. 20.

Arthur R. Butz. "Revisionists Meet in Australia," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 17 no. 4 (July/August 1998), p. 18. The "Adelaide Institute" Conference.

Arthur R. Butz. "The Hoax Ends the Twentieth Century," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 17 no. 6 (November/December 1998), p. 2.

Arthur R. Butz. "[David] Irving's Doomed Libel Suit [Letter]," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 19 no. 2 (March/April 2000), p. 71.

Arthur R. Butz. "Swastika Charm [Letter]," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 19 no. 3 (May/June 2000), p. 54.

Arthur R. Butz. "On the 1944 Deportations of Hungarian Jews," *The Journal of Historical*

Review, volume 19 no. 4 (July/August 2000), p. 19. A reply to Jürgen Graf.

Arthur R. Butz. "The Greatest Dirty Open Secret," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 19 no. 5 (September/October 2000), p. 18.

Arthur R. Butz. "Historical Past Vs. Political Present," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 19 no. 6 (November/December 2000), p. 12.

For more information:

Bruce Page. "Letter to Arthur Butz, Jan. 24, 1980," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 1 no. 2 (Summer 1980), p. 162.

"New Attacks Against Arthur Butz for Revisionist Web Site," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 16 no. 4 (July/August 1997), p. 23.

Website: <http://pubweb.acns.nwu.edu/~abutz/>



Antony Charles

Antony Charles is the pen name of an educator and writer who holds both a master's and a doctoral degree in history. He has taught history and is the author of several books. A resident of North Carolina, he currently works for a government agency.

Source: *Journal of Historical Review*



Noam Chomsky

Noam Chomsky is an author and a professor in the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Source: *Journal of Historical Review*



Doug Christie

Undoubtedly the finest constitutional and civil rights lawyer of his generation in Canada, Christie is known for his exceptional defenses of Ernst Zündel, Jim Keegstra, Malcolm Ross, Imre Finta and many other persecuted dissidents in Canada - and even the octogenarian, aristocratic Lady Birdwood in England. Under constant threat by busybodies in various law societies, usually the target of Jewish Holocaust Lobbyist complaints, Christie has frequently been intimidated during the Zündel trials by judges who threatened him with contempt of court when he called their arbitrary decisions into question. He is hated by all enemies of freedom, by many groveling politicians and the intellectual prostitutes in the Canadian media establishment. Christie has headed the Zündel legal defense team for over 15 years.



Repercussions:

Targeted professionally on numerous occasions with spurious charges of "unprofessional conduct" lodged with law societies in Canada.

Source: Revisionists.com



Thies Christophersen

Thies Christophersen (1918-1997) was a pioneer revisionist writer and courageous fighter for truth in history.



Thies Christophersen (right) with Ernst Zundel

In a memoir first published in Germany in 1973, he

related his wartime experiences as a German army officer in the Auschwitz camp complex. "During the time I was in Auschwitz, I did not notice the slightest evidence of mass gassings," he wrote in *Die Auschwitz-Lüge* ("The

Auschwitz Lie"). As one of the first important works squarely to confront the Auschwitz extermination legend, Christophersen's first-hand account was a major factor in the growth and development of Holocaust revisionism.

"The Auschwitz Lie" caused an immediate sensation in Germany, where it was soon banned. This did not stop publication of German-language editions in Switzerland and Denmark, however, and before long editions appeared in all the major European languages, including several in English. Christophersen predictably came under hostile and mendacious media attack.

Until the outbreak of war in Europe, he worked as a farmer in Schleswig, northern Germany. Called to military service, he was badly wounded in 1940 while serving in the western campaign. After recuperating and undergoing some specialized agricultural training, he was assigned to a research center in German-occupied Ukraine that experimentally cultivated a variety of dandelion (*kok saghyz*) as an alternative source of natural rubber derived from the plant's latex.

In the face of Soviet military advances, the center was transferred to the labor camp of Raisko, a satellite of Auschwitz. During the period he lived and worked there — January to December 1944 — Christophersen was responsible for the daily work of inmate laborers. The young second lieutenant supervised about 300 workers, many of them Jewish, of whom 200 were women from the Raisko camp, and 100 were men from the nearby Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. On a number of occasions he visited Birkenau where, it is alleged, hundreds of thousands of Jews were systematically gassed to death in May-July 1944. Although he knew of Birkenau's crematories, it wasn't until after the war that he first heard anything of "gas chamber" killings or mass exterminations.

After the war he returned to farming. An ardent and life-long defender of the interests of German farmers, he also turned his considerable talents as a writer to this cause. For years he edited and published the quarterly magazine

Die Bauernschaft ("The Farming Community"), which served as a forum for his straightforward reporting and forthright and often witty commentary on cultural, historical and current social-political issues. He also ran the Nordwind book service, which distributed a range of works, including revisionist titles.

In March 1988 he testified in the "Holocaust trial" in Toronto of German-Canadian Ernst Zündel. Under oath, he detailed his wartime experiences at Auschwitz, and answered numerous pointed questions by the prosecuting attorney.

Although he was never prosecuted for his "Auschwitz Lie" booklet, he was charged for other outspoken writings. In the 1980s he served a year in prison on charges of "insulting the state" and "insulting the memory of the dead."

Driven from his homeland, he was forced to live in exile in Denmark, Belgium and Switzerland. While Danish police stood by, hundreds of "anti-fascist" thugs attacked his modest home in the small town of Kollund, pelting it with stones and defacing it with spray paint. They also severely damaged his book warehouse and, using corrosive acid, ravaged his car and expensive copy equipment. After months of such abuse, in 1995 Christophersen was forced to leave Denmark. Ill with cancer, he sought treatment in Switzerland, but in December 1995 was forced to leave that country. He next found temporary refuge in Spain. Meanwhile, the German printer of his *Bauernschaft* magazine was fined 50,000 marks.

During his final months, German officials treated him as a virtual "enemy of the state." His bank account in Germany was closed down, and in early 1996 a German court rejected his application to return to his homeland for a brief visit to attend the burial of a son who had died in a car crash. On the grounds that he had no permanent place of residence, in 1996 German authorities cancelled his state medical insurance coverage and stopped payment of his modest state retirement pension

(into which he had paid for 45 years), as well as his military service pension.

Christophersen was arrested for the last time a few weeks before his death. A German judge declared him too ill to be jailed, and he was released to a son's custody. He died a few days later, on February 13, 1997.

For more about Christophersen and his life, see his essay, "[Reflections on Auschwitz and West German Justice](#)," from the Spring 1985 *Journal of Historical Review*, and the [obituary](#) in the May-June 1997 *Journal of Historical Review*.

Source: [Revisionists.com](#)

David Cole



This young Jewish Revisionist filmmaker came to the defense of Ernst Zündel when Zündel needed defending. Subsequently, Zündel and Cole made a film in Auschwitz, with David Cole pointing out all the things wrong with that theme park of hate against Germans. Later yet, Cole came to Canada to lecture to large audiences on his Revisionist findings in Auschwitz, together with David Irving. He also appeared with Zündel in Munich, Germany, spreading Revisionism right under the watchful eyes of the German political police. In a vicious letter posted on the Internet, the Jewish Defense League threatened Cole's life. Emotionally fragile and torn between his conscience and family loyalties as well as filial devotion, he could not withstand the pressure and recanted with an abject apology to his tribesmen and tormentors. Every serious Revisionist understands that this act of recantation was coerced and may have bought David his very survival.

Robert Clive

Robert Clive is the pen name of an American specialist of the political, diplomatic and military history of modern Europe. He holds a doctorate in history.

Source: [Journal of Historical Review](#)

John Cobden

John Cobden is the pen name of an American writer whose essays on political issues have appeared in nationally-circulated magazines and major daily newspapers, including the Hartford Courant and the Orange County Register. His writings on aspects of the Holocaust issue have appeared in The Journal of Historical Review and, in translation, in the French journal *Revue d'Histoire Revisionniste*.

Source: [Journal of Historical Review](#)

Alexander Cockburn

Author and columnist and a regular contributor to the liberal weekly, Alexander Cockburn was born in Britain in June 1941.

Repercussions:

Became a victim of the JDL. Was physically beaten. Had his life threatened on the Internet by the Jewish Defense League.

Source: [Revisionists.com](#)

Doug Collins (1920-2001)

Doug Collins was born in 1920 in the United Kingdom.



In 1939, with the outbreak of the Second World War, he volunteered for the British Army and, while serving as an infantry sergeant (at 19, the youngest in his regiment), was captured by the Germans at Dunkirk in 1940.

As a POW in both German and Hungarian prisoner of war camps, Collins staged as many as 10 separate attempts to escape captivity. Upon his release from Rumania in 1944, he again fought with the British forces in Europe until the end of the war.

Between 1946 and 1950, Collins served as a political intelligence officer with the British Control Commission's de-Nazification program in Germany.

In 1952, he emigrated to Canada.

Doug Collins' career in journalism has included work in print and electronic media, both as a reporter and commentator. He has worked at several of the big Canadian dailies, including the Calgary Herald, the Vancouver Province and the Vancouver Sun. For a time, he hosted an open-line radio talk show, and also worked for CBC Television.

Between 1983 and 1997, Collins wrote a popular and controversial column for the North Shore News (North Vancouver, BC).

On November 12, 1997, a complaint brought before the British Columbia Human Rights Commission by the Canadian Jewish Congress for comments made in a column Doug Collins wrote about the Spielberg film Schindler's List entitled "Hollywood Propaganda" (March 9, 1994, North Shore News) was dismissed.

A follow-up complaint to the B.C. Human Rights Commission by Harry Abrams of Victoria, with the support of B'Nai Brith Canada, that included for original News column plus three others, was upheld and was currently being appealed.

Doug Collins is the author of several books, including his wartime memoir, POW: A Soldier's Story of His Ten Escapes from Nazi Prison Camps (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968), Immigration: Parliament versus the People (1986), The Best and Worst of Doug Collins (1988), and Here We Go Again (1998).

Doug Collins' work in journalism has been honoured with Canada's National Newspaper

Award (1953) and the MacMillan Bloedel Award (1975). On January 20, 1993, he was awarded the Commemorative Medal for the 125th Anniversary of Canada's Confederation. The medal honours Canadians "who have made a significant contribution to their fellow citizens, their community or to Canada."

Collins was not afraid to write about "very controversial subjects," said his lawyer, Doug Christie. "He was one of the most courageous men I ever knew."

We leave the last word to Doug Collins: "I will conclude by saying that ... I defended freedom in the 1940s when Hitler was on the loose, in the 1970s when the federal hate laws were passed, and in the 1990s when those idiots in Victoria passed their misnamed Human Rights Act, and that I shall go on defending freedom until the day I die."

Doug Collins passed away September 29, 2001, good to his word.

Repercussions:

Harassed and vilified by the BC Human Rights Commission. Financially penalized. Collins was hauled before a quasi-court by Holocaust Enforcers when he wrote a column about "Swindler's List" and commented on the preponderance of Jews in Hollywood. He and his paper had to defend themselves before the British Columbia Human Rights Commission, which, in the end, ruled in his favor, after his paper spent more than \$200,000 and Collins spent \$50,000 of his own money. Barely had he won the case when he was re-charged -- for the same column, along with three others!

Source: Revisionists.com



Trevor J. Constable

Trevor J. Constable, born in New Zealand in 1925, has an international reputation as an aviation historian. With Colonel Raymond F. To-liver, he has authored a number of successful works on fighter aviation and ace fighter pilots.

He has lived in the United States since 1952. He now makes him home in southern California.

Source: *Journal of Historical Review*

Robert Countess

Robert H. Countess (1937-2005) was a college professor, lecturer, author and pastor.

He was born in August 26, 1937, in Memphis, Tennessee. He graduated from Huntsville (Alabama) High School in 1955.



He earned a B.A. degree in Religion and English, an M.A. degree in Religion, and a Ph.D. in New Testament Greek, as well as a Master of Liberal Studies degree in Humanities and Philosophy from Georgetown University. He continued graduate studies at several other universities.

Dr. Countess was Instructor in Greek and Chairman of the Foreign Languages Department of Covenant College, Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Tennessee State University, and Instructor in Greek at the University of Tennessee at Nashville. He also held teaching posts at Northern Virginia Community College, and at the University of Alabama in Huntsville.

He was author of a book, *The Jehovah's Witnesses' New Testament*, and dozens of published articles and book reviews.

As a young man he served three years in the US Army. His military service resumed later when he served as a Chaplain at Redstone Arsenal from 1980 to 1984, and then with the Alabama National Guard. In 1997 he retired from the US Army with the rank of Captain.

After ordination in 1965, he served as a pastor at churches in New Jersey, Tennessee, Virginia,

and Alabama, and later as a US Army chaplain (1976-1984).

Known to most simply as Bob, he is remembered with affection for his energy and generosity, his positive, life-affirming attitude, and his helpful and upbeat spirit. Among his passions were old French cars, table tennis, soccer and travel.

His adventurous outlook and abiding curiosity motivated his travel to some two dozen countries. He taught and lectured on New Testament Greek in Australia, South Africa, Ukraine and the Netherlands, and other European countries, and he led tour groups in Greece, Turkey and Israel.

Dr. Countess was associated with the Institute for Historical Review. He addressed several IHR conferences, and for some years he served as a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*.

During the final years of his life, he and his wife, Elda, made their home in northern Alabama. He died on March 18, 2005, at age 67, succumbing to a brain tumor. He was survived by his wife, six children, 13 grandchildren, and great grandchildren.

Source: *Revisionists.com*

Samuel Crowell

Samuel Crowell is the pen name of an American writer who describes himself as a “moderate revisionist.” At the University of California (Berkeley) he studied philosophy, foreign languages (including German, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian), and history, including Russian, German and German-Jewish history. He continued his study of history at Columbia University. For six years he worked as a college teacher.

Source: *Journal of Historical Review*

Günter Deckert

A German educator, party leader, writer, public speaker and publicist, Deckert won fame for being tried and convicted after he simultaneously translated an English-language lecture by Fred Leuchter in Germany into German. He was at first acquitted by a German judge who found him to be an upright and decent patriot, then recharged and convicted by a different judge after an artificially created international media uproar. Now German prosecutors keep piling court case after court case on Deckert while he is in jail. He bravely keeps fighting on.



Repercussions:

Currently imprisoned in Bruchsal, Germany. Faces up to eight years incarceration.

Source: Revisionists.com



Hellmut Diwald

Hellmut Diwald (1924-1993) was a German historian. He was a Professor of Medieval and Modern History at the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, 1965 to 1985. Perhaps his most important work is *Geschichte der Deutschen*.



Source: lhr.org/other/authorbios



John Demjanjuk

Extradited, charged, tried, convicted and sentenced to death by hanging. Spent many years in prison.

Demjanjuk was a Ukrainian autoworker and former camp guard whose grotesque case saw him extradited to Israel from the USA for trial. Convicted to death by hanging, but ultimately released by the Israeli Supreme Court, who obviously did not believe what must have been the perjured or false testimony of Israeli eye-witnesses, Demjanjuk was saved from the noose because Jerry Brentar worked day and night to search and find exonerating documents, eye witnesses and handwriting experts to save Demjanjuk's life. America has returned his passport and must pay him his pension for all the years of his imprisonment. Hopefully, part of that money will go Jerry Brentar to recover his outlays.

Source: Zundelsite.org



Dan Desjardins

Dan Desjardins is an IHR activist who has stirred up the library community in his native Ohio by donating banned books to Wright State University. He holds two bachelor's degrees (Florida State and University of New Mexico) and is a member of Phi Alpha Theta Historical Society.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Sam Dickson

Sam Dickson is a lawyer practicing in the Atlanta area. He is a member and founder of the Atlanta Committee for Historical Review, which recently sponsored a meeting with historian David Irving.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Basil Dmytryshyn

Basil Dmytryshyn, Professor Emeritus of History, was born in Poland. He holds a Ph.D. from University of California, Berkeley (1955). For years he taught history at Portland

State University. He is the author or editor of several books, including *USSR: A Concise History*, and of numerous articles published in various scholarly journals.

Source: *Journal of Historical Review*



François Duprat

François Duprat, a gifted French historian, educator, and writer who was murdered in 1978, is apparently the first person to be killed because of his support for Holocaust revisionism.



He was born on October 26, 1940, in Corsica, and was educated in Bayonne, in Toulouse, and in Paris at the prestigious Louis-le-Grand lycée. In 1963 he earned a diploma of higher studies in history. After joining the National Front party in 1972, he developed a friendship with its leader, Jean Marie Le Pen. Duprat was chief editor of *L'Action Européenne* and of the *Revue d'Histoire du Fascisme*. He publicized the writings of former concentration camp inmate Paul Rassinier, distributed a French edition of the booklet, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, and published a revisionist article of his own, "The Mystery of the Gas Chambers."

As a result of such activism, Duprat was assassinated on March 18, 1978, when the car he was driving was blown up in a bomb blast. He was 37 years old. His wife, who was with him, was severely injured in the sophisticated attack, and lost the use of her legs. A Jewish "Remembrance Commando" and a "Jewish Revolutionary Group" promptly claimed responsibility for the murder. No one was ever arrested or charged for these crimes.

For more about Duprat, see the entry about him in: Philip Rees, *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right Since 1890* (1990), pp. 106-107. See also "[Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and](#)

[More, of Terrorism in France](#)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, March-April 1996 (Vol. 16, No. 2), pp. 2-3.; M. Weber, *The Zionist Terror Network* (1993), page 14 (and page 20, notes 89, 90).; R. Faurisson, "[The Zündel Trials \(1985 and 1988\)](#)," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 417-418.

Source: [Revisionists.com](http://www.revisionists.com)



James M. Ennes

James M. Ennes was serving as a US Navy lieutenant on board the USS Liberty when it was attacked by Israeli forces on June 8, 1967. He is the author of *Assault on the Liberty*, a detailed account of the attack published in 1980 by Random House. Born in 1933 and now retired, he served with the US Navy during most of his adult life.

[This interview](#), published in the Iranian newspaper Jam-e-Jam, July 27, 2002, was conducted by Ali Jafar. The text is posted on-line at <http://www.ussliberty.org/jamejam.txt>

Source: *Journal of Historical Review*



Robert Faurisson

For more than 30 years, French scholar Robert Faurisson was known as an intrepid, intellectually formidable, and courageous critic of the familiar Holocaust narrative. His extensive writings and many lectures, which were based on considerable research and study, enraged powerful enemies who waged a fierce, relentless campaign to silence him.



Regarded as Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar, he was perhaps

most renowned, and notorious, for his view that there was no systematic mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers during World War II. On the basis of controversial “Holocaust denial” laws that selectively criminalize dissident views on this emotion-laden subject, French authorities repeatedly brought him to court, where he was punished with fines and prison sentences.



Following his death, a tribute to this “intrepid and indomitable man” was published in the French periodical *Rivarol*. “... Robert Faurisson threatened powerful interests,” wrote Jérôme Bourbon. “Those of the State of Israel and international Zionism whose power, durability, immunity and impunity are essentially based on the Holocaust Dogma. Those of the Allies and the sacrosanct crusade of the democracies against the Axis forces. Those of leftists of all stripes for whom it is necessary that the nationalist regimes of the inter-war period in Europe are absolute evil, but not Communism in all its forms, Leninist, Stalinist, Maoist, Trotskyist.” Faurisson not only “threatened the ideological foundations of the world order resulting from the last war,” Bourbon continued, “but he challenged a real religion, or rather a counter-religion, Holocaust worship ... The death of this giant, of this monument, is an irreparable loss. We have not finished measuring how much he will miss. For how many men are there today of his temper, his erudition, his talent, his bravery, his tenacity? And yet even without him the fight for historical truth must continue.”

Robert Faurisson was born on January 25, 1929, in Shepperton, England. His father was French and his mother was Scottish. As a boy and young man, he attended schools in Singapore, Japan, and in France. He was educated at a Lycée in Paris, and at the renowned Sorbonne. He received his “State Doctorate” in letters and the humanities from the Sorbonne in 1972, where he also taught from 1969 to 1974.

From 1974 until 1990, Faurisson was a professor of French literature at the University of Lyon II. He was a recognized specialist of text and document analysis, and was the author of four books on French literature.

After years of private research and study, Prof. Faurisson first made public his skeptical views about the Holocaust extermination story in two items published in December 1978 and January 1979 in the influential Paris daily *Le Monde*.

In the archives of the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland, Faurisson discovered the technical and architectural drawings of the Auschwitz morgues, the crematories and other installations. He is the first person to publicize these important documents, and to point out their significance.

In the years after 1978, Dr. Faurisson presented his critical view of the familiar Holocaust extermination narrative in numerous articles, in many interviews, in several books, and in stunning April 1979 debate on a Swiss television network with prominent defenders of the “exterminationist” view. He worked closely on the French revisionist quarterly, *Annales d'Histoire Revisionniste*, during the three years of its existence. He also worked on the successor quarterly, *Revue d'Histoire Revisionniste*. Many of his scholarly articles were published in English in *The Journal of Historical Review*. A four-volume collection of many of his writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

Faurisson played an important role in both the 1985 and 1988 “Holocaust trials” in Toronto, Canada, of Ernst Zundel. His role in those legal battles went far beyond his testimony on the stand as a witness. Especially during the 1985 trial, he spent hundreds of hours -- often working all day and very late into the night -- preparing questions used by defense attorney Doug Christie in his devastating interrogations of Raul Hilberg, Rudolf Vrba and other prosecution witnesses.

Faurisson’s most important contribution to the defense in the 1988 trial may well have been

his key role in securing the participation of Fred Leuchter, an American gas chamber specialist. Faurisson played an important role in arranging for Leuchter's on-site investigation in Poland of supposed extermination gas chambers, and in making public the American's remarkable findings.

Much about Faurisson's role in the 1988 "Holocaust trial" in Toronto can be found in the 562-page book edited and compiled by Barbara Kulaszka, *Did Six Million Really Die?: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian 'False News' Trial of Ernst Zündel*.

For years various government agencies and influential organizations waged a concerted campaign to silence him. He was obliged to defend himself many times in French courts for his forthright writings and statements. He had to contend with numerous court convictions.

His bank account was frozen, and court officials repeatedly visited his home to threaten him and his wife with seizure of their furniture to pay for financial "damages" imposed for his "heretical" remarks. Because of this campaign, his family life has been repeatedly disrupted and thrown into turmoil. His health suffered terribly.

In response to Faurisson's provocative question about how, precisely and technically, the alleged wartime homicidal gassings were carried out, two leading French Jewish intellectuals drafted a solemn declaration, which was signed by 34 historians and published in February 1979 in *Le Monde*. In words that betrayed the weakness of their argument, they declared:

"It must not be asked how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible given that it took place. That is the requisite point of departure of any historical inquiry on this subject. It is incumbent upon us to simply state this truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers."

During an interview in December 1980 with the French radio network "Europe 1," Fauris-

son summarized the result of his historical research in one sentence of 60 French words. Here is that sentence, in English:

"The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews constitute one and the same historical lie, which made possible a gigantic financial-political fraud, the principal beneficiaries of which are the State of Israel and international Zionism, and whose principal victims are the German people -- but not their leaders -- and the entire Palestinian people."

That sentence, he declared 23 years later, "requires no changes."

For those provocative words, Faurisson was brought to trial on criminal charges of racial defamation and incitement to racial hatred. In July 1981 he was found guilty and given a suspended three month prison sentence, fined several thousand francs, and ordered to pay 3.6 million francs for the cost of making public the verdict on television and in periodicals. However, in June 1982 an appeals court threw out the charge of incitement to racial hatred and eliminated the 3.6 million franc payment.

Among his other legal travails, in June 1995 a Paris court ordered Faurisson to pay a fine of \$3,000 for writing *Réponse à Jean-Claude Pressac sur le problème des chambres à gaz* ("Response to Jean-Claude Pressac on the problem of the gas chambers"), a book that disputes claims of Second World War mass killings in German gas chambers. Henri Roques, another French revisionist, was likewise fined \$3,000 by the court for distributing the work. (Roques is also the author of *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein*.)

On September 25, 1997, Faurisson came to trial for a statement made in April 1996 about the Garaudy-Abbé Pierre affair in which he mentioned "the imposture of the Nazi gas chambers." During the trial he told the court: "We are only three years away from the year 2000, and there are billions of people who are asked to believe in something they have never seen and don't even know how it worked!" The prosecutor asked for a new kind of sentence:

either imprisonment or a fine, to which Faurisson responded by declaring: "I hereby make a commitment that I shall not buy and shall not pay for my freedom. No one has ever bought me and no one will ever buy me."

As expected, the Paris court handed down a guilty verdict. On October 23, 1997, it ordered Faurisson to pay 120,600 francs (\$20,000), divided into three parts: 50,000 francs as a fine, 20,600 francs for a Jewish attorney, and 50,000 to pay for the publication of the summary of the court's judgment in two daily newspapers, as well as (unprecedentedly) in the *Journal officiel de la République française*. Faurisson paid the Jewish lawyer and was paying the fine in installments. However, he did not have to pay to promulgate the court judgment because, he later learned, the anti-revisionist organizations decided that they did not wish to see the publication of the words "the imposture of the Nazi gas chambers."

In December 1997 Faurisson received a summons from a Paris court official for an essay, "The Horned Visions of the Holocaust," that had been posted on a website without his prior knowledge or approval. In this piece Faurisson wrote that "The Holocaust of the Jews is a fiction." He responded to the summons with a stern letter in which he defiantly declared his refusal to "collaborate" with French justice authorities and police in the repression of revisionism.

On March 16, 1998, Faurisson had to appear before a Paris court to stand trial for a short definition of "revisionism," as inaccurately reported in a newspaper.

On April 8, 1998, Faurisson was set to stand trial in Amsterdam for the publication in 1991 in Dutch of his detailed critical analysis of the Anne Frank *Diary*. The Anne Frank Museum in Amsterdam and the Anne Frank Fonds in Basel, Switzerland, jointly brought the legal action. The Museum complained that it had been obliged to provide special training for its guides to respond to Faurisson's arguments, and that his critique might reduce the number of its visitors.

Faurisson's detailed critique of the *Diary* was an important, and perhaps crucial, factor in moving / prodding "establishment" scholars to eventually acknowledge that the familiar text, which millions accepted as authentic, was essentially a misrepresentation, and in fact was a heavily edited re-working of various texts.

On October 3, 2006, a Paris court found Faurisson guilty of "Holocaust denial" for having said, during an interview with Iranian television, that "there was never" a single execution gas chamber used by the Germans during World War II. That remark, the court found, was a violation of France's "Holocaust denial" statute, the 1990 "Gayssot" law that makes it a crime to dispute or contest crimes against humanity, as defined by the joint military commission of the victorious Allied powers that met as a tribunal at Nuremberg 1945-46. After finding that Faurisson's remark during the interview constituted "complicity in contesting the existence of a crime against humanity," as determined by the Nuremberg inter-Allied tribunal, the court gave Dr. Faurisson a suspended prison sentence of three months, and fined him 7,500 euros (about \$9,500).

For his views Faurisson was repeatedly a victim of physical assault. Between November 1978 and May 1993 he was a victim of ten attacks, at least nine of them carried out by Jewish thugs. None of the criminal assailants in any of these assaults has ever been brought to justice. The most savage was a nearly fatal attack on September 16, 1989, for which a group calling itself "The Sons of the Memory of the Jews" claimed responsibility.

Faurisson died on Oct. 21, 2018, at his home in Vichy, central France, just as he was returning from a visit to England. He was 89.



For Further Reading

[Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism](#),
by Robert Faurisson

[How the British Obtained the Confessions of Auschwitz Commandant Höss](#), by Robert Faurisson.

[Is The Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?](#), by Robert Faurisson.

[Auschwitz: Facts and Legend](#), by Robert Faurisson.

[An Orthodox Historian Finally Acknowledges: There is No Evidence for Nazi Gas Chambers](#), by Robert Faurisson

[The Secular Religion of 'The Holocaust,'](#) by Robert Faurisson.

[Paying Tribute to Jewish Power: 'Ah, How Sweet It Is ...,'](#) by Robert Faurisson.

[French Court Orders Heavy Penalties Against Faurisson for Holocaust Views](#), by Robert Faurisson.

[Jewish Militants: Fifteen Years, and More, of Terrorism in France](#), by Robert Faurisson.

[The Zionist Terror Network](#), by Mark Weber.

[Jewish Harassment: Targeting A Prominent French Revisionist](#), by Robert Faurisson.

[Robert Faurisson: A Long View](#), by Arthur R. Butz.

[A Freedom Fighter to His Last Breath: Robert Faurisson](#), by Michael Hoffman.

Source: [Revisionists.com](#)



Ditlieb Felderer

Ditlieb Felderer is one of four refugee children who were each born in different European countries. He himself was born in Innsbruck, Austria, in 1942. The family eventually found refuge in Sweden, where Mr. Felderer now lives with his Filipino wife. In 1959, Mr. Felderer converted to the Jehovah's Witnesses, and went on extensive evangelizing tours of North America. He first became interested in

the "Holocaust" when researching an article on the treatment of the Jehovah's Witnesses during the war. After comparing the exterminationist and revisionist views, he was at once converted to the latter. He now runs his own magazine and publishing house, Bible Researcher, and organizes revisionist tours of Poland every summer.



Source: [Zundelsite.org](#)

Charged, tried, convicted and jailed in Sweden. Vilified in the press. Forced to live in exile.

Felderer, at one time a prominent Jehovah's Witness, is known as an early researcher into the physical evidence in every major concentration camp in then Communist Eastern Europe. Felderer took over 30,000 photographs of every conceivable detail in the camps. He discovered that there was a [swimming pool for the inmates in Auschwitz](#), modern hospital facilities, including a gynecological section, as well as an orchestra, live theatre, well-stocked library, and sculpting classes. He discovered the musical score of the "Auschwitz Waltz" in the secret archives accessible only with special permission. He found that an intimate role was played by Jehovah Witnesses in the camps, who cooperated with the SS-Administration, and he exposed the lie of the 60,000 Jehovah's Witnesses killed. (On his initiative and insistence, the inflated number was reduced to 203) [Trial Transcript Vol. 18, 4226 to 4229; 4645]. For his Revisionist work, Felderer was excommunicated - that is, drummed out of the Jehovah Witnesses' sect. He has been persecuted by the Holocaust Enforcers ever since. Felderer is known for his weird sense of humor and outlandish, offensive cartoons. He believes that deliberate Holocaust liars and history falsifiers should not have their sensibilities spared. This idiosyncrasy of Felderer is being exploited by Holocaust propagandists in counter-attacks against him. Zündel advisor and witness in the 1985 and [1988 Great Holocaust Trials](#).

Imre Finta

Victimized by the media and financially totally ruined by civil law suits mismanaged by his first lawyers. Criminally charged and prosecuted as a "war criminal" in Canada.



A retired Hungarian police captain, Finta was accused by Sabina Citron and others for allegedly persecuting Jews in Hungary during the war. After lengthy legal battles, he was ultimately acquitted by unanimous jury verdict when Ernst Zündel's attorneys, Doug Christie and Barbara Kulaszka, took over his defense and won his victory in court. The jurors obviously did not believe the many Israeli and Jewish eye-witnesses!

Source: Zundelsite.org

Louis FitzGibbon

Louis FitzGibbon, a British scholar and humanitarian, was active for years in publicizing the suppressed truth about the 1940 killing of thousands of captured Polish officers by the Soviet secret police. Although the facts about the massacre are now well established, during the 1970s his efforts on behalf of justice and historical truth were considered controversial because many people still endorsed the World War II claim by the Allied powers that the gruesome wartime killings had been carried out by German authorities.

Born in London in 1925, the young FitzGibbon was educated by Benedictine monks. In 1938 he entered the Naval College at Dartmouth, and in 1942 he went to sea, serving in the British navy until 1954. During that period he

served six years in submarines, and completed a Polish interpreters course.

He later studied law, ran his own business, and for a time served as personal assistant to Duncan Sandys, a Member of Parliament. FitzGibbon was a Knight of Malta, and a Knight of St. Lazarus. For some years he was an executive with a commercial company in London. He also served as the director of a trade association and of two national charities.

American scholar Louis Robert Coatney wrote in his 1993 Master's thesis: "A veritable crusader on the issue of Katyn was Louis Fitzgibbon, who had a number of books published in the 1970s bringing forth the contemporary evidence accumulated. In 1971, his book *Katyn* presented some of the most graphic and compelling evidence of Soviet guilt."

His books on the subject included:

The Katyn Cover-Up (Tom Stacey, 1971 and 1972); *Katyn: A Crime Without Parallel* (1971); *Katyn* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971); *Katyn: Triumph of Evil* (Anna Livia [Ireland], 1975); *Unpitied and Unknown: Katyn* (London: Bachman & Turner, 1975); *Katyn Massacre* (Corgi, 1977 and 1979).

Fluent in the Polish language, he was highly regarded by expatriate Poles in both Britain and the United States. The Polish Government in Exile awarded him the Gold Cross of Merit, and the Order of Polonia Restituta.

From 1971 until 1977 he was Secretary of the Katyn Memorial Fund. He served as chairman of the Katyn Memorial Committee in London, which organized the erection of an impressive obelisk memorial to the Polish victims that he and his wife had designed.

FitzGibbon was in southern California in September 1979 to speak at the first "International Revisionist Conference," organized by the Institute for Historical Review. His address, "Hidden Aspects of the Katyn Massacre: The 'Lost 10,000'," was published in the premier, Spring 1980 issue of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*.

(http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v01/v01p-31_FitzGibbon.html) American editions of his book, *Katyn*, were published by Noontide Press in 1979, and by the IHR in 1980.

In 1972-73 he headed a United Nations emergency refugee relief program in Sudan, serving in Khartoum and Juba. He also became involved with the plight of the people of Somalia, a country he visited twice in 1978. His book on the subject, *The Betrayal of the Somalis*, was published in 1982.

Louis FitzGibbon died in London, age 78, on January 31, 2003.

Source: Revisionists.com



Roger Garaudy

A former French Communist leader, philosopher and recent convert to Revisionism and Islam, Garaudy was charged, tried and convicted for writing a semi-Revisionist book titled "The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics," in which he had quoted extensively from material by Dr. Faurisson (without attribution) and by Barbara Kulaszka's book "Did Six Million Really Die?" (with attribution). He was condemned to a \$50,000 fine. His trial was a farce and his performance in court disappointing. However, as a result, he seems to have kicked loose an avalanche of Revisionist thought and activities in the Moslem world, much to the chagrin of Israel -- a country that more and more considers Revisionism its Number One problem.

Repercussions:

Charged, tried and convicted in France.

Source: Revisionists.com



Nick Griffin

Charged, tried, convicted and fined in England.

Famous for his recent court case over pictures and words published in the magazine "The Rune", Griffin, a well-known



British political activist, was charged, tried and convicted as a sacrificial lamb on the altar of Tony Blair's election promises - to be "tougher on Revisionists and racists." Two US black separatist leaders spoke out as witnesses for Griffin, but he was convicted nonetheless to a steep fine of £3,000. (The expert witness for the defense was none other than Dr. Robert Faurisson who helped out once again when help was needed.) Griffin is reported to be unbowed.

Source: Zundelsite.org



William Grimstad

William Grimstad, a professional journalist, has written for four major American newspapers, and been editor of *Georgetown Today*, the official magazine of Georgetown University. Grimstad is a longtime student of international Zionism and its far-flung operations.. His two books, *Anti-Zion* and *Six Million Reconsidered*, often regarded as classics in the field, are available from IHR.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Jürgen Graf

Juergen Graf, a Swiss citizen, was born in 1951 in Basel. He studied French, English, and Scandinavian languages at the University of Basel, and then worked for some years as a teacher. After becoming acquainted with the revisionist view of the Holocaust in 1991, he became active in this field.

In the years since, he has carried out extensive research in different archives on the Holocaust

issue, and has written and lectured extensively on various aspects of it.

He is the author of five books on various aspects of the Holocaust issue, and co-author (with **Carlo Mattogno**) of three additional works.

Graf's "Holocaust on the Test Stand" book has appeared in German, French, Spanish, Dutch, Bulgarian, Italian, Russian and Arabic editions. In March 1993, following publication of the 112-page German edition, *Der Holocaust auf dem Prüfstand*, he was summarily dismissed from his post as a secondary school teacher of Latin and French. In December 1994 the French-language edition, *L'Holocauste au scanner*, was banned in France by order of the country's Interior Ministry. Some 200,000 copies of an expanded edition of this work were published and distributed in Russia under the title "The Myth of the Holocaust."

In 1998 he was prosecuted, along with his publisher, Gerhard Förster, for "denying" the gas chambers and the six million figure. In July 1998 a Swiss court sentenced him to 15 months imprisonment, and to pay a large fine, because of his writings.

Rather than serve the sentence, in August 2000 Graf went into exile. In 2001 he married a Russian historian in Moscow. He earns his living as a translator, including as a translator for the *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*.

Graf's lectures at the Twelfth (1994) and **13th (2000)** IHR Conferences have been published in the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*.

For more about Graf and his writings, see: www.ety.com/tell/index.htm



Russ Granata

Russ Granata, who lived in southern California, was an educator, writer and translator. For years he worked closely with Italian revisionist scholar Carlo Mattogno, translating his writings into English.



Russ Granata (right) with Carlo Mattogno at the 12th IHR conference in 1994.

Through his own publishing enterprise, he issued English-language editions of works by Mattogno, including *My Banned Holocaust Interview*, and *The Crematories of Auschwitz: A Critique of Jean-Claude Pressac*.

He served as Mattogno's translator when addressing conferences of the Institute for Historical Review, and helped to produce the IHR's English-language edition of Mattogno's book, *Auschwitz: The End of a Legend*. Granata was also a contributor to the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*.

In late 1994 and early 1995, Granata spoke about the Holocaust story and Mattogno's works on broadcasts of the radio show "At a Glance." He appeared three times as a guest at the invitation of host Rodney Bardin, an old acquaintance.

Granata was a six-times decorated US Navy veteran of World War Two. He was a graduate of the University of California (B.A.) and the University of Southern California (M.A.), specializing in European history and literature. He taught European history, literature and German for 33 years in southern California public schools.

He died at his home in Palos Verdes, California, on August 14, 2004. He is survived by his wife, Doris, and several children and grandchildren.

Paul Grubach

Paul Grubach graduated from John Carroll University in Cleveland with honors in Physics (B.S.). He is currently doing graduate work in sociobiology.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Robert A. Hall

Robert A. Hall, Jr. is a Professor Emeritus of Linguistics and Italian at Cornell University. He is the author of numerous books dealing with Italian language, literature, and culture

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Vaclav Havel

Vaclav Havel is president of the Czech Republic. This is excerpted from an address he gave on the occasion of receiving the Liberty Medal at Independence Hall in Philadelphia on the Fourth of July, 1994.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Don Heddesheimer

Don Heddesheimer's study of American Jewish reactions to the Bolshevik revolution and the Communist consolidation of power in Russia, "Der erste Holocaust anno 1914-1927," appeared in the Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung (3, no. 2 [June 1999]) and may be read at the VffG page of the website: www.vho.org

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Hajo Herrmann

Hajo Herrmann (1913-2010) was an outstanding German Luftwaffe pilot who also distinguished himself during the Second World War as a courageous air force commander and innovative air defense tactician. After the war he built a new career as an attorney, and became known for his role in civil rights cases, defending patriots and so-called "Holocaust deniers" accused of violating German laws against free speech. Until his death at the age of 97, he remained steadfastly loyal to his people, his heritage, and the ideals of his youth.



After beginning his military career as an infantry officer, he was commissioned in the newly formed Luftwaffe in 1935. From 1936 until 1937, he was a bomber pilot in the Condor Legion, which aided the Nationalists in the Spanish civil war.

After the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, he flew planes in the campaigns in Poland and Norway. By 1940 he was Commander of the 7th *Staffel* KG-4 combat squadron, and led many air attacks on England during the "Battle of Britain." In February 1941, his group went to Sicily, where it flew against British forces in Malta and Greece. In one attack, Herrmann dropped a bomb on an ammunition ship that set off an explosion so devastating that it sank eleven ships and rendered the Greek port of Piraeus unusable for months. In early 1942, he was Commander of III/KG 30, which struck from Norway against Allied Arctic convoys, including attacks on convoy PQ-17

In mid-1942 he was assigned to the Luftwaffe Operational Staff, where he soon made a name for himself as an outstanding tactical and opera-

tional innovator in strengthening Germany's air defenses.

In response to the ever more devastating attacks by British and American bombers, Herrmann created Luftwaffe night fighter attack squadron Jagdgeschwader 300, nicknamed *Wilde Sau* (German: wild boar), which used an innovative freelance fighter technique. Experienced night flying pilots and ex-instructors in Fw 190 fighters would visually "free-hunt" enemy bombers by the light of fires below, and with the aid of special 'flare-carrier" Junkers JU 88 s following the bomber streams, as well as the use of the Naxos radar detector unit on some of these single-engined fighters to find British night bombers when they were using radar.

In December 1943, the 30-year-old Herrmann was appointed Inspector of Aerial Defense. By 1944, he was Inspector General of night fighters. At the end of 1944, he led the "9. Fliegerdivision (J)."

During the war, all Germans were targeted for death in a ruthless bombing effort that Allied authorities themselves called a terror campaign. More than half a million were killed, and many more were maimed or wounded. More than seven million were made homeless. Herrmann's important role in strengthening his homeland's air defenses helped to save the lives of many women, children and other civilians from horrific suffering and death.

As a bomber pilot, Herrmann flew 320 missions and sank twelve ships totaling 70,000 tons. He also flew more than 50 night fighter missions, destroying nine Allied bombers. He was shot down four times, and wounded twice. For his valor and skill, he earned a number of decorations, including the Knight's Cross with Oak Leaves and Swords, the German Cross in Gold, and the Iron Cross, first and second class.

At the end of the war Herrmann became a Soviet captive, and was held for ten years in Soviet Russian prison camps.

After returning to his homeland in 1955, he studied law and settled in Düsseldorf, where he worked as an attorney. He served as a civil rights lawyer in defending such "thought criminals" as Otto Ernst Remer, David Irving and Fred Leuchter, who were charged with violating German laws against free speech. In the case of Irving, Herrmann defended the British historian at no charge in three "thought crimes" trials, 1990-1993.

Herrmann was a friend of the Institute for Historical Review. On Nov. 8, 1998, he addressed an IHR meeting in southern California, where he provided fascinating details about his remarkable life, and insights into the climate of intellectual repression in Germany. On several occasions he sought help and advice from IHR director Mark Weber.

Herrmann was the author of two volumes of memoirs. An English-language edition of his memoirs was published in 1991 under the title *Eagle's Wings*.

He remained active into the final years of his life, practicing law and addressing meetings.

Source: Revisionists.com



Michael Hoffman

Hoffman is a former Associated Press reporter and author of the first book on Ernst Zündel's 1985 Trial, a biography that has undergone many printings. He is an indefatigable Revisionist researcher. He publishes a monthly newsletter titled Revisionist History, and is



the author and publisher of numerous books and booklets. A noted, talented speaker and producer of Revisionist videos, Hoffman is also one of Revisionists' most skilled and passionate writers. He has drawn the Holocaust Lobby's ire for his grass roots street level activism and manly courage.

Repercussions:

Viciously character-assassinated.

Source: Revisionists.com



David L. Hoggan, 1923-1988

David Leslie Hoggan, author of *The Forced War* and other works, was born in Portland, Oregon, on March 23, 1923. After study at Reed College in Portland, he went to Harvard University, where in 1948 he earned a Ph.D. in history for his dissertation on German-Polish relations in 1938-1939.



After Harvard Hoggan taught and studied at the Amerika Institut of the University of Munich (1949-1952), the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of California at Berkeley, San Francisco State College, and Carthage Lutheran College in Illinois.

In 1955 he came into contact with Harry Elmer Barnes, who encouraged Hoggan to expand his Harvard dissertation into *The Forced War*, and obtained the financial assistance necessary for this undertaking. However, disagreement between Barnes and Hoggan about some citations in the work resulted in a decision by the scheduled publisher, Devin-Adair, to withdraw from the project. It was finally published in 1989 by the IHR under the title *The Forced War: Why Peaceful Revision Failed*.

Despite his objections on minor points, Barnes characterized *The Forced War* in these words: "In its present form, it not only constitutes the first thorough study of the responsibility for the causes of the Second World War in any language, but is likely to remain the definitive revisionist work on this subject for many years."

The Forced War compliments *The Origins of The Second World War*, the best-selling non-conformist examination of the conflict by the brilliant British historian A. J. P. Taylor. But in

contrast to virtually every other work on this subject, Hoggan's study made extensive use of Polish sources. Also in contrast to Taylor and others, Hoggan closely examined the oppression of Poland's ethnic German minority, which was an important factor in Hitler's decision to go to war against the Polish state.

Hoggan's detailed study was published in Germany in 1961 by Grabert Verlag (Tübingen) under the title *Der Erzwungene Krieg*. It generated prompt and wide attention. The well-known conservative writer Armin Mohler declared that the work had brought World War II revisionism "out of the ghetto" in Germany. The work was predictably attacked by West Germany's historical establishment, for example in a lengthy 1964 front-cover article in the influential weekly *Der Spiegel*. Over the years *Der Erzwungene Krieg* has gone through at least 13 printings, and sold more than 50,000 copies.

Several of Dr. Hoggan's historical writings have appeared only in German, including *Frankreichs Widerstand gegen den Zweiten Weltkrieg* ("France's Resistance Against the Second World War"), published by Grabert in 1963, *Der unnötige Krieg* ("The Unnecessary War"), published in 1976, and the two-part book, *Das blinde Jahrhundert* ("The Blind Century"), consisting of *Amerika -- das messianische Unheil* ("America: The Messianic Disaster"), which appeared in 1979, and *Europa -- Die verlorene Weltmitte* ("Europe: The Lost World Center"), published in 1984. *Meine Anmerkungen zu Deutschland: Der Anglo-amerikanische Kreuzzugsgedanke im 20. Jahrhundert* ("My Thoughts on Germany: The Anglo-American Crusade Mentality in the 20th Century") appeared posthumously in 1990.

Hoggan's English-language study, *The Myth of the 'New History'*, (1965 and 1985), earned praise from Revilo Oliver as "an important and very valuable book ... ably written ... admirably short and to the point ..."

Hoggan's lecture at the IHR's Sixth Conference in 1985, "[Plato's Dialectic v. Hegel and Marx](#)," appeared in the spring 1986 issue of *The Jour-*

nal of Historical Review . The Ninth IHR Conference, 1989, was dedicated to his memory.

During his final years David Hoggan lived with his wife in Menlo Park, northern California. He died there of a heart attack on August 7, 1988.

Source: Revisionists.com



Gerd Honsik

Honsik, an Austrian writer and poet, wrote several devastating books -- one exposing Simon Wiesenthal, one titled "Freispruch für Hitler" and a third "33 Witnesses against the Gas Chamber Lie." He was convicted in Austria and Germany to fines in excess of DM 50,000 and forced to go into exile in Spain where he now lives, Gerd Honsik writes a monthly Revisionist newsletter in tabloid format titled "Halt!" ("Stop!") -- meaning "Stop the hatred and lies!"



Repercussions:

Convicted, fined and driven into exile.

Source: Revisionists.com



Jeffrey Roger Hummel

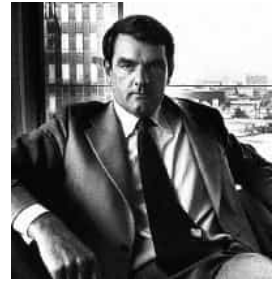
Jeffrey Rogers Hummel is a writer who has been published in such journals as *New Libertarian*, *Reason*, *Libertarian Review*, *Inquiry*, and *Strategy and Tactics*. He studied American Economic History at the graduate school of the University of Texas. He is a libertarian activist who has served three times on the National Platform Committee of the Libertarian Party. He is currently working on a book about national defense.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



David Irving

David Irving, the controversial British historian, is the author of numerous books on military history and World War II, including several international best-sellers.



On November 11, 2005, he was arrested during a visit in Austria for the "thought crime" -- committed in 1989 (!) -- of having referred to "mythical" gas chambers at Auschwitz . Denied bail, he was held in jail until his trial on February 20, 2006, when a court in Vienna sentenced him to three years in prison for having "denied the Holocaust."



In the aftermath of the trial, newspapers, political leaders and intellectuals around the world spoke out against the sentence, as well as against the laws in Europe under which he and other dissidents have been imprisoned and fined for "Holocaust denial" (The only voices of approval were the predictable Zionist ones.)

While Irving is perhaps the most prominent "thought criminal" in the western world today, his case is by no means unique. In several European countries, as well as in Israel, "Holocaust denial" is a crime. The list of those who have been imprisoned, fined or forced into exile for expressing skepticism about the official Holocaust story is a long one, and includes Robert Faurisson, Roger Garaudy and Georges Thiel in France, Siegfried Verbeke in Belgium, Jürgen Graf and Gaston-Armand Amaudruz in Switzerland, and Günter Deckert, Hans Schmidt and Fredrick Toben in Germany .

David John Cawdell Irving was born on March 24, 1938, in Essex, England, the son of a Royal Navy Commander. After education at London University, he spent a year working in a steel

mill in Germany, where he perfected his fluency in the language. (He later also learned to speak very good Spanish.)

His first book, *The Destruction of Dresden*, was published in 1963, when he was 25 years old. This was followed by many others, including *The Mare's Nest: The Secret Weapons of the Third Reich*, *The Rise and Fall of the Luftwaffe*, *The German Atomic Bomb*, *The War Between the Generals* and *The Trail of the Fox*, a best-selling biography of Field Marshall Erwin Rommel.

His books have appeared in a range of languages. Several have been serialized in prominent periodicals. He has contributed articles to some 60 British and foreign periodicals including the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Sunday Express* in Britain, and *Stern* and *Der Spiegel* in Germany.

Irving has a track record of uncovering startling new facts about supposedly well-known episodes of history. Much of his effectiveness has been due to his extensive reliance on primary source materials, such as diaries, original documents and so forth, from both official archives and private sources. He is disdainful of scholars who engage in what he calls inter-historian incest, and who thereby help to keep alive myths left over from Second World War propaganda.

"Most of Irving's books," the *Washington Post* once noted, "are big, solid works... All are well written, exciting, fun to read, and all contain new information based on sensational discoveries."

This fiercely independent and iconoclastic historian is widely acknowledged – even by adversaries – as an eminent authority on World War II, Hitler and Third Reich Germany. British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper, writing in the *Sunday Times* of London, once declared: "No praise can be too high for Irving's indefatigable scholarly industry." He also called Irving one of the "few guides I would entirely trust ... indefatigable in pursuit of the evidence, fearless in face of it, sound in judgment

..." Another prominent British historian, A.J.P. Taylor, wrote: "David Irving is a patient researcher of unrivalled industry and success."

Professor Gordon Craig of Stanford University, writing in 1996 in *The New York Review of Books*, remarked: "The fact is that he [Irving] knows more about National Socialism than most professional scholars in his field, and students of the years 1933–1945 owe more than they are always willing to admit to his energy as a researcher and to the scope and vigor of his publications ... Such people as David Irving, then, have an indispensable part in the historical enterprise, and we dare not disregard their views."

Following the publication in 1977 of *Hitler's War*, probably his most important single work, he came under fire for its contention that Hitler did not order the extermination of Europe's Jews. The mass killings must have been carried out by Himmler and his cohorts behind Hitler's back, Irving concluded at that time. In 2002 a completely revised and updated deluxe edition of *Hitler's War* was published under Irving's own Focal Point imprint.

His 1981 book, *Uprising!*, an examination of the 1956 anti-Communist revolt in Hungary, also earned the ire of Jewish-Zionist groups because it did not ignore or whitewash the significant Jewish role in the Hungarian Communist regime. Irving's biography of Hermann Göring was published in 1989. *Churchill's War: The Struggle for Power*, the first volume of Irving's monumental biography of Britain's wartime leader, was published in 1987. The second volume, subtitled *Triumph in Adversity*, appeared in 2001.

Irving's testimony in the Holocaust trial in 1988 of Ernst Zundel was a startling high point of that important court case. Appearing as the last of 23 defense witnesses, Irving stunned the packed Toronto courtroom by announcing that he had changed his mind about the Holocaust story. During his three days on the stand, he explained in detail why he no longer accepted that masses of Jews were killed in gas cham-

bers during World War II, or that Hitler ordered the extermination of European Jewry.

Irving has made successful speaking tours in Germany, Canada, Australia, South Africa, the United States and other countries.

For example, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, he made triumphal speaking visits in what was still the “German Democratic Republic.” In February 1990 he addressed a large audience in Dresden on the 45th anniversary of the Allied firebombing of that once beautiful, baroque city. Large posters with Irving's picture appeared throughout the city to announce his presentation. He was greeted with flowers by Dresden's cultural affairs director, and was interviewed on television. When he appeared on stage before the microphones, more than a thousand people gave him a standing ovation. Speaking in fluent German, he recounted Churchill's campaign to obliterate German cities. In June of that same year he returned for another speaking tour in the GDR. In spite of a ten mark admission fee, large crowds came to hear him speak in Leipzig, Gera, and again in Dresden .

On April 21, 1990, Irving was arrested in Munich after having addressed a sell-out crowd in the Bavarian city's famed Löwenbräu beer-hall because during his talk he had referred to the “gas chamber” shown to tourists at the Auschwitz main camp as a phony postwar dummy (“*Attrappe*”). His arrest was followed by a spontaneous demonstration of some 250 supporters, who carried posters of Irving and two other Holocaust skeptics, Robert Faurisson and Ernst Zundel. After the crowd made its way past the historic Feldherrnhalle, police waded in and arrested several of the demonstrators.

For that remark, a German court in January 1993 fined Irving 30,000 marks (about \$20,000), and later that year he was banned from the country. On the basis of that ban, he was subsequently barred from Canada, Australia and New Zealand .

As it happens, Irving's 1990 remark in Munich was, in fact, the truth. As even the curator of the Auschwitz State Museum has since acknowledged, the “gas chamber” shown to hundreds of thousands of visitors to the site is indeed a fraudulent postwar reconstruction.

Over the years Irving has addressed several conferences and meetings of the Institute for Historical Review. For example, in an address at an IHR meeting on April 17, 2005, entitled “The Faking of Adolf Hitler for History,” he identified some of the many fraudulent historical documents that have been cited over the years by “conformist” historians of the Third Reich era.

In 1998 Irving filed a lawsuit in London against Deborah Lipstadt and her British publisher, Penguin Books. He charged that Lipstadt had libeled him in her book, *Denying the Holocaust*, by calling him a falsifier and a Holocaust denier. After a much-publicized trial in London in early 2000, during which Irving represented himself, the court ruled in favor of the defendants.

In a ruling made public on April 11, 2000, Judge Charles Gray praised Irving's “thorough and painstaking research into the archives,” and commended his discovery and disclosure of many historical documents. He also noted Irving's intelligence and thorough knowledge of World War II history. On balance, though, Judge Gray's lengthy statement was a severe rebuke of Irving, whom he called an anti-Semitic and racist “Holocaust denier” who had “deliberately misrepresented and manipulated historical evidence.”

Irving was obliged to pay substantial costs of the trial. He lost subsequent attempts to appeal the verdict, and was forced into bankruptcy.



For Further Reading

Irving's website: <http://www.fpp.co.uk>.

[Report on Irving's Testimony in the 1988 Toronto Trial](#)

“Life Under Fire” by David Irving (1992)

“David Irving’s Most Un-Excellent Adventure” in Canada (1992)

“Irving on Churchill” by T. J. O’Keefe

“A British Historian Defends His Livelihood and Honor” Opening Statement in the London Libel Trial (January 11, 2000)

Excerpts from the Irving-Lipstadt Trial Transcripts

“David Irving’s Final Address in the London Libel Trial” (March 15, 2000)

Media Coverage of the Irving-Lipstadt Trial (March-April 2000)

After the Irving-Lipstadt Trial: New Dangers and Challenges

“Lying about Hitler” Review by S. Crowell, of the book by R. Evans

“Irving, Weber Speak on Hitler’s Place in History” (April 2005)

“Holocaust Denial’ Laws are Disgraceful,” by M. Weber (June 2006)

Source: Revisionists.com

Robert John

Robert John -- foreign affairs analyst, diplomatic historian, author and psychiatrist -- was born in Nice, France, of British parents. Educated in England, he graduated from University of London King’s College, and then studied at the Middle Temple, Inns of Court, in London.

Two close family members served with the British military in World War II. A brother, Malcolm John, volunteered in 1939 and was wounded in service in North Africa, and at Monte Casino in Italy. A cousin, Alain John, died at the age of 18 from wounds suffered when the bomber he was navigating crashed after returning from a raid on Germany.

Robert John was the author, with Sami Hadawi, of an important scholarly work, *The Palestine Diary: British, American and United Nations Intervention, 1914-1948*. This detailed two-volume work, first published in 1970, includes a laudatory foreword by the eminent British historian Arnold Toynbee.

For many years Robert John lived in New York City, just off Park Avenue in Manhattan. He served as foreign affairs advisor to the Council on American Affairs in Washington from 1976 to 1986. He contributed to a range of serious periodicals, including *Chronicles* and *The Journal of Historical Review*.

His book, *Behind the Balfour Declaration: The Hidden Origin of Today’s Mideast Crisis*, was published in 1988 by the Institute for Historical Review. It was based on a paper he presented at the Fifth IHR Conference in 1983.

Robert John died on June 4, 2007, age 86. He is remembered as an accomplished scholar with an abiding concern for justice and humanity, and as a principled fighter for historical truth.

Source: Revisionists.com

Lesya Jones

Lesya Jones is the former Secretary of the Canadian Charitable Committee in Defence of John Demjanjuk. This review first appeared in *The Ukrainian Voice* (Winnipeg), July 31, 1995.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Jim Keegstra

Lost his job and his reputation was destroyed. Prevented an arson attempt against him. Was convicted to a \$3,000 fine after 10 years of costly litigation. Was financially ruined by his ordeal.

A Canadian school teacher of Dutch background, Keegstra taught both sides of the Holocaust and other questions of history. He was charged under Canada's infamous "Hate Laws", and was tried and convicted. He appealed - and was re-tried and re-convicted. Three times, his case went to the Supreme Court. He ultimately lost. Zündel witness in the 1985 Great Holocaust Trial.



Source: Zundelsite.org



Erhard Kemper

Legally harassed. Endlessly hounded.

Kemper is a German agrarian engineer and gifted, politically astute freelance writer who has been arrested, tried and convicted for his revisionist writings in Germany dozens of times. He is unbroken in spirit, in spite of the constant legal harassment and failing health as a result of his persecution. He has been completely impoverished and his health has been ruined, but he bravely soldiers on.



Source: Zundelsite.org



Samuel Konkin

Samuel Edward Konkin, III, was an influential libertarian writer, publisher and activist.

He was born in 1947 in Canada, where he also grew up. He studied at the University of Alberta, where he received a B.Sc. degree in



Chemistry, and went on to graduate school at the University of Wisconsin, and then New York University, where he earned a MS degree in theoretical chemistry

He was influenced by such writers as Robert Heinlein, C. L. Lewis, Robert LeFevre, and Murray Rothbard. In 1975 Konkin moved to southern California, where he lived until his death in February 2004.

Also known as SEK3, Konkin was the author of "The New Libertarian Manifesto," and founder of the Agorist Institute and of the Movement of the Libertarian Left. For some years he was editor and publisher of the *New Libertarian* magazine. In keeping with his libertarian outlook, he fervently opposed US military interventionism in foreign countries, and all forms of state collectivism. He was an ardent defender of free speech and free intellectual inquiry, and he promoted an iconoclastic view of history.

He was a good friend of the Institute for Historical Review. He presented a paper at the Third IHR conference (1981), contributed to the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*, and for years was a member of the IHR *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee.

Among the close friends who spoke at the memorial service following his death were authors Brad Linaweaver, Victor Koman and J. Neil Schulman, and US Congressman Dana Rohrabacher. He is survived by a son, Samuel Konkin IV

For more about his life, see the [sketch by Jeff Riggensbach](#), and the [tribute by J. Neil Schulman](#).

Source: Revisionists.com



Anthony Kubek

Dr. Kubek was a nationally prominent authority on American foreign policy,

especially US policy in Asia.

Anthony Kubek was born in 1920. After a year as a scholarship student at Geneva College, he served during World War II in the US Navy in the Pacific theater and the Far East.



He earned three degrees from Georgetown University: B.A. in Foreign Service (1948), M.A. (1950), and Ph.D. in American Diplomatic History (1956). During his academic career, he served as the Academic Dean of Frisco College, in Frisco, Texas, and as a professor at the University of Dallas, where he was chairman of the Department of History and Political Science.

He was widely known as a lecturer and a consultant on American foreign policy. He was active in the national honor society Phil Alpha Theta, the Political Science Association, and the American Historical Association.

His published writings included *The Amerasian Papers*, a two-volume study issued by the US Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *How the Far East was Lost: American Policy and the Creation of Communist China, 1941-1949* (published in 1963 and 1972), *The Red China Papers* (1975), *Ronald Reagan and Free China* (2002), as well as a monograph, *Communism at Pearl Harbor: How the Communists Helped to Bring on Pearl Harbor and Open Up Asia to Communization*.

Dr. Kubek addressed the Ninth IHR Conference (1989), presenting a paper, "[The Morgenthau Plan and the Problem of Policy Perversion](#)," which was published in the Fall 1989 *Journal of Historical Review*.

Throughout his life he was a devout Roman Catholic and staunchly anti-Communist. He and his wife Naomi Dugan Kubek were parents of four children. He died on June 10, 2003, at his home in Irving, Texas.

Source: Revisionists.com

Emil Lachout

Mercilessly hounded by Austrian authorities and the Austrian lapdog media for over a decade. Forced to undergo a humiliating psychiatric assessment.



An Austrian school teacher, former military police man and Boy Scout leader, Lachout's name is associated with the famous Müller-Lachout document. He ultimately won his case in the European Court of Human Rights. Austria must pay him compensation but hasn't done yet - so far. Never a man to do things by halves, Lachout is demanding an apology from the Austrian State. Zündel witness in the [1988 Great Holocaust Trial](#).

Source: Zundelsite.org

Ivan Lagace

A crematory expert from Calgary, Alberta, who had been responsible for the disposing of 10,000 bodies in his career, Lagace finally sorted out - publicly and in open court - all the fanciful lies about the Germans supposedly "cremating multiple corpses in single corpse retorts" in Auschwitz, Birkenau and elsewhere. Lagace's testimony put an end to the wild claims by so-called "death camp survivors" about "... cremating bodies in five minutes" etc. His testimony - together with Fred Leuchter's findings as well as the lab results presented by Dr. James Roth of Alpha Laboratories from the soil and rock samples Leuchter had brought from Auschwitz to the USA - spelled the death knell of fanciful "survivor" claims. Lagace was raided by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in his crematory office



where he was making notes and keeping photographs taken for future court cases hidden in a container for human ashes. Zündel witness in the [Great Holocaust Trial of 1988](#).

Repercussions:

Became the target of several Royal Canadian Mounted Police raids. Resigned from his job as crematory director after receiving endless threats by anonymous callers and from thugs claiming to be the Jewish Defense League.

Source: Revisionists.com



R. Clarence Lang

Reuben Clarence Lang is a retired professor of German and history. He was born in North Dakota in January 1925 as one of nine children. Both of his parents were ethnic German immigrants from South Russia.

He earned a Bachelor of Arts degree (B.A.) at Wartburg College in Iowa, and a baccalaureate of divinity degree from Wartburg Seminary. He earned a Master of Arts degree (M.A.) in history at the University of South Dakota, with a thesis on the foreign policy of Gustav Stresemann. In 1966 he earned a doctoral degree (Ph.D.) in history at the University of Kiel in northern Germany. His dissertation examined the image of Germany in the United States, 1918 to 1923, as reflected in American magazines and newspapers.

Dr. Lang has served as an Evangelical Lutheran pastor at congregations in Canada and in North and South Dakota (USA). For 30 years he taught history and German on a college level for 30 years, including four years at Midland Lutheran College in Fremont, Nebraska. He retired in the late 1980s as an Associate Professor of German from the faculty of Texas Lutheran College in Seguin, Texas, where he had taught for four and a half years.

Dr. Lang is married and has two daughters.

For years he was a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, which was published by the Institute for Historical Review.

Dr. Lang addressed the Eighth IHR Conference, October 1987, in Irvine, California. His presentation, "[Imposed German Guilt](#)" [The Stuttgart Declaration of 1945](#)," was published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1988.

Source: Revisionists.com



Edward Langford

Edward Langford is the pen name of a historian and anthropologist who holds a doctoral degree in anthropology. He is the author of numerous articles dealing with history, and several books on anthropology.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Martin A. Larson

Martin A. Larson (1897-1994) was an American scholar and author who specialized in religious history, comparative religion, the origins and evolution of Christianity, the life and work of Thomas Jefferson, and taxation and money issues. He was a free-thinker and a populist, and an ardent defender of individual freedom, both political and religious.



He was born in Whitehall, Michigan. His upbringing was fundamentalist Christian, but even as a youth he had "doubts concerning its dogmas and practices." And although he rejected that outlook when he was about 20, he explained during a talk given in 1978, "I never lost an interest in religion as a social phenomenon or in its influence upon mankind."

Following service in the U.S. Navy, he graduated from Kalamazoo College in Michigan , where he had distinguished himself in track, forensics and scholarship. With a state fellowship, he went on to study at the University of Michigan , where he earned a Ph.D. in English literature. His doctoral work on the unorthodox religious views of John Milton was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1927 under the title *The Modernity of Milton*, a book that was re-issued in several later editions.

After teaching at what is later became Eastern Michigan University and the University of Idaho , he embarked on a business career. He was so successful that he was able to retire after 15 years at the age of 53 to devote the remainder of his life to study, research, writing and lecturing.

Dr. Larson was a guest many times on radio and television. He was the author of countless articles essays and reviews. His writings in appeared in a range of periodicals, including Fortune, Parade and Reader's Digest. For many years his weekly column, "Our World in Conflict," appeared in The Spotlight, a paper published by Liberty Lobby in Washington , DC .

Larson was the author of more than 20 books, which was issued in hundreds of thousands of copies. Among his books were: *New Thought: A Modern Religious Approach*; *The Essene-Christian Faith*; *The Story of Christian Origins*; *The I.R.S. vs. The Middle Class*; *Martin Larson's Best*; *The Continuing Tax Rebellion*; *The Story of Christian Origins*; *The Federal Reserve*; *The Great Tax Fraud* ; and, *Jefferson: Magnificent Populist*.

On several occasions Dr. Larson addressed meetings of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR). He spoke at the first IHR conference, held at Northrop University in Los Angeles in 1979, dedicating it to the memory of his friend of many years, historian Harry Elmer Barnes. Larson concluded his address with the words: "Let this convention be a memorial to this great and courageous man, and let his great spirit, which never was daunted by obstacles or

threats, permeate our own work while we are here."

His talk at the Third IHR Conference in 1981 was entitled "Whatever Happened to the Dead Sea Scrolls?" The next year he addressed the Fourth IHR conference with a talk titled "Modern Israeli Policy and Old Testament Prophecy." And his address at the Eighth IHR Conference in 1987 was titled "An Update on the Dead Sea Scrolls."

He served as a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review* from its first issue in 1980 until his death. Over the years four articles by Dr. Larson appeared in the *Journal*.

During the final years of his life he lived in Phoenix , Arizona , with his wife, Emma.

Source: Revisionists.com



Jean Marie Le Pen

The flamboyant French leader of the "Front National", the largest and most promising nationalist political party in Europe, "belittled" the Holocaust and called it "a mere detail, a footnote in the history of WWII" -- apparently using the phrase on three different occasions! He was recently convicted in a French court under the Communist-inspired Gayssot Law. He was given a steep fine and forbidden to run in elections for the next two years. Le Pen is undeterred, even though politically victimized for years by the French political establishment and a disgustingly hypocritical, largely Jewish-dominated French media.



Repercussions:

Charged, convicted and under political sanctions in France.

Source: Revisionists.com

Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.

Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., is the foremost expert on the design and fabrication of hardware, including homicidal gas chambers, used to execute convicted criminals in the United States. After receiving a Bachelor's degree (in history) from Boston University in 1964, Leuchter did postgraduate work at the Harvard Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory. He holds patents on the design of sextants, surveying instruments and optical encoding equipment. He is an accomplished pianist and an NRA-qualified small-arms instructor. Leuchter is perhaps best known as the author of two controversial forensic reports on alleged German wartime extermination gas chambers.



Leuchter designed and maintained gas chambers for several U.S. penal institutions. He was sent by Ernst Zündel to investigate Auschwitz, Majdanek, Dachau, Hartheim and other alleged "Nazi Death Camps" and "gassing facilities." Author of the devastating series of Leuchter Reports. (I, II, III, IV) and many articles and videotaped presentations that resulted from these investigations. Sensational Zündel witness in the [Great Holocaust Trial in 1988](#).

Repercussions:

Leuchter was blacklisted in the U.S. and hounded by the Holocaust lobby and the world's lapdog media. He was arrested and jailed in Germany while visiting there to appear on a television show.

As a result of intense Jewish pressure, Leuchter lost his livelihood. Since making known his findings, he also has been libelled, slandered, and financially ruined.

Source: Revisionists.com

Alfred M. Lilienthal, historian, journalist and lecturer, is a graduate of Cornell University and Columbia Law School. During the Second World War, he served with the US Army in the Middle East. He later served with the Department of State, and as a consultant to the American delegation at the organizing meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco. Since 1947, he has been at the forefront in the struggle for a balanced US policy in the Middle East. He is the author of several acclaimed books on the Middle East, including *The Zionist Connection*. (Available from the IHR for \$29, plus \$3 shipping.) He now lives in Washington, DC. This commentary is taken from Dr. Lilienthal's address at a meeting of the National Association of Arab Americans in Los Angeles, December 5, 1992.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Attorney Kirk Lyons

Viciously character-assassinated by the media and "Jewish defense" organizations after defending the rights of US patriots.



An American civil rights lawyer of note, skill and courage and defender of many patriots, especially the "Dead of Waco," Lyons has represented people like Fred Leuchter in controversial cases, and has lately been targeted by the conservative "Spotlight" for "special media treatment" because he won a large suit against a law firm which had mismanaged a case involving one of his clients, the former Populist Party of the USA and Don Wassal. Character assassins are still trying to falsely link Lyons to the Oklahoma City bombing via a client of his, Andy Strasmair, son of a famous German political operative and advisor to Helmut Kohl. Lyons has also defended patriots in the famous "Fort

Smith Sedition Trial" and has since been vilified by the ADL.

Source: Zundelsite.org

Walter Lüftl

Lüftl was elected to represent 4000 austrian Architects and Construction engineers and was for years a court approved expert witness in cases involving engineering matters. Simon Wiesenthal and his friends in the media agitated, till the highly respected head of his own engineering firm was dismissed from his post. He had circulated privately what has since been published as the Lüftl Report in which he questions the Gassing story on technical grounds.



Repercussions:

Relieved from his elected post as President of Austrian Chamber of Engineers after questioning the gas chamber story, on the basis of his technical and engineering investigations.

Source: Revisionists.com

Kevin MacDonald

Kevin MacDonald, a Professor of Psychology at California State University-Long Beach. He is editor of the scholarly journal Population and Environment, and is a member of the Executive Board of the Human Behavior and Evolution Society. He is the author of numerous scholarly articles and several books, including A People That Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy (1994), Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism (1998), and, The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements (1998). Web site:

<http://www.csulb.edu/~kmacd/>.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Victor Marchetti

Victor Marchetti served for 14 years with the Central Intelligence Agency, where he rose to be executive assistant to the deputy director. He is co-author of The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, published in 1974. Marchetti's address to the Ninth IHR Conference (1989), "Propaganda and Disinformation: How the CIA Manufactures History," appeared in the Fall 1989 Journal. He is presently editor-publisher of the newsletter New American View, P.O. Box 999, Herndon, VA 22070. This item is reprinted, by permission, from the March 1, 1994, issue of New American View.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

James J. Martin

One of the most prominent and influential of American revisionist historians, James J. Martin, has died. He was 87. He died on April 4, 2004, at his home in Colorado Springs, Colorado.



Jim Martin was an exceptionally discerning and productive historian, gifted with an impressive memory and a keen and skeptical eye. During the intellectually barren decades of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, he was one of the few American scholars who kept alive the flame of authentic independent historiography. He knew personally the outstanding revisionist scholars of that era, including Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles Tansill and Francis Nielson.

Martin was born on September 18, 1916. After graduation from the University of New Hampshire in 1942, he studied at the University of

Michigan, where he earned a Master's degree in 1945, and a doctorate in history in 1949.

His teaching career, which spanned 25 years, included teaching posts at Northern Illinois University (DeKalb), San Francisco State College, Deep Springs College, and Rampart College.

Probably the greatest of Dr. Martin's scholarly works is *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941*, a two-volume classic published in 1964 by Devin Adair that documents the transformation of liberal opinion in the US during the 1930s from a policy of peace and neutrality to one of interventionism and war. Harry Elmer Barnes called this work "the most formidable achievement of World War II Revisionism." Clyde R. Miller, journalist and educator, praised it as "probably the most massive contribution to the study of twentieth-century journalism and political propaganda," and "a masterpiece of research, organization and forceful exposition."

He also wrote *Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America*, first published in 1953 and reprinted in 1970. His 360-page work, *The Man Who Invented 'Genocide': The Public Career and Consequences of Raphael Lemkin*, was published in 1984 by the Institute for Historical Review in both hardcover and softcover editions. His final book, *An American Adventure in Book-burning in the Style of 1918*, came out in 1989.

Martin was also the author of three volumes of collected essays: *Revisionist Viewpoints: Essays in a Dissident Historical Tradition*, published in 1971 and again in 1977; *The Saga of Hog Island and Other Essays in Inconvenient History*, which came out in 1977; and, *Beyond Pearl Harbor: Essays on Some Consequences of the Crisis in the Pacific in 1941*, which appeared in 1983.

He was the author of some 200 articles, reviews and essays, which appeared in dozens of periodicals. He contributed to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and was a three-time contributor to the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

For years he edited the books and booklets of the Ralph Myles publishing enterprise, which specialized in works of revisionist history and libertarian thought. (Several years ago its considerable stock of books and booklets was acquired by Noontide Press, an affiliate of the IHR, which now sells and distributes them.)

Jim Martin was a staunch friend and supporter of the Institute for Historical Review. He addressed its First Conference in 1979, as well as the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Eleventh IHR conferences.

Until his death, he was a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*, and over the years a number of his essays and reviews appeared in its pages.

He was married for some years, but he had no children.

I will long remember Jim Martin with gratitude, not only because he was an important influence on my life and outlook, but also as a colleague and friend for more than 20 years. On numerous occasions he welcomed me to his modest home, and I appreciate that we stayed in touch by letter and telephone until the final months of his life.

Jim had little patience for ignorance or foolishness, and was sometimes curt and acerbic. But behind his brusque demeanor was a great mind, a courageous spirit, and a generous heart.

See also "[James J. Martin, 1916-2004](#)," by Jeff Rigenbach

Source: Revisionists.com



Mary Ball Martinez

Mary Ball Martinez was an accredited member of the Vatican press corps from 1973 to 1988, reporting for National Review, The American Spectator and The Wanderer. This essay has

been adapted by her from a section of her 200-page book, *The Undermining of the Catholic Church*. (Available for \$15, postpaid, from Omni/Christian Book Club, P.O. Box 900566, Palmdale, CA 93590.

Source: *Journal of Historical Review*



Carlo Mattogno

Carlo Mattogno, a specialist in text analysis and critique, is Italy's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1951 in Orvieto, Italy, he has carried out advanced linguistic studies in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He is the author of numerous books and monographs, several of which have been published in this Journal. Mattogno has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review* since 1988. He lives with his family in a suburb of Rome.



Source: Revisionists.com



David McCalden

David McCalden, founder of the Institute for Historical Review, was an energetic intellectual gadfly who made a career of discomforting the comfortable. A creative and prolific polemicist with a punchy, urbane writing style, he delighted in combatively challenging orthodox assumptions. He was fervently anti-authoritarian and anti-Nazi, a freethinker, and an uncompromising supporter of free speech and open inquiry.



McCalden was born on September 20, 1951, into a working-class family in Belfast, Northern Ireland. He attended the University of London, Goldsmiths College, graduating in 1974 with a Certificate in Education (Sociology).

He helped organize Hunt Saboteurs, an anti-fox hunting group, and edited its journal. During the mid-1970s he was active in the National Front, a British nationalist group. For a time he was editor of *Nationalist News*, and was a regular contributor to *Britain First* newspaper.

Proud of his Ulster heritage, McCalden was an ardent defender of the rights and interests of northern Ireland's Protestant population.

In October 1978 he moved from England to southern California to work for [Noontide Press](http://NoontidePress.com). At a small meeting in December 1978 in Torrance, California, McCalden laid out a proposal for an Institute for Historical Review, which was accepted by the others present, including Willis Carto, LaVonne Furr and Tom Marcellus.

For two and a half years, and working under the pen name "Lewis Brandon," McCalden served as the IHR's first director. He organized the first "International Revisionist Conference," the IHR's premier public meeting, which was held in September 1979 at Northrop University, near Los Angeles. He supervised the production of revisionist books, tapes and flyers, and made appearances on radio talk shows. In 1980 and early 1981, he edited the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*.

In 1979 McCalden announced an IHR reward offer of \$50,000 to anyone who could provide proof of homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz. Mel Mermelstein, a European-born southern California businessman, who had been deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1944, claimed the reward, but without offering any real proof. He then brought a lawsuit, which set off a protracted legal battle that generated great media attention, including a made-for-television movie, "Never Forget," that featured Leonard Nimoy as Mermelstein. (For more on this, see:

"'Best Witness': Mel Mermelstein, Auschwitz and the IHR" and "History and 'Memory': An Examination of the Evidence of 'Holocaust Witness' Mel Mermelstein".)

After leaving the IHR in April 1981, McCalden published revisionist material under the imprint of Truth Missions, including *Revisionist Reprints* and a 'Holocaust' News broadsheet. From October 1981 until June 1990, he issued the *David McCalden Revisionist Newsletter*, which enthusiastically reported on his own activities, and critically monitored the broader revisionist scene.

McCalden was the author of several booklets, including *Nuremberg and Other War Crimes Trials*, which appeared in 1978 under the pen name of "Richard Harwood," *Exiles From History*, and *The Amazing, Rapidly Shrinking 'Holocaust'* (1987). He also produced a video based on his visits to Auschwitz and the sites of other wartime German camps, and his skeptical examination of the "gas chambers" there.

In 1984 McCalden sued the California Library Association (CLA) after it had cancelled contracts authorizing him to present an exhibit and program on his revisionist views at the CLA's 86th Annual Conference in Los Angeles. In his lawsuit, McCalden charged that the CLA had conspired illegally with the City of Los Angeles, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the American Jewish Committee, and others, to deprive him of his First Amendment free speech rights through "extortionate threats." McCalden's suit, which generated considerable media attention, was carried on after his death by his widow, and eventually ended in an out-of-court settlement.

At a public meeting in Los Angeles on June 7, 1989, McCalden was attacked by Irv Rubin and other thugs of the "Jewish Defense League." They beat McCalden badly, inflicting bloody facial injuries.

David McCalden died, at the age of 39, in El Segundo, California, on October 15, 1990, from complications due to AIDS. He was survived by his second wife, Viviana, and their

daughter.

Source: Revisionists.com



Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey

Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey, Jr., was born and raised in California. During Korean War service with the Marine Corps, he earned the Navy Cross, the Silver Star and two Purple Hearts. From 1967 to 1983 he served as a U.S. congressman. He was co-chairman of the First Earth Day, 1970. He was an early opponent of American involvement in the Vietnam War, and the first Republican in Congress to call for the impeachment of President Nixon. In 1972 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican party presidential nomination. For more about McCloskey's contentious relationship with the Jewish-Zionist lobby, see Paul Findley's book, *They Dare to Speak Out*. This essay is adapted from McCloskey's address at the 13th IHR Conference, May 28, 2000.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Daniel W. Michaels

Daniel W. Michaels retired from the U.S. Department of Defense after 40 years of service. He is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954), and a Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957). He writes from his home in Washington, DC.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Hideo Miki

Hideo Miki is a graduate of the Japanese Military Academy, and of the Command and General Staff College of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces. In 1982 Lieutenant General Miki retired after a thirty-year career in the Self-Defense Forces. Since 1985 he has been a professor at Japan's National Defense Academy, specializing in the history of the Great Pacific

War, including Japan's campaigns in China and against the Soviet Union, and the Korean War. Professor Miki is an expert at kendo, traditional Japanese swordmanship.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Andrew Montgomery

Andrew Montgomery is the pen name of a doctoral candidate in twentieth century history. Last year he was awarded a Master's Degree in history with high honors. A research associate of a US government historical research institute, he is currently working on a doctoral dissertation on the deployment of the Luftwaffe in a particular Second World War campaign.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Robert Morgan

Robert Morgan is the pen name of a writer who holds a bachelor degree in general studies from Indiana University-Purdue University (Indianapolis), as well as graduate certificates in Public Management (Indiana University, South Bend) and Labor Union Studies (I.U.-Purdue, Indianapolis). He is currently working toward a Master of Public Affairs degree (I.U., South Bend). He has been published more than 65 times in 15 publications including the Indiana Bar Association's *Res Gestae*, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency's *Crime & Delinquency*, Indiana University's *Preface*, Indiana Criminal Law Review, and the Indianapolis Star.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Donald Neff

Donald Neff is an American journalist and author. For 16 years he worked for Time magazine, including a period as its Bureau Chief in Israel. He also worked for the *Washington Star* daily newspaper. He is the author of *Fallen Pil-*

lars: U.S. Policy Towards Palestine and Israel Since 1945 (1995), as well as of the 1988 trilogy, *Warriors at Suez: Eisenhower Takes America Into the Middle East in 1956*, *Warriors for Jerusalem: The Six Days that Changed the Middle East*, and *Warriors Against Israel: America Comes to the Rescue*.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Claus Nordbruch

Claus Nordbruch is the author of two books on freedom of expression in today's Germany: *Sind Gedanken noch frei? Zensur in Deutschland* ("Still Free to Think?: Censorship in Germany"), published in 1998 by Universitas (Munich), and *Der Vefassungsschutz: Organisation, Spitzel, Skandale* (Tübingen: Hohenrain, 1999). Dr. Nordbruch lives in Pretoria, South Africa. This essay is translated from the text that appeared in the prestigious Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, June 12, 1999, under the title "Die selbsternannten Tugendwächter im Visier: Schaltet Political Correctness das einstige Volk der Denker gleich?" A lengthier version of this essay, with footnotes, appeared in the quarterly journal *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Postfach 1629, 72006 Tübingen, Germany), June 1999, pp. 12-15.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Carl O. Nordling

Carl O. Nordling was born in Helsinki, Finland in 1919. He qualified as an architect in Helsinki and Stockholm, but his professional work has been mostly in the field of demographic and other statistical investigations connected with master planning. He has published a great number of articles in various scientific fields, including six in the English language.



For more information:

Carl Nordling. "The Jewish Establishment Under Nazi Threat and Domination 1938-1945," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 10 no. 2 (Summer 1990), p. 195.

Carl Nordling. "How Many Jews Died in the German Concentration Camps?," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 11 no. 3 (Fall 1991), p. 335.

Website: <http://home.swipnet.se/nordling/>

Source: Revisionists.com



Theodore O'Keefe

Theodore J. O'Keefe, born in 1949, grew up in Rutherford, New Jersey, and graduated from Regis, a Jesuit high school in Manhattan, New York City. He went on to study at Harvard, where he majored in history.



He is a skilled editor, and the author of numerous published articles, essays and reviews on a range of historical and political subjects. To his work he brings a high level of craftsmanship, along with the critical insight of a keen, sensitive and well-trained mind. He is also a man of considerable linguistic aptitude, having studied Latin, classical Greek, French, German, Spanish, and Italian, as well as some Irish and Japanese.

For some years he devoted his considerable talent to the Institute for Historical Review as a writer and book editor, and as editor of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*.

His writings include two essays that have been distributed by the IHR as leaflets: "The US Holocaust Memorial Museum: A Costly Mistake," and "The Liberation of the Camps: Facts vs. Lies." In recent years O'Keefe has written for *The Occidental Quarterly*, and since 2003

has served as Associate Editor of this "Journal of Western Thought and Opinion."

While working for the Institute for Historical Review, O'Keefe played an important role in defending the IHR against the legal assault of Mel Mermelstein, a California businessman who was interned in the Auschwitz camp during World War II.

During the months leading up to the Mermelstein trial in September 1991, O'Keefe worked closely with IHR attorney William Hulsy, putting in hundreds of hours carefully researching and organizing documents, and reviewing testimony from Mermelstein relating to his complaints, his alleged damages, and his purported background and concentration camp experiences during the Second World War.

O'Keefe carefully went through a small mountain of documents, court records, newspaper articles, and other papers, digging for the nuggets of information that decisively discredited the man whose obsession tried to shut down and silence the Institute for Historical Review.

O'Keefe laid out the case in two lengthy IHR *Journal* articles that detailed Mermelstein's reckless attacks against the IHR, his changing testimony, the legal tricks employed by his lawyers to manipulate the courts, and how the Institute prepared its winning legal defense: "Best Witness': Mel Mermelstein, Auschwitz and the IHR" (Jan.-Feb. 1994 IHR *Journal*) and "History and 'Memory': An Examination of the Evidence of 'Holocaust Witness' Mel Mermelstein" (July-August 1997 IHR *Journal*)

O'Keefe's began the second of these articles with a short summary of the legal battle:

"In September 1991 the Institute for Historical Review prevailed in a lawsuit brought by Mel Mermelstein, a southern California businessman and self-professed eyewitness to the gas chambers of Auschwitz. This victory closed more than ten years of wrangling in two legal cases, neither of which ever came to trial, in a rancorous dispute that tested the legitimacy of

efforts by skeptical scholars to revise the generally held version of the Holocaust.

"It all began at the first IHR conference in 1979, when co-founder and then-director David McCalden announced an award of \$50,000 to anyone who could provide proof of homicidal gassings of Jews at Auschwitz. Mermelstein, a wartime detainee of the camp, submitted a claim for the award, and then brought a lawsuit against the Institute on the grounds that it had not acted quickly enough on his claim.

"The first suit was settled in July 1985 when the Institute and co-defendants paid Mermelstein \$90,000, and issued an apology to him 'and all other survivors of Auschwitz for the pain, anguish and suffering he and all other Auschwitz survivors have sustained relating to the \$50,000 reward offer.' Mermelstein's victory predictably received sympathetic nationwide media attention, and was dramatized in a flattering and much publicized made-for-television movie, "Never Forget," starring Leonard Nimoy (as a heroic and principled Mel Mermelstein) and Dabney Coleman (who played Mermelstein's lawyer).

"In the second case, Mermelstein brought an \$11 million suit for defamation (libel) because of an IHR Newsletter item by Bradley Smith that called him a 'demonstrable fraud,' a 'vain-glorious prevaricator,' and a 'false-tale spinner.' On September 19, 1991, Mermelstein was obliged to drop what remained of his suit after a Los Angeles Superior Court judge dismissed a substantial portion of it... In contrast to the generous media coverage of the first case, newspapers all but ignored the second."

Source: Revisionists.com

Revilo P. Oliver

See: [Revilo P. Oliver: 1910–1994](#)

Anthony Omotoyin Oluwatoyin

Anthony Omotoyin Oluwatoyin was born in England and spent part of his childhood in Nigeria. He studied psychology at Loyola-Université de Montreal (Quebec) and received a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Waterloo (Ontario). Dr. Oluwatoyin has taught at University of California-Los Angeles, at Fisk University (Nashville), where he chaired the Philosophy and Religion Department, and at several schools in Canada, including Simon Fraser University, the University of British Columbia and University College of the Fraser Valley. His teaching has primarily been in the area of critical thinking applications. He is presently finishing work on *How to Use Questions to do Critical Thinking*.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Peter H. Oppenheimer

Peter H. Oppenheimer is a 1986 graduate with a degree in History from Yale University, and the winner of the 1985 Hajo Holborn Prize for writing on German public affairs. He is currently studying in Germany on grant.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Herman Otten

Herman Otten is a Lutheran pastor and editor-publisher of the weekly *Christian News* of New Haven, Missouri. This commentary is excerpted from his address at the Ninth IHR Conference. The complete text is published in the Fall 1989 *Journal*.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

MacKenzie Paine

MacKenzie Paine battles intolerance disguised as tolerance from a dusty hilltop in Mexico. See [At the Tolerance Museum](#)

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Peter H. Peel

Peter H. Peel is a native of England, where he attended high school. He is a highly decorated veteran of the Royal Air Force, in which he served as a navigator during the Second World War. He was graduated from California State University with high honors in history in 1969, and subsequently earned the M.A. and PhD. degrees in history at the University of Southern California. Dr. Peel has been a Woodrow Wilson Fellow, and is the author of *British Public Opinion and the Wars of German Unification: 1864-1871*.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Abbe Pierre

Victim of fierce world-wide media vilification.

Considered a male "Mother Theresa" for his altruistic dedication to the poor of France, this famous pro-Marxist French cleric endorsed Roger Garaudy's Revisionist book - and was almost crucified by a vitriolic media reaction. The Holocaust Enforcers made a huge mistake picking on this man. He fired back salvo after salvo - much to everyone's surprise. He fought bravely for a man well into his eighties, but in the end fled into a monastery in Italy - from where he apologized under pressure from his church.

Source: Zundelsite.org

Carlos Whitlock Porter

An American ex-patriate, skilled linguist and translator living in Belgium and author of numerous books -- "Not Guilty at Nuremberg", "Made in Russia: The Holocaust" subtitled "The German Defenses Case" -- Porter was charged by the Germans in 1997. He refused to

attend the trial, was tried in absentia and convicted. He responded with a defiant, blistering Emile Zola-like excoriating written counter-attack to the judge in his case, and presently is waiting to be arrested and taken to Germany to serve his sentence there.



Repercussions:

Charged, tried in absentia, and convicted in Germany.

Writings:

Porter, Carlos W. "If you can't eat 'em, beat 'em (or, How I killed thousands with my bare hands)." *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall, 1990; vol. 10 no. 3: p. 379.

For more information:

Porter, Carlos W. *Made in Russia: The Holocaust*. Reviewed by Ted O'Keefe. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring, 1989; vol. 09 no. 1: p. 89.

Porter, Carlos W. *Not Guilty at Nuremberg*. Reviewed by: Karl Brecht. *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall, 1989; vol. 09 no. 3: p. 353.

Website: <https://www.cwporter.com/>

Source: Revisionists.com

Charles Provan

Charles Provan is a printer by trade and a lay theologian by avocation. Ernst Zündel has called him "a revisionist who believes in the gas chambers." Provan is the author of *No Holes, No Holocaust?*, an analysis of the ruins of the roof of an alleged gas chamber at Auschwitz-Birkenau. This essay is an expanded version of the author's lecture to IHR's 13th conference (May 2000).

Ahmed Rami

Rami is a former Moroccan military officer living in exile in Sweden, where he used to run "Radio Islam", a radio program that was closed down due to Holocaust Lobby pressure. He was tried and convicted in Sweden for his Revisionist views and served a nine month prison term. Now he runs a much-visited, [multilingual web-site](#) famous the world over, which has come under repeated attack by French and Swedish Jewish sources. He won several court skirmishes, and for the moment seems to hold his own.



Repercussions:

Tried, convicted and imprisoned in Sweden.

Source: Revisionists.com

Paul Rassinier

Paul Rassinier is the generally acknowledged founder of scholarly Holocaust revisionism. Born in France on March 18, 1906, and trained as an educator, he taught history and geography at the secondary school in Faubourg de Montbeliard.



During the Second World War, he co-founded the "Libé-Nord" underground Resistance organization, which helped smuggle Jews from German-occupied France into Switzerland. As a result, he was arrested by the Gestapo in October 1943 and deported to Germany, where he was held prisoner until the end of the war in Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps.

After returning home, the French government recognized his courage and suffering with the highest decoration awarded for Resistance activities. He was also elected to the French National Assembly as a deputy of the Socialist party (SFIO).

Rassinier was profoundly distressed by the many lies and myths about the concentration camps that were being circulated. He wrote:

"Then one day I realized that a false picture of the German camps had been created and that the problem of the concentration camps was a universal one, not just one that could be disposed of by placing it on the doorstep of the National Socialists. The deportees — many of whom were Communists — had been largely responsible for leading international political thinking to such an erroneous conclusion. I suddenly felt that by remaining silent I was an accomplice to a dangerous influence."

In a series of books, Rassinier related his camp experiences, and sought to set the record straight about the camps and Germany's wartime Jewish policy. A collection of four of his most important writings — *La Passage de la ligne*, *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse*, *Ulysse trahi par les siens*, and *Le Drame des Juifs européens* — has been published in an English translation under the title *The Holocaust Story* and *The Lies of Ulysses*.

Rassinier became increasingly skeptical of the reports of systematic killings of Jews in gas chambers:

"With regard to gas chambers, the almost endless procession of false witnesses and of falsified documents to which I have invited the reader's attention during this long study, proves, nevertheless, only one thing: never at any moment did the responsible authorities of the Third Reich intend to order — or, in fact, order — the extermination of the Jews in this or any other manner. Did such exterminations take place without orders? This question has haunted me for 15 years."

The number of Jews who perished in Europe during the war years, he concluded, could not have been more than about 1.6 million.

Among the many who were impressed by Rassinier was the great American historian Harry Elmer Barnes. In a 1962 essay, "Revisionism and Brainwashing," Barnes remarked on "the discouragement and smearing of outsiders like the distinguished French historian Paul Rassinier, who sought to expose the exaggerations of the atrocity stories."

Until his death on July 29, 1967, Rassinier was active in the anti-war movement, for example as a contributor to the pacifist monthly, *La Voie de la Paix*.

Source: Revisionists.com



Dariusz Ratajczak

Dariusz Ratajczak (1962-2010) was a Polish historian who was dismissed from his university teaching post, publicly vilified, and convicted of "Holocaust denial" for having published arguments and evidence that cast doubt on aspects of the familiar Holocaust story. He held a doctoral degree in history, and was the author of several books.



Ratajczak was born in Opele, Upper Silesia, in November 1962. After study at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, he took a position in 1988 as a lecturer at the History Institute of the state-run University of Opele, where he was popular with students.

In April 1999 Dr. Ratajczak was suspended from his teaching post after state prosecutors opened an investigation into the publication of his book *Tematy niebezpieczne* ("Dangerous Themes").

In a five-page section of this short book, headed "Holocaust Revisionism," Ratajczak

matter-of-factly cited the work of non-conformist researchers and historians such as Paul Rassinier, Robert Faurisson, David Irving and Ernst Zündel, who had contended that there was no German plan or program to exterminate Europe's Jews. He also cited forensic investigations carried out at the Auschwitz and Birkenau camps by Fred Leuchter and Germar Rudolf, and their conclusions that Zyklon B could not have been safely used to kill large numbers of Jews, as alleged, and that, for technical reasons, the familiar claims of wartime killings of millions of Jews in gas chambers are not possible.

While Ratajczak did not explicitly endorse these revisionist views, he appeared to agree with at least some of them. Moreover, he called Holocaust "eyewitness" testimony "useless," and described establishment Holocaust writers as "followers of a religion of the Holocaust" who impose on others "a false image of the past." He also suggested that the number of Jews who died in "the Holocaust" was three million, not the often-claimed six million.

Ratajczak published 320 copies of the book in March 1999 at his own expense. Only a few were sold at the university bookstore or directly to students, or were given away to friends, before police seized the remaining copies.

Publication of "Dangerous Themes" set off a storm of fierce criticism, including protests by some prominent scholars. Critics charged that Ratajczak's book represented the first serious case of "Holocaust denial" in Poland. Critics also noted that he had published articles in patriotic/ nationalist periodicals, including *Mysl Polska* and *Najwyższy Czas*.

Ratajczak was charged with having violated a Polish law that makes it illegal to publicly deny crimes against humanity committed in Poland by the German National Socialist regime or by Communist regimes. "Holocaust denial" is a crime in Israel, Poland, and several other European states.

In response to critics, and in his court pleadings, Ratajczak acknowledged that he had presented revisionist arguments, but said that he had done so not to endorse them, but to illustrate this point of view.

He told the court that he had merely summarized opinions of historians who hold dissident views on the Holocaust issue, and that his own views are not in line with all the opinions presented in his book. "I was only presenting various views on the Holocaust to students," he said. At no time did he ever dispute or "deny" that Jews had been killed in gas chambers.

In September 1999 Ratajczak arranged for a second edition of 30,000 copies, which was published by a small firm in Warsaw. A few thousand copies were reportedly sold through kiosks and news stands, and by mail order across Poland.

In December 1999 a court in Opele found Ratajczak guilty of violating Poland's "Holocaust denial" law. However, the court found that the book's limited distribution was not damaging enough to warrant punishment. Noting that only 320 copies of this self-published book had been issued, the court declared that it had caused only "negligible harm to society." The court also noted that in the second edition of the work, Ratajczak had criticized "denial" arguments.

Some critics regarded the court's verdict as too lenient, insisting that Ratajczak's crime deserved imprisonment. The state prosecutor also appealed, demanding a ten-month prison term.

At the University where he had taught, students signed petitions supporting him. Ratajczak himself remained defiant, rejecting all the charges against him. He appealed for an outright acquittal.

In April 2000 the University of Opele announced Ratajczak's dismissal from his teaching post for having violated ethical standards, and banned him for three years from teaching at Polish universities.

Eventually a three-judge panel in Opole upheld a lower court's decision to drop proceedings against Ratajczak on the condition he refrain from similar offenses for one year. The case against him was dismissed in 2002.

Another edition of "Dangerous Themes" published in 2005 merely attributed to revisionist researchers skeptical claims about Zyklon having been used to kill millions of Jews in gas chambers during World War II.

Ratajczak never returned to teaching work, and for the remaining ten years of his life was forced to work at menial employment and odd jobs.

In June 2010 the body of Dariusz Ratajczak was found in a car parked near a shopping center in Opole. He had been dead for nearly two weeks. The cause of death was uncertain. He was 47 years old. He was survived by a son and a daughter.

Source: Revisionists.com



Ratajczak spoke about his life, his views, and his ordeal in an interview given in 2002. Here are some excerpts:

"... Although the cretinous Marxists are already gone, they have been adequately replaced with empty-headed, politically correct idiots, who are as numerous in Poland as in Australia. Stupidity is not picky about continents, it seems. It is they, those good-for-nothing historians, who finish off history, which in their version ceases to be the carrier of truth, the mistress of life, the reason for national pride. It is they who, deliberately, convert history into a handmaid of current political interests of equally morally and intellectually cheap ruling elites. Finally, it is they who decide which fact or historical figure to make prominent, and about which to keep silent to the death. Of course, they do it from the angle of current political usefulness.

"... A historian has one basic role to perform. It is to reach the truth. In essence, truth is a historian's only friend. A historian ought to know

that truth has no hues; truth is always clear, and one. Striving after truth, a historian should avoid like fire 'friendly' whispers, such as 'any coin has two sides,' 'the golden mean,' 'make a compromise,' etc., because they lead him astray, get him closer to lying. After ascertaining the truth and here we are touching a historian's other role the investigator should share the truth with others, regardless of the consequences. After all, truth must have not only an individual dimension, but also a social one.

"... The *sine qua non* condition for practicing history, that is, freedom of speech, is already a past memory. It has been replaced with political correctness, that is, soc-liberal censorship, or, as somebody has nicely put it, a 'tyranny of good intentions.' Thus, in today's grim times the *sine qua non* condition for practicing history is the historian himself -- truthful, independent, immune to punches, and, finally, simply courageous. Yes, we have lived to see times when, jokingly speaking (but it is a bitter joke), a historian should be a cross between an intellectual and a boxer ...

"... At present, the charge of anti-Semitism has become a sort of exceptionally brutal weapon, which the 'Establishment' uses ruthlessly against independent thinking men (for the greater fun of it, also against Jews, such as Dr. Israel Shahak."



Greg Raven

Greg Raven has maintained the IHR's Web site.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Douglas Reed

Douglas Reed was a noted journalist, author and playwright who for years served on the editorial staff of the London *Times*, but whose considerable influence waned greatly after he wrote frankly about Jewish-Zionist power.

Douglas Launcelot Reed was born in London on March 11, 1895. At the age of 13 he began working as an office boy in a publishing firm. In 1914, not long after he began working as a bank clerk, he quit to enlist in the British armed forces. During the First World War he served in the infantry, and then as an aviator. He was twice wounded and was mentioned in dispatches.



At the age of 26, and "relatively unschooled" (as he once described himself), he began working for the London *Times* as a telephonist and clerk. In 1925, at the age of 30, he became a sub-editor.

From 1928 through 1935, he was the paper's assistant correspondent in Berlin, where he witnessed first-hand the growing popularity of Hitler and his National Socialist movement, and the first years of the Hitler regime. His work during that period including reporting on the dramatic Reichstag arson trial of Communist leaders.

From 1935 to 1938 he was based in Vienna as the *Times*' Central European correspondent, reporting, for example, on Austria's incorporation into the German Reich. During those years he also reported for the *Times* from Warsaw, Moscow, Prague, Athens, Sofia, Bucharest, Budapest and other European centers.

In an obituary notice published in 1976, shortly after his death, *The Times* noted Reed's distrust of the Hitler regime. Reed was, the paper remarked, "wiser than some of his countrymen in his view of the significance of Hitler and in his alarm at the policy of 'appeasement,' His was, in truth, a prophetic reading of the situation in Berlin and in Central Europe as he observed it from day to day."

Reed left *The Times* in October 1938, almost simultaneously with the publication of his book *Insanity Fair*, which sold very well (including its US edition) and brought him world

fame. He later wrote: "I let off all this pent-up steam and said just what I thought about the coming war and the folks who were letting it happen in a book, *Insanity Fair*." A year later came another bestseller, *Disgrace Abounding*, and then others, including *Prophet at Home*, *All Our Tomorrows*, *Lest We Regret*, and *Somewhere South of Suez*. Reed also found time to write four novels and a play. He also sometimes worked as a free-lance journalist, reporting, for example, as a war correspondent in Normandy in 1944.

Throughout his career, Reed provided readers with elegantly-crafted reporting and analysis based on seasoned but common-sense observations of the world scene. Although he addressed all the major issues of the day, it was his forthright writing on the machinations and impact of the Zionist movement that got him into trouble.

In *Somewhere South of Suez* (London: 1950), for example, he wrote:

"... During all that period and to the present time, it was not possible freely to report or discuss a third vital matter: Zionist Nationalism. In this case the freedom of the press has become a fallacy during the past two decades ... When I came to America I found that this ban, for such it is in practice, prevailed even more rigidly than in my own country.... In daily usage, no American or British newspaper, apparently, now dares to print a line of news or comment unfavorable to the Zionist ambition ... The inference to me is plain: the Zionist Nationalists are powerful enough to govern governments in the great countries of the remaining West."

In his next book *Far and Wide* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1951), Reed took a skeptical look at the much-hyped claims of six million Jewish wartime deaths. He wrote:

"During the Second World War I noticed that the figures of Jewish losses, in places where war made verification impossible, were being irresponsibly inflated, and said so in a book. The process continued until the war's end when

the figure of six millions was produced (and the Arabs were immediately chastised). A transparently worthless estimate was not only being used for mass-delusion through newspapers, but even given official status.... No proof can be given that six million Jews 'perished'; proof can be adduced that so many could not have perished ..."

(see "[Douglas Reed](#)," by M. Weber)

After the publication of *Far and Wide*, Reed was all but banned by establishment publishers. Still, he remained undaunted. His final book, *The Controversy of Zion* (Veritas [Australia] and Noontide [USA], 1985), provides a detailed and literate dissection of the origins and international impact of the Zionist movement, including its corrupting influence in Britain and the United States.

Reed died in Durban, South Africa, on August 26, 1976. He was 81. In its obituary notice (Sept. 12, 1976), his old employer, the *London Times*, criticized him for "a headstrong quality [and], a temperamental lack of moderation," while praising him as "able, informed where his interest was aroused, [and] resourceful as a descriptive writer."

(June 2006)

Source: [Revisionists.com](#)



Otto Ernst Remer

Tried and convicted to more than one year imprisonment, even though he was over 80 years old and in ill health.

A German war hero who successfully thwarted the military putsch by German traitors against Hitler in Berlin on 20 July 1944, Remer seized the political opportunity brought about by the revelations of the [Leuchter Report](#). He made the findings known to millions of people by privately



publishing "Die Remer Depesche", a mass circulation tabloid style newspaper. The German vassal regime came down hard on the old soldier. He was tried and convicted to prison. He went into exile in Spain, wheelchair-bound, where he died. His widow now has to fight for her pension. She refuses to return his ashes to Germany until such time when her husband's remains can be returned under honorable circumstances.

Source: Zundelsite.org



Brian Renk

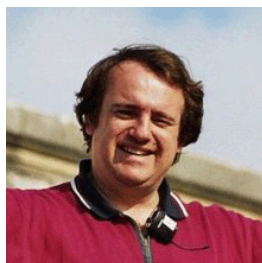
Brian Renk was born in Canada in 1964. He studied at Selkirk College and the University of British Columbia (Vancouver) with a special interest in history and philosophy. He is currently a professional consultant in the masonry industry. In 1999, 2000 and 2001 he addressed David Irving's "Real History" conference in Cincinnati. At the 2001 meeting, he debated fellow researcher and author Charles Provan on the evidence for the alleged mass killings in gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1943 and 1944. Renk's detailed dissection of the infamous "Franke-Gricksch 'Resettlement-Action Report'" appeared in the Fall 1991 Journal. He and his wife make their home in North Vancouver, British Columbia.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Vincent Reynouard

Vincent Reynouard is an independent French historian specializing in the Second World War who has been punished repeatedly for violating France's controversial "Gayssot" law, which criminalizes dissident views on certain aspects of twentieth century history.



For more by and about him, see the French-language website: <http://www.phdnm.org/> and

<http://sansconcessiontv.org/phdnm/>.

Born in 1969, Reynouard studied in Caen, Normandy, and graduated as a chemical engineer. He then taught mathematics at professional secondary schools. In 1997 he was dismissed as a teacher by the French Education Minister after the discovery of revisionist texts on the hard disk of the computer he used at school. Since then Reynouard has survived on his writings, videos and other work as an independent historian.

Reynouard is a traditionalist Catholic who is sympathetic to the legacy of Third Reich Germany and National Socialism. Married in 1991, he and his wife are the parents of eight children.

He is the author of several dozen essays or brochures on diverse subjects, mostly dealing with World War II. He is the author of a book about the Oradour-sur-Glane killings, a clash in a French village in June 1944 between German SS troops and French Resistance fighters in which 640 civilians died.

For a time he was responsible for the French-language operations of VHO, an independent Belgian revisionist history center that has published in Dutch, German, French and other languages. Reynouard has repeatedly been a victim of legal persecution for his writings and videos. On several occasions he has been prosecuted and convicted for "thought crimes."

On October 8, 1992, a court in Caen, France, sentenced him to one month in prison (suspended), and fined him 5000 francs (about \$850) for violating the country's "Gayssot" law that makes it a crime to "contest" or dispute certain "crimes against humanity," as defined by the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunal (IMT) of 1945-46. Specifically, he was punished for having sent to 24 secondary school pupils anonymous letters along with copies of writings that dispute claims of gas chamber killings during World War II.

In June 2004 Reynouard was sentenced to two years in prison for having produced and dis-

tributed a video on the tragedy of Oradour-sur-Glane that allegedly approved war crimes. However that ruling was later overturned by another court. An earlier confiscation of his research papers was validated.

On November 8, 2007, a court in Saverne (Lower Rhine), France, sentenced Reynouard to one year in prison, and to pay a fine of 10,000 euros (about \$13,000) for "contesting crimes against humanity" by writing and distributing a 16-page brochure entitled "The Holocaust: What They Hide from You." He was also ordered to pay 3,000 euros to the anti-racist association LICRA. His incarceration attracted public attention, and hundreds signed a petition to press for his release and the repeal of the French "denial" law.

On June 25, 2008, the Court of Appeals in Colmar (Alsace) upheld the one-year prison sentence and ordered Reynouard to pay a total of 60,000 euros, which included a fine of 20,000 euros, damages, and the cost of publishing a notice with extracts from this judgment in the "Official Journal of the French Republic," as well as in two French daily newspapers. Meanwhile, Reynouard fled with his family to neighboring Belgium.

In June 2008, a court in Brussels, Belgium, declared Reynouard and Belgian VHO publisher Siegfried Verbeke guilty of "disputing crimes against humanity" for having written and published "Holocaust denial" literature. The two men were sentenced to one year imprisonment and to pay a fine of 25,000 euros, as well as damages and various other costs. In 2011 an appeals court upheld the sentence.

In February 2015, a criminal court in Normandy sentenced Reynouard to two years in prison for "Holocaust denial" (or *négalionisme*) in videos he had posted on social media. In addition, the French court ordered him to pay 4,500 euros in damages. Reynouard had represented himself in the three-hour trial in the city of Coutances, although he was not present for the verdict.

This sentence came in the aftermath of emphatic expressions of support for freedom of speech -- by politicians, in the media and in large rallies -- following the killing by Muslim extremists of staff members of the French satirical weekly *Charlie Hebdo*, which had enraged Muslims for its demeaning cartoons of Muhammed. The sentence of Reynouard showed, once again, that in France there are very real limits on freedom of speech - restrictions that reflect the outlook and interests of those who have power and influence.

Reynouard has written:

"Historical revisionism belongs to no one. Its findings are the fruit of traditional methods of inquiry where scientific expertise assists in the appraisal of testimonies and in documentary research. They will be obvious to any honest individual, whether on the political left or right, [religious] believer or atheist ...

"... Its implications extend well beyond the historical scope. The stakes involved, gigantic ones, are political and even theological. If some refuse to see this - because of blindness, cowardice or mistaken strategy - our adversaries, for their part, have understood quite well. They know that a sudden bursting through of the historical truth about the period 1914-1946 would call into question the world order founded at Nuremberg in 1945-1946 ...

"The way ahead, therefore, is all laid out for us: we must continue to repeat the truth, the whole truth, including the truth about what's at stake in this struggle. Far from being merely a sterile quarrel between devotees of the past cut off from present-day realities, the fight for historical truth is, on the contrary, the continuation, on the intellectual level, of the war whose armed phase ended in 1945 with the defeat of the Axis forces. And it's clear that this conflict, having begun not on September 3, 1939, but on January 30, 1933, is the modern form of the eternal struggle between Light and Darkness. In the twentieth century, National Socialist Germany embodied - doubtless imperfectly but successfully all the same - the very last attempt

to return to a well-ordered society, that is, a society respecting the natural order.

"This is the reason why, even after the Third Reich was completely crushed militarily, the war continued, and has continued up to today. Our opponents in this never-ending fight have a weapon of mass destruction: the alleged 'Holocaust.' Since 1945, this lie has prevented any dispassionate debate on National Socialism and, more generally, on societies that respect natural order. 'We know where that led! ...' is how people constantly respond to those who, against the 'Rights of Man' and their natural offspring: the unleashing of all selfish inclinations, dare speak of order, the Common Good, wholesomeness, moral standards, safeguarding the genetic heritage, the birth rate, rights of kinship ...

"The German homicidal gas chambers never existed. Yes, 'the Holocaust' is a myth. For my part, I add: Yes, Hitler embodied the hope of Europe in the face of the ruinous ideals of 1789; Yes, we must take up the best of what National Socialism comprised in order finally to surpass it and forge a doctrine that will be able to save our Old Continent."

Updated March 2015

Source: Revisionists.com

Jürgen Rieger

Long-time Zündel attorney in Germany, Rieger has been a defender of German patriots since his law school days. He has drawn the ire of the Holocaust Enforcers by winning the 1981 Zündel case in Stuttgart against the false claim that Zündel had published "hate literature", and winning several cases against the German vassal regime who had confiscated Zündel's postal bank account, unfreezing DM 30,000 in the process. He also managed to regain for Zündel his confiscated German passport -- after a six-year legal battle.



Rieger was attacked and beaten unconscious in broad daylight after leaving a Hamburg courthouse and had to be airlifted, near death, by helicopter to the trauma unit of the hospital of Hamburg University, where he lay unconscious for days. The assailants escaped after their assassination attempt. German police later caught one Turkish "guest worker" who was tried -- and let go! The other culprits were never found.

Repercussions:

Attacked and beaten. Car blown up. Professional reputation and career ruined.

Source: Revisionists.com

Jeff Riggensch

Jeff Riggensch is a radio producer and commentator whose articles on literature and politics have appeared in such publications as *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today*, and *New Libertarian*.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Ingrid Rimland

A relative newcomer to Revisionism, Ingrid Rimland is best known for her novels dealing with World War II that bring to life and explain the underlying reasons of the Third Reich's struggle against Communism. Canada Customs confiscated and banned the titles, even though there was not enough time to have these massive, well-researched books read, much less professionally content-evaluated. Rimland has had global mainstream media coverage as the defender of the controversy-dogged [Zündelsite](#) -- which seems to be the reason her name has been smeared as an "Extremist" in a 1997 ADL smear publication.



Repercussions:

Vilified by the ADL as an "Extremist." Had her new trilogy "Lebensraum!" seized by the hundreds and banned in Canada as "hate material."

Source: Revisionists.com

L. A. Rollins

L. A. Rollins is an author and researcher who for years lived in Los Angeles. He received his B.A. degree in Philosophy from California State College, Los Angeles. He is the author of *The Myth of Natural Rights*, and has contributed to such periodicals as *Reason*, *Critique*, *The Personalist*, *The New Libertarian*, and *Books for Libertarians*.

Source: lhr.org/other/authorbios

Henri Roques

Henri Roques is a French author and researcher who exposed the Myth of Pope Pius XII's complicity in the Holocaust. His doctoral thesis made world-wide headlines in 1986 when, for the first time in the nearly eight-century history of French universities, a duly awarded doctorate was quickly revoked on French government's orders, after an outcry by the Leftist-Jewish media in France. In a tightly argued dissertation, Roques came to the stunning conclusion that the allegations of mass gassings of Jews made by SS officer Kurt Gerstein were groundless, and that the supposed Roman-Catholic coverup of this "slaughter" are false. He further concluded that postwar academics deliberately falsified key parts of the already tortured Gerstein testimony. His dissertation was eventually published by the Institute for Historical Review in book form under the title "The Confessions of Kurt Gerstein."



Repercussions:

Had his doctorate revoked.

Source: Revisionists.com

Malcolm Ross

Fired from his teaching post for politically incorrect writings.

A Canadian school teacher and author, Ross was for years a thorn in the eyes of the Holocaust Lobby because of his writings. It took years to fire him under some flimsy excuse because he never taught his version of history in class. Charged and re-charged, he repeatedly won in appeal courts. After years of litigation, the Supreme Court in a unanimous ruling found Malcolm Ross guilty in the end, and he was sentenced to a fine. Today, he is the unemployed father of two children.



Source: Zundelsite.org

Germar Rudolf

This brilliant, German-trained chemist re-examined Auschwitz, Birkenau and other installations and buildings, testing rocks, soil and other physical samples for traces of Zyklon B. Following the pioneering work of Fred Leuchter, he put the final nail into the coffin of the Auschwitz story. Even though he did scientific work and was utterly apolitical, Rudolf's home and office were raided, computers seized etc. He was charged and tried in Germany for not believing in the standard Auschwitz story. As a scientist, he found the "gassing" claims to be scientifically untenable and, therefore, absurd. A modern day Galileo, Rudolf was found guilty and convicted because he refused to re-



nounce scientific facts and his own scientific tests and findings. He was facing jail when he went into exile with his young wife and two babies. He now edits and publishes devastating refutations of the Allied Propaganda claims in a German-language journal. The Holocaust Enforcers are dogging his steps, and he faces endless hassles and trials, should the "German" vassal authorities ever get a hold of him. Zündel expert witness in chemistry in the Munich trial in 1991 -- disallowed by the judge at the request of the prosecution.

Repercussions:

Accused, tried and convicted in Germany. Career and doctorate dissertation ruined. Driven into exile.

Source: Revisionists.com



Tijudar Rudolph

A former German Security Service member, fluent in five languages including Yiddish and Polish, Rudolph was involved with organizing Red Cross inspection tours of Auschwitz and other camps during the war. He wrote numerous Revisionist articles. He accompanied Fred Leuchter as translator to Auschwitz and Maidanek in 1988. He was charged and convicted for publishing a newsletter disputing the "Six Million" story. Zündel witness in the 1985 and [1988 Great Holocaust Trials](#).



Repercussions:

Imprisoned in Germany for lengthy stints for "doubting the Holocaust", even though he was in his mid-eighties at the time.

Source: Revisionists.com



John Sack

John Sack is one of America's most eminent literary journalists. His reporting over more than half a century, from North and South America, Europe, Africa, and Asia, has appeared in such periodicals as Harper's, The Atlantic, and The New Yorker. He has been a war correspondent in Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, and Yugoslavia, as well as CBS News bureau chief in Spain. He is the author of nine non-fiction books, including *M, Lieutenant Calley: His Story*, and *Company C*, as well as [An Eye for an Eye](#). The founding editor of Esquire magazine has compared his writing to that of F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernst Hemingway. For more about Sack and his career, see his Web site: <http://www.johnsack.com>.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Walter N. Sanning

Walter N. Sanning is the pen name of the author of *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

Sanning is a scholar and businessman who was born in 1936 into an ethnic German family in an area that for decades was a part of the former Soviet Union. After a childhood in wartime Germany, he migrated in the 1950s to the United States, where he met his wife. He graduated from a prominent Pacific Northwest university with a bachelor's degree (high honors) in business.

With a scholarship, he was a graduate student at an East Coast Ivy League university, where he concentrated on international business, finance and economics. He then taught business, finance and economics at both the undergraduate and graduate levels at a major West Coast university. The Sanning family moved to Germany in 1970, where he then worked for years for a major financial institution.

After teaching for some years at a prominent West Coast University, in the 1970s he went into private business, and assumed a leading position. He has devoted considerable time and

effort to research in US and German archives. He is married, and speaks English and German. He and his wife have four children, all of them born in the United States.

His paper, "Soviet Scorched-Earth Warfare: Facts And Consequences," presented at the Sixth IHR Conference (1985), was published in the IHR's [Journal of Historical Review](#), Spring 1985.

Of his book, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry*, Dr. Arthur R. Butz wrote: "This book is the first full length serious study of World War II- related Jewish population changes... This book presents the fundamentally correct account of the subject... [In this work] the simplistic legends that have petrified postwar thought on the Jewish aspect of World War II are dealt another of the many blows they have received in recent years."

Source: Revisionists.com



Haviv Schieber

Driven to attempted suicide. A Polish Jew and former mayor of Ber Sheeba in Israel, Schieber taught Ernst Zündel



much about Israeli reality. He was an Israeli Revisionist, wanting to revise Israel's attitudes, institutions and borders. He fled Israel to find safety in the USA, was denied political asylum at first, and tried to take his life by slashing his wrists at Washington, D.C. airport on the day of his deportation. He was finally allowed refuge from Israeli persecution in the US in the early 1970s.

Source: Zundelsite.org



Hans Schmidt

German-American author and publisher of a German- as well as an English-language newsletter (GAN-PAC Brief and USA-Berichte), Schmidt was arrested in 1995 for having



written about a "Jew- and Freemason infested" oligarchy and media ruling today's Germany. He spent 5 months in prison for four words. Released on bail and in ill health, Schmidt returned to the USA where he wrote a book about his experience in Germany, titled "Jailed in Democratic Germany." He has been a thorn in the side of the German vassal authorities for many years.

Repercussions:

Arrested, tried and jailed in Germany, even though he was a U.S. citizen.

Source: Revisionists.com



Aleksandras Shtromas

Aleksandras Shtromas is a professor of political science at Hillsdale College (Michigan), and was interned during the Second World War in the Kaunas (Lithuania) ghetto. This essay was published in *The World & I* (Washington, DC), February 1992, pp. 572, 577.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Bradley Smith

While he was best known as an activist for open inquiry on the Holocaust issue, Bradley Smith's life was a varied and colorful one. He was a deputy sheriff, a construction worker, a soldier in the Korean War (twice wounded), a bullfighter, a playwright, a book store owner-manager, an ice cream truck vendor, an author and a merchant seaman. And for many Americans, he was *the* introduction to a skeptical view of the Holocaust issue.

For more than 30 years he worked to promote public awareness of the Holocaust issue. In spite of privation, relentless smears and many setbacks, he persisted in this daunting effort with exemplary dedication, calmly confident of ultimate victory and vindication. In his personal life as well, he endured poverty, recurring illnesses and many disappointments with buoyant stoicism.

Bradley R. Smith was born on February 18, 1930, to a working-class family in South Central Los Angeles, where he lived the first 18 years of his life. After service in the US Army, he lived and worked in New York City, and then, throughout the 1960s, 70s and 80s, in Hollywood. In 1989 he moved to Visalia, California, along with his Mexican-born wife, their young daughter, his step-daughter, and his mother. In 1997 he moved with his family to Rosarito, Mexico, not far from the US border.

His life-long devotion to the principle of intellectual freedom was not just rhetorical. During the early 1960s, he was arrested, jailed and prosecuted for selling Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* from his book store on Hollywood Boulevard in Los Angeles. (The book was banned in the US at the time.) The case attracted considerable media attention.

In 1979, when he was 49 years old, his life changed dramatically after he read a leaflet by Robert Faurisson, "The 'Problem of the Gas Chambers'." For three months he looked into revisionist claims about "the Holocaust," and then resolved to devote himself to countering the taboo against dissident views on this emotion-charged issue.



Through his efforts in the years that followed, millions of Americans learned for the first time about Holocaust revisionism and the scholarly debate on this chapter of history.

In the mid-1980s, he published *Prima Facie*, a newsletter aimed at journalists and editors that focused on cultism, suppression of free inquiry and censorship on the Holocaust issue. For more than 20 years he was active as director of the [Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust](#) (CODOH), a group dedicated to defending free speech and free inquiry on the Holocaust issue, to encouraging greater public access to revisionist scholarship, and to promoting awareness of the controversy regarding the Holocaust story.

Smith mounted a major campaign to place full-page essay-length CODOH advertisements in student newspapers at colleges and universities across the country. His effort defied a well-organized campaign of threats, intimidation and smears. On one campus after another, these ads touched off a furious free speech debate, in some cases provoking physical attacks, bitter resignations, boycotts, and threats of law suits.

In the 1991-92 school year, CODOH advertisements or statements appeared in 17 student newspapers, several at major universities. During the 1993-94 academic year, his ad -- headlined "A Revisionist Challenge to the US Holocaust Memorial Museum" -- appeared in at least 35 college and university campus papers, as well as one major metropolitan daily. By the end of the 2000-01 academic year, his ads had appeared in more than 350 student papers.

The Anti-Defamation League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center, along with other powerful Jewish-Zionist groups, devoted considerable money and effort to countering Bradley's modestly funded campaign. The ADL called him as one of America's "Ten Top Extremists," and published a booklet, distributed to student newspapers around the country, attacking Bradley and warning against his supposedly dangerous campaign. On one occasion ADL officials and staff members flew to a campus to

cajole and pressure student editors there into rejecting his ad.

Deborah Lipstadt, a Jewish academic and a prominent figure in the Holocaust lobby, took aim at Bradley and other "Holocaust deniers" in a front-page article in the May 1992 newsletter of the US Holocaust Memorial Council, a taxpayer-funded federal government agency. "In recent months," she wrote, "a lone denier, Bradley Smith, has garnered incredible amounts of attention with a tactically brilliant but devious maneuver: the placing of advertisements in student newspapers arguing there was no Holocaust."

Smith spoke about these issues as a guest on some 400 radio talk shows and news broadcasts, as well as on nationwide television, including a March 1994 appearance as a guest, along with Michael Shermer and David Cole, on the widely viewed Phil Donahue Show. A portion of an interview with Smith was aired nationwide on the CBS television program "48 Hours" in February 1992 as part of a sensational report on an alleged "rising tide of hate." The broadcast, which included segments on the Ku Klux Klan, Al Sharpton, and an anti-homosexual group in Oregon, predictably portrayed Smith in a maliciously distorted way. In fact, the only bigotry and intolerance displayed by anyone in the segment about him was by a mob at Ohio State University that screamed against Smith's ad.

Bradley's effectiveness was due in large measure to his obvious sincerity and earnestness, which came across well in television appearances, campus talks and broadcast interviews. Unable to plausibly portray him as a "hater," "neo-Nazi," or "white supremacist," Jewish-Zionist groups and their allies in the media attacked him with a barrage of smears and lies, which he calmly accepted as an inevitable "part of the job."

Smith's efforts generated news reports and commentary in such prominent periodicals as *The New York Times* and *Time* magazine, and editorials in *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times*.

For more than 20 years, he published a newsletter, *Smith's Report*, which informed readers about his work and its impact, and included news and commentary items.

Smith devoted much effort to publicizing the anti-free speech laws in some European countries that criminalize expressions of doubt about the orthodox view of Second World War history, and especially "Holocaust" history. He wrote:

"Throughout the Western world people are being prosecuted for writing about World War II and the Holocaust. Historians, researchers, authors, and publishers are being fined, imprisoned, placed under gag orders, expelled from their native countries, and denied entry into others. Those who are prosecuted are routinely prevented from mounting an effective defense, because witnesses who testify on their behalf often find themselves arrested. In some cases, even the defense lawyers are prosecuted!"

"Countries that have laws that limit the scope and substance of World War II and Holocaust research include France, Germany, Switzerland, Canada, Australia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Spain. These laws make it a crime for anyone, regardless of their credentials or the factual basis of their views, to question or revise any aspect of the history of World War II or the Holocaust in a manner that goes beyond the somewhat arbitrary standards established by the governments of those countries."

In 1986 Bradley wrote about the Holocaust claims of Mel Mermelstein, a California businessman who had been a prisoner in the Auschwitz camp complex during World War II. He reviewed Mermelstein's incredible claims in an item published in the *IHR Newsletter*, and referred to the businessman as a "demonstrable fraud," a "vainglorious prevaricator," and a "false-tale spinner." Mermelstein responded with an \$11 million suit for defamation (libel). On Sept. 19, 1991, Mermelstein was obliged to drop what remained of his suit after a Los Angeles Superior Court judge dismissed a substantial portion of it. Although it ended in a

clear victory for Bradley (and the IHR), coverage of this important legal battle predictably received almost no coverage in the mainstream media.

In December 2006 Smith delivered a talk at the International Holocaust Conference in Iran, a gathering that attracted worldwide media attention and vehement criticism.

Smith had a long association with the Institute for Historical Review -- as a contributor to IHR publications, as a speaker at IHR conferences, and, during the late 1980s, as its Media Project director, a role that generated numerous radio and television interviews.

He was the author of many articles, some of which appeared in the *IHR Journal*, and several books. His first, *Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist*, was praised by Canadian journalist Doug Collins as "fascinating" and as an "amusing walk through the valley of the shadow of doubt..." Another book, *Break His Bones: The Private Life of a Holocaust Revisionist*, is a witty and thoughtful 315-page memoir that looks back on the challenges, disappointments and joys of Smith's years-long battle against taboo and censorship. *Break His Bones* details the organized campaign to suppress free speech and intellectual openness on the "Holocaust" issue, showing how skeptics are blacklisted, and their works banned. In it Smith gave a human face to the much-maligned "Holocaust deniers." "It might be said," he wrote, "that *Break His Bones* is an exercise revealing the subjective life of a thought criminal."

The Holocaust story, he also wrote in *Break His Bones*, has been "the instrument, the contrivance, that was used to 'morally' legitimate Jewish claims to Arab land in Palestine ... It remains the instrument used to morally legitimate the ongoing colonization of Palestinian Arab land by Jewish settlers ... The Holocaust story, with all its fraud and falsehood, continues to be used to support Israeli policies in Palestine, and to secure the funding of the Israeli military by the US Congress."

What drove this incorrigible idealist and modern-day Don Quixote? "Simply put," he once explained, "I do not believe in thought crimes, in taboos against intellectual freedom. I do not believe it is thought crime to express skepticism about the 'gas chamber' stories. I do not believe it is thought crime to question US support for Israel and its brutal and foolish policies toward Palestinians."

Smith died on February 18, 2016 -- his 86th birthday.

Source: Revisionists.com



Scott Smith

Scott Smith holds a B.A. in history from Idaho State University. He served in the U.S. Army Signal Corps, and has worked as a radio-television engineer.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Joseph Sobran

Joseph Sobran is an author, lecturer and nationally syndicated columnist. For 21 years he wrote for National Review magazine, including 18 years as a senior editor. He is editor of the monthly newsletter Sobran's (P.O. Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183, or see <http://www.sobran.com/>). This article is adapted from his address at the 14th IHR Conference, June 22, 2002, in Irvine, California. It is published in the August 2002 issue of Sobran's newsletter.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Wilhelm Stäglich

Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, German judge and historian, was an important revisionist writer, most notably for his detailed study, *Der Auschwitz-Mythos*.

Born November 11, 1916, he studied law and political science at the University of Rostock and the University of Göttingen, from where he received a doctorate in law (Dr. jur.) in 1951. For years he served as a Finance Court judge in Hamburg. He was the author of numerous articles on legal and historical subjects.



During the Second World War he served from mid-July to mid-September 1944 as an *Ordonnanzoffizier* (orderly officer) on the staff of an anti-aircraft detachment stationed near the Auschwitz camp. As part of his duties, he maintained contact with the SS camp command, and had unlimited access to the Auschwitz main camp, where the command was headquartered.

Disturbed by the obvious discrepancies between what he had witnessed during the war at Auschwitz, and the portrayal of the camp that emerged at war's end, he resolved -- after years of silence -- to speak out, and to undertake a serious investigation of this important subject.

As punishment for some revisionist essay, he was dismissed as a judge in 1975 by court order, and forced into early retirement with a reduction of his pension.

His detailed book, *Der Auschwitz-Mythos: Legende oder Wirklichkeit*, was published in March 1979 by the Grabert Verlag of Tübingen. The book is a systematic, critical examination of the documents, testimonies, confessions and personal accounts that portray Auschwitz as a center of programmatic extermination by gassing and other means.

It was soon banned by German authorities, and in 1983 German police raided his publisher's offices and confiscated the remaining unsold copies.

That same year the University of Göttingen "withdrew" or cancelled Stäglich's doctoral de-

gree -- ironically on the basis of a law promulgated during the Hitler era.

For years Dr. Stäglich was a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*. His address in 1983 at the Fifth Conference of the Institute for Historical Review was published in the Spring 1984 IHR *Journal*. In 1986 an English-language edition of his book was published by the IHR under the title *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*.

Wilhelm Stäglich died, age 89, on April 5, 2006.

Of this remarkable man, French professor Robert Faurisson once wrote:

"I do not wish to enumerate here everything which this extremely honest man, whom I admire, suffered in addition to that. Suffice it to say that Wilhelm Stäglich -- I should say Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich, German judge and historian -- has saved the honor of the judges and historians of Germany. He has lost everything, but not his honor."

For Further Reading

-- R. Faurisson, Preface to the IHR edition of *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*, posted at

http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v10/v10p187_Faurisson.html

-- A report by Stäglich on the "withdrawal" of his doctoral degree, posted at

http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v08/v08p115_Staglich.html

-- W. Stäglich, "Historians Wrangle over the Destruction of European Jewry," posted at

http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v07/v07p239_Staglich.html

-- W. Stäglich, "'Der Auschwitz Mythos': A Book and its Fate," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984 (Vol. 5, No. 1), pp. 47-68.

-- Information about Stäglich's book, *Auschwitz: A Judge Looks at the Evidence*,

posted at

<http://www.wintersonnenwende.com/scriptorium/english/pages/e9959ausc.html>

Source: Revisionists.com



Keith Stimely

Keith Stimely was born on April 9, 1957, in Connecticut, but grew up in Oregon. He studied at San Jose State University (California) and the University of Oregon, from where he graduated in 1980 with a bachelor's degree in history. He then joined the US Army, serving as a reserve officer.

His interest in revisionist history began in high school, and in 1980 he addressed the second IHR Conference (Pomona College, Calif.) on "The Elements of Revisionism: A Historiographic Survey." He joined the editorial staff of *The Journal of Historical Review* in June 1982, and served as its chief editor from February 1983 until February 1985. He also compiled the detailed [1981 Revisionist Bibliography](#) (no longer in print, but [available on-line](#)).

His essay, "[Oswald Spengler: An Introduction to his Life and Ideas](#)," which was written in 1978 for a University of Oregon history class, was published posthumously in the March-April 1998 *Journal of Historical Review*.

Stimely was for years fascinated with the life and writings of Francis Parker Yockey (1967-1960), author of *Imperium*. During his lifetime, Stimely compiled a great deal of information about the American philosopher, some of which appeared in Kevin Coogan's detailed 1999 biography of Yockey, *Dreamer of the Day*.

Stimely was also a gifted artist and pianist. He died in Portland, Oregon, on December 19, 1992.

Source: Revisionists.com



Donald E. Tarter

Donald E. Tarter holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Tennessee, and is the author of numerous articles published in scholarly periodicals. Now retired, for years he taught at the University of Alabama in Huntsville, specializing on the social impact of technology. This essay is reprinted, with permission, from the anthology *History of Technology* (London: Mansell, 1992), vol. 14, edited by Graham Hollister-Short and Frank A.J.L. James. Publication of this essay was suggested by Dr. Robert H. Countess, who knew Donald Tarter when they both taught at the University of Alabama in Huntsville during the 1980s.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Yuri Teplyakov

Yuri Teplyakov, born in 1937, studied journalism at Moscow State University. He worked as a journalist for the Moscow daily newspapers *Izvestia* and *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and for the APN information agency. From 1980 to 1993 he worked for the weekly *Moscow News*. In writing this article, he expresses thanks to Mikhail Semir-yaga, D.Sc. (History), "who provided me with considerable material, which he found in German archives. As for the documents of Soviet filtering camps, I shall go on with my searches." This article originally appeared in *Moscow News*, No. 19, 1990, and is reprinted here by special arrangement.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Serge Thion

Serge Thion is a French scholar who has devoted many years to study, analysis and writing on social, economic and political issues, particularly in agrarian societies. Born in 1942, his research has taken him to many countries in the Middle East, northern, eastern and southern Africa, Southeast Asia, and the South Pacific. After seven years of studies in sociology, anthropology, history and linguistics at the Paris

Sorbonne, he received a doctorate in sociology from that school in 1967. His doctoral dissertation on the South African political system was published in 1969. Between 1967 and 1970 he taught in Vietnam and Cambodia. From 1971 until 1993 he was a research fellow with the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Paris, with special emphasis on the history of land problems and land reform in Vietnam and Cambodia, as well as political history and war and revolution in Rhodesia and Mozambique, and the history of statecraft in Southeast Asia. Dr. Thion is the author of numerous scholarly articles, which have appeared in academic periodicals in the US, France, Germany and other countries. He is also the author of several books, including *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (in collaboration with Robert Faurisson), *Une Allumette sur la banquise: Ecrits de combat*, and (in English, 1993) *Watching Cambodia*.

Source: lhr.org/other/authorbios

A. J. P. Taylor, 1906-1990

See "[The Last Liberal Historian](#)" by Sam Konkin.

Source: Revisionists.com



H. Keith Thompson

Harold Keith Thompson, Jr. (1922-2002) was a leading American authority on the Nuremberg Trials. He worked in public relations, and was also a corporate executive based in New York City.

As a publicist and literary agent, his clients included Fulgencio Batista, Carol II of Romania and Hans-Ulrich Rudel. He was a graduate of Yale University. In 1941 he became a special

overseas agent of Germany's Reich Security Service.

He was the author/ editor (with Henry Strutz) of the book *Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Re-Appraisal*. In 1982 he addressed the fifth conference of the Institute for Historical Review, and also wrote for the IHR's *Journal of Historical Review*.

Source: lhr.org/other/authorbios

Harold Keith Thompson, (1922-2002) was a New York City corporate executive, literary agent and public relations executive. In 1941, at the age of 19, he was recruited as an agent for German intelligence (*Sicherheitsdienst*). In June 1942 he enlisted in the US Naval Reserve. He studied at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey and transferred to Naval ROTC at Yale University in 1944. Two years later he was commissioned as Ensign with a bachelor's degree in history. From December 1946 thru April 1947, he served as a communications officer aboard the USS Mt. Olympus, flagship of the Byrd Antarctic Expedition. For many years he was vice president, office manager, and then chief executive of Cooper Forms. In the 1950s he ran a public relations firm and literary agency in Manhattan. Thompson was editor of the book *Dönitz at Nuremberg: A Re-Appraisal*. He was also recognized as a leading American expert on the Nuremberg war crimes trials.

Source: Revisionists.com

Fredrick Töben

Background

Though German in origin, Dr. Fredrick Töben was raised in Australia as an Australian citizen, and speaks both English and German. Becoming interested in exonerating the German people from the anti-



German racism of the Holocaust legend, he at first edited a revisionist journal called Truth Missions, which was later renamed Adelaide Institute Newsletter. He then broadened out to establish Australia's revisionist website, Adelaide Institute. He has personally visited the site of Auschwitz and burrowed under the ruins of the alleged gas chamber, being unable to find the four holes in the roof which were supposedly used to throw in gas pellets. He conducted regular dialogue with Exterminationists, and did not expect to be arrested when he visited Prosecutor Klein in Mannheim, Germany, for a private discussion on the Holocaust laws in Germany, which make it mandatory to accept the entire Holocaust story.

Nevertheless, he was arrested by Klein and police chief Mohr in Mannheim, Germany, in April, 1999, and was awaiting trial for being a "holocaust denier" for seven months. He then was tried and sentenced to ten months imprisonment, but released from prison while awaiting his appeal. He left Germany and did not return for his appeal trial.

For more information:

"Australia Orders Censorship of Töben Web Site," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 19 no. 5 (September/October 2000), p. 14.

"German Court Sentences Australian Holocaust Skeptic [Fredrick Töben]," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 18 no. 4 (July/August 1999), p. 2-5.

Arrest warrant for Dr. Fredrick Töben (April 1999)

Arrest warrant for Dr. Fredrick Töben (May 1999)

"The Adelaide Institute Conference," *The Journal of Historical Review*, volume 17 no. 6 (November/December 1998), p. 6.

Website: <http://www.adelaideinstitute.org>

Source: Revisionists.com & Zundelsite.org

John Toland

John Toland was an outstanding American historian of the second half of the twentieth century. Among his numerous honors, he received the Pulitzer Prize in 1971 for *The Rising Sun*, a book about the rise and fall of the Japanese empire during World War II.



Born in La Crosse, Wisconsin, in 1912, he received his undergraduate degree from Williams College before attending the Yale School of Drama, 1936-37. For several years he served with the US Army Air Force, rising to the rank of captain.

Among his many books, both non-fiction and fiction, was a best-selling biography, *Adolf Hitler*, and an autobiography, *Captured by History*.

He died at the age of 91 on January 4, 2004, in Danbury, Connecticut, where he and his wife, Toshiko, had been living for years. He was survived by his wife, three daughters and three grand-children.

John Toland supported the work of the Institute for Historical Review. His lecture at the Tenth IHR Conference (1990), entitled "Living History," was published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1991. Audio and video recordings are available for sale from the IHR.

Source: Revisionists.com



Pedro Varela

Spanish bookseller and well-known, long-time leader of the Spanish youth group "Cedade", Varela is currently before the Spanish courts for "genocide" for selling historical, Revisionist and National Socialist books. Jewish lobbyists have asked for a 24 year prison term for Varela.

Repercussions:

Grotesquely charged with "genocide" -- for selling books.

Source: Revisionists.com



F. J. P. Veale

Frederick John Partington Veale (1897-1976) was an influential twentieth-century English historian.

A prolific writer, Veale was a regular contributor to *The Nineteenth Century and After*, a respected British monthly review. In addition to articles on economic and historical questions, he wrote four books, including *The Man from the Volga: A Life of Lenin* (1932), *Frederick the Great* (1935), and *Crimes Discreetly Veiled* (1958).



For years he lived in Brighton, England, where he also worked as a solicitor (attorney).

Certainly his most important and influential work was *Advance to Barbarism*, which was issued in several editions, including in Spanish and German. The first English-language edition appeared under the pen name "A. Jurist."

This eloquent work traces the evolution of warfare from primitive savagery to the rise of a "civilized" code of armed conflict that was first threatened in the US civil war, and again in the First World War, and was finally shattered during the Second World War.

The ensuing "War Crimes Trials" at Nuremberg and Tokyo, and their more numerous and barbaric imitations in Communist-controlled eastern Europe, Veale argues, established the perilous principle that "the most serious war crime is to be on the losing side."

Advance to Barbarism earned praise from some of the most astute thinkers of the age.

Max Eastman: "This is a relentlessly truth speaking book. The truths it speaks are bitter, but of paramount importance if civilization is to survive."

Norman Thomas: "I have read the book with deep interest and enthusiasm. It is original in its approach to modern warfare, cogent and convincing... His indictment of modern warfare and post-war trials must stand."

Harry Elmer Barnes: "The best general work on the Nuremberg Trials. It not only reveals the illegality, fundamental immorality and hypocrisy of these trials, but also shows how they are bound to make any future world wars (or any important wars) far more brutal and destructive to life and property. A very readable and impressive volume and a major contributor to any rational peace movement."

J. F. C. Fuller called it "a very outstanding book," and Lord Hankey, who had served as Secretary to the Imperial War Cabinet during the First World War, contributed a foreword.

The Seventh IHR Conference (1986) was dedicated to Veale's life and work.

(July 2006)

Source: Revisionists.com



Siegfried Verbeke

For years Siegfried Verbeke has been an important European revisionist publisher.



He was born on June 21, 1941, in Antwerp, in the Flanders region of Belgium, where he has also lived for most of his life.

Together with his brother, Herbert, he established in 1983 the revisionist publishing center

Vrij Historisch Onderzoek ("Free Historical Inquiry"), or VHO, which soon became the leading European publisher of writings skeptical of the orthodox Holocaust story.

Over the years VHO published a range of books, booklets and tracts in Dutch, French, German and English, and, for a time, issued the *VHO-Nieuwsbrief* newsletter. VHO publications have included a 125-page booklet, issued in 1991, by Verbeke and French scholar Robert Faurisson, that presents a critical look at the Anne Frank diary, and *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* ("Auschwitz: Naked Facts"), a 179-page work issued in 1995.

For more than ten years, government authorities, with support from Jewish-Zionist groups, have repeatedly harassed, fined and jailed Verbeke for peaceful expressions of dissident views -- that is, for activities that are entirely legal in most countries. Belgian authorities have seized and destroyed tons of books and other writings produced by Verbeke.

In 1992 a Belgian court imposed on Verbeke a one-year suspended prison term for distributing writings that play down or belittle the Holocaust. He was also stripped of his civil rights for ten years, including his right to vote.

In 1992 four Netherlands organizations -- the B'nai B'rith, the Center for information and Documentation on Israel, the Anne Frank Foundation, and the National Bureau for Combating Racism -- brought a joint civil lawsuit against Verbeke and a colleague for circulating material, including the *Leuchter Report*, that calls into question the official view of the Holocaust. In late 1992 a Netherlands court ordered Verbeke to pay 10,000 Dutch guilders (about \$6,000) for each "violation."

In 1993 the Anne Frank Foundation in the Netherlands and the Anne Frank Fund in Switzerland brought a lawsuit in the Netherlands against Verbeke and Robert Faurisson, along with a VHO colleague, for having published a booklet on the Anne Frank diary. The defendants were charged with slander, outrage, abuse toward a group, and incitement to hatred,

discrimination or violence. "It must be remembered," the lawsuit charged, "that for years Anne Frank has been the symbol of the Jews who were victims of the Holocaust. In this way, her name and her diary assume an additional value. Therefore, one has to expect that in this connection oral or written arguments will be subjected to a greater prudence from a social point of view, than Dutch law generally requires."

In 1994 Verbeke made headlines again for distributing a Dutch-language edition of the *Rudolf Report*.

In 1995 Belgium's parliament approved a new anti-revisionist law, similar to those already in force in France and Austria, making it a crime to dispute the official Holocaust story. According to the new statute, anyone who denies, plays down or seeks to justify "the genocide of the German National Socialist regime during the Second World War" may be punished with a fine or a prison term of up to one year.

In late 1997 and 1998, Verbeke's residences were repeatedly raided by Belgian police.

In 1998 the public prosecutor in Frankfurt, Germany, launched criminal proceedings against Verbeke for mailing a booklet on "Goldhagen and Spielberg Lies" to many thousands of individuals in Germany. In April 2000 a Netherlands court ordered Verbeke to stop distributing the VHO booklet on the Anne Frank diary.

In May 2001 the Belgian Minister for Culture ordered all libraries in the country to remove from their shelves all works by Verbeke. Accordingly, revisionist writings were removed from libraries and quietly destroyed. During the year 2002 Verbeke's residence was again repeatedly raided by Belgian police. On September 9, 2003, a court in Antwerp, Belgium, sentenced him, and his brother, to one year prison sentences, suspended, and to pay a fine of 2,500 euros. In late September 2003 Belgian police again raided his residence

On November 27, 2004, Verbeke was arrested at his residence in the Flemish town of Kortrijk. In April 2005 a Belgian Appeals court sentenced Verbeke to one year in prison and fined him 2,500 euros.

In early August 2005, he was again arrested, this time at an Amsterdam, Netherlands, airport, on the basis of an international arrest warrant issued a year earlier in Germany. After being held for three months in the Netherlands, he was transferred to Germany. After being held for six months in an isolation cell in a Heidelberg jail, he was suddenly released on bail.

In November 2006 Verbeke was arrested again in his home town of Kortrijk, on the basis of an earlier Belgian court sentence, and thereafter was held in prison in Belgium. He anticipates being released in July 2007.

His regular mailing address is:

Siegfried Verbeke
P.O. Box 46
2600 Berchem 1
Belgium

Source: Revisionists.com

Louis Vezelis

Louis Vezelis, O.F.M., is editor of *The Seraph*, a traditionalist Roman Catholic monthly published by the Franciscan Friars (Order of St. Francis of Assisi) of Rochester, New York. This commentary is from an editorial by Bishop Vezelis in the May 1993 issue of *The Seraph*.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Arthur S. Ward

Arthur S. Ward holds a doctorate in history. He teaches courses on the history of modern Europe and the Middle East, and is a specialist in military history. Dr. Ward is the co-author of

two books and has published numerous articles and reviews.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

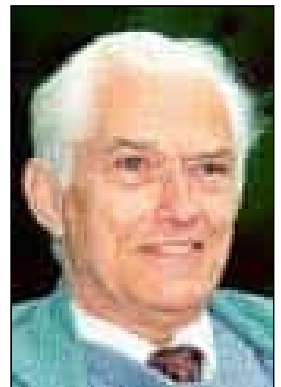
Ian B. Warren

Ian B. Warren is the pen name of a professor who teaches at a university in the midwest. This interview/ article is the second of a series.

Source: Journal of Historical Review

Udo Walendy

A prolific German researcher, writer and publisher of numerous books and a series of popular booklets called "Historische Tatsachen" -- ("Historical Truths") including the German version of "Did Six Million Really Die?" and the German language version of the Leuchter Report #1 -- Walendy was dragged before the courts numerous times. His home and offices were frequently raided by the police. Business files, books, printing plates and computers were confiscated. Zündel advisor and witness in the 1985 and [1988 Great Holocaust Trials](#).



Repercussions:

Convicted and imprisoned in Germany for 15 months, even though already in his seventies and in poor health with a serious heart condition.

Source: Revisionists.com

Frank Walus

A Polish German-American auto worker, Walus was targeted and accused falsely by [Simon Wiesenthal](#) to be a "Nazi War Criminal."

Vilified by the U.S. media in a vicious campaign as the "Butcher of Kielce", Walus fought bravely against his tormentors of the Office of Special Investigations, also known as the U.S. "Nazi Hunters". He ultimately won his case against them in a costly appeals process but died after several massive heart attacks -- a bitter, financially ruined man. He refused to be buried on U.S. soil because he felt the country had betrayed and failed him. Zündel witness in the 1985 Great Holocaust Trial.



Repercussions:

Attacked seven times by Jewish assailants; nearly killed in an acid attack. Lost his U.S. citizenship and his home to pay for his defense.

Source: Revisionists.com



Charles E. Weber

Charles E. Weber earned his Ph.D. in German literature at the University of Cincinnati (1954), and has taught at the University of Cincinnati, the University of Missouri, Louisiana State University, and the University of Tulsa (Oklahoma). He has served as Head of the Department of Modern Languages at the University of Tulsa. Dr. Weber (no relation of this Journal's editor) is the author of *The 'Holocaust': 120 Questions and Answers*, and is chairman of the Committee for the Reexamination of the History of the Second World War. He is a member of this Journal's Editorial Advisory Committee.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Mark Weber

Mark Weber, historian and author, is director of the [Institute for Historical Review](#), an independent "think tank" and publishing-educational enterprise based in southern California.

He is the author of many articles, reviews, and essays dealing with historical, political, and social issues, which have appeared in a variety of periodicals, and in a range of languages.

Weber has been a guest on numerous radio talk shows, and has appeared many times on television, including on the nationally broadcast "Hannity and Colmes" and "Montel Williams" shows. He has conducted countless interviews with television, radio and print journalists from across the United States, and from Britain, Germany, Sweden, Lebanon, Iran, South Africa, and other countries.



He was born in Portland, Oregon, where he was also raised. He studied history at the University of Illinois (Chicago), the University of Munich (Germany), and Portland State University, from where he received a bachelor's degree in history (with high honors). He then did graduate work in history at Indiana University (Bloomington), where he served as a history instructor and received a Master's degree in European history.

In 1988 he testified for five days in Toronto District Court as a recognized expert witness on Germany's wartime Jewish policy and the Holocaust issue.

During the five years he lived in Washington, DC, he carried out extensive historical research at the National Archives and the Library of Congress.

He lived and worked for two and one-half years in Germany (Bonn and Munich), and for a time in Ghana (West Africa), where he taught English, history, and geography at an all-Black secondary school.

He has been Director of the IHR since 1995. For nine years he was editor of the IHR's Journal of Historical Review.

Source: Revisionists.com



Ingrid Weckert

One of the best-known German historical researchers and writers, Weckert is best known for her book on the events leading up to Kristallnacht - a book called "Feuerzeichen" (Flashpoint). She has been subjected to police raids, during one of which Ernst Zündel was arrested in her apartment in Munich. A former tourist guide for travel agencies, she reads and speaks Hebrew. She knew Menachim Begin and other Jewish leaders personally and frequently visited Israel. In 1998, she was tried, convicted and fined DM 3,500 for writing a Revisionist article. She now lives at the edge of poverty from a small pension.



Repercussions:

Tried, convicted and fined.

Source: Revisionists.com



Gladye Whitney

Gladye Whitney (1939-2002), was a nationally renowned psychologist. At the time of his death, he was a full professor of psychology at Florida State University (Tallahassee), where he had taught for 31 years.

He achieved eminence for his research in the field of behavioral genetics. A few years ago he made waves at his university and among his colleagues by writing an introduction to David Duke's *My Awakening*, which contains a popular treatment of the case for Holocaust revisionism. Professor Whitney was a speaker at

the Institute's thirteenth conference two years ago, and proved to be as personally engaging as he was dedicated to researching and standing up for free inquiry in pursuit of knowledge. His presence is missed.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Jack Wikoff

Jack Wikoff is a writer and researcher living in central New York State.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



Richard A. Widmann

Richard A. Widmann was educated at Rutgers University and Seton Hall University, from which he holds a degree in quantitative analysis. He has published over forty revisionist articles in books, journals, and newsletters around the world. Since 1995 he been editor of the website of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust.

Source: Journal of Historical Review



John Weir

John Weir is a computer programmer/analyst who lives with his wife and three children in a suburb of Kansas City. Born in Missouri in 1958, he received a B. S. degree in computer science and technology from the University of Missouri in Kansas City.

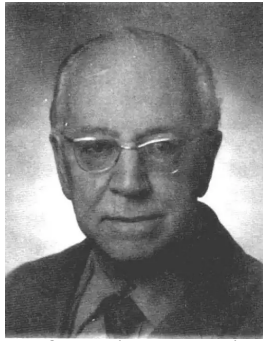
Source: Journal of Historical Review



Georg Franz-Willing

Georg Franz-Willing (born in 1915) was a German historian. He graduated from the Humanistic Gymnasium in Rosenheim, Bavaria, in

1935. He studied history, geography, anthropology, philosophy, and law at the University of Munich, earning his doctorate under the renowned historian Karl Alexander von Müller. From 1939 to 1945 he served in the German Army. After the war he taught history at the naval academy of the Bundeswehr in Flensburg, and was associated with a number of scholarly institutes. Dr. Franz-Willing was the author of numerous books and articles on modern history, including *Die Reichskanzlei 1933-1945* and *Der Zweite Weltkrieg: Ursachen und Anlass*, as well as works on Habsburg Austria, modern China, and the American Civil War. His scholarly book on the National Socialist movement, *Die Hitlerbewegung*, was praised by the German weekly *Der Spiegel* as well grounded in the facts, and encyclopedic in scope. For years he was associated with and supportive of the Institute for Historical Review.



Source: lhr.org/other/authorbios

Costas Zaverdinos

Born in Johannesburg in 1938, Costas Zaverdinos currently [1997] teaches at the University of Natal in South Africa. He received a Bachelor of Science degree from Rhodes University, followed by a B.Sc. (Honors) degree in Applied Mathematics from the University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg). In 1965 he earned a M.Sc. degree from the University of Natal in Durban. During a three year period in Greece, he held a teaching post at the Athens Technical University.

Since 1970 he has been with the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), which awarded him a Ph.D. in mathematics in 1984 for his specialized study of "combinatorics," a field related to computer science. He is currently a senior lec-



turer with the University's department of Mathematics and Applied Mathematics of the Faculty of Science. He is the author of several papers in internationally recognized scholarly journals.

Dr. Zaverdinos has long had a serious interest in the ancient world. In 1989 he obtained a B.A. (Honors) degree cum laude in ancient Greek studies, specializing in Socrates and Heraclitus. Since the late 1970s he has been keenly interested in Second World War history, and since 1986 has been an avid reader of revisionist publications. Since 1997 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

In letters published in leading South African newspapers, he has effectively presented revisionist arguments on the Holocaust issue while ardently defending the principle of free speech and free inquiry with regard to all aspects of the Second World War. (For example, a letter by him in the *Natal Witness* was reprinted in the July-August 1992 IHR Newsletter.)

In April 1995 Zaverdinos spoke together with visiting scholar (and *Journal* contributor) Dr. Robert Countess at a meeting at the University of Natal. Prior to introducing Countess, he delivered an address entitled "Can the Standard Version of the Holocaust be Questioned?," in which he sharply criticized the media habit of dismissing Holocaust revisionists as "deniers" or castigating them as "right wing extremists." "For us to be capable of exercising our full humanity," he also said, "we must be in a position to make judgments based on dependable facts, and be able to distinguish propaganda from real history (to borrow David Irving's expression)."

The Journal of Historical Review, Dr. Zaverdinos strongly believes, should continue to emphasize solidly researched, factual scholarly historical writing. He supports Germar Rudolf's call (in the Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*, p. 15) to go beyond showing what is not true about the Holocaust story, to establishing precisely what did happen to Europe's Jews in the "final solution." "In particular," he says, "the

vexing question of numbers needs, in my view, a lot more exploration. Also, the extent of the very real massacres of Jews by shooting needs to be established, how this related to German security needs, and to what degree local militias participated." With regard to the emotion-laden Third Reich period, he believes that the Journal should strive for understanding, but not justification.

Source: Revisionists.com



Ernst Zundel

Ernst Zundel (1939-2017) was a German-born publisher, author and civil rights activist. He was a prominent figure in the worldwide Holocaust revisionist network, and accordingly was routinely described in the mainstream media as a "notorious Holocaust denier." He was also an unabashed admirer of Adolf Hitler, and an unapologetic defender of the legacy of Third Reich Germany. For seven years he was held behind bars, first in Canada and then in Germany, solely for the peaceful expression of non-conformist views. For some time he was the most prominent political prisoner in the western world.

He was the author of countless booklets, newsletters and essays. He was a prodigious publisher, a one-man public relations firm, and an able public speaker



Ernst Zundel with Ingrid Rimland at an IHR conference, May 2000



Demonstrators in downtown Los Angeles, Feb. 4, 2005 call for Zundel's release



Zundel speaks at IHR conference in May 2000



and organizer. Energetic, tenacious and courageous, he was dauntless in struggle against apparently insurmountable odds and seemingly invincible adversaries.

Sometimes describing himself as a "Swabian peasant," Zundel was an outgoing, good-humored man who was blessed with a rare combination of unflagging optimism and practical ability. He maintained this infectious spirit even under very trying conditions. Although he was often portrayed by adversaries as a boorish "hater," his real personality was quite different. He was an unusually alert and sensitive individual with a keen understanding of human nature. He knew how to persuade, cajole and encourage others to give their best for a greater mission. He inspired confidence, loyalty and affection.

Ernst Christof Friedrich Zündel was born on April 24, 1939, in the Black Forest region of southwestern Germany. He emigrated to Canada at the age of 19, where he soon married and became the father of two sons. His career as a graphic artist was successful, with his work appearing, for example, on the front cover of Canada's national news magazine, *Maclean's*.



With Ingrid Rimland in Palm Springs



Zundel with John Sack



Zundel with Ingrid Rimland in San Francisco



At work at Zundelhaus



Toronto Holocaust trial, 1980s



Toronto Holocaust trial, 1980s

Setting aside his thriving career, he dedicated himself to the great task, as he saw it, of redeeming the sullied reputation of his fellow Germans. Through his Samisdat publishing house he distributed worldwide a prodigious quantity of books, booklets, leaflets, newsletters, and audio and video cassettes. Simon Wiesenthal, the well-known "Nazi hunter," called Zundel the world's number one distributor of allegedly dangerous literature and recordings.

Zundel was perhaps best known as the defiant defendant in the much-publicized "Holocaust Trials" of 1985 and 1988. He was brought to court in Toronto on a charge of "publishing false news," and specifically for publishing a reprint edition of a booklet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die?*.

Zundel's two lengthy trials -- the 1985 trial lasted two months, and the 1988 trial lasted four months -- were something like full scale debates on the Holocaust issue. For the first time ever, "Holocaust survivors" and Holocaust historians were closely and critically questioned under oath about their claims and views.

To wage the legal battle that was forced upon him, he brought together an impressive international team of researchers, legal specialists, scholars, and many others. From numerous libraries and archives in North America and Europe, this group assembled at the "Zundelhaus" in Toronto one of the most extensive collections of evidence anywhere on this chapter of history.

Among those who testified on Zundel's behalf in the trials were Robert Faurisson, David Irving, Mark Weber, William Lindsey, Udo Walendy, and Bradley Smith. As a result of the two trials, an enormous quantity of evidence and testimony challenging the prevailing Holocaust narrative was presented to the court and thereby was made part of the permanent public record. Perhaps the most important of this evidence was the historic testimony of American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter about his

on-site forensic examination of the alleged extermination gas chambers in Poland.

Zundel was found guilty in the 1985 trial, but the verdict was set aside by the provincial appeals court. It ruled that the judge in that trial had, among other things, given improper instructions to the jury, and had improperly excluded defense evidence. At the conclusion of the second Zundel trial in May 1988, a jury declared him guilty. A few days later, he was sentenced to nine months imprisonment.

French scholar Robert Faurisson wrote at the time: "Zundel may once again go to prison for his research and beliefs or be threatened with deportation. All this is possible. Anything may happen when there is an intellectual crisis and a realignment of historical concepts of such a dimension. Revisionism is the great intellectual adventure of the end of this century. Whatever happens, Ernst Zundel is already the victor."

On appeal, Canada's Supreme Court threw out the 1988 conviction, declaring on August 27, 1992, that the archaic "false news" law under which Zundel had been tried and convicted was a violation of the country's Charter of Rights. This was more than a personal vindication by Canada's highest court; Ernst Zundel secured an important victory for the rights of all Canadians.

His next great legal battle was fought out before the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal in Toronto on charges, instigated by Jewish groups, of promoting "hatred or contempt" against Jews through the "Zundelsite" website, operated by Ingrid Rimland from the United States. In this legal action, as the Tribunal's presiding Commissioner declared, the truth or validity of the supposedly "hateful" items was not a consideration. (Ultimately the Tribunal declared the "Zundelsite" to be unlawful, but because it is based in the US, the ruling has been unenforceable.)

During the 42 years he lived in Canada (1958-2000), Ernst Zundel was never convicted of a crime. He was, however, repeatedly a victim of violence and hate. He survived three assassina-

tion attempts, including by arson and pipe bomb. He also endured years of legal harassment and repeated jailings.

An arson attack against Zundel's Toronto residence on May 8, 1995, resulted in \$400,000 in damage. No charges were ever filed against the perpetrators. A group calling itself the "Jewish Armed Resistance Movement" claimed responsibility for the crime. According to the *Toronto Sun* newspaper, this shadowy group had ties to the Jewish Defense League (JDL), which the American FBI identified as a terrorist organization. The leader of the JDL in Toronto, Meir Weinstein (known also as Meir Halevi), denied involvement in the attack. Five days later, though, Weinstein and American JDL leader Irv Rubin were caught trying to break into the Zundel property, where they were apprehended by police. Some weeks after the arson, Zundel was targeted with a parcel bomb, which was detonated by the Toronto Police bomb squad.

After more than four decades in Canada, including a failed effort to acquire Canadian citizenship, Zundel moved to the United States, where in January 2000 he married Ingrid Rimland. His wife, a gifted writer and noted author in her own right, was born in an ethnic German Mennonite community in Ukraine. As a child she and her family were victims of Soviet rule and the ravages of World War II. After the war she lived for a time in Paraguay and Canada, and then for years in California. Ingrid Rimland, a naturalized US citizen, holds a doctoral degree in education.

On February 5, 2003, Ernst Zundel was arrested at their quiet home in the mountain region of eastern Tennessee. US authorities seized him on the pretext that he had violated immigration regulations, or had missed an interview date with US immigration authorities, even though he had entered the US legally, was married to an American citizen, had no criminal record, and was acting diligently, and in full accord with the law, to secure status as a permanent legal resident.

After being held for two weeks, he was deported to Canada. For two years -- from mid-

February 2003 to March 1, 2005 -- he was held in solitary confinement in the Toronto West Detention Centre as a supposed threat to national security.

His arrest and detention generated wide media attention. A few Canadian newspapers and several independent analysts acknowledged the injustice of his incarceration. The country's most prestigious daily, the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, affirmed in an editorial ("Zundel doesn't warrant a security certificate," March 6, 2004) that he posed no risk to people or property, and that he was being held unjustly on a bogus "guilt by association" pretext. "He has never been charged with a violent crime and does not urge others to commit violence," the editorial noted. "The real danger to Canadians," it concluded, comes not from individuals like Zundel, "but from a government that casually discards their most precious rights."

In another editorial ("The Zundel Case," Oct. 23, 2004) the influential paper called Canada's treatment of Zundel an "abuse of the secret-trial legislation." *The Globe and Mail* editorial went on: "What little [evidence that] has emerged suggests the Crown is arguing not that he has incited violence, but that his material might be read by people who might incite violence - guilt by association. The willingness of Canadian authorities to twist the narrow purpose of the security-trial legislation to go after Ernst Zundel is a blot on Canadian justice."

Bill Dunphy, a veteran investigative journalist and editor for the daily *Hamilton Spectator*, also protested the injustice. He spent six years probing Canada's "white supremacist" movement, and got to know Zundel well. Although he has no sympathy for Zundel's views, in a hard-hitting column (*Hamilton Spectator*, May 14, 2003) he told readers:

"Our government has seized and branded Ernst Zundel, stripped him of his human rights, tried him in secret and found him wanting, and will now hand him over to a foreign government anxious to throw him in jail ...

“... Zundel - who did this country a favour by wiping off the books our disgraceful False News laws - has never once been convicted of a criminal offence in this country, never once found to have violated the hate crime laws that rest snugly around the throat of free expression in this country.

“Calculating correctly that there was no political cost, no 'down side' to slipping on the jack-boots to kick a reviled old man out of our country, our government cobbled together their best insults and innuendo, and Lord knows what secret 'evidence,' and branded Ernst Zundel a threat to national security.

“I know this man, his local and international contacts and I know this movement. And after reading the 58-page 'unclassified' summary of the government's case, I can assure you there is no justice here. Their 'evidence' is riddled with errors and misinformation, hearsay and inflammatory innuendo. Dead men walk again, and the shattered bits of shoddy secret networks long since collapsed under the weight of their own ineptitude are made whole and menacing once again. It is a shameful piece of dishonest, unreliable tripe.”

The Canadian Association for Free Expression (CAFE), a free speech advocacy group, fought for Zundel's release. "Mr. Zundel is quite literally a political prisoner," said CAFE director Paul Fromm, who also served as Zundel's legal representative in his detention hearings. "He is being held in solitary confinement solely for the non-violent expression of his political views."

The allegation that Zundel might be a threat to national security "is mischievous nonsense," said Fromm. "Zundel has been politically active in Canada for 40 years. He's a public figure. His writings and speeches are available on-line. He's been investigated for years by the police. He's an open book. Zundel has never advocated or practised violence, nor have his followers," Fromm added. "He's a pacifist and a publisher."

Zundel was held in Canada not because his views are unpopular, or because he was a "security risk." He was in prison there because Jewish groups wanted him there, and because he promoted views that the Jewish-Zionist lobby considers harmful to its interests.

This lobby was the decisive, critical factor in the decades-old campaign to silence him. The only sustained and institutionalized effort in Canada to imprison Zundel came from this lobby, which includes the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association, and the League for Human Rights of B'nai B'rith (Canada's counterpart to the US-based "Anti-Defamation League").

On March 1, 2005, Zundel was deported to Germany, just as Jewish groups had been demanding. Upon his arrival at Frankfurt airport, he was immediately arrested and taken to Mannheim prison to await trial for the "thought crime" of "denying the Holocaust." ("Holocaust denial" is against the law in Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland and some other European countries.)

A few months later the public prosecutor in Mannheim formally charged Zundel with inciting "hatred" by having written or distributed texts that "approve, deny or play down" genocidal actions carried out by Germany's wartime regime, and which "denigrate the memory of the [Jewish] dead." The indictment cited, above all, texts posted on the "Zundelsite" website, which is registered and maintained by his wife in the United States, where all such writings are protected by law. .

Zundel's three-month trial concluded on February 15, 2007, when a court in Mannheim sentenced him to five years imprisonment for the crime of "popular incitement" (*Volksverhetzung*) under Germany's notorious "Holocaust denial" statute. The 14 specific violations cited by the court included postings on the US-based "Zundelsite" website. The court thus upheld efforts by German authorities to punish individuals for writings that are legal in the country where they are published. Jewish groups

quickly, and predictably, expressed approval of the verdict.

In recent years, a growing number of scholars, intellectuals and newspapers -- especially in Europe -- have condemned the laws under which Zundel and others have been imprisoned, fined and forced into exile for expressing skeptical views on "the Holocaust." These laws, critics point out, are selective, hypocritical, and violate generally recognized principles of free speech and free expression.

Zundel was released from prison on March 1, 2010 -- five years after his deportation to Germany, and three years after his conviction by a court in Mannheim. Banned from returning to either Canada or the US, he went to his family home in Germany's Black Forest region, where he resided until his death.

In a rare visit beyond the borders of his homeland, he traveled in 2015 to Mexico to address the "International Identitarian Congress" in Guadalajara (May 1-3). In a vigorous talk that reflected what he called his "unbroken" spirit, he provided a cogent, moving retrospective on his activist years, including his ordeal as a "thought criminal." The 200 men and women who gathered for this event -- including speak-

ers from Argentina, Spain, Germany, Italy, Britain, Mexico and the US -- expressed their appreciation for this extraordinary man's courage and steadfastness.

Ernst Zundel died peacefully on August 5, 2017, in the same family home in Germany where he had been born 78 years earlier, and where he had been living since his release from Mannheim prison.

More about Ernst Zundel and his life, his fight for freedom, and his ordeal, is posted on the "[Zundelsite](#)" website, and at [Ernst Zundel : Prisoner of Conscience, Victim of Thought Crime](#)

See also: [Americans Rally for Zundel's Freedom](#) - Feb. 2005

[Photos from the Demonstration in Los Angeles for Zundel's Freedom](#) - Feb. 2005

[Ernst Zundel: Letters From Prison](#) - Five letters, from Feb. 2004 to August 2005

[Who is Ernst Zundel, And Why is He in Jail](#) - Sept. 2003

Updated on Feb. 15, 2007, and on June 2, 2016, and on August 17, 2017

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The Zionist Terror Network

Background and Operation of the Jewish Defense League and other Criminal Zionist Groups

By *Mark Weber*

Introduction

This booklet documents the background and criminal activities of Jewish Zionist terrorist groups, and especially the Jewish Defense League. Particular emphasis is given here to terror — including murder — against “thought criminals” who question the Holocaust story that six million Jews were systematically killed during the Second World War.

Zionist terrorists openly proclaim an arrogant Jewish-supremacist ideology and acknowledge their readiness to use violence against those who disagree with them. With a well-documented record of bigotry and crime, they pose a serious danger to our society, and to men and women everywhere who treasure freedom.

Meir Kahane and the Jewish Defense League

The most zealous non-governmental Zionist terrorist organization has been the Jewish Defense League. Its activists have been involved in a wide range of crimes, and the US Federal Bureau of Investigation has repeatedly cited it as a criminal terrorist group.



Thomas Marcellus, Director of the Institute for Historical Review, sorts damaged files from the wreckage of the devastating arson attack on July 4, 1984, against the southern California research and publication center.

The Jewish Defense League was founded in 1968 by Rabbi Meir Kahane. Born Martin David Kahane in 1932 in Brooklyn, New York, he was the first-born son of an orthodox rabbi who was active in the “revisionist” movement of Zionist hard-liner Ze’ev Jabotinsky. Jabotinsky and other leaders of his movement were guests at the Kahane household while Martin (Meir) was a boy. As a youth, Kahane became an active member of the Jewish-supremacist Betar movement, which Jabotinsky had founded in 1925. Kahane’s first arrest came in 1947, when he was 15, for leading a group of Betar youth in an attack against visiting British foreign minister Ernest Bevin. ^[1]

Two of Jabotinsky’s most fervent followers went on to gain notoriety as leaders of Zionist terror groups, and, later, as prime ministers of Israel: Menachem Begin, who once headed the Irgun group, and Yitzhak Shamir, who headed the Lehi group (Stern gang). Shamir, for example, played a crucial role in the Lehi murder in November 1944 of British Middle East envoy Lord

Moyne, and in the September 1948 assassination of Swedish United Nations peace mediator Count Folke-Bernadotte. [2]

For a time in the 1960s, Kahane led a double life. He lived and worked under the name of Michael King, keeping this identity secret even from his wife. During this period, he later related, he worked for the Central Intelligence Agency and for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. For the FBI he spied on the right-wing John Birch Society as well as on various left-wing student groups. [3]

Posing as the non-Jewish Michael King, he had affairs with a number of young women he picked up in New York bars. One of them was Gloria Jean D'Argenio, a (non-Jewish) 22-year-old model who worked under the name of Estelle Evans. After their meeting in 1966, they promptly began an affair. Never revealing his true identity, he even proposed marriage. After Kahane/King broke off the relationship a few weeks later, she attempted suicide by hurling herself into the East River, dying two days later (on Kahane's 34th birthday). [4]

Kahane's life changed dramatically in 1968, when he and several colleagues founded the Jewish Defense League. Brandishing guns and provocative slogans ("Every Jew a .22," "Never Again"), Kahane's JDL quickly attracted considerable media attention. Kahane pointedly exploited rising anti-black sentiment among Jews in the New York area. [5]

Kahane and his new organization received important and probably crucial support from two powerful allies: Israel's right-wing Herut political party and the New York Mafia.

Between December 1969 and August 1972, Kahane's JDL — with important support and guidance from Menachem Begin's Herut party in Israel, top officers of Israel's Mossad secret service, and several wealthy American Jewish businessmen — carried out a campaign of criminal attacks against Soviet Russian diplomats and other Soviet targets in the USA. The goal was to focus attention on and generate sympathy for Soviet Jewry, and to damage relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. [6]

On May 12, 1971, Kahane and a dozen other JDL members were arrested by federal agents for conspiracy to manufacture explosives. One day later, Kahane announced an alliance with a group founded by Mafia boss Joseph Colombo, Jr., a one-time killer who had risen to head the Colombo crime syndicate. "Kahane received substantial aid from the New York Mafia," writes Israeli journalist Yair Kotler in his biography of the JDL founder. Until Colombo's murder in 1971, relations between Kahane and the New York City mob boss were very close, and the two criminal chiefs worked closely together. [7]

Kahane claimed to have spent a total of three years in American prisons as a result of his militant activities. [8] During the early 1970s, Kahane abandoned the JDL and moved to Israel — returning on occasional visits to raise money. Building on the international notoriety he had gained as JDL leader, in 1976 he launched his radical Kach party. In 1984 he was elected to the Israeli Knesset (parliament) as his party's only deputy. Meanwhile, the JDL's New York chapter collapsed, and splinter groups emerged with names such as the "Jewish Direct Action," the "United Jewish Underground," "Save Our Israel Land," and the "Jewish Defenders." [9]

Kahane was assassinated on November 5, 1990, while addressing a meeting of supporters at a hotel in midtown Manhattan, New York City. [10]

Rabbi Kahane's Ideology

In numerous speeches and essays, and in several books, Meir Kahane preached an arrogant and even genocidal message of Jewish supremacy and ruthless Zionism. For the JDL leader and his many fervent followers, any and all measures to further Jewish survival and welfare — including terror, dispossession and murder — are entirely justified. [11]

Typical of his passionate and outspoken prose style is a representative essay by Kahane that appeared in 1980 in a leading Jewish community paper. He wrote: [12]

“...Vengeance is a fundamental Jewish concept that is a precept, injunction, commandment for the Jew...Vengeance becomes, thanks to the gentilized and perplexed era in which we live, a maligned thing...Let the government of Israel, which is responsible for the lives of its citizens, make the streets, buses, shops and homes of the Ishmaelites [Palestinians] perpetual places of terror and stark insecurity...Wipe away the bitter degradation of God’s name that is symbolized by Arab refusal to bow to Jewish sovereignty. A truly Jewish government is one that understands the need to...burn out the desecration by removing, burning out, the evil that is the Arab nation in our midst.”

In another essay, this one published in 1973, Kahane emphasized Jewish invincibility. The day will come, he promised, when all non-Jews would acknowledge the superiority of the Chosen people: [13]

“The Jewish people cannot ever be destroyed, but rather they and their G-d of History will emerge in days to come triumphant over the evils and foolishness of all other nations. Zion will and must emerge as the mount to which all peoples will turn and the Jewish L-rd will be the One before Whom all knees bend...”

In an essay published in 1982, Kahane stressed the pitiless, either-or, us-or-them, nature of the struggle between Jews and their “enemies”: [14]

“Let us look at events through Jewish eyes...Lebanon:...A war was begun [by Israel] against a “Palestinian” enemy — an entire people — which seeks to wipe out the Jewish state and the vast majority of its Jews. It was...a war unto the death, the utter destruction of the enemy, the instilling of total fear, terror, until he capitulates and acknowledges the L-rd.”

Jewish and liberal democratic values are incompatible, Kahane often insisted: “I have said it a million times. Western democracy as we know it is incompatible with Zionism...The idea of a democratic Jewish state is nonsense.” [15] On another occasion he stated: “Democracy is for people who don’t have the truth. No earthly, temporal government has any relevance to the actions of the Jew when its orders and regulations are contrary to [Jewish] Torah law...Judaism has never been a democratic form of society.” [16]



Meir Kahane in 1979 at his headquarters in Jerusalem, the “Musuem

A virtual obsession for Kahane was the brutal wartime treatment of Europe’s Jews. “Never Again,” the JDL slogan, pointedly referred to the Holocaust experience. In Kahane’s view, every non-Jew is a potential Nazi murderer. “As long as one gentile lives opposite one Jew, the possibility of a Holocaust remains,” he wrote. [17] The moral measure of every action, Kahane stressed, must be “is it good for the Jews?” Failure to act in accordance with this principle, he emphasized, will lead to “a new Auschwitz.” [18]

of the Potential Holocaust.” (Photo from *The False Prophet* by Robert Friedman)

In his biography of Kahane, author Robert Friedman relates some of the quirkiness of the militant rabbi’s personality. Recalling his first meeting with him at his “Museum of the Potential Holocaust” in Jerusalem, Friedman wrote: “It struck me on that first encounter that Kahane was a man obsessed with sex and violence. He chattered incessantly about Arab men sleeping with Jewish women.” [19]

Kahane publicly called Arabs “dogs,” [20] and on at least one occasion promised to eliminate Arabs from Israel “like bug spray on these cockroaches.” [21] In numerous speeches, and in a 1980 book entitled *They Must Go*, Kahane outlined his plan for the forcible mass expulsion (or “transfer”) of Palestinian Arabs from the “Land of Israel” — that is, “greater Israel” (including the West Bank territory seized by Israel in 1967).

Kahane’s worldview was summed up in the “statement of principles” of the Kach movement, which he founded and headed. It begins with an arrogant description of “the Jewish People” as “special, chosen, holy and supreme.” [22] A primary Kach goal is

the transfer of the Arabs from all parts of Eretz Israel [the enlarged “Land of Israel”]. The Arabs’ presence in Israel ensures hatred, disturbances, and bloodshed. It is a time bomb, threatening the existence of the Zionist enterprise. The Arabs living in Eretz Israel must therefore be transferred to the Arab countries.

Kahane and his supporters agitated for an Israeli law that would criminalize sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews. (At it is, Jews were already forbidden from marrying non-Jews in Israel.) The proposed law would also outlaw a broad range of social contacts between Jews and non-Jews, including mixed schools, community centers, beaches, and even neighborhoods. [23]

Kahane and his sympathizers have never been particularly bothered by the parallels between his proposed law and Hitler’s “Nuremberg Laws” of 1935, which similarly banned sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews. [24]

As Kahane and other hardline Zionists have persistently pointed out, Jewish religious law clearly forbids Jews to marry non-Jews. [25] Similarly, Kahane never tired of citing Jewish religious scripture in support of his ruthless, uncompromising message. As American Jewish author Lenni Brenner has acknowledged, Kahane and his supporters are [26] “absolutely correct in insisting that Judaism was a tribal religion, replete with hereditary priests performing animal sacrifices. It was genocidal to the Amalekites, and tried to do so toward the Canaanites. There was much else that was fanatic and racist.”

Support for Kahane and the JDL

Few prominent Israeli or American Jewish community leaders were ever willing publicly to support Kahane, and major American Jewish organizations — such as the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, and the American Jewish Congress — took care to disavow Kahane and the JDL. At the same time, though — and in spite of his well-documented criminal record and his message of undisguised bigotry and arrogance — Kahane and the JDL enjoyed sympathy and considerable support from a surprisingly broad cross-section of American Jewry. Over the years, American Jewish businessmen gave millions of dollars to Kahane. [27]

At the conclusion of an address given in 1971 at a prosperous synagogue in Potomac, Maryland, during which the JDL leader praised the fire-bombing of a car, the well-to-do congregation gave Kahane a standing ovation. [28] Jackie Mason, a prominent American comedian, publicly supported Kahane and performed at a fund-raising benefit for the JDL in early 1972. “Democratic principles shouldn’t apply to Israel like they do to America,” explained Mason (like Kahane, an ordained Rabbi). [29] At a single fundraiser dinner in Boston in 1986, more than \$20,000 was reportedly collected for Kahane. [30]

An indication of Kahane’s acceptance by even major American political figures came in 1972, when the JDL leader was invited by US Senator Henry “Scoop” Jackson to stand together with him on a New York City stage. This was during the powerful politician’s campaign for the Democratic party’s presidential nomination. [31] Another prominent JDL supporter was US Congressman Mario Biaggi, who represented the Bronx in Washington. [32]

A leading Jewish community paper, the sensational Brooklyn-based weekly Jewish Press (with a circulation of 130,000 to 160,000), took on Kahane as an editor and columnist, giving him an influential forum for his strident and often deliberately mendacious writing. [33]

America’s most influential daily paper, the (Jewish-owned) New York Times, gave Kahane a measure of respectability and legitimacy by publishing essays by him on its widely read “op ed” opinion page. [34] Kahane’s book, *They Must Go*, which calls for the genocidal mass expulsion of Palestinian Arabs from their ancient homeland, was published in 1980 by the “mainstream” New York publishing firm of Grosset & Dunlap.

American television, newspapers and magazines never subjected Kahane to even a fraction of the criticism and contempt they so readily directed against non-Jewish militants in groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the “Aryan Nations” or “The Order,” which preached comparable messages and goals.

In Israel, Kahane won support and even a measure of fanatical devotion from many “ordinary” Jews, particularly “Sephardic” Jews from the Arab world (who now make up a majority of Israel’s Jewish population). Describing a visit by Kahane to the Israeli city of Afula in July 1985, during a period of Jewish-Arab tension there, journalist Yair Kotler wrote: [35]

His appearance was enough to heat up the atmosphere and incite the curly-haired young people on the street corners, who see each Arab as a potential threat to their social standing.

Those on the street corners shouted “Kahane the savior!” They attacked Arabs, both from within Israel [proper] and the [occupied] territories who came to Afula to work. They threw stones at Arab cars ...

They looted shops. The mob continued to shout “Kahane, Kahane! Death to the Arabs,” sweeping before it everyone it encountered ...



Zionist terrorism is the subject of a front-cover feature article in the New York weekly *Village Voice*, November 12, 1985.

His [Kahane's] distorted face was seen by millions of viewers in Israel and throughout the world as he shouted, "The only answer is to throw the Arabs out. I want the Arabs out, out, out!"

The city was a volcano. Kahane had set the tone from afar, and fear and hatred were rampant. Passions ran high. The Arab was the enemy...Meir Kahane, the racist who had come to Israel from the United States, had lit a fire.

Kahane is dead, but the flames of bigotry and fanaticism he worked so hard to fan still burn. Indeed, recent surveys show that ever more Israeli Jews support, or are at least willing to seriously consider, the most brutal measures against the Arabs living under their control, including genocidal forced mass expulsion from the land of "greater Israel."

Zionist Criminal Activities: A General Overview

Over the years, Zionist militants have carried out hundreds of illegal actions against real or imagined "enemies," including many acts of vandalism and harassment, and countless threatening phone calls. What follows here, though, are details about some particularly spectacular criminal operations. While JDL responsibility for many of them has been conclusively established, in some cases precise responsibility could not be established.

- On January 26, 1972, a JDL team firebombed the New York City offices of a US-Soviet cultural exchange agency. Killed in the fire was a 27-year-old secretary (who happened to be Jewish). Thirteen others were injured. One participant, Sheldon Siegel, confessed to police that he had made the bomb, and provided the names of the others involved in the crime. Several years later Kahane acknowledged JDL responsibility for the crime. However, the case against the JDL members who were charged in the incident was eventually dismissed on a technicality. [36]
- In May 1972, ten JDL thugs broke into the Austrian consulate in Washington, DC, and beat Austria's ambassador to the US, Karl Gruber, as well as the building's janitor. [37]
- In May 1974, JDL members attacked Arab-American community activist Dr. Mohammed Mehdi with a lead pipe, sending him to the hospital with a broken back. It took nearly a year for the police to make an arrest, even though a perpetrator had appeared on television to boast of the deed. A short time later, Mehdi's offices in Manhattan were almost totally destroyed in an apparent arson attack. [38]
- On February 21, 1975, a US federal court found Kahane guilty of violating terms of a probation stemming from his 1971 felony conviction for manufacturing firebombs. He had been forbidden from having anything to do with bombs, dynamite or other weapons, or encouraging violence. Citing incriminating letters written by Kahane in which he had urged followers to assassinate Russian and Arab diplomats, the judge sentenced the rabbi to one year imprisonment. Kahane served eight months of this term in a Manhattan halfway house, which he was allowed to leave every day to eat in kosher restaurants. Kahane used this period of "imprisonment" to conduct JDL business. [39]
- In 1975, 21-year-old JDL member David Kamaiko hijacked an executive helicopter in New York City, demanding \$2 million ransom to buy guns for the JDL. Kamaiko shot the pilot before he was himself subdued. [40]
- In 1978, Canadian JDL leader Joseph Schachter bombed the home of right-wing activist Donald Andrews. [41]
- On April 11, 1982, JDL member Allan Goodman opened fire with a machine gun at a Muslim house of worship in Jerusalem, killing two Palestinian Arabs: an elderly man and a 20-year-old youth. After entering the mosque, he continued firing, critically wounding several



Jewish Defense League responsibility for a terrorist firebombing attack against an alleged “Nazi war criminal” is reported here in the *New York Post*, September 7, 1985.

- In early September 1985 directed against Elmars Sprogis in Brentwood, New York. Soobzokov and Sprogis were falsely alleged to have been “Nazi war criminals.” [44]
- In January 1991, Kurt Haber — identified in newspaper reports as a “Jewish Holocaust survivor” — was charged with making criminal threats against the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee. [45]

Alex Odeh Murder

Perhaps the most widely-publicized crime in which the JDL has been implicated is the murder on October 11, 1985, of Alex Odeh, West Coast regional director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Odeh was killed in a bomb blast when he entered his group’s office in Santa Ana, southern California. [46]



Alex Odeh

An FBI official announced in 1985 that the Jewish Defense League was believed responsible for the murder of Odeh and at least two other terrorist incidents on the East Coast. “We are attributing the three bombings to the JDL,” said FBI official Lane Bonner. [47] Similarly, an FBI report released in July 1986 cited “elements” of the Jewish Defense League as responsible for the murder of Odeh. [48]

Three JDL members were identified by US federal investigators in 1988 as the perpetrators of the bombing that took Odeh’s life. The accused assassins, who were born in the USA but fled to Israel to avoid punishment, are Keith Fuchs, Andy Green and Robert Manning. [49] Law enforcement officials in Los Angeles and New York have named Robert Manning — an important Jewish Defense League activist — as a suspect in at least four political bombings in 1985, including the one that killed Odeh. Manning, authorities said, had a two-decade history of violent activities that also included threats against producers of a television show. [50]

After joining the southern California chapter of the Jewish Defense League as a charter member in 1971, Manning quickly earned a reputation as a particularly tough street fighter. JDL chief Irv

people. Goodman, from Baltimore, Maryland, had received paramilitary training at the JDL’s Camp Jedel in New York state. In an interview, Kahane said of the crime, “There was nothing wrong with what he did...the act was perfectly correct.” [42]

- In 1987, three members of the Jewish Defense League were arrested for their involvement in at least six bombing attacks carried out the New York area between 1984 and 1987. The accused were Jay Cohen, Sharon Katz and Victor Vancier, head of the JDL in the New York area. After admitting his role in the terror bombings, Vancier was sentenced in October 1987 to ten years imprisonment. Another JDL member, Murray Young, was sentenced to five years in prison. [43]

FBI officials believe that the JDL was behind the bomb blast in mid-August 1985 that killed Tscherim Soobzokov in Paterson, New Jersey, and a similar (although non-fatal) bombing attack in

early September 1985 directed against Elmars Sprogis in Brentwood, New York. Soobzokov and Sprogis were falsely alleged to have been “Nazi war criminals.” [44]

Rubin praised him as a “pretty strong boy. I’ve seen him fight. We tangled with Nazis in the streets, Arabs in the streets. He was a real active guy.” [51] In a 1988 court document, a federal prosecutor wrote: “It became known that [Manning], while purporting to act on behalf of the Jewish cause, on several occasions placed or threw explosive devices at locations of Arab antagonists.” [52]



Robert Manning

The Israeli government sought to obstruct the FBI’s investigation of the Odeh slaying, the federal agency charged in November 1987. [53] Manning himself tried to evade extradition by claiming heart trouble, by taking 20 sleeping pills, and by charging that he was being wrongfully persecuted simply because he is a pious, orthodox Jew. In spite of all this, Manning was finally extradited to the United States in July 1993. [54]

Official Confirmation of JDL Terrorism

The US Justice Department’s Federal Bureau of Investigation has repeatedly characterized the JDL as a terrorist and criminal organization. A report issued in 1985 by the FBI’s Terrorist Research and Analytical Center confirmed: [55]

In FBI terrorism analyses published since 1981, responsibility for 18 terrorist incidents has been attributed to groups seeking to publicize past and present injustices suffered by the Jewish people. While claims for some of these acts have been made in the names of the “Jewish Defenders,” “United Jewish Underground,” and “Jewish Direct Action,” 15 of the incidents were attributed to the Jewish Defense League (JDL), by far the most well known of these groups.

Also in 1985, the FBI named the Jewish Defense League as the second most active terrorist group in the United States. (Only Puerto Rican terrorists were more active during this period.) The FBI linked the JDL to 37 terrorist attacks carried out from 1977 to 1984. [56] Two years later, the FBI announced that Jewish extremist groups had carried out 24 terrorist acts from 1981 through 1986, 17 of which were the work of the Jewish Defense League. [57]

Another US federal government agency, the Department of Energy, similarly characterized the JDL in a report issued in 1986: [58]

For more than a decade, the Jewish Defense League (JDL) has been one of the most active terrorist groups in the United States. Although the JDL maintains that it is a political action group concerned with dramatizing the plight of Soviet Jewry and, in more general terms, protecting Jews and Jewish interests worldwide, the FBI has long classified it as a terrorist organization.

...The underlying purpose of the JDL is to reverse the mythical image of the Jews as victims. This militancy also fuels the anti-Soviet campaign designed to create and foment new sources of tension in Soviet-American relations ...

The JDL, however, has also attacked Arab, Iranian, Iraqi, Egyptian, Palestinian, Lebanese, French, and German targets in the United States ... In 1978 [for example], Egyptian diplomats were targeted...Attacks have also been staged by League chapters in France, Britain, Italy and Israel.

In more recent years, the official report went on,

The JDL has pursued a dual-track strategy of acts of civil disobedience and generally peaceful protest, along with acts of outright terrorism...Bombing is the JDL's favorite tactic, accounting for 78 percent of all JDL incidents. Shootings are next, accounting for 16 percent, followed by arson, vandalism, and kidnapping, accounting for one percent each ...

Since 1968, JDL operations have killed seven persons and wounded at least 22...Sixty-two percent of all JDL attacks are directed against property; 30 percent against businesses; four percent against academics and academic institutions; and two percent against religious targets.

Typically, an anonymous caller will claim responsibility for a specific terrorist act for either the JDL or one of its alleged subgroups, only to have an official spokesman for the JDL deny the group's involvement the following day.

In the past, although the JDL was among the most active terrorist organizations in the United States, the threat it posed appeared to be primarily symbolic...Recent events, however, suggest that this view requires revision. The increase of militant Jewish terrorism represents not only an escalation of violence, but a significant change in targeting patterns, as well as a dramatic shift in tactics.

...The group appears to be concentrating its efforts on persons and institutions it considers to be enemies of Judaism and Israel. The targets now [1986] include alleged former Nazis and war criminals; Palestinian and Arab individuals and institutions; and persons and so-called research centers promoting views about the Holocaust that minimize the dimensions of Jewish suffering.

Perhaps the most far-reaching change, however, is the increasing use of assassination, both to draw attention to the terrorists' causes and to eliminate perceived enemies of the Jewish people and Israel.

Tuesday, November 19, 1985 The Orange County Register

JDL is the second most active terrorist group, FBI says

Group linked to Santa Ana bombing death.

By Adam Dawson
The Register

LOS ANGELES — The Jewish Defense League, blamed by the FBI for the October bombing death of Alex Odeh in Santa Ana, is the second most active terrorist group in the United States, according to FBI reports.

The bombing occurred Oct. 11 at the West Coast headquarters of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Odeh, 41, was the head of the committee's West Coast office.

The JDL, which began as a security patrol to protect Orthodox Jews in New York City in 1968, has changed over the years into a "national group," FBI

"I don't care what the FBI has said in the past. The man (Odeh) has become a martyr, and the FBI is laying it on our doorstep. They are killing us."

Irv Rubin
director, Jewish Defense League

may be connected to the group. Bonner said those incidents, including two in Los Angeles and the attempted bombing of the American-Arab Committee's Boston office, are under investigation. "I don't care," he said.

The Jewish Defense League was named in 1985 as a major terrorist group by the US Federal Bureau of Investigation, as a major California newspaper reports here.



David Willcox (left) at a demonstration in Washington, DC, April 22, 1993, to protest the new US Holocaust Memorial Museum. A short time after this picture was taken, Zionist hoodlums attacked and seriously injured him. Photo by Fred Burkhart)

Besides Kahane, two of the most prominent JDL activists have been Irv Rubin and Mordechai Levy. Each has been repeatedly arrested for criminal activities.

Until 1982 or 1983, Mordechai (Mark) Levy was one of the most active of Jewish Defense League activists. [59] Among his numerous arrests was one in 1981 as a suspect in a car bombing. [60] On one occasion he dressed up in a full regalia Nazi uniform to apply for a parade permit to march at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, apparently in an effort to alert the local Jewish community to the “dangers of neo-Nazism.” [61]



Irv Rubin with JDL followers at a 1981 gathering. Holding a baseball bat is Mordechai Levy. Rubin and Levy later became deadly rivals.

After leaving the JDL (supposedly because it was not “militant enough”) he founded the Jewish Defense Organization. He claimed that his group, based in New York City, had more than 3,000 members. (The real figure was probably no more than a few dozen.) In the years that followed, Levy and rival Zionist militant Irv Rubin engaged in increasingly bitter feuding.

In August 1989, Levy was arrested following a dramatic night-time confrontation with Rubin and other JDL members. Fearing that Rubin was trying to kill him, Levy went to the roof of the building where he lived and began spraying the lower Manhattan street with semiautomatic rifle fire, wounding an air-conditioning repairman as he sat in his parked van. [62] Levy was later sentenced to four and a half years imprisonment for injuring the 69-year-old repairman. [63]

On April 22, 1993, Jewish Defense Organization members attacked demonstrators who had gathered in Washington, DC, to protest the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. At least one person was seriously injured. A JDO spokesman told reporters that several members of his group had attacked and beat “four or five” of the 150 or so persons who had rallied to express their opposition to the Museum. [64]

One of the victims was David Willcox, a 52-year-old employee of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission. He was standing on a street corner when three men wearing black “paramilitary” uniforms and skull caps with the Star of David attacked, beating him on the head and legs with metal pipes. Willcox required hospitalization and 12 stitches in his head.

Two JDO members later confirmed the attack against Willcox. JDO spokesman Michael Schneider told a reporter that his group would continue to do “whatever is necessary ” to “defend” Jews, including attacking “enemies” in the street. The FBI said that it is investigating the attack against Willcox as a possible act of “domestic terrorism,” while city police announced that they were looking into the incident as a possible “hate crime.” (As we go to press, though, no arrests have been made.)

Irv Rubin

Since the early 1970s, Irv Rubin has been perhaps the most prominent Jewish Defense League activist and spokesman. After a time as leader of the group’s JDL’s West coast operations, he emerged as “national chairman” of the post-Kahane JDL. By 1979, Rubin had managed to get arrested 39 times in connection with JDL activities. [65]



Irv Rubin

In March 1992, Irv Rubin was arrested on suspicion of conspiring to commit murder. He was released a few days later after the Los Angeles district attorney's office determined that police lacked sufficient evidence to hold him. [66]

In August 1992, Rubin's JDL succeeded in forcing a Los Angeles restaurant and nightclub, the Largo, to cancel a concert on behalf of the Palestine Aid Society, to raise money for humanitarian assistance. Rubin warned Largo proprietor Mark Flanagan that he could "expect trouble" and an "angry protest" unless he cancelled the event. Soon after, Flanagan discovered that his business' door locks had been destroyed by still-dripping fast-acting molecular glue. Then, just hours before the event was to begin, Flanagan canceled the concert out of fear that patrons might be victims of a possible JDL attack. [67]

Violence Against Holocaust Revisionists

Among the most persistent targets of Jewish terrorists in recent years have been those who reject the generally accepted Holocaust story that six million Jews were systematically murdered in Europe during the Second World War.

In recent decades, a growing number of scholars have been citing an impressive body of evidence that raises serious doubts about many supposedly well-documented aspects of the Holocaust story. These "Holocaust revisionists" include acclaimed best-selling British historian David Irving, French professor Dr. Robert Faurisson and Dr. Arthur Butz of Northwestern University. (For more about Holocaust revisionism and the arguments of revisionist historians, write for a catalog of books, tapes and other material from the Institute for Historical Review.)

Incidents of violence against revisionist "thought criminals" have included:

- George Ashley, a high school history teacher and supporter of the IHR, has been the target of several terrorist attacks because of his revisionist views. In April 1982, two bricks were hurled through the front window of his suburban Los Angeles home. One month later, two gasoline fire bombs were thrown against the front of his house, and in December of 1982, JDL criminals ransacked Ashley's home, causing an estimated \$26,000 in damage. [68] Mordechai Levy later boasted: "We warned him [Ashley] that if he continued his activity, he would pay a consequence... We warned that if the school board does not stop Ashley, we would stop him." [69]

In July 1984, Ashley received repeated telephone calls from someone who threatened to bomb his home. A JDL member identified by police from tape-recordings of the threats was later arrested. [70]

In August 1984, JDL member Michael S. Canale was arrested on suspicion of making a bomb threat against George Ashley. [71]



Mordechai Levy, leader of the militant Jewish Defense Organization, is taken into custody by police

In May 1985, Ashley's home was the target of another bomb attack, in which no one was hurt. The letters "JDL" were spray-painted on the walkway leading to Ashley's front door. [72] following an August 1989 shooting incident in which he wounded a bystander.

This attack was cited in a January 1986 federal government report: [73]

- The following month [May 1985], the JDL claimed credit for bombing the house of George Ashley, Los Angeles-area high school teacher who had told students that the number of Jews killed by the Nazis during World War II was considerably less than the commonly accepted figure of six million, and that not more than a million Jews perished during the war.
- Dr. Charles Weber, a contributor to the IHR's Journal of Historical Review, had his car vandalized in two separate incidents during the month of April 1985. A note from the JDL, which threatened to escalate the attacks into a bombing, was left behind in the second incident. [74]
- Dr. Reinhard K. Buchner, a professor of physics at California State University, Long Beach, and a member of the IHR Editorial Advisory Committee (1980-1983), was the victim of repeated JDL harassment in 1981, 1982 and early 1983. He was spat upon, physically attacked, threatened by phone, and harassed at his office and home. [75]
- German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel, a prominent revisionist activist, has been repeatedly attacked by the Jewish Defense League. In December 1983, JDL thugs beat him on the steps of Toronto's Old City Hall. The JDL carried out another attack against him on February 6, 1984.

In September 1984, Zündel's home in Toronto was damaged in a pipe-bomb attack. A group calling itself "The People's Liberation Army of the Jewish Defense League" claimed responsibility in a phone call to a local television station. In January 1985, a JDL mob attacked Zündel, his attorney Doug Christie and Christie's female legal secretary at the entrance to a Toronto courthouse.

- The office of a German-American group was set on fire in 1985, apparently because of the organization's skepticism about Holocaust claims. According to a report on terrorism issued in January 1986 by the federal Department of Energy, in June 1985 [76], an anonymous caller stated that the JDL had intentionally set fire to the offices of the German-American Political Action Committee in Santa Monica, California. The German-American group probably incurred the JDL's wrath by its advocacy of the view that "Jews were not gassed by the Nazis...[and that] numbers and reports of predetermined extermination are greatly exaggerated by professional liars."

Target: Institute for Historical Review

Since its founding in 1978, the Institute for Historical Review has been the leading American publisher of books and other materials questioning the Holocaust extermination story. For this reason, its office in southern California, as well as individual IHR employees, soon became targets of a systematic campaign that included a drive-by shooting, three firebombings, vandalism of IHR employee-owned automobiles, slashings of 22 tires of employee automobiles, JDL-organized demonstrations outside the IHR office, and numerous telephone threats during office hours and at night to IHR employees at home. So intense did the harassment become that the family of one IHR employee was forced to move. [77]

During the course of a JDL demonstration in front of the IHR office on March 19, 1981, Mordechai Levy and other JDL protesters attacked the car of the landlord's agent, who had ar-



Jewish Defense League activists, one carrying an Israeli flag, shout slogans while marching outside the office of the Institute for Historical Review in Torrance, California, April 5, 1981.

IHR office. Fortunately, the arson device — similar to a “Molotov cocktail” — caused only minor damage. A man claiming to represent the “Jewish Defenders” announced responsibility for the attack in phone calls to news agencies. [79]

The second arson attack against the IHR office came on April 25, 1982, in which a copy machine, a few pieces of furniture and some records were damaged. In a telephone message to a local news agency, a group calling itself “the Jewish Defenders” claimed responsibility. [80]

In an attack on September 5, 1982, the IHR office was riddled with gunfire, demolishing two windows and damaging the front door. Additionally, a small arson device caused some slight damage to the front of the office. Later that day, as throughout the week, came a barrage of murder-threatening telephone calls. Although the caller’s voice was identified as that of Mordechai Levy, typically, no one was arrested in the case. [81]

Fire-Bombing Arson Attack

This terror campaign culminated in a devastating arson attack on the Institute’s offices and warehouse in Torrance on July 4, 1984 — the 209th anniversary of American independence. Damage in the attack, carried out in the early morning hours of the 4th, was estimated at \$400,000. [82]

In a special edition of the IHR Newsletter (August 1984), IHR Director J. Marcellus summed up:

As a physical entity, the Institute for Historical Review has virtually ceased to exist. Ninety percent of our book and tape inventory — the largest collection of revisionist historical literature to be found anywhere — has been wiped out. Every last piece of office equipment and machinery — including desks, chairs, files and shelves — lay in charred heaps of useless, twisted scrap. Manuscripts, documents, artwork, galleys and film negatives — products of more than six long years of a tough, dedicated effort to bring suppressed historical data to people the world over — no longer exist. Tens of thousands of books...estimated at over \$300,000 in value, are gone... More than 2,500 square feet of space that was once the world’s most controversial publisher lies blackened in chaos and total ruin.

Two days later, JDL leader Irv Rubin showed up at the site of the gutted IHR offices to publicly praise the arson attack. The JDL, he declared, “wholeheartedly applauds the recent devastation of the offices of the Institute for Historical Review.” Denying any personal responsibility himself, Rubin said that the criminal attack had been carried out by a former JDL activist named Larry Winston (Joel Cohen). “I believe, with all my heart, that he [Winston/Cohen] had something to do with this” arson, Rubin declared. [83]

rived to ensure security. While shouting threats, Levy smashed the right front passenger window of the man’s car as he drove off. [78]

A few weeks later, on April 5, 1981, JDL hoodlums staged another violent demonstration outside the IHR office, during which an IHR employee was thrown to the ground and beaten.

In the early morning hours of June 25, 1981, came the first firebombing attack against the

Although no one was ever arrested in connection with the 1984 firebombing, the sophisticated nature of the attack suggests that it could have been the work of trained operatives of a foreign governmental agency.

Apart from local news coverage, American newspapers and television reported almost nothing about this act of criminal “book burning.” This skewed media treatment moved noted journalist Alexander Cockburn to observe (in the pages of the liberal weekly *The Nation*): [84]

The outfit in the United States that does publish material belittling generally accepted accounts of the Nazi extermination of the Jews is called the Institute for Historical Review. I don’t recall much fuss when its offices in Torrance, California, were firebombed in July 1984. Perhaps this is what Mailer meant by “sophistication” in handling such heterodox opinion.

At the same time, though, a few prominent voices courageously spoke out against the attack. American historian John Toland — who received the Pulitzer prize for general non-fiction in 1971 for his book *The Rising Sun* — wrote to the IHR: [85]

When I learned of the torching of the office-warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review, I was shocked. And when I heard no condemnation of this act of terrorism on television and read no protests in the editorial pages of our leading newspapers or from the halls of Academe, I was dismayed and incensed...I call on all true believers in democracy to join me in public denunciation of the recent burning of books in Torrance, California.

British historian David Irving, author of numerous acclaimed, best-selling works of history, declared: “I was deeply shocked to hear of the fire-bomb attack on your premises.”

JDL Harassment of IHR Conference

In mid-February 1989, Jewish Defense League intimidation brought on the cancellation of a three-day Institute for Historical Review conference at two hotel sites in southern California.

Arrangements had been made months in advance to hold the Ninth IHR Conference at the Red Lion Inn hotel in Costa Mesa. Several days before it was to begin, the hotel received the first of a barrage of telephone threats warning that if it permitted the IHR gathering to take place as scheduled, there would be large, disruptive demonstrations in front of the hotel. It didn’t take many such threats to persuade general manager Russell Cox to cave in to the Zionist group, and to cancel the hotel’s contract with the IHR. Cox then added insult to injury by permitting JDL chief Rubin to hold a “news conference” in the hotel lobby.

Arrangements were then hastily made to relocate the IHR gathering to a nearby Holiday Inn hotel. However, just hours before it was to commence — and as attendees were arriving — the Holiday Inn likewise cancelled out, bowing to JDL threats similar to those made against the Red Lion Inn.



Some attendees of the 1989 IHR Conference demonstrate outside the Red Lion Inn Costa Mesa, California, to protest the hotel’s capitulation to threat and intimidation by the Jewish Defense League.

Jewish Defense League activists shout their hatred during a demonstration in front of the office of the Institute for Historical Review, April 5, 1981.



Book burning: A pile of damaged books collected from the wreckage of the burned out office and warehouse of the Institute for Historical Review, following the arson attack of July 4, 1984.



Gutted warehouse area of the IHR in the aftermath of the devastating July 1984 attack.



IHR Director Thomas Marcellus surveys the wreckage of the July 1984 firebombing.



The gutted IHR office-warehouse in the aftermath of the July 1984 attack.



Books destroyed in the July 1984 attack against the IHR.



JDL leader Irv Rubin praises the arson attack against the IHR at a news conference held on July 6, 1984, outside of the Institute's burned-out office and warehouse.

At this point, and with help from former US Congressman John Schmitz, IHR Director J. Marcellus made emergency arrangements with Joe Bischof, proprietor of the "Old World Village" shopping center in Huntington Beach, to hold the IHR Conference there. Bischof refused to bow to JDL intimidation, including a demonstration at the site by a handful of sorry-looking placard-waving JDLers led by Rubin, who shouted insults at passersby. In spite of the disruption, and

some inconvenience for attendees, the Ninth IHR Conference proved one of the most successful and high-spirited ever. [86]

JDL Thugs Attack Young Jewish Revisionist

On January 22, 1992, revisionist activist David Cole was attacked by JDL thugs at a meeting held at the University of California at Los Angeles. Before the meeting began, JDL leader Rubin first tried to push the youthful Cole down a flight of stairs. JDL hoodlums also harassed and pushed around meeting organizer Robert Morrissey. After the meeting commenced, JDL punks tried to shout down the speakers, and then threw food at Cole. Finally, a JDL thug assaulted Cole — who is Jewish — hitting him in the face and bloodying his nose. [87]



David Cole at the 1992 IHR Conference. He was attacked by JDL thugs at a meeting in January 1992 at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The tumult was recorded on videotape by a camera crew of the CBS television news program “48 Hours,” as well as by news crews of two local Los Angeles television stations. Neither of the two local stations mentioned a word of the incident in their nightly news broadcasts. Similarly, CBS officials decided not to air even a second of this outburst, not even in a segment about Holocaust revisionism that was part of the CBS television network’s hour-long magazine-format program “48 Hours” broadcast of February 26, 1992. Network officials apparently decided that scenes of Zionist hoodlums beating a young Jewish revisionist would not “fit” with the image of revisionism that CBS wanted to project to its many viewers. [88]

Violence in Europe

The Murder of François Duprat



Francois Duprat. Because of his skeptical view of the Holocaust extermination story,

In France, François Duprat — a gifted young historian, educator, and prolific writer — was murdered in 1978, thereby becoming the first person to be killed because of his support for Holocaust revisionism. Duprat had publicized the writings of former concentration camp inmate Paul Rassinier, distributed a booklet, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, and had published a revisionist article of his own, “The Mystery of the Gas Chambers.” [89]

As a result of such activism, the 38-year-old teacher was assassinated on March 18, 1978, when the car he was driving was blown up in a bomb blast. His wife, who was with him, lost the use of her legs in the attack. A Jewish “Remembrance Commando” and a “Jewish Revolutionary Group” promptly claimed responsibility for the murder. [90] So sophisticated was the attack that it is difficult to believe that no government agency was involved.

this gifted French educator was murdered in a 1978 bomb blast. **The Israel Connection**

It is no secret that Israel provides training and weapons for local “Jewish defense groups” in the United States and many other countries. Victor Ostrovsky, a former intelligence case officer of the Mossad, Israel’s spy and secret service agency, confirms this connection in his much-discussed book, *By Way of Deception*. [91] One department of the Mossad, writes Ostrovsky, is the Tsafirim, which is

responsible for setting up Jewish defense groups, called “frames,” or misgerot, all over the world, now including some parts of the United States, where anti-Semitism is regarded as a threat ... The main job is to help the leaders of Jewish communities outside Israel plan for their own security. Part of this is done through the hets va-keshet, or “bow and arrow,” Israel’s paramilitary youth brigades.

... Often youths from other countries are brought over [to Israel] to spend the summer learning about security, picking up such skills as completing obstacle courses, pitching tents, and learning how to use a sniper rifle and Uzi assault rifle. Still others learn upgraded security skills, such as how to build a slick, for hiding weapons or documents, when and how to do security checks, as well as fundamentals of investigation and intelligence gathering.

Israel provides weapons for the many “Jewish defense groups,” confirms Ostrovsky, indirectly through known arms dealers.

Tagar/Betar

In Europe the most important Zionist terrorist group is Tagar, the youth (or “student”) branch of the radical Zionist movement Betar. The Tagar/Betar group has carried out numerous criminal attacks against “enemies,” including Holocaust revisionists. Headquartered in Paris, Tagar/Betar has close ties with the Israeli government, and particularly with the political party of Begin and Shamir. Tagar is reportedly controlled by Israel’s covert operations agency, the Mossad. [92]

Tagar activists have often boasted of their determination to “strike” against anyone who “denies the Holocaust.” Tagar admitted responsibility for a physical assault against French revisionist historian Olivier Mathieu during a television interview in February 1990. Three months later, Tagar thugs sacked the “Ogmios” bookstore in Paris (which carried revisionist titles).

Tagar/Betar activists receive combat training along military lines from Israeli army officers. Tagar members wear paramilitary blue uniforms with white ties (the Zionist colors). Tagar/Betar has operated in Europe with the knowledge and approval of high French officials such as Prime Minister Laurent Fabius (who is Jewish). In more than one Tagar/Betar attack against opponents, French police have passively stood by. [93]

Tagar activists have operated in France under other names, including “Jewish Defense Organization” and “Jewish Combat Organization.” Private para-military groups are strictly forbidden in France, except Jewish ones. Between June 1976 and April 1991, such Jewish “militias” have carried out 50 attacks. In effect, Jewish terrorists in Europe can attack their “enemies” with impunity. [94]

Tagar has also been active in the United States. In February 1992, the “Tagar Student Zionist Organization at the Ohio State University” in Columbus organized a protest meeting against Holo-

caust revisionism. The group distributed a leaflet — which, typically, contained factual falsehoods — specifically attacking revisionist activist Bradley Smith. [95]

Robert Faurisson

Dr. Robert Faurisson — Europe’s most prominent Holocaust revisionist (and a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of the IHR’s *Journal of Historical Review*) — was severely injured in a nearly fatal attack on September 16, 1989. [96]

After spraying a stinging gas into his face, temporarily blinding him, three assailants punched him to the ground and then repeatedly kicked him in the face and chest. The 60-year-old scholar, who had been out walking his poodle in a park in his home town of Vichy, suffered a broken jaw and severe head injuries. Physicians operated for four and a half hours to repair his jaw and treat a broken rib and badly swollen face.

A group calling itself “The Sons of the Memory of the Jews” claimed responsibility for the savage attack. In a statement, the group threatened: “Professor Faurisson is the first, but will not be the last. Let those who deny the Shoah [Holocaust] beware.” [97] While French police officially would acknowledge only that “three young Jewish activists from Paris” had carried out the assault, the attackers are strongly suspected to have been with the Tagar/Betar organization. [98]

Prominent individuals and organizations in France, along with the country’s most influential daily newspaper, *Le Monde*, condemned the attack. However, French-Jewish “Nazi hunter” Serge Klarsfeld sought to excuse or justify the crime. “Someone who has provoked the Jewish community for years should expect this sort of thing,” he said. “One cannot insult the memory of the victims without inviting the consequences.” [99]

While the September 1989 attack against Faurisson was the most vicious, it was neither the first nor the last. Between November 1978 and May 1993, he was attacked on ten separate occasions. [100]



Robert Faurisson in a hospital bed following a nearly fatal attack by Zionist thugs on September 16, 1989.

Other Terrorist Incidents in Europe

- On November 5, 1980, an arson attack destroyed the office, warehouse and printing plant in Sussex, southern England, of the firm that prints *Did Six Million Really Die?* and other revisionist publications of the Historical Review Press. Damage was estimated at 50,000 pounds. A leftist journalist, Manny Carpel, was found guilty of the crime, and sentenced to two and a half years imprisonment. (He served only a little more than a year.)
- In January 1984, in Cologne, Germany, Professor Hermann Greive, a non-Jewish authority on Jewish religious writings, was shot to death by a member of Kahane’s Kach group. The murder was reportedly carried out in keeping with a Jewish scriptural injunction that demands death for non-Jews who “pry” into Jewish religious writings. [101]

- On February 10, 1988, terrorists set fire to the automobile of German historian Ernst Nolte while it was parked at the Free University in Berlin, where he was a professor. An anonymous letter, signed with a five-pointed star, declared: “We attack Nolte because he is one of those who personally represents the continuity of fascism” and as co-founder of a “reactionary” group called the “Academic Freedom League.” Nolte had been widely criticized for his moderately revisionist views of Second World War history. [102]
- On April 20, 1991, Betar/Tagar thugs carried out a violent attack against several persons who were to attend a conference in Paris on the French writer Marc Augier. (Under the pen name of Saint-Loup, Augier wrote a series of books on the French “Legion of Volunteers,” which fought on the eastern front during the Second World War.) Three or four of the victims were hospitalized. One, a 67-year-old woman, was in a coma for two months. Two Tagar members were arrested in connection with the attack, but two and a half years later they had still not been brought to trial. [103]
- A bookstore in Paris had to be shut down for good in 1992 after repeated violent attacks by Jewish militants. The bookstore was targeted because it sold revisionist titles and was operated by revisionist publisher Pierre Guillaume.



Dr. Faurisson speaking at the Tenth IHR Conference, October 1990.

(Baruch Green), is a target for death. [105] Prominent German far-right political figures are not the only persons on the Israel JDL’s hit list, confided one JDL member: “Persons behind the scenes are often more important, such as the professor who denies or whitewashes the Holocaust in a book.” [106]

- On October 19, 1992, a team of about 30 Betar activists shoved and insulted pedestrians, smashed automobiles, and threw tear gas at police in the central plaza of the German city of Rostock. The group was led by the “Nazi-hunting” (and anti-revisionist) husband-wife team of Serge and Beate Klarsfeld. The Betar activists, some of them carrying Israeli flags, insulted passersby with shouts of “Dirty Germans! Dirty Nazis!”. [104]
- In December 1992, the chief of the Jewish Defense League in Israel announced that he was sending teams of killers to Germany to murder “neo-Nazis.” Every German who cries “Heil Hitler,” or otherwise identifies himself as a Nazi, declared 33-year-old Rabbi Baruch Ben-Joseph

Conclusion

As this report shows, non-governmental Zionist terrorism has been a problem for more than twenty years. It remains a serious problem today.

Espousing Jewish supremacy, the Zionist terrornetwork operates internationally, linking Israel, Europe and the United States. In addition to the suffering and destruction resulting directly from its many crimes, the network’s campaign of bigotry fosters a dangerous climate of hate and intolerance. Through intimidation, threat and violence, Jewish-Zionist terrorists have succeeded in silencing numerous voices. Many others have never spoken up out of fear that they might likewise become victims.

Particularly alarming is the important support provided to these criminal groups by the government of Israel. This official collaboration poses a threat not only to the freedom and security of

individuals in many countries, but to the very freedom and sovereignty of nations.

At the same time, though, the danger should not be exaggerated. Zionist power is formidable but not limitless. For one thing, Jewish militants are often so inept and mutually suspicious that they squander much of their energy on attacks against each other. [107]

Moreover, the number of individuals and organizations that Zionist militants perceive as “anti-Semitic enemies” has increased so dramatically in recent years that any one person or group is less likely to be singled out for attack. (Even the much-feared “anti-Semite” epithet has lost much of its impact. In 1991, an Israeli government cabinet minister denounced President George Bush as “anti-Semitic” because he wasn’t acting quickly enough in approving a \$10 billion loan guarantee to Israel.)

The readiness of Zionist militants to use violence against those whose views they reject is an implicit admission of moral and intellectual weakness. By resorting to violence against Holocaust revisionists and others, Zionist fanatics inherently acknowledge their inability to discredit their adversaries’ arguments in free and open debate. Each new act of intimidation and violence only serves to further underscore this intellectual impotence.

Notes

1. ☐ Probably the most useful books about Kahane and the JDL are: *The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane: From FBI Informant to Kneset Member* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1990) by American Jewish journalist Robert I. Friedman; and, *Heil Kahane* (New York: Adama, 1986), by Israeli investigative journalist Yair Kotler
2. ☐ Avishai Margalit, “The Violent Life of Yitzhak Shamir,” *The New York Review of Books*, May 14, 1992, pp. 18-24.; Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (1983), pp. 266-269.; L. Brenner, *Jews in America Today* (Lyle Stuart, 1986), pp. 175-177.; Sol Stern, L. Rapoport, “Israel’s Man of the Shadows,” *Village Voice* (New York), July 3, 1984, pp. 13 ff.; Israel Shahak, “Yitzhak Shamir, Then and Now,” *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1992.
3. ☐ R. Friedman, *The False Prophet* (1990), pp. 4, 61-63, 68, 78, 82.
4. ☐ Yair Kotler, *Heil Kahane*, pp. 27-29.; R. Friedman, *The False Prophet*, pp. 71-75.; J. Kifner, “Meir Kahane,” *The New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1990, p. B 13.
5. ☐ R. Friedman, *The False Prophet*, pp. 85-98.
6. ☐ R. Friedman, *The False Prophet*, pp. 87, 105-108.
7. ☐ Y. Kotler, *Heil Kahane* (1986), pp. 46-51.; R. Friedman, *The False Prophet*, pp. 121-127.
8. ☐ Geoffrey Wigoder, *Dictionary of Jewish Biography* (New York : Simon & Schuster, 1991), p. 250.
9. ☐ “JDL is the second most active terrorist group, FBI says,” *Orange County Register* (Santa Ana), Nov. 19, 1985.; Robert I. Friedman, “Nice Jewish Boys with Bombs: The Return of the JDL,” *Village Voice* (New York), May 6, 1986, pp. 21, 22.
10. ☐ *New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1990, pp. A1, B13.
11. ☐ Y. Kotler, *Heil Kahane* (1986), pp. 184-185.
12. ☐ M. Kahane, “Vengeance,” *The Jewish Press* (Brooklyn, NY), June 13, 1980, pp. 36D, 46.
13. ☐ *The Jewish Press* (Brooklyn), Nov. 9, 1973.
14. ☐ *Jewish Press* (Brooklyn), Oct. 1, 1982. Quoted in: Lenni Brenner, *Jews in America Today* (1986), p. 297.

15. ☞ Quoted in: J. Kifner, "Meir Kahane," *New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1990, p. B 13.
16. ☞ Quoted in: B. Lynfield, "Meir Kahane: The Battle Ahead," *Midstream*, February 1986, p. 18.
17. ☞ Meir Kahane, *The Story of the Jewish Defense League* (1975), p. 5. Quoted in: G. Cromer, "Negotiating the Meaning of the Holocaust," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (Britain), Vol. 2, No. 2, 1987, p. 290.
18. ☞ M. Kahane, *Our Challenge: The Chosen Land* (1974), p. 137. Quoted in: G. Cromer, "Negotiating the Meaning of the Holocaust," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (Britain), Vol. 2, No. 2, 1987, p. 291.
19. ☞ R. Friedman, *False Prophet*, p. 1.
20. ☞ J. Kifner, "Meir Kahane," *New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1990, p. B 13.
21. ☞ *The Washington Post*, August 27, 1985.
22. ☞ Y. Kotler, *Heil Kahane*, p. 195.
23. ☞ Y. Kotler, *Heil Kahane* (1986), pp. 153, 198-212.; See also: Gerald Cromer, "Negotiating the Meaning of the Holocaust," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (Britain), Vol. 2, No. 2, 1987, pp. 292-294.
24. ☞ See: Lenni Brenner, *Jews in America Today* (1986), p. 298.
25. ☞ See, for example: Genesis 28:1, 6; Deuteronomy 7:1-3; Leviticus 20: 2, 26; Ezra 9:1-2, 12; Nehemiah 13: 23-30.
26. ☞ L. Brenner, *Jews in America Today* (Secaucus, N.J.: Lyle Stuart, 1986), p. 301.
27. ☞ R. Friedman, *False Prophet*, pp. 115-116, 222-224.; R. Friedman, "Inside the Jewish Terrorist Underground: In the Realm of Perfect Faith," *Village Voice*, Nov. 12, 1985, p. 19. ("Among the wealthy Jews who have supported the JDL, is Reuben Mattus, the founder and president of Häagen-Dazs ice cream.")
28. ☞ *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), March 1, 1971.
29. ☞ R. Friedman, *False Prophet*, pp. 222, 269-271.
30. ☞ R. Friedman, "Nice Jewish Boys with Bombs: The Return of the JDL," *Village Voice* (New York), May 6, 1986, p. 26.
31. ☞ R. Friedman, *The False Prophet*, p. 147.
32. ☞ R. Friedman, *The False Prophet*, pp. 125, 185.
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34. ☞ See, for example, Kahane's essay, "The 'Guilt' of Jews Threatens Israel," in the *New York Times* of April 7, 1989.; Kahane's essay "Is Israel's Soul Imperiled? Yes, by Liberal Jews," appeared in the *The New York Times* of Dec. 20, 1985. Quoted in: L. Brenner, *Jews in America Today*, pp. 297, 320, n. 25.; Kahane's essay, "Enough Lamentation," apparently appeared in the *New York Times* of November 2, 1972. Source: *The Jewish Defense League: A Cult of Racism and Terror, and a Threat to Arab-Americans*, ADC Issues [report] No. 9, published by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Washington, DC (1982?).
35. ☞ Y. Kotler, *Heil Kahane*, pp. 10-11.
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37. ☞ *Los Angeles Times*, May 9, 1972, p. 5.
38. ☞ Alfred M. Lilienthal, *The Zionist Connection* (1979), p. 395.
39. ☞ R. Friedman, *False Prophet*, pp. 178-180.

40. [↗](#) *The Jewish Defense League: A Cult of Racism and Terror, and a Threat to Arab-Americans*, ADC Issues [report] No. 9, published by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Washington, DC (1982?).
41. [↗](#) *Vancouver Sun*, July 3, 1978.
42. [↗](#) *Washington Post*, April 12, 1982.; *Village Voice*, Oct. 2, 1984.
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44. [↗](#) D. Palermo, "FBI Links JDL to Bomb Death of Arab Leader," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 9, 1985.; A. Dawson, "Terrorism experts puzzled by FBI's finding," *Orange County Register* (Santa Ana), Nov. 13, 1985, pp. B1, B6.; See also: Robert I. Friedman, "Nice Jewish Boys with Bombs: The Return of the JDL," *Village Voice* (New York), May 6, 1986, p. 24.
45. [↗](#) K. Reich, "Holocaust Survivor Arrested After Alleged Threats," *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 30, 1991.
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47. [↗](#) D. Palermo, "FBI Links JDL to Bomb Death of Arab Leader," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 9, 1985.
48. [↗](#) D. Palermo, "FBI Report Links 'Elements' of JDL...", *Los Angeles Times*, July 3, 1986.; See also: L. Sasaki, "FBI Attributes Fatal Bombing in Santa Ana to 'Extremists'," *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1986.; S. Engelberg, "Official Says F.B.I. Has Suspects in Blasts Laid to Extremist Jews," *New York Times*, July 17, 1986.
49. [↗](#) R. Friedman, *False Prophet*, pp. 239 ff., and 248.; R. Friedman, "Did This Man Kill Alex Odeh?," *Village Voice*, July 12, 1988, pp. 19-21.
50. [↗](#) K. Reich, "Mail-Bomb Suspect Sent Back to U.S.," *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1993.
51. [↗](#) G. Dillow, "Mail-Bombing Suspect a Man of Many Faces," *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1993.; K. Reich, "Mail-Bomb Suspect Sent Back to U.S.," *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1993.
52. [↗](#) "Mail-Bombing Suspect...", *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 5, 1993.
53. [↗](#) "FBI Memo: Israelis Hampering Probe," *The Washington Post*, Nov. 19, 1987, p. A 19.; "FBI Memos Accuse Israel...", *Los Angeles Times* (Orange County ed.), Nov. 19, 1987, p. II/1.;

The Manning case was the subject of two revealing articles in the influential Jewish community weekly *Jewish Press* (Brooklyn), July 5, 1991. The first, "Israel's Chief Rabbinate: Torah Law Forbids Extradition of Mannings" (p. 2), reported that leading Israeli rabbis had declared that the extradition of Robert Manning and his wife from Israel to the United States would be a violation of Jewish "Torah Law," or *Halacha*. The article went on: "Rabbi Shaul Yisraeli, a prominent member of the Chief Rabbinate, said that he always had opposed the extradition agreement Israel has with other countries because it is contrary to Torah Law." The second article, "More On the Mannings: What the Feds Are Really After" (p. 56C), related: "The [Jewish] Shulchan Aruch and the Rambam state explicitly that it is absolutely forbidden to send a Jew into the hands of a Gentile. In the words of the Rambam, 'It is forbidden to send a Jew into the hands of the Gentile, be it his money or his body...one who does so has no portion in the World to Come'."

54. [↗](#) K. Reich, "Mail-Bomb Suspect Sent Back to U.S.," *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1993.; M. Parks & E. Malnic, "Israel Orders Murder Suspect Returned to L.A. for Trial," *Los Angeles Times*, August 17, 1993.

One condition for Manning's extradition to the US was that he would not be charged or prosecuted for his role in the Odeh killing. In October 1993, a federal jury in Los Angeles

found Robert Manning guilty of complicity in the 1980 bomb death of a secretary at a computer company, 32-year-old Patricia Wilkerson. See: "Ex-JDL Activist Guilty of Bomb Death," *Los Angeles Times* (Orange County edition), Oct. 15, 1993, pp. A1, A12.

55.  US Dept. of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Terrorist Research and Analytical Center, Terrorism Section, Criminal Investigative Division, *FBI Analysis of Terrorist Incidents and Terrorist-Related Activities in the United States* (1985), pp. 16-18. Quoted in: Issa Nakhleh, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem* (New York: Intercontinental Books, 1991), Vol. II, pp. 862, 867.
56.  "JDL is the second most active terrorist group, FBI says," *Orange County Register* (Santa Ana), Nov. 19, 1985.
57.  "FBI Memo: Israelis Hampering Probe," *The Washington Post*, Nov. 19, 1987, p. A 19.
58.  US Dept. of Energy, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities* (R-3351-Doe, January 1986), pp. 11-16. Quoted in: Issa Nakhleh, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem* (New York: Intercontinental Books, 1991), Vol. II, pp. 862-864, 867-68.

An analyst for the Rand Corporation confirmed in 1984 that the Jewish group pursues "a dual-track strategy alternating between civil disobedience and generally peaceful protest to vandalism and outright acts of terrorism." (Source: "JDL is the second most active terrorist group, FBI says," *Orange County Register* [Santa Ana], Nov. 19, 1985.)
59.  R. Friedman, *False Prophet*, pp. 232-233.
60.  "JDL wasn't militant enough for Levy," *New York Post*, August 11, 1989, p. 5.
61.  R. Friedman, "Oy Vey, Make My Day," *Village Voice*, August 22, 1989, p. 15.
62.  *New York Daily News*, August 11, 1989, pp. 1, 4, 5.; *New York Post*, Aug. 11, 1989, pp. 1, 5.; See also: "Man Charged in Bleeker Street Sniping," *New York Times*, Aug. 11, 1989, p. B3.; R. Friedman, "Oy Vey, Make My Day," *Village Voice*, August 22, 1989, pp. 15 ff.
63.  "Jewish militant gets 4 1/2 yrs. in shooting," *New York Post*, April 12, 1990 (?).
64.  L. Goodstein, "Holocaust Museum Protester Later Beaten," *The Washington Post*, April 29, pp. C1, C2.; L. Kellman, "Hate crimes follow opening of museum," *The Washington Times*, April 24, 1993, p. A 11.; L. Kellman, "Beating outrages Jews: *The Washington Times*, April 29, pp. B1, B2.; *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, June 1993, pp. 50, 51, 108.; For more on the April 22, 1993, demonstration, see: *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993, pp. 2-3, 17.; *The New York Times* informed readers that "attempts were made to interrupt the [Holocaust] museum's dedication on April 22." (*NY York Times*, "Book Review" section, July 11, p. 1.) This is not true. The demonstration, which took place under police supervision some distance from the dedication ceremony site, was entirely peaceable. The only "interruption" connected with the day's events was violence committed against peaceful demonstrators.
65.  *The Jewish Defense League*, ADC Issues [report] No. 9, published by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Washington, DC (1982?).
66.  "JDL Chairman Rubin Released in Murder Case," *Los Angeles Times*, March 11, 1992.
67.  P. M. Twair, "Freedom of Speech Only a Memory in Gang-Ridden Los Angeles," *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, October 1992, pp. 55, 85.
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69.  *Daily News* (Los Angeles), Dec. 9, 1982, p. 10.
70.  *Daily Breeze* (Torrance), Sept. 1, 1984.
71.  R. Varenchik, "Man who calls Holocaust a lie reports threat; JDL figure held," *Los Angeles Daily News*, Aug. 21, 1984, pp. 1, 8.
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74. [↗](#) *Tulsa Tribune*, April 12, 1985, and information from Dr. Weber.
75. [↗](#) *IHR Newsletter*, June 1981, p. 4.; *IHR Newsletter*, May 1983, p. 6.; Information from J. Marcellus.
76. [↗](#) Source: US Dept. of Energy, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, R-3351-Doe, January 1986, pp. 11-16. Quoted in: Issa Nakhleh, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem* (New York: Intercontinental Books, 1991), Vol. II, pp. 862-864, 867-68.
77. [↗](#) *IHR Newsletter*, August 1984.; Letter by IHR Director Marcellus to US Senator Jeremiah Denton, July 20, 1984.; Information provided by Marcellus.
78. [↗](#) *Daily Breeze* (Torrance), March 20, 1981, p. 1.; Information provided by J. Marcellus.
79. [↗](#) "Terror Comes to the IHR," *IHR Newsletter*, July 1981, p. 2.
80. [↗](#) "Arsonists hit Institute for Historical Review office," *Daily Breeze* (Torrance), July 5, 1984, p. A3.; *IHR 1982 Annual Report* [IHR Newsletter], December 1982, p. 2.
81. [↗](#) "Nazi Holocaust Doubters Target of Jewish Group," *Los Angeles Times*, August 1, 1985, p. B 1.; *IHR 1982 Annual Report* [IHR Newsletter], December 1982, p. 2.; Information provided by J. Marcellus.
82. [↗](#) "Arsonists hit Institute for Historical Review office," *Daily Breeze* (Torrance), July 5, 1984, p. A3.
83. [↗](#) "JDL applauds blaze at Torrance institute," *Daily Breeze* (Torrance), July 7, 1984, pp. A1, A6.; In the wake of the fire-bombing, the IHR started up again from a makeshift new office in Torrance. In 1985, Rubin announced a JDL campaign to force the IHR out of the city. ("Nazi Holocaust Doubters Target of Jewish Group," *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 1, 1985, p. B 1.)
84. [↗](#) A. Cockburn, "Beat the Devil," *The Nation*, March 20, 1989, p. 366.
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88. [↗](#) In 1992, Cole conducted a videorecorded interview with the curator of the Auschwitz State Museum. It has been available as a videotape and DVD titled "David Cole Interviews Dr. Franciszek Piper."
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92. [↗](#) R. Hemeçaix, "Bétar: la mauvaise étoile de David" ("Betar: The evil star of David"), *Le Choc du Mois* (France), July-August 1990, pp. 37-38.; See also: "Quinze ans de terrorisme," *Le Choc du Mois* (France), June 1991, pp. 7-13.
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97. [↗](#) *Le Monde*, Sept. 19, 1989, p. 14.; *Sunday Telegraph* (London), Sept. 24, 1989.; *Christian News* (New Haven, Mo.), Oct. 16, 1989, p. 22.
98. [↗](#) Letters by R. Faurisson to the IHR of June 16, 1992, October 24, 1992, May 28, 1993, and September 14, 1993.
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100. [↗](#) Letters by R. Faurisson to the IHR of July 15, 1993, September 14, 1993 and Nov. 27, 1993.;
In Stockholm, Faurisson has been attacked twice. The first attack, on March 17, 1992, was reported widely in the Swedish press. The second attack, on May 22, 1993, also received coverage in Swedish newspapers.; The attack against Faurisson in Paris on May 30, 1993, was reported in: “Faurisson, incident au cours de la Réunion de la Tribune des athées,” *Libération*, (Paris), June 1, 1993.
101. [↗](#) *Le Figaro* (Paris), January 26, 1984, p. 4.
102. [↗](#) “Attack Against Auto of German ‘Revisionist’ Historian,” *IHR Newsletter*, July 1988, p. 5.
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104. [↗](#) H. de Bresson, “L’équipée sauvage du Bétar à Rostock,” *Le Monde* (Paris), Oct. 21, 1992, p. 4.
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106. [↗](#) Michael Kneissler, “Tod den Nazis,” *Playboy* (Deutschland), February 1993 (2/93), pp. 47-54.
107. [↗](#) R. Friedman, “Nice Jewish Boys with Bombs: The Return of the JDL,” *Village Voice* (New York), May 6, 1986, p. 21 (“... Members spend more time plotting against each other than against their gentile enemies.”)

Dealing in Hate — The development of anti-German propaganda

By *Dr. Michael F. Connors*

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The Germanophobic fallacy

It is widely conceded today that the kind of thinking which presents any ethnic or national group in terms of a crude, unflattering caricature is undesirable and sloppy at the very least. Conversely, acceptance of others on the basis of individual merit, without reference to racial or national background is regarded as one of the distinguishing marks of the truly educated man.

One of the most widely publicized reason, offered in explanation of our opposition to the regime of the late Adolf Hitler was its severe policy directed at Jews and other enemies of the regime. By some curious irony, however, many of the same Americans who were so quick to attack the Nazi racial doctrines have been the worst offenders in spreading abroad a fantastic myth of singular German wickedness. As a consequence of this Germanophobic myth, the very word German conjures up in all too many minds an uncomfortable, if vague, image of robot-like, goose-stepping legions of glassy-eyed storm troopers set in motion by the harshly barked commands of an Erich von Stroheim type “Prussian” officer. Furthermore, “militarism,” “aggressiveness,” and a marked preference for “authoritarian” over democracy have well-nigh universally been regarded as “typically German” national traits.

Germanophobia in the thirties and forties had for the “educated” classes in the West an appeal which could never have been held for such concepts as “white supremacy” or anti-Semitism. It is precisely this academic and intellectual respectability of the notion of unique German wickedness, on the basis of specious racial and historical arguments, that has made of it such a dangerous fallacy.

Nineteenth century German prestige

This dark image of a sinister, aggressive, predatory, and militarily regimented Germany only became prevalent in the present century. The English historian, Frederic William Maitland, has described the once characteristic attitude toward the Germans:

... it was usual and plausible to paint the German as an unpractical, dreamy, sentimental being, looking out with mild blue eyes into a cloud of music and metaphysics and tobacco smoke. [1]

The French writer, Madame de Stael, romantically portrayed for the Napoleonic world of the early nineteenth century a Germany utterly unlike the grotesque image later drawn by the Allied propagandists of two World Wars. Madame de Stael’s Germans were a nation of “Poets and Thinkers,” a race of kindly, impractical, other-worldly dreamers without national prejudices and, strangely, in the light of later propaganda, “disinclined to war.” [2]

In America too, a similarly warm view of things German predominated. It is difficult to exaggerate the constructive impact of German institutions upon American life and the cordiality of the reception accorded them in the century or so from Frederick the Great to Bismarck. The story of this golden age of German-American relations has been magnificently chronicled by a very thorough and gifted American scholar, Henry M. Adams, in his recently published *Prussian-American Relations, 1775-1871*. [3] In the cultural and intellectual spheres as in the political sphere the relationship was one of immense mutual profit.

The Prussian system of higher education and the cultural flowering which characterized Prussia in the era of regeneration following the Napoleonic wars all left a distinct mark upon America. The list of American scholars and writers — George Tichnor, Edward Everett, Joseph Cogswell, George Bancroft, John Lothrop Motley, Henry E. Dwight, Washington Irving, Henry W. Longfellow, and James F. Cooper, to mention only some — who went to Prussia to secure inspiration for their life’s work is a most impressive one. Thus, to Americans too, “whether seen in their newly united nation or in this country, the Germans were generally regarded as methodical and energetic people” indeed as “models of progress,” while “in their devotion to music, education, science, and technology they aroused the admiration and emulation of Americans.” [4]

It is evident then that Germans in the nineteenth century ranked quite high in the esteem of their European and American neighbors. Two unrelated historic factors seemed to conspire at the time to give widespread currency to views of this sort.

First, there were the truly monumental achievements of Germans in every sphere of cultural, intellectual, and scientific creativity. It could hardly have seemed amiss to speak of a nation of *Dichter und Denker* when one thought of the contributions to literature of Goethe and Schiller, the historical works of Ranke and Niebuhr, the philosophical studies of Kant and Hegel, the great scientific achievements of Alexander von Humboldt and Röntgen, and the varied musical achievements of Beethoven, the Strausses, and Wagner.

The second factor which seemed to support this attitude toward the Germans was their military and political weakness before their achievement of national unification in 1871.

One cannot imagine a more vivid contrast than that between de Stael's Germans and the stereotyped image of monocled, burr-headed, heel-clicking, mindless robots which Hollywood did so much to popularize in the thirties and forties.

Possibly even more difficult to grasp, for those whose thinking has been shaped by the propaganda of recent years, is the fact that throughout the nineteenth century France rather than Germany was cast in the role of international bully and villain. [5] Had not Louis XIV and Bonaparte repeatedly made a battleground of Europe? Could anyone forget that French arms had rolled at high tide across the entire continent of Europe, threatening to engulf even the vast empire of the Russian Tsars? Or could anyone forget that it had required the combined resources of Austria, Britain, Russia, and Prussia, assisted by the fortuitous intervention of nature in the form of the Russian winter, to shatter the might of the Corsican conqueror?

Historic German 'militarism'

A writer inclined to present France in an unfavorable light relative to Germany would find, in the story of the French invasions of Germany since 1300, a veritable propaganda arsenal. Though there were at least seventeen major French invasions of German territory in the period between 1300 and 1600, the period of French intervention that is genuinely appalling is that from 1635 to 1815. The French, after Richelieu earlier had kept the Thirty Years' War going through diplomacy, ravished Germany continuously from 1635 to 1648. They also invaded German territory seven times during the concluding phase of their war with Spain which ended in 1659. A few years later during the War of Devolution and again during their encounter with the Dutch in 1672, the French violated German territory on at least four occasions. Then, between 1678 and 1686, the French, through their reunion policy, committed at least ten major acts of aggression against Germany. The War of the League of Augsburg in 1688 actually began as a French "preventive war" against the German states with the unprovoked devastation of the Palatinate, as well as the destruction of Heidelberg, Worms, and Speyer. Further French invasions of Germany followed in 1702, 1733, and 1740. Again during the Seven Years War (1756-63) French aggression against German territory was repeated. Finally, during the periods of the French Revolution and Napoleon, Germany was repeatedly bled white by French invasions and coalition wars. One might reasonably conclude then that an estimate of thirty French invasions of German territory since the Middle Ages is a conservative understatement.

An examination of the available statistical evidence on the comparative warlikeness and addiction to militarism of the European powers since the end of the Middle Ages reveals some astonishing facts. Assuming the validity of the propagandist thesis of unique German aggressiveness, one might reasonably expect that a study of the relevant data concerning army size, casualties, number and magnitude of battles engaged in, military expenditures and so on, would reflect this alleged German iniquitousness. Yet such is very decidedly not the case.

It has been estimated by a careful scholar that there were "about twenty-six hundred important battles involving European states" in the 460 years between 1480 and 1940. Of these, France participated in forty-seven percent, "Germany (Prussia)" in twenty-five percent, and England and Russia in twenty-two percent each. [6] The Prussian record can hardly be described as uniquely warlike on the basis of such evidence! It might also be added that geographic factors, like Britain's insular position and Russia's remoteness from the mainstream of European history during the period, doubtless helped considerably to reduce their percentage of involvement.

Professor Quincy Wright offers this further statistical evidence for the same period, that is, 1480-1940:

Of the 278 wars involving European states during this period, the percentage of participation by the principal states was: England, 28; France, 26; Spain, 23; Russia, 22; Austria, 19; Turkey, 15; Poland, 11; Sweden, 9; Netherlands, 8; Germany (Prussia), 8; Italy (Savoy-Sardinia), 9; and Denmark, 7. [7]

In the circumstances, one is compelled to assent to Dr. Wright's conclusion that "attribution of a persistently warlike character to certain states ... seems not to have been based upon a comparison of any objective criteria of warlikeness." [8]

The distinguished sociologist and historian, Pitirim A. Sorokin, in his monumental study, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, [9] assembled data proving that historically, of all the nations of Europe, Germany had the lowest percentage of years with war. Spain, Poland, Lithuania, Greece, England, France, Russia, Holland, Austria, and Italy all exceeded Germany in this respect. Sorokin's conclusions are very much like those of Quincy Wright above. He writes that "the magnitude of 'militarism' or 'war effort' or 'war burden' shifts from country to country in the course of time. Furthermore ... there are no consistently peaceful and consistently militant countries." [10]

The eminent British military and naval historian, Captain Russell Grenfell, computed the record of numerical involvement in wars by the major European powers in the crucial century between Waterloo and Sarajevo as follows" [11]

Military involvement

Country	Wars
Britain	10
Russia	7
France	5
Austria	3
Prussia-Germany	3

In the face of such evidence, it seems incredible that any really thoughtful person could still adhere to the old popular superstition concerning German "aggressiveness" and "militarism."

Public opinion of Germany to 1914

All these facts were very clearly reflected in world opinion at the time of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. In the words of Professor Sidney Fay, "Bismark's unification of Germany was hailed at the time as a desirable, even glorious accomplishment of the spirit of nationalism." [12] Writing in a similar vein, another distinguished American student of this period relates that:

Whatever opinion historians may now hold on the question of responsibility for the war, there was little difference of opinion on this point among contemporary neutrals ... When the war broke out, Englishmen were almost unanimous in believing that the conflict had been wantonly precipitated by the French Emperor, and that the funda-

mental cause for the war was the French desire to reestablish French hegemony on the continent by the defeat of Prussia and the acquisition of German territory. [13]

The English writers, Thomas Carlyle and Edward Freeman, were especially ardent in their enthusiasm for the cause of Prussia during the war of 1870. Carlyle, in a public letter to the Times in 1870, advanced arguments of an “historical, racial, and political” nature on behalf of the alleged necessity of a German victory over France. He concluded the letter on the warm note that Germany would become the “queen of the continent,” something that appeared to him as “the most hopeful public fact that has occurred during my life.” [14] The glowing devotion to the cause of Germany of the famous “Oxford School” historian, Edward A. Freeman, was revealed in an open letter to the Pall Mall Gazette in November of 1870, when he asserted it was the “high mission” of Germany to bring an end to the French “conspiracy” against world peace. [15]

American public opinion too was thoroughly cordial to Germany at the time. The American reaction to the Franco-Prussian War has been described by George H. Blakeslee, in his introduction to a very important study, as follows:

During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, American sentiment was so strongly against the French that many an anti-French editorial of 1870 could easily pass for an anti-German editorial of 1914, if the name Napoleon the Third were changed to William the Second ... In 1870, to the majority of Americans, Germany was the land of universities and of religious freedom, fighting for national unity against an Imperial aggressor. Germany had been one of the few friends of the North during the Civil War; while Germans had formed a notably large proportion of the northern armies and had won for themselves in the nation a position of high regard. The German victories were regarded in the United States with as much enthusiasm in 1870 as they were with regret in 1914. [16]

John Gerow Gazley arrived at a strikingly similar conclusion in the most exhaustive analysis ever attempted of American opinion of Germany during the period. He found that the American response from the outset of the war was “overwhelmingly pro-German and anti-French” while “in striking contrast to the belief that France represented despotism, decadence and reaction was the common conviction among Americans that Germany’s success meant the triumph of progress, liberty and civilization.” [17]

In nineteenth-century Britain, France had long been regarded as the “hereditary enemy,” while the French reciprocated with bitter contempt for Perfide Albion. So long as Britain and France remained the two major factors in the European power equation there was but little likelihood of a change in this alignment. Although the French were pathologically obsessed with a desire for revanche upon Germany after their inglorious defeat of 1871, they continued to be at odds with England too, down to the early years of the present century. These Anglo-French tensions brought the world to the brink of war in 1898, at the time of the Fashoda Crisis over the control of the Egyptian Sudan. Only after the Entente Cordiale of 1904 did Anglo-French rapprochement become a reality. With this shift in the European power alignment Britain and Germany became increasingly estranged.

Nonetheless, if we return to the period before this mutation in the power balance, we cannot be other than profoundly impressed by the fact that British scholars and publicists in general had been most favorably disposed toward everything in German, history, culture, and institutions throughout the nineteenth century. The eminent Cambridge historian, Herbert Butterfield, has the following comments to offer concerning this British adulation of Germany:

In England the view once prevailed that German history was particularly the history of freedom, for it was a story that comprised federation, parliament, autonomous cities, Protestantism, and a law of liberty carried by German colonies to the Slavonic east. In those days it was the Latin States which were considered to be congenial to authoritarianism, clinging to the Papacy in Italy, the Inquisition in Spain and the Bonapartist dictatorships in militaristic France. The reversal of this view in the twentieth century, and its replacement by a common opinion that Germany had been the aggressor and enemy of freedom throughout all the ages, will no doubt be the subject of historical research itself someday, especially as it seems to have coincided so closely with a change in British foreign policy ... Up to the early 1900's when historical scholarship in England came to its peak in men like Acton and Maitland, words can hardly describe the admiration for Germany — and the confessed discipleship — which existed amongst English historians. “[18]

A careful German scholar has given us a fascinating and detailed study of British historiography on the subject of Germany from the early nineteenth century through the second World War. [19] It thoroughly confirms the thesis elaborated by Professor Butterfield above. The extreme Germanophile sentiments of men like Thomas Arnold, Edward Freeman, William Stubbs, and Thomas Carlyle certainly presented a marked contrast to the bitter denunciations of everything German by British (and American) historians during the thirties and forties of this century. Arnold, for example, looked upon Germany not as a nation with a unique predisposition toward authoritarianism and regimentation, but rather as a “cradle of law, virtue, and freedom,” and considered it a “distinction of the first rank” that the English belonged to the Germanic family of peoples. [20] We have seen something of the Germanophile inclinations of Thomas Carlyle and Edward A. Freeman at the time of the Franco-Prussian War.

Despite a widening rift between Germany and Britain after the An-glo-French agreement of 1904, there was nothing even approaching the wild hostility of the years after 1914. In America there was considerable warm feeling for Germany on the part of scholars and men in public life right up to the eve of Sarajevo. Perhaps the most highly regarded history of Germany in the English language was Ernest F. Henderson's *A Short History of Germany*, [21] which was published in several editions and is still read with respect today. A thoroughly cordial treatment of German history in general and of Prussian history in particular, it was dedicated “by gracious permission” to Prince Henry of Prussia.

In 1905 Andrew Dickson White, a noted American historian, educator and United States Ambassador to Germany, could write that:

Germany, from a great confused mass of warriors and thinkers and workers, militant at cross-purposes, wearing themselves out in vain struggles, and preyed upon by malevolent neighbors, has become a great power in arms, in art, in science, in literature; a fortress of high thought; a guardian of civilization; the natural ally of every nation which seeks the better development of humanity. [22]

As late as June 8, 1913, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of William II's accession to the throne of the Reich, distinguished Americans, including William Howard Taft, Theodore Roosevelt, and Nicholas Murray Butler, in a special commemoration of the occasion by *The New York Times*, heaped lavish praise upon the German Emperor; Taft even cited him as the world's greatest single force for peace at the time. [23] Butler's comments were positively rhapsodic. He concluded on the glowing note that “if the German Emperor had not been born to monarchy, he would have been chosen monarch — or chief executive — by popular vote of any modern people

among whom his lot might have been cast.” [24] Yet in a year or so William was to be called “the beast of Berlin!” This was achieved via the collaboration of “learned historians” and “gutter journalists.” The outcome of their joint efforts was “the first great triumph of the art of modern war propaganda.” [25]

Thus it is evident that Imperial Germany began its national political life in 1871 with an enormous reservoir of international good will. As might be expected in an age of rapidly quickening imperial rivalries, the new Reich became embroiled on occasion with other nations. There were differences with America in the Caribbean area and in the Pacific over Samoa. There were differences with Imperial Russia too, particularly in the Balkans, where the interests of the multinational Austrian Habsburg Empire, Germany’s ally since 1879, clashed with the Pan-Slav policy of the Tsars. Indeed, within a few years after the termination of the political career of Bismarck in 1890, his worst fear, “the nightmare of coalitions,” became a very distinct possibility when Russia and France concluded a formal military alliance directed at Germany and Austria. The increasing estrangement of Britain and the Reich, which culminated in the fateful Anglo-French understanding of 1904, has already been noted above.

The sources of Anglo-German estrangement had become quite apparent years before the first World War. Naval rivalry plus Germany’s astonishing industrial and commercial growth, which was viewed with increasing alarm in Great Britain, all tended to create a growing rift between the two nations. British publicists and historians, ever sensitive to the wishes of the Foreign Office, soon began to reflect this new state of affairs in their writings about Germany. What is more, this change in the British climate of opinion created a similar change in American opinion of Germany. Even at the turn of the century it was already evident that a good deal of anti-German sentiment was definitely setting in in the American press. One very important but little known reason which serves to explain this was the utter dependence of a large segment of the American press upon British sources for information about European and particularly German affairs. The Germanophobic Harmsworth press of Great Britain played an especially powerful role in this fascinating game of manipulating American opinion. The anti-German sentiments expressed in the widely read articles of F. W. Wile in The New York Times exemplified this British inspired transformation in American thinking in an especially effective way. [26]

Entente propaganda

It is not to be denied, therefore, that even before 1914 the shifting sands of international diplomacy had undermined somewhat the proud edifice of Imperial German world prestige. But the Reich was not at all unusual in this respect and, in any case, no power could expect to remain perennially popular in an age of greedy colonial and imperial rivalry. It was not until after the outbreak of the holocaust of 1914 that the grotesque image of a rapacious and bloodthirsty Germany uniquely aggressive throughout history achieved widespread currency in the West. It required the deliberate and systematic diffusion of Allied wartime propagandist distortions to give birth to the pathological Germanophobia that later became such a familiar and integral part of Western thought processes. As Harry Paxton Howard recently expressed it:

Actually, in the literal sense of the word, the biggest job of revising history was done during the first World War when our “histories” were completely revised to show that Germany had always been our enemy, that Germany had started the war in 1914, that Germany had even started the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, and that in the Revolutionary War we had not been fighting the British but the Hessians — not to mention such things as the Germans cutting the hands off Belgian babies, instead of the Bel-

gians cutting off the hands of Congolese. This was a real revision of our histories which has distorted the American mind for more than forty years. [27]

Soon after 1914 many of the seductive stratagems later employed with such telling effect by World War II propagandists made their appearance. Distorted intellectual history, for example, proved to be a veritable gold mine for Entente propagandists. Selected passages quoted out of context from the writings of all sorts of Germans, however obscure intellectually or remote historically, were offered in support of the thesis of a singularly iniquitous German national character. Indeed, an American historian by no means inclined to pro-Germanism has, in describing the fondness of Western writers for seeking out alleged proto-Nazi elements in German writers all the way back to Martin Luther, pointed out that:

These are not new theories. It was a favorite technique of French propaganda in World War I to quote the words of German writers as proof of the unique character of German nationalism and ruthlessness. Nietzsche and Schopenhauer were quoted more often than Bismarck, and Heinrich Treitschke, more often than Kaiser William II. [28]

Allied propagandists had a field day after 1914 with the theory that German thinking was dominated by “prophets of war” like Bernhardt and Nietzsche. Even before the war books like Austin Harrison’s *Pan-Germanic Doctrine*, [29] loaded though it was with factual errors and a tendentious thesis, were directly productive of considerable anxiety and hostility on the part of Britons toward Germany. Before long these British apprehensions were transferred to America, for even before the war “echoes of these alarms were heard through American magazines.” [30] Perhaps the first American historian to give book length treatment of these puerilities was Roland G. Usher [31] who painted Germany in very sinister colors indeed. For him fanatic German nationalists conspiring to conquer additional European and overseas territories were the determining factor in German Imperial policy.

These fictions have all been exploded in the intervening years. To begin with, Nietzsche and Bernhardt were never “household names” in Germany, as Allied propagandists were fond of insisting. Bernhardt, indeed, got “a far wider hearing in England than in Germany when his book was translated as *Germany and the Next War*.” [32] Nor did Bernhardt have any influence on the determination of German policies for, as the investigations of an American scholar have revealed, no one in the Foreign Office in 1914 had even read his works. [33] Even had Nietzsche been so popular in Germany as was believed outside that country, it is a mistake to identify him as a “militarist” and protagonist of the “war cult.” As a matter of fact, the piously Protestant Prussian military leaders and bureaucracy despised this bitterly anti-Christian philosopher while he responded to them in kind. The Pan-Germans, it subsequently developed, had never had anything like the influence upon German policy planning once attributed to them by such alarmist writers as Roland Usher, Austin Harrison, and Andre Chéradame. So far as the outcome of the crisis of 1914 was concerned, they counted for absolutely nothing. [34]

After 1914, unfortunately, Americans proved all too susceptible to the blandishments of Entente propaganda. Though Woodrow Wilson might render lip service to the ideal of neutrality “in fact as well as in name during these days that try men’s souls,” neither he nor America’s opinion-making organs remained faithful very long to this principle. The ties that bound many Americans to Britain in 1914 were varied. Among other things were common legal institutions and a common language to say nothing of numerous mutually profitable business relationships. But most potent of all were those ties of a primarily emotional and sentimental nature which bound many

Americans to British ways of thought and to British literary and intellectual currents. In the words of Charles Callan Tansill:

Shakespeare, Milton, Scott, Dickens, Burns, Wordsworth, and a host of other British men of letters had knocked on the door of the American heart and had received a warm welcome. There never had been an American tariff on British intellectual goods nor any embargoes on British ideals. In the American mind in 1914 there was a deep substratum of British thought and it was easy to convince the average American that Britain's war was "our war." [35]

In the circumstances, it is not difficult to understand why Americans were so easily sold on the theory that Germany alone had provoked the war, that the Reich was uniquely "guilty." In this connection, the invasion of "little Belgium" was widely advertised as a particularly reprehensible though typical manifestation of a brutal and ruthless German policy. On the other hand, the entry of Britain into the war for the ostensible purpose of defending Belgian territorial integrity received almost universal acclaim. The posture of a crusading knight on a white steed charging to the defense of the outraged little country was, despite its essential falsity, assumed with relish and exploited with consummate skill by pro-British propagandists.

The shabby dishonesty of this posture becomes evident when we realize that during a Franco-German crisis in 1887, at a time when Anglo-German relations were most cordial, the British press had openly and unashamedly discussed the advisability of giving the green light to the German army to cross Belgium for the purpose of initiating military operations against France. [36] Finally, the British minister, Lord Vivian, informed the distraught Belgian government that Belgium would have to prepare to act alone in such a contingency. As Professor Langer aptly remarks, "considering all this, it is hardly possible to take the denials of the British government during the World War very seriously." [37]

As a further commentary on alleged Allied "idealism" in this matter we may cite the facts, since uncovered, that the Anglo-French war plans of 1911, 1912, and 1913 themselves contemplated the violation of Belgian territorial integrity in certain circumstances that might arise during a war with Germany! To make matters still worse, the British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, even refused to promise British neutrality during the Franco-German war in return for a German counter promise to respect Belgian territory! The simple truth is that, as Grey later admitted, Britain was so committed to the support of France by secret agreements that, with or without the invasion of Belgium, she would have entered the war. Otherwise he would have felt compelled to resign. Indeed, it is evident from John Morley's famous Memorandum On Resignation as well as from the personal assurance of John Burns to Professor Barnes that the actual decision of the British Cabinet to go to war was made before the matter of Belgian was even mentioned! [38]

Lusitania incident

The sinking of the British liner Lusitania in 1915 provoked a wild outburst against "Hun barbarism." Cleverly garbled accounts of the sinking confirmed many Americans in their belief in an innate German contempt for the most elementary principles of decency and humanity. Little heed was paid to the German charges that the vessel was armed and carried a cargo of munitions. Though the truth of the former allegation had never been definitely ascertained one way or another, the latter was unquestionably true. Important also was the fact that well in advance of the sinking, the German government had paid for prominent advertisements in the American press warning American passengers of the peril they faced while aboard British vessels in the war

zone. These warnings were also repeated by the American Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan.

There are other perplexing facts about the Lusitania as well. For some reason a new captain, William Thomas Turner, was placed in charge for the return trip from New York. Turner flagrantly violated all the formal sailing orders given him in New York. Contrary to these instructions, he sought out rather than avoided the highly dangerous zone in which the vessel was actually sunk. Again, contrary to orders, he neither increased his speed nor followed a zigzag course when in the general zone of danger. Did captain Turner receive a subsequent set of instructions by wireless altering his original orders? Why was Turner met by Churchill upon his arrival at the pier after his rescue and taken directly to King George V and knighted? Was there a British governmental design to invite a submarine attack? [39]

Whatever the answer to these questions, one thing is certain: even if such a ship were unarmed, the German submarine commander had no way of knowing this and had an obligation to his men to be wary of merchantmen which, in fact, often were armed and travelling under instruction not to surrender “tamely.” [40] Perhaps the most trenchant indictment of our myopic attitude towards the German use of the submarine comes from the pen of an American student of the subject:

This campaign was the German reply to the British blockade. In so far as America acquiesced in the blockade, she made the submarine campaign inevitable. Since it was treated as a fact in itself, without reference to its genesis, the American Government took up a rigid position of disapproval of the campaign. The American attitude toward the end product of a British policy led us to war with Germany. [41]

When the American government further insisted, contrary to all reason, upon defending the immunity from attack of even armed British merchantmen and American citizens aboard them, the felony was compounded. [42] When Britain followed a policy of waging unrestricted submarine warfare in the Baltic, where the German navy ruled the surface of the sea, sinking unarmed Swedish, Norwegian, and German merchantmen at the cost of numerous neutral lives, the Wilsonian homilies on international morality which were tendered with such regularity to Germany were not at all forthcoming.

As a final commentary on our attitude toward the use of the submarine by Germany in 1915 it should be noted that during World War II we adopted essentially the same view held earlier by the Germans when it was a question of one of our own underseas vessels surfacing politely to inform a potentially dangerous merchantman of intent to attack! [43]

Atrocity propaganda

It has often been remarked that “in wartime truth is the first casualty.” The 1914 conflict was no exception to this maxim. Atrocity propaganda in the hands of clever and unconscionable men became an exact science. All the belligerents endeavored to make the best use of this potent weapon. It must be admitted, however, that the efforts of the Central Powers in this direction were fumbling and ineffectual. The Allies, and particularly Great Britain, by contrast, proved themselves most capable of adroitly manipulating world opinion by widespread diffusion of fantastic tales of German villainy. Britain, of course, had the additional technical advantage of control of the cables and hence could rigidly censor all news coming to America. As C. Hartley Grat-tan expressed it, “honest, unbiased news simply disappeared out of the American papers along about the middle of August, 1914.” [44]

Incredible tales of German barbarism in Belgium and France gave rise to a myth of unique German savagery that continues to color the thinking of many persons to this day. German soldiers, the world was gravely informed, amused themselves by cutting off the hands of Belgian babies. Another oft-repeated tale related how German soldiers amputated the breasts of Belgian women out of sheer viciousness. A slightly different variation of this story asserted that the amputation had been carried out by syphilitic Germans who, having ravished the women, wished to warn their countrymen thereby. There were persistent rumors about the crucifixion of Canadian soldiers. Perhaps the most repulsive and widely circulated of these fabrications was that concerning a German corpse factory where the bodies of both Allied and German soldiers killed in battle were allegedly melted down for fats and other products useful to the German war effort. The fact that Arthur Ponsonby utterly demolished the canard [45] did not prevent the Soviets from charging again at Nuremberg that during World War II a “Danzig firm ... constructed an electrically heated tank for making soap out of human fat.” [46]

Atrocity propaganda was immeasurably effective in the United States during the first World War. When in the American papers of May 11-12, 1915, which was during the very week following the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*, there appeared the notorious Bryce Report on alleged German atrocities, American indignation at Germany reached a blind and febrile peak. The membership of the Bryce Committee, appointed by Parliament to investigate reports of alleged German atrocities, comprised some of the most distinguished jurists and historians in great Britain. To Americans it seemed that the chairman, Viscount Bryce, was one Briton who would never offer himself as the tool of tendentious propaganda. Bryce was a scholar of profound erudition and was considered by many to be the ablest foreign student of American government and institutions.

The “proofs” advanced by the Bryce Committee in support of the wildest tales of German fiendishness, as well as the methods employed in gathering them, violated every elementary rule of evidence. Careful non-German scholars, above all Arthur Ponsonby, have long since demonstrated the entire project to have been a tissue of distortions and outright falsehoods. [47] Evidently, Bryce and his esteemed colleagues had few qualms about perverting the truth if it redounded to the benefit of what they termed the “high cause” of Mother England. In later years other scholars in both Britain and America would display a similar willingness to prostitute talent and reputation in the interest of writing vicious propaganda.

The grave consequences of all this lurid atrocity propaganda can hardly be exaggerated. Indeed, “propaganda” of atrocities ... might be said to have contributed more than any other single factor to the making of a severe peace.” [48] The extreme severity of that peace, it should be pointed out, provided certain assurance of the rise of Hitler or someone like him who would beguile the long-suffering and much-maligned German people with promises to snap the chains of slavery forged by the untried and unpunished “war criminals” of Versailles.

American scholars and ‘war guilt’

In the period between the outbreak of the war in 1914 and American entry in 1917 the Allied cause found many ardent champions in the ranks of American academic scholars who fired the first salvos of artillery in the mounting American offensive against Germany. The Anglophile American historian, Bernadotte E. Schmitt [49] painted a picture of nearly two centuries of Anglo-German relations out of which, in the end, Germany emerged a very poor second. To Schmitt the war was the end result of a German design to destroy the balance of power in Europe. No less influential was Thorstein Veblen’s tendentious contribution *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* [50] wherein Germany was depicted as incurably militaristic and Britain, on the contrary, as anti-militaristic to the point of virtual sanctity.

It should occasion no surprise then, in the circumstances, that once we had entered the war all the stops were pulled in the propaganda campaign against Germany. Academic historians like Professors William Roscoe Thayer, Charles Downer Hazen, Munroe Smith, and Albert Bushnell Hart hastened to invest the crude, popular Germanophobic propaganda with an aura of “scholarly” respectability, while the celebrated Committee on Public Information, popularly called the Creel Press Bureau, in a series of highly successful raids on the nation’s campuses, enlisted the aid of a still greater list of American historians. The result: a crude but most effective fusillade of wildly Germanophobic pamphlets and brochures with suggestive titles like *Conquest and Kultur*, *The German War Code*, and *The German Treatment of Conquered Territory*. Many of these publications reached circulation marks of a million or more. [51]

From the German viewpoint, the most damaging wartime propaganda volume was that of Henry Morgenthau [52] wherein it was alleged that the Kaiser, in company with the top bankers, diplomats, military leaders, and industrialists of Germany, decided on war at a secret Crown conference held at Potsdam on July 5, 1914. That Morgenthau was American Ambassador to Turkey and so presumably well informed seemed to lend credence to his charges which, he asserted, were based on revelations privately given him by Baron Wangenheim, the German Ambassador to Turkey. Scholars, including Fay and Barnes, whose works have already been cited, have, on the basis of contemporary documents, exposed the fictitious nature of the Morgenthau “revelations.” The Crown Conference never took place for the very good reason that the persons alleged to have been present proved to have been elsewhere on that date. Yet Mr. Lansing’s Commission of the Peace Conference cited the Crown Conference Legend as justification for Article 231 of the Treaty, the notorious German “war guilt clause.” [53]

The Germanophobes of 1914-18 labored more effectively than even they realized themselves, for despite the brilliant work of a generation of “revisionist” scholars who blasted the entire Entente apologetical structure, they left a permanent residue of Germanophobia deep in Western minds. After 1933 this residue of hatred would be cleverly exploited by unscrupulous writers who would make of it the formulation for an even more widely distorted caricature of Germany, what became, indeed, a Germanophobic myth.

Germanophobia and Hitlerism

The influence of the Hitler regime on Western students of German history has been well described by Theodore Hamerow:

The new school ... assumed that National Socialism was more than a malignant manifestation of spiritual exhaustion and anarchy which had come in the wake of a ruinous war and an even more ruinous economic collapse. According to its view, the origins of the totalitarian ideology are deeply rooted in German life. They go back to the blood and iron of Bismarck, the paternalistic state of Frederick the Great, the political conservatism of Luther, and the resistance of the Teutonic tribalism to the conquering, civilizing, and Christianizing influence of the Romans. All German history is in a sense a gigantic factory manufacturing barbed wire for Buchenwald and Dachau ... Germany is the product of an unwholesome historical environment, it is the juvenile delinquent of European society. Once we recognize that the German mentality is different in kind from the mentality of the other nations of the West, we have the key to German history. [54]

Nazi racial policy and the assault upon the parties of the German Left provoked bitter reaction in America especially. “When liberals or socialists ... were silenced or forced to flee, their cause

was quickly taken up by a very literate and vocal unit of the American public. But even more effective in some ways was the espousal of anti-Nazism by various communist front organizations ... [55] Perhaps most important and widely circulated of the volumes on Nazi Germany emanating from the American Left were Frederick L. Schuman's *The Nazi Dictatorship* [56] and Robert A. Brady's *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*. [57]

Thus after 1933 there was again a resurgence of Germanophobic literature reminiscent of — indeed, worse than — that of 1914-1918. That this latest batch of propaganda nonsense was at odds with the more dispassionate conclusions of revisionist scholarship of the immediately preceding years meant nothing to its originators. The calculated vilification of Germany proceeded apace.

Even a distinguished Australian professor in what was undoubtedly one of the relatively most impartial contemporary treatments of the Third Reich, was inspired to pen the following crude libel on the German people:

The Germans are a politically retarded race. They are still in the “myth” stage of development ... The Germans have never wanted democracy; they crave for authority, and respect the strong arm. They do not want individual freedom ... The average German would much rather salute a uniform than have a vote ... The German is designed by history and nature to provide mass material for dictatorship ... [58]

Anti-German (as distinct from anti-Nazi) feeling after 1933, and especially after the Nuremberg Racial Laws of 1935, encouraged an epidemic of crude potboilers which were given wide publicity by eagerly anti-German reviewers. The newspaper press, by and large, entered into the spirit of this campaign with a vigorous enthusiasm which left little room for complaint on the part of even the most pronounced critics of the Hitler regime. In the climate of opinion thus prepared, it was to be expected that the American mind in 1939 would be receptive to the Allied fiction of unique German responsibility for World War II.

Propaganda and the ‘war guilt’ charge again

Undismayed by the fact that revisionist scholarship had made a shambles of the same charge as applied to 1914 — “this time it is different,” some were heard to say — American publicists and scholars for the second time in a generation hastened to join the propaganda drive against this latest manifestation of alleged German perfidy. According to their interpretation, usually delivered in feigned accents of aggrieved piety, the war was simply and purely a struggle between the forces of sweetness and light (Britain and France, of course) on the one hand and an evil, foul-smelling aggressor (Germany, obviously) on the other.

Never before in the history of the nation did America's leadership and opinion-making organs espouse the cause of a foreign belligerent with such unrestrained enthusiasm as they did that of Germany's enemies during World War II. From the outset, the American government, press, and radio openly and blatantly manifested a degree of dedication to the cause of Britain and France that made a hideous mockery of our official posture of neutrality. It has been said that “in wartime truth is the first casualty.” The role of America's war-minded political leadership and camp-following press in the thirties and forties bears eloquent witness to the verity of this assertion. Recent research has served only to confirm the charge that “we were lied into the war.”

Many of the circumstances of World War II seem to have been only a repetition of those of 1914. Again the story was circulated that only Germany was “prepared,” that France and Britain had innocently or foolishly “slept” while the Axis powers had been feverishly building up their

armies. Winston Churchill contributed much to this legend with his frequent allusions to “un-armed Britain.” But, in truth, as Mr. Churchill’s biographer, Emrys Hughes, had pointed out ,[\[59\]](#) Britain was hardly the “dove of peace among birds of prey.” Two years before the outbreak of war Churchill could boast that “money for defense is certainly pouring out in all directions in Britain.” Mr. Hughes aptly comments that Britain “... had plunged into the arms race like the Continental nations.” [\[60\]](#)

The thesis of an “overwhelming” German armed superiority in 1939 is entirely without foundation in fact, as is evident from the official report to the Secretary of the Army of the United States submitted in 1947, which Mr. Hughes discusses at some length.

Perhaps the definitive repudiation of the myth that Germany was plotting global conquest in 1939 (apart from the lack of documentary evidence in support of that melodramatic conviction) is to be found in the amazing fact that Germany was, in reality, ill-prepared both militarily and economically when the war came. The most complete study of this important subject is that of an American economist, Burton H. Klein, [\[61\]](#) who, pointing out that in Germany “there was no real mobilization of manpower prior to the outbreak of war,” continues to say: “Thus, whether we examine the general nature of German economic recovery, or the raw material self-sufficiency program, or the mobilization of manpower, the same general conclusion is evident: The scale of Germany’s economic mobilization for war was quite modest.” [\[62\]](#) As A. J. P. Taylor recently expressed it: “Even in 1939 the German army was not equipped for a prolonged war; and in 1940 the German land forces were inferior to the French in everything except leadership.” [\[63\]](#) The case has been concisely summarized by two American historians quite warm in their enthusiasm for the Allied cause in general and the foreign policy of Franklin Roosevelt in particular: “In a word, the Germans were equipped for a two-month Blitzkrieg, such as they waged in Poland. They were by no means ready for the type of war in which they became involved.” [\[64\]](#)

Unfortunately for the schemes of the interventionists at the time, not all Americans were sold on the pristine unalloyed purity of the Allied cause or on the fable of a German threat to our national security. This necessitated a high pressure propaganda campaign, hitherto without parallel in American history. Before the war was barely ten months old, facile propagandists had utilized Germany’s stunning military successes in Poland, Norway, Denmark, the Low countries, and France as the basis for shrewdly contrived charts purporting to reveal a nefarious German plot “to conquer the world.” Germany’s “blueprint for aggression” or “timetable for conquest,” as it was variously labeled, was deliberately calculated, when coordinated with the most wildly fanciful tales of an omnipresent German “fifth column,” to curdle the blood of unsuspecting Americans. William Henry Chamberlain’s comments on this propaganda merit quotation here:

“Hitler’s Fifth Column” was a popular subject for sensational magazine articles. One might have imagined that the United States was flooded with Axis agents, carrying on a active propaganda ... for influencing American public opinion. But on sober analysis this “fifth column” evaporates into the mist of overheated fantasy. No doubt there were German, Japanese, and Italian agents in this country. But they were not getting a hearing on lecture platforms or publishing articles in influential magazines. [\[65\]](#)

The definitive repudiation of the “fifth column” fraud comes from the pen of a non-revisionist Dutch historian who admits that he too “was a victim of the fifth column panic” at one time. [\[66\]](#)

With the passage of time even the President himself did not shrink from the unsavory tasks of contributing personally to this palpably dishonest propaganda of fear. With his tongue in his

cheek, he told the American people on October 27, 1941, that he had come by a secret German map revealing a Nazi design to conquer South America. Moreover, he had another Nazi document disclosing Hitler's intention "to abolish all existing religious." [67] Needless to say, these documents were not produced then for anyone else's examination, nor have they been produced in the intervening years, and with very good reason. They never really existed to begin with! Had such documents really existed, they would have proved incomparable grist for the prosecution's mill at Nuremberg.

The conventional interpretations given by Allied propagandists to explain the diplomatic origins of the war in 1939 as well as the background to American entry therein are as unlike the truth as it is humanly possible to imagine. When compared with the most recent revisionist research into these subjects, they read like something straight from the pages of *Alice-In-Wonderland* or a Grimm fairy tale.

Unfortunately, historians in both Britain and America, except for the revisionists, have operated on the assumption that "the question of war responsibility in relation to 1939 and 1941 is ... completely and forever settled. It is widely held that there can be no controversy this time." [68] Yet even a casual exposure to the more significant revisionist literature dealing with that topic — a literature which had developed despite a willful campaign of suppression on the part of most historians, reviewers, and publishing houses — should occasion some doubts in the bosom of even the most ardent court historian. [69] But the truth is that here have been very few signs of vigorous life in the corpus of scholarly integrity in the aftermath of World War II. All moves of a peaceful nature by Axis leaders before or during the war are ignored or misrepresented while the bellicose policies of Roosevelt, Churchill, Halifax, Kennard and other are clothed in the deceptive garb of sweet reasonableness.

Perhaps the most striking and certainly the most unexpected repudiation of the myth of "sole German guilt" for the 1939 war has come recently from the pen of an English historian hitherto almost notorious in his hostility to Germany, Dr. A.J.P. Taylor. [70] British historians and publicists desirous of perpetuating the historical blackout in that country were thrown into an unreasoning panic by the appearance of Professor Taylor's volume, for, quite apart from the intrinsic merits of his arguments, Taylor, with his reputation for Germanophobia, is the one scholar from whose pen such a volume would have seemed least likely to come. His wartime treatise, *The Course of German History*, was one of the most virulent attacks ever penned on Germany by a professional historian anywhere. Nonetheless there is scarcely an article in the sacred creed of Allied wartime propaganda which he leaves unchallenged in his *The Origin of the Second World War*.

Taking every issue and crisis of major import which divided Germany and the West before the war, Taylor makes it clear that Hitler was a shrewd statesman who never wanted war and certainly not the global holocaust which actually came in 1939. Far from being the culmination of a sinister "German plot" to conquer the world, World War II was, on the German side, a struggle to "reverse the verdict of the first [World War] and to destroy the settlement which followed it." [71] At worst, Taylor feels, the war was the unfortunate product of inept diplomacy a terrible tragedy of errors. In his own words: "In retrospect, though many were guilty, none was innocent ... This is a story without heroes; and perhaps even without villains ... The war of 1939 far from being welcome, was less wanted by nearly everybody than almost any war in history." [72]

The vilification of Germany, 1941-45

If pro-Allied propaganda had earlier conditioned American thinking so as to smooth the path for eventual American intervention against Germany, that same propaganda after our entry in late 1941 was admirably calculated to persuade Americans of the inspired wisdom of a war and post-war policy of vindictive, grinding harshness toward the Reich.

In Britain, as in the United States, Germanophobia reached feverish proportions. One of the best known and most extreme of the Germanophobic writers in Britain during the period was the late Lord Vansittart. Having held highly important and responsible posts in the British diplomatic service, he was assured of a large and sympathetic audience. In a series of radio broadcasts and in a pamphlet with the suggestive title *Black Record* he cast Germany in the role of a shrike or “butcher bird” nation which had continually preyed on its weaker and more virtuous neighbors throughout the ages.

Another British writer, E. O. Lorimer, in a volume entitled *What the German Needs* [73] presented the following “diagnosis” of the Germans:

It is now widely accepted amongst those who have given thought to the problem of Germany ... that the world has not a normal, rational people to deal with, but a nation suffering from an acute attack of homicidal mania, rendered more dangerous by a background of specious philosophy and more horrible by a lust for inhuman, calculated cruelty; a nation moreover subject to the recurrence of similar attacks, of which this last is only the most severe ...

Lorimer’s solution to the “problem” of Germany included, among other things, a drastic reduction in the size of Prussia, the removal of every German from Danzig and East Prussia (remarkably like what actually happened in 1945), and the use of captured German troops as “labor gangs under Allied discipline and supervision, to build and clear, to dig and drain.” [74]

In America an even more melodramatic and comic-book type interpretation of German history came from the pen of Paul Winkler with his *The Thousand Year Conspiracy: Secret Germany Behind the Mask*. [75] According to Winkler, Hitler and Nazism were but the current manifestations of a millennium-long “conspiracy” against all human civilization hatched centuries ago by sinister “Prusso-Teutonic” forces within Germany.

Another writer in this country, Theodore N. [76] insisted the Nazis “were merely the mirrors reflecting centuries-old inbred lust of the German nation for conquest and mass murder.” It was the “German people” who were “responsible” for the war and hence “must be made to pay.” To rid the world of these “war-lusted souls,” Kaufman advocated the “eugenic sterilization” of 48,000,000 Germans. Males over sixty and women over forty-five could be exempted. By such a policy he estimated that “Germanism” could be extinguished in two generations. Meanwhile, German war prisoners could, after sterilization, be placed in “labor battalions” for the rebuilding of ruined cities while the Reich itself could be partitioned among its deserving neighbors. Even the inspired savagery of Joseph Stalin, in whose criminally fertile mind originated what later was called the “Morgenthau Plan,” seems tame in comparison with the spirit of the “Kaufman Plan.” Yet the self-constituted custodians of international morality at Nuremberg with their boundless capacity for “selective indignation,” to use Sir Arnold Lunn’s pithy phrase, could find no words of reproof for such genocidal schemes directed at the German people!

One might dismiss writers like Winkler and Kaufman as lunatic fringe fanatics, and even Vansittart was, after all, a politician and hence might be expected to indulge in some strong propagandizing. But it is difficult to understand why talented scholars, without solicitation, rushed into print with the most specious Germanophobic works. For example, the above-mentioned British

historian A. J. P. Taylor in a facile book, *The Course of German History*, [77] undeniably characterized by a sparkling literary style, wrote that:

Germany is not a typical European nation, nor even a typical Great Power; shaped by history, it has acquired a unique character and played a unique role, a role almost entirely aggressive and destructive, an alien body in the structure of European civilization. [78]

No doubt many uninformed non-Germans were impressed by such irresponsible statements at the time. Viewed, however, in the light of the last decade and a half, during which time Berlin had become a glowing symbol of Western opposition to Red totalitarianism, there is something contemptibly mean and petty about them.

The French historian, Edmond Vermeil, in a work of considerable popularity [79] expressed much concern about an alleged German offensive against Europe and “Western humanism” throughout history. Vermeil, incidently, became one of the leading spokesmen of a school of writers fond of tracing the roots of Nazism back to a supposedly pathological German intellectual and cultural tradition.

Another example of this type of perverted intellectual history concealed behind impressive trappings of scholarship was William Montgomery McGovern’s *From Luther to Hitler*. [80] In Germany, McGovern explained, there was a deeply rooted feeling that “liberal institutions were essentially pernicious.” This feeling was traceable to a “Fascist-Nazi” political tradition that had long been developing in Germany. Thus Luther was an “early precursor” of Hitler as were Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and a long litany of other Germans too numerous to mention.

The prostitution of the intellect for propaganda purposes assumed still other forms. An entire school of Sunday supplement writers sought to explain a mythical “German problem” in terms of the jargon of psychiatry. Germany, according to this interpretation, was very definitely the victim of an “abnormal national personality,” possibly even schizophrenic. An American neuropsychiatrist, Richard Brickner, exploited this illicit technique of transferring without warrant psychiatric and medical concepts applicable only to individuals to the entire broad field of historical interpretation when he diagnosed Germany to be a “paranoid” nation with a “paranoid” history going back at least five generations. [81] Paranoia, it might be pointed out, is generally regarded as extremely difficult, if not impossible, to cure. Might it not be advisable then to destroy such a nation or to sterilize its population?

Another American psychiatrist [82] concluded that the Nazi regime was the historical upshot of “personality adjustments” deriving from German family relationships. Since the typical German father was a supposed tyrant, it was easy for the Germans to submit meekly to the totalitarian tyranny of Hitler who was the symbolical embodiment of paternal authority. [83]

Unconditional hatred

During World War II this stream of Germanophobic literature reached flood tide proportions. The situation in the cinema and radio was, if anything, worse. The “hate Germany” motive seemed uppermost even in our top level strategic planning. Indeed, our entire wartime policy can very well be summed up as one of “Unconditional Hatred,” to borrow Russell Grenfell’s apt term. This driving, irrational impulse seemed to operate without reference to, and even to the exclusion of, all other goals. No thought was given to the power balance situation of tomorrow or the day after, to the insane folly of substituting the inherently far more menacing power of the U.S.S.R.

for that of Germany, Italy and Japan in Europe and the Far East. One might have imagined that the alliances and enmities of the period had been given eternal certification in Heaven. [84]

Had there been even a modicum of rational planning from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest, we would not, we could not, have made “Unconditional Surrender” and the diabolical “Morgenthau Plan” the bases of our policy. Had we not permitted reason and good sense to be consumed in the fires of vindictive passion, we would never have assented to the fateful innovation of constituting ourselves at once as judge, jury, prosecutor, and hangman of defeated military and political leaders at Nuremberg. Had we not permitted ourselves to be moved by the base spirit of hypocrisy, our much vaunted sense of humanitarian values and moral indignation would never have permitted us to wink at and even encourage the “Crimes Against Humanity” perpetrated by the Poles, Czechs, and Russians against 14,000,000 Eastern Germans in 1945-1946. [85]

Post-World War II Germanophobia

After World War II there was a marked lessening of interest in Germany with the consequence that there was a considerable decline in the current production of literature concerned with that country. Be that as it may, however, books and articles about Germany are still fairly plentiful. Hence the question arises: Has there been any significant development of a corrective literature to counter the tendentious interpretations of previous years? To the shame of honest historiography, the answer must be a very decided negative. There is a continuing “historical blackout,” to borrow Harry Elmer Barnes’ phrase, where Germany is concerned. The older historians, of the most part, manifest a stubborn reluctance to surrender their fixed delusions. The younger ones have been so indoctrinated during their entire education careers that they seem completely unaware of the challenge thus presented to their scholarship. The sole exception to this is a veritable handful of revisionist historians. Thus far, however, their efforts have been mainly limited, by and large, to tracing the origins of World War II and the genesis of Pearl Harbor. Little attention of a revisionist nature has been accorded to German history as such by non-German scholars.

Typical of postwar attempts by Western historians to perpetuate the Germanophobic myth was Hans Kohn’s article “Rethinking Recent German History.” [86] Kohn resuscitated all the stock villains of German history who had long been so dear to the hearts of melodramatic anti-German writers: Bismarck as the supposed embodiment of Machiavellian power politics; the wicked Prussian and German ruling classes; that nebulous demon, German intellectual development and all the rest of the tiresome litany. He even attacked those who “attempt to show that the pernicious trends in modern German history were common to European civilization as a whole.” For example, he cites the charge that Gobineau’s racism influenced Wagner, though it is an undeniable fact. He writes:

But isolated trends in Western nations become dominant ideas in Germany. Kings, diplomats, and demagogues, who succumbed to the demoniac lure of power, existed elsewhere; but the inclination of the majority of the German people and of German intellectuals to accept them uncritically is the troubling problem.

Further on he relates that the Nazi “deviation from the main lines of European development ... started long before Hitler.” He quotes with obvious approval the hackneyed view that “National Socialism was made possible by the separating of German political thought from Western European thought ...” This supposed separation he traces back to Fichte and Hegel. Perhaps it should not surprise us that even the present urgent state of world affairs had had little influence upon Mr. Kohn’s tendentious views of German history. He still seems to feel we can afford the luxury of

baiting Germany, as is evident from some of his recent articles in which he delivers his accustomed wearying preachments to the Germans on the alleged pernicious influences in their history. [87]

A widely read college level text by Louis L. Snyder, gathers between its covers all the threadbare cliches and superstitions ever penned by Germanophobic writers. [88] Snyder is virtually obsessed with his favorite delusions of intellectual history. To read his account, one might imagine that pre-Hitlerite Germany had some sort of monopoly on “irrationalism,” “racism,” and “anti-Semitism.”

The following quotation is a fair sample of Mr. Snyder’s “scholarship”:

Nazi extremism was not a bolt out of the heavens, nor did it occur in a vacuum. Behind it was a long tradition; its roots lay deep in history. It was the result of a national tradition of discipline and obedience, ground into the Germans by a combination of Hegelian worship of the State, Prussian intransigence, militarism, nationalism, romanticism, and historicism ... Germany has remained an obstreperous, unhappy stepchild among nations. Responsible for this phenomenon is a combination of peculiar historical and psychological factors ... Politically immature and beset by a sense of insecurity, the Germans overcompensated by turning to any father-image who seemed to satisfy their needs — “der Alte Fritz” to William of the iron fist to the hypomaniac Hitler. [89]

Writing a full twelve years after the war’s end, Hilda Graef went all the way back to the writings of Meister Eckhart, a fourteenth century German mystic, for an “already quite plain” manifestation of the “sinister streak” she professed to find in the “German makeup.” [90] Like many before her, Miss Graef sought to drag psychiatry in by the heels when she offered the opinion that Germany is a “schizophrenic nation.” [91]

It seems incredible that years after the end of World War II sensational treatments of the Winkler-Kaufman-Brickner variety should continue to appear in print. Yet such has been the case. T. H. Tetens in a fantastic volume [92] which, if believed, would drive an impassable wedge between Germany and the rest of the West to the advantage of the Soviets, gives a feverish account of an alleged diabolical scheme by German “geopolitical master minds” operating out of Madrid (how fitting from a leftist viewpoint) and Bonn to sell out the West to Moscow. The Tetens book reads like something straight from the pages of Alice in Wonderland or the Thousand and One Nights. [93]

An article by Alfred Werner [94] achieved a new dimension even for Germanophobic cant. Mr. Werner expressed concern lest recent expressions of “philo-Semitism” in Germany might enable the Germans to find a “catharsis” and thus too easily liquidate their “guilt.” He tells his readers in reference to recent favorable German reactions to the play *The Diary of Anne Frank* that “it is one thing to find ‘catharsis’ in the theater, and quite a different thing to admit, ‘Yes, I am guilty,’ and to go on living with this feeling of guilt.” Apparently no German must ever again lift his head in polite company. It is not at all surprising that Werner should accept the imbecilic notion of the “collective guilt” of the German people so popular with Karl Jaspers and some others. On the other hand, Germans were widely anathematized journalistically for the recent world wide rash of anti-Semitic outrages. It would truly seem as if the Germans are damned-if-they-do and damned-if-they-don’t.

But undoubtedly the most widely publicized book dealing with Germany to appear in America since the end of World War II had been William L. Shirer’s *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.

[95] For many months in succession the Shirer volume held first place in the nonfictional category of the best seller list. When one considers the sheer bulk of the volume and the turgid if ingratiating style in which it is written, this is a remarkable tribute to the manner in which skilled promoters can contrive popularity. But far more important, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, embodying as it does the very worst features of the Germanophobic propaganda of 1933-1945, contributes very little to an honest understanding of German history, its publicity buildup and the rave reviews to the contrary notwithstanding. Again and again the reader is sharply reminded of the author's bias against not merely the Nazis but the entire German people. For example, as early as page five he writes that "the German people" were "a natural instrument which he [Hitler, that is] was able to shape to his own sinister ends." And again we are told [96] that Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Hitler left a common stamp upon the German people in the form of a "lust for power and domination, a passion for unbridled militarism, a contempt for democracy and individual freedom and a longing for authority, for authoritarianism." And once more in thundering tones of pontifical certitude it is asserted that "Nazism and the Third Reich ... were but a logical continuation of German history." [97]

Shirer gives scarcely a hint as to the real reason for the advent of Nazism: the fact that Germany was saddled with a Draconian peace, the terms of which were mitigated through the years but slightly and then haltingly and with ill grace. His account of the coming of World War II simply takes no account of the findings of recent revisionist scholarship, as is perhaps to be expected, while his repeated sneers directed at the members of the anti-Nazi resistance within Germany only betray still further his basic and deep-seated antipathy to everybody and everything German. The appearance of such a work at this time when German and Western amity was never more urgently needed is distinctly to be regretted.

Even more regrettable, however, has been the emergence, in large part during the months following the seizure of Adolf Eichmann, of a body of horror literature alleging brutal German wartime crimes, mainly against the Jews of Europe, of such depravity and magnitude that readers might thereby be tempted to speculate that, whatever Allied statesmen did to provoke conflict with the Axis powers, they were entirely justified in taking such action. [98] Should even the worst of these questionable charges against Germany be one day verified by some tribunal concerning whose impartiality there is agreement on all sides, it would still be necessary to remember that they were made possible by the war itself. Equally as important, they would have to be balanced off against the crimes perpetrated against the Germans by the Allies. Hitherto it had been customary only to cite those crimes attributed to Germany.

Allied 'war crimes'

Certainly, the expulsion in 1945 of 14,000,000 Eastern Germans from their ancestral homeland by the Czechs, Poles, and Soviets with the tacit connivance of the Western Allies was a "war crime" by any standard. Moreover it took on distinctly macabre overtones when the discrepancy between the number expelled and those who actually reached Germany reached a possible three million mark.

Surely, too, the as yet little known fact that not Hitler but the British, by their own admission, initiated unrestricted bombing of civilian areas ought to merit for them membership in the select society of "war criminals." The unbelieving reader need only consult the testimony of the British officials J. M. Spaight and Sir Arthur Harris, for incontrovertible proof of this charge. [99] A decision of the British Air Ministry made on May 11, 1940, to attack targets in Western Germany instituted the practice of bombing purely civilian objectives. This "epoch-making event," as F. J. P. Veale correctly describes it, marked an ominous departure from the rule that hostilities are to

be limited to operations against enemy military forces alone. [100] Spaight, former Principal Secretary of the Air Ministry, makes the following amazing comment on the decision of May 11, 1940:

Because we were doubtful about the psychological effect of propagandist distortion of the truth that it was we who started the strategic bombing offensive, we have shrunk from giving our great decision of May 11, 1940, the publicity it deserves. That surely was a mistake. It was a splendid decision. [101]

But the “great decision,” the “splendid decision” of May 11, 1940, which was ultimately to cost the lives of millions, including thousands of Mr. Spaight’s own countrymen, was to have an even more grisly sequel, for, according to Sir Charles Snow who had charge of selecting scientific personnel for war research in Great Britain in World War II, F. A. Lindemann, a Cabinet member and confidant of Churchill, produced in early 1942 a remarkable Cabinet paper on the subject of the strategic bombing of Germany:

It described, in quantitative terms, the effect on Germany of a British bombing offensive in the next eighteen months (approximately March 1942-September 1943). The paper laid down a strategic policy. The bombing must be directed essentially against German working-class houses. Middle-class houses have too much space round them, and so are bound to waste bombs ...[102]

One wonders if it was the cultivated humanitarianism inherent in this decision to assure the death of more working class Germans per bomb which entitled the Allies, and in particular the British, to sit in moral judgment on German leaders at Nuremberg in 1946!

Can anyone doubt that the “Morgenthau Plan” which envisaged the destruction of the Ruhr mines, the pasteurization of a primarily industrial Germany, and the political dismemberment of Germany was a “war crime?” Had it been carried out rigorously, it would have been, as Freda Utley describe it, “the greatest act of genocide perpetrated in modern times ... At least thirty million people would have died of starvation.” [103] Though, fortunately, this diabolical scheme was never carried out to the letter, its spirit so permeated the occupational planning for Germany under the early “levels of industry” plans that for a long time after the war had ended Germans were deliberately kept on a diet far below that enjoyed by the inmates of Auschwitz up to almost the end of the war.

Who can doubt the criminal quality of the Soviet butchery of thousands of Polish officer in the Katyn forest in 1940? Even the Nuremberg tribunal resisted (albeit by inaction) Soviet attempts to lay that one at the door of Germany. [104] Or perhaps the moral superiority of our “noble” Soviet allies, as we were fond of calling them, rested upon the manner in which they distinguished themselves in brutalizing the women of conquered lands. No doubt the enthusiastic response of the Soviet soldiery to the incitements of Ilya Ehrenburg to seize the women of Germany as the spoils of victory which resulted in the rape of half the women of Berlin alone lent substance to the pretensions of moral dignity assumed by the prosecuting powers at Nuremberg. [105]

German ‘guilt’ in perspective

Any final summation or balance sheet of German war crimes honestly verified, it may then be assumed, will most assuredly be balanced out by the sordid record of Germany’s hypocritically self-righteous enemies.

At the heart of the conviction that German World War II atrocities were quantitatively and qualitatively without parallel in the annals of human experience is the as yet unverified allegation that, in the pursuit of a macabre “Final Solution,” 6,000,000 Jews were cold-bloodedly murdered in gas chambers and before Einsatzkommando firing squads. The “evidence” presented in support of this charge to date had not been more persuasive than that used to substantiate the gruesome stories of German atrocity horrors spelled out in the long since discredited Bryce Report of 1915.

Neither the proceedings at Nuremberg in 1946 nor those associated with the recent trial of Adolf Eichmann were such as to inspire the confidence of the impartial investigator. Likewise the frenetic efforts of some academic scholars to prove the charge have fallen quite flat. [106] But even if one should assume the worst to be true and, from the welter of conflicting numerical estimates as to the number of Jewish fatalities, accept the largest, 6,000,000, as undoubtedly correct, the number of victims of these German atrocities would still fall far short of the number of German, Japanese, and Italian non-combatants who perished at Allied hands as the result of mass population expulsions, saturation bombing of civilian centers, postwar deprivation, and Soviet massacres and political liquidations.

The simple fact then is that there is every reason to believe that a final accounting must exculpate Germany of any unique inhumanity in the waging of World War II, just as revisionist scholarship had exonerated her of sole or even primary guilt for the war itself.

Certainly there is not justification for those writers, and above all those academic “scholars,” in the West who continue to parrot the crudities and distortions of yesteryear. There is a monotonous uniformity in all their interpretations, the fundamental error of which lies in the fact that they, in assessing the reasons for the demise of democracy and the rise of Nazi totalitarianism in Germany, ascribe primary or even sole causality to factors supposedly indigenous to German history and society. The alleged “weakness” or “ineptitude” of democratic Germans is a theme which runs like a red thread through most such treatments. Coupled with a sinister streak” which has purportedly manifested itself in a diseased intellectual and political development and an alleged obsession with militarism, this usually suffices to “explain” for us “the course of German history” with its “logical culmination” in National Socialism.

As might be expected, such critics scarcely comment on the Allied “statesmen” at Versailles, who, in direct violation of the pre-Armistice agreements, imposed a punitive peace on the Reich. Nor have they much to say of the intransigence of Western “democratic” politicians who refused to make the slightest concessions to Germany during the interwar years. Non-German “guilt,” however much it might have contributed to the rise of Hitler, is never a popular subject with them.

Germany during the Weimar era produced in Gustav Stresemann and Heinrich Brüning two of the ablest statesmen of the present century. These men were thoroughly “democratic” to the core. [107]

Had either of these men been offered a fraction of the concessions to which they were entitled, the Weimar Republic could have been saved and the world spared the insane bloodbath of 1939-45, as well as the consequent alteration of the world balance of power to the advantage of the U.S.S.R. This was the portentous, terrifying essence of the most genuinely crucial period in modern world history; what seems, indeed, to have marked the real beginning of the Decline of the West. It is a story in which the impartial historian can assign at most a very minor role to German villainy. If villains must be had, the historian must also look elsewhere: to Paris, to London, to Washington, and to Moscow, but only lastly to Berlin.

Appendix I

The reader may best obtain an adequate insight into the real reason for the advent of World War II in the following: Harry Elmer Barnes:, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, just cited, and his articles "The End of the Old America," *Modern Age*, Spring, 1958, "Revisionism and the Promotion of Peace," *Liberation*, Summer Issue, 1958, and "Revisionism Revisited," *Liberation*, Summer issue, 1959. See also Fritz Hesse, *Hitler and the English* (London: Allen Wingate, 1954); Emrys Hughes, *Winston Churchill: British Bulldog, His Career in War and Peace*, cited above; Charles Callan Tansill, *Backdoor to War*, cited above; and Luigi Villari *Italian Foreign Policy Under Mussolini* (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1956). My own article "Revisionism and Roosevelt's Foreign Policy," *American Mercury*, December, 1959, contains a brief summary of the pertinent facts.

The provocative pre-Pearl Harbor diplomacy which finally eventuated via the Pacific "backdoor" in the war so ardently sought by the Roosevelt Administration is competently chronicled by various writers including the contributors to Dr. Barnes' symposium *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* and Professor Tansill's *Backdoor to War* just cited. Other worthwhile accounts which might profitably be consulted include Charles A. Beard, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946) and, by the same author, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948); William Henry Chamberlain, *America's Second Crusade*, already cited; Richard N. Current, *Secretary Stimson: A Study in Statecraft* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954); George Morgenstern, *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War* (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1947) and Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald, *The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor* (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1954). The most complete listing of revisionist books dealing with all aspects of World War II is to be found in the indispensable *Select Bibliography of Revisionist Books* (Oxnard: Oxnard Press-Courier, 1958).

Appendix II

The interested reader should gain an adequate insight into the true nature of the wartime diplomacy of the West in the following volumes which deal entirely or in part with the subject: Hanson Baldwin, *Great Mistakes of the War* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950); William Henry Chamberlin, *America's Second Crusade* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1950); George N. Crocker, *Roosevelt's Road to Russia* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1959); Richard N. Current, *Secretary Stimson: A Study in Statecraft* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954); Richard F. Fenno, *The Yalta Conference* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1955); John T. Flynn, *The Roosevelt Myth* (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1956); Rosalie M. Gordon, *How the Reds Won* (New Rochelle: America's Future Inc., 1959); William L. Neumann, *Making the Peace, 1941-1945* (Washington, D.C.: Foundation for Foreign Affairs, 1950); and Felix Wittmer, *The Yalta Betrayal* (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1954).

Appendix III

The incredible story of the "Morgenthau Plan" is fully exposed by John T. Flynn in his latest edition of *The Roosevelt Myth*, already cited, as well as by George N. Crocker in his *Roosevelt's Road to Russia*, likewise already cited. Here one might also consult Eugene Davidson's *The Death and Life of Germany* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959) and John Snell's *Wartime Origins of the East-West Dilemma Over Germany* (New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1959).

The facts about “Unconditional Surrender” are well brought out in various volumes including: Harry C. Butcher, *My Three Years With Eisenhower* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946); Allen W. Dulles, *Germany's Underground* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947); Mother Mary Alice Gallin, O.S.U., *Ethical and Religious Factors in the German Resistance to Hitler* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1966); Hans Rothfels, *The German Opposition to Hitler* (Hinsdale: Henry Regnery Company 1948); and Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1958).

The fragile legal and historical foundations of the ill-advised Nuremberg fiasco with its ominous significance for the future are amply discussed in Montgomery Belgion, *Victor's Justice* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1949); Lord Hankey, *Politics, Trials, and Errors* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1950); and F.J.P. Veale, *Advance to Barbarism* (Appleton: C.C. Nelson Publishing Company, 1953).

The ordeal of the Oder-Neisse and Sudeten Germans at the close of World War II had not yet been fully told, though there is abundant evidence, much of it making for revolting reading, contained in Kurt Glaser, *Czecho-Slovakia: A Critical History*, (Caldwell: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1961); Johannes Kaps, *The Tragedy of Silesia: 1945-46* (Munich: “Christ Unterwegs,” 1952-53); Jürgen Thowald, *Flight in the Winter* (New York: Pantleon Books Inc., 1951); Wilhelm K. Turnwald, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Sudeten Germans* (Munich: Munich University Press, 1953). My own article “Whose Collective Guilt?” in the *Social Justice Review* of June, 1959, is a brief summary of the trials of the German expellees.

Notes

1. Quoted in Manfred Meserschmidt, *Deutschland in englischer Sicht: Die Wandlungen des Deutschlandbildes in der englischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Düsseldorf: Michael Triltsch Verlag, 1955), p. 51.
2. See George P. Gooch, *Germany* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 88.
3. Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1960.
4. Henry Cord Meyer, *Five Images of Germany: Half a Century of American Views on German History* (Washington, D.C.: The American Historical Association, 1960), p. 3.
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Auschwitz: Myths and facts

by Mark Weber

Nearly everyone has heard of Auschwitz, the German wartime concentration camp where many prisoners — most of them Jewish — were reportedly exterminated, especially in gas chambers. Auschwitz is widely regarded as the most terrible Nazi extermination center. The camp's horrific reputation cannot, however, be reconciled with the facts.

Scholars challenge Holocaust story

Astonishing as it may seem, more and more historians and engineers have been challenging the widely accepted Auschwitz story. These "revisionist" scholars do not dispute the fact that large numbers of Jews were deported to the camp, or that many died there, particularly of typhus and other diseases. But the compelling evidence they present shows that Auschwitz was not an extermination center and that the story of mass killings in "gas chambers" is a myth.

The Auschwitz camps

The Auschwitz camp complex was set up in 1940 in what is now south-central Poland. Large numbers of Jews were deported there between 1942 and mid-1944.

The main camp was known as Auschwitz I. Birkenau, or Auschwitz II, was supposedly the main extermination center, and Monowitz, or Auschwitz III, was a large industrial center where gasoline was produced from coal. In addition there were dozens of smaller satellite camps devoted to the war economy.

Four million victims?

At the postwar Nuremberg Tribunal, the Allies charged that the Germans exterminated four million people at Auschwitz. This figure, which was invented by the Soviets, was uncritically accepted for many years. It often appeared in major American newspapers and magazines, for example. ^[1]

Today no reputable historian, not even those who generally accept the extermination story, believes this figure. Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer said in 1989 that it is time to finally acknowledge the familiar four million figure is a deliberate myth. In July 1990 the Auschwitz State Museum in Poland, along with Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust Center, suddenly announced that altogether perhaps one million people (both Jews and non-Jews) died there. Neither institution would say how many of these people were killed, nor were any estimates given of the numbers of those supposedly gassed. ^[2] One prominent Holocaust historian, Gerald Reitlinger, has estimated that perhaps 700,000 or so Jews perished at Auschwitz. More recently, Holocaust historian Jean-Claude Pressac has estimated that about 800,000 persons — of whom 630,000 were

Jewish — perished at Auschwitz. While even such lower figures are incorrect, they show how the Auschwitz story has changed drastically over the years. [3]

Bizarre tales

At one time it was seriously claimed that Jews were systematically electrocuted at Auschwitz. American newspapers, citing a Soviet eyewitness report from liberated Auschwitz, told readers in February 1945 that the methodical Germans had killed Jews there using an "electric conveyor belt on which hundreds of persons could be electrocuted simultaneously [and] then moved on into furnaces. They were burned almost instantly, producing fertilizer for nearby cabbage fields." [4]

And at the Nuremberg Tribunal, chief U.S. prosecutor Robert Jackson charged that the Germans used a "newly invented" device to instantaneously "vaporize" 20,000 Jews near Auschwitz "in such a way that there was no trace left of them." [5] No reputable historian now accepts either of these fanciful tales.

The Höss 'confession'

A key Holocaust document is the "confession" of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss of April 5, 1946, which was submitted by the U.S. prosecution at the main Nuremberg trial. [6]

Although it is still widely cited as solid proof for the Auschwitz extermination story, it is actually a false statement that was obtained by torture.

Many years after the war, British military intelligence sergeant Bernard Clarke described how he and five other British soldiers tortured the former commandant to obtain his "confession." Höss himself privately explained his ordeal in these words: "Certainly, I signed a statement that I killed two and half million Jews. I could just as well have said that it was five million Jews. There are certain methods by which any confession can be obtained, whether it is true or not." [7]

Even historians who generally accept the Holocaust extermination story now acknowledge that many of the specific statements made in the Höss "affidavit" are simply not true. For one thing, no serious scholar now claims that anything like two and a half or three million people perished in Auschwitz.

The Höss "affidavit" further alleges that Jews were already being exterminated by gas in the summer of 1941 at three other camps: Belzec, Treblinka and Wolzek. The "Wolzek" camp mentioned by Höss is a total invention. No such camp existed, and the name is no longer mentioned in Holocaust literature. Moreover, the story these days by those who believe in the Holocaust legend is that gassings of Jews did not begin at Auschwitz, Treblinka, or Belzec until sometime in 1942.

No documentary evidence

Many thousands of secret German documents dealing with Auschwitz were confiscated after the war by the Allies. Not a single one refers to a policy or program of extermination. In fact, the extermination story cannot be reconciled with the documentary evidence.

Many Jewish inmates unable to work

For example, it is often claimed that all Jews at Auschwitz who were unable to work were immediately killed. Jews who were too old, young, sick, or weak were supposedly gassed on arrival, and only those who could be worked to death were temporarily kept alive.

But the evidence shows that, in fact, a very high percentage of the Jewish inmates were not able to work, and were nevertheless not killed. For example, an internal German telex message dated Sept. 4, 1943, from the chief of the Labor Allocation department of the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office (WVHA), reported that of 25,000 Jewish inmates in Auschwitz, only 3,581 were able to work, and that all of the remaining Jewish inmates — some 21,500, or about 86 percent — were unable to work. [8]

This is also confirmed in a secret report dated April 5, 1944, on "security measures in Auschwitz" by Oswald Pohl, head of the SS concentration camp system, to SS chief Heinrich Himmler. Pohl reported that there was a total of 67,000 inmates in the entire Auschwitz camp complex, of whom 18,000 were hospitalized or disabled. In the Auschwitz II camp (Birkenau), supposedly the main extermination center, there were 36,000 inmates, mostly female, of whom "approximately 15,000 are unable to work." [9]

These two documents simply cannot be reconciled with the Auschwitz extermination story.

The evidence shows that Auschwitz-Birkenau was established primarily as a camp for Jews who were not able to work, including the sick and elderly, as well as for those who were temporarily awaiting assignment to other camps. That's the considered view of Dr. Arthur Butz of Northwestern University, who also says that this was the reason for the unusually high death rate there. [10]

Princeton University history professor Arno Mayer, who is Jewish, acknowledges in a recent book about the "final solution" that more Jews perished at Auschwitz as a result of typhus and other "natural" causes than were executed. [11]

Anne Frank

Perhaps the best known Auschwitz inmate was Anne Frank, who is known around the world for her famous diary. But few people know that thousands of Jews, including Anne and her father, Otto Frank, "survived" Auschwitz.

The 15-year-old girl and her father were deported from the Netherlands to Auschwitz in September 1944. Several weeks later, in the face of the advancing Soviet army, Anne was evacuated along with many other Jews to the Bergen-Belsen camp, where she died of typhus in March 1945.

Her father came down with typhus in Auschwitz and was sent to the camp hospital to recover. He was one of thousands of sick and feeble Jews who were left behind when the Germans abandoned the camp in January 1945, shortly before it was overrun by the Soviets. He died in Switzerland in 1980.

If the German policy had been to kill Anne Frank and her father, they would not have survived Auschwitz. Their fate, tragic though it was, cannot be reconciled with the extermination story.

Allied propaganda

The Auschwitz gassing story is based in large part on the hearsay statements of former Jewish inmates who did not personally see any evidence of extermination. Their beliefs are understandable, because rumors about gasings at Auschwitz were widespread.

Allied planes dropped large numbers of leaflets, written in Polish and German, on Auschwitz and the surrounding areas which claimed that people were being gassed in the camp. The Auschwitz gassing story, which was an important part of the Allied wartime propaganda effort, was also broadcast to Europe by Allied radio stations. ^[12]

Survivor testimony

Former inmates have confirmed that they saw no evidence of extermination at Auschwitz.

An Austrian woman, Maria Vanherwaarden, testified about her camp experiences in a Toronto District Court in March 1988. She was interned in Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1942 for having sexual relations with a Polish forced laborer. On the train trip to the camp, a Gypsy woman told her and the others that they would all be gassed at Auschwitz.

Upon arrival, Maria and the other women were ordered to undress and go into a large concrete room without windows to take a shower. The terrified women were sure that they were about to die. But then, instead of gas, water came out of the shower heads.

Auschwitz was no vacation center, Maria confirmed. She witnessed the death of many fellow inmates by disease, particularly typhus, and quite a few committed suicide. But she saw no evidence at all of mass killings, gasings, or of any extermination program. ^[13]

A Jewish woman named Marika Frank arrived at Auschwitz-Birkenau from Hungary in July 1944, when 25,000 Jews were supposedly gassed and cremated daily. She likewise testified after the war that she heard and saw nothing of "gas chambers" during the time she was interned there. She heard the gassing stories only later. ^[14]

Inmates released

Auschwitz internees who had served their sentences were released and returned to their home countries. If Auschwitz had actually been a top secret extermination center, the Germans would certainly not have released inmates who "knew" what was happening in the camp. ^[15]

Himmler orders death rate reduced

In response to the deaths of many inmates due to disease, especially typhus, the German authorities responsible for the camps ordered firm counter-measures.

The head of the SS camp administration office sent a directive dated Dec. 28, 1942, to Auschwitz and the other concentration camps. It sharply criticized the high death rate of inmates due to disease, and ordered that "camp physicians must use all means at their disposal to significantly reduce the death rate in the various camps." Furthermore, it ordered:

The camp doctors must supervise more often than in the past the nutrition of the prisoners and, in cooperation with the administration, submit improvement recommendations to the camp commandants ... The camp doctors are to see to it that the working conditions at the various labor places are improved as much as possible.

Finally, the directive stressed that "the Reichsführer SS [Heinrich Himmler] has ordered that the death rate absolutely must be reduced." [16]

German camp regulations

Official German camp regulations make clear that Auschwitz was not an extermination center. They ordered: [17]

New arrivals in the camp are to be given a thorough medical examination, and if there is any doubt [about their health], they must be sent to quarantine for observation.

Prisoners who report sick must be examined that same day by the camp physician. If necessary, the physician must transfer the prisoners to a hospital for professional treatment.

The camp physician must regularly inspect the kitchen regarding the preparation of the food and the quality of the food supply. Any deficiencies that may arise must be reported to the camp commandant.

Special care should be given in the treatment of accidents, in order not to impair the full productivity of the prisoners.

Prisoners who are to be released or transferred must first be brought before the camp physician for medical examination.

Telltale aerial photos

Detailed aerial reconnaissance photographs taken of Auschwitz-Birkenau on several random days in 1944 (during the height of the alleged extermination period there) were made public by the CIA in 1979. These photos show no trace of piles of corpses, smoking crematory chimneys or masses of Jews awaiting death, things that have been repeatedly alleged, and all of which would have been clearly visible if Auschwitz had been the extermination center it is said to have been. [18]

Absurd cremation claims

Cremation specialists have confirmed that thousands of corpses could not possibly have been cremated every day throughout the spring and summer of 1944 at Auschwitz, as commonly alleged.

For example, Mr. Ivan Lagace, manager of a large crematory in Calgary, Canada, testified in court in April 1988 that the Auschwitz cremation story is technically impossible. The allegation that 10,000 or even 20,000 corpses were burned every day at Auschwitz in the summer of 1944 in crematories and open pits is simply "preposterous" and "beyond the realm of reality," he declared under oath. [19]

Gassing expert refutes extermination story

America's leading gas chamber expert, Boston engineer Fred A. Leuchter, carefully examined the supposed "gas chambers" in Poland and concluded that the Auschwitz gassing story is absurd and technically impossible.

Leuchter is the foremost specialist on the design and installation of gas chambers used in the United States to execute convicted criminals. For example, he designed a gas chamber facility for the Missouri state penitentiary.

In February 1988 he carried out a detailed onsite examination of the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek in Poland, which are either still standing or only partially in ruins. In sworn testimony to a Toronto court and in a technical report, Leuchter described every aspect of his investigation.

He concluded by emphatically declaring that the alleged gassing facilities could not possibly have been used to kill people. Among other things, he pointed out that the so-called "gas chambers" were not properly sealed or vented to kill human beings without also killing German camp personnel. [20]

Dr. William B. Lindsey, a research chemist employed for 33 years by the Dupont Corporation, likewise testified in a 1985 court case that the Auschwitz gassing story is technically impossible. Based on a careful on-site examination of the "gas chambers" at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, and on his years of experience, he declared: "I have come to the conclusion that no one was willfully or purposefully killed with Zyklon B [hydrocyanic acid gas] in this manner. I consider it absolutely impossible." [21]

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19. ☞ *Canadian Jewish News* (Toronto), April 14, 1988, p. 6.
20. ☞ *The Leuchter Report: An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek* (Toronto: 1988). Available for \$17.00, postpaid, from the IHR.
21. ☞ *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Feb. 12, 1985, p. M3

Summary

The Auschwitz extermination story originated as wartime propaganda. Now, more than 40 years after the end of the Second World War, it is time to take another, more objective look at this highly polemicized chapter of history. The Auschwitz legend is the core of the Holocaust story. If hundreds of thousands of Jews were not systematically killed there, as alleged, one of the great myths of our time collapses.

Artificially maintaining the hatreds and passions of the past prevents genuine reconciliation and lasting peace. Revisionism promotes historical awareness and international understanding. That is why the work of the Institute for Historical Review is so important and deserves your support.

Mark Weber is editor of The Journal of Historical Review, published six times yearly by the Institute for Historical Review. He studied history at the University of Illinois (Chicago), the University of Munich, Portland State University, and Indiana University (M.A., 1977). For five days in March 1988, he testified as a recognized expert witness on the "final solution" and the Holocaust issue in a Toronto District Court case. He is the author of many published articles, reviews and essays on various aspects of modern European history. Weber has appeared as a guest on numerous radio talk shows, and on the nationally-syndicated "Montel Williams" television show.

A Few Facts About the Institute for Historical Review

Founded in 1978, the Institute for Historical Review is a not-for-profit research, educational and publishing center devoted to truth and accuracy in history. The IHR continues the tradition of historical revisionism pioneered by distinguished historians such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. P. Taylor, Charles Tansill, Paul Rassinier, and William H. Chamberlin.

The Institute's purpose is, in the words of Barnes, to "bring history into accord with the facts." The IHR is at the center of a worldwide network of scholars and activists who are working — sometimes at great personal sacrifice — to separate historical fact from propaganda fiction by researching and publicizing suppressed facts about key chapters of history, especially twentieth century history, that have social-political relevance today.

The Institute's offices are located in Orange County, southern California. Its work is funded through sales of books and cassette tapes, subscriptions to its *Journal of Historical Review*, and donations from supporters around the world. In its day-to-day operations, the IHR employs its modest financial resources very cost-effectively. For every dollar it spends, the IHR's adversaries spend a hundred.

Legally, the Institute operates as an entity of the "Legion for the Survival of Freedom" (LSF), a non-profit corporation founded in 1952 and controlled by a board of directors.

With growing support from across the United States and many foreign countries, the IHR works to bring sanity to America's foreign policy, to liberate people from pseudo-religious intimidation, and for the First Amendment right of free speech. The IHR also works to tear down barriers to international peace and understanding by encouraging greater awareness of the root causes, nature and consequences of war. Nowhere is this work more important than here in the United States, where untold billions of dollars have been squandered in preparation for pointless wars and conflicts.

For Peace And Understanding

Bitter experience has taught us just how little we can trust politicians and governments, especially during wartime when official and semi-official propagandists are most busy deceiving the public. As American historian Harry Elmer Barnes put it: "Truth is always the first war casualty. The emotional disturbances and distortions in historical writing are greatest in wartime."

Powerful interests — including politicians and the major media — distort the historical record for self-serving reasons. Textbooks, motion pictures and television routinely present history in a slanted and partisan way. As George Orwell aptly noted in his classic *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past."

As shrewd observers have long understood, history is written by the victors. This is particularly true with regard to the history of the Second World War. Routinely the origins and nature of that catastrophic conflict are deceitfully portrayed as a simplistic struggle between good and evil.

Americans have been misled into one costly, devastating, and needless war after another. During the Vietnam and 1991 Gulf Wars, for example, government officials and much of the media lied to and deceived the American people to justify needless slaughter and devastation.

In seeking to replace ideologically-driven and emotion-charged portrayals with truth and fact, the Institute promotes historical awareness, understanding and mutual respect among nations. Artificially maintaining the hatreds and passions of the past prevents genuine reconciliation and lasting peace. As Barnes emphasized, historical revisionism is the key to just and lasting peace.

An awareness of real history provides understanding about the great issues of the present and the future. The work of the IHR in "blasting the historical blackout" (Barnes) is all the more relevant in this final decade of the twentieth century, as the political-economic order imposed by the victorious powers of the Second World War breaks apart — and along with it a distorted and one-sided historical perspective.

In a world often saturated with historical lies and self-serving propaganda, the Institute for Historical Review stands as a precious beacon.

Growing Impact

Defying powerful adversaries, the Institute's impact continues to grow. While media coverage of the IHR is often hostile, the Institute and its work have been receiving more widespread and respectful attention. The IHR is now grudgingly accepted as an established part of the American social-cultural landscape.

For example, millions of Americans were introduced to the Institute through the March 20, 1994, broadcast of CBS's "60 Minutes," one of the country's most widely viewed television shows. The IHR Journal was also introduced, and the front cover of the Nov.-Dec. 1993 issue was shown on screen. The IHR has been cited in major newspapers and magazines, including Time, Vanity Fair, The New Yorker, The Wall Street Journal, the New York Times, and the Los Angeles Times. Institute spokesmen have been heard and seen on numerous radio and television appearances.

Moreover, steadily growing numbers of scholars and educated lay persons — across the United States, throughout Europe, and in Asia, Latin America and the Middle East — support the work of the IHR.

The Holocaust Issue

Even though IHR books and IHR Journal articles have consistently dealt with a broad range of historical topics, certainly the best-known and most controversial aspect of the Institute's work has been its treatment of the Holocaust issue. For example, the Los Angeles Times (May 15, 1994) describes the IHR as a "revisionist think tank that critics call the 'spine of the international Holocaust denial movement'."

Although the Institute does not "deny the Holocaust," over the years it has published detailed books and numerous probing essays that call into question aspects of the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. IHR publications have devoted considerable attention to this issue because it

plays such an enormously significant role in the cultural and political life of America and much of the world.

'Holocaust Denial'

In their efforts to discredit and marginalize it, opponents routinely mischaracterize the Institute as a "Holocaust denial" organization. This smear is completely at variance with the facts.

If the revisionist view of the Holocaust were really as simplistic and indefensible as some insist, it would not have gained the support of university professors such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, historians such as David Irving and Harry Elmer Barnes, former concentration camp inmates such as Paul Rassinier, and American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter. These individuals did not decide publicly to reject the orthodox Holocaust story — thereby risking public censure, and worse — because they are fools, or because their motives are evil, but rather on the basis of a sincere and thoughtful evaluation of the evidence.

Bigoted Attacks

Occasionally the Institute is denounced as a racist or fascist "hate group." This too is a baseless smear. Since its founding the IHR has steadfastly opposed bigotry of all kinds in its efforts to promote greater public understanding of history. It does not seek to whitewash any past regime or rehabilitate any ideology. The IHR is proud of the backing it has earned from people of the most diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Far from being a fomentor of hate, the Institute has been a target of hate groups. During the 1980s, the Jewish Defense League — identified by the FBI in 1985 as the second most active terrorist group in the United States — repeatedly assaulted Institute offices and staff members. Following numerous death threats by telephone and mail, extensive property damage, five relatively minor fire bombings, one drive-by shooting and two physical assaults, the Institute's office-warehouse was destroyed in an arson attack on July 4, 1984. Estimated property loss was more than \$400,000, including tens of thousands of books, rare documents, irreplaceable files and expensive office equipment.

In addition, well-financed special interest groups seeking to curtail open discussion of vital historical issues have for years targeted the Institute, grossly misrepresenting its work and purpose. Prominent among these are the Simon Wiesenthal Center (Los Angeles) and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (New York) — stridently partisan organizations with well documented records as staunch apologists for narrow Zionist-Jewish interests.

Along with the Institute's growing impact has come, inevitably, frantic attacks from intolerant enemies. As the IHR's influence grows, and as the great social-cultural struggle of the Western world intensifies, so also does the fury and desperation of its adversaries.

Books

A major task of the Institute is the publication of solid works of history. It brings long-neglected revisionist classics back into print, and breaks fresh ground with professionally edited and attractively designed first editions of important new works.

Numerous college and university educators have assigned IHR books as required reading in their courses. Most IHR books can be found in major libraries around the world. One title alone has

sold more than 50,000 copies. Several IHR titles have been published in foreign-language editions.

In addition to its own titles, the IHR distributes scores of worthwhile books issued by other publishers. More than a hundred solidly researched books and dozens of compelling audio and video tapes are listed in the IHR catalog.

The Journal of Historical Review

The Institute's *Journal of Historical Review*, says best-selling British historian David Irving, "has an astounding record of fearlessly shattering the icons of those vested interests who hate and fear the truth. That is why I strongly endorse it, and suggest that every intelligent man and woman in America, Britain and the dominions subscribe."

The Journal of Historical Review -- the leading periodical of its kind in the world — appears six times yearly in an attractive, handsomely illustrated magazine format. (Until January 1993, it was published four times yearly in a smaller size format.) More than 60 issues have appeared since it first began publication in 1980.

In addition to individual scholars and discerning lay readers, libraries of leading university and academic centers around the world subscribe, including the libraries of Harvard University, Princeton University, Yale University, Penn State University, Howard University, and the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich.

More than 20 distinguished historians, educators and other scholars are members of the *Journal's* Editorial Advisory Committee. *Journal* contributors have included respected scholars from around the world.

Journal articles are frequently reprinted, translated and circulated in many foreign countries. Selected *Journal* articles (along with IHR leaflets and other IHR materials) are disseminated through the Internet to many tens of thousands around the world.

A *Journal* reader typically has a keen interest in understanding how and why the world has become what it is today. He is fed up with the recycled wartime propaganda that is passed off as "history." He detests socially destructive lies and bigotry. He wants a sane and healthy future for himself, his family and his country, indeed for all humanity, and realizes that it can be achieved only through an understanding of history based on truth and reality.

Conferences

Since 1979, the IHR has held twelve conferences, presenting speakers from Europe, Asia, and Australia, as well as the United States. IHR conference speakers have included:

- Pulitzer prize-winning American historian John Toland, author of several best-selling works of history.
- Dr. James J. Martin, an American historian with a 25-year career as an educator. Author of several meticulously researched historical studies. Contributor to the Encyclopaedia Britannica.
- British historian David Irving, perhaps the most widely read historian in the English-speaking world. Author of numerous bestselling works.

- Fred Leuchter, America's foremost expert on execution hardware. Author of a widely discussed forensic report on the alleged extermination "gas chambers" at Auschwitz.
- Hideo Miki, retired professor at Japan's National Defense Academy and retired Lieutenant General of Japan's Self-Defense Forces.
- John Bennett, noted Australian civil liberties attorney and activist, and president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union.

IHR Conference addresses are recorded and made available on audio and video cassette.

Other Activities

Hundreds of thousands of leaflets from our popular introductory series have been sold and distributed. A speakers' bureau makes IHR speakers available for meetings. Depending on availability of financial resources, the IHR also helps fund primary scholarly research of critical historical issues.

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What is 'Holocaust Denial'?

In recent years, more and more attention has been devoted to the supposed danger of "Holocaust denial." Politicians, newspapers and television warn about the growing influence of those who reject the Holocaust story that some six million European Jews were systematically exterminated during the Second World War, most of them in gas chambers.

In several countries, including Israel, France, Germany and Austria, "Holocaust denial" is against the law, and "deniers" have been punished with stiff fines and prison sentences. Some frantic Jewish community leaders are calling for similar government measures in North America against so-called "deniers." In Canada, David Matas, Senior Counsel for the "League for Human Rights" of the Zionist B'nai B'rith organization, says: ^[1]

The Holocaust was the murder of six million Jews, including two million children. Holocaust denial is a second murder of those same six million. First their lives were extinguished; then their deaths. A person who denies the Holocaust becomes part of the crime of the Holocaust itself.

Often overlooked in this controversy is the crucial question: Just what constitutes "Holocaust denial"?

Six Million?

Should someone be considered a "Holocaust denier" because he does not believe — as Matas and others insist — that six million Jews were killed during World War II? This figure was cited by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in 1945-1946. It found that "the policy pursued [by the German government] resulted in the killing of six million Jews, of which four million were killed in the extermination institutions." ^[2]

Yet if that is so, then several of the most prominent Holocaust historians could be regarded as "deniers." Professor Raul Hilberg, author of the standard reference work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, does not accept that six million Jews died. He puts the total of deaths (from all causes) at 5.1 million. Gerald Reitlinger, author of *The Final Solution*, likewise did not accept the six million figure. He estimated the figure of Jewish wartime dead might be as high as 4.6 million, but admitted that this was conjectural due to a lack of reliable information.

Human Soap?

Is someone a "Holocaust denier" if he says that the Nazis didn't use Jewish fat to make soap? After examining all the evidence (including an actual bar of soap supplied by the Soviets), the Nuremberg Tribunal declared in its Judgment that "in some instances attempts were made to utilize the fat from the bodies of the victims in the commercial manufacture of soap." ^[3]

In 1990, though, Israel's official "Yad Vashem" Holocaust memorial agency "rewrote history" by admitting that the soap story was not true. "Historians have concluded that soap was not made from human fat. When so many people deny the Holocaust ever happened, why give them something to use against the truth?," said Yad Vashem official Shmuel Krakowski. [4]

Wannsee Conference?

Is someone a "Holocaust denier" if he does not accept that the January 1942 "Wannsee conference" of German bureaucrats was held to set or coordinate a program of systematic mass murder of Europe's Jews? If so, Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer must be wrong — and a "Holocaust denier" — because he recently declared: "The public still repeats, time after time, the silly story that at Wannsee the extermination of the Jews was arrived at." In Bauer's opinion, Wannsee was a meeting but "hardly a conference" and "little of what was said there was executed in detail." [5]

Extermination Policy?

Is someone a "Holocaust denier" if he says that there was no order by Hitler to exterminate Europe's Jews? There was a time when the answer would have been yes. Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg, for example, wrote in the 1961 edition of his study, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, that there were two Hitler orders for the destruction of Europe's Jews: the first given in the spring of 1941, and the second shortly thereafter. But Hilberg removed mention of any such order from the revised, three-volume edition of his book published in 1985. [6] As Holocaust historian Christopher Browning has noted: [7]

In the new edition, all references in the text to a Hitler decision or Hitler order for the "Final Solution" have been systematically excised. Buried at the bottom of a single footnote stands the solitary reference: "Chronology and circumstances point to a Hitler decision before the summer ended." In the new edition, decisions were not made and orders were not given.

A lack of hard evidence for an extermination order by Hitler has contributed to a controversy that divides Holocaust historians into "intentionalists" and "functionalists." The former contend that there was a premeditated extermination policy ordered by Hitler, while the latter hold that Germany's wartime "final solution" Jewish policy evolved at lower levels in response to circumstances. But the crucial point here is this: notwithstanding the capture of literally tons of German documents after the war, no one can point to documentary evidence of a wartime extermination order, plan or program. This was admitted by Professor Hilberg during his testimony in the 1985 trial in Toronto of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zuendel. [8]

Auschwitz

So just what constitutes "Holocaust denial"? Surely a claim that most Auschwitz inmates died from disease and not systematic extermination in gas chambers would be "denial." But perhaps not. Jewish historian Arno J. Mayer, a Princeton University professor, wrote in his 1988 study *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The 'Final Solution' in History*: "... From 1942 to 1945, certainly at Auschwitz, but probably overall, more Jews were killed by so-called 'natural' causes than by 'unnatural' ones." [9]

Even estimates of the number of people who died at Auschwitz — allegedly the main extermination center — are no longer clear cut. At the postwar Nuremberg Tribunal, the Allies charged that

the Germans exterminated four million people at Auschwitz. ^[10] Until 1990, a memorial plaque at Auschwitz read: "Four Million People Suffered and Died Here at the Hands of the Nazi Murderers Between the Years 1940 and 1945." ^[11] During a 1979 visit to the camp, Pope John Paul II stood before this memorial and blessed the four million victims.

Is it "Holocaust denial" to dispute these four million deaths? Not today. In July 1990, the Polish government's Auschwitz State Museum, along with Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center, conceded that the four million figure was a gross exaggeration, and references to it were accordingly removed from the Auschwitz monument. Israeli and Polish officials announced a tentative revised toll of 1.1 million Auschwitz dead. ^[12] In 1993, French Holocaust researcher Jean-Claude Pressac, in a much-discussed book about Auschwitz, estimated that altogether about 775,000 died there during the war years. ^[13]

Professor Mayer acknowledges that the question of how many really died in Auschwitz remains open. In *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* he wrote (p. 366):

... Many questions remain open ... All in all, how many bodies were cremated in Auschwitz? How many died there all told? What was the national, religious, and ethnic breakdown in this commonwealth of victims? How many of them were condemned to die a 'natural' death and how many were deliberately slaughtered? And what was the proportion of Jews among those murdered in cold blood among these gassed? We have simply no answers to these questions at this time.

Gas Chambers

What about denying the existence of extermination "gas chambers"? Here too, Mayer makes a startling statement (on page 362 of his book): "Sources for the study of the gas chambers are at once rare and unreliable." While Mayer believes that such chambers did exist at Auschwitz, he points out that

most of what is known is based on the depositions of Nazi officials and executioners at postwar trials and on the memory of survivors and bystanders. This testimony must be screened carefully, since it can be influenced by subjective factors of great complexity.

Höss Testimony

One example of this might be the testimony of Rudolf Höss, an SS officer who served as commandant of Auschwitz. In its Judgment, the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal quoted at length from his testimony to support its findings of extermination. ^[14]

It is now well established that Höss' crucial testimony, as well as his so-called "confession" (which was also cited by the Nuremberg Tribunal), are not only false, but were obtained by beating the former commandant nearly to death. ^[15] Höss' wife and children were also threatened with death and deportation to Siberia. In his statement — which would not be admissible today in any United States court of law — Höss claimed the existence of an extermination camp called "Wolzek." In fact, no such camp ever existed. He further claimed that during the time that he was commandant of Auschwitz, two and a half million people were exterminated there, and that a further half million died of disease. ^[16] Today no reputable historian upholds these figures. Höss was obviously willing to say anything, sign anything and do anything to stop the torture, and to try to save himself and his family.

Forensic Investigations

In his 1988 book, Professor Mayer calls for "excavations at the killing sites and in their immediate environs" to determine more about the gas chambers. In fact, such forensic studies have been made. The first was conducted in 1988 by American execution equipment consultant, Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. He carried out an on-site forensic examination of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek to determine if they could have been used to kill people as claimed. After a careful study of the alleged killing facilities, Leuchter concluded that the sites were not used, and could not have been used, as homicidal gas chambers. Furthermore, an analysis of samples taken by Leuchter from the walls and floors of the alleged gas chambers showed either no or minuscule traces of cyanide compound, from the active ingredient of Zyklon B, the pesticide allegedly used to murder Jews at Auschwitz. [17]

A confidential forensic examination (and subsequent report) commissioned by the Auschwitz State Museum and conducted by Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow has confirmed Leuchter's finding that minimal or no traces of cyanide compound can be found in the sites alleged to have been gas chambers. [18]

The significance of this is evident when the results of the forensic examination of the alleged homicidal gas chambers are compared with the results of the examination of the Auschwitz disinfection facilities, where Zyklon B was used to delouse mattresses and clothing. Whereas no or only trace amounts of cyanide were found in the alleged homicidal gas chambers, massive traces of cyanide were found in the walls and floor in the camp's disinfection delousing chambers.

Another forensic study has been carried out by German chemist Germar Rudolf. On the basis of his on-site examination and analysis of samples, the certified chemist and doctoral candidate concluded: "For chemical-technical reasons, the claimed mass gassings with hydrocyanic acid in the alleged 'gas chambers' in Auschwitz did not take place ... The supposed facilities for mass killing in Auschwitz and Birkenau were not suitable for this purpose ..." [19]

Finally, there is the study of Austrian engineer Walter Lüftl, a respected expert witness in numerous court cases, and former president of Austria's professional association of engineers. In a 1992 report he called the alleged mass extermination of Jews in gas chambers "technically impossible." [20]

Discredited Perspective

So just what constitutes "Holocaust denial"? Those who advocate criminal persecution of "Holocaust deniers" seem to be still living in the world of 1946 where the Allied officials of the Nuremberg Tribunal have just pronounced their verdict. But the Tribunal's findings can no longer be assumed to be valid. Because it relied so heavily on such untrustworthy evidence as the H^oss testimony, some of its most critical findings are now discredited.

For purposes of their own, powerful special interest groups desperately seek to keep substantive discussion of the Holocaust story taboo. One of the ways they do this is by purposely mischaracterizing revisionist scholars as "deniers." But the truth can't be suppressed forever: There is a very real and growing controversy about what actually happened to Europe's Jews during World War II.

Let this issue be settled as all great historical controversies are resolved: through free inquiry and open debate in our journals, newspapers and classrooms.

Notes

1. [↗](#) *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Jan. 22, 1992.
2. [↗](#) *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (IMT "blue series"), Vol. 22, p. 496.
3. [↗](#) IMT "blue series," Vol. 22, p. 496.
4. [↗](#) *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), April 25, 1990; See also: M. Weber, "Jewish Soap," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991.
5. [↗](#) *Canadian Jewish News* (Toronto), Jan. 30, 1992.
6. [↗](#) See: Barbara Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die: Report of the Evidence in the Canadian 'False News' Trial of Ernst Zndel* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1992), pp. 192, 300, 349.
7. [↗](#) "The Revised Hilberg," *Simon Wiesenthal Annual*, Vol. 3, 1986, p. 294.
8. [↗](#) B. Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die* (Toronto: 1992), pp. 24-25.
9. [↗](#) A. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?: The 'Final Solution' in History* (Pantheon, 1988), p. 365.
10. [↗](#) Nuremberg document 008-USSR.; IMT "blue series," Vol. 39, pp. 241, 261.
11. [↗](#) B. Kulaszka, ed., *Did Six Million Really Die* (Toronto: 1992), p. 441.
12. [↗](#) Y. Bauer, "Fighting the Distortions," *Jerusalem Post* (Israel), Sept. 22, 1989; Auschwitz Deaths Reduced to a Million," *Daily Telegraph* (London), July 17, 1990; "Poland Reduces Auschwitz Death Toll Estimate to 1 Million," *The Washington Times*, July 17, 1990.
13. [↗](#) J.-C. Pressac, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993). See also: R. Faurisson, "Jean-Claude Pressac's New Auschwitz Book," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1994, p. 24.
14. [↗](#) IMT "blue series," Vol. 22, p. 485; Nuremberg document 3868-PS (USA-819), in IMT "blue series," Vol. 33, pp. 275-279.
15. [↗](#) Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death* (England: 1983), pp. 235-237; C. Hitchens, "Whose History is it?," *Vanity Fair* (New York), Dec. 1993, p. 117.
16. [↗](#) See: R. Faurisson, "How the British Obtained the Confession of Rudolf Hoess," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.
17. [↗](#) A deluxe edition of *The Leuchter Report* is available from the IHR for \$20.00, plus \$2.00 shipping.
18. [↗](#) The complete text of this report was published in English in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991.
19. [↗](#) G. Rudolf, *Gutachten ueber die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den 'Gaskammern' von Auschwitz* (London: 1993). See: *The Journal of Historical Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1993, pp. 25-26.
20. [↗](#) "The 'Lueftl Report'," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1992-93.

The Holocaust: Let's hear both sides

by Mark Weber

Nearly everyone has heard that the Germans killed some six million Jews in Europe during the Second World War. American television, motion pictures, newspapers and magazines hammer away on this theme. In Washington, DC, an enormous official Holocaust Museum has been built.

Scholars Challenge Holocaust Story

During the past decade, though, more and more "revisionist" historians, including respected scholars such as Dr. Arthur Butz of Northwestern University, Prof. Robert Faurisson of the University of Lyon in France and best-selling British historian David Irving, have been challenging the widely-accepted extermination story.

They do not dispute the fact that large numbers of Jews were deported to concentration camps and ghettos, or that many Jews died or were killed during the Second World War. Revisionist scholars have, however, presented considerable evidence to show that there was no German program to exterminate Europe's Jews, that numerous claims of mass killings in "gas chambers" are false, and that the estimate of six million Jewish wartime dead is an irresponsible exaggeration.

Many Holocaust Claims Abandoned

Revisionists point out that the Holocaust story has changed quite a lot over the years. Many extermination claims that were once widely accepted have been quietly dropped in recent years.

At one time it was alleged that the Germans gassed Jews at Dachau, Buchenwald and other concentration camps in Germany proper. That part of the extermination story proved so untenable that it was abandoned more than 20 years ago.

No serious historian now supports the once supposedly proven story of "extermination camps" in the territory of the old German Reich. Even famed "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal has acknowledged that "there were no extermination camps on German soil." ^[1]

Prominent Holocaust historians now claim that masses of Jews were gassed at just six camps in what is now Poland: Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka, Sobibor, Chelmno and Belzec. However, the "evidence" presented for "gassings" at these six camps is not qualitatively different than the "evidence" for alleged "gassings" at the camps in Germany proper.

At the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-1946 and during the decades following the end of the Second World War, Auschwitz (especially Auschwitz-Birkenau) and Majdanek (Lublin) were generally regarded as the most important "death camps." For example, the Allies alleged at Nuremberg that the Germans killed four million at Auschwitz and another 1.5 million at Majdanek. Today, no reputable historian accepts these fantastic figures.

In addition, more and more striking evidence has been presented in recent years that simply cannot be reconciled with the allegations of mass exterminations at these camps. For example, detailed aerial reconnaissance photographs taken of Auschwitz-Birkenau on several random days in 1944 (during the height of the alleged extermination period there) were made public by the CIA in 1979. They show no trace of the piles of corpses, smoking chimneys and masses of Jews awaiting death, all of which have been alleged and would have been clearly visible if Auschwitz had indeed been an extermination center.

We now also know that the postwar "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, which is a crucial part of the Holocaust extermination story, is a false statement that was obtained by torture. [2]

Other Absurd Holocaust Claims

At one time it was also seriously claimed that the Germans exterminated Jews with electricity and steam, and that they manufactured soap from Jewish corpses. For example, at Nuremberg the United States charged that the Germans killed Jews at Treblinka, not in gas chambers, as is now claimed, but by steaming them to death in "steam chambers." [3]

Such bizarre stories have also been quietly abandoned in recent years.

Disease Claimed Many Inmates

The Holocaust extermination story is superficially plausible. Everyone has seen the horrific photos of dead and dying inmates taken at Bergen-Belsen, Nordhausen and other concentration camps when they were liberated by British and American forces in the final weeks of the war in Europe. These unfortunate people were victims, not of an extermination program, but of disease and malnutrition brought on by the complete collapse of Germany in the final months of the war. Indeed, if there had been an extermination program, the Jews found by Allied forces at the end of the war would have long since been killed.

In the face of the advancing Soviet forces, large numbers of Jews were evacuated during the final months of the war from eastern camps and ghettos to the remaining camps in western Germany. These camps quickly became terribly overcrowded, which severely hampered efforts to prevent the spread of epidemics. Furthermore, the breakdown of the German transportation system made it impossible to supply adequate food and medicine to the camps.

Captured German Documents

At the end of the Second World War, the Allies confiscated a tremendous quantity of German documents dealing with Germany's wartime Jewish policy, which was sometimes officially referred to as the "final solution." But not a single German document has ever been found which even refers to an extermination program. To the contrary, the documents clearly show that the German "final solution" policy was one of emigration and deportation, not extermination.

Consider, for example, the confidential German Foreign Office memorandum of August 21, 1942. [4] "The present war gives Germany the opportunity and also the duty of solving the Jewish problem in Europe," the memorandum notes. The policy "to promote the evacuation of the Jews [from Europe] in closest cooperation with the agencies of the Reichsfuehrer SS [Himmler] is still in force." The memo noted that "the number of Jews deported in this way to the East did not suffice to cover the labor needs."

The document quotes German Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop as saying that "at the end of this war, all Jews would have to leave Europe. This was an unalterable decision of the Fuehrer [Hitler] and also the only way to master this problem, as only a global and comprehensive solution could be applied and individual measures would not help very much."

The memorandum concludes by stating that the "deportations [of Jews to the East] are a further step on the way of the total solution ... The deportation to the [Polish] General Government is a temporary measure. The Jews will be moved on further to the occupied [Soviet] eastern territories as soon as the technical conditions for it are given."

This unambiguous document, and others like it, are routinely suppressed or ignored by those who uphold the Holocaust extermination story.

Unreliable Testimony

Holocaust historians rely heavily on so-called "survivor testimony" to support the extermination story. But such "evidence" is notoriously unreliable. As one Jewish historian has pointed out, "most of the memoirs and reports [of "Holocaust survivors"] are full of preposterous verbosity, graphomantic exaggeration, dramatic effects, overestimated self-inflation, dilettante philosophizing, would-be lyricism, unchecked rumors, bias, partisan attacks and apologies." [5]

Hitler and the 'Final Solution'

There is no documentary evidence that Adolf Hitler ever gave an order to exterminate the Jews, or that he knew of any extermination program. Instead, the record shows that the German leader wanted the Jews to leave Europe, by emigration if possible and by deportation if necessary.

A document found after the war in the files of the Reich Ministry of Justice records his thinking on the Jews. In the spring of 1942, State Secretary Schlegelberger noted in a memorandum that Hitler's Chief of Chancellery, Dr. Hans Lammers, had informed him: "The Fhrer has repeatedly declared to him [Lammers] that he wants to see the solution of the Jewish problem postponed until after the war is over." [6]

And on July 24, 1942, Hitler emphasized his determination to remove all Jews from Europe after the war: "The Jews are interested in Europe for economic reasons, but Europe must reject them, if only out of self-interest, because the Jews are racially tougher. After this war is over, I will rigorously hold to the view ... that the Jews will have to leave and emigrate to Madagascar or some other Jewish national state." [7]

Himmler's SS and the Camps

Jews were an important part of Germany's wartime labor force, and it was in Germany's interest to keep them alive.

The head of the SS camp administration office sent a directive dated Dec. 28, 1942, to every concentration camp, including Auschwitz. It sharply criticized the high death rate of inmates due to disease, and ordered that "camp physicians must use all means at their disposal to significantly reduce the death rate in the various camps." Furthermore, it ordered: "The camp doctors must supervise more often than in the past the nutrition of the prisoners and, in cooperation with the administration, submit improvement recommendations to the camp commandants ... The camp

doctors are to see to it that the working conditions at the various labor places are improved as much as possible."

Finally, the directive stressed that "The Reichsführer SS [Himmler] has ordered that the death rate absolutely must be reduced." [8]

The head of the SS department that supervised the concentration camps, Richard Gluecks, sent a circular letter to each camp commandant dated January 20, 1943. In it he ordered: "As I have already pointed out, every means must be used to lower the death rate in the camp." [9]

Six Million?

There is no real evidence for the incessantly repeated claim that the Germans exterminated six million Jews. It is clear, though, that millions of Jews "survived" German rule during the Second World War, including many who were interned in Auschwitz and other so-called "extermination camps." This fact alone should raise serious doubts about the extermination story.

A leading newspaper of neutral Switzerland, the daily *Baseler Nachrichten*, carefully estimated in June 1946 that no more than 1.5 million European Jews could have perished under German rule during the war. [10]

One-Sided 'Holocaustomania'

Even after more than 40 years, the stream of Holocaust films and books shows no sign of diminishing.

This relentless media campaign, which Jewish historian Alfred Lilienthal calls "Holocaustomania," portrays the fate of the Jews during the Second World War as the central event of history. There is no end to the heavy-handed motion pictures, the simplistic television specials, the vindictive hunt for "Nazi war criminals," the one-sided "educational courses," and the self-righteous appearances by politicians and celebrities at Holocaust "memorial services."

Britain's chief rabbi, Immanuel Jakobovits, has accurately described the Holocaust campaign as "an entire industry, with handsome profits for writers, researchers, film-makers, monument builders, museum planners and even politicians." He added that some rabbis and theologians are "partners in this big business." [11]

Non-Jewish victims just don't merit the same concern. For example, there are no American memorials, "study centers," or annual observances for Stalin's victims, who vastly outnumber Hitler's.

Who Benefits?

The perpetual Holocaust media blitz is routinely used to justify enormous American support for Israel and to excuse otherwise inexcusable Israeli policies, even when they conflict with American interests.

The sophisticated and well-financed Holocaust media campaign is crucially important to the interests of Israel, which owes its existence to massive annual subsidies from American taxpayers. As Prof. W.D. Rubinstein of Australia has candidly acknowledged: "If the Holocaust can be

shown to be a 'Zionist myth,' the strongest of all weapons in Israel's propaganda armory collapses." [12]

Jewish history teacher Paula Hyman of Columbia University has observed: "With regard to Israel, the Holocaust may be used to forestall political criticism and suppress debate; it reinforces the sense of Jews as an eternally beleaguered people who can rely for their defense only upon themselves. The invocation of the suffering endured by the Jews under the Nazis often takes the place of rational argument, and is expected to convince doubters of the legitimacy of current Israeli government policy." [13]

One major reason that the Holocaust story has proven so durable is that the governments of the major powers also have a vested interest in maintaining it. The victorious powers of the Second World War — the United States, Soviet Russia and Britain — have a stake in portraying the defeated Hitler regime as negatively as possible. The more evil and satanic the Hitler regime appears, the more noble and justified seems the Allied cause.

For many Jews, the Holocaust has become both a flourishing business and a kind of new religion, as noted Jewish author and newspaper publisher Jacobo Timerman points out in his book, *The Longest War*. He reports that many Israelis, using the word Shoah, which is Hebrew for Holocaust, joke that "There's no business like Shoah business." [14]

The Holocaust media campaign portrays Jews as totally innocent victims, and non-Jews as morally retarded and unreliable beings who can easily turn into murderous Nazis under the right circumstances. This self-serving but distorted portrayal is meant to strengthen Jewish group solidarity and self-awareness.

A key lesson of the Holocaust story for Jews is that non-Jews are never completely trustworthy. If a people as cultured and as educated as the Germans could turn against the Jews, so the thinking goes, than surely no non-Jewish nation can ever be completely trusted. The Holocaust message is thus one of contempt for humanity.

Holocaust Hatemongering

The Holocaust story is sometimes used to promote hatred and hostility, particularly against the German people as a whole, eastern Europeans and the leadership of the Roman Catholic church.

The well-known Jewish writer, Elie Wiesel, is a former Auschwitz inmate who served as chairman of the official U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. He received the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize. This dedicated Zionist wrote in his book, *Legends of Our Time*: "Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set apart a zone of hate — healthy, virile hate — for what the German personifies and for what persists in the German." [15]

Let Both Sides Be Heard

As even defenders of the orthodox extermination story concede, skepticism about the Holocaust story has grown dramatically in recent years.

Responding to this trend, officials in some countries — including France and Israel — have made it a crime to challenge the Holocaust story. Revisionists in France and Germany have been heavily fined for their views. Teachers in the United States and elsewhere have been summarily

dismissed from their positions for daring to doubt the Holocaust story. Criminal thugs have brutally attacked prominent Holocaust revisionists; one was even killed for his views.

In spite of desperate restrictions on free speech, frantic media attacks against those who "deny the Holocaust," a seemingly perpetual Holocaust media campaign, and even physical attacks, considerable headway is being made. More and more thoughtful people in the United States and around the world are willing to express doubts about at least some of the more sensational Holocaust claims.

Summary

The Holocaust extermination story is breaking down as suppressed evidence becomes better known, and as more people become aware of the facts about what is certainly the most hyped and politicized chapter of modern history.

Artificially maintaining the hatreds and passions of the past prevents genuine reconciliation and lasting peace.

Revisionism promotes historical awareness and international understanding. That's why the work of the Institute for Historical Review is so important and deserves your support.

Notes

1. [↗](#) *Books and Bookmen*, London, April 1975, p. 5, and in *Stars and Stripes* (Europe), Jan. 24, 1993, p. 14.
2. [↗](#) Rupert Butler, *Legions of Death* (England: 1983), pp. 235-237, and R. Faurisson, *Journal of Historical Review*, Winter 1986-87, pp. 389-403.
3. [↗](#) Nuremberg document PS-3311 (USA-293). IMT blue series, Vol. 32, pp. 153-158; IMT, Vol. 3, pp. 566- 568.; NMT green series, Vol. 5, pp. 1133, 1134.
4. [↗](#) Nuremberg document NG-2586-J. NMT green series, Vol. 13, pp. 243-249.
5. [↗](#) Samuel Gringauz in *Jewish Social Studies* (New York), January 1950, Vol. 12, p. 65.
6. [↗](#) Nuremberg document PS-4025. D. Irving, *G^oring: A Biography* (New York: 1989), p. 349.
7. [↗](#) H. Picker, *Hitlers Tischgesprache im Fuehrerhaupt quartier* (Stuttgart: 1976), p. 456.
8. [↗](#) Nuremberg document PS-2171, Annex 2; NC and A red series, Vol. 4, pp. 833-834.
9. [↗](#) Nuremberg document NO-1523; NMT green series, Vol. 5, pp. 372-373.
10. [↗](#) *Baseler Nachrichten*, June 13, 1946, p. 2.
11. [↗](#) H. Shapiro, "Jakobovits," *Jerusalem Post* (Israel), Nov. 26, 1987, p. 1.
12. [↗](#) *Quadrant* (Australia), Sept. 1979, p. 27.
13. [↗](#) *New York Times Magazine*, Sept. 14, 1980, p. 79.
14. [↗](#) *The Longest War* (New York: Vintage, 1982), p. 15.
15. [↗](#) *Legends of Our Time* (New York: Schocken Books, 1982), chap. 12, p. 142.

The 'Problem of the Gas Chambers'

by Robert Faurisson

The Tribunal shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence.

Article 19 of the Statutes of the International Military Tribunal (in reality: the Inter-allied Military Tribunal) at Nuremberg

The Tribunal shall not require proof of facts of common knowledge, but shall take judicial notice thereof.

Article 21 of the Statutes

No one, not even those individuals who regard the Third Reich with nostalgia, denies the existence of concentration camps under Hitler. Everyone also recognizes that certain camps were equipped with crematory ovens: instead of being buried, the corpses were reduced to ashes. The repeated occurrence of epidemics made cremation necessary, especially for those who had died of typhus (see the photos of mass graves at Belsen et cetera). What is disputed by numerous French, British, American, and German authors is the existence of "extermination camps." This expression is used by historiographers to refer to those camps that were supposed to have been equipped with "gas chambers." Allegedly, these "gas chambers" were different from American gas chambers in that they were used to kill hundreds of men, women, and children at a time. Because the victims were chosen because of their race or religion, this is referred to as "genocide." The poison employed in this "genocide" is said to have been Zyklon B (a pesticide based upon prussic or hydrocyanic acid).

Those who contest the "genocide" claim and the existence of the "gas chambers" are called Revisionists. Their argument runs approximately as follows:

It suffices for both of these problems ("genocide" and "gas chambers") to apply the customary methods of historical criticism, to see that one is confronted here by two myths that are inseparable. The criminal intentions that are attributed to Hitler have never been proven. As far as the weapon for this crime is concerned, no one has actually seen it. Here one is confronted by an extraordinarily successful war and hate propaganda campaign. History is full of frauds of this kind, beginning with their religious fables of sorcery and witchcraft. What distinguishes our times from earlier epochs is the frightening power of the media and the propaganda ad nauseam which is made for what must be called "the hoax of the twentieth century." Let him beware who, after 30 years, gets the idea to expose this hoax. He will learn depending upon the situation through imprisonment, fines, assaults and insults. His career can be shattered or endangered. He will be denounced as a Nazi. Either his thesis will be ignored, or else it will be distorted. No country will be more unrelentingly ruthless toward him than Germany. [1]

Today however, the silence is about to be broken about those men who have dared to write responsibly that Hitler's "gas chambers" (including those of Auschwitz and Majdanek) are only a historical lie. That is a great advance.

But what insults and distortions an Exterminationist historian such as Georges Wellers allowed himself when, more than ten years after Paul Rassinier's death, he decided to expose the minutest part of the arguments of this ex-inmate of a concentration camp who had had the courage to reveal the lie of the "gas chambers" in his writings!

The best way in which a historian may inform himself regarding the actual claims of the disciples of Paul Rassinier is to refer to the work of American professor Dr. Arthur R. Butz entitled *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. [2]

For my part, I take the liberty of making only a few observations specifically for serious research-oriented historians.

I call their attention to a paradox. Although the "gas chambers" are, in the view of the official historians, absolutely central to a picture of the Nazi concentration camp system (and furthermore, as proof for the totally perverse and devilish character of the German concentration camps in comparison to all previous and more recent concentration camps it ought to be meticulously shown how the Nazis proceeded to invent, construct, and operate these fearsome human slaughterhouses), one must be thoroughly astonished that in the impressive bibliography of the concentration camp literature there is not a single book, not a single brochure, not a single article, on the "gas chambers" themselves. One must not be misled by some very promising titles; rather one must ascertain the contents of these writings for oneself. I regard as "official historical writing" those publications which are written about the concentration camps by institutions or foundations that are partly or wholly financed from public funds, such as, for example, in France, the Comité d'Histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale (Committee for the History of the Second World War) and the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (Jewish Contemporary Documentation Center), and in Germany (Munich), the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History).

One must wait until page 541 of the thesis by Olga Wormser-Migot on the system of Nazi concentration camps, before one finds a passage about the "gas chambers." However, for the reader there are still three other surprises:

1. The passage in question covers only three pages.
2. It carries the title: "The Problem of the Gas Chambers."
3. The "problem" consists of trying to determine whether the "gas chambers" at Ravensbrück (Germany) and Mauthausen (Austria) really existed; the author comes to the conclusion that they did not exist; however she does not examine here the "problem" of the "gas chambers" of Auschwitz or any of the other camps, probably because in her mind they do not present a "problem." [on page 157 of her book she says that Auschwitz I had no gas chamber.]

At this point, the reader probably wants to know why an analysis that concludes that "gas chambers" did not exist in certain camps is suddenly discontinued as soon as, for example, Auschwitz is discussed. Why, on one hand, is the critical spirit awakened, and then, on the other hand, is it allowed to collapse into lethargy? After all, as far as the "gas chamber" of Ravensbrück is concerned, we have many points of "evidence" and "undeniable eyewitness accounts," beginning

with repeated and extensive eyewitness accounts by Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier or Germaine Tillion.

It gets even better. Several years after the war, before both British and French tribunals, the camp officials of Ravensbrück (Suhren, Schwarzhuber and Treite) repeatedly confessed to the existence of a "gas chamber" in their camp. They even vaguely described its operation. Eventually, those who did not commit suicide were executed because of this alleged "gas chamber." The same "confessions" were given prior to their deaths by Zierys for Mauthausen (Austria) and by Kramer for Struthof-Natzweiler (Alsace).

Today, one can see the alleged "gas chamber" of Struthof-Natzweiler and in the same place one can also read the unbelievable "confession" of Kramer. This "gas chamber," which is designated as an "historical monument," is a complete fraud. The slightest amount of critical spirit will be sufficient to convince oneself that a gassing in this small room, without any sealing whatsoever, would have been a catastrophe for the executioner as well as for the people in the vicinity. In order to make this "gas chamber" (which is guaranteed to be "in its original condition") believable, someone has gone so far as to clumsily knock a hole into the thin wall with a chisel, and thereby break four tiles. The hole was so arranged that Josef Kramer would have dumped through it the mysterious "salts" (about which he could give no further details and which, when mixed with a little water, killed within one minute!). How could salts and water make such a gas? How could Kramer have prevented the gas from coming back out the hole? How could he see his victims from a hole which would have let him see no more than half the room? How did he ventilate the room before opening the rudimentary door, made from rough-cut lumber? Perhaps one must ask the civil engineering firm in Saint-Michel sur-Meurthe (Vosges), which after the war altered the place which today is presented to visitors "in its original condition"?

Even long after the war, prelates, university professors, and some ordinary citizens gave eyewitness descriptions regarding the terrible reality of the "gas chambers" of Buchenwald and Dachau. With regard to Buchenwald, the "gas chamber" gradually disappeared from the minds of the people who had previously maintained that there was one in this camp.

Dachau

With regard to Dachau, the situation is different. After it had been firmly established for example by His Eminence Bishop Pignatelli, the bishop of Clermont-Ferrand that the "gas chamber" had been especially useful in gassing Polish priests, [3] eventually the following official explanation came to pass:

This gas chamber, whose construction had been started in 1942, was still not completed in 1945 when the camp was liberated. No one could have been gassed in it.

The little room, which visitors are told is a "gas chamber," is in reality completely harmless and, while all sorts of construction plans are available for "Baracke X" (the crematorium and vicinity), one cannot determine upon what basis or technical explanation one can claim that this structure is an "unfinished gas chamber."

Broszat

No official historical institute has done more than the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich to make the myth of the "gas chambers" believable. Since 1972 its director has been Dr. Martin Broszat. As a member of this Institute since 1955, Dr. Broszat became famous as a result of his

(partial!) publication in 1958 of the confessions that Rudolf Höss (former Commandant of Auschwitz) is supposed to have written in a communist prison before he was hanged. However, on 19 August 1960, this historian had to tell his amazed countrymen that there had never been mass gassings in the entire Old Reich (Germany's 1937 frontiers), but rather, only in a small number of selected places, especially in occupied Poland, including Auschwitz and Birkenau but not Majdanek. This startling news was given in a simple letter to the editor which was published in the weekly magazine *Die Zeit* (19 August 1960, page 16). The title was quite misleading and restrictive: *Keine Vergasung in Dachau* (No Gassing at Dachau) instead of *Keine Massenvergasung im Altreich* (No Mass Gassing in the Old Reich). ^[4] In order to support this contention, Dr. Broszat provided not the slightest piece of evidence. Today [1978], eighteen years after his letter, neither he nor any of his colleagues has provided the slightest explanation for this affirmation. It would be highly interesting to learn:

1. How does Dr. Broszat know that "gas chambers" in the Old Reich were frauds?
2. How does he know that the "gas chambers" in Poland are genuine?
3. Why do the "proofs," the "certainties," and the "eyewitness accounts" concerning the concentration camps in the west suddenly have no value, while the "proofs," "certainties," and "eyewitness accounts" concerning the camps in Poland Communist territory still remain true?

As if by some tacit agreement, not a single recognized historian has raised these questions. How often in the "history of history" has one relied upon the claims of a single historian? ^[5]

German Camps in Occupied Poland

Let us now examine the "gas chambers" in Poland.

For proof that the "gas chambers" in Belzec or Treblinka really existed, one is asked to rely essentially upon the statement of Kurt Gerstein. This document from a member of the SS, who allegedly committed suicide in 1945 in the prison of Cherche-Midi in Paris, abounds with so many absurdities that in the eyes of historians it has for a long time already been thoroughly discredited. ^[6] Furthermore, this statement has never been made public, not even in the documents of the Nuremberg tribunal, except in an unusable form (with truncations, falsifications, and rewritings). The actual document has never been available with its absurd appendices (French "draft" or the "supplements" in German).

Regarding Majdanek, a visit to the actual site is absolutely necessary. It is even more convincing than a visit to Struthof-Natzweiler, if that is possible. Over this question I will publish additional information.

With regard to Auschwitz and Birkenau, one must rely essentially on the "Memoirs" ^[7] of Rudolf Höss, which were prepared under the supervision of his Polish captors. At the actual site, one can only find a "reconstructed" room (Auschwitz I) and ruins (Auschwitz II or Birkenau).

An execution with gas has nothing to do with a suicidal or accidental suffocation. In the case of an execution, the executioner and his team must not be exposed to the slightest danger. For their executions, the Americans employ hydrocyanic acid in a sophisticated way, and that only in a small, hermetically-sealed chamber. Afterwards, the gas is exhausted from the chamber and neutralized.

For this reason, one must ask how, for example in the case of Auschwitz II or Birkenau, one could bring 2,000 people into a room measuring 210 square meters in area, and then in this highly crowded situation throw in the very strong pesticide Zyklon B, and then immediately after the deaths of the victims let a work crew without any gas masks enter the room in order to take out the bodies which had been thoroughly saturated with cyanide.

Two documents [8] from the German industrial archives which were registered by the Americans at Nuremberg tell us that the Zyklon B had a strong tendency to adhere to surfaces and could not be removed from an ordinary room with a strong ventilator, but only by natural aeration for almost 24 hours. Additional documents may be found only at the site in the Auschwitz Museum archives, which were never described elsewhere, but which show that this room of 210 square meters, which is today in a dilapidated condition, was only a very simple mortuary, which (in order to protect it against heat) had been located underground, and which was provided with only a single door which served as both an entrance and an exit. [9]

Concerning the crematoria of Auschwitz, there is just as there is generally for the entire camp an overabundance of documents and invoices down to the last penny. However, concerning the "gas chambers" there is nothing: no contract for construction, not even a study, nor an order for materials, nor a plan, nor an invoice, nor even a photograph. In a hundred war crimes trials, nothing of the sort was ever produced.

Christophersen

"I was in Auschwitz and I can assure you that there was no 'gas chamber' there." Only seldom does one hear defense witnesses with enough courage to pronounce this statement. They are persecuted in the courts. [10] Still today, everyone in Germany takes the risk that, if they give an eyewitness account in favor of Thies Christophersen (who wrote *The Auschwitz Lie*), they will be punished for "'defaming the memory of the deceased.'" [11]

Immediately after the war, the Germans, the International Red Cross and the Vatican (which was otherwise so expert as to whatever happened in Poland), as well as many others, declared in an embarrassed tone: "The 'gas chambers' we knew nothing about them!" Yes but I would put the question this way: "Can one know about things which did not even happen?"

There was not a single "gas chamber" in even one of the German concentration camps; that is the truth. The nonexistence of "gas chambers" should be regarded as welcome news; to hide this news in the future would be an injustice. Just as there is no attack upon a religion if one portrays "Fatima" as a fraud, the announcement that the "gas chambers" are an historical lie is no attack upon concentration camp survivors. One is merely doing one's duty being truthful.

Conclusions

After 30 years of research, revisionist authors have reached the following conclusions:

1. The Hitler "gas chambers" never existed.
2. The "genocide" (or "attempted genocide") of the Jews never took place. In other words: Hitler never gave an order nor permission that anyone should be killed because of his race or religion.
3. The alleged "gas chambers" and the alleged "genocide" are one and the same lie.
4. This lie, which is largely of Zionist origin, has made an enormous political and financial fraud possible, whose principal beneficiary is the state of Israel.

5. The principal victims of this fraud are the German people (but not the German rulers) and the entire Palestinian people.
6. The enormous power of the official information services has, thus far, had the effect of ensuring the success of the lie and of censoring the freedom of expression of those who have denounced the lie.
7. The participants in this lie know that its days are numbered. They distort the purpose and nature of the Revisionist research. They label as "resurgence of Nazism" or as "falsification of history" what is only a thoughtful and justified concern for historical truth.

Supplement

Two publications and an official intervention by the author:

1. A letter to Historama, Paris, November 1975, page 10, on the expression "N.N." Originally, these initials never meant Nacht und Nebel (Night and Fog), but Nomen nescio (Anonymous). In practice it meant that certain inmates would not be permitted to receive or send mail.
2. Segments of a letter to Historia, Paris, August 1977, page 132: "The Imposture of Genocide."
3. On 29 January 1978 at the Colloque National de Lyon sur Eglises et Chrétiens de France dans la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale (National Convention in Lyon on Churches and Christians of France during the Second World War) an intervention concerning the imposture of the "gas chambers" (see Rivarol, Paris, 16 February 1978, page 5).

Notes

1.  Regarding the great number of vicious and insulting articles, there is a study by Hermann Langbein which appeared in *Le Monde Juif* (The Jewish World), April/June 1975. The title is "Coup d'oeil sur la littérature néo-nazie," ("A Glimpse at Neo-Nazi Literature"), pages 8–20. Hermann Langbein was an inmate in Auschwitz. He testified at countless trials. He holds an important position in the circles of former concentration camp inmates. One of his most recent works is entitled: *Hommes et Femmes à Auschwitz* (Men and Women of Auschwitz), Paris, Fayard, 1975, VIII-529 pages (Translated from *Menschen in Auschwitz*, Vienna, 1974.) Not one of the 30 chapters, not one of the 268 sections of this book is devoted to the "gas chambers"! Rather, one constantly sees expressions such as "selection for the gas chambers" etc. There is also a study by Georges Wellers which appeared in *Le Monde Juif* (op. cit.) April/June 1977. The title is "La 'Solution finale', de la question juive et la mythomanie néo-nazie" ("The 'Final Solution' and Neo-Nazi Mythomania,"), pages 41–84. There is also a study by Ino Arndt and Wolfgang Scheffler in *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (Quarterly Review for Contemporary History), which is a publication of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich. The Institute's director is currently Dr. Martin Broszat. This study was published in the issue of April 1976. The title is: "Organisierter Massenmord an Juden in NS-Vernichtungslagern" (Organized Mass-Murder of Jews in Nazi Extermination Camps), pages 105–135.
2.  *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Newport Beach, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1979.
3.  *Prison et Déportation* (Prison and Deportation). Paris: Spes; 1947; page 77.
4.  Broszat's letter is reproduced in facsimile (with its English translation) in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May/June 1993, page 12.

5. ☞ The famed Simon Wiesenthal has also admitted that "there were no extermination camps on German soil" in a letter to the editor of *Books and Bookmen*, page 5, April 1975. Although he later wrote in a letter dated 12 May 1986 to Professor John George of Central State University in Edmond, Oklahoma, that he "could never have said such a thing," Wiesenthal reconfirmed his earlier statement in a letter to the editor published on page 14 of the European editor of *Stars and Stripes* dated 24 January 1993. This letter is reproduced in facsimile in *The Journal for Historical Review*, May/June 1993, page 10.
6. ☞ See the opinion expressed by the forensic pathologist as it is reported by the Exterminationist Pierre Joffroy in his book about Kurt Gerstein: *L'Espion de Dieu/La Passion de Kurt Gerstein* (*The Spy of God/The Passion of Kurt Gerstein*), Paris, Grasset, 1969, page 262.
7. ☞ *Kommandant in Auschwitz/Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen* (*Commandant of Auschwitz/Autobiographical Memoirs*) by Rudolf Höss, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1958, 184p; introduction and commentary by Dr. Martin Broszat. Concerning "gassing," see pages 126 and 166. The entry of the work crew into the "gas chamber" is supposed to happen "sofort" ("immediately") as it is written on page 166.
8. ☞ These two extensive documents which are of great importance were apparently not used at the trials of Gerhard Peters, former director of Degesch. They were registered as documents NI-9098 and NI-9912. They irrevocably reduce to nothing the "eyewitness testimony" of Höss regarding the "gas chambers."
9. ☞ Photographs Neg. 6228 and following.
10. ☞ Case of Wilhelm Stäglich, for example. See Stäglich in the *Index Nominum* of Butz's book (op. cit.).
11. ☞ *Die Auschwitz-Lüge* (*The Auschwitz Lie*), #23 of *Kritik* (2341 Kälberhagen, Post Mohrkirch, West Germany), 1974. This booklet was followed by *Der Auschwitz-Betrug/Das Echo auf die Auschwitz-Lüge* (*The Auschwitz Fraud/The Echo of the Auschwitz Lie*).

Inside the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers'

Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.

Introduction

1988 was a very informative and likewise disturbing year. I was appalled to learn that much of what I was taught in school about twentieth-century history and World War II was a myth, if not a lie. I was first amazed; then annoyed; then aware: the myth of the Holocaust was dead.

Like all American children born during and after World War II, I was taught about the genocide perpetrated by the Nazis on the Jews. By the time I had reached college, I had no reason to disbelieve any of my education, except that I had some problems swallowing the numbers of decedents, said to total some six million. But there it stopped. I believed in the Nazi genocide. I had no reason to disbelieve.

Some 24 years later, a very believing engineer sat at his desk working one snowy January afternoon in 1988, when the telephone rang. This very believing engineer was about to receive a very shocking history lesson, one which would cause him to question that 50-year-old Holocaust lie and the application of that lie to generations of children. "Hello, this is Robert Faurisson" — and that very believing engineer would believe no more.

Background

I have for the past nine years worked with most, if not all, of the states in the United States having capital punishment. I design and manufacture execution equipment of all types, including electrocution systems, lethal injection equipment, gallows and gas-chamber hardware.

I have consulted for, or supplied equipment to, most of the applicable states and the federal government.

Because of my association with the states in this capacity, I was recommended to the Zündel defense as a consultant on gas chambers by Warden Bill Armontrout of the Missouri State Penitentiary.

After answering my telephone on that cold January afternoon, I met with Dr. Robert Faurisson twice in Boston and, as a result of these meetings, I was summoned to Toronto to meet with Ernst Zündel, attorney Douglas Christie and the rest of Zündel's very able staff.

Dr. Robert Faurisson had postulated 13 years ago that a gas-chamber specialist should be sought who could evaluate the alleged gas chambers in Poland and report on their efficacy for execution purposes.

Valentine's Day weekend found me and Carolyn, my wife of two weeks, in Toronto. Two days of lengthy meetings followed, during which I was shown photos of the alleged German gas chambers in Poland, German documents and Allied aerial photographs. My examination of this mate-

rial led me to question whether these alleged gas chambers were, in fact, execution facilities. I was asked if I would go to Poland and undertake a physical inspection and forensic analysis resulting in a written evaluation of these alleged execution gas chambers, some at places I had never even heard of.

After due consideration, I agreed and made plans to leave for Poland, awaiting a time of minimal snow covering. I also stated that although the photos and documents seemed to support the view that these places were, indeed, not execution facilities, I would reserve final judgement until after my examination and, if I determined that these facilities were, in fact, or could have been, execution gas chambers, I would state this in my report. The final report was to be utilized as evidence in Ernst Zündel's defense in his pending criminal trial at Toronto, and I had to be prepared to testify under oath.

Preparations for the trip required me to take sample bags, documentation journals and tools. Because we were in a Communist country, I would have to be careful with the tools. Very few tourists carry hammers, chisels, star drills and tape measures while travelling. I hid them in the lining of my valise and hoped for the best. Further, I had maps of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria, in the event that we might have to make a hasty and unscheduled exit. And finally, I had gifts with which we bribed the museum people to supply us with copies of documents from the Museum Archives.

Our Staff

I was fortunate to have a competent and dependable party of professionals: my wife Carolyn, my general assistant; Mr. Howard Miller, draftsman; Mr. Jürgen Neumann, cinematographer; Mr. Tjudar Rudolf, interpreter. All knew that, if caught, the Polish government would take a dim view of our activities and purpose, let alone my removal of forensic samples from national shrines and monuments.

And the two ex officio members of our party, Mr. Ernst Zündel and Dr. Robert Faurisson, who could not accompany us in person, but who nevertheless were with us every step of the way in spirit.

The Trip

On February 25, 1988, we left for Poland. Neumann and Rudolf, the Canadian contingent, joined me and the remainder of our team in Frankfurt.

We arrived at Cracow in the late afternoon and spent our first night at the Hotel Orbis. We consumed the first of our three decent meals while in Poland. The following day we drove to Oswiecim (Auschwitz). We arrived at the Auschwitz hotel and were greeted by the smell of sulphur naphthal disinfectant, a smell I had not encountered for many years. The hotel is apparently the old officers' quarters for the camp. We ate lunch at the hotel dining room, a cafeteria style facility. This was our first unidentifiable meal, starch soup and sundries.

We made a reconnaissance tour of the camp, lasting into the dim light of the Polish afternoon and several snow squalls, a common occurrence. We ate no supper, in that we found no place to eat in Auschwitz after sundown our first evening.

Auschwitz and Birkenau

The following day we began our work in the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz [camp] facility. Unfortunately, we were unable to accomplish much due to constant interruptions by both official and unofficial Sunday tours. Carolyn stood guard at one entrance and Tijudar at the other, advising myself, Jürgen and Howard of their arrival. It was too dangerous to take forensic samples and tape, so we left for Birkenau [camp site] about noon.

At Birkenau we began a four-hour walk into the damp Polish cold and through snow squalls so dense we could not see each other at a distance of a few feet. Unfortunately, we did not expect to spend that much time walking through the camp and, since vehicles are not permitted within the camp, we left Carolyn behind in the car. Since we forgot to leave her the keys, she nearly froze in the cold Polish afternoon. We visited the barracks, crematories II, III, IV and V, the sauna and the alleged burning pits. We took samples, documented our activities on video tape and in still photos, and made scale drawings of these facilities, carefully documenting the removal locations of all the forensic samples. We had to break into the sauna building, since it was locked.

At crematory II, I descended into the depths of the alleged gas chamber, a wet, dank subterranean place not visited by man in almost 50 years, since the building had been reduced to rubble, probably by a German military demolition team. Fortunately, there were fewer guards and less pedestrian traffic, making working conditions considerably better than they had been earlier at Auschwitz.

Having been instructed by our empty stomachs of the evening before, we found and ate at the restaurant at the bus station, the only legitimate restaurant in Auschwitz. We returned to the Auschwitz hotel for the night.

The following day, Monday, we again began our work at Auschwitz [camp site], the Sunday tours having subsided. We were able to get our samples, tapes and documentation. We had, by this time, obtained blueprints of the alleged gas-chamber facility and were able to follow the structural changes back to the dates in question. We also verified the existence of the floor drain for the periods of alleged gas chamber usage. Upon completion at Auschwitz, we drove again to Birkenau to take our control sample at delousing facility 1. Unfortunately, the building was locked and again we had to break and enter in order to access the delousing chamber. Again we ate at the bus station, and retired early to the Auschwitz hotel.

Tuesday morning, while awaiting Tijudar's unsuccessful attempt to obtain a can of Zyklon B, Jürgen and I made video tapes of locations within the camp. We moved from the Auschwitz hotel to a hostel nearby, obtaining newly vacated rooms. We ate at the bus station and retired early.

On Wednesday morning [the 2nd] we ate a very enjoyable breakfast of ham, cheese and bread (our second decent meal in Poland) and began our trip to Lublin to see the Majdanek camp site. After one final look in at Auschwitz, we set off by car for Majdanek.

Majdanek

Several hours later, we arrived at Majdanek (Lublin), and visited the museum, the reconstructed alleged gas chamber and the crematory. We finally arrived at disinfection [buildings] 1 and 2, and examined the facilities. It was extremely difficult to work, in that a guard made rounds every 10 or 15 minutes. The alleged gas chambers were blocked by gates and not accessible for a detailed inspection by the general public. It was necessary for me to trespass beyond these gates in forbidden areas. Again Carolyn and Tijudar stood watch while I made measurements and did a detailed examination in these areas. Once we were caught short: I was forced to hurdle the gate, and was

still in the air and in mid-jump when the guard entered. Fortunately, he was more interested in Jürgen and his camera to see me before I touched ground.

Return

The camp closed in early afternoon and the guard rather nastily told us to leave. By three o'clock we were en route to Warsaw, a trip that would take five hours through rain and snow. Our hotel reservation had been fouled up but, fortunately, with the help of an embassy attache, we were able to secure rooms at another hotel.

We had our third edible meal in Poland that evening, and went to bed in preparation for our trip home on Thursday. The following morning [March 3] we had breakfast and proceeded to the airport for our return trip.

We boarded the Polish airlines plane after clearing customs — my suitcase containing twenty pounds of the forbidden samples, fortunately none of which was found. I did not breathe easy until we cleared the passport checkpoint at Frankfurt. Our team split at Frankfurt for the return trips to the United States and Canada, respectively. After our return, I delivered the forensic samples to the test laboratory in Massachusetts. Upon receipt of the test results, I prepared my report, combining my knowledge of gas execution facilities and procedures with the research I had completed at crematories and with retort manufacturers in the United States. With the results of my research I believe you are all familiar.

Upon completion of my report I testified at Toronto — but that is another story.

The Findings:

1. Gas Chambers

The results published in the Leuchter Report are the important thing. Categorically, none of the facilities examined at Auschwitz, Birkenau or Lublin (Majdanek) could have supported, or in fact did support, multiple executions utilizing hydrogen cyanide, carbon monoxide or any other allegedly or factually lethal gas. Based upon very generous maximum usage rates for all the alleged gas chambers, totalling 1,693 persons per week, and assuming these facilities could support gas executions, it would have required sixty-eight (68) years to execute the alleged number of six millions of persons. This must mean the Third Reich was in existence for some seventy-five (75) years. Promoting these facilities as being capable of effecting mass, multiple or even singular executions is both ludicrous and insulting to every individual on this planet. Further, those who do promote this mistruth are negligent and irresponsible for not investigating these facilities earlier and ascertaining the truth before indoctrinating the world with what may have become the greatest propaganda ploy in history.

2. Crematories

Of equal importance are Exterminationist errors relating to the crematories. If these crematories, operated at a theoretical rate of maximum output per day, without any down time and at a constant pace (an impossible situation), and we accept the figure of at least six million executed, the Third Reich lasted for at least forty-two (42) years, since it would take thirty-five (35) years at an impossible minimum to cremate these six million souls.

No one by any stretch of the imagination would allege (or even believe) that the Third Reich ever lasted for seventy-five (75) or even forty-two (42) years, yet they would have us believe that six million souls were executed with equipment that could not possibly have functioned, in less than one-seventh of the absolute minimum time it could possibly have taken.

3. Forensics

Forensic samples were taken from the visited sites. A control sample was removed from delousing facility 1 at Birkenau. It was postulated that because of the high iron content of the building materials at these camps the presence of hydrogen cyanide gas would result in a ferric-ferrocyanide compound being formed, as evidenced by the Prussian blue staining on the walls in the delousing facilities.

A detailed analysis of the 32 samples taken at the Auschwitz-Birkenau complexes showed 1,050 mg/kg of cyanide and 6,170 mg/kg of iron. Higher iron results were found at all of the alleged gas chambers but no significant cyanide traces. This would be impossible if these sites were exposed to hydrogen cyanide gas, because the alleged gas chambers supposedly were exposed to much greater quantities of gas than the delousing facility. Thus, chemical analysis supports the fact that these facilities were never utilized as gas execution facilities.

4. Construction

Construction of these facilities shows that they were never used as gas chambers. None of these facilities were sealed or gasketed. No provision was ever made to prevent condensation of gas on the walls, floor or ceiling. No provision ever existed to exhaust the air-gas mixture from these buildings. No provision ever existed to introduce or distribute the gas throughout the chamber. No explosion-proof lighting existed and no attempt was ever made to prevent gas from entering the crematories, even though the gas is highly explosive. No attempt was made to protect operating personnel from exposure to the gas or to protect other non-participating persons from exposure. Specifically, at Auschwitz, a floor drain in the alleged gas chamber was connected directly to the camp's storm drain system. At Majdanek a depressed walkway around the alleged gas chambers would have collected gas seepage and resulted in a death trap for camp personnel. No exhaust stacks ever existed. Hydrogen cyanide gas is an extremely dangerous and lethal gas, and nowhere were there any provisions to effect any amount of safe handling. The chambers were too small to accommodate more than a small fraction of the alleged numbers. Plain and simple, these facilities could not have operated as execution gas chambers.

5. Conclusion

After a thorough examination of the alleged execution facilities in Poland and their associated crematories, the only conclusion that can be arrived at by a rational, responsible person is the absurdity of the notion that any of these facilities were ever capable of, or were utilized as, execution gas chambers.

About the Author

Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., has been widely acknowledged as America's leading specialist on the design and fabrication of homicidal gas chambers and other equipment used in execution of convicted criminals. His expertise has been acknowledged by state governments and in periodicals such as *The Atlantic* (Feb. 1990), *The New York Times* (Oct. 13, 1990) and *The New York Times*

Book Review (Nov. 22, 1992), as well as on the "Phil Donahue Show," where he appeared as a guest. After receiving his Bachelor's degree from Boston University in 1964, he did postgraduate work at the Harvard Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory. Leuchter holds patents for numerous highly sophisticated technical devices, including sextants, surveying instruments and optical encoding equipment.

Leuchter spoke at length about his investigation at Auschwitz and other camp sites in sworn courtroom testimony, April 20-21, 1988, in the Toronto "Holocaust" trial of German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel. Leuchter's detailed Report on his investigation and findings has been published in numerous editions in all major languages.

Infuriated by his stunning court testimony and his Report, powerful special interest groups responded with an intense worldwide campaign against Leuchter. This vicious campaign of slander and vilification ultimately succeeded in destroying his career.

This paper was first presented at the Ninth IHR Conference (1989), and was published in the Summer 1989 issue of The Journal of Historical Review.

An illustrated edition of the headline-making Leuchter Report, with an introduction by French professor Robert Faurisson, is available from the IHR for \$17.00, postpaid. A deluxe edition is available for \$22.00 postpaid.

The Liberation of the Camps: Facts vs. Lies

by Theodore J. O’Keefe

Nothing has been more effective in establishing the authenticity of the Holocaust story in the minds of Americans than the terrible scenes US troops discovered when they entered German concentration camps at the close of World War II.

At Dachau, Buchenwald, Dora, Mauthausen, and other work and detention camps, horrified US infantrymen encountered heaps of dead and dying inmates, emaciated and diseased. Survivors told them hair-raising stories of torture and slaughter, and backed up their claims by showing the GIs crematory ovens, alleged execution gas chambers, supposed implements of torture, and even shrunken heads and lampshades, gloves, and handbags purportedly made from skin flayed from dead inmates.

US government authorities, mindful that many Americans who remembered the atrocity stories fed them during World War I still doubted the Allied propaganda directed against the Hitler regime, resolved to "document" what the GIs had found in the camps. Prominent newsmen and politicians were flown in to see the harrowing evidence, while the US Army Signal Corps filmed and photographed the scenes for posterity. Famous journalist Edward R. Murrow reported, in tones of horror, but no longer of disbelief, what he had been told and shown, and Dachau and Buchenwald were branded on the hearts and minds of the American populace as names of infamy unmatched in the sad and bloody history of this planet.

For Americans, what was "discovered" at the camps — the dead and the diseased, the terrible stories of the inmates, all the props of torture and terror — became the basis not simply of a transitory propaganda campaign but of the conviction that, yes, it was true: the Germans did exterminate six million Jews, most of them in lethal gas chambers.

What the GIs found was used, by way of films that were mandatory viewing for the vanquished populace of Germany, to "re-educate" the German people by destroying their national pride and their will to a united, independent national state, imposing in their place overwhelming feelings of collective guilt and political impotence. And when the testimony, and the verdict, of the Nuremberg Tribunal incorporated most, if not all, of the horror stories Americans were told about Dachau, Buchenwald, and other places captured by the US Army, the Holocaust could pass for one of the most documented, one of the most authenticated, one of the most proven historical episodes in the human record.

A Different Reality

But it is known today that, very soon after the liberation of the camps, American authorities were aware that the real story of the camps was quite different from the one in which they were coach-

ing military public information officers, government spokesmen, politicians, journalists, and other mouthpieces.

When American and British forces overran western and central Germany in the spring of 1945, they were followed by troops charged with discovering and securing any evidence of German war crimes.

Among them was Dr. Charles Larson, one of America's leading forensic pathologists, who was assigned to the US Army's Judge Advocate General's Department. As part of a US War Crimes Investigation Team, Dr. Larson performed autopsies at Dachau and some twenty other German camps, examining on some days more than 100 corpses. After his grim work at Dachau, he was questioned for three days by US Army prosecutors.

Dr. Larson's findings? In an 1980 newspaper interview he said: "What we've heard is that six million Jews were exterminated. Part of that is a hoax." And what part was the hoax? Dr. Larson, who told his biographer that to his knowledge he "was the only forensic pathologist on duty in the entire European Theater" of Allied military operations, confirmed that "never was a case of poison gas uncovered."

Typhus, Not Poison Gas

If not by gassing, how did the unfortunate victims at Dachau, Buchenwald and Bergen-Belsen perish? Were they tortured to death or deliberately starved? The answers to these questions are known as well.

As Dr. Larson and other Allied medical men discovered, the chief cause of death at Dachau, Belsen and the other camps was disease, above all typhus, an old and terrible scourge of mankind that until recently flourished in places where populations were crowded together in circumstances where public health measures were unknown or had broken down. Such was the case in the overcrowded internment camps in Germany at war's end, where, despite such measures as systematic delousing, quarantine of the sick and cremation of the dead, the virtual collapse of Germany's food, transport, and public health systems led to catastrophe.

Perhaps the most authoritative statement of the facts as to typhus and mortality in the camps has been made by Dr. John E. Gordon, M.D., Ph.D., a professor of preventive medicine and epidemiology at the Harvard University School of Public Health, who was with US forces in Germany in 1945. Dr. Gordon reported in 1948 that "The outbreaks in concentration camps and prisons made up the great bulk of typhus infection encountered in Germany." Dr. Gordon summarized the causes for the outbreaks as follows:

Germany in the spring months of April and May [1945] was an astounding sight, a mixture of humanity travelling this way and that, homeless, often hungry and carrying typhus with them ... Germany was in chaos. The destruction of whole cities and the path left by advancing armies produced a disruption of living conditions contributing to the spread of the disease. Sanitation was low grade, public utilities were seriously disrupted, food supply and food distribution was poor, housing was inadequate and order and discipline were everywhere lacking. Still more important, a shifting of populations was occurring such as few countries and few times have experienced.

Dr. Gordon's findings are corroborated by Dr. Russell Barton, today a psychiatrist of international repute, who entered Bergen-Belsen with British forces as a young medical student in 1945.

Barton, who volunteered to care for the diseased survivors, testified under sworn oath in a Toronto courtroom in 1985 that "Thousands of prisoners who died at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp during World War II weren't deliberately starved to death but died from a rash of diseases."

Dr. Barton further testified that on entering the camp he had credited stories of deliberate starvation but decided such stories were untrue after inspecting the well equipped kitchens and the meticulously maintained ledgers, dating back to 1942, of food cooked and dispensed each day.

Despite noisily publicized claims and widespread popular notions to the contrary, no researcher has been able to document a German policy of extermination through starvation in the German camps.

No 'Human Skin' Lampshades

What of the ghoulish stories of concentration camp inmates skinned for their tattoos, flayed to make lampshades and handbags, or other artifacts? What of the innumerable "torture racks," "meathooks," whipping posts, gallows, and other tools of torment and death that are reported to have abounded at every German camp? These allegations, and even more grotesque ones proffered by Soviet prosecutors, found their way into the record at Nuremberg.

The lampshade and tattooed-skin charges were made against Ilse Koch, dubbed by journalists the "Bitch of Buchenwald," who was reported to have furnished her house with objects manufactured from the tanned hides of luckless inmates.

But General Lucius Clay, military governor of the US zone of occupied Germany, who reviewed her case in 1948, told his superiors in Washington: "There is no convincing evidence that she [Ilse Koch] selected inmates for extermination in order to secure tattooed skins or that she possessed any articles made of human skin." In an interview General Clay gave years later, he stated about the material for the infamous lampshades: "Well, it turned out actually that it was goat flesh. But at the trial it was still human flesh. It was almost impossible for her to have gotten a fair trial." Ilse Koch hanged herself in a German jail in 1967.

It would be tedious to itemize and refute the thousands of bizarre claims as to Nazi atrocities. That there were instances of German cruelty, however, is clear from the testimony of Dr. Konrad Morgen, a legal investigator attached to the Reich Criminal Police, whose statements on the witness stand at Nuremberg have never been challenged by proponents of the Jewish Holocaust story. Dr. Morgen informed the court that he had been given full authority by Heinrich Himmler, commander of Hitler's SS and the dread Gestapo, to enter any German concentration camp and investigate instances of cruelty and corruption on the part of camp personnel.

As he explained in sworn testimony at Nuremberg, Dr. Morgen investigated 800 such cases, resulting in more than 200 convictions. Punishments included the death penalty for the worst offenders, including Hermann Florstedt, commandant of Lublin (Majdanek), and Karl Koch (Ilse's husband), commandant of Buchenwald.

While German camp commandants in certain cases did inflict physical punishment, such acts had to be approved by authorities in Berlin, and it was required that a camp physician first certify the good health of the prisoner to be disciplined, and then be on hand at the actual beating. After all, throughout most of the war the camps were important centers of industrial activity. The good health and morale of the prisoners was critical to the German war effort, as is evidenced in a Jan-

uary 1943 order issued by SS General Richard Glücks, chief of the office that supervised the concentration camps. It held the camp commanders "personally responsible for exhausting every possibility to preserve the physical strength of the detainees."

Camp Survivors: Merely Victims?

US Army investigators, working at Buchenwald and other camps, quickly ascertained what was common knowledge among veteran inmates: that the worst offenders, the cruelest denizens of the camps, were not the guards but the prisoners themselves. Common criminals of the same stripe as those who populate US prisons today committed many villainies, particularly when they held positions of authority, and fanatical Communists, highly organized to combat their many political enemies among the inmates, eliminated their foes with Stalinist ruthlessness.

Two US Army investigators at Buchenwald, Egon W. Fleck and Edward A. Tenenbaum, carefully investigated circumstances in the camp before its liberation. In a detailed report submitted to their superiors, they revealed, in the words of Alfred Toombs, their commander, who wrote a preface to the report, "how the prisoners themselves organized a deadly terror within the Nazi terror."

Fleck and Tenenbaum described the power exercised by criminals and Communists as follows:

The trustees, who in time became almost exclusively Communist Germans, had the power of life and death over all other inmates. They could sentence a man or a group to almost certain death ... The Communist trustees were directly responsible for a large part of the brutalities at Buchenwald.

Colonel Donald B. Robinson, chief historian of the American military government in Germany, summarized the Fleck-Tenenbaum report in an article published in an American magazine shortly after the war. Colonel Robinson wrote succinctly of the American investigators' findings: "It appeared that the prisoners who agreed with the Communists ate; those who didn't starved to death."

Additional corroboration of inmate brutality has been provided by Ellis E. Spackman, who, as Chief of Counter-Intelligence Arrests and Detentions for the US Seventh Army, was involved in the liberation of Dachau. Spackman, later a professor of history at San Bernardino Valley College in California, wrote in 1966 that at Dachau "the prisoners were the actual instruments that inflicted the barbarities on their fellow prisoners."

'Gas Chambers'

In December 1944 US Army officers Colonel Paul Kirk and Lt. Colonel Edward J. Gully inspected the German concentration camp at Struthof-Natzweiler in Alsace. They submitted their findings to their superiors at the headquarters of the US 6th Army Group, which subsequently forwarded their report to the US War Crimes Division. While, significantly, the full text of their report has never been published, it has been revealed, by a historian supportive of Holocaust claims, that the two investigators were careful to characterize equipment exhibited to them by French informants as a "so-called lethal gas chamber," and to claim it was "allegedly used as a lethal gas chamber." (Emphasis added)

Both the careful phraseology of the Natzweiler report, and its effective suppression, stand in stark contrast to the credulity, the confusion, and the blaring publicity that accompanied official

reports of alleged gas chambers at Dachau. At first, a US Army photo depicting a GI gazing at a steel door marked with a skull and crossbones and the German words for: "Caution! Gas! Mortal danger! Don't open!," was identified as showing the murder weapon.

Later, however, it was evidently decided that the apparatus in question was merely a standard de-lousing chamber for clothing, and another alleged gas chamber, this one cunningly disguised as a shower room, was exhibited to American congressmen and journalists as the site where thousands breathed their last. While there exist numerous reports in the press as to the operation of this second "gas chamber," no official report by trained Army investigators has yet surfaced to reconcile such problems as the function of the shower heads: Were they "dummies," or did lethal cyanide gas stream through them? (Each theory has appreciable support in journalistic and historiographical literature.)

As with Dachau, so with Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, and the other camps liberated by the Allies in western Germany. There was no end of propaganda about "gas chambers," "gas ovens," and the like, but so far not a single detailed description of the murder weapon and its function, not a single report of the kind that is mandatory for the successful prosecution of any assault or murder case in America at that time and today, has come to light.

Furthermore, a number of Holocaust authorities have now publicly decreed that there were no gassings, no extermination camps in Germany after all. (We are now told that "gassing" and "extermination" camps were located exclusively in what is now Poland, in areas captured by the Soviet Red Army and made off-limits to western investigators.)

Dr. Martin Broszat of the Munich-based Institute for Contemporary History, which is funded by the German government, stated categorically in a 1960 letter to the German weekly *Die Zeit*: "Neither in Dachau nor in Bergen-Belsen nor in Buchenwald were Jews or other prisoners gassed." Professional "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal stated in 1975 and again in 1993 that "there were no extermination camps on German soil."

Dachau "gas chamber" No. 2, which was once presented to a stunned and grieving world as a weapon that claimed hundreds of thousands of lives, is now described in the brochure issued to tourists at the modern Dachau "memorial site" in these words: "This gas chamber, camouflaged as a shower room, was not used."

The Propaganda Intensifies

More than 50 years after American troops entered Dachau, Buchenwald and other German camps, and trained American investigators established the facts as to what had gone on in them, the government in Washington, the entertainment media in Hollywood, and the print media in New York continue to churn out millions of words and images annually on the horrors of the camps and the infamy of the Holocaust. Despite the fact that, with the exception of the defeated Confederacy, no enemy of America has ever so suffered so complete and devastating defeat as did Germany in 1945, the mass media and the politicians and bureaucrats behave as if Hitler, his troops, and his concentration camps continue to exist in an eternal present, and our opinion makers continue to distort, through ignorance or malice, the facts about the camps.

Time for the Truth

It is time that the government and the professional historians reveal the facts about Dachau, Buchenwald and the other camps. It is time they let the American public know how the inmates

died, and how they didn't die. It is time that the claims of mass murder by gassing are clarified and investigated in the same manner as any other claims of murder. It is time that the free ride certain groups have enjoyed as the result of unchallenged Holocaust claims be terminated, just as it is time to end the scapegoating of other groups, including Germans, eastern Europeans, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and the wartime leadership of America and Britain, either for their alleged role in the Holocaust or their supposed failure to stop it.

Above all, it is time that the citizens of this great Republic have the facts about the camps, facts they have a right to know, a right that is fundamental to the exercise of their authority and their will in the governance of their country. As citizens and as taxpayers, Americans of all ethnic backgrounds, of all faiths, have a basic right and an overriding interest in determining the facts of incidents that are deemed by those in positions of power to be significant in determining America's foreign and educational policy, as well as its selection of past events to be memorialized in our civic life.

Today the alleged facts of the Holocaust are at issue all over the civilized world. The truth will be decided only by recourse to the facts, in the public forum: not by concealing the facts, denying the truth, stonewalling reality. The truth will out, and it is time the government of this country, and governments and international bodies throughout the world, make public the evidence of what actually transpired in the German concentration camps in the years 1933-1945, so that we may put paid to the lies, without fear or favor, and carry out the work of reconciliation and renewal that is and must be the granite foundation of mutual tolerance between peoples and of a peace based on justice.

Summary

The conclusions of the early US Army investigations as to the truth about the wartime German concentration camps have since been corroborated by all subsequent investigators and can be summarized:

1. The harrowing scenes of dead and dying inmates were not the result of a German policy of "extermination," but rather the result of epidemics of typhus and other disease brought about largely by the effects of Allied aerial attacks.
 2. Stories of Nazi supercriminals and sadists who turned Jews and others into handbags and lampshades for their private profit or amusement were sick lies or diseased fantasies; indeed, the German authorities punished corruption and cruelty on the part of camp commanders and guards.
 3. On the other hand, portrayals of the newly liberated inmates as saints and martyrs of Hitlerism were quite often very far from the truth; indeed, most of the brutalities inflicted on camp detainees were the work of their fellow prisoners, in contravention of German policy and German orders.
 4. The alleged homicidal showers and gas chambers were used either for bathing camp inmates or delousing their clothes; the claim that they were used to murder Jews or other human beings is a contemptible fabrication. Orthodox historians and professional "Nazi-hunters" have quietly dropped claims that inmates were gassed at Dachau, Buchenwald and other camps in Germany. They continue, however, to keep silent regarding the lies about Dachau and Buchenwald, as well as to evade an open discussion of the evidence for homicidal gassing at Auschwitz and the other camps captured by the Soviets.
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About the Author

Theodore J. O'Keefe, educated at Harvard University, is the author of numerous published articles, essays and reviews on historical and political subjects. For some years he served as editor of *The Journal of Historical Review*, which is published by the Institute for Historical Review.

A lengthier version of this essay, with complete reference notes and source citations, was published in *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1995 (Vol. 15, no. 4), pp. 18-23. This Journal issue is available from the IHR for \$8.00, postpaid.

Revised 3/98

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum

A Costly and Dangerous Mistake

Theodore J. O'Keefe

Hard by the Washington Monument, within clear view of the Jefferson Memorial, an easy stroll down the Mall to the majestic Lincoln Memorial, has arisen, on some of the most hallowed territory of the United States of America, a costly and dangerous mistake. On ground where no monument yet marks countless sacrifices and unheralded achievements of Americans of all races and creeds in the building and defense of this nation, sits today a massive and costly edifice, devoted above all to a contentious and false version of the ordeal in Europe, during World War II, of non-American members of a minority, sectarian group.

In the deceptive guise of tolerance, the [United States Holocaust Memorial Museum](#) promotes a propaganda campaign, financed through the unwitting largesse of the American taxpayer, in the interests of Israel and its adherents in America.

How did the federal government allow the creation of such a monstrosity? What is its meaning for American policy and for American values? And what must the American people do to regain control of the land their servants in Washington handed over to a foreign interest, and to establish an enterprise thereon, whether a museum or otherwise, informed by and conducted according to American principles and interests?

Origins

In the late 1970s, during the presidency of James Earl "Jimmy" Carter, a propaganda campaign to promote the "Holocaust," the alleged systematic slaughter of some six million Jews by the Germans during the Second World War, was organized and carried out from Hollywood and New York. As Benjamin Meed, an important functionary of the Council that controls the Holocaust Museum, wrote in 1990: ^[1] Almost a dozen years ago, a new phenomena [sic] developed. The Holocaust was introduced into schools, colleges, and universities. Television broadcast programs on the Holocaust and millions of Americans watched them. Soon, Americans took great interest in the lessons of the Holocaust, its uniqueness and its universal message.

Why the urgency of this campaign? Two factors were paramount: first, the beginnings, more than three decades after the end of the Second World War, of an objective, scholarly assessment of the facts of the alleged German policy to exterminate European Jewry. ^[2]

Second, the need to justify Zionist theory and practice in the face of unprecedented international resistance to Israeli intransigence (including the famous UN General Assembly Resolution that equated Zionism with racism), and to defend Israel's aggressive policy under the leadership of the former terrorist, Prime Minister Menachem Begin. ^[3]

The US Holocaust Memorial Council

In 1978 President Carter, his administration beleaguered at home and abroad, succumbed to pressure from the new "Holocaust" lobby (and thus America's influential Israel-first minority) by creating, through executive order, the President's Commission on the Holocaust. Two years later, on October 7, 1987, Congress passed — unanimously — a law establishing the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, charged principally with constructing and overseeing the operation of "a permanent living memorial to the victims of the holocaust" and with providing "for appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance, as an annual, national, civic commemoration of the Holocaust ..." [4]

A priceless tract of public land was turned over to the Council, and, after years of costly delay (during which the Council's budget swelled from \$2.5 million to over \$18 million a year), the US Holocaust Memorial Museum was finally completed and opened, to great media fanfare, in April 1993.

A Sectarian, Alien Agenda

Besides soliciting tens of millions of dollars in tax-deductible donations to finance the Holocaust Museum, the US Holocaust Memorial Council has busied itself with promoting an agenda of unalloyed support for minority, Zionist ends.

The membership of the Council, a US federal agency, has been overwhelmingly Jewish since its founding in 1980. The Council's two different chairmen — Elie Wiesel and Harvey Meyerhoff — have both been committed to the support of the State of Israel, and the chairs of the Council's most important committees have been likewise Jewish and Zionist.

The chief fund-raiser for the Holocaust Museum [and later Council Chairman], Miles Lerman, was formerly American vice chairman for the State of Israel Bonds Organization, promoting tax-free investment in a country which receives by far the largest amount of US foreign aid per year. Working the same wealthy Jewish-Americans he has long dealt with in his fund-raising for Israel, Lerman has helped raise nearly \$160 million in tax-deductible contributions. The biggest donors have been rewarded by having various components of the museum named for them (e.g. the Wexner Learning Center).

Nor is erecting and operating the Museum the only function with which the Holocaust Memorial Council has been charged. Another of its duties is to commemorate the "Days of Remembrance for Victims of the Holocaust," which Congress has raised to "an annual, national, civic commemoration of the Holocaust." Like the Israeli Yom ha-Shoah ("Day of the Holocaust"), on which they are based, the Days of Remembrance are dated according to the lunar Hebrew calendar, and thus, like Passover or Chanukah, fluctuate from year to year. These foreign days of lamentation are currently celebrated, under the flag of the Republic, to prayers and chants in Hebrew, across the land in governmental settings from the Capital Rotunda to city halls.

Need it be stated that no group of American victims of persecution, let alone another foreign group, enjoys any such federally mandated and tax-supported day, or days, of recognition?

Museum's One-Sided 'History'

Although the Council during its early years made noises about recognizing the ordeals of non-Jews during the Second World War, the US Holocaust Memorial Museum is relentlessly Judeo-centric. While here and there are nods to non-Jewish groups oppressed by the German National Socialists (although never to groups victimized by Germany's enemies, above all by Stalin's

USSR), the larger holocaust of the Second World War, which claimed an estimated 75 to 80 million lives around the world, is ignored in preference to the Jewish ordeal. Thus, to cite just one telling example, the Museum's "Life before the Holocaust" exhibit refers strictly to Jewish life before the Holocaust. [5]

Where, in fact, non-Jews figure in the Museum, they figure largely as villains: the Germans and their allies and collaborators; the Western allies, including America, who refused to accept a large immigration before the war; the American political and military leaders who refused to authorize costly bombing raids on the Auschwitz "gas chambers."

Soviet Liberators?

The Museum's message that support for Jews is the sole measure of decency during the Second World War leads to anomalies which, in an American museum raised on ground hallowed to the principles of liberty on which this republic is based, can only be called shocking. That the victims of World War II atrocities by the Allies — massacres such as the firebombing of Tokyo and Dresden, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Soviet slaughter of Polish prisoners at Katyn, the mass rapes carried out by the Red Army at the war's end — receive no mention is deplorable. But the Museum's treatment of the armed forces which defended Stalin's savage Soviet tyranny is nothing short of grotesque.

Communists appear in this Museum only in the guise of "resistance fighters" and "liberators." For example, the submachine gun and false papers of Samuel Weissberg, a Communist Party member who rose to high rank in a Communist guerrilla group in North France, are on honored display, no less precious a relic in the Museum's permanent exhibit than the standard heaps of shoes and hair. [6]

Even more unsettling is the honor given to Stalin's notorious Red Army, which compiled a bloody and shameful record of atrocities across Europe during, and after, the war. As the US Holocaust Memorial Council's newsletter fulsomely puts it, "Flags will hang in the museum to honor the millions of Soviet soldiers who drove Nazi forces westward and who were the first allied forces to liberate and publicize the existence of the camps." In the words of Council chairman Meyerhoff, these martial banners of the Red tyranny have a single association: "Much more than simply wartime memorabilia, these military artifacts are a significant contribution to memory, one that will remind future generations of the pivotal role Soviet forces played in defeating Nazism ..." [7]

What must the millions of Americans originating or descending from the European nations — Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia — for which the Red "military artifacts" symbolize invasion, tyranny, oppression, and persecution of religion, think as they see the fierce armies of their persecutors hailed as "liberators"?

Israel in the Museum

Just as one might guess from the circumstance that the Museum's director, Jeshajahu Weinberg, and the head of its "Learning Center," Yechiam Halevy, were brought in from Israel, the Museum's treatment of the state of Israel is adulatory. An emotive tribute to the founding of Israel is an integral part of the exhibition. That the establishment of Israel, and its expansion in subsequent wars, has meant colonial occupation and oppression for millions of the land's native Palestinians, and dispossession and exile for millions more, goes unmentioned — another grotesquery

in an American museum supposed to instruct in the dangers of intolerance and disregard of human rights.

As for the momentous collaboration between Hitler's German state and the Zionist Jewish Agency in the 1930s, which through the Ha'avara Agreement enabled the transfer of vital capital and the influx of tens of thousands of highly skilled Jewish immigrants to Palestine — that is passed over in utter silence. [8]

'Historical Correctness'

The Museum's skewed history is not simply a matter of one-sidedness and omission. It has further committed itself to a fixed and final interpretation of the surprisingly scanty and sometimes suspect evidence for a German policy of annihilating European Jewry, largely in gas chambers, in numbers approaching six million. This despite a considerable body of research and scholarship that has arisen over past two decades in many lands, and which contests, by academic means, the substance of the Holocaust "extermination thesis." [9]

That the US Holocaust Memorial Council is aware of the work of revisionist scholars is clear: the Council's literature is replete, not with substantive refutations of revisionist scholarship, but with slander and polemic. To cite one characteristic example, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter of May 1992 featured a front-page attack on Holocaust revisionism by Professor Deborah Lipstadt. In this article, Lipstadt decried the revisionists for producing material that looked scholarly, then lauded the US Holocaust Memorial Museum as "among the most efficacious ways" of "combatting this pernicious trend," while neglecting to specify a single error of revisionist scholarship. [10]

While the US Holocaust Memorial Council recognizes that there is a historical debate on the Holocaust, it takes official notice of the dissenting position only to attack it. That an American institution, supported by the taxes of all Americans, should commit itself to inflexible historical orthodoxy — in the service of a single American minority — is an intolerable imposition on our First Amendment rights, as well as a mockery of the Western, and American, ideal of objective scholarship.

A Center for Education?

Council Chairman Meyerhoff has stated: "The Museum is primarily an educational institution." [11] From the Council's own literature, however, it is clear what Meyerhoff means by education. The "role-playing" for children as well as adults who visit the Museum (visitors issued "identity cards" bearing the name and alleged fate of various Holocaust victims); the high-tech computer and video effects, and the recordings of speech and music that augment the Museum's tendentiously described artifacts; and the Museum's goal, as proclaimed by its Zionist fund-raising chairman, Miles Lerman, of insuring that "Children in Dubuque, families in Tucson, and schoolteachers in Atlanta will learn the history and the lessons of Auschwitz as thoroughly as they learn the history of their own communities": all these show that the US Holocaust Memorial Museum is a propaganda enterprise that seeks to indoctrinate all Americans in a uniquely and partisanly Jewish (and Zionist) version of not merely the past, but the present and the future. [12]

The American Response

What is the American response to a partisan museum constructed in a place solemnly consecrated to the heroes and the values of our Republic, to be lavishly operated with taxpayer dollars

at a time when, even in our country's capital, thousands sleep homeless in the shadow of our national monuments? What is the American response to an ambitious propaganda agenda that aims to impose a sectarian "Holocaust remembrance" in schools where our children cannot pray, in town halls and federal buildings from which the religious symbols of the majority are banned in the name of freedom of worship?

Over two centuries ago, Thomas Jefferson wrote: "To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical." [13]

Nearly 150 years ago, Abraham Lincoln said: "I insist, that if there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people to never entrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions." [14]

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Council that runs it, as agencies of the government in which the American people is sovereign, must be removed from the special interest that now controls it.

The scope and purpose of the Museum must be expanded, from its present one-sided emphasis on foreign Jewish sufferings, real and imagined, in Europe during the 1930s and 1940s to a compassionate yet realistic concern for all victims, but above all for American victims, of historic injustice.

The Museum must be made a place where Americans of every heritage, and scholars of every viewpoint, may gather, educate, and be educated, without accusation and in the absence of propaganda. Until it is, the men and women who founded and built and suffered and fought and died for America, of every race, nationality and creed, will rest uneasy.

Notes

1. ☺ The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter (Washington, DC), August, 1990, "Survivors Play Major Role in Establishing the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum," p. 1. Meed is president of the American Gathering of Holocaust Survivors, and chairman of the Council's Content and Days of Remembrance committees.
2. ☺ In 1976, Professor Arthur Butz's book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century: The Case Against the Presumed Extermination of European Jewry* was first published in England; in November 1978 Professor Robert Faurisson's article, "The Problem of the Gas Chambers," was published in the Paris daily *Le Monde*. Professor Butz has commented on the simultaneous and independent appearance of a variety of earlier academic criticisms of the wartime propaganda version of Jewry's ordeal in "The International Holocaust Controversy," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1980, pp. 5-22.
3. ☺ By resolution of the United Nations General Assembly on Nov. 10, 1975, Zionism was condemned as "a form of racism and racial discrimination."
4. ☺ Public Law 96-388, 1, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1547.
5. ☺ Statements regarding the Museum's permanent exhibit, except where otherwise noted, are derived from the floor plan and photographs in *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, a brochure published in 1991 by the USHMC.
6. ☺ U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter, "French Resistance Fighter's Weapon Will Help Tell Story of Underground Movement," Sept. 1991, p. 4.

7. [↗](#) U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter, "Russian Embassy Presents Flags of Liberating Units to Museum," Fall 1992, p. 6.
8. [↗](#) For the most complete account of relations between the Nazis and the Zionists, see Francis Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question*, (Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1985). See also: M. Weber, "Zionism and the Third Reich," *The Journal of Historical Review*, July-August 1993, pp. 29-37.
9. [↗](#) The most complete survey of Holocaust revisionist writings to date is Carlo Mattogno's "The Myth of the Extermination of the Jews — Part II," in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Fall 1988, pp. 261-302.
10. [↗](#) U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter, May 1992, "Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth," p. 6.
11. [↗](#) US Holocaust Memorial Museum Newsletter, Nov. 1991, "Wexner Family Donates \$5 Million to Fund Interactive Learning Center," p. 1.
12. [↗](#) The "identity cards" and other features of the Museum are described in the brochure cited in note 5, above. Lerman's statement is in a fund-raising letter mailed out by the Museum to potential Jewish contributors in 1991.
13. [↗](#) From "A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom," 1779, in *Jefferson: Magnificent Populist*, edited by Martin Larson, (Greenwich, Conn.: Devin-Adair, 1981), p. 319.
14. [↗](#) "Speech at Peoria, Ill.," Oct. 16, 1854, in *The American Intellectual Tradition*, Vol. 1, edited by David Hollinger and Charles Capper (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), p. 382.

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A Prominent False Witness: Elie Wiesel

By Robert Faurisson

ELIE WIESEL won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986. He is generally accepted as a witness to the Jewish "Holocaust," and, more specifically, as a witness to the legendary Nazi extermination gas chambers. The Paris daily *Le Monde* emphasized at the time that Wiesel was awarded the Nobel Prize because: ([note 1](#))

These last years have seen, in the name of so-called "historical revisionism," the elaboration of theses, especially in France, questioning the existence of the Nazi gas chambers and, perhaps beyond that, of the genocide of the Jews itself.

But in what respect is Elie Wiesel a witness to the alleged gas chambers? By what right does he ask us to believe in that means of extermination? In an autobiographical book that supposedly describes his experiences at Auschwitz and Buchenwald, he nowhere mentions the gas chambers. ([note 2](#)) He does indeed say that the Germans executed Jews, but ... by fire; by throwing them alive into flaming ditches, before the very eyes of the deportees! No less than that!

Here Wiesel the false witness had some bad luck. Forced to choose from among several Allied war propaganda lies, he chose to defend the fire lie instead of the boiling water, gassing, or electrocution lies. In 1956, when he published his testimony in Yiddish, the fire lie was still alive in certain circles. This lie is the origin of the term Holocaust. Today there is no longer a single historian who believes that Jews were burned alive. The myths of the boiling water and of electrocution have also disappeared. Only the gas remains.

The gassing lie was spread by the Americans. ([note 3](#)) The lie that Jews were killed by boiling water or steam (specifically at Treblinka) was spread by the Poles. ([note 4](#)) The electrocution lie was spread by the Soviets. ([note 5](#))

The fire lie is of undetermined origin. It is in a sense as old as war propaganda or hate propaganda. In his memoir, *Night*, which is a version of his earlier Yiddish testimony, Wiesel reports that at Auschwitz there was one flaming ditch for the adults and another one for babies. He writes: ([note 6](#))

Not far from us, flames were leaping from a ditch, gigantic flames. They were burning something. A lorry drew up at the pit and delivered its load — little children. Babies! Yes, I saw it — saw it with my own eyes ... Those children in the flames. (Is it surprising that I could not sleep after that? Sleep has fled from my eyes.)

A little farther on there was another ditch with gigantic flames where the victims suffered "slow agony in the flames." Wiesel's column was led by the Germans to within "three steps" of the ditch, then to "two steps." "Two steps from the pit we were ordered to turn to the left and made to go into a barracks."

An exceptional witness himself, Wiesel assures us of his having met other exceptional witnesses. Regarding Babi Yar, a place in Ukraine where the Germans executed Soviet citizens, among them Jews, Wiesel wrote: (note 7)

Later, I learn from a witness that, for month after month, the ground never stopped trembling; and that, from time to time, geysers of blood spurted from it.

These words did not slip from their author in a moment of frenzy: first, he wrote them, then some unspecified number of times (but at least once) he had to reread them in the proofs; finally, his words were translated into various languages, as is everything this author writes.

That Wiesel personally survived, was, of course, the result of a miracle. He says that: (note 8)

In Buchenwald they sent 10,000 persons to their deaths each day. I was always in the last hundred near the gate. They stopped. Why?

In 1954 French scholar Germaine Tillion analyzed the "gratuitous lie" with regard to the German concentration camps. She wrote: (note 9)

Those persons [who gratuitously lie] are, to tell the truth, much more numerous than people generally suppose, and a subject like that of the concentration camp world — well designed, alas, to stimulate sado-masochistic imaginings — offered them an exceptional field of action. We have known numerous mentally damaged persons, half swindlers and half fools, who exploited an imaginary deportation; we have known others of them — authentic deportees — whose sick minds strove to go even beyond the monstrosities that they had seen or that people said had happened to them. There have been publishers to print some of their imaginings, and more or less official compilations to use them, but publishers and compilers are absolutely inexcusable, since the most elementary inquiry would have been enough to reveal the imposture.

Tillion lacked the courage to give examples and names. But that is usually the case. People agree that there are false gas chambers that tourists and pilgrims are encouraged to visit, but they do not tell us where. They agree that there are false "eyewitnesses," but in general they name only Martin Gray, the well-known swindler, at whose request Max Gallo, with full knowledge of what he was doing, fabricated the bestseller *For Those I Loved*.

Jean-François Steiner is sometimes named as well. His bestselling novel *Treblinka* (1966) was presented as a work of which the accuracy of every detail was guaranteed by oral or written testimony. In reality it was a fabrication attributable, at least in part, to the novelist Gilles Perrault. (note 10) Marek Halter, for his part, published his *La Mémoire d'Abraham* in 1983; as he often does on radio, he talked there about his experiences in the Warsaw ghetto. However, if we are to believe an article by Nicolas Beau that is quite favorable to Halter, (note 11) little Marek, about three years old, and his mother left Warsaw not in 1941 but in October of 1939, before the establishment of the ghetto there by the Germans. Halter's book is supposed to have been actually written by a ghost writer, Jean-Noël Gurgan.

Filip Müller is the author of *Eyewitness Auschwitz: Three Years in the Gas Chambers*, (note 12) which won the 1980 prize of the International League against Racism and Anti-Semitism (LI-CRA). This nauseous best-seller is actually the work of a German ghost writer, Helmut Freitag, who did not hesitate to engage in plagiarism. (note 13) The source of the plagiarism is *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*, another best-seller made up out of whole cloth and attributed to Miklos Nyiszli. (note 14)

Thus a whole series of works presented as authentic documents turns out to be merely compilations attributable to various ghost writers: Max Gallo, Gilles Perrault, Jean-Noël Gurgan (?), and Helmut Freitag, among others.

We would like to know what Germaine Tillion thinks about Elie Wiesel today. With him the lie is certainly not gratuitous. Wiesel claims to be full of love for humanity. However, he does not refrain from an appeal to hatred. In his opinion: (note 15)

Every Jew, somewhere in his being, should set apart a zone of hate — healthy, virile hate — for what the German personifies and for what persists in the German. To do otherwise would be a betrayal of the dead.

At the beginning of 1986, 83 deputies of the German Bundestag took the initiative of proposing Wiesel for the Nobel Peace Prize. This would be, they said, "a great encouragement to all who are active in the process of reconciliation." (note 16) That is what might be called "going from National Socialism to national masochism."

Jimmy Carter needed a historian to preside over the President's Commission on the Holocaust. As Dr. Arthur Butz said so well, he chose not a historian but a "histrion": Elie Wiesel. Even the newspaper *Le Monde*, in the article mentioned above, was obliged to refer to the histrionic trait that certain persons deplore in Wiesel:

Naturally, even among those who approve of the struggle of this American Jewish writer, who was discovered by the Catholic François Mauriac, some reproach him for having too much of a tendency to change the Jewish sadness into "morbidity" or to become the high priest of a "planned management of the Holocaust."

As Jewish writer Leon A. Jick has written: "The devastating barb, 'There is no business like SHOAH-business' is, sad to say, a recognizable truth." (note 17)

Elie Wiesel issues alarmed and inflammatory appeals against Revisionist authors. He senses that things are getting out of hand. It is going to become more and more difficult for him to maintain the mad belief that the Jews were exterminated or were subjected to a policy of extermination, especially in so-called gas chambers. Serge Klarsfeld has admitted that real proofs of the existence of the gas chambers have still not yet been published. He promises proofs. (note 18)

On the scholarly plane, the gas chamber myth is finished. To tell the truth, that myth breathed its last breath several years ago at the Sorbonne colloquium in Paris (June 29-July 2, 1982), at which Raymond Aron and François Furet presided. What remains is to make this news known to the general public. However, for Elie Wiesel it is of the highest importance to conceal that news. Thus all the fuss in the media, which is going to increase: the more the journalists talk, the more the historians keep quiet.

But there are historians who dare to raise their voices against the lies and the hatred. That is the case with Michel de Boüard, wartime member of the Resistance, deportee to Mauthausen, member of the Committee for the History of the Second World War from 1945 to 1981, and a member of the Institut de France. In a poignant interview in 1986, he courageously acknowledged that in 1954 he had vouched for the existence of a gas chamber at Mauthausen where, it finally turns out, there never was one. (note 19)

The respect owed to the sufferings of all the victims of the Second World War, and, in particular, to the sufferings of the deportees, demands on the part of historians a return to the proven and

time-honored methods of historical criticism.

Notes

1. ☞ October 17, 1986. Front page.
2. ☞ There is one single allusion, extremely vague and fleeting, on pages 78-79: Wiesel, who very much likes to have conversations with God, says to Him: "But these men here, whom You have betrayed, whom You have allowed to be tortured, butchered, gassed, burned, what do they do? They pray before you!" (Night, New York, Discus/Avon Books, 1969, p. 79). In his preface to that same book, François Mauriac mentioned "the gas chamber and the crematory" (p. 8). The four crucial pages of "testimony" by Elie Wiesel are reproduced in facsimile in: Pierre Guillaume, *Droit et Histoire* (La Vieille Taupe, 1986), pp. 147-150. In the German-language edition of Night (*Die Nacht zu begraben*, Elischa [Ullstein, 1962]), on 14 occasions the word "crematory" or "crematories" has been falsely given as "Gaskammer" ("gas chamber[s]"). In January of 1945, in anticipation of a Russian takeover, the Germans were evacuating Auschwitz. Elie Wiesel, a young teenager at the time, was hospitalized in Birkenau (the "extermination camp") after surgery on an infected foot. His doctor had recommended two weeks of rest and good food but, before his foot healed, the Russian takeover became imminent. Hospital patients were considered unfit for the long trip to the camps in Germany and Elie thus could have remained at Birkenau to await the Russians. Although his father had permission to stay with him as a hospital patient or orderly, father and son talked it over and decided to move out with the Germans. (See Night, p. 93. See also D. Calder, *The Sunday Sun* [Toronto, Canada], May 31, 1987, p. C4.)
3. ☞ See the US War Refugee Board Report, *German Extermination Camps: Auschwitz and Birkenau* (Washington, DC), November 1944.
4. ☞ See Nuremberg document PS-3311 (USA-293). Published in the IMT "blue series," Vol. 32, pp. 153-158.
5. ☞ See the report in Pravda, Feb. 2, 1945, p. 4, and the UP report in the Washington (DC) Daily News, Feb. 2, 1945, p. 2.
6. ☞ Night (Avon/Discus). See esp. pp. 41, 42, 43, 44, 79, 93.
7. ☞ *Paroles d'étranger* (Editions du Seuil, 1982), p. 86.
8. ☞ "Author, Teacher, Witness," *Time* magazine, March 18, 1985, p. 79.
9. ☞ "Le Système concentrationnaire allemand [1940-1944]," *Revue d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale*, July 1954, p. 18, n. 2.
10. ☞ *Le Journal du Dimanche*, March 30, 1985, p. 5.
11. ☞ *Libération*, Jan. 24, 1986, p. 19.
12. ☞ Published by Stein and Day (New York). Paperback edition of 1984. (xii + 180 pages.) With a foreword by Yehuda Bauer of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
13. ☞ Carlo Mattogno, *Auschwitz: un caso di plagio*, Parma (Italy): 1986. See also: C. Mattogno, "Auschwitz: A Case of Plagiarism," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1990, pp. 5-24.
14. ☞ Paperback edition, 1961, and later, published by Fawcett Crest (New York).
15. ☞ *Legends of Our Time* (chapter 12: "Appointment with Hate"), New York: Schocken Books, 1982, p. 142, or, New York: Avon, 1968, pp. 177-178.
16. ☞ *The Week in Germany* (published in New York by the German government in Bonn), Jan. 31, 1986, p. 2.

17. ☞ "The Holocaust: Its Use and Abuse Within the American Public," Yad Vashem Studies (Jerusalem), 1981, p. 316.
18. ☞ VSD, May 29, 1986, p. 37.
19. ☞ Ouest-France, August 2-3, 1986, p. 6.

Summary

Elie Wiesel passes for one of the most celebrated eyewitnesses to the alleged Holocaust. Yet in his supposedly autobiographical book *Night*, he makes no mention of gas chambers. He claims instead to have witnessed Jews being burned alive, a story now dismissed by all historians. Wiesel gives credence to the most absurd stories of other "eyewitnesses." He spreads fantastic tales of 10,000 persons sent to their deaths each day in Buchenwald.

When Elie Wiesel and his father, as Auschwitz prisoners, had the choice of either leaving with their retreating German "executioners," or remaining behind in the camp to await the Soviet "liberators," the two decided to leave with their German captors.

It is time, in the name of truth and out of respect for the genuine sufferings of the victims of the Second World War, that historians return to the proven methods of historical criticism, and that the testimony of the Holocaust "eyewitnesses" be subjected to rigorous scrutiny rather than unquestioning acceptance.

Simon Wiesenthal: Fraudulent 'Nazi hunter'

by Mark Weber

For more than 40 years, Simon Wiesenthal has been tracking hundreds of "Nazi criminals" from his "Jewish Documentation Center" in Vienna. For his work as the world's most prominent "Nazi hunter," he has been awarded several honorary degrees and numerous medals, including Germany's highest decoration. In a formal White House ceremony in August 1980, a teary-eyed President Carter presented him with a special gold medal awarded by the US Congress. President Reagan praised him in November 1988 as one of the "true heroes" of this century.

This living legend was portrayed in flattering terms by the late Laurence Oliver in the 1978 film fantasy "The Boys From Brazil," and by Ben Kingsley in the 1989 HBO made-for-television movie "Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Story." One of world's most prominent Holocaust organizations bears his name: the Simon Wiesenthal Center of Los Angeles.

Wiesenthal's reputation as a moral authority is undeserved. The man whom The Washington Post has called the "Holocaust's Avenging Angel" ^[1] has a little known but well-documented record of reckless disregard for truth. He has lied about his own wartime experiences, misrepresented his postwar "Nazi-hunting" achievements, and has spread vile falsehoods about alleged German atrocities.

Different stories

Szymon (Simon) Wiesenthal was born on December 31, 1908, in Buczacz, a town in the province of Galicia (now Buchach in Ukraine) in what was then the eastern fringe of the Austro-Hungarian empire. His father was a prosperous wholesale sugar merchant.

In spite of all that has been written about him, just what Wiesenthal did during the war years under German occupation remains unclear. He has given conflicting stories in three separate accounts of his wartime activities. The first was given under oath during a two day interrogation session in May 1948 conducted by an official of the US Nuremberg war crimes commission. ^[2] The second is a summary of his life provided by Wiesenthal as part of a January 1949 "Application for Assistance" to the International Refugee Committee. ^[3] And the third account is given in his autobiography, *The Murderers Among Us*, first published in 1967. ^[4]

Soviet engineer or factory mechanic?

In his 1948 interrogation, Wiesenthal declared that "between 1939 and 1941" he was a "Soviet chief engineer working in Lvov and Odessa." ^[5] Consistent with that, he stated in his 1949 declaration that from December 1939 to April 1940 he worked as an architect in the Black Sea port of Odessa. But according to his autobiography, he spent the period between mid-September 1939

and June 1941 in Soviet-ruled Lvov, where he worked "as a mechanic in a factory that produced bedsprings." [6]

'Relative freedom'

After the Germans took control of Galicia province in June 1941, Wiesenthal was interned for a time in the Janowska concentration camp near Lvov, from where he was transferred a few months later to a camp affiliated with the repair works (OAW) in Lvov of the Ostbahn ("Eastern Railroad") of German-ruled Poland. Wiesenthal reported in his autobiography that he worked there "as a technician and draftsman," that he was rather well treated, and that his immediate superior, who was "secretly anti-Nazi," even permitted him to own two pistols. He had his own office in a "small wooden hut," and enjoyed "relative freedom and was permitted to walk all over the yards." [7]

Partisan fighter?

The next segment of Wiesenthal's life — from October 1943 to June 1944 — is the most obscure, and his accounts of this period are contradictory. During his 1948 interrogation, Wiesenthal said that he fled from the Janowska camp in Lvov and joined a "partisan group which operated in the Tarnopol-Kamenopodolsk area." [8] He said that "I was a partisan from October 6, 1943, until the middle of February 1944," and declared that his unit fought against Ukrainian forces, both of the SS "Galicia" division and of the independent UPA partisan force. [9]

Wiesenthal said that he held the rank of lieutenant and then major, and was responsible for building bunkers and fortification lines. Although he was not explicit, he suggested that this (supposed) partisan unit was part of the Armia Ludowa ("Peoples Army"), the Polish Communist military force established and controlled by the Soviets. [10]

He said that he and other partisans slipped into Lvov in February 1944, where they were "hidden by friends of the A.L. ['People's Army'] group." On June 13, 1944, his group was captured by the German Secret Field Police. (Although Jewish partisans caught in hiding were often shot, Wiesenthal reports that he was somehow spared.) Wiesenthal told much the same story in his 1949 statement. He said that he fled from internment in early October 1943 and then "fought against the Germans as a partisan in the forest" for eight months — from October 2, 1943, to March 1944. After that, he was "in hiding" in Lvov from March to June 1944.

Wiesenthal tells a totally different story in his 1967 autobiography. He reports there that after escaping from the Ostbahn Repair Works on Oct. 2, 1943, he lived in hiding in the houses of various friends until June 13, 1944, when he was discovered by Polish and German police and returned to a concentration camp. He makes no mention of any partisan membership or activity. [11]

According to both his 1948 interrogation and his 1967 autobiography, he tried to commit suicide on June 15, 1944, by cutting his wrists. Remarkably, though, he was saved from death by German SS doctors and recovered in an SS hospital. [12] He remained in the Lvov concentration camp "with double rations" for a time, and then, he reports in his autobiography, he was transferred to various work camps. He spent the remaining chaotic months, until the end of the war, in different camps until he was liberated from Mauthausen (in Austria) by American forces on May 5, 1945. [13]

Did Wiesenthal invent a past as a heroic wartime partisan? Or did he later try to suppress his record as a Communist fighter? Or is the true story altogether different — and too shameful to

admit?

'Nazi agent'?

Did Wiesenthal voluntarily work for his wartime oppressors? That's the accusation leveled by Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, himself of Jewish ancestry and leader for many years of his country's Socialist Party. During an interview with foreign journalists in 1975, Kreisky charged Wiesenthal with using "Mafia methods," rejected his pretense of "moral authority," and suggested that he was an agent for the German authorities. Some of his more pertinent remarks, which appeared in Austria's leading news magazine Profil, include: ^[14]

I really know Mr. Wiesenthal only from secret reports, and they are bad, very nasty. I say this as Federal Chancellor ... And I say that Mr. Wiesenthal had a different relationship with the Gestapo than I did. Yes, and this can be proven. I can't say more [now]. Everything else, I'll say in court.

My relationship with the Gestapo is unambiguous. I was their prisoner, their inmate, and I was interrogated. His relationship was a different one, I can say, and this will come out clearly. It's bad enough what I've already said here. But he can't clear himself by charging me with defaming his honor in the press, as he might wish. It's not that simple, because that would mean a big court case ... A man like this doesn't have the right to pretend to be a moral authority. That's what I say. He doesn't have the right ...

Whether a man who, in my view, is an agent, yes, that's right, and who uses Mafia methods ... Such a man has to go ...

He is no gentleman, and I would say, to make this clear, so that he won't become a moral authority, because he is not ... He shouldn't pretend to be a moral authority ...

I say that Mr. Wiesenthal lived in that time in the Nazi sphere of influence without being persecuted. Right? And he lived openly without being persecuted, right? Is that clear? And you perhaps know, if you know what was going on, that no one could risk that.

He wasn't a "submarine" ... that is, submerged and in hiding, but instead, he was completely in the open without having to, well, ever risk persecution. I think that's enough. There were so many opportunities to be an agent. He didn't have to be a Gestapo agent. There were many other services.

In response to these damning words, Wiesenthal began efforts to bring a lawsuit against the Chancellor. Eventually, though, both Wiesenthal and Kreisky backed away from a major legal clash.

Mauthausen myths

Before he became famous as a "Nazi hunter," he made a name for himself as a propagandist. In 1946 Wiesenthal published KZ Mauthausen, an 85-page work that consists mainly of his own amateurish sketches purporting to represent the horrors of the Mauthausen concentration camp. One drawing depicts three inmates who had been bound to posts and brutally put to death by the Germans. ^[15]

The sketch is completely phony. It was copied — with some minor alterations — from photographs that appeared in Life magazine in 1945, which graphically record the firing-squad execution in December 1944 of three German soldiers who had been caught operating as spies behind the lines during the "Battle of the Bulge." [16] The source of the Wiesenthal drawing is instantly obvious to anyone who compares it with the Life photos. [17]

The irresponsible character of this book is also shown by Wiesenthal's extensive citation therein of the supposed "death bed confession" of Mauthausen Commandant Franz Ziereis, according to which four million were gassed to death with carbon monoxide at the nearby Hartheim satellite camp. [18] This claim is totally absurd, and no serious Holocaust historian still accepts it. [19] Also according to the Ziereis "confession" cited by Wiesenthal, the Germans supposedly killed another ten million people in Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. [20] In fact, this fraudulent "confession" was obtained by torture. [21]

Years later, Wiesenthal was still lying about Mauthausen. In a 1983 interview with the daily newspaper USA Today, he said of his experience in Mauthausen: "I was one of 34 prisoners alive out of 150,000 who had been put there." [22] This is a blatant falsehood. The years have apparently not been kind to Wiesenthal's memory, because in his own autobiography he wrote that "almost 3,000 prisoners died in Mauthausen after the Americans liberated us on May 5, 1945." [23] Another former inmate, Evelyn Le Chene, reported in her standard work about Mauthausen that there were 64,000 inmates in the camp when it was liberated in May 1945. [24] And according to the Encyclopaedia Judaica, at least 212,000 inmates survived internment in the Mauthausen camp complex. [25]

After the war Wiesenthal worked for the US Office of Strategic Services (the forerunner of the CIA) and the US Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC). He was also vice chairman of the Jewish Central Committee in the US occupation zone of Austria. [26]

'Human soap'

Wiesenthal has given circulation and credence to one of the most scurrilous Holocaust stories, the charge that the Germans manufactured soap from the corpses of murdered Jews. According to this tale, the letters "RIF" in bars of German-made soap allegedly stood for "Pure Jewish Fat" ("Rein judisches Fett"). In reality, the initials stood for "National Center for Industrial Fat Provisioning" ("Reichsstelle für industrielle Fettversorgung"). [27]

Wiesenthal promoted the "human soap" legend in articles published in 1946 in the Austrian Jewish community paper Der Neue Weg ("The New Path"). In an article entitled "RIF," he wrote: "The terrible words 'transport for soap' were first heard at the end of 1942. It was in the [Polish] General Government, and the factory was in Galicia, in Belzec. From April 1942 until May 1943, 900,000 Jews were used as raw material in this factory." After the corpses were turned into various raw materials, Wiesenthal wrote, "The rest, the residual fat stuff, was used for soap production."

He continued: "After 1942 people in the General Government knew quite well what the RIF soap meant. The civilized world may not believe the joy with which the Nazis and their women in the General Government thought of this soap. In each piece of soap they saw a Jew who had been magically put there, and had thus been prevented from growing into a second Freud, Ehrlich or Einstein." [28]

In another imaginative article published in 1946 entitled "Belzec Soap Factory," Wiesenthal alleged that masses of Jews were exterminated in electrocution showers: [29]

The people, pressed together and driven on by the SS, Latvians and Ukrainians, go through the open door into the "bath." Five hundred persons could fit at a time. The floor of the "bath chamber" was made of metal and shower heads hung from the ceiling. When the room was full, the SS turned on the 5,000 volts of electric current in the metal plate. At the same time water poured from the shower heads. A short scream and the execution was over. An SS chief physician named Schmidt determined through a peep hole that the victims were dead. The second door was opened and the "corpse commando" came in and quickly removed the dead. It was ready for the next 500.

Today no serious historian accepts the stories that Jewish corpses were manufactured into bars of soap or that Jews were electrocuted to death at Belzec (or anywhere).

Wiesenthal's imaginative view of history is not limited to the twentieth century. In his 1973 book *Sails of Hope*, he argued that Christopher Columbus was a secret Jew, and that his famous voyage to the western hemisphere in 1492 was actually a search for a new homeland for Europe's Jews. [30]

Wiesenthal is not always wrong, of course. In 1975 and again in 1993 he publicly acknowledged that "there were no extermination camps on German soil." [31] He thus implicitly conceded that the claims made at the postwar Nuremberg Tribunal and elsewhere that Buchenwald, Dachau and other camps in Germany proper were "extermination camps" are not true.

'Fabrications' about Eichmann

In more than 40 years of "Nazi hunting," Wiesenthal's role in locating and capturing Adolf Eichmann is often considered his greatest achievement. [32] (Eichmann headed the wartime SS Jewish affairs department. He was kidnapped by Israeli agents in Argentina in May 1960 and hanged in Jerusalem after a trial that received worldwide media attention.)

But Isser Harel, the Israeli official who headed the team that seized Eichmann, has declared unequivocally that Wiesenthal had "absolutely nothing" to do with the capture. (Harel is a former head of both the Mossad and Shin Bet, Israel's foreign and domestic security agencies.) [33]

Wiesenthal not only "had no role whatsoever" in the apprehension, said Harel, but in fact he endangered the entire Eichmann operation. In a 278-page manuscript, Harel carefully refuted every claim by Wiesenthal about his supposed role in identifying and capturing Eichmann. Claims by Wiesenthal and his many friends about his supposedly crucial role in capturing the former SS officer, said Harel, have no foundation in fact. Many specific assertions and incidents described in two books by Wiesenthal, said the Israeli official, are "complete fabrications." [34]

"Wiesenthal's reports and statements at that period prove beyond any doubt that he had no notion of Eichmann's whereabouts," said Harel. [35] (For example, just before Eichmann's capture in Argentina, Wiesenthal was placing him in Japan and Saudi Arabia.) [36]

Characterizing Wiesenthal as a rank opportunist, Harel summed up: "All the information supplied by Wiesenthal before and in anticipation of the [Eichmann] operation was utterly worthless, and sometimes even misleading and of negative value." [37]

Reckless charges in Walus case

One of Wiesenthal's most spectacular cases involved a Polish-born Chicago man named Frank Walus. In a letter dated December 10, 1974, he charged that Walus "delivered Jews to the Gestapo" in Czestochowa and Kielce in Poland during the war. This letter prompted a US government investigation and legal action. [38] The Washington Post dealt with the case in a 1981 article entitled "The Nazi Who Never Was: How a witch hunt by judge, press and investigators branded an innocent man a war criminal." The lengthy piece, which was copyrighted by the American Bar Association, reported: [39]

In January 1977, the United States government accused a Chicagoan named Frank Walus of having committed atrocities in Poland during World War II.

In the following years, this retired factory worker went into debt in order to raise more than \$60,000 to defend himself. He sat in a courtroom while eleven Jewish survivors of the Nazi occupation of Poland testified that they saw him murder children, an old woman, a young woman, a hunchback and others ...

Overwhelming evidence shows that Walus was not a Nazi War criminal, that he was not even in Poland during World War II.

... In an atmosphere of hatred and loathing verging on hysteria, the government persecuted an innocent man. In 1974, Simon Wiesenthal, the famous "Nazi hunter" of Vienna, denounced Walus as "a Pole in Chicago who performed duties with the Gestapo in the ghettos of Czestochowa and Kielce and handed over a number of Jews to the Gestapo."

The Chicago weekly newspaper Reader also reported on the case in a detailed 1981 article headlined: "The Persecution of Frank Walus: To Catch a Nazi: The U.S. government wanted a war criminal. So, with the help of Simon Wiesenthal, the Israeli police, the local press and Judge Julius Hoffman, they invented one." [40] The article stated:

... It is logical to assume that the "reports received by Wiesenthal [against Walus] actually were rumors... In other words, Simon Wiesenthal had no evidence against Walus. He denounced him anyway.

While [Judge] Hoffman had the Walus case under advisement, Holocaust aired on television. During the same period, in April 1978, Simon Wiesenthal came to Chicago, where he gave interviews taking credit for the Walus case. "How Nazi-Hunter Helped Find Walus," was the Sun-Times headline on a story by Bob Olmstead. Wiesenthal told Sun-Times Abe Peck that he "has never had a case of mistaken identity." "I know there are thousands of people who wait for my mistake," he said.

It was only after an exhausting legal battle that the man who was vilified and physically attacked as "the butcher of Kielce" was finally able to prove that he had spent the war years as a peaceful farm laborer in Germany. Frank Walus died in August 1994, a broken and bitterly disappointed man, man.

Wiesenthal's recklessness in the Walus case should have been enough to permanently discredit him as a reliable investigator. But his Teflon reputation survived even this.

Wrong about Mengele

Much of the Wiesenthal myth is based on his hunt for Joseph Mengele, the wartime physician at Auschwitz known as the "Angel of Death." Time and time again, Wiesenthal claimed to be close on Mengele's heels. Wiesenthal reported that his informants had "seen" or "just missed" the elusive physician in Peru, Chile, Brazil, Spain, Greece, and half a dozen locations in Paraguay. [41]

One of the closest shaves came in the summer of 1960. Wiesenthal reported that Mengele had been hiding out on a small Greek island, from where he escaped by just a few hours. Wiesenthal continued to peddle this story, complete with precise details, even after a reporter whom he had hired to check it out informed him that the tale was false from beginning to end. [42]

According to another Wiesenthal report, Mengele arranged for the murder in 1960 of one of his former victims, a woman he had supposedly sterilized in Auschwitz. After spotting her, and her distinctive camp tattoo, at a hotel in Argentina where he was staying, Mengele allegedly arranged to have her killed because he feared that she would expose him. It turned out that the woman was never in a concentration camp, had no tattoo, had never met Mengele, and her death was a simple mountaineering accident. [43]

Mengele regularly dined at the finest restaurants in Asuncion, the Paraguayan capital, Wiesenthal said in 1977, and supposedly drove around the city with a bevy of armed guards in his black Mercedes Benz. [44]

Wiesenthal announced in 1985 that he was "100 percent sure" that Mengele had been hiding out in Paraguay until at least June 1984, and charged that the Mengele family in Germany knew exactly where. As it turned out, Wiesenthal was completely wrong. It was later definitively established that Mengele had died in 1979 in Brazil, where he had been living for years in anonymous poverty. [45]

Israel's ambassador to Paraguay from 1968 to 1972, Benjamin (Benno) Varon, remarked in 1983 on the Mengele campaign: "Wiesenthal makes periodic statements that he is about to catch him, perhaps since Wiesenthal must raise funds for his activities and the name Mengele is always good for a plug." Wiesenthal "failed miserably" in the Mengele case, the diplomat said on another occasion. [46] In the Mengele case, former Mossad chief Harel remarked, "Wiesenthal's folly borders on the criminal." [47]

In truth, the bulging Mengele file in Wiesenthal's Vienna "Documentation Center" was such a jumble of useless information that, in the words of the London Times, it "only sustained his self-confirmatory myths and gave scant satisfaction to those who apparently needed a definitive answer to Mengele's fate." [48]

In the considered view of Gerald Posner and John Ware, coauthors of *Mengele: The Complete Story*, Wiesenthal spent years assiduously cultivating a mythical "self-image of a tireless, dogged sleuth, pitted against the omnipotent and sinister might of Mengele and a vast Nazi network." Because of his "knack of playing to the gallery," Posner and Ware concluded, Wiesenthal "ultimately compromised his credibility." [49]

'Incompetence and arrogance'

Eli Rosenbaum, an official with the US government's "Nazi hunting" Office of Special Investigations and an investigator for the World Jewish Congress, took aim at Wiesenthal's carefully culti-

vated "Nazi hunter" reputation in a detailed 1993 book, *Betrayal*. [50] For example, Rosenbaum mentioned, Wiesenthal "had all these reports placing Mengele in almost every country in Latin America except the one he was in — namely, Brazil." [51]

Wiesenthal, wrote Rosenbaum, has been a "pathetically ineffective" investigator who had "gone far beyond the buffoonery and false boasts in prior years." Much of his illustrious career, Rosenbaum said, has been characterized by "incompetence and arrogance." [52]

Bruno Kreisky once summed up his attitude towards the "Nazi hunter" in these words: [53]

The engineer Wiesenthal, or whatever else his title is, hates me because he knows that I despise his activity. The Wiesenthal group is a quasi-political Mafia that works against Austria with disgraceful methods. Wiesenthal is known as someone who isn't very careful about the truth, who is not very selective about his methods and who uses tricks. He pretends to be the "Eichmann hunter," even though everyone knows that this was the work of a secret service, and that Wiesenthal only takes credit for that.

'Commercializing' the Holocaust

The Los Angeles Wiesenthal Center pays the Vienna "Nazi Hunter" \$75,000 a year for the use of his name, the director of Israel's Yad Vashem Holocaust center said in 1988.

Both the Center and Wiesenthal "commercialize" and "trivialize" the Holocaust, the director added.

Wiesenthal "threw out" the figure of "11 million who were murdered in the Holocaust — six million Jews and five million non-Jews," said the Yad Vashem official. When asked why he gave these figures, Wiesenthal replied: "The gentiles will not pay attention if we do not mention their victims, too." Wiesenthal "chose 'five million (gentiles)' because he wanted a 'diplomatic' number, one that told of a large number of gentile victims but in no way was larger than that of Jews ..." [54]

"What Wiesenthal and the Los Angeles Center that bears his name do is to trivialize the Holocaust," commented *The Jewish Press*, a weekly that claims to be the largest-circulation English-language Jewish community paper in America.

In recent years Wiesenthal has been concerned about the growing impact of Holocaust revisionism. In "A Message from Simon Wiesenthal" published by the Center that bears his name, he said: "Today, when I see the rise of antisemitism here in Europe ... the popularity of Le Pen, of David Duke, of the Holocaust revisionists, then I am convinced more than ever about the need for our new [Wiesenthal Center] Beit Hashoah-Museum of Tolerance" in Los Angeles. [55]

Wiesenthal is often asked why he does not forgive those who persecuted Jews half a century ago. His stock answer is that although he has the right to forgive for himself, he does not have the right to forgive on behalf of others. [56] On the basis of this sophisticated logic, though, neither does he have the right to accuse and track down anyone in the name of others. Wiesenthal has never confined his "hunt" to those who victimized him personally.

'Driven by hatred'

It is difficult to say just what drives this remarkable man. Is it a craving for fame and praise? Or is he trying to live down a shameful episode from his past?

Wiesenthal clearly enjoys the praise he receives. "He is a man of considerable ego, proud of testimonials and honorary degrees," the Los Angeles Times has reported. [57] Bruno Kreisky has given a simpler explanation. He said that Wiesenthal is "driven by hatred." [58]

In light of his well-documented record of deceit, lies and incompetence, the extravagant praise heaped upon this contemptible man is a sorry reflection of the venal corruptibility and unprincipled self-deception of our age.

Notes

1. ☞ Quoted in: M. Weber, "'Nazi Hunter' Caught Lying," The Spotlight (Washington, DC), Oct. 26, 1981, p. 9.
2. ☞ Interrogation of S. Wiesenthal on May 27 and 28, 1948, conducted by Curt Ponger of the Interrogation Branch of the Evidence Division of the Office (U.S.) Chief of Counsel for War Crimes. Interrogation No. 2820. On file at the National Archives (Washington, DC), "Records of the U.S. Nürnberg War Crimes Trials Interrogations, 1946-49," Record Group 238, microfilm M-1019, roll 79, frames 460-469 and 470-476. Also cited in: "New Documents Raise New Doubts About Simon Wiesenthal's War Years," The Journal of Historical Review, Winter 1988-89 (Vol. 8, No. 4), pp. 489-503.
3. ☞ PCIRO (International Refugee Organization, Austria) "Application for Assistance" filled out and signed by Wiesenthal. Dated Jan. 16, 1949. (This was a trial exhibit in the Walus court case. Photocopy in author's possession.)
4. ☞ Simon Wiesenthal, The Murderers Among Us: The Simon Wiesenthal Memoirs. Edited by Joseph Wechsberg. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967)
5. ☞ Interrogation of S. Wiesenthal, May 27, 1948, pp. 1-2.
6. ☞ The Murderers Among Us, p. 27.
7. ☞ The Murderers Among Us, pp. 29-35. This account is not inconsistent with his 1948 and 1949 statements; See also: Simon Wiesenthal, Justice Not Vengeance (New York: Grove Weidenfeld: 1989), pp. 7-9.
8. ☞ Interrogation of May 27, 1948, p. 2. In a signed 1945 statement, Wiesenthal wrote:

"... I escaped on October 18, 1943, from the Lemberg [Lvov] hard labor camp where I was kept as a prisoner during my two years of labor at the railroad works... and went into hiding until joining Jewish partisans on November 21, 1943, who operated there. It was while fighting in the partisan ranks against the Nazis that we managed to collect and bury for safekeeping considerable amount of evidence... When the partisans were dispersed by the Germans I fled to Lemberg on February 10, 1944, and again went into hiding. On June 13, 1944, I was found during a house to house search and was immediately sent to the famous Lacki camp, near that city ..." Source: "Curriculum Vitae of Ing. Wiesenthal, Szymon." SHAEF, Subject: War Crimes, July 6, 1945. Records of US-AEUR, War Crimes Branch, National Archives (Suitland, Maryland), Records Group 338, Box 534, Folder 000-50-59.
9. ☞ Wiesenthal's alleged partisans activities are also recounted in Alan Levy, The Wiesenthal File (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), pp. 50-53.
10. ☞ Interrogation of May 28, 1948, pp. 1-2.

11. [↗](#) Interrogation of May 28, 1948, p. 5.
12. [↗](#) The Murderers Among Us, pp. 35-37.
13. [↗](#) The Murderers Among Us, pp. 37-38; Interrogation, May 27, 1948, p. 2, and May 28, 1948, p. 5; A. Levy, The Wiesenthal File (1994), p. 54.
14. [↗](#) The Murderers Among Us, pp. 39-44; Interrogation, May 27, 1948, pp. 2-3.
15. [↗](#) Interview with foreign journalists in Vienna, Nov. 10, 1975. Text published in: "War Wiesenthal ein Gestapo-Kollaborateur?," Profil (Vienna), No. 47, Nov. 18, 1975, pp. 16, 22-23; Reprinted in: Robert H. Drechsler, Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation (Vienna: 1982), pp. 215-218, 222-223; Quoted in part in A. Levy, The Wiesenthal File (1994), p. 349, and in, S. Wiesenthal, Justice Not Vengeance (New York: 1989), pp. 7, 299. Kreisky was not alone in charging that Wiesenthal had collaborated with the German Gestapo. Wim Van Leer, columnist for the English-language daily Jerusalem Post, stated in May 1986 that a high-level police official in Vienna, citing confidential police records, had told him during the early 1960s that these and other charges against Wiesenthal were true. Source: J. Bushinsky, "Nazi hunter sues over charges of links to Gestapo," Chicago Sun-Times, Jan. 31, 1987.
16. [↗](#) Simon Wiesenthal, KZ Mauthausen (Linz and Vienna: Ibis-Verlag, 1946). Facsimile reprint in: Robert H. Drechsler, Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation (Vienna: 1982), p. 64.
17. [↗](#) "Firing Squad," Life magazine, US edition, June 11, 1945, p. 50.
18. [↗](#) M. Weber and K. Stimely, "The Sleight-of-Hand of Simon Wiesenthal," The Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1984 (Vol. 5, No. 1), pp. 120-122; D. National-Zeitung (Munich), May 21, 1993, p. 3.
19. [↗](#) S. Wiesenthal, KZ Mauthausen (1946). See also facsimile reprint in: Robert H. Drechsler, Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation (Vienna: 1982), pp. 42, 46. This "confession" is a somewhat altered version of Nuremberg document NO-1973; A new edition of Wiesenthal's 1946 book has been published under the title Denn sie Wussten, was sie tun: Zeichnungen und Aufzeichnungen aus dem KZ Mauthausen (Vienna: F. Deuticke, 1995). I am grateful to Robert Faurisson for bringing this to my attention. He points out in a July 1995 essay that Wiesenthal has deleted from this new edition both the "death bed confession" of Zierys as well as his drawing of the three Mauthausen inmates.
20. [↗](#) According to the Encyclopaedia Judaica ("Mauthausen," Vol. 11, p. 1138), a grand total of 206,000 persons were inmates of Mauthausen and its satellite camps (including Hartheim) at one time or another.
21. [↗](#) S. Wiesenthal, KZ Mauthausen (1946). Facsimile reprint in: R. Drechsler, Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation, p. 47.
22. [↗](#) R. Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers: Truth or Lie?," The Journal of Historical Review, Winter 1981, pp. 330, 361. See also: Hans Fritzsche, The Sword in the Scales (London: 1953), p. 185; Gerald Reitlinger, The Final Solution (London: Sphere, pb., 1971), p. 515; M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," The Journal of Historical Review, Summer 1992 (Vol. 12, No. 2), p. 182.
23. [↗](#) USA Today, April 21, 1983, p. 9A.
24. [↗](#) The Murderers Among Us, p. 44.
25. [↗](#) Evelyn Le Chene, Mauthausen: The History of a Death Camp (London: 1971), pp. 166-168 and 190-191.
26. [↗](#) "Mauthausen," Encyclopaedia Judaica (New York and Jerusalem: 1971), vol. 11, p. 1138.
27. [↗](#) C. Moritz, ed., Current Biography 1975 (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1975), p. 442; Wiesenthal interrogation of May 27, 1948, p. 3.

28. [↗](#) Mark Weber, "Jewish Soap," *The Journal of Historical Review*, Summer 1991 (Vol. 11, No. 2), pp. 217-227; See also: Robert Faurisson, "La savon juif," *Annales d'Histoire Revisionniste* (Paris), No. 1, Printemps 1987, pp. 153-159.
29. [↗](#) *Der Neue Weg* (Vienna), No. 17/18, 1946, pp. 4-5. Article entitled "RIF" by "Ing. Wiesenth." (Simon Wiesenthal).
30. [↗](#) *Der Neue Weg* (Vienna), Nr. 19/20, 1946, pp. 14-15. Article entitled "Seifenfabrik Belsetz" ("Belzec Soap Factory"), by "Ing. S.Wiesenth."
31. [↗](#) S. Wiesenthal, *Sails of Hope* (Macmillan, 1973).
32. [↗](#) Letters by Wiesenthal in *Books and Bookmen* (London), April 1975, p. 5, and in *Stars and Stripes* (European edition), Jan. 24, 1993, p. 14. Facsimile of Stars and Stripes letter in *The Journal of Historical Review*, May-June 1993, p. 10; In 1986 Wiesenthal lied about his 1975 statement. In a letter dated May 12, 1986, to Prof. John George of Central State University in Edmond, Oklahoma (copy in author's possession), Wiesenthal wrote: "I have never stated that 'there were no extermination camps on German soil.' This quote is false, I could never have said such a thing."
33. [↗](#) For example, in a letter (dated Sept. 13, 1993), published in *The New York Times*, Sept. 29, 1993, Wiesenthal boasted: "I succeeded in putting a number of Nazis on trial who had perpetrated horrendous crimes in the Nazi era, including Adolf Eichmann, Franz Stangl, Gustav Wagner,..."
34. [↗](#) S. Birnbaum, "Wiesenthal's Claim on Eichmann Disputed by Former Mossad Head," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin* (New York), April 4, 1989. (Dispatch dated April 3).
35. [↗](#) J. Schachter, "Wiesenthal had no role in Eichmann capture," *The Jerusalem Post*, May 18, 1991. Facsimile reprint in *Christian News*, May 27, 1991, p. 19. See also: Ruth Sinai, "Wiesenthal's role in Eichmann's capture disputed," *Associated Press*, *The Orange County Register*, Feb. 25, 1990, p. A 26; L. Lagnado, "How Simon Wiesenthal Helped a Secret Nazi," *Forward* (New York), Sept. 24, 1993, pp. 1, 3.
36. [↗](#) J. Schachter, *The Jerusalem Post*, May 18, 1991 (cited above). Facsimile in *Christian News*, May 27, 1991, p. 19.
37. [↗](#) Arnold Forster, *Square One* (New York: 1988), pp. 187-189. (Forster was general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League, a major Zionist organization.)
38. [↗](#) J. Goldberg, "Top Spy Says Wiesenthal Lied About His Exploits," *Forward* (New York), Nov. 12, 1993, pp. 1, 4; R. Sinai, "Wiesenthal's role...", *The Orange County Register*, Feb. 25, 1990 (cited above).
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40. [↗](#) "The Nazi Who Never Was," *The Washington Post*, May 10, 1981, pp. B5, B8.
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43. [↗](#) G. Posner and J. Ware, *Mengele: The Complete Story* (cited above), p. 220.

44. [↗](#) G. Posner and J. Ware, Mengele (cited above), pp. 179-180; G. Astor, The 'Last' Nazi (cited above), pp. 178-180.
45. [↗](#) Time magazine, Sept. 26, 1977, pp. 36-38. Cited in: G. Posner and J. Ware, Mengele (cited above), p. 219.
46. [↗](#) "Hunting the 'Angel of Death'," Newsweek, May 20, 1985, pp. 36-38. See also: M. Weber, "Lessons of the Mengele Affair," Journal of Historical Review, Fall 1985 (Vol. 6, No. 3), p. 382. On Wiesenthal's distortion of truth in the Mermelstein-IHR case, see: M. Weber, "Declaration," Journal of Historical Review, Spring 1982 (Vol. 3, No. 1), pp. 42-43; M. Weber, "Albert Speer and the 'Holocaust,'" Journal of Historical Review, Winter 1984 (Vol. 5, Nos. 2-4), p. 439.
47. [↗](#) Midstream, Dec. 1983, p. 24. Quoted in: G. Posner and J. Ware, Mengele (cited above), p. 219; Los Angeles Times, Nov. 15, 1985, p. 2.
48. [↗](#) J. Schachter, "Wiesenthal had no role in Eichmann capture," The Jerusalem Post, May 18, 1991. Facsimile reprint in Christian News, May 27, 1991, p. 19.
49. [↗](#) Tom Bower in The Times (London), June 14, 1985, p. 14. Quoted in: G. Posner and J. Ware, Mengele (cited above), pp. 222-223.
50. [↗](#) G. Posner and J. Ware, Mengele (cited above), pp. 222-223.
51. [↗](#) Betrayal, by Eli M. Rosenbaum, with William Hoffer. Published in 1993 by St. Martin's Press (New York). Reviewed by Jacob Heilbrunn in The New York Times Book Review, Oct. 10, 1993, p. 9.
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53. [↗](#) The New York Times Book Review, Oct. 10, 1993, p. 9; Forward (New York), Sept. 24, 1993, p. 3.
54. [↗](#) "Was hat Wiesenthal zu verbergen?," D. National-Zeitung (Munich), Nov. 11, 1988, p. 4.
55. [↗](#) David Sinai, "News We Doubt You've Seen," The Jewish Press (Brooklyn, NY), Dec. 23, 1988. Based on report in the Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz, Dec. 16, 1988.
56. [↗](#) "A Message from Simon Wiesenthal," Response: The Wiesenthal Center World Report, Winter 1992, p. 11.
57. [↗](#) Charles Ashman and Robert J. Wagman, The Nazi Hunters (New York: Pharos Books, 1988), p. 286; A. Popkin, "Nazi-Hunter Simon Wiesenthal: 'Information is Our Best Defense'," Washington Jewish Week, Oct. 29, 1987, p. 2.
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59. Quoted in D. National-Zeitung (Munich), July 8, 1988, p. 7, and in, R. Drechsler, Simon Wiesenthal: Dokumentation (Vienna: 1982), p. 199.

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What Christians Don't Know About Israel

By *Grace Halsell*



American Jews sympathetic to Israel dominate key positions in all areas of our government where decisions are made regarding the Middle East. This being the case, is there any hope of ever changing U.S. policy? American Presidents as well as most members of Congress support Israel — and they know why. U.S. Jews sympathetic to Israel donate lavishly to their campaign coffers.

The answer to achieving an even-handed Middle East policy might lie elsewhere — among those who support Israel but don't really know why. This group is the vast majority of Americans. They are well-meaning, fair-minded Christians who feel bonded to Israel — and Zionism — often from atavistic feelings, in some cases dating from childhood.

I am one of those. I grew up listening to stories of a mystical, allegorical, spiritual Israel. This was before a modern political entity with the same name appeared on our maps. I attended Sunday School and watched an instructor draw down window-type shades to show maps of the Holy Land. I imbibed stories of a Good and Chosen people who fought against their Bad “unChosen” enemies.

In my early 20s, I began traveling the world, earning my living as a writer. I came to the subject of the Middle East rather late in my career. I was sadly lacking in knowledge regarding the area. About all I knew was what I had learned in Sunday School.

And typical of many U.S. Christians, I somehow considered a modern state created in 1948 as a homeland for Jews persecuted under the Nazis as a replica of the spiritual, mystical Israel I heard about as a child. When in 1979 I initially went to Jerusalem, I planned to write about the three great monotheistic religions and leave out politics. “Not write about politics?” scoffed one Palestinian, smoking a waterpipe in the Old Walled City. “We eat politics, morning, noon and night!”

As I would learn, the politics is about land, and the co-claimants to that land: the indigenous Palestinians who have lived there for 2,000 years and the Jews who started arriving in large numbers after the Second World War. By living among Israeli Jews as well as Palestinian Christians and Muslims, I saw, heard, smelled, experienced the police state tactics Israelis use against Palestinians.

My research led to a book entitled *Journey to Jerusalem*. My journey not only was enlightening to me as regards Israel, but also I came to a deeper, and sadder, understanding of my own country. I say sadder understanding because I began to see that, in Middle East politics, we the people are not making the decisions, but rather that supporters of Israel are doing so. And typical of most Americans, I tended to think the U.S. media was “free” to print news impartially.

‘It shouldn’t be published. It’s anti-Israel.’

In the late 1970s, when I first went to Jerusalem, I was unaware that editors could and would classify “news” depending on who was doing what to whom. On my initial visit to Israel-Palestine, I had interviewed dozens of young Palestinian men. About one in four related stories of torture.

Israeli police had come in the night, dragged them from their beds and placed hoods over their heads. Then in jails the Israelis had kept them in isolation, besieged them with loud, incessant noises, hung them upside down and had sadistically mutilated their genitals. I had not read such stories in the U.S. media. Wasn’t it news? Obviously, I naively thought, U.S. editors simply didn’t know it was happening.

On a trip to Washington, DC, I hand-delivered a letter to Frank Mankiewicz, then head of the public radio station WETA. I explained I had taped interviews with Palestinians who had been brutally tortured. And I’d make them available to him. I got no reply. I made several phone calls. Eventually I was put through to a public relations person, a Ms. Cohen, who said my letter had been lost. I wrote again. In time I began to realize what I hadn’t known: had it been Jews who were strung up and tortured, it would be news. But interviews with tortured Arabs were “lost” at WETA.

The process of getting my book *Journey to Jerusalem* published also was a learning experience. Bill Griffin, who signed a contract with me on behalf of MacMillan Publishing Company, was a former Roman Catholic priest. He assured me that no one other than himself would edit the book. As I researched the book, making several trips to Israel and Palestine, I met frequently with Griffin, showing him sample chapters. “Terrific,” he said of my material.

The day the book was scheduled to be published, I went to visit MacMillan’s. Checking in at a reception desk, I spotted Griffin across a room, cleaning out his desk. His secretary Margie came to greet me. In tears, she whispered for me to meet her in the ladies room. When we were alone, she confided, “He’s been fired.” She indicated it was because he had signed a contract for a book that was sympathetic to Palestinians. Griffin, she said, had no time to see me.

Later, I met with another MacMillan official, William Curry. “I was told to take your manuscript to the Israeli Embassy, to let them read it for mistakes,” he told me. “They were not pleased. They asked me, ‘You are not going to publish this book, are you?’ I asked, ‘Were there mistakes?’” “Not mistakes as such. But it shouldn’t be published. It’s anti-Israel.”

Somehow, despite obstacles to prevent it, the presses had started rolling. After its publication in 1980, I was invited to speak in a number of churches. Christians generally reacted with disbelief. Back then, there was little or no coverage of Israeli land confiscation, demolition of Palestinian homes, wanton arrests and torture of Palestinian civilians.

The Same Question

Speaking of these injustices, I invariably heard the same question, “How come I didn’t know this?” Or someone might ask, “But I haven’t read about that in my newspaper.” To these church audiences, I related my own learning experience, that of seeing hordes of U.S. correspondents covering a relatively tiny state. I pointed out that I had not seen so many reporters in world capitals such as Beijing, Moscow, London, Tokyo, Paris. Why, I asked, did a small state with a 1980 population of only four million warrant more reporters than China, with a billion people?

I also linked this query with my findings that The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post — and most of our nation's print media — are owned and/or controlled by Jews supportive of Israel. It was for this reason, I deduced, that they sent so many reporters to cover Israel — and to do so largely from the Israeli point of view.

My learning experiences also included coming to realize how easily I could lose a Jewish friend if I criticized the Jewish state. I could with impunity criticize France, England, Russia, even the United States. And any aspect of life in America. But not the Jewish state. I lost more Jewish friends than one after the publication of *Journey to Jerusalem* — all sad losses for me and one, perhaps, saddest of all.

In the 1960s and 1970s, before going to the Middle East, I had written about the plight of blacks in a book entitled *Soul Sister*, and the plight of American Indians in a book entitled *Bessie Yellowhair*, and the problems endured by undocumented workers crossing from Mexico in *The Illegals*. These books had come to the attention of the “mother” of The New York Times, Mrs. Arthur Hays Sulzberger.

Her father had started the newspaper, then her husband ran it, and in the years that I knew her, her son was the publisher. She invited me to her fashionable apartment on Fifth Avenue for lunches and dinner parties. And, on many occasions, I was a weekend guest at her Greenwich, Conn., home.

She was liberal-minded and praised my efforts to speak for the underdog, even going so far in one letter to say, “You are the most remarkable woman I ever knew.” I had little concept that from being buoyed so high I could be dropped so suddenly when I discovered — from her point of view — the “wrong” underdog.

As it happened, I was a weekend guest in her spacious Connecticut home when she read bound galleys of *Journey to Jerusalem*. As I was leaving, she handed the galleys back with a saddened look: “My dear, have you forgotten the Holocaust?” She felt that what happened in Nazi Germany to Jews several decades earlier should silence any criticism of the Jewish state. She could focus on a holocaust of Jews while negating a modern day holocaust of Palestinians.

I realized, quite painfully, that our friendship was ending. Iphigene Sulzberger had not only invited me to her home to meet her famous friends but, also at her suggestion, The Times had requested articles. I wrote op-ed articles on various subjects including American blacks, American Indians as well as undocumented workers. Since Mrs. Sulzberger and other Jewish officials at the Times highly praised my efforts to help these groups of oppressed peoples, the dichotomy became apparent: most “liberal” U.S. Jews stand on the side of all poor and oppressed peoples save one — the Palestinians.

How handily these liberal Jewish opinion-molders tend to diminish the Palestinians, to make them invisible, or to categorize them all as “terrorists.”

Interestingly, Iphigene Sulzberger had talked to me a great deal about her father, Adolph S. Ochs. She told me that he was not one of the early Zionists. He had not favored the creation of a Jewish state.

Yet, increasingly, American Jews have fallen victim to Zionism, a nationalistic movement that passes for many as a religion. While the ethical instructions of all great religions — including the teachings of Moses, Muhammad and Christ — stress that all human beings are equal, militant Zionists take the position that the killing of a non-Jew does not count.

Over five decades now, Zionists have killed Palestinians with impunity. And in the 1996 shelling of a U.N. base in Qana, Lebanon, the Israelis killed more than 100 civilians sheltered there. As an Israeli journalist, Arie Shavit, explains of the massacre, “We believe with absolute certitude that right now, with the White House in our hands, the Senate in our hands and The New York Times in our hands, the lives of others do not count the same way as our own.”

Israelis today, explains the anti-Zionist Jew Israel Shahak, “are not basing their religion on the ethics of justice. They do not accept the Old Testament as it is written. Rather, religious Jews turn to the Talmud. For them, the Talmudic Jewish laws become “the Bible.” And the Talmud teaches that a Jew can kill a non-Jew with impunity.

In the teachings of Christ, there was a break from such Talmudic teachings. He sought to heal the wounded, to comfort the downtrodden.

The danger, of course, for U.S. Christians is that having made an icon of Israel, we fall into a trap of condoning whatever Israel does — even wanton murder — as orchestrated by God.

Yet, I am not alone in suggesting that the churches in the United States represent the last major organized support for Palestinian rights. This imperative is due in part to our historic links to the Land of Christ and in part to the moral issues involved with having our tax dollars fund Israeli-government-approved violations of human rights.

While Israel and its dedicated U.S. Jewish supporters know they have the president and most of Congress in their hands, they worry about grassroots America — the well-meaning Christians who care for justice. Thus far, most Christians were unaware of what it was they didn’t know about Israel. They were indoctrinated by U.S. supporters of Israel in their own country and when they traveled to the Land of Christ most all did so under Israeli sponsorship. That being the case, it was unlikely a Christian ever met a Palestinian or learned what caused the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

This is gradually changing, however. And this change disturbs the Israelis. As an example, delegates attending a Christian Sabeel conference in Bethlehem earlier this year said they were harassed by Israeli security at the Tel Aviv airport.

“They asked us,” said one delegate, “Why did you use a Palestinian travel agency? Why didn’t you use an Israeli agency?” The interrogation was so extensive and hostile that Sabeel leaders called a special session to brief the delegates on how to handle the harassment. Obviously, said one delegate, “The Israelis have a policy to discourage us from visiting the Holy Land except under their sponsorship. They don’t want Christians to start learning all they have never known about Israel.”

About the Author

Grace Halsell (1923-2000) was a distinguished American journalist, war correspondent, author and columnist. She was the author of 13 books, including *Journey to Jerusalem* and *Prophecy and Politics*.

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A Straight Look at the Jewish Lobby

By *Mark Weber*

For many years Israel has violated well established standards of international law and has defied numerous United Nations resolutions in its occupation of conquered lands, in extra-judicial killings, and in repeated acts of military aggression.

Most of the world regards Israel's policies, and especially its oppression of Palestinians, as illegal and outrageous. This international consensus is reflected, for example, in numerous UN resolutions condemning Israel, which have been approved with overwhelming majorities. ^[1] "The whole world," said United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan in 2002, "is demanding that Israel withdraw [from occupied Palestinian territories]. I don't think the whole world ... can be wrong." ^[2]

Among the world's nations, the United States stands out as the most devoted backer of Israel. With very few exceptions, even those American politicians and media figures who might sometimes criticize a particular Israeli policy are, nonetheless, vigorous supporters of Israel – and not just as a country, but as an emphatically *Jewish* ethnic-religious state. In spite of occasional disputes over specific policies, the US continues, as it has for years, to provide Israel with crucial military, diplomatic and financial backing.

Why is the US such a staunch bastion of support for the Jewish state?

One person who has spoken candidly about this has been Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, who was awarded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize. Addressing an audience in Boston, he said: "But you know as well as I do that, somehow, the Israeli government is placed on a pedestal [in the US], and to criticize it is to be immediately dubbed anti-Semitic ... People are scared in this country, to say wrong is wrong because the Jewish lobby is powerful – very powerful." ^[3]

Bishop Tutu spoke the truth. Although Jews make up only two or three percent of the US population, they wield immense power and influence – much more than any other ethnic or religious group.

As Jewish author and political science professor Benjamin Ginsberg has pointed out: ^[4]

"Since the 1960s, Jews have come to wield considerable influence in American economic, cultural, intellectual and political life. Jews played a central role in American finance during the 1980s, and they were among the chief beneficiaries of that decade's corporate mergers and reorganizations. Today, though barely two percent of the nation's population is Jewish, close to half its billionaires are Jews. The chief executive officers of the three major television networks and the four largest film studios are Jews, as are the owners of the nation's largest newspaper chain and the most influential single newspaper, the *New York Times* ... The role and influence of Jews in American politics is equally marked ...

“Jews are only three percent of the nation’s population and comprise eleven percent of what this study defines as the nation’s elite. However, Jews constitute more than 25 percent of the elite journalists and publishers, more than 17 percent of the leaders of important voluntary and public interest organizations, and more than 15 percent of the top ranking civil servants.”

Stephen Steinlight, former Director of National Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, similarly notes the “disproportionate political power” of Jews, which is “pound for pound the greatest of any ethnic/cultural group in America.” He goes on to explain that “Jewish economic influence and power are disproportionately concentrated in Hollywood, television, and in the news industry.” [5]

Two well-known Jewish writers, Seymour Lipset and Earl Raab, pointed out in their book, *Jews and the New American Scene*: [6] “During the last three decades Jews [in the United States] have made up 50 percent of the top two hundred intellectuals ... 20 percent of professors at the leading universities ... 40 percent of partners in the leading law firms in New York and Washington ... 59 percent of the directors, writers, and producers of the 50 top-grossing motion pictures from 1965 to 1982, and 58 percent of directors, writers, and producers in two or more primetime television series.”

Vanity Fair magazine in 2007 published a list of what it calls “the world’s most powerful people” – a lineup of the one hundred most influential media bosses, bankers, publishers, image makers, and so forth, who determine how we view ourselves and the world, and who – directly and indirectly – shape our lives and our futures. Jews made up more than half of the powerful men and women on the *Vanity Fair* list, reported a leading Israeli newspaper, *The Jerusalem Post*. [7] Similarly, a listing of America’s wealthiest individuals compiled in 2018 by the business magazine *Forbes* showed that five of the top ten were Jewish. [8]

The Jewish role in American political life is similarly lopsided. A survey by the Jewish news agency JTA in September 2020 found that “15 of the top 25 biggest political donors this [election] cycle are Jewish or of Jewish origin.” Prominent among these 15 were Sheldon and Miriam Adelson, Michael Bloomberg, George Soros and Tom Steyer. [9]

In recent years the single biggest donors to Republican politicians, by far, have been Sheldon and Miriam Adelson, a vehemently pro-Zionist Jewish billionaire couple. The Adelsons gave more than \$100 million to Republican causes and candidates in the 2016 election cycle, and another \$123 million in the 2018 election cycle. [10] In the 2020 election cycle, the gambling casino magnate and his wife gave an estimated \$250 million to support Donald Trump and other Republican candidates. [11]

Similarly, Jews were the biggest donors to leading Democratic Party candidates in recent years. Prominent among these donors have been George Soros and Haim Saban. [12] In an article profiling Israeli billionaire and global media magnate Haim Saban, *The New York Times* noted his important role in American politics and his ardent devotion to the Jewish state. “He has since emerged as perhaps the most politically connected mogul in Hollywood,” the paper reported, “throwing his weight and money around Washington, and increasingly, the world, trying to influence all things Israeli. ‘I’m a one-issue guy and my issue is Israel,’ he said.” [13] M. J. Rosenberg, a political affairs analyst for *The Nation* observed in 2014: “Adelson and Saban are top funders, respectively, of the Republican and Democratic parties, although as Adelson points out, ‘when it comes to Israel we’re on the same side’.” [14]

A Grip on Hollywood

“It makes no sense at all to try to deny the reality of Jewish power and prominence in popular culture,” acknowledges Michael Medved, a well-known Jewish author and film critic. “Any list of the most influential production executives at each of the major movie studios will produce a heavy majority of recognizably Jewish names.” [15]

One person who has carefully studied this subject is Jonathan J. Goldberg, editor of the influential Jewish community weekly *Forward*. In his book, *Jewish Power*, he wrote: [16]

“In a few key sectors of the media, notably among Hollywood studio executives, Jews are so numerically dominant that calling these businesses Jewish-controlled is little more than a statistical observation ...

“Hollywood at the end of the twentieth century is still an industry with a pronounced ethnic tinge. Virtually all the senior executives at the major studios are Jews. Writers, producers, and to a lesser degree directors are disproportionately Jewish — one recent study showed the figure as high as 59 percent among top-grossing films.

“The combined weight of so many Jews in one of America’s most lucrative and important industries gives the Jews of Hollywood a great deal of political power. They are a major source of money for Democratic candidates.”

Joel Stein, a columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*, has written: “As a proud Jew, I want America to know about our accomplishment. Yes, we control Hollywood ... I don’t care if Americans think we’re running the news media, Hollywood, Wall Street or the government. I just care that we get to keep running them.” [17]

A Well-Entrenched Factor

Over the years, this clout has had a profound impact on how Americans feel, think and act. One prominent political figure who has publicly acknowledged this reality is President Joe Biden. In a remarkable address in May 2013, when he was Vice President, he said that the “immense” and “outsized” Jewish role in the US mass media and cultural life is the single most important factor in shaping American attitudes over the past century, and in driving major cultural-political changes. [18] “I bet you 85 percent of those [major social-political] changes, whether it’s in Hollywood or social media, are a consequence of Jewish leaders in the industry,” Biden said. “The influence is immense.” He went on to say: “Jewish heritage has shaped who we are – all of us, us, me – as much or more than any other factor in the last 223 years. And that’s a fact.”

As Biden noted, the Jewish role in American life has long been a formidable one. In 1972, during a private White House meeting that was secretly recorded, President Richard Nixon and the Rev. Billy Graham – the nation’s best-known Christian evangelist – spoke frankly about the Jewish grip on the media. Graham said: “This stranglehold has got to be broken or the country’s going down the drain.” To which the president responded: “You believe that?” “Yes, sir,” said Graham. “Oh, boy,” replied Nixon. “So do I. I can’t ever say that [publicly], but I believe it.” [19]

How could all this have happened? Jewish American scholar Alfred M. Lilienthal provided an answer in his detailed study, *The Zionist Connection*. He wrote: [20]

“How has the Zionist will been imposed on the American people?... It is the Jewish connection, the tribal solidarity among themselves and the amazing pull on non-Jews, that has molded this unprecedented power ... The Jewish connection covers all areas and reaches every level. Most

Americans may not even sense this gigantic effort, but there is scarcely a Jew who is not touched by its tentacles...

“The extent and depth to which organized Jewry reached – and reaches – in the U.S. is indeed awesome ... The most effective component of the Jewish connection is probably that of media control ... Jews, toughened by centuries of persecution, have risen to places of prime importance in the business and financial world... Jewish wealth and acumen wields unprecedented power in the area of finance and investment banking, playing an important role in influencing U.S. policy toward the Middle East ... In the larger metropolitan areas, the Jewish-Zionist connection thoroughly pervades affluent financial, commercial, social, entertainment, and art circles.”

Foreign Policy Role

Because US military might is the most formidable and intrusive in the world, by far, the Jewish-Zionist role in setting American policy has consequences for people far beyond the borders of the United States. In the administration of President George W. Bush a group of high-level “neoconservative” Jews played a key role in prodding the United States into war in Iraq. This cabal included: Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy Secretary of Defense; Richard Perle of the Pentagon’s Defense Policy Board; David Wurmser in the State Department; and, Douglas Feith, the Pentagon’s Undersecretary for Policy. These men acted in accord with Zionist plans to overthrow the Iraqi regime that were already in place well before Bush became president in early 2001. ^[21]

For well-informed people, this reality is no secret. In Britain, a veteran member of the House of Commons candidly declared in May 2003 that pro-Israel Jews had taken control of America’s foreign policy, and had succeeded in pushing the US and Britain into war in Iraq. Tam Dalyell, a Labour party deputy known as “Father of the House” because he was the longest-serving Member of Parliament, said: “A Jewish cabal have taken over the government in the United States and formed an unholy alliance with fundamentalist Christians ... There is far too much Jewish influence in the United States.” ^[22]

In Washington, Senator Ernest Hollings was moved to declare that Iraq was invaded, as he put it, to “secure Israel,” and that “everybody” knows it. Referring to the reluctance of his Congressional colleagues to openly acknowledge this reality, Hollings said that “nobody is willing to stand up and say what is going on.” Members of Congress, with few exceptions, uncritically support Israel and its policies due to what Hollings called, “the pressures that we get politically.” ^[23]

This open-ended support for the Jewish state by American politicians of both major parties was pointedly affirmed by Nancy Pelosi, an important Democratic Party leader in Congress, and Speaker of the US House of Representatives. Addressing a conference in 2018, she said: “I have said to people when they ask me, If this Capitol crumbled to the ground, the one thing that would remain is our commitment to our aid ... and I don’t even call it aid ... our cooperation with Israel. That’s fundamental to who we are.” ^[24]

With Zionist leaders now prodding the United States into new conflicts against Israel’s adversaries, the cost to Americans of the US alliance with the Jewish state is likely to rise even higher in the years to come.

To sum up: Jews wield immense power and influence in the United States. The “Jewish lobby” is a decisive factor in US support for Israel. Jewish-Zionist interests are not identical to American interests. In fact, they often conflict.

As long as the “very powerful” Jewish lobby remains entrenched, there will be no end to the Jewish-Zionist grip on the US political system and the American media, the Zionist oppression of Palestinians, and the Israeli threat to peace.

Notes

1.  This consensus is reflected in numerous UN resolutions condemning Israel, which have been approved with overwhelming majorities, often with the US and Israel virtually alone in opposition.
See, for example: UN Press Release, GA/10179, Oct. 21, 2003. (<http://www.un.org/press/en/2003/ga10179.doc.htm>) ; “UAE, Bahrain, Sudan join huge majority backing anti-Israel moves at UN panel,” *The Times of Israel*, Nov. 5, 2020 (<https://www.timesofisrael.com/un-committee-again-passes-annual-anti-israel-resolutions-with-huge-majorities/>). ; “UN Panel Votes 163-5 in Support of Palestinian Statehood, End of Occupation,” *The Times of Israel*, Nov. 20, 2020 (<https://www.timesofisrael.com/un-votes-163-5-in-support-of-palestinian-statehood-end-of-occupation/>).
2.  On April 8, 2002, in Madrid. J. Brinkley, “Israel Starts Leaving...,” *The New York Times*, April 9, 2002.
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About the Author

Mark Weber – historian, author and lecturer – studied history at the University of Illinois (Chicago), the University of Munich, Portland State University and Indiana University (M.A., 1977). He is director of the Institute for Historical Review.

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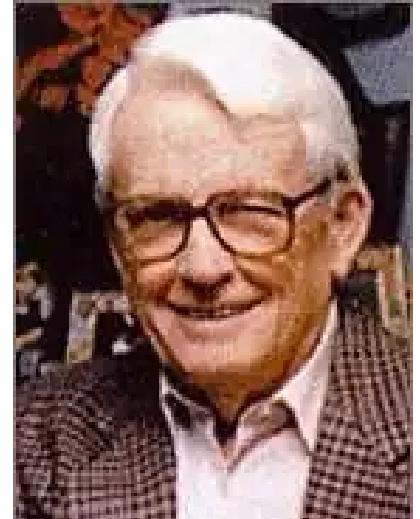
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Liberating America From Israel

By *Paul Findley*

Nine-eleven would not have occurred if the U.S. government had refused to help Israel humiliate and destroy Palestinian society. Few express this conclusion publicly, but many believe it is the truth. I believe the 9/11 catastrophe could have been prevented if any U.S. president had had the courage and wisdom to suspend all U.S. aid until Israel withdrew from the Arab land seized in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

The U.S. lobby for Israel is powerful and intimidating, but any determined president could prevail and win overwhelming public support for the suspension of aid by laying these facts before the American people:



Israel's present government, like its predecessors, is determined to annex the West Bank — biblical Judea and Samaria — so Israel will become Greater Israel. Ultra-Orthodox Jews, who maintain a powerful role in Israeli politics, believe the Jewish Messiah will not come until Greater Israel is a reality. Although a minority in Israel, they are committed, aggressive, and influential. Because of deep religious conviction, they are determined to prevent Palestinians from gaining statehood on any part of the West Bank.

In its violent assaults on Palestinians, Israel uses the pretext of eradicating terrorism, but its forces are actually engaged in advancing the territorial expansion just cited. Under the guise of anti-terrorism, Israeli forces treat Palestinians worse than cattle. With due process nowhere to be found, hundreds are detained for long periods and most are tortured. Some are assassinated. Homes, orchards, and business places are destroyed. Injured or ill Palestinians needing emergency medical care are routinely held at checkpoints for an hour or more. Many children are undernourished. Four million Palestinians are held in the West Bank and Gaza, which are like giant internment centers, bordered with a high concrete wall that Israel calls a "separation fence." None of this could have occurred without U.S. support. Perhaps Israeli officials believe life will become so unbearable that most Palestinians will eventually leave their ancestral homes.

Once beloved worldwide, the U.S. government finds itself reviled in most countries because it provides unconditional support of Israeli violations of the United Nations Charter, international law, and the precepts of all major religious faiths.

How did the American people get into this fix?

Nine-eleven had its principal origin years ago when Israel's U.S. lobby began its unbroken success in stifling debate about the proper U.S. role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and effectively con-

cealed from public awareness the fact that the U.S. government gives massive uncritical support to Israel.

Thanks to the suffocating influence of Israel's U.S. lobby, open discussion of the Arab-Israeli conflict has been non-existent in our government all these years. I have firsthand knowledge, because I was a member of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee in June 1967 when Israeli military forces took control of the Golan Heights, a part of Syria, as well as the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza. I continued as a member for 16 years, and since then have maintained a close watch on Congress.

For many years, not a word has been expressed in that committee or in either chamber of Congress that deserves to be called debate on Middle East policy. No restrictive or limiting amendments on aid to Israel have been offered for more than 30 years, and none of the few offered in previous years received more than a handful of votes. On Capitol Hill, criticism of Israel, even in private conversation, is all but forbidden, treated as downright unpatriotic, if not anti-Semitic. The continued absence of free speech was assured when those few who spoke out — Senators Adlai Stevenson and Charles Percy, and Reps. Paul "Pete" McCloskey, Cynthia McKinney, Earl Hilliard, and myself — were defeated at the polls by candidates heavily financed by pro-Israel forces.

As a result, legislation dealing with the Middle East has been heavily biased in favor of Israel and against Palestinians and other Arabs year after year. Home constituencies, misled by news coverage equally lop-sided in Israel's favor, remain largely unaware that Congress behaves as if it were a subcommittee of the Israeli parliament. This bias is widely noted beyond America, where most news media candidly cover Israel's conquest and generally excoriate America's complicity and complacency.

The fury should surprise no one who reads foreign newspapers or listens to BBC. In several televised statements long before 9/11, Osama bin Laden, believed by U.S. authorities to have masterminded 9/11, cited U.S. complicity in Israel's destruction of Palestinian society as a principal complaint. Prominent foreigners, in and out of government, have expressed their opposition to U.S. policies with steadily growing frequency and severity.

The lobby's intimidation remains pervasive. It seems to reach every government center, and even houses of worship and revered institutions of higher learning. It is highly effective in silencing the many U.S. Jews who object to the lobby's tactics and Israel's brutality.

Nothing can justify 9/11. Those guilty deserve maximum punishment, but it makes sense for America to examine motivations as carefully as possible. Terrorism almost always arises from deeply-felt grievances. If they can be eradicated or eased, terrorist passions are certain to subside.

In the years since 9/11, American presidents have made no attempt to redress grievances. In fact, they have made the scene far worse by supporting Israel's religious war against Palestinians, an alliance that has intensified anti-American anger. America's leaders seem oblivious to the fact that nearly two billion people worldwide regard the plight of Palestinians as today's most important foreign-policy challenge.

No one in authority will admit a calamitous reality that is skillfully shielded from the American people, but which is clearly recognized by most of the world: America suffered 9/11 and its aftermath, and was then at war with Iraq, mainly because U.S. policy in the Middle East is made in Israel, not in Washington.

Israel is a scofflaw nation and should be treated as such. Instead of helping its leaders intensify Palestinian misery, our president should suspend all aid until Israel ends its occupation of Arab land seized in 1967. The suspension would force compliance by Israel's leaders or lead to their removal from office, as the Israeli electorate will not tolerate a prime minister who is at odds with the White House.

If the American president needs an additional reason for doing the right thing, he can justify the suspension as a matter of military necessity, an essential step in winning international support for his war on terrorism. He can cite a worthy precedent. When President Abraham Lincoln issued the proclamation that freed only the slaves in states that were then in rebellion, he made the restriction because of "military necessity." If the American president suspends U.S. aid, he will liberate all Americans from long years of bondage to Israel's misdeeds.

About the Author

Paul Findley (1921-2019) served as a U.S. Congressional Representative from Illinois 1961-1983. He served with the U.S. Navy during World War II. For most of this life he and his wife resided in Jacksonville, Illinois. He died in August 2019, age 98. During his 22 years in Congress, he became known as a conscientious and forthright legislator, and as a principled advocate for justice and human rights. He was the author of three books related to the Middle East, including *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby* and *Deliberate Deceptions: Facing the Facts About the U.S.-Israeli Relationship*.

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Iraq: A War For Israel

By *Mark Weber*

The U.S. bombing and invasion of Iraq in March-April 2003, and the occupation that followed, cost more than four thousand American lives and hundreds of billions of dollars, and brought death to many tens of thousands of Iraqis.

Why did President Bush decide to go to war? In whose interests was it launched?

In the months leading up to the attack, the President and other high-level US officials repeatedly warned that the threat posed to the US and world by the Baghdad regime was so grave and imminent that the United States had to act quickly to bomb, invade and occupy Iraq.

On Sept. 28, 2002, for example, Bush said:

“The danger to our country is grave and it is growing. The Iraqi regime possesses biological and chemical weapons, is rebuilding the facilities to make more and, according to the British government, could launch a biological or chemical attack in as little as 45 minutes after the order is given... This regime is seeking a nuclear bomb, and with fissile material could build one within a year.”

On March 6, 2003, President Bush declared:

“Saddam Hussein and his weapons are a direct threat to this country, to our people, and to all free people... I believe Saddam Hussein is a threat to the American people. I believe he’s a threat to the neighborhood in which he lives. And I’ve got good evidence to believe that. He has weapons of mass destruction... The American people know that Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction.”

These claims were untrue. As the world now knows, Iraq had no dangerous “weapons of mass destruction,” and posed no threat to the US. Moreover, alarmist suggestions that the Baghdad regime was working with the al-Qaeda terror network likewise proved to be without foundation.

So if the official reasons given for the war were untrue, why did the United States attack Iraq?

Whatever the secondary reasons for the war, the crucial factor in President Bush’s decision to attack was to help Israel. With support from Israel and America’s Jewish-Zionist lobby, and prodded by Jewish “neo-conservatives” holding high-level positions in his administration, President Bush – who was already fervently committed to Israel – resolved to invade and subdue one of Israel’s chief regional enemies.

This is so widely understood in Washington that US Senator Ernest Hollings was moved in May 2004 to acknowledge that the US invaded Iraq “to secure Israel,” and “everybody” knows it. He

also identified three of the influential pro-Israel Jews in Washington who played an important role in prodding the US into war: Richard Perle, chair of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board; Paul Wolfowitz, Deputy Defense Secretary; and Charles Krauthammer, columnist and author. [1]

Hollings referred to the cowardly reluctance of his Congressional colleagues to acknowledge this truth openly, saying that "nobody is willing to stand up and say what is going on." Due to "the pressures we get politically," he added, members of Congress uncritically support Israel and its policies.

Some months before the invasion, retired four-star US Army General and former NATO Supreme Allied Commander Wesley Clark acknowledged in an interview: "Those who favor this attack [by the US against Iraq] now will tell you candidly, and privately, that it is probably true that Saddam Hussein is no threat to the United States. But they are afraid at some point he might decide if he had a nuclear weapon to use it against Israel." [2]

Six months before the attack, President Bush met in the White House with eleven members of the US House of Representatives. While the "war against terrorism is going okay," he told the lawmakers, the United States would soon have to deal with a greater danger: "The biggest threat, however, is Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction. He can blow up Israel and that would trigger an international conflict." [3]

Bush also spoke candidly about why the US was going to war during a White House meeting on Feb. 27, 2003, just three weeks before the invasion. In a talk with Elie Wiesel, the well-known Jewish writer, Bush said: "If we don't disarm Saddam Hussein, he will put a weapon of mass destruction on Israel and they will do what they think they have to do, and we have to avoid that." [4]

Fervently Pro-Israel

President Bush's fervent support for Israel and its hardline government is well known. He reaffirmed it, for example, in June 2002 in a major speech on the Middle East. In the view of "leading Israeli commentators," the London *Times* reported, the address was "so pro-Israel that it might have been written by [Israel prime minister] Ariel Sharon." [5] In an address to pro-Israel activists at the 2004 convention of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), Bush said: "The United States is strongly committed, and I am strongly committed, to the security of Israel as a vibrant Jewish state." He also told the gathering: "By defending the freedom and prosperity and security of Israel, you're also serving the cause of America." [6]

Condoleezza Rice, who served as President Bush's National Security Advisor, and later, as his Secretary of State, echoed the President's outlook in a May 2003 interview, saying that the "security of Israel is the key to security of the world." [7]

Long Range Plans

Jewish-Zionist plans for war against Iraq had been in place for years. In mid-1996, a policy paper prepared for then-Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu outlined a grand strategy for Israel in the Middle East. Entitled "A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm," it was written under the auspices of an Israeli think tank, the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies. Specifically, it called for an "effort [that] can focus on removing Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq, an important Israeli strategic objective in its own right..." [8]

The authors of “A Clean Break” included Richard Perle, Douglas Feith, and David Wurmser, three influential Jews who later held high-level positions in the Bush administration, 2001-2004: Perle as chair of the Defense Policy Board, Feith as Undersecretary of Defense, and Wurmser as special assistant to the Undersecretary of State for Arms Control. The role played by Bush administration officials who are associated with two major pro-Zionist “neoconservative” research centers has come under scrutiny from *The Nation*, the influential public affairs weekly. [9] The author, Jason Vest, examined the close links between the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA) and the Center for Security Policy (CSP), detailing the ties between these groups and various politicians, arms merchants, military men, wealthy pro-Israel American Jews, and Republican presidential administrations

JINSA and CSP members, notes Vest, “have ascended to powerful government posts, where... they’ve managed to weave a number of issues – support for national missile defense, opposition to arms control treaties, championing of wasteful weapons systems, arms aid to Turkey and American unilateralism in general – into a hard line, with support for the Israeli right at its core... On no issue is the JINSA/CSP hard line more evident than in its relentless campaign for war – not just with Iraq, but ‘total war,’ as Michael Ledeen, one of the most influential JINSAns in Washington, put it... For this crew, ‘regime change’ by any means necessary in Iraq, Iran, Syria, Saudi Arabia and the Palestinian Authority is an urgent imperative.”

Samuel Francis, author, editor and columnist, also looked into the “neo-conservative” role in fomenting war. [10] “My own answer,” he wrote, “is that the lie [that a massively-armed Iraq posed a grave and imminent threat to the US] was fabricated by neo-conservatives in the administration whose first loyalty is to Israel and its interests and who wanted the United States to smash Iraq because it was the biggest potential threat to Israel in the region. They are known to have been pushing for war with Iraq since at least 1996, but they could not make an effective case for it until after Sept. 11, 2001...”

In the aftermath of the 2001 Nine-Eleven terror attacks, ardently pro-Zionist “neo-conservatives” in the Bush administration – who for years had sought a Middle East war to bolster Israel’s security in the region – exploited the tragedy to press their agenda. In this they were backed by the Israeli government, which also pressured the White House to strike Iraq.

“The [Israeli] military and political leadership yearns for war in Iraq,” reported a leading Israeli daily paper, *Haaretz*, in February 2002. [11] The Jerusalem correspondent for the *Guardian*, the respected British daily, reported in August 2002: “Israel signalled its decision yesterday to put public pressure on President George Bush to go ahead with a military attack on Iraq, even though it believes Saddam Hussein may well retaliate by striking Israel.” [12]

Three months before the US invasion, the well-informed Washington journalist Robert Novak reported that Israeli prime minister Sharon was telling American political leaders that “the greatest US assistance to Israel would be to overthrow Saddam Hussein’s Iraqi regime.” Moreover, added Novak, “that view is widely shared inside the Bush administration, and is a major reason why US forces today are assembling for war.” [13]

Israel’s spy agencies were a “full partner” with the US and Britain in producing greatly exaggerated prewar assessments of Iraq’s ability to wage war, a former senior Israeli military intelligence official has acknowledged. Shlomo Bron, a brigadier general in the Israel army reserves, and a senior researcher at a major Israeli think tank, said that intelligence provided by Israel played a significant role in supporting the US and British case for making war. Israeli intelligence agen-

cies, he said, “badly overestimated the Iraqi threat to Israel and reinforced the American and British belief that the weapons [of mass destruction] existed.” [14]

The role of the pro-Israel lobby in pressing for war has been carefully examined by two prominent American scholars, John J. Mearsheimer, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, and Stephen M. Walt, professor of international affairs at Harvard University. [15] In an 81-page paper, “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy,” they wrote:

“Pressure from Israel and the [pro-Israel] Lobby was not the only factor behind the decision to attack Iraq in March 2003, but it was critical. Some Americans believe that this was a war for oil, but there is hardly any direct evidence to support this claim. Instead, the war was motivated in good part by a desire to make Israel more secure... Within the United States, the main driving force behind the Iraq war was a small band of neoconservatives, many with close ties to Israel’s Likud Party. In addition, key leaders of the Lobby’s major organizations lent their voices to the campaign for war.”

Important members of the pro-Israel lobby carried out what professors Mearshiemer and Walt call “an unrelenting public relations campaign to win support for invading Iraq. A key part of this campaign was the manipulation of intelligence information, so as to make Saddam look like an imminent threat.”

For some Jewish leaders, the Iraq war is part of a long-range effort to install Israel-friendly regimes across the Middle East. Norman Podhoretz, a prominent Jewish writer and an ardent supporter of Israel, was for years editor of *Commentary*, the influential Zionist monthly. In the Sept. 2002 issue he wrote:

“The regimes that richly deserve to be overthrown and replaced are not confined to the three singled-out members of the axis of evil [Iraq, Iran, North Korea]. At a minimum, the axis should extend to Syria and Lebanon and Libya, as well as ‘friends’ of America like the Saudi royal family and Egypt’s Hosni Mubarak, along with the Palestinian Authority, whether headed by Arafat or one of his henchmen.”

Patrick J. Buchanan, the well-known writer and commentator, and former White House Communications director, has been blunt in identifying those who pushed for war: [16]

“We charge that a cabal of polemicists and public officials seek to ensnare our country in a series of wars that are not in America’s interests. We charge them with colluding with Israel to ignite those wars and destroy the Oslo Accords. We charge them with deliberately damaging US relations with every state in the Arab world that defies Israel or supports the Palestinian people’s right to a homeland of their own. We charge that they have alienated friends and allies all over the Islamic and Western world through their arrogance, hubris, and bellicosity...”

“Cui Bono? For whose benefit these endless wars in a region that holds nothing vital to America save oil, which the Arabs must sell us to survive? Who would benefit from a war of civilizations between the West and Islam?”

“Answer: one nation, one leader, one party. Israel, Sharon, Likud.”

Uri Avnery – an award-winning Israeli journalist and author, and a three-time member of Israel’s parliament – sees the Iraq war as an expression of immense Jewish influence and power. In an essay written some weeks after the US invasion, he wrote: [17]

“Who are the winners? They are the so-called neo-cons, or neo-conservatives. A compact group, almost all of whose members are Jewish. They hold the key positions in the Bush administration, as well as in the think-tanks that play an important role in formulating American policy and the editorial pages of the influential newspapers... The immense influence of this largely Jewish group stems from its close alliance with the extreme right-wing Christian fundamentalists, who nowadays control Bush’s Republican party. ... Seemingly, all this is good for Israel. America controls the world, we control America. Never before have Jews exerted such an immense influence on the center of world power.”

In Britain, a veteran member of Britain’s House of Commons bluntly declared in May 2003 that Jews had taken control of America’s foreign policy, and had succeeded in pushing the US into war. “A Jewish cabal have taken over the government in the United States and formed an unholy alliance with fundamentalist Christians,” said Tam Dalyell, a Labour party deputy and the longest-serving House member. “There is far too much Jewish influence in the United States,” he added. [18]

Summary

For many years now, American presidents of both parties have been staunchly committed to Israel and its security. This entrenched policy is an expression of the Jewish-Zionist grip on America’s political and cultural life. It was fervent support for Israel – shared by President Bush, high-ranking administration officials and nearly the entire US Congress – that proved crucial in the decision to invade and subdue one of Israel’s greatest regional enemies.

While the unprovoked US invasion of Iraq may have helped Israel, just as those who wanted and planned for the war had hoped, it has been a calamity for America and the world. It has cost many tens of thousands of lives and hundreds of billions of dollars. Around the world, it has generated unmatched distrust and hostility toward the US. In Arab and Muslim countries, it has fueled intense hatred of the United States, and has brought many new recruits to the ranks of anti-American terrorists.

Americans have already paid a high price for their nation’s commitment to Israel. We will pay an ever higher price – not just in dollars or international prestige, but in the lives of young men squandered for the interests of a foreign state – until the Jewish-Zionist hold on US political life is finally broken.

Notes

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#2018

Holocaust Remembrance: What's Behind the Campaign?

By *Mark Weber*

Since the late 1970s “Holocaust Remembrance” has become ever more important in the United States and many other countries. The campaign to remember the Holocaust — often defined as the genocidal killing of six million Jews in Europe during the Second World War — includes numerous commemorative events, education courses in many schools, and a stream of motion pictures, television specials, books and magazine articles.

Across the United States, prominent political and civic leaders participate in annual Holocaust commemoration ceremonies. A number of countries, including Britain, Germany and Italy, officially observe a yearly Holocaust Remembrance Day. In 2005 the United Nations General Assembly approved a resolution introduced by Israel to designate January 27 as an international Holocaust remembrance day.

Every major American city has at least one Holocaust museum or memorial. Worldwide there are more than 250 Holocaust museums and memorials, most of them in the US and Europe. ^[1] The largest is the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, which is run by a taxpayer-funded federal government agency, and draws some two million visitors yearly.

The public is continually reminded of Jewish suffering during World War II. Between 1989 and 2003 alone, more than 170 films with Holocaust themes were made. ^[2] In many American and European schools, and in all Israeli classrooms, a focus on the wartime suffering of Europe’s Jews is obligatory. ^[3]

Yehuda Bauer, a prominent Holocaust specialist and a professor at Hebrew University in Israel, observed in 1992: “Whether presented authentically or inauthentically, in accordance with the historical facts or in contradiction to them, with empathy and understanding or as monumental kitsch, the Holocaust has become a ruling symbol of our culture... Hardly a month passes without a new TV production, a new film, a number of new books of prose or poetry dealing with the subject, and the flood is increasing rather than abating.” ^[4]

Tim Cole, a history professor and prominent specialist of Holocaust studies, writes in his book *Selling the Holocaust*: “From a relatively slow start, we have now come to the point where Jewish culture in particular, and Western culture more generally, are saturated with the ‘Holocaust’. Indeed, the ‘Holocaust’ has saturated Western culture to such an extent that it appears not only centre stage, but also lurks in the background. This can be seen in the remarkable number of contemporary movies which include the ‘Holocaust’ as plot or sub-plot.” ^[5]

How did the Holocaust come to play such a large role in America? “A good part of the answer,” writes Jewish scholar Peter Novick, “is the fact... that Jews play an important and influential role in Hollywood, the television industry, and the newspaper, magazine and book publishing

worlds.” Anyone who denies that this is a major factor behind the “massive attention” given to the Holocaust in the US media, he adds, “is being naïve or disingenuous.” [6]

Exploiting the Holocaust

What’s behind the Holocaust remembrance campaign? Whose interests does it serve?

It is, of course, fitting and proper to remember victims of genocide, war and oppression. But Holocaust remembrance is not, as its supporters claim, a noble effort motivated by sincere concern for humanity. Instead, this relentless campaign is an expression of Jewish-Zionist power, and is designed to further Jewish-Zionist interests.

On the occasion of the opening of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum on the Mall in Washington, noted Jewish author Melvin Jules Bukiet called the Museum a “statement of raw power,” and added: “It’s not Jewish tragedy that’s remembered on the Mall this week; it’s Jewish power to which homage is paid.” [7]

The Holocaust Remembrance campaign encourages sympathy and support for Jews and Israel. It helps to justify America’s massive and on-going support for Israel, and to excuse otherwise inexcusable policies of the Zionist state. Among Jews it strengthens a feeling of group solidarity and promotes a sense of community purpose.

Norman Finkelstein, a Jewish scholar who has held teaching posts at New York University and DePaul University, writes in his bestselling book, *The Holocaust Industry*, that “invoking The Holocaust” is “a ploy to delegitimize all criticism of Jews.” He adds: “By conferring total blamelessness on Jews, the Holocaust dogma immunizes Israel and American Jewry from legitimate censure... Organized American Jewry has exploited the Nazi holocaust to deflect criticism of Israel’s and its own morally indefensible policies.” [8]

Paula Hyman, a professor of modern Jewish history at Yale University, has observed: “With regard to Israel, the Holocaust may be used to forestall political criticism and suppress debate; it reinforces the sense of Jews as an eternally beleaguered people who can rely for their defense only upon themselves. The invocation of the suffering endured by the Jews under the Nazis often takes the place of rational argument, and is expected to convince doubters of the legitimacy of current Israeli government policy.” [9]

This view is echoed by another Jewish scholar, Tony Judt, director of the Remarque Institute at New York University: [10]

“The Shoah [Hebrew term for Holocaust] is frequently exploited in America and Israel to deflect and forbid any criticism of Israel. Indeed, the Holocaust of Europe’s Jews is nowadays exploited thrice over: It gives American Jews in particular a unique, retrospective ‘victim identity’; it allows Israel to trump any other nation’s sufferings (and justify its own excesses) with the claim that the Jewish catastrophe was unique and incomparable; and (in contradiction to the first two) it is adduced as an all-purpose metaphor for evil — anywhere, everywhere and always — and taught to schoolchildren all over America and Europe without any reference to context or cause. This modern instrumentalization of the Holocaust for political advantage is ethically disreputable and politically imprudent.”

In Israel, says Tom Segev, a prominent Israeli journalist and author, the Holocaust has become “an object of worship.” Moreover, he writes, “the ‘heritage of the Holocaust,’ as it is taught in [Israel’s] schools and fostered in national memorial ceremonies, often encourages insular chau-

vinism and a sense that the Nazi extermination of the Jews justifies any act that seems to contribute to Israel's security, including the oppression of the population in the territories occupied by Israel in the Six-Day War." [11]

Amira Hass, an award-winning Israeli journalist and author, is even more blunt. Writing in a leading Israeli daily paper, she says: [12]

"... Israel has turned the liquidation of Europe's Jews into an asset. Our murdered relatives are being enlisted to enable Israel to continue not giving a damn about international decisions against the occupation. The suffering our parents endured in the ghettos and concentration camps that filled Europe, the physical and mental anguish and torment that our parents were subjected to every single day since the 'liberation,' are used as weapons to thwart any international criticism of the society we are creating here. This is a society with built-in discrimination on the basis of nationality, and the discrimination is spreading on either side of the Green Line. This is a society that is systematically continuing to banish the Palestinian nation from its land and usurp its rights as a nation and its chances for a humane future."

The great lesson of the Holocaust, says Israel prime minister Ariel Sharon, is that Jews must "always remain vigilant and trust no one but ourselves. Jews can only rely on themselves." Young Jews, he adds, "have the duty to bequeath the lesson, memories and stories, to underscore the importance of the existence of the Jewish state." [13]

No Similar Remembrance of Non-Jews

Non-Jewish victims of genocide, oppression and war do not merit the same consideration as do Jewish victims of the Holocaust. There are no comparable museums, memorials or solemn ceremonies to commemorate, for example, the vastly greater number of victims of Soviet and Chinese Communism.

As historians acknowledge, the non-Jewish victims of Soviet Russian dictator Joseph Stalin greatly outnumber the Jews who perished as a result of Hitler's policies. Robert Conquest, a prominent scholar of twentieth century Russian history, estimates the number of those who lost their lives as a consequence of Stalin's policies as "no fewer than 20 million." [14] Authoritative estimates of the number of Chinese who perished as victims of killings, repression, starvation and forced labor under the Communist regime of Mao Zedong range from about 30 million to more than 60 million. [15]

Americans are trained and encouraged to "know" that six million Jews were murdered by the Nazis in World War II. But few Americans, even well-educated ones, have any idea of how many Russians, Poles, Chinese or even Americans lost their lives in that global conflict. Estimates of the number of Chinese who lost their lives as direct and indirect victims of Japanese aggression and occupation during the 1930s and 1940s range from about ten million to more than twice that number. The Chinese government has put the figure at 35 million. [16]

During the years 1885 through 1908, an estimated five to eight million Africans perished in the Congo as direct and indirect victims of the brutal policies of the Belgian colonial authorities. These little-remembered deaths were the result of widespread killings, starvation, exhaustion and exposure. [17]

'Holocaust Denial' Laws

In some countries special “Holocaust denial” laws stifle free and objective discussion of the Holocaust issue. In Israel, Germany, France, Austria and a few other nations, it is a crime publicly to “play down,” dispute, “whitewash,” or “deny” the Holocaust. No other chapter of history is protected by law in this way. Even factually accurate statements that violate “Holocaust denial” laws are punished. Over the years, many individuals in those countries have been fined, imprisoned or forced into exile for disputing Holocaust claims.

‘God’s Chosen’

The Holocaust is often treated with reverence, and as a central event of world history. For many Jews, says Rabbi Michael Goldberg, a Jewish author and religious leader, the “veneration” of the Holocaust has become a new religion. “And as with any organized church,” he adds, “this Holocaust cult has its own tenets of faith, rites, and shrines.” ^[18]

The Holocaust remembrance campaign reflects an arrogant view of Jews as a special and superior people. Abraham Foxman, head of the Anti-Defamation League — one of the most influential Zionist groups — has declared: “...The Holocaust is something different. It is a singular event. It is not simply one example of genocide but a near successful attempt on the life of God’s chosen children and, thus, on God himself. It is an event that is the antithesis of Creation as recorded in the Bible; and like its direct opposite, which is relived weekly with the Sabbath and yearly with the Torah, it must be remembered from generation to generation.” ^[19]

Jewish death and suffering do not deserve to be venerated more than the death and suffering of non-Jews. The Holocaust remembrance campaign deserves scorn, not support, because it is a one-sided effort that serves narrow Jewish and Israeli interests and bolsters Jewish-Zionist power.

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66 Questions and Answers on the Holocaust last updated: 12/98

1. What proof exists that the Nazis killed six million Jews?

None. All we have is postwar testimony, mostly of individual "survivors." This testimony is contradictory, and very few claim to have actually witnessed any "gassing." There are no contemporaneous documents or hard evidence: no mounds of ashes, no crematories capable of disposing of millions of corpses, no "human soap," no lamp shades made of human skin, and no credible demographic statistics.

2. What evidence exists that six million Jews were not killed by the Nazis?

Extensive forensic, demographic, analytical and comparative evidence demonstrates the impossibility of such a figure. The widely repeated "six million" figure is an irresponsible exaggeration.

3. Did Simon Wiesenthal state in writing that "there were no extermination camps on German soil"?

Yes. The famous "Nazi hunter" wrote this in Stars and Stripes, Jan. 24, 1993. He also claimed that "gassings" of Jews took place only in Poland.

4. If Dachau was in Germany, and even Wiesenthal says that it was not an extermination camp, why do many American veterans say it was an extermination camp?

After the Allies captured Dachau, many GIs and others were led through the camp and shown a room alleged to have been a "gas chamber." The mass media widely, but falsely, continues to assert that Dachau was a "gassing" camp.

5. What about Auschwitz? Is there any proof that gas chambers were used to kill people there?

No. Auschwitz, captured by the Soviets, was modified after the war, and a room was reconstructed to look like a large "gas chamber." After America's leading expert on gas chamber construction and design, Fred Leuchter, examined this and other alleged Auschwitz gassing facilities, he stated that it was an "absurdity" to claim that they were, or could have been, used for mass executions.

6. If Auschwitz wasn't a "death camp," what was its true purpose?

It was an internment center and part of a large-scale manufacturing complex. Synthetic fuel was produced there, and its inmates were used as a workforce.

7. Who set up the first concentration camps?

During the Boer War (1899-1902), the British set up what they called "concentration camps" in South Africa to hold Afrikaner women and children. Approximately 30,000 died in these hell-holes, which were as terrible as German concentration camps of World War II.

8. How did German concentration camps differ from American "relocation" camps in which Japanese-Americans were interned during WWII?

One significant difference was that whereas the Germans interned persons on the basis of being real or suspected security threats to the war effort, the Roosevelt administration interned persons on the basis of ethnicity alone.

9. Why did the German government intern Jews in camps?

It considered Jews a threat to national security. (Jews were overwhelmingly represented in Communist subversion.) However, all suspected security risks — not just Jews — were in danger of internment.

10. What hostile measure did world Jewry undertake against Germany as early as 1933?

In March 1933, international Jewish organizations declared an international boycott of German goods.

11. Did the Jews "declare war" on Germany?

Yes. Newspapers around the world reported this. A front-page headline in the London Daily Express (March 24, 1933), for example, announced "Judea Declares War on Germany."

12. Was this before or after the "death camp" stories began?

This was years before the "death camp" stories, which began in 1941-1942.

13. What nation was first to practice mass civilian bombing?

Britain, in a raid on Freiburg on February 10, 1940.

14. How many "gas chambers" to kill people were there at Auschwitz?

None.

15. How many Jews were living in the areas that came under German control during the war?

Fewer than six million.

16. If the Jews of Europe were not exterminated by the Nazis, what happened to them?

After the war millions of Jews were still alive in Europe. Hundreds of thousands (perhaps as many as one and a half million) had died of all causes during the war. Others had emigrated to Palestine, the United States, and other countries. Still more Jews left Europe after the war.

17. How many Jews fled or were evacuated to deep within the Soviet Union?

More than two million fled or were evacuated by the Soviets in 1941-1942, and thus never came under German control.

18. How many Jews emigrated from Europe prior to the war, thus putting them outside of German reach?

Perhaps a million (not including those absorbed by the USSR).

19. If Auschwitz was not an extermination camp, why did the commandant, Rudolf Höss, confess that it was?

He was tortured by British military police, as one of his interrogators later admitted.

20. Is there any evidence of American, British and Soviet policy to torture German prisoners to exact "confessions" for use at the trials at Nuremberg and elsewhere?

Yes. Torture was used to produce fraudulent "evidence" for the infamous Nuremberg trials, and in other postwar "war crimes" trials.

21. How does the Holocaust story benefit Jews today?

It helps protect Jews as a group from criticism. As a kind of secular religion, it provides an emotional bond between Jews and their leaders. It is a powerful tool in Jewish money-raising campaigns, and is used to justify US aid to Israel.

22. How does it benefit the State of Israel?

It justifies the billions of dollars in "reparations" Germany has paid to Israel and many individual "survivors." It is used by the Zionist/Israeli lobby to dictate a pro-Israel American foreign policy in the Middle East, and to force American taxpayer aid to Israel, totaling billions of dollars per year.

23. How is it used by many Christian clergymen?

The Holocaust story is cited to justify the Old Testament notion of Jews as a holy and eternally persecuted "Chosen People."

24. How did it benefit the Communists?

It diverted attention from Soviet war mongering and atrocities before, during and after the Second World War.

25. How does it benefit Britain?

In much the same way it benefited the Soviet Union.

26. Is there any evidence that Hitler ordered the extermination of Europe's Jews?

No.

27. What kind of gas was used in German wartime concentration camps?

Hydrocyanic gas from "Zyklon B," a commercial pesticide that was widely used throughout Europe.

28. For what purpose was "Zyklon B" manufactured?

It was a pesticide used to fumigate clothing and buildings to kill typhus-bearing lice and other pests.

29. Was this product suitable for mass extermination?

No. If the Nazis had intended to use poison gas to exterminate people, far more efficient products were available. Zyklon is a slow-acting fumigation agent.

30. How long does it take to ventilate an area after fumigation with Zyklon B?

Normally about 20 hours. The whole procedure is very complicated and dangerous. Gas masks must be used, and only trained personnel are employed.

31. Auschwitz commandant Höss said that men would enter the "gas chambers" to remove bodies ten minutes after the victims had died. How do you explain this?

It can't be explained because had they done so they would have suffered the same fate as the "gassing" victims.

32. Höss said in his "confession" that men would smoke cigarettes as they pulled bodies out of gas chambers, ten minutes after gassing. Isn't hydrocyanic gas explosive?

Yes. The Höss confession is obviously false.

33. What was the exact procedure the Nazis allegedly used to exterminate Jews?

The stories range from dropping gas canisters into a crowded room from holes in the ceiling, to piping gas through shower heads, to "steam

chambers," to "electrocution" machinery. Millions are alleged to have been killed in these ways.

34. How could a mass extermination program have been kept secret from those who were scheduled to be killed?

It couldn't have been kept secret. The extermination stories originated as wartime atrocity propaganda.

35. If Jews scheduled for execution knew the fate in store for them, why did they go along with the Germans without resisting?

They didn't fight back because they did not believe there was any intention to kill them.

36. About how many Jews died in the concentration camps?

Competent estimates range from about 300,000 to 500,000.

37. How did they die?

Mainly from recurring typhus epidemics that ravaged war-torn Europe during the war, as well as from starvation and lack of medical attention during the final months of the conflict, when virtually all road and rail transportation had been bombed out by the Allies.

38. What is typhus?

This disease always appears when many people are jammed together under unsanitary conditions. It is carried by lice that infest hair and clothes. Ironically, if the Germans had used more Zyklon B, more Jews might have survived the camps.

39. What is the difference if six million or 300,000 Jews died during the Second World War?

5,700,000.

40. Some Jewish Auschwitz survivors say they saw bodies being dumped into pits and burned there. How much fuel would have been required for this?

A great deal more than the Germans had access to, as there was a substantial fuel shortage during the war.

41. Can bodies be burned in pits?

No. It is impossible for human bodies to be totally consumed by flames in this manner because of lack of oxygen.

42. Holocaust historians claim that the Nazis were able to cremate bodies in about ten minutes. How long does it take to incinerate one body, according to professional crematory operators?

About an hour and a half, although the larger bones still remain intact.

43. Why did the German concentration camps have crematory ovens?

To dispose efficiently and sanitarily of the corpses of those who had died.

44. Given a 100-percent duty cycle of all the crematories in all the camps in German-controlled territory, what is the maximum number of corpses it would have been possible to incinerate during the entire period such crematories were in operation?

About 430,600.

45. Can a crematory oven be operated 100 percent of the time?

No. Fifty percent of the time is a generous estimate (12 hours per day). Crematory ovens have to be cleaned thoroughly and regularly when in heavy operation.

46. How much ash is left from a cremated corpse?

After the bone is all ground down, about a shoe box full.

47. If six million people had been incinerated by the Nazis, what happened to the ashes?

That remains to be "explained." Six million bodies would have produced many tons of ashes, yet there is no evidence of any large ash depositories.

48. Do Allied wartime aerial reconnaissance photos of Auschwitz (taken during the period when the "gas chambers" and crematoria were supposedly in full operation) show evidence of extermination?

No. In fact, these photographs do not reveal even a trace of the enormous amount of smoke that supposedly was constantly over the camp, nor do they show evidence of the "open pits" in which bodies were allegedly burned.

49. What was the main provision of the German "Nuremberg Laws" of 1935?

They forbid marriage and sexual relations between Germans and Jews, similar to laws existing in Israel today.

50. Were there any American precedents for the Nuremberg Laws?

Years before Hitler's Third Reich, most states in the USA had enacted laws prohibiting marriage between persons of different races.

51. What did the International Red Cross report with regard to the "Holocaust" question?

An official report on the visit of an IRC delegation to Auschwitz in September 1944 pointed

out that internees were permitted to receive packages, and that rumors of gas chambers could not be verified.

52. What was the role of the Vatican during the time six million Jews were allegedly being exterminated?

If there had been an extermination program, the Vatican would most certainly have been in a position to know about it. But because there was none, the Vatican had no reason to speak out against it, and didn't.

53. What evidence is there that Hitler knew of an on-going Jewish extermination program?

None.

54. Did the Nazis and the Zionists collaborate?

As early as 1933, Hitler's government signed an agreement with the Zionists permitting Jews to emigrate from Germany to Palestine, taking large amounts of capital with them.

55. How did Anne Frank die?

After surviving internment in Auschwitz, she succumbed to typhus in the Bergen-Belsen camp, just a few weeks before the end of the war.

56. Is the Anne Frank Diary genuine?

Evidence compiled by Dr. Robert Faurisson of France establishes that the famous diary is a literary hoax.

57. What about the familiar photographs and film footage taken in the liberated German camps showing piles of emaciated corpses? Are these faked?

Photographs can be faked, but it's far easier to add a misleading caption to a photo or commentary to a piece of footage. Piles of emaciated corpses do not mean that these people were "gassed" or deliberately starved to death. Actually, these were tragic victims of raging epidemics or of starvation due to a lack of food in the camps toward the end of the war.

58. Who originated the term "genocide"?

Raphael Lemkin, a Polish Jew, in a book published in 1944.

59. Are films such as "Schindler's List" or "The Winds of War" documentaries?

No. Such films are fictional dramatizations loosely based on history. Unfortunately, all too many people accept them as accurate historical representations.

60. How many books have been published that refute aspects of the standard "Holocaust" story?

Dozens. More are in production.

61. What happened when the Institute for Historical Review offered \$50,000 to anyone who could prove that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz?

No proof was submitted as a claim on the reward, but the Institute was sued for \$17 million by former Auschwitz inmate Mel Mermelstein, who claimed that the reward offer caused him to lose sleep and his business to suffer, and represented "injurious denial of established fact."

62. What about the charge that those who question the Holocaust story are merely anti-Semitic or neo-Nazi?

This is a smear designed to draw attention away from facts and honest arguments. Scholars who refute Holocaust story claims are of all persuasions and ethnic-religious backgrounds (including Jewish). There is no correlation between "Holocaust" refutation and anti-Semitism or neo-Nazism. A number of Jewish scholars openly admit the lack of evidence for key Holocaust claims.

63. What has happened to "revisionist" historians who have challenged the Holocaust story?

They have been subjected to smear campaigns, loss of academic positions, loss of pensions, destruction of their property and physical violence.

64. Has the Institute for Historical Review suffered as a result of its efforts to uphold the right of freedom of speech and academic freedom?

The IHR had been bombed three times, and was completely destroyed on July 4, 1984, in a criminal arson attack. Numerous death threats by telephone have been received. Media coverage of the IHR has been overwhelmingly hostile.

65. Why is there so little publicity for the revisionist view?

Because for political reasons the Establishment does not want any critical discussion about the facts surrounding the Holocaust story.

66. Where can I get more information about the "other side" of the Holocaust story, as well as facts concerning other aspects of World War II historical revisionism?

The Institute for Historical Review, PO Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, carries a wide variety of books, audio cassettes, and video tapes on significant historical subjects. See also the Institute's Internet Web site at: <https://www.ihr.org>.

THE "HOLOCAUST"

120 Questions and Answers

by Charles E. Weber

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Note: Frequently cited references are usually given in an abbreviated form. Their full equivalents are given in the bibliography at the end of the questions.

MAIN TERRITORIAL CHANGES IN EUROPE, MARCH 1938 TO MAY 1941 (Changes shown by broken lines)



March 1938 Austria incorporated into Germany ("Anschluss").

Sept. 1938 Sudetenland (peripheral areas of western Czechoslovakia) incorporated into Germany as a result of Munich Agreement.

March 1939 Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia established by Germany. Slovakia becomes independent republic.

March 1939 Memel (between E. Prussia and Lithuania) incorporated into Germany. April 1939 Italy occupies Albania.

Sept. 1939 Western Poland, Danzig, part of Silesia reincorporated into Germany; northern and eastern part of Poland occupied by U.S.S.R.; General Government established by Germany with Crakow as capital.

1939 — 1940 U.S.S.R. occupies and later incorporates Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; drives into southeastern parts of Finland, takes Bessarabia from Romania.

1939 — 1941 Hungary expands into southern Czechoslovakia, Transylvania and part of Yugoslavia.

April 1940 Denmark and Norway invaded by Germany.

May 1940 Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, northern and western France occupied by Germany; capital of French state established in Vichy (remaining part of France occupied in November 1942).

Sept. 1940 Southern Dobruja ceded to Bulgaria.

May 1941 Yugoslavia and Greece occupied by Germany, Italy and other allies; area around Marbourg incorporated into Germany.

FOREWORD

Nearly four decades after the end of the Second World War a number of questions remain as to the origins and conduct of the tragic conflict, which still casts a shadow over all mankind, although innumerable books have been written about this war, scholarly, popular, propagandistic and simply fictional. One of the questions of great significance is the plight of European Jews during the war. Living in a land with a very powerful and vociferous Jewish minority, we Americans still encounter almost daily materials of various sorts pertaining to this aspect of the war, materials created for the most part with a sophisticated calculation. This book has been written primarily for the benefit of thinking, open-minded Americans who want to become familiar with more than one view of the question in order to arrive at the truth. As one participant in the war, I am attempting here to give a view of that aspect based on my own experiences in military intelligence, as well as on subsequent reading, published research and lecturing. As a result of the present and persistent importance of the subject, much innovative investigation has taken place on both sides of the Atlantic, particularly during the last decade or so. My attempt here is not to present much of my own research on special phases of the question. My attempt is, rather, to summarize the findings of those who have investigated the present questions and have cast doubts of various kinds on the generally accepted versions, to give some background on developments which led to the plight of the Jews and to present some of the chief points of evidence which have caused sincere, objective investigators to question popularly held, energetically propagated versions of this phase of the war. I have attempted to set forth information and observations in a form readily accessible to those readers who have not concerned themselves as specialists in this area and in a form also suitable for use as a school study guide. Furthermore, I have frequently given references to some of the more important and recent specialized literature on which I have drawn in order to lead readers to the more detailed works. The references following many of the answers, however, have a second objective. By including them I wish to acknowledge my debt to those

courageous and creative researchers who have made this essentially propaedeutic work possible.

Charles E. Weber, Ph.D.

Formerly Head of the Department of Modern Languages,

The University of Tulsa. Spring, 1983

Definitions and Semantic Development of the Term "Holocaust"

1. What is meant by the term "Holocaust"?

This word is of Greek origin and originally referred to a sacrifice wholly consumed by flames. The word has been appropriated by Zionist propagandists for their allegation that millions of Jews were murdered (largely by lethal gas) during the Second World War in Europe as a result of an extermination policy on the part of Germany and its allies. The number of Jews killed as a result of this alleged policy is usually, but by no means always, claimed to be some 6,000,000. It is sometimes claimed that a similar policy was directed toward Gypsies, but these are seldom mentioned. The claim has also been called the Extermination Thesis, which is devoid of a propagandistic orientation. The word "holocaust" could far more appropriately be applied to the destruction by fire of a number of European cities, such as Dresden.

Importance of the Problem

2. Why is the question of the validity of the "Holocaust" claims of importance to every American?

These claims have been instrumental in determining important aspects of United States foreign policy since about 1944 and have probably even had their effects on domestic law. American foreign policy, in turn, has resulted in a Communist iron curtain running right down the center of Europe (the motherland of Western Civilization), has incurred the hostility of scores of millions of people of the Islamic faith (who control huge oil reserves of vital interest to Americans) and has possibly even been responsible in part for the threat of nuclear annihilation of our nation or Communist enslavement. The claims have certainly made our relationship with the German people a less cordial one than it would have been without them.

References: Journal of Historical Review, Vol. III, no. 1, p5. Instauration, March 1983, p12, where a summary of the immediate costs to the

American taxpayer of our unwavering support of the Jewish state in Palestine is given.

3. How do the resources of those who disseminate the "Holocaust" material compare to the resources of those who dispute it?

Nearly the whole motion picture industry, the major television networks and much of the press in the United States have actively propagated the Extermination Thesis. Against this huge array of power only a few conscientious scholars have dared to speak out against the Extermination Thesis at the risk of their positions and even physical safety. Recently such scholars have found support and cohesion in the form of the Institute for Historical Review in Torrance, California. The Institute is a modestly funded organization whose resources are indeed minute compared with those of the proponents of the Extermination Thesis.

Cui Bono? Motives for propagating the Extermination Thesis

4. What have been the motivations of Jews in their intense and prolonged dissemination of the Extermination Thesis ("Holocaust" material)?

After their experiences during the Second World War, European Jews were more strongly attracted than ever to Zionism, the central objective of which was the founding of a secular Jewish state. Palestine was the most strongly desired location for that state, but Palestine had a large non-Jewish population which had to be dislodged by terror, murder, diplomatic and financial pressure on the British government and other means. By exaggerating the extent of Jewish mortality during the war, the proponents of the Extermination Thesis could put forth the idea that Jewish migration to various countries should be facilitated since it would be very small due to the great losses alleged. Moreover, a guilt complex could be engendered in potential host countries (especially the United States) by propagating the idea that they had been guilty of not helping Jews while they had been doomed to extermination. By constantly reiterating the "Holocaust" material, Jewish organizations could more effectively frighten Jews themselves into making larger donations for various protective measures against future "Holocausts." The Extermination Thesis has thus served to foster an ethnic awareness and solidarity amongst Jews and to prevent the loss of Jewish identity by intermarriage and other factors. In amore tangible, immediate sphere,

the "Holocaust" material helped Jews and the Jewish state founded in 1948 in Palestine financially. Zionist efforts culminated in the Luxembourg agreement of 1952, which forced the west German (Bonn) government to commit itself to protracted, heavy reparation payments to individual Jews and to the newly formed Jewish state. The "Holocaust" material was also effective in repressing any criticism of the Jewish state, no matter how criminal its actions. The gross exaggeration of Jewish mortality also served to bring about a sort of "obliteration by contrast," since other groups, e.g., the Baltic nations, had suffered heavy losses during and indeed after the war at the hands of the USSR, a government which had given the impression of being heavily under Jewish influences in its earlier stages.

5. What has caused non-Jewish groups to tolerate and in some cases even to help disseminate the "Holocaust" material?

The factors which motivated England and a somewhat reluctant France to declare war on Germany on 3 September 1939, had little or nothing to do with an idealistic desire to rescue the dictatorial Polish state. Rather, England's objectives were to restore a balance of power on the continent and to keep a rival for export markets out of competition. As the war went on and on, the costs became ever greater when Germany proved to be far more difficult to defeat than was originally assumed. Finally, a weakened England lost most of its empire. The utter destruction of the Anti-Comintern powers as military entities left a vacuum in Europe which was readily filled by Communist forces. The extensive destruction of monuments and institutions of European civilization also appalled the world. The "Holocaust" material came in very handy in rationalizing the terrible costs and conduct of the war on the part of England and its allies. As far as the USSR was concerned, the whole world was now forced to realize what a horrible mistake had been made by trusting it and supporting its war objectives virtually without reservation. Those who had warned against the USSR could now be embarrassed by the "Holocaust" claims, which were now propagated energetically to demonstrate that a German victory would have been worse than the postwar ascendancy of the USSR. Most strangely, we now observe that the government of western Germany in Bonn prosecutes those who question the "Holocaust" claims. This strange behavior on the part of a "German" government must be understood in

terms of fears of boycotts of German goods on international markets and pressures from the victorious powers, which still, to some extent, control western Germany as if it were an occupied land. Most governments have a tendency to claim that their subjects are better off than under previous governments. The Bonn government is no exception to this phenomenon. For that reason it makes every effort to denigrate the National Socialist government. The mood of the Bonn government is well summarized in lines 3581-2 of Goethe's Faust:

Wie schien mir's schwarz, und schwäzt's
noch gar,

Mir's immer doch nicht schwarz g'nug war.

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. III, no. 2, pp105-118.

6. What psychological needs will the future, federally subsidized Holocaust Museum in Washington fulfill?

The Holocaust Museum, estimated to cost from thirty to forty million dollars and to be located adjacent to the mall in Washington 400 yards from the Washington Monument, will fulfill a number of psychological and political needs. It constitutes a gigantic, official rationalization and justification for our role in the Second World War, which resulted in the enslavement of eastern and part of central Europe by the Communists, who had demonstrated their brutality and aims to dominate the world any number of times before and after 1939. The museum is intended as a reminder of crimes alleged to have been committed against European Jews by governments which have long ago passed out of existence. Crimes committed against Aryan nations by the Communists, who are a living, present danger to our very existence, will not be thus memorialized. We can rest assured that Congress will not fund huge monuments to the victims of Katyn or the massive deportations of the Baltic populations after World War II, let alone the victims of Operation Keelhaul. Such monuments would simply remind us of our own stupidity in dealing with the prime menace to our existence when it would have been very easy to have done so. As one small consolation to the American Aryan taxpayers who will be forced to pay for this propaganda triumph of Jewry, the museum will be a permanent admonishment to the American people of the disproportionate political power of the Jews in the United States. It is ironic indeed that the monument to the Americans who fell in Vietnam, located not far from the planned Holocaust Museum, is a simple, modest structure which was

funded largely by individual contributions. Reference: *Washington Post*, 3 March 1983.

7. What was done in Dachau and other concentration camps to make the Extermination Thesis seem plausible?

After the war parts of concentration camps, both in western Germany and Poland, have been rebuilt in such a way as to give the impression to viewers that huge numbers of internees were murdered by lethal gas in special chambers disguised as shower rooms.

References: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, pp77, 411-412. *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. I, pp255 ff. and 365 ff.

Coming to Grips with the Extermination Thesis

8. What is an important basic mistake which many historians have made with regard to assessing the plight of the Jews in Europe during the Second World War?

All too often the status of the Jews in Europe, particularly during the years 1941 to 1945, is considered on an isolated basis without taking into consideration the desperate context of the struggle. For Germany and its allies, the war took on an especially desperate character by virtue of the demand for unconditional surrender, the Morgenthau Plan of September 1944, and the very cruel behavior of the Soviet troops advancing into East Prussia during the autumn of 1944. The behavior and demands of the Allies could hardly have been better calculated to prolong the war and make it far more costly for all parties, including the Jews caught up in the fate of the Anti-Comintern nations. Another important but often overlooked factor was the general shortage of food in nearly all of Europe (even including the neutral nations) during the war as a result of the Allied blockade and loss of ships. War, we must bear in mind, means killing, hunger, disease, confiscation and destruction of property, debts, inflation, expansion of the role of government in people's lives, economic and social dislocation, injustice, hatred engendered by propaganda lies, loss of the best genetic assets of a race (especially the case during the First World War), suffering and anguish in concentration and prisoner-of-war camps and waste of valuable years of young men's lives.

9. What difficulties have been encountered by German historians who have attempted

to examine various aspects of the Second World War?

German records were captured by the Allied armies and were collected in document centers, such as that at Fechenheim near Frankfurt am Main (at which this author worked for some time during the autumn of 1945). Allied records, on the other hand, were not thus laid bare, while German records of the war were laid bare on a selective basis. In later years the Allied authorities have not seen fit to give public access to many of the documents that would be of crucial importance in obtaining a balanced view on a number of questions, such as the true origins of the war and its conduct.

References: Prof. Helmut Diwald, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, first printing of 1978, pp163-165. (These pages were altered in later printings.) Wilhelm Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, pp367-374.

10. How effective have the efforts of revisionists been in refuting the Extermination Thesis?

In spite of the meagerness of the resources of the revisionists, there are many indications that their efforts have been having some important effects. The great production costs of such films as *Holocaust*, *Playing for Time*, *The Diary of Anne Frank*, *Kitty: Return to Auschwitz*, *The Wall*, *Genocide*, *The Winds of War* and others were undoubtedly met partly in order to counter the efforts of the revisionists. Then, too, there have been elaborate "Holocaust" seminars sponsored by Jewish groups on numerous university campuses. One could, in fact, speak of a veritable and sizable "Holocaust" industry. On a more scholarly level, significant concessions have had to be made even by resolute proponents of the Extermination Thesis. The Jewish historian Gitta Sereny, for example, is a resolute adherent of the Extermination Thesis, but she has had to concede that "terrible disservice has been done by those who have exaggerated, carelessly misunderstood, or even invented Holocaust events." Even the Hollywood film actor Robert Mitchum was quoted as casting some doubtful remarks about the usual versions of the "Holocaust" (*Esquire*, February 1983, p56). If the revisionists have succeeded in nothing else, they have shown Americans how powerful, skilled and unscrupulous the people are who have such extensive influence in the motion picture and television industries. In the past there has been a paucity of public debate on the "Holocaust" question. but that is now changing.

11. Are revisionistic historians who dispute the Extermination Thesis "Neo-Nazis" and what are their objectives?

Typically, those who dispute the Extermination Thesis are highly patriotic, idealistic and individualistic men who are by no means socialists, let alone National Socialists. Many have risked their professional positions and even their physical safety in an idealistic pursuit of the truth. Some are Germans, but men of various nationalities are represented. After all, the National Socialist government passed out of existence in 1945 and no longer has any payrolls or even just medals to pass out.

12. What has happened to the historians who have had the integrity and courage to question the "Holocaust" material?

They have been subjected to name-calling, loss of positions, loss of pensions, destruction of their property and even physical violence. Such actions on the part of the Zionists indicate a weak case for the Extermination Thesis and represent an arrogant attack on the freedom of historical investigation. Such rough and unfair tactics are also an indication of the importance of the Extermination Thesis to the Zionists and their allies.

13. Do revisionistic historians claim that Jews in Europe did not suffer during the Second World War and that no Jews were killed by German, Hungarian, Rumanian, Slovakian and other Anti-Comintern authorities?

They recognize that many Jews suffered and died during the Second World War from a great variety of causes and that many died during internment from malnutrition and disease, a fate common to many prisoners of war during many wars, such as the American Civil War. The revisionists deny, however, that Germany and its allies had a policy of exterminating Jews and Gypsies simply as a result of their racial identity. They consider the six-million figure a gross and deliberate exaggeration of Jewish mortality.

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. I, no. 1, p7.

14. Why have so few academic historians been willing to investigate the Extermination Thesis and to publish their findings?

Although the proportion of Jews in the poorly paid academic profession is a modest one compared to their numbers in medicine and law, the influence of Jews as financial donors to universities is considerable. History is a severely overcrowded field and the competition for the few teaching positions in it is keen. As a result

of the disparate propagation of the Extermination Thesis, many administrators, students and even history professors themselves accept the Extermination Thesis without being aware that there are serious reasons for disputing it. Moreover, academic historians are generally hesitant to write about topics for which reliable documentation is not readily available.

Background History of European Jewry

15. How important was the Jewish question in National Socialist thought?

It was of some importance but today we have a strong tendency to overestimate it as a feature of National Socialism. The National Socialist Party Platform of 1920 proposes in Points 4 and 5 to give Jews the status of resident foreigners, but otherwise hardly touches on the Jewish question. After all, Jews barely constituted 1% of the population of Germany in 1920. Even Julius Streicher (1885-1946), the publisher of *Der Stürmer*, a vulgar periodical hostile to Jews, lost his position as the Gauleiter (regional party leader) of Franconia in 1940. It is probably fair to say that the chief concerns of the National Socialists were the overcoming of the unemployment problem, which had reached severe dimensions by 1932, and the rectification of the most severe, humiliating and debilitating provisions of the Versailles Treaty, such as the painful territorial losses. A prominent legal scholar and National Socialist, Prof. Johann von Leers wrote in his book, *14 Jahre Judenrepublik* (1933), that hostility to Jews for its own sake was stupid and barbaric. He further wished Jews success in an honest national development which did not threaten other nations and stated that the basic objective of Zionism, the resettlement of Jews on land outside of Europe, was a wholesome one.

16. Is it accurate to say that the National Socialists were anti-Semitic?

The term "anti-Semitism" in the sense, "opposition to Jews," is actually a misnomer, since Arabs, whose language is closely related to Hebrew, are also Semites. In an official statement published in *Neues Volk* (Berlin, 12 December 1942, pp12-13) in response to an enquiry of the Iraqi prime minister, Rashid Ali el Gailani, Prof. Gross, chief of the Office of Racial Policy (Rassen-politisches Amt), pointed out that National Socialist policies with regard to the Jews were for the purpose of protecting Germany from the corrosive influences of Jewry, but that

the accomplishments of Arabs were highly respected by Germans.

17. What had countries of western Europe other than Germany done about their Jewish populations long before the twentieth century?

For various reasons —religious, economic or social— the rulers of various European countries expelled their Jewish populations or in some cases forced Jews to convert to Christianity. Edward I (reigned 1272-1307) banished the Jews from England in 1290. France expelled its Jews in 1306, Spain in 1492, Portugal in 1497 and the kingdom of Naples in 1510 and 1541. Ireland and Scandinavia never had appreciable Jewish populations. Oliver Cromwell allowed Jews to return to England in 1657.

Reference: A.H.M. Ramsey, *The Nameless War*, pp112-115.

18. What was the position of the large Jewish population of Russia in the late nineteenth century?

The Russian Empire included then what is now Poland (except for the western and northern parts taken from Germany in 1945) and the Baltic states Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which were incorporated once again into the USSR in 1945. Poland and Lithuania had especially large Jewish populations. In 1792 Jews were restricted to the western part of the Russian Empire but during the course of the nineteenth century their residential restrictions were eased. The reign of Alexander II (1855-1881) was a liberal one for Jews, but after his assassination a quite unfavorable climate for Jews came about, characterized by riots ("pogroms") against Jews, more or less tolerated but not instigated by governmental officials.

Reference: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1970 edition, XII, 1071; XVII, 96; XVIII, 94.

19. What country now has the largest Jewish population in the world?

The United States, the population of which is approximately 3% Jewish.

20. What caused the Jewish population of the United States to grow rapidly after 1881?

Prior to 1881 the Jewish population of the United States was very small, about 1/2 of 1% or less, but unfavorable conditions in the Russian Empire during the reigns of Alexander III (1881-1894) and Nicholas II (1894-1917) caused a huge migration to the United States, approximately 2,500,000.

Reference: *Britton, Behind Communism*, p72.

21. From what amazing quarter did important financial assistance come to Communist Russia during its earliest years?

A number of very wealthy Jews in Wall Street firms contributed to the Communist regime during its early years when it was already soaked with the blood of innocent people who were being killed, exiled and expropriated simply because of their former class status. The largely Jewish government was taking a terrible vengeance against those who had prospered in the days of the Czars. That Wall Street capitalists were aiding the mostly Jewish rulers of Russia in a government dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism is vivid proof of the solidarity of a race with a long record of being perpetual aliens, no matter in what land they happened to be residing. Blood is thicker than water.

Reference: Anthony C. Sutton, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*, New Rochelle, 1974. See especially pp185-9. Note: Although the facts which Prof. Sutton presents speak for themselves to a considerable extent, his conclusions are pusillanimous.

22. What was the position of Jews in Germany during the time of the Second Empire (1871-1918)?

By the time the German states were united into the Second Empire in 1871, Jews had long been emancipated in them and had acquired the civil rights of other German citizens. During the rising prosperity of the newly founded empire ("Gründerzeit") Jews became quite prosperous and entered the learned professions in large numbers. A Jew, Walther Rathenau (1867-1922), held high positions in both the Imperial and Weimar governments.

23. What was the position of the Jews in Germany during the time of the Weimar Republic (1919-1933)?

Jewish influence and material wealth was so great during the time of the Weimar Republic that some Germans referred to it as the "Judenrepublik" (Jewish Republic), although Jews comprised only about 1% of its population. To mention only one small example, over 30% of the faculty of the University of Berlin was Jewish in 1932.

Reference: Walther Jantzen, *Geopolitik im Kartenbild/Die Juden*, Heidelberg, 1940. Contains maps and statistical diagrams on the history of Jews in Germany.

24. How prosperous were Jews in Hungary before World War II?

Between the two World Wars Jews represented about 6% of the population of Hungary. How-

ever, they owned over half the house property in Budapest and a quarter of the total national assets. Like Germany, Austria, Poland, the Free City of Danzig and some other eastern European lands, Hungary had undergone a hyperinflation after World War I, during which Jews, with their international financial connections, had been able to buy a great deal of assets from their impoverished host populations.

Reference: Marschalko, *The World Conquerors*, p121.

25. During the 1918-1945 period was hostility to Jews in Europe confined to Germany?

As early as 1922 Hungary had laws to keep its universities and professions from having a gross overrepresentation of Jews. Legal measures and popular movements also opposed Jewish influences in Poland and Rumania in particular.

26. What factors caused great hostility to Jews in Central and Eastern Europe during the 1920s and 1930s?

Europeans, especially those of the middle classes, were terrorized by what had happened in Russia after 1917 to untold millions of victims of a government they considered primarily controlled and created by Jews. Further bitterness toward Jews was caused by the fact that Jews with international financial connections were able to buy huge amounts of real property in lands where inflation had reduced the value of currency to nearly nothing, notably in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland and Rumania.

27. What did Winston Churchill write about the position of the Jews in Communist Russia in 1920?

In an article published in the Illustrated Sunday Herald (London) on 8 February 1920, Churchill vividly summarized Jewish power in post-revolutionary Russia by saying that the Jews had "gripped the Russian people by the hair of their heads and have become practically the undisputed masters of the enormous empire." He continued with the assertion that Jews had played a great role in the creation of Bolshevism and the bringing about of the "Russian" Revolution.

Reference: W.G. Simpson, *Which Way Western Man?*, Washington, 1978, p663.

28. Name five prominent early Communists who were of Jewish origin.

A number of early theorists of Communism were of Jewish origin, including the most notable of all, Karl Marx (1818-1883). After the seizure of power by the Communists in 1917 in Russia the government was largely dominated

by persons of Jewish origin. Lev Trotzky (Bronstein), Karl Radek (Sobelsohn) and Zinoviev (Apfelbaum) are examples of persons of Jewish origin in the early Communist government of Russia. In other lands persons of Jewish origin were also prominent in Communist movements, such as Rosa Luxemburg (1870-1919) in Germany and Bela Kun in Hungary.

Reference: Frank L. Britton, *Behind Communism*.

29. What attitudes did Abraham Lincoln and the National Socialists have in common with regard to the racial problems of their respective countries?

On a number of occasions President Lincoln envisaged the necessity of colonization of Negroes to prevent difficulties which would result from the continued living together of the two major races of the United States. A certain success had already been achieved in this regard, represented by the Republic of Liberia, founded in 1847. A similar solution was sought by the National Socialists as a final solution in the case of the Jews in Europe. Specifically, for some years the National Socialists contemplated Madagascar as a potential homeland for European Jews.

References: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, pp35-36. W.G. Simpson, *Which Way Western Man?*, Washington, 1978, pp561-2.

30. What publications sponsored by a famous American industrialist were of special interest to the National Socialists?

Henry Ford (1863-1947) made an heroic but unsuccessful attempt to stop the senseless, destructive First World War. After the war he published a newspaper, The Dearborn Independent, which contained articles on the Jewish involvement in international finance, corruption of cultural life in the United States, frauds in business, etc. The articles which had appeared in The Dearborn Independent were subsequently reprinted in a four-volume collection entitled The International Jew / The World's Foremost Problem (1920-1922). Although over 60 years old, these volumes still are interesting reading. The National Socialists, including Hitler himself, were strongly influenced by The International Jew, which was translated into numerous languages.

Reference: J. and S. Pool, *Who Financed Hitler*, London, 1978, pp85-130.

31. Where did the term "concentration camp" originate?

The word "reconcentrados" was already used by 1896 in the case of persons confined to con-

centration camps in Cuba. During the Boer War the British held 116,572 persons in their concentration camps, of whom approximately one-fourth died of starvation, typhus and exposure. The English word was taken over into German in the form "Konzentrationslager". In the United States, however, persons of Japanese extraction were interned beginning in 1942 in camps designated by the euphemism "relocation camps."

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, I, pp235-246.

32. What objectives did the National Socialists have in common with the Zionists?

The National Socialist government was convinced that both Europeans and Jews would be better off if the latter were to leave Europe and settle in a Jewish homeland. This idea had been popularized by Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), whose *Der Judenstaat* was published in 1896. So eager were the National Socialists to solve the Jewish problem in this manner that they gave Jews considerable economic incentives for emigrating to Palestine, while restricting their economic activities in Germany itself. As late as 1944 the German navy was still trying to aid Jewish emigrants by guarding their ships.

References: *Instauration*, January 1983, pp13-14. W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, pp34-36.

33. What was the Jewish population of Palestine around 1939 and what is the Jewish population of the corresponding area now?

The heavy Jewish migration into Palestine is reflected in census data. The Jewish population of Palestine rose from 83,790 in 1922 to 445,457 in 1939, in the latter year 30% of the total population. By 1946 this number had risen to 678,000. During the period 1948-1960 alone, migration to the newly formed Jewish state exceeded a million, while during the period 1948-1971 the total was one and a half million, the earlier migration being largely from Europe. The heavy emigration of Jews from the German-speaking areas of Europe to Palestine and the United States during the 1930s is also reflected in the German census of 17 May 1939. This census (which now included the territory of the old Reich, Austria and the Sudetenland) enumerated 330,000 persons of the Jewish race, representing a decline of 391,000 Jews in these areas since 1933. In addition, the German census of 1939 enumerated 72,738 persons with two Jewish grandparents and 42,811 with one

Jewish grandparent. From 1931 to 1941, 161,262 immigrant Jewish aliens were admitted to the United States. The present population of the Jewish state is over three million, of which about 85% is Jewish. Heavy Jewish migration also took place to the United States and other parts of the world after 1945.

References: Year-by-year statistics on the population of Palestine for the period 1922- 1940 are given in G.W. Robnett, *Zionist Rape of the Holy Land*, Pasadena, 1976, p47. A summary of the German census data is given in Otmar von Verschuer, *Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene*, 1944 edition, p139.

34. What measures did world Jewry undertake against Germany as early as 1933?

An international boycott of German goods was undertaken, which was especially effective in some areas, since the retail trade in many countries was and is in Jewish hands to a considerable extent.

References: J. Beaty, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, pp62 ff. *Historische Tatsachen Nr. 10*, pp18 ff.

35. Who were some of the most prominent Jews in the Roosevelt Administration and what role did they play with regard to the status of Jews in Europe?

Henry Morgenthau (1891-1967) had been a close friend of Roosevelt and from 1934 to 1945 he served in Roosevelt's cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury, but he was also active in other areas, especially foreign policy. He was author of the Morgenthau Plan, which envisaged the dismantling of German industry after the war and which was initiated by Roosevelt in September 1944. Together with the demand for unconditional surrender of Germany and its allies announced in January 1943, the Morgenthau Plan undoubtedly had the effect of prolonging the war and hence causing higher mortality not only among Aryan military personnel, but also of increasing Jewish mortality amid the chaotic conditions at the end of the war. Harry Dexter White, a Russian Jew, was Undersecretary of the Treasury and a leader in Communist circles of the Washington area. White is supposed to be the man who actually worked out the Morgenthau Plan. He later saw to it that plates for printing the occupation paper money for Germany got into Soviet hands.

Roosevelt also had a host of other Jewish advisors, such as Samuel I. Roseman and Bernard Baruch.

36. What were some of the main provisions of the "Nuremberg Laws" of 1935?

The term "Nuremberg Laws" refers to a law of 15 September 1935, entitled, "Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre" (Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor), and subsequent laws pertaining to this topic. The laws were directed in part against intermarriage and sexual relations between Germans and Jews. Jews were defined as persons with at least three Jewish grandparents or two Jewish grandparents under certain stipulations.

37. Were there any American antecedents for the Nuremberg Laws?

Many of the states of the United States had laws against miscegenation, that is, marriage or sexual relations between persons of different races, notably the Negro and Caucasian races in this case. Such laws were passed in order to retain the identity and special strengths of the races and to prevent the psychological problems of children who could not fully identify themselves with one race or the other. Such American laws had been enacted and enforced long before the Nuremberg Laws. They were declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court after World War II, perhaps as an overreaction against the policies of National Socialist Germany.

38. What did the May Law promulgated in Russia in 1882 have in common with the Nuremberg Laws?

On 3 May 1882, Czar Alexander III assented to a temporary order concerning the Jews. Like the Nuremberg Laws, the Russian May Law originated in the wake of a renewed nationalistic sentiment, had a tendency to isolate the Jewish population from the host population and had the long-range effect of stimulating a massive emigration, largely to the United States.

39. Did the National Socialists consider the Jews an inferior race?

Baron Otmar von Verschuer, M.D., (1896-1969) may be regarded as one of the chief scientific spokesmen for the racial and eugenic policies of National Socialist Germany. He was a professor at the University of Frankfurt am Main and as of 1944 he was Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Genetics and Eugenics. Several of his writings have a bearing on the question posed above. In the second volume of the series *Forschungen zur Judenfrage* (Hamburg, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937) he published an article on documentary research which can throw light on the biological aspects of the Jewish question (pages 216-222). On page 218 he states: "Our

national attitude toward the biological aspect of the Jewish question is thus fully independent of all observations which have to do with advantages or disadvantages of Jews and with their favorable or unfavorable characteristics." In Volume 3 of the series (1938) he published an article simply entitled *Rassenbiologie der Juden* (Racial Biology of the Jews), pages 137-151. In this article he discusses in detail patterns of insanity, criminal behavior and physical pathology in Jews. (A valuable bibliography is appended to this article.) In his discussion he points out not only weaknesses of Jews but also their strengths, such as lower incidences of epilepsy, alcoholism, cancer of the uterus and tuberculosis, as well as their greater adaptability to urban life. In a handbook on genetically determined diseases, *Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene* (Principles of Eugenics), the second edition of which was published by the Georg Thieme Verlag in Leipzig in 1944, a brief discussion of the Jewish question is given on pages 136-141. He reiterates his position by stating that the goal of preservation and improvement of the national racial heritage is **"not dependent on considerations of superiority or inferiority of a race which is foreign to us"** and that every crossing of a foreign race into a nation **"leads to the alteration of the biological bases of the character of this nation and its civilization."** We might note, by the way, that laws against miscegenation and laws which provided for eugenic measures are by no means foreign to us Americans, since many of our states had such laws until they were eliminated after World War II, possibly as an overreaction against National Socialism.

40. What was the nature of German scholarly and scientific research on the Jewish question during the National Socialist period?

There is a vast body of research which was published during the National Socialist period. Some of it is of considerable, indeed, well nigh unique value because it is not written with self-serving objectives by Jews themselves and because much of it was written by outstanding scholars and scientists. One of the most important series of scientific studies in this area is the series, *Forschungen zur Judenfrage*, the first annual volume of which was published in 1937. Some of the articles deal with the ethnic history of the Jews, some are biographical sketches of such figures as Spinoza, Moses Mendelsohn, Marx, Disraeli, Rathenau and Einstein, some articles deal with the position of Jews in Euro-

pean society, while still others deal with biological and cultural characteristics of Jews. On the whole, the tone of the articles in the *Forschungen zur Judenfrage* is restrained and objective; there is even some praise for Jewish abilities. An article on Goethe's attitudes toward the Jews concludes with the observation that Goethe did not hate Jews and an article on Richard Wagner concedes that Wagner was a man of the nineteenth century and was no more a National Socialist than Nietzsche or Lagarde. Most German research done during the National Socialist period is neglected and by no means readily accessible. Some of it is worthwhile enough to deserve a translation into English.

41. What provoked the so-called Crystal Night (9-10 November 1938) in Germany?

A 17-year-old Jew by the name of Herschel Grynszpan was goaded into murdering an official of the German embassy in Paris. This ignited an already tense situation in Germany. Pogroms resulted in which the windows of many Jewish shops were broken, from which circumstances the phrase "Kristallnacht" arose. It is one of the ironies of World War II that Grynszpan later fell into German hands but was treated so leniently that he survived the war.

Reference: *Instauration*, December 1982, p16.

42. What were the objectives and the results of the Évian Conference?

Évian is a spa in eastern France which was the site of a conference convened in July 1938, at the initiative of President Roosevelt. Thirty-two countries sent representatives to the conference, the principle objective of which was the resettlement of Jews from Germany and Austria. The results of the conference were minimal, however, since there was considerable resistance to the acceptance of Jews as immigrants from Europe. This provided Hitler the opportunity to taunt the rest of the world for its hypocrisy about the Jewish question. Even the U.S.A. was not prepared to relax its stringent immigration quotas. Jewish historians are full of bitter observations on the situation which prevailed in 1938, but the general distrust of and hostility toward Jews throughout the world during the 1930s was vividly demonstrated by the lack of real results of the Évian conference. Later on, the British were so intent on keeping Jews out of Palestine that they prohibited the landing of the Struma in March 1942. Shortly thereafter the refugee ship sank with 769 passengers. British warships also sank a French

liner, the Patria, with a loss of 2,875 lives on 25 November 1940, near Haifa.

References: *The Holocaust*, published by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, 1977, pp64-65. Anonymous, *The Myth of the Six Million*, p44.

43. What resettlement plans did the National Socialists have in mind for Jews and what frustrated these plans?

Madagascar was considered as an area for resettlement of the Jews as early as 1938, and this plan seemed to be feasible after the defeat of France, since Madagascar was a French colony. However, the Vichy government resisted this plan. Wartime shipping difficulties, of course, were also a factor. Madagascar had also been considered by the Zionists themselves.

Reference: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, p35.

44. Did Hitler threaten the massive physical extermination of Jews in his oft-cited address to the Reichstag on 30 January 1939?

Hitler's exact words on this occasion were as follows: **"Wenn es dem internationalen Finanzjudentum innerhalb und ausserhalb Europas gelingen sollte, die Völker noch einmal in einen Weltkrieg zu stürzen, dann wird das Ergebnis nicht die Bolschewisierung der Erde und damit der Sieg des Judentums sein, sondern die Vernichtung der Jüdischen Rasse in Europa."** ("If international Jewry inside and outside of Europe were once more to succeed in plunging the nations into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevization of the earth and thus the victory of Jewry, but rather the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.") First of all, it must be noted that the statement is a prediction, as indicated by the German future tense auxiliary **"wird"**. The statement does not specify by whom, how or when such an annihilation would take place, that is, if such a war were to come about as a responsibility of international Jewry. Such a dire prediction must also be understood in its context. As a combat veteran who had been wounded and even temporarily blinded, Hitler was well acquainted with the sufferings brought about by war. He wished to rectify some of the most degrading provisions of the Versailles Treaty by restoration of German defensive capabilities and restoration of some of the territories taken from Germany after 1918, but he and the German nation as a whole were stunned by the English and French declarations of war on 3 September 1939. It has been observed that every one of the millions of European Jews who

survived the war is evidence against the Extermination Thesis.

Reference: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, pp85-89.

45. What events at the very outset of World War II had a tendency to give an especially desperate nature to the course of the subsequent fighting in eastern Europe?

A large number of ethnic Germans lived in various areas of Poland, but especially the area between the two parts of Germany known as the Polish Corridor, which extended to the Baltic Sea. During the first days of the fighting, many of these ethnic Germans were slain by Polish soldiers and civilians. The mass murder was especially great in the city of Bromberg (Polish form: Bydgoszcz). Over 6,000 ethnic Germans were murdered in September 1939. Historians refer to the massacre in Bromberg as the "Bromberg Bloody Sunday" (3 September).

46. What country, which was eventually (1941) occupied entirely by German military forces, had the largest number of Jews in Europe?

Poland, which had an estimated 3,500,000 around 1930. Other Jewish populations at the time were estimated as follows:

USSR 2,725,000

Austria 300,000

Romania 834,000

Lithuania 155,000

Germany 564,374

France 150,000

Hungary 500,000

Netherlands 115,000

Czechoslovakia 350,000

Greece 110,000

Great Britain 300,000

Latvia 100,000

We must bear in mind, however, that statistics on Jewish populations are inherently open to question and interpretation, since even definitions of Jews vary and since many countries did not identify members of races and religions in their censuses.

Reference: Der Grosse Brockhaus, 1931, Vol. 9, p473. 47. What book was published before America formal participation in World War II which proposed a truly genocidal fate for a defeated Germany? Theodore N. Kaufman's *Germany Must Perish* was published by the Argyle Press in 1941. This book proposed the eradication of the German population by the sterilization of both males and females of reproductive age. Such threats were well-known to leading figures in the German government, who ex-

ploited them to stimulate the war effort. The Morgenthau Plan, which was initialed by Roosevelt in September 1944, proposed a somewhat different procedure, namely the starvation of the German population by the destruction of its industry. Such people as Kaufman, Morgenthau and Roosevelt must have also had a complete disdain for the lives of American soldiers, because the latter were obliged to invade and conquer a Germany whose defensive will had thus been intensified to the point of absolute desperation. Such threats undoubtedly cost many lives of those involved in the war, including especially and ironically the lives of Jews themselves.

Reference: Leon de Poncins, *State Secrets* (1977), pp95-149.

48. To what extent were such threats carried out against Germany?

The genocidal intent of the Allies was already manifested in the bombing of poorly defended German cities, such as Dresden (13 February 1945). For years after the war German factories were being dismantled while the German population was on the verge of starvation. Economic stagnation and chaos were also prolonged by the lack of a currency reform. Millions of Germans were murdered during the course of the expulsions from the areas east of the Oder-Neisse Line. The Kaufman proposal was not carried out, but the Morgenthau Plan definitely had its effects and influence. By the late 1940s the western Allies finally came to their senses after they could no longer delude themselves about the grim Soviet presense in Europe. Now, nearly four decades later, we Americans must face daily the possibility of a holocaust on our own soil by the USSR, a circumstance brought about in part by the energetic propagation of the Extermination Thesis, which, in turn, was one aspect of the deluge of propaganda against those who had opposed Communism. 49. What identification were Jews in Germany forced to wear in 1941? They were forced to wear a yellow, six-pointed star as of 15 September 1941.

Reference: *Historische Tatsachen Nr. 10*, p26.

50. Were there antecedents for this in another European country?

Yes. The Statute of Jewry passed in England in 1275 compelled Jews to wear a yellow badge, confined them to certain areas and forbade usury and ownership of land to them.

Reference: Ramsay, *The Nameless War*, pp112-155, where the text of the law is given.

51. Were many Jews interned in Germany before the outbreak of the Second World

War?

Before September 1939, very few Jews were interned in concentration camps, only a matter of several percent of the Jewish population of Germany. Quite a number of leading Communists of various racial origins were interned. We must bear in mind, however, that much of the Communist and trade union leadership in Germany, as in other lands at that time, was of Jewish origin. Massive internment of Jews did not begin until well after the beginning of the war between Germany and the USSR in June 1941. Germany was relatively dilatory in this matter when we compare the quite swift internment of persons of Japanese descent in the United States.

52. What Military and economic factors motivated the German government and its allies to intern Jews quite some time after the beginning of the war?

Jews were not permitted to serve in the German armed forces. Communism was viewed as a Jewish development and it was felt that many Jews would be inclined to sabotage the German war effort. Massive internment of Jews, however, took place only after the beginning of the war between Germany and the USSR. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 had excluded Jews from being citizens of the Reich. For that reason they were considered potentially hostile aliens. Many other belligerent powers, including the United States, interned enemy aliens and even native-born persons thought to be sympathetic to enemy nations. As the war became ever more desperate, Jews were put into labor camps in order to make maximal economic use of them. Hungarian Jews were not interned until well into 1944, when Hungarian territory was about to be invaded by the Red Army.

53. How did the Morgenthau Plan cost the lives of many Germans, as well as the lives of people of other nations, including Jews and Americans?

In January 1943, some 2-1/2 years before the end of the war in Europe, the demand for unconditional surrender of Germany and its allies had been made at the Casablanca Conference. Such an uncompromising position in itself was bound to prolong the conflict and above all make it very costly in terms of lives of all those involved. In addition, however, in September 1944, at the Quebec Conference Roosevelt and Churchill initialed a plan presented by Henry Morgenthau to divest Germany of much of its industrial potential and thus bring about the starvation of its population, since the German

population had become so large since about 1870 that imports of food, and thus the exports of finished goods, were necessary to sustain it. German political leaders were well aware of such a fate planned for the German people. It is the usual procedure in rationally conducted warfare to try to persuade an enemy that he will be well treated after he lays down his arms in order to shorten the conflict and make it less costly even for the victors. One might almost assume that the Morgenthau Plan was a deliberate, sinister attempt to prolong the war and cause an even greater shedding of Aryan blood, both American and European, on the assumption that greater sacrifices would bring about some sort of political advantage. As the bombing of German transportation facilities became ever more intense toward the end of the war, it became ever more difficult to supply the inmates of concentration and labor camps with food and medicine, not to mention the psychological atmosphere that was thus created. Under such circumstances the mortality in the camps increased markedly, including, ironically, Jewish mortality.

References: L. de Poncins, *State Secrets*, pp95-149. J.J. Martin, *The Saga of Hog Island*, pp190-197. J. Beaty, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, pp74 and 78.

The Case against the Extermination Thesis

54. What popular book published in 1951 cast doubts on the Extermination Thesis?

Col. John Beaty's *The Iron Curtain Over America*. On pages 134-135 of this book Col. Beaty traces the demographic data on Jewish populations before and after the war and raises the question as "where Hitler got the 6,000,000 Jews he is said to have killed."

55. Why was Col. Beaty in a peculiarly good position to express opinions on this question?

He was in high-level military intelligence positions for five years, including those involving the writings of intelligence reports derived from a great variety of sources. His book was recommended by General George Stratemeyer and others.

56. What conclusions did Prof. Arthur Butz reach about the extent of Jewish mortality during World War II after extensive investigations lasting for years?

Prof. Butz has stated that "about 350,000 or perhaps 400,000 inmates died in the German camps during the war, some minority of that

number being Jews." He further stated that the total Jewish mortality from all causes is not known. It is quite possible that the number of Jews who died during the Second World War is smaller than the number of anti-Communists who died as a result of "Operation Keelhaul," which is the name often applied to the handing over of such groups as the anti-Communist forces assembled by General Vlassov (1901-1946) to Communist authorities by the Americans and British. Although nearly every adult American has heard of the plight of the Jews during the war and is familiar with their meaning of the word "Holocaust," it is doubtful that more than one American in a hundred would know what "Operation Keelhaul" means. After all, its victims were just anti-Communist Aryans.

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. I, no. 1, pp7 and 22.

57. What did the International Red Cross have to report with regard to the "Holocaust" question?

A report on the visit of an International Red Cross delegate to Auschwitz in September 1944, pointed out that internees were permitted to receive packages and that rumors of gas chambers could not be verified.

References: Thies Christophersen, *Auschwitz*, 1979, p11. (Christophersen was stationed as an experimental agronomist at Auschwitz from January to December, 1944.) An earlier, German edition of this booklet also exists. Christophersen reproduces a sample of the French text of *Camps de Concentration 1939-1945*. See also A. Butz, *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, where various Red Cross reports are discussed in detail in various places. *Myth of the Six Million*, pp98 ff.

58. What statistics do earlier editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica and its annual supplements provide pertaining to Jewish populations before and after the war?

These references by no means confirm the widely publicized claims of a mortality of six million Jews. On page 63B, Vol. 13 of the 1945 edition, Jacob R. Marcus, Ph.D., Professor of Jewish History, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, stated: "From 1931 to 1941, 580,207 immigrant aliens were admitted to the United States; of these 161,262 were Jews. Inasmuch as about 4,000,000 Jews were continuously suffering under reactionary European governments at this time, this small number of emigrants into the United States over a period of 11 years did little to alleviate their miserable condition." The

Britannica Book of the Year 1946, page 417, stated that 1,500,000 Jews remained in Europe outside of the USSR. As to the number of Polish Jews who survived the war, there were some 200,000 who had moved to central Europe alone by late summer of 1946 according to *Britannica Book of the Year 1947*, pages 654-655.

59. What did the German government do when German intelligence learned in early 1943 about the mass graves of Polish officers in territory which had been held by Soviet forces at the time of their deaths?

In April 1943, German intelligence learned of mass graves in a forest near Katyn, a locality nearly 400 miles almost due south of St. Petersburg (present Communist name: Leningrad). Further investigation, including exhumation of the bodies, ascertained the presence of 4,143 bodies of Polish officers who had been captured during the Soviet invasion of Poland in September 1939. There was clear evidence, for example the age of the trees growing over the graves, that the officers had been murdered by shots through the neck around May 1940, long before the German invasion of Russia. (It has been subsequently ascertained that the total number of Polish officers murdered in various places by the Communists was approximately 15,000.) Immediately the German radio announced reports of the mass graves and summoned many forensic experts, journalists and even prisoners of war from various countries, neutral and belligerent, to witness the gruesome sight. In 1943, too, an official German report was published, *Amtliches Material zum Massenmord von Katyn*. Obviously, the Germans felt it would be to their advantage to inform the world as best they could about their discovery and about all of the evidence pertaining to the time and circumstances of the murders. Incidentally, the Katyn affair had far-reaching subsequent results: The Soviet government broke off diplomatic relations with the Polish government in exile and President Roosevelt played a cynical role in suppressing the evidence against the USSR.

References: Louis FitzGibbon, *Katyn*, Torrance, Noontide Press, 1979. *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. I, no. 1, pp31-42.

60. If Auschwitz had, in fact, been an extermination camp, why would that fact and the evidence for it have been spread throughout the world after January 1945?

When the Soviet forces captured the terrain of the Auschwitz camps and industrial complex in

late January 1945, the war was by no means over and the propaganda value of disseminating evidence of extermination activities (which the Germans had attempted to exploit correspondingly in the case of Katyn) would have been of immense value to the USSR in various ways, such as countering the German claims about Katyn and in the coming diplomatic negotiations toward the end of the war. The Soviet government, however, made no efforts corresponding to the German efforts in the case of Katyn. Quite to the contrary, they did not permit western officials to view the Auschwitz terrain. They evidently had nothing worth showing.

Reference: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, pp5 ff.

61. What former American official in occupied Germany had the courage to contest the usual versions of the Extermination Thesis?

Stephen F. Pinter wrote a letter which appeared in *The Sunday Visitor* and which was reprinted in an article entitled, "Jewish Population in the United States," in the October 1959, issue of *American Mercury*. In his letter Mr. Pinter stated that he had been in Dachau for 17 months after the war as a U.S. War Department Attorney. He pointed out that there was no gas chamber at Dachau nor was there a gas chamber in any other of the concentration camps in Germany. He further stated: "We were told that there was a gas chamber at Auschwitz, but since that was in the Russian zone of occupation, we were not permitted to investigate, since the Russians would not permit it. ... From what I was able to determine during six postwar years in Germany and Austria, there were a number of Jews killed, but the figure of a million was certainly never reached. I interviewed thousands of Jews, former inmates of concentration camps in Germany and Austria, and consider myself as well qualified as any man on this subject."

62. When were exhibits at Auschwitz open to the public and what benefits does the "Polish" government derive from them?

Some German and Austrian prisoners of war were interned temporarily at Auschwitz just after the war, but they reported nothing that would confirm large-scale extermination activities there. For years the Soviet authorities would not allow visitors to the terrain. However, for some years now a museum has been open to the public at Auschwitz which not only brings profits from tourism in Poland but has the added advantages of aiding in the usual Soviet

propaganda objectives, such as obliteration by contrast of Soviet war crimes.

Reference: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, p9. At the end of this book there are pictures of the Auschwitz terrain after the war and of the exhibits at the museum.

63. What do photographs of liberated internees at Auschwitz show?

At the end of W. Stäglich's *Der Auschwitz Mythos* there is a valuable pictorial section. Four of the pictures show liberated internees at Auschwitz. Amongst them are old women and children, who would, of course, have been the least likely persons to have been spared if a general extermination program had been extant. They do not appear to have been badly nourished. Also, at the very end of *The Holocaust*, published by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem in 1977, there is a picture of children who had been liberated from the camp. They, too, do not seem badly nourished. The validity of Stäglich's pictures is thus confirmed by a Zionist source. Auschwitz, being far to the east, was probably better supplied than camps to the west, where Allied bombing severely hampered transportation.

64. What has an article by the historian Gitta Sereny admitted about all of the concentration camps which were captured intact by the Allied forces?

In an article by her in the *New Statesman* of 17 July 1981, there is a caption under a picture showing SS guards being made to bury emaciated corpses after the liberation of Belsen. The caption points out that all (alleged) extermination camps "were totally destroyed before any Allied armies arrived." In another part of the article she concedes: "It's necessary to repeat what has already been stated with detail in these pages (*New Statesman*, 2 November 1979): that terrible disservice has been done by those who have exaggerated, carelessly misunderstood, or even invented Holocaust events." In view of such concessions by a resolute and well-known adherent of the Extermination Thesis, one must ask himself if any part of the Thesis is valid, especially in view of the large number of aspects of the "Holocaust" material which had been supported by heaps of testimony in and out of courts and which has now been proved to be false.

65. Has any documentary evidence ever been discovered that Hitler specifically ordered the extermination of Jews within the territory held by his armed forces?

No. Even the Zionist historians concede (or perhaps "claim" would be the more appropriate word) that no such documentation has ever been found.

Reference: *The Holocaust*, Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, 1977, p46.

66. If Hitler had ever given such an order, why would it have become widely known and reported?

Many people would have had an interest in doing so. If such an order could be documented, whatever German guilt existed in this area could be directed at Hitler alone. Such an order would have a tendency to act as a legal exoneration since accused persons could justly claim that they were simply obeying military commands under the threat of death penalties.

67. What do aerial photographs of Auschwitz taken in 1944 by the U.S. Air Force demonstrate?

Aerial photographs of the Auschwitz-Birkenau area taken by the Allies on 4 April, 26 July, 25 August and 13 September of that year tend to discredit the claims that Auschwitz was an extermination complex because there is no smoke from crematories or the like, although the photographs are quite clear and detailed and cover a large area. If such photographs would have revealed evidence of mass extermination of internees at the time, Allied air forces could have bombed the railway facilities leading to the camp and other facilities involved in such extermination. The photographs were published by the Central Intelligence Agency in 1979.

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. I, p18 and Vol. III, pp44-45. *Historische Tatsachen Nr. 9*, pp37-39, where some of the photographs are reproduced and discussed.

68. What economic and other disadvantages would Germany have suffered if it had carried out an extermination program against Jews during the Second World War?

By December 1941, Germany was faced with a two-front war in which the odds were overwhelmingly against Germany. German commanders and statesmen were very well aware of these odds even if they did not dare say so publicly, at least not until 20 July 1944. Various Allied declarations after 1941 precluded any compromises or negotiations. There were also threats of postwar trials of German statesmen and military commanders. Such circumstances had an inhibiting effect against the commission of war crimes on the part of the Germans, who knew well that they were likely to be subjected to punishment by a victorious, vindictive enemy

if found guilty. However, the war had a tragic momentum of its own and all prisoners and internees could be used for various tasks, such as the manufacture and repair of uniforms. For whatever reason —moral, selfprotective or economic— Heinrich Himmler (1900-1945) is known to have given an order on 28 December 1942, to reduce mortality in the concentration camps "at any price." Since 16 February 1942, all concentration camps had been integrated into the war economy and armament industry as a result of labor shortages.

Reference: Hellmut Diwald, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, 1978, p165.

69. To what extent did Germany and its allies have a widely recognized right to execute some Jews?

One ugly aspect of war is especially important where Communists are involved. That is guerrilla or partisan warfare, in which various acts of sabotage and murder are committed by persons who are not wearing uniforms. Communists were especially successful at conducting this sort of action during the Spanish Civil War, in China during the 1940s and in Russia during 1941 ff. (The word "guerrilla" originated in Spain during the Napoleonic wars.) Modern warfare, with its use of railways, trucks, tanks and complicated weapons, is such that sabotage by guerrillas can be especially effective. The thinly spread German forces in Russia were put at a severe disadvantage by this type of action. As much as one-tenth of their forces were engaged in countermeasures and their losses from guerrilla warfare have been estimated at as much as a quarter of a million men or more. Many of the guerrillas were Jewish. On the basis of the Hague rules of land warfare adopted in 1899 and 1907, guerrilla warfare is condemned as illegal, and the right to apprehend guerrillas is widely recognized. A field commander who does not deal harshly with guerrillas would not be fulfilling his duty toward the men in his command. Guerrilla warfare undoubtedly accounted for a large amount of Jewish mortality during the Second World War.

References: Article by Robert B. Asprey on guerrilla warfare in 1970 edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. *The Holocaust*, published by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, pp72-73. W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, pp113, 399-400. For a valuable discussion of the activities of the largely Jewish Soviet political commissars in this connection, see *The Liberty Bell*, December, 1982, pp12-13.

70. Why are the alleged minutes of the Wannsee Conference of 20 January 1942, often cited in attempts to substantiate the Extermination Thesis?

Lacking any documentation of an extermination order from Hitler himself, proponents of the Extermination Thesis frequently cite the minutes of a conference which is alleged to have taken place at Wannsee, a suburb of Berlin, on 20 January 1942. On page 7 of the minutes is the proposal that Jews were to be organized into large labor columns and were to be led into designated areas while building roads ("strassenbauend"), during which time a large number would be eliminated by natural reduction of numbers ("durch natürliche Verminderung").

71. What evidence exists that these minutes are a forgery, at least in part?

There is a great deal of evidence that this document is a forgery, no matter to what extent it would be incriminating, even if it were genuine. The figures on Jewish populations in various European countries seem to be grossly inaccurate. The estimate of the number of Jews in France, for example, is put at 865,000, while reliable estimates of the Jewish population of France around the year 1930 were only about 150,000. This point is even to be found in Zionist sources. On page 49 of *The Holocaust* (published by Yad Vashem in 1977) the figures on Jewish populations are reproduced from the document, but on page 55 the statement is made that there "were approximately 300,000 Jews in France before the war, most of them inhabitants of long standing." The proposal for the "strassenbauend" movements of labor columns seems very improbable. The document is headed "Geheime Reichssache" (secret), but there follows the note that 30 copies were to be prepared. There is no signature of the person responsible for keeping the minutes, no date and no indication of the office in which it was prepared.

Reference: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, pp38-65, where the document is reproduced and the evidence against its authenticity is discussed in detail.

72. What absurd claim did a famous German novelist broadcast on 27 September 1942, with regard to the killing of Jews?

Thomas Mann (1875-1955); Nobel Prize for Literature (1929) broadcast the report that 16,000 French Jews were killed by gas in a railroad train on an open stretch of track after the train had been hermetically sealed. How a whole

train, presumably with about 80 to 100 cars or more, could be sealed hermetically on an open stretch of track is difficult to imagine. It is a shame that Mann lent his name to the dissemination of such anti-German propaganda.

Reference: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, p150.

73. What numismatic evidence has a bearing on the Extermination Thesis?

Numerous types of monetary instruments, both paper notes and coins, were issued for use in ghettos and concentration and labor camps. If an immediate extermination of persons brought to the camps had been planned there would obviously have been no use for such instruments. Especially elaborately printed notes were issued for Lodz, Theresienstadt (dated 1943) and Oranienburg. Notes for Westerbork (Netherlands) were dated 1944. Aluminum coins dated 1943 were struck for Lodz (Litzmannstadt).

Reference: *The Numismatist* (published by the American Numismatic Association) April, 1981, pp875-881; April, 1982, pp896-905 and 933-935.

74. What evidence is there that few Americans took the position of the Jews in Europe seriously as late as December 1941?

Various items had appeared in American newspapers about the status of European Jews. The New York Times of 28 February 1941, for example, carried an item on the planned transfer to Poland of Viennese Jews who could not afford to emigrate. It was explained that their emigration was "purely a question of money." Right down to the beginning of formal American involvement in the war public opinion polls revealed that the vast majority of Americans, probably about 5/6 of them, wanted to stay out of the European war. Even well into 1944, when Allied reconnaissance airplanes were able to fly over Auschwitz in eastern Europe and take clear photographs there was apparently no conviction in official quarters that Auschwitz was an extermination camp. If such an opinion would have existed, rail connections thither could have been bombed.

75. What was the role of the Vatican with regard to the plight of European Jews during the Second World War?

If there would have been an extermination plan, the Vatican would certainly have been in a position to know about it through information passed along through members of its hierarchy throughout Europe. Pius XII (1939-1958), however made no protests against a putative extermination program, about which he would cer-

tainly not have been indifferent. Zionists have often criticized Pius XII's "silence" but have lately seemed more conciliatory. Note, for example, the 1983 CBS television film, *The Scarlet and the Black*.

Reference: A. Butz, *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp278-290.

76. What was the attitude of the clergy toward the euthanasia program instituted by Germany after the outbreak of the Second World War?

It is said that National Socialist authorities asked theologians for their views on euthanasia and received varied answers. Later in the war the Catholic clergy publicly protested against the program and it was stopped. To put the euthanasia program in its proper perspective, we must bear in mind that after 3 September 1939, Germany was faced with the sort of blockade by the grossly superior British navy which had been largely instrumental in causing the defeat of Germany in 1918 by starving the civilian population and by other resultant attrition. Since about 1870 the German population had grown to the extent that domestically produced food-stuffs were simply insufficient to provide a healthy diet for the population. Moreover, nursing personnel was needed for military purposes.

77. Why is it difficult to determine just how many Jews entered the United States as immigrants from Europe during the 1930s and 1940s?

In November 1943, the practice of identifying Jews in the records of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service was stopped. There are actually no official figures on the number of Jews in the United States. Beety suggested that the number of Jews in the United States might be considerably higher than generally realized. Illegal immigration is also a factor which beclouds the data.

References: A. Butz, *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p226. John Beety, *The Iron Curtain Over America*, 1951, pp41-42.

78. For what purposes was the commercial product Zyklon B used in the German armed forces?

This disinfectant was delivered in crystalline form and contained hydrocyanic acid as an active ingredient. It was used in the Reichswehr as early as 1924 for fumigating clothing, quarters and effects, but it could be used only by well-trained personnel.

Reference: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, p78.

79. What technical difficulties would have been involved in the use of this product if, as has been claimed in many Zionist materials on the "Holocaust," it had been widely used for massive exterminations of interned Jews?

After the use of Zyklon B a period of about 20 hours is needed to air out the space in which it was used, since it has the characteristic of adhering to objects. Only specially trained personnel were to use the highly dangerous material, as was stated on the labels on the cans. Hydrocyanic acid has been used for executions in the United States but elaborate preparations and equipment are needed for this purpose. The door of the disinfection chamber at Dachau was clearly marked with a caution sign and a skull and crossbones to prevent accidents.

References: A. Butz, *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp191 and 218 (pictures). *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. I, pp23-50 and 103-114;; Vol. II, no. 4, pp311-317.

80. A Rumanian historian has published statistics on the deaths of Rumanian Jews from all causes during the Second World War, What were his findings?

Dr. Serban Andronescu found that only some 250,000 Jews resided in Rumania during the Second World War, and that some 15,000 of them lost their lives from all causes during this time. (In comparing this with prewar statistics, we must bear in mind that Transylvania was given to Hungary in 1940.)

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. III, no. 2, pp211-223. See also the clarifying remarks by Mart Weber in the *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. III, no. 3, pp233-237.

81. How do Dr. Andronescu's findings compare with corresponding statistics in Zionist propaganda materials on the "Holocaust"?

The Anti-Defamation League has claimed that 300,000 Jews living in Rumania were murdered. Dr. Andronescu's estimate is thus 5% of the ADL estimate. If this ratio were applied to the six million figure, it would thus result in a Jewish mortality of 300,000 for all of Europe.

Reference: The even higher figure of 425,000 for the mortality of Rumanian Jews is to be found on p63 of *The Holocaust*, Jerusalem, Yad Vashem, 1977.

82. What does a non-Jewish source estimate in the case of the wartime mortality of Jews living in Hungary?

Louis Marschalko estimates the mortality of Jews in Hungary at 60,000. The ADL estimate is 450,000.

Reference: L. Marschalko, *The World Conquerors*, p160.

83. What happened to members of concentration camp administrations who mistreated internees during the war?

Concentration camp personnel were prohibited from arbitrarily punishing or exercising cruelty against the internees. There are quite a number of cases of prosecutions by German courts during the war of persons accused of violating such regulations. Heinrich Himmler himself is said to have been keenly aware that excesses against prisoners and internees could be held against him after the war.

Reference: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, pp15 and 415.

84. What parallels can be drawn between the plight of the Jewish internees during World War II and that of prisoners of war during the American Civil War?

Conditions in prisoner of war camps deteriorated badly during the course of the Civil War. The mortality rates of the prisoners increased considerably as a result of disease and insufficient diet. Conditions in both the Confederate and Union camps deteriorated, but especially in the former as a result of the transportation and general economic problems of the Confederacy. During the closing phases of World War II, German rail transport facilities were very badly impaired by Allied bombing, making even the supplying of the armies defending German territory difficult. The Allied bombing of German rail facilities was an important factor in the final collapse of the German armed forces.

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. II, no. 2, pp137-153.

85. What disease caused the deaths of many persons interned in concentration camps toward the end of World War II?

Typhus, which is louse-borne and was a frequent concomitant of the hunger, filth and cold from which Europe suffered widely during World War II. (A number of diseases, however, became a greater than usual threat to life as a result of the malnutrition from which nearly all of Europe suffered during the war.) It was due to the highly contagious nature of typhus that crematoria were installed and used extensively for the disposal of the bodies of the victims of the disease. Cremation was also used extensively in the disposal of bodies of victims of the bombing of Dresden in February 1945.

86. What caused Anne Frank's death just several weeks before the end of the war?

Anne Frank (born 1929 in Frankfurt am Main) was arrested in Amsterdam along with other members of her family in August, 1944, after her family had been living in hiding for two years. She was sent to Auschwitz and subsequently transferred to the BergenBelsen concentration camp, where she died in March 1945, during a typhus epidemic. Her tragic fate was just one of hundreds and hundreds of thousands which befell Europeans of many nations in the final, chaotic months of a war pursued with the repeatedly declared objective of imposing a Carthaginian peace on the doomed nations. Who, in the final analysis, was responsible for their deaths?

87. What sort of evidence has been found which indicates that not all, if any, of the famous diary attributed to her was written by her?

Prof. Robert Faurisson has undertaken extensive studies of this diary, parts of which were published in the *Journal of Historical Review*, Summer, 1982, pp147-209. He concludes, "the truth obliges me to say that the Diary of Anne Frank is only a simple literary fraud." Prof. Faurisson found that there are incongruities of details in the Diary and the structure of the house in which the family hid, 263 Prinsengracht in Amsterdam, during 1942-1944. On page 209 he reproduces two specimens of handwriting attributed to Anne Frank which were supposedly written only four months apart. One is the sort of handwriting which one would expect of a child, while the other (dated 12 June 1942) has the quite different appearance of an adult's writing. There are also numerous other details in the Diary which would not fit into the circumstances of a family supposedly living in hiding. There are also striking inconsistencies in the various translated versions. Prof. Arthur Butz (*Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p37) also points out the improbability that the child wrote the introductory parts of the Diary, which contain a history of the Frank family and a review of the anti-Jewish measures taken since the beginning of the occupation of the Netherlands in 1940.

Judging the Accused

88. What methods were employed to extract confessions presented at a number of the war crimes trials of 1945 and later?

Torture, ranging from forcing the accused persons to eat feces to destroying their reproductive organs in a most painful manner. All sorts

of psychological tricks and duress were also employed. Some years before his untimely and enigmatic death U.S. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (1908-1957) gave the following statement to the press with regard to the war crimes trials: "I have heard evidence and read documentary proofs to the effect that the accused persons were beaten up, maltreated and physically tortured by methods which could only be conceived by sick brains. They were subjected to mock trials and pretended executions, they were told their families would be deprived of their ration cards. All these things were carried out with the approval of the Public Prosecutor in order to secure the psychological atmosphere necessary for the extortion of the required confessions. If the United States lets such acts committed by a few people go unpunished, then the whole world can rightly criticize us severely and forever doubt the correctness of our motives and our moral integrity."

References: Richard E. Harwood, *Six Million Lost and Found*, Historical Review Press, Chapel Ascote, Ladbroke, Southam, Warks, pp10-11, from which the quotation above is taken. Richard E. Harwood, *Nuremberg and Other War Crimes Trials*, Historical Review Press, 1978, pp48-49. A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp22-25, 189-193.

89. What does this use of torture tell us about the validity of the cases against the defendants and the character of their accusers in these trials?

The answer to this question should be obvious to a ten-year-old child.

90. Give examples of the kind of internal evidence that certain documents frequently used in support of the "Holocaust" claims are forgeries or otherwise invalid.

Many of such documents were obviously produced by torture or threats of torture. Many of the events and actions to which the accused men confessed were impossible. In some instances impossibly large numbers of persons were alleged to have been crowded into relatively small "gas chambers." Other documents speak of mass cremations in pits to which there would have been an insufficient supply of oxygen for combustion, while still others tell of men who smoked and ate while removing bodies from "gas chambers" immediately after gassings and thus would have subjected themselves to the lethal effects. The "Gerstein Report," on which many of the proponents of the Extermination Thesis have based their claims, contains a number of impossibilities and its au-

thenticity is so doubtful that even the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg (which did not bind itself to the usual rules of evidence) initially rejected it. The alleged confessions of Rudolf Höss (not to be confused with Hess), commandant of Auschwitz until November 1943, are especially notable for their impossible statements. One can readily speculate that the men who wrote such confessions deliberately wrote such impossibilities into them in order to warn people studying them after their executions that they were fraudulent.

References: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. II, pp103-136, 311 ff. There are also detailed discussions of the "confessions" by Höss and others in Stäglich's *Der Auschwitz Mythos*.

91. Give examples of evidence which shows that fraudulent photographic materials have been used in the attempt to substantiate the Extermination Thesis.

Modern techniques of forging and altering photographic evidence have advanced considerably. Nevertheless details of photographs often reveal signs of forgery to the schooled eye. Improper shadows and human proportions are examples of such details. Numerous fraudulent photographs and photographs of uncertain provenience have been used in attempts to substantiate the Extermination Thesis.

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. I, pp59-67.

92. What admonition did Senator Robert Taft of Ohio make about the legal basis of the Nuremberg trials of German leaders conducted during 1945-1946?

Senator Taft ("Mr. Republican") had the courage to point out that the American Constitution prohibits "ex post facto laws," that is, laws which would provide for punishment of acts which no law declared punishable at the time when the acts were committed. The American legal tradition is by no means an isolated one and is based on the Roman legal dictum, "Nulla poena sine lege." Shortly before the condemned men were hanged on 18 October 1946, Senator Taft predicted: "The hanging of the eleven men convicted will be a blot on the American record which we will long regret."

Reference: John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage*, New York, Harper, 1956, pp216-224.

93. What violation of International Law was involved in the trial of Adolf Eichmann?

Adolf Eichmann (1906-1962) was involved in the management of transportation of Jews to concentration camps. Israeli agents violated Argentine sovereignty by abducting Eichmann on

12 May 1960. Israel did not even exist as a state at the time of Eichmann's alleged crimes. The capture, trial and execution of Eichmann is something for which Argentine authorities never forgave Israel. They saw them as a humiliating infringement of their sovereignty.

References: *American Israelite*, 4 November 1982. A. Butz, *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, pp183 ff. Myth of the Six Million, pp35-37.

94. How did The Washington Post display its contempt for the intelligence of its readers?

In its issue of 3 May 1981, The Washington Post published an article by a certain Walter Reich which claims that two crematories in Auschwitz shown in an accompanying picture "could cremate about 2,000 bodies in 24 hours." Thus it was claimed that each crematory could cremate a body in 1-1/2 minutes or so, although the most modern crematories take about 50 times that long.

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Fall, 1981, pp219-224, where there is a discussion of the technical aspects of cremation by Prof. Reinhard K. Buchner.

95. What inherent disadvantages do naturalized U.S. citizens have in deportation proceedings when they are accused of war crimes?

Witnesses against the accused persons in trials conducted in the United States have frequently been brought in from eastern Europe or Israel. When such witnesses return to their homelands they are no longer subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and thus can no longer be prosecuted for perjury. One outstanding case of prosecution of an innocent man is that of Frank Walus, who was accused in January 1977, of having committed atrocities in Poland. Eleven Jews testified that he had committed various crimes, but he was later exonerated after huge legal expenses and other agonies. In 1974 he had been denounced by Simon Wiesenthal.

96. What unusual and questionable legal measures were undertaken by the government of the German Federal Republic in connection with its continuing and future war crimes trials?

It is a generally recognized principle that there should not only be no "ex post facto laws" (e.g. U.S. Constitution, Article I, Section 9), but that time limitations should be placed on trials for given crimes lest witnesses' memories be clouded by time and lest evidence become invalid with the passage of time. The German penal code provided for a limit of twenty years in the case of murder trials. Thus, war crimes tri-

als involving accusations of murder would have had to end by 1965 at the latest. However, in 1965 the German legislature (Bundestag) rationalized extending this limit by asserting that German sovereignty had been suspended before 1 January 1950, although in fact persons accused of murder during the war were subject to trials before 1950 both by Allied and German authorities. When the matter came up again in 1969 as a result of the twenty-year limitation, an even more drastic measure was taken simply by retroactively increasing the limitation from twenty to thirty years, thus creating a special sort of "ex post facto law". Such questionable legal measures were taken by the Federal Republic to discredit its predecessor government and to please public opinion throughout the world.

References: *Historische Tatsachen* Nr. 5, 1979, pp21 ff. *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. II, no. 3, pp249-281.

97. What happened to the guards at the Dachau concentration camp (near Munich) when American forces captured it?

The guards were simply lined up against a wall and shot without trials. This incident demonstrates what sort of attitudes toward justice for individuals prevailed at the end of the war.

References: W. Stäglich, *Der Auschwitz Mythos*, p414. A. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, p178 (picture).

Perspectives

98. What American term was applied to the camps in which Americans of Japanese ancestry were interned?

The War Relocation Board was established in March 1942, and its camps were known as "relocation camps." The Germans missed an opportunity to learn a useful euphemism from the Americans in this instance. If they had made general use of a term like "Umsiedlungslager" instead of "Konzentrationslager" they would have avoided a term which had taken on a bad status even as early as the Boer War.

99. What important similarities and differences existed between the interning of Jews in Europe and the interning of Americans of Japanese ancestry?

There were a number of important parallels as well as important differences. Both groups were interned during war time as a result of a fear of acts against the war efforts of the respective powers, such as espionage, sabotage and par-

tisan activity. Both groups suffered losses of liberty and property. In both instances at least some of the internees were guarded heavily in camps with barbed wire fences, guard towers, etc, and living conditions were difficult. However, the Germans were far slower about undertaking a massive, protracted internment of Jews. Within several months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor Americans of Japanese ancestry were rounded up and sent to camps far from their homes, while massive internment of Jews did not commence until well over two years after the beginning of the war. The massive internment of Hungarian Jews, in fact, did not take place until 1944, when the Red Army was pounding at the very gates of central Europe. The number of persons of Japanese ancestry who were interned amounted to only about 120,000, a far smaller number on both a relative and absolute basis. Another important difference lies in the fact that the Americans of Japanese ancestry committed no acts of espionage and sabotage, while Jews were heavily involved in partisan activity, especially behind the German lines in Russia, as we know from the boasts of the Jews themselves. Perhaps the most important difference of all lies in the fact that the Germans were up against the threat of a very brutal invasion and even genocide, the dimensions of which became especially apparent by the time of the Nemmersdorf (East Prussia) massacre in October 1944, if they had not been apparent enough even five years earlier during the massacres of Germans in the Polish Corridor. If Japanese forces had succeeded in invading the western coast of the United States, who knows what fate would have befallen persons of Japanese ancestry? After the war, Germans paid generous compensations to Jews, while compensations to Americans of Japanese ancestry for their losses are just now being suggested.

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. II, no. 1, pp45-58.

100. What was the fate of the populations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania during and after World War II?

Large-scale deportations of the populations of the Baltic states to Siberia took place during the Soviet occupation of 1940-1941, especially of the intelligentsia of these countries. A similar Soviet measure to deprive a conquered country of its leadership class is to be seen in the massacre of the captured Polish officers in 1940. Further deportations took place after the Soviet reoccupation of the Baltic states.

References: Statistical details on the deportations are given in the 1970 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* sub Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. For further background, see Donald Day, *Onward Christian Soldiers*, Torrance, 1982, (from a manuscript completed in 1942) and *Historische Tatsachen Nr. 4*, pp24 ff.

101. Why do we hear so little about the fate of these nations?

Although we are inundated on an almost daily basis with the wartime plight of the Jews of Europe, seldom is there any mention of the horrible things which happened to some of the Aryan nations of Europe. If their fates were better known through motion pictures and television serials, the suffering of the Jews would seem far less significant. For this reason the sufferings of the Aryan nations are a nearly taboo subject in these media. Who has ever seen a noble, suffering Latvian or East Prussian hero on American television?

102. What was the ethnic background of nearly all the Communist spies who stole the American secrets of atomic bomb production?

The atomic spies, two of whom were executed in 1953 for their crimes and nearly all of whom were Jewish, have no direct connection with the "Holocaust" question as such, but are mentioned here to exemplify the loyalty of many Jews to the Soviet Union before, during and after the Second World War. This circumstance was probably the chief reason for the massive interning of European Jews, which took place only some time after the beginning of hostilities between the USSR and Germany in June 1941.

103. What decision made by the Allies some 2-1/2 years before the end of the war caused the struggle to be especially bitter and destructive and created a situation which now threatens the very existence of the United States?

It is difficult to understand why Roosevelt announced the doctrine of unconditional surrender at the Casablanca Conference on 13 January 1943. It should have been obvious that such a policy would prolong the war, but the real motives for doing so are a mystery. In retrospect, this doctrine would seem to have been one of the most important diplomatic events of the war. It meant simultaneously that Germans who disliked Hitler and wanted to end his reign were put in a very weak position and that Hitler himself had no hopes in approaching the Allies for a peace settlement, as he had done a number of times previously. Were Roosevelt's pathologi-

cal hatred of Germany and love of the power which war afforded him so intense that he remained blind to the results that such a policy was bound to have? Were the British convinced that such a policy, no matter what its cost, was necessary to end German commercial rivalry for once and all? Such a policy could also hardly avoid the extension of Communist influence deep into western Europe. Was Roosevelt's personality so perverse that he actually wanted this? Even if Roosevelt had little concern for the fates of hundreds of millions of Europeans and his own fighting men, it is astonishing that Henry Morgenthau and Roosevelt's other Jewish advisors advocated the policy, since it was bound to put the Jews of Europe likewise in a very difficult position in the resultant misery and chaos of the final phases of the war.

Reference: Anonymous, *The Myth of the Six Million*, Los Angeles, The Noontide Press, 1973 (second edition), pp38-45.

104. What was Franklin D. Roosevelt's reaction to the correct information about the Katyn massacre presented to him shortly before his death?

Roosevelt stubbornly refused to believe Soviet guilt in spite of reports available to him which demonstrated it. Furthermore, Roosevelt took active measures to suppress reports unfavorable to the USSR. George H. Earle, a former U.S. Minister to Bulgaria and Austria, saw Roosevelt personally about the matter, but Roosevelt admonished him not to publish anything detrimental. Earle was then transferred to Samoa. Although this incident is not directly related to the "Holocaust" question, it demonstrates how resolutely hostile Roosevelt was to anyone who made the suggestion that his Communist allies were anything but of a high moral order. It was on this basis that the war was conducted by the most powerful of the Allies. It also demonstrates the mood which was receptive to the wildest of atrocity stories about Germans at the end of the war.

Reference: L. FitzGibbon, *Katyn*, pp183-184.

105. Compare the mortality of German civilians resultant from the expulsions from Silesia, East Prussia, Bohemia, etc. and from the accompanying atrocities with the mortality of European Jews during World War II.

West German authorities have estimated that a total of 2,111,000 Germans died or were missing during the flight and expulsions from these areas. Even if we were to assume a Jewish mortality of one million, these German deaths,

largely after the war, would be over twice as numerous.

References: Alfred de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam*, London, 1977, pXXV. *Historische Tatsache Nr. 4*, where pictures of the massacre at Nemmersdorf (East Prussia) in October 1944, are given.

Exploitation and Results of the Extermination Thesis

106. What has caused Zionist propagandists to adhere stubbornly to the six-million figure in the face of clear demographic evidence, much of it from Jewish sources, that there had never been more than about 3-1/2 million Jews under Hitler's control at any time?

Other nations suffered great losses during and after the Second World War at the hands of the Communists, such as the Baltic nations, the Ukrainians and the Germans living east of the Oder-Neisse Line. The bombardment of European cities caused huge losses of life and the turning over of large numbers of anti-Communists to death and torture by the Communists was one of the blackest chapters in American and British history. The gross exaggeration of Jewish mortality has been propagated to bring about an obliteration by contrast of awareness of the losses of other peoples. Zionists who control to a considerable extent motion picture production, television networks and the press have arrogantly assumed that their influence on American opinion is so great and decisive that nearly anything can be put forth on the American public without an effective questioning of it. Reference: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1945 edition, Vol. 13, p63B. Here a Jewish source states that **"about 4,000,000 Jews were continuously suffering under reactionary European governments"** during the 1931-1941 period.

107. What Biblical passage could be taken as a prophecy for the present propagandistic use of the Extermination Thesis?

There would seem to be some strong parallels in Isaiah 19:2, **"And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians: and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbor; city against city, and kingdom against kingdom."**

108. What factors have inhibited many Christian clergymen from questioning the validity of the Holocaust" claims?

To be consistent, fundamentalist ministers are confronted with the necessity of accepting a number of passages in the Hebrew part of the Bible (the Old Testament) which state that a particularly important role has been assigned to the Jews by God and that the enemies of the Jews are disdained by God. On a somewhat less philosophical plane, ministers who arrange trips for their parishioners to the Holy Land would be confronted with difficulties with the Zionist state presently occupying much of the Holy Land if they were to incur the hostility of that state.

109. What objects used by everyone on an almost daily basis have the Communist satrapies, such as Poland and the German Democratic Republic, employed for the continued propaganda campaign against a government which passed out of existence nearly four decades ago?

Postage stamps. Poland and the German Democratic Republic in particular have issued a great many postage stamps relating to sites where "victims of Fascism" were interned during World War II. Some of the stamps were sold with surtaxes for the construction of monuments, such as those issued on Ravensbrück and Sachsenhausen by the German Democratic Republic in 1957 and 1961. One notable feature of the stamps is the fact that few of them allude specifically to the internment of Jews. A Polish stamp of 1956 shows the Warsaw Ghetto Monument and a Czech issue of 1967 features a menorah.

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. III, no. 2. pp115-116, where eight of such stamps are reproduced.

110. How widely known and accepted is the six-million figure claimed for European Jewish mortality during World War II?

Hardly any American who listens to television or reads popular news periodicals could escape having heard or seen this figure many times. Very few Americans, however, have made the effort to undertake a critical evaluation of this figure on the basis of pre-war reference works and the like. By way of contrast, most Americans would have difficulty in giving even an approximation of the number of Americans killed in action during World War II.

111. What very large ethnic group in the United States has suffered especially from the "Holocaust" material and how?

Americans of German descent have had their ethnic pride undermined to a serious extent by the Extermination Thesis and its constant reiter-

ation on television, in books and in periodicals. These people make up an important component of the United States population, especially in the "German Belt," which extends westward from Pennsylvania into Missouri and Kansas. As a rule they are thrifty and seldom take welfare derived from other taxpayers. However, the Extermination Thesis has been used to undermine the ethnic awareness and solidarity of Aryan Americans in general. Other Americans adversely affected by the "Holocaust" material are those, for example, of Baltic, Polish and Ukrainian descent.

112. What psychological damage to Jews themselves could be caused by a preoccupation with the "Holocaust" material?

The constant reiteration of the Extermination Thesis could undermine the trust which Jews place in their host populations and thus make relations with them difficult. The Extermination Thesis has undoubtedly influenced United States policies toward Israel and immigration policies, but a reaction against these policies could take on extreme forms.

113. Who originated the term genocide?

The term occurs in a number of contexts in the book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. The book, which appeared in 1944, was written by Raphael Lemkin, a refugee Polish Jew.

Reference: *Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. II, no. 1, pp19-34.

114. What grave dangers could be created by an American signing of the genocide convention now being advocated especially in Zionist circles?

A treaty against the murdering of persons on the basis of their racial origins would seem at first thought to be a decent enough thing, but the provisions of the proposed treaty view "genocide" in such a broad manner that even verbal abuse would be considered a "genocidal" act. In addition to the international ramifications of such a treaty, internal implementing legislation could destroy the psychological defenses of majority groups and outlaw rational discussion of racial problems.

115. What has been the record of the German Democratic Republic with regard to "reparations" payments to the Jewish state in Palestine?

Unlike the German Federal Republic, which signed the Luxembourg Agreement of 1952, the German Democratic Republic, the Communist state in central Germany, has not signed a cor-

responding agreement, by which it would have to send a great deal of precious foreign exchange to Israel and other countries.

116. What was the ethnic composition of the Communist satellite governments imposed on eastern European countries after World War II?

Following the Communist armies occupying eastern European countries toward the end of the war there came many Jewish officials to impose their alien, cruel regimes on the conquered nations. Amongst the most prominent were: Hilda Benjamin, Minister of justice of the German Democratic Republic, 1953-1967; Gerhard Eisler, who held various important posts in the media of the German Democratic Republic; Ana Pauker, Foreign Minister of Romania, 1947-1952; Matyas Rakosi, Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Hungary, later deputy minister-president and premier of Hungary; Rudolf Slansky, Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 1945-1951. He was executed for Ideological deviation. These are only some of the most prominent of the hordes of Jews who were able to obtain government positions after the murder, expulsion and disfranchisement of Aryan officials of previous governments. Many of the members of the secret police apparatus were Jews. Marschalko states that (as of 1956) the Hungarian State Security Department "was solely controlled by Jews,"

Reference: Louis Marschalko, *The World Conquerors*, pp285 ff.

117. How have Palestinians suffered from the dissemination of the "Holocaust" material?

The "Holocaust" material helped to pave the road to a large Jewish migration to Palestine, especially during 1945-1948, by minimizing the number of Jewish "survivors" and arousing sympathy for them. The material was also valuable in facilitating Jewish emigration from Europe to other parts of the world. During the past four decades grave atrocities have been committed by Jews against their Palestinian neighbors and here again the propaganda technique of "obliteration by contrast" comes in handy, even in the case of the Jewish occupation of Lebanon and what has happened during it.

118. What shrewd slurs were cast against Germans in the television film series "Holocaust"?

This film series is a shrewd propaganda effort which has an appeal to simpleminded people by portraying Germans and Jews in starkly con-

trasting, simplistic delineations. The Jewish protagonists are portrayed as highly intelligent, serene, idealistic types, while the Germans are portrayed in most cases as having the minds and moral levels of swine. One of the chief antagonists, Dorf, is portrayed as a coward who commits suicide at the end. There are some notable similarities of this series to the 18-hour series, *The Winds of War* (1983.)

119. Was this film series a truly documentary series?

The film does not actually claim to be history. It is, by its own admission, fiction. However, all too many people have taken it as being an accurate representation of history.

Some Important Books on the Controversy

120. What are some of the most important books from which an objective, independently thinking person can obtain facts and ideas pertaining to the "Holocaust" controversy which has been raging during the past decade or so?

A considerable number of books and articles advocating revisionistic views on the Extermination Thesis are extant, but are by no means as readily available as those which present the Extermination Thesis as unquestionable history. The following very brief bibliography must be considered only a sample, but a number of the books contain, in turn, detailed bibliographies for further reference.

Anonymous. **"The Myth of the Six Million"**. Los Angeles: The Noon tide Press, 1973, Second edition, 4 + 119pp. The first edition of this work appeared in 1969 and was one of the earliest works in English which contested the Extermination Thesis. Valuable for a background on the position of Jews in Germany during the earlier years of the National Socialist period. Reviewed in *Best of Instauration* 1976, p51, along with other early revisionistic efforts, such as those of Paul Rassinier and Austin J. App.

App, Austin J. **"The Six Million Swindle"**. Takoma Park, Maryland: Boniface Press, 1973, 29pp. Prof. App taught at LaSalle College, Philadelphia. This book is somewhat journalistic, but contains interesting facts on the question. Stresses the objectives and results of the Extermination Thesis.

Beaty, John. **"The Iron Curtain Over America"**. Los Angeles: The Noontide Press, 1951, xiii + 268pp. Discusses World War II and Jewish influences in Russia and the United States

from the point of view of an officer who held important intelligence positions during the war. Challenges the Extermination Thesis on the basis of demographic data.

Britton, Frank. **"Behind Communism"**, Los Angeles, no date. (ca. 1955?) A work which is pertinent to the examination of the Extermination Thesis because it documents the Jewish control of the Soviet state and thus helps to explain European attitudes toward the Jewish question after 1917. A good source of information on the real origins of the Communist evil which threatens us Americans with the extinction of our very existence as a nation.

Butz, Arthur R. **"The Hoax of the Twentieth Century"**. Richmond, Surrey: Historical Review Press, 1976, 313pp, maps and some illustrations. This highly detailed work is a milestone in the refutation of the Extermination Thesis. One measure of its merit lies in the fact that there has never been a paragraph-by-paragraph attempt to refute it. Its author is a professor at Northwestern University in Illinois. A fifth edition was published in 1980. Professor Butz has expanded and updated his book by articles published in the *Journal of Historical Review*, Volume I, pp5-22 and pp322-334 and Volume III, pp341- 351 and pp371-405.

Christophersen, Thies. **"Auschwitz / A Personal Account"**. 1979 edition, Printed in U.S.A., viii + 31pp, illustrated. Original German edition published in 1973. The author was stationed in Auschwitz for the purpose of agricultural research during the year 1944. The author bears personal witness against the Extermination Thesis as far as Auschwitz is concerned.

Codreanu, Corneliu. **"For My Legionaries"**. Madrid: Editura "Lib ertatea," 1976, Printed in the United States. Translated from the Romanian. Originally published under the title, *Pentru Legionari* in 1936. A rather rambling, personal account of the struggles of Romanian nationalists during the 1920s and the 1930s against Communism and other influences perceived as Jewish.

Day, Donald. **"Onward Christian Soldiers"**. Torrance: The Noontide Press, 1982. From a manuscript completed in 1942. x + 207pp. Day was a correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune* during 1920-1942. He gives a valuable picture of eastern Europe (Baltic states, Poland, Danzig, Scandanavia) during that time. Although Day was not permitted to go into the USSR, he gives in sights into its effects on eastern Europe. A chapter on the Jews (pp101-

113) is especially pertinent to the study of their position in eastern Europe at the time.

Diwald, Hellmut. **"Geschichte der Deutschen"**. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Vienna: Propylaen Verlag, 1978, 766 pages with 837 illustrations. The author is a professor of history at the University of Erlangen. The first printing of this book caused a sensation as a result of its pages 163-165, which cast doubts on the usual versions of the Extermination Thesis. In later printings these pages appeared in altered form. Reviewed in Volume I, no. 1 of the Journal of Historical Review, pp81-87.

FitzGibbon, Louis. **"Katyn"**. Torrance: The Noontide Press, 1979. An illustrated book on the massacre in 1940 of Polish officers captured by the USSR in 1939. It is related to the Extermination Thesis by showing the nature of the struggle against Communism and the naive or dishonest reaction of the western Allies, especially the United States, to the evidence presented to the world by the Germans in 1943, when they discovered the mass graves.

"Forschungen zur Judenfrage". Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937-1943. Six volumes. Contains nearly fifty articles on the history of Jews and Judaism; many written by outstanding scholars and scientists on a wide range of topics. Copies of this series are scarce and in demand in Germany. They are so rare in the United States that it would probably be difficult to locate more than a half dozen sets there. Of unusual value in the study of the Jewish question, since the series was not written by Jews themselves. The production of this series was under the auspices of the Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands. It certainly must have cost the German government hundreds of thousands of Reichmark to produce.

"The Great Holocaust Debate". Reprint from the Spotlight of 24 September 1979, 16 pages, 29x38-1/2 cm. Contains articles by Robert Faurisson, Mark Weber and others.

Harwood, Richard. **"Six Million Lost and Found"**. Chapel Ascote, Ladbroke, Nr. Southam, Warwickshire: Historical Review press, 1979, 28pp, 22x28 cm. Earlier edition published under the title, Did Six Million Really Die?, 1974. Discusses various aspects of the Extermination Thesis. Especially detailed in its analysis of demographic data and the use of torture in postwar war crimes trials.

Harwood, Richard. **"Nuremberg and Other War Crimes Trials"**. Historical Review Press,

1978, 70pp, 22x28 cm. Contains a long section on the individual cases of the chief defendants at Nuremberg. A concluding section on pp59-68 is entitled, "Allied & Israeli War Crimes Left Unpunished," and discusses the Katyn massacre, the bombing of German cities, the "repatriation" of anti-Communist Russians, Jewish atrocities in Palestine and the Israeli attack on the U.S.S. Liberty in 1967.

"Historische Tatsache". A series of booklets measuring about 22x28 cm., published by Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung, Postfach 1643, 4973 Vlotho/Weser. Some of the issues pertaining to the Extermination Thesis are:

Nr. 3 Richard Harwood, **"Der Nürnberger Prozess —Methoden und Bedeutung"**, 1977, 38pp. Contains critical analysis of the Nuremberg Trials and the text of Göring's letter to Churchill written shortly before Göring's suicide.

Nr. 4 Udo Walendy, **"Der Verrat an Osteuropa"**, 1978, 40pp. Discusses especially the fates of the Baltic states and Poland.

Nr. 5 **"NS-Bewältigung —Deutsche Schreibtischtäter"**, 1979, 40pp. Contains articles by W. Stäglich and Udo Walendy on "reeducation," the Gerstein Report, the German statute of limitations and other topics.

Nr. 7 **"Der moderne Index"**, 1980, 40pp. Discusses the efforts of the Bonn government to suppress revisionistic writing of history, especially on the basis of laws pertaining to the censorship of literature harmful to juveniles. Quotations from Diwald's Geschichte der Deutschen and from interviews with Prof. Diwald.

Nr. 8 **"Zum Untergang des Dritten Reiches"**, 1981, 40pp. On the final collapse of German armed resistance in 1945.

Nr. 9 Udo Walendy, **"Holocaust nun unterirdisch?"**, 1981, 40pp. Reproduces some of the recently published photographs of Auschwitz taken by the U.S. Air Force in 1944.

Nr. 10 Udo Walendy, **"Deutsch-Israelitische Fakten"**, 1981, 40pp. Contains articles on boycott of German goods in 1933, the Kristallnacht, reparations payments to Israel.

Nr. 11 Udo Walendy, **"Deutsches Schicksal / Westpreussen"**, 1981, 40pp. On the plight of the German population in the Polish Corridor and Danzig during the 1920s and 1930s.

"The Holocaust". Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1977, 80pp, illustrated, 21x27 cm. Adheres to the six-million figure and the other usual Zionist tenets of the Extermination Thesis. A number of the pictures appear to be questionable. This

book is mentioned here to serve as an example of the Zionist version of history. However, it is also valuable because some of the statements and pictures in it serve to discredit the Extermination Thesis.

"IHB Special Report". Published in early 1983 by the Institute for Historical Review, 8pp, 29x36 cm. Contains reports of recent developments in the refutation of the Extermination Thesis and includes a rather extensive listing of books in the area in English, German, French, Spanish and Italian.

"Instauration". Published monthly since 1975 by Howard Allen Enterprises, Box 76, Cape Canaveral, Florida 32920. Frequently contains reports and articles on historical revisionism.

"Journal of Historical Review". Has been published four times a year beginning with the Spring 1980, issue by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 1306, Torrance, California 90505. Contains a wealth of material challenging the usual versions of the history of the twentieth century. Most of the articles deal with the Second World War.

Liebe, Georg. **"Das Judentum in der deutschen Vergangenheit"**, Jena: Eugen Diedrichs, 1924, Second edition. In the series, "Die deutschen Stände in Einzeldarstellungen". Although this book takes the history of the Jews in central Europe only up to the time of the completion of their legal emancipation in 1848, it provides significant background on the Jewish question. Nearly all of its over 100 illustrations are reproductions of pertinent contemporary woodcuts and copper engravings from the 15th to 19th centuries. It is thus documentary in the best sense of the word.

Merschalko, Louis. **"The World Conquerors / The Real War Criminals"**. Christian Book Club, reprinted December 1968, copyright 1958. Translated from the Hungarian. 296pp. A highly interesting view of the Second World War and postwar sufferings of the conquered nations at the hands of the Communists by a man whose homeland suffered very severely and had the courage to revolt against its oppressors in 1958. Merschalko considers the "Holocaust" claims greatly exaggerated.

Rassinier, Paul. **"Debunking the Genocide Myth"**. Los Angeles: The Noontide Press, 1978. Translations into English of *Le Mensonge*

d'Ulysee and other works by the author, a teacher who himself was interned in Buchenwald. Rassinier was an early challenger of the Extermination Thesis. The original French versions of his works appeared for the most part in the 1960s. A measure of the importance of his works can be seen in the fact that he is still often cited, e.g., by W. Stäglich in his *Der Auschwitz Mythos* (1979).

Stäglich, Wilhelm. **"Der Auschwitz Mythos"**. Tübingen: Grabert Verlag. 1979, XI + 457 pages + pictorial section of 24 pages. A seminal work, well organized and with well reasoned arguments. The author is a jurist and hence sophisticated in the examination of evidence and stating arguments in a lucid manner. The work has been banned by the Bonn government but an English translation of it is being prepared in the United States.

Stimely, Keith. **"1981 Revisionist Bibliography"**, Torrance: The Institute for Historical Review, 1981, 6 + 70 pages. A valuable annotated bibliography listing revisionist books in English, mostly on the First and Second World Wars.

von Verschuer, Baron Otmar. **"Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene"**, Leipzig: Georg Thieme Verlag, 1944, Second, amended edition. A handbook on eugenics and genetically determined diseases from a medical point of view. It has a section on the Jewish question. The book contains ideas on eugenics which were, in part, imported from the United States. The book gives its reader a concept of the largely biological basis with which the National Socialist authorities approached the Jewish question.

Weber, Charles E. **"Memorandum for a Truth Squad"**. [1982]. A one-leaf print suggesting questions to be asked speakers at "Holocaust" seminars and the like. There have been several printings.

de Zayas, Alfred. **"Nemesis at Potsdam / The Anglo-Americans and the Expulsion of the Germans / Background, Execution, Consequences"**. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977. A valuable book which has not received the attention it deserves in connection with the Extermination Thesis. It is well illustrated and provides good background on the conditions in Germany at the end of the war and thereafter. It also helps to put the "Holocaust" claims in their proper perspective.